

The Complete Works of John Foxe's Book of Martyrs



FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

John Foxe's Book Of Martyrs

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**THE ACTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE
CHRISTIAN CHURCH**

by

JOHN FOXE

Commonly known as

FOXES' BOOK OF MARTYRS

Volume 1

From the Death of Jesus Christ to Frederic Barbarossa

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The emperor Commodus casting a dart at the wild beasts

— "had trial of cruel mockings and scourgings, yea, moreover of bonds and imprisonment: they were stoned, they were sawn asunder, were tempted, were slain with the sword: they wandered about in sheepskins and goatskins; being destitute, afflicted, tormented; of whom the world was not worthy." – HEB. xi 36-38.

— "their blood is shed
in confirmation of the noblest claim
Our claim to feed upon immortal truth,
To walk with God, to be divinely free,
To soar, and to anticipate the skies." – COWPER.

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Introduction to the Ex-Classics Edition

The Times

There was never a worse place or time to be religious than Europe in the 16th Century. These were cruel times. There was the death penalty for all but the most petty offences, and hangings were a popular spectator sport. Indeed, hanging was a lenient punishment: flaying, impaling, breaking on the wheel, and being hung upside down and sawn through from groin to scalp were alternatives. Lesser crimes such as begging were punished with flogging, branding or mutilation. Torture was widespread and trials, if held at all, often a travesty of justice. Warfare, too, was conducted with the utmost brutality; massacre, rape and pillage of the civilian population were standard practice, and the slaughter of enemy prisoners was common, sometimes even including those who had been promised their lives if they surrendered.

Religious hatred made things even worse. Reading Foxe, or other authors of the time, whether Protestant or Catholic, it is striking how absolutely certain everyone was that not only were they right, but that their opponents were the agents of Satan. Foxe knew that the Pope was the Antichrist predicted by the Bible in the same way as he knew that water was wet or that the sun went round the earth. From this certainty sprang the intolerance from which persecution arises. It was argued, that if a murderer, who only slew the body, deserved death; how much more deserving of death was a heretic, whose evil falsehoods could destroy the victim's soul. This being so, it was clear that any means could and should be used to stamp out these devil's spawn. Both sides believed that there was only one true religion and all deviation from it was hellish; they only differed about which religion it was. Catholics persecuted Protestants and vice versa; each side persecuted its own heretics with equal vigour. In Eastern Europe, the Orthodox faith was both perpetrator and victim. In England, the official religion changed four times in less than thirty years, and each change was accompanied by persecution of those who would not change with it. The division of Europe into Catholic and Protestant powers, often at war with one another, meant that in some countries (especially England) preaching the wrong religion was regarded as supporting the enemy and punished as treason.

The Book

John Foxe or Fox (1518-1587), a staunchly Protestant divine, wrote his book as this story seen from the Protestant point of view. *The Acts and Monuments of the Christian Church*, better known as Foxe's Book of Martyrs, was first published in English in 1563. (see the Bibliographic Note). In this enormously long history of the Church from the death of Christ to the accession of Queen Elizabeth I, he is anxious to prove firstly the complete hatefulness, evil and corruption of the Catholic church, the papacy and the monastic orders, and secondly to assert the right of the monarch to appoint bishops and clergy, and to dispose of church property and income at will.

Everything (and that means *everything*) which supports this view goes in; everything which does not is either left out, glossed over, or rejected as *ipso facto* untrue because asserted by his opponents. For example, his treatment of Savonarola is breathtaking in its omissions. To read Foxe's account, one would think that

Savonarola was a humble monk, plucked from his cell and burned for preaching a few sermons – there is not a word about his capture of the government of Florence, theocratic rule (with bonfires of vanities,) nor of his inciting a French army to invade Italy and occupy Florence; still less of his claims to possess miraculous powers.

When Foxe's sources support his prejudices, however, his credulity knows no bounds; he is as ready to peddle the myth of Jewish blood-sacrifices of Christian children as he is to believe in the foundation of the church in England by Joseph of Arimathea. When he gets closer to his own times, however, his accounts are in most cases taken from eye-witness evidence or official documents and must be accepted as basically factual in most cases. There is no doubt that Protestants were savagely persecuted by Henry VIII and especially by Mary I and that this contributed to the fear and hatred which animates the book. The gruesome and enormously detailed accounts of the trials and martyrdoms of Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer and all the other victims of Bloody Mary's tyranny are sober fact. Nonetheless, any students tempted to regard the book as a work of history are warned to check anything Foxe says with some more even-handed historian before reproducing it. We recommend *Reformation: Europe's House Divided* by Diarmaid MacCulloch for a general overview or *Fires of Faith: Catholic England under Mary Tudor* by Eamon Duffy for a more detailed account of the Marian persecutions.

Influence

Foxe's Book of Martyrs was very widely read and had a deep influence on English thinking for centuries. In the Seventeenth century, it contributed to what historians have called the "Catholic myth"; that is the belief that English Catholics, in reality a powerless and beleaguered minority, were a vast conspiracy ready to seize any opportunity to overthrow the state, enslave the people, introduce the Inquisition etc. It is arguable that this belief was one of the principal causes of the English Civil War, and quite certain that it was a cause of the rebellion of Monmouth and the "Popish Plot" conspiracy, not to mention the expulsion of James II in the "Glorious Revolution". A century later, the Gordon riots of 1780 drew most of their strength from it; in the words of Dickens in *Barnaby Rudge*:

... the air was filled with whispers of a confederacy among the Popish powers to degrade and enslave England, establish an inquisition in London, and turn the pens of Smithfield market into stakes and cauldrons; when terrors and alarms which no man understood were perpetually broached, both in and out of Parliament, by one enthusiast who did not understand himself, and bygone bugbears which had lain quietly in their graves for centuries, were raised again to haunt the ignorant and credulous.

Well into the Nineteenth century these ideas were widespread. In vulgar form they were held among the less educated. George Eliot refers to this often, though of course she was too sensible to share them. Among the more educated and civilised, they were believed in a more educated and civilised way – see the editor's introduction. William Cobbett, in his equally but oppositely biased *History of the Protestant Reformation* (pub. 1826) devotes some space to refuting Foxe.

And today? Ian Paisley and his followers certainly sleep with it under the pillow, as do some Scottish Presbyterians and US Deep South fundamentalists, and the religion described in Philip Pullman's *Dark Materials* series bears a close

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resemblance to the Catholic church as imagined by Foxe. Most modern opponents of the Catholic church, however, have entirely different reasons for their views. In his splendid book *The English*, Jeremy Paxman makes the case that Foxe, more than anyone else, is responsible for the half-fearful, half-contemptuous attitude of many English people towards their fellow-Europeans:

This sense of being uniquely persecuted and uniquely guarded must, obviously, be connected with religious belief. But the relevant text is not in the Bible. It is John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, a lurid piece of propaganda detailing the suffering and death of Protestants executed during Queen Mary's attempt to turn England back to Rome. It ought to be taken as the third Testament of the English Church. The book first appeared in 1563. It had expanded by 1570, the year of Elizabeth's excommunication, to 2,300 pages of often gory descriptions of the oppression of English Protestants at the hands of the Roman Catholic Church. Anglican authorities ordered it to be displayed in churches across the country, and the illiterate had it read to them. It stayed on show in many churches for centuries, a ready reference for anyone who doubted the willingness of English-men and -women to die for their beliefs. By the end of the seventeenth century, perhaps 10,000 copies were in circulation. Throughout much of the following hundred years, new editions were produced, often in the form of serializations: after the Bible, it was the most widely available book in the land.

John Foxe's purpose in describing the executions of the victims of persecution was to demonstrate the Church of England as "the renewing of the ancient church of Christ." it was the church in Rome that was deviant. Christianity, Foxe suggested, had arrived in England in the reign of King Lucius of Colchester, and only later with missionaries from Rome. (Another fable, the Glastonbury Legend, tells, of course, that Joseph of Arimathea brought Christianity — and the Holy Grail — to England soon after the crucifixion.) The accession of Mary to the throne, and the reign of terror that followed as she tried to restore the supremacy of the Roman Catholic Church, was, therefore, some mad aberration. . . .

The influence of this great tract must have been profound. At a religious level, the historian Owen Chadwick believes that

"the steadfastness of the victims, from Ridley and Latimer downwards, baptized the English Reformation in blood and drove into English minds the fatal association of ecclesiastical tyranny with the See of Rome ... Five years before, the Protestant cause was identified with church robbery, destruction, irreverence, religious anarchy. It was now beginning to be identified with virtue, honesty, and loyal English resistance to a half-foreign government."

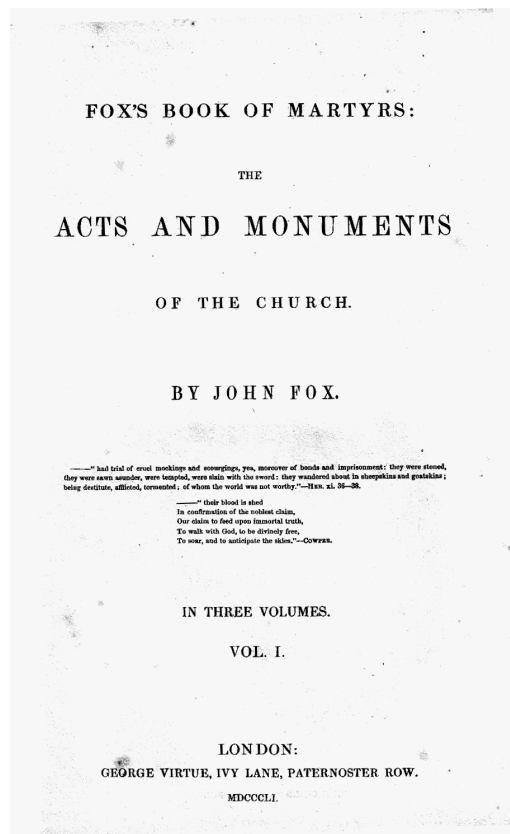
Not only did *The Book of Martyrs* identify the Roman Catholic Church with tyranny, it associated the English with valour. Any citizen could enter almost any church and discover for themselves the ruthlessness of foreign powers. They learned at the same time of the unbending courage of the English casualties. The effect of the book was not merely to dignify English Protestantism and demonize Roman Catholicism, but to hammer home the idea of themselves as a people alone. Being embattled had a moral purpose.

It sometimes seems that the English need to think of themselves like this
(Extract from pp. 89-91 of the 1st edition, Michael Joseph, London, 1999. Copyright, and quoted by Mr. Paxman's permission, which is gratefully acknowledged)

Bibliographic Note

The Acts and Monuments of the Christian Church by John Foxe (or Fox), better known as Foxe's Book of Martyrs, was first published in Latin in 1550 and subsequently in an English translation, revised and expanded by the author, in 1563, with subsequent versions in 1570, 1576 and 1583. See the Introduction (below, p. 10) for the detailed publishing history of the early editions. The book was extremely popular and went into very many editions, often abridged and revised almost beyond recognition. There are editions still in print, and available on the internet, which resemble the original so little that one thinks of Robert Bruce's axe which had had two new heads and three new handles since his death.

This version is taken from the edition by John Cumming, published in 1851, which is a slightly abridged reprint of the 1563 edition with the language and spelling modernised.



Title Page

The divisions into parts and chapters have been made by us for the convenience of the readers. The glossary is also our work. Otherwise the text is as close to the original as possible.

Editor's Introduction.

REVERERE VULTUS ET VULNERA TOT FORTIUM VIROILUM,
 QUOTQUOT PRO LIBERTATE TAM STRENUE DECERTARUNT,
 MANES ETIAM EORUM QUI IN IPSO CERTAINE OCCUEUERUNT.
 — MILTON'S DEFENSIO SEGUNDA.

No book, with the exception of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, has been so extensively, and at the same time so deservedly, popular as Fox's *Book of Martyrs*. It has almost invariably made its appearance under the auspices of some discerning spirit, at the moment its lessons needed to be most widely learnt, and its truths most profoundly felt. No sooner has popery begun to lift its head, like Marius of old, amid the marshes of Minturnæ, aiming even from its ruins at supremacy and making proselytes, than the *Acts and Monuments* have come forth to resist its spread and crush its hopes. It is here literally true, "he being dead yet speaketh." Nor is this to be wondered at. The scenes which Fox so graphically depicts, the tragedies he records, very often from personal knowledge, to have been acted upon them, the names of the holy men who fell victims to the emissaries of the papacy, the truths taught at the stake, which superstitious priests hoped to annihilate in the flames that consumed their advocates, and the Bibles they tried to bury in the graves that contained the ashes of the "noble army of martyrs;" — these and other stirring facts are well fitted to arouse long dead recollections, to lead us to pity, not to proscribe, the poor Romanist, who is the victim of a cruel sacerdotal tyranny, and to bless and praise the Lord our God, who gave to our fathers grace to labour, and to us the high privilege of entering into their labours. The volumes of Fox are the faithful registers of the awful deeds of the Church of Rome, the transcripts of those dreadful principles which have made every country in which they have obtained the ascendancy, from the wilds of the Arab to the steppes of the Cossack, a very *Aceldama*. The numerous editions through which the *Acts and Monuments* have passed show plainly that the martyrologist speaks a tongue that finds an echo in the hearts of the people. They feel his volumes to be the comments only on a sacred cause, to which were devoted the strength of manhood and the grey hairs of age. They reverence the martyrs that sealed it by their blood. May they draw from the earth that contains their honoured ashes motives to persevere in the paths they travelled. May we never forget that husbands, wives, brethren, sisters, sons, and fathers fell, like the beauty of Israel, in their high places, "contending for the faith once delivered to the saints." Our sweetest and most precious privileges are, under God, the fruits of their travail, the price of their lives, freely given, that we, their offspring, may live free.

Originally Fox's *Martyrs* appeared in Latin, and bore the following title:— *Commentarii rerum in Ecclesiâ gestarum a Wiclefi temporibus usque ad annum AND, 8vo. 1554*; or, *An Account of Transactions in the Church from the times of Wycliff to the year 1500*. Five years after this a much larger volume was issued, bearing the following title:— *Rerum in Ecclesiâ gestarum, maximarumque per Europam persecutionum, ac sanctorum Dei Martyrum Commentarii, in folio, Basileæ, 1559*; or, *Records of Transactions in the Church, and of the leading Persecutions of the Saints and Martyrs of God throughout Europe*. About four years after the appearance of this edition, i. e. about A.D. 1563, one Henry Pantaleon published at Basle a continuation of the *Acts and Monuments*, which seems to have been subsequently incorporated with

the original. The date of the first edition in English is, according to Dr. Dibdin, A.D.1563, Its title is as follows:—ACTS AND MONUMENTS of these latter and perilous Days, touching Matters of THE CHURCH; wherein are Comprehended and described the great Persecutions and horrible Troubles that have been wrought and practised by the Roman Prelates, especially in these Realms of ENGLAND and SCOTLAND, from the Year of our Lord a thousand, unto the time now present. Gathered and collected according to the true Copies and Writings, Certificatory as well of the parties themselves that suffered, as also out of the Bishops' Registers who were the Doers thereof, By JOHN FOX. London, 1562-3, from the press of JOHN DAY.

A second edition also in English was printed and issued by Day in 1570, with additional wood cuts and illustrations.

A third edition appeared in 1576, entitled, The first Volume of Ecclesiastical History. The Sufferings of the Martyrs newly recognised and enlarged by the Author, J. Fox. 2 vols, folio, 1576.

The fourth edition appeared in 1583. Its title is as follows:—"ACTS AND MONUMENTS of Matters, most special and memorable, happening in THE CHURCH, with an Universal History of the same; wherein is set forth at large the whole Race and Course of the CHURCH, from the primitive Age to these latter Times of ours, with the bloody Times, horrible Troubles, and great Persecutions against the true Martyrs of CHRIST, sought and wrought as well by Heathen Emperors, and now lately practised by ROMISH PRELATES, especially in the Realm of ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND. Newly revised, and now the fourth time again published.

By JOHN Fox. 1583.

The last edition of the sixteenth Century appeared in 1596, and bore the following title:— ACTS AND MONUMENTS of Matters happening in THE CHURCH, with an Universal History, &c., as it was recognised by the AUTHOR, Maister JOHN Fox. The fifth time newly imprinted. Anno 1596.

All these editions are in black letter. The best and most authentic is understood to be that of 1563. Accordingly, it has been selected as the basis of the present edition. From 1684 to the present time every edition has been in the Roman letter.

We cannot afford space to enumerate recent editions. Their great number is proof of the universal esteem and value of the work. But it may probably be asked, What necessity is there for another edition, seeing there have been already so many? Our answer is the reason of our labours. Almost every edition has been either a collection of all the extraneous and irrelevant matter by which Fox's narratives are frequently cumbered, of great bulk, and of greater expense; or mere abridgements, fit for fashionable circulating libraries, but unnerved, and despoiled of the greatest excellences and most precious chapters of the hoary martyrologist. Seeley's noble reprint is fit for the libraries of universities, the archives of museums, the tables of scholars. It is a literal and exact reprint. But its price and its shape repel the ordinary reader. The compilations that have preceded and followed it are entitled to the name of Fox's Acts and Monuments for no other reason than that the main facts and incidents have been gathered from the pages of the venerable chronicler. It does therefore seem to be most desirable that a complete and yet popular edition of the Acts and Monuments of Fox should appear. Such an edition we now profess to lay before the public. In this it will be found that Latin quotations and references, including extracts and letters to and sometimes from the martyrs, and repetitions in the shape of

headings, are substantially all that have been removed. The bulk of the work is thus reduced, while the original matter remains almost unaltered and unimpaired. We have extracted only a few weeds, in order that those plants which our heavenly Father planted may appear in all their goodly proportions. The features of the martyrs themselves are not touched or altered in the least; incrustations only are removed. The present edition is in all respects fitted to instruct the learned, to interest the ordinary reader, and to present to both neither a dull nor a deficient edition of the Acts and Monuments of Fox.

All the early editions were illustrated by frequent but rude wood cuts. The engines of perverted mind for torturing the confessors of the faith were so intricate, the modes of martyrdom so varied, but all in the infliction of pain exquisite, and some of the scenes at the same time so extraordinary, that these illustrations became almost essentially necessary. All that was historically and topographically correct in the wood cuts of the early and authentic editions will be retained in the present. The manipulation, style, and execution only will be of the first excellence. Other subjects arising out of the body of the work will be illustrated; and thus an edition of Fox will be got up that will be an acquisition to the libraries of the learned and unlearned.

Something must be said of the veracity and faithfulness of our martyrologist. Since his records came to occupy a large share of patronage and popularity, objections have been urged, not only from papal sources, as was to be expected, but from professing protestants. One of the most bitter papal opponents of Fox was the wily Harding. The following are some of the chaste and indigenous terms in which this Jesuit speaks of our author: "There have not so many thousands of your brethren been burned for heresy in these last twenty years as ye pretend; and this is the chief argument ye make in all that huge dunghill of your stinking martyrs, which ye have entitled Acts and Monuments." To this Bishop Jewel makes the following free and faithful reply: "Ye have imprisoned your brethren; ye have stript them naked; ye have scourged them with rods; ye have burned their hands and arms with flaming torches; ye have famished them; ye have drowned them; ye have summoned them, being dead, to appear before you; ye have taken up their buried carcasses and burned them; ye have thrown them out unto the dunghill; ye took a poor babe newly born, and in a most cruel and barbarous manner threw him into the fire. All these things are true, they are no lies. The eyes and consciences of thousands can witness to your doings. Ye slew your brethren so cruelly, not for murder, or robbery, or any other grievous crime they had committed, BUT ONLY THAT THEY TRUSTED IN THE LIVING GOD. The worst word that proceeded from their lips was, 'O Lord, forgive them; they know not what they do: Lord Jesus, receive my spirit.' In the mean while, ye stood by and delighted your eyes with the sight. Oh! Mr. Harding, your conscience knoweth these be no lies; they are written in the eyes and hearts of many thousands. These be the marks of your religion. Oh what reckoning will ye yield, when so much innocent blood will be required at your hands!"

Milner, a zealous and subtle Romanist, in his work entitled *The End of Controversy*, declares that "Cranmer and others of the protestants were consigned to the flames because they had been guilty of high treason. Fox is a liar, and not to be believed even when he speaks the truth." All this may be exceedingly convenient to the champions of the papal hierarchy, but they know well that the martyrs in the days of Queen Mary, who, Lingard the Romish historian says "was one of the best of the English princesses," suffered not for infringement of civil law, but for the maintenance of gospel truth. The policy of the Jesuits is always to father on protestants the very

crimes of which they themselves are guilty. Milner and Lingard show how well they have studied in the school of Ignatius Loyala. The protestants burned in the days of Queen Mary were burned, as legal and civil documents still accessible demonstrate, simply for disclaiming transubstantiation, the supremacy of the pope, and the assumed right of the Romish priesthood to debar the laity from reading the sacred Scriptures. But, on the other hand, the papists who suffered in the days of Elizabeth were, as the indictments and other authentic records show, executed for high treason, for regicide principles, and for open or disguised, but clearly proved, opposition to the dynasty and sceptre of Elizabeth. A convicted murderer of unrenewed heart will of course naturally impeach judge, jury, and evidence. The papacy however has not put down the gospel, which embosoms the glory and the functions of Christ; and it shall not crush the humbler records, which stamp his true character on the exploits of antichrist. Neale, a far abler and purer witness than Milner, or Lingard, or Harding, confirms the testimony of Jewel in these words: "Fox was a person of indefatigable labour and industry, and an exile for religion in Queen Mary's days; he spent all his time abroad in compiling the Acts and Monuments; which were published first in Latin, and afterwards when he returned to his native country with enlargements. Vast were the pains he took in searching records and collecting materials for his work; and SUCH WAS ITS ESTEEM, THAT IT WAS ORDERED TO BE SET UP IN ALL THE PARISH CHURCHES IN ENGLAND." "No book," continues the historian of the puritans, "ever gave such a mortal wound to popery as this."

It may be objected, that the same necessity does not now exist for the republication of this celebrated work. This is a great mistake. If the Romish hierarchy had renounced the canons, decretals, bulls, and rescripts, that embody the worst elements of persecution, it would be ungenerous to upbraid them with the deeds of their predecessors. But they neither have renounced, nor can, as Romanists, renounce, the principles that received the stamp of infallibility in days that are passed. The Church of Rome cannot recede one jot from her ancient pretensions without renouncing the ground on which she stands. It would be suicide to admit that her most sanguinary canons were sinful and erroneous. Nor does she wish to make any such concession. She may cast dust in the eyes of protestants, she may profess all meek and merciful things; but this is designedly, and for a specific end. Depressed, she arrays herself in all the pomp and splendour of universal liberality and good will; but upon an uncontested throne, in Spain, in Italy, and in Britain too, if she were what she would be, these attractive assumptions drop off, and the woman drunk with the blood of martyrs trampling on the name of Christ, and on the hopes and happiness of believers, starts into bold and prominent relief.

Persecution, it is only fair to admit, has certainly been practised by individuals claiming to be the children of the protestant faith, but never has the principle that originated it been incorporated in any of the creeds of the protestant churches. This is precisely the difference between papal persecution, and such instances of severity as have been ascribed to protestant reformers and ministers. Persecution is embosomed in the canons of the Romish Church, whereas it is abjured and reprobated in the creeds of the protestant church. If a Roman catholic persecutes, he acts in full accordance with the principles to which he has subscribed; if a protestant persecutes, he acts in diametrical opposition to the articles he professes to adhere to. When a Roman catholic disclaims persecution, he thereby impugns the infallibility and retreats from the ground occupied by his Church; when a protestant persecutes, he thereby renounces his faith, and enters on territory infamously sacred to Rome. The rule of

faith and conduct held by the Roman catholic is, "The Bible or written word, and tradition or the unwritten word, and both propounded and expounded by the Church." Now the two last limbs of this triple rule have been dyed in blood, They have been the fountain-heads out of which the Inquisition drew numerous precedents, Dominic most ample instruction, and the fourth Lateran its anti-social canons. The rule of faith held by protestants, on the other hand, is, THE BIBLE ALONE, in which we defy the acutest sceptic or bitterest papist to extract one precept to persecute, or one precedent for ecclesiastical extirpation of heretics. When, therefore, Roman catholics persecute, their rule of faith applauds them; when protestants persecute, their rule of faith condemns them. The former rule is the nurse of persecution, the latter the extinguisher of it. The one carries the faggot, lights the flames, and cheers the actors in the auto-da-fe; the other brings living waters from life's most merciful fountain, to quench the fire and to refresh the martyr, and, it may be, to convert the murderer. Hence in the papal Church Pius V. and Dominic are canonized and beatified; and to keep their sanguinary conduct fresh in the minds of their descendants, there are collects with special reference to these persecutors in the English Missal for the use of the Roman catholic laity, used on the proper Sundays in every papal chapel in England. What can be clearer evidence of the animus of the Roman catholic hierarchy, or of the justice of our charge against these principles, than the following reference to a *canonized!* or *beatified!* persecutor in the English Missal for the use of the laity: "O God, who has enlightened thy church by the eminent virtues and preaching of blessed Dominic, thy confessor, grant that by his prayers we may be provided against all temporal necessities, and daily improve in all spiritual good." Again, "Sanctify, O Lord, the gifts we have offered thee, and by the merits of blessed Dominic thy confessor, grant that they may be healing to us."

This man was employed by Pope Innocent III. to trace out and punish those heretics the pious and holy Albigenses. His weapons were persecution, the blood of saints is on his robes, and were the papacy improved such a collect as that we have extracted would be expunged from the Missal.

In the protestant church such men are branded as guilty persecutors, and thanks and glory rendered unanimously to Him who has made us to differ. If it may be replied, that some of the protestant Reformers persecuted, we admit it. This ought not to be denied, as some with more enthusiasm than discretion have done, May we not ask, Is this to be wondered at? The Reformers had been nursed at the bosom of a Church in which persecution is incorporated as a vital and essential element, and applauded in precedent and urged in precept. The earliest lesson they had been taught was the propriety of extirpating heretics in order to put down heresy; and the wonder is not that they used carnal weapons in one or two isolated instances, but that they so soon abjured the unholy spirit, exorcised it from the creeds they drew up, and abandoned it, rejoicing in a holier faith in their after-conduct. The Church of Rome never can in her corporate character renounce persecution. She must let go her assumption of immutability and infallibility, if she disclaim the principles or abjure the patrons of persecution. Some of the most illustrious councils of the Roman Church enacted persecuting canons. The Councils of Tours, Narbonne, Beziers, and Thoulouse passed a variety of anti-social and cruel laws against those witnesses for Christ, the Albigenses and the Waldenses. The third Council of the Lateran, and above all the fourth, and subsequently the fifth, issued decrees that stain the history of man, and present the papal hierarchy to future ages visibly with blood upon its most gorgeous robes. Ultimately the scattered efforts of the Romish hierarchy were concentrated and

systematized in the institution of the Inquisition. Languedoc, Spain, Portugal, and Goa all testify to the deeds of this dreadful incubus on freedom, faith, and happiness. The soil of those lands, it is true, bears no traces of the innocent blood shed upon it.

Vineyards, and golden harvests, and rural hamlets now meet the eye, where murder and falsehood, cruelty and bloodshed, fused into one, composed the character of the murderer, and where mercy and truth, righteousness and peace, blended into one, made up the temper of the martyrs; but the wounds inflicted on Christianity, on man, and on the glory of God, are fresh and bleeding, and will re-open, should we ever prove forgetful of the deep debt of obligation we owe the "noble army of martyrs," or become dead to the yet profounder gratitude we must now feel to that gracious God, who, in his mercy, has cast our lot in better, even in halcyon days.

It is almost supererogation to furnish proofs of these assertions. Romanists must smile at the scepticism of some protestants. We might refer to the massacre on the eve of St. Bartholomew, as a proof not merely of the sanguinary spirit then cherished by the Romish apostacy, but of their yet unabandoned adherence to it at this day. At Paris, in 1572, the poor Hugonots, who had been decoyed and deceived by false professions, were murdered to the number of five thousand according to Mezerai, six thousand according to Bossuet, and ten thousand according to Davila. "The streets of Paris flowed with blood. Charles IX. and his queen feasted their eyes on the dead that floated down the Seine. The day-light, which discovered so many crimes, which the darkness of an eternal night ought for ever to have concealed, did not soften their ardour by these objects of pity, but exasperated them the more. The populace and more dastardly, being warmed by the smell of blood, sixty thousand men, transported with this fury and armed in different ways, ran about wherever example, vengeance, rage, and the desire of plunder transported them. The air resounded with a horrible tempest of the engines, blasphemies, and oaths of the murderers, of the breaking open of doors and windows, of the firing of pistols and guns, of the pitiable cries of the dying, of the lamentations of the women whom they dragged by the hair, of the noise of carts, some loaded with the booty of the houses they pillaged, others with the dead bodies they cast into the Seine; so that in the confusion they could not hear each other speak in the streets; or if they distinguished certain words, they were those furious expressions, "Kill, stab, throw them out of the window." Some were shot on the roofs of houses, others were cast out of the windows; some were cast into the water, and knocked on the head with blows of iron bars; some were killed in their beds — wives in the arms of husbands, husbands in the bosoms of their wives, and sons at the feet of their fathers. They neither spared the aged, nor women great with child, nor even infants." Mezerai's History of France. See vol. ii. p. 1098. Paris, 1646.

The question naturally occurs, How would our blessed Lord have looked on such a scene? What verdict would he have uttered over such a record? He would have wept over the wickedness of man, and deplored the dreadful catastrophe that so cruelly overtook the innocent and the helpless. His professed successor and representative, the pope, however, "went in procession," according to the testimony of Mezerai, "to the church of St. Lewis, to render thanks to God for so happy a victory;" and his legate, in the pope's name, congratulated the French king on his exploits; and in the Roman Missal or Prayer Book, used in every Roman catholic chapel throughout the kingdom, this poor people are taught to pray on the festival of Pius V., who urged Charles IX. to the murderous massacre, in the following words:

"O God, who wast pleased to raise blessed Pius to the dignity of chief bishop, in order to depress (i. e. crush) the enemies of the church."

This keeps persecution fresh before the people. Pope Gregory XIII., only regarding the good which he thought likely to result from this to the catholic religion in France, and to perpetuate the memory of this event, caused several medals to be struck; whereon he himself is represented on the one side, and on the other side an angel, carrying a cross in one hand, and a sword in the other, exterminating the heretics, and more particularly the Admiral Coligné. In Spain the same deed was praised in the presence of King Philip, and they dared to call it the triumph of the church militant. See *Fleuri's Eccles. Hist.* vol. xxiii. Book 173, p. 557. Nismes, 1780.

The BULL UNIGENITUS, which, according to the evidence of Dr. Murray, the Roman catholic archbishop of Dublin, is received by the Romish Church throughout all Ireland, decrees that, if required, the secular arm is to be called in to compel and coerce those who hold the truths of the gospel to recant and renounce them. Its words are, "We moreover charge our venerable brethren, the patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops, and other ordinaries of districts, and the inquisitors of heretical wickedness, utterly to coerce and compel, by the above-mentioned censures and penalties, and by the other remedies of law and deed, THE AID OF THE SECULAR ARM BEING INVOKED FOR THIS PURPOSE IF IT BE NECESSARY, all who oppose and resist."

The Catechism of the Council of Trent asserts, that those who quit the Church of Rome may "be judged, *punished*, and anathematized."

Dr. Delahogue in his Class Book for the instruction of the priests educated at Maynooth, states that the Church retains her jurisdiction over all baptized persons, as a commander retains authority over deserters, and may denounce and decree for them similar and severe punishments.

The worst and bitterest persecutors in the past history of the Romish Church are, we find, canonized and beatified as saints. St. Dominic, the harbinger, if not the founder, of the Inquisition, St. Thomas Aquinas, whose *secunda secundæ* are replete with persecuting principles, St. Ferdinand of Castile, a burner of heretics, and Pius V., are embalmed in the devotions, and presented as models to the imitation, of the Roman catholics of Great Britain.

We do not so much condemn the laity of the Church of Rome. They do not know the full extent of the wickedness of that apostacy of which they are the victims. We pray for them. We pity them. Our present work is for them as for ourselves. It is another warning cry to come out of Babylon. Fox's Book of Martyrs is republished in its present popular form, not only to warn protestants against the subdued pretences of this awful and unchanged superstition, and thereby to prepare them to resist and repel it by Scripture, fact, and argument; but also to stir up Roman catholics to abjure a Church so branded in the tablets of universal history, and so doomed in the pages of the word of God. We here enter on no crusade against their rights or privileges as citizens. We seek higher and nobler objects. We thus beseech them to flee from Babylon as from a crumbling ruin, replete with the prestiges of approaching destruction. It is our heart's desire and prayer unto God for them that they may be saved. But our affection to them, however intense, must not induce us to compromise our faithfulness to protestants. We desire to awaken and impress them especially. We desire to resuscitate and nourish in their hearts a more thrilling sense of the privileges they enjoy, a profounder impression of the gratitude they ought to cherish toward their martyred fathers, and of the responsibilities, the solemn and weighty responsibilities, that devolve on them.

The loudest boast made at the present day by the Church of Rome is her UNITY, and with the exhibition of this she expatiates at no ordinary length on the dissensions of professing Protestants. We do not in these few observations attempt to vindicate the unity of protestants, but rather to show that the Romish assumption of unity is totally devoid of truth. We must not forget that the value of unity depends on the nature of the things of which it is composed. Concord becomes conspiracy when it is against the truth of God and the rights of humanity. Aaron the high priest, and a vast multitude besides, were united to a man in the worship of the golden calf. Korah and his people, and the ten tribes at Beth-el, were each thoroughly united, but are one and all Scripturally and justly condemned. The Samaritans were more united than the Jews, having no sects or divisions. Satan and his angels are as united as Michael and his. Hell is the site of unbroken unity; for unity is an essential mark of the kingdom of Satan, who knows, and acts upon the knowledge, that a kingdom divided against itself cannot stand. We must therefore look at the things in which men are united, in order to elicit a just estimate of the value of their union. If we apply this test to the Church of Rome, we shall find it a gigantic conspiracy against the Prince of peace — the concord of unenlightened minds and unsanctified spirits, to raise the creature to a level with the Creator, and to exalt the church above Christ.

It will be found that the unity of which the Church of Rome so repeatedly boasts springs from one of two sources, IGNORANCE or COMPULSION. It arises first from *ignorance*, and is dissolved the moment that the light of truth shines upon it. The Ephesians enjoyed uninterrupted unity when they, ignorant of the one living and true God, simultaneously shouted, "Great is Diana of Ephesus." The Jews almost unanimously concurred in the dreadful sentiment, "Not this man, but Barabbas." During the middle ages all the doctors of Christendom were perfectly united in holding that the earth stood still, and that sun, moon, and stars revolved around it; and so the Church of Rome is perfectly united in the worship she pays the Virgin Mary, and the implicit faith she cherishes in the sacrifice of the mass. But in her case, as in the others referred to, light introduced breaks up the false harmony, and evolves a powerful discord. Paul threw a handful of living sunbeams on Ephesus; the gospel was made to bear on the population of Jerusalem by the apostle of the circumcision; and the demonstrations of Galileo descended on the dogged resistance of the Vatican, and unity gave way to division at the moment that error gave way to truth.

The unity of the Church of Rome is, in the next place, the product of *compulsion*. It is that of the iceberg. All heterogeneous substances are compressed into one mass, not by the sweet attractions of homogeneous elements *ab intra*, but by the compression of all antagonist materials *ab extra*. It lasts as long as it is unvisited by light and warmth, but dissolves and separates as soon as the genial sunbeams fall upon it. In Spain no other faith dare be professed. In Rome protestantism is treason. No wonder there is an external and apparent unity. Bayonets are far more effective quellers of discord than the Thirty-nine Articles. Hands are therefore united, while the hearts they belong to are at the antipodes of each other. The Church of Rome in fact confounds unity and uniformity; and for this latter, which never has been, and never can be secured in the physical, moral, or spiritual world, she has sacrificed hecatombs of holy men, and furnished the elements of that solemn and ever-resuscitated testimony against her, FOX'S BOOK OF MARTYRS.

The Apocalyptic cage of unclean beasts and birds is the meet symbol of the Church of Rome. These are merely coercion without, and corruption within; a scene

"Where all life dies, death lives, and nature breeds
Perverse, all monstrous, all prodigious things,
Abominable, unutterable, and worse
Than fables yet have feigned or fear conceived,
Gorgons, and hydras, and chimeras dire."

Let me here avail myself of the opportunity of impressing upon all protestants the necessity of greater and more cordial unanimity. Never was Christian union more urgently required. Never were the prospects of such concord more brilliant. United truth must prevail against conspiring heresy; but divided brethren will barely maintain their ground. We do not ask protestants to compromise principles in order to secure concord. This were wrong, as it is unnecessary. But we do beseech them to concede prejudices. This is Christian. Let us look more intensely at the truths wherein we agree, and less censoriously at the points wherein we differ. The former are weighty as gold, the latter lighter than chaff. Our points of coincidence and compact are as the great mountains; our points of divergence as molehills. The differences are jots and tittles, and positively microscopic. Our common faith, common hope, common creed, are mighty and majestic, as the God that gave them. The sweetest sounds in the Vatican are our quarrels; the greatest barrier to the conversion of Roman catholics is our strifes. Let us show them, that though there are tabernacles, we have yet but one city; that though there are many streams, we have yet but one river. There are many baskets, but one bread. There is ONE BODY, and ONE SPIRIT, ONE HOPE, ONE LORD, ONE FAITH, ONE BAPTISM, ONE GOD and FATHER OF ALL.

Such is the apostolic church. Such let pray and labour to be now.

Another very lofty pretension put forward by the Roman catholic Church is her ANTIQUITY. She proclaims all protestants to be mere upstarts, and their church throughout all its sections to lie offshoots from her.

This objection is specious, but false. Certainly one circumstance is very presumptive against the claims of the Romish Church, viz. those doctrines peculiar to her, and in which she differs from us, are not in the Bible, whereas the very truths she condemns in our creed as novelties are wholly in the Bible. She withholds the cup from the laity; we give it: which side is Scriptural? "Drink ye ALL of it," is a decisive reply. Here, at least, we keep to the ancient practice, and in this point our faith is the old and apostolic, and that of Rome the modern. The Church of Rome has determined that the clergy shall live in perpetual celibacy. The protestant church leaves it optional. How does Scripture decide? "Peter's WIFE'S mother." "Marriage is honourable in ALL." "A bishop the husband of one wife." The very name, "husband bishop," would be an abomination in the eyes of the Romish hierarchy. Whether worse things do not universally obtain among them we do not at present inquire. We might go over every tenet of the papacy, and laying it side by side with a protestant tenet, demonstrate that our articles and creeds are coeval and coincident with the Scriptures, and that those of the Church of Rome are all posthumous to the apostles, and very many of them not older than the Council of Trent. This assumption also of the Romish Church, and her assault upon us, presumes that the Reformers constructed a new church. This is a misapprehension. They merely corrected and purified the old one. They removed the accumulated layers of rubbish that concealed the beauties of the pearl of great price. They purified and healed, under God, a leprous church, by bringing her to her long-lost birth-right, the true Bethesda, the blood of Jesus. The Reformers did with the papal Church as our Lord did with the Jewish. They drove out the moneychangers, overturned their tables, took down the symbols and the records of idolatry, and hung

up visibly before all the everlasting record, "My house shall be called the house of prayer." We admire not the Reformation for its own sake, but for the transcendent benefits even its most tempestuous storms wafted to all lands, and deposited as germs of life and rudiments of a new and holier faith. Let us never forget that the Church of Rome received its present shape at the Council of Trent; and so true is this, that if we were to profess all the ancient creeds, the Apostolic and the Nicene, and cleave to these alone, we should be denounced by the Romanists as heretics and schismatics. If we were to adopt all the articles in the creed of Pope Pius IV. except papal infallibility, we should yet be heretics. Nay, if we were to sign that creed to-day, and the pope to-morrow to send forth a new article of faith, we should still be heretics, unless we received the last with the same faith and confidence with which we receive the gospel. Nothing short of our frustrating judgment, conscience, senses, and all we are and have, at the footstool of a deified hierarch, will be tolerated. The Church of Rome is a new and upstart communion, built up of the spoils of religion, reason, human right, and social affection. In the protestant churches alone, we hail and revere the grey hairs of age and of ancient times, and we rise and venerate the august and holy form. All that our Reformers did, and all we desire to do, is to detach the meretricious finery and fantastic rags wherewith the Lady of Babylon has decked out the church, and marred her fair aspect, and present her as the apostles did, bright with the signatures of primeval truth, arrayed in the robes and adorned by the likeness of Jesus, and inlaid with the inner glories of the Holy Spirit.

The Church of Rome will twit us with the question, If our articles be erroneous, tell us when and where they were introduced. We can tell when they were not, and pretty clearly when they were introduced. But if we were unable to lay down the dates of their rise, this inability would not prove they were Scriptural. Was the Nile non-existent when geographers could not state the longitude, latitude, and locality of its spring-head. Who can tell what Rabbi introduced the successive superstitions of the Jews? The Reformation had respect not to the date of the error, but to the error itself.

Let it also be observed that error does not flash upon the world, broad, palpable, and at once. It creeps in by stealth, under a variety of shapes and ever-adjusting chameleon colours. Truth, like the fabled Minerva, comes at once and in full glory from above; error dares not do so. Hence it is easy to mark the introduction of a great truth, but it is not so easy to trace the commencement of an ultimately overshadowing heresy. It is sufficient for us to know that these dogmas, on which popes and councils have struck, with their mightiest pressure, the counterpart of infallibility, never bore the image and the superscription of the Son of God. But it is unnecessary to enter into elaborate proofs that ours is the primeval faith. History with its thousand tongues attests it; revelation with its one, but decisive, voice attests it.

It may not be, in closing these remarks, an uninteresting or unimportant inquiry, What has been the result of all the persecutions the church has endured from the first martyr Abel to the present time? We venture to assert, that in every instance it has been proved that the blood of martyrs is the seed of the church. Persecution purifies, never mars the church.

That we may obtain a satisfactory view of the successive combats which have taken place, let us take a retrospective glance at the records of their time and their locality, and we shall find that not only has the wholesale result of the past been favourable to the cause of Heaven, but that in every single struggle the serpent's head has received an additional bruise, though the heel of the woman's seed may not have

got off unscathed. We shall find that the kingdom of Jesus in consequence of persecution has been impeded in its march athwart the length and breadth of the world, but at the same time that blows have been dealt to the tempter's sway and prospects, from which he has not easily rallied. What makes the upshot of every onset with the persecutor more delightful to the Christian soldier, is the fact that the very schemes which the serpent devised and set in operation for the overthrow of the kingdom of heaven have been inverted, and made to hasten the ruin of his own. Let us allude to some proofs of this, furnished by the word of God.

When Cain, the first papal hierarch, hurried on by the author of evil, lifted up his hand and slew his righteous and believing brother, the first protestant martyr, the readiest presumption is, that the cause of God and its advocate suffered, while that of Satan and his servant prevailed. Death, the curse and the consequence of sin, fastens first on a child of God, and passes by a child of the devil. But from this persecution, so painful, two important lessons were deduced. Adam and Eve were convinced that sin was a much more fearful thing than they had previously supposed it to be, and were thereby led to appreciate and admire more fully that promise of mercy and those typical indices of a coming Saviour which had been revealed. The keener our perception of guilt, the deeper is our admiration of the blood that washes it

away. But a tangible instance was also given of God's punishment of sin. It would have been mercy to Cain had the knife that entered the bosom of his brother started upward, and buried itself in his own; but a severer doom descended on his head; he was branded as a criminal, and driven with restless and reluctant foot to proclaim to the gathering multitudes of posterity the Almighty's hatred of iniquity, and his immovable purpose to visit with severe chastisement them that perpetrate it. While the promise, on the one hand, whispered in the ears of mankind that there was mercy in heaven, and thus prevented despair, Cain, the wandering herald of wrath, the visible proof of punishment following the footsteps of guilt, proclaimed that in heaven there was holiness, and justice, and truth, and thereby made men careful not to presume. From this scene there arose a fore-reflected shadow of that righteous One, who came to his own, and his own received him not; whose blood, nevertheless, speaketh better things than the blood of Abel; for while the latter cried to Heaven for vengeance, the former cries at this moment for mercy upon them who have shed it, and "crucified the Lord of glory, and put him to an open shame."

Satan, the determined persecutor, did not account his discomfiture ground of despair. He began the work of contagion with increased vigour; and so successful were his desolating efforts, that all who dwelt upon the earth became subject to his sway, and apostates from Heaven, with the exception of eight "faithful among the faithful few." But here his victory was not destined to yield much or abiding joy; for by the righteous judgments of God his myrmidons were swept from the bosom of the earth, and the followers of holiness and truth alone were left. From this occurrence a new lesson respecting the mode of God's dealings with men was elicited, namely, that there is an accepted time and a day of salvation, at the close of which mercy retires, and judgment occupies her place. There was also presented to the believer a type of that better Ark, Jesus Christ the Saviour. in whom the church is to be borne in safety across the turmoils and troubles of earth, the billows of Satan's wrath, and the descending showers of judgment, which shall overwhelm a guilty and a godless world. In this matter the heel of the woman's seed was wounded, but the head of the serpent was bruised.

In the history of Joseph and his brethren we have truth amid persecution exhibiting again.

Just because the image of his God shone forth in him with conspicuous splendour, because his words, and works, and ways were ordered according to the will of his heavenly Father, his wicked and envious brethren, acting as the missionaries of Satan, conspired against his life. His trials and temptations were strong as his integrity was great. He was abandoned by his brothers, sold as a slave, consigned to a dungeon, tempted by a sensual woman, and after all these thrustings of Satan at him, and through him at righteousness and truth, he came forth more than conqueror through Him that loved him. The firmness of Joseph amid his sore temptations proved that in the true child of God there is a principle superior to all the charms of earth, and even in this estranged world a prosperous termination to a life of virtue, which never applies to a life of vice. The very machinations which Satan instituted, with a view to destroy Joseph, were made conducive to the temporal as well as the spiritual welfare of the people of God, and, more surprising issue still, to the conquest, but the saving conquest, of those his brethren who had so unmercifully dealt with him. The patriarch Joseph was, by Satan's instrumentality, made an illustrious type of Jesus Christ, who gave his life for those who condemned him to die, and fed with the bread of life his brethren who denied him a place whereon to lay his head. In this case the heel of the woman's seed was bruised a little, in consequence of Joseph's early sufferings; but the head of the serpent was bruised by the felicitous end to which all things connected with him came. When in the providence of God the children of Israel were subjected to the bondage of Egypt, and when Satan had been permitted to lord it over Pharaoh so far as to drive him to the most barbarous measures, that he might extirpate the seed of the woman, as contained in the church of Israel, we find that the very plans which tended ostensibly to accomplish the destruction of the people of God contributed really to their ultimate advancement and well-being. The cause of God appeared to be in the utmost jeopardy, for it depended on a babe persecuted by Pharaoh, committed to an ark of bulrushes, and left to float upon the waves of the Nile; but what was the result? The household of Pharaoh, the flower of Satan's chivalry, were, contrary to their expectation or desire, made the instruments of bruising their master's head, and touching scarcely their adversary's heel; for the daughter of Pharaoh rescued and educated the child that was to be the minister of judgment to the first-born of their native land, and eventually to bury in the Red Sea the chariots, and horse, and men of war. The infatuated pursuers of the children of God were overwhelmed by the collapse of the waters of the Red Sea, and driven to the regions of eternal darkness, to bear the tidings of defeat to its despot, and to present another instance of the fruitlessness of coping with Omnipotence. But Satan was not to be discouraged; he followed them through the wilderness, and made an extensive havoc. But if the church's sufferings were great, her hopes were proportionably bright; her course was onward, amid the most exhilarating promises and the most expressive types. If we proceed adown the stream of time, we shall discern in the biography of David another illustration of the church's bruised heel, and of the serpent's bruised head. The shepherd king put forth to do battle with opposing principalities, and to bring down spiritual wickedness on high places, anointed, sealed, and separated, was made, in a peculiar manner, the object of Satan's attacks, as he was in a high degree the subject of God's grace. He was persecuted to the edge of ruin. He fell once and again; but "greater was He that was for him than all that could be against him." He proved himself, notwithstanding, a polished shaft in the hands of Heaven, a monument of mercy possible to the chiefest of repentant sinners, and a most striking type of that best "Beloved," who summed up in

his single character the scattered excellences, and excluded all the blemishes, of those that went before him. If we were to go over the lives of the ancient men who were commissioned in succession to add their respective light to the brightening dawn that ultimately burst forth into noon-day, we should find that the sins and short-comings, into which the serpent dragged them, so far from furthering the cause of spiritual darkness, contributed to its overthrow, in virtue of that sleepless superintendency of the great Head of the church, which has ever made the wrath of man to praise him. The weapons which the enemy brought into the field turned their points against himself, and disabled them that brandished them. The heel of the woman's seed was no doubt bruised, for the march of truth was retarded, and the terminating conquests of its advocates put a little further off in the world's history; but what the Redeemer's kingdom lost in time it gained in extent, what it lost in speed it gained in glory; and the longer still its progress is opposed, the more comprehensive and brilliant its final triumphs will assuredly be.

It is the peculiar characteristic of great and true principles to advance slowly and firmly, and to strike their roots deeply before they spread their branches. But the never to be forgotten field on which Satan's head received its direst bruise, and his cause its most desolating shock, was the field of the most formidable persecution, viz., Bethlehem, Gethsemane, and Calvary. Little did the devil imagine that all his attacks were to be stepping-stones to Christ; little did he dream that the apparatus he had prepared for the extirpation of the church was to be wrenched from its intended scope, and to be made subservient to the cause he hated and struggled to overwhelm. Little did he anticipate that the blight he had superinduced upon the spiritual and physical creation, and the eclipse he had brought on the glory of God, as far as it shone on this remote planet, was destined to be made the basis of a more magnificent and felt exhibition of all the attributes of Heaven, and of a more exalted elevation of the fallen creature. Jesus Christ, the Root and the Offspring of David, the eternal Son of God, came down from the hills of the heavenly land, where the tear of sorrow never dropped, where the cry of want was never heard, and dwelt in flesh as in a tabernacle, and wandered on this polluted earth, and wept, a pilgrim and a stranger, a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief. Yet did he present himself also as a Leader and a Captain on that battle field, on which the destinies of unborn millions were gathered, to rise or to sink as he should conquer or give way. He entered on the scene of action through the varieties of being which usher in the multitudes of human kind. He was in the womb, and dandled on the knees of a mother; he was a boy and a stripling like one of us; and out of all these estates of life he came into that of perfect manhood, untouched even by the instantaneous transit of a sinful feeling or imagination. Oh what a contrast was there between the young Messiah and Adam's young descendants, his coevals! In the one was inherent infinitely more than Adam's loftiest excellence, but in the others were developed the accumulated consequences of Adam's guilt. Here was one whom no sinful pursuits could seduce, whose heart was impervious to the devil's temptations and the world's guilt, whose conformity to his Father's will was not to be lessened by any sublunary force. No doubt Satan knew that the great bruiser of his head was come, and if he remained inactive, it was the inactivity of wonder and dismay; it was the fearful pause that intervenes between the strong resolve and the contingency of irretrievable ruin, the agonizing interlude of conflicting motives, which tear the heart in opposite directions. At last he decided to present the front of a persevering opposition, and to improve every probability of victory the instant it should appear. He saw Jesus led out in the arrangements of Heaven to that wilderness which had witnessed the fastings of Moses and Elijah of old, and here he resolved to

track his footsteps, and to try his constancy in every practicable way. Here was presented the sacred arena of a second spiritual contest, on the issues of which the fate of humanity hung. In the first assault which Satan made on Adam, amid the loveliness of Eden, and with the right to its fruits and flowers, and countless immunities, with no sensations of hunger, and no possibility of want, with little incentive to disobey, and every motive to obey, our first progenitor fell, and entailed on his posterity the numerous "ills that flesh is heir to;" but the Son of God, suffering the gnawings of protracted hunger, and bearing all along, from his Cradle upward, the imputed guilt and deserved penalties of man, stood untarnished, and upheld himself in infinite spotlessness. Before the Son the old serpent stood; and by calling in question his omnipotence, and appealing to the faintness of his bodily frame, endeavoured to involve in doubts the faithfulness and the providence of his heavenly Father. Jesus, however, repelled the temptation as soon as it was presented, by merging all present sensations, and directing even the fallen angel's attention to the protestant's rule of faith, the word of God: "It is written, Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth from the mouth of God." Satan seeing that the Son of Joseph was set on a high design, and superior to the urgency of nature's calls when they might not be lawfully answered, shifts the points of attack, and plies him with such arguments as his apparent destitution of means and his meditated enterprise could naturally suggest. He offered him the kingdoms of this world and their glory, the wealth of Rome, the experience of her courts and the prowess of her ablest Champions, to enable him to become the world's emperor. He showed him many a fair champaign, and many a glebe, productive of oil and wine, the necessities and luxuries of life; and with these he invited him to contrast the fountainless desert and the barren earth, his present and only possession; and all he asked in return for these gifts was, what so great resources seemed justly to challenge, the recognition of his lordship, and right to the homage of men and the territories of the world, "Get thee behind me, Satan; it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve," was the reply of the Son of God. Satan was overcome, and the Redeemer, pained, it is true, by the very hearing of the tempter's blasphemy, was undisputed victor. Abaddon fell like lightning from heaven. Hell felt her empire narrowing, and gathering inward to the Centre, and Jesus proceeded to follow up the conquest he had won, by expelling the devils from the bosoms of men, controlling the winds and waves, the troubles and diseases of the human family, and inculcating the principles of love, and mercy, and truth. But the powers of darkness concentrated again their wiles, and by the instrumentality of the Jews put in operation every conceivable design against the life and growing influence of the Son of Joseph. All the sophistry of the lawyers was enlisted on the side of Satan, and many a perplexing case of casuistry propounded. "Is it lawful to give tribute to Calsar?" The reply was as admirable as the question was involved. "Moses in the law commanded us that such as this woman, who was taken in adultery, should be stoned; but what sayest thou?" These and many more were the meshes in which they endeavoured to entangle the Redeemer. At length they got Judas, one of the twelve, to betray him; Peter, another of the twelve, to deny him; Pilate, the Roman governor, to deliver him up; and his countrymen, the Jews, to put him to a painful and ignominious death. No doubt, when the Divine antagonist of the powers of evil hung on the accursed tree, in agony of soul and body inconceivable, the gloom of hell was lightened by a transient gleam of malignant hope, and the countenances of the damned smoothed with a momentary smile, as there was now an expectancy that he who had the keys of hell, and death, and the grave was crushed, and the power of going in and coming out permitted them for ever. Satan, racked on the wheel, because of former

failures and discomfiture, gathered courage yet again, and felt almost sure that the reins of universal sovereignty were lodged in his hands; and when he saw the Redeemer taken from the cross to the tomb, when he saw the sun set and the sepulchre sealed, and the fearless warriors of Rome appointed to sentinel the spot, he doubted not that all was his own; though the remembrance of ancient prophecies fulfilled, and the Saviour's exertion of supernatural power in the last tremors of dissolution, shaded at intervals his brightest hopes. The second day dawned and closed, and all was still; but scarcely had the sun of the succeeding day reached the horizon, when the hearts of the Roman veterans quailed, and helplessness fell upon them and made them as dead men. The massive stone was rolled aside from the sepulchre, and the grave's long grasp of man was relaxed; the winding-sheet, the napkins, and the other pale insignia of death, were left behind, to demonstrate his reign at length terminated, and the Redeemer rose and ascended on high, leading captivity captive, and ready to give gifts unto men. Satan's schemes were baffled, his hopes were blasted, death and the grave, his ancient allies, were stripped of their sting and their triumph, and bitter remorse and fell despair were his only company. What made the devil's defeat trebly galling and disastrous, the very plans he had devised and put in operation were made to recoil upon himself, and to expedite the very results which he feared and struggled to avert. The machinery he set in motion to perpetuate darkness evolved more glorious light; the emissaries he employed to add to death, and all our woe, unwittingly diffused life and immortality, and more enduring joys. From Jesus' sufferings man's salvation sprung, and from his death our eternal life, and from his resurrection our destined mastery of all the powers of earth and hell, and entrance into everlasting blessedness. Hell's gloom grew deeper, and the despair of its fallen spirits more fearful; its worm that never dies began to make wider havoc, and its fire which is never quenched to burn with more intensity.

Satan, though driven to the verge of utter despair, determined not to remain inactive. He felt that if he could not entirely destroy the Son of God, and the children whom the Father had given him, he might vex them, and impair their peace. After he had raised the Jews, from Dan to Beersheba, against the unbefriended preachers of the cross, and driven the first converts before him to the remotest provinces of the Roman empire, he found that this dispersion, instead of arresting, hastened the march of Christianity over the surface of the world, and struck its doctrines deeper in the hearts of its persecuted sticklers. Anxious, therefore, to suppress the gospel in provinces beyond the boundaries of Judea, he enlisted in this his foreign service a bold and a reckless missionary, whose name was Saul of Tarsus. His hot passions, his fervid eloquence, and his determination to do and to dare to any extent in the service of error, and in opposition to the truth, seemed to the serpent to prognosticate no ordinary havoc among the unresisting "men of the way," as the disciples were frequently called. Little did Satan know that he was in this matter deepening his own catastrophe; little did he expect that this polished shaft, which he had culled from the ranks of intellect, would be inverted and made to quiver in his own bosom; little did he expect that the powers of reasoning and impassioned oratory which Paul possessed would soon play against the bulwarks of the kingdom of darkness, and contribute mainly to its overthrow. But such was the issue. Paul was snatched from the service of hell, and arrayed under the banners of heaven; and was more instrumental in shaking idols on their pedestals, and idolaters even on their thrones, than all the college of apostles besides. Satan was foiled again. The heel of the woman's seed was wounded, but the head of the serpent was severely bruised. He did not yet give over, but marshalled his devoted bands, and placed them on the battle field. He saw the apostles and the other

preachers of the truth going forth with the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God, and the shield of faith, and the helmet of hope, and the other spiritual weapons of a spiritual warfare, to make new conquests over sin, and fresh accessions to the gospel of Christ. Against them he brought out a phalanx sufficient to abash all but those who know that God is on their side; a phalanx composed of the 'learned philosophers of Greece, to grapple with the untutored fishermen of Galilee; the wealthy potentates and magistrates of Rome, to confront the needy and naked preachers of the cross; and the eagle ensign of the western empire, that had flapped its victorious wings over thousands of the fallen brave, and the colours that had waved in the four winds of the earth, to meet the banner of the cross, the motto of which was, "My kingdom is not of this world." His phalanx was composed of malignant Jews, ready to burn the servants as they had crucified the Master; of debased voluptuaries, who could not bear the streams of their enjoyment to be stemmed; and of interested craftsmen, who were ready to shout with greater or less intensity, according to the risk their craft was exposed to, "Great is Diana of the Ephesians." The records of Christianity declare what numbers sealed their testimony with their blood, and entered into their rest from excruciating pains and bitterest bereavements. Here the serpent seemed to prevail; but what was the ultimate effect? The blood of the martyrs became the seed of the church. From the momentary victory of Satan, from the thousands he dragged to the altars of superstition, and immolated there, we deduce the most satisfactory proofs of the sincerity of the first apostles of the truth and of the Divine origin of those principles they taught. No second causes are sufficient to account for the rapid diffusion of Christianity, or for the fact that it remained, like the burning bush on Horeb, unconsumed by the flames that surrounded it. Our holy faith descends to us impressed with a tenfold more powerful demonstration than any system, or history, or circumstance in the world's annals; and, admirable instrumentality! Satan, its most bitter adversary, has been the unexpected means of accomplishing this result. The storm he raised, while indeed it disturbed the followers of the Lamb, whistled nevertheless with most disastrous fury amid the habitations, the temples, and the shrines which were dearest to him; and the streams of blood he shed undermined his kingdom, and sapped the deepest foundations of his throne. Satan, unable to crush Christianity in its cradle, determined to harass its professors and its preachers to the uttermost, He therefore went the round of all the churches in Asia Minor, and sowed among them the most pestilent errors and destructive heresies; and when he saw the extensive success with which his efforts were crowned, he imagined that the scale was for ever turned in his favour. If he could not stem the streams of living waters, he resolved to intermix with them the most fatal poisons. But here again he failed, and here again the antidote administered by Heaven proved more extensively useful than the poison proved deleterious. The apostles saw the thickening delusions in which their converts were enveloped, and with a view to dissipate them wrote those admirable Epistles which are now embodied in the records of inspired truth. Satan had induced the Roman brethren to corrupt the fundamental article of the Christian creed, justification by faith; but Paul, to vindicate its value, and to open up its nature, wrote the Epistle to the Romans. Again, the efforts of Judaizing teachers to leaven the doctrines of the gospel with the obsolete rites of Moses, and to make the mixture essential to salvation, drew forth the Epistle to the Galatians, in which the apostle strips the truth of every earthy accretion, and places the distinctive features of the Christian scheme in the most satisfactory and triumphant light. Again, Satan engaged his servants to persecute and vex the Christian brethren scattered throughout the Roman empire; but the consequence was the composition of those rich and

consolatory Epistles of Peter, and John, and James, which have ever been the exhaustless well-springs of the sweetest comfort to the suffering children of God. The devil made way for God's abounding joys to his people. Hell prepared this fittest opportunity for Heaven to shower down blessings co-extensive with the wants and existence of the human race. It is delightful to see the arrows shot by Satan against the children of God rebound and penetrate himself, and every step he took against the woman's seed increase his own discomfiture, and every stone he brought to build withal the temple of darkness, taken from him, cut and prepared for a place in the temple of light, and every weapon he brought into the field wrenched from his hands, and added to the armoury of heaven.

Had Satan never vexed the churches with heresy and cruel havoc, we had not, humanly speaking, been favoured with the most important books of the Bible. The wrath of hell, as well as the wrath of man, shall be restrained, and the remainder of it made to praise God. Let the powers of earth and darkness combine together against the Lord, and against his Anointed; let all their energies be summoned into play, and all their plans brought into operation; and at that very moment when the wreath of victory is ready to encircle them, and the seal of success ready to be set, the scene shall be changed, and the foreordained purposes of God shall evolve, and twist the apparatus and machinery of Satan so entirely to their subserviency and accomplishments, that uninformed spectators cannot help supposing that Satan has all along been lending his best efforts to the cause of God, and to the furtherance of every Christian virtue. At length Constantine threw the shield of temporal and imperial power around and above Christianity, throughout the Roman territories. The devil felt that this state provision for the clergy might lengthen the cords and strengthen the stakes of Zion, and contribute to the more speedy dissolution of his kingdom. He therefore meditated deeply and long, with a view to neutralize such good effects as must flow from the new recognition which the church had received. After much meditation and conference, he hit upon his masterpiece, the papacy. Persecution was a blunder in Satan's policy; Arianism was also a blunder; for these, instead of benefiting, injured his cause. He now resolved to uproot Christianity no longer by an open and ingenuous warfare, but by stratagem, and deep manœuvring within the camp, he determined to deal his bitterest stabs in the garb of a friend. Being convinced that the Pantheon could no longer be filled with the statues of Jupiter, and Mars, and Venus, he zealously emptied their niches, and placed in their stead those of Paul, and Peter, and the Virgin Mary, and many more saints, who never had a local habitation and a name before. He baptized the idols, the rites and temples of pagan Rome, and found for them a welcome reception in the Vatican, and among the bishops, priests, and monks, and friars that acted under its power. He just coloured over paganism with the outward tints of Christianity, and thereby formed popery; a religion which bears less relationship to true Christianity, than the gilded bauble to articles composed of pure and solid gold. It was indeed a cunning contrivance. Satan took the temples, and the shrines, and the priests set up to propagate Christian truth, and anointed them to destroy and debase it. Under the covert of zeal for the glory of God and the salvation of men he reared the Inquisition, and martyred saints in every land. With hands reeking with the blood of holy men, he went to the house of prayer with attendant and professed ministers of Jesus, and gave thanks to God that he had fulfilled his promise, "Lo! I am with you to the end of the world;" and, "The gates of hell shall not prevail against you."

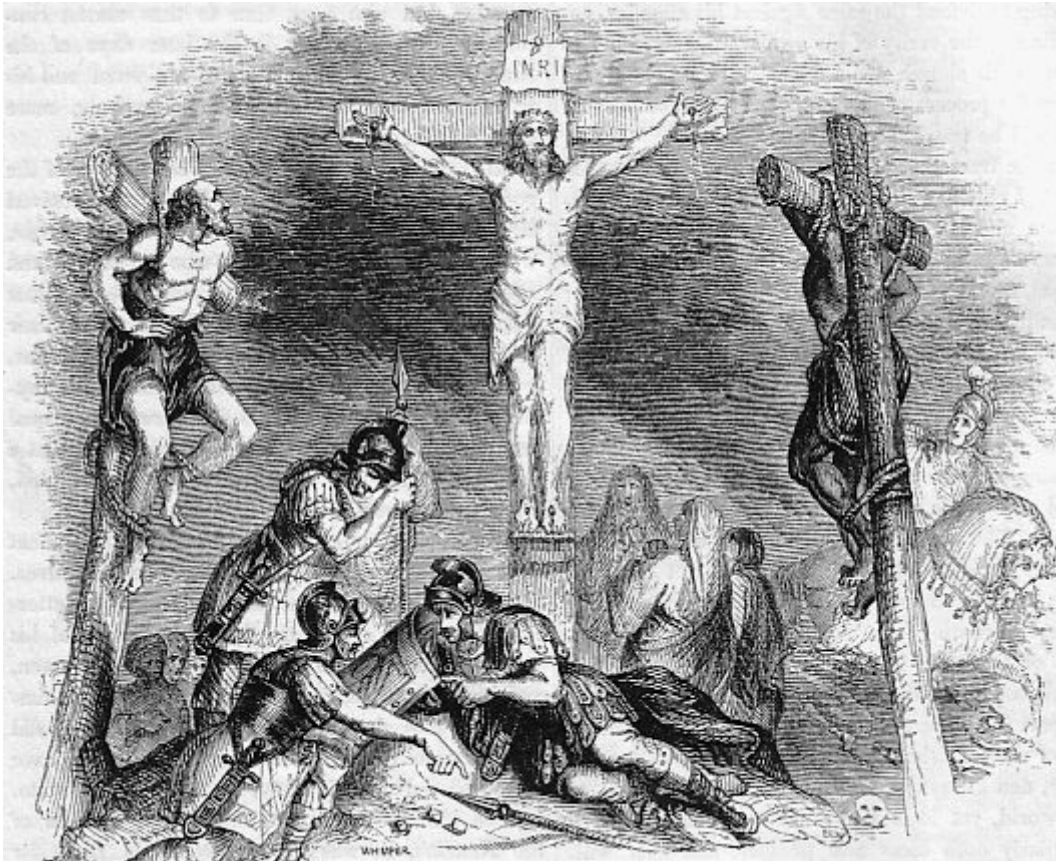
Nothing indicates the deceit of Satan or the blindness of men more clearly, than the fact that the devil was allowed to seal up the Bible under the pretence of its tendency to mislead men, and to keep them in the most palpable darkness, lest peradventure they should die through the excess of the light and the wisdom of God. Has Satan nevertheless triumphed here, and escaped unscathed? We say no. The Book of Martyrs is a living witness that the power of religion, during the iron reign of the papacy, was exemplified most gloriously in the sufferings of faithful men; and the constancy, to death, of the Albigenses and the Waldenses showed, that even in the last extremities of darkness and desolation, light is sown for the righteous. As the manna that descended from heaven, and the waters that gushed from the riven rock, bespoke to the children of Israel the love and the presence of God even in the wilderness; in like manner the refreshment of the spiritual heritage, in the midst of Babylon, proclaimed most clearly that a mother may forget the child she bare, but that his church never can be forgotten nor forsaken of Jehovah, that she is engraven on the palms of his hands, and nearest and dearest to him. But we believe that the bondage of the church in mystic Babylon, during the middle ages, was a meant punishment, inflicted perhaps for her pride and forgetfulness of her Deliverer when the sword of persecution was sheathed. At all events, there cannot be a doubt that the church has learned lessons from her fearful condition at that time which will not be soon erased from her memory. Experience teaches communities, as well as individuals, best. We are now armed at all points against the evils of hell. We know him alike in the garb of a friend and in the garb of a foe. We will now prize more highly that blessed book which he shut so widely. We will now value and cherish those pure truths which apostles instituted, and the venerable Reformers revived. A season of darkness is often the precursor of a season of more glorious light. The long day of moral paralysis is followed often by a more vigorous and uninterrupted period of exertion. Perhaps the church must live under the same law as individual members of it. The smile will appear only where mourning has been. The waters of life roll only in the channels that have been made by a flood of tears. At all events, at the period of the Reformation, the church came forth from her wilderness condition "bright as the sun, fair as the moon, and terrible as an army with banners," enriched with additional experience of the enmity of Satan and the plans he pursues to destroy her. We grant that Satan prevailed awhile during the reign of the papacy; but we assert that the Reformation quashed his power and bruised his head, and brought the church from her imprisonment, with her heel bruised very sore to be sure, but soon again to be healed, and her pace athwart the regions of the globe to be accelerated in an unprecedented degree. The pressure being removed, Christianity rose up with an elasticity and onward movement that astonished and confounded Satan, while it delighted all its advocates. With one simultaneous burst printing was discovered, Bible Societies organized, and the universe made eloquent again with the mighty motives and appeals of uncorrupted truth; missionaries were sent forth, and the whole Christian church animated with a spirit of exertion more than proportionate to its former apathy. Thus baffled, he had recourse again to the assistance of undisguised infidelity, and has succeeded in gaining to his side the subtle powers of Hume and Diderot, and the sarcastic genius of Voltaire, and the splendid but hollow descriptions of Gibbon. But the misrepresentations and the sophistry with which these men have without exception essayed to overthrow the doctrines of the Bible have all been met and repelled, and the truth has come forth like fine gold from the furnace, more brilliant than before its trials and testings began, and Satan's machinations have again been made to recoil and destroy his cause. The sun in the firmament, by the intensity of his beams, draws between him and us vapours and

clouds, which seem for a while to intercept his influences, and to threaten the earth with barrenness and darkness; but presently the same sun dissolves them into gentle showers, which fertilize the soil, and cool the air, and promote the growth of vegetation on all sides. In the same way the Sun of righteousness, by his very brilliancy, exhales clouds of infidels, and atheists, and sceptics, whose writings are met by mightier arguments, and the truths thus called into question are exhibited in clearer light, and cherished with warmer feelings of regard. Since the Reformation Satan has brought no new stratagem into the field. In fact, his ingenuity seems entirely exhausted, his imagination paralyzed, and his resources done, and this bitter conviction left him, — that all he has achieved has served but to hasten and to deepen his final catastrophe.

We gather this consolation from the review we have laid before you, and from the serpent's recent recurrence to obsolete and defeated schemes, that he can bring no new device against us, that he can discover no vantage ground which he has not already occupied. He looks at his quiver, it is empty. He looks to his counsellors, they are in despair. He looks at death, its sting is gone. He looks at the grave, its strength and its triumph are dissipated. He looks to the past, and he sees only blasted hopes and foiled attempts, and fountains of pain, and sorrow, and remorse. He looks to the future, and he espies a gathering glory he cannot tarnish, and an approaching victory he cannot impede, and in his own case a fearful inheritance of burning, and blackness, and agony he cannot avert. All he can do at present is to ply the old instruments, and bait his hook with former seductions. His head is deeply bruised. He is giddy, on the edge of inevitable ruin. Let us go forward, fellow Christians; a gulf of ruin will soon entomb our foe, and a land of bliss imbosom our spirits. Let us lift our eyes and our hearts towards the hills from whence comes our aid, and towards the God of battles, unto whom the shields of the earth do belong, and resist boldly, and Satan will flee; for he is a vanquished enemy, he bites the dust. Never more shall he lord it over the Messiah's heritage. The distant isles of the ocean, and the far-spread continents of the world, and all kindreds, and tribes, and tongues, shall yet come forth from the darkness of spiritual death, and from the fetters of the devil's despotism, and subscribe themselves by the name of Jesus. The symptoms of the ruin of Satan's kingdom already appear. The crescent of the Ottoman wanes fast. The triple crown sits loosely on the head of the man of sin, and the thunder stamp of revolution is heard at the doors of the Vatican, and the lightning gleams of truth, made more vivid by long opposition, are seen and felt in the darkest chambers of the Inquisition. A spirit of awakening seems to have arrested the Jew, and a wider and more cordial welcome of the cross to have touched the heart of the Gentile. We tread upon the fallen, though yet unextinguished, body of the enemy. We have only to read the venerable annals of Fox to see that we move across the ground that is strewn with the trophies of former victories, and consecrated by the blood of holy martyrs, and hallowed by the resting-places of their earthly remains, and smoothed and made even by the pioneers of the cross that have preceded us to glory. Jesus, the Captain of our faith, and the noble army of martyrs that took up their cross and followed him, have already borne the brunt of the battle, and formed a rampart by their graves, that we may stand behind their shelter and gather the remaining laurels of spiritual conquest. From the first century even to the present, the successive ranks of believers have undergone vicarious substitution for them that have followed, "each stepping where his comrade stood the instant that he fell," and have thus, at the expense of their blood and comfort, left us less opposition to be met in our course to glory. Let us therefore wrap around us the mantles they have left behind them in their flight to immortality, and, animated by

their example, and above all by the example of the Author and the Finisher of our faith, let us neither slacken our efforts nor curb our zeal till the church shine forth in her millennial glory, or we individually enter into "the rest that remains for the people of God." Only let us remember, that besides the conflict that is waged in the world without, there must be a stiffer tug of battle carried on in the bosom within. We must remember that none can enter the ranks of the redeemed warriors around, who cannot exhibit the unquestionable proofs of victory gained in the bosom within. While Satan battles it out in the open arena of earth against the prevalence and progress of Heaven's truth, his zeal is also as hot and his struggles as incessant for the mastery of a single heart, as for the mastery of the whole church. To us personally it matters little whether the cross or the crescent is uppermost, whether hell or heaven triumphs, if we are yet in the gall of bitterness and in the bond of iniquity. We must bruise the serpent's head in our own bosoms before we can contribute to bruise his head in the world. Our life is not a life of peace, nor ease, nor retirement; but a life of conflict, and of struggle, and of watchfulness. Time is the hour of battle, and eternity is the hour of triumph; earth is the battlefield, and heaven is the victor's home; the cross is our companion now, and the crown our prize hereafter. We feel the serpent's life within, but feel we not the Spirit's life more powerful still? We must feel the foul current of poisoned waters coming in contact with the streams of purity and love, but thanks be to God through Jesus Christ we shall be more than conquerors through him that loved us. Let us break the fetters that bind to the ways and works of earth, for the Spirit and strength of Omnipotence are with us; let us be slaves no more. Be ye freemen whom the truth makes free. Soon the struggle will be done, and the head of the serpent will be bruised, and amid the opening climes of heaven we shall see our glorified relations, and friends, and long-lost comrades in the contest, stretching forth their hands to welcome us to the mansions which the Saviour has prepared in his Father's house. "Now unto Him that is able to keep us from falling, and to present us faultless before the presence of his glory with exceeding joy, to the only wise God our Saviour, be glory and majesty, dominion and power, both now and ever." Amen.

**THE FIRST BOOK
THE ACTS AND MONUMENTS, CONTAINING THE
THREE HUNDRED YEARS NEXT AFTER CHRIST,
WITH THE TEN PERSECUTIONS OF THE PRIMITIVE
CHURCH.**



The Crucifixion of Christ

1. Foreword

BY THE GRACE AND SPEED OF CHRIST OUR LORD, WE WOULD DISCOURSE, IN PARTICULAR SORT, THE ACTS AND DOINGS OF EVERY AGE BY ITSELF, IN THE FOLLOWING ORDER:



o declare, first, the suffering time of the church, which containeth about the space of three hundred years after Christ.

Secondly, The flourishing and growing time of the same, containing other three hundred years.

Thirdly, The declining time of the church, and of true religion, other three hundred years.

Fourthly, Of the time of antichrist, reigning and raging in the church since the loosing of Satan.

Lastly, of the reforming time of Christ's church, in these latter three hundred years.

In the tractation of all which things our chief purpose and endeavour shall be, (so near as the Lord will give us grace,) not so much to intermeddle withoutward affairs of princes, or matters civil, (except sometimes for example of life,) as specially minding (by the help of the Lord) to prosecute such things only which to the ecclesiastical state of the church are appertaining: as, first, to intreat of the stablishing of Christian faith; then of the persecutions of tyrants; the constancy and patience of God's saints; the first conversion of Christian realms to the faith of Christ, namely, of this realm of England and Scotland; first beginning with king Lucius and so forward, following the order of our English kings here in this land; to declare the maintenance of true doctrine; the false practice of prelates; the creeping in of superstition and hypocrisy; the manifold assaults, wars, and tumults of the princes of this world against the people of God. Wherein may appear the wonderful operation of Christ's mighty hand, ever working in his church, and never ceasing to defend the same against his enemies, according to the verity of his own word, promising to be with his church while the world shall stand; so as by the process of this story may well be proved, and will be testified in the sequel thereof.

[Footnote: This purpose of Fox, not to intermeddle with civil and political questions, many would do well to observe in the present day. The question between the Church of Rome and the Church of Christ relates emphatically to souls, to Christ, and to eternity.]

In the tractation of all which things two special points I chiefly commend to the reader, as most requisite and necessary for every Christian man to observe and to note for his own experience and profit: as, first, the disposition and nature of this world; secondly, the nature and condition of the kingdom of Christ: the vanity of the one, and establishment of the other: the unprosperous and unquiet state of the one, ruled by man's violence and wisdom; and the happy success of the other, ever ruled by God's blessing and providence: the wrath and revenging hand of God in the one, and his

mercy upon the other. The world I call all such as be without or against Christ; either by ignorance, not knowing him; or by heathenish life, not following him; or by violence, resisting him. On the other side, the kingdom of Christ in this world I take to be all them which belong to the faith of Christ, and here take his part in this world against the world; the number of whom, although it be much smaller than the other, and always lightly is hated and molested of the world, yet it is the number which the Lord peculiarly doth bless and prosper, and ever will. And this number of Christ's subjects is it which we call the visible church here in earth. Which visible church, having in itself a difference of two sorts of people, so is it to be divided in two parts, of which the one standeth of such as be of outward profession only, the other which by election inwardly are joined to Christ: the first in words and lips seem to honour Christ, and are in the visible church only, but not in the church invisible, and partake the outward sacraments of Christ, but not the inward blessing of Christ; the other are both in the visible and also in the invisible church of Christ, which not in words only and outward profession, but also in heart do truly serve and honour Christ, partaking not only the sacraments, but also the heavenly blessings and grace of Christ.

And many times it happeneth, that as between the world and the kingdom of Christ there is a continual repugnance; so between these two parts of this visible church aforesaid oftentimes groweth great variance and mortal persecution, insomuch that sometimes the true church of Christ hath no greater enemies than of their own profession and company, as happened not only in the time of Christ and his apostles, but also from time to time almost continually; but especially in the later days of the church under the persecution of antichrist and his retinue, as by the reading of this volume more manifestly hereafter may appear.

At the first preaching of Christ and coming of the gospel, who should rather have known and received him than the Pharisees and scribes of that people, which had his law? And yet who persecuted and rejected him more than they themselves? What followed? They, in refusing Christ to be their King, and choosing rather to be subject unto Cæsar, were by the said their own Cæsar at length destroyed; whenas Christ's subjects the same time escaped the danger. Whereby it is to be learned what a dangerous thing it is to refuse the gospel of God, when it is so gently offered.

The like example of God's wrathful punishment is to be noted no less in the Romans also themselves. For when Tiberius Cæsar, having received by letters from Pontius Pilate of the doings of Christ, of his miracles, resurrection, and ascension into heaven, and how he was received as God of many, was himself also moved with belief of the same, and did confer thereof with the whole senate of Rome to have Christ adored as God; they, not agreeing thereunto, refused him, because that, contrary to the law of the Romans, he was consecrated (said they) for God before the senate of Rome had so decreed and approved him, &c. Thus the vain senate, following rather the law of man than of God, and which were contented with the emperor to reign over them, and were not contented with the meek King of glory, the Son of God, to be their King, were after much like sort to the Jews scourged and entrapped for their unjust refusing, by the same way which they themselves did prefer. For as they preferred the emperor and rejected Christ, so the just permission of God did stir up their own emperors against them in such sort, that both the senators themselves were almost all devoured, and the whole city most horribly afflicted for the space almost of three hundred years together. For, first, the same Tiberius, which for a great part of his reign was a moderate and a tolerable prince, afterward was to them a sharp and heavy tyrant, who neither favoured his own mother, nor spared his own nephews, nor the princes of the

city, such as were his own counsellors, of whom, to the number of twenty, he left not past two or three alive. Suetonius reporteth him to be so stern of nature and tyrannical, that in time of his reign very many were accused and condemned with their wives and chilthen; maids also first defloured, then put to death, In one day he recordeth twenty persons to be drawn to the place of execution. By whom also, through the just punishment of God, Pilate, under whom Christ was crucified, was apprehended and accused at Rome, deposed, then banished to the town of Lyons, and at length did slay himself. Neither did Herod and Caiaphas long escape, of whom more followeth hereafter. Agrippa also by him was east into prison; albeit afterward he was restored. In the reign of Tiberius, the Lord Jesus, the Son of God, in the three and thirtieth year of his age, which was the seventeenth of this emperor, by the malice of the Jews suffered his blessed passion for the conquering of sin, death, and Satan, the prince of this world, and rose again the third day. After whose blessed passion and resurrection this foresaid Tiberius Nero lived six years, during which time no persecution was yet stirring in Rome against the Christians, through the commandment of the emperor.

In the reign also of this emperor, and the year which was the next after the passion of our Saviour, or somewhat more, anno 35, St. Paul was converted to the faith. After the death of Tiberius, when he had reigned three and twenty years, succeeded C. Cæsar Caligula, Claudius Nero, and Domitius Nero, anno 39; which three were likewise such scourges to the senate and people of Rome, that the first not only took other men's wives violently from them, but also defloured three of his own sisters, and afterward banished them. So wicked he was, that he commanded himself to be worshipped as God, and temples to be erected in his name, and used to sit in the temple among the gods, requiring his images to be set up in all temples, and also in the temple of Jerusalem, which caused great disturbance among the Jews, and then began the abomination of desolation to be set up in the holy place, spoken of in the gospel. His cruel conduct, or else displeasure, was such towards the Romans, that he wished that all the people of Rome had but one neck, that he at his pleasure might destroy such a multitude. By this said Caligula, Herod, the murderer of John Baptist and condemner of Christ, was condemned to perpetual banishment, where he died miserably. Caiaphas also, which wickedly sat upon Christ, was the same time removed from the high priest's room, and Jonathan set in his place. The raging fierceness of this Caligula incensed against the Romans had not thus ceased, had not he been cut off by the hands of a tribune and other gentlemen, which slew him in the fourth year of his reign. After whose death were found in his closet two little labels, one called a sword, the other the dagger; in the which labels were contained the names of those senators and noblemen of Rome whom he had purposed to put to death. Besides this sword and dagger, there was found also a coffer, wherein divers kinds of poison were kept in glasses and vessels for the purpose to destroy a wonderful number of people; which poisons afterward, being thrown into the sea, destroyed a great number of fish.

But that which this Caligula had only conceived, the same did the other two which came after bring to pass; Claudius Nero, who reigned thirteen years with no little cruelty; but especially the third of these Neros, called Domitius Nero, which, succeeding after Claudius, reigned fourteen years with such fury and tyranny, that he slew the most part of the senators, and destroyed the whole order of knighthood in Rome. So prodigious a monster of nature was he, more like a beast, yea, rather a devil, than a man, that he seemed to be born to the destruction of men. Such was his monstrous uncleanness, that he abstained not from his own mother, his natural sister, nor from any degree of kindred. Such was his wretched cruelty, that he caused to be

put to death his mother, his brother-in-law, his sister, his wife great with child, all his instructors, Seneca and Lucan, with divers more of his own kindred and consanguinity. Moreover, he commanded Rome to be set on fire in twelve places, and so continued it five days and seven nights in burning, while that he, to see the example how Troy burned, sung the verses of Homer. And to avoid the infamy thereof, he laid the fault upon the Christian men, and caused them to be persecuted. And so continued this miserable emperor in his reign fourteen years, till at last the senate proclaiming him a public enemy unto mankind, condemned him to be drawn through the city, and to be whipped to death. For the fear whereof, he, flying the hands of his enemies, in the night fled to a manor of his servant's in the country, where he was forced to slay himself, complaining that he had then neither friend nor enemy left that would do so much for him. In the latter end of this Domitius Nero Peter and Paul were put to death for the testimony and faith of Christ.

[Footnote: Some chronologists place the martyrdom of St. Peter and St. Paul two years later, and some even four.]

Thus ye see, which is worthy to be marked, how the just scourge and heavy indignation of God from time to time ever followeth there, and how all things there go to ruin, neither doth any thing well prosper, where Christ Jesus, the Son of God, is contemned and not received, as by these examples may appear, both of Romans, which not only were thus consumed and plagued by their own emperors, but also by civil wars, whereof three happened in two years at Rome, after the death of Nero, anno 69, and other casualties, (as in Sueton. is testified,) so that in the days of Tiberius aforesaid five thousand Romans were hurt and slain at one time by the fall of a theatre. And also most especially by the destruction of the Jews, which about this same time, in the year threescore and ten, and nearly forty years after the passion of Christ, and the third year after the suffering of St. Peter and Paul, were destroyed by Titus and Vespasian his father (who succeeded after Nero in the empire) to the number of eleven hundred thousand, besides them which Vespasian slew in subduing the country of Galilee, over and beside them also which were sold and sent into Egypt and other provinces to vile slavery, to the number of seventeen thousand. Two thousand were brought with Titus in his triumph; of which, part he gave to be devoured of the wild beasts, part otherwise most cruelly were slain. By whose case all nations and realms may take example, what it is to reject the visitation of God's verity being sent, and much more to persecute them which be sent of God for their salvation.

And as this wrathful vengeance of God thus hath been showed upon this rebellious people, both of the Jews and of the Romans, for their contempt of Christ, whom God so punished by their own emperors; so neither the emperors themselves, for persecuting Christ in his members, escaped without their just reward. For among so many emperors which put so many Christian martyrs to death, during the space of these first three hundred years, few or none of them scaped either not slain themselves, or by some miserable end or other worthily revenged. First, of the poisoning of Tiberius, and of the slaughter of the other three Neros after him, sufficiently is declared before. After Nero, Domitius Galba within seven months was slain by Otho. And so did Otho afterward slay himself, being overcome by Vitellus. And was not Vitellus shortly after drawn through the city of Rome, and after he was tormented was thrown into Tiber? Titus, a good emperor, is thought to be poisoned of Domitian, his brother. The said Domitian, after he had been a persecutor of the Christians, was slain in his chamber, not without the consent of his wife. Likewise Commodus was murdered of Narcissus. The like end was of Pertinax and Julianus. Moreover, after that

Severus was slain here in England, (and lieth at York,) did not his son Bassianus slay his brother Geta, and he after slain of Martialis? Macrinus with his son Diadumenus were both slain of their own soldiers. After whom Heliogabalus, that monstrous belly-paunch, was of his own people slain, and drawn through the city and cast into Tiber. Alexander Severus, that worthy and learned emperor, which said he would not feed his servants doing nothing with the bowels of the commonwealth, although in life and virtues he was much unlike other emperors, yet proved the like end, being slain at Mentz, with his godly mother Mammea, by Maximinus, whom the emperor before of a muleteer had advanced to great dignities. The which Maximinus also after three years was slain himself of his soldiers. What should I speak of Maximus and Balbinus in like sort both slain in Rome? of Gordian slain by Philip? of Philip, the first christened emperor, slain, or rather martyred, for the same cause? of wicked Decius drowned, and his son slain the same time in battle? of Gallus and Volusianus his son, emperors after Decius, both slain by conspiracy of Æmilianus, who rose against them both in war, and within three months after was slain himself? Next to Æmilianus succeeded Valerianus, and Galienus his son; of whom Valerianus (who was a persecutor of the Christians) was taken prisoner of the Persians, and there made a riding fool of Sapoors their king, who used him for a stool to leap upon his horse; while his son Galienus, sleeping at Rome, either would not or could not once proffer to revenge his father's ignominy. For after the taking of Valerian, so many emperors rose up as were provinces in the Roman monarchy. At length Galienus also was killed by Aureolus which warred against him. It were too long here to speak of Aurelianus, another persecutor, slain of his secretary; of Tacitus and Florinus his brother, of whom the first reigned five months, and was slain at Pontus; the other reigned two months, and was murdered at Tarsis: of Probus, who, although a good civil emperor, yet was he destroyed by his soldiers. After whom Carus, the next emperor, was slain by lightning. Next to Carus followed the impious and wicked persecutor Dioclesian, with his fellows Maximian, Valerius, Maximinus, Maxentius, and Licinius, under whom, all at one time, (during the time of Dioclesian,) the greatest and most grievous persecution was moved against the Christians ten years together. After which, Dioclesian and Maximian deposed themselves from the empire. Galerius, the chiefest minister of the persecution, after his terrible persecutions, fell into a wonderful sickness, having such a sore risen in the nether part of his body, which consumed his members, and so did swarm with worms, that being curable neither by surgery nor physic, he confessed that it happened for his cruelty towards the Christians, and so called in his proclamations against them. Notwithstanding, he not able to sustain (as some say) his sore, slew himself. Maximinus in his war, being tormented with pain in his guts, there died, Maxentius was vanquished by Constantine, and drowned in Tiber. Licinius likewise, being overcome by the said Constantine the Great, was deposed from his empire, and afterward slain of his soldiers. But, on the other side, after the time of Constantine, whenas the faith of Christ was received into the imperial seat, we read of no emperor after the like sort destroyed or molested, except it were Julianus, or Basilius, (which expelled one Zeno, and was afterward expelled himself,) or Valens. Beside these we read of no emperor to come to ruin and decay, as the others before mentioned.

And thus have we in brief sum collected out of the chronicles the unquiet and miserable state of the emperors of Rome, until the time of Christian Constantine, with the examples, no less terrible than manifest, of God's severe justice upon them for their contemptuous refusing and persecuting the faith and name of Christ their Lord.

Moreover, in much like sort and condition, if leisure of time or haste of matter would suffer me a little to digress unto more lower times, and to come more near home, the like examples I could also infer of this our country of England, concerning the terrible plagues of God against the churlish and unthankful refusing or abusing the benefit of his truth. First, we read how that God stirred up Gildas to preach to the old Britons, and to exhort them unto repentance and amendment of life, and afore to warn them of plagues to come if they repented not. What availed it? Gildas was laughed to scorn, and taken for a false prophet and a malicious preacher. The Britons, with lusty courages, shameless faces, and unrepentant hearts, went forth to sin and to offend the Lord their God. What followed? God sent in their enemies on every side and destroyed them, and gave the land to other nations, Not many years past, God seeing idolatry, superstition, hypocrisy, and wicked living used in this realm, raised up that godly learned man John Wickliffe to preach unto our fathers repentance, and to exhort them to amend their lives, to forsake their papistry and idolatry, their hypocrisy and superstition, and to walk in the fear of God. His exhortations were not regarded, he with his sermons was despised, his books and he himself after his death were burnt. What followed? They slew their right king, and set up three wrong kings on a row; under whom all the noble blood was slain up, and half the commons thereto, what in France, and with their own sword in fighting among themselves for the crown; and the cities and towns were decayed, and the land brought half to a wilderness, in respect of that it was before. Oh extreme plagues of God's vengeance! Since that time, even of late years, God, once again having pity of this realm of England, raised up his prophets, namely, William Tindall, Thomas Bilney, John Frith, Doctor Barnes, Jerome Garret, Anthony Person, with divers others, which both with their writings and sermons earnestly laboured to call us unto repentance, that by this means the fierce wrath of God might be turned away from us. But how were they entreated? how, were their painful labours regarded? They themselves were condemned and burnt as heretics, and their books condemned and burnt as heretical. The time shall come, saith Christ, that whosoever killeth you, will think that he doth God high good service, John xvi. 2. Whether any thing since that time hath chanced to this realm worthy the name of a plague, let the godly wise judge. If God hath deferred his punishment, or forgiven us these our wicked deeds, as I trust he hath, let us not therefore be proud and high-minded, but most humbly thank him for his tender mercies, and beware of the like ungodly enterprises hereafter. Neither is it here any need to speak of these our lower and later times, which have been in king Henry's and king Edward's days, seeing the memory thereof is yet fresh and cannot be forgotten. But let this pass; of this I am sure, that God yet once again is come on visitation to this church of England, yea, and that more lovingly and beneficially than ever he did before. For in this visitation he hath redressed many abuses, and cleansed his church of much ungodliness and superstition, and made it a glorious church, if it be compared to the old form and state. And now how grateful receivers we be, with what heart, study, and reverence we embrace that which he hath given, that I refer either to them that see our fruits, or to the sequel, which peradventure will declare it.

2. The Early Persecution of the Apostles

But this by the way of digression. Now to regress again to the state of the first former times. It remaineth, that as I have set forth the justice of God upon these Roman persecutors, so now we declare their persecutions raised up against the people and servants of Christ, within the space of three hundred years after Christ. Which persecutions in number commonly are counted to be ten, besides their persecutions first moved by the Jews in Jerusalem and other places against the apostles. In the which, first St. Stephen the deacon was put to death, with divers others more, in the same rage of time either slain or cast into prison. At the doing whereof Saul the same time played the doughty Pharisee, being not yet converted to the faith of Christ, whereof the history is plain in the Acts of the Apostles, set forth at large by St. Luke.



The martyrdom of St. Stephen

After the martyrdom of this blessed Stephen, suffered next James the holy apostle of Christ, and brother of John. Of which James mention is made in the Acts of the Apostles, the twelfth chapter; where is declared, how that not long after the stoning of Stephen, king Herod stretched forth his hand to take and afflict certain of the congregation; among whom James was one, whom he slew with the sword, &c. Of this James Eusebius also inferreth mention, alleging Clement thus writing a memorable story of him. This James, (saith Clement,) when he was brought to the tribunal seat, he that brought him, (and was the cause of his trouble,) seeing him to be condemned, and that he should suffer death, as he went to the execution, he being moved therewith in heart and conscience. confessed himself also of his own accord to be a Christian. And so were they led forth together, where in the way he desired of James to forgive him that he had done. After that James had a little paused with himself upon the matter,

turning to him, Peace (saith he) be to thee, brother, and kissed him, and both were beheaded together, in the year of our Lord thirty and six.

Dorotheus in his book named Synopsis testifieth, that Nicanor, one of the seven deacons, with two thousand others, which believed in Christ, suffered also the same day whereon Stephen did suffer.

The said Dorotheus witnesseth also that Simon, another of the deacons, bishop afterward of Bostrum in Arabia, was there burned. Parmenas also, another of the deacons, suffered.

Thomas preached to the Parthians, Medes, and Persians; also to the Germans, Hiraconies, Bactries, and Magies. He suffered in Calamina, a city of Judah, being slain with a dart.

Simon Zelotes preached at Mauritania, and in the countries of Africa, and in Britain; he was likewise crucified.

Judas, brother of James, called also Thaddeus and Lebbeus, preached to the Edessenes, and to all Mesopotamia: he was slain under Augarus, king of the Edessenes, in Berito.

Simon called Cananeus, which was brother to Jude above mentioned, and to James the younger, which all were the sons of Mary Cleophas, and of Alpheus, was bishop of Jerusalem after James, and was crucified in a city of Egypt in the time of Trajanus the emperor, as Dorotheus recordeth, But Abdias writeth, that he with his brother Jude were both slain by a tumult of the people in Suanir, a city of Parsidis.

Mark the evangelist, and first bishop of Alexandria, preached the gospel in Egypt, and there, drawn with ropes unto the fire, was burned, and afterward buried in a place called there Bucolus, under the reign of Trajanus the emperor.

Bartholomeus is said also to preach to the Indians, and to have converted the Gospel of St. Matthew into their tongue, where he continued a great space doing many miracles. At last in Albania, a city of Greater Armenia, after divers persecutions, he was beaten down with staves, then crucified, and after being excoriated, he was at length beheaded.

Of Andrew the apostle and brother to Peter thus writeth Hieron in his Catalogue of ecclesiastical Writers. Andrew the brother of Peter (in the time and reign of Vespasianus, as our ancestors have reported) did preach in the eightieth year after our Lord Jesus Christ to the Scythians, Sogdians, to the Saxons, and in a city which is called Angustia, where the Ethiopians do now inhabit. He was buried in Patnis, a city of Achaia, being crucified of Egeas the governor of the Edessenes. Hitherto writeth Hieron, although in the number of years he seemeth a little to miss; for Vespasianus reached not to the eightieth year after Christ. But Bernard in his second sermon, and St. Cyprian, do make mention of the confession and martyrdom of this blessed apostle; whereof partly out of these, partly out of other credible writers, we have collected after this manner: that whenas Andrew, being conversant in a city of Achaia called Patris, through his diligent preaching had brought many to the faith of Christ, Egeas the governor knowing this, resorted thither, to the intent he might constrain as many as did believe Christ to be God, by the whole consent of the senate, to do sacrifice unto the idols, and so give divine honour unto them. Andrew thinking good at the beginning to resist the wicked counsel and the doings of Egeas, went unto him, saying to this effect unto him: That it behoved him which was judge of men, first to know his Judge which

dwelleth in heaven, and then to worship him being known, and so in worshipping the true God, to revoke his mind from false gods and blind idols. These words spake Andrew to the consul.

But he, greatly therewith discontented, demanded of him whether he was the same Andrew that did overthrow the temple of the gods, and persuaded men of that superstitious sect, which the Romans of late had commanded to be abolished and rejected. Andrew did plainly affirm, that the princes of the Romans did not understand the truth, and that the Son of God, coming from heaven into the world for man's sake, hath taught and declared how those idols, whom they so honoured as gods, were not only not gods, but also most cruel devils, enemies to mankind, teaching the people nothing else but that wherewith God is offended, and being offended, turneth away and regardeth them not; and so by the wicked service of the devil they do fall head long into all wickedness, and after their departing nothing remaineth unto them but their evil deeds.

But the proconsul esteeming these things to be as vain especially seeing the Jews (as he said) had crucified Christ before, therefore charged and commanded Andrew not to teach and preach such things any more; or if he did, that he should be fastened to the cross with all speed.



The Martyrdom of St. Andrew

Andrew abiding in his former mind very constant, answered thus concerning the punishment which he threatened: He would not have preached the honour and glory of the cross, if he had feared the death of the cross. Whereupon sentence of condemnation was pronounced, that Andrew, teaching and enterprising a new sect, and taking away the religion of their gods, ought to be crucified. Andrew coming to the place, and seeing afar off the cross prepared, did change neither countenance nor colour, as the imbecility of mortal men is wont to do, neither did his blood shrink, neither did he fail in his speech; his body fainted not, neither was his mind molested;

his understanding did not fail him, as it is the manner of men to do, but out of the abundance of his heart his mouth did speak; and fervent charity did appear in his words as kindled sparks: he said, O cross, most welcome and long looked for; with a willing mind joyfully and desirously I come to thee, being the scholar of Him which did hang on thee; because I have been always thy lover, and have coveted to embrace thee. So being crucified, he yielded up the ghost and fell on sleep, the day before the kalends of December.

Matthew, otherwise named Levi, first of a publican made an apostle, wrote his Gospel to the Jews in the Hebrew tongue, according to Eusebius and Irenæus.

Matthias, after he had preached to the Jews, at length was stoned and beheaded. Some others record that he died inethiopia.

Philippus the holy apostle, after he had much laboured among the barbarous nations in preaching the word of salvation to them, at length suffered as the other apostles did, in Hierapolis, a city of Phrygia, being there crucified and stoned to death, where also he was buried, and his daughters also with him.

After that Festus had sent the apostle Paul to Rome after his appellation made at Cesarea, and that the Jews by the means thereof had left their hope of performing their malicious vow against him conceived, they fell upon James the brother of our Lord, who was bishop at Jerusalem, against whom they, being bent with like malice, brought him forth before them, and required him to deny before all the people the faith of Christ. But he, otherwise than they all looked for, freely and with a greater constancy before all the multitude confessed Jesus to be the Son of God, our Saviour, and our Lord. Whereupon, they not being able to abide the testimony of this man any longer, because he was thought to be the justest among them all, for the highness of Divine wisdom and godliness which in living he declared, they killed him, finding the more opportunity to accomplish their mischief, because the kingdom the same time was vacant. For Festus being dead in Jewry, the administration of that province was destitute of a ruler and a deputy. But after what manner James was killed the words of Clement do declare, which writeth that he was cast down from the pinnacle of the temple, and, being smitten with the instrument of a fuller, was slain; but Egesippus, which lived in the time next after the apostles, described the cause diligently in his fifth commentary, after this manner as followeth.

James the brother of our Lord took in hand to govern the church after the apostles, being counted of all men from the time of our Lord to be a just and perfect man. Many and divers other Jameses there were beside him, but this was born holy from his mother's womb; he drunk no wine, nor any strong drink; neither did he eat any living creature; the razor never came up on his head; he was not anointed with oil, neither did he use bath; to him only was it lawful to enter into the holy place; neither was he clothed with woollen cloth, but with silk; and he only entered into the temple, falling upon his knees, asking remission for the people; so that his knees by oft kneeling lost the sense of feeling, being benumbed and hardened like the knees of a camel. He was (for worshipping God and craving forgiveness for the people) called just, and for the excellency of his just life named Oblias, which (if you do interpret it) is the safeguard and justice of the people, as the prophets declare of him: therefore whenas many of the heretics which were among the people asked him what manner of gift Jesus should be, he answered that he was the Saviour. Whereof some do believe him to be Jesus Christ; but the aforesaid heretics neither believe the resurrection, neither that any shall come which shall render unto every man according to his works,

but as many as believe, they believed for James's cause. Whenas many therefore of the princes did believe, there was a tumult made of the scribes, Jews, and Pharisees, saying, It is dangerous, lest that all the people do look for this Jesus as for Christ. Therefore they gathered themselves together, and said to James, We beseech thee, restrain the people, for they believe in Jesus as though he were Christ; we pray thee, persuade them all which come unto the feast of the passover of Jesus; for we are all obedient unto thee, and all the people do testify of thee that thou art just, neither that thou dost accept the person of any man; therefore persuade the people that they be not deceived in Jesus, and all the people and we will obey thee: therefore stand upon the pillar of the temple, that thou mayst be seen from above, and that thy words may be perceived of all the people, for to this pass over all the tribes do come with all the country. And thus the forenamed scribes and Pharisees did set James upon the battlements of the church, and they cried unto him and said, Thou just man, whom all we ought to obey, because this people is led after Jesus, which is crucified, tell what is the gift of Jesus crucified. And he answered with a great voice, What do you ask me of Jesus the Son of man, seeing that he sitteth on the right hand of God in heaven, and shall come in the clouds of the sky? But when many were persuaded of this, they glorified God upon the witness of James, and said, Hosanna in the highest to the Son of David. Then the scribes and the Pharisees said among themselves, We have done evil that we have caused such a testimony of Jesus, but let us go up, and let us take him, that they, being compelled with fear, may deny that faith. And they cried out, saying, Oh, oh, this just man also is seduced. Therefore they went up to throw down the just man, and said among themselves, Let us stone this just man James; and they took him to smite him with stones, for he was not yet dead when he was cast down. But he turning, fell down upon his knees, saying, O Lord God, Father, I beseech thee to forgive them, for they know not what they do.

But when they had smitten him with stones, one of the priests of the children of Rechas, the son of Charobim, spake to them the testimony which is in Jeremiah the prophet: Leave off; what do ye? The just man prayeth for you. And one of those which were present took a fuller's instrument, wherewith they did use to beat and purge cloth, and smote the just man on his head; and so he finished his martyrdom, and they buried him in the same place, and his pillar abideth still by the temple. He was a true testimony to the Jews and the Gentiles. And shortly after Vespasianus the emperor, destroying the land of Jewry, brought them into captivity. These things being thus written at large of Egesippus, do well agree to those which Clement did write of him. This James was so notable a man, that for his justice, he was had in honour of all men, insomuch that the wise men of the Jews, shortly after his martyrdom, did impute the cause of the besieging of Jerusalem, and other calamities which happened unto them, to no other cause, but unto the violence and injury done to this man. Also Josephus hath not left this out of his history, where he speaketh of him after this manner: These things so chanced unto the Jews for a vengeance, because of that just man James, which was the brother of Jesus, whom they called Christ; for the Jews killed him, although he was a righteous man.

The same Josephus declareth his death in the same book and chapter, saying, Cæsar hearing of the death of Festus, sent Albinus the lieutenant into Jewry; but Ananus the younger being bishop, and of the sect of the Sadducees, trusting that he had obtained a convenient time, seeing that Festus was dead, and Albinus entered on his journey, he called a council, and calling many unto him, among whom was James,

by name, the brother of Jesus which is called Christ, he stoned them, accusing them as breakers of the law.

Whereby it appeareth that many other besides James also at the same time were martyred and put to death among the Jews, for the faith of Christ.

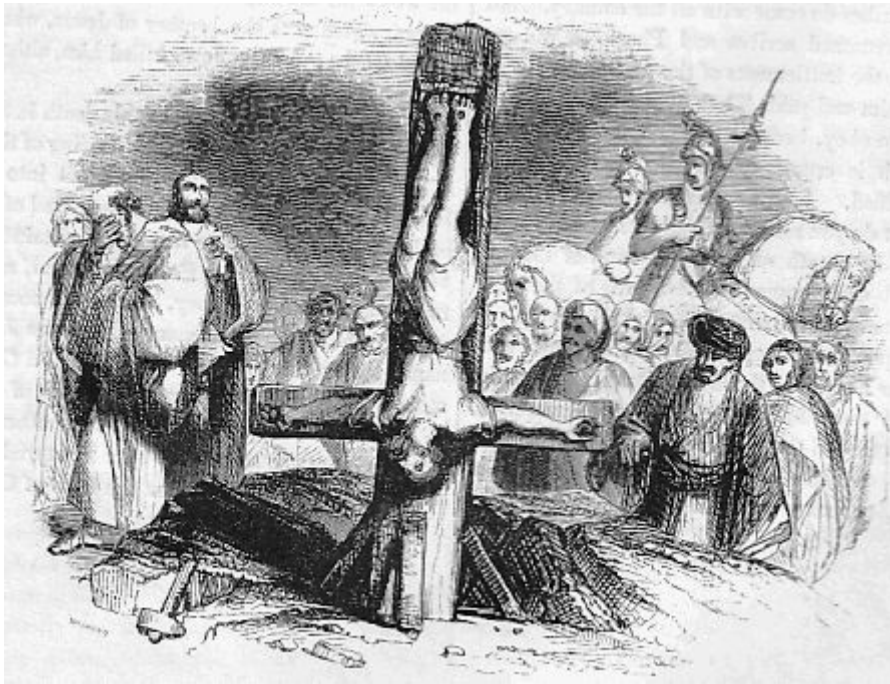


THESE things being thus declared for the martyrdom of the apostles, and the persecution of the Jews; now let us (by the grace of Christ our Lord) comprehend, with like brevity, the persecutions raised by the Romans against the Christians in the primitive age of the church during the space of three hundred years, till the coming of godly Constantine: which persecutions are reckoned of Eusebius, and by the most part of writers, to the number of ten most special.

Wherein marvellous it is to see and read the numbers incredible of Christian innocents that were slain and tormented, some one way, some another, is Rabanus saith, and saith truly. Some slain with sword; some burnt with fire; some with whips scourged; some stabbed with forks of iron; some fastened to the cross or gibbet; some drowned in the sea; some their skins plucked off; some their tongues cut off; some stoned to death; some killed with cold; some starved with hunger: some their hands cut off, or otherwise dismembered, have been so left naked to the open shame of the world, &c. Their kinds of punishments, although they were divers, yet the manner of constancy in all these martyrs was one. And yet notwithstanding the sharpness of these so many and sundry torments, and like cruelties of the tormentors, yet such was the number of these constant saints that suffered, or rather such was the power of the Lord in his saints, that there is no day in the whole year unto which the number of five thousand martyrs cannot be ascribed, except only the first day of January.

3. The First Persecution under Nero

The first of these ten persecutions was stirred up by Nero Domitius, the sixth emperor before mentioned, about the year of our Lord threescore and seven. The tyrannous rage of which emperor was so fierce against the Christians, as Eusebius recordeth, that a man might then see cities lie full of men's bodies, the old there lying together with the young, and the dead bodies of women cast out naked, without all reverence of that sex, in the open streets, &c. Likewise Orosius, writing of the said Nero, saith, that he was the first which in Rome did raise up persecution against the Christians; and not only in Rome, but also through all the provinces thereof; thinking to abolish and to destroy the whole name of Christians in all places, &c. Whereunto accordeth moreover the testimony of Hierom upon Daniel, saying, that many there were of the Christians in those days, which, seeing the filthy abominations and intolerable cruelty of Nero, thought that he should be antichrist.



The Martyrdom of St. Peter

In this persecution, among many other saints, the blessed apostle Peter was condemned to death, and crucified, as some do write, at Rome; albeit other some, and not without cause, do doubt thereof; concerning whose life and history, because it is sufficiently described in the text of the Gospel, and in the Acts of the Apostles, I need not here to make any great repetition thereof. As touching the cause and manner of his death, divers there be which make relation, as Hierom, Egesippus, Eusebius, Abdias, and others, although they do not all precisely agree in the time. The words of Hierom be these: Simon Peter, the son of Jona, of the province of Galilee, and of the town of Bethsaida, the brother of Andrew, &c., after he had been bishop of the church of Antioch, and had preached to the dispersion of them that believed, of the circumcision, in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia, in the second year of Claudius the

emperor, (which was the year of our Lord forty and four,) came to Rome to withstand Simon Magus, and there kept the priestly chair the space of five and twenty years, until the last year of the aforesaid Nero, which was the fourteenth year of his reign, of whom he was crucified, his head being down, and his feet upward; himself so requiring, because he was (he said) unworthy to be crucified after the same form and manner as the Lord was, &c. Egesippus prosecuting this matter something more at large, and Abdias also, (if any authority is to be given to his book, who following not only the sense, but also the very form of words of Egesippus in this history, seemeth to be extracted out of him, and of other authors,) saith, that Simon Magus being then a great man with Nero, and his president and keeper of his life, was required upon a time to be present at the raising up of a certain noble young man in Rome, of Nero's kindred, lately departed; whereas Peter also was desired to come to the re living of the said personage. But when Magus, in the presence of Peter, could not do it, then Peter, calling upon the name of the Lord Jesus, did raise him up, and restored him to his mother; Whereby the estimation of Simon Magus began greatly to decay, and to be detested in Rome. Not long after the said Magus threatened the Romans that he would leave the city, and in their sight fly away from them into heaven. So the day being appointed, Magus taking his wings in the mount Capitolinus, began to fly in the air; but Peter, by the power of the Lord Jesus, brought him down with his wings headlong to the ground, by the which fall his legs and joints were broken, and he thereupon died. Then Nero, sorrowing for the death of him, sought matter against Peter to put him to death. Which, when the people perceived, they entreated Peter with much ado that he would fly the city. Peter, through their importunity at length persuaded, prepared himself to avoid. But coming to the gate, he saw the Lord Christ come to meet him, to whom he, worshipping, said, Lord, whither dost thou go? To whom he answered and said, I am come again to be crucified. By this Peter, perceiving his suffering to be understood, returned back into the city again, and so was he crucified in manner as is before declared. And this out of Egesippus.

Eusebius, moreover, writing of the death, not only of Peter, but also of his wife, affirmeth that Peter, seeing his wife going to her martyrdom, (belike as he was yet hanging upon the cross,) was greatly joyous and glad thereof, who, crying unto her with a loud voice, and calling her by her name, bade her remember the Lord Jesus. Such was then, (saith Eusebius,) the blessed bond of marriage among the saints of God. And thus much of Peter.

Paul the apostle, which before was called Saul, after his great travail and unspeakable labours in promoting the gospel of Christ, suffered also in this first persecution under Nero, and was beheaded.

Among his other manifold labours and travails in spreading the doctrine of Christ, he won Sergius Paulus, the proconsul of Cyprus, to the faith of Christ: whereupon he took his name, as some suppose, turned from Saulus to Paulus. After he had passed through divers places and countries in his laborious peregrinations, he took to him Barnabas, and went up to Jerusalem to Peter, James, and John, where he was ordained and sent out with Barnabas to preach unto the Gentiles.

And because it is in the Acts of the Apostles sufficiently comprehended, concerning the admirable conversion and conversation of this most worthy apostle, that which remaineth of the rest of his history, I will here add, how the said apostle Paul, Acts xxviii., the five and twentieth year after the passion of the Lord, in the second year of Nero, at what time Festus ruled in Jewry, was sent up in bonds to

Rome, where he, remaining in his own lodgings two years together, disputed daily against the Jews, proving Christ to be come. And here is to be noted, that after his first answer or purgation there made at Rome, the emperor Nero, not yet fully confirmed in his empire, and yet not bursting out into those mischiefs which histories report of him, he was at that time by Nero discharged and dismissed to preach the gospel in the west parts, and about the coasts of Italy, as he himself writing unto Timothy afterward, in his second apprehension, in his Second Epistle, chap. iv. 16, 17, witnesseth: "At my first answer no man stood with rue, but all men forsook me. I pray God that it may not be laid to their charge. Notwithstanding the Lord stood with me, and strengthened me; and I was delivered out of the mouth of the lion." In which place, by the lion, he plainly meaneth Nero. And afterwards, likewise, he saith, I was delivered from the mouth of the lion, &c. And again, The Lord hath delivered me out from all evil works, and hath saved me unto his heavenly kingdom, &c.; speaking this, because he perceived then the time of his martyrdom to be near at hand. For in the same Epistle before, he saith, I am now offered up, and the time of my dissolution draweth on.

Thus, then, this worthy preacher and messenger of the Lord, in the fourteenth year of Nero, and the same day in which Peter was crucified, (although not in the same year, as some write, but in the next year following,) was beheaded at Rome for the testimony of Christ, and was buried in the way of Ostia, the seven and thirtieth year after the passion of the Lord. He wrote nine Epistles to seven churches: to the Romans, one; to the Corinthians, two; to the Galatians, one; to the Ephesians, one; to the Philippians, one; to the Colossians, one; to the Thessalonians, two. Moreover, he wrote to his disciples: to Timothy, two; to Titus, one; to Philemon, one; to the Hebrews, one.

As touching the time and order of the death and martyrdom of Saint Paul, as Eusebius, Hierom, Maximus, and other authors do but briefly pass it over; so Abdias, (if his book be of any substantial authority,) speaking more largely of the same, doth say, that after the crucifying of Peter, and the ruin of Simon Magus, Paul yet remaining in free custody, was dismissed and delivered at that time from martyrdom by God's permission, that all the Gentiles might be replenished with preaching of the gospel by him.

And the same Abdias proceeding in his story, declareth moreover, that as Paul was thus occupied at Rome, he was accused to the emperor, not only for teaching new doctrine, but also for stirring up sedition against the empire. For this he being called before Nero, and demanded to show the order and manner of his doctrine, there declared what his doctrine was: To teach all men peace and charity, how to love one another, how to prevent one another in honour; rich men not to be puffed up in pride, nor to put their trust in their treasures, but in the living God; mean men to be contented with food and raiment, and with their present state; poor men to rejoice in their poverty with hope; fathers to bring up their children in the fear of God; children to obey their parents; husbands to love their wives; wives to be subject to their husbands; citizens and subjects to give their tribute unto Cæsar, and to be subject to their magistrates; masters to be courteous, not churlish, to their servants; servants to deal faithfully with their masters: and this to be the sum of his teaching. Which his doctrine he received not of men, nor by men, but by Jesus Christ, and the Father of glory, which spake to him from heaven; the Lord Jesus saying to him, that he should go and preach his name, and that he would be with him, and would be the Spirit of life to all that believed in him, and that whatsoever he did or said he would justify it, &c. After that Paul had thus declared unto the emperor, shortly after sentence of death was pronounced against him, that he should be beheaded. Unto whose execution then Nero

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

sent two of his esquires, Ferega and Parthemius, to bring him word of his death. They coming to Paul, instructing then the people, desired him to pray for them, that they might believe. This done, the soldiers came and led him out of the city to the place of execution, where he, after his prayers made, gave his neck to the sword.

4. The Second Persecution under Domitian

The first Roman persecution beginning under Nero, as is aforesaid, ceased under Vespasianus, who gave some rest to the poor Christians. After whose reign was moved, not long after, the second persecution by the emperor Domitian, brother of Titus. Of whom Eusebius and Orosius so write, that he first beginning mildly, afterward did so far outrage in pride intolerable, that he commanded himself to be worshipped as God, and that images of gold and silver in his honour should be set up in Capitolio. The chiefest nobles of the senators, either upon envy, or for their goods, he caused to be put to death, some openly, and some he sent into banishment, there causing them to be slain privily.

And as his tyranny was unmeasurable, so the intemperancy of his life was no less. He put to death all the nephews of Jude, called the Lord's brother, and caused to be sought out and to be slain all that could be found of the stock of David, (as Vespasian also did before him,) for fear lest he were yet to come of the house of David which should enjoy the kingdom. In the time of this persecution, Simeon, bishop of Jerusalem, after other torments, was crucified to death, whom Justus afterward succeeded in that bishopric.

In this persecution John the apostle and evangelist was exiled by the said Domitianus into Patmos. Of whom divers and sundry memorable acts be reported in sundry chronicles. As, first, how he was put in a vessel of boiling oil by the proconsul of Ephesus. The legend and Perionius say it was done at Rome. Isidorus also writing of him, and comprehending many things in few words, declareth that he turned certain places of wood into gold, and stones by the sea-side into margarites, to satisfy the desire of two, whom he had before persuaded to renounce their riches; and afterward they repenting that for worldly treasure they had lost heaven, for their sakes again he changed the same into their former substance. Also how he raised up a widow and a certain young man from death to life; how he drank poison and it hurt him not, raising also to life two which had drunk the same before. These and such other miracles, although they may be true, and are found in Isidorus, and other writers more, yet because they are no articles of our Christian belief, I let them pass, and only content myself with that which I read in Eusebius, declaring of him in this wise: that in the fourteenth year after Nero, in the second persecution, in the days of Domitian, John was banished into Patmos for the testimony of the word, in the year fourscore and twelve. And after the death of the aforesaid Domitian, he being slain, and his acts repealed by the senate, John was again released under Pertinax the emperor, and came to Ephesus in the year one hundred; where he continued until the time of Trajanus, and there governed the churches in Asia; where also he wrote his Gospel, and so lived till the year after the passion of our Lord threescore and eight, which was the year of his age one hundred and twenty.

Moreover, in the aforesaid ecclesiastical history of Eusebius, we read that John the apostle and evangelist, whom the Lord did love, was in Asia, where he being returned out of Patmos, after the death of Domitian, governed the churches and congregations. Irenæus in his second book thus writeth: And of him all the elders do witness, which were with John the disciple of the Lord in Asia, that he spake and wrote these things, &c.; for there he continued with them unto the time of Trajanus,

&c. Also the said Irenæus in like words declareth, saying, The church of the Ephesians being first founded by Paul, afterward being confirmed of John, (who continued in the same city unto the time of Trajanus the emperor,) is a true Witness of this apostolical tradition, &c. Clemens Alexandrinus moreover noteth both the time of this holy apostle, and also addeth to the same a certain history of him, not unworthy to be remembered of such which delight in things honest and profitable. Of the which history Sozomenus also in his commentaries maketh mention. The words of the author setting forth this history be these: Hear a fable, and not a fable, but a true report, which is told us of John the apostle, delivered and commended to our remembrance.

After the death of the tyrant, when John was returned to Ephesus, from the Isle of Patmos, he was desired to resort to the places bordering near unto him, partly to constitute bishops, partly to dispose the causes and matters of the church, partly to ordain and set such of the clergy in office whom the Holy Ghost should elect. Whereupon, when he was come to a certain city not far off, the name of which also many do yet remember, and had among other things comforted the brethren, he, looking more earnestly upon him which was the chief bishop among them, beheld a young man mighty in body, and of beautiful countenance, and of a fervent mind: I commend this man (saith he) to thee with great diligence, in witness here of Christ and of the church.

When the bishop had received of him this charge, and had promised his faithful diligence therein; again, the second time John spake unto him, and desired him in like manner and contestation as before. This done, John returned again to Ephesus. The bishop receiving the young man commended and committed to his charge, brought him home, kept him, and nourished him, and at length also did illuminate (that is, he baptized) him, and in short time through his diligence brought him into such order and towardness, that he committed unto him the oversight of a certain cure in the Lord's behalf. The young man thus having more his liberty, it chanced that certain of his companions and old familiars being idle, dissolute, and accustomed of old time to wickedness, did join in company with him, who first brought him to sumptuous and riotous banquets; then incited him forth with them in the night to rob and steal; after that he was allured by them unto greater mischief and wickedness. Where in by custom of time, by little and little, he being more practised, and being of a good wit and a stout courage, like unto a wild or an unbroken horse, leaving the right way, and running at large without bridle, was carried headlong to the profundity of all disorder and outrage. And thus, being past all hope of grace, utterly forgetting and rejecting the wholesome doctrine of salvation, which he had learned before, began to set his mind upon no small matters. And forasmuch as he was entered so far in the way of perdition, he cared not how much farther he proceeded in the same. And so, associating unto him the company of his companions and fellow thieves, took upon him to be as head and captain among them in committing all kind of murder and felony.

In the mean time, it chanced that of necessity John was sent for to those quarters again, and came. The causes being decided, and his business ended for the which he came, by the way meeting with the bishop afore specified, he requireth of him the pledge, which in the witness of Christ and of the Congregation then present he left in his hands to keep. The bishop, something amazed at the words of John, supposing he had meant of some money Committed to his Custody which he had not received, (and yet durst not mistrust John, nor contrary his words,) could not tell what to answer. Then John perceiving his doubting, and uttering his mind more plainly, The

young man, (saith he,) and the soul of our brother committed to your custody, I do require. Then the bishop with a loud voice sorrowing and weeping said, He is dead, To whom John said, How, and by what death? The other said, He is dead to God; for he is become an evil man and pernicious; to be brief, a thief; and now he doth frequent this mountain with a company of villains and thieves like unto himself against the church. But the apostle rent his garments, and with a great lamentation said, I have left a good keeper of my brother's soul; get me a horse, and let me have a guide with me; which being done, his horse and man procured, he hasted from the church as much as he could, and coming to the same place, was taken of thieves that watched. But he, neither flying nor refusing, said, I came for this same cause hither; lead me, said he, to your captain. So he being brought, the captain, all armed, fiercely began to look upon him; and eftsoons coming to the knowledge of him, was stricken with confusion and shame, and began to fly. But the old man followed him as much as he might, forgetting his age, and crying, My son, why dost thou fly from thy father? an armed man from one naked, a young man from an old man? Have pity on me, my son, and fear not, for there is yet hope of salvation; I will make answer for thee unto Christ; I will die for thee, if need be; as Christ hath died for us, I will give my life for thee; believe me, Christ hath sent me. He hearing these things, first as in a maze stood still, and therewith his courage was abated. After that he had cast down his weapons, by and by he trembled, yea, and wept bitterly; and coming to the old man, embraced him, and spake unto him with weeping, (as well as he could,) being even then baptized afresh with tears, only his right hand being hid and covered. Then the apostle, after that he had promised and firmly ascertained him that he should obtain remission of our Saviour, and also prayed, falling down upon his knees, and kissed his murdering right hand, which for shame he durst not show before, as now purged through repentance, brought him to the congregation. And when he had prayed for him with continual prayer and daily fastings, and had comforted and confirmed his mind with many sentences, went not from him (as the author reported) before he had restored him to the congregation again, and made him a great example and trial of regeneration, and a token of the visible resurrection.

Moreover, the aforesaid Irenæus and Eusebius, prosecuting the history of John, declare in these words, saying, that there were certain which heard Polycarpus say, that John the disciple of our Lord, going into Ephesus to be washed, seeing Cerinthus within, he leaped out of the bath unbathed, because he feared the bath should have fallen, seeing that Cerinthus an enemy to the truth was within. Such fear had the apostles, (saith Irenæus,) that they would not communicate a word with them that adulterate the truth.

In this persecution, besides these afore mentioned, and many other innumerable godly martyrs, suffering for the like testimony of the Lord Jesus, was Flavia the daughter of Flavius Clemens, one of the Roman consuls; which Flavia, with many others, was banished out of Rome into the isle Pontia, for the testimony of the Lord Jesus, by the emperor Domitianus.

This Domitianus feared the coming of Christ as Herod did, and therefore commanded them to be killed which were of the stock of David in Jewry. There were remaining alive at that time certain of the Lord's kindred, which were the nephews of Jude, that was called the Lord's brother after the flesh. These, when the lieutenant of Jewry had brought up to Domitian to be slain, the emperor demanded of them whether they were of the stock of David; which when they had granted, he asked again what possessions and what substance they had. They answered, that they both had no more

between them in all but nine and thirty acres of ground; and how they got their living, and sustained their families, with the hard labours of their hands, showing forth their hands unto the emperor, being hard and rough, worn with labours, to witness that to be true which they had spoken. Then the emperor, inquiring of them concerning the kingdom of Christ, what manner of kingdom it was, how and when it should appear; they answered that his kingdom was no worldly nor terrene thing, but a heavenly and angelical kingdom, and that it should appear in the consummation and end of the world, what time he coming in glory should judge the quick and the dead, and render to every one according to his deservings. Domitian the emperor hearing this, (as the saying is,) did not condemn them; but despising them as vile persons let them go, and also staid the persecution then moved against the Christians. They, being thus discharged and dismissed, afterward had the government of churches, being taken for martyrs, and as of the Lord's stock, and so continued in good peace till the time of Trajanus.

By this story here recited may appear what were the causes why the emperors of the Roman monarchy did so persecute the Christians; which causes were chiefly these: fear and hatred. First, fear, for that the emperors and senate, of blind ignorance, not knowing the manner of Christ's kingdom, feared and misdoubted lest the same would subvert their empire (like as the pope thinketh now that this gospel will overthrow his kingdom of majesty); and therefore sought they all means possible, how, by death and all kinds of torments, utterly to extinguish the name and memory of the Christians. And thereupon seemeth to spring the old law of the Roman senate, That the Christians should not be let go which were once brought to the judgment-seat, except they changed their purpose. Secondly, hatred, partly for that this world, of his own natural condition, hath ever hated and maliced the people of God, from the first beginning of the world. Partly, again, for that the Christians, being of a contrary nature and religion, serving only the true living God, despised their false gods, spake against their idolatrous worshippings, and many times stopped the power of Satan working in their idols; and therefore Satan, the prince of this world, stirred up the Roman princes and blind idolaters to bear the more hatred and spite against them.

Upon these causes, and such like, rose up these malicious slanders, false surmises, infamous lies, and slanderous accusations of the heathen idolaters against the Christian servants of God, which incited the princes of this world the more to persecute them; for what crimes soever malice could invent, or rash suspicion could minister, that was imputed to the Christians; as that they were a people incestuous, that in the night in their concourses, putting out their candles, they ran together in all filthy manner, that they killed their own children, that they used to eat man's flesh, that they were seditious and rebellious, that they would not swear by the fortune and prosperity of Cæsar, that they would not adore the image of Cæsar in the market-place, that they were pernicious to the empire of Rome. Briefly, whatsoever mishappened to the city or provinces of Rome, either famine, pestilence, earthquake, wars, wonders, unseasonableness of weather, or what other evils soever happened, it was imputed to the Christians, as Justinus recordeth. Over and beside all these, a great occasion that stirred up the emperors against the Christians came by one Publius Tarquinius, the chief prelate of the idolatrous sacrifices, and Mamertinus, the chief governor of the city in the time of Trajanus; who partly with money, partly with sinister and pestilent counsel, partly with infamous accusations, (as witnesseth Nauclerus,) incensed the mind of the emperor so much against God's people.

Also among these other causes above said, crept in some piece of covetousness withal, (as in all other things it doth,) in that the wicked promoters and accusers, for lucre' sake, to have the possessions of the Christians, were the more ready to accuse them to have the spoil of their goods.

Thus hast thou, (Christian reader,) first, the causes declared of these persecutions; secondly, the cruel law of their condemnation; thirdly, now hear more what was the form of inquisition, which was (as is witnessed in the second apology of Justinus) to this effect: that they should swear to declare the truth, whether they were in very deed Christians or not: and if they confessed, then by the law the sentence of death proceeded.

Neither yet were these tyrants and organs of Satan thus contented with death only, to bereave the life from the body. The kinds of death were divers, and no less horrible than divers. Whatsoever the cruelty of man's invention could devise for the punishment of man's body was practised against the Christians, as partly I have mentioned before, and more appeareth by the epistle sent from the brethren of France hereafter following: Crafty trains, outeries of enemies, imprisonment, stripes and scourgings, drawings, tearings, stonings, plates of iron laid unto them burning hot, deep dungeons, racks, strangling in prisons, the teeth of wild beasts, gridirons, gibbets and gallows, tossing upon the horns of bulls: moreover, when they were thus killed, their bodies were laid in heaps, and dogs there left to keep them, that no man might come to bury them; neither would any prayer obtain them to be interred and buried.

And yet, notwithstanding for all these continual persecutions and horrible punishments, the church of the Christians daily increased, deeply rooted in the doctrine of the apostles, and of men apostolical, and watered plenteously with the blood of saints. Whereof let us hear the worthy testimony of Justinus Martyr in his Dialogue with Tripheus. And that none (saith he) can terrify or remove us which believe in Jesus, by this it daily appeareth; for when we are slain, crucified, cast to wild beasts, into the fire, or given to other torments, yet we go not from our confession: but, contrary, the more cruelty and slaughter is wrought against us, the more they be that come to piety and faith by the name of Jesus; no otherwise than if a man cut the vine tree, the better the branches grow. For the vine tree, planted by God and Christ our Saviour, is his people.

To comprehend the names and number of all the martyrs that suffered in all these ten persecutions, (which are innumerable,) as it is impossible, so it is hard in such a variety and diversity of matter to keep such a perfect order and course of years and times, that either some be not left out, or that every one be reduced into hitright place, especially seeing the authors themselves, whom in this present work we follow, do diversly disagree, both in the times, in the names, and also in the kind of martyrdom of them that suffered. As, for example, where the common reading and opinion of the church and epistles decretal do take Anacletus to succeed after Clement, next before Euaristus; contrary, Eusebius, making no mention of Cletus, but of Anacletus, saith that Euaristus succeeded next to Clement. Likewise Ruffinus and Epiphanius, speaking nothing of Anacletus, make mention of Linus and of Cletus next before Clement, but say nothing of Anacletus; whereby it may appear that Cletus and Anacletus were both one. Sabellicus speaketh of Linus and of Cletus, and saith that they were ordained helpers under Peter, while he laboured in his apostleship abroad; and so saith also Marianus Scotus: contrary, Irenæus speaketh of Anacletus, making no mention of Cletus. Whereby it may appear, by the way, what credit is to be given to

the decretal epistles, whom all the later histories of the pope's church do follow on this behalf, &c. Moreover, where Antoninus, Vincentius, Jacobus, Simoneta, Aloisius, with others, declare of Linus, Cletus, Clement, Anacletus, Euaristus, Alexander, bishops of Rome, that they died martyrs; Eusebius, in his ecclesiastical history, writing of them, maketh thereof no mention.

And, first, as touching Clement, (whom Marianus Scotus calleth the first bishop of Rome after Peter,) they say that he was sent out into banishment of Trajanus, beyond Ponticus, with two thousand Christians, where he opened a well-spring to them which in the wilderness were condemned to the mines. Afterward, being accused to the emperor, he was thrown into the sea with a millstone fastened about his neck, and not long after his body was cast up and buried (as Platina saith) at the place where the well was made. Some say it was found first in the days of Pope Nicholas the First. But forasmuch as I find of his martyrdom no firm relation in the ancient authors, but only in such new writers of later times which are wont to paint out the lives and histories of good men with feigned additions of forged miracles; therefore I count the same of less credit, as I do also certain decretal epistles untrue (as may seem) ascribed and entitled to his name. Eusebius in his third book, writing of Clement, giveth no more of him but thus: After he had governed the church of Rome nine years, the said Clement left the succession thereof to Euaristus.

Of which Euaristus, next bishop of Rome, thus we find in Irenæus: Peter and Paul (saith he) committed the charge of that church to Linus; after whom came Anacletus; then succeeded Clemens; next to Clemens followed Euaristus; after whom came Alexander; and then Sixtus, the sixth bishop of Rome after the apostles; after Sixtus sat Telesphorus; then Higinus, then Pius, then Anicetus; and when Soter took the place after him, then the twelfth bishop of Rome was Eleutherius. Thus after Clement followed (as is said) Euaristus in the second or third year of Trajanus, as saith Eusebius; or, as Nicephorus saith, the fourth year of the said emperor. But howsoever the count of years standeth, little or nothing remaineth of the acts and monuments either of this or of other bishops of Rome in those days. Whereby it may appear that no great account was then made of Roman bishops in those days, whose acts and deeds were then either so lightly reputed, or so slenderly committed to history. Notwithstanding, certain decretal epistles are remaining, or rather thrust upon us in their names, containing in them little substance of any doctrine, but altogether stuffed with laws, injunctions, and stately decrees, little to the purpose, and less savouring of the nature of that time then present. Amongst whom also are numbered the two epistles of this Euaristus.

And when he had given these orders, and had made six priests, two deacons, and five bishops for sundry places, (saith the story,) he suffered martyrdom. But what kind of death, for what cause he suffered, what constancy he showed, what was the order or conversation of his life, is nothing touched, and seemeth therefore the more to be doubted that which our new histories do say; because the old ancient writers have no remembrance thereof, which otherwise would not have passed such things over in silence, if they had been true. Again, neither do the authors fully agree in the time of his martyrdom, which Naclerus witnesseth to be in the last year of Trajanus; but Platina thinketh rather that he suffered under Hadrianus. Fascicul. Temporum referreth it to the third year of Hadrian; Volateranus to the beginning of the reign of Hadrian. Contrary, Eusebius coming near to the simple truth, (as seemeth,) doth affirm that Euaristus succeeded Clement in the third year of Trajanus, and so giving to him nine years, it should follow thereby that Euaristus deceased the twelfth year of Trajanus.

After whom succeeded next Alexander in the governance of that church, of whose time and death the like discrepance is among the writers. Marianus Scotus saith he was the fourth bishop from Peter; but that could not be. Some say he was the sixth, and some the seventh; but they likewise were deceived; for the most part all do grant Sixtus to be the sixth. Damasus affirmeth that he was in the reign of Trajan: and how can that be, when the said Damasus affirmed before that Euaristus's predecessor suffered in the last year of Trajan, and then the bishopric stood at least a month void, except he mean that the said Alexander succeeded Euaristus in the last year of Trajanus? But then how can that stand with Bede and Marianus Scotus, which say that he suffered under Trajanus? or with Otho Frisingensis, which saith he suffered the fourth year of Hadrian, when he had been bishop ten years by the general consent of most writers?

They which write of the deeds and doings of this blessed bishop, as Bergomensis Antoninus, Equilinus, and such as follow them, declare that he had converted a great part of the senators to the faith of Christ, amongst whom was Hermes, a great man in Rome, whose son being dead Alexander raised again to life, and likewise restored sight to his maid being blind. Hadrian the emperor, then absent, hearing this, sent word to Aurelianus, governor of Rome, to apprehend Alexander, with Euentius and Theodulus, otherwise called Theodorus, as Platina saith, his two deacons, and Hermes, and to commit them to ward with Quirinus the tribune: which being done, as their story recordeth, Alexander, enclosed in a diverse prison from Hermes, notwithstanding, by the guiding of an angel through three doors with three locks apiece, was brought with candle-light to the lodging of Hermes; and so returning to the prison again cured the daughter of Quirinus his keeper, named Balbina; by reason whereof the said Quirinus, with his whole household, were all baptized, and suffered also for the faith of Christ.

Thus, then, (saith the story,) about the second year of Hadrian, Aurelianus the ruler took Alexander the bishop, with Hermes, his wife, children, and his whole household, to the number of one thousand two hundred and fifty, and threw them in prison. And not long after the said Alexander, with Euentius his deacon, and Hermes, and the rest were burned in a furnace. Theodulus, another deacon of Alexander, seeing and rebuking the cruelty of the tyrant, suffered also the same martyrdom.

Quirinus also the same time, (as saith Antoninus,) having first his tongue cut out, then his hands and feet, afterward was beheaded and cast to the dogs: Equilinus saith that he was beheaded and cast into Tiber in the reign of the emperor Claudius; but that cannot be: albeit Platina maketh relation but only of Alexander with his two deacons aforesaid, declaring, moreover, that in the time of this bishop Saphira of Antioch, and Sabina a Roman, suffered martyrdom.

Florilegus, the author of *Flores Historiarum*, affirmeth that Alexander bishop of Rome was beheaded seven miles out of Rome, (where he lieth buried,) in the year one hundred and five; but that agreeth not with the chronicles above recited. Eusebius recordeth of him no more, but that in the third year of Hadrian he ended his life and office, after he had been bishop ten years.

Divers miracles are reported of this Alexander, in the canon legends, and lives of saints; which as I deny not but they may be true, so because I cannot avouch them by any grave testimony of ancient writers, therefore I dare not affirm them, but do refer them to the authors and patrons thereof, where they are found. Notwithstanding,

whatsoever is to be thought of his miracles, this is to be affirmed and not doubted, but that he was a godly and virtuous bishop.

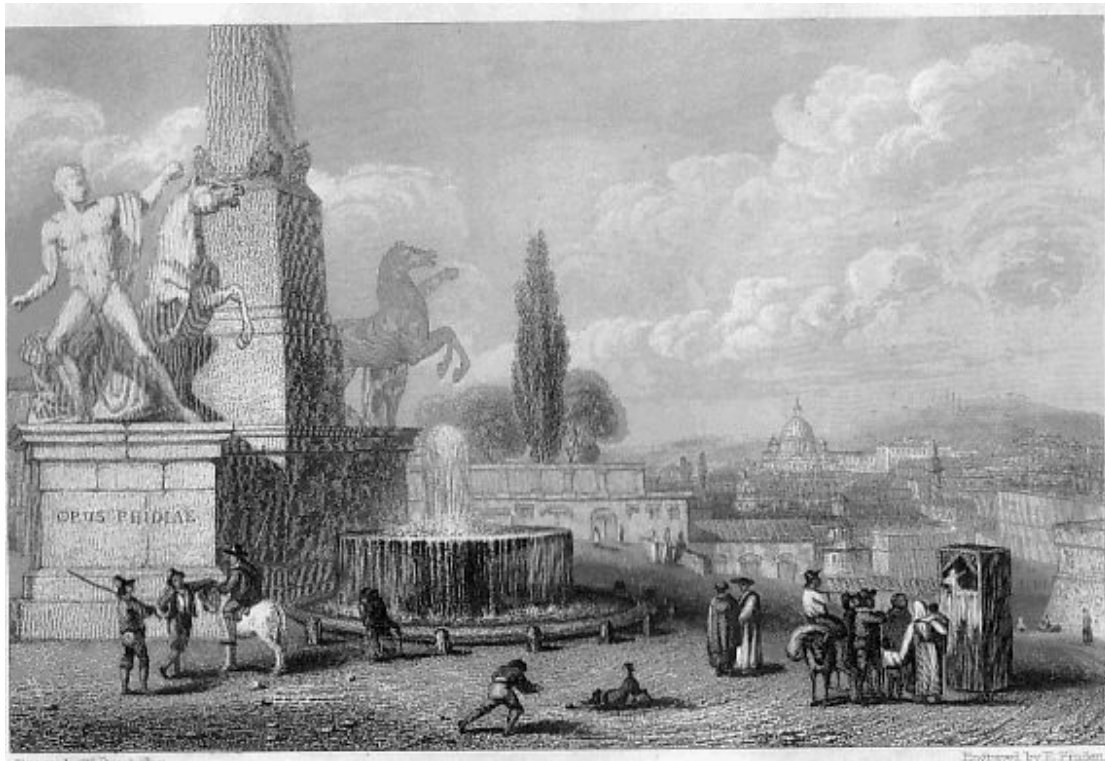
And as I say of his miracles, the like judgment also I have of the ordinances both of him and of Euaristus his predecessor, testified in the pope's decrees by Gratianus, where is said that Euaristus divided divers titles in the city of Rome to the priests, also ordained in every city seven deacons to associate and assist the bishop in his preaching, both for his defence, and for the witness of truth. Notwithstanding, if probable conjectures might stand against the authority of Gratianus and his decrees, here might be doubted whether this absolute ordination of priests was first forbidden by Euaristus, and whether the intitution of priests was first by him brought in or not; wherein an instance may be given to the contrary, that this intitution seemeth to take his first beginning at the council of Chalcedon, and of Pope Urban in the council of Placentia. In the which council of Chalcedon the words of the canon (making no mention of Euaristus at all) do expressly forbid, that any ecclesiastical person, either priest or deacon, should be ordained absolutely; otherwise the imposition of hands, without some proper title of the party ordained, to stand void and frustrate, &c. And likewise Urbanus in the council of Placentia doth decree the same, alleging no name of Euaristus, but the statutes of former councils.

Moreover, in the time of Euaristus, the church, then being under terrible persecutions, was divided into no peculiar parishes or cures, whereby any title might rise, but was scattered rather in corners and deserts, where they could best hide themselves. And

as the Church of Rome in those days was not divided into several parishes or cures, (as I suppose,) so neither was then any such open or solemn preaching in churches, that the assistance or testimony of seven deacons either could avail among the multitude of the heathen, or else needed amongst the Christian secret congregations. Again, the constitution of seven deacons seemeth rather to spring out of the council of Neocesarea long after Euaristus, where it was appointed that in every city, were it never so small, there should be seven deacons after the rule. And this rule the said council taketh out of the book of the Acts of the Apostles, making no word or mention of Euaristus at all. But these (as is said) be but only conjectures, not denying that which is commonly received, but only showing what may be doubted in their epistles decretal.

More unlike it seemeth to be true that is recorded and reported of Alexander, that he should be the first founder and finder of holy water mixed with salt, to purge and sanctify them upon whom it is sprinkled.

5. The Third Persecution under Trajan and Hadrian



Rome

Between the second Roman persecution and the third was but one year, under the emperor Nerva, after whom succeeded Trajanus; and after him followed the third persecution. So the second and the third are noted of some to be both one, having no more difference but one year between them. This Trajanus, if we look well upon his politic and civil governance, might seem (in comparison of others) a right worthy and commendable prince, much familiar with inferiors, and so be having himself towards his subjects as he himself would have the prince to be to him if he himself were a subject. Also he was noted to be a great observer of justice, insomuch that when he ordained any pretor, giving to him the sword, he would bid him use the sword against his enemies in just causes; and if he himself did otherwise than justice, to use then his power against him also. But for all these virtues, toward Christian religion he was impious and cruel, who caused the third persecution of the church. In the which persecution Pliny the second, a man learned and famous, seeing the lamentable slaughter of Christians, and moved therewith to pity, wrote to Trajanus of the pitiful persecution; certifying him that there were many thousands of them daily put to death, of which none did any thing contrary to the Roman laws worthy persecution, saving that they used to gather together in the morning before day, and sing hymns to a certain God whom they worshipped, called Christ. In all other their ordinances they were godly and honest. Where by the persecution by commandment of the emperor was greatly staid and diminished. The form and copy of which epistle of Pliny, anno 107, I thought here not inconvenient to set down as followeth:

"It is my property and manner (my sovereign) to make relation of all those things unto you wherein I doubt. For who can better either correct my slackness or instruct mine ignorance than you? I was never yet present myself at the examination and execution of these Christians; and therefore what punishment is to be administered, and how far, or how to proceed in such inquisitions, I am plain ignorant; not able to resolve in the matter whether any difference is to be had in age and person; whether the young and tender ought to be with like cruelty entreated as the elder and stronger; whether repentance may have any pardon, or whether it may profit him or not to deny which hath been a Christian; whether the name only of Christians without other offences, or whether the offences joined with the name of a Christian, ought to be punished. In the mean season, as touching such Christians as have been presented unto me, I have kept this order: I have inquired the second and third time of them whether they were Christians, menacing them with fear of punishment; and such as did persevere, I commanded to execution. For thus I thought, that whatsoever their profession was, yet their stubbornness and obstinacy ought to be punished. Whether they were also of the same madness, whom, because they were citizens of Rome, I thought to send them back again to the city. Afterward, in further process and handling of this matter, as the sect did further spread, so the more cases did thereof ensue.

"There was a libel offered to me bearing no name, wherein were contained the names of many which denied themselves to be Christians, contented to do sacrifice with incense and wine to the gods, and to your image, (which image I for that purpose caused to be brought,) and to blaspheme Christ; whereunto none such as were true Christians indeed could be compelled, and those I did discharge and let go. Other some confessed that they had been Christians, but afterward denied the same, &c, affirming unto me the whole sum of that sect or error to consist in this, that they were wont at certain times appointed to convent before day, and to sing certain hymns to one Christ, their God, and to confederate among themselves, to abstain from all theft, murder, and adultery, to keep their faith, and to defraud no man; which done, then to depart for that time, and afterward to resort again to take meat in companies together, both men and women one with another, and yet without any act of evil.

"In the truth whereof, to be further certified whether it were so or not, I caused two maidens to be laid on the rack, and with torments to be examined of the same. But finding no other thing in them but only lewd and immoderate superstition, I thought to cease further inquiry, till time that I might be further advertised in the matter from you; for so the matter seemed unto me worthy and needful of advisement, especially for the great number of those that were in danger of your statute. For very many there were of all ages and states, both men and women, which then were, and more are like hereafter to incur the same peril of condemnation. For that infection hath crept not only in cities, but villages also and boroughs about, which seemeth that it may be stayed and reformed. Forasmuch as we see in many places that the temples of our gods, which were wont to be desolate, begin now to be frequented, and that they bring sacrifices from every part to be sold, which before very few were found willing to buy. Whereby it may easily be conjectured what multitudes of men may be amended, if space and time be given them wherein they may be reclaimed."

To this Trajan replied as follows: "The act and statute, my Secundus, concerning the causes of the Christians, which ye ought to follow, ye have rightly executed. For no such general law can be enacted, wherein all special cases particularly can be comprehended. Let them not be sought for; but if they be brought and convicted, then let them suffer execution: notwithstanding, whosoever shall deny

himself to be a Christian, and do it unfeignedly in open audience, and do sacrifice to our gods, howsoever he hath been suspected before, let him be released upon promise of amendment. Such libels as have no names suffice not to any just crime or accusation; for that should give both an evil precedent, neither doth it agree with the example of our time."

Tertullian writing upon this letter of Trajan above prefixed, thus saith: O sentence of a confused necessity! He would not have them to be sought for as men innocent, and yet causeth them to be punished as persons guilty. And thus the rage of that persecution ceased for a time, although notwithstanding many naughty disposed men and cruel officers there were, which upon false pretence, to accomplish their wicked minds, ceased not to afflict the Christians in divers provinces; and especially if any occasion were given never so little for the enemies to take hold of, or if any commotion were raised in the provinces abroad, by and by the fault was laid upon the Christians. As in Jerusalem, after that the emperor Trajan had sent down his commandment, that whosoever could be found of the stock of David, he should be inquired out and put to death; upon this Egesippus writing, saith that certain sectaries there were of the Jewish nation, that accused Simeon, the bishop then of Jerusalem and son of Cleophas, to come of the stock of David, and that he was a Christian. of the which his accusers it happened also (saith the said Egesippus) that certain of them likewise were apprehended and taken to be of the stock of David, and so right justly were put to execution themselves which sought the destruction of others. As concerning Simeon the blessed bishop, the aforesaid Egesippus thus writeth: that Simeon the Lord's nephew, when he was accused to Attalus the proconsul, by the malicious sect of the Jews, to be of the line of David, and to be a Christian, was scourged during the space of many days together, being of age a hundred and twenty years. In which his martyrdom he endured so constant, that both the consul and all the multitude did marvel to see him of that age so constantly to suffer; and so at last being crucified, finished his course in the Lord, for whom he suffered, as partly before also is recorded.

In this persecution of Trajan, above specified, (which Trajan next followed after Nerva,) besides the other aforementioned, also suffered Phocas, bishop of Pontus, whom Trajan, because he would not do sacrifice to Neptune, caused to be cast into a hot lime-kiln, and afterward to be put into a scalding bath, where the constant godly martyr, in the testimony of Christ, ended his life, or rather entered into life.

In the same persecution suffered also Sulpitius and Servilianus, two Romans; whose wives are said to be Euphrosina and Theodora, whom Sabina did convert to the faith of Christ, and after were also martyred. Of which Sabina Jacobus Philippus reporteth that, in the Mount of Aventine in Rome, she was beheaded of Clepidus the governor, in the days of Hadrian. Under whom also suffered Seraphia, a virgin of Antioch, as Hermannus witnesseth.

The forenamed authors, Antoninus and Equilius, make mention moreover of Nereus and Achilleus, who, in this persecution of Trajan, had the crown of martyrdom, being put to death at Rome. Eusebius in his fourth book maketh mention of one Sagaris, who about the same time suffered martyrdom in Asia, Servilius Paulus being then proconsul in that province.

In this persecution, beside many others, suffered the blessed martyr of Christ Ignatius, who unto this day is had in famous reverence among very many. This Ignatius was appointed to the bishopric of Antioch next after Peter in succession.

Some do say, that he being sent from Syria to Rome, because he professed Christ, was given to the wild beasts to be devoured. It is also said of him, that when he passed through Asia, being under the most strict custody of his guarders, he strengthened and confirmed the parishes through all the cities as he went, both with his exhortations and preaching of the word of God; and admonished them especially and before all other things to beware and shun those heresies risen up and sprung newly among them, and that they should cleave and stick fast to the tradition of the apostles; which he, for their better safeguard, being about to denounce or put in writing, thought it a thing very necessary to travail in, And thus when he came to Smyrna, where Polycarp was, he wrote one epistle to the congregation of Ephesus, wherein he made mention of Onesimus their pastor; and another he wrote to the congregation of Magnesia, being at Meandre, wherein also he forgetteth not Dama their bishop. Also another he wrote to the congregation of Trallis, the governor of which city at that time he noteth to be one Polybius; unto which congregation he made an exhortation, lest they, refusing martyrdom, should lose the hope that they desired.

But it shall be very requisite that I allege some what thereof to the declaration of this matter. He wrote, therefore, as the words lie, in this sort: From Syria, (saith he,) even till I came to Rome, had I a battle with beasts, as well by sea as land, both day and night, being bound in the midst of ten cruel libards (that is, the company or band of the soldiers) which, the more benefits that they received at my hands, became so much the worse unto me. But I, being exercised and now well acquainted with their injuries, am taught every day more and more; but hereby am I not yet justified. And would to God I were once come to the beasts which are prepared for me, which also I wish with gaping mouths were ready to come upon me, whom also I will provoke, that they without delay may devour me, and forbear me nothing at all, as those whom before they have not touched or hurt for fear. And if they will not unless they be provoked, I will then enforce them against myself. Pardon me, I pray you. How much beneficial it is to me, I know. Now begin I to be a scholar; I force or esteem no visible things, nor yet invisible, so that I may get or obtain Christ Jesus. Let the fire, the gallows, the devouring of wild beasts, the breaking of bones, the pulling asunder of my members, the bruising or pressing of my whole body, and the torments of the devil or hell itself, come upon me, so that I may win Christ Jesus.

And these things wrote he from the foresaid city unto the congregations which we have recited. And when he was even now judged to be thrown to the beasts, he spake, for the burning desire that he had to suffer, what time he heard the lions roaring: I am the wheat or grain (saith he) of Christ, I shall be ground with the teeth of wild beasts, that I may be found pure bread. He suffered in the eleventh year of Trajan the emperor.

Besides this godly Ignatius, many thousands also were put to death in the same persecution, as appeareth by the letter of Plinius Secundus above recited, written unto the emperor.

Next after this Trajan succeeded Hadrian the emperor, under whom suffered Alexander the bishop of Rome, with his two deacons Euentius and Theodoros; also Hermes and Quirinus, with their families, as late before was declared.

It is signified, moreover, in the histories, that in the time of Hadrian, Zenon, a nobleman of Rome, with ten thousand two hundred and three, were slain for Christ. Henricus and Bergomensis make mention of ten thousand in the days of this Hadrian to be crucified in the Mount Hararath, crowned with crowns of thorn, and thrust into

the sides with sharp darts, after the example of the Lord's passion, whose captains were Achaicus, Heliades, Theodorus, and Carcerius, &c. Whether this story be the same with the other above of Zenon or not, it is doubted. As touching the miracles done, and the speaking of the angel, I refer the certainty thereof to Vincentius, and such other like authors, where more things seem to be told than to be true.

There was one Eustachius, a captain, whom Trajan in time past had sent out to war against the barbarians. After he had, by God's grace, valiantly subdued his enemies, and now was returning home with victory, Hadrian, for joy, meeting him in his journey to bring him home with triumph, by the way, first would do sacrifice to Apollo for the victory gotten, willing also Eustachius to do the same with him. But when Eustachius could by no means thereto be enforced, being brought to Rome, there with his wife and children he suffered martyrdom under the foresaid Hadrian. It were a long process here to recite all the miracles contained, or rather suspected, in this story of this Eustachius concerning his conversion and death: how the crucifix appeared to him between the horns of a hart; of the saving of his wife from the shipmen; of one of his sons saved from the lion, the other saved from the wolf; of their miraculous preservation from the wild beasts, from the torments of fire mentioned in Bergomensis, Vincentius, and others. All which, as I find them in no ancient records, so I leave them to their authors and compilers of the legends.

We read also of Faustinus and Jobita, citizens of the city of Brixia, which suffered martyrdom with like grievous torments. At the sight whereof one Galocerius, seeing their so great patience in so great torments, cried out with these words, Verily, great is the God of Christians! Which words being heard, forthwith he was apprehended, and being brought to the place of their execution, was made partaker of their martyrdom.

The history of Nicephorus maketh mention of Anthia, a godly woman, who committed her son Eleutherius to Anicetus, bishop of Rome, to be brought up in the doctrine of Christian faith, who, afterwards being bishop in Apulia, was there beheaded with his foresaid mother Anthia.

Justus also, and Pastor, two brethren, with like martyrdom ended their lives in a city of Spain, called Complutum, under the said Hadrian the emperor.

Likewise Symphorissa, the wife of Getulus the martyr, with her seven children, is said about the same time to suffer; who first was much and often beaten and scourged, afterwards was hanged up by the hair of her head; at last having a huge stone fastened unto her, was thrown headlong into the river; and after that her seven children, in like manner, with sundry and divers kinds of punishment diversely martyred by the tyrant.

The story of M. Hermannus, and Antoninus, and others, report of Sophia, with her three children also, also of Seraphia and Sabina, to suffer under the said emperor, about the year of our Lord one hundred and thirty.

As concerning Alexander, bishop of Rome, with his two deacons, also with Hermes, Quirinus, Saphira, and Sabina, some writers, as Bede and Marianus Scotus, record that they suffered under Trajan. Others again, as Otto, Frisingensis, with like more, report that they suffered in the fourth year of this emperor Hadrian; but of these martyrs sufficiently hath been said before.

While Hadrian the emperor was at Athens, he purposed to visit the country of Elusina, and so did; where he sacrificing to the Gentiles' gods, after the manner of the

Grecians, had given free leave and liberty, whosoever would, to persecute the Christians. Whereupon Quadratus, a man of no less excellent zeal than of famous learning, being then bishop of Athens, and disciple of the apostles, or at least succeeding incontinent the age of the apostles, and following after Publius, (who a little before was martyred for the testimony of Christ,) did offer up and exhibit unto Hadrian the emperor a learned and excellent apology in the defence of the Christian religion. Wherein he declared the Christians, without all just cause or desert, to be so cruelly entreated and persecuted, &c. The like also did Aristides, another no less excellent philosopher in Athens, who for his singular learning and eloquence being notified to the emperor, and coming to his presence, there made before him an eloquent oration. Moreover, he did exhibit unto the said emperor a memorable apology for the Christians, so full of learning and eloquence, that, as Hierom saith, it was a spectacle and admiration to men in his time, that loved to see wit and learning. Over and besides these, there was also another named Serenus Granius, a man of great nobility, who likewise did write very pithy and grave letters to Hadrian the emperor, showing and declaring therein that it was consonant with no right nor reason for the blood of innocents to be given to the rage and fury of the people, and so to be condemned for no fault, only for the name and sect that they followed.

Thus the goodness of God being moved with the prayers and constant labour of these so excellent men, so turned the heart of the emperor, that he being better informed concerning the order and profession of the Christians, became more favourable unto them; and immediately upon the same directed his letters to Minutius Fundanus, (as is partly before mentioned,) proconsul of Asia, willing him from henceforth to exercise no more such extremity against the Christians, as to condemn any of them, having no other crime objected against them but only their name. The copy of which his letter, because that Justin in his apology doth allege it, I thought therefore to express the same in his own words, as followeth.

"I have received an epistle written unto me from Serenus Granius, our right worthy and well-beloved, whose office you do now execute. Therefore I think it not good to leave this matter without further advisement and circumspection to pass, lest our subjects be molested, and malicious sycophants boldened and supported in their evil. Wherefore if the subjects of our provinces do bring forth any accusation before the judge against the Christians, and can prove the thing they object against them, let them do the same, and no more, and otherwise, for the name only, not to impeach them, nor to cry out against them. For so, more convenient it is, that, if any man will be an accuser, you take the accusation quietly, and judge upon the same. Therefore, if any shall accuse the Christians, and complain of them as malefactors, doing contrary to the law, then give you judgment according to the quality of the crime. But, notwithstanding, whosoever upon spite and maliciousness shall commence or cavil against them, see you correct and punish that man for his inordinate and malicious dealing."

Thus by the merciful providence of God some more quiet and rest was given to the church, although Hermannus thinketh these halcyon days did not very long continue, but that the emperor changing his edict, began to renew again persecution of God's people; albeit this soundeth not to be so by the words of Melito in his apology to Antoninus hereafter ensuing. In the mean time this is certain, that in the days of this Hadrian the Jews rebelled again and spoiled the country of Palestina. Against whom the emperor sent Julius Severus, who overthrew in Jewry fifty castles, and burnt and

destroyed nine hundred and fourscore villages and towns, and slew of the Jews fifty thousand

with famine, sickness, sword, and fire. Judah was almost desolate. But at length Hadrian the emperor, which otherwise was named Ælius, repaired and enlarged the city of Jerusalem. which was called after his name Æliopolis, or Ælia Capitolina, the inhabitation whereof he granted only to the Gentiles and to the Christians, forbidding the Jews utterly to enter into the city.

After the death of Hadrian, who died by bleeding at the nose, succeeded Antoninus Pius, about the year of our Lord one hundred and thirty-eight, and reigned twenty and three years, who, for his clemency and modest behaviour, had the name of Pius, and is for the same in histories commended. His saying was, that he had rather save one citizen than destroy a thousand of his adversaries. At the beginning of his reign, such was the state of the church, as Hadrian his predecessor had left it, that although there was no edict set forth to persecute the Christians, yet the tumultuous rage of the heathen multitude, for the causes above specified, did not cease to disquiet and afflict the quiet people of God, imputing and ascribing to the Christians whatsoever misfortune happened contrary unto their desires; moreover, inventing against them all false crimes and contumelies whereof to accuse them. By reason whereof divers there were in sundry places much molested, and some put to death; albeit, as it is to be supposed, not by the consent of the emperor, who of nature was so mild and gentle, that either he raised up no persecution against the Christians, or else he soon stayed the same being moved; as well may appear by his letter sent down to the countries of Asia, the tenor whereof here ensueth.

"Emperor and Cæsar, Aurelius Antoninus Augustus, Armenicus, Pontifex Maximus, tribune eleven times, consul thrice, unto the commons of Asia, greeting. I am very certain that the gods have a care of this, that they which be such shall be known, and not lie hid. For they do punish them that will not worship them more than you, which so sore vex and trouble them, confirming thereby the opinion which they have conceived and do conceive of you, that is, to be wicked men. For this is their joy and desire, that when they are accused, rather they covet to die for their God than to live. Whereby they are victors, and do overcome you; giving rather their lives than to be obedient to you, in doing that which you require of them. And here it shall not be inconvenient to advertise you of the earthquakes which have and do happen among us, that when at the sight of them you tremble and are afraid, then you may confer your case with them. For they, upon a sure confidence of their God, are bold and fearless, much more than you; who in all the time of this your ignorance both do worship other gods and neglect the religion of immortality, and such Christians as worship him, them you do drive out, and persecute them unto death. Of these and such-like matters many presidents of our provinces did write to our father of famous memory heretofore. To whom he directed his answer again, willing them in no case to molest the Christians, except they were found in some trespass prejudicial against the empire of Rome. And to me also many there be which write, signifying their mind in like manner; to whom I have answered again to the same effect and manner as my father did. Wherefore if any hereafter shall offer any vexation or trouble to such, having no other cause but only for that they are such, let him that is appeached be released and discharged free, yea, although he be found to be such, (that is, a Christian,) and let the accuser sustain the punishment," &c.

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

This godly edict of the emperor was proclaimed at Ephesus, in the public assembly of all Asia; whereof Melito, also bishop of Sardis, who flourished in the same time, maketh mention in his apology written in defence of our doctrine to M. Antoninus Verus, as hereafter (Christ willing) shall appear. By this means, then, the tempest of persecution in those days began to be appeased, through the merciful providence of God, which would not have his church utterly to be overthrown, though hardly yet to grow.

6. THE FOURTH PERSECUTION UNDER ANTONINUS VERUS

After the decease of the foresaid quiet and mild prince Aurelius Antoninus Pius (who, among all other emperors of that time, made the most quiet end) followed his son M. Antoninus Verus, with Lucius his brother, about the year of our Lord one hundred threescore and one, a man of nature more stern and severe. And although in study of philosophy and in civil government no less commendable, yet toward the Christians sharp and fierce; by whom was moved the fourth persecution after Nero. In whose time a great number of them which truly professed Christ suffered most

cruel torments and punishments, both in Asia and France. In the number of whom was Polycarp, the worthy bishop of Smyrna, who in the great rage of this persecution in Asia, among many other most constant saints, was also martyred. Of whose end and martyrdom I thought it here not inexpedient to commit to history, so much as Eusebius declareth to be taken out of a certain letter or epistle, written by them of his own church to the brethren of Pontus; the tenor of which epistle here followeth.

The congregation which is at Smyrna, to the congregation which is at Philomilium, and to all the congregations throughout Pontus, mercy to you, peace, and the love of God our Father, and of our Lord Jesus Christ. be multiplied. Amen. We have written unto you, brethren, of those men which have suffered martyrdom. and of blessed Polycarp, which hath ended and appeased this persecution, as it were, by the shedding of his own blood. And in the same epistle, before they enter into further matter of Polycarp, they discourse of other martyrs, describing what patience they abode and showed in suffering their torments; which was so great and admirable, (saith the epistle,) that the lookers on were amazed, seeing and beholding how they were so scourged and whipped, that the inward veins and arteries appeared. yea, even so much that the very entrails of their bodies, their bowels and members, were seen; and after that were set upon sharp shells taken out of the sea, edged and sharp. and certain nails and thorns for the martyrs to go upon, which were sharpened and pointed, called *obelisci*. Thus suffered they all kind of punishment and torment that might be devised; and lastly were thrown unto the wild beasts to be devoured. But especially, in the aforesaid epistle mention is made of one Germanicus, how he most worthily persevered and overcame, by the grace of God, that fear of death which is ingrafted in the common nature of all men, whose notable patience and sufferance was so notable, that the whole multitude wondering at this beloved martyr of God, for this his so bold constancy, and also for the singular strength and virtue proceeding of the whole multitude of the Christians, began suddenly to cry with a loud voice, saying, Destroy the wicked men, let Polycarp be sought for. And whilst a great up roar and tumult began thus to be raised upon those cries, a certain Phrygian named Quintus, lately come out of Phrygia, seeing and abhorring the wild beasts, and the fierce rage of them, of an over-light mind betrayed his own safety. For so the same letter of him doth report, that he, not reverently, but more malapertly than was requisite, together with others, rushed into the judgment place, and so being taken, was made a manifest example to all the beholders, that no man ought rashly and unreverently with such boldness to thrust in himself, to intermeddle in matters wherewith he hath not to do.

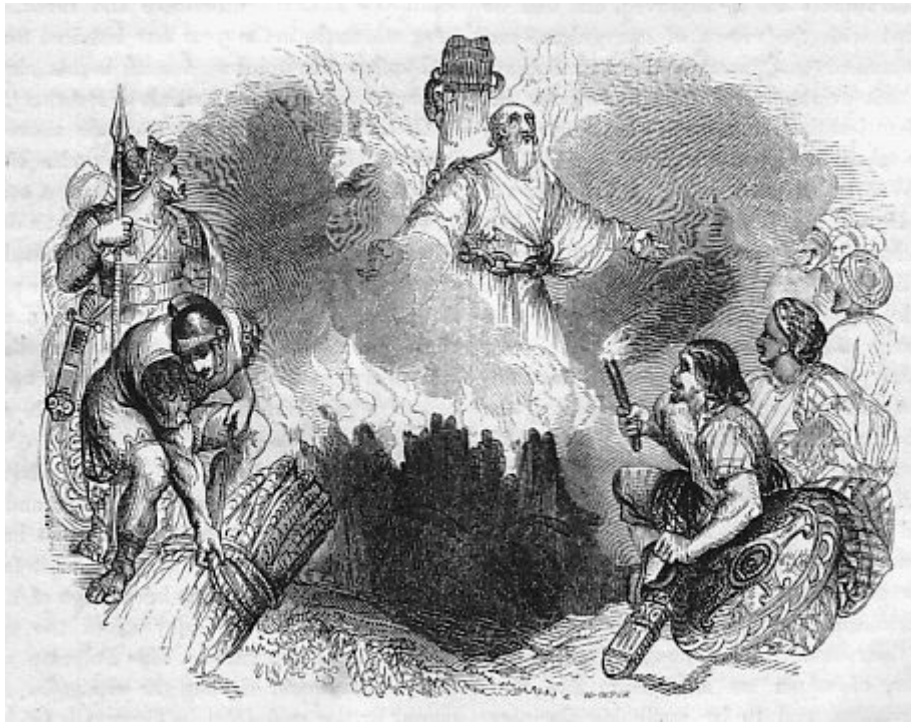
But now we will surcease to speak more of them, and return to Polycarp, of whom the foresaid letter consequently declareth as followeth: How that in the

beginning, when he heard of these things, was nothing at all afraid nor disquieted in mind, but purposed to have tarried still in the city, till being persuaded by the entreaty of them that were about him, (which desired him instantly that he would convey himself away,) hid himself in a grange or village not far off from the city, and there abiding, with a few more in his company, did nothing else (night nor day) but abode in supplication, wherein he made his humble petition for the obtaining of peace unto all the congregations throughout the world, for that was his accustomed manner so to do. And as he was thus making his prayers three days before he was apprehended, in a vision by night, he saw the bed set on fire under his head, and suddenly to be consumed. And when he awaked, he told by and by, and expounded unto them that were present, his vision, and told them before what thing should come to pass; that is, how that in the fire he should lose his life for Christ's cause. It is further mentioned, that when they were hard at hand which so narrowly sought for him, that he was enforced for the affection and love of his brethren to fly into another village, to which place notwithstanding, within a little while after, the pursuers came; and when they had taken a couple of children that dwelt thereabouts, they so beat one of them with whips, that by the bewraying or confession of him they were brought unto the inn where Polycarp was. And they say that the pursuers, making no great haste to enter, found him in the uppermost place of the house, from whence he might have escaped into other houses, if he would; but this he would not do, saying, The will of God be done. Furthermore, when he knew that they were come, as the said history showeth, he came down, and spake unto them with a cheerful and pleasant countenance; so that it was a wonder to see those which a while ago knew not the man, now beholding and viewing his comely age, and his grave and constant countenance, lamented that they had so much employed their labour, that so aged a man should be apprehended. To conclude, he commanded that straightway, without any delay, the table should be laid for them, and persuaded them that they would eat and dine well, and required of them boldly that he might have an hour's respite to make his prayers. Which thing, after it was granted, he arose and went to pray, so being replenished with the grace of God, that they which were present, and hearing the prayers that he made, were astonished at it, and now many of them were sorry that so honest and godly an aged man should be put to death.

After this, the aforesaid epistle or letter, prosecuting the history, addeth more, as followeth: After he had made an end of his prayers, and had called to his remembrance all those things which ever happened unto him, and to the universal catholic church throughout all the world, (whether they were small or great, glorious or elseinglorious,) and that the hour was now come in which they ought to set forward, they set him upon an ass, and brought him to the city upon a solemn feast day. And there met him Irenæus Herodes, and his father Nicetes, which causing him to come up into the chariot where they sat, persuaded him, and said, What hurt, I pray thee, shall come thereof to thee, if thou say, (by the way of salutation,) My Lord Cæsar, and do sacrifice, and thus to save thyself? But he at the beginning made them none answer, till that when they enforced him to speak, he said, I will not do as ye counsel me I should. When, as they saw he could not be persuaded, they gave him very rough language, and of purpose molested him that in going down the chariot from them he might hurt or break his legs. But he forcing very light of the matter, as though he had felt no hurt, went merrily and, diligently forward, making haste unto the place appointed. And when there was such uproar in the place of execution, that he could not be heard but of very few, there came a voice from heaven to Polycarp, as he was going into the stage, or appointed place of judgment, saying, Be of good cheer, Polycarp, and play the man.

No man there was which saw him that spake, but very many of us heard his voice. And when he was brought in, there was a great noise made by them which understood that Polycarp was apprehended. The proconsul asked him, when he was come, whether his name was Polycarp or not. And when he said, Yea, it was, he gave him counsel to deny his name, and said unto him, Be good unto thyself, and favour thine old age; and many other such-like words which they accustom to speak. Swear, saith he, by the emperor's good fortune; look upon this matter; say thou with us, Destroy these naughty men. Then Polycarp, beholding with constant countenance the whole multitude which was in the place appointed, and giving a great sigh, looked up to heaven, saying, Thou, thou it is that wilt destroy these wicked, naughty men. And the proconsul thus being earnestly in hand with him, said, Take thine oath, and I will discharge thee; defy Christ. Polycarp answered, Fourscore and six years have I been his servant, yet in all this time hath he not so much as once hurt me; how then may I speak evil of my King and sovereign Lord, which hath thus preserved me? Then the proconsul again enforced him, and said, Swear thou, I advise thee, by Cæsar's prosperity. Polycarp replieth, If thou require of me this fond word of vain boasting, feigning not to know (as thou sayest) who I am, I do thee to wit that I am a Christian; and if thou desire to know the doctrine of Christianity, appoint a day, and thou shalt hear. Persuade the people unto this, said the proconsul. Truly, saith Polycarp, I have thought it my part thus to say unto you, for so much as we are commanded to give unto the governors and powers ordained of God the honour meet and due to them, and not hurtful unto us; but as for those, I do judge them unworthy to purge myself unto them. Hereupon the proconsul stood up; I have, saith he, wild beasts, to whom I will throw thee, unless thou take a better way. Whereunto Polycarp answered, Let them come; we have determined with ourselves that we will not by repentance turn us from the better way to the worse, but rather convenient it is that a man turn from things that be evil unto that which is good and just. Again, saith the proconsul, I will tame thee with fire, if that thou set not by the wild beasts, nor yet repent. Then said Polycarp, You threaten me with fire which shall burn for the space of an hour, and shall be within a little while after put out and extinguished; but thou knowest not the fire of the judgment that is to come, and of everlasting punishment, which is reserved for the wicked and ungodly. But why make you all these delays? Give me what death soever ye list. These, and many other such-like things being by him spoken, he was replenished with joy and boldness; and his countenance appeared so full of grace and favour, that not only he was not troubled with those things which the proconsul spake unto him, but contrarily the proconsul himself began to be amazed, and sent for the crier, which in the middle of the stage was commanded to cry three times, Polycarp hath confessed himself to be a Christian; which words of the crier were no sooner spoken, but all the whole multitude, both of Gentiles and Jews inhabiting at Smyrna, with a vehement rage and loud voice, cried, This is that doctor or teacher of Asia, the father of the Christians, and the destroyer of our gods, which hath instructed a great number that our gods are not to be worshipped. And after this they cried unto Philip the governor of Asia, and required him that he would let loose the lion to Polycarp. To whom he made answer, that he might not so do, because he had already his prey. Then they cried again all together with one voice, that he would burn Polycarp alive. For it was requisite that the vision which he saw, as concerning his pillow or bolster, should be fulfilled; which when he had seen burnt, as he was in his prayer, he turned himself unto the faithful sort which were with him, saying, by the way of prophecy, It will so come that I shall be burned alive. And the proconsul had no sooner spoken but it was out of hand performed. For why? The multitude by and by brought out of their shops, work-houses, and barns, wood and

other dry matter for that purpose; and especially the Jews were most serviceable for that matter, after their wonted manner.



The martyrdom of St. Polycarp

And thus the pile being laid, and when he had now put off his garments, and undone his girdle, and was about to pull off his shoes, which he had not done before, for that all the faithful sort among themselves strived as it were who should first touch his body at their farewell, because for the good conversation of his life, even from his younger age, he was had in great estimation of all men. Therefore straightway those instruments which are requisite to such a bonfire were brought unto him;

and when they would have nailed him to the stake with iron hoops, he said, Let me alone as I am, for he that hath given me strength to suffer and abide the fire, shall also give power, that without this your provision of nails I shall abide, and not stir in the midst of this fire or pile of wood. Which thing when they heard, they did not nail him, but bound him. Therefore when his hands were bound behind him, even as the chiefest ram taken out of the flock, he was sacrificed as an acceptable burnt offering to God, saying, O Father of thy well-beloved and blessed Son Jesus Christ, by whom we have attained the knowledge of thee, the God of angels and powers, and of every creature, and of all just men which live before thee, I give thee thanks that thou hast vouchsafed to grant me this day, that I may have my part among the number of the martyrs in the cup of Christ, unto the resurrection of eternal life, both of body and soul, through the operation of thy Holy Spirit; among whom I shall this day be received into thy sight for an acceptable sacrifice: and as thou hast prepared and revealed the same before this time, so thou hast accomplished the same, O thou most true God, which canst not lie. Wherefore I in like case for all things praise thee, and bless thee, and glorify thee by our ever lasting Bishop, Jesus Christ, to whom be glory evermore. Amen.

And as soon as he had ended this word Amen, and finished his prayer, the tormentors began to kindle the fire; and as the flame flashed out vehemently, we, to whom it was given to discern the same, saw a marvellous matter; which were also to this purpose preserved, that we might show the same to others, For the fire being made like unto a roof or vault of a house, and after the manner of a shipman's sail, filled with wind, compassed about the body of the martyr, as with a certain wall, and he, in the middle of the same, not as flesh that burned, but as gold and silver when it is tried in the fire. And surely we smelt a savour so sweet, as if myrrh or some other precious balm had given a scent, at the last, when those wicked persons saw that his body could not be consumed by fire, they commanded one of the tormentors to come unto him, and thrust him through with his sword; which being done, so great a quantity of blood ran out of his body, that the fire was quenched therewith, and the whole multitude marvelled that there was so much diversity between the infidels and the elect, of whom this Polycarp was one, being a disciple of the apostles, and a prophetic instructor of our times, and bishop of the catholic church of Smyrna; for what word soever he spake, both it was and shall be accomplished. But the subtle and envious adversary, when he saw the worthiness of his martyrdom, and that his conversation even from his younger years could not be reprov'd, and that he was adorned with the crown of martyrdom, and had now obtained that incomparable benefit, gave in charge that we should not take and divide his body, for fear lest the remnants of the dead corpse should be taken away, and so worshipped of the people. Whereupon divers whispered Niceta the father of Herod, and his brother Dalces, in the ear, to admonish the proconsul that in no case he should deliver his body, lest (saith he) they leave Christ and begin to worship him. And this spake they, because the Jews had given them secret warning, and provoked them thereunto; who also watched us, that we should not take him out of the fire; not being ignorant how that we meant at no time to forsake Christ, which gave his life for the salvation of the whole world, (as many I mean as are elected to salvation by him,) neither yet that we could worship any other. For why? Him we worship as the Son of God, but the martyrs do we love as disciples of the Lord, (and that worthily,) for their abundant love towards their King and Master, of whom we also desire and wish to be companions, and to be made his disciples. When therefore the centurion saw and perceived the labour of the Jews, the corpse being laid abroad, they burnt the same, as was their manner to do.

Thus good Polycarp, with twelve others that came from Philadelphia, suffered martyrdom at Smyrna; which Polycarp, specially above the rest, is had in memory, so that he in all places among the Gentiles is most famous. And this was the end of this worthy disciple of the apostles, whose history the brethren of the congregation of Smyrna have written in this their epistle, as is above recited.

Irenæus, in his third book against Heresies, the third chapter, and Eusebius, in his fourth book and fourteenth chapter of his Ecclesiastical History, reporteth this worthy saying of Polycarp: This Polycarp (saith he) meeting at a certain time Marcion, the heretic, who said to him, Dost thou not know me? made answer, I know that thou art the first begotten of Satan. So little fear what evil might ensue thereof had the disciples of the apostles, that they would not speak to them whom they knew to be the depravers of the verity, even as Paul saith, The heretic, after the first and second admonition, shun and avoid, knowing that he which is such a one is perverse or froward, and damnable himself. This most holy confessor and martyr of Christ, Polycarp, suffered death in the fourth persecution after Nero, when Marcus Antoninus, and Lucius Aurelius Commodus reigned, in the year of our Lord one hundred

threescore and seven, as Ursperg affirmeth, in the year one hundred threescore and ten, as Eusebius witnesseth in his chronicles, the seventh before the kalends of February.

Of Germanicus mention is made above in the story of Polycarp, of whom writeth Eusebius, noting him to be a young man, and most constantly to persevere in the profession of Christ's doctrine; whom when the proconsul went to persuade to remember his age, and to favour himself, being in the flower of his age, he would not be allured, but constantly and boldly, and of his own accord, incited and provoked the wild beasts to come upon him, and to devour him, to be delivered more speedily out of this wretched life.

Thus have you heard out of the epistle of the brethren of Smyrna the whole order and life of Polycarp, whereby it may appear that he was a very aged man, who had served Christ fourscore and six years since the first knowledge of him, and served also in the ministry about the space of threescore and ten years. This Polycarp was the scholar and hearer of John the evangelist, and was placed by the said John in Smyrna. Of him also Ignatius maketh mention in his epistle which he wrote in his journey to Rome, going toward his martyrdom, and commendeth to him the government of his church at Antioch, whereby it appeareth that Polycarp was then in the ministry. Likewise Irenæus writeth of the said Polycarp after this manner: He always taught (said he) those things which he learned of the apostles (leaving them to the church) and are only true. Whereunto also all the churches that be in Asia, and all they which succeeded after Polycarp, to this day bear witness. And the same Irenæus witnesseth also that the said Polycarp wrote an epistle to the Philippians, which whether it be the same that is now extant and read in the name of Polycarp, it is doubted of some; notwithstanding, in the said epistle divers things are found very wholesome and apostolic; as where he teacheth of Christ, of judgment, and of the resurrection. Also he writeth of faith very worthily, thus declaring, that by grace we are saved, and not by works, but in the will of God by Jesus Christ.

In Eusebius we read in like manner a part of an epistle written by Irenæus to Florinus, wherein is declared how that the said Irenæus being yet young, was with Polycarp in Asia; at what time he saw and well remembered what Polycarp did, and the place where he sat teaching, his whole order of life and proportion of his body, with the sermons and words which he said to the people. And furthermore, he perfectly remembered how that the said Polycarp oftentimes reported unto him those things which he learned and heard them speak of the Lord's doings, power, and doctrine, who heard the word of life with their own ears, all which were more constant and agreeable to the Holy Scripture. This, with much more, hath Irenæus concerning Polycarp.

Hierom also, writing of the same Polycarp, hath, how he was in great estimation throughout all Asia, for that he was scholar to the apostles, and to them which did see and were conversant with Christ himself; whereby it is to be conjectured his authority to be much, not only with them of his own church, but with all other churches about him.

Over and besides, it is witnessed by the said Irenæus, that Polycarp came to Rome in the time of Anicetus bishop of Rome, about the year of our Lord one hundred fifty and seven, in the reign of Antoninus Pius, whose cause of his coming thither appeareth to be about the controversy of Easter day; wherein the Asians and the Romans some thing disagreed among themselves. And therefore the said Polycarp, in the behalf of the brethren and church of Asia, took his long journey thither, to come

and confer with Anicetus. Whereof writeth also Nicephorus, declaring that Polycarp and Anicetus something varied in opinions and judgment about that matter, and that, notwithstanding, yet both friendly communicated either with the other, insomuch that Anicetus in his church gave place to Polycarp to minister the communion and sacrament of the Lord's supper, for honour sake. Which may be a notable testimony now to us, that the doctrine concerning the free use and liberty of ceremonies was at that time retained in the church without any offence of stomach, or breach of Christian peace in the church.

This Polycarp (as is above mentioned) suffered his martyrdom even in his own church at Smyrna, where he had laboured so many years in planting of the gospel of Christ, which was about the year of our Lord a hundred threescore and ten, as Eusebius reckoneth in his Chronicle, and in the seventh year of Antoninus Verus's reign; whereby it appeareth that Socrates was much deceived, saying that Polycarp suffered in the time of Gordianus.

In this fourth persecution, besides Polycarp and others mentioned before, we read also in Eusebius of divers others, who at the same time likewise did suffer at Smyrna.

Over and besides, in the same persecution suffered moreover Metrodorus, a minister, who was given to the fire, and so consumed. Another was worthy Pionius, which after much boldness of speech, with his apologies exhibited, and his sermons made to the people in the defence of Christian faith, and after much relieving and comforting of such as were in prisons, and otherwise discomforted, at last was put to cruel torments and afflictions, then given likewise to the fire, and so finished his blessed martyrdom.

After these also suffered Carpus, Papilus, and Agathonica, a wonlan, who, after their most constant and worthy confessions, were put to death at Pergamopolis in Asia.

And as these suffered in Asia, so in Rome suffered Felicitas with her seven children, who under this M. Antoninus Verus sustained also the cruelty of this persecution. The names of whose children Bergomensis and other histories do thus recite:

Januarius, Felix, Philip, Silvanus, Alexander, Vitalis, Martialis. Of whom her first and eldest son, Januarius, after he was whipped and scourged with rods, was pressed to death with leaden weights. Felix and Philip had their brains beaten out with mauls. Silvanus was cast down headlong, and had his neck broken. Furthermore, Alexander, Vitalis, and Martialis were beheaded. Last of all Felicitas, the mother, (otherwise than the accustomed manner was for such as had borne children,) was slain with the sword.

In the rage of this persecution suffered also good Justin, a man in learning and philosophy excellent, and a great defender of Christian religion, who first exhibited unto the emperor, and to the senate, a book or apology in the defence of the Christians, and afterward himself also died a martyr. Of whom in the history of Eusebius it is thus recorded: that about what time, or a little before, that Polycarp with divers other saints suffered martyrdom in Pergamopolis, a city of Asia, this Justin (as is aforesaid) presented a book in defence of our doctrine to the emperor, to wit, unto Antoninus, and to the senate. After which he was also crowned with like martyrdom unto those whom he in his book had defended, through the malicious means and crafty circumvention of Crescens.

This Crescens was a philosopher, conforming his life and manners to the cynical sect, whom because this Justin had reproved in open audience, and had borne away the victory of the truth which he defended; he, therefore, as much as in him lay, did work and procure unto him this crown of martyrdom. And this did also Justin himself, a philosopher no less famous by his profession, foresee and declare in his foresaid Apology; telling almost all those things beforehand which should happen unto him by these words, saying, And I look after this good turn, that I be slain going by the way, either of some of those whom I have named, and to have my brains beaten out with a bat, or else of Crescens, whom I cannot call a philosopher, but rather a vain boaster. For it is not convenient to call him a philosopher, which openly profeseth things to him unknown, and whereof he hath no skill, saying and reporting of us that the Christians be ungodly and irreligious; and all to please and flatter them which are seduced by error.

For whether he objecteth against us the doctrine of the Christians which he hath not read, yet is he very malicious, and worse than the unlearned idiots, who for the most part use not to dispute or judge of things they know not, and to bear witness of the same. Or put the case that he had read it, yet understandeth he not the majesty of the matters therein contained: or, if peradventure he understandeth them, and doth it for this purpose, that he would not be counted as one of them; then is he so much the more wicked and malicious, and the bondslave of vile and beastly both fame and fear. For this I testify of him, giving you truly to understand that for a truth which I declare unto you, how that I have opposed him, and have put unto him many questions, whereby I know and perceive that he understandeth nothing. But if so be that this our disputation with him hath not come unto your ears, I am ready to communicate unto you again those questions which I demanded of him, which things shall not be unfit for your princely honour to hear. But if ye know and understand both what things I have examined him of, as also what answer he hath made, it shall be apparent unto you that he is altogether ignorant of our doctrine and learning; or else if he knoweth the same, he dare not utter it for fear of his auditors; which thing, as I said before, is a proof that he is no philosopher, but a slave to vain-glory, which maketh none account of that which his own master Socrates had in so great estimation. And thus much of Justin out of Justin himself.

Now, to verify that which Justin here of himself doth prophesy, that Crescens would and did procure his death, Tacianus (a man brought up of a child in the institutions of the Gentiles, and obtained in the same not a little fame, and which also left behind him many good monuments and commentaries) writeth in his book against the Gentiles in this sort: And Justin, (saith he,) that most excellent learned man, full well spake and uttered his mind, that the afore-recited men were like unto thieves or liars by the highway side. And in the said book, speaking afterward of certain philosophers, the said Tacianus inferreth thus: Crescens therefore, (saith he,) when he came first into that great city, passed all others in the vicious love of children, and was very much given to covetousness; and where he taught that men ought not to regard death, he himself doth fear death, and he did all his endeavour to oppress Justin with death, as with the most greatest evil that was, and all because that Justin, speaking truth, reproved the philosophers to be men only for the belly, and deceivers: and this was the cause of Justin's martyrdom. Hierom in his Ecclesiastical Catalogue thus writeth: Justin, when in the city of Rome he had his disputations, and had reproved Crescens the cynic for a great blasphemer of the Christians, for a belly-god, and a man fearing death, and also a follower of lust and lechery; at last by his endeavour and

conspiracy was accused to be a Christian, and for Christ shed his blood, in the year of our Lord one hundred fifty and four, under Marcus Antoninus, as the Chronicles do witness, Abbas Urspergensis, and Eusebius in his Chronicle, in the thirteenth year of the emperor Antoninus.

Among these above recited is also to be numbered Praxedis, a blessed virgin, the daughter of a citizen of Rome, who in the time of Anicetus, there bishop, was so brought up in the doctrine of Christ, and so affected to his religion, that she, with her sister Potentiana, bestowed all her patrimony upon the relieving of poor Christians, giving all her time to fasting and prayer, and to the burying of the bodies of the martyrs. And after she had made free all her family, with her servants, after the death of her sister, she also departed, and was buried in peace.

Under the same Antoninus also suffered Ptolomeus and Lucius, for the confession of Christ, in a city of Egypt, called Alexandrina; whose history, because it is decribed in the Apology of Justin Martyr, I thought therefore so to set forth the same, as it is alleged in Eusebius, declaring the manner and occasion thereof, in words and effect as followeth, &c.

There was (saith he) a certain woman married unto a husband, who was given much to lasciviousness, whereunto she herself in times past was also addicted. But she, afterward being instructed in the Christian religion, became chaste herself, and also persuaded her husband to live chastely; oftentimes telling him that it was written in the precepts of the Christians, that they should be punished eternally which lived not chastely and justly in this life. But he still continuing in his filthiness, thereby caused his wife to estrange herself from his company. For why? The woman thought it not convenient to continue in her husband's company, which, contemning the law of nature, sought otherwise to satisfy his filthy appetite. Therefore she was purposed to be divorced from him. But her neighbours and kinsfolk provoked her, by promising his amendment, to keep company again with him, and so she did. But he after this took his journey into Alexandria; and when it was showed her that there he lived more licentiously than at any time before, for that she would not be counted partaker of his incestuous life, by coupling herself any longer with him, she gave him a letter of divorce, and so departed from him. Then her husband, who ought rather to have rejoiced to have so honest and chaste a wife, which not only would not commit any dishonest thing her self, but also could not abide any lewd or misordered behaviour in her husband; and that by this her separation she went about to reclaim him from his incest and wickedness to better amendment of life; he, in recompence to his wife again, accused her to be a Christian, which at that time was no less than death. Whereupon she, being in great peril and danger, delivered up unto the emperor (as Justin in his Apology, writing to the emperor himself, declareth) a supplication, desiring and craving of his majesty, first, to grant her so much licence as to set her family in order; and, that done, afterward to come again and make answer to all that might or should be laid against her: whereunto the emperor condescended. Then her husband, seeing that he could have no advantage against her, devised with himself how he might bring Ptolomeus (which was her instructor in the faith of Christ) in trouble and accusation; using the means of a certain centurion, who was his very friend, whom he persuaded to examine Ptolomeus, whether he were a Christian or not. Ptolomeus (as one that loved the truth, and not thinking good to hide his profession) confessed no less than to the examiner, openly declaring that he had (as truth was) taught and professed the verity of Christian doctrine. For whoso denieth himself to be that he is, either condemneth in denying the thing that he is, or maketh himself

unworthy of that the confession whereof he flieth, which thing is never found in a true and sincere Christian. Thus then he being brought before Urbicius the judge, and by him condemned to suffer, one Lucius, being also a Christian, standing by, and seeing the wrong judgment and hasty sentence of the judge, said to Urbicius, What reason, I pray you, or equity is this, that this man, who is neither adulterer, nor fornicator, nor homicide, nor felon, neither hath committed any such crime, wherewith he may be charged, is thus condemned only for his name and confession of a Christian? This condemnation, and this manner of judgments, (O Urbicius,) are neither seemly for the virtuous emperor, nor to the philosopher his son, nor yet for the estate of his senate of Rome.

Which words being heard, Urbicius making no further examination of the matter, said unto Lucius, Me thinketh thou art also a Christian. And when Lucius had given him to understand that he was also a Christian, the judge, without further delay, commanded him to be had away to the place of execution. To whom he answered, I thank you, with all my heart, that you release me from most wicked governors, and send me unto my good and most loving Father, being also the King of all gods. And in like manner the third man also, coming unto him, and using the like liberty of speech, had also the like sentence of death and condemnation, and was crowned also with the same crown of martyrdom. And thus much out of the Apology of Justin; by the which story it may appear not to be true that Gratianus attributeth unto Higinus, bishop of Rome, the deciding of causes matrimonial, seeing that in Justin's time (who was in the same age of Higinus) the divorcement of this woman in this history above touched was not decided by any ecclesiastical law, or brought before any bishop, but was brought before a heathen prince, and determined by the law civil.

Henricus de Erfordia recordeth out of the Martyrology of Isuardus, of one Concordus, a minister of the city of Spolet, who in the reign of this Antoninus Verus, because he would not sacrifice unto Jupiter, but did spit in the face of the idol, after divers and sundry punishments sustained, at last with the sword was beheaded. Vincentius, in his tenth book, chap. 108, reciteth a long story of his acts and life, whereof some part perhaps may seem tolerable. But this verily appeareth to be false and fabulous, concerning the water flowing beside his sepulchre, in the forenamed city of Spolet; unto the which water was given, (saith Vincentius,) by the virtue of Him for whose name he suffered, to restore sight to the blind, to heal the sick, and to cast out devils, &c. Which kind of virtue, to open the eyes of the blind and to expel devils, neither doth God give to any creature of water, neither is it like that Concordus, the blessed martyr, did or would require any such thing at the hands of God.

Isuardus, and Bede, Vincentius, and Henricus de Erfordia, with other authors more, make relation of divers other martyrs that, by sundry kinds of torments, were put to death under the aforesaid Antoninus Verus; the names of whom be Symmetrius, Florellus, Pontianus, Alexander, Caius, Epipodus, Victor, Corona, Marcellus, Valerianus. The cause of whose martyrdom was the reprehending of idolatry; and because, at the emperor's commandment, they would not sacrifice to idols. Many sorts of punishments and miracles are told of them: but at length the end of them all is this, that they were beheaded. Whereby it may be the more suspected the histories of these writers not to be certain or true, as well touching these as also other martyrs, as may appear in Vincentius, in Petrus de Natalibus, and other authors of like sort. In which authors they which list to read more of their miracles there may find them.

A little before mention was made of Symphorissa, otherwise named Symphorosa, wife of Getulus, with her seven sons. This Getulus or Getulius was a minister, or teacher, (as witnesseth Martyrol. Adonis,) in the city of Tiber; which Getulus, with Cerealis, Amantius, and Primitivus, by the commandment of Hadrian, were condemned to the fire, wherein they were martyred and put to death. The names moreover of the seven sons of this Symphorosa I find to be Crescens, Julianus, Nemesisius, Primitivus, Justinus, Statteus, and Eugenius, whom the Chronicle of Ado declareth to be put to death at the commandment of Hadrian, being fastened to seven stakes, and so racked up with a pulley, and at last were thrust through; Crescens in the neck, Julianus in the breast, Nemesisius in the heart, Primitivus about the navel, Justinus cut in every joint of his body, Statteus run through with spears, Eugenius cut asunder from the breast to the lower parts, and then cast into a deep pit, having the name by the idolatrous priests, entitled *Ad septem Biothanatos*. After the martyrdom of whom also Symphorosa the mother did likewise suffer, as is before declared.

Under the said Antoninus Verus, and in the same persecution, which raged not in Rome and Asia only, but in other countries also, suffered the glorious and most constant martyrs of Lyons and Vienna, two cities in France, giving to Christ a glorious testimony, and to all Christian men a spectacle or example of singular constancy and fortitude in Christ our Saviour. The history of whom, because it is written and set forth by their own churches, where they did suffer, mentioned in Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 2, I thought here to express the same in the form and effect of their own words, as there is to be seen. The title of which their epistle written to the brethren of Asia and Phrygia thus beginneth.

"The servants of Christ inhabiting the cities of Vienna and Lyons, to the brethren in Asia and Phrygia, having the same faith and hope of redemption with us; peace, grace, and glory from God the Father, and from Jesus Christ our Lord." The greatness of this our tribulation, the furious rage of the Gentiles against us, and the torments which the blessed martyrs suffered; neither can we in words, not yet in writing exactly, as they deserve, set forth. For the adversary, with all his force, gave his endeavour to the working of such preparatives as he himself listed against his tyrannous coming, and in every place practised he and instructed his ministers how in most spiteful manner to set them against the servants of God; so that not only in our houses, shops, and markets we were restrained, but also were universally commanded, that none (so hardy) should be seen in any place. But God hath always mercy in store, and took out of their hands such as were weak amongst them, and other some did he set up as firm and immovable pillars, which by sufferance were able to abide all violent force, and valiantly to withstand the enemy, enduring all their opprobrious punishment they could devise: to conclude, they fought this battle for that intent to come unto Christ, esteeming their great troubles but as light; thereby showing that all that may be suffered in this present life is not able to countervail the great glory which shall be showed upon us after this life. And, first, they patiently suffered whatsoever the multitude of frantic people running upon head did unto them, as railings, scourgings, drawings, and halings, flinging of stones, imprisonings, and what other thing soever the rage of the multitude is wont to use and practise against their professed enemies. Then afterward they being led into the market-place, and there judged of the captain and rest of the potentates of the city, after their confession made openly before the multitude, were commanded again to prison until the return of their chief governor. After this, they being brought before him, and he using all extremity that possibly he might against them, one Vetius Epagathus, one of the brethren,

replenished with fervent zeal, both towards God and his brethren (whose conversation, although he were a young man, was counted as perfect as was the life of Zachary the priest; for he walked diligently in all the commandments and justifications of the Lord, and in all obedience towards his brethren, blameless); he having within him the fervent zeal of love and Spirit of God, could not suffer that wicked judgment which was given upon the Christians; but being vehemently displeased, desired that the judge would hear the excuse which he was minded to make in the behalf of the Christians, in whom (saith he) is no impiety found. But the people cried again to those that were assistants with the chief justice that it might not be so (for, indeed, he was a nobleman born); neither did the justice grant him his lawful request, but only asked him whether he himself was a Christian or not. And he immediately, with a loud and bold voice, answered and said, I am a Christian. And thus was he received into the fellowship of the martyrs, and called the advocate of the Christians. And he having the Spirit of God more plentifully in time than had Zachary, the abundance thereof he declared, in that he gave his life in the defence of his brethren, being a true disciple of Christ, following the Lamb wheresoever he goeth.

By this man's example the rest of the martyrs were the more animated to martyrdom, and made more joyous with all courage of mind to accomplish the same. Some other there were unready and not so well prepared, and as yet weak, not well able to bear the vehemency of so great a conflict; of whom ten there were in number that fainted, ministering to us much heaviness and lamentation, who by their example caused the rest which were not yet apprehended to be less willing thereunto. Then were we all for the variableness of confession not a little astonished; not that we feared the punishment intended against us, but rather as having respect to the end, and fearing lest any should fall. Every day there were apprehended such as were worthy to fulfil the number of them which were fallen; insomuch that, of two churches, such as were chiefest, and which were the principal governors of our churches, were apprehended. With these also certain of the ethnics, being our men-servants, were apprehended; (for so the governor commanded, that all of us in general without any respect should be taken;) which servants being overcome by Satan, and fearing the torments which they saw the saints to suffer, being also compelled thereunto by the means of the soldiers, feigned against us that we kept the feastings of Thiestes, and incest of Œdipus, and many such other crimes, which are neither to be remembered nor named by us, nor yet to be thought that ever any man would commit the like.

These things being now bruited abroad, every man began to show cruelty against us, insomuch that those which before for familiarity sake were more gentle towards us, now vehemently disdained us, and waxed mad against us. And thus was now fulfilled that which was spoken by Christ, saying, The time will come, that whosoever killeth you shall think that he doth God great good service. Then suffered the martyrs of God such bitter persecution as is passing to be told; Satan still shooting at this mark, to make them to utter some blasphemy, by all means possible. Marvellous therefore was the rage both of the people and prince, especially against one Sanctus, which was deacon of the congregation of Vienna; and against Maturus, being but a little before baptized, but yet a worthy follower of Christ; and also against Attalus, being born in Pergama, which was the foundation and pillar of that congregation; and also against Blandina; by whom Christ sheweth those things, which the world esteemed vile and abject, to be glorious in God's sight, for the very love which in heart and deed they bare unto him, not in outward face only. For when all we were afraid, and especially her mistress in the flesh, who also was herself one of the number of the

aforesaid martyrs, lest haply for the weakness of body she would not stand strongly to her confession, the foresaid Blandina was so replenished with strength and boldness, that they which had the tormenting of her by course, from morning to night, for very weariness gave over, and fell down, and were themselves overcome, confessing that they could do no more against her, and marvelled that yet she lived, having her body so torn and rent; and testified that any one of those torments alone, without any more, had been enough to have plucked the life from her body. But that blessed woman, fighting this worthy battle, became stronger and stronger; and as often as she spake these words, "I am a Christian, neither have we committed any evil," it was to her a marvellous comfort and boldening to abide the torments.

Sanctus also, another of the martyrs, who in the midst of his torments endured more pains than the nature of a man might away with, at what time the wicked supposed to have heard him utter some blasphemous words, for the greatness and intolerableness of his torments and pains that he was in, abode notwithstanding in such constancy of mind, that neither he told them his name, nor what countryman he was, nor in what city brought up, neither whether he was a free man or a servant; but unto every question that was asked him, he answered in the Latin tongue, I am a Christian, and this was all that he confessed, both of his name, city, kindred, and all other things in the place of execution; neither yet could the Gentiles get any more of him; whereupon both the governor and tormentors were the more vehemently bent against him. And when they had nothing to vex him withal, they clapped plates of brass red hot to the most tenderest parts of his body; wherewith his body indeed being scorched, yet he never shrunk for the matter, but was bold and constant in his confession, being strengthened and moistened with the fountain of lively water flowing out of Christ's side. Truly his body was a sufficient witness what torments he suffered; for it was all drawn together and most pitifully wounded and scorched, so that it had therewith lost the proper shape of a man; in whose suffering Christ obtained unspeakable glory, for that he overcame his adversaries, and, to the instruction of others, declared that nothing else is terrible, or ought to be feared, where the love of God is, and nothing grievous wherein the glory of Christ is manifested.

And when those wicked men began after a certain time again to torment the martyr, and hoped well to bring it to pass, that either they should overcome him in causing him to recant, by reiterating his torments, now when his body was so sore and swollen, that he might not suffer a man to touch him with his hand; or else that if he died under their hands, yet that thereby they should strike such fear into the hearts of the rest, as to cause them to deny Christ; they were not only disappointed herein, but also, contrary to the expectation of men, his body was in the latter punishment and torments suppld and restored, and took the first shape and use of the members of the same, so that the same his second torment was by the grace of Christ (instead of punishment) a safe medicine.

Also Satan, now thinking to have settled himself in the heart of one Biblides, being one of them which had denied Christ, and thinking to have caused her, being a weak and feeble woman in faith, to have damned her soul, in blaspheming the name of God, brought her to the place of execution, enforcing to wrest some wicked thing out of the mouth of the Christians. But she in the middle of her torments, returning to herself, and waked as it were out of her dead sleep by that temporal pain, called to her remembrance the pains of hell-fire, and against all men's expectations reviled the tormentors, saying, How should we Christians eat young infants, (as ye reported of us,) for whom it is not lawful to eat the blood of any beast. Upon that, so soon as she

had confessed herself to be a Christian, she was martyred with the rest. Thus when Christ had ended those tyrannical torments, by the patience and sufferance of our saints, the devil yet invented other engines and instruments. For when the Christians were cast into prison, they were shut up in dark and ugly dungeons, and were drawn by the feet in a rack, or engine, made for that purpose. And many other such punishments suffered they, which the furious ministers, stirred up with devilish fury, are wont to put men unto; so that very many of them were strangled and killed in prisons, whom the Lord in this manner would have to enjoy everlasting life, and set forth his glory. And surely these good men were so pitifully tormented, that if they had had all the helps and medicines in the world, it was thought impossible for them to live and to be restored. And thus they remaining in prison, destitute of all human help, were so strengthened of the Lord, and both in body and mind confirmed, that they comforted and stirred up the minds of the rest; the younger sort of them, which were later apprehended, and put in prison, whose bodies had not yet felt the lash of the whip, were not able to endure the sharpness of their imprisonment, but died for the same.

The blessed Photinus, who was deacon to the bishop of Lyons, about fourscore and nine years old, and a very feeble or weak man, and could scarcely draw breath for the imbecility of his body, yet was he of a lively courage and spirit; and for the great desire he had of martyrdom, when he was brought unto the judgment-seat, although his body was feeble and weak, both because of his old age, and also through sickness, yet was his soul or life preserved to this purpose, that by the same Christ might triumph and be glorified. He being by the soldiers brought to the place of judgment, many citizens and men of great ability following him, and the whole multitude crying upon him diversely, as though he had been Christ himself, gave a good testimony. For being demanded of the chief ruler what was the Christian man's God, he answered, If thou be worthy to know, thou shalt know. He, being with these words somewhat near touched, caused him to be very sore beaten. For those that stood next him did him all the spite and displeasure that they could, both with hand and foot, having no regard at all to his old age or white hairs. And they which were farther off, whatso ever came next to hand they threw at him, and every man thought that he did very wickedly refrain that withheld his hand from doing the like. For by this means they thought that they did revenge the quarrel of their gods. Photinus now, even as it were gasping after life, was thrown into prison, and within two days after died.

And here is the mighty providence of God and the unspeakable mercy of Jesus Christ declared, which providence, being assured amongst others, is never destitute of the aid of Jesus Christ. For those which in their first persecution denied Christ, they also were put in prison, and made partakers of the others' affliction. Neither yet did it any whit at all at that time help them that had denied Christ, but they which confessed him were imprisoned as Christians, neither was there any other crime objected against them; but the other sort, taken like homicides and wicked doers, were laid hand on, and had double more punishment than the others had. These men were refreshed with the joy of martyrdom, the hope of God's promises, the love towards Christ, and the Spirit of God; the others, their consciences accused them, and that very sore, insomuch that, by their gait, their countenances bewrayed unto the rest their guilty consciences. For the Christians went forth having cheerful countenances, very much adorned with glory and grace, in somuch that the very bonds wherewith they were tied set them out as men in seemly apparel, and like as brides when they be decked in gorgeous and gay garments, and therewithal savoured as of the redolent smell of Christ, so that it might

be supposed them to be anointed with some sweet balm; whereas the others were doubtful and sad, abject, ill favoured, filled with all shame, and furthermore reviled of the Gentiles themselves, as wretches degenerate, having the crime of homicide, and destitute of the most precious, glorious, and lively calling of the Christian name. And truly by these sights the rest were confirmed, and, being apprehended, confessed Christ without any staggering, not having so much as the thought of any such devilish mind of denial. And in the same epistle of the foresaid brethren of France, writing to the brethren of Asia, it followeth in this manner: After these things done, the martyrdom of these holy saints was divided diversly into divers kinds and forms, as the offering to God the Father a garland decked with divers and sundry kinds of colours and flowers. For it so behoved the worthy champions of God, after they had suffered divers kinds of torments, and so won a triumphant victory, to obtain great reward of immortality.

Then Maturus, Blandina, and Attalus were brought together to the common scaffold, there in the face of the people to be cast and devoured of the beasts. And Maturus, with Sanctus, being brought the second time to the scaffold, suffered again all kind of torments, as though hitherto they had suffered nothing at all; yea, rather the adversary being oftentimes put to the worst, they, as striving for the crown, suffered again more scourgings, the tearing of wild beasts, and what thing else soever the frantic people on every side cried for and willed. And above all the rest they brought an iron chair, in the which their bodies being set, were so fried and scorched as on a gridiron fried on the coals, and filled with the savour of the frying all the people that stood by. And yet for all that the torments ceased not, but waxed more fierce and mad against them, labouring to overcome the patience of the saints. Notwithstanding all this, they could not get out of Sanctus's mouth any other thing but the confession which at the beginning he declared. And thus these holy men, after they had long continued alive in this their most horrible conflict, at the length were slain, being made all that whole day a spectacle unto the world, in place and instead of the games and sights which were wont to be exhibited to the people. And thus much concerning Maturus and Sanctus.

Now concerning Blandina, she, being fastened upon a stake, was cast to the ravening beasts to be devoured; which thing was not done without the determinate will of God; to this end, that while she seemed to hang as it were upon a cross, by the ferventness of her prayer she might comfort the rest of the saints, as beholding their Christ with their bodily eyes, which in that agony suffered for them all, and that all which believe in him and suffer for the glory of Christ might be assured to live with him for ever. And when they saw that no beast would come near her thus hanging, they took her down from the tree, and cast her again into prison till another time, that she, having the victory of many battles, might triumph over that ugly serpent the devil; and that she, being a weak and silly woman, and not regarded, armed with Christ, the invincible Conqueror, might encourage her brethren, and by the enduring of this battle might win a crown of incorruptible glory.

Now to Attalus; who, being also required and called for of the people to punishment already prepared, (for his conscience sake,) cometh forth to the sight. For he being worthily exercised in the Christian profession, was always a witness and a maintainer of our doctrine. Therefore when the press of people was about the scaffold, and the table carried before him, wherein was written in the Roman tongue, This is Attalus the Christian; then the people were in a marvellous rage against him. But the governor, understanding that he was a Roman, commanded him again to prison, with

the rest of his prison fellows; whereof he wrote to the emperor, and waited for answer what his pleasure herein was. The prisoners were not idle in the mean season, nor unprofitable to their brethren, but by their patience the unspeakable mercy of Christ shined out. For those which were dead before were now revived by them that lived, and they which were martyrs profited them which were none, and the church did much rejoice, as receiving them again alive whom she had lost before as dead. For many of them which before had denied, now by their denial were restored and stirred up, and learned to be confessors. And now being revived and strengthened, and tasting the sweetness of Him which desireth not the death of a sinner, but is merciful to the penitent, came of their own accord to the judgment-seat again, that they might be examined of the judge. And for that the emperor had written back again to him, that all the confessors should be punished and the other let go, and that the sessions or assizes were now begun, which, for the multitude that had repaired thither out of every quarter, was marvellous great; he caused all the holy martyrs to be brought thither, that the multitude might behold them, and once again examined them; and as many of them as he thought had the Roman freedom he beheaded, the residue he gave to the beasts to be devoured. And truly Christ was much glorified by those which a little before had denied him, which again, contrary to the expectation of the infidels, confessed him even unto the death. For they were examined apart from the rest, because of their delivery; which, being found confessors, were joined to the company of the martyrs, and had with them their part. But there were then some abroad which had no faith at all, neither yet so much as the feeling of the wedding garment, nor any cogitation at all of the fear of God; but blasphemed his ways by the lewd conversation of their life, even such as were the children of damnation. All the residue joined themselves to the congregation; which when they were examined, one Alexander, a Phrygian born, and a physician which had dwelt long in France, and known almost of all, for the love he had to God, and boldness of speaking (neither was he void of the apostolical love); one Alexander, I say, standing somewhat near to the bar, by signs and becks persuaded such as were examined to confess Christ; so that by his countenance sometime rejoicing, some other while sorrowing, he was descried of the standers-by. The people not taking in good part to see those which now recanted by and by again to stick to their first confession, they cried out against Alexander as one that was the cause of all this matter. And when he was enforced by the judge, and demanded what religion he was of, he answered, I am a Christian. He had no sooner spoken the word, but he was judged to the beasts, of them to be devoured.

The next day following, Attalus, of whom I made mention a little before, and Alexander, were brought forth together, for the governor granting Attalus unto the people, he was baited again of the beasts. When these men were brought to the scaffold, and had taken a taste of all the instruments that there were prepared for their execution, and had suffered the greatest agony they could put them to, they were also at the length slain; of whom Alexander never gave so much as a sigh, nor held his peace, but from the bottom of his heart praised and prayed to the Lord. But Attalus, when he was set in the iron chair, and began to fry, and the frying savour of his burning body began to smell, he spake to the multitude in the Roman language: Behold, (saith he,) this which you do is to eat man's flesh; for we neither eat men, nor yet commit any other wickedness. And being demanded what was the name of their God; Our God (saith he) hath no such name as men have. Then said they, Now let us see whether your God can help you, and take you out of our hands or not.

After this, being the last day of the spectacle, Blandina again, and one Ponticus, a child of fifteen years old, was brought forth, and this was every day, to the intent that they seeing the punishment of their fellows might be compelled thereby to swear by their idols. But because they constantly abode in their purpose, and defied their idols, the whole multitude was in a rage with them, neither sparing the age of the child, nor favouring the sex of the woman, but put them to all the punishment and pain they could devise, and oftentimes enforced them to swear, and yet were not able to compel them thereunto. For Ponticus, being so animated of his sister, as the ethnics standing by did see, after that he had suffered, all torments and pains, gave up the ghost. This blessed Blandina therefore being the last that suffered, after she had, like a worthy mother, given exhortations unto her children, and had sent them before as conquerors to their heavenly King, and had called to her remembrance all their battles and conflicts, so much rejoiced of her children's death, and so hastened her own, as though she had been bidden to a bridal, and not in case to be thrown to the wild beasts. After this her pitiful whipping, her delivery to the beasts, and her torments upon the gridiron, at the length she was put in a net, and thrown to the wild bull; and when she had been sufficiently gored and wounded with the horns of the same beast, and felt nothing of all that chanced to her, for the great hope and consolation she had in Christ and heavenly things, was thus slain, in so much that the very heathen men themselves confessed that there was never woman put to death of them that suffered so much as this woman did. Neither yet was their furious cruelty thus assuaged against the Christians. For the cruel, barbarous people, like wild beasts, when they be moved, knew not when the time was to make an end, but invented new and sundry torments every day against our bodies. Neither yet did it content them when they had put the Christians to death, for that they wanted the sense of men; for which cause both the magistrate and people were vexed at the very hearts, that the scripture might be fulfilled which saith, He that is wicked, let him be wicked still; and he that is just, let him be more just. For those which in their prisons they strangled, they threw after to the dogs, setting keepers both day and night to watch them, that they should not be buried, and bringing forth the remnant of their bones and bodies, some half burned, some left of the wild beasts, and some all to be mangled, also bringing forth heads of others which were cut off, and in like manner committed by them to the charge of the keepers to see them remain unburied.

The Gentiles grinded and gnashed at the Christians with their teeth, seeking which way they might amplify their punishment: some other flouted and mocked them, extolling their idols, attributing unto them the cause of this cruelty and vengeance showed to us. Such as were of the meeker sort, and seemed to be moved with some pity, did hit us in the teeth, saying, Where is your God that you so much boast of? and what helpeth this your religion for which you give your lives? These were the sundry passions and effects of the Gentiles; but the Christians in the mean while were in great heaviness, that they might not bury the bodies and relics of the holy martyrs. Neither could the dark night serve them to that purpose, nor any entreaty nor waging them with money, which were appointed for watchmen; but they so narrowly looked unto the matter, as though they should have gotten great benefit and profit thereby.

Thus were the bodies of the martyrs made a wondering-stock, and lay six days in the open streets; at the length they burned them, and threw their ashes into the river, so that there might appear no remnant of them upon the earth. And this did they, as though they had been able to have pulled God out of his seat, and to have let the

regeneration of the saints, and taken from them the hope of the resurrection, whereof they being persuaded (said they) bring in this new and strange religion, and set thus light by death and punishment.

Among others that suffered under Antoninus, mention was made also of Justinus, who (as it is said before) exhibited two Apologies, concerning the defence of Christian doctrine; the one to the senate of Rome, and the other to Antoninus Pius the emperor; concerning whose suffering and the causes thereof is partly before declared. This Justin was born in Neapoli, in the country of Palestine, whose father was Priscus Bachius, as he himself doth testify, by whom in his youth he was set to school to learn, where in process of time he became a famous and worthy philosopher, of whose excellency many learned and notable men do record. For, first, he being altogether inflamed and ravished with desire of knowledge, would in no wise be satisfied in his mind, before he had gotten instructors singularly seen in all kind of philosophy; whereupon he writeth of himself in the beginning of his dialogue with Tripho, thus, declaring that in the beginning he, being desirous of that sect and society, applied himself to be the scholar to a certain Stoic; and remaining with him a time, when he nothing profited in Divine knowledge, (whereof the Stoic had no skill, and affirmed the knowledge thereof not to be necessary,) he forsook him, and went to another of the sect of the Peripatetics, a sharp-witted man, as he thought; with whom after he had been a while, he demanded of him a stipend for his teaching, for the better confirmation of their familiarity. Whereupon Justin, accounting him as no philosopher, left him, and departed. And yet not satisfied in mind, but desirous to hear of further learning in philosophy, adjoined himself to one that professed the Pythagorean sect, a man of great fame, and one who made no small account of himself; whom after he had followed a time, his master demanded of him whether he had any sight in music, astronomy, and geometry, without the sight of which science he said he could not be apt to receive the knowledge of virtue and felicity, unless before he had used to apply his mind from sensible matters to the contemplation of things intelligible. And speaking much in the commendation of these sciences, how profitable and necessary they were, after that Justin had declared himself not to be seen therein, the philosopher gave him over, which grieved Justin not a little, and so much the more, because he thought his master to have some knowledge in those sciences. After this Justin considering with himself what time was requisite to the learning of these sciences, and thinking not to defer any longer, thought best to resort to the sect of the Platonists, for the great fame that ran of them: wherefore he chose unto him a singular learned man of that sect, which lately was come to those parts, and so remaining with him seemed to profit not a little in contemplation of supernal things, and invisible forms, insomuch that he thought shortly to aspire to such sharpness of wit and wisdom, that out of hand he might achieve to the comprehension and contemplation of God, which is the end of Plato's philosophy. And in this manner he bestowed his youth; but afterward, he growing to a riper age, how and by what means the said Justin came to the knowledge and profession of Christianity, it followeth likewise in his said first Apology; where he affirmeth of himself, (as witnesseth Eusebius in his fourth book,) that when he did behold the Christians in their torments and sufferings to be so constant in their profession, was therewith marvellously moved: after this manner reasoning with himself, that it was impossible for that kind of people to be subject to any vice or carnality, which vices of their own nature are not able to sustain any sharp adversity, much less the bitterness of death. The sight whereof helped him not a little (being of his own nature inclined to the searching of true knowledge and virtue) to begin thereby to love and embrace Christian religion, for so he doth witness of himself in the end of

the first Apology; signifying there how it was his seeking and endeavour to attain to Christianity; understanding how the Christians by malice of wicked persons were compelled to suffer wrong and torments, and to be evil spoken of. By sight whereof, as he saith himself, he became a Christian, through this occasion. For being thus afflicted in his mind, as is aforesaid, it came in his head for his more quietness to go aside to some desert and solitary place void of concourse of people, unto a village or grange near to the sea-side: whither as he approached, thinking there to be all alone, there meeteth with him an old ancient father of a comely visage and seemly behaviour, who following him a little off, began to reason with him; where after long disputation, when the old man had declared unto him that there was no knowledge of truth amongst the philosophers, which neither knew God, neither were aided by the Holy Ghost; and further had reasoned with him of the immortality of the soul, of the reward of the godly and punishment of the wicked: then Justin being confirmed with his reasons and arguments, yielded to him of his own accord, and demanded of him by what means he might attain to that true knowledge of God whereof he had spoken; who then counselled him to read and search the prophets, adjoining therewith prayer. But what, master, (quoth Justin,) should I use for the instruction thereof, and who shall be able to help us, if these philosophers (as you say) lack the truth, and are void of the same? To whom the old father answering, There have been (said he) many years before these philosophers other more ancient than all these, which being accounted for philosophers were just and beloved of God; who spake by the Spirit of God, foreseeing and prophesying these things which we see now come to pass, and therefore they are called prophets. These only have known the truth, and revealed it to men, neither fearing nor passing for any; who were seduced with no opinions of man's invention, but only spake and taught those things which they themselves both heard and saw, being inspired with the Holy Spirit of God; whose writings and works yet to this day remain, out of which the reader may receive great profit and knowledge of things, as concerning the first creation of the world, and end of the same, with all other things necessary to be known of every true philosopher which will give credit unto them. Neither in their teaching do they use any demonstration, as being more certain of themselves than that they need any such demonstration to be made, forasmuch as the accomplishing and the end of things, both past and now present, constraineth us of necessity to believe the words and doctrine which they taught; which men not only therefore are to be believed, but also for their miracles and wonders done are worthy of credit; for that they both preached of God the Maker and Creator of all things, and also did prophesy before of Christ his Son to be sent of him; the which, the false prophets being seduced with false and wicked spirits, neither have done, nor do, but only take upon them to work certain prodigious wonders for men to gaze at, setting out thereby to the world false and unclean spirits. But then, afore all things, make thy prayer that the gate of light may be opened unto thee; for otherwise these things cannot be attained unto of every man, but only of such to whom God and his Christ giveth understanding.

These things, with much more, (which now leisure serveth not to prosecute,) after the foresaid old father had declared unto him, he departed, exhorting him well to follow the things which he had spoken; and after that Justin (as he himself witnesseth) saw

him no more. Immediately after this, Justin being all inflamed as with fire kindled in his breast, began to conceive a love and zeal towards the prophets, and all such as were favoured of Christ: and thus he, revolving in his mind more and more these

words, found only this philosophy among all other professions both sure and profitable, and so became he a philosopher, and in time by these means afterwards he was made a Christian and baptized. But where he received this holy sacrament of baptism it is not read of, nor yet by what occasion he left his country and came to Rome. This only we read in Jerome, that he was in Rome, and there used certain exercises which he called diatribes; disputing there with Crescens, a cynical philosopher, as is before touched. But this is certain, how that Justin, after he had received the profession of Christian religion, became an earnest defender of the same; travelling and disputing against all the adversaries thereof, fearing neither peril of life nor danger of death, whereby he might maintain the doctrine of Christ against the malicious blasphemers, and also augment the number of Christian believers, as may appear by his vehement disputations against the heathen philosophers; also, moreover, it well appeareth in that long disputation which he had with one Tripho at Ephesus, as also in his Confutations of Heretics. Furthermore, his conflicts and Apologies which with great courage and security he exhibited against the persecutors of the Christians, both to the emperor and the magistrates, yea, and the whole senate of Rome, do testify the same.

Of the which Apologies, the first he wrote to the senate of Rome, and after to Antoninus Pius the emperor, as is before mentioned; where in the first writing with great liberty to the senate, he declared that of necessity he was compelled to write and utter his mind and conscience to them. For that in persecuting of the Christians they did neglect their duty, and highly offended God, and therefore need they had to be admonished. And further writing to Urbicius, lieutenant of the city, said that he put men to death and torments for no offence committed, but for the confession only of the name of Christ; which proceedings and judgments neither became the emperor, nor his son, nor the senate: defending, moreover, in the said Apology, and purging the Christians of such crimes as falsely were laid and objected against them by the Ethnics.

And likewise in his second Apology, writing to Antoninus the emperor, and his successors, with like gravity and free liberty declareth unto them how they had the name, commonly being reputed and taken as virtuous philosophers, maintainers of justice, lovers of learning; but whether they were so their acts declared. As for him, neither for flattery nor favour at their hands he was constrained thus to write unto them, but only to sue unto them, and desire a serious and righteous kind of dealing in their judgments and sentences; (for it becometh princes to follow uprightness and piety in their judgments, not tyranny and violence;) and also in plain words chargeth as well the emperor as the senate with manifest wrong, for that they did not grant the Christians that which is not denied to all other malefactors, judging men to death not convicted, but only for the hatred of the name. Other men which be appeached (said he) in judgment are not condemned before they are convicted; but on us you take our name only for the crime, whenas indeed you ought to see justice done upon our accusers. And again, (saith he,) if a Christian, being accused, only deny that name, him you release, being not able to charge him with any other offence; but if he stand to his name, only for his confession you cast him, where indeed it were your duty rather to examine their manner of life, what thing they confess or deny, and according to their demerits to see justice done.

And in the same, further, he saith, You examine not the causes, but, incensed with rash affections, as with the spur of fury, ye slay and murder them not convicted, without any respect of justice. And further, he addeth, Some, peradventure, will say

certain of them have been apprehended and taken in evil doings, as though (saith he) you used to inquire upon them being brought afore you, and not commonly to condemn them before due examination of their offence for the cause above mentioned. Where also, in the end of the said Apology, after this manner he reprehendeth them: You do degenerate (quoth he) from the goodness of your predecessors, whose example you follow not; for your father Hadrian, of famous memory, caused to be proclaimed, that Christians accused before the judge should not be condemned, unless they were found guilty of some notorious crime. I find that all his vehement and grave Apology standeth upon most strong and firm probations, denying that the Christians ought by conscience, at the will and commandment of the emperor and senate, to do sacrifice to the idols; for the which they being condemned, affirm that they suffer open wrong; affirming, moreover, that the true and only religion is the religion of the Christians, whose doctrine and conversation hath no fault. Justinus, although with these and such-like persuasions he did not so prevail with the emperor to cause him to love his religion and become a Christian, (for that is not written,) yet thus much he obtained, that Antoninus, writing to his officers in Asia in the behalf

of the Christians, required and commanded them, that those Christians only which were found guilty of any trespass should suffer, and such as were not convicted should not therefore only for the name be punished, because they were called Christians. By these it is apparent with what zeal and faith this Justinus did strive against the persecutors, which (as he said) could kill only, but could not hurt.

This Justinus, by the means and malice of Crescens the philosopher, (as is before declared,) suffered martyrdom under Marcus Antoninus Verus, a little after that Polycarp was martyred in Asia, as witnesseth Eusebius. Here is to be gathered how Epiphanius was deceived in the time of his death, saying that he suffered under Rusticus the president, and Hadrian the emperor, being of thirty years of age; which, indeed, agreeth neither with Eusebius, nor Hierom, nor Suide, nor others more; which manifestly declare and testify how he exhibited his Apology unto Antoninus Pius, which came after Hadrian. Thus hast thou (good reader) the life of this learned and blessed martyr, although partly touched before, yet now more fully and amply discoursed for the better commendation of his excellent and notable virtues; of whose final end thus writeth Photius, saying that he, suffering for Christ, died cheerfully and with honour.

Thus have ye heard the whole discourse of Justinus and of the blessed saints of France, Vetius, Zacharias, Sanctus, Maturus, Attalus, Blandina, Alexander, Alcibiades, with others, recorded and set forth by the writing of certain Christian brethren of the same church and place of France. In the which foresaid writings of theirs, moreover, appeareth the great meekness and modest constancy of the said martyrs described in these words: Such followers were they of Christ, (who when he was in the form of God, thought it no robbery to be equal with God, being in the same glory with him,) that they not once nor twice, but oftentimes suffered martyrdom; and taken again from the beasts, and bearing wounds, tearings, and scars in their bodies, yet neither would count themselves martyrs, neither would they suffer us so to call them: but if any of us either by word or letter would call them martyrs, they did vehemently rebuke them, saying that the name of martyrdom was to be given to Christ the faithful and true Martyr, the First-born of the dead, and the Captain of life; testifying, moreover, that martyrdom belongeth to such, who, by their martyrdom, were already passed out of this life, and whom Christ, by their worthy confession, hath received unto himself, and hath sealed up their martyrdom by their end finished: as for them which were not yet

consummated, they (said they) were not worthy the names of martyrs, but only were humble and worthy confessors, desiring also their brethren with tears to pray without ceasing for their confirmation. Thus they performing indeed that which belongeth to true martyrs, in resisting the heathen with much liberty and great patience, without all fear of man, being replenished with the fear of God, refused to be named of their brethren for martyrs. And after in the said writing it followeth more: They humbled themselves under the mighty hand of God, by which they were greatly exalted; then they rendered to all men a reason of their faith; they accused no man, they loosed all, they bound none; and for them which so evil did entreat them they prayed, following the example of Stephen the perfect martyr, which said, O Lord, impute not their sin to them. And after again, neither did they proudly disdain against them which fell; but of such as they had they imparted to them that lacked, bearing toward them a motherly affection, shedding their plentiful tears for them to God the Father, and prayed for their life and salvation; and as God gave it them, they also did communicate to their neighbours; and thus they as conquerors of all things departed to God, They loved peace, and leaving the same to us, they went to God, neither leaving any molestation to their mother, nor sedition or trouble to their brethren, but joy, peace, concord, and love to all.

Out of the same writing, moreover, concerning these martyrs of France aforementioned, is recorded also another history not unworthy to be noted, taken out of the same book of Eusebius, which history is this.

There was among these constant and blessed martyrs one Alcibiades, as is above specified; which Alcibiades ever used a very strict diet, receiving for his food and sustenance nothing else but only bread and water. When this Alcibiades, now being cast into prison, went about to accustom the same strictness of diet, after his usual manner, it was before revealed by God to Attalus aforementioned, one of the said company, being also the same time imprisoned after his first conflict upon the scaffold, that Alcibiades did not well in that he refused to use and take the creatures of God, and also thereby ministered to other a pernicious occasion of offensive example. Whereupon Alcibiades being advertised, and reformed, began to take all things boldly and with giving thanks. Whereby may appear to all scrupulous consciences, not only a wholesome instruction of the Holy Ghost, but also here is to be noted how in those days they were not destitute of the grace of God, but had the Holy Spirit of God to be their Instructor.

The foresaid martyrs of France at the same time commended Irenæus, newly then made minister, with their letters unto Eleutherius, bishop of Rome, as witnesseth Eusebius, in the tenth chapter of the said book, which Irenæus first was the hearer of Polycarp, then made minister (as is said) under these martyrs; and after their death made bishop afterward of Lyons in France, and succeeded after Photinus. Besides this Justin, there was also the same time in Asia Claudius Apollinaris, or Apollinarius, bishop of Hieropolis; and also Melito, bishop of Sanlis, an eloquent and learned man, much commended of Tertullian, who succeeding after the time of the apostles, in the reign of this Antoninus Verus, exhibited unto him learned and eloquent Apologies in defence of Christ's religion, like as Quadratus and Aristides above mentioned did unto the emperor Hadrian; whereby they moved him somewhat to stay the rage of his persecution. In like manner did this Apollinaris and Melito (stirred up by God) adventure to defend in writing the cause of the Christians unto this Antoninus. Of this Melito Eusebius in his fourth book making mention, excerpteth certain places of his Apology in these words, as followeth: Now, saith he, which was never seen before, the

godly suffer persecution by occasion of certain proclamations and edicts proclaimed throughout Asia; for villanous sycophants, robbers, and spoilers of other men's goods, grounding themselves upon those proclamations, and taking occasion of them, rob openly night and day, and spoil those which do no harm. And it followeth after, which if it be done by your commandment, be it so, well done; for a good prince will never command but good things, and so we will be contented to sustain the honour of this death. This only we most humbly beseech your Majesty, that calling before you and examining the authors of this tumult and contention, then your Grace would justly judge whether we are worthy of cruel death or quiet life. And then, if it be not your pleasure, and that it proceedeth not by your occasion, (which indeed against your barbarous enemies were too bad,) the more a great deal we are petitioners to your Highness, that here after you will vouchsafe to hear us thus so vexed and oppressed with these kind of villianous robberies. And verily our philosophy and doctrine did first among the barbarous take place, which doctrine first in the days of Augustus, your predecessor, when it did reign and flourish, thereby your empire became most famous and fortunate; and from that time more and more the state of the Roman empire increased in honour, whereof you most happily were made successor, and so shall your son too. Honour therefore this philosophy which with your empire sprang up, and came in with Augustus, which your progenitors above all other honoured and most esteemed. And verily this is no small argument of a good beginning, that since our doctrine flourished in the empire no misfortune or loss happened from Augustus's time; but, contrary, always victory, good and honourable years as ever any man would wish: only among all, and of all, Nero and Domitian, being kindled by divers naughty and spiteful persons, cavillingly objected against our doctrine; of whom this sycophantical slandering of us by naughty custom first came and sprang up. But your godly fathers, espying the ignorance of these, oftentimes by their writing corrected their temerarious attempts in that behalf; among whom your grandfather Hadrian, with many others, is read of to have written to Fundane, the proconsul and lieutenant of Asia; and your father, your own father, I say, with whom you ruled in all things, wrote to the cities under his signet, as the Laersens, Thessalonicenses, Athenienses, and Grecians, rashly to innovate or alter nothing. Of your Highness, therefore, who in this case is of that sect as your predecessors were, yea, and of a more benign and philosophical mind, we are in good hope to obtain our petition and request.

Thus much out of the Apology of Melito, who, writing to Onesimus, giveth to us this benefit, to know the true catalogue and the names of all the authentic books of the Old Testament received in the ancient time of the primitive church. Concerning the number and names whereof, the said Melito in his letter to Onesimus declareth, how that he returning into the parts where these things were done and preached, there he diligently inquired out the books approved of the Old Testament, the names whereof in order he subscribeth, and sendeth unto him as followeth: The five books of Moses, Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numeri, Deuteronomi, Jesus Nave, The Judges, Ruth, Four books of Kings, Two books Paralipomenon, The Psalms, Proverbs of Salomon, The book of Wisdom, The Preacher, The Song of Songs, Job, The Prophets, Esay, Hieremy, Twelve Prophets in one book, Daniel, Ezechiel, Esdras. And thus much of this matter which I thought here to record, for that it is not unprofitable for these later times to understand what in the first times was received and admitted as authentic, and what otherwise.

But from this little digression to return to our matter omitted, that is, to the Apologies of Apollinarius and Melito, in the story so it followeth, that whether it was

by the occasion of these two Apologies, or whether it was through the writing of Athenagoras a philosopher, and a legate of the Christians, it is uncertain; but this is certain, that the persecution the same time was stayed. Some do think, which most probably seems to touch the truth, that the cause of staying this persecution did rise upon a wonderful miracle of God, showed in the emperor's camp by the Christians, the story whereof is this: At what time the two brethren, Marcus Antoninus and Marcus Aurelius Commodus, emperors, joining together, warred against the Quades, Vandals, Sarmates, and Germans, in the expedition against them, their army, by reason of the imminent assault of their enemies, was cooped and shut in within the straits and hot dry places, where their soldiers, besides other difficulties of battle, being destitute of water five days, were like to have perished, which dread not a little discomfited them, and abated their courage; where, in this so great distress and jeopardy, suddenly withdrew from the army a legion of the Christian soldiers for their succour, who, falling prostrate upon the earth, by ardent prayer, by and by, obtained of God double relief: by means of whom God gave certain pleasant showers from the element; whereby as their soldiers quenched their thirst, so were a great number of their enemies discomfited and put to flight by continual lightnings which shoot out of the air. This miracle so pleased and won the emperor, that ever after he waxed gentler and gentler to the Christians, and directed his letters to divers of his rulers, (as Tertullian in his Apology witnesseth,) commanding them therein to give thanks to the Christians, no less for his victory, than for the preservation of him and all his men. The copy of which letter ensueth:

"I give you hereby to understand what I intend to do, as also what success I have had in my wars in Germany, and with how much difficulty I have victualled my camp; being compassed about with seventy and four fierce dragons, whom my scouts descried to be within nine miles of us, and Pompeianus, our lieutenant, hath viewed, as he signified unto us by his letters. Wherefore I thought no less but to be overrun, and all my bands, of so great multitude, as well my vaward, mainward, as rereward, with all my soldiers of Ephrata; in whose host there were numbered of fighting men nine hundred seventy and five thousand. But when I saw myself not able to encounter with the enemy, I craved aid of our country gods; at whose hands I finding no comfort, and being driven of the enemy into an exigent, I caused to be sent for those men which we call Christians, who being mustered were found a good indifferent number, with whom I was in further rage than I had good cause, as afterwards I had experience by their marvellous power; who forthwith did their endeavour, but without either weapon, munition, armour, or trumpets, as men abhorring such preparation and furniture, but only satisfied in trust of their God, whom they carry about with them in their consciences. It is therefore to be credited, although we call them wicked men, that they worship God in their hearts. For they, falling prostrate upon the ground, prayed not only for me, but for the host also which was with me, beseeching their God for help in that our extremity of victuals and fresh water; for we had been now five days without water, and were in our enemy's land, even in the midst of Germany; who thus falling upon their faces, made their prayer to a God unknown of me. And there fell amongst us from heaven a most pleasant and cold shower, but amongst our enemies a great storm of hail mixed with lightning, so that immediately we perceived the invincible aid of the most mighty God to be with us; therefore we give those men leave to profess Christianity, lest, perhaps, by their prayer we be punished with the like, and thereby I make myself the author of such hurt as shall be received by the Christian profession. And if any shall apprehend one that is a Christian only for that cause, I will that he being apprehended, without punishment may have leave to confess the same, so that

there be none other cause objected against him more than that he is a Christian; but let his accuser be burned alive. Neither will I that he, confessing and being found a Christian, shall be enforced to alter the same his opinion by the governor of any of our provinces, but left to his own choice. And this decree of mine I will to be ratified in the senate house, and command the same publicly to be proclaimed and read in the court of Trajan; and that, further, from thence it may be sent into all our provinces by the diligence of Veratius, governor of our city Polione. And further, we give leave to all men to use and write, out this our decree, taking the same out of our copy publicly in the common hall set forth."

Thus the tempestuous rage of persecution against the Christians began for a time to assuage, partly by the occasion hereof, partly also upon other causes incident, compelling the enemies to surcease their persecution, as great plagues and pestilence lying upon the country of Italy; likewise great wars, as well in the east parts, as also in Italy and France, terrible earthquakes, great floods, noisome swarms of flies and vermin devouring their corn fields, &c. And thus much of things done under Antoninus Verus, which Antoninus, in the beginning of his reign, joined with him in the government of the empire his brother Marcus Aurelius Commodus, who also was with him at the miraculous victory gotten by the Christians, as Eusebius recordeth. Contrary, Platina, in his Life of Soter, refer the same to the time of Antoninus Verus, and his son Lucius Antoninus Commodus, and not of Marcus Aurelius Commodus, his brother. But howsoever the truth of years doth stand, certain it is, that after the death of Antoninus Verus, and of Aurelius Commodus, succeeded Lucius Antoninus Commodus, the son of Verus, who reigned thirty years.

In the time of this Commodus, although he was an incommodious prince to the senators of Rome, yet notwithstanding there was some quietness universally through the whole church of Christ from persecution, by what occasion it is not certain. Some think, of whom is Xiphilinus, that it came through Marcia, the emperor's concubine, which favoured the Christians; but howsoever it came, (saith Eusebius,) the fury of the raging enemies was then somewhat mitigated, and peace was given by the grace of Christ unto the church throughout the whole world; at what time the wholesome doctrine of the gospel allured and reduced the hearts of all sorts of people unto the true religion of God, insomuch that many, both rich and noble personages of Rome, with their whole families and households, to their salvation, adjoined themselves to the church of Christ.

Among whom there was one Apollonius, a nobleman, and a senator of Rome, who being maliciously accused unto the senate by one whom Hierom writeth to be the servant of the said Apollonius, and nameth him Severus; but whose servant soever he was, the wretched man came soon enough before the judge, being condignly rewarded for that his malicious diligence; for by a law which the emperor made, that no man upon pain of death should falsely accuse the Christians, he was put to execution, and had his legs broken forthwith by the sentence of Perenninus the judge, which being a heathen man, he pronounced against him: but the beloved martyr of God, when the judge with much ado had obtained of him to render an account, before the honourable senate, of His faith, under whose defence and warrant of life he did the same, delivered unto them an eloquent apology of the Christian belief: but the former warrant notwithstanding, he by the decree of the senate was beheaded, and so ended His life; for that there was an ancient law among them decreed, that none that professed Christ, and therefore arraigned, should be released without recantation, or altering his opinion.

This Commodus is said in stories to be so sure and steady-handed in casting the dart, that in the open theatre before the people he would encounter with the wild beasts, and be sure to hit them in place where he appointed. Among divers other his vicious and wild parts, he was so far surprised in pride and arrogancy, that he would be called Hercules, and many times would show himself to the people in the skin of a lion, to be counted thereby the king of men, like as the lion is of the beasts.

Upon a certain time, being his birth-day, this Commodus calling the people of Rome together, in a great royalty, having his lion's skin upon him, made sacrifice to Hercules and Jupiter, causing it to be cried through the city, that Hercules was the patron and defender of the city. There was the same time at Rome Vincentius, Eusebius, Peregrinus, Potentianus, learned men, and instructors of the people, who, following the steps of the apostles, went about from place to place where the gospel was not yet preached, converting the Gentiles to the faith of Christ. These, hearing the madness of the emperor, and of the people, began to reprove their idolatrous blindness; teaching in villages and towns all that heard them to believe upon the true and only God, and to come away from such worshipping of devils, and to give honour to God alone, which only is to be worshipped, willing them to repent and to be baptized, lest they perished with Commodus. With this their preaching they converted one Julius, a senator, and others, to the religion of Christ. The emperor hearing thereof, caused them to be apprehended of Vitellus his captain, and to be compelled to sacrifice unto Hercules; which when they stoutly refused, after divers grievous torments and great miracles by them done, at last they were pressed with leaden weights to death.

This Peregrinus above mentioned had been sent before by Xistus, bishop of Rome, into the parts of France, to supply there the room of a bishop and teacher, by reason that for the continual and horrible persecutions thereabout touched, those places were left desolate and destitute of ministers and instructors; whereafter he had occupied himself with much fruit among the flock of Christ, and had stablished the congregation there, returning home again to Rome, there he finished at last (as it is said) his martyrdom.

Now remaineth likewise to speak of Julius; which Julius being (as is afore described,) a senator of Rome, and now won by the preaching of these blessed men to the faith of Christ, did speedily invite them and brought them home to his house, where being fully instructed in Christian religion, he believed the gospel. And sending for one Ruffinus, a priest, was with all his family by him baptized, who not (as the common sort was wont to do) kept close and secret his faith, but, incensed with a marvellous and sincere zeal, openly professed the same, altogether wishing and praying to be given to him by God, not only to believe in Christ, but also to hazard his life for him. Which thing the emperor hearing how that Julius had forsaken his old religion, and become a Christian, forthwith sent for him to come before him, unto whom he spake on this wise: O July, what madness hath possessed thee, that thus thou dost fall from the old and common religion of thy forefathers, who acknowledged and worshipped Jupiter and Hercules their gods, and now dost embrace a new and fond kind of religion of the Christians? At which time Julius, having good occasion to show and open his faith, gave straightway account thereof to him, and affirmed that Hercules and Jupiter were false gods, and how the worshippers of them should perish with eternal damnation and punishments. Which the emperor hearing how that he condemned and despised his gods, being then inflamed with a great wrath, (as he was by nature very choleric,) committed him forthwith to Vitellus, the master of the soldiers, a very cruel and fierce man, to see Julius either to sacrifice to mighty

Hercules, or, refusing the same, to slay him. Vitellus (as he was commanded) exhorted Julius to obey the emperor's commandment, and to worship his gods; alleging how that the whole empire of Rome was not only constituted, but also preserved and maintained, by them: which Julius denied utterly to do, admonishing sharply in like manner Vitellus to acknowledge the true God, and obey his commandments, lest he with his master should die some grievous death: whereat Vitellus being moved, caused Julius with cudgels to be beaten unto death.

These things being thus briefly recited, touching such holy martyrs as hitherto have suffered, now remaineth that we return again to the order of the Roman bishops, such as followed next after Alexander, at whom we left, whose succeder next was Xistus or Sixtus, the sixth bishop counted after Peter, who governed that ministry the space of ten years, as Damasus and others do write. Uspergensis maketh mention but of nine years. Platina recordeth that he died a martyr, and was buried at the Vatican. But Eusebius speaking of his decease, maketh no word or mention of any martyrdom. In the second tome of the Councils certain epistles be attributed to him, whereof Eusebius, Damasus, Hierom, and other old authors, as they make no relation, so seem they to have no intelligence nor knowledge of any such matter. In these counterfeit epistles, and in Platina, it appeareth that Xistus was the first author of these ordinances. First, that the holy mysteries and holy vessels should be touched but only of persons holy and consecrated, especially of no woman. Item, that the corporal cloth should be made of no other cloth but of fine linen. Item, that such bishops as were called up to the apostolic see, returning home again, should not be received at their return, unless they brought with them letters from the bishop of Rome saluting the people. Item, at the celebration he ordained to be sung this verse, "Holy, holy, holy Lord God of hosts," Where, moreover, it is to be noted, that the said Platina, in the Life of this Xistus, doth testify that Peter ministered the celebration of the communion only with the Lord's prayer. These trifling ordinances of Xistus, who is so rude that seeth not, or may not easily conjecture to be falsely fathered on Xistus, or on any father of that time? first by the uniform rudeness and style of all those decretal letters, nothing savouring of that age, but rather of the later foolish times that followed; also by the matter and argument in those letters contained, nothing agreeing with the state of those troublesome days. Neither again is it to be supposed that any such recourse of bishops was then to the apostolic see of Rome, that it was not lawful to return without their letters; whenas the persecution against the Christians was then so hot, in the days of Hadrian, that the bishops of Rome themselves were more glad to fly out of the city, than other bishops were to come to them unto Rome. And if Xistus added the Sanctus unto the mass canon, what piece then of the canon went before it, when they which put to the other patches came after Xistus? And if they came after Xistus that added the rest, why did they set their pieces before his, seeing they that began the first piece of the canon came after him?

The same likewise is to be judged of the epistles and ordinances of Telesphorus, who succeeded next unto Xistus, and being bishop of that congregation the term of eleven years, the first year of the reign of Antoninus Pius, died martyr about the year of our Lord one hundred thirty and eight. His epistle, like unto the rest, containing in it no great matter of doctrine, hath these ordinances. First he commandeth all that were of the clergy to fast and abstain from flesh-eating seven weeks before Easter. That three masses should be said upon the nativity day of the Lord. That no laymen should accuse either bishop or priest. He ordained, moreover, Gloria in excelsis, to be added to the mass, &c. But that these things falsely are

feigned upon him may easily be conjectured. For as touching the seven weeks' fast, neither doth it agree with the old Roman term commonly received, calling it Quadragesima, that is, the forty days' fast; neither with the example of our Saviour, who fasted not seven weeks, but only forty days. Moreover, as concerning this forty days' fast, we read of the same in the epistle of Ignatius, which was long before Telesphorus; whereby it may appear that this Telesphorus was not the first inventor thereof. And if it be true that is lately come out in the name of Abdias, (but untruly, as by many conjectures may be proved,) there it is read, that in the days of St. Matthew this Lent fast of forty days was observed long before Telesphorus, by these words that follow: In the days (said he) either of Lent, or in the time of other lawful fastings, he that abstaineth not as well from eating meat as also from the mixture of bodies doth incur in so doing, not only pollution, but also committeth offence, which must be washed away with the tears of repentance. Again, Apollonius affirmeth, that Montanus the heretic was the first deviser and bringer in of these laws of fasting into the church, which before was used to be free, But especially by Socrates, writer of the ecclesiastical story, who lived after the days of Theodosius, it may be argued, that this seven weeks' fast is falsely imputed to Telesphorus. For Socrates in his first book, speaking of this time, hath these words: The Romans (saith he) do fast three weeks continually before Easter, beside the sabbath and the Sunday. And, moreover, speaking of the divers and sundry fastings of Lent in sundry and divers churches, he addeth these words: And because that no man can bring forth any commandment written of this matter, it is therefore apparent that the apostles left this kind of fast free to every man's will and judgment, lest any should be constrained by fear and necessity to do that which is good, &c. With this of Socrates agree also the words of Sozomenus, living much about the same time, in his seventh book, where he thus writeth: The whole fast of Lent (saith he) some comprehend in five weeks, as do the Illyrians, and the west churches, with all Libya, Egypt, and Palestina; some in seven weeks, as at Constantinople, and the parts bordering to Phœnicia; other some in three weeks, next before the day of Easter; and some again in two weeks, &c. By the which it may be collected, that Telesphorus never ordained any such fast of seven weeks; which otherwise neither would have been neglected in Rome, and in the west churches; neither again would have been unremembered of these ancient ecclesiastical writers, if any such thing had been. The like is to be thought also of the rest, not only of his constitutions, but also of the other ancient bishops and martyrs which followed after him, as of Higinus in the year of our Lord one hundred forty and two, who succeeding him, and dying also a martyr, is said, or rather feigned, to bring in the cream, one godfather and godmother in baptism, to ordain the dedication of churches, whenas in his time so far it was off that any solemn churches were standing in Rome, that unneth the Christians could safely convent in their own houses. Likewise the distinguishing the orders of metropolitans, bishops, and other degrees, savour nothing less than of that time.

After Higinus followed Pius, who, as Platina reporteth, was so precisely devout about the holy mysteries of the Lord's table, that if any one crumb thereof did fall down to the ground, he ordained that the priest should do penance forty days; if any fell upon the super-altar, he should do penance three days; if upon the linen corporal cloth, four days; if upon any other linen cloth, nine days. And if any drop of the blood (saith he) should chance to be spilled, wheresoever it fell, it should be licked up, if it were possible; if not, the place should be washed or pared, and so being washed or pared, should be burned and laid in the vestry. All which toys may seem to a wise man more vain and trifling, than to savour of those pure and strict times of those holy

martyrs. This Pius (as is reported) was much conversant with Hermes, called otherwise Pastor. Darnasus saith he was his brother. But how is that like, that Hermes being the disciple of Paul, or one of the threescore disciples, could be the brother of this Pius? Of this Hermes, and of the Revelations, the foresaid Pius in his epistle decretal (if it be not forged) maketh mention; declaring that unto him appeared the angel of God in the habit of a shepherd, commanding him that Easter-day should be celebrated of all men upon no other day but on a Sunday; whereupon, saith the epistle, Pius the bishop, by his authority apostolical, decreed and commanded the same to be observed of all men.

Then succeeded Anicetus, Soter, and Eleutherius, about the year of our Lord one hundred and fourscore. This Eleutherius, at the request of Lucius, king of Britain, sent to him Damianus and Fugatius, by whom the king was converted to Christ's faith, and baptized, about the year of our Lord one hundred threescore and nineteen. Nauclerus saith it was in the year one hundred fifty and five. Henr. de Erfordia saith it was in the year one hundred threescore and nine, in the nineteenth year of Verus the emperor. Some say it was in the sixth year of Commodus, which should be about the year of our Lord one hundred fourscore and five. Timotheus in his story thinketh that Eleutherius came himself; but that is not like. And as there is a variance among the writers for the count of years, so doth there rise a question among some, whether Eleutherius was the first that brought the faith from Rome into this land or not. Nicephorus saith that Simon Zelotes came into Britain. Some other allege out of Gildas, that Joseph of Arimathea, after the dispersion of the Jews, was sent by Philip the apostle from France to Britain, about the year of our Lord threescore and three, and here remained in this land all his time, and so with his fellows laid the first foundation of Christian faith among the British people. Whereupon other preachers and teachers coming afterward confirmed the same, and increased it more. And therefore doth Petrus Cluniacensis call the Scottish men, and so doth count them as more ancient Christians. For the confirmation hereof might be alleged the testimony of Origen, of Tertullian, and the words also of the letter of Eleutherius, which import no less but that the faith of Christ was here in England among the British people before Eleutherius's time, and before the king was converted; but hereof more shall be spoken hereafter, (Christ willing,) when, after the tractation of these ten persecutions, we shall enter into the matter of our English stories.

About this time of Commodus afore mentioned, among divers other learned men and famous teachers whom God stirred up at that time (as he doth at all other times raise up some) in his church, to confound the persecutors by learning and writing, as the martyrs to confirm the truth with their blood, was Serapion, bishop of Antioch, Egesippus, a writer of the ecclesiastical history from Christ's passion to his time; and those that be remaining (which be five) be not mentioned, neither Hierom, Eusebius, nor Miltiades, which also wrote his Apology in defence of Christian religion, as did Melito, Quadratus, and Aristides before mentioned. About the same time also wrote Heraclitus, who first began to write annotations and enarrations upon the New Testament, and Epistles of the apostles. Also Theophilus, bishop of Cesarea, Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, a man famously learned, which wrote divers epistles to divers churches, and among others writeth, exhorting Penitus, a certain bishop, that he would lay no yoke of chastity of any necessity upon his brethren; but that he would consider the infirmity of others, and bear with it. Moreover, the said Dionysius, in his epistles, writing of Dionysius Areopagita, declareth of him how that he was first converted to the Christian faith by St. Paul, according as in the Acts is recorded, and afterward was made the first bishop of Athens, but maketh there no mention of his

book concerning the hierarchy. Whereby it may easily appear what is to be judged of that book. Furthermore, by the epistles of the said Dionysius of Corinth, this we have to understand to be the use at that time in churches, to read the letters and epistles, such as were sent by learned bishops and teachers unto the congregations, as may appear by these words of Dionysius, who, writing to the church of the Romans and to Soter, saith, This day we celebrate the holy dominical day, in which we have read your epistle, which always we will read for our exhortation, like as we do read also the epistle of Clement sent to us before, &c. Where also mention is made of keeping of Sunday holy, whereof we find no mention made in ancient authors before his time, except only in Justin Martyr, who, in his description, declareth two times most especially used for Christian men to congregate together: first, when any convert was to be baptized; the second was upon the Sunday, which was wont for two causes then to be hallowed: first, because (saith he) upon that day God made the world; secondly, because that Christ upon that day first showed himself after his resurrection to his disciples, &c.

Over and beside these above named, about the days of Commodus wrote also Clemens Alexandrinus, a man of notable and singular learning, whose books, although for a great part be lost, yet certain of them yet remain, wherein is declared, among other things, the order and number of the books and Gospels of the New Testament, &c.

The same time, moreover, lived Pantenus, which was the first in Alexandria that professed in open school to read, of whom is thought first to proceed the order and manner among the Christians to read and profess in universities. This Pantenus, for his excellency of learning, was sent by Demetrius, bishop of Alexandria, to preach to the Indians, where he found the Gospel of St. Matthew written in Hebrew, left there by St. Bartholomew, which book afterward he brought with him from thence to the library of Alexandria.

During all the reign of Commodus, God granted rest and tranquillity, although not without some bloodshed of certain holy martyrs, as is above declared unto his church. In the which time of tranquillity, the Christians having now some leisure from the foreign enemy, began to have a little contention among themselves about the ceremony of Easter; which contention albeit of long time before had been stirring in the church, as is before mentioned of Polycarp and Anicetus; yet the variance and difference of that ceremony brought no breach of Christian concord and society among them: neither as yet did the matter exceed so far, but that the bond of love and communion of brotherly life continued, although they differed in the ceremony of the day. For they of the west church pretending the tradition of Paul and Peter, but indeed being the tradition of Hermes and of Pius, kept one day, which was upon the Sunday after the fourteenth day of the first month. The church of Asia, following the ordinance of John the apostle, observed another, as more shall be declared (the Lord willing) when we come to the time of Victor, bishop of Rome. In the mean time, as concerning the fourth persecution, let this hitherto suffice.

7. The Fifth Persecution under Severus

After the death of Commodus reigned Pertinax but few months, after whom succeeded Severus, under whom was raised the fifth persecution against the Christian saints; who reigning the term of eighteen years, the first ten years of the same was very favourable and courteous to the Christians; afterward, through sinister suggestions and malicious accusations of the malignant, was so incensed against them, that by proclamations he commanded no Christians any more to be suffered. Thus the rage of the emperor being inflamed against them, great persecution was stirred up on every side, whereby an infinite number of martyrs were slain, as Eusebius in his sixth book recordeth, which was about the year of our Lord two hundred and five. The crimes and false accusations objected against the Christians are partly touched before; as sedition and rebellion against the emperor, sacrilege, murdering of infants, incestuous pollution, eating raw flesh, libidinous commixture, whereof certain indeed, called then Gnostici, were infamed. Item, it was objected against them for worshipping the head of an ass; which whereof it should rise I find no certain Cause, except it were, perhaps, by the Jews. Also they were charged for worshipping the sun, for that peradventure before the sun did rise they convented together, singing their morning hymns unto the Lord, or else because they prayed toward the east; but specially for that they would not with them worship their idolatrous gods, and were counted as enemies to all men, &c.

The captains and presidents of this persecution under the emperor were Hilerianus, Vigellius, Claudius, Hermianus, ruler of Cappadocia, Cecilius, Capella, Vespronius, also Demetrius, mentioned of Cyprian, and Aquila, judge of Alexandria, of whom Eusebius maketh relation.

The places where the force of this persecution most raged were Africa, Alexandria, Cappadocia, and Carthage. The number of them that suffered in this persecution, by the report of the ecclesiastical story, was innumerable. Of whom the first was Leonides, the father of Origen, who was beheaded; with whom also Origen his son, being of the age then of seventeen years, should have suffered, (such a fervent desire he had to be martyred for Christ,) had not his mother privily in the night season conveyed away his clothes and his shirt. Whereupon more for shame to be seen, than for

Lear to die, he was constrained to remain at home; and when he could do nothing else, yet he writeth to his father a letter with these words: Take heed to yourself that you turn not your thought and purpose for our sake, &c. Such a fervency had this Origen, being yet young, to the doctrine of Christ's faith, by the operation of God's heavenly providence, and partly also by the diligent education of his father, who brought him up from his youth most studiously in all good literature, but especially in the reading and exercise of Holy Scripture, wherein he had such inward and mystical speculation, that many times he would move questions to his father of the meaning of this place or that place in the Scripture. Insomuch that his father divers times would uncover his breast, being asleep, and kiss it, giving thanks to God which had made him so happy a father of such a happy child. After the death of his father, and all his goods confiscated to the emperor, he with his poor mother, and five brethren, were brought to such extreme poverty, that he did sustain both himself and them by teaching a school; till at length, being weary of the profession, he transferred his study only to the knowledge and

seeking of Divine Scripture, and such other learning conducive to the same. So much he profited both in the Hebrew and other tongues, that he conferred the Hebrew text with the translation of the threescore; and, moreover, did confer and find out the other translations which we call the common translation of Aquila, of Symmachus, and Theodotion. Also he adjoined to these aforesaid other four translations, whereof more is in the story of Eusebius expressed.

They that write of the life of Origen, testify of him that he was of wit quick and sharp, much patient of labour, a great traveller in the tongues, of a spare diet, of a strict life, a great faster; his teaching and his living were both one; his going was much barefoot; a strict observer of that saying of the Lord, bidding to have but one coat, &c. He is said to have written so much as seven notaries and so many maids every day could pen. The number of his books, by the account of Hierom, came to seven thousand volumes, the copies whereof he used to sell for three pence, or a little more, for the sustentation of his living. But of him more shall be touched hereafter. So zealous he was in the cause of Christ, and of Christ's martyrs, that he, nothing fearing his own peril, would assist and exhort them going to their death, and kiss them, insomuch that he was oft in jeopardy to be stoned of the multitude; and sometimes by the provision of Christian men had his house guarded about with soldiers, for the safety of them which daily resorted to hear his readings. And many times he was compelled to shift places and houses, for such as laid wait for him in all places; but great was the providence of God to preserve him in the midst of all this tempest of Severus. Among others which resorted unto him, and were his hearers, Plutarchus was one, and died a martyr; and with him Serenus his brother, who was burned. The third after these was Heraclides, the fourth Heron, who were both beheaded. The fifth was another Serenus, also beheaded, Rhais, and Potamiena, who was tormented with pitch poured upon her, and martyred with her mother Marcella, who died also in the fire. This Potamiena was of a fresh and flourishing beauty, who, because she could not be removed from her profession, was committed to Basilides, one of the captains there in the army, to see the execution done. Basilides receiving her at the judge's hand, and leading her to the place, showed her some compassion in repressing the rebukes and railings of the wicked adversaries: for the which Potamiena the virgin, to requite again his kindness, bade him be of good comfort, saying that she would pray the Lord to show mercy upon him; and so went she to her martyrdom, which she both strongly and quietly did sustain.

Not long after it happened that Basilides was required to give an oath in a matter concerning his fellow soldiers, which thing he denied to do, plainly affirming that he was a Christian; for their oath then was wont to be by the idols and the emperor. At the first he was thought dissemblingly to jest; but after, when he was heard constantly and in earnest to confirm the same, he was had before the judge, and so by him committed to ward. The Christians marvelling thereat, as they came to him in the prison, inquired of him the cause of that his sudden conversion; to whom he answered again, and said, that Potamiena had prayed for him to the Lord, and so he saw a crown put upon his head; adding, moreover, that it should not be long but he should be received. Which things thus done, the next day following he was had to the place of execution, and there beheaded. Albeit the said Eusebius giveth this story of no credit, but only of hearsay, as he there expresseth.

As divers and many there were that suffered in the days of this Severus, so some there were again, which, through the protection of God's providence, being put to great torments, yet escaped with life; of whom was one Alexander, who, for his

constant confession and torments suffered, was made bishop afterward of Jerusalem, together with Narcissus; who being then an old man of a hundred and threescore years and three, as saith Eusebius, was unwieldy for his age to govern that function alone.

Of this Narcissus it is reported, in the Ecclesiastical History, that certain miracles by him were wrought, very notable, if they be true. First of water by him turned into oil, at the solemn vigil of Easter, what time the congregation wanted oil for their lamps. Another miracle is also told of him, which is this: There were three evil-disposed persons, who seeing the soundness and grave constancy of his virtuous life, and fearing their own punishment, as a conscience that is guilty is always fearful, thought to prevent his accusations, in accusing him first, and laying a heinous crime unto his charge. And to make their accusation more probable before the people, they bound their accusation with a great oath; one wishing to be destroyed with fire, if he said not true; the other to be consumed with a grievous sickness; the third to lose both his eyes, if they did lie. Narcissus, although having his conscience clear, yet not able, being but one man, to withstand their accusation, bound with such oaths, gave place, and removed himself from the multitude into a solitary desert by himself, where he continued the space of many years. In the mean time, to them which so willingly and wickedly forswore themselves this happened: the first, by casualty of one little small spark of fire, was burnt with his goods and all his family. The second was taken with a great sickness, from the top to the toe, and devoured with the same. The third, hearing and seeing the punishment of the other, confessed his fault, but through great repentance poured out such tears that he lost both his eyes: and thus was their false perjury punished. Narcissus, after long absence returning home again, was by this means both cleared of the fact, and received into his bishopric again; to whom, as is said, for impotency of his age, Alexander was joined in execution of the function. Of this Alexander is recorded in the said Ecclesiastical History, that after his agonies and constancy of his confession showed in the persecution of Severus, he was admonished by a vision in the night season to make his journey up to Jerusalem and Palestine, (for that place remained free from this persecution,) to see there the congregation and to pray. Thus he, taking his journey, and drawing near to the city, a vision with plain words was given to certain chief heads of Jerusalem to go out of the gate of the city, there to receive the bishop appointed to them of God. And so was Alexander met and received, and joined partner with aged Narcissus, as is before expressed, in the city of Jerusalem, where he continued bishop above forty years, until the persecution of Decius, and there erected a famous library, where Eusebius had his chiefest help in writing his Ecclesiastical History. He wrote also divers epistles to divers churches, and licensed Origen openly to teach in his church. At length, being very aged, he was brought from Jerusalem to Cesarea before the judge under Decius, where after his constant confession the second time, he was committed to prison, and there died.

Besides these that suffered in this persecution of Severus, recited of Eusebius, Vincentius also speaketh of one Andoclus, whom Polycarp before had sent into France; which Andoclus, because he spread there the doctrine of Christ, was apprehended of Severus, and first beaten with staves and bats, and after was beheaded.

To these above named may also be added Asclepiades, who, although he was not put to death in this persecution of Severus, yet constantly he did abide the trial of his confession, and suffered much for the same, as Alexander before mentioned did. Wherefore afterward he was ordained bishop of Antioch, where he continued the space of seven years, of whom Alexander writes unto the church of Antioch out of prison, much rejoicing and giving thanks to God to hear that he was their bishop.

About the same time, during the reign of Severus, died Irenæus. Ado, and other martyr writers, do hold, that he was martyred with a great multitude of others more, for the confession and doctrine of Christ, about the fourth or fifth year of Severus. This Irenæus, as he was a great writer, so was he greatly commended of Tertullian for his learning, whom he calleth a great searcher of all kind of learning. He was first scholar and hearer of Polycarp; from thence either was sent or came to France, and there, by Photinus, and the rest of the martyrs, was instituted into the ministry, and commended by their letter to Eleutherius, as is before premonished. At length, after the martyrdom of Photinus, he was appointed bishop of Lyons, where he continued about the space of three and twenty years. In the time of this Irenæus the state of the church was much troubled, not only for the outward persecution of the foreign enemy, but also for divers sects and errors then stirring, against which he diligently laboured and wrote much, although but few books be now remaining. The nature of this man, well agreeing with his name, was such, that he ever loved peace, and sought to set agreement when any controversy rose in the church. And therefore, when the question of keeping the Easter-day was renewed in the church between Victor, bishop of Rome, and the churches of Asia, and when Victor would have excommunicated them as schismatics, for disagreeing from him therein; Irenæus, with other brethren of the French church, sorry to see such a contention among brethren for such a trifle, convented themselves together in a common council, and directing their letter with their common consent subscribed, sent unto Victor, entreating him to stay his purpose, and not to proceed in excommunicating his brethren for that matter. Although they themselves agreed with him in observing the Sunday Easter as he did; yet with great reasons and arguments they exhorted him not to deal so rigorously with his other brethren, following the ancient custom of their country manner in that behalf. And besides this, he wrote divers other letters abroad concerning the same contention, declaring the excommunication of Victor to be of no force.

Not long after Irenæus followed also Tertullian about the time of this Severus, and Antoninus Caracalla his son, a man both in Greek and Latin well expert, having great gifts in disputing, and in writing eloquent, as his books declare, and as the commendation of all learned men doth testify no less. To whom Vincentius Liriensis giveth such praise, that he calleth him the flower of all Latin writers; and of the eloquence of his style he thus writeth: that with the force of his reasons, he saith, whom he could not persuade, them he compelled to consent unto him. How many words, so many sentences, and how many sentences, so many victories, he had, &c.

Such men of doing and writing God raised up from time to time, as pillars and stays for his poor church, as he did this Tertullian, in these dangerous days of persecution; for when the Christians were vexed with wrongs, and falsely accused of the Gentiles, Tertullian taking their cause in hand, defendeth them against the persecutors, and against their slanderous accusations. First, that they never minded any stir or rebellion, either against the empire or emperors of Rome; for so much as the use of Christians was to pray for the state of their emperors and governors. And whereas they were accused falsely to be enemies to all man kind, how could that be, (saith Tertullian to Scapula,) seeing the proper office of the Christians is by their profession to pray for all men, to love their enemies, never requiting evil for evil, whenas all other do love but only their friends, and scarcely them? As touching the horrible slander of murdering infants, how can that be true in the Christians, (saith he,) whose order is to abstain from all blood and strangled, insomuch that it is not lawful for them to touch the blood of any beast at their tables when they feed? From filthy copulation no sort

more free than they, which are, and ever have been, the greatest observers of chastity, of whom, such as may, live in perpetual virginity all their life; such as cannot, contract matrimony, for avoiding all whoredom and fornication. Neither can it be proved that the Christians do worship the sun; which false surmise Tertullian declareth to rise hereof, for that the manner of the Christians was to pray toward the east. Much less was there any of them so mad as to worship an ass's head; whereof the occasion being taken only of the Jews, the slander thereof therefore he proveth to be falsely and wrongfully laid to the charge of the Christians.

And likewise against all other lies and slanders, objected of the heathen against the Christians, the said Tertullian purgeth the Christians, declaring them falsely to be belied, and wrongfully persecuted, not for any desert of theirs, but only for the hatred of their name. And yet, notwithstanding, by the same persecutions, he proveth in the same Apology the religion of the Christians nothing to be impaired, but rather increased. The more (saith he) we are mown down of you, the more rise up. The blood of Christians is seed. For what man, (saith he,) in beholding the painful torments and the perfect patience of them, will not search and inquire what is the cause? and when he hath found it out, who will not agree unto it? and when he agreeth to it, who will not desire to suffer for it? Thus (saith he) this sect will never die, which the more it is cut down, the more it groweth. For every man seeing and wondering at the sufferance of the saints, is moved the more thereby to search the cause; in searching he findeth it, and finding he followeth it.

Thus Tertullian, in this dangerous time of persecution, being stirred up of God, defended the innocency of the Christians against the blasphemy of the adversaries; and, moreover, for the instruction of the church, he compiled many fruitful works, Whereof some are extant, some are not to be found. Notwithstanding the great learning and famous virtues of this worthy man, certain errors and blemishes are noted in his doctrine, as were before both of Origen and Irenæus, and likewise of them, were they never so excellent, that followed them. Which errors, all here in order to note and comprehend, were too long a matter for this story to prosecute. This, by the way, shall be sufficient, to admonish the reader never to look for any such perfection of any man in this world, how singular soever he be (Christ only excepted); but some blemish or other joineth itself withal, whereof more, perchance, shall be said when we come to Cyprian.

And now to return again to the order of bishops of Rome intermitted. After Eleutherius afore mentioned, next in the bishopric of Rome succeed Victor, who, as Platina saith, died quietly in the days of Severus. But Damasus, and such as do follow the common chronicles, affirm that he died a martyr, after he had sat ten (or, as some say, twelve) years. This Victor was a great stirrer (as partly before is signified) in the controversy and contention of Easter-day, for the which he would have proceeded in excommunication against the churches of Asia, had not Irenæus, then bishop of Lyons, with the counsel of other his brethren there assembled, repressed his intended violence. As touching that controversy of Easter in those days of the primitive church, the original thereof was this, as Eusebius, Socrates, Platina, and others, record. First, certain it is that the apostles, being only intente and attendant to the doctrine of salvation, gave no heed nor regard to the observation of days and times, neither bound the church to any ceremonies and rites, except those things necessary mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, as strangled and blood, which was ordained then of the Holy Ghost, not without a most urgent and necessary cause, touched partly in the history before. For when the murdering and blood of infants was commonly objected by the

heathen persecutors against the Christians, they had no other argument to help themselves, nor to refell the adversary, but only their own law, by the which they were commanded to abstain, not only from all men's blood, but also from the blood of all common beasts. And therefore that law seemeth by the Holy Ghost to be given, and also to the same end continued in the church, so long as the cause, that is, the persecutions of the heathen Gentiles, continued. Besides these, we read of no other ceremonies or rites which the apostles greatly regarded, but left such things free to the liberty of Christians, every man to use therein his own discretion, for the using or not using thereof. Whereupon, as concerning all the ceremonial observation of days, times, places, meats, drinks, vestures, and such others; of all these things neither was the diversity among men greatly noted, nor any uniformity greatly required. Insomuch that Irenæus, writing to Victor of the tradition of days, and of fastings, and of the diversity of these things then used among the primitive fathers, saith, Notwithstanding all this variety, all they kept peace among themselves, and yet we keep it still, and this difference of fasting among us commendeth more the concord of faith. And so long did the doctrine of Christian liberty remain whole and sound in the church till the time of Victor, which was about the year of our Lord two hundred; although the diversity of these usages began before also in the days of Pius and Anicetus, about the year of Christ one hundred sixty and three, to be misliked; yet restraint hereof was not so much urged before as in the time of Victor. And yet neither did the violence of Victor take such place, but that the doctrine of Christian liberty was defended and maintained by means of Irenæus and others, and so continued in the church till after the Council of Nice. And thus much concerning the doctrine of Christian liberty, and of the differences of rites and ceremonies.

Now to return to Victor again, to show what diversity there was in observing the day of Easter, and how it came, thus is the story. First, in the time of Pius and Anicetus, in the year of Christ one hundred sixty and three, the question of Easter-day began first to be moved; at what time Pius, by the revelation of Hermes, decreed the observation of that day to be changed from the wonted manner of the fourteenth day of the moon in the first month unto the next Sunday after. After him came Anicetus, Soter, and Eleutherius, bishops of Rome, which also determined the same. Against these stood Melito, bishop of Sardis, Polycarp, and, as some think, Egesippus, with other learned men of Asia. Which Polycarp, being sent by the brethren of Asia, came to Rome, as is aforesaid, to confer with Anicetus in that matter; wherein, when they could not agree after long debating, yet, notwithstanding, they did both communicate together with reverence, and departed in peace. And so the celebration of Easter-day remained as a thing indifferent in the church, till the time of Victor; who, following after Anicetus and his fellows, and chiefly stirring in this matter, endeavoured by all means and might to draw, or rather subdue, the churches of Asia unto his opinion; thinking, moreover, to excommunicate all those bishops and churches of Asia as heretics and schismatics which disagreed from the Roman order; had not Irenæus otherwise restrained him from that doing, as is aforesaid, which was about the year of our Lord one hundred four score and eleven, in the reign of Commodus. Thus then began the uniformity of keeping that holy day to be first required as a thing necessary, and all they accounted as heretics and schismatics which dissented from the bishop and tradition of Rome.

With Victor stood Theophilus, bishop of Cesarea, Narcissus of Jerusalem, Irenæus of Lyons, Palmas of Pontus, Banchillus of Corinth, the bishop of Ostroena, and others more. All which condescended to have the celebration of Easter upon the

Sunday, because they would differ from the Jews in all things as near as they might; and partly, because the resurrection of the Lord fell on the same day.

On the contrary side, divers bishops were in Asia, of whom the principal was Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, who being assembled with a great multitude of bishops and brethren of those parts, by the common assent of the rest, wrote again to Victor, and to the church of Rome, declaring that they had ever from the beginning observed that day according to the rule of Scripture unchanged, neither adding nor altering any thing from the same; alleging, moreover, for them the examples of the apostles and holy fathers, their predecessors, as Philip the apostle, with his three daughters, at Hieropolis; also John the apostle and evangelist at Ephesus, Polycarp at Smyrna, Thraseas at Eumenia, bishop and martyr; likewise of Sagaris at Laodicea, bishop and martyr, holy Papius, and Melito at Sardis. Besides these, bishops also of his own kindred, and his own ancestors, to the number of seven, which all were bishops before him, and he the eighth, now after them. All which observed (saith he) the solemnity of the same day, after the same wise and sort as we do now.

Victor, being not a little moved herewith, by letters again denounceth against them (more bold upon authority than wise in his commission) violent excommunication; albeit, by the wise handling of Irenæus and other learned men, that matter was stayed, and Victor otherwise persuaded. That the variance and difference of ceremonies is no strange matter in the church of Christ, whenas this variety is not only in the day of Easter, but also in the manner of fasting, and in divers other uses among the Christians. For some fast one day, some two days, some others fast more. Others there be, which, counting forty hours, both day and night, take that for a full day's fast. And this so divers fashion of fasting in the church of Christ began not only in this our time, but was before among our fore-elders. And yet notwithstanding they with all this diversity were in unity among themselves, and so be we; neither doth this difference of ceremonies any thing hinder, but rather commendeth the concord of faith. And he bringeth forth the examples of the fathers, of Telesphorus, Pius, Anicetus, Soter, Eleutherius, and such others, who neither observed the same usage themselves, nor prescribed it to others, and yet notwithstanding kept Christian charity with such as came to communicate with them, not observing the same form of things which they observed, as well appeared by Polycarp and Anicetus, which although they agreed not in one uniform custom of rites, yet refused not to communicate together, the one giving reverence unto the other. Thus the controversy, being taken up between Irenæus and Victor, remained free to the time of the Nicene Council. And thus much concerning the controversy of that matter, and concerning the doings of Victor.

After Victor succeeded in the see of Rome Zephyrinus, in the days of the foresaid Severus, about the year of our Lord two hundred and three. To this Zephyrinus be ascribed two epistles, in the first tome of the Councils. But as I have said before of the decretal epistles of other Roman bishops, so I say and verily suppose of this, that neither the countenance of the style, nor the matter therein contained, nor the condition of the time, doth otherwise give to think of these letters but that they be verily bastard letters, not written by these fathers, nor in these times, but craftily and wickedly packed in by some, which, to set up the primacy of Rome, have most pestilently abused the authority of these holy and ancient fathers, to deceive the simple church. For who is so rude but that in considering only the state of those terrible times he may easily understand, (except affection blind him,) beside a number of other probable conjectures to lead him, that the poor persecuted bishops in that time would have been glad to have any safe covert to put their heads in? so far was it off that they had any

lust or leisure then to seek for any primacy or patriarchship, or to drive all other churches to appeal to the see of Rome, or to exempt all priests from the accusation of any layman; as in the first epistle of Zephyrinus is to be seen, written to the bishops of Sicilia; and likewise the second epistle of his to the bishops of the province of Egypt, containing no manner of doctrine nor consolation necessary for that time, but only certain ritual decrees to no purpose, argueth no less but the said epistles neither to savour of that man, nor to taste of that time.

Of like credit also seemeth the constitution of the patens of glass, which Damasus saith that the same Zephyrinus ordained to be carried before the priest at the celebration of the mass. Again, Platina writeth that he ordained the administration of the sacrament to be no more used in vessels of wood, or of glass, or of any other metal, except only silver, gold, and tin, &c. But how these two testimonies of Damasus and Platina join together, let the reader judge; especially seeing the same decree is referred to Urbanus, that came after him. Again, what needed this decree of golden chalices to be established afterward in the Council of Tiber and Rhens, if it had been enacted before by Zephyrinus? How long this Zephyrinus sat our writers do vary. Eusebius saith he died in the reign of Caracalla, and sat seventeen years. Platina writeth that he died under Severus, and sat eight years, and so saith also Naucicrus. Damasus affirmeth that he sat sixteen years and two months.

Matheus, author of the story entitled Flores Historiarum, with other later chronicles, maketh mention of Perpetua, and Felicitas, and Revocatus her brother, also of Saturninus and Satyrus, brethren, and Secundulus, which in the persecution of this Severus gave over their lives to martyrdom for Christ, being thrown to wild beasts, and devoured of the same in Carthage and in Africa; save that Saturninus, brought again from the beasts, was beheaded, and Secundulus died in prison about the year of our Lord two hundred and two, as writeth Florilegus.

This Severus the persecutor reigned, as the most part of writers accord, the term of eighteen years, who about the later time of his reign came with his army hither into Britain, where after many conflicts had with the Britons, in the borders of the north, he cast up a ditch with a mighty wall, made of earth, and turfs, and strong stakes, to the length of one hundred thirty and two miles, from the one side of the sea to the other, beginning at Tine, and reaching to the Scottish sea; which done he removed to York, and there by the breaking in of the northern men and the Scots was besieged and slain, about the year of our Lord two hundred and eleven, leaving behind him two sons, Bassianus and Geta. Which Bassianus, surnamed Caracalla, after he had slain his brother Geta here in Britain, governed the empire alone, the space of six years. After whose death, he being slain also of his servants, (as he had slain his brother before,) succeeded Macrinus, with his son Diadumenus, to be emperor, who, after they had reigned one year, were both slain of their own people.

After them followed Varius Heliogabalus in the empire, rather to be called a monster than a man, so prodigious was his life in all gluttony, filthiness, and ribaldry. Such was his pomp, that in his lamps he used balm, and filled his fishponds with rose water. To let pass his sumptuous vestures, which he would not wear but only of gold, and most costly silks, his shoes glistering with precious stones finely engraved, he was never two days served with one kind of meat; he never wore one garment twice. And likewise for his fleshly wickedness, some days his company was served at meal with the brains of ostriches, and a strange fowl called phenicoptery; another day with the tongues of popinjays, and other sweet singing birds. Being nigh to the sea, he never

used fish; in places far distant from the sea, all his house was served with most delicate fishes: at one supper he was served with seven thousand fishes and five thousand fowls. At his removing in his progress, often there followed him six hundred chariots laden only with bawds, common harlots, and ribalds. He sacrificed young children, and preferred to the best advancements in the commonweal most light personages, as minstrels, carters, and such-like; in one word, he was an enemy to all honesty and good order. And when he was foretold by his sorcerers and astronomers that he should die a violent death, he provided ropes of silk to hang himself, swords of gold to kill himself, and strong poison in hyacinths and emeralds to poison himself, if needs he must thereto be forced; moreover, he made a high tower, having the floor of boards covered with gold plate, bordered with precious stones, from the which tower he would throw himself down, if he should be pursued of his enemies. But notwithstanding all his provision, he was slain of the soldiers, drawn through the city, and cast into Tiber, after he had reigned two years and eight months, as witnesseth Eutropius; others say four years.

This Heliogabalus, having no issue, adopted to his son and heir Aurelius Alexander Severus, the son of Mammea, who entering his reign the year of our Lord two hundred twenty and four, continued thirteen years, well commended for virtuous, wise, gentle, liberal, and to no man hurtful. And as he was not unlearned himself, through the diligent education of Mammea his mother; so he was a great favourer of men wise and learned. Neither did he any thing in the commonweal without the assistance of learned and sage counsellors. It is reported of him to bear such stomachs against corrupt judges, that when he chanced to meet with any of them, by the commotion of his mind he would cast up choler, being so moved with them that he could not speak, and was ready with his two fingers to put out their eyes. From his court he dismissed all superfluous and unnecessary servants, saying that he was no good pupil which fed idle servants with the bowels of his commonweal.

Among his other good virtues, it appeareth also that he was friendly and favourable unto the Christians, as by this act may be gathered; for when the Christians had occupied a certain public place in some good use, belike for the assembling and conventing together of the congregation, the company of the cooks or tipplers made challenge of that place to belong unto them. The matter being brought before the emperor, he judged it more honest the place to be continued to the worship of God, howsoever it were, than the dirty slubbing of cooks and scullions.

By this it may be understood that in Rome no Christian churches were erected unto this time, when as yet (notwithstanding this favour of the emperor) no public house could quietly be obtained for the Christians. So that by the reason hereof may appear the decretal epistle and ordinance of Pope Higinus. concerning the dedication of churches above mentioned, to be falsified. And likewise the ordinance of Pius his successor, concerning the altar, or high altar, to be also false. For what high altar was it like they had in the time of Higinus and Pius, whenas at this time, which was long after, no public place almost could be granted them for the Christians to assemble together?

Of this Alexander Platina writeth, that as he was a great hater of all boasters and flatterers, so he was of such prudence, that no deceit could escape him; and bringeth in a story of one Turinus, who had gotten craftily many great bribes and gifts, in making the people believe that he was of great authority with the emperor, and that he could help them to have whatsoever they sued for. Whereof the emperor being

certified, caused him in the open market to be fastened to a stake, and there killed with smoke, where the crier stood thus crying to the people: Smoke he sold, and with smoke he is punished.

Mammea, the mother of this Alexander above mentioned, (whom Hierom calleth a devout and religious woman,) hearing of the fame and the excellent learning of Origen, being then at Alexandria, sent for him to Antioch, desirous to hear and see him; unto whom the foresaid Origen according to her request resorted, and after that he had there remained a space with the emperor and his mother, returned again to Alexandria.

And thus continued this good emperor his reign the space of thirteen years; at length at a commotion in Germany, with his mother Mammea, he was slain. After whom succeeded Maximinus, contrary to the mind of the senate, only appointed by the soldiers to be emperor. During all this time, between Severus and this Maximinus, the church of Christ, although it had not perfect peace, yet it had some mean tranquillity from persecution. Albeit some martyrs there were at this time that suffered, whereof Naucerus giveth this reason: For although (saith he) Alexander, being persuaded through the entreating of his mother Mammea, did favour the Christians; yet notwithstanding there was no public edict or proclamation provided for their safeguard. By reason whereof divers there were which suffered martyrdom under Almachius and other judges. In the number of whom, after some stories, was Calixtus, bishop of Rome, who succeeded next unto Zephyrinus above mentioned; and after him Urbanus also; which both being bishops of Rome, did both suffer, by the opinion of some writers, under Alexander Severus.

This Calixtus in his two decretal epistles, written to Benedictus, and to the bishops of France, giveth these ordinances: that no actions or accusations against the prelates or teachers of the church should be received; that no secret conspiracies should be made against bishops; item, no man to communicate with persons excommunicate; also, no bishop to excommunicate or to deal in another's diocese. And here he expoundeth the diocese, or the parish, of any bishop or minister to be his wife. The wife (saith the apostle) is bound to the law as long as the husband liveth; when he is dead, she is free from the law: so (saith Calixtus) the wife of a bishop (which is his church) so long as he liveth is bound only to him, neither ought to be judged or disposed by any other man without his will and judgment; after his death she is free from the law to marry to whom she will, so it be in the Lord, that is, regularly. In the end of the said his epistle decretal, he confuteth the error of them which hold, that they which are fallen are not to be received again. Which heresy, after the time of Calixtus or Calistus, came in first by Novatus, in the days of Cornelius. Moreover, in his said first epistle decretal is contained the fast of the four times, commonly called the ember fast, whereof also Marianus Scotus maketh mention. But Damasus, speaking of the same fast, saith he ordained the fast but of three times, which was for the increase of corn, wine, and oil.

By these hitherto promised, it is not hard for a quick reader to smell out the crafty juggling of that person or persons, whosoever they were, that falsely have ascribed these decretal institutions to those holy fathers. For, first, what leisure had the Christians to lay in their accusations against their bishops, when we never read or find in any story any kind of variance in those days among them, but all love, mutual compassion, and hearty communion among the saints? And as we read of no variance among the people in those days, nor of any fault or back sliding among the bishops,

who for the most part then died all constant martyrs; so neither do we read of any tribunal seat or consistory used or frequented then about any such matters. Again, if a man examine well the dangers of those busy days, he shall see the poor flock of the Christians so occupied and piteously oppressed by the cruel accusations of the heathen infidels, that though the cause did, yet the time would not, serve them to commence any law against their bishops. Secondly, as touching their conspiracy against bishops, what conspiracy either would they then practise against them, which always gave their lives for their defence? Or how could they then conspire in any companies together, when never a true Christian man durst once put his head out of his doors? neither was there in the church any Christian man in those perilous days, except he were a true man indeed, such as was far from all false conspiracies. And when as all the world almost in all places conspired against them, what time, what cause, or what heart, trow ye, could they have to conspire against their instructors? Thirdly, concerning the confutation of that heresy, how standeth the confutation with the time of Calixtus, when Novatus, the author of that heresy, was after him in the time of Cornelius? Fourthly, if by the law of Calixtus every diocess be the proper wife of every bishop or minister, then how many bishops' wives, and parsons' wives, had the adulterous pope of Rome defloured in these later days of the church, which so proudly and impudently hath intermeddled and taken his pleasure and his own profit in every diocess and parish almost through all Christendom, without all leave and licence of the good man, who hath been in the mean time, and yet is compelled still, wheresoever the pope's holiness cometh, to give him leave unasked to do what he list! Wherefore, if this canon decretal be truly his, why is it not observed, so as it doth stand without exception? If it be not, why is it then falsely forged upon him, and the church of Christ deceived? and certes, lamentable it is, that this falsifying of such trifling traditions, under the false pretence of antiquity, either was begun in the church to deceive the people, or that it hath remained so long undetected. For, as I think, the church of Christ will never be perfectly reformed before these decretal constitutions and epistles, which have so long put on the visor of antiquity, shall be fully detected, and appear in their own colour, wherein they were first painted.

And yet neither do I say this, or think contrary, but that it may be that bishops of Rome and of the same name have been the true authors of these traditions. But here cometh in the error, (as I credibly suppose,) that when other later bishops of the like name have devised these ceremonial inventions, the vulgar opinion of men hath transferred them to the first primitive fathers, although being of another time, yet bearing the same name with the true inventors thereof.

After Calixtus followed Urbanus, about the year of our Lord two hundred twenty and seven, who in his epistle decretal, (coming out of the same forge,) which he wrote in common to all bishops, making no mention of the heavy persecutions of the church, nor ministering any exhortation of comfort or constancy to the brethen, only giveth many strict precepts for not transporting or alienating the goods of the church, and to pay truly their offerings which they vow; also to have all common among the clergy. Moreover, about the end of his epistle, he instituteth the confirmation of children after baptism (which the papists be wont to take into the number of their seven sacraments); affirming and denouncing more than Scripture will bear, that the imposition of the bishop's hand bringeth the Holy Ghost, and that thereby men be made full Christians, &c. But of these decretal epistles enough is said before, more may be considered of the discreet reader. Marianus Scotus, Sabellicus, Nauclerus, and other late story writers, do hold, as is aforesaid, that he died a martyr in

the days of Alexander Severus, after he had governed that seat four years, as Damasus and Platina do witness, as Marianus saith, eight years.

The same Damasus and Platina do testify of him, that he by his preaching and holiness of life converted divers Ethnics to the faith; among whom were Tiburtius, and Valerianus, the husband of Cecilia; which both, being noblemen of Rome, remained constant in the faith unto the end and martyrdom. Of this Cecilia thus it is written in the martyrology by Ado: that Cecilia the virgin, after she had brought Valerian, her husband espoused, and Tiburtius his brother, to the knowledge and faith of Christ, and with her exhortations had made them constant unto martyrdom, after the suffering of them, she was also apprehended by Almachius the ruler, and brought to the idols to do sacrifice; which thing when she abhorred to do, she should be presented before the judge to have the condemnation of death. In the mean time, the serjeants and officers which were about her, beholding her comely beauty, and the prudent behaviour in her conversation, began with many persuasions of words to solicit her mind to favour herself, and that so excellent beauty, and not to cast herself away, &c. But she again so replied to them with reasons and godly exhortations, that by the grace of Almighty God their hearts began to kindle, and at length to yield to that religion which before they did persecute. Which thing she perceiving, desired of the judge Almachius a little respite; which being granted, she sendeth for Urbanus the bishop home to her house, to establish and ground them in the faith of Christ: and so were they with divers others at the same time baptized, both men and women, to the number (as the story saith) of four hundred persons, among whom was one Gordianus, a nobleman. This done, this blessed martyr was brought before the judge, where she was condemned; then after was brought to the house of the judge, where she was enclosed in a hot bath; but she remaining there a whole day and night without any hurt, as in a cold place, was brought out again, and commaundment given, that in the bath she should be beheaded. The executioner is said to have dealt four strokes at her neck; and yet her head being cut off, she (as the story giveth) lived three days after; and so died this holy virgin martyr, whose body in the night season Urbanus the bishop took and buried among the other bishops. Ado, the compiler of this martyrology, addeth, that this was done in the time of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus. But that cannot be, forasmuch as Urbanus by all histories was long after those emperors, and lived in the days of this Alexander, as is above declared. Antoninus, Bergomensis, Equilinus, with such other writers, set forth this history with many strange miracles wrought by the said Cecilia, in converting her husband Valerianus and his brother, in showing them the angel which was the keeper of her virginity, and of the angel putting on crowns upon their heads. But as touching these miracles, as I do not dispute whether they be true or fabulous; so because they have no ground upon any ancient or grave authors, but are taken out of certain new legends, I do therefore refer them thither from whence they came.

Under the same Alexander divers other there be whom Bergomensis mentioned to have suffered martyrdom, as one Agapetus, of the age of fifteen years, who, being apprehended and condemned at Preneste at Italy, because he would not sacrifice to idols, was assailed with sundry torments; first, with whips scourged; then hanged up by the feet; after having hot water poured upon him, at the last cast to the wild beasts; with all which torments, when he could not be hurt, finally, with sword was beheaded. The executioner of these punishments (as by Henricus Erford. may be gathered) was one Antiochus, who, in the executing of the foresaid torments, suddenly fell down from his judicial seat, crying out, that all his inward bowels burned with in him, and so gave up the breath.

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Also with the same Agapetus is numbered Calepodius, a minister of Rome, whose body first was drawn through the city of Rome, and after cast into Tiber.

Then followeth Pammachius, a senator of Rome, with his wife and children, and others, both men and women, to the number of forty and two.

Item, another noble senator of Rome, named Simplicius, all which together in one day had their heads smitten off, and their heads after hanged up in divers gates of the city, for a terror of others, that none should profess the name of Christ.

Besides these suffered also Quiritius, a nobleman of Rome, who, with his mother Julia, and a great number more, were put likewise to death.

Also Tiberius and Valerianus, citizens of Rome, and brethren, suffered (as Bergomensis saith) the same time, who, first being bruised and broken with bats, after were beheaded.

Also Vincentius, Bergomensis, and Erfordiensis make mention of Martina, a Christian virgin, which, after divers bitter punishments being constant in her faith, suffered in like manner by the sword.

Albeit as touching the time of these forenamed matters, as I find them not in older writers, so do I suppose them to suffer under Maximinus or Decius, rather than under Alexander.

8. The Sixth Persecution under Maximinus

After the death of Alexander the emperor, who, with his mother Mammea, (as is said,) was murdered in Germany, followed Maximinus, chosen by the will of the soldiers, rather than by the authority of the senate, about the year of our Lord two hundred thirty and seven; who, for the hatred he had to the house of Alexander, (as Eusebius recordeth,) raised up the sixth persecution against the Christians, especially against the teachers and leaders of the church, thinking thereby the sooner to vanquish the rest, if the captains of them were removed out of the way. Whereby I suppose the martyrdom of Urbanus the bishop, and of the rest above specified, to have happened rather under the tyranny of this Maximinus than under Alexander. In the time of this persecution Origen wrote his book on martyrdom; which book, if it were extant, would give us some knowledge, I doubt not, of such as in this persecution did suffer, which now lie in silence unknown; and no doubt but a great number they were, and more should have been, had not the provident mercy of God shortened his days and bridled his tyranny, for he reigned but three years. After whom succeeded Gordianus, in the year of our Lord two hundred and thirty-eight, a man no less studious for the utility of the commonwealth than mild and gentle to the Christians. This Gordianus, after he had governed with much peace and tranquillity the monarchy of Rome the space of six years, was slain of Philip, emperor after him.

In the days of these emperors above recited was Pontianus, bishop of Rome, who succeeded next after Urbanus above rehearsed, about the year of our Lord two hundred thirty and six, in the twelfth year of Alexander, declaring him to sit six years. Contrary. Damasus and Platina write, that he was bishop nine years and a half; and that in the time of Alexander, he, with Philippus his priest, was banished into Sardinia, and there died. But it seemeth more credible that he was banished rather under Maximinus, and died in the beginning of the reign of Gordianus. In his epistles deCretal (which seem likewise to be feigned) he appeareth very devout, after the common example of other bishops, to uphold the dignity of priests, and of clergymen; saying that God hath them so familiar with him, that by them he accepteth the offerings and oblations of others, and forgiveth their sins, and reconcileth them unto him; also, that they do make the body of the Lord with their own mouth, and give it to others, &c.; which doctrine, how it standeth with the testament of God and glory of Christ, let the reader use his own judgment.

Other notable fathers also in the same time were raised up in the church, as Philetus, bishop of Antioch, which succeeded after Asclepiades aforementioned, in the year of our Lord two hundred and twenty; and after him Zebennus, bishop of the same place, in the year of our Lord two hundred thirty and one.

To these also may be added Ammonius, the schoolmaster of Origen, as Suidas supposeth; also the kinsmen of Porphyry, the great enemy of Christ: notwithstanding, this Ammonius, endued with better grace, as he left divers books in defence of Christ's religion, so did he constantly persevere (as Eusebius reporteth) in the doctrine of Christ, which he had in the beginning received, who was about the days of Alexander.

Julius Africanus also, about the time of Gordianus aforesaid, is numbered among the old and ancient writers, of whom Nicephorus writeth that he was the scholar of Origen, and a great writer of histories of that time.

Unto these doctors and confessors may be adjoined the story of Natalius, mentioned in the first book of Eusebius. This Natalius had suffered persecution before like a constant confessor, and was seduced and persuaded by Asclepiodotus and Theodorus (which were the disciples of Theodocus) to take upon him to be bishop of their sect, promising to give him every month a hundred and fifty pieces of silver: and so he joining himself to them was admonished by vision and revelation from the Lord; for such was the great mercy of God, and of our Lord Christ Jesus, that he would not have his martyr, which had suffered so much for his name before, now to perish out of his church: for the which cause (saith Eusebius) God by certain visions did admonish him; but he not taking great heed thereunto, being blinded partly with lucre, partly with honour, was at length all the night long scourged of the angels, insomuch that he being made thereby very sore; and early on the morrow putting on sackcloth, with much weeping and lamentation went to Zephirinus, the bishop above mentioned, where he falling down before him and all the Christian congregation, showed them the stripes of his body, and prayed them for the mercies of Christ, that he might be received into their communion again, from which he had sequestered himself before, and so was admitted according as he desired.

After the decease of Pontianus, bishop of Rome, aforementioned, succeeded next in that place Anterius, of whom Isuardus writeth, that Pontianus departing away did substitute him in his room; but Eusebius writeth that he succeeded immediately after him. Damasus saith, that because he caused the acts and deaths of the martyrs to be written, therefore he was put to martyrdom himself by Maximinus the judge. Concerning the time of this bishop our writers do greatly jar. Eusebius and Marianus Scotus affirm that he was bishop but one month; Sabellicus saith that not to be so. Damasus assigneth to him twelve years and one month. Volateranus, Bergomensis, and Henricus Erford give to him three years and one month. Naclerus writeth that he sat one year and one month. All which are so far discrepant one from another, that which of them most agreeth with truth it lieth in doubt. Next to this bishop was Fabianus, of whom more is to be said hereafter.

Of Hippolytus also both Eusebius and Hieronymus make mention that he was a bishop; but where they make no relation. And so likewise doth Theodoretus witness him to be a bishop, and also a martyr, but naming no place. Gelatius saith he died a martyr, and that he was bishop of a head city in Arabia. Nicephorus writeth that he was bishop of Ostia, a port town near to Rome. Certain it is he was a great writer, and left many works in the church, which Eusebius and Jerome do recite: by the calculation of Eusebius, he was about the year of our Lord two hundred and thirty.

Prudentius, making mention of great heaps of martyrs buried by threescore together, speaketh also of Hippolytus, and saith that he was drawn with wild horses through fields, dales, and bushes, and describeth thereof a pitiful story.

After the emperor Gordianus, the empire fell to Philippus, who with Philip his son governed the space of seven years, in the year of our Lord two hundred forty and four. This Philippus, with his son and all his family, was christened and converted by Fabianus and Origen, who by letters exhorted him and Severa his wife to be baptized, being the first of all the emperors that brought in Christianity into the imperial seat. Howsoever Pomponius Letus reporteth him to be a dissembling prince, this is certain, that for his Christianity he with his son was slain of Decius, one of his captains. Sabellicus sheweth this hatred of Decius against Philippus to be conceived, for that the

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emperor Philip, both the father and the son, had committed their treasures unto Fabianus, then bishop of Rome.

9. The Seventh Persecution under Decius

Thus Philippus being slain, after him Decius invaded the crown about the year of our Lord two hundred and fifty; by whom was moved a terrible persecution against the Christians, which Orosius noteth to be the seventh persecution. The first occasion of this hatred and persecution of this tyrant, conceived against the Christians, was chiefly (as is before touched) because of the treasures of the emperor which were committed to Fabian the bishop.

This Fabian, first being a married man, (as Platin writeth,) was made bishop of Rome after Anterius above mentioned, by the miraculous appointment of God, which Eusebius doth thus describe in his sixth book. When the brethren (saith he) were together in the congregation about the election of their bishop, and had purposed among themselves upon the nomination of some noble and worthy personage of Rome, it chanced that Fabianus among others was there present, who of late before was newly come out of the country to inhabit in the city. This Fabian, (as is said,) thinking nothing less than of any such matter, there suddenly cometh a dove flying from above, and sitteth upon his head; where upon all the congregation being moved with one mind and one voice to choose him for their bishop, in the which function he remained the space of thirteen years, as Eusebius writeth; Damasus, Marianus, and Sabellicus say fourteen years, unto the time of Decius; who, whether for that Philippus had committed to him his treasures, or whether for the hatred he bare to Philippus, in the beginning of his reign, caused him to be put to death; sending out, moreover, his proclamation into all quarters, that all which professed the name of Christ should be slain.

To this Fabian be ascribed certain ordinances; as of consecrating new oil once every year, and burning the old; of accusations against bishops; of appealing to the see apostolic; of not marrying within the fifth degree; of communicating thrice a year; of offering every Sunday; with such other things more in his three epistles decretal: the which epistles, as by divers other evidences, may be supposed to be untruly named upon him, giving no signification of any matter agreeing to that time; so do I find the most part of the third epistle, word for word, standing in the epistle of Sixtus the Third, which followed almost two hundred years after him; beside the unseemly doctrine also in the end of the said epistles contained, where he, contrary to the tenor of the gospel, applieth remission of sins (only due to the blood of Christ) unto the offerings of bread and wine by men and women every Sunday in the church.

To this Fabian wrote Origen, Of the Righteousness of his Faith; whereby is to be understood that he continued to the time of Decius; some say also, to the time of Gallus. Of this Origen partly mention is touched before, declaring how bold and fervent he was in the days of Severus in assisting, comforting, exhorting, and kissing the martyrs that were imprisoned and suffered for the name of Christ, with such danger of his own life, that had it not been the singular protection of God, he had been stoned to death many times of the heathen multitude. Such great concourse of men and women was daily at his house to be catechised and instructed in the Christian faith by him, that soldiers were hired of purpose to defend the place where he taught them. Again, such search sometime was set for him, that scarce any shifting of place or country could cover him. In whose laborious travails and affairs of the church, in teaching, writing, confuting, exhorting, and expounding, he continued about the space of fifty-two years, unto the time of Decius and Gallus. Divers and great persecutions

he sustained, but especially under Decius, as testifieth Eusebius in his sixth book; declaring that for the doctrine of Christ he sustained bonds and torments in his body, rackings with bars of iron, dungeons, besides terrible threats of death and burning. All this he suffered in the persecution of Decius, as Eusebius recordeth of him, and maketh no relation of any further matter. But Suidas and Nicephorus following the same, saith further concerning him, that the said Origen, after divers and sundry other torments, which he manfully and constantly suffered for Christ, at length was brought to an altar, where a foul, filthy Ethiop was appointed to be, and there this option or choice was offered unto him, whether he would sacrifice to the idols, or have his body polluted with that foul and ugly Ethiop. Then Origen, (saith he,) who with a philosophical mind ever kept his chastity undefiled, much abhorring that filthy villany to be done to his body, condescended to their request: whereupon the judge, putting incense in his hand, caused him to set it to the fire upon the altar; for the which impiety he afterward was excommunicated of the church. Epiphanius writeth, that he being urged to sacrifice to idols, and taking the boughs in his hand, wherewith the heathen were wont to honour their gods, called upon the Christians to carry them in the honour of Christ. The which fact the church of Alexandria misliking removed him from their communion whereupon Origen, driven away with shame and sorrow out of Alexandria, went into Jewry, where being in Jerusalem among the congregation, and there requested of the priests and ministers (he being also a priest) to make some exhortation in the church, he refused a great while to do. At length, by importunate petition being constrained thereunto, he rose up, and turning the book, as though he would have expounded some place of the Scripture, he only read the verse of the forty-ninth Psalm, But God said to the sinner, Why dost thou preach my justifications, and why dost thou take my testament in thy mouth? &c. Which verse being read, he shut the book, and sat down weeping and wailing, the whole congregation also weeping and lamenting with him. More what became of Origen it is not found in history, but only that Suidas addeth, he died and was buried at Tyrus. Eusebius affirmeth, that he departed unto the emperor Gallus, about the year of our Lord two hundred fifty and five, and the seventieth year of his age, in great misery (as appeareth) and poverty.

In this Origen divers blemishes of doctrine be noted, whereupon Hierom sometimes doth inveigh against him; albeit in some places again he doth extol and commend him for his excellent learning, as in his Apology against Ruffinus, and in his Epistle to Pammachius and Ocean, where he praiseth Origen, although not for the perfection of his faith and doctrine, nor for an apostle, yet for an excellent interpreter, for his wit, and for a philosopher: and yet in his Prologue upon the Homilies of Origen on Ezekiel, he calleth him another master of the churches after the apostles. And in another preface upon his Questions upon Genesis, he wisheth to himself the knowledge of the Scriptures which Origen had, also with the envy of his name. Athanasius moreover calleth him singular and laborious, and useth also his Testimonies against the Arians.

After Origen, the due order of history requireth next to speak of Heraclas his usher; a man singularly commended for his knowledge, not only in philosophy, but also in such faculties as to a Christian divine do appertain. This great towardness of wit and learning when Origen perceived in him, he appointed him above all others to be his usher or under-teacher, to help in his school or university of Alexandria, in the reign of Antoninus Caracalla, son of Severus. And after, in the tenth year of Alexander, Origen departing unto Cesarea, he succeeded in his room to govern the school in Alexandria. Further also, in the time of Gordianus, after the decease of

Demetrius, bishop of Alexandria, this Heraclas succeeded to be bishop of the said city; in the which function he ministered the term of sixteen years. Of this Hereclas writeth Origen himself, that he, although being priest, yet ceased not to read over and peruse the books of the Gentiles, to the intent he might the better out of their own books confute their error, &c.

After Heraclas succeeded Dionysius Alexandrinus in the bishopric of Alexandria, like as he succeeded him in the school before; which Dionysius also writeth of the same Heraclas unto Philemon, a priest of Rome, thus saying, This canon and type I received of blessed Heraclas, our pope, &c. This Heraclas was no martyr, which died three years before Decius, about the year of our Lord two hundred and fifty. After whom succeeded next in the same seat of Alexandria Dionysius Alexandrinus, who also suffered much under the tyranny of Decius, as hereafter shall be showed, (Christ willing,) when we come to the time of Valerian.

Nicephorus in his first book, and others which write of this persecution under Decius, declare the horribleness thereof to be so great, and so innumerable martyrs to suffer in the same, that he saith it is as easy to number the sands of the sea, as to recite the particular names of them whom this persecution did devour. In the which persecution the chiefest doers and tormentors under the emperor appear in the history of Vincentius to be these:

Optimus the under-consul, Secundianus, Verianus, and Marcellianus, &c. Although therefore it be hard here to infer all and singular persons in order that died in this persecution, yet such as remain most notable in stories I will briefly touch by the grace of Him for whose cause they suffered.

In the former tractation of the first persecution, mention was made before of Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem, and of his troubles suffered under Severus, and how afterward by the miracle of God he was appointed bishop of Jerusalem, where he continued, a very aged man, above the term of forty years governor of that church, till the time of the first year of Decius, at what time he being brought from Jerusalem to Cesarea into the judgment place, after a constant and evident confession of his faith made before the judge, was committed unto prison, and there finished his life, as testifieth Dionysius Alexandrinus in the sixth book of Eusebius. After whom succeeded in that seat Mezabanes, the thirty and sixth bishop of that city after James the apostle.

Mention was made also before of Asclepiades, bishop of Antioch, who succeeded after Serapion, and in the persecution of Severus did likewise persevere a constant confessor, and, as Vincentius testifieth in his eleventh book, suffered martyrdom at last under this Decius. But this computation of Vincentius can in no wise agree with the truth of time: forsomuch as by probable writers, as Zonaras, Nicephorus, and others, the said Asclepiades after Serapion entered the bishop's seat of Antioch, in the year of our Lord two hundred and fourteen, and sat seven years before the time of Gordianus, after whom succeeded Philetus, in the year of our Lord two hundred twenty and one, governing the function twelve years. And after him Zebinus followed, in the year of our Lord two hundred thirty and two; and so after him Babylas; which Babylas, if he died in this persecution of Decius, then could not Asclepiades also suffer in the same time, who died so long before him, as is declared.

Of this Babylas, bishop of Antioch, Eusebius and Zonaras record, that under Decius he died in prison, as did Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem, above rehearsed.

We read in a certain treatise of Chrysostom, entitled *Contra Gentiles*, a notable and long history of one Babylas, a martyr, who about these times was put to death for resisting a certain emperor, not suffering him to enter into the temple of the Christians after a cruel murder committed, the story of which murder is this: There was a certain emperor, who, upon conclusion of peace made with a certain nation, had received for hostage or surety of peace the son of the king, being of young and tender age, with conditions upon the same, that neither he should be molested of them, nor that they should ever be vexed of him. Upon this, the king's son was delivered, not without great care and fear of the father, unto the emperor, whom the cruel emperor, contrary to promise, caused, in short time, without all just cause, to be slain. This fact so horrible being committed, the tyrant, with all haste, would enter into the temple of the Christians, where Babylas, being bishop or minister, withstood him that he should not approach into that place. The emperor, therewith not a little incensed, in great rage had him forthwith to be laid in prison with as many irons as he could bear, and from thence, shortly after, to be brought forth to death and execution. Babylas going constantly and boldly to his martyrdom, desired, after his death, to be buried with his irons and bands, and so he was. The story proceedeth, moreover, and saith, that in continuance of time, in the reign of Constantinus, Gallus, then made the overseer of the east parts, caused his body to be translated into the suburbs of Antioch, called Daphnes, where was a temple of Apollo, famous with devilish oracles and answers given by that idol, or by the devil rather, in that place. In the which temple, after the bringing of the body of Babylas, the idol ceased to give any more oracles, saying, that for the body of Babylas he could give no more answers, and complaining that that place was wont to be consecrated unto him, but now it was full of dead men's bodies. And thus the oracles there ceased for that time till the coming of Julianus, who, inquiring out the cause why the oracles ceased, caused the bones of the holy martyr to be removed again from thence by the Christians, whom he then called Galileans. They, coming in a great multitude, both men, maidens, and children. to the tomb of Babylas, transported his bones according to the commandment of the emperor, singing by the way as they went the seventh verse of the ninety-seventh Psalm in words as followeth: "Confounded be all they that serve graven images," &c. Which coming to the emperor's ear, set him in great rage against the Christians, stirring up persecution against them. Albeit Zonaras declareth the cause something otherwise. saying that so soon as the body of him and other martyrs were removed away, incontinent the temple of the idol with the image in the night was consumed with fire; for the which cause (saith Zonaras) Julian, stirred up with anger, persecuted the Christians, as shall be showed (Christ willing) in his order and place hereafter.

And thus much of Babylas, which whether it was the same Babylas, bishop then of Antioch, or an other of the same name, it appeareth not by Chrysostom, which neither maketh mention of the emperor's name, nor of the place where this Babylas was bishop. Again, the stopping of the emperor out of the church importeth as much as that emperor to have been a Christian; for otherwise, if he had come in as a heathen and as a persecutor, it was not then the manner of Christian bishops violently to withstand the emperors, or to stop them out. Over and beside the testimony of Eusebius, Zonaras doth witness contrary in his sixth book, that this Babylas, which was then bishop of Antioch after Zebinus, was not put to death by the tormentors, but died in prison; wherefore it is not impossible but this Babylas and this emperor which Chrysostom speaketh of may be another Babylas than that which suffered under Decius. Nicephorus in his fifth book maketh mention of another Babylas beside this that suffered under Decius, which was bishop of Nicomedia.

In the forenamed city of Antioch. Vincentius speaketh of forty virgins martyrs which suffered in this persecution of Decius.

In the country of Phrygia, and in the town of Lampsar, the same Vincentius also speaketh of one Peter which there was apprehended, and suffered bitter torments for Christ's name, under Optimus the proconsul; and in Troada, likewise, of other martyrs that there suffered, whose names were Andrew, Paul, Nicomachus, and Dionysia, a virgin.

Also in Babylon (saith he) divers Christian confessors were found of Decius, which were led away into Spain, there to be executed.

In the country of Cappadocia, at the city of Cesarea, in like manner of the said author is testified, that Germanus, Theophilus, Cæsarius, and Vitalis suffered martyrdom for Christ; and in the same book mention is also made of Polychronius, bishop of Babylon; and in Pamphylia of Nestor, there bishop, that died martyr.

At Perside, in the town of Cardala, Olympiades and Maximus; in Tyrus also Anatolia, virgin, and Audax, gave their lives likewise to death for the testimony of Christ's name.

Eusebius, moreover, in his sixth book reciteth out of the Epistles of Dionysius Alexandrinus divers that suffered diversly at Alexandria; the which places of Dionysius, as they be cited in Eusebius, I thought here good, for the ancientness of the author, to insert and notify in his own words, and in our language, as he wrote them to Fabius, bishop of Antioch, as followeth.

This persecution (saith he) began not with the proclamation set forth by the emperor, but began a whole year before, by the occasion and means of a wicked person, a soothsayer, and a follower of wicked arts; who, coming to our city here, stirred up the multitude of the heathen against us, and incited them to maintain their own old superstition and gentility of their country; whereby they being set **agog**, and obtaining full power to prosecute their wicked purpose, so thought, and no less declared, all their piety and religion to consist only in the idolatrous worship of devils, and in our destruction. And first flying upon a certain priest of ours, named Metra, they apprehended him, and brought him forth to make him speak after their wicked blasphemy; which, when he would not do, they laid upon him with staves and clubs, and with sharp reeds pricked his face and eyes; and afterward bringing him out into the suburbs, there they stoned him to death. Then they took a faithful woman, called Quinta, and brought her to the temple of their idols, to compel her to worship with them; which when she refused to do, and abhorred their idols, they bound her feet, and drew her through the whole street of the city upon the hard stones; and so dashing her against millstones, and scourging her with whips, brought her to the same place of the suburbs as they did the other before, where she likewise ended her life. This done, in a great outrage, and with a multitude running together, they burst into houses of the religious and godly Christians, spoiling, sacking, and carrying away all that they could find of any price. The rest of things, such as were of less value and of wood, they brought into the open market and set them on fire. In the mean time, the brethren voided aside, and withdrew themselves, taking patiently and no less joyfully the spoiling of their goods, than did they of whom St. Paul doth testify; neither do I know any of them all (only excepted) apprehended of them which, revolting from his profession, denied the Lord yet to this present day.

Amongst the rest that there were taken, there was a certain virgin well stricken in years, named Apollinia, whom they brought forth, and dashing all her teeth out of her jaws, made a great fire before the city, threatening to cast her into the same, unless she would blaspheme with them and deny Christ; whereat she staying a little with herself, as one that would take a pause, suddenly leaped into the midst of the fire, and there was burned.

There was also one Serapion, whom they took in his own house; and after they had assailed him with sundry kinds of torments, and had broken almost all the joints of his body, they cast him down from an upper loft, and so did he complete his martyrdom. Thus was there no way, neither privy nor public, nor corner, nor alley, left for us, neither by day nor by night, to escape; all the people making an outcry against us, that unless we uttered words of blasphemy, we should be drawn to the fire and burned. And this outrageous tumult endured a certain space; but at length, as the Lord would, the miserable wretches fell at dissension among themselves, which turned the cruelty they exercised against us upon their own heads. And so had we a little breathing time for a season, while the fury of the heathen people by this occasion assuaged.

Shortly then after this word was brought unto us that the state of the empire, which before was something favourable to us, was altered and changed against us, putting us in great fear. And consequently upon the same followed the edict of the emperor so terrible and cruel, that, according to the forewarning of the Lord, the elect (if it had been possible) might have been thereby subverted. Upon that edict such fear came over us all, that many there were, especially of the richer sort, of whom some for fear came running, some were led by the occasion of time, some were drawn by their neighbours being cited by name, to those impure and idolatrous sacrifices. Other some came trembling and shaking, as men not which should do sacrifice, but which should be sacrificed themselves, the multitude laughing them to scorn. Some again came boldly to the altars, declaring themselves never to have been of that profession, of whom it is said that hardly they shall be saved. Of the residue, some followed one part, some another; some ran away, some were taken; of whom certain continued to bands and torments constant; others again, after long imprisonment, before they should come before the judge, renounced their faith. Some also, after they suffered torments, yet after revolted. But others being as strong as blessed, and valiant pillars of the Lord's, fortified with constancy agreeing to their faith, were made faithful martyrs of the kingdom of God.

Of whom the first was Julianus, a man diseased with the gout, and not able to go, being carried of two men, of whom the one quickly denied; the other, Cronion, surnamed Eunos, with the foresaid Julianus the old man, confessing the Lord with a perfect faith, were laid upon camels, and there scourged, at length cast into the fire, and with great constancy were so consumed.

As these aforesaid were going to their martyrdom, there was a certain soldier, who in their defence took part against them that railed upon them. For the which cause the people crying out against him, he also was apprehended; and being constant in his profession, was forthwith beheaded.

Likewise one Macar, a man born in Libya, being admonished and exhorted of the judge to deny his faith, and not agreeing to his persuasions, was burned alive.

After these suffered Epimachus, and one Alexander, who being long detained in prison and in bands, after innumerable pains and torments with razors and scourges, were also cast into the burning fire, with four other women with them, which all there ended their martyrdom.

Also Ammonarion, a holy virgin, whom the cruel judge had long and bitterly tormented, for that she promising the judge before, that for no punishment she would yield to his request, and constantly performing the same, suffered likewise martyrdom with two other women, of whom there was an aged matron, named Mercuria; the other was called Dionysia, being a mother of many fair children, whom yet notwithstanding she loved not above the Lord. These, after they could not be overcome by any torments of the cruel judge, but he, rather ashamed and confounded to be overcome of silly women, at length being past feeling of all torments, were slain with the sword; first Ammonarion, like a valiant captain, suffering before them.

Heron, Ater, and Isidorus, Egyptians, and with them Dioscorus, also a child of fifteen years, were crowned with the same crown of martyrdom. And first the judge began with the child, thinking him more easy to be won with words to entice him, than with torments to constrain him; but he persisted immovable, giving neither place to persuasions nor punishments. The rest, after he had grievously tormented them, being constant in their profession, he committed to the fire. The judge greatly marvelling at Dioscorus, for his wise answers and grave constancy, dismissed him, sparing (as he said) his age to a longer respite; which Dioscorus is yet also with us at this present, waiting for a long trial.

Nemesion, being also an Egyptian, first was accused for a companion of thieves; but being purged thereof before the centurion, was then accused of Christianity, and for that cause being in bands, was brought to the president; who most unrighteously tormenting and scourging him double to all other thieves and felons, at length among the thieves burned him to death, making him a blessed martyr.

There were standing before the tribunal seat certain of the warriors or knights, whose names were Ammon, Zenon, Ptolomeus, Ingenuus, and with them a certain aged man, called Theophilus, who standing by at what time a certain Christian man was before the judge examined, and there seeing him for fear ready to decline and fall away, did burst almost for sorrow within themselves, making signs to him with their hands, and all gestures of their body, to be constant. This being noted of all the standers-by, they were ready to lay hold upon them; but they preventing the matter, pressed up of their own accord before to the bench of the judge, professing themselves to be Christians. Insomuch that both the president with the benchers were all astonished, the Christians which were judged more imboldened to suffer, and the judges thereby terrified. This done, they departed away from the place, glad and rejoicing for the testimony that they had given of their faith. Many other besides were in other cities and towns rent and torn asunder by the heathen, among whom one I will speak of, for cause worthy of memory.

Ischirion, one that was in service with a certain nobleman, was commanded of his master to make sacrifice, who for not obeying was therefore rebuked; after persisting in the same, was grievously threatened with sharp and menacing words. At last his master, when he could not prevail against him, taking a stake or pike in his hands, ran him through in the body and slew him.

What shall I speak of the multitude of them which, wandering in deserts and mountains, were consumed with hunger, thirst, cold, sickness, thieves, or wild beasts, of whose blessed victory they which be alive are yet witnesses; in the number of whom one I will speak of, among divers others, named Cheremon, bishop of the city called Nilus, an aged man: he with his wife, flying to the mountain of Arabia, never returned again, nor ever could be seen after; and though they were sought for diligently by their brethren, yet neither they nor their bodies were found. Many others there were which, flying to these mountains of Arabia, were taken of the barbarous Arabians; of whom some with much money could scarce be ransomed, some were never heard of yet to this present day. Thus much out of the Epistles of Dionysius in Eusebius.

Moreover, the foresaid Dionysius in another place writing to Germanus of his own dangers, and of others, sustained in this persecution, and before this persecution of Decius, thus inferreth as followeth: I, (saith he,) behold, before the sight of God, I lie not, and he knoweth I lie not, how that I having no regard of mine own life, and not without the motion of God, did fly and avoid the danger of this persecution. Yea, and also before that this persecution of Decius did rage against us, Sabinus the same hour sent a farmer to seek me, at what time I remaining at home waited three days for his coming. But he searching narrowly for me by all ways, fields, floods, and corners, where he thought I might best have hid myself or have passed by, was stricken with such blindness, that he could not find my house, thinking with himself nothing less than that I would abide at home in such and so dangerous persecution. Thus these three days being past, upon the fourth day, the Lord God so willing and commanding me to fly, and also marvellously opening to me the way, I, with my children, and many other brethren, went out together. And this not to come of myself, but to be the work of God's providence, the sequel of those things declared, wherein afterward I was not unprofitable peradventure to some, &c.

Again, in another place, shortly after, the aforesaid Dionysius, proceeding in the narration of himself, thus inferreth: Then I coming to Jerusalem with them which were with me, was brought by soldiers unto Taposixis, whereas Timotheus (by the providence of God) neither was present, nor yet taken; who then returning home, found his house desert, and officers watching about the same, and us within taken, &c. And again, shortly after, it followeth: And to see (saith he) the admirable disposing of God's works, as Timotheus was thus flying with much haste and great fear, a certain man, as happened, a dweller near by, met him by the way, and asked whither he went so hastily; to whom Timotheus answering, declared all the matter simply as it was. Which done, the man proceedeth on his journey, whither he was purposed to go, which was to a marriage; the manner of which marriages then was to sit up all the night long feasting and drinking. Thus, as he was come, sitting with them at the feast, he telleth his companions what was done, and what he heard by the way. This was no sooner told, but all they forth with upon a head, as stricken with a sudden fury, rushing out together, made toward us as fast as they could, with such crying and noise as might seem very terrible. At the first hearing whereof, the soldiers that had us in keeping being afraid, ran away, by reason whereof we were left alone, and found as we were lying upon forms and benches, I then (the Lord knoweth) thinking with myself that they had been thieves, which came to spoil and rob, being in my couch, lay still in my shirt only as I was, the rest of my garments lying by me I offered to them: they then willed me in all haste to rise and get away, whereby I then, perceiving the cause of their coming, cried unto them, desiring that they would suffer us so to do; and if they

would do any benefit for me, forsomuch as I could not escape the hands of them which would pursue me and carry me away, I prayed them that they would prevent them, and cut off my head before. And as I was crying thus unto them, casting myself grovelling upon the pavement, as my companions can testify, who were partakers of all these things, they burst forth violently, taking me by the hands and feet, and carried me out of the doors, and led me away. There followed me Gaius, Faustus, Petrus, Paulus, (who were witnesses of all the same,) which brought me also out of the city, and so setting me upon a bare ass, conveyed me away. Thus much writeth Dionysius of himself, the example of whose epistle is cited in the ecclesiastical story of Eusebius.

Nicephorus, in his first book, cap. 27, maketh mention of one named Christophorus, which also suffered in this persecution of Decius. Of which Christophorus, whether the fable riseth of that mighty giant set up in churches, wading through the seas with Christ on his shoulder, and a tree in his hand for a walking staff, &c., it is uncertain. Georgius Wicelius allegeth out of Ruggerus Fuldens., and mentioneth of one Christophorus, born of the nation of Canaanites, which suffered under Decius, being, as he saith, of twelve cubits high. But the rest of the history painted in churches the said Wicelius derideth as fables of Centaurus, or other poetical fictions.

Bergomensis, in his eighth book, maketh relation of divers martyred under Decius; as Meniatus, which suffered at Florence; of Agatha, a holy virgin of Sicily, who is said to suffer divers and bitter torments under Quintilianus, the proconsul, with prisonment, with beatings, with famine, with racking, rolled also upon sharp shells and hot coals, having, moreover, her breasts cut from her body, as Bergomensis and the martyrology of Ado record. In the which authors, as I deny not but that the rest of the story may be true, so again, concerning the miracles of the aged man appearing to her, and of the young man clothed in a silken vesture, with a hundred young men after him, and of the marble table with the inscription, I doubt.

Hard it is to recite all that suffered in this persecution, whenas whole multitudes went in to wildernesses and mountains, wandering without succour or comfort; some starved with hunger and cold, some with sickness consumed, some devoured of beasts, some with barbarous thieves taken and carried away. Vincentius, in his eleventh book, speaking of Asclepiades, writeth also of forty virgins and martyrs which, by sundry kinds of torments, were put to death about the same time, in the persecution of this tyrant.

Likewise in the said Vincentius mention is made of Triphon, a man of great holiness, and constant in his suffering, who, being brought to the city of Nice, before the president Aquilus, for his constant confession of Christ's name, was afflicted with divers and grievous torments, and at length with the sword put to death.

At what time Decius had erected a temple in the midst of the city of Ephesus, compelling all that were in the city there to sacrifice to the idols, seven Christians were found, whose names were Maximianus, Malchus, Martianus, Dionysius, Joannes, Serapion, and Constantinus, who, refusing the idolatrous worship, were accused for the same unto the emperor to be Christians. Which, when they constantly professed and did not deny, notwithstanding, because they were soldiers, retaining to the emperor's service, respite was given them for a certain space to deliberate with themselves, till the return again of the emperor, which then was going to war. In the mean space, the emperor being departed, they taking counsel together, went and hid themselves in secret caves of the Mount Celius. The emperor returning again, after



Christians Wandering in the Wilderness

great inquisition made for them, hearing where they were, caused the mouth of the place where they were to be closed up with heaps of stones, that they, not able to get out, should be famished within. And thus were those good men martyred. The story (if it be true) goeth further, that they, between fear and sorrow, fell asleep, in which sleep they continued the space of certain ages after, till the time of Theodosius the emperor, before they did awake, as reporteth Vincentius, Nicephorus, and partly also Henricus Erfordiens. But of their awaking, that I refer to them that list to believe it. Certain it is that at the last day they shall awake indeed without any fable.

Hieronymus, in the Life of Paulus the hermit, reciteth a story of a certain soldier, whom when the prætor could not otherwise with torments remove from his Christianity, he devised another way, which was this: he commanded the soldier to be laid upon a soft bed in a pleasant garden among the flourishing lilies and red roses; which done, all others being removed away, and himself there left alone, a beautiful harlot came to him, who embraced him, and with all other incitements of a harlot laboured to provoke him to her naughtiness. But the godly soldier fearing God more than obeying flesh, bit off his own tongue with his teeth, and spit it in the face of the

harlot, as she was kissing him; and so got he the victory, by the constant grace of the Lord assisting him.

Another like example of singular chastity is written of the virgin Theodora, and another soldier. At Antioch, this Theodora refusing to do sacrifice to the idols, was condemned by the judge to the stews, and notwithstanding, by the singular providence of God, was well delivered. For as there was a great company of wanton young men ready at the door to press into the house where she was, one of the brethren named Didymus, (as Ado saith,) moved with faith and motion of God, putting on a soldier's habit, made himself one of the first that came in, who rounding her in the ear told her the cause and purpose of his coming, being a Christian as she was: his counsel was, that she should put on the soldier's habit, and so slip away; and he putting on her garments would there remain to abide their force, and so did, whereby the virgin escaped unknown. Didymus, left unto the rage and wondering of the people, being a man instead of a woman, was presented unto the president, unto whom without delay he uttered all the whole matter as it was done, professing him, so as he was, to be a Christian, and thereupon was condemned to suffer. Theodora, understanding thereof, and thinking to excuse him by accusing herself, offered herself as the party guilty unto the judge, claiming and requiring the condemnation to light upon her, the other, as innocent, to be discharged. But the cruel judge, (crueller than Dionysius, which spared Damon and Pithias,) neither considering the virtue of the persons, nor the innocency of the cause, unjustly and inhumanly proceeded in execution against them both, who, first having their heads cut off, after were cast into the fire. Although what time or in what persecution these did suffer, in the authors of this narration it doth not appear.

Agathon, a man of arms in the city of Alexandria, for rebuking certain lewd persons scornfully deriding the dead bodies of the Christians, was cried out of and railed on of the people, and afterward, accused to the judge, was condemned to lose his head.

The said Erfordiensis also maketh mention of Paulus, Andreas, whom the proconsul of Troada gave to the people; who being scourged, and after drawn out of the city, were trodden to death with the feet of the people.

Among others that suffered under this wicked Decius, Bergomensis also maketh mention of one Justinus, a priest of Rome, and of another Nicostratus, a deacon. To these Vincentius also addeth Portius, a priest of Rome, whom he reporteth to be the converter of Philip the emperor afore mentioned.

Of Abdon and Sennas we read also in the foresaid Bergomensis and Vincentius, two noble men, who, because they had buried the Christians, whom Decius had brought from Babylon to Corduba, and there put them to death, were therefore accused to Decius, and brought to Rome; where they, being commanded to sacrifice to dead idols, would not obey, and for the same were given to the wild beasts to be devoured; but when the wild beasts, more gentle than the men, would not touch them, they were at length with the sword beheaded. Albeit to me it seemeth not impossible nor unlike this Abdon and Sennas to be the same whom in other stories we find, and before have mentioned, to be Ammon and Zenon.

One Secundianus was accused to Valerian, a captain of Decius, to be a Christian, which profession, when he stoutly did maintain, he was commanded to prison. By the way, as the soldiers were leading him to the gaol, Verianus and Marcellianus seeing the matter cried to the soldiers, asking them whither they drew the

innocent. At the which word, when they also confessed themselves to be Christians, they were likewise apprehended, and brought to a city named Centumcellas; where being willed to sacrifice, they did spit upon the idols, and so after sentence and judgment given, first they were beaten with wasters or truncheons, after that hanged and tormented upon the gibbet, having fire set to their sides. Vincentius addeth, moreover, that some of the tormentors falling suddenly dead, other some being taken with wicked spirits, the martyrs with the sword at length were beheaded.

To prosecute in length of history the lives and sufferings of all them which in this terrible persecution were martyred, it were too long, and almost infinite; briefly therefore to rehearse the names of such as we find alleged out of a certain brief treatise of Bede, entitled *De Temporibus*, cited by Henricus de Erford., it shall be at this time sufficient. Under Decius suffered Hippolitus and Concordia, Hiereneus and Abundus, Victoria, a virgin, being noble personages of Antioch; Bellias, bishop of the city of Apollonia; Leacus, Tirsus, and Gallinetus, Nazanzo, Triphon, in the city of Egypt called Tamas; Phileas, bishop, Philocornus, with many other in Perside; Philcronius, bishop of Babylon, Thesiphon, bishop of Parnphylia, Nestor, bishop in Corduba, Parmenius, priest, with divers more. In the province called Colonia, Circensis, Marianus, and Jacobus. In Africa, Nemesianus, Felix, Rogatianus, priest, Felicissitnus. At Rome, Jovinus, Basileus, also Ruffina and Secunda, vir gins, Tertullianus, Valerianus, Nemesius, Sem pronianus, and Olympius. In Spain, Teragon. At Verona, Zeno, bishop at Cesarea, Marinus and Archemius. In the town of Milan, Privatus, bishop, Theodorus, surnamed Gregorius, bishop of Pontus.

Vincentius, in his eleventh book, maketh mention, citing of certain children suffering martyrdom under the same persecution, in a city of Tuscias, called Aretium, whose names I find not, except they be Pergentius and Laurentius, mentioned in Equilius.

Now that I have recorded sufficiently of them who under this tempest of Decius constantly gave their lives to martyrdom for the testimony of Christ, it remaineth that a few words also be spoken of such as for fear or frailty in this persecution did shrink and slide from the truth of their confession. In the number of whom first cometh in the remembrance of Serapion an aged old man. Of whom writeth Dionysius Alexandrinus unto Fabius, declaring that this Serapion was an old man, which lived amongst them a sincere and upright life of long time, but at length fell. This Serapion oft and many times desired to be received again; but no man listened to him, for he had sacrificed before. After this, not long after, he fell into sickness, where he remained three days dumb and benumbed of all senses. The fourth day following, beginning a little to recover, he called to him his sister's son, and said, How long, how long (my son) do ye hold me here? make haste, I pray you, that I were absolved. Call hither some of the ministers to me; and so, saying no more, held his peace, as dumb and speechless. The boy ran (it was then night) unto the minister, who, at the same time being sick, could not come with the messenger; but said, for so much as he willed heretofore, (as he said,) that such as lay a dying, if they covet to be received and reconciled, and especially if they required it earnestly, should be admitted, whereby with the better hope and confidence they may depart hence; therefore he gave to the boy a little of the eucharist, willing him to crumble it into the cup, and so to drop it into the mouth of the old man. With this the boy returned, bringing with him the holy eucharist. As he was now near at hand, before he had entered in, Serapion, the old man, speaking again, Comest thou, (said he,) my son? The priest, quoth the messenger, is sick and cannot come; but do as he willeth you, and let me go. And the boy immixed

the eucharist, and dropped it in softly into the mouth of the old man, who after he had tasted a little immediately gave up the ghost, &c.

In the city of Troad, as the proconsul was grievously tormenting one Nicomachus, he cried out that he was no Christian, and so was let down again. And after, when he had sacrificed, he was taken speedily with a wicked spirit, and so thrown down upon the ground, where he, biting off his tongue with his teeth, so departed.

Dionysius in his epistles also writing to Fabius, and lamenting the great terror of this persecution, declareth how that many worthy and notable Christians, for fear and horror of the great tyranny thereof, did show themselves feeble and weak men. Of whom some for dread, some of their own accord, others after great torments suffered, yet after revolted from the constancy of their profession. Also St. Cyprian, in his treatise De Lapsis, reciteth with great sorrow, and testifieth how that a great number at the first threatening of the adversary, neither being compelled nor thrown down with any violence of the enemy, but of their voluntary weakness fell down themselves. Neither (saith he) tarrying while the judge should put incense in their hands, but before any stroke stricken in the field, turned their backs and played the cowards; not only coming to their sacrifices, but preventing the same, and pretending to come without compulsion, bringing moreover their infants and children either put into their hands, or taking them with them of their own accord, and exhorting moreover others to do the like after their example.

Of this weakness and falling the said author sheweth two causes; either love of their goods and patrimony, or fear of torments; and addeth, moreover, examples of the punishments of them which revolted, affirming that many of them were taken and vexed with wicked spirits; and that one man among other, after his voluntary denial, was suddenly struck dumb. Again, another, after his abjuration, as he should communicate with others, instead of bread received ashes in his hand. Item, a certain maiden being taken and vexed with a spirit, did tear her own tongue with her teeth, and, tormented with pain in her belly and inward parts, so deceased.

Amongst others of this sort St. Cyprian maketh also mention of one Guaristus, a bishop in Africa, who leaving his charge, and making shipwreck of his faith, went wandering about in other countries, forsaking his own flock. In like manner, he maketh also mention of Nicostratus, a deacon, who forsaking his deaconship, and taking the goods of the church with him, fled away into other countries, &c, Albeit Bergomensis affirmeth that this Nicostratus the deacon afterward died a martyr. Thus then, although some did relent, yet a very great number (saith he) there was whom neither fear could remove, nor pain could overthrow, to cause them to betray their confession; but they stood like glorious martyrs unto the end.

The same Cyprian also, in another book, On Mortality, reciteth a notable story of one of his own colleagues and fellow priests, who being oppressed with weakness, and greatly afraid with death drawing at hand, desired leave to depart, and to be discharged. As he was thus entreating, and almost now dying, there appeared by him a young man, of an honourable and reverend majesty, of a tall stature, and comely behaviour, so bright and clear to behold, that scarce man's carnal eyes were able so to do, which was now ready to depart this world. To whom this young man, speaking with a certain indignation of mind and voice, thus said, To suffer ye dare not, to go out ye will not; what would ye have me to do unto you?

Upon the occasion of these and such others, which were a great number, that fell and did renounce, as is aforesaid, in this persecution of Decius, rose up first the quarrel and heresy of Novatus, who in these days made a great disturbance in the church, holding this opinion, that they which once renounced the faith, and, for fear of torments, had offered incense to the idols, although they repented therefore, yet could not afterward be reconciled, nor admitted to the church of Christ. This Novatus being first priest under Cyprian, at Carthage, afterward, by stirring up discord and factions, began to disturb the bishopric of Cyprian, to appoint there a deacon called Felicissimus, against the bishop's mind or knowledge; also to allure and separate certain of the brethren from the bishop. After this, the said Novatus going to Rome, kept there the like stir with Cornelius; setting himself up as bishop of Rome against Cornelius, which was the lawful bishop of Rome before. The which to bring to pass he used this practice. First he had allured to him, to be his adherents, three or four good men and holy confessors, which had suffered before great torments for their confession, whose names, were Maximus, Urbanus, Sidonius, and Celerinus. After this he enticed three simple bishops about the coasts of Italy to repair to Rome, under pretence to make an end of certain controversies then in hand. This done, he caused the same, whether by making them drunk, or by other crafty counsel, to lay their hands upon him, and to make him bishop; and so they did. Wherefore the one of those three bishops hardly was received to the communion, by the great intercession of his people; the other two by discipline of the church were displaced from their bishoprics, and others possessed with their rooms. Thus then were there two bishops together in one church of Rome, Novatus and Cornelius, which was unseemly, and contrary to the discipline of the church. And hereupon riseth the true cause and meaning of St. Cyprian writing in his Epistles so much of one bishop, and of the unity to be kept in ecclesiastical regiment. And in like sort writeth also Cornelius himself of one bishop, saying he knew not that there ought to be one bishop in a catholic church, &c. This by the way, not out of the way, I trust, I have touched briefly, to detect or refute the cavilling wresting of the papists, which falsely apply these places of Cyprian and Cornelius to maintain the pope's supreme mastership alone, over the whole universal church of Christ in all places, when their meaning is otherwise, how that every one catholic church or diocess ought to have one bishop over it, not that the whole world ought to be subject to the dominion of him only that is bishop of Rome. Now to the story again. Novatus being thus bishop, took not a little upon him; going about by all means to defeat Cornelius, and to allure the people from him. Insomuch that (as in the foresaid book of Eusebius appeareth) when Novatus came to the distributing of the offerings, and should give every man his part, he compelled the simple persons every man to swear, before they should receive of the benediction, and of the collects or oblations, holding both their hands in his, and holding them so long, speaking these words unto them, "Swear to me, by the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, that thou wilt not leave me and go to Cornelius," till that they, swearing unto him, instead of Amen, (to be said at the receiving of the bread,) should answer, I will not return to Cornelius, &c. Where note by the way, that the Latin book of Christoferson's translation, in this place, craftily leaveth out the name of bread. This story being written in Eusebius, also contained in Nicephorus, although not in the same order of words, yet in effect drawn out of him, doth declare, in plain words, in both the authors, (whoso will mark the same,) that the sacrament of the body of Christ is termed with the plain name of bread, after the consecration.

It followeth more in the story, that Maximus, Urbanus, Sidonius, and Celerinus, before mentioned, perceiving at length the crafty dissimulation and arrogancy of Novatus, left him, and with great repentance returned again to the church, and were reconciled to Cornelius, as they themselves, writing to Cyprian, and Cyprian likewise writing to them an epistle gratulatory, doth declare; and Cornelius also in his epistle to Fabius witnesseth the same. In this epistle the said Cornelius, moreover, writeth of one Moses, a worthy martyr, which once being also a follower of Novatus, after perceiving his wickedness, forsook him, and did excommunicate him. Of him Cyprian also maketh mention, and calleth him a blessed confessor. Damasus in his pontifical saith that he was apprehended with Maximus and Nicostratus above mentioned, and was put with them in prison, where he ended his life. And thus much of Novatus, against whom (as Eusebius testifieth) a synod was holden at Rome of threescore sundry bishops in the time of Cornelius, and under the reign of Decius; whereby it may be supposed that the heat of the persecution at that time was somewhat calmed.

After Fabianus (or, as Zonaras calleth him, Flavianus) next succeeded into the bishopric of Rome, Cornelius, whom Cyprian noteth to be a worthy bishop, and for his great virtue and maidenly continency much commendable; chosen to that room not so much by his own consent, as by the full agreement, both of the clergymen, and also of the people. Hierom addeth also that he was a man of great eloquence; whereby it may appear those two epistles decretal, which go in his name, not to be his, both for the rudeness of the barbarous and gross style, and also for the matter therein contained, nothing tasting of that time, nor of that age, nor doings then of the church. Whereof in the first he writeth to all ministers and brethren of the church, concerning the lifting up of the bodies and bones of Peter and Paul, and transposed to Vaticanum, at the instance of a certain devout woman named Lucina; having no great argument or cause to write thereof unto the churches, but only that he in that letter doth desire them to pray unto the Lord, that through the intercession of those apostolical saints their sins might be forgiven them, &c. In the second epistle written to Ruffus, a bishop of the east church, he decreeth and ordaineth that no oath ought to be required or exacted of any head or chief bishop, for any cause, or by any power. Also that no cause of priests or ministers ought to be handled in any strange or foreign court without his precinct, except only in the court of Rome by appellation; whereby who seeth not the train of our later bishops, going about craftily to advance the dignity of the court of Rome, under and by the pretended title of Cornelius, and of ancient bishops? If Cornelius did write any epistles to any indeed in those turbulent times of persecution, no doubt but some signification thereof he would have touched in the said his letters, either in ministering consolation to his brethren, or in requiring consolation and prayers of others. Neither is there any doubt but he would have given some touch also of the matter of Novatus, with whom he had so much to do, as indeed he did; for so we find it recorded both in Eusebius and in Hierom, that he wrote unto Fabius, bishop of Antioch, of the decrements of the Council of Rome, and another letter of the manner of the Council, the third also of the cause of Novatus, and again of the repentance of such as fell, whereof there is no word touched at all in these foresaid epistles decretal.

What trouble this Cornelius had with Novatus sufficiently is before signified. In this persecution of Decius, he demeaned himself very constantly and faithfully, which sustained great conflicts with the adversaries, as St. Cyprian giveth witness. Hierom testifieth that he remained bishop after the death of Decius to the time of Gallus. But Damasus and Sabellicus, his followers, affirm that he was both exiled and

also martyred under the tyrannous reign of Decius. Of whom Sabellicus writeth this story, taken out (as it seemeth) of Damasus, and saith, That Cornelius, by the commandment of Decius, was banished to a town called Centumcellas, bordering on Hetruria, from whence he sent his letters to Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, and Cyprian again to him. This coming to the ears of Decius the emperor, he sendeth for Cornelius, asking him how he durst be so bold to show such stubbornness, that he, neither caring for the gods, nor fearing the displeasure of his prince, durst against the commonwealth give and receive letters from others? To whom Cornelius answering again, thus purged himself, declaring to the emperor that letters indeed he had written, and received again, concerning the praises and honouring of Christ, and the salvation of souls, but nothing as touching any matter of the commonwealth. And it followeth in the story, Then Decius, moved with anger, commanded him to be beaten with plumbats, (which, as saith Sabellicus, is a kind of scourging,) and so to be brought to the temple of Mars, either there to do sacrifice, or to suffer the extremity. But he, rather willing to die than to commit such iniquity, prepared himself to martyrdom, being sure that he should die. And so commending the charge of the church unto Stephanus his archdeacon, was brought to the way of Appius, where he ended his life in faithful martyrdom. Eusebius in one place saith that he sat two years, in another place he saith that he sat three years, and so doth Marianus Scotus, following also the diversity of the said Eusebius. Damasus giveth him only two years.

In this foresaid persecution of Decius, it seemeth by some writers also that Cyprian was banished; but I suppose rather his banishment to be referred to the reign of Gallus, next emperor after Decius, whereof more shall be said (Christ willing) in his place hereafter. In the mean time, the said Cyprian in his second book maketh mention of two that suffered, either in the time of this Decius, or much about the same time. Of whom one was Aurelius, a worthy and valiant young man, who was twice in torments for his confession, which he never denied, but manfully and boldly withstood the adversary till he was banished, and also after; and therefore was commended of Cyprian to certain brethren to have him for their lecturer, as in the forenamed epistle of Cyprian appeareth. The other was named Mappallicus, who in the day before he suffered, declaring to the proconsul in the midst of his torments, and saying, Tomorrow you shall see the running for a wager, &c., was brought forth, according as he forespoke, to martyrdom, and there with no less constancy than patience did suffer.

And thus much of the tyranny of this wicked Decius against God's saints. Now to touch also the power of God's vengeance and punishment against him. Like as we see commonly a tempest that is vehement not long to continue; so it happened with this tyrannical tormentor, who reigning but two years, as saith Eusebius, or three at most, as writeth Orosius, among the middle of the barbarians, with whom he did war, was there slain with his son. Like as he had slain Philippus and his son, his predecessors, before, so was he with his son slain by the righteous judgment of God himself. Eusebius affirmeth that he, warring against the Gotthians, and being by them overcome, lest he should fall into their hands, ran into a whirlpit, where he was drowned, and his body never found after.

Neither did the just hand of God plague the emperor only, but also revenged as well the heathen Gentiles and persecutors of his word throughout all provinces and dominions of the Roman monarchy; amongst whom the Lord immediately after the death of Decius, sent such a plague and pestilence, lasting for the space of ten years together, that horrible it is to hear, and almost incredible to believe. Of this plague or pestilence testifieth Dionysius to Hierax, a bishop in Egypt, where he declareth the

mortality of this plague to be so great in Alexandria, where he was bishop, that there was no house in the whole city free. And although the greatness of the plague touched also the Christians somewhat, yet it scourged the heathen idolaters much more; beside that the order of their behaviour in the one and in the other was much diverse. For, as the foresaid Dionysius doth record, the Christians, through brotherly love and piety, did not refuse one to visit and comfort another, and to minister to him what need required, notwithstanding it was to them great danger; for divers there were who, in closing up their eyes, in washing their bodies, and interring them in the ground, were next themselves which followed them to their graves. Yet all this stayed not them from doing their duty, and showing mercy one to another; whereas the Gentiles, contrarily, being extremely visited by the hand of God, felt the plague, but considered not the striker, neither yet considered they their neighbour; but every man shifting for himself neither cared one for another; but such as were infected, some they would cast out of the doors half dead to be devoured of dogs and wild beasts, some they let die within their houses without all succour, some they suffered to lie unburied, for that no man durst come near them: and yet notwithstanding, for all their voiding and shifting, the pestilence followed them whithersoever they went, and miserably consumed them. Insomuch that Dionysius, bishop the same time of Alexandria, thus reporteth of his own city: that such a mortality was then among them, that the said city of Alexandria had not in number so many of all together, both old and young, as it was wont to contain before of the old men only from the age of threescore to seventy, and as were found in time past commonly almost in that city. Pomponius Letus and other Latin writers also making mention of the said pestilence, declare how the beginning thereof first came (as they think) out of ethiope, and from the hot countries, and so invading and wasting first the south parts, from thence spread into the east; and so further running and increasing into all other quarters of the world, especially wheresoever the edicts of the emperor went against the Christians, it followed after and consumed the most part of the inhabitants, whereby many places became desolate and void of all concourse, and so continued the term of ten years together.

This pestiferous mortality (by the occasion whereof Cyprian took the ground to write his book *On Mortality*) began, as is said, immediately after the death of Decius the persecutor, in the beginning of the reign of Vibius Gallus, and Volusianus his son, who succeeded through treason next unto Decius, about the year of our Lord two hundred fifty and one, and continued their reign but two years.

This Gallus, although the first beginning of his reign was something quiet, yet shortly after following the steps of Decius, by whom rather he should have taken better heed, set forth edicts in like manner for the persecution of Christians, albeit in this edict we find no number of martyrs to have suffered, but only all this persecution to rest only in the exilement of bishops or guides of the flock. Of other sufferings or executions we do not read, for the terrible pestilence following immediately, kept the barbarous heathen otherwise occupied. Unto this time of Gallus, rather than to the time of Decius, I refer the banishment of Cyprian, who was then bishop of Carthage; of the which banishment he himself testifieth in divers of his epistles, declaring the cause thereof to rise upon a commotion or sedition among the people, out of the which he withdrew himself, lest the sedition should grow greater; notwithstanding the said Cyprian, though being absent, yet had no less care of his flock, and of the whole church, than if he had been present with them, and therefore never ceased in his epistles continually to exhort and call upon them to be constant in their profession, and patient in their afflictions. Amongst divers others whom he doth comfort in his

banishment, although he was in that case to be comforted himself, writing to certain that were condemned to mining for metals, whose names were Nemesianus, Felix, Lucius, with other bishops, priests, and deacons, he declareth unto them, "How it is no shame, but a glory, not to be feared, but to be rejoiced at, to suffer banishment or other pains for Christ; and confirming them in the same, or rather commending them, signifieth how worthily they do show themselves to be as valiant captains of virtue, provoking both by the confessions of their mouth, and by the suffering of their bodies, the hearts of the brethren to Christian martyrdom, whose example was and is a great confirmation to many, both maids and children, to follow the like. As for punishment and suffering, it is (saith he) a thing not execrable to a Christian; for a Christian man's breast, whose hope doth wholly consist in the tree, dreadeth neither bat nor club. Wounds and scars of the body be ornaments to a Christian man, such as bring no shame nor dishonesty to the party, but rather preferreth and freeth him with the Lord. And although in the mines where the metals be digged there be no beds for Christian men's bodies to take their rest, yet they have their rest in Christ; and though their weary bones lie upon the cold ground, yet it is no pain to lie with Christ. Their feet have been fettered with bands and chains, but happily he is bound of man whom the Lord Christ doth loose: happily doth he lie tied in the stocks, whose feet thereby are made swifter to run to heaven. Neither can any man tie a Christian so fast, but he runneth so much the faster for his garland of life. They have no garments to save them from cold, but he that putteth on Christ is sufficiently coated. Doth bread lack to their hungry bodies? But man liveth not only by bread, but by every word proceeding from the mouth of God. Your deformity (saith he) shall be turned to honour, your mourning to joy, your pain to pleasure and felicity infinite. And if this do grieve you, that ye cannot now employ your sacrifices and oblations after your wonted manner, yet your daily sacrifice ceaseth not, which is a contrite and humble heart, as when you offer up daily your bodies a lively and a glorious sacrifice unto the Lord, which is the sacrifice that pleaseth God. And though your travail be great, yet is the reward greater, which is most certain to follow; for God beholding and looking down upon them that confess his name, in their willing mind approveth them, in their striving helpeth them, in their victory crowneth them; rewarding that in us which he hath performed, and crowning that which he hath in us perfected. With these and such-like comfortable words he doth animate his brethren, admonishing them that they are now in a joyful journey, hasting apace to the mansions of the martyrs, there to enjoy after this darkness a stable light and brightness greater than all their passions, according to the apostle's saying, "These sufferings of this present time be nothing like comparable to the brightness of the glory that shall be revealed in us," &c.

And after the like words of sweet comfort and consolation, writing to Seagrius and Rogatianus, which were in prison and bonds for the testimony of truth, doth encourage them to "continue stedfast and patient in the way wherein they have begun to run; for that they have the Lord with them their helper and defender, who promiseth to be with us to the world's end; and therefore willeth them to set before their eyes in their death immortality, in their pain everlasting glory; of the which it is written, 'Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints.' Item, although before men they suffered torments, yet their hope is full of immortality; and being vexed in small things, they shall be well requited in great matters; for the Lord hath tried them as gold in the fire. And writeth moreover, admonishing them that it is appointed from the beginning of the world, that righteousness here should suffer in secular conflicts; for so just Abel was slain in the beginning of the world, and after him all just and good men; the prophets also, and the apostles sent of the Lord himself; unto whom all the

Lord first gave an example in himself, teaching that there is no coming to his kingdom but by that way which he entered himself, saying by these words, 'He that loveth his life in this world shall lose it,' &c. And again, 'Fear ye not them that slay the body, but have no power to slay the soul.' And St. Paul likewise admonishing all them whosoever covet to be partakers of the promises of the Lord to follow the Lord, saith, If we suffer together with him, we shall reign together," &c.

Furthermore, as the same Cyprian doth encourage here the holy martyrs which were in captivity to persist, so likewise, writing to the priests and deacons which were free, he exhorteth them to be serviceable and obsequious with all care and love, to cherish and embrace them that were in bonds. Cyprian, lib. iii. epist. 6. Whereby may appear the fervent zeal and care of this good bishop toward the church of Christ, although being now in exile in the time of this emperor Gallus.

In the same time, and under the said Gallus, reigning with his son Volusianus, was also Lucius, bishop of Rome, sent to banishment, who next succeeded after Cornelius in that bishopric, about the year of our Lord two hundred fifty and three. Albeit in this banishment he did not long continue, but returned home to his church, as by the epistle of St. Cyprian may appear. As to all other bishops of Rome in those primitive days, certain decretal epistles, with several ordinances, be ascribed, bearing their names and titles, as hath been before declared; so also hath Lucius one epistle fathered upon him, in the which epistle he, writing to the brethren of France and of Spain, appointeth such an order and form of the church as seemeth not to agree with the time then present; for so he declareth in that epistle, that a bishop in all places, whithersoever he goeth, should have two priests with three deacons waiting upon him, to be witnesses of all his ways and doings. Which ordinance, although I deny not but it may be and is convenient, yet I see not how that time of Lucius could serve then for a bishop to carry such a pomp of priests and deacons about him, or to study for any such matter; forso much as bishops commonly in those days were seldom free to go abroad, went they never so secret, but either were in houses close and secret, or in prison, or else in banishment. Moreover, in the said epistle, how pompously writeth he to the church of Rome! "This holy and apostolical Church of Rome, (saith he,) the mother of all churches of Christ, by the grace of God omnipotent, hath never been proved to swerve out of the path of apostolical tradition, neither hath ever fallen or been depraved with heretical innovations; but even as in the first beginning it received the rule of the apostolical faith by his first instructors, the princes of the apostles, so it continueth ever immaculate and undefiled unto the end."

Unto this Lucius also is referred in the decrees of Gratian this constitution, that no minister whatsoever after his ordination would at any time re-enter into the chamber of his own wife in pain of losing his ministry in the church, &c. Eusebius in his seventh book making mention of the death of Lucius, and not of his martyrdom, saith that he sat but eight months; but Damasus in his Martyrology holdeth that he sat three years, and was beheaded the second year of Valerian and Galienus, emperors; and so doth also Marianus Scotus and Naclerus, with other that follow Damasus, affirm the same.

After him came Stephanus, next bishop of Rome following Lucius, whom Damasus, Platina, and Sabellicus affirm to have sat seven years and five months, and to die a martyr. Contrary, Eusebius and Volatennus, holding with him, give him but two years: which part cometh most near to the truth I leave to the reader's judgment. Of his two epistles decretal, and of his ordinances out of the same collected, I need not

much to say for two respects; either for that concerning these decretal epistles suspiciously entitled to the names of the fathers of the primitive church sufficiently hath been said before; or else because both the phrase barbarous and incongruous, and also the matter itself therein contained, is such, that, although no testimony came against it, yet it easily refelleth itself. As where in the second epistle he decreeth, "That no bishop being expelled out of his seat, or deprived of his goods, ought to be accused of any, or is bound to answer for himself, before that by the law regularly he be restored again fully to his former state, and that the primates and the synod render unto him again all such possessions and fruits as were taken from him before his accusation, as is agreeing both to the laws canon and also secular." First, here I would desire the reader a little to stay, and this to consider with himself, who be these here meant which either used or might despoil these bishops of their goods, and expel them from their seats for such wrongful causes, but only kings and emperors, which at this time were not yet christened, nor used any such proceedings against these bishops, in such sort as either primates or synods could restore them again to their places and possessions. Again, what private goods or possessions had bishops then to be taken from them, whenas churches yet neither were endowed with patrimonies nor possessions? And if any treasures were committed to the church, it pertained not properly to the bishop, but went in general to the subvention of the poor in the church, as in the epistle of Cornelius to Fabius may appear, alleged in Eusebius, where he, speaking of his church, and declaring how there ought to be but one bishop in the same, inferreth mention of forty and six priests, seven deacons, with seven subdeacons, forty-two Acoluthes, of widows and poor afflicted persons to the number of fifteen hundred and above, found and nourished in the same by the merciful benignity and providence of God. It followeth more in the end of the said canon, "Which thing is forbidden both by the laws ecclesiastical, and also secular," &c. Now what laws secular were in the time of Stephen for bishops not to be charged with any accusation before they were restored again to their state, let any reader, marking well the state of the heathen laws that then were, judge; and in judging I doubt not but this matter alone, though there were no other, will be enough to descry the untruth hereof.

Moreover, by divers other probable notes and arguments in the said second epistle of Stephanus, it may be easily espied this epistle to be feigned and misauthorized, especially by the fifth canon of the said epistle, where he so solemnly treateth of the difference between primates, metropolitans, and archbishops; which distinction of degrees and titles, savouring more of ambition than of persecution, giveth me verily to suppose this epistle not to be written by this Stephen, but by some other man either of that name, or of some other time when the church began to be settled in more prosperity, and orders therein to be taken, for every man to know his degree and limits of his authority, according as is specified by the sixth and seventh canon of the Nicene Council, decreeing of the same matter.

The like estimation may be conceived also of the seventh canon of the said epistle, where he willeth and appointeth all causes judiciary to be decided and determined within the precinct of their own proper province, and not to pass over the bounds thereof, unless (saith he) the appeal be made to the apostolical see of Rome; which savoureth in my nose rather of a smack of popery, than of the vein of Christianity, especially in these times, during this terrible persecution among the bishops of Christ. And thus much of the second decretal epistle of Stephanus, although of the first epistle also, written to Hilarius, something may be said; as where he speaketh in the said epistle of holy vestments, and holy vessels, and other ornaments

of the altar serving to Divine worship, and therefore not to be touched nor handled of any man, saving of priests alone. Concerning all which implements my opinion is this; I think the Church of Rome not to have been in so good state then, that either Stephanus, or Sixtus before him, being occupied about other more earnest matters, and scarce able to hide their own heads, had any mind or cogitation to study upon such unnecessary inventions serving in public churches; neither do I see how the heathen in those days would have suffered these ornaments to be unconsumed, which would not suffer the bishops themselves to live amongst them, notwithstanding Isidorus and Polydorus judge the contrary. Between this Stephanus and Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, was a great contention about rebaptizing of heretics, whereof more hereafter (Christ willing) shall be said.

Besides these bishops above specified, divers other there were also sent into banishment under the forenamed emperors Gallus and Volusianus, as appeareth by Dionysius writing to Hermannus on this wise: That Gallus, not seeing the evil of Decius, nor foreseeing the occasion of his seduction and ruin, stumbled himself also at the same stone, lying open before his eyes; for when at the first beginning his empire went prosperously forward, and all things went luckily with him, afterward he drave out holy men, which prayed for his peace and safeguard, and so with them rejected also the prayers which they made for him. Otherwise, of any bloodshed or any martyrs that in the time of this emperor were put to death, we do not read.

After the reign of which emperor Gallus and of his son Volusianus being expired, (who reigned but two years,) Emilianus, which slew them both by civil sedition, succeeded in their place, who reigned but three months, and was also slain. Next to whom Valerianus and his son Galienus were advanced to the empire.

About the changing of these emperors the persecution which first began at Decius, and afterward slacked in the time of Gallus, was now extinguished for a time, partly for the great plague reigning in all places, partly by the change of the emperors, although it was not very long. For Valerianus in the first entrance of the empire, for the space of three or four years, was right courteous and gentle to the people of God, and well accepted of the senate. Neither was there any of all the emperors before him, no, not of them which openly professed Christ, that showed himself so loving and familiar toward the Christians as he did; insomuch that (as Dionysius writing to Herman doth testify) all his whole court was replenished with holy saints, and servants of Christ and godly persons, so that his house might seem to be made a church of God. But by the malice of Satan, through wicked counsel, these quiet days endured not very long. For in process of time this Valerian being charmed or incensed by a certain Egyptian, a chief ruler of the heathen synagogue of the Egyptians, a master of the charmers or enchanters, who indeed was troubled for that he could not do his magical feats for the Christians, was so far infatuated and bewitched, that through the detestable provocations of that devilish Egyptian, he was wholly turned unto abominable idols, and to execrable impiety, in sacrificing young infants, and quartering bodies, and dividing the entrails of children new born; and so, proceeding in his fury, he moved the eighth persecution against the Christians, whom the wicked Egyptian could not abide, as being the hinderers and destroyers of his magical enchantings, about the year of our Lord two hundred fifty and nine.

10. The Eighth Persecution under Valerian

In the which persecution the chief administrators and actors were Emilianus, president of Egypt, Paternus and Galerius Maximus, proconsuls in Africa. Bergomensis also maketh mention of Paternus, vicegerent of Rome, and of Perennius. Vincentius speaketh also of Nicerius and Claudius, presidents, &c.

What was the chief original cause of this persecution partly is signified before, where mention was made of the wicked Egyptian; but as this was the outward and political cause, so St. Cyprian sheweth other causes more special and ecclesiastical in his fourth book, whose words be these: "But we (saith he) must understand and confess, that this turbulent oppression and calamity, which hath wasted for the most part all our whole company, and doth daily consume it, riseth chiefly of our own wickedness and sins, while we walk not in the way of the Lord, nor observe his precepts left unto us for our institution. The Lord observed the will of his Father in all points, but we observe not the will of the Lord, having all our mind and study set upon lucre and possessions, given to pride, full of emulation and dissension, void of simplicity and faithful dealing, renouncing this world in word only, but nothing in deed, every man pleasing himself, and displeasing all others. And therefore are we thus scourged, and worthily; for what stripes and scourges do we not deserve, when the confessors themselves, (such as have bid the trial of their confession,) and such as ought to be an example to the rest of well-doing, do keep no discipline? And therefore because some such there be, proudly puffed up with this swelling and unmannerly bragging of their confession, these torments come, such as do not easily send us to the crown, except by the mercy of God; some, being taken away by quickness of death, do prevent the tediousness of punishment. These things do we suffer for our sins and deserts, as by the Lord's censure we have been forewarned, saying, If they shall forsake my law, and will not walk in my judgments; if they shall profane my institutions, and will not observe my precepts; I will visit their iniquities with the rod, and their transgressions with scourges. These rods and scourges (saith he) we feel, which neither please God in our good deeds, nor repent in our evil deeds." Wherefore the said Cyprian adding this exhortation withal, exhorted them to pray and entreat from the bottom of their heart and whole mind the mercy of God, which promiseth, saying, But yet my mercy I will not scatter from them, &c. Let us ask, and we shall obtain; and though (saith Cyprian) it be with tarriance, yet, forsomuch as we have grievously offended, let us continue knocking; for to him that knocketh it shall be opened, if our prayers, sighings, and weepings knock still at the door with continuance, and if our prayers be joined together with brotherly agreement. Moreover, what vices were then principally reigning among the Christians he further specifieth in the said epistle, which chiefly were "division and dissension among the brethren. For when it was spoken to them in a vision by these words, Pray, and ye shall obtain; afterward it was required of the congregation there present to direct their prayers for certain persons assigned to them by name: but they could not agree and condescend together on the names and persons of them which they should pray for, but were dissonant in their consent and petition; which thing (saith Cyprian) did greatly displease him that spake unto them, Pray, and ye shall obtain, for that there was no uniform equality of voice and heart, nor one simple and joint concord among the brethren, whereof it is written in the sixty-seventh Psalm, God which maketh to dwell

in the house together men of one accord." And so by the occasion hereof he writeth unto them in the foresaid epistle, and moveth them to prayer and mutual agreement. "For (saith he) if it be promised in the gospel to be granted whatsoever any two consenting together shall ask, what shall then the whole church do agreeing together? Or what if this unanimity were among the whole fraternity? Which unanimity, (saith Cyprian,) if it had been amongst the brethren, these evils had not happened to the brethren, if the brethren had joined together in brotherly unanimity."

After the causes thus declared of this and other persecution, the said St. Cyprian, moreover, in the forenamed epistle, (worthy to be read of all men,) describeth likewise a certain vision, wherein was showed unto him by the Lord before the persecution came what should happen. The vision was this: "There was a certain aged father sitting, at whose right hand sat a young man very sad and pensive, as one with an indignation sorrowful, holding his hand upon his breast, his countenance heavy and uncheerful. On the left hand sat another person, having in his hand a net, which he threatened to lay to catch the people that stood about. And as he was marvelling that saw the sight thereof, it was said unto him, The young man whom thou seest sit on the right hand is sad and sorry that his precepts be not observed. But he on the left hand danceth and is merry, for that occasion is given him to have power of the aged father to afflict men. And this vision was seen long before this tempest of persecution happened, wherein is declared the same that before is said, The sins of the people to be the cause why Satan in this persecution, and all others, hath had, and hath still, such power with his net of destruction to rage against the blood of Christian men, and all because saith Cyprian we foreslack our praying, or he not so vigilant therein as we should; wherefore the Lord, because he loveth us, correcteth us; correcteth us to amend us, amendeth us to save us."

Furthermore, the same Cyprian, and in the same epistle, writing of his own revelation or message sent to him, thus saith: "And to his least servant. both sinful and unworthy, (meaning himself,) God of his tender goodness hath vouchsafed to direct this word: Tell him (saith he) that he be quiet and of good comfort; for peace will come, albeit a little stay there is for a while, for that some remain yet to be proved and tried, &c. And sheweth also in the same place of another revelation of his, wherein he was admonished to be spare in his feeding, and sober in his drink, lest his mind, given to heavenly meditation, might be carried away with worldly allurements, or, oppressed with too much surfeit of meats and drinks, should be less apt or able to prayer and spiritual exercise."

Finally, in the latter end of the foresaid epistle mention also followeth of other revelations or showings: "Wherein the Lord (saith Cyprian) doth vouchsafe to many of his servants to foreshow to come the restoring of his church, the stable quiet of our health and safeguard; after rain fair weather, after darkness light, after stormy tempest peaceable calm, the fatherly help of his love, the wont and old glory of his Divine Majesty; whereby both the blasphemy of the persecutor shall be repressed, and the repentance of such as have fallen be reformed, and the strong and stable confidence of them that stand shall rejoice and glory." Thus much hath St. Cyprian written of these things to the clergy, lib. 4. epist. 4.

As touching now the crimes and accusations in this persecution laid to the charge of the Christians, this was the principal: first, because they refused to do worship to their idols and to the emperors; then for that they professed the name of Christ: besides, all the calamities and evils that happened in the world, as wars,

famine, and pestilence, were imputed only to the Christians. Against all which quarrelling accusations Cyprian doth eloquently defend the Christians, like as Tertullian had done before, "And first touching the objection, for not worshipping idols, he cleareth the Christians both in his book against Demetrian, and also On the Vanity of Idols, proving those idols to be no true gods; but images of certain dead kings, which neither could save themselves from death, nor such as worship them. The true God to be but one, and that by the testimony of Sosthenes, Plato, and Trismegistus, the which God the Christians do truly worship. And as concerning that the Christians were thought to be the cause of public calamities, because they worshipped not the Gentiles' idols, he purgeth the Christians thereof, proving that if there be any defect in increase of things, it is not to be ascribed to them, but rather to the decrease of nature, languishing now towards her age and latter end. Again, for that it hath been so foresaid and prophesied, that towards the end of the world should come wars, famine, and pestilence. Moreover, if there be any cause thereof more proper than other, it is most like to be imputed to their vain idolatry, and to the contempt of the true God. Also that such evils be increased by the wickedness of the people, so that, to speak in his own words, famine cometh more by avarice of men than by drought of the air, but especially the cause thereof to proceed of the cruel shedding of the innocent blood of the Christians."

Thus with many other more probations doth Cyprian defend the Christians against the barbarous exclamations of the heathen Gentiles. Of which Cyprian, for so much as he suffered in the time of this persecution, I mind (Christ willing) to recapitulate here in ample discourse the full sum, first of his life and bringing up, then of his death and martyrdom, as the worthiness of that man deserveth to be remembered. Of this Cyprian therefore, otherwise named Statius, thus write Nicephorus, Nazianzenus, Jacobus de Voragine, Henricus de Erfordia, Volateranus, Hieronymus, and others: that he, being an African, and born in Carthage, first was an idolater and Gentile, altogether given to the study and practice of the magical arts; of whose parentage and education in letters from his youth no mention is made, but that he was a worthy rhetorician in Africa; of whose conversion and baptism he himself, in his first book and second epistle, writeth a flourishing and eloquent history. Which his conversion unto the Christian faith, as Jerome affirmeth in his Commentary upon Jonas, was through the grace of God, and the means of Cecilius a priest, whose name after he bare, and through the occasion of hearing the history of the prophet Jonas. The same Jerome, moreover, testifieth how he, immediately upon his conversion, distributed among the poor all his substance, and after that, being ordained a priest, was not long after constituted bishop of the congregation of Carthage. But whether he succeeded Agrippinus, of whom he often maketh mention, (which also was the first author of rebaptization,) or some other bishop of Carthage, it remaineth uncertain. But this is most true, he himself shined in his office and dignity with such good gifts and virtues, that, as Nazianzenus writeth, he had the government of the whole east church, and church of Spain, and was called the bishop of the Christian men.

And to the further setting forth (to the praise of God) of his godly virtues wherewith he was endowed, appearing as well in His own works to them that list to peruse the same, as also described by other worthy writers; he was courteous and gentle, loving and full of patience, and therewithal sharp and severe in his office, according as the cause required, as appeareth in his first book and third epistle. Furthermore, he was most loving and kind toward his brethren, and took much pains in helping and relieving the martyrs, as appeareth by his letters to the elders and deacons

of his bishopric, that with all study and endeavour they should gently entertain and show pleasure unto the martyrs in his absence, as partly is touched before.

The third epistle of his first book doth declare of what stomach and godly courage he was in executing his office, and handling his matters. Neither was he void of prudence and circumspection, but was adorned with marvellous modesty, whereby he attempted nothing upon his own head and judgment, but with the consent of his fellow bishops and other inferior ministers; and that chiefly (among others) doth the tenth epistle of his third book witness. He was of a marvellous liberal disposition towards the poor brethren of other countries; for so often as he had cause of absence, he committed the care of those poor men to his fellow officers, and wrote unto them, that of their own proper goods they would help their banished brethren to that which was necessary for them, as witnesseth the twenty and fourth epistle of his third book. He recited among other gifts wherewith he was endued, as touching the visions and heavenly admonitions of the persecutions that should follow, and of other matters touching the government of the church, in his first book and third epistle, and fourth book and fourth epistle, where he reciteth and expoundeth the form or manner of a certain vision, which we have before sufficiently expressed.

He had, moreover, great skill in the foreknowledge of things that should chance, as may be gathered in the sixth epistle of his fourth book. Also Augustine doth attribute unto him many worthy virtues, who writeth much in setting forth his gifts of humility in his second book of Baptism, the fourth chapter, against the Donatists; and in his seventh book and eleventh chapter, of his long-sufferance and patience, also of his courtesy and meekness; by which virtues he concealed nothing that he understood, but uttered the same meekly and patiently. Also that he kept the ecclesiastical peace and concord with those that were of another opinion than he was of. Lastly, that he neither circumvented nor did prejudice any man, but followed that thing which seemed good in his judgment, it is manifest in St. Augustine's first book on Baptism against the Donatists. Neither is this to be passed with silence, that Jerome writeth that he was very diligent in reading, especially the works of Tertullian; for he saith that he saw a certain old man, whose name was Paulus, which told him he saw the notary of blessed Cyprian, being then an old man, when he himself was but a springall in the city of Rome, and told him that it was Cyprian's wont never to let one day pass without some reading of Tertullian, and that he was accustomed often-times to say unto him, Give me my master, meaning thereby Tertullian.

Now a few words touching his exile and martyrdom. Of his epistles which he wrote back to his congregation, leading his life in exile, mention is made above, wherein he sheweth the virtue beseeeming a faithful pastor, in that he took no less care as well of his own church, as of other bishops, being absent, than he did being present. Wherein also he himself doth signify that voluntarily he absented himself, lest he should do more hurt than good to the congregation, by reason of his presence, as is likewise declared before. Thus from the desolate places of his banishment, wherein he was oftentimes sought for, he writeth unto his brethren, as in his third book and tenth epistle is manifest, which thing seemeth to be done in the reign of Decius or Gallus. But after that he returned again out of exile in the reign of this Valerianus, he was also after that the second time banished of Paternus, the proconsul of Africa, into the city of Thurbin, as the oration of Augustine touching Cyprian sheweth; or else, as Pontius the deacon saith, into a city named Furabilitana, or Curabilitana. But when Paternus the proconsul was dead, Galienus Maximus succeeded in the room and office of Paternus, who, finding Cyprian in a garden, caused him to be apprehended by his serjeants, and

to be brought before the idols to offer sacrifice; which, when he would not do, then the proconsul, breaking forth in these words, said, Long hast thou lived in a sacrilegious mind, and hast gathered together men of a wicked conspiracy, and hast showed thyself an enemy to the gods of the Romans, and to their holy laws; neither could the sacred emperors Valerianus and Galienus revoke thee to the sect of their ceremonies. At length the wicked tyrant condemning him to have his head cut off, he patiently and willingly submitted his neck to the stroke of the sword, as Jerome affirmeth. And so this blessed martyr ended this present life in the Lord, Xixtus then being bishop of Rome, as Eusebius noteth, in the year of our Lord two hundred fifty and nine. Sabellius saith that he was martyred in the reign of Gaius and Vespasianus, Lucius being bishop of Rome; but that seemeth not like.

As we have hitherto set forth the commendation of Cyprian, this blessed martyr; so must we now take heed again that we do not here incur the old and common danger which the papists are commonly accustomed to run into, whose fault is always almost to be immoderate and excessive in their proceedings, making too much almost of every thing. So, in speaking of the holy sacraments, they make more of them than doth the nature of sacraments require; not using them, but abusing them; not referring or applying them, but adoring them; not taking them in their kind for things godly, as they are, but taking them for God himself; turning religion into superstition, and the creature to the Creator, the things signifying to the things themselves signified, &c. To the church likewise, and ceremonies of the church, to general councils, to the blessed virgin Mary, mother of Christ, to the bishop of Rome, and to all other in like case; not contented to attribute that which is sufficient, they exceed moreover the bounds of judgment and verity, judging so of the church and general councils, as though they could never, or did never, err in any jot. That the blessed mother of Christ amongst all women was blessed, and a virgin full of grace, the Scripture and truth doth give; but to say that she was born without all original sin, or to make of her an advocate or mother of mercy, there they run further than truth will bear. The ceremonies were first ordained to serve but only for order's sake, unto the which they have attributed so much at length, that they have set in them a great part of our religion, yea, and also salvation. And what thing is there else almost wherein the papists have not exceeded?

Wherefore, to avoid this common error of the papists, we must beware in commending the doctors and writers of the church, and so commend them, that truth and consideration go with our commendation. For though this cannot be denied, but that holy Cyprian, and other blessed martyrs, were holy men; yet, notwithstanding, they were men, that is, such as might have and had their falls and faults; men, I say, and not angels, nor gods; saved by God, not saviours of men, nor patrons of grace. And though they were also men of excellent learning, and worthy doctors, yet with their learning they had their errors also annexed. And though their books be (as they ought to be) of great authority, yet ought they not to be equal with the Scriptures. And albeit they said well in most things, yet it is not therefore enough that what they said must stand for a truth. That pre-eminence of authority only belongeth to the word of God, and not to the pen of man. For of men and doctors, be they never so famous, there is none that is void of his reprehension. In Origen, although in his time the admiration of his learning was singular, yet how many things be there which the church now holdeth not, but examining him by Scriptures, where he said well they admit him, where otherwise, they leave him. In Polycarp, the church hath corrected and altered that which he did hold in celebrating the Easter-day after the Jews. Neither can holy and blessed Ignatius be defended in all his sayings; as where he maketh the

fasting upon the Sunday or the sabbath day as great an offence as to kill Christ himself; contrary to this saying of St. Paul, "Let no man judge you in meat and drink:" also where the said Ignatius speaketh concerning virginity, and of other things more. Irenæus did hold that man was not made perfect in the beginning. He seemeth also to defend free-will in man in those things also that be spiritual. He saith that Christ suffered after he was fifty years old, abusing this place of the Gospel," Then said the Jews unto him, Thou art not yet fifty years old, and hast thou seen Abraham?" John viii. 57. Tertullian (whom St. Cyprian never laid out of his hands almost) is noted to be a Chiliast; also to have been of Montanus's sect. The same did hold also, with Justin, Cyprian, and others, that the angels fell first for the concupiscence of women. He defendeth free-will of man after the corruption of nature, inclining also to the error of them which defend the possibility of keeping God's law. Concerning marriage, We know (saith he) one marriage, as we know one God; condemning the second marriage. Divers other things of like absurdity in him be noted. Justin also seemeth to have inclined unto the error of the Chiliasts, of the fall of certain angels by women, of free-will of man, of possibility of keeping the law, and such others. Neither was this our Cyprian, the great scholar of Tertullian, utterly exempt from the blot of them who, contrary to the doctrine of the church, did hold with rebaptizing of such as were before baptized of heretics, whereof speaketh St. Augustine, misliking the same error of Cyprian. Upon the which matter there was a great contention between the said Cyprian and Stephen bishop of Rome, as partly afore is noted. Of Augustine himself likewise, of Ambrose, Hierom, Chrysostom, the same may be said, that none of them all so clearly passed away, but their peculiar faults and errors went with them, whereof it were too long, and out of our purpose, at this present to treat. And thus much concerning the story of Cyprian the holy learned martyr of Christ.

Albeit here is to be noted by the way, touching the life and story of Cyprian, that this Cyprian was not he whom the narration of Nazianzen speaketh of, (as is above mentioned,) who from art magic was converted to be a Christian, which Cyprian was a citizen of Antioch, and afterward bishop of the same city, and was martyred under Dioclesian; whereas this Cyprian was bishop of Carthage, and died under Valerianus, as is said. By the decrees of Gratian, it appeareth, moreover, that there was also a third Cyprian in the time of Julianus, the emperor apostate, long after both these aforenamed; for so giveth the title prefixed before the said distinction, Cyprian to the emperor Julian; the distinction beginning, *Quoniam idem Mediator Dei et hominum, homo Christus Jesus, sic actibus propriis, et dignitatibus distinctis officia potestatis utriusque discernit, &c.* Upon the which distinction the gloss cometh in with these words, saying that the popedom and the seat imperial have both one beginning of one, that is, Christ, who was both Bishop and King of kings. And that the said dignities be distinct, albeit the pope notwithstanding hath both the swords in his hand, and may exercise them both sometimes together. "And therefore although they be distinct, yet in exercise the one standeth lineally under the other; so that the imperial dignity is subject under the papal dignity, as the inferior is subject under the superior; that as there is one Ruler over the whole world, which is God; so in the church is one monarch, that is, the pope, to whom the Lord hath committed the power and lawful right both of the heavenly and terrene dominion."

Thus much I thought here to note by the way, because this distinction is fathered upon Cyprian, which is false; for this Cyprian was not in the time of Julian, not by two hundred years, and so likewise the other Cyprian, which died martyr under Dioclesian. Of any Cyprian besides these two we read not; neither is it credible, that if

there were any such Cyprian, he would ever have written of any such matter, of the difference and mutual need of Christian emperors and Christian popes; whenas that emperor, being an apostate, neither regarded Christ, nor cared for any pope.

About this time, and under the same emperor Valerianus, suffered also Xistus, or Sixtus, the second of that name, bishop of Rome, who, being accused of his adversaries to be a Christian: was brought with his six deacons to the place of execution, where he, with Nemesisius, and other his deacons, were beheaded and suffered martyrdom. Laurence in the same time, being also deacon, followed after, complaining to Xistus, (as one being grieved,) that he might not also suffer with him, but to be secluded as the son from the father. To whom the bishop answering again, declared that within three days he should follow after. In the mean time he willed him to go home, and to distribute his treasures, if he had any, unto the poor. The judge, belike hearing mention to be made of treasures to be given to the poor, and thinking that Laurence had great store of treasure in his custody, commanded him to bring the same unto him, according as in the discourse of his story hereunder written more fully may appear. Which history, because it is set forth more at large in Prudentius, Ambrose, and other writers, and containeth in it more things worthy to be noted of the reader, we have therefore with the more diligence here inserted the more ample description of the same, to the further admiration of his patience, and God's glory showed in him.

Now then, as order requireth, let us enter the story of that most constant and courageous martyr of Christ St. Laurence, whose words and works deserve to be as fresh and green in Christian hearts as is the flourishing laurel tree. This thirsty heart, longing after the water of life, desirous to pass unto it through the strait door of bitter death, when on a time he saw his vigilant shepherd Xistus led as a harmless lamb of harmful tyrants to his death, cried out with open mouth and heart invincible, saying, O dear father, whither goest thou without the company of thy dear son? Whither hastenest thou, O reverend priest, without thy deacon? Never wast thou wont to offer sacrifice without thy minister. What crime is there in me that offendeth thy fatherhood? Hast thou proved me unnatural? Now try, sweet father, whether thou hast chosen a faithful minister or not. Deniest thou unto him the fellowship of thy blood, to whom thou hast committed the distribution of the Lord's blood? See that thy judgment be not misliked, whilst thy fortitude is liked and lauded. The abasing of the scholar is the disgracing of the master. What! have we not learned that worthy masters have obtained most worthy fame by the worthy acts of their disciples and scholars? Finally, Abraham sacrificed his only begotten Isaac; stoned Stephen prepared the way to preaching Peter: even so, father, declare thy manifold virtues by me thy son. Offer thou him that proffereth himself; grant that the body of thy scholar may be sacrificed, whose mind with good letters thou hast beautified. These words with tears St. Laurence uttered, not because his master should suffer, but for that he might not be suffered to taste of death's cup which he thirsted after.

Then Xistus to his son shaped this answer: I forsake thee not, O my son; I give thee to wit that a sharper conflict remaineth for thee. A feeble and weak old man am I, and therefore run the race of a lighter and easier death; but lusty and young thou art, and more lustily, yea, more gloriously, shalt thou triumph over this tyrant: thy time approacheth, cease to weep and lament, three days after thou shalt follow me; decent it is that this space of time come between the priest and the Levite. It may not beseem thee, O sweet pupil, to triumph under thy master, lest it be said he wanted a helper. Why cravest thou to be partaker with me in my passion? I bequeath unto thee the

whole inheritance. Why requirest thou to enjoy my presence? Let weak scholars go before, and the stronger come after, that those without master may get the victory, which have no need by master to be governed. So Helias left behind him his beloved Heliseus. I yield up into thy hands the succession of my virtues. Such was their contention, not unmeet for so godly a priest and so zealous a minister, striving with themselves who should first suffer for the name of Christ Jesus.

In tragical histories we have it mentioned, that through joy and admiration people clapped their hands, when Pilades named himself Orestes, Orestes (as truth it was) affirmed himself to be Orestes; Pilades wishing to die for Orestes, Orestes not suffering Pilades to lose his life for his sake; but neither of them might escape death; for both these lovers were guilty of blood, the one committing the fact, the other consenting. But this our Laurence, the martyr most constant, was by no means enforced to make this proffer, saving only by his ardent zeal and fervent spirit, who, thirsting after the cup of martyrdom, had it shortly after filled to the hard brim.



St. Lawrence being tortured

Now let us draw near to the fire of martyred Laurence, that our cold hearts may be warmed thereby. The merciless tyrant, understanding this virtuous Levite not only to be a minister of the sacraments, but a distributor also of the church riches, (whereof mention is made before in the words of Xistus,) promised to himself a double prey by the apprehension of one silly soul. First with the rake of avarice to scrape to himself the treasure of poor Christians; then with the fiery fork of tyranny so to toss and turmoil them, that they should wax weary of their profession. With furious face and cruel countenance the greedy wolf demanded where this deacon Laurence had bestowed the substance of the church? who craving three days' respite, promised to declare where the treasure might be had. In the mean time, he caused a good number of poor Christians to be congregated. So when the day of his answer was come, the persecutor strictly charged him to stand to his promise. Then valiant Laurence,

stretching out his arms over the poor, said, These are the precious treasure of the church, these are the treasure indeed, in whom the faith of Christ reigneth, in whom Jesus Christ hath his mansion-place. What more precious jewels can Christ have than those in whom he hath promised to dwell? For so it is written, I was hungry, and ye gave me to eat; I was thirsty, and ye gave me to drink; I was harbourless, and ye lodged me. And again, Look what ye have done to the least of these, the same have ye done to me. What greater riches can Christ our Master possess than the poor people, in whom he loveth to be seen? Oh what tongue is able to express the fury and madness of the tyrant's heart? Now he stamped, he stared, he raged, he fared as one out of his wits; his eyes like fire glowed, his mouth like a boar foamed, his teeth like a hell-hound grinded. Now not a reasonable man, but a roaring lion, he might be called. "Kindle the fire (he cried); of wood make no spare. Hath this villain deluded the emperor? Away with him, away with him; whip him with scourges, jerk him with rods, buffet him with fists, brain him with clubs. Jesteth the traitor with the emperor? Pinch him with fiery tongs, gird him with burning plates, bring out the strongest chains, and the fire forks, and the grated bed of iron: on the fire with it, bind the rebel hand and foot; and when the bed is fire hot, on with him; roast him, broil him, toss him, turn him: on pain of our high displeasure do every man his office, O ye tormentors." The word was no sooner spoken but all was done.

After many cruel handlings, this meek lamb was laid, I will not say on his fiery bed of iron, but on his soft bed of down. So mightily God wrought with his martyr Laurence, so miraculously God tempered his element the fire, not a bed of consuming pain, but a pallet of nourishing rest, was it unto Laurence. Not Laurence, but the emperor, might seem to be tormented; the one broiling in the flesh, the other burning in the heart. When this triumphant martyr had been pressed down with firepikes for a great space, in the mighty Spirit of God he spake to the vanquished tyrant:

This side is now roasted enough, turn up, O tyrant great;
Assay whether roasted or raw thou thinkest the better meat.

O rare and unaccustomed patience! O faith invincible! that not only not burnest, but by means unspeakable dost recreate, refresh, stablish, and strengthen those that are burned, afflicted, and troubled. And why so mightily comfortest thou the persecuted? Because through thee they believe in God's promises infallible. By thee this glorious martyr overcometh his torments, vanquisheth this tyrant, confoundeth his enemies, confirmeth the

Christians, sleepeth in peace, and reigneth in glory. The God of might and mercy grant us grace, by the life of Laurence to learn in Christ to live, and by his death to learn for Christ to die. Amen.

Such is the wisdom and providence of God, that the blood of his dear saints (like good seed) never falleth in vain to the ground, but it bringeth some increase: so it pleased the Lord to work at the martyrdom of this holy Laurence, that, by the constant confession of this worthy and valiant deacon, a certain soldier of Rome, being therewith conscience stricken and converted to the same faith, desired forthwith to be baptized of him; for the which he, being called for of the judge, was scourged, and afterward beheaded.

Under the same Valerianus suffered also Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, much affliction and banishment, with certain other brethren; of the which he writeth himself, and is alleged in the ecclesiastical story of Eusebius, the words whereof tend to this effect. Dionysius, with three of his deacons, to wit, Maximus, Faustus, and

Cheremon, also with a certain brother of Rome, came to Emilianus, then president, who were declared unto them, in circumstance of words, how he had signified unto them the clemency of his lords and emperors, who had granted them pardon of life, so that they would return to them, and worship the gods and keepers (as he called them) of their empire, asking them what answer they would give him thereunto; trusting, as he said, that they would not show themselves ungrateful to the clemency of them which so gently did exhort them. To this Dionysius answering, said, All men worship not all gods, but divers men divers gods; so as every one hath in himself a mind or fantasy to worship. But we worship not many nor divers gods, but only that one God who is the Creator of all things, and hath committed to our lords, Valerianus and Gallienus, the government of their empire, making to him our prayers incessantly for their prosperous health and continuance. Then the president said, And what hurt is it, sith that you may both worship your God, what god soever he be, and these our gods also? For you are commanded to worship such gods as all men know to be gods. Dionysius answered, We worship none other but as we have said. Emilianus, the president, said, I see ye are ungrateful men, and consider not the benignity of the emperor; wherefore you shall remain no longer in this city, but shall be sent out to the parts of Libya, unto a town called Cephro; for that place by the commandment of the emperor I have chosen for you. Neither shall it be lawful for you to convent your assemblies, or to resort as ye are wont to your burial-places. And if any of you shall be found out of your places whereunto you are appointed, at your peril be it. And think not contrary but ye shall be watched well enough. Depart, therefore, to the place, as is commanded you. And it followeth more, in the said Dionysius speaking of himself, And as for me, (saith he,) although I was sick, yet he urged me so strictly to depart, that he would not give me one day's respite. And how (said he, writing to Germanus) could I congregate or not congregate any assemblies? And after a few lines it followeth, And yet neither am I altogether absent from the corporal society of the Lord's flock, but I have collected them together which were in the city, being absent, as though I had been present; absent in body, yet present in spirit. And in the same Cephro a great congregation remained with me, as well of those brethren which followed me out of the city, as also of them which were remaining there out of Egypt. And there the Lord opened to me the door of his word: although at the first entrance I was persecuted and stoned among them, yet afterward a great number of them fell from their idols, and were converted unto the Lord. And so by us the word was preached to them which before were infidels; which ministry, after that we had accomplished there, the Lord removed us to another place. For Emilianus translated us from thence to more sharp and stricter places of Libya, and commanded us to meet all together at the city Mareota; thinking there to separate us severally into sundry villages, or thinking rather to take and prevent us by the way. After we were come thither, it was assigned to me (saith Dionysius) to go to Colluthion, which place I never heard of before, which was the more grief to me; yet some solace it was to me, that the brethren told me it was near to a city named Paretonium. For as my being at Cephro got me the acquaintance of many brethren of Egypt, so my hope was, that the vicinity of that place (where I should be) to the city might procure the familiarity and concourse of certain loving brethren, which would resort and assemble with us, and so it came to pass, &c.

Moreover, the said Dionysius in his epistle, to Domitius and Dydimus, making mention of them which were afflicted in this persecution of Valerian, recordeth these words, It were superfluous (saith he) here to recite the names peculiarly of all our brethren slain in this persecution, which both were many, and to me unknown. But this

is certain, that there were men, women, young men, maidens, old wives, soldiers, simple innocents, and of all sorts and ages of men. Of whom some with scourges and fire, some with sword, obtained victory, and got the crown. Some continued a great time, and yet have been reserved. In the which number am I reserved hitherto to some other opportune time known unto the Lord, which saith, "In the time accepted I have heard thee, and in the day of salvation I have helped thee," &c. Now as concerning myself, in what state I am, if thou desire to know first how I, and Caius, and Faustus, Petrus and Paulus, being apprehended by the centurion, were taken away by certain of the town of Mareota, I have declared to you before. Now I, and Caius, and Petrus alone are left here included in a waste place of Libya, distant the space of three days' journey from Paretonium, &c. And in process further he addeth, In the city (saith he) were certain which privily visit the brethren; of priests, Maximus, Dioscorus, Demetrius, and Lucius. For they which were more notable in the world, Faustinus and Aquila, do wander abroad in Egypt. Of the deacons, besides them whom sickness hath consumed, Faustus, Eusebius, and Cheremon are yet alive. Eusebius hath God raised and stirred up to minister to the confessors lying in bands, and to bury the bodies of the blessed martyrs, not without great peril. Neither doth the president cease yet to this day, cruelly murdering such as be brought before him, tearing some with torments, imprisoning and keeping some in custody, commanding that no man should come to them, inquiring also who resorted unto them. Yet notwithstanding God with cheerfulness and daily resort of the brethren doth comfort the afflicted.

Concerning these deacons above recited, here is to be noted, that Eusebius afterward was made bishop of Laodicea in Syria. Maximus the priest aforesaid had the ministration of the church of Alexandria after Dionysius. Faustus long after continued in great age, unto the later persecution, where he, being a very old man, at length was beheaded, and died a martyr.

As touching Dionysius himself, thus the stories report, that he surviving all these troubles and persecutions, by the providence of God, continued after the death of Valerian unto the twelfth year of the reign of Gallienus, which was about the year of our Lord two hundred threescore and eight; and so departed in peace in great age, after that he had governed the church of Alexandria the space of seventeen years, and before that had taught the school of the said city of Alexandria the term of sixteen years, after whom succeeded Maximus, as is above specified. And thus much touching the full story of Dionysius Alexandrinus, and of other also, martyrs and confessors of Alexandria.

In Cesarea Palestine suffered also the same time Priscus, Malchus, and Alexander, the which three dwelling in the country, and good men, seeing the valiant courage of the Christians, so boldly to venture, and constantly to stand, and patiently to suffer in this persecution, as men being grieved with themselves, began to repent and accuse their so great sluggishness and cowardly negligence, to see others so zealous and valiant, and themselves so cold and faint-hearted, in labouring for the crown of Christian martyrdom; and first consulting and agreeing with themselves, they came to Cesarea, and there stepping to the judge, declared themselves what they were, and obtained the end they came for, being given to the wild beasts. After which manner also, and in the same city of Cesarea, a certain woman, whose name Eusebius expresseth not, who had been before of the sect of Marcion, was brought before the president, and likewise obtained the same martyrdom.

Neither was the city of Carthage all this while free from the stroke of this persecution, if credit should be given to the speculative glass of Vincentius, who, citing it out of Hugo, recordeth of three hundred martyrs, of which three hundred martyrs the story saith thus: that the president setting before them coals and incense to do sacrifice by a lime kiln, which was there near at hand, offered unto them this condition, either to set incense to the coals for sacrifice to Jupiter, or else to go into the furnace of lime; whereupon they all together with a general motion suddenly rushed into the kiln, and there with the dusty smoke of the lime were smothered.

In Africa also, in the city of Tuburba, the said Vicentius, out of the Martyrology, inferreth mention of three constant virgins, Maxima, Donatilla, and Secunda; who, in the persecution of this Valerian and Gallienus, first had given for their drink vinegar and gall, then with scourges were tried, after that upon the gibbet were tormented and rubbed with lime, then were scorched upon the fiery gridiron, at last were cast to the wild beasts; who, being not touched of them, finally with the sword were beheaded.

In Simela, a city in Italy, under the Alps, one Pontius, being there apprehended, by the commandment of Claudius the president, was hanged first upon the rack, then was cast to the wild beasts, of whom he being nothing hurt, was after committed to the fire; and, finally, not touched therewith, (if the story of Vincentius be true,) was beheaded by the river's side, and his body thrown into the flood; where, immediately the same hour, the foresaid Claudius, with his assistant Anabius, were taken with wicked spirits, by whom they were so miserably vexed, that they bit off their tongues, and died.

Zenon, bishop of Verona, is said also in the same persecution to sustain martyrdom.

Moreover, in the same city of Alexandria aforesaid, Bergomensis in his eighth book, writing of the story of Valerianus, emperor, maketh mention of Philippus, bishop of the said see of Alexandria, who (as he saith) was under the said Valerian beheaded. But that is not to be found in any approved story, nor standeth it with the truth of time that any such Philip was then bishop of Alexandria, or any other, except only Dionysius. After whom next succeeded Maximus, who remained eighteen years, and after him Theonas, &c. So that, by the ancient records of old writers, it appeareth not that Philippus or any other of that name was bishop of Alexandria during this time signified by Bergomensis.

Although in some other later writers, as Equilinus, Antoninus, and Bergomensis, I find a certain history of one Philippus, president of Alexandria, about the same time of Valerian and Gallienus, elected by the emperor and senate of Rome to govern those quarters, where he was at length converted to the Christian faith, and after made priest, or bishop (as they say) of Alexandria; but that not to be so the testimony of ancient writers doth manifest. The history of this Philippus, witnessed in our later chronicles, is this: Philippus being promoted to the presidentship of Alexandria, came down with his wife Claudia, and his two sons, Avitus and Sergius, and with his daughter, named Eugenia; of the which Eugenia a long history full of strange and prodigious miracles is written of Antoninus and others, whereof many things I will cut off, and briefly touch the effect of the story, leaving to the judgment of the reader the credit of mine authors, as he shall see cause.

This Eugenia, daughter of Philippus, being of singular beauty, and diligently brought up by her parents in the study of science and learning, was by occasion of hearing Christians reduced and brought up to Christianity, with two other eunuchs, her school-fellows, called Prothus and Hiacinthus; with whom she taking counsel, upon occasion (whether to avoid the danger of persecution, or refusing to marry with a pagan) unknown to her parents and friends, did fly away; and because the more boldly she might resort to hear the readings of Helenus, then an aged bishop, and of others, she changed herself into man's apparel, and named herself Eugenius, under the which name she was at length admitted unto a certain monastery, or a society of Christians in the suburbs of Alexandria, (although I hardly believe that any monastery of Christians was then in the suburbs of Alexandria permitted,) where also, at the last, for her excellency of learning and virtue, she was made head of the place.

Here, by the way, I omit the miracles of the foresaid Helenus, bishop (as the story saith) of Hieropolis; how he carried burning coals in his lap, and how he adventured himself to go in the burning fire, to refel wicked Zereas, a pagan, remaining in the same unburned. Here also I omit the careful search of her parents for her, and of the answer of the Pythoness again unto them, that she was taken up to heaven among the goddesses. I omit moreover the miracles done by the said Eugenia, in healing the diseases and sicknesses of such as came to her, &c. The story proceedeth thus: Among others which were by this Eugenius cured and restored, there was a certain matron of Alexandria, named Melancia; who, after she had used the help and acquaintance of Eugenius, supposing her to be a man, fell into an inordinate love of her, seeking by all means how to accomplish the lust of her concupiscence. Insomuch that in her daily visiting of her, at length she began secretly to break her mind, and to entice her to her lewdness. Eugenius contrarily exhorted her to virtue and honesty, showing her the miseries of this life, and the peril of that folly. Melancia seeing that by no means she would be allured, nor by force drawn to her desire, and fearing moreover that she, in detecting of her, would bring her to shame, beginneth first to make an outcry of Eugenius, declaring how that she went about corruptly to deflower her; and so presented her accusation before Philippus the president, as well against Eugenius, as also against the rest of that company. This matter being heard, and the woman well known, the crime began to seem suspicious, and so much the more, because it was objected against the Christians. By reason whereof Eugenius with her fellow Christians was now not only in great hatred, but also in danger of present death and destruction. Then Eugenius purging herself and her honesty, although with sufficient probation, yet, notwithstanding, perceiving that whatsoever she said could take no place, and seeing no time now dissemble any longer, for the danger as well of her own self, as specially of her brethren, which troubled her more; she desired of the judge place and time to make manifest to him the truth, and so showed herself what she was, and how she was his daughter, the other to be Prothus and Hiacinthus, the two eunuchs, her school-fellows, uttering, moreover, to him and to her brethren, the cause of her departing from them. At the narration whereof, Philippus her father, and her two brethren, coming to the knowledge of her, conceived no little joy, in receiving their Eugenia again, whom they thought had been lost. No less gladness was among the people, to see the evidence of the matters so plainly to try out the truth of the one, and the falseness of the other. Whereat the malignant accuser was with double shame confounded, first for her dishonesty falsely cloaked, secondly for the untruth of her accusation openly detected. Bergomensis addeth, moreover, that the said accuser was stricken presently with lightning. Thus Eugenia, trying her honesty to her parents and friends, was not only received of them again, but also, by the grace of

the Lord working with her, in the space of time did win them to Christ. Whereby Philippus, the father of her by nature, now by grace was begotten of his own daughter to a more perfect life; and whom once he thought to have been lost, not only he found again, but also with her found his own soul and his own life, which before he had lost indeed. This Philippus (saith the story) was made afterward bishop of Alexandria, and there suffered martyrdom. Concerning whose martyrdom I deny not but it may be true; but that he was bishop of Alexandria, that cannot be admitted, as is before sufficiently proved out of Eusebius and other ancient historians.

Likewise it is said, that Eugenia, after the martyrdom of her father, returning to Rome with Prothus and Hiacinthus, by occasion of converting Basilla (who should have been married to a pagan husband, and was then beheaded) to the Christian faith, was assailed with sundry kinds of death: first being tied to a great stone and cast into Tiber, where she was carried up from drowning; then put in the hot baths, which were extinguished, and she preserved; afterward by famishment in prison, where they say she was fed at the hand of our Saviour: all which legendary miracles I leave to the reader to judge of them as shall seem good unto him. At last the story saith she was with the sword beheaded.

And because in this present history mention was made of Helenus, whom Antoninus with his fellows noteth to be the bishop of Hieropolis, here is to be understood and observed, by the way, that as Philippus in the foresaid history is falsely said to be bishop of Alexandria, so likewise untrue it is that Helenus was bishop of Hieropolis. For by Eusebius it appeareth, alleging the words of Dionysius, that he was bishop of Tarsus in Cilicia, and had there oversight of that church from the time of our Lord God two hundred fifty and four, to the year of our redemption two hundred seventy and four.

Aurelius Prudentius inferreth mention of Fructuosus. bishop of Tarraconia in Spain, who, with his two deacons. Augurius and Eulogius, suffered also martyrdom, being burned after six days' imprisonment under the foresaid emperors in this persecution. The cause of their punishment was for the profession of Christ's name; their judge and condemner was Emilianus; their imprisonment endured six days; the kind of death ministered unto them was fire; wherein they being all together cast with their arms bound behind them, their bands (as Prudentius writeth) were dissolved. their hands untouched with the fire, and their bodies remaining whole. The charge of this judge unto the bishop was this, that he should worship the gods whom the emperor Gallienus worshipped. To whom Fructuosus the bishop answering, Nay, (saith he,) I worship no dumb god of stocks and blocks, whom Gallienus doth worship; but I worship the Lord and Master of Gallienus, the Father and Creator of all times, and his only Son sent down to us. of whose flock I am here the pastor and shepherd. At this word Emilianus answering again, Nay, (saith he,) say not thou art, but say thou wast. And forth with commanded them to be committed to the fire, where (as is said) their hands and manacles being loosed by the fire, they lifted up their hands to heaven, praising the living God, to the great admiration of them that stood by; praying also that the element, which seemed to fly from them, might work his full force upon them, and speedily despatch them, which was after their request obtained. In mean space, as they were in the fire, there was a certain soldier in the house of Emilianus, who did see the heavens above to open, and these foresaid martyrs to enter into the same, which soldier likewise showed the sight the same time unto the daughter of Emilianus the president, who, beholding the same sight with the soldier, was a present witness of the blessedness of them whom her cruel father had condemned.

As this godly bishop was preparing to his death, (saith Prudentius,) the brethren approaching to him brought him drink, desiring him with much weeping to receive and drink with them; but that he refused to do, requiring them, moreover, to refrain their tears. With like readiness the brethren also were diligent about him to pluck off his shoes and hose, as he was addressing himself to the fire; but neither would he suffer any servants' help in that wherein he was no less willing than able to help himself. And thus this blessed and fruitful bishop Fructuosus, with his two deacons, Augurius and Eulogius, being brought to the fire, witnessed the constant confession of the name of Christ, with the shedding of their blood.

And thus far continued wicked Valerian in his tyranny against the saints of Christ. But as all the tyrants before, and oppressors of the Christians, had their deserved reward at the just hand of God, which rendereth to every man according to his works; so this cruel Valerian, after he had reigned with his son Gallienus the term of six or seven years, and about two years had afflicted the church of Christ, felt the just stroke of his hand, whose indignation before he had provoked, whereof we have to witness Eutropius, Pollio, Sabellicus, Volateranus: for making his expedition against the Persians, whether by the fraud and treason of some about him, or whether by his own rashness, it is doubtful; but this is certain, that he fell into the hands of his enemies, being about the age of fourscore years, where he led his wretched age in a more wretched captivity. Insomuch that Sapore, the king of the Persians, used him, (and well worthy,) not for his riding-fool, but for his riding-block; for whensoever the king should light upon his horse openly in the sight of the people, Valerian, emperor, was brought forth instead of a block, for the king to tread upon his back in going to his horseback. And so continued this blockish, butcherly emperor with shame and sport enough unto his final end, as witnesseth Letus and Aurelius Victor.

Albeit Eusebius, in a certain sermon to the congregation, declareth a more cruel handling of him, affirming that he was slain, writing in these words: "And thou, Valerian, forsomuch as thou hast exercised the same crudelity in murdering of the subjects of God, therefore hast proved unto us the righteous judgment of God, in that thyself hast been bound in chains, and carried away for a captive slave with thy gorgeous purple and thy imperial attire; and at length, also, being commanded of Sapore, king of the Persians, to be slain, and powdered with salt, hast set up unto all men a perpetual monument of thine own wretchedness," &c.

The like severity of God's terrible judgment is also to be noted in Claudius, his president, and minister of his persecutions. Of which Claudius Henricus de Erfordia thus writeth: that he was possessed and vexed of the devil in such sort, that he, biting off his own tongue in many small pieces, so ended his life.

Neither did Gallienus, the son of Valerian, after the captivity of his father, utterly escape the righteous hand of God; for beside the miserable captivity of his father, whom he could not rescue, such portents, strange and out of the course of nature, such earthquakes did happen, also such tumults, commotions, and rebellions did follow, that Trebellio doth reckon up to the number of thirty together, which, in sundry places, all at one time, took upon them to be tyrants and emperors over the monarchy of Rome, by the means whereof he was not able to succour his father, though he would. Notwithstanding, the said Gallienus, being (as is thought) terrified by the example of his father, did remove. at least did moderate, the persecution stirred up by the edicts of Valerian his father, directing forth his imperial proclamation, the tenor whereof proceedeth after this effect, as is to be seen in Eusebius, lib. vii. cap. 13:

"Emperor and Cæsar, Publius Licinius, Gallienus, Pius, Fortunatus, Augustus, unto Dionysius, to Pinna, and to Demetrian, and to all other the like bishops. The bountiful benignity of my gift I have willed and commanded to be proclaimed through the whole world, to the intent that such which are detained in banishment for discipline sake may safely return home again from whence they came; and for the same cause I have here sent to you the example of my rescript for you to peruse and to enjoy, so that no man be so hardy to vex or molest you; and this, which you may now lawfully enjoy, hath been long since by me granted. And therefore, for your more warrant in the same, I have committed the exemplar hereof to the custody of Aurelianus Cirenus, my chief steward, where you may fetch the copy to see at your pleasure."

This mandate above prefixed did Gallienus send to Dionysius Alexandrinus, and other bishops, as is premised. Another rescript also the said emperor sent to other Christian bishops, permitting to them full liberty to receive again their wonted places where they were wont to associate together.

By this it may appear, that some peace was granted then under this Gallienus to the church of Christ; albeit not so, but that some there were which suffered, of whom was one Marinus, mentioned in Eusebius. This Marinus being a warrior, and a nobleman in Cesarea, stood for the dignity of a certain order, which by all order of course was next to fall upon him by right, had not the envious ambition of him that should follow next after him supplanted him both of office and life; for he accused him to be a Christian, and therefore said that he was not to be admitted unto their offices, which was against their religion. Whereupon Achaius, then being judge, examined him of his faith; who, finding him to be a Christian indeed, and constantly to stand to his profession, gave him three hours to deliberate and advise with himself. There was the same time in Cesarea a bishop named Theotechnus, otherwise called Theodistus, who, perceiving him to stand in doubtful deliberation and perplexity in himself, took him by the hand and brought him into the house or church of the Christians, laying before him a sword (which he had under his cloak for the same purpose) and a book of the New Testament, and so willed him to take his free choice which of them both he would prefer. The soldier immediately, without delay, ran to the book of the gospel, taking that before the sword. And thus he, being animated by the bishop, presented himself bodily before the judge, by whose sentence he was beheaded, and died a martyr.

Whose body, being dead, one Asyrius, a noble senator of Rome, and a man very wealthy among the chief of that order, (who in the same time was there present at his martyrdom,) took up and bare upon his own shoulders, wrapping it in a rich and sumptuous weed, and so honourably committed it to the burial.

Of which Asyrius the said author writeth moreover this story: how that in the foresaid city of Cesarea, the Gentiles used thereof an ancient custom to offer up a certain sacrifice by a fountain side, the which sacrifice by the working of the devil was wont suddenly to vanish out of their eyes, to the great admiration of the inhabitants by. Asyrius seeing this, and pitying the miserable error of the simple people, lifting up his eyes to heaven, made his prayer to Almighty God in the name of Christ, that the people might not be seduced of the devil any longer; by the virtue of whose prayer the sacrifice was seen to swim in the water of the fountain; and so the strange wonder of that sight was taken away, and no such matter could be there wrought any more.

And because mention is made here of Cesarea, there followeth in the next chapter of the same author a strange miracle, if it be true, which he there reporteth; how that out of the same city was the woman which in the Gospel came to our

Saviour, and was healed of her bloody issue, her house being in the city of Cesarea. Before the door thereof was set up a certain pillar of stone, and upon the pillar an image was made of brass, of a woman meekly kneeling on her knees, and holding up her hands as one that had some suit. Against the which there was another image also of a man proportioned of the same metal, cunningly engraven in a short seemly vesture, and stretching forth his hand to the woman. At the foot of which pillar grew up a certain herb of a strange kind, but of a more strange operation, which growing up to the hem of his vesture, and once touching the same, is said to have such virtue, that it was able to cure all manner of diseases. This picture of the man (they say) represented the image of Christ. The history is written in Eusebius, as is said; the credit whereof I refer to the reader, whether he will think it true or false. If he think it false, yet I have showed him mine author: if he think it true, then must he think withal that this miraculous operation of the herb proceeded neither by the virtue of the picture, nor by the prayer of the other, being both dumb pictures, and engraven no doubt at that time by the hand of infidels; but to be wrought by some secret permission of God's wisdom, either to reduce the infidels at that time to the belief of the story, or to admonish the Christians to consider with themselves what strength and health was to be looked for only of Christ and no other advocate; seeing the dumb picture, engraven in brass, gave his efficacy to a poor herb to cure so many diseases. This picture (saith Eusebius) remained also to his time, which was under Constantinus the Great.

As touching the line and order of the Roman bishops hitherto intermitted, after the martyrdom of Xistus above specified, the government of that church was committed next to one Dionysius, about the year of our Lord two hundred sixty and six; who continued in the same the space of nine years, as Eusebius saith; as Damasus recordeth, but only six years and two months. Of his decretal epistles, because sufficient hath been said before concerning that matter, I omit to speak. After whom succeeded Felix, in the first year of Probus the emperor, about the year of our Lord two hundred and eighty, who governed that church five years, and died, as Platina saith, a martyr. After him followed Eutychianus, and then Gaius, both martyrs, as the histories of some do record.

About the time of these bishops lived Theodorus, bishop of Neocesarea, who is otherwise called Gregorius Magnus.

Thus Gallienus, the foresaid emperor, reigned, as is declared, with his father Valerian seven years, after whose captivity he ruled the monarchy alone about nine years, with some peace and quietness granted to the church.

The days of this Gallienus being expired, followed Claudius, a quiet emperor, as most stories do record. Although Vincentius affirmeth that he was a mover of persecution against the Christians, and maketh mention of two hundred sixty and two martyrs, which in his time did suffer; but because no such record remaineth to be found in Eusebius, who would not have omitted some memorial thereof, if it had been true, therefore I refer the same to the free judgment of the reader, to find such credit as it may. This Claudius reigned but two years, after whom came Quintilianus his brother, next emperor, and a quiet prince, who continued but only seventeen days, and had to his successor Aurelianus; under whom Orosius in his seventh book doth number the ninth persecution against the Christians.

Hitherto, from the captivity of Valerian, the church of Christ was in some quietness till the death of Quintilianus, as hath been declared; after whom Aurelianus, the next successor, possessed the crown; who in the first beginning of his reign (after

the common manner of all princes) showed himself a prince moderate and discreet, much worthy of commendation, if his good beginning had continued in a constant course agreeing to the same. Of nature he was severe, and rigorous in correcting, dissolute in manners; insomuch as it was said of him in a vulgar proverb, that he was a good physician, saving that he gave too bitter medicines. This emperor being sick, never sent for physician, but cured himself with abstinence; and as his beginning was not unfruitful to the commonwealth, so neither was he any great disturber of the Christians, whom he did not only tolerate in their religion, but also in their counsels; and they being the same time assembled at Antioch, he seemed not to be against them. Notwithstanding in continuance of time, through sinister motion and instigation of certain about him, (as commonly such are never absent in all places from the ears of princes,) his nature, somewhat inclinable to severity, was altered to a plain tyranny; which tyranny first he showed, beginning with the death of his own sister's son, as witnesseth Eutropius. After that he proceeded either to move, or at least to purpose, persecution against the Christians; albeit that wicked purpose of the emperor the merciful working of God's hand did soon overthrow. For as the edict or proclamation should have been denounced for the persecuting of the Christians, and the emperor now ready to subscribe the edict with his hand, the mighty stroke of the hand of the Lord suddenly from above did stop his purpose, binding (as a man might say) the emperor's hands behind him, declaring (as Eusebius saith) to all men, how there is no power to work any violence against the servants of God, unless his permission do suffer them, and give them leave. Eutropius and Vopiscus affirm, that as the said Aurelianus was purposing to raise persecution against us, he was suddenly terrified with lightning, and so stopped from his wicked tyranny. Not long after, about the fifth or sixth year of his reign, he was slain between Bisance and Hieraclea, in the year of our Lord two hundred seventy and eight. Thus Aurelianus rather intended than moved persecution. Neither is there any more than this found concerning this persecution in ancient histories and records of the church; where fore I marvel the more that Vincentius, collecting out of the martyrologies, hath comprehended such a great catalogue of so many martyrs which in France and in Italy (saith he) suffered death and torments under this emperor Aurelianus; whereunto Orosius also seemeth to agree in numbering this to be the ninth persecution under the said Aurelian.

Next after Aurelianus the succession of the empire fell to Publius Annus Tacitus, who reigned but six months; him succeeded his brother Florianus, who reigned but threescore days; and after him followed Marcus Aurelius, surnamed Probus. Of whom more hereafter (God willing) shall appear.

In the mean time, within the compass of these emperors falleth in a story recorded of Eusebius, and not unworthy here to be noted, whereby to understand the faithful diligence of good ministers, what good it may do in a commonwealth.

Mention is made before of Eusebius, the deacon of Dionysius, whom God stirred up to visit and comfort the saints that were in prison and bonds, and to bury the bodies of the blessed martyrs departed, not without great peril of his own life, who after was made bishop (as is said) of Laodicea. But before he came to Laodicea to be bishop there, it chanced, the said Eusebius remaining as yet at Alexandria, the city to be besieged of the Romans, Pyrchus being their captain. In which siege half of the city did hold with the Romans, the other half withstood them. In that part which went with the Roman captain was Eusebius, being also in great favour with the captain, for his worthy fidelity and service showed: with the other half that resisted the Romans was Anatholius, governor or moderator then of the school of Alexandria, who also was

bishop, after the said Eusebius, of Laodicea. This Anatholius, perceiving the citizens to be in miserable distress of famine and destruction, by reason of penury and lack of sustenance, sendeth to Eusebius, being then with the Romans, and certifieth him of the lamentable penury and peril of the city, instructing him, moreover, what to do in the matter. Eusebius, understanding the case, repaireth to the captain, desiring of him so much favour, that so many as would fly out of the city from their enemies might be licensed to escape and freely to pass, which was to him speedily granted. As Eusebius was thus labouring with the captain, on the other side Anatholius for his part laboured with the citizens, moving them to assemble together, and persuading them to give themselves over, in yielding to the force and might of the Romans. But when the citizens could not abide the hearing thereof; Yet (said Anatholius) with this I trust you will be contented, if I shall counsel you in this miserable lack of things to avoid out of your city all such superfluities and unnecessary impediments unto you, as old women, young children, aged men, with such other as be feeble and impotent, and not to suffer them here to perish with famine, whose presence can do no stead to you if they die, and less if they live, for spending the victuals which otherwise might serve them that be more able to defend the city. The senate hearing this sentence, and understanding moreover the grant of the captain promising them their safety, were well consenting thereunto. Then Anatholius, having a special care to them that belonged to the church of Christ, calleth them together with the rest of the multitude, and persuading them what they should do, and what had been obtained for them, caused them to void the city, and not only them, but also a great number of other more; who persuaded by him under that pretence, changing themselves in women's apparel, or feigning some impotency, so escaped out of the city. At whose coming out, Eusebius on the other side was ready to receive them, and refreshed their hungry and pined bodies, whereby not only they, but the whole city of Alexandria, was preserved from destruction.

By this little history of Eusebius and Anatholius, described in the seventh book of Eusebius, chap. 32, and briefly here set forth to thee, (gentle reader,) thou mayst partly understand the practice of the prelates, what it was in those days in the church, which was then only employed in saving of life, and succouring the commonwealths wherein they lived, as by these two godly persons Eusebius and Anatholius may well appear. Unto the which practice, if we compare the practice of our later prelates of the Church of Rome, I suppose no little difference will appear.

The next emperor to Florianus (as is said) was Marcus Aurelius Probus, a prince both wise and virtuous, and no less valiant in martial affairs than fortunate in the success of the same. During his time we read of no persecution greatly stirring in the church, but much quietness, as well in matters of religion as also in the commonwealth. Insomuch that, after his great and many victories, such peace infused, that his saying was, there needed no more soldiers, seeing there were no more enemies to the Commonwealth to fight against. It was his saying also, that his soldiers need not to spend corn and victual, except they laboured to serve the commonwealth. And for the same cause he caused his soldiers to be set a-work about certain mountains in Smyrna and in Messia to be planted with vines, and not so much as in winter suffered them to be at rest; therefore by them at length he was slain, in the year of our Lord two hundred eighty and two.

Carus, with his two sons, Carinus and Numerianus, succeeded next after Probus in the empire; the reign of which emperors continued in all but three years. Of the which three, first Carus, warring against the Persians, was slain with lightning. Of Numerianus his son, being with his father in his wars against the Persians, we find

much commendation in Eutropius, Vopiscus, and other writers, which testified him to be a valiant warrior, and an eloquent orator, as appeared by his declamations and writings sent to the senate; thirdly, to be an excellent poet. This Numerianus, sorrowing and lamenting for the death of his father, through immoderate weeping, fell into a great soreness of his eyes; by reason whereof he, keeping close, was slain not long after of his father-in-law, named Aper; who, traitorously aspiring to the empire, dissembled his death with a false excuse to the people asking for him, saying, For the pain of his eyes he kept in from the wind and weather; till at length, by the stench of his body being carried about, his death was uttered.

In the Life of this emperor Carus aforesaid, written by Eutropius, in the later edition, set forth by Frobenius, I find (which in other editions of Eutropius doth not appear) that Numerianus, the son of this Carus, was he that slew Babylas, the holy martyr, whose history before we have comprehended. But that seemeth not to be like, both by the narration of Chrysostom, and also for that Urspergensis, declaring the same history, and in the same words as it is in Eutropius, saith that it was Cyrillus whom Numerianus killed, the story whereof is this: What time Carus the emperor, in his journey going toward the Persians, remained at Antioch, Numerianus his son would enter into the church of the Christians, to view and behold their mysteries. But Cyrillus their bishop would in nowise suffer him to enter into the church, saying that it was not lawful for him to see the mysteries of God, who was polluted with sacrifices of idols. Numerianus, full of indignation at the hearing of these words, not suffering that repulse at the hands of Cyrillus, in his fury did slay the godly martyr. And therefore justly (as it seemed) was he himself slain afterward by the hands of Aper.

Thus Carus with his son Numerianus being slain in the east parts, as is declared, Carinus, the other son, reigned alone in Italy; where he overcame Sabinus striving for the empire, and reigned there with much wickedness, till the returning home of the army again from the Persians, who then set up Dioclesian to be emperor; by whom the foresaid Carinus, for the wickedness of his life, being forsaken of his host, was overcome, and at length slain with the hand of the tribune, whose wife before he had defloured. Thus Carus with his two sons, Numerianus and Carinus, ended their lives, whose reign continued not above three years.

All this mean space we read of no great persecution stirring in the church of Christ, but it was in mean quiet state and tranquillity unto the nineteenth year of the reign of Dioclesian; so that in counting the time from the latter end of Valerian unto this aforesaid year of Dioclesian, the peace of the church; which God gave to his people, seemeth to continue above four and forty years. During the which time of peace and tranquillity the church of the Lord did mightily increase and flourish; so that the more bodies it lost by persecution, the more honour and reverence it won daily among the Gentiles in all quarters, both Greeks and barbarous; insomuch that (as Eusebius in his seventh book describeth) amongst the emperors themselves divers there were which not only bare singular good will and favour to them of our profession, but also did commit unto them offices and regiments over countries and nations; so well were they affected to our doctrine, that they privileged the same with liberty and indemnity. What needeth to speak of them which not only lived under the emperors in liberty, but also were familiar in the court with the princes themselves, entertained with great honour and special favour beyond the other servitors of the court As was Dorotheus, with his wife, children, and whole family, highly accepted and advanced in the palace of the emperor; also Gorgonius in like manner with divers others more, who, for their doctrine and learning which they professed, were with their

princes in great estimation. In like reverence also were the bishops of cities and dioceses with the presidents and rulers where they lived; who not only suffered them to live in peace, but also had them in great price and regard, so long as they kept themselves upright, and continued in God's favour. Who is able to number at that time the might and innumerable multitudes and congregations assembling together in every city, and the notable concourses of such as daily flocked to the common oratories to pray? For the which cause they, being not able to be contained in their old houses, had large and great churches, new builded from the foundation, for them to frequent together. In such increasement (saith Eusebius) by process of time did the church of Christ grow and shoot up daily more and more, profiting and spreading through all quarters, which neither envy of men could infringe, nor any devil could enchant, neither the crafty policy of man's wit could supplant, so long as the protection of God's heavenly arm went with his people, keeping them in good order, according to the rule of Christian life.

But as commonly the nature of all men, being of itself unruly and untoward, always seeketh and desireth prosperity, and yet can never well use prosperity; always would have peace, and yet having peace always abuseth the same; so here likewise it happened with these men, which through this so great liberty and prosperity of life began to degenerate and languish unto idleness and delicacy, and one to work spite and contumely against another, striving and contending amongst themselves, for every occasion, with railing words after most despiteful manner; bishops against bishops, and people against people, moving hatred and sedition one against another, besides also cursed hypocrisy and simulation with all extremity increasing more and more. By reason whereof the judgment of God, after his wonted manner, (whilst yet the congregation began to multiply,) began by a little and a little to visit our men with persecution, falling first upon our brethren which were abroad in warfare; but when that touched the other nothing or very little, neither did they seek to appease God's wrath and call for his mercy; but wickedly thinking with ourselves, that God neither regarded nor would visit our transgressions, we heaped our iniquities daily more and more one upon another; and they which seemed to be our pastors, refusing the rule of piety, were inflamed with mutual contentions one against another. And thus, whilst they were given only to the study of contentions, threatenings, emulations, mutual hatred and discord, every man seeking his own ambition, and persecuting one another after the manner of tyranny; then, then, I say, the Lord, according to the voice of Jeremy, took away the beauty of the daughter of Zion, and the glory of Israel fell down from heaven, neither did he remember the footstool of his feet in the day of his wrath. And the Lord overturned all the comely ornaments of Israel, and destroyed all her gorgeous buildings, and, according to the saying of the Psalm, subverted and extinguished the testament of his servant, and profaned his sanctuary in destruction of his churches, and in laying waste the buildings thereof, so that all passengers spoiling the multitude of the people, they were made an obloquy to all the dwellers about. For he exalted the strength of his enemies, and turned away the help of his sword from her, nor aided her in the battle, but ceased from the purging of her and her seat. He struck down to the ground and diminished her days, and over all this poured upon her confusion. All these things were fulfilled upon us, when we saw the temples razed from the top to the ground, and the sacred Scriptures to be burnt in the open market-place, and the pastors of the church to hide themselves, some here, some there; some other, taken prisoners, with great shame were mocked of their enemies; when also, according to the saying of the prophet in another place, contempt was poured out upon the princes, and they caused to go out of the way, and not to keep the straight path.

11. The Tenth Persecution under Dioclesian

By reason whereof (the wrath of God being kindled against his church) ensued the tenth and last persecution against the Christians, so horrible and grievous, that it maketh the pen almost to tremble to write upon it; so tedious, that never was any persecution before or since comparable to it for the time it continued, lasting the space of ten years together. This persecution, although it passed through the hands of divers tyrants and workers more than one or two, yet principally it beareth the name of Dioclesian, who was emperor, as is above noted, next after Carus and Numerianus. This Dioclesian, ever having an ambitious mind, aspired greatly to be emperor. To whom Druas his concubine said, that first he should kill a wild boar before he should be emperor. He, taking effect at these words, used much with hands to kill wild boars; but seeing no success to come thereof, he used this proverb, I kill the boars, but others do eat the flesh. At length the said Dioclesian being nominated to be emperor, and seeing Aper (who had killed Numerianus the emperor) standing thereby, sware to the soldiers that Numerianus was wrongfully killed, and forthwith running upon Aper with his sword slew him. After this, he being stablished in the empire, and seeing on every side divers and sundry commotions rising up against him, which he was not well able himself to sustain, in the first beginning of his reign he chooseth for his colleague Maximianus, surnamed Herculus, father of Maxentius. Which two emperors, because of divers wars that rose in many provinces, chose to them two other noblemen, Galerius and Constantius, whom they called Caesars. Of whom Galerius was sent into the east parts against the Persians. Constantius was sent over to Britain to this our country of England to recover the tribute, where he took to wife Helena the daughter of king oill, which was a maiden excelling in beauty, and no less famously brought up in the study of learning, of whom was born Constantinus, the Great.

All this while hitherto no persecution was yet stirred of these four princes against the church of Christ, but quietly and moderately they governed the commonwealth; wherefore accordingly God prospered their doings and affairs, and gave them great victories; Dioclesian in Egypt, Maximian in Africa and in France, Galerius in Persia, Constantius in England and in France also. By reason of which victories, Dioclesian and Maximian, puffed up in pride, ordained a solemn triumph at Rome, after which triumph Dioclesian gave commandment that he should be worshipped as God, saying that he was brother to the sun and moon; and, adorning his shoes with gold and precious stones, commanded the people to kiss his feet.

And not long after, by the judgment of God, for certain enormities used in the church, above touched, began the great and grievous persecution of the Christians, moved by the outrageous cruelty of Dioclesian, which was about the nineteenth year of his reign, who in the month of March, when the feast of Easter was nigh at hand, commanded all the churches of the Christians to be spoiled and cast to the earth, and the books of Holy Scripture to be burned.

Thus most violent edicts and proclamations were set forth, for the overthrowing, as is said, of the Christians' temples throughout all the Roman empire. Neither did there want in the officers any cruel execution of the same proclamations. For their temples were defaced even when they celebrated the feast of Easter. And this was the first edict given out by Dioclesian. The next proclamation that came forth was

for the burning of the books of the Holy Scripture; which thing was done in the open market-place, as before. Then next unto that were edicts given forth for the displacing of such as were magistrates, and that with great ignominy, and all other whoever bare any office, imprisoning such as were of the common sort, if they would not abjure Christianity, and subscribe to the heathen religion. And these were the beginning of the Christians' evils.

It was not long after but that new edicts were sent forth, nothing for their cruelty inferior to the rest, for the casting of the elders and bishops into prison, and then constraining them, with sundry kinds of punishments, to offer unto their idols. By reason whereof ensued a great persecution amongst the governors of the church, amongst whom many stood manfully, passing through many exceeding bitter torments, neither were overcome therewith, being tormented and examined divers of them diversely: some scourged all their bodies over with whips and scourges; some with racks and raisings of the flesh intolerable were cruciated; some one way, some another way, put to death. Some again violently were drawn to the unpure sacrifice, and, as though they had sacrificed, when indeed they did not, were let go. Other some, neither coming at all to their altars, nor touching any piece of their sacrifices, yet were borne in hand of them that stood by that they had sacrificed, and so suffering that false infamation of their enemies quietly went away; Other, as dead men, were carried and cast away being but half dead. Some they cast down upon the pavement, and trailing them a great space by the legs, made the people believe that they had sacrificed. Furthermore, other there were which stoutly withstood them, affirming with a loud voice that they had done no such sacrifice. Of whom some said they were Christians, and gloried in the profession of that name: some cried, saying that neither they had nor would ever be partakers of that idolatry; and those, being buffeted on the face and mouth with the hands of the soldiers, were made to hold their peace, and so thrust out with violence. And if the saints did seem never so little to do what the enemies would have them, they were made much of; albeit all this purpose of the adversary did nothing prevail against the holy and constant servants of Christ Notwithstanding of the weak sort innumerable there were which for fear and infirmity fell and gave over, even at the first brunt.

At the first coming down of these edicts into Nicomedia, there chanced a deed to be done much worthy of memory, of a Christian, being a noble man born; which, moved by the zeal of God, after the proclamation made at Nicomedia was set up, by and by ran and took down the same, and openly tare and rent it in pieces, not fearing the presence of the two emperors, then being in the city. For which act he was put to a most bitter death, which death he with great faith and constancy endured even to the last gasp.

After this the furious rage of the malignant emperors, being let loose against the saints of Christ, proceeded more and more, making havoc of God's people throughout all quarters of the world. First, Dioclesian (who had purposed with himself to subvert the whole Christian religion) executed his tyranny in the east, and Maximianus in the west. But wily Dioclesian began very subtly; for he put the matter first in practice in his own camp, in which the marshal of the field put the Christian soldiers to this choice, whether they would obey the emperor's commandment in the manner of sacrifice he commanded, and thus both keep their offices and lead their bands, or else lay away from them their armour and weapons. Whereunto the Christian men courageously answered, that they were not only ready to lay away their armour

and weapons, but also to suffer death, if it should with tyranny be enforced upon them, rather than they would obey the wicked decrees and commandments of the emperor.

There might a man have seen very many which were desirous to live a simple and poor life, and which regarded no estimation and honour in comparison of true piety and godliness. And this was no more but a subtle and wily flattery in the beginning, to offer them to be at their own liberty, whether they would willingly abjure their profession or not; as also this was another, that in the beginning of the persecution there were but a few tormented with punishment, but afterward, by little and little, he began more manifestly to burst out into persecution. It can hardly be expressed with words what number of martyrs and what blood was shed throughout all cities and regions for the name of Christ. Eusebius, in his eighth book and seventh chapter, saith that he himself knew the worthy martyrs that were in Palestina. But in Tyre of Phcenicia he declareth, in the same, a marvellous martyrdom made; where certain Christians being given to most cruel wild beasts, were preserved without hurt of them, to the great admiration of the beholders; and those lions, bears, and libards (kept hungry for that purpose) had no desire to devour them; which notwithstanding most vehemently raged against those by whom they were brought into the stage, who, standing as they thought without danger of them, were first devoured. But the Christian martyrs, because they could not be hurt of the beasts, being slain with the sword, were afterward thrown into the sea. At that time was martyred the bishop of Sidon. But Sylvanus, the bishop of Gazensis, with nine and thirty others, were slain in the metal mines of Phoenicia. Pamphilus, the elder of Cesarea, being the glory of that congregation, died a most worthy martyr; whose both life and most commendable martyrdom Eusebius oftentimes declareth in his eighth book and thirteenth chapter, insomuch that he hath written the same in a book by itself. In Syria all the chief teachers of the congregation were first committed to prison, as a most heavy and cruel spectacle to behold; as also the bishops, elders, and deacons, which all were esteemed as men-killers, and perpetrators of most wicked facts. After that we read of another, whose name was Tirannion, which was made meat for the fishes of the sea; and of Zenobius, which was a very good physician, which also was slain with brickbats in the same place.

Furthermore, he maketh mention in the same place of others which were not tormented to death, but every day terrified and feared without ceasing; of some others that were brought to the sacrifices and commanded to do sacrifice, which would rather thrust their right hand into the fire than touch the profane or wicked sacrifice. Also of some others that, before they were apprehended, would cast down themselves from steep places, lest that being taken they should commit any thing against their profession. Also of two virgins very fair and proper, with their mother also, which had studiously brought them up, even from their infancy, in all godliness, being long sought for, and at the last found, and strictly kept by their keepers; who, whilst they made their excuse to do that which nature required, threw themselves down headlong into a river. Also of other two young maidens, being sisters and of a worshipful stock, endued with many goodly virtues, which were cast of the persecutors into the sea. And these things were done at Antioch, as Eusebius in his eighth book and thirteenth chapter affirmeth. But Sylvanus, the bishop of Emissa, the notable martyr, together with certain others, was thrown to the wild beasts.

Divers and sundry torments were the Christians in Mesopotamia molested with; where they were hanged up by the feet, and their heads downwards, and with the

smoke of a small fire strangled; and also in Cappadocia, where the martyrs had their legs broken.

Henricus de Erfordia maketh mention of the martyrs of Tharsus in Cilicia, as Tharatus, Probus, and Andronicus; but yet the martyrs in the region of Pontus suffered far more passing and sharper torments, whereof I will hereafter make mention. So outrageous was the beginning of the persecution which the emperor made in Nicomedia in Bithynia, as is said before, that he refrained not from the slaughter of the children of emperors, neither yet from the slaughter of the most chief princes of his court, whom a little before he made as much of as if they had been his own children. Such another was Peter, which among divers and sundry torments (among whom he being naked was lifted up, his whole body being so beaten with whips and torn, that a man might see the bare bones; and after they had mingled vinegar and salt together, they poured it upon the most tender parts of his body; and lastly, roasted him at a soft fire, as a man would roast flesh to eat) as a victorious martyr ended his life. Dorotheus and Gorgonius, being in a great authority and office under the emperor, after divers torments were strangled with a halter; both which being of the privy chamber to him, when they saw and beheld the grievous punishment of Peter their household companion, Wherefore, (say they,) O emperor, do you punish in Peter that opinion which is in all us? Why is this accounted in him an offence that we all confess? We are of that faith, religion, and judgment that he is of. Therefore he commanded them to be brought forth, and almost with like pains to be tormented as Peter was, and afterwards hanged. After whom Anthimus, the bishop of Nicomedia, after he had made a notable confession, bringing with him a great company of martyrs, was beheaded. These men being thus despatched, the emperor vainly thought that he might cause the rest to do whatever him listed. To this end came Lucianus, the elder of the congregation of Antioch, and was martyred, after he had made his apology before the emperor.

Valerianus also, that monster, caused Serena, the wife of Dioeclesian the emperor, to be martyred for the Christian religion; so much did the rage of persecution utterly forget all natural affects. Other martyrs of Nicomedia doth Nicephorus in his seventh book and fourteenth chapter recite, as Enlampus and Eulampia, Agape, Irenæus, chief officer, were bound hand and foot to a post and burnt. And also Eusebius mentioneth such another like matter full of horror and grief. There assembled together in their temple many Christian men to celebrate the memory of the nativity of Christ, of every age and sort some. There Maximianus, thinking to have been given a very fit occasion to execute his tyranny upon the poor Christians, sent thither such as should burn the temple: the doors being shut and closed round about, thither come they with fire; but first they commanded the crier with a loud voice to cry, that whosoever would have life should come out of the temple, and do sacrifice upon the next altar of Jupiter they came to; and unless they would do this, they should all be burnt with the temple. Then one, stepping up in the temple, answered in the name of all the rest, with great courage and boldness of mind, that they were all Christians, and believed that Christ was their only God and King, and that they would do sacrifice to him, with his Father and the Holy Ghost, and that they were now all ready to offer unto him. With these words the fire was kindled and compassed about the temple, and there were burnt of men, women, and children certain thousands. There were also in Arabia very many martyrs slain with axes. There was in Phrygia a city unto which the emperor sent his edicts, that they should do sacrifice to the gods and worship idols; all which citizens, the major himself, the questor, and chief captain, confessed that they were all Christians. The city upon this was besieged and set on fire, and all the people. In

Melitina, a region of Armenia, the bishops and elders were cast in prison. In Arabrache, a region near adjoining to Armenia, Eustratius was martyred. This Eustratius was that countryman born, and very skilful in the Greek tongue, executing by the emperor's commandment the sheriff's office at Lieia in the east, which also did execution there upon the Christians, and was a scribe of great estimations. This man, beholding the marvellous constancy of the martyrs, thirsted with the desire of martyrdom, for that he had privily learned the Christian religion. Therefore he, not abiding for other accusers, detected himself, and worthily professed that he was a Christian, openly execrating the madness and vanity of the wicked ethnics. He therefore, being carried away, was tied up, being first most bitterly beaten, After that he was parched with fire being put unto his bowels, and then basted with salt and vinegar, and lastly so scourged and bemangled with the shards of sharp and cutting shells, that his whole body seemed to be all one continual wound; howbeit, by God's great goodness, afterward it was restored to the first integrity. After this he was carried away to Sebastia, where, with his companion Orestes, he was burnt. At that time also suffered Eugenins, Aurentius, Mardarius. And in no less wise raged this persecution throughout all Egypt, where Eusebius in his eighth book and thirteenth chapter maketh mention of Peleus and Nilus, martyrs, and bishops in Egypt. But at Alexandria especially were declared most notable conflicts of Christian and true constant martyrs that suffered; which Phileas, the bishop of Thumitan, describeth, as after (God willing) shall be declared. In this persecution of Alexandria, the principal that then suffered was Peter, the bishop of Alexandria, with the elders of the same, most worthy martyrs; as Faustus, Didius, and Ammonius; also Phileas, Hesichius, Pachiminus, and Theodorus; which all were bishops of the congregations within Egypt; and besides them many other both famous and singular men. The whole legion of Christian soldiers, which lay at Thebes in Egypt, under the Christian captain Mauritius, when they would not obey the emperor's commandment touching the worshipping of images, were tithed to death once, and then again; and at last, through the exhortation of Mauritius, died all together like constant martyrs. Likewise at Antino divers Christian soldiers, notwithstanding they were seriously dissuaded, suffered death together, among whom were Ascla, Philemon, and Apollonius. And also in the other parts of Africa and Mauritania was great persecution. Also in Sammium, of which place Chronicon maketh mention, and Sieilia, where were seventy-nine martyrs slain for the profession of Christ.

Now let us come unto Europe. Nicephorus in his seventh book and fourteenth Chapter saith, that at Nicopolis in Thracia the martyrs were in most miserable and pitiful wise handled, where Lisias had the execution thereof. In Chalcedon suffered Euphernia under Priseus the proconsul.

Henricus de Erfordia saith, that at Rome, Johannes and Crispus, being priests, had the execution of martyrs. And at Bohemia, Agricola and Vitalis. And at Aquileia the emperor commanded every man to kill the Christians. And among those martyrs he maketh mention of Felices and Fortunatus. Reginus also writeth that in other places of Italy the persecution became great, as at Florentia, Per gamus, Naples, Campania, Beneventus, at Venusa in Apulia, and in Thuscia. In France doubtless Rectionarus, appointed to that office, played the cruel hell-hound, of whose great cruelty against the Christians many histories are full. At Mediolanus suffered Victor. And at Massilia Maximianus set forth his decree, that either they should all do sacrifice unto the gods of the Gentiles, or else be all slain with divers kinds of torments; therefore many martyrs there died for the glory of Christ. In Belnacus suffered Lucian.

Vincentius and Reginus write of many places in Spain where was great persecution, as at Emerita, where suffered Eulalia, of whom more followeth here after; and Adula, where also suffered Vincentius, Sabina, and Christina. At Toletum suffered Lencadia the virgin; at Cesarea Augusta, where were put to death eighteen, beside a great number of other martyrs which suffered under Decianus the governor, which afflicted with persecution all the coasts of Spain. The foresaid Rectionarus made such persecution at Trevers, near the river of Mosella, that the blood of the Christian men that were slain ran like small brooks, and coloured great and main rivers. Neither yet did this suffice him, but from thence he sent certain horsemen with his letters, commanding them to ride into every place, and charge all such as had taken and apprehended any Christians, that they should immediately put them to death.

Also Henricus de Erfordia and Reginus make mention great persecution to be at Colonia, where Agrippina and Augusta were martyred, as also in the province of Rhetia.

Beda also saith that this persecution reached even unto the Britons, in his book *De Ratione Temporum*. And the Chronicle of Martinus and the Nosegay of Time do declare, that all the Christians in Britain were utterly destroyed; furthermore, that the kinds of death and punishment were so great and horrible, as no man's tongue is able to express. In the beginning, when the emperor by his subtlety and wiliness rather dallied than showed his rigour, he threatened them with bonds and imprisonment; but within a while, when he began to work the matter in good earnest, he devised innumerable sorts of torments and punishments; as whippings and scourgings, rackings, horrible scrapings, sword, fire, and ship-boats, wherein a great number being put were sunk and drowned in the bottom of the sea. Also hanging them upon crosses, binding them to the bodies of dead trees with their heads downward, hanging them by the middles upon gallows till they died for hunger, throwing them alive to such kind of wild beasts as would devour them, as lions, bears, libards, and wild bulls; pricking and thrusting them in with bodkins and talons of beasts till they were almost dead; lifting them up on high with their heads downward, even as in Thebaide they did unto the women being naked and unclothed, one of their feet tied and lifted on high, and so hanging down with their bodies, which thing to see was very pitiful, with other devised sorts of punishments most tragical, or rather tyrannical and pitiful, to describe: as, first, the binding of them to trees, and to the boughs thereof; the pulling and tearing asunder of their members and joints, being tied to the boughs and arms of trees; the mangling of them with axes, the choking of them with smoke by small and soft fires, the dismembering of their hands, ears, and feet, with other joints; as the holy martyrs of Alexandria suffered the scorching and broiling of them with coals, not unto death, but everyday renewed. With such kind of torments the martyrs at Antioch were afflicted. But in Pontus other horrible punishments, and fearful to be heard, did the martyrs of Christ suffer; of which some had their fingers' ends under the nails thrust in with sharp bodkins; some all to be sprinkled with boiling lead, having their most necessary members cut from them; some other suffering most filthy, intolerable, and undurable torments and pains in their bowels and privy members.

To conclude, how great the outrage of the persecution which reigned in Alexandria was, and with how many and sundry kinds of new-devised punishments the martyrs were afflicted, Phileas, the bishop of the Thumitans, a man singularly well learned, hath described in his epistle to the Thumitans, the copy whereof Eusebius hath in his eighth book and tenth chapter, out of the which we mean here briefly to recite somewhat. "Because (saith he) every man might torment the holy martyrs as they

listed themselves, some beat them with cudgels, some with rods, some with whips, some with thongs, and some with cords; and this example of beating was in sundry wise executed, and with much cruelty. For some of them, having their hands bound behind their backs, were lifted up upon timber logs, and with certain instruments their members and joints were stretched forth, whereupon their whole bodies hanging were subject to the will of the tormentors, who were commanded to afflict them with all manner of torments, and not on their sides only, (like as homicides were,) but upon their bellies, thighs, and legs they scratched them with the talons and claws of wild beasts. Some others were seen to hang by one hand upon the engine, whereby they might feel the more grievous pulling out of the rest of their joints and members. Some others were in such sort bound unto pillars with their faces turned to the wall, having no stay under their feet, and were violently weighed down with the poise of their bodies, that by reason of their strict binding, they being drawn out, might be more grievously tormented. And this suffered they, not only during the time of their examination, and while the sheriff had to do with them, but also the whole day long. And whilst the judge went thus from one to another, he by his authority appointed certain officers to attend upon those he left, that they might not be let down until either through the intolerableness of the pain, or by the extremity of cold, they being near the point of death should be let down; and so were they haled upon the ground. And further, they were commanded that they should show not so much as one spark of mercy or compassion upon us; but so extremely and furiously did they deal with us, as though our souls and bodies should have died together. And therefore yet another torment our adversaries devised to augment our former plagues. After that they had most lamentably beaten them, they devised moreover a new kind of rack, wherein they lying upright were stretched by both the feet above the fourth stop or hole with sharp shells or shards strewed under them, after a strange kind of engine to us here unknown. Other some were cast down upon the pavement, where they were oppressed so thick and so grievously with torments, that it is not almost to be thought what afflictions they suffered.

" Thus lying in pains and torments, some died therewith, not a little shaming and confounding their enemies by their singular patience. Some half dead and half alive were thrust into prison, where shortly after by pains and wounds of their bodies they ended their bitter life. Some again, being cured of their wounds by their endurance in prison, were more confirmed, who being put to the choice whe ther they would come to their cursed sacrifice, and enjoy their wicked liberty, or else sustain the sentence of death, did willingly and without delay abide the extremity, remembering with themselves what is written in the Scriptures. He that sacriceeth (saith he) to strange gods shall be exterminated, &c. Item, Thou shalt have no strange gods beside me, &c." Thus much wrote Phileas to the congregation where he was bishop, before he received the sentence of death, being yet in bonds; and in the same he exhorteth his brethren constantly to persist after his death in the truth of Christ professed.

Sabellicus in his seventh Ennead. and eighth book saith that that christened man, which tore and pulled down the wicked edict of the emperor in Nicomedia, being stripped and beaten that the bones appeared, and after washed in salt and vinegar, was then slain with this cruel kind of torment. But Platina writeth that Dorotheus and Gorgonius exhorted him to die so constantly.

But as all their torments were for their horribleness marvellous and notable, and therewithal so studiously devised, and no less grievous and sharp; so notwithstanding, therewith were these martyrs neither dismayed nor overcome, but

rather thereby confirmed and strengthened; so merrily and joyfully sustained they whatsoever was put unto them. Eusebius saith, that he himself beheld and saw the huge and great persecution that was done in Thebaide; insomuch that the very swords of the hangmen and persecutors being blunt with the great and often slaughter, they themselves for weariness sat down to rest them, and others were fain to take their places. And yet all this notwithstanding the murdered Christians showed their marvellous readiness, willingness, and divine fortitude which they were endued with; with stout courage, joy, and smiling receiving the sentence of death pronounced upon them, and sung even unto the last gasp hymns and psalms to God. So did also the martyrs of Alexandria, as witnesseth Phileas above mentioned. The holy martyrs (saith he) keeping Christ in their minds, being led with the love of better rewards, sustained not only at one time whatsoever labour and devised punishments they had to lay upon them; but now also the second time have done the same, and have borne all the menaces of the cruel soldiers, not only in words wherewith they threatened them, but also whatsoever in deed and work they could devise to their destruction, and that with most manly stomachs, excluding all fear, with the perfection of their unspeakable love towards Christ, whose great strength and fortitude cannot by words be expressed. And Sulpitius saith in the second book of his Sacred History, that then the Christians with more greedy desire pressed and sought for martyrdom than now they do desire bishoprics.

Although some there were also, as I have said, that with fear and threatenings, and by their own infirmities, were overcome and went back; among whom Socrates nameth Miletius; and Athanasius in his second Apology nameth the bishop of Licus, a city in Little Egypt, whom Peter the bishop of Alexandria excommunicated, for that in this persecution he sacrificed unto the Gentiles' gods. Of the fall of Marcellinus, the bishop of Rome, I will speak afterwards; for he being persuaded by others, and especially of the emperor Dioclesian himself, did sacrifice, whereupon he was excommunicated; but afterwards he repenting the same, was again received into the congregation, and made martyr, as Platina and the compiler of the book of the General Councils affirm. The number of the martyrs increased daily; sometimes ten, sometimes twenty, were slain at once; some whiles thirty, and often times threescore, and other whiles a hundred in one day, men, women, and children, by divers kinds of death. Also Damasus, Beda, Orosius, Honorius, and others do witness, that there were slain in this persecution by the names of martyrs, within the space of thirty days, seventeen thousand persons, besides another great number and multitude that were condemned to the metal mines and quarries with like cruelty.

At Alexandria with Peter the bishop, of whom I have made mention before, were slain with axes three hundred and above, as Sabellius declareth. Gereon was beheaded at Colonia Agrippina, with three hundred of his fellows. Mauritius, the captain of Christian religion, with his fellows, six thousand six hundred sixty and six. Victor in the city of Troy, now called Xanthus, with his fellows, three hundred and threescore, were slain. Reginus reciteth the names of many other martyrs, to the number of one hundred and twenty.

And forsomuch as mention here hath been made of Mauritius and Victor, the particular description of the same history I thought here to insert, taken out of Ado, and other story writers, as ensueth.

Mauritius came out of Syria into France and Italy, being captain of the band of the Theban soldiers, to the number of six thousand six hundred and threescore, being

sent for of Maximianus, to go against the rebellious Bangandes; but rather, as it should seem, by the reason of the tyrant, which thought he might better in these quarters use his tyranny upon the Christians than in the east part. These Thebans, with Mauritius the captain, after that they had entered into Rome, were there of Marcellus the blessed bishop confirmed in the faith, promising by oath that they would rather be slain of their enemies than forsake that faith which they had received; who followed the emperor's host through the Alps even into France. At that time the Cesareans were encamped not far from the town called Ottodor, where Maximianus offered sacrifice to his devils, and called all the soldiers both of the east and west to the same, strictly charging them by the altars of his gods that they would fight against those rebels the Bangandes, and persecute the Christian enemies of the emperor's gods; which his commandment was showed to the Thebans' host, which were also encamped about the river of Rode, and in a place that was named Agawne; but to Ottodor they would in no wise come, for that every man did certainly appoint and persuade with themselves rather in that place to die, than either to sacrifice to the gods, or bear armour against the Christians. Which thing indeed very stoutly and valiantly they affirmed, upon their oath before taken to Maximianus, when he sent for them. Wherewith the tyrant, being wrathful and all moved, commanded every tenth man of that whole band to be put to the sword, whereto strivingly and with great rejoicing they committed their necks. To which notable thing and great force of faith Mauritius himself was a great encourager, who by and by with a most grave oration exhorted and animated his soldiers both to fortitude and constancy. Which, being again called of the emperor, answered in this wise, saying, "We are, O emperor, your soldiers, but yet also, to speak freely, the servants of God. We owe to thee service of war, to him innocency; of thee we receive for our travail wages, of him the beginning of life. But in this we may in no wise obey thee, O emperor, to deny God our author and Lord, and not only ours, but your Lord likewise, will ye nill ye. If we be not so extremely enforced that we offend him, doubtless, as we have hitherto before, we will yet obey you; but otherwise we will rather obey him than you. We offer here our hands against any other enemies; but to defile our hands with the blood of innocents, that we may not do. These right hands of ours have skill to fight against the wicked and true enemies; but to spoil and murder the godly and citizens, they have no skill at all. We have in remembrance how we took armour in hand for the defence of the citizens, and not against them. We fought always for justice sake, piety, and for the health of innocents. These have been always the rewards of our perils and travail. We have fought in the quarrel of faith, which in no wise we can keep to you, if we do not show the same to our God. We first sware upon the sacraments of our God, then afterward to the king; and do you think the second will avail us, if we break the first? By us you would plague the Christians, to do which feat we are only commanded by you. We are here ready to confess God the author of all things, and believe in his Son Jesus Christ our Lord. We see before our eyes our fellows, and partakers of our labours and travails, to be put to the sword, and we sprinkled with their blood; of which our most blessed companions and brethren the end and death we have not bewailed nor mourned, but rather have been glad, and have rejoiced thereat, for that they have been counted worthy to suffer for the Lord their God. The extreme necessity of death cannot move us against your Majesty, neither yet any desperation, O emperor. which is wont in yenturous affairs to do much, shall arm us against you. Behold, here we cast down our weapons, and resist not, for that we had rather to be killed than kill, and guiltless to die than guilty to live. Whatsoever more ye will command, appoint, and enjoin us. we are here ready to suffer, yea, both fire and

sword, and whatsoever other torments. We confess ourselves to be Christians. we cannot persecute Christians, nor will do sacrifice to your devilish idols.

With which their answer. the king being altogether incensed and moved, commanded the second time the tenth man of them that were left to be in like case murdered. That cruelty also being accomplished, at length, when the Christian soldiers would in no wise condescend unto his mind, he set upon them with his whole host. both footmen and also horsemen, and charged them to kill them all. Who with all force set upon them; they making no resistance, but, throwing down their armour, yielded their lives to the persecutors, and offered to them their naked bodies.

Victor at the same time was not of that band, nor yet then any soldier; but being an old soldier, was dismissed for his age. At which time he, coming suddenly upon them as they were banqueting and making merry with the spoils of the holy martyrs, was bidden to sit down with. them; who first asking the cause of that their so great rejoicing, and understanding the truth thereof, detested the guests, and refused to eat with them. And then being demanded of them whether happily he were a Christian or no, openly confessed and denied not but that he was a Christian, and ever would be. And thereupon they rushing upon him, killed him, and made him partner of the like martyrdom and honour.

Beda in his history writeth, that this persecution, being under Diolesian, endured unto the seventh year of Constantinus. And Eusebius saith that it lasted until the tenth year of Constantinus. It was not yet one year from the day in which Dioclesian and Maximinian, joining themselves together, began their persecution, when that they saw the number of the Christians rather to increase than to diminish, notwithstanding all the cruelty that ever they could show, and now were out of all hope for the utter rooting out of them. Which thing was the cause of their first enterprise; and having now even their fill of blood, and loathing, it were, the shedding thereof, they ceased at the last of their own accord to put any more Christians to death. But yet of a great multitude they did thrust out their right eyes, and maimed their left legs at the ham with a searing iron, condemning them to the mines of metal, not so much for the use of their labour, as for the desire of afflicting them. And this was the clemency and release of the cruelty of those princes, which said that it was not meet that the cities should be defiled with the blood of citizens, and to make the emperor's highness to be stained with the name of cruelty, but to show his princely beneficence and liberality to all men.

When Dioclesian and Maximinian had reigned together emperors one and twenty years, (Nicephorus saith two and twenty years,) at length Dioclesian put himself from his imperial dignity at Nicomedia, and lived at Salona, Maximinian at Mediolanum, and led both of them a private life. This strange and marvellous alteration gave occasion and so it came to pass, that, within short space after, there were in the Roman commonwealth many emperors at one time.

In the beginning of this persecution, you heard how Dioclesian being made emperor took to him Maximinian. Also how these two, governing as emperors together, chose out other two Cæsars under them, to wit, Galerius Maximinus, and Constantius, the father of Constantine the Great. Thus then Dioclesian reigning with Maximinian, in the nineteenth year of his reign began his furious persecution against the Christians, whose reign after the same continued not long. For so it pleased God to put such a snaffle in the tyrant's mouth, that within two years after he caused both him and Maximinian (for what cause he knoweth) to give over their imperial function, and

so to remain not as emperors any more, but as private persons. So that they being now displaced and dispossessed, the imperial dominion remained with Constantius and Galerius Maximinus, which two divided the whole monarchy between them; so that Maximinus should govern the east countries, and Constantius the west parts. But Constantius, as a modest prince, only contented with the imperial title, refused Italy and Africa, contenting himself only with France, Spain, and Britain. Wherefore Galerius Maximinus chose to him his two sons, Maximinus and Severus. Likewise Constantius took Constantinus his son Cæsar under him. In the mean time, while Maximinus with his two Cæsars were in Asia, the Roman soldiers set up for their emperor Maxentius, the son of Maximinian, who had before deposed himself. Against whom Maximinus, the emperor of the east, sent his son Severus, which Severus was slain in the same voyage of Maxentius, in whose place then Maximinus took Licinius. And these were the emperors and Cæsars which, succeeding after Dioclesian and Maximinian, prosecuted the rest of that persecution, which Dioclesian and Maximinian before begun, during near the space of seven or eight years, which was to the year of our Lord three hundred and eighteen; save only that Constantius with his son Constantinus was no great doer therein, but rather a maintainer and a supporter of the Christians. Which Constantius, surnamed Clorus for his paleness, was the son of Eutropius, a man of great nobility of the Roman nation, as Letus affirmeth. He came of the line of Eneas and Claudia, the daughter of Claudius Augustus. This man had not the desire of great and mighty dominions, and therefore parted he the empire with Galerius, and would rule but in France, Britain, and Spain, refusing the other kingdoms for the troublesome and difficult government of the same. Otherwise he was a prince, as Eutropius maketh description of him, very excellent, civil, meek, gentle, liberal, and desirous to do good unto those that had any private authority under him. And as Cyrus once said, that he got treasure enough when he made his friends rich; even so it is said that Constantius would oftentimes say, that it were better that his subjects had treasure than he to have it in his treasure-house. Also he was by nature sufficed with a little, insomuch that he used to eat and drink in earthen vessels (which thing was counted in Agathocles the Sicilian a great commendation); and if at any time cause required to garnish his table, he would send for plate and other furniture to his friends. To these virtues he added yet a more worthy ornament, that is, devotion, love, and affection towards the word of God, as Eusebius in his eighth book and thirteenth chapter affirmeth; after which virtues ensued great peace and tranquillity in all his provinces. By which word he being guided, neither levied any wars contrary to piety and Christian religion, neither aided he any other that did the same, neither destroyed he the churches, but commanded that the Christians should be preserved and defended, and kept them safe from all contumelious injuries. And when that in the other jurisdictions of the empire the congregations were molested with persecution, as Sozomenus declareth in his first book and sixth chapter, he only gave licence unto the Christians to live after their accustomed manner. This wonderful act of his following, besides others, doth show that he was a sincere worshipper and of the Christian religion.



The prelates before the Cæsar Constantius

Those which bare the chief offices amongst the ethnics drove out of the emperor's court all the godly Christians; whereupon this ensued, that the emperors themselves, at the last, were destitute of help, when such were driven away, which dwelling in their courts, and living a godly life, poured out their prayers unto God for the prosperous estate and health both of the empire and emperor. Constantius therefore, minding at a certain time to try what sincere and good Christians he had yet in his court, called together all his officers and servants in the same, feigning himself to choose out such as would do sacrifice to devils, and that those only should dwell there and keep their offices, and that those which would refuse to do the same should be thrust out and banished the court. At this appointment, all the courtiers divided themselves into companies: the emperor marked which were the constantest and godliest from the rest. And when some said they would willingly do sacrifice, other some openly and boldly denied to do the same; then the emperor sharply rebuked those which were so ready to do sacrifice, and judged them as false traitors unto God, accounting them unworthy to be in his court which were such traitors to God; and forthwith commanded that they only should be banished the same. But greatly he commended them which refused to do sacrifice, and confessed God, affirming that they only were worthy to be about a prince; forthwith commanding that thenceforth they should be the trusty counsellors and defenders both of his person and kingdom; saying thus much more, that they only were worthy to be in office, whom he might make account of as his assured friends, and that he meant to have them in more estimation than the substance he had in his treasury. Eusebius maketh mention hereof in his first book of the life of Constantine, and also Sozomenus in his first book and sixth chapter.

With this Constantius was joined (as hath been aforesaid) Galerius Maximinus, a man, as Eutropius affirmeth, very civil, and a passing good soldier; furthermore, a favourer of wise and learned men, of a quiet disposition, not rigorous but in his

drunkenness, whereof he would soon after repent him, as Victor writeth; whether he meaneth Maximinus the father, or Maximinus his son, it is uncertain. But Eusebius far otherwise describeth the conditions of him in his eighth book and first chapter. For he saith he was of a tyrannical disposition, the fearfullest man that might be, and curious in all magical superstition; insomuch that without the divinations and answers of devils he durst do nothing at all; and therefore he gave great offices and dignities to enchanters. Furthermore, that he was an exactor and extortioner of the citizens, liberal to those that were flatterers, given to surfeiting and riot, a great drinker of wine, and in his furious drunkenness most like a madman, a ribald, and adulterer, which came to no city but he ravished virgins, and defiled men's wives. To conclude, he was so great an idolater, that he built up temples in every city, and repaired those that were fallen in great decay; and he chose out the most worthy of his political magistrates to be the idol's priests, and devised that they should execute that their office with great authority and dignity, and also with warlike pomp. But unto Christian piety and religion he was most incensive, and in the east churches exercised cruel persecution, and used as executioners of the same Pencetius, Quintianus, and Theotechnus, beside others.

Notwithstanding he was at length revoked from ins cruelty by the just judgment and punishment of God. For he was suddenly vexed with a fatal disease, most filthy and desperate, which disease to describe was very strange, taking the first beginning in his flesh outwardly, from thence it proceeded more and more to the inward parts of his body. For in the members of his body there happened unto him a sudden putrefaction. By reason whereof the physicians which had him in cure, not able to abide the intolerable smell, some of them were commanded to be slain. Other some, because they could not heal him, being so swollen and past hope of cure, were also cruelly put to death. At length, being put in remembrance that his disease was sent of God, he began to forethink the wickedness that he had done against the saints of God; and so coming again to himself, first confesseth to God all his offences, then calling them unto him which were about him, forthwith commanded all men to cease from the persecutions of the Christians; requiring, moreover, that they should set up his imperial proclamations for the restoring and re-edifying of their temples, and that they would obtain this of the Christians in their assemblies, (which without all fear and doubt they might be bold to make,) that they would devoutly pray to their God for the emperor. Then forthwith was the persecution stayed, and the imperial proclamations in every city were set up, containing the retraction or countermand of those things which against the Christians were before decreed, the copy whereof ensueth.

"Amongst other things, which for the benefit and commodity of the commonwealth we established, we commanded to reform all things according to the ancient laws and public discipline of the Romans, and also to use this policy, that the Christians, which had forsaken the religion of their forefathers, should be brought again to the right way. For such fantastical singularity was amongst them, that those things which their elders had received and allowed they rejected and disallowed, devising every man such laws as they thought good, and observed the same, assembling in divers places great multitudes of people.

"Therefore, when our foresaid decree was proclaimed, many there were that felt the penalty thereof, and many being troubled, therefore, suffered many kinds of death. And because we see yet that there be many which persevere in the same, which neither give due worship unto the celestial gods, neither receive the God of the Christians, we having respect to our accustomed benignity, wherewith we are wont to show favour unto all men, think good in this cause also to extend our clemency, that

the Christians may be again tolerated, and appoint them places where again they may meet together, so that they do nothing contrary to public order and discipline. By another epistle we mean to prescribe unto the judges what shall be convenient for them to do. Wherefore, according as this our bountiful clemency deserveth, let them make intercession to God for our health, commonwealth, and for themselves, that in all places the state of the commonwealth may be preserved, and that they themselves may be able safely to live within their bounds."

But one of his inferior officers, whose name was also Maximinus, was not well pleased when this countermand was published throughout all Asia, and the provinces where he had to do. Yet he being qualified by this example, that it was not convenient for him to repugn the pleasure of those princes which had the chief authority, as Constantinus and Maximinus, set forth of himself no edict touching the same; but commanded his officers in the presence of others that they should somewhat stay from the persecution of the Christians; of which commandment of the inferior Maximinus each of them gave intelligence unto their fellows by their letters. But Sabinus, which then amongst them all had the chiefest office and dignity, to the substitutes of every country wrote by his letters the emperor's pleasure in this wise.

"The majesty of our most gracious and sovereign lords the emperors hath lately decreed with special diligence and devotion, to induce all men to a uniform life, so that they which seemed to dissent from the Roman custom, by a strange manner of living, should exhibit to the immortal gods their due and proper worship; but the wilful and obstinate mind of divers so much and so continually resisted the same, that by no lawful means they might be revoked from their purpose, neither made afraid by any terror or punishment. Because therefore it so came to pass, that by this means many put themselves in peril and jeopardy, the majesty of our sovereign lords the emperors, according to their noble piety, considering that it was far from the meaning of their princely majesties that such things should be, whereby so many men and much people should be destroyed, gave me in charge, that with diligence I should write unto you, that if any of the Christians from henceforth fortune to be taken in the exercise of their religion, in no wise ye molest the same, neither for that cause you do judge any man worthy of punishment; for that in all this time it hath evidently appeared that by no means they might be allured from such wilfulness. It is therefore requisite that your wisdom write unto the questors, captains, and constables of every city and village, that they may know it not to be lawful for them, or any of them, to do contrary to the prescript of this commandment, neither that they presume to attempt the same."

The governors therefore of every province, supposing this to be the determinate pleasure (and not feigned) of the emperor, did first advertise thereof the rustical and pagan multitude; after that they released and set at liberty all such prisoners as were condemned to the metal mines and to perpetual imprisonment for their faith, thinking thereby (where indeed they were deceived) that the doing thereof would please the emperor. This therefore seemed to them as unlooked for, and as light to travellers in a dark night. They gather themselves together in every city, they call their synods and councils, and much marvel at the sudden change and alteration. The infidels themselves extol the only and true God of the Christians. The Christians receive again all their former liberties; and such as fell away before in the time of persecution repent themselves, and after penance done they returned again to the congregation. Now the Christians rejoiced in every city, praising God with hymns and psalms. This was a marvellous sudden alteration of the church, from a most unhappy state into a better; but scarce suffered Maximinus the tyrant the same six months

unviolated to continue. For whatsoever seemed to make for the subversion of the same peace, (yet scarcely hatched,) that did he only meditate. And first of all he took from the Christians all liberty and leave for them to assemble and congregate in churchyards under a certain colour. After that he sent certain miscreants unto the Athenians, to solicit them against the Christians, and to provoke them to ask of him, as a recompence and great reward, that he would not suffer any Christian to inhabit in their country; and amongst them was one Theotechnus, a most wicked miscreant and enchanter, and a most deadly enemy against the Christians. He first made the way whereby the Christians were put out of credit and accused to the emperor; to which fraud also he erected a certain idol of Jupiter to be worshipped of the enchanters and conjurers, and mingled the same worship with ceremonies full of deceivable witchcraft. Lastly, he caused the same idol to give this sound out of his mouth; that is, Jupiter commandeth the Christians to be banished out of the city and suburbs of the same, as enemies unto him. And the same sentence did the rest of the governors of the provinces publish against the Christians; and thus at length persecution began to kindle against them. Maximinus appointed and instituted high priests and bishops in every city to offer sacrifice unto idols, and inveigled all those that were in great offices under him, that they should not only cease to pleasure them and to do for them, but also that they should with new-devised accusations against them, at their pleasure, put as many to death as by any means they might. They also did counterfeit certain practices of Pilate against our Saviour Christ full of blasphemy, and sent the same into all the empire of Maximinus by their letters; commanding that the same should be published and set up in every city and suburbs of the same, and that they should be delivered to the schoolmasters, to cause their scholars to learn by rote the same.

After that, one named Præfectus Castrorum, whom the Romans do call captain, allured certain light women, partly by fear, and partly by punishment, dwelling at Damascus in Phœnicia, and taken out of the court wherein they were accused, that they should openly say in writing, that they were once Christians, and that they knew what wicked and lascivious acts the Christians were wont to execute amongst themselves upon the Sundays, and what other things they thought good to make more of their own head, to the slander of the Christians. The captain sheweth unto the emperor their words, as though it had been so indeed; and the emperor by and by commanded the same to be published throughout every city. Furthermore, they did hang up in the midst of every city (which was never done before) the emperor's edicts against the Christians, graven in tables of brass. And the children in the schools, with great noise and clapping of hands, did every day resound the contumelious blasphemies of Pilate unto Jesus, and what other things soever were devised of the magistrates, after a most despiteful manner. And this is the copy of the edict which Maximinus caused to be fastened to pillars, fraught with all arrogant and insolent hate against God and Christ.

"The weak and imbecile rebellion of man's mind (all obscurity and blindness of ignorance set apart, which hitherto hath wrapped the minds of impious and miserable men in the pernicious darkness of ignorance) is now at the length able to discern that the same is governed, as also corroborated by the providence of the immortal gods, the lovers of virtue; which thing, how acceptable it is to us, how pleasant and grateful, and how much proof the same hath declared of your well-disposed willing minds, is incredible to be told; although this was not unknown before, with what diligence and devotion ye served the immortal gods, whose wonderful and constant faith is not known by bare and naked words, but by your worthy and notable deeds. Wherefore

worthily is your city called the habitation and seat of the immortal gods, and by many examples it appeareth that the same flourisheth and prospereth by the presence of the celestial gods. For, behold, your city not regarding your private businesses, nor esteeming that which should have been for the special commodity thereof, when it perceived that cursed vanity to begin again to creep, and, as a fire negligently quenched, when the dead brands thereof began to kindle and make a great flame, by and by without delay, ye having recourse unto our piety, as unto the metropolitan of all Divine worship and religion, craved remedy and help; which wholesome mind, for your piety's sake, it is most manifest that the gods have endued you with. Therefore he, even that most mighty Jupiter, I say, which preserveth your most famous city, to that intent he might deliver and make free your country gods, your wives and children, your household gods and houses, from all detestable corruption, hath inspired you with this wholesome and willing mind, showing and declaring how worthy, notable, and healthful a thing it is to worship and to sacrifice to the immortal gods. For who is so void of reason and understanding, that knoweth not that this thing happeneth unto us by the careful study of the goodness of our gods, that the ground denieth not to give her timely increase, nor maketh frustrate the husbandman's hope, nor that wicked war dare show her face upon the earth, nor that the corruption of air is now cause of pestilence, neither that the sea swelleth with immoderate winds, neither that sudden storms are cause of hurtful tempest; to conclude, that the ground, which is as the nurse and mother of all things, is not swallowed up of her deep chaps and gapings by terrible earthquake; neither that the hills, made level with the earth, are not with gaping clefts devoured; all which evils, and greater than these, before this time to have happened, every man knoweth. And all these mischiefs came upon us for the pernicious error's sake of the extreme folly of those wicked men the Christians, when filthiness itself (as I may call it) so occupied their minds and overran the world. Let them behold the fields now all about full of corn, and overflown, as it were, with ears of corn. Let them view the pleasant meadows clothed with flowers, and moistened with showers from heaven, and also the pleasant and temperate weather. Therefore let all men rejoice that by your piety, sacrifices, and worshipping, the majesty of the most stern god of battle, Mars, is appeased, and that therefore we enjoy pleasant and firm peace. And how many soever have left that blind error and straying of the Christians unfeignedly, and be of a better mind, let them specially rejoice, as men delivered out of a sudden great tempest, and from a grievous disease, and have afterward obtained a delectable and pleasant life. For doubtless, if they had remained in that execrable vanity, far off had they been chased from your city and suburbs of the same, (according to your desire,) that your city by that means, according to your commendable diligence, cleansed from all impurity and impiety, may offer sacrifices according to the meaning of the same, with due reverence of the immortal gods. And that you may perceive in how good part your supplication was unto us, (yea, unasked and undesired,) we are most willing and ready to further your honest endeavours, and grant unto you, for your devotion, whatsoever ye ask of our magnificence. And that this thing may be accomplished, forthwith ask and have. And this thing with all speed endeavour you to obtain, which shall be a perpetual testimony of piety exhibited of your city to the immortal gods, and shall be a precedent to your children and posterity, and withal you shall obtain of us, for this your willing desire of reformation, condign and worthy rewards."

Thus came it to pass that at the length persecution was as great as ever it was, and the magistrates of every province were very disdainful against the Christians, which condemned some to death, and some to exile. Among whom they condemned three Christians at Emisa in Phœnicia, with whom Sylvanus the bishop, a very old

man, being forty years in the ecclesiastical function, was condemned to death. At Nicomedia Lucianus, the elder of Antioch, brought thither, after he had exhibited to the emperor his apology concerning the doctrine of the Christians, was cast in prison, and after put to death. In Amasea, a city of Cappadocia, Bringes, the lieutenant of Maximinus, had at that time the executing of that persecution. At Alexandria, Petrus, a most worthy bishop, was beheaded, with whom many other Egyptian bishops also died. Quirinus, the bishop of Scescanus, having a hand-mill tied about his neck, was thrown headlong from the bridge into the flood, and there a long while floated above the water; and when he opened his mouth to speak to the lookers on, that they should not be dismayed with that his punishment, was with much ado drowned. At Rome died Marcellus the bishop, as saith Platina; also Timotheus the elder, with many other bishops and priests, were martyred. To conclude, many in sundry places every where were martyred, whose names the book entitled *Fasciculus Temporum* declareth, as Victorianus, Symphorianus, Castorius with his wife, Castulus, Cæsarius, Mennas, Nobilis, Dorotheus, Gorgonius, Petrus, and other innumerable martyrs, Erasmus, Bonifacius, Juliana, Cosmas, Damianus, Basiinus, with seven others. Dorothea, Theophilus, Theodosia Vitalis, Agricola, Acha, Philemon, Hireneus, Januarius, Festus, Desiderius, Gregorius, Spoletanus, Agapes, Chionia, Hirenea, Theodora, and two hundred threescore and ten other martyrs. Florianus, Primus, and Felicianus, Vitus and Modestus, Crescentia, Albinus, Rogatianus, Donatianus, Pancratius, Catharina, Magareta, Lucia the virgin, and Antheus the king, with many thousand martyrs more. Simplicius, Faustinus, Beatrix, Panthaleon, Georgius, Justus, Leocandia, Anthonia, and other more, (to an infinite number,) suffered martyrdom in this persecution, whose names God hath written in the book of life. Also Felix, Victor with his parents, Lucia the widow, Gemenianus, with threescore and nineteen others. Sabinus, Anastasia, Chrysogonus, Felix, and Audactus, Adrianus, Natholia, Eugenia. Agnes also, when she was but thirteen years old, was martyred. Eusebius in his eighth book and fifteenth chapter rehearseth these kinds of torments and punishments; that is to say, fire, wild beasts, the sword, crucifyings, the bottom of the sea, the cutting and burning of members, the thrusting out of eyes, dismembering of the whole body, hunger, imprisonment, and whatsoever other cruelty the magistrates could devise. All which notwithstanding, the godly ones, rather than that they would do sacrifice, as they were bid, manfully endured. Neither were the women any thing at all behind them. For they, being enticed to the filthy use of their bodies, rather suffered banishment, or willingly killed themselves. Neither yet could the Christians live safely in the wilderness, but were fetched even from thence to death and torments, insomuch that this was a more grievous persecution under Maximinus the tyrant, than was the former cruel persecution under Maximianus the prince.

And forasmuch as ye have heard the cruel edict of Maximinus proclaimed against the Christians, graven in brass, which he thought perpetually should endure to the abolishing of Christ and his religion; now mark again the great handiwork of God, which immediately fell upon the same, checking the proud presumption of the tyrant, proving all to be false and contrary that in the brazen proclamation was contained. For where the foresaid edict boasted so much of the prosperity and plenty of all things in the same time of this persecution of the Christians, suddenly befell such unseasonable drought, with famine and pestilence, among the people, besides also the wars with the Annenians, that all was found untrue that he had boasted so much of before. By reason of which famine and pestilence the people were greatly consumed, insomuch that one measure of wheat was sold for two thousand and five hundred pieces of money of Athens coin, by reason whereof innumerable died in the cities, but many more in the

country and villages, so that most part of the husbandmen and countrymen died up with the famine and pestilence. Divers there were which, bringing out their best treasure, were glad to give it for any kind of sustenance, were it never so little. Others, selling away their possessions, fell by reason thereof to extreme poverty and beggary. Certain eating grass, and feeding on other unwholesome herbs, were fain to relieve themselves with such food as did hurt and poison their bodies. Also a number of women in the cities, being brought to extreme misery and penury, were constrained to depart the city, and fall to begging through the country. Some others were weak and faint, (as images without breath,) wandering up and down, and not able to stand for feebleness, fell down in the middle of the streets, and holding up their hands most pitiful, cried for some scraps or fragments of bread to be given them; and being at the last gasp, ready to give up the ghost, and not able to utter any other words, yet cried out that they were hungry. Of the richer sort divers there were, who being weary with the number of beggars and askers, after they had bestowed largely upon them, became hard-hearted, fearing lest they should fall into the same misery themselves as they which begged. By reason whereof the market-place, streets, lanes, and alleys lay full of dead and naked bodies, being cast out and unburied, to the pitiful and grievous beholding of them that saw them; wherefore many were eaten of dogs, for which cause they that lived fell to the killing of dogs, lest they, running mad, should fall upon them, and kill them also.

In like manner the pestilence, scattering through all houses and ages of men, did no less consume them, especially those which through plenty of victuals escaped famine. Wherefore the rich princes and presidents, and other innumerable of the magistrates, being the more apt to receive the infection, by reason of their plenty, were quickly despatched, and turned up their heels. Thus the miserable multitude being consumed with famine and with pestilence, all places were full of mourning, neither was there any thing else seen, but wailing and weeping in every corner. So that death, what for famine and pestilence, in short time brake up and consumed whole households, two or three dead bodies being borne out together from one house to one funeral.

These were the rewards of the vain brags of Maximinus and his edicts, which he did publish in all towns and cities against us, when it was evident, to all men how diligent and charitable the Christians were to them all in this their miserable extremity. For they only in all this time of distress, showing compassion upon them, travelled every day, some in curing the sick, and some in burying the dead, which otherwise of their own sort were forsaken. Other some of the Christians calling and gathering the multitude together, which were in jeopardy of famine, distributed bread unto them, whereby they ministered occasion to all men to glorify the God of the Christians, and to confess them to be the true worshippers of God, as appeared by their works. By the means and reason hereof, the great God and Defender of the Christians, who before had showed his anger and indignation against all men, for their wrongful afflicting of us, opened again unto us the comfortable light of his providence; so that by means thereof peace fell unto us, as light unto them that sit in darkness, to the great admiration of all men, which easily perceive God himself to be a perpetual director of our doings, who many times chasteneth his people with calamities for a time to exercise them, but after sufficient correction again sheweth himself merciful and favourable to them which with trust call upon him.

By the narration of these things heretofore premised, taken out of the story of Eusebius, like as it is manifest to see, so it is wonderful to mark and note, how those

counsels and rages of the Gentiles achieved against Christ and his Christians, when they seemed most sure against them, were most against themselves. And whereby they thought most to confound the church and religion of Christ, the same turned most to their own confusion, and to the profit and praise of the Christians (God of his marvellous wisdom so ordering and disposing the end of things). For where the brazen edict of the emperor promised temperate weather, God sent drought; where it promised plenty, God immediately sent upon them famine and penury; where it promised health, God struck them, even upon the same, with grievous pestilence, and with other more calamities, in such sort that the most relief they had was chiefly by the Christians, to the great praise both of them, and to the honour of our God.

Thus most plainly and evidently was then verified the true promise of Christ to his church, affirming and assuring us that the gates of hell shall not prevail against his church builded upon his faith; as sufficiently may appear by these ten persecutions above specified and described. Wherein, as no man can deny but that Satan and his malignant world have assayed the uttermost of their power and might to overthrow the church of Jesus; so must all men needs grant that read these stories, that when Satan and the gates of hell have done their worst, yet have they not prevailed against this mount of Zion, nor ever shall. For else what was here to be thought, where so many emperors and tyrants together, Dioclesian, Maximinian, Galerius, Maximinus, Severus, Maxentius, Licinius, with their captains and officers, were let loose, like so many lions, upon a scattered and unarmed flock of sheep, intending nothing else but the utter subversion of all Christianity, and especially also when laws were set up in brass against the Christians, as a thing perpetually to stand; what was here to be looked for, but a final desolation of the name and religion of Christians? But what followed, partly ye have heard, partly more is to be marked, as in the story followeth.

I showed before how Maxentius, and the son of Maximinian, was set up at Rome by the pretorian soldiers to be emperor. Whereunto the senate, although they were not consenting, yet for fear they were not resisting. Maximinian his father, who had before deprived himself with Dioclesian, hearing of this, took heart again to him to resume his dignity, and so laboured to persuade Dioclesian also to do the same; but when he could not move him thereunto, he repairth to Rome, thinking to wrest the empire out of his son's hands. But when the soldiers would not suffer that, of a crafty purpose he flieth to Constantine in France, under pretence to complain of Maxentius his son, but in very deed to kill Constantine. Notwithstanding, that conspiracy being detected by Fausta the daughter of Maximinian, whom Constantine had married, so was Constantine through the grace of God preserved, and Maximinian retired back. In the which his flight by the way he was apprehended, and so put to death. And this is the end of Maximinian.

Now let us return to Maxentius again, who all this while reigned at Rome with tyranny and wickedness intolerable, much like to another Pharaoh or Nero. For he slew the most part of his noble men, and took from them their goods. And some time in his rage he would destroy great multitudes of the people of Rome by his soldiers, as Eusebius declareth. Also he left no mischievous nor lascivious act unattempted, but was the utter enemy of all womanly chastity, which used to send the honest wives whom he had adulterated with shame and dishonesty unto their husbands (being worthy senators) after that he had ravished them.

He was also much addicted to the magical art, to execute which he was more fit than for the imperial dignity. Often he would invoke devils in a secret manner,

and by the answers of them he sought to break the wars which he knew Constantine and Licinius prepared against him. And to the end he might the rather perpetrate his mischievous and wicked attempts, which in his ungracious mind he had conceived, according to his purpose, in the beginning of his reign he feigned himself to be a favourer of the Christians. In which thing doing, thinking to make the people of Rome his friends, he commanded that they should cease from persecuting of the Christians. And he himself in the mean season abstained from no contumelious vexation of them, till that he began at the last to show himself an open persecutor of them; at which time, as Zonaras writeth, he most cruelly raged against the Christians thereabouts, vexing them with all manner of injuries. Which thing he in no less wise did than Maximinus; as Eusebius in his eighth book and fifteenth chapter seemeth to affirm. And Platina declareth in the Life of Marcellus the bishop, that he banished a certain noble woman of Rome, because she gave her goods to the church.

Thus by the grievous tyranny and unspeakable wickedness of this Maxentius, the citizens and senators of Rome, being much grieved and oppressed, sent their complaints with letters unto Constantine, with much suit and most hearty petitions, desiring him to help and release their country and city of Rome; who hearing and understanding their miserable and pitiful state, and grieved therewith not a little, first sendeth by letters to Maxentius, desiring and exhorting him to refrain his corrupt doings and great cruelty. But when no letters nor exhortations would prevail, at the length, pitying the woeful case of the Romans, gathered together his power and army in Britain and France, there with to repress the violent rage of that tyrant: thus Constantine, sufficiently appointed with strength of men, but especially with strength of God, entered his journey coming towards Italy. Maxentius understanding of the coming of Constantine, and trusting more to his devilish art of magic than to the good will of his subjects, which he little deserved, durst not show himself out of the city, nor encounter with him in the open field, but with privy garrisons laid in wait for him by the way in sundry straits as he should come. With whom Constantine had divers skirmishes, and by the power of the Lord did ever vanquish them and put them to flight. Notwithstanding Constantine yet was in no great comfort, but in great care and dread in his mind, (approaching now near unto Rome,) for the magical charms and sorceries of Maxentius, wherewith he had vanquished before Severus sent by Galerius against him, as hath been declared, which made also Constantine the more afraid. Wherefore being in great doubt and perplexity in himself, and revolving many things in his mind, what help he might have against the operations of his charming, for he used to cut women great with child to take his devilish charms by the entrails of the infants, with such other like feats of devilishness which he practised: these things (I say) Constantine doubting and revolving in his mind, in his journey drawing toward the city, and casting up his eyes many times to heaven, in the south part, about the going down of the sun, saw a great brightness in heaven, appearing in the similitude of a cross, with certain stars of equal bigness, giving this inscription, IN HOC VINCE, that is, IN THIS OVERCOME. This miraculous vision to be true, for the more credit, Eusebius Pamphilus, in his first book De Vita Constantini, doth witness moreover, that he had heard the said Constantine himself oftentimes report, and also to swear this to be true and certain, which he did see with his own eyes in heaven, and also his soldiers about him. At the sight whereof when he was greatly astonished, and consulting with his men upon the meaning thereof, behold, in the night season in his sleep Christ appeared to him with the sign of the same cross which he had seen before, bidding him to make the figuration thereof, and to carry it in his wars before him, and so should he have the victory.

Wherein is to be noted (good reader) that this sign of the cross, and these letters added withal, *In hoc vince*, *In this conquer*, was given to him of God, not to induce any superstitious worship or opinion of the cross, as though the cross itself had any such power or strength in it to obtain victory; but only to bear the meaning of another thing, that is, to be an admonition to him, to seek and aspire to the knowledge and faith of Him which was crucified upon the cross for the salvation of him, and of all the world, and so to set forth the glory of his name, as afterward it came to pass. This by the way. Now to the matter.

The next day following after this night's vision, Constantine caused a cross after the same figuration to be made of gold and precious stone, and to be borne before him instead of his standard; and so, with much hope of victory and great confidence, as one armed from heaven, speedeth himself toward his enemy. Against whom Maxentius being constrained by force to issue out of the city, sendeth all his power to join with him in the field beyond the river of Tiber, where Maxentius craftily breaking down the bridge called Pons Miluius, caused another deceitful bridge to be made of boats and wherries, being joined together, and covered over with boards and planks in manner of a bridge, thinking therewith to take Constantine as in a trap. But here it came to pass which in the seventh Psalm is written; He digged a pit, and fell therein himself: let his working return upon his own head, and his unrighteousness upon his own pate. Which here in this Maxentius was rightly verified. For after the two hosts did meet, he being not able to sustain the force of Constantine fighting under the cross of Christ against him, was put to such a flight, and driven to such an exigent, that in retiring back, for haste thinking to get the city, upon the same bridge which he did lay for Constantine, was overturned by the fall of his horse into the bottom of the flood, and there, with the weight of his armour, he with a great part of His beaten men were drowned; representing unto us the like example of Pharaoh and his host drowned in the Red Sea, who not unaptly seemeth to bear a prophetic figuration of this Maxentius. For as the children of Israel were in long thralldom and persecution in Egypt under tyrants there, till the drowning of this Pharaoh their last persecutor; so was this Maxentius, and Maximinus, and Licinius, the last persecutors in the Roman monarchy of the Christians, whom this Constantine, fighting under the cross of Christ, did vanquish and set the Christians at liberty, who before had been persecuted now three hundred years in Rome, as hath been hitherto in this history declared.

Wherefore as the Israelites with their Moses, at the drowning of their Pharaoh, sung gloriously unto the Lord, who miraculously had cast down the horse and horsemen into the sea; so no less rejoicing and exceeding gladness was here, to see the glorious hand of the Lord Christ fighting with his people, and vanquishing his enemies and persecutors.

In histories we read of many victories and great conquests gotten; yet we never read, nor ever shall, of any victory so wholesome, so commodious, so opportune to mankind, as this was, which made an end of so much bloodshed, and obtained so much liberty and life to the posterity of so many generations. For albeit that some persecution was yet stirring in the east countries by Maximinus and Licinius, as shall be declared; yet in Rome and in all the west parts no martyr died after this heavenly victory gotten. And also in the east parts the said Constantine, with the said cross borne before him, consequently upon the same so vanquished the tyrants, and so established the peace of the church, that, for the space of a just thousand years after that, we read of no set persecution against the Christians unto the time of John Wickliffe, when the bishops of Rome began with fire to persecute the true members of

Christ, as in further process of this history (Christ granting) shall appear. So happy, so glorious (as I said) was this victory of Constantine, surnamed the Great. For the joy and gladness whereof the citizens who had sent for him before with exceeding triumph brought him into the city of Rome, where he with the cross was most honourably received and celebrated the space of seven days together, having moreover in the market-place his image set up, holding in his right hand the sign of the cross, with this inscription; With this wholesome sign, the true token of fortitude, I have rescued and delivered our city from the yoke of the tyrant.

By this heavenly victory of Constantine, and by the death of Maxentius, no little tranquillity came unto the church of Christ. Although notwithstanding in the east churches the storm of this tenth persecution was not yet altogether quieted, but that some tail thereof in those parts remained for the space of two or three years. But of this we mind to speak (Christ willing) hereafter. In the mean season, to return again to the west parts here in Europe, where Constantine then had most to do, great tranquillity followed, and long continued in the church, without any open slaughter, for a thousand years together, (to the time of John Wickliffe and Waldenses, as is before touched,) by the means of the godly beginning of good Constantine, who, with his fellow Licinius, being now established in their dominion, eftsoons set forth their general proclamation or edict, not constraining therein any man to any religion, but giving liberty to all men, both for the Christians to persist in their profession without any danger, and for other men freely to adjoin with them whosoever pleased. Which thing was very well taken and highly allowed of the Romans and all wise men. The copy of the edict or constitution here ensueth.

"Not long ago, we weighing with ourselves, that the liberty and freedom of religion ought not in any case to be prohibited, but that free leave ought to be given to every man to do therein according to his will and mind, we have given commandment to all men to qualify matters of religion as they themselves thought good, and that also the Christians should keep the opinions and faith of their religion; but because that many and sundry opinions by the same our first licence spring and increase through such liberty granted, we thought good manifestly to add thereunto, and make plain such things where by perchance some of them in time to come may, from such their observance, be let or hindered. When therefore by prosperous success I Constantinus Augustus, and I Licinius Augustus, came to Mediolanum, and there sat in council upon such things as served for the utility and profit of the commonwealth, these things amongst others we thought would be beneficial to all men, yea, and, before all other things, we purposed to establish those things wherein the true reverence and worship of God is comprehended; that is, to give unto the Christians free choice to follow what religion they think good, and whereby the same sincerity and celestial grace which is in every place received may also be embraced and accepted of all our loving subjects. According therefore unto this our pleasure, upon good advisement and sound judgment, we have decreed, that no man so hardly be denied to choose and follow the Christian observance or religion; but that this liberty be given to every man, that he may apply his mind to what religion he thinketh meet himself, whereby God may perform upon us all his accustomed care and goodness. To the intent therefore you might know that this is our pleasure, we thought it necessary this to write unto you, whereby all such errors and opinions being removed, which in our former letters (being sent unto you in the behalf of the Christians) are contained, and which seem very undiscreeit and contrary to our clemency, may be made frustrate and annihilate. Now, therefore, firmly and freely we will and command, that every man have a free

liberty to observe the Christian religion, and that without any grief or molestation he may be suffered to do the same. These things have we thought good to signify unto you by as plain words as we may, that we have given to the Christians free and absolute power to keep and use their religion. And forsomuch as this liberty is absolutely given of us unto them to use and exercise their former observance, if any be disposed, it is manifest that the same helpeth much to establish the public tranquillity of our time, every man to have licence and liberty to use and choose what kind of worshipping he list himself. And this is done of us only for the intent that we would have no man to be enforced to one religion more than another. And this thing also amongst others we have provided for the Christians, that they may have again the possession of such places in which heretofore they have been accustomed to make their assemblies; so that if any have bought or purchased the same, either of us or of any other, the same places, without either money or other recompence, forth with and without delay we will to be restored again unto the said Christians. And if any man have obtained the same by gift from us, and shall require any recompence to be made to them in that behalf, then let the Christians repair to the president, (being the judge appointed for that place,) that consideration may be had of those men by our benignity: all which things we will and command that you see to be given and restored freely, and with diligence, unto the society of the Christians, all delay set apart. And because the Christians themselves are understood to have had not only those places wherein they were accustomed to resort together, but certain other peculiar places also, not being private to any one man, but belonging to the right of their congregation and society; you shall see also all those to be restored unto the Christians, that is to say, to every fellowship and company of them, according to the decree, whereof we have made mention, all delay set apart. Provided that the order we have taken in the mean time be observed, that if any (taking no recompence) shall restore the same lands and possessions, they shall not mistrust, but be sure to be saved harmless by us. In all these things it shall be your part to employ your diligence in the behalf of the foresaid company of the Christians, whereby this our commandment may speedily be accomplished, and also in this case by our clemency the common and public peace may be preserved. For undoubtedly by this means, as before we have said, the good will and favour of God towards us (whereof in many cases we have had good experience) shall always continue with us. And to the intent that this our constitution may be notified to all men, it shall be requisite that the copy of these our letters be set up in all places, that men may read and know the same, lest any should be ignorant thereof."

By these histories I doubt not (good reader) but thou dost right well consider and behold with thyself the marvellous working of God's mighty power; to see so many emperors at one time conspired and confederate together against the Lord, and Christ, his Anointed, whose names before we have recited, is Dioclesian, Maximinian, Galerius, Maxentius, Maximinus, Severus, Licinius, who having the subjection of the whole world under their dominion, did bend and extend their whole might and devices to extirpate the name of Christ and of all Christians. Wherein if the power of man could have prevailed, what could they not do? or what could they do more than they did? If policy or devices could have served, what policy was there lacking? If torments or pains of death could have helped, what cruelty of torment by man could be invented which was not attempted? If laws, edicts, proclamations, written not only in tables, but engraven in brass, could have stood, all this was practised against the weak Christians. And yet notwithstanding, to see how no counsel can stand against the Lord, note here how all these be gone, and yet Christ and his church doth stand. First, of the taking

away of Maximinian you have heard; also of the death of Severus; of the drowning moreover of Maxentius enough hath been said. What a terrible plague was upon Galerius, consuming his privy members with lice, hath been also described. How Dioclesian the quondam being at Salona, hearing of the proceedings of Constantine, and this edict, either for sorrow died, or, as some say, did poison himself. Only Maximinus now in the east parts remained alive, who bare a deadly hatred against the Christians, and no less expressed the same with mortal persecution, to whom Constantine and Licinius caused this constitution of theirs to be delivered. At the sight whereof, although he was somewhat appalled, and defeated of his purpose; yet for so much as he saw himself too weak to resist the authority of Constantine and Licinius, the superior princes, he dissembled his counterfeit piety, as though he himself had tendered the quiet of the Christians; directing down a certain decree in the behalf of the Christians, wherein he pretendeth to write to Sabinus afore mentioned, first repeating unto him the former decree of Dioclesian and Maximinian in few words, with the commandment therein contained touching the persecution against the Christians. After that, he reciteth the decree which he himself made against them, when he came first to the imperial dignity in the east part joined with Constantine. Then the countermand of another decree of his again, for the rescuing of the Christians, with such feigned and pretended causes, as is in the same to be seen. After that, he declareth how he, coming to Nicomedia at the suit and supplication of the citizens, (which he also feigned, as may appear before,) he applying to their suit, revoked that his former edict, and granted them that no Christian should dwell within their city or territories. Upon which Sabinus also had given forth his letters, rehearsing withal the general countermand sent forth by him for the persecution again of the Christians. Last of all now he sendeth down again another surcountermand, with the causes therein contained, touching the safety of the Christians, and tranquillity of them; commanding Sabinus to publish the same. But this surcountermand he then dissembled, as he had done in the other before. Howbeit shortly after, he making wars, and fighting a baffle with Licinius, wherein he lost the victory, coming home again, took great indignation against the priests and prophets of his gods, whom before that time he had great regard unto, and honoured; upon whose answers he trusting, and depending upon their enchantments, began his war against Licinius. But after that he perceived himself to be deceived by them, as by wicked enchanter and deceivers, and such as had betrayed his safety and person, he killed and put them to death. And he shortly after, oppressed with a certain disease, glorified the God of the Christians, and made a most absolute law for the safety and preservation of them, with franchise and liberty; the copy whereof ensueth.

"Imperator Cæsar, Gaius, Valerius, Maximinus, Germanicus, Pius, Fortunatus, Augustus: It is necessary that we always carefully provide and see unto the benefit and commodity of such as be our subjects, and to exhibit such things unto them whereby they may best obtain the same. But we suppose that there are none of you so ignorant, but know and understand what things make best for the profit and commodity of the commonwealth, and best please every man's disposition. But it is meet and convenient that every man have recourse to that which they have seen done before their eyes, and that all sorts of men consider the same, and bear it in their minds. When therefore, and that before this time, it came to our knowledge, upon the occasion that Dioclesianus and Maximinianus, our progenitors of famous memory, commanded the assemblies and meetings of the Christians to be cut off, there were many of them spoiled and robbed of our officials; which thing we also perceive is now put in practice against our subjects, that they in like case may be spoiled of their goods and substance, which

thing chiefly to prevent is our only endeavour. By our letters sent to the governors of every province the year past, we ordained that if any man were disposed to lean unto the Christian religion, he might without any injury done unto him accomplish his desire, neither to be of any man either let or molested, and that he might without any fear or suspicion do whatsoever he therein thought good. But now also we understand that there be certain judges which have neglected our commandment, and have put our subjects in doubt whether that hath been our pleasure or not, which thing they did that such men might be the better advised how they entered into such religion; wherein they followed their own fantasy. To the intent therefore that after this all suspicion, doubt, and fear may be taken away, we have thought good to publish this our edict, whereby it may be made manifest to every man, that it shall be lawful for all such as will follow that religion, by the benefit of this our grant and letters patent, to use what religion they like best. And also hereby we grant to them licence to build them oratories or temples. And furthermore, that this our grant may more amply extend unto them, we vouchsafe to appoint and ordain, that whatsoever lands and substance before belonging and appertaining to the Christians, and by the commaudment of our predecessor were transposed to our revenue and exchequer, or else be in the possession of any city by means of the franchises of the same, or else otherwise sold or given to any man; all and every parcel thereof we command shall be restored unto the proper use of the Christians again, whereby they may all have in this matter more experience of our godly devotion and providence."

Maximinus then being conquered of Licinius, and also plagued with an incurable disease sent by the hand of God, was compelled by torments and adversity to confess the true God, whom before he regarded not, and to write this edict in the favour of those Christians whom before he did persecute. Thus the Lord doth make many times his enemies, be they never so stern and stout, at length to stoop, and, maugre their hearts, to confess him, as this Maximinus here did, who, not long after, by the vehemency of his disease, ended his life. Whereby no more tyrants now were left alive to trouble the church, but only Licinius. Of which Licinius, and of his persecutions stirred up in the east parts against the saints of God, now remaineth in order of story to prosecute.

12. The Persecution under Licinius

This Licinius being a Dane born, and made first Cæsar by Galerius, as is above specified, was afterward joined with Constantine in government of the empire, and in setting forth the edicts which before we have described; although it seemeth all this to be done of him with a dissembling mind. For so is he in all histories described to be a man passing all others in desire of unsatiable riches, given to lechery, hasty, stubborn, and furious. To learning he was such an enemy, that he named the same a poison and a common pestilence, and especially the knowledge of the laws. He thought no vice worse became a prince than learning, because he himself was unlearned.

There was between him and Constantine in the beginning great familiarity, and such agreement, that Constantine gave unto him his sister Constantia in matrimony, as Aurelius Victor writeth. Neither would any man have thought him to have been of any other religion than Constantine was of, he seemed in all things so well to agree with him. Whereupon he made a decree with Constantine in the behalf of the Christians, as we have showed. And such was Licinius in the beginning; but after arming himself with tyranny, began to conspire against the person of Constantine, of whom he had received so great benefits; neither favourable to the law of nature, nor mindful of his oaths, his blood, nor promises. But when he considered that in his conspiracies he nothing prevailed, for that he saw Constantine was preserved and safely defended of God, and partly being puffed up with the victory against Maximinus, he began vehemently to hate him, and not only to reject the Christian religion, but also deadly to hate the same. He said he would become an enemy unto the Christians, for that in their assemblies and meetings they prayed not for him, but for Constantine. Therefore, first, by little and little, and that secretly, he went about to wrong and hurt the Christians, and banished them his court, which never were by any means prejudicial to his kingdom. Then he commanded that all those should be deprived which were knights of the honourable order, unless they would do sacrifice to devils. The same persecution afterward stretched he from his court into all his provinces, which, with most wicked and devised laws, he set forth. First, that for no cause the bishops should in any matter communicate together; neither that any man should come at the churches next unto them, or to call any assemblies, and consult for the necessary matters and utility of the church.

After, that the men and women together should not come in companies to pray, nor that the women should come in those places where they used to preach and read the word of God; neither that they should be after that instructed any more of the bishops, but should choose out such women amongst them as should instruct them. The third most cruel and wickedest of all was, that none should help and succour those that were cast in prison, nor should bestow any alms or charity upon them, though they should die for hunger; and they which showed any compassion upon those that were condemned to death should be as greatly punished as they to whom they showed the same should be. These were the most horrible constitutions of Licinius, which went beyond and passed the bounds of nature.

After this he used violence against the bishops, but yet not openly, for fear of Constantine, but privily and by conspiracy; by which means he slew those that were the worthiest men amongst the doctors and prelates. And about Amasea and other

cities of Pontus he razed the churches even with the ground. Other some he shut up, that no man should come after their accustomed manner to pray and worship God; and therefore, as we said before, his conscience accusing him, all this he did, for that he suspected they prayed for Constantine, and not at all for him. And from this place in the east parts to the Libyans, which bordered upon the Egyptians, the Christians durst not assemble and come together for the displeasure of Licinius which he had conceived against them.



urthermore, the flattering officers that were under him, thinking by this means to please him, slew and made out of the way many bishops, and without any cause put them to death, as though they had been homicides and heinous offenders; and such rigour used they towards some of them, that they cut their bodies into gobbets and small pieces, in manner of a butcher, and after that threw them into the sea to feed the fishes. What shall we speak of the exiles and confiscations of good and virtuous men? For he took by violence every man's substance, and cared not by what means he came by the same; but threatened them with death, unless they would forego the same. He banished those which had committed none evil at all. He commanded that both gentlemen and men of honour should be made out of the way; neither yet herewith content, but gave their daughters that were unmarried to varlets and wicked ones to be deflowered. And Licinius himself, (although that by reason of his years his body was spent,) yet shamefully did he vitiate many women, men's wives and maids. Which cruel outrage of him caused many godly men of their own accord to forsake their houses; and it was also seen that the woods, fields, desert places, and mountains were fain to be the habitations and resting-places of the poor and miserable Christians. Of those worthy men and famous martyrs, which in this persecution found the way to heaven, Nicephorus first speaketh of Theodorus, who first being hanged upon the cross, had nails thrust into his armpits, and after that his head stricken off. Also of an other Theodorus, being the bishop of Tyre. The third was a man of Perga. Basilus also the bishop of Amasenus, Nicholaus a bishop, Gregorius of Armenia the Great. After that Paul of Neocesaria, which, by the impious commandment of Licinius, had both his hands cut off with a searing iron. Besides these were in the city of Sebastia forty worthy men and Christian soldiers, in the vehement cold time of winter, soused and drowned in a horsepond, when Locias as yet, of whom we spoke before, and Agricolaus, executing the sheriff's office under Licinius in the east parts, were alive, and were in great estimation for inventing of new and strange torments against the Christians. The wives of those forty good men were carried to Heraclea, a city in Thracia, and there, with a certain deacon, whose name was Amones, were (after innumerable torments by them most constantly endured) slain with the sword. These things writeth Nicephorus. Also Sozomenus, in his ninth book and second chapter, maketh mention of the same martyrs. And Basilus, in a certain oration, seemeth to treat of their history, saving that in the circumstances he somewhat varieth. And surely Licinius was determined, for that the first face of this persecution fell out according to his desire, to have overrun all the Christians; to which thing neither counsel, nor good will, nor yet opportunity, perchance wanted, unless God had brought Constantine into those parts where he governed; where, in the wars which he himself began, (knowing right well that Constantine had intelligence of his conspiracy and treason,) joining battle with him, he was overcome.

Divers battles between them were fought: the first fought in Hungary, where Licinius was overthrown; then he fled into Macedonia, and repairing his army, was again discomfited. Finally, being vanquished both by sea and land, he lastly, at Nicomedia, yielded himself to Constantine, and was commanded to live a private life in Thessalia, where at length he was slain by the soldiers.

Thus have ye heard the end and conclusion of all the seven tyrants which were the authors and workers of this tenth and last persecution against the true people of God. The chief captain and incitor of which persecution was, first, Dioclesian, who died at Salona, as some say, by his own poison, in the year of our Lord three hundred and nineteen. The next was Maximinian, who (as is said) was hanged of Constantine at Masilia, about the year of our Lord three hundred and ten. Then died Galerius, plagued with a horrible disease sent of God. Severus was slain by Maximinian, father of Maxentius, the wicked tyrant who was overcome and vanquished of Constantine, in the year of our Lord three hundred and eighteen. Maximinus the first tyrant tarried not long after, who being overcome by Licinius, died about the year of our Lord three hundred and twenty. Lastly, how this Licinius was overcome by Constantine, and slain in the year of our Lord three hundred twenty and four, is before declared. Only Constantius, the father of Constantine, being a good and a godly emperor, died in the third year of the persecution, in the year of our Lord three hundred and ten, and was buried at York. After whom succeeded his godly father Constantine, as a second Moses, sent and set up of God to deliver his people out of this so miserable captivity into liberty most joyful.

Now remaineth, after the end of these persecutors thus described, to gather up the names and stories of certain particular martyrs, which now are to be set forth, worthy of special memory for their singular constancy and fortitude showed in their sufferings and cruel torments. The names of all which that suffered in this foresaid tenth persecution, being in number infinite, in virtue most excellent, it is impossible here to comprehend; but the most notable, and in most approved authors expressed, we thought here to insert for the more edification of other Christians, which may and ought to look upon their examples, first beginning with Albanus, the first martyr that ever in England suffered death for the name of Christ.



St. Alban's Abbey

At what time Dioclesian and Maximinian the pagan emperors had directed out their letters with all severity for the persecuting of the Christians, Alban, being then an infidel, received into his house a certain clerk flying from the persecutors' hands, whom when Alban beheld continually both day and night to persevere in watching and prayer, suddenly, by the great mercy of God, he began to imitate the example of his faith and virtuous life; whereupon, by little and little, he being instructed by his wholesome exhortation, and leaving the blindness of his idolatry, became at length a perfect Christian. And when the forenamed clerk had lodged with him a certain time, it was informed the wicked prince, that this good man and confessor of Christ (not yet condemned to death) was harboured in Alban's house, or very near unto him. Whereupon immediately he gave in charge to the soldiers to make more diligent inquisition of the matter; who, as soon as they came to the house of Alban the martyr, he, by and by, putting on the apparel where with his guest and master was apparelled, (that is, a garment at that time used, named caracalla,) offered himself in the stead of the other to the soldiers; who, binding him, brought him forthwith to the judge. It fortuned that at that instant when blessed Alban was brought unto the judge, they found the same judge at the altars offering sacrifice unto devils, who, as soon as he saw Alban, was straightways in a great rage, for that he would presume of his own voluntary will to offer himself to peril, and give himself a prisoner to the soldiers for safeguard of his guest whom he harboured, and commanded him to be brought before the images of the devils whom he worshipped, saying, For that thou hadst rather hide and convey away a rebel than to deliver him to the officers, and that (as a contemner of our gods) he should not suffer punishment and merit of his blasphemy, look what punishment he should have had, thou for him shalt suffer the same, if I perceive thee any wit to revolt from our manner of worshipping, But blessed Alban, who, of his own accord, had bewrayed to the persecutors that he was a Christian, feared not at all the

menaces of the prince, but being armed with the spiritual armour, openly pronounced that he would not obey his commandment. Then said the judge, Of what stock or kindred art thou come? Alban answered, What is that to you of what stock soever I came of? if you desire to hear the verity of my religion, I do ye to wit that I am a Christian, and apply myself altogether to that calling. Then said the judge, I would know thy name, and see thou tell me the same without delay. Then said he, My parents named me Alban, and I worship and honour the true and living God, which hath created all the world. Then said the judge, fraught with fury, If thou wilt enjoy the felicity of this present life, do sacrifice (and that out of hand) to these mighty gods. Alban replieth, These sacrifices which ye offer unto devils can neither help them that offer the same, neither yet can they accomplish the desires and prayers of their suppliants; but rather shall they, whatsoever they be, that offer sacrifice to these idols, receive for their meed everlasting pains of hell-fire. The judge, when he heard these words, was passing angry, and commanded the tormentors to whip this holy confessor of God, endeavouring to overcome the constancy of his heart with stripes, which had prevailed nothing with words. And when he was cruelly beaten, yet suffered he the same patiently, nay, rather joyfully, for the Lord's sake. Then when the judge saw that he would not with torments be overcome, nor be reduced from the worship of Christian religion, he commanded him to be beheaded.

The rest that followeth of this story in the narration of Beda, as of drying up the river, as Alban went to the place of his execution; then of making a well-spring in the top of the hill, and of the falling out of the eyes of him that did behead him, (with such other prodigious miracles mentioned in his story,) because they seem more legend-like than truth-like; again, because I see no great profit nor necessity in the relation thereof; I leave them to the free judgment of the reader, to think of them as cause shall move him.

The like estimation I have of the long story, wherein is written at large a fabulous discourse of all the doings and miracles of St. Alban, taken out of the library of St. Albans, compiled (as there is said) by a certain pagan, who (as he saith) afterward went to Rome, there to be baptized. But because in the beginning or prologue of the book the said writer maketh mention of the ruinous walls

of the town of Verolanium, containing the story of Albanus, and of his bitter punishments; which walls were then falling down for age at the writing of the said book, as he saith; thereby it seemeth this story to be written a great while after the martyrdom of Alban, either by a Briton or by an Englishman. If he were a Briton, how then did the Latin translation take it out of the English tongue, as in the prologue he himself doth testify? If he were an Englishman, how then did he go up to Rome for baptism, being a pagan, when he might have been baptized among the Christian Britons more near at home?

But among all other evidences and declarations sufficient to disprove this legendary story of St. Alban, nothing maketh more against it than the very story itself; as where he bringeth in the head of the holy martyr to speak unto the people after it was smitten off from the body. Also where he bringeth in the angels going up and coming down in a pillar of fire, and singing all the night long. Item, in the river which he saith St. Alban made dry, such as were drowned in the same before in the bottom were found alive. With other such like monkish miracles and gross fables, wherewith these abbey-monks were wont in times past to deceive the church of God, and to beguile the whole world for their own advantage. Notwithstanding this, I write not to

any derogation of the blessed and faithful martyr of God, who was the first that I did ever find in this realm to suffer martyrdom for the testimony of Christ; and worthy no doubt of condign condemnation, especially of us here in this land, whose Christian faith in the Lord, and charity towards his neighbour, I pray God all we may follow. As also I wish moreover that the stories, both of him and of all other Christian martyrs, might have been delivered to us simple as they were, without the admixture of all these abbey-like additions of monkish miracles, wherewith they were wont to paint out the glory of such saints to the most by whose offerings they were accustomed to receive most advantage.

As touching the name of the clerk mentioned in this story, whom Alban received into his house, I find in the English stories to be Amphibalus, although the Latin authors name him not, who, the same time flying into Wales, was also fetched from thence again to the same town of Verolanium, otherwise called Verlancaſter, where he was martyred, having his belly opened, and made to run about a stake, while all his bowels were drawn out, then thrust in with swords and daggers, and at last was stoned to death, as the foresaid legend declareth.

Moreover, the same time with Alban suffered also two citizens of the aforesaid city of Verlancaſter, whose names were Aaron and Julius; beside others, whereof a great number the same time no doubt did suffer, although our chronicles of their names do make no rehearsal.

The time of martyrdom of this blessed Alban and the other seemeth to be about the second or third year of this tenth persecution, under the tyranny of Dioclesian, and Maximinianus Herculus, bearing then the rule in England, about the year of our Lord three hundred and one, before the coming of Constantius to his government. Where, by the way, is to be noted, that this realm of Britain, being so christened before, yet never was touched with any other of the nine persecutions, before this tenth persecution of Dioclesian and Maximinian. In which persecution our stories and polychronicon do record, that all Christianity almost in the whole island was destroyed, the churches subverted, all books of the Scripture burned, many of the faithful, both men and women, were slain; amongst whom the first and chief ringleader (as hath been said) was Albanus. And thus much touching the martyrs of Britain. Now from England, to return again unto other countries, where this persecution did more vehemently rage, we will add hereunto (the Lord willing) the stories of others, although not of all that suffered in this persecution, (which were impossible,) but of certain most principal, whose singular constancy in their strong torments are chiefly renowned in later histories; beginning, first, with Romanus, the notable and admirable soldier and true servant of Christ, whose history set forth in Prudentius doth thus proceed; so lamentably by him described, that it will be hard for any man almost with dry cheeks to hear it.

Pitiless Galerius, with his grand captain Asclepiades, violently invaded the city of Antioch, in tending by force of arms to drive all Christians to renounce utterly their pure religion. The Christians, as God would, were at that time congregated together, to whom Romanus hastily ran, declaring that the wolves were at hand which would devour the Christian flock; but fear not, said he, neither let this imminent peril disturb you, my brethren. Brought was it to pass, by the great grace of God working in Romanus, that old men and matrons, fathers and mothers, young men and maidens, were all of one will and mind, most ready to shed their blood in defence of their Christian profession. Word was brought unto the captain, that the band of armed

soldiers was not able to wrest the staff of faith out of the hand of the armed congregation, and all by reason that one Romanus so mightily did encourage them, that they stick not to offer their naked throats, wishing gloriously to die for the name of their Christ. Seek out that rebel, (quoth the captain,) and bring him to me, that he may answer for the whole sect. Apprehended he was, and, bound as a sheep appointed to the slaughterhouse, was presented to the emperor, who with wrathful countenance beholding him, said, What! art thou the author of this sedition? Art thou the cause why so many shall lose their lives? By the gods I swear thou shalt smart for it, and first in thy flesh shalt thou suffer the pains whereunto thou hast encouraged the hearts of thy fellows. Romanus answered, Thy sentence, O emperor, I joyfully embrace; I refuse not to be sacrificed for my brethren, and that by as cruel means as thou mayest invent; and whereas thy soldiers were repelled from the Christian congregation, that so happened, because it lay not in idolaters and worshippers of devils to enter into the holy house of God, and to pollute the place of true prayer. Then Asclepiades, wholly inflamed with this stout answer, commanded him to be trussed up, and his bowels drawn out. The executioners themselves, more pitiful in heart than the captain, said, Not so, sir; this man is of noble parentage, unlawful it is to put a nobleman to so unnoble a death. Scourge him then with whips (quoth the captain) with pieces of lead at the ends. Instead of tears, sighs, and groans, Romanus sung psalms all the time of his whipping, requiring them not to favour him for nobility's sake; Not the blood of my progenitors, (saith he,) but Christian profession, maketh me noble. Then with great power of spirit he inveighed against the captain, laughing to scorn the false gods of the heathen, with the idolatrous worshipping of them, affirming the God of the Christians to be the true God that created heaven and earth, before whose judicial seat all nations shall appear. But the wholesome words of the martyr were as oil to the fire of the captain's fury. The more the martyr spake, the madder was he, insomuch that he commanded the martyr's sides to be lanced with knives, until the bones appeared white again. Sorry am I, O captain, (quoth the martyr,) not for that my flesh shall be thus cut and mangled, but for thy cause am I sorrowful, who, being corrupted with damnable errors, seducest others. The second time he preached at large the living God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, his well-beloved Son, eternal life through faith in his blood, expressing therewith the abomination of idolatry, with a vehement exhortation to worship and adore the living God. At these words Asclepiades commanded the tormentors to strike Romanus on the mouth, that his teeth being stricken out, his pronounciation at leastwise might be impaired. The commandment was obeyed, his face buffeted, his eyelids torn with their nails, his cheeks scotched with knives, the skin of his beard was plucked by little and little from the flesh; finally, his seemly face was wholly defaced. The meek martyr said, I thank thee, O captain, that thou hast opened unto me many mouths, whereby I may preach my Lord and Saviour Christ. Look how many wounds I have, so many mouths I have lauding and praising God. The captain, astonished with this singular constancy, commanded them to cease from the tortures. He threateneth cruel fire, he revileth the noble martyr, he blasphemeth God, saying, Thy crucified Christ is but a yesterday's God, the gods of the Gentiles are of most antiquity.

Here again Romanus, taking good occasion, made a long oration of the eternity of Christ, of his human nature, of the death and satisfaction of Christ for all mankind. Which done, he said, Give me a child, O captain, but seven years of age, which age is free from malice and other vices, wherewith riper age is commonly infected, and thou shalt hear what he will say His request was granted. A pretty boy was called out of the multitude, and set before him. Tell me, my babe, (quoth the martyr,) whether thou think it reason that we worship one Christ, and in Christ one Father, or else that we

worship infinite gods? Unto whom the babe answered, That certainly, whatsoever it be that men affirm to be God, must needs be one, which with one, is one and the same; and inasmuch as this one is Christ, of necessity Christ must be the true God; for that there be many gods, we children cannot believe. The captain, hereat clean amazed, said, Thou young villain and traitor, where and of whom learnedst thou this lesson? Of my mother, (quoth the child,) with whose milk I sucked in this lesson, that I must believe in Christ. The mother was called, and she gladly appeared. The captain commanded the child to be horsed up and scourged. The pitiful beholders of this pitiless act could not temper themselves from tears; the joyful and glad mother alone stood by with dry cheeks; yea, she rebuked her sweet babe for craving a draught of cold water; she charged him to thirst after the cup that the infants of Bethlehem once drank of, forgetting their mothers' milk and paps; she willed him to remember little Isaac, who, be holding the sword wherewith, and the altar whereon, he should be sacrificed, willingly proffered his tender neck to the dint of his father's sword. Whilst this counsel was in giving, the butcherly torturer plucked the skin from the crown of his head, hair and all. The mother cried, Suffer, my child, anon thou shalt pass to Him that will adorn thy naked head with a crown of eternal glory. The mother counselleth, the child is counselled; the mother encourageth, the babe is encouraged, and received the stripes with smiling countenance. The captain, perceiving the child invincible, and himself vanquished, committeth the silly soul, the blessed babe, the child uncherished, to the stinking prison, commanding the torments of Romanus to be renewed and increased, as chief author of this evil.

Thus was Romanus brought forth again to new stripes, the punishments to be renewed and received upon his old sores, insomuch as the bare bones appeared, the flesh all torn away.

Yea, no longer could the tyrant forbear, but needs he must draw nearer to the sentence of death. Is it painful to thee (saith he) to tarry so long alive? A flaming fire, doubt thou not, shall be prepared for thee by and by, wherein thou and that boy, thy fellow of rebellion, shall be consumed into ashes. Romanus and the babe were led to the place of execution. As they laid hands on Romanus, he looked back, saying, I appeal from this thy tyranny, O judge unjust, unto the righteous throne of Christ, that upright Judge, not because I fear thy cruel torments and merciless handlings, but that thy judgments may be known to be cruel and bloody. Now when they welcome to the place, the tormentor required the child of the mother, for she had taken it up in her arms; and she, only kissing it, delivered the babe; Farewell, she said, my sweet child. And as the hangman applied his sword to the babe's neck, she sang on this manner:

All laud and praise with heart and voice,
O Lord, we yield to thee,
To whom the death of all thy saints
We know most dear to be.

The innocent's head being cut off, the mother wrapped it up in her garment, and laid it to her breast. On the other side a mighty fire was made, whereinto Romanus was cast, who said that he should not burn; wherewith a great storm arose (if it be true) and quenched the fire. The captain gave in commandment that his tongue should be cut out. Out was it plucked by the hard roots and cut off: nevertheless he spake, saying, He that speaketh Christ shall never want a tongue; think not that the voice that uttereth Christ hath need of the tongue to be the minister. The captain at this, half out of his wits, bare in hand that the hangman deceived the sight of the people by some subtle sleight and crafty conveyance. Not so, (quoth the hangman,) if you suspect my

deed, open his mouth, and diligently search the roots of his tongue. The captain at length, being confounded with the fortitude and courage of the martyr, straitly commandeth him to be brought back into the prison, and there to be strangled; where, his sorrowful life and pains being ended, he now enjoyeth quiet rest in the Lord, with perpetual hope of his miserable body to be restored again with his soul into a better life, where no tyrant shall have any power.

Gordius was a citizen of Cesarea, a worthy soldier, and captain of a hundred men. He, in the time of extreme persecution, refusing any longer to execute his charge, did choose of his own accord willing exile, and lived in the desert many years a religious and a solitary life. But upon a certain day, when a solemn feast of Mars was celebrated in the city of Cesarea, and much people were assembled in the theatre to behold the games, he left the desert, and got him up into the chief place of the theatre, and with a loud voice uttered this saying of the apostle: Behold, I am found of them which sought me not, and to those which asked not for me have I openly appeared. By which words he let it to be understood that of his own accord he came unto those games. At this noise, the multitude little regarding the sights, looked about to see who it was that made such exclamation. As soon as it was known to be Gordius, and that the crier had commanded silence, he was brought unto the sheriff, who at that instant was present, and ordained the games. When he was asked the question who he was, from whence and for what occasion he came thither, he telleth the truth of every thing as it was: I am come, saith he, to publish, that I set nothing by your decrees against the Christian religion, but that I profess Jesus Christ to be my hope and safety; and when I understood with what cruelty you handled other men, I took this as a fit time to accomplish my desire. The sheriff with these words was greatly moved, and revenged all his displeasure upon poor Gordius, commanding the executioners to be brought out with scourges, while gibbet, and whatsoever torments else, might be devised. Whereunto Gordius answered, saying, that it should be to him a hinderance and damage if he could not suffer and endure divers torments and punishments for Christ's cause. The sheriff, being more offended with his boldness, commanded him to feel as many kind of torments as there were. With all which Gordius, notwithstanding, could not be mastered or overcome; but lifting up his eyes unto heaven, singeth this saying out of the Psalms, The Lord is my helper, I will not fear the thing that man can do to me; and also this saying, I will fear none evil, because thou, Lord, art with me.

After this he, against himself, provoketh the extremity of the tormentors, and blameth them if they favour him any thing at all. When the sheriff saw that hereby he could win but little, he goeth about by gentleness and enticing words to turn the stout and valiant mind of Gordius. He promiseth to him great and large offers if he will deny Christ; as to make him a captain of as many men as any other is, to give him riches, treasure, and what other thing soever he desireth. But in vain (as the proverb is) pipeth the minstrel to him that hath no ears to hear; for he, deriding the foolish madness of the magistrate, saith, that it lieth not in him to place any in authority which be worthy to have a place in heaven. The magistrate, with these words thoroughly angered and vexed, prepared himself to his condemnation. Whom, after that he had condemned, he caused to be had out of the city to be burnt, There run out of the city great multitudes by heaps to see him put to execution: some take him in their arms, and lovingly kiss him, persuading him to take a better way and save himself, and that with weeping tears. To whom Gordius answered, Weep not, I pray you, for me, but rather for the enemies of God, which always make war against the Christians; weep, I say, for them which prepare for us a fire, purchasing hell-fire for themselves in the day of

vengeance; and cease further, I pray you, to molest and disquiet my settled mind. Truly (saith he) I am ready, for the name of Christ, to suffer and endure a thousand deaths, if need were. Some other came unto him which persuaded him to deny Christ with his mouth, and to keep his conscience to himself. My tongue, (saith he,) which by the goodness of God I have, cannot be brought to deny the author and giver of the same; for with the heart we believe unto righteousness, and with the tongue we confess unto salvation. Many more such-like words he spake; but especially uttering to them such matter whereby he might persuade the beholders to death, and to the desire of martyrdom. After all which, with a merry and glad countenance, never changing so much as his colour, he willingly gave himself to be burnt.

Not much unlike to the story of Gordius is the story also of Menas, an Egyptian, who, being likewise a soldier by his profession, in this persecution of Dioclesian forsook all, and went into the desert, where a long time he gave himself to abstinence, watching, and meditation of the Scriptures. At length, returning again to the city Cotis, there, in the open theatre, as the people were occupied upon their spectacles by pastimes, he, with a loud voice, openly proclaimed himself to be a Christian, and upon the same was brought to Pyrrhus the president, of whom he being demanded of his faith, made this answer: Convenient it is that I should (saith he) confess God, in whom is light, and no darkness, forsomuch as Paul doth teach that with heart we believe to righteousness, with mouth confession is given to salvation. After this the innocent martyr was most painfully pinched and cruciated with sundry punishments. In all which, notwithstanding, he declared a constant heart, and faith invincible, having these words in his mouth being in the midst of his torments: There is nothing in my mind that can be compared to the kingdom of heaven; neither is all the world, if it were weighed in balance, able to be conferred with the price of one soul: and said, Who is able to separate us from the love of Jesus Christ our Lord? shall affliction or anguish? And, moreover, (said he,) I have thus learned of my Lord and my King, not to fear them which kill the body, and have no power to kill the soul; but to fear Him rather, who hath power to destroy both body and soul in hell-fire. To make the story short, after manifold torments borne of him and suffered, when the last sentence of death was upon him pronounced, which was, to be beheaded, Menas, being then had to the place of execution, said, I give thee thanks, my Lord God, which hast so accepted me to be found a partaker of thy precious death, and hast not given me to be devoured of my fierce enemies, but hast made me to remain constant in thy pure faith unto this my latter end. And so this blessed soldier, fighting valiantly under the banner of Christ, lost his head and won his soul. Simeon Metaphrast. In the which author there followeth a long narration of the miracles of this holy man, which here for prolixity I do omit.

Basilus, in a certain sermon of forty martyrs, rehearseth this story, not unworthy to be noted. There came (saith he) into a certain place (of which place he maketh no mention) the emperor's marshal, or officer, with the edict which the emperor had set out against the Christians, that whosoever confessed Christ should, after many torments, suffer death. And, first, they did privily suborn certain which should detect and accuse the Christians whom they had found out, or had laid wait for. Upon this the sword, the gibbet, the wheel, and the whips were brought forth; at the terrible sight whereof the hearts of all the beholders did shake and tremble. Some for fear did fly, some did stand in doubt what to do, certain were so terrified at the beholding of these engines and tormenting instruments, that they denied their faith. Some others began the game, and for a time did abide the conflict and agony of

martyrdom; but, vanquished at length by the intolerable pain of their torments, made shipwreck of their consciences, and lost the glory of their confession. Among others, forty there were at that time, young gentlemen, all soldiers, which, after the marshal had showed the emperor's edict, and required of all men the obedience of the same, freely and boldly of their own accord confessed themselves to be Christians, and declared to him their names. The marshal, somewhat amazed at this their boldness of speech, standeth in doubt what was best to do. Yet forthwith he goeth about to win them with fair words, advertising them to consider their youth, neither that they should change a sweet and pleasant life for a cruel and untimely death: after that he promiseth them money and honourable offices in the emperor's name. But they, little esteeming all these things, brake forth into a long and bold oration, affirming that they did neither desire life, dignity, nor money, but only the celestial kingdom of Christ; saying, further, that they are ready, for the love and faith they have in God, to endure the affliction of the wheel, the cross, and the fire. The rude marshal, being herewith offended, devised a new kind of punishment. He spied out in the middle of the city a certain great pond, which lay full upon the cold northern wind, for it was in the winter time, wherein he caused them to be put all that night; but they being merry, and comforting one another, received this their appointed punishment, and said, as they were putting off their clothes, We put off (said they) not our clothes, but we put off the old man, corrupt with the deceit of concupiscence; we give thee thanks, O Lord, that with this our apparel we may also put off, by thy grace, the sinful man; for by means of the serpent we once put him on, and by the means of Jesus Christ we now put him off. When they had thus said, they were brought naked into the place where they left most vehement cold, insomuch that all the parts of their bodies were stark and stiff therewith. As soon as it was day, they yet having breath, were brought into the fire, wherein they were consumed, and their ashes thrown into the flood. By chance there was one of the company more lively, and not so near dead as the rest, of whom the executioners taking pity, said unto his mother standing by, that they would save his life. But she, with her own hands taking her son, brought him to the pile of wood, where the residue of his fellows (crooked for cold) did lie ready to be burnt, and admonished him to accomplish the blessed journey he had taken in hand with his companions.

In this fellowship and company of martyrs cannot be left out and forgot the story of Cyrus. This Cyrus was a physician, born in Alexandria, which, flying into Egypt in the persecution of Dioclesian and Maximian, led a solitary life in Arabia, being much spoken of for his learning and miracles, unto whose company after a certain time did Joannes, born in the city of Edessa, beyond the river Euphrates, join himself, leaving the soldier's life, which before that time he had exercised. But whilst as yet the same persecution raged in a city in Egypt called Canope, there was cast into prison, for the confession of their faith, a certain godly Christian woman, called Athanasia, and her three daughters, Theoctiste, Theodota, and Eudoxia, with whom Cyrus was well acquainted. At whose infirmities he much fearing, accompanied with his brother John, came and visited them for their better confirmation; at which time Lirianus was chief captain and lieutenant of Egypt, of whose wickedness and cruelty, especially against women and maidens, Athanasius maketh mention in his Apologies, and in his Epistle to those that lead a solitary life. This Cyrus, therefore, and Joannes, being accused and apprehended of the heathen men, as by whose persuasions the maidens and daughters of Athanasia contumeliously despised the gods and the emperor's religion, and could by no means be brought to do sacrifice, were, after the

publication of their constant confession, put to death by the sword; Athanasia also and her three daughters being condemned to death.

Sebastian, being born in the part of France called Gallia Narbonensis, was a Christian, and was lieutenant-general of the vanguard of Dioclesian the emperor, who also encouraged many martyrs of Christ by his exhortations unto constancy, and kept them in the faith. He being therefore accused to the emperor, was commanded to be apprehended, and that he should be brought into the open field, where of his own soldiers he was thrust through the body with innumerable arrows, and after that his body was thrown into a jakes or sink. Ambrosius maketh mention of this Sebastian the martyr in his Commentary upon the 118th Psalm; and Simeon Metaphrastes, amongst other martyrs that suffered with Sebastian, numbereth also these following; Nicostratus, with Zoe his wife, Tranquillinus, with Martin his wife, Traglinus, Claudius, Castor, Tibertius, Castellus, Marcus, and Marcellinus, with many others.

Basilus in another sermon also maketh mention of one Barlaam, being a noble and famous martyr, which abode all the torments of the executioners, even to the point of death; which thing when the tormentors saw, they brought him and laid him upon the altar, where they did use to offer sacrifices to their idols, and put fire and frankincense into his right hand, wherein he had yet some strength, thinking that the same his right hand, by the heat and force of the fire, would have scattered the burning incense upon the altar, and so have sacrificed. But of that their hope the pestiferous tormentors were disappointed; for the flame eat round about his hand, and the same endured as though it had been covered with hot embers, whenas Barlaam recited out of the Psalms this saying, Blessed is the Lord my God, which teacheth my hands to fight.

To this narration of Basilus, touching the martyrdom of Barlaam, we will annex consequently another story of Ambrose. He making a certain exhortation to certain virgins, in the same oration commendeth the martyrdoms of Agricola and Vitalis, who suffered also in the same persecution under Dioclesian and Maximinian (as they affirm) at Bononnie. This Vitalis was servant to Agricola, who both together between themselves had made a compact to give their lives with other martyrs for the name of Christ. Whereupon Vitalis, being sent before of his master to offer himself to martyrdom, fell first into the hands of persecutors, who laboured about him by all means to cause him to deny Christ. Which when he would in no case do, but stoutly persisted in the confession of his faith, they began to exercise him with all kind of torments, so unmercifully, that there was no whole skin left on all his body. So Vitalis in the midst of the agony and painful torments, after he had in a short prayer commended himself to God, gave up his life. After him, the tormentors set upon Agricola his master, whose virtuous manners and gentle conditions, because they were singularly well liked and known to the enemies, his suffering therefore was the longer deferred. But Agricola, not abiding the long delay and driving off, and provoking moreover the adversaries to quicker speed, at length was fastened unto the cross, and so finished his martyrdom, which he so long desired.

No less worthy of commemoration is the lamentable martyrdom of Vincentius, whose history here followeth. This Vincentius was a Spaniard, and a Levite most godly and virtuous, who at this time suffered martyrdom at Valence under Dacianus the president, as we may gather by Prudentius in his hymn. Bergomensis in his Supplement reciteth these words concerning his martyrdom, out of a certain sermon of St. Augustine: Our heart conceived not a vain and fruitless sight, (as it were in beholding of lamentable tragedies,) but certainly a great sight and marvellous, and

there with singular pleasure received it, when the painful passion of victorious Vincentius was read unto us. Is there any so heavy-hearted that will not be moved in the contemplation of this immovable martyr, so manly, or rather so godly, fighting against the craft and subtlety of that serpent, against the tyranny of Dacianus, against the horrors of death, and by the mighty Spirit of his God conquering all? But let us in few words rehearse the degrees of his torments, though the pains thereof in many words cannot be expressed. First, Dacianus caused the martyr to be laid upon the torture, and all the joints of his body to be distended and racked out, until they cracked again. This being done in most extreme and cruel manner, all the members of his painful and pitiful body were grievously indented with deadly wounds. Thirdly, (that his dolours and griefs might be augmented,) they miserably vexed his flesh with iron combs sharply filed. And to the end the tormentors might vomit out all their vengeance on the meek and mild martyr's flesh, the tormentors themselves also were vilely scourged at the president's commandment. And lest his passion, through want of pains, might seem imperfect, or else too easy, they laid his body, being all out of joint, on a grate of iron, which when they had opened with iron hooks, they seared it with fiery plates, with hot burning salt sprinkling the same. Last of all, into a vile dungeon was this mighty martyr drawn, the floor whereof first was thick spread with the sharpest shells that might be gotten, his feet then being fast locked in the stocks, there was he left alone without all worldly comfort; but the Lord his God was with him, the Holy Spirit of God (whose office is to comfort the godly afflicted) filled his heart with joy and gladness. Hast thou prepared a terrible rack, O cruel tyrant, O devouring lion, for the martyr's bed? The Lord shall make that bed soft and sweet unto him. Rackest thou his bones and joints all asunder? His bones, his joints, his hairs are all numbered. Tormentest thou his flesh with mortal wounds? The Lord shall pour abundantly into all his sores of his oil of gladness. Thy scraping combs, thy sharp fleshhooks, thy hot searing irons, thy parched salt, thy stinking prison, thy cutting shells, thy pinching stocks, shall turn to this patient martyr to the best. All together shall work contrary to thine expectation, great plenty of joy shall he reap into the barn of his soul out of this mighty harvest of pains that thou hast brought him into. Yea, thou shalt prove him Vincentius indeed; that is, a vanquisher, a triumpher, a conqueror, subduing thy madness by his meekness, thy tyranny by his patience, thy manifold means of tortures by the manifold graces of God, wherewith he is plentifully enriched.

In this catalogue or company of such holy martyrs as suffered in this foresaid tenth persecution, many more and almost innumerable there be expressed in authors beside them whom we have hitherto comprehended; as Philoromus, a man of noble birth and great possessions in Alexandria, who, being persuaded by his friends to favour himself, to respect his wife, to consider his children and family, did not only reject the counsels of them, but also neglected the threats and torments of the judge, to keep the confession of Christ inviolate unto the death, and losing of his head; of whom Eusebius beareth witness that he was there present himself.

Of like estate and dignity was also Procopius in Palestina, who after his conversion brake his images of silver and gold, and distributed the same to the poor, and after all kind of torments, of racking, of cording, of tearing his flesh, of goring and stabbing and of firing, at length had his head also smitten off.

To this may be joined also Georgius, a young man of Cappadocia, who, stoutly inveighing against the impious idolatry of the emperors, was apprehended and cast into prison, then torn with hooked irons, burnt with hot lime, stretched with cords,

after that his hands and feet, with other members of his body, being cut off, at last with a sword had his head cut off.

With these aforementioned add also Sergius and Bacchius, Panthaleon, a physician in Nicomedia, Theodorus, of the city of Amasia in Hellespont, Faustus, a martyr of Egypt, Gereon, with three hundred and eighteen fellow martyrs, who suffered at the same time. Hermogenes, the president of Athens, who, being converted by the constancy of one Menas and Eugraphus in their torments, suffered also for the like faith. Item, Samonas Gurias and Abibus, mentioned in Simeon Metaphrast. Hieron also, with certain of his confessors, under Maximinus, mentioned in Metaphrastes. Judes and Domuas, who suffered with many other martyrs above mentioned at Nicomedia, as recordeth Meta phrastes. Enelasius, Maximinus, the emperor's officers, whom Fausta the virgin in her torments converted. Also Thirsus, Lucius, Callinicius, Apollonius, Philemon, Asilas, Leonides, with Arrianus, president of Thebaide, Cyprianus likewise, a citizen of Antioch, who, after he had continued a long time a filthy magician or sorcerer, at length was converted and made a deacon, then a priest, and at last the bishop of Antioch, of whom partly we touched somewhat before. This Cyprian, with Justina, a virgin, suffered among the martyrs. Item, Glicerius at Nicomedia, Felix, a minister, Fortunatus, Achilleus, deacons in the city of Valent. Arthemius of Rome, Ciriacus, deacon to Marcellus the bishop, Carpophorus, priest at Thuscia, with Abundus his deacon. Item, Claudius, Sirinus, Antoninus, which suffered with Marcellinus the bishop. Cucusatus, in the city of Barcinona. Felix, bishop of Apulia, with Adauctus and Januarius his priest, Fortunatus and Septimus his readers, who suffered in the city Venusina under Dioclesian.

No less admirable than wonderful was the constancy also of women and maidens, who, in the same persecution, gave their bodies to the torments, and their lives for the testimony of Christ, with no less boldness of spirit than did the men themselves above specified, to whom how much more inferior they were of bodily strength, so much more worthy of praise they be, for their constant standing. Of whom some examples here we mind (Christ willing) to infer, such as in our stories and chronicles seem most notable, first beginning with Eulalia, whose story we have taken out of the foresaid Prudentius, as followeth.

In the west part of Spain, called Portugal, is a city great and populous, named Emerita, wherein dwelt and was brought up a virgin, born of noble parentage, whose name was Eulalia; which Emerita, although for the situation thereof was both rich and famous, yet more adorned and famous was the renown thereof, by the martyrdom, blood, and sepulchre of this blessed virgin Eulalia. Twelve years of age was she, and not much above, when she refused great and honourable offers in marriage, as one not skilful nor yet delighting in courtly dalliance, neither yet taking pleasure in purple and gorgeous apparel, or else in precious balms, or costly ornaments and jewels; but forsaking and despising all these and such-like pompous allurements, then showed she herself most busy in preparing her journey to her hoped inheritance and heavenly patronage. Which Eulalia, as she was modest and discreet in behaviour, sage and sober in conditions, so was she also witty and sharp in answering her enemies. But when the furious rage of persecution enforced her to join herself amongst God's children in the household of faith, and when the Christians were commanded to offer incense and sacrifice to devils or dead gods, then began the blessed spirit of Eulalia to kindle; and being of a prompt and ready wit, thought forthwith (as a courageous captain) to give a charge upon this so great and disordered a battle; and so she, silly woman, pouring out the bowels of her innocent heart before God, more provoketh thereby the force and

rage of her enemies against her. But the godly care of her parents, fearing lest the willing mind of this damsel, so ready to die for Christ's cause, might make her guilty of her own death, hid her and kept her close at their house in the country, being a great way out of the city. She yet misliking that quiet life, as also detesting to make such delay, softly stealeth out of the doors (no man knowing thereof) in the night; and in great haste leaving the common way, openeth the hedge gaps, and with weary feet (God knoweth) passed through the thorny and briery places, accompanied yet with spiritual guard; and although dark and dreadful was the silent night, yet had she with her the Lord and Giver of light. And as the children of Israel, coming out of Egypt, had, by the mighty power of God, a cloudy pillar for their guide in the day, and a flame of fire in the night; so had this godly virgin, travelling in this dark night, when she, flying and forsaking the place where all filthy idolatry abounded, and hastened her heavenly journey, was not oppressed with the dreadful darkness of the night; but yet she, before the day appeared, in this her speedy journey, with herself considered and mused on a thousand matters and more.

In the morning betime, with a bold courage, she goeth unto the tribunal or judgment-seat and in the midst of them all with a loud voice crying out, said, I pray you, what a shame is it for you thus rashly and without advisement to destroy and kill men's souls, and to throw their bodies alive against the rocks, and cause them to deny the omnipotent God! Would you know, O you unfortunate, what I am? Behold, I am one of the Christians, an enemy to your devilish sacrifices; I spurn your idols under my feet, I confess God omnipotent with my heart and mouth, Isis, Apollo, and Venus, what are they? Maximinus himself, what is he? The one a thing of nought, for that they be the works of men's hands; the other but a castaway, because he worshippeth the same work. Therefore frivolous are they both, and both not worthy to be set by. Maximinus is a lord of substance, and yet he himself falleth down before a stone, and voweth the honour of his dignity unto those that are much inferior to his vassals. Why then doth he oppress so tyrannically more worthy stomachs and courages than himself? He must needs be a good guide and an upright judge which feedeth upon innocent blood, and breathing in the bodies of godly men, doth rend and tear their bowels, and, that more is, hath his delight in destroying and subverting the faith.

Go to therefore, thou hangman, burn, cut, and mangle thou these earthly members. It is an easy matter to break a brittle substance, but the inward mind shalt thou not hurt for any thing thou canst do. The pretor then, or judge, with these words of hers, set in a great rage, saith, Hangman, take her and pull her out by the hair of her head, and torment her to the uttermost; let her feel the power of our country gods, and let her know what the imperial government of a prince is. But yet, O thou

sturdy girl, fain would I have thee (if it were possible) before thou die to revoke this thy wickedness. Behold what pleasures thou mayest enjoy by the honourable house thou camest of; thy fallen house and progeny followeth thee to death with lamentable tears, and the heavy nobility of thy kindred maketh doleful lamentation for thee. What meanest thou? Wilt thou kill thyself, so young a flower, and so near these honourable marriages and great dowries thou mayest enjoy? Doth not the glistening and golden pomp of the bride-bed move thee? Doth not the reverend piety of thine ancestors prick thee? Whom is it not but that this thy rashness and weakness grieveth? Behold here the furniture ready prepared for thy terrible death: either shalt thou be beheaded with this sword, or else with these wild beasts shalt thou be pulled in pieces, or else thou, being cast into the fiery flames, shalt be (although lamentably bewailed of thy friends and kinsfolks) consumed to ashes. What great matter is it for thee, I pray thee, to escape all

this? If thou wilt but take and put with thy fingers a little salt and incense into the censers, thou shalt be delivered from all these punishments. To this Eulalia made no answer, but being in a great fury, she spitteth in the tyrant's face, she throweth down the idols, and spurneth abroad with her feet the heap of incense prepared to the censers. Then, without further delay, the hangmen with both their strengths took her, and pulled one joint from another, and with the talons of wild beasts scotched her sides to the hard bones; she all this while singing and praising God in this wise: Behold, O Lord, I will not forget thee: what a pleasure is it for them, O Christ, that remember thy triumphant victories, to attain unto these high dignities! and still called upon that holy name, all stained and imbrued with her own blood. This sang she with a bold voice, neither lamentingly nor yet weepingly, but being glad and merry, abandoning from her mind all heaviness and grief, even when out of a warm fountain and from her mangled members the fresh blood bathed her white and fair skin. Then proceeded they to the last and final torment, which was not only the goring and wounding of her mangled body with the iron grate and hurdle, and terrible harrowing of her flesh, but the burning on every side with flaming torches of her tormented breasts and sides: her hair hanging about her shoulders, in two parts divided, (wherewith her shame-faced chastity and virginity was covered,) reached down to the ground. But when the crackling flame fleeth about her face, kindled by her hair, and reacheth the crown of her head, then she, desiring swift death, openeth her mouth and swalloweth the flame, and so rested she in peace.



Martyrdom of St. Eulalia

Prudentius and Ado, also Equilinus, add moreover, writing of a white dove issuing out of her mouth at her departing, and of the fire quenched about her body, also of her body covered miraculously with snow, with other things more, whereof let every reader use his own judgment.

As ye have heard now the Christian life and constant death of Eulalia, much worthy of praise and commendation; so no less commendation is worthy to be given to blessed Agnes, that constant damsel and martyr of God, who, as she was in Rome of honourable parents begotten, so lieth she there as honourably entombed and buried. Which Agnes, for her unspotted and undefiled virginity, deserved no less praise and commendation than for her willing death and martyrdom. Some writers make of her a long discourse, more in my judgment than necessary, reciting divers and sundry strange miracles by her done in the process of her history; which, partly for tediousness, partly for the doubtfulness of the author, (whom some father upon Ambrose,) and partly for the strangeness and incredibility thereof, I omit, being satisfied with that which Prudentius briefly writeth of her, as followeth: She was (saith he) young, and not marriageable, when first she, being dedicated to Christ, boldly resisted the wicked edicts of the emperor, lest that through idolatry she might have denied and forsaken the holy faith; but yet though proved by divers and sundry policies to induce her to the same, (as now with the flattering and enticing words of the judge, now with the threatenings of the storming executioner,) she stood notwithstanding stedfast in all courageous strength, and willingly offered her body to hard and painful torments, not refusing (as she said) to suffer whatsoever it should be, yea, though it were death itself. Then said the cruel tyrant, If to suffer pain and torment be so easy a matter and lightly regarded of thee, and that thou accountest thy life nothing worth, yet the shame of thy dedicated or vowed virginity is a thing more regarded I know, and esteemed of thee. Wherefore this is determined, that unless thou wilt make obeisance unto the altar of Minerva, and ask forgiveness of her for thy arrogancy, thou shalt be sent or abandoned to the common stews or brothel-house. Agnes the virgin, with more spirit than vehemency, inveigheth against both Minerva and her virginity. The youth in crowds flock and run together, and crave that they may have Agnes their libidinous prey. Then saith Agnes, Christ is not so forgetful of those that be his, that he will suffer violently to be taken from them their golden and pure chastity, neither will he leave them so destitute of help; he is always at hand and ready to fight for such as are shame-faced and chaste virgins, neither suffereth he his gifts of holy integrity or chastity to be polluted. Thou shalt, saith she, willingly bathe thy sword in my blood if thou wilt, but thou shalt not defile my body with filthy lust for any thing thou canst do. She had no sooner spoken these words, but he commanded that she should be set naked at the corner of some street (which place at that time such as were strumpets commonly used); the greater part of the multitude, both sorrowing and shaming to see so shameless a sight, went their ways, some turning their heads, some hiding their faces. But one amongst the rest with uncircumcised eyes beholding the damsel, and that in such opprobrious wise, behold a flame of fire like unto a flash of lightning falleth upon him, and striketh his eyes out of his head; whereupon he for dead falling unto the ground, sprawleth in the kennel dirt; whose companions taking him up, and carrying him away, bewailed him as a dead man; but the virgin, for this her miraculous delivery from the danger and shame of that place, singeth praises to God and Christ.

There be (saith Prudentius) that report, how that she, being desired to pray unto Christ for the party that a little before with fire from heaven for his incontinency was stricken, was restored by her prayer both unto his perfect health and sight. But blessed Agnes, after that she had climbed this her first grief and step unto the heavenly palace, forth with began to climb another; for fury engendering now the mortal wrath of her bloody enemy, wringing his hands, he crieth out, saying, I am undone, o thou the executioner, draw out thy sword, and do thine office that the emperor hath appointed

thee. And when Agnes saw a sturdy and cruel fellow (to behold) stand behind her, or approaching near to her with a naked sword in his hand; I am now gladder, saith she, and rejoyce that such a one as thou, being a stout, fierce, strong, and sturdy soldier, art come, than one more feeble, weak, and faint should come, or else any other young man sweetly embalmed, and wearing gay apparel, that might destroy me with funeral shame. This, even this, is he, I now confess, that I do love. I will make haste to meet him, and will no longer protract my longing desire. I will willingly receive into my paps the length of his sword, and into my breast will draw the force thereof even unto the hilts, that thus I being married unto Christ my spouse, may surmount and escape all the darkness of this world, that reacheth even unto the skies, O eternal Governor, vouchsafe! to open the gates of heaven, once shut up against all the inhabitants of the earth, and receive, O Christ, my soul that seeketh thee. Thus speaking, and kneeling upon her knees, she prayeth unto Christ above in heaven, that her neck might be the readier for the sword, now hanging over the same. The executioner then with his bloody hand finished her hope, and at one stroke cutteth off her head, and by such short and swift death doth he prevent her of the pain thereof.

I have oftentimes before complained, that the stories of saints have been powdered and sauced with divers untrue additions and fabulous inventions of men, who either of a superstitious devotion, or of a subtle practice, have so mangled their stories and lives, that almost nothing remaineth in them simple and uncorrupt, as in the usual portions wont to be read for daily service is manifest and evident to be seen; wherein few legends there be able to abide the touch of history, if they were truly tried. This I write upon the occasion specially of good Katharine, whom now I have in hand; in whom although I nothing doubt but in her life was great holiness, in her knowledge excellency, in her death constancy; yet that all things be true that be storied of her, neither dare I affirm, neither am I bound so to think; so many strange fictions of her be feigned diversly of divers writers, whereof some seem incredible, some also impudent. As where Petrus de Natalibus, writing of her conversion, declareth, how that Katharine sleeping before a certain picture or table of the crucifix, Christ with his mother Mary appeared unto her; and when Mary had offered her unto Christ to be his wife, he first refused her for her blackness. The next time, she being baptized, Mary appearing again, offered her to marry with Christ, who then being liked, was espoused to him and married, having a golden ring the same time put on her finger in her sleep, &c. Bergomensis writeth thus, that because she in the sight of the people openly resisted the emperor Maxentius to his face, and rebuked him for his cruelty, therefore she was commanded and committed upon the same to prison, which seemeth hitherto not much to digress from truth. It followeth, moreover, that the same night an angel came to her, comforting and exhorting her to be strong and constant unto the martyrdom, for that she was a maid accepted in the sight of God, and that the Lord would be with her for whose honour she did fight, and that he would give her a mouth and wisdom which her enemies should not withstand; with many other things more which I here omit. As this also I omit concerning the fifty philosophers, whom she in disputation convicted and converted unto our religion, and died martyrs for the same. Item, of the converting of Porphyrius, kinsman to Maxentius, and Faustina, the emperor's wife. At length, (saith the story,) after she proved the rack, and the four sharp cutting wheels, having at last her head cut off with the sword, so she finished her martyrdom, about the year of our Lord (as Antoninus affirmeth) three hundred and ten. Simeon Metaphrastes, writing of her, discourseth the same more at large, to whom they may resort which covet more therein to be satisfied.

Among the works of Basil a certain oration is extant concerning Julitta the martyr, who came to her martyrdom (as he witnesseth) by this occasion. A certain avaricious and greedy person of great authority, and (as it may appear) the emperor's deputy, or other like officer, (who abused the decrees and laws of the emperor against the Christians, to his own lucre and gain,) violently took from this Julitta all her goods, lands, chattels, and servants, contrary to all equity and right. She made her pitiful complaint to the judges: a day was appointed when the cause should be heard. The spoiled woman and the spoiling extortioner stood forth together; the woman lamentably declareth her cause, the man frowningly beholdeth her face. When she had proved that of good right the goods were her own, and that wrongfully he had dealt with her, the wicked and blood-thirsty wretch, preferring the worldly substance before the precious substance of a Christian body, affirmed her action to be of no force, for that she was an outlaw, in not observing the emperor's gods, since her Christian faith hath been first abjured. His allegation was allowed as good and reasonable. Whereupon incense and fire were prepared for her to worship the gods, which, unless she would do, neither the emperor's protection, nor laws, nor judgment, nor life, should she enjoy in that commonwealth. When this handmaid of the Lord heard these words, she said, Farewell life, welcome death; farewell riches, welcome poverty. All that I have, if it were a thousand times more, would I rather lose, than to speak one wicked and blasphemous word against God my Creator. I yield thee thanks most hearty, O my God, for this gift of grace, that I can condemn and despise this frail and transitory world, esteeming Christian profession above all treasures. Henceforth when any question was demanded, her answer was, I am the servant of Jesus Christ. Her kindred and acquaintance flocking to her, advertised her to change her mind. But that vehemently she refused, with detestation of their idolatry. Forthwith the judge, with the sharp sword of sentence, not only cutteth off all her goods and possessions, but judgeth her also to the fire most cruelly. The joyful martyr embraceth the sentence as a thing most sweet and delectable. She addresseth herself to the flames in countenance, gesture, and words, declaring the joy of her heart, coupled with singular constancy. To the women beholding her, sententiously she spake: Stick not, O sisters, to labour and travail after true piety and godliness. Cease to accuse the fragility of feminine nature. What! are not we created of the same matter that men are? Yea, after God's image and similitude are we made, as lively as they. Not flesh only God used in the creation of the woman, in sign and token of her infirmity and weakness; but bone of bones is she, in token that she must be strong in the true and living God, all false gods forsaken; constant in faith, all infidelity renounced; patient in adversity, all worldly ease refused. Wax weary, my dear sisters, of your lives led in darkness, and be in love with my Christ, my God, my Redeemer, my Comforter, which is the true Light of the world. Persuade yourselves, or rather the Spirit of the living God persuade you, that there is a world to come, wherein the worshippers of idols and devils shall be tormented perpetually, the servants of the high God shall be crowned eternally. With these words she embraced the fire, and sweetly slept in the Lord.

There have been moreover, beside these above recited, divers godly women and faithful martyrs; as Barbara, a noble woman in Thracia, who, after miserable prisonment, sharp cords, and burning flames put to her sides, was at last beheaded. Also Fausta, the virgin which suffered under Maximinus, by whom Eulaisius, a ruler of the emperor's palace, and Maximinus the president, were both converted, and also suffered martyrdom, as witnesseth Metaphrastes. Item, Juliana, a virgin of singular beauty in Nicomedia, who, after divers agonies, suffered likewise under Maximinus. Item, Anasia, a maid of Thessalonica, who under the said Maximinus suffered. Justina,

which suffered with Cyprianus, bishop of Antioch; not to omit also Tecla, although most writers do record that she suffered under Nero. All which holy maids and virgins glorified the Lord Christ with their constant martyrdom, in this tenth and last persecution of Dioclesian.

During the time of which persecution these bishops of Rome succeeded one after another: Caius, who succeeded next after Xistus before mentioned, Marcellinus, Marcellus, (of whom Eusebius, in his story, maketh no mention,) Eusebius, and then Miltiades; all which died martyrs in the tempest of this persecution. First, Marcellinus, after the martyrdom of Caius, was ordained bishop; he, being brought by Dioclesian to the idols, first yielded to their idolatry, and was seen to sacrifice; wherefore, being excommunicated by the Christians, he fell into such repentance, that he returned again to Dioclesian, where he, standing to his former confession, and publicly condemning the idolatry of the heathen, recovered the crown of martyrdom, suffering with Claudius, Cyrinus, and Antoninus.

Marcellus likewise was urged of Maxentius to renounce his bishopric and religion, and to sacrifice with them to idols, which, when he constantly refused, was beaten with cudgels, and so expelled the city. Then he, entering into the house of Lucina, a widow, assembled there the congregation, which, when it came to the ears of Maxentius the tyrant, he turned the house of Lucina into a stable, and made Marcellus the keeper of the beasts; who, with the stink thereof and miserable handling, was put to death. Eusebius sat bishop of Rome seven months, Marianus Scotus saith eight months, Damasus affirmeth six years; Sabellicus allegeth certain authors that say that he was slain by Maximianus, but correcteth that himself, affirming that Maximianus died before him.

Miltiades, by the testimony of Platina and others that follow him, sat three years and seven months, and suffered under Maximianus. But that seemeth not to be true, as both Sabellicus doth rightly note, affirming that the same cannot stand by the supputation of time; forasmuch as the said Galerius Maximianus reigned but two years, and died before Miltiades. Also Eusebius manifestly expresseth the example of a letter of Constantine written to this Miltiades, bishop of Rome. plainly convicting that to be false which Platina affirmeth.

In the book collected of general councils, among the decretal epistles, there is a long tractation about the judgment and condemnation of Marcellinus; whereof the masters and patrons of popery in these our days take great hold to prove the supremacy of the pope to be above all general councils, and that he ought not to be subject to the condemnation of any person or persons. The circumstance and proceeding of this judgment, if rightly weighed, maketh very little to the purpose of these men. Neither is it true that the bishops of this Council of Sinuesse did not condemn Marcellinus, for the words of the council be plain: They subscribed, therefore, to his condemnation, and condemned him to be expelled out of the city. Moreover, by the said Council were brought in the forty-two witnesses against Marcellinus. In the said Council, the verdict of the same witnesses was demanded, and also received. Furthermore, Quirinus, one of the bishops, there openly protested, that he would not depart the Council before the malice of the bishops was revealed. What doth all this declare, but that the bishop of Rome was called there, and did appear before the judgment-seat of the Council, and there stood subject to their sentence and authority, by the which he was expelled out of the city? As for the words of the Council, whereupon our papists stand so much: Thou wilt be condemned not by our judgment, but by your own. With your own mouth

determine your own cause. These words import not here the authority of the Roman bishop to be above the Council; neither do they declare what the Council could not do, but what they would and wished rather to be done, that is, that he should rather acknowledge his Crime before God and them, with a voluntary yielding of his heart, than that the confession of such a heinous fact should be extorted from him through their condemnation, for that they saw to be expedient for his soul's health; otherwise their condemnation should serve him to small purpose; and so it came to pass. For he being urged of them to condemn himself, so did, prostrating himself and weeping before them. Whereupon immediately they proceeded to the sentence against him, condemning and pronouncing him to be expelled the city. Now whether by this may be gathered that the bishop of Rome ought not to be cited, accused, and condemned by any person or persons, let the indifferent reader judge simply.

As touching the decretal epistles, which he entitled under the names of these foresaid bishops, whoso well adviseth them, and with judgment will examine the stile, the time, the argument, the hanging together of the matter, and the constitutions in them contained, (little serving to any purpose, and nothing serving for those troublesome days then present,) may easily discern them either in no part to be theirs, or much of the same to be elouted and patched by the doings of others, which lived in other times, especially seeing all the constitutions in them for the most part tend to the setting up and to exalt the see of Rome above all other bishops and churches, and to reduce all causes and appeals to the said see of Rome. So the epistle of Caius, beginning with the commendation of the authority of his see, endeth after the same tenor, willing and commanding all difficult questions in all provinces whatsoever emerging to be referred to the see apostolical. Moreover, the greatest part of the said epistle is contained in the epistle of Leo unto Leo the emperor; and so rightly agreeth in all points with the style of Leo, that evident it is the same to be borrowed out of Leo, and to be patched into the epistle of Caius out of Leo.

Likewise the epistle of Marcellinus, to get more authority with the reader, is admired with a great part of Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians, word for word. And how it is like that Marcellinus, which died in the twentieth year of Dioclesian, could write of consubstantiality of the Divine Persons, when that controversy and term of consubstantiality was not beard of in the church before the Nicene Council, which was twenty-three years after him? But especially the two epistles of Marcellus bewray themselves, so that for the confuting thereof needeth no other probation more than only the reading of the same. Such a glorious style of ambition therein doth appear, as it is easy to be understood not to proceed either from such a humble martyr, or to savour any thing of the misery of such a time. His words of his first epistle, written unto the brethren of Antioch, and alleged in the pope's decrees by Gratianus, are these:

"We desire you, brethren, that you do not teach nor conceive any other thing but as ye have received of the blessed apostle St. Peter, and of other apostles and fathers. For of him ye were first of all instructed; wherefore you must not forsake your own father, and follow others. For he is the head of the whole church, to whom the Lord said, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church,' &c. Whose seat was first with you in Antioch, which afterward, by the commandment of the Lord, was translated from thence to Rome, of the which church of Rome I am this day placed (by the grace of God) to be the governor. From the which church of Rome neither ought you to separate yourselves, seeing to the same church all manner of causes ecclesiastical being of any importance (God's grace so disposing) are commanded to be referred; by the same to be ordered regularly, from whence they took their first

beginning," &c. And followeth consequently upon the same, "And if your church of Antioch, which was once the first, will now yield herself unto the see of Rome, there is no other church else that will not subject itself to our dominion; to whom all other bishops whosoever, as they must needs do, (according to the decrees of the apostles and their successors,) ought to fly, as to have their head, and must appeal to the same, there to have their redress and their protection, from whence they took their first instruction and consecration," &c.

Whether this be like matter to proceed from the spirit of Marcellus, that blessed martyr, in those so dreadful days, I say no more, but only desire the gentle reader to judge.

In his second epistle, moreover, the said Marcellus, writing to Maxentius the bloody tyrant, first reprehendeth him for his cruelty, sharply admonishing him how and what to do; to learn and seek the true religion of God, to maintain his church, to honour and reverence the priests of God; and especially exhorteth him to charity, and that he would cease from persecution, &c. All this is possible and like to be true. But now mark, good reader, what blanched stuff here followed withal; as where he, alleging the statutes and sanctions of his predecessors, declareth and discusseth that no bishop nor minister ought to be persecuted or deprived of his goods. And if they be, then ought they to have their possessions and places again restored by the law, before they were bound by the law to answer to their accusations laid in against them; and so after that, in convenient time, to be called to a council; the which council notwithstanding, without the authority of the holy see, cannot proceed regularly, albeit it remain in his power to assemble certain bishops together. Neither can he regularly condemn any bishop appealing to this his apostolical see before the sentence definitive do proceed from the foresaid see, &c. And it followeth after, And therefore (saith he) let no bishop, of what crime soever he be attached, come to his accusation or be heard, but in his own ordinary synod at his convenient time; the regular and apostolical authority being joined withal. Moreover, in the said epistle, writing unto Maxentius, he decreeth that no laymen, or any suspected bishop, ought to accuse prelates of the church: "So that if they be either laymen, or men of evil conversation, or proved manifest enemies, or incensed with any hatred, their accusations against any bishops ought not to stand," with other such matters, concerning the disposition of a judicial court. Which matter, if Pope Gregory the Seventh had written unto Henry the Third, emperor, or if Pope Alexander the Third had written to the Emperor Fredericus the First, it might have stood with some reason and opportunity of time, But now for Marcellus to write these decrees, in such persecution of the church, to Maxentius, the heathen and most cruel emperor, how unlike it is to be true, and how it served then to purpose, the reader may soon discern. And yet these be the epistles and constitutions decretal whereby (under the pretended title of the fathers) all churches of late time, and all ecclesiastical causes, have been, and yet are, in this realm of England to this day governed, directed, and disposed.

The like discussion and examination I might also make of the other epistles that follow of Eusebius and Miltiades, which all tend to the same scope, that no prelate or bishop ought to come to his answer before they be orderly and fully restored again to their possessions. Who, moreover, in the said their epistles still harp upon this key of the Scripture, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church." Declaring, moreover, that this privilege of judging all men, and to be judged of no man, but only to be left to the judgment of the Lord was given to this foresaid holy see of Rome from time of the apostles, and chiefly left with Peter the holy key-keeper: so

that although the election of the apostles was equal, yet this was chiefly granted to St. Peter, to have pre-eminence above the rest. Concluding in the end hereby, That always all greater causes, as be the matters of bishops, and such other cares of weighty importance, should be brought to the see of St. Peter, the blessed prince of the apostles, &c. These be the words of Miltiades and Eusebius, whereby it may partly be smelled, of him that hath any nose, what was the meaning of them which forged these writings and letters upon these ancient holy martyrs.

This I cannot but marvel at, in the third epistle of Eusebius the bishop of Rome, that whereas Marcellinus, his late predecessor before, in his own time and remembrance did fall so horribly, and was condemned for the same justly to be expelled the city by the council of three hundred bishops; yet notwithstanding the foresaid Eusebius, in his third epistle, alleging that place of *Tu es Petrus*, bringeth in for a proof of the same, and saith, For in the apostolical see always the catholic religion hath been preserved without any spot or blemish.

But howsoever the forgers of these decretal epistles have forgotten themselves, most certain it is, that these holy bishops, unto whom they were and are ascribed, lived perfect good men, and died blessed martyrs. Of whom this Miltiades was the last among all the bishops of Rome here in the west church of Europe that ever was in danger of persecution to be martyred yet to this present day.

And thus have ye heard the stories and names of such blessed saints which suffered in the time of persecution, from the nineteenth year of Dioclesian to the seventh and last year of Maxentius, described, with the deaths also and plagues upon these tormentors and cruel tyrants, which were the cap tains of the same persecution. And here cometh in (blessed be Christ) the end of these persecutions here in these west churches of Europe, so far as the dominion of blessed Constantine did chiefly extend.

Yet notwithstanding in Asia all persecution as yet ceased not for the space of four years, as above is mentioned, by the means of wicked Licinius, under whom divers there were holy and constant martyrs that suffered grievous torments; as Hermilus, a deacon, and Stratonicus, a keeper of the prison, both which, after their punishments sustained, were strangled in the flood Ister. Also Thodorus the captain, who, being sent for of Licinius, because he would not come, and because he brake his gods in pieces, and gave them to the poor, therefore was fastened to the cross, and after being pierced with sharp pricks or bodkins in the secret parts of his body, was at last beheaded. Add to these also Miles, who, being first a soldier, was afterward made bishop of a certain city in Persia, where he, seeing himself could do no good to convert them, after many tribulations and great afflictions among them, cursed the city and departed; which city shortly after, by Saporess king of Persia, was destroyed.

13. Persecutions in Persia

In the same country of Persia, about this time suffered, under Saporess the king, (as recordeth Simeon Metasthenes,) divers valiant and constant martyrs; as Acindimus, Pegasius, Anempodistus, Epidephorus, also Simeon, archbishop of Seleucia, with Ctesiphon, another bishop in Persia, with other ministers and religious men of that region, to the number of one hundred and twenty-eight. Of this Simeon and Ctesiphon thus writeth Sozomen That the idolatrous magicians in Persia, taking counsel together against the Christians, accused Simeon and Ctesiphon to Saporess the king, for that they were grateful and accepted unto the Roman emperor, and bewrayed to him such things as were done in the land of Persia. Whereupon Saporess, being moved, took great displeasure against the Christians, oppressing them with taxes and tributes unto their utter impoverishing, killing all their priests with the sword; after that calleth for Simeon the archbishop, who there before the king declared himself a worthy and a valiant captain of Christ's church. For when Saporess had commanded him to be led to suffer torments, he neither shrunk for any fear, nor showed any great humble suit of submission for any pardon; whereat the king partly marvelling, partly offended, asked why he did not kneel down as he was wont before to do. Simeon to this answered: For that, saith he, before this time I was not brought unto you in bonds to betray the true God, as I am now; and so long I refused not to accomplish that which the order and custom of the realm of me required; but now it is not lawful for me so to do, for now I come to stand in defence of our religion and true doctrine. When Simeon thus had answered, the king, persisting in his purpose, offereth to him the choice, either to worship with him after his manner, (promising to him many great gifts if he would so do,) or, if he would not, threateneth to him, and to all the other Christians within his land, destruction. But Simeon, neither allured with his promises, nor terrified with his threatenings, continued constant in his doctrine professed, so as neither he could be induced to idolatrous worship, nor yet to betray the truth of his religion. For the which cause he was committed into bonds, and there commanded to be kept to the king's pleasure further known.

It befell in the way, as he was going to the prison, there was sitting at the king's gate a certain eunuch, an old tutor or schoolmaster of the king's, named Usthazares, who had been once a Christian, and afterward, falling from his profession, fell with the heathenish multitude to their idolatry. This Usthazares, sitting at the door of the king's palace, and seeing Simeon passing by led to the prison, rose up and revered the bishop. Simeon again with sharp words (as the time would suffer) rebuked him, and in great anger cried out against him, which, being once a Christian, would so cowardly revolt from his profession, and to return again to the heathenish idolatry. At the hearing of these words the eunuch, forthwith bursting out into tears, laying away his courtly apparel, which was sumptuous and costly, and putting upon him a black and mourning weed, sitteth before the court gates weeping and bewailing, thus saying with himself: Woe is me! with what hope, with what face shall I look hereafter for my God, which have denied my God, whenas this Simeon, my familiar acquaintance, thus passing by me, so much disdaineth me, that he refuseth with one gentle word to salute me!

These words being brought to the ears of the king, (as such tale-carriers never lack in princes' courts,) procured against him no little indignation. Whereupon Saporess

the king sending for him, first with gentle words and courtly promises began to speak him fair, asking him what cause he had so to mourn, and whether there was any thing in his house which was denied him, or which he had not at his own will and asking. Whereunto Usthazares answering again, said, that there was no thing in that earthly house which was to him lacking, or whereunto his desire stood. Yea, would God, (said he.) O king, any other grief or calamity in all the world, whatsoever it were, had happened to me rather than this, for the which I do most justly mourn and sorrow. For this sorroweth me, that I am this day alive, who should rather have died long since, and that I see this sun, which, against my heart and mind, for your pleasure dissemblingly I appeared to worship; for which cause double wise I am worthy of death: first, for that I have denied Christ; secondly, because I did dissemble with you. And continuing upon these words, and swearing by Him that made both heaven and earth, he affirmed most certainly, that although he had played the fool before, he would never be so mad again, as, instead of the Creator and Maker of all things, to worship the creatures which he had made and created. Sapiens the king being astonished at the so sudden alteration of this man, and doubting with himself whether to be angry with those enhancers or with him, whether to entreat him with gentleness or with rigour, at length in this mode commanded the said Usthazares, his old ancient servant, and first tutor and bringer up of his youth, to be had away, and to be beheaded. As he was going to the place of execution, he desired of the executioners a little to stay, while he might send a message unto the king, which was this, (sent in by certain of the king's most trusty eunuchs,) desiring him, that, for all the old and faithful service he had done to his father and to him, he would now requite him with this one office again, to cause to be cried openly by a public crier in these words following; That Usthazares was beheaded, not for any treachery or crime committed against the king or the realm, but only for that he was a Christian, and would not at the king's pleasure deny his God. And so according unto his request it was performed and granted. For this cause did Usthazares so much desire the cause of his death to be published, because that as his shrinking back from Christ was a great occasion to many Christians to do the like; so now the same, hearing that Usthazares died for no other cause but only for the religion of Christ, should learn likewise by his example to be fervent and constant in that which they profess. And thus this blessed eunuch did consummate his martyrdom. Of the which his said martyrdom Simeon, being in prison, hearing, was very joyful, and gave God thanks; who, in the next day following, being brought forth before the king, and constantly refusing to condescend unto the king's request, to worship visible creatures, was likewise by the commandment of the king beheaded, with a great number more, which the same day also did suffer, to the number (as is said) of a hundred and more; all which were put to death before Simeon, he standing by and exhorting them with comfortable words; admonishing them to stand firm and steadfast in the Lord; preaching and teaching them concerning death, resurrection, and true piety; and proved by the Scriptures that to be true which he had said: declaring moreover that to be true life indeed so to die, and that to be death indeed to deny or betray God for fear of punishment; and added, further, that there was no man alive but needs once must die; "Forsomuch as to all men is appointed necessarily here to have an end; but those things which after this life follow hereafter to be eternal, which neither shall come to all men after one sort. But as the condition and trade of life in divers men doth differ, and is not in all men like; so the time shall come when all men in a moment shall render and receive according to their doings in this present life immortal rewards; such as have here done well, of life and glory; such as have done contrary, of perpetual punishment. As touching therefore our well-doing, here is no

doubt but, of all other our holy actions and virtuous deeds, there is no higher or greater deed than if a man here lose his life for his Lord God." With these words of comfortable exhortation the holy martyrs, being prepared, willingly yielded up their lives to death. After whom at last followed Simeon, with two other priests or ministers of his church, Abedecalaas and Ananias, which also with him were partakers of the same martyrdom.

At the suffering of those above mentioned, it happened that Pusices, one of the king's officers, and overseer of his artificers, was there present, who seeing Ananias, being an aged old father, somewhat to shake and tremble at the sight of them that suffered, O father, (said he,) a little moment shut thine eyes, and be strong, and shortly thou shalt see the sight of God. Upon these words thus spoken, Pusices immediately was apprehended and brought unto the king, who there confessing himself constantly to be a Christian, and for that he was very bold and hardy before the king in the cause of Christ's faith, was extremely and most cruelly handled in the execution of his martyrdom. For in the upper part of his neck they made a hole to thrust in their hand, and plucked out his tongue out of his mouth; and so he was put to death. At the which time also the daughter of Pusices, a godly virgin, by the malicious accusation of the wicked, was apprehended and put to death.

The next year following, upon the same day, when the Christians did celebrate the remembrance of the Lord's passion, which we call Good Friday, before Easter, (as witnesseth the said Sozomenus,) Sapores the king directed out a cruel and sharp edict throughout all his land, condemning to death all them whosoever confessed themselves to be Christians. By reason whereof an innumerable multitude of Christians, through the wicked procuring of the malignant magicians, suffered the same time by the sword, both in city and in town; some being sought for, some offering themselves willingly, lest they should seem by their silence to deny Christ. Thus all the Christians that could be found without pity were slain, and divers also of the king's own court and household. Amongst whom was also Azades, a eunuch, one whom the king did entirely love and favour; which Azades, after that the king understood to be put to death, being greatly moved with the sorrow thereof, commanded after that no Christians to be slain but them only which were the doctors and teachers of Christian religion.

In the same time it happened that the queen fell into a certain disease; upon the occasion whereof the cruel Jews, with the wicked magicians, falsely and maliciously accused Trabula, the sister of Simeon the martyr, a godly virgin, with another sister also of hers, that they had wrought privy charms to hurt the queen, for the revenging of the death of Simeon. This accusation being received and believed, innocent Trabula, with the others, were condemned, and with a saw cut in sunder by the middle; whose quarters were then hanged upon stakes, the queen going between them, thinking thereby to be delivered of her sickness. This Trabula was a maid of a right comely beauty, and very amiable, to whom one of the magicians cast great love, much desiring and labouring by gifts and rewards sent into the prison to win her to his pleasure, promising that if she would apply to his request, she should be delivered and set at liberty. But she utterly refusing to consent unto him, or rather rebuking him for his incontinent attempt, did choose rather to die, than to betray either the religion of her mind, or the virginity of her body.

Now forso much as the king had commanded that no Christians should be put to death, but only such as were the teachers and leaders of the flock, the magicians and

arch-magicians left no diligence untried to set forward the matter. Whereby great affliction and persecution was among the bishops and teachers of the church, which in all places went to slaughter, especially in the country of Diobenor; for that part of Persia above all other was most Christian. Where Acepsimas the bishop, with a great number of his flock and clergy, were apprehended and taken; upon the apprehension of whom the magicians, to satisfy the king's commandment, dismissed all the rest, only depriving them of their living and goods. Only Acepsimas, the bishop, they retained, with whom one Jacobus, a minister or priest of the church, was also joined; not of any compulsion, but only as himself so desired and obtained of those magicians that he might follow him, and be coupled in the same bonds, to serve the aged bishop, and to relieve (so much as he might) his calamities, and heal his wounds. For he had been sore scourged before of the magicians, after they had apprehended him, and brought him to worship the sun; which thing, because he would not do, they cast him into prison again, where this Jacobus was waiting upon him. At the same time likewise Athalas, a priest or minister, also Azadanes and Abdiesus, deacons, were imprisoned and miserably scourged for the testimony of the Lord Jesus. After this the archimagus, espying his time, complaineth unto the king of them, having authority and commission given him (unless they would worship the sun) to punish them as he pleased. This commandment received of the king the master magus doth declare to them in prison. But they answered again plainly, that they would never be either betrayers of Christ, or worshippers of the sun; whereupon without mercy they were put to bitter torments; where Acepsimas, strongly persisting in the confession of Christ, endured to death. The other being no less rent and wounded with scourges, yet continued marvellously alive; and because they would in no case turn from their constant sentence, were turned again into prison. Of whom Athalas, in the time of his whipping, was so drawn and racked with pulling, that both his arms, being loosed out of the joints, hanged down from his body; which he so carried about, without use of any hand to feed himself but as he was fed of others.

Miserable, and almost innumerable, were the slaughters under the reign of this Saporess, of bishops, ministers, deacons, religious men, holy virgins, and other ecclesiastical persons, such as did then cleave to the doctrine of Christ, and suffered for the same. The names of the bishops, besides the other multitude taken in the persecution, are recited in this order following: Barbasimes, Faulus, Gaddiabes, Sabinus, Mareas, Mocius, Johannes, Hormisdas, Papas, Jacobus, Romas, Maares, Agas, Bochres, Abdas, Abiesus, Joannes, Abramius, Agdelas, Sabores, Isaac, Dausas; Bicor also, with Maureanda his fellow bishop, and the rest of his churches under him, to the number of two hundred and fifty persons, which were the same time apprehended of the Persians, &c. Briefly, to comprehend the whole multitude of them that suffered in that persecution, the manner of their apprehension, the cruelty of their torments, how and where they suffered, and in what places, it is not possible for any history to discharge. Neither are the Persians themselves (as Sozomenus recordeth) able to recite them. In sum, the multitude and number of them whom they are able to recite by name cometh to the sum of sixteen thousand men and women.

The rumour and noise of this so miserable affliction of the Christians in the kingdom of Persia, coming to the ears of Constantine the emperor, put him in great heaviness, studying and revolving with himself how to help the matter, which indeed was very hard for him to do. It so befell the same time that certain ambassadors were then at Rome from Saporess king of Persia, to whom Constantine did easily grant and consent, satisfying all their requests and demands; thinking thereby to obtain the more

friendship at the king's hands, that at his request he would be good to the Christians, to whom he writeth his epistle in their behalf, and sendeth the same by his messengers, beginning thus:

The contents whereof briefly do tend to this effect. Declaring unto him how he should stand much beholden to him, if, at his request, he would show some quiet and rest to the Christians, in whose religion there was nothing which he could justly blame. "Forsomuch as in their sacrifices they use to kill nothing, nor to shed blood, but only to offer up unbloody sacrifices, to make their prayers unto God, who delighteth not in blood-shedding, but only in the soul that loveth virtue, and followeth such doctrine and knowledge which is agreeing unto true piety. And therefore such men as do lead him, and lean so to believe and to worship God, are more to be commended. Moreover, he assureth him to find God more merciful unto him, if he would embrace the godly piety and truth of the Christians. And for example thereof bringeth in the stories of Galienus and Valerianus, who, so long as they were favourers of the Christians, did prosper and flourish. But as soon as they moved any persecution against them, it happened to them, as it did to all other emperors before them, that all went backward with them; as especially might appear by Valerianus, who, after he had raged so cruelly against the Christians, was eftsoons overcome of the Persians, the revenging hand of God falling upon him, where he led ever a miserable life in wretched captivity. Further also, for the more evidence of the same, he inferreth the examples of those emperors and tyrants in his time whom he vanquished and subdued only by his faith in Christ, for the which faith God was his helper, and gave him the victory in many battles, and triumph over great tyrants; whereby he hath so enlarged the dominion of the Roman monarchy, from the west ocean unto the uttermost parts well near of all the east. To the doing and working whereof he neither called to him the help of any charmer or divination of soothsayer, nor used the killing of any sacrifice; but only the following of the cross, and prayer made to Almighty God, without any other bloody sacrifice, was the armour wherewith he overcame," &c. And in the end of the epistle addeth these words: "What joy, (saith he,) what gladness would it be to my heart, to hear the state also of the Persians to flourish, as I wish it to do, by embracing this sort of men, the Christians I mean! So that both you with them, and they with you, in long prosperity may enjoy much felicity together, as your hearts would desire; and in so doing no doubt ye shall. For so shall you have God, which is the Author and Creator of all this universal world, to be merciful and gracious to you. These men therefore I commend unto you upon your kingly honour; and upon your clemency and piety, wherewith you are endued, I commit them unto you, desiring you to embrace and receive them according to your humanity and benignity, agreeing and convenient to your estate; who, in so doing, shall now both procure to yourself grace through your faith, and also shall declare to me a great pleasure and benefit worthy of thanks."

This example wrote Constantine to king Sapoires; such care had this godly prince for them that believed in Christ, not only in his own monarchy, but also in all places of the world: neither is it to be doubted but this intercession of the emperor did something mitigate the heat of the Persians' persecution, although thereof we read no certain thing in our histories.

Of other troubles and persecutions we read, which happened afterward in the said country of Persia, under Isdigerdes the king; but these followed long after, about the time of the emperor Theodosius. At which time suffered Andas, their bishop, and Hormisda, a great nobleman's son, and of great reputation among the Persians; whom when the king understood to be a Christian, and to deny to turn from his religion,

condemned him to keep his elephants naked. In process of time, the king looking out, and seeing him all swarthy and tanned in the sun, commanded him to have a shirt put on, and to be brought before him; whom then the king asked if he would deny Christ. Hormisdas, hearing this, tore off his shirt from his body, and cast it from him, saying, If ye think that I will deny my faith to Christ for a shirt, have here your gift again, &c. And so was upon that expelled the country.

Another there was that same time, named Suenes, which had under him a hundred servants. The king taking displeasure with him for that he would not alter from his religion and godly truth, asked who was the worst of all his servants, and him the king made ruler of all the rest, and coupling him with his master's wife, brought also Suenes under his subjection, thinking thereby to subdue also the faith of Suenes; but it was builded upon a sure foundation.

Of Benjamin the deacon thus writeth the said Theodoret in his first book: that after two years of his imprisonment, at the request of the Roman legate, he was delivered; who afterward, contrary to the king's commandment, preached and taught the gospel of Christ, and was most miserably excruciated, having twenty sharp pricks of reeds thrust under his nails; but when he did laugh at that, he had a sharp reed thrust into another part with horrible pain. After that a certain long stalk, ragged and thorny, being thrust into his body by the nether part, was forced into him; with the horribleness of the pain whereof the valiant and invincible soldier of the Lord gave over his life. And thus much concerning the martyrs and persecutions among the Persians, although these persecutions belong not to this time, which came (as it is said) long after the days of Constantine, about the year of our Lord four hundred and twenty-five.

15. Persecution under Julian the Apostate

Likewise under Julian, the wicked apostate, certain there were which constantly suffered martyrdom by the heathen idolaters: as Emilianus, who was burned in Thracia, and Domitius, which was slain in his cave. Theodorus also, for singing of a psalm at the removing of the body of Babilas, (whereof mention is made before,) being apprehended, was so examined with exquisite torments, and so cruelly excruciate from morning almost to noon, that hardly he escaped with life; who, being asked afterward of his friends how he could abide so sharp torments, said that at the first beginning he felt some pain, but afterward there stood by him a young man, who, as he was sweating, wiped away his sweat, and refreshed him with cold water oftentimes; wherewith he was so delighted, that when he was let down from the engine, it grieved him more than before.

Artemius also, the captain of the Egyptian soldiers, the same time lost his head for his religion indeed; although other causes were pretended against him.

Add unto these moreover Eusebius and Nestabus, two brethren, with Nestor also, who for their Christianity were dragged through the streets and murdered of the idolatrous people of Gaza.

But especially the cruelty of the Arethusians, a people of Syria, exceeded against the Christian virgins, whom they set out naked before the multitude to be scorned; after that, being shaven, they covered them with swill and draft, wont to be given to their hogs, and so caused their bowels and flesh to be devoured of the hungry swine. This rage and fury of the wicked Arethusians Sozomenus supposeth to come of this, because that Constantine before had broken them from their country manner of setting forth and exposing their virgins filthily to whomsoever lusted, and destroyed the temple of Venus in Heliopolis, restraining the people there from their filthiness and vile whoredom.

Of the lamentable story, or rather tragedy, of Marcus Arethusius, their bishop, thus writeth the said Sozomenus, and also Theodoretus in his third book, in these words as follow.

This tragedy (saith he) of Marcus Arethusius doth require the eloquence and worthiness of Eschilus and Sophocles, which may, as the matter deserveth, set forth and beautify his great afflictions, This man, at the commandment of Constantine, pulled down a certain temple dedicated to idols, and instead thereof built up a church, where the Christians might congregate. The Arethusians, remembering the little good will that Julianus bare unto him, accused him as a traitor and enemy to him. At the first, according as the Scripture teacheth, he prepared himself to fly; but when he perceived that there were certain of his kinsmen or friends apprehended in his stead, returning again of his own accord, he offered himself to those that thirsted for his blood. Whom when they had gotten, as men neither pitying his old age and worn years, nor abashed at his virtuous conversation, being a man so adorned both with doctrine and manners, first stripped him naked, and pitifully beat him; then, within a while after, they cast him into a foul filthy sink; and from thence being brought, they caused boys to thrust him in with sharpened sticks to provoke his pain the more. Lastly, they put him in a basket; and being anointed with honey and broth, they hung him abroad in the heat of the sun, as meat for wasps and flies to feed upon. And all this

extremity they showed unto him, for that they would enforce him to do one of these things; that is, either to build up again the temple which he had destroyed, or else to give so much money as should pay for the building of the same: but even as he purposed with himself to suffer and abide their grievous torments, so refused he to do that they demanded of him. At length they, taking him to be but a poor man, and not able to pay such a sum of money, promised to forgive him the one half, so that he would be contented to pay the other half. But he, hanging in the basket, wounded pitifully with the sharpened sticks of boys and children, and all to be bitten with wasps and flies, did not only conceal his pain and grief, but also derided those wicked ones, and called them base, low, and terrene people, and he himself to be exalted and set on high. At length, they demanding of him but a small sum of money, he answered thus; It is as great wickedness to confer one halfpenny in case of impiety, as if a man should bestow the whole. Thus they, being not able to prevail against him, let him down, and leaving him, went their way, so that every man might learn at his mouth the example of true piety and faithfulness.

Although the tradition of these aforesaid stories and persecutions of Persia above premised do stray somewhat out of the order and course of time and place, as which came neither in the time of Constantine, nor be pertinent to the monarchy of Rome; yet because in this present history we are in hand with the holy martyrs and saints of Christ, forsomuch as these also gave such a faithful testimony of the Lord Jesus with their blood, I thought therefore not to pass them over without some testimony in this our catalogue of holy martyrs. And here an end of these persecutions of the primitive church.

16. Constantine the Great

It may peradventure be marvelled of some, reading the history of these so terrible persecutions above specified, why God the Almighty, Director of all things, would suffer his own people and faithful servants, believing in his own and only begotten Son Jesus, so cruelly to be handled, so wrongfully to be vexed, so extremely to be tormented and put to death, and that the space of so many years together, as in these foresaid persecutions may appear. To the which admiration I have nothing to answer, but to say with the words of Hierom, We ought not to be moved with this iniquity of things, to see the wicked to prevail against the body; forsomuch as in the beginning of the world we see Abel the just to be killed of wicked Cain, and afterward Jacob being thrust out, Esau to reign in his father's house: in like case the Egyptians with brick and tile afflicted the sons of Israel; yea, and the Lord himself, was he not crucified of the Jews, Barabbas the thief being let go? Time would not suffice me to recite and reckon up how the godly in this world go to wreck, the wicked flourishing and prevailing. Briefly, howsoever the cause hereof proceedeth, whether for our sins here in this life, or how else soever; yet this is to us, and may be to all men, a sufficient stay, that we are sure these afflictions and persecutions of God's people in this world not to come by any chance or blind fortune, but by the provident appointment and forewarning of God. For so in the old law, by the affliction of the children of Israel, he hath prefigured these persecutions of his Christians. So by the words of Christ's own mouth in the gospel he did forewarn his church of these troubles to come. Again, neither did he suffer these so great afflictions to fall upon his servants before that he had premonished them sufficiently by special revelation in the Apocalypse of John his servant; in the which Apocalypse he declared unto his church before, not only what troubles were coming at hand towards them, where and by whom they should come, but also in plain number, if the words of the prophecy be well understood, assigneth the true time, how long the said persecutions should continue, and when they should cease.

Thus having at large discoursed these horrible persecutions past, and heavy afflictions of Christian martyrs; now, by the grace of God, coming out of this Red Sea of bloody persecution, leaving Pharaoh and his host behind, let us sing gloriously to the worthy name of our God, who, through the blood of the Lamb, after long and tedious afflictions, at length hath visited his people with comfort, hath tied up Satan short, hath sent his meek Moses, (gentle Constantine I mean,) by whom it hath so pleased the Lord to work deliverance to his captive people, to set his servants at liberty, to turn their mourning into joy, to magnify the church of his Son, to destroy the idols of all the world, to grant life and liberty (and would God also not so much riches) unto them which before were the abjects of all the world; and all by the means of godly Constantine, the meek and most Christian emperor, of whose divine victories against so many tyrants and emperors, persecutors of Christ's people, and, lastly, against Licinius, in the year of our Lord three hundred twenty and four, of whose other noble acts and prowesses, of whose blessed virtues and his happy birth and progeny, part we have comprehended before, part now remaineth (Christ willing) to be declared.

This Constantine was the son of Constantius the emperor, a good and virtuous child of a good and virtuous father, born in Britain, (as saith Eutropius,) whose

mother was named Helena, daughter indeed of King Coilus; although Ambrosius, in his funeral oration of the death of Theodosius, saith she was an inn-holder's daughter. He was a most bountiful and gracious prince, having a desire to nourish learning and good arts, and did oftentimes use to read, write, and study himself. He had marvellous good success and prosperous achieving of all things he took in hand, which then was (and truly) supposed to proceed of this, for that he was so great a favourer of the Christian faith; which faith, when he had once embraced, he did ever after most devoutly and religiously reverence, and commanded by especial commission and proclamation, that every man should profess the same religion throughout all the Roman monarchy. The worshipping of idols, (whereunto he was addict by the allurements of Fausta his wife, insomuch that he did sacrifice to them,) after the discomfiture of Maxentius in battle, he utterly abjured; but his baptism he deferred even unto his old age, because he had determined a journey into Persia, and thought in Jordan to have been baptized.

As touching his natural disposition and wit, he was very eloquent, a good philosopher, and in disputation sharp and ingenious. He was accustomed to say, That an emperor ought to refuse no labour for the utility of the commonwealth; yea, and to adventure the mangling of his body for the remedy thereof; but if otherwise it may be holpen, to cherish the same. This do Aurelius, Victor, Pomponius Letus, and Ignatius write of him. And Ælius Lampridius saith, writing upon the life of Heliogabalus, that Constantine was wont to say, that an empire was given by the determinate purpose of God, that he to whom it was given should so employ his diligence, as he might be thought worthy of the same at the hands of the Giver; which same saying also Augustine noteth in his third book against Cresconius.

He first entered into the empire by the mercifulness of God, minding, after long waves of doleful persecution, to restore unto his church peace and tranquillity, in the year of our Lord three hundred and eleven, as Eusebius accounteth in his chronicle. His reign continued, as Eutropius affirmeth, thirty years, Letus saith thirty and two years, lacking two months. Great peace and tranquillity enjoyed the church under the reign of this good emperor, which took great pain and travail for the preservation thereof. First, yea, and that before he had subdued Licinius, he set forth many edicts for the restitution of the goods of the church, for the revoking of the Christians out of exile, for taking away the dissension of the doctors out of the church, for the setting of them free from public charges, and such like, even as the copy of his constitutions hereunder declareth, which Eusebius in his tenth book and fifth chapter repeateth in this wise.

"Victor Constantinus Maximus Augustus, to our loving subjects inhabiting throughout the east parts, sendeth greeting. The thing itself, which in the sure and most firm law of nature is contained, doth give unto all men (even as God hath ordained the same) sufficient perceivance and understanding, both of such things as man ought to foresee, as also what things presently he ought to meditate. Neither is there any thing therein to be doubted of such as have their minds directed to the scope or mark of perfect understanding; so that the perfect comprehending of sound reason, and the perceivance thereof, be compared with the knowledge of God, being the true and perfect virtue. Wherefore let no wise man be troubled, although he sees divers men of divers dispositions; for wisdom, which springeth of virtue, cannot abide or acquaint herself with fond idiots, unless that (on the other side) the malice of perverse filthiness prolong her days, and cause the same idiocy to survive. Wherefore assuredly the crown and price of virtue lieth open unto all men, and the most mighty God ordereth

the judgment of the same. I undoubtedly (as manifestly as possible is) will endeavour myself to testify and confess unto you all the hope which is in me. I think verily that the emperors which before this time have lately been, even for their tyranny had the empire taken from them; and my father, only exercising and using all meekness and lenity in his affairs, calling upon God the Father with great devotion and humility, hath been exalted to the same; and all the rest, as men wanting their wits, and in comparison as savage beasts, rather did give themselves to like cruelty, than to any lenity and gentleness towards their subjects: which tyranny, every one for his time being muzzled, utterly subverted the true and infallible doctrine; and so great malice was there kindled in their breasts, that when all things were in peaceable tranquillity, they made and raised most cruel and bloody intestine or civil wars. It is credibly informed us, that in those days Apollo gave answers, but not by any man's mouth, but out of a certain cave and dark place, (saying,) that he was much disquieted by those that were the just men and livers upon the earth, so that he could or would not for them declare the truth of such things as others demanded. And hereby it came to pass that such false divinations were given from the golden tables in Apollo's temple. And this thing did his prophetic priest complain of, when he took up again the hair of his head, that other had contemptuously cast down; and said, that the neglecting of his divination was the cause of so many evils amongst men. But let us see what was the end hereof. We now boldly, and without all fear, invoke and worship the omnipotent God. When I was a child, I heard that he which then was chief emperor of Rome, unhappy, yea, most unhappy man, being seduced and brought into error by his soldiers, curiously inquired who were those just men upon the earth that Apollo meant. And one of his priests, which was near about him, made answer that they were the Christians. This answer unto him, being as delectable as honey unto the mouth, drew the sword (given unto him to be a revenger of evil-doers and malefactors) against the professors of the irreprehensible sanctimony and religion; and straightway he gave forth a commission, (to bloody homicides, as I may well call them,) and gave commandment to all the judges that they should endeavour themselves, with all the cunning they had, to the devising of more grievous and sharper punishments against the poor Christians. Then, then I say, a man might have seen how greatly the honest professors of that religion were molested with cruelty, and daily suffered no small injuries and contumelies, and that also they suffered and sustained the same with such temperance, as though they had had no injuries at all done unto them; which temperance and patience of theirs was the cause why the furious citizens were the more mad and raging against them. What fires, what tortures, what kind of torments were there, but they, without respect either of age or sex, were enforced to feel them?

Then did the earth, without doubt, herself bewail her children, and the round world, which containeth all things, being sprinkled and imbrued with their blood, made doleful lamentation for them, and the day itself, provoked to mourn, was made amazed for them. But what is this to purpose? Now the very barbarous nations rejoice for their sakes which received and harboured them, when they were afraid and fled from us, keeping them, as it were, in most loving and amiable captivity; and they saved not only their lives, but also were a defence for their religion. And now also the Roman nation remembereth and hath before their eyes this blame and spot, which the Christians that were of that time worthily gave unto them, when they by them were banished (as unfit members of their commonwealth) amongst the barbarous people. What needeth to make further rehearsal of the mourning lamentation which the heathen people themselves throughout the world made for the pitiful murder and slaughter of them? After this it came to pass that they which were authors of all these

mischiefs died also, and were committed for their reward to the most filthy and horrible dungeon of hell. They being so entangled with intestine and civil wars, left alive neither name nor kinsman of their own; which thing undoubtedly had not chanced unless the wicked divinations of Apollo's oracles had deceived and bewitched them. To thee therefore now I pray, o most mighty God, that thou wilt vouchsafe to be merciful, and pardon all the east parts and inhabitants of the same, being oppressed with calamity; and that by me thy servant thou wilt of thy goodness help and relieve the same. And these things rashly crave I not at thy hands, O Lord, most mighty and holiest God of all. For I being persuaded by the only oracles, have both begun and also finished wholesome and profitable things; and further, by the bearing and showing of thine ensign, have overcome a mighty and strong host; and when any necessity of the commonwealth (to my charge committed) requireth thereunto, (following those signs and tokens of thy virtues,) I boldly go forth and fight against mine enemies: and for this cause have I sacrificed my soul unto thee, purified and cleansed both with thy love and fear. Yea, truly, thy name do I sincerely love, and thy power do I reverence, which by many tokens and wonders hast showed and confirmed thereby my belief and faith. Therefore will I do my endeavour, and bend myself thereunto, that I may re-edify thy most holy house, which those wicked and ungodly emperors have with so great ruin laid waste; thy people do I desire to bring and establish in firm peace and tranquillity, and that for the public utility of all the inhabitants of the earth. Those which yet err, and are out of the way, enjoy the benefit of peace and quietness with and amongst the number of the faithful sort; for I trust the restitution of the like society and participation may be a means to bring them also that err into the perfect way of verity. Let none therefore be grievous one unto another, but what every man thinkest best, that let him do; for such as are wise ought thoroughly to be persuaded that they only mean to live holily, and as they should do, whom the Spirit of God moveth to take their delight and recreation in reading his holy will; and if others wilfully will go out of the way, cleaving to the synagogues of false doctrine, they may at their own peril. As for us, we have the most worthy house or congregation of God's verity, which he according to his own goodness and nature hath given us. And this also we wish unto them, that with like participation and common consent they may feel with us the same delectation of mind. For this our religion is neither new, nor newly invented, but it is as old as we believe the creation of the world to be, and which God hath commanded to be celebrated with such worship as both seemed and pleased him; but all living men are liars, and are deceived with divers and sundry illusions, Thou, O God, for Christ thy Son's sake, suffer not this wickedness again to root: thou hast set up a clear burning light, that thereby as many as thou hast chosen may come unto thee; these thy miracles approve the same. It is thy power that keepeth us in innocency and fidelity. The sun and the moon run their appointed course. Neither yet in ranging-wise wander the stars to what place of the world they list themselves. The days, years, months, and times keep their appointed turns. The earth abideth firm and unmovable at thy word; and the wind at the time (by thee directed) stormeth and bloweth. The streaming watery floods ebb in time according as they flow. The raging sea abideth within her bounded limits: and for that the ocean sea stretcheth out herself in equal length and breadth with the whole earth, this must needs be wrought with some marvellous workmanship of thine own hand. Which thing, unless it were at thy will made and disposed, without all doubt so great difference and partition between would ere this time have brought utter ruin and destruction, both to the life of man, and to all that belongeth to man beside. Which for that they have such great and huge conflicts amongst themselves, as also the invisible spirits have, we give thanks, O Lord most

mighty, God of all gods, that all mankind hath not been destroyed thereby. Surely even as greatly as thy benignity and gentleness is manifested by divers and sundry benefits bestowed upon us, so much also is the same set forth and declared in the discipline of thy eternal word to those that be heavenly wise, and apply themselves to the attainment of sincere and true virtue. But if any such there be that little regard or have but small respect unto the consideration thereof, let them not blame or lay a fault in others that do the same; for that physic whereby health is obtained is manifestly offered unto all men. Now therefore let no man go about to subvert that which experience itself doth show (of necessity) to be pure and good. Let us therefore altogether use the participation of this benefit bestowed upon us, that is to say, the benefit of peace and tranquillity, setting apart all controversy. And let no man hurt or be prejudicial to his fellow for that thing wherein he thinketh himself to have done well. If by that which any man knoweth and hath experience of he thinketh he may profit his neighbour, let him do the same; if not, let him give over and remit it till another time: for there is a great diversity betwixt the willing and voluntary embracing of religion, and that when a man is thereunto enforced and coacted. Of these things have I made a more large discourse than indeed the scope of mediocrity requireth; especially because I would not have my faith (touching the verity) to be hid; for that I hear there be some which complain that the old accustomed haunting of their temples, and that the power of such darkness is cut off and taken away. Which thing surely I would take in better part, were it not that the violent rebellion of flagitious error were so fixed in many men's hearts, whereby they thirst after the utter subversion of the commonwealth and empire."

Such was the goodness of this emperor Constantine, or rather such was the providence of Almighty God toward his church in stirring him up, that all his care and study of mind was set upon nothing else but only how to benefit and enlarge the commodities of the same. Neither was it to him enough to deliver the church and people of God from outward vexation of foreign tyrants and persecutors. No less beneficial was his godly care also in quieting the inward dissensions and disturbance within the church, among the Christian bishops themselves; according as we read of Moses, the deliverer of the Israelites, in agreeing the brethren together when he saw them at variance, Exod. ii. No less also did his vigilant study extend in erecting, restoring, and enriching the churches of God in all cities, and in providing for the ministers of the same. And therefore, writing to Anilinus his chief captain, declareth his will and mind to him in letters concerning the goods which did appertain to the churches of the Christians, that he should procure vigilantly for the same, that all such goods, houses, and gardens, belonging before to the right of churches, should again be restored in all speedy wise, and that he therein might be certified with speed, &c.

Moreover, he, writing to the said Anilinus in another letter, signifieth unto him in this effect: that forso much as the contempt of God's reverend religion is and hath been ever the greatest decay to the name and people of Rome, as contrarily the maintaining and reverencing the same hath ever brought prosperity to all commonwealths; therefore he in consideration thereof hath taken that order, and giveth to him in charge, that through that province where he hath to do, which was in Africa, where Cecilianus was bishop, he should there see and provide that all such ministers and clerks, whose vocation was to serve in the church, should be freed and exempted from all public duties and burdens, whereby they being so privileged, and all impediments removed which should hinder their divine ministration, thereby the common utility of the people might the better flourish, &c.

Furthermore, the said Constantine in another letter, writing to Miltiades, bishop of Rome, and to Marcus, declareth in his letters to them how Cecilianus, bishop of Carthage, hath been accused unto him by divers of his colleagues and fellow bishops. Wherefore his will is, that the said Cecilianus, with ten bishops his accusers, with ten other his defendants, should repair up to him at Rome; where, in the present assistance of the foresaid Miltiades, Rheticus, Maternus, Marinus, and of other their fellow colleagues, the cause of Cecilianus might be heard and rightly examined, so that all schism and division might be cut off from among them, where in the fervent desire of Constantine to peace and unity may well appear.

Upon the like cause and argument also he writeth to Chrestus, bishop of Syracuse; being so desirous to nourish peace and concord in the church, that he offereth to him, with his under ministers and three servants, his free carriage to come up to him unto the council of other bishops, for the agreeing of certain matters belonging to the church.

He writeth also another letter to the forenamed Cecilianus, bishop of Carthage.

To the provinces likewise of Palestina and those parts about he directeth his edict in the behalf of the Christians, for the releasing of such as were in captivity, and for the restoring again of them which had sustained any loss in the former persecution before, and for the refreshing of such as heretofore had been oppressed with any ignominy or molestation for their confession sake; declaring in the said edict how that this whole body, life, and soul, and whatsoever is in him, he oweth to God and to the service of him, &c.

Moreover, another letter he writeth to Eusebius, for the edifying of new Christian churches, and restoring of them which had been wasted before by foreign enemies. And after he had collected the synod of Nice for the study of peace and unity of the church, he writeth upon the same to Alexander and Arius. In which his letters he most lamentably uttered the great grief of his heart, to see and hear of their contention and division, whereby the peace and common harmony of the church was broken, the synod provoked and resisted, the holy people of the Lord divided into parts and tumults, contrary to the office of good and circumspect men, whose duty were rather to nourish concord and to seek tranquillity. And though in some small points and light trifles they did disagree from others; yet the example of philosophers might teach them, who, although in some parts of a sentence or piece of a question some might dissent from others, yet in the unity of their profession they did all join as fellows together. In like case were it their duty in such fruitless questions (or rather pieces of questions) to keep them in the conceptions of their minds in silence unto themselves, and not to bring them forth into public synods, to break therefore from the communion of the reverend council; declaring, moreover, in the said epistle, the first origin and occasion of this their contentious dissension to rise upon vain and trifling terms, vile causes, and light questions, and pieces rather of questions; about such matters as neither are to be moved, nor to be answered unto being moved; more curious to be searched, and perilous to be expressed, than necessary to be inquired. Wherefore, by all manner of means, he doth labour them, doth entreat them, and persuade them, not only with reasons, but also with tears and sighing sobs, that they would restore peace again unto the church, and quietness to the rest of his life, (which otherwise would not be sweet unto him,) and they would return again to the communion of the reverend council; who, in so doing, should open his way and purposed journey into the east parts, which otherwise, hearing of their discord and dissension, would be sorry to see

with his eyes that which grieveth him now to hear with his ears: with much more in the same epistle contained, but this is the effect of the whole. Thus much I thought summarily to comprehend, whereby the divine disposition and singular gentle nature of this meek and religious Constantine might more notoriously appear to all princes, for them to learn by his example what zeal and care they ought to bear toward the church of Christ, and how gently to govern, and how to be beneficial to the same.

Many other edicts and epistles, written to other places and parties, be expressed at large in the second book of Eusebius, *De Vita Constantini*, wherein the zealous care and princely beneficence of this noble emperor toward the church of Christ may appear; whereof in a brief recapitulation such specialties we have collected as here followeth

First, he commanded all them to be set free whosoever, for the confession of Christ, had been condemned to banishment, or to the mines of metal, or to any public or private labour to them inflicted. Such as were put to any infamy or shame among the multitude, he willed them to be discharged from all such blemish of ignominy. Soldiers, which before were deprived either of their place, or put out of their wages, were put to their liberty, either to serve again in their place, or quietly to live at home. Whatsoever honour, place, or dignity had been taken away from any man should be restored to them again. The goods and possessions of them that had suffered death for Christ, howsoever they were alienated, should return to their heirs or next of kin, or, for lack of them, should be given to the church. He commanded, moreover, that only Christians should bear office; the other he charged and restrained, that neither they should sacrifice, nor exercise any more divinations and ceremonies of the Gentiles, nor set up any images, nor keep any feasts of the heathen idolaters. He corrected, moreover, and abolished all such unlawful manners and dishonest usages in the cities as might be hurtful any ways to the church; as the custom that the Egyptians had in the flowing of Nilus, at what time the people used to run together like brute beasts, both men and women, and with all kind of filthiness and sodomitery to pollute their cities in celebrating the increase of that river. This abomination Constantine extinguished, causing that wicked order called Androgyne to be killed; by reason whereof the river afterward (through the benefit of God) yielded more increase in his flowing, to the greater fertility of the ground, than it did before.

Among the Romans was an old law, that such as were barren, having no fruit of children, should be amerced of half their goods. Also, that such as being above the years of twenty and five unmarried, should not be numbered in the same privileges with them that were married, neither should be heirs to them, to whom, notwithstanding, they were next in kin. These laws, because they seemed unreasonable, (to punish the defect of nature or gift of virginity by man's law,) he abrogated and took away. Another order was among the Romans, that they which made their wills, being sick, had certain prescribed and conceived words appointed to them to use, which, unless they followed, their wills stood in no effect. This law also Constantine repealed, permitting to every man in making his testament to use what words or what witnesses he would. Likewise, among the Romans, he restrained and took away the cruel and bloody spectacles and sights, where men were wont with swords one to kill another. Of the barbarous and filthy fashion of the Arethusians in Phœnicia I have mentioned before, where they used to expose and set forth their virgins to open fornication before they should be married; which custom also Constantine removed away. Where no churches were, there he commanded new to be made; where any were decayed, he commanded them to be repaired; where any were

too little, he caused them to be enlarged, giving to the same great gifts and revenues, not only of such tributes and taxes coming to him from certain sundry cities, which he transferred unto the churches, but also out of his own treasures. When any bishops required any council to be had, he satisfied their petitions; and what in their councils and synods they established, being godly and honest, he was ready to confirm the same.

The armour of his soldiers which were newly come from the Gentiles he garnished with the arms of the cross, whereby they might learn the sooner to forget their old superstitious idolatry. Moreover, like a worthy emperor, he prescribed a certain form of prayer, instead of a catechism, for every man to have, and to learn how to pray and to invoke God. The which form of prayer is recited in the fourth book of Eusebius.

"We acknowledge thee only to be our God, we confess thee to be our King, we invoke and call upon thee, our only helper; by thee we obtain our victories, by thee we vanquish and subdue our enemies, to thee we attribute whatsoever present commodities we enjoy, and by thee we hope for good things to come: unto thee we direct all our suits and petitions, most humbly beseeching thee to conserve Constantine our emperor and his noble children in long life to continue, and to give them victory over all their enemies, through Christ our Lord. Amen."

In his own palace he set up a house peculiar for prayer and doctrine, using also to pray and sing with his people. Also in his wars he went not without his tabernacle appointed for the same. The Sunday he commanded to be kept holy of all men, and free from all judiciary causes, from markets, marts, fairs, and all other manual labours, only husbandry excepted; especially charging that no images or monuments of idolatry should be set up.

Men of the clergy and of the ministry in all places he endued with special privileges and immunities; so that if any were brought before the civil magistrate, and listed to appeal to the sentence of his bishop, it should be lawful for him so to do, and that the sentence of the bishop should stand in as great force as if the magistrate or the emperor himself had pronounced it.

But here is to be observed and noted, by the way, that the clerks and ministers, then newly creeping out of persecution, were in those days neither in number so great, nor in order of life of the like disposition to these in our days now living.

No less care and provision the said Constantine also had for the maintenance of schools pertaining to the church, and to the nourishing of good arts and liberal sciences, especially of divinity; not only with stipends and subsidies furnishing them, but also with large privileges and exemptions defending the same, as by the words of his own law is to be seen and read as followeth: "Physicians, grammarians, and other professors of liberal arts, and doctors of the law, with their wives and children, and all other their possessions which they have in cities, we command to be freed from all civil charges and functions, neither to receive foreign strangers in provinces, nor to be burdened with any public administration, nor to be cited up to civil judgment, nor to be drawn out or oppressed with any injury. And if any man shall vex them, he shall incur such punishment as the judge at his discretion shall award him. Their stipends moreover and salaries we command truly to be paid them, whereby they may more freely instruct others in arts and sciences," &c.

Over and besides this, so far did his godly zeal and princely care and provision extend to the church of Christ, that he commanded and provided books and volumes of the Scripture diligently and plainly to be written and copied out, to remain in public churches to the use of posterity. Whereupon, writing to Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, in a special letter, he willeth him with all diligence to procure fifty volumes of parchment well bound and compacted, wherein he should cause to be written out of the Scripture, in a fair legible hand, such things as he thought necessary and profitable for the instruction of the church, and alloweth him for that business two public ministers: he also writeth concerning the same to the general of his army, to support and further him with such necessities as thereunto should appertain, &c.

In viewing, perusing, and writing this story, and in considering the Christian zeal of this emperor, I wish that either this our printing and plenty of books had been in his days, or that this so heroical heart toward Christian religion, as was in this so excellent monarch, might something appear in inferior princes reigning in these our printing days, &c.

The liberal hand of this emperor, born to do all men good, was no less also open and ready toward the needy poverty of such which either by loss of parents or other occasions were not able to help themselves; to whom he commanded and provided due supplies both of corn and raiment to be ministered out of his own coffers, to the necessary relief of the poor men, women, children, orphans, and widows.

Finally, among all the other monuments of his singular clemency and munificence, this is not to be pretermitted; that through all the empire of Rome, and provinces belonging to the same, not only he diminished such taxes, revenues, and impost as publicly were coming to him, but also clearly remitted and released to the contributors the fourth part of the same.

This present place would require something to be said of the donation of Constantine, whereupon, as upon their chiefest anchor-hold, the bishops of Rome do ground their supreme dominion and right over all the political government of the west parts, and the spiritual government of all the other seas and parts of the world. Which donation to be falsely feigned and forged, and not to proceed from Constantine, many arguments might here be inferred, if leisure from other matters would suffer me.

For that no ancient history, nor yet doctor, maketh any mention thereof.

Nauclerus reporteth it to be affirmed in the history of Isidorus. But in the old copies of Isidorus no such thing is to be found.

Gratianus, the compiler of the decrees, reciteth that decree, not upon any ancient authority, but only under the title of Palea.

Gelasius is said to give some testimony thereof, in Dist. 15. Sancta Romana. But that clause of the said distinction touching that matter in the old ancient books is not extant.

Otho Phrysingensis, who was about the time of Gratian, after he hath declared the opinion of the favourers of the papacy, affirming this donation to be given of Constantine to Silvester the pope, induceth consequently the opinion of them that favour the empire, affirming the contrary.

How doth this agree, that Constantine did yield up to Silvester all the political dominion over the west, whenas the said Constantine at his death, dividing the empire

to his three sons, gave the west part of the empire to one, the east part to the second, the middle part to the third?

How is it like that Theodosius after them, being a just and a religious prince, would or could have occupied the city of Rome, if it had not been his right, but had belonged to the pope, and so did many other emperors after him?

The phrase of this decree, being conferred with the phrase and style of Constantine in his other edicts and letters above specified, doth nothing agree.

Seeing the papists themselves confess that the decree of this donation was written in Greek, how agreeth that with truth, whenas both it was written, not to the Grecians, but to the Romans, and also Constantine himself, for lack of the Greek tongue, was faine to use the Latin tongue in the Council of Nice?

The contents of this donation (whosoever was the forger thereof) doth bewray itself: for if it be true which there is confessed, that he was baptized at Rome of Silvester, and the fourth day after his baptism this patrimony was given, (which was before his battle against Maximinus or Licinius, in the year of our Lord three hundred and seventeen, as Nicephorus recordeth,) how then accordeth this with that which followeth in the donation, for him to have jurisdiction given over the other four principal sees of Antioch, Alexandria, Constantinople, and Jerusalem? whenas the city of Constantinople was not yet begun before the death of Maximinus or Licinius, and was not finished before the eight and twentieth year of the reign of Constantine, in the year of our Lord three hundred thirty and nine; or if it be true as Hierom counteth, it was finished the three and twentieth year of his reign, which was the year of our Lord three hundred thirty and four, long after this donation by their own account.

Furthermore, where in the said constitution it is said that Constantine was baptized at Rome of Silvester, and thereby was purged of leprosy, the fable thereof agreeth not with the truth of history, for so much as Eusebius, Hieronymus, Socrates, Theodorus, Sozomenus, do all together consent that he was baptized not at Rome, but at Nicomedia; and that moreover, as by their testimony doth appear, not of Silvester, but of Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia; not before his battle against Maximinus or Licinius, but in the thirty-first year of his reign, a little before his death.

Again, whereas Constantine in this donation appointed him to have the principality over the other four patriarchal sees, that maketh Constantine contrary to himself; who in the Council of Nice afterward agreed with other bishops, that all the four patriarchal sees should have equal jurisdiction, every one over his own territory and precinct.

And thus hast thou (beloved reader) briefly collected the narration of the noble acts and heavenly virtues of this most famous emperor Constantine the Great; a singular spectacle for all Christian princes to behold and imitate, and worthy of perpetual memory in all congregations of Christian saints; whose fervent zeal and piety in general to all congregations, and to all the servants of Christ, was notable, but especially the affection and reverence of his heart toward them was admirable, which had suffered any thing for the confession of Christ in the persecutions before; them had he principally in price and veneration, insomuch that he embraced and kissed their wounds and stripes, and their eyes, being put out. And if any such bishops or any other ministers brought to him any complaints one against another, (as many times they did,) he would take their bills of complaint and burn them before their faces; so studious and zealous was his mind to have them agree, whose discord was to him more grief

than it was to themselves. All the virtuous acts and memorable doings of this divine and renowned emperor to comprehend or commit to history, it were the matter alone of a great volume; wherefore, contented with these above premised, because nothing of him can be said enough, I cease to discourse of him any further.

And here an end of these lamentable and doleful persecutions of the primitive church, during the space of three hundred years, from the passion of our Saviour Christ, till the coming of this Constantine; by whom, as by the elect instrument of God, it hath so pleased his Almighty Majesty, by his determinate purpose, to give rest after long trouble to his church, according to that St. Cyprian declareth before to be revealed of God unto his church, that after darkness and stormy tempest should come peaceable, calm, and stable quietness to his church, meaning this time of Constantine now present. At which time it so pleased the Almighty, that the murdering malice of Satan should at length be restrained, and himself tied up, through his great mercy in Christ, to whom therefore be thanks and praise now and for ever. Amen.

**THE SECOND BOOK
CONTAINING
THE NEXT THREE HUNDRED YEARS FOLLOWING
WITH SUCH THINGS SPECIALLY TOUCHED AS HAVE
HAPPENED IN ENGLAND FROM THE TIME OF KING
LUCIUS TO GREGORIUS, AND SO AFTER TO THE
TIME OF KING EGBERT.**

17. The Church in Britain before the Coming of the Saxons

By these persecutions hitherto in the book before precedent thou mayst understand, (Christian reader,) how the fury of Satan and rage of men have done what they could to extinguish the name and religion of Christ; for what thing did lack that either death could do, or torments could work, or the gates of hell could devise, all was to the uttermost attempted. And yet all the fury and malice of Satan, all the wisdom of the world and strength of men, doing, devising, practising what they could, notwithstanding the religion of Christ (as thou seest) hath had the upper hand; which thing I wish thee greatly (gentle reader) wisely to note and diligently to ponder in considering these former histories. And because thou canst not consider them, nor profit by them, unless thou do first read and peruse them; let me crave, therefore, this much at thine hands, to turn and read over the said histories of those persecutions above described, especially above all the other histories of this present volume, for thine especial edification, which I trust thou shalt find not unworthy the reading.

Now because the tying up of Satan giveth to the church some rest, and to me some leisure to address myself to the handling of other stories, I mind therefore (Christ willing) in this present book, leaving awhile the tractation of these general affairs pertaining to the universal church, to prosecute such domestical histories as more nearly concern this our country of England and Scotland done here at home, beginning first with King Lucius, with whom the faith first began here in this realm, as the sentence of some writers doth hold. And forsomuch as here may rise, yea, and doth rise, a great controversy in these our popish days, concerning the first origin and planting of the faith in this our realm, it shall not be greatly out of our purpose somewhat to stay and say of this question; Whether the church of England first received the faith from Rome or not? The which although I grant so to be, yet, being so granted, it little availeth the purpose of them which would so have it. For be it that England first received the Christian faith and religion from Rome, both in the time of Eleutherius their bishop, one hundred and eighty years after Christ; and also in the time of Augustine, whom Gregory sent hither six hundred years after Christ; yet their purpose followeth not thereby, that we must therefore fetch our religion from thence still, as from the chief well-head and fountain of all godliness. And yet, as they are not able to prove the second, so neither have I any cause to grant the first; that is, that our Christian faith was first derived from Rome, which I may prove by six or seven good conjectural reasons. Whereof the first I take of the testimony of Gildas, our countryman, who in his history affirmeth plainly, that Britain received the gospel in the time of Tiberius the emperor, under whom Christ suffered. And saith, moreover, that Joseph of Arimathea, after dispersion of the Jews, was sent of Philip the apostle from France to Britain, about the year of our Lord 63, and here remained in this land all his time; and so with his fellows laid the first foundation of Christian faith among the British people, whereupon other preachers and teachers coming afterward, confirmed the same and increased it.

The second reason is out of Tertullian, who living near about, or rather somewhat before, the time of this Eleutherius, in his book *Contra Judæos*, manifestly importeth the same, where the said Tertullian, testifying how the gospel was dispersed abroad by the sound of the apostles; and there reckoning up the Medes, Persians, Parthians, and dwellers in Mesopotamia, Jewry, Cappadocia, Pontus, Asia, Phrygia,

Egypt, Pamphulia, with many more, at length cometh to the coast of the Moorians, and all the borders of Spain, with divers nations of France; and there amongst all other reciteth also the parts of Britain, which the Romans could never attain to, and reporteth the same now to be subject to Christ: as also reckoneth up the places of Sarmatia, of the Danes, the Germans, the Scythians, with many other provinces and isles to him unknown; in all which places (saith he) reigneth the name of Christ, which now beginneth to be common. This hath Tertullian. Note here how, among other divers believing nations, he mentioneth also the wildest places of Britain to be of the same number; and these in his time were christened, who was in the same Eleutherius's time, as is above said. Then was not Pope Eleutherius the first which sent the Christian faith into this realm, but the gospel was here received before hi time, either by Joseph of Arimathea, as some chronicles record, or by some of the apostles, or of their scholars, which had been here preaching Christ before Eleutherius wrote to Lucius.

My third probation I deduct out of Origen, whose words be these, *Britanniam in Christianam consentire religionem*. Whereby it appeareth that the faith of Christ was scattered here in England before the days of Eleutherius.

For my fourth probation I take the testimony of Beda, where he affirmeth that in his time, and almost a thousand years after Christ, here in Britain Easter was kept after the manner of the east church, in the full of the moon, what day in the week soever it fell on, and not on the Sunday, as we do now. Whereby it is to be collected that the first preachers in this land have come out from the east part of the world, where it was so used, rather than from Rome.

Fifthly, I may allege the words of Nicephorus, where he saith that Simon Zelotes did spread the gospel of Christ to the west ocean, and brought the same unto the isles of Britain.

Sixthly, may be here added also the words of Petrus Cluniacensis, who, writing to Bernard, affirmeth that the Scots in his time did celebrate their Easter, not after the Roman manner, but after the Greeks, &c. And as the said Britons were not under the Roman order in the time of this abbot of Cluniack, so neither were they nor would be under the Roman legate in the time of Gregory, nor would admit any primacy of the bishop of Rome to be above them.

For the seventh argument, moreover, I may make my probation by the plain words of Eleutherius; by whose epistle, written to King Lucius, we may understand that Lucius had received the faith of Christ in this land before the king sent to Eleutherius for the Roman laws; for so the express words of the letter do manifestly purport, as hereafter followeth to be seen. By all which conjectures it may stand probably to be thought, that the Britons were taught first by the Grecians of the east church, rather than by the Romans.

Peradventure Eleutherius might help something, either to convert the king, or else to increase the faith then newly sprung among the people; but that he precisely was the first, that cannot be proved. But grant he were, as indeed the most part of our English stories confess, neither will I greatly stick with them therein; yet what have they got thereby when they have cast all their gain? In few words, to conclude this matter, if so be that the Christian faith and religion was first derived from Rome to this our nation by Eleutherius, then let them but grant to us the same faith and religion which then was taught at Rome, and from thence derived hither by the said Eleutherius, and we will desire no more; for then neither was any universal pope above

all churches and councils, which came not in before Boniface's time, which was four hundred years after; neither any name or use of the mass, the parts whereof how and by whom they were compiled hereafter in this book following appeareth to be seen. Neither any sacrifice propitiatory for the scouring of purgatory was then offered upon hallowed altars, but only the communion frequented at Christian tables, where oblations and gifts were offered as well of the people as of the priests to God, because they should appear neither empty nor unkind before the Lord, as we may understand by the time of Cyprian. Neither was then any transubstantiation heard of, which was not brought in before a thousand years after. Neither were then any images of saints departed set up in churches; yea, a great number of the saints worshipped in this our time were not as yet born, nor the churches wherein they were worshipped were yet set up, but came in long after, especially in the time of Irenæus. Priests' marriage was then as lawful (and no less received) as now; neither was it condemned before the days of Hildebrand, almost a thousand years after that. Their service was then in the vulgar tongue, as witnesseth Hierom; the sacrament ministered in both kinds, as well to lay men as to priests, the witness whereof is Cyprian. Yea, and temporal men which would not then communicate at Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas,

were not then counted for Catholics, the pope's own distinction can testify. In funerals, priests then flocked not together, selling trentals and diriges for sweeping of purgatory; but only a funeral concion was used, with psalms of praises and songs of their worthy deeds, and alleluia sounding on high, which did shake the gilded ceilings of the temple, as witnesseth Nazianzen, Ambrose, with Hierom, &c.

In the supper of the Lord and at baptism no such ceremonies were used as now of late have been intruded; insomuch that, as in this story is showed hereafter, both Augustine and Paulinus baptized then in rivers, not in hallowed fonts, as witnesseth Fabianus. The portues of Sarum, of York, of Bangor, with matins and even-song of the day; again, neither the orders and religions of monks and friars were yet dreamed of, to the space almost of a thousand years after, &c. So that, as I said, if the

papists would needs derive the faith and religion of this realm from Rome, then let them set us and leave us there where they had us; that is, let them suffer us to stand content with that faith and religion which then was taught and brought from Rome by Eleutherius, (as now we differ nothing from the same,) and we will desire no better. And if they will not, then let the wise reader judge where the fault is, in us or them, which neither themselves will persist in the antiquity of the Romish religion, which they so much boast of, neither will they permit us so to do.

And thus much by the way to satisfy the foresaid objection, whereby we may have now a more ready passage into the order and course of the history. Being therefore granted unto them which they so earnestly stick upon, that the Christian faith and religion of this realm was brought from Rome, first by Eleutherius, then afterward by Augustine: thus write the chronicles of that matter.

Now, to proceed in order of the story, briefly to touch the state of the foresaid land of Britain between the time of King Lucius and the entering of the Saxons, who were the kings thereof, and in what order they succeeded, or rather invaded, one after another, this catalogue here under written will specify.

KINGS OF BRITAIN FROM THE TIME OF LUCIUS TILL THE COMING OF
THE SAXONS.

Lucius, a Briton.

Severus, a Roman.

Bassianus, a Roman by the father.

Cerausius, a Briton.

Alectus, a Roman.

Asclepiodotus, a Briton.

Coilus, a Briton.

Constantius, a Roman.

Constantinus, a Briton by the mother, named Helena, who being the daughter of Coilus, and married to Constantius, father of Constantinus, is said to make the walls first of London, also of Colchester, much about the year of our Lord 305, and born in Britain.

Octavius, a Gewissian.

Maximianus, a Roman born, but his mother a Briton.

Gratianus, a Roman.

Constantius, a Briton by the mother.

Constans, a Roman by the father.

Vortigernus, a Gewissian or Briton.

Vortimerus, a Briton.

Vortigernus, again.

By this table may appear a lamentable face of a commonwealth so miserably rent and divided into two sorts of people, differing not so much in country as in religion: for when the Romans reigned, they were governed by the infidels; when the Britons ruled, they were governed by Christians. Thus what quietness was or could be in the church in so unquiet and doubtful days may easily be considered.

Albeit notwithstanding all these foresaid heathen rulers of the Romans which here governed, yet (God be praised) we read of no persecution, during all these ten persecutions above mentioned, that touched the Christian Britons, before the last persecution only of Dioclesian and Maximianus Herculeus, which here then exercised much cruelty. This persecution, as it was the last among the Roman Christians, so it was the first of many and divers that followed after in this church and realm of England; whereof we will hereafter treat, (Christ willing,) as order of the matter shall leave us. In the mean time, this rage of Dioclesian, as it was universally through all the churches in the world fierce and vehement, so in this realm of Britain also, it was so sore that, as all our English chronicles do testify and record, all Christianity almost in the whole land was destroyed, churches were subverted, all books of the Scriptures burned, many of the faithful, both men and women, were slain. Among whom the first and chiefest was Albanus, then Julius, Aaron, and Amphibalus, of whom sufficiently hath been said before. What were the others, or how many they were that suffered beside, stories make no rehearsal. And thus much thereof.

Now as concerning the government of these above-named kings of Britain, although I have little or nothing to note which greatly appertaineth to the matter of this ecclesiastical history, yet this is not to be passed over. First, how in the order of these kings cometh Constantine, the great and worthy emperor, who was not only a Briton

born by his mother Helena, being King Coilus's daughter, but also by the help of the Britons' army, (under the power of God,) which the said Constantine took with him out of Britain to Rome, obtained with great victory peace and tranquillity to the whole universal church of Christ, having three legions with him out of this realm of chosen and able soldiers, whereby the strength of the land was not a little impaired and endangered, as afterwards in this story followeth.

After him likewise Maximian, following his steps, took with him also (as stories record) all the power and strength which was left, and whatsoever he could make of able and fighting men, to subdue France; besides the garrisons which he had out with him before, sending for more to the number of a hundred thousand soldiers at once to be sent to him out of Britain into France. At which time also Conanus his partner, being then in France, sent over for virgins from Britain to the number of eleven thousand; who, with Ursula, the prince Dionet's daughter, being shipped over, many perished in the sea, some were taken of the infidels marching upon the borders; with whom, because they would not be polluted, all were destroyed, being miserably dispersed, (some one way, some an other,) so that none escaped.

Thus poor Britain, being left naked and destitute on every side, as a maimed body without might or strength, was left open to its enemies, not able to succour itself without help of foreign friends; to whom they were then constrained to fly, especially to the Romans, to whom the Britons sent this word or message: *Ætio ter consuli gemitus Britannorum. Repellunt nos barbari ad mare: repellit nos mare ad barbaros. Hinc oriuntur duo sunerum genera, quia aut jugulamur, aut submergimur.* But the Romans then began to forsake them, whereby they were in nearer danger to be oppressed by Gwanus and Melga, had not Gwetelinus, the archbishop of London, made over to Lesser Britain, and, obtaining there help, had brought Constantine the king's brother to rescue his country against the infidels. This Constantine was brother to Aldroenus, king of Little Britain, and father to Constance, Aurelius Ambrosius, and Uter, who after reigned kings in Britain.

Thus by the means of the good archbishop and Constantine the state of the religion and realm of Britain was in some mean quiet and safety, during the time of the said Constantine, and of the good archbishop. But as the realm of Britain almost from the beginning was never without civil war, at length came wicked Vortigern, who, cruelly causing Constance his prince to be murdered, ambitiously invaded the crown; who then, fearing the other two brethren of Constans, which were Aurelius and Uter, being then in Little Britain, did send over for the aid of the Saxons, being then infidels; and not only that, but also married with an infidel, the daughter of Hengist, called Rowen. Whereupon the said Vortigern, not long after, by the said Hengist and the Saxons, was with like treachery dispossessed of his kingdom, and the people of Britain driven out of their country, after that the Saxons had slain of their chief nobles and barons at one meeting (joining together subtlety with cruelty) to the number of two hundred seventy and one; some stories say four hundred and sixty. This wicked act of the Saxons was done at Almesbury, or at a place called Stonehenge. By the monument of which stones there hanging, it seemeth that the noble Britons there were buried.

This fabulous story of the Welchmen, of bringing these stones from Ireland by Merlin, I pass over. Some stories record that they were slain, being bid to a banquet. Others say that it was done at a talk or assembly, where the Saxons came with privy knives, contrary to promise made; with the which knives they, giving a privy

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watchword in their Saxon speech, Neme your sexes, slew the Britons unarmed. And thus far concerning the history of the Britons.

18. The Entering and Reigning of the Saxons in the Realm of England.

This was the coming in first of the Angles or Saxons into this realm, being yet unchristened and infidels, which was about the year of our Lord, as William Malmsbury testifieth, four hundred sixty and nine, the captains of whom were Hengist and Horsa. Although the said Hengist and Saxons at their first coming, for all their subtle working and cruel attempt, had no quiet settling in Britain, but were driven out divers times by the valiantness of Aurelius Ambrosius and his brother Uter above mentioned, who reigned after that among the Britons; yet, notwithstanding, they were not so driven out but that they returned again, and at length possessed all, driving the Britons (such as remained) into Cambria, which we call now Wales. Hengist (as some chronicles record) reigned three and forty years, and died in Kent. Galfridus in suo Britannico, saith, that he was taken in war by Aurelius Ambrosius, and beheaded at Coningsburgh, after he had reigned nine and thirty years.

After the death of Hengist, his son Osca reigned four and twenty years, leaving his son Octa, to whose reign, with his son Imenricus, histories do attribute three and fifty years, who also were slain by Uter Pendragon.

The Saxons, after they were settled in the possession of England, distributed the realm among themselves first in seven parts, every part to have his king; that is, the first to be the king of Kent; the second to be king of Sussex and Southerie, holding his palace at Cicester; the third king was of Westsex; the fourth king of Essex; the fifth king was of the East Angles, that is, of Cambridgeshire, Norfolk, and Suffolk; the sixth king of Merceland, or Mercia, and in his kingdom were contained the countries of Lincoln, Leicester, Huntingdon, Northampton, Oxford, Derby, Warwick, &c. The seventh king had all the countries beyond Humber, and was called king of Northumberland.

Now followeth the description of the British kings, reigning with the Saxons in like manner.

Although the miserable Britons thus were bereaved of their land by the cruel subtlety of the Saxons; yet were they not so driven out or expelled, but that a certain kingdom remained among them in some part of the land, namely, about Cornwall, and the parts of Cambria, which is divided in two parts; South Wales, called Demetia, and North Wales, called Venedocia. The said Britons moreover, through the valiant acts of their kings, some times reigned also in other countries, displacing the Saxons, and recovering again their own, sometimes more, sometimes less, till the time of Carecius, whenas the Britons, being deposed by Gormundus, (whose help they themselves sent for out of Ireland against Carecius their wicked king,) utterly lost their land and kingdom; being thence driven utterly into Wales and Cornwall, in the year of our Lord 570.

In the reign of Ethelbert, which was then the fifth king of Kent, the faith of Christ was first received of the Saxons, or Englishmen, by the means of Gregory bishop of Rome, in manner and order as here followeth, out of old histories collected and recorded.

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First then, to join the order of our history together, the Christian faith, first received of King Lucius, endured in Britain till this time, near upon the season of four hundred years and odd; when by Gurmundus Africanus, (as is said,) fighting with the Saxons against the Britons, it was near extinct in all the land during the space of about forty-four years. So that the first springing of Christ's gospel in this land was in the year of our Lord 180. The coming of the Saxons was in the year 449, or 469.

19. The Coming of Austin

In the year then 598, Austin being sent from Gregory, came into England: the occasion whereupon Gregory sent him hither was this.

In the days of Pelagius, bishop of Rome, Gregory chancing to see certain children in the marketplace of Rome, (brought thither to be sold out of England,) being fair and beautiful of visage, demanded out of what country they were. And understanding they were heathenish, out of England, lamented the case of the land, being so beautiful and angelical, so to be subject under the prince of darkness. And asking moreover out of what province they were, it was answered, out of Deira, a part of North Saxons; whereof, as it is to be thought, that which we now call Deirham taketh its name. Then he, alluding to the name of Deira, These people (saith he) are to be delivered tie Dei ira, which is, from God's wrath. Moreover, understanding the king's name of that province to be Alle, (above mentioned,) alluding likewise to his name, There (saith he) ought Alleluia to be sung to the living God. Whereupon he being moved and desirous to go and help the conversion of that country, was not permitted of Pelagius and the Romans for that time to accomplish his desire. But afterward, being bishop himself next after Pelagius, he sent thither the foresaid Austin, with other preachers, near about to the number of forty. But by the way, how it happened I cannot say, as Austin with his company were passing in their journey, such a sudden fear entered into their hearts, that (as Antoninus saith) they returned all. Others write that Austin was sent back to Gregory again, to release them of that voyage so dangerous and uncertain, amongst such a barbarous people, whose language they neither knew, nor were able to resist their rudeness. Then Gregory, with pithy persuasions confirming and comforting him, sent him again with letters both to the bishop of Arelatensis, willing him to help and aid the said Austin and his company in all whatsoever his need required. Also other letters he directed to the foresaid Austin unto his fellows, exhorting them to go forward boldly to the Lord's work; as by the tenor of the said epistle here following may appear.

"Gregory, the servant of God's servants, to the servants of the Lord. Forsomuch as it is better not to take good things in hand, than after they be begun to think to revolt back from the same again; therefore now you may not nor cannot, dear children, but with all fervent study and labour must needs go forward in that good business which, through the help of God, you have well begun. Neither let the labour of your journey nor the slanderous tongues of men appal you, but that with all instance and fervency ye proceed and accomplish the thing which the Lord hath ordained you to take in hand, knowing that your great travail shall be recompensed with reward of greater glory hereafter to come. Therefore, as we send here Austin to you again, whom also we have ordained to be your governor; so do you humbly obey him in all things, knowing that it shall be profitable so for your souls, whatsoever at his admonition ye shall do. Almighty God with his grace defend you, and grant me to see in the eternal country the fruit of your labour; that although I cannot labour as I would with you, yet I may be found partaker of your retribution, for that my will is good to labour in the same fellowship with you together. The Lord God keep you safe, most dear and well-beloved children. Dated the tenth before the kalends of August, in the reign of our sovereign lord Mauricius most virtuous emperor, the fourteenth of his empire."

Thus they, imboldened and comforted through the good words of Gregory, sped forth their journey till they came at length to the isle of Thanet, lying upon the east side of Kent. Near to the which landing-place was then the manory or palace of the king, not far from Sandwich, (eastward from Canterbury,) which the inhabitants of the isle then called Richbourgh; whereof some part of the ruinous walls is yet to be seen. The king then reigning in Kent was Ethelbert, as above appeareth, the fifth king of that province; who at that time had married a wife a French woman, being christened, named Berda, whom he had received of her parents upon this condition, that he should permit her, with her bishop committed unto her, called Lebardus, to enjoy the freedom of her faith and religion; by the means whereof he was more flexible, and sooner induced to embrace the preaching and doctrine of Christ. Thus Austin, being arrived, sent forth certain messengers and interpreters to the king; signifying that such a one was come from Rome, bringing with him glad tidings to him and all his people of life and salvation, eternally to reign in heaven with the only true and living God for ever, if he would so willingly hearken to the same, as he was gladly come to preach and teach it unto him.

The king, who had heard of this religion before by means of his wife, within a few days after cometh to the place where Austin was, to speak with him; but that should be without the house, after the manner of his law. Austin against his coming, as stories affirm, erected up a banner of the crucifix, (such was then the grossness of that time,) and preached to him the word of God. The king, answering again, saith in effect as followeth: The words be very fair that you preach and promise; nevertheless, because it is to me uncouth and new, I cannot soon start away from my country law, wherewith I have been so long inured, and assent to you. Albeit, yet notwithstanding for that ye are come (as ye say) so far for my sake, ye shall not be molested by me, but shall be right well entreated, having all things to you ministered necessary for your supportation. Besides this, neither do we debar you, but grant you free leave to preach to our people and subjects, to convert whom ye may to the faith of your religion.

When they had received this comfort of the king, they went with procession to the city of Dorobernia, or Canterbury, singing Allelujah with the Litany, which then by Gregory had been used at Rome in the time of the great plague reigning then at Rome, mentioned in old stories. The words of the Litany were these: *Deprecamur te Domine in omni misericordia tua, ut auferatur furor tuus et ira tua a civitate ista, et de domo sancta tua, quoniam peccavimus, Alleluja*: that is, We beseech thee, O Lord, in all thy mercies, that thy fury and anger may cease from this city, and from thy holy house, for we have sinned, Allelujah. Thus they entering into the city of Dorobernia, the head city of all that dominion at that time, where the king had given them a mansion for their abode; there they continued preaching and baptizing such as they had converted in the east side of the city in the old church of St. Martin, (where the queen was wont to resort,) unto the time that the king was converted himself to Christ. At length, when the king had well considered the honest conversation of their life, and moved with the miracles wrought through God's hand by them, he heard them more gladly, and, lastly, by their wholesome exhortations and example of godly life he was by them converted and christened in the year above specified, 586, and the six and thirtieth year of his reign. After the king was thus converted, innumerable other daily came in and were adjoined to the church of Christ, whom the king did specially embrace, but compelled none; for so he had learned, that the faith and service of Christ ought to be voluntary, and not coacted. Then he gave to Austin a place for the bishop's see at Christ's Church in Dorobernia, and builded the abbey of St. Peter and Paul in the

east side of the said city, where after Austin and all the kings of Kent were buried, and that place is now called St. Austin.

In this while Austin sailed into France unto the bishop Arelatensis, called Ethereus, by him to be consecrated archbishop by the commandment of Gregory, and so was. Also the said Austin sent to Rome Laurentius, one of his company, to declare to Gregory how they had sped, and what they had done in England; sending withal to have the counsel and advice of Gregory concerning nine or ten questions, whereof some are partly touched before.

The tenor of his questions or interrogations, with the answers of Gregory to the same, here follow in English briefly translated.

The first interrogation.

My first question, reverend father, is concerning bishops, how they ought to behave themselves toward their clerks; or, of such oblations as the faithful offer upon the altar, what portions or dividends ought to be made thereof?

The answer.

How a bishop ought to behave himself in the congregation the Holy Scripture testifieth, which I doubt not but you know right well, especially in the Epistles of St. Paul to Timothy, wherein he laboureth to inform the said Timothy how to behave his conversation in the house of the Lord. The manner is of the see apostolic to warn and charge all such as be ordained bishops, of all their stipend, or that which is given to make four partitions: one to the bishop for hospitality and receiving comers in, another to the clergy, the third to the poor, the fourth to the repairing of the churches. But because your brotherhood, instructed with rules of monastical discipline, cannot live separated from your clerks about you, therefore in the English church (which now, through the providence of God, is brought to the faith of Christ) you must observe this insitution concerning your conversation, which was in the first fathers in the beginning of the primitive church; among whom there was not one which counted any thing to be his own proper of all that he did possess, but all was common among them.

The second interrogation.

I desire to know and to be instructed whether clerks, that cannot contain, may marry; and if they do marry, whether then they ought to return to the secular state again or no?

The answer.

If there be any clerks out of holy orders which cannot contain, let them have their wives, and take their stipends or wages without. For we read it so written of the foresaid fathers, that they divided to every person according as their work was. Therefore, as concerning the stipend of such, it must be provided and thought upon. And they must be also holden under ecclesiastical discipline, to live a godly conversation, to employ themselves in singing psalms, and to refrain their tongue, heart, and body (by the grace of God) from all things unseemly and unlawful. As for the vulgar and common sort, which live after the common condition of men, to describe what partitions to make, what hospitality to keep, or what works of mercy to exhibit, to such I have nothing to say, but to give (as our Master teacheth) in all our deeds of mercy of that which aboundeth: Of that (saith he) which aboundeth, or is overplus, give alms, and, behold, all things be clean unto you.

The third interrogation.

Seeing there is but one faith, how happeneth it then the ceremonies and customs of churches to be so divers; as in the church of Rome there is one custom and manner of mass, and the French church hath another?

The answer.

The custom of the church of Rome, what it is you know, wherein you remember that you have been brought up from your youth; but rather it pleaseth me better, that whether it be in the church of Rome, or any French church, where ye find any thing that seemeth better to the service and pleasing of God, that ye choose the same, and so infer and bring into the English church (which is yet new in the faith) the best and choicest things chosen out of many churches; for things are not to be beloved for the place sake, but the place is to be beloved for the things that be good; wherefore such things as be good, godly, and religious, those choose out of all churches, and induce to your people, that they may take root in the minds of Englishmen.

The fourth interrogation.

I pray you, what punishment judge you for him that shall steal or pilfer any thing out of the church?

The answer.

This your brotherhood may soon discern by the person of a thief, how it ought to be corrected. For some there be that, having sufficient to live upon, yet do steal. Others there be which steal of mere necessity. Wherefore, considering the quality and difference of the crime, necessary it is that some be corrected by loss of goods, some by stripes, some others more sharply, and some more easy; yea, and when sharper correction is to be executed, yet that must be done with charity, and with no fury; for in punishing offenders this is the cause and end wherefore they are punished, because they should be saved, and not perish in hell-fire. And so ought discipline to proceed in correcting the faithful, as do good fathers in punishing their children, whom both they chasten for their evil, and yet, being chastened, they look to have them their heirs, and think to leave them all they have, notwithstanding they correct them sometimes in anger. Therefore this charity must be kept in mind; and in the correction there is a measure to be had, so that the mind never do any thing without the rule of reason. Ye add, moreover, with what recompence of measure those things ought to be required again which be stolen out of churches? But God forbid that the church should ever require again with increase that which is lost in outward things, and to seek her gain by endamaging others.

The fifth interrogation.

Item, Whether two brethren may marry two sisters, being far off from any part of kindred?

The answer.

This in no part of Scripture is forbidden, but it may well and lawfully be done.

The sixth interrogation.

Item, To what degree of kindred may the matrimony of the faithful extend with their kindred, or whether it is lawful to marry with the step-mother and her kinsfolks?

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The answer.

A certain terrene law amongst the old Romans doth permit, that either brother or sister, or the son and daughter of two brethren, may marry together. But by the experience we learn that the issue of such marriage doth never thrive nor come forward. Also the holy law of God forbiddeth to reveal the turpitude of thy blood or kindred. Wherefore necessary it is that in the third or fourth degree the faithful may lawfully marry; for in the second (being an unlawful) they must needs refrain. To be coupled with the step-mother is utterly abominable, for it is written in the law, Thou shalt not reveal the turpitude of thy father. Forsomuch then as it is so written in the law, And they shall be two in one flesh; the son then that presumeth to reveal the turpitude of his step-mother, which is one flesh with his father, what doth he then but reveal the turpitude of his own father? Likewise it was forbidden and unlawful to marry with thy kinswoman, which by her first marriage was made one flesh with thy brother; for the which cause John the Baptist also lost his head, and was crowned a martyr; who, though he died not for the confession of Christ, yet forsomuch as Christ saith, I am the truth, therefore, in that John Baptist was slain for the truth, it may be said his blood was shed for Christ.

The seventh interrogation.

Item, Whether such as so be coupled together in filthy and unlawful matrimony ought to be separated, and denied the partaking of the holy communion?

The answer.

Because there be many of the nation of English men which, being yet in their infidelity, were so joined and coupled in such execrable marriage, the same, coming now to faith, are to be admonished hereafter to abstain from the like; and, that they know the same to be a grievous sin, that they dread the dreadful judgment of God, lest for their carnal delectation they incur the torments of eternal punishment. And yet notwithstanding they are not to be secluded therefore from the participation of Christ's body and blood, lest we should seem to revenge those things in them which they before their baptism through ignorance did commit. For in this time the holy church doth correct some faults more fervently; some faults she suffereth again through mansuetude and meekness; some wittingly and willingly she doth wink at and dissemble, that many times the evil which she doth detest through bearing and dissembling she may stop and bridle. All they, therefore, which are come to the faith must be admonished that they commit no such offence. Which thing if they do, they are to be deprived of the communion of the Lord's body and blood. For like as in them that fall through ignorance, their default in this case is tolerable; so in them again it is strongly to be ensued, which, knowing they do naught, yet fear not to commit.

The eighth interrogation.

Item, In this I desire to be satisfied, after what manner I should deal or do with the bishops of France and of Britain?

The answer.

As touching the bishops in France, I give you no authority or power over them. For the bishops of Aralas, or Orleans, hath by the old time of our predecessors received the pall, whom now we ought not to deprive of his authority. Therefore when your brotherhood shall go unto the province of France, whatsoever ye shall have there to do with the bishop of Orleans, so do, that he lose nothing of that which he hath

found and obtained of the ancient ordinance of our fore-elders. But as concerning the bishops of Britain, we commit them all to your brotherhood, that the ignorant may be taught, the infirm by persuasion may be confirmed, the wilful by authority may be corrected.

The ninth interrogation.

Whether a woman being great with child ought to be baptized? Or after she hath children, after how long time she ought to enter into the church? Or else, that which she hath brought forth, lest it should be prevented with death, after how many days it ought to receive baptism? All which things must be declared and opened to the rude multitude of Englishmen.

The answer.

The childing or bearing woman, why may she not be baptized, seeing that the fruitfulness of the flesh is no fault before the eyes of Almighty God? For our first parents in Pandise, after they had transgressed, lost their immortality by the just judgment of God, which they had taken before. Then because Almighty God would not mankind utterly to perish, because of his fall, (although he lost now his immortality for his trespass,) yet, of his benign pity, left, notwithstanding, to him the fruit and generation of issue. Wherefore the issue and generation of man's nature, which is conserved by the gift of Almighty God, how can it be debarred from the grace of holy baptism?

As concerning the churching of women, after they have travailed, where ye demand after how many days they ought to go to the church, this you have learned in the old law, that for a manchild thirty-three days, after a woman-child sixty and six days, be appointed her to keep in; albeit this you must take to be understood in a mystery. For if she should, the hour after her travail. enter into the church to give thanks, she committed therein no sin; for why? the lust and pleasure of the flesh, and not the travail and pain of the flesh, is sin. Therefore, if we forbid the woman after her labour to enter into the church, then what do we else but count the same punishment given unto her for sin? Therefore for the woman after her labour to be baptized, either that which she hath travailed forth, (if present necessity of death doth so require,) yea, in the selfsame hour, either she that hath brought forth, either that which is born in the same hour when it is born, to be baptized we do not forbid.

But now there is a lewd and naughty custom risen in the condition of married folks, that mothers do contemn to nurse their own children which they have borne, but set them to other women out to nurse, which seemeth only to come of the cause of incontineny; for while they will not contain themselves, therefore they put from them their children to nurse, &c.

To return now to the story again. Gregory, after he had sent these resolutions to the questions of Austin, sendeth, moreover, to the church of England more coadjutors and helpers, as Melitus, Justus, Paulinus, and Ruffianus, with books and such other implements as he thought necessary for the English church. He sendeth moreover to the foresaid Austin a pall with letters, wherein he setteth an order between the two metropolitan sees, the one to be at London, the other to be at York. Notwithstanding he granted to the said Austin, during his life, to be the only chief archbishop of all the land; and after his time, then to return to the two foresaid sees of London and York, as is in the same letter contained, the tenor whereof here followeth in his own words, as ensueth.

" To the reverend and virtuous brother Augustine, his fellow bishop, Gregorius the servant of the servants of God. Although it be most certain that unspeakable rewards of the heavenly King be laid up for all such as labour in the word of the Almighty God; yet it shall be requisite for us to reward the same also with our benefits, to the end they may be more encouraged to go forward in the study of their spiritual work. And forsomuch now as the new church of Englishmen is brought to the grace of Almighty God, through his mighty help and your travail, therefore we have granted to you the use of the pall, only to be used at the solemnity of your mass; so that it shall be lawful for you to ordain twelve bishops, such as shall be subject to your province. So that hereafter always the bishop of the city of London shall be ordained and consecrated by his own proper synod; and so to receive the pall of honour from the holy and apostolic see, wherein I here (by the permission of God) do serve. And as touching the city of York, we will send also a bishop thither, whom you may think meet to ordain. So that if that city, with other places bordering thereby, shall receive the word of God, he shall have power likewise to ordain twelve bishops, and have the honour of a metropolitan; to whom also, if God spare me life, I intend by the favour of God to send a pall; this provided, that notwithstanding he shall be subject to your brotherly appointment. But after your decease, the same metropolitan so to be over the bishops whom he ordereth, that he be in no wise subject to the metropolitan of London after you. And hereafter, betwixt these two metropolitans of London and York, let there be had such distinction of honour, that he shall have the priority which shall in time first be ordained. With common counsel, and affection of heart, let them go both together, disposing with one accord such things as be to be done for the zeal of Christ. Let them forethink and deliberate together prudently, and what they deliberate wisely let them accomplish concordly, nor jarring nor swerving one from the other. But as for your part, you shall be endued with authority, not only over those bishops that you constitute, and over the other constituted by the bishop of York; but also you shall have all other priests of whole Britain subject unto our Lord Jesus Christ, to the end that through your preaching and holiness of life they may learn both to believe rightly, and to live purely, and so in directing their life, both by the rule of true faith and virtuous manners, they may attain, when God shall call them, the fruition and kingdom of heaven. God preserve you in health, reverend brother. The tenth before the kalends of July, in the reign of our sovereign lord Mauricius most virtuous emperor."

Besides this, the said Gregory sendeth also another letter to Melitus, concerning his judgment what is to be done with the idolatrous temples and fanes of the Englishmen newly converted, which fanes he thinketh not best to pluck down, but to convert the use thereof, and so let them stand. And likewise of their sacrifices and killing of oxen, how the same ought to be ordered, and how to be altered, disputing by the occasions thereof of the sacrifices of the old Egyptians, permitted of God unto the Israelites, the end and use thereof being altered, &c.

He sendeth also another letter to the foresaid Austin, wherein he warneth him not to be proud or puffed up for the miracles wrought of God by him in converting the people of England, but rather to fear and tremble, lest so much as he were puffed up by the outward work of miracles, so much he should fall inwardly through the vain-glory of his heart; and therefore wisely exhorteth him to repress the swelling glory of heart, with the remembrance of his sins rather against God, whereby he rather hath cause to lament than to rejoice for the other. Not all the elect of God (saith he) work miracles, and yet have they their names written in the book of life. And therefore he should not count so much of those miracles done, but rather rejoice with the disciples of Christ,

and labour to have his name written in the book of life, where all the elect of God be contained; neither is there any end of that rejoicing. And whatsoever miracles it hath pleased God by him to have been done, he should remember they were not done for him, but for their conversion, whose salvation God sought thereby, &c.

Item, he directed another epistle to King Ethelbert, as is expressed at large in the Chronicle of Henry Huntington; in the which epistle, first, he praiseth God, then commendeth the goodness of the king, by whom it pleased God so to work such goodness of the people. Secondly, exhorteth him to persist and continue in the godly profession of Christ's faith, and to be fervent and zealous in the same; in converting the multitude, in destroying the temples and works of idolatry, in ruling and governing the people in all holiness and godly conversation, after the godly example of the emperor Constantine the Great. Lastly, comforting him with the promises of life and reward to come with the Lord that reigneth and liveth for ever; premonishing him besides of the terrors and distresses that shall happen, though not in his days, yet before the terrible day of God's judgment. Wherefore he willeth him always to be solicitous for his soul, and suspectful of the hour of his death, and watchful of the judgment, that he may be always prepared for the same when that judgment shall come. In the end he desireth him to accept such presents and gifts which he thought good to send unto him from Rome, &c.

Austin thus receiving his pall from Gregory, as is above said, and now of a monk being made an archbishop, after he had baptized a great part of Kent, he afterward made two archbishops, or metropolitans, by the commandment of Gregory, as witnesseth Polychron., one at London, another at York.

Melitus, of whom mention is made before, was sent especially to the East Saxons in the province of Essex, where after he was made bishop of London under Sigebert, king of Essex; which Sigebert, together with his uncle Ethelbert, first builded the church and minster of St. Paul in London, and appointed it to Melitus for the bishop's see. Austin (associate with this Melitus and Justus through the help of Ethelbert) assembled and gathered together the bishops and doctors of Britain in a place which, taking the name of the said Austin, was called Austin's Oak. In this assembly he charged the said bishops, that they should preach with him the word of God to the Englishmen, and also that they should among themselves reform certain rites and usages in their church, specially for keeping of their Eastertide, baptizing after the manner of Rome, and such other like. To these the Scots and Britons would not agree, refusing to leave the custom which they so long time had continued, without the assent of them all which used the same. Here the stories both of Beda, Cestrensis in Polychron., Huntingtonensis, Iornalensis, Fabianus, and others more, write of a certain miracle wrought upon a blind Englishman; whom when the Britons could not help, Austin kneeling down, and praying, restored the blind man to sight before them all, for a confirmation (as these authors say) of his opinion in keeping of Easter. But concerning the credit of this miracle, that I leave to the authors of whom I had it.

Then Austin gathered another synod, to the which came seven bishops of Britain, with the wisest men of that famous abbey of Bangor. But first they took counsel of a certain wise and holy man amongst them what to do, and whether they should be obedient to Austin or not. And he said, If he be the servant of God, agree unto him. But how shall we know that? said they. To whom he answered again, If he be meek and humble of heart, by that know that he is the servant of God. To this they said again, And how shall we know him to be humble and meek of heart? By this,

(quoth he,) seeing you are the greater number, if he, at your coming into your synod, rise up and courteously receive you, perceive him to be a humble and a meek man. But if he shall contemn and despise you, being (as ye are) the greater part, despise you him again. Thus the British bishops, entering into the council, Austin, after the Romish manner, keeping his chair, would not remove. Whereat they, being not a little offended, after some heat of words, in disdain and great displeasure departed thence. To whom then Austin spake, and said, that if they would not take peace with their brethren, they should receive war with their enemies; and if they disdained to preach with them the way of life to the English nation, they should suffer by their hands the revenge of death. Which not long after so came to pass by the means of Ethelfride, king of Northumberland; who being yet a pagan, and stirred with a fierce fury against the Britons, came with a great army against the city of Chester, where Brocmaile, the consul of that city, a friend and helper of the Britons' side, was ready with his force to receive him. There was at the same time at Bangor, in Wales, an exceeding great monastery, wherein was such a number of monks, as Galfridus with other authors do testify, that if the whole company were divided into seven parts, in every of the seven parts were contained not so few as three hundred monks; which all did live by the sweat of their brows, and labour of their own hands, having one for their ruler, named Dino. Out of this monastery came the monks of Chester to pray for the good success of Brocmaile, fighting for them against the Saxons. Three days they continued in fasting and prayer. When Ethelfride, the foresaid king, seeing them so intentive to their prayers, demanded the cause of their coming thither in such a company, and when he perceived it was to pray for their consul, Then, (saith he,) although they bear no weapon, yet they fight against us, and with their prayers and preachings they persecute us. Where upon, after that Brocmaile, being overcome, did fly away, the king commanded his men to turn their weapons against the silly unarmed monks, of whom he slew the same time, or rather martyred, eleven hundred; only fifty persons of that number did fly and escape away with Brocmaile, the rest were all slain. The authors that write of this lamentable murder declare and say how the forespeaking of Austin was here verified upon the Britons; which, because they would not join peace with their friends, he said should be destroyed of their enemies. Of both these parties the reader may judge what he pleaseth; I cannot see but both together were to be blamed. And as I cannot but accuse the one, so I cannot defend the other. First, Austin in this matter can in no wise be excused; who being a monk before, and therefore a scholar and professor of humility, showed so little humility in this assembly to seven bishops and an archbishop, coming at his commandment to the council, that he thought scorn once to stir at their coming in. Much less would his Pharisaical solemnity have girded himself, and washed his brethren's feet after their travel, as Christ our great Master did to his disciples; seeing his lordship was so high, or rather so heavy, or rather so proud, that he could not find in his heart to give them a little moving of his body, to declare a brotherly and a humble heart. Again, the Britons were as much or more to blame, who so much neglected their spiritual duty in revenging their temporal injury, that they denied to join their helping labour to turn the idolatrous Saxons to the way of life and salvation, in which respect all private cases ought to give place, and to be forgotten. For the which cause, although lamentable to us, yet no great marvel in them, if the stroke of God's punishment did light upon them, according to the words of Austin, as is before declared. But especially the cruel king in this fact was most of all to blame so furiously to fly upon them, which had neither weapon to resist him, nor yet any will to harm him. And so likewise the same or like happened to himself afterward. For so was he also slain in the field by Christian Edwin, who succeeded him, as he had slain the

Christians before, which was about the year of our Lord 610. But to return to Austin again, who, by report of authors, was departed before this cruelty was done: after he had baptized and christened ten thousand Saxons or Angles in the West river, that is called Swale, beside York, on a Christmas day, perceiving his end to draw near, he ordained a successor, named Laurentius, to rule after him the archbishop's see of Dorobernia. Where note, by the way, (Christian reader,) that whereas Austin baptized then in rivers, it followeth there was then no use of fonts. Again, if it be true that Fabian saith he baptized ten thousand in one day, the rite then of baptizing at Rome was not so ceremonial, neither had so many trinkets at that time as it hath had since; or else it could not be that he could baptize so many in one day.

In the mean season, about this time departed Gregory, bishop of Rome, of whom it is said, that of the number of all the first bishops before him in the primitive time he was the basest, of all them that came after him he was the best. About which time also died in Wales David, archbishop first of Kairleon, who then translated the see from thence to Menevia, and therefore is called David of Wales. Not long after this also deceased the foresaid Austin in England, after he had sat there fifteen or sixteen years; by the which count we may note it not to be true that Henry Huntington and others do witness, that Austin was dead before that battle of Ethelfride against the monks of Bangor. For if it be true that Polychronicon testifieth of this murder, to be done about the year of our Lord 609, and the coming of Austin first into the realm to be anno 596, then Austin, enduring sixteen years, could not be dead at this battle. Moreover, Galfridus Monumetensis declareth concerning the same battle, that Ethelbert, the king of Kent, being (as is said) converted by Austin to Christ's faith, after he saw the Britons to disdain and deny their subjection unto Austin, neither would assist him with preaching to the English nation; therefore stirred up he the foresaid Ethelfride to war against the Britons. But that seemeth rather suspicious than true, that he, being a Christian king, either could so much prevail with a pagan idolater, or else would attempt so far to commit such a cruel deed. But of uncertain things I have nothing certainly to say, less to judge.

20. The Conversion of the Saxons

About this present time above prefixed, which is anno 610, I read in the story of Ranulphus Cestren the writer of Polychronicon, of John the patriarch of Alexandria, whom, for His rare example of hospitality and bountifulness to the poor, I thought no less worthy to have place amongst good men, than I see the same now to be followed of few. This John, (being before belike a hard and sparing man,) as he was at his prayer, upon a time (it is said) there appeared to him a comely virgin, having on her head a garland of olive leaves, which named herself Mercy, saying to him, and promising, that if he would take her to wife, he should prosper well. This, whether it were true or not, or else invented for a morality, I would wish this flourishing damsel to be married to more than to this John, that she should not live so long a virgin as now she doth, because no man will marry her. But to return to this patriarch, who after that day (as the story recordeth) was so merciful and so beneficial, especially to the poor and needy, that he counted them as his masters, and himself as a servant and steward unto them; this patriarch was wont commonly twice a week to sit at his door all the day long, to take up matters, and to set unity where was any variance. One day it happened, as he was sitting all the day before his gate, and saw no man come, he lamented that all that day he had done no good; to whom his deacon, standing by, answered again, that he had more cause to rejoice, seeing he had brought the city in that order and in such peace, that there needed no reconciliation amongst them, Another time, as the said John the patriarch was at service, and reading the Gospel in the church, the people (as their used manner is) went out of the church to talk and jangle: he perceiving that, went out likewise, and sat amongst them; whereat they marvelled to see him do so. My children, (said he,) where the flock is, there ought the shepherd to be; wherefore either come you in, that I may also come in with you; or else if you tarry out, I will likewise tarry out together with you, &c.

As touching the acts and deeds of Gregory above mentioned, how he withstood the ambitious pride of John, patriarch of Constantinople, which would be the universal priest, and only chief bishop of all others, declaring him to be no less than the forerunner or antichrist that would take that name upon him, how and with what reasons he answered again the letters of the emperor Mauricius in that behalf; sufficient relation is made thereof in the first entry and beginning of this book. This Gregory, among many other things induced into the church, (the specialties whereof hereafter shall follow, Christ willing, more at large,) first began and brought in this title among the Roman bishops, to be called, Servant of the servants of God; putting them in remembrance thereby, both of their humbleness, and also of their duty in the church of Christ. Moreover, as concerning his act for the sole life of priests first begun, and then broken again; also concerning the order of Gregory's mass book to be received in all churches; hereof whoso lusteth to read more shall find the same in other places hereafter, namely, when we come to the time of Pope Adrian the First.

After the death of Gregory above mentioned, first came Sabinianus, who, as he was a malicious detractor of Gregory, and of his works, so he continued not long, scarce the space of two years. After whom succeeded next Bonifacius the Third, which albeit he reigned but one year, yet in that one year he did more hurt than Gregory, with so great labours, and in so many years, could do good before. For that which Gregory kept out he brought in; obtaining of Phocas, the wicked emperor, for him and his

successors after him, that the see of Rome above all other churches should have the pre-eminence, and that the bishop of Rome should be the universal head of all churches of Christ in Christendom; alleging for him this frivolous reason, that St. Peter had and left to his ancestors in Rome the keys of binding and loosing, &c. And thus began first Rome to take a head above all other churches by the means of Boniface the Third, who, as he lacked no boldness nor ambition to seek it, so neither lacked he an emperor fit and meet to give such a gift. This emperor's name was Phocas, a man of such wickedness and ambition, (most like to his own bishop Boniface,) that, to aspire to the empire, he murdered his own master, the emperor Mauricius, and his children. Thus Phocas, coming up to be emperor, after his detestable villany done, thinking to stablish his empire with friendship and favour of his people, and especially with the bishop of Rome, quickly condescended to all his petitions, and so granted him (as it is said) to be that he would, the universal and head bishop over all Christian churches. But as blood commonly requireth blood again, so it came to pass on the said Phocas. For as he had cruelly slain the lord and emperor Mauricius before, so he in like manner (of Heraclius the emperor succeeding him) had his hands and feet cut off, and so was cast into the sea. And thus wicked Phocas, which gave the first supremacy to Rome, lost his own. But Rome would not so soon lose his supremacy once given as the giver lost his life; for ever since from that day it hath holden, defended, and maintained the same still, and yet doth to this present day, by all force and policy possible. And thus much concerning Boniface, whom by the words of Gregory, we may well call the runner before antichrist. For as Gregory brought in their style, Servant of the servants of God. this Boniface brought into their heads first, We will and command, We enjoin and charge you, &c.

Mention was made a little before of Ethelbert, king of Kent, and also of Ethelfride, king of North Saxon or Northumbria. This Ethelbert, having under his subjection all the other Saxon kings unto Humber, after he had first received himself, and caused to be received of others, the Christian faith by the preaching of Austin, confirmed afterward in the same faith, amongst other costly deeds, with the help of Sigebert, king of Essex, his nephew, then reigning under him, began the foundation of Paul's church within the city of London, and ordained it for the bishop's see of London. For the archbishop's see, which beforetime had been at London, was by Austin and this Ethelbert, at the prayer of the citizens of Dorobernia, translated to the said city. Wherefore such authors as say that Paul's was builded by Sigebert say not amiss; which Sigebert was the king of Essex, in which province standeth the city of London. This Ethelbert also founded the church of St. Andrew in the city of Dorubres in Kent, now called Rochester, of one Rof, distant from Dorobernia four and twenty miles. Of this city Justus was bishop, ordained before by Austin. Moreover, the forenamed Ethelbert stirred up a dweller or citizen of London to make a chapel or church of St. Peter in the west end of London, then called Thorny, now the town of Westminster, which church or chapel was after by Edward the Confessor enlarged or new builded; lastly, of Henry the Third it was newly again reedified and made, as it is now, a large monastery, &c. After these Christian and worthy acts, this Ethelbert, when he had reigned the course of fifty and six years, changed this mortal life about the year of our Lord 616, whom some stories say to be slain in a fight between him and Ethelfride, king of North Saxons.

In the mean time the foresaid Ethelfride, king of Northumberland, after the cruel murder of the monks of Bangor, escaped not long unto his hire; for after he had

reigned four and twenty years he was slain in the field of Edwin, who succeeded in Northumberland after him.

This Edwin, being the son not of Ethelfride, but rather of Alla, was first a panim or idolater; afterward by Paulinus was christened, and the first christened king in Northumberland. The occasion of which his calling or conversion, as is in sundry stories contained, was this.

Edwin, being yet a pagan, married the daughter of Ethelbert, king of Kent, called Edelburge, a Christian woman, otherwise called Tace. But before this marriage, Edwin being yet young, Ethelfride the king, conceiving envy against him, persecuted him so sore, that he was forced to fly to Redwaldus, king of East Angles. The which Redwaldus, what for fear, what with bribes, being corrupted of Ethelfride, at length privily had intended to have betrayed Edwin. But as God's will was, Edwin having warning thereof by a secret friend of his, was moved to fly, and to save himself, being promised also of his friends to be safely conveyed away, if he would thereto agree. To whom Edwin said, Whither shall I fly, that have so long fleen the hands of mine enemies, through all provinces of the realm? And if I must needs be slain, I had rather he should do it than another unworthy person. Thus he, remaining by himself alone and solitary, sitting in a great study, there appeared unto him suddenly a certain stranger, to him unknown, and said, I know well the cause of thy thought and heaviness. What wouldst thou give him that should deliver thee out of this fear, and should reconcile King Redwald to thee again? I would give him (said Edwin) all that I ever could make. And he said again, And what if I make thee a mightier king than was any of thy progenitors? He answered again as before. Moreover, (saith he,) and what if he show thee a better kind and way of life, than ever was showed to any of thine ancestors before thee; wilt thou obey him and do after his counsel? Yea, (said Edwin,) promising most firmly with all his heart so to do. Then he, laying his hand upon his head, When (said he) this token happeneth unto thee, then remember this time of thy tribulation, and the promise which thou hast made, and the word which now I say unto thee. And with that he vanished out of his sight suddenly. After this so done, as Edwin was sitting alone by himself pensive and sad, his foresaid friend, which moved him before to fly, cometh to him, bidding him be of good cheer; for the heart (said he) of King Redwaldus, which had before intended thy destruction, is now altered through the counsel of the queen, and is fully bent to keep his promise with you, whatsoever shall fall thereupon. To make the story short, Redwaldus the king (although Fabian, following Henry Huntington, saith it was Edwin) with all convenient speed assembled an host, wherewith he suddenly coming upon Ethelfride, gave battle unto him about the borders of Mercia, where Ethelfride, king of Northumberland, with Reiner, Redwaldus's son, was slain in the field. By reason whereof Edwin was quietly placed in the possession of Northumberland.



Edwin and the stranger

After this, Quicelinus, with Kinegilsus his brother, kings of West Saxons, conspiring the death of Edwin, now king of Northumberland, upon envy and malice sent upon an Easter day a swordman, named Emmer, privily to slay the said Edwin. But one Lilla, the king's trusty servant, disgarnished of a shield or other weapon to defend his master, start between the king and the sword, and was stricken through the body and died, and the king was wounded with the same stroke.

After this, about Whitsuntide, the king assembled his host, intending to make war against the king of West Saxons, promising to Christ to be christened if he would give him the victory. He then proceeded to the battle against Quiceline and Kinegilsus, with Kenwolcus, and other enemies, who being all vanquished and put to flight, Edwin through the power of Christ returneth home victorious.

About the same season Pope Boniface the Fifth sent also to the said Edwin letters exhortatory, with sundry presents from Rome to him, and to Edelburge the queen; but neither would that prevail. Then Paulinus, seeing the king so hard to be converted, poured out his prayers unto God for his conversion; who the same time had revealed to him by the Holy Ghost the oracle above mentioned, which was showed to the king when he was with Redwaldus, king of the East Angles. Whereupon Paulinus, coming after to the king on a certain day, and laying his hand upon the king's head, asked him if he knew that token. The king hearing this, and remembering well the token, was ready to fall down at his feet. But Paulinus, not suffering that, did lift him up again, saying unto him, Behold, O king, you have vanquished your enemies, you have obtained your kingdom; now perform the third thing which you promised, that is, to receive the faith of Christ, and to be obedient to him. Whereupon the king, conferring with his council and his nobles, was baptized of Paulinus at York, with many of his other subjects with him. Insomuch that Coifie, the chief of the prelates of

his old idolatry, armed himself with his idolatrous bishops, and bestrode good horses, which before by their old law they might not do, nor ride but only a mare; and so destroyed all the altars of idolatry, and their temple of idols, which was at Godmundham, not far from York. And this was in the eleventh year of his reign.

From that time forth, during the life of Edwin, which was the term of six years more, Paulinus christened continually in the rivers of Gwenie and Swala, in both provinces of Deira, and in Bernicia, using the said rivers for his fonts, and preached in Lincolnshire, where he builded also a church of stone at Lincoln.

In this time was so great peace in the kingdom of Edwin after his conversion, that a woman laden with gold might have gone from the one side of the sea to the other, and no man molest her. Moreover, by the highway sides through all his kingdom he caused by every well or spring to be chained a dish or bowl of brass, to take up water for the refreshing of such as went by the way, which bowls of brass there remained safe, that no man touched them during all the life of the said Edwin. Such was then the tender care and study of Christian princes for the refreshing of their subjects. But that was then the brazen world, which now is grown to iron and lead.

This Edwin, who first brought in the faith in the north parts, continuing after his baptism six years, at len the was slain in battle by Cedwalla, king of the Britons, and by wicked Penda, king of the Mercians, with his son Offricus also, in the field called Hatfield.

This Paulinus was the first archbishop of York; and as he was of Justus, archbishop of Canterbury, ordained archbishop of the see of York; so he again, after the decease of Justus, ordained Honorius to be archbishop of Canterbury.

Paulinus, after the death of godly Edwin, seeing unmerciful Cedwalla or Cedwallon with his Britons, and wicked Penda with the idolatrous Mercians, to spoil the land in such sort, as they made no spare neither of age, nor sex, nor religion, was compelled to fly with Edelburge the queen, and Eufled her daughter, by water into Kent, where the said archbishop Paulinus remained bishop of Rochester the space of nineteen years. And so the church of Northumberland lacked a bishop for the space of thirty years after. Notwithstanding he left there one James his deacon, a good man, who continued there baptizing and preaching in the north parts, till that peace being recovered, and the number of the faithful increasing, the church came again to his stay.

By means of this Edwin, Erpwaldus, king of the East Angles, son to Redwaldus above mentioned, was reduced to Christ's faith.

After the decease of Edwin, and his son Offricke, both slain in battle, reigned Osricus and Eufriidus, the one in Deira, the other in Bernicia. Osricus was the son of Elfricus, which was brother to Ethelfride. Eaufridus was the eldest son of Ethelfride; for Ethelfride had three sons, to wit, Eaufridus, Oswaldus, and Osricus. These two kings of Deira and Bernicia, Osricus and Eufride, being first christened in Scotland, after being kings, returned to their idolatry; and so in the year following were slain one after the other by the foresaid Cedwalla and wicked Penda.

After whom succeeded in Northumberland the second son of Ethelfride, named Oswaldus, having rule on both the provinces, as well Deira as Bernicia. Whereof when the foresaid Cedwalla (or Cadwallo) the Britain king had understanding, who before had made havoc of the Saxons, and thought to have rooted them utterly out of England, he kept King Penda, with a mighty host of the Britons, thinking to slay also Oswald as he had before slain his brother Eaufride and King Edwin before them. But

Oswald, when he was warned of the great strength of this Cedwall and Penda, made his prayers to God, and besought him meekly of help to withstand his enemy, for the salvation of his people. Thus, after Oswald had prayed for the saving of his people, the two hosts met in a field named Denesbury, some say Hevenfield, where was fought a strong battle. But, finally, the army and power of Penda and Cedwall, which were far exceeding the number of Oswald's host, was chased, and most part slain, of Oswaldus; after he reigned over the Britons two and twenty years, leaving after him a son, whom Gaufridus called Cadwaladrus, the last king of the Britons.

Of this Oswald much praise and commendation is written in authors for his fervent zeal in Christ's religion, and merciful pity towards the poor, with other great virtues more. As touching the miracles of St. Oswald, what it pleased the people of that time to report of him, I have not here to affirm. This I find in stories certain, that he being well and virtuously disposed to the setting forth of Christ's faith and doctrine, sent into Scotland for a certain bishop there called Aidanus, which was a famous preacher. The king at what time he was in Scotland banished had learned the Scottish tongue perfectly: wherefore as this Aidanus preached in his Scottish tongue to the Saxons, the king himself interpreting that which he had said, disdained not to preach and expound the same unto his nobles and subjects in the English tongue.

Moreover, towards the poor and needy his pity and tenderness was such, being notwithstanding of so high and princely calling, that upon a time, being then Easter-day, he sitting with the said Aidanus at meat, and served, after the manner of kings, in silver, there cometh to him one of the servitors, bringing him word that there was a great multitude of poor people sitting in the street, which desired some alms of the king. He, hearing this, commandeth not only the meat prepared for his table to be carried unto them, but also, taking a silver platter which stood before him, brake it in pieces, and sent it amongst them, and so relieved his poor subjects not only with the meat of his table, but with his dishes also. Aidanus the bishop, seeing this, and marvelling thereat, taketh him by the hand, wishing and praying in this wise: This hand (saith he) I pray God may continue and never putrify. What the stories say more concerning this hand of Oswald, I intend not to meddle further than simple, true, and due probability will bear me out. In those days, and partly by the means of the said Oswald, Kinigilsus, king of the West Saxons, was converted to Christ's faith; especially through the godly labour of Berinus, which was sent by Pope Honorius to preach in England, and was then made bishop of Dorchester. To whom Quicelinus, brother of Kinigilsus, after he had also received baptism of the said Berinus, gave to him the said city to make there his see. And, as Guido witnesseth, the said Quicelinus gave after to the bishop of Winchester seven miles' compass of land to build there the bishop's see, the which was accomplished and finished by Kenwalkus his son.

Of this Berinus, Malmesbury, Polychronicon, with divers other writers, do report a thing strange and miraculous; which, if it be a fable, as no doubt it is, I cannot but marvel that so many authors so constantly agree in reporting and affirming the same. The matter is this. This Berinus, being sent, as is said, by Honorius, to preach in England, promiseth him to travel to the uttermost borders thereof, and there to preach the gospel, where the name of Christ was never heard. Thus he, setting forward in his journey, passeth through France, and so to the sea-side; where he found a passage ready, and the wind served so fair, that he was called upon in such haste, that he had no leisure to remember himself to take all things with him which he had to carry. At length he was on the sea sailing, and almost in the middle course of his passage he remembered himself of a certain relic left behind him for haste, which Honorius had

given him at his coming out. Malmesburiensis calleth it Corporalia, which we call a corporal, or such a like thing, and what else enclosed within it I cannot tell. Here Berinus in great sorrow could not tell what to do; if he should have spoken to the heathen mariners to turn their course back again, they would have mocked him, and it had been in vain. Wherefore, as the stories write, he boldly steppeth into the sea, and, walking on foot back again, taketh with him that which was left behind, and so returneth to his company again, having not one thread of his garments wet. Of this miracle, or whether I should call it a fable rather, let the reader judge as he thinketh, because it is not written in the Scripture, we are not bound to believe it. But if it were true, it is then thought to be wrought of God, not for any holiness in the man or in the corporal, but a special gift for the conversion of the heathen, for whose salvation God suffereth oft many wonders to be done. This Berinus, being received in the ship again with a great admiration of the mariners, who were therewith converted and baptized, was driven at last by the weather to the coast of the West Saxons, where Kinigilsus and his brother Quicelinus above mentioned did reign. Which two kings the same time by the preaching of Berinus were converted and made Christian men, with the people of the country, being before rude and barbarous. It happened the same time when the foresaid kings should be christened, that Oswaidus, (mentioned a little before,) king of Northumberland, was then present, and the same day married Kinigilsus's daughter, and also was godfather to the king.

Thus Oswald, after he had reigned nine years in such holiness and perfectness of life as is above specified, was slain at length in the field called Marfield by wicked Penda, king of the Mercians; which Penda, at length after all his tyranny, was overcome and slain by Oswy, brother to Oswald, next king after Oswald of Northumberland, notwithstanding he had thrice the people which Oswy had. This Penda, being a panim, had three sons, Wolferus, Weda, and Egfridus. To this second son Weda Oswy had before time married his daughter, by consent of Penda his father; the which Weda, by help of Oswy, was made king of South Mercia, the which lordship is severed from North Mercia by the river of Trent. The same Weda, moreover, at what time he married the daughter of Oswy, promised to him that he would become a Christian man, which thing he performed after the death of Penda his father; but afterward, within three years of his reign, he was by reason of his wife slain. And after him the kingdom fell to Wolferus, the other brother, who, being wedded to Ermenilda, daughter of Ercombert, king of Kent, was shortly after christened; so that he is counted the first christened king of Mercia. This Wolferus conquered Kenwalcus, king of Kent, and got the Isle of Wight, which after he gave to Sigbert, king of the East Angles, upon condition he would be christened. And thus the East Angles, which before had expelled Melitus their bishop, as is declared, recovered again the christian faith under Sigbert their king, who, by the means of the foresaid Wolferus, was reduced and baptized by Finianus the bishop.

But to return again to Oswy, from whom we have a little digressed, of whom we showed before how he succeeded after Oswald in the province of Bernicia, to whom also was joined Oswine his cousin, over the province of Deira, and there, with his fellow Oswy, reigned the space of seven years. This Oswine was gentle and liberal to his people, and no less devout toward God; who, upon a time, had given to Aidanus, the bishop above mentioned, a princely horse, with the trappings, and all that appertained thereto, because he should not so much travel on foot, but sometimes ease himself withal. Thus Aidanus, the Scottish bishop, as he was riding upon his kingly horse, by the way meeteth him a certain poor man asking and craving his charity.

Aidanus, having nothing else to give him, lighted down, and giveth to him his horse trapped and gar nished as he was. The king understanding this, and not contented therewith, as he was entering to dinner with the said Aidanus, What meant you, father bishop, (said he,) to give away my horse I gave you unto the beggar? Had not I other horses in my stable that might have served him well enough, but you must give away that which of purpose was picked out for you amongst the chiefest? To whom the bishop made answer again, saying, or rather rebuking the king, What be these words, O king, (saith he,) that you speak? Why set you more price by a horse, which is but the foal of a horse, than you do by him which is the Son of Mary, yea, which is the Son of God? He said but this, when the king forthwith, ungirding his sword from about him, (as he was then newly come in from hunting,) falleth down at the feet of the bishop, desiring him to forgive him that, and he would never after speak word to him for any treasure he should afterward give away of his. The bishop seeing the king so meekly affected, he then taking him up, and cheering him again with words, began shortly after to weep and to be very heavy. His minister asking the cause thereof, Aidanus answered in his Scottish language, saying to him, I weep (saith he) for that this king cannot live long. This people is not worthy to have such a prince as he is to reign amongst them. And so as Aidanus said it came to pass. For not long after Oswy, the king of Bernicia, disdainng at him, when Oswine either was not able or not willing to join with him in battle, caused him traitorously to be slain. And so Oswy, with his son Egfride, reigned in Northumberland alone.

In the time, and also in the house, of this Oswy, king of Northumberland, was a certain man named Benedict, who was the bringer up of Bede from his youth, and took him to his institution when he was but seven years old, and so taught him during his life. This Benedict, or Benet, descending of a noble stock and rich kin, and in good favour with Oswy, forsook service, house, and all his kindred to serve Christ, and went to Rome, (where he had been in his lifetime five times,) and brought from thence books into monasteries, with other things which he thought then to serve for devotion. This Benedict, surnamed Bishop, was the first that brought in the art and use of glazing into this land, for before that glass windows were not known either in churches or in houses.

In the reign of the foresaid Oswy, and Egfride his son, was Botolphus, abbot, which builded in the east part of Lincoln an abbey. Also Aidanus, Finianus, and Colmannus, with three Scottish bishops of Northumberland, holy men, held with the Britons against the Romish order for the keeping of Easter day. Moreover, Cuthbertus, Jarumannus, Cedda, and Wilfridus lived the same time; whom, as I judge to be bishops of holy conversation, so I thought it sufficient here only to name them. As touching their miracles, wherefore they were made saints in the pope's calendar, seeing they are not written in the Gospel, nor in my creed, but in certain old chronicles of that age, so they are no matter of my faith: notwithstanding, as touching their conversation, this I read, and also do credit, that the clergy, both of Britain and England, at that time plied nothing that was worldly, but gave themselves to preaching and teaching the word of our Saviour, and followed the life that they preached by giving of good example. And over that, as our histories record, they were so void of covetousness, that they received no possessions or territories which were forced upon them.

About this season, or not much before, under the reign of Oswy and Oswine, kings of Northumberland, another synod or council was holden against the Britons and the Scottish bishops, for the right observing of Easter, at Sternhalt. At what time Agilbertus, bishop of West Saxons, came to Northumberland, to institute Wilfride

abbot of Ripon, where this question for Easter day began to be moved; for Colman, then bishop of Northumberland, followed not the custom of Rome, nor of the Saxons, but followed the Britons and the Scottish bishops, his predecessors in the same see before. Thus on the one side was Colman the archbishop of York, and Hilda the abbess of Sternhalt, which alleged for them the doings and examples of their predecessors, both godly and reverend bishops, as Aidanus, Finianus, archbishops of that see of York before them, and divers more, who had used always to celebrate the Easter from the fourteenth day of the first month till the eight and twentieth of the same. And specially for that St. John the evangelist at Ephesus kept and observed that day, &c. On the other side was Agilbert, bishop of the West Saxons, James, the deacon of Paulinus above mentioned, Wilfride, abbot of Ripon, and King Aifrid, Oswy's son, with his queen, holding on the same side. The full contents of which disputation here followeth, according as in the story of Beda at large is described, with their reasons and arguments on both sides, as ensueth, &c.

The question of Easter, and of shaving, and other ecclesiastical matters, being moved, it was determined that in the abbey which is called Sternhalt, of the which Hilda, a devout woman, was abbess, a convocation should be had, and this question there determined. To the which place came both the kings, the father and the son. Bishop Colman, with his clergy of Scotland, Agilbert, with Agathon and Wilfride, priests. James and Roman were on their sides; Hilda the abbess, with her company, were on the Scottish part, and the reverend bishop Cedda was appointed prolocutor for both parties in that parliament. King Oswy began first with an oration, declaring that it was necessary for such as served one God to live in one uniform order, and that such as looked for one kingdom in heaven should not differ in celebration of the heavenly sacraments, but should rather seek for the true tradition, and follow the same. This said, he commanded his bishop Colman to declare what the rite and custom was in this behalf that he used, and from whence it had the original. Then Colman, obeying his prince's commandment, said, The Easter which I observe I received of my ancestors that sent me hither a bishop, the which all our forefathers being men of God did celebrate in like manner; and lest it should be contemned or despised of any man, it is manifestly apparent to be the very same which the holy evangelist St. John (a disciple especially beloved of the Lord) did accustomably use in all churches and congregations where he had authority. When Colman had spoken many things to this effect, the king commanded Agilbert to declare his opinion in this behalf, and to show the order that he then used, from whence it came, and by what authority he observed the same. Agilbert requested the king that his scholar Wilfride, a priest, might speak for him, inasmuch as they both with the rest of his clergy were of one opinion herein, and that the said Wilfride could utter his mind better and more plainly in the English tongue than he himself could. Then Wilfride at the king's commandment began on this sort, and said, The Easter which we keep we have seen at Rome, whereat the holy apostles Peter and Paul did live and teach, did suffer and were buried. The same also is used in Italy and in France; the which countries we have travelled for learning, and have noted it to be celebrated of them all. In Asia also and in Africa, in Egypt and in Greece, and finally in all the world, the same manner of Easter is observed that we use, save only by these here present with their accomplices, the Picts and the Britons; with the which two (and yet not altogether agreeing) they condescend and strive foolishly in this order against the universal world. To whom Colman replied, saying, I marvel you will call this order foolish, that so great an apostle as was worthy to lie in the Lord's lap did use, whom all the world doth well know to have lived most wisely. And Wilfride answered, God forbid that I should reprove St. John of folly, who kept the

rites of Moses's law according to the letter, (the church being yet Jewish in many points,) and the apostles not as yet able to abdicate all the observations of the law before ordained. As, for example, they could not reject images invented of the devil, the which all men that believe on Christ ought of necessity to forsake and detest, lest they should be an offence to those Jews that were amongst the Gentiles. For this cause did St. Paul circumcise Timothy, for this cause did he sacrifice in the temple, and did shave his head with Aquila and Priscilla at Corinth; all which things were done to none other purpose than to eschew the offence of the Jews. Hereupon also said James to Paul, Thou seest, brother, how many thousand Jews do believe, and all these be zealous (notwithstanding) of the law. Yet seeing the gospel is so manifestly preached in the world, it is not lawful for the faithful to be circumcised, neither to offer sacrifice of carnal things to God. Therefore John, according to the custom of the law, the fourteenth day of the first month at evening, did begin the celebration of the feast of Easter, nothing respecting whether it were celebrated in the sabbath or in any other ferial day. But Peter, when he preached at Rome, remembering that the Lord did arise from death on the first day after the sabbath, giving thereby a hope to the world of the resurrection, thought good to institute Easter on that day, and not after the use and precepts of the law, (that was,) the fourteenth day of the first month; even so John, looking for the moon at night, if it did arise, and the next day after were Sunday, which then was called the sabbath, then did he celebrate the Easter of the Lord in the evening, like as we use to do even at this day. But if Sunday were not the next day after the fourteenth day, but fell on the sixteenth day, or seventeenth, or on any other day unto the one and twentieth, he tarried always for it, and did begin the holy solemnity of Easter on the evening next before the sabbath. And so it came to pass, that Easter was always kept on the Sunday, and was not celebrated but from the fifteenth day unto the one and twentieth: neither doth this tradition of this apostle break the law, but fulfil the same. In the which it is to be noted, that Easter was instituted from the fourteenth day of the first month at evening, unto the one and twentieth day of the same month at evening; the which manner all St. John's successors in Asia after his death did follow, and the catholic church throughout the whole world. And that this is the true Easter, and only of all Christians to be observed, it was not newly decreed, but confirmed by the Council of Nice, as appeareth by the ecclesiastical history. Whereupon it is manifest that you (Colman) do neither follow the example of St. John, as ye think, nor of St. Peter, whose tradition you do willingly resist, nor of the church, nor yet of the gospel, in the celebration of Easter. For St. John, observing Easter according to the precepts of the law, kept it not on the first day after the sabbath; but you precisely keep it only on the first day after the sabbath. Peter did celebrate Easter from the fifteenth day of the moon to the one and twentieth day, but you keep Easter from the fourteenth unto the twentieth day; so that you begin Easter oftentimes the thirteenth day at night, of which manner neither the law nor the gospel maketh any mention. But the Lord in the fourteenth day either did eat the old passover at night, or else did celebrate the sacraments of the New Testament in the remembrance of his death and passion. You do also utterly reject from the celebration of Easter the one and twentieth day, the which the law hath chiefly willed to be observed; and therefore, as I said, in the keeping of Easter, you neither agree with St. John, nor with Peter, nor with the law, nor yet with the gospel. Then Colman again answered to these things; saying, Did then Anatholius, a godly man, and one much commended in the foresaid ecclesiastical story, against the law and the gospel, who writeth that the Easter was to be kept from the fourteenth day unto the twentieth? Or shall we think that Columba, our reverend father, and his successors, being men of

God, who observed the Easter after this manner, thd against the Holy Scripture? whereas some of them were men of such godliness and virtue, as was declared by their wonderful miracles. And I hereby (nothing doubting of their holiness) do endeavour to follow their life, order, and discipline. Then said Wilfride, It is certain that Anatholius was both a godly man, and worthy of great commendation; but what have you to do with him, seeing you observe not his order? For he, following the true rule in keeping his Easter, observeth the circle of nineteen years; the which either you know not, or, if you do, you condemn the common order observed in the universal church of Christ. And, moreover, the said Anatholius doth so count the fourteenth day in the observation of Easter, as he confesseth the same to be the fifteenth day at night, after the manner of the Egyptians, and likewise noteth the twentieth day to be in the feast of Easter the one and twentieth in. the evening; the which distinction that you know not by this may appear, for that you keep the Easter on the thirteenth day before the full moon. Or otherwise I can answer you touching your father Columba and his successors, whose order you say you follow, moved thereto by their miracles, on this wise; that the Lord will answer to many that shall say in the day of judgment, that in his name they have prophesied, and cast out devils, and have done many miracles, &c., that he never knew them. But God forbid that I should say so of your fathers, because it is much better to believe well of those we know not than ill. Whereupon I deny not but they were the servants of God, and holy men, which loved the Lord of a good intent, though of a rude simplicity; and I think that the order which they used in the Easter did not much hurt them, so long as they had none amongst them that could show them the right observation of the same for them to follow. For I think, if the truth had been declared unto them, they would as well have received it in this matter as they did in others. But you and your fellows, if you refuse the order of the apostolical see, or rather of the universal church, which is confirmed by the Holy Scripture, without all doubt you do sin. And though your forefathers were holy men, what is their fewness, being but a corner of an island, to be preferred before the universal church of Jesus Christ dispersed throughout the whole world? And if Columba your father (and ours also, being of Christ Jesus) were mighty in miracles, is he therefore to be preferred before the prince of the holy apostles? to whom the Lord said, Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it; and I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven.

Wilfride having thus ended his argument, the king said to Colman, Is it true that the Lord spake these things to St. Peter? And Colman answered, Yea. Then said the king, Can you declare any thing that the Lord gave to Colman? Colman answered, No. Then quoth the king, Do both of you agree and consent in this matter Without any controversy, that these words were principally spoken to Peter, and that the Lord gave him the keys of the kingdom of heaven? And they both answered, Yea. Then concluded the king on this wise: Forsomuch as St. Peter is the door-keeper of heaven, I will not gainsay him; but in that I am able I will obey his orders in every point, lest when I come to the gates of heaven, he shut them against me.

Upon this simple and rude reason of the king the multitude eftsoons consented, and with them also Cedda was contented to give over; only Colman the Scot, being then archbishop of York, in displeasure left the realm, and departed into Scotland, carrying with him the bones of Aidanus. And thus much concerning this matter of Easter.

After the decease of Oswy, Egfride his son was king after him in Northumberland fifteen years. By this Egfride Cuthbert was promoted to the bishopric

of the Isle of Farne; and Wilfride, which before had been archbishop of York, was displaced through the means of Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, and Cedda possessed that see. Wilfride, when he was put out, went to Rome, and complained of him to Agathon the bishop, and was well allowed in some things. But the king and Theodorus had there such proctors and friends, that he returned without speeding of his cause. Wherefore he returned into the South Saxons, and builded an abbey in Sileseie, and preached unto the South Saxons fifteen years. The king of the South Saxons at that time was Ethelwold, to whom we declared a little before that Wolferus, king of the Mercians, gave the Isle of Wight, upon condition that he would be christened, and so was baptized by Berinus; the said Wolferus being his godfather and son-in-law both in one day. Wherefore Wolferus, now being licensed by Ethelwold the king, preached unto his nobles and people of Southsax, and converted them to Christ. In the time of whose baptizing the rain, which before they lacked three years together, was given them plentifully, whereby their great famine slacked, and the country was made fruitful, which before was dried up with barrenness; insomuch that (as in some stories it is said) the people, penured with famine, would go forty together upon the rocks by the sea-side, and, taking hands together, would throw themselves down to the sea. Moreover, where they lacked before the art of fishing, the foresaid Wilfride taught them how with nets to fish.

And thus by process have we discoursed from time to time how and by what means the idolatrous people were induced to the true faith of Christ; of whom the South Saxons with the Isle of Wight were the last.

21. From the Conversion of the Saxons to the Coming of the Danes

After Egfride, who was slain in the Straits of Scotland, next succeeded Alfride his brother, and bastard son to Oswy, and reigned eighteen or nineteen years in Northumberland. This Alfride restored again the foresaid Wilfride to the see of York, whom his brother had before expelled, and put in Cedda. Notwithstanding the same king, within five years after, expelled the said Wilfride again, and so went he to Rome. But at length by Osricke, his successor, was placed again the archbishop of York, and Cedda was ordained by Theodorus, bishop of Mercia. The which province of Mercia the said Theodorus, archbishop of Canterbury, by the authority of the synod holden at Hatfield, did after divide into five bishoprics; that is, one to Chester, the second to Worcester, the third to Lichfield, the fourth to Cederna in Lindsey, the fifth to Dorchester, which was after translated to Lincoln.

Near about this time, in the year of our Lord 666, the detestable sect of Mahomet began to take strength and place. Although Polychronicon, differing a little in years, accounteth the beginning of this sect somewhat before, but the most diligent searchers of them which write now refer it to this year. Of this Mahomet came the kingdom of Agarens, (whom he after named Saracens,) to whom he gave sundry laws, patched of many sects and religions together: he taught them to pray ever to the south; and as we keep the Sunday, so they keep the Friday, which they call the day of Venus. He permitted them to have as many wives as they were able to maintain; to have as many concubines as they list; to abstain from the use of wine, except on certain solemn days in the year; to have and worship only one God omnipotent, saying that Moses and the prophets were great men, but Christ was greater, and greatest of all the prophets, as being born of the virgin Mary by the power of God, without man's seed, and at last was taken up to heaven, but was not slain, but another in his likeness for him, with many other wicked blasphemies in his law contained. At length this kingdom of the Saracens began to be conquered of the Turks, and in process of time wholly subdued to them.

But now to return again to the time of our English Saxons. In this mean season Theodorus was sent from Italy into England, by Vitellianus the pope, to be archbishop of Canterbury, and with him divers other monks of Italy, to set up here in England Latin service, masses, ceremonies, litanies, with such other Romish ware, &c. This Theodorus, being made archbishop and metropolitan of Canterbury, began to play the tyrant, placing and displacing the bishops at his pleasure. As for Cedda and Wilfride, archbishops of York, he thrust them both out, under the pretence that they were not lawfully consecrated, notwithstanding they were sufficiently authorized by their kings, and were placed against their wills. Wherefore Wilfride, as is before touched, went up to Rome, but could have no redress of his cause. Yet to show what modesty this Wilfride used against his enemy, being so violently molested as he was, because the words of his complaint are expressed in William Malmesbury, I thought here to express the same, both for the commendation of the party, and also for the good example of others, in case any such be whom good examples will move to well-doing. This Wilfride therefore, having such injury and violence offered unto him by the hands of Theodore, although he had just cause to do his uttermost, yet, in prosecuting his complaint, how he tempered himself, what words of modesty he used, rather to defend

his innocency, than to impugn his adversary, by this his suggestion offered up to the bishop of Rome may appear, whose words in effect were these: How it chanceth that Theodorus, the most holy and reverend archbishop, (myself being alive in the see, which I, though unworthy, did rule and dispose,) hath of his own authority, without the consent of any bishop, (neither having my simple voice agreeing to the same,) ordained three bishops, I had rather pass over in silence than to stir any further therein, be cause of the reverence of that man, and no less thought I it my duty so to do. The which man, for that he hath been directed by this see apostolical, I will not, nor dare not, here accuse, &c. Thus the cause of the said Wilfride, albeit it was sufficiently known in the court of Rome to be well allowed for just and innocent, yet it was not then redressed; in such estimation was this Theodorus then among the Romans. Upon this controversy of these two bishops I may well here infer the words of William Malmesbury, not unworthy in my mind to be noted, which be these in this Latin story: that is, In the which Theodore (saith he) the weak and miserable infirmity of man may be seen, and also lamented; considering, that although a man be never so holy, yet in the same man is something whereby it may be perceived that he hath not utterly put off all his stubborn conditions, &c.

In the time of this Theodorus, and by the means of him, a provincial synod was holden at Thetford, mentioned in the story of Bede; the principal contents whereof were these

First, That Easter day should be uniformly kept and observed through the whole realm upon one certain day, videlicet prima, 14. Luna mensis primi.

Secondly, That no bishop should intermeddle within the diocess of another.

Thirdly, That monasteries consecrated unto God should be exempt and free from the jurisdiction of the bishops.

Fourthly, That the monks should not stray from one place, that is, from one monastery to another, without the licence of their abbot; also to keep the same obedience which they promised at their first entering.

Fifthly, That no clergyman should forsake his own bishop, and be received in any other place, without letters commendatory of his own bishop.

Sixthly, That foreign bishops and clergymen coming into the realm should be content only with the benefit of such hospitality as should be offered them; neither should intermeddle any further with in the precinct of any bishop without his special permission.

Seventhly, That synods provincial should be kept within the realm at least once a year.

Eighthly, That no bishop should prefer himself before another, but must observe the time and order of his consecration.

Ninthly, That the number of bishops should be augmented as the number of the people increaseth.

Tenthly, That no marriage should be admitted but that which was lawful; no incest to be suffered; neither any man to put away his wife for any cause except only for fornication, after the rule of the gospel. And these be the principal chapters of that synod, &c.

In the next year following was the first general council kept at Constance, whereat this Theodore was also present under Pope Agatho, where marriage was permitted to Greek priests, and forbidden to the Latin. In this council the Latin mass was first openly said by John Portuensis, the pope's legate, before the patriarch and princes at Constantinople, in the temple of St. Sophie.

After the decease of Alfrid, king of Northumberland, (from whom it was digressed,) succeeded his son Osredus, reigning eleven years; after whom reigned Kenredus two years, and next Osricus after him eleven years.

In the time and reign of these four kings of Northumberland, King Jua or Juas reigned in Westsat, who, succeeding after Cadwallader, the last king of Britons, began his reign about the year of our Lord 689, and reigned with great valiantness over the West Saxons the term of thirty-seven years. Concerning whose acts and wars maintained against the Kentish Saxons and other kings, because I have not to intermeddle withal, I refer the reader to other chroniclers.

About the sixth year of the reign of this Jua, or Jue, Polychronicon and other make mention of one Cuthlacus, whom they call St. Cuthlake, a confessor, who about the four and twentieth year of his age, renouncing the pomp of the world, professed himself a monk in the abbey of Repingdon, and the third year after went to Crowland, where he led the life of an anchorite. In the which isle and place of his burying was builded a fair abbey, called afterward, for the great resort and gentle entertainment of strangers, Crowland the courteous. But why this Cuthlake should be. sainted for his doings I see no great cause, as neither do I think the fabulous miracles reported of him to be true; as where the vulgar people are made to believe that he enclosed the devil in a boiling pot, and caused wicked spirits to erect up houses, with such other fables and lying miracles. Among which lying miracles also may be reckoned that which the stories mention in the eleventh year of the reign of Jua, to be done of one Brithwald, or Brithelme, who, being dead a long season, was restored to life again, and told many wonders of strange things that he had seen, causing thereby great alms and deeds of charity to be done of the people; and so he, disposing of his goods given in three parts, went to the abbey of Mailroos, where he continued the rest of his life.

Moreover, about the sixteenth year of the said Jua, Etheldred, king of Mercia, after he had there reigned thirty years, was made a monk, and after abbot of Bardney.

And about the eighteenth year of the reign of Jue died the worthy and learned bishop Adelmus, first abbot of Malmesbury, afterwards bishop of Schirborne, of whom William Malmesbury writeth plenteously with great commendation, and that not unworthily, as I suppose; especially for the notable praise of learning and virtue in him above the rest of that time, (next after Bede,) as the great number of books and epistles, with poems, by him set forth will declare. Although concerning the miracles which the said author ascribeth to him: as, first, in causing an infant of nine days old to speak at Rome, to declare Pope Sergius, which was then suspected, the father of the said child; also in hanging his cassock upon the sunbeams; item, in making whole the altar stone of marble brought from Rome; item, in drawing a length one of the timber pieces, which went to the building of the temple in Malmesbury; item, in saving the mariners at Dover, &c: as concerning these and such other miracles, which William Malmesbury to him attributeth, I cannot consent to him therein; but think rather the same to be monkish devices, forged upon their patrons to maintain the dignity of their houses. And as the author was deceived (no doubt) in believing such fables himself, so may he likewise deceive us through the dexterity of his style and fine handling of the

matter, but that further experience hath taught the world now-a-days more wisdom in not believing such practices. This Adelmus was bishop of Schirborne, which see after was united to the see of Winton. In which church of Winchester the like miracles also are to be read of Bishop Adelwold and St. Swithin, whom they have canonized likewise for a saint.

St. John of Beverley, which was then bishop of York, died and was buried at the porch of the minster of Deirwood or Beverley. In the which porch it is recorded in some chronicles, that as the said John upon a time was praying, being in the porch of St. Michael in York, the Holy Ghost, in the similitude of a dove, sat before him upon the altar, in brightness shining above the sun. This brightness being seen of others, first cometh one of his deacons running unto the porch, who, beholding the bishop there standing in his prayers, and all the place replenished with the Holy Ghost, was stricken with the light thereof, having all his face burnt, as it were, with hot burning fire. Notwithstanding, the bishop by and by cured the face of his deacon again, charging them (as the story saith) not to publish what he had seen during his lifetime, &c. Which tale seemeth as true as that we read about the same time done of St. Egwine, in Polychron., abbot of Eusham, and bishop of Worcester, (then called Wicts,) who, upon a time, when he had fettered both his feet in irons fast locked for certain sins done in his youth, and had cast the key thereof into the sea, afterward a fish brought the key again into the ship, as he was sailing homeward from Rome.

But to leave these monkish fantasies, and return to the right course again of the story. In the time of this foresaid Jua began first the right observing of Easter day to be kept of the Picts and of the Britons. In the observation of which day (as is largely set forth in Bede and Polychronicon) three things are necessary to be observed: first, the full moon of the first month, that is, of the month of March; secondly, the dominical letter; thirdly, the equinoctial day, which equinoctial was wont to be counted in the East church, and especially among the Egyptians, to be about the seventeenth day of March. So that the full moon, either on the equinoctial day, or after the equinoctial day being observed, the next dominical day following that full moon is to be taken for Easter day. Wherein are diligently to be noted two things: first, the fulness of the moon must be perfectly full, so that it be the beginning of the third week of the moon, which is the fourteenth or fifteenth day of the moon; secondly, it is to be noted, that the said perfect fulness of the moon, beginning the third week, must happen either in the very evening of the equinoctial day, or after the equinoctial day; for else if it happen either on the equinoctial day before the evening, or before the equinoctial day, then it belongeth to the last month of the last year, and not to the first month of the first year, and so serveth not to be observed.

This rite and usage in keeping Easter day being received in the Latin church, began now to take place among the Picts and Britons, through the busy travail of Theodorus Cuthlacus, but namely of Elbert the holy monk, as they term him, and of Colfrid, abbot of Sirwin in Northumberland, which wrote to Narcanus, or Naitonus, the king of Picts, concerning the same; who also, among other things, writeth of the shaven crowns of priests, saying that it was as necessary for the vow of a monk, or the degree of a priest, to have a shaven crown for restraint of their lust, as for any Christian man to bless him against spirits when they come upon him. The copy of which letter, as it is in Bede, I have here annexed, not for any great reason therein contained, but only to delight the reader with some pastime, in seeing the fond ignorance of that monkish age: the copy of the letter thus proceeded.

"Concerning the shaving of priests, (whereof you writ also unto me,) I exhort you that it be decently observed, according to the Christian faith. We are not ignorant that the apostles were not all shaven after one manner, neither doth the Catholic church at this day agree in one uniform manner of shaving, as they do in faith, hope, and charity. Let us consider the former time of the patriarchs, and we shall find that Job, (an example of patience,) even in the very point of his afflictions, did shave his head; and he proveth, also, that in the time of his prosperity he used to let his hair grow. And Joseph, an excellent doctor and executor of chastity, humility, piety, and other virtues, when he was delivered out of prison and servitude, was shaven; whereby it appeareth that whilst he abode in prison he was unshaven. Behold, both these, being men of God, did use an order in the habit of their body one contrary to the other, whose consciences notwithstanding within did well agree in the like grace of virtues. But, to speak truly and freely, the difference of shaving hurteth not such as have a pure faith in the Lord, and sincere charity towards their neighbour; especially for that there was never any controversy amongst the catholic fathers about the diversity thereof, as there hath been of the difference of the celebration of Easter and of faith. But of all these shavings that we find, either in the church or elsewhere, there is none in mine opinion so much to be followed and embraced as that which he used on his head, to whom the Lord said, Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it; and I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven. And, contrariwise, there is no shaving so much to be abhorred and detested, as that which he used to whom the same St. Peter said, Thy money be with thee to thy destruction, because thou thinkest to possess the gift of God by thy money; therefore thy part and lot is not in this word. Neither ought we to be shaven on the crown only, because St. Peter was so shaven, but because Peter was so shaven in remembrance of the Lord's passion; therefore we that desire by the same passion to be saved must wear the sign of the same passion with him upon the top of our head, which is the highest part of our body. For as every church that is made a church by the death of the Saviour doth use to bear the sign of the holy cross in the front, that it may the better by the defence of that banner be kept from the invasions of evil spirits, and by the often admonition thereof is taught to crucify the flesh with the concupiscence of the same; in like manner it behoveth such as have the vows of monks, and degrees of the clergy, to bind themselves with a stricter bit of continency for the Lord's sake. And as the Lord bare a crown of thorns on his head in his passion, whereby he took and carried away from us the thorns and pricks of our sins; so must every one of us, by shaving our heads, patiently bear and willingly suffer the mocks and scorns of the world for his sake, that we may receive the crown of eternal life, which God hath promised to all that love him, and shall, by shaving their corporal crowns, bear the adversity and condemn the prosperity of this world. But the shaving which Simon Magus used, what faithful man doth not detest, together with his magical art? The which at the first appearance hath a show of a shaven crown, but if you mark his neck, you shall find it curtailed in such wise, as you will say it is rather meet to be used of the Simonists than of the Christians. And such (of foolish men) be thought worthy of the glory of the eternal crown; whereas indeed, for their ill living, they are worthy not only to be deprived of the same, but also of eternal salvation. I speak not this against them that use this kind of shaving, and live catholicly in faith and good works, but surely I believe there be divers of them be very holy and godly men; amongst the which is Adamnan the abbot and worthy priest of the Columbians; who, when he came ambassador from his country unto King Alfride, desired greatly to see our monastery, where he declared a wonderful wisdom, humility, and religion, both in his manners and words. Amongst

other talk, I asked him why he that did believe to come to the crown of life that should never have end, did use, contrary to his belief, a definite image of a crown on his head? And if you seek (quoth I) the fellowship of St. Peter, why do you use the fashion of his crown whom St. Peter did accurse, and not of his rather with whom you desire to live eternally? Adamnan answered, saying, You know right well, brother, though I use Simon's manner of shaving, after the custom of my country, yet do I detest and with all my heart abhor his infidelity. I desire notwithstanding to imitate the footsteps of the holy apostle as far forth as my power will extend. Then said I, I believe it is so; but then it is apparent you imitate those things which the apostle Peter did from the bottom of your heart, if you use the same upon your face that you know he did; for I suppose your wisdom understandeth that it is right decent to differ in the trimming your face or shaving from his whom in your heart you abhor. And, contrariwise, as you desire to imitate the doings of him whom you desire to have a mediator between God and you, so it is meet you imitate the manner of his apparel and shaving. Thus much said I to Adamnan, who seemed then well to like our churches; insomuch that he, returning into Scotland, reformed many of his churches there after our celebration, albeit he could not do so amongst the monks, with whom he had special authority. He endeavoured also to have reformed their manner of shaving, if he had been able. And now, O king, I exhort your Majesty to labour together with your people, over whom the King of kings and Lord of lords hath made you governor, to imitate likewise in all these points the catholic and apostolical churches. So shall it come to pass, that in the end of this your temporal kingdom, the most blessed prince of the apostles shall open you the gates of the heavenly kingdom, together with the other elect of God. The grace of the eternal King preserve you, most dearly beloved son in Christ, long time to reign over us, to the great tranquillity of us all."

When this letter was read before King Naiton, with other of his learned men, and diligently translated into his proper language, he seemed to rejoice very much at the exhortation thereof, insomuch as, rising up from among his noblemen, he kneeled on the ground, and gave God thanks that he had deserved to receive so worthy a present out of England, and so caused it forthwith by public proclamation to be written out, learned, and observed throughout all the province of the Picts, defacing the errors that had been used there by the space of seven hundred and four years. For all the ministers of the altar and all monks were shaven on the crown, and all the people rejoiced for the new discipline of the most blessed prince of the apostles St. Peter, which they had received.

By this monkish letter above prefixed, void of all Scripture, of all probation and truth of history, thou mayst note, gentle reader, how this vain tradition of shaven crowns hath come up, and upon how light and trifling occasion; which in very deed was none other but the dreaming fantasies of monks of that time, falsely grounded upon the example of Peter, when by no old monument of any ancient record they can ever prove either Peter or Simon Magus to have been shaven. Moreover, in the said letter also is to be noted, how the Scottish clergy at that season did wear no such priestly crowns as our English churchmen then did.

But to cut off this matter of shaving, more worthy to be laughed at than to be storied, let us now again return to the place at which we left King Jue, of whom William Malmesbury and Fabian in his chronicle do record, that when the foresaid Jue had ruled the West Saxons by the term of thirty-seven years, by the importunate persuasion and subtle policy of his wife Ethelburga, he was allured to go to Rome, there to be made a monk. Which Ethelburga, after she had a long time laboured him to

leave the world, and could not bring about her purpose, upon a season, when the king and she had rested them in a fair palace richly behanged, and were upon the years (*sic*). After whose departing the said Ethelburga his wife went unto Barking, seven miles from London, where in the nunnery of Barking, before of Erkenwald founded, she continued and ended the rest of her life, when she had been abbess of the piace a certain time.



A procession

Next unto the foresaid Osricus followed Celulfus, whom he had adopted, brother to Kenred above specified. This Celulfus, as he was himself learned, so were in his time divers learned men then flourishing in England, among whom was Beda, who unto the same King Celulfus offered his story, entitled *The History of the English*, not only to be ratified by his authority, but also to be amended by his knowledge and learning.

In the latter end of his *Ecclesiastical History of England*, this Beda testifieth of himself: "Thus much (by the help of God) I Beda, the servant of Christ, and priest of the monastery of Peter and Paul at Wire, have compiled and digested concerning the

British history." And, proceeding further in this narration, declareth that he, being born in the territory of the said monastery, being of the age of seven years, was committed of his parents and friends to the tuition and education of Benedict, (of whom above relation is made,) and of Celfrid, abbots of the foresaid monastery. In the which place or monastery he continuing from that time forth all his life long, gave himself and all his whole study to the meditating of Holy Scripture. About nineteen years of his age he was made deacon, the thirtieth year of his age he was made priest. From the which time, to the age of nine and fifty years, he occupied himself in interpreting the works of the ancient fathers for his own use, and the necessity of others, and in writing of treatises, which came in all to the number of seven and thirty volumes, which he digested into threescore and eighteen books.

Some say that he went to Rome, either there to defend his books to be consonant to catholic doctrine; or else, if they should be found faulty, to amend and correct the same, as he should thereto be commanded. Albeit the reporter of this his life dare not certainly affirm that ever he was at Rome; but that he was invited and called thither to come, this epistle of Pope Sergius doth sufficiently prove; declaring, moreover, in what price and estimation Beda was accepted, as well in the court of Rome as in other places besides.

So notable and famous was the learning of this foresaid Beda, that the church of Rome (as by this letter appeareth) both stood in need of his help, and also required the same, about the discussing of certain causes and controversies appertaining to learning. Moreover, the whole Latin church at that time gave him the mastery in judgment and knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. In all his explanations, his chiefest scope and purpose did ever drive to instruct and inform his reader, simply, and without all curiousness of style, in the sincere love of God and of his neighbour. As touching the holiness and integrity of his life, it is not to be doubted. For how could it be that he should attend to any vicious idleness, or had any leisure to the same, who, in reading and digesting so many volumes, consumed all his whole cogitations in writing upon the Scriptures? for so he testifieth of himself in the Third Book of Samuel, saying in these words, "If my treatises and expositions (saith he) bring with them no other utility to the readers thereof, yet to myself they conduce not a little thus, that while all my study and cogitation was set upon them, in the mean while of slippery enticements and vain cogitations of this world I had little mind." Thus in this travail of study he continued till the age of sixty-two years: at length, drawing to his latter end, being sick seven weeks together, besides other occupiyings of his mind, and other studies which he did not intermit, he translated also the Gospel of St. John into English. At length, with great comfort of spirit, he departed this life, pronouncing many com fortible sayings to them that stood about him, upon Ascension day, the same year when Nothelinus was instituted archbishop of Canterbury. And thus much concerning the story of Beda.

This Celulfus, king of Northumberland, aforementioned, after he had reigned eight years, was made a monk in the abbey of Farne, otherwise called Lindefar, or Holy Island; where, by his means, licence was given to the monks of that house to drink wine or ale, which before, by the institution of Aidanus above mentioned, drunk nothing but milk and water. After whom succeeded Egbert his cousin, brother to Egbert (the same time being bishop of York) which brought again thither the pall that his predecessors had given up, since the time that Paulinus had left the see, and fled to Rochester, as is before declared. The said Egbert also erected a noble library in York, whose example I wish other bishops now would follow.

VOLUME 1

About the beginning of the reign of this Egbert was Cuthbert, archbishop of Canterbury, who collected a great synod of bishops and prelates, in the year of our Lord 747, in the month of September, near to the place called Clonesho. In the which synod assembled these decrees were enacted.

1. That bishops should be more diligent in seeing to their office, and in admonishing the people of their faults.
2. That they should live in a peaceable mind together, notwithstanding they were in place dissevered asunder.
3. That every bishop once a year should go about all the parishes of his diocess.
4. That the said bishops every one in his diocess should monish their abbots and monks to live regularly; and that prelates should not oppress their inferiors, but love them.
5. That they should teach the monasteries which the secular men had invaded, and could not then be taken from them, to live regularly.
6. That none should be admitted to orders before his life should be examined.
7. That in monasteries the reading of Holy Scripture should be more frequented.
8. That priests should be no disposers of secular business.
9. That they should take no money for baptizing infants.
10. That they should both learn and teach the Lord's Prayer and Creed in the English tongue.
11. That all should join together in their ministry after one uniform rite and manner.
12. That in a modest voice they should sing in the church.
13. That all holy and festival days should be celebrated at one time together.
14. That the sabbath day be reverently observed and kept.
15. That the seven hours canonical every day be observed.
16. That the rogation days, both the greater and lesser, should not be omitted.
17. That the feast of St. Gregory, and St. Austin our patron, should not be omitted.
18. That the fast of the four times should be kept and observed.
19. That monks and nuns should go regularly apparelled.
20. That bishops should see their decrees not to be neglected.
21. That the churchmen should not give themselves unto drunkenness.
22. That the communion should not be neglected of the churchmen.
23. Item, that the same also should be observed of laymen, as time required.
24. That laymen first should be well tried before they entered into monkery.
25. That alms be not neglected.
26. That bishops should see these decrees to be notified to the people.

27. They disputed of the profit of alms.
28. They disputed of the profit of singing psalms.
29. That the congregation should be constitute after the ability of their goods.
30. That monks should not dwell among laymen.
31. That public prayer should be made for kings and princes.

These decrees and ordinances, being thus among the bishops concluded, Cuthbert the archbishop sendeth the copy thereof to Boniface, which Boniface, otherwise named Winfride, an Englishman born, was then archbishop of Mentz, and after made a martyr, as the popish stories term him.

This Boniface being, as is said, archbishop of Mentz in the time of this foresaid synod, wrote a letter to Ethelbald, king of Merceland; which Ethelbald was also present in the same synod, of whom Beth maketh mention in his History, calling him proud Ethelbald, and the greatest of the Saxon kings in his time. First, this Ethelbald, after the departing of Celulfe into his monkery, invaded and spoiled the country of Northumberland. Moreover, he exercised mortal and horrible war a long space with Cudred, otherwise of some named Cuthbert, king of West Saxons. Furthermore, he with other Saxon kings so impugned the Britons, that from that time they never durst provoke the Saxons any more. At length the said Cudred, refusing the intolerable exactions of proud Ethelbald, doth encounter with him in battle; where, notwithstanding the great power that Ethelbald had to him adjoined, of the Mercians, of the East Saxons, of the East Angles, and of the Cantuarites; yet the said Cudred, through God's power, and the means of a certain valiant warrior, called Edelhim, a consul, overthrew the pride of Ethelbald, after a sore and terrible conflict. Which Ethelbald, notwithstanding, repairing his power again the next year after, renewed battle with the foresaid Cudred; in the which battle Ethelbald (after he had reigned one and forty years in Mercia) was slain by one Beorned, who after reigned in that part but a small time. For Offa, nephew to the said Ethelbald, expelled the said Beorned, and succeeded king in that province of Mercia, where he reigned nine and thirty years, of whom more followeth hereafter (the Lord Jesus speeding therein our purpose) to be declared, as place and time shall require. In the mean season, not to forget the letter before mentioned of Boniface, archbishop of Mentz, sent unto this Ethelbald, I thought the same not unworthy to be here inserted (at the least the effect thereof).

In this epistle is to be seen and noted, first, the corruption and great disorder of life which alway, from time to time, hath been found in these religious houses of nuns, whose professed vow of coacted chastity hath yet never been good to the church, nor profitable to the commonwealth, and least of all to themselves. Of such young and wanton widows St. Paul in his time complaineth, 1 Tim. v., which would take upon them the wilful profession of single life, which they were not able to perform, but, falling into damnable luxury, deserved worthily to be reprehended. How much better had it been for these lascivious nuns not to have refused the safe yoke of Christian matrimony, than to entangle themselves in this their superstitious vow of perpetual maidenhood, which neither was required of them, nor they were able to keep!

Secondly, no less are they also to be reprehended which maintained these superstitious orders of unprofitable nuns and of other religions. In the number of whom was this foresaid Boniface, otherwise called Winfride, who, although in this epistle he doth justly reprehend the vicious enormities both of secular and of religious persons; yet he himself is not without the same, or rather greater, reprehension, for that

he gave the occasion thereof in maintaining such superstitious orders of such lascivious nuns and other religions, and restraining the same from lawful marriage. For so we find of him in stories, that he was a great setter up and upholder of such blind superstition, and of all popery. Who, being admitted by Pope Gregory the Second, archbishop of Magunce, and endued with full authority legantine over the Germans, brought divers countries there under the pope's obedience, held many great councils, ordained bishops, builded monasteries, canonized saints, commanded relics to be worshipped, permitted religious fathers to carry about nuns with them a-preaching. Amongst all other, he founded the great monastery of Fulda, in Germany, of English monks, into the which no women might enter, but only Lieba and Tecla, two English nuns. Item, by the authority of the said Archbishop Boniface, which he received from Pope Zachary, Childericus, king of France, was deposed from the right of his crown, and Pipinus, betrayer of his master, was confirmed, or rather intruded in. From this Boniface proceeded that detestable doctrine which now standeth registered in the pope's decrees. Which in a certain epistle of his is this; that in case the pope were of most filthy living, and forgetful or negligent of himself, and of the whole Christianity, in such sort that he led innumerable souls with him to hell; yet ought there no man to rebuke him in so doing, for he hath (saith he) power to judge all men, and ought of no man to be judged again.

In the time of this archbishop, Pope Gregory the Second, also Gregory the Third, and Pope Zachary, and before these also Pope Constantine the First, wrought great masteries against the Greek emperors, Philippicus and Leo, and others, for the maintaming of images to be set up in churches. Of whom Philippicus lost both his empire and also his eyes. Leo, for the same cause likewise, was excommunicate of Gregory the Third. This Gregory the Third (so far as I can conjecture) was he that first wrote the four books of dialogues in Greek, falsely bearing the name of Gregory the First, which books afterward Zachary his successor translated out of Greek into Latin. Item, the said Gregory the Third first brought into the mass canon the clause for relics, beginning, *Quorum solennitates hodie in conspectu, &c.* Item, brought into the said canon the memorial, the offering and sacrifice for the dead; like as Zachary brought in the priest's vesture and ornaments, and as the foresaid Constantine also was the first that gave his feet to be kissed of the emperors. But to turn again into the course of our English story.

In the time of this Egbert, king of Northumberland, Sigebert, or Sigbert, reigned in West Saxony, a man of so cruel tyranny to his subjects, (turning the laws and customs of His forefathers after his own will and pleasure,) that when he was somewhat sharply advertised by one of his nobles, an earl, called Combranus, to change his manners, and to behave himself more prudently toward his people, he therefore maliciously caused him to be put to cruel death. Whereupon the said King Sigebert, continuing his cruel conditions, by his subjects conspiring against him, was put from his kingly dignity, and brought into such desolation, that, wandering alone in a wood without comfort, was there slain, even by the swineherd of the said earl whom before he had so wrongfully murdered, as partly is above touched. Whereby is to be seen the cruel tyranny of princes never to prosper well, without the just revenge both, of God and man.

This Sigebert being slain, in His place succeeded Kenulphus, in the year of our Lord 748, who, with the agreement of the West Saxons, was one of the chief doers against Sigebert his master. This Kenulphus kept strongly his lordship against Offa, and against the power of all his enemies, till at length after that he had reigned, as

Fabian saith, one and thirty years, he, resorting to a paramour which he kept at Merton, was there beset, and likewise slain, by the train and means of a certain kinsman of the foresaid Sigebert, named Clito or Cliton, in revengement of King Sigebert's death.

Moreover, in the reign of the foresaid Egbert, king of Northumberland, and in the eighth year of Kenulphus, king of West Saxons, Offa, after he had slain the tyrant Beorureclus, which before had slain Ethelbald, king of Mercia, and uncle to this foresaid Offa, reigned king of that province.

Of this Offa are told many notable deeds; which because they concern rather political affairs, and do not greatly appertain to the purpose of this ecclesiastical history, I omit here to recite; as his wars and victories against Egbert, king of the Northumbers, as also against Ethelred, king of East Angles. Item, against Egbert, king of Kent, otherwise called Wren, whom (as Fabian saith) he took prisoner, and led bound with him to Mercia. Malmesbury witnesseth otherwise this to be done, not by Offa, but by Kenulphus, as, Christ willing, hereafter shall appear. After these victories, Offa had such displeasure unto the citizens of Canterbury, that he removed the archbishop's see, and lands of Lambeth, archbishop of Canterbury, (by the agreement of Pope Adrian,) unto Litchfield. He also chased the Britons or Welchmen into Wales, and made a famous ditch between Wales and the outer bounds of Mercia, or middle England, which was called Offditch, and builded there a church, which long time after was called Offkirke. This Offa also married one of his daughters to Brightricus, that was a king of West Saxons. And for that in his time was variance between him and the Frenchmen, insomuch that the passage of merchants was forbidden; therefore he sent Alcuinus, a learned man, unto Charles the Great, then king of France, to commune the means of peace; which Charles had after that the said Alcuinus in great favour and estimation, and afterwards made him abbot of Turonia in France.

About the latter time of the reign of Offa, king of Mercia, Ethelbert, being then king of East Angles, (a learned and a right godly prince,) came to the court of Offa, provoked by the counsel of his nobles, to sue for the marriage of his daughter, well accompanied like a prince with his men about him. Whereupon the queen, conceiving a false suspicion, and fearing that which was never minded; that Ethelbert with his company, under the pretence and made matter of marriage, was come to work some violence against her husband, and the kingdom of Mercia; so she persuaded with King Offa and certain of her council that night, that the next day following Offa caused him to be trained into his palace alone from his company, by one called Guimbertus; who took him and bound him, and there struck off his head, which forthwith he then presented to the king and queen. And thus the innocent King Ethelbert was wrongfully murdered, about the year of our Lord 793; but not without a just revenge at God's hands. For, as the story recordeth, the foresaid queen, worker of this villany, lived not three months after, and in her death was so tormented, that she was fain to bite and rend her tongue in pieces with her own teeth. Offa understanding at length the innocency of this king, and the heinous cruelty of his fact, gave the tenth part of his goods to holy church; and to the church of Hereford, in the remembrance of this Ethelbert, he bestowed great lands. Moreover, he builded the abbey of St. Albans, with certain other monasteries besides. And so afterward he went up to Rome for his penance, where he gave to the church of St. Peter a penny through every house in his dominion, which was called commonly Rome-shot, or Peter pence, paid to the church of St. Peter; and there at length was transformed from a king to a monk, about the year of our Lord 794, with Kenredus, king of Northumberland, above mentioned, although some stories deny that he was a monk.

After Offa king of Mercia, when he had reigned nine and thirty years, succeeded his son Egfredus, who reigned but four months. This noble young man died not so much for offences of his own, as for that his father had spilled much blood to confirm him in his kingdom.

Next to which Egfredus succeeded Kenulphus in the said kingdom of Mercia, which Kenulphus, retaining the hatred of his predecessor against the inhabitants of Canterbury, made war upon them, where he took Egbert their king, otherwise called Wren, whom he bound and led prisoner to Mercia. Notwithstanding, shortly after being mollified with princely clemency in the town of Winchcombe, where he had builded the same time a church, upon the day when he should dedicate the same in the presence of thirteen bishops, and of Cutbert, whom he had placed in the same kingdom of Canterbury before, and ten dukes, and many other great estates, King Kenulphus brought the said Egbert, king of Kent, out of prison into the church, where he enlarged him out of imprisonment, and restored him to his place again. At the sight whereof, not only Cutbert the foresaid king rejoiced, but also all the estates and people being there present made such an exclamation of joy and gladness, that the church (and not only the church, but also the streets) rang withal, At which time such bountifulness of gifts and jewels was then bestowed, that, from the highest estate to the lowest, none departed without something given, according as to every degree was thought meet. Although Fabian referreth this story to King Offa, yet causes there be why I assent rather unto Malmesbury and to Polychronicon, which attribute the same to Kenulphus, the second king of Mercia after Offa.

A little before, in speaking of certain bishops of Rome, mention was made of Pope Constantine the First, Pope Gregory the Second, Pope Gregory the Third, and of Pope Zachary, which deposed Childerike, and set up Pipinus the French king, &c. Next after this Zachary, in order, followed Pope Stephen the Second, to whom the foresaid Pipinus, to gratify again the see of Rome for this their benefit showed to him, gave and contributed to the said see of Rome the exarchat or principedom of Ravenna, the kingdom of the Lombards, and many other great possessions of Italy, with all the cities thereto adjoining unto the borders of Venice. And this donation of Pipin, no doubt, if the truth were rightly tried, should be found to be the same which hitherto falsely hath been thought to be the donation of Constantine. For else how could it be that the exarchat of Ravenna could belong all this while to the emperor of Constantinople, if Constantine before had given it and all Italy from the empire of the see of Rome?

Next to this Stephen the Second succeeded Paul the First, who, following his predecessors, thundered out great excommunication against Constantinus, the emperor of Constantinople, for abrogating and plucking down images set up in temples. Notwithstanding, this Constantine neglecting the pope's vain curses, persevered in his blessed purpose, in destroying idolatry, till the end of his life. Then came to be pope Constantinus the Second, a layman, and brother to Desiderius, the king of Lombardy; for the which cause he was shortly deposed, and thrust into a monastery, having his eyes put out.

In whose stead succeeded Stephen the Third, who ordained after that no layman should be pope; condemning moreover the Council of Constantinople the seventh for heretical, because in that Council the worshipping of images was reprov'd and condemned. Contrary to the which Council this pope not only maintained the filthy idolatry of images in Christian temples, but also advanced their veneration,

commanding them most ethnically to be incensed, &c. At this time Carolus Magnus, called Charles the Great, a little before mentioned, began to reign, by whom this pope caused Desiderius, the Lombard king, to be deprived.

Then, in this race of popes, after this Stephen the Third, cometh Adrianus the First, who likewise, following the steps of his fathers the popes, added and attributed to the veneration of images more than all the other had done before, writing a book for the adoration and utility proceeding of them, commanding them to be taken for laymen's calendars; holding moreover a synod at Rome against Felix, and all others that spake against the setting up of such stocks and images. And as Paul the First before him made much of the body of Petronilia, St. Peter's daughter; so this Adrian clothed the body of St. Peter all in silver, and covered the altar of St. Paul with a pall of gold. This Pope Adrian was he whom we declared in the former part of this treatise to ratify and confirm by revelation the order of St. Gregory's mass, above the order of St. Ambrose's mass; for unto this time, which was about the year of our Lord 780, the Liturgy of St. Ambrose was more used in the Italian churches. The story whereof, because it is registered in Durandus, Nauclerus, and Jacobus de Voragine, I thought here to insert the same to this especial purpose, for the reader to understand the time when this usual mass of the papists began first to be universal and uniform, and generally in churches to be received, Thus it followeth in the story by the foresaid authors set forth.

In times past, (saith he,) when the service which Ambrose made was more frequented and used in churches than was the service which Gregory had appointed, the bishop of Rome, then called Adrian, gathered a council together, in the which it was ordained that Gregory's service should be observed and kept universally. Which determination of the council Charles the emperor did diligently put in execution, while he ran about by divers provinces, and informed all the clergy, partly with threatenings, and partly with punishments, to receive that order. And, as touching the books of Ambrose's service, he burnt them to ashes in all places, and threw into prison many priests that would not consent and agree unto the matter. Blessed Eugenius the bishop, coming unto the council, found that it was dissolved three days before his coming. Notwithstanding, through his wisdom, he so persuaded the lord pope, that he called again all the prelates that had been present at the council, and were now departed by the space of three days. Therefore when the council was gathered again together, in this all the fathers did consent and agree, that both the mass books of Ambrose and Gregory should be laid upon the altar of blessed St. Peter the apostle, and the church doors diligently shut, and most warily sealed up with the signets of many and divers bishops. Again, that they should all the whole night give themselves to prayer, that the Lord might reveal, open, and show unto them by some evident sign or token which of these two services he would have used in the temples. Thus they, doing in all points as they had determined, in the morning opened the church doors, and found both the missals, or mass books, open upon the altar; or rather, (as some say,) they found Gregory's mass book utterly plucked asunder, one piece from another, and scattered over all the church. As touching Ambrose's book, they only found it open upon the altar in the very same place where they before laid it, This miracle Pope Adrian, like a wise expounder of dreams, interpreted thus, that as the leaves were torn and blown abroad all the church over, so should Gregory's book be used throughout the world. Whereupon they thought themselves sufficiently instructed and taught of God, that the service which Gregory had made ought to be set abroad and used throughout the

world, and that Ambrose's service should only be observed and kept in his own church of Mediolanum, where he some time was bishop.

Thus hast thou heard, brother reader, the full and whole narration of this mystical miracle, with the pope's exposition upon the same, which seemeth to be as true as that which Daniel speaketh of, how the idol Bel did eat up all the meat that was set before him all the night, Dan. xiv. Concerning the which miracle, I need not admonish thee to smell out the blind practices of these night crows, to blind the world with forged inventions instead of true stories. Albeit to grant the miracle to be most true and unfallible, yet, as touching the exposition thereof, another man beside the pope percase might interpret this great miracle otherwise, as thus: that God was angry with Gregory's book, and therefore rent it in pieces and scattered it abroad, and the other, as good, lay sound, untouched, and, at the least, so to be preferred. Notwithstanding, whatsoever is to be thought of this miracle, with the exposition thereof, thus the matter fell out, that Gregory's service had only the place, and yet hath to this day in the greatest part of Europe, the service of Ambrose being excluded. And thus much touching the great act of Pope Adrian for the setting up of the mass. By the relation whereof yet this know ledge may come to the reader, at least to understand how that commonly in Christian nations abroad as yet no uniform order of any missal or mass book was received, as hath been hitherto discoursed.

Now, from the popes, to return again to the emperors, from whence we digressed: like as Pipinus, the father of Charles, (as hath been before sufficiently told,) had given to the see papal all the principedom of Ravenna, with other donations, and revenues, and lands in Italy; so this Carolus, following his father's devotion, did confirm the same, adding moreover thereunto the city and dominion of Venice, Histria, the dukedom Forojuliense, the dukedom Spoletanum, and Beneventanum, and other possessions more, to the patrimony of St. Peter, making him the prince of Rome and of Italy. The pope, again to recompense his so gentle kindness, made him to be entitled Most Christian King, and made him a Roman patrician; moreover, ordained him only to be taken for emperor of Rome. For these, and other causes more, Carolus bare no little affection to the said Adrian above all other popes, as may well appear by a letter of Carolus Magnus sent to King Offa, what time the said Offa (as is above prefixed) sent to him Alcunius for en treaty of peace.

The cause why this Carolus writeth so favourably of Adrian, partly is touched before; partly also was, for that Caroloman, his elder brother, being dead, his wife, called Bertha, with her two children, came to Adrian to have them confirmed in their father's kingdom; whereunto the pope, to show a pleasure to Carolus, would not agree, but gave the mother, with her two children, and Desiderius, the Lombard king, with his whole kingdom, his wife and children, into the hands of the said Carolus, who led them with him captive into France, and there kept them in servitude during their life.

Thus Carolus Magnus being proclaimed emperor of Rome, through the preferment of Adrian and Pope Leo the Third, which succeeded next after him, the empire was translated from the Grecians, about the year of our Lord 801, unto the Frenchmen, where it continued about one hundred and two years, till the coming of Conradus and his nephew Otho, which were Germans; and so hath continued after them among the Almans unto this present time. This Charles builded so many monasteries as there be letters in the row of the A B C; he was beneficial chiefly to the churchmen, also merciful to the poor, in his acts valiant and triumphant, skilled in all

languages; he held a council at Francford, where was condemned the Council of Nice and Irene for setting up and worshipping images, &c.

Concerning which council of Nice, and things there concluded and enacted, (because no man shall think the detesting of images to be any new thing now begun,) thus I find it recorded in an ancient written history of Roger Hoveden: In the year of our Lord 792, Charles the French king sent a book containing the acts of a certain synod unto Britain, directed unto him from Constantinople. In the which book (lamentable to be told) many things inconvenient, and clean contrary unto the true faith, are there to be found; especially for that, by the common consent of almost all the learned bishops of the East church, not so few as three hundred, it was there agreed that images should be worshipped; which thing the church of God hath always abhorred. Against which book Albinus wrote an epistle substantially grounded out of the authority of Holy Scripture, which epistle, with the book, the said Albinus, in the name and person of our bishops and princes, did present to the French king.

And thus much by the way of Romish matters: now to return again to the Northumberland kings, where we left at Egbert; which Egbert (as is before declared) succeeded after Celulphus, after he was made monk. And likewise the said Egbert also, following the devotion of his uncle Celulphus, and Kenredus before him, was likewise shorn monk after he had reigned twenty years in Northumberland; leaving his son Osulphus after him to succeed. About which time, and in the same year, when Celulphus deceased in his monastery, which was the year of our Lord 764, divers cities were burnt with sudden fire, as the city of Wenta, the city of London, the city of York, Doncaster, with divers other towns besides. Who the first year of his reign, which was the year of our Lord 757, being innocently slain, next to him followed Mollo, otherwise called Adelwald, who likewise being slain of Alcredus, after he had reigned eleven years, departed. After Alcredus, when he had reigned ten years, was expelled out of his kingdom by his people. Then was Ethelbert, otherwise named Adelred, the son of the foresaid Mollo, received king of Northumberland; which Ethelbert or Adelred in like sort, after he had reigned five years, was expelled. After whom succeeded Alfwold, who likewise, when he had reigned eleven years, was unjustly slain. So likewise after him his nephew, and the son of Alcredus, named Osredus, reigned one year, and was slain. Then the foresaid Ethelbert, the son of Mollo, after twelve years' banish ment, reigned again in Northumberland the space of four years, and was slain.

Thus, as you have heard, after the reign of King Egbert before mentioned, such trouble and perturbation was in the dominion of Northumberland, with slaying, expulping, and deposing their kings one after another, that after the murdering of this Edelred, above specified, none durst take the government upon him, seeing the great danger there upon ensuing. Insomuch that the foresaid kingdom did lay void and waste the space of three and thirty years together; after the term of which years this kingdom of Northumberland, with the kingdoms also of the other Saxons besides, came altogether into the hands of Egbert, king of West Saxons, and his progeny, and in the eight and twentieth year of the rdgn of the said Egbert; whereof more shall be said (Christ willing) hereafter, Of this troublesome and outrageous time of Northumberland people speaketh also the said learned man Alcuinus, otherwise called Albinus, in the same country born, writing out of France into England, and complaining of the same in divers his letters.

The same author, Alcuinus, writing unto the foresaid Edelred, king of Northumberland, maketh record of a strange sight which he himself did see the same time in the city of York; it rained blood; whereof his words which he wrote concerning the same unto the said King Edelred be these: What signifieth the rain of blood, which in time of Lent, in the city of York, the chief city of that dominion, and in the church of St. Peter, the chief of the apostles, we ourselves did see to fall from the church top, (the element being clear,) out of the north parts of the temple, &c. This wondrous sight, testified by Malmesburiensis, is thought of Fabian to happen in the second year of the reign of Brightricus, (as with the time doth well agree,) which was the year of our Lord 780, and is thought of some expositors to betoken the coming of the Danes into this land, which entered shortly after about seven years, in the ninth year of the reign of Brightricus, king of the West Saxons. Which Brightricus, in defence thereof, sent forth his steward of his household with a small company, which shortly was slain; but by the strength of the said Brightricus, and the other Saxons kings, they were compelled to void the land for that time, which was in the year 790, To this Brightricus King Offa, as is aforesaid, gave his daughter Edelburga to wife, by whom he at length was poisoned, beside certain other of his nobles, upon whom the said queen before him had practised the same wickedness. Who then after that fled over to Charles the Great into France; where she, being offered for her beauty to marry either to him or his son, because she chose rather his son, married neither the one, nor yet the other; but was thrust into a monastery, where she, then playing the harlot with a monk, was expelled from thence, and ended her life in penury and misery.

In the mean time, while this Edelburga was thus working her feats in England, Irene, empress of the Greeks, was as busy also for her part at Constantinople; who first, through the means of Pope Adrian, took up the body of Constantine, emperor of Constantinople, her own husband's father. And when she had burned the same, she caused the ashes to be cast into the sea, because he disannulled images. Afterwards, reigning with her son Constantine the Sixth, son to Leo the Fourth, (whom also we declared before to be excommunicated for taking away images,) being at dissension with him, caused him to be taken and laid in prison; who afterward, through power of friends, being restored to his empire again, at last she caused the same her own son to be cast into prison, and his eyes to be put out so cruelly, that within short space he died. After this the said Irenæus, bishop of Constantinople, held a council at Nicca, where it was decreed, that images should again be restored unto the church; which council after was repealed by another council holden at Francford by Charles the Great. At length she was deposed by Nicephorus, (who reigned after,) and was expelled the empire, who, after the example of Edelburga above mentioned, (condignly punished for her wickedness,) ended likewise her life in much penury and misery.

About the time when the foresaid Brightricus was poisoned by Edelburga his wife died also King Offa, which was about the year of our Lord 795, or (as some say,) 802. After which Offa (as is aforesaid) succeeded Egbert, then Kenulphus, after whom succeeded Kenelmus his son, who in his younger age was wickedly murdered by his sister Quinreda, and Askebertus, about the year of our Lord 819, and in the church of Winchcombe was counted for a holy martyr. After him succeeded his uncle Ceolulphus, whom Bernulphus in the first year of his reign expelled, and reigned in his place; who likewise in the third year of his reign was overcome and expelled by Egbert, king of the West Saxons, and afterward slain by the East Angles. And the kingdom of Mercia also ceased, and came into the hands of the West Saxons.

Hitherto I have brought (as thou seest, good reader) the confused and turbulent reigns of these seven Saxon kings, who after the expulsion of the Britons ruled and reigned asunder in sundry quarters of this land together, unto this present time of Egbert, king of the West Saxons, by whom it so pleased God to begin to reduce and unite all these scattered kingdoms into one monarchical form of dominion. Wherefore, as in the foresaid Egbert beginneth a new alteration of the commonwealth here in this land among the Saxons; so my purpose is (the Lord willing) with the same Egbert to enter a new beginning of my third book, after a brief recapitulation first made of such things as in this second book before are to be collected and noted, especially touching the monasteries builded, the kings who have entered the life and profession monastic; also queens, and queens' daughters, which the same time professed solitary life in monasteries which they or their ancestors had erected.

And thus hast thou, gentle reader, concerning the seven kingdoms of these Saxons, ruling all together in England, the course and order of their doings briefly described and discoursed unto thee, in such order as the matter, being so intricate, in such confusion and diversity of things incident together, would permit; following especially in this story hitherto the line of the Northumberland kings, as the other stories must follow the line of West Saxon kings. The which seven kingdoms of these said Saxons, after they had untruly expelled and chased out the Britons from their land, like as they never were in quietness among themselves, reigning thus together till the time of this Egbert; so also after the reign of Egbert, the whole realm. being reduced into one regiment, no less were they impugned and afflicted by the Danes continually from time to time, till the last conquest of William the Norman. Thus it pleased God (ever lightly) to revenge with blood bloody violence, and the unjust dealings of men with just and like retribution. But of this let the Christian reader consider, as God's grace shall work in him. In the mean time, we, as much as in us did lie, satisfying the part of a historian, have thus hitherto set forth and declared concerning these seven foresaid kingdoms, first, the names and lineal descent of the kings severally by themselves, as by the table precedent may appear; then what were, the doings and acts of the same; how first, being pagans, they were converted to the Christian faith; what things in their time happened in the church; how many of them of kings were made monks; how devout they were then to holy church and to the churchmen, and especially to the church of Rome. But the churchmen then were much otherwise in life than afterward they declared themselves to be. Through which devotion of the said kings first came in the Peter pence or Rome-schots in this realm, as by Jue first in his dominion, then by Offa in his lordship, and afterwards by Adewulph brought in and ratified through the whole realm; where also is to be noted, that by the foresaid kings and queens of the said Saxons the most part of the greatest abbeyes and nunneries in this realm were first begun and builded, as partly by the names of some here follow to be seen.

First, the church or minster of St. Paul in London was founded by Ethelbert, king of Kent, and Sigebert, king of Essex, about the year of our Lord 604.

The first cross and altar within this realm was first up in the north parts in Hevenfeeld, upon the occasion of Oswald, king of Northumberland, fighting against Cadwalla, where he in the same place set up the sign of the cross, kneeling and praying there for victory.

The church of Winchester was first begun and founded by Kinegilsus, king of Mercians, having nine miles about it; after finished by his son Kenwalcus, where Wine of Englishmen was first bishop, An. 636.

The church of Lincoln, first founded by Paulinus, bishop, An. 629.

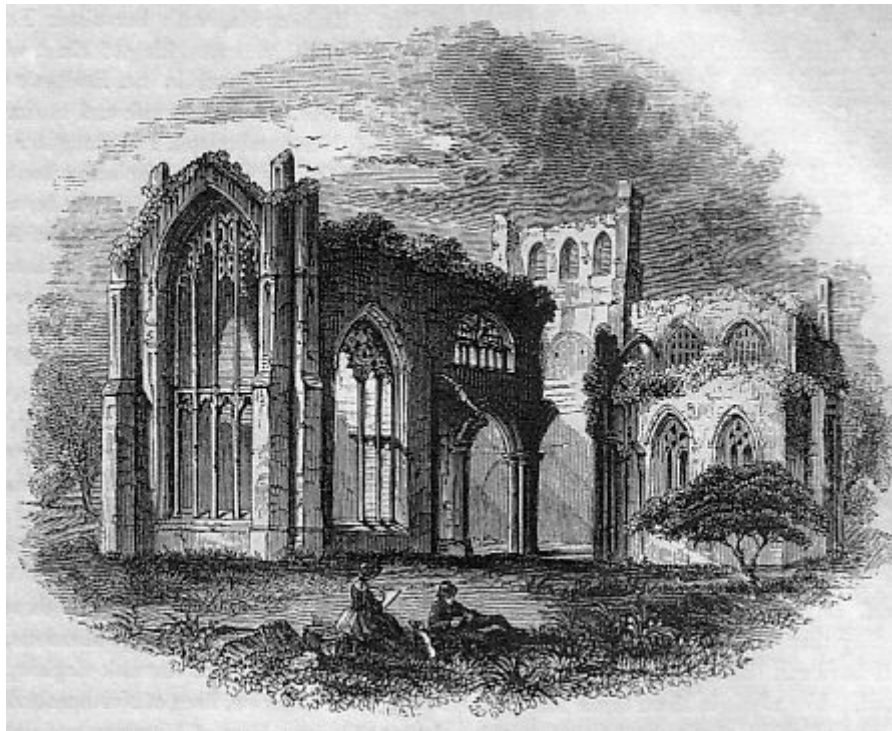
The church of Westminster, began first by a certain citizen of London, through the instigation of Ethelbert, king of Kent, which before was an isle of thorns, An. 614.

The common schools, first erected at Cambridge by Sigebert, king of East Angles, An. 636.

The abbey of Knovisburgh, builded by Furceus the hermit, An. 637.

The monastery of Malmesbury, by one Meldulphus, a Scot, about the year of our Lord 640, afterward enlarged by Agilbert, bishop of Winchester.

The monastery in Gloucester, first builded by Ofrius, king of Mercia, as Cestrensis saith; but, as William Malmesbury writeth, by Ulferus and Etheldred, brethren to Kineburga, abbess of the same house, An. 679.



A ruined Monastery

The monastery of Mailrose, by the flood of Twide, by Aidanus, a Scottish bishop.

The nunnery of Heorenton, by Hevi, who was the first nun in Northumberland.

The monastery of Heteseie, by Oswy, king of Northumberland, who also, with his daughter Elfred, gave possessions for twelve monasteries in the parts of Northumberland, An. 656.

The monastery of St. Martin in Dover, builded by Whitred, king of Kent.

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

The abbey of Lestingy, by Ceadda, (whom we call St. Ced,) through the grant of Oswald, son to St. Oswald, king of Northumberland, An. 651.

The monastery of Whitby, called otherwise Stenhalt, by Hilda, daughter to the nephew of Edwin, king of Northumberland, An. 657.

Item, another monastery called Hacanos, not far from the same place, builded by the said Hilda the same year.

The abbey of Abbington, builded by Sissa, king of Southsex, An. 666.

Item, an abbey in the east side of Lincoln, called Joanno, by St. Botolph, An. 654.

The monastery in Ely, founded by Etheldred, or Etheldrida, daughter of Anna, king of East Angles, and the wife of Elfride, king of Northumberland, An. 674.

The monastery of Chertsey, in Sollthery, founded by Erkenwald, bishop of London, An. 674. thrown down by the Danes, after re-edified by King Edgar.

Item, the nunnery of Berking, edified by the said Erkenwaldus, bishop of London, about the same time.

The abbey of Peterborough, called otherwise Modehamsted, founded by King Ethelwald, king of the Mercians, An. 675.

Bardney abbey, by Ethelredus, king of the Mercians, An. 700.

Glastenbury, by Jua, king of the West Saxons, and after repaired and enriched by King Edgar, An. 701.

Ramsey, in the time of King Edgar, by one Auwinus, a nobleman, An. 973. King Edgar builded in his time forty monasteries, who reigned An. 901.

The nunnery of Winburn, builded by Cuthhurga, sister to Ingilsus, King Jua's brother, An. 717.

The monastery of Sealesev, by the Isle of Wight, by Wilfridus, bishop of York, An. 678.

The monastery of Wincombe, by Kenulphus, king of the Mercians, An. 737.

St. Albans, builded by Offa, king of the Mercians, An. 755.

The abbey of Eusham, by Edwinus, bishop, An. 691.

Ripon, in the north, by Wilfridus, bishop, An. 709.

The abbey of Echlinghey, by King Alured, An. 891.

The nunnery of Shafteshury, by the same Aluredus, the same year.

Thus ye see what monasteries, and in what time, began to be founded by the Saxon kings, newly converted to the Christian faith, within the space of two hundred years; who, as they seemed then to have a certain zeal and devotion to God-ward, according to the leading and teaching that then was; so it seemeth again to me, two things to be wished in these foresaid kings: first, that they which began to erect these monasteries and cells of monks and nuns, to live solely and singly by themselves out of the holy state of matrimony, had foreseen what danger and what absurd enormities might and also did thereof ensue, both publicly to the church of Christ, and privately to their own souls; secondly, that unto this their zeal and devotion had been joined like

knowledge and doctrine in Christ's gospel, especially in the article of our free justification by the faith of Jesus Christ; because of the lack whereof, as well the builders and founders thereof, as they that were professed in the same, seem both to have run the wrong way, and to have been deceived. For albeit in them there was a devotion and zeal of mind that thought well in this their doing, which I will not here reprehend; yet the end and cause of their deeds and buildings cannot be excused, being contrary to the rule of Christ's gospel; forsomuch as they did these things seeking thereby merits with God, and for remedy of their souls, and remission of their sins, as may appear testified in their own records.

And this blind ignorance of that age, thus above prenoted, was the cause not only why these kings builded so many monasteries upon zealous superstition, but also why so many of them, forsaking their orderly vocation of princely regiment, gave themselves over to monastical profession, or rather wilful superstition. Concerning the names and number of which kings that were professed monks is sufficiently in the story before declared; the names of whom we showed to be seven or eight, within the space of these two hundred years. Such was then the superstitious devotion of kings and princes in that age; and no less also to be noted in queens' and kings' daughters, with other noble women of the same age and time; the names of whom it were too long here to recite. As Hilda, daughter to the nephew of Edwin, king of Northumberland, abbess of Ely. Erchengoda, with her sister Ermenilda, daughters of Ercombertus, king of Kent, which Erchengoda was professed in St. Bridget's order in France. Item, Edelberga, wife and queen to King Edwin of Northumberland, and daughter of King Anna, which was also in the same house of St. Bridget made a nun. Item, Etheldreda, whom we term St. Eldrid, wife to King Ecfride of Northumberland; who, being married to two husbands, could not be obtained to give her consent to either of them, during the space of twelve years, but would needs live a virgin, and was professed nun at Helings. Werburga was the daughter of Ulferus, king of Mercians, and made nun at Ely. Kinreda, sister of King Ulferus, and Kineswida her sister, were both nuns professed. Serburga, daughter of King Anna, king of Mercians, and wife of Ercombert, king of Kent, was abbess at Ely. Elfrida, daughter of Oswy, king of Northumberland, was abbess of Whitney. Mildreda, Milburga, and Milguida, all three daughters of Merwaldus, king of West Mercians, entered the profession and vow of nunnish virginity. Kineburga, wife of Aifride, king of Northumberland, and sister to Osricus, king of Mercians, and daughter of King Penda, was professed abbess of the monastery in Gloucester. Elfleda, daughter of Oswy, king, and wife of Penda, son of King Penda, likewise enclosed herself in the same profession and vow of Romish chastity. Likewise Alfritha, wife to King Edgar, and Editha, daughter to the said Edgar, with Wolfrith her mother, &c. All which holy nuns, with divers more, the Romish Catholics have canonized for saints, and put the most part of them in their calendar, only because of the vow of their chastity solemnly professed. Concerning which chastity, whether they kept it or no, little I have to say against them, and less to swear for them. But whether they so kept it or not, if this gift of chastity which they professed were given them of God, small praiseworthy was it in them to keep it. And if it were not given them, I will not say here of them so much as hath been said of some other, which sufficiently have painted out to the world the demeanour of these holy votaries. But this I will say, that although they kept it never so perfectly, yet it is not that which maketh saints before God, but only the blood of Christ Jesus, and a true faith in him.

**THE THIRD BOOK.
FROM THE REIGN OF KING EGBERTUS UNTO THE
TIME OF WILLIAM CONQUEROR.**

A DESCRIPTION OF ENGLAND,

AS IT WAS DIVIDED IN THE SAXONS' TIME INTO SEVEN KINGDOMS.



Map of England under the Heptarchy

22. The Coming of the Danes

Now remaineth likewise, as before I did in describing the descent and diversity of the seven kings all together reigning and ruling in this land; so to prosecute in like order the lineal succession of them which, after Egbertus, king of the West Saxons, governed and ruled solely, until the conquest of William the Norman; first expressing their names, and afterwards importing such acts as in their time happened in the Church worthy to be noted. Albeit, as touching the acts and doings of these kings, because they are sufficiently and at large described, and taken out of Latin writers into the English tongue by divers and sundry authors, and, namely, in the history or chronicle of Fabian; I shall not spend much travail thereupon, but rather refer the reader unto him, or to some other, where the troublesome tumults between the Englishmen and the Danes at that time may be seen, whoso listeth to read them.

Here is to be noted, that before the reign of Edward the Confessor, the Danes obtained the crown under their captain Canutus, who reigned nineteen years. Haraldus Harefoot, son of Canutus, four years. Hardeknutus, son of Canutus, two years. Edward the Confessor, an Englishman, son of Etheldred, twenty-four years. Haraldus, son of Earl Goodwin, a usurper, one year. William Conqueror, a Norman.

In the reign of Brightric, a little before mentioned, about the year of grace 795, there was in his dominion a noble personage, of some called Egbert, of some Ethelbert, of some Ethelbright; who, being feared of the same Brightric, because he was of a kingly blood, and near unto the crown, was, by the force and conspiracy of the forenamed Brightric, chased and pursued out of the land of Britain into France, where he endured till the death of the said Brightric. After the hearing whereof, Egbert sped him quickly out of France unto his own country of Westsax, where he in such wise behaved himself that he obtained the regiment and governance of the kingdom.

Bernulph, king of Mercia above mentioned, with other kings, had this Egbert in such derision, that they made of him divers scoffing jests and scorning rhymes, all which he sustained for a time. But when he was more established in his kingdom, and had proved the minds of his subjects, and especially God working withal, he afterward assembled his knights, and gave to the said Bernulph a battle in a place called Elinden, in the province of Hampton; and notwithstanding in that fight was great odds of number, as six or eight against one, yet Egbert (through the might of the Lord, which giveth victory as pleaseth him) had the better, and won the field; which done, he seized that lordship into his hand; and that also done, he made war upon the Kentish Saxons, and at length of them in like wise obtained the victory. And, as it is in Polychronicon testified, he also subdued Northumberland, and caused the kings of these three kingdoms to live under him as tributaries, or joined them to his kingdom. This Egbert also won from the Britons, or Welchmen, the town of Chester, which they had kept possession of till this day. After these and other victories, he peaceably enjoying the land, called a council of his lords at Winchester, where by their advices he was crowned king and chief lord over this land, which before that day was called Britain; but then he sent out into all coasts of the land his commandments and commissions, charging straitly that, from that day forward, the Saxons should be called Angles, and the land Anglia.

About the thirtieth year of the reign of Egbert the heathenish people of the Danes, which a little before had made horrible destruction in Northumberland, and especially in the Isle of Lindefarne, where they spoiled the churches, and murdered the ministers, with men, women, and children, after a cruel manner, entered now the second time with a great host into this land, and spoiled the Isle of Sheppey, in Kent, or near to Kent; where Egbert, hearing thereof, assembled his people, and met with them at Carrum. But in that conflict he sped not so well as he was wont in times before, but with his knights was compelled to forsake the field. Notwithstanding in the next battle the said Egbert, with a small power, overthrew a great multitude of them, and so drave them back. The next year following the said Danes made their return into the land westward, where, joining with the Britons, by the help and power of them they assailed the lands of Egbert, and did much harm in many places of his dominion; so that after this day they were continually abiding in the realm of England, till the time of Hardicanute, last king of the Danes' blood, so that many of them were married to English women, and many Englishmen are descended of them.

And thus, as by the stories appear, this troublesome land of Britain, now called England, hath been hitherto by five sundry outward nations plagued. First, by the Romans; then by the Scots and Picts; thirdly, by the Saxons; fourthly, by the Danes, of whose outrageous cruelty and hostility our English histories do most exclaim and complain; fifthly, by the Normans, which I pray God be the last.

Then it followeth in the story, that the time of this persecution of the foresaid pagans and Danes continuing, King Egbert, when he had ruled the West Saxons, and over the more part of England, by the term of seven and thirty years, died, and was buried at Winchester, leaving to his son Ethelwolfe his kingdom, who first was bishop of Winchester, and after upon necessity made king, leaving withal and pronouncing this saying to his son: *Felicem fore si regnum, quod multa rexerat industria, ille consueta genti illi non interrumpet ignavia.*

Ethelwolfe, the son of Egbert, in his former age had entered into the order of subdeacon, as some others say, was made bishop of Winchester; but afterwards, being the only son of Egbert, was made king through the dispensation (as Fabian saith) of Pope Paschalis: but that cannot be, for Paschalis then was not bishop; so that by the computation of time it should rather seem to be Gregory the Fourth. This Ethelwolfe (as being himself once nuzzled in that order) was always good and devout to holy church and religious orders, insomuch that he gave to them the tithe of all his goods and lands in West Saxony, with liberty and freedom from all servage and civil charges. Whereof his chart instrument beareth testimony, proceeding in tenor much like to the donation of Ethelbaldus, king of Mercians above mentioned.

By the privileges and donations given by King Ethelwolfe to the clergy, it may appear how and when the churches of England began first to be endowed with temporalities and lands; also how their privileges and exemptions were enlarged; moreover, (and that which specially is to be considered and lamented,) what pernicious doctrine this was, wherewith they were led thus to set remission of their sins, and remedy of their souls, in this donation, and such other deeds of their donation, contrary to the information of God's word, and with no small derogation from the cross of Christ.

These things thus done within the realm, the said Ethelwolfe the king, taking his journey to Rome, with Alfred his youngest son, committed him to the bringing up of Pope Leo the Fourth, where he also re-edifieth the English school at Rome; which

being founded by King Offa, or rather by Jue, king of Mercians, (as in the Flowers of Histories is affirmed,) was lately, in the time of King Egbert his father, consumed with fire. Further and besides, this king gave and granted there unto Rome of every fire-house a penny to be paid through his whole land, as King Jue in his dominion had done before. Also he gave and granted yearly to be paid to Rome 300 marks; that is, to the maintaining of the light of St. Peter 100 marks, to the light of St. Paul 100 marks, to the use of the pope also another hundred. This done, he returning home through France, married there Judith, the daughter of Charles the Bald, the French king, whom he restored afterward (contrary to the laws of West Saxons) to the title and throne of a queen. For before it was decreed among the West Saxons, (by the occasion of wicked Ethelburga, who poisoned Brightric, her own husband,) that after that no king's wife there should have the name or place of a queen.

This Ethelwolfe had especially about him two bishops whose counsel he was most ruled by, Swithin, bishop of Winchester, and Adelstan, bishop of Shireborne. Of the which two the one was more skilful in temporal and civil affairs, touching the king's wars, and filling of his coffers, and other furniture for the king. The other (who was Swithin) was of a contrary sort, wholly disposed and indined to spiritual meditation, and to minister spiritual counsel to the king, who had been schoolmaster to the king before. Wherein appeared one good condition of this king's nature, among his other virtues, not only in following the precepts and advertisements of his old schoolmaster, but also in that he, like a kind and thankful pupil, did so reverence his bringer up and old schoolmaster, (as he called him,) that he ceased not till he made him bishop of Winchester, by the consecration of Celnock, then archbishop of Canterbury. But as concerning the miracles which are read in the church of Winchester of this Swithin, them I leave to be read together with the Iliads of Homer, or tales of Robin Hood.

This Gregory the Fourth, in this present chapter above mentioned, was the third pope which succeeded after Paschalis the First, being but four years betwixt them; which Paschalis succeeded after Stephen the Fourth, who followed after Leo the Third, next pope unto Adrian above in our history mentioned, where we treated of Charles the Great. From the time of that Adrian the First, unto Pope Adrian the Third, the emperors had some stroke in the election (at least in the confrmation) of the Roman pope. Notwithstanding, divers of these foresaid Popes in the mean time began to work their practices to bring their purpose about. But yet all their devices could take no full effect before the said Adrian the Third. as hereafter (Christ willing) shall be declared. So that the emperors all this while bare some rule in choosing the popes, and in assembling general councils. Wherefore by the commandment of Ludovicus the emperor, in the time of this Gregory the Fourth, a general synod was commenced at Aquisgrane, where it was decreed by the said Gregory and his assistants, First, That every church should have sufficient of his own proper lands and revenues to find the priests thereof, that none should need to lack or go about a-begging. That none of the clergy, of what order or degree soever he be, should use any vesture of any precious or scarlet colour neither shall wear rings on their fingers, unless it be when prelates be at mass, or give their consecrations. That prelates should not keep too great ports or families, nor keep great horses, use dice or harlots; and the monks should not exceed measure in gluttony or riot. That none of the clergy, being either anointed or shaven, should use either gold or silver in their shoes, slippers, or girdles, like to Heliogabalus. By this it may be conjectured what pomp and pride in those days was crept into the

clergy. Moreover, by the said Pope Gregory the Fourth, at the commandment of Ludovicus, emperor, the feast of All Saints was first brought into the church.

After this pope, came Sergius the Second, which first brought in the altering of the pope's names, because he was named before Swine's Snout; which also ordained the Agnus thrice to be sung at the mass, and the host to be divided into three parts.

After him was Pope Leo the Fourth, to whom this King Ethelwolfe (as in this present chapter is above specified) did commit the tuition of his son Alured. By this Pope Leo the Fourth it came in, and was first enacted in a council of his, That no bishop should be condemned under threescore and twelve witnesses, according as ye see in the witnesses at the condemnation of Stephen Gardiner, orderly practised.

Also, contrary to the law of Gregory the Fourth, his predecessor, this pope ordained the cross (all set with gold and precious stones) to be carried before him, like a pope.

And here next now followeth and cometh in the whore of Babylon, (rightly in her true colours, by the permission of God, and manifestly without all tergiversation,) to appear to the whole world; and that not only after the spiritual sense, but after the very letter and the right form. For after this Leo above mentioned, the cardinals proceeding to their ordinary election. (after a solemn mass of the Holy Ghost, to the perpetual shame of them and of that see,) instead of a man pope, elected a woman to minister sacraments, to say masses, to give orders, to constitute deacons, priests, and bishops, to promote prelates, to make abbots, to consecrate churches and altars, to have the reign and rule of emperors and kings; and so she did indeed, called by name Joan the Eighth. This woman's proper name was Gilberta, (a Dutch woman of Magunce,) who went with an English monk out of the abbey of Fulda in man's apparel unto Athens, and after, through her dexterity of wit and learning, was promoted unto the popedom, where she sat two years and six months. At last openly, in the face of a general procession, she fell in labour and travail of child, and so died. By reason whereof the cardinals even to this day do avoid to come near by that street where this shame was taken. By Benedictus the Third, who succeeded next in the whorish see, was first ordained (as most writers do record) the dirge to be said for the dead. Albeit before him Gregory the Third had done in that matter worthily for his part already.

After him sat Pope Nicholas the First, who enlarged the pope's decrees with many constitutions, equalling the authority of them with the writings of the apostles. He ordained that no secular prince, nor the emperor himself, should be present at their councils, unless in matters concerning the faith, to the end that such as they judged to be heretics they should execute and murder. Also, that no lay men should sit in judgment upon the clergymen, or reason upon the pope's power. Also, that no Christian magistrate should have any power upon any prelate, alleging that a prelate is called god. Also, that all church service should be in Latin, yet, notwithstanding, dispensing with the Sclavonians and Polonians to retain still their vulgar language. Sequences in the mass were by him first allowed. By this pope priests began to be restrained and debarred from marrying; whereof Hulderike, Bishop of Ausbrough, (a learned and a holy man,) sending a letter unto the pope, gravely and learnedly refuteth and reclaimeth against his undereet proceedings touching that matter.

After this Pope Nicholas succeeded Adrianus the Second, Joannes the Ninth, Martinus the Second. After these came Adrian the Third, and Stephen the Fifth. By this Adrian it was first decreed, that no emperor after that time should intermeddle or

have any thing to do in the election of the pope. And thus began the emperor's first decay, and the papacy to swell and rise aloft. And thus much concerning Romish matters for this time.

Then to return where we left, touching the story of King Ethelwolfe. About the latter end of his reign the Danes, which before had invaded the realm in the time of King Egbert, as is above declared, now made their entry again, three and thirty ships arriving about Hampshire; through the barbarous tyranny of whom much bloodshed and murder happened here among Englishmen, in Dorsetshire, about Portsmouth, in Kent, in East Angle. in Lindsie, at Rochester, about London, and in Westsex, where Ethelwolfe the king was overcome, besides divers other kings and dukes, whom the Danes, daily approaching in great multitudes, in divers victories had put to flight. At length King Ethelwolfe, with his son Ethelbald, warring against them in Southery, at Okley, drave them to the sea; where they, hovering a space, after a while burst in again with horrible rage and cruelty, as hereafter (Christ willing) shall be declared, so much as to our purpose shall serve, professing in this history to write of no matters civil and political, but only pertaining to the church. The cause of this great affliction sent of God unto this realm thus I found expressed and collected in a Certain old written story, Which hath no name; albeit in all parts of his commendation I do not fully with him accord. The words of the writer be these.

"In the primitive church of the Englishmen religion did most clearly shine, insomuch that kings, queens, princes, and dukes, consuls, barons, and rulers of churches, incensed with the desire of the kingdom of heaven, labouring and striving among themselves to enter into monkery, into voluntary exile and solitary life. forsook all, and followed the Lord. Where, in process of time, all virtue so much decayed among them, that in fraud and treachery none seemed like unto them neither was to them any thing odious or hateful but piety and justice; neither any thing in price or honour, but civil war and shedding of innocent blood. Wherefore Almighty God sent upon them pagan and cruel nations, like swarms of bees, which neither spared women nor children, as Danes, Norwegians, Goths, Suevians, Vandals, and Frisians; who, from the beginning of the reign of King Ethelwolfe till the coming of the Normans, by the space near of two hundred and thirty years, destroyed their sinful land from the one side of the sea to the other, from man also to beast. For why? They, invading England oftentimes of every side, went not about to subdue and possess it, but only to spoil and destroy it. And if it had chanced them at any time to be overcome of Englishmen, it availed nothing, whenas other navies still with greater power in other places were ready, upon a sudden and unawares, to approach upon them"

Thus far have you the words of mine author, declaring the cause which provoked God's anger; whereunto may be adjoined the wickedness, not only of them, but of their forefathers also before them, who, falsely breaking the faith and promise made with the Britons, did cruelly murder their nobles, wickedly oppressed their commons, impiously persecuted the innocent Christians, injuriously possessed their land and habitation, chasing the inhabitants out of house and country; besides the violent murder of the monks of Bangor, and divers foul slaughters among the poor Britons, who sent for them to be their helpers. Wherefore God's just recompence falling upon them from that time, never suffered them to be quiet from foreign enemies till the coming of William the Norman, &c.

Moreover, concerning the outward occasions given of the Englishmen's parts, moving the Danes first to invade the realm, I find in certain stories two most specially

assigned. The one unjustly given, and justly taken. The other not given justly, and unjustly taken. Of the which two the first was given in Northumberland, by the means of Osbright, reigning under-king of West Saxons, in the north parts. This Osbright, upon a time journeying by the way, turned into the house of one of his nobles called Bruer; who having at home a wife of great beauty, (he being absent abroad,) the king after his dinner (allured with the excellency of her beauty) did sorely ill treat her; whereupon she being greatly dismayed, and vexed in her mind, made her moan to her husband on his return of this violence and injury received. Bruer, consulting with his friends, first went to the king, resigning into his hands all such service and possessions which he did hold of him: that done, he took shipping and sailed into Denmark, where he had great friends, and had his bringing up before; there, making his moan to Codrinus the king, desired his aid in revenging of the great villany of Osbright against him and his wife. Codrinus, hearing this, and glad to have some just quarrel to enter that land, levied an army with all speed; and preparing all things necessary for the same, sendeth forth Inguar and Hubba, two brethren, his chief captains, with an innumerable multitude of Danes, into England; who, first arriving at Holderness, there burnt up the country, and killed without mercy both men, women, and children whom they could lay hands upon. Then, marching towards York, entered their battle with the foresaid Osbright, where he, with the most part of his army, was slain. And so the Danes entered the possession of the city of York. Some others say, and it is by the most part of story writers recorded, that the chief cause of the coming of Inguar and Hubba, with the Danes, was to be revenged of King Edmund, reigning under the West Saxons over the East Angles in Norfolk and Suffolke, for the murdering of a certain Dane, being father to Inguar and Hubba, which was falsely imputed to King Edmund.



Battle between Danes and Saxons

In the mean season, King Ethelwolfe, as already noticed in this chapter, when he had chased the foresaid Danes from place to place, causing them to take the sea, he, in the mean while, departeth himself both from land and life, leaving behind him four sons, which reigned every one his order, after the decease of their father. The names of whom were Ethelbald, Ethelbright, Ethelred, and Alured.

King Ethelbald, the eldest son of Ethelwolfe, succeeding his father in the province of Westsax, and Ethelbright in the province of Kent, reigned both together the term of five years, one with the other. Ethelbald left this infamy behind him in stories, viz. for marrying his step-mother, wife to his own father, named Judith. After these two succeeded Ethelred, the third son, who, in his time, was so encumbered with the Danes, bursting in on every side, especially about York, (which city they then spoiled and burnt up,) that he in one year stood in nine battles against them, with the help of Alured his brother. In the beginning of this king's reign, the Danes landed in East England, or Northfolke and Suffolke. But (as Fabian writeth) they were compelled to forsake that country, and so took again shipping, and sailed northward, and landed in Northumberland, where they were met of the kings then there reigning, called Osbright and Ella, which gave to them a strong fight. But, notwithstanding, the

Danes, with the help of such as inhabited the country, won the city of York, and held it a certain season, as is above premised.

In the reign of this Ethelred the Northumberlanders, rebelling against the king, thought to recover again the former state of their kingdom out of the West Saxons' hand; by reason of which discord (as happeneth in all lands where dissension is) the strength of the English nation was not a little weakened, and the Danes the more thereby prevailed.

About the latter time of the reign of this Ethelred, which was about the year of our Lord 870, certain of the foresaid Danes, being thus possessed of the north country, (after their cruel persecution and murder done there, as partly is touched before,) took shipping from thence, intending to sail toward the East Angles, who by the way upon the sea met with a fleet of Danes, whereof the captains or leaders were named Ingvar and Hubba; who, joining together in one counsel, made all one course, and lastly landed in East England, or Northfolke, and in process of time came to Thetford. Thereof hearing Edmund, then under-king of that province, assembled a host that gave to them battle. But Edmund and his company was forced to forsake the field; and the king with a few persons fled unto the castle of Framingham, whom the Danes pursued. But he in short while after yielded himself to the persecution of the Danes; answering in this manner to the messenger, that told him in the name of Ingvar, prince of the Danes, which most victoriously (saith he) was come with innumerable legions, subduing both by sea and land many nations unto him; and so, now arrived in those parts, requireth him likewise to submit himself, yielding to him his hid treasures, and such other goods of his ancestors, and so to reign under him; which thing, if he would not do, he should (said he) be judged unworthy both of life and reign. Edmund, hearing of this proud message of the pagan, consulted with certain of his friends: and, among others, with one of his bishops, who was then his secretary; who, seeing the present danger of the king, gave him counsel to yield to the conditions. Upon this the king pausing a little with himself, at length rendered this answer; bidding the messenger go tell his lord in these words, that Edmund, a Christian king, for the love of temporal life, will not submit himself to a pagan duke, unless he before would be a Christian. Incontinent upon the same, the wicked and crafty Dane, approaching in most hasty speed upon the king, encountered with him in battle (as some say) at Thetford, where the king, being put to the worse, and pitying the terrible slaughter of his men, thinking with himself rather to submit his own person to danger than his people should be slain, did fly (as Fabian saith) to the castle of Framingham, or, (as mine author writeth,) to Halesdon, now called St. Edmundsbury, where this blessed man, being on every side compassed of his cruel enemies, yielded himself to their persecution. And for that he would not renege or deny Christ and his laws, they therefore most cruelly bound him unto a tree, and caused him to be shot to death; and, lastly, caused his head to be smitten from his body, and cast into the thick bushes which head and body at the same time by his friends was taken up, and solemnly buried at the said Halesdon, otherwise now named St. Edmundsbury. Whose brother, named Edwoldus. notwithstanding of right the kingdom fell next unto him,) setting apart the liking and pleasure of the world, became a hermit at the abbey of Cerum, in the county of Dorset.



The Death of St. Edmund

After the martyrdom of this blessed Edmund, when the cruel Danes had sufficiently robbed and spoiled that country, they took again their ships, and landed in Southery, and continued their journey till they came to the town of Reading, and there won the town with the castle, where, (as Cambrensis saith,) within three days of their coming thither, the foresaid Inguar and Hubba, captains of the Danes, as they went in purchasing of their preys or booties, were slain at a place called Englefeld. Which princes of the Danes thus slain, the rest of them kept whole together, in such wise that the West Saxons might take of them none advantage. But yet within few days after the Danes were holden so short, that they were forced to issue out of the castle, and to defend themselves in plain battle. In the which (by the industry of King Ethelred and of Alured his brother) the Danes were discomfited, and many of them slain; which discomfit made them fly again into the castle, and there he kept them for a certain time. The king then, committing the charge of them to Ethelwold, duke of Baroke, or Barkshire, so departed. But when the Danes knew of the king's departure, they brake suddenly out of their hold, and took the duke improvid, and slew him, and much of his people. And so, adjoining themselves with others that were scattered in the country, embattled them in such wise, that of them was gathered a strong host.

As the tidings hereof was brought unto King Ethelred, (which put him in great heaviness,) word also was brought the same time of the landing of Osrike, king of Denmark, who, with assistance of the other Danes, had gathered a great host, and were embattled upon Ashdon. To this battle King Ethelred, with his brother Alured, (forced by great need,) sped themselves to withstand the Danes. At which time the king a little staying behind, being yet at his service, Alured, which was come in before, had entered already into the whole fight with the Danes, who struck together with huge violence. The king being required to make speed, (he being then at service and meditations,) such was his devotion, that he would not stir out one foot before their service was fully complete. In this mean while the Danes so fiercely invaded Alured and his men, that they won the hill; and the Christian men were in the valley, and in

great danger to lose the whole field. Nevertheless, through the grace of God, and their godly manhood, the king, coming from his service with his fresh soldiers, recovered the hill of the infidels, and so discomfited the Danes that day, that in flying away not only they lost the victory. but most part also of them their lives. Insomuch that their duke, or king, Osrike, or Osege, and five of their dukes, with much of their people, were slain, and the rest chased unto Reading town.

After this the Danes yet reassembled their people, and gathered a new host; so that within fifteen days they met at Basingstoke, and there gave battle unto the king, and had the better. Then the king again gathered his men, which at that field were dispersed, and, with fresh soldiers to them accompanied, met the Danes within two months after at the town of Merton, where he gave them a sharp battle; so that much people were slain as well of the Christians as of the Danes, but in the end the Danes had the honour of the field, and King Ethelred was wounded, and therefore fain to save himself.

After these two fields thus won by the Danes, they obtained great circuit of ground, and destroyed man and child that would not yield to them. And churches and temples they turned to the use of stables, and other vile occupations.

Thus the king, being beset with enemies on every side, seeing the land so miserably oppressed of the Danes, his knights and soldiers consumed, his own land of West Saxons in such desolation, he being also wounded himself, but specially for that he, sending his commissions into Northumberland, into Mercia, and East Anglia, could have of them but small or little comfort, (because they through wicked rebellion were more willing to take the part of the Danes than of their king,) was sore perplexed therewithal, as other kings were both before him and after him at that time. So that, as Malmesbury witnesseth, they rather wished honestly to die, than with such trouble and sorrow to reign. And thus this king not long after deceased, when he had reigned (as Fabian saith) eight years, or, as Malmesbury writeth, but five years. During which time, notwithstanding his so great troubles and vexations in martial affairs, (as is in some stories mentioned,) he founded the house or college of canons at Excester, and was buried at the abbey of Winborne, or Woborne. After whose decease, for lack of issue of his body, the rule of the land fell unto his brother Alured.

23. Alfred the Great

Among the Saxon kings hitherto in this story afore mentioned, I find few or none to be preferred (or almost to be compared) to this Alured, or Alfred, for the great and singular qualities in this king, worthy of high renown and commendation; whether we behold in him the valiant acts and manifold travails which he continually from time to time sustained against his enemies in wars, during almost all the time of his reign, for the public preservation of his people: or whether we consider in him his godly and excellent virtues, joined with a public and tender care, and a zealous study for the common peace and tranquillity or the weal public; appearing as well in his prudent laws by him both carefully set forth, and with the like care executed, as also by his own private exercises touching the virtuous institution of his life: or, lastly, whether we respect that in him which, with equal praise, matches with both the other before; that is, his notable knowledge of good letters, with a fervent love and princely desire to set forth the same through all his realm, before his time both rude and barbarous. All which his heroical properties joined together in one prince, as it is a thing most rare, and seldom seen in princes now-a-days; so I thought the same the more to be noted and exemplified in this good king, thereby either to move other rulers and princes in these our days to his imitation, or else to show them what hath been in times past in their ancestors, which ought to be. and yet is not, found in them. Wherefore of these three parts, to discourse either part in order, first, we will begin to treat of his acts and painful travails sustained in defence of the realm public, against the raging tyranny of the Danes, as they be described in the Latin histories of Roger Hoveden and Huntingdon; whom Fabian also seemeth in this part some what to follow. King Alfred. therefore, the first of all the English kings, taking his crown and unction at Rome of Pope Leo the Fourth, (as Malmesbury and Polychronicon do record,) in the beginning of his reign, perceiving his lords and people much wasted and decayed by the reason of the great wars of Ethelred, had against the Danes, yet as well as he could gathered a strength of men unto him, and in the second month that he was made king he met with the Danes beside Wilton, where he gave them battle. But being far overmatched, through the multitude of the contrary part, was put there to the worse, although not without a great slaughter of the pagan army. Which army of the Danes, after that victory, by compaction made with King Alfred to depart out of his dominion of Westsax, removed from Reading to London, where they abode all that winter; where Halden, their king, truce with Burthred, king of Mercians, the next year following voided those parts, and drew to Lindsey, robbing and spoiling the towns and villages as they went, and holding the common people under their servage. From thence after to Reppingdon, where they, joining with the three other kings of the Danes, (called Surdrim, Osketell, and Hamond,) grew thereby in mighty force and strength. Who, then dividing their army in two parts, the one half remained with Halden in the country of Northumberland, the residue were with the other three kings, wintering and sojourning all the next year at Grantbridge, which was the fourth year of King Alfred. In the which year King Alfred and his men had a conflict on the sea with six of the Danes' ships, of which one they took, the other fled away. In this year went Rollo the Dane into Normandy, where he was duke thirty years, and afterward was baptized in the faith of Christ, and named Robert. The foresaid army of the three Dane kings above mentioned from Grantbridge returned again to West Saxony, and entered the castle of Warrham; where Alfred with a sufficient power of men was ready to assault

them. But the Danes, seeing his strength, durst not attempt with him, but sought delays whiles more aid might come. In the mean season, they were constrained to entreat for a truce; leaving also sufficient pledges in the king's hand, promising moreover upon their oath to void the country of the West Saxons. The king, upon the surety, let them go. But they, falsely breaking their league, privily in the night brake out, taking their journey toward Excester. In which journey they lost sixscore of their small ships by a tempest at Sandwich (as Henry Huntington in his story recordeth). Then King Alfred followed after the horsemen of the Danes, but could not overtake them before they came to Excester, where he took of them pledges and fair promises of peace, and so returned. Notwithstanding the number of the pagans did daily more and more increase, insomuch (as one of my authors saith) that if in one day thirty thousand of them were slain, shortly after they increased double as many again. After this truce taken with King Alfred, the Danes then voided to the land of Mercia; part of that kingdom they kept themselves, part they committed to one Ceolulphus, upon condition that he should be vassal to them, and at their commandment, with his people, at all times.

The next year ensuing, which was the seventh year of the reign of Alfred, the Danes now having all the rule of the north part of England, from the river Thames, with Mercia, London, and Essex, disdained that Alfred should bear any dominion on the other side of Thames southward. Whereupon the foresaid three kings, with all the forces and strength they could make, marched toward Chippenham in Westsex with such a multitude, that the king with his people was not able to resist them; insomuch that the people which inhabited there, some fled over the sea, some remained with the king, divers submitted themselves to the Danes. Thus Alfred, being overset with multitude of enemies, and forsaken of his people, having neither land to hold, nor hope to recover that which he had lost, withdrew himself, with a few of his nobles about him, into a certain wood country in Sommersetshire, called Etheling; where he had right scant to live with, but such as he and his people might purchase by hunting and fishing. This Edeling, or Etheling, or Ethelingsey, standeth in a great marsh or moor, so that there is no access unto it without ship or boat, and hath in it a great wood called Selwood, and in the middle a little plain, about two acres of ground, in which isle is venison, and other wild beasts, with fowl and fishes, great plenty. In this wood King Alfred at his first coming espied a certain desert cottage of a poor swineherd, keeping swine in the wood, named Punwolphus; by whom the king then unknown was entertained and cherished with such poor fare as he and his wife could make him. For the which King Alfred afterward set the poor swineherd to learning, and made him bishop of Winchester.



King Alfred and the Cakes

In the mean season, while King Alfred accompanied with a few was thus in the desert wood, waiting the event of these miseries, certain stories record of a poor beggar, which there came and asked his alms of the king. And the night following he appeared to the king in his sleep, saying his name was Cutbert, promising (as sent from God unto him for his good charity) great victories against the Danes. But to let these dreaming fables pass, although they be testified by divers authors.

Notwithstanding the king in process of time was strengthened and comforted more, through the providence of God, respecting the miserable ruin of the Englishmen. First, the brother of King Halden the Dane before mentioned, coming in with three and thirty ships, landed about Devonshire; where by chance being resisted by a bushment of King Alfred's men, (who for their safeguard there lay in garrison,) were slain to the number of one thousand three hundred men, and their ensign called the raven was taken. Hovedenus in his book of Continuaciones writeth, that in the same conflict both Ingvar and Hubba were slain among the other Danes. After this, King Alfred being better cheered, showed himself more at large; so that daily resorted to him men of Wiltshire, Somersetshire, and Hampshire, till that he was strongly accompanied.

Then the king put himself in a bold and dangerous venture. For he, apparelling him in the habit of a minstrel, (as he was very skilful in all Saxon poems,) with his instrument of music entered into the tents of the Danes, lying then at Eddendun; and in showing there his interlude and songs, espied all their sloth and idleness, and heard much of their counsel; and after, returning to his company, declared unto them the whole manner of the Danes. Shortly upon the same, the king suddenly in the night fell

upon the foresaid Danes, and distressed and slew of them a great multitude, chased them from that coast, Insomuch that through his strong and valiant assaults upon his enemies, out of his tower of Edeing newly fortified, he so encumbered them, that he clearly voided the country of them between that and Selwood. His subjects eftsoons, hearing of these his valiant victories and manful deeds, drew to him daily out of all coasts; who, through the help of God, and their assistance, held the Danes so short, that he won from them Winchester, and divers other good towns. Briefly, at length he forced them to seek for peace; the which was concluded upon certain covenants. Whereof one and the principal was, that the forenamed Gutrum their king should be christened. The other was, that such as would not be christened should depart and void the country.

Upon these covenants, first, the said Gutrum, the Danish prince, coming to Winchester, was there christened with twenty of his greatest dukes or nobles. Which Gutrum, King Alfred being his godfather at his baptism, named him Athelstan; who, after a certain season that he had feasted the said Danes, he, according to his promise before made, gave unto their king the country of East Anglia, containing Northfolke and Suffolke, and part of Cambridgeshire. Moreover, (as saith Polychronicon,) he granted to the Danes that were christened the country of Northumberland. So the residue that would not be christened departed the land, and sailed into France; where what vexation and harm they wrought the chronicles of France do partly comprehend.

King Athelstan thus having the possession of these countries, had all East Angles under his obedience. And albeit that he held the same province as in fee of the king, and promised to dwell there as his liege man; yet that notwithstanding he continued more like a tyrant, by the term of eleven years, and died in the twelfth year. During the which space King Alfred, having some more rest and peace, repaired certain towns and strongholds afore by the Danes impaired. Also he builded divers houses of religion, as the house of nuns at Shaftesbury. Another religious house at Etheling he founded. Another in Winchester, named the New Monastery. He endowed richly the church of St. Cuthbert in Durham. He sent also to India to pay and perform his vows to St. Thomas of Inde, which he made during the time of his distress against the Danes.

About the fifteenth year of the reign of Alfred the Danes, returning from France to England, landed in Kent, and so came to Rochester, and besieged that city; and there lay so long, that they builded a tower of timber against the gates of the city. But by strength of the citizens that tower was destroyed, and the city defended, till King Alfred came and rescued them. Whereby the Danes were so distressed, and so near trapped, that, for fear, they left their horses behind them, and fled to their ships by night. But the king, when he was thereof aware, sent after them, and took sixteen of their ships, and slew many of the said Danes. This done, the king returned to London, and repaired the same honourably, (as saith Hovedenus,) and made it habitable, which before was sore decayed and feebled by the Danes.

The third year after this, which was the nineteenth year of the reign of King Alfred, the foresaid Athelstan, the Danish king of Northfolke, (which by Alfred was christened before,) deceased. Not long after this, about the one and twentieth year of this king's reign, the Danes again landed in four places of this land; which was in East England, in the North, and in the West in two places. Before the landing of these Danes, it chanced King Alfred, hearing of the death of King Athelstan, and of other complaints of the Danes, was then in East England when these tidings came to him.

When King Alfred was hereof ascertained, forso much as some of the Danes were landed in that coast, thinking with themselves the further they went in those parts the less resistance to have, and the more speed, as they were wont to have before; Alfred, therefore, sending messengers in all haste to Ethelred, duke of Mercia, to assemble to him a host to withstand the Danes which landed in the West, made forth toward his enemies there, where he was in East Anglia, whom he pursued so sharply, that he drove them out from those parts. They then landed in Kent, whither the king with his people sped him, and in like manner drove the Danes from thence, without any great fight, so far as in our authors we can see. After this, again the Danes took shipping, and sailed into North Wales, and there robbed and spoiled the Britons, and from thence returned by the sea into East Anglia, with a hundred ships, and there rested them, forsomuch as the king then was gone westward.

The fourth host of the Danes the same year came to Chester, which at length they won; but then the country adjoining pressed so sore upon them, and besieged them so long, keeping themselves within the city, that at the last the Danes, wearied with the long siege, were compelled to eat their own horses for hunger. But by appointment at last they gave over the town, and went about by North Wales to Northumberland, which was about the three and twentieth year of King Alfred; which Alfred in the mean while with his host sped him thitherward. Then the Danes, leaving their strong holds and castles, garnished with men and victual, took again shipping, and set their course in such wise that they landed in Sussex, and so came to the port of Lewes; and from thence toward London, and builded a tower or castle near unto the river of Luy, twenty miles from London. But the Londoners, hearing thereof, manned out a certain number of men of arms, who, with the assistance of them of that country, put the Danes from that tower, and after beat it down to the ground. Soon after the king came down thither, and, to prevent the dangers that might ensue, commanded the river of Luy to be divided in three streams; so that where a ship might sail in times before, there a little boat might scantily row. From thence the Danes, leaving their ships and wives, were forced to fly that country, and took their way again toward Wales, and came to Quadruge, near to the river of Severn; where upon the borders thereof they builded them a castle, there resting themselves for a time, whom the king eftsoons with his army pursued. In the mean time, the Londoners at Luy, taking the Danes' ships, some of them they brought to London, the rest they fired. During all these three years, from the first coming of the Danes to Luy, England was afflicted with three manner of sorrows; with the Danes, with pestilence of men, and murrain of beasts. Notwithstanding which troubles the king manfully resisted the malice of his enemies, and thanked God always, what trouble soever fell to him, or unto his realm, and sustained it with great patience and humility. These three years overpast, the next following, which was the eight and twentieth of the reign of Alfred, the Danes divided their host, of whom part went to Northumberland, some to North folke, part sailed over to France, some other came to Westsax, where they had divers conflicts with the Englishmen, both by land, and especially upon the sea; of whom some were slain, many perished by shipwreck, divers others were taken and banded, and thirty of their ships were taken.

Not long after this, King Alfred, when he had reigned nine and twenty years and six months, changed this mortal life. And thus much (and more peradventure than will seem to this our ecclesiastical history appertaining) touching the painful labours and travails of this good king; which he no less valiantly achieved than patiently sustained for the necessary defence of his realm and subjects.

Now if there be any prince who listeth to see and follow the virtuous and godly disposition of this king, both touching the institution of his own life, and also concerning his careful government of the commonwealth, thus the histories of him do record: That at what time he being young, perceiving himself somewhat disposed to the vice of the flesh, and thereby letted from many virtuous purposes, did not as many young princes and kings' sons in the world be now wont to do, that is, to resolve themselves into all kind of carnal licence and dissolute sensuality, running and following without bridle whithersoever their licence given doth lead them (as therefore not without cause the common proverb reporteth of them, that kings' sons learn nothing else well but only to ride). Meaning thereby, that while princes and kings' sons, having about them flatterers, who bolster them in their faults, only their horses give to them no more than to any other; but if they sit not fast, they will cast them. But this young king, seeing in himself the inclination of his fleshly nature, minding not to give himself so much as he might take, but rather by resistance to avoid the temptation thereof, besought God that he would send to him some continual sickness, in quenching of that vice, whereby he might be more profitable to the public business of the commonwealth, and more apt to serve God in his calling.

Moreover, to behold the bountiful goodness joined with like prudence in this man, in the ordering and disposing his riches and rents, it is not unworthily to be recited how he divided his goods in two equal parts; the one appertaining to uses secular, the other to uses spiritual or ecclesiastical. Of the which two principal parts the first he divided into three portions: the first to the behoof of his house and family; the second upon the workmen and builders of his new works, whereof he had great delight and cunning; the third upon strangers. Likewise the other second half upon spiritual uses he did thus divide in four portions: one to the relieving of the poor; another to the monasteries; the third portion to the schools of Oxford, for the maintaining of good letters; the fourth be sent to foreign churches without the realm. This also is left in stories written to his commendation for his great tolerance and sufferance, that when he had builded the new monastery at Winchester, and afterward his son Edward had purchased of the bishop and the chapter a sufficient piece of ground for certain offices to be adjoined unto the same, and had given for every foot of ground *marcam auri pleni pendens*, (which was, as I think, a mark of gold or more,) yet Alfred therewithal was not greatly discontented to see his coffers so wasted.

Over and besides, how sparing and frugal he was of time, (as of a thing in this earth most precious,) and how far from all vain pastimes and idleness he was, this doth well declare, which in the story of William de Reg. and other writers is told of him. That he so divided the day and night in three parts, if he were not let by wars and other great business, that eight hours be spent in study and learning, and other eight hours he spent in prayer and almsdeeds, and other eight hours he spent in his natural rest, sustenance of his body, and the needs of the realm. The which order he kept duly by the burning of waxen tapers kept in his closet by certain persons for the same purpose.

How studious he was, and careful of the commonwealth, and maintenance of public tranquillity, his laws most godly set forth and devised by him may declare. Wherein especially by him was provided for the extirpating and abolishing of all theft and thieves out of the realm. Whereby the realm through his vigilant care was brought into such tranquillity, or rather perfection, that in every cross or turning way he made to be set up a golden brooch, at least of silver gilded, through his dominions, and none so hardy neither by day nor night to take it down. And no great marvel therein, if the realm in those days was brought into such an order, and that justice then was so well

ministered, when the king himself was so vigilant in overseeing the doings of his judges and officers. He was a vigilant inquisitor of the doings of his judges, and a strict punisher of their misdoings. He did diligently search out the doings of his officers, and especially of his judges; so that if he knew any of them to err, either through covetousness or unskilfulness, them he removed from their office.

And thus much concerning the valiant acts and noble virtues of this worthy prince, whereunto, although there were no other ornaments adjoining besides, yet sufficient were they alone to set forth a prince worthy excellent commendation. Now besides these other qualities and gifts of God's grace in him above mentioned, remaineth another part of his no little praise and commendation, which is his learning and knowledge of good letters, whereof he not only was excellently expert himself, but also a worthy maintainer of the same through all his dominions, where before no use of grannmar or other sciences was practised in this realm, especially about the west parts of the land, where, through the industry of the king, schools began to be erected and studies to flourish. Although among the Britons, in the town of Chester in South Wales, long before that, in King Arthur's time, as Galfridus writeth, both grammar and philosophy, with other tongues, was then taught. After that some writers record, that in the time of Egbert, king of Kent, this island began to flourish with philosophy. About which time some also think that the university of Grantchester, near to that which now is called Cambridge, began to be founded by Beda; following this conjecture therein, for that Alcuinus, (before mentioned,) which after went to Rome, and from thence to France, in the time of Charles the Great, where he first began the university of Paris, was first trained up in the exercise of studies at the same school of Grantchester. Beda, writing also of Sigebert, king of East Angles, deelaeth how the said Sigebert, returning out of France into England, (according to the examples which he did there see,) ordered and disposed schools of learning, through the means of Felix, then bishop, and placed in them masters and teachers, after the use and manner of the Cantuarits. And yet before these times, moreover, it is thought that there were two schools or universities within the realm; the one Greek, at the town of Greglade, which afterward was called Kirklade; the other for Latin, which place was then called Latinlade, afterward Lethelade, near to Oxford.

But howsoever it chanced that the knowledge and study of good letters, being once planted in this realm, afterward went to decay; yet King Alfred deserveth no little praise for restoring or rather increasing the same. After whose time they have ever since continued, albeit not continually through every age in like perfection. But this we may see, what it is to have a prince learned himself, who, feeling and tasting the price and value of science and knowledge, is thereby not only the more apt to rule, but also to instruct and frame his subjects, from a rude barbarity to a more civil congruency of life, and to a better understanding of things, as we see in this famous prince to happen. Concerning whose first education and bringing up, although it was somewhat late before he entered any letter, yet such was the apt towardness and docility of his nature, that, being a child, he had the Saxon poems (such as were used then in his own tongue) by heart and memory. Who afterwards with years and time grew up in such perfection of learning and knowledge, insomuch that (as mine author saith) *nullus Anglonum fuerit vel intelligendo acutior, vel interpretando elegantior*. The which thing in him the more was to be marvelled, for that he was twelve years of age before he knew any letter. Then his mother, careful and tender over him, having by chance a book in her hand, which he would fain have, promised to give him the same, so that he would learn it. Whereupon he, for greediness of the book, eftsoons learned the letters, having

to his schoolmaster Pleimundus, after bishop of Canterbury. And so daily grew he more and more in knowledge, that at length, as mine author saith, a great part of the Latin library he translated into English, converting to the uses of his citizens a notable prey of foreign ware and merchandise, &c. Of which books by him and through him translated was Orosius, Pastoral Gregoril, the History of Bede, Boetius de Consolatione Philosophiæ. Also a book of his own making and in his own tongue, which in the English speech he called a Hand-book, in Greek called it Enchiridion, in Latin a Manual. Besides the History of Bede translated into the Saxons' tongue, he also himself compiled a story in the same speech, called The Story of Alfred, &c., which both books in the Saxons' tongue I have seen, though the language I do not understand. And as he was learned himself excellently well, so likewise did he inflame all his countrymen to the love of liberal letters, as the words of the story reporteth. He exhorted and stirred his people to the study of learning, some with gifts, some by threats; suffering no man to aspire to any dignity in the court except he were learned. Moreover, another story thus saith, speaking of his nobles: Also his nobles so much he did allure to the embracing of good letters, that they set all their sons to school; or if they had no sons, yet their servants they caused to be learned. Whereby the common proverb may be found not so common as true; Such as is the prince, such be the subjects. He began moreover to translate the Psalter in English, and had almost finished the same, had not death prevented him. In the prologue of the book entitled Pastoral Grego, thus he writeth; declaring the cause why he was so earnest and diligent in translating good books from Latin into English, showing the cause thereof why he so did, as followeth: The cause was, for that innumerable ancient libraries, which were kept in churches, were consumed with fire by the Danes; and that men had rather suffer peril of their life than to follow the exercises of studies; and therefore he thought thereby to provide for the people of the English nation, &c.

It is told of him, both in Polychronicon, Malmesbury, Jornalensis, and other stories more, whereof I have no names, that he, seeing his country (namely, westward) to be so desolate of schools and learning, partly to profit himself, partly to furnish his country and subjects with better knowledge, first sent for Grimbaldus, a learned monk, out of France, to come into England. Also he sent for another learned man out from the parts of Wales, whose name was Asserion, whom he made bishop of Shireborne. Item, out of Mercia he sent for Wenefrithus, bishop of Worcester, to whom he put the Dialogues of Gregory to be translated. But chiefly he used the counsel of Neotus, who then was counted for a holy man, an abbot of a certain monastery in Cornwall. By the advisement of which Neotus he sent for these learned men above recited; and also ordained certain schools of divers arts, first at Oxford, and also franchised the same with many great liberties. Whereof perhaps the school, now called the New College, (first then begun of this Neotus,) might take his name; which afterward peradventure the bishops of Winchester after a larger manner did re-edify and enlarge with greater possessions.

Moreover, among other learned men which were about King Alfred, histories make mention of Johannes Scotus, (a godly divine, and a learned philosopher,) but not that Scotus whom now we call Duns. For that Johannes Scotus came after this many years. This Johannes is described to be of a sharp wit, of great eloquence, and well expert in the Greek tongue, pleasant and merry of nature and conditions, as appeareth by divers his doings and answers. First, he, coming to France out of his own country of Scotland, by reason of the great tumults of war, was there worthily entertained, and for his learning had in great estimation of Carolus Calvus the French king; whom he

commonly and familiarly used ever to have about him, both at table and in chamber. Upon a time, the king sitting at meat, and seeing something (belike in this John Scot) which seemed not very courtly, cast forth a merry word, asking of him what difference there was betwixt a Scot and sot. Whereunto the Scot, sitting over against the king somewhat lower, replied again suddenly, rather than advisedly, (yet merrily,) saying, *Mensa tantum*, that is, The table only; importing thereby himself to be the Scot, and so calling the king a sot by craft. Which word how other princes would have taken of stomach I know not; but this Charles, for the great reverence he bare to his learning, turned it but to a laughter among his nobles, and so let it pass.

Another time the same king, being at dinner, was served with a certain dish of fish, wherein were two great fishes and a little one. After the king had taken thereof his repast, setting down to Johannes Scotus the foresaid fish, to distribute unto the other two clerks, sitting there with him; which were two tall and mighty persons, he himself being but a little man. Johannes taketh the fish, of the which the two great he taketh and carveth to himself; the little fish he reacheth to the other two. The king perceiving his division thus made, reprehended the same. Then Jobannes, whose manner was ever to find out some honest matter to delight the king, answered to him again, proving his division to stand just and equal. For here (saith he) be two great and a little, pointing to the two great fishes and himself; and likewise here again is a little one and two great, pointing to the little fish and two great persons. I pray you, (saith he,) what odds is there, or what distribution can be more equal? Whereat the king with his nobles being much delighted laughed merrily.

At the request of this Charles, surnamed Bald, the French king, this Scotus translated the book of Dionysius, entitled *De Hierarchia*, from Greek into Latin, word for word. He wrote also a book *On the Body and Blood of the Lord*, which was afterward condemned by the pope.

The same Johannes Scotus, moreover, compiled a book of his own, giving it a Greek title, Πηρι φυσικων διαιρεσεων [Greek: *peri physikon daireden*] that is, *Concerning Natural Distinctions*. In which book (as saith my foresaid author) is contained the resolution of many profitable questions; but so that he is thought to follow the Greek church rather than the Latin, and for the same was counted of some to be a heretic, because in that book some things there be which in all points accord not with the Romish religion. Wherefore the pope, writing to the said King Charles of this Scotus, complaineth, as in his own words here followeth:

Relation hath been made unto our apostleship, that a certain man, called Johannes, a Scottishman, hath translated the book of Dionysius the Areopagite, of the names of God, and of the heavenly orders, from Greek into Latin. Which book, according to the custom of the church, ought first to have been approved by our judgment; namely, seeing the said John (albeit he be said to be a man of great learning and science) in time past hath been noted by common rumour to have been a man not of upright or sound doctrine in certain points, &c. For this cause the said Scotus, being constrained to remove from France, came into England, allured (as some testify) by the letters of Alured or Alfred, of whom he was with great favour entertained and conversant a great space about the king, till at length (whether before or after the death of the king it is uncertain) he went to Malmesbury, where he taught certain scholars a few years; by the which scholars at last most im piously he was murdered and slain with their penknives, and so died, as stories say, a martyr, buried at the said monastery of Malmesbury.

King Alfred, having these helps of learned men about him, and no less learned also himself, passed over his time not only to great utility and profit of his subjects, but also to a rare and profitable example of other Christian kings and princes for them to follow. This foresaid Alfred had by his wife, called Ethelwitha, two sons, Edward and Ethelward; and three daughters, Elfleda, Ethelgora, and Ethelguida; whom he set all to their books and study of liberal arts, as my story testifieth. First, Edward his eldest son succeeded him in the kingdom; the second son Ethelward died before his father; Ethelgora, his middle daughter, was made a nun; the other two were married; the one in Merceland, the other to the earl of Flanders. Thus King Alfred, the valiant, virtuous, and learned prince, after he had thus Christianly governed the realm the term of nine and twenty years and six months, departed this life, Nov., and lieth buried at Winchester, A.D. 901. Of whom this I find moreover greatly noted and commended in history, and not here to be forgotten, for the rare example thereof, touching this Alfred, that wheresoever he was, or whithersoever he went, he bare always about him in his bosom or pocket a little book containing the Psalms of David, and certain other orisons of his own collecting. Whereupon he was continually reading or praying whensoever he was otherwise vacant, having leisure thereunto,

In the story of this Alfred, a little above mention was made of Pleimundus, schoolmaster to the said Alfred, and also bishop of Canterbury, succeeding Etheredus, there bishop before him; which Pleimundus governed that see the number of thirty and four years. After Pleimundus succeeded Athelmus, and sat twelve years. After him came Ulfelmus thirteen years. Then followed Odo, a Dane, born in the said see of Canterbury, and governed the same twenty years, being in great favour with King Ethelstan, King Edmund, and Edwin, as in process hereafter, (Christ willing,) as place and order doth require, shall more at large be expressed.

23. King Edward the Elder

After the reign of the famous King Alfred, his son Edward succeeded, surnamed the Elder; where first is to be noted, that before the conquest of the Normans, there were in England three Edwards: first, this Edward the Elder; secondly, Edward the Martyr; third, Edward the Confessor; whereof hereafter (by the grace of Christ) shall follow in order, as place shall give to be declared. This Edward began his reign the year of our Lord 901, and governed the land right valiantly and nobly four and twenty years. In knowledge of good letters, and learning he was not to be compared to his father, otherwise in princely renown, in civil government, and such-like martial prowess, he was nothing inferior, but rather excelled him; through whose valiant acts first the principdom of Wales and kingdom of Scotland, with Constantine, king thereof, were to him subdued. He adjoined moreover to his dominion the country of East Anglia, that is, of Norfolk, Suffolke, and Essex. All Merceland also he recovered, and Northumberland, out of the hands of the Danes. In all his wars he never lightly went without victory. The subjects of his provinces and dominions were so inured and hardened in continual practice and feats of war, that when they heard of any enemies coming, (never tarrying for any bidding from the king or from his dukes,) straightways they encountered with them, both in number and in knowledge of the order of war excelling always their adversaries. So was the coming and assaulting of their enemies to the people and common soldiers but a trifle, and to the king only derision. Among other adversaries which were busy, rather than wise, in assailing this king, was one called Clito Ethelwoldus. a young man, King Edward's uncle's son, who first occupying the town of Winborne, (taking thence a nun with him, whom then he had married,) fled by night to Northumberland, to adjoin himself unto the Danes, who was made chief king and captain over them. Then, chased from thence, he fled over into France; but shortly, returning again into England, he landed in East England, where the said Clito, with a company of Danes of that country gathered to him, destroyed and pillaged much of the country about Crekinford and Crikeland. And so passing over Thames, after he had spoiled the land there to Bradenstocke, returned again to Norfolk and Suffolke, where he, meeting with an ambushment of Kentishmen, which dragged and tarried after the main host of Edward, contrary to his commandment, enclosed them in, and slew the most part of them. Soon after the two hosts, meeting together between the two ditches of St. Edmund's land, after a long fight, Clito with many of the Danes were slain, and the remnant were constrained to seek for peace, which upon certain conditions and under a tribute was to them granted.

In process, about the twelfth year of his reign, the Danes repenting them of their covenants, and minding to break the same, assembled a host, and met with the king in Staffordshire, at a place called Totenhall, and soon after at Wodnefield, at which two places the king slew two kings, two earls, and many thousands of Danes that occupied the country of Northumberland.

Thus the importunate rage of the Danes being assuaged, King Edward having now some leisure given from wars to other studies, gave his mind to the building or repairing of cities, towns, and castles, that by the Danes were razed, shattered, and broken. As first of Chester, which city he double enlarged to that it was before, compassing the castle within the walls of the same, which before stood without. That done, the king builded a strong castle at Hereford, in the edge of Wales. Also, for the

strengthening of the country, he made a castle at the mouth of the water of Aven, and an other castle at Buckingham, and the third fast thereby upon the river of Ouse. Moreover, he builded or re-edified the towns of Tocester and Wigmore, and destroyed the castle that the Danes had made at Demesford. Likewise upon the river of Trent, against the old town of Nottingham, he builded a new town on the south side, and made a bridge over the river between the said two towns. Also by the river of Merce he builded a city or town in the north end of Mercia, and named it Thilwall, and after repaired the city of Manchester, that sore was defaced with wars of the Danes.

In this renewing and building of towns and castles, for the more fortifying of his realm, his sister Elfleda, daughter of King Alfred, and married to the duke of Mercia, (as is afore mentioned,) was no small helper. Of this Elfleda it is firmly of writers affirmed, that she being (as is said) married to Ethelred, duke of Mercia, after she had once assayed the pains of women in travailing with her child, so much she abhorred ever after the embracing of her husband, that it seemed to her (she said) not seemly for a noblewoman to use such fleshly liking, whereof so great sorrow and travail should ensue. And yet, notwithstanding, the same Elfleda, for all her delicate tenderness in eschewing the natural passion which necessity giveth to women, was so hardy in warlike dangers which nature giveth not to women, that, fighting against the Danes, (so venturous she was of stomach,) four of her next knights, which were guardians of her body, were slain fast by her. This Elfleda, among her other noble acts, whereby she deserved praise, was a great helper and stirrer up of her brother Edward, who builded and newly repaired many castles and towns, as Tamworth, besides Litchfield, Stafford, Warwike, Shrewesbury, Watrisbury, Eldsbury, besides Chester in the forest now destroyed. Also in the north end of Mercia, upon the river of Merce, a castle called Rimcorne; also a bridge over Severne, named Brimmisbury bridge.

As touching the laws and statutes of this Edward, as also of his father Alfred, made before him, I omit here to record them for length of matter and waste of time; yet, notwithstanding, this admonition by the way I thing good to note, that in those days of these ancient kings reigning in England, the authority then both of conferring bishoprics and spiritual promotions, and also of prescribing laws as well to the churchmen as to the laity, and of ordering and intermeddling in matters merely spiritual, was then in the hands of kings ruling in the land, and not only in the hand of the pope, as appeareth by the laws of Alfred.

By the laws and other such-like constitutions of King Alfred it appears, that the governance and direction of the church in those days depended not upon Monsieur le Pope of Rome, but upon the kings which here in their time (under the Lord) did govern the land. To this also the example of King Edward's time gives testimony; which Edward, with Picimundus, (above mentioned,) archbishop of Canterbury, and with other bishops in a synod assembled, assigned and elected seven bishops in seven metropolitan churches of the realm. Which were, the first Fridelstan, the second Adelstan, the third Werstan, the fourth Adelelme, the fifth Edulfus, the sixth Dernegus, the seventh Kenulphus; in which election the king's authority seemed then alone to be sufficient, &c.

This Edward (as in the beginning was said) reigned twenty-four years, who had three wives, Egwin, Elfled, and Ethelwid. Of Egwin he had his eldest son, Adelstan, who next succeeded in the kingdom, and a daughter, married after to the duke of Northumberland. Of Elfled he received two sons, to wit, Ethelwald and Edwin, and six daughters. Ethelwald was excellently well seen in all knowledge of learning, much

resembling both in countenance and conditions his grandfather Alfred, and died soon after his father. Of his six daughters, two of them, Elfled and Ethelhilda, were made nuns, the other four were married; Edgina to Charles the French king in his father's time; Ethilda, by King Ethelstan, was married to Hugo, the son of Duke Robert. Edgitha and Algina were both sent to Henricus, prince of Almains. Of which two sisters, the second the said Henricus married to his son Otho, who was the first emperor of the Almains. The other sister, which was Edgitha, the foresaid Henricus married unto a certain duke, about the border of the Alps in Italy. Of his third wife, Ethelwid, he received two sons, Edmund and Edred, which both reigned after Adelstan; and two daughters, Egburga, whom he made a nun, and Eadguina, who was married unto Ludo vicus, prince of Aquitania in France. These sons and daughters King Edward thus brought up: his daughters he set to spinning, and to the needle; his sons he set to the study of learning, to the end, that they, being at first made philosophers, should be the more expert thereby to govern the commonwealth.

24. King Ethelstan

Ethelstan, or Adelstan, after the death of Edward his father, began his reign in England, and was crowned at Kingston. He was a prince of worthy memory, valiant and wise in all his acts, nothing inferior unto his father Edward; in like worldly renown of civil government, joined with much prosperous success, in reducing this realm under the subjection of one monarchy. For he both expelled the Danes, subdued the Scots, and quieted the Welchmen, as well in North Wales as also in Cornwall. The first enemy against this Ethelstan was one Elfredus, who, with a faction of seditious persons, conspiring against the said Ethelstan at Winchester, incontinently, after the death of his father, went about to put out his eyes. Notwithstanding, the king escaping that danger, through the help of God, was at that time delivered. Elfred upon the same being accused, fled to Rome, there before the pope to purge himself by his oath. Who being brought to the church of St. Peter, and there swearing (or rather forswearing) himself to be clear, which indeed was guilty thereof, suddenly upon his oath fell down; and so being brought to the English house in Rome, within three days after departed. The pope sending word unto King Ethelstan, whether he would have the said Elfred buried among Christians or no? at length, through the persuasions of his friends and kinsfolks, it was concluded that he should be buried in Christian burial. This story, although I find it in no other writers mentioned, but only in the Chronicles of Guliel. lib. de Regib., yet forsomuch as it beareth the witness and words of the king himself, as testified in an old deed of gift, given to the monastery of Malmesbury, I thought the same the more to be of credit.

In the second year of the reign of King Ethelstan, for a unity and a peace to be had between the king and the Danes of Northumberland, he married to Sithericus, their king, his sister, whereof mention is made before; but shortly after, within one year, this Sithericus died. After whose death King Ethelstan seized that province into his own hands, putting out the son of the foresaid Sithericus, called Alanus, who with his brother Godfridus fled, the one into Ireland, the other unto Constantine, king of the Scots. And when he had thus accorded with the Danes of Northumberland, he shortly made subject unto him Constantine, king of Scots. But the said Constantine conducted himself so lowly to the king, that he restored him to his former dignity, saying that it was more honour to make a king than to be a king.

Not long after the said Constantine, king of Scots, did break covenant with King Ethelstan; wherefore he assembled his knights, and made towards Scotland, where he, subduing his enemies, and bringing them again unto due subjection, turned into England with victory. Here, by the way, in some story writers (who, forgetting the office of historians, seem to play the poets) is written and recorded for a marvel, that the said Ethelstan, returning out of Scotland into England, came to York, and so into the church of St. John of Beverley, to redeem his knife, which before he had left there for a pledge at his going forth. In the which place he praying to God, and to St. John of Beverley, that he might leave there some remembrance whereby they that came after might know that the Scots by right should be subdued to the English men, smote with a sword (they say) upon a great hard stone standing near about the castle of Dunbar, that with the stroke thereof the stone was cut a large ell deep (with a lie no less deep also than was the stroke in the stone). But of this poetical or fabulous story, albeit Polychronicon, Fabian, Jornalsensis, and others more constantly accord in the same, yet

in Guliel. and Henricus no mention is made at all. But peradventure he that was the inventor first of this tale of the stone was disposed to lie for the whetstone; wherefore in my mind he is worthy to have it.

Of like truth and credit seemeth also to be this that foiloweth, about the same year and time, under the reign of King Ethelstan, being the eighth year of his reign, of one Bristanus, bishop of Winchester, who succeeded Frichstanus in the same see, and governed that bishopric four years. This Bristanus, being a devout bishop in prayer and contemplation, used much among his solitary walks to frequent late the churchyard, praying for the souls there, and all Christian souls departed. Upon a time the said Bristanus, after his wonted manner, proceeding in his devotions, when he had done, came to *Requiescant in pace*. Whereunto suddenly a great multitude of souls, answering together with one voice, said, Amen. Of this miracle, albeit I have not much to say, (hasting to other matters,) yet this question would I ask of some indifferent papist, which were not wilful, but of ignorance deceived; Whether this multitude which here answered Amen, were the souls of them buried in the churchyard or not? If yea, then how were they in purgatory what time they were heard in that place answering Amen? except we should think purgatory to be in the churchyard at Winchester, where the souls were heard then so many answering and praying, Amen. And yet this story is testified by the accord of writers of that time, Guilel., Polyebtron., Hovedenus, Jornalensis, and others more. Much like miracles and prophecies also we read of Elphegus which succeeded him; but because we haste to other things let these fables pass.

Ye heard a little before how King Ethelstan, after the death of Sithericus, king of Northumberland, seized that land or province into his own hand, and put out his son Alanus; who after, flying into Scotland, married one of the daughters of Constantine king of Scots. By whose stirring and exhortation he gathered a company of Danes, Scots, and others, and entered the mouth of Humber with a strong navy of six hundred and fifteen ships.

Whereof King Ethelstan, with his brother Edmund, having knowledge, prepared his army, and at length joined in fight with him and his people at a place called Brimambruch, or Brimford; where he, fighting with them from morning till evening, after a terrible slaughter on both sides (as the like hath not been seen lightly in England) had the victory. In the which battle were slain five small and under-kings, with Constantine king of Scots, and twelve dukes, with the most part of all the strangers which at that time they gathered to them. Here also our writers put in another miracle in this battle, how King Ethelstan's sword miraculously fell into his sheath, through the prayer of Odo, then archbishop of Canterbury.

After this victory thus obtained of the Danes and Scots, King Ethelstan also subdued (or at least quieted) the North Britons, whom he conventing together at Hertford, (or thereabouts,) forced them to grant unto him, as a yearly tribute, twenty pounds of gold, three hundred pounds of silver, and of heads of neat five and twenty hundred, with hawks and dogs, to a certain number. This done, he went to Exeter, and there likewise subduing the South Britons about Exeter and Cornwall, repaired the walls of Exeter with sufficient strength, and so returned.

Among these victorious and noble acts of this king, one blot there is of him written and noted, wherein he is as much worthy to be reprehended as in the other before to be commended, (that is,) the innocent death and murder of his brother Edwin. The occasion thereof was this. King Edward afore named, their father, in the

time of his youth, coming by a certain village or grange where he had been nursed and brought up of a child, thought of courtesy to go to see how his nurse did, where he, entering into the house, espied a certain young damsel, beautiful, and right seemly attired, Egwina by name. This Egwina before, being a poor man's daughter, had a vision by night, that of her body sprang such a bright light of the moon, that the brightness thereof gave light to the realm of England; by reason whereof she was taken into the foresaid house, and daintily brought up instead of their own daughter, for hope of some commodity to ensue thereby, as afterward it came to pass. For King Edward, (as is declared,) coming into the house, and ravished with the beauty of the maiden, begat of her the same night this Ethelstan. Wherefore the said Ethelstan, being thus basely born of Egwina, the first wife to Edward, (as is said,) before he was married to her, and fearing his next brother Edwin, which was rightly born, (especially being stirred thereunto through the sinister suggestion of his butler,) did cast such displeasure to the foresaid Edwin his brother, being yet but young, that (notwithstanding his innocent submission and purgation made against his accusers) he caused him to be set in an old rotten boat in the broad sea, (only with one esquire with him,) without any tackling or other provision to the same. Where the young; and tender prince, being dismayed with the rage of winds and of the floods, and now weary of his life, cast himself overboard into the sea, and so was drowned. Notwithstanding the esquire shifting for himself as he could, and recovering the body of his master, brought it to Sandwich, where it was buried.



The death of Edwin

Which done, the king afterwards, coming to the remembrance of himself, was stricken with great repentance the space of seven years together, and at length was revenged of him that was the accuser of his brother. This accuser (as is said) was the king's cup-bearer, who (as God the righteous Judge of all things would have it) upon a certain solemn feast, bearing the cup unto the king, chanced in the middle of the floor to stumble with one foot, helping and recovering himself with the other, saying in these words Thus one brother (as you see) helpeth another. These words being thus

spoken in the hearing of the king, so moved his mind, that forthwith he commanded the false accuser of his brother to be had out to execution. Whose just recompence I would wish to be a warning to all men, what it is to sow discord between brother and brother.

King Ethelstan (besides his seven years' lamentation for this act) builded the two monasteries of Midleton and of Michlenes for his brother's sake, or (as the stories say) for his soul. Whereby it may appear what was the cause most special in those days of building monasteries, to wit, for releasing the sins both of them departed and them alive; which cause, how it standeth with the grace and verity of Christ's gospel, and of his passion, let the Christian reader try and examine with himself. This cruel fact of the king towards Edwin caused him afterward to be more tender and careful towards his other brethren and sisters left in his hands unmarried. Which sisters, as is partly in the chapter before declared, he richly bestowed in great marriages; as one to the king of Northumberland, Sithericus; another he gave unto Lewis, king of Aquitania; the third to Henricus, duke of Almaine, for his son Otho, who was the first emperor of the Germans. Whereby it is to be understood that the empire at this time began first to be translated from France (where it remained about one hundred years and a half) unto Germany, where it hath ever since continued.

The fourth of his sisters being a virgin of singular beauty, Hugo the French king required to be given unto him, sending to King Ethelstan precious and sumptuous presents, such as were not before seen in England. Among the which presents and gifts, besides the rare odours of sundry savours and fine spices; and besides the precious and costly gems, namely, of smaragds of most redolent green; besides also many and great coursers and palfrey richly trapped; especially of one jewel, (as writers make mention,) which was a certain vessel finely and subtilly made of the precious stone onychinus, so radiantly wrought, that in it appeared the lively corn growing, and men's images walking, &c. Over and besides was sent also the sword of Constantine the Great, with the name of the possessor written in golden letters; where in the haft of the same, all beaten in gold, was one of the iron nails wherewith our Saviour on the cross was nailed, of the verity whereof I am not disposed at this present much to say what I suspect; but that this in the ecclesiastical story of Eusebius is evident, that two of the foresaid nails of Christ were spent on the bridle of Constantine, the third he cast into the sea in a raging tempest. Wherefore, if Christ were nailed with four nails, perhaps this nail might be one. If he were nailed but with three, I see not how this story can stand with other stories, neither how this fourth nail can stand with the truth. Among the rest moreover was the spear (as is reported) wherewith the side of our Saviour was opened, which also the said Constantine was wont to carry in the field against his enemies, with a portion likewise of the holy cross enclosed in crystal; also a part of the crown of thorn in like manner enclosed, &c. Of the which relics part was given to Winchester, part to the church of Malmesbury, where King Ethelstan was buried. As this king was endued and enlarged by the gift of God (the setter up and disposer of all kings) with great victories of worldly renown, having under his subjection both Scots and Britons, and the whole monarchy of the land; so he devised divers good and wholesome laws for the government of the same, as well concerning the state of the orders ecclesiastical, as also of the secular or lay people. Whereby it is to be understood, that the usurped power of the bishop of Rome did not then extend itself so largely, nor so proudly to derogate from the authority of kings and princes, but that every one in his own dominion had (under God, and not under the pope) the doing of all matters within the same his dominion contained, whether they were causes

temporal or spiritual, as by the decrees and constitutions of this king (and also of other, as well before him as after him) may evidently be testified.

The said Ethelstan besides prescribed other constitutions also, as touching tithes giving, where he saith and proclaimeth, I Ethelstan, king, charge and command all my officers through my whole realm to give tithes unto God of my proper goods, as well in living cattle as in the corn and fruits of the ground, and that my bishops likewise of their proper goods, and mine aldermen, and my officers and headmen, shall do the same. Item, this I will, that my bishops and other headmen do declare the same to such as be under their subjection, and that to be accomplished at the term of St. John the Baptist. Let us remember what Jacob said unto the Lord, Of all things that thou givest to me I will offer tithes unto the Lord, &c. Also what the Lord saith in the Gospel of St. Matthew, To him that hath it shall be given, and he shall abound. We must also consider how terrible it is written in books, that if we will not offer our tenths, from us nine parts shall be taken away, and only the tenth part shall be left us, &c.

Among his other laws and ordinances, to the number of thirty-five, divers things he comprehended, pertaining as well to the spiritual as also to the temporal jurisdiction.

Out of the laws of this king first sprang up the attachment of thieves, that such as stole above twelve-pence, and were above twelve years old, should not be spared.

And thus much briefly concerning the history of King Ethelstan, and things in his time done; who reigned about the space of sixteen years. And because he died without issue, therefore after him succeeded his brother Edmund, the year of our Lord 940, who reigned six years.

25. King Edmund

Edmund, the son of Edward the Elder by his third wife, (as is declared,) and brother of Ethelstan, being of the age of twenty years, entered his reign, who had by his queen Elgina two sons, Edwin, and Edgarus, surnamed Pacifiens, which both reigned after him as followeth. This Edmund continued his reign six years and a half. By him were expelled the Danes, Scots, Normans, and all foreign enemies out of the land. Such cities and towns which before were in the possession of strangers, as Lincolne, Nottingham, Derby, Stafford, and Leicester, he recovered out of their hands. Thus the realm, being cleared of foreign power for a time, then the king set his study and mind in the redressing and maintaining the state of the church; which all stood then in building of monasteries, and furnishing of churches either with new possessions, or with restoring the old which were taken away before. In the time of this Edmund, this I find in an old written story borrowed of William Cary, a citizen of London, a worthy treasurer of most worthy monuments of antiquity. The name of the author I can not allege, because the book beareth no title, lacking both the beginning and the latter end; but the words thereof faithfully recited be these: In the time of this king, there was a scattering or dispersion made of the monks out of the monastery of Eusham, and canons substituted in their place, through the doing of Athelmus and Ulricus, laymen, and of Osulfus, bishop. &c.

Where, as concerning this matter between monks and others of the clergy, first it is to be understood, that in the realm of England heretofore, before time of Dunstan, the bishops' sees and cathedral churches were replenished with no monks, but with priests and canons, called then clerks, or men of the clergy. After this beginneth to rise a difference or a sect between these two parties in strictness of life and in habit; so that they which lived after a strict rule of holiness were called monks, and professed chastity, that was, to live from wives, (for so was chastity then defined in those blind days,) as though holy matrimony wore no chastity, according as Paphnutius did well define it in the Council of Nice. The other sort, which were no monks, but priests or men of the clergy so called, lived more free from those monkish rules and observances, and were then commonly (or at least lawfully) married, and in their life and habit came nearer to the secular sort of other Christians. By reason whereof great disdain and emulation was among them, insomuch that in many cathedral churches, whereas priests were before, there monks were put in; and, contrary, sometime whereas monks were intruded, there priests and canons again were placed, and monks thrust out; whereof more shall appear here after (by time grace of Christ) when we come to the life of Dunstan. In the mean time, something to satisfy the cogitation of the reader, which peradventure either is ignorant, or else would know of the first coming in of monks into this realm and church of England in the Saxons' time; this is to be noted, according as I find in old chronicles, namely, in time Latin History of Gulielm. de gestis Pontificum Anglorum, recorded touching the same. About this time of King Edmund, or shortly after, when hardness and strictness of life, joined with superstition, was had in veneration, and counted for great holiness; men therefore, either to win public fame with men, or merits with God, gave themselves to lead a strict life, thinking thereby (the stranger their conversation was, and the further from the common trade of vulgar people) the more perfect to be towards God and man. There was at that time (and before that) a monastery in France named Floriake,

after the order and rule of Benedict; from the which monastery did spring a great part of our English monks, who being there professed, and afterward returning into England, did congregate men daily to their profession. And so, partly for strangeness of their rule, partly for outward holiness of their strict life, partly for the opinion of holiness that many had of them, were in great admiration, not only with the rude sort, but with kings and princes, who founded their houses, maintained their rules, and enlarged them with possessions. Among the which order of monks coming from Floriake especially was one Oswaldus, first a monk of Floriake, then bishop of Worcester and York, a great patron and setter up of monkery. Touching the which Oswaldus, William in his book *De Pontific.*, writing of his history, hath these words: It was a common custom at that time among English men, that if any good men were well affected or minded toward religion, they went to the monastery of blessed St. Benedict in France, and there received the habit of a monk, whereupon the first origin of this religion began, &c. But of this Oswald, bishop of York, and Dunstan, bishop of Canterbury, and Ethelwald, bishop of Winchester, how they replenished divers monasteries and cathedral churches with monks, and how they discharged married priests and canons out of their houses, to plant in monks in their cells, more shall be spoken (by the grace of Christ) hereafter. Now let us return again to the matter where we left, of King Edmund; who, besides his noble victories against his enemies, and recovering the cities above expressed into his own hands, did also subdue the province of Cumberland. And after he had put out the eyes of the two sons of Dunmail, king of Cumberland, he committed the governance thereof to Malcolm, king of the Scots, upon promise of his trusty service and obedience, when the king should stand in any need of him. In the time of this king Dunstan was not yet archbishop of Canterbury, but only abbot of Glastenbury; of whom many fabulous narrations pass among the writers, importing more vanity than verity, whereof this is one of the first. What time Edgarus called Pacificus was born, Dunstan being the same time abbot of Glastenbury, (as the monkish fables dream,) heard a voice in the air of certain angels singing after this tenor, and saying, Now peace cometh to the church of England in the time of this child and of our Dunstan, &c. This I thought to recite, that the Christian reader might the better ponder with himself the impudent and abominable fictions of this Romish generation. But of the same mint also they have forged, how the said Dunstan should hear the angels sing the *Kyrie-leson*, used to be sung at even-song in the church. Which is as true as that the harp, hanging in a woman's house, played by itself the tune of the anthem called *Gaudet in cœlis*, &c. What would not these deceivers feign in matters something likely, which in things so absurd and so inconvenient shame not to lie and to forge so impudently and also so manifestly? Through the motion of this Dunstan King Edmund builded and furnished the monastery of Glastenbury, and made the said Dunstan abbot thereof.

Concerning the end and death of this king sundry opinions there be. Alfridus and Marianus say, that while this King Edmund endeavoured himself to save his sewer from the danger of his enemies, which would have slain him at Pulcher church, the king, in parting of the fray, was wounded, and died shortly after. But Gulielmus de Regibus, lib. 2, saith, That the king being at a feast at Pulcher church upon the day of St. Augustine, spied a felon sitting in the hall, named Leof, whom he before for his felony had exiled; and, leaping over the table, did fly upon him, and plucked the thief by the hair of the head to the ground. In which doing the felon with a knife wounded the king to the death, and also with the same knife wounded many other of the king's servants, and at length was all to behewed, and died forthwith.

By the laws of King Edmund (ordained and set forth, as well for the redress of church matters as also of civil regiment) it may appear that the state, both of causes temporal, and likewise spiritual, appertained then to the king's right, (the false pretended usurpation of the bishop of Rome notwithstanding,) as by these laws is to be seen; where he, by the advice of his lords and bishops, did enact and determine concerning the chastity and pure life of ecclesiastical ministers, and such as were in the orders of the church, with the penalties also for them which transgressed the same.

Item, for tithes to be paid for every Christian man, and for the church fees, and alms fees, &c.

Item, for deflouring of women professed, which we call nuns, &c.

Item, for every bishop to see his churches repaired of his own proper charge, and boldly to admonish the king whether the houses of God were well maintained, &c.

Item, for flying into the church for sanctuary, &c. Item, concerning cases and determinations, spousal or matrimonial, &c.

All which constitutions declare what interest kings had in those days in matters, as well ecclesiastical as others, within their dominion; and that not only in disposing the ordinances and rites, such as appertained to the institution of the church, but also in placing and setting bishops in their sees, &c.

In the time of this Edmund was Ulstanus, archbishop of York, and Odo, archbishop of Canterbury; which Odo being a Dane born, (as is before touched,) was promoted to that see by King Ethelstan, for that (as they say) he being first bishop of Wilton, and present with King Ethelstan in the field against Analanus before mentioned, what time the said Ethelstan had lost his sword, he, through his intercession up to heaven, did see a sword from heaven come down into the sheath of the king. Whereof relation being made unto the king by the foresaid bishop, Ethelstan upon the same was so affected towards Odo, that not only he counted him for a patron of his life, but also made him primate of Canterbury after the decease of Ulfelmus. This Odo was the first, from the coming of the Saxons till his time, which was archbishop of Canterbury, being no monk. For all the other before him were of the profession of monks, of whom a great part had been Italians unto Berctualdus. Notwithstanding, this Odo, being also a stranger born, after he was elected into the bishopric, to answer to the old custom of others before him, sailed over into France, and there at Floriake (after the usual manner above mentioned of Englishmen) received the profession and habit of monkish religion, as saith my foresaid author. And like as the said Odo first, being no monk, was made archbishop of Canterbury; so also Olstanus, the same time being bishop of York and of Worcester, differed from divers his predecessors before him in profession and habit; of whom the forenamed author thus writeth in his third book, speaking of Ulstanus: *Qui sanctitate discrepabat et habitu*, that is, He differed in sanctimony and in habit. Whereby it is to be collected, that in those days was a difference in habit and garment, not only between monks and bishops, but also between one bishop and another; albeit what difference it was yet I do not find. But I return again to Odo, who, by the description of his manners, might seem not to be the worst that occupied that place, were it not that our lying histories, feigning false miracles upon him, '(as they do of others,) make him indeed to seem worse than he was. As where they imagine that he should see from heaven a sword fall into the scabbard of King Ethelstan. Item, where he should cover and defend the church of Canterbury with his prayers from rain. And also where he should turn the bread of the

altar (as the writer termeth it) into lively flesh, and from flesh into bread again, to confirm the people, which before doubted in the same. Where note again, good reader, that albeit this miracle were true, as no doubt it is untrue, yet is it to be noted that in those days was a great doubt amongst Englishmen of the popish sacrament, and that transubstantiation was not received into the Christian creed. The like judgment is to be given also of that, where our English writers, testifying of the same Odo, say that he should prophesy long before of Dunstan to be his successor in the church of Canterbury. But to let these fantasies and idle stories pass, this which we find of Odo his own writing is certain, that the said Odo, in the reign of King Edmund, had a synod commenced of the chief prelates and clergy in his time, to whom he directed a pastoral letter.

Odo continued bishop the space of twenty years. After whom Elsinus was elected and ordained by the king to succeed through favour and money; but in going to Rome for the pope's pall, in his journey through the Alps, he decayed and died for cold. Whereupon succeeded Dunstan, as in time and place (by the leave of Christ) followeth to be declared.

This Edmund gave to St. Edmund the martyr before mentioned the town of Bredrichcehworth, which is now called St. Edmundsbury, with great revenues and lands appertaining to the same. But concerning the frivolous miracles which our monkish story writers here feign of this good Edmund, by the way, (or rather out of the way,) I let them pass.

And thus much concerning the reign of King Edmund, who, after he had reigned six years and a half, was slain, as is said, at Pulcherchurch, and buried at Glastenbury of Dunstan; leaving behind him two children, Edwin and Edgar, by his wife Elgina. But because the foresaid children were yet young and under age, therefore Edred, brother to King Edmund, and uncle to the children, governed as protector about the space of nine years and a half, till Edwin the eldest son came to age. This Edred with great moderation and fidelity to the young children behaved himself, during the time of his government. In his time Dunstan was promoted, through the means of Odo the archbishop, from abbot of Glastenbury to be bishop of Worcester, and after of London. By the counsel of this Dunstan, Edred was much ruled, and too much thereto addicted; insomuch that the foresaid Edred is reported in stories to submit himself unto much fond penance and castigations, inflicted to him of the said Dunstan. Such zealous devotion was then in princes, and more blind superstition in bishops. And here again is another miracle as fantastical as the other before, forged of Dunstan. When Edred being sick sent for Dunstan to be his confessor, Dunstan by the way heard a voice declaring to him before, that Edred was already departed, at the declaring whereof Dunstan's horse fell immediately dead under him.

Edwin, the eldest son of King Edmund afore mentioned, after his uncle Edred, began his reign about the year of our Lord 955, being crowned at Kingston by Odo the archbishop of Canterbury. Of this Edwin it is reported of divers writers, that the first day of his coronation, sitting with his lords, he brake suddenly from them, and entered a secret chamber, to the company of a certain woman whom he inordinately retained, (being, as some say, another man's wife,) whose husband he had before slain, as others say, being of his alliance, to the great misliking of his lords, and especially of the clergy. Dunstan was yet but abbot of Glastenbury; who, following the king into the chamber, brought him out by the hand, and accused him to Odo the archbishop, causing him to be separate from the company of the foresaid party; by the which Odo

the king was for his fact suspended out of the church. By reason whereof the king, being with Dunstan displeased, banished him his land, and forced him for a season to fly into Flanders, where he was in the monastery of St. Amandus. About the same season the monastical order of Benedict monks, or black monks, (as they were called,) began to multiply and increase here in England. Insomuch that where beforetime other priests and canons had been placed, there monks were in their rooms set in, and the secular priests (as they then were called, or canons) put out. But King Edwin, for that displeasure he bare to Dunstan, did so vex all the order of the said monks, that in Malmesbury, Glastenbury, and other places more, he thrust out the monks, and set in secular priests in their stead.

Notwithstanding, it was not long but these priests and canons were again removed, and the said monks in their stead restored, both in the foresaid houses, and in divers other churches cathedral besides, as in the next story of King Edgar (Christ willing) shall more at large appear.

In fine, King Edwin being hated, by reason of certain his demeanours, of all his subjects, (especially the Northumbrians and Mercians,) was by them removed from his kingly honour, and his brother Edgar in his stead received; so that the river of Thames divided both their kingdoms. Which Edwin, after he had reigned about the term of four years, departed, leaving no heir of his body. Wherefore the rule of the land fell unto Edgar, his younger brother.

26. King Edgar

Edgar, the second son of Edmund and brother to Edwin, being of the age of sixteen years, began his reign over the realm of England in the year of our Lord 959, but was not crowned till fourteen years after; the causes whereof hereunder follow (Christ willing) to be declared. In the beginning of his reign he called home Dunstan, whom King Edwin before had exiled. Then was Dunstan, which before was abbot of Glastenbury, made bishop of Worcester, and then of London. Not long after, this Odo, the archbishop of Canterbury, deceased, after he had governed that church twenty-four years. After whom Brithilinus, bishop of Winchester, first was elected; but because he was thought not sufficient to furnish that room, Dunstan was ordained archbishop, the other sent home again to his old church. Where note, by the way, how in those days the donation and assigning of ecclesiastical dignities remained in the king's hand, only they set their pall from Rome, as a token of the pope's confirmation. So Dunstan, being by the king made archbishop, took his journey to Rome for his pall of Pope John the Thirteenth, which was about the beginning of the king's reign. Thus Dunstan obtaining his pall, shortly after his return again from Rome, entreateth King Edgar that Oswaldus (who, as is said, was made monk at Floriack, and was nephew to Odo, late bishop of Canterbury) might be promoted to be bishop of Worcester, which thing to him was granted. And not long after, through the means of the said Dunstan, Ethelwoldus, (whom stories do feign to be the great patron of monkery,) first monk at Glastenbury, then abbot of Abendon, was also made bishop of Winchester. Of this Ethelwold Gulielmus recordeth, that what time he was a monk in the house of Glastenbury, the abbot had a vision of him, which was this: How that there appeared to him in his sleep a certain great tree, the branches whereof extended throughout all the four quarters of the realm, which branches were all covered with many little monks' cowls, where in the top of the tree was one great master cowl, which, in spreading itself over the other cowls, enclosed all the rest; which master cowl in the tree top mine author in the interpretation applleth to the life of this Ethelwold. Of such prodigious fantasies our monkish histories be full, and not only our histories of England, but also of the heathen stories of the Gentiles be stuffed with such kind of dreams of much like effect.

Of such a like dream we read of the mother of Ethelstan, how the moon did spring out of her womb, and gave light to all England. Also of King Charles the emperor, how he was led by a thread to see the torments of hell. Likewise of Furceus the hermit, mentioned in the third book of Bede, who saw the joys of heaven, and the four fires that should destroy the world; the one of lying, for breaking our promise made at baptism; the second fire was of the covetous, the third of dissension, the fourth was of the fire of impiety and wrongful dealing. Item, in like sort of the dream of Dunstan and of the same Ethelwold, to whom appeared the three bishops, Bristanus, Birmus, and Swithinus, &c. Of the dream of the mother of this Ethelwold, who, being great with him, did see a golden eagle fly out of her mouth, &c. Of the dream likewise, or the vision, of King Edgar concerning the falling of the two apples, and of the pots, one being full of water, the other empty, &c. Also of King Edward the Confessor, touching the ruin of the land by the conqueror of the Normans, We read also, in the history of Astyages, how he dreamed of Cyrus, and likewise of many other dreams in the books of the monks, and of the ethnic writers. For what cannot either the idle vanity of man's head, or the deception of the lying spirit, work by man, in foreshowing

such earthly events as happen commonly in this present world? But here is a difference to be understood between these earthly dreams, speaking of earthly things and matters of human superstition; and between other spiritual revelations sent by God, touching spiritual matters of the church pertaining to man's salvation, But to our purpose, by this dream, and by the event which followed after, it may appear how and by what means the multitude of monks began first to swarm in the churches of England; that is, in the days of this Edgar, by the means of these three bishops, Dunstan, Ethelwold, and Oswald. Albeit Dunstan was the chiefest ringleader of this race, yet Ethelwold, being now bishop of Winchester, and Oswald bishop of Worcester, were not much behind for their parts. By the instigation and counsel of these three foresaid, King Edgar is recorded in histories to build either new out of the ground, or to re-edify monasteries decayed by the Danes, more than forty. As the house of Ely, Glastenbury, Abbington, Burga by Stamford, Thorney, Ramsey, Wilton, Wenton, Winchcombe, Thamstoke in Devonshire, with divers more. In the setting up and building of the which the foresaid Ethelwold was a great doer and a founder under the king. Moreover, through the motion of this Dunstan and his fellows, King Edgar in divers great houses and cathedral churches, where prebendaries and priests were before, displaced the priests, and set in monks. Whereof we read in the Chronicles of Roger Hoveden, in words and form as followeth: Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, who was then one of the king's council, did urge the king chiefly to expel clerks out of monasteries, and in their rooms to bestow monks and nuns, &c. Thus the secular priests, being put to their choice, whether to change their habit or to leave their rooms, departed out of their houses, giving place for other better men to come in. Then the houses and monasteries of religious men through all the realm went up apace, &c.

After the king's mind was thus persuaded and incited by these bishops to advance monkery, then Oswaldus, bishop of Worcester, and also made archbishop of York after the decease of Oskitellus, (as Hoveden writeth,) having his see in the cathedral church there of St. Peter, began first with fair persuasions to assay the minds of the canons and priests, whether they could be content to change their profession and to be made monks, or no. Which when he saw it would not take effect, he practised this policy with them: Near to the said church of St. Peter, within the churchyard, be erected another church of our Lady, which when he had replenished with monks, there he continually frequented, there he kept, there he sat, and was ever there conversant. By reason whereof the other church was left naked and desolate, and all the people gathered there where the bishop was. The priests seeing themselves to be left and neglected both of the bishop and of the people, to whom nothing remained but shame and contempt, were driven of shame either to relinquish the house, (such as would not enter the monkish profession,) or else to become monks, such as had nothing else to stay upon. After the like superstition (although not after the same subtlety) did Ethelwold also drive out the canons and priests from the new monastery in Winchester, afterward called Hida, and placed his monks. So in Oxford and in Mildune, with divers other places more, the secular priests with their wives were expelled, to give place to monks. The cause whereof is thus pretended in certain story writers, whom I see also Fabian to follow; for that the priests and clerks were thought slack and negligent in their church service, and set in vicars in their stead, while they lived in pleasure, and misspent the patrimony of the church after their own lust. Then King Edgar gave to the vicars the same land which before belonged to the prebendaries; who also not long after showed themselves as negligent as the others. Wherefore King Edgar, (as mine authors write,) by the consent of Pope John the Thirteenth, voided clearly the priests, and ordained there monks. Although certain of

the nobles, and some of the prelates, were therewith not well contented, as in the chapter following may partly appear.

But forsomuch as we have entered into the mention of monks and nuns, and of their profession, which I see so greatly in our monkish stories commended, lest perhaps the simple reader may be deceived thereby, in hearing the name of monks in all histories of time to be such an ancient thing in Christian life, (even from the primitive church after the apostles' time,) both commonly recited and well received, therefore to help the judgment of the ignorant, and to prevent all error herein, it shall not be unprofitable, in following the present occasion here given, (by way of a little digression,) to intermeddle somewhat concerning the original institution of monks, what they were in the old time which were called Monachi, wherein the monks of the primitive time did differ from the monks of the middle time, and from these our monks now of this later age; moreover, wherein all these three do differ from priests, (as we call them,) and from men of the clergy. Wherefore to answer to the superstitious scruple of such, which allege the old antiquity of the name and title of monks, first, I grant the name and order of monks to be of old continuance, during near from the time of three hundred years after Christ. Of whom divers old authors do record, as Augustinus, Hieronymus, Basilus Magnus, who was also himself one of the first institutors and commendators of that superstition, Chrysostomus, Nazianzenus, Euagrius, Sozomenus, Dionysius, and divers others. In the number of these monks (which then were divided into hermits or anchorites, and into Cœnobites) were Antoninus, Paulus, Johannes, with divers other recluses. Among the which was Hierom, Basil, Macharius, Isidorus, Pambus, Nilammon, Simeon, with infinite others, both in Palestina, Syria, Thebaide, Mesopotamia, in Egypt, in Africa, and in Scythia. Insomuch that Cassianus maketh mention of a certain monastery in Thebaide, wherein were above five thousand monks under the government of one abbot. And here also in England mention is made before of Bangor, wherein were two thousand and two hundred monks under one man's ruling, in the year of our Lord 596. Whereby it appeareth that monks were then, and two hundred years before, in the primitive time of the church. But what monks these were is to be considered; such as either by tyranny of persecution were driven into solitary and desert places; or else such as, not constrained of any, but of their own voluntary devotion, (joined with some superstition among, for the love they had unto spiritual contemplation, and for hatred of the wicked world,) withdrew themselves from all company, either having nothing to themselves proper, or else all things common with others. And all these were then nothing else but laymen; of which laymen there were two sundry sorts, one of the vulgar and common people, which only were partakers of the sacraments; the other, in following a monastical kind of life, were called monks, (being nothing but laymen,) leading a more severe and stricter trade of life than the others, as appears from the following words of Augustine, "One thing pertaineth to monks, another thing unto them of the clergy; they of the clergy feed their flock, I am fed," &c. Also the same appeareth likewise by the fourth canon of the Council of Chaleedon, where it is provided that monks should not intermeddle with matters of the church.

By these foresaid authors alleged, it is evident that monks in the former age of the church, albeit they lived a solitary life, yet they were then no other but only laymen, differing from priests, and differing from the other monks which succeeded them afterwards in the middle age of the church, and that in three points: First, they were tied and bound to no prescript form either of diet or apparel, or any thing else, as we may see testified by the words of St. Augustine. And Sozomen, speaking of the

monks of the same time, which in cities had separate mansions from others, saith, Some live in cities, so behaving themselves as seeming nothing worth, and they differed nothing from the multitude, &c. The second point wherein they were discrepant from the later monks was, in that they remained no other but in the order of laymen, (only being of it stricter life than the rest,) and had nothing to do in matters and charges ecclesiastical; which was afterward broken by Pope Boniface the Fourth, as followeth (the Lord willing) to be seen and said. Thirdly, the foresaid monks of that age, albeit the most part of them lived sole and single from wives, yet some of them were married; certes none of them were forbidden or restrained from marriage. Of such as were married speaketh Athanasius; who saith that he knew both monks and bishops married men, and fathers of children, &c.

And yet the said monks of the old time, though they were better then the other which followed them, yet all that notwithstanding, superstition with them and among them began then to creep into the church through the crafty subtlety of Satan, and all for the ignorance of our free justification by faith in Jesus Christ. Examples do declare the vain and prodigious superstition of these monastical sort of men; which examples do not lack, if leisure rather did not lack to bring them in. But two or three shall suffice for many, which I purpose (the Lord willing) here to insert, to the intent the mind of the godly reader may the better consider and understand how shortly after the time of Christ and his apostles the doctrine of Christian justification began to be forgotten, true religion turned to superstition, and the price of Christ's passion to be obscured through the vain opinion of men's merits, &c. A certain abbot named Moses thus testifieth of himself in the collations of Cassianus, that he so afflicted himself with much fasting and watching, that some times for two or three days together, not only he felt no appetite to eat, but also had no remembrance of any meat at all, and by reason thereof was driven also from sleep. Insomuch that he was caused to pray to God but for a little refreshing of sleep to be given him some piece of the night. In the same author mention is made of a certain old man, a hermit, who because he had conceived in himself such a purpose never to eat meat without he had some guest or stranger with him, sometime was constrained to abstain five days together until Sunday, while he came to the church, and there brought some stranger or other home with him.

Two other examples yet more will I add out of the said Cassianus, to declare how the subtlety of Satan, through superstition and false colour of holiness, blindeth the miserable eyes of such, which rather attend men's traditions than the word of God. In the fortieth chapter of the said author, in his book De Gastrimargia, is told of a certain abbot named Joannes, in the desert wilderness of Seythia, who sent two of his novices with figs unto one that was sick in the wilderness eighteen miles off from the church. It chanced these two young novices, missing the way, wandered so long in the wild forest or wilderness, and could not find the cell, that for emptiness and weariness, they waxed faint and tired; and yet rather would they die than taste the figs committed to them to carry, and so did; for shortly after they were found dead, their figs lying whole by them.

Another story he also reciteth of two monastical brethren, who making their progress in the desert of Thebaide, purposed with themselves to take no sustenance but such as the Lord himself should minister unto them. It happened as they were wandering desolate in the desert, and fainting al most for penury, certain Mazises, a kind of people by nature fierce and cruel, notwithstanding being suddenly altered into a new nature of humanity, came forth, and of their own accord offered bread unto

them; which bread the one thankfully received as sent of God; the other, as counting it sent of man, and not of God, refused it, and so for lack perished.

Hereunto might I also annex the story of Mucius, who, to declare his obedience, did not stick at the commandment of his abbot to cast his son into the water, not knowing whether any were appointed there ready to rescue him from drowning; so far were the monks in those days drowned in superstition. What is this but for man's traditions and commandments to transgress the commandment of God, which saith, Thou shalt do no murder, Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God? What man is so blind that seeth not by these, and infinite examples more, what pernicious superstition hath begun by reason of this monkery, almost from the beginning, to creep into the church? Whereat I cannot marvel enough, seeing that age of the church had in it so many learned doctors, who not only did approve and allow these monastical sects of life, but also certain themselves were the authors and institutors of the same, yea, and of men's traditions made the service of God. In number of whom may be reckoned Basilus Magnus, and Nazianzenus, who, with immoderate austerity, did so pluck down themselves, that when they were called to the office of bishops, they were not able to sustain the labour thereof.

After these foresaid monks of that time above rehearsed followed other monks of the middle age of the church, who, as in multitude, so also in superstition increasing, began by little and little from their desolate dens in the vast wilderness to approach more near to great towns, where they had solemn monasteries founded by kings and queens, and king's daughters, and other rich consuls, as is partly before touched, and the causes also touched withal for the which they were first founded. All these impious and erroneous titles and causes we find alleged in stories, as in Malmesburiensis, Jorنالensis, Henricus, and others more, In which histories I also note, that the most part of these aforesaid monasteries were erected first upon some great murder, either by war in the field, or privately committed at home, as shall well appear to them that read their books whom I have alleged. But to return to our monks again, who (as is said) first began to creep from the cold field into warm towns and cloisters, from towns then into cities, and at length from their close cells and cities into cathedral churches, (as here appeareth by this story of King Edgar,) where, not only they did abound in wealth and riches, (especially these monks of our later time,) but much more did swim in superstition and Pharisaical hypocrisy, being yoked and tied in all their doings to certain prescript rules and formal observances; in watching, in sleeping, in eating, in rising, in praying, in walking, in talking, in looking, in tasting, in touching, in handling, in their gestures, in their vestures; every man apparelled not as the proper condition of others would require, nor as the season of the year did serve, but as the coacted rules and order of every sect did enforce them. The number of which sects was infinitely divers; some, after Basilus's rule, went in white; some, after Benet's rule, in black; some Cluniacensis, first set up by Otho in the time of this King Edgar, wearing after the rule of Benet's order; some, after Hierome's rule, leather-girdled, and coped above their white coat; some Gregorians, copper-coloured; some De valle umbrosa, grey monks; some Grandimontenses, wearing a coat of mails upon their bare bodies, with a black cloak thereupon; some Cistercians, who had white rochets on a black coat; some Celestines, all in blue, both cloak, cowl, and cap; some charter monks, wearing haircloth next their bodies; some Flagellants, going barefoot in long white linen shirts, with an open place in the back, where they beat themselves with scourges on the bare skin every day before the people's eyes, till the blood ran down, saying that it was revealed to them by an angel, that in so scourging themselves,

within thirty days and twelve hours they should be made so pure from sin, as they were when they first received baptism; some starved monks; some Jesuits, with a white girdle and russet cowl. Briefly, who can reckon the innumerable sects and disguised orders of their fraternities? some holding of St. Benet, some of St. Hierome, some of St. Basil, some of St. Bernard, some of St. Bridget, some of St. Bruno, some of St. Lewis, as though it were not enough for Christians to hold of Christ onmly. So subject were they to servile rules, that no part of Christian liberty remained among them; so drowned and sunk in superstition, that not only they had lost Christ's religion, but also almost the sense and nature of men. For where men naturally are and ought to be ruled by the discreet government of reason in all outward doings, wherein one rule can serve for all men; the circumstance of time, place, person, and business being so sundry and divers; contrary, among these, no reason, but only the knock of a bell, ruled all their doings; their rising, their sleeping, their praying, their eating. their coming in, their going out, their talking. their silence; and altogether like insensible people. either not having reason to rule themselves, or else as persons ungrateful to God, neither enjoying the benefit of reason created in them, nor yet using the grace of Christ's liberty, whereunto he redeemed them.

Thus thou seest, gentle reader, sufficiently declared what the monks were in the primitive time of the church, and what were the monks of the middle age, and of these our later days of the church. Whereunto join this withal, that where the monks of elder time (as is said) were mere lay men, and no spiritual ministers; afterward Bonifacius the Fourth made a decree, anno 606, that monks might use the office of preaching, of christening, of hearing confessions, and also of absolving them of their sins, &c. So then monks, who in the beginning were but laymen, and no spiritual ministers, forbidden by the general Council of Chalcedon (as is above related) to intermeddle with matters ecclesiastical, afterward, in process of time, did so much encroach upou the office of spiritual ministers, that at length the priests were discharged out of their cathedral churches, and monks set in their places; because that monks in those days, leading a stricter life, and professing chastity, had a greater countenance of holiness among the people than the priests, who then in the days of King Edgar had wives, (at least so many as would,) no law forbidding them to the contrary, till the time of Hildebrand, now called Gregory the Seventh, whereof more shall be said (Christ willing) in the book next following.

And thus much by the way as touching the order and profession of monks. Now to turn in again from whence we digressed, (that is,) to the matter of King Edgar, who following the counsel and leading of Dunstan, and the foresaid Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, was somewhat thereby inclined to superstition; but otherwise of his own nature well given to all virtues and princely acts, worthy of much commendation and famous memory. So excellent was he in justice, and sharp in correction of vices, (as well in his magistrates as other subjects,) that never before his days was less felony by robbers, nor less extortion or bribery by false officers. Such provinces and lordships as were not yet come under the king's subjection he united and adjoined to his dominion; and so made one perfect monarchy of the whole realm of England, with all the islands and borders about the same. Such as were wicked he kept under, he repressed them that were rebels, the godly he maintained, he loved the modest, he was devout to God, and beloved of his subjects, whom he governed in much peace and quietness. And as he was a great seeker of peace, so God did bless him with much abundance of peace and rest from all wars; so that, as the story recordeth of him, he neither tasted of any privy treason among his subjects, nor of any invasion of foreign

enemies. So studious he was of the public profit of his realm, and fruitful in his government, that, as the said story testifieth of him, no year passed in all the time of his reign, wherein he did not some singular and necessary commodity for the commonwealth, &c. A great maintainer he was of religion and learning, not forgetting herein the footsteps of King Alfred, his predecessor. Among his other princely virtues, this chiefly is to be regarded, that whereas other princes commonly in much peace and quietness are wont to grow into a dissolute negligence of life, or oblivion of their charge committed unto them; this king, in continuance of peace, (that notwithstanding,) kept ever with him such a watch and a vigilant severity, joined with a seemly clemency, that I cannot here but recite the witness of our story writers, testifying of his diligent care over the commonwealth: That he would suffer no man, of what degree of nobility soever he were, to dally out his laws without condign punishment, &c. And the same author adds, In all his time there was neither any privy picker nor open thief, but he that, in stealing other men's goods, would venture and suffer (as he was sure) the loss of his own life.

Moreover, as the studious industry of this prince was forward in all other points, so his prudent provision did not lack in this also, in driving out the devouring and ravaging wolves throughout all his land. Wherein he used this policy, in causing Ludwallus, prince or king of Wales, to yield to him yearly by way of tribute three hundred wolves. By means whereof, within the space of four years after, in England and Wales might scantily be found one wolf alive.

This Edgar, among other of his politic deeds, had in readiness three thousand six hundred ships of war to scour the seas in the summer time; whereof one thousand two hundred kept the east seas, as many defended the west side; again, as many were on the south seas, to repulse the invasion of foreign enemies. Moreover, in winter season, the use and manner of this virtuous king was this: during all the time of his life, to ride over the land in progress, searching and inquiring diligently (to use here the words of mine author) how his laws and statutes by him ordained were kept, and that the poor should suffer no prejudice, or be oppressed any manner of ways by the mightier, &c. Briefly, as I see many things in this worthy prince to be commended, so this one thing in him I cannot but lament, to see him, like a phoenix, to fly alone, that of all his posterity so few there be that seek to keep him company. And although I have showed more already of this king than I think will well be followed, yet this more is to be added to the worthiness of his other acts, that whereas, by the multitude of the Danes dwelling in divers places of England, much excessive drinking was used, whereupon ensued drunkenness and many other vices, to the evil example and hurt of his subjects; he therefore, to prevent that evil, ordained certain cups, with pins or nails set in them, adding thereunto a law, that what person drank past the mark at one draught should forfeit a certain penny, whereof one half should fall to the accuser, and the other half to the ruler of the borough or town where the offence was done.

It is reported of this Edgar by divers authors, that about the thirteenth year of his reign, he being at Chester, eight kings, (called in histories *sub reguli*,) to wit, petty kings, or under kings, came and did homage to him. Of whom the first was the king of Scots, called Kinadius, Macolinus of Cumberland, Mackus or Mascusinus, king of Monia, and of divers other islands, and all the kings of Wales, the names of whom were Dufnall, or Dune waldus, Sifresh, Huwall, Jacob, Ulkel, Juchel. All which kings, after they had given there fidelity to Edgar, the next day following (for a pomp or royalt) he entered with these aforesaid kings into the river of Dee; where he, sitting in a boat, took the rule of the helm, and caused these eight kings, every person taking an

oar in his hand, to row him up and down the river to and from the church of St. John unto his palace again, in token that he was master and lord of so many provinces.

And thus ye have heard hitherto, touching the commendation of King Edgar, such reports as the old monkish writers thought to bestow upon him, as upon the great patron of their monkish religion, who had builded so many monasteries for them as were Sundays in the year, (as some say,) or, as Edmer reporteth, but forty and eight.

Now, on the other side, what vices in him were reigning let us likewise consider, according as we find in the said authors described, which most write to his advancement. Whereof the first vice is noted to be cruelty, as well upon others, as namely upon a certain earl, being of his secret council, called Ethelwold. The story is this: Ordgarus, duke of Devonshire, had a certain daughter named Elfrida, whose beauty being highly commended to the king, he being inflamed therewith, sent this foresaid Ethelwold (whom he specially trusted) to the party, to see and to bring him word again; and if her beauty were such as was reported, willing him also to make the match between them. Ethelwold well viewing the party, and seeing her beauty no thing inferior to her fame, and thinking first to serve his own turn, told all things contrary unto the king. Whereupon the king, withdrawing his mind other wise, in the end it came to pass that Ethelwold himself did marry her.

Not long after, the king understanding further by the complaints and rumours of certain how he was prevented and beguiled, set a fair face upon the matter before Ethelwold; and merrily jesting with him, told him how he would come and see his wife, and indeed appointed the day when he would be there. Ethelwold the husband, perceiving this matter to go hardly with him, made haste to his wife, declaring to her the coming of the king, and also opening the whole order of the matter how he had done; desiring her of all love, as she would save his life, to disgrace and deform herself with garments and such attire as the king might take no delighting in her. Elfrida hearing this, what did she, but, contrary to the request of her husband and promise of a wife, against the king's coming, trimmed herself at the glass, and decked her in her best array. Whom when the king beheld, he was not so much enamoured with her as in hatred with her husband, who had so deceived him. Whereupon the king shortly after, making as though he would go to hunt in the forest of Harwood, sent for Ethelwold to come to him under the pretence of hunting, and there ran him through and slew him. After this, the bastard son of Ethelwold coming to him, the king asked him how he liked that hunting; who answered again, that which pleaseth the king ought not to displease him; for the death of which Ethelwold Elfrida afterward builded a monastery of nuns in remission of sins.

Another fault which Malmesbury noteth in him was the coming in of strangers into this land, as Saxons, Flemings, and Danes, whom he with great familiarity retained to the great detriment of the land, as the foresaid story of Malmesbury recordeth, whose words be these: Whereby it happened that divers strangers out of foreign countries, allured by his fame, came into the land, as Saxons, Flemings, and Danes also, all which he retained with great familiarity. The coming of which strangers bred great damage to the realm, and therefore is Edgar justly blamed in stories, &c. With the which reprehension the Saxon stories also do agree.

The third vice to him objected was, his incontinent and lascivious lust in deflouring maids, as first of a duke's daughter being a nun, and a virgin named Wilfrida, or Wilstrud; of which Wilfrida was born Editha, a bastard daughter of Edgar. Also of another certain virgin in the town of Andever, who was privily conveyed into

his bed by this means: The lascivious king coming to Andevar, not far from Winchester, and thinking to have his pleasure of a certain duke's daughter, of whose beauty he heard much speaking, commanded the maid to be brought unto him. The mother of the virgin, grieving to have her daughter made a concubine, secretly by night conveyed to the king's bed, instead of her daughter, another maiden, of beauty and favour not uncomely; who in the morning rising to her work, and so being known of the king what she was, had granted unto her of the king such liberty and freedom, that of a servant she was made mistress both to her master, and also to her mistress.

Another concubine he had also besides these aforesaid, which was Egelfleda, or Efreda, called Candida, the white daughter of Duke Ordmore, (as Guliel. Malmsbur. recordeth,) she being also a professed nun, of whom he begot Edward in bastardy; for the which he was enjoined by Dunstan seven years' penance. After which penance being complete, then he took to him a lawful wife, (as Malmsb. saith,) Elfritha, the mother of Edmund and Ethelred, or otherwise called Egelred, whereof more shall be said (the Lord willing) hereafter.

Over and besides all these vices noted and objected to King Edgar in our monkish story writers, I also observe another no less, or rather greater, vice than the other afore recited, which was, blind superstition and idolatrous monkery brought into the church of Christ, with the wrongful expulsi^on of lawfull married priests out of their houses. Where upon what inconveniences ensued after in this realm, especially in the house of the Lord, I leave it to the consideration of them which have heard of the detestable enormities of those religious votaries; the occasion whereof first and chiefly began in this Edgar, through the instigation of Dunstan and his fellows, who after they had inveigled the king, and had brought him to their purpose, they caused him to call a council of the clergy; where it was enacted that the canons of divers cathedral churches, collegin^{ers}, parsons, vicars, priests, and deacons, with their wives and children, either should give over that kind of life, or else give room to monks, &c. For execution of which decree two principal visitors were appointed, Athelwold or Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, and Oswald, bishop of Worcester, as is partly before touched.

And thus much concerning the history of King Edgar, and of such things as in his time happened in the church; which Edgar, after he had entered into the parts of Britain to subdue the rebellion of the Welchmen, and there had spoiled the country of Glamorgan, and wasted the country of Odo, within ten days after, when he had reigned the space of sixteen years, he died, and was buried at Glastenbury, leaving after him two bastards, to wit, Editha and Edward, and one son lawfully begotten, named Ethelred, or otherwise by corruption called Egelred, for Edmund the elder son died before his father.

You heard before how King Edgar is noted in all stories to be an incontinent liver in deflowering maids and virgins. Of which virgins three notoriously are expressed in authors, to wit, Ulstrude, or Ulfride; the second was the duke's maid at Andevar, near to Winchester; the third was Elfled, mother of Edward, for the which Elfled he was stayed and kept back from his coronation by Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, the space of seven years; and so the said king, beginning his reign in the sixteenth year of his age, being the year of the Lord 959, was crowned at his age one and thirty, A.D. 974, as in the Saxon chronicle of Worcester church may be proved. For the more evident declaration of which matter, concerning the coronation of the king restrained, and the presumptuous behaviour of Dunstan against the king, and his penance by the

said Dunstan enjoined, ye shall hear both Osberne, Malmesburiensis, and other authors speak in their own words as followeth: *Perpetrato itaque in virginem velatam peccato*, &c. After that Dunstan had understanding of the king's offence perpetrated with the professed nun, and that the same was blazed amongst the people, with great ire and passion of mind he came to the king, who seeing the archbishop coming, eftsoons of gentleness arose from his regal seat towards him, to take him by the hand and to give him place. But Dunstan refusing to take him by the hand, and with stern countenance bending his brows, spake after this effect of words (as stories import) unto the king: You that have not feared to corrupt a virgin maid handfast to Christ, presume you to touch the consecrated hands of a bishop? You have defiled the spouse of your Maker, and think you by flattering service to pacify the friend of the bridegroom? No, sir, his friend will not I be which hath Christ to his enemy, &c. The king, terrified with these thundering words of Dunstan, and compuncted with inward repentance of his sin perpetrated, fell down with weeping at the feet of Dunstan; who, after he had raised him up from the ground again, began to utter to him the horribleness of his fact; and finding the king ready to receive whatsoever satisfaction he would lay upon him, enjoined him this penance for seven years' space, as followeth: That he should wear no crown all that space, that he should fast twice in the week, he should distribute his treasure left to him of his ancestors liberally unto the poor, he should build a monastery of nuns at Sbaftsbury; that as he had robbed God of one virgin through his transgression, so should he restore to him many again in times to come, Moreover, he should expel clerks of evil life (meaning such priests as had wives and children) out of churches, and place convents of monks in their room, &c.

It followeth then in the story of Osberne, that when the seven years of the king's penance were expired, Dunstan calling together all the peers of the realm, with bishops, abbots, and other ecclesiastical degrees of the clergy, in the public sight of all the multitude set the crown upon the king's head at Bath, which was the one and thirtieth year of his age, and the thirteenth year of his reign; so that he reigned only but three years crowned king. All the other years besides Dunstan belike ruled the land as he listed. Furthermore, as touching the son of the said Elfled, thus the story writeth: The child also which was gotten of the harlot he baptized in the holy fountain of regeneration, and so giving his name to be called Edward, did adopt him to be his son, &c.

By the which narration of Osbern, agreeing also with the story of the Saxon book above mentioned, is convinced a double untruth or error, either negligently overseen, or of purpose dissembled in our later monkish story writers, as in Malmesbury, Matth. Paris, Matth. Westm., and others besides. Who, to conceal the fault of King Edgar, or to bear with Dunstan's fact, in setting up Edward for the maintenance of their monkish order, first, do falsely affirm, that Editha, the daughter of Ulfride, was born after Edward, and that for her this penance was enjoined to King Edgar. Which neither is nor can be so, as in process hereafter (the Lord willing) shall appear.

Secondly, they are deceived in this, that they affirm King Edgar to have two wives, and that Elfleda, the mother of Edward, was not a professed nun indeed, but dissembled so to be to avoid the violence of the king; whereas, indeed, the truth of the story both giveth her to be a nun, and her son to be base, and she herself never to be married unto the king.

After the death of Edgar, no small trouble arose amongst the lords and bishops for succession of the crown; the principal cause whereof rose upon this occasion, as by the story of Simon of Durham and Roger Hoveden is declared. Immediately after the decease of the king, Alferus, duke of Mercia, and many other nobles which held with Ethelred, the only right heir and lawful son of Edgar, misliking the placing and intruding of regular orders into churches, and the thrusting of the secular priests, with their wives and children, out of their ancient possessions, expelled the abbots and monks, and brought in again the foresaid priests with their wives. Against whom certain other there were on the contrary part that made resistance, as Ethelwin, duke of East Angles, Elfwoldus, his brother, and the Earl Brithnothus, saying in a council together assembled, that they would never suffer the religious monks to be expelled and driven out of the realm, which held up all religion in the land; and thereupon eftsoons levied an army, whereby to defend by force the monasteries, such as were within the precinct of East Anglia.

In this hurly-burly amongst the lords, about the placing of monks and putting out of priests, rose also the contention about the crown, who should be their king; the bishops and such lords as favoured the monks seeking to advance such a king as they knew would incline to their side; so that the lords, thus divided, some of them would have Edward, and some consented upon Egelred the lawful son. Then Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, and Oswald, archbishop of York, with other their fellow bishops, abbots, and divers other lords and dukes, assembled in a council together. In the which council Dunstan, coming in with his cross in his hand, and bringing Edward before the lords, so persuaded them, that in the end Edward, by Dunstan's means, was elected, consecrated, and anointed for their king.

And thus hast thou, good reader, the very truth of this story, according to the writing of authors of most antiquity which lived nearest to that age, as Osbern and others; which Osbern, living in the days of William the Conqueror, wrote this story of Dunstan through the motion of Lanfranc, and allegeth, or rather translateth, the same out of such Saxon stories as were written before his time. Besides which Osbern, we have also for witness hereof Nicholas Trivet, in his English story written in French, and also Joannes Paris in his French story written in the Latin tongue, where he plainly calleth Edward, no lawful son. Whereunto add, moreover, the testimony of Vincentius and Antoninus, who in plain terms likewise report the same.

Now, having laid the foundation for the truth and ground of this matter, let us come to examine how truly our later writers do say, which write that Editha, and not Edward, was the child for whom Dunstan enjoined to the king seven years penance; and also how truly they report Edward to be a lawful heir, and Elfred to be a lawful wife to King Edgar.

For, first, touching Editha, this is confessed by the said writers themselves, that she was of good years at what time Edgar her father was enjoined his penance. After the which seven years of his penance expired, he lived at the most but three years and a half, which seven years and three years and a half do make in all but ten years and a half. But now the said authors themselves do grant, that she was made abbess by her father, he being then alive. And how can this then stand with her legend, which saith that she was not less than fifteen years of age? By which account it must needs fall out, that she could not be so little as five years old before the birth of that child for whom the king did penance.

And thus much touching Editha. Now in like manner to consider of the time of Edward. First, this by all writers is granted, that he was slain in the fifteenth year of his age. Which years do well agree to that child which King Edgar begat in bastardy, and for the which he did his penance; for the more evidence whereof, let us come to the supputation of the years in this sort.

First, the penance of the king after the birth of this child lasted seven years. Then the king after the same lived three years and a half. After whose death Edward reigned other three years and a half, which in all make the full sum of fourteen years. About the count of which age, the said Edward going on his fifteenth year by their own reckoning, was slain.

And thus have ye by manifest demonstration proved by the right casting of the years, after their own grant and reckoning, that Editha, daughter of Ulfride, in no case can be the child which was born after Edward, and for whom the king was enjoined penance; but that Edward rather was born after Editha, and was the child for whom the penance was enjoined, contrary to the opinion commonly received in the church, which for ignorance of the story hath hitherto holden Edward to be a holy martyr, and right heir unto the crown. Which error and opinion how it first sprang, and by whom, albeit it pertain not to my story to discuss, yet were it no hard matter to conjecture.

First, after that Dunstan and Oswald, with other bishops, abbots, and certain lords and dukes of that faction, for the maintenance of monkery, had advanced Edward to be king, against Queen Alfrith, mother of Ethelred, and Alferus, duke of Mercia, and certain other nobles which held the contrary side of the priests against the monks; in process of time the monks that came after to write stories, perceiving Dunstan to be reputed in the Church of Rome for a holy saint, and the said King Edward for a holy martyr, and partly also to bolster up their own religion of monkery so much as they could, to the intent therefore that they might save both the credit of Dunstan and of the king, and especially bearing favour to their own religion, and partly that the reputation of the Church of Rome should not be distained by opening the truth of this matter, either they did not see, or would not confess herein what they knew; but rather thought best to blanch the story, and colourably to hide the simple truth thereof, making the people falsely believe that Elfleda, the mother of Edward, was wife to King Edgar, and Edward to be lawfully born, and also that Editha was born after Edward, and to be the child for which the king was enjoined penance. All which is false, and contrary both to the order of time above declared, and also to the plain words of Malmesbury, which speaking of King Edgar's last concubine, saith in plain words, He had a concubine whom he loved entirely, keeping true faith of his bed to her alone, until the time he married for his lawful wife Elfrid, the daughter of Duke Ordgar, &c. Whereby we have to understand, that whatsoever concubine this was which Malmesbury speaketh of, certain it is that Edgar lived in whoredom till the time he married his lawful wife. Furthermore, and finally to conclude, beside these arguments and allegations above recited, let this also be perpended, how the said Dunstan with his complices, after the killing of King Edward, leaving the right heir of the crown, (which was Ethelred,) went about (as Capgrave and their own legend confesseth) to set up Editha, the other bastard, to possess the crown; but that she, more wise than her brother Edward, refused the same. Whereby what is to be thought of the doings of Dunstan, and what should be the cause why he preferred both Edward and Editha to the crown, rather than the lawful heir, I leave to all indifferent readers thereof to judge.

27. King Edward the Martyr

After that Dunstan and his fellows had thus set up Edward for their king, they were now where they would be, supposing all to be sure on their side, and that they had established the kingdom of monkery for ever, through the help of the young king, and the duke of East Angles, and certain other nobles whom they had drawn to their part. Howbeit this matter passed not so well with them as they hoped. For shortly after the coronation of this young king, Alferus, duke of Mercia, who followed much the deeds of the queen, with other great men, stoutly standing on the contrary side, drove out the monks from the cathedral churches which King Edgar before had set in, and restored again the priests, (as Ranulphus saith,) with their concubines; but in the History of the Library of Jomall I find it plainly expressed, with their wives. The words of the very author be these: Alferus, duke of Mercia, with other great men more, drove out the monks from the great monasteries whom King Edgar had there set in before, and restored again the priests with their wives.

Whereby it doth evidently appear that priests in those days were married, and had their lawful wives. The like before that in King has's time is plain, that bishops then had wives and children, as appeareth by the words of the law then sent forth, extant in the History of the said JornaLensis.

Now to the purpose again of our matter, which is to declare how the duke and nobles of England expelled the monks out of the monasteries after the death of King Edgar; whereof let us hear what the monkish story of the abbey of Crowland recordeth: The monks being expelled out of certain monasteries, the clerks again were brought in, who distributed the manors or farms of the said monasteries to the dukes and lords of the land, that they, being obliged to them, should defend them against the monks. And so were the monks of Evesham thrust out, and the secular clerks placed, and the lands of the church given to the lords; with whom the queen, the king's step-mother, holding the same time, took part also with the said clerks against the king. On the contrary part stood the king and the holy bishops taking part with the monks. Howbeit the lords and peers of the realm, staying upon the favour and power of the queen, triumphed over the monks, &c.

Thus, as much ado there was through all quarters of the realm about the matter among the lords, so arose no less contention between the priests and monks of England. The priests, com plaining to the king and Dunstan, said for themselves that it was uncomely, uncharitable, yea, and unnatural, to put out an old known dweller for a new unknown; and that God was not pleased that that should be taken from the ancient possessor which by God was given him; neither that it could be of any good man accepted, to suffer any such in jury to be done, lest peradventure the same thing wherein he was prejudicial to another might after revert and redound upon himself at length. The monks, on the other side, said for their part, that Christ allowed neither the old dweller nor the newcomer, nor yet looked upon the person, but whoso would take the cross of penance upon him, and follow Christ in virtuous living, should be his disciple.

These and such other were the allegations of the monks, But whether a monk's cowl or a wifeless life make a sufficient title to enter into other men's possessions or no, I refer it to the judgment of the godly. The troublous cares in marriage, the

necessary provision for housekeeping, the virtuous bringing up of children, the daily helping of poverty and bearing of public charges, with other manifest perturbations and cumbrances daily incident unto matrimony, might rather appear to godly wise men to come nearer to the right cross of penance than the easy and loitering idleness of monkery. In the end, upon this controversy was holden a council of bishops and other of the clergy. First, at Reading, or at Winchester, (as Guliel. saith,) where the greater part both of the nobles and commons judged the priests to have great wrong, and sought by all means possible to bring them again to their old possessions and dignities. Jornalensis here maketh rehearsal of an image of the crucifix, or a rood, standing upon the Frater wall where the council was holden. To this rood Dunstan requireth them all to pray, being belike not ignorant of some spiritual provision beforehand. In the midst of their prayer the rood (or else some blind monk behind it in a trunk) through the wall is reported to speak these words: *Absit hoc ut fiat, absit hoc ut fiat: judicastis bene, mutaretis non bene*. In remembrance whereof these verses were written under the rood's feet:

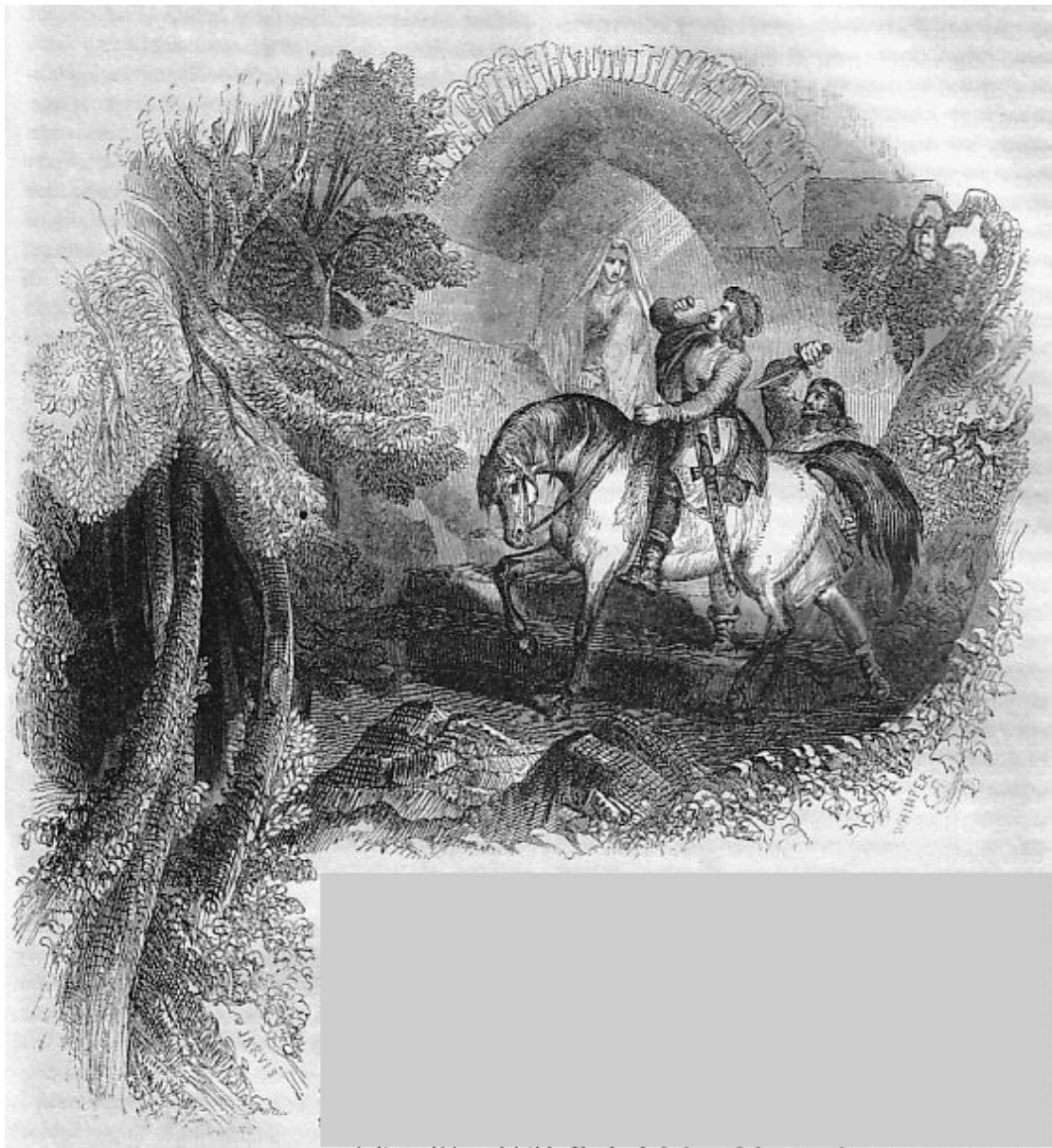
*Humano more crux præsens edidit ore,
Cælitus affata, quæ perspicis hic subarata,
Absit ut hoc fiat, et cætera tunc memorata.*

Of this Dunstanical, or rather Satanical, oracle, Henry maketh no mention, nor Ranulphus, nor yet Hovedenus, nor Fabian, in their histories. Gulielmus in his book *De Regibus* reporteth it, but by hearsay, in these words, saying, *Alia literæ decent, &c.* Wherefore the less it seemeth to be of credit. Albeit if it were of credible truth, yet it proveth in this matter nothing else but Dunstan to be a sorcerer, as Polydor Virgil also himself seemeth to smell something in this matter.

Notwithstanding, for all this yet the strife ceased not; insomuch that a new assembly of the clergy and other was appointed after at a place called the Street of Calve, where the council was kept in an upper loft. In this council many grievous complaints were objected (as Malmesbury saith) against Dunstan; but yet he kept his opinion, and would not there remove from that which he began to maintain. And while they were in great contention and argument which way should be admitted and allowed, (if it be true that in the stories is written,) suddenly the joists of the loft failed, and the people with the nobles fell down, so that certain were slain, and many hurt. But Dunstan (they say, only standing upon a post of the floor which remained unbroken) escaped without danger. Which thing, whether it so happened to portend before the ruin of the realm and of the nobles (as Henry Huntington doth expound it) which after ensued by the Danes, or whether it was so wrought by Dunstan's sorcery, (as was not impossible,) or whether it were a thing but feigned of the monkish writers, and not true; all this I leave to the readers, to think therein what them liketh. The stories say further that upon this the matter ceased, and Dunstan had all his will.

These things thus done at Calve, it happened not long after the same, that King Edward, whom the writers describe to be a virtuous and a meek prince, much pitiful and beneficial to the poor, about the fourth year of his reign came upon a season from hunting in the forest alone, without the company of his servants, to the place in the west country where Alfrith his mother, with her son Egelred, did lie. When the queen the mother was warned of his coming by her men, anon she calleth a servant of hers which was of her special trust, opening to him all her conceived counsel, and showing him all points how and what to do for the accomplishing of her wicked purpose. Which thing so done, she made towards the king, and received him with all courtesy, desiring him to tarry that night; but he in like courtesy excused himself, and for speed

desired to see his brother, and to drink upon his horse sitting, the which was shortly brought.



The Murder of King Edward the Martyr

Now while the cup was at his mouth, the servant of the queen (being informed) struck him in the body with a long two-edged dagger. After the which stroke the king took the horse with the spurs, and ran toward the way where he supposed to meet with his company, but he bled so sore that, with faintness, he fell from his horse, his one foot being in the stirrup. By reason whereof he was drawn of his horse over fields and lands till he came to a place named Corifgate, where he was found dead; and for that neither the manner of his death nor yet he himself was known to be the king, he was buried unhonourably at the town of Warham, where the body remained the space of three years, and then after was taken up by Duke Alfer above mentioned, and with pomp and honour accordingly was removed to the minster of Shaftsbury, and there bestowed in the place called Edwardstow. Many tales run (more perchance than be

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true) concerning the finding and taking up of his body, which our most common histories ascribe to miracles and great wonders wrought about the place where the king was buried. As, first, how a poor woman born blind received her sight by the means of St. Edward, there where he did lie. Also how a pillar of fire from heaven descended over the place of his burial. Then how the foresaid Queen Alfrith, taking her horse to go to the place, was stopped by the way, that neither her horse could be driven by any means, nor she herself on foot was able to approach near to the place where the corpse of St. Edward was. Furthermore, how the said queen, in repentance of her fact, afterward builded two nunneries, one at Amesbury, by Salisbury, the other at Werewell, where she kept herself in continual repentance all the days of her life. And thus, as ye have heard, was this virtuous young King Edward murdered when he had reigned almost four years, leaving no issue behind him, whereby the rule of the land fell to Egelredus, his brother.

But here by the way is to be noted (upon the name of this Edward) that there were three Edwards before the conquest. The first was King Edward the Senior; the second, King Edward the Martyr, which was this king; the third was King Edward called the Confessor, whereof here after shall follow (Christ willing) to be declared.

28. King Egelred or Ethelred, "The Unready"

King Edward thus being murdered, as is aforesaid, the crown fell next to Egelred, his younger brother, and son to King Edgar by the foresaid Queen Alfrith, as we have declared. This Egelred had a long reign given him of God, which dured the term of eight and thirty years, but very unfortunate and full of great miseries; and he himself (by the histories) seemeth to be a prince not of the greatest courage to govern a common wealth. Our English stories writing of him, thus report of his reign, that in the beginning it was ungracious, wretched in the middle, and hateful in the latter end. Of this Egelred it is read, that when Dunstan the archbishop should christen him, as he did hold him over the font, something there happened that pleased not Dunstan, whereupon he sware, By the mother of Christ, he will be a prince untoward and cowardly. I find in William of Malmesbury, that this Egelred, being of the age of ten years, when he heard of his brother Edward to be slain, made such sorrow and weeping for him, that his mother, falling therewith in a rage, took wax candles, (having nothing else at hand,) wherewith she scourged him so sore, (well near till he swooned,) that after the same he could never abide any wax candles to burn before him. After this, about the year of our Lord 981, (the day of his coronation being appointed by the queen the mother, and the nobles,) Dunstan the archbishop of Canterbury, (who first refused so to do,) with Oswald archbishop of York, were enforced to crown the king, and so they did at Kingston. In doing whereof the report of stories goeth, that the said Dunstan should say thus, prophesying, unto the king: that forsomuch as he came to the kingdom by the death of his brother, and through the conspiracy of the wicked conspirators and other English men, they should not be without bloodshedding and sword, till there came a people of an unknown tongue, and should bring them into thralldom, neither should that trespass be cleansed without long vengeance, &c.

Not long after the coronation of this king, a cloud was seen throughout the land, which appeared the one half like blood, and the other half like fire, and changed after into sundry colours, and vanished at the last in the morning. Shortly after the appearance of this cloud, in the third year of his reign, the Danes, arriving in sundry places of the land, first spoiled Southampton, either slaving the inhabitants, or leading them captive away. From thence they went to the Isle of Thanet, then they invaded Chester, from thence they proceeded to Cornwall and Devonshire, and so to Sussex, where in those coasts they did much harm, and so retired to their ships again. Roger Hoveden, writing hereof, saith, that London the same time, or (as Fabian saith) a great part of London, was consumed with fire. About this time fell a variance between the foresaid Egelred and the bishop of Rochester; insomuch that he made war against him, and besieged the city. And notwithstanding that Dunstan required the king, sending him admonishment, to give over for the sake of St. Andrew; yet continued he his siege, till the bishop offered him a hundred pounds of gold; which he received, and so departed. The Danes seeing the discord that then was in the realm, and especially the hatred of the subjects against the king, rose again, and did great harm in divers places of England; insomuch that the king was glad to grant them great sums of money for peace to be had. For the assurance of which peace, Analaffe, captain of the Danes, became a Christian man, and so returned home to his country, and did no more harm. Besides these miseries before recited, a sore sickness of the bloody flux and hot fevers

fell among the people, whereof many died; with a like murrain also among the beasts. Moreover, for lack of justice, many thieves, rioters, and bribers were in the land, with much misery and mischief.

About the eleventh year (some say the ninth year) of this king's reign died Dunstan. After whom succeeded Ethelgarus, or, as Jornalensis writeth, Stilgarus. After him Elfricus, as affirmeth Gulielmus; but, as Polydorus saith, Siricius. After him Elfricus came; but Siricius, after the mind of Gulielmus; but Polydore saith Aluricius, then Elphegus, &c.

About the same time, in the year of our Lord 995, Aldunus, bishop, translated the body of St. Cuthbert from Chester (which first was at a northern island, next at Rochester) to Durelme, or Dunelme. Where upon the bishop's see of Dunelme first began.

Not long after the death of Dunstan, the Danes again entered England in many and sundry places of the land; in such sort, that the king was to seek to which coast he should go first to withstand his enemies. But in conclusion, for the avoiding of more harm, he was compelled to appease them with great sums of money. But when that money was spent, they fell to new robbing of the people, and assailing the land in divers places, not only about the country of Northumberland, but also besieged the city of London at the last. But being from thence repelled by the manhood of the Londoners, they strayed to other countries adjoining, as to Essex, Kent, Sussex, and Hampshire, burning and killing wheresoever they went; so that, for lack of a good head or governor, many things in the land perished. For the king gave himself to the vice of lechery, and polling of his subjects, and disinherited men of their possessions, and caused them to redeem the same again with great sums of money; for he paid great tributes to the Danes yearly, which was called Danegelt. Which tributes so increased, that from the first tribute of ten thousand pounds, it was brought at last in process of five or six years to forty thousand pounds. The which yearly (until the coming of St. Edward, and after) was levied of the subjects of this land.

To this sorrow moreover was joined hunger and penury among the commons, insomuch that every one of them was constrained to pluck and steal from others. So that, what for the pillage of the Danes, and what by inward thieves and bribers, this land was brought into great affliction. Albeit the greatest cause of this affliction (as to me appeareth) is not so much to be imputed to the king as to the dissension among the lords themselves, who then did not agree one with another. But when they assembled in consultation together, either they did draw divers ways; or if any thing were agreed upon any matter of peace between the parties, soon it was broken again; or else if any good thing were devised for the prejudice of the enemy, anon the Danes were warned thereof by some of the same counsel. Of whom the chief doers were Edrike, duke of Mercia, and Alfrike, the admiral or captain of the ships, who betrayed the king's navy to the Danes. Wherefore the king apprehended Alfagarus son of the said Alfrike, put out his eyes, and so did he after to the two sons of Duke Edrike in like manner.

The Danes, thus prevailing more and moreover the Englishmen, grew in such pride and presumption, that when they by strength caused the husbandmen to ear and sow the land, and to do all other vile labour belonging to the house, they would sit at home, holding the wife at their pleasure, with daughter and servant. And when the husbandman came home, he should scantily have of his own, as his servants had; so that the Dane had all at his will and fill, faring of the best, when the owner scantily had his fill of the worst. Thus the common people, being of them oppressed, were in such

fear and dread, that not only they were constrained to suffer them in their doings, but also glad to please them, and called every one of them, in the house where they had rule, Lord Dane. Which word after (in process of time, when the Danes were voided) was, for despite of the Danes, turned of the Englishmen to a name of opprobry, that when one Englishman would rebuke another, he would for the more part call him Lurdane.

And thus hitherto (through the assistance of Christ) we have brought this history to the year of our Lord 1000. During now and continuing these great miseries upon this English nation, the land being brought into great ruin by the grievous tributes of the Danes, and also by sustaining the manifold villanies and injuries, as well by them as by other oppressions within this realm; this year, which was the year of our Saviour 1000, this Egelred, through the counsel of certain his familiars about him, in the one and twentieth year of his reign began a matter, which was occasion, either given by the one, or taken by the other, of a new plague to ensue upon the Saxons, who had driven out the Britons before; that was in joining with the Normans in marriage. For the king this year above said, for the more strength (as he thought) both of him and the realm, married Emma, the daughter of Richard, duke of Normandy. Which Richard was the third duke of the Normans, and the first of that name. By reason of which marriage King Egelred was not a little enhanced in his own mind; and, by presumption thereof, sent secret and strict commissions to the rulers of every town in England, that, upon St. Brice's day, at an hour appointed, the Danes should be suddenly slain. And so it was performed, which turned after to more trouble.

After that tidings came into Denmark of the murder of those Danes, anon after, Swanus, king of Denmark, with a great host and navy, landed in Cornwall; where, by treason of a Norman named Hugh, which by favour of Queen Emma was made earl of Devonshire, the said Swanus took Exeter, and after beat down the walls. From thence, proceeding further into the land, they came to Wilton and Shireborne, where they cruelly spoiled the country, and slew the people. But anon Swanus, hearing that the king was coming to him with the power of his land, took his ships and went round to Northfolke; where, after much wasting of that country, and spoiling the city of Norwich, and burning the town of Thetford, and destroying the country thereabout, at length Duke Uskatell met him and beat him, and slew many of the Danes. Wherefore Swanus for that year returned to Denmark, and there made great provision to re-enter the land again the next year following; and so did, landing at Sandwich about the five and twentieth year of the reign of King Egelred, and there spoiled that country. And as soon as he heard of any host of Englishmen coming toward him, then he took shipping again. So that when the king's army sought to meet him in one coast, then would he suddenly land in another. And when the king provided to meet with him upon the sea, either they would feign to flee, or else they would with gifts blind the admiral of the king's navy. And thus wearied they the Englishmen, and in conclusion brought them into extreme and unspeakable misery. Insomuch that the king was fain to take peace with them, and gave to King Swanus thirty thousand pounds. After which peace thus made, Swanus returned again to Denmark.

But this peace continued not long. For the year next following, King Egelred made Edricus above mentioned duke of Mercia, who was subtle of wit, glossing and eloquent of speech, untrusty, and false to the king and the realm. And soon after one Turkillus (a prince of the Danes) landed in Kent with much people, and there did such harm, that the Kentish men were fain to make peace with great gifts, and so thence departed. But this persecution of the Danes (in one country or other in England) never

ceased, nor the king did ever give to them any notable battle. For when he was disposed to give them battle, this Edricus would ever counsel him to the contrary; so that the Danes ever spoiled and robbed, and waxed rich, and the Englishmen ever poor and bare.

After this, Swanus being in Denmark, and hearing of the increase of his people in England, brake his covenants before made, and with a great army and navy, in most defensible wise appointed, landed in Northumberland, proclaimed himself to be king of this land. Where, after much vexation, when he had subdued the people, and caused the earl with the rulers of the country to swear to him fealty, he passed the river of Trent to Ganishurgh, and to Northwatling Street, and subduing the people there forced them to give him pledges; which pledges he committed with his navy unto Canutus his son to keep, while he went further into the land; and so with a great host came to Mercia, killing and slaying. Then he took by strength Winchester and Oxford, and did there what him liked. That done, he came toward London, and hearing the king was there, passed by the river Thames, and came into Kent, and there besieged Canterbury, where he was resisted the space of twenty days. At length, by treason of a deacon, called Almaricus, (whom the bishop had preserved from death before,) he won it, and took the goods of the people, and fired the city, and tithed the monks of St. Augustine's abbey (that is to mean, they slew nine by cruel torment, and the tenth they kept alive as for their slave). So they slew there of religious men to the number of nine hundred persons; of other men, women, and children, they slew above eight thousand. And, finally, when they had kept the bishop Elphegus in strait prison the space of seven months, because he would not condescend to give unto them three thousand pounds; after many vilanies unto him done, they brought him to Greenwich, and there stoned him to death.

King Egelred, in the mean time, fearing the end of this persecution, sent his wife Emma, with his two sons Alfred and Edward, to the duke of Normandy, with whom also he sent the bishop of London. The Danes proceeded still in their fury and rage, and when they had won a great part of West Saxony, they returned again to London. Whereof the Londoners hearing, sent unto them certain great gifts and pledges. At last the king, about the five and thirtieth year of his reign, was chased unto the Isle of Wight, and with a secret company he spent there a great part of the winter; and, finally, without cattle or comfort, sailed into Normandy to his wife. Swanus being ascertained thereof, (inflamed with pride,) reared exceeding impositions upon the people. And among other he required a great sum of money of St. Edmund's lands, which the people there claiming to be free from kings' tributes, denied to pay. For this Swanus entered the territory of St. Edmund, and wasted and spoiled the country, despising the holy martyr, and menacing also the place of his sepulture. Wherefore the men of that country, fearing his tyranny, fell to prayer and fasting, so that shortly after Swanus died suddenly, crying and yelling among his knights. Some say that he was stricken with the sword of St. Edmund, whereof he died the third day after.

In fear whereof Canutus, his son, which ruled as king after his father, granted them the freedom of all their liberties; and, moreover, ditched the land of the said martyr with a deep ditch, and granted to the inhabitants thereof great freedoms, quitting them from all task or tribute; and after builded a church over the place of his sepulture, and ordained there a house of monks, and endowed them with rich possessions. And after that time it was used, that kings of England, when they were crowned, sent their crowns for an offering to St. Edmund's shrine, and redeemed the same again afterwards with a condign price.

When King Egelred heard of the death of Swanus, he made provision, and returned into England. For whose sudden coming Canutus, being unprovided, fled to Sandwich, and there cutting off the noses and hands of the pledges, which his father left with him, sailed into Denmark; who the next year returned again with a great navy, and landed in the south country. Wherefore the eldest son of King Egelred, called Edmund Ironside, made provision, with the aid of Edrike, duke of Mereia, to meet him. But Edrike, feigning himself sick, came not, but deceived him. For, as it was after proved, Edrike had promised his allegiance to Canutus. By reason whereof Canutus entered the country of West Saxon, and forced the people to be sworn unto him, and to give him pledges. In this season, King Egelred, being at London, was taken with great sickness, and there died, and was buried in the north side of Paul's church, behind the quire, after he had reigned unprosperously thirty and six years; leaving after him his said eldest son Edmund Ironside, and Alfred, and Edward, which which were in Normandy, sent thither before, as is above rehearsed. This Egelred, although he was miserably impugned and vexed of his enemies, yet he, with his council, gave forth wholesome laws, whereof there is one parcel, containing good rules and lessons for all judges and justices to learn and follow.

Of this King Egelred I find noted in the book of Roger Hoveden, that he deposed and deprived from all possessions a certain judge or justicer named Walgeatus, the son of one Leonet, for false judgment and other proud doings, whom, notwithstanding, he loved above all others.

29. Kings Edmund Ironside, Canute and Hardeknout

After the death of Egelred, variance fell between the Englishmen for the election of their king. For the citizens of London, with certain other lords, named Edmund, the eldest son of Egelred, (a young man of lusty and valiant courage,) in martial adventures both hardy and wise, who could very well endure all pains; wherefore he was surnamed Ironside. But the more of the lords favoured Canute the son of Swanus, especially the abbots, bishops, and men of the spirituality, which before had sworn to his father. By means whereof between these two martial princes were fought many great battles, first in Dorsetshire, where Canute was compelled to fly the field. And after that they fought another battle in Worcestershire, so sore that none could tell who had the better, but either for weariness, or for lack of day, they departed one from the other, and on the next morrow fought again; but then Canute was compelled to forsake the field. After this they met in Mercia, and there fought again, where Edmund, (as stories say,) by the treason of that false Edrike duke of Mercia. (whom he before had received to favour,) had the worse. Thus many great conflicts there were between these two princes. But upon a season, when the hosts were ready to join, and a certain time of truce was taken before battle, a knight of the party of Edmund stood up upon a high place, and said these words:

"Daily we die, and none hath the victory; and when the knights be dead on either part, then the dukes compelled by need shall accord, or else they must fight alone. And this kingdom is not sufficient for two men, which sometimes sufficed seven, But if the covetousness of lordship in these twain be so great, that neither can be content to take part and live by the other, nor the one under the other, then let them fight alone that will be lords alone. If all men fight still, at the last all men shall be slain, and none left to be under their lordship, nor able to defend the king that shall be against strange enemies and nations."

These words were so well allowed of both the hosts and princes, that both were content to try the quarrel between them two only. Then the place and time was appointed where they both met in sight of both hosts. And when either had assayed other with sharp swords and strokes, first by the motion of Canute (as some write) hastily they were both agreed, and kissed each other to the comfort of both hosts. And shortly after they agreed upon partition of the land; and after that, during their lives, they loved as brethren. Soon after, a son of wicked Edricus, by the mind (as appeared afterward) of his father, espied when King Edmund was at the draught, and with a spear (some say with a long knife) thrust him into the fundament, whereof the said Edmund shortly after died, after that he had reigned two years. He left behind him two sons, Edmund and Edward, whom Edrike, the wicked duke, after the death of their father, took from their mother, (not knowing yet of the death of Edmund her husband,) and presented them to King Canute, saluting him in these words, *Ave rex solus*. Thus Canute, after the death of Edmund Ironside, was king alone of the whole realm of England, and afterward, by the advice of his council, he sent the foresaid sons of Edmund Ironside to his brother Swanus, king of Sweveland, to be slain, who, abhorring that deed, sent them to Salomon, king of Hungary, where Edmund, being married to the king's daughter, died; Edward was married to Agatha, daughter of his brother Henry the fourth, emperor.

When Canute was stablished in the kingdom, he called a parliament at London, where (among other things there debated) it was propounded to the bishops, barons, and lords of the parliament there present, whether that, in the composition made between Edmund and Canute, any special remembrance was made for the children or brethren of Edmund, for any partition of any part of the land. Whereunto the English lords, falsely flattering the foreign king, and speaking against their own minds, as also against their native country, answered and said, Nay; affirming moreover with an oath (for the king's pleasure) that they to the uttermost of their powers would put off the blood of Edmund in all that they might. By reason of which answer and promise they thought (many of them) to have purchased with the king great favour. But by the just retribution of God it chanced far otherwise. For many of them, or the most part, (such especially as Canute did perceive to be sworn beforetime to Edmund and his heirs, and also considering that they were native Englishmen,) he mistrusted and disdained ever after. Insomuch that some he exiled, a great sort he beheaded, and some by God's punishment died suddenly. Among whom wicked Edrike also, the traitor, (although with his sugared words he continued a while in the king's favour,) at length escaped not condign reward for his deceivable dealing. For (as the history of Jornalensis recordeth) as the king was in his palace beyond Thames, this Edrike, (being belike accused, or else suspected of the king before,) coming unto him, began to reckon up his benefits and labours bestowed for his sake. First, in forsaking and betraying Egelred, then in slaying King Edmund his son, with many such other deeds more, which all for his sake he had done. Well, saith the king, thou hast here rightly judged thyself, and worthily thou shalt die for slaying thy natural prince, and my sworn brother. And so commanded him to be bound immediately hand and foot, and to be thrown into the Thames. Some stories say, that when he had saluted the king with, Hail, king alone, and showed him the slaying of Edmund, Canute (promising that he would make him therefore higher than all the lords of the realm) commanded his head to be stricken off, and to be set upon London bridge, and his body to be cast into the town ditch; and thus with shame ended he his wretched life, as all they commonly do which with like dissimulation seek the destruction of their prince, and of their country.

This Canute (shortly after the death of King Edmund) exiled Edmund by the counsel of Edrike, who was brother unto King Edmund, called Rex runkonnn, The king of churls. But afterward he was reconciled again to the king's favour, and lastly slain by certain of the king's secretaries or servants. Also through the counsel of the said Edrike, and of Emma his wife, he sent the two sons of Edmund Ironside (Edmund and Edward) to his brother Swanus, king of Denmark, to be slain, as is abovesaid.

In this mean time, Swanus king of Denmark, brother to Canute, died. Wherefore that land fell to Canute, which anon after sailed thither, and took thereof possession. And after he had set it in an order, he returned into England, and married Emma, late wife before of Egelred, and by her had a son called Hardeknight, or Hardeknoutus. Moreover, this Canute assembled a parliament at Oxford, where it was agreed that Englishmen and Danes should hold the laws made by King Edgar, because they were thought so good and reasonable above any other laws.

Thus the Danes being in England began by little and little to be Christian men. And Canute went to Rome, and so, returning again to England, governed that land the space of twenty years, leaving after him two sons, Harold and Hardeknoutus; which Hardeknoutus was made king of Denmark in his father's time.

Harold, (called Harefoot for his activity and swiftness,) son to Canute by Elgina his first wife, began his reign over England in the year 1039. Of him is little left in memory, (for he reigned but four years,) save that he banished his step mother Emma, and took her goods and jewels from her.

Hardeknoutus, being king of Denmark, and second son to Canute by his last wife Emma, was next king of England. in the time of these Danish kings, there was one Godwin, an earl, in England, which had been before in great favour with Canute, for his acts done in Denmark against the Norwegians; and afterward married the sister (some say the daughter) of Canute. This Godwin was of a cruel and subtle wit, as he declared no less by the two sons of King Egelred. For when these two aforesaid (whose names were Alfred and Edward) came from Normandy into England, to visit their mother Emma, and brought with them a great company of Normans, this Godwin, (having a daughter called Godith, whom he thought to marry to Edward, and set him up to be king,) to bring his purpose about, used this practice, that is, to persuade King Hardeknout and the lords not to suffer those Normans to be within the realm for jeopardy, but rather to punish them for example; by which means he gat authority to order the matter himself. Wherefore he met them on Guild Down, and there most wretchedly murdered, or rather martyred, the most number of the Normans, and that innocently. For as Swanus before had tithed the monks of Canterbury; so he, with the cruel company of English soldiers, slew nine of the said Normans, and saved the tenth. And yet, passing the fury of Swanus, (as not contented with that tyranny,) he tithed again the said tithe, and slew every tenth knight, and that by cruel torment, as winding their guts out of their bodies, as writeth Ranulphus. And, among others, he put out the eyes of the elder brother Alfredus, and sent him to an abbey of Ely; where he, being fed with bread and water, endured not long after. Of some writers it was recorded, that he was there slain with the forenamed torment, and that Edward was conveyed by some other unto his mother; who, fearing the treason of Godwin, sent him soon over the sea into Normandy again. This cruel fact of Godwin and his men against the innocent Normans, whether it came of himself, or of the king's setting on, seemeth to me to be the cause why the justice of God did shortly after revenge the quarrel of these Normans, in conquering and subduing the English nation by William the Conqueror, and the Normans which came with him. For so just and right it was, that as the Normans, coming with a natural English prince, were murdered of Englishmen; so afterward the Englishmen should be slain and conquered by the Normans, coming with a foreign king, being none of their natural country.

Then it followeth in the story, that this King Canute, or Hardeknout, when he had reigned two years, (being merry at Lambeth,) suddenly was stricken dumb, and fell down to the ground, and within eight days after died without issue of his body; who was the last that reigned in England of the blood of the Danes.

This foresaid Godwin had by the daughter of Canute his wife but one son, which was drowned. Of his second wife he received six sons, to wit, Swanus, Harold, Tostius, Wilmot, Sirth, or Surth, and Leofric, with one daughter called Goditha, which after was married to King Edward the Confessor.

Concerning the story of this Alfred, I find it something otherwise reported in our English chronicles, that it should be after the death of Hardeknout; forsomuch as the earls and barons, after his death, assembled and made a council, that never after any of the Danes' blood should be king of England, for the despite that they had done to Englishmen. For evermore before, if the Englishmen and the Danes had happened to

meet upon a bridge, the Englishmen should not be so hardy to move a foot, but stand still till the Danes were passed forth. And moreover, if the Englishmen had not bowed down their heads to do reverence unto the Danes, they should have been beaten and defiled. For the which despites and villanies they were driven out of the land after the death of Hardeknout; for they had no lord that might maintain them. And after this manner avoided the Danes out of England, that they never came again.

The earls and barons, by their common assent and counsel, sent unto Normandy for these two brethren, Alfred and Edward; intending to crown Alfred the elder brother, and to make him king of England. And to this the earls and barons made their oath; but the Earl Godwin of Westsax (falsely and traitorously) thought to slay these two brethren as soon as they came into England, to the intent that he might make Harold his son king; which son he had by his wife Hardeknout's daughter, that was a Dane. And so this Godwin went privily to Southampton, to meet there with the two brethren at their landing. And thus it fell, that the messengers that went (saith mine author) into Normandy found but only Alfred the elder brother. For Edward his younger brother was gone to Hungary, to speak with his cousin the outlaw, which was Edmund Ironside's son.

When Alfred had heard these messengers, and perceived their tidings, he thanked God, and in all haste sped him to England, arriving at Southampton. There Godwin the false traitor (having knowledge of his coming) welcomed and received him with much joy, pretending to lead him unto London, where the barons waited for to make him king, and so they together passed forth toward London. But when they came to Guild Down, the traitor commanded all his men to slay all that were in Alfred's company which came with him from Normandy; and after that, to take Alfred, and to lead him into the Isle of Ely, where they should put out both his eyes; and so they did. For they slew all the company that were there, to the number of twelve gentlemen, which came with Alfred from Normandy; and after that they took Alfred, and in the Isle of Ely they executed their commission.

That done, they opened his body, took out his bowels, set a stake into the ground, and fastened an end of his bowels thereunto, and with needles of iron they pricked his tender body, thereby causing him to go about the stake till that all his bowels were drawn out. And so died this innocent Alfred or Alured, being the right heir of the crown, through treason of wicked Godwin. When the lords of England heard thereof, and how Alfred, that should have been their king, was put to death through the false traitor Godwin, they were wondrous wroth; and sware between God and them, that he should die a worse death than did Edrike, which betrayed his lord, Edmund Ironside; and would immediately have put him to death, but that the traitor fled thence into Denmark, and there held him four years and more, and lost all his lands in England.

Another Latin story I have, (bearing no name,) which saith that this coming in of Alfred and the Normans was in the time of Harold, Canute's son. And how Godwin (after he pretended great amity to them) suddenly in the night came upon them at Gilford, and after he had tithed the Normans, sent Alfred to Harold at London; who sent him to the Isle of Ely, and caused his eyes to be put out.

And thus much of Canute, and of his sons, Harold and Hardecanute, Besides these two sons, Canute had also a daughter named Gunilda, married to Henricus the emperor. Of whom some write, that she being accused to the emperor of spouse-breach, and having no champion or knight that would fight for her, (after the manner

of that country,) for trial of her cause, a certain little dwarf or boy, whom she brought with her out of England, (stirred up of God,) fought in her cause against a mighty big German of a monstrous greatness, which silly dwarf, cutting by chance the sinews of his leg, after struck him to the ground, and so cut off his head, and saved the life of the queen, if it be true that Gulielmus and Fabianus reporteth.

Of this Canute it is storied, that he following much the superstition of Achelnot, archbishop of Canterbury, went on pilgrimage to Rome, and there founded an hospital for English pilgrims. He gave the pope precious gifts, and burdened the land with a yearly tribute, called the Rome-shot. He shrived the body of Berinus, and gave great lands and ornaments to the cathedral church of Winchester; he builded St. Benet's in Northfolke, which was before an hermitage. Also St. Edmunsbury, which King Athelstan before ordained for a college of priests, he turned to an abbey of monks of St. Benet's order.

Henricus, archdeacon of Huntington, maketh mention of this Canute, as doth also Polydore, that he, after his coming from Rome, walking upon a time by the port of Southampton, but, as Polydore saith, and Fabian affirmeth the same, that it was by the Thames side of London, when his flatterers coming about him, began to exalt him up with high words, calling him a king of all kings, (most mighty,) who had under his subjection both the people, the land, and also the sea: Canute revolving this matter in his mind, (whether for pride of his heart exalted, or whether to try and refel their flattering words,) commanded his chair of state to be brought to the sea side, at what time it should begin to flow. Polydore saith that no seat was brought; but sitting upon his garments, being folded together under him, there charged and commanded the floods, arising and coming towards his feet, that they should touch neither him nor his clothes. But the water, keeping its ordinary course, came nearer and nearer; first to his feet, and so growing higher, began to wash him well-favouredly. Wherewith the king abashed, and partly also afraid, started back, and looking to his lords; Lo, (saith he,) ye call me such a mighty king, and yet can I not command back this little water to stay at my word, hot it is ready to drown me. Wherefore all earthly kings may know that all their powers be but vain, and that none is worthy to have the name of a king but He alone which hath all things subject to the power and authority of his word, which is the Lord of heaven and earth, the Creator above of all things, the Father of our Christ and Lord, who with him for ever is to be glorified; him let us worship and extol for our King for ever. After this, (as histories witness,) he never suffered the crown to come upon his head, but went to Winchester, or (as some say) to Canterbury: but both those may be true; for his going to Canterbury was to acknowledge that there was a Lord much higher and of more power than he himself was, and tlmerewithal to render up his crown for ever. With that, Egelnothus, archbishop of Canterbury, informed him of the image of the crucifix before mentioned, which dissolved the matter between married priests and life of monks, and did many other miracles more, being then at Winchester. Wherewith the king, provoked to go to Winchester to the rood, there resigned up his regal crown, and made the rood king over all the land.

Here is also to be noted in this Canute, that although (as is said) he condescended in the beginning of his reign upon King Edgar's laws; yet after, in process of time, he set forth peculiar laws of his own. Among which divers there be that concern as well causes ecclesiastical as also temporal. Whereby it may appear, that the government of spiritual matters did not depend then of the bishop of Rome; but appertained to the lawful authority of the temporal prince, no less than of matters

and causes temporal. As, for example, by the ordinances of the aforesaid Canute may be well considered.

And here an end of the Danish kings. Now to the English kings again, whose right line cometh in again in Edward here following.

30. King Edward the Confessor

Forsomuch as God of his mercy and providence, who is only the maker of heirs, thought it so good, after the woeful captivity of this English nation, to grant now some respite of deliverance, in taking away the Danish kings without any issue left behind them; who reigning here in England, kept the English people in miserable subjection about the space of eight and twenty years, and from their first landing in the time of King Brightricus wasted and vexed this land the term of 255 years. Now their tyranny here coming to an end, the next election and right of the crown fell (as appertained) to Edward, the younger son of King Egelred and Emma, a mere Englishman; who had been now long banished in Normandy, as is above declared; a man of gentle and soft spirit, more applicable to other men's counsels than able to trust to his own; of nature and condition so given from all war and bloodshed, that being in his banishment, he wished rather to continue all his life long in that private estate, than by war or bloodshed to aspire to any kingdom. This Edward, after the death of Canute the Second, or Hardicanute, being sent for of the lords into Normandy, to take possession of the realm, although he something mistrusted the unconstant and fickle heads of Englishmen, (yet having sufficient pledges laid for him in Normandy,) came over, accompanied with a few Normans, and not long after was crowned at Winchester, in the year 1043, by Edsius, then archbishop of Canterbury. And not long after that he married Goditha, or Edithy, daughter of Earl Godwin, whom he entreated after such sort, that he neither put her from his bed, nor yet dealt with her fleshly. Whether it were for hate of her kin, (as most like it was,) or for love of chastity, it remaineth uncertain. But most writers agree, that he continued his life without offence with women; for the which he is highly exalted among our story writers, and called holy King Edward. After he had thus taken upon him the government of the realm, he guided the same with much wisdom and justice the space of four and twenty years, lacking two months; from whom issued (as out of a fountain) much godliness, mercy, pity, and liberality toward the poor, gentleness and justice toward all men, and in all honest life he gave a virtuous example to his people. He discharged the Englishmen of the great tribute called Danegelt, which beforetime was yearly levied to the great impoverishing of the people. He subdued the Scots and the Welchmen, which in their borders began to rebel against him. In much peace he continued his reign, having no foreign enemy to assault him; albeit, as some chronicles do show, certain Danes and Norwegians there were which intended to set upon England. But as they were taking shipping, there was brought to them first one bowl, then another, of mead, or methe, to drink for a good voyage. Thus one cup coming after another, after drink came drunkenness, after drunkenness followed jangling, of jangling came strife, and strife turned unto stripes; whereby many were slain, and the other returned to their home again. And thus the merciful providence of the Lord despatched that journey.

In the time of this Edward, Emma his mother was accused to be familiar with Alwin the bishop of Winchester; upon which accusation (by counsel of Earl Godwin) he took from her many of her jewels, and caused her to be kept some deal more strictly in the abbey of Warwell, and the bishop committed to the examination of the clergy, Polydore saith they were both in prison at Winchester, where she sorrowing the dishonour both of herself and the bishop, and trusting upon her conscience, desireth

them of justice, offering herself ready to abide any lawful trial, yea, although it were with the sharpest.

Then divers of the bishops made labour to the king for them both, and had obtained, had not Robert, then archbishop of Canterbury, stopped the suit. Who, not well contented with their labour, said unto them, My brethren, how dare you defend her which is no woman, but a beast? She hath defamed her own son the king, and taken her lecherous leman the bishop. And if it be so, that the woman will purge the priest, who shall then purge the woman, that is accused to be consenting to the death of her son Alfred, and procured venom to the poisoning of her son Edward? But whether she be guilty or guiltless, if she will go barefooted for herself four steps, and for the bishop five, continually upon nine ploughshares fire hot, then if she escape harmless, he shall be assoiled of this challenge, and she also.

To this she granted: the day was appointed, at which day the king and a great part of his nobles were present, except only Robert the archbishop. This Robert had been a monk of a house in Normandy, and a helper of the king in his exile; and so, by the sending for of the king, came over, and was made, first bishop of London, after archbishop of Canterbury. Then was she led blindfold unto the place between two men, where the irons lay burning hot, and passed the nine shares unhurt. At last saith she, Good Lord, when shall I come to the place of my purgation? When they then opened her eyes, and she saw that she was past the pain, she kneeled down, giving God thanks.

Then the king repented, (saith the story,) and restored unto her that he had before taken from her, and asked her forgiveness. But the archbishop fled into Normandy.

Near about this time, about the tenth year of his reign, fell passing great snow from the beginning of January to the seventeenth day of March. After which ensued a great mortality of men, murrain of cattle; and by lightning the corn was wonderfully blasted and wasted,

Not long after this, a certain earl of Bologne, who had married King Edward's sister, came into England; through the occasion of whom, when execution should be done upon the citizens of Dover, for a fray between them and the earl's men, variance happened between King Edward and Earl Godwin, who, perceiving that he could not withstand the king's malice, (although he gathered a great company to work therein what he could,) fled into Flanders, and was outlawed with his five sons. King Edward repudiated his wife, the daughter of the said Godwin: but the second year after, by mediators, he was reconciled to the king again, and called from banishment, and for his good bearing he gave for pledges his two sons, Biornon and Tostius, which were sent to the duke of Normandy, there to be kept.

During the time of the outlawry of Godwin, William, bastard duke of Normandy, came with a goodly company into England to see King Edward, and was honourably received. To whom the king made great cheer, and at his return enriched him with great gifts and pleasures; and there (as some write) made promise to him, that if he died without issue, the said William should succeed him in the kingdom of England.

In this king's reign lived Marianus Scotus the story writer. As concerning the end of Earl Godwin, the cruel murderer of Alfred, and of the Normans, although divers histories diversly do vary, yet in this the most part do agree, that as he sat at the table

with King Edward at Windsor, it happened one of the cup-bearers, one of Earl Godwin's sons, to stumble and recover again, so that he shed none of the drink, whereat Godwin laughed, and said how the one brother had sustained the other. With which words the king calling to mind his brother's death that was slain by Godwin, beheld the earl, saying, So should my brother Alfred have holpen me, had not Godwin been. Godwin then, fearing the king's displeasure to be newly kindled, after many words in excusing himself, said, So might I safely swallow this morsel of bread, as I am guiltless of the deed. But as soon as he had received the bread, forthwith he was choked. Then the king commanded him to be drawn from the table, and so was conveyed by Harold his son to Winchester, and there buried.

About the thirteenth year of this king's reign, the said King Edward sent Aldred, bishop of Worcester, to the emperor Henricus the Fourth, praying him that he would send to the king of Hungary, that his cousin Edward, son of Edmund Ironside, might come into England, forsomuch as he intended to make him king after him, which was called Edward outlaw. The which request was fulfilled, so that he came into England with his wife Agatha, and with his children, to wit, Edgar Adeling, Margaret, and Christina. But the year after his return into this realm this Edward deceased at London, and was buried at Winchester, or, as Jornalensis saith, at Paul's church in London. After whose decease the king then received Edgar Adeling his son as his own child, thinking to make him his heir. But fearing partly the unconstant mutability of the Englishmen, partly the pride and malice of Harold the son of Godwin, and of others, (perceiving thereby that he could not bring that his purpose so well to pass,) directed solemn ambassadors unto William duke of Normandy, his kinsman, admitting and assigning him to be his lawful heir, next to succeed after him to the crown.

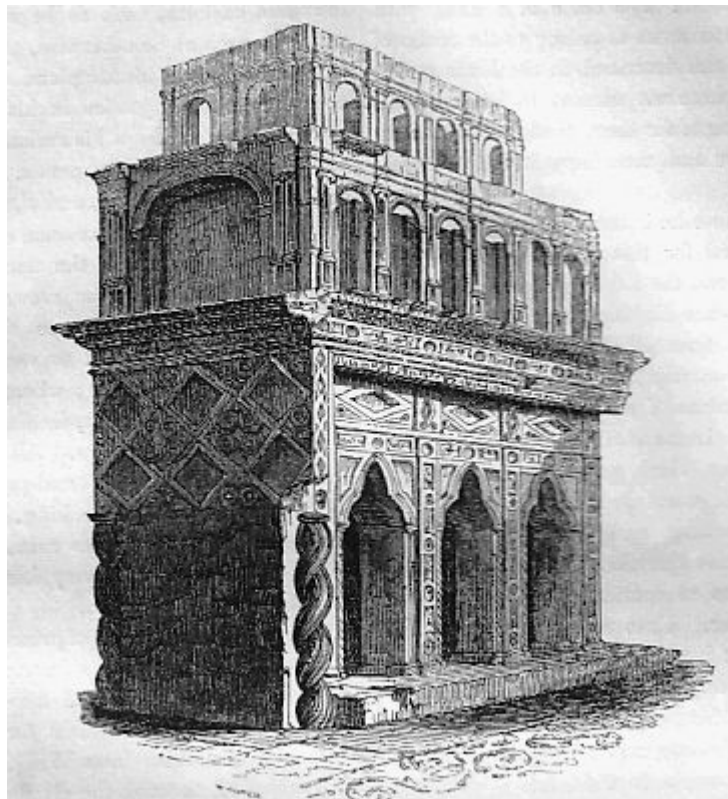
After the death of Godwin, Harold his son waxed so in the king's favour, that he ruled the most and greatest causes of the realm, and was lieutenant of the king's army, who, with his brother Toston, or Tostius, (sent by the king against the Welchmen,) subdued their rebellion. But afterward such envy grew between these two brethren, for that Tostius saw his brother Harold so greatly advanced in the king's favour, that at Hertford the said Tostius slew all his brother's men. Whom, when he had cut in pieces, he powdered their quarters and mangled parts in barrels of salt, vinegar, wine, and other liquors. That done, he made a power against his brother Harold (being king) with the aid of certain Danes and Norwegians, and fought a battle with him in the north, as after shall follow (God willing) to be seen. So ungracious were these wicked children of Earl Godwin, that if they had seen any fair mansion or manor place, they would slay the owner thereof with all his kindred, and enter the possession thereof themselves.

At length it came in the mind of this Harold to sail over the sea (as Polydor saith) unto Normandy, to see his brother Wilnotus, as also his cousin Hacus, whom the king had sent thither to be kept for pledges, as ye heard before. Polydore saith these pledges were Tosto and Biornon; but that cannot be, for Tostius was then in England. But, as Henricus archdeacon of Huntington saith, his journey was into Flanders, as seemeth more like. For it is not to be thought that Harold, who was a doer in the cruel murder of Alfred, and of the Normans, would venture into Normandy; and therefore more like it is that his sailing was into Flanders. But as the story proceedeth, he, being in the course of his sailing, was weather driven by tempest into the province of Pountith, where he was taken as prisoner, and sent to Duke William of Normandy, to whom he was made to swear that he in time following should marry his daughter; and

that, after the death of King Edward, he should keep the land of England to his behoof, according to the will and mind of Edward, (after some writers,) and so to live in great honour and dignity next unto him in the realm. This promise faithfully made to the duke, Harold returneth into England, with his cousin Haco, the son of his brother Swenus, being delivered unto him. But Wilnot, brother of Harold, the duke keepeth still for performance of the covenants. Thus Harold, I say, returning home, sheweth the king all that he had done in the foresaid matters, wherewith the king was well contented. Whereby it may be gathered that King Edward was right well willing that Duke William should reign after him, and also it seemeth not unlike but that he had given him his promise thereunto before.

Among all that were true and trusty to King Edward of the English nobility, none had like commendation, as had Leofric, earl of Mercia and of Chester. This Leofric purchased many great liberties for the town of Coventry, and made it free of all manner of things, except only of horse, which freedom there was obtained by means of his wife Godina, by riding (as the fame goeth) after a strange manner through the town. This Leofricus, with his wife Godina, builded also the abbey of Coventry, and endowed the same with great lands and riches.

You heard a little before of the coming over of Edward called the outlaw, son of King Edmund Ironside, whom King Edward had purposed to have made king after him: but soon after his coming over he deceased at London. This Edward had by his wife Agatha a son and a daughter, called Edgar Adeling, and Margaret. Which Margaret, being afterward married to the king of Scots, was the mother of Matild, or Mawd, the queen of England, and of David, king of Scots, &c.



The Tomb of Edward the Confessor

This virtuous and blessed King Edward, after he had reigned three and twenty years and seven months, died, and was buried in the monastery of Westminster, which he had greatly augmented and repaired; but afterward was more enlarged, after this form which it hath now, by Henry the Third, son of King John.

They that write the history of this king here make mention of a dream or revelation that should be showed to him in time of his sickness; how that because the peers and bishops of the realm were servants, not of God, but of the devil, God would give this realm to the hand of others. And the king desired utterance to be given him, that he might declare the same to the people, whereby they might repent. It was answered again, that neither would they so do; or yet if they did, it should be given to another people. But, because it is a dream, I let it pass.

Divers laws were before in divers countries of this realm used, as the law first of Dunuallo Melmucius, with the laws of Mercia, called Mercenelaga; then the laws of West Saxon kings, as of Jue, Offa, Alfred, &c., which was called West Saxenelaga; the third were the laws of Canute, and of Danes, called Danelaga. Of all these laws, which before were diversly in certain particular countries used and received, this Edward compiled one universal and common law for all people through the whole realm, which were called King Edward's laws; which laws, being gathered out of the best and chiefest of the other laws, were so just, so equal, and so serving the public profit and wealth of all estates, that, mine authors say, the people long after did rebel against their heads and rulers to have the same laws again, (being taken from them,) and yet could not obtain them.

Furthermore, I read and find in Matthew Paris, that when William the Conqueror at his coming in did swear to use and practise the same good laws of Edward, for the common laws of this realm, afterward (being established in his kingdom) he forswore himself, and placed his own laws in their room, much worse and obscurer than the other were, &c.

Notwithstanding, among the said laws of Edward, and in the first chapter and beginning there of, this I find among the ancient records of the Guildhall in London: The office of a king, with such other appurtenances as belong to the realm of Britain, set forth and described in the Latin style which I thought here not unmeet to be expressed in the English tongue for them that understood no Latin. The tenor and meaning whereof thus followeth.

The king, because he is the vicar of the highest King, is appointed for this purpose, to rule this earthly kingdom, and the Lord's people, and above all things to reverence his holy church, to govern it, and to defend it from injuries; to pluck away wicked doers, and utterly to destroy them. Which unless he do, the name of a king agreeth not unto him, but he loseth the name of a king, as witnesseth Pope John; to the which pope Pipinus and Carolus his son (being not yet kings, but princes under the French king, being not very wise) did write demanding this question, whether the kings of France ought so to continue, having but only the name of a king. Unto whom Pope John answered again, that it was convenient to call them kings which vigilantly do defend and govern the church of God and his people, following the saying of King David the psalmograph; He shall not dwell in my house which worketh pride, &c.

Moreover, the king by right and by his office ought to defend and conserve fully and wholly in all amplexness, without diminution, all the lands, honours, dignities, rights, and liberties of the crown of his kingdom. And further, to reduce into their

pristine state all such things as have been dispersed, wasted, and lost, which appertain to his kingdom. Also the whole and universal land, with all islands about the same in Norway and Denmark, be appertaining to the crown of his kingdom, and be of the appurtenances and dignity of the king; making one monarchy and one kingdom, which sometime was called the kingdom of Britain, and now the kingdom of England; such bounds and limits as is above said be appointed and limited to the name of this kingdom.

Moreover, in the foresaid laws of this King Edward, it followeth in the same book, where the foresaid Edward, describing the office of a king, addeth in these words: A king, saith he, ought above all things to fear God, to love and to observe his commandments, and cause them to be observed through his whole kingdom. He ought also to keep, cherish, maintain, and govern the' holy church within his kingdom, with all integrity and liberty, according to the constitutions of his ancestors and predecessors, and to defend the same against all enemies, so that God above all things be honoured, and ever be before his eyes. He ought also to set up good laws and customs, such as be wholesome and approved; such as be otherwise, to repeal them, and thrust them out of his kingdom. Item, he ought to do judgment and justice in his kingdom, by the counsel of the nobles of his realm, All these things ought a king in his own person to do, taking his oath upon the evangelist, and the blessed relics of saints, swearing in the presence of the whole state of his realm (as well of the temporality as of the spirituality) before he be crowned of the archbishops and bishops. Three servants the king ought to have under him as vassals; fleshly lust, avarice, and greedy desire; whom if he keep under as his servants and slaves, he shall reign well and honourably in his kingdom. All things are to be done with good advisement and premeditation; and that properly belongeth to a king. For hasty rashness bringeth all things to ruin, according to the saying of the Gospel, Every kingdom divided in itself shall be desolate, &c.

After the duty and office of princes thus described, consequently followeth the institution of subjects, declared in many good and necessary ordinances very requisite and convenient for public government. Of the which laws William the Conqueror was compelled, through the clamour of the people, to take some, but the most part he omitted, contrary to his own oath at his coronation, inserting and placing the most of his own laws in his language, to serve his purpose; and which as yet to this present day in the Norman language do remain. Now (the Lord willing) let us proceed in the story as in order followeth.

31. King Harold

Harold, the second son of Earl Godwin, and last king of the Saxons, notwithstanding that divers of the nobles went with Edgar Adelung, the next heir after Edmund Ironside; yet he through force and might contemning the young age of Edgar, and forgetting also his promise made to Duke William, took upon him to be king of England, An. 1066. When Harold Harefagar, son of Canaute, king of Norway and Denmark, heard of the death of King Edward, he came into England with three hundred ships or more; who then joining with Tostius, brother to the said Harold, king of England, entered into the north parts, and claimed the land after the death of Edward. But the lords of the country arose, and gave them battle, notwithstanding the Danes had the victory. And therefore Harold, king of England, prepared toward them in all haste, and gave them another strong battle, and there had the victory, where also Harold the Dane was slain by the hand of Harold, king of England; and Tostius was also slain in the battle. After this victory, Harold waxed proud and covetous, and would not divide the prey to his knights that had deserved it, but kept it to himself; where by he lost the favour of many of his knights and people.

In this mean time, William, duke of Normandy, sent embassage to Harold, king of England, admonishing him of the covenants that were agreed between them; which was, to have kept the land to his use after the death of Edward. But because that the daughter of Duke William (that was promised to Harold) was dead, Harold thought him thereby discharged, and said that such a nice foolish promise ought not to be holden (concerning another's land) without the consent of the lords of the same; and especially for that he was thereunto for need or for dread compelled.

Upon these answers received, Duke William, in the mean while that the messengers went and came, gathered his knights, and prepared his navy, and had the assent of the lords of his land to aid and assist him in his journey. And over that, sending unto Rome to Pope Alexander, concerning his title and voyage into England, the pope confirmeth him to the same, and sent unto him a banner, willing him to hear it in the ship wherein himself should sail. Thus Duke William, being provided of all things concerning his journey, sped him to the sea side, and took shipping at the haven of St. Valery. where he tarried a long time ere he might have a convenient wind, for the which his soldiers murmured, saying it was a wilfulness, and a thing displeasing God, to desire to have another man's kingdom by strength, and namely, when God was against it in sending contrary wind, &c. At the last, the wind shortly after came about, and they took shipping with a great company, and landed at Hastings in Sussex.

For three causes Duke William entered this land to subdue Harold. One was, for that it was to him given by King Edward his nephew. The second was to take wreak for the cruel murder of his nephew Alfred, King Edward's brother, and of the Normans. which deed he ascribed chiefly to Harold. The third was, to revenge the wrong done to Robert, archbishop of Canterbury. which was exiled by the means and labour of Harold, in the time of King Edward.

Thus, while Harold was in the north, Duke William made so great speed, that he came to London before the king; out of which he was holden, till he made good surety that he and his people should pass through the city without tarrying; which promise he well observing, passed the bridge, and went over to Sussex, from whence

he sent a monk unto Harold, and proffered him three manner of ways. First, either to render to him the possession of the land, and so to take it again of him under tribute, reigning under him; secondly, or else to abide and stand to the pope's arbitrement betwixt them both; or, thirdly, to defend this quarrel in his own person against the duke, and they two only to try the matter by dint of sword, without any other bloodshedding.

But Harold refused all these offers, saying it should be tried by dint of swords, and not by one sword and so gathered his people and joined battle with the Normans, in the place where afterward was builded the abbey of Battle in Sussex. In the beginning of which fight the Englishmen kept them in good array, like to vanquish the Normans; wherefore Duke William caused his men to give back, as though they fled, whereby the Englishmen followed fast, and broke their array. Then the Normans, fiercely giving a charge upon them, in conclusion obtained the victory through the just providence of God. Where King Harold, who before had murdered Alfred, the true heir of the crown, with his company of Normans, so cruelly, was now wounded of the Normans in the left eye with an arrow, and thereof incontinent died; although Gerardus saith he fled away to Chester, and lived after that a monk in the monastery of St. James. Which is not like, but rather that he was there slain after that he reigned nine months, and was buried at Waltham (which proveth that he died not at Chester); and so was he the last that reigned in England of the blood of Saxons, the which continued (to reckon from Hengistus's first reign in Kent) by the space of 591 years; and if it be reckoned from the years of the West Saxons, then it endureth the space of 565 years.

This Duke William and King Edward were by the father's side cousin-germans removed. For Richard the first of that name, which was the third duke of Normandy after Rollo, was father to Duke Richard the second of that name, and brother to Emma, mother to King Edward. Which I take Richard the Second was father to Duke Robert, this Duke William's father.

**THE FOURTH BOOK,
CONTAINING ANOTHER THREE HUNDRED YEARS,
FROM WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR TO THE TIME OF
JOHN WICKLIFFE,
WHEREIN IS DESCRIBED THE PROUD AND
MISORDERED REIGN OF ANTICHRIST BEGINNING
TO STIR IN THE CHURCH OF CHRIST.**

32. William the Conqueror

WILLIAM, duke of Normandy, surnamed the Conqueror, base son of Duke Robert, the sixth duke of Normandy, and nephew unto King Edward, after the foresaid victory obtained against Harold and the Englishmen, was received king over the realm of England, not so much by assent, as for fear and necessity of time. For else the Londoners had promised their assistance to Edgar Atheling to the uttermost of their power. But being weakened and wasted so greatly in battles before, and the duke coming so fast upon them, and fearing that they could not make their party good, submitted themselves. Whereupon the said William (of a duke made a king) was crowned upon Christmas day, in the year of our Lord 1067, by the hands of Aldredus, archbishop of York; forasmuch as at that time Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, was absent, or else durst not or would not come in the presence of the king.

William thus being crowned, did reign over the realm of England the space of one and twenty years and one month, with great severity and cruelty toward the Englishmen, burdening them with great tributes and exactions; which was, to pay of every hide of ground containing twenty acres six shillings. By means whereof certain parts of the land rebelled, and specially the city of Exeter, But at last William overcame them, and won the city, and punished them grievously. But, for that and for other stern deeds of William, divers of the lords departed into Scotland; wherefore he kept the other lords that tarried the straiter, and exalted the Normans, giving to them the chief possessions of the land. And forasmuch as he obtained the kingdom by force and dint of sword, he changed the whole state of the governance of this commonwealth, and ordained new laws at his own pleasure, profitable to himself, but grievous and hurtful to the people; abolishing the laws of King Edward, whereunto notwithstanding he was sworn before to observe and maintain them. For the which great commotions and rebellions remained long after among the people (as histories record) to have the said laws of King Edward revived again.

About the third year of his reign, Harold and Canute, sons of Swanus, king of Denmark, entered into the north country. The Normans within York, fearing that the Englishmen would aid the Danes, fired the suburbs of the town. Whereof the flame was so big, and the wind so strong, that it reached the city, and burnt a great part thereof, with the minster of St. Peter, where, no doubt, many worthy works and monuments of books were consumed. In the time whereof the Danes, by the favour of some of the citizens, entered the city, and slew more than three thousand of the Normans. But not long after, King William chased them out, and drave them to their ships, and took such displeasure with the inhabitants of that country, that he destroyed the land from York to Durham, so that nine years after the province lay waste and unmanured, only except St. John's land of Beverly; and the people thereof were so strictly kept in penury by the war of the king, that (as our English story saith) they eat rats, cats, and dogs, with other vermin.

Also in the fourth year of this king, Malcolm, king of Scots, entered into Northumberland, and destroyed the country, and slew there many of the people, both of men, women, and children, after a lamentable sort, and took some prisoners. But within two years after King William made such war upon the Scots, that he forced Malcolm their king to do him homage.

And thus much concerning the outward calamities of this realm under this foreign conqueror, which is now the fifth time that the said land, with the inhabitants thereof, hath been scourged by the hand of God. First, by the Romans in the time of Julius Cæsar; then by the Scots and Picts (as hath been showed); afterward by the Saxons. Again, the Saxons or Englishmen did not enjoy the possession of Britain with long quiet, but were brought in as much subjection themselves under the Danes as they had brought the Britons before, (and even much more,) insomuch that through all England, if an Englishman had met a Dane upon a bridge, he might not stir one foot, before the Lord Dane (otherwise Lurdane) were past; and then if the English man had not given low reverence to the Dane at his coming by, he was sure to be sharply punished, as above hath been declared. This subjection continued almost from the reign of King Ethelwolfus, two hundred and thirty years, till the reign of King Edward. And yet the indignation of God thus ceased not, but stirred up the Normans against them, who conquered and altered the whole realm after their own purpose; insomuch that besides the innovation of the laws, coins, and possessions, there was almost in no church of England any English bishop, but only Normans and foreigners placed through all their diocess. To such misery was this land then brought, that not only of all the English nobility not one house was standing, but also it was thought reproachful to be called an Englishman. This punishment of God against the English nation writers do assign diversly to divers causes, (as partly before is touched,) of whom some assign this to be the cause, as followeth in the words of the story: "That whereas kings and queens, dukes and prelates, in the primitive time of the English church, were ready for religion to forsake either liberty or country, and give themselves to a solitary life; in process of time they grew to such dissoluteness, that they left no other realm like unto them in iniquity," &c. Again, some writing of the vision of King Edward, a little before the invasion of the Normans, testify how the king, reporting of his own vision, should hear that, for the great enormity and misbehaviour of the head dukes, bishops, and abbots of the realm, the kingdom should be given to the hand of their enemies, after the decease of him, for the space of one hundred years and one day. Which space was also seen by William the Conqueror, to be one hundred and fifty years; and that his progeny so long should continue. Again, some writers, treating of this so great wrath of God upon the English people, declare the cause thereof as followeth: "Like as the Englishmen did subdue the Britons, (whom God proposed for their deservings to exterminate,) and them unjustly did dispossess of their land; so they should likewise be subdued and scourged with a double persecution, first by the Danes, and after by the Normans." Moreover, to these injuries and iniquities done and wrought by the Englishmen, hitherto recited, let us add also the cruel villany of this nation, in murdering and tithing the innocent Normans before; who, coming as strangers with Alfred, the lawful heir of the crown, were despitefully put to death. Which seemeth to me no little cause why the Lord (whose doings be always just and right) did suffer the Normans so to prevail. By the coming in of the which Normans, and by their quarrel unto the realm, three things we may note and learn. First, to consider and learn the righteous retribution and wrath of God from heaven upon all iniquity and unrighteous dealing of men. Secondly, we may thereby note what it is for princes to leave no issue or sure succession behind them. Thirdly, what dangers often do chance to realms publicly by foreign marriage with other princes, &c.

In the same fourth year of this king, between Easter and Whitsuntide, was holden a solemn council of the clergy of England at Winchester. At the which were present two cardinals sent from Pope Alexander the Second, Peter and John. In this council, the king being there himself present, were deposed divers bishops, abbots, and

priors, (by the means of the king,) without any evident cause, to the intent his Normans might be preferred to the rule of the church, as he had preferred his knights before to the rule of the temporality, thereby to stand in more surety of the land. Amongst whom also Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, was put down for three causes against him pretended.

The first was, for that he had holden wrongfully that bishopric, while Robert the archbishop (above mentioned) was living.

The second was, for that he had received the pall of Benedict V., bishop of Rome. Which Benedict, for buying his popedom, had been deposed, as is showed before.

The third cause was, for that he occupied the said pall without licence and lawful authority of the court of Rome.

Then Stigand well proved the benevolence of King William. For whereas before the king seemed in friendly countenance to make much of him, and did unto him great reverence, then he changed all his mildness into sternness, and excused himself by the bishop of Rome's authority. So that in the end Stigand was deprived of his dignity, and kept in Winchester as a prisoner during his life. This Stigand is noted for a man so covetous and sparing, that when he would take nothing of his own, and swearing that he had not a penny, yet, by a key fastened about his neck, was found great treasure of his under the ground.

At the same time was preferred to the archbishopric of York Thomas, a Norman, and canon of Baion.

At which time also Lanfranc, abbot of Cadomonency, (a Lombard, and Italian born.) was sent for, and made archbishop of Canterbury; between which two archbishops about their consecration first began a contention, for giving and taking the oath of obedience; but that contention was at that time appeased by the king; and Thomas was contented to subscribe to the archbishop of Canterbury's obedience.

After this, it followed within short space that the said Lanfranc, and Thomas, archbishop of York, who first builded the minster of York, and gave possessions thereunto, came to Rome with Remigius, bishop of Dorchester, for their palls, as the manner was; without which no archbishop nor bishop could be confirmed, although their election were never so lawful. This pall must be asked nowhere but of the pope or his assigns, and that within three months; also it must be asked not faintly, but mightily. Which, as it was a chargeable thing to other nations, (especially such as were far from Rome,) so it was no small gain to the Romish see, as they did order it. For although at the beginning the pall was given without money according to the decree, or for little, as percase in this time of Lanfranc; yet in process of years it grew to such excess, that where the bishopric of Mentz was wont to give to Rome but ten thousand florins, afterward it arose so, that he which asked his confirmation could not obtain it without twenty thousand. And from thence it exceeded to five and twenty thousand, and at length to seven and twenty thousand florins; which sum Jacobus, archbishop of Mentz, was pressed to pay, a little before the Council of Basil; insomuch that the said Jacobus, at his departing, (which was within four years after,) said that his death did not so much grieve him, as to remember his poor subjects, which should be constrained to pay so terrible a fine for the pope's pall. Now by this what riseth to the pope in whole Germany, containing in it above fifty bishoprics, it may be easily conjectured. Lanfranc thus coming to Rome, with the other two bishops, he. for the

estimation of his learning, obtained of Alexander two palls; one of honour, the other of love. He obtained for the other two bishops also their confirmation. At which time, they being there present before Alexander, the controversy began first to be moved (or rather renewed) for the primacy betwixt the two metropolitans, that is, betwixt the archbishop of Canterbury and the archbishop of York, whether of them should have pre-eminence above the other; for Canterbury challenged to himself the prerogative and primacy over whole Britain and Ireland: the which contention continued a long season betwixt these two churches, and was often renewed in the days of divers kings after this; as in the reign of Henry the First, betwixt Thurstious of York and Radulphus of Canterbury. And again, in the seven and twentieth year of the said king, at his second coronation; for Radulphus would not suffer the first coronation to stand, because it was done by the bishop of York, without his assent. Also in the reign of Henry the Second, where Pope Alexander made a letter decretal betwixt these two metropolitans for bearing the cross in the year 1159. Also another time, in the reign of the said king, betwixt Richard of Canterbury and Roger of York. Again, about the year of our Lord 1170, when Thomas Becket, hearing the king to be crowned of Roger, bishop of York, complained thereof grievously to Pope Alexander the Third. At another time, in the year 1176, betwixt Richard and the said Roger, whether of them should sit on the right hand of Cardinal Hugo in his council at London. Moreover, in the beginning of the reign of King Richard, in the year 1190, betwixt Baldwinus of Canterbury and Godfridus of York.

Now to proceed in the story hereof. After this question was brought (as is said) to the pope's presence, he (not disposed to decide the matter) sent them home into England, there to have their cause determined. Whereupon they speeding themselves from Rome to England in the year 1070, and in the sixth year (as is said) of this William, brought the matter before the king and the clergy at Windsor. Whereon Lanfranc, first alleging for himself, brought in, from the time of Austin to the time of Beda, (which was about 140 years,) how that the bishop of Canterbury had ever the primacy over the whole land of Britain and Ireland; how he kept his councils divers times within the precincts of York; how he did call and cite the bishops of York thereto; whereof some he did constitute, some he did excommunicate, and some he did remove; he sides also he alleged divers privileges granted by princes and prelates to the primacy of that see.

To this Thomas, archbishop of York, replieth again, and, first beginning with the first original of the Britons' church, declareth in order of time.

The Britons, first possessors of this kingdom of Britain, which endured from Brutus and Cadwaladar 2076 years, under a hundred and two kings, at length received the Christian faith in the year 162. In the time of Lucius their king, Eleutherius, bishop of Rome, sent Faganus and Damianus, preachers, unto them; at which time after their conversion, they assigned and ordained in the realm eight and twenty bishops, with two archbishops, Theonus, the archbishop of London. and Theodosius, archbishop of York. Under those bishops and archbishops the church of Britain was governed after their conversion almost three hundred years, till at length the Saxons, being then infidels, with Hengistus their king, subduing the Britons by fraudulent murder, invaded their land, which was about the year of our Lord 440. After this, the Britons being driven into Cambria, (which we now call Wales,) the Saxons overrunning the land, divided themselves into seven kingdoms. And so, being infidels and pagans, continued till the time that Gregory, bishop of Rome, sent Austin to preach unto them; who coming first to Dover, being then the head city of Kent, called in Latin

Dorobernia, and there planting himself, converted first the king of Kent, called Edelbertus, who had then subdued certain other kings unto Humber. By reason whereof Austin was made archbishop of Dover, by the appointment of Gregorius I., who sent him certain palls with his letter from Rome. as before is expressed. Which letter being recited, then Thomas, expounding upon the same, beginneth to declare for himself, how the meaning of Gregory in this letter was, to reduce the new church of Saxons or Englishmen to the order that was in the old time among the Britons; that is, to be under two metropolitans, one of London, the other of York; for so the church was ordered in the time of the Britons, as is before declared. Notwithstanding. he giveth to Austin this prerogative during his lifetime, to have authority and jurisdiction, not only over his twelve bishops, but upon all other bishops and priests in England. And after his decease, then these two metropolitans, London and York, to oversee the whole clergy, as in times past amongst the Britons: whom he joineth together after the death of Austin to constitute bishops. and to oversee the church. And that he so meaneth London to be equal in authority with York, it appeareth by four arguments. First, that he willeth London to be consecrate by no bishop, but of his own synod. Secondly, in that he willeth no distinction of honour to be betwixt London and York, but only according to that as each one of them is elder in time. Thirdly, for that he matcheth these two together in common council, and with one agreement to consent together in doing and disposing such things as they shall consult upon in the zeal of Christ Jesus; and that in such sort, that one should not dissent nor discord from the other. What meaneth this, but that they should govern together, whom he would not to dissent together? Fourthly, where he writeth, that the bishop of York should not be subject to the bishop of London: what meaneth this, but that the bishop of London should be equivalent with the metropolitan of York, or rather superior unto him?

And thus he expounded the meaning of Gregory to be in the foresaid letter. To whom Lanfranc again answereth, that he was not the bishop of London, and that the question pertained not to London. Thomas replieth, having on his part many fautors, that this privilege was granted by Gregory to Austin alone, to have all other bishops subject to him; but after his decease there should be equality of hononr betwixt London and York, without all distinction of priority, save the only priority of time should make superiority between them. And although Austin translated the see from London to Kent; yet Gregory, if his mind had been to give the same prerogative to the successors of Austin, (which he gave to him,) would expressly have uttered it in the words of his epistle, writing thus to Austin: That which I give to thee, Austin, I give also and grant to all thy successors after thee. But in that he maketh here no mention of his successors, it appeareth thereby that it was not his mind so to do.

To this Lanfranc argueth again: If this authority had been given to Austin alone, and not to his successors, it had been but a small gift, proceeding from the apostolic see to his special and familiar friend; especially seeing also that Austin in all his life did constitute no bishop of York, neither was there any such bishop to be subject to him. Again, we have privileges from the apostolic see which confirm this dignity in the successors of Austin, in the same see of Dover. Moreover, all Englishmen think it both right and reason to fetch the direction of well living from that place, where first they took the sparkle of right believing. Further, whereas you say that Gregory might have confirmed with plain words the same thing to tIme successors of Austin which he gave unto him, all that I grant; yet, notwithstanding, this is nothing prejudicial to the see of Canterbury. For if you know your logic, that which is true in the whole, is also true in the part; and what is true in the more, is also true in the less.

Now the Church of Rome is as the whole, to whom all other churches be as parts thereof; and as *homo*, mankind, is genus, the general, in a certain respect, to all his *individua*, to all particular persons, yet in every particular person lieth the property of the general; so, in like manner, the see of Rome in a certain respect is the general and the whole to other churches, and yet in every particular church is contained the whole fulness of the whole Christian faith. As the church of Rome is greater than all churches, that which is wrought in it ought to work in the less churches also; so that the authority of every chief head of the church ought to stand also in them that do succeed, unless there be any precise exception made by name. Wherefore, like as the Lord said to all bishops of Rome the same thing which he said to Peter, so Gregory in like manner said to all the successors of Austin that which he said to Austin. So thus I conclude: likewise as the bishop of Canterbury is subject to Rome, because he had his faith from thence; so York ought to be in subjection to Canterbury, which sent the first preachers thither. Now, whereas you allege that Gregory would Austin to be resident at London, that is utterly uncertain. For how is it to be thought that such a disciple would do contrary to the mind of such a master? But grant (as you say) that Austin removed to London, what is that to me, who am not bishop of London? Notwithstanding, all this controversy ceasing betwixt us, if it shall please you to come to some peaceable composition with me, (all contention set apart,) you shall find me not out of the way, so far as reason and equity shall extend.

With these reasons of Lanfranc Thomas gave over, condescending that his province should begin at Humber. Whereupon it was then decreed, that York from that time should be subject to Canterbury in all matters appertaining to the rites and regiment of the catholic church; so that wheresoever within England Canterbury should or would hold his council, the bishop of York should resort thither with his bishops, and be obedient to his decrees canonical.

Provided, moreover, that when the bishop of Canterbury should decease, York should repair unto Dover, there to consecrate with others the bishops that should be elect. And if York should decease, his successors should resort to Canterbury, or else where the bishop of Canterbury should appoint, there to receive his consecration, making his profession there, with an oath of canonical obedience. Thomas being content withal, Lanfranc the Italian triumpheth with no small joy, and putteth the matter forthwith in writing, that the memory thereof might remain to the posterity of his successors. But yet that decree did not long stand. For shortly after the same scar, so superficially cured, burst out again. Insomuch that in the reign of King Henry the First, A.D. 1121, Thurstinus, archbishop of York, could not be compelled to swear to the archbishop of Canterbury; and yet notwithstanding by the letters of Calixtus the second was consecrated without any profession made to the said bishop, with much more matter of contention, all which to recite it were too long. But this I thought to commit to history, to the intent men might see the lamentable decay of true Christianity amongst the Christian bishops, who, inflamed with glorious ambition, so contended for honour, that without mere forcement of law no modesty could take place.

Of such-like contentions among prelates of the clergy for superiority, we read of divers in old chronicles, as in the history entitled *Chronicon Hirsseldense*, where is declared a bloody conflict which twice happened in the church of Goslaria, between Hecelon. bishop of Hildesheime, and Wederatus, bishop of Fulda, and all for the superior place, who should sit next to the emperor; the emperor himself being there present, and looking on them, and yet not able to stay them.

Thus I have described the troublous contention between Lanfranc and Thomas, metropolitan of York in the days of Alexander; of which controversy. and of the whole discourse thereof, Lanfranc writeth to Pope Alexander.

In the story before of King Egelred was declared, about the year of our Lord 1016, how the bishops of Lindisfarne, otherwise named Holy Land, in the flood of Tweed, was translated to Durham; so likewise in the days of this Lanfrancus, archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 1076, divers bishops' sees were altered and removed from townships to greater cities. As the bishopric of Seles was removed to Chichester; out of Cornwall to Exeter; from Wells to Bath; from Shireborne to Salisbury; from Dorchester to Lincoln; from Litchfield to Chester; which bishopric of Chester Robert being the bishop, reduced from Chester to Coventry. Likewise after that, in the reign of William Rufus, A.D. 1095, Herbert, bishop of Thetford, from thence reduced the see to Norwich.



Dover

As concerning Dover and Canterbury, whether the see was likewise translated from the town of Dover to the city of Canterbury in the time of Theodorus, or whether Canterbury by old time had the name of Dorobernia, (as the letter of Lanfranc to Pope Alexander above mentioned doth pretend,) I find it not in histories expressly defined; save that I read by the words of William, being yet duke of Normandy, charging then Harold to make a well of water for the king's use in the castle of Dorobernia, that the said Dorobernia then was taken for that which we now call Dover; but whether Dorobernia and the city of Canterbury be both one or divers, the matter is not great. Notwithstanding this I read in the Epistle of Pope Bonifacius to King Ethelbert, as also to Justinus, archbishop; in the Epistle of Pope Honorius to Bishop Honorius; of Pope Vitalianus to Theodorus; of Pope Sergius to King Ethelred, Alfred, and Adulphus, and

to the bishops of England: likewise of Pope Gregory the Third to the bishops of England; of Pope Leo to Athelard, archbishop of Canterbury; of Formosus to the bishops of England; and of Pope John to Dunstan; that the name of Dorobernia and of Canterbury indifferently are taken for one matter.

In this time, (and by the procuring of this Lanfranc,) the ninth year of this king, a council was holden at London, where, among the acts thereof, these were the principal things concluded.

First, for the order of sitting, that the archbishop of York should sit on the right hand, and the bishop of London on the left hand; or, in the absence of York, London should have the right, and Winchester the left, hand of the archbishop of Canterbury sitting in council.

2. The second, that bishops should translate their sees from villages into cities. whereupon those sees above named were translated.

3. That monks should have nothing in proper; and if any so had, he dying unconfessed should not be buried in the churchyard.

4. That no clerk or monk of any other diocess should be admitted to orders, or retained without letters commendatory or testimonial.

5. That none should speak in the council except bishops and abbots, without leave of the arch-metropolitans.

6. That none should marry within the seventh degree with any, either of his own kindred or of his wives departed.

7. That none should either buy or sell any office within the church.

8. That no sorcery or any divination should be used or permitted in holy church.

9. That no bishop nor abbot, nor any of the clergy, should be at the judgment of any man's death or dismembering, neither should be any favourer of the said judicants.

Moreover, in the days of this Lanfranc, divers good bishops of the realm began to take part with priests against the monks, in displacing these out of their churches, and to restore the married priests again; insomuch that Walkelmus, bishop of Winchester, had placed above forty canons instead of monks for his part; but this godly enterprise was stopped by stout Lanfranc, the Italian Lombard. This lusty prelate sat nineteen years; but at his latter end he was not so favoured of William Rufus, and died for sorrow. Although this Italian Frank, being archbishop, had little leisure to write, yet something he thought to do to set out his famous learning, and wrote a book against Berengarius, entitling it, *Opus Scintillarum*. The old church of Canterbury he plucked down, and builded up the new.

33. Hildebrand (Pope Gregory the Seventh)

After the death of Pope Alexander II. above mentioned, next unto him followed Hildebrand, surnamed Gregory the Seventh. This Hildebrand, as he was a sorcerer, so was he the first and principal cause of all this perturbation that is now, and hath been since his time, in the church; by reason that through his example all this ambition, stoutness, and pride entered first into the Church of Rome, and hath ever since continued. For before Hildebrand came to Rome, working there his feats, setting up and displacing what bishops he listed, corrupting them with pernicious counsel, and setting them against emperors; under pretence of chastity destroying matrimony, and under the title of liberty breaking peace and resisting authority; before this I say the Church of Rome was in some order, and bishops quietly governed under Christian emperors, and also were defended by the same; as Marcellus, Miltiades, and Silvester were subdued, and under obedience to Constantine, An. 340; Siricius to Theodosius, An. 388; Gregorius to Mauricius, An. 600; Hilarius to Justinian, An. 528; Adriaanus and Leo to Carolus Magnus, An. 801; Paschalis and Valentius to Ludovicus Pius, An. 830; Sergius II. to Lotharius, An. 840; Benedictus the Third, and Johannes the Ninth, unto Ludovicus, son of Lotharius, An. 856. But against this obedience and subjection Hildebrand first began to spurn, and by his example taught all other bishops to do the like.

Insomuch that at length they wrought and brought to pass, that it should be lawful for a few courtesans and cardinals (contrary to ancient ordinance and statutes decretal) to choose what pope they list, without any consent of the emperor at all. And whereas before it stood in the emperor's gift to give and to grant bishoprics, archbishoprics, benefices, and other ecclesiastical preferments within their own limits, to whom they list; now the popes, through much wrestling, wars, and contention, have extorted all that into their own hands, and to their assignees; yea, have plucked in all the riches and power of the whole world, and, not content with that, have usurped and prevailed so much above emperors, that as before no pope might be chosen without the confirmation of the emperor; so now no emperor may be elected without the confirmation of the pope, taking upon them more than princes, to place or displace emperors at their pleasure for every light cause; to put down or set up when and whom they listed; as Fredericus Primus, for holding the left stirrup of the pope's saddle, was persecuted almost to excommunication. The which cause moveth me to strain more diligence here, in setting out the story, acts, and doings of this Hildebrand, from whom, as the first patron and founder, sprang all this ambition and contention about the liberties and dominion of the Romish church; to the intent that such as cannot read the Latin histories may understand in English the original of evils, how and by what occasion they first began, and how long they have continued.

And, first, how this Hildebrand hitherto had behaved himself, before he was pope, I have partly declared. For though he was not yet pope in name, yet he was then pope indeed, and ruled the popes and all their doings as him listed. Item, what ways and fetches he had attempted, ever since his first coming to the court of Rome, to magnify and maintain false liberty against true authority; what practice he wrought by councils; what factions and conspiracies he made in stirring up popes against emperors, striving for superiority; and what wars followed thereof, I have also expressed. Now let us see further (by the help of Christ) the worthy virtues of this

princely prelate, after he came to be pope, as they remain in histories of divers and sundry writers described.

Hitherto the bishops of Rome have been elected by voices and suffrages of all sorts and degrees, as well of the priests and the clergy as of the nobility, people, and senate, all conventing and assembling together. And this election so I find to stand in force, if so be it were ratified and confirmed by the consent of Roman emperors, who had authority to call and to assemble all these, as well as bishops, together unto councils as case required. Under the authority and jurisdiction of these emperors were contained, both in Germany, France, Italy, and through the whole dominion of Rome, all patriarchs, bishops, masters of churches and monasteries, by the decree of councils, according to the old custom of our ancestors, as is declared in a certain story in the Life of Carolus Magnus. The holy and ancient fathers (like as Christ our Lord with his disciples and apostles both taught and did) honoured and esteemed their emperors as the supreme powers next under God in earth, set up, ordained, elected, and crowned of God, above all other mortal men, and so counted them and called them their lords. To them they yielded tribute, and paid their subsidies; also prayed every day for their life. Such as rebelled against them, they took as rebels and resisters against God's ordinance and Christian piety. The name of the emperor then was of great majesty, and received as given from God. Then these fathers of the church never intermeddled nor entangled themselves with politic affairs of the commonwealth; much less occupied they martial arms and matters of chivalry. Only in poverty and modesty was all their contention with other Christians, who should be poorest and most modest among them. And the more humbleness appeared in any, the higher opinion they conceived of him. The sharp and two-edged sword they took, given to the church of Christ, to save, and not to kill; to quicken, and not to destroy; and called it the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God, the life and light of men, and revoketh from death to life, making of men gods; of mortal, immortal. Far were they from that, to thrust out any prince or king (though he were never so far out of the way, yea, an Arian) from his kingdom, or to curse him, to release his subjects from their oath and their allegiance, to change and translate kingdoms, to subvert empires, to pollute themselves with Christian blood, or to war with their Christian brethren for rule and principality. This was not their spirit and manner then, but rather they loved and obeyed their princes. Again, princes loved them also like fathers and fellow princes with them of the souls of men. Now this Gregorius the Seventh, otherwise named Hildebrand, trusting upon the Normans, which then ruffled about Apulia, Calabria, and Campania, trusting also upon the power of Machtilda, a stout woman there about Rome; and partly, again, bearing himself bold for the discord among the Germans first of all others (contrary to the manner of elders) contemning the authority of the emperor, invaded the cathedral see of Rome, vaunting himself as having both the ecclesiastical and temporal sword committed to him by Christ, and that fulness of power was in his hand to bind and loose what so he listed. Whereupon thus he presumed to occupy both the regiments, to challenge all the whole dominion, both of the east and west church, yea, and all power to himself alone; abiding none to be equal, much less superior, unto him; derogating from others, and arrogating to himself, their due right and honour; setting at light Cæsars, kings and emperors, and who thus reigned by his own God-a-mercy. Bishops and prelates, as his underlings, he kept in awe, suspending and cursing, and chopping off their heads, stirring up strife and wars, sowing of discord, making factions, releasing oaths, defeating fidelity and due allegiance of subjects to their princes. Yea, and if he had offended or injured the emperor himself, yet notwithstanding he ought to be feared, as he himself glorieth in a certain epistle, as one that could not err, and had

received of Christ our Saviour, and of Peter, authority to bind and unbind at his will and pleasure. Priests then in those days had wives openly and lawfully, (no law forbidding to the contrary,) as appeareth by the deed and writings of their chapter seals and donations, which were given to temples and monasteries, wherein their wives also be cited with them for witness, and were called presbyterissæ. Also for bishops, prelates, parsons of churches, governors of the clergy, masters of monasteries, and religious houses; all these were then in those times in the emperor's ordination, to assign by voice or consent to whom he would. Now these two things this Pope Gregorius could not abide; for the which two causes only was all his striving and driving from his first beginning to abolish the marriage of priests, and to translate the authority imperial to the clergy. For to this scope only tended all his labour, practices, and devices, as appeared before in the Council of Lateran under Pope Nicholas, and also in the Council of Mantua under Alexander, making their marriage heresy, and the other to be simony. And that which before he went about by others, now he practiseth by himself, to condemn ministers that were married for Nicolaitans, and to receive any spiritual regiment of secular persons for simony; directing forth his letters upon the same to Henricus the emperor, to dukes, princes, powers, tetrarchs; namely, to Berchtoldus, to Rodolphus of Swevia, to Whelpo, Adalberon, and their wives; item, to bishops, archbishops, priests, and to all the people; in the which letters he denounceth them to be no priests so many as were married, forbid ding men to salute them, to talk, to eat, to keep company with them, to pay them tithes, or to obey them if they would not be obedient to him. Amongst all others, he directed special letters to Ottho, bishop of Constance, concerning this matter. But Ottho, perceiving the ungodly and unreasonable pretence of Hildebrand, would neither separate them that were married from their wives, nor yet forbid them to marry which were unmarried, &c.

The copy of the letter of Hildebrand sent to the bishop of Constance against priests' marriages.

Gregory, bishop, servant of servants of God, to the clergy and laity, both more and less, within the diocess of Constance, salutation and benediction. We have directed to our brother Ottho, your bishop, our letters exhortatory; wherein we enjoined him, according to the necessity of our duty, by the authority apostolical, that he should utterly abolish out of his church the heresy of simony, and also should cause with all diligence to be preached the chastity of priests. But he, neither moved with reverence of St. Peter's precept, nor yet with the regard of his duty, neglected to do these things, whereunto we so fatherly have exhorted him; incurring thereby a double offence, not only of disobedience, but also of rebellion, in that he hath gone and done clean contrary to our commandment; (yea, rather the commandment of blessed St. Peter); so that he hath permitted his clergy, not only such as had wives, not to put them away, but also such as had none, to take unto them. Whereupon we being truly informed thereof, and grieved there with, have directed to him another letter, declaring the motion of our displeasure and indignation. In which letters also we have cited him up to our council at Rome, there to appear and give account of his disobedience, in the audience of the whole synod. And now therefore we thought it best to signify this to you, our dear children, whereby in this behalf we might the better provide for your health and salvation. For if your bishop shall continue so obstinately to repngn and resist against our commandment, he is not meet to sit over you, &c. Wherefore these shall be to command you, and all them that be obedient to God, and to blessed St. Peter, by our apostolical authority, that if this your bishop shall persist in his

obstinacy, you that be his subjects hereafter give to him no service nor obedience. For the which thing doing we here discharge you before God and your souls. For if your bishop shall seem contrary to the decreements and injunctions apostolical, we, through the apostolical authority of St. Peter, discharge and absolve you from the band of your allegiance to him. So that if you be sworn to him, so long as he is a rebel against God and the apostolic seat, we loose you from the peril of your oath, that you shall not need to fear therein any danger," &c.

Otho, bishop of Constance, thus being cited, whether he did appear personally himself, I do not read. Thus I read and find, that in the said council holden at Rome, Hildebrand, with other bishops of Rome, did then enact, among many others, these three things most special. First, that no priest hereafter should marry. Secondly, that all such as were married should be divorced. Thirdly, that none hereafter should be admitted to the order of priesthood, but should swear perpetual chastity, &c. This council of Rome being ended, forthwith the act of Hildebrand concerning the single life of priests was proclaimed and published in all places, and strait commandment given to bishops to execute the same.

The copy of his bull sent into Italy and Germany.

Gregory the pope, otherwise Hildebrand, the servant of the servants of God, sendeth the apostles' blessing to all them within the kingdoms of Italy and Germany that show their true obedience to St. Peter. If there be any priests, deacons, and subdeacons that still will remain in the sin of fornication, we forbid them the church's entrance, by the omnipotent power of God, and by the authority of St. Peter, till time they amend and repent. But if they persevere in their sin, we charge that none of you presume to hear their service; for their blessing is turned into cursing, and their prayer into sin, as the Lord doth testify to us by his prophets, I will turn your blessing, &c."

The bishops of France, being called upon daily with the pope's letters, were compelled to obey the decree of the council; but the residue of the clergy manfully and stoutly withstanding the pope's decree and enforcement of their bishops, would not agree, but repined thereat, and said that the council did manifestly repugn against the word of God, and that the pope did take from priests that which both God and nature had given them; and therefore that person to be a heretic, and author of a wicked doctrine, which ruled and governed, not by the Spirit of God, but by Satan. The decree and act set forth to tend directly against the word of God, and the saying of Christ, All men have not the gift and capacity of this word. Item, to be against the sound doctrine of St. Paul, writing these words: As concerning virginity, I have no commandment of the Lord, &c. Again, He that can not otherwise live continently, let him marry. Item, that it was against the canons both of the apostles and of the Nicene Council. Moreover, that it was against the course of nature which he required, that men, being sequestered from their natural wives and women, should be coacted to live as angels; that is, to perform that which nature doth not give. And therefore the bishop therein did open a pernicious window to uncleanness and to fornication. In sum, giving up their answer, thus they concluded, that they had rather give up their benefices, than to forsake their natural and lawful wives against the word of Christ. And, finally, if married priests could not please them, they should call down angels from heaven to serve the churches. But Hildebrand, nothing moved, neither with honest reason, nor with the authority of Holy Scripture, nor with the determination of the Nicene Council, nor any thing else, followeth this matter; calleth upon the bishops still, with his letters and legates doth solicit their minds, accuseth them of negligence and dastardness,

threateneth them with excommunication, unless they cause their priests to obey his decree enjoined them. Whereupon a great number of bishops, for fear of the pope's tyranny, laboured the matter with their priests by all means possible to bereave them of their accustomed matrimony.

Amongst other, the archbishop of Mentz, perceiving this act of taking away priests' marriage might breed him no little trouble, talketh with his clergy gently, admonisheth them of the pope's mind and decree, and giveth them half a year's respite to deliberate upon the case; exhorting them diligently to show themselves obedient to the pope and to him, and to grant with good-will that which at length (will they nill they) they must needs be forced unto, and therefore of their own accord to stand content therewith, lest the pope should be compelled to attempt ways of sharper severity. The time of deliberation expired, the archbishop assembleth his clergy at Erpsford, the month of October, and there willeth them, according to the pontifical decree, either to abjure for ever all matrimony, or else to renounce their benefices and ecclesiastical livings. The clergy again defend themselves against the pope's decree with Scriptures, with reason, with the acts of general councils, with examples of ancestors, by divers strong arguments, declaring the pope's decree not to be constant, nor ought to take effect. But the archbishop said he was compelled so of the pope, and could not otherwise do, but to execute that which was enjoined him.

The clergy, seeing that no reason, nor prayer, nor disputation would serve, laid their heads together, consulting among themselves what was best to be done. Some gave counsel not to return again to the synod, some thought it good to return and to thrust out the archbishop from his see, and to give him due punishment of death for his deserving, that by the example of him others may be warned here after never to attempt that thing any more, to the prejudice of the church, and the rightful liberty of ministers. After that this was signified to the archbishop by certain spies that were amongst them, what the clergy intended to do, the archbishop, to prevent and salve the matter, sendeth to the priests, as they were coming out, certain messengers, bidding them be of hope, and to return again to the metropolitan, and they should have that should content their minds. So, being persuaded, they come again to the council. The bishop promiseth he would do his endeavour what he could to revoke and turn the mind of the bishop of Rome from that sentence, willing them in the mean time to continue as they had done in their cure and ministry. The next year following, Hildebrand, the soldier of Satan, sendeth his legate (a certain bishop called Curiensis) unto the archbishop of Mentz, and assembled there a council. In the which the archbishop again proposeth the matter, commanding all the clergy, under pain of the pope's curse, there perpetually either to renounce their wives or their livings. The clergy defended their cause again with great constancy. But when no defence could take place, but all went by tyranny and mere extortion, it burst in the end to an uproar and tumult, where the legate and the archbishop, being in great danger, hardly escaped with their lives, and so the council brake up. By this schism and tumult it followed that the churches after that, in choosing their priests, would not send them to the bishops (the enemies and suppressors of matrimony) to be confirmed and inducted, but did elect them within themselves, and so put them in their office without all leave or knowledge of the bishops, who then agreed and were determined to admit no priests but such as should take an oath of perpetual singleness, never to marry after. And thus first came up the oath and profession of single priesthood. Notwithstanding, if other nations had followed the like constancy and concord of those German ministers, the devilish drift and decree of this Hildebrand (or rather hellbrand) had been frustrate and

avoided. But this greediness of livings in weak priests made them to yield up their godly liberty to wicked tyranny. Yet this remaineth in these Germans to be noted, what concord can do in repressing the inordinate requests of evil bishops, if they constantly stand to the truth, and hold together. And thus much for banishing of matrimony. Now let us proceed to the contests between wicked Hildebrand and the godly emperor. But before, by the way of digression, it shall not be much from the purpose to touch a little of the properties of this pope, as we find them described in certain epistles of Benno, a cardinal, writing to other cardinals of Rome; which Benno lived in the same time of Hildebrand, and detecteth the prodigious acts and doings of this monstrous pope.

First, declaring that he was a sorcerer most notable, and a necromancer, an old companion of Sylvester, of Laurentius and Theophylactus, called otherwise Benedictus Nonus. Amongst others, Benno Cardinalis writeth this history of him: "How upon a certain time this Gregorius, coming from Albanus to Rome, had forgot behind him his familiar book of necromancy, which he was wont commonly to carry always with him. Whereupon remembering himself, entering the port of Lateran, he calleth two of his most trusty familiars to fetch the book, charging them at no hand to look within it. But they being so restrained, were the more desirous to open it, and to peruse it, and so did. After they had read a little the secrets of the Satanical book, suddenly there came about them the messengers of Satan, the multitude and terror of whom made them almost out of their wits. At length, they coming to themselves, the spirits were instant upon them to know wherefore they were called up, wherefore they were vexed; quickly (said they) tell us what ye would us to do, or else we will fall upon you, if ye retain us longer. Then spake one of the young men to them, bidding them go and pluck down yonder walls, pointing unto certain high walls there nigh to Rome, which they did in a moment. The young men, crossing them for fear of the spirits, (scarce recovering themselves,) at length came to their master." And it followeth moreover in the epistle of the said Benno to the cardinals:

"We have made mention to you before of divers colleges of the Church of Rome which refused to communicate with him; as Leo, then archpriest of the cardinals, Benno, Ugobaldus, Johannes the cardinal, Peter, chancellor and cardinal, being all instituted before this Hildebrand. These three also being consecrated by him, that is, Natro, Innocentius, and Leo, forsook him, cursing the detestable errors which he held. In like case Theodinus, whom he constituted archdeacon, and other cardinals more, Johannes surnamed Primicerius, Petros Oblationarius, with all that appertained to them, saving one only man. And now, when this Hildebrand saw that the bishops also would forsake him, he called unto him the laymen, and made them privy of his council, thinking thereby to separate the bishops, that they should have no conference with the cardinals. After that he called together those bishops; and being guarded with bands of laymen, he enforced the bishops, partly for fear, and partly for his menacing words, to swear unto him, that they should never disagree unto that which he would have done, that they should never defend the king's quarrel, and that they should never favour or obey the pope that should in his stead be instituted. Which thing being done, he sent them, by means of the prince of Salernites, into Campania; and thus did he separate them from the company of the cardinals, and from the city of Rome. And not only the bishops, but also the priests of the city and clerks of inferior orders, as also the laymen, he bound by their oaths, that at no time nor for any cause they should condescend unto the king.

"As soon as Pope Alexander was dead, which died somewhat before night, the same day, contrary to the canons, he was chosen pope of the laymen. But the cardinals subscribed not to his election. For the canons prescribed (under pain of cursing) that none should be chosen pope before the third day after the burial of his predecessor. But he (by sinister means thus climbing to the see) removed the cardinals of the said see from being of the council. But with what persons he consulted night and day Rome well heard and saw. And he now putting the cardinals from his council, his life, faith, and doctrine no man could accuse or bear witness of; whereas in the canons is commanded, that in every place wheresoever the pope is should be with him three cardinals being priests, and two deacons, because of his ecclesiastical testimony and style of verity; of which canonical decree you heard, gentle reader, before. He violently wrested the sacred Scriptures to cover his falsehood, which kind of idolatry, how great it is, manifestly through all the Scripture appeareth. Contrary to the minds and counsel of the cardinals, and besides the determinate order of pronouncing judgment by the canons, he rashly did excommunicate the emperor, being in no synod solemnly accused before. The sentence of which excommunication, after rehearsal of these presents, shall also be manifested (Christ willing); to the which excommunication," saith Benno, "none of the cardinals would subscribe. As soon as he arose out of his seat papal to excommunicate the emperor, the same seat (being made but a little before with big timber) suddenly by the appointment of God was rent and shivered in pieces; so that all men might plainly understand what and how great and terrible schisms that lubber had sown against the church of Christ, against the seat of St. Peter, and how cruelly he had dispersed the chair of Christ, in defiling the laws of the church, ruling by might and austerity in that his so perilous and presumptuous excommunication.

"In the description of the same excommunication he inserteth those things wherein he himself erred, when he absolved the emperor being unjustly excommunicate, and the bishops also communicating with him; and to the uttermost thus cutting and mangling the unity of the church, and those that communicated with them, did as much as in him lay to make two churches.

"Also the same bold merchant commanded that the cardinals should fast, to the intent that God would reveal whose opinion was better (whether of the church of Rome or of Berengarius) touching the controversy of the Lord's body in the sacrament. And hereby he proved himself to be a manifest infidel, for that in the Nicene Council it is written, He that doubteth is an infidel.

"Further, he sought for a sign to establish his faith concerning the article of the Lord's body; as did Gregory to confirm the woman's faith, when the consecrated bread was transubstantiated into the form of a fleshly finger. He also sent two cardinals (Atton and Cunon) unto Anastase, that with the archpriest of the same church they should begin a fast of three days' space, and that every of them (every day during those three days) should say over the Psalter, and sing masses, that Christ would show unto them some such-like sign of his body as he did to the foresaid Gregory; which thing they could not see.

"The emperor was wont oftentimes to go to St. Mary's church in the Mount Aventine to pray. Hildebrand, when he had by his espials searched out and knew all the doings of the emperor, caused the place where the emperor was accustomed (either standing or prostrate on his face) to pray to be marked, and for money he hired a naughty pack' (like himself) to gather and lay together a heap of great stones directly

over the place in the vault of the church where the emperor would stand, that in throwing the same down upon his head he should slay the emperor. About which purpose as the hireling hasted, and was busy, removing to the place a stone of great hugeness and weight, it broke the plank whereon it lay; and the hireling standing thereupon, both together fell down from the roof to the pavement of the church, and with the same was dashed all in pieces. And after the Romans had understanding of the handling of this matter, they fastened a rope to one of the feet of this hireling, and caused him to be drawn through the streets of the city three days together in example to others. The emperor notwithstanding, according to his wonted clemency, caused him to be buried.

"Johannes, bishop of Portua, (being one of the secret council of Hildebrand,) came up into the pulpit of St. Peter, and amongst other things, in the hearing both of the clergy and people, said, Hildebrand and we have committed such a deed and so horrible, for the which we are all worthy to be burned alive, (meaning of the sacrament of the body of Christ,) which sacrament Hildebrand, when he thereof inquired a divine answer against the emperor, and it would not speak, threw into the fire and burned it, contrary to the persuasion of the cardinals that were there present, and would have resisted the same.

"In the second holy-day in the Easter week, when the clergy and the people were assembled at St. Peter's church to hear mass, after the Gospel, he went up into the pulpit, as he was in his pontifical attire, and in the presence of divers bishops and cardinals (a great company both of the senate and the people of Rome being gathered together) openly preached (among many other words of divination) that the king, whose name was Henry, should die (without all peradventure) before the feast of St. Peter next ensuing; or else at leastwise that he should be so dejected from his kingdom, that he should not be able any more to gather together above the number of six knights. This he preached to the bishops and cardinals, and all that were present, crying out of the pulpit in these words: Never accept me for pope any more, but pluck me from the altar, if this prophecy be not fulfilled by the day appointed. About the same time he went about by help of privy murderers to kill the emperor, but God preserved him. And many there were even at that time which thought Pope Hildebrand to be guilty, and to be the deviser of the treason, because that then he (before the deed put in execution) presumed of the death of the king, being by him falsely prophesied of before; which words of his wounded many men's hearts. And it came to pass that Hildebrand by his words was openly condemned in the congregation, which (as is said) gave judgment of himself to be no pope, neither that he would be counted for pope any longer, but thought to be both a belier and a traitor, unless that before the feast of St. Peter next coming the emperor should die, or else should be deprived of all kingly honour, insomuch as he should not be able to make above six knights on his part. And thus by the appointment of God it came to pass, that by his own mouth he was condemned for a heretic.

"Thus saith the Lord: The prophet who of arrogancy will prophesy in my name those things I have not commanded him, or else will prophesy in the name of other gods, let him be slain. And if, thou shalt say with thyself, How shall I know what thing it is that the Lord hath not commanded to be spoken? this token shalt thou have to know it by: whatsoever things the prophet in the name of God shall prophesy, and the same come not to pass, that mayest thou be sure the Lord hath not spoken, but the prophet hath imagined through the haughtiness of his own mind, and therefore thou shalt not be afraid of him.

"When the time was expired that Hildebrand in his divination had set, and that neither the king was dead, neither the power of the empire impaired, and fearing lest by the words of his own mouth he should be reprehended and condemned, subtly he turned his tale, saying, and persuading the ignorant people, that he meant not of the body of the king, but of his soul; as though the soul of the king had lost all, saving six of his knights or soldiers, or else had been dead during that space: and thus by these sleights he beguiled the ignorant people. About such prophets St. Gregory Ezekiel saith, Between true prophets and false this difference there is, that true prophets, if they speak any thing upon their own mind, they be soon rebuked; but the false prophets, both they tell lies, and not having the spirit of truth, they persevere in their falsity.

"Over and beside, the said Hildebrand judged to death three men before they were convict, or else confessed their crime, without the sentence of any secular judge, and caused them to be hanged upon a pair of gallows, over against the church of St. Peter, in a place called Palatiolum, without any delay or advisement, contrary to the laws, which command that every public offender should have thirty days' space before he be put to execution. Which thing even amongst the pagans is in use and observed, as teacheth the authority of St. Ambrose, and the martyrdom of holy Marcellianus and Marcus.

"He cast Centius, the son of Stephen the alderman, into prison, being before his trusty friend; and in a vessel, being thick set with sharp nails, he tormented him to the point of death, who, after he was escaped, apprehended the said Hildebrand. Of this apprehension, before he was set at liberty, he openly forgave all the conspirators. Which thing afterwards, contrary to his fidelity, he brake and revenged, and caused Centius, to whom he had for given all offences, to be taken, and hanged him and nine of his men upon the gallows before St. Peter's porch.

"There was at the apprehension of Pope Hildebrand, a certain widow's sons, to whom (and others more for their penance) he enjoined a year's banishment. Which time being run out, the widow, in token of more ample satisfaction, thinking there by to have appeased the mind of Hildebrand, put a halter about her son's neck, and drawing her son by the rope unto the foot of Hildebrand, said, My lord pope, at your hands will I receive again my son, which one whole year hath endured banishment and other penance by your holiness enjoined. Then the said Hildebrand for that instant, because of those which were with him in company, (dissembling his wrath,) delivered her her son very churlishly, saying, Get thee hence, woman, I bid thee, and let me be in rest. After this he sent his officers, and apprehended the widow's son, and gave commandment to the justices to put him to death; who all together making answer, said that they could no more condemn or meddle with him, for that he had for his crime committed appealed once to the pope, and endured the banishment, and done the penance by him enjoined. Hereupon this glorious Hildebrand, displeased with the judges, caused the foot of the widow's son to be cut off, making neither repentance, nor the laws and ordinances, to be of any estimation with him; and thus his foot being cut off, he died within three days after with the pain thereof. Many other wicked deeds did this Hildebrand, upon whom the blood of the church crieth vengeance, shed by the sword. (that is,) the miserable treachery of his tongue; for which things (and that justly) the church refused to communicate with him."

Another epistle of Benno to the cardinals.

"To the reverend fathers of the Church of Rome, and to his beloved in Christ, and to his brethren that shall for ever be beloved, Benno, the cardinal of the Church of Rome, wisheth faithful service, health, and communion with the servants of the catholic church. Of the which communion, discipline, and power he vainly braggeth, that by the presumption of his authority shall unjustly bind or loose any manner of person. And he doth unjustly bind, whatsoever be he, that curseth any man (being willing to make satisfaction, and bewailing his boldness, being also unconvict, and not confessing the crime); but rather, cursing that party in vain, he curseth and condemneth himself, turning his weapon upon his own person to his destruction. O strange and new-found treachery proceeding from the sanctuary! nay, rather from him which as high priest seemeth to rule the church, and to be a judge over the judges."

Hildebrand was earnestly in hand with the emperor, that he should deprive those bishops which came in by simony. The emperor (thinking, as a zealous prince, that this commission had proceeded from the throne of God) without delay obeyed the same, and forthwith, without any consideration or judicial order, deprived certain bishops, and thought that by this his obedience to Hildebrand he offered an acceptable sacrifice to God, not knowing the crafty handling of him. But Hildebrand then again placed those whom the emperor for simony at his commandment had before deposed, and those whom by that means he made to bear a hateful heart to the emperor he reconciled again unto himself in great familiarity; and by many and great oaths taken Of them, for their fidelity towards him, he promoted them above all the rest. And thus, by these pranks, the imperial seat of the king being shortly after impaired, and destitute almost of friends, he craftily purchasing the friendship and favour of the greatest princes, the better to bring his matters to pass, suddenly again, without any lawful accusation, without any canonical vocation, without all judicial order, he excommunicated the emperor, (so obedient always unto him,) and set the princes of the empire all against him. And notwithstanding (as the apostle saith) that no man ought to circumvent his brother in his business, as much as in him lay he rather mortified and killed him than brotherly corrected him. Thus the emperor, being many ways circumvented, as excommunicated besides the canonical order, and by the consent and counsel of Hildebrand spoiled of the greatest part of his imperial honour, and overcharged with great wars and slaughters of his own subjects, in vain desired and sued to have the canon read and heard, causing him by force and violence at Canusium, in the presence of Hildebrand, to accuse himself by his own confession.

Say you now, (I pray you,) all such as love justice, and love not to lean either upon the left hand, or else the right hand, in the favour of any person; say your minds, whether that such a confession, being forced upon never so poor a man, (much more upon an emperor,) ought at such a time to be prejudicial or not? or whether he, which extorted the same confession, is guilty of the canon? or else he which, being so perversely judged, suffered the injury of a most perverse judge? Which also most patiently and publicly suffered this violence with lamentable affliction upon his bare feet, clothed in thin garments, in the sharp winter, which never was used, and was three days together at Canusium made a spectacle both of angels and men, and a ludicrous mocking-stock to that proud Hildebrand. Never trust me, if that fourteen cardinals, the archdeacon himself, and he that is called Primicerius, being all wise and religious men, besides many other of the clerks of Lateran, (to the judgment and privilege of whose holy seat the whole world is obedient,) weighing and considering

his intolerable apostacy, departed not from participating, and refused communicating with him.

This glorious Hildebrand, and his affinity, by their new authority breaking the decrees of the Chalcedon council, not only in words, but also in public writings, have agreed that it is tolerable both to baptize and communicate being out of the church of God; and how blind these men were, and also what heretics they be, their own writings do declare. What a mischief is this? (saith Benno,) they presume to judge of the church which swarm themselves in all errors, who also esteem the verity but as a lie; and lest their poisoned falsehood both in words and writings should appear, they have, like subtle poisoners, (the sooner to deceive,) mixed honey therewithal. A lie, saith St. Augustine, is every thing pronounced with the intent of deceiving of others.

It were too long and tedious here to recite all the detestable doings and diabolical practices of conjurings, charms, and filthy sorceries, exercised between him, and Laurentius, and Theophylact, otherwise named Pope Benedict the Ninth, whereof a long narration followeth in the foresaid epistle of Benno to the cardinals to be seen, to whom the reader may repair, whoso hath either leisure to read or mind to understand more of the abominable parts and devilish acts of this Hildebrand.

About what time Hildebrand was made pope, Henricus the Fourth, emperor, was encumbered and much vexed with civil dissension in Germany, by reason of certain grievances of the Saxons against him and his father Henricus the Third. Where upon the matter growing to sedition, sides were taken, and great wars ensued betwixt Otho, duke of Saxony, and Henricus the emperor. This busy time seemed to Hildebrand very opportune to work his feats, whose study and drift was ever from the beginning to advance the dominion of the Romish seat above all other bishops, and also to press down the authority of the temporal rulers under the spiritual men of the church. And although he went about the same long before, by subtle trains and acts set forth concerning simony; yet now he thought more effectually to accomplish his purposed intent, after that he was exalted thither where he would be. And therefore now bearing himself the bolder, by the authority of St. Peter's throne, first he began to pursue the act set out by his predecessor, as touching simony, cursing and excommunicating, whoso ever they were, that received any spiritual living or promotion at laymen's hands, as also all such as were the givers thereof. For this he called then simony, that under that colour he might defeat the temporal powers of their right, and so bring the whole clergy at length to the lure of Rome. And forsomuch as the emperor was the head, thinking first to begin with him, he sendeth for him by letters and legates to appear in the Council of Lateran at Rome. But the emperor, busied in his wars against the Saxons, had no leisure to attend to councils. Notwithstanding Gregorius the pope proceedeth in his council, rendering there the cause and reason before the bishops why he had excommunicated divers of the clergy, as Herman, bishop of Bamberg, counsellor to the emperor, and other priests more, for simony. And there moreover in the said council he threateneth to excommunicate likewise the emperor himself, and to depose him from his regal kingdom, unless he would renounce the heresy of simony, and do penance. The council being ended, Guibertus, archbishop of Ravenna, persuaded with one Centius (a Roman, the captain's son, whom the pope had excommunicated) to take the emperor's part against the pope; who watching his time in the temple of St. Mary, upon Christmas day in the morning, taketh the pope, and putteth him fast in a strong tower. The next day the people of Rome, hearing this, harness themselves with all expedition to help the bishop, whom when they loosed out of prison, they besieged the house of Centius, and plucked it

down to the ground; his family, having their noses cut off, were cast out of the city; Centius himself, escaping, fled to the emperor. Guibert the archbishop, pretending good will to the pope, departed from Rome, who likewise had wrought with Hugo Candidus, cardinal, and with Theobaldus, archbishop of Millain, also with divers other bishops about Italy, to forsake the pope, and take the emperor's part. Gregory the pope, called Hildebrand, bearing the conspiracy, layeth the sentence of excommunication upon them all, and depriveth them of their dignity. The emperor being moved (not unworthily) with the arrogant presumption of the proud prelate, called together a council at Wormes. In which council all the bishops, not only of Saxony, but of all the whole empire of Germans, agree and conclude upon the deposition of Hildebrand, and that no obedience hereafter should be given to him. This being determined in the council, Roulandus, a priest of Parmen, was sent to Rome with the sentence, who in the name of the council should command Gregory to yield up his seat, and also charge the cardinals to resort to the emperor for a new election of another pope. The tenor of the sentence sent by Roulandus was this.

The sentence of the Council of Wormes against Hildebrand.

"Forsomuch as thy first ingress and coming in hath been so spotted with so many perjuries, and also the church of God brought into no little danger through thine abuse and newfangledness; moreover, because thou hast defamed thine own life and conversation with so much and great dishonesty, that we see no little peril or slander to rise thereof; therefore the obedience, which yet we never promised thee, here after we utterly renounce, and never intend to give thee. And as thou hast never taken us yet for bishops, (as thou hast openly reported of us,) so neither will we hereafter take thee to be apostolic. Vale."

Gregory the pope, tickled with this sentence, first condemneth it in his Council of Lateran with excommunication. Secondly, depriveth Sigifridus, archbishop of Mentz, of his dignities and ecclesiastical livings, with all other bishops, abbots, and priests, as many as took the emperor's part. Thirdly, accuseth Henricus the emperor himself, depriveth him of his kingdom and regal possession, and releaseth all his subjects of their oath of allegiance given unto him, after this form and manner.

The tenor of the sentence excommunicatory against Henricus the emperor by Hildebrand.

"O blessed St. Peter, prince of the apostles, bow down thine ears, I beseech thee, and hear me thy servant, whom thou hast brought up even from mine infancy, and hast delivered me until this day from the hands of the wicked, which hate and persecute me, because of my faith in thee. Thou art my witness, and also the blessed mother of Jesus Christ, and thy brother St. Paul, fellow partner of thy martyrdom, how that I entered this function not willingly, but enforced against my will; not that I take it so as a robbery lawfully to ascend into this seat; but because that I had rather pass over my life like a pilgrim or private person, than for any fame or glory to climb up to it. I do acknowledge (and that worthily) all this to come of thy grace, and not of my merits, that this charge over Christian people, and this power of binding and loosing, is committed to me. Wherefore, trusting upon this assurance for the dignity and tuition of holy church in the name of God omnipotent, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, I do here depose Henry, the son of Henry once the emperor, from his imperial seat and princely government, who hath so boldly and presumptuously laid hands upon thy church. And furthermore, all such as heretofore have sworn to be his subjects, I release them of their oath, whereby all subjects are bound to the allegiance of their princes.

For it is meet and convenient that he should be void of dignity which seeketh to diminish the majesty of thy church. Moreover, for that he hath contemned my monitions, tending to his health and wealth of his people, and hath separated himself from the fellowship of the church, (which he, through his seditions, studieth to destroy,) therefore I bind him by virtue of excommunication, trusting and knowing most certainly that thou art Peter, in the rock of whom (as in the true foundation) Christ our King hath built his church."

The emperor, thus assaulted with the pope's censure, sendeth abroad his letters through all nations to purge himself, declaring how wrongfully and against all right he was condemned. The princes of Almany, partly fearing the crack of the pope's thunderclap, partly again rejoicing that occasion was renewed to rebel against the emperor, assembled a commencement, where they did consult and so conclude to elect another emperor, and so fall from Henry, unless the pope would come to Germany, and he would there be content to submit himself and obtain his pardon.

Wherein is to be considered the lamentable affections of the Germans in those days, so to forsake such a valiant emperor, and so much to repute a vile bishop. But this was the rudeness of the world then, for lack of better knowledge. The emperor, seeing the chief princes ready to forsake him, promiseth them with an oath, that if the pope would repair to Germany, he would ask forgiveness.

Upon this the bishop of Triers was sent up in commission to Rome, to entreat the pope to come into Germany. The bishop (at the instance of the legate and of the princes) was content. He entered into Germany, thinking to come to Augusta. After he was come to Vercellos, the bishop of that city (being the chancellor of Italy, and desirous to disturb peace for the old grudge he had to the emperor) falsely persuaded with the pope, that he was certain the emperor was coming with a mighty great army against him, counselling him therefore to provide betimes for his own safeguard in some stronger place. Whereby the pope's mind being altered, he retired back to Canusium or Canossus, a city being subject to Matilda, a countess of Italy, where he should not need to fear the emperor.

Henricus understanding the false fear of the pope, and of his retire to Canusium, incontinent (coming out of Spires with his wife and his young sun, in the deep and sharp of winter) resorteth to Canossus. All his peers and nobles had left him for fear of the pope's curse, neither did any accompany him. Wherefore the emperor, being not a little troubled, (laying apart his regal ornaments,) came barefooted with his wife and child to the gate of Canossus, where he from morning to night (all the day fasting) most humbly desireth absolution, craving to be let in to the speech of the bishop. But no ingress might be given him once within the gates. Thus he continuing three days together in his petition and suit, at length answer came, that the pope's majesty had yet no leisure to talk with him. The emperor, nothing moved therewith, that he was not let into the city, patient and with a humble mind abideth without the walls, with no little grievance and painful labour; for it was a sharp winter, and all frozen with cold. Notwithstanding, yet through his importunate suit at length it was granted, through the entreating of Matilda, the pope's paramour, and of Arelaus, earl of Sebaudia, and the abbot of Cluniack, that he should be admitted to the pope's speech. On the fourth day being let in, for a token of his true repentance, he yielded to the pope's hands his crown, with all other ornaments imperial, and confessed himself unworthy of the empire, if ever he do against the pope hereafter, as he hath done before, desiring for that time to be absolved and forgiven. The pope answereth, he will

neither forgive him, nor release the bond of his excommunication, but upon conditions. First, to promise that he shall be content to stand to his arbitrament in the council, and to take such penance as he shall enjoin him; also that he shall be prepared and ready to appear, in what place or time the pope shall appoint him. Moreover, that he, being content to take the pope judge of his cause, shall answer in the said council to all objections and accusations laid against him, and that he shall never seek any revengement herein. Item, that he (though he be quit and cleared therein) shall stand to the pope's mind and pleasure, whether to have his kingdom restored or to lose it. Finally, that before the trial of his cause, he shall neither use his kingly ornaments, sceptres, or crown, nor usurp the authority to govern, nor to exact any oath of allegiance upon his subjects, &c. These things being promised to the bishop by an oath, and put in writing, the emperor is only released of excommunication. The tenor of the writing is this:

The form and tenor of the oath which Henricus made to the pope.

"I Henricus, king, after peace and agreement made to the mind and sentence of our Lord Gregorius the Seventh, promise to keep all covenants and bonds betwixt us, and to provide that the pope go safely wheresoever he will, without any danger either to him or to his retinue; especially in all such places as be subject to our empire. Nor that I shall at any time stay or hinder him, but that he may do that belongeth to his function, where and whensoever his pleasure shall be. And these things I bind myself with an oath to keep."

Thus the matter being decided betwixt them, after the pope's own prescribement, the emperor taketh his journey to Papia. The pope with his cardinals did vaunt and triumph with no little pride that they had so quailed the emperor, and brought him on his knees to ask them forgiveness. Yet notwithstanding, mistrusting themselves, and misdoubting time, what might befall them hereafter if fortune should turn, and God give the emperor to enjoy a more quiet kingdom; therefore, to prevent such dangers betime, they study and consult privily with themselves how to displace Henry clean from his kingdom, and how that device might safely be conveyed. They conclude and determine to derive the empire unto Rodulphus, a man of great nobility amongst the chiefest states of Germany; and also to incite and stir up all other princes and subjects (being yet free and discharged from their oaths) against Henry, and so by force of arms to expel the emperor out of his kingdom. To bring this purpose the better to pass, legates were sent down from the pope, Sigehardiis, patriarch of Aquilia, and Altimanus, bishop of Padway, which should persuade through all France, that Henry the emperor was rightfully excommunicated, and that they should give to the bishop of Rome their consents in choosing Rodulphus to be emperor. This being done, there was sent to the said Rodulph, duke of Suevia, a crown from the pope with this verse:

The Rock gave the crown to Peter,
Peter giveth it to Rodulph.

Here, by the way of digression, (to make a little gloss upon this barbarous verse,) two notable lies are to be noted. One where he lieth upon Christ, the other where he lieth upon St. Peter. First, that Christ gave any temporal diadem to Peter, it is a most manifest lie, and against the Scriptures, whenas he would not take it being given to himself, and saith his kingdom is not of this world. Again, where be saith that Peter giveth it to Rodulph, here he playeth the poet, for neither had Peter any such thing to give; and if he had, yet he would not have given it to Rodulphus from the right heir; neither is it true that Peter did give it, because Hildebrand gave it. For it is no

good argument, Hildebrand did give it, ergo, Peter did give it; except ye will say, Hildebrand stirred up great wars and bloodshed in Germany, ergo, Peter stirred up great wars in Germany. So Peter neither could, nor would, nor did give it to Rodulphus, but only Hildebrand the pope; who after he had so done, he gave in commandment to the archbishop of Mentz and of Cullen to elect this Rodulphus for emperor, and to anoint him king, and also to defend him with all force and strength they might.

While this conspiracy was in hand, Henricus the emperor was absent, and the pope's ambassadors with him also. In the mean space, Rodulphus was elected emperor, unknown to Henry. Upon this cometh the bishop of Stausborough unto the emperor, certifying him what was done. He, suspecting and seeing the stomach and doings of the Saxons so bent against him, mustereth his men with expedition, and marcheth forward to defend his right; but first sendeth to Rome, (trusting upon the league betwixt him and his pope,) and requireth the bishop to proceed with his sentence against Rodulphus, for the rebellious invasion of his empire. But the bishop, minding nothing less, sendeth word again, that it was not right to condemn any person, his cause being not heard; thus under pretence of the law colouring his unlawful treachery. Henricus, thus disappointed and forsaken on every side, with his men about him attempted battle against Rodulphus. In which battle a marvellous great slaughter was on both sides, but the victory on neither part certain; so that both the captains yet challenged the empire. After the battle and great murder on both sides, they both sent to Rome, to know of the pope's determination, to whether of them two he judged the right title of the empire to appertain. The bishop commandeth them both to break up their armies, and depart the field, promising that he shortly would call a council where this matter should be disputed; in the mean time they should cease from war. But before the messengers returned again, (their armies being refreshed,) they had another conflict together, but not victory got on either part. Thus both the captains being wearied in wars, the Romish beast, the bishop, which was the cause thereof, perceiving whither these cruel wars would tend, to the great calamity not only of the Germans, but also of other nations, (trusting to find another way to help Rodulphus and his adherents,) sendeth down a commission by Otho, archbishop of Trevers, Bernardus, deacon, and Bernardus, abbot of Massilia; to whom he gave in charge that they should call together a council or sitting in Almany, and that there it should be defined to whether part the empire should pertain, by most right and public consideration; promising that what they should therein determine he (looking upon the matter through the authority of God omnipotent, and of St. Peter, and St. Paul) would ratify the same. Moreover, for that no let nor impeachment should happen to the legates by the way, he giveth with them letters to the princes and nations of Germany; whereof the contents be declared briefly in Platina, if any list to read them.

But the emperor would not so permit the legates to have any council within Germany, except they would first deprive Rodulphus of his kingdom. The legates, considering that to be against the drift and intention of the pope, returned again from whence they came. The pope hearing this, and seeing his purpose was so disappointed by the emperor, draweth out another excommunication against him, and again bereaveth him of his kingdom; sending about his letters excommunicatory throughout all places, thinking thereby to further the part of Rodulphus the better.

Furthermore, Hildebrand interdicteth and deposeth also Guibertus, archbishop of Ravenna, for taking the emperor's part; commanding all priests to give no manner of

obedience to him, and sendeth thither to Ravenna another archbishop with full authority.

After and upon this, Henricus and Rodulphus, to try the matter by the sword, coped together in battle, not without bloodshed, where Henricus, by the favour of God, against the judgment of Hildebrand, had the victory. Rodulphus, there greatly wounded in the conflict, was had out of the army, and carried to Hyperbolis, where he commanded the bishops and chief doers of his conspiracy to be brought before him. When they came, he lifted up his right hand, in which he had taken his deadly wound, and said, This is the hand which gave the oath and sacrament unto Henricus my prince, and which through your instigation so oft hath fought against him in vain; now go and perform your first oath and allegiance to your king, for I must to my fathers; and so died. Thus the pope gave battle, but God gave the victory.

Henricus (after his enemy being thus subdued, and wars being ceased in Germany) forgot not the old injuries received of Hildebrand, by whom he was twice excommunicated and expelled from his kingdom, and three days making humble suit (yea, and that in sharp winter) could find no favour with him. Besides that, he incited moreover and aided his enemy against him. Wherefore he calleth to gether a council or assembly of divers bishops of Italy, Lombardy, and Germany, at Brixia, 1083, where he purged himself, and accused the bishop Hildebrand of divers crimes, to be a usurper, perjured, a necromancer and sorcerer, a sower of discord; complaining moreover of wrongs and injuries done by the bishop and Church of Rome, in that the Church of Rome preferred the bishop before him; when that his father, being emperor before him, had enthronized and set in divers and sundry bishops there by his assignment, without all others' election. And now this bishop, contrary to his oath and promise made, thrust in himself without the will and knowledge of him, being their king and magistrate. For in the time of his father, Henricus the Third, this Hildebrand with other bound themselves with a corporal oath, that so long as the emperor and his son, now being king, should live, they should neither themselves presume nor suffer any other to aspire to the papal seat, without the assent and ap probation of the foresaid emperors; which now this Hildebrand, contrary to his corporal oath, had done. Wherefore the foresaid council with one agreement condemned this Gregory, that he should be deposed.

This being enacted and sent to Rome, they elected Guibertus, archbishop of Ravenna, in the place of Hildebrand, to govern the Church of Rome, named Clemens the Third. But when Hildebrand neither would give over his hold, nor give place to Clement, the emperor, gathering an army to send to Italy, came to Rome to depose Gregory, and to place Clement. But Hildebrand, sending to Matilda the countess before mentioned, required her (in remission of all her sins) to withstand Henry the emperor, and so she did. Notwithstanding Henricus

prevailing came to Rome, where he besieged the city all the Lent, and after Easter got it, the Romans being compelled to open the gates unto him; so he coming to the temple of St. Peter, there placeth Clement in his papacy. Hildebrand straight flieth into Adrian's tower with his adherents, where he being beset round about at length sendeth for Robert Guiscardus his friend, a Norman. In the mean time, while Robertus collecteth his power, the abbot of Cluniack, conferring with Gregory, exhorteth him to crown Henricus emperor in Lateran. Which if he would do, the other promiseth to bring about that Henry should depart with his army into Germany; whereunto the people of Rome also did likewise move him. To whom Gregory answered, that he was

content so to do, but upon condition that the emperor would submit himself to ask pardon, to amend his fault, and to promise obedience. The emperor, not agreeing to those conditions, went to Senas, taking Clement, new stalled pope, with him.

After the return of the emperor, the foresaid Robert Guiscardus, approaching with his soldiers, burst in at one of the gates, and spoileth the city; and not long after delivereth Hildebrand out of his enemies' hands, and carried him away to Campania, where he, not long continuing after, died in exile.

Antonius writeth, that Hildebrand, as he did lie a dying, called to him one of his chief cardinals, bewailing to him his fault and disorder of his spiritual ministry, in stirring up discord, war, and dissension; whereupon he desired the cardinal to go to the emperor, and desire him of forgiveness, absolving from the danger of excommunication both him and all his partakers, both quick and dead.

Thus hast thou, gentle reader, the full history of Pope Gregory the Seventh, called Hildebrand, which I have laid out more at large, and desire thee to mark, because that from this pope, if thou mark well, springeth all the occasions of mischief, of pomp, pride, stoutness, presumption, and tyranny, which since that time hath reigned in his successors hitherto, in the cathedral church of the Romish clergy. For here came first the subjection of the temporal regiment under the spiritual jurisdiction; and emperors, which before were their masters, now are made their underlings. Also here came in the suppression of priests' marriage, as is sufficiently declared. Here came in moreover the authority of both the swords spiritual and secular into spiritual men's hands. So that Christian magistrates could do nothing in election, in giving bishoprics or benefices, in calling councils, in hearing and correcting the excesses of the clergy; but only the pope must do all. Yea, moreover, no bishop nor pastor in his own parish could excommunicate or exercise any discipline amongst his flock, but only the pope challenged that prerogative to himself. Finally, here came in the first example to persecute emperors and kings with rebellion and excommunication, as the clergy themselves hereafter do testify and witness in proceeding against Paschalis. Thus these notes being well observed, let us (by the grace of Christ) now repair again to our country history of England.

34. Summary of the Reign and Character of William I.

About the death of Pope Hildebrand (or not long after) followed the death of King William the Conqueror, in the year 1090, after he had reigned in England the space of one and twenty years and ten months. The cause of his sickness and death is said to be this: For that Philip the French king upon a time (jesting) said that King William lay in childbed, and nourished his fat belly. To this the foresaid William, hearing thereof, answered again, and said, when he should be churched, he would offer a thousand candles to him in France, wherewithal the king should have little joy. Whereupon King William in the month of July (when the corn, fruit, and grapes were most flourishing) entered into France, and set on fire many cities and towns in the west side of France. And lastly, coming to the city of Meaux, where he burning a woman, being as a recluse in a wall enclosed, (or, as some say, two men anchorites enclosed,) was so fervent and furious about the fire, that with the heat, partly of the fire, partly of the time of the year, thereby he fell into sickness, and died upon the same.

By the life and acts of this king it may appear true, as stories of him report, that he was wise, but guileful; rich, but covetous; a fair speaker, but a great dissembler; glorious in victory and strong in arms, but rigorous in oppressing whom he overcame, in levying of tasks passing all others. Inso much that he caused to be enrolled and numbered in his treasury every hide of land, and owner thereof; what fruit and revenues surmounted of every lordship, of every township, castle, village, field, river, and wood, within the realm of England. Moreover, how many parish churches, how many living cattle, there were, what and how much every baron in the realm could dispend, what fees were belonging, what wages were taken, &c. The tenor and contents of which taskment yet remaineth in rolls. After this tasking or numbering, which was the year before his death, followed an exceeding murrain of cattle, and barrenness of the ground, with much pestilence and hot fevers among the people, so that such as escaped the fever were consumed with famine. Moreover, at the same season, among certain other cities, a great part of the city of London, with the church of Paul's, was wasted with fire in the year of our Lord 1085.



In hunting and in parks the foresaid king had such pleasure, that in the country of Southampton, by the space of thirty miles, he cast down churches and townships, and there made the New Forest; loving his deer so dearly, as though he had been to them a father, making sharp laws for the increasing thereof, under pain of losing both the eyes. So hard he was to Englishmen, and so favourable to his own country, that there was no English bishop remaining, but only Wolstan of Worcester, who being commanded of the king and Lanfranc to resign up his staff, partly for inability, partly for lack of the French tongue, refused otherwise to resign it, but only to him that gave it, and so went to the tomb of King Edward, where he thought to resign it, but was permitted to enjoy it still; so likewise in his days there was almost

no Englishman that bare office of honour or rule in the land. Insomuch that it was half a shame at that time to be called an Englishman. Notwithstanding he some deal favoured the city of London, and granted unto the citizens the first charter that ever they had, written in the Saxon, with green wax sealed, and contained in few lines.

Among his other conditions, this in him is noted, that so given he was to peace and quiet, that any maiden being laden with gold or silver might pass through the whole realm without harm or resistance. This William in his time builded two monasteries; one in England, at Battle in Sussex, where he won the field against Harold, called the abbey of Battle; another besides, named Barmondsey, in his country of Normandy.

A little above mention was made of the bishop's see of Shireborne, translated from thence to Salisbury. The first bishop of Salisbury was Hirmannus, a Norman, who first began the new church and minster of Salisbury. After whom succeeded Osmundus, who finished the work, and replenished the house with great living, and much good singing. This Osmundus first began the ordinary which was called *Secundum usum Sarum*, An. 1076. The occasion whereof was this, as I find in an old story book entitled Eulogium. A great contention chanced at Glastenbury between Thurstanus the abbot and his convent, in the days of William the Conqueror. Which Thurstanus the said William had brought out of Normandy from the abbey of Cadonum, and placed him abbot of Glastenbury. The cause of this contentious battle was, for that Thurstanus contemning their choir service, then called the use of St. Gregory, compelled his monks to the use of one of William, a monk of Fiscam in Normandy. Whereupon came strife and contentions amongst them, first in words, then from words to blows, after blows then to armour. The abbot, with his guard of harnessed men, fell upon the monks, and drave them to the steps of the high altar, where two were slain, eight were wounded with shafts, swords, and pikes. The monks, then driven to such a strait and narrow shift, were compelled to defend themselves with forms and candlesticks, wherewith they did wound certain of the soldiers. One monk there was, (an aged man,) who, instead of his shield, took an image of the crucifix in his arms for his defence, which image was wounded in the breast by one of the bow-men, whereby the monk was saved. My story addeth more, that the striker incontinent upon the same fell mad; which savoureth of some monkish addition besides the text. This matter being brought before the king, the abbot was sent again to Cadonum, and the monks by the commandment of the king were scattered in far countries. Thus, by the occasion hereof, Osmundus, bishop of Salisbury, devised that ordinary which is called the use of Sarum, and was afterward received in a manner through all England, Ireland, and Wales. And thus much for this matter, done in the time of this Kind William.

Which William after his death, by his wife Matildis, or Maud, left three sons, Robert Courtsey, to whom he gave the duchy of Normandy; William Rufus, his second son, to whom he gave the kingdom of England; and Henry the third son, to whom he left and gave treasure; and warned William to be to his people loving and liberal, Robert to be to his people stern and sturdy.

In the history called Jornalensis, it is reported of a certain great man, who about this time of King William was compassed about with mice and rats, and flying to the midst of a river; yet when that would not serve, came to the land again, and was of them devoured. The Germans say that this was a bishop, who, dwelling between Cullen and Mentz, in time of famine and dearth, having store of corn and grain, would

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not help the poverty crying to him for relief, but rather wished his corn to be eaten up of mice and rats. Wherefore, being compassed with mice and rats, (by the just judgment of God,) to avoid the annoyance of them, he builded a tower in the midst of the river of Rheine (which yet to this day the Dutchmen call Rats' Tower); but all that would not help, for the rats and mice swam over to him in as great abundance as they did before, of whom at length he was devoured.

35. William Rufus

William Rufus, the second son of William the Conqueror, begun his reign in the year of our Lord 1088, and reigned thirteen years, being crowned at Westminster by Lanfranc; who, after his coronation, released out of prison, by the request of his father, divers English lords, which before had been in custody. It chanced that, at the death of William the Conqueror, Robert Courtsey his eldest son was absent in Almany, who, hearing of the death of his father, and how William his younger brother had taken upon him the kingdom, was therewith greatly moved; insomuch that he laid his dukedom to pledge unto his brother Henry, and with that good gathered unto him an army, and so landed at Hampton, to the intent to have expelled his brother from the kingdom. But William Rufus hearing thereof sent to him fair and gentle words, promising him surrender and subjection, as to the more worthy and elder brother; this thing only requiring, that seeing he was now in place and possession, he might enjoy it during his life, paying to him yearly three thousand marks, with condition that which of them overlived the other should enjoy the kingdom. The occasion of this variance between these brethren wrought a great dissension between the Norman lords and bishops, both in England and in Normandy. Insomuch that all the Norman bishops within the realm almost rebelled against the king, taking part with Duke Robert, except only Lanfranc, and Wolstan, bishop of Worcester, above mentioned, an Englishman; who for his virtue and constancy was so well-liked and favoured of his citizens, that (imbolddened with his presence and prayer) they stoutly maintained the city of Worcester against the siege of their enemies, and at last vanquished them with utter ruin. But Duke Robert at length by the advice of his council (hearing the words sent unto him, and wagging his head thereat, as one conceiving some matter of doubt or doubleness) was yet content to assent to all that was desired, and so returned shortly after into Normandy, leaving the bishops and such others in the briers, which were in England, taking his part against the king.

This Rufus was so ill liked of the Normans, that between him and his lords was oft dissension. Wherefore (well near) all the Normans took part against him; so that he was forced of necessity to draw to him the Englishmen. Again, so covetous he was, and so immeasurable in his tasks and takings, in selling benefices, abbeyes, and bishoprics, that he was hated of all Englishmen.

In the third year of this king died Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury; from whose commendation and worthiness, as I list not to detract any thing, (being so greatly magnified of Polydorus his countryman,) so neither do I see any great cause why to add any thing thereto. This I think, unless that man had brought with him less superstition, and more sincere science into Christ's church, he might have kept him in his country still, and have confuted Berengarius at Rome. After the decease of Lanfranc, the see of Canterbury stood empty four years.

After the council of Lanfranc above mentioned, wherein was concluded for translating of bishops' sees from villages into head cities; Remigius, bishop of Dorchester, (who, as ye heard, accompanied Lanfranc unto Rome,) removed his bishop's see from Dorchester unto Lincoln, where he builded the minster there situate upon a hill within the said city of Lincoln. The dedication of which church Robert, archbishop of York, did resist, say ing that it was builded within the ground of his

precinct. But after, it had his Romish dedication by Robert Blevet, next bishop that followed. By the same Remigius also was founded the cloister or monastery of Stow, &c.

In the fourth year of this king great tempests fell in sundry places of England, specially at Winchcombe, where the steeple was burned with lightning, the church wall burst through, the head and right leg of the crucifix, with the image of our lady on the right side of the crucifix, thrown down, and such a stink left in the church, that none might abide. At London the force of the weather and tempest overturned six hundred houses. In which tempest the roof of Bow-church was hurled up in the wind, and by the vehemency thereof was pitched down a great deepness into the ground.

King William, (as ye have heard,) an exceeding poller, or ravener rather, of church goods, after he had given the bishopric of Lincoln to his chancellor, Robert Blevet above minded, began to cavil; avouching the see of Lincoln to belong to the see of York; till the bishop of Lincoln had pleased him with a great sum of money of five thousand marks, &c.

And as nothing could come in those days with out money from the king, so Herbert Losinga, paying to the king a piece of money, was made bishop of Thetford, as he had paid a little before to be abbot of Ramsey. Who likewise, the same time removing his see from Thetford to the city of Norwich, there erected the cathedral church with the cloister in the said city of Norwich, where he furnished the monks with sufficient living and rents of his own charges, besides the bishop's lands. After ward, repenting of his open and manifest simony, he went to Rome, where he resigned into the pope's hands his bishopric, but so that incontinent he received it again. This Herbert was the son of an abbot called Robert, for whom he purchased of the king to be bishop of Winchester.

Ye heard a little before of the death of Pope Hildebrand, after the time of which Hildebrand the German emperors began to lose their authority and right in the pope's election, and in giving of benefices. For next after this Hildebrand came Pope Victor, by the setting up of Matilda, and the duke of Normandy, with the faction and retinue of Hildebrand, who likewise showed himself stout against the emperor. But God gave the shrewd cow short horns. For Victor being poisoned (as some say in his chalice) sat but one year and a half. Notwithstanding the same imitation and example of Hildebrand continued still in them that followed after. And like as the kings of Israel followed most part the steps of Jeroboam, till the time of their desolation; so for the greatest part all popes followed the steps and proceedings of this Hildebrand, their spiritual Jeroboam, in maintaining of false worship, and chiefly in upholding the dignity of that see, against all rightful authority, and the lawful kingdom of Zion. In the time of this Victor began the order of the monks of Charterhouse, through the means of one Hugo, bishop of Gracionople, and of Bruno, bishop of Cullen.

Next to Victor sat Urban the Second, by whom the acts of Hildebrand were confirmed, and also new decrees enacted against Henry the emperor. In this time were two popes at Rome, Urbanus, and Clemens the Third, whom the emperor set up. Under Pope Urban came in the white monks of the Cistereian order, by one Stephen Harding, a monk of Shireborne, (an Englishman,) by whom this order had his beginning in the wilderness of Cistery, with in the province of Burgoin, as witnesseth Cestrensis. Others write that this Harding was the second abbot of that place, and that it was first founded by the means of one Robert, abbot of Molism in Cestercium, a forest in Burgundy, A.D. 1098, persuaded perchance by Harding; and afterwards, in

the year of our Lord 1135, it was brought into England by a certain man called Espeke, which builded an abbey of the same order called Merinale. In this order the monks did live by the labour of their hands; they paid no tithes nor offerings, they wore no fur nor lining, they wore red shoes, their cowls white, and coats black, all shorn save a little circle, they ate no flesh but only in their journey. Of this order was Bernardus, &c.

This Urban held divers councils; one at Rome, where he excommunicated all such lay persons as gave investiture of any ecclesiastical benefice; also all such of the clergy as abjected themselves to be underlings or servants to lay persons for ecclesiastical benefices, &c.

Another council he held at Cleremount in France, where among other things the bishop made an oration to the lords being there present, concerning the voyage and recovering the Holy Land from the Turks and Saracens. The cause of which voyage first sprang by one Peter, a monk or hermit, who being in Jerusalem, and seeing the great misery of the Christians under the pagans, made thereof declaration to Pope Urban, and was therein a great solicitor to all Christian princes. By reason where of, after the foresaid oration of Pope Urban, thirty thousand men (taking on them the sign of the cross for their cognizance) made preparation for that voyage, whose captains were Godfrey, duke of Loraine, with his two brethren, Eustace and Baldwin, the bishop of Pody, Bohemund, duke of Puell, and his nephew Tancredus, Raimund, earl of St. Egidius, Robert, earl of Flanders, and Hugh le Grand, brother of Philip the French king. To whom also was joined Robert Curthose, duke of Normandy, with divers other noblemen, with the foresaid Peter the hermit, who was the chief causer of that voyage.

At that time many of the said noblemen laid their lands and lordships to mortgage to provide for the forenamed voyage; as Godfrey, duke of Loraine, who sold the dukedom of Boulogne to the bishop of Eburone for a great sum of money. Also Robert Curthose, duke of Normandy, laid his dukedom to pledge to his brother William, king of England, for ten thousand pounds, &c.

Thus the Christians, which passed first over Bosphorus, having to their captain Peter the hermit, (a man perchance more devout than expert to guide an army,) being trapped of their enemies, were slain and murdered in great numbers among the Bulgars, and near to the town called Civitus.

When the nobles and the whole army met together at Constantinople, (where Alexius was emperor,) passing over by Hellespontus going to Jerusalem, they took the cities of Nicea, Eraclea, Tarsis, and subdued the country of Cicilia, appointing the possession thereof to certain of their captains.

Antioch was besieged, and in the ninth month of the siege it was yielded to the Christians by one Pyrrhus; about which season were fought many strong batties, to the great slaughter and desolation of the Saracens, and not without loss of many Christian men. The governance of this city was committed to Bohemund, duke of Puell, whose martial knighthood was often proved in time of the siege thereof.

And not long after, Corbona, master of the Persians' chivalry, was vanquished and slain, with a hundred thousand infidels. In which discomfiture were taken fifteen thousand camels.

Jerusalem, on the nine and thirtieth day of the siege, was conquered by the Christians. Robert also, duke of Normandy, was elect to be king thereof. Howbeit he

refused it, hearing of the death of King William Rufus of England; wherefore he never sped well in all his affairs after the same. Then Godfrey, captain of the Christian army, was proclaimed the first king of Jerusalem. At the taking of the city was such a murder of men, that blood was congealed in the street the thickness of a foot. Then after Godfrey reigned Baldwin his brother; after him Baldwin the second nephew; then Gaufridus, duke of Gaunt, and after him Gaufridus his son, by whom many great battles there were fought against the Saracens, and all the country thereabout subdued, save Ascalon, &c. And thus much hitherto touching the voyage to the Holy Land. Now to our own land again.

About this time (as Matt. Parisiensis writeth) the king of England favoured not much the see of Rome, because of their impudent and unsatiable exactions which they required; neither would he suffer any of his subjects to go to Rome, alleging these words, because they follow not the steps of Peter, hunting for rewards; neither have they the power and authority of him, whose holiness they declare themselves not to follow, &c.

By the same Urbanus the seven hours, which we call *Septem horas canonicas*, were first instituted in the church.

Item, by this pope was decreed, no bishop to be made but under the name and title of some certain place.

Item, that matins and hours of the day should every day be said.

Also every Saturday to be said the mass of our Lady, and all the Jews' sabbath to be turned to the service of our Lady, as in the Council of Turon, to the which service was appointed the anthem, *Ora pro populo, interveni pro clero, intercede pro de voto fæmineo sexu*.

Item, all such of the clergy as had wives to be deprived of their order.

Item, to be lawful for subjects to break their oath of allegiance with all such as were by the pope excommunicate.

Item, not to be lawful both for husband and wife to christen one child both together; with many more matters.

In the sixth year of this king's reign, Malcolme, king of Scots, which former times before had made great slaughter of old and young in the north parts, as is before showed, burst into Northumberland with all the power he could make, and there by the right judgment of God was slain, with his son Edward, and also Margaret his wife, sister to Edgar Adeling above minded, a virtuous and devout lady, within three days after.

The same year he gave the archbishopric of Canterbury (after that he had detained the same in his own hands four years) to Anselm, abbot of Beck in Normandy.

This Anselm was an Italian, in the city of Augusta born, and brought up in the abbey of Beck, in Normandy; where he was so strict a follower of virtue, that (as the story recordeth) he wished rather to be without sin in hell, than in heaven with sin. Which saying and wish of his (if it were his) may seem to proceed out of a mind, neither speaking orderly according to the phrase and understanding of the Scripture, nor yet sufficiently acquainted with the justification of a Christian man. Further, they

report him to be so far from singularity, that he should say it was the vice which thrust the angels first out of heaven, and man out of paradise.

Of this Anselm it is moreover reported, that he was so ill-willing to take the archbishopric, that the king had much ado to thrust it upon him; and he was so desirous to have him take it, that the city of Canterbury (which before Lanfranc did hold but at the king's good will and pleasure) he gave now to Anselm wholly, which was about the year of our Lord 1093. But as desirous as the king was then to place the said Anselm, so much did he repent it afterward, seeking all manner of means to defeat him if he might. Such strife and contention rose between them two for certain matters, the ground and occasion whereof first was this:

After that Anselm had been thus elected to the see of Canterbury, before he was fully consecrate, the king communed with him (assaying by all gentle manner of words to entreat him) that such lands and possessions of the church of Canterbury as the king had given and granted to his friends since the death of Lanfranc, they might still enjoy the same as their own lawful possessions through his grant and permission. But to this Anselm in no case would agree. Whereupon the king, conceiving great displeasure against him, did stop his consecration a great season; till at length in long process of time the king, enforced by the daily complaints and desires of his people and subjects for lack of an archbishop to moderate the church, was constrained to admit and authorize him unto them. Thus Anselm with much ado taking his consecration, and doing his homage to the king, went to his see of Canterbury. And not long after the king sailed over to Normandy.

About this time there were two striving in Rome for the popedom, as is afore touched, Urbanus and Guibertus; divers realms diversely consenting, some to the one, some to the other. England, taking part with their king, was rather inclined to Guibertus, called Clement the Third; but Anselm did fully go with Urbanus, making so his exception with the king, entering to his bishopric. After the king was returned again from Normandy, the archbishop cometh to him, and asked leave to go to Rome, to fetch his pall of Pope Urban; which when he could not at first obtain, he maketh his appeal from the king to the pope. Whereat the king being justly displeased, chargeth the archbishop with breach of his fealty, contrary to his promise made; that is, if he without his licence should appeal either to Urban or to any other pope. Anselm answereth again, that it was to be referred unto some greater council, where it is to be disputed, whether this be to break a man's allegiance to a terrene prince, if he appeal to the vicar of St. Peter. And here much arguing and contending was on both sides. The king's reason proceedeth thus: The custom (saith he) from my father's time hath been in England, that no person should appeal to the pope without the king's licence. He that breaketh the customs of the realm violateth the power and crown of the kingdom. He that violateth and taketh away my crown is a traitor and enemy against me, &c. To this Anselm replieth again: The Lord (saith he) easily discusseth this question, briefly teaching what fidelity and allegiance we ought to give unto the vicar of St. Peter, where he saith, Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church, &c. And to thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind in earth, it shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou loosest in earth, shall be loosed in heaven, &c. Again, to them all in general he saith, He that heareth you heareth me; and whoso despiseth you despiseth me. And in another place, He that toucheth you toucheth the apple of mine eye. On the other side, what duty we owe to the king, he sheweth also: Give (saith he) to the emperor what belongeth to the emperor, and to God give that which to God belongeth. Wherefore in such things as

belong to God I will yield, and must yield by good right and duty, my obedience to the vicar of St. Peter; and in such things as belong again to terrene dignities of my prince, in those I will not deny to him my faithful help and counsel, so far as they can extend.

Thus have ye the grounded arguments of this prelate to stand so stiffly against his prince, where unto peradventure was joined also some piece of a stubborn heart. But in this conclusion none of his fellow bishops durst take his part, but were all against him; namely, William, bishop of Duresme, to whom Anselm thus protesteth, saying, Whosoever he were that would presume to prove it any breach of allegiance or fealty to his sovereign, if he appealed to the vicar of St. Peter, he was ready to answer at all times to the contrary. The bishop of Duresme answered again, that he which would not be ruled by reason must with force be constrained, &c. The king, having on his part the agreement of the bishops, thought to deprive the archbishop both of his pastoral see, and to expel him out of the realm. But he could not perform his purpose; for Anselm, as he was ready to depart the realm, said, whensoever he went, he would take his office and authority with him, though he took nothing else. Whereupon that matter was deferred till a longer time. In the mean season the king had sent privily two messengers unto Pope Urban, to entreat him to send his pall to the king, for him to give it where he would. Which messengers by this time were returned again, bringing with them from Rome Gualter, bishop of Alban, the pope's legate, with the pall to be given unto Anselm. This legate, first landing at Dover, from thence came privily (unknown to Anselm) to the king; declaring and promising, that if Urban was received pope in England, whatsoever the king required to be obtained, he by his privilege from the apostolical see would ratify and confirm the same; save only that when the king required of the legate that Anselm might be removed, the legate thereunto would not agree, saying that it was impossible to be obtained, that such a man as he, being lawfully called, should be expelled without manifest cause. In conclusion, so it followed, that although he could not obtain his request of the legate, yet the legate so wrought with the king, that Urban was proclaimed lawful pope throughout all the realm.

Then were sent to Anselm certain bishops to move and prove his mind, declaring what charges and pains the king had been at in his behalf to procure the pall for him from Rome, which otherwise would have stood him in great expenses, and that all this the king had done for his sake. Wherefore it were good reason and convenient that he (to gratify the king) should something condescend to his request again. But with all this Anselm, the stout archbishop, would not be moved. Wherefore the king, seeing none other remedy, was compelled to grant unto him the full right of his archbishopric. And so the day appointed when the pall should be brought to Canterbury, (being carried with all solemnity in a thing of silver,) the archbishop, with a great concourse of people, came forth barefoot with his priestly vestments, after a most goodly manner, to meet the same; and so being brought in, it was laid upon the altar, while Anselm (spreading over his shoulders his popish vestments) proceeded unto his popish mass.

Thus agreement being made between the king and the bishop, so long as it would hold, it happened the year following the king with his army entered into Wales, to subdue such as there rebel led against him. After the victory gotten, the king returned home again with triumph; to whom Anselm thought to have come to congratulate his prosperous success. But the king prevented him by messengers, laying to the bishop's charge both the small number and the evil service of his soldiers

sent to him at his need. At the hearing hereof, all the hope of Anselm was dashed, who at the same present had thought to have obtained and done many great matters with the king touching the state of the church. But here all turned contrary to his expectation; insomuch that he was charged, against the next court of parliament, to make his answer. But he avoided that by appealing to Rome. Wherefore he made his suit and friends to the king for licence to go to the pope. Unto the which suit the king answered again, that he should not go, neither was there any cause for him so to do; for that both he knew him to be of so sound a life, that he had done no such offence whereof he needed to crave absolution at Rome, neither was there any such lack of science and knowledge that he needed to borrow any counsel there: insomuch (saith the king) I dare say Pope Urban rather hath to give place to the wisdom of Anselm, than Anselm to have need of Urban. Wherefore as he hath no cause to go, so I charge him to tarry. And if he continue in his stubbornness still, I will assuredly seize upon his possessions, and convert his archbishopric into my coffers; for that he transgresseth and breaketh his fidelity and obeisance, promising before to observe all the customs of my kingdom. Neither is it the fashion in this realm, that any of my nobles should go to Rome without my sending. And therefore let him swear unto me, that he shall neither for any grievance appeal hereafter to the see of Rome, or else let him void my realm.

Against these words of the king Anselm, thinking not best to reply again by any message, but by word of mouth, coming himself personally to the king, he placeth himself (after his order) on the right hand of the prince, where he made his reply unto the message sent to him by the king. Whereas you say I ought not to go to Rome either in regard of any trespass, or for abundance of counsel and knowledge in me, (albeit I grant neither of them to be true,) yet what the truth is therein I refer it to the judgment of God. And whereas ye say that I promised to keep and observe your customs, that I grant, but with a condition, so far to keep them, and such of them to observe, as were consonant to the laws of God, and ruled with right and equity. Moreover, whereas ye charge me with breach of my fidelity and allegiance, for that contrary to your customs I appeal to the see apostolic, (my reverence and duty to your sovereignty reserved,) if another would say it, that is untrue. For the fidelity and obeisance that I owe to thee, O king, I have it of the faith and fidelity of God, whose vicar St. Peter is, to whose seat I do appeal. Further, whereas ye require me to swear, that I shall for no cause hereafter at any time appeal to Rome, I pronounce openly that a Christian prince requireth such an oath of his archbishop unjustly. For if I should forswear St. Peter, I should deny Christ. And when I shall at any time deny Christ, then shall I be content and ready to stand to the satisfaction of my transgression to you, for asking licence to go to Rome. And peradventure when I am gone, the goods of the church shall not so serve your temporal desires and commodities as ye ween for. At these words of the bishop the king and his nobles were not a little incensed; they defending again, that in his promise of observing the king's customs, there was neither condition nor any clause put in, either of God or right. Nowise? said Anselm. If so be that in your customs was neither mention made of God nor of right, whereof was there mention then? For God forbid that any Christian should be bound to any customs which go contrary to God and to right. Thus on both sides passed much altercation between them.

At length the king, after many threatening words, told him he should carry nothing out of the realm with him. Well, said the bishop, if I may neither have my horse nor garments with me, then will I walk on foot; and so addressed him toward his

journey, (all the other bishops forsaking him,) whereof none would take his part; but if he came to them for counsel, they said he was wise enough, and needed not their counsel, as who for his prudence knew best what was to be done, as also for his holiness was willing and able to persecute the same that he did know. As for them, they neither durst nor would stand against the king their lord; whose favour they could not lack, for the peril that might happen both to themselves and their kindred. But for him, because he was both a stranger, and void of such worldly corruption in him, they willed him to go forward as he had begun; their secret consent he should have, but their open voice they would not give him. Thus Anselm, remaining at Dover fifteen days tarrying for wind, at last sped him toward his passage. But his packing being secretly known in the court, the king's officer, William Warlwast, prevented his purpose, searching by the king's commandment all his trusses, coffers, satchels, sleeves, purse, napkin, and bosom for letters, and for money, and so let him pass. Who, sailing into France, first rested awhile at Lyons, from thence came to Rome to Pope Urban, according to the tenor and form of a certain epistle of his; wherein among many other things in the same epistle contained, these words he writeth to Pope Paschalis, the third year after his banishment, after the death of Urban, and a little before the death of the king.

"To the lord and reverend father Paschalis, high bishop, Anselm, servant of the church of Canterbury, offereth due subjection from his heart, and prayers, if they can stand in any stead.

"I see in England many evils, whose correction belongeth to me, and which I could neither amend, nor suffer without mine own fault. The king desireth of me, that under the name of right I should consent to his pleasures, which were against the law and will of God. For he would not have the pope received nor appealed unto in England without his commandment; neither that I should send a letter unto him, or receive any from him, or that I should obey his decrees. He suffered not a council to be kept in his realm now these thirteen years, since he was king. In all these things, and such like, if I asked any counsel, all my suffragan bishops of his realm denied to give me any counsel, but according to the king's pleasure. After that I saw these and such other things that are done against the will and law of God, I asked a licence of him to go to Rome unto the see apostolical, that I might there take counsel for my soul, and the office committed unto me. The king said that I offended against him for the only asking of licence; and propounded to me, that either I should make him amends for the same as a trespass, (assuring him never to ask his licence any more to appeal to the pope at any time here after,) or else that I should quickly depart out of his land. Wherefore, choosing rather to go out of the land than to agree to so wicked a thing, I came to Rome, as you know, and declared the whole matter to the Lord Pope. The king by and by (as soon as I went out of England) invaded the whole archbishopric, and turned it to his own use, taxing the monks only with bare meat, drink, and cloth. The king, being warned and desired of the Lord Pope to amend this, contemned the same, and yet continueth in his purpose still. And now is the third year since I came thus out of England, and more. Some men, not understanding, demand why I did not excommunicate the king. But the wiser sort, and such as have understanding, counsel me that I do not this thing; because it belongeth not unto me both to complain and to punish. To conclude, I was forewarned by my friends that are under the king, that mine excommunication (if it should be done) would be laughed to scorn and despised," &c.

By these here above prefixed, appeareth how Anselm, the archbishop, coming unto Rome, made his complaint to Pope Urban of the king; and how the pope, writing unto the king in the behalf of Anselm, his letters and commandments were despised. And now to our story. In the mean time, while the pope's letters were sent to the king, Anselm was bid to wait about the pope to look for answer back. Who perceiving at length how little the king reputed the pope's letters, began to be weary of his office, desiring the pope that he might be discharged thereof; but the pope in no case would thereto consent, charging him upon his obedience, that wheresoever he went, he should bear with him the name and honour of the archbishop of Canterbury. Whereunto Anselm again said his obedience he neither durst nor would refuse, as who for God's cause was ready to suffer whatsoever should happen, (yea, though it were death itself,) as he thought no less would follow thereof. But what should we think, saith he, is there to be done, where justice not only taketh no place, but is utterly oppressed? And whereas my suffragans do not only not help (for dread) the righteous cause, but also for favour do impugn the same. Well, (saith the pope,) as touching these matters, we shall sufficiently provide at the next council to be holden at Baion, whereat I will you the same time and place to be present.

When the time of the council was come, Anselm amongst others was called for, who, first sitting in an utter side of the bishops, afterwards was placed at the right foot of the pope. Whereupon the same place after him was appointed to the successors of the see of Canterbury, in every general council, by the decree of Pope Urban, to sit at the right foot of the pope. In this said council great stir and much reasoning there was against the Grecians, concerning the matter and order of proceeding of the Holy Ghost. Where is to be noted, that the Greek Church hath of long time dissented from the Latin Church in many and sundry points, to the number of twenty, or almost twenty-nine, articles, as I have them collected out of the register of the church of Hereford; whereof like as occasion hereafter may serve (God willing) for a further and more ample tractation to be made; so here, by the way, partly I mean to touch some.

The first is, Wherein the Greek Church differeth from the Latin.

The articles wherein the Greek Church altereth from the Latin or Romish Church are these:

1. They are not under the obedience of the Church of Rome, because that the Church of Constantinople is not subject, but equal to the same.
2. They hold that the bishop of the apostolic see of Rome hath not greater power than the four patriarchs. And whatsoever the pope doth beside their knowledge, or without their approbation, it is of no value.
3. Item, they say whatsoever hath been done or concluded since the second general council, is of no full authority; because from that time they recount the Latins to be in error, and to be excluded out of the holy church.
4. Item, they hold the eucharist consecrated by the Church of Rome not to be the very body of Christ. Also where the Romish Church doth consecrate in unleavened bread, they consecrate in bread leavened.
5. Item, they say that the Romish Church doth err in the words of baptism, for saying, I baptize thee; when they should say, Let this creature of God be baptized, &c.

6. They hold, moreover, to be no purgatory, nor that the suffrages of the church do avail the dead, either to lessen the pain of them that be destinate to hell, or to increase the glory of them that be ordained to salvation.

7. Item, they hold that the souls out of the bodies departed (whether they have done good or evil) have not their perfect pain nor glory; but are reserved in a certain place till the day of judgment.

8. Item, they condemn the Church of Rome for mixing cold water in their sacrifice.

9. Item, they condemn the Church of Rome, for that as well women as priests anoint children (when they baptize them) on both shoulders.

10. Item, they call our bread *panagia*.

11. Item, they blame the Church of Rome for celebrating their mass on other days besides Sun days, and certain other feasts appointed.

12. Also in this the Greek Church varieth from the Latin; for they have neither cream, nor oil, nor sacrament of confirmation.

13. Neither do they use extreme unction, or anointing, after the manner of the Roman Church, expounding the place of St. James of the spiritual infirmity, and not corporal.

14. Item, they enjoin no satisfaction for penance, but only that they show themselves to the priests, anointing them with simple oil, in token of remission of sins.

15. Item, only on Maundy Thursday they consecrate for the sick, keeping it for the whole year after, thinking it to be more holy on that day consecrated than upon any other. Neither do they fast any Saturday through the whole year, but only on Easter-eve.

16. Item, they give but only five orders, as of clerks, subdeacons, deacons, priests, and bishops; whereas the Roman Church giveth nine orders, after the nine orders of angels.

17. Moreover, the Greeians in their orders make no vow of chastity, alleging for them the fifth canon of Nice. I, N., priest, or deacon, will not forsake my wife for honesty sake.

18. Item, every year the Grecians use upon certain days to excommunicate the Church of Rome and all the Latins as heretics.

19. Item, among the said Grecians they are excommunicate that beat or strike a priest. Neither do their religious men live in such priestly chastity as the Roman priests do.

20. Item, their emperor amongst them doth ordain patriarchs, bishops, and other of the clergy, and deposeth the same at his pleasure; also he giveth benefices to whom he listeth, and retaineth the fruits of the same benefices as pleaseth him.

21. Item, they blame the Latin Church, because they eat no flesh, eggs, and cheese on Fridays, and do eat flesh on Saturdays.

22. Item, they hold against the Latin men for celebrating without the consecrated church, either in the house or in the field; and fasting on the sabbath day;

and for permitting menstruous women to enter into the church before their purifying; also for suffering dogs and other beasts to enter into the church.

23. The Grecians use not to kneel in all their devotions, yea, not to the body of Christ, (as the register termeth it,) but one day in the whole year; saying and affirming, that the Latins be goats and beasts, for they are always prostrating themselves upon the ground in their prayers.

24. The Grecians moreover permit not the Latins to celebrate upon their altars. And if it chance any Latin priest to celebrate upon their altar, by and by they wash their altar, in token of abomination and false sacrifice. And diligently they observe, that whensoever they do celebrate, they do but one liturgy or mass upon one altar or table that day.

25. Item, they dissent from the Church of Rome touching the order and manner of the proceeding of the Holy Ghost.

These articles, wherein is declared the difference between the East and West Church, of the Grecians and Romans, as I found them articulated and collected in an ancient and authentical register of the church of Hereford; so I thought here to insert them, and leave them to the consideration of the reader. Other four articles more in the same register be there expressed, concerning simony, usury, not with them forbidden; and touching also their emperor, and how they teach their children to hurt or damnify by any manner of way the Latin priests, &c. Which articles, for that either they seem not truly collected out of their teachings, or else not greatly pertinent to the doctrine of religion, I overpass them. To the purpose now of our story again.

When certain of these above prefixed were moved in the foresaid council to be discussed, namely, concerning the assertion of proceeding of the Holy Ghost, and concerning leavened bread in the ministration of the Lord's supper, Anselm, as is above said, was called for, who, in the tractation of the same articles, so bestirred him in that council, that he well liked the pope and them about him, as mine author recordeth. Whereupon, touching the matter of unleavened bread, how indifferently he seemed there to reason, and what he writeth to Waltram, bishop of Nurenburch, thereof ye shall hear by a piece of his letter sent to the said bishop, the copy whereof ensueth.

Anselm, servant to the church of Canterbury, to Waltram, bishop of Nurenburch.

"As concerning the sacrifice, in which the Grecians think not as we do, it seemeth to many reasonable catholic men that which they do not to be against the Christian faith; for both he that sacrificeth unleavened and leavened sacrificeth bread. And where it is read of our Lord, (when he made his body of bread,) that he took bread and blessed, it is not added unleavened or leavened. Yet it is certain that he blessed unleavened bread, (peradventure,) not because the thing that was done required that, but because the supper, in which this was done, did give that. And whereas in another place he called himself and his flesh bread, because that as man liveth temporally with this bread, so with that bread he liveth for ever, he saith not unleavened or leavened, because both alike are bread; for unleavened and leavened differ not in substance, as some think; like as a new man afore sin, and an old man rooted in the leaven of sin, differ not in substance. For this cause, therefore, only he might be thought to call himself and his flesh bread, and made his body of bread, because that this bread (unleavened or leavened) giveth a transitory life; and his body giveth everlasting life, not for that it is either leavened or unleavened. Al though it be

a commandment in the law to eat unleavened bread in the passover, where all things are done in a figure, that it might be declared that Christ, whom they looked for, was pure and clean; and we that should eat his body were admonished to be likewise pure from all leaven of malice and wickedness. But now, after we are come from the old figure to the new truth, and eat the unleavened flesh of Christ, that old figure in bread (of which we make that flesh) is not necessary for us. But manifest it is to be better sacrificed of unleavened than of leavened," &c.

To this letter I have also adjoined another epistle of his to the said Waltram, appertaining to matters not much unlike to the same effect, wherein he treats touching the variety and divers usages of the sacraments in the church; whereby such as call and cry for so much uniformity in the church, may note peradventure in the same something for their better understanding.

A piece of another letter of Anselm to the said Waltram, bishop of Nurenburch.

"To the reverend father and his friend, Waltram, by the grace of God, the worshipful bishop of Nurenburch, Anselm, the servant of the church of Canterbury, greeting, &c.

"Your worship complaineth of the sacraments of the church, that they are not made every where after one sort, but are handled in divers places after divers sorts. And truly, if they were ministered after one sort, and agreeing through the whole church, it were good and laudable. Yet notwithstanding, because there be many diversities which differ not in the sum of the sacrament, in the strength of it, or in the faith, or else can be gathered into one custom, I think that they are rather to be borne with in agreement of peace, than to be condemned with offence. For we have this from the holy fathers, that if the unity of charity be kept in the catholic faith, the diversity of customs hurteth no thing. But if it be demanded whereof this diversity of customs doth spring, I perceive no other cause thereof but the diversity of men's wits, which although they differ not in strength and truth of the thing, yet they agree not in the fitness and comeliness of the ministering. For that which one judgeth to be meet, oftentimes another thinketh less meet; wherefore not to agree in such diversities, I think it not to swerve from the truth of the thing."

Then in the story it followeth, after long debating and discussing of these matters in the council, when they had given forth their determination upon the same, and the pope had blasted out his thundering excommunications against the Grecians, and all that took their part; at length were brought in the complaints and accusation against the king of England. Upon the hearing whereof, Pope Urban with his adherents was ready to proceed in excommunication against the king. But Anselm kneeling before the pope, after he had first accused his king, then after obtained for him longer time to be given upon further trial.

Thus the council breaking up, the pope, returning again to Rome, directeth down his letters to the king, commanding him that Anselm, with all his partakers, (in speedy wise,) should be revested again into his archbishopric, and all other possessions thereunto appertaining. To this the king sendeth answer again by messengers; who, coming to the pope, declared in the king's behalf on this wise: that the king their master did not a little marvel what came in his mind to command Anselm to be revested and reseated again into his former archbishopric; seeing he told him before plainly, that if he went out of England without his leave, he would so do unto him. Well, (saith the pope,) have ye no other matter against Anselm but only

this? No (quoth they). And have ye taken all this travail (saith the pope) to come hither so far to tell me this, that the primate of your country is therefore disseized and dispossessed, because he hath appealed to the see and judgment apostolical? Therefore if thou lovest thy lord, speed thee home and tell him, if he will not be excommunicated, that he quickly revest Anselm again to all that he had before. And lest I make thee to be hanged for thy labour, look to thy term, and see that thou bring me answer again from him into this city against the next council, the third week after Easter. The messenger or speaker, being somewhat astonished at the bearing of this so tragical answer, thinking yet to work something for his king and master, came secretly to the pope, saying that he would confer a certain mystery from his king privately with his Holiness between them two. What mystery that was, or what there passed from the king to the pope and the court of Rome, mine author doth not show; but so cunningly that mystery was handled, that, with a full consent both of the pope and all the court of Rome, a longer day was given, from Easter to Michaelmas, and the pope's cholerick heat so assuaged, that when the council came, (which then was holden at St. Peter's church in Rome,) albeit great complaints were then denounced against the king; yet such favour was found, that he took no harm. Only the sentence of excommunication was there pronounced against such lay persons as gave investiture of churches, and them that were so invested. Also against them that do consecrate such, or which give themselves in subjection to laymen for ecclesiastical livings, as is before touched, &c.

This council being finished, the archbishop seeing the unstedfastness of the pope, (which pleased him but a little,) took his journey to Lyons, where he continued his abode a long time, till the death first of Pope Urban, then after of the king.

Of this King William many things be diversely recorded, some to his commendation, and some to his discommendation; whereof this is one, which some will ascribe to hardiness, but I rather to rashness in him. As this king upon a time was in his disport of hunting, suddenly word came to him that Cenourona (a city in Normandy) was besieged. The king, without longer tarrying or advisement, took the straight way toward the sea-side, sending to his lords that they should follow after. They, being come to his presence, advised him to stay till the time his people were assembled; but he would not be stayed, saying, that such as him loved (he knew) would follow him shortly, and so went to take ship. The shipmaster, seeing the weather so dark and cloudy, was afraid, and counselled the king to tarry till the wind did turn about, and the weather more favourable. But the king, persisting in his journey, commanded him to make all the speed he might for his life; saying, that he never heard that any king yet was ever drowned. And so passed the sea in safety, and came to Normandy.

The thirteenth year of his reign the said King William, having the same time in his hand three bishoprics, Canterbury, Winchester, and Sarum; also twelve abbeys in farm; as he was in his disport of hunting in the New Forest, by glancing of an arrow (shot of a knight named Walter Tirrel) was wounded to death, and so speechless was carried to Westminster, and there was buried. Where also is to be noted, that Richard, the cousin-german of King William, and son to Duke Robert his brother, was likewise slain in the foresaid forest. See the just hand of God upon kings usurping wrongfully upon other men's grounds, as did William the Conqueror, their father, in making this New Forest, plucking down divers churches and townships the compass of thirty miles about. Here therefore appeareth, that although men cannot revenge, yet God revengeth either in them, or in their posterity, &c. This king, as he always used

concubines, so left he no issue legitimate behind him. His life was such, that it is hard for a story, that should tell the truth, to say whether he was more to be commended or reprov'd. Among other vices in him, especially is to be rebuked in him unmeasurable and unreasonable covetousness; insomuch that he coveted (if he might) to be every man's heir. This one example of a liberal and princely nature I find in him; that upon a time, when a certain abbot of a place was dead, there came to his court two monks of the same house, who before had gathered much money, and made their friends to the king, and offer'd large offers, either of them to be promoted to that dignity. There was also the third monk of the same place, which of meekness and humility followed the other two, to the intent that upon him, whom the king had admitted for abbot, he should give attendance, and as his chaplain with him return. The king called before him the two monks severally, of whom the one outproffer'd the other. As the king cast his eye aside, he espied the third monk standing by, supposing that his coming had been also for the like cause. Then the king, calling him, asked what he would do, whether he would give more than his brethren had offer'd to be abbot? He answered to the king, and said that he neither had nor would (if he might) offer any penny for it, by any such unlawful mean.

When the king had well pondered this third monk's answer, he said that he was best worthy to be abbot, and to have the rule of so holy a charge; and so gave unto him that benefice without taking any penny.

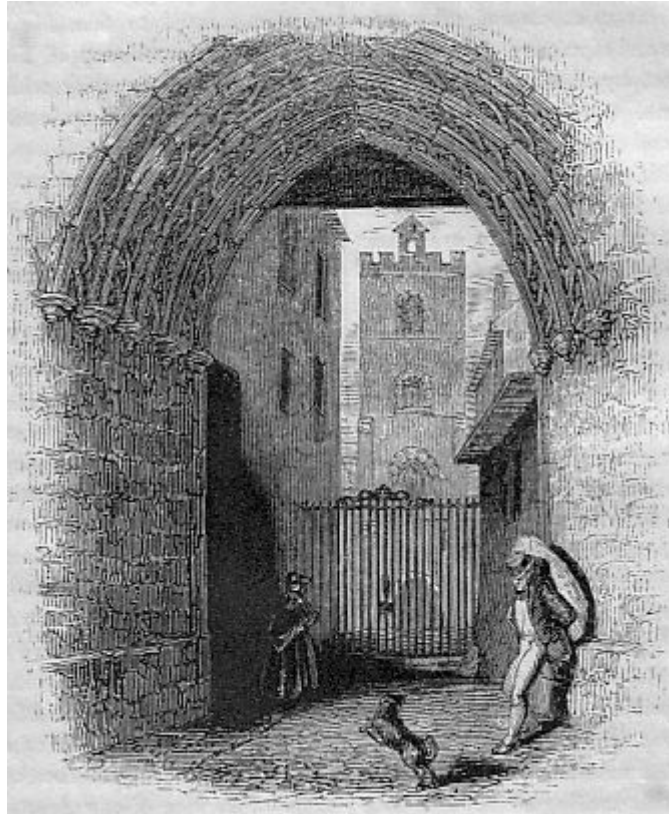
Urban, bishop of Rome, who (as is said) succeeded after Victor, ruled the Church of Rome about the space of twelve years; and amongst his other acts he excommunicated the emperor Henry, the fourth of that name, as a man not much devout to that see of Rome. But yet a worthy and victorious prince he was; in whom, albeit some vice perchance might be noted, yet none such wherefore any prelate or minister of Christ ought to excite his subjects to rebel against public authority of God appointed. This emperor Henry the Fourth was by four popes severally excommunicate; first by Hildebrand, by Victor, Urban, and Paschal. Which excommunication wrought so in the ignorant and blind hearts of the people, that many (as well of the nobles as of the multitude, contrary to their sworn allegiance) rebelliously conspired against their king and emperor. In number of whom, amongst the rest, was one certain earl named Ludovicus, to whom Waltram, bishop of the church of Nurenburgh, (a godly and faithful man, as appeareth,) doth write letters of fatherly admonition, exhorting and instructing him in the office of obedience. Unto the which letters he likewise doth answer again by cavilling sophistication, and by mere affection, rather disposed to discord, than seeking sincerity of truth.

After the time of this King William, the name of kings ceased in the country of Wales among the Britons, since King Ris, who in the reign of this king, the year of our Lord 1093, was slain in Wales.

36. Henry I.

Henry, the first of that name, the third son of William the Conqueror, succeeding his brother Rufus, began his reign in England the year of our Lord 1100; who, for his knowledge and science in the seven liberal arts, was surnamed Clerk, or Beauclerk. In whom may well appear how knowledge and learning doth greatly conduce to the government and administration of any realm or country. At the beginning he reformed the state and condition of the clergy, released the grievous payments, reduced again King Edward's laws, with emendation thereof; he reformed the old and untrue measures, and made a measure after the length of his arm; he greatly abhorred excess of meats and drinks; many things misused before his time he reformed, and used to vanquish more by counsel than by sword. Such persons as were nice and wanton he secluded from his court. This man (as appeareth) little favoured the usurped power of the bishop of Rome. Soon after he was king, he married Matild, or Maud, daughter of Malcolme, king of Scots, and of Margaret his wife, daughter of Edward the outlaw, as is before specified, being a professed nun in Winchester; whom, notwithstanding, (without the pope's dispensation,) he married by the consent of Anselm; by the which Maud he received two sons, William and Richard, and two daughters, Maud and Mary, which Maud afterward was married to Henry, the fifth emperor, &c.

In the second year of his reign, Robert his elder brother, duke of Normandy, being occupied in the Christian wars against the Turks, and being elect (as you heard) king of Jerusalem, hearing of the death of Rufus, refused the kingdom thereof; for the which (as is thought) he never sped well after. Thus the said Robert leaving off the Lord's business, and returning into Normandy, made there his preparation, and came over into England with a great host, to challenge the crown; but by mediation of the lords, it was agreed upon that Robert should have yearly during his life three thousand marks, as was likewise promised him before by King Rufus his brother; and whether of them overlived the other, to be the other's heir. And thus Robert departed again into Normandy, to the great discontentation of his lords there. But in few years after, the forenamed tribute of three thousand marks, through the means of Queen Maud, was released to the king his brother. In process of time, variance falling between King Henry and the said Robert his brother; at length Robert in his war was taken prisoner, and brought over into England, and was put into the castle of Cardiff in Wales, where he continued as prisoner while he lived.



A Gateway

In this time, as about the third year of this king, the hospital of St. Bartholomew in Smithfield was founded, (by means of a minstrel belonging unto the king, named Rajer,) and after it was finished by Richard Whittington, alderman and mayor of London. This place, or Smithfield, was at that day a lay-stall of all ordure or filth, and the place where the felons and other transgressors of the king's laws were put to execution.

Divers strict laws were by this king provided, especially against thieves and felons, that whosoever taken in that fault, no money should save them from hanging.

Item, that whoso did counterfeit false money, should have both his eyes and nether parts of his body cut off.

Item, in the same council was decreed an order for priests to be sequestered from their wives, which before were not forbidden.

Item, it was then decreed, that monks and priests should bear no rule over lay persons.

Item, it was then decreed concerning broidering of hair, and wearing of garments.

Item, that the secret contract between a young lad and a young maid should not stand; with other things more concerning the excommunication of sodomites, &c.

In the story of William Rufus before was declared how Anselm, the archbishop of Canterbury, departing out of the realm, went unto the pope; who, after the death of King William, was sent for again by the foresaid King Henry, and so

returned again, and was at the council of the king at Westminster, where the king in the presence of the lords, as well temporal as spiritual, ordained and invested two bishops, Roger, bishop of Salisbury, and Roger, bishop of Hereford. During which parliament or council of the king, Anselm in his convocation deposed and displaced divers abbots and other prelates from their rooms and dignities; either for that they lawfully came not by them. or uprightly did not administer the same.

After this council, and the other before set forth by Anselm, Herbert, bishop of Norwich, had much ado with the priests of his diocese; for they would neither leave theft wives, nor yet give over their benefices. Whereupon he wrote to Anselm, the archbishop, for counsel, what was to be done therein. Which Anselm required him (as he did others more the same time by writing) to persuade the people of Northfolke and Suffolke. that as they professed Christianity. they should subdue them as rebels against the church, and utterly drive both them and their wives out of the country, placing monks in their rooms, as by the epistles of the said Anselm doth appear. Whereof certain parcels shall hereafter (by the grace of Christ) ensue, for the better evidence of this and the other his acts above recited.

The like business also had Gerard, the archbishop of York, in depriving the priests of his province from their wives; which thing with all his excommunications and thunderings he could hardly bring about. Upon this ruffling of Anselm with married priests were rhyming verses made to help the matter withal, when reason could not serve.

About the end of the third year of this king, which was by computation of our Lord 1103, a variance fell between King Henry and Anselm, the occasion whereof was this. Ye heard a little before how Henry the foresaid king had of his own authority invested two bishops, one Roger, which was chancellor, bishop of Salisbury; and another bishop of Hereford. Besides them divers also he invested, and divers other like things took he upon him in the ecclesiastical state, which he might lawfully do, God's word allowing well the same; but because he was restrained by the bishop of Rome, and forbidden so to do, this Anselm swelled, fretted, and waxed so mad, that he would neither consent to it, neither yet confirm them, nor communicate nor talk friendly with them, whom the king had instituted and invested; but opprobriously called them abortives, or children of destruction; disdainfully rebuking the gentle king as a defiler of religion and polluter of their holy ceremonies; as witnesseth Polydorus. With this uncomely outrage the king was much displeased, (as he might full well,) and required Gerard, the archbishop of York, (as he owed him allegiance,) to consecrate them; who without delay did so, well performing the same; saving that one William Gifford, to whom the king had given the bishopric of Winchester, refused to take his consecration by the hands of the archbishop of York. For the which cause the king (worthily with him offended) deprived him both of bishopric and goods, and banished him the realm.

Moreover, the king required of Anselm, the archbishop of Canterbury, to do unto him homage, after the manner of his ancestors. Also it was asked of the said Anselm, whether that he would be with the king in giving investitures, as Lanfranc his predecessor was with his father. To whom Anselm said, that he promised not at any time that he would enter into this order, to keep the law or custom of his father, as Lanfranc did. Moreover, as concerning homage to be done to the king, that he refused; alleging the censures of the pope's excommunication, who, in his Council of Rome a little before, had given forth open sentence of excommunication upon all such lay

persons (whatsoever they were) that should from henceforth confer or give any spiritual promotions; also upon them that received them at their hands, either yet should consecrate any such receivers. Moreover, he accursed all them that for benefices or other ecclesiastical promotions should subject themselves under the homage or service of any great man, king, prince, duke, or earl of the laity. For it was unseemly, (said the pope,) and a thing very execrable, that the hands which were converted into so high a working, as was granted to no angel, (that is, to create Him with their crosses which created all, and to offer up the same before the sight of the Father for the salvation of the whole world,) should be brought to such a slavery, as to be subject to those filthy hands, which both day and night are polluted with shameful touchings, robberies, and bloodshed, &c. This decree of Pope Urban Anselm alleging for himself, denied to subject himself to the king's homage, fearing (as he said) the pope's excommunication. Upon this, messengers were sent to Rome on both parts unto the pope, (then Paschalis,) who, stoutly standing to the steps and determinations of Urban his predecessor, would in no case yield to the king's investing.

In the mean time, while there was long disputation on both sides for investing, the nobles of the realm contended, that investings did belong to the king's dignity; wherefore the king, calling for Anselm again, required him either to do homage to him, or else to void his kingdom. To whom Anselm replying again, required the pope's letters to be brought forth, and, according to the tenor thereof, so the matter to be decided. For now the messengers were returned from Rome with the pope's answer, altogether bearing with Anselm. Then said the king, What have I to do with the pope's letters? I will not forego the liberties of my kingdom for any pope. Thus the contention continued between them. Anselm saith, he would not out of the realm, but depart home to his church, and there see who would offer him any violence; and so did. Not long after, message came from the king to Anselm, requesting him, after a gentle sort, to repair to the king's presence again, to set an end of the controversy begun; whereunto Anselm granted and came. Then were new ambassadors sent again to the pope, that he would something qualify and moderate (or rather abolish) the straitness of the Roman decree before mentioned. On the part of Anselm went two monks, Baldwin and Alexander. On the king's behalf were sent two bishops, Robert, bishop of Lichfield, and Herbert, bishop of Norwich, with the king's letters written unto the pope.

The second letter of the king in sending about the pall was well taken of all the court of Rome, which (as mine author saith) procured such favour to Gerard, archbishop of York, and bringer thereof, that no complaint of his adversaries afterwards could hurt him with the pope. Notwithstanding he was accused grievously for divers things, and specially for not standing to the consecration of Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury.

Polydore in his eleventh book of his English history affirmeth, that Anselm also went up to Rome with Gerard about the same cause. But both the premises and sequel of the story argue that to be untrue, for what need the two monks to be sent up on Anselm's side, if he had gone up himself? Again, how could the pope write down by the said messengers to Anselm, if he had there been himself present? For so proceedeth the story by the narration of Malmesbury and others.

After the ambassadors (thus on both sides sent up to Rome) had laboured their cause with instant suit, one against the other, the pope, glad to gratify the king, (yet loth to grant his request, being against his own profit, and therefore more inclining to

Anselm's side,) sendeth down his letters to the said Anselm, signifying that he would not repeal the statutes of his holy fathers for one man's pleasure; charging him, moreover, not only not to yield in the cause of investing, but constantly to adhere to the foresaid decreement of Pope Urban his predecessor, &c. Besides this letter to Anselm, he directed also another to the king himself; which letter, mine author saith, the king suppressed and did not show, only declaring by word of mouth what the ambassadors had said unto him from the pope. Which was, that he permitted unto him the licence of investing, upon condition that in other things he would execute the office of a good prince, &c. To this also the testimony of the two bishops above minded did accord; which made the matter more probable. But the two monks on the other side replied again, bringing forth the letter of Anselm to the contrary, &c. To them was answered again, that more credit was to be given to the degree and testimony of the bishops than to theirs. And as for monks, they had no suffrage nor testimony (said they) in secular matters, and therefore, they might hold their peace. But this is no secular matter, said Baldwin, abbot of Ramsey. Whereunto the nobles again of the king's part answered, saying that he was a good man, and of such demeanour as they had nothing to say against him, neither would if they might; but yet both human and Divine reason taught them so, to yield more credit and confidence to the testimony of three bishops than of two monks. Whereby may well appear that Anselm at that time went not with them. Then Anselm, seeing the king and his peers how they were set, and hearing also the testimony of the three bishops, against whom he saw he could not prevail; and also having the pope's seal, which he saw to be so evident on the contrary side; made his answer again, that he would send to Rome for a more certainty of truth. Adding moreover, that he neither would nor durst give over his cause, though it should cost him his life, to do or proceed against the determination of the Church of Rome, unless he had a perfect warrant of absolution from thence for his discharge. Then was it agreed by the king and his nobles, that he should not send, but go himself to Rome. And much entreaty was made, that he would take that journey in hand himself, in his own person, to present himself to the pope for the peace of the church and of his country. And so at length by persuasion he was content, went to Rome, and spake with the pope. In short time after followeth also the king's ambassador, (William Warlwest,) new elect bishop of Exeter, who there pleading on the king's side for the ancient customs of the realm, and for the king's right of investing, &c., first declared how England of a long continuance had ever been a province peculiar to the Church of Rome, and how it paid duly his yearly tribute unto the same. Inferring moreover how the king, as he was of nature very liberal, so also of courage a prince stout and valiant. Then what a shame would he think it should be to him, (as it were indeed,) if he, who in might and dignity far exceeded all his progenitors, should not defend and maintain the liberties and customs by them procured. Wherefore he desired the pope to see to the matter, so as might stand both with the king's honour, and also with his own profit and advantage; who otherwise no doubt should lose a great piece of money out of the realm, unless he did remit some thing of the severity of his canons and laws decretal.

With these and such other like persuasions to the same effect the court of Rome was well contented, agreeing that the king's request ought with all favour to be granted. But the pope and Anselm sat still marking their doings. The ambassador, supposing their silence to be half a yielding unto him, added moreover and said, that the king, no not for the crown of his realm, would lose the authority of investing or admitting his prelates within his dominion. Whereunto the proud pope answering again burst out in these words; Nor I (said he) for the price of this head (as thou

sayest) will lose the giving of spiritual promotions in England, and confirming it with an oath, (Before God, saith he, I speak it,) know it for a certain, &c. Then it followeth in the story of Malmesbury, With this word of the pope the minds of the rest were changed. The king's attorney also was therewith dashed, who notwithstanding yet brought to pass, that certain of the king's customs, used before of his father, were released unto him. At the which time in the same court it was decreed, that (the king only, which had invested them, being excepted) the other, which were invested by the king, should be excommunicated; the absolution and satisfaction of whom was left to Anselm the archbishop.

Thus Anselm, being dismissed from Rome, took his journey toward England. But the ambassador, pretending to go to St. Nicholas, remained behind, to see whether he could win the pope's mind to the king's purpose. Which when he saw it would not be, he overtaketh Anselm by the way, at Placentia, and opened to him the king's pleasure. The king (saith he) giveth to you in charge and commandment, that if you will come to England, and there behave yourself to him as your predecessors did to his father, you should be received and retained in the realm accordingly; if not, you are wise enough, (saith he,) ye know what I mean, and what will follow, &c. And so with these words parting from him, he returned again to the king.

In the mean while, great business there was, and much posting went to and fro between the king, the archbishop, and the pope, but nothing was done; for neither would the pope agree to the king, neither would the king condescend to the archbishop. At last the archbishop, seeing by no means he could prevail against the king, thought to revenge himself by excommunication, and so went about the same. The king, having word thereof by the Countess Adela his sister, desireth her to come to him into Normandy, and bring Anselm with her; whereupon (through the means of the countess) reconciliation was made, and the archbishop was restored to his former possessions again. Only his return into England was deferred, because he would not communicate with those whom the king had invested. So the king took his passage over into England, and Anselm made his abode at the abbey of Becke.

Then were ambassadors again directed unto Rome, William Warlwast, and Baldwin above named, abbot of Ramsey, who at length concluded the long controversy between the king and the pope upon this agreement, that the king should take homage of the bishops elect, but should not deal with investing them by staff and ring, &c. While the ambassadors were thus in their suit at Rome, divers complaints were daily brought from England to Anselm against the priests and canons, who in his absence, contrary to the late council holden at London, received their wives unto their houses again, and so were permitted by the king, paying him certain money for the same. Anselm, (the sore enemy against lawful marriage,) grieved therewith, addresseth his letters unto the king, requiring him to refrain from any more taking of such exactions; declaring moreover and affirming, that the offences of all such ecclesiastical ministers must be corrected by the instance of bishops, and not of laymen. To this the king answereth gently again by letters, tempering himself; how he purposed shortly to come over into Normandy, and if he had done any thing amiss, either in these or other things, he would reform it by his obedience.

It was not long after, (the messengers being now returned from Rome,) but the king, as he had promised, sped him into Normandy, where he, warring against his brother Robert, brought both him and the country of Normandy at the last under his subjection. But first meeting with Anselm at the abbey of Becke, he covenanted and

agreed with him in all such points as the archbishop required. As, first, that all his churches which before were made tributary unto King William his brother, now should remain free from all tribute. Item, that he should require nothing of the said churches or provinces in the time of the seat being vacant. Moreover, concerning such priests and ministers as had given money to the king for their company with their wives, it was agreed that they should surcease from all ecclesiastical functions the space of three years, and that the king should take no more after such manner. Item, that all such goods, fruits, and possessions, as had been taken away before from the archbishopric, should be restored at his coming again into England, &c.

This Anselm, the stout champion of popery and superstition, after this victory gotten upon the king, for the which he so long fought, with joy and triumph saileth into England, having all his popish requests obtained. Where first he flieth like a lion upon the married priests, contrary to the word of God, divorcing and punishing that by man's authority which the eternal and Almighty God had coupled. Next, he looketh to them which did hold any church by farm under the king. Against simony likewise, and against them that married within the seventh degree, he proceedeth with his full pontifical authority.

Shortly after, as King Henry had finished his war in Normandy, and with victory returned again into England, about the sixth year of his reign, Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, (by the permission of the king,) assembled a great council at Westminster in London of the clergy and prelates of England.

In the which (by the bishop of Rome's authority) he so wrought with the king, that at length (albeit, as the story saith, not without great difficulty) it was newly confirmed and enacted, that no temporal man after that day should make investiture with cross, or with ring, or with pastoral book. In this council, sundry and divers injunctions were given forth to priests and deacons, as divers other synodal acts also by the same Anselm had been concluded in other councils before. And because here falleth in mention of the acts synodal concluded in the time of this Anselm, I thought here good to pack them all in one general heap together, as we find them in Malmesbury, and in other sundry authors scatteringly recited.

The first thing decreed by this Anselm in his synodal councils was touching the fault of simony, whereby divers both bishops and abbots (as is aforesaid) were at the same time deposed; and laymen forbidden to confer any ecclesiastical promotion.

Also it was decreed, that no bishop should bear any office in secular men's business or meetings. And that such should not go apparelled as the laymen did, but should have their vestures decent and meet for religious persons. And that in all places they should never go without some to bear witness of their conversation.

Item, that no archdeaconries should be let out to farm.

Item, that no archdeacon should be under the degree of a deacon.

Item, that no archdeacon, priest, deacon, subdeacon, colligener, nor canon, should from thence marry a wife, nor yet keep her, if he had been married to one before.

Item, that every subdeacon, being under the degree of a canon, (after the profession of chastity marrying a wife,) should be subject to the same rule.

They ordained also that a priest keeping company with his wife should be reputed unlawful, and that he should say no mass; and if he said mass, he should not be heard.

They charged that none should be admitted to orders from that time forward, from the degree of a subdeacon, unless he did profess chastity.

That priests' sons should not claim by heritage the benefices of their fathers, as the custom had always been before.

Item, that no spiritual person should sit in any secular office, as to be procurators or judges of blood.

Item, that priests should not resort to taverns or banquets, nor sit drinking by the fire-side.

That the garments of priests should be of one colour, and that their shoes should be decent.

Item, that monks, or any other of the clergy, (if they forsook their order,) either should come again, or be excommunicated.

Item, that the men of the clergy should wear broad crowns.

Item, that no tithes should be given but to the church.

Item, that no churches or prebends should be bought.

That no new chapels should be made without consent of the bishop.

That no church should be hallowed before the necessary provision were made for the priest and for the church to be maintained.

That abbots should set forth no men to war, and that they must both sleep and eat in the same house with their monks, unless some great necessity do let.

Item, that monks do enjoin no penance to any man without the knowledge of his abbot. And that their abbots may give no licence therein, but only for such persons whose charge they have of soul.

That no monks should be godfathers, nor nuns godmothers.

That monks should have no lordships to farm.

Item, that monks should take no churches but by the bishop; neither should so spoil and oppress the churches given unto them with their rents, that sufficient were not left for the ministers of the same.

That privy contracts between man and woman without witness should not stand, but be frustrate, if each party do go from the contract.

Item, that such of the clergy as wear long hair be so rounded, that part of their ear appear, and that their eyes be not covered.

Item, that there be no matrimonial connexion within the seventh degree of kindred, nor to continue if they be married, but the marriage to be broken. And if any, being privy to that incest, do not detect the same, he to be guilty of the same crime.

Item, that no funeral or buryings be without their own parish church, so that the priest thereof do lose that which to him is due.

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

Item, that no man upon any new-fangled rashness do attribute any reverence or opinion of holiness to dead men's bodies, to fountains, or to any other thing, (as the use hath been in times past,) without authority of the bishop.

Item, that no buying and selling be used hereafter in England of men, as of other cattle.

Item, after the restraint of priests' marriage, when filthy practices began to come in the place thereof, then were they forced also to make an act for that, which was this:

With a grievous curse we condemn both them that are guilty of ungracious vices and sins, and them also that willingly assist them, or be wicked doers with them in the same, till such time as they may deserve absolution by penance and confession.

So that whatsoever he be that is noised or proved to be of this wickedness, (if he be a religious person,) be shall from thenceforth be promoted to no degree of honour, and that which he hath shall be taken from him.

If he be a lay person, he shall be deprived of all his freedom within the land, and be no better than a foreigner.

And because it shall be known the absolution of such as be secular to belong only to bishops, it was therefore enacted, that on every Sunday, in every parish church of England, the said excommunication should be published, &c.

But mark in this great matter what followed. For, as Ranulphus Cestrensis witnesseth, this grievous general curse was soon called back again by the suit of certain, which persuaded Anselm that the publication or opening of that vice gave kindlings to the same in the hearts of lewd persons, ministering occasion of more boldness to them to do the like. And so to stop the occasion of filthy uncleanness, the publication thereof was taken away; but the forbidding and restraint of priests' lawful marriage (which chiefly was the cause thereof) remained still. And thus ever since horrible vices remained in the clergy, both for lack of marriage more used, and for lack of publication less punished.

Besides all these synodal acts above comprehended, and given out by Anselm in his councils before, here also in this present council at Westminster, in the year of this king aforesaid, he also directed other new injunctions to the priests.

First, that they and their wives should never more meet in one house, neither yet have dwelling in their territories.

Item, that the priests, deacons, and subdeacons should keep no woman in their house, unless they were of their next kin.

Item, for such as had dissevered themselves from the society of their wives, yet for some honest cause they had to commune with them, they might, so it were without door, and with two or three lawful witnesses.

Item, if any of them should be accused by two or three witnesses, and could not purge himself again by six able men of his own order, (if he be a priest,) or, if he be a deacon, by four, or, if he be a subdeacon, by two, then he should be judged a transgressor of the statutes, deprived of his benefice, and be made infamous, or be put to open reproach of all men.

Item, he that rebelled, and in contempt of this new statute held still his wife, and presumed to say mass, upon the eighth day after (if be made not due satisfaction) should be solemnly excommunicated.

Item, all archdeacons and deacons to be straitly sworn not to wink or dissemble at their meetings, nor to bear with them for money. And if they would not be sworn to this, then to lose their offices without recovery.

Item, such priests as forsaking their wives were willing to serve still and remain in their holy order, first must cease forty days from their ministration, setting vicars for them in the mean time to serve, and taking such penance upon them as by their bishop should be enjoined them.

Thus have ye heard the tedious treatise of the life and doings of Anselm, how superstitious in his religion, how stubborn against his prince, he was, what occasion of war and discord he ministered by his complaints, (if they had been taken,) what zeal without right knowledge, what fervency without cause, he pretended, what pains without profit he took. Who if he had bestowed that time and travail in preaching Christ at home to his flock, which he took in gadding to Rome to complain of his country, in my mind he had been better occupied. Moreover, what violent and tyrannical injunctions he set forth of investing and other things ye have heard; but specially against the lawful and godly marriage of priests. Wherein what a vehement adversary he was here may appear with these minutes or pieces extracted out of his letters, which we have here annexed, in form and effect as followeth.

A letter of Anselm.

"Anselm, archbishop, to his brethren and dearest sons, the lord prior and others at Canterbury.

"As concerning priests, of whom the king commanded that they should have both their churches and their women as they had in the time of his father, and of Lanfranc, archbishop; both because the king hath revested and reseized the whole archbishopric, and because so cursed a marriage was forbidden in a council in the time of his father and of the said archbishop, boldly I command by the authority which I have by my archbishopric, not only within my archbishopric, but also throughout England, that all priests which keep women shall be deprived of their churches and ecclesiastical benefices."

A letter of Pope Paschalis to Anseirn.

"Paschal, bishop, servant of God's servants, to his reverend brother Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, greeting and apostolical blessing.

"We believe your brotherhood is not ignorant what is decreed in the Romish Church concerning priests' children. But because there is so great multitude of such within the realm of England, that almost the greater and better part of the clerks are reckoned to be on this side; therefore we commit this dispensation to your care. For we grant these to be promoted to holy offices by reason of the need at this time, and for the profit of the church, (such as learning and life shall commend among you,) so that yet notwithstanding the prejudice of the ecclesiastical decree to be taken heed to hereafter"

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

Another letter of Anselm for investing.

"To the reverend lord and loving father Paschal, high bishop, Anselm, servant of Canterbury church, due subjection and continual prayers.

"After that I returned to my bishopric in England, I showed the apostolical decree; which I, being present, heard in the Romish council. I. That no man should receive investing of churches at the king's hand, or any lay person, or should become his man for it, and that no man should presume to consecrate him that did offend herein. When the king and his nobles, and the bishops themselves, and others of the lower degree, heard these things, they took them so grievously, that they said they would in no case agree to the thing, and that they would drive me out of the kingdom, and forsake the Romish Church, rather than keep this thing. Wherefore, reverend father, I desire your counsel by your letter."

Another letter of Anselm.

"Anselm, archbishop, to the Reverend Gudolphus, bishop, and to Arnulphus, prior, and to William, archdeacon of Canterbury, and to all in his diocess, greeting.

"William our archdeacon hath written unto me, that some priests that be under his custody (taking again their women that were forbidden) have fallen unto the uncleanness from the which they were drawn by wholesome counsel and commandment. When the archdeacon would amend this thing, they utterly despised with wicked pride his warning and worthy commandment to be received. Then he, calling together many religious men and obedient priests, excommunicated worthily the proud and disobedient, that beastly despised the curse, and were not afraid to defile the holy ministry as much as lay in them."

Unto these letters above prefixed I have also adjoined another of the said Anselm, touching a great ease of conscience, of a monk's whipping of himself. Wherein may appear both the blind and lamentable superstition of those religious men, and the judgment of this Anselm in the same matter.

Another letter of Anselm.

"Anselm, archbishop, to Bernard, monk of the abbey of St. Warburg, greeting and prayer.

"I heard it said of your lord abbot, that thou judgest it to be of greater merit, when a monk either beateth himself, or desireth himself to be beaten of another, than when he is beaten (not of his own will) in the chapter by the commandment of the prelacy. But it is not so as you think. For that judgment that any man commandeth to himself is kingly. But that which he suffereth by obedience in the chapter is monkish. The one is of his own will, the other is of obedience, and not of his own will. That which I call kingly, kings and rich proud men are willing to be done to themselves. But that which I call monkish, they take, not commanding, but obeying. The kingly is so much easier, by how much it agreeth to the will of the sufferer. But the monkish is so much the more grievous, by how much it differeth from the will of the sufferer. In the kingly judgment, the sufferer is judged to be his own; in the monkish, he is proved not to be his own. For although the king or rich man, when he is beaten, willingly showeth himself humbly to be a sinner; yet he would not submit himself to this humbleness at any other's commandment, but would withstand the commander with all his strength. But when a monk submitteth himself to the whip humbly in the chapter at the will of the prelate, the truth judgeth him to be of so much greater merit, by how

much be humbleth himself more, and more truly, than the other. For he humbleth himself to God only, because he knoweth his sins. But this man humbleth himself to man for obedience. But he is lowlier that humbleth himself both to God and man for God's cause, than he which humbleth himself to God only, and not to God's commandment. Therefore if he that humbleth himself shall be extolled; ergo, be that more humbleth himself shall be more exalted. And where I said, that when a monk is whipped, it differeth from his will; you must not so understand it, as though he would not patiently bear it with an obedient will, but because by a natural appetite he would not suffer the sorrow. But if ye say, I do not so much, fly the open beating for the pains (which I feel also secretly) as for the shame; know then that he is stronger that rejoiceth to bear this for obedience sake. Therefore be thou sure that one whipping of a monk by obedience is of more merit than innumerable whippings taken by his own mind. But whereas he is such, that always he ought to have his heart ready without murmuring obediently to be whipped, we ought to judge him then to be of a great merit, whether he be whipped privily or openly," &c.

And thus much concerning Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury; whose stout example gave no little courage to Thurstinus and Becket his successors, and others that followed after, to do the like against their kings and princes, as in process hereafter by the grace of Christ shall appear.

About this time two famous archbishops of Mentz, being right virtuous and well-disposed prelates, were cruelly and tyrannously dealt withal, and treated by the bishop of Rome; their names were Henry and Christian. This Henry, having intelligence that he was complained of to the pope, sent a learned man (as special friend of his) to excuse him, named Arnold, one for whom he had done much, and promoted to great livings and promotions. But this honest man Arnold, in stead of an excuser, became an accuser, bribing the two chieftest cardinals with good gold; by which means he obtained of the pope those two cardinals to be sent as inquisitors, and only doers in that present ease. The which (coming to Germany) summoned the said Henry, and deposed him of his archbishopric, (for all he could do either by law or justice,) substituting in his place the foresaid Arnold, upon hope (truly) of the ecclesiastical gold. Whereupon that virtuous and honourable Henry (as the story telleth) spake unto those his perverse judges on this wise: If I should appeal unto the apostolic see for this your unjust process had against me, perhaps the pope would attempt nothing more therein than ye have, neither should I win any thing by it, but only toil of body, loss of goods, affliction of mind, care of heart, and missing of his favour.

Wherefore I do appeal unto the Lord Jesus Christ, as to the most high and just Judge, and cite you before his judgment, there to answer me before the high Judge. For neither justly nor godly (but by corruption, as it pleaseth you) you have judged. Whereunto they scoffingly answered, Go you first, and we will follow. Not long after (as the story is) the said Henry died. Whereof the said two cardinals having intelligence said one to the other jestingly, Behold, he is gone before, and we must follow according to our promise. And verily they said truer than they were aware of; for within a while they died in one day. For the one, sitting upon a jakes to ease himself, voided out all his entrails into the draught, and miserably ended his life. The other, gnawing off the fingers of his hands, and spitting them out of his mouth, (all deformed in devouring himself,) died. And in like wise, not long after the end of these men, the foresaid Arnold (most horribly) in a sedition was slain; and certain days (lying stinking above the ground unburied) lay open to the spoil of every rascal and

harlot. The historiographer in declaring hereof crieth upon the cardinals in this manner: O ye cardinals, ye are the beginning and authors hereof. Come ye hither therefore, come ye hither, and heap and carry unto your countries the devil, and offer yourselves to him with that money, whereof ye have been most gluttonous and insatiable.

About the same time and year when King Henry began his reign Pope Paschalis entered his papacy, succeeding after Urbanus, about the year of our Lord 1100, nothing swerving from the steps of Hildebrand his superior. This Paschalis being elected by the cardinals, after that the people had cried thrice, St. Peter hath chosen good Rainerus, he then putting on a purple vesture, and a tire upon his head, was brought upon a white palfrey into Lateran, where a sceptre was given him, and a girdle put about him, having seven keys, with seven seals hanging thereupon for a recognisance or token of his sevenfold power, according to the sevenfold grace of the Holy Ghost, of binding, loosing, shutting, opening, sealing, resigning, and judging, &c. After this Paschalis was elected pope, Henry the Fourth, the foresaid emperor, (of courage most valiant, if the time had served thereto,) thought to come up to Italy, to salute the new pope. But, understanding the pope's mind bent against him, he changed his purpose. In the mean time, Paschalis, to show himself inferior to Hildebrand in no point, began first to depose all such abbots and bishops whom the emperor had set up. Also he banished Albertus, Theodoricus, and Maginuiphus, striving at the same time for the papacy. I spake before of Guibert, whom Henry the emperor had made pope against Hildebrand. Against this Guibert Paschalis made out an army; who, being put to flight, not long after departed.

About the same time, A.D. 1101, the bishop of Fluence began to teach and to preach of antichrist then to be born and to be manifest, as Sabellicus testifieth; whereupon Paschalis assembling a council put to silence the said bishop, and condemned his books. In this council at Trecas, priests that were married were condemned for Nicolaitans. Item, according to the decree of Hildebrand, all such, of what degree or estate soever they were, (being laymen,) that gave any ecclesiastical dignities, were condemned of simony. Furthermore, the statute of priests' tithes there he renewed, counting the selling away thereof as a sin against the Holy Ghost. Concerning the excommunication and other troubles that Hildebrand wrought against Henricus, the fourth emperor, it is declared sufficiently before. This excommunication Paschalis the pope renewed afresh against the said Henry. And not only that, but also convening the princes of Germany unto a general assembly, set up his own son against him, causing the bishop of Mentz, of Cullen, and of Wormes to deprive him of his imperial crown, and to place his son Henricus the Fifth in his father's kingdom, and so they did. Coming to the place at Hilgeshem, first they required his diadem, his purple, his ring, and other ornaments pertaining to the crown, from him. The emperor demandeth the cause, being then excommunicate and void of friends. They pretending again (I can not tell what) for selling of bishoprics, abbacies, and other ecclesiastical dignities for money; also alleging the pope's pleasure, and of other princes. Then required he first of the bishop of Mentz, (and likewise of the other two, whom he had preferred to their bishoprics before,) asking them in order if he had received of them any penny for his promoting them to their dignities. This, when they could not deny to be so, Well, (saith he) and do you requite me again with this? with divers other words of exhortation, admonishing them to remember their oath and allegiance to their prince. But the perjured prelates, neither reverencing his majesty, nor moved with his benefits, nor regarding their fidelity, ceased not for all this, but first plucked from him

(sitting in his throne) his crown imperial, then disrobed him, taking from him his purple and his sceptre. The good emperor, being left desolate and in confusion, saith to them, Let God see and judge. Thus leaving him, they went to his son to confirm him in his kingdom, and caused him to drive his father out. Who then being chased of his son, (having but nine persons about him,) did fly by the dukedom of Limburgh, where the duke, being then in hunting, perceiving and hearing of him, made after to follow him. The emperor fearing no other but present death, (for he had displaced the same duke before out of his dukedom,) submitted himself, craving of him pardon, and not revengement. The duke full of compassion, and pitying his estate, not only remitted all his displeasure, but also received him to his castle. Moreover, collecting his soldiers and men of war, he brought him to Cullen, and there he was well received. His son hearing this besieged the city of Cullen. But the father, by night escaping, came to Leodium, where resorted to him all such as were men of compassion and of constant heart. Insomuch that his power, being strong enough, he was now able to pitch a field against his enemies, and so did; desiring his friends, that if he had the victory, they would spare his son. In fine, (the battle joined,) the father had the victory, the son was put to flight, many being slain on both sides. But shortly after the battle renewed again, the son prevailed, the father was overcome and taken. Who then, being utterly dispossessed of his kingdom, was brought to that exigent, that, coming to Spire, he was fain to crave of the bishop there (whom he had done much for before) to have a prebend in the church; and for that he had some skill of his book, he desired to serve in our Lady's choir. Yet could he not obtain so much at his hand, who swore by our Lady he should have none there. Thus the woeful emperor (most unkindly bandied and repulsed on every side) came to Leodium, and there for sorrow died, after he had reigned fifty years; whose body Paschalis, after his funeral, caused to be taken up again, and to be brought to Shires, where it remained five years unburied.

After the decease of this emperor Henry the Fourth, his son, Henricus the Fifth, reigned the space of twenty years. Who, coming to Rome to be crowned of the pope, could not obtain it before he would fully assent to have this ratified, that no emperor should have any thing to do with the election of the Roman bishop, or with other bishoprics. Besides that, (about the same time,) such a stir was made in Rome by the said bishop, that if the emperor had not defended himself with his own hands, he had been slain. But as it happened, the emperor having the victory, amongst many other Romans, (which were partly slain, partly taken in the same skirmish,) he taketh also the pope, and leadeth him out of the city; where he intendeth with him upon divers conditions, both of his coronation, and of recovering again his right and title in the election of the pope, and of other bishops; whereunto the pope assenting, agreed to all. So the emperor (being crowned of Paschalis) returned again with the pope to Rome.

All the conditions between the emperor and the pope (so long as the emperor remained at Rome) stood firm and ratified. But as soon as the emperor was returned again to Germany, forthwith the pope, calling a synod, not only revoked all that he had agreed to before, but also excommunicated Henricus the emperor, as he had done his father before, reproving the former *privilegium* for *pravilegium*. The emperor, returning from Rome to France, there married Mathild, daughter to King Henry. Who then bearing what the pope had done, (grieved not a little,) with all expedition marched to Rome, and putteth the pope to flight, and finally placeth another in his stead. In the mean time, the bishops of Germany (the pope's good friends) slept not their business, incensing the Saxons all that they might against their Cæsar; inso much that a great commotion was stirred up, and it grew at length to a pitched field; which

was fought in the month of February, by the wood called Sylva Catulaira, in the year of our Lord one thousand one hundred and fifteen.

The emperor, seeing no end of these conflicts, (unless he would yield to the pope,) was fain to give over, and forego his privilege, falling to a composition not to meddle with matters pertaining to the pope's election, nor with investing, nor such other things belonging to the church and churchmen. And thus was the peace between them concluded, and proclaimed to no small rejoicing of both the armies, then lying by Wormes, near the river of Rhene.

In the time of this Paschalis lived Bernardus, called Abbas Claravallensis, in the year 1108, of whom sprang the Bernardine monks.

About what time the city of Worcester was consumed almost all with fire, A.D. 1109.

All this while Henricus the emperor had no issue, (having to wife Mathildis, the daughter of Henry the First, king of England,) and that by the just judgment of God, as it may appear. For as he, having a father, persecuted him by the pope's setting on, contrary to the part of a natural son; so God's providence did not suffer him to be the father of any child naturally to love him, or to succeed him.

After the death of Paschalis, A.D. 1118, succeeded Pope Gelasius, chosen by the cardinals, but without the consent of the emperor, whereupon rose no little variance in Rome. And at length another pope was set up by the emperor called Gregorius the Eighth, and Gelasius driven away into France, and there died. After whom came Calixtus the Second, (chosen likewise by a few cardinals, without the voice of the emperor,) who, coming up to Rome to enjoy his seat, first sent his legate into Germany to excommunicate the emperor Henricus, who then having divers conflicts with his fellow Pope Gregorius, at length drove him out of Rome. At this time by this occasion great disputation and controversy was between the emperor and the pope's court, whether of them in dignity should excel the other.

In conclusion, the emperor being overcome so much with the vain reasons of the pope's side, and fearing the dangerous thunderbolt of his curse, (talking with princes, and persuaded by his friends,) was fain to condescend to the unreasonable conditions of the pope. First, to ratify his election, notwithstanding the other pope (whom the said emperor had set up) yet was alive. Secondly, that he should resign up his right and title in matters pertaining to the election of the pope, and investiture of bishops.

This being done and granted, and the writings thereof set up in the church of Lateran, for a triumph of the emperor thus subdued, the pope maketh out after Gregorius, his fellow pope, being then in a town called Sutrium; which being besieged and taken, Gregorius also was taken. Whom Calixtus the pope setting upon a camel (his face to the camel's tail) brought him so through the streets of Rome, holding the tail in his hand instead of a bridle; and afterward, being shorn, he was thrust into a monastery.

Amongst many other acts done by this glorious pope, first he established the decrees of the papal see against this emperor. He brought in the four quarter fasts, called Ember days.

By the same Calixtus the order of monks, called Præmonstratenses, were brought in.

Further, by him it was decreed to be judged for adultery, if any person (by his lifetime) had put from him either bishopric or benefice, grounding upon this scripture of St. Paul to the Romans: "The wife is bound to the law of her husband, so long as the husband liveth; after he is dead, she is loose from the law of her husband," &c.

Item, the same Calixtus, holding a general council at Rhemis, decreed that priests, deacons, and subdeacons should put away their concubines and wives; and whosoever was found to keep his wife, should be deprived of benefice, and all other ecclesiastical livings.

And thus much of the Roman matters. Now to our country story again, After the death of Anselm before mentioned, (who deceased the year of Christ 1109, after he had been in the see sixteen years,) the church of Canterbury stood void five years, and the goods of the church were spent to the king's use. And when he was prayed to help the church, that was so long without a pastor, his answer was, pretending that as his father and brother had accustomed thereto to set the best tried and approved men that might be found, so to the intent that he might do the same, (in choosing such, which either should equal the former examples of them before, or at least follow their footsteps as near as they could,) he took therein the more time and leisure. And so with shift of answer he delayed out the time, while he had filled his coffers with the commodities of that benefice. The same year (after the death of Anselm) the king converted the abbey of Ely to a bishopric, which before was under the bishopric of Lincoln, placing there Henry, bishop Bangor, the first bishop of that see. And as of late years before this divers wonders were seen, as stars falling from heaven so thick that they could not be numbered. at the setting forth of the Christians to the Holy Land; a blazing star over Constantinople; a spring boiling out blood (seen at Finchamsted in Berkshire) three weeks together, A.D. 1090; after that, the firmament appearing so red as it had been all on fire; also two full moons appearing together, one in the east, the other in the west, (on Maundy Thursday,) with a blazing star in the same year appearing about the taking of Duke Robert, having a white circle enclosing it, A.D. 1106; also with an eclipse of the sun darkened after that: so likewise about this present year, A.D. 1110, was seen the flood of Trent, about Nottingham, so dried up from morning to three of the clock at afternoon, that men might go over it dryshod. Also in Shrewsbury a great earthquake happened, and after that followed a sharp winter, great murrain of beasts, and pestilence of men, as Gualterus Gisburnensis recordeth. Moreover, the same author mentioneth, that about the same year the like voiding of water also happened in the flood of Medway; and in the Thames (between the bridge and the tower, and under the bridge, from midnight to the next evening) was so great an ebb, that an innumerable sort of people and children waded over, scarce knee deep in the water, the sea withdrawing his tide ten miles from his accustomed course. In the which year also, as the said author and Jornalensis do testify, the city of Worcester by casualty was consumed with fire; also the city of Chester, A.D. 1114.

The next year following, Rodulphus, bishop of Rochester, (an Englishman,) was promoted to be archbishop of Canterbury, and Thurstinus, the king's chaplain, was elected archbishop of York. Who being content to receive his benediction or consecration of the see of Canterbury; yet, because he refused to make his profession of obedience to the same see, he was by the king deprived of his dignity.

Then Thurstin (by the instigation of certain his clerks at York) took his journey to Rome; who, there making his complaint to Pope Paschalis, brought with him a letter from the pope to the king, where, among other words, was contained as followeth:

"We hear and understand, that the archbishop elect of the church of York (a discreet and industrious man) is sequestered from the church of York; which standeth against both Divine justice, and the institution of holy fathers. Our purpose is, that neither the church of Canterbury should be impaired, nor again that the church of York should suffer any prejudice; but that the same constitution, which was by blessed Gregory (the apostle of the English nation) set and decreed between those two churches, should remain still in force and effect unviolated. Wherefore, as touching the foresaid elect, let him be received again by any means, as right and meet it is, unto his church. And if there be any question between the foresaid churches, let it be handled and decided in your presence, both the two parties being there present."

Upon the occasion of this letter, a solemn assembly there was appointed at Salisbury, about the hearing of this controversy. The variance between these two prelates still increased more and more. Rodolph, archbishop of Canterbury, in no case would yield or condescend to give imposition of hands unto him, unless he would make his profession of obedience. Thurstin again said, he would willingly receive and embrace his benediction; but as touching the profession of his subjection, that he would not agree unto. Then the king, declaring his mind therein, signified unto Thurstin, that, without his subjection and obedience professed to the archbishop of Canterbury, he should not enjoy his consecration to be archbishop of York. Whereunto Thurstin, nothing replying again, renounced his archbishopric, promising, moreover, to make no more claim unto it, nor to molest them that should enjoy it.

Shortly after this, it happened that Pope Paschalis died; after whom, as is above rehearsed, succeeded Pope Gelasius, who lived not past a year, and died in France. Whereupon the cardinals (which then followed the said Pope Gelasius unto Cluniack) created another pope of their choosing, whom they called Calixtus the Second. The other cardinals which were at Rome did choose another pope, called Gregory, as mention before is made; about which two popes much stir there was in Christian realms. As this Calixtus was remaining in France, and there calling a general council at Rheims, as ye heard before, Thurstin, the archbishop of York, desired licence of the king to go to the council, purposing there to open the cause of his church, which eftsoons he obtained; first promising to the king that he should there attempt nothing that should be prejudicial to the church of Canterbury. In the mean time, the king had sent secret word unto the pope, by Rodolph and other procurators, that in no case he would consecrate Thurstin. Yet, notwithstanding the faithful promise of the pope made to the king, so it fell out, that the said pope, through the suit of his cardinals, whom Thurstinus had won to him, was inclined to consecrate him, and gave him the pall. For this deed the king was sore discontented with Thurstin, and warned him the entry of his land.

In this council at Rheims, (above mentioned,) where were gathered four hundred and thirty-four prelates, these five principal acts were concluded.

1. That no man should either buy or sell any bishopric, abbotship, deanery, archdeaconship, priesthood, prebendship, altar, or any ecclesiastical promotion, or benefice, orders, consecration, church hallowing, seat or stall within the choir, or any office ecclesiastical, under danger of excommunication, if he did persist.

2. That no lay person should give investiture, or any ecclesiastical possession; and that no spiritual man should receive any such at any layman's hand, under pain of deprivation.

3. That no man should invade, take away, or detain the goods or possessions of the church; but that they should remain firm and perpetual, under pain of perpetual curse.

4. That no bishop or priest should leave any ecclesiastical dignity or benefice to any by way of inheritance. Adding moreover, that for baptism, chrism, anointing, or burial, no money should be exacted.

5. Item, that all priests, deacons, and subdeacons should be utterly debarred and sequestered from company of their wives and concubines, under pain of excluding from all Christian communion.

The acts thus determined were sent eftsoons to Henricus the emperor, to see and try, before the breaking up of the council, whether he would agree to the canonical elections, free consecration, and investing of spiritual persons, and to other acts of the said council. The emperor maketh answer again, that he would lose nothing of that ancient custom which his progenitors had given him. Notwithstanding, because of the authority of the general council, he was content to consent to the residue, save only the investing of ecclesiastical function to be taken from him, to that he would never agree. Upon this, at the next return of the pope to the council, the emperor was appointed to be excommunicated. Which thing, when divers of the council did not well like, and therefore did separate themselves from the rest; the pope applying against them the multitude of the seventy disciples, which were offended at the Lord, when he taught them of eating of his flesh and blood, and therefore divided themselves from him, declaring moreover to them, how they which gathered not with him scattered, and they that were not with him were against him; by these and such-like persuasions reduced them again to his side; and so by that council Henricus the emperor was excommunicated.

It was not long after but the pope came to Gisortium, where Henry king of England resorted to him, desiring and also obtaining of him, that he would send henceforth no legate, nor permit any to be sent from Rome to England, unless the king himself should so require, by reason of some occasion of strife, which else could not be otherwise decided by his own bishops at home. The cause why the king required this of the pope was, for that certain Roman legates had been in England a little before, to wit, one Guido, and another Roman named Anselmus, and another also called Petrus, who had spoiled the realm of great treasure, as the accustomed manner of the proud pope's legates is wont to be. Also he required of the pope, that he might use and retain all the customs used before of his forefathers in England and in Normandy.

To these petitions the pope did easily consent, requiring again of the king, that he would license Thurstiaus, the archbishop above minded, to return with favour into his realm. But that the king utterly denied, unless he would profess subjection to the church of Canterbury, as his predecessors had done before; and excused himself by his oath which he before had made. To this the pope answered again, that he, by his authority apostolical, both might and would also easily dispense with him for his promise or oath. Then the king said that he would talk with his council thereof, and so send him an answer of his mind. Which answer was this, that for the love and request of the pope, he was content that Thurstinus should re-enter his realm, and quietly enjoy his prelateship, upon this condition, that he would (as his predecessors did) profess his subjection to the church of Canterbury. Otherwise, (said he,) so long as he was king, he should never sit archbishop of the church of York. And thus ended that meeting between the king of England and the pope for that time.

The year following after that, which was A.D. 1120, the foresaid Pope Calixtus directeth his letters for Thurstin to the king, and to Rodulph, archbishop of Canterbury. In which epistle, by his full power apostolical, he doth interdict both the church of Canterbury and the church of York, with all the parish churches within the same cities, from all Divine service, from the burial also of the dead, except only baptizing of children, and absolution of them that lie dying; unless, within a month after the receipt of the same, Thurstin (without any exaction of subjection made) were received and admitted to the see of York, and that the king likewise should doubtless be excommunicated, except he would consent unto the same. Whereupon Thurstin, for fear of the pope's curse, was immediately sent for and reconciled to the king, and was placed quietly in his archiepiscopal see of York.

It followed not long after (within two years) Rodulph, archbishop of Canterbury, departed, in whose see succeeded after him Gulielmus de Turbine. About which time (in the seven and twentieth year of the king's reign) the grey friars, by procuring of the king, came first into England, and had their house first at Canterbury. About the same season, or a little before, the king called a council at London, where the spirituality of England (not knowing to what purpose it was required) condescended to the king to have the punishment of married priests; by reason of which grant (where of the spirituality afterwards much repented) the priests, paying a certain sum to the king, were suffered to retain their wives still, whereby the king gathered no small sum of money. At this time began first the foundation of the monastery called Gisburne in Cleveland.

It was above touched, how Matild, or Maud, daughter to King Henry, was married to Henry the Fifth, emperor; who, after the decease of the said emperor her husband, returned about this present time with the imperial crown to her father in Normandy, bringing with her the hand of St. James. For the joy whereof the king builded the abbey of Reading, where the said hand was reposed. This Matild was received by the said council to be next heir to the king her father in possession of the English crown, for lack of issue male. And soon after upon the same she was sent over to Normandy, to marry with Geoffrey Plantagenet, earl of Anjou, of whom came Henry the Second, who (after Stephen) was King of England. And about this time also was founded the priory of Norton, in the province of Chester, by one William the son of Nichelle. In the story of Polychronicon, Jornalensis, and Polydore it is declared, how the king was troubled greatly with three sundry visions appearing unto him by night. The first was of a great multitude of husbandmen of the country, which appeared to fly upon him with their mattocks and instruments, requiring of him his debt which he did owe unto them. In the second, he saw a great number of soldiers and harnessed men to come fiercely upon him. In the third, he saw a company of prelates and churchmen, threatening him with their bishops' staves, and fiercely approaching upon him. Whereupon (being dismayed) in all haste he ran and took his sword to defend himself, finding there none to strike; who afterward, asking counsel concerning these visions, was monished by one of his physicians, (named Grimbald,) by repentance, alms, and amendment of life to make some atonement to God, and to his country whom he offended. Which three vows thus being made, the next year after he went to England, where he, being upon the seas in a great tempest with his daughter Matild, remembered there his three vows. And so, coming to the land, (for performance of the same,) first released unto the commons the Danegelt which his father and his brother before had renewed. Secondly, he went to St. Edmundsbury, where he showed great benefits to the churchmen. Thirdly, he procured justice to be

administered more rightly throughout his realm, &c. Also he ordained and erected a new bishopric, at Carlisle.

In the three and thirtieth year of the king's reign, (as witnesseth a certain author,) a great part of the city of London, with the church of St. Paul, was burned with fire in Whitsun-week.

After Calixtus, (whose story and time is before discoursed,) succeeded Pope Honorius the Second; notwithstanding that the cardinals had elected another, yet he by the means of certain citizens obtained the papacy, A.D. 1125. About the second year of his induction (as is to be read in Mat. Paris.) there was a certain legate of his, called Johannes Cremensis, sent down to England from the pope, for the redress I cannot well tell whereof. But indeed the chiefest purpose of his coming, as of all others after him in those days, was to fill their pouches with English money, as may further appear by their proceedings. This legate coming then with the pope's letters, directed both into England and into Scotland, after he had well refreshed himself in bishops' houses, and amongst the abbots, at length resorted to London, where he assembled the whole clergy together, inquired of priests' concubines, otherwise called their wives, and made thereupon a statute in the said synod of London, after this tenor: "To priests, deacons, subdeacons, and canons, we do utterly inhibit, by authority apostolical, all manner society and conversation with all kind of women, except only their mother, sister, or aunt, or such whereof can rise no suspicion. And whosoever shall be found to violate this decree, being convict thereof, shall sustain thereby the loss of all that he hath by his order. Moreover, amongst kindred, or such as be joined in affinity, we forbid matrimony unto the seventh generation." But see how God worketh against such ungodly proceedings. The next night after it happened the same cardinal (ruffling and revelling with his concubines) to be apprehended in the same vice, whereof he had so strictly given out precepts the next day before, to the no little slander and shame, as Matthew Paris doth write, of the whole clergy.

Unto this time lived Henricus the Fifth, emperor, after he had reigned twenty years, dying without issue, as is before mentioned. Next after Henricus the imperial crown came unto Lotharius, duke of Saxon, in the year one thousand one hundred twenty and seven.

Certain histories make mention of one Arnulphus, in the time of this Pope Honorius the Second. Some say he was archbishop of Lugdune, as Hugo, Platina, Sabellicus. Tritemius saith he was a priest, whose history, as it is set forth in Tritemius, I will briefly in English express. About this time, saith he, in the days of Honorius the Second, one Arnulphus, priest, a man zealous and of great devotion, and a worthy preacher, came to Rome; which Arnulphus in his preaching rebuked the dissolute and lascivious looseness, incontinency, avarice, and immoderate pride of the clergy, provoking all to follow Christ and his apostles in their poverty rather, and in pureness of life. By reason whereof this man was well accepted, and highly liked of the nobility of Rome for a true disciple of Christ; but of the cardinals and the clergy he was no less hated than favoured of the other. Inso much that privily in the night season they took him and destroyed him. This his martyrdom, saith he, was revealed to him before from God by an angel, he being in the desert, when he was sent forth to preach; whereupon he said unto them publicly with these words: I know (saith he) ye seek my life, and know you will make me away privily; but why? Because I preach to you the truth, and blame your pride, stoutness, avarice, incontinency, with your unmeasurable greediness in getting and heaping up of riches, therefore you be displeased with me. I

take here heaven and earth to witness, that I have preached unto you that which I was commanded of the Lord. But you contemn me and your Creator, who by his only Son hath redeemed you. And no marvel if you seek my death, being a sinful person, preaching unto you the truth, whenas if St. Peter were here this day and rebuked your vices, which do so multiply above all measure, you would not spare him neither. And as he was expressing this, with a loud voice he said moreover, For my part, I am not afraid to suffer death for the truth's sake; but this I say unto you, that God will look upon your iniquities, and will be revenged. You, being full of all impurity, play the blind guides to the people committed unto you, leading them the way to hell: a God he is of vengeance. Thus the hatred of the clergy being incensed against him for preaching truth, they conspired against him, and so, laying privy wait for him, took him and drowned him, Sabellieus and Platina say they hanged him.

In the second time of the General Councils imprinted at Cullen, is mentioned a certain book called *Opus Tripartitum*, written, as the author supposeth, about four hundred years ago, either of this Arnulphus, or just about the same time. In this book the writer complaineth of many enormities and abuses in the church. First, of the number of holy-days, declaring what occasions of vice grew thereby, according unto the common saying of courtezans and naughty women, which say they profit more in one holy-day than in fifty other days besides.

Item, he complaineth of the curious singing in cathedral churches, whereby many be occasioned to bestow much good time, yea, many years about the same, which otherwise they might give to the learning of better sciences.

Likewise he complaineth of the rabble and the multitude of begging friars, and religious men and professed women, showing what great occasion of idle and uncomely life cometh thereof.

Also of the inconsiderate promotion of evil prelates, and of their great negligence in correcting and reforming the evil demeanour of the people.

Item, of the great wantonness and lasciviousness in their servants and families, concerning their excessive wearing of apparel.

Item, he complaineth also of the outrageous and excessive gains that prelates and other under them take for their seal, especially of officials, scribes, and such like; which give out the seal they care not how, nor wherefore, so they may gain money.

He complaineth, in like manner, that prelates be so slack and negligent in looking to the residents in their benefices.

Further, he lamenteth the rash giving of benefices to parsons, vicars, and curates, not for any godliness or learning in them, but for favour, or friendship, or intercession, or else for hope of some gain, whereof springeth this great ignorance in the church.

After this, he noteth in prelates, how they waste and expend the goods of the church in superfluities, or upon their kinsfolks, or other worse ways, which should rather be spent on the poor.

Next, in the tenth chapter he complaineth, for that, through the negligence of men of the church, (especially of the Church of Rome,) the books and monuments of the old councils, and also of the new, are not to be found; which should be reserved and kept in all cathedral churches.

Item, that many prelates be so cold in doing their duties. Also he reproacheth the unchaste and voluptuous demeanour of ecclesiastical persons by the example of storks, whose nature is, (saith he,) that if any of their company, leaving his own mate, joineth with any other, all the rest lieth upon him, whether it be he or she, beate and plucketh his feathers off: what then, said he, ought good prelates to do to such a person of their company, whose ifithiness and corrupt life both defileth so many, and stinketh in the whole church?

Again, forsomuch as we read in the book of Esdras, that he, purging Israel of strange women, began first with the priests; so now likewise in the purging and correcting of all sorts of men, first the purgation ought to begin with these, according as it is written by the prophet Ezekiel; "Begin first with the sanctuary."

Moreover, how that in the time of Philip, king of France, the whole realm was interdicted, for that the king had but one woman instead of his wife, which was not his wife by law. And again, seeing in these our days the king of Portugal hath been sequestered from his dominion, by the authority of the church, being thought not sufficient to govern: what then ought to be said to that prelate who abuseth other men's wives, virgins, and nuns, which also is found unable and insufficient to take upon him the charge of souls?

About the year of our Lord 1128, the orders of the knights of Rhodes, or of St. John, also the order of Templars, rose up.

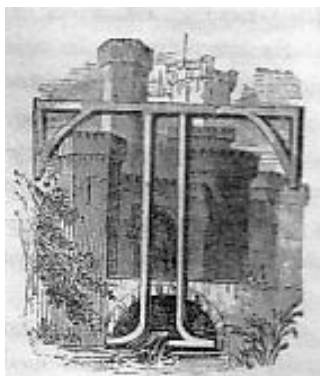
After Honorius, next in the same usurpation succeeded Pope Innocentius the Second, A.D. 1130. But as it was with his predecessors before him, that at every mutation of new popes came new perturbations, and commonly never a pope was elected but some other was set up against him (sometimes two, sometimes three popes together); so likewise it happened with this Innocentius; for after he was chosen, the Romans elected another pope, named Anacletus. Betwixt these two popes there was much ado, and great conflicts, through the partaking of Rogerius, duke of Sicile, taking Anacletus's part against Innocentius, until Lotharius the emperor came; who, rescuing Innocentius, drove Rogerius out of Italy. Our stories record, that King Henry was one of the great helps in setting up and maintaining this Pope Innocentius against Anacletus.

Amongst many other things, this pope decreed that whosoever did strike a priest or clerk, being shaven, he should be excommunicated, and not be absolved, but only of the pope himself.

37. King Stephen

About the time of doing these things, being the year of our Lord 1135, King Henry being in Normandy, as some say, by taking there a fall from his horse, as others say, by taking a surfeit in eating lampreys, fell sick and died, after he had reigned over the realm of England five and thirty years and odd months; leaving for his heirs Matilda the empress his daughter, with her young son Henry, to succeed after him; to whom all the prelates and nobility of the realm were sworn. But, contrary to their oath made to Maud in the presence of her father before, William, the archbishop of Canterbury, and the nobles of the realm, crowned Stephen, earl of Bologne, and sister's son to King Henry, upon St. Stephen's day in Christmas week; which archbishop the next year after died, being, as it was thought, justly punished for his perjury. And many other lords, which did accordingly, went not quit without punishment. In the like justice of punishment is numbered also Roger, bishop of Salis bury; who, contrary unto his oath, being a great doer in the coronation of Stephen, was apprehended of the same king, and miserably, but justly, extermined.

A certain written English story I have, which addeth more, and saith, that King Stephen, having many foes in divers quarters keeping their holds and castles against him, went then to Oxford, and took the bishop of Salisbury, and put a rope about his neck, and so led him to the castle of Vies, that was his, and commanded them to render up the castle, or he would slay and hang their bishop. Which castle being given up, the king took the spoil thereof. The like also he did unto the bishop of Lincoln, named Alexander; whom in like manner He led in a rope to a castle of the bishop's, that was upon Trent, and had them deliver up the castle, or else he would hang their lord before the gate. Long it was before the castle was given Up; yet at length the king obtaining it, there entered and took all the treasure of the bishop, &c. Roger Hoveden and Fabian alleging a certain old author, whom I cannot find, referreth a great cause of this perjury unto one Hugh Bigot, steward sometime with King Henry. Who, immediately after the death of the said Henry, came into England, and before the said archbishop, and other lords of the land, took wilfully an oath, and swore that he was present a little before the king's death, when King Henry admitted for his heir (to be king after him) Stephen his nephew, forsomuch as Maud his daughter had discontented him. Whereunto the archbishop, with the other lords, gave too hasty credence. But this Hugh, saith he, scaped not unpunished, for he died miserably in a short time after. Albeit all this may be supposed rather to be wrought not without the practice of Henry, bishop of Winchester, and other prelates by his setting on, which Henry was brother unto King Stephen, &c.



HUS, when King Stephen contrary unto his oath made before to Maud, the empress, had taken upon him the crown, (as is above said,) he swore before the lords at Oxford, that he would not hold the benefices that were voided, and that he would remit the Danegelt, with many other things, which after he little performed. Moreover, because he dreaded the coming of the empress, he gave licence to his lords, every one to build upon his own ground strong castles or fortresses, as they liked. All the time of his reign he was vexed with wars, but especially with David,

king of the Scots, with whom he was at length accorded; but yet the Scottish king did him no homage, because he was sworn to Maud, the empress. Notwithstanding, yet Henry, the eldest son to King David, did homage to King Stephen. But he, after repenting thereof, entered into Northumberland with a great host, and burnt and slew the people in most cruel wise, neither sparing man, woman, nor child. Such as were with child they ripped, the children they tossed upon their spears' points, and laying the priests upon the altars, they mangled and cut them all to pieces, after a most terrible manner. But by the manhood of the English lords and soldiers, and through the means of Thurstin, archbishop of York, they were met withal, and slain a great number of them, and David their king constrained to give Henry his son hostage for surety of peace. In the mean time, King Stephen was occupied in the south countries, besieging divers castles of divers bishops and other lords, and took them by force, and fortified them with his knights and servants, to the intent to withstand the empress, whose coming he ever feared.

About the sixth year of his reign, Maud, the empress, came into England out of Normandy, and by the aid of Robert, earl of Gloucester, and Ranuiph of Chester, made strong war upon King Stephen. In the end whereof the king's party was chased, and himself taken prisoner, and sent to Bristow, there to be kept in sure hold. The same day when King Stephen should join his battle, it is said in a certain old chronicle before minded, that he being at the mass, (which then the bishop of Lincoln said before the king,) as he went to offer up his taper, it brake in two pieces. And when the mass was done, (or what time the king should have been houseled,) the rope, whereby the pix did hang, did break, and the pix fell down upon the altar.[Note: The word "housel" is employed to denote the giving or receiving the eucharist. It is derived from "host," the consecrated wafer, which again is derived from the Latin *hostia*, a sacrifice.]

After this field, the queen, King Stephen's wife, (lying then in Kent,) made great labour to the empress and her council to have the king delivered and put into some house of religion, but could not obtain it. Also the Londoners made great suit to the said empress to have and to use again St. Edward's laws, and not the laws of her father, which were more strict and strange unto them than the other. Which, when they could not obtain of her and her council, the citizens of London, being therewith discontented, would have taken the empress; but she, having knowledge thereof, fled privily from London to Oxford. But then the Kentish men and Londoners, taking the king's part, joined battle against the empress; where the foresaid Robert. earl of Gloucester, and base brother to the empress, was taken, and so by exchange both the king and the Earl Robert were delivered out of prison. Then Stephen, without delay, gathering to him a strong army, straitly pursued the foresaid Matild, or Maud, with her friends, besieging them in the castle of Oxford. In the siege whereof fell a great snow and frost so hard, that a man well laden might pass over the water; upon the occasion whereof the empress, bethinking herself, appointed with her friends and retinue clothed in white sheets and so issuing out by a postern gate, went upon the ice over Thames, and so escaped to Walingford. After this. the king, (the castle being gotten.) when he found not the empress, was much displeased, and molested the country about divers ways. In conclusion, he pursued the empress and her company so hard, that he caused them to fly the realm, which was the sixth year of his reign.

The second year after this. which was the eighth year of his reign, there was a parliament kept at London, unto the which all the bishops of the realm resorted, and there denounced the king accursed, and all them with him that did any hurt to the

church, or to any minister thereof. Where upon the king began somewhat to amend his conditions for a certain space; but afterward (as my story saith) was as ill as he was before; but what the causes were my author maketh no relation thereof, &c. To return again to the story, the empress, compelled, as is said, to flee the realm, returned again into Normandy to Geoffrey Plantagenet, her husband. Who, after he had valiantly won and defended the duchy of Normandy against the puissance of King Stephen a long time, ended his life, leaving Henry his son to succeed him in that dukedom. In the mean while Robert, earl of Gloucester, and the earl of Chester, who were strong of people, had divers conflicts with the king, insomuch that at a battle at Wilton between them the king was well near taken, but yet escaped with much pain.

It was not long after, but Eustace, son to King Stephen, who had married the French king's sister, made war on Duke Henry, of Normandy, but prevailed not. Soon after, the said Henry, duke of Normandy, (in the quarrel of his mother Maud,) with a great puissance entered into England, and at the first won the castle of Malmesbury, then the tower of London, and afterward the town of Nottingham, with other holds and castles, as of Walingford and other more. Thus between him and the king were fought many battles, to the great annoyance of the realm. During which time Eustace the king's son departeth. Upon the occasion whereof the king caused Theobald, (which succeeded next after William above mentioned,) archbishop of Canterbury, to make means to the duke for peace, which upon this condition between them was concluded, that Stephen, during his lifetime, should hold the kingdom, and Henry in the mean time to be proclaimed heir apparent in the chief cities throughout the realm. These things thus concluded, Duke Henry taketh his journey into Normandy, (King Stephen and his son William, bringing him on his way,) where William the king's son, taking up his horse before his father, had a fall, and brake his leg, and so was had to Canterbury. The same year King Stephen about October (as some say for sorrow) ended his life, after he had reigned nineteen years perjuredly.

As Theobald succeeded after William, archbishop of Canterbury, so in York, after Thurstin, succeeded William, which was called St. William of York, who was poisoned in his chalice by his chaplains.

In the time of this king, and about the sixteenth year of his reign, Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, and legate to the pope, did hold a council at London. In the which council first began new found appeals from councils to the pope, found out by Henry, bishop of Winchester. For, as the words of an historian do record, "Appellations before were not in use in England, till Henry, bishop of Winchester, being then the pope's legate, brought them cruelly in, to his own hurt. For in that council thrice appeal was made to the bishop of Rome."

In the time of King Stephen died Gratian, a monk of Bonony, who compiled the book called The Pope's Decrees. Also his brother, Peter Lombard, bishop of Paris, which is called the Master of Sentences, compiled his four books of the Sentences. These two brethren were the greatest doers in finding out and establishing this blind opinion of the sacrament, that the only similitude of bread and wine remained, but not the substance of them; and this they call the spiritual understanding of the mystery. And therefore no marvels if the sun in those days were seen black and dim.

Some also affirm, that Petrus Comestor, writer of the scholastical history, was the third brother to these above named.

In the same time and reign of the said King Stephen was also Hugo, surnamed De Sancto Victore. About the which time (as Polychronicon reciteth) lived and died Bernardus Clarevallensis.

The author of the history called Jornalensis maketh also mention of Hildegare, the nun and prophetess in Almany, to have lived in the same age. Concerning whose prophecy against the friars, here after (by the grace of Christ) more shall be said, when we come to recite the order and number of friars and religious men crept into the church of Christ.

We read moreover of one named Johannes de Temporibus, which by the affirmance of some of our old histories lived three hundred and sixty-one years, (servant once to Carolus Magnus,) and in the reign of Stephen, king of England, died.

In the days also of this king, and by him, was builded the abbey of Feversham, where his son and he were buried. He builded the monastery of Finerneis and of Fomitance, the castle of Walingford, with a number of other castles more.

During the time of the said King Stephen, in the year of our Lord 1144, the miserable Jews crucified a child in the city of Norwich.

Much about the same time came up the order of the Gilbertines, by one Gilbert, son to Jacoline, a knight of Lincolnshire.

Mention hath been made before of certain English councils holden in the time of this king, where it was (in one of them under Theobald, the archbishop of Canterbury) decreed that bishops should live more discreetly; should teach their flock more diligently; that reading of Scriptures should be frequented more usually in abbeys; that priests should not be rulers of worldly matters; and that they should learn and teach the Lord's Prayer and Creed in English.

Matthew Paris writeth, how Stephen, king of England, in these days reserved to himself the right and authority of bestowing spiritual livings, and in vesting prelates, in the year 1133.

At which time also Lotharius the emperor began to do the like, in recovering again the right and privilege taken away from Henricus his predecessor, had not Bernard given him contrary counsel.

Here came into the church the manner of cursing with book, bell, and candle, devised in the Council of London, holden by William, bishop of Winchester, under Celestinus, which succeeded after Innocentius, A.D. 1144.

Also Lotharius succeeded in the imperial crown Conradus, the nephew of Henricus the Fifth, aforementioned, A.D. 1138, who only amongst many emperors is not found to receive the crown at the pope's hand.

In the days of this emperor, who reigned fifteen years, were divers popes, as Celestinus the Second, Luscus the Second, Eugenius the Third, at which time the Romans went about to recover their former old manner of choosing their consuls and senators. But the popes, then being in their ruff, in no case would abide it; whereupon arose many commotions, with much civil war amongst them. Insomuch that Pope Lucius (sending for aid to the emperor, who otherwise letted at that time could not come) armed his soldiers, thinking to invade them, or else to destroy them in the senate-house. But this coming to their knowledge before, the people was all in array, and so much ado was amongst them. Pope Lucius being also amongst them in the

fight, (well pelted with stones and blows,) lived not long after. Likewise Pope Eugenius after him, A.D. 1145, pursuing the Romans for the same matter, first did curse them with excommunication; after, when he saw that would not serve, he came with his host, and so compelled them at length to seek his peace, and to take his conditions, which were these; that they should abolish their consuls, and take such senators as he by his papal authority should assign them.

Then followed Anastasius the Fourth, and after him Adrian the Fourth, an Englishman, by his name called Breakspear, belonging once to St Albans. This Adrianus kept great stir in like sort with the citizens of Rome for abolishing their consuls and senate, cursing, excommunicating, and warring against them with all power he could make, till the time he removed the consuls out of their office, and brought them all under his subjection. The like business and rage he also stirred up against Apulia, and especially against the empire, blustering and thundering against Fredericus the emperor, as (the Lord granting) you shall hear anon, after we have prosecuted such matter as necessarily appertnineth first to the continuation of our English story.

38. Henry II

Henry, the second of that name, the son of Geoffrey Plantagenet, and of Maud the empress, and daughter of King Henry the First, began his reign after King Stephen, and continued five and thirty years. The first year of his reign he subdued Ireland; and not long after, Thomas Becket was made by him lord chancellor of England. This king cast down divers castles which were erected in the time of King Stephen. He went into the north parts, where he subdued William, king of Scotland, who at that time held a great part of Northumberland, unto Newcastle upon Tyne, and joined Scotland to his own kingdom, from the south ocean to the north isles of Orkneys. Also he put under his dominion the kingdom of Wales, and there felled many great woods, and made the ways plain. So that by his great manhood and policy the seigniory of England was much augmented with the addition of Scotland, Ireland, the Orkney Isles, Britain, Poictou, and Guienne. Also he had in his rule Normandy, Gascony, Anjou, and Chinon; also Auvergne and the city of Thoulouse he won, and were to him subject. Over and besides (by the title of his wife Eleanor, daughter to the earl of Poictou) he obtained the Pyrenees in Spain; so that we read of none of his progenitors which had so many countries under his dominion.

In England were seen in the firmament two suns, and in Italy appeared three suns by the space of three hours in the west; and the year following appeared three moons, whereof the middle moon had a red cross overthwart the face, whereby was betokened (by the judgment of some the great schism that after fell among the cardinals for the election of the bishop of Rome; or else rather the business between Frederic the emperor and the popes, whereof partly now incidently occasion giveth us to discourse, after that I have first written of Gerhardus and Dulcious Navarensis; who in their time, according to their gift, did earnestly labour and preach against the Church of Rome, defending and maintaining, that prayer was not more holy in one place than in another; that the pope was antichrist; that the clergy and prelates of Rome were reprobate, and the very whore of Babylon prefigured in the Apocalypse. Peradventure these had received some light of knowledge of the Waldenses, who at length with a great number of their followers were oppressed and slain by the pope. And although some inconvenient points of doctrine and dishonesty in their assemblies be against them alleged of some, yet these times of ours do teach us sufficiently what credit is to be given to such popish slanders, forged rather upon hatred of true religion than upon any judgment of truth. Illyricus, in his book *De Testibus*, referreth the time of these two to the year of our Lord 1218; but, as I find in the story of Robert Guisburne, these two, about the year of our Lord 1158, brought thirty with them into England, who by the king and the prelates were all burnt in the forehead, and so driven out of the realm, and after (as Illyricus writeth) were slain by the pope.

39. Quarrel between the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa and the Papacy

And now (according to my promise premised) the time requireth to proceed to the history of Frederic the First, (called Barbarossa,) successor unto Conradus in the empire, who marched up to Italy to subdue there certain rebels. The pope hearing that, came with his clergy to meet him by the way, in a town called Sutrium, thinking by him to find aid against his enemies. The emperor seeing the bishop, lighteth from his horse to receive him, holding the stirrup to the prelate on the left side, when he should have held it on the right, whereat the pope showed himself somewhat grieved. The emperor smiling, excused himself; that he was never accustomed to hold stirrups. And seeing it was done only of good will, and of no duty, the less matter was what side of the horse he held. The next day, to make amends again to the bishop, the emperor sending for him received him, holding the right stirrup unto the prelate, and so all the matter was made whole, and he the pope's white son again.

After this, as they were come in and sat together, Adrian the pope beginneth to declare unto him, how his ancestors before him, such as sought unto the see of Rome for the crown, were wont always to leave behind them some special token or monument of their benevolence for the obtaining thereof, Carolus Magnus in subduing the Lombards, Otho the Berengarians, Lotharius the Normans, &c. Wherefore he required some benefit to proceed likewise from him unto the Church of Rome, in restoring again the country of Apulia to the Church of Rome. Which thing if he would do, he for his part again would do that which appertained unto him to do; meaning in giving him the crown, for at that time the popes had brought the emperors to fetch their crown at their hands.

Frederic, with his princes, perceiving that unless he would of his own proper costs and charges fetch in again Apulia out of Duke William's hands, he could not speed of the crown, was fain to promise to all that the pope required, and so the next day after was crowned.

This done, the emperor returneth into Germany, to refresh his army and his other furnitures, for the subduing of Apulia. In the mean while Adrian, not thinking to be idle, first giveth forth censures of excommunication against William, duke of Apulia. Besides, not content with this, he sendeth also to Emmanuel, emperor of Constantinople, incensing him to war against the foresaid William. The duke perceiving this, sendeth to the pope for peace, promising to restore to him whatsoever he would.

But the pope, through the malignant counsel of his cardinals, would grant to no peace, thinking to get more by war. The duke, seeing nothing but war, prepareth himself with all expedition to the same. To be brief, making all his power out of Sicilia, he arrived at Apulia, and there putteth the emperor Emmanuel to flight. This done, he proceedeth to the city of Bonaventure, where the pope with his cardinals were looking for victory. He, planting there his siege, so straitly pressed the city, that the pope with his cardinals were glad to entreat for peace, which they refused before. The duke granted unto their peace upon certain conditions, that is, that neither he should invade such possessions as belonged to Rome, and that the pope should make him king of both Sicilies. So the matter was concluded, and they departed. The bishop, coming

to Rome, was no less troubled there about their consuls and senators, insomuch that when his curses and excommunications could not prevail nor serve, he was fain to leave Rome, and removed to Ariminum.

The emperor, all this while sitting quietly at home, began to consider with himself how the pope had extorted from the emperors his predecessors the investing and enduing of prelates; how he had pilled and polled all nations by his legates, and also had been the sower of seditions through all his empire. He began therefore to require of all the hishops of Germany homage, and oath of their allegiance; commanding also the pope's legates, if they came into Germany without his sending for, not to be received. Charging, moreover, all his subjects that none of them should appeal to Rome. Besides this, in his letters he set and prefixed his name before the pope's name; whereupon the pope, being not a little offended, directed his letters to the foresaid Frederic, emperor, after this tenor and form as followeth.

The copy of Adrianus the pope's letters to Frederic the emperor.

"Adrian, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to Frederic, emperor, health and apostolical benediction. The law of God, as it promiseth to them that honour father and mother long life, so it threateneth the sentence of death to them that curse father and mother. We are taught by the word of truth, that every one the which exalteth himself shall be brought low. Whrefore (my well-beloved son in the Lord) we marvel not a little at your wisdom, in that you seem not to show that reverence to blessed St. Peter, and to the holy Church of Rome, which you ought to show. For why? In your letters sent to us, you prefer your own name before ours; wherein you incur the note of insolency, yea rather, (to speak it,) of arrogancy. What should I here recite unto you the oath of your fidelity, which you aware to blessed St. Peter and to us, and how you observe and keep the same? Seeing you so require homage and allegiance of them that be gods, and all the sons of the High God, and presume to join their holy lands with yours, working contrary to us; seeing also you exclude, not only out of your churches, but also out of your cities, our cardinals, whom we direct as legates from our side; what shall I say then unto you? Amend therefore, I advise you, amend; for while you go about to obtain of us your consecration and crown, and to get those things you have not, I fear much your honour will lose the things you have. Thus fare ye well."

The answer of Frederic, the emperor, to the pope.

"Frederic, by the grace of God, Roman emperor, ever Augustus, unto Adrian, bishop of the Roman church, and unto all such that be willing to cleave unto those things which Jesus began to work and teach, greeting. The law of justice giveth to every person accordingly that which is his. Neither do we derogate from our parents; of whom, according as we have received this our dignity of the imperial crown and governance, so in the same kingdom of ours we do render their due and true honour to them again. And forsomuch as duty in all sorts of men is to be sought out, let us see first in the time of Constantine (Silvester then being bishop of Rome) what patrimony or regality he had of his own due to him that he might claim. Did not Constantine of his liberal benignity give liberty, and restored peace unto the church? And what soever regality or patrimony the see of your papacy hath, was it not by the donation of princes given unto them? Revolve and turn over the ancient chronicles, (if either you have not read or neglected that we do affirm,) there it is to be found. Of them which be gods by adoption, and hold our lordships of us, why may we not justly require their homage, and their sworn allegiance, whenas he which is both your Master and ours (taking nothing of any king or any man, but giving all goodness to all men) payed toll and

tribute for him and Peter unto Cæsar? giving you example to do the like. And therefore he saith to you and all men, "Learn of me, for I am meek and humble of heart," &c. Wherefore either render again your lordships and patrimonies which ye hold of us; or else, if ye find them so sweet unto you, then give that which is due to God unto God, and that which is due to Cæsar unto Cæsar. As for your cardinals, we shut them out both of churches and cities, for that we see them not preachers, but prollers; not repairers of peace, but rakers for money; not pillars and upholders of the church, but pollers insatiable of the world, and moilers of money and gold. What time we shall see them to be other men, (such as the church requireth them to be,) members and makers of peace, shining forth like lights to the people, assisting poor and weak men's causes in the way of equity, &c., then shall they find us prepared and ready to relieve them with stipends, and all things necessary. And whereas you infer such questions as these unto secular men, (little conducing to religion,) you incur thereby no little note and blemish of your humility, (which is keeper of all virtues,) and of your mansuetude. Therefore let your fatherhood beware and take heed, lest in moving such matters as seem to us unseemly for you, ye give thereby offence to such as depend of your word (giving ear to your mouth, as it were to an evening shower); for we cannot but tell you of that we hear, seeing now the detestable beast of pride doth creep into the seat of Peter, providing always (as much as we may by God's grace) for the peace of the church. Fare ye well."

Upon this Adrian the pope directeth out a bull against Frederic, excommunicating him with public and solemn ceremonies. Moreover, conspiring with William, duke of Apulia, he sought all manner of ways to infest the emperor, and to set all men against him, especially the clergy. Amongst many other writing to Hillinus, bishop of Trivers, to Arnulphus, bishop of Mentz, and to Frederic, bishop of Cullen, he seeketh first to make them of his side.

Much trouble had good Fredericus with this pope; but much more with the other that followed. For this pope continued not very long, the space only of four years and odd months. About whose time rose up the order of the hermits by one William, once duke of Aquitania, and afterward a friar. This Adrianus, walking with his cardinals abroad to a place called Anagnia, or Arignanum, (as Volateran calleth it,) chanced to be choked with a fly getting into his throat, and so was strangled; who, in the later time of his papacy, was wont to say, that there is no more miserable kind of life in the earth, than to be pope, and to come to the papacy by blood, that is, (said he,) not to succeed Peter, but rather Romulus, who, to reign alone, did slay his brother.

Although this Adrian was bad enough, yet came the next much worse, one Alexander, the third of that name, who yet was not elect alone; for beside him the emperor with nine cardinals (albeit Sabellicus saith but with three) did set up another pope, named Victor the Fourth. Between these two popes rose a foul schism and great discord, and long continued. Insomuch that the emperor, being required to take up the matter, sent for them both to appear before him, that in hearing them both he might judge their cause the better. Victor came, but Alexander (disdaining that his matter should come in controversy) refused to appear. Whereupon the emperor, with a full consent of his bishops and clergy about him, assigned and ratified the election of Victor to stand, and so brought him into the city, there to be received and placed. Alexander flying into France, accused them both, sending his letters to all Christendom against them, as men to be avoided and cast out of all Christian company. Also to get him friends at Rome, by flattery and money he got on his side the greatest part of the city, both to the favouring of him, and to the setting up of such

consuls as were for his purpose. After this, Alexander coming from France to Sicily, and from thence to Rome, was there received with much favour, through the help of Philip the French king. The



emperor, hearing this rebellion and conspiracy in Rome, removed with great power into Italy, where he had destroyed divers great cities. Coming at length to Rome, he required the citizens that the cause betwixt the two popes might be decided, and that he which had the best right might be taken. If they would so do, he would restore again that which he took from them before. Alexander mistrusting his part, and doubting the wills of the citizens, (having ships ready prepared for him from William, duke of Apulia,) fetched a course about to Venice.

To declare here the difference in histories, between Blondus, Sabellicus, and the Venetian chroniclers, with other writers, concerning the order of this matter, I will overpass. In this most do agree, that the pope being at Venice, and required to be sent of the Venetians to the emperor, they would not send him. Whereupon Fredericus the emperor sent thither his son Otho, with men and ships well appointed, charging him not to attempt any thing before his coming. The young man, more hardy than circumspect, (joining with the Venetians,) was overcome; and so taken, was brought out into the city. Hereby the pope took no small occasion to work his feats.

The father, to help the captivity and misery of his son, was compelled to submit himself to the pope, and to entreat for peace. So the emperor, coming to Venice, (at St. Mark's church, where the bishop was, there to take his absolution,) was bid to kneel down at the pope's feet.

The proud pope, setting his foot upon the emperor's neck, said the verse of the Psalm, "Thou shalt walk upon the adder and on the basilisk, and shalt tread down the lion and the dragon." To whom the emperor answering again, said, Not to thee, but to Peter. The pope again, Both to me and to Peter. The emperor, fearing to give any occasion of further quarrelling, held his peace, and so was absolved, and peace made between them. The conditions whereof were these. First, that he should receive Alexander for the true pope. Secondly, that he should restore again to the Church of Rome all that he had taken away before. And thus the emperor, obtaining again his son, departed.

Here, as I note in divers writers a great diversity and variety touching the order of this matter. (of whom some say that the emperor camped in Palestina before he came to Venice, some say after,) so I marvel to see in Volateran (so great a favourer of the pope) such a contradiction, who in his two and twentieth book saith, that Otho, the emperor's son, was taken in this conflict, which was the cause of the peace between his father and the pope. And in his three and twentieth book again saith, that the emperor himself was taken prisoner in the same battle; and so afterwards (peace concluded) took his journey to Asia and Palestina. This pope, in the time of his papacy, (which continued one and twenty years,) kept sundry councils both at Turo and at Lateran, where he confirmed the wicked proceedings of Hildebrand, and others his predecessors; as to bind all orders of the clery to the vow of chastity; which were not greatly to be reprehended, if they would define chastity aright. For who so liveth not a chaste life (saith he) is not fit to be a minister. But herein lieth an error full of much

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

blindness, and also peril, to think that matrimony immaculate (as St. Paul calleth it) is not chastity, but only a single life, that they esteem to be a chaste life.

END OF VOLUME 1

**THE ACTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE
CHRISTIAN CHURCH**

by

JOHN FOXE

Commonly known as

FOXES' BOOK OF MARTYRS

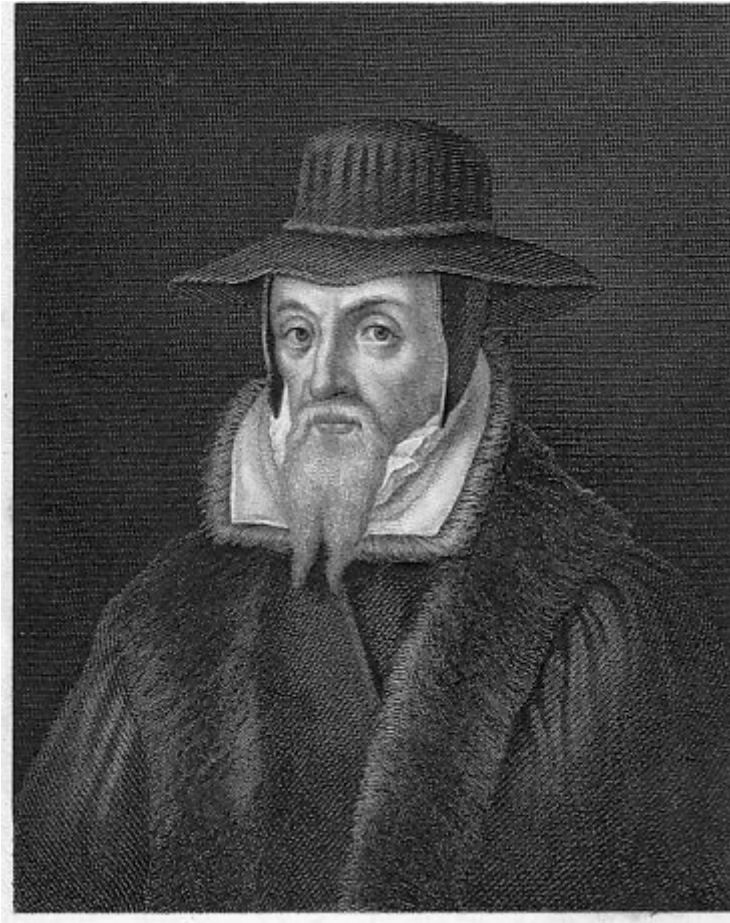
Volume 2

From Thomas À Becket to King Edward III

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40. Life and Death of Thomas À Becket

Now forsomuch as our English pope-holy martyr, called Thomas Becket, happened also in the same time of this Pope Alexander, let us somewhat also speak of him, so far as the matter shall seem worthy of knowledge, and to stand with truth; to the end that the truth thereof being sifted from all flattery and lies of such popish writers as paint out his story, men may the better judge both of him what he was, and also of his cause.

If the cause make a martyr, (as is said,) I see not why we should esteem Thomas Becket to die a martyr, more than any other whom the prince's sword doth here temporally punish for their temporal deserts. To die for the church I grant is a glorious matter. But the church, as it is a spiritual and not a temporal church, so it standeth upon causes spiritual, and upon a heavenly foundation, as upon faith, religion, true doctrine, sincere discipline, obedience to God's commandments; and not upon things pertaining to this world, as possessions, liberties, exemptions, privileges, dignities, patrimonies, and superiorities. If these be given to the church, I pray God churchmen may use them well; but if they be not given, the church cannot claim them; or if they be taken away, that standeth in the prince's power. To contend with princes for the same, it is no matter (in my mind) sufficient to make a martyr, but rather a rebel against them to whom we owe subjection. Therefore, as I suppose Thomas Becket to be far from the cause and title of a martyr, (neither can he be excused from a plain rebel against his prince,) so yet would I have wished again the law rather publicly to have found out his fault, than the swords of men (not bidden nor sent) to have smitten him, having no special commandment either of the prince or of the law so to do. For though the indignation of the prince (as the wise prince saith) is death, yet it is not for every private person straightways to revenge the secret indignation of his prince, except he be publicly authorized thereunto. And this had been (as I suppose) the better way, if the laws had first executed their justice upon him. Certes, it had been the safest way for the king, as it proved after; who had just matter enough, if he had prosecuted his cause against him. And also thereby his death had been without all suspicion of martyrdom, neither had there followed that shrining and sainting of him as there did. Albeit the secret providence of God, which governeth all things, did see this way perhaps to be best, and most necessary for those days. And doubtless (to say here what I think, and yet to speak nothing against charity) if the emperors had done the like to the popes contending against them, what time they had taken them prisoners; that is, if they had used the law of the sword against them, and chopped off the heads of one or two, according to their traitorous rebellion; they had broken the neck of much disturbance, which long time after did trouble the church. But for lack of that, because emperors having the sword and the truth on their side, would not use their sword; but standing in awe of the pope's vain curse, and reverencing his seat for St. Peter's sake, durst not lay hand upon him, though he were never so abominable and traitorous a malefactor; the popes perceiving that took so much upon them, not as the Scripture would give, but as much as the superstitious fear of emperors and kings would suffer them to take; which was so much, that it passed all order, rule, and measure; and all because the superior powers either would not, or durst not, practise the authority given unto them of the Lord upon those inferiors, but suffered them to be their masters.

But as touching Thomas Becket, whatsoever is to be thought of them that did the act, the example thereof yet bringeth this profit with it, to teach all Romish prelates not to be so stubborn (in such matters not pertaining unto them) against their prince unto whom God hath subjected them.

Now to the story, which if it be true that is set forth in *Quadrilogo*, by those four who took upon them to express the life and process of Thomas Becket, it appeareth by all conjectures that he was a man of a stout nature, severe, and inflexible. What persuasion or opinion he had once conceived, from that he would in no wise be removed, or very hardly. Threatenings and flattering were to him both one; in this point singular, following no man's counsel so much as his own. Great helps of nature there were in him (if he could have used them well) rather than of learning; albeit somewhat skilful he was of the civil law, which he studied at Bonony; in memory excellently good, and also well broken in courtly and worldly matters. Besides this, he was of a chaste and strait life, if the histories be true; although in the first part of his life (being yet archdeacon of Canterbury, and after lord chancellor) he was very evil, courtly, pleasant, given much both to hunting and hawking, according to the guise of the court; and highly favoured he was of his prince, who not only had thus promoted him, but also had committed his son and heir to his institution and governance. But in this his first beginning he was not so well beloved, but afterward he was again as much hated, (and deservedly,) both of the king, and also of the most part of his subjects, save only of certain monks and priests, and such others as were persuaded by them, who magnified him not a little for upholding the liberties of the church, that is, the licentious life and excess of churchmen. Amongst all others, these vices he had most notable, and to be rebuked; full of devotion, but without all true religion; zealous, but clean without knowledge. And therefore as he was stiff and stubborn of nature, so (a blind conscience being joined withal) it turned to plain rebellion. So superstitious he was to the obedience of the pope, that he forgot his obedience to his natural and most beneficial king; and, in maintaining (so contentiously) the vain constitutions and degrees of men, he neglected the commandments of God. But herein most of all is he to be reprehended, that not only (contrary to the king's knowledge) he sought to convey himself out of the realm, (being in that place and calling,) but also being out of the realm, he set matter of discord between the pope and his king, and also between the French king and him, contrary to all honesty, good order, natural subjection, and true Christianity. Where upon followed no little disquietness to the king, and damage to the realm, as here (in process and order following, by the grace of Christ) we will declare; beginning with the first rising up of him, and so consequently prosecuting in order his story.

And first here to omit the progeny of him and of his mother, named Rose, whom Polydore Virgil falsely nameth to be a Saracen, when indeed she came out of the parts bordering near to Normandy; to omit also the fabulous vision of his mother, mentioned in Roberto Crikeladensi, of a burning torch issuing out of her body, and reaching up to heaven; his first preferment was to the church of Branfield, which he had by the gift of St. Albans. After that, he entered into the service of the archbishop of Canterbury, by whom he was then preferred to be his archdeacon; and after by the said Theobald was put (as a man meet for his purpose) to King Henry to bridle the young king, that he should not be fierce against the clergy; whom in process of time the king made lord chancellor, and then he left playing the archdeacon, and began to play the chancellor. He fashioned his conditions like to the king's both in weighty matters and trifles; he would hunt with him, and watch the time when the king dined

and slept. Furthermore, he began to love the merry jestings of the court, to delight himself with the great laud of men, and praise of the people. And that I may not pass over his household stuff, he had his bridle of silver, and the bosses of his bridle were worth a great treasure. At his table and in other expenses he passed any earl; so that, on the one side, men judged him little to consider the office of an archdeacon; and, on the other side, they judged him to use wicked doings. He played also the good soldier under the king in Gascoigne, and both won and kept towns. When the king sent Thomas, being chancellor, home into England, (ambassador with other nobles, after the death of the archbishop,) he willed Richard Lucy (one of the chiefest) to commend in his name this Thomas to the convent of Canterbury, that they might choose him archbishop, which thing he did diligently. The monks said it was not meet to choose a courtier and a soldier to be head of so holy a company; for he would spend (said they) all that they had. Others had this surmise also, because he was in so great favour with the prince, the king's son, and was so suddenly discharged of the chancellorship, which he had borne five years. In the four and fortieth year of his age (on the Saturday in Whitsun week) he was made priest, and the next day consecrated bishop.

As touching the priesthood of this man, I find the histories to vary in themselves; for if he were beneficed, and chaplain to Theobald, and afterwards archdeacon, (as some say,) it is no other like but that he was priest before, and not (as our most English stories say) made priest in one day, and archbishop the next.

But howsoever this matter passeth, here is in the mean time to be seen what great benefits the king had done for him, and what great love had been between them both. Now after that Becket was thus promoted, what variance and discord happened between them remaineth to be showed; the causes of which variance were divers and sundry.

As, first, when (according to the custom) the king's officers gathered of every one hide-money through the realm, for the defence of their own country, the king would have taken it to his coffers. But the bishop said, that which every man gave willingly he should not count as his proper rent.

Another cause was, that where a priest was accused of murder, and the king's officers and the friends of the dead accused the priest earnestly before the bishop of Salisbury, his diocesan, to whom he was sent, desiring justice to be done on him, the priest was put to his purgation. But when he was not able to defend himself, the bishop sent to the archbishop to ask what he should do. The archbishop commanded he should be deprived of all ecclesiastical benefices, and shut up in an abbey to do perpetual penance. After the same sort were divers others handled for like causes, but none put to death, nor lost joint, nor burned in the hand, or put to the like pain.

The third cause was, that, where a canon of Bruis did revile the king's justices, the king was offended with the whole clergy. For these and such-like the archbishop (to pacify the king's anger) commanded the canon to be whipped and deprived of his benefices for certain years. But the king was not content with this gentle punishment, because it rather increased their boldness; and therefore he called the archbishop, bishops, and all the clergy to assemble at Westminster. When they were assembled together, the king earnestly commanded that such wicked clerks should have no privilege of their clergy, but be delivered to the jailors, because they passed so little of the spiritual correction; and this he said also their own canons and laws had decreed. The archbishop, counselling with his bishops and learned men, answered probably; and in the end he desired heartily the king's gentleness, (for the quietness of himself

and his realm,) that under Christ, our new King, and under the new law of Christ, he would bring in no new kind of punishment into his realm, (upon the new chosen people of the Lord,) against the old decrees of the holy fathers; and oft he said that he neither ought nor could suffer it. The king moved therewith (and not without cause) allegeth again and exacteth the old laws and customs of his grandfather, observed and agreed upon by archbishops, bishops, prelates, and other privileged persons; inquiring likewise of him whether he would agree to the same, or else now (in his reign) would condemn that which in the reign of his grand father was well allowed. To which laws and customs the said Thomas did partly grant, and partly not grant. The copy of the which foresaid laws are contained in the number of eight and twenty or nine and twenty, whereof I thought here to recite certain not unworthy to be known.

The copy of the old laws and customs where unto Thomas Becket did grant.

1. That no order should be given to husbandmen's children and bondmen's children, without the assent or testimonial of them which be the lords of the country where they were born and brought up; and if their sons become clerks, they shall not receive the order of priesthood without licence of their lords.
2. And if a man of holy church hold any lay fee in his hand, he shall do therefore the king the service that belongeth thereto, as upon juries, assize of lands and judgments, saving only at execution doing of death.
3. If any man were the king's traitor, and had taken the church, that it should be lawful for the king and his officers to take him out.
4. And if any felon's goods were brought to holy church, that there should none such keep there; for every felon's goods be the king's.
5. That no land should be given to the church, or to any house of religion, without the king's licence.

These articles following Thomas agreed not unto.

1. If that between a clerk and a layman were any striving for church goods, they would the plea should be done in the king's court.
2. That there should neither bishop nor clerk go out of the land without the king's licence, and then he should swear upon a book he should procure no hurt against the king, nor none of his.
3. If any man were denounced accursed, and were come again to amendment, the king would not that he should be sworn, but only find sureties to stand to that that holy church should award.
4. That no man, that held of the king in chief or in service, should be accursed without the king's licence.
5. That all the bishoprics and abbeys that were vacant should be in the king's hands, until such time that he should choose a prelate thereto, and he should be chosen out of the king's chapels; and, first, before he were confirmed, he should do his homage to the king.
6. If any plea were brought to the consistory, they should appeal from thence to the archdeacon, and from thence to the bishop's court, and from the bishop's court to the archbishop's, and from thence to the king, and no further. So that, in conclusion, the complaints of holy church must come before the king, and not the pope.

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7. That debts that were owing through troth plight should not be pleaded in spiritual, but in temporal courts.

8. That the Peter pence which to the pope were gathered should be taken to the king.

9. If any clerk for felony were taken and so proved, he should be first degraded, and then through judgment be hanged, or, if he were a traitor, be drawn.

Other lawes and constitutions made at Clarendon in Normandy, and sent to England, whereunto Becket and the pope would not agree, he being then fled out of the realm.

1. If any person shall be found to bring from the pope, or from the archbishop of Canterbury, any writing containing any interdict or curse against the realm of England, the same man to be apprehended without delay for a traitor, and execution to be done upon the same.

2. That no monk nor any clerk shall be permitted to pass over into England without a passport from the king or his justices; whoso doth the contrary, that man to be attached and imprisoned.

3. No man to be so bold once to appeal to the pope, or to the archbishop of Canterbury out of England.

4. That no decree or commandment, proceeding from the authority of the pope or the bishop of Canterbury, be received into England, under pain of taking and imprisoning.

5. In general, to forbid any man to carry over any commandment or precept, either of clerk or layman, to the pope, or to the archbishop of Canterbury, under pain of imprisonment.

6. If any bishop, clerk, abbot, or layman shall do contrary to this inhibition, or will keep the sentence of interdicting, the same incontinent to be thrust out of the land, with all their kindred, and to leave all their goods behind them.

7. All the possessions, goods, and chattels of such as favour the pope, or the archbishop of Canterbury, to be seized and confiscate for the king.

8. All such of the clergy as be out of the realm, having their rents and profits out of the land, to be summoned and warned through every shire within three months to repair home, or else their rents and goods to return to the king.

9. That St. Peter's pence should be no more paid to the apostolical see, but be reserved diligently in the king's coffers, and there to be at his commandment.

10. That the bishops of Salisbury and Norwich be at the king's mercy, and be summoned by the sheriff and beadles, that they before the king's justices do right to the king and his justices, because (contrary to the statutes of Clarendon) by commandment they interdicted the land of Earl Hugh, and published the same in their diocese without licence of the king's justices.

By these and such other laws and decrees it may appear, that the abolishing of the pope is no new thing in the realm of England. This only difference there is, that the pope being driven out then, could not be kept out so long as now he is. The cause is, that the time was not yet come that antichrist should so fully be revealed; neither was his wickedness then so fully ripe in those days, as it hath been now in our time. Now

these premised, let us return where we left, to the matter between the king and Thomas Becket.

The communication and controversy between the king and Thomas Becket with his clergy.

The king (as is aforesaid) convening his nobles and clerks together, required to have the punishment of certain misdoers of the clergy; but Thomas Becket not assenting thereunto, the king came to this point, to know whether he would consent with his clergy, that the customs then set forth in the realm (meaning the first part of those decrees above specified) should be observed. To which the archbishop, consulting together with his brethren, giveth answer again, that he was contented the king's ordinances should be observed, adding this, saving his order. And so in like manner all the other bishops after, being demanded in order, answered with the same addition. Hilarius, bishop of Chichester, perceiving the king to be exasperated with that addition, instead of *salvo ordine*, (saving his order,) agreed to observe them *bona fide*. The king hearing them not simply to agree unto him, but with an exception, was mightily offended; who then turning to the archbishop and the prelates, said that he was not well contented with that clause of theirs, *salvo sue ordine*, which he said was captious and deceitful, having some manner of venom lurking under it; and therefore required an absolute grant of them, without any exception, to agree to the king's ordinances. To this the archbishop answered again, that they had sworn unto him their fidelity, both life, body, and earthly honour: and that in the same earthly honour also those ordinances were comprehended, and to the observing of them they would bind themselves after no other form, but as they had sworn before. The king with this was moved, and all his nobility, not a little. As for the other bishops, there was no doubt but they would easily have relented, had not the stoutness of the archbishop made them more constant than otherwise they would have been. The day being well spent, the king (when he could get no other answer of them) departed in great anger, giving no word of salutation to the bishops, and likewise the bishops every one to his own house departed. The bishop of Chichester (amongst the rest) was greatly rebuked of his fellows for changing the exception, contrary to the voice of all the others. The next day following the king took from the archbishop all such honours and lordships as he had given him before in the time that he was chancellor; whereby appeared the great displeasure of the king against him and the clergy. Not long after this, the king removing from London, (unknown to the bishops,) sailed over to Normandy, whither the bishop of London, called Gilbert, (not long after,) resorted to crave the king's favour, and gave him counsel withal to join some of the bishops on his side; lest if all were against him, peradventure he might sooner be overthrown. And thus the greatest number of the bishops were by this means reconciled again to the king; only the archbishop with a few others remained in their stoutness still. The king, (thinking to try all manner of ways,) when he saw no fear nor threats could turn him, did assay him with gentleness; it would not serve. Many of the nobles laboured betwixt them both, exhorting him to relent to the king; it would not be. Likewise the archbishop of York, with divers other bishops and abbots, especially the bishop of Chester, did the same. Besides this, his own household daily called upon him, but no man could persuade him. At length understanding partly by them that came to him what danger might happen, not only to himself, but to all the other clergy, upon the king's displeasure; partly considering the old love and kindness of the king towards him in time past; he was content to give over to the king's request, and came to Oxford to him, reconciling himself about the addition, which displeased the king so much. Whereupon the king

being somewhat mitigated receiveth him with a more cheerful countenance, but yet not all so familiarly as before, saying that he would have his ordinances and proceedings after the form confirmed in the public audience and open sight of his bishops and all his nobles. After this, the king (being at Clarendon) there called all his peers and prelates before him, requiring to have that performed which they had promised, in consenting to the observing of his grandfather's ordinances and proceedings. The archbishop, suspecting I cannot tell what in the king's promise, drew backward, and now would not that he would before; at last with much ado he was enforced to give assent. First came to him the bishop of Salisbury and of Norwich, who (for old matters endangered to the king long before) came weeping and lamenting to the archbishop, desiring him to have some compassion of them, and to remit this pertinacy to the king, lest if he so continued, (through his stoutness to exasperate the king's displeasure,) haply it might redound to no small danger, not only of them, which were in jeopardy already, but also of himself to be imprisoned, and the whole clergy to be endangered. Besides these two bishops, there went to him other two noble peers of the realm, labouring with him to relent and condescend to the king's desire; if not, they should be enforced to use such violence, as neither would stand with the king's fame, and much less with his quietness: but yet the stout stomach of the man would not give over. After this came to him two rulers of the temple, called Templars, one Richard de Hust, another Costans de Heverio, with their company, lamenting and bewailing the great peril which they declared unto him to hang over his head; yet neither with their tears nor with their kneelings would he be removed. At length came the last message from the king, signifying unto him with express words, and also with tears, what he should trust to, if he would not give over to the king's request.

By reason of which message he, either terrified, or else persuaded, was content to submit himself. Whereupon the king incontinent assembling the states together, the archbishop first before all others beginneth to promise the king obedience, and submission unto his custom, and that *cum bona fide*, leaving out his former addition, *salvo ordine*, mentioned before; instead whereof he promised *in verbo veritatis*, to observe and keep the king's customs, and swear to the same. After him the other bishops likewise gave the like oath; whereupon the king commanded incontinent certain instruments obligatory to be drawn, of the which the king should have the one, the archbishop of Canterbury another, the archbishop of York the third, requiring also the said archbishop to set to his hand and seal. To the which the archbishop (though not denying but that he was ready so to do) yet desired respite in the matter, while that he (being but newly come to his bishopric) might better peruse with himself the foresaid customs and ordinances of the king. This request, as it seemed but reasonable, so it was lightly granted; so the day being well spent, they departed for that season and brake up.

Alanus, one of the four writers of the Life of this Thomas Becket, recordeth, that the archbishop, in his voyage towards Winchester, began greatly to repent that he had done before, partly through the instigation of certain about him, but chiefly of his cross-bearer, who, going before the archbishop, sharply and earnestly expostulated with him for giving over to the king's request, against the privilege and liberties of the church, polluting not only his fame and conscience, but also giving a pernicious example to them that should come after; with many like words. To make the matter short, the archbishop was so touched upon the same with such repentance, that keeping himself from all company, lamenting with tears, with fasting, and with much penance macerating and afflicting himself, he did suspend himself from all Divine service, and

would not receive comfort before that (word being sent to his holy grandfather the pope) he should be assoiled of him; who, tendering the tears of his dear chicken, directed to him letters again by the same messenger which Thomas had sent up to him before. In which letters not only he assoiled him from his trespass, but also with words of great consolation did encourage him to be stout in the quarrel he took in hand. The copy of which letters consolatory, sent from the pope to Bishop Becket, here followeth under written:

"Alexander, bishop, &c. Your brotherhood is not ignorant that it hath been advertised us how that, upon the occasion of a certain transgression or excess of yours, you have determined to cease henceforth from saying of mass, and to abstain from the consecration of the body and blood of the Lord; which thing to do, how dangerous it is, (especially in such a personage,) and also what inconvenience may rise thereof, I will you advisedly to consider, and discreetly also to ponder. Your wisdom ought not to forget what difference there is between them which advisedly and willingly do offend, and those which through ignorance and for necessity sake do offend. For as you read, so much the greater is wilful sin; as the same, not being voluntary, is a lesser sin. Therefore, if you remember yourself to have done any thing that your own conscience doth accuse you of; whatsoever it be, we counsel you (as a prudent and wise prelate) to acknowledge the same. Which thing done, the merciful and pitiful God, who hath more respect to the heart of the doer than to the thing done, will remit and forgive you the same, according to his accustomed great mercy. And we, trusting in the merits of the blessed apostles St. Peter and Paul, do absolve you from the offence committed, and by the authority apostolical we release you unto your fraternity, counselling you and commanding you, that henceforth you abstain not (for this cause) from the celebration of the mass."

This letter, with others more after the like sort, the pope then wrote to him, animating and comforting him in this quarrel, so nearly pertaining to the pope's profit. By the occasion whereof Becket took no small heart and consolation; insomuch that thereof seemeth to me to proceed all the occasion that made him so stout and malapert against his prince, as hereafter followeth to be seen by his doings. What the other letters were that the pope wrote unto him shortly after (when we come to the appellations made to the pope) shall appear, God willing. In the mean season, (as he sat thus mourning at home,) the king hearing of him, and how he refused to set his seal to those sanctions which he condescended to before, took displeasure against him; insomuch that he (threatening to him both his banishment and death) began to call him to reckonings, and to burden him with payments, that all men might understand that the king's mind was sore set against him. The archbishop hereupon (whether more for the love of the pope, or dread of his prince) thought to make an escape out of the realm, and so went about in the night (with two or three with him, stealing out of his house) to take the sea privily. Now amongst others the king's ordinances and sanctions, this was one, that none of the prelacy or nobility without the king's licence (or of his justices) should depart out of the realm. So Becket twice attempted the sea to flee to the see of Rome; but, the weather not serving, he was driven home again, and his device for that time frustrated. After his departure began to be known and noised abroad, the king's officers came to Canterbury to seize upon his goods in the king's behalf. But, as it chanced, the night before their coming Becket being returned and found at home, they did not proceed in their purpose.

Upon this, the archbishop (understanding the king sore bent against him, and the seas not to serve him) made haste to the court, lying then at Woodstock; where the

king received him, (after a certain manner,) but nothing so familiarly as he was wont, taunting him jestingly and merrily, as though one realm were not able to hold them both. Becket (although he was permitted to go and come at his pleasure to the court) yet could not obtain the favour that he would, perceiving both in himself, and confessing no less to others, how the matter would fall out, so that either he should be constrained to give over with shame, or stoutly stand to that which he had so boldly taken in hand. The archbishop of York, in the mean time, (going betwixt the king and the archbishop,) laboured to make a peace and love betwixt them; but the king in no case would be reconciled, unless the other would subscribe to his laws. So the while neither the king would otherwise agree, nor yet the archbishop in any wise would subscribe, there was a foul discord; where the fault was, let the reader here judge between them both. The king for his regal authority thought it much that any subject of his should stand against him. The archbishop (bearing himself bold upon the authority, and especially upon the letters of the pope lately written to him) thought him strong enough against the king and all his realm. Again, such was his quarrel for the maintenance of liberties and glory of the church, that he could lack no setters-on and favourers in that behalf in so sweet a cause amongst the clergy. Wherefore the archbishop (trusting to these things) would give no place, but, by virtue of his apostolical authority, gave censure upon these laws and constitutions of the king, condemning some, and other some approving for good and catholic, as is before declared. Besides this, there came also to the king Rotrodus, archbishop of Rothomage, (sent from the pope,) to make peace between the king and Canterbury; whereunto the king was well content, so that the pope would agree to ratify his ordinances. But when that could in no wise be obtained at the pope's hands, then the king being stopped and frustrate of his purpose by reason of Becket's apostolic legacy, (being *Legatus a latere*,) thought good to send up to the pope, and so did, to obtain of him, that the same authority of the apostolic legacy might be conferred to another after his appointment, which was the archbishop of York; but the pope denied. Notwithstanding, at the request of the king's clergy, the pope was content that the king should be legate himself; whereat the king took great indignation, (as Hoveden writeth,) so that he sent the pope his letters again. Here the pope was perplexed on both sides.

If he should have denied the king, that was too hot for him; for the pope useth always to hold in with kings, howsoever the world speedeth. Again, if he should have forsaken such a churchly chaplain, (the cause being so sweet and gainful,) that should have been against himself. What did he then? Here now cometh in the old practice of popish prelacy, to play with both hands; privily he conspireth with the one, and openly dissembleth with the other. First, he granted to the king's ambassadors their request, to have the legate removed, and to place in that office the archbishop of York, to his own contentation; and yet, notwithstanding, (to tender the cause of Thomas Becket,) he addeth this promise withal, that the said Becket should receive no harm or damage thereby. Thus the pope, craftily conveying the matter between them both, gladly to further the archbishop for his own advantage, and yet loth to deny the king for displeasure, writeth to the king openly, and also secretly directeth another letter to Becket; the contents whereof here follow.

Alexander, the pope, to Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury.

"Although we, condescending to the king's request, have granted the gift of our legacy after his mind from you; yet let not your mind thereby be discomforted, nor brought into sighs of despair. For before that we had granted that, or gave our consent

thereunto, the king's ambassadors firmly promised in the word of truth (ready also to be sworn upon the same, if I would so have required) that their letters also which he had obtained should not be delivered to the archbishop of York without our knowledge and consent therein. This is certain, and so persuade yourself boldly without any scruple, doubt, or mistrust, that it was never my mind or purpose, nor ever shall be, (God willing,) to subdue you or your church under the obedience of any person, to be subject to any, save only to the bishop of Rome. And therefore we warn you and charge you, that if you shall perceive the king to deliver these foresaid letters, which we trust he will not attempt without our knowledge to do, forthwith by some trusty messengers or by your letters you will give us knowledge thereof; whereby we may provide upon the same both for your person, your church, and also your city committed to you, to be clearly exempt, by our authority apostolical, from all power and jurisdiction of any legacy."

Upon these letters and such others, (as is said before,) Becket seemed to take all his boldness to be so stout and sturdy against his prince as he was. The pope (beside these) sent secretly a chaplain of his, and directed another letter also unto the king, granting and permitting, at his request, to make the archbishop of York legate apostolical.

The king (after he had received his letters sent from the pope) began to put more strength to his purposed proceedings against the archbishop, first beginning with the inferiors of the clergy, such as were offenders against his laws; as felons, robbers, quarrellers, breakers of peace, and especially such as had committed homicide and murders, whereof more than a hundred at that time were proved upon the clergy, urging and constraining them to be arraigned after the order of the law temporal, and justice to be ministered to them according to their deserts; as, first, to be deprived, and so to be committed to the secular bands. This seemed to Becket to derogate from the liberties of holy church, that the secular power should pass in causes criminal, or sit in judgment against any ecclesiastical person. This law the recusants (then of the clergy) had picked and forged out of Anacletus and Fuaristus, by whose falsely alleged and pretended authority they have deduced this their constitution from the apostles, which giveth immunity to all ecclesiastical persons to be free from secular jurisdiction. Becket, therefore, like a valiant champion, (fighting for his liberties, and having the pope on his side,) would not permit his clerks infamed otherwise to be convented than before ecclesiastical judges, there to be examined and deprived for their excess, and no secular judge to proceed against them; so that after their deprivation, if they should incur the like offence again, then the temporal judge to take hold upon them, otherwise not. This obstinate and stubborn rebellion of the archbishop stirred up much anger and vexation in the king, and not only in him, but also in the nobles and all the bishops, (for the greater part,) that almost he was alone a wonderment to all the realm.

The king's wrath daily increased more and more against him, (as no marvel it was,) and caused him to be cited up to appear by a certain day at the town of Northampton, there to make answer to such things as should be laid to his charge. So when the day was come, (all the peers and nobles, with the prelates of the realm, upon the king's proclamation being assembled in the castle of Northampton,) great fault was found with the archbishop, for that he (personally cited to appear) came not himself; but sent another for him. The cause why he came not Hovcden assigneth to be this; for that the king had placed his horse and horsemen in the archbishop's lodging, (which was a house there of canons,) wherewith he being offended, sent word again that he would not appear, unless his lodging were voided of the king's horsemen, &c.

Whereupon (by the public sentence as well of all the nobles as of the bishops) all his movables were adjudged to be confiscate for the king, unless the king's clemency would remit the penalty. The stubborn archbishop again (for his part) quarrelling against the order and form of the judgment, com plaineth, alleging for himself, (seeing he is the primate, and spiritual father, not only of all other in the realm, but also of the king himself,) that it was not convenient that the father should be so judged of his children, nor the pastor of his flock so condemned; saying, moreover, that the ages to come should know what judgment was done, &c. But especially he complaineth of his fellow bishops, (when they should rather have taken his part,) who did sit in judgment against their metropolitans. And this was the first day's action.

The next day following the king laid an action against him in the behalf of one that was his marshal, (called John,) for certain injuries done to him, and required of the said archbishop the repaying again of certain money, which he (as is said) had lent unto him being chancellor, the sum whereof came to five hundred marks. This money the archbishop denied not but he had received of the king, howbeit, by the way and title of a gift as he took it, though he could bring no probation thereof. Where upon the king required him to put in assurance for the payment thereof; whereat the archbishop making delays, (not well contented at the matter,) was so called upon, that either he should be countable to the king for the money, or else he should incur present danger, the king being so bent against him. The archbishop being brought to such a strait, and destitute of his own suffragans, could here by no means have escaped, had not five persons of their own accord stepped in, being bound for him, every man for one hundred marks apiece. And this was upon the second day concluded.

The morrow after, which was the third day of the council, as the archbishop was sitting below in a certain conclave with his fellow bishops about him, consulting together, the doors fast locked to them, as the king had willed and commanded, it was propounded unto him, in the behalf of the king, that he had divers bishoprics and abbacies in his band which were vacant, with the fruits and revenues thereof due unto the king for certain years, whereof he had rendered as yet no account to the king; wherefore it was demanded of him to bring in a full and clear reckoning of the same. This, with other such like, declared to all the council great displeasure to be in the king, and no less danger to ward the archbishop.

The advice of the bishops for Thomas Becket.

Thus, while the bishops and prelates were in council. advising and deliberating what was to be done, at length it came to voices, every man to say his mind, and to give sentence what were the best way for their archbishop to take. First began Henry, bishop of Winchester, who then took part with Becket so much as he durst for fear of the king, who said he remembered that the said archbishop, first being archdeacon, and then lord chancellor, at what time as he was promoted to the church of Canterbury, was discharged from all bonds and reckonings of the temporal court, as all the other bishops could not but bear record to the same.

Next spake Gilbert, bishop of London, exhorting and motioning the archbishop, that he should call with himself to mind from whence the king took him, and set him up, what and how great things he had done for him; also that he should consider with himself the dangers and perils of the time, and what ruin he might bring upon the whole church, (and upon them all there present,) if he resisted the king's mind in the things he required. And if it were to render up his archbishopric, (although it were ten times better than it is,) yet he should not stick with the king in the matter. In

so doing it might happen, the king seeing that submission and humility in him, would release him peradventure of all the rest. To this the archbishop answering, Well, well, (saith he,) I perceive well enough, my lord, whither you tend, and whither about you go. Then spake Winchester, inferring upon the same: This form of counsel (saith he) seemeth to me very pernicious to you, very pernicious to the catholic church, tending to our subversion, and to the confusion of us all. For if our archbishop and primate of all England do lean to this example, that every bishop should give over his authority and the charge of the flock committed to him, at commandment and threatening of the prince; to what state shall the church be brought then, but that all should be confounded at his pleasure and arbitrement, and nothing shall stand certain by any order of law, and so as the priest is, so shall the people be?

Hilary, the bishop of Chichester, replieth again to this, saying, If it were not that the instance and the great perturbation of time did otherwise require and force us, I would think this counsel here given were good to be followed. But now seeing the authority of our canon faileth, and cannot serve us, I judge it not best to go so strictly to work, but so to moderate our proceedings, that dispensation with sufferance may win that which severe correction may destroy. Wherefore my counsel and reason is, to give place to the king's purpose for a time, lest by over-hasty proceeding we exceed so far, that both it may redound to our shame, and also we cannot rid our selves out again when we would.

Much to the same end spake Robert, the bishop of Lincoln, after this manner: Seeing (saith he) it is manifest that the life and blood of this man is sought, one of these two must needs be chosen; that either he must part with his archbishopric, or else with his life. Now what profit he shall take in this matter of his bishopric, his life being lost, I do not greatly see.

Next followed Bartholomew, bishop of Exeter, with his advice, who inclining his counsel to the state of the time, confirmed their sayings, before, affirming how the days were evil and perilous; and if they might so escape the violence of that raging tempest under the cover of bearing and relenting, it were not to be refused. But that, be said, could not be, except strict severity should give place to tractability; and so the instance and condition of time then present required no less, especially seeing that persecution was not general, but personal and particular; and thought it more holy and convenient one head to run into some part of danger, than the whole Church of England to be subject and exposed to inconvenience inevitable.

The answer of Roger, bishop of Worcester, was devised in a double suspense, neither affirming the one, nor denying the other, whose saying was this, That he would give answer on neither part; for if I (saith he) should say that the pastoral function and cure of souls ought to be relinquished at the king's will or threatening, then my mouth shall speak against my conscience, to the condemnation of mine own head. And if I shall give again contrary counsel to resist the king's sentence, here be they that will hear it, and report it to his Grace; and so I shall be in danger to be thrust out of the synagogue, and for my part to be accounted amongst the public rebels, with them to be condemned: where fore neither do I say this nor counsel that.

And this was the consultation of the bishops in that place, assembled together by the king's commandment. Against these voices and censures of the bishops Becket the archbishop replieth again, expostulating and checking them with rebukeful words. I perceive (saith he) and understand ye go about to maintain and cherish but your own cowardliness under the colourable shadow of sufferance, and under pretence of

dissembling softness to choke the liberty of Christ's church. Who hath thus bewitched you, O unsatiable bishops? What mean ye? Why do ye so, under the impudent title of forbearing, bear a double heart, and cloak your manifest iniquity? What call ye this bearing with time, to the detriment of the church of Christ? Let terms serve the matter. Why pervert you the matter that is good with vocables and terms untrue? For that ye say we must bear with the malice of time, I grant with you; but yet we must not heap sin to sin. Is not God able to help the state and condition of his church, but with the sinful dissimulation of the teachers of the church? Certes, God is disposed to tempt you. And tell me, (I pray you,) whether should the governors of the church put themselves to dangers for the church in time of tranquillity, or in time of distress? Ye will be ashamed to deny the contrary, but in distress. And now, then, (the church lying in so great distress and vexation,) why should not the good pastor put himself into peril therefore? For neither do I think it a greater act or merit for the ancient bishops of the old time to lay the foundation of the church then with their blood, than now for to shed our blood for the liberties of the same. And, to tell you plain, I think it not safe for you to swerve from an example which you have received of your holy elders. After these things were spoken, they sat all in silence a certain space, being locked in together. At length, (to find a shift to cause the door to be opened,) I will (saith the archbishop) speak with two earls which are about the king; and named them who they were; who being called opened the door and came in with haste, thinking to hear something which should appease the king's mind. To whom the archbishop spake in this manner: As touching and concerning the matters between the king and us, we have here conferred together. And forasmuch as we have them not present with us now, which knew more in the matter than we do, and whose advice we would be glad to follow, therefore we crave so much respite as till the next day following, and then to give our answer unto the king. With this message two bishops were sent to the king, which were the bishop of London and the bishop of Rochester.

London, to help the matter, and to set quietness, as I take it, adding something more to the message, said to the king, that the archbishop craved a little delay of time to prepare such writings and instruments, wherein he should set forth and declare his mind in accomplishing the king's desire, &c. Wherefore two barons were sent to him from the king to grant him that respite or stay; so that he should ratify that which the messengers had signified to the king. To which the archbishop answereth, that he sent no message as was intimated in his name; but only that the next day he would come and give answer to the king, in that which he had to say. And so the convocation of the bishops was dissolved and dismissed home; so that the most part of them that came with the archbishop, and accompanied him before (for fear of the king's displeasure,) severed themselves from him. The archbishop, thus forsaken and destitute, (as his story saith,) sent about for the poor, the lame, and the halt, to come in and furnish his house, saying, that by them he might sooner obtain his victory, than by the others which had so slipped from him.

On the next day following, because it was Sunday, nothing was done. So the day after the archbishop was cited to appear. But the night before being taken with a disease called *passio iliaca*, the colic, on that day he kept bed, and was not able, as he said, to rise. Every man supposing this to be but a feigned sickness, as it seemed no less, certain of the chief nobles were sent to try the matter, and to cite him to the court; namely, Robert, earl of Leicester, and Reginald, earl of Devonshire. To whom the archbishop answered, that on that day he was so diseased, that he could not come, yea, though he were brought in a horse litter. So that day passed over. The morrow

after, certain that were about him, fearing no less but that some danger would happen to him, gave him counsel in the morning to have a mass in the honour of the holy martyr St. Stephen, to keep him from the hands of his enemies that day. When the morrow was come, (being Tuesday,) there came to him the bishops and prelates, counselling and persuading him covertly by insinuation, (for openly they durst not,) that he would submit himself with all his goods, (as also his archbishopric,) to the will of the king, if peradventure his indignation by that means might assuage. Adding moreover, that unless he would so do, perjury would be laid against him; for that he being under the oath of fidelity to keep the king's laws and ordinances, now would not observe them. To this Becket the archbishop answereth again, Brethren, ye see and perceive well how the world is set against me, and how the enemy riseth and seeketh my confusion. And although these things be dolorous and lamentable, yet the thing that grieveth me most of all is this; The sons of mine own mother be pricks and thorns against me. And albeit I do hold my peace, yet the posterity to come will know and report how cowardly you have turned your backs, and have left your archbishop and metropolitan alone in his conflict, and how you have sitten in judgment against me (although unguilty of crime) now two days together, and not only in the civil and spiritual court, but also in the temporal court ready to do the same. But, in general, this I charge and command, (as the virtue of pure obedience, and in peril of your order,) that ye be present personally in judgment against me. And, that ye shall not fail so to do, I here appeal to our mother, (the refuge of all such as be oppressed,) the Church of Rome; and if any secular men shall lay hands upon me, (as it is rumoured they will,) I straitly enjoin and charge you, in the same virtue of obedience, that you exercise your censure ecclesiastical upon them, as it becometh you to do for a father and an archbishop. And this I do you to understand, that though the world rage, and the enemy be fierce, and the body trembleth, (for the flesh is weak,) yet God so favouring me, I will neither cowardly shrink, nor yet vilely forsake my flock committed to my charge, &c.

But the bishop of London, contrary to this commandment of the archbishop, did incontinent appeal from him. And thus the bishops departed from him to the court, save only two, Henry of Winchester, and Joceline of Salisbury, who returned with him secretly to his chamber, and comforted him. This done, the archbishop (which yesterday was so sore sick that he could not stir out of his bed) now addresseth him to his mass of St. Stephen with all solemnity, as though it had been a high festival day, with his metropolitan pall, which was not used but upon the holy day to be worn, &c. The office of the mass began, Princes sat and spake against me, &c. (the king's servants being also there, and beholding the matter). For this mass Gilbert, bishop of London, accused Becket afterward, both for that it was done both by art of magic, and in contempt of the king, &c.

The mass being ended, the archbishop (putting off his pall, his mitre, and other robes) proceedeth to the king's court; but yet not trusting, peradventure, so greatly to the strength of his mass, (to make the matter more sure,) he taketh also the sacrament privily about him, thinking himself thereby sufficiently defended against all bugs. In going to the king's chamber, (there to attend the King's coming,) as he entered the door, he taketh from Alexander his crosier, the cross with the cross staff, in the sight of all that stood by, and carrieth it in himself, the other bishops following him, and saying he did otherwise than became him. Amongst others, Robert, bishop of Hereford, offered himself to bear his cross, rather than he should so do, for that was not comely; but the archbishop would not suffer him. Then said the bishop of London unto him, If

the king shall see you come armed into his chamber, perchance he will draw out his sword against you, which is stronger than yours, and then what shall this your account profit you? The archbishop answereth again, If the king's sword do cut carnally, yet my sword cutteth spiritually, and striketh down to hell. But you, my lord, as you have played the fool in this matter, so you will not yet leave off your folly for any thing I can see: and so he came into the chamber. The king hearing of his coming, and of the manner thereof, tarried not long, but came where Becket was set in a place by himself with his other bishops about him. First, the crier called the prelates and all the lords of the temporality together. That being done, (and every one placed in his seat according to his degree,) the king beginneth with a great complaint against the archbishop for his manner of entering into the court, not as (saith he) a subject into a king's court, but as a traitor, showing himself in such sort as hath not been seen before in any Christian king's court professing Christian faith. To this all there present gave witness with the king, affirming him always to be a vain and proud man, and that the shame of his fact did not only redound against the prince himself, but also against his whole realm. Moreover, they said that this had so happened to the king, for that he had done so much for such a beast, advancing him so highly to such a place and room next under himself. And so all together with one cry called him traitor on every side, as one that refused to give terrene honour to the king, in keeping (as he had sworn) his laws and ordinances, at whose hands also he had received such honour and great preferments; and therefore he was well worthy (said they) to be handled like a perjured traitor and rebel. Whereupon great doubt and fear was what should befall him. The archbishop of York, coming down to his men, said he could not abide to see what the archbishop of Canterbury was like to suffer. Likewise the tipstaves, and other ministers of the assembly, coming down with an outcry against him, crossed them to see his haughty stubbornness, and the business there was about him. Certain there were of his disciples sitting at his feet, comforting him softly, and bidding him to lay his curse upon them. Others (contrary) bidding him not to curse, but to pray and forgive them; and if he lost his life in the quarrel of the church, and the liberty thereof, he should be happy. Afterward, one of them, named Johannes Stephani, desired to speak something in his ear, but could not be suffered by the king's marshal, who forbade that any man should have any talk with him. Then he (because he could not otherwise speak to him) wrought by signs, making a cross, and looking up with his eyes, and wagging his lips, meaning that he should pray, and manfully stand to the cause. In the mean time cometh to him Bartholomew, bishop of Exeter, desiring him to have regard and compassion of himself, and also of them, or else they were all like to perish for the hatred of him; for there cometh out (saith he) a precept from the king that he shall be taken, and suffer for an open rebel, that hereafter taketh your part. It is said, moreover, that Jocelinus, bishop of Salisbury, and William, bishop of Norwich, are to be had to the place of execution, for their resisting and making intercession for the bishop of Canterbury. When he had thus said, the archbishop, (looking upon the said bishop of Exeter,) Avoid hence from me, saith he: thou understandest not, neither dost savour, those things that be of God.

The bishops and prelates then going aside by themselves from the other nobles, the king so permitting them to do, took counsel together what was to be done. ere the matter stood in a doubtful perplexity; for either must they incur the dangerous indignation of the king, or else with the nobles they must proceed in condemnation against the archbishop for resisting the king's sanctions which thing they themselves neither did favour. In this strict necessity, they, devising what way to take, at length agreed upon this; that they with a common assent should cite the archbishop to the see

of Rome upon perjury; and that they should oblige and bind themselves to the king with a sure promise to work their diligence in deposing the archbishop, upon this condition, that the king should promise their safety, and discharge them from the peril of that judgment which was towards them. So all the bishops, obliging themselves thus to the king, went forth to the archbishop; of whom one, speaking for the rest, (which was Hilary, bishop of Chichester,) had these words: Once you have been our archbishop, and so long we were bound to your obedience; but now forasmuch as you, once swearing your fidelity to the king, do resist him, neglecting his injunctions and ordinances, concerning and appertaining to his terrene honour and dignity, we here pronounce you perjured, neither be we bound to give obedience to an archbishop thus being perjured; but, putting our selves and all ours in the pope's protection, we do cite you up to his presence. And upon the same they assigned him his day and time to appear. The archbishop answering again, said he heard him well enough, and upon this sendeth up to Rome in all haste to the pope, signifying to him by letters the whole matter, how, and wherefore, and by whom he was cited; to whom the pope directed again his letters of comfort (as he had done divers before).

As the archbishop was cited to Rome, sitting with his cross waiting in the court, neither giving place to the king's request, nor abashed with the clamour of the whole court against him, calling him traitor on every side, neither following the advertisement of his fellow bishops, at length the king, by certain earls and barons, sent commandment to him, (Robert, earl of Leicester, doing the message,) that he should without delay come and render a full account of all things that he had received, as the profits and revenues of the realm, in the time he was chancellor, and specially for the thirty thousand marks for the which he was accountable to the king. To whom the archbishop answereth again, The king knew how oft he had made his reckoning of those things which now were required of him. Further and besides, Henry, his son and heir of his realm, with all his barons, and also Richard Lucy, chief justice of England, told him, that he was free and quit to God and to holy church from all receipts and computations, and from all secular exactions on the king's behalf. And so he, taking thus his discharge at their hands, entered into his office; and therefore other account besides this he would make none. When this word was brought to the king, he required his barons to do the law upon him; who, so doing, judged him to be apprehended and laid in prison. This done, the king sendeth to him Reginald, earl of Cornwall and Devonshire, and Robert, earl of Leicester, to declare to him what was his judgment. To whom the archbishop answereth, Hear, my son and good earl, what I say unto you; how much more precious the soul is than the body, so much more ought you to obey me in the Lord rather than your terrene king. Neither doth any law or reason permit the children to judge or condemn their father. Wherefore, to avoid both the judgment of the king, of you, and all others, I put myself only to the arbitrement of the pope, under God alone to be judged of him, and of no other; to whose presence here before you all I do appeal, committing the ordering of the church of Canterbury, my dignity, with all other things appertaining to the same, under the protection of God and him. And as for you, my brethren and fellow bishops, which rather obey man than God, you also I call and cite to the audience and judgment of the pope, and depart henceforth from you, as from the enemies of the Catholic Church, and of the authority of the apostolic see.

While the barons returned with this answer to the king, the archbishop passing through the throng taketh unto him his palfrey, holding his cross in one hand, and his bridle in the other, the courtiers following after, and crying, Traitor, traitor, tarry and hear thy judgment. But he passed on till he came to the uttermost gate of the court,

which being fast locked, there he had been staid, had not one of his servants called Peter, surnamed Demunctorio, finding there a bunch of keys hanging by, first proved one key, then another, till at last, finding the true key, he had opened the gate, and let him out. The archbishop went straight to the house of canons, where he did lie, calling unto him the poor, where they could be found. When supper was done, making as though he would go to bed, which he caused to be made betwixt two altars, privily, while the king was at supper, he prepareth his journey secretly to escape away; and changing his garment and his name, being called Derman, first went to Lincoln, from thence to Sandwich, where he took ship, and sailed into Flanders, and from thence journeyed into France, as Hovedenus saith. Albeit Alanus, differing something in the order of his flight, saith, that he departed not that night; but at supper time came to him the bishops of London and Chichester, declaring to him, that if he would surrender up to the king his two manors of Otford and Wingham, there were hope to recover the king's favour, and to have all remitted. But when the archbishop would not agree therunto, forsomuch as those manors were belonging to the church of Canterbury, the king bearing thereof, great displeasure was taken, insomuch that the next day Becket was fain to send to the king two bishops and his chaplain for leave to depart the realm. To the which message the king answered, that he would take pause there of till the next day, and then he should have an answer. But Becket, not tarrying his answer, the same day conveyed himself away secretly, as is aforesaid, to Ludovicus the French king. But before he came to the king, Gilbert, the bishop of London, and William, the earl of Arundel, sent from the king of England to France, prevented him; requiring the said French king, in the behalf of the king of England, that he would not receive, nor retain in his dominion, the archbishop of Canterbury. Moreover, that at his instance he would be a means to the pope not to show any familiarity unto him. But the king of England in this point seemed to have more confidence in the French king than knowledge of his disposition. For thinking that the French king would have been a good neighbour to him, in trusting him too much he was deceived. Neither considered he with himself enough the manner and nature of the Frenchmen at that time against the realm of England; who then were glad to seek and take all manner of occasions to do some act against England.

And therefore Ludovic, the French king, understanding the matter, and thinking (perhaps) thereby to have some vantage against the king and realm of England, by the occasion hereof, contrary to the king's letters and request, not only harboureth and cherisheth this Derman, but also (suiting to the pope by his almoner and brother) entreateth him (upon all loves, as ever he would have his favour) to tender the cause of the Archbishop Becket. Thus the king's ambassadors, repulsed of the French king, returned; at what time he sent another embassy (upon the like cause) to Alexander the pope, then being at Sene in France. The ambassadors sent on this message were Roger, archbishop of York, Gilbert, bishop of London, Henry, bishop of Winchester, Hilary, bishop of Chichester, Bartholomew, bishop of Exeter, with other doctors and clerks; al so William, earl of Arundel, with certain more lords and barons; who, coming to the pope's court were friendly accepted of certain of the cardinals; amongst the which cardinals rose also dissension about the same cause. Some judging that the bishop of Canterbury in the defence of the liberties of the church, as in a good cause, was to be maintained. Some thinking again, that he (being a perturber of peace and unity) was rather to be bridled for his presumption, than to be fostered and encouraged therein. But the pope, partly bearing with his cause, (which only tended to his exaltation and magnificence,) partly again incensed with the letters of the French king, did wholly incline to Becket, as no marvel was. Wherefore the next

day following, the pope sitting in consistory with his cardinals, the ambassadors were called for to the hearing of Becket's matter; and first beginneth the bishop of London; next, the archbishop of York; then Exeter; and the other bishops every one in their order to speak. Whose orations being not well accepted of the pope, and some of them also disdained, the earl of Arundel perceiving that, tried to qualify and temper the matter to the pope's ears.

His oration, although it was liked of them for the softness and moderation thereof, yet it could not so persuade the Romish bishop to condescend to their suit and request; which suit was, to have two legates or arbiters to be sent from his popish side into England, to examine and take up the controversy between the king and the archbishop. But the pope, incensed, as is said before, would not grant to their petition, forsomuch as it should be (saith he) prejudicial, and tending to the oppression of the archbishop, to grant unto it, he being not present. And therefore he willed them to tarry his coming up; otherwise, he being absent, he would not (he said) in any case proceed against him. But they, alleging again their time to be expired appointed unto them of the king, having besides other lets and causes, as they alleged, said that they could not there wait for the coming of Becket, but returned back, their cause frustrated, without the pope's blessing to the king. Within four days after, Becket cometh to the popes court, where he, prostrating himself at his feet, brought out of his bosom a scroll containing the customs and ordinances of the king, before mentioned. The pope receiving the foresaid scroll, and reading it in the open hearing of his cardinals, condemned and accursed the most part of the said decrees of the king, which he called *consuetudines avitas*, that is. his grandfather's ordinances. Besides this, the pope moreover blameth Becket, for that he so much yielded to them at the beginning as he did; yet notwithstanding (because he was repentant for his unadvised fact he was content to absolve him for the same, and the rather because of his great troubles, which he for the liberties of holy church did sustain; and so with great favour for that day dismissed him.

The next day (Alexander the pope assembling his cardinals together in his secret chamber) appeareth before them Archbishop Becket, having this oration to the pope and his popelings, which here I thought to set out in our vulgar English tongue, (translated out of Latin.) to the intent that the posterity hereafter may understand either the vain superstition or vile slavery of the churchmen in those days, who, being not contented with their own natural prince and king given them of God, must seek further to the pope; thinking no ecclesiastical living to be given which is not taken at his hands. The words of his oration be storied rightly thus.

The oration of Becket resigning his bishopric to the pope.

"Fathers and lords, I ought not to lie in any place, much less before God, and in your presence here. Wherefore with much sighing and sorrow of heart, I grant and confess, that these perturbationsof the Church of England be raised through my miserable fault. For I entered into the fold of Christ, but not by the door of Christ; for that not the canonical election did call me lawfully thereunto, but terror of public power drove me in. And albeit I against my will took this burden upon me; yet not the will of God, but man's pleasure, placed me in the room. And therefore no marvel, though all things have gone contrary and backward with me. And as for the resigning up again thereof, if I had so done, and given up to their hands the privilege of my bishoply authority, which I had granted to me at the commandment of the king, (so as my fellow bishops did instantly call upon me to do,) then had I left a pernicious and

dangerous example to the whole Catholic Church. By reason whereof I thought to defer that unto your presence. And now therefore, (recognising with myself my ingress not to be canonical, and therefore fearing it to have the worse end; and again pondering my strength and ability not to be sufficient for such a charge,) lest I should be found to sustain that room to the ruin of the flock, to whom I was appointed a pastor unworthy, I render up to your fatherly hands the archbishopric here of Canterbury," &c. And so, putting off his ring from his finger, and offering it to the pope, he desired a bishop for the church of Canterbury to be provided; seeing he thought not himself meet to fulfil the same, and so with tears, as the story saith, he ended his oration.

This done, the archbishop was bid to stand apart. The pope conferring upon this with his cardinals, about the resignation of Becket, what was best to be done: some thought it best to take the occasion offered, thinking thereby the king's wrath might easily be assuaged, if the church of Canterbury were assigned to some other person; and yet the said Becket otherwise to be provided for notwithstanding. Contrary, others again thought otherwise, and their reason was, If he, which for the liberties of the church had ventured not only his goods, dignity, and authority, but also his life, should now at the king's pleasure be deprived; like as it might be a precedent hereafter to others in resisting their king in like sort, if this cause were maintained; so, contrariwise, if it quailed, it should be an example to all others hereafter, none to resist his prince in the like case. And so might it redound not only to the weakening of the state of the Catholic Church, but also to the derogation of the pope's authority. Briefly, this sentence at length prevailed; and so Becket receiveth his pastoral office of the pope's hand again, with commendation and much favour. But forso much as he could not be well placed in England, in the mean while the pope sendeth him with a monk's habit into the abbey of Pontiniake in France, where he remained two years;

from thence he removed to Senod, where he abode five years. So the time of his exile continued seven years in all, &c.

Upon this, the king being certified by his ambassadors of the pope's answer, how his favour inclined more to Becket than to him, was moved (and worthily) with wrathful displeasure. Who upon the same sailing from England unto Normandy, directed over certain injunctions against the pope, and the archbishop of Canterbury, as were recited afore. The contents whereof were declared to be these:

If any person should be found to bring from the pope, or from the archbishop of Canterbury, &c.

Besides these and such-like injunctions, it was al so set forth by the king's proclamation, A.D. 1166, that all manner of persons, both men and women, whosoever were found of the kindred of Thomas Becket, should be exiled, without taking any part of their goods with them, and sent to him where he was; which was no little vexation to Becket to be hold them. Moreover, forso much as he then was lying with Gwarine, abbot of Pontiniake, to whom the pope, as is aforesaid, had commended him; therefore the king, writing to the same abbot, required him not to retain the archbishop of Canterbury in his house; for if he did, he would drive out of his realm all the monks of his order. Where upon Becket was enforced to remove from thence, and went to Lewis the French king, by whom he was placed at Senon, and there found of him the space of five years, as is above mentioned.

In the mean time, messengers went daily with letters between the king and the pope, between the pope again and him, and so between the archbishop and others.

Besides an epistle sent unto the pope, he writeth also another letter, sent to the king in Latin.

Besides which epistle to the king in Latin, he sent also one or two more to the said King Henry the Second, much after the like rate and sort. Which epistles, for that I would not overcharge the volume of these histories with too much matter superfluous, I thought here to omit.

Besides the letters of the archbishop sent to the king, the pope also in the same cause writeth to the king. The whole tenor of the letter as he wrote it to the king I would here express, but for protracting of the time and straitness of room, having so many things else in this story (by the grace of Christ) to be comprehended. But the letter tendeth to this effect, to exhort and charge the king to show favour to Thomas Becket. Where, in the process of the epistle, it followeth in these words: "Therefore we do desire, monish, and exhort your honour by these our apostolical writings, and also enjoin you upon the remission of your sins, in the behalf of Almighty God, and of St. Peter, prince of the apostles, by our authority, that you will receive again the foresaid archbishop into your favour and grace, for the honour of God, his church, and of your own realm," &c.

But to proceed further in the order of the history. After letters sent to and fro, the year of our Lord 1169, which was the fifteenth year of the reign of King Henry the Second, the king, misdoubting and fearing with himself that the archbishop would proceed (or exceed rather) in his excommunication against his own person, (to prevent the mischief,) made his appeal to the presence of the pope, requiring to have certain legates sent down from Rome from the pope's side, to take up the matter between the archbishop and him; requiring moreover that they might also be absolved that were interdicted. Whereupon two cardinals, being sent from Alexander the pope with letters to the king, came to Normandy, where they appointed the archbishop to meet them before the king upon St. Martin's day. But the archbishop, neither agreeing with the day nor the place, delayed his coming till the eighth day after, neither would go any further than to Grisortium, where the two cardinals and the archbishop, with other bishops conventing together, had a certain entreaty of peace and reconciliation; but it came to no conclusion.

When that William (who of the two cardinals was the more eloquent) amongst other communication had reasoned long with him as concerning the peace of the church, which Becket said he preferred above all things, Well then, (saith the cardinal,) seeing all this contention between the king and you riseth upon certain laws and customs to be abrogate, and that you regard the peace of the church so much, then what say you? Will you renounce your bishopric, and the king shall renounce his customs? The peace of the church now lieth in your hands, either to retain or to let go; what say you? To whom he answereth again, that the proportion was not like. For I, saith he, (saving the honour of my church and my person,) cannot renounce my bishopric. Contrary, it standeth the king upon, for his soul's health and honour, to renounce these his ordinances and customs. Which thing he thus proved; because the pope had condemned those customs, and he likewise with the Church of Rome had done the same, &c.

The talk between the French king, the king of England, and Becket.

After the cardinals were returned, the French king, seeing the king of England disquieted and solicitous to have peace, (or at leastwise pretending to set an agreement between them,) brought the matter to a communication among them. In which communication the French king made himself as umpire between them. The king of England, hearing that the archbishop would commit himself to his arbitrement, was the more willing to admit his presence. Whereupon, many being there present, the archbishop, prostrating himself at the king's feet, declared unto him, kneeling upon his knees, that he would commit the whole cause, whereof the dissension rose between them, unto his own arbitrement; adding thereto (as he did before) *Salvo honore Dei*, that is, Saving the honour of God. The king (as is said before) being greatly offended at this word, hearing and seeing the stiffness of the man sticking so much to this word *Salvo honore*, &c., was highly therewith displeased, rebuking him with many grievous words, as a man proud and stubborn, and also charging him with sundry and great benefits bestowed upon him, as a person unkind, and forgetting what he had so gently done and bestowed upon him.

And speaking to the French king there present, See sir, (if it please you, saith the king of England,) whatsoever displeaseth this man, that he saith to be contrary to the honour of God. And so by this means he will vindicate and challenge to himself both that is his and mine also. And yet notwithstanding, for that I will not seem to do any thing contrary or prejudicial to God's honour, this I offer him: There have been kings in England before, both of greater and less puissance than I am; likewise there have been bishops of Canterbury, many both great and holy men; what the greatest and most holy of all his predecessors before him hath done to the least of my progenitors and predecessors before me, let him do the same to me, and I am content. They that stood by, hearing these words of the king, cried all with one voice, The king hath debased himself enough to the bishop. The archbishop staying a little at this with silence, What, (saith the French king to him,) my lord archbishop, will you be better than those holy men? will ye be greater than Peter? what stand you doubting? Here now have you peace and quietness put in your own hands, if ye will take it. To this the archbishop answered again, Truth it is (saith he) my predecessors before me were both better and greater than I, and every one of them for his time, (although they did not extirpate and cut off all,) yet something they did pluck up and correct, which seemed adverse and repugnant against God's honour. For if they had taken all together away, no such occasion then had been left for any man to raise up this fire of temptation now against us, as is here raised to prove us withal; that we being so proved with them, might also be crowned with them, being likewise partakers of praise and reward, as we are of their labour and travail. And though some of them have been slack, or exceeded in their duty doing, in that we are not bound to follow their example.

Peter, when he denied Christ, we therefore rebuke him; but when he resisted the rage of Nero, therein we commend him. And therefore, because he could not find in his conscience to consent unto that, he ought in no wise to dissemble, neither did he; by reason thereof he lost his life. By such-like oppressions the church hath always grown. Our forefathers and predecessors, because they would not dissemble the name and honour of Christ, therefore they suffered. And shall I, to have the favour of one man, suffer the honour of Christ to be suppressed? The nobles standing by (hearing him thus speak) were greatly grieved with him, noting in him both arrogancy and wilfulness, in perturbing and refusing such an honest offer of agreement. But specially one among the rest was most grieved, who there openly protested, that seeing the

archbishop so refused the counsel and request of both the kingdoms, he was not worthy to have the help of either of them; but as the kingdom of England had rejected him, so the realm of France should not receive him.

Alanus Herbertus, and certain other of his chaplains that committed to story the doings of Becket, do record, (whether truly or no I cannot say,) that the French king sending for him, as one much sorrowing and lamenting the words that he had spoken, at the coming of Becket did prostrate himself at his feet; confessing his fault, in giving counsel to him in such a cause, (pertaining to the honour of God,) to relent therein and to yield to the pleasure of man; wherefore, declaring his repentance, he desired to be absolved thereof. So that after this the French king and Becket were great friends together; insomuch that King Henry sending to the king to entreat him, and desire him that he would not support nor maintain his enemy within his realm, the French king utterly denied the king's request, taking part rather with the archbishop than with him.

Besides these quarrels and grudges betwixt the king and the archbishop above mentioned, there followed yet moreover another, which was this: Shortly after this communication recited between the king and Becket, the king of England returned again from Normandy into England (which was the year of our Lord 1170, and the sixteenth year of his reign) about Midsummer, kept his court of parliament at Westminster; in the which parliament he, through the assent both of the clergy and the lords temporal, caused his son Henry to be crowned king. Which coronation was done by the hands of Robert, archbishop of York, with the assistance of other bishops ministering to the same, as Gilbert of London, Joseline of Salisbury, Hugo of Duresme, and Walter of Rochester. By reason whereof Becket, of Canterbury, being there neither mentioned nor called for, took no little displeasure; and so did Ludovic, the French king, hearing that Margaret his daughter was not also crowned with her husband; whereupon he, gathering a great army, forthwith marched into Normandy. But the matter was soon compassed by the king of England, who sending his son unto him in Normandy, entreated there and concluded peace with him, promising that his son should be crowned again, and then his daughter should be crowned also. But the archbishop, not ceasing his displeasure and emulation, sent unto the pope, complaining of these four bishops, especially of the archbishop of York; who durst be so bold in his absence, and without his knowledge of his licence, to intermeddle to crown the king, being a matter proper and peculiar to his jurisdiction. At the instance of whom the pope sent down the sentence of excommunication against the bishop of London. The other three bishops with the archbishop of York he suspended, whose sentence and letters thereof, for avoiding prolixity, I here omit.

Besides these foresaid bishops excommunicated, divers other clerks also of the court he cited to appear before him, by virtue of his large commission which he gat from the pope, to whom they were bound to obey, by reason of their benefices. And some he commanded in virtue of obedience to appear, in pain of forfeiting their orders and benefices. Of which, when neither sort would appear, he cursed them openly. And also some laymen of the court and the king's familiars (as intruders and violent withholders of church goods) he accursed; as Richard Lucy, and Joseline Balliot, and Ralph Brook, which took bells and goods that belonged to the church of Canterbury; and Hugh Senteleare, and Thomas the son of Bernard, and all that should hereafter take any church goods without his consent; so that almost all the court was accursed, either by name, or as partakers.

This being done, the archbishop of York with the foresaid bishops resorted to the king with a grievous complaint, declaring how miserably their case stood, and what they had sustained for fulfilling his commandment. The king, hearing this, was highly moved, as no marvel was. But what remedy? The time of the ruin of the pope was not yet come; and what prince then might withstand the injurious violence of that Romish potestate?

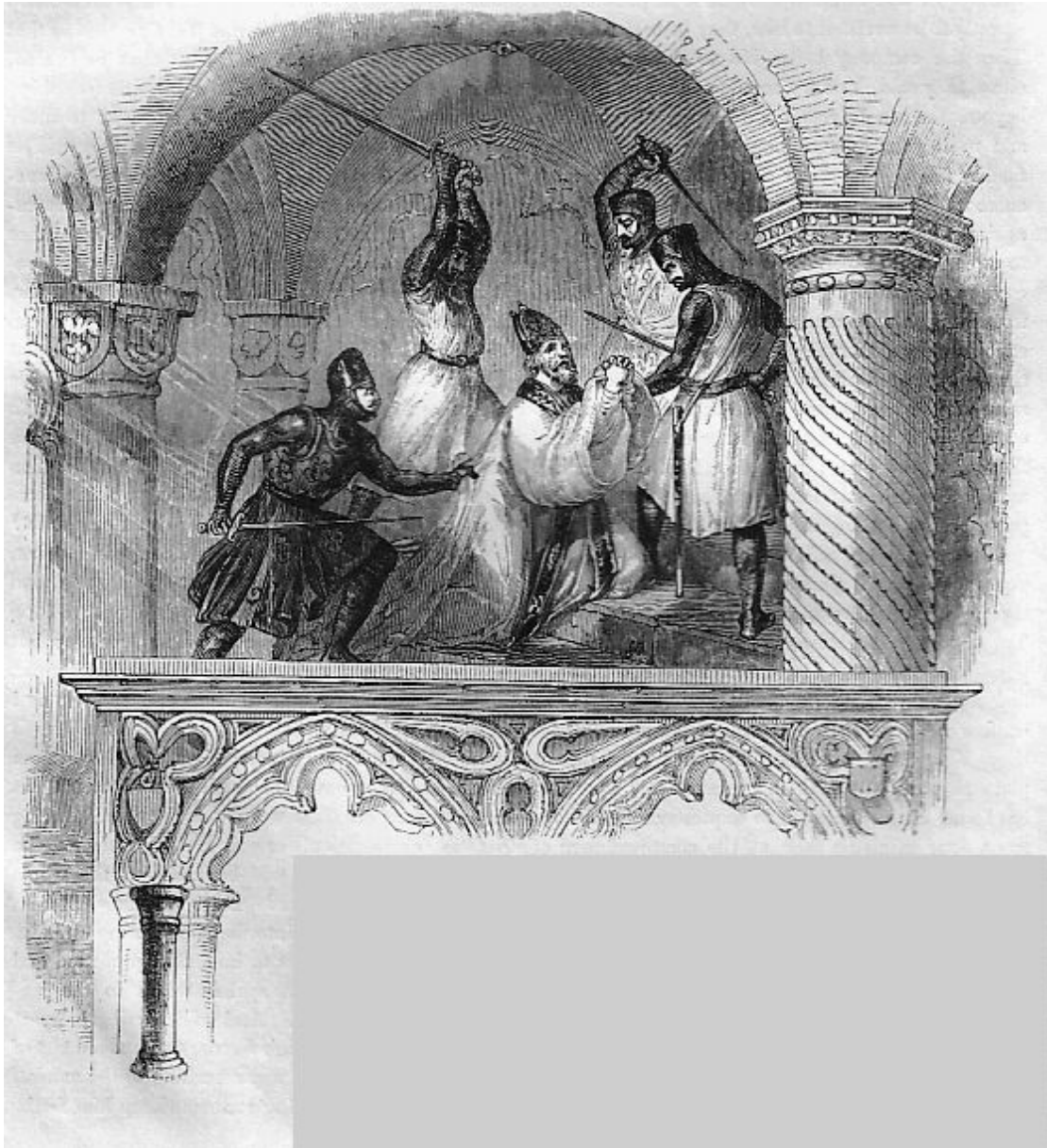
In the mean season the French king, for his part, his clergy and courtiers likewise, slack no occasion to incite and solicit Alexander the pope against the king of England to excommunicate him also; seeking thereby and thinking to have some vantage against the realm. Neither was the king ignorant of this, which made him more ready to apply some agreement of reconciliation. At length came down from the pope two legates, (the archbishop of Rothomage and the bishop of Naven,) with direction and full commission either to drive the king to be reconciled, or to be interdicted by the pope's censures out of the church. The king, understanding himself to be in greater straits than he could avoid, at length (through the mediation of the French king and of other prelates and great princes) was content to yield to peace and reconciliation with the archbishop, whom he received both to his favour, and also permitted and granted him free return to his church again. Concerning his possessions and lands of the church of Canterbury, although Becket made great labour therefore, yet the king (being then in Normandy) would not grant him them, before he should repair to England, to see how he would there agree with his subjects.

Thus peace after a sort concluded between the king and him, the archbishop, after six years of his banishment, returned to England, where he was right joyfully received of the church of Canterbury; albeit of Henry the young king he was not so greatly welcomed. Insomuch that, coming up to London to the king, he was returned back to Canterbury, and there hid to keep his house. Roger Hoveden maketh mention in his chronicle, that the archbishop (upon Christmas day) did excommunicate Robert de Brooke for cutting off the tail of a certain horse of his the day before. In the mean time, the four bishops before mentioned, whom the archbishop had excommunicated, sent to him, humbly desiring to be released of their censure. To whom when the archbishop would not grant clearly and simply without cautions and exceptions, they went over to the king, declaring unto him and complaining of their miserable state and uncourteous handling of the archbishop. Whereupon the king conceived great sorrow in his mind, and displeasure toward the party. Insomuch that he lamented oft and sundry times to them about him, that (amongst so many that he had done for) there was none that would revenge him of his enemy. By occasion of which words, certain that were about the king, (to the number of four,) hearing him thus to complain and lament, addressed themselves in great heat of haste to satisfy the grieved mind and quarrel of their prince; who within four days after the said Christmas day (sailing over into England, and having a forward and prosperous wind in their journey, being in the deep of winter) came to Canterbury, where Becket was commanded to keep. After certain advisements and consultations had among themselves, they pressed at length into the palace, where the archbishop was sitting with his company about him, first to assay him with words, to see whether he would relent to the king's mind, and come to some conformity. They brought to him (said they) commandment from the king, which whether he had rather openly there in presence. or secretly to be declared to him, they bade him choose. Then the company being bid to avoid, as he sat alone, they said, You are commanded from the king beyond the sea to repair to the king his son here, and to do your duty to him, swearing to him your fidelity for your baronage and

other things, and to amend those things wherein you have trespassed against him. Whereupon the archbishop, denying to swear, and perceiving their intent, called in his company again, and in multiplying of words to and fro, at length they came to the bishops which were excommunicated for the coronation of the king. whom they commanded in the king's name he should absolve and set free again. The archbishop answered that he neither suspended nor excommunicated them, but the pope; wherefore, if that were the matter that grieved them, they should resort to the pope, he had nothing to do with the matter.

Then said Reginald, one of the four, Although you in your own person did not excommunicate them, yet through your instigation it was done. To whom the archbishop said again, And if the pope, (said he,) tendering the injuries done unto me and my church, wrought this revenge for me, I confess it offendeth me nothing. Thus then (said they) it appeareth well by your own words, that it pleaseth you right well (in contempt and contumely of the king's majesty) to sequester his bishops from their ministry, who at the commandment of the king did service in the coronation of his son. And seeing you have so presumed thus to stand against the exaltation of this our sovereign, our new king, it seemeth likely that you aspired to take his crown from him, and to be exalted king yourself. I aspire not (said he) to the crown and name of the king, but rather if I had four crowns, (to give him more,) I would set them all upon him; such good will I do bear him, that, only his father the king excepted, there is none whose honour I more tender and love. And as concerning the sequestering of those bishops, this I give you to understand, that nothing was done in that behalf without the knowledge and assent of the king himself; to whom when I had made my complaint, at the feast of Mary Magdalene, of the wrong and injury done to me and my church therein, he gave me his good leave to obtain at the pope's hand such remedy as I could, premising moreover his help to me in the same. What is this, quoth they, that thou sayest? Makest thou the king a traitor, and a betrayer of the king's own son? that when he had commanded the bishops to crown his son, he would give thee leave afterward to suspend them for so doing? Certes, it had been better for you not to have accused so the king of this prodicion. The archbishop said to Reginald, that he was there present at that time, and heard it himself. But that he denied, and swore it was not so. And think you (say they) that we the king's subjects will or ought to suffer this? And so approaching nearer him, they said he had spoken enough against his own head; where upon followed great exclamation and many threatening words. Then said the archbishop, I have since my coming over sustained many injuries and rebukes, concerning both myself, my men, my cattle, my wines, and all other goods; notwithstanding, the king (writing over to his son) required him that I should live in safety and peace; and now, beside all others, you come hither to threaten me. To this Reginald answering again, said, If there be any that worketh you any injury otherwise than right is, the law is open; why do you not complain? To whom, said Becket, should I complain? To the young king, said they. Then said Becket, I have complained enough if that would help, and have sought for remedy at the king's hands, so long as I could be suffered to come to his speech; but now, seeing that I am stopped from that, neither can find redress of so great vexations and injuries as I have and do daily sustain, nor can have the benefit of the law or reason; such right and law as an archbishop may have, that will I exercise, and let for no man. At these words one of them, bursting out in exclamation, cried, He threateneth, he threateneth. What! will he interdict the whole realm and us altogether? Nay, that he shall not, saith another, he hath interdicted too many already. And drawing more near to him, they protested and denounced him to have spoken words to the jeopardy of his own head. And so

departing in great fury, and with many high words, they rushed out of the doors: who by the way returning to the monks, charged them in the king's name to keep him fortheoming, that he should not escape away. what, quoth the archbishop, think ye I will flee away? Nay, neither for the king, nor any man alive, will I stir one foot from you. No, say they, thou shalt not avoid, though thou wouldst. And so they departing with many words, the archbishop followeth them out of the chamber door, crying after them, Here, here, here shall you find me; laying his hand upon his crown.



The murder of Thomas À Becket

The names of these four soldiers above mentioned were these, the first Reginald Bereson, the second Hugh Morteuil, the third William Thracie, and the fourth Richard Brito; who, going to harness themselves, returned the same way again; but finding the hall door of the palace of Canterbury shut against them, they went to an inward back door leading into the orchard; there brake they up a window, and opened

the door, and so issued into the place. The monks (being about evensong time) had got the archbishop into the church; who, being persuaded by them, caused his cross to be borne before him, and so through the cloister, by a door which was broken up for him, he proceeded into the choir. The harness men following after, at length came to the church door, which door the monks would have shut against them; but, as the story saith, the archbishop would not suffer them. So they approaching into the church, and the archbishop meeting them upon the stairs, there he was slain, every one of the four soldiers striking him with his sword into the head; who afterward flying into the north, and at length with much ado obtaining their pardon of the pope by the king's procurement, as some stories record, went to Jerusalem.

Thus you have heard the life and death of this Thomas Becket, of whom what is to be judged, let his own acts and facts declare. And albeit the Scripture ought to be the only rule to us to judge all things by, yet if any shall require further testimony, partly to satisfy their minds therein, ye shall hear the judgments of certain men, in years and times almost as ancient as himself what they write and affirm of him.

And first to begin with the testimony of one of his own religion, and also not far (as it appeareth) from his own time, who, writing of his martyrdom and miracles, thus testifieth of the judgment and sentence of divers concerning his promotion and behaviour. The chronicle being written in Latin, and having the name of the author cut out, thus beginneth: *Quoniam vero multi*, &c. And in the first book and eighth chapter it followeth in this manner: "Divers notwithstanding there be, which. as touching his promotion, suppose the same not to be canonical, for that it was wrought rather by the instance of the king (thinking him to be a man ready and inclinable to his utility) than by the assent either of the clergy or of the people. Further. it is noted in him for a point of presumption, and lack of discretion, for that he, being scarce worthy to take the oar in hand and play the boatswain. would take upon him to sit at the helm, and guide the ship; namely, in that church, where the convent, being in gesture and vesture religious, be wont to have their prelate taken out of the same profession. Whereas he, scant bearing the habit of a clerk, and going in his changes and soft apparel, is more conversant among the delicate rufflers in the court, savouring rather of worldly things, not refusing, moreover, without any dread, to climb up to the high preferment of such a holy dignity, but rather willingly of his own accord to aspire to it. Moses we read did otherwise, who being the friend of God, and sent of him to conduct his people Israel out of Egypt, trembled at the message, and said, Who am I, Lord, that I should go to Pharaoh, and bring thy people Israel out of Egypt? And again, I pray thee. (saith he,) O Lord, I am nothing eloquent. send him whom thou wilt send. Likewise Jeremias also, being sent of the Lord to prophesy against Jerusalem, was abashed to take the office upon him, answering again with much dread of heart; Ah, ah, ah, Lord, I cannot utter my mind, for I am a child."

And although scarcely any testimony is to be taken of that age, (being all blinded and corrupted with superstition,) yet let us hear what Neuburgensis, an ancient historiographer, saith, who, in the days of the son of this King Henry the Second, prosecuting his history unto King Richard the First, hath these words, writing of Thomas Becket:

"Whereas many be wont, in them whom they love or praise, (judging them more by affection than prudence,) to approve whatsoever they do, yet for me to judge upon this reverend man, verily I think not his doings and acts to be praise worthy, or to be allowed; forsomuch as thereof came no utility, but only the anger and

stirring up of the king; whereupon afterward sprung so great mischiefs (although the thing that he did might proceed of a certain laudable zeal); like as in the blessed prince of the apostles, in that he taught the Gentiles by his example to play the Jews, Paul the doctor of the Gentiles did declare him therein to be rebukeable, albeit, it cannot be denied, but that he did it of a good affection," &c.

To this matter also pertain the words of Cesarius the monk, in his eighth book of Dialogues and sixty-ninth chapter, about the eight and fortieth year after the death of Thomas Becket, which was the year of God 1220, whose words in some come to this effect:

"There was a question moved among the masters of Paris, whether Thomas Becket was saved or damned. To this question answereth Roger, a Norman, that he was worthy death and damnation, for that he was so obstinate against God's minister his king. Contrary, Peter Cantor, a Parisian, disputed, saying and affirming, that his miracles were great signs and tokens of salvation, and also of great holiness in that man; affirming, moreover, that the cause of the church did allow and confirm his martyrdom, for the which church he died."

And thus have ye the judgment and censure of the school of Paris touching this question, for the sainting of Thomas Becket. In which judgment, forsomuch as the greatest argument resteth in the miracles wrought by him after his death, let us therefore pause a little upon the same, to try and examine these his miracles. In the trial whereof we shall find one of these two to be true; that either if they were true, they were wrought not by God, but by a contrary spirit, of whom Christ our Lord giveth us warning in his Gospel, saying, Whose coming shall be with lying signs and wonders, to deceive if it were possible the elect, Matt. xxiv.: or else we shall find that no such were ever wrought at all, but feigned and forged of idle monks and religious bellies, for the exaltation of their churches, and profit of their pouches; which thing indeed seemeth rather to be true, and no less may appear by the miracles themselves, set forth by one of his own monks, and of his own time; who in five solemn books hath comprehended all the revelations, virtues, and miracles of the archbishop; the which books (as yet remaining in the hands of William Stephanson citizen of London) I have seen and perused; wherein is contained the whole sum of all his miracles, to the number of two hundred and seventy, being so far off from all truth and reason, some ridiculous, some monstrous, vain, absurd, some also blasphemous, and some so impudent, that not only they deserve no credit, (altogether savouring of mere forgery,) but also for very shame will abash an honest pen to write of them. First, if miracles serve for necessity and for infidels, what cause or necessity was there (in a Christian realm having the word of God) for God to work such miracles after his death, who never wrought any in all his life? Then to consider the end of these miracles, whither do they tend. but only to bring men to Canterbury, with their vows and offerings to enrich the convent?

Beside the number of these miracles, which he said to be so many that they lose their own credit, what disease is there belonging to man or woman, in the curing whereof some miracle hath not been wrought by this Thaumaturgus, as fevers, fistula, the gout, tooth-ache, palsy, consumption, falling sickness, leprosy, head-ache, broken arms, maimed legs, swelling throats, the raising up of the dead which have been two days departed, with infinite others? And as all these have been healed (for the most part) by one kind of salve. (as a certain panacea,) which was with the water only of Canterbury. like as a cunning smith, which would open with one key all manner of

locks; so again in reading of the story of these miracles ye shall find the matter so conveyed, that the power of this dead saint was never twice showed on any one disease, but every diverse disease had a diverse miracle.

To recite in order all these prodigious revelations and fantastical miracles, falsely imagined and ascribed to this archbishop, were nothing else but to write a legend of lies, and to occupy the people with trifles. Which because it pertaineth rather to the idle profession of such dreaming monks and cloisterers. that have nothing else to maintain that religion withal, I will not take their profession out of their hands. Wherefore to omit all such vain and lying apparitions and miracles, as how this angry saint (three days after his death) appeared by vision at the altar in his pontificalibus, commanding the choir not to sing, but to say this office of his mass; which vision the author himself of the book doth say he did see. To omit also the blasphemous lie, how in another vision the said archbishop should say, that his blood did cry out of the earth to God more than the blood of just Abel. Item, in another vision it was showed to a monk of Lewis, how St. Thomas had his place in heaven appointed with the apostles, above Stephen, Laurence, Vincent, and all the other martyrs. Where of this cause is rendered, for that St. Stephen, Laurence, and such others, suffered only for their own cause; but this Thomas suffered for the universal church. Item, how it was showed to a certain young man, (Ormus by name,) twelve years before the death of this Becket, that among the apostles and martyrs in heaven there was a vacant place left for a certain priest, as he said, of England, which was credibly supposed to be this Thomas Becket. Item, how a certain knight's son, being two days dead, was revived again so soon as he had the water of Canterbury put in his mouth, and had by his parents four pieces of silver bended, to be offered in Canterbury in the child's behalf. All these, I say, with such other like, to omit (the number whereof cometh to an infinite variety) only this one story, or another that followeth, shall suffice to express the vanity and impudent forgery of all the rest.

In the fourth book of this fabulous author, and in the third chapter, a miracle is there contained of a certain countryman of Bedfordshire in King's Weston, whose name was Eilwardus; which Eilwardus, in his drunkenness bursting into another man's house which was his debtor, took out of his house a great whetstone, and a pair of hedging gloves. The other party, seeing this value not sufficient for his condemnation, (by the counsel of the town clerk,) entered an action of felony against him for other things besides, as for stealing his wimble, his axe, his net, and other clothes. Whereupon Eilwardus being had to the gaol of Bedford, and afterward condemned for the same, was judged to have both his eyes put out, and also those members cut off which nature with secret shame hath covered. Which punishment by the malice of his adversary being executed upon him, he, lying in great danger of death by bleeding, was counselled to make his prayer to this Thomas of Canterbury. Which done, (saith the miracle,) there appeared one to him by night in white apparel, bidding him to watch and pray, and put his trust in God and our Lady, and holy St. Thomas. In conclusion, the miracle thus fell out: The next day at evening the man, rubbing his eyelids, began to feel his eyes to be restored again: first in a little, after in a greater, measure, so that one was of a grey colour, the other was of black; and here was one miracle rung. After this followed another miracle also upon the same person; for going but the space of four miles, when his eyes were restored, he chanced (in like manner) to rub the place where his secret parts were cut off, and immediately on the same his penda (to use the words of my story) were to him restored, which he permitted every one to feel that would, and shamed not to deny. Insomuch that he, coming up to

St. Thomas, first at London was received with joy of the bishop of Durham; who then sending to the burghers of Bedford for the truth of the matter, received from them again letters testimonial, wherein the citizens there (saith this fabulous festival) confirmed first to the bishop, then to the convent of Canterbury, the relation of this to be as hath been told. This one miracle, gentle reader, so shameless and impudent, I thought here to express, that by this one thou mightest judge of all the residue of his miracles; and by the residue thereof mightest judge moreover of all the filthy wickedness of all these lying monks and cloisterers, which count it a light sport so impudently to deceive the simple souls of Christ's church with trifling lies and dreaming fables. Wherefore (as I said) if the holy sainting of Thomas Becket standeth upon no other thing but upon his miracles, what credit is to be given there to? and upon what a weak ground his shrine so long hath stood by this may easily be seen. Furthermore, another fable as notable as this, and no less worthy of the whetstone, we read in the story of Gervasius; that Thomas Becket, appearing to a certain priest, named Thomas, declared to him that he had so brought to pass, that all the names of the monks of the church of Canterbury, with the names of the priests and clerks, and with the families be longing to that city and church of Canterbury, were written in the book of life.

But whatsoever is to be thought of his miracles, or howsoever the testimony of the school of Paris, or of these ancient times, went with him or against him: certain it is, that this anthem or collect, lately collected and primed in his praise. is blasphemous, and derogateth from the praise of Him to whom only all praise and honour is due, where it is said,

For the blood of Thomas,
Which he for thee did spend,
Grant us (Christ) to climb
Where Thomas did ascend.

Wherein is a double lie contained: first, that he died for Christ; secondly, that if he had so done, yet that his blood could purchase heaven. Which thing neither Paul nor any of the apostles durst ever challenge to themselves; for if any man's blood could bring us to heaven, then the blood of Christ was shed in vain.

And thus much touching the testimony or censure of certain ancient times concerning the cause of Thomas Becket. In the explication of whose history I have now stood the longer, (exceeding, peradventure, in overmuch prolixity,) to the intent that his cause being fully opened to the world, and duly weighed on every part, men's minds (thereby long deceived by ignorance) might come unto the more perfect certainty of the truth thereof, and thereby judge more surely what is to be received, and what to be refused. Where by the way is to be noted out of the testimony of Rob. Crikeladensis, which in him I find, that the peers and nobles of this land near about the king gave out in strait charge, upon pain of death and confiscating of all their goods, that no man should be so hardy as to name Thomas Becket to be a martyr, or to preach of his miracles, &c.

41. After the Death of Thomas À Becket

After the death of Thomas Becket, the king, fearing the pope's wrath and curse to be laid upon him, (whereunto Ludovike, the French king, also helped what he could to set the matter forward,) sent to Rome the archbishop of Rothomage, with certain other bishops and archdeacons, unto the pope with his excuse, which the pope could in no wise hear. And after other messengers being sent, (whom some of the cardinals received,) it was showed to them that on Good Friday (being then near at hand) the pope of custom was used to assoil or to curse, and that it was noised how the king of England, with his bishops, should be cursed, and his land interdicted, and that they should be put in prison. After this, certain of the cardinals showed the pope, that the messengers had power to swear to the pope that the king should obey his punishment and penance: which was taken both for the king and the archbishop of York. So that in the same day the pope cursed the deed-doers, with such as were of their consent, that either aided or harboured them. Concerning these deed-doers it is touched briefly before, how they, lying in Gnarsborough, fled into Yorkshire: who, after having in penance to go in their linen clothes barefoot (in fasting and prayer) to Jerusalem, by reason of this hard penance are said to die in few years after.

The king's ambassadors lying, as is said, in Rome, could find no grace nor favour a long time at the pope's hands. At length with much ado it was agreed, that two cardinals should be sent down to inquire out the matter concerning them that were consenting to Becket's death. The king perceiving what was preparing at Rome, neither being yet certain whereto the intent of the pope and coming down of the cardinals would tend; in the mean time addressed himself with a great power to enter into Ireland, giving in charge and commandment, as Hoveden writeth, that no bringer of any brief or letter should come over into England, or pass out of the realm, (of what degree or condition soever he were,) without special licence, and assurance that he would bring nothing that should be prejudicial to the realm.

This order being set and ordained, the king with four hundred great ships taketh his journey to Ireland, where he subdued in short time the whole land unto him, which at that time was governed under divers kings to the number of five; of whom four submitted themselves unto the said King Henry; only the fifth, who was the king of Conacta, denied to be subdued, keeping him in woods and marshes.

In the mean season, while the king was thus occupied in Ireland, the two cardinals that were sent from the pope (Theodinus and Albertus) were come to Normandy. Unto whom the king the next year following resorted about the month of October, in the year 1172. But before (during the time of the king's being in Ireland) the bishop of London, and Joseline. bishop of Salisbury, had sent to Rome, and procured their absolution from the pope. The king returning out of Ireland, by Wales, into England, and from thence to Normandy. there made his purgation before the pope's legates, as touching the death of the foresaid Becket: to the which he sware he was neither aiding nor consenting, but only that he spake rigorous words against him, for that his knights would not avenge him against the said Thomas; for the which cause this penance was enjoined him under his oath.

First, that he should send so much into the Holy Land as would find two hundred knights or soldiers for the defence of that land.

Also, that from Christmas day next following he should set forth in his own person to fight for the Holy Land, the space of three years together, unless he should be otherwise dispensed withal by the pope.

Item, that if he would make his journey into Spain. (as his present necessity did require,) there he should fight against the Saracens; and as long time as he should there abide, so long space might he take in prolonging his journeys toward Jerusalem

Item, that he should not hinder, nor cause to be hindered by him, any appellations made to the pope of Rome.

Item, that neither he nor his son should depart or dissever from Pope Alexander, or from his catholic successors, so long as they should recount him or his son for kings catholic.

Item, that the goods and possessions taken from the church of Canterbury should be restored again, (fully and amply,) as they stood the year before Thomas Becket departed the realm; and that free liberty should be granted to all such as were outlawed for Becket's cause to return again.

Item, that the foresaid customs and decrees, by him established against the church, should be extinct and repealed, (such only except that concerned his own person, &c.,) besides other secret fastings and alms enjoined him.

All these former conditions the king with his son did both agree unto, debasing himself in such sort of submission before the two cardinals; by the occasion whereof the cardinals took no little glory, using this verse of the Psalm: Which looketh upon the earth, and maketh it to tremble; which toucheth the hills, and they smoke, &c. Moreover, it is mentioned in histories of the said king, that, a little after William, king of Scots, with his army had made a road into the realm, he, returning out of Normandy into England, came first to Canterbury; who by the way (so soon as he came to the sight of Becket's church) lighting off his horse, and putting off his shoes, went barefoot to his tomb, whose steps were found bloody through the roughness of the stones. And not only that, but also he received further penance, by every monk of the cloister, certain discipline of a rod. By which so great dejection of the king (if it were true) thou mayst see the blind and lamentable superstition and ignorance of those days. If it were attempted (as might so be in time of war) to get the hearts of the people, thou mayest, learned reader, see what slavery kings and princes were brought into at that time under the pope's clergy. The same year, (as Hoveden writeth,) which was 1174, the whole city of Canterbury was almost all consumed, with fire, and the said minster church clean burnt.

The next year ensuing, which was 1175, a convocation of bishops was holden at Westminster by Richard, archbishop of Canterbury. In which conventicle all the bishops and abbots of the province of Canterbury and of York, being present, determined (as it had done a little before in the days of King Henry the First. A.D. 1113) about the obedience that York should do to Canterbury; that is, whether the archbishop of York might bear his cross in the diocese of Canterbury or not, whereof something was touched before in time former process of this history. Also about the bishopric of Lincoln, of Chichester, of Worcester, and of Hereford, whether these churches were under the jurisdiction of the see of York or not, &c. Upon these and other like matters rose such controversy between these two sees, that the one appealed the other to the presence of the bishop of Rome.

In these and such-like causes, how much better had it been if the supremacy had remained more near in the king's hands at home! Whereby not only much labour and travail had been saved, but also the great and wasteful expenses bestowed at Rome might with much more fruit and thank have been converted to their cures and flocks committed unto them, and also perhaps their cause no less indifferently heard, at least more speedily might have been decided. But to the purpose again. In this controversy divers of the bishop of York's clergy, such as were of Gloucester, belonging to the church of St. Oswald, were excommunicated by the archbishop of Canterbury, because they, being summoned, refused to appear before him, &c. At length the same year, which was 1175, there was a cardinal sent down from Rome by the king's procurement, who studied to set a peace between the two archbishops. Whereupon this way of agreement was taken (by the means of the king) at Winchester, that as touching the church of St. Oswald at Gloucester, the archbishop of Canterbury should cease his claim thereof, molesting the see of York no more therein; also should absolve again the clerks thereof whom he had excommunicated before. And as concerning the bearing of the cross and all other matters. it was referred to the archbishop of Rothomage, and of other bishops in France; so that for five years a league or truce was taken betwixt them, till they should have a full determination of their cause.

The next year following, the foresaid King Henry the Second (dividing the realm of England into six parts) ordained upon every part three justices of assize. The circuit or limitation of which justices was thus disposed. The first upon Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Essex, Hertfordshire. Two upon Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Staffordshire, Warwickshire, Northamptonshire, Leicestershire. Three upon Kent, Surrey, Southamptoushire, Sussex, Berkshire. Oxfordshire. Four upon Herefordshire, Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, Shropshire. Five upon Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, Somersetshire, Devonshire, Cornwall. Six upon Everikeshire, Richmondshire, Lancaster, Copland, Westmoreland, Northumberland, Cumberland.

In the which year also Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, made three archdeacons in his diocess, whereas before there was but one. About which time also it was granted by the king to the pope's legate, that a clerk should not be called before a temporal judge, except for offence in the forest, or for his lay fee that he holdeth.

Item, that no archbishopric, bishopric, or abbey should remain in the king's hands over one year without great cause. It chanced the same year that this was done there was at Canterbury one elected to be abbot in the house of St. Austin named Albert, who made great labour and suit unto the archbishop that he would come to his church, and there consecrate him abbot of St. Austin's. To whom the archbishop sent word again, that he was not bound to come to him, but rather the other should repair to the metropolitan church of Canterbury, there to receive his consecration. Where upon (controversy rising between them) the foresaid new elect appealed up to the audience of the pope, and so laboured up himself to Rome. Where he so handled the matter, (by what means I cannot tell, unless with his golden bottle, wherewith he quenched the pope's thirsty soul, for abbots never travel lightly without fat purses to Rome,) that with short despatch he procured letters from Alexander the pope, to Roger, bishop of Worcester; signifying to him, that he had given in charge and commandment to the archbishop of Canterbury (in the behalf of his dear son Albert) that he should consecrate him within his own monastery; which monastery properly and solely without mediation belonged to the jurisdiction of Rome, and so likewise should do to his successors after him, without any exaction of obedience of them. Which thing,

further he said, if the archbishop would refuse to do within the term appointed, that then he the foresaid bishop of Worcester should (by the authority committed unto him) execute the same, all manner of appellation or other decree, whatsoever should come, notwithstanding. This letter being obtained, the abbot that would be returneth home, supposing with himself all things to be sure. The archbishop understanding the cause, and seeing himself be so straitly charged, and yet loth to yield and stoop to the abbot, took to him policy where authority would not serve, and both to save himself, and yet to disappoint the abbot, he watcheth a time when the abbot was about business of his house. And coming the same time to the monastery, as he was commanded to do, with all things appointed that to such a business appertained, he called for the abbot, pretending no less than to give him his consecration. The abbot, being called for, was not at home; the archbishop, feigning himself not a little grieved at his labour and good will so lost, departed, as one in whom no ready diligence was lacking, if in case that the abbot had been at home. Whereupon the abbot, being thus disappointed, was fain to fill his silver flagons afresh. and make a new course to Rome to his father the pope, of whom he received his consecration, and so came home again, with as much wit as he went forth, but not with so much money peradventure as he went withal.

We have declared a little afore touching the acts and doings of this Pope Alexander the Third, how he had brought the emperor's head under his foot in St. Mark's church at Venice; at which time and place peace was concluded, and a composition made between the pope and the said Frederic the emperor. Which pacification Rogerus Hovedenus, and Gualterus Gisburgensis, refer to this time, being the year of our Lord 1177, bringing in two several letters sent from the said pope to Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, and to Roger, archbishop of York, and Hugh, bishop of Duresme. Out of the which letters, so much as serveth to our purpose, I have taken and here inserted.

The letter of Pope Alexander, sent to Roger, archbishop of York, and to the bishop of Duresme.

"Alexander, servant of the servants of God, to his reverend brethren Roger, archbishop of York, and Hugh, bishop of Duresme, greeting and apostolical blessing. The obsequies and service of your kind devotion, which hitherto you are known to have given both devoutly and laudably to us and to the church, requireth that we should describe to you, as to our special friends, the prosperous success of the church, and to let you know, as spiritual children of the church, what hath happened to the same. For meet it is, convenient, and also honest, that you, whom we have had so firm and sure in our devotion, should now be cherished and made joyous in the prosperity of us and of the church." And about the end of the epistle it followeth thus:

"The next day following, which was the feast of St. James, (the said emperor so requesting,) we came to the foresaid church of St. Mark, there to celebrate our solemn mass; where (as we were coming in the way) the said emperor met us without the church, and placing us again on his right hand, he brought us so into the said church. After the mass was done, placing us again on his right hand, he brought us to the church door. And, moreover, when we should take our palfry, he held our stirrup, exhibiting to us such honour and reverence as his progenitors were wont to exhibit to our predecessors. Wherefore these shall be to incite your diligence and study towards us, that you rejoice with us and the church in these our prosperous successes; and also that you shall open the same effect of peace to other devout children of the church, that such as be touched with the zeal of the house of the Lord, may congratulate and rejoice

also in the Lord for the great working of peace which he hath given. Given at Venice, in the deep river, the six and twentieth of July."

This year the contention revived again, spoken of a little before, between the two archbishops of York and Canterbury, the occasion whereof was this: The manner and practice of the pope is, when he beginneth to lack money, he sendeth some limiting cardinal abroad to fetch his harvest in. So there came this year into England (as lightly few years were without them) a certain cardinal from Rome, called Hugo, or, as Hovedenus nameth him, Hugezim, who would needs keep a council at Westminster. To this council resorted a great confluence (about middle of Lent) of bishops, abbots, priors, doctors, and such others of the clergy. As every one was there placed in his order, and after his degree, first cometh the archbishop of York, named Roger, who (thinking to prevent the other archbishop) came something sooner, and straightway placed himself on the right hand of the cardinal. Richard, the archbishop of Canterbury, following shortly after, and seeing the first place taken up, refuseth to take the second, complaining of the archbishop of York, as one prejudicial to his see. So while the one would not rise, and the other part not sit down, there rose no small contention between them two. The archbishop of Canterbury claimed the upper seat by the pre-eminence of his church. Contrary, the archbishop of York alleged for him the old decree of Gregory, whereof mention is made before. By which this order was taken between the two metropolitans of Canterbury and York, that which of them two should be first in election, he should have the pre-eminence in dignity, to go before the other. Thus they contending to and fro, waxed so warm in words, that at last they turned to hot blows. How strong the archbishop of York was in reason and argument I cannot tell; but the archbishop of Canterbury was stronger at the arms' end; whose servants, being more in number, (like valiant men,) not suffering their master to take such a foil, so prevailed against York, (sitting on the right hand of the cardinal,) that they plucked him down from the hand to the foot of the cardinal upon the ground, treading and trampling upon him with their feet, that marvel it was he escaped with life. His casule, chimer, and rochet were all to be rent and torn from his back. Here no reason would take place, no debating would serve, no praying could be heard, such clamour and tumult was there in the house among them.

But what did the noble Roman cardinal? Like a pretty man of his hands, (but a prettier man of his feet,) standing up in the midst, and seeing the house in such a broil, committed himself to flight, and (as Hovedenus writeth) abscondit se a fade illorum. The next day after, the archbishop of York bringeth to the cardinal his rochet, to bear witness what injury and violence he had sustained; appealing and citing up the archbishop of Canterbury with certain of his men to the bishop of Rome. And thus the holy council (the same day it was begun) brake up and was dissolved.

Under the reign of this King Henry the Second, the dominion and crown of England extended so far as hath not been seen in this realm before him; whom histories record to possess under his rule and jurisdiction, first, Scotland, to whom William, king of Scots, with all the lords temporal and spiritual, did homage, both for them and for their successors, (the seal whereof remaineth in the king's treasury,) as also Ireland, England, Normandy, Aquitan, Gant, &c., to the Pyrenees, which be in the uttermost part of the great ocean in the British Sea; being also protector of France; to whom Philip, the French king, yielded both himself and his realm wholly to his governance, in the year of our Lord, 1181. Moreover, he was offered also to be the king of Jerusalem by the patriarch and master of the hospital there; who, then being distressed by the soldan, brought him the keys of their city, desiring his aid against the

infidels; which offer he then refused, alleging the great charge which he had at home, and the rebellion of his sons, which might happen in his absence.

And here the old histories find a great fault with the king for his refusal; declaring that to be the cause of God's plagues which after ensued upon him by his children, as the patriarch in his oration (being offended with the king) prophesied should so happen to him for the same cause. Which story, if it be true, it may be a lesson to good princes not to deny their necessary help to their distressed neighbours, especially the cause appertaining unto God.

The wisdom, discretion, manhood, and riches of this prince were so spread and renowned from all quarters, that messages came from Emmanuel, emperor of Constantinople, Frederic, emperor of Rome, and William, archbishop of Trevers in Almain, the duke of Saxon, and from the earl of Flanders, and also from the French king, (upon determination of great questions and strifes,) to ask counsel and determination thereof of this King Henry, as of one most wise, and schoolmaster of all wisdom and justice, to have solution of their questions and doubts. Moreover, Alphonsus, king of Castile, and Sancius, king of Navarre, being in strife for certain castles and other possessions, submitted them (of their free accord and by their oath) to abide the award of this King Henry, who made award and pleased them both; whereby it is to be presupposed that this king, to whom other princes did so resort, as to their arbiter and guide, did not attend either to any sloth or vicious living. Wherefore it may seem that the acts of this prince were not so vicious as some monkish writers do describe.

Among many other things in this king memorable, this one is to be noted, (follow it who can,) that he, reigning five and thirty years, and having such wars with his enemies, yet never upon his subjects put any tribute or tax, nor yet upon the spirituality, first-fruits and appropriations of benefices. Belike they were not known, or else not used. And yet his treasure after his death (weighed by King Richard his son) amounted to above nine hundred thousand pounds, besides jewels, precious stones, and household furniture. Of the which substance eleven thousand pounds came to him by the death of Roger, archbishop of York; who had procured a bull of the pope, that if any priest died within his province without testament, then he should have all his goods. And shortly after the archbishop died, and the king had all his goods, which extended (as is said) to eleven thousand pounds besides plate, in the year of our Lord God 1181.

But as there is no felicity or wealth in this mortal world so perfect, which is not darkened with some cloud of encumbrance and adversity; so it happened to this king, that, among his other princely successors, this incommodity followed him withal, that his sons rebelled and stood in armour against him, taking the part of the French king against their father. First, at the coronation of Henry his son, whom the father joined with him as king, he being both father and king, took upon him (that notwithstanding) but as a steward, and set down the first dish, as sewer unto his son, renouncing the name of a king. At what time the foresaid archbishop of York, sitting on the right hand of the young king, said, Sir, ye have great cause this day to joy, for there is no prince in the world that hath such an officer this day, &c. And the young king disdainful of his words, said, My father is not dishonoured in this doing, for I am a king and a queen's son, and so is not he: and not only this, but after he also persecuted his father: and so in his youth, when he had reigned but a few years, died; teaching us what is the price and reward of breaking the just commandment of God.

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After him likewise Richard his son (who was Richard Cœur de Lion) rebelled against his father, and also John his youngest son did not much degenerate from the steps of his brethren. Insomuch that this foresaid Richard, (like an unkind child,) persecuting and taking part against his father, brought him to such distress of body and mind, that for thought of heart he fell into an ague; and with in four days departed, after he had reigned five and thirty years; whose corpse as it was carried to be buried, Richard his son, coming by the way and meeting it, and beginning for compassion to weep, the blood burst incontinent out of the nose of the king at the coming of his son; giving thereby a certain demonstration how he was the only author of his death.

After the death and reign of which king, his children after him, (worthily rewarded for their unnaturalness against their father,) lacking the success which their father had, lost all beyond the sea that their father had got before.

And thus much concerning the reign of Henry the Second, and the death of Thomas Becket, whose death (as is aforesaid) happened in the days of Pope Alexander the Third.

42. Pope Alexander III and the Waldenses

[This] pope, usurping the keys of ecclesiastical regiment one and twenty years. (or, as Gisburnensis writeth, three and twenty years,) governed the church with much tumult: striving and contending with Frederic the emperor, not shaming, like a most proud Lucifer, to tread with his foot upon the neck of the said emperor. as is above described.

This pope, among many other his acts, had certain councils, as is partly before touched. some in France. some at Rome in Lateran: by whom it was decreed, that no archbishop should receive the pall, unless he should first swear. Concerning the solemnity of which pall, for the order and manner of giving and taking the same with obedience to the pope, as it is contained in their own words, I thought it good to set it forth unto thee, that thou mayst well consider and understand their doings therein.

"To the honour of Almighty God, and of blessed Mary the virgin, and of blessed St. Peter and Paul, and of our Lord Pope N., and of the holy Church of Rome. and also of the church of N. committed to your charge, we give to you the pall taken from the body of St. Peter. as a fulness of the office pontifical, which you may wear within your own church upon certain days. which be expressed in the privileges of the said church, granted by the see apostolic."

Notes upon the same.

"To the honour." &c. With what confidence durst the pope couple the honour of Almighty God. and the honour of Mary, of St. Peter. and of the pope, and of the Romish Church all together, if he had not been a presumptuous Lucifer, equalling himself not only with such saints, but also even with him which is God alone, to be blessed for ever?

"Taken from the body." &c. If St. Peter's body be not all consumed, let him show it if he can. If he cannot show it, how then is this pall taken from the body of St. Peter? Or if he mean it to be of St. Peter's own wearing, then belike St. Peter had a goodly wardrobe of palls, when every archbishop in all Christendom receiveth from the pope a diverse pall.

"As a fulness of the office," &c. Rather he might say, the fulness of his own purse; whenas archbishops paid so sweetly for it. Insomuch that Jacobus, the archbishop of Mentz, as is above touched a little before in the Council of Basil, where the price was wont to be but a thousand florins, could not obtain it without six and twenty thousand florins.

Upon certain days," &c. This difference there was between the pope and other archbishops; for the pope might wear the pall at all times and in all places at his pleasure. Archbishops might not wear it but upon certain days, and in their church only within their province. Moreover, this pall should not be asked but with great instance, and within three months, without which pall he is not to be archbishop, but may be deposed, having it not after three months; and the same pall must also be buried with him when he dieth; and when it is given, some privilege must be given withal, or the old renewed.

In like manner proceedeth the oath of every bishop swearing obedience to the pope, in like words as followeth.

"I, N., bishop of N., from this hour henceforth will be faithful and obedient to blessed St. Peter, and to the holy apostolic Church of Rome, and to my lord N. the pope. I shall be in no counsel, nor help, either with my consent or deed, whereby either of them or any member of them may be impaired, or whereby they may be taken with any evil taking, The counsel which they shall commit to me, either by themselves, or by messenger, or by their letters, wittingly or willingly I shall utter to none to their hinderance and damage. To the retaining and maintaining the papacy of Rome, and the regalities of St. Peter, I shall be an aider (so mine order be saved) against all persons. The legate of the apostolic see both in going and coming I shall honourably treat and help in all necessities. Being called to a synod, I shall be ready to come, unless I be let by some lawful and canonical impeachment. The palace of the apostles every third year I shall visit, either by myself or my messenger, except otherwise being licensed by the see apostolic. All such possessions as belong to the table and diet of my bishopric I shall neither sell, nor give, nor lay to mortgage, nor lease out, nor remove assay by any manner of means, without the consent and knowledge of the bishop of Rome: so God help me and the holy Gospels of God."

N. B. Hereby thou hast. by the way, gentle reader, to note and consider, among other things which here may be understood, that since the time the oath began to be laid and thrust upon bishops. all general councils began to lose their liberty. For how could any freedom remain for men to speak their knowledge in redress of things. being by their oath so bound to the pope to speak nothing but on his side, to maintain the papacy and the Church of Rome in all times and places? Conjecture by thyself, Christian reader, what is more hereby to be considered.

Besides this, it was also decreed, in the said council at Rome of three hundred and ten bishops, by Pope Alexander. that no man should have any spiritual promotion, except he were of lawful age, and born in wedlock. That no parish church should be void above six months. That none within orders should meddle with temporal business. That priests should have but one benefice, and that the bishop should be charged to find the priest a living till he be promoted.

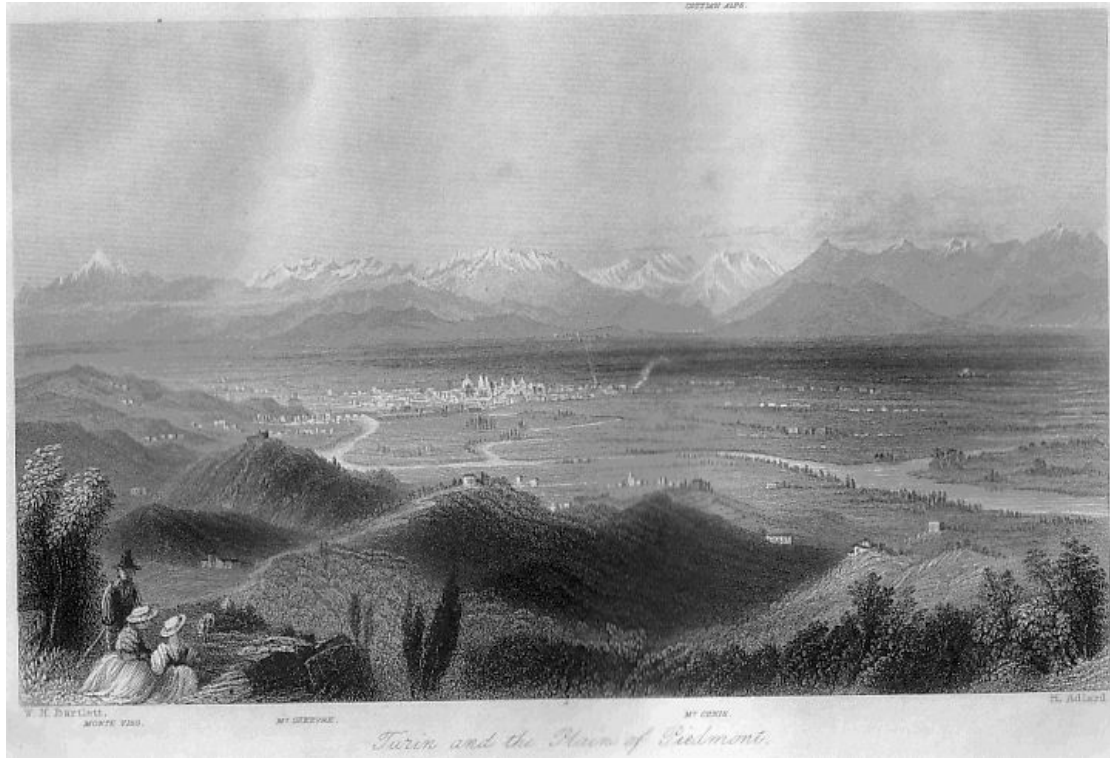
That open usurers should not communicate at Easter, nor be buried within the churchyard.

That nothing should be taken for ministering sacraments, or burying.

Item, that every cathedral church should have a master to teach children freely, without taking any thing for the same.

In this council the vow of chastity was obtruded and laid upon priests. Thomas Becket also and Bernard were canonized for saints.

In the time of this Alexander sprang up the doctrine and name of them which were then called Pauperes de Lugduno; which, of one Waldus, a chief senator in Lyons, were named Waldenses, item Leonistæ et Insabbatati, about A.D. 1109, or (as Laziardus writeth) 1170.



Turin and the plain of Piedmont

[Note by the Rev. R. CATTLEY.]

Waldenses. — Our author has fallen into the very common error of confounding the Waldenses with the 'Pauperes de Lugduno,' or 'Poor men of Lyons,' and of deriving their origin from Waldus, or Peter Waldo, of Lyons. The earliest period assigned to Peter Waldo is the year 1160; but there is a document of the year 1100, 'La nobla Leycezon,' which speaks of the Waldenses, or Vaudois, under the term Vaudés. It is, therefore, much more probable that Peter Waldo was named after the community called Vaudés, than that the Waldenses should take their name from his. Authors who assert the greater antiquity of the Waldenss, Vallenses, or Vaudois, maintain,

1. That the Waldenses are so called from certain secluded Alpine valleys, principally in Piedmont, where they have been settled from time immemorial
2. That the simplest etymology is that which is deduced from a local, and not from a personal name. — 'Vallis.' Latin; 'valli,' Italian; 'val,' Provençal; 'val,' pl. 'vaux,' and 'vallée,' French; 'val,' Spanish; 'val,' Celtic; 'Wald,' Teutonic; 'valley,' English.
3. That traces are to be found in early ecclesiastical history (beginning with the works of Ambrose and Jerome) of Alpine churches, which held opinions similar to those of the Waldenses of later times.
4. That the most ancient of the state records of Piedmont, in which the Waldenses are noticed as a religious community at variance with the Church of Rome, call them Huomini delle Valli,' or 'Men of the Valleys.'
5. That the antiquity of 'La nobla Leycezon,' which presents internal evidence of having been written in the year 1100, and contains the term Vaudés, and applies it to a religious body not in communion with the Church of Rome, is proved by

Raynonard in his 'Choix de Poésies des Troubadours,' and by others whose authority is of importance as to the period and language of that valuable document.

6. That surnames were not in use in the twelfth century, and that Peter of Lyons had his second appellation Waldus, or Waldo, given to him to distinguish him as one who had adopted the opinions of the Vauds, or Waldenses.

7. That the earliest public edicts which make mention of the Waldenses (such as 'Statute Synodalia Odonis Episcopi Tullesisis,' in 1192 — 'De hæreticis autem qui vocantur Wadoys — præcipimus,' and the edict of Ildefonsus, king of Arragon, in 1194) do not give any derivation of the term Waldenses, but simply call certain heretics by that name.

8. That the earliest treatises which profess to give the etymology of the name Waldenses derive it from a word signifying 'valley.' Thus Bernard of Fontcaud, A.D. 1185 — 'Dicti sunt Valdenses nimirum a valle dense, eo quod profundis et densis errorum tenebris involvantur;' and Ebrard De Bethune, in the year 1200 — 'Vallenses se appellant eo quod in valle lachrymarum maneat?'

9. That the first treatise which pretends to derive the Waldenses from Peter Waldus, of Lyons, was written after these, namely, 'Petri Valium Sarnaii monarchi Historia Albigenium,' in 1218. See Leger's 'Histoire generale des Eglises Evangeliques de Vallées de Piémont,' Allix's 'Churches of Piedmont,' Gilly's 'Waldensian Researches,' Blair's 'History of the Waldenses.']

Not long before this time (as is expressed above) rose up Gratianus, master of the decrees, and Petrus Lombardus, master of the sentences, both archpillars of all papistry; after whom followed also two as evil or worse than they, Franciscus and Dominicus, maintaining blind hypocrisy no less than the other maintained proud prelacy. As these laboured one way by superstition and worldly advancement to corrupt the sincerity of Christian religion; so it pleased Christ the contrary way, labouring against these, to raise up therefore the said Waldensians against the pride and hypocrisy of the others.

Thus we never see any great corruption in the church, but that some sparkle of the true and clear light of the gospel yet by God's providence doth remain. Whatsoever Doctor Augustinus, Reinerius, Sylvius, Cranzius, with others in their popish histories do write of them, (defaming them through misreport,) and accusing them to magistrates, as disobedient to orders, rebels to the Catholic Church, and contemners of the Virgin Mary; yet they that carry judgment indifferent, rather trusting truth than wavering with times, in weighing their articles, shall find it otherwise, and that they maintained nothing else but the same doctrine which is now defended in the church. And yet I suppose not contrary, but as the papists did with the articles of Wickliffe and Huss, so they did in like manner with their articles also, in gathering and wresting them otherwise than they were meant.

The first original of these Waldenses came of one Waldus, a man both of great substance, and no less calling, in the city of Lyons; the occasion whereof is declared of divers writers thus to come: About the year of our Lord 1160, it chanced that divers of the best and chieftest heads of the city of Lyons, talking and walking in a certain place after their old accustomed manner, especially in the summer time, conferred and consulted together upon matters, either to pass over time, or to debate things to be done. Amongst whom it chanced one (the rest looking upon) to fall down by sudden death. In the number of whom this foresaid Waldus, there being amongst them, was

one; who beholding the matter more earnestly than the other, and terrified with so heavy an example, being (as is said) a rich man, and God's Holy Spirit working withal, was stricken with a deep and inward repentance, where upon followed a new alteration, with a careful study to reform his former life. Insomuch that, first, he began to minister large alms of his goods to such as needed. Secondly, to instruct himself and his family with the true knowledge of God's word. Thirdly, to admonish all that resorted to him by any occasion to repentance and virtuous amendment of life. Whereby, partly through his large giving to the poor, partly through his diligent teaching and wholesome admonitions, more resort of people daily frequented about him; whom when he did see ready and diligent to learn, he began to give out to them certain rudiments of the Scripture, which he had translated himself into the French tongue; for as he was a man wealthy in riches, so he was also not unlearned.

Although Laziardus, Volateranus, with others, note him utterly unlearned, and charge him with ignorance, as who should procure others to write and translate for him; by others, that have seen his doings yet remaining in old parchment monuments, it appeareth he was both able to declare and translate the books of Scripture, and also did collect the doctors' mind upon the same.

But whatsoever he was, (lettered or unlettered,) the bishops and prelates seeing him so to intermeddle with Scriptures, and to have such resort about him, albeit it was but in his own house under private conference, could not abide either that the Scriptures should be declared of any other, neither would they take the pains to declare it themselves. So being moved with great malice against the man, they threatened to excommunicate him if he did not leave so to do. Waldus seeing his doing to be but godly, and their malice stirred up upon no just nor godly cause, neglecting the threatenings and frettings of the wicked, said that God must be obeyed more than man. To be brief, the more diligent he was in setting forth the true doctrine of Christ against the errors of antichrist, the more maliciously their fierceness increased. Insomuch that when they did see their excommunication to be despised and would not serve, they ceased not with prison, with sword, and banishment to persecute, till at length they had driven both Waldus and all the favourers of his true preaching out of the city.

Whereupon came first their name, that they were called Waldenses, or Pauperes de Lugduno, not because they would have all things common amongst them, or that they, professing any wilful poverty, would imitate to live as the apostles did, (as Sylvius did falsely believe them,) but because they, being thrust out both of country and goods, were compelled to live poorly, whether they would or no. And thus much touching the first occasion and beginning of these men, and of the restoring and maintaining of the true doctrine of Christ's gospel against the proud proceedings of popish errors. Now concerning their articles, which I find in order and in number to be these.

1. Only the Holy Scripture is to be believed in matters pertaining to salvation, and no man's writing or man besides.
2. All things to be contained in Holy Scripture necessary to salvation, and nothing to be admitted in religion but what only is commanded in the word of God.
3. To be one only Mediator; other saints in no wise to be made mediators, or to be invoked.

4. To be no purgatory, but that all men either by Christ are justified to life, or without Christ be condemned; and besides these two neither any third or fourth place to be.

5. That all masses, namely, such as be sung for the dead, be wicked, and to be abrogate.

6. All men's traditions to be rejected, at least not to be reputed as necessary to salvation, and therefore this singing and superfluous chanting in the chancel to be left; constrained and prefixed fasts bound to days and times, difference of meats, such variety of degrees and orders of priests, friars, monks, and nuns, superfluous holy-days, so many sundry benedictions and hallowing of creatures, vows, peregrinations, with all the rabblement of rites and ceremonies brought in by man, to be abolished.

7. The supremacy of the pope usurping above all churches, and especially above all politic realms and governments, or for him to occupy or usurp the jurisdiction of both the swords, to be denied; neither that any degree is to be received in the church, but only priests, deacons, and bishops.

8. The communion under both kinds to be necessary to all people, according to the institution of Christ.

9. Item, the Church of Rome to be the very Babylon spoken of in the Apocalypse; and the pope to be the fountain of all error, and the very antichrist.

10. The pope's pardons and indulgences they reject.

11. The marriage of priests, and of ecclesiastical persons, to be godly and also necessary in the church.

12. Such as hear the word of God, and have a right faith, to be the right church of Christ. And to this church the keys of the church are to be given, to drive away wolves, and to institute the pastors, to preach the word, and to minister the sacraments.

These be the most principal articles of the Waldenses; albeit some there be that add more to them; some again divide the same into more parts: but these be the principal to which the rest be reduced.

As for purgatory, they say that Thomas Aquinas is the author thereof.

Concerning the supper of the Lord, their faith was, that it was ordained to be eaten, and not to be showed and worshipped; for a memorial, not for a sacrifice: to serve for the present ministration, and not for reservation: to be received at the table, not to be carried out of the doors; according to the ancient use of the primitive church, when they used to communicate sitting. And this they prove both by an old chronicle called *Chronica Gestorum*, as also by ancient Origen upon the third book of Moses, bringing in his words, which be these, proving that this sacramental bread ought not to be received: Whosoever receiveth this bread of the supper of Christ upon the second or third day after, his soul shall not be blessed, but polluted. Therefore the Gibeonites, because they brought old bread to the children of Israel, it was enjoined them to carry wood and water, &c.

Doctor Austin, (of whom mention is made before,) disputing against them about this matter of the holy eucharist, urgeth them with this interrogation; Whether it be the same Christ (present in the sacrament) which is present at the right hand of the Father? If it be not the same Christ, how is it true in the Scripture, *Una fides, units*

Dominus noster Jesus Christus, One faith, one Lord Jesus Christ? If it be the same Christ, then how is he not to be honoured and worshipped here as well as there?

To this the Waldenses answer again, and grant that Christ is one and the same with his natural body in the sacrament which he is at the right hand of his Father, but not after the same existence of his body. For the existence of his body in heaven is personal and local, to be apprehended by the faith and spirit of men. In the sacrament the existence of his body is not personal or local, to be apprehended or received of our bodies, after a personal or corporal manner, but after a sacramental manner; that is, where our bodies receive the sign, and our spirit the thing signified. Moreover, in heaven the existence of his body is dimensive and complete with the full proportion and quantity of the same body wherewith he ascended. Here, the existence of his complete body, with the full proportion, measure, and stature thereof, doth not, neither can, stand in the sacrament. Briefly, the existence of his body in heaven is natural, not sacramental; that is, to be seen, and not remembered: here it is sacramental, not natural; that is, to be remembered, not to be seen.

That answer being made to the captious proposition of Dr. Austin, the Waldenses (retorting the like interrogation to him again) demand of him to answer them in the like objection; Whether it be all one Christ substantially and naturally which sitteth in heaven, and which is under the forms of bread and wine, and in the receivers of the sacrament? If he grant it to be, then they bid him say, seeing Christ is as well in the sacrament as in heaven, and as well in the receiver as in the sacrament, and all one Christ in substance and nature, why then is not the same Christ as well in the breast of the receiver to be worshipped, as under the forms of bread and wine in the sacrament, seeing he is there after a more perfect manner in man than in the sacrament? for in the sacrament he is but for a time, and not for the sacrament's sake, but for the man's cause; in man he is not for the sacrament's cause, but for his own; and that not for a season, but for ever, as it is written, *Qui manducat hunc panem vivet in æternum*; that is, He that eateth this bread shall live for ever, &c.

Moreover and besides, seeing transubstantiation is the going of one substance into another, they question again with him, whether the forms of bread and wine remaining, the substance thereof be changed into the whole person of our Lord Christ Jesus; that is, both into his body, soul, and Divinity, or not into the whole Christ? If he grant the whole; then, say they, that is impossible, (concerning the Divinity,) both to nature and to our faith, that any creature can be changed into the Creator. If he say the bread is changed into the body and soul of Christ, not to his Divinity, then he separateth the natures in Christ. If he say, into the body alone, and not the soul, then he separateth the natures of the true manhood, &c.; and so it cannot be the same Christ that was betrayed for us, for that he had both body and soul. To conclude, to what part soever he would answer, this doctrine of transubstantiation cannot be defended without great inconvenience of all sides.

Over and besides, Eneas Sylvius, writing of their doctrine and assertions, (perchance as he found them, perchance making worse of them than they taught or meant,) reporteth them after this manner.

The bishop of Rome to be equal with other bishops. Amongst priests to be no difference of degree. No priest to be reputed for any dignity of his order, but for the worthiness of his life.

The souls of men departed either do enter into pain everlasting, or everlasting joy. No fire of purgatory to be found. To pray for the dead to be vain, and a thing only found out for the lucre of priests.

The images of God (as of the Trinity) and of saints to be abolished. The hallowing of water and palms to be purely ridiculous. The religion of begging friars to be found out by the devil. That priests should not encroach riches in this world, but rather follow poverty, being content with their tithes and men's devotion. The preaching of the word to be free to all men called thereunto.

That no deadly sin is to be tolerated, for whatsoever respect of a greater commodity to ensue thereupon. The confirmation which bishops exercise with oil, and extreme unction, are not to be counted amongst the sacraments of the church. Auricular confession to be but a toy: to suffice for every man to confess himself in his chamber to God. Baptism ought to be ministered only with pure water, without any mixture of hallowed oil. The temple of the Lord to be the wide world. The majesty of God not to be restrained more within the walls of temples, monasteries, and chapels, so that his grace is rather to be found in one place than in another.

Priests' apparel, ornaments of the high altar, vestments, corporaces, chalices, patens, and other church-plate, to serve in no stead. For the difference and respect of the very place, to make no matter, where the priest doth consecrate or doth minister to them which do require. To be sufficient to use only the sacramental words, without all other superfluous ceremonies.

The suffrages of saints reigning with Christ in heaven to be craved in vain; they being not able to help us. In saying or singing the hours and matins of the day, the time to be but lost. A man ought to cease from his labour no day, but only upon the Sunday.

The feasts and festivals of saints ought to be rejected. Item, such fasts as be coacted and enjoined by the church have no merit in them.

The assertions of the Waldenses being thus articulated out by Eneas Sylvius, I thought to give them abroad in English as they are in Latin; to the intent that as they are the less to be doubted, being set out of a pope's pen; so that we may the better know what they were, and also understand how this doctrine, now preached and taught in the church, is no new doctrine, which here we see both taught and persecuted almost four hundred years ago. And as I have spoken hitherto sufficiently concerning their doctrine; so now we will somewhat briefly touch of the order of their life and conversation, as we find it registered in a certain old written book of inquisition.

The manner of the Waldenses is this: They, kneeling upon their knees, leaning to some bank or stay, do continue in their prayers with silence so long as a man may say thirty or forty times Pater noster. And this they do every day with great reverence, being amongst themselves, and such as be of their own religion, and no strangers with them, both before dinner and after; likewise before supper and after; also what time they go to bed, and in the morning when they rise, and at certain other times also, as well in the day as in the night. Item, they use no other prayer but the prayer of the Lord, and that without any Ave Maria, and the Creed, which they affirm not to be put in for any prayer by Christ, but only by the Church of Rome. Albeit they have and use the seven articles of faith concerning the Divinity, and seven articles concerning the humanity, and the ten commandments, and seven works of mercy, which they have

compiled together in a compendious book, glorying much in the same, and thereby offer themselves ready to answer any man for their faith.

Before they go to meat they have their grace. Which being said, then the elder amongst them beginneth thus in their own tongue: God, which blessed the five barley loaves and two fishes in the desert before his disciples, bless this table, and that is set upon it, or shall be set upon it; in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen. And likewise again when they rise from meat, the senior giveth thanks, saying the words of the Apocalypse, Blessing, and worship, and wisdom, and thanksgiving, honour, virtue, and strength to God alone for ever and ever. Amen. And addeth moreover, God reward them in their bosoms, and be beneficial to all them that be beneficial to us, and bless us. And the God which hath given us corporal feeding grant us his spiritual life: and God be with us, and we always with him. To which they answer again, Amen. And thus saying grace, they hold their hands upward, looking up to heaven. After their meat and grace said, they teach and exhort amongst themselves, conferring together upon their doctrine, &c.

In their doctrine and teaching they were so diligent and painful, that Reinerius, a writer about their time, (an extreme enemy against them,) in a long process, wherein he describeth their doctrine and teaching, testifieth, that he heard of one which did know the party, that a certain heretic, (saith he,) only to turn a certain person away from our faith, and to bring him to his, (in the night, and in the winter time,) swam over the river called Ibis, to come to him, and to teach him. Moreover, so perfect they were then in the Scriptures, that the said Reinerius saith he did hear and see a man of the country unlettered which could recite over the whole book of Job word by word, without book, with divers others which had the whole New Testament perfectly by heart.

And although some of them rather merrily than unskilfully expounded the words of John i., *Sui non receperunt eum, Swine did not receive him*, yet were they not so ignorant and void of learning, nor yet so few in number, but that they did mightily prevail, insomuch that Reinerius hath these words: There was none durst stop them for the power and multitude of their favourers. I have often been at their inquisition and examination, and there were numbered forty churches infected with their heresy, insomuch that in one parish of Cammach were ten open schools of them, &c.

And the said Reinerius, when he hath said all he can in depraving and impugning them, yet is driven to confess this of them, where he doth distinguish their sect from other sects, and hath these words: This sect of Leonists hath a great show of holiness, in that both they live justly before men, and believe all things well of God, and hold all the articles contained in the Creed; only they do blaspheme the Romish Church and hate it, &c.

Now to touch somewhat their persecutions. After they were driven out of Lyons, they were scattered into divers and sundry places, (the providence of God so disposing,) that the sound of their doctrine might be heard abroad in the world. Some, as I said, went to Bohemia, many did flee into their provinces of France, some into Lombardy, others into other places, &c. But as the cross commonly followeth the verity and sincere preaching of God's word, so neither could these be suffered to live in rest. There are yet to be seen the consultations of lawyers, archbishops, and bishops of France, as Narbonensis, Arelatensis, Aquensis, and Albanensis, devised amongst themselves, which yet remain in writing, for the abolishing and extirpating of these

Waldenses, written above three hundred years ago; whereby it appeareth that there was a great number of them in France.

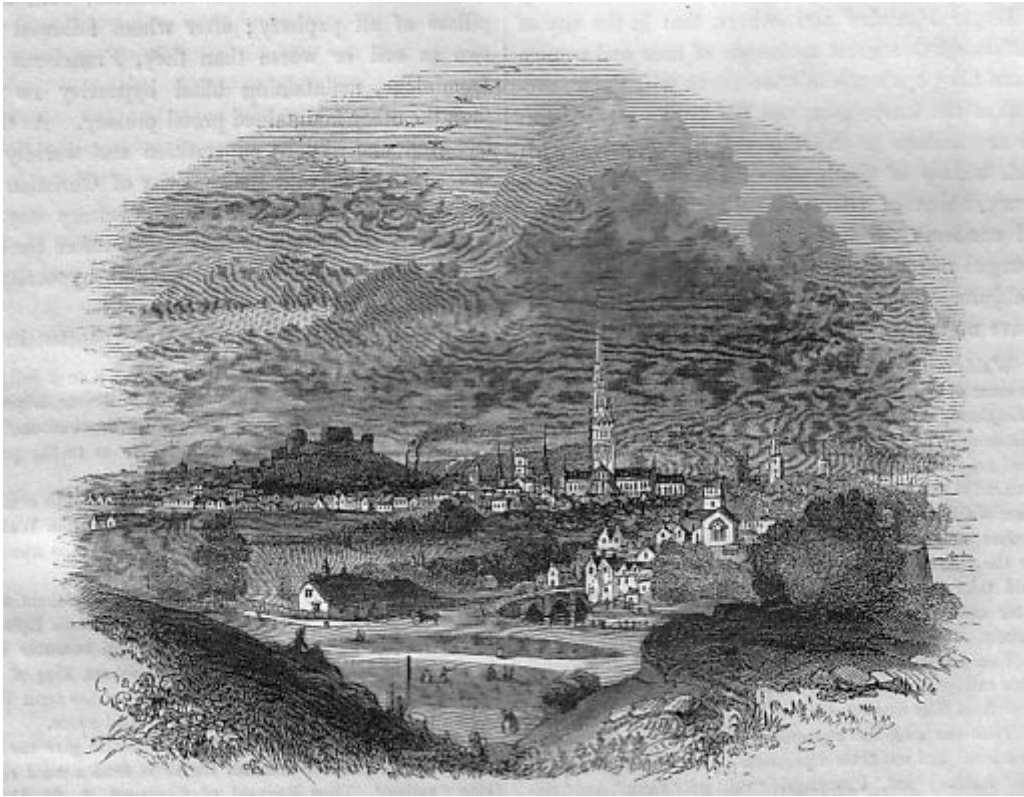
Besides, there was a whole council kept in Tholouse about three hundred fifty and five years before, and all against these Waldenses, the which also were condemned in another council at Rome before that.

What great persecutions were raised up against them in France by these four archbishops before mentioned, it appeareth by their writings; whereof I will recite some of their words, which towards the end be these: Who is such a stranger that knoweth not the condemnation of Waldenses, the heretics, done and past so many years ago, so famous, so public, followed upon with so great labours, expenses, and travail of the faithful, and sealed with so many deaths of these infidels, so solemnly being condemned and openly punished? Whereby we may see persecution to be no new thing in the church of Christ, when antichrist so long before (even three hundred years) began to rage against these Waldenses. In Bohemia likewise after that, the same, called by the name of Thaborits, (as Sylvius recordeth,) suffered no little trouble. But never persecution was stirred up against them or any other people more terrible, than was in these later years in France by the French king, in the year of our Lord one thousand five hundred and forty-five; which lamentable story is described in Sleidan, and hereafter, in the process of his book, as we come to the order of years, shall be set forth (by the grace of Christ) more at large. In the which persecution is declared in one town, Cabriera, to be slain, by the captain of Satan, Sinerius, eight hundred persons at once, without respect of women or children of any age; of whom forty women, and most of them great with child, thrust into a barn, and the windows kept with pikes, and so fire set to them, were all consumed. Besides, in a cave not far from the town Mussium, to the number of five and twenty persons with smoke and fire were the same time destroyed. At Merindolum the same tyrant. (seeing all the rest were fled away,) finding one young man, caused him to be tied to an olive tree, and to be destroyed with torments most cruelly; with much other persecution, as shall appear hereafter, in the history translated out of Sleidan into English.

But to return again to higher times, from whence we digressed. Besides that, Reinerius above mentioned speaketh of one in the town of Cheron, a glover, which was brought in this time to examination, and suffered. There is also an old monument of process, wherein appeareth four hundred forty and three to be brought to examination in Pomerania, Marchia, and places thereabouts, about the year of our Lord one thousand three hundred ninety and one.

And thus much touching the origin, doctrine, and the lamentable persecutions of the Waldenses; who, as is declared, first began about the time of this King Henry the Second.

43. Other Events During the Reign of King Henry II.



Leicester

During the reign and time of this King Henry the Second, the city of Norwich was destroyed and burnt by the men of Flanders. Also the town of Leicester. Nottingham wasted and the burgesses slain by the earl of Ferrers. The town of Berwick destroyed by the Scots. The king of Scots was taken in war by Englishmen. A.D. 1174. The town of Huntingdon taken and burnt. The town of Canterbury by casualty if fire burnt with all the churches. specially with the Trinity church, where Becket was worshipped, A.D. 1170. William, king of Scots, with David his brother, and all the barons of the realm, did homage to the king of England. Ireland made subject to England. Decreed us a council in Normandy, that no boys or children should possess any benefice. A council of Lateran was holden at Rome, where were three and thirty articles concluded, A.D. 1179. The French king came in pilgrimage to Thomas Becket, the king of England meeting him by the way, A.D. 1184. After the death of Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, who followed after Thomas Becket, succeeded Baldwinus; who, of a Cistercian monk, being made a bishop, is said never to eat flesh in his life. Whom a certain poor woman, bare and lean, meeting him in the street, desired to know of him whether it were true that was said of him, that he never did eat flesh. Which thing when he had affirmed to be true, Nay, (saith she,) that is false, for you have eaten my flesh unto the bone; for I had but one cow wherewith I was sustained, and that have your deans taken from me. True, true, said the bishop, and thou shalt have another cow as good as that, &c.

Moreover, in the reign of the said King Henry, about the year of our Lord 1178, I find in the story of Roger Hoveden and others, that in the city of Tholouse was a great multitude of men and women whom the popes commissioners, to wit, Peter, cardinal of St. Chrysogon. and the popes legate, with the archbishops of Narbon and Bituriensis, Reginald, bishop of Bath, John, bishop of Pictavia, Henry, abbot of Clarevallensis, &c., did persecute and condemn for heretics; of whom some were scourged naked, some chased away, some compelled to abjure. Concerning whose articles and opinions I have no firm ground to make any certain relation, forsomuch as I see the papists many times so false in their quarrelling accusations, untruly collecting men's sayings, not as they meant, and meaning not as they said; but wresting and depraving simple men's assertions after such a subtle sort as they lust themselves to take them. But this I find, how one of the said commissioners or inquisitors (Henry the abbot) in a certain letter of his wrote thus of them: After a new opinion he affirmed, that the holy bread of eternal life, consecrated by the ministry of the priest, was not the body of the Lord, &c,

Mary, the daughter of King Stephen, being the abbess of Ramsey, was married in this king's days to Matthew, earl of Bullen: which marriage Thomas Becket did work against, and did dissolve; by reason whereof he procured himself great displeasure with the said earl, &c.

The same year a certain child was crucified of the Jews in the town of Gloucester, A.D. 1161. After the same manner the wicked Jews had crucified another child before in the city of Norwich, in the days of King Stephen, in the year of our Lord 1145.

A collection was gathered through all England and France, two pence of every pound. for the succour of the East Christians against the Turks, in the year of our Lord 1167.

Babylon was taken and destroyed, and never since repaired, by Almaricus, king of Jerusalem, A.D. 1170.

In the year 1173, almost all England was diseased with the cough. About which year also William, king of Scots, was taken in battle, and imprisoned in England.

Great war happened in Palestina, wherein the city of Jerusalem, with the cross and king of the city, and others of the temple, was taken of the Saracens, and most part of the Christians there either slain or taken. Cruel murder and slaughter there was used by the Turks, who caused all the chief of the Christians to be brought forth and beheaded before his face. Insomuch that Pope Urbanus the Third for sorrow died, and Gregory the Eighth, next pope after him, lived not two months. Then, in the days of Pope Clement the Third, news and sorrow growing daily for the loss of Palestina and destruction of the Christians, King Henry of England, and Philip the French king, the duke of Burgundy, the earl of Flanders, the earl of Campania, with divers other Christian princes, with a general consent, upon St. George's day, took the mark of the cross upon them, promising together to take their voyage into the Holy Land. At which time the stories say the king of England received first the red cross, the French king took the white cross, the earl of Flanders took the green cross, and so likewise other princes diversely divers colours, thereby to be discerned every one by his proper cross. But King Henry (after the three years were expired, in which he promised to perform his oyage) sent to the pope for further delay of his promise, offering for the same to erect three monasteries. Which thing he thus performed: In the church of Waltham he

thrust out the secular priests, and set in monks for them. Secondly, be repaired again and brought in the nuns of Amesbury, which before were excluded for their incontinent life. And thus performed he his promise made before to the pope, A.D. 1173.

The king of Scots did his homage and allegiance to the king of England, and to his son, and to his chief lords; promising that all the earls and barons of Scotland should do the like with their posterity. Item, all the bishops and abbots of the Church of Scotland promised subjection and submission to the archbishop of York, in the year of our Lord 1175.

The custom was in this realm, that if any had killed any clerk or priest, he was not to be punished with the temporal sword, but only excommunicated and sent to Rome for the pope's grace and absolution. Which custom in the days of this king began first to be altered by the procurement of Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, in the year of our Lord 1176.

London bridge first began to be made of stone by one Peter, priest of Colechurch, in the year 1176.

St. William of Paris was slain of the Jews on Maundy Thursday; wherefore the Jews were burned and he counted a saint, A.D. 1177.

Ireland subdued to the crown of England by this king, A.D. 1177.

Under the reign of the said King Henry, about the five and twentieth year of his reign, Ludovicus the French king, by the vision of Thomas Becket appearing unto him in his dreams, and promising to him the recovery of his son, if he would resort unto him at Canterbury, made his journey into England to visit St. Thomas at Canterbury, with Philip, earl of Flanders; where he offered a rich cup of gold, with other precious jewels, and one hundred vessels of wine yearly to be given to the convent of the church of Canterbury; notwithstanding the said Philip in his return from England, taking his journey to Paris to visit St. Denis, in the same his pilgrimage was stricken with such cold, that he fell into a palsy, and was benumbed of the right side of his body. A. 1178.

Stephanus episcopus Redomonsis was wont to make many rhymes and gaudish prose to delight the ears of the multitude: to whom a little before his death this verse was sounded in his ear: *Desine ludere temere, nitere propere surgere de pulvere*, A.D. 1178.

Albingenses denied transubstantiation in the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, about the city of Tholouse; also that matrimony was not a sacrament, &c., in the year of our Lord 1178.

King Henry separated himself from his wife Eleanor, and held her many years in prison, as some think, for the love of Rosamond. Which seemeth to me to be the cause why God afterward stirred all his sons up to war against him, and to work him much sorrow, in the year 1179. Notwithstanding the said Eleanor was shortly after reconciled to him.

St. Frideswide was translated unto Oxford in the year 1179.

In the year 1180, there came to the council of Pope Alexander one Pisanus Burgundio, a man very cunning both in Greek and Latin, which brought and presented to the council the Homilies of Chrysostom upon the Gospel of St. John, translated out

of Greek into Latin, and said that he translated likewise a great part of his Exposition upon Genesis; saving, moreover, that the said Chrysostom had made expositions in Greek upon the whole Old Testament, and also the New.

The monks of Charterhouse first entered into this land in the year 1180.

In the year 1181, Richard Pech, bishop of Coventry, before his death renounced his bishopric, and became a canon in the church of St. Thomas by Stafford.

About the latter time of this King Henry, one Hugo, whom men were wont to call St. Hugh Lincoln, born in Burgundy, and prior of the monks of Charterhouse, was preferred by the king to the bishopric of Lincoln, who after his death is said to do great miracles, and therefore was counted a saint, A.D. 1186.

Baldwinus, archbishop of Canterbury, began the building of his new house and church of Lambeth; but, by the letters of Clement the Third, he was forbidden to proceed in the building thereof, A.D. 1187.

I do find likewise in the foresaid written chronicle, remaining in the hands of one William Cary, citizen of London, that this forenamed king, Henry the Second, gave to the court and Church of Rome, for the death of Thomas Becket, forty thousand marks of silver, and five thousand marks of gold, in the year of our Lord 1187.

Mention was made a little above of Almarike, king of Jerusalem, which destroyed Babylon, so that it was never after to this day restored, but lieth waste and desolate, wherein was fulfilled that which in the prophets in so many places was threatened to Babylon before. This Almarike had a son named Baldwin, and a daughter called Sibylla. Baldwin from the beginning of his reign was a leper, and had the falling sickness, being not able for feebleness of body (although valiant in heart and stomach) to satisfy that function.

Sibylla his sister was first married to one Willermus, marquis of Mount Ferrat, by whom she had a son, called also Baldwinus. After him, she was married to another husband, named Guido de Liziniaco, earl of Joppe and of Ascalon. Upon this it befell, that the foresaid Baldwin the leper, son of Alinaricus, being thus feeble and infirm, as is said, called his nobles together, with his mother and the patriarch, declaring to them his inability, and by the consents of them committed the under-government of the city unto Guido, the husband of Sibylla his sister. But he being found insufficient, or else not lucky in the government thereof, the office was translated to another named Raimundus, earl of Tripolis. In the mean time, the soldan with his Saracens mightily prevailed against the Christians, and overran the country of Palestina; in which mean time Baldwin the king departed. Whereby the kingdom fell next to Baldwinus, the son of Sibylla by her first husband Willermus; the which Baldwinus, being but five years old, was put to the custody of Raimundus aforesaid. Who also in his minority, before he came to his crown, died; where by the next succession by descent fell to Sibylla, the wife of Guido above mentioned. The peers and nobles, joining together in council, offered unto the said Sibylla, as to the lawful heir to the crown, that she should be their queen, with this condition, that she should sequester from her by solemn divorcement the foresaid Guido her husband; but she refused the kingdom offered to her on that condition, till at last the magistrates, with the nobles in general, granted unto her, and by their oaths confirmed the same, that whomsoever she would choose to be her husband, all they would take and obey as their king. Also Guido her husband, with like petition among the rest, humbly requested her, that the kingdom for his sake, or for his private loss, might not be destitute of government. At length she, with tears consenting

to their entreaty, was contented, and solemnly was crowned their queen, who after the manner again received their fidelity by their oath. Whereupon Guido, without all hope both of wife and kingdom, departed home quietly to his own. This done, the queen, assembling her states and prelates together, entered talk with them about the choosing of the king, according to that which they had promised and sworn unto her, and to obey him as their king whom she would name to be her husband. Thus, whilst they were all in great expectation, waiting every man whom she would nominate, the queen with a loud voice said to Guido that stood amongst them, Guido my lord, I choose thee for my husband, and yielding myself and my kingdom unto you, openly I protest you to be the king. At these words all the assembly, being amazed, wondered that one simple woman so wisely had beguiled so many wise men. And worthy was she, no doubt, to be commended and extolled for her singular virtue, both of faithful chastity and high prudence: so tempering the matter, that both she obtained to her husband the kingdom, and retained to herself again her husband, whom she so faithfully loved, A.D. 1186.

44. Person and Character of Henry II.

As I have hitherto described the public acts of King Henry, so now I mean to touch something of his private conditions. He was of mean stature, eloquent and learned, manly and bold in chivalry, fearful of the mutability and chance of war, more lamenting the death of his soldiers dead than loving them alive; none more courteous and liberal for the obtaining of his purpose, in peace and tranquillity none more rough; stubborn against the stubborn, sometimes merciful to those whom he had vanquished; strict to his household servants, but liberal to strangers; publicly of public things liberal, sparing of his own; whom once he took a displeasure against, hardly or never would he receive again to favour: somewhat lavish of his tongue, a willing breaker of his promise, a lover of his ease, but an oppressor of his nobility, a severe revenger and furtherer of justice, variable of word, and crafty in his talk, an open adulterer, a nourisher of discord amongst his children; moreover, the papists bearing him (for Thomas Becket's quarrel, and such-like, as may be gathered) no good will, term him to be an adversary of the faith, the mall and beetle of the church.

Also in the chronicle entitled *Scala Mundi*, I find of him, that he followed the steps, manners, and conditions of Henry the First, his grandfather, in every point. He preserved firm peace and executed strict justice through all his dominions. He loved marvellous well his forests; and again those that were transgressors, either to his crown or person, he most severely punished.

Moreover, in a certain history entitled *De Regibus Angliæ*, I find that this king was sundry times admonished to reform and amend his life, and first by one that was an old man in the castle of Cardiff in Wales, at that time of the year called *Dominica in albis*, the eighth day after Easter; where also after that he had heard mass, and was going to take his horse, there stood a certain man by him, somewhat yellowish, (his hair being rounded, lean and ill favoured,) having on a white coat, and being barefoot, who looked upon the king, and spake on this wise: Good old king, (that done, thus he proceedeth,) the King saluteth you and his blessed mother; John Baptist and Peter straitly charge you, that upon the Sundays throughout all your dominions there be no buying and selling, or other servile business, (those only except which appertain to the preparation of meat and drink,) which thing if thou shalt observe, whatsoever thou takest in hand, thou shalt happily finish and bring to pass. Then spake the king in French unto the knight that held his horse by the bridle; Ask of this churl whether he dreamed this or not. And in the mean while that the knight should have interpreted the king's words and message, he spake before and said, Whether this be a dream or not, mark well what day this is; for unless that thou do these things and amend thy life, such news shalt thou hear within these twelve months, that will make thee lament and mourn till thy dying day. And when these words were spoken, the man vanished out of his sight; and within one year next after, Henry, Gaufrid, and Richard, his sons, forsook him their father, and took part with the French king. The king of Scots, the earl of Chester, and earl of Leicester, made an insurrection against the king. Many other premonitions were given also to the king, but all these did he little esteem. The second which did admonish him, was a certain Irishman, giving him certain secret signs. And thirdly, a certain knight of Findeseie, named Philip de Easterbie, sailing with him over into France, declared unto the king in Normandy seven articles which he should amend. Which thing if he would do, he should reign seven years most

honourably, and should take the holy cross from his enemies; or else he, in the fourth year, should die in a great ignominy. The three first things were these, which he at his coronation swore to observe; that is, to defend the church, to maintain good laws, and to condemn no man to death without judgment. The fourth was, for the restoring of inheritance wrongfully taken; the fifth was, in doing justice without reward; the sixth was, of ministers' and officers' wages and stipends; the seventh was, of expelling the Jews, leaving them some money to depart withal. But the king not amending his life, there rose up against him three strong enemies; that is to say, his three Sons with the French king. But after that the king forsooth had gone on pilgrimage to the martyr's tomb barefoot, William, king of Scots, and the earls of Chester and Leicester, were taken at Alnwick.

In the five and thirtieth year of his reign, being in the castle of Chiven in Normandy, he died: at whose death those that were present were so greedy of the spoil, that they left the body of the king naked, and not so much could be found as a cloth to cover it, till that a page coming in, and seeing the king so ignominiously to lie, threw his cloak upon his nether parts; wherein, saith the author, was verified the surname which from his youth he bare, being called Henry Court Mantil.

45. Richard I. Massacre of Jews at the Coronation. Riot in York Cathedral



IN this year of the Lord above recited, which was 1189, King Richard, the eldest son of Henry the Second, succeeding his father, entered his crown; at which time Pope Clement sat at Rome, succeeding after Gregory, which died a little before with sorrow for the loss of the holy cross.

During the time of whose coronation it befell, that notwithstanding the king, the day before his coronation, by public edict commanded both the Jews and their wives not to presume either to enter the church, or else his palace, during the solemnization of his coronation, amongst his nobles and barons, yet (whilst the king was at dinner) the chieftain of the Jews, with divers other of his Jewish affinity and superstitious sect, against the king's prohibition, together with other persons, entered the court gates. Whereat a Christian man being offended, struck one of them with his hand or fist, and bade him stand further from the court gate, as the king had given in commandment; whose example others also following, being displeased against the Jews, offered them the like contumely. Others also, supposing that the king had so commanded indeed, as using the authority of the king, fell upon all the Jews that stood by without the court gate. And first they beat them with their fists, but afterwards they took up stones and such other things as they could get, and threw at them, and beat them therewith; and thus driving them from the court gates, some of them they wounded, some they slew, and some they left for dead.

There was amongst this number of the Jews one which was called the blessed Jew of York, which was so sore wounded and beaten with the rest, that, for fear of his life, he said he would become a Christian, and was indeed of William, the prior of the church of St. Mary of York, baptized; whereby he escaped the peril of death he was in, and the persecutors' hands. In the mean while, there was a great rumour spread throughout all the city of London, that the king had commanded to destroy all the Jews. Whereupon as well the citizens as innumerable people more, being assembled to see the king's coronation, armed themselves and came together. The Jews thus being for the most part slain, the rest fled into their houses, where for a time, through the strong and sure building of them, they were defended. But at length their houses were set on fire, and they destroyed therein.

These things being declared to the king, whilst he with his nobles and barons were at dinner, he sendeth immediately Ranulfe de Glanville, the lord high steward of England, with divers other noble men, to accompany him, that they might stay and refrain these so bold enterprises of the Londoners; but all was in vain; for in this so great a tumult, none there was that either regarded what the nobility said, or else any whit revered their personages, but rather with stern looks and threatening words advised them (and that quickly) to depart. Whereupon they, with good deliberation thinking it the best so to do, departed; the tumult and insurrection continuing till the next day. At which time also the king, sending certain of his officers into the city, gave

them in commandment to apprehend and present some such as were the chiefest of the malefactors; of the which three were condemned to be hanged, and so were; the one, for that he had robbed a Christian's house in this tumult, and the other two for that they fired the houses, to the great danger of the city. After this, the king sent for him that from a Jew was converted to Christianity, and, in the presence of those that saw where he was baptized, the king asked him whether he was become a Christian or not. He, answering the king, said, No: but, to the intent he might escape death, he promised to do whatsoever the Christians would have him. Then the king asked the archbishop of Canterbury (other archbishops and bishops being present) what were best to be done with him. Who unadvisedly answering said, If he will not be a man of God, let him be a man of the devil; and so revolted he again to Judaism.

Then the king sent his writs to the sheriffs of every county, to inquire for the authors and stirrers of this outrage. Of whom three were hanged, divers were imprisoned. So great was then the hatred of Englishmen against the Jews, that as soon as they began to be repulsed in the court, the Londoners, taking example thereof, fell upon them, set their houses on fire, and spoiled their goods. The country again, following the example of the Londoners, semblably did the like. And thus the year which the Jews took to be their jubilee, was to them a year of confusion; insomuch as in the city of York, the Jews obtaining the occupying of a certain castle for their preservation, and afterward not willing to restore it unto the Christians again, when they saw no other remedy but by force to be vanquished, first they offered much money for their lives; when that would not be taken, by the counsel of an old Jew amongst them, every one with a sharp razor cut another's throat, whereby a thousand and five hundred of them were at that present destroyed. Neither was this plague of theirs undeserved; for every year commonly their custom was to get some Christian man's child from the parents, and on Good Friday to crucify him, in despite of our religion.

King Richard, after the death of his father, coming unto remembrance of himself, and of his rebellion against his father, sought for absolution of his trespass, and, in part of satisfaction for the same, agreed with Philip the French king, about Easter next ensuing, to take his voyage with him for the recovery of Christ's patrimony, which they called the Holy Land. Whereupon the said King Richard immediately after his coronation, to prepare himself the better towards his journey, set to sale divers of his manors, whereof Godfrey Lucy, then bishop of Winchester, bought a couple for two thousand marks, to wit, Wergrave and Melenge. The abbot of Bury bought another for a thousand marks, called Middlesay. Hugh Pusaz, bishop of Durham, bought the lordship of Seggesfield, or Sedberga, with the wapentake, and all the appurtenances thereto be longing; he bought also the earldom of Northumberland; whom when the king should solemnize after the manner of secular earls, merrily with a mocking jest, Lo, (said he,) of an old bishop I have made a young earl. And because the said bishop had professed before by a solemn vow to visit the Holy Land, to be released of his vow, he compounded with the pope for a great sum of money therefore, and moreover gave to the king a thousand marks to remain at home, as the chief justice of England, Over and besides, the king set out all that he had to sale, woods, castles, townships, lordships, earldoms, baronages, &c.; ordaining also divers new bishops, and not without some advantage (as appeared) to his purse; feigning moreover his old seal to be lost, that they which had lands to hold might be driven to renew their writings again by the new seal, whereby great substance of money was gained.

Above all this, by the commandment of Pope Clement the Third, a tenth also was exacted of the whole realm, in such sort, as the Christians should make to the king seventy thousand pounds, the Jews sixty thousand. King Richard, after his coronation, sent certain earls and barons unto Philip the French king in the time of his parliament at St. Denis, desiring him to remember his promise made for the recovery of Christ's holy patrimony out of the Saracens' hands. Unto whom he sent word again in the month of December, certifying him how he had bound himself by solemn oath, deposing upon the Evangelists, that he, the next year following, about the time of Easter, had certainly prefixed to address himself towards that journey; requiring him likewise not to fail, but to be ready at the term above limited, appointing also the place where both the kings should meet together.

The next year then ensued, which was 1190, in the beginning of which year, upon Twelfth even, fell a foul northern brawl, which turned well near to a fray, between the archbishop new elected of the church of York, and his company, on the one side, and Henry, dean of the said church, with his catholic partakers, on the other side, upon occasion as followeth: Gaufridus, or Geoffrey, son to King Henry the Second, and brother to King Richard, whom the king had elected a little before to the archbishopric of York, upon the even of Epiphany, which we call Twelfth day, was disposed to hear even-song with all solemnity in the cathedral church; having with him Hamon the chanter, with divers canons of the church. Who tarrying something long, belike in adorning and attiring himself, in the mean while Henry the dean and Bucardus the treasurer, disdainingly to tarry his coming, with a bold courage lustily began their holy even-song, with singing their psalms, ruffling of descant, and merry piping of organs. Thus this catholic even-song with as much devotion begun, as to God's high service proceeding, was now almost half complete, whenas at length (they being in the midst of their mirth) cometh in the new elect with his train and guards, all full of wrath and indignation, for that they durst be so bold, not waiting for him, to begin God's service; and so eftsoons commanded the choir to stay and hold their peace. The chanter likewise by virtue of his office commandeth the same. But the dean and treasurer on the other side willed them to proceed; and so they sung on, and would not stint. Thus the one half crying against the other, the whole choir was in a roar; their singing was turned to scolding, their chanting to chiding; and if instead of the organs they had had a drum, I doubt they would have sol-faed by the ears together.

At last, through the authority of the archbishop and of the chanter, the choir began to surcease and give silence. Then the new elect, not contented with that had been sung before, with certain of the choir began the even-song new again. The treasurer, upon the same, caused by virtue of his office the candles to be put out; whereby the even-song, having no power further to proceed, was stopped forthwith. For like as without the light and beams of the sun there is nothing but darkness in all the world; even so you must understand the pope's church can see to do nothing without candle-light, albeit the sun do shine never so clear and bright. This being so, the archbishop, thus disappointed on every side on his purpose, made a grievous plaint, declaring to the clergy and to the people what the dean and treasurer had done, and so upon the same suspended both them and the church from all Divine service, till they should make to him due satisfaction for their trespass.

The next day, which was the day of Epiphany, when all the people of the city were assembled in the cathedral church, as their manner was, namely, in such feasts, devoutly to hear Divine service (as they call it) of the church, there was also present the archbishop and the chanter, with the residue of the clergy, looking when the dean

and treasurer would come and submit themselves, making satisfaction for their crime. But they, still continuing in their stoutness, refused so to do, exclaiming and uttering contemptuous words against the archbishop and his partakers. Which when the people heard, they in a great rage would have fallen upon them; but the archbishop would not suffer that. The dean then and his fellows perceiving the stir of the people, for fear, like pretty men, were fain to flee, some to the tomb of St. William of York, some ran unto the dean's house, and there shrouded themselves, whom the archbishop then accursed. And so for that day the people returned home without any service.

After this, King Richard, preparing to set all things in an order before his going, committed the whole government of the realm principally to William, bishop of Ely, his chancellor, and to Hugh, bishop of Durham, whom he ordained to be the chief justice of all England in his absence, the one to have the custody of the Tower, with the oversight of all other parts of the land on this side of Humber, the other (which was the bishop of Durham) to have charge upon all other his dominions beyond Humber, sending moreover unto Pope Clement in the behalf of the foresaid William, bishop of Ely, that he might be made the pope's legate through all England and Scotland; which also was obtained. Thus the bishop being advanced in high authority, to furnish the king towards his setting forth, provideth out of every city in England two palfreys and two sumpters, and also out of every abbey one palfrey and one sumpter.

These things and other thus set in a stay, the king, according to his former appointment, about the time of Easter, sailed into France, where the French king and he conferring together, because they could not make ready at that time of Easter, concluded to take a longer day, proroguing their voyage till after Midsummer. In which mean time, the king occupying himself in redressing and stablishing such things as further were to be ordered there determined that Gaufridus and John, his brethren, should not enter into England in three years after his departure; nevertheless he released that bond afterward to his brother John. Then he appointed the captains and constables over his navy, and set laws to be observed in his journey upon the seas; but especially his care was to make unity and concord between parties that were at variance, and to set them together at one. At which time the long contention began also to be appeased, which so many years had continued between Baldwinus, archbishop of Canterbury, and his monks of Christ's church; the discourse whereof, although it be somewhat tedious to be set forth at large, being enough to make a whole tragedy; yet to the intent the age now present may see what great conflicts and disquietness, upon what little trifles, have been stirred up, what little peace and unity hath been not only in this church, but commonly in all other churches under the pope's catholic regiment, I thought it not labour ill bestowed somewhat to intermeddle in opening to the eyes of the reader the consideration of this matter. Wherein first is to be understood, that the archbishops of Canterbury, commonly being set up by the pope, especially since the time of the conquest, have put the kings of this land to much sorrow and trouble, as appeared by William Rufus and Lanfranc, and also Anselm; by Henry the First and Anselm, King Stephen and Theobald, Henry the Second and Becket, &c. For which the kings of this land have used the more care and circumspection to have such archbishops placed in the see, as either should stand with them, or at the least should not be against them.

46. Dispute between the Archbishop and Abbot of Canterbury

Now to the purpose of our matter intended. First, after Lanfranc, who was archbishop twenty years, the see standing vacant five years, succeeded Anselm, and sat seventeen years; after whom, the see standing vacant four years, succeeded Rodulphus, and continued nine years; then followed William, who sat twelve years, and died in the year 1137: after whom came Theobaldus in the time of King Stephen. This Theobaldus, being no great favourer of the monkish generation, fell out with Jeremias, prior of the house of Canterbury, for certain causes between them. for which the archbishop, taking stomach against the prior, would lay the sentence of interdiction against him. The prior seeing that, to save himself, made his appeal to Pope Innocent. The archbishop, provoked the more by that, deposed him from the priorship, and placed one Walter in his room. Jeremias, notwithstanding, making his complaint and appeal to Rome, obtained letters from the pope to Henry, bishop of Winchester, being the pope's legate: by the virtue whereof he, against the heart of the archbishop, was restored, and Walter displaced. Nevertheless, the said Jeremy, not willing there to continue with displeasure of the archbishop, shortly after of his own accord renounced his priory, and Walter again was received in his stead. Not long after this followed the general council at Rhemes, in the year 1140. To the which council Theobald, contrary to the commandment of the king, would needs resort, to show his obedience to the pope. Wherefore, at his returning home again, the king took such displeasure with him, that within a while after the archbishop was driven to avoid the realm, and flee into France; where he, by censure of interdiction, suspended divers churches and religious houses which refused to come to the council; and also hearing how the king had seized upon all his goods, he interdicted likewise all the king's lands, whatsoever belonged to the crown: so that the king in conclusion was fain to compound with him, and fall to agreement, which was about the year 1148.

After this, in the year of our Lord 1151. after the death of Hugh, abbot of St. Austin's in Canterbury, Silvester was elected by the convent to be their abbot, in the reign of King Stephen. Which Silvester, when he came unto Theobald the archbishop to make his profession of subjection unto him, and to receive of him consecration, the archbishop was contented, so that the abbot would come to Christ's Church in Canterbury, and there make his profession. But to this Silvester in no case would grant to take his consecration there; but else in any other church, wheresoever the archbishop would, he was contented. Whereunto when the archbishop in no wise would agree, Silvester making a great bag of money, went to Rome, where he obtained of the pope for money (for what cannot money do at Rome?) letters that the archbishop should consecrate the abbot in his own church of St. Austin, and also not exact of him any profession of canonical subjection. Whereupon the archbishop was compelled against his will to come to the abbot's church, and there at the pope's commandment to consecrate him simply, and without any further profession to be required.

Then Walter, prior of Christ's Church in Canterbury, seeing that, and perceiving how prejudicial and derogatory the example thereof would be to the honour and majesty of their church, through counsel of his brother went thither; and notwithstanding the doors were straitly watched and kept, yet by means he at last got

in. And as he saw the archbishop attired in his pontificalibus, ready to minister consecration to the abbot, he stepped straight to the archbishop, and eftsoons appealeth him to Rome, for the great injury wrought against the church of Canterbury; forbidding him, in the name of him to whom he appealed, not to proceed any further. And so this holy consecration was for the present time stayed. For the which Silvester with a new purse of money was fain to travel and trot again to Rome, where he complaining of the archbishop, and accusing him of contempt of the pope, in not executing the commandment set down, obtaineth again new letters with more effectual charge to the foresaid archbishop, that he, without any profession, simply should give to Silvester his consecration in his own church, all manner of stay, or let, or appellation to the contrary notwithstanding. And so, in conclusion, the abbot, contrary to whatsoever the archbishop and all the monks of Canterbury could do, was in his own church made abbot, and had the victory for that time. Notwithstanding, the archbishop left not the matter so, but within five years after obtained of Pope Adrian, that Silvester should make profession of his obedience to the archbishop, and so he did.

In few years after this, died King Stephen, A.D. 1154, and after him Theobald the archbishop, A.D. 1159, after he had sat three and twenty years; after whom, through the instant procurement of King Henry the Second, was placed Thomas Becket, the king's chancellor, A.D. 1162, of whose sturdy rebellion against the king, because sufficient hath been said before, it shall not need to make a double labour now about the same.

After the death of Becket, much ado there was between King Henry and Odo, prior of Canterbury, about the election of a new archbishop. For the king seeing the realm so oftentimes encumbered by those popish archbishops, and fearing lest the monks of Canterbury should elect such another as would follow the steps of Thomas Becket, most humbly, with cap in hand, and courtesy of knee, desired Odo the prior, that at his request, and for contentation of his mind, such a one might be elected whom he would appoint (appointing and naming a certain bishop, which was a good simple man after the king's liking); but the prior dissemblingly answering the king again, that he neither could nor would without the consent of his convent give promise to any man, in fine, contrary to the king's so humble request, agreed to the election of another, which was the prior of Dover, called Richard, A.D. 1173, who continued in that see eleven years.

And here was renewed again the like variance between this archbishop and Roger, abbot of the Austin monks in Canterbury, as was before mentioned between Theobaldus and Silvester. For when the said Roger, after his election to be abbot. must needs take his consecration at the archbishop's hand, neither would the archbishop grant it unto him, unless he made profession of obedience, according to the ancient custom of his predecessors: then Roger, consulting with his monks, first denied so to do, but at length was contented, so it might not be done in the archbishop's church, but in any other church where he would, underwriting this clause withal, *Salvis utriusque ecclesie privilegis*, that is, Saving the privileges of both churches. To this the archbishop said again, first, that he should make his due and canonical profession, and that he should not come to him with writing or underwriting, but should say in his heart, *Salve sancta parens*, or *Salve festa dies*, not *Salvis privilegiis*, or any such-like thing. Whereunto when the Austin monks in no case would consent, nor the archbishop otherwise would grant his benediction, Roger, the abbot, was fain to post

to Rome, and there, to bring the archbishop in hatred in the court of Rome, made his abbey tributary to Pope Alexander.

The pope, well contented with this, not only granteth the abbot his desire, but also, in contumely of the archbishop, dubbeth the abbot with all such ornaments as to a prelate appertain; and so in the year 1178 sent home the abbot triumphantly with his ring and mitre, and other ensigns of victory, with letters also to the archbishop, enjoining him immediately upon the sight thereof to consecrate the abbot in his own church, and without making any profession. Although with these letters the archbishop was shrewdly pressed, yet notwithstanding his stout heart would not stoop for this; but he laid his appeal against the same, and so the consecration for that time was suspended.

Then Roger, for his more defence, getting the king's letters, travelled up the second time to Rome, where grievously he complained to Pope Alexander of the archbishop. At the same time a general council was summoned to be kept at Lateran, where Richard, the foresaid archbishop, was also looked for amongst other bishops to be present. Who then came as far as Paris; but, being there, durst approach no further, and so retired home again. Whereupon the pope being offended with his contempt, without any more delay exalted the abbot with his own consecration, and invested him with all pomp and glory; howbeit providing before that the said consecration should redound to no prejudice against the liberties of the mother church of Canterbury, and so upon the same wrote to the archbishop his letters of certificate with this addition annexed, Saving the liberties and dignity of the church of Canterbury, &c.

After the council ended, Roger, the abbot, returneth home, although with an empty purse, yet full of victory and triumph. The archbishop, again thinking to work some grievance to the Austin monks, had procured in this mean time letters from Pope Alexander unto the bishop of Durham, and abbot of St. Albans, that they should cause the said Roger, abbot of the Austin monks, to show unto the archbishop all the old privileges of his house; which indeed, being showed, seemed to be rased and new written, with points of lead, not after the manner nor style of that age, nor pretending any such antiquity as should seem to reach from the time of Austin, but rather newly counterfeit.

All this notwithstanding, the abbot, bearing him bold upon the pope's favour, ceased not still to disquiet and overcrow the archbishop by all ways he could, in exempting all his priests and laymen, belonging to his jurisdiction, from the archbishop's obedience; forbidding also that any of his should come to his chapters or synods, or fear any sentence of his curse or excommunication. Whereupon the archbishop, about the month of November the same year, sailing over to Normandy where the king was, thought to take his journey to the pope to complain of the abbot; but being stayed by the king, he was not suffered to pass any further, the king labouring what he could to bring them to agreement. Nevertheless the pope and his Romans, (saith my story,) caring more for gold and silver than for justice, still stirred coals of sedition and debate between them.

The next year after this ensuing, which was the year of our Lord 1184, died Richard the archbishop aforesaid, in the eight and thirtieth year of King Henry the Second. After whose decease much trouble happened about the election of a new archbishop, between the king and monks of Canterbury. And now to enter here into the story of Baldwin above mentioned; first the king sent to the monks. that they should consider with themselves about the election of their archbishop, and to be ready

against the time that he would send for them to the court. Upon this the convent, gladly assembling together, agreed in themselves upon one, whom they thought chiefly to prefer: yet naming four more, that if the king would refuse one, the other yet might stand. Now the practice in the monks was, first, to keep the election only in their own hands, as much as they could. And, secondly, ever to give the election either to some prior or monk of their own house, or to some abbot or bishop which sometime had been of their company. Whereby as much inconvenience and blind superstition was bred in the Church of England, so the same disliked both the king and the bishops not a little.

As this passed on, the king, when he saw his time, willed the monks of Canterbury to be cited or sent for, to understand what they had concluded in their election. Whereupon the monks sent up their prior, called Alanus, with certain other monks, to Reading, where the king then lay, about the month of August. Who at first were courteously entertained; but after the king had intelligence whom they had nominated and elected, they were sent home again with cold cheer, the king willing them to pray better, and to advise more earnestly upon the matter amongst themselves. Alanus the prior with his fellows thus departed; who coming home, in conclusion, so concluded amongst themselves, that they would remit no jot of their liberties to the king without the pope's consent and knowledge. The king understanding hereof, sent his ambassadors likewise to the pope, for the fortifying of his cause, being in the mean time grievously offended with the prior, saying that he was proud, and would make archbishop whom he listed, and would be the second pope in England, &c.

Not long after this, as these letters were sent up to Rome, the king sent for Alanus the prior, and more of the monks, to come to him; whom he entreateth, desiring them in gentle speech, that they would show so much gentleness and favour to him, being their lord and king, as becometh his friends and subjects to do, as to confer with the bishops of the realm about this matter, and to take some betwixt counsel, so as might redound to God's glory, his honour, and wealth of the public state, with other like words to the same effect.

To whom when the prior had answered again with thanks and due reverence, according to the king's request, the bishops and monks went to confer together about the matter. And, first, the bishops marvelled why the monks should exclude them out of the election, seeing they were professed and suffragans to the said church of Canterbury: Neither is there any prince, quoth the bishop of Bath, that will refuse our counsel. There be some councils, said the monks, whereat you may be called; but as touching the doing of this election, it pertaineth not unto you, further than to publish only and denounce the party whom we have chosen. The bishop of London then asked if they had already made an election. No election, said the prior, as yet, but only we have denominated the persons. Then have ye proceeded further, quoth he, than ye ought, having commandment from the pope not to proceed without us. And with that was brought forth the pope's letter. commanding that within forty days the bishops of England, and the prior and convent of Canterbury, should elect an able and fit person to their archbishop. About the scanning of these letters was much ado. The bishops said they were first named, and therefore ought to have most interest in this election. The monks said again, that they also were not excluded, and required to have a transcript of the letter, whereof much doubt was made.

After long contention, when they could not agree, the king, coming between them both, called away the bishops from the monks, supposing, by separating the one

from the other, to draw both parties to his sentence. But that would not be; for the monks, stiffly standing to their liberties, would lose no pre-eminence of their church, still alleging how, by the ancient privileges of the church of Canterbury, the convent should choose their pastor and bishop, and the prior was but to publish and denounce the person. The bishops again replied, that it was their right to appoint their archbishop and metropolitan, which were bishops and suffragans; and, namely, the bishop of London also being dean of the said church of Canterbury. The king then, as umpire between them, yet favouring rather the side of the bishops, desired them to agree together in peace. When that would not prevail, he set the lord steward and other noblemen to entreat the prior to draw to some agreement; at least to be contented with this form of election, which was, that the bishop of London or some other bishops should declare the election in these words.

"We bishops, and the prior and convent of Christ's church in Canterbury, with the assent of our lord the king, do choose such a person to be archbishop," &c. Or else thus; that the prior should pronounce forth the election in these words, saying, "The bishops of England. and I, prior, and the convent of Canterbury, with the assent of our lord and king, do choose such a person." &c.

Upon this, the prior said he would consent with his convent. Who with much ado were content to grant to the king's desire; but afterward, being required to put down the same in writing, that they refused to do; yet notwithstanding relented at last to the king. But when the bishops made excuses for the absence of their fellow bishops, so the matter for that time stayed; and the king, sending home the monks again to their house in peace, deferred that business to a further day, which was till the first day of December; commanding the prior with his fellows the same day not to fail, but to be at London about the choosing of the archbishop.

As the day prefixed came, the prior with his company were also present, who giving attendance all that day and the next day also following, so were driven off till the third day after. At length the lord steward, with other nobles of the realm. were sent unto them from the king to declare, that whereas the king before had divided the bishops from the monks, that they both might have their election by themselves, after the form of a bill which was put down in writing: now the mind of the king was, that the monks, taking another way, should join with the bishops, and so, having the matter in talk together, should proceed jointly in the election.

Against this many things were alleged by the prior and his mates, complaining much upon the bishops, which said that the bishops had ever holden with the kings against the liberties of their church and archbishops. As, first, they stood against Anselm for King William: then against Theobald for King Stephen; after that, against Thomas Becket for King Henry: and after him, did supplant the election of Richard their archbishop: and now again went about to practise and work against this their election present, &c. At last the prior, with his fellows, concluding, desired they might speak with the king himself. Who, eftsouns coming unto them, willed them as good men to be contented, and go talk with the bishops about the election; promising that whom they agreed upon, he also would grant his assent unto the same. To whom when the prior again had objected the writings that before were made, Truth it is, (said the king,) such writings were made, but I neither may nor will go against the council of my realm; and therefore agree, said he, with my bishops and abbots, and remember that the voice of the people is the voice of God.

Upon this the prior with his monks, seeing no other remedy, went to the bishops to confer, according to the king's request, about the election; who then were willed by the bishops to nominate whom they would, and the bishops would likewise name theirs. So that when the prior, with his complices, had named three, after their choosing the bishops said they would nominate but one; and so did, which was the bishop of Worcester, willing the prior to go home, and to confer with his convent about the same. To whom shortly after the bishops sent certain priests, to signify to the convent, that they, according to the pope's letters, should repair to the bishops concerning the election of the archbishop; also declared moreover to them, that the persons whom they had named were good men; but he whom they had to nominate was a more worthy man, whom they both had nominated, and also would elect. The monks, marvelling hereat, sent two monks with the archdeacon of Canterbury to the king.

This done, immediately after the return of the priests, the bishops caused all the bells of the city to be rung, and *Te Deum* to be sung for the archbishop new elect. Whereof when the two monks brought tidings to the convent at Canterbury what was done at London, they were all in a marvellous dump. The king hearing this, and perceiving the stiffness of the monks, in all haste sent messengers to Canterbury with gentle words, to will the prior to come to the king, and certify him of the purpose of his monks; unto whom the prior, eftsoons being come, declareth, in the name of the whole convent, that in no case he nor the monks would ever, while the world stood, agree to that election of the bishops; unless the king in his own person would come to Canterbury, and there openly, before the whole convent, protest by his own mouth the foresaid election to be nought and void; and so, returning to London again, openly likewise before the clergy and the people would repudiate and reject the same; and furthermore, that the party also elected should open y in the same place protest and say, that he neither would nor ought to take that function upon him, unless he entered by the consent of the prior and convent of Canterbury; and all this to be done in the same place where the bishops had made their election before; and so peradventure, (said they,) at the king's so earnest suit and request, they would gratify his will, and ratify the said election with the voices of their consent, To make the story short, after great hold between the secular clergy on the one side, and the regular order on the other side, and after the king's indignation against the prior, and the swooning of the prior before the king, at length the king, to take up the matter, and to save the prior's life, was fain to perform in his own person all those conditions above prescribed by the monks.

And thus have ye heard the tragical election of the bishop of Worcester, named Baldwin, made archbishop of Canterbury. Now what a troublesome time the said Baldwin had with the monks in governing the church of Canterbury, here followeth likewise not unworthy to be considered.

In the first year the archbishop showed himself friendly and loving to the monks; the next year following he began to appear somewhat rough unto them. The manner then was of the house of Christ's Church, toward the time of the Nativity and of Easter, to receive certain presents or gifts of their farmers or tenants, which the cellarer should take and lay up. Those presents the archbishop began first to intercept from the monks, and to bestow them upon his secular clerks. After this, he took three churches or benefices, (which the monks claimed as proper to themselves,) and placed in them three of his chaplains. After this, he encroacheth to his hands certain

tenements, revenues, and victuals, belonging before to the monks, (as they said,) and committed the custody thereof to certain of his own clerks and household servants.

The monks, which had home so much with the archbishop before, seeing this, could forbear him no longer, but needs would make their appeal against him. The archbishop, not much regarding that, waxed thereby more fierce against them, in somuch that such farms and tenements as he before had let alone, now he received to his own occupying, with many other grievances wherewith he greatly vexed the monks, so that three abbots were fain to come and reconcile the archbishop and the monks; which reconciliation was this, that the monks should let fall their appeal, and the archbishop should restore again to them their farms and tenements. But as touching the benefices and the presents, the archbishop still kept them in his hands, for a further trial of their obedience and patience. Nevertheless, some there were of the ancient monks which in no case would give over the foresaid appeal, before the archbishop made a full restitution of all together.

After this agreement, such as it was, between the monks and him, the archbishop soon after sent up to Rome one of his chaplains, (unto whom he had given one of the benefices afore mentioned,) partly for confirmation of his benefice, partly also to obtain licence for the archbishop to build a church, which he intended to erect of secular priests, near unto the town of Canterbury. Which being obtained of the pope, the archbishop, not a little glad thereof, began now more and more to war fierce against the monks, not only in taking from them their churches and oblations, but also in aggravating the whole state of their house, which he intended either to subvert, or greatly to diminish, to pluck down the pride and stubbornness of the monks. Wherefore, taking with him certain other bishops, (whom he knew bare no good will to that monkish generation,) he went to the king, declaring how he had a good purpose in his mind to erect a new and a solemn church, in the honour of St. Thomas of Canterbury, of secular priests or canons; and therefore desired of the king to have his favourable licence to the same. The king right well perceiving the purpose of the archbishop whither it tended, as to the bridling of the stiffnecked monks, was the, more willing to give assent, if he were not also the chief worker of that matter himself.

The intent of the archbishop in planting of that new church was, to found there divers prebends, and to make both the king, and every bishop being his suffragans, prebendaries thereof, so that every one of them should confer one prebendship to the same foundation; minding there to consecrate bishops, to make his chrismatory, to celebrate his synods, and to administer all other things belonging unto the function of his see, and the same to be called Hakington church. The monks, not ignorant how the archbishop privily intended the desolation and subversion of their house and liberties, consulting upon the matter, determined at length among themselves to appeal to the see of Rome, namely, for these three causes against the archbishop: First, for spoiling them of their gifts and oblations; secondly, for depriving them of their churches and benefices; and thirdly, for erecting a new foundation of secular canons, to the derogation and overthrow of their religious order; giving admonition to the archbishop before by their monks sent to him of this their appellation. To whom the archbishop answered, that the foundation which he went about was to no derogation, but rather to the fortification and honour, of their house. Who answered again, that it was, and could not otherwise be, but to their subversion. And what should let me then, (said the archbishop,) but I may build in mine own ground what I will? No, (said they,) no ground of yours, but your ground is our ground, as all other things that you have by right are ours, forsomuch as you have them not of yourself, but of the church and for

the church's cause. All which things have been given neither to you, nor to the archbishops, but unto the church of Christ; and therefore (said they) all such as appertain unto us inwardly and outwardly, with the persons also, and the whole state of our church, we submit unto the pope's protection, and now here make our appeal to the see apostolic, assigning also the term when to prosecute the same.

The archbishop receiving this appellation, and saying that he would answer to the same either by himself, or by his responsal, within three days after, which was the sixteenth of December, came to Canterbury; where the monks understanding how he was in mind to place new secular priests in the church of St. Stephen, where the monks had served before, came to the church to stop the proceeding of the archbishop by way of appeal. Whereof the archbishop having warning before, deferred the matter till the next day after. On which day the monks, again being sent by Honorius the prior into the church, charged the archbishop, in the name of Almighty God, and by virtue of their appeal made to the apostolic see, to surcease those his doings; charging also the parson of the church in no wise to suffer those secular clerks to be admitted into the church. All which yet notwithstanding the archbishop proceedeth in his business, And, first, placing in his clerks, he suspendeth the prior from his administration. Then he adjureth the porters of the gate, upon their oath. to let none of the monks pass out of the house without his licence. The monks likewise he commanded, by virtue of obedience, not to stray any where abroad without his leave. And furthermore, one of the foresaid monks, which served the appeal against him, he utterly banished from that convent. Upon this, the day next following, Honorius the prior, trusting (saith the story) on God and St. Thomas, took his way to Rome, sent in commission by the convent, to prosecute the appeal against the archbishop.

In this mean season a new war began between the said archbishop and the monks about their rents and revenues, which the archbishop would have committed to the receiving and keeping of three monks, but the sub-prior Geoffrey, with the convent, in no case would suffer that; whereabout there was a foul stir. The archbishop, craving the aid of the king, first had three bishops sent down to him, of Coventry, Norwich, and Worcester. Who, being instant with the monks to submit their cause into the king's hands, like as the archbishop had done, they utterly refused it; especially seeing they had already referred the whole state of their cause to the determination of the apostolical see. The king, seeing no other remedy, came himself with the archbishop into the chapter house; where he commanded first the doors to be kept fast, that none should enter but which by name were called for. Amongst whom were two bishops, to wit, of Norwich and Durham, and one Peter Blessensis, a learned man, (whose epistles be yet extant in libraries,) a chief worker in this matter against the monks. Then was called in Geoffrey the sub-prior, with a few other monks whom he brought with him, The king then first talking with the archbishop and his company, and afterwards with the monks, laboured to entreat them that they would let fall their appeal, and so stand to the arbitrement of him and of the bishops, concerning the cause which was between the archbishop and them in traverse.

To this the monks answered, that these were good words, but served not for that time, forasmuch as their cause was already translated to the court of Rome, and now was presently in hearing before the pope's Holiness; and therefore they could not, nor would, do that injury to their lord pope, to refuse him, and to put the matter unto the judgment of any other. Then was it required of the monks, that they would put the matter in compromise, in case the prior would consent thereto; upon this intent, that if the prior consented, and the monks not, then should they run in contempt and

disobedience; or if the monks would consent, and the prior not, then should the prior be excluded the realm. The wily monks, being not unprovided of this subtlety, made their answer, that seeing they had sent their prior forth in their commission, it stood not with their honesty to give any determinate consent, without the knowledge and before the return of the said prior; unless the archbishop first would promise to make full restitution of all that he had wrongfully wrested from them. When the king could get no other answer of the monks, neither could move the archbishop to release the sentence of their suspension, unless they would confess and acknowledge their fault, he, so parting from them, passed over into France.

Not long after this came a messenger from Rome, bringing letters from Pope Urban to the archbishop, wherein the pope considering and tendering (as he said) the enormous grievances done against the monks, straitly enjoined and commanded him, within ten days after the receiving thereof, to release the sentence of his suspension against the prior and others of the said convent, and also to retract and restore again to the monks whatsoever he plucked from them since the time of their appeal first made. Who in case he should deny, or neglect the doing hereof, commission was given to three abbots, of Battle, of Feversham, and of St. Austin's, with ample authority to perform the same, &c. The archbishop, receiving these letters, brought to him by a monk of the foresaid house, first made his excuse, that the pope was misinformed. But the monks, not contented with that excuses when they would needs know what answer he would make to the pope's nuncio, his answer was, that he had yet ten days given him of the pope. In which mean time the archbishop went to London, and there in the church of St. Paul consecrated his holy oil and cream, (making one of the pope's seven sacraments,) which was grievously taken in the church of Canterbury. At last the ten days being ended, when the archbishop refused to accomplish that which was in the pope's letter enjoined him, the three abbots aforesaid, to execute the pope's commandment, came at their day assigaed to Canterbury, and there assoiled all such as the archbishop before had suspended, and in the end certified Pope Urban by letters what they had done.

The archbishop hearing this, within four days after sent two of his clerks, which appealed the three abbots aforesaid up to Rome; and he himself in the mean time prepared busily for the building up of his church, sending to all churches in England, upon releasement of their sins, to confer unto the same; and, to make the more haste. For lack of free-stone he made up his building with timber, and such other stuff as he could get.

The prior, Honorius, all this while remained still at the court of Rome, giving attendance upon the pope; who, having intelligence of the archbishop's doings, procured another letter of Pope Urban to the whole clergy of England, straitly enjoining them, that none should confer to the new fraternity of Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury. To these letters the archbishop showed such reverence, that where before he had planted his chapel of wood and boards, now he provided the same to be builded of lime and stone.

By this time Peter Blessensis, with other messengers of the archbishop, seeing Honorius the prior to be gone from the court of France, resorted to the court of Rome, bringing with them letters of credit from the king, from the archbishop, and also from other bishops of the realm; but the pope, reading only the king's letters, and the archbishop's, the residue he cast into a window by, saying he would read them at further leisure. Then the pope giving audience in his consistory to hear their cause,

first came in Peter Blessensis with the agents of the archbishop, exhibiting their letters and propounding their requests to the pope, which were, that restitution should be made by the monks to the archbishop, wherein they had injured him. Item, that the things which had been granted before to the prior in that court might be called in again. Thirdly, that the archbishop might have licence to proceed in building his college of canons, &c. After this was called in M. Pilleus, the attorney for the monks of Canterbury. Who, alleging many great things against the archbishop for his contempt and disobedience to the pope's precepts, required that he should make restitution to the monks for his injuries done to them; and also that his new foundation of secular canons, tending to the overthrow of the conventual church of Canterbury, should be utterly razed and thrown down to the ground. Thus between these parties pleaing and repleaing one against the other, much hard hold there was; but in conclusion, for all the king's letters, and for all that the archbishop and bishops could do, the matter went on the monks' side. So that there was no remedy, but the pope would needs have the archbishop's new building come down, and the monks to be restored again to their full possessions. The execution whereof was committed to the three abbots aforesaid, to wit, of Battle, of Feversham, of St. Austin's in Canterbury, and to Geoffrey, sub-prior of Canterbury.

Which things being thus determined at Rome, then Radulph Glanville, lord steward of England, writing to the said abbot of Battle, and to the subprior and convent of Canterbury, commandeth them in the king's name, and upon their oath and fealty given unto him, that they nor any of them do proceed in this controversy between the monks and the archbishop of Canterbury, before they come and talk with him, there to know further of the king's pleasure; and furthermore charging the convent of Canterbury not to enter further in any examinations as concerning the archbishop's matters; and also citing the sub-prior of the said house, to appear before him at London, at the feast of St. James the same year, which was 1187. Notwithstanding he, excusing himself by sickness, sent two monks in his stead, and so kept himself at home. To whom commandment was given, that the monks of Canterbury within fifteen days should sail over to Normandy to the king, and there show the tenor and evidences of their privileges; and also that such stewards and bailiffs whom they had placed in their farms and lordships, contrary to the will of the archbishop, should be removed. And likewise the three abbots in the king's name were commanded in no wise to execute the pope's commandment against the archbishop. Not long after this the archbishop took shipping at Dover, and went over to the king, where he ordained three principal officers over the monks of Christ's Church, the sacrist, the cellarer, and the chamberlain, contrary to the will of the convent, with other grievances more, whereby the monks were not a little offended, so that upon the same they made a new appellation to the pope. Whereupon Pope Urban, by the setting on of Honorius the prior, who was now come again to the court, wrote to him another letter after a sharper and more vehement sort, to the effect as followeth.

"In that we have borne with your brotherhood hitherto, and have not proceeded in such grievous manner against you as we might, although being thereto greatly provoked, the chiefest cause was this, that we supposed your heart would have relented from the oppression of the conventual church of Canterbury committed unto you, if not for our reverence, which you seem to have contemned more than became you, yet at least for fear of God's judgment. For well we hoped, our conscience persuading us to the same, that after you had obtained that high state and dignity in the Church of England, you would have been an example to others of obedience and

reverence to be given to the see apostolic of all ecclesiastical persons. Wherefore at the first beginning both of our and also of your promotion, we did not spare to advance and honour you as we have done few others besides, thinking no less but that we had found a faithful friend of the church for our honour. Wherein we perceive now (which maketh us not a little to marvel) our expectation greatly deceived. And whom we well trusted to be a sure stay for the maintenance of our estate, him now we find a persecutor against us in our members.

"For whereas we sundry times have written to you in the behalf of our brethren, and the church committed to your charge, that you should desist from disquieting them, and not vex or disturb their liberties, at least for reverence of us; you not only in this. but in other things more, (as commonly is reported of you in all places,) set at light our letters, and appellations made unto the apostolical see. What you have wrought against them after their so manifold appellations laid unto us, and our inhibitions again unto you, we are ashamed to utter. But revolve and consider in your mind, if ye have well done, and advise in your own conscience what you have done. We for our part, because we neither may nor ought with deaf ears to pass over the clamours of the brethren, and such contempt of the apostolic see; although our biddings and warnings given to you seem to be all in vain, yet notwithstanding we send our mandates again unto your brotherhood, in these apostolical writings, directly and in virtue of obedience commanding you, that whether you be present in your church, or absent, all that notwithstanding, whatsoever you have done in building of your chapel, (which you to the destruction of the monastery of Canterbury have erected) after the time of their appeal made to us, or our inhibition sent to you, you fail not of your proper costs and charges to demolish; undoing again, and making void, whatsoever ye have begun and innovated concerning the institution of the canons, and other things belonging to the erection of the said chapel; accounting, moreover, and reputed the place where the chapel was to be accursed and profane; and also that all such, whosoever have celebrated in the same place, shall stand suspended till the time they appear before our presence. Commanding furthermore, that all those monks whom you have presumed to remove from their office, or to excommunicate, since the time of their appeal made, you restore and assoil again; renewing also and restoring all such farms, manors, tenements, and oblations as you, after their appeal made, have inveigled from them; and, finally, that you innovate nothing touching the state of that monastery during the time of this controversy depending before us. Giving you to understand, that in case you shall continue in your stubbornness and rebellion upon this present warning, or defer the execution of this precept thirty days after the receiving hereof, we shall appoint others to execute the same; enjoining also your suffragans, that as you shall show yourself disobedient and rebelling to us, so they all shall refuse likewise to give any obedience or reverence unto you," &c.

Another letter besides this the pope also sent to the three abbots aforesaid for the correction of these enormities. Likewise another letter was sent to King Henry the Second, wherein the pope enjoineth and requireth him, upon remission of his sins, not to dissemble and bear with the archbishop in his oppression of his monks, but to help that those things may be amended, where he hath trespassed against them.

These pontifical letters were written A.D. 1187, the third day of October; and in the nineteenth day after, the same month, the said Pope Urban died. In the which year, and about the which month, Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, was taken with many noblemen of Soldan the Saracen, and Jerusalem lost, after that it had been in the

possession of the Christians, and so continued the space of eightyeight years and eighty days, from the time that Godfridus Bolonius did first win it from the infidels.

After the receiving of those letters of Pope Urban above specified, both the king and archbishop, with all the bishops of the realm, were marvellously quailed, glad now to please and speak fair to the monks, promising all things to be done and restored to them after the best sort. Neither was the king now and archbishop so submiss; but the monks on the other side were as brag and jocund, being fully assured that all now was their own. In the narration of which history (as it is set in Gervasius at large) this we have to note by the way. in what fear and thraldom kings in those days were under the pope, who could not be masters over their own subjects, but that every pilled monk, or pelting prior, upon virtue of their appeal to the court of Rome, and making their house tributary to the pope, was able not oaly to match, but to give checkmate unto the best king christened, as not in this story only may appear.

It followeth then in the story of these monks, that as they were thus in the midst of their joy and jollity, suddenly cometh news of the death of Pope Urban, their great calipha, and also how that Gregory the Eighth was placed in his room. who was a special friend and favourer of the archbishop; which as it did greatly encourage the king and the archbishop, so the monks on the other side were as much discomforted, so that now all was turned up side down. For whereas the king and the archbishop before thought they had lost all, and were glad to compound with the monks and to seek their favour; now were the monks on the contrary side fain to crouch to the king, and glad to have a good countenance; who then resorting to him, and finding him altered both in word and gesture, desired he would confirm and grant that which of late before he had promised. To whom it was answered again by the king, that seeing the archbishop had granted to them their sacrist, their chamberlain, and their cellarer, they should have no more restored of him; neither would he suffer the liberties and privileges of the archbishop to be impaired or take any wrong. And touching the new chapel of St. Thomas, (said he.) whereabouts ye strive so long. with the canonships and other buildings belonging thereto, the same I receive into my hands, so that none shall have anything to do therein but my self, &c. In like manner of the archbishop such another like answer they received, and of bishops little better. So the monks, sent away with a flea in their ear, went home again out of Normandy to their cell.

Now the archbishop, having the monks where he would, wrought them much grievance; but that continued not very long. For within two months after, and less, died Pope Gregory the Eighth, about the sixteenth day of December following. After whom succeeded Pope Clement the Third, who, following the steps of Urban, bent all his power with the monks against the archbishop, sending divers precepts and mandates in the year next following, which was the year 1188, with an imperious letter, willing and commanding him to desist from his oppression of the monks, and to throw down his new chapel. Whereupon the archbishop made his appeal, and minded to go to Rome; but was called back of the king, being ready to sail over. In the which year Honorius the prior died at Rome of the plague, which was some help and comfort to the archbishop, for whom the archbishop made Roger Noris prior, against the wills of the convent. After this, about the latter end of the same year, Pope Clement sent down his legate, called Radulphus, a cardinal, to Canterbury with another letter more sharply written to the same effect unto the archbishop.

Furthermore, in the year next after, which was 1189, he wrote also the third letter to him. In the which year also died King Henry the Second; after whom

succeeded King Richard his son, who, joining likewise with the archbishop, took his part strongly against the said monks. At last, after much ado on both parts, and after great disturbance, and imprisoning divers of the monks, King Richard, preparing his voyage towards Jerusalem, and studying first to set peace between them, consulted and agreed with the bishops and abbots about a final concord in this matter between the archbishop and monks of Canterbury; which at length on both parts was made, upon these conventions which follow.

1. That Roger Noris should be deposed, whom the archbishop had made prior against their wills; whom the king then at the request of the archbishop promoted to be abbot of Eusham. 2. Item, that the archbishop should pluck down his chapel, which he builded in the suburbs of Canterbury, against the minds of the monks. 3. Item, that the foresaid monks should make profession of their obedience and subjection to the archbishop, as they had done to his other predecessors before him. 4. Item, as touching all other complaints and injuries, except only the chapel. and deposition of Roger Norris, the prior.) the monks should stand to the arbitrement of the king, of the archbishop, and the prelates. 5. Item, that the monks, kneeling down before the king in the chapter-house, should ask the archbishop forgiveness. Which being done, they went all together to the church, and sang *Te Deum* for this reformation of peace.

The next day after the archbishop, coming into the chapter, restored to the convent their manors and farms again; also he discharged the prior which he had made before; desiring them likewise, that if he had offended them either in word or deed, they would from their heart remit him. This reconciliation being made between the archbishop and the convent, then the archbishop going about to dissolve the building of his new church, though he changed the place, yet thought not to change his intent; and therefore making exchange of lands with the bishop and monks of Rochester. purchased of them their ground in Lambeth, A.D. 1191. Which done, he came to his clerks whom he had placed to be canons in his new college of Hakington, and also willed them to remove all their goods and furniture to Lambeth over against Westminster, where he erected for them another church, and there placed the said canons. About which college of Lambeth afterwards much trouble likewise ensued, by the stirring of the said monks of Canterbury, in the time of Hubert the archbishop. in the reign of the said King Richard. and in the year of our Lord 1196. Furthermore, after the deposing of Roger Noris, prior of Canterbury aforesaid, Baldwin the archbishop, enforced to grant them another prior, by the assent of the king and of the convent assigned Osbernus to be their prior, who had taken part before with the archbishop; but the monks, not pleased with him, after the death of Baldwin the archbishop removed him again.

And thus have you the tedious discourse of this catholic tragedy. between the monks of Canterbury and their archbishop, scarce worth the rehearsal; notwithstanding. this I thought to give the reader to see of purpose, first, to show forth unto the world the stout sturdiness of this monkish generation, who, professing profound humility in their coat, what little humility they had in their heart, what pride and arrogancy in their conversation, and what hypocrisy in their religion, this one example among a thousand others may give some experience. Se condly, that the posterity now may see how little kings could then do in their own realms for the pope. And thirdly, to the intent it may more notoriously appear to all readers what strife and de bate, what dissension and division, what little unity and concord, hath always followed the pope's catho lic church, wheresoever the corrupt religion and usurped ambition of the pope prevailed. For, not to speak only of this monkish house of

Canterbury, what church cathedral, collegiate, or conventual, what see, church, monastery, or chapel, was under all the pope's government, but ever there happened some variance, either between the king and the archbishop, as between King William and Lanfranc, King Henry the First and Anselm, King Stephen and Richard, King Henry the Second and Becket, King John and Stephen Langton, King Henry the Third and Boniface, &c.? or else between archbishop and archbishop, for making profession, for carrying the cross, for sitting on the right hand of the popes legate, &c.? or else between archbishops and their suffragans, or between archbishops and their convents, or between bishops and monks, between dean and chapter, between monks and secular priests, monks of one sort against another, friars of one order against another, students against friars, townsmen against scholars, &c.? As, for example, what discord was between the archbishop of Canterbury and Richard, archbishop of York; between Lanfranc and Archbishop Thomas; between Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, and Silvester, abbot of St. Austin's; between Walter of Christ's Church, and Silvester, abbot aforesaid; between William, archbishop of Canterbury, and Jeremias. prior of Canterbury, A.D. 1144; between the monks of Canterbury and Odo their prior, for translating the relics of Dunstan; between King Stephen and Roger, bishop of Salisbury, the bishop of Lincoln and Roger, bishop of Ely, his son, A.D. 1138; between Pope Innocent and Anacletus the space of seven years, the cardinals for money (saith Gervasius) sometimes holding with the one, sometimes with the other; at last the election was determined by a sore battle between Lotharius, emperor, and Rogerius, duke of Apulia, A.D. 1137; also between Pope Innocent the Fourth, and Frederic the Second, emperor; between King Henry the Third and William Rale, bishop of Winchester, when the king had the gates of Winchester town to be shut against him, A.D. 1250; between Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury, and canons of St. Paul: item, between the said Boniface and monks of St. Bartholomew, who sat there in harness in his visitation, A.D. 1250; between the abbot of Westminster and monks of the same house, A.D. 1251: item, between the foresaid Wiffiam Rale, bishop of Winchester, and Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury, for a priest of the hospital in Southwark, A.D. 1252; between the said Boniface and canons of Lincoln after the death of Robert Grossthead, for giving of prebends, A.D. 1253; between the monks of Coventry and canons of Lichfield, for choosing their bishop in the time of King Henry the Third?

And what should I speak of the discord which cost so much money between Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, and the monks of Rochester, for choosing Richard Wandor to be their bishop, A.D. 1328; between Robert Grossthead, bishop of Lincoln, and canons of the same house, for which both he and they were driven to travel to Rome, A.D. 1244; between Gilbert, bishop of Rochester, delegate to Archbishop Baldwin, and Robert, the pope's legate, for sitting on the right band of the legate in his council at Westminster, A.D. 1190; between the abbot of Bardeny and the said Grossthead about the visitation of their abbey, A.D. 1242: item, between the convent of Canterbury and the said Robert, bishop of Lincoln, A.D. 1243; between Hugo, bishop of Durham, and Hubert, bishop of Sarum, and Geoffrey, archbishop of York, A.D. 1189; between William, bishop of Ely, the king's chancellor, and the canons of York, for not receiving him with procession, A.D. 1190; between the abbot of Westminster and his convent of black monks, whom King Henry the Third had much ado to still and agree, A.D. 1249: item, between the foresaid bishop of Lincoln and the abbot of Westminster; likewise between Nicholas, bishop of Durham, and John, abbot of St. Alban's, A.D. 1246; also between Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury. and the monks there for the house of Lambeth, A.D. 1146? And what a stir was between the

preaching friars and the grey friars, mentioned in Matthew Paris, for superiority, A.D. 1243; also between the said grey friars and the prelates and doctors of Paris about nine conclusions, condemned of the prelates to be erroneous?

1. Concerning the Divine essence, that it cannot be seen of the angels or men glorified.
2. Concerning the essence of the Holy Ghost.
3. Touching the proceeding of the Holy Ghost, as he is love.
4. Whether men glorified shall be in *cælo empyreo*, or in *cælo crystallino*.
5. That the evil angel at his first creation was evil, and never good.
6. That there have been many verities from the beginning which were not of God.
7. That an angel in one instant may be in divers places.
8. That the evil angel never had whereby he might stand, no more had Adam in his state of innocency.
9. That he which hath *meliora naturalia*, that is to say, more perfect strength of nature working in him, shall have more full measure of necessity to obtain grace and glory. To the which articles the prelates answering, did excommunicate the same as erroneous, affirming that grace and glory shall be given according to that God hath elected and predestinated, &c.

In like manner, between the said Dominic friars and the grey friars, what a brawl and tumult was about the conception of our Lady, whether she was without original sin conceived or not, in the reign of King Henry the Seventh, and King Henry the Eighth? Add moreover to these the four and twenty heinous schisms, and not so few, which happened between pope and pope in the Church and see of Rome. But what do I stand to recite the divisions and dissensions of the pope's church, which is as much almost as to reckon the sands of the sea? For what church, chapter, or convent was in all that religion, which either had not some variance with themselves or with others? Upon which continual strife and variance among them, the readers hereof may judge of them and their religion as pleaseth them; in the mean time, my judgment is this, that where such dissension dwelleth, there dwelleth not the Spirit of Christ.

47. Richard I. (Contd.) The Crusade

These things thus discoursed touching the tragical dissension between Baldwin, the archbishop, and the monks of Canterbury; now let us proceed, by the Lord's assistance, in continuing of our story. After King Richard had thus, as is declared, set the monks and the archbishop in some agreement, and had composed such things as were to be redressed within the realm, he advanced forward his journey, and came unto Turaine, to meet with Philip the French king; and so after that went to Vizelay; where the French king and he joining together, for the more continuance of their journey, assured themselves by solemn oath, swearing fidelity one unto the other; the form of whose oath was this: That either of them should defend and maintain the honour of the other, and bear true fidelity unto him of life, members, and worldly honour; and that neither of them should fail one the other in their affairs: but the French king should aid the king of England in defending his land and dominions, as he would himself defend his own city of Paris, if it were besieged; and that Richard, king of England, likewise should aid the French king in defending his land and dominions, no otherwise than he would defend his own city of Rouen, if it were besieged, &c.

But how slenderly this oath did hold between these two kings, and by whose chief occasion first it fell asunder, the sequel of the history (the Lord willing) shall declare hereafter.

Furthermore, touching the laws and ordinances appointed by this King Richard for his navy, the form thereof was this:

1. That whosoever killed any person on ship-board should be tied with him that was slain, and thrown into the sea.
2. And if he killed him on the land, he should in like manner be tied with the party slain, and be buried with him in the earth.
3. He that shall be convicted by lawful witness to draw out his knife or weapon, to the intent to strike any man, or that hath stricken any to the drawing of blood, shall lose his hand.
4. Also, be that striketh any person with his hand, without effusion of blood, shall be plunged three times in the sea.
5. Item, whoso speaketh any opprobrious or contumelious words, in reviling or cursing one another, for so oftentimes as he hath so reviled shall pay so many ounces of silver.
6. Item, a thief or felon that hath stolen, being lawfully convicted, shall have his head shorn, and boiling pitch poured upon his head, and feathers or down strewed upon the same, whereby he may be known; and so the first landing-place they shall come to, there to be cast up, &c.

These things thus set in a readiness, King Richard sending his navy by the Spanish seas, and by the straits of Gibraltar between Spain and Africa, to meet him at Marsilia, he himself went (as is said) to Vizelay, to the French king. Which two kings from thence went to Lyons, where the bridge over the flood Rhodanus with press of people brake, and many both men and women were drowned. By reason whereof the

two kings, for the cumbrances of their trains, were constrained to dissever themselves for the time of their journey, appointing both to meet together in Sicily; and so Philip the French king took his way to Genoa, and King Richard to Marsilia, where he remained eight days, appointing there his navy to meet him. From thence crossing over to Genoa, where the French king was, he passed forward by the coast of Italy, and entered into Tiber, not far from Rome, where meeting with Ottomanus, the cardinal and bishop of Hostia, he did complain greatly of the filthy simony of the pope and the pope's court, for receiving seven hundred marks for consecrating the bishop Cenomanensis; also a thousand and five hundred marks of William, the bishop of Ely, for his office legantine; and likewise an infinite sum of money of the bishop of Bourdeaux, for acquitting him when he should be deposed for a certain crime laid to his charge by his clergy, &c.

The seventh day of August, in the year aforesaid, King Richard departed out of Marsilia, after he had there waited seven days for his navy, which came not; and so hiring twenty galleys, and ten great barks, to ship over his men, sailed by the sea-coast of Italy, and came to Naples, and so partly by horse and waggon, partly by the sea, passing to Falernum, he came to Calabria; where, after that he had heard his ships were arrived at Messina, in Sicily, he made the more speed; and so the three and twentieth of September sent to Messina, with such a noise of trumpets and shawms, with such a rout and show, that it was to the great wonderment and terror, both of the Frenchmen, and all others that did hear and behold the sight.

To the said town of Messina the French king was come before the sixteenth day of the same month of September, and had taken up the palace of Tancredus, king of Sicily, for his lodging. To whom King Richard after his arrival eftsoons resorted; and when the two kings had communed together, immediately the same day the French king took shipping and entered the seas, thinking to sail toward the land of Jerusalem. But after he was out of the haven, the wind arising contrary against him, returned him back again to Messina. Then King Richard, (whose lodging was prepared in the suburbs without the city,) after he had resorted again, and talked with the French king, and also had sent to Tancredus, king of Sicily, for deliverance of Joan his sister, (who had been some time queen of Sicily,) and had obtained her to be sent unto him, the last day of September passed over the flood of Delfar, and there getting a strong hold, called De la Bagmare, or Le Bamre, and placing therein his sister, with a sufficient garrison, he returned home again to Messina. The second of October King Richard won another certain stronghold, called Monasterium Griffonum, situated in the midst of the river of Delfar, between Messina and Calabria; from whence the monks being expulsed, he reposed there all his store and provision of victuals, which came from England or other places.

The citizens of Messina, seeing that the king of England had won the castle and island in De la Bagmare, and also the monastery of the Griffons, and doubting lest the king would extend his power further to invade their city, and, if he could, all the whole isle of Sicily, began to stir against the king's army, and to shut the Englishmen out of the gates, and keep their walls against them. The Englishmen, seeing that, made to the gates, and by force would have broken them open; insomuch that the king riding among them with his staff, and breaking divers of their heads, could not assuage their fierceness; such was the rage of the English men against the citizens of Messina. The king, seeing the fury of the people to be such as he could not stay them, took boat, and went to the palace of King Tancred, to talk of the matter with the French king. In

which time the matter was so taken up by the wise handling of the ancient of the city, that both parties laying down their armour went home in peace.

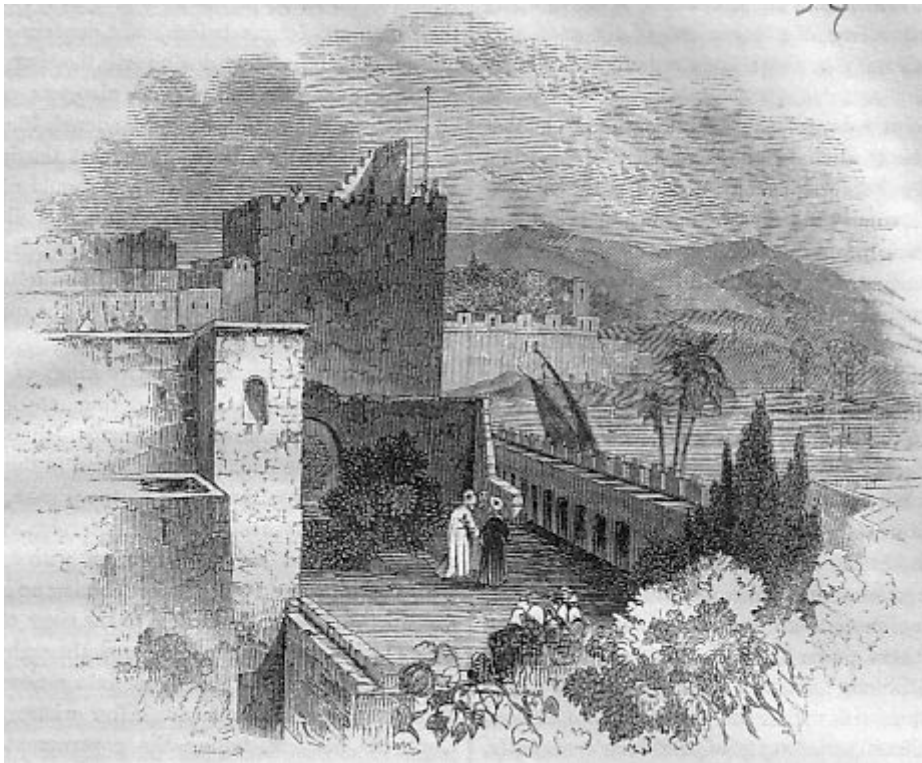
The fourth day of the said month of October came to King Richard the archbishop of Messina, with two other archbishops, also with the French king, and sundry other earls, barons, and bishops, for obtaining of peace. Who, as they were together consulting, and had almost concluded upon the peace, the citizens of Messina issuing out of the town, some went up upon the mountains, some with open force invaded the mansion or lodging of Hugh Brun, an English captain. The noise whereof coming to the ears of the king, he, suddenly breaking off talk with the French king and the rest, departed from them; and coming to his men, commanded them forthwith to arm themselves; who then with certain of his soldiers making up to the top of a mountain, (which seemed to pass their power to climb,) there put the citizens to flight, chasing them down the mountain, unto the very gates of the city; whom also certain of the king's servants pursued within the city, of whom five valiant soldiers, and twenty of the king's servants, were slain, the French king looking on, and not once willing to rescue them, contrary unto his oath and league before made with the king of England. For the said French king with his men, being there present, rode in the midst of them safely and without harm, to and fro, and might well have eased the king's party more than he, if it had so liked him.

This being known to the English host, how their fellows were slain, and the Frenchmen permitted in the city, and that they were excluded, and the gates barred against them, being also stopped from buying of victuals and other things; they upon great indignation gathered themselves in arms, burst open the gates, and scaled the walls, and so winning the city, set up their flags with the English arms upon the walls. Which when the French king did see, he was mightily offended; requiring the king of England, that the arms of France might also be set up and joined with his; but King Richard to that in no case would agree. Notwithstanding, to satisfy his mind, he was well contented to take down his arms, and commit the custody of the city to the Hospitallers and Templars of Jerusalem, till the time that Tancred king of Sicily and he should agree together upon conditions.

These things being done the fifth and sixth day of October, it followed then, upon the eighth day of the same month of October, that peace among the kings was concluded. In which peace, first, King Richard and Philip the French king renewed again their oath and league before made concerning their mutual aid and society during all the time of that peregrination. Secondly, peace also was concluded between King Richard and Tancred, king of Sicily aforesaid, with this condition, that the daughter of Tancred (in case King Richard should die without issue) should marry Arthur, duke of Brittany, the king's nephew, and next heir to his crown. Whereof a formal chart was drawn and letters sent thereof to Pope Clement, being dated the ninth day of November.

In this mean time, as these two kings of France and England were thus wintering at Messina, Frederic, emperor, first of that name, (the same on whose neck Pope Alexander did tread in the church of Venice, saying the verse of the Psalm, *Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis*, &c., whereof read before,) and his son Conradus, with a mighty army of Almans and others, were coming up likewise toward the land of Jerusalem to the siege of Acre; where by the way the good emperor, through a great mischance, falling off his horse into a river called Salef, was therein drowned. After whose decease Conradus his son, taking the government of his army, came to the siege

of Acre; in which siege also he died. Upon whose coming such a dearth followed in the camp, which lasted two months that a loaf of bread, which before their coming was sold for one penny, was afterward sold for three pounds; by reason whereof many Christian soldiers did there perish through famine. The chiefest food which the princes there had to feed upon was horse flesh. This famine being so miserable, some good bishops there were in the camp, namely, Hubert, bishop of Salisbury, with certain other good bishops, who, making a general collection through the whole camp for the poor, made such a provision, that in this penury of all things, yet no man was so destitute and needy, but somewhat he had for his relief; till within a few days after, by the merciful providence of God, (who is the feeder of all creatures,) ships came unto them with abundance of corn, wine, and oil.



Acre

The siege of this town of Acre endured a long season, which as it was mightily oppugned by the Christians, so it was strongly defended by the Saracens, specially by the help of wild fire, which the Latins call *Græcum ignem*, so that great slaughter there was on both sides. During the time of which siege, many noble personages and also bishops died, among whom was Conradus the emperor's son, Radulph, earl of Fougiers, the earl of Pericio, Robert, earl of Leicester, Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, with four archbishops, and divers other bishops, abbots, earls, and also barons, to the number of four and thirty, and not so few. All this while King Richard and King Philip of France still kept at Messina in Sicily, from the month of September till April, for lack (I suppose) of wind or weather, or else for necessity of repairing their ships. In which mean time King Richard, hearing of Joachim, abbot of Curacio, a learned man in Calabria, (who was then thought to have the spirit of prophecy, and told many things of a people that should come,) sent for him, with whom he and his bishops had much conference about the coming and time of antichrist. This Joachim belike in his

book and revelations uttered some things against the see and pride of Rome; for the which he was less favoured of the popes, and judged an enemy to their see, and so by Pope Innocent the Third was condemned with his books for a heretic, in his idolatrous general Council of Lateran, A.D. 1215, as ye may read in Antoninus.

After this, Henricus, king of Almans, son of Frederic the emperor, hearing of the decease of his father, standing now to be emperor, first restoreth to Henry, duke of Saxony, and to others, whatsoever his father before had taken from them. That done, he sent unto Clement and his cardinals, promising in all things to confirm the laws and dignities of the Church of Rome, if they would grant him their assent to be emperor. Whereupon Pope Clement, by advice of the Romans, assigned him the term of Easter in the next year ensuing for his coronation. But before the Easter came, Pope Clement died, after he had sat three years, and about four months; after whom succeeded Celestinus the Third; of whom more hereafter, God willing.

The time thus passing over, in the month of February, the next year following, which was of the Lord 1191, King Richard sent over his galleys to Naples, there to meet his mother Eleanor, and Berengaria, the daughter of Sanctius, king of Navarre, whom he was purposed to marry. Who by that time were come to Brundisium, under the conduct of Philip, earl of Flanders; and so proceeding unto Naples, there found the king's ships, wherein they sailed to Messina. In this mean space King Richard showed himself exceeding bounteous and liberal unto all men. To the French king first he gave divers ships; upon others likewise he bestowed rich rewards; and of his goods and treasure he distributed largely unto his soldiers and servants about him. Of whom it was reported that he distributed more in one month than ever any of his predecessors did in a whole year; by reason whereof he purchased great love and favour, which not only redounded to the advancement of his fame, but also to his singular use and profit, as the sequel afterward proved.

To proceed then in the progress of King Richard, it followeth, in the first day of the month of March, he, leaving the city of Messina, where the French king was, went to Cathnensium, a city where Tancredus, king of Sicily, then lay, where he was honourably received, and there remained with King Tancredus three days and three nights. On the fourth day, when he should depart, the foresaid Tancredus offered him many rich presents in gold and silver, and precious silks; whereof King Richard would receive nothing, but one little ring, for a token of his good will. For the which King Richard again gave him a rich sword. At length, when King Richard should take his leave, King Tancredus would not so let him part, but needs would give him four great ships, and fifteen galleys; and furthermore, he himself would needs accompany him the space of two days' journey to a place called Tavernium.

Then the next morning, when they should take their leave, Tancredus declared unto him the message which the French king a little before had sent unto him by the duke of Burgundy, the contents whereof was this: That the king of England was a false traitor, and would never keep the peace that was between them. And if the said Tancredus would war against him, or secretly by night would invade him, he with all his power would assist him, and join with him, to the destruction of him and all his army, &c. To whom Richard the king protested again, that he was no traitor, nor ever was; and as touching the peace begun between them, the same should never be broken through him; neither could he believe that the French king, being his good lord and his sworn compartner in that voyage, would utter any such words by him. Which when Tancredus heard, he bringeth forth the letters of the French king sent to him by the

duke of Burgundy; affirming moreover, that if the duke of Burgundy would deny the bringing of the said letters, he was ready to try with him by any of his dukes. King Richard receiving the letters, and musing not a little upon the same, returneth again to Messina. The same day that King Richard departed, the French king cometh to Tavernium to speak with Tancredus, and there abode with him that night, and on the morrow returned to Messina again.

From that same time King Richard, moved in stomach against King Philip, never showed any gentle countenance of peace and amity, as he before was wont. Whereat the French king greatly marvelling, and inquiring earnestly what should be the cause thereof. word was sent him again by Philip, earl of Flanders, what words he had sent to the king of Sicily; and for the testimony thereof the letters were showed which he wrote by the duke of Burgundy to the king of Sicily. Which when the French king understood, first he held his peace, as guilty in his conscience, not knowing well what to answer. At length, turning his tale to another matter, he began to quarrel with King Richard, pretending as though he sought causes to break with him, and to malign him; and therefore he forged these lies upon him, and all because he by that means would avoid marrying with Alice his sister, according as he had promised; adding, moreover, that if he would so do, and would not marry the said Alice his sister, according to his oath, but would marry another, he would be an enemy to him and his while he lived.

To this King Richard said again, that he could by no means marry that woman; forsomuch as his father had carnal copulation with her, and also had by her a son; for proof whereof he had there presently to bring forth divers and sundry witnesses to the king's face, to testify with him. In conclusion, through counsel and persuasion of divers about the French king, agreement at last was made; so that King Philip did acquit King Richard from his bond of marrying his sister; and King Richard again should be bound to pay to him every year; for the space of five years, two thousand marks, with certain other conditions besides, not greatly material in this place to be deciphered. Thus peace being between them concluded, the eight and twentieth day of the said month of March, the French king, launching out of the haven of Messina, on the two and twentieth day after, in Easter-week, came with his army to the siege of Acre.

After the departure of the French king from Messina. (King Richard with his army yet remaining behind,) arrived Queen Eleanor the king's mother, bringing with her Berengaria, the king of Navarre's daughter, to be espoused to King Richard. Which done, Eleanor, leaving Berengaria behind her, departed, taking her journey towards Rome, to entreat the pope for Gaufridus, her other son above mentioned, to be consecrated in the archbishopric of York, being before elected by the procurement of King Richard his brother, as ye heard. In which mean time, as Queen Eleanor was travelling toward Rome, Pope Clement above mentioned died, about the sixth day of April, in whose room succeeded Pope Celestinus the Third. Who the next day after his consecration came from Lateran to St. Peter's church, where in the way meeteth him Henricus the emperor, and Constantia his wife, with a great rout of armed soldiers; but the Romans making fast their gates would not suffer them to enter their city. Then Pope Celestine, standing upon the stairs before the church door of St. Peter, received an oath of the said Henricus, king of the Almans, (his army waiting without,) that he should defend the church of God, and all the liberties thereof, and maintain justice; also that he should restore again the patrimony of St. Peter full and whole, whatsoever hath been diminished thereof; and finally, that he should surrender to the Church of

Rome again the city of Tusculanum, &c. Upon these conditions and grants, then the pope took him to the church, and there anointed him for emperor, and his wife for empress; who, there sitting in his chair pontifical, held the crown of gold between his feet; and so the emperor, bowing down his head to the pope's feet, received the crown, and in like manner the empress also. The crown thus being set upon the emperor's head, the pope eftsoons with his foot struck it off again from his head unto the ground, declaring thereby that he had power to depose him again, in case he so deserved. Then the cardinals, taking up the crown, set it upon his head again.

Not long after the departure of King Philip from Messina, which was in the month of March, King Richard, in April following, about the twentieth day of the said month, sailing from the haven of Messina with a hundred and fifty great ships, and three and fifty great galleys, well manned and appointed, took journey towards Acre; who being upon the seas on Good Friday, about the ninth hour rose a mighty south wind with a tempest, which dissevered and scattered all his navy, some to one place, and some to another. The king with a few ships was driven to the isle of Creta, and there before the haven of Rhodes cast anchor. The ship that carried the king's sister, queen of Sicily, and Berengaria, the king of Navarre's daughter, with two other ships, were driven to the isle of Cyprus. The king making great moan for the ship of his sister, and Berengaria, his wife that should be, not knowing where they were become, after the tempest was overblown, sent forth his galleys diligently to search the rest of his navy dispersed, but especially for the ship wherein his sister was, and the maiden whom he should marry; who at length were found safe and merry at the port of Limisso in the isle of Cyprus. Notwithstanding, the two other ships which were in their company before in the same haven were drowned, with divers of the king's servants and men of worship, amongst whom was M. Roger, called Malus Catulus, the king's vicechancellor, who was found having the king's seal hanging about his neck. The king of Cyprus was then Isakius, (called also the emperor of the Griffons,) who took and imprisoned all Englishmen which by shipwreck were cast upon his land; also inveigled into his hands the goods and prizes of them which were found drowned about his coasts, neither would suffer the ship wherein the two ladies were to enter within the port.

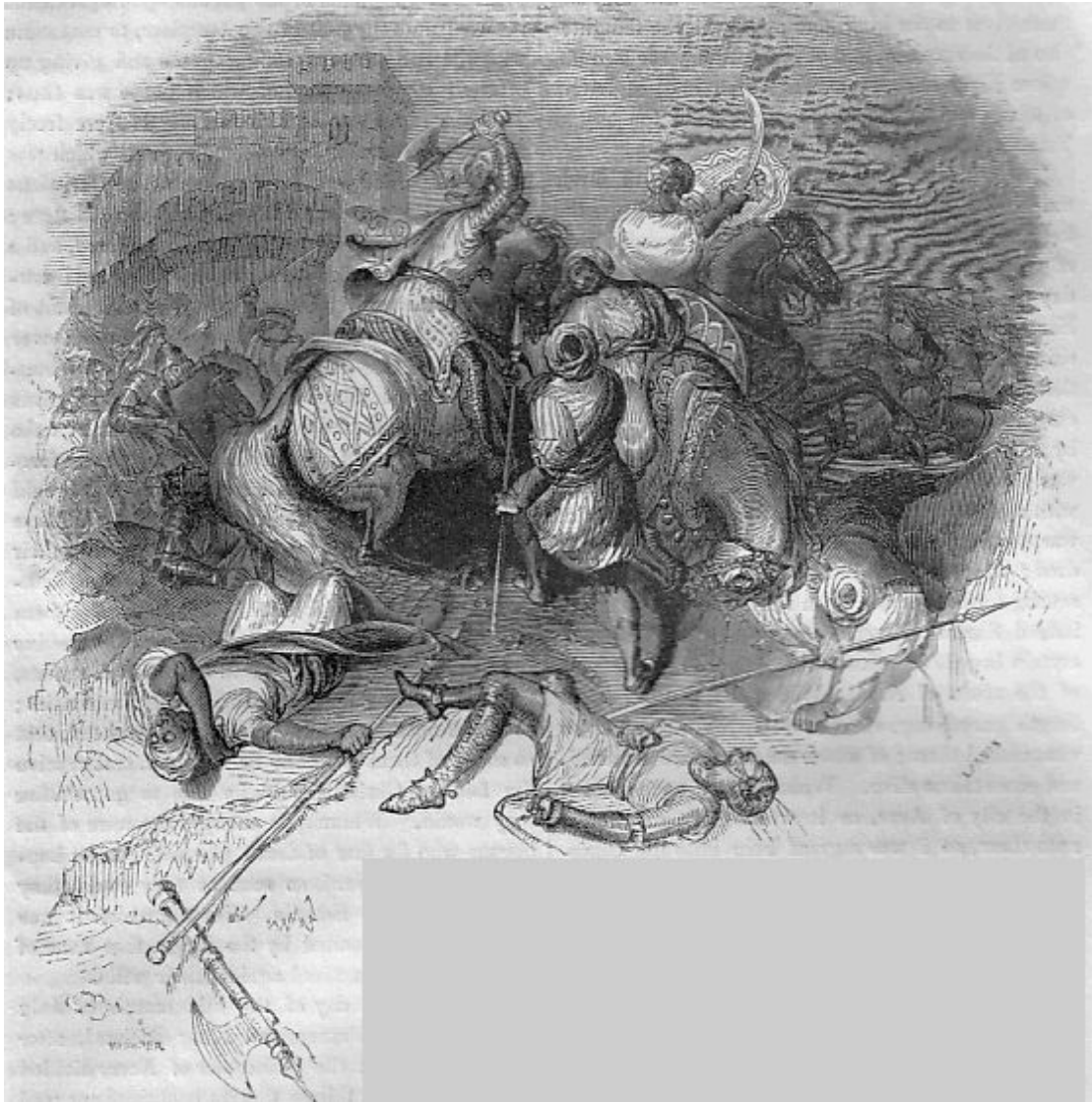
The tidings of this being brought to King Richard, he in his great wrath, gathering his galleys and ships together, boardeth the land of Cyprus, where he, first, in gentle wise signifieth to King Isakius, how he with his Englishmen, coming as strangers to the supportation of the Holy Land, were by distress of weather driven upon his hounds; and therefore with all humble petition besought him in God's behalf, and for reverence of the holy cross, to let go such prisoners of his which he had in captivity, and to restore again the goods of them which were drowned, which he detained in his hands, to be employed for the behoof of their souls, &c. And this the king once, twice, and thrice desired of the emperor. But he, proudly answering again, sent the king word, that he would neither let the captives go, nor render the goods of them which were drowned, &c.

When King Richard heard this, how little the emperor Isakius made of his so humble and honest petition, and how nothing there could be gotten without violent force; eftsoons he giveth commandment through all his host to put themselves in armour, and to follow him, to revenge such injuries received of that proud and cruel king of Cyprus; willing them to put their trust in God, and not to misdoubt but the Lord would stand with them, and give them the full victory. The emperor in the mean time with his people stood warding the sea coasts, where the Englishmen should

arrive, with swords, bills, and lances, and such other weapons as they had, setting boards, stools, and chests before them instead of a wall. Howbeit but few of them were harnessed, and for the most part all unexpert and unskilful in the feats of war. Then King Richard, with his soldiers, issuing out of their ships, first set his bowmen before, who with their shot made a way for others to follow. The Englishmen, thus winning the land upon them, so fiercely pressed upon the Griffons, that after long fighting and many blows, at last the emperor was put [to] flight; whom King Richard valiantly pursued, and slew many, and divers he took alive, and had gone near also to have had the emperor, had not the night come on and parted the battle. And thus King Richard with much spoil and great victory returning to the port town of Limisso, which the townsmen had left for fear, found there great abundance of corn, wine, oil, and victuals.

The same day after the victory Joan, the king's sister, and Berengaria, the maiden, entered the port and town of Limisso, with fifty great ships, and fourteen galliots: so that all the whole navy, there meeting together, were two hundred and fifty-four tall ships, and above threescore galliots. Then Isakius the emperor, seeing no way for himself to escape by the sea, the same night pitched his tents five miles off from the English army, swearing that the third day after he would surely give battle to King Richard. But he preventing him before, suddenly, the same morning before the day of battle should be, setteth upon the tents of the Griffons early, they being unawares and asleep, and made of them a great slaughter; insomuch that the emperor was fain naked to run away, leaving his tents and pavilions to the Englishmen, full of horses and rich treasure, also with the imperial standard, the lower part whereof with a costly streamer was covered and wrought all with gold. King Richard then returning with victory and triumph to his sister and Berengaria, shortly after, in the month of May next following, and the twelfth day of the same month, married the said Berengaria, daughter of Rancon, king of Navarre, in the isle of Cyprus, at Limisso.

The king of Cyprus, seeing himself overmatched, was driven at length to yield himself with conditions, to give King Richard twenty thousand marks in gold, for amends of such spoils as he had gotten of them that were drowned; also to restore all his captives again to the king; and furthermore in his own person to attend upon the king to the land of Jerusalem, in God's service and his, with four hundred horsemen, and five hundred footmen; in pledge whereof he would give to his hands his castles, and his only daughter, and would hold his kingdom of him. This done, and the emperor swearing fidelity to King Richard before Guido, king of Jerusalem, and the prince of Antioch, (who were come thither to King Richard a little before,) peace was taken, and Isakius was committed to the ward of certain keepers. Notwithstanding, shortly after, he, breaking from his keepers, was again at defiance with the king. Whereupon King Richard, besetting the island of Cyprus round about with ships and galleys, did in such sort prevail, that the subjects of the land were constrained to yield themselves to the king, and at length the daughter also of the emperor, and at last the emperor himself, whom King Richard caused to be kept in fetters of silver and gold, and to be sent to the city of Tripolis.



Battle between Crusaders and Saracens

These things thus done, and all set in order touching the possession of the isle of Cyprus, the keeping whereof he committed unto Radulph, son of Godfrey, lord chamberlain, being then the first day of June; upon the fifth of the said month, King Richard departed from the isle of Cyprus with ships and galleys towards the siege of Acre, and on the next morrow came unto Tyrus; where, by procurement of the French king, he was constrained by the citizens to enter. The next day after, which was the sixth day of June, crossing the seas, he met with a great bark fraught with soldiers and men of war, to the number of one thousand and five hundred; which, pretending to be Frenchmen, and setting forth their flag with the French arms, were indeed Saracens, secretly sent with wild-fire and certain barrels of unknown serpents, to the defence of the town of Acre. Which King Richard at length perceiving, eftsoons set upon them, and so vanquished them; of whom the most were drowned, and some taken alive. Which being once known in the city of Acre, as it was a great discomfort unto them, so it was a great help unto the Christians for winning the city. The next day after, which was the seventh of June, King Richard came to Acre. which at that time had been long besieged of the Christians; after whose coming it was not long: but the pagans within the city, seeing their walls to be undermined, and towers overthrown,

were driven by composition, to escape with life and limb, to surrender the city unto the two kings. Another great help to the Christians in winning the city was this: In the said city of Acre there was a secret Christian among the Saracens, who in time of the siege there used at sundry times to cast over the walls, into the camp of the Christians, certain bills written in Hebrew, Greek. and Latin, wherein he disclosed unto the Christians from time to time the doings and counsels of the enemies, advertising them how and by what way they should work, and what to beware: and always his letters began thus, *In nomine Patris, et Filii, st Spiritus Sancti, Amen*. By reason whereof the Christians were much advantaged in their proceedings. But this was a great heaviness unto them, that neither he would utter his name. nor when the city was got could they ever understand who he was.

To make of a long sie: a short narration upon the twelfth day of July in the year aforesaid, the princes and captains of the pagans upon agreement resorted unto the tent of the templars, to commune with the two kings touching peace and giving up of their city; the form of which peace was thus: That the kings should have the city of Acre freely and fully delivered unto them, with all which was within; and five hundred captives of the Christians should be restored unto them, which were in Acre; also the holy cross should be to them rendered, and a thousand Christian captives, with two hundred horsemen, whosoever they themselves would choose out of all them which were in the power of Saladin; over and besides, they should give to the kings two hundred thousand Bisants, so that they themselves would remain as pledges in the king's hands for the performance hereof; that if in forty days these foresaid covenants were not accomplished, they would abide the kings' mercy touching life and limb. These covenants being agreed upon, the kings sent their soldiers and servants into the city, to take one hundred of the richest and best of the city, to close them up in towers under strong keeping, and the residue they committed to be kept in houses and streets, ministering unto them according to their necessities; to whom notwithstanding this they permitted, that so many of them as would be baptized, and receive the faith of Christ, should be free to go whither they would. Whereupon many there were of the pagans who for fear of death pretended to be baptized; but afterward, so soon as they could, they revolted again to Saladin. For the which it was afterwards commanded by the kings, that none of them should be baptized against their wills.

The thirteenth day of the said month of July King Philip of France, and King Richard, after they had obtained the possession of Acre, divided between them all things therein contained, as well the people as gold and silver, with all other furniture whatsoever was remaining in the city; who, in dividing the spoil, were so good carvers unto themselves, that many knights and barons, with other soldiers, who had there sustained the whole travail two years together about the siege, seeing the kings to take all unto themselves, and their part to be but little, retracted themselves without the uttermost trench, and there, after consultation had together, sent word to the kings, that they would leave and forsake them, unless they were made partakers also of the gains for the which they had so long travailed. To whom answer was sent again by the kings, that their wills should be satisfied. Howbeit, because of long deferring of their promise, many, constrained by poverty, departed from them.

The twentieth day of July King Richard, speaking with the French king, desired him that they two with their armies would bind themselves by oath to remain there still in the land of Jerusalem the space of three years, for the winning and recovering again of those countries. But he would swear (he said) no such oath; and so the next day after King Richard with his wife and sister entereth into the city of Acre,

and placed there himself in the king's palace, the French king remaining in the houses of the templars, where he continued till the end of the month. So about the beginning of the month of August, Philip, the French king, after that he and King Richard had made agreement between Guido and Conradus, the marquis, about the kingdom of Jerusalem, went from Acre to Tyrus; notwithstanding King Richard and all the princes of the Christian army with great entreaty desired him to tarry, showing what a shame it were for him to come so far, and now to leave undone that for which he came; and on the third of August from Tyrus he departed, leaving his half part of the city of Acre in the hands of the foresaid Conradus, marquis. After whose departure the pagans refused to keep their covenants made; who neither would restore the holy cross, nor the money, nor their captives: sending word to King Richard, that if he beheaded the pledges left with him at Acre, they would chop off the heads of such captives of the Christians which were in their hands. Shortly after this, Saladin, sending great gifts to King Richard, requested the times limited for beheading of the captives to be prorogued; but the king refused to take his gifts, and to grant his request. Whereupon Saladin caused all the Christian captives within his possession forthwith to be beheaded, which was the eighteenth day of August. Which albeit King Richard understood, yet would not he prevent the time afore limited for the execution of his prisoners, being the twentieth of August. Upon which day he caused the prisoners of the Saracens, openly in the sight of Saladin's army, to lose their heads; the number of whom came to two thousand five hundred, save only that certain of the principal of them he reserved for purposes and considerations, especially to make exchange for the holy cross, and certain others of the Christian captives.

After this, King Richard purposed to besiege the city of Joppa: where, by the way between Acre and Joppa, near to a town called Ashur, Saladin with a great multitude of his Saracens came fiercely against the king's rearward: but through God's merciful grace, in the same battle the king's warriors acquitted them so well, that Saladin was put to flight, (whom the Christians pursued the space of three miles.) and lost the same day many of his nobles and captains, in such sort (as it was thought) that Saladin was not put to such confusion forty years before; and but one Christian captain, called James Avernus, in that conflict was overthrown. From thence King Richard, proceeding further, went to Joppa, and then to Ascalon, where he found first the city of Joppa forsaken of the Saracens, who durst not abide the king's coming. Ascalon Saladin threw down to the ground, and likewise forsook the whole land of Syria, through all which land the king had free passage without resistance, neither durst the Saracen prince encounter after that with King Richard. Of all which his achievances the said King Richard sent his letters of certificate, as well into England, as also to the abbot of Clara Valle in France; well hoping that he, God willing, should be able to make his repair again to them by Easter next.

Concerning Richard's worthy acts done abroad in getting of Cyprus, Acre, and Ptolemaida, in pacifying Joppa, partly is spoken of before. Many other valiant and famous acts were by him and the French king achieved, and more should have been, had not those two kings, falling into discord, dissevered themselves; by reason whereof Philip the French king returned home again within short space. Who, being returned again, eftsoons invaded the country of Normandy, exciting also John, the brother of King Richard, to take on him the kingdom of England in his brother's absence. Who then made league (upon the same) with the French king, and did homage unto him, which was about the fourth year of King Richard. Who then being in Syria, and hearing thereof, made peace with the Turks for three years. And not long

after King Richard. the next spring following, returned also. Who, in his return, driven by distress of weather about the parts of Histria, in a town called Synaca, was there taken by Leopold, duke of the same country, and so sold to the emperor for sixty thousand marks.

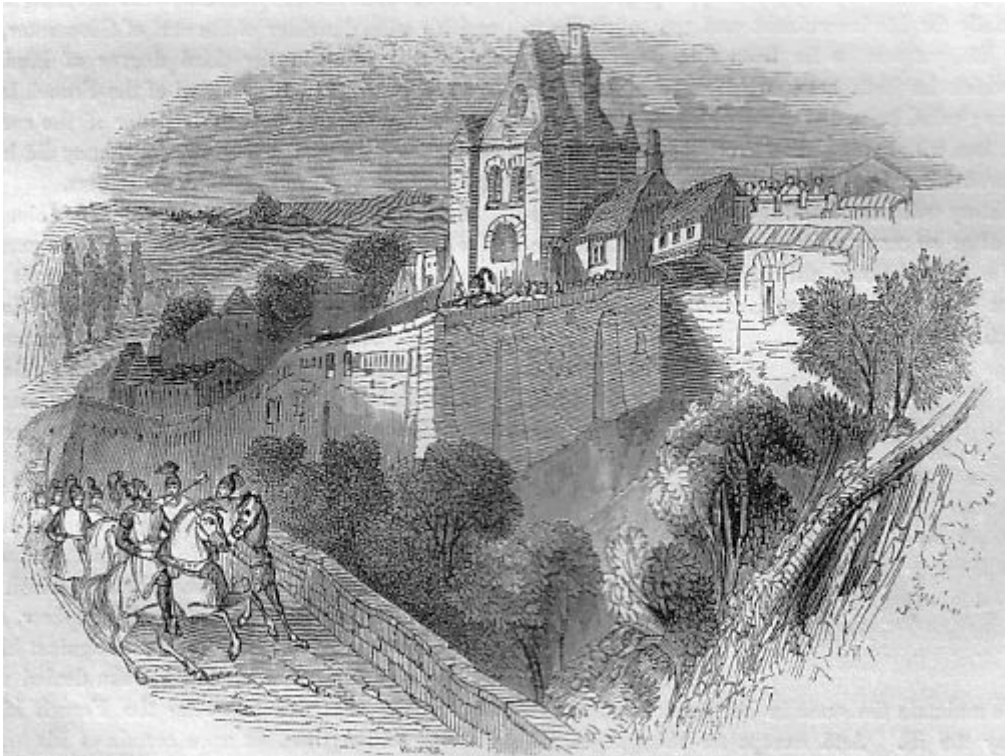
King Richard, thus being traitorously taken and sold, was there kept in custody a year and three months. In some stories it is affirmed, that King Richard, returning out of Asia, came to Italy with prosperous wind; where he desired of the pope to be absolved from an oath made against his will, and could not obtain it. And so setting out from thence towards England, passing by the country of Conrad, the marquis, whose death (he being slain a little before) was falsely imputed by the French king to the king of England, was there traitorously taken, as is beforesaid, by Leopold, dnke of Austria. Albeit in another story I find the matter more credibly set forth, which saith thus: That King Richard slew the brother of this Leopold, playing with him at chess in the French king's court. And Leopold, taking his advantage, was the more cruel against him, and delivered him, as is said, to the emperor; in whose custody be was detained during the time above mentioned, a year and three months. During the which time the king's imprisonment, the French king in the mean season stirred war in Normandy. And Earl John the king's brother made stir and invaded England; but the barons and bishops of the land mightily withstood him, and besieged him in the castle of Windsor; where they took from him all the castles and munitions which before he had got. Thus the earl, seeing no hope to prevail in England, and suspecting the deliverance of the king his brother, made into France, and kept with the French king: at length it was so agreed and concluded with the emperor, that King Richard should be released for a hundred thousand pounds; of the which money, part should remain to the duke of Austria, the rest should be the emperor's. The sum of which money was here gathered and made in England of chalices, crosses, shrines, candlesticks, and other church plate, also with public contribution of friaries, abbeyes. and other subjects of the realm. Whereof part was presently paid, and for the residue remaining hostages and pledges were taken, which was about the fifth year of his reign. And then it was obtained of the pope, that priests might celebrate with chalices of latten and tin: and so it was granted and continued long after. which mine author, in his chronicle entitled Eulogium, doth testify himself to have seen. At what time this foresaid money was paid, and the hostages given for the ransom of this king. I have an old story that saith, how the foresaid duke of Austria shortly after was plagued by God with five sundry plagues: first, with burning of his chief towns; secondly, with the drowning of ten thousand of his men in a great flood, happening no man could tell how: thirdly, by turning all the ears of his corn-field into worms; fourthly, by taking away almost all the nobles of his land by death; fifthly, by breaking his own leg falling from his horse, which leg he was compelled to cut off with his own hands, and after died upon the same; who then is said at his death to forgive King Richard fifty thousand marks, and sent home the hostages that were with him. The book entitled Eulogium, before mentioned, declareth thus, that the said Leopold, duke of Austria, fell in displeasure with the bishop of Rome, and died excommunicate the next year after, being the year 1196.

Thus the said King Richard being ransomed, as hath been declared, from the covetous captivity of the emperor, was restored again, and made his repair into England. At whose return, Earl John his brother, resorting unto him with humble submission, desired to be pardoned of his transgressions. To whom King Richard answering again, Would God (saith he) this your trespass, as it dieth with me in oblivion, so it may remain with you in remembrance, and so gently forgave him. And

after he had again recovered his holds and castles, he caused himself to be crowned again. Which done, he made his power against the French king, and drave him out of Normandy. After that, he turned his voyage against the Welshmen, and subdued them.

The next year following, which was the year 1197, Philip, the French king, brake the truce made between him and King Richard; whereupon the king was compelled to sail over again to Normandy to withstand the malice of his enemy. About which time my story recordeth of one called of some Fulco; some say he was the archbishop of Rouen, called Gualter. This Fulco being then in England, and coming to the king's presence, said unto him with great courage and boldness, Thou hast, O mighty king, three daughters very vicious and of evil disposition; take good heed of them, and betimes provide for them good husbands; lest, by untimely bestowing of the same, thou shalt not only incur great hurt and damage, but also utter ruin and destruction to thyself. To whom the king in a rage said, Thou lying and mocking hypocrite, thou knowest not where thou art, or what thou sayest; I think thou art mad, or not well in thy wits; for I have never a daughter, as all the world knoweth, and therefore, thou open liar, get thee out of our presence. To whom Fulco answered, No, and like your Grace, I lie not, but say truth; for you have three daughters which continually frequent your court, and wholly possess your person, and such three whores and naughty packs as never the like hath been heard of; I mean, mischievous Pride, greedy Covetousness, and filthy Luxury; and therefore again I say, O king, beware of them, and out of hand provide marriages for them, lest in not so doing thou utterly undo both thyself and all the whole realm.

The which his words the king took in good part, with correction of himself, and confession of the same. Whereupon incontinently he called his lords and barons before him, unto whom he declared the communing and monition of Fulco, who had willed him to beware of his three daughters, Pride, Avarice, and Luxury, with counsel out of hand to marry them, lest further discommodity should ensue both to him and to the whole realm; whose good counsel (my lords) I intend to follow, not doubting of all your consents thereunto. Wherefore here, before you all, I give my daughter swelling Pride to wife unto the proud templars: my greedy daughter Avarice to the covetous order of the Cistercian monks; and last of all, my filthy daughter Luxury to the riotous prelates of the church, whom I think to be very meet men for her; and so severally well agreeing to all their natures, that the like matches in this our realm are not to be found for them. And thus much concerning Fulco.



The Shooting of King Richard

Not long after this, it befell that a certain noble personage (lord of Lemonice in Little Britain, Widomarus by name) found a great substance of treasure both of gold and silver bid in the ground, whereof a great part he sent to King Richard, as chief lord and prince over the whole country. Which the king refused, saving he would either have all or none, for that he was the principal chieftain over the land. But the finder would not condescend to that. Wherefore the king laid siege to a castle of his called Galuz, thinking the treasure to lie there. But the keepers and warders of the castle, seeing themselves not sufficient to withstand the king, offered to him the castle, desiring to depart with life and armour. To this the king would in no wise grant, but bid them to re-enter the castle again, and to defend it in all the forcible wise they could. It so befell, that as the king with the duke of Brabant went about the castle, viewing the places thereof, a soldier within, named Bertrand Cordoun, struck the king with an arrow in the arm, whereupon the iron remaining and festering in the wound, the king within nine days after died; who, because he was not content with the half of the treasure that another man found, lost all his own treasure that he had. The king, being thus wounded, caused the man that struck him to be brought unto him, and asked the cause of him why he so wounded him. Who answered him again, as the story saith, that he thought to kill rather than to be killed; and what punish mentsoever he should sustain he was content, so that he might kill him which had before killed his father and brethren. The king, hearing his words, freely forgave him, and caused a hundred shillings to be given him. Albeit, as the story addeth, after the death of the king, the duke of Brabant, after great torments, caused him to be hanged. The story of Gisburne saith that the killer of King Richard coming to the French king, thinking to have a great reward, was commanded to be drawn asunder with horses, and his quarters to be hanged up.

Another story affirmeth, and Gisburne partly doth testify the same, that, a little before the death of King Richard, three abbots of the order Cistercian came to him, to whom he was confessed. And when he saw them somewhat stay at his absolution, he had these words: that he did willingly commit his body to the earth to be eaten of worms, and his soul to the fire of purgatory, there to be tormented till the judgment, in the hope of God's mercy.

About the reign of this king, the said Jornalensis maketh mention of Roger, archbishop of York, which put out of his church the monks, and placed for them secular priests, saying that he would rather wish ecclesiastical benefices to be given to wanton priests than to abominable monks; and that Thurstinus did sin never worse in all his life than in building that house for monks. Another story I have, which saith that this was the bishop, not of York, but of Coventry.

The king not long after departed without issue, and John his brother reigned after him; in whom, although some vices may worthily be reprehended, especially for his incontinent and too much licentious life, yet was he far from that deserving, for the which he hath been so ill reported of divers writers; who, being led more with affection of popery, than with true judgment and due consideration, depraved his doings more than the sincere truth of the history will bear them. Concerning which history, after so many writers, we thought also to be stow a little labour, although in this matter we cannot be so long as I would, and as the matter requireth.

48. King John



AFTER the death of King Richard, called Cœur de Lion, reigned his brother, John, earl of Morton. Afterward the archbishop put the crown on his head, and sware him to defend the church, and to maintain the same in her good laws, and to destroy the ill. And except he thought in his mind to do this, the archbishop charged him not to presume to take on him this dignity. And on St. John Baptist's day next following, King John sailed into Normandy and came to Rouen, where he was royally received, and truce concluded between him and the French king for a time. And thither came to him the

earl of Flanders, and all other lords of France that were of King Richards band and friendship, and were sworn unto him.

Not long after this, Philip the French king made Arthur knight, and took his homage for Normandy, Britain, and all other his possessions beyond the sea, and promised him help against King John. After this, King John and the French king talked together with their lords about one hour's space, and the French king asked so much land for himself and Knight Arthur, that King John would grant him none, and so he departed in wrath.

The same year a legate came into France, and commanded the king, in pain of interdiction, to deliver one Peter out of prison, that was elect to a bishopric; and thereupon he was delivered.

After that the legate came into England, and commanded King John, under pain of interdiction, to deliver the archbishop whom he had kept as prisoner two years; which the king denied to do, till he had paid him six thousand marks; because he took him in harness in a field against him, and sware him upon his deliverance, that he should never wear harness against any Christian man.

At this time divorce was made between King John and his wife, daughter of the earl of Gloucester, because they were in the third degree of kindred. And afterwards, by the counsel of the French king, King John wedded Isabel, daughter of the earl of Angouleme; and then Arthur of Brittany did homage to King John for Brittany and others.

At this time fell strife between King John and Geoffrey, the archbishop of York, for divers causes: first, because he would not suffer and permit the sheriff of York in such affairs as he had to do for the king within his diocess; secondly, because he did also excommunicate the said sheriff; thirdly, because he would not sail with him into Normandy, to make the marriage between Lewis, the French king's son, and his niece, &c.

After this, A.D. 1202, Philip the French king, in a communication between King John and him, required that the said King John should part with all his lands in Normandy and Pictavia which he had beyond the sea unto Arthur his nephew, and that incontinent, or else he would war against him; and so he did. For when King John denied that request, the next day following the French king, with the said Arthur, set

upon certain of his towns and castles in Normandy, and put him to much disquietness. But he (the Lord so providing, who is the giver of all victory) had such repulse at the Englishmen's hands, that they, pursuing the French men in their flight did so follow them to their hold, and so pressed upon them, that not only they took the said Arthur prisoner with many other of the Frenchmen, but also gave such an overthrow to the rest, that none was left to bear tidings home. This Arthur was nephew to King John, and son to Geoffrey, which was the elder son to John. For King Henry the Second (to make the matter more evident) had eight children: one William, which died in his childhood; the second, Henry, which died also, his father being yet alive; the third, Geoffrey, earl of Brittany, which likewise deceased in his fathers days, leaving behind him two children, Arthur and Brecea; the fourth, Richard Cœur de Lion, king; the fifth, John, now reigning; and three other daughters besides. The same Arthur, being thus taken in war, was brought before the king at the castle of Falesie in Normandy; who, on being exhorted with many gentle words to leave the French king, and to incline to his uncle, answered again stoutly and with great indignation; requiring the kingdom of England, with all the other dominions thereto belonging, to be restored to him, as to the lawful heir of the crown. By reason whereof he (provoking the kings displeasure against him) was sent to the tower of Rouen, where at length, whether by leaping into the ditch, thinking to make his escape, or whether by some other privy hand, or by what chance else, it is not yet agreed upon in stories, he finished his life. By occasion whereof the foresaid King John was had after in great suspicion; whether justly or unjustly, the Lord knoweth.



Prince Arthur's body taken from the river

The year following, historiographers write, that King John, for lack of rescue, lost all his holds and possessions in Normandy, through the force of the French king.

After these losses, came other troubles upon him, with other as great or more great enemies. (that is, with the pope and his popelings, by occasion of choosing of the archbishop of Canterbury, as in this history following by Christ's grace is to be declared.

The year of our Lord 1203, about the month of July, Hubert, the archbishop of Canterbury, deceased: whose decease, after it was in Canterbury to the monks known, and afore his body was yet committed to the earth, the younger sort of the monks there gathered themselves together at midnight, and elected their superior Reginald, and without the king's licence, or yet knowledge, privily placed him in the metropolical seat, singing *Te Deum* at mid night. And because the king should not make their election void, they charged him by virtue of his oath to keep all secret by the way, and to show nothing what was done before he came to the pope; but he, contrary to his oath, so soon as he came into Flanders, opened abroad all the matter, and uttered their counsel: whereupon the monks, being not a little grieved with him, sent him privily unto the court of Rome out of hand. The next day the elder monks sent to the king, desiring him of his gracious licence canonically to choose their archbishop. The king most gently and favourably granted their petition, requiring them instantly, and desiring that for his sake they would show favour to John Gray, then bishop of Norwich, as they did indeed, erecting him into that see of their high primacy. Moreover, because the authority of kings and princes was then but small in their own dominion, without the pope's consent and confirmation to the same, he sent also to Rome of his own charges to have the foresaid election ratified by the pope. The suffragans of Canterbury then (being not a little offended at these two elections) sent speedily to Rome to have them both stopped, for that they had not been of counsel with them. And hereupon at the last grew a most prodigious tumult.

In this year the clergy grew so unruly, that they neglected their charge, and thereby incensed the king's displeasure so sore against them, that he took order about the goods of such as in that case were faulty, as shall appear more manifestly by that which followeth.

"The king to all clerks and lay-people within the bishopric of Lincoln, greeting. Know ye that, from Monday next before the feast of Easter, we have committed to William of Cornhill. archdeacon of Huntingdon, and to Joseline of Canvill, all the lands and goods of the abbots, and priors, and of all the religious persons, and also of all clerks, with in the bishopric of Lincoln, which will not from that time celebrate Divine service. And we command you, that from thence you assist them as our bailiffs, and believe them in those things which they shall tell you privately on our behalf. Witness ourself at Clarendon the eighteenth day of March, in the ninth year of our reign."

The like was written to all within the bishopric of Ely. So that hereby we see the dissoluteness and wilfulness of those popish churchmen, whom conscience of discharging their duty did so little move, as that they thought upon nothing less: seeing the king was driven to use such austerity and sharpness against them. But to proceed in this trouble some election; you shall understand, that the next year after the suffragans of the province of Canterbury on the one side, and the monks of Canterbury on the other side, came afore the pope with their brawling matter. First the monks, presenting Reginald their superior, desired that their election might be confirmed. The suffragans likewise complained that the monks would presume to choose the archbishop without their consent, and therefore desired by divers reasons the first election to be of none

effect. The pope, deciding the matter between both, pronounced with the monks; charging the suffragans and bishops to meddle no more with that election, but to let the monks alone. The monks of Canterbury, now having the whole election in their own hands, fell also at square among themselves, the younger sort with the elder. The younger sort, which had chosen Reginald their superior, would that election to stand. The elder sort of the monks replied again, saying, that the first election was done by stealth, and by night, and by the younger part; also without the counsel of other monks. Over and besides, it was done without the king's licence or appointment, and without the due solemnity thereunto belonging.

And as concerning our election, (said they,) it was done in the clear light of the day, by which it had authority in presence of our liege lord the king, and his council being willing to the same.

This allegation thus propounded, the suffragans' proctor, or man of law, stood forth, and proved the former election to be good, and this latter to be void and of no value, after this sort. Whether the first election (saith he) were just or unjust, ye ought first by the law to have condemned it afore ye should have presumed to the second; but this ye did not; therefore is this your later doing no election at all, and the first therefore is rather to be ratified than yours. When they had thus multiplied talk on both sides, with many frivolous allegations, a long time, and could not agree upon one person, Pope Innocent condemned both their elections, commanding them to choose Stephen Langton, then cardinal of St. Chrysogon, for their archbishop. The monks then answered, that they durst not so do without consent of their king, and for that it was prejudicial to their ancient liberties. The pope by and by, (saith the text,) as one in a fury, taking the words out of their mouths, said thus unto them: We will you to know, that we have full power and authority over the church of Canterbury; neither are we wont to tarry the consent of princes; therefore we command you, in pain of our great curse, that ye choose him only whom we have appointed.

The monks at these words abashed and terrified, though they much murmured in their hearts, yet consented they all in one, and thereupon sang *Te Deum*. Only Doctor Helias Brantfield withdrew himself from that election; whom the king had sent for the admission of the bishop of Norwich.

Thus was Stephen Langton, in the high church of Viterby, by the pope's hand, made archbishop of Canterbury.

This election thus past with the pope's grace and favour, the said Stephen had in England, amongst others that solicited his cause to the king, a brother named. Master Simon Langton, who in tract of time also became archbishop of York, as appeareth in the course of this story, in the reign of Henry the Third, A.D. 1228. In this behalf the king seemed tractable, so he might have his sovereignty entire. Against the which, because the said Stephen had vowed to oppose himself, and the king misliked such demeanour, he sent abroad his letters certificatory about the realm, therein giving intimation to all people of proud Stephen Langton's contumacy; the form of the said letters followeth.

"The king to all men, &c. Know ye that Master Simon Langton came to us at Winchester, on the Wednesday next before Mid-lent, and in presence of our bishops besought us that we would receive his brother Master Stephen Langton to be archbishop of Canterbury. And when we spake unto him touching the reservation and saving of our dignity unto us, he told us that he would do no such thing for us, unless

we would wholly rely ourselves upon his courtesy and gentleness. This therefore we command, that you know evil and wrong to be done unto us in this behalf; and we charge you, that you believe those things which Reginald of Cornhill shall tell you on our part, touching the foresaid deed between us and the bishops above named, &c. Witness the king at Winchester the fourteenth day of March, in the ninth year of his reign."

Now, albeit the king took indignation at this proceeding in the election of Stephen, yet from thenceforth (saith Matthew Paris) the pope could do no less but mightily defend him from all vexation and danger; considering that he was his own dear darling, and a child of his own creation.

Furthermore, upon this occasion King John conceived an exceeding displeasure against the clergy and monks of Canterbury, as he had good cause, they doing so many evils against his princely prerogative. Without his licence they elected their archbishop, and put by the bishop of Norwich, whom he had appointed. They wasted a great part of his treasure for the wars; and to bring all to the devil, they made Stephen Langton their high metropolitan, whom he took for a grievous enemy to the whole realm, being always so familiar with the French king. Wherefore in his anger he banished them out of the land, to the number of threescore and four, for this their contumacy and contempt of his regal power.

The monks of Canterbury thus being expulsed, the king forthwith sendeth messengers to the pope with his letters, wherein he doth sharply and expressly expostulate with the pope. First, for that so uncourteously he repulsed the election of the bishop of Norwich, and set up one Stephen Langton, a man unknown to him, and brought up amongst his enemies a long time in the kingdom of France, consecrating him archbishop of Canterbury, and letting the other go. Also (which is more) for that it redoundeth to the subversion and derogation of the liberties appertaining to his crown; for notwithstanding his consent past, (being before of the monks not made privy, which should have so done,) yet he rashly presumed to promote and prefer another. Wherefore he cannot marvel (he saith) enough, that neither the said pope, nor the court of Rome, doth consider and revolve with themselves, how necessary his love and favour hath been always hitherto to the see of Rome, and that they consider not what great profit and revenues have proceeded hitherto to them out of the realm of England; the like whereof hath not been received out of any other country besides on this side the Alps. He addeth moreover and saith, that for his liberties he will stand (if need be) unto death, neither can he be so removed and shaken off from the election of the bishop of Norwich, which he seeth to be so commodious to him and profitable. Finally, he thus concludeth, saying, that in case in this his request he be not heard, he will so provide by the seas that there shall be no such gadding and coursing any moreover to Rome, suffering the riches of the land no more to be transported over, whereby he should be himself the less able to resist his enemies. And seeing he hath of his own at home archbishops, bishops, and other prelates of the church, both of Englishmen and of others, sufficiently provided and instructed in all kind of knowledge; therefore he shall not need greatly to seek for judgment and justice further abroad.

When these came to the pope's intelligence, he directeth letters again to the king in this form:

"Innocentius, pope, servant of the servants of God, to our well-beloved son in Christ the king of England, health, and apostolical blessing. Whereas we have written

to you heretofore, exhorting and entreating you after a humble, diligent, and gentle sort, (concerning the church of Canterbury,) you have written to us again after a threatening sort and upbraiding manner; both spitefully and also frowardly. And whereas we more and above that our right and duty required have borne and given to you, you again for your part have given to us not so much as by right and duty you are bound to do. And though your devotion, as you say, hath been to us very necessary, yet consider again that ours also is not a little opportune and expedient for you. And whereas we in such-like cases have not showed at any time the like honour to any prince as we have unto you, you again have so much derogated our honour, as no prince else hath presumed to do besides you alone; pretending certain frivolous causes and occasions, I cannot tell what, why you would not condescend to the election of Stephen Langton, cardinal of St. Chrysogono, chosen by the monks of Canterbury; for that the said Stephen (as you say) hath been conversant and brought up amongst your enemies, and his person is to you unknown. But you know what is the proverb of Solomon, The net is cast, but in vain in the sight of the flying birds,' &c.

With much other matter in the same epistle; wherein he falleth into the commendation of Stephen Langton his cardinal, declaring how learned he was in the liberal arts, and in divinity, insomuch that he was prebendated at Paris; also come of an honest stock, and an Englishman born, and not unknown to the king, seeing the king had written his letters thrice to him before. Declaring moreover in the said letter, how the messengers of the king had specified to him another cause; which was, for that the monks of Canterbury, which had to do in the election, came not to him before for his consent. Declaring moreover, in the said letter, how the said messengers of the king entreated in the king's behalf, that forsomuch as the pope's letters, wherein the king was commanded to send his proctors to Rome for the same matter, came not to the king's hand, neither did the monks direct any such letters or message to the king to have his consent; therefore the pope, considering the same, would grant so much for the regard of the king's honour, that the monks of Canterbury should not proceed without the king's assent therein. And for somuch as that hath not been done as yet, therefore they desired some delay therein to be given, sufficient for the doing thereof. Whereunto he said, that he had granted and fulfilled their request, in sending his letters and messengers once or twice to the king for the same purpose, although he said it was not the manner of the see apostolic, who had the fulness of power over the church of Canterbury, to wait for princes' consents in such elections, who then could not be suffered to do that which they came for. Wherefore, in knitting up his letter, he thus concludeth in these words:

"And therefore, seeing the matter so standeth, we see no cause why we should require or tarry for the king's favour or consent any more therein, but intend so to proceed in this matter, neither inclining on the right hand, nor on the left, according as the canonical ordinances of the holy fathers shall direct us; that is, (all impediments and delays set aside,) so to provide that the church of Canterbury be not any longer destitute of her pastor. Wherefore be it known to your discretion or kingly prudence, that forsomuch as this election of Stephen Langton hath orderly and concordly thus proceeded without fraud or deceit, upon a person meet for the same; therefore we will for no man's pleasure, neither may we without danger of fame and of conscience, defer or protract any longer the consummation of the said election. Wherefore, my well-beloved son, seeing we have had respect to your honour above that our right and duty required, study to honour us so much as your duty requireth again, so that you may the more plentifully deserve favour, both at God's hand and ours; lest that, by doing the

contrary, you bring yourself into such a peck of troubles, as afterwards you shall scarce rid yourself of again. For this know for a certain, in the end it must needs fall out, that he shall have the better unto whom every knee (of heavenly, earthly, and infernal creatures) doth bow, whose turn I serve in earth, though I be unworthy. Therefore settle not yourself to obey their persuasions, which always desire your unquietness, whereby they may fish the better in the water when it is troubled; but commit yourself to our pleasure, which undoubtedly shall turn to your praise, glory, and honour. For it should not be much for your safety in this cause to resist God and the church, in whose quarrel that blessed martyr and glorious bishop Thomas hath of late shed his blood; especially seeing your father and your brother, of famous memory, then kings of England, did give over those three wicked customs into the hands of the legates of the see apostolic. But if you yield yourself humbly into our hands, we will look that you and yours shall be sufficiently provided for, that no prejudice may arise hereupon to you-ward. Given at Lateran the tenth year of our popedom."

Thus hast thou, gentle reader, the glorious letter of the proud pope; I beseech thee mark it well. Now to the story.

After this letter was sent out, not long after proceedeth a charge and commandment sent into England unto certain bishops there, requiring them by authority apostolical, that if the said king would not receive the said prior of Canterbury, and his monks, then they should interdict him throughout all his realm. For the executing whereof four bishops were appointed by the usurped power of the pope's bulls: namely, William, bishop of London, Eustace, bishop of Ely, Walter, bishop of Winchester, and Giles, bishop of Hereford. Which said four bishops went unto the king, and showed their commission from the pope, as is aforesaid, willing him to consent thereto, &c. But the said king refused the same, and would by no means grant to their request. Whereupon they, departing from his Grace, went the morrow after the Annunciation of our Lady, and pronounced the said general interdiction through out all England, so that the church doors were shut up with keys, and other fastenings, and with walls, &c.

Now when the king heard of this, he began to be moved against them, and took all the possessions of the four bishops into his hands, appointing certain men to keep the livings of the clergy through out the realm, and that they should enjoy no part thereof. Which being done, the bishops, seeing the same, cursed all them that kept or should meddle with church goods against the will of them that owed them; and understanding, for all that, that the king nothing regarded their doings, they went over sea, to the bishop of Canterbury, and informed him what had happened; who, hearing the same, willed them again to return to Canterbury, and he would come thither to them, or else send certain persons thither in his stead, that should do as much as if he were there himself. Then when the bishops heard this, they returned again to England, to Canterbury; and the tidings came shortly to the king, that they were come thither again. And because he might not himself travel to them, he sent thither bishops, earls, and abbots to entreat them, that the archbishop whom he had chosen might be admitted; promising the prior and all the monks of Canterbury in his behalf, that he should never take any thing of the church goods against the will of them that owe them: but would make amends to them of whom he had taken any such goods, and that the church should have all her franchises in as ample manner as in St. Edward's time the Confessor it had.



Canterbury

When the form of agreement was thus concluded, it was engrossed in a pair of indentures; and the foresaid four bishops to the one part thereof set their seals; and the other part the said bishops, earls, and abbots carried to show the king. When the king saw the order thereof, he liked it well, saving he would not agree to make restitution of the church goods. So he sent to the four bishops again that they should put out that point of restitution. But they answered stoutly that they would not put out one word. Then the king sent word to the archbishop by the four bishops, that he should come to Canterbury to speak with him; and, for his safe conduct to come and go again at his will, he sent his justices as pledges, Gilbert Peiteuin, Wilham de la Bereuar, and John Letfitz. Which thing thus done, the Archbishop Stephen came to Canterbury, anti the king, hearing thereof, came to Chilham; from whence he sent his treasurer, the bishop of Winchester, to him, to have him put out of the indentures the clause of restitution aforesaid; who, denying to alter any word of the same, moved the king in such sort, that immediately it was proclaimed throughout England at the king's commandment, that all those that had any church livings, and went over sea, should come again into England by a certain day, or else lose their livings for evermore. And further, in that proclamation, he charged all sheriffs within the realm to inquire if any bishops, abbots, priors, or any other churchman, from that day forward, received any commandment that came from the pope, and that they should take his or their body, and bring it

before him; and also that they should take into their hands, for the king's use, all the church lands that were given to any man through the Archbishop Stephen, or by the priors of Canterbury, from the time of the election of the archbishop; and further charged that all the woods that were the archbishop's should be cut down and sold.

When tidings came to the pope that the king had thus done, being moved thereby with fiery wrath, he sent to the king two legates, the one called Pandulph, and the other Durant, to warn him in the pope's name that he should cease his doings to the holy church, and amend the wrong he had done to the archbishop of Canterbury, to the priors and the monks of Canterbury, and to all the clergy of England. And further, that he should restore the goods again that he had taken of them against their will, or else they should curse the king by name; and, to do this, the pope took them his letters in bulls patent. These two legates, coming into England, resorted to the king to Northampton, where he held his parliament; and, saluting him, said they came from the pope of Rome, to reform the peace of holy church. And, first, said they, we admonish you in the pope's behalf, that ye make full restitution of the goods and of the lands that ye have ravished holy church of; and that ye receive Stephen, the archbishop of Canterbury, into his dignity, and the prior of Canterbury and his monks; and that ye yield again unto the archbishop all his lands and rents without any withholding. And, sir, yet moreover, that ye shall make such restitution to them, as the church shall think sufficient.

Then answered the king, As touching the prior and his monks of Canterbury, all that ye have said I would gladly do, and all things else that you would ordain; but as touching the archbishop, I shall tell you as it lieth in my heart. Let the archbishop leave his bishopric; and if the pope then shall entreat for him, peradventure I may like to give him some other bishopric in England; and upon this condition I will receive and admit him.

Then said Pandulph unto the king, Holy church was wont never to degrade archbishop without cause reasonable; but ever she was wont to correct princes that were disobedient to her.

What! How now, (quoth the king,) threaten ye me? Nay, said Pandulph, but ye have now openly told us as it standeth in your heart; and now we will tell you what is the pope's will, and thus it standeth: He hath wholly interdicted and cursed you, for the wrongs you have done unto the holy church and unto the clergy. And forso much as ye will dwell still in your malice, and will come to no amendment, you shall understand, that from this time forward the sentences upon you given have force and strength. And all those that with you have communed before this time, whether that they be earls, barons, or knights, (or any other whatso ever they be,) we assoil them safely from their sins unto this day; and from this time forward (of what condition soever they be) we accurse them openly, and specially by this our sentence, that do commune with you. And we assoil moreover earls, barons, knights, and all other manner of men, of their homages, services, and fealties that they should do unto you. And this thing to confirm, we give plain power unto the bishop of Winchester, and to the bishop of Norwich; and the same power we give against Scotland unto the bishop of Rochester and of Salisbury; and in Wales we give the same power to the bishops of St. David, and of Landaff, and of St. Asse.

Also, sir king, (quoth Pandulph,) all the kings, princes, and the great dukes christened have laboured to the pope to have licence to cross themselves, and to war against thee, as upon God's enemy, and win thy land, and to make king whom it

pleaseth the pope. And we here now assoil all those of their sins that will rise against thee here in thine own land.

Then the king, hearing this, answered, What shame may ye do more to me than this?

Pandulph again: We say to you in *verbo Dei*, that neither you, nor any heir that you have, after this day shall be crowned. So the king said, By him that is Almighty God, if I had known of this thing before ye came into this land, and that ye had brought me such news, I should have made you tarry out these twelve months.

Then answered Pandulph, Full well we thought, at our first coming, that ye would have been obedient to God and to holy church, and have fulfilled the pope's commandment, which we have showed and pronounced to you, as we were charged there with. And now ye say, that if ye had wist the cause of our coming, ye would have made us tarry out a whole year; who might as well say, that ye would have taken a whole year's respite without the pope's leave; but for to suffer what death ye can ordain, we shall not spare to tell you all the pope's message and will that he gave us in charge.

In another chronicle I find the words between the king and Pandulph something otherwise described; as though the king should first threaten him with hanging, if he had foreknown of his coming. To whom Pandulph again should answer, that he looked for nothing else at his hand, but to suffer for the church's right. Whereupon the king, being mightily incensed, departed. The king, the same time being at Northampton, willed the sheriffs and bailiffs to bring forth all the prisoners there, that such as had deserved should be put to death, to the intent, as some think, to make Pandulph afraid. Among whom was a certain clerk, who, for counterfeiting the king's coin, was also condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered; and, moreover, by the king was commanded (thereby to anger Pandulph the more, as may be thought) to be hanged up highest above the rest. Pandulph hearing thereof, notwithstanding he somewhat began to fear lest he should be hanged himself, yet, with such courage as he had, he went to the church to fetch out book, bell, and candle, charging that no man, under pain of accursing, should lay hands upon the clerk. Upon this the king and the cardinal departed in no little anger. And Pandulph went to Rome, and reported to the pope and the cardinals what had been done.

Then the pope summoned all the bishops, abbots, and clerks of England to come and repair unto Rome, to consult what was to be done therein. This council began the first day of October. In the which council it was decreed by the pope and his assembly, that John, king of England, should be accursed, with all such as held with him, every day so long as that council endured. Albeit this was not yet granted, that the people should be crossed to fight against him, because as yet he had shed no blood. But afterwards the said Pope Innocent, seeing that King John by no means would stoop under his subjection, nor under the rule of his popish see, he sent unto the French king, upon remission of all his sins, and of all that went with him, that he should take with him all the power he might, and so to invade the realm of England to destroy King John.

This occasion given, Pope Innocent yet once again commanded, in pain of his great curse, that no man should obey King John, neither yet keep company with him: he forbade all persons to eat and drink with him, to talk with him, to commune or counsel with him; yea, his own familiar household to do him any kind of service,

either at bed or at board, in church, hall, or stable. And what followed thereof? The greater part of them which after such sort fled from him, (by the ordinance of God,) of divers and sundry diseases the same year died. And between both nations (English and French) fell that year great amity; but secret, subtle, and false, to the bitter betraying of England. Neither was the pope content only with this; but, moreover, the said Pope Innocent gave sentence definitive, by counsel of his cardinals, that King John should be put from his seat regal and deposed, and another put in his room. And, to the speedy execution thereof, he appointed the French king. Philip, promising to give him full remission of all his sins, and the clear possession of all the realm of England to him and his heirs, if he did either kill him or expel him.

The next year the French king began his attempt, in hope of the crown of England; being well manned with bishops, monks, prelates, and priests, and their servants to maintain the same; bragging of the letters which they had received from the great men there. But behold the work of God! the English navy took three hundred of the French king's ships well loaden with wheat, wine, meal, flesh, armour, and such other like, meet for the war; and one hundred they burnt within the haven, taking the spoils with them. In the mean time, the priests within England had provided them a certain false counterfeit prophet, called Peter Wakefield of Poiz; who was an idle gadder about, and a prattling merchant. This Peter they made to prophesy lies, rumouring his prophecies abroad, to bring the king out of all credit with his people. They noised it daily among the commons of the realm, thnt Christ had twice appeared to this prophet of theirs in shape of a child between the priests' hands, once at York, another time at Pomfret; and that he had breathed on him thrice, saying, Peace, peace, peace, and teaching many things which he anon after declared to the bishops; and bid the people amend their naughty living. Being rapt also in spirit, (they said,) he beheld the joys of heaven, and sorrows of hell. For scant were there three (saith the chronicle) among a thousand that lived Christianly. This counterfeit soothsayer prophesied of King John, that he should reign no longer than the Ascension day, within the year of our Lord 1213, which was the fourteenth from his coronation; and this (he said) he had by revelation. Then was it of him demanded, whether he should be slain, or expelled, or should of himself give over the crown? He answered, that he could not tell. But of this he was sure, (he said,) that neither he, nor any of his stock or lineage, should reign, that day once finished. The king, hearing of this, laughed much at it, and made but a scoff thereof. Tush, (saith he,) it is but an idiot knave, and such a one as lacketh his right wits. But when this foolish prophet had so escaped the danger of the king's displeasure, and that he made no more of it, he gat him abroad, and prated thereof at large, (as he was a very idle vagabond,) and used to tattle and talk more than enough; so that they which loved the king caused him anon after to be apprehended as a malefactor, and to be thrown into prison, the king not knowing thereof.

Anon after, the fame of this fantastical prophet went all the realm over, and his name was known everywhere, (as foolishness is much regarded of people where wisdom is not in place,) specially because he was then imprisoned for the matter, the rumour was the larger, their wonderings were the wantoner, their practising the foolisher, their busy talks and other idle occupyings the greater. Continually from thence (as the rude manner of people is) old gossips' tales went abroad, new tales were invented, fables were added to fables, and lies grew upon lies; so that every day new slanders were raised on the king, and not one of them true; rumours arose, blasphemies were spread, the enemies rejoiced, and treasons by the priests were maintained; and what likewise was surmised, or other subtlety practised, all was then fathered upon this

foolish prophet: as, Thus saith Peter Wakefield; Thus hath he prophesied, and, This shall come to pass; yea, many times when he thought nothing less. When the Ascension day was come, which was prophesied of before, King John commanded his regal tent to be spread abroad in the open field, passing that day with his noble council and men of honour, in the greatest solemnity that ever he did afore. solacing himself with musical instruments and songs, most in sight amongst his trusty friends, When that day was past in all prosperity and mirth, his enemies, being confounded, turned all to an allegorical understanding, to make the prophecy good, and said, He is no longer king, for the pope reigneth, and not he; yet reigned he still, and his son after him, to prove that prophet a liar, Then was the king by his council persuaded that this false prophet had troubled all the realm, perverted the hearts of the people, and raised the commons against him. For his words went over the sea by the help of his prelates, and came to the French king's ear, and gave unto him a great encouragement to invade the land; he had not else done it so suddenly. But he was most foully deceived, as all they are and shall be that put their trust in such dark, drowsy dreams of hypocrites. The king therefore commanded that he should be drawn and hanged like a traitor.

After that the popish prelates, monks, canons, priests, &c. saw this their crafty juggling by their feigned prophet would not speed, notwithstanding they had done no little harm thereby; to help the matter more forward, they began to travail and practise with Pope Innocent of the one side, and also with the French king on the other side, besides subtle treasons which they wrought within the realm, and by their confessions in the ear, whereby they both blinded the nobility and commons. The king thus compassed about on every side with enemies, and fearing the sequel thereof, knowing the conspiracies that were in working against him, as well by the pope, (in all that ever he might,) as also by Philip the French king by his procurement; and moreover his own people, especially his lords and barons, being rebelliously incited against him; as by the pope's curses and interdictions against such as took his part, and by his absolutions and dispensations with all those that would rebel against him, commanding them to detain from him such homage, service, duties, debts, and all other allegiance that godly subjects owe and are bound to yield and give to their liege lord and prince: all which things considered, the king, I say, in the thirteenth year of his reign, for that the French king began to make sharp invasion upon him within his own realm, sent speedy ambassadors to the pope (as to the fountain of all this his mischief) to work and entreat his peace and reconciliation with him, promising to do whatsoever the pope should will him and command him in the reformation of himself, and restitution of all wrongs done to holy church, and to make due satisfaction therefore unto all men that could complain.

Then sent the pope again into England his legate Pandulph with other ambassadors; the king also at Canterbury (by letters, as it should seem, certified from his own ambassadors) waited their coming. Where, the thirteenth day of May, the king received them, making unto them an oath, that of and for all things wherein he stood accused he would make ample restitution and satisfaction. Unto whom also all the lords and barons of England (so many as there were with the king attending the legate's coming) sware in like manner, that if the king would not accomplish in every thing the oath which he had taken, then they would cause him to bold and confirm the same, whether he would or not, (or by strength,) to use the author's words.

Then submitted the king himself unto the court of Rome, and to the pope, and, resigning, gave up his dominions and realms of England and Ireland from him and from his heirs for evermore that should come of him, with this condition, that the king

and his heirs should take again these two dominions of the pope to farm, paying yearly therefore to the court of Rome one thousand marks of silver. Then took the king the crown from his head, kneeling upon his knees, in the presence of all his lords and barons of England, to Pandulph, the pope's chief legate, saying in this wise: Here I resign up the crown of the realm of England to the pope's hands, Innocent the Third, and put me wholly in his mercy and ordinance. Then took Pandulph the crown of King John, and kept it five days, as a possession and seizin-taking of these two realms of England and Ireland; confirming also all things promised by his charter obligatory as followeth.

"To all Christian people throughout the world dwelling, John, by the grace of God king of England, greeting. To your university known be it. that forso much as we have grieved and offended God and our mother church of Rome, and forso much as we have need of the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ; and we may nothing so worthy offer, and competent satisfaction make, to God and to holy church, (but if it were our own body,) as with our realms of England and of Ireland; then by the grace of the Holy Ghost we desire to meek us for the love of him, that meeked him to the death upon the cross. And through counsel of the nobles, earls, and barons, we offer and freely grant to God, and to the apostles St. Peter and Paul, and to our mother church of Rome, and to our holy father Pope Innocent the Third, and to all the popes that come after him, all the realm, patronages of churches of England and of Ireland, with all the appurtenances, for remission of sins, and help and health of our kings' souls, and of all Christian souls. So that from this time afterward we will receive and hold of our mother church of Rome as in farm, doing fealty to our holy father the pope, Innocent the Third, and to all the popes that come after him, in the manner above said. And in the presence of the wise man Pandulph, the pope's sooth-deacon, we make liege homage, as if it were in the pope's presence, and we before him were, and as if he himself should have done all manner of things above said; and thereto we bind us, and all that come after us, and our heirs for evermore, without any gainsaying, to the pope, and eke the ward of the church vacant. And in token of this thing ever for to last, we will, confirm, and ordain, that he be our special renter of the foresaid realms (saving St. Peter pence) in all things. To the mother church of Rome paying by the year one thousand marks of silver, at two times of the year, for all manner of customs that we should do for the said realms; that is to say, at Michaelmas and at Easter; that is, for England seven hundred marks, and three hundred marks for Ireland; saving to us and to our heirs our justices and our other franchises. And all these things that have been said before, we will that they be firm and stable without end; and to that obligation we, and all our successors, and our heirs in this manner will be bound, that if we or any of our heirs through any presumption fail in any point again of these things above said, (and after being warned, he will not right amend him,) he shall then lose the foresaid realms for evermore, and this charter of obligation and our warrant for evermore be firm and stable without gainsaying. We shall from this day afterward be true to God, and to the mother church of Rome, and to thee, Innocent the Third, and to all that come after thee; and the realms of England and of Ireland we shall maintain truly in all manner of points, against all manner of men, by our power, through God's help."

Upon this obligation the king was discharged, the second day of July. from that tyrannical interdiction, under which he continued six years and three months. But before the releasement thereof, first he was miserably compelled (as hath been declared) to give over both his crown and sceptre to that antichrist of Rome for the space of five days, and, as his client, vassal, feudary, and tenant, to receive it again of

him at the hands of another cardinal: being bound obligatory, both for himself and for his successors, to pay yearly (for acknowledgment thereof) one thousand marks for England and Ireland. Then came they thither from all parts of the realm so many as had their consciences wounded for obeying their liege king, as blind idiots, and there they were absolved, every one of his own bishop, except the spiritual fathers and ecclesiastical soldiers, for they were compelled to seek to Rome, as captives reserved to the pope's own fatherhood. In this new ruffling the king easily granted, that abbots, deans, and curates should be elected freely everywhere, so that the laws of the realm were truly observed. But against that were the bishops, alleging their canonical decrees and rules synodal, determining the king therein to have nothing to do, but only to give his consent after they had once elected. But among this shaven rabble some there were which consented not to this wicked error; a sort also there were of the prelates at that time which were not pleased that the land's interdiction should cease, till the king had paid all that which their clergy in all quarters of the realm had demanded, without reason; yea, what every saucy Sir John for his part demanded, even to the very breaking of their hedges, the stealing of their apples, and their other occasional damages, which grew to an incredible sum, and impossible to be answered, Such was the outrageous cruel noise of that mischievous progeny of antichrist against their natural king.

Notwithstanding that which is uttered afore concerning the bitter malice of the clergy against their prince, yet did the pope's legate and cardinal Nicolaus Tusculanus much favour his doings, and allow of his proceedings. Wherefore they reported of him, that he was exceeding partial, and regarded not their matters ecclesiastical, as he should have done. For, leaving the account of their restitutions, he went with the king's officers, as the king's pleasure was, to the cathedral minsters, abbeyes, priories, deaneries, and great churches vacant; and there for the next incumbent always he appointed two, one for the king, another for the parties. But upon him only whom the king nominated he compelled most commonly the election to pass, which vexed them wonderfully. Upon this, therefore, they raised a new conspiracy against the king's person by help of their bishops, seditious prelates, and such noblemen as they had drawn to their parties. We beheld (saith Hoveden) about the same time many noble houses and assemblies divided in many places. The fathers and the aged men stood upon the king's part, but the younger sort contrary. And some there were that for the love of their kindred, and in other sundry respects, forsook the king again. Yea, the fame went that time, saith he, that they were confederated with Alexander, the Scottish king, and Leolin, the prince of Wales, to work him an utter mischief. The archbishop called a council at Oxford; whereat some would not tarry, considering the confusion thereof; the other sort, having very obstinate hearts, reviled the king most spitefully behind his back, and said that from thenceforth he ought to be taken for no governor of theirs. Their outrageous and frantic clamours so much prevailed in those days, that it grew to a grievous tumult, and a most perilous commotion.

In the year of our Lord 1215, as witnesseth Paulus Æmilius, and other histories, Pope Innocent the Third held a general synod at Rome, called the Council Lateran. The chief causes of that council were these: In the days of this Innocent, heresy (as he calleth the truth of God, or the doctrine that rebuketh sin) began to rise up very high, and to spread forth his branches abroad; by reason whereof many princes were excommunicated; as Otho, the emperor, John, the king of England, Peter, king of Arragon, Raymond, the earl of Tholouse, Aquitania, Sataloni, and such other like, as is aforesaid, So that it could be no otherwise, saith Hoveden, but with the sharp axe of

the gospel (so called he the pope's excommunications) they ought of necessity to have been cut off from the church. Therefore was this council provided, proclaimed, and prelates from all nations thereunto called. And to colour those mischiefs which he then went about, he caused it by his legates and cardinals (very crafty merchants) to be noised abroad, that his intent therein was only to have the church universally reformed, and the Holy Land from the Turks' hands recovered. But all this was craft and falsehood, as the sequel thereof hath manifestly declared. For his purpose thereby was to subdue all princes, and to make himself rich and wealthy. For there he made this antichristian act, and established it by public decree, that the pope should have from thenceforth the correction of all Christian princes, and that no emperor should be admitted, except he were sworn before, and were also crowned of him. He ordained moreover, that whosoever he were that should speak evil of the pope, he should be punished in hell with eternal damnation. He provided confession to help these matters; he allowed their bread a pix to cover him, and a bell when he goeth abroad; and made the mass equal with Christ's gospel.

In this council was first invented and brought in transubstantiation, of which Johannes Scotus, whom we call Duns, maketh mention in his fourth book, writing in these words: "The words of the Scripture might be expounded more easily and more plainly without transubstantiation. But the church did choose this sense, which is more hard; being moved thereunto, as it seemeth, chiefly, because that of the sacraments men ought to hold as the holy Church of Rome holdeth," &c. And in the same place he maketh mention of Innocentius the Third.

Moreover, in the said council was established and ratified the wretched and impious act compelling priests to abjure lawful matrimony. Whereupon these metres or verses were made the same time against him, which here follow under-written.

Nocent, not innocent, he is that seeketh to deface
 By word the thing that he by deed hath taught men to embrace;
 Which being now a bishop old, doth study to destroy
 The thing which he a young man once did covet to enjoy.
 Priest Zachary beth had a wife, and had a child also,
 By means of whom there did to him great praise and honour grow;
 For he did baptize Him which was the Saviour of mankind:
 Ill him befall that holdeth this new error in his mind.
 Into the higher heavens good Paul was lifted from below,
 And many secret, hidden things be leaned there to know:
 Returned at length from them to us, and teaching rules of life,
 He said, Let each man have his own and only wedded wife.
 For this and other documents of them that learned be.
 Much better and more comely eke it seemeth unto me.
 That each should have his own alone, and not his neighbours wife,
 Lest with his neighbour he do fall in hate and wrathful strife.
 Thy neighbours' daughters, or their wives, or nieces to defile,
 Unlawful is, therefore beware do not thyself beguile.
 Have thou thine own true wedded wife, delight in her alway,
 With safer mind that thou mayst look to see the later day.

Now let us return to King John again, and mark how the priests and their adherents were plagued for their humble handlings of his Majesty's will. In the foresaid Council of Lateran, and the same year, was Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury. excommunicated of Pope Innocent, with all those bishops, prelates, priests, barons, and commons which had been of counsel with him in the former

rebellion. And when the said archbishop had made instant suit of him to be absolved, anon he made him this answer with great indignation: Brother mine, I swear by St. Peter thou shalt not so soon at my hand obtain the benefit of absolution; for why? thou hast not only done harm to the king of England. but also thou hast in a great many of things injured the Church of Rome here: and therefore thou shalt tarry my leisure. The archbishop was also at that time suspended out of the church, and commanded to say no mass at all, neither yet to exercise any other ecclesiastical office; because he would not at time convenient execute the pope's curse upon the rebellious barons. With them the said pope had been so deeply offended and angered a little before, that the great charter of the liberties of England (with great indignation and countenance most terrible) he rent and destroyed, by sentence definitive condemning it for ever; and by and by thereupon cursed all the other rebels, with book, bell, and candle. The greater captains of them (with the citizens of London) for that assay were pronounced excommunicate by name, and remained still interdicted. They appealed then to the council general.

In the same year, 1215, were those great men also summoned to appear at Rome in that general synod, which would not consent to their king's expulsion, nor yet tyrannical deposing. Though they were called (they said) thereunto by the archbishop of Canterbury and others, and required by oath to subscribe unto the same; yet could they not of their conscience do it, because he had humbled himself, and also granted to keep peace with all men. Thus was the whole realm miserably then divided into two factions through malice of the clergy: so strifes increased in the land everywhere. Yet were there of the lords and gentlemen a great number at that time that followed the king and allowed his doings. But they which were on the other side, not a little suspecting the state that they were in, fled speedily to the French king Philip; desiring him that he would grant to them his eldest son Louis, and they would elect him to be their king, and that without much tarriance. They besought him, moreover, that he would send with him a strong and mighty power, such as were able to subdue him utterly, that they might (they said) be delivered of such a wicked tyrant. Such was the report that those most wicked papists gave their Christian governor, appointed to them of God; whom they ought to have obeyed, though he had been evil, even for very conscience sake, Rom. xiii. And as certain of the lords and barons were busy to choose the said Louis for their king, the pope sent thither one Gualo, the cardinal of St. Martin, to stay those rash and cruel attempts; charging the French king, upon his allegiance, that he with all power possible should favour, maintain, and defend King John of England, his feudary or tenant. The French king thereto made answer, as one not content with that arrogant precept, The realm of England, said he. was never yet any part of St. Peter's patrimony, neither is it now, nor yet any time shall be hereafter. Thus spake he, for that he was in hope to obtain it for his son by treason of the barons.

No prince or potentate (said Philip the French king) may pledge or give away his kingdom, which is, beside the realm, the government of his whole commonwealth, without the lawful consent of his barons, which are bound to defend the same. If the pope shall introduce or set up such a precedent in Christianity, he shall at his pleasure bring all Christian kings and their kingdoms to nought. I like not this example in these days begun. I cannot therefore allow this fact of King John of England: though he be my utter adversary, yet I much lament that he hath so endamaged his realm, and hath brought that noble ground and queen of provinces under miserable tribute. The chief lords and men of his nobility standing by when he uttered these words, being as it were in a fury, cried with one voice, By the blood of God, in whom we trust to be saved, we

will stick in this article to the losing of our heads. Let the king of England do therein what him liketh; no king may put his land under tribute, and so make his nobility captive servants. With that came in Louis the king's eldest son, and said unto them all there present, I beseech you, let not my purposed journey; the barons of England have elected me for their lord and king, and I will not surely lose my right, but I will fight for it even to the very death, yea, so long as heart shall stir within my breast: and I doubt not but I shall well obtain it, for I have friends among them. His father the king stood still, as if he had been in a dump, and answered never a word, but fared as though he had dissembled the matter, Belike he mistrusted something therein, as he might well enough; for all was procured by the priests, that they might live licentiously in all wealth and freedom from the king's yoke.

About the same time were such treasons and conspiracies wrought by the bishops, priests, and monks throughout all the realm, that the king knew not where to become or find trusty friends: he was then compelled, by the uncertainty of his subjects, to travel from place to place, but not without a great army of men, looking every day when his barons and their confederates would cruelly set upon him. At last he came to Dover. and there looked for aid from other quarters, which loved him better than did his own people. And thither resorted to him from Flanders, Brabant, and Holland, on the one side, and from Guienne, Gascony, and Poictiers, on the other side, and from other countries besides, a wonderful number of men. The report then went, that the pope had written unto those countries mightily to assist him for divers considerations: one was, for that he had both submitted himself and his dominions unto his protection: another was, because he had taken upon him, a little before, the livery of the cross, to win again Jerusalem: the third was, for that he had gotten by him the dominion of England and Ireland, and feared to lose both, if he should chance to decay. For the space of three months the king remained in the Isle of Wight abroad in the air, to quiet himself for a time from all manner of tumults, and led there a solitary life among rivers and watermen; whereas he rather counted to die than to live, being so traitorously handled of his bishops and barons, and not knowing how to be justly avenged of them. Upon the purification day of our Lady therefore he took upon him the cross or voyage against the Turks, for recovery of Jerusalem, moved thereto rather for the doubts which he had of his people, than for any other devotion else. And thus he said to his familiar servants: Since I submitted myself and my lands, England and Ireland, to the Church of Rome, (sorrow come to it,) never thing prospered with me, but all hath gone against me.

In the next year after, 1216, was Simon Langton chosen archbishop of York; but that election soon after was dissolved; for information was given to the pope, that the said Simon was brother to Stephen Langton, the archbishop of Canterbury, which had been the occasion of all the tumults which were at that time in England. And the pope had the more hate unto him, for that he had brought him up of nought, and did find him at that time so stubborn; wherefore he placed in his brother's place Walter Gray, the bishop of Winchester.

In the same year, Gualo, the pope's legate, renewed his great curse upon Louis, the French king's son, for usurping upon King John; likewise upon Simon Langton, and Gervais Hobruge, for provoking him to the same, and that with a wonderful solemnity; for in that doing he made all the bells to be rung, the candles to be light, the doors to be opened and the book of excommunications or interdictions publicly to be read, committing them wholly to the devil for their contumacy and contempt. He also commanded the bishops and curates to publish it abroad over all the whole realm, to

the terror of all his subjects. The said Simon and Gervais laughed him to scorn, and derided much his doings in that behalf, saying that, for the just title of Louis, they had appealed to the general council at Rome.

The magistrates of London, and citizens of the same, did likewise despise and disdainfully mock all that the pope had there commanded and done. And, in spite both of him and his legate, they kept company with them that were excommunicated, both at table and at church, showing themselves thereby as open contemners both of him and his laws. Louis at London, taking himself for king, constituted Simon Langton for his high chancellor, and Gervais Hobruche for his chief preacher, by whose daily preachings (as well the barons as the citizens themselves being excommunicated) he caused all the church doors to be opened, and the service to be sung; and the said Ludovike was in all points fit for their hands. About this time was Pandulph, then cardinal, collecting the Peter pence, an old pillage of the pope, taking great pains therein. And for his great labours in those the affairs of holy church, and for other great miracles besides, he was then made bishop of Norwich, to the augmenting of his dignity and expenses.

It chanced about this time, that the viscount of Melun, a very noble man of the realm of France, which came thither with the Prince Louis, fell deadly sick at London, and also moved in conscience to call certain of the English barons unto him, such as were there appointed to the custody of that city, said unto them, "I lament your sorrowful case, and pity with my heart the destruction that is coming towards you and your country." The dangerous snares which are prepared for your utter confusion are hidden from you; you do not behold them, but take you heed of them in time. Prince Louis hath sworn a great oath, and sixteen of his earls and noblemen are of counsel with him, that if he obtain the crown of England, he will banish all them from service, and deprive them of lands and goods, as many as he findeth now to go against their liege king, and are traitors to his noble person. And because you shall not take this tale for a fable, I assure you on my faith, lying now at the mercy of God, that I was one of them which was sworn to the same. I have great conscience thereof, and therefore I give you this warning. I pity poor England, which hath been so noble a region, that now it is come to so extreme misery. And when he with tears had lamented it a space, he returned again unto them, and said. My friends, I counsel you earnestly to look to yourselves, and to provide the remedy in time, lest it come upon you unawares. Your king for a season hath kept you under; but if Louis prevail, he will put you from all: of two extreme evils choose the more easy, and keep that secret which I have told you of good will. With that he gave over and departed this life.

When this was once noised among the barons, they were in great heaviness; for they saw themselves entrapped every way, and to be in exceeding great danger. And this daily augmented that fear which then came upon the barons. They were extremely hated of the pope and his legates, and every week came upon them new excommunications. Daily detriments they had besides in their possessions and goods, in their lands and houses, corn and cattle, wives and children; so that some of them were driven to such need, that they were enforced to seek preys and booties for sustaining their miserable lives. For look whatsoever Prince Louis obtained by his wars, either territories or castles, he gave them all to his Frenchmen, in spite of their heads, and said that they were but traitors, like as they had warning afore, which grieved them worst of all. At the last, they perceiving that they in seeking to avoid one mischief were ready to fall into another much worse, they began to lay their heads together, consenting to submit themselves wholly with all humility unto the mercy of

their late sovereign and natural liege lord King John. And for that they were somewhat in doubt of their lives for the treason before committed, many of the friends of them which were of most credit with him made suit for them. So were a great number of them pardoned, after instant and great suit made for them. I here omit his recovery of Rochester castle and city, with many other dangerous adventures against the foresaid Louis, both at London, York, Lincoln, Winchester, Norwich, and other places else, as things not pertaining to my purpose. And now I return to my matter again.

Into Suffolk and Norfolk he consequently journeyed, with a very strong army of men, and there with great mischief he afflicted them, because they had given place and were sworn to his enemies. After that, he destroyed the abbeyes of Peterborough and Crowland, for the great treasons which they also had wrought against him, and so he departed from thence into Lincolnshire.

In this year, A.D. 1216, about the seventeenth day of July, died Pope Innocent the Third, and was buried, in a city called Perugia in Italy; whither he had travelled to make a peace between the Genoese and Pisans, for his own commodity and advantage. After him anon succeeded one Centius, otherwise called Honorius III., a man of very great age; yet lived he in the papacy ten years and a half, and more. When this was once known in England, greatly rejoiced all they which were King John's enemies, specially the priests; yet had they small cause, as will appear hereafter. They noised it all the realm over, that this new pope would set a new order, and not rule all things as the other pope did; thinking thereby that he would have done all things to their commodity; but they found it otherwise. For he made all them which were excommunicate to pay double and treble, ere they could be restored again to their former livings.

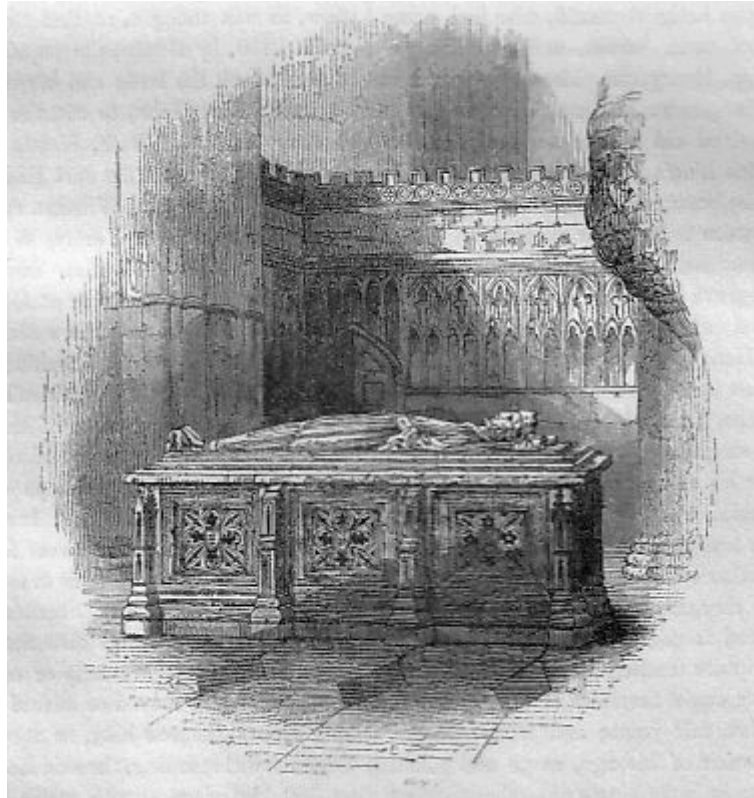
And in the selfsame year, as King John was come to Swinstead abbey, net far from Lincoln, he rested there two days; where, as most writers testify, he was most traitorously poisoned by a monk of that abbey, of the sect of the Cistercians, or St. Bernard's brethren, called Simon of Swinstead. As concerning the noble personage of this prince, this testimony giveth Roger Heveden therein: "Doubtless," saith he, "King John was a mighty prince, but not so fortunate as many were; not altogether unlike to Marius the noble Roman, he tasted of fortune both ways; bountiful in mercy; in wars sometimes he won, sometimes again he lost. He was also very bounteous and liberal unto strangers, but of his own people (for their daily treasons' sake) he was a great oppressor, so that he trusted more to foreigners than to them."

Among other divers and sundry conditions belonging to this king, one there was which is not in him to be reprehended, but commended rather; for that, being far from the superstition which kings at that time were commonly subject to, he regarded not the popish mass, as in certain chronicles written of him may be collected; for this I find testified of him by Matthew Paris, that the king upon a time in his hunting, coming where a very fat stag was cut lip and opened. (or how the hunters term it I cannot tell.) the king beholding the fatness and the liking of the stag. "See," saith he. "how easily and happily he hath lived, and yet for all that he never heard any mass."

It is recorded and found in the chronicle of William Caxton, called *Fructus Temporum*, and in the seventh book, that the foresaid monk Simon, being much offended with certain talk that the king had at his table, concerning Louis, the French king's son, (which then had entered and usurped upon him,) did cast in his wicked heart how he most speedily might bring him to his end. And first of all he counselled with his abbot, showing him the whole matter, and what he was minded to do. He

alleged for himself the prophecy of Caiaphas, John xi., saying, It is better that one man die, than all the people should perish. "I am well contented," saith he, "to lose my life, and so become a martyr, that I may utterly destroy this tyrant." With that the abbot did weep for gladness, and much commended his fervent zeal, as he took it. The monk then being absolved of his abbot for doing this act, (aforehand) went secretly into a garden upon the back side. and finding there a most venomous toad, he so pricked him and pressed him with his penknife, that he made him vomit all the poison that was within him. This done, he conveyed it into a cup of wine, and with a smiling and flattering countenance he said thus to the king: "If it shall like your princely majesty, here is such a cup of wine as ye never drank a better before in all your lifetime; I trust this wassail shall make all England glad:" and with that he drank a great draught thereof, the king pledging him. The monk anon after went to the farmary, and there died, (his entrails gushing out of his body,) and had continually from thenceforth three monks to sing mass for his soul, confirmed by their general chapter. What became after that of King John, ye shall know right well in the process following. I would ye did mark well the wholesome proceedings of these holy votaries, how virtuously they obey their king, whom God hath appointed, and how religiously they bestow their confessions, absolutions, and masses.

The king within a short space after, feeling great grief in his body, asked for Simon the monk; and answer was made that he was departed this life. Then God have mercy upon me (said he); I suspected as much, after he had said that all England should thereof be glad; he meant now I perceive those of his own generation. With that he commanded his chariot to be prepared, for he was not able to ride. So went he from thence to Sleaford castle, and from thence to Newark on Trent, and there within less than three days he died. Upon his death-bed he much repented his former life, and forgave all them with a pitiful heart that had done him injury; desiring that his elder son Henry might be admonished by his example, and learn by his misfortunes to be natural, favourable, gentle, and loving to his natural people. When his body was embalmed and spiced, as the manner is of kings, his bowels or entrails were buried at Croxton abbey, which was of the sect of Premonstratenses, or canons of St. Norbert. His hired soldiers, both Englishmen and strangers, were still about him, and followed his corpse triumphantly in their armour, till they came to the cathedral church of Worcester, and there honourably was he buried by Silvester the bishop, betwixt St. Oswald and St. Wolstan, two bishops of that church. He died in the year of our Lord 1216, the nineteenth day of October, after he had reigned in such calamity, by the subtle conveyance of his clergy, eighteen years, and six months, and odd days. Now so soon as King John was dead and buried, (as is said before,) the princes, lords, and barons, so many as were of his part, (as well of strangers as of them that were born here,) by counsel of the legate Gualo, gathered themselves together, and all with one consent proclaimed Henry his son for their king. Of whom more shall follow (the Lord willing) hereafter.



The tomb of King John

Many opinions are among the chroniclers of the death of King John. Some of them do write that he died of sorrow and heaviness of heart, as Polydore; some, of surfeiting in the night, as Hadulphus Niger; some, of a bloody flux, as Roger Hoveden; some, of a burning ague; some, of a cold sweat; some, of eating apples; some, of eating pears; some, of plums, &c.

Thus you see what variety is among the writers concerning the death of this King John. Of which writers, although the most agree in this, that he was poisoned by the monk above named, yet Matthew Paris, something differing from the others, writeth thus concerning his death, that he going from Lynn to Lincolnshire, and there hearing of the loss of his carriage and of his treasures upon the washes, was plunged into great heaviness of mind; insomuch that he fell thereby into a fervent fever, being at the abbey of Swinstead. This ague he also increased through evil surfeiting and naughty diet, by eating peaches and drinking of new ciser, or, as we call it, cider. Thus, being sick, he was carried to the castle of Sleaford, and from thence to the castle of Newark: where, calling for Henry his son, he gave to him the succession of his crown and kingdom, writing to all his lords and nobles to receive him for their king; and shortly after, upon St. Lucy's even, departed this life, being buried at Worcester.

In Gisburn I find otherwile, who, dissenting from others, saith that he was poisoned with a dish of pears, which the monk had prepared for the king therewith to poison him. He asking the king whether he would taste of his fruit, and being bid to bring them in; according to the king's bidding, did so. At the bringing in whereof (saith the story) the precious stones about the king began to sweat; insomuch that the king, misdoubting some poison, demanded of the monk what he had brought. He said, of his fruit, and that very good, the best that ever he did taste. "Eat," said the king. And he took one of the pears which he did know, and did eat. Also being bid to take another,

he did eat likewise savourily, and so likewise the third. Then the king, refraining no longer, took one of the poisoned pears, and was therewith poisoned, as is before said.

In the reign of this King Joim, the citizens of London first obtained of the king to choose yearly a mayor. In whose time also the bridge of London was first builded of stone, which before was of wood.

49. King Henry III.



AFTER this King John had reigned, as some say, seventeen years, or, as some say, though falsely, nineteen years, he was, as is above said, poisoned and died. This king left behind him four sons and three daughters: first, Henry; the second, Richard, and he was earl of Cornwall: the third, William of Valentia; the fourth, Guido Disenaie: he had also another son, who afterward was made bishop. Of his daughters, the first was Isabella, married afterward to Frederic the emperor: the second, named Eleanor, married to William, earl marshal; the third to Mountfort. the earl of Leicester. &c. Another story saith that he had but two daughters, Isabella, and Eleanor, or, as another calleth her, Joan, which was after queen of Scotland.

This King John being deceased, who had many enemies, both of earls, barons, and especially of the popish clergy, Henry, the eldest son, was then of the age of nine years; at what time the most of the lords of England did adhere to Louis, or Ludovic, the French king's son, whom they had sent for before, in displeasure of King John, to be their king, and had sworn to him their allegiance. Then William, earl marshal, a nobleman, and of great authority, and a grave and sound counsellor, friendly and quietly called unto him divers earls and barons; and taking this Henry the young prince, son of King John, setteth him before them, using these words: "Behold, saith he, "right honourable and well-beloved, although we have persecuted the father of this young prince for his evil demeanour, and worthily; yet this young child, whom here ye see before you, as he is in years tender, so is he pure and innocent from these his father's doings; wherefore, inasmuch as every man is charged only with the burden of his own works and transgressions, neither shall the child, as the Scripture teacheth us, bear the iniquity of his father; we ought therefore of duty and conscience to pardon this young and tender prince, and take compassion of his age, as ye see. And now forsomuch as he is the king's natural and eldest son, and must be our sovereign and king, and successor of this kingdom; come and let us appoint him our king and governor: and let us remove from us this Louis the French king's son, and suppress his people, which is a confusion and a shame to our nation; and the yoke of our servitude let us cast off from our shoulders." To these words spake and answered the earl of Gloucester: "And by what reason or right," said he, "can we so do, seeing we have called him hither, and have sworn to him our fealty?"

Whereunto the earl marshal inferred again, and said, "Good right and reason we have, and ought of duty to do no less; for that he, contrary to our mind and calling, hath abused our affiance and fealties. Truth it is we called him, and meant to prefer him to be our chieftain and governor; but he eftsoons, surprised in pride, hath contemned and despised us; and if we shall so suffer him, he will subvert and overthrow both us and our nation; and so shall we remain a spectacle of shame to all men, and be as outcasts of all the world."

At these words all they, as inspired from above, cried all together with one voice, "Be it so, he shall be our king." And so the day was appointed for his

coronation, which was the day of Simon and Jude. This coronation was kept, not at Westminster, forasmuch as Westminster the same time was holden of the Frenchmen, but at Gloucester, the safest place, as was thought, at that time in the realm, A.D. 1216, by Swalo, the pope's legate, through counsel of all the lords and barons that held with his father King John, to wit, the bishop of Winchester, bishop of Bath, bishop of Chester, and bishop of Worcester, the earl Radulph of Chester, William, earl marshal, William, earl of Pembroke, William Tren, earl of Ferers, William de Brewer, Serle or Samarke de Mal, baron. These were at the crowning of the king at Gloucester. Many other lords and barons there were, which as yet held with Louis the French king's son, to whom they had done their homage before. And immediately after the crowning of this king he held his council at Bristow at St. Martin's feast; where were assembled eleven bishops of England and Wales, with divers earls, and barons, and knights of England, all which did swear fealty to the king. After which homage thus done to the king, the legate Swalo interdicted Wales, because they held with the foresaid Louis; and also the barons and all others, as many as gave help or counsel to Louis, or any other that moved or stirred any war against King Henry, the new king, he accursed them. All which notwithstanding, the said Louis did not cease, but first laid siege to the castle of Dover fifteen days. When he could not prevail there, he took the castle of Berkhamstead, and also the castle of Hertford, doing much harm in the countries, in spoiling and robbing the people where he went; by reason whereof the lords and commons, which held with the king, assembled themselves together to drive Louis and his men out of the land. But some of the barons with the Frenchmen in the mean season went to Lincoln, and took the city, and held it to the use of Louis. Which being known, eftsoons a great power of the king's part made thither, as earl Radulph of Chester, William, earl marshal, and William de Brewer, earl of Ferers, with many other lords, and gave battle unto Louis and his party; so that in conclusion Louis lost the field, and of his side were slain the earl of Perche, Saer de Quincy, earl of Winchester, Henry de la Bohun, earl of Hertford, and Sir Robert le Fitzwater, with divers other more. Whereupon Louis for succour fled to London, causing the gates there to be shut and kept, waiting there for more succour out of France. Which as soon as the king had knowledge of, immediately he sent to the mayor and burgesses of the city, willing them to render them and their city to him as their chief lord and king, promising to grant to them again all their franchises and liberties as in times past, and to confirm the same by his great charter and seal. In this mean time, on Bartholomew even, Eustace, a French lord, accompanied with many other lords and nobles of France, come with a great power, to the number of a hundred ships, to aid and assist the said Lewis; who, before they arrived, were encountered upon the seas by Richard, King John's bastard son: who, having no more but eighteen ships to keep the cinque ports, set eagerly upon them, and through God's grace overcame them, where presently he smote off the head of Eustace: the rest of the French lords, to the number of ten, he brought with him to the land, where he imprisoned them in the castle of Dover, and slew almost all their men that came with them, and sunk their ships in the sea; only fifteen ships (saith some of my stories) escaped away. Ludovic or Louis hearing this loss of his ships and men, and misdoubting his own life for the great mischief he had done to the realm, sought means by Swalo, and the archbishop of Canterbury, and by other lords, to be at accord with the king. With whom at length it was so concluded and agreed, that for his costs and expenses he should have a thousand pounds of silver given. Matthew Paris speaketh of fifteen thousand marks, which he borrowed of the Londoners, that he should depart the realm, never to return into England again, neither he nor any of his.

This done, he, with all the other barons that took his part, was assoiled of Swalo the legate. And thus peace being confirmed at Merton, Louis took his leave: and being brought honourably to the sea with the bishop of Canterbury and other bishops, earls, and barons, he returned home into France.

And here, saith Gisburn, it was truly verified that was before spoken of the French king father of Louis. At what time the said Louis was in England, his father the French king demanded of his messengers coming into France where his son was. And they said, at Stamford. And he asking again whether he had got the castle of Dover. And they said, No. Then the father, swearing by the arm of St. James, My son, quoth he, hath not one foot in England; as afterward well proved true.

But the chieftest help that repelled Louis and the Frenchmen out of the realm, and that most preferred King John's son to the crown, was the singular working of God's hand, whereof mention was made before; which was through the confession of a certain gentleman of the French host, (as Florilegus doth testify.) who lying sore sick at the point of death, and seeing no hope to escape, was touched in conscience, for danger of his soul's health, openly to confess and utter to the barons of England what was the purpose of the Frenchmen to do; who were conspired and sworn together among themselves, with a privy compaction, that, so soon as they subdued the land, they should thrust all the chief and nobles thereof into perpetual exile out of the realm, whereout they should never return again. This coming to the ears of the barons, as is said, gave them to consider more with themselves, whereby many of them were the more willing to leave Louis, and apply to their natural king and prince. Which no less may also be an admonition to all times and ages for Englishmen to take heed, not to admit or to place foreign rulers into the realm, lest perhaps it follow that they be displaced themselves.

After the happy departure of this Louis and his Frenchmen out of the land, whereby the state of this realm, long vexed before, was now somewhat more quieted; immediately Swalo the legate, looking to his harvest, directeth forth inquisitors through every shire, to search out all such bishops, abbots, priors, canons, and secular priests, of what order or degree soever they were, that with any succour or counsel did either help, or else consented to Louis. For all these were exempted out of the charter of pardon and absolution made before, between the king and Louis. By reason whereof no small gain grew to the pope and the cardinal; for all such were either put out of their livings and sent up to the pope: or else were fain to fine sweetly for them. Among whom, besides a great number of other clerks, both religious and secular, was Hugo, bishop of Lincoln, who, for the recovery of his bishopric, disbursed one thousand marks to the pope, and one hundred marks to the foresaid Swalo the legate, who now (as Paris recordeth) by this time had gathered in a fair crop of that which he did never sow.

About this season, or not much before, died Pope Innocent the Third, in the nineteenth year of his popedom, to whose custody Frederic, the nephew of Frederic Barbarossa, being yet young, was committed by the empress his mother; of whom more shall follow (the Lord willing) hereafter. After this Innocent, next succeeded Pope Honorius the Third, who, writing to young King Henry in a special letter, exhorteth him to the love of virtue, and to the fear of God, namely, to be circumspect with what familiars and resort he acquainted himself; but principally above all otherthings he admonisheth him to reverence the church, which is the spouse of Christ,

and to honour the ministers thereof, in whom Christ himself (saith he) is both honoured and despised. And this seemeth the chiefest article of that his writing to him.

Of this Pope Honorius, Abbot Urspergensis (who lived in the same time) reporteth a strange wonder, more strange peradventure than credible; which is this: Honorius being priest in Rome, (whose name was then Centius,) and procurator to Jacinth, a cardinal; so it befell, that his master sent him abroad about Rome, to borrow and procure money for him against his journey into Spain; for Pope Clement then intended to send this Jacinth his legate into Spain. As this Centius was walking by himself all sad and solicitous to speed his masters message, there cometh to him a certain aged and reverend father, and asketh him what cause he had to walk so heavy and careful. To whom he answered again, and signified the occasion of his business that then he had to do. Then the old father said to him, Go, and return home again, for thy master, saith he, shall not at this time go to Spain. How so, quoth the other; how is that true? As true, saith he, as it is certain that the pope shall die, and thy said master shall be pope after him. Centius, thinking that to be unlikely, said he could not believe that to be true. To whom the other inferreth again, So know this (said he) to be as certain as it is true that the city of Jerusalem this day is taken of the Saracens, and shall not be recovered again from them before the time of thy papacy. And thus speaking (saith Urspergensis) he vanished suddenly away. All which (saith the said author) came afterwards to pass, and were testified of the same Honorius, being pope afterward, in his public sermons at Rome. All which I grant may be, and yet notwithstanding this fabulous narration may be a piece of the popes old practices, subtly invented to drive men forth to Jerusalem to fight. Again, after Honorius (when he had governed ten years) followed Gregory the Ninth, which two popes were in the time of this King Henry the Third, and of Frederic the emperor; of whom we mind (Christ willing) further to touch, after that we shall have prosecuted more concerning the history of King Henry and matters of England.

After that, it so pleased the merciful providence of Almighty God to work this great mercy upon the stock of King John, (which, notwithstanding the unkind prelates with their false prophets had declared before, that never any of them should succeed in the throne after that king,) and also unto the whole commonwealth of the realm, in delivering them from the dangerous service of Ludovic and the foresaid Frenchmen. After their departure, the next year following, A.D. 1218, which was the third of this king's reign, the archbishop S. Langton, and the bishops, earls, and barons, resorted to London unto the king at Michaelmas next following, and there held a great parliament, wherein were confirmed and granted by the king all the franchises which were made and given by King John his father at Runnemede, and them he confirmed and ratified by his charter; which long time after (saith mine author) unto his days did continue, and were holden in England. For the which cause, by the nobles and commons was given and granted again unto the king two shillings for every plough land through England. And Hubert Burgh was made chief justice of England, of whose troubles more is to be said hereafter. And this was the third year of King Henry, and the fiftieth year after the death of Thomas Becket: wherefore the said Becket, the same year next following, was taken up and shrined for a new saint made of an old rebel. Thither came such resort of people of England and of France, that the country of Kent was not sufficient to sustain them. About the same time Isabella the kings mother was married to the earl of March. And William, the good earl marshal, died, which was the governor of the king and the realm, not without great lamentation of the people of

England. Then was the king committed to the government of Peter, bishop of Winchester. This noble earl left behind him five sons, and five daughters.

The year next ensuing, A.D. 1219, it was ordained and proclaimed through all the land, that all aliens and foreigners should depart the realm, and not return to the same again, only such excepted as used traffic or trade of merchandise under the king's safe conduct. This proclamation was thought chiefly to be set forth for this cause, to send out of the land Foukes de Brent, Philip de Marks, Egelardus de Ciconia, William Earl Albermarle, Robert de Veteriponte, Brihenne de Insula, Hugo de Bailluell, Roger de Gaugi, with divers other strangers more, which kept castles and holds of the king's against his will. Of these the forenamed Foukes was the principal, who fortified and held the castle of Bedford, which he had by the gift of King John, with might and strength against the king and his power, near the space of three months. Moreover, he went about to apprehend the king's justices at Dunstable; but they, being warned thereof, escaped all, except Henry Braybroke, whom he imprisoned in the said castle. The king hearing thereof, and consulting with his clergy and nobles, made his power against the same. Which after long siege and some slaughter at length he obtained, and hanged almost all that were within, to the number of ninety and seven, which was, as Paris writeth, about the seventh or eighth year of his reign. Foukes at the same time was in Wales; who, hearing of the taking of the castle, conveyed himself to the church of Coventry. At length, submitting himself to the king's mercy, upon consideration of his service done before to the king's father, he was committed to the custody of Eustace, bishop of London; and afterwards, being deprived of all his goods, possessions, and tenements within the realm, was forced to perpetual banishment, never to return to England again.

Here, by the way, I find it noted in Paris, that after this foresaid Foukes had spoiled and razed the church of St. Paul in Bedford, for the building up of his castle, the abbess of Helvestue, hearing thereof, caused the sword to be taken from the image of St. Paul standing in the church, so long as Foukes remained unpunished. Afterward, hearing him to be committed to the custody of St. Paul in London, she caused the sword to be put into the hands of the image again.

About this year the young king was crowned the second time at Westminster, about which time began the new building of our Lady church at Westminster. Shortly after Gualo the legate was called home again to Rome. For the holy father, being sick of a spiritual dropsy, thought this Gualo (having so large occupying in England) to be able somewhat to cure his disease. And so the legate returned with all his bags well stuffed, leaving Pandulph behind him to supply that bailiwick of his great grandfather the pope.

The life and acts of Pope Innocent the Third are partly described before, how he intruded Stephen Langton against the king's will into the archbishopric of Canterbury, stirring up also sixty and four monks of the same church of Canterbury privily to work against the king. Moreover, how he did excommunicate the said king as a public enemy of the church, so long as the said king withstood his tyrannical doings, putting him and his whole kingdom under interdiction for the space of five years and three months, and at length he deposed and deprived him from his sceptre, keeping it in his own hands for five days. How he absolved his subjects from their due obedience and subjection unto him. How he gave away his kingdoms and possessions to Louis the French king's son, commanding the said Louis to spoil him both of lands and life. Whereupon the king, being forsaken of his nobles, prelates, and commons,

was forced against his will to submit himself, and sware obedience unto the pope, paying unto him a yearly tribute of one thousand marks by year, for receiving his kingdom again, whereby both he and his successors after him were vassals afterwards unto the pope. These were the apostolical acts of this holy vicar in the realm of England. Moreover, he condemned Almeric, a worthy learned man and a bishop, for a heretic, for teaching and holding against images. Also he condemned the doctrine of Joachim Abbas (whom we spake of before) for heretical. This pope brought first into the church the paying of private tithes. He ordained the receiving once a year at Easter. Unto the papal decretals he added the decree, *Omnes utriusque sexus*, &c. Also the reservation of the sacrament, and the going with the bell and light before the sacrament, was by him appointed. In the said Council of Lateran he also ordained that the canon of the mass should be received with equal authority as though it had proceeded from the apostles themselves. He brought in transubstantiation.

Item, the said Innocent the Third ordained that none should marry in the third degree, but only in the fourth degree, and so under.

The said pope stirred up Otho against Philip the emperor, because the said Philip was elected emperor against his will; upon the occasion whereof followed much war and slaughter in Germany. And afterward against the said Otho, whom he had made emperor, he set up Frederic, king of Sicily, and caused the archbishop of Mayence to pronounce him excommunicate in all his titles, and to be deposed of his empire. For the which cause the princes of Germany did invade his bishopric, spoiling and burning his possessions. The cause why the pope so did accurse and depose him was, that the said Otho did take and occupy cities; towns, and castles, which the pope said appertained to him.

Item, the said pope ordained, that if any princes offended one another, the correction should appertain unto the pope. In the fourth Council of Lateran were archbishops and primates sixty-one, bishops four hundred, abbots twelve, priors and conventuals eight hundred, besides other ambassadors, legates, doctors, and lawyers an innumerable sort, &c.

In the history of Hermanus Mutius, we read how, in the year of our Lord 1212, in this pope's time divers noblemen, and others in the country of Alsace, contrary to the tradition of the Romish popes, did hold that every day was free for eating of flesh, so it be done soberly. Also that they did wickedly, who restrained priests and ministers from their lawful wives, for the which cause, (as is in the foresaid author,) by this pope Innocent the Third, and his bishops, a hundred of them in one day were burned and martyred.

Some other history (as Nauclerus) recordeth also, that at the same time many were in the city of Milan of the said doctrine, who used to send collects unto the foresaid saints of Alsace.

In the chronicle of Walter Hemingford, otherwise called Gisburnensis, it is recorded that in the days of this King John and Pope Innocent began the two sects or orders of friars, one called the Preachers' order, or Black Friars of St. Dominic; the other called the Minorites of St. Francis. The Preachers of the Black Friars' order began of one Dominic, a Spaniard, about the parts of Tholouse, who after he had laboured ten years in preaching against the Albigenses, and such others as did bold against the Church of Rome, afterward, coming up to the Council of Lateran with Fulco, bishop of Tholouse, desired of the foresaid Innocent the Third to have his order

of Preaching Friars confirmed, which the pope a great while refused to grant. At length he had a dream. that the Church of Lateran was ready to fall. Which when he beheld, fearing and much sorrowing thereat, cometh in this Dominic, who with his shoulders underpropped the church, and so preserved the building thereof from falling, &c. And right well this dream may seem verified, for the friars have been always the chief pillars and upholders of the pope's church. Upon this the pope (waking out of his dream) called Dominic to him, and granted his petition; and so came up this wolfish order of the Dominics. I call it wolfish, for his mother, when she was great with this Dominic, dreamed that she had in her womb a wolf, which had a burning torch in his mouth. The which dream the preachers of that order do greatly advance, and expound to their order's glory as well as they can. Nevertheless, howsoever they expound it, they can make a wolf but a wolf, and this a wolfish order. The rule which they follow seemeth to be taken out of St. Augustine, as who should say that Christ's rule were not enough to make a Christian man. Their profession standeth upon three principal points, as thus described: Having charity, holding humility, and possessing wilful poverty. Their habit and clothing is black.

The order of the Minors or Minorite friars descended from one Francis, an Italian, of the city of Assisium. This Assisian ass, who I suppose was some simple and rude idiot, hearing upon a time how Christ sent forth his disciples to preach, thought to imitate the same in himself and his disciples, and so left off his shoes. He had but one coat, and that of coarse cloth. Instead of a latchet to his shoe, and of a girdle, he took about him a hempen cord, and so he apparelled his disciples, teaching them to fulfil (for so he speaketh) the perfection of the gospel, to apprehend poverty, and to walk in the way of holy simplicity. He left in writing, to his disciples and followers, his rule, which he called, The rule of the gospel. As though the gospel of Christ were not a sufficient rule to all Christian men, but it must take his perfection of frantic Francis. And yet for all that great presumption of this Francis, and notwithstanding this his rule, sounding to the derogation of Christ's gospel, he was confirmed by this Pope Innocent. Yes, and such fools this Francis found abroad, that not only he had followers of his doltish religion, (both of the nobles and unnobles of Rome,) but also some there were which builded mansions for him and his friars. This Francis, as he was superstitious in casting all things from him, as his girdle, girding a cord about him; so in outward chastising of himself, so strait he was to his flesh, (leaving the ordinary remedy appointed by God,) that in winter season he covered his body with ice and snow. He called poverty his lady, he kept nothing overnight. So desirous he was of martyrdom, that he went to Syria to Saladin, who received him honourably. Whereby it may he thought, that (surely) he told not the truth, as St. John Baptist did in Herod's house. For truth is seldom welcome in courts and in the world. But it is hard to make a martyr of him who is no true confessor. I will here pass over the fable, how Christ and his saints did mark him with five wounds. These Franciscan, or begging friars, although they were all under one rule and clothing of St. Francis, yet they be divided into many sects and orders; some go on treen shoes or pattens; some, barefooted; some, regular Franciscans, or Observants; some, Minors, or Minorites; others be called Minimi; others, of the Gospel; others, De Caputio. They all differ in many things, but accord in superstition and hypocrisy. And forsomuch as we have here entered into the matter of these two orders of friars, by the occasion hereof I thought a little by the way to digress from our story, in reciting the whole catalogue or rabblement of monks, friars, and nuns of all sects, rules, and orders, set up and confirmed by the pope. The names of whom here in order of the alphabet follow.

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

The rabblement of religious orders.

Augustinians, the first order.	
Ambrosians, two sorts,	490
Antony's heremites,	324
Austin's heremites,	498
Austin's Observants,	490
Armenians' sect.	
Ammonites and Moabites.	
Basilus's order,	384
Benet's order,	524
Bernardus's order,	1120
Barefooted Friars,	1222
Bridget's order.	1370
Beghearts, or White Spirits.	1399
Brethren of Jerusalem.	1103
Brethren of St. John De Civitate, Black Friars,	1220
Brethren of wilful poverty.	
Cluniacensis's order,	913
Canons of St. Augustine,	1080
Charterhouse order,	1086
Cisterciensis order,	1098
Cross-bearers, or Crossed Friars,	1216
Carmelites. or White Friars,	1212
Clare's order,	1225
Celestine's order. 1297	
Camaldulensis order,	950
Cross-starred brethren.	
Constantinopolitanish order.	
Cross-bearers.	
Chapter monks.	
Dutch order.	1216
Dominic Black Friars.	1220
Franciscans.	1224

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Grandmontensis order,	1076
Gregorian order,	594
George's order,	1417
Giilielmites,	1246
Genindinensis order.	
Galilei, or Galilean.	
Heremites.	
Helen's brethren, Humiliati,	1166
Hospital brethren.	
Holy Ghost order.	
Jerome's orders, two sorts,	1412
John's heremites.	
Justin's order,	1432
John's order, Joannites otherwise Knights of Rhodes	380 1308
Injesuati,	1365
Jerome's heremites.	490
Joseph's order.	
Jacobites' sect.	
James's brethren order.	
James's brethren with the sword.	
Indians' order.	
Katharine of Sene's order,	1455
Keiedmonks, Knights of Rhodes.	
Lazarites of Mary Magdalen's our Lady's brethren,	1034
Lords of Hungary.	
Minorites, which be divided into. Conventuals. Observants. Reformat. Collectan. De Caputio. De Evangelio. Amedes. Clarini and others.	
Minors, or Minorites,	1224

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

Mary's servants,	1304
Monks of Mount Olivet.	1046
Marovinies sect.	
Monorites' sect.	
Monachi and Monachæ.	
Morbonei and Meresti.	
Menelaish and Jasonish sect.	
New canons of St. Austin	1430
Nestorini.	
Naiheart brethren.	
New order of our Lady.	
Nazaræi.	
Paul's heremites,	345
Præmonstratensis order,	1119
Prachers' order, or Black Friars.	
Peter the Apostle's order,	1409
Purgatory brethren.	
Rechabites.	
Sarrabites.	
Sambonites,	1199
Scourgers, the first sect,	1266
Soldiers of Jesus Christ,	1323
Scopenites, or St. Salvator's order,	1367
Specularii, or the Glass order.	
Sepulchre's order.	
Sheere order.	
Sword's order.	
Starred monks.	
Starred friars.	
Sclavonie order.	
Scourgers, the second sect, called Ninevites.	
Stool brethren.	
Scotland brethren order.	

Sicarli.	
St. Sophia's order.	
Templar Lords,	1110
Templar Knights,	1120
The Vale of Josaphat's order.	
Vallis Umbrosæ,	1400
Wentzelaus's order.	
Wilhelmer order.	
White Monks of Mount Olivet.	1406
Zelotes' order.	

Thus hast thou, if thou please, gentle reader, to know what orders and what sects of religion have been set up by the pope, the catalogue and number of them all, so far as we could search them out, not only in books printed of late in Germany, namely, by the reverend father Martin Luther; but also conferred with another English book which came to our hands, containing the same like notes of ancient antiquity, the number of which rabblement of religious persons came to 101. Now as I have reckoned up the names and varieties of these prodigious sects, it cometh to mind consequently to infer to the prophecy of Hildegard, as well against the whole rout of Romish prelates, and the fall of that church, as especially against the begging friars and such other unprofitable bellies of the church. This Hildegard is bolden of the papists themselves to be a great prophetess; whose prophecy proceedeth in this manner, first against the priests and prelates of the Romish church, as followeth.

The prophecy of Hildegard of the ruin of Rome, and against the begging friars.

Hildegard, a nun and (as many judged) a prophetess, lived in the year 1146. In her prophecies she doth most grievously reprehend, not only the wicked and abominable life of the spiritual papists, but also the contempt of the ecclesiastical office, and also the horrible destruction of the Church of Rome. In a certain place she hath these words:

"And now is the law neglected among the spiritual people, which neglect to teach and to do good things; the master likewise and the prelates do sleep, despising justice, and laying it aside. In a certain vision the church appeared to her in the shape of a woman, complaining that the priests had bewrayed her face with dust, and rent her coat, &c., and that they did not shine over the people, either in doctrine, either in example of life; but rather contrariwise, that they have driven the innocent lamb from them, She said, moreover, that all ecclesiastical order did every day become worse and worse, and that priests did not teach but destroy the law of God; and for these horrible crimes and impieties she threateneth and prophesieth unto them God's most heavy wrath and displeasure, and doleful punishments." There is no cause why the spiritual papists should flatter themselves upon this, that she promised again to the ministers of the church those good things to follow, like as Johannes de Rupescissa doth, and other such-like prophets; for they say it will come to pass, that they must repent before the times be amended. By which thing undoubtedly they mean the godly ministers in the

Reformed churches, which for the most part were of the spiritual number, and yet did forsake the dishonest life and those wicked idolatries. Now, whereas the priests and monks, that is, the whole rabble and spirituality, do account Hildegard for a true prophetess, they ought to consider that by her they are more severely accused, not as by a woman, but as by God himself. And, I pray you, what abomination, impiety, and idolatry hath not been committed since that time by the spirituality? I will note here a certain prophecy of hers, taken out of the common places of Henry Token, because we see it manifestly fulfilled in our time. She prophesieth of the reformation of religion, and saith that it shall be most godly.

"Then shall the crown of apostolical honour be divided, because there shall be found no religion among the apostolical order, and for that cause shall they despise the dignity of that name, and shall set over them other men and other archbishops. Insomuch that the apostolic see of that time (by the diminution of his honour) shall scarce have Rome, and a few other countries thereabout, under his crown. And these things shall partly come to pass by incursion of wars, and partly also by a common counsel and consent of the spiritual and secular persons. Then shall justice flourish, so that in those days men shall honestly apply themselves to the ancient customs and discipline of ancient men, and shall observe them as ancient men did.

About the same time that the Franciscans and Dominic friars began (which are above mentioned) sprang up also the Cross-bearers, or Crutched Friars, taking their original and occasion of Innocent the Third, which Innocent raised up an army (signed with a cross on their breast) to fight against the Albigenses, whom the pope and his sect accounted for heretics about the parts of Tholouse. What these Albigenses were it cannot be well gathered by the old popish histories; for if there were any that did hold, teach, or maintain against the pope or his papal pride, or withstand and gainsay his beggarly traditions, rites, and religions, &c., the historians of that time (for the most part in writing of them) do so deprave and misreport them, suppressing the truth of their articles, that they make them and paint them to be worse than Turks and infidels. And that, as I suppose, caused Matthew Paris, and others of that sort, to write so of them as they did: otherwise it is to be thought (and so I find in some records) that the opinions of the said Albigenses were sound enough, holding and professing nothing else but only against the wanton wealth, pride, and tyranny of the prelates, denying the pope's authority to have ground of the Scriptures; neither could they away with their ceremonies and traditions, as images, pardons, purgatory of the Romish Church, calling them (as some say) blasphemous occupys, &c. Of these Albigenses were slain at times and burned a great multitude, by the means of the pope and Simon Ecclesiasticus, with others more. It seemeth that these Albigenses were chiefly abhorred of the pope, because they set up a contrary pope against him about the coasts of Bugarorum; for the which cause the bishop called Portinensis, being the pope's legate in those quarters, wrote to the archbishop of Rome and other bishops.

As Henry this king succeeded King John his father, so after Innocent the pope came Honorius the Third, then Gregory the Ninth, &c. And after Otho the emperor (whom the pope had once set up, and after deprived again) succeeded Frederic the Second, as is partly before touched. In the days of these kings, popes, and emperors, it were too long to recite all that happened in England, but especially in Germany, betwixt Pope Honorius, Gregorius, and Frederic the emperor; the horrible tragedy whereof were enough to fill a whole book by itself. But yet we mean (God willing) somewhat to touch concerning these ecclesiastical matters, first beginning with this realm of England.

After the kingdom of England had been subjected by King John, (as hath been said,) and made tributary to the pope and the Romish Church, it is incredible how the unsatiable avarice and greediness of the Romans did oppress and wring the commons and all estates and degrees of the realm, especially beneficed men, and such as had any thing of the church. Who, what for their domestical charges within the realm, what for the pope, what for the legates, what for contributing to the Holy Land, what for relaxations, and other subtle sleights to get away their money, were brought into such slavery, captivity, and penury, that whereas the king neither durst nor might remedy their exclamations by himself; yet, notwithstanding, by his advice, Simon Montfort, and the earl of Leicester, with other noblemen, (not forgetting what great grievances and distresses the realm was brought into by the Romans,) thought to work some way how to bridle and restrain the insatiable ravening of these greedy wolves. Wherefore they devised their letter, giving strait commandment to the religious men, and to such as had their churches to farm, that henceforth they should not answer the Romans on account of such farms and rents any more, but should pay the said farms or rents unto their own proctors appointed for the same purpose, as by their writings sent abroad to bishops or chapters, and other ecclesiastical houses. may appear, in this form and effect as followeth.

A complaint of the nobles of England against the intolerable covetousness of the pope and prelates of Rome.

"To such and such a bishop, and such a chapter, all the university and company of them, that had rather die than to be confounded of the Romans, wisheth health. How the Romans and their legates have hitherto behaved themselves toward you, and other ecclesiastical persons of this realm of England, it is not unknown to your discretions, in disposing and giving away the benefices of the realm after their own lust, to the intolerable prejudice and grievance both of you and all other Englishmen. For whereas the collation of benefices should and doth properly belong to you and other your fellow bishops, (ecclesiastical persons,) they, thundering against you the sentence of excommunication, ordain that you should not bestow them upon any person of this realm, until in every diocess and cathedral church within the realm five Romans (such as the pope shall name) be provided for, to the value of every man a hundred pounds by year. Besides these, many other grievances the said Romanists do inflict and infer, both to the laity and nobles of the realm, for the patronages and alms bestowed by them and their ancestors, for the sustentation of the poor of the realm, and also to the clergy and ecclesiastical persons of the realm touching their livings and benefices. And yet the said Romanists, not contented with the premises, do also take from the clergy of this realm the benefices which they have, to bestow them on men of their own country, &c.

Wherefore, we, considering the rigorous austerity of these foresaid Romanists, which, once coming in but as strangers hither, now take upon them not only to judge, but also to condemn us, laying upon us insupportable burdens, whereunto they will not put to one of their own fingers to move, and laying our heads together upon a general and full advice had among ourselves concerning the same, have thought good (although very late) to withstand them, rather than to be subject to their intolerable oppressions, and greater slavery more hereafter to be looked for. For the which cause we straitly charge and command you (as your friends going about to deliver you. the church, the king, and the kingdom from that miserable yoke of servitude) that you do not intermeddle or take any part concerning such exactions or rents to be required or given to the said Romans. Letting you to understand for truth, that in case you shall

(which God forbid) be found culpable herein, not only your goods and possessions shall be in danger of burning, but you also in your persons shall incur the same peril and punishment as shall the said Romish oppressors themselves.

Thus fare ye well."

Thus much I thought here to insert and notice concerning this matter, for that not only the foul and avaricious greediness of the Romish Church might the more evidently unto all Englishmen appear: but that they may learn by this example how worthy they be so to be served and plagued with their own rod, which before would take no part with their natural king against foreign power, of which now they are scourged.

To make the story more plain, in the reign of this Henry the Third (who succeeding, as is said, after King John, his father, reigned six and fifty years) came divers legates from Rome to England. First Cardinal Otho, sent from the pope with letters to the king, like as other letters also were sent to other places, for exactions of money.

The king opening the letters, and perceiving the contents, answered, that he alone could say nothing in the matter, which concerned all the clergy and commons of the whole realm. Not long after a council was called at Westminster, where the letters being opened, the form was this: We require to be given unto us, first, of all cathedral churches two prebends, one for the bishop's part, the other for the chapter; and likewise of monasteries where be divers portions, one for the abbot, another for the convent; of the convent so much as appertaineth to one monk, the portion of the goods being proportionally divided; of the abbot likewise as much. The cause why he required these prebends was this: It hath been (saith he) an old slander, and a great complaint against the Church of Rome, and it hath been charged with insatiable covetousness, which, as ye know, is the root of all mischief, and all by reason that causes be wont commonly not to be handled nor to proceed in the Church of Rome without great gifts and expense of money. Whereof, seeing the poverty of the church is the cause, and the only reason why it is so slandered and evil spoken of, it is therefore convenient that you (as natural children) should succour your mother. For unless we should receive of you and of other good men as you are, we should then lack necessities for our life, which were a great dishonour to our dignity, &c.

When those petitions and causes of the legate were propounded in the foresaid assembly at Westminster on the pope's behalf, (the bishops and prelates of the realm being present,) answer was made by the mouth of Master John Bedford on this wise: That the matter there propounded by the lord legate in especial concerned the king of England, but in general it touched all the archbishops with their suffragans, the bishops, and all the prelates of the realm. Wherefore, seeing both the king by reason of his sickness was absent, and the archbishop of Canterbury with divers other bishops also were not there, therefore in the absence of them they had nothing to say in the matter, neither could they so do without prejudice of them which were lacking. And so the assembly for that time brake up.

Not long after, the said Otho, cardinal, coming again from Rome, indicted another council at London, and caused all prelates, archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, and other of the clergy to be warned unto the same council, to be had in the church of St. Paul's at London about the feast of St. Martin. The pretence of which council was for redress of matters concerning benefices and religion; but the chief and principal was to hunt for money; for putting them in fear and in hope, some to lose,

some to obtain, spiritual promotions at his hand, he thought gain would rise thereby, and so it did. For in the mean time divers precious rewards were offered him, in palfreys. in rich plate and jewels, in costly and sumptuous garments so richly furred, in coin, in victuals, and such-like things of value well worthy of acceptance. Wherein one endeavoured to go beyond another in munificence, not considering, by means of the servility wherewith they were oppressed of those popish shavelings and shameless shifters, that all was mere pillage and extortion. Insomuch that only the bishop of Winchester, (as the story reporteth,) hearing that he would winter at London, sent him fifty fat oxen, a hundred coomb of pure wheat, eight tun of chosen wine, toward his house-keeping. Likewise other bishops also for their part offered unto the cardinal's box after their ability.

The time of the council drawing nigh, the cardinal commanded at the west end of Paul's church a high and solemn throne to be prepared, rising up with a glorious scaffold upon mighty and substantial stages I strongly builded, and of great height. Thus against the day assigned came the said archbishops, bishops, abbots, and other of the prelacy, both far and near throughout all England, wearied and vexed with the winter's journey, bringing their letters procuratory. Who being together assembled, the cardinal beginneth his sermon. But before we come to the sermon, there happened a great discord between the two archbishops of Canterbury and York, for sitting at the right hand and left hand of the glorious cardinal; for the which the one appealed against the other. The cardinal, to pacify the strife between them both, so that he would not derogate from either of them, brought forth a certain bull of the pope; in the midst of which bull was pictured the figure of the cross. On the right side of the cross stood the image of St. Paul, and on the left side St. Peter. Lo, saith the cardinal, (holding open the bull with the cross. here you see St. Peter on the left hand of the cross,) and St. Paul on the right side, and yet is there between these two no contention, for both are of equal glory. And yet St. Peter, for the prerogative of his keys, and for the pre-eminence of his apostleship and cathedral dignity, seemeth most worthy to be placed on the right side. But yet because St. Paul believed on Christ when he saw him not, therefore hath he the right hand of the cross; for blessed be they (saith Christ) which believe and see not, &c. And from that time forth the archbishop of Canterbury enjoyed the right hand, and the archbishop of York the left. Wherein yet this cardinal is more to be commended than the other cardinal Hugo mentioned a little before, which in the like contention between these archbishops ran away.

Thus, the controversy ceased and composed between these two, Otho the cardinal, sitting aloft between these two archbishops, beginneth his sermon, taking this theme of the prophet: In the midst of the seat, and in the circuit about the seat, were four beasts full of eyes before and behind, &c. Upon this theme the cardinal proceeded in his sermon, sitting like a god in the midst. He compared them about him to the four beasts about the seat, declaring how they ought to have eyes both before and behind; that is, that they must be provident in disposing of secular things, and circumspect in spiritual matters, continuing and joining wisely things past with things to come; and this was the greatest effect of his clerkly sermon. That done, he giveth forth certain statutes for ordering of churches, as for the dedication of temples, for seven sacraments, for giving of orders, for framing of benefices, collations and resignations of benefices and vicarages, priests' apparel, and single life, for eating of flesh in religious houses, or archdeacons, bishops, proctors, and such other like matters. But the chieftest intent of all his proceeding was this, that they should be vigilant, provident, and circumspect, with all their eyes (both before and behind) to fill the

pope's pouch, as appeared not only by this, but all their other travails besides. Insomuch that the king, dreading the displeasure of his commons for the doings of the legate, willed him to repair home to Rome again, but yet could not so be rid of him; for he, receiving new commandments from the pope, applied his harvest, still gleaning and raking whatsoever he might scrape.

And, moreover, note again the wicked and cursed trains of these Romish rakehells, who, to pick simple men's purses. first send out their friars and preachers to stir up in all places and countries men to go fight against the Turks; whom when they have once bound with a vow, and signed them with the cross, then send they their bulls to release them, both of their labour and their vow, for money.

The cause why the pope was so greedy and needy of money was this; because he had mortal hatred, and waged continual battle the same time, against the good emperor Frederic the Second, who had to wife King John's daughter, and sister to King Henry the Third, whose name was Isabel, And therefore, because the pope's war could not be sustained without charges, that made the pope the more importunate to take up money in all places. but especially in England. Insomuch that he shamed not to require the fifth part of every ecclesiastical man's living, as Parisiensis writeth. And not only that, but also the said Pope Gregory (conventing with the citizens of Rome) so agreed with them, that if they would join with him in vanquishing the foresaid Frederic, he would (and so did) grant unto them, that all the benefices in England which were or should be vacant, namely, pertaining to religious houses, should be bestowed at their own will and commandment to their children and kinsfolks. The pope sent in commandment to the archbishop of Canterbury and four other bishops. that provision should be made for three hundred Romans in the chiefest and best benefices in all England at the next voidance; so that the foresaid archbishop and bishops should be suspended in the mean time from all collation or gift of benefices, until these foresaid three hundred were provided for. Whereupon the archbishop the same time, seeing the unreasonable oppression of the Church of England, left the realm and went into France.

Again, mark another as much or more easy sleight of the pope in procuring money. He sent one Petrus Rubeus the same time with a new device, which was this: not to work any thing openly, but privily to go betwixt bishop and bishop, abbot and abbot, &c., telling in their ears, Such a bishop, such an abbot, hath given so much and so much unto the pope's Holiness, trusting that you also will not be behind for your part, &c. By the means whereof it is incredible to think what a mass of money was made out of the realm unto the pope.

At length the foresaid bishops, abbots, and archdeacons, feeling their own smart, came to the king (whose father before they did resist) with their humble suit, lamentably complaining of the unmeasurable exactions of the pope, and especially against Petrus Rubeus and his fellow, Otto the legate; desiring the king, that seeing the matter toucheth not themselves alone, but the whole church, and seeing the valuation of churches was known better to their archdeacons than to themselves, therefore there might be a general calling and talk had in the matter. In the octaves of St. John the Baptist, the day and place was assigned where they should talk; at which day and place the prelates of England, conventing together, durst not give any direct denial of that contribution, but after a modest sort did insinuate certain exceptions against the same.

1. First they say, that forsomuch as the contrihution is demanded to war against him, who was joined in matrimony with their prince, they were not bound so to do.

2. Secondly, for that the said contribution tended to the shedding of Christian blood; for so the form of the bill pretended, to fight against the emperor.

3. Thirdly, because it was against the liberty of the church; for so it is in the bill, that they that would not should be excommunicate.

4. Fourthly, because that when of late they gave the tenth part of their goods, it was with this protestation, that they should contribute to the pope no more hereafter.

5. Item, because they had contributed before, if they should now contribute again, it were to be feared lest an action twice done should grow into a custom, as is in the law.

6. Item, forsomuch as they shall have causes continually to seek to Rome through the emperor's land, it were to be feared lest the said emperor by the way would work their annoyance.

7. Item, because the king hath many enemies abroad, and for his wars hath need of much money at home, it is not convenient that the goods of the realm should be alienated out of the realm.

8. Item, because that could not be done without prejudice to the patrons of their churches, not knowing whether their patrons did or would agree unto the same.

9. Lastly, because they hear say that the general state of the church is in danger, for the which they understand there shall be shortly a general council, wherein such matters shall be determined; and therefore if they should contribute now, it should be to the hinderance and damage of the church.

The legate and his fellow hearing these allegations, seeing their own confusion, were the less importunate.

Not long after this followed a general council at Lyons, called by Pope Innocentius the Fourth, in the which council the English nation did exhibit certain articles of their grievances not unworthy to be known.

1. The kingdom of England is grieved that the pope, being not contented with his Peter pence, requireth and extorteth from the clergy great exactions, (and more is like,) both without the consent of the king, and against the customs of the realm.

2. Item, the church and kingdom of England is grieved, that the patrons of the same cannot present, as they were wont, into their churches for the pope's letters; but the churches are given to Romans, which know neither the realm nor the tongue thereof, both to the great peril of souls and robbing away the money out of the realm.

3. Item, it is grieved, for that the pope promising by the tenor of his letters that, in requiring of pensions and provisions in the realm of England, he would require but only twelve benefices, now, contrary to the tenor thereof, many more benefices and provisions are bestowed away by him.

4. Item, the realm is grieved and complaineth, that in the benefices in England one Italian succeedeth another, the Englishmen being not only excluded, but also compelled for the determining of their matters to seek to Rome, contrary both to the customs of the realm, and also to the privileges granted by the pope's predecessors to the king and kingdom of England.

5. The fifth grievance is, for the oft recourse of that infamous legate, by whom both faith and fidelity. the ancient customs of the realm. the authority of old grants,

statutes, laws, and privileges, are imbeciled and abrogate, whereby an infinite number in England be grievously afflicted and oppressed.

6. The said realm is also grieved in general tallages, collections, and assizes, made without the king's consent, the appellation and contradiction of the king's proctors to the contrary notwithstanding.

7. Seventhly, the foresaid realm complaineth and is grieved, that, in the benefices given to Italians, neither the old ordinances, nor relief of the poor, nor hospitality, nor any preaching of God's word, nor care of men's souls, nor service in the church, nor yet the walls of the churches, be kept up and maintained, as the manner and custom of the same realm requireth. Over and above these foresaid grievances, there came moreover from the pope other fresh letters, charging and commanding the prelates of England to find of their proper costs and charges for one whole year, some ten armed soldiers, some five, some fifteen, to be ready at the pope's commandment there where he should appoint.

After these and other grievances and enormities of Rome, the states of England consulting together direct their letters to the pope, for reformation thereof; first the abbots and priors, then the bishops and suffragans, after the nobles and barons, last of all the king himself. But as the proverb is, *Venter non habet aures*; so the pope's purse had no ears to hear. And as our common saying goeth, As good never a whit as never the better; so went it with the pope, who not long after the same sent for new tallages and exactions to be collected. Which thing, when it came to the king's ear, he, being moved and disturbed vehemently withal, writeth in this wise to the bishops, severally to every one in his diocess.

"Henry the Third, by the grace of God, to the reverend in Christ bishop of N. Whereas we have heretofore written unto you once, twice, thrice, as well by our privy seals, as also by our letters patents, that you should not exact or collect, for the pope's behalf, any tallage or other help of our subjects, either of the clergy or of the laity, for that no such tallage nor help either can or is used to be exacted in our realm without the great prejudice of our princely dignity, which we neither will nor can suffer or sustain; yet you, contemning and vilipending our commandment, and contrary to the provision made in our last council at London, (granted and agreed upon by our prelates, earls, and barons,) have that notwithstanding proceeded in collecting the said your taxes and tallages. Whereupon we do greatly marvel and are moved, (especially seeing you are not ashamed to do contrary unto your own decrees,) whereas you and other prelates in the said council in this did all agree and grant, that no such exactions should be hereafter, until the return of our and your ambassadors from the court of Rome, sent thither purposely of us, and in the name of the whole realm for the same, to provide redress against those oppressions. Wherefore we straitly will and command you, that from henceforth you do not proceed any more in collecting and exacting such tallages or helps, as you will enjoy our favour and such possessions of yours as within this our kingdom you have and hold. And if you have already procured or gathered any such thing, yet that you suffer not the same to be transported out of our realm, but cause it to be kept in safe custody till the return of the said ambassadors, under the pain of our displeasure in doing of the contrary, and also of provoking us to extend our hand upon your possessions further than you will think or believe. Moreover, willing and charging you that you participate and make common this our inhibition, with your archdeacons and officials, which we here have set forth for the liberties of the clergy and of the people, as knoweth God," &c.

At length the ambassadors which were at Rome came home about the latter end of December, bringing word that the pope, hearing what was done in the Council of Winchester and of the king, was greatly displeased with him and the realm. Whereupon, when the ambassadors began to speak in the king's behalf; from that time they were half counted for schismatics, and could no more be heard in the court of Rome. The king hearing this was marvellously incensed therewith, commanding by general proclamation through all his realm, that no man should hereafter consent to any tax or subsidy of money for the court of Rome. When this came to the pope's ear, upon a cruel rage he directed his letters to the prelates of England, charging that, under pain of suspense or interdiction, they should provide the same sum of money to be collected against the feast of Assumption, the charge being given to the bishop of Worcester to be executor of the said curse. The king, who lately intended to stand to the liberties of the church, now, for fear of the pope, and partly for persuasions of the said bishop of Worcester and other prelates, durst not stand to it, but gave over. Moreover, the greedy gulf of the Romish avarice waxed so immeasurable, that at length the pope shamed not, upon the censure of his curse, to ask the third part of the church goods, and the yearly fruit of all vacant benefices. The chief doers and legates in England were Otho, Stephanus Capellanus, Petrus Rubeus, the nuncio, Mag. Martin, and Mag. Marinus. Of whom to speak further (for that I have matter much more to write) for this present time I think best to desist, lest, in opening all the detestable doings and pestilent workings of those men, I might perhaps not only molest good ears, but also infect the air, Yet one thing concerning the said Otho I cannot well overpass.

This Otho, as he left no place unsought where any vantage might be got; so amongst all others he came to Oxford, where, lying in the house of Osney, he was received with great honour, the scholars presenting him honourably with such dishes and rewards as they had, thinking to gratify the cardinal after the best manner. This being done before dinner, and the dinner ended, they came reverently to see and welcome him, supposing that they also should with like courtesy again of him be entertained. As they came to the gate, the porter (being an Italian) with a loud voice asketh what they would have. They said they came to see the lord legate. But Cerberus the porter, holding the door half open, with proud and contumelious language thrust them out, and would not suffer them to enter. The scholars seeing that, by force thrust open the gate and came in; whom when the Romans which were within would have repelled with their fists, and such staves as they had in their hands, they fell to alarum and by the ears together, with much hoving and shoving and many blows on both sides. In the mean time, while some of the scholars ran home for their weapons, there chanced a poor scholar, an Irishman, to stand at the gate waiting for his alms. Whom when the master saw at the gate, he, taking hot scalding water out of the pan where the meat was sodden, did cast it in his face. One of the scholars, a Welchman, that came with his bow and shafts, seeing that, letteth drive an arrow, and shooteth this Nabuzardan (that master of cooks) clean through the body, and slayeth him out of hand. The cook falling dead, there was a mighty broil and a great clamour throughout all the house. The cardinal, hearing the tumult and great noise about him, like a valiant Roman, runueth as fast as he could into the steeple, and there locketh the doors fast unto him, where he remained till midnight. The scholars in the mean while, not yet all pacified, sought all comers about for the legate, exclaiming and crying out, Where is that usurer, that simoniac, that piller and poller of our livings, that prowler and extortioner of our money, which perverteth our king, and subverteth his kingdom, enriching himself with our spoils, &c.? All this heard the cardinal, and held his peace.

When the night approaching had broken up the field, the cardinal, coming out of his fort, and taking his horse, (in silence of the night,) was privily conveyed over the river toward the king, conveying himself away as fast as he could. After the king heard this, he sendeth to Oxford a garrison of armed men, to deliver the Romans which were there hidden for fear of scholars. Then was Master Otho, a lawyer, with thirty other scholars, apprehended, and carried to Wallingford castle, and from thence had in carts to London: where at length (through much entreaty of the bishops) they, being brought barefoot to the legate's door, had their pardon, and the university released of interdiction. And thus much concerning the pope's legate in England.

Thus partly you have heard and do understand the miserable thralldom and captivity of this realm of England, and the clergy of the same, who before refused to take part with King John, their natural prince, against the foreign power of the pope: and now how miserably they are oppressed and scourged of the same pope; whose insatiable extortion and rapacity did so exceed in pillage and polling of this realm long alter this, that neither the king now could help them, neither could the pope with any reasonable measure be content. Insomuch that writers record that in the days of Sudbury, archbishop of Canterbury. A.D. 1360, the pope by his proctors gat from the clergy, in less than one year, more than forty thousand florins of mere contribution; besides his other avails and common revenues out of benefices, prebendaries. firstfruits, tributes. Peter pence, collations, reservations, relaxations, and such merchandise. &c.

50. The Crusade against the Albigensians.

Mention was made a little before of the Albigenses keeping about the city of Tholouse. These Albigenses. because they began to smell the pope, and to control the inordinate proceedings and discipline of the see of Rome, the pope therefore, recounting them as a people heretical, excited and stirred up about this present time and year, A.D. 1220. Louis, the young French king, through the instance of Philip his father, to lay siege against the said city of Tholouse, to expunge and extinguish these Albigenses his enemies. Whereupon Louis, according to his father's commandment, reared a puissant and a mighty army to compass about and beset the forenamed city, and so did. Here were the men of Tholouse in great danger. But see how the mighty protection of God fighteth for his people against the might of man; for after that Louis (as Matthew Paris testifieth) had long wearied himself and his men in waste, and could do no good with all their engines and artillery against the city, there fell moreover upon the French host, by the hand of God, such famine and pestilence. both of men and horses, besides the other daily slaughter of the soldiers, that Louis was enforced to retire, and with such as were left to return again home to France from whence he came. In the slaughter of which soldiers, besides many others, was Earl Simon Montfort, general of the army, to whom the lands of the earl of Tholouse were given by the pope; who was slain before the gate of the city with a stone; and so was also the brother of the said Simon the same time, in besieging a castle near to Tholouse, slain with a stone in like manner. And so was the siege of the Frenchmen against Tholouse broken up.

As the siege of these Frenchmen could do no good against the city of Tholouse; so it happened the same time that the Christians, marching towards the holy Land, had better success in laying their siege to a certain tower or castle in Egypt near to the city Damietta, which seemed by nature for the situation and difficulty of the place inexpugnable; which being situate in the midst of the great flood Nilus, hard by the city called Damietta, could neither be come to by land, nor be undermined for the water, nor by famine subdued for the nearness of the city; yet notwithstanding, through the help of God and policy of man, by erecting scaffolds and castles upon tops of masts, the Christians at last conquered it, and after that also the city Damietta, albeit not without great loss of Christian people. In the expugnation of this city or fort, among others that there died, was the landgrave of Thuring, named Louis, the husband of Elizabeth, whom we use to call St. Elizabeth. This Elizabeth (as my story recordeth) was the daughter of the king of Hungary, and married in Almaine, where she lived with the forenamed Louis, landgrave of Thuring, whom she through her persuasions provoked and incensed to take that voyage to fight for the Holy Land, where he in the same voyage was slain. After whose death Elizabeth, remaining a widow, entered the profession of cloisterly religion, and made herself a nun; so growing and increasing from virtue to virtue, that after her death all Almaine did sound with the fame of her worthy doings. Matthew Paris addeth this more, that she was the daughter of that queen, who, being accused to be naughty with a certain archbishop, was therefore condemned with this sentence pronounced against her: To kill the queen will ye not to fear, that is good; and if all men consent thereunto, not I myself do stand against it. The which sentence being brought to Pope Innocent, thus in pointing the sentence, which otherwise seemeth to have a double understanding, he so saved the queen, thus

interpreting and pointing the same: To kill the queen will ye not, to fear, that is good; and if all do consent thereto, yet not I, I myself do stand against it: and so escaped she the danger. This queen was the mother (as is said) of Elizabeth the nun, who for her holy nunnishness was canonized of the pope's church for a saint in Almaine, about the year of our Lord 1220.

And this by the way. Now to proceed further in the years and life of this King Henry. The next year following, which was A.D. 1221, the king went to Oxford, where he had something to do with William, earl de Albemarle, who had taken the castle of Biham; but at last, for his good service he had done in the realm before, he was released of the king, with all his men, by the intercession of Walter, archbishop of York, and of Pandulph the legate. About which present year entered first the Friar Minorites, or Grey Friars, into England, and had their first house at Canterbury, whose first patron was Francis, which died A.D. 1227, and his order was confirmed by Pope Honorius the Third, A.D. 1224.

About the first coming of these Dominic and Grey Friars Franciscan into the realm, many Englishmen the same time entered into their orders. Among whom was Johannes de Sancto Egidio, a man famously expert in the science of physic and astronomy, and Alexander de Hales, both Englishmen and great divines. This Johannes, making his sermon in the house of the Dominic friars, exhorted his auditory with great persuasions unto wilful poverty. And to confirm his words the more by his own example, in the midst of his sermon he came down from the pulpit and put on his friar's habit; and so, returning into the pulpit again, made an end of his sermon. Likewise Alexander Hales entered the order of the Franciscans, of whom remaineth yet the book, entitled *De summa Theologiæ*, in old libraries.

In the year 1221 about St. James-tide fell a dissension between the citizens of London and the men of Westminster; the occasion whereof was this. A certain game between these two parties was appointed, to try whether part in wrestling could overcome the other. Thus, in striving for mastery, each party contending against the other, (as the manner is in such pastime,) it happened that the Londoners got the victory, and the other side was put to foil, but especially the steward of the abbot of Westminster; who, being not a little confounded therewith, began to forethink in his mind how to be revenged again of the Londoners. Whereupon another day was set, which was at Lammas, that the Londoners should come again to wrestle: and whoso had the victory should have the bel-wether, which was the price of the game appointed. As the parties were thus occupied in their play, the steward suddenly bringeth upon the Londoners unawares a company of harnessed men prepared for the same before, and letteth drive at the Londoners; who, at length being wounded and grievously hurt, after much bloodshed were driven back again into the city. This contumely thus being received, the citizens, eagerly stricken with ire and impatience, ran to the common bell, and by ringing thereof assembled their commons together, to consult with themselves what was to be done in that case so contumelious. Wherein, when divers sentences were given diversely, Serle, the same time mayor of London, (a wise and discreet man,) gave this counsel; that the abbot of Westminster should be talked withal, who if he would rectify the injury done, and satisfy for the harm received, it should be to them sufficient. But contrary, one Constantine, a great man then in the city of London, in much heat exciting the people, gave this sentence, that all the houses of the abbot of Westminster, but especially the house of the steward, should be cast down to the ground. In fine, that which he so unadvisedly counselled was as madly performed; for the furious people according to his counsel so did. This

tumultuous outrage, as it could not be privy, coming to the knowledge of Hubert de Burgo, lord chief justice of England above mentioned, he coming with a sufficient strength of armed soldiers to the city of London, sent to the mayor and aldermen of the city to will them to come unto him. Who so obeying his commandment, be required of them the principal beginners of the riot. To whom Constantine, there being present, answered, that he would warrant that which was done; sorrowing, moreover, that they had not done more than they did in the matter. The justice, upon the same his confession, commanded him with two others, without any further tumult, to be taken; and so with the same two he was hanged, he offering for his life fifteen thousand marks, &c.

The said Hubert, earl of Kent, and lord chief justice, although he was a faithful and trusty officer to his prince, and had the whole guiding of the realm in his own hands, the king as yet being in his minority; yet afterward, what indignation be sustained for this his severity and other things, both of the nobles and of the commons, and how sharply he was tossed and trounced of his prince, wonder it is to see, as in his due place and time (by the Lord's leave) hereafter shall appear.

And forsomuch as mention hath been made of the wrangling between the commoners of London and of Westminster, both time and occasion bringeth me in remembrance something to speak like wise of the ecclesiastical conflicts among church-men, nothing inferior in my mind, nor less worthy to be noted, than the other. For so I read in Matth. Paris, and in Flores Hist., that at what time this wrestling was among the citizens for the sheep, the like contention kindled and inflamed between Eustace, bishop of London, and the chapter of Paul's, on the one side, and the abbot of Westminster with his convent on the other side, about spiritual jurisdiction and subjection; to wit, whether the monastery of Westminster were exempted from the subjection and jurisdiction of the bishop of London or not. Which controversy at last coming into compromise, was committed to the arbitrement of Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, Philip, bishop of Winchester, Thomas, of Merton, and Richard, prior of Dunstable; and at length it was thus agreed, that the monastery of Westminster should be utteriy exempted from the jurisdiction of the bishop of London, and that Stanes, with the appurtenances thereto belonging, should appertain to the monastery of Westminster. Also, that the manor of Sunbury should be due and proper to the church of St. Paul; and also that the church of St. Margaret, with all the lands belonging to the same, should be exempted from all other jurisdiction, but only of the bishop of Rome. And so was this matter decided, A.D. 1222.



Grantham Church struck by Lightning

The same year (as writeth Matth. Paris) horrible tempests, with such thundering, and lightning, and whirl winds, went through all the land, that much harm was done; churches, steeples, towers, houses, and divers trees with the violence of winds were blown up by the roots. In Warwickshire a certain wife with eight others in her house were slain. In Grantham the church was set on fire by lightning most terrible, with such a stink left there behind, that no man could after a long time abide it. The author addeth, that manifest marks of the tempest did remain long after in that monastery to be seen. Some also write that fiery dragons and spirits were seen then flying in the air.

A.D. 1223 Philip the French king died, after whom his son Louis succeeded in the crown. To whom King Henry sending his message, and desiring him to remember his promise and covenant made in rendering again the lands lost in Normandy, could obtain nothing at his hands. Whereupon Richard, earl of Cornwall, also William, the king's uncle, earl of Salisbury, with divers other nobles, made over into France, where they recovered Poitiers, and kept Gascony under the king's obedience.

In the same year, or, as Fabian giveth, the next following, which was 1224, by the virtue of a certain parliament, it was granted of the lords and barony of the land, that the king and his heirs should have the ward and marriage of their heirs, which then was called, and after so proved to be, the beginning of harms.

In the same year, by the count of Gisburne and other writers, the said king holding another parliament at Oxenford, by the advice of his council and of his clergy, did grant and confirm, under his great seal, two charts of the old liberties and customs of this realm, for ever to be kept and observed; the one called *Magna Charta*, the other, *Charta de Foresta*. The contents whereof fully in the forenamed author are expressed. For the which cause was granted again by the whole parliament a quindecim, or a fifteen of all his subjects, as well of lay men as also of the clergy.

Where is to be noted, that these liberties were afterward broken, and confirmed again by the said king, A.D. 1236.

A.D. 1226 died Pope Honorius, a great adversary against Frederic the emperor, after whom succeeded Gregory the Ninth, more grievous than his predecessor. In which year died also Louis, the perjured French king, at the siege of Avignon; whom the pope now the second or third time had set up to fight against Reimund, the good earl of Toulouse, and the heretics Albigenses of that country; for so the pope calleth all them which hold not in all points with his glorious pride, and usurped power, and ungodly proceedings. The origin whereof was this, as in Matth. Paris appeareth. In the days of Philip the French king, this Reimund, earl of Toulouse, was disdained of the pope for holding with the Albigenses; and therefore, by the instigation of the pope, the lands of the earl were taken from him, and given to Simon Montfort, and instruments made upon the same. But when the said Earl Reimund would not be removed from the right of his possessions by unrighteous dealing, then the pope setteth Philip the French king, to make open war against him. Whereupon Louis, the French king, was sent with a great power (as is above declared) to besiege the city of Toulouse; but, being repulsed from thence by the marvellous hand of God fighting for his people, he could not prevail, and so returned home after he had lost the most part of his army by pestilence and other calamity, as hath been before described. And thus continued the good earl still in quiet possession till this present time, A.D. 1226. In the which year the pope, not forgetting his old malice against the earl, and no less inflamed with insatiable avarice, directeth down his legate, Master Romanus, to the parts of France for two several purposes; one to extirpate the earl, the other to enlarge his revenues. Thus the legate, being entered into France, beginneth to summon a council, willing the French king, with the archbishops, bishops, and clergy of France, to appear before him at Bitures; to whom eftsoons repaired six archbishops, with the bishops and suffragans of nine provinces, to the number of a hundred, besides the abbots, priors, and proctors of all the convents of France, to hear the pope's will and commandment. But because there was a discord feared to rise (with Matthæus) about pre-eminence of sitting, for that the archbishop of Lyons challenged the superior place above the archbishop of Sene; also the archbishop of Rouen above the archbishop of Bitures, and above the archbishop of Narbonne, &c; therefore the session was holden there not in manner and form of a council, but of a certain parley or consultation. Thus the meek and holy council being set, and the pope's Majesty's letters read and declared, appeareth before them Reimund, earl of Toulouse, of the one part, and Simon Montfort on the other part; which Simon required to be restored unto him the lands and possessions of the said Reimund, which the pope and Philip the French king had given to him and to his father before, having good evidences to show for the same, confirmed by the donation

of the pope and of the king. Adding, moreover, that the Earl Reimund was deprived and disherited in the general council at Rome for heresy, which is called the heresy of Albigenses. At least, if he might not have the whole yielded unto him, yet the most part of his lordships he required to be granted him.

To this the Earl Reimund answered again, offering himself ready to all duty and office, both toward the French king and to the Church of Rome, whatsoever duly to him did appertain. And, moreover, touching the heresy wherewith he was there charged, he did not only there offer himself in that council before the legate, but most humbly did crave of him that he would take the pains to come into every city within his precinct to inquire of every person there the articles of his belief; and if he found any person or persons holding that which was not catholic, he would see the same to be corrected and amended according to the censure of holy church to the uttermost. Or if he should find any city rebelling against him, he, to the uttermost of his might, with the inhabitants thereof, would compel them to do satisfaction therefore. And as touching himself, if he had committed or erred in any thing, (which he remembereth not that he had done,) he offered there full satisfaction to God and church, as becomed any faithful Christian man to do; requiring, moreover, there before the legate to be examined of his faith, &c. But all this (saith Matthæus) the legate despised; neither could the catholic earl (saith he) there find any grace, unless he would depart from his heritage, both from himself and from his heirs for ever. In fine, when it was required by the contrary part, that he should stand to the arbitrement of twelve peers of France to that Reimund answered, that if the French king would receive his homage, which he was ready at all times to exhibit, he was contented therewith. For else they would not, said he, take him as one of their society and fellow subjects.

After much altercation on both sides about the matter, the legate willeth every archbishop to call aside his suffragans, to deliberate with them upon the cause, and to give up in writing what was concluded. Which being done accordingly. the legate denounceth excommunication to all such as did reveal any piece of that which was there concluded, before the pope and the king had intelligence thereof.

These things thus in confusion among themselves concluded, the legate gave leave to all proctors of convents and chapters to return home, only retaining with him the archbishops, bishops, and abbots, and certain simple prelates, such as he might be more bold withal to open, and of them to obtain, the other part of his commission, which was indeed to obtain of every cathedral church two prebendships; one for the bishop, the other for the chapter. And in monasteries also after the like sort, where the abbot and convent had divers and several portions, to require two churches; one for the abbot, the other for the convent; keeping this proportion, that how much should suffice for the living of one monk, so much the whole convent should find for their part, and as much the abbot likewise for his. And forsomuch as he would not seem to demand this without some colour of cause, his reason was this: that because the court of Rome had long been blotted with the note of avarice, which is mother of all evil, for that no man could come to Rome for any business, but he must pay for the expedition of the same; therefore, for the removing away of the occasion of that shnder, the public help of the church must necessarily be required, &c.

The proctors and parties, thus sent home by the legates, marvelling with themselves why the bishops and abbots should be stayed, and they sent home, and suspecting no less but as the matter was indeed, conferred their counsels together, and devised with themselves to send certain unto him in the behalf of all the cathedral and

conventual churches in France; and sent to the said legate this message, to signify to him, that they were credibly informed he came with special letters from the court of Rome for the obtaining of certain prebendaries in every cathedral and conventual church. Which being so, they much marvelled that he would not in the public council make manifest to them those letters, which specially concerned them as much as the others. Wherefore their request was to him in the Lord, that no such offensive matter might rise by him in the French church; knowing this, that the thing he enterpriseth could not be brought to effect without great offence taken, and inestimable damage to the Church of France. "For grant (said they) that certain will assent unto you, yet their assent standeth in no effect concerning such matters as touch the whole; especially seeing both the states of the realm, with all the inferior subjects, yea, and the king himself, they are sure will withstand the same, to the venture not only of their honour, but of their life also, considering the case to be such, as upon the offence whereof standeth the subversion both of the realm public, and of the whole church in general." Declaring, moreover, the cause of this fear to rise hereof, for that in other realms such communication hath been with bishops and prelates for the procuring of such prebendships, whereas neither the prince nor the subjects were made any thing privy thereto.

In conclusion, when the matter came to debating with the legate, the objections of the inferior parties against the cruel exaction were these in brief effect, as is in Parisiensis noted.

First, they alleged their great damages and expenses which they were like to sustain thereby, by reason of the continual procurators of the pope, which in every diocess must live not of their own, but must be sustained upon the charges of the cathedral churches, and other churches also; and many times, they being but procurators, will be found as legates.

Item, by that means they said great perturbations might ensue to the convents and chapters of cathedral churches in their elections; forsomuch as the pope's agents and factors being in every cathedral church and chapter-house, perchance the pope would command him in his person to be present at their elections, and so might trouble the same, in delaying and deferring till it might fall to the court of Rome to give; and so should be placed more of the pope's partizans in the churches of France, than of the proper inhabitants of the land.

Item, by this means they affirmed, that all they in the court of Rome should be richer, and should receive more for their proportion, than the king of the realm; by reason of which abundance of riches it was like to come to pass, that as the worm of rich men is pride; so, by the means of this their riches, the court of Rome would delay and drive off great suits, and scarce would take any pains with small causes. The experiment whereof is evident, for that now also they use to delay their matters, when they come, with their gifts, and being in assurance to receive. And thus should justice stand aside, and poor suitors die at the gates of the court of Rome, thus flowing and triumphing in full abundance of all treasure and riches.

Item, forsomuch as it is meet and convenient to have friends in the court of Rome. for the better speeding of their causes; therefore they thought to keep them needy, whereby their gifts may be the sweeter. and their causes sooner despatched.

Item, whenas it is impossible the fountain of greedy desire to be stopped. it was to be feared that either they would do that by others which they were wont to do by

themselves, or else they should be enforced to give greater rewards than before; for small gifts in the sight of great rich men are not looked upon.

Item, where be alleged the removing away of the slander which goeth on the court of Rome; by this means rather the contrary were to be feared. wherein they alleged the sentence of the verse, that great riches stop not the taking of much, but a mind contented with a little:

*Quod virtus reddit, non copia sufficientem,
Et non paupertas sed mentis hiatus egentem.*

Further, they alleged that great riches would make the Romans mad, and so might kindle among them sides and parts taking: so that by great possessions sedition might follow to the ruin and destruction of the city, whereof some experiment they had already.

Item. they added, that although they would condescend and oblige themselves to that contribution, yet their successors would not so be bound, nor yet ratify the bond of theirs.

Lastly, thus they conclude the matter, desiring him that the zeal of the universal church, and of the Church of Rome, would move him; for if this oppression of the church should be universal, it were to be doubted lest a universal departing might follow from the Church of Rome, which God forbid (say they) should happen.

The legate hearing these words, being therewith something moved, (as seemed,) excused himself, that he being in the court never agreed to this exaction; and that the letters hereof came not to him before he was in France, whereat he said he was greatly sorry; adding this withal, that the words of his precept included this secret meaning in them, thus to be understood and taken: so far forth as the empire and other realms would agree unto the same. And as for him, he would stir no more in the matter, before it were proved what other countries would say and do therein.

And thus much concerning the second part of the blind commission of this legate, touching his exaction of prebendships in every cathedral and conventual church, wherein, as ye hear, he was repulsed.

Now to return to the first part of his commission again, which was concerning Reimund, the godly earl of Toulouse. Thus the story proceedeth, that while the legate was in hand with this matter of the pope's money, in the mean season certain preaching friars were directed by the said Romanus, the pope's legate, into all France, to incite and stir up the Frenchmen to take the cross upon them, and to war against the earl of Toulouse and the people thereof, whom they accounted then for heretics. At the preaching whereof a great number of prelates and laymen signed themselves with the cross, to fight against the people of Toulouse, being thereto induced, as the story saith, more for fear of the French king, or favour of the legate, than for any true zeal of justice. For so it followeth in the words of Paris: "For to many (saith he) it seemed an abuse to move war against a faithful Christian man, especially seeing in the Council of Bitures before all men he entreated the legate with great instance that he would come into every city within his dominions, and there to inquire of every person the articles of his faith; where if he found any man to hold any thing contrary to the catholic faith, he promised a full satisfaction to he had thereof, according to the censure of the church, to the uttermost," &c.

Yet all this notwithstanding, the proud legate, contemning this so honest and reasonable purgation of the Earl Reimund, ceased not by all manner of means to prosecute the pope's fury against him and his subjects, stirring up the king and the French men. under pain of excommunication, to war against them. Louis, the French king, thus being enforced by the legate, answered again, that he for his own safety would not achieve that expedition, or adventure against the earl, unless it were first obtained of the pope to write to the king of England; commanding him that, during the time of that expedition, he should invade and molest no peer of his lands and possessions which he the same present time did hold, whether by right or by wrong, or howsoever they were holden, while the time of the said war against the heretics (as they were then termed) did endure, but rather should aid and assist him with counsel and money in that enterprise. All which being done and accomplished, the French king and the legate, crossing themselves to the field, appointed a day peremptory for the French army to meet together at Lyons, under pain of the pope's excommunication, and with horse and harness to set upon the people of Toulouse against the Ascension day next ensuing.

When the Ascension day was come, which was the day peremptorily appointed, the French king, having prepared at Lyons all things necessary for his army, marcheth forward with a great and mighty host: after whom also cometh the legate, with his bishops and prelates. The number of fighting men in his army, besides the victuallers and waggoners, were fifty thousand men. The legate by the way openly excommunicated the earl of Toulouse, and all that took his part, and furthermore interdicted his whole land. Thus the king came marching forward, till he came into the province of Toulouse, and the first city which he came unto there of the earl's was Avignon; which city they thought first to have besieged, and so in order after, as they went, to have destroyed and wasted all the whole province belonging to the earl. And first the king demanded of them to have his passage through the city, feigning himself in peaceable wise (for the expedition of his journey) but to pass through the same. The citizens, consulting with themselves what was to be done, at length gave answer that they mistrusted their coming, and supposed that in deceit they required the entrance of their city, and for no necessity of their journey.

The king, hereat being much offended, sware an oath that he would not depart thence till he had taken the city; and immediately in those places where he thought most meet he began to give sharp assaults, with all manner of assaulting engines: the citizens again within manfully defended themselves, casting stone for stone, and shooting shot for shot, and slew and wounded many of the French men. Thus when they had long besieged the city, and could not win the same, at length victuals in the French camp began to fail, and many of them died for hunger. For the earl of Toulouse, as a wise man of war, hearing before of their coming, took into the town all the provision that was abroad, and left nothing without to serve for their defence and succour; he ploughed up the fields, that there should no stover be found to serve their horses; he put out of the town all the old people and young children, lest they should want victuals that kept the town, and before their coming sent them far away; so that within the town they had plenty, and without they died for famine. And besides, in seeking far for their forage, many fell into the hands of them that kept the city, who secretly lay in wait for them abroad, and slew many of them: besides, a great number of cattle and horses died for want of forage; and poor soldiers, that had no great store of money, died for want of victuals. By which mortality and stink both of men and cattle grew great infection and pestilence among them; inso much that the king himself

and also the legate were greatly dismayed, thinking it to be no little shame, as well to the realm of France, as also to Rome, that they should so depart and break up their siege. Thus again thought the soldiers, that much better it were for them to end their lives by battle, than so to die like dogs and starve. Wherefore with one consent they purposed to give a new assault at the bridge that goeth over the flood Rhodanus into the town, to which place they came in such number, that either by the debility of the bridge, or subtlety of the soldiers that kept the town, three thousand of them, with bridge and all, fell armed into the violent stream, and were drowned. What was there then but joy and gladness of the citizens' part, and much lamentation and heaviness on the other part? Then shortly after, the citizens of Avignon (when they saw a convenient time, whilst their enemies were in eating meat) came suddenly upon them out of the town, and slew of them two thousand, and took the town again with safety. But the legate with his company of prelates, like good men of war, practised none other martial feats, save cursing the earl of Toulouse, his cities, and his people. Louis the king, to avoid the pestilence that was in the camp, went into an abbey not far off; where shortly after he died; of whose death are sundry opinions; some saying that he was poisoned, some that he died of a bloody flux.

Whose death notwithstanding the legate thought to keep secret and concealed, till that the town might be rendered and given up; for he thought himself shamed for ever, if he should depart before the town were won. Wherefore, after he had encouraged the soldiers afresh, and yet after many sharp assaults could not prevail, he bethought him how by falsehood he might betray them, and sent unto them certain heralds, to will them that they should amongst themselves consult upon articles of peace, and bring the same to their camp, whose safe conduct they faithfully promised and warranted both of coming and going. And when they had given their pledges for the same, the messengers from the citizens talked with the legate, who promised them, if they would deliver up their city, they should have their lives, goods, and possessions in as ample manner as now they enjoyed the same. But the citizens and soldiers refused to be under the servitude of the French king, neither would so deliver up their city to those, of whose insolent pride they had so good experiment. After much talk on both sides, and none likely to take effect. the legate requested them, and kindly desired, that he, and his prelates which were about him, might come into their city to examine what faith and belief they were of, and that he neither sought nor meant any other thing thereby but their own safeties, as well of body as soul, which thing he faithfully swore unto. For (saith he) the bruit of your great infidelity hath come to the lord pope's ear, and therefore desired he to make true certificate thereof. Whereupon the citizens, not mistrusting his faithful oath and promise made unto them, granted entrance to him and the residue of the clergy. bringing with them no weapon into the town. The soldiers of the camp, as it was agreed before, made them ready; so that at the entrance of the prelates in at the gate, nothing regarding their oath and fidelity, the other suddenly were ready, and with violence rushed in, slew the porter and warders, and at length won the city, and destroyed the same, and slew many of them that were within. Thus by falsehood and policy, when they had gotten this noble city, they carried the king's corpse unto Paris, where they buried the same. Of the whole number of the French soldiers which in this siege were destroyed by famine, pestilence, and drowning, be recounted more than two and twenty thousand: whereby, saith the story of Matt. Paris, it may evidently appear the war was unjustly taken in hand, &c.

After these things finished, and after the funeral of the king celebrated at Paris, it followeth more in the said history of Matt. Paris, that the said legate Romanus was

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vehemently suspected, and grievously infamed to abuse himself with Blanca, the king's mother. But it is ungodly to suspect any such thing of him, because his enemies so rumoured the same abroad; but a gentle mind expoundeth things doubtful in the better part.

51. Henry III (Contd.)

To pass further to the year next following, which was 1227 of the Lord, first it is to be noted, that in this year King Henry, beginning to shoot up unto the twentieth year of his age, came from Reading to London, where he began to charge the citizens of London for old reckonings, namely, for giving or lending one thousand marks to Louis, the French king, at his departing out of the realm, to the great prejudice of him and of his kingdom. For the recompence whereof they were constrained to yield to the king the full sum of the like money. That done, he removed to Oxford, where he assembled a great council, there denouncing and protesting before them all that he was come to sufficient age no more to be under tutors and governors, but to be his own man, requiring to be freed from the custody of others. Which thing being protested, and contradicted forthwith, he, by the counsel of Hubert, the chief justice, whom he made then the earl of Kent, removed from his company the bishop of Winchester, and others, under whom he was moderated. And immediately in the same council, by the sinister persuasion of some, he doth annihilate and make void the charters and liberties before by him granted pretending this colour; for that they had been granted and sealed in the time of his minority, at what time he had the rule neither of himself nor of his seal. Whereupon much muttering and mumuring was among the multitude, who did all impute the cause to Hubert the justice. Moreover, it was the same time proclaimed, that whoso ever had any charter or gift sealed in the time of the king's minority, they should come and renew the same again under the new seal of the king, knowing otherwise that the thing should stand in no effect. And finally, for renewing of their seals, they were taxed not according to their ability, but according as it pleased the justice and other to levy them.

Moreover, beside this general subsidy of the fifteenth granted to the king through the whole realm, and besides all the contribution of the Londoners, divers other parcels and payments he gathered through several places; as of the burgesses of Northampton he required a thousand and two hundred marks for his helping of them, and so of others likewise. All this preparation of money was made towards the furnishing of his voyage to recover Normandy. And yet because he would gratify the city of London again with some pleasure, he granted that the citizens thereof should pass toll free (saith Fabian) throughout all England. And if of any city, borough, or town they were constrained at any time to pay their toll, then the sheriffs of London to attach every man coming to London of the said city, borough, or town, and him with his goods to withhold, till the Londoners were again restored of all such money paid for the said toll, with all costs and damages sustained for the same.

I declared before, how after the death of Honorius succeeded Pope Gregory the Tenth, between the which Gregory and the people of Rome this year fell a great sedition. Insomuch that about the feast of Easter they thrust the pope out of the city, pursuing him unto his castle at Viterbiam. Where also they invaded him so valiantly, that they chased him to Perugia. Then, having no other remedy wherewith to revenge his persecutors, fiercely he did excommunicate them.

Here, by the way, is to be observed and considered, Christian reader, not only by this sedition, but by so many other seisms, divisions, tumults, fightings, brawls, and contentions in the Church of Rome, from the first beginning of the pope's usurped

power, and that not only within the city of Rome, but universally almost in all popish monasteries, colleges, churches, and convents under the pope subjected, continually reigning amongst them, what is to be thought of their religion and holiness, having so little peace, so great disquietness, dissensions, and wrangling amongst them, as in stories both manifest it is to behold, and wondrous to consider.

And forsoame as I have entered here into the mention of this schismatical commotion between the pope and his citizens, it followeth moreover in the history of Parisiensis, who maketh relation of a like brawling matter, which befell the same year and time, A.D. 1228, between the prior and convent of Durham and this King Henry the Third, upon this occasion: After the death of Richard, bishop of Durham, the prior and chapter of the said church came to the king, to obtain licence for the electing of their bishop. The king offered to them one Lucas, a chaplain of his, requiring them instantly to elect him for their bishop. To this the monks answered, that they would receive no man but by their order of canonical election. Meaning belike, by their canonical election, thus much, whenas they elect either some monk out of their own company, or else some monkish priest after their own liking. Contrary, the king again sendeth word unto them, and bound it with an oath, that they should tarry seven years without a bishop, unless they would admit the foresaid Lucas to that place of that dignity. All which notwithstanding, the monks, proceeding in their election, refused the said Lucas, and preferred another clerk of theirs, named William, archdeacon of Worcester, and him they presented to the king; but the king, bringing in exceptions and causes against the party, would not admit him. Then the monks in all hasty speed sent up to Rome certain of their convent, to have their election ratified by the authority apostolical. On the other side the king, likewise hearing, sendeth also to Rome against the monks the bishop of Chester and the prior of Lentony on his behalf, to withstand the purpose of the monks. And so the matter, being travised with great altercation on both sides, did hang in suspense, (saith mine author,) till at length thus it was concluded between both, that neither Master William nor yet Lucas should be taken, but that Richard, bishop of Sarum, should be translated to Durham, and be bishop there, A.D. 1228.

The like stir also happened both the same year, and for the like matter, between the monks of Coventry and the canons of Litchfield, about choosing of their bishop, which of them should have the superior voice in the election of their prelate. After much ado, the cause, at length being hoisted up to Rome, had this determination; that the monks of Coventry and the church of Litchfield should choose their bishop by course, each part keeping his turn the one after the other; provided, notwithstanding, that the prior of Coventry should always have the first voice in every election; whereas the old custom was, saith mine author, that the convent with the prior of Coventry was wont to have the whole election of the bishop without the canons: this was A.D. 1228.

In the which year died Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury, by whom the chapters of the Bible, in that order and number as we now use them, were first distinguished. The said Langton also made postils upon the whole Bible. The same moreover builded the new hall in the palace of Canterbury.

After the death of this Langton ensued another variance about the election of the archbishop of Canterbury, between the monks of Canterbury and the king. The perturbation whereof, as it was no less seditious, so the determination of the same was much more costly. After the death of Stephen Langton, the monks of Canterbury, obtaining licence of the king to proceed in the election of a new archbishop, did

choose one of their own society, named Master Walter Hemesham. Whom when the monks had presented unto the king, he, after long deliberation, began to object against that election, saying, first, that the monks had elected such a one as neither was profitable to him nor his kingdom. Secondly, he objected against the party elect, that his father was convict of felony, and hanged for the same. Thirdly, that he stood in causes against his father King John in the time of the interdict. Moreover, the bishops, his suffragans, charged the party elect, that he had lain with a certain nun, and had children by her; adding further, that the election of the archbishop was without their presence, which ought not to be, &c. But the archbishop again, stoutly standing unto his election, appealed up to Rome, and eftsoons, taking with him certain monks, presented himself to the pope's own proper person, there to sue his appeal; instantly entreating that his election might stand confirmed by his authority pontifical. But the pope, understanding that the said election was resisted by the king and the bishops, deferred the matter until he did hear further of the certainty thereof. The king and the bishops, having intelligence that the archbishop with his monks were gone to Rome, thought good to articulate the foresaid objections above alleged in writing, and, sealing the same with the seals both of the king and of the bishops, to exhibit them to the bishop of Rome. The messengers of these letters were the bishops of Rochester, of Chester, and the archdeacon of Bedford, Master John, &c. They, coming to Rome, and exhibiting their message with their letters unto the pope, (consideration being had upon the same,) were commanded to wait attendance against the next day after Ash Wednesday; then to have a resolute answer concerning the cause, which was the second day of March the next year following, that is, in the year of our Lord 1229. In the mean season, the king's proctors ceased not with all instance to labour the pope and his cardinals to be favourable to the king's side. But finding them somewhat hard and strict in the matter, as is the guise of that court, they began to misdoubt their speeding. Wherefore, consulting together with themselves upon the premises, they came to the pope, promising in the king's behalf to be given and granted to him, out of the realms both of England and Ireland, the tithe or tenth part of all the goods within the said realms movable, to sustain his wars against the emperor, so that he would incline favourably to the king's suit and petition herein. But the pope, (saith the author,) who boiled with desire above all measure to have the emperor his enemy cast down, being cheered with so great promises, granted his consent to them, who, sitting then in his consistory, had these words which here follow.

"There hath come of late to our intelligence the election of a certain monk, named Walter, to be archbishop of Canterbury; whereupon, after that we heard and advised, as well those things which the said monk had said for himself and for his election, as also, on the contrary side, the objections and exceptions of the bishops of England alleging against him and against his election, namely, of the bishop of Chester, the bishop of Rochester, and John, archdeacon of Bedford; we, upon the same, committed the examination, touching the person of the man, unto our reverend brethren, Lord Cardinal Albany, Lord Cardinal Thomas de Sabina, and Master Peter. And when the aforesaid elect, coming before them, was asked of them, first, concerning the Lord's descending into hell, whether he descended in flesh, or without his flesh, he answered not well. Item, being asked touching the making of the body of Christ on the altar, he answered likewise not soundly. Being asked moreover how Rachel wept for her children, she being dead before, he answered not well. Item, being asked concerning the sentence of excommunication denounced against the order of law, he answered not well. Again, being required of matrimony, if one of the married parties be an infidel, and do depart, he answered thereto not well. Upon these articles

he was (as is said) diligently examined of the cardinals, to the which we say he answered not only not well, but also very ill. Forasmuch therefore as the church of Canterbury is a noble church, and requireth a noble prelate, a man discreet and modest, and such as ought to be taken out of the bosom of the Church of Rome; and forasmuch as this new elect (whom not only here we pronounce to be unworthy, but also should say more of him if we would proceed with him by the rigour of the law) is so insufficient that he ought not to be admitted to such a room; we do utterly infringe, annihilate, and evacuate his election, always reserving to ourselves the provision of the said church."

Thus the election of Walter being frustrated and dissolved, the king's procurators bringing forth the letters of the king, and of the suffragans of the church of Canterbury, presented the same unto the pope for the ratification of Richard, chancellor of Lincoln, to be appointed archbishop of Canterbury, whom they with great commendation of words did set forth to be a man of profound learning and knowledge, of an honest conversation; and, which was greatest of all, that he was a man much for the profit of the Church of Rome, as also for the realm of England. And thus the said Richard being commended to the pope by the letters procuratory of the king and of the bishops, had the consent of the pope and of the cardinals, and so was made bishop of Canterbury before he was elected. Whereupon the said Pope Gregory in his behalf directeth down his letters to all and singular suffragans of the church of Canterbury, declaring thus, and beginning first with a lie, that forsomuch as by the fulness of ecclesiastical power the charge of pastoral office is committed to him in general upon all churches, he therefore, for the solicitude he beareth, as well to all other churches in general, as in special to the metropolitan church of Canterbury, repudiating and disannulling the former election of Walter the monk upon just causes, hath provided for that see a man, as in all other good gifts perfect and excellent, by the report of them that know him, so for that function very fit and commodious; and willeth and commandeth them, and all others, by his authority apostolical, with all devout reverence to receive him, and humbly to obey him, &c.

These things thus finished at Rome, the pope, not forgetting the sweet promises made of the English silver which he so greedily gaped for, omitting neither time nor diligence, in all speedy wise sendeth unto the king of England M. Stephen, his own chaplain and trusty legate, to require and collect the foresaid tithes of all the movable goods both of England, Ireland, and Wales, which were promised to him before, therewith to maintain his war against Frederic the emperor. And to the intent he might inflame all Christian realms with the like hatred which he bare against Frederic the emperor, he sendeth also with the said Stephen special letters full of manifold complaints and grievous accusations against the said emperor, whereof more (Christ granting) shall be showed hereafter. Upon the coming of this Stephen the legate, the king assembled all his earls and barons, with the archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, templaries, hospitallers, parsons, and vicars, and other such as held of him *in capite*, to appear before him at Westminster, to hear and to commune of the matter. In the assembly of whom, the pope's patent letters were brought forth and read, wherein he required the tenths of all the movables in England, Wales, and Ireland, as well of the clergy as of the laity, to maintain his expedition against the foresaid Frederic the emperor. The which expedition, as he pretended to achieve and to take in hand for the cause of the universal church, and happily had begun the matter already; and forsomuch as the riches of the apostolic see did not suffice for the accomplishing of so great an enterprise; he therefore, enforced by mere necessity, did implore the aid and

help of all the true obedient and natural chickens of the Church of Rome, lest the members thereof together with the head should be subverted. These letters of the pope to this effect being openly recited and explained by the pope's chaplain, which he with much more allegation and persuasion of words did amplify to his uttermost; the king, (saith mine author,) in whom all men did hope for help to their defence, became then as a staff of reed. Forsomuch as he had obliged himself to the same before, for the election of his archbishop, now could he say nothing against it, but held his peace. The earls, barons, and all the laity utterly refused so to bind their baronies to the Church of Rome; but the bishops, abbots, priors, with other prelates of the church, first requiring space and respite to deliberate for three or four days, at length, for fear of the pope's curse, (although they durst not utterly withstand,) had brought to pass to have concluded for a sum of money much less, had not Stephen Segrave, one of the king's counsellors, craftily convented with the legate, and by subtle means brought it so to pass, that the whole tenths were gathered and paid, to the inestimable damage (saith Paris) both of the ecclesiastical and temporal state. The means whereof (saith the author) was this: The legate showing to the prelates his procuratory letters, to collect and gather up all the foresaid tenths in the name and authority of the pope, declared moreover the full authority to him granted, by the virtue of his commission, to excommunicate all such, and to interdict their churches, whosoever did gainsay or go contrary to the said collection. Whereupon, by the said virtue legantine, he sendeth to every shire his proctors to gather the pope's money, or else to excommunicate them which denied to pay. And forsomuch as the present need of the pope required present help without delay, he sendeth moreover to the bishops and prelates of the realm, in pain of interdiction, forthwith to procure and send to him, either of their own, or by loan or usance, or by what means soever, so much money in all post speed for the present use of the pope; and after to take up again the said money of the tenths of every singular person, by the right taxing of their goods. Upon this, the prelates, to avoid the danger, (having no other remedy,) were driven to sell their chalices, cruets, copes, jewels, and other church plate, and some to lay to mortgage such things as they had, some also to borrow upon usance to make the money which was required. Moreover, the said Stephen, the pope's chaplain, (as reporteth Matthew Paris,) brought with him into England for the same purpose, such bankers and usurers, as, lending out their money upon great usury, did unreasonably pinch the English people, which merchant usurers were then called Caursini. Briefly, such strict action was then upon the poor Englishmen, that not only their present goods were valued and taxed, but also the corn yet growing in the field against the next harvest was tithed, &c. Only the earl of Chester, named Ranulph, stood stoutly against the pope, suffering none within his dominion, either layman or clerk, to yield any tenths to the pope's proctors. And this was the end of the strife between the monks of Canterbury and the king for the election of their archbishop, which was about the year of our Lord 1229; in the which year was finished the new church of Coventry, by Alexander, bishop of the said city, and partly by the help of the king; which church Richard his predecessor, bishop before him of Coventry, had begun.

The Frenchmen about this time again prepared themselves towards Provence, to war against the foresaid Reimund, earl of Toulouse, and to expel him out of his possessions. And hearing that he was in his castle of Saracene, they made thither all their power, thinking there to enclose and compass him about; but the earl, being privy of their conspired purpose, set for them by the way, appointing certain ambushments in woods, not so secretly as strongly, there to wait and receive the coming of the Frenchmen, and to give them their welcome. Thus when the French were entered the

wood, the earl, with his train of well-armed and able warriors, suddenly did fly upon them unawares, and gave them a bitter meeting, so that in that conflict five hundred of the French soldiers were taken, and many slain.

The same year the king, being at Portsmouth, had assembled together all his nobility, earls, barons, and knights of England, with such an army of horsemen and footmen as hath not been lightly seen, thinking to recover again the countries of Normandy, of Gaunt, and other possessions which King John his father before had lost. But when the captains and marshals of the field should take shipping, there were not half ships enough to receive the host. Whereupon the king was vehemently inflamed with anger, laying all the fault in Hubert, the lord chief justice, (who under the king had all the government of the realm,) calling him old traitor, charging him that he should be the let of his voyage, as he was before when he took of the French queen five thousand marks to stay the king's journey into Normandy. Insomuch that the rage of the king was so kindled against him, that, drawing his sword, he made at him to run him through, had not the earl of Chester, Ranulph, stopped the king. Hubert withdrew himself away till the king's rage was past. This was about the time of Michaelmas, at which time arrived Henry, earl of Normandy, in the haven of Portsmouth in the month of October; who should have conducted the king upon his allegiance and oath into Normandy. But he with other of the king's army counselled the king not to take that voyage towards winter, but rather to defer it to the Easter next following; wherewith the king was stayed, and well contented, and pacified again with Hubert the justice, &c.

Fabian recordeth this year the liberties and franchise of the city of London to be confirmed by the king, and to every of the sheriffs to be granted two clerks, and two officers, without any more.

Then followed the year 1230, in which upon the day of the conversion of St. Paul, (as saith Paris,) as a great multitude of people for the solemnity of the day were congregate in the temple of St. Paul, the bishop then being at his mass, a sudden darkness with such thickness of clouds fell in the air, that one man might not see another in the church. After that, followed cracks of thunder and lightning so terrible, leaving such a scent in the church, that the people, looking for doomsday, thought no less but that the steeple and whole church would have fallen upon their heads; insomuch that they running out of the church, as people amazed, fell down together by thousands, as men amazed, not knowing for the time where they were; only the bishop and his deacon stood still at their mass, holding the altar fast.

Of the death of Stephen Langton, and of the troublesome election of the next archbishop, also of the costly and chargeable bringing in of Richard to succeed in the room, which did cost the whole realm of England the tenths of all their movables, sufficient hath been declared before. This Richard, being now confirmed in his seat, came to the king complaining of Hubert, the lord chief justice, oft mentioned before, for withholding from him the castle and town of Tunbridge, with the appurtenances to the same belonging, and other lands of the earl of Clare late deceased. Which lands appertain to the right of his seat, and to the church of Canterbury; for the which the said earl with his ancestors were bound to do homage to him and to his predecessors; and therefore he required the keeping of the foresaid castle, with the domains thereof, to be restored to him. To this the king answered again, that the said earl did hold of him *in capite*, and that the castles being vacant of earls and barons, with their heirs, did belong to his crown, till the lawful age of the said heirs. The archbishop, when he

could get no other answer of the king, did excommunicate all such as invaded the foresaid possessions, with all others that took their part, the king only excepted. Which done, eftsoons he speedeth himself to Rome, there to prosecute his suit before the pope. The king hearing thereof not long after sendeth up Master Roger Cantelu, with certain other messengers, unto Rome against the archbishop.

This Richard the archbishop, coming before the pope's presence, beginneth first to complain of his king, for that he committed all the affairs of his realm to the disposition and government of Hubert his justice, using only his counsel, all his other nobles despised.

Against the said justice moreover he complained, laying to his charge, first, that he had married a wife, being the kinswoman of her whom he had married before; also that the said Hubert the justice did invade, hold, and wrongfully detain such possessions as belonged to the see and church of Canterbury.

As touching the wife of this Hubert, here is to be noted, that he married the elder sister of the king of Scots; which, as it seemeth, could be of no great kin to her whom he married before.

Further, he complaineth of certain bishops, his suffragans, who, neglecting their pastoral function, did sit on chequer matters belonging to the king, and exercised sessions and judgments of blood.

Over and besides, he complaineth of beneficed persons, and clerks within orders, for having many benefices joined with cure of soul: and that they also, taking example of the bishops, did intermeddle in secular matters, and in judgments of laymen.

Of these and such other defaults he required redress to be had. The pope weighing and considering the cause of the archbishop to stand upon right and reason, (at leastwise seeming so to his purpose,) commanded incontinent his petitions and requests to be despatched according to justice.

Against these complaints of the archbishop the king's attorneys alleged and defended in as much favour of the king as they might, but could do no good. Such favour found the archbishop in the pope's sight, being (as the story reporteth) of a comely personage, and of an eloquent tongue, that he obtained whatsoever he asked. Thus the archbishop, with all favourable speed being despatched at Rome after his own will and desire, returned homeward; who, in his journey, within three days of his setting forth, departed in the house of Grey Friars at St. Gemmes, and so his cause departed with him; who, winning his suit, lost his life; for whom it had been better, I suppose, to have tarried at home. And here of him an end, with all his complaints also.

After the death of this Richard, the monks of Canterbury (according to the manner) address themselves to a new election; at which was chosen Ralph Nevill, bishop of Chichester, who was the king's chancellor, much commended in stories, to be a man faithful, upright, and constant; which from the way of justice declined neither to the right hand nor to the left, but was upright and sincere both in word and deed. This Ralph (thus chosen of the monks) was presented unto the king to be their archbishop, wherewith the king was right well contented, and glad also of his election; and forthwith invested him for archbishop of the church of Canterbury. But this investing of the king was not enough, unless he should also be confirmed by the pope. Wherefore the monks, ready to take their journey unto Rome, came to the new archbishop, requiring his help for their expenses by the way, and to know what service

he would command them to the court of Rome. But he, fearing in his mind the same not to be without some scruple of simony and ambition, said he would not give a halfpenny; and, holding up his hands to heaven, thus prayed, saying, "O Lord God, if I shall be thought worthy to be called (although indeed unworthy) to the seat and office of this church, so be it as thou shalt dispose it. But if otherwise, in this troublesome office of chancery, and this my inferior ministry, whereunto I have been assigned, I shall seem more necessary for this thy kingdom and people, I refuse not my labour, thy will be done."

The monks beholding the constancy of the man, notwithstanding they had of him no money, yet refused not their travel and journey to Rome, to have their election confirmed by the pope's authority. The pope inquiring of Simon Langton (brother of Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury, before mentioned) of the person of this man, it was reported again to him by the said Simon, maliciously depraving the good man behind his back, and declaring to the pope, that he was a courtier, unlearned, hasty, and fervent in his doings, and such a one who, if he should be promoted to that dignity, would go about, with the help of the king and of the whole realm, to remove and bring the realm of England from under the yoke of the pope and of the Church of Rome; and so to bereave the see of Rome of the tribute, under which King John had once subjected himself and his realm, at what time he yielded his crown to the hands of Pandulph the legate, &c. With these and such other words Simon Langton falsely and maliciously depraved the godly bishop. The pope hearing with one ear, and crediting what he heard, without further inquisition made of the other party accused, sendeth incontinent to the monks of Canterbury to proceed in a new election, and to choose them another archbishop, such as were a wholesome pastor of souls, profitable unto the Church of England, and devout to the Church of Rome; and thus was the lawful election of this good archbishop made frustrate, too good peradventure to serve in that place whereunto he was elected.

After the repulse of this Ralph, the Canterbury monks, entering a new election, agreed upon John their prior to be their metropolitan; who, going up to Rome to have his election confirmed by the pope, was three days together examined of the cardinals. And when they could find no insufficiency in him, touching those things wherein they tried him; yet notwithstanding the pope finding fault with his age (he peradventure being more aged himself) repelled him, for that he said he was too old and simple to sustain that dignity.

What was the age of this person, I find it not in the author expressed; yet it is to be supposed, that he, which was able to take that journey to Rome and home again, was not so greatly to be complained of for his age, but that he was able sufficiently to take pains in keeping the chair of Canterbury.

In the former parts of this story preceding, partly before hath been declared, partly hereafter more shall appear, (Christ willing,) how the church of England and commons of the same was grieved and miserably afflicted by the intolerable oppressions of the pope; who through his violent extortion had procured the best benefices to be given unto his Romans, and the chief fruits of them to be reserved to his own coffers. And what complaints thereof have been made ye heard before; but yet no redress could be had. Such was the insatiable avarice of these Roman rakehells, prowling and polling, wheresoever they came, with their provisions and exactions out of measure, and never satisfied. Insomuch that here in England, whosoever lacked, their barns were always full of corn; and what penury soever pinched the people, they

were sure to have enough. And these importunate exactions and contributions of these Italian harpies, besides the Peter pence, besides the common tribute, daily more and more increased, to the great grievance of the realm, insomuch that the wealth of this land was almost cleanly sucked up, and translated to the court of Rome. Neither was the king ignorant hereof, but could not help the matter. Wherefore it was devised by some of the nobles (as appeareth in the story of Parisiensis) this foresaid year, A.D. 1231, that certain letters, under the pretended colour of the king's authority, should be sent abroad, willing and commanding; that such corn and grain, with other revenues, as were taken up for the pope, should be stayed, and fortheoming by a certain day in the said letters appointed; the which letters are thought to proceed chiefly by the means of Hubert, lord chief justice of England, who then, next under the king, ruled the most affairs of the realm. The words and contents of the letters be these.

"After divers and sundry griefs and oppressions which this realm, as you know, hath sustained by the Romanists, and yet doth, as well to the prejudice of the king himself, as also of the nobility of the same, concerning the advowsons of their churches, and about their tithes; who also go about to take from the clerks and spiritual men their benefices, and to bestow them upon their own nation and countrymen, to the spoil and confusion both of us and our realm; we therefore by our common consents have thought good, although very late, now yet, rather than any longer to suffer their intolerable oppressions and extortions, to resist and withstand the same. And by the taking from them their benefices through all England, in like manner to cut short and bridle them, as they had thought to have kept under and bridled others; whereby they may desist any longer to molest the realm. Wherefore we straitly charge and command you, that, as touching the farming of their churches, or else the rents belonging to them, which either you have presently in your hands, or else do owe unto the said Romanists, that from henceforth you be no more accountable to them, or else pay to them from henceforth the same. But that you have the said your rents and revenues ready by such a day, to pay and deliver unto our procurators thereunto by our letters assigned; and that all abbots and priors have the same in a readiness at the time appointed, in their own monasteries; and all other priests, clerks, and laymen, at the churches of the Romanists, there ready to pay. And further, know ye for certainty, that if ye refuse thus to do, all that you have besides shall be by us burnt and spoiled. And besides, look what danger we purpose shall fall upon them, the same shall light upon your necks if you refuse thus to do. Farewell."

When this was done, they sent their letters abroad by certain soldiers thereunto appointed, to the which letters they had devised a new seal with two swords engraved, and between the swords was written, *Ecce gladili duo*, &c., Behold these two swords, ready to take vengeance of all those that shall withstand the form and order in these letters contained.

At that time, the sixteenth day before the kalends of January, about the beginning of the year 1232, there was kept at St. Albans a great consistory of abbots, priors, archdeacons, with divers both of the nobility and clergy, by the pope's commandment, for the celebration of a divorce between the countess of Essex and her husband. At the breaking up of which consistory, when every man was about to depart thence, there was a certain clerk, whose name was Cincius, a Roman, and also a canon of Paul's in London, taken by some of the said university not far off from St. Albans, and was carried away from his company by the soldiers. But Master John, archdeacon of Norwich, a Florentine, hardly escaping from that company, got to London, where he

hid himself; and durst not be seen. Cencius, after five weeks, when they had well emptied his bags, was safely sent again without any more hurt to London.

Not long after this, about the beginning of January, the barns of a certain beneficed man, a Roman, and parson of Wingham, being full of corn, were broke up by a like company of armed soldiers, and the corn brought out to be sold and given away to the poor people. The farmer seeing this, and not able to resist, complaineth to the sheriff of the shire of this injury done to his master, and of breaking the king's peace; whereupon the sheriff sent certain of his men to see what was done. Who coming to the empty barns, and there finding the foresaid soldiers to them unknown, who had sold away the most part of the corn upon easy price, and some for charity had given to the poverty of the country about, required of them what they were, that so durst presume to break the king's peace. Whom the other then called secretly apart, and showed them the king's letters patents, (pretending at least the king's name and seal,) wherein was forbidden that no man should presume to stop or let them in that purpose. Whereof the sheriff's servants being certified, quietly returned from whence they came.

This coming to the knowledge of Roger, bishop of London, he (with the assistance of other bishops) proceedeth in solemn excommunication, first, against them that robbed Cincius the Roman; then of them which spoiled the barns of the parson of Wingham, another Roman; thirdly, he excommunicated them that forged the letters and seal of the king above specified.

Neither yet, for all this, did that so cease, but the same year, about Easter next following, all the barns in England, which were in the hands of any Roman or Italian, were likewise wasted, and the corn sold to the best commodity of the poor commons. Of the which great alms were distributed, and many times money also with corn together was spared for the needy people to gather up. Neither was there any that would or durst stand against them. As for the Romans and Italians themselves, they were stricken in such fear, that they hid themselves in monasteries and cells, not daring to complain of their injuries received; but held it better to lose rather their goods than to lose their lives. The authors and workers of this feat were to the number of fourscore armed soldiers; of whom the principal captain was one naming himself William Withers, surnamed Twing.

This coming to the pope's knowledge, he was not a little stirred therewith, and sendeth his letters immediately to the king upon the same, with sharp threatenings, and imperious commandments, charging him for suffering such villany within his realm, straitly enjoining him, under pain of excommunication, to search out the doers hereof with all diligence, and so to punish them that all others by them may take example. Likewise he sendeth the same charge to Peter, bishop of Winchester, and to the abbot of St. Edmund, to inquire in the south parts. Also to the archbishop of York, and to the bishop of Durham, and to Master John, canon of York, a Roman, to inquire in the north parts for the said malefactors, and, after diligent inquisition made, to send up the same to Rome, there needs to appear before him, &c.

Thus, after earnest inquisition made of all parties, and witnesses sworn and examined, many were found culpable in the matter, some that were factors, some that were consenters, of whom some were bishops and chaplains unto the king, some archdeacons and deans, with other soldiers and laymen. Among whom certain sheriffs and under-sheriffs, with their servitors under them, were apprehended and cast into prison by the king. Many for fear fled and escaped away, who being sought for could

not be found; but the principal of this number (as is aforesaid) was supposed to be Hubert, lord chief justice; who, both with the king's letters and his own, fortified the doers thereof, that no man durst interrupt them. Moreover, in the same society of them which were noted in these doings, was the same Robert Twing above mentioned, a comely young man and a tall soldier; who, of his own voluntary accord, with five other servitors, whom he took with him abroad to work that feat, came unto the king, openly protesting himself to be the author of that deed doing, and said he did it for hatred of the pope and the Romans, because that by the sentence of the bishop of Rome, and fraudulent circumvention of the Italians, he was bereaved of the patronage of his benefice, having no more to give but that one; wherefore, to be revenged of that injury, he enterprised that which was done; preferring rather justly to be excommunicated for a season, than to be spoiled of his benefice for ever. Then the king, and other executors of the pope's commandment, gave him counsel, that seeing he had so incurred the danger of the pope's sentence, he should offer himself to the pope to be absolved of him again, and there to make his declaration unto him, that he justly and canonically was possessed of that church. The king moreover with him sent his letters testimonial unto the pope, witnessing with the said soldier, and instantly desiring the pope in his behalf that he might with favour be heard. At the request whereof Pope Gregory afterwards both released him of the sentence, and restored unto him his patronage, writing unto the archbishop of York, that he might again enjoy the right of his benefice in as ample manner as he did before it was taken from him.

Hubert de Burgh, lord chief justice, being one of them which held against the Romish priests, as is afore signified, was therefore not a little noted of the bishops, who, to requite him with the like despite again, (after their accustomed manner of practice,) went about by subtle working to shake him out of the king's favour. And first cometh Peter, bishop of Winchester, to the king, grievously complaining of certain about the king; but especially of the foresaid Hubert, the king's justice; insomuch that he caused him to be removed from his office; notwithstanding he had the king's seal and writing for the perpetuity of the same, and procured Stephen Segrave to be placed in his function. And after a few days the king, more and more incensed against him, called him unto account of all the treasure which he was countable for by his exchequer office; also of all such debts by him due from the time of his father till his time; also of all the lordships which were in the possession of William, earl of Pembroke, chief justice before him. Item, of the liberties which he did hold at that time in forests, warrens, shires, and other places, how they were kept, or how they were made away. Of prizes likewise, also of losses committed through his negligence, and of wastes made contrary to the king's profit, of his liberties, how he did use them. Item, of injuries and damages wrought against the clerks of Rome and other Italians, and the pope's legates, for the redress whereof he would never adjoin his counsel, according as pertained to his office, being then chief justice of England. Also of scutages, gifts, presents, escapes of prisoners. Item, of marriages which King John committed to his keeping at the day of his death, and which were also in his time committed unto him. To these Hubert answered, that he had King John's own hand to show for his discharge, who so approved his fidelity that he never called him to any, but clearly discharged him from all such counts. Whereunto answered again the bishop of Winchester, saying, The charter of King John hath no force after the death of him, but that ye may now be called to a reckoning of this king for the same.

Over and besides these, other greater objections were laid to his charge by the king; as for sending and writing unto the duke of Austria that he might marry his daughter, to the prejudice of the king and of the realm, dissuading that she might not be given to him. Item, for counselling the king not to enter into Normandy with his army, which he had prepared for the recovery of lands there belonging to his right, whereby great treasure was there consumed in vain. Item, for corrupting the daughter of the king of Scots, whom King John his father committed unto his custody for him to marry. Item, for stealing from him a precious stone, which had a virtue to make him victorious in war; and for sending the same unto Leoline, prince of Wales: and that, by his letters sent to the said Leoline, William Brewer, a nobleman, was caused there traitorously to be hanged, &c. These, with other crimes, (whether true or false,) were suggested to the king against the said Hubert by his adversaries; whereunto he was required to answer by order of law. Hubert then, seeing himself in such a strait, refused to answer presently, but required respite thereunto, for that the matters were weighty which the king objected to him, which was granted to him till the fourteenth day of September; but in the mean time, Hubert, being in fear of the king, fled from London to the priory of Merton. And thus Hubert, who before, for the love of the king, and defence of the realm, (saith mine author,) had got the hatred of all the nobles of England, now being out of the king's favour, was destitute of comfort on every side, save only that Lucas, archbishop of Dublin, with instant prayers and tears laboured to the king for him. By this example, and many like, is to be seen how unstable and variable a thing the favour of mortal and mutable princes is, to teach all such as have to do about princes how to repose and plant their trust, not in man, but in their Lord God, by him to find help in Christ, the true Prince of all princes, which never faileth. By like example was Clito served of King Alexander, Joab of King David, Belisarius of Justinian, Harpagus of Astiages, Cromwell of King Henry, with innumerable more, which in histories are to be found.

When the day was come that this Hubert should answer, keeping amongst the monks of Merton, he durst not appear. Then was it signified unto him from the king, that he should come up and appear in the court, there to answer to his charge. Whereunto he answered again, that he misdoubted the king's anger, and therefore he did fly to the church, as the uttermost refuge to all such as suffer wrong, from whence he would not stir, till he heard the king's wrath to be mitigated towards him. With this the king, moved and sore displeased, directeth his letters in all haste to the mayor of London, commanding him at the sight thereof to muster and take up all the citizens that could bear harness in the city, and to bring to him by force of arms the foresaid Hubert, either quick or dead, out of Merton. Whereupon the mayor immediately, causing the great bell to be rung, assembled together the people of London; and opening before them the king's letters, commanded them to prepare and arm themselves in all readiness to the executing of the king's will and message.

The citizens hearing this were therewith right glad and ready, for they were all in great hatred with Hubert, because of the execution of Constantine their citizen afore mentioned. Notwithstanding, certain of the citizens, namely, Andrew Bukerell, John Travers, and others more, men of more grave and sage discretion, wisely pondering with themselves what inconvenience might rise hereof, went in haste to the bishop of Winchester, lying then in Southwark, and, waking him out of his sleep, desired him of his counsel in that so sudden and dangerous distress, declaring unto him what peril might thereby ensue, as well to the church of Merton as also to the city, by the fury of the inordinate and fierce multitude, which will hardly be bridled from robbing and

spoiling, neither will spare shedding of blood, &c. Unto whom again the bloody bishop gave this bloody counsel (saith Matthew Paris): Dangerous it is, (quoth he,) both here and there; but yet see that you obey and execute the precept of the king, I counsel you plainly. At the which counsel of the bishop they, being amazed, went with an ill will about the business enjoined. But the people, inflamed with hatred, gladly coveted to be revenged, and to shed the blood of the said Hubert.

The cause why Peter, bishop of Winchester, was so cruelly set against the justice, was partly for the damages he had done to the Roman priests, as before is touched; partly also for the old grudge, because the king, coming to his lawful age before, (through the counsel of this Hubert,) loosed himself from the government of the said bishop, who had him then in custody. And thus rose up the grudge and displeasure of this bishop towards him.

On the next morrow, the Londoners, issuing out of the city, to the number of twenty thousand, set forth toward the abbey of Merton, where Hubert was lying prostrate before the altar, commending himself to God.

In the mean season, while the citizens were in their journey, raging against the poor earl of Kent, it was suggested to the king, by Ralph, bishop of Chichester, and lord chancellor, that it was dangerous to excite up the vulgar and unruly multitude, for fear of sedition; lest peradventure the rude and heady people, being stirred up, will not so soon be brought down again, when the king would have them. Moreover, what shall be said (quoth he) among the Frenchmen and other nations, which of great things love to make them greater, and of evil things to make them worse than they are? but thus jestingly and mockingly: See what a kind bird is the young king of England, which seeketh to devour his old nurse, under whose wings he had been brought up and nourished in his youth. And thus the king, by the persuasion hereof, changing his counsel, sent in all hasty wise after the army again, willing them to retract their journey, and to retire. And thus the Londoners (although much against their wills) returned home, missing of their purpose. Wherein is to be observed another notable example of God's working providence. For when the king (saith the history) had sent by two messengers or pursuivants to revoke and call back again the army of the Londoners, going with greedy minds to shed the blood of the innocent justice, one of the messengers, posting with all speed possible with the king's letters, overtook the army; and coming to the foreward where the captains were, by virtue of the king's letters stayed their course and bloody purpose, whereby they could proceed no further. But the other messenger, crafty and malicious, bearing hatred to the said Hubert, and rather wishing him to be slain than to be delivered, lingered by the way of purpose (although being commanded to make haste); and when he came, went only but to the middle sort; more like a messenger meet to serve a dead man's errand, than to serve the turn of them which be alive. And so in like manner by the just hand of God it fell upon him. For the same messenger, stumbling with his horse, riding but a soft or foot pace, and rather walking than riding, fell down backward from his horseback, and there brake his neck, and died. This merciful message of the king was (as is said) sent by the instigation of Ralph, bishop of Chichester, lord chancellor, a virtuous and a faithful man, and one that could skill to have compassion on the miseries of men. Of whom was declared before, that he, being elected archbishop of Canterbury, would not give one halfpenny to their expenses by the way, to get his election confirmed by the pope; and afterward by the said pope was defeated and frustrated of his election, as relation was made afore. And thus, through God's providence, by the means of the king's letters the army returned, and Hubert's life, contrary to his expectation, was preserved.

After this, the archbishop of Dublin with much labour and great suit entreated and obtained of the king to grant unto the said Hubert respite till the twelfth day of January, to provide himself of his answer to such things as were commenced against him. Then Hubert, trusting to enjoy some safety by the king's permission to him granted, to breathe himself a little and to walk abroad, took his journey towards St. Edmundsbury, where his wife was; and, passing through the country of Essex, was inned there in a certain town belonging to the bishop of Norwich. Whereof, when the king was certified, fearing lest he would raise up some commotion in the realm, sendeth in hasty anger after him Sir Godfred Crancombe, knight, with three hundred men; commanding, under pain of hanging, that they should apprehend him, and bring him to the Tower of London; which commandment to accomplish there lacked no haste. Hubert, having intelligence of their coming, (rising out of his bed naked as he was,) ran unto the chapel standing near unto the inn, where he holdeth with the one hand the cross, with the other hand the sacrament of the Lord's body. Then Godfred, with his foresaid armed soldiers, entering into the chapel, willed him to come out. Which when he would not, with violent hands he drew him out of the chapel; and taking the cross and the sacrament out of his hands, fast bound him with fetters and gyves under the horse's belly, and brought him, as they were commanded, to the Tower. And so certifying the king what they had done, (who then tarried up waking for them,) he rejoiced not a little thereat, and went merry to his bed.

The next morrow following after, Roger, bishop of London, having knowledge how and in what order he was taken violently out of the chapel, cometh unto the king, blaming him boldly for violating the peace of holy church, and protested that unless the party were loosed again, and sent to the chapel from whence he was drawn, he would enter sentence of excommunication against all the deed-doers.

The king, as he did not deny his transgression herein, so he sendeth him (albeit against his will) out of the Tower unto the said chapel again, and by the same soldiers which brought him out before. Which done, he giveth in strait charge and commandment, under pain of hanging, to the sheriffs of Hertford and of Essex, that they, in their own persons, with the strength of both shires, should watch and compass about the chapel, and see that the said Hubert in no wise might escape. Which commandment of the king was accomplished with all diligence. But Hubert took all this patiently, and continued in the chapel, praying both night and day, and commending his cause unto the Lord; whom he desired so to deliver him from that instant danger, as he always sought the king's honour by his faithful and trusty service. And as he continued in his prayer, so the king, continuing in his rage, commanded that no man should entreat for him, or make any mention of him in his presence. Notwithstanding yet Lucas, archbishop of Dublin, his true and almost only friend, ceased not to pray and weep to the king for him, desiring the king at least to intimate to him what he purposed should be done with Hubert. Whereunto the king answering, said, that of these three things one he should choose, whether he would abjure the realm of England for ever, or be condemned unto perpetual prison, or else confess himself openly to be a traitor. But Hubert hereunto said, that he would choose none of these articles, as who knew himself neither guilty, nor worthy of any such confusion; but, to satisfy somewhat the mind of the king, he would be contented to depart the realm for a season, but to abjure the realm he would not so do.

In this mean time it befell that Ranulph, earl of Chester and of Lincoln, one of his sorest enemies, died. Hubert all this while remained in the chapel enclosed and guarded about with the power (as is said) of two shires, and so continued, till, at

length, by the commandment of the king, his two servitors, which ministered unto him within the chapel, were taken from him. Then Hubert, seeing no other remedy, but there to starve for famine, offered himself of his own accord to the sheriffs, saying that he would put himself rather in the king's mercy, than there desperately to perish for hunger. And so was he taken, and, being fast bound in fetters, was brought again, and clapped, by the king's commandment, in the Tower of London.

Not long after this, word was brought unto the king by certain, that the said Hubert had much treasure lying in the house of the new templars in London. Whereupon the king, to try out the truth thereof, sendeth for the prior or master of the house; who, not daring to deny, confessed that there was indeed treasure brought into the house, but the quantity and number thereof he could not tell. The king, desirous to seize upon the treasure, required and charged the master with his brethren, with threatening words, to bring forth the treasure to him, saying that it was taken and stolen out of his treasury. But they answered again, that the treasure was committed with trust and faith unto their hands, and therefore they neither would nor ought to let it go out of their hands, being trusted withal, without the assent of him which committed the same unto them. When the king could get no other answer at their hands, neither durst show any further violence against them, he sendeth unto Hubert in the Tower, requiring of him the foresaid treasures. To whom he, answering again mildly, yielded both himself, his treasures, and all that ever he had, unto the king's will and pleasure; and so sending word unto the master and brethren of the temple, willeth them to take all the keys, and deliver the goods with all that there was unto the king; who, receiving the same, and taking an inventory of that which was received, caused it to be brought unto his treasury; whereof the number, both of the plate, of coin, and of the jewels, was of price unknown. The enemies of Hubert, supposing thereby to take advantage against him to bring him to his end, came with open complaint unto the king, crying out against Hubert, that he was a thief, a traitor, and a robber of the king's treasure, and therefore by right was worthy to be hanged; and thus cried his accusers daily in the king's ear. But the hearts of kings (saith the wise man) are in the hands of the Lord, to be ruled, not after man's will, but as it pleaseth God to direct them. And so this king, having now his will and fill upon poor Hubert, and somewhat coming more unto himself, answered again in this wise, that there was no such need to deal so straitly with him, who from the time of his youth first served mine uncle, King Richard, then my father King John, in whose service, (as I heard say,) beyond the seas, he was driven to eat his horse, and in my time hath stood so constantly in defence of the realm against foreign nations, who kept the castle of Dover against King Louis, and vanquished the Frenchmen upon the seas, also at Bedford and at Lincoln hath done such service. And though against me he hath dealt any thing untruly, which yet is not evidently proved, yet he shall never be put by me to so villanous a death. I had rather be counted a king foolish and simple than to be judged a tyrant or seeker of blood, especially of such as have served me and mine ancestors in many perils so dangerously, weighing more the few evils, which yet be not proved, than so many good deserts of his evident and manifest service done both to me and to the whole realm, &c. And thus the king, somewhat relenting to poor Hubert, his old servant, granted unto him all such lands as he had given by King John his father, and whatsoever else he had by his own purchase.

Thus Hubert, after long trouble, a little cheered with some piece of comfort, set Laurence, his trusty friend, that never left him, one that belonged to St. Albans, to be his steward and overseer of those possessions granted unto him by the king. And

shortly upon the same, after the king's mind was seen thus something to relent, the envy also of the nobles being now partly satisfied, began to turn to mercy; insomuch that four earls, to wit, Earl Richard, the king's brother, William, earl of Warreine, Richard, earl marshal, and William, earl of Ferers, became sureties to the king for him. Upon whose surety he was transferred to the castle of Devizes, where he was under the keeping of four soldiers by them appointed, having the liberty of that castle. But the bishop of Winchester, who always hunted after the life of Hubert, craftily cometh unto the king, and desireth the custody of the castle, making no mention of Hubert, to the intent that by the keeping thereof he might the sooner despatch him. Hubert, having thereof some inkling, breaketh the matter to two of his servants, who, with compassion tendering his misery, watched their time, (the keepers being asleep,) and conveyed him by night on their backs, fettered as he was, into the parish church of the town, and there remained with him. The keepers, when they missed their prisoner, were in great perplexity; and after diligent search finding him at length where he was in the church, with violent force drew him from thence to the castle again. For the which injury to the church the bishop of Sarum, understanding the order of the matter, cometh to the castle where the keepers were, and required that Hubert should be brought again into the church from whence he was taken. Which, when the keepers denied to do, saying they would rather he should hang than they, then the bishop gave sentence of excommunication against them. Which done, he, with the bishop of London, and other bishops, goeth immediately unto the king, complaining of the injury done unto Hubert, and especially of the contumely against holy church; neither would they leave the king before they had obtained that he should be reduced again into the church; and so he was. It was not long after, but the king in great displeasure sendeth to the sheriff of the shire to keep him well watched in the church, till either he came forth, or there perished with famine.

It befell, in the mean season, that great dissension rose between the king and the nobles of the realm, by reason whereof Hubert was taken and carried away by Richard, earl marshal, into Wales, and there remained until the king at length was reconciled with his nobles, and so received (with the rest) the said Hubert again into his favour. Of the which dissension more shall be showed (Christ willing) hereafter.

As the beginning of this trouble of Hubert first sprang of vexing the pope's barns; so likewise Roger, bishop of London, suspected for the same cause, was forced to travel up to Rome, there to purge himself before the pope. Where after much money consumed and robbed also by the way, he got nothing else, but lost his labour, and so came home again. Who then, doing the part of a good bishop, after his return from Rome, attempted to expel and exclude out of his diocess all those Italian usurers called, as beforesaid, Caursini. These Caursinites, coming with the pope's legates into England, and lending their money to religious houses, to colleges and churches, had their debtors bound unto them in such sort as was much advantageable to them, and much injurious to the other, as in the form of their obligations in the story of Matthew Paris is largely expressed. Against these Caursinites the bishop of London, being worthily inflamed with zeal of justice, first with loving admonition went about to reclaim them for the wealth of their souls, afterward with sharp words began to charge them. But they, disregarding Christian counsel, and despising the bishop's threatenings, would not leave the sweetness of their occupation. Wherefore the bishop, proceeding unto the sentence of excommunication, precisely and distinctly charged them to depart his diocess. But they again, being confident and imboldened upon the pope's defence, not only set at light his excommunication, but also wrought such ways

with the pope, that they caused the said bishop of London, being both aged and sickly, to be cited peremptorily to appear beyond the seas, there to answer to such objections as they should infer against him. And thus the bishop, minding rather to cover than to open the faults of the church, and partly being let with infirmity and age, was compelled to let the cause fall.

And thus much of the pope's merchants here in England, which were not so busy here for their part, but the pope, the great master of these merchant usurers, was as busy for his. And although his barns here in England were destroyed, and his bank something decayed, yet he thought to win it up another way; for he proclaimed the same year a general visitation through all the religious houses, exempt or not exempt, universally pertaining to his jurisdiction; where, by the cruel dealing of the visitors, many were compelled to appeal and to travel up to Rome, to the great expenses of their money, and filling the pope's coffers. But as touching this visitation, to make short, (saith the story,) it tended not to any reformation so much as to the deformation of universal order. While all they, which before through all parts of the world followed only the rule of Benedict, now, through new-devised constitutions, are found in all places so divided and diverse, that of all monasteries, and other churches of religion, scarce may two be found which do agree in one rule and institution of life.

All this while that Hubert above mentioned was secluded from the king, Peter, bishop of Winchester, bare all the rule, and above all other alone was accepted. This bishop being in such principal favour with the king, as by whose counsel all things were administered, removed the natural servitors that were Englishmen out of their offices, and placed other strangers, namely, of Pictavia and of other countries, in their rooms. Among whom was thrust out William, under marshal, which supplied the room of Richard, great lord marshal of England; for the which cause the said Lord Richard was mightily offended. Also Walter, treasurer of the king's house, was not only expelled, but also merced at a hundred pounds, and put from all his holds and munitions, which he had by the king's patent granted to him.

Moreover, by the counsel of the said bishop of Winchester, all the old counsellors, as well bishops as other earls and barons, and all the nobles, were rejected from the king in such sort, that he would hear and follow no man's counsel, but only the said Peter, bishop of Winchester, and his cousin Peter de Rivallis. Whereby it came to pass, that all the greatest holds and munitions in the realm were taken from the old keepers, and committed to the custody of the said Peter. Then the bishop of Winchester, to plant and pitch himself more strongly in the king's favour, adjoined to his fellowship Stephen Segrave, succeeding in the place of Hubert the justice: also Robert Paslew, who had the keeping of the treasure under the aforesaid Peter Rival. So by these three all the affairs of the realm were ordered. Moreover, to make their party more sure, by them it was provided, that soldiers and servitors from beyond the sea, as Pictavians and Britons, were sent for, to the number of two thousand, which were placed partly about the king, partly were set in castles and holds within the realm, and had the oversight and government of shires and baronies, who then oppressed the nobles of the land, accusing them to the king for traitors; whom the simple king did lightly believe, committing to them the custody of his treasures, the sitting in judgments, and the doing in all things. And when the nobles thus oppressed came to complain of their injuries to the king, by the means of the bishop of Winchester. their cause was nothing regarded; insomuch that the said Winchester moreover accused certain bishops also to the king, so that he did flee and shun them as open traitors and rebels.

These things standing thus out of order, Richard, the noble marshal of England, with others of the nobles joining with him, seeing these oppressions and injuries daily growing contrary to the laws and wealth of the realm came to the king, and blamed him for retaining such perverse counsel about him of the Pictavians and other foreigners, to the great prejudice of his natural subjects, and of the liberties of the realm; humbly desiring and beseeching him, that he, with as much speed as might be, would reform and redress such excesses, whereby the whole realm seemed to lie in danger of subversion. Otherwise, if he refused to see correction thereof, he, with other peers and nobles, would withdraw themselves from his council, so long as he maintained the society of those foreigners and strangers about him.

To this Peter Winchester, answering again, said that the king right well might call unto him what foreigners and strangers him listed, for the defence both of his kingdom and of his crown; and what number of them he would, as by whom he might be able to bridle his proud and rebellious subjects, and so to keep them in awe and good order. When the earl and the nobles could get no other answer of him, in great perturbation they departed, promising among themselves, in this case, which so touched the state of the whole realm, they would constantly join together to the parting of their life.

After this, the foresaid Peter, bishop of Winchester, with his complices, ceased not by all means to inflame the king's heart to hatred and contempt of his natural people, whom they so vehemently perverted, that he, counting them no other than his enemies, sought by all diligence the utter destruction of them, sending daily for more garrisons of the Pictavians, that in short space they replenished well near the whole land, whose defence the king only trusted unto; neither was any thing disposed in the realm, but through the guiding of this Peter and of the Pictavians.

The king, thus guarded and strengthened with these foreign aliens and strangers, proclaimed a parliament to be holden at Oxford, where the nobles were waited to be present. They, considering the indignation of the king conceived, would not appear. Again they were required the first, second, and third time to present themselves. The assembly proceeded, but they came not, for whom the king looked. In this assembly or parliament, it was plainly told the king by a Dominic friar, preaching before him, that unless he removed from him the bishop of Winchester and Peter Rival, his kinsman, he should not, neither could, long enjoy peace in his kingdom. This, although it was bluntly spoken of the friar against the bishop, yet this remedy he had, the friar had nothing to lose. Yet was there another chaplain of the court, who, perceiving the king somewhat mitigated by the former preaching, and after a court-like dexterity handling his matter, being a pleasant conceited man, thus merrily came to the king, asking a question, What was the thing most pernicious and dangerous of all other things to them that travel by the seas? That, said the king, is best known to such as travel in that kind of traffic. Nay, (saith he,) this is easy to be told. The king demanding what it was, Forsooth, (quoth he,) stones and rocks; alluding merrily (but yet truly) to the bishop of Winchester, whose name and surname was Petrus de Rupibus, for so *petræ* in Latin signifieth stones, and *rupes* rocks. Notwithstanding, the king, either not perceiving the meaning, or not amending the fault, again sendeth to his nobles to have them come and speak with him at Westminster. But they, fearing some train to be laid for them, refused to appear, sending plain words to the king by solemn message, that his Grace without all delay should seclude from him Peter, bishop of Winchester, and other aliens of Pietavia; or if he would not, they, with the common

assent of the realm, would displace him with his wicked counsellors from his kingdom, and have within themselves tractation for choosing a new king.

The king at the hearing of this message being mightily moved, partly to fear, partly to indignation, especially having the late example of King John his father before his eyes, was cast in great perplexity, doubting what was best to be done. But Winchester with his wicked counsel so wrought with the king, that he proceeded with all severity against them; insomuch that in short time the sparkles of poisoned counsel, kindling more and more, grew to sharp battle between the king and Richard, earl marshal, with other nobles, to the great disquietness of the whole realm. The which war before was presignified by terrible thundering and lightning heard all England over in the month of March, with such abundance of rain and floods growing upon the same, as cast down mills, overcovered the fields, threw down houses, and did much harm through the whole realm.

To prosecute here at large the whole discourse of this war between the king and the earl marshal, which continued near the space of two years, to declare all the parts and circumstances thereof, what troubles it brought, what damages it wrought unto the whole realm, what trains were laid, what slaughter of men, what waste of whole countries ensued from Wales unto Shrewsbury, how the marshal joined himself with Leoline, prince of Wales, how the Pictavians were almost all slain and destroyed, how the king was distressed, what forgery wily Winchester wrought by the king's letters to entrap the marshal, and to betray him to the Irishmen, amongst whom he was at length slain; all this I refer to other authors, who at large do treat of the same. This is to be noted and observed, (which rather pertaineth to our ecclesiastical history,) to see what sedition and continual disquietness was in those days among all Christian people almost, being under the pope's catholic obedience; but especially, to mark the corrupt doctrine then reigning, it is to be marvelled, or rather lamented, to see the king and the people then so blinded in the principal point and article of their salvation, as we find in stories, which, making mention of a house or monastery of converts, builded the same year by the king at London, do express in plain words that he then did it for the redemption of his soul, of the soul of King John his father, and for the souls of all his ancestors, &c. Whereby may be understood in what palpable darkness of blind ignorance the silly souls redeemed by Christ were then inwrapped, which did not know nor yet were taught the right doctrine and first principles of their redemption.

Mention was made a little before of dissolving the election of John, prior of Canterbury, which was chosen by the monks to be archbishop of the said church of Canterbury, but by the pope was defeated. After whom one John Blund was elected, who travelling up to Rome this year, A.D. 1233, to be confirmed of the pope, was also repealed and unelected again, for that it was thought in England, and so complained of to the pope, that he had received of Peter, bishop of Winchester, a thousand marks, and had another thousand promised him of the said Winchester. Who by his money thought to make him of his side, and also wrote unto the emperor to help forward his promotion in the court of Rome. Notwithstanding, both he with his giving, and the other with his taking of bribes, were both detected and disappointed of their purpose. For the pope, hating then the emperor, for the same cause admitted not the election; pretending the cause, for that he was proved to hold two benefices without his dispensation. After whom, by the commandment of the pope, one Edmund, canon of Salisbury, was ordained archbishop, and had his pall sent to him from the pope. Which Edmund after for his virtues was canonized of the popish monks there for a saint, and

called St. Edmund. About which time also Robert Grossthead was made bishop of Lincoln.

This Edmund, accompanied with other bishops, during this trouble between the king and his nobles, being in council at Westminster, in the year next ensuing, which was 1234, came uttering their minds boldly in the name of the lords, and declaring unto the king, as became his faithful servants, that his counsel, which then he followed, was not sound nor safe, but cruel and dangerous, both to him and to the state of the realm, meaning the counsel of Peter Winchester, and of Peter Rival, with other adherents.

1. First, for that they hate and condemn the English nation, calling them traitors and rebels, and turning the king's heart from the love of his natural subjects, and the hearts of them from him, as appeareth by the earl marshal and others, sowing discord among them.

2. Item, by the said counsel, to wit, by the foresaid bishop and his fellows, King John the king's father lost first the hearts of his barons, after that lost Normandy, and afterwards other lands also, and in the end wasted all his treasure, so that since that time the regiment of England had never any quiet after.

3. By the said counsel also, in their time and memory, the kingdom of England had been troubled and suspended, and in conclusion she that was before the prince of provinces became tributary; and so war ensuing upon the same, the said King John his father incurred great danger of death, and at last was extinguished, lacking both peace of his kingdom and of his own heart.

4. Item, by the said counsel the castle of Bedford was kept long time against the king, to the great loss both of men and treasure, beside the loss of Rupella, to the shame of the realm of England.

5. Moreover, through their wicked counsel, at this present, great perturbation seemed to hang over the whole realm; for else if it had not been for their counsel, and if that true justice and judgment might have been ministered unto the king's subjects, these tumults had never been stirred, and the king might have had his land unwasted, and his treasure unconsumed.

6. Item, in that faith and allegiance, wherewith they were obliged unto him, they protested unto him that they said his counsel was not a counsel of peace, but of division and disquietness, to the end that they which otherwise by peace could not aspire, by disturbing and disheriting others might be exalted.

7. Item, for that all the castles, forts, munitions, also all the officers of the exchequer, with all other the greatest escheats of the realm, were in their hands, of the which if the king would demand account, he should prove how true they were.

8. Item, for that neither by the king's seal nor commandment, except it bare withal the seal of Peter Rival, almost any business of any weight could be despatched in the realm, as though they counted their king for no king.

9. Furthermore, by the foresaid counsel, the natural subjects and nobles of the realm were banished the court, which was to be feared would grow to some inconvenience, both to the king and to the realm; forsomuch as the king seemed more to be on their side than they of his, as by many evident conjectures may appear.

10. Item, it was not well to be taken and liked, the said counsel standing of strangers and aliens, that they should have in their power both the king's sister, and many other noblemen's daughters and other women marriageable, with the king's wards and marriages, which they bestowed and divided among themselves, and men of their affinity.

11. Also the said counsel, regarding neither the laws nor liberties of the realm, confirmed and corroborated by excommunication, did confound and pervert all justice; wherefore it was to be feared that they would run under excommunication, and the king also in communicating with them.

12. Item, because they kept neither promise, nor faith, nor oath with any person, neither did observe any instrument made never so formal by law, nor yet did fear any excommunication; wherefore they were to be left for people desperate, as which were departed from all truth and honesty.

These things (said the bishops) we, as your faithful subjects before God and men, do tell and advertise your Grace, desiring and beseeching you, that you will remove and seclude from you such counsel; and, as the custom is of all other kingdoms to do, that you will so govern in like manner your kingdom by your own natural liege people, and such as be sworn unto you of your own realm. For thus (said they) in verity we denounce unto you, that unless in short time you will see these things reformed, we, according to our duty, will proceed by the censure of the church against you, and all others that gainsay the same, tarrying no other thing, but only the consecration of this our reverend archbishop.

These words of the bishops thus said and finished, the king required a little time of respite, wherein to advise with himself about the matter, saying that he could not in such a sudden remove from him his council, before he had entered with them account of his treasure committed to them; and so that assembly brake up.

It followed then after this communication so broken up, that the king resorted to the parts of Norfolk, where, coming by St. Edmundsbury, where the wife of Hubert the justice was, he being moved with zeal of pity toward the woman, who very humbly behaved herself to the king, did grant her eight manor places, which her husband before with his money had purchased, being then in the custody and possession of Robert Paslew, one of the king's new counsellors above specified. It was not long after this, that Edmund the archbishop was invested and consecrated in the church of Canterbury; and shortly after his consecration, about the month of April, coming with his suffragans to the place of council, where the king with his earls and barons was assembled, he opened to him the cause and purpose of his coming, and of the other prelates, which was to put him in remembrance of their former talk had with him at Westminster; denouncing moreover to him expressly, that unless with speed he would take a better way, and fall to a peaceable and godly agreement with the true and faithful nobles of his realm, he immediately, with the other prelates there present, would pass with the sentence of excommunication against him, and against all them that would be enemies to the same peace, and maintainers of discord.

The king, after he heard the meaning of the bishops, with humble and gentle language answered them again, promising to condescend to them in all things. Whereupon within few days after the king, coming to some better remembrance of himself, commanded the forenamed bishop of Winchester to leave the court, and to return home to his bishopric, there to attend unto the spiritual charge and care of his

flock committed to him. Moreover, he commanded Peter Rival, the bishop's cousin, (some stories say his son,) who had then the disposing of all the affairs of the realm, to render unto him his castles, and to give account of all his treasures, whereof he had the keeping, and so to void the realm; swearing moreover unto him, but for that he was beneficed, and was within orders of the church, else he would have caused both his eyes to be plucked out of his head.

He expelled likewise the Pictavians out of the court, and from the custody of his munitions, sending them home into their country, and bidding they should no more see his face. And thus the king, wisely despatching himself of his wicked counsellors, first did send Edmund the archbishop, with the bishops of Chester and of Rochester, into Wales to Leoline, and to Richard, earl marshal, and others, to entreat with them of peace. Also he received to his service again men of his natural country, to attend about him, offering himself willing to be ruled by the counsel of the archbishop and the bishops, by whose prudence he trusted his realm should be reduced again to a better quietness.

But in the mean time, while these things were doing in England, the foresaid Richard, earl marshal, by the falsehood of the bishop of Winchester, and Peter Rival forging the king's letters to the Irishmen against him, and partly by the conspiracy of Gilbert de Marisco, being circumvented by the Irishmen in war, and there taken and wounded, was by them, through the means of this surgeon, slain.

Great slaughter the same time was of them which were called Catini, about the parts of Almaine. These Catini were esteemed of Pope Gregory and the papists to be heretics, but what their opinions were I find it not expressed.

In like sort the Albigenses afore mentioned, accounted also of the pope's flock to be heretics, with their bishops, and a great number and company of them, were slain by the commandment of Pope Gregory at the same time, in a certain plain in Spain.

How the archbishop of Canterbury, with other two bishops, were sent into Wales for entreaty of peace, ye heard before. At whose return again after the time of Easter, the king, going toward Gloucester to meet them by the way, as he was in his journey at Woodstock, there came messengers of Ireland, declaring to the king the death of Richard, earl marshal, and the order thereof, through the forged letters of Winchester and others; where at the king made great lamentation and mourning, to the great admiration of all them that were by, saying and complaining that he left not his like in all the realm again.

After this, the king proceeding in his journey came to Gloucester, where the archbishop, with the other bishops, coming to the king, declared to him the form and condition of peace which they had concluded with Leolin, which was this: If the king would be reconciled before with the other nobles with whom he was confederate, such as the king had banished out of his realm, to the end that the concord might be the more firm between them. Thus (said they) was Leolin contented, although with much ado and great difficulty, to receive the league of peace, saying and protesting this unto them, that he feared more the king's alms, than all the puissance both of him and of all his clergy within England.

This done, the king there remaining with the bishops, directed his letters to all the exiles and banished lords, and to all his nobles, that they should repair to him about the beginning of June, at Gloucester, promising to them his full favour, and

reconcilement to them and to their heirs; and that they should suspect no fraud therein, they should have their safe conduct by the archbishop and bishops.

Whereupon, through the mediation of the said archbishop and the bishops, first cometh to the king Hubert, earl of Kent, offering himself to the king's good will and favour. Whom the king with cheerful countenance received and embraced, restoring him not only to his favour, but also to his household and council, with his livings and possessions, from which he had been disseized before. Then Hubert, lifting up his eyes to heaven, gave praise and glory to God, by whose gracious providence he, being so marvellously preserved from so great distresses and tribulations, was again so happily reconciled to the king and his faithful friends. After him in like sort came in Gilbert Basset, a nobleman, Richard Suard, also Gilbert, the brother of Richard, marshal, that was slain, which Gilbert recovered again his whole inheritance, as well in England as in Ireland, doing his homage to the king, and his service due for the same; to whom also was granted the office of the high marshal court, belonging before to his brother Richard.

In the same council or communication, continuing then at Gloucester, the said Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, bringing the forged letters, wherein was betrayed the life of Richard, earl marshal, sealed with the king's seal, and sent to the great men of Ireland, read the same openly in the presence of the king and all the nobles. At the hearing whereof the king, greatly sorrowing and weeping, confessed there in truth, that being forced by the bishop of Winchester and Peter Rival, he commanded his seal to be set to certain letters presented unto him, but the tenor thereof he said and swore he never heard. Whereunto the archbishop answering again, desired the king to search well his conscience; and said, that all they which were procurers or had knowledge of those letters were guilty of the death of the earl marshal, no less than if they had murdered him with their own hands.

Then the king, calling a council, sent his letters for the bishop of Winchester, for Peter Rival, Stephen Segrave, and Robert Passelew, to appear and yield account for his treasures unto them committed, and for his seal by them abused. But the bishop and Rivall, keeping themselves in the sanctuary of the minster church of Winchester, neither durst nor would appear. Stephen Segrave, who succeeded after Hubert the justice, and was of the clergy before, after became a layman, and now, hiding himself in St. Mary's church in the abbey of Leicester, was turned to a clerk again. Robert Passelew covertly hid himself in a certain cellar of the new temple, so secretly that none could tell where he was, but thought he was gone to Rome. At length, through the aforesaid Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, measures were taken, that a remote day was granted by the king for them to answer. At which day first appeared Peter Rival, then Stephen Segrave, after him Robert Passelew, each of them severally one after another showed themselves; but, not able to answer for themselves, like traitors they were reprov'd, and like villains were sent away.

While peace thus between the king and the nobles was reconciled in England, dissension and variance the same time and year began in Rome, between the pope and the citizens of Rome. The cause was, for that the citizens claimed by old custom and law, that the bishop of Rome might not excommunicate any citizen of the city, nor suspend the said city with any interdiction for any manner of excess.

To this the pope answered again, that he is less than God, but greater than any man; ergo, greater than any citizen, yea, also greater than king or emperor. And forsomuch as he is their spiritual father, he both ought and lawfully may chastise his

children when they offend, as being subjected to him in the faith of Christ, and reduce them into the way again when they stray out of course.

Moreover, the citizens allege again for themselves, that the authorities of the city and senators do receive of the Church of Rome yearly tribute, which the bishops of Rome were bound to pay to them, both by new and also ancient laws. Of the which yearly tribute they have been ever in possession before this present time of this Pope Gregory the Ninth.

Hereunto the pope answered and said, that although the Church of Rome in time of persecution, for their defence and cause of peace, was wont to respect the head rulers of the city with gentle rewards, yet ought not that now to be taken for a custom; for that custom only ought to stand which consisteth not upon examples, but upon right and reason.

Further and besides, the citizens said that they, at the commandment of the senators, would appropriate their country with new and larger limits, and enfranchise the same, being enlarged with fines and borders.

To this the pope again made answer, that certain lordships, and cities, and castles, be contained within the compass of the said limits, as the city Viterbium, and Montcaster, which they presume to appropriate within their precinct; but to ascribe to them, and usurp that which pertaineth to others, is against right and justice.

For these and such other controversies rising between the pope and the Romans, such dissension kindled, that the pope, with his cardinals, leaving the city of Rome, removed to Perusium, (as partly before is recited,) thinking there to remain and to plant themselves; but the Romans prevailing against him, overthrew divers of his houses in the city, for the which he did excommunicate them. The Romans then, flying to the emperor, desired his aid and succour; but he, belike to pleasure the pope, gathering an army, went rather against the Romans. Then the pope's army, whose captains were the earl of Toulouse, (to purchase the pope's favour,) and Peter, the aforesaid bishop of Winchester, (whom the pope for the same end had sent for from England, partly for his treasure, partly for his practice and skill in feats of war,) and the emperor's host joined together, and, bordering about the city of Rome, cast down the castles or mansions belonging to the citizens round about the suburbs, to the number of eighteen, and destroyed all their vines and vineyards about the city. Whereat the Romans being not a little offended, burst out of the city, with more heat than order, to the number of one hundred thousand, as the story reporteth, to destroy Viterbium, the pope's city, with sword and fire. But the multitude, being unordered and out of battle-array, and unprovided for jeopardies, which, by the way, might happen, fell into the hands of their enemies, who were in wait for them, and of them destroyed a great number; so that on both parts were slain to the view of thirty thousand; but the most part was of the citizens. And this dissension, thus begun, was not soon ended, but continued long after.

52. The Schism between the Roman and Greek Churches

By these and such other stories, who seeth not how far the Church of Rome hath degenerated from the true image of the right church of Christ, which, by the rule and example of the gospel, ought to be a daughter of peace, not a mother of debate; not a revenger of herself, nor a seeker of wars, but a forgiver of injuries, humbly and patiently referring all revenge to the Lord; not a raker for riches, but a winner of souls; not contending for worldly mastership, but humbling themselves as servants; and not vicars of the Lord, but jointly like brethren serving together, bishops with bishops, ministers with ministers, deacons with deacons; and not as masters separating themselves by superiority one from another, but briefly communicating together in doctrine and counsel, one particular church with another; not as a mother, one over another, but rather as a sister church, one with another, seeking together the glory of Christ, and not their own? And such was the Church of Rome first in the old ancient beginning of her primitive state, especially while the cross of persecution yet kept the bishops and ministers under in humility of heart and fervent calling upon the Lord for help; so that happy was that Christian then which with liberty of conscience only might hold his life, how barely soever he lived. And as for the pride and pomp of the world, as striving for patrimonies, buying of bishoprics, gaping for benefices, so far was this off from them, that then they had little leisure and less desire so much as once to think upon them. Neither did the bishops then of Rome fight to be consuls of the city, but sought how to bring the consuls unto Christ, being glad if the consuls would permit them to dwell by them in the city. Neither did they then presume so high to bring the emperors' necks under their girdles, but were glad to save their own necks in any corner from the sword of the emperors. Then lacked they outward peace, but abounded with inward consolation, God's Holy Spirit mightily working in their hearts. Then was one catholic unity of truth and doctrine amongst all churches against errors and sects. Neither did the east and west, nor distance of place, divide the church; but both the east church and west church, the Greeks and Latins, made all one church. And albeit there were then five patriarchal sees appointed for order's sake, differing in regions, and peradventure also in some rites one from another; yet all these consenting to gether in one unity of catholic doctrine, having one God, one Christ, one faith, one baptism, one Spirit, one Head, and linked together in one bond of charity, and in one equality of honour, they made altogether one body, one church, one communion, called one catholic, universal, and apostolical church. And so long as this knot of charity and equality did join them in one unity together, so long the church of Christ flourished and increased, one ready to help and harbour another in time of distress, as Agapetus and Vigilius flying to Constantinople were there aided by the patriarch; so that all this while neither foreign enemy, neither Saracen, nor soldan, nor sultan, nor caliph, nor Corasmine, nor Turk, had any power greatly to harm it.

But through the malice of the enemy this catholic unity did not long continue, and all by reason of the bishop of Rome; who, not contented to be like his brethren, began to extend himself and to claim superiority above the other four patriarchal sees, and all other churches in the world. And thus as equality amongst Christian bishops was by pride and singularity oppressed, so unity began by little and little to be dissolved, and the Lord's coat, which the soldiers left whole, to be divided. Which coat of Christian unity, albeit of long time it had been seam-ripped by the occasion

aforesaid; yet, notwithstanding, in some sort it held together in some mean agreement, under subjection to the see of Rome, till the time of this Pope Gregory the Ninth, A.D. 1230, at which time this rupture and schism of the church brake out into a plain division, utterly dissevering the east church from the west church upon this occasion.

There was a certain archbishop elected to an archbishopric among the Grecians; who, coming to Rome to be confirmed, could not be admitted unless he promised a great sum of money. Which when he refused to do, and detested the execrable simony of the court of Rome, he made his repair home again to his own country unconfirmed, declaring there to the whole nobility of that land the case how it stood. For the more confirmation whereof there were others also, which, coming lately from Rome, and there had proved the same or worse, came in and gave testimony to his saying. Whereupon all the churches of the Grecians, the same time hearing this, departed utterly away from the Church of Rome, which was in the days of this Pope Gregory the Ninth. Insomuch that the archbishop of Constantinople, coming afterward to the general Council at Lyons, there openly declared, that whereas beforetime he had under him above thirty bishoprics and suffragans, now he had not three; adding moreover, that all the Grecians, and certain others, with Antioch and the whole empire of Romania, even to the gates almost of Constantinople, were gone from the obedience of the Church of Rome, &c.

By the occasion of which separation aforesaid of the Grecians from Pope Gregory it happened shortly after, being the year of our Lord 1237, that Germanus, archbishop and patriarch of Constantinople, wrote to the said Pope Gregory the Ninth, humbly desiring him to study and seek some means of unity, how the seamless coat of the Lord Jesus, thus lamentably rent, not with hands of soldiers, but by discord of prelates, may be healed again; offering this moreover, that if he will take the pains to stir out, he for his part, notwithstanding his old age and feeble body, would not refuse to meet him in the midway, to the intent that the truth on both sides being debated by the Scriptures, the wrong part may be reduced, the slander stopped, and unity reformed between them.

This request of the patriarch, as it was both godly and reasonable, so it had been the bishop's part again with like humility to have condescended to the same, and to have been glad with all his might to help forward the reformation of Christian unity in the church of Christ, and so to have showed himself the son of peace; but the proud bishop of Rome, more like the son of discord and dissension, standing still upon his majesty, refused thus to do; but writing again answer to his letters with great disdain, seeking nothing else but only how to advance his see above all other churches; and not only that, but also shortly after sent forth his preaching friars to move all Christians to take the sign of the cross, and to fight against the Grecians, no otherwise than against the Turks and Saracens; in somuch that in the isle of Cyprus many good men and martyrs were slain for the same, as by the letters of the said Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople, is to be seen.

The tenor of the which letter to the pope, with the pope's answer again to him, being long and tedious to read, are extant in the history of Mat. Parisiensis, there to be seen and found. The summary effect whereof, notwithstanding, I thought here briefly to notify for the simple and unlearned multitude, which, understanding not the Latin, may hereby perceive the fault of this schism not so much to rest in the Greek Church, as in the Church of Rome, as by the contents of his letter may appear.

In the which letter the said Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople, writing to Pope Gregory, first, after his reverent salutation and preamble following upon the same, entering then towards the matter, sheweth the occasion of his writing, which was by five Observant Friars repairing that way, whom he gently receiving into his house, had conference with them touching this discord between the two churches, how it might be reduced again to unity; and afterward perceiving the said friars to make their journey towards Rome, he thought therefore by them to write his letters. Wherein he first lamenting this division in the house of God, and reciting the inconveniences which come thereof, by the example of Judah and Israel, Jerusalem and Samaria, Cain and Abel, Esau and Jacob, also of other such like, both private and public societies, where brother fighteth against brother, like as amongst fishes the greater devoureth the lesser; he proceedeth then further gently to exhort Pope Gregory to the study of unity.

And forasmuch as the pope had accursed (belike) those churches of the Greeks before, he therefore, taking his ground upon the words of St. Paul, (Gal. i.) where he accurseth every such person and persons, whatsoever they be, either man or angel of heaven, that shall preach any other gospel than hath been preached, willeth the pope to stand with him upon the same ground of the apostle's curse; so that if the stroke of that curse have lighted upon him or his churches, he desireth him to show the wound, and to help to wipe away the blood, to minister some spiritual plaster, to bind up the sore, and to save his brethren from perishing which lay in danger, according to the saying of the wise man, "A brotherly friend is tried in adversity."

"But if we (saith he) of the Greek Church be free from the stripe of this curse of the apostle, and that you Italians and of the Latin Church be stricken therewith, and lie thereby in danger of destruction, I trust that you, through ignorance and wilful obstinacy, will not so suffer yourselves to be separated from the Lord, but rather will suffer a thousand deaths before, if it were possible for a man so often to die.

"And as touching this great discord between us, if either contrariety of doctrine, or swerving from the ancient canons, or diversity of rites received of our forefathers, be any cause thereof, we here take heaven and earth to witness, that we for our parts are ready, and desire also, upon due trial of profound truth by God's word, and invocation of the Holy Ghost, to join hands with you, or you to join with us. But, to say the very truth, and to tell you plain, this we suppose, that many mighty and noble potentates would sooner incline to your obedience, were it not that they feared your unjust oppressions, your insatiable exactions, and inordinate provisions, wherewith you wring your subjects. By reason whereof have then amongst us cruel wars, one fighting against another, desolation of cities, bulls and interdictions set upon church doors, division of brethren, and churches of the Grecians left without service, where God should be praised. So that now only one thing lacketh, which I believe to be predefined and appointed from above long before to us Grecians, the time I mean of martyrdom, which also now hasteneth fast upon us, that the tribunal of tyrants should be opened, and the seats of torments be set, that the blood of martyrs should be spilled, and we brought to the stage of martyrdom, to fight for the crown of glory.

"This that I do speak, and wherefore I speak it, the noble island of Cyprus doth already know and feel, which hath made many new martyrs, and hath seen valiant soldiers of Christ, which of long time before, passing by water and tears of sorrow, now at last have also passed through fire, and so entered into the heavenly rest. How say you? be these good and seemly, O holy pope, the successor of St. Peter the apostle? Is this the bidding of that good Peter, the meek and humble disciple of Christ?

Doth he thus instruct the seniors and elders in his Epistle, where he writeth in this wise: The elders which are among you I beseech, which am also a fellow elder with them, and witness of the sufferings of Christ, and also a partaker of the glory that shall be opened; feed the flock of God which is amongst you, having care and oversight of it, not of coaction, as compelled against your wills, but willingly, of your own accord; not for filthy lucre sake, but freely and heartily; neither as bearing dominion and lordship over the church, but showing yourselves as an example to the flock: and when the chief Pastor shall appear, you shall receive an incorruptible crown of eternal glory, &c.? And this is the doctrine of Peter, as they shall see which do not obey it. As for us, the other part of the said Epistle is sufficient; wherein he willeth them to rejoice which are in heaviness through manifold temptations, that the trial of their faith, being much more precious than gold that perisheth, and is tried in fire, may be their laud, honour, and glory, at the appearing of the Lord Jesus, &c. But bear with me, I pray you, (O holy father, and of all your predecessors most meek,) and suffer my words, though they be something sharp, for they be sighings of a sorrowful heart.

"Wherefore gird about your loins with fortitude, and light up the candle of your discretion, and seek the groat that is lost, of the unity, I mean, of faith. And we will also with like compassion join with your Holiness, and I will not spare this weak body of mine, in pretending any excuse either of age or length of the way; for the more laborious the travel is, the more crowns it bringeth. And St. Paul saith, Every man shall receive reward according to his travail, &c.

"Neither are we ignorant (if it please your Holiness) that like as we Grecians for our parts do labour in all respects to keep and observe the sincerity of true faith and doctrine, not to err nor swerve in any part or point from the statutes of the blessed apostles and ancient fathers; so the Church likewise of old Rome doth for her part labour also (we know well) to follow the sincere verity of Christian doctrine, and thinketh herself to err in nothing, nor to need any remedy or reformation. And this we know is the judgment and saying of both the churches, as well of the Greeks as of the Latins. For no man can see any spot in his own face, without he stoop down to the glass, or else be admonished by some other, whether his face be blotted or no. Even so have we many great and fair glasses set before us; first, the clear gospel of Christ, the Epistles of the apostles, and divinity books of ancient writers. Let us therefore look in them well; they will show every man's mind and judgment, whether he go right or wrong. The God of peace tread down Satan speedily under our feet. The Author of peace confound the sower of discord. He that is the cause of all goodness destroy the hater of all that which is good, and which giveth cause of offence and slander. And he which is God of all joy and peace send to us, which are the shepherds of his sheep reasonable, the angel of peace, and the messenger of great glad tidings, as he did in the nativity of Christ, to the shepherds of brute sheep and unreasonable, and make us worthy to sing that joyful song of God's praise, *Gloria in excelsis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus bona voluntas*; and to receive one another with a holy kiss. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the peace of God the Father, and the communion of the Holy Spirit, be with you al ways. Amen."

Another letter the said Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople, wrote also the same time to the pope's cardinals, wherein he first commendeth them for their wisdom and counsel, and sheweth what utility cometh by good counsel. He saith, "Forasmuch as God many times, that which he hideth from one, inspireth to another, so that that good thing which by the Almighty God is sparingly dispensed to divers, through common counsel and conference spreadeth to the public utility of many," &c. After

this, eftsoons he beginneth to exhort them, that they, like charitable ministers, and discreet counsellors, will take in hand the spiritual armour of God, to cast down the stop and partition wall of the old discord between the Greek and Latin Church, and that they will be a means to the bishop of Rome, that they, which so long have been dissevered by dissension, may now be conjoined in unity of peace, in brotherly charity and communion of faith.

"Concerning which matter I have (saith he) already written to his Holiness. And now I beseech the King of heaven, which took the shape of a servant to help his miserable servants, and was exalted upon the cross to raise them up which were fallen into the profundity of desolation, that he will vouchsafe to put from your hearts all elation of mind, extolling itself over and above the unity of your brethren and fellow servants, and to enlighten your consciences with the true light of understanding, that we may all together agree in one, and that there be no schism amongst us. Let us therefore, as we are instructed, so abide in one mind, that it be not said of us as it was of the Corinthians before us, I hold of Paul, I of Apollo, I of Cephas, and I of Christ; but that all we, as we hold the name of Christ, and are all called Christians, so may also abide in that wherein we are instructed, in one mind, that is, to follow love and charity in Christ Jesus, having always in our hearts the words of the apostle, saying, One Lord, one faith, one baptism.

"And now, to be plain with you in that I have to say, I shall desire you not to be offended with me in uttering the truth as a friend unto you. The words (saith Solomon) of a wise man, telling truth, be like to nails which be driven in deep; and truth for the most part hreedeth enemies. And therefore, though I am partly afraid, yet will I simply confess the truth unto you. Certes this division of Christian unity amongst us proceedeth of no other cause but only of the tyranny, oppression, and exactions of the Church of Rome, which of a mother is become a stepdame, and hath put her children from her whom long time she nourished (after the manner of a ravening bird, which driveth her young from her); which children, how much the more humble and obedient they are to her, the less she esteemeth them, and treadeth them under foot, not regarding the saying of the Gospel, Whoso humbleth himself shall be exalted.

"Let modesty therefore something temper you, and let the avarice of the court of Rome, although it cannot well out of the flesh which is bred in the bone, yet surcease awhile, and let us together condescend to the trial of the truth; which truth being found out on both sides, let us constantly embrace the same.

"For why? we have been altogether sometimes both Italians and Grecians in one faith, and under the same canons, having peace each with other, and defending one another, and confounding the enemies of the church. At what time many flying out of the west parts (while the tyranny of the heretics endured) made their concourse to us, and were received; and part fled unto you, that is, old Rome, as to a strong tower of refuge; and so received they comfort in both places; and one brother was thus received into the bosom of another by mutual love for their defence.

"Then after, when Rome had been often distressed by the barbarous and heathen nations, the Grecians were ever ready to rescue and deliver them. Did not Agapetus and Vigilius flee unto Constantinople by reason of the dissensions then at Rome, and, being honourably received, were here defended under our protection? although the like kindness was never yet showed of your part to us again in our like necessities. Notwithstanding, we ought to do good to them also that be ungrateful; for so doth the sea participate her smooth and calm tides even unto the pirates. And so

'God causeth the sun to shine upon the just and unjust.' But (alas for sorrow!) what bitter division is this that hath thus sequestered us asunder? One of us detracteth another, shunning the company one of another, as the damnation of his soul. What a mortal hatred is this come among us! If you think we are fallen, then do you help to lift us up, and be not to us a stumbling-block to our bodily ruin, but helpers unto the spiritual resurrection of our souls. So shall we acknowledge ourselves bound unto you to give you condign thanks accordingly.

"But if the blame and first original of this offence proceedeth from Rome, and the successors of Peter the apostle, then read ye the words of St. Paul to the Galatians, saying, When Peter came to Antioch, I withstood him in the face, because he was to be rebuked, &c. Howbeit this resistance was no cause of any discord or breach between them, but the cause rather of further search and profounder disputations, provoking temporal agreement. For they were fast joined together in the bond of charity in Christ, agreeing in faith and conformity of doctrine, separated by no ambition or avarice. In which points would God we also were like unto them. This to us in our minds gendereth a great offence, that you, gaping so greedily after terrene possessions, scrape together all that you can scratch and rake. You heap up gold and silver, and yet pretend that you be the disciples of him which said, Gold and silver I have none, &c. You make whole kingdoms tributary to you, and kings and princes your vassals You augment your money by usury, and by feats of merchandise. You unteach by your deeds that which you teach in words.

"Moderate yourselves therefore with more temperance, that you may be an example to us and to all the world. You see how good a thing it is one brother to help another, Only God alone needeth no help or counsel, but men need to be holpen one of another. And were it not that I do reverence the blessed apostle Peter, the chief of Christ's apostles, the rock of our faith, I would here put you in remembrance how greatly this rock was shaken and removed from the foundation at the sight of a silly woman; and Christ of his secret purpose permitted the same, which by the crowing of the cock brought him again to remembrance of that which was foretold him, and raised him from the slumber of desperation. Then he, being thus waked, washed his face with tears, confessing himself before God and all the world to be a true pattern of repentance, which before bare the keys of the kingdom, as saying thus unto us; May not he which falleth rise again? O you which are fallen, rise up and be hold me, and hearken unto me, travelling towards paradise; the gates whereof to open I have received power.

"And thus do I write unto you, not for any instruction, but only to put you in remembrance; for I know how God hath endued you with all wisdom and knowledge, as Solomon saith, Give only occasion to the wise, and he will learn wisdom; Teach the just man, and he will be glad to take instruction.

"This one thing more I will say, and so make an end; there be great and mighty nations that are of like mind and opinion with us. First, the Ethiopians that inhabit the chieftest part of the East. After that the Syrians, and other more of greater number than they, and more disposed to virtue, as the Hiberi, Alani, Gothi, Charari, with innumerable people of Russia, and the kingdom of great victory, that of the Bulgarians. And all these are obedient unto us as their mother church, persisting hitherto constantly in the ancient and true orthodox faith immovable.

"The God of all holiness, which for our sakes became man, and which only is the Head of his church and congregation, vouchsafe to gather us again to gether in

unity, and grant that the Grecian Church, together with her sister Church of old Rome, may glorify the same Christ, the Prince of peace, by the unity of faith, to the restitution of sound and whole some doctrine, wherein many years ago they have agreed and were united. God grant unto you brotherly charity, and the hand of the most mighty God govern you all, holy cardinals, till that joy fully ye arrive in the haven of everlasting tranquillity. The grace of God be with you all. Amen."

Shortly after the sending of these letters, Pope Gregory prepared to send men of war, signed with the cross, to fight against the Grecians; whereupon the archbishop of Antioch, with the said Germanus, solemnly excommunicated the pope, after he first had excommunicated them. In the mean time, by the tenor of these letters of the patriarch sent to the pope and to the cardinals, it is evident to all men that have eyes in their heads to see, first, how the whole universal church of Christ, from the east parts to the west, in ancient times were altogether united in one consent of doctrine, and linked together in brotherly charity, one church brotherly to help another, both with temporal aid and spiritual counsel, as case required. Neither was then any one mother church above other churches, but the whole universal church was the mother church and spouse of the Lord to every faithful believer. Under which universal church in general were comprehended all particular churches in special, as sister churches together; not one greater than another, but all in like equality; as God gave his gifts, so serving one another; ever holding together the unity of faith and sisterly love. And so long was it and rightly might so be called the catholic church, having in it true unity, universality, and free consent; unity in doctrine, universality in communicating and joining together of voices, consent in spirit and judgment. For whatsoever was taught at Rome touching faith and salvation, it was no other than was taught at Antioch, Syria, &c.

Secondly, how in process of time, through occasion of the bishop of Rome's tyranny and violent oppression, this ring of equality being broken, all flew in pieces, the east Church from the west, the Greeks from the Latins; and that which was one before, now was made two; unity turned to division, universality to singularity, and free consent to dissension.

Thirdly, here is also to be noted, after this pitiful breach of equality, how many and what great nations departed from the communion of the Church of Rome, and especially about this time above specified of Pope Gregory the Ninth, A.D. 1230; so that both before and after that time many councils were holden, and many things concluded, in the west Church, whereunto the one half of Christendom, lying in the east parts, did never agree; and, contrary, many councils holden with them which in the Latin Church were not received. So that the church now, as she lost the benefit of universal consent, so also she lost the name catholic. Where upon this question is to be asked, that when the Council of Lateran, under Pope Innocent the Third, ordained the doctrine of transubstantiation, and auricular confession, here in the west Church, without the free consent of the east Church, whether the same doctrine is to be counted catholic or not? &c.

Fourthly, in the departing of these churches from the bishop of Rome, here also is to be noted, that the same churches of the Greeks, notwithstanding they sequestered themselves, and fell out with the Church of Rome, and that justly, yet they kept their unity still with their God, and received still the true [Greek] that is, the true and sincere doctrine of faith, ready to debate and try the truth of their religion by the Scriptures, as they here in their own writings desire to have the truth examined, according as ye have

heard. Wherefore the Church of Rome hath done them open wrong, which being offered so gently to try and to be tried by the truth of God's word, not only would stand to no trial, nor abide conference, but also hath excommunicated them as heretics, which appear here to be more orthodox Christians than they themselves.

Fifthly, these things thus standing, then have we to conclude that the Church of Rome falsely pretendeth itself catholic. For if the name of catholic must needs import a universal consent of the whole, how can that be catholic where the consent of so many famous and true Christian churches hath been lacking; and furthermore, where the consent that hath been amongst themselves hath rather been coerced than any true or free consent? Which is easy to be proved; for let these fires and faggots cease, let kings and princes leave to press their subjects with the pope's obedience, let the Scripture and the bishops alone every one in his own diocese to govern their flock after the rule of God's word, and how few be there in this west end of the world (trow you) that would not do the same that these Grecians,ethiopians, and Syrians have done before us? And thus much by the occasion of this patriarch's letters sent to Pope Gregory concerning the Grecians.

Whose doings when I consider, as I cannot but commend their wisdom, and judge their state happy, and blessed, in shaking off from their necks the miserable yoke of the pope's tyranny; so, on the other side, considering with myself the wretched thralldom of these our churches here in the west part of the world under the bishop of Rome, I can not tell whether more to marvel or to lament their pitiful state, who were brought into such oppression and slavery under him, that neither they could abide him, nor yet durst cast him off. So intolerable were his exactions, so terrible was his tyranny, his suspensions and excommunications much like to a mad-man's dagger, drawn at every trifle, that no Christian patience could suffer it, nor nation abide it. Again, so deep did he sit in their consciences, they falsely believing him to have the authority of St. Peter, that for conscience' sake neither king nor Cæsar durst withstand him, much less poor subjects once mute against him. And although his takings and spoilings, namely, in this realm of England, were such, that neither the laity nor spirituality could bear them; yet was there no remedy, bear them they must, or else the pope's sentence was upon them, to curse them as black as pitch.

53. More Dissensions about Ecclesiastical Appointments

In reading the histories of these times, any good heart would lament and rue to see the miserable captivity of the people, what they suffered under this thralldom of the bishop of Rome, whereof part hath been showed before, more (God willing) shall follow hereafter, and some part presently I mind to express.

And first to begin with the elections of the bishops, abbots, deans, and priors within this realm, it cannot be told what mass of money grew to the pope's coffers thereby, especially in this king's days; forasmuch as in his time lightly no election happened, either of archbishop, bishop, abbot, or any room of dignity, but when the convent or chapter had chosen one to their mind, the king, who had married a stranger, and sought therefore to prefer strangers, would set up another. By reason whereof, when the other part was fain to appeal to Rome, and there to plead the case, no small rivers of English money, besides expenses and travel by the way, went flowing to the pope's see. And although the election went never so clear, yet the new elect must needs respect the holy father with some gentle reward, and further by his oath was bound every three years, either in his own person or by another, to visit *limina apostolorum*.

So in the house of St. Albans, when John Herford was elected abbot, their public election was not enough; but, for the confirmation of the same, the monks were fain to send Reinold the physician, and Nicholas a monk, to Rome with a sufficient bag of money, through the mediation whereof the election might stand, and the new abbot was sworn every third year by himself or another to visit the doorsills of the apostles.

Another such-like contention happened between the king and the monks of Winchester, about the election of William Rale, whom the monks had chosen, but the king refused, willing to place a stranger, and therefore sent to Rome his messengers, Theobald, a monk of Westminster, and Master Alexander, a lawyer, with no small sum of money to evacuate the election of the foresaid William Bale; commanding, moreover, that the gates of Winchester should be shut against him, and that no man should be so hardy there to receive him in the house. Whereupon the said W. being excluded, after he laid his curse upon the whole city of Winchester, made his repair to Rome; where, for eight hundred marks being promised to the pope, his bishopric (spite of the king's heart) was confirmed, and he received.

After the death of Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury, ye heard before how the monks had elected Walter, a monk of Canterbury. But the king, to stop that election, sent up his proctors, M. Alexander Stanes, and M. Henry Sandford, bishop of Rochester, to the pope, to evacuate that election, and to place Richard, chancellor of Lincoln. Which proctors perceiving at first how hard and unwilling the pope and cardinals were thereunto, and considering how all things might be bought for money, rather than the king should fail of his purpose, they promised on the king's behalf to the pope, for maintaining his wars against Frederic the emperor, a disme or tenth part of all the movables in the realm of England and of Ireland. At the contemplation of which money the pope eftsoons, thinking to pass with the king, began to pick quarrels with the aforesaid Walter, for not answering rightly to his questions about Christ's descending to hell, making of Christ's body on the altar, the weeping of Rachel for her children, she being dead before, about the sentence of excommunication, and certain

causes of matrimony. His answers whereunto, when they were not to the pope's mind, be was therefore put back, and the king's man preferred, which cost the whole realm of England and Ireland the tenth part of their movable goods, by reason whereof what money was raised to the pope's ecclesiastical treasury I leave to the estimation of the reader, A.D. 1229.

And yet, for all this, the said Richard, the costly archbishop of Canterbury, within less than two years after, falling out with the king about the castle and lordship of Tunbridge, went and complained of him to the pope. In the traverse whereof it cost the king a great piece of money besides, and yet missed he his purpose. In the which journey the said archbishop, in his return homeward, by the way departed, A.D. 1231.

Of the like dissension ye heard before between the king and the convent of Durham, for not choosing M. Lucas, the king's chaplain, whom the king offered to be their bishop. About the suit whereof, when much money was bestowed on both sides well favouredly, the pope, defeating them both, admitted neither M. William nor M. Lucas, but ordained the bishop of Sarum to be their bishop, A.D. 1228.

Between the monks of Coventry and the canons of Litchfield rose another like quarrel, which of them should have the superior voice in choosing their bishop. In which suit, after much money bestowed in the court of Rome, the pope, to requalify again each part with some retribution for their money received, took this order indifferently between them, that each part by course should have the choosing of their bishop, A.D. 1228.

What business fell likewise between Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, and the monks of Rochester, about the election of Richard Wendour, to be their bishop! And what was the end? First, the archbishop was fain to travel himself to the pope, and so did the convent also send their proctors. Who, belike being better monied, weighed down the cause, so that the good archbishop in that cause against the monks, and partly in another cause against the earl of Arundel, was condemned of the pope in a thousand marks. Whereof the greatest part (no doubt) redounded to the pope's coffers, A.D. 1238.

After the returning of the said Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, again from Rome, it chanced that the monks of Canterbury had elected their prior without his assent; for the which he did excommunicate the monks, and evacuate their election. Not long after this, the pope's exactors went about to extort from the churchmen the fifth part of their goods to the pope's use, fighting then against the emperor. This cruel exaction being a great while resisted by the prelates and clergy, at length the foresaid archbishop, thinking thereby to get the victory against the monks, was contented to grant to the said exaction, adding moreover of his own for an overplus eight hundred marks; whereupon the rest of the clergy was fain to follow after, and contribute to the pope's exactors, A.D. 1240.

In the church of Lincoln (whose see before the conquest was in Dorchester, and afterwards by William Rufus translated from thence to Lincoln) rose a grievous contention between Robert Grosthead, then bishop, and the canons of the cathedral church, about their visitation, whether the bishop should visit them or the dean; which matter, being put unto arbitrators, could not so be composed, before the bishop and the chapter, after their appeal made unto the pope, went both unto Rome, and there, after they had well wasted their purses, they received at length their answer, but paid full sweetly for it, A.D. 1239.

At what time the canons of Chichester had elected Robert Passelew to their bishop, at the king's request the archbishop, with certain other bishops, taking part against the king's chaplain, repelled him, and set up Richard Witch. Upon this, what sending and going there was unto Rome, and what money bestowed about the matter, as well of the king's part as of the bishops'!

Robert Grossthead, bishop of Lincoln, (of whom relation was made before,) having a great care how to bring the privilege orders of religious houses within his precinct under his subjection and discipline, went unto Rome, and there, with great labour and much effusion of money, (as the story saith,) procured of the pope a mandate, whereby all such religious orders were commanded to be under his power and obedience. Not long after the monks, not abiding that, (who could soon weigh down the bishop with money,) sent their factors to the pope, who with their golden eloquence so persuaded him, and stirred his affections in such sort, that soon they purchased to themselves freedom from their ordinary bishop. Whereof Robert Grossthead having intelligence made up to Rome, and there, complaining to the pope, declared how he was disappointed and confounded in his purpose, contrary to promises and assurance made to him before. Unto whom Pope Innocent, looking with a stern countenance, made this answer again, Brother, (said he,) what is that to thee? Thou hast delivered and discharged thine own soul. It hath pleased us to show favour unto them. Is thine eye ill, for that I am good? And thus was the bishop sent away with a flea in his ear, murmuring with himself, yet not so softly, but that the pope heard him say these words: O money, money, what canst not thou do in the court of Rome? Wherewith the pope, being somewhat pinched, gave this answer again: O ye Englishmen, Englishmen, of all men most wretched, for all your seeking is how ye may consume and devour one another, &c., A.D. 1250.

It happened moreover the same year, that the said Robert Grossthead excommunicated and deprived one Ranulph, a beneficed person in his diocess, being accused of incontineny, who, after the term of forty days, refusing to submit himself, the bishop wrote to the sheriff of Rutland to apprehend him as contumacious. Which sheriff, because he deferred or refused so to do, (bearing favour to the party,) and being therefore solemnly excommunicate by the bishop, uttered his complaint to the king. Whereat the king taking great displeasure with the bishop for excommunicating his sheriff, and not first making his complaint to him, sendeth forth with a substantial messenger, (Master Moneta,) such as he was sure would speed, unto Pope Innocent, by virtue of whose words the pope, easy to be entreated, sendeth down a proviso to the abbot of Westminster, charging that no prelate nor bishop in the realm of England should molest or enter action against any of the king's bailiffs or officers in such matters as to the king's jurisdiction appertained. And thus was the strife ended not without some help and heap of English money; so that no wind of any controversy here stirred in England, were it never so small, but it blew some profit for the pope's advantage, A.D. 1250.

In like manner no little treasure grew to the pope's coffers by the election of Boniface, the queen's uncle, a Frenchman, to be archbishop of Canterbury, A. D 1243, and of Ethelmare, the queen's brother, to be bishop of Winchester against the wills of the prior and convent there, A. D 1250, besides many such other escheats, which made England poor, and the pope rich.

54. Papal Greed and Corruption

I come now something likewise to touch briefly of the pope's dispensations, provisions, exactions, contributions, and extortions in England in this king's days; for to discourse all, it is not one book will hold it.

Simon Montfort, earl of Leicester, had married Eleanor, the king's sister, and daughter of King John, who, by report of stories, had taken the mantle and ring. Wherefore the king, and his brother Richard, earl of Exeter, were greatly offended with the marriage; which the Earl Simon seeing, made a hand of money, and posting over to Rome, after he had talked a few words in Pope Innocent's ear, the marriage was good enough; and letters were sent to Otho, the pope's legate here, to give sentence solemnly with the earl. Notwithstanding, the Dominic friars, and other of the like religious fraternity, withstood that sentence of the pope stoutly, saying that the pope's Holiness was therein deceived, and souls in danger; that Christ was jealous over his wife; and that it could not be any wise possible, that a woman which had vowed marriage with Christ could afterward marry with any other, &c.

As there was nothing so hard in the wide world wherewith the pope would not dispense for money, so by the said dispensations much mischief was wrought abroad. For by reason thereof the people, trusting upon the pope's dispensation, little regarded what they did, what they promised, or what they sware; as well appeared by this King Henry the Third; who being a great exactor of the poor commons, as ever was any king before him or since, and thinking thereby to win the people sooner to his devotion, most faithfully promised them once or twice, and thereto bound himself with a solemn oath, both before the clergy and laity, to grant unto them the old liberties and customs, as well of *Magna Charta* as *Charta de Foresta*, perpetually to be observed. Whereupon a quindecim was granted to the king. But after the payment was sure, the king, trusting by the pope's dispensation for a little money to be discharged of his oath and covenant, went from that he had promised and sworn before.

In like manner the said king another time, being in need of money, signed himself with the cross, pretending and swearing deeply, in the face of the whole parliament, that he would himself personally fight in the Holy Land against the Saracens. But as soon as the money was taken, small care was had for performance of his oath, being so put in the head by certain about him, that he needed not to pass of that perjury, forasmuch as the pope, for a hundred pounds or two, would quickly discharge him thereof.

Out of the same corrupt spring of these popish dispensations have proceeded also many other foul absurdities. For where many young men were in those days which enjoyed benefices, and were no priests, and when by the procurement of Robert Grosthead, bishop of Lincoln, the said young men should be forced, whether they would or not, to enter orders; they, laying their purses together, sent to Rome, and obtained of the pope a dispensation to remain still as they were, that is, to have the fruits of benefices to find them at school or university, and yet themselves neither ministers to take charge, nor yielding any service for their profits taken; besides innumerable heaps of enormities more, proceeding of the pope's dispensations, as dispensing one man to have sundry bishopries, to encroach pluralities of benefices, to

make children parsons, to legitimate bastards, with such other like; the particulars whereof, for brevity sake, I do omit to further opportunity.

Although these emoluments, thus rising daily to the pope's purse by simony and bribery, by elections and dispensations, might seem sufficient to satisfy his greedy appetite; yet so unsatiable was the avarice of that see, that he, not yet contented here with, over and besides all this, sent every where almost some legate or other into this realm to take for his advantage. Insomuch that during all this king's time the realm was never lightly without some of the pope's leaguers, with all violence exacting and extorting continual provisions, contributions, and sums of money to be levied out of cells, abbeys, priories, fruits of benefices, and bishoprics, and also laymen's purses, to the miserable impoverishing both of the clergy and temporalty, as hereunder followeth.

First, after Pandulphus, was sent into this realm Cardinal Otho, procured by the king without the assent of his nobles, to the intent to assist him in certain affairs he had to do. At receiving of which legate great preparation was made; many rich and precious gifts in scarlet, in plate, in jewels, in money and palfreys, were given him. Whom the king also himself went as far as the sea-side to receive, bowing down his head in low courtesy to the cardinal's knees; to whom also the bishop of Winchester for his part gave, towards keeping of his house, fifty fat oxen, a hundred seams of wheat, and eight great vessels of pure wine. This legate, at his first coming, beginneth first to bestow such benefices as he found vacant upon them whom he brought with him, without respect whether they were meet or unmeet.

After this, the pope, hearing how the nobles and commons of the realm began to stomach the cardinal for his excessive procurations and exactions, sent for him home; but the king, by reason he stood in fear of his nobles, and thought to have a stay by the cardinal against all occurrents, entreated him to stay while he wrote to the pope to obtain further licence for him to tarry; and so he did, not without some English money ye may be sure.

In this mean time of vacation, Otho, thinking to lose no time, but to gather also some crumbs in Scotland, made as though he would set things there in order, which were in the Church of Scotland to be reformed, and so cometh to the king of Scots, being then in York with King Henry, to have leave to enter. Unto whom the king thus made answer, that he never saw, to his remembrance, any pope's legate in his land, neither was there any such need (God he praised) for such to be sent for. Matters there were well enough, and needed no help of his. And as he could never learn, neither in the days of his father, or any his predecessors, that any such entrance to any legate was granted; so he for his part would not now begin. But yet, notwithstanding, forasmuch as I hear (said he) that you are a good man, this I tell you before, that if you will needs adventure in, do it warily, and take heed to yourself, lest it happen to you otherwise than I would wish; for they be a savage and unruly people, given much to murder and shedding blood, whom I myself am scarce able to bridle; so that if they fall upon you, I shall not be able to help you. And how they also invaded me, and sought to expel me from my kingdom, ye heard of late. And therefore I warn you before, take heed betime what you think best to do. After the cardinal heard the king speak these words, he plucked in his horns, and durst proceed no further, but kept him still by the side of King Henry. Notwithstanding, shortly after, the same legate, coming to the borders of Scotland, there called the bishops to him; and so, when he had well filled his bags, came back again.

It was not long after, but licence came from Pope Gregory to his legate Otho, for his longer abode here in the realm, (as welcome as water in the ship,) with new authority also to proceed in the pope's affairs. Who first showing to the bishops and the clergy his letters of longer tarrying, required of them, forasmuch as no man, said he, warreth of his own charges, to be supported with new procurations; which was, to have of every able church four marks; and where one church was not able to reach thereto, that other churches should join withal to make the said money. Notwithstanding the bishops a great while stood in the denial thereof.

Besides, he assembled together all the black monks of St. Benedict's order, giving to them strict orders, which shortly after for money he released to them again.

Moreover, by the said Otho, and the pope's other exactions, with special bulls directed down for the same, collation of benefices being taken out of the hands of the patrons, were given to light and vile runnagates, coming from Italy and other places, such as pleased the pope and his legate to bestow them upon, to the great prejudice of the ancient liberty and right of the true patrons thereof. Whereupon the earls, and barons, and nobles of the realm addressed letters to Pope Gregory by Sir Robert Twing, knight, for redress of such wrongs and injuries; who otherwise should be forced, they said, to invoke the succour of their king, who both was able, and was no less willing, according to his duty, they trusted, to reform such enormities, and to defend the liberties of his realm.

Not long after the same, in the year of our Lord 1240, came a new precept from Pope Gregory, by Peter Rubeus, the pope's nuncio, to the aforesaid Otho, that all beneficed men of the clergy, as well in England as in France, should pay to the pope the fifth part of their revenues. Whereupon, when the clergymen made their complaint to the king, seeking to be relieved by him, the king answered them again, that he neither would nor durst stand against the pope in any case, and so without all hope of succour sent them away. Then were the archbishops, bishops, abbots, and prelates of the church commanded to assemble together at Reading, there to hear the pope's pleasure and commandment concerning the payment of this fifth part, where in the end thus the matter concluded, that the prelates desired a further time to be given them to advise upon the matter: and for that season the assembly brake up. Notwithstanding at last, after many excuses and exceptions laid in by the clergy; first, that because the money was gathered to fight against the emperor, they ought not to contribute their money, contrary to the liberties of the church. Item, for somuch as they had paid a tenth not long before unto the pope, upon condition that no more such payments should be required of them, much less now the fifth part should be exacted of them, because an action twice done maketh a custom. Item, seeing they had oftentimes to repair unto the court of Rome, if they should give this money against the emperor, it would turn to their danger coming through his land. Item, seeing their king had many enemies, against whom they must needs relieve the king with their money, they could not so do if the realm were thus impoverished. &c. All which excuses; with divers other more notwithstanding, they were compelled at length to conform themselves to the pope's good pleasure, through the example given of Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury; who, to obtain his purpose against the monks of Canterbury, (with whom he was then in strife,) began first to yield to the legates eight hundred marks for his part, whereby the rest also were fain to follow after.

Furthermore, the same year the pope agreed so with the people of Rome, that if they would aid him against Frederic the emperor, whatever benefices were to be given

in England, the same should he at their arbitrement to be bestowed upon their children. Whereupon commandment was sent to the aforesaid Edmund, archbishop, to the bishops of Lincoln and Sarum, that all the collations of benefices within the realm should be suspended, till provision were made for three hundred children of the citizens of Rome to be first served. Upon the which so miserable request, the said Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, for sorrow to see the church so oppressed, departed the realm, and so continued in France, and died at Pontigny. Which Edmund was afterward made a saint, and canonized by Pope Innocent the Fourth.

This done, then went Peter Rubeus, the pope's nuncio, and Ruffinus, into Scotland, from whence they brought with them three thousand pounds to the pope's use about All-hallow-tide the same year. At which time moreover cometh another harpy from the pope to England, named Mumelius, bringing with him three and twenty Romans here into the realm to be beneficed. Thus, what by the king on the one side, and what by the cardinal Otho, Peter Rubeus, Ruffinus, and Mumelius, on the other side, poor England was in a wretched case.

Another pretty practice of the pope to prowl for money was this: The aforesaid Peter Rubeus, coming into religious houses and into their chapters, caused them to contribute to the pope's Holiness, by the example of this bishop, and that abbot, pretending that he and he, of their own voluntary devotion, had given so much and so much, and so seduced them. Also the pope craftily suborned certain friars, authorized with full indulgence, that whosoever had vowed to fight in the Holy Land, and was disposed to be released of his vow, needed not to repair to Rome for absolution; but paying so much money as his charges would come to going thither, he resorting to the said friars might he assoiled at home.

This passed in the year 1240. Now all these troubles laid together were enough to vex the meekest prince in the world; whereto, by way of access to the king's further molestation, he had much ado with the prelates and clergymen of his realm, who were always tampering with his title, especially in their assemblies and councils; to whom the king, to restrain them from that presumption, did both send and write, as appeareth by this evidence of record. The king sent Geoffrey Langley to the archbishop of York, and to other bishops, purposed to meet at Oxford, to appeal for him, lest, in the said council there called, they should presume to ordain something against his crown and dignity. This was done in the year of our Lord 1241. In which year also came a commandment apostolical to the house of Peterborough, that they at the pope's contemplation must needs grant him some benefice lying in their donation, the fruits whereof were worth at least a hundred pounds, and if it were more it should be the better welcome; so that they should be as the farmers, and he to receive the profits. In fine, the convent excused themselves by the abbot being then not at home. The abbot, when he came home, excused himself by the king being the patron and founder of the house. The king, being grieved with the unreasonable ravening of these Romanists, utterly forbade any such example to be given. But what happened? The abbot, being therefore accused to the pope by one of the legates, and coming up about four years after, in the time of Pope Innocent, to the Council of Lyons, was so rated and reviled, and so shamefully thrust out of the pope's court, that for sorrow he fell sick upon the same, and there died.

In the time of which Council of Lyons, Pope Innocent the Fourth (forsomuch as the instrument or obligation whereby the realm of England stood tributary to the pope was thought to be burned in the pope's chamber a little before) brought forth

either the same or another chart like unto it, where unto he straitly charged and commanded every English bishop, being there present at the council, severally to set to his hand and seal. Which unreasonable petition of the pope, albeit it went sore against the hearts of the bishops, yet (see in what miserable subjection the pope had all the bishops under him) none of them durst otherwise do but accomplish the pope's request therein, both to their own shame, and prejudice to the public freedom of the realm. Amongst which bishops, the longest that held out, and last that put to his seal, was the bishop of London. Which act, when the king and the nobility understood, they were mightily and worthily therewith all offended.

After what time Cardinal Otho was sent for by Pope Gregory in all haste to come to the general council, two other in his room here remained, whose names were Peter Rubeus, and Peter de Supino. Of whom the one, bearing himself for the pope's kinsman, brought out his bills and bulls, under the pope's authority, to such an abbot, or to such a prior, or to such and such a bishop, and so extorted from them a great quantity of gold and silver. The other, to wit, Peter de Supino, sailed to Ireland, from whence he brought with him a thousand and five hundred marks to the pope's use. All which money, notwithstanding gotten by both the collectors, in the carriage of it up to Rome, about the death of Pope Gregory, happened into the hands of Frederic the emperor, who caused it again to be restored, as near as he could, to them of whom it was taken.

After these came in then Master Martin, a new merchant from the new Pope Innocent the Fourth, A.D. 1244, armed with full power to suspend all prelates in England from giving benefices, till the pope's kinsmen were first preferred. Neither would he take the fruits of any benefice, unless it were above the value of thirty marks. At his first coming he required of prelates, and especially of religious houses, to furnish him with horses and palfreys, such as were convenient for the pope's especial chaplain and legate to sit upon; also with plate, raiment, provision for his kitchen and cellar, &c., and such as denied or excused he suspended, as the abbot of Malmesbury, and the prior of Merton. All prebends that were void he sought out, and reserved them for the pope's behoof; among which was the golden prebend of Sarum, belonging to the chancellor of the choir, whom he preferred to the bishopric of Bath, and so seized upon the prebend being void, against the wills both of the bishop and the chapter. Moreover, he brought with him blanks in paper and parchment, signed in the pope's chamber with his stamp and seal, wherein he might afterward write to whom and what he would; requiring furthermore, of the king, in the pope's behalf, to help his Holiness with a contribution to be taxed amongst his clergy, at least of ten thousand marks. And to the end that the pope might win the king sooner to his devotion, he writeth in the king's behoof to the nobles and commons of the realm, that they should not fail, upon pain of his great curse, to confer such subsidy of money to the subvention of the king, as he then had demanded of them; but they stood stiff in not granting to him.

While the insatiable avarice of the pope thus made no end in gathering riches and goods together in England, the nobles and barons, with the community as well of the clergy as the laity, weighing the miserable state of the realm, and, namely, of the church, which now neither had liberty left them to choose their own ministers, nor yet could enjoy their own livings, laid their heads together, and so exhibited an earnest intimation to the king, beseeching him to consider the pitiful affliction and oppression of his subjects under the pope's extortion, living in more thralldom than ever did the people of Israel under Pharaoh. Whereupon the king, beginning at last to look up, and

to consider the injuries and wrongs received in this realm, through the avarice of the court of Rome, directeth to Pope Innocent the Fourth this letter in tenor as followeth:

"To the most holy father in Christ, and lord, Innocent, by the grace of God chief bishop, Henry, by the same grace king of England, &c., greeting and kissings of his blessed feet. The more devout and obsequious the son sheweth himself in obeying the father's will, the more favour and supportation doth he deserve to find at his father's hands again. This therefore I write, for that whereas both we and our realm have ever and in all things been hitherto at the devotion and commandment of your fatherhood; and that although, in some certain affairs of ours and of our kingdom, we have found your fatherly favour and grace sometimes propitious unto us, yet in some things again, as in provisions given and granted to your clerks of foreign nations, both we and our kingdom have felt no small detriment. By reason of which provisions the Church of England is so sore charged and burdened, that not only the patrons of churches, to whom the donations thereof do appertain, are defrauded of their right, but also many other good works of charity thereby do decay, for that such benefices, which have been mercifully bestowed upon religious houses to their sustentation, are now wasted and consumed by your provisions.

"Wherefore, forasmuch as your see apostolic ought to be favourable to all that be petitioners to the same, so that no person be wronged in that which is his right, we thought therefore to be suitors to your fatherhood, most humbly beseeching your Holiness, that you will desist and surcease for a time from such provisions to be exacted. In the mean season, it may please your fatherhood, we beseech you, that our laws and liberties (which you may rightly repute none other but your own) you will receive to your tuition, to be conserved whole and sound, nor to suffer the same by any sinister suggestion in your court to be violated and infringed. Neither let your Holiness be any whit moved therefore with us, if in some such cases as these be we do or shall hereafter resist the tenor of your commandments; forsomuch as the complaints of such which daily call upon us do necessarily enforce us thereunto; which ought, by the charge of this our office and kingly dignity committed to us of Almighty God, to foresee that no man in that which is their right be injured, but truly to minister justice to every one in that which duly to him appertaineth." — This letter was sent the eight and twen tieth year of the king's reign.

A man would think that this so gentle and obedient letter of the king to the pope would have wrought some good effect in his apostolical breast, to withdraw his provisions, and to have tendered the king's so reasonable and honest request; but how little all this prevailed to stop his insatiable greediness, and intolerable extortions and oppressions, the sequel well declareth. For besides that shortly after the pope sent Master Martin with blanks, being bulled for contribution of ten thousand marks, in all haste to be paid also, even immediately upon the receiving of this letter, it followeth in mine author, that the said Pope Innocent the Fourth, after all this great submission of the king, and so manifold benefits and payments yearly out of his realm received, was not ashamed to take of David, prince of North Wales, five hundred marks by year, to set him against the king of England, and exempted him from his fealty and obediehee due to his own liege lord and king, to whom both he and all other Welchmen had sworn their subjection before, as by the seals and obligations, as well of that David himself, as other Welch lords in this behalf, doth appear.

Neither did Master Martin in the mean while slip his business, in making up his market for the pope's money of ten thousand marks, but still was calling upon the

prelates and clergy. Who, first excusing themselves by the absence of the king and the archbishop of Canterbury, afterward being called again by new letters, made their answer by the dean of Paul's, their prolocutor:

First, that the poverty of the realm would not suffer them to consent thereto.

Item, whereas they had given before a contribution to Cardinal Otho for paying of the pope's debts, and knew the said money to be employed to no such end as it was demanded for, more cause they had now to misdoubt, lest this contribution in his hands, which was a much more inferior messenger than the cardinal, would come to the same or a worse effect.

Item, if they should now agree to a new contribution, they feared lest it would grow to a custom, seeing that one action twice done maketh a custom.

Item, forasmuch as a general council is shortly looked for, where every prelate of the realm must needs bestow both his travel and expenses, and also his present to the pope, if the prelates now should be bound to this tax, they were not able to abide' this burden.

Item, seeing it is alleged, that the mother church of Rome is so far in debt, reason and right it were that the mother so oppressed should be sustained of all her devout children meeting together in the general council; whereas by helps of many more relief might come more than by one nation alone.

Item, last of all, they alleged that, for fear of the emperor and his threatenings, they durst not consent to the said contribution.

While these things were thus in talk between the pope's priests and the clergy of England, cometh in John Mariscal and other messengers from the king, commanding, in the king's name, that no bishop that held his baronage of the king should infief his lay fee to the court of Rome, which they owed only to him, &c.

Not long after this, in the year of our Lord 1245, the whole nobility of the realm, by general consent, and not without the king's knowledge also, caused all the ports by the sea-side to be laid, that no messenger with the pope's letters and bulls from Rome should be permitted to enter the realm, whereunto some were taken at Dover, and there stayed. Notwithstanding, when complaint thereof was brought to the king by Master Martin, the pope's legate, there was no remedy, but the king must needs cause these letters to be restored again and executed to the full effect.

Then the king upon advice caused a view to be taken through every shire in England to what sum the whole revenues of the Romans and Italians amounted, which by the pope's authority went out of England; the whole sum whereof was found yearly to be threescore thousand marks, to the which sum the revenues of the whole crown of England did not extend.

The nobles then, understanding the miserable oppression of the realm, being assembled together at Dunstable for certain causes, sent one Fulco, in the name of the whole nobility, unto Master Martin, the pope's merchant. with this message, that he without delay upon the same warning should prepare himself to be gone out of the realm, under pain of being cut all to pieces. At which message the legate being sore aghast, went straight to the king, to know whether his consent was to the same or not. Of whom, when he found little better comfort, he took his leave of the king, who bade

him adieu in the devil's name, saith Matth. Paris; and thus was the realm rid of Master Martin.

As soon as Pope Innocent had hereof intelligence by the complaint of his legate, he was in a mighty rage. And furthermore, remembering how the French king and the king of Arragon not long before had denied him entrance into their land, and being therefore in displeasure with them likewise, he began in great anger to knit his brows, and said, It is best that we fall in agreement with our prince, whereby we may the sooner bring under these little petty kings; and so, the great dragon being pacified, these little serpents we shall handle at our own pleasures as we list.



Lyons

After this, immediately then followed the general Council of Lyons, to the which council the lords and states of the realm, with the consent of the commonalty, sent two bills; one containing a general supplication to the pope and the council, the other with the articles of such grievances which they desired to be redressed, whereof relation is made sufficiently before. The other bill of the supplication, because it is not before expressed, I thought here to exhibit for two causes: first, that men now in these days may see the pitiful blindness of those ignorant days, wherein our English nation here did so blindly humble themselves and stand to the pope's courtesy, whom rather they should have shaken off, as the Grecians did. Secondly, that the pride of the pope might the better appear in his colours, who so disdainfully rejected the humble suit of our lords and nobles, when they had much more cause to disdain rather and to stamp him under their feet. The tenor of the supplication was this.

The copy of the supplication written in the names of all the nobles and commons of England to Pope Innocent the Fourth, in the general Council at Lyons, A.D. 1245.

"To the reverend father in Christ, Pope Innocent, chief bishop, the nobles, with the whole commonalty of the realm of England, sendeth commendation, with kissing of his blessed feet.

"Our mother, the Church of Rome, we love with all our hearts, as our duty is, and covet the increase of her honour with so much affection as we may, as to whom we ought always to fly for refuge, whereby the grief lying upon the child, may find comfort at the mother's hand. Which succour the mother is bound so much the rather to impart to her child, how much more kind and beneficial she findeth him in relieving her necessity. Neither is it to the said our mother unknown how beneficial and bountiful a giver the realm of England hath been now of long time for the more amplifying of her exaltation, as appeared by your yearly subsidy, which we term by the name of Peter pence. Now the said church, not contented with this yearly subsidy, hath sent divers legates for other contributions, at divers and sundry times, to be taxed and levied out of the same realm; all which contributions and taxes notwithstanding have been lovingly and liberally granted.

"Furthermore, neither is it unknown to your fatherhood, how our forefathers, like good catholics, both loving and fearing their Maker, for the souls' health, as well of themselves as of their progenitors and successors also, have founded monasteries, and largely have endowed the same, both with their own proper lands, and also patronages of benefices; whereby such religious persons, professing the first and chiefest perfection of holy religion in their monasteries, might with more peace and tranquillity occupy themselves devoutly in God's service, as to the order appertained; and also the clerks, presented by them into their benefices, might sustain the other exterior labours for them in that second order of religion, and so discharge and defend them from all hazards: so that the said religious monasteries cannot be defrauded of those their patronages and collations of benefices, but the same must touch us also very near, and work intolerable griefs unto our hearts.

"And now see, we beseech you, which is lamentable to behold, what injuries we sustain by you and your predecessors, who, not considering those our subsidies and contributions above remembered, do suffer also your Italians and foreigners (which be out of number) to be possessed of our churches and benefices in England, pertaining to the right and patronage of those monasteries aforesaid; which foreigners, neither defending the said religious persons, whom they ought to see to, nor yet having the language whereby they may instruct the flock, take no regard of their souls, but utterly leave them of wild wolves to be devoured. Wherefore it may truly be said of them, that they are no good shepherds; whereas neither they know their sheep, nor the sheep do know the voice of their shepherds; neither do they keep any hospitality, but only take up the rents of those benefices, carrying them out of the realm, wherewith our brethren, our nephews, and our kinsfolks might be sustained, who could and would dwell upon them, and employ such exercises of mercy and hospitality as their duty required. Whereof a great number now for mere necessity are laymen, and fain to fly out of the realm.

"And now, to the intent more fully to certify you of the truth, ye shall understand that the said Italians and strangers, receiving of yearly rents out of England not so little as three thousand marks by year, besides other avails and excises

deducted, do reap in the said our kingdom of England more emoluments of mere rents than doth the king himself, being both tutor of the Church and governor of the land.

"Furthermore, whereas at the first creation of your papacy we were in good hope, and yet are, that by means of your fatherly goodness we should enjoy our franchises, and free collation of our benefices and donatives, to be reduced again to the former state; now cometh another grievance, which we cannot but signify unto you, pressing us above measure, which we receive by Master Martin; who, entering late into our land, without leave of our king, with greater power than ever was seen before in any legate, although he beareth not the state and show of a legate, yet he hath doubled the doings of a legate, charging us every day with new mandates, and so most extremely hath oppressed us; first, in bestowing and giving away our benefices, if any were above thirty marks, as soon as they were vacant, to Italian persons.

"Secondly, after the decease of the said Italians, unknown to the patrons, he hath intruded other Italians therein, whereby the true patrons have been spoiled and defrauded of their right.

"Thirdly, the said Master Martin yet also ceaseth not to assign and confer such benefices still unto the like persons; and some he reserveth to the donation of the apostolic see; and extorteth moreover from religious houses immoderate pensions, excommunicating and interdicting whosoever dare gainsay him.

"Wherefore, forasmuch as the said Master Martin hath so far extended his jurisdiction, to the great perturbation of the whole realm, and no less derogation to our king's privilege, to whom it hath been fully granted by the see apostolic, that no legate should have to do in his land but such as he by special letters did send for; with most humble devotion we beseech you, that as a good father will always be ready to support his child, so your fatherhood will reach forth your hand of compassion to relieve us your humble children from these grievous oppressions.

"And although our lord and king, being a catholic prince, and wholly given to his devotions and service of Christ Jesus our Lord, so that he respecteth not the health of his own body, will fear and reverence the see apostolic, and, as a devout son of the Church of Rome, desireth nothing more than to advance the estate and honour of the same; yet we which travail in his affairs, bearing the heat and burden of the day, and whose duty, together with him, is to tender the preservation of the public wealth, neither can patiently suffer such oppressions, so detestable to God and man, and grievances intolerable, neither by God's grace will suffer them, through the means of your godly remedy, which we well hope and trust of you speedily to obtain. And thus may it please your fatherhood, we beseech you, to accept this our supplication, who in so doing shall worthily deserve of all the lords and nobles, with the whole commonalty of the realm of England, condign and special thanks accordingly."

This supplication being sent by the hands of Sir H. Bigot, knight, and W. de Powick, esquire, Henry de la Mare, with other knights and gentlemen, after it was there opened and read, Pope Innocent, first keeping silence, deferred to make answer thereunto, making haste to proceed in his detestable excommunication and curse against the good Emperor Frederic. The which curse being done, and the English ambassadors waiting still for their answer, the pope then told them that they should not have their request fulfilled. Whereat the Englishmen, departing in great anger, sware with terrible oaths, that they would never more suffer any tribute, or fruits of any

benefices, namely, whereof the noblemen were patrons, to be paid to that insatiable and greedy court of Rome, worthy to be detested in all worlds.

The pope hearing these words, albeit making then no answer, thought to watch his time, and did. First, incontinent upon the same, during the said council, he caused every bishop of England to put his hand and seal to the obligation made by King John for the pope's tribute, as is above specified; threatening moreover, and saying, that if he had once brought down the emperor Frederic, he would bridle the insolent pride of England well enough.

But here, by occasion of this Council at Lyons, that the reader may see upon what slippery uncertainty and variableness the state of the king did depend, it is material here to interlace the form of a letter sent by Henry the Third to the prelates of his land, before they were transported over sea to Lyons; wherein may be gathered, that the king doubted they would be shoving and heaving at his royalty; and therefore directed these letters unto them otherwise to prepare their affections; the tenor whereof followeth.

A letter of charge to the prelates of England, purposed to assemble in the Council at Lyons, that they should ordain nothing, &c. to their king's prejudice.

"The king to the archbishops, bishops, and to all other prelates of his land of England, appointed to meet at a Council at Lyons, greeting. You are (as you know) bound unto us by oath, whereby you ought to keep all the fealty that you can unto us in all things, concerning our royal dignity and crown. Wherefore we command you upon the fealty and allegiance wherein you are firmly bound unto us, enjoining that you do your uttermost endeavour as well to get as to keep, and also to defend, the right of us and our kingdom. And that neither to the prejudice of us, or of the same kingdom, nor yet against us or our rights, which our predecessors and we by ancient and approved custom have used, you presume to procure or attempt any thing in your Couucil at Lyons; nor that you give assent to any that shall procure or ordain aught in this case. upon your oath aforesaid, and the loss of your temporalities, which you hold of us. Wherefore in this behalf so behave yourselves, that, for our good dealing and virtue of thankfulness, we may rather specially commend you, than for the contrary by you attempted (which God forbid) we reprove your unthankfulness, and reserve vengeance for you in due time. Witness myself, &c., the nine and twentieth year of our reign."

In like sort wrote he to the archbishops and bishops, &c. of Ireland and Gascony.

After this council ended, in the beginning of the next year following, A.D. 1246, Pope Innocent came to Cluniack, where was then appointed a secret meeting or colloquy between the pope and Louis the French king, who was then preparing his voyage to Jerusalem, in which colloquy the pope sought all means to persuade the French king, in revengement of his injury, to war *contra regulum*, as he termed him, that is, against the weak and feeble king of England, either to drive him utterly from his kingdom, or else to damnify him, whereby he should be constrained, whether he would or no, to stoop to the pope's will and obedience wherein he also would assist him with all the authority he could. Nevertheless the French king to this would not agree; first, for the consanguinity that was between them (for their two queens were sisters). Also for the truce that they had taken. Thirdly, for fear of the emperor, lest he should take his part. Item, for that it could not be without the much spilling of Christian blood. And lastly, because he was preparing his voyage to the Holy Land,

where his coming was already looked for. And thus the French king, denying the pope's bloody request, refused not only to enter war against the king and the realm of England, but also shortly after concluded with him longer truce, A.D. 1246.

Straight upon the neck of this followed then the exaction of Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury, that he had bought of the pope; which was to have the first year's fruits of all benefices and spiritual livings in England for the space of seven years together, until the sum should come to ten thousand marks. Whereat the king first was greatly grieved. But in conclusion he was fain at last to agree with the archbishop; and so the money was gathered.

Over and besides all other exactions wherewith the pope miserably oppressed the Church of England, this also is not to be silenced, how the pope, sending down his letters from the see apostolic, charged and commanded the prelates to find him some ten, some five, and some fifteen able men, well furnished with horse and harness, for one whole year, to fight in the pope's wars. And lest the king should have knowledge thereof, it was enjoined them under pain of excommunication, that they should reveal it to none, but to keep it in secret only to themselves.

The pope yet notwithstanding, partly being laboured by suitors, partly of his own mind thinking good somewhat to give to the king and people of England, as fathers are wont to give something to their babes to play withal to keep them still, sent down this releasement to the king, that hereafter, whensoever any of the pope's nephews or of his cardinals were to be beneficed in any church of England, either he or the cardinals should first make the king privy thereto, and instantly crave his good will in obtaining the procurator, or else the same to stand in no effect. Howbeit all this seemed to be done but of a policy to get the king's favour, whereby he might be suffered more freely to pass with greater exactions, as afterward appeared.

For when the aforesaid Pope Innocent the Fourth had knowledge at the same time of certain rich clerks leaving great substance of money, which died intestate, as of one Robert Hailes, archdeacon of Lincoln, which died leaving thousands of marks and much plate behind him, all which, because no will was made, came to temporal men's hands; also of Master Almarike, archdeacon of Bedford, being found worth a great substance when he died; and likewise of another, John Hotosp, archdeacon of Northampton, who died suddenly intestate, leaving behind him five thousand marks, and thirty standing pieces of plate, with other infinite jewels besides; he sent forth upon the same a statute to be proclaimed in England, that whatsoever ecclesiastical person henceforth should decease in England intestate, that is, without making his will, all his goods should redound to the pope's use.

Furthermore, the pope, not yet satisfied with all this, addresseth new letters to the bishop of Winchester, and to W., bishop of Norwich, for gathering up amongst the clergy and religious houses in England six thousand marks to the behoof of the holy mother church, without any excuse or delay, by virtue of obedience. Which tallage being greatly grudged of the clergy, when it came to the king's ear, he eftsoons directeth contrary letters to all the prelates and every one of them, commanding them, upon forfeiting their temporalities to the king, that no such subsidy money should be gathered or transported out of the realm. But the pope again hearing hereof, in great anger writeth to the prelates of England, that this collection of money, upon pain of excommunication and suspension, should be provided, and brought to the new temple in London, by the feast of the Assumption next ensuing.

And furthermore, forasmuch as he perceived the king to go about to withstand his proceedings, taking thereat great disdain, he was about the same time to interdict the whole land. To whom then one of his cardinals, called Johan. Anglicus, an Englishman born, speaking for the realm of England, desired his fatherhood for God's cause to mitigate his moody ire, and with the bridle of temperance to assuage the passion of his mind; which, said he, to tell you plain, is here stirred up too much without cause. Your fatherhood, quoth he, may consider that these days be evil. First, the Holy Land lieth in great perils to be lost. All the Greek church is departed from us. Frederic the emperor is against us, the mightiest prince this day in all Christendom. Both you and we, which are the peers of the church, are banished from the papal see, thrust out of Rome, yea, excluded out of all Italy. Hungary, with all coasts bordering about it, looketh for nothing but utter subversion by the Tartarians. Germany is wasted and afflicted with inward wars and tumults. Spain is fierce and cruel against us, even to the cutting out of the bishops' tongues. France by us is so impoverished, that it is brought to beggary, which also conspireth against us. Miserable England, being so often plagued by our manifold injuries, even much like to Balaam's ass, beaten and bounced with spurs and staves, beginneth at length to speak and complain of her intolerable griefs and burdens, being so wearied and damnified, that she may seem past all recovery; and we, after the manner of Ishmael, hating of men, provoke all men to hate us, &c.

Notwithstanding these words of Johannes Anglicus, his cardinal, the pope's choleric passion could not yet be appeased, but forthwith he sendeth commandment with full authority to the bishop of Worcester, that in case the king would not speedily surcease his rebellion against his apostolical proceedings, he would interdict his land. So that, in conclusion, the king, for all his stout enterprise, was fain to relent at last, and the pope had his money, A.D. 1246.

Ye heard before of the Greek churches under the empire of Constantinople, how they sequestered themselves from the company of the Romish church. Insomuch that Germanus. the patriarch of Constantinople, and the archbishop of Antioch, did excommunicate the bishop of Rome. And after the said Germanus, another bishop of Constantinople, at the Council of Lyons, protested, that whereas before were thirty suffragans belonging to that province, now there were not three that held with the Church of Rome. And this breach, albeit it chiefly burst out in the time of Pope Gregory the Ninth, A.D. 1230, to open war and bloodshed, yet the same had begun, and so continued long before, in such sort, as in the time of Pope Innocent the Third, if any priest had said mass in their churches, they would wash the altar afterward; as appeareth by the Acts of the Lateran Council, cap. iv. Wherefore Pope Innocent now, (as his other predecessors had done before,) hearing an old grudge against those churches of the Greeks, and neither willing by conference to try with them, nor able by learning to match with them, thought by force of arms to subdue them, and sent the provincial of the Grey Friars, with other associates of the same order, into England with his precept authentical, containing in it these articles.

"1. That the said provincial, or his friars, should inquire upon all usurers being alive; and of all such evil-gotten goods, gained *per usurariam pravitatem*, should make attachment for the use and preparation for this war against the Greeks, excommunicating all them by district censures of the church that repugned against it.

"2. That all they which took the badge of the cross, for the recovery of the said empire of the Greeks, or with goods and cattle would help sufficiently unto the same, should be absolved of all their sins.

"3. Item, that all the goods left in the testaments of them that were departed, being gotten by usury, should be taken up to the subsidy of the empire aforesaid, and whosoever repugned against the same should be excommunicated.

"4. Item, that such goods as in the testaments of the dead were left, or which should be left three next years to come, for restitution of such goods as the dead had evil gotten, they should take up for the subsidy of the empire aforesaid, excommunicating, &c.

"5. Item, such goods as were left to be distributed in godly uses, after the arbitrement of executors, by the wills of the dead, or were not in their wills deputed to any certain places or persons named, nor yet were bestowed by the said executors to the foresaid uses, they should collect to the use and subsidy aforesaid, and give certificate to the see apostolic of the quantity thereof, excommunicating all repugners and rebellers against the same.

"6. Item, that they should diligently inquire of such men's goods evil gotten or evil come by as were alive, and then they should attach for the subsidy aforesaid, in case the party, which ought to be satisfied for those goods evil gotten, could not be found, giving certificate thereof, and excommunicating, &c.

"7. Item, that the said provincial, or his friars, should have full power to absolve those that were excommunicated, which wittingly had done any fraud touching the collection aforesaid, so that the said persons did make due satisfaction to the deputies aforesaid."

What man having eyes is so blind which seeth not these execrable dealings of the pope to be such, as would cause any nation in the world to do as the wise Grecians did, and perpetually to renounce the pope, and well to consider the usurped authority of that see not to be of God? But such was the rude dulness then of miserable England, for lack of learning and godly knowledge, that they, feeling what burdens were laid upon them, yet would play still the ass of Balaam, or else the horse of Æsop, which, receiving the bridle once in his mouth, could afterward neither abide his own misery, nor yet recover liberty. And so it fared with England under the pope's thralldom, as partly by these stories above hath been declared, partly by other in like case following is to be seen.

For so it followeth in the history of the said Matth. Paris, how the pope, taking more courage by his former abused boldness, and perceiving what a tame ass he had to ride upon, ceased not thus, but directed a new precept the same year, 1246, to the prelates of England, commanding by the authority apostolic, that all beneficed men in the realm of England, which were resident upon their benefices, should yield to the pope the third part of their goods, and they which were not resident should give the one half of their goods, and that for the space of three years together, with terrible comminations to all them that did resist; and ever with this clause withal, *non obstante*, which was like a key that opened all locks. Which sum, cast together, was found to amount to sixty thousand pounds; which sum of money could scarce be found in all England to pay for King Richard's ransom. The execution of this precept was committed to the bishop of London, who, conferring about the matter with his brethren in the church of Paul's, as they were busily consulting together, and bewailing the

importable burden of this contribution, which was impossible for them to sustain, suddenly cometh in certain messengers from the king, Sir John Lexinton, knight, and Laurence Martin, the king's chaplain, straitly in the king's name forbidding them in any case to consent to this contribution, which should be greatly to the prejudice and desolation of the whole realm.

This being done about the first day of December in the year above said, shortly after, in the beginning of the next year, 1247, about February, the king called a parliament, where by common advice it was agreed, that certain ambassadors should be sent to Rome, to make manifest to the court of Rome the exceeding grievances of the realm, delivering, moreover, these letters to the pope, in the name both of the temporalty and also of the clergy, as here followeth.

Another letter sent to Pope Innocent the Fourth, in the names of the whole clergy and commonalty of England, A.D. 1247.

"To the most holy father in Christ, and Lord Innocent, by God's providence chief bishop, the whole commonalty, both of the clergy and laity, with in the province of Canterbury, sendeth devout kissings of his blessed feet. Like as the Church of England, since it hath first received the catholic faith, hath always showed herself faithful and devout in adhering to God, and to our holy mother the Church of Rome, studying with all kind of service to please and to serve the same, and thinking never otherwise to do, but rather to continue and increase as she hath begun; even so now the same church, most humbly prostrate before the feet of your Holiness, entirely beseecheth your clemency to accept her petition, in sparing this imposition of money, which so manifold ways, for the subvention of other nations; by the commandment of your Holiness, is laid upon us; considering that not only it is insupportable, but also impossible, which is enjoined us. For although our country sometimes yieldeth forth fruit for the necessary sustentation of the inhabitants, yet it bringeth forth neither gold nor silver, neither were able to bring forth of long time so much as now-a-days is required. Which also being burdened and overcharged of late days with another such-like imposition, but not so great as this, is not able any whit to answer unto that which is exacted.

"Furthermore, besides this commandment of your Holiness, there is required of the clergy a subsidy for our temporal king, whose necessities neither possibly we can, nor honestly we ought, to forsake, whereby he may both withstand the invasion of the enemy, and maintain the right of his patrimony, and also recover again that hath been lost. In consideration whereof, we have directed the bearers hereof to the presence of your Holiness with our humble supplication, to explain to you the dangers and inconveniences which are like to ensue upon the premises, which by no means we are able to sustain, although notwithstanding we know ourselves by all bonds of charity to be obliged to your devotion and obedience. And because our general community hath no seal proper, we have signed therefore these presents with the public seal of the city of London," &c.

The like letters were sent also unto the cardinals, to the same effect. The pope, understanding these things, and perceiving that there was no striving against such a general consent, and yet loth to forego his sweet harvest, which he was wont to reap in England, craftily devised to send this answer again unto the king, much like to the same which he sent before, which was, That although the pope in time past, upon his own will and pleasure, to the insupportable grievance of the realm of England, hath every where, and without respect, through the whole land made his provisions in

giving their benefices unto his Italians, yet now, the Lord be praised, that tempest, said he, is overblown; so that hereafter, if the pope shall grant his provision for any of his nephews or of his cardinals, they shall come first and make their instant suit unto the king, without all enforcement, so that it shall stand wholly in the king's free arbitrement to do herein what he thinketh good, &c.

This answer of the pope, albeit it was but a subtle shift for the time, yet neither did he long stand to that he had thus promised to the king. For shortly after, and within few days upon the same, and in the time also of the said parliament holden at Winchester, the pope sent two English friars into the realm, whose names were John and Alexander, with full authority, after the largest sort, for new contributions. Who first pretending lowly submission to the king, while they had leave granted to range about the realm, afterward, coming to the bishops and rich abbots, showed themselves forth in their full authority, in such sort as they became rather tyrants than extortioners.

Among others, coming to Robert, bishop of Lincoln, who of all other bare a special mind to the order of Observants, these two friars, as proud as Lucifer, bringing forth the terrible mandate with the pope's bulls, required and eke commanded, under the pope's mighty curse, to have the gathering in his diocese of six thousand marks. Likewise of the abbot of St. Albans they required four hundred marks, under great penalty, and that in short time to be paid.

The bishop, although well liking before that order of those friars, yet seeing the impudent behaviour and more impudent request of those merchants, thus answered to them again; that this exaction, saving the pope's authority, was never heard of before, and neither was honest, nor yet possible to be performed; and, moreover, was such as did not only concern him, but the whole public state of the clergy, and of the whole realm in general; and therefore it should be absurdly and rashly done of him to give them answer herein, before the king and the rest of the council, with others to whom the matter generally did appertain, were made privy thereunto, &c., and so for that time he shook them off.

Furthermore, as touching the abbot of St. Albans, when he also alleged the same causes, he pretended moreover that he would appeal, and so did, to the pope and his cardinals. Whereupon immediately was sent down from Pope Innocent another legate, called Johannes Anglicus, an English friar and cardinal, who, bringing down a new special precept to the aforesaid abbot, cited him either to appear at London the morrow after St. Giles's day, or to disburse to the use of the pope the aforesaid four hundred marks. By reason whereof the abbot was driven to send his proctors again, with a new supplication, to the pope at Lyons; who in the end, through great instance of monied friends, agreed with the abbot for two hundred marks, besides his other charges borne, and so was that matter compounded little to the abbot's profit.

To recite all damages and grievances received by the bishop of Rome in this realm of England, neither is any history sufficiently able to comprehend, nor, if it were, scarcely is there any that would believe it. Notwithstanding, to those above declared, this one I thought to commit likewise to memory, to the intent that they which now live in this age may behold and wonder in themselves to see into what miserable slavery, passing all measure, not only the subjects, but kings also of this realm were brought, under the intolerable yoke of the pope's tyranny, which in those days neither durst any man cast off, nor yet was able to abide. As by this example ensuing, with infinite others like to the same, may appear.

In the year of our Lord 1248, after that Pope Innocent the Fourth had taken such order in the realm, that all prelates of the church were suspended from collation of any benefice, before the pope's kinsfolks and clerks of Italy had been first provided for, it happened upon the same, that the abbot of Abington had a commandment from the pope to bestow some benefice of his church in all haste to a certain priest of Rome; which the abbot, as an obedient child unto his father the pope, was eager and ready to accomplish accordingly. But the Roman priest, not contented with such as fell next hand, would tarry his time, to have such as were principal and for his own appetite, having a special eye to the benefice of the church of St. Helen in Abington, which was then esteemed worth a hundred marks by year, besides other vails and commodities belonging to the same; the collation whereof the priest required by the authority apostolical to be granted unto him.

As this passed on, it chanced at last the incumbent to die, and the benefice to be empty. Which eftsoons being known, the same day cometh a commandment, with great charge from the king to the abbot, to give the benefice to one Aethelmare, the king's brother by the mother's side, who at the same time was possessed with so many benefices, as the number and value thereof was unknown. The abbot here being in great perplexity, and not knowing what to do, whether to gratify his king or to obey the pope, took counsel with his friends; who, well advising of the matter, gave him counsel to prefer the brother of his prince and patron, so that the king would undertake to stand in his defence against the pope, rather than the Romish priest, whom always he should have lying there as a spy and watcher of him, and like a thorn ever in his eye; and so the king, assuring the abbot of his undoubted protection, and indemnity against all harms, the benefice was conferred forthwith to the king's brother.

The Roman priest, not a little grieved thereat, speedeth himself in all haste to the bishop of Rome, certifying him what was done, and partly also (as the manner is of men) making it worse than it was. Upon whose complaint the pope eftsoons in great anger cited up the abbot personally to appear before him, to answer to the crime of disobedience. The abbot trusting upon the king's promise and protection, (which neither could help him in that case, neither durst oppose himself against the pope,) being both aged and sickly, was driven to travel up to the court of Rome, in great heaviness and bitterness of mind. Where in conclusion, after much vexation and bitter rebukes, besides great expenses, he was fain to satisfy the pope after his own will, compounding to give him yearly fifty marks in part of making him amends for his trespass of disobedience.

To this also may be added another like fact of the pope, as outrageous as this, against the house of Binham. For when the benefice of Westle, in the diocess of Ely, was void by the death of the incumbent, who was an Italian, and one of the pope's chamber, the donation of which benefice belonged to the priory of Binham, another Italian, which was a bastard and unlearned, born in the city of Genoa, called Heriggetto de Malchana de Valta, brought down the pope's letters to M. Berardo de Nympha, the pope's agent here in England, with strict charge and full authority, commanding him to see the said benefice to be conferred in any case to Heriggetto. Yea, and though the benefice had been given already, yet notwithstanding the possessor thereof should be displaced, and the said Heriggetto preferred; yea, also *non obstante* that the said pope himself had before given his grant to the king and realm of England, that one Italian should not succeed another in any benefice there; yet, for all that, the said Heriggetto upon pain of excommunication to be placed therein.

And thus much hitherto of these matters, through the occasion of the east churches and the Grecians, to the intent all men that read these stories, and see the doings of this western bishop, may consider what just cause these Grecians had to seclude themselves from his subjection and communion. For what Christian communion is to be joined with him which so contrary to Christ and his gospel seeketh for worldly dominion, so cruelly persecuteth his brethren, so given to avarice, so greedy in getting, so injurious in oppressing, so insatiable in his exactions, so malicious in revenging, stirring up wars, depriving kings, deposing emperors, playing *rex* in the church of Christ, so erroneous in doctrine, so abominably abusing excommunication, so false of promise, so corrupt in life, so void of God's fear, and briefly, so far from all the parts of a true evangelical bishop? For what seemeth he to care for the souls of men, which setteth in benefices boys and outlandish Italians; and further, one Italian to succeed another, which neither did know the language of the flock, nor once would abide to see their faces? And who can blame the Grecians then for dissevering themselves from such an oppressor and giant against Christ.

Whose wise example, if this realm had then followed, as they might, certes our predecessors had been rid of an infinite number of troubles, injuries, oppressions, wars, commotions, great travels and charges, besides the saving of innumerable thousands of pounds, which the said bishop full falsely hath raked and transported out of this realm of ours. But, not to exceed the bounds of my history, because my purpose is not to stand upon declamations, nor to dilate common-places, I will pass this over, leaving the judgment thereof to the further examination of the reader. For else if I listed to prosecute this argument so far as matter would lead me, and truth peradventure would require me to say, I durst not only say, but could well prove, the pope and court of Rome to be the only fountain and principal cause, I say not of much misery here in England, but of all the public calamities and notorious mischiefs which have happened these many years through all these west parts of Christendom, and especially of all the lamentable ruin of the church, which not only we, but the Grecians also, this day do suffer by the Turks and Saracens; as whoso ever well considereth by reading of histories the course of times, and vieweth withal the doings and acts passed by the said bishop of Rome, together with the blind leading of his doctrine, shall see good cause, not only to think, but also to witness the same.

55. The Third Crusade

Only one narration touching this argument, and yet not transgressing the office of my history, I mind (the Lord willing) to set before the reader's eyes, which happened even about this present time of this King Henry's reign, in the year of our Lord 1244.

In the which year it chanced that Louis, the French king, son to Queen Blanch, fell very sore sick, lying in a swoon or in a trance for certain days, in such sort as few thought he would have lived, and some said he was gone already. Among others, there was with him his mother, who, sorrowing bitterly for her son, and given somewhat (as commonly the manner of women is) to superstition, went and brought forth a piece of the holy cross, with the crown and the spear, which piece of the holy cross Baldwinus, emperor of Constantinople, (whom the Grecians had deposed a little before for holding with the bishop of Rome,) had sold unto the French king for a great sum of money; and, blessing him with the same, also laid the crown and the spear to his body, making a vow withal in the person of her son, that if the Lord would visit him with health, and release him of that infirmity, he should be crossed, or marked with the cross, to visit his sepulchre, and there solemnly to render thanks in the land which he had sanctified with his blood. Thus as she, with the bishop of Paris, and others there present, were praying, behold the king, which was supposed of some to be dead, began with a sigh to pluck to his arms and legs, and so stretching himself began to speak, giving thanks to God, who from on high had visited him, and called him from the danger of death. Which, as the king's mother, with others there, took to be a great miracle wrought by the virtue of the holy cross; so the king amending more and more, as soon as he was well recovered received solemnly the badge of the cross, vowing for a free-will sacrifice unto God, that he, if the council of his realm would suffer him, would in his own person visit the Holy Land; forgetting belike the rule of true Christianity, where Christ teacheth us otherwise in the Gospel, saying, that neither in this mount, nor in Samaria, nor at Jerusalem, the Lord will be worshipped, but seeketh true worshippers, which shall worship him in truth and verity, &c.

After this was great preparation and much ado in France toward the setting forth to the Holy Land. For after the king first began to be crossed, the most part of the nobles of France, with divers archbishops and bishops, with earls, and barons, and gentlemen to a mighty number, received also the cross upon their sleeves. Amongst whom was the Earl Atrebacensis, the king's brother, the duke of Burgundy, the duke of Brabant, the countess of Flanders, with her two sons, the earl of Brittany with his son, the earl of Barensis, earl of Saissions, earl of St. Paul, earl of Druis, earl of Retel, with many noble persons more. Neither lacked here whatsoever the pope could do to set forward this holy business, in sending his legates and friars into France, to stir the people to follow the king, and to contribute to his journey. Whereupon it was granted to the king, to gather of the universal Church of France, by the pope's authority, the tenth part of all their goods for three years' space together, upon this condition, that the king likewise would grant to the pope the twentieth part for so many years after, to be gathered of the said Church of France. Which was agreed.

Shortly after this, in the year of our Lord one thousand two hundred and forty-seven, followed a parliament in France, where the king with his nobles being present,

there was declared how the king of Tartarians or Turks, hearing of the voyage of the French king, writeth a letter to him, requiring that he will become his subject. In the which parliament the time was prefixed for taking their journey, which should be after the feast of St. John Baptist the very next year ensuing. Also they that were crossed were sworn to persist in their purpose, and sentence of the pope's great curse denounced to all them that went from the same. Furthermore, for the better speed in his journey, the king through all his realm caused it to be proclaimed, that if any merchant or other had been injured at any time by the king's exactors, either by oppression or borrowing of money, let him bring forth his bill, showing how or wherein, and he should be recompensed. At which time William Longspath, a worthy warrior, with the bishop of Worcester and certain other great men in the realm of England, moved with the example of the Frenchmen, prepared themselves likewise to the same journey.

The next year after this ensuing, which was 1248, the French king yet still remaining in his purposed journey, Lady Blanch his mother, also the bishop of Paris his brother, with the lords of his council and other nobles, and his special friends, advertised him with great persuasions to alter his mind, touching that so adventurous and so dangerous a journey, for that his vow (said they) was unadvisedly made, and in time of his sickness, when his mind was not perfectly stablished; and what jeopardies might happen at home it was uncertain; the king of England being on the one side, the emperor on the other side, and the Pictavians in the midst so fugitive and unstable; and as concerning his vow, the pope should friendly dispense with him, considering the necessity of his realm, and weakness of his body. Besides all this, his mother upon her blessing required him, his brethren of all loves desired him, to stay at home, and not in his person to adventure; others might be sent in his room, with no less furniture to achieve that enterprise, and to discharge him of his vow, especially seeing at the making thereof his senses were feeble, his body weak, and reason through sickness and very death almost decayed.

To whom the king again, Forasmuch (said he) as you say, that for feebleness of my senses I took this vow upon me, lo, therefore, as you here will me, I lay down the cross that I took. And putting his hand to his shoulder, he tare off the badge of the cross, saying to the bishop, Here I resign to you the cross wherewith I was signed. At the sight whereof there was no small rejoicing of all that were there present. To whom the king then, both altering his countenance and his speech, thus spake: My friends, said he, whatsoever I was then in my sickness, now I thank God I am of perfect sense, and reason sound, and now I require my cross again to be restored unto me: saying, moreover, that no bread should come in his head before he were recognised again with the same cross as he was before. At the hearing whereof all there present were astonished supposing that God had some great matter to work, and so moved no more questions unto him.

Upon this drew nigh the feast of John Baptist, which was the time set for the setting forth. And now, being in a readiness, the king in few days after was entering his journey; but yet one thing lacked. For the king, perceiving the mortal variance between the pope and good Frederic the emperor, thought best first before his going to have that matter appeased, whereby his way both might be safer through the emperor's countries, and also less jeopardy at home after his departure; and therefore, upon the same, he took first his way to Lyons, where the pope was, partly to take his leave, but most especially to make reconciliation between the emperor and the pope.

Where is to be noted, by the way, that as touching the good emperor there was no let nor stay. Who rather sought all means how to compass the pope's favour, and never could obtain it; insomuch that, before he should be excommunicated in the Council of Lyons, he not only answered sufficiently by Thadeus his attorney, discharging himself against whatsoever crimes or objections could be brought against him; but so far humbled himself to the pope and the council, that for all detriments, damages, losses, or wrongs done of his part, what amends soever the pope could or would require, he would recompense it to the uttermost. This would not be taken.

Furthermore, if the pope (he said) could not abide his tarrying in his own dominions and empire, he would go fight against the Saracens and Turks, never to return into Europe again, offering there to recover the lands and kingdoms whatsoever did at any time belong to Christendom, so that the pope only would be contented that Henry his son (which was then nephew to King Henry here in England) should be emperor after him. Neither could this be admitted.

Then he offered, for truth of his promise, to put in the French king and the king of England to be his sureties, or else for trial of his cause to stand to their award and arbitrement. Neither would that be granted.

At last he desired that he might come himself and answer before the council. But the proud pope in no case would abide that, saying that he did not yet find himself so ready and meet for martyrdom, to have him to come thither to the council; for if he did, he would depart himself, &c.

This obstinate rancour and devilish malice of Pope Innocent and his predecessor against that valiant emperor, and against the Grecians, what disturbance and mischief it wrought to the whole church, what strength it gave to the Saracens and Tartarians, how it impaired Christian concord, and weakened all Christian lands, not only the host of the French king did find shortly after, but Christendom even to this day may and doth feel and rue. Neither can in stories be found any greater cause which first made the Turks so strong, to get so much ground over Christendom as they have, than the pestilent working of this pope in deposing and excommunicating this worthy emperor. For as there was never emperor of long time which more victoriously prevailed in bridling and keeping under these enemies of Christ, or would have done more against them, than the said Frederic if he might have been suffered; so after the deposing and excommunicating of him, when the French king neither would abide at home, as he was counselled, neither was yet able, without the help of others, to withstand the force and multitude of the said Saracens and Tartarians, being now joined together, neither yet could the emperor be suffered by the pope to rescue the king; it followed thereof, that the good king being taken prisoner, and all his army destroyed the Turks thereupon got such a hand, and such a courage against the Christians, that ever since they have burst in further upon us, and now have prevailed so far, as neither the power of the pope nor of all Christendom is able to drive them out, as hereafter by sequel of story is further to be declared.

In the mean time, to return where before we left, when the French king, coming thus unto the pope at Lyons to entreat for the emperor, could find no favour, he took his leave, and with great heaviness departed, setting forward on his journey unto Marseilles, and so sailed to the isle of Cyprus, where he remained all that winter; so that, failing into penury and lack of victuals, he was fain to send to the Venetians, and other islands by, for help of provision. The Venetians gently sent unto him six great

ships laden with corn, wine, and other victuals requisite, besides the relief of other islands more. But especially Frederic the emperor, understanding of their want, so furnished the French camp with all plenty of necessities, that it had abundance. Whereupon the French king, moved with the kindness of the emperor, wrote his special letters to the pope in the emperor's behalf, but the hard heart of the pope would not relent. Blanch, the king's mother in France, hearing what the emperor had done to her son, sent him most hearty thanks, with presents and rewards manifold.

In this mean time, about the beginning of October, the Frenchmen got Damietta, being the principal fort or hold of the Saracens in all Egypt, in the year one thousand two hundred and forty-nine. After the winning of Damietta, the prince and people of the Saracens, being astonished at the loss thereof, offered to the Christians great ground and possessions, more than ever belonged to Christendom before, so that they might have Damietta to them restored again. But the pride of the earl of Artois, the king's brother, would in no case accept the offers of the Saracens, but required both Damietta and Alexandria, the chief metropolitan city of all Egypt, to be delivered unto them. The Saracens, seeing the pride and greediness of the Frenchmen, in no case would abide it; which turned afterwards to the great detriment of our Christians, as in the end it proved.

First, in the isle of Cyprus, and in the journey before, died the earl of Palatine, and one of the twelve peers of France, also the earl of St. Paul and Blesse, who had under him fifty ensigns, which were all after his death scattered abroad and dispersed; also died Johannes de Denis, a valiant captain, with many other noble personages, both men and women, which, by altering the air and diet, there deceased.

The next year ensuing, which was 1250, about Ash Wednesday, the Frenchmen, issuing out of their tents by the city of Damietta, flew upon the Saracens, which besieged them; and so, after a great number of the enemies slain, with victory and great spoils returned to their tents again. Now within the city of Damietta was the queen with her ladies, the pope's legate, and bishops, with a garrison of horsemen and footmen, for the defence of the city strongly appointed. The next day, the Frenchmen supposing to have the like band of the Saracens, as they had the day before, gave a fresh assault upon them; but in that conflict the Saracens had so strongly appointed themselves, that the Frenchmen lost ten times more than they got the day before, and so, after a great slaughter of their men, retired unto their tents again. Whereupon the Saracens began to take great hearts and courage against our men, stopping also the passages round about the city of Damietta, that no victuals could pass unto them. In like manner the soldan also, gathering all the galleys about Alexandria and all the land of Egypt, so enclosed the seas, that no intercourse should be to them by water.

At length, after long talk and consultation between them on both sides, the soldan advised them betimes to resign unto him the city of Damietta, with the furniture which they found therein, and they should have all the country about Jerusalem, with all the captives of the Christians friendly restored unto them; wherewith the Christians (said he) ought to be contented, and to seek no further, but only to have the land of Jerusalem; which being granted to them, they should not encroach into their lands and kingdoms, whereto they had no right. This form of peace, as it liked well the meaner sort of the poor soldiers, and divers others of the said council and nobility; so the proud earl of Artois, the king's brother, in no case would assent thereto, but still required the city of Alexandria to be yielded unto them. Which the Egyptians by no means would agree unto.

From that time the French army, being compassed by sea and by land, began every day more and more to be distressed for lack of victuals and with famine, being driven to that misery, that they were fain to eat their own horses in the Lent time, which should have served them unto other uses. Neither could any Christian, nor Frederic, being deposed by the pope, be able to send them any succour. Furthermore, the more misery the Christians were in, the more fiercely did the Saracens press upon them on every side, detesting their forward wilfulness. Insomuch that divers of the Christian soldiers, not able to abide the affliction, privily conveyed themselves, as they could, out of the camp to the Saracens, who were gladly received and relieved, and some suffered still to keep their faith, some marrying wives amongst them, and for hope of honour did apostatize to their law, and so wrought no little harm to the Christians. The soldan, being perfectly instructed by these fugitives of all things belonging to the king's army, sent him word in derision, asking where were all his mattocks, forks, and rakes, his scythes, ploughs, and harrows, which he brought over with him, or why he did not occupy them, but let them lie by him to rust and canker? All this and much more the king with his French men were fain to take well in worth. It happened shortly after that this soldan died, being poisoned of his own servants; which was to the Christians a more heaping of their miseries. For albeit the said soldan had been a cruel tyrant to the Christians, yet was he hated of his own people, whereby his strength was the less; after whom succeeded another much more cruel. Who, as he was better loved, so he became much stronger by a general confederacy of all the Saracens which were in the east parts, joining now together. So that when the Christians desired now to have the form of peace before proffered, he precisely denied them. And so the French host, which at first began to be feared, by their pride and over-much greediness grew more and more in contempt amongst their enemies, and now was utterly despised.

The Christians, thus seeing all things to go back ward with them, and how the infidel Saracens daily did prevail, began to murmur against God, and some also, which were well settled before, to stagger in their religion, casting out these words of infidelity; How is this (said they) that the Lord hath left us, in whose cause we fight? How often within the time of remembrance have we been confounded by these Saracens and infidels, who with shedding of our blood have enjoyed great spoils and victories! First, this city of Damietta, which we Christians had gotten dearly, with effusion of so much Christian blood, afterwards we were constrained for nought to resign up again. After that, the army of the Templars, fighting for the holy temple against the Saracens, near to Antioch, was vanquished, and the standard-bearer slain in the fields. Again, within these few years, our Frenchmen, fighting in like manner against the Saracens at the city of Gazara, were put to the worst, and many afterward out of captivity ransomed, by Richard, duke of Exeter, brother to the king of England, Henry the Third. Then came in the Chosmorins, sent by the soldan of Babylon, which by a wile invaded the Christians in the city of Jerusalem, where almost all the Christian army being in the Holy Land were destroyed. And now here our most Christian king, together with the whole nobility, is like to be in danger utterly to be overthrown. And how is it that the Lord thus standeth against us, and fighteth with them? Hath he more regard of them than of us, &c.? Such murmuring words of an unstable faith many there began to cast out, as taking displeasure for their sufferings; but not considering on the other side what idolaters they were, what pride and discord was amongst them, what cruelty and murder they had showed at home in persecuting the poor Albigenes, what superstition they first brought out with them, with what idolatry they proceeded, putting their trust in masses, in the pope's indulgences, in

worshipping of images, and praying to saints. And what helps then could they look for at God's hand, which had images in their temples, to fight against them which had none? Or what marvel, if the Lord of hosts went not with their army, committing such idolatry every day in their pavilions to their sacramental bread and wine as they did, and fighting with the strength of their own merits, and not only by the power of their faith in Christ, which is only the victory that overcometh the world? 1 John v. Finally, having in their camp the legate of him whom the Lord taketh to be his enemy; as by example of Frederic the emperor may be well perceived, who, after he was accursed by Pope Gregory a little before, coming the same thne in war against the Saracens in Palestine, God's blessing wrought so mightily with him, that without any bloodshed he recovered Jerusalem, and set all the country about it in great quietness, till at last the popish Templars, which at the pope's setting on went about to betray him to the soldan of Babylon, and so lost all again by their own malicious mischief that the emperor before had gotten.

But let us proceed further in this holy progress. The French king with his army seeing himself distressed, and no good there to be done against the soldan of Egypt, after he had sufficiently fortified the city of Damietta, with an able garrison left with the duke of Burgundy, he removed his tents from thence to go eastward. In whose army also followed William Longspath, (of whom mention was touched before,) accompanied with a picked number of English warriors retaining unto him. But such was the disdain of the Frenchmen against this William Longspath and the Englishmen, that they could not abide them, but flouted them, after opprobrious manner, with English tails, insomuch that the good king himself had much ado to keep peace between them.

The original cause of this grudge between them began thus: There was, not far from Alexandria in Egypt, a strong fort or castle, replenished with great ladies, and rich treasure of the Saracens; the which hold it chanced the said William Longspath with his company of English soldiers to get, more by good luck and politic dexterity than by open force of arms, whereby he with his retinue were greatly enriched. When the Frenchmen had knowledge hereof, they, being not made privy thereto, began to conceive a heartburning against the English soldiers, and could not speak well of them after that. It happened again not long after, that the said William had intelligence of a company of rich merchants among the Saracens, going to a certain fair about the parts of Alexandria, having their camels, asses, and mules richly laden with silks, precious jewels, spices, gold and silver, with cart-loads of other wares, besides victuals and other furniture, whereof the soldiers then stood in great need. He having secret knowledge hereof, gathered all the power of Englishmen unto him that he could, and so by night falling upon the merchants, some he slew with their guides and conductors, some he took, some he put to flight. The carts, with the drivers and with the oxen, and the camels, asses, and mules, with the whole carriage and victuals, he took and brought with him, losing in all the skirmish but one soldier, and eight of his servitors; of whom notwithstanding some he brought home wounded to be cured.

This being known in the camp, forth came the Frenchmen, which all this while loitered in their pavilions, and meeting their carriage by the way, took all the foresaid prey whole unto themselves, rating the said William and the Englishmen for so adventuring and issuing out of the camp without leave or knowledge of their general, contrary to the discipline of war. William said again, he had done nothing but he would answer to it, whose purpose was to have the spoil divided to the behoof of the whole army: when this would not serve, he being sore grieved in his mind, so

cowardly to be spoiled of that, for the which he so adventurously had travailed, went to the king to complain. But when no reason nor complaint would serve, by reason of the proud earl of Artois, the king's brother, which upon despite and disdain stood against him, he, bidding the king farewell, said he would serve him no longer. And so William de Longspath, with the rest of his company, breaking from the French host, went to Acre. Upon whose departure then said the earl of Artois, Now is the army of Frenchmen well rid of these tailed people. Which words, spoken in great despite, were evil taken of many good men that heard him.

Before the arriving of the French army in the land of Egypt, the soldan of Babylon, having before intelligence of their coming, committed the custody of Damietta unto a certain prince of his, whom he specially trusted, committing also to his brother the keeping of Cairo and Babylon. It followed now after the taking of Damietta, that the soldan of Babylon accused the prince which had the custody thereof, before his nobles, of prodicion, as giving the city unto the Christians. Who notwithstanding in judgment did sufficiently clear himself, declaring how he was certified that the king would land at Alexandria, and therefore bent all his power to prevent the king's arrival there. But, by distress of weather, he missing of his purpose, and the king landing about Damietta, by reason thereof the city was taken unprovided, he notwithstanding with his company resisting as well as they might, till they could no longer, and so departed out, cursing (said he) Mahomet and his law. At which words the soldan, being offended, commanded him to be had away as a traitor and blasphemer, and to be hanged, albeit he had sufficiently purged himself by the judgment of the court. His brother, which was the keeper of Cairo and Babylon, being therewith not a little grieved, and bearing a good mind to the Christian religion, devised in himself how to give the said city of Cairo and Babylon to the French king, and so in most secret wise sent to the king, showing his full purpose, and what had happened; and furthermore, instructing the king in all things how and what he should do, and moreover requiring the sacrament of baptism, meaning indeed good faith, and sending also away all the Christian captives which he had with him in prison. The king, being glad hereof, sent in all haste for William Longspath, promising a full redress of all injuries past; who, upon hope of some good luck towards, came at the king's request, and so joined with the French power again.

To make the story short, the king, setting forward from Damietta, directed his journey towards Cairo, slaying by the way such Saracens as there were set to stop the victuals from Damietta. The soldan in the mean time hearing of the courageous coming of the French host, as being in great hope to conquer all, sent unto the king by certain that were next about him, offering to the Christians the quiet and full possession of the Holy Land, with all the kingdom of Jerusalem, and more; besides other infinite treasure of gold and silver, or what else might pleasure them; only upon this condition, they would restore again Damietta, with the captives there, and so would join together in mutual peace and amity. Also they should have all their Christian captives delivered home, and so both countries should freely pass one to another with their wares and traffic, such as they lusted to adventure. Furthermore, it was also firmly affirmed and spoken, that the soldan with most of his nobles were minded no less than to leave the filthy law of Mahomet, and receive the faith of Christ, so that they might quietly enjoy their lands and possessious. The same day great quietness had entered (no doubt) in all Christendom, with the end of much bloodshed and misery, had it not been for the pope and his legate, who (having commandment from the pope, that if any such offers should come, he should not take them) stoutly *et*

frontose contradicens (as the words be of the story) in no wise would receive the conditions offered.

Thus, while the Christians unprofitably lingered the time in debating this matter, the soldan in the mean time got intelligence of the compact between the tribune of Cairo and the French king; where upon he sent in all haste to the city of Cairo to apprehend the tribune till the truth were fully tried, which seemed to him more apparent, for that the Christian prisoners were already delivered. Here upon the soldan, being in some better hope, and less fear, refused that which before he had offered to the Christians; albeit they with great instance afterward sued to the soldan, and could not obtain it. Then the soldan, being wholly bent to try the matter by the sword, sent to the east parts for an infinite multitude of soldiers, giving out by proclamation, that whosoever could bring in any Christian man's head should have ten talents, besides his standing wages. And whosoever brought his right hand should have five. He that brought his foot should have two talents for his reward.

After these things thus prepared on both sides to the necessity of war, the king cometh to the great river Nile, having gotten together many boats, thinking by them to pass over, as upon a sure bridge. On the other side the soldan pitcheth himself to withstand his coming over. In the mean time happened a certain feast amongst the Saracens, in which the soldan was absent, leaving his tents by the water-side. Which being foreseen by a certain Saracen lately converted to Christ, serving with Earl Robert, the king's brother, and showing them withal a certain shallow ford in the river of Nile, where they might more easily pass over, the said Earl Robert, and the master of the temple, with a great power, esteemed to the third part of the army, issued over the river, after whom also followed William Longspath with his band of English soldiers. These, being together joined on the other side the water, encountered the same day with the Saracens remaining in the tents, and put them to the worse. After this victory gotten, the French earl, surprised with pride and triumph, as though he had conquered the whole earth, would needs forward, dividing himself from the main host, thinking to win the spurs alone. To whom certain sage men of the temple, giving contrary counsel, advised him not so to do, but rather to return and take their whole company with them, and so should they be more sure against all deceits and dangers, which there might be laid privily for them. The manner of that people (they said) they better knew, and had more experience thereof, than he; alleging moreover their wearied bodies, their tired horses, their famished soldiers, and the insufficiency also of their number, which was not able to withstand the multitude of the enemies, especially at this present brunt, in which the adversaries did well see the whole state of their dominion now to consist either in winning all or losing all, with other such-like words of persuasion. Which, when the proud earl did hear, being inflamed with no less arrogancy than ignorance, with opprobrious taunts he reviled them, called them cowardly dastards, and betrayers of the whole country, objecting unto them the common report of many, which said that the land of the holy cross might be won to Christendom, were it not for the rebellious Templars, with the Hospitallers and their fellows, &c.

To these contumelious rebukes, when the master of the temple answered again for him and his fellows, bidding him display his ensign when he would, and where he durst, they were as ready to follow him as he to go before them. Then began William de Longspath, the worthy knight, to speak, desiring the earl to give ear to those men of experience, who had better knowledge of those countries and people than he had, commending also their counsel to be discreet and wholesome; and so, turning to the

master of the temple, began with gentle words to mitigate himself likewise. The knight had not half ended his talk, when the earl, taking his words out of his mouth, began to fume and swear, crying out of these cowardly Englishmen with tails. What a pure army (said he) should we have here, if these tails and tailed people were purged from it! with other like words of great villany and much disdain. Whereunto the English knight, answering again, Well, Earl Robert, said he, where soever you dare set your foot, my step shall go as far as yours, and, as I believe, we go this day where you shall not dare to come near the tail of my horse; as in the event it proved true.

In this mean time the French king, intending to advance forward his army, thought best to send away such as were feeble and lacked armour unto Damietta by boats. The soldan, bearing thereof, prepared a great number of boats to be carried by wain and cart to the water-side, which, meeting them by the way, drowned and destroyed by wild fire every one, so that of all that company of our Christians, of whom some were burned, some slain, some drowned, not one escaped alive, save one only Englishman, named Alexander Giffard, who, although he was sore wounded in the chase in five places in his body, yet escaped to the French camp, bringing word unto the king what was done. And this was upon the water.

Now upon the land, seeing Earl Robert would needs set forward, weening to get all the glory unto himself before the coming of the host, first, they invaded a little village or castle which was not far off, called Mansor. The country boors and pagans in the villages by, seeing the Christians come, ran out with such a main cry and shout, that it came to the soldan's hearing, which was nearer than our men did think. In the mean while the Christians, invading and entering into the munition uncircumspectly, were pelted and pashed with stones by them which stood above, whereby a great number of our men were lost, and the army sore maimed, and almost in despair. Then immediately upon the same cometh the soldan with all his main power; who seeing the Christians' army to be divided, and the brother separated from the brother, had that which he long wished for, and so, enclosing them round about that none should escape, had with them a cruel fight. Then the earl began to repent him of his heady rashness, but it was too late; who then seeing William the English knight doughtily fighting in the chief brunt of the enemies, cried unto him most cowardly to flee, seeing God (said he) doth fight against us. To whom the knight answering again, God forbid (saith he) that my father's son should run away from the face of a Saracen. The earl then turning his horse fled away, thinking to avoid by the swiftness of his horse, and so taking the river of Thafnis, oppressed with harness, was there sunken and drowned. Thus the earl being gone, the Frenchmen began to despair and scatter. Then William de Longspath, bearing all the force of the enemies, stood against them as long as he could, wounding and slaying many a Saracen, until at length his horse being killed, and his legs maimed, he could no longer stand, who yet notwithstanding, as he was down, mangled their feet and legs, and did the Saracens much sorrow, till at the last, after many blows and wounds, being stoned of the Saracens, he yielded his life. After the death of him, then the Saracens, setting upon the residue of the army, whom they had compassed on every side, devoured and destroyed them all, insomuch that scarce one man escaped alive, saving two Templars, one Hospitaller, and one poor rascal soldier, which brought tidings hereof to the king.

These things being known in the French camp unto the king and his soldiers, first of their drowning which were sent to Damietta, then of the ruin and slaughter of the army, with the king's brother, by the town of Mansor, there was no little sorrow and heaviness on every side, with great fear and doubt in themselves what was best to

do. At last, when they saw no remedy, but they must stand manfully to revenge the blood of their brethren, then the king with his host passed over the flood of Nile, and coming to the place where the battle had been, there they beheld their fellows and brethren, pitifully lying with their heads and hands cut off. For the Saracens, for the reward before promised by the soldan or sultan unto them that could bring the head and hand of any Christian, had so mangled the Christians, leaving their bodies unto the wild beasts. Thus as they were sorrowing and lamenting the rueful ease of their Christian fellows, suddenly appeareth the coming of the soldan, with a multitude of innumerable thousands. Against whom the Frenchmen eftsoons prepare themselves to encounter; and so the battle being stricken up, the armies began to join. But alack for pity, what could the Frenchmen here do, their number first so maimed, their hearts wounded already with fear and sorrow, their bodies consumed with penury and famine, their horses for feebleness not able to serve them? In conclusion, the Frenchmen were overthrown, slain, and despatched; and seeing there was no flying, happy was he that first could yield himself. In which miserable conflict the king, with his two brethren, and a few that clave unto him, were taken captives, to the confusion of all Christian realms, and presented to the soldan. All the residue were put to the sword, or else stood to the mercy of the Saracens, whether to be slain or to remain in woeful captivity. And this was the end of that sorrowful battle, wherein almost all the nobility of France was slain; neither was there one man well near in the multitude which escaped free, but either was slain or taken prisoner. Further more, they that were slain or left half alive had every one his head and hand cut off, upon the soldan's proclamation above mentioned.

The sultan, or soldan, after the taking of the French king, fraudulently suborning an army of Saracens to the number of the French army with the arms and ensigns of them that were slain, made toward Damietta, where the duke of Burgundy, with the French queen, and Otho, the pope's legate, and other bishops and their garrisons, were remaining, supposing under the show of Frenchmen to be let in; but the captains mistrusting their hasty coming, and misdoubting their visages, not like to the Frenchmen, shut the gates against them, and so returned they frustrate of their intent.

The purpose of the soldan was, if he might have gotten Damietta, to send the French king up higher in the east countries to the caliph, the chief pope of Damascus, to increase the titles of Mahomet, and to be a spectacle or gazingstock to all those quarters of the world. The manner of which caliph was, never to let any Christian prisoner come out, whosoever came once in his hand. But forso much as the soldan missed his purpose, he thought, by advice of council, to use the king's life for his own advantage in recovering the city of Damietta, as in the end it came to pass. For although the king at the first was greatly unwilling, and had rather die than surrender Damietta again to the Saracens, yet the conclusion so fell out, that the king was put to his ransom, and the city of Damietta was also resigned; which city, being twice won and twice lost by the Christians, the soldan or saladin afterward caused it utterly to be razed down to the ground. The ransom of the king, upon condition that the soldan should see him safely conducted to Acre, (which I take to be Cesarea,) came to sixty thousand marks. The number of Frenchmen and others which miscarried in that war by water and by land come to eighty thousand persons.

And thus have ye the brief narration of this lamentable peregrination of Louis the French king. In which, when the Frenchmen were once or twice well offered by the soldan, to have all the kingdom of Jerusalem and much more in free possession, they,

not contented with that which was reasonable and sufficient, for greediness to have all, lost all, having at length no more than their naked bodies could cover lying dead upon the ground; and all through the original cause of the pope and Otho his legate. By whose sinister means and pestilent pride, not only the lives of so many Christians were then lost, but also to the said pope is to be imputed all the loss of other cities and Christian regions bordering in the same quarters; forsomuch as by the occasion hereof the hearts of the Saracens on the one side were so encouraged, and the courage of the Christians on the other side so much discomfited, that in short space after both the dominion of Antioch and of Acre, with all other possessions belonging to the Christians, were lost, to the great diminishing of Christ's church.

During the time of this good king lying at Acre, or Cesarea, Almighty God sent such discord betwixt the soldan of Halaphia, and the soldan of Babylon for letting the king so escape, that the said soldan or saladin of Babylon, to win the king unto his side, entered league with him, (whom both his brethren and all his nobles almost at home had forsaken,) and remitted his ransom, and also restored unto him such prisoners as were in the said battle found to be alive. Thus the Lord worketh where man commonly forsaketh.

Another cause, moreover, why the ruin of this French army may worthily be imputed to the pope is this, for that when Louis the French king, perceiving what a necessary friend and helper Frederic the emperor might be to him in these his affairs against the Saracens, and therefore was an earnest suitor for him to the pope to have him released; yet neither he nor the king of England by any means could obtain it. And although the emperor himself offered to Pope Innocent, with all humble submission, to make satisfaction in the Council of Lyons, promising also to expugn all the dominions of the Saracens, and never to return into Europe again, and there to recover whatsoever the Christians had lost, so that the pope would only grant his son Henry to be emperor after him; yet the proud pope would not be mollified, but would needs proceed against him with both swords, that is, first with the spiritual sword, to accurse him, and then with the temporal sword, to depose him from his imperial throne. Through the occasion whereof, not only the French king's power went to wreck, but also such a fire of mischief was kindled against Christendom, as yet to this day cannot be quenched. For after this overthrow of the French king and his army, the Christians of Antioch, and of other Christian regions thereabouts, being utterly discouraged, gave over their holds and cities. Whereupon the Saracens, and after them the Turks, got such a hand over Christendom, as to this day we all have great cause to rue and lament. Besides this, where divers Christians were crossed to go over and help the French king, the pope for money dispensed with them to tarry still at home.

But, as I said, the greatest cause was, that the emperor, which could have done most, was deposed by the pope's tyranny, whereby all those churches in Asia were left desolate. As touching the which emperor Frederic, because we have divers and sundry times made mention of him before, and for that his story is strange, his acts wondrous, and his conflicts tragical, which he sustained against four or five popes one after another, I thought (not out of story) in a whole narration to set forth the same, for the reader to consider what is to be judged of this cathedral see of Rome, which had wrought such abominable mischief in the world, as in the sequel of the story following, faithfully translated out of Latin into English, is to be seen.

56. The Emperor Frederick II.

Frederic the Second came out of the ancient house of the Beblins or Ghibellines, which Ghibellines came of the most famous stock of the French kings and emperors.

He had Frederic BarBarossa to his grandfather, whose son, Henricus the Sixth, was emperor after him, who of Constantia, the daughter (or, as some write, the niece) of Roger the First, king of Sicily, begat this Frederic the Second.

This Constantia was fifty years of age before she was conceived with him, whom the emperor, Henry the Sixth, to avoid all doubt and surmise that of her conception and childing might be thought, and to the peril of the empire ensue, caused his regal tent to be pitched abroad in place where every man might resort. And when the time of his queen's travail approached, Constantia, in presence of divers ladies and matrons, and other gentlewomen of the empire, a great number, was brought abed, and delivered of this Frederic, the seventh day before the kalends of January, in the year of Christ's incarnation 1193, who by inheritance was king of Naples, Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily.

HenriCus his father, shortly after he was born, obtained of the prince's electors, that, by their oath unto him giVen, they would choose his son Frederic for their emperor after his decease, and so did, and immediately called him Cæsar, being yet but in his cradle.

This Henry when he died (which was shortly after the birth of Frederic) committed the protection of him to Constantia his wife, to Philip his brother, chief governor of Etruria, and to the bishop of Rome, then Innocent the Third.

Constantia, not long after the death of Henry her husband, being sickly and growing into age, and thereby not so well able to govern the troubles and unquiet state of the empire, resigned, and willed by her testament the safety, both of her son Frederic, and also of his dominions, to the protection and government of Innocent the Third, thinking thereby safely to have provided, &c.

This Pope Innocent, as soon as he had the protection of the young emperor and his seignories, became, instead of a patron and protector to him and his dominions, both an enemy and conspirator. The examples are many. One is, he persuaded Sibylla, the late wife of Tancred, (whom Henry put from the kingdom of Sicily,) to recover the same again, and that she should thereunto require Philip the French king's aid. Whereupon one Walter, being of the noble house of the earls of Brenno, which in the province of Barrenceis had great living, and marrying with Ateria, the eldest daughter of Tancred, once king of Sicily, as is said, now, by the instigation, counsel, and aid of the French king with the pope, well hoping to recover the kingdom, entered and invaded with great power Campania and Apulia. At which time also the same worthy protector, Innocent the Third, sent his legates with letters of excommunication against all those that would not admit and take the said Walter for their king.

Another was, that where the prince's electors and other nobles, as before is said, had promised by their oath to Henricus, that they would make Frederic his son emperor after his decease, (whom the pope saw to put their endeavour thereunto to bring it to pass,) absolved them all from the oath which they had taken and given for

the election of Frederic the emperor, as one not content he should obtain the same. And further, he raised slanders and defamations against Philip, whom the electors had chosen to govern the empire, during the minority of Frederic his nephew. he wrote his epistle, which is yet extant, to the Duke Barthold of Zaringia to be emperor. Who for that he gave place to Philip, he went about to procure that Otho, the son of Henry Leo, should be made emperor, and that the princes and lords electors of Germany would crown him forth with after the manner of Aquitaine. He deprived all such bishops as he knew to favour Philip as emperor, in the defence of his nephew's right. But Philip, whose cause was better, his skill in martial affairs greater, and in power and strength mightier, after divers and great conflicts, the marvellous disturbance and vastation of the whole empire, by God's help, put the other to the worse. All which calamities and mischiefs Conrade Lichtenau, at that time living, in his annals most pitifully complaineth of, and accuseth the bishop of Rome and his adherents to be the chief authors and devisers of this great and lamentable mischief, as such that, for to make themselves rich by the spoil thereof, sought by all means and desired the same.

Not long after, a peace was concluded between Philip and Otho, and Philip reconciled again to the pope; who within a while after, between Otho and him, was murdered in his chamber and slain. And then was Otho again brought to the imperial seat, and newly elected for emperor, with the counsel and consent of this Innocent the Third, and so continued, until that a great variance and discord chanced to arise between the said Otho and the pope. Whereupon Innocent sought by all means how against him likewise he might work mischief, and bring him unto his end. The occasion of this sudden change and alteration my author maketh no mention of, but that Otho (now being of great power) invaded and destroyed the dominions of Frederic, as Flaminia, Picenum, Umbria, Etruria, but chiefly Campania and Apulia, for that those properly appertained to the inheritance of Frederic.

Thus you see how, first by the counsel and consent of Pope Innocent, and by his instigation, besides his secret conspiracies, this good Frederic and his dominions were hurt and endamaged. Then again through his default what damage he sustained by Otho, who by him and his means was made so strong as he was; notwithstanding the great trust he was put in for the protection both of Frederic and his dominions.

At this time Frederic was come unto the age of twenty years; who in his youth, by the provision of Constantia his mother, was so well instructed in letters, and with other arts and virtues so endued, that at these years there appeared and did shine in him excellent gifts, both of wisdom and knowledge.

He was excellently well seen in the Latin and Greek tongues, although at that time learning begun to decay, and barbarousness to increase. He had also the German tongue, the Italian tongue, and the Saracen tongue. He daily exercised and put in practice those virtues which nature had planted in him, as piety, wisdom, justice, and fortitude insomuch that well he might be compared and accounted among the worthiest and most renowned emperors his predecessors.

Fazellus (the historian of Sicily in this time) writeth, that Frederic was again after this had in great honour and estimation with Innocent; but yet notwithstanding he had no sure confidence in him, for that he had the suspected name of Frederic his grandfather often in remembrance, and for that occasion was much desirous to have him far from Italy.

When Frederic had gathered his power, he purposed to set upon Otho his enemy; of which thing Otho hearing, (as he was painful in travel,) came out of Italy with his army into Germany, thinking to have met Frederic at the river of Rhine, and to have stopped his passage; but he was deceived of his expectation, and Frederic was crowned, as the manner of Aquitaine is, before he came. And after that Frederic in the winter time took his journey to Frankfort; and after many meetings held in Nuremberg, and after that Otho was dead, he set the empire in a stay, and the whole country of Germany he in a manner appeased. And then with all his nobles and princes he returned to Rome, and by Honorius the Third was with great solemnity consecrated and called Augustus. Which Honorius succeeded Innocent the Third in the papal see, and was a great help to Frederic (although he loved him not) in this behalf, to revenge himself upon Otho.

After the consecration of Frederic the Second, he gave many great and liberal gifts, as well unto the bishop of Rome himself, as also unto the court of Rome besides. Also he gave and assured by his charter to the Church of Rome the dukedom of Fundanum. For by the insatiable covetousness of the Romish bishops this wicked use and custom grew, that unless the emperors elect and crowned would give unto them such like great and large gifts, they could not obtain of them their consecration or confirmation, which for that intent they devised.

Furthermore, Frederic the emperor, willing to show himself more bountiful and liberal unto the church, neither yet to restrain any privilege that might benefit the same, gave and admitted those constitutions which the pope himself would desire, and are yet extant in their civil law; by which his doings he delivered to their hands a sword, as it were, to cut his own throat; for the bishops of Rome now having even what they listed, and all in their own hands, might, by the pain of proscription, bring what emperor or king they listed under, and keep them by their own laws, as if they were bound in certain bands, out of which they might not start. For whatsoever he were which, for the diminution of the liberties of the church, were excommunicated, and so continued a year's space, then he should be within the danger of this proscript, and should not be released before he had made satisfaction, and were admitted by the pope to the church and congregation of good men again. Whereby it came to pass, that whatsoever emperor, in the government of his dominions, should in any point displease or do contrary to the lust of the bishop of Rome, he then as enemy to the church was excommunicate. And unless within a year he were reconciled to them again, by this their principal law, he was in the proscript. And often it chanced that princes, to avoid the pain of this proscript, were ready to do whatsoever the pope would have them, and commanded them to do.

After the consecration of Frederic was with great solemnity finished, and that the pope and Church of Rome in all ample manner (as is partly described) were gratified, and yet larger constitutions to them confirmed, he departed from Rome, and went into Italy, there to set in order and stay the cities and great towns, for the better tranquillity of himself, and safety of his subjects, and from thence into his own provinces and dominions; where he heard of certain that began to raise and make new factions against him. Amongst whom were found Thomas and Richard, the brethren of Innocent the Third, earl of Anaquinos, that held certain castles in the kingdom of Neapolitans from him by force; which castles he besieged and beat down, and took from them all that he in them found. Richard he took and sent as a prisoner into Sicily; but Thomas escaped and came speedily to Rome, whither also repaired certain bishops and others that were conspirators against Frederic, as also such others as the fear of the

emperor's laws and their own guilty consciences caused to fly, and were (that notwithstanding) of this bishop of, Rome, Honorius the Third, to gratify again the liberality of the emperor bestowed upon him, under his nose succoured, maintained, and defended. Which thing when Frederic understood, he began to expostulate with the bishop, considering the unseemliness of that his deed. Against whom the pope on the other side was so chafed and vexed, that immediately without further delay he thundereth out against him, like a tyrant, his curses and excommunications.

Thomas Fazellus declareth the detestation or defiance to happen between them somewhat otherwise. There were (saith he) amongst those which were found traitors to the emperor certain bishops, who, flying to the pope, requested his aid; whereupon the pope sent his legates to the emperor, and requested him that he would admit and receive to favour those bishops which he had banished and put from their offices, and that he would not intermeddle with any ecclesiastical charge wherewith he had not to do; and said further, that the correction and punishment of such matters pertained to the bishop of Rome, and not to him. And, moreover, that the oversight of those churches in that kingdom, from the which he had expelled the bishops, pertained and belonged unto him.

Whereunto Frederic thus replieth: That forasmuch as now four hundred years and more from the time of Charlemagne, all emperors and kings in their dominions might lawfully commit to apt and fit men for the same such ecclesiastical functions and charges as within their territories and kingdoms fell, that he looked to have the like privilege and authority also that other his predecessors before him had. And further said; that he had the same and like authority in the empire that his father Henry; and Frederic his grandfather, and other his predecessors, before them had; neither had he so deserved at the hands of the Church of Rome, either of Honorius himself, to be deprived of those privileges which his ancestors before him had and kept. And further, Frederic being chafed and moved with these demands of the pope, breaketh forth and saith, How long will the bishop of Rome abuse my patience? When will his covetous heart be satisfied? Whereunto will his ambitious desire grow? With such-like words more, repeating certain injuries and conspiracies, both against him and his dominions, as well by Honorius as Innocent the Third, his predecessor, as also other like injuries of popes to his ancestors practised. What man (saith he) is able to suffer and bear this so incredible boldness and intolerable insolency of so proud a bishop? Go, saith he, (unto the legates,) and tell Honorius, that I will hazard both the seigniory of my empire, and crown of my kingdom, rather than I will suffer him thus to diminish the authority of our majesty.

57. The Right of Princes to Appoint Bishops

Now because much disquietness and controversy hath arisen (for the most part through all Christendom in every kingdom and realm severally) for and about the authority of choosing and depriving of bishops, (as may be seen by the example of this Frederic,) which the pope only and arrogantly challengeth to himself, and saith it doth not appertain to another, I thought good not with silence to overpass; but somewhat to say and to prove the authority of Christian kings and princes in this behalf to be both sufficient and good. Which thing not only by the Holy Scriptures is right easy to be done; but also that it is by synodal decrees and councils divers and sundry established and confirmed may easily be proved; as also by the ancient custom and manner of the primitive church may further be corroborated and made good.

Whereunto appertain certain places collected and gathered out of the decrees of Gratianus, and especially in these canons, 12; 13, 14, 26, 27, 32, and 63, distinctions. Furthermore, when Christian kings and princes began to embrace Christ's religion, both for honour and order's sake it was granted, that when the people desired such ministers as were convenient, and by them thought meet, that they which were then in the ecclesiastical function, and chiefest in authority, should either confirm such as were presented, or else themselves, should place fit men in their churches as need required. So did the emperors of Constantinople (receiving the order and manner from Constantine the Great) use and give the right of ecclesiastical function, with the consent both of the people and ecclesiastical persons, and long so retained the same. As Honorius the emperor unto Boniface, can. 8; dist. 79, and can. 2, dist. 97.. Also by the example of Pelagius and Gregorius Magnus; of which one in the reign of Justinian the emperor and Totila governing Italy, the other in the time of Mauricius the emperor, (when the Lombards possessed Italy,) were appointed bishops to the church of Rome.

And whereas Gratianus in the beginning of the 96th and 97th distinction doth declare, that, the rescript of Honorius the emperor is void and, of none effect, for that he determined the election of the bishop of Rome, contrary to the authority of the holy canons, when as yet neither to the civil magistrate, nor to any of the ecclesiastical order, can there be read of any licence given them to dispense it withal, each man may plainly see and discern his great folly and want of understanding. As though at that time any decrees were made which should debar emperors from the constituting of the ecclesiastical ministers; or that it were doubtful whether the emperors at that time had passed any constitutions touching the causes of ecclesiastical discipline, and the same laws then put in use; when the contrary most manifestly (both by the laws and histories of that age and time, as well of the church as of the empire) may appear. And, that we need not seek, far for the matter, this thing is sufficiently proved by these titles; *De sacrosanctis ecclesiis, episcopis, clericis*, besides other ecclesiastical chapters and matters touching religion. All which are to be seen in the books of the principal and chiefest constitutions, collected and set forth. by Justinian. Amongst the which many of the chapters are said to be accepted and allowed of Honorius and Theodosius; so in like case the 21st can. in the 63rd distinction doth declare, that the Grecian emperors, that next ensued after Justinian, did observe that manner of ordaining and election of the bishop of Rome, although then at that time it was somewhat spurned at. Amongst whom mention is made of Constantius the Fourth, which was surnamed Pogonatus.

Charlemagne in like manner followed their steps and manner in the, same, as in the 22nd canon and the same distinction is declared. And further, it was at a synodal council, in Lateran (Adrian being high bishop, where were convened and assembled one hundred and fifty-three other bishops) decreed; that the power and authority of creating the bishop of Rome, and ordaining of all other prelates and ecclesiastical orders, should be in the power and will of Charlemagne, as well in Italy as in his other dominions and provinces; and that whosoever was not promoted and allowed by him should not be consecrated of any; and that those which repugned and disobeyed this decree should incur the most sharp pain of proscription and publication of law. The worthy example hereof is extant in the 18th can. and 18th title. Yet, notwithstanding, Stephanus the Fourth, author of this rescript against the said decree, without the emperor's consent, was: made bishop of Rome; who, to the intent he might elude the decreed and solemnized penalty, thereby to excuse himself went into France to Ludovicus Pius, the son of Charlemagne, and at Rheims crowned he him with the imperial diadem. Neither could this bishop here stay himself; but, spying the great lenity of the emperor, assayed to make frustrate the foresaid constitution. For his purpose was, and so he brought it to pass, as in the 27th can. and the same distinction appeareth, that it might be lawful for the ecclesiastical order, with the people and senate of Rome, (without the authority of the emperor,) to choose the bishop of Rome, reserving that he should not be consecrated without the will and consent of the emperor. Thus it is manifest that the bishops of Rome themselves, not regarding, but despising, the strict penalty and sanction of the foresaid decree of the Lateran council, were not only the first that brake the same, but also, by contrary rescripts and constitutions laboured and endeavoured to extol and set up themselves above all others.

Whereupon Lothaire, afterward being emperor, and nephew to Charlemagne, coming into Italy; there to dissolve the conspiracy and confederacy of Leo the Fourth, about the translation of the empire; renewed and established again the synodal decree of Lateran, touching the jurisdiction of the emperor for the election of the bishop of Rome and other ecclesiastical persons. And hereof it came that those epistles were written of Leo in the 16th and 17th canon, and the same distinction, which also, as in the 9th can, and 10th distinction, made a profession, that the same imperial precepts should be kept in all ages. This Leo, when he was reprov'd of treason and other evils, pleaded his cause before Louis the Second, emperor of Rome, and son of Lothaire above recited, 2nd question, 7th can. 40.

But after this, as time grew on, the bishops of Rome, nothing relinquishing their ambitious desires, Otho, the first emperor of that name, deprived and put from the see of Rome that most filthy and wicked bishop John the Thirteenth, both for divers and sundry wicked and heinous acts by him committed, as also for his great treasons and conspiracies against his royal person, and did substitute in his place Leo the Fifth; who, calling a synod at Lateran in the same temple and place where the other before was kept, did promulgate a new constitution, with consent of the senate and people of Rome, concerning the emperor's jurisdiction in the foresaid election; which in the 23rd canon is contained, and 63rd distinction. Whereby the old right and power of the emperor in the election of the bishop of Rome, and other ecclesiastical prelates, was again with sharper and stricter sanction confirmed and ratified. Again, John the Eighteenth, whom Crescentius the Roman (usurping the imperial crown) had made bishop by the consent of the people of Rome and the ecclesiastical order, having his nose cut off, and his eyes put out, and so thrust out of the capitol, was again of Otho

the Third established and made bishop. But when as yet notwithstanding the bishops of Rome would not alter their old accustomed disposition, but with all their industry endeavoured to abrogate that jurisdiction of the emperor over the bishop of Rome, (as people loth to be under subjection,) Henry the Third (then Leo the Ninth, being constituted bishop) did once again ratify the same, and caused the bishop (which extolled himself, before all his fellow bishops) to stoop and give place to Moguntius.

So after the death of Henry the Third, emperor, Nicholas the Second, although in his decree (which in the 1st canon and 23rd distinction is recited) he gave the primacy for the election of the bishop of Rome, by the means of the priests and people of Rome, unto the cardinals; yet he would after that that the prerogative therein should be reserved to Henry the Fourth; the young emperor, from whom the empire afterwards was for a time wrested and taken.

But now after this, when Hildebrand, which was called Gregory the Seventh, was pope, this prerogative of the emperor's in their election, which before in the creation of Alexander the bishop was neglected and broken, the bishops of Rome not only did seek to diminish the authority thereof, but also to evacuate and quite undo the same. For he not only aspired to that dignity without the consent and appointment of the emperor, but also made restraint, that no emperor, king, duke, marquis, earl, or any civil magistrate; should assign and appoint to any, any ecclesiastical function and charge, neither that any of his prelates should be so hardy as to take them at any of their hands; as quest. 16, can. 7, 9, and 10, may be seen.

Yet notwithstanding, after that this horrible monster Hildebrand was proscribed and thrust out of the papal seat, and Clement the Third put in his stead, Henry again challenged his imperial prerogative of election. But yet, when the bishops which succeeded after this Hildebrand, and led by his example, began to derogate from the imperial prerogative of election, and Henry on the other side, by all the means possible, sought to defend and maintain the same, by the subtle fraud and mischievous policy of the bishops, which set the son against the father, and found means to steal from him the hearts of his nobles and subjects, and to set them all against him, and especially the princes of Germany, he was deposed and disappointed of his purpose.

And although Henry the Fifth (coming to Rome) brought Paschalis the Second to that point, that he, both in public council, and in writing sealed, and also by oath confirmed, restored again to the emperors of Rome the prerogative of election, and of giving ecclesiastical dignities; yet notwithstanding, after that Henry the emperor was gone from Rome, Paschalis the pope, greatly repenting and sorrowing that he had done, (in allowing and confirming the privileges of emperors through fear,) touching the giving and disposing of ecclesiastical functions, excommunicated the emperor, and in a synodal council at Lateran ordained and decreed that he should be had and accounted a wicked enemy, that would take any ecclesiastical function or preferment at the hands of a civil magistrate; whereupon were made these decrees, qtr. 16, chap. 7, 13, 14, 15, and 16.

Therefore when these decrees touching the designation of bishops, in spite and contempt of the emperor, were practised and put in use, and when that now (especially by the means and procurement of the bishops) intestine and civil wars began to rise in the empire, the imperial jurisdiction in this matter was not only weakened and much debilitate, but also in manner utterly broken and lost. For when Henry the Fifth, emperor, was sharply of Lotharius and his vassals the bishops beset, and laid unto by the provocation of the pope, and was mightily, by the bishops that

took his part on the other side, requested and entreated (in hope of public peace and tranquillity) that he would condescend and somewhat yield to the pope's demands; he at length, (the more was the pity,) that he might be reconciled and have peace with Pope Calixtus the Second, in the city of Vangio, departed from and with that his prerogative or jurisdiction of giving ecclesiastical preferments to the pope and his prelates, now more than three hundred years, from the time of Charlemagne, in the hands of the emperors of Rome, and until this time with great fortitude and princely courage conserved and kept; which resignation turned to no small detriment both of the church of Christ and Christian commonwealth.

Then first, and never before, obtained the bishop of Rome, and quietly enjoyed, that prerogative of election and bestowing of benefices, which he so long before with such great policies, now secretly, now openly, and now with force, had sought for. And with what sufficient and good authority Gratianus will prove, that before this time the same authority was given to the city of Rome for the election of the pope without the consent of the emperor, he sheweth, as in the 29th and 30th canon, and what good stuff he putteth in the latter, and how subtly that papistical flatterer or pontifical parasite hath forged the same, both Carolus Molinæus sufficiently in divers places hath noted, and by the observation of times may of a mean historiographer, that hath read the French and German histories, soon be espied and discerned. For, first, five bishops one after another succeeded this Gregory the Fourth, upon whom the 29th canon is entitled or fathered; that is, Sergius the Second, John the Eighth, Adrian the Second, John the Ninth, and Adrian the Third. Which Adrian, by force, wresting the authority of the election from the people, was made pope; whenas Gregory (specially to be noted) would not take on him the papacy before that the emperor had consented to his election. After this, Molinæus compareth Raphael Volateran with the 30th canon, which again is suspected. For why? When Eugenius was bishop, who was the successor of this Paschal, with whom Louis the Pious is said to have made a league or paction, the same Louis the Pious, with his son Lotharius, together with the help of the king of Romans, at Rome made laws both to all his subjects in the empire, as also to the Romans themselves; speaking nothing of the renewing of the decree made by Lotharius. Then again, how could Leo the Fourth write to Lothaire and Louis, emperors, that counterfeit or forged decree beginning with *Constitutio*, &c., when in the same mention is made of Henry the Fowler, and Otho the First, which reigned more than fourscore years after them, and Leo the Fourth, bishop of Rome?

Now with what face dare this fond fellow Gratianus make Otho the First to be author of the 31st canon, whenas Otho deprived the same John the Twelfth of the papacy; and not only took nothing from the imperial jurisdiction concerning the election, nor from the city of Rome, nor any other bishops subject to the Roman empire, but added somewhat more thereunto, as was said before. And yet, notwithstanding, so shameless and senseless was this Gratian, that he durst obtrude and lay before the reader so manifest fraud and evident legerdemain, (feigned, and made of his own brains in the compiling of this decree,) being so necessary, as he thought, for the dominion and primacy of the Roman bishops, in the stead of good and true laws; neither fearing that the same might be after his days reprehended, neither to his great shame and discredit to him attributed. Where also, by the way, is to be noted, that as this graceless Gratianus, to please these holy fathers, and to erect their kingdom, would give so impudent an attempt to the blinding and deceiving of all posterities, inserting for grounded truths and holy decrees such loud lies and

detestable doctrine, what may be thought of the rabble of the rest of writers in those days? what attempts might hope of gain cause them to work! by whom, and such like, is to be feared the falsifying of divers other good works now extant, in those perilous times written.

Thus when the bishops had once wrested this authority out of the emperor's hands, they then so fortified and armed themselves and their dominion, that although afterwards Frederic the First, grandfather unto this good emperor Frederic the Second, as also Louis the Pious, and Henry of Luxemburg, (as men most studious and careful for the dignities of the empire, unfeigned lovers and maintainers of the utility of the commonweal, and most desirous of the preservation and prosperity of the church,) did all their endeavours with singular wisdom and strength, as much as in them lay, to recover again from the bishop of Rome this authority of the imperial jurisdiction lost, most cruelly and wickedly abusing the same, to the destruction both of the empire, undoing of the commonwealth, and utter subversion of the church of God; yet could they not be able to bring the same to pass in those dark and shadowed times of perverse doctrine and errors of the people, and most miserable servitude of civil magistrates.

The same and like privilege also in the election of their bishops and prelates, and disposing of ecclesiastical offices, as the emperor of Rome had, every prince and king in their several dominions had the like. For by the decree of the Council of Toletan, which in the 25th canon and 63rd distinction is mentioned, the authority of creating and choosing bishops and prelates in Spain was in the power of the king of Spain. The like also by the histories of Clovis, Charlemagne, Louis the Ninth, Philip Augustus, Philip the Fair, Charles the Fifth, Charles the Sixth, Charles the Seventh, kings of France, is apparent and well known; for all these kings had the chief charge and government of the French Church, and not the bishops of Rome.

And by our English histories also, as you heard, it is manifest, that the authority of choosing ecclesiastical ministers and bishops was always in the kings of England, till the reign of King Henry the First; who, by the labour and procurement of Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, was deprived and put from the same.

Also the princes of Germany and electors of the emperor, till the time of Henry the Fifth, had all (every prince severally in his own empire and province) the same jurisdiction and prerogative to give and dispose ecclesiastical functions to their prelates at their pleasure, and after that it appertained to the people and prelates together. And how, in the reign of Frederic, the prelates gat unto themselves alone this immunity, John of Aventine in his seventh book of the Annals of the Boiores doth describe.

Also it is probable that the kings of Sicily had the same faculty in giving and disposing their ecclesiastical promotions and charge of churches. And that because Frederic defended himself against the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, therefore (as Fazellus saith) he was excommunicated of Honorius; but that Platina and Blondus allege other causes wherefore he was excommunicate of Honorius, I am not ignorant; howbeit, he that will compare their writings with others, that write more indifferently between Honorius and him, shall easily find that they more sought the favour of the Roman bishops than to write a verity. But now again to the history of Frederic.

58. The Emperor Frederick II. (Contd.)

Nicolaus Cisnerus affirmeth, that whilst Frederic the emperor was in Sicily, his wife Constantia died at Catiana, or Catana. In the mean time the Christians, which with a great navy sailed into Egypt, and took the city Heliopolis, commonly called Damietta, and long ago named Pelusinum, being in good hope to have driven Sultanus the soldan out of Egypt, had a great and marvellous overthrow by the conveying of the water of the flood Nile, (which then overflowed into their camp,) and were fain to accord an unprofitable truce with the soldan for certain years, and to deliver the city again; and so, departing out of Egypt, were fain to come to Acre and Tyrus, to the no small detriment and loss of the Christian army. Whereupon King John, surnamed Brennus, (being king of Jerusalem,) arrived in Italy, and prayed aid of the emperor against his enemies, in whom he had great hope to find remedy of the evils and calamities before declared; and from thence he went to Rome to the pope, declaring unto him the great discomfit and overthrow past, as also the present peril and calamity that they were in, desiring also his aid therein. By whose means (as Cisnerus saith) the emperor was reconciled again to the pope, and made friends together; to whom also King John gave Joel his daughter in marriage, which came of the daughter of Conradus, king of Jerusalem, and marquis of Montserrat; with whom he had for dowry the inheritance of the kingdom of Jerusalem, as right heir thereunto by her mother. By whom also he after obtained the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, and promised that, with as much expedient speed as he might, he would prepare a power for the recovery again of Jerusalem, and be there himself in proper person; which thing to do for that upon divers occasions he deferred, (whereof some think one, some another,) Honorius, unto whom he was lately reconciled, purposed to have made against him some great and secret attempt, had he not been by death before prevented.

After whom succeeded Gregorius the Ninth, as great an enemy of Frederic as was Honorius; which Gregory came of the race whom the emperor (as before ye heard) condemned of treason which they wrought against him. This Gregory was scarcely settled in his papacy, when that he threatened him greatly with excommunication, unless he would prepare himself into Asia, according to his promise, as ye heard before, to King John; and what the cause was why the pope so hastened the journey of Frederic into Asia you shall hear hereafter. In effect, he could not well bring that to pass which in his mischievous mind he had devised, unless the emperor were further from him. Notwithstanding, Frederic, it should seem, smelling a rat, or mistrusting somewhat, (as well as he might,) alleged divers causes and lets, as lately and truly he did to Honorius.

Fazellus, a Sicilian writer, saith that the special cause of the emperor's stay was, for the oath of truce and peace during certain years, which was made between the Saracens and Christians, as you heard, which time was not yet expired.

The same Fazellus also writeth thus of King John of Jerusalem, that when his daughter was brought to Rome, the emperor and the pope were reconciled together. And being called up to Rome to celebrate the marriage, Pope Gregory (as the manner of those proud prelates is) offered his right foot unto the emperor to kiss. But the emperor, not stooping so low, scarcely with his lip touched the upper part of his knee, and would not kiss his foot; which thing the pope took in very evil part, and was

therewith marvellously offended. But for that no opportunity at that time served to revenge his conceived grudge and old malice, he dissembled the same, as he might for that time, thinking to recompense it at the full, as time would serve and fall out therefore.

After this, it fortuneth that the emperor, hearing how the Christians were oppressed by the soldan in Syria, and that from Arsacida there came a great power against the Christian princes, he made the more haste, and was with more desire encouraged to set forward his journey into Asia. Wherefore, assembling the nobility of the empire at Ravenna and Cremona, he gave in commandment to Henry his son, (whom not long before he caused to be created Cæsar,) that he should persuade the nobles and princes of the empire, that they all would be ready to put to their helping hands, in furthering this his journey and enterprise. This writeth Fazellus. Howbeit, some others affirm that these things were done in the time of Honorius. But howsoever the matter is, this thing is manifest, that Frederic, to satisfy the pope's desire, which never would give over, but by all means sought to provoke him forward, gave him at length his promise, that by a certain time he would prepare an army, and fight himself against those which kept from him the city of Jerusalem, (which thing he also confesseth himself in his epistles, and also how he desired and obtained of the peers and nobility of the empire their aid thereunto,) and also appointed a convenient time when they should be at Brundisium.

In the mean season, he with all his power and endeavour made speedy and hasty preparation for the wars; he rigged and manned a puissant navy; he had the most picked men and best soldiers that were in every country; and made warlike provision and furniture for every thing that to such a voyage and expedition appertained. Neither was the matter slackened, but at the time appointed great bands assembled and mustered, both of German soldiers and others, and, under their captains appointed, set forth and marched to Brundisium; (their generals were Thuringus and Sigibert, and Augustin the bishop;) where they long time lying, and attending the emperor's coming, being let by infirmity and sickness, great pestilence and sundry diseases molested them, by reason of the great heat and intemperance of that country; and many a soldier there lost his life; among whom also died Thuringus, one of their generals. The emperor, when he had somewhat recovered his health, with all his navy launched out and set forward to Brundisium. And when he came to the straits of Peloponnesus and Creta, being islands lying in the sea, and there for lack of convenient wind was stayed, suddenly the emperor (his diseases growing upon him again) fell sick; and sending before all or the most part of his bands and ships into Palestine, promising them most assuredly to come after and follow them so soon as he might recover and get never so little health, he himself with a few ships returned and came to Brundisium, and from thence, for want of health, went into Apulia.

When tidings hereof came to the pope's ear, he sent out his thundering curses and new excommunications against the emperor. The causes whereof I find noted and mentioned by his own letters; that is, how that when he had robbed and taken from Brundisius, prince of Thuring, his horses, his money, and other rich furniture of his house at the time of his death, he sailed into Italy; not for the intent to make war against the Turk, but to convey his prey that he had stolen and taken away from Brundisius; and so, neglecting his oath and promise which he had made, and feigning himself to be sick, came home again: and that by his default also Damietta was lost, and the host of the Christians sore afflicted. Fazellus, besides these causes spoken of before, doth write that the pope alleged these also: that he defiled a certain damsel,

which was in the queen's nursery; and that he slew his wife when he had whipped her in the prison, for declaring the mischievous act to her father King John. But all the writers, and also Blondus himself, doth declare, that this Joel died after the publication of the proscript and excommunication; wherefore the pope could not without great shame allege the cause upon the death of Joel; for undoubtedly the truth is, that she of her son Conrad died in childbed. Then Frederic, to refel and avoid the foresaid slanders, sendeth the bishop of Brundis and other legates to Rome, whom the pope would not suffer to come to his presence, neither yet to the councils of the cardinals, to make his purgation. Wherefore the emperor, to purge himself of the crimes which the pope did so falsely accuse him of, both to all Christian kings, and especially to the princes of Germany, and all the nobles of the empire, writeth his letters (which are to be seen) that those things are both false and also feigned, and of the pope's own head invented; and showeth how that his ambassadors with his purgation could not be suffered to come to the pope's presence: also doth largely treat how unthankful and ungrateful the bishops of Rome were towards him for the great benefits which both he and also his predecessors had bestowed upon them and the Roman church; which letter, for that it is over-tedious here to place, considering the discourse of the history is somewhat long, the sum of the purgation is this.

He protesteth and declareth universally, that he had always great care for the Christian commonwealth, and that he had determined even from his youth to fight against the Turk and Saracens. And for that occasion he made a promise to the prince's electors of Aquisgrane, how that he would take the war upon him. Afterward he renewed his promise at Rome when he was consecrated of Honorius; then when he married the daughter of the king of Jerusalem, which was an heir of the same. And for because that kingdom might be defended and kept from the injuries of the enemies, and because he favoured it even as he did his own, he prepared a huge navy, and gathered together a strong army of men; neither did he neglect any thing that belonged to the furniture of the war. But when the time was come, and his band was gathered together, his sickness would not suffer him to be there. And afterward, when he had recovered the same, and came to Brundisium, and from thence without any disturbance went forthwith to sea, he fell into the same sickness again, by the which he was let of his purpose, which thing (saith he) he is able to prove by sufficient testimony. How the pope also doth lay the losing of Damietta, and other things which prospered not well with him, unjustly to his charge, whenas he had made great provision for the same journey, both of soldiers and other necessary things. But he that will understand these things more plainly, among other epistles of Petrus de Vineis, written in the name of Frederic, let him read these especially which begin thus: *In admirationem, et justitiam, et innocentiam, et Levate oculos*. And truly, even as Frederic the emperor declareth in his letters concerning this matter, all the old writers of Germany do accord and agree in the same.

Matth. Parisiensis also briefly collecteth the effect of another letter which he wrote to the king of England, complaining unto him of the excommunication of the pope against him, whose words are these: "And amongst other catholic princes (saith he) he also wrote his letters unto the king of England, embulled with gold, declaring in the same that the bishop of Rome was so inflamed with the fire of avarice and manifest concupiscence, that he was not contented with the goods of the church, which were innumerable, but also that he shamed not to bring princes, kings, and emperors to be subjects and contributors to him, and so to disherit them, and put them from their kingly dignities; and that the king of England himself had good experiment

thereof, whose father (that is to say, King John) they so long held excommunicate, till they had brought both him and his dominions under servitude, and to pay unto him tribute. Also that many have experience of the same by the earl of Toulouse and divers other princes, which so long held their persons and lands in interdict, till they might bring them into like servitude. I pretermitt (saith he) the simonies and sundry sorts of exactions (the like whereof was never yet heard) which daily are used amongst the ecclesiastical persons, besides, their manifest usury (yet so cloaked and coloured to the simple sort, that therewithal they infect the whole world). They be sugared and embalmed simonists, the insatiable horse-leeches or blood-suckers, saying that the Church of Rome is our mother and nurse, whereas it is indeed the most polling court in the universal world, the root and right mother of all mischief, using and exercising no motherly doings or deeds, but bringing forth the right exercises of a wicked stepdame, making sufficient proof thereof by her manifest fruits to all the world apparent. Let the barons of England consider whether this be true or not, whom Pope Innocent by his bulls with one consent encouraged to rise and rebel against their sovereign lord and prince, King John, your father, as an obstinate enemy to the Church of Rome. But after that the king (far out of square) remembering himself had crouched unto him, and obliged both himself and kingdom to the Church of Rome, more like a woman than a man, and that the wise barons, whom the pope had first maintained and stirred up, without all shame, either of the world or fear of God, had done the same, he sought how he might with gaping mouth devour and consume the sweet fat from them, whom he had miserably to death betrayed and disherited, as the manner of the Roman bishops is. By whose greedy avarice it came to pass that England, the prince of provinces, was brought under miserable subjection and tribute. Behold the manners and conditions of our Roman bishops; behold the snares wherewith these prelates do seek to entangle men withal, to wipe their noses of their money, to make their children bondmen, to disquiet such as seek to live in peace; being clothed with sheep's clothing, when indeed they be but ravening wolves; sending their legates hither and thither to excommunicate and suspend, as having power to punish whom they list; not sowing the seed, that is, the word of God, to fructify, but that they may bribe and poll men's persons, and reap that which they never did sow. Thus cometh it to pass that they spoil the holy churches and houses of God, which should be the refuge for the poor, and the mansion-houses of saints, which our devout and simple parents to that purpose builded and ordained to the refectation of poor men and pilgrims, and to the sustentation of such as were well disposed and religious. But these degenerate varlets, whom only letters have made both mad and malapert, do strive and gape to be both kings and emperors.

Doubtless the primitive church was builded and laid in poverty and simplicity of life, and then as a fruitful mother begat she those her holy children, whom the catalogue of saints now maketh mention of; and verily no other foundation can be laid of any other church than that which is laid by Jesus Christ. But this church, as it swimmeth and walloweth in all superfluity of riches, and doth build and raise the frame in all superfluous wealth and glory; so is it to be feared lest the walls thereof in time fall to decay, and when the walls be down, utter ruin and subversion follow after. Against us, he knoweth that is the searcher of all hearts, how furiously these Catholics rage and go to work; saying, and therefore excommunicating me, that I will not take upon me the journey I have promised beyond the seas; whereas inevitable and most urgent causes and perils, as well to the church of God as also to the empire, besides the annoyance of mine infirmity and sickness, do detain me at home, and stay the same, but specially the insolency of the rebellious Sicilians. For why? Neither do we

think it safety to our empire, nor expedient to the Christian state, that we should now take our journey into Asia, leaving behind us at home such intestine and civil wars; no more than for a good surgeon to lay a healing plaster to a grievous wound new made and stricken with the sword. In conclusion also this he addeth, admonishing all the princes of the world, that they would beware and take heed (by their avaricious iniquity) of like peril and danger to themselves, because that, as the proverb is, It behoveth him to look about that seeth his neighbour's house on fire."

But now, that Frederic the emperor might in very deed stop the slanders of the cruel pope, which did persist and go forward still in his excommunication against him; and that he might declare to the whole world, how that the last year he delayed not his journey by his own voluntary will, but by necessity; when he had devised and prepared all things meet for the war, and that he had gathered together and levied a great army of men, he departed from thence to Brundusium, committing the government of his kingdom to Reinald, the son of Duke Spoletus, and to Anselm, a baron of Instigensis, and came by sea to Cyprus with his host.

From Cyprus the emperor with his whole navy sailed into Joppa, which city he fortified, for that the passages by land were stopped and kept of the enemies; and by sea he might not pass nor travel, by means of the extreme weather and tempest; whereby it came to pass that within short space they lacked victuals, and were sore afflicted with famine. Then fell they to prayer, and made their humble supplication to God; with whose tears his wrath being appeased, the great tempest and long continued foul weather ceased, whereby (the seas being now calm) they had both victuals, great plenty, and all other necessary things for their need brought unto them, whereby, immediately it came to pass, that both the emperor and his army, as also the inhabitants of Joppa, were greatly refreshed and animated; and, on the other side, their enemies being disappointed of their purpose, were greatly discouraged; insomuch that the king of Egypt, who with great power, accompanied with Scarapho his brother, prince of Gaza, and the prince of Damascus, their nephew, with many other dukes and nobles, had encamped themselves within one day's journey of Joppa, thinking to have besieged the same, were contented upon the coming of the emperor's heralds unto them to treat of a peace. Whereupon ambassadors were sent unto them with the emperor's demands, right profitable to the Christian commonwealth. The Saracens (immediately consulting upon the same) granted thereunto; so that a peace for ten years was concluded, and was confirmed by solemn oath on the behalf of both princes, according to their several usages and manner, the form and condition of which articles of peace briefly collected are these:

First, that Frederic the emperor should be crowned and anointed king of Jerusalem, according to the manner of the kings of Jerusalem before him.

Secondly, that all the lands and possessions which were situate betwixt Jerusalem and Ptolomaida, and the greatest part of Palestine, and cities of Tyrus and Sidon, which were in Syria, and all other territories which Baldwin the Fourth at any time had and did occupy there, should be delivered unto him, only certain castles reserved.

Thirdly, that he might fortify and build what fortresses and castles, cities and towns, he thought good, in all Syria and Palestine.

Fourthly, that all the prisoners which were in the Saracens' hands should be ransomed freely and sent home; and again, that the Saracens might have leave without

armour to come into the temple where the Lord's sepulchre is to pray; and that they should hold and keep still Chratum and the king's mount.

Frederic now, for that he thought the conclusion of this peace to be both necessary and also profitable for all Christians, and had also gotten as much thereby as if the wars had continued he should, sent his legates with letters into the west to all Christian kings, princes, and potentates, as also to the bishop of Rome, declaring unto them the circumstance and success of his journey and wars, as partly ye have heard; requiring them that they also would praise and give God thanks for his good success and profitable peace concluded; and desireth the pope, that forsomuch as he had now accomplished his promise, neither was there now any cause wherefore he should be with him displeased, that he might be reconciled and obtain his favour.

In the mean season the emperor with all his army marcheth to Jerusalem; where, upon Easter day, in the year one thousand two hundred and twenty-nine, he was with great triumph and comfort of all his nobles, and also the magistrates of that kingdom, (only the patriarch of Cyprus, the king's legate, and Oliver, the master or captain of the temple, with his company excepted,) solemnly and with great applause crowned king.

After this, he re-edifieth the city and walls thereof, which by the Saracens were beaten down and battered. After that, he furnisheth it with munition, he buildeth up the churches and temples that were ruinous, he fortifieth Nazareth and Joppa with strong garrisons, victuals, and all other things necessary.

Now see and behold, I pray you, whilst Frederic was thus occupied in the kingdom of Jerusalem, what practices the pope had in Italy; not I warrant you any whit at all careful in the affairs of the Christian commonwealth, but studying and labouring what mischief and spite he might work against the emperor, whom of set purpose he had so occupied, partly for hate, and partly to enrich himself, in Asia and Jerusalem, so far out of Italy ye may be sure. First, he caused the soldiers, which the emperor sent, for out of Germany to the maintenance of the holy wars, to be stayed as they passed through Italy, letting them of their journey, and took from them and spoiled them of all such provision as they had. And not only this, but he sent secretly also his letters into Asia to those that were of his own faction, that is, to the patriarch of Jerusalem, and soldiers that kept the temple and the hospital, enticing and inciting them to rebel against the emperor; which thing Blondus himself, that popish parasite or historiographer, dissembleth or hideth not. But furthermore, he dissuaded the princes of the Saracens, that they should make no league nor take any truce with Frederic, neither deliver up unto him the crown and kingdom of Jerusalem. Which letters, as they were manifest testimonies of his treachery and treason towards him, whom God had instituted and made his liege lord and sovereign, and mightiest potentate upon earth; so was it his will that he should come to the knowledge thereof, and that those letters should fall into his hands. And that he kept the same letters for the more credible testimony thereof, in the same his last epistle unto the Christian princes he protesteth. The copy of which letters amongst his other epistles you shall have expressed.

Neither were the pope's letters written to that leavened and factious sect in vain; for the patriarch and his collegians, which took their name of the temple, did mightily repugn against Frederic. They raised a tumult in Ptolomaida against him; they accused him and his legates openly of treason; and did malapertly and boldly withstand the right worthy and good order he made amongst them. But, as God would,

by the help of the inhabitants of Pisa and the Genoese, and the Dutch soldiers, both their false accusations were refelled, and also their seditious purpose and tumult repressed. And this was the cause that when all other men rejoiced and were glad of the emperor's coronation, they, as wicked confederators, were heavy therefore, and detractors of his worthy laud and fame.

The pope, when he had thus conspired against Frederic, and had betrayed him to the public enemy of all Christian men, the Turk, he could not dissemble this his mischievous fact, nor content himself therewith, but he would devise and practise yet another. For by reason of those slanders (which a little before I touched) of the death and slaughter of his wife Joel, he incited John Brennus his father-in-law to make war against him, who caused the subjects of his empire to withdraw from him their allegiance, as also the inhabitants of Picenum, and inhabitants of Lombardy. And thus joining themselves together, they craved further aid of the French king, whereby they made a great power. That done, they divided their host in two armies, invading with the one the empire, and with the other the proper territories and dominions belonging to the inheritance of Frederic; John Brennus and Pandolph Savellamis leading the one (as generals) into Campania and the kingdom of Naples, and the other (with John Columna, cardinal, his legate, and that Thomas before convicted of treason, being his lieutenants) he sendeth into Picenum.

Of this treason of the pope against Frederic doth also Matth. Paris make mention, during his wars in Asia, who saith he purposed to have deposed him, and to have placed *alium quemlibet filium pacis et obedientiae loco ejus subrogare*; that is, any other, he cared not whom, (so that he were the child of peace and obedience,) in his stead. And, for the more certainty there of, the said Matth. Paris, pag. 71, repeateth the letter which a certain earl of Syria wrote unto him concerning the same, which letter hereunder ensueth word for word.

"To the high and mighty prince, Frederic, by the grace of God emperor of Rome, and ever Augustus, and most puissant king of Sicily, Thomas, earl of Actran, his faithful and trusty subject in all things, humble salutation. After your departure, most excellent prince, Gregory, the bishop of Rome, and public enemy to your magnificence, gathering together a great power and host of men by Johannes Brennus, late king of Jerusalem, and other stout captains, whom he hath made generals of the same his host, as a foreign enemy invading your dominions and possessions of your highness's subjects, against the law of Christianity, hath purposed and determined to vanquish and subdue you with the material or temporal sword, whom he cannot master and overcome with the spiritual sword, he saith. For the aforesaid John Brennus, gathering out of France, and other provinces near adjoining, a great army, giveth unto them of the treasure he hath gotten together, by what means I cannot tell, great wages, in hope to recover and get from you the empire. And furthermore, the same John and others, the captains of the see apostolical, invading your land, burn and destroy all as they go, driving away and taking for their booties all that they can come by, as well cattle as other things, and such as they take prisoners they constrain, by afflicting them with grievous punishments, to ransom themselves for great sums of money; neither spare they man, woman, nor child, but take and keep your towns and castles, having no regard that you be in the service of Jesus Christ. And further, if any make mention of your Majesty unto him, he saith there is none other emperor but himself. Your friends and subjects, most excellent prince, much marvel hereupon; yea, and also the clergy themselves of the empire do marvel with what conscience, or upon what consideration, the bishop of Rome can do the same, making such bloody

wars and slaughter upon Christian men; especially seeing that Christ commanded Peter, when he struck with the material sword, to put up the same into the scabbard, saying, All that strike with the sword shall perish with the sword. Or else by what law he daily can excommunicate such pirates, burners of men's houses, and robbers, when he is the patron and maintainer of such himself, hereat they greatly muse and marvel. Wherefore, most mighty and renowned emperor, I beseech your Highness to consider your own safety, for that the said John Brennus hath laid and fortified all the ports and havens with no small company of men and soldiers; that if, not knowing thereof, your Grace should arrive in any of them, the same garrisons of his may apprehend and take you as a prisoner, which thing to chance God forefend."

Thus, whilst the host of this hostile enemy the pope was encamped in the dominions of Frederic, he received the letters which Frederic by his legates sent into Europe, as you heard, whereby he understood the good success he had in Asia; who not only took no delectation at all therein, but was also in a vehement perturbation therewith. Whereby manifestly it may appear what was the cause and meaning of the pope, that he was solicitous and urgent to have Frederic the emperor make a voyage into Asia. Doubtless even the same that Pelias had, when by his instigation he procured Jason with all the chosen youth and flower of Greece to sail into Colchis, to fetch away the golden fleece; and that by the opportunity of his absence he might use, or rather abuse, his power and tyranny; and that Frederic might either be long afflicted and molested in the Asian war, or that he might perish and lose his life therein, was that he sought, and all that he desired.

And when he saw that fortune neither favoured his fetches, nor served to his longing lust, he was, as a man bereft of his wits, specially at these tidings of the prosperous success of the emperor. He tore and threw his letters on the ground, and with all opprobrious words rebuked and reviled the legates for the emperor their master's sake; which thing also Blondus himself denieth not, though he write altogether in the favour of the pope. And to the intent that he might cover this his rage and unbridled fury with some cloak and colour of just deserved dolour, he feigned himself therefore so much to mislike therewith, as though the emperor therein had only respected his own private commodity, not regarding the utility of the Christians, for that the Saracens had licence (although without armour and weapon) to have repaired unto the sepulchre of Christ, and had left for them somewhat near the same an hostery or lodging-place; for which occasion (saith Blondus) his lord pope rebuked the emperor's legates by the name of traitors and suchlike other opprobrious words. Now go to, friend Blondus, by what strong arguments prove you and your lord pope, either that the peace which the emperor hath concluded was against the Christian commonwealth, or that the emperor was a traitor? But who is it that seeth not these things, either by reading of old and ancient writers, or else partly by me that have gathered and collected the same out of divers monuments and histories, and plainly perceiveth not the conspiracies and treasons of your good lord the pope, so notable and filthy, as also his manifest shame and infamy? What! there be divers that write how the pope commanded these legates of Frederic to be made secretly out of the way, and also how he commanded divers soldiers, returning out of Asia, to be slain, to the end that none should hear the report of those good news which were in Asia, nor any go thither to tell the fetches he had in hand at home. But I will make report of no more than of those things which all the writers with most consent agree upon. This is most certain, that the pope caused this rumour to be spread of the death and taking of the emperor upon this consideration, that he might allure unto him the fidelity of those

cities in the kingdom of Naples which yet kept their allegiance unto Frederic, of whom they should now hope for no longer refuge. And of that doth the emperor, in his epistle entitled *Levate oculos*, greatly against him complain.

Great are these injuries of the pope against Frederic, and most wicked treasons. But herewith could not the cruel and tyrannical mind of him be contented, nor his lust satisfied, but it so far exceeded, as scarce is credible that it could; for he presumed not only to set variance between Henry (whom Frederic his father had caused to be made king of Germany) and him, but also by his allurements he caused him to become an enemy unto him. To whom when his father had assigned the duke of Boioria (named Ludovicus) to be his overseer and counsellor; neither knew he amongst all the princes of Germany a man more faithful to him in his office and duty, or else more virtuous, or else more grave and apt to be in authority; Henry, fearing lest he should understand and know of these secret counsels, which he with his conspirators had in hand against his father, or that he should utter the same unto him, or that he should go about to dissuade him from that he was purposed to do by authority of the court and senate of Rome, he put him out of office. And this was the fetch of all their policy, that together and at one instant, but in divers and sundry places far one from another, sharp and cruel war might be made against the emperor, so that, his power being divided to the appeasing of variable contention, he might himself be the easier oppressed of a few.

When the emperor now understood what stir the pope kept in all his dominions in his absence, and when he had somewhat reformed and appeased the troubles which he secretly had wrought him in the kingdom of Jerusalem, thinking to prevent the pope's purpose in that he went about, and also to confirm the friendship towards him of them whom in his absence he found his trusty subjects, he left in Asia Reinaldus, with his garrisons, commanding all the other bands to be under his appointment; and with all speed he came forth in certain galleys to Calabria. During the time of his there being, which unlooked for came thither, he assembled his power, and made with his friends all the speedy preparation that he might. From thence he went to Berletta, where he tarried twenty days, to whom came the duke of Spoletanum, with all his garrisons; and so from thence, with all his power, he came into Apulia, and removed John Brennus his father-in-law from the siege of Calatia, and within short time, by God's help, recovereth again all his holds and dominions there. And from thence, going into Campania, he winneth Beneventum, and as many other towns and holds as the pope had there, even almost to Rome, and so after that Umbria and Picena. And now, although the emperor (being moved thereunto upon good occasion, and upon the pope's worthy desert) had gotten and recovered this so, likely an entrance upon the pope's dominions, whereby he might have revenged him of all the injuries done to him; yet, notwithstanding, for that he preferred nothing before the Christian and public tranquillity, (for the love of which he restrained his wrath so vehemently urged and kindled,) he sendeth unto him his legates to entreat a peace, declaring unto him, that if no other conceived grudge towards him were than that he dissembled and pretended, he promiseth that he would make to him an account voluntarily of all things that ever he had done in his life, and that he would and was contented to submit himself unto the church, and also that for this cause he willingly offered unto him both duty and observance. Furthermore, to the entreating of this peace, and deciding of all controversies, he sent to the pope eight or ten of the noblest and chiefest about him that were princes and dukes of the empire; as Barthold, the patriarch of Aquileia, and his brother Otho, prince of Dalmatia and Istria, Eberhardus Juvanensis, Sigifridus,

Reginoburgensis, Sibbotus, Augustanus, a worthy prelate, Leopold of Austria and Styria, and Bernhardus, being all dukes, besides others of the nobility to accompany them.

But yet so great was the insolence and pride of the stubborn pope, that by no gentleness or beneficence he could of those princes be brought that year to the profitable concord of the church and Christian commonwealth. O worthy head, that challengeth all authority to himself in the church of Christ, and, in respect of his own wilful revenge, setteth nothing by the health and utility of all Christendom! Then, therefore, when nothing could be done in the matter, and the most part of these noblemen departed from Rome, the next year after, with much ado, a peace was made and concluded between them, by the help and industry of Leopold of Austria, Hermanus, captain of the Dutch soldiers, and the president of Messina. The pope then absolving the emperor Frederic of his excommunication, took therefore of him one hundred and twenty thousand ounces of gold, restoring unto him again the titles both of his empire and also of his kingdoms. Now, considering the uncourteous dealing of the pope with Frederic the emperor herein, who can sufficiently muse and marvel at the unshamefacedness of Blondus, which hath the face to write, that the pope (yet notwithstanding) had dealt more gently and courteously with Frederic than was meet or beseemed him to do? Who is it that doth not see his manifest flattery, coloured neither with reason nor secret dissimulation? But much more truly and better writeth Cuspinian concerning this matter, which saith that the pope doth occupy very profitable merchandise, which for so much money selleth that he received freely, paying nothing therefore, if he had received it of Christ indeed, as he saith he had.

And yet although the emperor Frederic concluded with the pope this unprofitable peace for himself, yet he performed those things that were agreed upon faithfully and diligently. But the pope, which thought it but a trifle to break his promise, would not stand to the conditions of that peace he made. For, by the way, to pass over other things, neither had he restored, as he promised, the customs of the land of Sicily, neither yet the city Castellana, which he before the peace concluded between them did occupy and enjoy. And that do both Frederic in his epistles testify, and also Fazellus in his eighth book, writing of the affairs of Sicily. Yet, notwithstanding, Frederic, for the quietness and utility of the commonwealth, purposed with himself to bear and suffer these small injuries, and further studied in all that he might, as well by liberal gifts as otherwise, to have the pope to be to him a trusty friend. As when the Romans and others of the ecclesiastical number made war against the pope for certain possessions which he kept of theirs, he coming to him at Reat, and as one that tendered the unity of the church, and thinking to help the pope at his earnest request in these matters, sent his legates unto them, willing them to lay down their armour which against the pope they bare. And when that would not serve, at the pope's further request and desire, he levied an army against them at his own charge, and drave them from the siege of Viterbium, with other such-like assured tokens of amity and friendship which he showed him. Who, notwithstanding, so soon as the emperor was departed with a small company which he took with him into Sicily, leaving with him the greater and most part of his army for the maintenance of his wars, concluded a peace with the Romans, unknown to the emperor, whom he had procured to travel and labour therein with great expenses; affirming that, without his will and commandment, the emperor had expelled them, and driven them out of the territories of Viterbium. And hereof doth Frederic also himself make mention in his

second and third epistle, where he complaineth of the injuries of the pope towards him.

Therefore greater commendation had Blondus deserved, if he had written of these treacheries of the pope, than forgetting himself, as unto liars often it chanceth, in writing, both contrary to himself in the effect of this matter, and contrary to the verity of Frederic's story; which saith, that the Romans were incited to these new tumults by his enticing and setting on. As though simple men of understanding could not both by the offering of his son in hostage, by the great preparation of the wars, and by the event especially of the thing itself, gather the contrary. But too impudent will Blondus needs show himself.

Whilst that these things were done in Italy and Sicily, great rebellions were moved in Germany against the emperor by Henry Cæsar and Frederic of Austria, his sons, being the chief authors thereof. For Henry, being disappointed and shaken off from his lord pope, and other conspirators, by reason of the peace between his father and him, (as ye heard,) began now to make open challenge to the empire. And for that cause he (as before is said) put from him Louis, whom he knew to be unto the emperor his father so loving and assured a friend; who as willingly (perceiving and smelling what mischief he went about) forsook his court, and came to Boioria; who had not there remained a year, but was, as he walked abroad at a certain time, stabbed in with a dagger of one Kelhemius, and presently died, his servants not being far from him; of whose death divers diversely write. Notwithstanding the sequel doth show them to write truliest, that affirm the said striker to be suborned by Henry Cæsar who, coming unto him in the habit of a messenger, delivered unto him certain letters, which he feigned to be sent from the emperor. And whilst Ludovicus was in reading the same, he struck him in with a dagger, and gave him his mortal wound, and with speed fled upon the same. After whose death succeeded in that dukedom his son Otho; who, when solemnly, according to the manner of the Boiores, he should have been created, was also let by the same Henry Cæsar; who forbade the assembly of the magistrates and citizens the same. They, notwithstanding, neglecting his unjust restraint, created him; wherefore he first besieged Reginoburgh, and with another company sacked, burnt, and wasted Boioria; with many more such great outrages and rebellions.

When intelligence was brought of these things to the emperor, he sent his legates, and commanded that both the Cæsar his son, and other princes of Germany, which had assembled their armies, should break up and disperse the same. And because he saw and perceived now manifestly that his son made so apparent rebellion against him, and fearing greater insurrections to ensue in Germany, he thought good to prevent the same with all expedition. Wherefore he determined to go in all haste to Germany with his army, from whence he had now been absent fourteen years, and hereunto he maketh the pope privy. The pope promised the emperor hereupon, that he would write his letters in his behalf to all the princes of Germany; but persuaded him to the uttermost of his power that he should in no case go into Germany himself. For why? His conscience accused him that he had written to the nobles in Germany, even from the beginning of his papacy, for the hate and grudge he had against the emperor, that they should not suffer him, nor any of his heirs, to enjoy the empire; and further, had stirred them all up to rebel against him; and had moved Henry the emperor's son, by his bribes and fair promises, to conspire against his father. And, to conclude, he was the author and procurer of the conspiracy which the Lombards made then against him; and fearing lest these things should come now to the emperor's ear, he was greatly troubled and careful. But the emperor, not thinking it good at so needful a time

to be absent, he, all doubt set apart, with his second son Conrad, went speedily into Germany. And assembling there a council in the city of Nuremburgh, Henry Cæsar his son, after his conspiracy was manifestly detected, which he had in practice with the Longobards, (whereof the pope was chief author,) was by judgment and sentence of seventy princes condemned of high treason, and being commanded by his father to be bound, was as prisoner brought to Apulia, where not long after in prison he died. In whose stead he ordained Conradus his second son Cæsar, by consent of all the peers and princes. Furthermore, by public commandment he renounced Frederic of Austria for his son, and he caused him to be proclaimed an enemy to the public weal. And further, when he saw that neither that punishment could cause him to remember himself, and acknowledge his abuse, the emperor with a great army, accompanied with divers of the noblemen of Germany, took from him all Austria and Styria, and brought them again under his own obedience and fidelity.

The same year married he with his third wife, named Isabella, the daughter of King John of England. Then, when he had set Germany in a stay and quietness, he left there Conrad Cæsar his son; and with his host returneth again into Italy, thereto punish such as had with Henry his eldest son conspired against him; whose treasons were all detected at the condemnation of Henry Cæsar his son, chiefly set on by the pope. When the pope had understanding that the emperor with warlike furniture marched toward Italy, although he feigned himself reconciled, and to be a friend to Frederic, yet was he notwithstanding to him a most secret and infestive enemy. And understanding that he brought with him such a power, both of horsemen and footmen, to do execution of such as he understood to be conspirators against him in the late tumult and rebellion, those which were faulty herein and guilty, and all other that took their parts, he admonished to join themselves together, and that they should furnish strongly their cities with garrisons, that they should send for aid to their friends, and that with all the force they were able they should prepare them for the war. The rest of the cities also in Italy, whether they were the emperor's or his own, he endeavoureth to make them all his, and proper to himself.

Furthermore, unto the emperor he sendeth his ambassadors; to whom, under the pretence of nourishing a peace, he had given a secret commandment, that they should interdict him and his host, so soon as he came within the borders of Italy. To the preservation of which peace, saith he, he had, but late since, promulgated a subsidy to be gathered amongst the Christians, when he began the holy war. And also to say, not by way of entreaty, but commandingly, that what cause of controversy he had with the Longobards, the same he should commit to him, and stand to his arbitrement. Whereunto the emperor replying maketh his legate this answer:

Shortly after, saith he, the peace was made between the pope and me, he called me for a chief defence, both of the church and himself, against the Romans which made war with him; and, at his request, with mine own proper charge I maintained that his war, and gave his enemies the overthrow. And further said, that he should not do well, through the pretence of peace, to be a let to him from that which both by law and right he might and ought to do; but rather he ought to dispose himself with force to distrain and expel them, which gathered them together as rebels, thinking to exclude themselves from the subjection both of him and the empire; and that such rebels as both had restrained the soldiers which the emperor sent for when he was in Asia, and divers others also, (which for necessary causes he had called to him,) which they had so wickedly dealt with and abused, he (as they had deserved) should rather desire to see punished and reformed, than to maintain them, under colour of peace,

being so wicked and manifest evil-doers. And touching that he demandeth of him, that he should commit and defer so great a cause, wherein the wealth and safety of the empire consisteth, to his arbitrement, by him to be determined, without either assignment of any time when, or adding thereunto any condition or exception for not doing the same, neither the diminishing and impairing the dignity and regality of his empire considered, he could not but marvel; seeing that neither it appertained to his calling and faculty, nor to the benefit or commodity of the empire. To this effect also writeth Frederic in his last epistle unto the pope; the effect whereof amongst other epistles you may read.

And in the same his letters he showeth, that when the emperor at a certain time had been with the pope, at his going away he requested, that when he came again, he would come into Italy, but with his household band and family; for that if he should come as before he did accustom with his army, he should terrify them overmuch; amongst whom (saith he) you may assure yourself to be in great safety, and find all things in rest and quiet; when, quite contrary, (as the emperor for a certainty had tried,) he had there all things ready and prepared for his destruction; so that when he pretended unto him greatest friendship, he was busiest in conspiring his death. The certain time when the pope had this exercise in hand against the emperor I cannot search out, neither may it be in his epistles undated easily found out; but that of the certainty thereof no man need to doubt, I have assigned you to the emperor's epistle, where he maketh mention of the same.

The emperor then, as he had determined, prosecuteth his purpose, and marcheth into Italy, where he brought under his subjection those cities that against him rebelled, as Mantua, Verona, Ternisium, Patavium, and others. And then he afterward set upon the great host of the Mediolanenses, the Brixians, the Placentines, and other confederators, unto whom the pope's legate, Georgius Longomontanus, had joined himself; of whom he took one thousand prisoners, and also their general, being the chief magistrate in the city of Mediolanum, and Petrus Tenopolus, the duke's son of Venice, and slew divers captains more, and took all their ensigns. And in this battle, especially at the recovering of Marchia and Ternissana, he used the friendly aid of Actiolinus.

The pope now somewhat dismayed at this overthrow of his confederates and mates, though not much, began yet somewhat to fear the emperor; and whereas before that which he did he wrought secretly and by others, now he goeth to work with might and main to subdue and deprive the emperor. And although the emperor saw and perceived what inward hate and mortal malice he bare towards him, not only by that he so apertly stood with his conspirators against him, but also that on every side he heard, and from all parts was brought him certain word, how greatly he laboured against him, as with opprobrious words, naughty reports, and slanders, to the intent to pull from him the hearts and fidelity of his subjects, and make those that were his friends his enemies, neither that he meant at any time to take up and cease from such evil and wicked practices; yet, notwithstanding, for that there should be no default in him found for the breach of the league and peace between them a little before concluded, he sendeth four legates to the bishop of Rome, which should answer unto and refute those iniquitous objections which he laid unto him, as also make him privy unto his purpose, and what he meant to do, thereby to declare his innocency towards him in such causes, and simplicity.

The bishop, when he understood these ambassadors to be not far off from Rome, and knew the cause of their coming, he thought with himself, that, in hearing the excuse and reasonable answer of the emperor, perhaps he might be provoked to desist from his purpose, and so degenerate from others of his predecessors, he refuseth to speak with them, and, at the day appointed, pronounceth the sentence of proscription against him, depriving him of all his dignities, honours, titles, prerogatives, kingdoms, and whole empire. And that he had no occasion hereunto, as well Pandulph and Colonucius, as the letters of the emperor himself, do both right well declare. For it may appear he dedicated, as it were, himself to his utter ruin and destruction, when he did solicit against Frederic Jacobus Tenopolus, the Venetian duke; whom, for the displeasure he took with the emperor in the imprisoning of his son, he was in good hope he should allure unto him, he being in so troublous a time such a comforter and aider unto him, that, as Blondus writeth, in a certain epistle gratulatory, he calleth him lord of the fourth part of Croatia and Dalmatia, and lord of half of the Roman empire. And calling unto him the Venetian and Genoese legates, he made a peace betwixt them, (which for certain causes about their sea-coasts were at variance,) and covenanted with them upon this condition, that at their public charges they should rig and man five and thirty galleys, which should spoil and burn all along the sea-coasts of the kingdoms and dominions of Frederic.

But the pope, when he saw the good-will and fidelity which the duke of Venice bare unto the emperor, and saw also what aid the emperor had of him, neither that he was like to win him to his purpose, then had he recourse again to his old crafty practices and subtleties. And further, he devised to put forth an edict at Rome to the universal church and people, the beginning whereof is, *Ascendit de mari bellica bestia*; wherein he declareth the causes wherefore he curseth and giveth the emperor to the devil of hell, and hath dejected him from all his princely dignity. He in the same accuseth him of so many and so huge a heap of mischiefs, as to nominate them my heart detesteth. And besides that, he restraineth his sovereign lord and emperor of the appellation, which every private man by law may have. He slandereth him of treason, perjury, cruelty, sacrilege, killing of his kindred, and all impiety; he accuseth him for a heretic, a schismatic, and a miscreant; and, to be brief, what mischief soever the pope can devise, with that doth he charge him and burden him. All this doth he, saith the pope, that when he hath brought our Holiness and all the ecclesiastical estate to beggary, he might scoff at and deride the religion of Christ, which as a miscreant he detesteth. And now for that the pope had a great and special trust in Albertus Behavus, of the noble house called Equestri, as crafty an apostle as the best, as one whom he saw ready to lean to his lust, to him the pope delivered two other mandates in several letters sealed, in which he commanded all bishops, prelates, and other of the clergy, that they should solemnly recite the same in their churches instead of their sermon, that by his decree he had excommunicated Frederic out of the fellowship of Christian men, put him from the procuration or government of the empire, and that he had released all his subjects of their allegiance and fidelity towards him. And furthermore chargeth them, and all other Christian men, under pain of cursing and damnation, that neither they succour the emperor, nor yet so much as wish him well. Thus he, being the pope's special and trusty servitor, and made to his hand, caused a most horrible confusion and chaos of public unquietness, as shall after appear.

Amongst all other noblemen of Germany at that time, was Otho, the governor of the Rhine, and duke of Boioria, towards the emperor both most serviceable, and also a prince of great honour, riches, and estimation. This prince, both with fair

promises and also rewards, he enticed from him; for that he was made by him to believe that Louis his father, of whom we spake before, was by the emperor murdered and slain. And the same Otho again caused three other princes and dukes to revolt from the emperor to the pope, which were neighbours and near adjoining unto him, as Uvenceslaus and Belus, princes of the Hungarians, and Henry, duke of Polonia. To whom came also Frederic of Austria, his son; who, because he was proscribed or outlawed of his father, and had his dukedom wasted and burnt, as you heard, was easily won unto the pope. These, gathering a council, (when they had thought to have translated the empire unto the king's son of Denmark,) desired to have the pope's legates to be sent from him, to the effect of that election.

The emperor was at Patavium when these news were brought unto him what the pope had done at Rome. Therefore he commanded Peter of Venice, his secretary, (upon Easter day,) to make a narration to the people of his great and liberal munificence to the bishops and Church of Rome; and again, of the injuries of them toward him in recompence thereof; of his innocency also in that whereof he had accused him, and of the unseemliness of such an act or deed; of the right use of the ecclesiastical censure, and of the errors and abuse of the Church of Rome. By which oration of his he so removed the cloud from many men's hearts of blind superstition, and the conceived opinion of holiness of the Church of Rome, and bishops of the same, and also of their usurped power and subtle persuasion, that both they plainly saw and perceived the vices and filthiness of the Church of Rome and bishops of that see, as also their fraudulent deceits and flagitious doings, most vehemently lamenting and complaining of the same. Albert maketh mention of certain verses which were sent and written between the bishop of Rome and the emperor. The which verses, in the latter end of this present history of Frederic, you shall find.

The emperor moreover, both by his letters and legates, giveth intelligence unto all Christian kings, to the princes of his own empire, to the college of cardinals, and people of Rome, as well of the feigned crimes wherewith he was charged, as also of the cruelty of the bishop of Rome against him. The copy of which letter or epistle follows hereunder inserted.

The emperor to the prelates of the world.

"In the beginning and creation of the world, the inestimable foreknowledge and providence of God (who asketh counsel of none) created in the firmament of heaven two lights, (a greater and a less,) the greater he created to govern the day, and the less to govern the night; which two so do their proper offices and duties in the zodiac, that although oftentimes the one be in an oblique aspect unto the other, yet the one is not enemy to the other, but rather doth the superior communicate his light with the inferior. Even so the same eternal foreknowledge hath appointed upon the earth two regiments, that is to say, priesthood and kingly power; the one for knowledge and wisdom, the other for defence; that man, which is made of two parts, (over-wanton and dissolute,) might have two reins to govern and bridle him withal, that peace thereby and love might dwell upon the face of the earth. But, alas, the bishop of Rome, sitting in the chair of perverse doctrine or pestilence, that Pharisee anointed with the oil of iniquity above the rest of his consorts in this our time, which for his abominable pride is fallen from heaven, endeavoureth with his power to destroy and undo all, and thinketh, I believe, to stellify again himself there from whence he fell. His purpose is to darken and to shadow the light of our unspotted life, whilst that, altering the verity into lies, his papal letters, stuffed with all untruths, are sent into

sundry parts of the world; of his own corrupt humour, and upon no reasonable cause, blemishing the sincerity of our religion. The lord pope hath compared us unto the beast rising out of the sea, full of names of blasphemy, and spotted like a leopard. But we say that he is that monstrous beast, of whom it is said, and of whom we thus read: And there shall come another red horse out of the sea, and he that shall sit upon him shall take peace away out of the earth: let them therefore that dwell upon the earth destroy him. For since the time of his promotion he hath not been the father of mercy, but of discord; a diligent steward of desolation, instead of consolation; and hath enticed all the world to commit offence. And to take the words in right sense and interpretation, he is that great dragon that hath deceived the whole world; he is that antichrist, of whom he hath called us the forerunner; he is that other Balaam hired for money to curse us; the prince of darkness, which hath abused the prophets. This is the angel leaping out of the sea, having his vials filled with bitterness, that he may both hurt the sea and the land; the counterfeit vicar of Christ, that setteth forth his own imaginations. He saith that we do not rightly believe in the Christian faith, and that the world is deceived with three manner of deceivers, which to name God forbid we should open our mouth; seeing that openly we confess only Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour to be the everlasting Son of God, coequal with his Father and the Holy Ghost, begotten before all worlds, and in process of time sent down upon the earth for the salvation of mankind; conceived, not by the seed of man, but by the Holy Ghost; which was born of the glorious Virgin Mary, and after that suffered and died, as touching the flesh; and by his Godhead the third day he raised from death that other nature which he assumed in the womb of his mother. But we have learned that the body of Mahomet hangeth in the air, and his soul is buried in hell; whose works are damnable, and contrary to the law of the Most High. We affirm also, that Moses was the faithful servant of God, and a true teacher of the law; and that he talked with God in Mount Sinai, unto whom the Lord spake, Exod. 4; by whom also God wrought miracles in Egypt, and delivered the law written to the Israelites; and that afterwards with the elect he was called, to glory. In these and other things our enemy and envier of our state, causing our mother the church to accuse her son, hath written against us venomous and lying slanders, and sent the same to the whole world. If he had rightly understood the apostle's meaning, he would not have preferred his violent will, which beareth such sway with him, before reason; neither would he have sent out his mandates to the suggestion of those which call light darkness, and evil good; which suspect honey to be gall, for the great good opinion they had conceived of that holy place, which indeed is both weak and infirm, and converteth all truth into falsehood, and affirmeth that to be which is not.

Truly my opinion (so indifferent on every side) ought not in any case to be infringed and averted from the faith to such enemies of so corrupt a conscience. Wherefore we greatly are enforced not a little to marvel, which thing also doth much disquiet us to see, that you, which be the pillars and assistants in office of righteous dealing, the senators of Peter's city, and the principal beams in God's building, have not qualified the perturbation of so fierce a judge; as do the planets of heaven in their kind, which, to mitigate the passing swift course of the great orb or sphere of heaven, draw a contrary way by their opposite movings. In very deed, our imperial felicity hath been, almost even from the beginning, spurned against and envied at of the papal see and dignity; as Simonides, being demanded why he had no more enemies and enviers of his state, answered and said, *Quia nihil feliciter gessi*. Because, saith he, I have had no good success in any thing that ever I took in hand. And so, for that we have had prosperous success in all our enterprises, the Lord's name be blessed

therefore, especially in the overthrow, of late, of our rebellious enemies, the Lombards, to whom in their good quarrel he promised life and absolution with remission of their sins, is the cause wherefore this apostolical bishop mourneth and lamenteth. And now, not by your counsels, I suppose, he laboureth to impugn this our felicity, but out of his own power of binding and loosing, whereof he glorieth so much, he impugneth it. But presently, where power and ability wanteth to redress, there doth abuse take place. We see in him which was so mighty a king, and the worthiest prince amongst all the prophets, to desire and crave the restitution of God's Holy Spirit, when he had polluted the dignity of his office. But the proverb is, As things indissoluble are not to be loosed, so things that cannot be bound are not to be bound. Which thing manifestly is proved in him. For why? The Scriptures of God do instruct men how to live; they mortify our souls which are immortal, and quicken the same which are dead for want of life. And doubtless he is able to humble and bring down those that are unworthy of dignity as much as him pleaseth, and when him pleaseth. Doubtless, if the bishop of Rome were a true bishop indeed, innocent, unpolluted, and not associated with wicked livers and evil men, his life should declare him so to be. He would not then be an offerer of dissentious sacrifice, but a peaceable offerer of love and charity; and would cense, not with the incense of grief and hatred, but with the sweet-smelling incense of concord and unity; neither yet would *alter suum pontificium in maleficium*; that is, make of a sanctified office an execrable abuse. If he were such a bishop as he ought to be, he would not wrest or abuse the preaching of the word into the fruit and gain of his own dissension, neither should we be accused for such an enemy of our mother the true church, as is laid unto her son's charge by such a bishop. Which true and mother church with all reverence we honour, and benignity embrace, so beautified and adorned with God's most holy sacraments. Some singular persons notwithstanding, feigning themselves to be our brethren by that mother, and yet are not, but of a strumpet begot; such, I say, as are subject and slaves to corruptible things, putting them from amongst us, we utterly reject; especially for that injuries by them done are not only transitory and mundane, wherewith our majesty is so molested, vexed, and grieved. Wherefore we cannot so easily mitigate our mood, neither ought we in very deed so to do, and therefore are we enforced the more to take the greater revenge of them. You therefore that are men of grave and deliberate counsel, having the excellent gift, as from God, of wisdom and understanding, refuse you that roaring enemy of ours in these his proceedings, whose be ginnings are so wicked and detestable, wisely comparing things past with those to come. Otherwise, you that are under our subjection, as well of our empire as other our dominions, shall feel and perceive (both of my chief enemy and persecutor, as also of the princes that are his fautors and adherents) what revenge by sword Fredericus Augustus shall take upon them, God so permitting."

This done, he denounceth a solemn parliament or council of all the princes and other nobility of the empire at Ægra; whither came Conrad Cæsar, Moguntine the Presul, the Saxon dukes, the lords of Brandeburgh, Misna, Thuringus, and the legates of all the nobles of Brabant, to aid the emperor. But the princes Boiemus and Palatinus, being dissuaded by the legates, unto whom the Austrians had joined themselves, refused to come to the council holden at Ægra. And being at their wit's end, not knowing well what they might do, forsook at last the emperor, and took part with the pope and the other conspirators. Then Frederic of Austria, the emperor's second son, whom he disherited, as ye heard, by the aid of the Boiores and Bohemians, recovered again the dukedoms of Austria and Styria, putting to flight and discomfiting the emperor's bands and garrisons which he had there. And although the

cardinals, especially that honest man, Albertus Boiemus, had allured to the pope Otho the duke of Boioria, as ye heard, and divers other noblemen of Germany; yet, notwithstanding, certain bishops in Boioria (as Eberhardus Juvanensis, and Sigrefridus Reginoburgensis, being at that time the emperor's chancellor, Rudicenus Ratheviensis, Conradus Frisingensis, and others) left not nor yet forsook the emperor. All which the fore-said Albertus not only did excommunicate, but also by process sought to bring them up to Rome before the pope, giving commandment to their collegians and cloisterers that they should deprive them of their offices, and choose such others in their stead as would obey the pope. All which things the pope understanding by Albertus, and of this their fidelity to the emperor, corroborated and confirmed the same his doings, commanding them to choose other bishops in their steads.

But the bishops and prelates, with one consent contemning the pope's mandates and writs, and also the curses and threatenings of Albert, accused, reprov'd, and greatly blamed his temerity and also tyranny which he usurped against the churches of Germany, and especially against the good emperor, that without his consent he durst be so bold as to meddle in churches committed to the emperor's government against the old and ancient customs; and that he had excommunicated the emperor without just cause; that he had condemned the emperor's faithful subjects as enemies to the church, for standing with their liege and sovereign prince, (which allegiance to violate, without horrible iniquity, they might not,) and so had sought to disquiet them likewise in their charges and administrations, and had also in that quarrel given such defiance to the emperor. They accused and condemned the same Albertus also for a most impudent impostor and wicked varlet, and for a most pestiferous botch and sore of the Christian commonwealth; and they do give him to the devil as a ruinous enemy, as well of the church as of his own natural country, and further think him worthy to have his reward with the rest of the pope's pursuivants, being the most wicked inventors and devisers of mischief that were in all Germany. This done, they make relation hereof to the emperor by their letters; and further, they advertise all the princes of Germany, (especially those which were of the pope's faction or rebellion, and were the favourers of Albertus,) that they should take heed and beware in any case of his subtle deceits and pernicious deceivable allurements, and that they should not assist the pope for all his words against the emperor. And doubtless by the counsel of the high prelate or archbishop of Boioria, (whose name was Juvanensis,) and by his industry and persuasion, Fredericus Austriacus was again reconciled unto the emperor his father, from whose aid and obedience after that, by no promises, threatening, bribes, nor pains, no, nor for the execrable curses of the pope's own holy mouth, he would be induced or removed. But Albert prosecuteth still his purposed mischief, alluring and enticing by all means possible, and that not amongst the worst, but the best, friends to the pope, and enemies to the emperor. Unto some he gave their tithes to fight against the emperor, to other some he gave the glebe lands of benefices, and to other some he gave the spoil of such colleges and monasteries as took not part with the pope; and to some other also he gave the colleges and monasteries themselves. And assuredly I find by Johannes Aventinus, that there were certain of the pope's own birds that had their ecclesiastical tithes taken from them; and other some had the rents and revenues of their colleges plucked away by force to the maintenance of the pope's quarrel against the emperor. Hereby was there a window opened to do what they lusted, (every man according to his ravening and detestable lust,) and all things lay open unto their greedy and insatiable desires. Who listeth to hear more hereof, let him read Aventinus in his book before noted, and there shall he

see what vastation grew thereby to the whole state of Germany, who largely treateth of the same.

While these things were thus in working in Germany, Frederic, leaving in Lombardy Actiolinus with a great part of his host, (he passing with the rest by Apeninum,) came to Hetruria, and set the same in a stay, after that he had allayed certain insurrections there; and from thence to Pisa, where he was with great amity and honour received and welcomed. This city was always assured and faithful to the emperors of Germany. The pope understanding of the emperor's coming into Etruria, and knowing what power the emperor had also left in Lombardy, with a great army besieged the city Ferrara, that always loved the emperor full well; which city when the pope's legate had assaulted sharply the space of five months, and could not win the same, he devised with himself to send for Salingwerra out of the town, by way of a parley, promising his faith and truth to him for his safe return. Who, by the persuasion of Hugo Rambartus, that said without peril he might do the same, (being but by way of parley,) was coming to the legate; who, preventing him in his journey, took him as prisoner, contrary to his truth and fidelity. And thus got he Ferrara, and delivered the keeping thereof to Azones Astensis. And that the pope's legate thus falsified his truth, and circumvented the captain and old man Salingwerra, the same is confessed of the pope's friendly historiographers to be but a stratagem or warlike policy. But to return again. About the same time also the Venetian navy, at the mount Garganum, chased twelve galleys of the emperor's, which were appointed to the keeping of that coast, and spoiled, burnt, and wasted all the region; and further took one of the emperor's great ships, being driven by tempest and weather into the haven Sipontium, fraught with men and munition.

Frederic again getting on his side the Lucenses, the Volaterans, the Genenses, the Aretines, and divers cities besides in Hetruria to help that country, came to Pisa and Viterbium, which took part with him. Some say that the names and factions of Ghibellines and Guelphs sprang from Frederic, that by them he might spy and know, having recourse to all the towns and cities in Italy, which took part with and favoured the pope, and which the emperor; and called the one by the name of Ghibellines, and the other by the name of Guelphs. But for that both Blondus, and Platina, and some others, bring no sufficient proof thereof, but only slender conjecture, I rather cleave to the opinion of Nauclerus, Hermannus, Antoninus, Florentinus, and other such writers, which say that these Guelphs and Ghibellines in Italy took their beginning of Conrad the Third, Frederic his great uncle being emperor; and that these Guelphs were dedicated to the pope by Guelph, the younger brother of Henry the Proud; and that those which were called the Ghibellines were appointed either of Conradus himself, or else of his son, being brought up in the lordship of Vaiblingen. But to our purpose.

The pope, when he understood that Frederic was come to Viterbium, he was very heavy, for that he feared he would come to Rome, the good will of which city the pope much mistrusted. He therefore caused a supplication to be drawn, portraying about the same the heads of Peter and Paul, and with a sharp and contumelious oration he much defaced the emperor; promising them everlasting life, and gave the badge of the cross to as many as would arm themselves and fight against the emperor, as against the most wicked enemy of God and the church. Now when the emperor, marching somewhat near to Rome gates, beheld those whom the pope had, with his goodly spectacle of St. Peter and St. Paul, and with his alluring oration, stirred up against him, and marked with the badge of the cross to come forth in battle against him, disdaining to be accounted for the enemy of the church, who had been thereunto

so beneficial, giving a fierce charge upon them, he put them soon to flight; and as many as he took (cutting off that badge from them) he caused to be hanged. From thence he, marching into Campania and his own kingdoms, levied a great mass of money, and mustered the new bands, and augmented his army; and in these bands he retained the Saracens also. And to the intent he might find the Saracens the more trusty unto him, he appointed them to inhabit in a city named Luceria. For which thing, although the papistical writers do greatly blame and opprobriously write of Frederic, yet notwithstanding Nicholaus Machiavellus doth write, that therefore he retained them, lest that through the pope's execrable curses he should be quite destitute of soldiers, as was Frederic Barbarossa, his grandfather, a little before, when that of Alexander the pope he was excommunicated, as ye have heard.

After this, when the emperor had greatly afflicted by battle the pope's ecclesiastical consorts, such as conspired with the pope against him, and that he had wasted and destroyed Beneventum, the mount Casenum, and Sora, for that they took part with the pope against him, Frederic, when he had manned the city of Aquilia, marched forth with a great host both of horsemen and footmen to Picenum, that he might vanquish his enemies in Italy. And by the way he besieged the strong town of war named Asculinum, which was also converted to the pope's faction and rebellion. He there having understanding what the pope's assistants had done with the prince's electors and other princes of Germany, especially with Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia, and Otho Palatine, writeth his letters unto them. In the which, first, he showed how that those contumelies and spiteful words, which the pope blustered out against him, are lighted upon himself, and how the bishops of Rome have taken to them of late such heart of grace, and are become so lofty, that not only they seek to bring emperors, kings, and princes under their obedience, but also seek how to be honoured as gods, and say that they cannot err, neither yet be subject or bound to any religion, and that it is lawful for them to do all things what they list, neither that any account is to be sought or demanded of their doings, or else to be made of them to any, so impudent are they in these their affirmations. And further, as princes they command, and that under pain of cursing, that men believe every thing they say, how great a lie soever it be. Insomuch that by this covetousness of his all things go backward, and the whole state of the commonwealth is subverted, neither can there any enemy be found more hurtful or perilous to the church of God than he. He wrote unto them furthermore, that he, (to whom the greatest charge and dignity was in the whole commonwealth appointed and committed,) seeing and perceiving to his great peril their good hearts, wills, and practices towards him, would with all the power and ability that God had given him do his endeavour, that he, which in the likeness of the shepherd of the flock, and the servant of Christ, and chief prelate in the church, showeth himself so very a wolf, persecutor, and tyrant, may be removed from that place, and that a true and careful shepherd of God's flock may be appointed in the church. Wherefore he exhorteth them, if they desire the safety and preservation of the whole state of the commonwealth and empire, that they be unto him no hinderers, but furtherers of his purpose and proceedings, lest otherwise they also should happen to fall into the same snare of servitude with the bishop of Rome. And further, he gave them to wit, that if he should aspire to that he sought for, that is, to be emperor and king over kings, yet should that be no stay of his insatiable desire, but he would be as greedy and ravenous as now he is. Therefore, if they be wise, to withstand him betimes, lest hereafter, when they would, it should be too late, neither were able to withstand his tyranny. The effect of this epistle I took out of Aventine, which more

largely dilateth it, who also writeth that the emperor, by his legates, sent the same to Wenceslaus.

Boiemus, somewhat relenting at this letter, promiseth to accomplish the emperor's biddings and precepts, and forthwith gathereth the assembly of princes and nobles at Ægra; where by common consent they think to renovate with the emperor a new league and covenant. And furthermore, they find Otho Boius (which was absent, and would not be at this their assembly) to be the author of this defection, and an enemy to the commonwealth. Otho then seeing himself not able to stand against Cæsar and the other princes with whom he was associate, desiring aid of the pope by his letters, came with all speed to Boiemus his kinsman; whom when he could not persuade unto him again, neither would he to their parts also be won, he obtaineth notwithstanding yet thus much at their hands, that the league and covenant (which they were in hand to make with the emperor) might for a time be deferred, and that another assembly might be made, whereat he also would be, and join himself with them. Thus had they, who killed (as you heard) his father, bewitched also his son, and brought him to be both a rebel and a traitor. In the mean season the pope sent his rescript unto the king of Bohemia, and to Otho, tending to this effect; that in no case they should either forsake him, or else the church, to take the emperor's part. And so much prevailed he by the means of Bohuslaus and Budislaus, which were the chiefest of the senate regal, and by his fair promises and bribes to such as he before had made to him, that again at Libussa by Boiemus and Boius new assemblies were gathered for the creation of a new emperor, in despite of Augustus the emperor and Cæsar his son. And whilst that this was thus in hand, Conrad Cæsar casteth Landshuta the wife of Otho, being absent, in the teeth for great benefits and possessions which her husband had and possessed by the ancestors of him, and that unless her husband took a better way with himself, and showed his obedience to the emperor his father, that he should not enjoy one foot of that land which now he had by his predecessors. The promotion and dignities which Otho had by the ancestors of Conrad Cæsar came thus: Frederic Barbarossa, in the year of our Lord 1180, at a parliament holden at Reginoburgh, condemned Henry Leo of high treason, and deprived him of his dominions of Boioria and Saxony, and gave Boioria to Otho Wiltaspachius, for that he had done him so faithful service in his Italian wars. After that, Ludovicus, the son of this Otho, obtained of this emperor. Frederic the Second, in recompence of his assured and trusty fidelity, the dominion of Palatinatum Rheni so called, which gave also Agnetes, the daughter of Henry, earl of Palatine, to Otho his son in marriage. This Henry was the son of Henry Leo the traitor, unto whom Henry the Sixth, the father of Frederic, gave in marriage Clementia his brother's daughter, Conrad, Palatine of Rhenus, and gave unto him the keeping of the palace of the same. And as touching the inheritance of Boioria, that he had also now long possessed by the heirs of Otho Wiltaspachius. But to our purpose again.

At the same time also the governor of Colonia Agrippina revolted to the pope; who not long after, in a skirmish between Brabantinus and him, was vanquished and taken prisoner. And doubtless Fredericus Austriacus, after he was received into favour again with the emperor, (keeping most constantly his promise and fidelity renewed,) during this time made sharp war upon the Hungarians, which took part with the pope, and greatly annoyed them. As these things thus passed in Germany, the emperor when he had gotten Ascalum and led his host into Flaminia, having Ravenna at his commandment, from thence came to Faventia; which city never loved the emperor, the circuit of whose walls is five miles in compass, and pitched his camp round about

the same. And although the siege was much hindered by austerity of the time and weather, being in the very dead time of winter, yet, notwithstanding, through his great fortitude and courage, so animating his soldiers in the painfulness of the laborious siege, he endured out the same, who thought it no little shame, having once made that enterprise, to come from thence without any assault given. And therefore when now the winter (so extreme cold and hard) was well near ended, and the spring time now hard at hand, and by long battery he had made the same in divers places assaultable, the citizens, being greatly discouraged, and in no hope of the defence thereof, sent their legates to the emperor, craving pardon for their offence, and that he would grant unto them their lives, and so yielded themselves unto his mercy.

The emperor, having against them good and sufficient cause of revenge, yet for that his noble heart thought it to be the best revenge that might be, to pardon the offence of vanquished men, he thought it better to grant them their requests, to save the city and citizens thereof, with innumerable people, than by arms to make the same his soldiers' prey, to the destruction both of the city and great number of people therein. So doth this good emperor in one of his epistles, *Adacta nobis*, confess himself. Which epistle, to declare the lenity and merciful heart of so worthy a prince, if that with great and marvellous provocations and wrongs he had not been incited, I thought good in the midst of the history here to have placed. But thus I have kept you long herein, and yet not finished the same.

In this siege the emperor, having spent and consumed almost all his treasure, both gold and silver, caused other money to be made of leather, which on the one side had his image, and on the other side the spread eagle, the arms of the empire, and made a proclamation that the same should pass from man to man for all necessities instead of other money; and therewithal promised, that whosoever brought the same money unto his exchequer when the wars were ended, he would give them gold for the same, according to the value of every coin limited; which thing afterward truly and faithfully he performed, as all the historiographers do accord.

Thus when the pope, as before said, had stopped his ears, and would not hear the emperor's legates that came to entreat for peace, but rejected and despised his most courteous and equal demands; neither yet had he left any wily policy unattempted, or force unpractised, that with his confederates he thought himself either able to revenge or else resist; he by his legates calleth to a council at Rome all such prelates out of Italy, France, and England as he thought to favour him and his proceedings, that hereby, as his last shift and only refuge, he by their helps might deprive Frederic of his empire, as an utter enemy to God and to the church. All which things Frederic having understanding of, and knowing that these assemblies should be but to the destruction and supplanting of him, determined to stop and let their passages to Rome, as well by sea as by land, in all that ever he might. So that all the passages by land being now stopped and prevented, he commanded his son Henry with certain galleys to go and keep the coasts of Sardinia, which kingdom the Italians call Entimum; and from thence to go to Pisa, and with the Pisans to rig out a navy to meet with (if it were possible) such as should come to aid the pope at Rome. The pope's champions understanding that by land they could not safely repair to Rome, they procured of galleys and ships out of Genoa (having Gulielmus Braccius for their chief captain or admiral) forty sail for their defence; thinking hereby, that if they should fortune to meet with any of the emperor's ships or galleys, which should lie for them in wait, they should be able to make their part good, and give them also the repulse. Encius in like manner and Huglinus (being captain and admiral of the Pisan

navy for the emperor) launched forth to sea with forty ships and galleys; and betwixt the isles of Liliun and Mons Christi, which lie between Liburnium and Corsica, they met with the Genoese ships; and straight-ways fiercely began to grapple with them and board them; in which fight at length were three of the Genoese ships both bulged and sunk, and two and twenty taken and brought away, with all the riches and treasure in them. In these were taken three legates of the pope's, whereof were two cardinals, Jacobus Columna, Otho Marchio, and Gregory of Romania, (all cruel enemies against the emperor,) and many other prelates more; besides a great number of legates and procurators of cities, with an infinite number of monks and priests, besides of Genoese soldiers six thousand, with divers others.

Pandolphus Colonutius, in describing the circumstances of the great loss and misfortune of these champions of the pope by sea, amongst the rest declareth, that besides the great prey and booty which the takers had from them, they also found many writings and letters against Frederic, which much helped him in the defence of those causes wherein they had laboured against him. The like mischance also almost about that time happened on the pope's side, by the emperor's soldiers which lay in the garrison at Ticinum, thus: There went forth upon a time out of Ticinum into the larders of Genoa, certain bands to give them larums in the country; which bands the scurriers of Mediolanum (where lay a great garrison of the pope's) descrying, told the captain of the town, that now a very opportune and fit time was to give an assault to Ticinum; for that (say they) the greatest part are now gone a foraging. 'Whereupon they immediately calling together the captains and such as had charge, set their soldiers in array, and marched forward to Ticinum. And now when they were come almost thither, the Ticinian bands (whom they thought to have been far a foraging) were returned and met with them, and fiercely gave a full charge upon them; who being dismayed at the suddenness of the matter, fought not long, but gave over and fled. In which skirmish were taken (besides those that were slain) three hundred and fifty captains, and brought prisoners into Ticinum with all their ensigns with them.

News hereof was brought to the emperor not long after, who then was removing from the siege of Faventia (as ye heard) to the city of Bononium, thinking to have destroyed the same. But upon the hearing of these good news he altereth his purpose, and thinking to have hereafter a more convenient time thereunto, leadeth his army towards Rome; and in the way he reconciled to him the city of Pisarum. But Fanum, for that the townsmen shut their gates and would not suffer the emperor to come in, he took by force and destroyed. For the emperor, seeing that neither by petition made to the pope, nor yet by his lawful excusation, he could do any good with him, thought that by his sudden coming thither, and with fear of the peril imminent, he might be brought to some uniformity, and caused to leave off his accustomed pertinacy. And although the emperor was too strong for him, yet for that he regarded nothing more than the public tranquillity of the empire; and that he might then take the Tartarian wars in hand, if he could by any means conclude, he refused not so to entreat a peace with him, as though he had been both in force and fortune much his inferior.

Whilst that this ruffle was betwixt the emperor and the pope, Ochodarius, the emperor of the Tartarians' son, with a great power and provision made, invaded the borders next adjoining unto him, and there won Roxolanum, Bodolium, Mudanum, with divers other cities, towns, and villages, destroying, wasting, and burning the countries all about, killing and slaying man, woman, and child, sparing none of any sex or age. At whose sudden invasion the people, being in such fear and perplexity,

(having no city, no refuge, nor aid to stand in defence for them,) were faine to leave all that ever they had, and diverse themselves into woods, and fly into marshes and mountains, or wheresoever any succour else did offer itself to them. And by this time the Tartarian host was come as far as Uratislavia, where Henry of Polonia and the duke of Silesia with their armies met with them; who, for the inequality of the number and small strength they were of, had soon an overthrow, and almost all their soldiers being slain, they themselves were taken and put to the sword. From thence they came to Moravia, and from thence to the kingdom of Bohemia; which country, while the king kept himself in strong defended forts, and durst not come abroad, he invaded, and destroyed all Hungary, putting to flight and vanquishing Colmannus, the brother of Belus the fourth king of Hungary, by whom also was great spoil made in both the Pannonias, Misiarum, Bulgaria, and Servia. When Belus, the king of Hungary, had gotten to Pola, (which is a city of Istria,) unto Otho, the duke of Dalmatia, he sent his legates to Frederic the emperor, promising that if he would send him aid that the Tartarians might be expelled, then Hungary should ever after be under the jurisdiction of the emperor; which thing if he refused to do, that then the same were in great danger to be subject to the Tartarians, to the no little peril of the whole empire. And he said further, that the cause whereof he with more instance required the same, was, that so many Christian men and countries made such pitiful lamentation in this their great calamity and misery, and that there was none able to help them; which (saith he) is as great shame as may be to the whole Christian state and empire. And also he said, that if the malice of this barbarous people were not suppressed, then he thought they would make invasion upon the empire and provinces of the same.

The emperor, although he thought it very requisite, that with all convenient speed this mischief should be remedied and prevented; yet, notwithstanding, his great enemy the pope, with his confederates, was the only let and hinderance thereof. For when he saw and perceived that he himself could do no good, and only laboured in vain in seeking peace with the pope, he gave commandment to Boiemus and Bolus to entreat and persuade with him; and (considering the imminent peril like to ensue by reason of such civil dissension to the whole state of Christendom) that he would take up and conclude a peace, and mitigate somewhat his fierce and wrathful mood. Wherefore, when he saw further, that neither by that means of entreaty, nor any other, the pope would desist from his stubborn and malicious froward purpose, he writeth again to the king of Hungary, that he was right sorry, and greatly lamented their miserable state, and that he much desired to relieve the need and necessity that he and all the rest stood in. But why that he could not redress the same, nor stand him then in any stead, he blamed greatly the bishop of Rome; who refusing all entreaty of peace, he could not without great peril to himself depart out of Italy, lest that when he should come to the aid of him, (by the pope's mischievous imaginations,) he should be in peril of losing all at home. Notwithstanding, he sent Conrad Cæsar, king of Bohemia, and other princes more of Germany, to resist and withstand the enemy, as much as in them lay to do. The great army and number of such soldiers as wore the cross by the pope's assignment deferred their journey against the Tartarians, and had commandment given unto them by one Albert, the pope's procurator, to tarry and abide at home, until they should be called for in battle to fight against the emperor. This was the loving zeal and affection of the pope and his adherents (to conclude) in this time of calamity towards the Christian state and commonwealth, that he had rather bend his force and revenge his malice upon the Christian and good emperor, than either he himself to withstand, or suffer and permit, by conclusion of any profitable peace, that this most bloody and cruel Tartarian should be let and restrained

from so great havoc, spoil, and slaughter of the Christian men; and yet forsooth these men will seem to have the greatest regard of all others to the Christian preservation, and think to have the supremacy given therein: what thing else is this, but manifest mockery and deceiving of the people? But, notwithstanding, even in the midst of this spoil and havoc of Polonia, Bohemia, and Hungaria, was it determined, that at Libussa the princes confederate should be assembled about the deposing of the emperor, and creation of another.

But now, notwithstanding the provident foresight and wise policy of the emperor, (as you heard before,) in restraining the passages both by the sea and land, who had special regard thereunto, and gave most strict charge that none should pass without privy search and examination, as one having sufficient trial as well in his own person as by the example of his predecessors, what great mischief and dissension by their legates every way sent out they had procured, both to the imperial state and dignity, and to the whole country of Germany; yet found they such means, and wrought such policies, that they had not only secret passage and re-passage with their letters and spials into all Christendom where they listed, but also so laboured the matter, and handled the same, that the long-continued league of amity between the French king and the emperor, whose predecessors as also they themselves had many years reverently observed it in Christian concord and unity, was, by this seditious prelate and arrogant vicar of Satan, now either utterly infringed, or else in variable suspense; as by their letters each to other, and hereunder ensuing, is to be read and seen; which, for the more probability of this history of Frederic, not being long or greatly tedious, I thought meet here to intext and place.

"Hitherto, noble emperor, hath the good opinion and great confidence, many years in mutual love established betwixt us, lasted and continued well, hoping that no such cause should rise betwixt us to hatch either hatred or other occasion offensive between your Highness's empire and our kingdom. Especially, seeing that all our predecessors, kings of France, late of most worthy memory, till these our days, have been so zealously affected to the most high and regal state of your empire; and also that we, whom God hath placed successively to reign as king, have been no otherwise minded nor affected towards the same. None otherwise also on their behalf have the ancient and renowned emperors of Rome, our neighbours and your predecessors, showed themselves towards us, (each other esteeming the empire and kingdom of France as one,) and faithfully conserving together the unity of peace and concord. Insomuch that there hath not chanced between them these many years so much as one spark of discord and dissension. But, this notwithstanding, we for our part cannot but greatly marvel, and not without good cause are troubled and vexed, that without desert or any offence you have taken the prelates of our realm upon the sea, making their repair to the see apostolical; to the which, as well by their faith as their obedience, they stand bound and are obedient, neither could they withstand the pope's commandment; these have you imprisoned, and so still detain the same. Whereat (we do your Majesty to wit) we are not well pleased, neither yet take in so good part as you peradventure think ire do. For by their own letters we understand they had excogitate nothing prejudicial to your imperial estate and celsitude, although the pope had prosecuted therein more than became him to do. Wherefore, seeing that there is no cause why you should detain them, it is meet, and becometh no less your magnificence, but that you restore unto us and set at liberty the said prelates of our realm; wherein also you shall appease our grudge, and keep us your friend, which account the displeasure you do to them as our own and proper injury. For why? It

were a great dishonour to our realm and kingly estate, if we would wink hereat and overpass the same with silence. Wherefore if you will consider and respect the thing that we have said, we doubt not but that you will release the bishop of Penestrumb, with the other legates and prelates of the church, which you to our prejudice do detain. In desiring of our aid doubtless we gave unto them a manifest nay; neither could they obtain in our kingdom any thing at all which seemed to be against or prejudicial to your Majesty. Let therefore your imperial providence ponder in the balance of justice those things which we write unto you, neither let our lawful request unto you be frustrate or made in vain. For our realm and kingdom of France is not so debilitate or impoverished that it will be spurned at, or trodden under your feet. Fare ye well."

The rescript of the emperor to the same letter of the king of France.

"Our imperial magnificence hath perused your kingly letters, wherein if we had not found manifest contradiction, they might peradventure have obtained at our hands all that they required. But even as with a little leaven a whole lump of dough is soured, so a manifest untruth alleged hath made the whole argument of your letter both faulty and unsavoury. It is apparent that you wanted the virtue of mediocrity in the conclusion of the same your Grace's letter; for that they themselves bewray no less than we give you manifestly to understand, and many more besides do know. It is notorious also, and to all the world revealed, in what sort that apostolical father had impugned our innocency, as well with the one sword as with the other; and how that whilst we at his commandment took our journey beyond the seas, the same our great enemy and hostile adversary invaded our kingdom of Sicily; and the same, not in one place or two, but in divers and sundry parts thereof, hath wasted, spoiled, and destroyed. After this, when with great entreaty, at our return from Asia, we had concluded a peace with him, which with us at his own pleasure he made, and had taken and received our devotion for the same, which in serviceable manner we granted him, the said apostolical father (that notwithstanding) hath since that time rather aggravated his displeasure toward us, than any thing at all qualified the same; and further, hath to our deprivation and subversion excogitate and devised against us all the mischief he might or hath been able, no cause in all the world given of us to provoke the same; and further, hath promulgated to our great defamation and shame, as well by his letters as legates, the sentence of excommunication against us unto all nations. Lastly, he, aspiring to our imperial state, and conspiring our supplantation, hath made war against us, as against King David, God's anointed; and hath unto a private council for that purpose called all the prelates he can get, as one that meaneth to set all the whole world together by the ears. But such is the marvellous wisdom of God, by whom we live and reign; who, beholding the wicked purpose he went about, confounding the crafty in their craftiness, hath given into our hands as well your prelates of the realm of France, as also of other regions and provinces; all which we imprison and detain, as enemies and adversaries to our imperial crown and person. For where there desisted not to be a persecutor, there hath not wanted also a sufficient withstander and defender. Let not therefore your kingly Highness marvel, although Augustus detaineth in prison your French prelates, which have endeavoured themselves to conspire, and so to disturb, our imperial estate and regiment. Fare ye well."

When Frederic now saw there was none other remedy, and that in vain he laboured to have peace with the pope, he prosecuted this war to the uttermost; and when he had gotten Tudertum, and reconciled the same, he destroyed the town of Geminum and Narvia, and giveth the spoil of them unto his soldiers; he gently

received the yielding up of Siburnum, and wasteth all the country round about Rome. The pope herewith dismayed and troubled with such as otherwise dissuaded and counselled him, and seeing that things prospered not so well with him and against the emperor as he wished and desired, being in despair of obtaining his purpose, died for very anger and thought.

What opinion the prelates of Germany at that time had of this Gregory is extant, and to be seen by the oration of Eberhardus, bishop of Juvanence, that he made to the nobility of Boioria, in the parliament at Reginoburgh, written by Johannes Aventius in his seventh book. Doubtless he not only brought great and ruinous calamities to the whole Christian commonwealth and also empire, whilst he sought thus to depress and bridle the emperor, and advance his papal see and dignity, but also brought into the church of God much horrible impiety, blasphemy, and wickedness, whereof both Blondus, Platina, Balæus, and others make mention; and, amongst others, that most detestable canticle *Salve Regina*, in the which he attributeth the honour and worship proper only to Christ unto the Virgin his mother. This is he in whose name the book of the decretals was set out, which (to omit the opinion of divers other learned men) Johannes Balæus calleth "the sink or puddle of foolishness and impiety." Doubtless Carolus Molinæus, a man both of singular judgment in that law, which in tribunal courts and judgments is used, as also in this, painted forth the decree of this Gregory in his book of annotations unto Platina, whose words thereof are these: Doubtless divers chapters in the same book of decretals be mangled and imperfect, that many contentious arguments therein might lurk. For when the ambitious desire of reigning like kings took them, they studied nothing else but how to enlarge and advance their see and dominion with the empire itself and other kingdoms, oft shaken and weakened through contention; and this purpose and end had they none other in all their constitutions. The proof whereof Molinæus declareth in his book *De Regibus Galliæ et Angliæ*. But many more examples by the emperors, princes, and lords electors of the empire may be gathered, whereof to speak more convenient place shall serve hereafter.

In the stead of this Gregory was placed Celestine, born in Mediolanum amongst the Castellians, who, as Blondus declareth, by feigned promises offered a league with Frederic, and the eighteenth day after he was created pope he also died.

Thus when the author of all this conspiracy was gone, Frederic now thinking himself free and void of that fear which before he had, and not daring to be absent out of Italy, with all his endeavour levieth an army, and prepareth his furniture and other necessities for the delivery of the Christians, so mightily oppressed as ye heard by the Turk or Tartarians. Who, hearing of the coming of the emperor, left the straight way through Hungary, which they came, and returned by the river Danube to Taurica, and so through the fens of Meotida, and by the river Tanaum, into Sarmatia Asiatica. When the cardinals had now a long time protracted the creation of the pope, and would not agree upon the same, the emperor put them in remembrance of their duty, and blameth them for their disagreeing, and exhorteth them to be more careful for the Christian commonwealth. His two epistles touching this matter are extant; whereby appeareth, that only for the care and desire he had of peace and of the Christian unity and state he did the same; and for that (peradventure) the cardinals refused to make peace with him before they had created a new pope: the one for more brevity I have omitted, and here inserted the other.

"Unto you I write, O you children of Ephraim, which evil have bent your brows, and worse have shot your arrows, filthily turning your backs in the day of battle; unto you I speak, O you children of Belial, and dispurpled flock, you insensible people and assistants of the great Judge; unto you I write, O you dissentious cardinals, whom the world for your deserts doth hate; for whose causes the whole world being at variance is evil spoken of. Doubtless, I cannot speak unto you, but to your detraction, because I am worldly and you spiritual. I am unperfect, wherefore I must do as the unperfect world doth; neither can the part be dissonant to the whole, nor I contrary to myself that writeth. Attend ye therefore my rude epistle, wanting the dignity of rhetorical style. My provoked tongue bursteth forth into words, before my conceiving spirit hath delivered the same; and so, not attending to the higher regiment, hath hastened to express my words not fully conceived or premeditate. Thus, I say, a troubled mind oftentimes doth beget disordered talk, and untimely uttereth the same. This therefore it is that our heart hath conceived, that we believe, and all men confess, that Jesus Christ, the Mediator between God and man, who came from heaven to make peace upon the earth, is not divided and at variance, being also the Master and Lord of the apostles. But Satan, being divided in himself, that blustering prince is amongst you, as those to whom he ministereth; he, even he, the persuader of discord and dissension, that man-killer, father of lies, and spirit of darkness, that hath divided your tongues, and set dissension amongst yourselves; neither do ye good one to another, nor yet to the world, being by you into so perilous a state brought; and the little ship of Peter, which is tossed upon the sea by the vehement winds, you nothing regard; which ship, though it need not indeed utterly to fear drowning, yet suffereth it by your negligence many great storms and perilous tempests. Doubtless, if ye would diligently consider how the nations and people whom ye were wont to judge in scorn shake their heads at you, every one of you would be ashamed of another. And, to say the truth, they cannot do too much to detect your so detestable opprobry; for whilst every one of you aspireth to the chair, every one is at variance with his fellow; and whilst one of you cannot agree with another, none is promoted; and whilst none is promoted, the cathedral dignity vanisheth. And thus by your discord the peaceable state and concord of the church is confounded, and the perfection of the faith and religion, whereby ye should live, perisheth. And surely through your default it perisheth; so that where nature hath placed the sense and understanding to be, that part, like a monster, remaineth with you both senseless and headless. And no marvel; for why? your hearing is impaired, and that sound of the mouth which shrilly was heard throughout the whole earth is utterly dumb, and become a scoffing echo. For why? The thunderings of Peter and Paul are now no more heard, the preachers are become dumb dogs, and are commanded to silence. Perhaps you have hands ready to receive, but there be no bribes; for why? those that were wont to come from Saba and bring gold with them, now come no more, seeing the Lord is not in the manger, and the celestial shining star refusing to be their guide. Moreover, ye want feet to walk withal; for seeing there is no man to give you ought, you will not remove one foot for any man's pleasure. Fie, shameless people, the least and simplest beast may learn you obedience; for the birds have their captain, and the silly bees their king, but you will come under no government," &c.

The emperor yet after this, at the request of Baldwin, the emperor of Constantinople, who came to Frederic to Parma, released the cardinals out of prison, thinking thereby not only to gratify the emperor Baldwin, but also thinking that thereby things would have the better grown to public tranquillity on every side. When the cardinals were all assembled at Avignia, they made Sinibald, a Genoese, pope,

whom by a contrary name, for that he had determined (as I suppose) to be hurtful to the commonwealth, they called Innocentius the Fourth. Of which election when Frederic understood, he was well pleased therewith. And for that he had in all this troublous time been his friend, he well hoped that the Christian commonwealth should by him have been brought to much peace and concord. Wherefore he sent both his legates and letters gratulatory unto him, letting him to understand how well it contented and pleased him that he was made pope; and what peace and quietness thereby he promiseth, as it were to himself, he maketh full relation thereof; offering again unto him observance, help, and aid in all things, commending his dignity to the public state and quietness of the Christian commonwealth and empire, &c.

He also wrote his letters to Otho, duke of Boioria, who, a little before, was reconciled to the emperor, that he which was elected pope was a good man, a lover of peace, and studious as well for the tranquillity of the Christian commonwealth as of the empire.

The legates of Frederic also, with the furtherance of Baldwin, the emperor of Constantinople, laboured very diligently for the conclusion of the promised peace. And, to be brief, every man was in good hope, and looked for no less. But far otherwise fell the matter out, and contrary to all their expectation. For the pope, set on and encouraged by the cardinals and others against Frederic, secretly and amongst themselves wrought contrary to that they openly pretended, and not a little disappointed both Frederic and others of their expectation and good opinion they had of the pope's Holiness. For whilst the emperor's legates attended the answer of their peace before promised, Rainerus, the cardinal, went secretly to Viterbium with a certain number of soldiers, and took the town which before was on the emperor's part.

The emperor having understanding hereof, mustereth his bands, and with a sufficient power entereth the pope's dominion again to recover Viterbium; but yet, taking this war so in hand, (not thinking thereby to expel all conditions of peace,) at the request of certain of the cardinals he was contented to leave Viterbium, being furnished by the emperor of warlike provision before, and came to Aqua. From thence he sent again other ambassadors to Rome, and with them also the emperor of Constantinople, with the earl of Toulouse, who he thought were able to do much with the pope in the prosecuting of this peace. And although at the time of Easter the matter seemed to have been through, and peace concluded, for that his legates had sworn in the behalf of the emperor (and as he willed them) that he would submit himself to the pope; and again, for that the cardinals and others commonly called and named him Frederic the Christian prince; yet all this was no more but for a further fetch and purpose. Not for that they meant indeed to conclude any peace with him, or to go through there withal, but that through this dissimulation and likelihood of peace, which they understood the emperor much desired, he should set free and open the passages which he straitly kept, that no man could pass and come to Rome, whither a great multitude daily resorted and flocked for religion's sake. But when all came to all, and that the legates perceived no conclusion of peace was simply purposed on their behalf, they began to despair of the matter; letting the emperor so to understand. The emperor yet notwithstanding doubted not, but if he might himself speak with the pope, he, upon reasonable conditions, should well enough accord with him; wherefore he, by his legates and letters, desired him to appoint a place where the emperor might resort to him. The pope seemed to be contented here-withal, and appointed a day at Fescennia, where they would talk together; and the pope promised that he would be there before him, and expect the emperor's coming. But the pope in this while had

made a confederacy with the French king against Frederic; who, when he knew those three galleys to be ready and brought unto Centincellas, which he before had spoken for unto the Genoese, secretly in the night with his company (hastening thither in post speed) took ship, and first came to Genoa, and from thence to Lyons in France; where he, calling a council, with a loud voice summoneth Frederic, and appointing him a day, commanded him there personally to plead his cause.

And yet although he understood that the sudden departing of him out of Italy made plain demonstration of no conclusion or meaning of a peace; and also knew the council which the pope had called, wherein he was himself both plaintiff and judge; and at the same council those, which he had by bribes allured, pretended the destruction of the emperor; with many other such evident demonstrations, both of his envious and hateful heart towards him; yet the most modest emperor, using the innocency and uprightness of his cause, and as one most desirous of peace and Christian concord, sent the patriarch of Antioch, which lately was come out of Syria, the bishop of Panormia, and Thadeus Suessanus, the president of his court, (a most skilful and prudent civilian,) to the council at Lyons; which signified unto them that the emperor would be there for the defence of his own cause; and, for that the day was very short, required a time more convenient for him thither to make his repair. The emperor also being onward on his way, and come as far as Taurinum, sent before other messengers, as the master of the Flemish order, and Peter of Venice, to give them understanding of the emperor's coming, and to entreat that he would prorogue the day of hearing, till that he might conveniently travel thither. But for any thing that could be either said or done, or upon how just cause soever required, the pope would not give so much as three days' space, in the which time the ambassadors assured them of the emperor's presence; as though there had been no common proviso for every man in that case by the law to have used upon any reasonable let. What should I longer protract the time? When the day by them appointed was come, the pope with his confederates, (whom for money and bribes he had gotten to that council,) against God's law, against Christian doctrine, against both the prescript of the law of nature and reason, against the rule of equity, against the order of law appointed, against the constitutions of emperors, and also the decrees of the empire, without any observation of the law, or granting dilatory days, without probation of any crime, or his cause suffered to be pleaded unto, or heard what might be answered therein, taking upon him to be both adversary and judge, condemned the emperor being absent. What more wicked sentence was ever pronounced? What more cruel fact, considering the person, might be committed? Or what thing more brutish and beastly could have been imagined or devised? And yet hereat were those bishops nothing ashamed; but meaning to leave their doings in writing, (as an impudent testimony to their posterity,) established the same for a law to continue.

But mark what vengeance God took upon this wicked judge. The writers of the Annals record, that when Fredericus the emperor, and Conradus his son, being Cæsar, were both dead, the pope, gaping for the inheritance of Naples and Sicily, and thinking by force to have subdued the same, came to Naples with a great host of men, where was heard in the pope's court manifestly pronounced this voice, Thou wretch, come to receive thy judgment. And the next day after the pope was found in his bed dead, all black and blue, as though he had been beaten with bats, as before in the history of King John is declared.

When the emperor had understanding of this cruel and tyrannical sentence of the pope, passed and pronounced against him, considering his furious purpose and

mind therein, thought good by his letters to let all Christian princes and potentates understand, as well the injuries and manifold displeasures he had sustained by the four popes in all their times, as also the cruelty and tyranny of this pope, in pronouncing the sentence of judgment and condemnation against him, (passing the bounds both of justice, equity, and reason,) which letter as he wrote the same hereunder followeth to be seen.

"Although we suppose not the contrary, but that both by true certificate and common rumour you have heard of the indifferency of our cause and good handling thereof; yet for that more credit is commonly given to that the eye seeth than to that the ear receiveth, we thought good to present unto you the naked truth of such things which the popes successively have put forth and forged against us. To the perusing and consideration of which my case and letter, I beseech your gentleness, amongst other times of leisure, that you will spy out some fit and convenient time therefore. And all other whatsoever that shall have desire to hear princes' counsels and affairs, let them in like sort attentively consider, first, whether our predecessors have been destitute or not of godly zeal, just dealing, and righteousness; and whether we may not lawfully revenge ourselves, being so much provoked, of such evils and injuries as have been wrought against us. Secondly, let them consider whether Christ's vicar doth follow Christ's steps or not; and whether Peter's successors do follow his example or not; and also by what law, equity, and right that sentence which they have pronounced against us may be maintained and allowed; as also what name they may justly give it, and whether that may be said to be a sentence which is given by an insufficient judge or not. For although we acknowledge that the Lord hath given full power in spiritual things unto his church, that whatsoever the same bindeth in earth is bound in heaven, and whatsoever the same looseth is also loosed; yet we read neither by God's law, nor by any law of man, that we ought of duty to be subject unto him, or that an empire ought at his pleasure to be transformed and transposed, or that he may give any such sentence or judgment to punish princes temporally, and deprive them of their kingdoms. For why? Although our consecration belongeth unto him by right and custom, (as he challengeth,) yet our deposing and depriving doth no more belong to him, than doth that presumption belong to any other prelate of other realms, which do consecrate and anoint their kings, as the custom and manner is. Or put case it were so, (we nothing hindered hereby,) that he had such power; hath he that power to the intent to revenge himself upon whomsoever his malicious mind consenteth, and without all equity and law to bring them under his jurisdiction? He hath proceeded of late against us, as is said, but not by the order of accusation, forsomuch as neither was there any sufficient accuser, neither went there out any inscription or process before; neither yet by denunciation, forsomuch as there lacked a lawful denouncer; neither yet by the way of inquisition, for that there went before it no manifest accusation. But he peradventure will say that all things that he layeth against us were manifest and notorious. But that do we deny, and nothing to be notorious, but that which may by a sufficient number of witnesses be approved and tried. For so may every judge himself (contemning the order of law) affirm what he lust to be notorious, and thus condemn whom he list. There were against us (as well it may be said in council) certain false witnesses, although not many, of whom the bishop of Calin was one, whose near kinsman or nephew (by our laws condemned for treason to be hanged) maketh also to us an infestine enemy." To such-like effect prosecuting the rest of his epistle, which for brevity sake I omit.

This policy used the pope to vex and disturb both the country of Germany and the whole empire; and not so only, but also utterly to destroy and subvert the same; by the ruinous decay whereof the pope and his prelates thought to make up their mouths. And thus, whilst that Germany was now newly again divided, some taking part with Frederic the emperor, and Conrad Cæsar, his son, and other nobles and princes of the empire, some with those that should by the pope's procurement be the electors of the new emperor, other some with neither of both, as men not minding nor tending to the public utility, but to serve their own purposes, armed themselves; and thus was the public peace and quiet broken and disturbed, and all together in tumult and hurly-burly. For whilst the one part laboured by all force to retain the dominion by public and common consent first to him committed, the other part in like sort endeavoured themselves with all their force and power to use and occupy the same, according unto the decree of the bishop of Rome, and to take it from Frederic: thus great conflicts grew on all parts.

By these civil wars Germany suffered no little calamity; in every place was manslaughter and murder; the country spoiled, the towns and villages set on fire and burnt, the churches and temples, wherein the husbandmen had put their goods and substance, violated and robbed; houses were pulled down, the goods divided, and every man's cattle driven away. To conclude, in this turmoil and contention of deposing and choosing another emperor, in this faction of princes, and this liberty of wearing armour, in this licence of hurting and sinning, the impudent boldness of divers private soldiers, and especially of such as were the horsemen, then counted the better sort of soldiers, was so great, and their unbridled and insatiable desire in robbing, spoiling, and taking of booties, catching and snatching all that came to hand, so much, that nothing could be sure and in safety that any good man enjoyed. Wherefore, a little before the death of Gulielmus the king, threescore cities and towns which were belonging to Louis Palatinus, duke of Boioria and Rhenus, and Otho his son, and other princes, whose names Aventinus, in his seventh book of the Annals of the Boiores, maketh mention of, joined themselves in a league for the expelling of these rebels, and repressing of their so great injurious rapines and slaughter of men. Of which army the said Louis being captain, he chased and drave the whole rout of them to the uttermost parts of Germany, and pulled down and overthrew their castles and fortresses, and every other place where they had intrenched themselves.

Otho Boius yet notwithstanding keepeth his promise and faith most constantly made before to the Emperor Frederic and Conradus his son. Whereupon, Philippus Juvanensis, Albert, and others, calling a council at Mildorsus, (by the pope's commandment,) sent for Otho unto them, unto whom they opened the pope's pleasure and commandment. To all which, when he had heard, Otho answered, I cannot marvel at some of you enough, that whenas heretofore you persuaded me to leave and forsake the part I took with the bishop of Rome, whom you yourselves affirmed to be antichrist, and that I should take part with the emperor, why that you yourselves will not keep your fidelity and promise made unto those good princes: and he said that he perceived in them a great inconstancy and levity, both in their words and deeds, which now call that wicked, unjust, and violent wrong, that but lately they thought equal, just, and right. He said further, that they were overcome with pleasures, corrupted with superfluity, won with bribes, gaping for honour and estimation; and that they neither regarded honesty, godliness, nor their duty and office; but studied how to make dissension and commotions, and longed after war and bloody battle.

He said further, that for his part he would obey God and his prince, to whom he had sworn fidelity, and that he nought esteemed the feigned holiness and detestable practices of such prelates. He said he believed in Christ, and would trust to his mercy, and that he believed how those whom they cursed and gave to the devil were in greatest favour with God. Howbeit, and notwithstanding those prelates took in good part this expostulation of his, and seemed to bear Otho no malice or grudge for that he had said, but to be desirous of peace and unity; yet not long after Otho was cursed as black as all the rest, and counted as bad as the worst.

Albertus, the pope's champion now in Germany, playeth not only rex amongst the citizens, but also bethought him of a mischievous device against Conrad Cæsar, the emperor's son. When by fraud end subtlety he had gotten and taken many of the rich burgesses and citizens of Reginoburgh, which bare the emperor good-will, and had sent them prisoners to Staffum, Conrad, joining with other noblemen of the empire, (after he had spoiled and wasted much of his lands and others his companions,) drave him so near, that upon certain other conditions he delivered again the citizens. And shortly after coming again to Reginoburgh, and being received and welcomed into the college of D. Hamaranus, Albert, with certain of his confederates, by the means of Ulricus, a chief officer of the monks, came in the dead time of the night into the chamber, where the Cæsar with a few others about him did lie; and falling upon them, some they took, and other some they slew; and finding no other body in the chamber or lodging, they thought that Cæsar had been slain among the rest. But he, hearing the noise, forsook his bed, and hid himself under a bench, and so escaped their hands. The next day he outlawed or proscribed the bishop and his mates, and also the monk's bailiff, of treason, and seized upon all the goods of the house. But at the suit of the guiltless monks he released all to them again, taking by way of fine one hundred pounds. Ulricus lost his office, and Albertus, thereby to escape danger of punishment, took upon him the habit of a monk. Conrad Hochenfelseus, which was the murderer of these men, though he escaped the punishment of man's hand, yet the vengeance of God for the fact he escaped not. For as he rode in the day time abroad, he was suddenly struck with a thunderbolt and died.

59. Frederic's Last Campaign and Death. Summary of his Character

During all this busy and contentious time, it may well be gathered, that Frederic the emperor lay not still, but had his hands full; who notwithstanding (by God's help overcoming and suppressing these or the greater part of these rebellious popish tumults, and having done strict execution on those especially that had conspired against his person) calling a council, and setting in some stay the troublesome affairs of his kingdom, came to Cremona with Frederic, prince of Antioch, Richard, earl of Umbria, the governor of Flamminia, and Encius, king of Sardinia, with a great number besides of soldiers and men of war. And besides, he took with him (which he sent for out of every part) the wisest, most virtuous, and best learned men that there were, thinking with them to have gone himself to Lyons to the pope, and there to have with him communication, as well concerning the sentence definitive, as also about the conclusion of any peace, if by any means he might. And when all things were prepared and ready, he took the journey in hand, and came to Taurinum, having with him both a great army of soldiers, and also a great company of legates and ambassadors. From thence sending his carriages before, within three days' journey of Lyons he was certified that Parma was taken and kept by the outlaws of divers and sundry factions of the pope, his near neighbours and friends; as by the pope's legate, and other citizens, as of Brixia, Placentia, and such like. Which thing when he understood, and that the pope herein was the only and chief doer, he saw manifestly it should little prevail to attempt any further the thing he went about; and then at length, when he saw no other remedy, putting from him all hope of peace, determined himself to the wars with all his force and might. Thus, altering his purpose and journey, he took the straightest way into Lombardy, and with an army of sixty thousand men he besieged Parma. And to the intent he might more aptly and near the town plant his siege and battery without disturbance, first he entrenched his camp, and fortified the same about with bulwarks and other defensible munition. After that, he caused divers victualling houses and taverns in his camp to be slightly builded of timber; and without the camp be appointed the place where the market should be kept, and all victuallers resort that would. He appointed places for their churches and temples, and in seemly manner adorned the same; and for the most part their tents were builded with wood, so that it was like another Parma. All which things when he had finished, which was not long in doing, for this happy and prosperous success he called and named it Victoria, and had thought to have made the same to be in the stead of the city of Parma, the which he purposed to have made level with the ground. And in the beginning, both there and elsewhere, all things prospered well with Frederic, and had good success; for he sharply laid to their charges that defended and kept the city of Parma. And further, Robert Castilioneus, which was the emperor's lieutenant in Picenum, near unto Auximum, discomfited the pope's army, and slew of them more than four thousand, and took many such as were of the confederate cities prisoners. And when the factions or companies of the Ghibellines and Guelphs in Florentia were at controversy, when Frederic of Etruria came to the Ghibellines, to whom they had sent for aid, the Guelphs, therewith dismayed, fled from thence to Bononia, whose goods and substance came all to the emperor's coffers, and Florentia also itself to the emperor's obedience. But this good success and prosperous fortune

lasted not long. For as at a time Frederic to recreate himself (which seldom had his health) rode about the fields with certain of his horsemen to hawk and hunt, many of the emperor's soldiers, thinking nothing less than of such a matter to be attempted of a many starvelings within the town of Parma, wandered and ranged unarmed out of their city Victoria about the fields. The soldiers in Parma, having this occasion offered, with all force and speed possible entered the emperor's camp or town Victoria; which being not strongly fenced, nor having gates to shut against them, was a thing easy enough to do. The sudden strangeness of the matter much abashed the soldiers, and they rang out their larum bell. The first assault was given upon Marcus Malaspina's charge; whom when the emperor, returning in all haste, found to be hard beset, he had thought to have rescued him. But when that was perceived of the enemy, they bent all their force altogether on that side, insomuch that the emperor was forced to take the trench, lest he should have been of the enemy environed; and from thence he retired into the city or camp, where he had thought to have gathered further aid. But the enemy, giving not so much time thereunto, with all force entered the city Victoria. The emperor now, when the enemies were entered, left the camp, and came to Dominum; who, when they had killed and slain a great number of the emperor's soldiers, and had burnt and destroyed the same camp Victoria, came again to Parma. The emperor then suspecting this thing to be wrought by treason, whereby the enemy had understanding as well of the emperor's absence, as also of the negligence of his soldiers, imprisoned certain of the chiefest about him, amongst whom also was Peter of Venice. Yet whilst he was at Dominum, gathering together his soldiers and residue of his bands, Encius getteth a great victory of the Mansuanos, who, coming to the rescue of Parma, lost fifty of their ships, and all that they had in them.

After this also, Richard in another conflict in Picenum discomfited the pope's soldiers, and slew their captain Hugolinus, besides two thousand others slain and taken prisoners. When now Frederic had gathered again, and new-mustered his bands at Dominum, he marched forth to Cremona; and notwithstanding that there he understood of the good success and victory that Encius had at Rhegium, yet for that he perceived the defection and backsliding of all or most part of Lombardy from him, he determined to take his journey into Apulia. And when he had there levied a strong and sufficient power, he purposed to make a speedy return again into Lombardy. Therefore, in his journey through Etruria into Apulia, he joined with his son Frederic, which besieged Capras, and took the same; and led with him divers of the chiefest captains prisoners, and after that, subduing unto the obedience of the empire Miniatum, he came into Apulia.

When news was brought him thither, that Encius his son (coming to aid the Mutinenses against the Bononians) was taken prisoner two miles from Mutina; and that in his absence the pope's captains, with their bands and garrisons, went throughout all Lombardy, Emilia, Flamminia, and Etruria, to stir and procure the cities to revolt from the obedience of the emperor; and working the same, partly by subtle policies, and partly by force and sinister means, to bring them to his purpose; he determined with himself, with all the force and power he might by any means procure and make, to have begun afresh, and prosecuted his war to the uttermost. Neither was it to be doubted (as Pandolphus Colonucius writeth) but that he would have wrought some marvellous exploit and great attempt, but that he was of this his purpose (whereunto he was both willing and bent) prevented by unlooked-for death. For when he fell into this ague, being at a certain castle of his in Apulia, called Florentinum, and saw by the extremity thereof his days to be short, he remembered

that which was once showed him, how he should die at Florence; whereupon he made and ordained his testament. And when unto Conrad and other his children he had given and appointed the great and innumerable mass of money which he had collected and levied for the maintenance of his wars, and godly purpose, (as it is called,) and unto them also had given all other his kingdoms and dominions, (to every one according to their ages and years,) he departed this wretched and miserable world.

Pandolphus writeth, that Frederic was very willing to die, and, as they made certain report to him which were present at his death, that his mind was altogether set and bent on the heavenly joy and felicity. Which thing also William Putranus, Andrew Pandalus, and Manardus, the bishop, being Italian writers, do all affirm; of whom this last writeth, that he assuredly believeth Frederic to be one of the number of God's elect.

The writers, notwithstanding, are of sundry judgments and opinions touching this good emperor's death. Some write that he was traitorously poisoned by his cup-bearer, being hired thereunto. Some others, that he was strangled with a pillow of Manfred, the son of Pherus. But Pandolph, as good a writer as the best, maketh no mention of any poison that was given him, but only that he died of an ague. The last opinion of Manfred he manifestly refuteth, and showeth that there is no manner of likelihood of the same; and further, that the contrary is affirmed by divers other writers that were of that time. He died in the year of our Lord 1268, the thirteenth day of December, in the seven and fiftieth year of his age, and seven and thirtieth year of his reign, whose corpse was brought to Panormum, and there entombed.

Frederic had three wives: the first was Constantia, the daughter of the king of Arragon; of whom he begat Henry, the duke of Suevia and king of the Romans: the other Jole, the daughter of Johannes Brennus, king of Jerusalem, by whom he had the inheritance of Jerusalem, Naples, and Sicily; of whom he begat Conrad, duke of Suevia, king of Jerusalem and Naples, being Cæsar: the third, Isabella, the daughter of King John of England; by whom he had a son named Henry, which is said to die in his childhood. This Frederic had not his peer in martial affairs and warlike policies to be compared unto him amongst all the princes of that age: a wise and skilful soldier he was, a greater endurer of painful labours and travels, most bold in greatest perils, prudent in foresight, industrious in all his doings, prompt and nimble about that he took in hand, and in adversity most stout and courageous. But as in this corruption of nature few there be that attain perfection, neither yet is there any prince almost of such government and godly institution both in life and doctrine as is required of them; so neither was this Frederic without his fault and human fragility; for the writers impute to him some fault of concupiscence, wherewith he was stained and spotted. And it appeareth that he was not all clear thereof, forasmuch as by sundry concubines he had sundry children; as Encius, the king of Sardinia, Manfred, the prince of Sarentinum, and Frederic, king of Antioch. And this is all that I find of the description of Frederic by Colonucius, which he affirmeth that he gathered out of good and probable authors. But as touching the heinous acts and flagitious deeds which the pope burdeneth him withal, and in his sentence against him maketh mention of, Frederic not only purgeth himself thereof, but also divers historians (as well German writers as Italians) affirm the same to be false, and of the pope's own brains invented to do him injury. Of which matter those things which Pandolph, touching the commendation or dispraise of Frederic, writeth I thought good out of Italian to translate; whose words be these.

"Albeit the emperor Frederic was endued with many goodly gifts and virtues, yet, notwithstanding, was he accounted an enemy of the church, and a persecutor of the same; of which both Innocent the Fourth in his sentence hath pronounced him guilty, and the same sentence have other popes registered in their six books of decretals, and stablished the same for a law, how that he ought to be taken for no less. Therefore peradventure it should not become me to falsify or call in question that which others have confirmed, or else to dispute and argue much of that matter. Yet, notwithstanding, as much as his acts and deeds in writing declare, and the books of the chiefest authors affirm, as also his own epistles do testify, I cannot precisely say, whether the bishops of Rome so call him and judge him therefore; or else for that he was somewhat too bold in speaking and telling them but the truth, and reproving the ecclesiastical order of their great abuses; or else, whether for that he would have had them gone somewhat more near the conditions and lives of the ancient fathers of the primitive church and disciples of Christ; or whether for that he defended and stood with them for the prerogative and dignities belonging to the empire or not; or else, whether they stood in fear and awe of the great power he was of in Italy, which thing indeed Gregory the Ninth in a certain epistle of his confesseth: but of these things let them judge and discern that shall read the monuments and histories of Frederic. Truly, saith he, when I consider with myself that Christ, whose vicar the Roman bishops boast themselves to be, said unto his disciples, that they should follow him, and also imitate his example, as of their Master and Teacher; and commanded them furthermore, how they should not draw the sword, but put up the same into the scabbard; and further, gave them in precept that they should not only forgive injuries seven times, but seventy times seven times to those that offended them; and when I now compare the lives of the bishops of Rome, how near they follow him whose vicar they say they be; and consider so many and great conspiracies, treasons, rebellions, disloyalties, lyings in wait, and treacherous devices, so many legates of the pope's, (being ecclesiastical persons,) which will needs be called the shepherds of Christ's flock, to be such warriors and captains of soldiers in all the parts of Italy, Campania, Apulia, Calabria, (being the emperor's dominions,) in Picenum, Emilia, Flamminia, and Lombardy, to be sent out against him; and also when with myself I meditate the destruction of so many great and famous cities, the subversion of such commonwealths, the slaughter of so many men, and the effusion of so much Christian blood; and lastly, when I behold so victorious, prosperous, and fortunate emperors to be, and so many miserable, unfortunate, and vanquished popes put to flight; I am persuaded with myself to think and believe, that the judgments of God are secret and marvellous, and that to be true which Æneas Sylvius, in his history of Austria, writeth, that there is no great and marvellous slaughter, no notorious and special calamity, (that hath happened either to the public weal, or else to the church of God,) of the which the bishops of Rome have not been the authors. Nicholas Machiavel also saith, that all the ruinous calamities and miserable chances that the whole Christian commonwealth and also Italy hath suffered, have been brought in by the popes and bishops of Rome.

Many epistles of Frederic there be which he wrote unto the bishops of Rome, to the cardinals, and to divers other Christian princes, all which I have read, and in them is to be seen nothing contrary unto Christian doctrine, nothing wicked and ungodly, nothing injurious to the church of God, nothing contumelious or arrogantly written of Frederic. But indeed I deny not the same to be fraught and full of pitiful complaints and lamentations, touching the avaricious ambition of the ecclesiastical persons, and pertinacy of the bishops of Rome, and that he would receive and take no

satisfaction nor yet excuse in the defence of the right and privilege of the empire which he maintained; also of their manifold and infinite conspiracies which they practised both secretly and openly against him; and of the often admonitions which he gave to the whole multitude and order ecclesiastical to attend upon and discharge their functions and charges. And who that further is desirous to know and understand the truth, and coveteth to search out the renowned virtues of magnificent princes, let them read the epistle of Frederic, dated to all Christian princes, which thus beginneth, *Collegerunt principes, pontifices et Pharisæi concilium*; and another, wherein he persuadeth the college of cardinals to take up the dissension between the emperor and the pope, which beginneth, *In exordio nascentis mundi*; and also another which thus beginneth, *veritatis testem*; besides yet another, *Ad reges et principes orbis Christiani*; with divers others more, wherein may well be seen the princely virtues of this so worthy a peer: all which epistles, collected together in the Latin tongue, the learned sort I wished to read, whereout they may pick no little benefit and commodity to themselves. In his epistle last recited these are his words: Think ye not that we so earnestly desire or crave this peace at your hands, as though our Majesty were terrified with the pope's sentence of deprivation; when God, upon whom we trust and invoke, is our witness, and judge of our conscience, that when we went about to reform the ecclesiastical state, but especially the ringleaders of the same, and should restrain their power, and extirpate their great tyranny, and reduce the same to the state and condition of the primitive church, we looked for no less at their hands.' For these causes peradventure those which had the government of the ecclesiastical dignity decreed and pronounced Frederic to be an enemy to the church; which, as I have said, I leave to others to judge thereof." Hitherto Pandolphus Colonucius.

And doubtless examples to the contrary do appear, that Frederic was no enemy to the Church of Rome, for that he both gave large and great gifts thereunto, and also franchised the same with great privileges and immunities, which things by his own constitutions, statutes, and customs may be perceived and understood. But rather contrariwise, that the bishops of Rome most filthily recompensed the same his great liberality and princely benevolence again, which he gave and bestowed upon the same, as partly in the discourse of this history you have heard; who, notwithstanding they so molested and tired him with such and so many injuries as you have seen, he nevertheless, forgiving and pardoning all the same, for the great zeal he had to the common Christian wealth, (whereof he more forced than of any other thing,) sought by all means he might for to have peace, although it were to his own great hinderance. Therefore, seeing he was of necessity by the bishops of Rome provoked to that war, if he did them any scath in revenge of his imperial dignity, let them thank their own selves, which might otherwise have remedied the same. Notwithstanding, upon this occasion divers (both Italian and German writers, which at that time sought for fat benefices, and ever since, even unto these our days, have done the like, by flattery rather to obtain that which they hunted for, than to bear true and faithful testimony of things as they were indeed) took great occasion to write and slander this good emperor. But let us pass over these parasites, and return to those which, although they themselves were of that calling, I mean of the ecclesiastical order, yet, notwithstanding, for that they rather preferred the study of verity, and to reverence the truth before popish authority and flattering servitude, greatly extolled and commended this good emperor Frederic. So did Nicolaus Cusanus, a cardinal, in his writing affirm this emperor to be a Charlemagne, both for his wisdom and also diligent regard to the commonwealth. So also writeth Ægidius Biturigum, the bishop, in his books of the

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institution and bringing up of a prince, which he wrote to the French king, exhorting him and all others to take a pattern of this most worthy and excellent prince.

Wherefore, insomuch as it appeareth by the approved writers of whom I have made mention, who and what manner of prince Frederic this emperor was, and that because he diligently laboured as well in the preservation of the Christian commonwealth, as in the conservation of the imperial dignity, he procured to himself the great hatred and displeasure of the Roman bishops, (who have been to all the good emperors for the most part utter foes and enemies,) and with what wicked slanders and other injuries both by them and by their ministers they continually molested him; this lesson ought to be ours, that having the same in our memory, we imitate and follow his virtues, hating and detesting the wicked and flagitious doings of those holy fathers that will so be called, and bishops of Rome; desiring God that he will so guide the hearts of all kings and princes, that they may by his grace advance and set forth his glory, and reform the corrupt and vicious manner and order of the church to all sincerity and purity both of life and doctrine.

60. Gulielmus and Other Champions of Christ

As ye have heard of the iniquity and raging pride of the popish church against their lawful emperor; so now shall ye hear (Christ willing) how God beginneth to resist and withstand the corruption of that whorish church, by stirring up certain faithful teachers in sundry countries; as in the country of Suevia about the time of this emperor, A.D. 1240, or near upon the same, where were many preachers, mentioned in the Chronicle of Urspergensis, and also in Crantzius, which preached freely against the pope. These preachers, (as Crantzius saith,) ringing the bells, and calling the barons in Hallis of Suevia, there preached that the pope was a heretic, and that his bishops and prelates were simoniacs and heretics; and that the inferior priests and prelates had no authority to bind and loose, but were all seducers. Item, that no pope, bishop, or priest could restrain men from their duty of serving and worshipping of God, and therefore such cities or countries as were then under the pope's curse might, notwithstanding, lawfully resort to the receiving of sacraments as well as before. Item, that friars, Dominic and Franciscan, did subvert the church with their preaching. And that the indulgence of the pope and his popelings was of no regard; but that remission which they did preach unto them, they preached it not from the pope, but as from the Lord. And thus much I thought here to recite, whereby it may appear how the resisting of the pope's usurped power and corrupt doctrine is no new thing in these days in the church of Christ, &c.

And not long after these aforesaid, rose up Arnoldus de Nova Villa, a Spaniard, and a man famously learned, and a great writer, A.D. 1250, whom the pope with his spirituality condemned among heretics for holding and writing against the corrupt errors of the popish church. His teaching was, that Satan had seduced the world from the truth of Christ Jesus. Item, that the faith (which then Christian men were commonly taught) was such a faith as the devils had; meaning belike (as we now affirm) that the papists do teach only the historical faith, which is the faith *historiæ*, *non fiduciæ*. Item, that Christian people (meaning belike for the most part) are led by the pope unto hell. Item, that all cloisterers are void of charity, and damned; and that they all do falsify the doctrine of Christ. Item, that the divines do evil in mixing philosophy with divinity. Item, that masses are not to be celebrated; and that they ought not to sacrifice for the dead. Certain other opinions there be which the slanderous sects of monks and friars do attribute unto him; but (as they are wont in all other to do) rather upon envious taking, than of any just cause given.

And as this Arnold was condemned, so also the same time Johannes Semeca, the gloss-writer of the pope's decrees, and provost of Halberstat, was excommunicated and deprived of his provostship, for resisting Pope Clement the Fourth, gathering certain exactions in Germany; and therefore he appealed from the pope to a general council, and had many great favourers on his side, till at last both the pope and he died.

Consequently in this order and number followeth the worthy and valiant champion of Christ and adversary of antichrist Gulielmus de S. Amore, a master of Paris, and chief ruler then of that university. This Gulielmus in his time had no small ado, writing against the friars, and their hypocrisy, but especially against the begging friars, both condemning their whole order, and also accusing them as those that did

disturb, and trouble all the churches of Christ, by their preaching in churches against the will of the ordinaries and pastors, by their hearing of confessions, and executing the charges of curates and pastors in their churches. All the testimonies of Scripture that make against antichrist he applieth them against the clergy of prelates, and the pope's spirituality. The same Gulielmus is thought to be the author of the book, which is attributed to the, school of Paris, and entitled *De Periculis Ecclesiæ*, where he proveth by nine and thirty arguments that friars be false apostles.

Moreover, he doth well expound this saying of Christ, If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell away all thou hast, and come follow me; declaring there poverty to be enjoined us of Christ, not in such sort as standeth in outward action, when no need requireth; but inward affection of heart, when need shall require. As though the meaning and precept of our Lord were not, that we should cast away actually all that we have; but that, when the confession of the name of God and the glory of Christ shall so require, then we be ready to leave and relinquish what things soever for the sake of him, &c. As when he requireth in us, after the like phrase, hatred of father and mother, and of our own lives, he biddeth us not to dishonour father or mother, much less to hate them; but that then, when case shall require, we set all things behind the love of Christ. Many other worthy works he compiled, wherein albeit he uttered nothing but what was truth, yet notwithstanding he was by antichrist and his rabble condemned for a heretic, exiled, and his books burnt; whose heretical arguments, as they called them, that thou mayest better judge thereof, hereunder I thought good to place.

Against false prophets, with signs to know them by, these his words do follow. For because these seducers (saith he) name themselves to be apostles, and say that they are sent of God to preach, to absolve and dispense with the souls of men, by means of their ministry, read the saying of the apostle in his Second Epistle to the Corinthians, chap. xi., For such apostles are subtle and crafty workmen, disguising themselves to be like the apostles of Christ. Therefore we mean to show some certain infallible tokens and probable, by the which false apostles may be discerned from the true preachers and apostles of Christ.

The first sign or mark is, that such as be true preachers do not enter into simple women's houses laden with sin, and take them as it were captive, as many of the false preachers do; as in the Second Epistle of St. Paul to Timothy, the third chapter, is manifest, saying, Of those sorts are they which enter into women's houses, &c. Therefore those preachers which come into women's houses, to the intent they may take them captive, be not true preachers, but false apostles.

The second sign and token is, that those that be true preachers do not deceive simple men with painted and flattering words, whereby they prefer their own trash and tradition, as all false prophets do, as in the last chapter to the Romans appeareth, saying, By their pleasant and sugared talk, and by their blessing and crossing, they deceive and beguile the hearts of innocent men and women. Glossary. Which gay, glorious words they extol and set forth their traditions, whereby they deceive simple men. Very greatly do they deceive the souls of simple men, which cause them to enter into their sect, which they term religion. And they which before led a naughty life, by reason of their ignorance or simplicity, after their entrance become subtle and false deceiving hypocrites, entering together with the rest into poor men's houses; yea, and oftentimes become worse than the others. Whereupon Matt. xxiii., Woe be unto you,

scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! which go about, &c. Therefore they which do this are no true messengers, but false apostles.

The third sign is, that the true apostles, if they be reprov'd, suffer the same patiently, 2 Cor. xii., saying, The tokens of my apostleship are accomplished among you in all patience and sufferance, meaning that patience which pertaineth to the manners of the preachers. Therefore they which suffer not correction or punishment be no true apostles, but rather show themselves to be no Christians at all: 1 Cor. xii., No man can say that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost. Glossary. It is meet that Christians should be humbled, to the intent that they may suffer themselves to be reprov'd, and not to be holden up with yea and nay. And also such men do show themselves to be carnal, and not spiritual at all, although they feign themselves to be spiritual: Gal. iii., Therefore am I become an enemy unto you. Notwithstanding the Glossary saith, No carnal man will be reprov'd, although he err. Wherefore those preachers which suffer not correction seem not to be true apostles, but false prophets.

The fourth sign is, that true apostles commend not themselves: 2 Cor. iv., For we dare not join ourselves, nor yet compare ourselves, unto others, which commend and boast of many of their acts, when God alloweth none of them at all. Also true preachers, although they be indeed praiseworthy for their good deserts, in the consciences of men are they praiseworthy, and not to the outward show alone: 2 Cor. We commend ourselves (saith the apostle) to the consciences of all men. Then they do not commend themselves in comparison of others. Wherefore the Glossary saith upon the same place, Those that deserve no commendation but in comparison of others, do challenge to themselves other men's deserts and praise. Wherefore in the Second Epistle of St. Peter, the last chapter, it is said, Even as our well beloved brother Paul, according to the wisdom that God hath given unto him, hath written unto you. Glossary. The chiefest of the apostles hath here forgotten his papal authority, and also his keys that were delivered unto him; for he is astonished as it were at the great wisdom given unto his brother Paul. For indeed it is the manner of the elect children of God, to be more in love with the virtues of other men than with their own. Wherefore in Phil. ii it is written, Let those that are superiors esteem of themselves in all humility. They therefore that do the contrary, saying that their state or doings be better than other men's, although they be preachers, yet are they no true apostles indeed, but false prophets.

The fifth sign is, that true apostles need no letters of commendation, nor yet desire to have themselves praised of men; as in 2 Cor. iii. the apostle saith, We need not the letters of commendation of any man, that is to say, of false prophets.

The sixth sign is, that true apostles do not preach unless they be sent, as in the 10th chapter to the Romans, How shall they preach unless they be sent? There be no true apostles but those that be sent; for they have no need of signs which are true witness-bearers; but those that be not sent and do preach are false prophets.

The seventh sign is, forasmuch as false prophets have their authority in their own names; wherefore, in the Second Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, it is written, For we dare not boast of ourselves or make comparison; that is to say, with those that be false prophets, not taking their authority from God, but usurping the same, desirous to bear rule, claiming in their own name their authority. And therefore, although peradventure by presumption they say that they are sent of God, as all heretics will say; yet notwithstanding, unless they shall prove their sending either by spiritual prophecy, as John Baptist did, saying, I am the voice of a crier in the desert;

as out of the prophet Isaiah in the 1st chapter of St. John's Gospel is alleged; or else by miracles, as Moses did, which turned his rod into a serpent, and again, from a serpent to a rod, as in Exod. vii.; they ought for to be excommunicated, till such time as they cease from preaching. Yet, notwithstanding, a miracle ought not to be a sufficient testimony of their sending, forasmuch as they be done oftentimes, and that of evil and wicked men: 1. q. 1. we may perceive towards the end. But miracles ought to be suspected, forasmuch as our Saviour saith, Matt. xxiii., Then shall false prophets arise, &c. Therefore they which do challenge authority in their own name, forasmuch as they have not their authority from God, they are not true apostles, but false preachers.

The eighth sign is, that false prophets, pretending great wisdom and holiness to be in superstition, have named their own traditions to be religion, the which are rather to be counted sacrilege or church robbery, and do usurp unto themselves, for due deserts of other men, by boasting, and bragging among strange and unknown people. Wherefore the apostle, speaking of false prophets in Col. ii., saith, According to the precepts of men, which having a face of wisdom, consist in superstition, interlaced with humility; that is to say, mingled with feigned religion, that it might be called religion, when in very deed it is nothing else but sacrilege, because it is contrary to all authority, that is, contrary to God himself, that any man should desire to have government of a multitude without public commandment; as in Deut. xxiii., Thou hast entered into thy neighbour's vineyard, that is to say, into the church of another bishop. May a man warn and admonish others, or else correct that congregation which is not lawful for him to govern, nor yet to take so great a charge on him? No. And that it is not lawful to enter into another bishop's diocese, it is apparent, because it is not lawful for the archbishop so to do. To this effect appertaineth that which is read, 6. q. 3. And also it is written 9. q. 2. throughout. Therefore those preachers, which against God and his Divine Scriptures do call their own traditions religion, are not apostles, but false prophets.

The ninth sign is, by the authority which they have; for although they be no preachers of the gospel or ministers of the sacraments, yet they will live by the gospel, and not by the labour of their own hands, against the text in 2 Thess. iii., Neither have we eaten any man's bread for nought, or of free cost. Then those false prophets ought much more to live by their labour, which have not that authority which we ought to have; that is to say, to live by the gospel. And St. Augustine speaketh of this more expressly in his book *De Opere Monachorum*, by these words: Those our brethren do claim to themselves (very rashly, as me thinketh) that they have any such authority to live by the gospel. If they be preachers of the gospel, I grant that indeed they have such authority; if they be ministers of the altar, if they be disposers of the sacraments, they cannot well but take to themselves this authority, as also manifestly to challenge the same, if at the least they have not wherewithal to sustain this present life without labour of their hands. As though he would have said, If they be not such manner of men, then have they no authority to live by the gospel. Therefore those preachers which have no authority to live by the gospel, or else minister the sacraments, because they have no congregation whereby to take charge of souls, and yet for all that will needs live upon the gospel, they be no true apostles, but false prophets.

The tenth sign is, that false teachers rejoice more to be commended themselves, than that the word of God should have the commendation and praise. But they that are true preachers and apostles are far otherwise minded, as 2 Thess., Not seeking the praise of men, &c. And herein he toucheth those false prophets, which

desire rather to be commended themselves, than that the word of God which they preach should have the commendation; but he is an apostle, which, not seeking the glory of this present world, but for the glory to come doth abase himself, to the intent that the preaching and word of God might be commended and exalted. They therefore which desire to have praise and to be commended of others, rather than that the word of God should have the praise, be no true apostles, but false prophets.

The eleventh sign is, that true apostles do preach only for God's cause, and for the health of souls, and for no temporal gain, as in 2 Cor. iv., saying, We preach not ourselves, &c. Our preaching tendeth not to our glory and gain, but only to the glory of Christ. But the preaching of Christ, by those that are false prophets, tendeth to the contrary. Whereupon in Phil. i. is said, Whether it be upon occasion given, or else for the verity's sake, let Christ be preached, &c. False prophets do preach the gospel upon some occasion, as either by seeking some commodity at the hands of men, or else because of getting goods, honour, or praise among men. Which notwithstanding that they be ready and willing, as it should seem, to bear and sustain injuries; yet they seek not so much the health of him to whom they preach, as in very deed they do their own commodity and gain. Whereupon 2 Cor. xii., Because I seek not the things that be yours, that is to say, not your treasure, as gold and silver, but only you yourselves. For otherwise it could by no means be gathered that they should understand him to speak or mean of their substance, because he more esteemeth them than their money, to the intent that they might understand his great goodwill towards them. Therefore these evil and naughty preachers, which preach for worldly gain or honour, or else for the praise and commendation of men, be no true apostles, but false prophets. But it may be asked, How shall men understand when these good fellows preach for their own vain-glory sake? It may be answered thus, When they preach before they be called, as in 2 Cor. xi., Whosoever boasteth, let him boast and rejoice in the Lord. Which thing he cannot by any means do that hath not his authority from God. For if any such prophet preach, he seeketh his own glory, and that may easily be perceived. Because he is not called of God, he hath no such authority of him, that is to say, of his church or congregation; as Heb. vii., No man taketh to himself any dignity, but he that is called of God, as Aaron was. He is called of God, that is, lawfully chosen of the congregation.

The twelfth sign or token of a false prophet is, because such prophets do counterfeit themselves to have greater care and love to men's souls than those that be their very governors and pastors have, although they have no charge at all of them; against whom the Glossary speaketh, and 1 Thess. ii., We are become meek and loving towards you, even as the nurse which giveth her child suck. A woman nurseth other men's children for wages, and not for love alone; but she giveth her own suck of very love, without respect of money. Therefore those preachers which feign themselves to have a greater love and affection to the souls of men, than they that have the charge over them, seem not to be true apostles. The apostles study not for eloquence, nor for the curious placing of their words, but false prophets do them both, as in 2 Cor. xi., If the simple and uneloquent man, &c. The apostles were not eloquent, but false prophets are full of curious eloquence. Also upon the same another Glossary: The Corinthians were led away from the gospel by over-nice eloquence; 2 Cor. vii., Let us show ourselves before all men as the ministers of God. The ministers of God do not flatter as false prophets do. And for this occasion those that be true apostles have not their abiding in princes' courts and noblemen's houses, knowing this saying of Christ in St. Matthew's Gospel, Behold, those that are clothed with silks

dwell in kings' courts. And therefore true apostles are not conversant in princes' courts and noblemen's houses. Hard and strict life with the preaching of the gospel loveth not to come near princes' palaces and noblemen's houses. Oftentimes it cometh to pass that courtiers are found great flatterers; therefore those preachers that have their abode in princes' courts, or that in any other place do use to flatter, are no true apostles, but false prophets.

The thirteenth sign is, that true apostles or messengers do not circumvent or subtly go about to deceive men, that they should give unto them their goods, either in their lifetime, or else at the time of their death, as in 2 Cor. vii., We have falsely deceived no man; by the subtle and deceitful getting away of your substance, as false prophets do, which get away from you those things that be yours under pretence of great friendship. Also Matthew xxiii., Woe be unto you, scribes and Pharisees, you hypocrites! which spoil widows' houses by your long prayers; which mean nothing else by your superstition, but that you may spoil and rob the people, as Luke xx., Which devour widows' houses by dissembling of your long prayer. The which make over-long prayers, to the intent they may seem more devout, and that they may get both money and great commendation of all such as be sick and troubled with the burden of their sins; whose prayers be turned into sin, which neither are profitable for themselves nor any other, but rather shall have for making those prayers greater damnation, forsomuch as by the same they deceive others; for by this, that they receive and take both gold and silver, it appeareth that they preach not for souls' health sake, but only for filthy lucre and gain sake: Matt. x., Be ye possessors neither of gold nor silver. If they then have these things, they cannot seem or be thought to preach for the health of the soul, but for lucre's sake. And so saith Jerome upon the prophet Malachi; Because some prophets took money, their prophecy became divination; that is to say, their prophecy appeared not to be prophecy, but divination, or enchantment; that is, that such prophecy proceedeth not from God, but from the devil. And this appeareth in 1. q. 1, having this beginning, *Nunquam divinatio*, &c. Therefore those preachers which circumvent and beguile men, to the intent that they should give them their goods, either in their lifetime or after their death, are not true apostles, but false prophets.

The fourteenth sign is, that false prophets, when any verity is preached, which for the most part they are not acquainted withal, or that toucheth them, then begin they to chafe and bark against the same. Whereupon the apostle in the 3rd chapter to the Philippians saith, Behold the dogs. Understand you that they are not dogs by nature, but by their usage and conditions, barking against the truth, which they were never acquainted with. And so he compareth them right well to dogs, because dogs follow rather custom than reason; so false apostles do keep the custom of the law, and do bite and bark against the truth, as though they were without the gift of reason. And also in the Second Epistle to Timothy, the 4th chapter, saying, They get them instructors according to their own desires. Which may teach them what things they themselves are willing to hear, because the truth seemeth nothing pleasant unto them. Therefore those preachers which bark against the late revealed truth, which toucheth them very near, and therefore cause the same to be hidden and kept under, are not true apostles, but false prophets.

The fifteenth sign is, that the true apostles do not enforce any to receive or hear them which be unwilling thereunto, but send them away rather, lest they should seem to seek after some earthly and transitory thing: Matt. x., Whosoever will not receive you, get you out of that city, and shake the dust from off your feet, &c., that

you may thereby show that the desire of earthly things hath no power in you. Therefore those preachers which strive and wrestle, (as it were,) to the intent they would be received and heard, are no true apostles, forso much as the apostle saith, 1 Cor. xi., If any man appear among you to be over-contentious or full of strife, such custom have we none, nor yet the congregation of Christ.

The sixteenth sign is, that the apostles did not procure the indignation of those princes with whom they were esteemed and regarded against such persons as would not receive them and hear them, according as we read in the life of Simon and Jude, the apostles. The chief ruler, being very angry, commanded a very great fire to be made, that the bishops might be cast into the same, and all other which went about to defame the doctrine of the apostles of Christ. But the apostles fell down before the emperor, saying, We beseech you, sir, let not us be the authors or causes of this destruction or calamity; nor let us, which are sent to be the preservation of men, and to revive those that are dead through sin, be killers of those that be alive. Therefore those preachers which seek to stir up the displeasure of princes against them (whose favours now they enjoy) that will not receive and hear them, or rather whom they themselves hate, are no true apostles, but false prophets.

The seventeenth sign is, that the apostles of Christ have not only the knowledge of those things which God hath already done, but also of those things which he will hereafter do, as in Apoc. iii., The beasts were full of eyes both behind and before; obtaining the knowledge of those things which God had done, as also what he would do hereafter in the end of the world. Therefore those that say they know not the perils of the church in the later time which are prophesied before, or that they care not for them, or else, if they know them, they have not eyes behind and before, are no true apostles; therefore what time as they call themselves apostles they are false prophets.

The eighteenth sign is, that true apostles do not desire the riches and goods of them to whom they preach, whereby they are discerned from wolves, that is to say, from false prophets: Acts xx., I have desired no man's gold nor silver. By this are wolves discerned, for they desire such things. And again in the same place, For those things which I had need of, and these which were with me, these hands have ministered. This example also of labouring is a spectacle for bishops, whereby they are discerned from wolves. For such as ask or beg of those to whom they preach, or set any other to ask or beg in their names, do seem to commit simony, like Gehazi, of whom it is read in the Third Book of Kings, the 5th chapter, that he craved certain apparel of Naaman the Syrian, to whom his master Elisha had restored the benefit of health, notwithstanding he had gotten those garments unwitting to his master. But some man perhaps will say, Cannot the preacher ask money or money's worth of those to whom he preacheth? Or at the least, may not he beg? To this may be answered, If the preacher by authority preach and feed his flock as a true pastor with the food of God's word, he may take money or money's worth; but then it is not begging or craving, but it is by authority, as 2 Tim. ii., It is meet that the husbandman that tilleth the ground should first and afore others receive the commodity of his increase. He putteth the virtuous preacher out of doubt, not preaching for that intent to make merchandise of the gospel, and giveth him to understand, that it is lawful for him to take of them whom he feedeth as his flock, what things soever he hath need of, and doth it not in begging or craving, but by good authority. It is manifest that it cannot in any place of the Holy Scripture be found that the preacher ought to beg. But begging is forbidden of all the apostles of Christ, and is abhorred of Solomon, and St.

Augustine, and reproved by divers other holy men. Therefore it is manifest that the true apostles do not desire the temporal goods of them to whom they preach, neither do they beg or crave the same. They, therefore, that require any thing of them to whom they preach, or else set any other man to ask for them, or in their names, do not seem to be true apostles, but false preachers.

The nineteenth sign is, that true apostles are patient in tribulation, neither do they render evil for good: Matt. x., Behold, I send you as sheep among wolves. They that occupy the place of preaching ought not to procure any evil toward their brethren, as the example of Christ teacheth, 1 Pet. ii., saying, Who, when he was reviled, reviled not again, but did submit himself to him that judgeth justly. They, therefore, that suffer not injury, but rather do wrong themselves, are not true apostles, but false apostles.

The twentieth sign is, that true apostles at their first coming are evil entertained, as the Lord saith, Matt. xxiv., Ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake; but yet at the length such get the victory, according to that saying of John, 1 Epist. v., Every thing that is of God overcometh the world. They, therefore, that in the beginning rejoice and are well entertained, but in the end are rejected, seem not to be true apostles, but false.

The twenty-first sign is, that true preachers go not to preach unto those which have preachers appointed unto them, because they have not to rejoice of a company belonging to another man's charge, as Rom. xv., I have preached the gospel where Christ was not before preached, lest I should build upon another man's foundation, And St. Paul saith, 1 Cor. x., We are no boasters, nor busy in other men's matters; where another man had laid the foundation. Likewise in the same chapter; Not having pleasure to boast of other men's labours; that is to say, of those which be committed to the government of another man. Likewise Augustine saith, Honour ought to seek thee, and not thou honour. Also Chrysostom, Authority is in love with such a man as refuseth her, and yet abhorreth her not. They, therefore, that procure and have a desire to preach unto the people committed to another man's charge, which is an office of honour, especially in councils, synods, and great assemblies, also in kings' and princes' courts, and prelates' palaces, are not true apostles, but false teachers.

The twenty-second sign is, that true apostles, when they know themselves to do much good in the church and congregation of God, yet, notwithstanding, are not puffed up with pride: Ezek. O son of man, I have made thy face as an adamant stone. The adamant stone, when it draweth iron unto it, is not thereby either lifted up or altered. Likewise, a true preacher, when he draweth sinners unto him by his preaching, (whose hearts were as hard as iron,) is never the more lifted up or higher minded therefore. But as in Luke xviii., When ye have done all that ye can, and as well as ye can, yet say that you are unprofitable servants. Psal. cxv., Not unto us, Lord, not unto us, but to thy name be given the glory. They, therefore, that do arrogantly boast themselves of the fruit and benefit that they have done in the church of God, saying, We have given light to the universal church, which was blind before our time, and we have put out the flame of sin in the church of God, (when perhaps they have more furthered hypocrisy than either truth or verity,) they are not true prophets, but false, of whom it is spoken in the Psalms, The mouth of them that speak proud things, &c.

The twenty-third sign is, that true apostles do not seek the favour of the world, nor yet how to please men, as Gal. i., If I should please men, that is to say, if I had a

desire to please men, I should not be the servant of God. Whereupon to Timothy, 1 Epist. ii., Not as men-pleasers; seeking to please, because we have not the pleasing spirit. Therefore those preachers that seek the favour of the world, and do labour to this intent that they might please men, are not true apostles, but false.

The twenty-fourth sign is, that true apostles, when they have meat and drink, they are contented, neither do they desire over-dainty fare, according to the saying of Matthew, chap. x., Eating and drinking those things that are set before them. The gospel condemneth not altogether costly and delicate fare, yet it so alloweth the same, that if we have meat and drink, we ought not to grudge, but to be therewith contented. Therefore those preachers which, although that neither they be sent, nor have authority to preach, and yet are offended when they have not fine and delicate fare, are not true apostles, but false preachers.

The twenty-fifth sign is, that true apostles do love more the law of God than their own estimation amongst their neighbours, according to that in Prov. vii., Keep my law as the apple of thine eye, and bind the same upon thy fingers, and write the same in the table of thy heart. Whereupon, in Psal. cxix., The law of thy mouth is dearer unto me than thousands of gold and silver. Charity doth more love the law of God, than to desire of gold and silver a thousandfold. He, therefore, that seeth the gospel of Christ trodden under foot, which is the eternal glad tidings, to be taken away by that cursed one, and doth neglect and condemn the same, or else, peradventure, consenteth unto the same, to the outward appearance of the world, and yet, because he will keep his temporal dignity and estimation, refuseth to stir up strife and contention about the same, and so to be evil spoken of, seemeth not to be an apostle of Christ, but rather a false prophet, if he be a preacher.

The twenty-sixth sign is, that true apostles seek not after such fine lodgings and wealthy habitations, where they may have all things at their commandments; but rather such honest resting-places where they may have necessary things for themselves, with their good wills of whom they have it. And they take nothing of such whom they see to be so ready and liberal in giving, nor think that they do him more pleasure in receiving the gift, than the other do in giving them the same. According to that in Matt. x., saying, Into what city or town soever ye shall enter, inquire out those that be of good report in the same, and abide you with them so long as you tarry in the same city or town. Your host, with whom ye lodge, ought to be chosen by the good report of neighbours, lest your preaching be evil spoken of by reason of his infamy. Neither ought such men to run from house to house. But whom shall we call worthy of good report? Him who knoweth better to do other men good, than to receive a good turn of another. And this is he which giveth willingly for Christ's cause, and not in respect of any commodity. Also true apostles receive nothing of such men as lie weltering in their sins, but rather of those that are washed and cleansed from their sins; whereupon 2 Cor. vii., They have given themselves first to the Lord; because they now, amending their old errors and vicious manners, have vowed themselves unto the Lord, and afterward gave of that which they had to their brethren; for otherwise they ought not to have taken any thing of them, because gifts do blind the eyes: but those that give where there is no cause of reproof in their doings have just cause to give. Therefore those preachers that seek how to come by dainty fare, and do receive bribes and rewards of naughty men that have this world at will, to the intent that those preachers may cover and hide their faults, and get of others what they can by subtlety, which give indeed to remove the shameless importunity of the craver, or else for avoiding of present shame, rather than for any love they have to God, are not

true apostles, but false prophets, according to that in 2 Cor. ix., The Lord doth love a willing giver. He that giveth for present shame, or else for that he may be free from the importunity of him that asketh, doth lose his substance and merit; wherefore he that hath respect to these things doth not seek the fruit and profit of the giver, but the gift itself; as the apostle to the Philippians, chap. iv., saith, Seek not the gift, but the fruit or benefit of the giver.

The twenty-seventh sign is, that true apostles do not endeavour themselves to seek and enjoy the fruit of other men's labours that they may be fed thereby, because that the belly is such men's god, according to that in 2 Thess. We have heard of some amongst you which walk inordinately, not labouring at all, but living delicately or idly; of other men's labours; and deserve they to be fed? The discipline of the Lord cannot away with that doing; for the belly is their god which provide to have more than necessary dishes of meat. Therefore those preachers which so do are no true apostles, but false.

The twenty-eighth sign is, that true apostles do not rejoice only of the miracles or other excellent works which the Lord doth by them; but they rejoice rather of the salvation which they look for from the Lord, than that by doing those miracles they desire any honour; according to that which is written in Luke x., saying, Rejoice ye not for that the spirits be subject unto you, but because your names are registered in heaven. They, therefore, that boast of their own miracles, or of any that belong unto them, for this cause, that they are saved by the doing of them, as many do say, seem not to be true apostles, but false.

The twenty-ninth sign is, that the true apostles do never seek their own glory in this life, but the glory of Christ; as in John vii., He that speaketh of himself doth seek his own glory, but he that seeketh the glory of him which sent him (that is, of whom he is sent) is a true apostle. Therefore those which seek the things that pertain to the glory of this world, of the which one is to be assistant to those that bear rule and authority, according to that saying of Boetius, *De Consolatione*, Those that do desire to be extolled, either they reign and bear rule themselves, or else do desire to be near about them that have such dominion. Another is, they desire to have the fame and victory of that which they have nothing at all deserved before God. Whereupon is written that saying of the apostle, in Gal. v., Let not us become desirous of vain-glory. To be desirous of vain-glory is to have victory without any merit or desert; and those, I say, that do such things, seem not to be true apostles, but false.

The thirtieth sign is, that true apostles care not for the solemnities of men, neither their salutations, nor feastings, nor any other benefit of theirs. They therefore which love and seek the company and fellowship of men, their feastings, and other their commodities, do not seem to be true apostles, but false.

The thirty-first sign is, that true apostles do not commonly resort to other men's tables, lest that they should for a meal's meat become flatterers, as in 2 Thess. iii., That we should give an example to follow us. He that cometh oftentimes to another man's table, being given to idleness, cannot choose to flatter him which feedeth him; but Christ's religion calleth men to liberty, and to no such bondage; they therefore that resort oftentimes, and that of their own minds, to other men's tables, (living idly,) are not true apostles, but false.

The thirty-second sign is, that true apostles do not hate their enemies, and such as hate them; which doctrine the Lord taught, Matt. v., saying, Love your enemies, do

well to them which hate you; but false prophets do hurt and defame their neighbours, according as Jeremiah saith, chap. xiv., The prophets of Jerusalem have defiled the whole earth. They are not contented to hurt their neighbours only, but also whom they before this time have hated they defame and speak evil of in every place they come; therefore those preachers which hate them whom they think are their enemies, and do defame them, are not true apostles, but false preachers.

The thirty-third sign is, that false prophets, when they are examined and proved whether they be true apostles or liars, take that very grievously, and persecute all those that can prove them to be so, and also do stir up and provoke others to persecute the same men, which also join themselves together by secular power, even as certain false prophets did in the primitive church against the bishop of Ephesus, to whom the Lord said, Apoc. ii, I know, that is to say, I do allow, thy works and thy labour, that is, thy tribulation, because thou canst not away with those that be evil men; but that thou hast a desire to amend them, or else to expel them, and hast examined those which say that they are apostles, and are but liars, and also hast suffered this patiently. The evils which these false prophets, joined together by secular power, do bring in, are not the doings of true apostles, but false prophets.

The thirty-fourth sign is, that true apostles go not to preach to those which are converted already by other men, but rather do convert those which are not yet converted, lest that they should build upon another man's foundation, as St. Paul, Rom. xv., saith, I have laboured so, that from Jerusalem to Illyricus I have replenished the gospel in every place; that is, I have preached the same abundantly, in whom the great virtue of the Holy Ghost appeareth, because so many nations, that is, the Gentiles, have received the gospel by me preaching. But I have preached the gospel there where Christ was not preached before, lest I should build, upon another man's foundation. I should not preach to those that were converted by another man. Also 2 Cor. x., We are not such as boast and glory in other men's labours; where another man laid the foundation, for that should be to boast inordinately. Also in the same place, Not thinking to boast where another man hath government, but in those things which are put in experience. Of other preachers; because the apostle did preach to those to whom the gospel was never preached, that he might get praise by his own proper labour. Therefore those preachers which go not to that people which have need to be converted, but to those which are converted already, which have apostles of their own, that is to say, bishops and priests, and yet do boast over another man's flock, are not true apostles, but false prophets.

The thirty-fifth sign is, because true apostles, when they are sent, go to their own diocese, and not to another man's diocese, even as Paul, being sent, went to the Gentiles when he purposed to preach: Acts xiii., Separate Paul and Barnabas for the business which I have chosen them unto. According to the appointment and decree of James, Cephas, and John, went he forth to be a teacher unto the Gentiles. But those preachers that stand upon their feet, that is to say, those preachers which have but small worldly substance, for which cause they are more ready to go which way soever it shall please the Lord to send them, I say, the Lord hath sent them to preach, not to those which be sufficiently learned, but to those that are infidels, as we read in Ezek. ii., After that the spirit of the Lord set Ezekiel upon his feet, and he said unto him, O son of man, behold, I send thee to the nations which have start back from their profession, which have gone from me; that is, to the Jewish heretics, and to those nations which sometime have been Christians, as the Egyptians, the Babylonians, and all those that observe the law of Mahomet. Therefore, if such go to those that are

already instructed, having both apostles, bishops, and priests of their own, they go not into their own diocese, but into another man's diocese, and are not true apostles, but false preachers. And it is greatly to be feared, lest the church be in hazard and danger by such, unless they be thrust out of the same betime; even as Jonas, when he was sent to Nineveh of the Lord, which is interpreted large or wide, and leadeth to the hill, that is, to the infidels we spake of before: They go not to those infidels, according to the commandment of the Lord, but they turn another way, take their journey into Tarshish, which is interpreted, seeking after joy and pleasure; that is, they go unto those which receive them with joy and gladness, and do well provide for them, that is to say, to godly and devout Christians; and therefore it is to be feared, lest the ship in which they be (that is, the church) be in great peril, unless they be thrown forth. And therefore the apostle spake of such false prophets not without good cause, 2 Tim. And shun thou those; that is, such men as those be.

The thirty-sixth sign is, because true apostles do not boast, neither do they attribute unto themselves any other thing, but in that God hath wrought the same by them. Paul, Rom. xv., saith, I dare not say any thing but that which Christ hath wrought and accomplished by me; that is, I speak only those things which by me, that is, by my ministry, Christ hath wrought. They therefore that boast of many things, and do attribute much unto themselves which they never did, are not true apostles, but false prophets.

The thirty-seventh sign is, that true apostles do not apply themselves or lean at logical or philosophical reasons. Therefore those preachers which do endeavour themselves to such kind of reasons, are not true apostles, but false prophets.

The thirty-eighth sign is, that true apostles do not love carnally or after the flesh, but hate what thing soever doth resist them in the service of God; as Luke xiv., He that doth not hate his father and mother, his son, and sister, and also himself, he cannot be my disciple; that is, he that doth not hate whatsoever doth resist or let him in the service of God, is not worthy to be a disciple, neither can he abide in that office. Therefore forasmuch as true preachers are the true disciples of the Lord, it must needs follow that those preachers which do promote their nephews and kinsfolk, how unworthy soever they be, to ecclesiastical promotions and livings, contrary to the will of God, or do any other thing that letteth or hindereth them in the service of God, are not true apostles, but false prophets.

The thirty-ninth sign is, that true apostles do not hunt for the friendship of this world, for he that is the friend of this world is the enemy of God; therefore those preachers which purchase the friendship of this world are not true apostles, but false prophets. Therefore forasmuch as the Scripture is infallible, as in the twenty-fourth chapter of Matthew, saying, Heaven and earth shall perish, but my words shall endure for ever; and the Holy Ghost which spake in the apostles cannot lie; for prophecy (for the most part) is not spoken by the will of man, but the holy men of God spake by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, as it is read in the First Epistle of Peter, the first chapter; it remaineth that all men which are bound to defend the church may rise up in the defence of the same, according unto that in the twenty-fourth chapter of Proverbs, Deliver those that are led to death, and cease thou not to rescue those which are drawn to destruction. Neither may he allege vain accusations, because it is said in the same place, If he say he is not able or strong enough, he that beholdeth the thoughts of men's hearts shall know it, &c. Whatsoever perisheth in the church of God for want of preachers, all that shall be demanded of them in the day of judgment; as Jacob

confesseth to Laban, whose sheep he fed, Gen. xxxi., I did restore all the loss, and that which was stolen I made answer for. I will demand his blood at thy hands, Ezek. iii. This is said to the pastor or prelate. But if the other things which we have spoken of before could not move the prelates and cardinals, this at the least should move them; because that then the spiritual power, which doth consist for the most part in the exercise of preaching, in hearing confessions, and enjoining of penance, shall be taken away from them by little and little, for by piecemeal doth the wolf devour the poor and needy man; quest. 3. chap. 1. When the authority ecclesiastical therefore shall be quite taken from them, and disposed to others, such as either by their order or apostolical grant do challenge to have the same, then doubtless shall neither the jurisdiction of civil causes and pleadings, nor any authority that such prelates have yet remaining, neither yet the possessions of the temporal goods of the church, any longer remain amongst them. Shall such have the temporal goods of the church which minister not the spiritual treasure thereof? 1 Cor. ix., Know ye not that they which kill the sacrifice ought to eat of the sacrifice? and they that serve at the altar are partakers of the altar? For as the body without the soul cannot stand; so corporal things without spiritual things cannot continue, 1. q. 1, if any shall take away the same. Thus have you had the thirty-nine arguments, for the which both he, the said Gulielmus, was condemned and his books burned.

In the days of this Gulielmus there was a most detestable and blasphemous book set forth by the friars, which they called, The everlasting Gospel, or the Gospel of the Holy Ghost. In which book many abominable errors of the friars were contained, so that the gospel of Jesus Christ was utterly defaced, which, this book said, was not to be compared with this everlasting gospel, no more than the shell is to be compared with the kernel, than darkness to light, &c. Moreover, that the gospel of Christ shall be preached no longer but fifty years, and then this everlasting gospel should rule the church, &c. Item, that whatsoever was in the whole Bible was in the said gospel contained. At length this friars' gospel was accused to the pope, and so six persons chosen of the whole university to peruse and judge of the book; as Christianus Canonicus Balvacensis, Odo de Doaco, Nicolaus de Baro, Johannes de Sicca Villa Anglus, Johannes Belim a Gaul. Among whom this Gulielmus was one, who mightily impugned this pestiferous and devilish book. These six, after the perusing of the book, were sent up to Rome. The friars likewise sent their messengers withal, where they were refuted, and the errors of the book condemned; but so that the pope with the cardinals commanded the said book to be abolished and condemned not publicly, (tendering the estimation of the religious orders, as of his own most chief champions,) but that they should be burned in secret wise, and the books of the foresaid Gulielmus to be burned withal.

Besides other his books, two sermons we have of his yet remaining; one upon the Gospel of St. Luke, of the Pharisee and the publican, the other upon the Epistle read in the church on May-day; where, in the first he resembleth the Pharisees to our monks, and that he proveth by all the properties of the Pharisees described in the gospel. The publican he resembled to the laity, such as because the sooner they are reduced to acknowledge their sins, the more hope they have of mercy. The other, because they stand confident in their own righteousness, are therefore further from their justification. In the latter sermon he setteth forth and declareth what perils and dangers be like to fall upon the church by these religious orders of monks and friars.

Among the other besides of that age, which withstood the bishop of Rome and his antichristian errors, was one Lawrence, an Englishman, and master of Paris;

another was Petrus Johannes, a Minorite. Of whom the foresaid Lawrence was about the year of our Lord 1260, who in his teaching, preaching, and writing did stoutly defend the part of the aforesaid Gulielmus and the rest of his side against the friars. Against the which friars he wrote two books; one in the defence of William aforementioned; the other upon this argument and title, To beware of false prophets, &c. Certain other things also he wrote, wherein by divers proofs and testimonies he argued and proved that antichrist was nor far off to come.

The other, Petrus Johannes, was about the year of our Lord 1290, which taught and maintained many things against the pope, proving that he was antichrist, and that the synagogue of Rome was great Babylon. He wrote upon Matthew, upon the Epistles, and upon the Apocalypse. Mention of this Petrus Johannes is made in Nicolaus Emeritus, in libr. Inquisitionum, &c. And he saith moreover, that Michael Cesenas (of whom, Christ willing, shall follow hereafter) took of him a great part of his opinions; and because the pope could not burn him alive, after his death he caused his bones to be taken up and burned.

To these, and with these above specified, is to be added Robertus Gallus, who being born of a right noble parentage, for devotion sake was made a Dominic friar, about the same year of our Lord above touched, A.D. 1290. This man, as appeareth by his writing, had divers and sundry visions, whereof part is annexed with the visions and prophecy of Hildegardis. His visions all tend against the spirituality of Rome, where in the first chapter he calleth plainly the pope an idol, which having eyes seeth not, neither lusteth to see the abominations of his people, nor the excessive enormity of their voluptuousness, but only to see to the heaping up of his own treasure; and having a mouth speaketh not, but saith, I have set good men over them (which is sufficient for me) to do them good, either by myself or by some other. And it followeth in the same chapter, Woe to that idol! woe to the mighty and proud! Who shall be equal in all the earth to that idol? He that exalted up his name in earth, saying, Who shall bring me under? Is not my house compared with the mighty potentates of the land? I am higher than dukes; knights on their horseback do service unto me; that which my fathers had not before me, that have I done to me. My house is strewn with silver; gold and pearl are the pavement of my palace, &c.

Again in the twelfth chapter, and also in the first, under the name of a serpent he painteth out the pope, whom he declareth to extol himself above measure, and to oppress the few that be godly, and to have many false prophets about him, which, neglecting the word and name of Christ, do preach and extol him only, obscuring the name of Christ. The Church of Rome and the pope he describeth in these words: I was praying (said he) on my knees, looking upward to heaven near to the altar of St. James in Paris, on the right side of the altar, and saw in the air before me the body of a certain high bishop all clothed in white silk, who, turning his back on the east, lift up his hand towards the west, as the priests are wont in their mass, turning to the people, but his head was not seen. And as I was considering advisedly, whether he had any head or no, I perceived a certain head in him all dry, lean, and withered, as though it had been a head of wood. And the Spirit of the Lord said to me, This signifieth the state of the Church of Rome.

Moreover, the same author in his visions, well describing the manner of the school sophisters and Sorbonists, addeth in this wise: Another day, as I was in like contemplation as before, I beheld in spirit, and, behold, I saw a man apparelled like to the other before, which went about having fine bread and excellent wine that hanged

about him on both sides; and the same, having in his hand a long and a hard flintstone, was gnawing hungerly upon the same, as one being hungry is wont to bite upon a loaf of bread; out of which stone came two heads of two serpents, the Spirit of the Lord instructing me, and saying, This stone purporteth the frivolous, intricate, and curious questions, wherein the hungry do travail and labour, leaving the substantial food of their souls. And I asked what these two heads did mean. And he said, The name of the one is vain-glory, the name of the other is the marring and dissipating of religion.

Also concerning reformation of the church, this vision he declareth: It happened as I was (saith he) in the same city in the house of a certain nobleman, a Briton, and was there speaking with certain, I saw a cross of silver very bright, much like to the cross of the earl of Toulouse. But the twelve apples which did hang beside in the arms of the cross were very vile, like the apples which the sea is wont to cast up. And I said, What is this, Lord Jesus? And the Spirit answered me, This cross which thou seest is the church, which shall be clear and bright in pureness of life, and shall be heard and known all over through the shrill voice of the preaching of sincere verity. Then, being troubled with the apples, I asked what these apples so vile did signify. And he said, It is the humiliation of the church, &c.

This godly man did forewarn (as in a certain chronicle is declared) how God would punish the simony and avarice of the clergy with such a plague, that rivers should run with blood, &c. It is said that there is remaining a great volume of his visions which are not yet abroad, for these that be abroad are but a brief extract out of his visions and revelations.

61. Robert Grossthead

After that we have thus long strayed in these foreign stories of Frederic, and in the tractation of other matters pertaining to other countries, now, after this sufficient digression, it is time that we return to our own country again. Wherein, following the continuation of time and course of the church, we will now adjoin to these good fathers and writers the history of the learned bishop of Lincoln, named Robert Grossthead, a man famously learned (as that time served) in the three tongues, both Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, also in all liberal sciences; whose works and sermons yet to this day are extant, which I have seen in the queen's Majesty's library at 'Westminster. Wherein is one special sermon written and exhibited in four sundry scrolls to the pope, and to other four cardinals, beginning *Dominus noster Jesus Christus*, &c. Nicolas Trivet, in his chronicle, writing of this bishop, affirmeth that he was born in Suffolk, in the diocess of Norfolk; who, giving him the praise to be a man of excellent wisdom, of profound doctrine, and an example of all virtue, witnesseth that he, being master of arts, wrote first a commentary In Librum Posteriorum of Aristotle. Also that he wrote tractations, *De Sphæra, et de Arte Comput.*, and that he set forth divers books concerning philosophy. Afterward, being doctor in divinity, and expertly seen in all the three tongues, drew out sundry treatises out of the Hebrew glosses, also translated divers works out of the Greek, as namely, The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, and the books of Dionysius, commenting upon the new translation with his own gloss. Many other works and volumes besides were written by the said Grossthead, besides divers epistles, sermons, and invectives sent to the pope for his unmeasurable exactions, wherewith he overcharged and oppressed the Church of England.

This godly and learned bishop, after divers conflicts and agonies sustained against the bishop of Rome, after the example of Frederic, Gallus, and others after named, at length after great labours and travails of life finished his course, and departed at Bugden in the month of October, A.D. 1253. Of his decease thus writeth Matth. Paris, p. 278: Out of the prison and banishment of this world (which he never loved) was taken the holy bishop of Lincoln, Robert, at his manor of Bugden, in the even of St. Dionysius; who was an open reprover of the pope and of the king, a rebuker of the prelates, a corrector of the monks, a director of the priests, an instructor of the clerks, a favourer of scholars, a preacher to the people, a persecutor of the incontinent, a diligent searcher of the Scriptures, a mall to the Romans, and a contemner of their doings. What a mall he was to the Romans in the sequel hereof (Christ willing) shall better appear. The story is this:

It so befell among other daily and intolerable exactions, wherein Pope Innocent was grievous and injurious (manifold ways) to the realm of England, he had a certain cousin or nephew, (so popes were wont to call their sons,) named Frederic, being yet young and under years, whom the said Innocent the pope would needs prefer to be a canon or prebendary in the church of Lincoln, in this time of Robert, bishop of the said church; and upon the same directed down letters to certain his factors here in England for the execution thereof. The copy of which letter by chance, yet not by chance, but by the opportune sending of God, came to my hands, as I was penning this present story, written in the end of an old parchment book, and otherwise rare I suppose to be found; and it is this.

"Unto our beloved sons, the archdeacon of Canterbury, and to Master Innocent, our scribe abiding in England, greeting and apostolical benediction. Forsomuch as our well-beloved son G. of S. Eustace, deacon cardinal, upon our special commandment hath given and granted to our well-beloved son Frederic de Lauavia, a clerk and our nephew, a canonship in the church of Lincoln, with full power and grant of the same; investing him also corporally and presently with his own ring in the said canonship, to be from henceforth canon of Lincoln, and to have full power of the said canon-ship in the church, and a prebend when any shall fall in the church of Lincoln; from that time since which our former letters of late, concerning this receiving and provision to be given to him in the said church, were presented and exhibited to our reverend brother the bishop of Lincoln, or else after the next avoiding the said prebendship to be reserved to the apostolical donation, and to be given to him, making it void and frustrate if the said prebendship shall be given to any other man beside, and also denouncing the sentence of excommunication against all them that shall rebel and gainsay the same, as in the letters of the said cardinal is more fully contained.

"We therefore, graciously inclined by the devout supplication of the said Frederic, ratifying and gratefully approving that which hath been done by the said cardinal in the premises, we thought good by the authority apostolical to confirm the same. Wherefore we give in commandment by our letters apostolical to your wisdoms, that you will see the said Frederic, or his proctor in his behalf, to be really and corporally possessed in the said canonship or prebend by our authority, and also defend the said party being therein possessed, denouncing sentence of excommunication against all such as shall withstand the same, all manner of customs or statutes to the contrary notwithstanding, corroborated either with oath, or confirmations of the see apostolic, or by what stay or let soever; or whether that the said Frederic be not present to take the oath accustomed to be given for observing the customs of the said church, or whether it be given and granted by the said see to the foresaid bishop, or to the chapter of the said church jointly and severally, or to what person or persons else, that no man by compulsion should have admission or provision for any person in their church whereby they cannot be interdicted, suspended, or excommunicate by the letters apostolical obtained, or to be obtained hereafter, under what form or words soever; yea, although the whole tenor of the said indulgence be inserted word for word in the said your letters, or by any other indulgences to what person or persons soever, of what estate, dignity, or place soever, under any manner or form of words, granted hereafter by the see apostolic, by the which indulgences the effect of the said provision may be by any manner of ways hindered or deferred; yet of our certain knowledge we will that they shall want their strength in the provision made or to be made for the said Frederic in the church of Lincoln. And if any, upon the premises, or any of them, shall allege against the foresaid Frederic, or his procurator, that you will cause them to be cited on our behalf; so that they, being cited peremptorily, shall within the space of two months of your citation personally appear before us there according to the law, to make answer to the said Frederic upon the premises, any privileges or indulgences whatsoever given and granted, either generally to the kingdom of England, or peculiarly to any other person, of what state, degree, and place soever, granted by the foresaid see, under whatsoever manner and form of words, for them not to be called up beyond the see, or out of their own city or diocese, by letters apostolical, under whatsoever form of words obtained, to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. All which privileges and indulgences we will in no case shall stand in any force or effect to the said parties. Moreover, the day

and form of the citation we will that ye faithfully do intimate unto us by your letters, containing the tenor thereof; and if both of you cannot be present at the execution hereof, yet we will notwithstanding that one of you do execute the same without fail. Dated the 7th kal. February, the tenth year of our popedom."

As there is no man which hath any eyes to see, but may easily understand, in reading this letter of the pope, how unreasonable his request is, how impudently he commandeth, how proudly he threateneth, how wickedly he oppresseth and racketh the church of God, in placing boys and strangers in the ministry and cure of souls, and also in making them his provisoers, to ravin up the church goods; so is it no great marvel if this godly bishop Robert Grossthead was offended therewith; who in my mind deserveth herein a double commendation, not only that he so wisely did discern error from sincerity and truth, but also that he was so hardy and constant to stand to the defence thereof against the pope, according as in this his answer to the pope again may appear, as followeth.

The answer of Robert Grossthead.

"Salutem Pleaseth it your wisdom to understand, that I am not disobedient to any the apostolic precepts, but both devoutly and reverently with the natural affection of a son obey the same, and also am an utter enemy to all those that resist such apostolic precepts, as a child zealous of his father's honour. And truly I am no less than bound thereunto by the precept and commandment of God. For the apostolic precepts are none other, nor can be, than consonant and uniform to the doctrine of the apostles, and of our Saviour Christ, being the Master and Lord of all the apostles; whose type and person, specially in the consonant and uniform hierarchy of the church, the lord pope seemeth to bear the same our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, saying, 'Whosoever is not with me, the same is against me. Therefore, against him neither is nor can be the most divine sanctity of the see apostolical. The tenor then of your foresaid apostolical letter is not consonant to true sanctity, but utterly dissonant and disagreeing to the same. First, for that the clause of this your letter, and many such other letters like, which clause always ye so much do urge, (*Non obstante,*) induced and brought in upon no necessity of any natural law to be observed, doth swarm and flow with all inconstancy, boldness, pertinacy, impudency, lying, and deceiving, and is also a sea of mistrust in giving credit to no man. Which as it swarmeth with these, so in like manner with innumerable other vices, which hang and depend upon the same; moving and disturbing the purity of Christian religion and life agreeable to the same, as also the public tranquillity of men. Moreover, next after the sin of Lucifer, (which shall be in the latter time, to wit, of antichrist, the child of perdition, whom the Lord shall destroy with the breath of his mouth,) there is not, nor can be, any kind of sin so repugnant and contrary to the doctrine of the apostles and Holy Scripture, and to our Saviour Christ himself more hateful, detestable, and abominable, than to destroy and kill men's souls, by defrauding them of the mystery of the pastoral office, which by the ministry of the pastoral cure ought to save and quicken the same. Which sin, by most evident places of the Scripture, such men are discerned and known to commit, which, being in the authority of the pastoral dignity, do serve their own carnal desires and necessities with the benefit of the milk and wool of the sheep and flock of Christ, and do not minister the same pastoral office and charge to the benefit and salvation of those their sheep. The same therefore by the testimony of the Scripture is not the administration of the pastoral ministry, but the killing and destruction of the sheep. And that these two kind of vices be most vile and wicked, (although after a different sort,) and far exceeding all other kind of

wickedness, hereby it is manifest, for that the same are directly contrary to two virtues most chiefly good (although differing in themselves) and unlike together. For that is called most wicked which is contrary to a thing most good. So much then as lieth in the offenders, the one of their offences is directly against the Deity, which of himself is always essentially and supernaturally good; the other is against the deification and the image of God in man, which is not always, but by the participation of God's lightsome grace, essentially and naturally good. And forsomuch as in things being good the cause of good is better than the effect; and like as again in evil things, the cause of evil is worse than the effect of evil proceeding thereof; hereby it is manifest, that the inducers of such wicked destroyers of God's image and deification in the sheep of Christ (that is, the church of God) are worse than those chief destroyers, to wit, Lucifer and antichrist.

"And as in these degrees of wickedness how much more excellent such be, who, having a great charge committed to them of God, (to edification, and not to destruction,) the more are they bound to keep away and exclude such wicked destroyers from the church of God; so much is it also off that this holy seat apostolical, to whom the Lord Jesus Christ hath given all manner of power, (to edification, as the apostle saith, and not to destruction,) can command, or will go about any such thing, urging unto so great wickedness, so odious, detestable, and abominable to our Lord Jesus Christ, and also so pernicious to mankind. For this should be a great defection, corruption, and abuse of the said seat and fulness of power, and an utter separation from the glorious throne of our Lord Jesus Christ, and a near neighbourhood unto the two most principal princes of darkness, sitting in the chair of pestilence, prepared to the pains of hell. Neither can any man, which is subject and faithful to the said see, and not cut away from the body of Christ, and from the said holy see, with sincere and unspotted conscience obey such manner of precepts and commandments, or whatsoever other attempts proceeding, yea, though from the high order of angels themselves; but rather ought of necessity with all their strength to withstand and rebel against the same. Wherefore, my reverend lord, I, like an obedient child, upon my bound duty of obedience and fidelity which I owe to both the parents of this holy apostolic see, and partly for love of unity in the body of Christ joined with the said see, do not obey, but withstand and utterly rebel against these things in the said letter contained, and especially which urge and tend to the foresaid wickedness, so abominable to the Lord Jesus Christ, so repugnant to the holiness of the holy apostolic see, and so contrary to the unity of the catholic faith. Neither for this cause can your discretion determine any extremity to me, because all my doing and gainsaying in this matter is no resistance nor rebellion, but a childly obedience to the Divine precept, and honour due both to Father and mother. Briefly, therefore, repeating my words, I say that this holy apostolic see cannot do any thing but to edification, and nothing at all to destruction; for this is the fulness of power, to be able to do all things to edification. But these which you call provisions be not to edification, but to manifest destruction. The holy apostolic see, therefore, neither can nor ought to attempt any such thing, because that flesh and blood, which cannot enter into the kingdom of God, hath revealed the same, and not the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ which is in heaven."

Then followeth it in the story both of Matth. Paris and of Florilegus, that when this epistle came to the knowledge of the pope, he, fuming and fretting with anger and indignation, answered with a fierce look and proud mind, saying, What old doting, frantic wretch is this, so boldly and rashly to judge of my doings? By sweet St. Peter

and Paul, were it not but that upon our own clemency and good nature we are restrained, we should hurl him down to such confusion, that we would make him a fable, a gazingstock, an example and wonderment to all the world. For is not the king of England our vassal? and, to say more, our maniple or page, (to use the very words of mine author,) which may at our pleasure and beck both hamper him, imprison him, and put him to utter shame? This when the pope in his great fury and rage had uttered amongst his brethren the cardinals, who were scarce able to appease the furious violence of the pope, with mild moderation of words they said unto him, that it was not expedient for them to proceed against that bishop in such rigorous manner. For, said they, to confess the truth to your Holiness, it is but very truth that he affirmeth, neither can we condemn him therefore. He is a catholic man, yea, also a holy man, more holy and also religious than we ourselves, a man of excellent wit and excellent life, so as it is thought among all the prelates he hath not his better, nor yet his like. This is not unknown both to the French and English clergy universally, neither can our contradiction prevail against him. The truth of this his epistle perhaps is known now to many, and shall stir up many against us; for he hath the name to be a great philosopher, and singularly seen in all the tongues, both Greek, Latin, and Hebrew; zealous in justice, a reader of divinity in the schools, a preacher amongst the people, a lover of chastity, and a persecutor of simony. These words spake L. Giles, a Spanish cardinal, to the pope, and others more, moved by their conscience to speak. And this counsel they gave to the pope, that he should dissemble and wink at these things, as one not seeing or regarding them; lest otherwise, perhaps, some tumult might rise and spring thereof; especially seeing this is manifest and known to all men, that once must needs come a defection and parting from the Church of Rome.

Not long after this, about the canicular days, this reverend and godly Robert, bishop of Lincoln, lying at his manor place in Bugden, fell grievously sick; and thereupon within few days departed. In the time of his sickness he called to him a certain friar of the Preaching order, named M. John Giles, a man expert and cunning both in physic and divinity, partly to receive of him some comfort of his body, and partly to confer with him in spiritual matters. Thus upon a certain day the said bishop, conferring with the foresaid M. John, and reciting to him the doings and proceedings of the pope, did grievously rebuke and reprehend his fellow brethren the Preaching friars, and the other order also of the Minorites; that forsomuch as their order being planted in wilful poverty of the spirit, to the intent they should more freely carp and reprove the vices of the mighty, and not to flatter or spare them, but sharply to rebuke and reprehend the same; the said friars, contrary to their profession, did not boldly enough cry out and inveigh against the abuses of their superiors and men of power; nor did uncover nor detect their faults and wickedness; and therefore, said the bishop, I judge them to be no better than manifest heretics. And he addeth moreover, (demanding of M. John,) what is heresy? and that he should give him the true definition thereof. Whereat when the friar did stay and pause, not remembering the solemn definition of that matter, the bishop thereupon inferreth, giving this definition in Latin by the true interpretation of the Greek word: Heresy is a sentence taken and chosen of man's own brain, contrary to Holy Scripture, openly maintained, and stiffly defended. And this definition given, consequently he inferred, sharply reprehending the prelates of the church, but especially the Romans, which commit the charge of souls unto their kinfolks, being both in age unworthy, and in learning insufficient. To give, saith he, the charge of souls unto a boy is a sentence of a prelate chosen and taken of man's own head, only for carnal and earthly respect, and also is contrary to Holy Scripture, the which forbiddeth any such to be made ministers or pastors which

are not sufficient to drive away the wolves. And moreover it is also openly maintained, because it is manifestly borne abroad and commanded with charts imbulled both with wax and lead; and finally, it is stiffly defended. For if any man shall dare to presume to withstand the same, he is suspended and excommunicated, and open war cried out against him: therefore to whom the whole definition of a heretic doth agree, he is a very heretic. But every faithful Christian man ought to set himself against a heretic as much as he may. Wherefore, he that can resist him, and doth not, he sinneth, and seemeth to be a fautor thereof, according to the saying of Gregory, He lacketh not conscience of secret society which ceaseth to resist open impiety. But the friars, both Franciscans and Dominics, are most chiefly bound to withstand such, seeing both of them have the gift of preaching committed to them by their office, and be more apt to the said office by reason of their poverty; and therefore they do not only offend in not resisting such, but also are to be counted maintainers of the same, according to the sentence of the apostle to the Romans, saying, Not only they which commit such things, but also they that consent, are worthy of death. Wherefore it may be concluded, that as well the pope, unless he cease from that vice, as also the same friars, unless they show themselves more earnest and studious in repelling the same, are both worthy of death, that is, perpetual damnation. Item, saith the canon decretal, that upon this vice of heresy the pope both may and ought to be accused.

After this, the vehemency of his disease more and more increasing, and because the nights were somewhat longer, the third night before his departure, the bishop, feeling his infirmity to grow upon, willed certain of his clergy to be called to him, thereby to be refreshed with some conference or communication. Unto whom the bishop mourning and lamenting in his mind for the loss of souls, through the avarice of the pope's court, said on this wise, as by certain aphorisms.

1. Christ came into the world to save and win souls; therefore he that feareth not to destroy souls, may he not worthily be counted antichrist?

2. The Lord created the whole world in six days, but in restoring of man he laboured more than thirty years. Wherefore he that is a destroyer of that about which the Lord so long laboured, is not he worthy to be counted the enemy of God, and antichrist?

3. The pope shameth not impudently to annihilate and disannul the privileges of his holy predecessors of Roman bishops, by this obstacle, (*Non obstante,*) which is not done without the prejudice and manifest injury of them. For in so doing he doth reprove and destroy that which so many and so holy men have builded up before, and thus seemeth he to be, a contemner of the saints. Worthily therefore he that contemneth shall be condemned, according to the saying of Isaiah, Woe to thee that doth despise! for shalt not thou thyself be despised? And who shall keep his privileges, which so breaketh the privileges of others?

4. The pope answering thereunto thus defendeth perhaps his error: He that is equal hath no superiority over his equal; therefore no pope hath power to bind me, being pope as well as he. To this answer again quoth the bishop, It seemeth to me that he that now presently is sailing in the dangerous seas of this world, and he that is safely arrived in the haven, having passed all jeopardies, are not both like and equal. Grant that some popes be saved (God forbid any should say contrary); then saith our Saviour, He that is least in the kingdom of heaven is greater than John Baptist, a greater than whom did never rise amongst the children of men. Is not therefore some

pope greater, being a giver and confirmer of privileges, than this that is alive? Truly, methinks, he is greater, therefore he hath dominion over his inferior.

5. Doth not the pope thus say, speaking of all his predecessors for the most part, This our predecessor, and this our predecessor, of most worthy memory, &c.? And again, We (saith he) cleaving, or following the steps of our predecessors, &c. And why then do such popes as come after destroy these foundations which their predecessors have laid?

6. Many apostolic men coming after have confirmed some privilege being granted by others before; and be not many bishops, being already saved by the grace of God, to be counted greater and better than one bishop, which hath not yet attained, but standeth in danger to obtain that which the other have got already?

7. Also other former fathers and bishops of the apostolical see, in preferment of time, go before the others which in time come after. And those whom the estimation of ancient time doth advance, such are we bound to esteem and to have in more reverence. This did the holy man Benedict well consider, who in his rule preferreth such as came first in time, whatsoever men they were before them which (albeit being more ancient in years) came after them into the order, and commandeth them to be their superiors, and to have the pre-eminence. Which being so, (as it is true and certain,) how cometh then this injurious and rash presumption, which dare repeal and disannul the old privileges of many ancient holy bishops, in time and in reverence going before them?

8. Moreover, and though many popes have been grievous to the church, yet this pope most specially hath brought it most into servitude, and manifold ways hath damnified the same. For these Caursini, these open usurers, whom our holy forefathers and doctors, whom we have seen, and namely, our learned master in France, preacher; also the abbot of Flay, a Cistercian, Master Jacobus de Veteri, and Master Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, in the time of his banishment, and also Master Robert Curcun, with his preaching banished out of France; for before that time these kind of usurers werenever known in England; the same Caursini, these wicked usurers, I say, were by this pope induced, supported, and maintained; so that if any do speak against them, he is miserably tossed and trounced for his labour, whereof partly Roger, bishop of London, hath some experience.

9. The world doth know that usury is counted a detestable thing in both the Testaments, and is forbidden of God. But now the pope's usurers or exchangers, the very Jews crying out against them, being openly suffered in London to exercise their usury, to the great damage and detriment of all ecclesiastical persons, but especially houses of religion, compelling such as be in poverty to counterfeit and to put to their seals to forged writings, which is no less than to commit idolatry and to abrenounce the verity, which is God himself. As, for example, I borrow a hundred marks for a year instead of a hundred pounds; I am compelled to make my writing, and to seal the same, confessing that I have received and borrowed one hundred pounds, to be repaid again at the year's end to such a man, &c. And if it shall chance that your occupying be such, that within a month you bring again the principal to the pope's usurer, he will receive no less notwithstanding than his full hundred pounds; which condition of usury is much worse than that of the Jews. For to. the Jew what principal you bring, he will require no more than proportionally for the commensuration of so much time wherein his money hath been out of his hands.

10. Moreover, we have seen and known the pope to have given in charge and commandment to the friars, Preachers and Minorites, to inquire diligently for such as lie sick and like to die; and so coming to them diligently to persuade them to make their wills and testaments favourably to the profit and subsidy of the Holy Land, and to take the cross upon them, that if they do amend, they may wring them in the law, and if they die, they may wrest the money from their executors.

11. We have known likewise and seen men that have taken the vow and sign of the cross upon them to be sold unto laymen, as sheep and oxen were wont in time past to be sold in the temple.

We have seen with our eyes the pope's letter, in which we have found this to be written; that they which bequeath any thing to the behoof or subsidy of the Holy Land shall receive so much indulgence as they have disbursed money.

12. Over and besides all this, the pope, in divers and sundry his letters, hath willed and commanded prelates to receive into ecclesiastical benefices, and to provide some such living in their churches as shall be sufficient to such and such a stranger, (being both absent and also unworthy,) which have neither learning, nor yet the language of the country; whereby they are neither able to preach, nor to hear confessions, nor to keep residence for to refresh the poor and wayfarers.

13. Item, we know and have seen ourselves that the pope hath written to the abbot of St. Albans, to provide for one called John de Camezana, whom we never saw, some competent benefice. Whereupon, in few days after, when provision was made for him in a certain church, worth forty marks by the year and more, the party being not therewith contented, complained to the pope; who then writing to the foresaid abbot, commanded him to provide for the foresaid M. John some better thing, reserving notwithstanding the gift of the former benefice to himself.

14. Again, not long after came also to the house of the foresaid abbot two other persons, like begging vagabonds, bringing with them the pope's letters; in the tenor whereof the abbot was commanded, that, immediately upon the sight thereof, he should give and disburse to the said persons for the expedition and despatch of his affairs ten marks in hand, without any delay or sticking; the which persons uttering unto the abbot proud and threatening words, he was fain to agree with them and send them away.

15. Item, of men which are both holy and well learned, which have left the world for the following of God in such order as they ought not to turn back again, the pope maketh his collectors and bankers to get in his money; the which charge they are compelled against their wills to take upon them, lest they should seem to be disobedient, and so of spiritual men are made more secular than the most secular. And so the baseness of their gowns or robes which they wear doth prove them to be liars, whilst under the habit of poverty and humiliation there lurketh the spirit of pride and elation. And because no legate may be sent into England, but being first required of the king, the pope sendeth sophistical legates, and such as be disguised and counterfeit in apparel, and are guarded with great might and power, neither is it hard to bring forth examples thereof; for so many such daily do come into the realm, that, to hear the names of them recited, it would be tedious for any man to hear.

16. Furthermore, (as we have seen ourselves,) the pope granteth for secular favour, that a man may have a bishopric, and yet be no bishop consecrated, elect for ever. Which is as much to signify to have the milk and the wool of the sheep, and not

to keep the wolves away from the sheep; to retain the rents of a bishop, and not to discharge the function of a bishop.

Afterwards he went about more to prosecute how the foresaid court, like a gulf never satisfied, and ever gaping so wide, that the flood of Jordan might run into his mouth, aspired how to usurp the goods of them that die intestate, and of legacies bequeathed without form of law; and whereby, more licentiously to bring this to pass, they used to join the king to be fellow and partaker with them in their spoils, extortions, and robbing. Neither, saith he, shall the church be delivered from the servitude of Egypt but by violence and force, and with the bloody sword. And albeit, saith he, these be yet but light matters, yet shortly more great and grievous things than these shall be seen.

And in the end of this his prophesying, which he scarcely could utter without sighing, sobbing, and weeping, his tongue and breath began to fail; and so, the organ of his voice being stopped, he made an end both of his speech and life.

And forsomuch as mention hath been made before of the insatiable avarice of the pope's court by his inordinate provisions and reservations, it is testified by the said author, Matth. Paris, that the foresaid Robert Grossthead, being bishop of Lincoln, caused to be viewed and considered diligently of his clerks, what the revenues of foreigners and strangers within England, sent in by the pope, came to by the year; and it was found and evidently tried, that this pope now present, Innocentius the Fourth, did impoverish the universal church throughout Christendom more than all his predecessors from the time the pope first began. So that the revenues of foreigners and clerks, placed by him here in England, mounted unto the sum of threescore and ten thousand marks and above; whereas the mere revenues of the crown came not to thirty thousand.

Of this Robert Grossthead writeth Cestrensis, in his seventh book of his history, that partly for that it grieved him to see the intolerable exactions of the pope in this realm, and partly because he refused to admit a certain young nephew of the pope to be canon of his church, (as hath been before recited,) he therefore, writing unto the pope, and signifying that he could not admit any such persons into his church, which neither knew themselves nor the tongue of the people, nor the charges committed unto them, was called up to Rome, and there excommunicated, but then appealing from the pope, he shortly after departed, which was in the year of our Lord 1253. It chanced within two years after his decease, the said Pope Innocent, being asleep, a certain bishop, appareled bishop-like, appeared unto him, and striking him with his staff on the left side, said, *Surge miser, veni in iudicium* that is, Rise, wretch, and come to thy judgment. The next day after the pope was found amazed, as a man stricken on the side with the stroke of a staff. This Robert, though he was greatly commended for his sanctimony, and, as Cestrensis saith, for his miracles; yet was he not permitted in the court of Rome to be inscribed in the catalogue of saints. And thus much out of Cestrensis concerning this matter. But Matthew Paris and the author of Flores Historiarum, prosecuting this story more at large, addeth this more unto it, and saith that Pope Innocent the next year following, which was A.D. 1254, being passing angry, contrary to the mind of his brethren the cardinals, would have the bones of the foresaid bishop of Lincoln cast out of the church, and purposed to bring him into such spite and hatred of the people, that he should be counted an ethnic, a rebel, and disobedient person through the whole world. And thereupon caused his letters to be written and sent down to the king of England, knowing that the king would gladly

serve him therein, to have the spoil of the bishop and of his church. But in the night following the said bishop of Lincoln appeared unto him as coming in his pontificalibus, and with a severe countenance, stern look, and terrible voice speaking unto him being in his rest, and smiting him on the side with a vehement stroke with the end of his cross staff, thus said: O thou scurvy, lazy, old, bald, wretched, doting pope, hast thou purposed to cast my bones out of the church to the shame and slander of me? How cometh this rash wilfulness in thy head? It were more meet for thee, being thus advanced by God and honoured, to make much of the zealous servants of God, although departed. The Lord will not suffer thee henceforth to have any more power over me. I have written unto thee in the spirit of humility and love, that thou shouldst correct thy manifold errors; but thou with a proud eye and disdainful heart hast despised my wholesome admonitions. Woe to thee that despisest! shalt not thou also be despised? And so the bishop departing from the pope, stricken, as is said, on the side, left him for half dead, and so lying in sorrow and lamentation. Whereupon his chamberlains being amazed, hearing these things, came running to the pope to know what him ailed. To whom the pope, much troubled and vexed, in spirit, said that great terrors in his sleep vehemently disturbed and molested him, in such sort that he thought he should never recover it, nor be restored to himself again. Oh (saith he) how sore is my side, and how eagerly it vexeth me, as being run through with a spear! Neither did the pope eat or drink all that day, but, feigning himself to be sick of a burning ague, kept in. And yet the indignation of the ireful hand of God (saith the story) so left him not.

For after these wholesome admonitions given to him by the servant of God, the pope, not regarding them, but all set upon war, suppression of his enemies, and secular affairs, gave his mind wholly unto them; and yet all his labours, counsels, and expenses bestowed upon them could never prosper after that day in that he went about. For the pope, the same time having war with the Apulians, all his army, fighting under the pope's nephew their captain, were slain and confounded to the number of many thousands; whose lamentable slaughter all the country of the Romans, did much bewail. The pope, not yet quiet in his mind, directeth his journey towards Naples, although sore vexed in his side, like a man sick of a pleurisy, or smitten rather with a spear, neither could any physic of his cardinals help him. For Robert of Lincoln (saith the story) did not spare him; and he that would not hear him gently correcting him being alive, his stripes did he feel when he was dead; so that he never after that enjoyed any lucky or prosperous day till the time of his death, nor yet any prosperous or quiet night until the morning. And so continued he unto his death, which shortly after ensued, at Naples, A.D. 1255. And thus have ye the whole discourse between Robert Grossthead and Pope Innocent.

In the which story is to be noted, gentle reader, that although in the story of Cestrensis, of Matthew Paris, and of Flores Historiarum, it is expressly testified and reported, that the pope was smitten with the staff of Robert, the foresaid bishop of Lincoln; yet thou must wisely understand, that howsoever God's hand dealeth here in this world in punishing his enemies, or howsoever the image of things not seen, but fantasied, offer themselves to the secret cogitation of man, his senses being asleep, by the operation or permission of God, working after some spiritual influence in our imaginations, certain it is that no dead man materially can ever rise again or appear before the judgment day to any man, with his staff or without his staff, to work any feat, after he have once departed this life.

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After the death of this Robert Grossthead, bishop of Lincoln, great dissension fell between the archbishop of Canterbury, Boniface, and the canons of the said church of Lincoln, about the right of giving prebendships, and about the revenues of the said church, in time of the bishop's see being now vacant. Which right and power the archbishop claimed to himself, but the canons of that church, maintaining the contrary side) stood against him, and for the same were excommunicated of the archbishop. Among whom one Master Woolfe, resisting the archbishop to the face, in the name of all the other canons, made up his appeal to Rome, where much money on both sides was spent. At length after this Grossthead was elected Henry Lexington in the see of Lincoln.

62. The Wickedness of the Jews



Jews burnt at the stake

About [this] time the wicked Jews at Lincoln had cruelly crucified, whipped, and tormented a certain child named Hugo, of nine years of age, A.D. 1255, in the month of August. At length the child being sought and found by the mother, being cast in a pit, two and thirty of those abominable Jews were put to execution. Whereof Matthew Paris reciteth a long story. The same or like fact was also intended by the like Jews at Norwich twenty years before upon a certain child, whom they had first circumcised, and detained a whole year in custody, intending to crucify him, for which the Jews were sent up to the Tower of London, of whom eighteen were hanged, and the rest remained long in prison. Of this wicked Jewish people I find also in the book Flores Historiarum that about this year of our Lord, 1255, they began first to be expelled out of France, by the commandment of the French king, being then in Palestine, warring against the Turks; by the occasion that it was objected then by the Turk against him and other Christian princes, for the retaining the Jews amongst them, which did crucify our Saviour, and warring against them which did not crucify him. Of these Jews moreover King Henry the same year, 1255, exacted to be given unto him eight thousand marks, in pain of hanging. Who, being much grieved therewith, and complaining that the king went about their destruction, desired leave to be given them of the king, that they might depart the realm, never to return again. But the king committed the doing of that matter unto Earl Richard, his brother, to enforce them to pay the money, whether they would or no. Moreover of the same Jews mention is made in the story entitled Eulogium. Of the Jews in Northampton, who had among themselves prepared wild-fire, to burn the city of London, for the which divers of

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them were taken, and burned in the time of Lent, in the said city of Northampton, which was two years before, about the year of our Lord 1253. And forasmuch as mention here is made of the Jews, I cannot omit what some English stories write of a certain Jew, who not long after this time, about the year of our Lord 1257, fell into a privy at Tewkesbury upon a sabbath day; which, for the great reverence he had to his holy sabbath, would not suffer himself to be plucked out. And so Lord Richard, earl of Gloucester, hearing thereof, would not suffer him to be drawn out on Sunday for reverence of the holy day. And thus the wretched superstitious Jew, remaining there till Monday, was found dead in the dung.

63. Other Events in the Reign of Henry III

And to note the blind superstition of that time, not only among the Jews, but also among the Christians; to omit divers other stories, as of Walter Gray, archbishop of York, who coming up to the parliament at London, A.D. 1255, with inordinate fasting did so overcharge nature, and pined himself, and (as the story mentioneth) did so dry up his brain, that he losing thereby all appetite of stomach, going to Fulham, there within three days died, as in the compiler of Flores Historiarum is both storied and reprehended. Let this also be adjoined, which the forenamed author, and in the same year, is recorded of one named Peter Chaceporce, who dying in France, A.D. 1255, left in bequest of his testament six hundred marks for lands to be purchased to the house of Merton, for God to be served there perpetually, for his soul's health, and all faithful souls; as who would say, Christian faith were not the ordinary means sufficient to salvation of faithful souls, without the quire service of the monks of Merton.

Ye have heard it often complained of before, how the usurped power of the pope hath violently and presumptuously encroached upon the Church of England, in giving and conferring benefices and prebends to his Italians and strangers, to the great damage and ruin of Christ's flock manifold ways. This violent injury and oppression of the pope, as by no lawful and gentle means it could be reformed, so by occasion and means inordinate about this time it began somewhat to be bridled. The matter whereof was this, as it is in the collector of Flores Historiarum recited: In the year of the reign of this king forty and four, the bishop of London, named Fulco, had given a certain prebend, in the church of St. Paul, to one Master Rustand, the pope's messenger here in England. Who entering into the profession of the Grey Friars, and shortly after dying on the other side of the sea, the pope immediately conferred the said prebend to one of his specials, a like stranger as the other was before. About the same instant it befell that the bishop also of London deceased, whereby the bishopric now vacant fell into the king's hands; who, hearing of the death of the forenamed Rustandus, gave the said prebendship, given of the pope before, to one John Crakehale, his under treasurer, whowith all solemnity took his installation, not knowing as yet that it was bestowed of the pope before. It was not long after, as time grew, but this being noised at Rome, forthwith cometh down a certain proctor, named John Gras, with the pope's imbulled letters, to receive the collation of the benefice by his commission procuratory given by the pope, wherein John Crakehale had been already installed, as is aforesaid, by the king's donation. This matter coming in travise before Boniface, archbishop of Canterbury, he inquiring and searching which donation was the first, and finding the pope's grant to be the former, gave sentence with him against the king; so that in conclusion the Roman clerk had the advantage of the benefice, although the other had long enjoyed the possession thereof before. Thus the pope's man being preferred, and the Englishman excluded, after the party had been invested and stalled after the use and manner, he thinking himself to be in sure possession of his place, attempted with the rest to enter the chapter house, but was not permitted so to do; whereupon the pope's clerk, giving place to force and number, went toward the archbishop to complain. This being known, certain recluses pursued him; and he being so compassed about, one in the thickness of the throng, being never after known, suddenly rushing upon him, a little above his eyes so pareth off his head,

that he fell down dead; the same also was done to another of his fellows in flying away. This heinous murder being famed abroad, strait inquiry thereof was made, but the deed doer could not be known; and although great suspicion was laid upon Crakehale, the king's chaplain, yet no proof could be brought. But most men thought that bloody fact to be done by certain ruffians or other light persons about the city or the court, disdaining belike that the Romans were so enriched with Englishmen's livings, by whom neither came relief to any Englishmen, nor any godly instruction to the flock of Christ. And therefore, because they saw the church and realm of England in such subjection, and so much to be trodden down by the Romans and the pope's messengers, they thought thereby something to bridle, as with a snaffle, the pope's messengers from their intemperate ranging into this land.

Here by the way is to be noted, that unto the death of this aforesaid Fulco, bishop of London, continueth the history of Matthew Paris, monk of St. Alban's, which was to the year of grace 1260. The residue was continued by another monk of the same house, but not with such-like commendation, worthy to make any authentic story, as I have seen it noted in a written book.

It were too curious and tedious in order to prosecute what happened in every year through this king's reign; as how it was provided by the king, that whosoever could dispend fifteen pounds land by year should be bound to make to the king a soldier; that watch should be kept every night in cities; that whosoever was robbed, or otherwise damnified, in any country, he that had the custody should be compelled to make up the loss again, or else to pursue the malefactor, which was A.D. 1253, witnessing Flores Historiarum. Item, how the king, making his voyage into Gascony, his expenses were reckoned to amount to two hundred and seventy thousand marks, besides thirty thousand marks bestowed upon his brethren by the mother's side, and besides other great gifts given abroad. By reason whereof great taxes, and tolls, and tenths were required of his subjects; especially of the churchmen, who, being wont to receive tithes of others, now were constrained to give tithes to the laity, Flores Historiarum, A.D. 1254. Item, how, in the year next following, the Londoners offering one hundred pounds for a gift to the king, with a precious cup of gold, at his return out of France, were shortly after compelled by the king to pay three thousand marks for the escape of a certain prisoner, being a clerk, condemned; which clerk being granted of the king to the bishop, and he having no prison sufficient for him, borrowed of the Londoners the prison of Newgate, to have him kept in, who, escaping thereout, they, as is said, were demanded this recompence aforesaid, A.D. 1255. Item, how the king, greatly complaining of his debts the same year, required the whole tenths, which should be gathered in three years, to be taken up all at once. To whose request the nobles and commons agreed to strain themselves, so that the charter of their liberties and customs might be ratified, and fully by him confirmed; and so for that year they were, Flores Historiarum. Item, how Pope Alexander the Third, to destroy the city Michera, with King Manfred, the son of Frederic the emperor, sent forth the same year Octavianus, his cardinal, with a puissant army; who, coming to the city with his siege, through the counsel of Marchisius, one of the chief captains, discharged a great part of his host, whereby the most of the pope's army was slain and destroyed; almost all, save only the family of Marchisius, A.D. 1255.

Many other things during the time of this king might be congested, as the rising of Lewlinus, king of Wales, and of the Welchmen, against the king, and wasting the land unto the town of Chester; who destroyed divers of the Englishmen's horsemen taken in the marsh; with whom at length they fell to agreement, by the

means of Octobonus, that his successors should be only called princes of Wales, and should do the king his homage; and the king should receive of him three thousand marks. And this, being established in writing, was confirmed by the pope's seal, in the year of our Lord 1257.

About the same time such famine and lack of victuals oppressed the land, that a load of corn was then sold for six and twenty shillings; insomuch that the poorer sort was forced to eat nettle roots, thistle roots, and whatsoever they could get; although some refer this to the year 1262.

Hereunto, moreover, might be adjoined, how Pope Alexander, abusing and mocking the king's simplicity, made him believe that he would make his son Edmund king of Apulia, so that he would sustain the charges and cost thereof, to maintain the war which thereto should appertain. Whereby the king, cast in a sudden hope, caused his son incontinently to be proclaimed king of Apulia; and upon the same sent up to the pope all the riches he could well make in his realm. And thus was the realm manifold ways miserably impoverished to enrich the pope. About which season Richard, earl of Exeter, the king's brother, was made king of Almaine by the electors.

Here might be showed, moreover, and added to the stories above, how, the next year following, which was 1259, as Nicholas Trivet writeth, the king, entering into France, required the restitution of such lands in Normandy and Anjou as of old right were due unto him, and wrongfully withholden from him. But the French king again alleged, saying, that the country of Normandy by old time was not given away from the crown of France, but usurped, and by force extorted by Rollo, &c. In conclusion, the king, fearing and suspecting the hearts of his nobles, and looking for none other but for rebellion at home, durst not try with them, but was compelled to agree with them upon such peace and conditions as he could get, which was this: That he should have of the French king thirteen hundred thousand of Turin pounds, with so much lands else as came to the value of twenty thousand pounds in yearly rent; so should he resign fully and purely, to the hands of the French king, all such lands and possessions which he had in France. Whereby the king, giving over his style and titles which he had in those parts, ceased then to be called duke of Normandy, or earl of Anjou.

Albeit it be true that Gisburn writeth, that the king, afterward repenting of his deed, did never receive the money in all his life, neither did he cease during his life to entitle himself duke of Normandy. But after him, his son Edward and his successors in their style left out the title to be called duke of Normandy.

Besides many other matters omitted, here I overpass also the sore and vehement conflict, not between the frogs and the mice which Homer writeth of, but the mighty pitched field, fought in the year of our Lord 1259, between the young students and scholars of the university of Oxford, having no other occasion, as I read in Matth. Paris, but only the diversity of the country where they were born. For the northern men joining with the Welchmen, to try their manhood against the southern part, fell both parts together in such a broil, with their ensigns and warlike array, that in conclusion divers on both sides were slain. This heavy and bloody conflict during and increasing among them, the end was this, that the northern lads with the Welch had the victory. After that fury and fiery fierceness had done what it could, the victors bethinking at length with themselves, partly what they had done, partly how it would be taken of the higher powers, and fearing due punishment to fall upon them, especially seeing the brother of Leolin, prince of Wales, and son of Griffin, was newly

dead in prison, drawing their counsel and helps together, they offer to King Henry four thousand marks, to Edward his son three hundred, and to the queen two hundred, to be released of their trespass. But the king answering them again, that he set more price by the life of one true subject than by all which by them was offered, would in no wise receive their money. And so the students without hope of peace went home with small triumph, learning what the common proverb meaneth, *Dulce bellum inexpertis*. Notwithstanding, the king being then occupied in great affairs and wars, partly with Leolin and the Welchmen, partly inwrapped with discord at home with his nobles, had no leisure to attend to the correction of these university men, which was A.D. 1259. Likewise concerning the dissension following the next year after in the university of Paris, between the students there and the friars; the number of whom then did so much increase, that the commons were scarcely able to sustain them with their alms. Also between the universities both of Oxford and Cambridge, for a certain prisoner taken out of prison by strength, and brought into sanctuary the same year, as is testified in Matthew Paris, A.D. 1259. In like manner touching the variance between the archbishop of Canterbury and the chapter of Lincoln. Again, between the said archbishop of Canterbury and the chapter and bishop of London; and how the said bishop at his consecration would not make his profession to the archbishop but with this exception, *Salvis jure et libertate ecclesiæ Londinensis, quæ pro posse meo defendam in omnibus, &c.*, recorded in Flor. Hist. All which wranglings and dissensions, with innumerable others reigning daily in the church at those days, if I had so much leisure to prosecute them as I find them in stories remaining, might sufficiently induce us to understand what small peace and agreement was then joined with that doctrine and religion in those days during the state and reign of antichrist.

These, with many such other matters more, which here might be discoursed and storied at large, being more foreign than ecclesiastical, for brevity I do purposely contract and omit, cutting off all such superfluities as may seem more curious to write upon, than necessary to be known.

64. Quarrel of King Henry III and the Nobles

This that followeth, concerning the pitiful and turbulent commotion between the king and the nobles, which lasted a long season, because it is lamentable, and containeth much fruitful example, both for princes and subjects, to behold and look upon, to see what mischief and inconvenience groweth in commonwealths where study of mutual concord lacketh, that is, where neither the prince regardeth the offending of his subjects, and where the subjects forget the office of Christian patience in suffering their princes' injuries by God's wrath inflicted for their sins; therefore, in explaining the order and story thereof, I thought it not unprofitable to occupy the reader with a little more tarriance in perusing the full discourse of this so lamentable a matter, and so pernicious to the public weal.

And first, to declare the occasions and first beginnings of this tumult, here is to be understood, which before was signified, how King Henry married with Eleanor, daughter of the earl of Provence, a stranger, which was about the year of our Lord 1234, whereupon a great door was open for strangers, not only to enter the land, but also to replenish the court; to whom the king seemed more to incline his favour, advancing them to more preferment, than his own natural English lords, which thing was to them no little grievance. Moreover, before was declared how the king by Isabella his mother, who was a stranger, had divers brethren, whom he nourished up with great livings and possessions, and large pensions of money, which was another heartsore to divers, and also a hinderance. Over and besides hath also been declared what unreasonable collections of money from time to time, as quindecims, subsidies, tenths, mercements, fines, payments, loans, and taxes, have been levied by the king, as well of the spiritually as of the lay sort, partly for maintaining the king's wars against Wales, against Scotland and France, to recover Normandy; partly for helping the king's debts, voyages, and other expenses; partly for the kingdom of Apulia, which was promised the king's son by the pope; partly for moneying and supporting the pope in his wars against the emperor. By reason of all which sundry and insupportable collections the commonwealth of the realm was utterly excoriate, to the great impoverishment of poor Englishmen. Neither did it a little vex the people, to see the king call in so many legates from Rome every year, which did nothing else but transport the English money unto the pope's coffers. Besides all this, what variance and altercation hath been between the king and his subjects about the liberties of Magna Charta, and De Foresta, granted by King John, and after confirmed by this king, in the former council holden at Oxford, hath been before declared.

Perhaps this might be also some piece of a cause that the king, considering and bearing in mind the old injuries done of the lords and barons to his father King John before him, did bear some grudge therefore, or some privy hatred unto the nobility, to revenge his father's quarrel; but of things uncertain I have nothing certainly to affirm. This is certain by truth of history, that the year next ensuing, which was 1260, thus writeth Nic. Trivet, that the king's justices, called *itinerarii*, being sent thither to execute their office, were from thence repelled; the cause being alleged, for that they were against the king in proceeding and enterprising against the form of the provisions enacted and stablished a little before at the town of Oxford.

In this year it pleased the king, after suit to him made, to license a university or academical school to be planted in the town of Northampton; and of a special favour which he pretended to bear, and like enough did indeed, unto the scholars that went there to seat themselves, and to prosecute the exercises of studies, wrote his letters mandatory unto the chief officers and others of the said borough in the said students' behalf; the tenor whereof followeth agreeing with the record.

The king's letter to the mayor, bailiffs, and others the inhabitants of Northampton, in the behalf of certain scholars minded to plant themselves there as in a university.

"The king to his beloved and trusty the mayor, bailiffs, and other honest men his subjects of Northampton, greeting. Whereas certain masters and other scholars do purpose to tarry in your town corporate, there to exercise scholarly discipline, as we hear; we hereupon regarding the service of God, and the great profit of our kingdom, taking in good part the coming thither of the said scholars, and liking well their abode there, do will and grant that the said scholars in the said town corporate, under our protection and defence, do safely and securely abide, and there exercise and do such things as to such scholars shall belong. And therefore we command you, and straitly charge you, that when the said scholars shall come unto you, to tarry in your said corporate town, you receive them courteously, and as becometh the state of scholars use them, not doing or suffering to be done unto them any impediment, molestation, or grievance. In witness whereof we have caused these our letters patents to be made. Witness the king at Windsor, the first day of February, in the five and fortieth year of his reign."

It befell moreover in the same year, above other times, as Walter Hemingford writeth, that a great number of aliens, coming out of France and other provinces, resorted into England, and had here the doing of all principal matters of the realm under the king; unto whom the rewards, and reliefs, and other emoluments of the land did most chiefly redound; which thing to see did not a little trouble and vex the nobility and baronage of England. Insomuch that Simon Mountfort, earl of Leicester, offering to stand to death for the liberties and wealth of the realm, conferred together with other lords and barons upon the matter, who then coming unto the king after a humble sort of petition, declared unto him how all the doings of his realm, and his own affairs, were altogether disposed by the hands and after the wills of strangers, neither profitable unto him, nor to the weal public; forasmuch as his treasures being wasted and consumed, he was in a great debt, neither was able to satisfy the provision of his own house, but driven to tally for his own cates, to no small dishonour unto his own state. And now therefore, said they, pleaseth your Highness to be informed by our advice, and to commit your house to the guiding and government of your own faithful and natural subjects, and we will take upon us to discharge your whole debt within one year of our own proper goods and revenues, so that we within five years may clear ourselves again. Neither will we diminish your family, but rather increase it with a much greater retinue; providing so for the safety and seeing to the custody of your royal person, as your Highness shall find and understand our diligence most trusty and faithful unto you in the end.

To these words so lovingly declared, so humbly pretended, so heartily and freely offered, the king as willingly condescended, assigning unto them both day and place where to confer and to deliberate further upon the matter, which should be at Oxford the fifteenth day after Easter. At which day and place all the states and lords, with the bishops of the realm, were summoned to appear at the said town of Oxford,

for the behalf of the king and the realm convented together. Where first of the king himself, then of the lords, an oath was taken, that what decrees or laws in the said assembly should be provided to the profit of the king and of the realm, the same universally should be kept and observed to the honour of God, and utility of his church, and wealth of the realm. Besides these lords and the king, were also nine bishops, which, swearing unto the same, did excommunicate all such as should withstand the said provisions there made, the king holding a burning taper in his hand, and the lords openly protesting to rise with all their force against all them that shall stand against the same.

There were at that present in the realm four brethren of the king's, (most part of them by the mother's side,) which would in no case agree hereunto, but in anger departed privily unto Winchester. The nobles hearing thereof, in all speedy wise pursued them, fearing lest they should take the city of Winchester, and forcibly keep the same. Wherefore the lords preventing their purpose, and seeing them stiffly to persist in their stubborn sentence, wrought no other violence against them, but, returning to Oxford again, prescribed to them these conditions, that they, departing the realm, should repair to their own lands and possessions, which they had beyond the sea, and that forthwith they should put this injunction in execution. Notwithstanding that the king made for them great intercession, yet it took no place. And because this should seem to proceed of no special displeasure against them, they enacted, moreover, that all strangers, and aliens, of what state or condition soever, should forthwith avoid the realm on pain of death. Divers other provisions the same time were ordained and stablished, that if any did hold of the king in whole or in part, and should chance to depart, (his heir being under age,) the wardship of him should belong the king, as hath partly before been specified.

Moreover, it was there decreed that the wool of England should be wrought only within the realm, neither should it be transported out to strangers.

Item, that no man should wear any cloth but which was wrought and made only within the realm.

Item, that garments too sumptuous should not be brought in nor worn.

Item, that all excessive and prodigal expenses, wasted upon pleasure and superfluity, should be eschewed of all persons.

Many other laws and decrees (saith the author) in this assembly were ordained, wherein they continued the space of fifteen days, and many of them were imprisoned, of whom was the abbot of Westminster, a man in that order much commended. Also William, brother to the earl of Gloucester. Also the earl himself, being imprisoned, hardly escaped with life, his hair and nails falling off his body, whereof the author not long after was taken, and duly executed at Winchester. In the mean time, the nobles, considering those dangers and jeopardies, were constrained to break off for that time, appointing the fourteenth day of October next following to convent together at London with weapon and harness, to prosecute and finish the residue that was in the said council to be concluded. All which at the time and place appointed was fully accomplished, and the acts thereof in order of writing promulgated, and so committed to execution.

After the promulgation whereof many things therein displeased the king, and it began to repent him of his oath. But because he could not at that present otherwise choose, he dissembled for a season. Thus time passing on, within a year following,

which was in the year of our Lord 1261, the king, seeing himself more and more to grow in debt, and not to be relieved, according to promise, made, but especially being egged (as may be thought) by his brethren, taking it to stomach, sent up to the pope both for him and his son Edward to be released of their oath made before at Oxford. The benefit of which absolution being easily obtained, (or rather bought at the pope's hand,) the king, stepping back from all that was before concluded, calleth another parliament at Oxford; where he before the lords and nobles declared, how in the late council of Oxford they had agreed among themselves, for the common utility of the realm and of the king, as they pretended, for the increasing of his treasure, and his debt to be diminished; and thereupon bound themselves with an oath, causing also himself and his son Edward to be bound unto the same. But now by experience proving and trying the matter to be otherwise than their promise was, and that they, contrary to their covenant made, sought not so much the profit of him and of the realm as their own, taking him not as their lord, but going about to bring him under their subjection as an underling; and for that moreover his treasure greatly decreasing, his debts increased, and his princely liberality was cut short and trodden under foot; they should not marvel therefore if he henceforth would be no more ruled by their council, but would provide himself of some other remedy, such as he might. And moreover, as touching the oath wherewith he and his son stood bound unto them, he had sent already to Rome, and had obtained absolution and dispensation of the same, both for him and his son Edward also, and for all others that would take his part. And therefore he required of them to be restored again to that state and condition he had enjoyed in times past.

To this again gave answer the state of nobility on the other side, being in the same place present; in the number of whom was Simon Mountfort, earl of Leicester, Richard Clare, earl of Gloucester, Humphrey Ronne, earl Ferrence, with a great number of barons, as Lord John Fitz-John, Lord Hastings, Lord Geoffrey Lucy, Lord John Vescy, Lord William Segrave, Hugh Spenser, Lord Robert Vespoint, with divers and many more; whose answer to the king again was this: That the provisions made at the council at Oxford (whereunto they were sworn) they would hold, defend, and maintain to their lives' end; forasmuch as they did sound, and also were agreed upon, both to the honour of God, to the profit of the prince, and stable wealth of the realm, &c. And thus parts on both sides discording amongst themselves, they would so have departed, had not certain of the bishops, coming between both, laboured between them to take up the matter. By whose means (saith Walter Gisburn) and procurement the determination of the cause was brought in compromise, and referred to Louis, the French king, to judge betwixt them, who, hearing both the allegations, (saith he,) like no equal judge, but a partial friend, inclined wholly and fully to the king's sentence, and condemned the nobles. But the author of Flores Historiarum saith, that by the mediation of discreet men two were chosen, one for one side, the other for the other, to whom the third also was annexed, who, hearing as well what was brought of the king's part, as also what was answered of the other, should define between them both, and so peace was between them concluded till the coming of Edward. All this while as yet the pope's absolution for the king, although it was granted and obtained at Rome, yet was it not brought down in solemn writing, neither was Prince Edward as yet returned out of France into England.

At length the writing of the king's absolution being brought from Rome, the king soon commanded the same to be published throughout the realm, and sendeth to the French king and other strangers for help; moreover, he seizeth all his castles into

his own hand, rejecting the counsel of the lords, to whose custody they were before committed; also removing the former officers, as justices, and the chancellor, with others placed afore by the lords, he appointed new in their stead.

To this foresaid absolution, procured from Rome for the king and his, son, Edward, returning out of France, at that time did not give his consent, but held with the lords. Who then putting themselves in arms, with a great power repaired up to London, keeping there in the suburbs and places about, while the king kept within the Tower, causing the city gates to be watched and locked, and all within the said city, being above the age of twelve years, to be sworn unto him. But at length, through the means of certain coming between, this tumultuous perturbation was somewhat appeased, at least some hope of peace appeared; so that the matter was taken up for that time without war or bloodshed. Notwithstanding, some false pretended dissemblers there were, which, secretly disclosing all the counsels and doings of the lords unto the king, did all they could to hinder concord, and to kindle debate. By the means of whom the purpose of the lords came not to so good effect as otherwise it might.

In this year the archbishop of Canterbury, with his suffragans, (after their wonted manner,) standing against the king, had made their appeal to Rome; whereupon the king was fain to answer by proxy, as appeareth by this brief note drawn out of record: "The king hath appointed and made John Hemingford his proctor in a cause of appeal which is moved in the court of Rome, between the king on the one part, and the archbishop of Canterbury with his suffragans on the other part, about certain ordinances, constitutions, and decrees lately in a council provincial at London by them published, to the prejudice of the king's right, his dignity royal, the liberties, laws, and customs of his kingdom."

This matter no doubt was laboured very diligently by the said John Hemingford, who was to that end authorized by the king to make his abode at Rome, during the time that any manner of process was held and maintained against him, to the impeaching of his royalty. Whereof the king had a special regard, perceiving the waywardness of his own clergy, or rather rebelliousness, in daring to decree and ordain laws against him. And therefore he was the more careful to have all matters depending in the court of Rome, concerning him and his, to be earnestly followed. Inasmuch as he joined to the foresaid Hemingford, in the charge of procuration, one Roger Lovell; unto which two, residing at Rome, the king sent his letters, charging them so to manage his affairs, as that nothing might pass to the derogation of his royal title: the copy of the said letter followeth, agreeing with the prototypon or original.

A letter of the king sent to his proctors at Rome, concerning a case of his in the said court depending.

"The king to Master John of Hemingford, and Roger Lovell, his proctors, pleading in the court of Rome, greeting. Forasmuch as upon you our trusty and vowed servants, the defence of our right and honour doth lie, and (as we hear) certain of our realm, pleading in the court of Rome, do move divers matters to the prejudice of our right and honour, presuming and intending to prevail against us, we command you, and straitly charge you, that on our behalf you straitly forbid all and every of them, that they presume not any further to undertake such things as tend to the hurt of our majesty, and the derogation of our honour, but wholly forbear so to do, as they will avoid our indignation, and the peril of them and theirs. This inhibition also we will by you all and every of you (so often as you shall see needful) to be made known, and

thereupon by you or some of you to be certified of the contemners of the same. Witness the king at Westminster the six and twentieth of March, in the six and fortieth year of his reign."

In this present year also (as affirmeth the forenamed author) it was rumoured abroad, (as Flores Historiarum reporteth,) that all the bishops of England went about to recover again, out of the hands of religious men, all such churches and benefices which were to them impropriated or appropriated; and that they, for the expedition of the same, had sent up to Rome both messengers and money, nothing misdoubting to obtain their purpose. But as little good fruit in those days used to spring out of that see, so I do not find that godly suit and labour of the bishops to take any fruitful effect. The same year died Pope Alexander, after whom succeeded Pope Urban the Fourth.

Of the which Pope Urban the king also obtained, or rather revived, a new releasement from his oath made to the provisions and statutes of Oxford. Which being granted, he commandeth incontinently all the foresaid laws and provisions through England to be dissolved and broken. This done, the king with the queen taketh his voyage into France, where he fell in great infirmity of sickness, and the most part of his family was taken with the fever quartan, of which many died. In the number of whom, besides others, died Richard, the worthy earl of Gloucester and Hereford, after whom succeeded Gilbert Clare his son.

The Welchmen this year, breaking into the borders of England, did much annoyance in the lands of Roger Lord Mortimer; but mightily again by him were expelled, not without great slaughter of the invaders. About which time the king, through some discreet counsel about him, inclined to peace and concord with his nobles, granting of his mere voluntary will the constitutions and provisions of Oxford to take place in the realm, directing his commandment to every shire. Albeit the realm yet was not altogether pacified for all that.

In the latter end of this year, the king's palace at Westminster was burnt, and for the most part was all consumed with fire, which seemed to many an evil prognostication against the king.

In some English chronicles it is also recorded, that the same year five hundred Jews at London were slain for taking usury more than twopence a week for twenty shillings, being before forbidden by the king to take above that rate by the week.

After this followeth the year 1263, in which the barons of England, confederating themselves together, for maintaining the statutes and laws of Oxford, and partly moved with old grudge conceived against the strangers, (maintained by the king and the queen, and Edward their son, in the realm of England,) joined powers in all forceable wise, and first invaded the said strangers, namely, them which were about the king. Their goods and manors they wasted and spoiled, whether they were persons ecclesiastical or temporal. Among whom, besides others, was Peter, a Burgundian, (bishop of Hereford, a rich prelate,) with all his treasure apprehended and spoiled; also his countrymen, whom he had placed to be canons of the same church. With like order of handling other aliens also, to whom was committed the custody of divers castles, as of Gloucester, of Worcester, of Bridgenorth, were spoiled, imprisoned, and sent away. Briefly, whatsoever he was in all the land that could not utter the English tongue was of every rascal disdained, and happy if he might so escape. By reason whereof it so came to pass, that a great number, as well of other

foreigners as especially religious men and rich priests, (which here had gathered much substance,) were urged to that extremity that they were glad to flee the land. In the catalogue of whom was one most principal, named John Maunsell, a priest notoriously grown in riches and treasures not to be told, having in his hand so many and rich benefices, that near no bishop of this realm might compare with him in riches. Who, notwithstanding he kept with the king at London, yet was compelled privily to void the realm, and was pursued by Henry, the son of Richard, king of Almaine. Certain other strangers there were, to the number of two hundred and more, which having the castle of Windsor, there immured and intrenched themselves, to whom at length Prince Edward also adjoined himself.

In the mean time, while this stir was abroad, the king, keeping then in the Tower, and seeing the greatest part of his nobles and commons with the Londoners to be set against him, agreed to the peace of the barons, and was contented to assent again to the ordinances and provisions of Oxford; albeit the queen by all means possible went about to persuade the king not to assent thereto; who, as it seemed, was a great worker in kindling this fire of discord between the king and the barons. Insomuch that when as the said queen Eleanor should pass by barge from the Tower to Windsor, the Londoners standing upon the bridge, with their exclamations, cursing, and throwing of stones and dirt at her, interrupted her course, causing her to return to the Tower again. Notwithstanding, the peace yet continued with the nobles and the king, the form whereof was this: First, that Henry, the son of Richard, king of the Romans, should be delivered by the king and queen. Secondly, that the castles again should be committed to the custody of Englishmen, not of strangers. Thirdly, that the provisions and statutes decreed at Oxford should, as well by the king as by all others, inviolably be observed. Fourthly, that the realm henceforth should be ruled and governed, not by foreigners, but by personages born within the land. Fifthly, that all aliens and strangers should void the land, not to return again, except only such whose abode should by the common assent of the king's trusty subjects be admitted and allowed.

Thus the king and the nobles joining together after this form of peace above prefixed, although not fully with heart, as after appeared, put themselves in arms with all their power to recover the castle of Windsor out of the strangers' hands. But Edward, in the midway between London and the castle, meeting with his father and the barons, entered communication upon the matter. Which being finished, and he thinking to return into the castle again, by the policy of the earl of Leicester, and William, bishop of Worcester, he was not permitted to re-enter. Whereupon the strangers within the hold, destitute of all hope to withstand the great force approaching, rendered the castle unto the king and the barons upon this convention; That with horse and harness they might be suffered safe to depart the land, not to return any more. Which being granted, certain of the barons conducted them in their journey towards the sea-side, and there they left them.



Windsor Castle

In the same year, about the beginning of October, the king and queen made over to France, with Simon Mountfort and other nobles, to hear and stand to the arbitrement of Louis the French king, concerning the controversy between the states of England, and all through the procurement of Eleanor the queen. For she, not forgetting the old contumely of the Londoners, exclaiming against her upon the bridge, wrought always what revenge she could against them. Concerning the arbitrement of this matter put to the French king, partly hath been said before, and more shall be said (Christ willing) hereafter. Some stories do add moreover, that the king continuing long in France, word was sent to him out of England, that unless he returned again to the realm, they would elect a new king. Whereupon the king, returning out of France to Dover, would have entered the castle, but he was stopped. Wherefore the king in fierce anger and great indignation prepared his power towards London; where Simon Mountfort, the worthy earl of Leicester, through a subtle train, was almost betrayed and circumvented in Southwark, by the sudden pursuing of the king's army, had not the Londoners with more speed, breaking bars and chains, made way to rescue him, by the means of whom the earl at that time escaped the danger.

Now to come to the sentence of the French king. Forasmuch as the arbitrement of this matter was committed to him, as hath before been specified, he in a great frequency both of French and English persons about him, considering and poising the cause on both sides, between the king and the nobles, clearly and solemnly pronounced on the king's side against the barons, ordained that the king of England all this while had suffered wrong, and that he should be restored again to his pristine state, notwithstanding the provisions made at Oxford, which he ordained to be repealed and abrogated.

The sentence of the French king thus awarded, as it gave to the king of England with his retinue no little encouragement, so it wrought in the nobles' hearts great indignation; which, notwithstanding that partial decreement of the French king, sped themselves home out of France to defend themselves with all their strength and power. And not long after followeth also the king, by whose train Simon Mountfort, earl of Leicester, as is above recited, was well near circumvented in Southwark. Then the king, calling his council together at Oxford, from whence he excluded the university of students for a season, who were then at Northampton, as you have heard before, there consulted, conferring with his friends and counsellors what way best to be taken. And hearing that the barons were assembled in a great number at the town of Northampton, he went thither with his host and with his banners displayed, accompanied with Richard his brother, king of Almain, also with Edward his son, John Comp, of Scotland, with many other Scots, John of Dalliolo, lord of Galloway, Robert of Bruce, Lord Walter of Anand, Roger of Clifford, Philip of Marmion, John of Waus, Roger of Laiburne, Henry Percy, Philip Basset, Roger of Mortimer, and William of Wallace, and many others. Therefore the king commanded the barons that were within to yield unto him presently the city and the pledges, or else he would immediately destroy them. But they, counselling with the younger Simon de Mountfort, which by his father's commandment had got the residue thither to take counsel together, (for his father and the earl of Gloucester were not yet come,) boldly and with one mind answered, that they would not obey the king's will, but would rather defend themselves and the city, if need were, even to the death. Which the noblemen of the king's part hearing, sent word again, that at the least they should come to the wall of the city to speak to the king, if by any means peace might be made. And they, suspecting no deceit, followed their counsel, and leaving their holds, came to the wall towards the meadow, for there lay the king and his strong host hard by. But in the mean space, whilst divers matters were reasoned and treated of between the king and the lords, the Lord Philip Basset, (which before was appointed to work that feat,) with mattocks and other instruments of iron and men prepared for the onset, near to the monastery of St. Andrew, did undermine the wall of the city; and by this means the wall fell down lightly, and there was made a great plain, so that in one forefront there might have gone together on a row forty horsemen. And of this subtlety the alien monks that were there were thought to be the workers, because they made way and entrance for them that came in. But when they that passed by saw this, and the king's banners were erected ready to enter in, there was a great howling made, and the noise of the people came to the ears of the barons, and they made speed to resist them; but it was all in vain, because they were already prevented of a great company of their enemies. But Simon Mountfort the younger, after he had valiantly fought a while in the midst of his enemies with Peter Mountfort, and a few that were with him, when Edward the king's son came, was by his commandment taken and led away prisoner. But the clerks of the university of Oxford (which university by the barons' commandment was translated thither) did work against the king's men more

hurt than the other barons, with their slings, long bows, and cross bows; for they had a banner by themselves, and that was set up on high against the king. Wherewithal the king being greatly moved, sware at his entering in that they should all be hanged. Which when they heard, many of them shaved their crowns, and they that were able ran away as fast as they could. And when the king entered the city, many fled in their armour into the castle, others left their horse and harness and ran into churches, and a few were slain, and those were of the common people; but there was not much bloodshed, because all things were done as upon the sudden. When the city was at length set in quiet, the king commanded his oath to be executed upon the clerks. But his counsellors said unto him, This be far from thee, O king; for the sons of thy nobles, and of other great men of thy kingdom, were there gathered together into the university; whom, if thou wouldest cause to be hanged or slain, even they that now take thy part would rise up against thee, not suffering to the uttermost of their powers the blood of their sons and kinsfolk to be shed. And so the king was pacified, and his wrath against the clerks was stayed.

In the same day, after little more than an hour, the king's host assaulted the castle, and the new hold-keepers were afraid, for that they had not victuals and other things necessary for their resistance; therefore they sent immediately messengers unto the king, and yielded themselves to the king's mercy. There were taken that day these knights and barons underwritten: Lord William de Ferrers, Lord Peter Mountfort, companion of the said Simon de Mountfort the younger, Lord Baldwin de Wake, Lord Adam de Newmarch, Lord Roger Bertram, Lord Simon, the son of Simon a valiant warrior, which first erected his banner against the king, Lord Berengarius de Waterville, Lord Hugo Gubium, Lord Thomas Maunsell, Lord Roger Botemlam, Nicholas Wake, Lord Robert de Newton, Lord Philip de Dribie, and Grimbald de Pauncefoot. All these did the king take prisoners, and many more, of whom he committed some to Lord Nicholas of Haversham, to be kept in the same castle well defended; some he led away with him, and some he sent to divers castles, and appointed Simon Mountfort to be cast into Windsor castle. And all these things, as touching the taking of Northampton, were done on the sabbath day in Passion week, being the third of April, in the year of our Lord 1264; and the king went forward even to Nottingham, burning and wasting the manors of the lords and other his enemies, and there he gathered together his nobles, and greatly increased his number.

When this ill luck was told, of them that there were run away, to the Earl Simon, which was coming towards Northampton with a great host, he was in a great rage, and yet was not discouraged; but immediately going to London, he caused a chariot to be made him after the manner of litters or coaches, wherein he might ride as though he were sick; for he feigned himself to be feeble and weak, whereas he was indeed a stout and valiant warrior: and there gathered to him other noblemen that were confederate with him, earls and barons, every one bringing with them their several armies; and preparing their engines of wood, they went to besiege Rochester; for the earl of Worcester in the king's behalf kept both the town and castle. When they had gotten the first gate and the bridge, they were partly wounded, and compelled to retire; and there that valiant knight, Roger de la Bourne, was wounded, and very ill handled. And whilst they continued siege there a while, it was told them that the king was coming towards London with a mighty host. And they said one to another, If the king at his coming should take London, we shall be shut in it as it were in a strait corner; let us therefore return unto London, that we may keep in safety both the place and the people. Therefore, appointing certain persons to keep the siege, they returned

to London. At the length when the king came, they went forth with the citizens to meet him, not with flowers and palms in their hands, but with swords and spears. The king shunned them; and after he had the castle of Kingston, which was the earl of Gloucester's, he went from thence to Rochester, where, after he had killed a few, he brake the siege; and from thence the king went to Tunbridge; and the town and castle now being given up to him, he took there the countess of Gloucester, and put her into an abbey, not to be kept in hold, but to go at liberty whither she would. And he left for the custody of the castle and city a great part of his host, to the number of above twenty picked out ensigns, for that it was commonly said that the earl of Gloucester would come out of hand to assault them. Which being done, he continued on his journey to Winchester, where he received to peace the seamen of the haven towns. And three days after, upon the Sunday following, he came to the town of Lewes, and was received unto the abbey, and his son Edward into the castle. Then the barons sent letters to the king the twelfth day of May, the tenor whereof followeth.

"To their most excellent Lord Henry, by the grace of God king of England, lord of Ireland, and duke of Aquitaine, his barons and others his faithful subjects, being willing to keep their oath and fidelity to God and him, send greeting and due obedience with honour and reverence. Whereas by many experiments it is manifest, that some of your Grace's assistants have reported to your Majesty many lies of us, working mischief as much as in them lieth, not only against us, but against you also, and your whole realm; be it known to your Highness, that we have been always willing to defend the health and safeguard of your person, with all our power and fealty due to your Grace, purposing to vex to the uttermost of our power and estate, not only our ill-willers, but also your enemies, and the enemies of your whole realm. If it be your good pleasure, give no credit to them, we shall be always found your faithful subjects. And we, the earl of Leicester, and Gilbert of Clare, at the request of others, for us and them have put to our seals."

These letters being read and heard, there was a council called, and the king writ back to them, and specially to the two earls of Leicester and Gloucester, in manner and form following.

"Henry, by the grace of God king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Aquitaine, &c., to Simon Mountfort, and Gilbert de Clare, and their confederates. Forasmuch as by the war and general disquietness by your means raised up in our whole realm, and also the burnings and other hurtful enormities, it appeareth manifestly that you keep not your fidelity to us-ward, nor care any thing for our health or safety; and for that ye have unorderly grieved our nobles, and others our faithful subjects, sticking faithfully and constantly to us, (as you have certified us,) we accounting their loss as our own, and their enemies as ours; and seeing these my aforesaid faithful subjects, for the keeping of their fidelity, do assist us manfully and faithfully against your unfaithfulness; we, therefore, care not for your fidelity or love, but defy you as our and their enemies. Witness myself at Lewes, the day and year aforesaid."

Also Richard, king of Almaine, and Lord Edward, the son of King Henry, writ to the barons in this wise:

"Richard, by the grace of God king of the Romans, always Augustus, and Edward, eldest son of the king of England, and all the other barons and nobles constantly and faithfully in heart and deed cleaving to the foresaid king of England, to Simon Mountfort, and Gilbert de Clare, and to all and singular others their adherents

in their conspiracy. By your letters which you sent to our lord, the noble king of England, we have understanding that you defy us, although before any such word, your defiance towards us was apparent enough by your cruel persecution in burning our possessions, and spoiling our goods. We, therefore, give you to wit, that we all and every one of us, as your enemies, do defy you all as our open enemies. And further, that we will not cease, wheresoever it shall lie in our power, to the uttermost of our force and might to subvert your persons, and all that you have. As touching that you lay to our charge, that we give neither faithful nor good counsel to our lord the king, you say not the truth. And if your Lord Simon Mountfort, or Gilbert de Clare, will affirm the same in our lord the king's court, we are ready to get safe-conduct for you to come to the said court, to try and declare the truth of our innocency, and the falsehood of you both, as forsworn traitors, by some man equal with you in nobility and stock. All we are contained with the seals of the foresaid lords, the Lord Richard, and the Lord Edward. Dated the day aforesaid."

Both which letters being read, they drew near to the king; for they were not far distant from the place which is called Lewes. And for that there wanted to the king's store provision for their horses, it was commanded them on Tuesday to go forth to seek for hay and provender; which, when they were gone forth, were prevented of their enemies, and most of them killed; but the residue returning, saw their enemies coming very early on the Wednesday morning, and making outcries, stirred up the king and his host to arm themselves. Then the barons, coming to the full plain, descended there, and girding and trimming their horses, made fit their harness to them. And there the Earl Simon made the earl of Gloucester, and Robert de Vere, and many other new knights. Which being done, he divided and distinguished his host into four several battles, and he appointed noblemen to guide and govern every battle. And over the first battle were ordained captains, Henry Mountfort, the eldest son of the Earl Simon, and Guido, his brother, Lord John de Bruch the younger, and Lord Humphrey de Bohun. Over the second battle, Lord Gilbert Clare, earl of Gloucester, Lord John, the son of Lord St. John, and Lord William of Mountchery. And over the third, in which the Londoners were, at their request, the Lord Nicholas Segrave was assigned; which required also very instantly, that they might have the first stroke in the battle, at the adventure, come what come would. But over the fourth battle the earl himself was captain, with the Lord Thomas of Pinelston. In the mean season came forth the king's host, preparing themselves to the field in three battles; of which Edward the king's son led the first, with the earl of Warwick, and Valence, the king's brother; and the second the king of Almaine, guided with his son Henry; but the king with his nobles guided the third; and the fourth legion the king appointed not, by reason he had left many of his chief soldiers behind him to keep the castle and town of Tunbridge against the earl of Gloucester. And the most part of the king's army were but young men, for the king thought not that his barons had been come so nigh hand. Their armies being on both sides set in array and order, they exhorted one another on either party to fight valiantly; and after they buckled together, the battle was great, and many horsemen were overthrown even in a moment. But by and by Edward, the king's son, with his band, as a fierce young gentleman and valiant knight, fell upon his enemies with such force, that he compelled them to recoil back a great way, so that the hindmost (thinking by reason of their giving back that the foremost were slain) ran many of them away; and, taking water to pass over, were almost threescore soldiers drowned, and a few of them being slain, all the rest fled. Straightway the Londoners, which had asked the first fight, knowing not how the battle went, took their heels; whom Edward pursued with his band, killing the hindmost of them the space of two

or three miles; for he hated them, because they had rebelled against his father, and disgraced his mother when she was carried by barge upon the Thames from the Tower to Windsor, as is before touched.

Whilst that Prince Edward was thus in the chase of the Londoners, who had the vaward of the barons' battle, in the mean time the main battle of the barons set upon the king's main battle, of the which the king of Almaine, the brother of King Henry, had the leading; which being soon discomfited, and he with his son Henry, and Robert de Bruce, John Coven, with divers other captains, taken prisoners, the rereward, wherein the king himself fought, being immediately so hardly beset, and he seeing his knights and soldiers on every side about him beaten down and slain, and divers others of his soldiers to forsake the field and shift for themselves, thought good to take again the town, and so retired into the abbey from whence he came, shutting and rampering up the gates, and caused the same to be strongly warded with soldiers. To be brief, the barons thus getting the field, after a long fight, and many men on either side slain, entered also the town of Lewes, pursuing in chase such soldiers as thither fled for succour.

In the mean time Prince Edward, returning from the chase of the Londoners, as ye heard, who desired to give the first onset, and espying the chariot of the Earl Simon, (which he caused purposely to be made for him,) and the horses in the same, without either waggoner or any other to govern the same, fell immediately upon the chariot, and brake it all in pieces, and slew two burgesses that were within the same. But when he came nearer to the place where the bloody battle had been fought, and saw the great discomfiture and overthrow which in his absence with great mortality and slaughter had happened, his heart was much dismayed, and his countenance altered. Yet notwithstanding, comforting and encouraging his knights and soldiers, of whom he had a valiant company, in battle array he marched toward the town; against whom came the barons again with all their power. And thus was begun betwixt them a fresh field and new battle, and many men slain on either side. But at length the earl de Warenia, with the king's two brethren, forsook the field and fled; after whom went more than seven hundred chosen soldiers, which were of their house and family, who the same day came to Pevensey, and there took shipping over the sea. Also Hugh Bigot with divers others fled, and left the valiant prince fighting in the field; which thing he also perceiving took the town. And when he found not the king his father at the castle, he went from thence to the abbey where he was. In the mean season the town was divided in parts, some fighting, some spoiling, some getting of booties; neither could scarcely one of them know and discern another, whether he were his friend or enemy. But when within a while the barons had assembled some company, they gave an assault upon the castle, thinking to have rescued John Gifford and others, whom the king's soldiers had taken prisoners and put therein. But the soldiers within manfully defended the same, and in throwing out balls of wild-fire, as for the defence thereof they had, they also fired part of the town. Then the barons retired and left the castle, and purposed to have set upon the abbey, where the king and Prince Edward his son was, which also was set on fire by the assault given to the castle; but yet it was shortly recovered and quenched. Then Edward, the king's son, perceiving the bold enterprise of the barons, prepared with courageous knights and soldiers, as were yet remaining and within the abbey, to have issued out, and to have given a new charge upon them. But the barons, perceiving that, sent unto the king messengers to entreat a truce for that day, and on the morrow to talk and conclude of a further peace between them.

This battle was fought upon the nineteenth day of May, being the year of our Lord 1264.

The next day, which was Thursday, there were sent on either side two Preaching friars between the king and the barons, with certain articles and demands of peace, so that with certain others these conditions were agreed on: That on the morrow, being Friday, the prince should give himself in hostage for the king his father, and others of his part. And Henry, the king's son, of Almaine, also should give himself the like for his father. That those things which should be concluded upon for the benefit and commodity of the realm, and peaceable quietness thereof, might be performed, and that all such prisoners as were taken on either side should be freely ransomed and sent home.

The next day, which was Saturday, the king discharged all his soldiers, and others that were with him in the abbey, licensing them to depart whither they listed. And furthermore, by the advice of his son and the barons, he gave commandment to those which he had appointed to the keeping of Tunbridge, that they should make no attempt to the prejudice or hurt of the barons, but, in hope of the peace which was now at the point to be concluded, they should also depart every man to their houses and habitations. But they, giving no credit thereunto, went with their furniture to Bristow, where they kept themselves in garrison, until the escaping of Edward the king's son out of prison. But first before that, when they heard at Tunbridge that the king was vanquished in battle, and that the Londoners in the foreward were put to flight by Prince Edward, (by a messenger that escaped from the same,) and that also the same Londoners were at Crowdown, they set upon them in the eveningtide, and, taking from them much spoil, slew also many of them.

But when Roger Mortimer's part began to decrease, and Simon the earl's part on the other side to increase, he bare himself more stout, for that both the king and all that was his did depend upon the good-will and favour of the earl, and led with him the king's son to such holds and castles as he thought to be most strong; as though all were in his hands to do as him liked; and he kept the hostages more straitly than he was wont to do. Insomuch that when it was blown abroad that the king's son was kept as prisoner, divers that were his friends counselled him that he should desire to disport himself at the barriers, that the people might have a sight of him. But he, being narrowly guarded, as he knew, and fearing some tumult to arise, thought good to refuse their counsel, and so did.

You are therefore to note, that at this time the prelates of England stood upon their pantofles, and jolly fellows (I tell you) they would be known to be. For in an inquisition made after the death of one Alfred of Lincoln, being, as is supposed, a baron of this realm, there is found (inter alia) as followeth: "That the aforementioned Alfred held a certain piece of the park of Dunetish and Tilei of the abbot of Cerne, by service of holding his stirrup when the abbot should take horseback, and to give him place in the shire at such time as he should be present." The circumstances hereof being considered, together with the time wherein it was done, giveth probable cause to conjecture that the occasion of this matter came by this means: viz. That whereas the said Alfred was desirous to enlarge his park, and could not so do but by purchasing of part of some other ground next adjoining, whereof the said abbot was owner, he was therefore constrained either to lack that he liked, or to admit such conditions as pleased my lord abbot; who, like a lord, (as you see,) was content to let him have his land, reserving such service as is above said. Wherein would be noted the pomp of

prelates in those days, and how near they drew in imitation to the pope, in whose treading they traced.

But leaving these affairs of the church and churchmen, wherein we have been somewhat large, we will now enter into other troubles of the temporal state. You heard before of a pacification concluded between the king and his barons in the year of our Lord 1264, the same having been admitted by mutual and common consent of the temporality and clergy. Nevertheless, as a sore not well searched and tented, but superficially and overly skinned, doth break out into a more dangerous botch; so it came to pass among the lords and barons, betwixt whom no such firm reconciliation was made as was like long to last. Whereupon ensued, after secret grudge and privy hatred, open arms and conflicts. For in this year 1265 the sons of Simon the earl, to wit, Henry, Simon, and Guido, being all puffed up, and with the pride of their success elevated, did that which nothing contented the earl of Gloucester; insomuch that he challenged Henry, the eldest son of the Earl Simon Mountfort, at the barriers, to be tried at Northampton. But that challenge was taken up, lest some further inconvenience might have risen thereof. But the earl of Gloucester, being moved therewith in his mind, sent unto his father the earl that he should deliver him such prisoners, being noblemen, as he took at the battle of Lewes; among whom the king of Almaine was named first. But he by countermand answered him, and said, that it might content and satisfy him, for that he had saved and preserved to him his lands that day the battle was fought at Lewes; and that furthermore he would not send him such prisoners as he demanded; and that he himself kept more noble than they in the castle of Dover; among whom was John Basset, which undermined and burst down the walls of Northampton at that conflict, as is said before and specified.

The earl of Gloucester being herewith displeased, so soon as he heard this answer, sent incontinently to the Lord Roger Mortimer, which always took the king's part, desiring that they two might talk together touching the benefit and commodity of the king. Who, doubting some deceit, desired sureties and pledges for his safe return, and he would come and talk with him, and so had. When they met, and had a while talked familiarly, the earl of Gloucester showed him all that he was purposed to do; and that further he lamented he had so much and so greatly offended the king; and that he would with all his power and ability make amends for that offence, in the restitution of the king again to his kingly dignity, as much as he possibly might. Therefore they sent secretly to Robert, the brother of the earl of Gloucester, which was near about the Earl Simon, and made him to consent with them therein. And to work this thing more circumspectly, when opportunity served thereunto, Roger Mortimer sent unto the king's son, a horse excelling all others in footmanship, unto whom he might be sure to trust, when he saw convenient time thereunto. After which things thus contrived, Prince Edward desired leave of the earl to prove his courser against such time as he should ride at the tilt, as they might when they listed. As soon as he had gotten leave, and that with galloping and ranging the field he had wearied divers of their horses; at the last, getting up upon the horse which for that purpose was sent, and spying a servant on horseback coming toward him with two swords, he turned about unto his keeper, whose name was Robert de Rose, and to others his play-fellows that were with him, saying, My loving lords, thus long have I kept you company, and have been in your custodies; and now, not purposing to use your companies any longer, I betake you to God. And, quickly turning his horse about, put to the spurs, and away went he. The other pricked after apace, but yet came far enough behind, and overtake him they could not. At last, when they saw Roger

Mortimer coming from his castle of Wigmore, accompanied with many armed men, to meet him, as before it was appointed, they returned again home as wise as when they came forth. And when this the prince's escape was divulged, much people came unto him out of every quarter with great joy thereof. Amongst whom the first was the earl of Gloucester, and the other soldiers of the king, which had now long lien at Bristow, and thereabouts, and within a short space he had a great and a mighty host.

Which thing when the Earl Simon understood, he much doubted and mistrusted himself; and sending into Wales, he gat from thence a great many men, and augmented his power as strongly as he might from every part of England. He sent also Simon his son to the noblemen of the north parts, that with all possible speed he might bring them with him; who with a great company came with him, and at Kenilworth awhile they stayed, and there pitched their tents. But leaving Kenilworth for a certain time, they went to Winchester, and spoiled the same, and then returned again to Kenilworth. And when this was declared to Edward the king's son, who then was at Worcester, by a certain spial, which he had gotten after he came from Gloucester a little before, he prepared himself with his soldiers in the night season to go to the place where the spy should bring him, which was into a deep valley, near unto the place where Simon and his company had pitched. And when in the morning they were very early about to arm themselves, and prepare their horses, they heard a great noise of their enemies coming towards them. Then thinking that they had prepared themselves against their coming, and so had been betrayed, they set forth in battle-array, marching forwards, till that they met certain of their enemies straggling in long wings, thinking to have gone a foraging, and to have sought for victuals; whom they took, and with their fresh horses new horsed their soldiers that had their horses tired with long travel. And so, marching forward, came very early in the morning upon their enemies, whom for the most part they found sleeping; and laying lustily about them, they slew divers; some they took, the rest they put to flight; and fifteen of their chiefest ensigns they took, with many other rich spoils. But young Simon himself lodged in the castle, who with a few with him escaped and fled. And this was the fourth day before the nones of August, A.D. 1265.

But when Edward heard that Earl Simon was coming toward Kenilworth, to join with his son's battle, he marched forward to meet him the third day after at Evesham, where he divided his host into three battles, he himself having the leading of one, the earl of Gloucester the second, and Roger Mortimer the third, which came upon their backs. The king's son Edward came northward, as though he came from Kenilworth to Evesham; and because he would not be descried, he caused his own standards and ensigns to be taken down, and young Simon's which he had taken before to be advanced. But the Earl Simon's scurrer, whose name was Nicholas, showed the earl that such bands and companies were marching towards him; who thinking the same to have been Simon his son's power, not knowing of the overthrow which he had before, gave small credit thereunto, till that the said Nicholas, the better to view and descry them, went up to the abbey steeple of Evesham, where he might plainly discern them all and their standards; for by this time they were mounted the hill which they laboured to attain, thinking to have that vantage when they should give their charge as they had purposed; and had also advanced again his own standards, and pulled down Simon's, whereby they were the more easier descried and known. Then he cried aloud to the Earl Simon, and said, We are all but dead men; for it is not your son, as you suppose, that cometh, but it is Edward the king's son that cometh from one part, and the earl of Gloucester from another part, and Roger Mortimer from

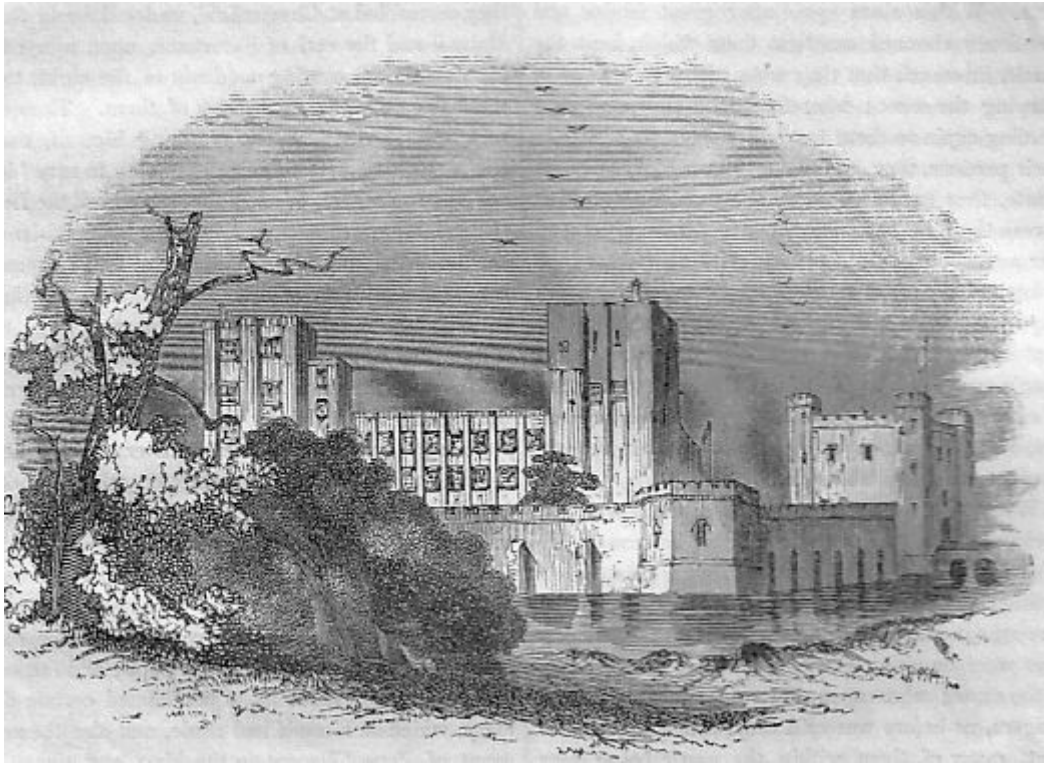
the third part. Then said the earl, The Lord be merciful unto our souls, forasmuch as our bodies and lives are now in their hands; commanding that every man should make himself ready to God, and to fight out the field, for that it was their wills to die for their laws, and in a just quarrel. And such as would depart he gave leave to go their ways, that they should be no discomfiture to the rest.

Then came unto him his eldest son Henry, and comforted him, desiring him to have no despair, nor yet mistrust in the good success of this victory, with other such cheerful words. No, my son, (saith he,) I despair not; but yet it is thy presumption, and the pride of the rest of thy brethren, that hath brought me to this end you see; notwithstanding, yet I trust I shall die to God, and in a righteous quarrel. After words of comfort given to all his host, and the oration made, as is the manner, they all armed themselves. The king also (whom the earl always kept with him) he armed in an armour of his own; and then, dividing their battles, they marched towards their enemies. But before they joined, the Welchmen ran their ways, and thinking to escape over the river of Dee, were there some drowned, and some slain. Then when the battles joined and came to handy strokes, within short space many of the earl's part fell and were slain; and the king himself being struck at, cried with a loud voice to them, saying, "Kill me not, I am Henry your king." And with these the king's words the Lord Adam Monthaut knew him, and saved him. At whose voice and cry came also Prince Edward his son, and delivered him to the guard and custody of certain knights. In the mean season the Earl Simon was hard bestead and beaten down, and also slain, before Edward the prince came at him. Howbeit, before he fell, whenas he fought for life, and Henry his son, and other noblemen on his part, were about him, he brake out into these words unto his enemies, saying, What, is there no mercy and compassion with you? Who again answered, What compassion should there be showed to traitors? Then said he, The Lord be merciful unto our souls, our bodies are in your hands. And so soon as these words were spoken, they mangled his body, and divided his members, and cut off his head, which head Roger Mortimer sent unto his wife. And not far off from him also was slain Henry his eldest son, the Lord Hugh Spenser, the Lord Radulph Basset, the Lord Thomas de Hestele, the Lord William Mandeville, the Lord John Beauchamp, the Lord Guido Baillofer, the Lord Roger Rowley, and many other noblemen besides, with a great multitude of people, the Lord knoweth how many. This battle was fought in the month of August, and continued from one of the clock till it was night; in the which was not so much as one man on the earl's part, of any estimation, fortitude, and courage, but in that battle lost his life; more than the Lord John, who by the great grace of God escaped death. Neither is this to be forgotten, that the same day, being Tuesday, at that instant hour when the battle began, which was at one of the clock at afternoon, there was such a darkness over all, such thunder and such tempest, that the like before that time was never seen, being very calm and fair weather both immediately before and after; which seemed (saith mine author) to give a plain demonstration of that which afterwards chanced and followed.

After this great slaughter and overthrow, there was a parliament summoned at Winchester by the earl of Gloucester, and others of his part. Here by the way is to be considered, that the king, although he was in the camp of the earl of Leicester, being then in custody, and his son, Edward with the earl of Gloucester; yet the king was on that side against his will, and therefore in the said parliament the king was restored to his kingly dignity, which was before that time under the custody of the barons. But after the battle was ended and do certain of them that loved the earl upon an old ladder

gathered up such parts of his body as remained, and, covering the same with an old gown, brought it to Evesham, where they putting the same in a fair linen cloth, buried it in the church. But not long after, such as thought not themselves sufficiently revenged with his death, (to wreak them of the dead corpse,) took up the same, and threw it in another place, saying that he which was both accursed and a traitor was not worthy of Christian burial.

The same year also died Walter Cantilupe, bishop of Winchester, after whom succeeded Nicolas of Ely, the king's chancellor.



Kenilworth Castle

The same year the king, perceiving that unless the castle of Kenilworth were recovered, and the boldness of them restrained that kept the same, many evils and inconveniences might ensue thereupon, to the prejudice of his kingdom; for that the number increased every day more and more, wasting and spoiling the country all about; therefore he gathered an army, and came down to Warwick, where he awhile tarried, expecting the meeting and assembling of his marquises and lords, with ensigns and other munition suitable. Who when their bands were furnished and mustered, and all things ready, the morrow after Midsummer day he displayed his banner, and began his voyage, marching towards Kenilworth, and besieged the same. During which siege, by the advice and counsel of the king, the pope's legate, and other noblemen, twelve persons were chosen which should have the disposing of those things that pertained to the state of the realm, and of those that had lost their lands and inheritances, who, amongst other things, made and established this one proviso, that was commonly called Kenilworth decree: That all those which had lost their lands by attainder (although not yet attainted) should fine therefore at the king's pleasure, and take their lands of him again; paying some three years', some, four years', some two

years' revenues of the same, according to the quality of the crime and offence committed. All which provisos or provisions were established and confirmed, as well by the corporal oath as by signment of the same with the hands and seals of all the prelates and clergy of England, there assembled for that purpose by the pope's legate upon the feast of All saints. When these things were thus finished, messengers were sent on the king's behalf, as well to those that kept the castle of Kenilworth, as also to those that were assembled in the Isle of Ely; willing them to come under the protection of the king's peace, and yield to the foresaid provisos, established by the twelve commissioners. Who all together answered and said, that they would in no wise condescend thereunto, both for that it was done without their consents, not being called unto it, and also for that the said decree was over strait and intolerable. Within short space after great famine and pestilence chanced amongst them which kept the castle, insomuch that they were without all hope of keeping the same; wherefore, soon after, the king sending again to them to yield the castle and take their pardons, they, consulting together of their own estate, thus answered the king's messengers: If it please the king and his council to permit us to send our messenger to the Lord Simon Mountfort, which is beyond the sea, that he may come by a certain day to the defence of this his garrison and fort, and that in the mean space we be not disturbed by the king's army that hath environed us till the return of our messengers; if by the day appointed he come not, we will yield up the same, so that we may be pardoned of life, limb, and movables.

When the messengers were returned, and had declared to the king their answer, he, consulting with his nobles about the matter, agreed unto their petitions, and caused the truce to be proclaimed throughout all his camp, after that sufficient hostages were on either side given for the performance of the same; whereupon they set forward their messengers, as before was said they would. But after that, many of them within the castle being very grievously vexed with the bloody flux, and other diseases, insomuch that the whole men might not abide the corruption and annoyance of those that were diseased, they delivered up the castle before the return of the messengers again, and were permitted to go whither they would to refresh themselves, as men molested with great vexations and miseries. After the rendering up of the castle, the king committed the custody thereof to his son Edmund, and so with his host departing from his siege, came upon Christmas even to Osny, where he with great solemnity and triumph kept his Christmas during seven days, and from thence with his host came to Windsor, from whence after a few days he marched towards Ely; in which island he besieged those which were disherited, and sharply also assaulted them.

The same year Pope Clement the Fourth promoted Master Walter Gifford, bishop of Bath, to be archbishop of York.

In which year also the Church of England began to pay the tenths of all their revenues, as well spiritual as temporal, to the king, to continue for three years' space; and this was done by the authority apostolical.

Within a while after, the barons which were yet remaining gathered themselves together again; amongst whom John Daiwill, being a subtle and stout man of war, began to have a name, and was well esteemed amongst them, who all together did what mischief they might; and in the month of May they assembled at Chesterfield, under the said John Daiwill and the earl of Ferarence, upon whom the king's soldiers coming suddenly in the night, took them sleeping, and slew many of

them. Then the said John Daiwill, quickly arming himself, came forth, thinking with more defence both to save himself and to escape. Who in the way struck the Lord Gilbert Humsard such a blow with his demi-lance, that he felled both him and his horse to the ground, and so fled with a few more after him. And thus, while the poor soldiers fought and were slain, the barons fled away and saved themselves. Also the Earl Ferarence fled, and hid himself in a church; but being bewrayed by a woman, he was taken forth, and led away prisoner. After this, the king kept a parliament at Northampton, where he disherited all those that took part with the Earl Simon and all their children. Where also the pope's legate Octobonus held a convocation, and excommunicated all such bishops as had taken any part with Simon against the king; of whom divers he sent up to Rome, to be absolved of the pope; and further, the said legate caused to be proclaimed certain decrees, which he himself had made, and also the new grant of Pope Clement to the king and queen of all the tenths for seven years to come. And shortly after, a tax also was fined upon the country of Norfolk, to the gathering whereof Walter, the bishop of Norwich, was appointed.

After this, in the year of our Lord 1267, King Henry besieged again the castle of Kenilworth, from the seventh day before the first day of July, until the beginning of December, whither came Octobonus, the pope's legate; by whose entreaty Henry Hastings delivered the same unto the king, which stoutly had defended the same, and resisted the king, having pardon granted, both for him and his, of his life, lands, goods, and cattle. In which time also the barons again assembled with John Daiwill, in the isle of Axioline, and so proceeded till they came to Lincoln, which they also took, and spoiled the Jews, and slew many of them; and entering their synagogue, tare and rent the book of their law, and burned the same, and all other writings and obligations which they could come by. Which thing when the king heard, he sent his son Prince Edward; but as soon as they heard that, they fled into the Isle of Ely, and fortified the same with bulwarks as strongly as they might at every entrance into the same. This was in the month of April when Edward the king's son came thither; who, for the great abundance of waters in the same, could by no means enter the island, till at length, by the counsel of the inhabitants of that province, he caused with a number of workmen great trenches and ditches to be made, somewhat to convey away the water; and so long they used the counsel of them, in making bridges with planks and hurdles, till at the last they entered the island, who, as soon as they were entered, the barons fled to London, where they were of the Londoners well entertained. The rest which were in the island yielded themselves, (amongst whom was Roger Wake, Simon the younger, and Peches,) saving their lives and members. After this, both the king and Edward his son came to London with a great power, but yet were kept out of the city by the barons and citizens for the space of forty days. And Octobonus, the legate, (who, for fear, was fled into the Tower,) they narrowly laid for, that he should not escape. At length, by the entreaty of the earl of Gloucester, and other earls that were his friends, both the barons and citizens were pardoned, and admitted to the king's favour. And four bishops and eight other noblemen were chosen, such as were at Coventry first nominated, that they should order and dispose all matters betwixt the king and such as had lost their inheritance, as also the form of their peace and ransom. And proclamation was made upon the feast of All-saints of perfect peace and accord throughout all the realm.

In the fifty-second year of this King Henry's reign, eight days after the feast of St. Martin, he held a parliament at Marlborough, in the year of our Lord above recited; where by the advice of wise and discreet men, and withal the consents of the

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nobles, he ordained and enacted divers good and profitable statutes for the reformation and bettering of the state of the realm and execution of common justice, which are called the statutes of Marlborough.

The same year, upon St. Gregory's day, Octobonus, the legate, called a council at London, where were five archbishops, and a great number of bishops, abbots, and other prelates; which council also within three days brake up again.

65. Prince Edward's Crusade

The same year, upon St. John's day the Baptist, Edward, the king's son, and divers other noblemen of England, took upon them the cross by the legate's hands at Northampton, to the relief of the Holy Land, and the subversion of the enemies of the cross of Christ. Which done, the legate the same year went out of England, not purposing after that to return again. This holy legate, (saith mine author,) which might well be resembled to a lynx, the monstrous beast whose quick sight penetrateth every thing, enrolled to perpetual memory the valuation of all the churches in the realm of England so narrowly, as by any means possible he might inquire the certainty thereof. The same was he that made all the cathedral and conventual churches to pay pensions; so that those churches which gave not the vacancy of their benefices to their clerks and strangers, should pay unto them a certain yearly pension, during the vacancy of the benefices which they should have.

The same year died Pope Clement the Fourth, after whose death the Church of Rome was two years vacant; and then was chosen an archdeacon cardinal, whose name was Theardus, as he was taking his journey into the Holy Land, and they called him Gregory the Tenth.

Then also did Edmund, earl of Lancaster and Leicester, and second son of King Henry, take to wife the earl of Albemarle's daughter, and the niece of the earl of Gloucester; at which marriage was the king and the queen, and all the nobility of England.

The same year was the body of St. Edward the king and confessor, by Walter Gifford, archbishop of York, and other bishops, entombed in a new and rich shrine of gold and silver, beset with precious stones, in the presence of Henry the king of England. In which year also fell a great rain and inundation of waters, such as hath not lightly been seen, which increased and continued the space of forty days, and more.

The same year died Walter de Laiwill, bishop of Sarum, the third day before the nones of January. After whom succeeded Robert of Northampton, the dean of the same church. And because the see of Canterbury was then vacant, he was confirmed by the chapter of Canterbury; which chapter had always the jurisdiction in spiritual causes, during the vacancy of that see, in as ample manner as the bishop himself had being alive. After this, the bishop elect coming thither, thinking to have had his consecration, was, notwithstanding, put back for two causes: one was, for that there was present then no more but one bishop; the other was, for that all the other bishops had appealed, that he might not be consecrated to their prejudice; that is, by the authority of the chapter of Canterbury, saying that they would not be under the obedience of the monks.

After this, solemn messengers were for this cause sent to the cardinals of Rome, for that then the see of Rome was vacant; who received answer, that during the vacation of that see the confirmation and consecration of the bishop elect pertained to the aforesaid chapter of Canterbury.

The same year also was the Lord Henry, the son and heir of the Lord Richard, king of Almaine, and brother to King Henry the Third, slain at Viterbium, in a certain

chapel hearing mass, by the Lords Simon and Guido, the sons of the Lord Simon Mountfort, earl of Leicester.

During this king's reign there was made a great and general expedition of divers and sundry Christian princes to Jerusalem, taking upon them the Lord's character, that is, the cross; among whom was also Edward the king's son, unto the which expedition was granted him a subsidy throughout all the realm. And in the month of May, in the year of our Lord 1270, or, as saith Florilegus, A.D. 1269, he set forward on his journey.

About the time when Prince Edward was preparing his journey toward Asia, Boniface, of whom ye heard before, the archbishop of Canterbury, ended his life in the country of Sabaudia, going belike to Rome, or coming thence. After whose death the monks of Canterbury, proceeding to a new election granted by the king, agreed upon the prior of their house, named Adam Chelindon. But the king and his son Prince Edward, consenting and speaking in the behalf of Robert Burnell their chancellor, did solicit the matter with the monks, partly entreating, partly threatening them, to choose the said Robert to be archbishop. Notwithstanding, the monks being stout, would neither relent to their courteous request, nor yet bow to their boisterous threats; but, constantly persisting in their former election, appealed from the king and prince to the pope. Prince Edward being now on his journey, and seeing himself thus frustrated of the monks, writeth back to the king his father; devoutly praying and beseeching him in no wise to admit the election of the foresaid monks. And so, passing to Dover with Henry, the son of Richard his uncle, king of Romans, with their wives, they took their passage in the month of August. After this, the prior thus elected, as is foretold, but not admitted by the king to be archbishop, went up to Rome.

In the mean time, the monks, in the absence of their elect, ordained one Geoffrey Pomenall to be their official; who seeing himself advanced to that dignity, and bearing belike some old grudge against the prior of Dover, caused him to be cited up to appear in the chapter house of Canterbury. The prior of Dover seeing this citation to be prejudicial to him and to the church of Dover, and knowing that the monks of Canterbury have no such jurisdiction, (the see of Canterbury being vacant,) but that all things appertaining to that church ought to be reserved whole to the consecration of the new archbishop; therefore, for the state both of him and of his church, he appealed up also unto Rome. But to return to the archbishop again.

The second year after Chelindon, the foresaid archbishop elect, remaining all this while at Rome, at last resigned up his election to the pope's hand, being Gregory the Tenth; who then gave the same to Robert Kilwarby. Who then coming to Dover, restored again the prior of that house, being before excluded upon certain causes. By these contentions judge, good reader, of the religion of these men, and of these times. And now to return to our former story.

About this time came out the great Concordance by an English friar, called John Dernington.

It was above declared, how a general voyage being proclaimed to war against the Turks, and a subsidy being collected in England upon the same, Prince Edward with others was appointed to take their voyage, and now were onward in their journey. Who, at Michaelmas following, with his company came to Egermorth, which is from Marsilia eight leagues westward; and there taking ship again, (having a merry

wind and prosperous,) within ten days arrived at Sunes at Tunicium, where he was with great joy welcomed and entertained of the Christian princes that were to this purpose assembled, as of Philip the French King, whose father Louis died a little before, of Charles the king of Sicily, and the two kings Navarre and Arragon. And as the Lord Edward came thither for his father the king of England, thither came also Henry, the son of the king of Almaine, for his father; who, at his return from the voyage, was slain in a chapel at Viterbium hearing mass, by the Lords Simon and Guido, the sons of the Lord Simon Mountfort, earl of Leicester.

When Prince Edward demanded of these kings and princes what was to be done, they answered him again, and said, The prince of this city, said they, and the province adjoining to the same, hath been accustomed to pay tribute unto the king of Sicily every year. And now, for that the same hath been for the space of seven years unpaid and more, therefore we thought good to make invasion upon him. But the king knowing the same tribute to be justly demanded, hath now according to our own desires satisfied for the time past, and also paid his tribute beforehand.

Then said he, My lords, what is this to the purpose? Are we not here all assembled, and have taken upon us the Lord's character, to fight against the infidels and enemies of Christ? What mean you then to conclude a peace with them? God forbid we should do so; for now the land is plain and hard, so that we may approach the holy city Jerusalem. Then said they, Now have we made a league with them, neither is it lawful for us to break the same; but let us return again to Sicily, and when the winter is past, we may well take shipping to Acre. But this counsel nothing at all liked him, neither did he show himself well pleased therewith; but after that he had made them a princely banquet, he went into his closet or privy chamber from amongst them, neither would be partaker of any of that wicked money which they had taken. They, notwithstanding, continuing their purpose, at the next merry wind took shipping; and, for want of ships, left two hundred of their men ashore, crying out and piteously lamenting for the peril and hazard of death they were in. Wherewith Prince Edward, being somewhat moved with compassion, came back to the land, and received and stowed them in his own ships, being the last that went aboard. Within seven days after, they arrived in the kingdom of Sicily, over against the city Trapes, casting their anchors a league from thence within the sea, for that their ships were of great burden and thoroughly fraught. And from the haven of the city they sent out barges and boats to receive and bring such of the nobility to land as would; but their horses, for the most part, and all their armour, they kept still within board. At length, towards the evening the sea began to be rough, and increased to a great tempest and a mighty, insomuch that their ships were beaten one against another's sides; and drowned there were of them, at that tempest, lying at anchor, more than a hundred and twenty, with all their armour and munition, with innumerable souls besides; and that wicked money also, which they had taken before, likewise perished and was drowned. But the tempest hurt not so much as one ship of Prince Edward's, who had in number thirteen, nor yet had one man lost thereby, for that, as it may be presupposed, he consented not to the wicked counsel of the rest. When in the morning the princes and kings came to the sea-side, and saw all their ships drowned, and saw their men and horses in great number cast upon the land drowned, they had full heavy hearts, as well they might. For of all their ships and mariners, which were in number fifteen hundred, besides the common soldiers, there were no more saved than the mariners of one only ship, and they in this wise. There was in that ship a good and wise matron, (a countess, or an earl's wife,) who perceiving the tempest to grow, and fearing herself,

called to her the master of the ship, and asked whether, in attempting to the shore, it were not possible to save themselves. Who answered, that to save the ship it was impossible, howbeit the men that were therein by God's help he doubted not. Then said the countess, For the ship force no whit, save the souls therein, and have to thee double the value of the ship. Who, immediately hoisting the sails, with all force ran the ship aground so near the shore as was possible. Thus, with the vehemency of the weather and force he came withal, he burst the ship, and saved all that was within the same, as the master of the same ship had showed and said before.

Then the kings and princes (altering their purpose after this so great a shipwreck) returned home again every one unto their own lands; only Edward the king's son remained behind with his men and ships, which the Lord had saved and preserved. Then Prince Edward (renovating his purpose) took shipping again, and within fifteen days after Easter arrived he at Acre, and went a-land, taking with him a thousand of the best soldiers and most expert, and tarried there a whole month, refreshing both his men and horses, and that in this space he might learn and know the secrets of the land. After this, he took with him six or seven thousand soldiers, and marched forward twenty miles from Acre, and took Nazareth; and those that he there found he slew, and afterward returned again to Acre. But their enemies following after them, thinking to have set upon them at some strait or other advantage, they were by the prince premonished thereof, and returning again upon them, gave a charge, and slew many of them, and the rest they put to flight. After this, about Midsummer, when the prince had understanding that the Saracens began to gather at Cackhow, which was forty miles from Acre, he marching thither set upon them very early in the morning, and slew of them more than one thousand, the rest he put to flight, and took rich spoils, marching forward till they came to a castle named *Castrum Peregrinorum*, situate upon the sea-coast, and tarried there that night, and the next day they returned toward Acre. In the mean season the king of Jerusalem sent unto the noblemen of Cyprus, desiring them with speed that they would come and aid the Christians; but they would not come, saying they would keep their own land, and go no farther. Then Prince Edward sent unto them, desiring that at his request they would come and join in aid with him. Who immediately thereupon came unto him with great preparation and furniture for the war, saying that at his commandment they were bound to do no less, for that his predecessors were sometimes governors of their land, and that they ought always to show their fidelity to the kings of England. Then the Christians, being herewith animated, made a third 'viage' or 'rode,' and came as far as the fort called *Vincula St. Petri*, and to St. George's; and when they had slain certain there, not finding any to make resistance against them, they retired again from whence they came.

When thus the fame of Prince Edward grew amongst his enemies, and that they began to stand in doubt of him, they devised among themselves how by some policy they might circumvent him and betray him. Whereupon the great prince and admiral of Joppa sent unto him, feigning himself under great deceit to become a Christian, and that he would draw with him a great number besides, so that they might be honourably entertained and used of the Christians. This talk pleased the prince well, and persuaded him to finish the thing he had so well begun by writing again; who also by the same messenger sent and wrote back unto him divers times about the same matter, whereby no mistrust should spring. This messenger, saith mine author, was one of the stony-hearted, that neither feared God nor dreaded death. The fifth time when this messenger came, and was of the prince's servants searched, according

to the manner and custom, what weapon and armour he had about him, as also his purse, that not so much as a knife could be found about him, he was had up into the prince's chamber; and after his reverence done, he pulled out certain letters, which he delivered to the prince from his lord, as he had done others before. This was about eight days after Whitsuntide, upon a Tuesday somewhat before night; at which time the prince was laid upon his bed bareheaded in his jerkin, for the great heat and intemperature of the weather.

When the prince had read the letters, it appeared by them, that upon the Saturday next following his lord would be there ready to accomplish all that he had written and promised. The report of these news by the prince to the standers-by liked them well, drawing somewhat back to consult thereof amongst themselves. In the mean time, the messenger, kneeling and making his obeisance to the prince, questioning further with him, put his hand to the belt, as though he would have pulled out some secret letters, and suddenly he pulled out an envenomed knife, thinking to have stricken him into the belly therewith as he lay; but the prince lifting up his hand to defend the blow, was stricken a great wound into the arm. And being about to fetch another stroke at him, the prince again with his foot took him such a blow, that he felled him to the ground. With that the prince gat him by the hand, and with such violence wrested the knife from him, that he hurt himself therewith in the forehead, and immediately thrust the same into the belly of the messenger and striker, and slew him. The prince's servants, being in the next chamber not far off, hearing the bustling, came with great haste running in, and finding the messenger lying dead on the floor, one of them took up a stool, and beat out his brains; whereat the prince was wroth, for that he struck a dead man, and one that was killed before. The rumour hereof, as it was strange, so it soon went throughout all the court, and from thence amongst the common people; wherefore they were very heavy and greatly discouraged. To him came also the captain of the temple, and brought him a costly and precious drink against poison, lest the venom of the knife should penetrate the lively blood, and in blaming-wise said unto him, Did I not show your Grace before of the deceit and subtlety of this people? Notwithstanding, saith he, let your Grace take a good heart, you shall not die of this wound; my life for yours. But straightway the surgeons and physicians were sent for, and the prince was dressed, and within a few days after the wound began to putrify, and the flesh to look dead and black; whereupon they that were about the prince began to mutter amongst themselves, and were very sad and heavy. Which thing he himself perceiving, said unto them, Why mutter you thus amongst yourselves? What see you in me? Can I not be healed? Tell me the truth, be ye not afraid. Whereupon one said to him, And like your Grace you may be healed, we mistrust it not; but yet it will be very painful for you to suffer. May suffering, saith he again, restore health? Yea, saith the other, on pain of losing my head. Then, said the prince, I commit myself unto you, do with me what you think good. Then said one of the physicians, Is there any of your nobles in whom your Grace reposeth special trust? To whom the prince answered, Yea, naming certain of the noblemen that stood about him. Then said the physician unto the two whom the prince first named, the Lord Edmund, and the Lord John Voisy, And do you also faithfully love your lord and prince? Who answered both, Yea undoubtedly. Then saith he, Take you away this gentlewoman and lady, (meaning his wife,) and let her not see her lord and husband, until such a time I will you thereunto. Whereupon they took her out of the prince's presence, crying out and wringing her bands. Then said they unto her, Be ye contented, good lady and madam; it is better that one woman should weep a little while, than that all the realm of England should weep a great season. Then upon the

morrow they cut out all the dead envenomed flesh out of the prince's arm, and threw it from them, and said unto him, How cheereth your Grace? We promise you within these fifteen days you shall show yourself abroad (if God permit) upon your horseback, whole and well as ever you were. And according to the promise he made the prince, it came to pass, to the no little comfort and admiration of all his subjects. When the great soldan heard of it, and that the prince was yet alive, he would scarcely believe the same; and sending unto him three of his nobles and princes, he excused himself by them, calling his gods to witness that the same was done neither by him nor his consent. Which princes and messengers standing aloof off from the king's son, worshipping him, fell flat upon the ground. You, saith the prince, do reverence me, but yet you love me not. But they understood him not, because he spake in English unto them, speaking by an interpreter. Nevertheless, he honourably treated them, and sent them away in peace.

Thus when Prince Edward had been eighteen months in Acre, he took shipping about the Assumption of our Lady, as we call it, returning homeward, and after seven weeks he arrived in Sicily at Trapani, and from thence travelling through Palestina and Metmes, and so through the midst of Apulia, till he came to Rome, where he was of the pope honourably entertained. From thence he came into France, whose fame and noble prowess was there much bruited among the common people, and envied of the nobility, especially of the earl de Chalons, who sent unto him, and required him that he might break a staff with him at the tilt in his country. Which thing to do, for that the prince would not diminish his honour and fame, (although he might have well alleged a sufficient cause and excuse by means of his travel,) yet he would not, but willingly consented thereunto; whereupon it was proclaimed that Prince Edward, by such a day, with those that were with him, had challenged all comers at the tilt and barriers. Whereupon great assemblies were made in the country all about, and divers, as well horsemen as footmen, had conjured amongst themselves, and conspired against the Englishmen, selling their horses and armour beforehand, and drinking one to another good success in spoiling them whom they would take as their prisoners. Prince Edward in the mean time sent into England for divers earls and barons, which came unto him. When the day appointed was come, the prince had with him more than one thousand horsemen, which were knights, besides his footmen; but yet there were as many more on the other side, both in horsemen and footmen. When the parties should meet, the French footmen, which had before conspired, began both to spoil, rifle, and kill. The Englishmen resisted and defended themselves both with bows and slings; many of them they slew, and drave them to the gates of their city; the other they chased over a river, where many of them were drowned. In the mean season the earl, with fifty of his knights which followed him, came forth and joined together so many for so many, and a long time together they tried it with their swords, laying one at another. At the last the earl, perceiving himself not able to match with him at the arm's end, enclosed with him, and, taking him about the neck, held him with his arms very strait. What mean you, my lord, saith the prince, think you to have my horse? Yea, marry, quoth the earl, I mean to have both thee and thy horse. Hereat Prince Edward, being indignant, lifted up himself, and gave him such a blow, that therewithal he, forsaking his horse, hung still about the prince's neck, till that he shook him off to the ground. Herewith the prince, being somewhat in a heat, left the press to take the air, thereby to refresh himself. But when he saw the injury of the Frenchmen towards his men, and how they had slain many of them, he then said unto them, that they used rather the exercise of battle than of tourney. Spare ye not therefore (saith he) from henceforth any of them all, but give them again as good as

they bring. Then they assailed to kill each other freely on either part, and let their swords walk.

And when by this time the English footmen were again returned, and saw the conflict of horsemen, and many other Englishmen overthrown, they put themselves amidst the press; and some paunching the horses, some cutting asunder the girths of the Frenchmen's saddles, they overthrew the riders, and gave them holy bread. Then when the foresaid earl was horsed again by some of his men and amongst the throng, Prince Edward also rushed in amongst the thickest, and coupled again with him; to whom he often spake and cried, that he should yield himself as vanquished, but that he would not do. Notwithstanding, when his strength began to fail him, he was fain to yield himself unto a simple knight, according as Prince Edward him bade, and all the rest of his horsemen and knights fled and saved themselves. Howbeit, many of them in that place were slain, and our men returned, having the victory. But when after this they thought themselves to be quiet and at rest, they were killed of the citizens by two and by three at once as they went in the streets. Which thing, when the prince heard, he sent for the mayor and burgesses, commanding them to see the same redressed, and that immediately; for otherwise, of his knighthood he assured them, that upon the morrow he would fire the city, and make it level with the ground. Whereupon they went their ways, and set watchmen in divers places of the same to keep the peace, by which means the prince and men were in safety and quiet. Thus in this pastime of tourneying and barriers much blood was spilt, whereupon the name of the place was changed.

From thence the prince came to Paris, and was of the French king honourably entertained; and after certain days he went from thence into Gascony, where he tarried till that he heard of the death of the king his father.

In the year of our Lord 1272 died Pope Clement the Fourth: after whom succeeded Pope Gregory the Tenth; who, in the next year following, which was the year of our Lord 1273, called a general council at Lyons, about the controversy between the Greek Church and the Latin Church, and for the vacancy of the see apostolical, &c.

Having thus accomplished the life and history of King Henry the Third, with such accidents as happened within this realm, I thought good to adjoin unto the same some other foreign matters, not unworthy the note, incident in other countries during the time of the said king; namely, from the year of our Lord 1217 unto this year 1272; which I thought the rather not to be omitted, for that, even from and about the beginning of this king's reign, sprang up the very well-springs of all mischief, the sects of monkish religious and other swarms of popish orders, which with their gross and horrible superstitions have encumbered the church of Christ ever since.

First, to omit the repetition of Pope Innocent the Third, the great grandsire of that foul monster transubstantiation and auricular confession, with the friars Dominic, and Franciscan friars, Thomas Aquinas, Jacobus de Voragine, Vincentius, with Pope Honorius the Third, coiner of the canon law, and the Cardinal Postiensis, as also Bonaventure, Albertus Magnus, with Pope Urban the Fourth, first founder of the feast of Corpus Christi, and procurer of the adoration of the body of Christ in the sacrament, besides Durandus and many more; it followeth further to be noted, that the Tartarians, about the year 1240, issuing out of Muscovia into the parts of Polonia, made great waste in Christendom; so much the rather, because the princes about Polonia, being at variance amongst themselves, used none other remedy for their

defence but heaps of masses, invocation of the dead, and worshipping of images, which indeed did nothing relieve them, but rather increase their trouble.

The next year following, the whole nation of the Scythians, mustering like locusts, invaded the parts of Europe with two mighty armies; whereof the one, entering upon Polonia, made great havoc, and carried away many Christians from thence captives; the other, overrunning Hungaria, made no less spoil there. Add hereunto another fresh army of Tartarians, to the number of five millions, who at the very same time joining themselves together, entered into Muscovia and Cracovia, and made most horrible slaughter, sparing neither sex nor age, noble nor unnoble, within the land. From thence passing to Lower Sclavonia, they made great spoil there also; and thinking there to win the castle, were by the miraculous working of the Lord, at the instance and prayers of good people, discomfited beyond all expectation of man, by thunder and lightning falling upon them from heaven in most terrible wise.

The same year, immediately after Easter, another army of Tartarians were gathered against Lignitz, drawing near to Germany; by the bruit whereof the Germans, being put in great fear, were altogether dismayed, but yet not able to help themselves, by reason they lacked a good guide and governor amongst them. All which came to pass, specially by the mischievous practice of the Roman popes, raising variance and discord among them. Notwithstanding, Henry, prince of Polonia and Silesia, gathering a power as well as he could, did encounter with him; but, in fine, his whole army was vanquished, and the king himself slain. Notwithstanding which overthrow of Christians, it pleased God to strike such a fear into the hearts of the said Tartarians, that they durst not approach any further or nearer into Germany, but retired for that time into their country again; who recounting their victory, by taking each man but one ear of every one of the Christians that were slain, found the slaughter so great, as that they filled nine great sacks full of ears. Nevertheless, after this, in the year 1260, the same Tartarians, having the Muscovites to their guides, returned again into Polonia and Cracovia, where, in the space of three months, they overran the land with fire and sword to the coasts of Silesia; and had not the princes of Germany put to their helping hand in this lamentable case, they had utterly wasted the whole land of Polonia, and the coasts thereof.

This year also, in the month of April, Richard, king of Almaine, died at the castle of Berkhamsted, and was buried at the abbey of Hanes, which he built out of the ground. The same year also at Norwich there fell a great controversy between the monks and the citizens, about certain tallages and liberties. At last, after much altercation and wrangling words, the furious rage of the citizens so much increased and prevailed, and so little was the fear of God before their eyes, that all together they set upon the abbey and priory, and burned both the church and bishop's palace. When this thing was heard abroad, the people were very sorry to hear of so bold and naughty an enterprise, and much discommended the same. At the last, King Henry, calling for certain of his lords and barons, sent them to the city of Norwich, that they might punish and see execution done on the chiefest malefactors; insomuch that some of them were condemned and burnt, some of them hanged, and some were drawn by the heels with horses throughout the streets of the city, and after in much misery ended their wretched lives. The same year Adam, the prior of Canterbury, and bishop elect, in the presence of Pope Gregory the Tenth refused to be archbishop, although he was elect. Wherefore the pope gave the same archbishopric to Friar Robert Kilwarby, the provost of the Preaching friars, a man of good life and great learning. He was consecrated at Canterbury the fourth day of March by six bishops of the same

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province. The same year also, at Michaelmas, the Lord Edmund, the son of King Richard of Almaine, married the sister of Gilbert, earl of Gloucester. Also in this year of our Lord 1273, the sixteenth day before the kalends of December, upon St. Edmund's day, the archbishop and confessor, died King Henry, in the six and fiftieth year of his reign, and was buried at Westminster, leaving after him two sons and two daughters, to wit, Edward the prince, and Edmund, earl of Lancaster and Leicester, Beatrice, and Margaret; which Margaret was married to the king of Scots. This King Henry in his lifetime began the building of the church and steeple at Westminster, but did not thoroughly finish the same before his death.

66. King Edward I.



IN the time of the death of King-Henry, Edward, his eldest son, was absent in Gascony, as a little before you heard; yet, notwithstanding, by Robert Kilwarby, archbishop of Canterbury, and other bishops and nobles, he was ordained heir and successor after his father; who, after he had heard of his father's death, returned home to his country, and was crowned in the year of our Lord 1274, who then laid down his crown, saying he would no more put it on, before he had gathered together all the lands pertaining to the same.

This Edward, as he had always before been a loving and natural child to his father, whom he had delivered out of prison and captivity; and hearing afterward both together of the death of his son and of his father, wept and lamented much more for his father than for his son, saying to the French king, which asked the cause thereof, that the loss of his child was but light; for children might after increase and be multiplied, but the loss of his parent was greater, which could not be recovered: so Almighty God, for the same his piety to his father showed, rewarded him again with great success, felicity, and long reign; insomuch that he being young, as he was playing at chess with a certain soldier of his, suddenly having occasion given, rose up and went his way; who had just voided the place, when incontinent fell down a mighty stone from the vault above, directly upon the place where he sat, able to have quashed him in pieces, if he had tarried never so little more. In the preservation of whom, as I see the present hand and mighty providence of the living God; so, in the king's order again, I note a fault or error worthy of reprehension, for that he, receiving such a lively benefit at the hand of the living Lord, going therefore on pilgrimage to Walsingham, gave thanks, not to our Lord only, but rather to a rotten block. Of the gentle nature of this courageous prince sufficient proof is given by this one example; that what time he, being in his disport of hawking, chanced sharply to rebuke the negligence of one of his gentlemen, for what fault I cannot tell, about his hawk; the gentleman, being on the other side of the river, hearing his menacing words, was glad (as he said) that the river was between them. With this answer, the courageous blood of this prince being moved, upon present heat he leaped straight into the flood, both of a swift stream and of a dangerous deepness, and no less hard in getting out. Notwithstanding, either forgetting his own life, or neglecting the danger present, and having a good horse, ventureth his own death to have the death of his man. At length, with much difficulty recovering the bank, with his sword drawn he pursueth his provoker. Who having not so good a horse, and seeing himself in danger of taking, reineth his horse, and returning back barehead unto the prince, submitteth his neck under his hand to strike. The prince, whose fervent stomach the water of the whole river could not quench, a little submission of his man did so cool that the quarrel fell, his anger ceased, and his sword was put up without any stroke given. And so both returned to their game, good friends again.

In the first beginning of his reign the king had much ado in Wales, where he had divers conflicts with the Welchmen, whom at last he subdued, and cut down their woods, suppressed rebellions; and, vanquishing their kings, Llewelyn and his brother,

ordained his eldest son Edward, born in the same country, to be prince of Wales. This Llewelyn, captain of the Welchmen, here mentioned, rebelling against King Edward, asked counsel of conjuration, what event should come upon his attempt. To whom it was told, that he should go forward boldly; for doubtless he should ride through Cheapside, at London, with a crown on his head. Which so came to pass. For being slain, his head was carried through Cheap, with a crown of silver, to London bridge. Whereby men may learn not to seek nor stick to these vain prophecies, which though they fall true, yet are they trains of the devil to deceive men.

About this time was a great earthquake, and such a rot that consumed a great multitude of sheep in the land, through the occasion, as they say, of one scabbed sheep that came out of Spain. The king, returning from Wales to England, ordered certain new laws for the wealth of the realm. Among many others, this was one, that authority was given to all mayors, bailiffs, and other officers, to see execution and punishment of all bakers making bread under the size, with pillory. Of millers stealing corn, with the tumbrel, &c. And within two years after the statute of mortmain was first enacted, which is as much to say, that no man should give unto the church any lands or rents without a special licence of the king.

About which time also, being the seventh year of his reign, two hundred and ninety-seven Jews for money-clipping were put to execution. In which same year began first the foundation of the Black Friars by Ludgate. And the town of Boston was greatly wasted the same year with fire. The halfpenny and farthing began first to be coined the selfsame time, which was the eighth year of his reign. The great conduit in Cheap began the fourth year after to be made, A.D. 1284. And the next year following the new work of the church of Westminster, begun, as is afore premonished, in the third year of Henry the Third, was finished, which was sixty-six years in edifying. The Jews were utterly banished this realm of England the same time, for which the commons gave to the king a fifteenth, &c.

After that, the country of Wales was brought in a full order and quiet, by the hewing down of the woods, and casting down the old holds, and building of new; which all was brought to perfect end about the twenty-fourth year of this king's reign. Then ensued another broil, as great or greater, with Scotland, to the great disquiet of the king and the realm of England many years after. This trouble first began by the death of Alexander, king of Scots, who died without issue left alive behind him. Although Fabian, in the seventh book of his chronicles, affirmeth, that he left three daughters; the eldest married to Sir John Baliol, the second to Robert Bruce, the third to one Hastings. But this in Fabian is to be corrected, as which neither standeth with itself, and is clearly convicted by the witness and history of Rob. Avesbury, and also of Gisburne.

For, first, if King Alexander had left his eldest daughter married to Sir John Baliol, then what controversy might arise among the lords about succession, needing so diligent and anxious deciding by the king of England? Secondly, what claim or title could the king of Norway have to the crown of Scotland, which was one of the challengers, claiming the said crown in the behalf of Margaret, the niece of the foresaid King Alexander, her grandfather, if the eldest daughter of the father had been left alive? Thirdly, what can be more plain, when by the affirmance of the foresaid story it is testified, that King Alexander had two wives? Of the second whereof he had no issue. Of the first he had two children; Alexander, which died before his father, and Margaret, married to the king of Norway, which died also before her father, of

whom came Margaret, the niece of Alexander, and daughter to the king of Norway, afore mentioned. And she also died in the journey between Norway and Scotland, the fourth year after the decease of her grandfather. Wherefore, as this matter standeth most clear, so let us now, returning from whence we digressed, prosecute the rest that followeth. After that Alexander thus, as is said, departed without issue, and also Margaret, his niece, in Norway was deceased, the matter came in a great doubt among the nobles of Scotland, especially twelve by name, to whom the right of the crown should next pertain. After much variance among parties, at length the election and determination of the matter was committed to the judgment of King Edward of England; who, after sufficient proof made to the Scots, and firm evidence brought out of all the ancient histories both of England and Scotland, testifying from time to time that he was chief head and sovereign of the realm of Scotland, first, by necessity of the law, and by all their consents, took full possession of the same; and, that done, adjudged the right of the crown to John Baliol, who descended of the daughter of David, earl of Huntingdon, brother to David, king of Scotland, in the days of King Henry the Second. This Earl David had three daughters: Isabella, married to Robert Bruce; Margaret, to Allen, earl of Galloway; and Ellen, to Henry Lord Hastings. Allen, earl of Galloway, had Ellen, married to Roger Quincy, earl of Winchester, constable of Scotland; and Dorvagle, married to John Baliol, father to Edward king of Scots.

When these things were thus finished in Scotland, and Sir John Baliol as most rightful inheritor had received the crown of Scotland at the hands of King Edward thankfully, and for the same in the presence of the barony of England and of Scotland did unto the said King Edward his homage, and sware to him fealty, the Scots with their new king returned into Scotland, and King Edward removed again to England.

But not long after the falseness of this Scottish king soon appeared. Who, repenting him of his homage done untruly, forsook his former oath and promise, and made war against King Edward, through the counsel of the abbot of Melrose. Wherefore the king with a great host sped him into Scotland, and in process laid siege to the town of Berwick, which the Scots did eagerly defend, not only to the discomfiture, but also to the derision, of the king and his English host. But, in conclusion, the Englishmen prevailed and won the town, where were slain of the Scots the number of twenty and five thousand. And while the king was there busied in winning other holds about the same, he sent part of his host to Dunbar, where the Englishmen again had the victory, and slew of the Scots twenty thousand; Gisburne saith but ten thousand; so that very few were lost of the English company. The king, with a great number of prisoners returning into his realm, shortly after sped him over unto Flanders, where he sustained great trouble by the French king, till truce for a certain time was between them concluded. But in the mean while that King Edward was thus occupied beyond the seas, the French king (resorting to his practised manner) set the Scots secretly against the Englishmen to keep the king at home. Which Scots, making themselves a captain, named William Wallace, warred upon the borders of Northumberland, where they did much hurt. At length the king, returning from Bourdeaux into England, shortly upon the same took his journey into Scotland. Where, meeting at York with his host, he marched into the realm of Scotland, winning, as he went, towns and castles, till at length, coming to the town of Frankirk on Mary Magdalene's day, he met with the power of Scotland, and had with them a sore fight, but through God's providence the victory fell to the right cause of Englishmen; so that of the Scots were slain in the field, as it is of divers writers

affirmed, above the number of thirty and two thousand; and of Englishmen, but barely twenty-eight persons. Whereupon the king, again taking possession and fealty of the whole land, returned home.

And yet the false untruth of the Scots would not thus be ruled, but rose up in a new broil; so that the king was enforced to make his power again the year following into Scotland, where he so suppressed the rebellion of the lords and of the commons, that they, swearing to the king's allegiance, presented themselves by great companies, and put them wholly in the king's grace and mercy; so that the king, thinking himself to be in peaceable possession, and in a great surety of the land, caused to be sworn unto him the rulers of the boroughs, cities, and towns, with other officers of the land, and so returned unto Berwick, and so into England, and lastly to Westminster.

These martial affairs between England and Scotland, although they appertain not greatly to the purpose of our story ecclesiastical, yet so much by the way I thought briefly to touch, whereby that which followeth in the sequel hereof might the better be understood by these premises. As the Scots were thus warring and raging against the king, and saw they could not make their party good, they sent privily to Pope Boniface for his aid and counsel; who immediately sendeth down his precept to the king to this effect, that he should hereafter surcease to disquiet or molest the Scots, for that they were a people exempt, and properly pertaining to his chapel. And therefore it could not otherwise be, but that the city of Jerusalem must needs defend his own citizens; and, as the Mount Sion, maintain such as trust in the Lord, &c. Whereunto the king briefly maketh answer again, swearing with an oath, that he would to his uttermost keep and defend that which was his right, evidently known to all the world, &c. Thus the Scots bearing themselves bold upon the pope's message, and also confederating themselves with the Frenchmen, passed over that year. The next year after that, which was twenty-nine of the king's reign, the said Pope Boniface directeth his letters again to the king, wherein he doth vindicate the kingdom of Scotland to be proper to the Church of Rome, and not subject to the king of England. And therefore it was against God, against justice, and also prejudicial to the Church of Rome, for him to have or hold dominion over the same, which he proved by these reasons:

First, that when King Henry, the father of this king, received aid of Alexander, king of Scots, in his wars against Simon Mountfort, he recognised and acknowledged in his letters patents, that he received the same of King Alexander, not of any duty, but of special favour.

Item, when the said King Alexander, coming to England, did homage to the said King Henry, he did it, not as king of Scotland, but only for certain lands of Tyndall and Penreth, lying in England.

Item, whereas the said King Alexander left behind him Margaret, his heir, being niece to the king of England, and yet under age; yet the tuition of the said Margaret was committed, not to the king of England, but to certain lords of Scotland, deputed to the same.

Moreover, when any legacy was directed down from Rome to the realm of England, for collecting of tenths or other causes, the said legacy took no place in the realm of Scotland, and might well be resisted, as it was in King Alexander's days, except another special commission touching the realm of Scotland were joined withal. Whereby it appeareth that these be two several dominions, and not subject under one.

Adding furthermore, that the kingdom of Scotland first was converted by the relics of the blessed apostle St. Peter, through the Divine operation of God, to the unity of the catholic faith.

Wherefore upon these causes and reasons Pope Boniface, in his letters to the king, required him to give over his claim, and cease his wars against the Scottish nation; and to release all such both of the spirituality and laity as he had of them prisoners. Also to call home again his officers and deputies which he had there placed and ordained, to the grievance of that nation, to the slander of all faithful people, and no less prejudice to the Church of Rome. And if he would. claim any right or title to the said realm, or any part thereof, he should send up his procurators specially to the same appointed, with all that he could for himself allege, unto the see apostolic, there to receive what reason and right would require.

The king, after he had received these letters of the pope, assembled a council or parliament at Lincoln; by the advice of which council and parliament he addressed other letters responsal to the pope again; wherein first in all reverent manner he desireth him not to give light ear to the sinister suggestions of false reports, and imaginers of mischief. Then he declareth out of old records and histories, from the first time of the Britons, that the realm of Scotland hath always from time to time been all one with England, beginning first with Brutus, in the time of Helt and Samuel the prophet; which Brutus, coming from Troy to this isle, called then Albion, after called by him Britannia, had three sons: Locrinus, to whom he gave that part of the land, called then of him Loegria, now Anglia; Albanactus, his second son, to whom he gave Albania, now called Scotia; and his third son Camber, to whom he gave Cambria, now called Wales, &c.

The year following, which was from Christ 1303, the said Pope Boniface, the eighth of that name, taking displeasure with Philip, the French king, did excite King Edward of England to war against him, promising him great aid thereunto. But he, as mine author saith, little trusting the pope's false, unstable affection toward him, well proved before, put him off with delays. Whereupon the French king, fearing the power of King Edward, whom the pope had set against his friendship, restored unto him again Gascony, which he wrongfully had in his hands detained. Concerning this variance here mentioned between the pope and the French king, how it began first, and to what end it fell out, the sequel hereof, Christ willing, shall declare, after that first I have finished the discourse begun between England and Scotland.

In the year 1303 the aforesaid William Wallace, which had done so many displeasures to the king before, continuing still in his rebellion, gathered great multitudes of the Scots to withstand the king, till at length the year following he was taken and sent up to London, and there executed for the same. After which things done, the king then held his parliament at Westminster, whither came out of Scotland the bishop of St. Andrews, Robert Bruce, above mentioned, earl of Dunbar, earl of Arles, and Sir John Comyn, with divers other; the which voluntarily were sworn to be true to the king of England, and to keep the land of Scotland to his use against all persons. But shortly after the said Robert Bruce, who, as is said, married the second daughter of Earl David, forgetting his oath before made unto the king, within a year or two after this, by the counsel of the abbot of Stone, and bishop of St. Andrews, sent up unto Pope Clement the Fifth for a dispensation of his oath made, insinuating to him that King Edward vexed and grieved the realm of Scotland wrongfully. Whereupon the pope wrote unto the king to leave off such doings. Notwithstanding which

inhibition of the pope, the king prosecuting his own right, after he had the understanding of the doings of the Scots, and of the mischief of Robert Bruce, (who had slain with his own hands Sir John Comyn, for not consenting with him and other lords at his parliament,) arreared his power and strength of men, preparing himself toward Scotland; where he, joining with the said Sir Robert and all the power of Scotland in a plain, near unto St. John's town, put him to flight, and so chased the Scots, that of them were slain to the number of seven thousand. In the which victory such bishops and abbots as were taken he sent to the pope; the temporal lords and other Scots he sent unto London, &c. Sir Robert Bruce, after this discomfiture, when he had thus lost both the field and his chief friends, seeing himself not able to make his party good, fled into Norway, where he kept his abode during the time while King Edward lived. When this noble Edward had thus subdued the Scots, he yielded thanks to God for his victory; and so setting the land in a quiet and an order, he returned unto London, which was the thirty-fifth year and last of his reign, &c.

67. Quarrel of King Philip of France and the Pope

Now to return to that which I promised before, touching the variance and grievous dissension between Philip the French king, and Pope Boniface, the eighth of that name. After the bishopric of Rome had been long void through the dissension of the cardinals, for the space of two years and three months, at length Pope Celestinus was chosen successor to Pope Nicholas the Fourth. Which Celestinus in his first consistory began to reform the clergy of Rome, thinking to make it an example to all other churches. Wherefore he procured to himself such hatred among his clergymen, that this Boniface, then called Benedictus, speaking through a reed by his chamber wall, nightly admonished him, as it had been a voice from heaven, that he should give over his papacy, as being a burden bigger than he could wield.

This Pope Celestine, after he had sat six months, by the treachery and falsehood of this Boniface, was induced to give up and resign his bishopric, partly for the voice spoken of before, partly for fear; being told of certain craftily suborned in his chamber, that, if he did not resign, he should lose his life. Who then after his resignation, going to live in some solitary desert, (being a simple man,) was vilely taken and thrust into perpetual prison by Pope Boniface; craftily pretending that he did it not for any hatred unto Celestine, but that seditious persons might not have him as their head to raise up some stir in the church. And so he was brought to his death. Wherefore this Boniface was worthily called the eighth Nero; of whom it was rightly said, He came in like a fox, reigned like a lion, and died like a dog.

This Pope Boniface succeeding, or rather invading, after Celestinus, behaved himself so imperiously, that he put down princes, excommunicated kings, such as did not take their confirmation at his hand. Divers of his cardinals he drove away for fear; some of them as schismatics he deposed and spoiled of all their substance. Philip, the French king, he excommunicated for not suffering his money to go out of the realm; and therefore cursed both him and his to the fourth generation. Albert, the emperor, not once nor twice, but thrice, sought at his hands to be confirmed, and yet was rejected, neither could obtain, unless he would promise to drive the French king out of his realm. In the factious discord in Italy between the Guelphs and Ghibellines, which the part of a good bishop had been to extinguish, so little he helped to quench the smoke, that he of all other was the chiefest firebrand to increase the flame. Insomuch that upon Ash Wednesday, when Porchetus, an archbishop, came and kneeled down before him to receive his ashes, Pope Boniface, looking upon him, and perceiving that he was one of the Ghibellines' part, cast his handful of ashes in his eyes, saying, Remember, man, that a Ghibelline thou art, and to ashes thou shalt go. This pope, moreover, ordained first the jubilee in Rome; in the solemnizing whereof the first day he showed himself in his pontificalibus, and gave free remission of sins to as many as came to Rome out of all the parts of the world. The second day, being arrayed with imperial ensigns, he commanded a naked sword to be carried before him, and said with a loud voice, Lo, hear the power and authority of both the swords, &c.

From the which very year (as most stories do record) the Turks do begin the first count of their Turkish emperors, whereof the first was Ottomanus, as you shall hear discoursed hereafter, by God's grace, in the history of Turks.

By this said Pope Boniface divers constitutions, extravagancies of his predecessors, were collected together, with many of his own newly added thereto, and so made the book called Sextus Decretalium, &c. By whom also first sprang up pardons and indulgences from Rome.

These things thus premised of Boniface the pope, now will I come to the occasion of the strife between him and the French king. Concerning which matter, first I find, in the history of Nicholas Trivet, that, in the year of our Lord 1301, the bishop of Oppanuham, being accused for a conspiracy against the French king, was brought up to his court, and so committed to prison. The pope hearing this, sendeth word to the king by his legate to set him at liberty. The French king, not daring to the contrary, looseth the bishop. But when he had done, he dischargeth both the bishop and the legate, commanding them to void his realm. Whereupon Pope Boniface revoketh all the graces and privileges granted either by him or his predecessors before to the kingdom of France; also not long after he thundered out the sentence of his curse against him. Moreover, he citeth all the prelates, all divines and lawyers, both civil and canon, to appear personally before him at Rome, at a certain day, which was the first of November. Against this citation the king again provideth, and commandeth by strait proclamation, that no manner of person should export out of the realm of France either gold or silver, or any other manner of war or merchandise, upon pain of forfeiting all their goods and their bodies at the king's pleasure; providing withal, that the ways and passages should diligently be kept, that none might pass unsearched. Over and besides, the said French king defeated the pope in giving and bestowing prebends, and benefices, and other ecclesiastical livings, contrary to the pope's profit. For the which cause the pope writeth to the aforesaid king in form and effect as followeth.

"Boniface, the servant of God's servants, &c. Fear God, and observe his commandments. We will thee to understand, that thou art subject to us both in spiritual things and temporal; and that no gift of benefices or prebends belongeth to thee; and if thou have the keeping of any being vacant, that thou reserve the profits of them to the successors. But if thou have given any, we judge the gift to be void, and call back, how far soever thou hast gone forward. And whosoever believeth otherwise, we judge them heretics."

Unto this letter of the pope King Philip maketh answer again in manner and order as followeth, which is this:

Philip, by the grace of God king of Francc, to Boniface, not in deeds behaving himself for pope, little friendship or none.

"To Boniface, bearing himself for chief bishop, little health or none. Let thy foolishness know, that in temporal things we are subject to no man, and that the gifts of prebends and benefices, made and to be made by us, were and shall be good, both in time past and to come. And that we will defend manfully the possessor of the said benefices. And we think them that believe or think otherwise fools and madmen. Given at Paris the Wednesday after Candlemas, 1301."

These things thus discoursed and done, then followed the year of our Lord 1304. In the which year, about the nativity of our Lady, came a garrison of harnessed soldiers well appointed, sent partly by the French king, partly by the cardinals of Columna, whom the pope before had deposed, unto the gates of Arvagium, where the pope did hide himself, because he was born in the town. The captains of which army

were one Schaira, brother to the foresaid cardinals; and another, William de Longareto, high steward to the French king. Who, invading the pope's town, and finding the gates open, gave assault to the pope's frontier, where the pope with his nephew, a marquis, and three other cardinals, were immured. The townsmen, seeing all their intent and strength to be bent against the pope, caused the common bell to be rung, and so, assembling themselves in a common council, ordained Adolphus, one of the chiefest rulers of the town, for their captain; who, unknown to them, was a great adversary to the pope. This Adolphus bringing with him Reginald de Supine, a great lord in Campania, and the two sons of John Chitan, a nobleman, whose father the pope had then in prison, at length joined with the French company against the pope, and so beset his palace on every side. And first, setting upon the palaces of the three cardinals, which were then chief about the pope, they rifled and spoiled all their goods. The cardinals by a back door hardly avoided their hands. But the pope's palace, through munition and strength of the marquis, was something better defended. At length the pope, perceiving himself not able to make his party good, desired truce with Schaira and his company, which was to him granted from one till nine. During which time of truce the pope privily sendeth to the townsmen of Arvagium, desiring them to save his life; which if they would do, he promised so to enrich them, that they should all have cause never to forget or repent their benefit bestowed. To this they made answer again, excusing themselves, that it lay not in their ability to do him any good, for that the whole power of the town was with the captain. Then the pope, all destitute and desolate, sendeth unto Schaira, beseeching him to draw out in articles wherein he had wronged him, and he would make him amends to the uttermost. Schaira to this maketh a plain answer, signifying to him again, that he should in no wise escape with his life, except upon these three conditions. First, to restore again the two cardinals of Columna his brethren, whom he had before deprived, with all other of their stock and kindred; secondly, that after their restitution he should renounce his papacy; thirdly, that his body should remain in his power and custody. These articles seemed to the pope so hard, that in no case he would agree unto them; wherefore, the time of truce expired, the captains and soldiers, in all forcible means bending themselves against the bishop, first fired the gates of the palace, whereby the army, having a full entrance, fell to rifle and spoil the house. The marquis, upon hope to have his life, and the life of his children, yieldeth him to the hands of Schaira and the other captain; which when the pope heard, he wept and made great lamentation. After this, through windows and doors at length with much ado they burst in to the pope, whom they treated with words and threats accordingly. Upon this he was put to his choice, whether he would presently leave his life, or give over his papacy. But that he denied stiffly to do, to die for it, saying to them in his vulgar tongue, Lo here my neck, lo here my head; protesting that he would never while he lived renounce his popedom. Then Schaira went about, and was ready to slay him; but, by certain that were about him, he was stayed; whereby it happened that the pope received no harm, although divers of his ministers and servants were slain. The soldiers, which ranged in the mean time through all the corners of the pope's house, did lade themselves with such treasure of gold, silver, plate, and ornaments, that the words of my author, whom I follow, do thus express it; That all the kings of the earth together were not able to disburse so much out of their treasury in a whole year, as then was taken and carried out of the pope's palace, and of the palace of the three cardinals and the marquis. Thus Boniface, bereaved of all his goods, remained in their custody three days. During which space they had set him on a wild and unbroken colt, his face turned to the horse tail, causing the horse to run course, while the pope was almost breathless. Moreover,

they kept him so without meat, that he was thereby near famished to death. After the third day, the Arvagians and people of the town mustering themselves together, (to the number of ten thousand,) secretly burst into the house where the pope was kept, and so slaying the keepers, delivered the pope by strong hand. Who then being brought into the middle of the town, gave thanks with weeping tears to the people for his life saved; promising moreover, that forasmuch as he was out of all his goods, having neither bread nor drink to put in his mouth, God's blessing and his to all them that now would relieve him with any thing, either to eat or drink. And here now see what poverty and affliction can work in a man; the pope before in all his pomp and most ruffling wealth was never so proud, but now he was as humble and lowly, that every poor simple man, as mine author testifieth, might have a bold and free access to his person. To make the story short, the pope, in that great distress of famine, was not so greedy of their victuals as they were greedy of his blessing. Whereupon the women and people of the town came so thick, some with bread, some with wine, some with water, some with meat, some with one thing, some with another, that the pope's chamber was too little to receive the offering; insomuch that when there lacked cups to receive the wine, they poured it down on the chamber floor, not regarding the loss of wine to win the pope's holy blessing. Thus Pope Boniface, being refreshed by the town of Arvagium, took his journey from thence, accompanied with a great multitude of harnessed soldiers to Rome, where he shortly upon the same, partly for fear which he was in, partly for famine, partly for sorrow of so inestimable a treasure lost, died. After whom succeeded Benedict the Eleventh. And thus have ye the whole story of Pope Boniface the Eighth, author of the Decretals. Which story I thought the more diligently to set forth, that all the Latin Church might see what an author he was, whose laws and decretals so devoutly they follow.

68. King Edward I (Contd).

Now, after the long debating of this matter between the French king and Pope Boniface, let us proceed in our English story. About this time, in the days of King Edward, the Church of Rome began daily more and more to rise up, and swell so high in pride and worldly dominion, that no king almost in his own country could do any thing but as pleased the pope, who both had and ruled all in all countries, but chiefly here in England, as partly by his intolerable tallage and pillage before signified may appear, partly by his injunctions and commandments sent down, also by his donations and reservations of benefices and church livings; also in deposing and disposing such as him listed in place and office to bear rule; insomuch that when the king and the church of Canterbury in their election had chosen one Robert Burnell, bishop of Bath, to be archbishop of Canterbury, Pope Boniface of his own singular presumptuous authority, ruling the matter after his pleasure, frustrated their election, and thrust in another, named John Peckham; for among all other this hath always been one practice of the court of Rome, ever to have the archbishop of their own setting, or such one as they might be sure of on their side, to weigh against the king and other, whatsoever need should happen. To this John Peckham Pope Boniface directed down a solemn bull from Rome, as also unto all other quarters of the universal church. In the which bull was contained and decreed, directly against the rule of Scripture and Christian obedience, that no church, nor ecclesiastical person, should henceforth yield to his king or temporal magistrate either any giving or lending, or promising of tribute or subsidy, or portion whatsoever, of the goods and possessions to him belonging; but should be clearly exempted and discharged from all such subjection of tallage or subvention to be exacted of them in the behoof of the prince and his affairs. Which decree manifestly rebelleth against the commanded ordinance of God, and the apostolical canon of St. Peter, and all other examples of Holy Scripture. For as there is no word in the Scripture that excludeth spiritual men more than temporal from obedience and subjection of princes; so if it chance the prince in his exacting to be too rigorous or cruel in oppression, that is no cause for the clergy to be exempted, but to bear the common burden of obedience, and to pray to God to turn and move the prince's mind, and so (with prayer and patience, not with pride and disobedience) to help and amend that which is amiss.

This bull being directed (as is said) from Rome to the archbishop of Canterbury, and likewise through the whole universal church, under the pope's authority, it chanced not long after the king held his parliament at St. Edmundsbury, where was granted to him all cities and boroughs an eighth, and of the commons a twelfth, of their goods. Only the clergy, by virtue of his bull, stood stout, denying to pay any thing to the king. This answer not well pleasing the king, he willeth them to deliberate better with themselves upon the matter; and after long advisement, so to give him answer against the next parliament, which should be holden the next Hilary term at London.

In conclusion, the parliament came, the clergy persisteth still in the denial of their subsidy, alleging the pope's bull for their warrant and discharge. Whereupon the king likewise secludeth them from under his protection and safeguard of his laws. And as concerning the archbishop of Canterbury, above mentioned, because he was found more stubborn than the rest, and was the inciter to the other, he seized upon all

his goods, and caused an inventory of the same to be enrolled in the exchequer. Notwithstanding, divers of the other bishops relented soon after to the king, and contributed the fifth of their goods unto him, and were received again to favour.

In the life of this king's father, it was declared before how the said King Henry the Third, father to this king, after divers wars and commotions had with his barons, had granted certain liberties and freedoms written and contained in *Magna Charta*, and in *Charta de Foresta*. Concerning which matter much business happened in this king's days also in the realm, between the king and his barons and commons. The occasion was this: A pack of wool, which before paid but a mark to the king, was now by this king raised up to forty shillings. After this the king having a journey to make into Flanders, sent to his barons and divers other to give their attendance and service in the same, which they refused and denied to do. Notwithstanding, the king persisting in his purpose, with such a power as he had prepareth toward his journey. To whom, being in his way at Winchelsea, the aforesaid earls and barons and commons sent certain petitions contained in writing under the name of the archbishops, bishops, abbots, and priors, earls, and barons, with the commonalty of the realm. In which writing, first lamenting and complaining of their afflicted state and misery, after humble manner they desired their lord the king to redress and amend certain grievances among them. And first they declared, in the name of the whole commons, that the promotion or writs directed to them for their attendance upon his Grace into Flanders was not sufficient; for that there was no certain place in the said writs specified unto them, whether to come for making their provision, and preparing money and other things according to the same. And if the place had been to them signified, yet, because none of their ancestors ever served the king over into Flanders before, the commons, therefore, thought themselves not bound to any service in that country. And albeit they had been so bound thereunto, yet they were not able to do it, being so heavily oppressed with so many tallages, taxes, tolls, customs, and prices of corn, oats, tin, wool, leather, oxen, kine, flesh, fish, &c. And besides all this, having no penny of wages given them to relieve their charges. Over and besides, the lack of the king's wages not paid them, their own poverty like a heavy burden did so miserably lie upon them, that some of them had no sustentation, some of them were not able to till their own ground. They alleged, moreover, that they were not now handled after the old laws and customs of the land, as their ancestors were wont. Many also found themselves grieved, in that they were not used according to the articles contained in *Charta Magna*; and again, that the *Charta de Foresta* was not observed nor kept as it was wont to be. Wherefore most humbly they beseeched the king, both for his own honour and for the wealth of his people, that of these things they might find redress. For the custom, moreover, of woo], the whole commons bewailed to the king their grief, in that for every pack of wool was fined to the king forty shillings, and for every sack of tosed wool seven marks. The which wool of England, as it doth rise up to the value of half the realm, so the tollage of the same surmounteth to the fifth part of the valuation of the whole land. And because, therefore, the commons wished the honour and preservation of their king, (as they were bound to do,) they thought it not good for his Grace to sail over to Flanders, unless he had better assurance of their fidelity, especially at this time, the Scots being so busy; who, if they began to rebel, he being at home in his land, much more were they like to stir, he being abroad out of the land. And that not only for the Scots, but also for that the like peril was to be doubted of other foreign nations and kingdoms, which as yet were in no firm peace with England.

To these petitions the king said that he could as yet make no resolute answer, for that some of his council was gone over already to Flanders, some were yet at London. Notwithstanding, at his return again from Flanders, which he trusted should be speedily, they should then hear his answer, and know more of his mind concerning the same. In the mean time this he required of them, to keep good rule at home while he was forth. What answer the king had minded to make them at his return it is uncertain, which peradventure had turned to a bloody answer; but occasion served otherwise, and turned all to agreement. For the Scots, with their captain, William Wallace, above specified, in the mean time, the king being absent, invaded the realm with such violence, that Prince Edward, the king's son, who was left to rule in his father's stead, was forced to assemble a parliament, and to call for the earl of Hereford, the earl of Norfolk, high marshal of England, earl of Essex, high constable, with other earls, barons, knights, and esquires, to treat peace and concord between his father and them. Who, coming up to London with fifteen hundred well-armed soldiers, and obtaining the gates of the city with their own men, fell at length to agreement with the prince upon composition to have the articles of *Magna Charta* and of *Charta de Foresta* confirmed; and that by his means and mediation they might be assured of the king's displeasure to be removed from them. The which foresaid articles of *Magna Charta*, with the other articles adjoined withal, here follow under written.

First, no tollage or subsidy by the king or his heirs to be imposed or levied hereafter within the realm of England, without the common assent of the archbishops, bishops, abbots, and other prelates, earls, barons, knights, burgesses, and commons of the realm.

Item, no taker or servitor of the king, or of his heirs, henceforth within this realm to take grain, wool, leather, or any goods of any man, without the will and consent of him which is the owner.

No taking to be hereafter, in name of tribute, for any pack of wool.

Item, to be granted by the king and his heirs after him, both to the clergy and laity of this foresaid realm, to have and to enjoy their laws, liberties, and customs, in as ample manner as they were wont at any time heretofore.

Item, if any decrees or statutes shall hereafter be made and set forth contrary to these foresaid articles, the same to stand void and of no effect for ever.

Besides these articles also, in the same composition was contained, that all grudge and displeasure between the king and the barons for not going to Flanders ceasing, the earls and barons might be assured to be received again into the king's favour.

These things thus agreed upon, and by mediation of the prince also confirmed and sealed with the king his father's seal, so was all the variance pacified, to the great comfort of the people, and no less strength of the realm against their enemies; and most chiefly to the commendation of the gentle and wise nature of the king, who, as he was gentle in promising his reconciliation with his subjects, so no less constant was he in keeping that which he had promised.

After the death of John Peckham, archbishop of Canterbury, above mentioned, who in the parliament had resisted the king in the right of certain liberties pertaining to the crown, touching patronages and such church matters, succeeded Robert Winchelsea, with whom also the king had like variance, who accused him to the pope

for breaking the peace, and took part with them that rebelled against the king about usages and liberties of the realm. Wherefore, the king being cited up to the court of Rome, and there suspended, by the means of the said archbishop, directed his letters again to the pope, taken out of the parliament rolls, where I find divers letters of the king to Pope Clement against the said Robert, archbishop of Canterbury, the contents whereof here follow in substance. And as this king was troubled in his time with both the archbishops, John Peckham, and also Robert Winchelsea; so it happened to all other kings, for the most part, from the time of Lanfranc, (that is, from Pope Hildebrand,) that every king in his time had some business or other with that see. As William Rufus and Henry the First were troubled with Anselm; Henry the Second with Thomas Becket; King Richard and all England with William, bishop of Ely, the pope's legate; King John with Stephen Langton; King Henry the Third with Edmund, archbishop, called St. Edmund. Likewise this King Edward the First with John Peckham and Robert Winchelsea aforesaid. And so other kings after him with some prelate or other. Whereby ye have to understand how and about what time the Church of Rome, which beforetime was subject to kings and princes, began first to take head above and against kings and rulers, and so hath kept it ever since.

By this John Peckham afore mentioned it was ordained, that no spiritual minister should have any more benefices than one, which also was decreed by the constitutions of Octo and Octobonus, the pope's legates the same time in England.

About the beginning of this king's reign, after the decease of Walter, archbishop of York, William Wicewanger succeeding in that see, minding to go on visitation, came to Durham to visit the church and chapter there. But the clergy and the people of the city shut the gates against him, and kept him out, whereupon rose no small disturbance. The archbishop let fly his curse of excommunication and interdiction against them. The bishop of Durham again, with his clergy, despised all his cursings, grounding themselves upon the constitution of Innocent the Fourth. And so they appealed to Rome, saying that he ought not to be received there before he had first begun to visit his own chapter and diocess, which he had not done. For so say the words of the constitutions, "We ordain and decree, that every archbishop that will visit his province, first must procure to visit his own church, city, and diocess," &c.

Among other things in this king to be noted, that is not to be passed over, that where complaint was made to him of his officers, as justices, mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, eschetors, and such other, who, in their offices abusing themselves, extorted and oppressed the king's liege people, otherwise than was according to right and conscience, the said king, not suffering such disorder to be unpunished, did appoint certain officers or inquisitors, to the number of twelve, which inquisition was called Traibaston, or Trailbastoun; by means of which inquisition divers false officers were accused, and such as were offenders were either removed from their place, or forced to buy again their office at the king's hand, to their no small loss, and great gain to the king, and much profit to the commonwealth.

In the chronicle of Robert Amesbury, it is recorded of the said king, that he being at Amesbury to see his mother, (who was then in that monastery professed,) there was a certain man, that feigned himself blind a long time, brought to the presence of the said Eleanor, the king's mother, saying how that he had his sight again restored at the tomb of King Henry, her late husband, insomuch that she was easily persuaded the miracle to be very true. But King Edward her son, knowing the man a long time to be a vile dissembler, and a wicked person, used to lying and crafty

deceiving, persuading his mother not to give credit to the vile vagabond, declaring that he knew so well of the justice of his father, that, if he were alive, he would twice rather pluck out both his eyes than once restore him one. Notwithstanding, the queen his mother, remaining still in the former fond persuasion, would hear or believe nothing to the contrary, but was so in anger with her son, that she bid him depart her chamber; and so he did. By the example whereof may easily be conceived how and after what sort these blind miracles in those days, and since, have come up among the blind and superstitious people. For had not the king here been wiser than the mother, no doubt but this would have been rung a miracle, and perchance King Henry been made a saint.

But as this was a feigned miracle, and false no doubt; so in the same author we read of another manner of miracle, sounding more near the truth, and so much the more likely, for that it served to the conversion unto Christian faith; to which use properly all true miracles do appertain. The miracle was this. In the reign of this king, and the latter year of his reign, Cassanus, king of the Tartarians, (of whom come these whom now we call Turks,) fighting against the soldan, king of the Saracens, in the plain of Damascus, slew of them a hundred thousand of Saracens; and again at Babylon, fighting with the said soldan, slew him in the field, and two hundred thousand of the Saracens, calling upon the help of Christ, and thereupon became Christian. This Cassanus, I say, had a brother a pagan, who being in love with the daughter of the king of Armenia, a Christian woman, desired of her father that he might marry with her. Whereunto the king her father would not agree, unless he promised to be a Christian. Notwithstanding, the other being stronger in power, and threatening to get her by war, the king at length was forced to agree. In conclusion, it happened that the child being born betwixt them was overgrown and all rough with hair, like the skin of a bear; which child being brought to the father, he commanded it to be thrown into the fire and burnt. But the mother, desiring first to have the child baptized, caused all things thereunto to be prepared. The infant being three times in water plunged, after the sacrament of holy baptism received, incontinently was altered and turned from all his hairy roughness, and seen as fair and smooth-skinned as any other. The which thing after the father saw and beheld, he was christened himself, and all his house, &c.

In the reign of this king Walter Merton, bishop of Rochester, builded Merton college in Oxford. In whose reign also lived Henricus de Gaudano, Arnoldus de Villa Nova, Dantes, and others; also Scotus, called Duns, who, in his fourth book of Sentences, Dist. 18, complaineth of the abuse of excommunication and of the pope's keys. Whereas before excommunication was not used but upon great and just causes, and therefore was feared; now, saith he, it is brought forth for every trifling matter, as for not paying the priests' wages, &c., and therefore, saith he, it groweth in contempt. Under the same king, about the beginning of his reign, was the year so hot and so dry, that from the month of May until the month near of September fell no rain; insomuch that many died for heat, and the vulgar people, in their reckoning of years, did count the time from the said dry year long after.

After Pope Benedict above mentioned succeeded Pope Clement the Fifth, who translated the pope's court to Avignon in France, where it remained the term of seventy-four years after. At the coronation of this Clement was present Philip, king of France, Charles, his son, and Duke John, duke of Brittany, with a great number of other men of state and nobility. At which coronation, they being in the middle of the pomp, or procession, a great wall brake down and fell upon them; by the fall whereof

Duke John with twelve other were slain, King Philip hurt and wounded, the pope struck from his horse, and lost out from his mitre upon his head a carbuncle, esteemed to the value of six thousand florins. By this Clement was ordained, that the emperor, though he might be called king of the Romans before, yet he might not enjoy the title and right of the emperor before he was by him confirmed. And that the emperor's seat being vacant, the pope should reign as emperor, till a new emperor was chosen. By him the order of the Templars (who at that time were too abominable) was put down at the council of Vienna, as hereafter (Christ willing) shall be declared. He also ordained and confirmed the feast of Corpus Christi, assigning indulgences to such as heard the service thereof. And as Pope Boniface before heaped up the book of Decretals, called Sextus Decretalium; so this Clement compiled the seventh book of the Decretals, called of the same Clement the Clementines. In the time of this pope, Henricus, the sixth of that name, emperor, was poisoned in receiving the sacrament, by a false dissembling monk called Bernard, that feigned himself to be his familiar friend; which was thought to be done not without the consent of the pope's legate. The emperor, perceiving himself poisoned, warned him to flee and escape away; for else the Germans would surely have slain him; who although he escaped himself, yet divers of his order after that with fire and sword were slain.

As this Pope Clement the Fifth had well provided now, as ye have heard, against the empire of Rome to bring it under his girdle, insomuch that, without the pope's benediction, no emperor might take the state upon him, &c., now he proceedeth further to intermeddle with the empire of Constantinople. Where he first exerciseth his tyranny and power of excommunication against Andronicus Paleologus, emperor of Constantinople, A.D. 1306, declaring him to be a schismatic and heretic, because he neither would nor durst suffer the Grecians to make their appeal from the Greek church to the pope, neither would acknowledge him for his superior, &c. Whereby it may appear, that the Greek church did not admit the pope's superiority as yet, nor at any time before; save only about the time of Pope Innocent the Third, A.D. 1202, at what time the Frenchmen with their captain Baldwin, earl of Flanders, joined together with the Venetians, were set against the Grecians, to place Alexius in the right of the empire of Constantinople, upon condition (as writeth Platina) to subdue the Greek Church under the Church of Rome. Which Alexius being restored, and shortly after slain, the empire came to the Frenchmen, with whom it remained the space of fifty-eight years, till the coming of Michael Paleologus, in the days of Pope Gregory the Ninth, who restored the empire from the Frenchmen unto his pristine state again. During all which time of the French emperors the Greek Church was subject to Rome, as by the decretals of Pope Gregory the Ninth may appear. Then followed after this, that the foresaid Michael, emperor of Constantinople, being called up to a council at Lyons, by Pope Gregory the Tenth, about the controversy of the proceeding of the Holy Ghost, (as is above specified,) and obedience to the Church of Rome; there, because the said Michael the emperor did submit himself and the Grecians to the subjection of Rome, as testifieth Baptist Egnat., he thereby procured to himself such grudge and hatred among the Greek monks and priests, that after his death they denied him the due honour and place of burial. The son of this Andronicus was Michael Paleologus above mentioned; who, as ye have heard before, because he was constrained by the Grecians not to admit any appellation to the bishop of Rome, was accursed by the pope's censures for a heretic. Whereby appeareth, that the Grecians, recovering their state again, refused all subjection at this time unto the Church of Rome, which was the year of our Lord 1327, &c. After this Clement the Fifth followed Pope John the Twenty-second, with whom Louis the emperor had

much trouble. After whom next in course succeeded Pope Benedict the Twelfth. Which Benedict, upon a time, being desired to make certain new cardinals, to this answered again, that he would gladly so do, if he also could make a new world. For this world (said he) is for these cardinals that be made already. And thus much of the popes; now to return a little back to the king's story again.

In the year of our Lord 1307, which was the thirty-fourth of the reign of this king, in the beginning of Hilary term, the king kept a parliament at Carlisle, where great complaints were brought in by the nobles and ancients of the realm, concerning the manifold and intolerable oppressions of churches and monasteries, and exactions of money by the pope's legate William Testa, (otherwise termed Mala Testa,) lately brought into the realm of England. The coming of which William Testa was upon this occasion, as followeth: Pope Clement, who, as ye heard before, had translated his court from Rome into France, where he had been archbishop before, because he contemned to come and remain at his own see, the princes of Rome thought him therefore unworthy to enjoy Peter's patrimony. And so by that means, falling into bareness and poverty, he lived only of such money of bishops as came to him to be confirmed, and with such other shifts and gifts. So that by this means, partly of bishops and other religious men and persons, partly under the name of courtesy and benevolence, partly under the pretence of borrowing, he had within the first year 9500 marks of silver, all his other charges and expenses, which he largely that year bestowed, clearly borne. Besides this, he sent moreover the foresaid legate William Testa into England with his bulls; in the which he reserved the first-fruits of the first year of all churches being vacant at any time, or by any man, within the realms of England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, and also the fruits of abbeys and priories within the said realms, &c. Whereupon the king with his nobles, seeing the inconvenience and harm thereof ensuing to the whole realm, in the foresaid parliament, holden at Carlisle, withstood the said legate, charging and commanding him by the assent of the earls and barons, that henceforth he should abstain from all such exactions. And as concerning his lord the pope, he would direct certain his messengers unto him purposely for the same matter appointed; by the which ambassadors the king wrote unto the aforesaid pope, declaring and admonishing the pope, as right and reason was, that he should not exact the first-fruits of churches and abbeys, by his predecessors and noblemen of the land, founded for the honour and maintenance of God's service, for alms and hospitality; which otherwise, in so doing, should all be overthrown. And so by this means the pope at that time changed his purpose as concerning abbeys. But after that the fruit of English churches was granted to the king for two years, in which space he obtained the fruits of the foresaid churches, &c.

During the which parliament afore specified, as men were talking many things of the pope's oppressions, which he began in the English church, in the full of the parliament suddenly fell down, as sent from heaven, among them a certain paper, with this superscription.

An epistle of Cassiodorus to the Church of England, concerning the abuses of the Romish Church.

"To the noble Church of England, serving in clay and brick as the Jews did in time past under the tyranny of the Egyptians; Peter, the son of Cassiodore, a catholic soldier, and devout champion of Christ, sendeth greeting, and wishing it to cast off the yoke of bondage, and to receive the reward of liberty.

"To whom shall I compare thee, or to whom shall I liken thee, O daughter of Jerusalem? To whom shall I match thee, O daughter of Zion? Great is thy perturbation, like unto the sea. Thou sittest alone without comfort all the day long, thou art confounded and consumed with heaviness. Thou art given up into the hands of him from whence thou canst not rise without help of one to lift thee up; for the scribes and Pharisees, sitting upon the chair of Moses, the enemies of the Romans are as thy heads and rulers; enlarging their guarded phylacteries, and seeking to be enriched with the marrow of thy bones, laying heavy burdens, and not able to be borne, upon thy shoulders, and of thy ministers, and they set thee under tribute, (which of old time hast been free,) beyond all honesty or measure. But marvel not thereat, for thy mother, which is the lady of people, like a widow having married and coupled herself to her subject, hath appointed him to be thy father; that is to say, the bishop of Rome, who showeth no point of any fatherly love towards thee. He magnifieth and extendeth to the uttermost his authority over thee, and by experience he declareth himself to be the husband of thy mother. He remembereth oft with himself the prophetic saying of the prophet, and well digested the same in the inward part of his breast: Take to thee a great book, and write therein quickly with the pen of a man: take the spoil, rob quickly. But is this it which the apostle saith that he was appointed for, where he writeth thus? Every bishop, taken from among men, is appointed for men in those things that belong to the Lord; not to spoil, nor to lay on them yearly taxes, nor to kill men, but to offer gifts and sacrifices for sins, and to sorrow with them that be ignorant and do err. And so we read of Peter the fisher, (whose successor he boasteth himself to be,) that after the resurrection of Christ he returned with other apostles to the office of fishing; who when he could take nothing on the left side of the ship, at the bidding of Christ turned to the right side, and drew to the land a net full of fishes. Wherefore the profitable ministry of the church is to be exercised on the right side, by the which the devil is overcome, and plenty of souls be lucrified and won to Christ. But certainly the labour on the left side of the ship is far otherwise; for in it the faith stumbleth, heaviness beareth rule, when that thing that is desired by seeking is not found. For who is so foolish to think that he can both at one time serve God and man, and to satisfy his own will, or to stick to the revelations of flesh and blood, and to offer worthy gifts to Christ? And doubtless that shepherd that watcheth not for the edifying of the flock, prepareth another way to the roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour. And now behold, I say, O daughter, the deeds of him that is called thy father, such as have not been heard of before; he driveth away the good shepherd from the sheepfold, and placeth in their stead bishops to rule, but not to profit, his nephews, cousins, and parents; some that know no letters, and other some dumb and deaf, which understand not the plain voice of the sheep, not curing their wounds that be hurt of the wolves; but, like hirelings, plucking off the fleeces apace, and reaping that which other men have sown; whose hands moreover be always ready in their baskets and pouches, but their backs are turned from their burdens. By which thing it is manifest that the priesthood is clean changed at these days, the service of God decayed, alms diminished and brought to nought, the whole devotion of kings, princes, and Christians is banished. May not this be thought wonderful in the eyes of all men, that whereas Christ commanded tribute to be paid to kings for him and for Peter, he now goeth about by dominion of his style to subdue to him both realms, and princes of realms, against his will, whose vicar he saith he is, and who refused the realms and judgments of the world, which this bishop contrariwise challengeth, claiming all that which he in his style writeth to be his? Alack, O daughter, what doth he yet more against thee? Mark, he draweth from thee whatsoever pleaseth him, and

yet he thinketh not himself content to have the tenth part only of thy goods from thee, except he have also the first-fruits of the benefices of the ministers, whereby he may get a new patrimony, as well for himself as for his kindred, contrary to the godly wills of the first founders. Over and besides all this, he inferreth other execrable taxes and stipends for his legates and messengers, whom he sendeth into England; which not only take away the feeding and clothing of thee and thine, but also tear in pieces like dogs your flesh and skins. May not this prince be compared to King Nebuchadnezzar, which destroyed the temple of the Lord, and robbed away the silver and golden vessels thereof? The very same doth this man also; he robbed the ministers of God's house, and left them destitute of due help. In like manner doth he. Truly they be better that are killed with the sword, than they which be pined with hunger; for they are dead straight, but these are wasted with the barrenness of the earth. O daughter, all they that pass by, let them have pity and compassion on thee, for there is no sorrow like thy sorrow. For now thy face is blacker than coals, through much sorrow and weeping, and thou art no more known in the streets; thy foresaid ruler hath placed thee in darkness, and hath given thee wormwood and gall to drink. O Lord, hear the sorrow and sighings of thy people; behold, Lord, and descend, for the heart of this foresaid man is more indurate than the heart of Pharaoh. For he will not suffer the people to depart, except in the fortitude only of thy hand. For he scourgeth them not only miserably upon the earth, but also after their death he intendeth to encroach the goods of all Christians under the name and title of dying intestate, or making no will. Therefore let the chivalry of England well remember, how the Frenchmen in times past, directing their greedy eyes on the realm of England, laboured with all their power how to bring the same under their subjection. But it is to be feared, lest the new devices and practice of this new enemy supply that which hitherto hath been lacking in them. For in diminishing of the treasure of the realm, and spoiling of the church's goods, the realm shall be brought into such inability, that it shall not be able to help itself against the enemy. Therefore, O daughter, and you the ministers thereof, suffer not yourselves to be led any more into such miserable bondage. Better it is for the wealth of thee and thine, that the Christian king and the powers of the realm, which have endued thee with great benefits, and you also which are endued with their benefits, do labour with all your power how to resist the devices, conspiracies, arrogancy, presumption, and pride of the foresaid person; who not for any zeal of God, but for the enriching of his parents, and for his own kindred, (exalting himself like an eagle,) by these and such other exactions goeth about, after another kind of extortion, to scrape up and devour all the money and treasure of England. Now, lest the dissembled simplicity of the realm in this behalf do bring utter subversion, and afterward be compelled to seek remedy when it is too late, I beseech the Lord God of hosts to turn away the veil from the heart of that man, and to give him a contrite and a humble mind, in such sort as he may acknowledge the ways of the true God, whereby he may be brought out of darkness, and be enforced to relinquish his old sinister attempts; and that the vineyard which the Lord's hand hath planted may be replenished continually with the preachers of the word. Let the words of the Lord, prophesied by the mouth of Jeremiah, stir up your minds to withstand and resist the subtle practices of this man, by the which words the Lord speaketh: O thou pastor which hast scattered my people, and hast cast them out of their habitations, behold, I will come and visit upon thee, and upon the malice of thy studies; neither shall there be any of thy seed which shall sit upon the seat of David; neither which shall have power any more in Judah. So that thy nest shall become barren, and utterly subverted, like Sodom and Gomorrah.

"And if he, being terrified by these words, do not leave off from this which he beginneth, and doth not make restitution of those things which he hath received, then let all and singular persons sing for him, being indurate, to Him that seeth all things, Psal. cviii., Deus laudum, &c. For truly, as favour, grace, benevolence, remitteth and neglecteth many things; so again the gentle benignity of man, being too much oppressed and grieved, seeking to be delivered and freed from the same, striveth and searcheth to have the truth known, and casteth off that yoke by all means possible that grieveth him," &c.

What effect this letter wrought in them to whom it was directed is not in story expressed. This by the sequel may be conjectured, that no reason or persuasion could prevail, but that the pope retained here still his exactions, whatsoever was said or written to the contrary notwithstanding.

And thus much being written hitherto of these acts and doings here in England, now to slip a little into the matters happening the same time in France, under the reign of the foresaid King Philip above mentioned; forasmuch as about this time, A.D. 1307, was commenced a parliament by the said king of France against the pope, touching the jurisdiction both temporal, pertaining to princes, and ecclesiastical, belonging to the church, I thought it not unprofitable for the reader to hear and learn the full discourse and tractation hereof, according as we have caused it to be excerpt faithfully out of the true copy and records of Peter Bertrand, bishop of Edven, and chief doer and prolocutor in the said parliament upon the pope's side, against the king and state temporal.

Forasmuch as the high prelate of Rome, otherwise called antichrist, being then in his chief ruff, extolling himself above all princes and potentates of the world, as in other countries, so also in France, extended his usurped jurisdiction above the princely authority of the king, claiming to himself full government of both the states, as well secular as also ecclesiastical; the king therefore, not suffering the excessive proceedings of Pope Clement the Fifth, above specified, directeth his letters mandatory to the prelates and barons of the realm of France, to convent and assemble themselves together at Paris, about the beginning of December, the year above, prefixed; the tenor of which letters of the king directed to the prelates followeth in this form and manner.

"Philip, by the grace of God king of France, to our well beloved bishop of Edven, greeting and salutation. Reverend father in God, right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. The more sight and knowledge you have in divinity and the Holy Scriptures of God, with the practice and experience of other good qualities and virtues, you know the better a great deal how that the clergy and laity of this our realm (as members of one body) ought to cleave and stick together; and how by their helping hand unity and peace should be maintained of all, and the contrary eschewed and avoided, every state contenting itself, and not encroaching one upon another. And because we are advertised, how that our barons and officers (as well in time past as of late) have diversly in divers points injured you, as semblably you and yours in many causes have wrongfully damaged them; by occasion whereof the knot of unity and concord, which ought to have flourished among you, is quite loosed and undone: to the end therefore, by God's grace, some good reformation and redress may be had herein, we, most studious of unity and concord, require you, and by these our letters command you, to appear personally before us at Paris the fifteenth day of December next ensuing the date hereof, and there before us to make relation of such wrong as ye

have received at the laity's hands. And we likewise straitly charge and command you, our barons, bailiffs, and officers, not to fail, but to make your personal appearances before us the day and place above written, and there to exhibit before us a bill of such complaints wherewith you burden our prelates and clergy, with their officials; that we, with our council, consulting thereupon with due regard, may see redress therein; whereby perpetual love and charity may ever hereafter reign and remain among them for ever. Given at Paris the first day of September, A.D. 1309."

At the day in the letters above specified the prelates and clergy assembled themselves before the king at his palace in Paris; that is to say, the Lord Bituricen, the lord of Auxitan, the Lord Turonen, the Lord Rothom, and the Lord Senon, all archbishops; the Lord Belvacen, the Lord Cathalen, the Lord Laudun, the lord of Paris, the Lord Novionon, the Lord Carnoten, the Lord Constan, the Lord Andegaven, the Lord Pictaven, the Lord Melden, the lord of Cameracen, the lord of St. Feri, the Lord Briocce, the lord of Cabilon, and the lord of Edven, all bishops. Where, after due reverence done unto the king's Grace, there sitting in his own person, with his barons and council about him, a certain noble and wise person, Lord Peter de Cugneriis, (being one of the king's council,) rose up, and openly in the parliament house spake in the king's behalf on this wise, taking for his theme, Give and render unto Cæsar that which is his, and unto God that which is God's; which he very artificially prosecuted and applied, dividing it into two parts. First, that obedience and reverence is due unto the king. Secondly, that there ought to be a difference between the jurisdiction of the clergy and laity, so that spiritual matters should be defined and ordered by the prelates and spiritual men, and temporal causes ruled and determined by the king, his barons, and temporal men. Which all he proved by many reasons both of fact and law, as more fully appeareth beneath in the answer of the bishop of Edven. Finally, he concluded, that the clergy ought only to deal and have to do with spiritual matters; in defence whereof the king's Highness would stand their good lord and maintainer. His oration being ended, he repeated certain words in the French tongue, which imported that the king's will and pleasure was in some points to renew the temporal state and jurisdiction; and therewith he exhibited a certain bill in French, whereof also he gave a copy to the prelates, containing certain points and articles under-written; the contents whereof he affirmed not to appertain to the order and jurisdiction of the spirituality, but only to the temporally, complaining that the clergy had wrongfully proceeded in the same. But notwithstanding the premises, and for all this his complaint, he said that the prelates should have time to consult and deliberate thereupon with the king.

After the Lord Peter had thus spoken, the prelates required to have time to answer thereunto. Whereupon the Friday next ensuing was appointed for the same. On the which day the bishop Edven, and archbishop of Senon elect, in the name of the whole clergy answered for them all before the king, holding his parliament as that day at Vicas.

In the said session the aforesaid bishop of Edven, prolocutor, inferred many things beside, and answered particularly to the articles above specified, and exhibited by the Lord Peter in writing to the king and parliament; which, because they touch more the subtilty of the law and styles of the courts than are necessary to this our history, and because we would not burden the volume with them, they containing no great profit in them, we have here of purpose, for brevity's sake, omitted them, passing to the next sitting, which was the Friday next following the same, as ensueth.

The next Friday after this the prelates assembled at Vicenas before the king to hear their answer; where the foresaid Lord Peter of Cugneriis, being prolocutor for the king, spake on this wise, taking for his theme, I am peace unto you, do not fear, &c. Which he prosecuted, admonishing that they should not be troubled in any thing that there had been spoken; for that the intent and mind of the sovereign lord their king was, to keep the rites of the church and prelates, which they had by law and by good and reasonable custom; where, between the first and second conclusion, he went about to prove, that the cognition of civil causes ought not to appertain to the church; for that such things were temporal, and ought to pertain to the temporally, as spiritual things to the spiritually. And besides his other reasons, he alleged the declaring for a truth, that for this intent first the clerks' crowns were shaven, in sign that they should be free from all worldliness, and forsake all temporal things. Furthermore, he declared, that the bishops had cognition in certain cases expressed by law. Wherefore these said cases ministered a certain rule against him. Also he affirmed, that, by reason of sin, the decretal Novit. could not make for them. For the same did speak of the king of France's state, which hath no superior; but in other persons it was, he said, otherwise. And these things thus being proved, then said he, and concluded, That nevertheless their lord and king was ready to hear the information of them which would instruct him of any custom; and those customs which were good and reasonable he would observe. Which answer, because it did not seem to please and suffice the prelates, incontinently the bishop Edven answered for them all in manner following. First, commending the good and general answer, he spake in this wise: The prince of the people (said he) shall be praised for the prudence of his talk, commending therewith, as touching the former good general answer of the king, his purpose and talk propounded. But as concerning the words of the Lord Peter, which engendered and brought darkness and obscurity, and might give occasion to the temporal lords to break and infringe the rites and customs of the church, his answer seemed not full and plain to the prelates. Speaking, moreover, to the said Peter, he alluded to the words of the Virgin speaking in the Scripture thus to her Son; Son, why did you so to us? And so he prosecuted the same, both marvelling with himself, and yet covertly complaining of his answer. Afterward, answering to those things which the Lord Peter affirmed, and first to the chapter, *ad verum*, he said, that it was before answered, touching the division of the two jurisdictions, that they may be in one subject, as before is proved. Neither doth it let which the Lord Peter said, that these two jurisdictions could not be in one subject, because that things which be in themselves diverse, and be under one genus, as a man and an ass, cannot be in one subject. But if they were under divers kinds, as whiteness and sweetness in milk, they might be well in one subject. It was answered, that this rule was not true, because justice and temperance are two diverse virtues, and under one kind, and yet be in one subject. Besides these differing species, a man and an ass be not compatible in one subject. Also to that which was spoken concerning the shaving of the crown, it was answered, that the crown did betoken rule and excellency; and the shaving did signify, that they ought not to heap up store of temporal things so to apply their hearts thereunto; but that the temporal things ought to be subject to them, and not they to the temporality, as is proved in the said chapter, *duo sunt genera*. Also as concerning the thing which was talked of *de regula*, he answereth, that this maketh for the church, as before was proved, yea also, the custom doth make the rule for the church. Also laws in all kind of sense do always except the custom. And, therefore, his saying makes nothing against it. And now to that place which the Lord Peter spake about the decretal Novit., that the case was only in the king's person; yet for all that it is

expressly said in the same text, of every Christian man. And although their law doth speak only of the pope, yet the same is applied to all bishops in their diocese. Wherefore the said bishop concluded and beseeched the king that it would please his Grace to give unto them a more plain and comfortable answer, and that they might not depart from his presence all pensive and sad, whereby occasion might be given to the laity to impugn the rights and liberties of the church; and that they doubted nothing hereof in the good nature and conscience of their sovereign lord and king. In the end it was answered to them in the behalf of the king, that his mind and intent was not to impugn the customs of the church.

The Sunday following the bishops assembled themselves again before the king at Vicens, where the lord bishop of Edven repealed their last supposition, with the last answer made unto them in the behalf of the king, when the bishop of Byturien had given them to understand how the king willed them not to fear, for that they should suffer no hinderance or damage in his time; yea, and he would defend them in their rites and customs, because it should not be said that he would give ensample to other to impugn the church, assuring them that even the king's Grace willed him so to declare unto them. The said lord bishop of Senon in the name of the whole prelates gave humble thanks to the king therefore, and the said bishop of Senon beseeched that such proclamations, which were made to the prejudice of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, might be repealed and called in. Hereunto the king himself answereth with his own mouth, that they were not published at his commandment, neither did he know of them nor ratify them. Thirdly, the bishop proposed, that those abuses which the temporality complained of should be so ordered and reformed, that every man should be well contented therewith. Last of all, he beseeched the king's Highness that he would of his gracious goodness give them a more comfortable and fuller answer. Then answered the Lord Peter in the name of the king, That if the prelates and bishops would see reformation of those things which were to be amended, whereabouts he would take respite between this and Christmas next following, his Grace would innovate nothing in the mean season. And if in the foresaid space they would not correct and reform that which was amiss, his Majesty would appoint such order and remedy, that should be acceptable both to God and his subjects. After this, the prelates had leave of the king to depart, and went home.

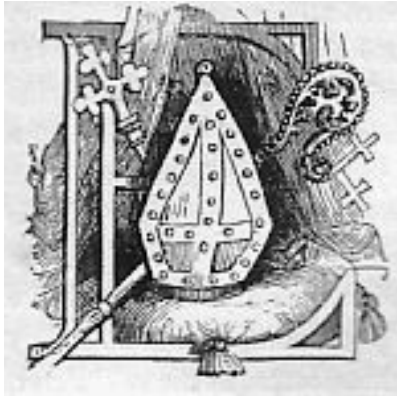
And thus much concerning French matters, which, because they be ecclesiastical, and bear with them some utility to the diligent reader, such as list to search, note, and observe the acts of men, and course of religion, I thought, therefore, here to place and adjoin them next after the other contention before proceeding between Philip, the French king, and Pope Boniface. Albeit, as touching the perfect keeping of years and time, I am not ignorant that this aforesaid parliament, thus summoned and commenced against the French prelates, falling in the year of our Lord 1329, was to be referred rather to the reign of King Edward the Second, of whom now remaineth, by the grace of Christ, in order of history to prosecute, declaring first the instructions and informations of his father given to him in the time of his departing. The year of our Lord 1307, and the last year of the king, the foresaid King Edward, in his journey marching towards Scotland, in the north fell sick of the flux, which increased so fervently upon him, that he despaired of life. Wherefore, calling before him his earls and barons, he caused them to be sworn, that they should crown his son Edward in such convenient time after his death as they might, and keep the land to his use till he were crowned. That done, he called before him his son Edward, informing and lessoning him with wholesome precepts; and he charged him also with divers

points upon his blessing: first, that he should be courteous, gentle, upright in judgment, fair spoken to all men, constant in deed and word, familiar with the good, and especially to the miserable to be merciful. After this, he gave him also charge not to be too hasty in taking his crown, before he had revenged his father's injuries stoutly against the Scots; but that he should remain in those parts to take with him his father's bones, being well boiled from the flesh; and so, being enclosed in some fit vessel, should carry them with him till he conquered all the Scots; saying, that so long as he had his father's bones with him none should overcome him. Moreover, he willed and required him to love his brothers Thomas and Edmund; also to cherish and tender his mother Margaret, the queen. Over and besides, he straitly charged him upon his blessing, (as he would avoid his curse,) that he should in no case call to him again, or send for Peter Gaveston; which Peter Gaveston the king before had banished the realm, for his naughty and wicked familiarity with his son Edward, and for his seducing of him with sinister counsel. For the which cause he banished both Peter Gaveston utterly out of the realm, and also put the said Edward his son in prison. And therefore so straitly he charged his son in no wise to send for this Gaveston, or to have him in any case about him. And finally, because he had conceived in himself a vow to have returned in his own person to the Holy Land, (which for his manifold wars with the Scots he could not perform,) therefore he had prepared thirty-two thousand pounds of silver, for the sending of certain soldiers with his heart unto the Holy Land. Which thing he required of his son to see accomplished; so that the aforesaid money, under his curse and malediction, be not employed to other uses. But these injunctions and precepts the disobedient son did nothing observe or keep after the decease of his father. Who, forsaking and leaving off the war with the Scots, with all speed hasted him to his coronation. Also, contrary to the mind of his nobles, and against the precept of his father, he sent for the aforesaid Peter Gaveston, and prodigally bestowed upon him all that treasure which his father had bequeathed to the Holy Land. He was moreover a proud despiser of his peers and nobles; and therefore reigned unfortunately, as by the sequel of the story here following, by the grace of Christ, shall be declared. Thus King Edward, first of that name, leaving behind him three sons, Thomas and Edmund by his third wife, and Edward by his first wife, whom he had sufficiently thus with precepts instructed, departed this mortal life, A.D. 1307, after he had reigned near thirty-five years.

In the time and reign of this king many other things happened which here I omit to speak of, as the long discord and strife between the prior of Canterbury and the prior of Dover, which continued above four years together, with much wrangling and unquietness between them. Likewise another like contention growing between John Romain, archbishop of York, and the archbishop of Canterbury, upon this occasion; that when John, archbishop of York, after his consecration returned from the pope, coming to Dover, contrary to the inhibition of Canterbury, he passed through the middle of Kent, with his cross borne up, although the story reporteth that he had the king's consent thereunto, A.D. 1286.

Item, between Thomas, bishop of Hereford, and John Peckham, archbishop of Canterbury, fell another wrangling matter, in the time of this king. Which bishop of Hereford, appealing from the archbishop to the pope, went up to Rome, and in his journey died. Who with less cost might have tarried at home, A.D. 1282.

69. King Edward II.



EDWARD, the second of that name, and son of Edward the First, born, as is aforesaid, at Carnarvon in Wales, after the departure of his father, entered the government of the land, A.D. 1307; but was not crowned before the next year following, A.D. 1308, by reason of the absence of Robert Winchelsea, who was banished by King Edward the First. Whereupon the king this present year writeth to the pope for the restitution of the said archbishop, for that, by an ancient law of the realm, the coronation of the king could not otherwise proceed without the archbishop of Canterbury. Which Edward, as he was personable in body and outward shape, so in conditions and evil dispositions much deformed; as unstedfast of his word, and light to disclose secrets of great counsel; also, refusing the company of his lords and men of honour, he much haunted among villains and vile personages; given moreover to overmuch drinking, and such vices as thereupon be wont to ensue. And as of his own nature he was to the said vices disposed, so was he much worse by the counsel and familiarity of certain evil-disposed persons, as first of Peter, or Pierce, Gaveston, before touched. Then, after him, of the two Spensers and other, whose wanton counsel he following, gave himself to the appetite and pleasure of his body; nothing ordering his commonwealth by gravity, discretion, and justice; which thing caused first great variance between him and his nobles, so that shortly he became to them odious, and in the end was deprived of his kingdom. In the first year he took to wife Isabel, daughter of Philip, king of France; with whom (the year after) he was crowned at Westminster by the bishop of Winchester, for that Robert Winchelsea, archbishop of Canterbury, was yet in exile not returned home. Notwithstanding, the barons and lords made first their request to the king to put Peter Gaveston from him, or else they would not consent to his coronation. Whereupon he was enforced to grant them at the next parliament to have their requests accomplished, and so he was crowned. In the mean season, the foresaid Peter, or Pierce, bearing himself of the king's favour bold, continued triumphing and setting at light all other states and nobles of the realm, so that he ruled both the king and the realm, and all things went as he would; neither had the king any delight else, or kept company with any, but with him; with him only he brake all his mind, and conferred all his counsels. This, as it seemed strange unto the lords and earls, so it inflamed their indignation so much against this Peter, that, through the exciting of the nobles, the bishops of the land did proceed in excommunication against the said Gaveston, unless he departed the land. Upon the occasion whereof the king, the same first year of his reign, being grieved with the bishops, writeth to the pope, complaining that they had proceeded to excommunication of the said Peter, unless he departed the realm within a time certain. The which letter of the king, what answer again it had from the pope, I find not set down in story. Over and besides, it befell in the said first year of the king, that the bishopric of York being vacant, the king gave the office of the treasure to one of his own clerks; whereof the pope having intelligence writeth to the king, commanding him to call back the same gift, and withal citeth up to Rome the said clerk, there to answer the matter to a nephew of one of his cardinals, upon whom he had bestowed

the said dignity; whereunto the king maketh answer: "That if such citations and the execution of the same should proceed to the impeachment of our kingly jurisdiction, and to the prejudice of our lawful inheritance, and the honour of our crown, (especially if the deciding of such matters which principally concern our estate should be prosecuted in any other place than within this our realm, by any manner of ways, &c.) certes, although we ourselves would wink thereat, or through sufferance permit matters so to pass our hands; yet the states and nobles of our kingdom, who upon allegiance are obliged and sworn to the protection and defence of the dignity of the crown of England, will in no wise suffer our right and the laws of the land so to be violated."

Besides this, the aforesaid pope wrote to the king, complaining that by certain counsellors of King Edward his father, lying sick, utterly ignorant thereof, a certain restraint was given out, charging his nuncios and legates, whom he had sent for the gathering of the first-fruits of the benefices vacant within the realm, not hereafter to intermeddle therewith, &c. Whereunto the king maketh answer:

"Most holy father, it hath been given you to understand otherwise than the truth of the matter is; for most true it is indeed that the foresaid inhibition was ratified by good act of parliament, holden at Karlin, upon certain causes concerning the execution of such collections, (the said our father not only being not ignorant, but also witting, willing, and of his own mere knowledge agreeing to the same,) in the presence not only of his own earls, barons, states, and commons of the realm, but also your legates and liegers being called thereunto."

Item, upon other letters brought from the pope to the king, for the installing of one Peter de Sabaudia his kinsman into the bishopric of Worcester, being then vacant, and withal requiring that if the said Peter would not accept thereof, the election should be referred to the prior and convent of the same place; the king therewith grieved, maketh answer by his letters to the pope and sundry his cardinals: "That forasmuch as elections of prelates, to be placed in cathedral churches within his kingdom, are not to be attempted without his licence first had and obtained;" therefore he could not abide that any such strange and unaccustomed reservations should or could take place in his realm without manifest prejudice of his kingly estate; requiring further, that he would not cause any such novelties to be brought in into his kingdom, contrary to that which his ancestors before him have accustomed to do.

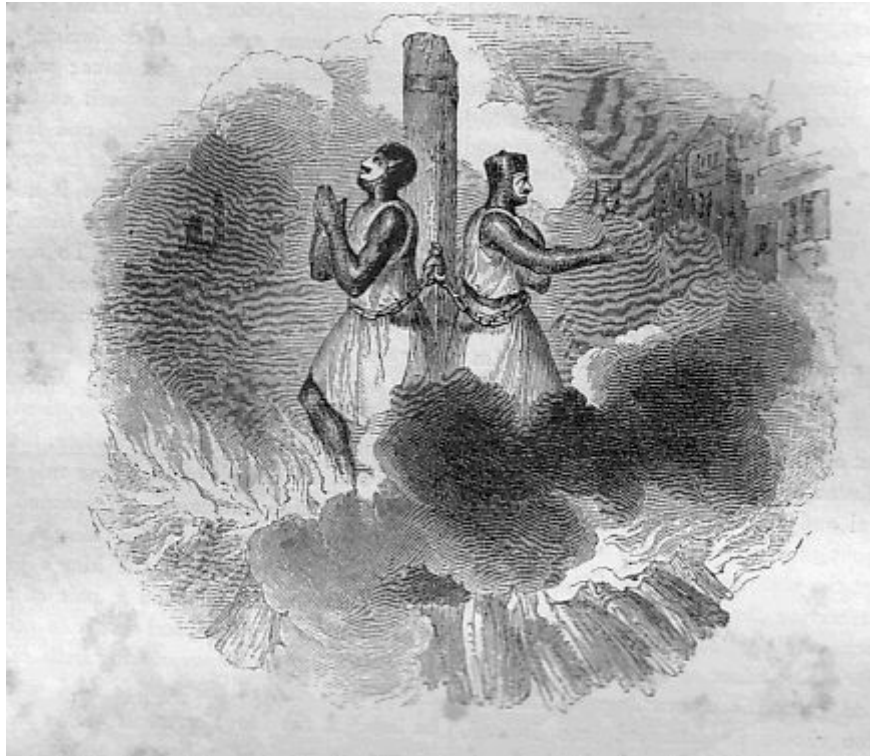
Thus the time proceeded, and at length the parliament appointed came, A.D. 1310, which was the fourth of this king's reign. The articles were drawn by the nobles to be exhibited to the king, which articles were the same contained in *Magna Charta* and in *Charta de Foresta* above specified, with such other articles as his father had charged him with before; to wit, that he should remove from him and his court all aliens and perverse counsellors; and that all the matters of the commonwealth should be debated by common counsel of the lords, both temporal and spiritual; and that he should stir no war out of England in any other foreign realm without the common assent of the same, &c. The king perceiving their intent to be, as it was indeed, to sunder Peter Gaveston from his company, and seeing no other remedy, but needs he must yield and grant his consent, agreed that the said Gaveston should be banished into Ireland. And so the parliament breaking up, the lords returned to their own well appeased; although of the other articles they could not speed, yet that they had driven Peter Gaveston out of the realm at this time it did suffice them.

This Peter Gaveston was a certain gentleman's son of Gascony; whom being young King Edward the First, for the good service his father had done him in his wars, received to his court, and placed him with his son Edward, now reigning. Who, in process of time growing up with him, incensed and provoked him to much outrage and wantonness. By whose occasion first he began, in his father's days, to break the park of Walter bishop of Chester, then chancellor of England, and after executor to the king; for the which so doing the king, as is partly touched before, imprisoned his son, and condemned this Peter to perpetual banishment. Notwithstanding the young king, after the death of his father, as ye have heard, sent for this Gaveston again. And withal he so persecuted this fore-said bishop, that he clapped him in the Tower, and seized upon all his goods. Moreover, he caused most strait inquisition to be made upon him for guiding his office, wherein if the least crime might have been found, it would have cost him his life.

And thus much of Peter Gaveston, and of his origin. Now to the matter.

The king, thus separated from his old compeer, (that is, from the company of Peter Gaveston, now exiled into Ireland,) continued in great mourning and pensiveness, seeking by all means possible how to call him home again, and conferring with such as were about him upon the same; who did insinuate to the king, that forasmuch as the earl of Gloucester was a man well loved and favoured in all the realm, if a marriage might be wrought betwixt his sister and Peter Gaveston, it might be a mean both for him to obtain more friendship, and for the king to have his desire. To make short, Peter Gaveston in all haste was sent for, and the marriage, through the king's procuring, proceeded between the earl's sister and the foresaid Peter, albeit sore against the earl's mind. Gaveston, thus restored and dignified, was so surprised in pride and exaltation more than ever before, that he disdained and derided all other, whose rule and power more and more increased. Insomuch that he, having the guiding of all the king's jewels and treasure, conveyed out of the king's jewel-house at Westminster a table and a pair of tressels of gold unto merchants beyond sea, with other jewels more, to the great impoverishing both of the king and queen, and of the land. And over all that, he brought the king, by mean of his wanton conditions, to manifold vices, as adultery, and such other like. Wherefore the lords, seeing the mischief that daily increased by occasion of this unhappy man, took their counsel together at Lincoln, and there concluded to void him again out of England; so that shortly after he was exiled again, and went into Flanders; for in France or his own country he durst not appear, for fear of Philip, the French king, to whom the queen of England his daughter had sent over great complaints, of the said Gaveston; who had so impoverished her and the whole court, that she had not wherewith to maintain her estate. Upon which complaint the French king through all his dominions laid strait watch to apprehend the said Gaveston; but he, not unwarned thereof, secretly coasted into Flanders, from whence it was not long but he was fetched again by the king, as in further process followeth; so much was the king's heart infatuated by this wicked person.

About this year, or the next before, came in first the Crouched Friars; and also first began the knights of the order of St. John Baptist, otherwise called the knights of Rhodes, for that they by manly knighthood put out the Turks from the Isle of Rhodes.



Knights Templar burnt at the stake

In the history of King Edward, this king's father, before precedent, mention was made of Pope Clement the Fifth, who succeeded after Benedict; also of putting down of the Templars, which in this year happened by means of the French king; who, as he caused to be burned in the city of Paris this year fifty-four Templars, with the great master of the same order; so, by his procurement the foresaid Pope Clement, called a council at Vienna, where the whole order and sect of Templars, being condemned, was shortly after by the consent of all Christian kings deposed all in one day. After whom the French king thought to make his son king of Jerusalem, and to convert to him all the lands of the said Templars. But Clement the pope would not thereto agree, transferring all their lands to the order of Hospitallers, for the great sum of money given for the same. The cause why these impious Templars were put down was so abominable and filthy, that for the reverence of chaste ears it were better not told, if it be true that some write.

Another matter worthy to be noted, of like abomination, I thought here to insert, touching a certain nunnery in France called Provines, within the which, at the cleansing and casting of a fishpond, were found many bones of young children, and the bodies also of some infants as yet whole unconsumed; upon occasion whereof divers of the nuns of the said nunnery, to the number of twenty-seven, were had to Paris, and there imprisoned; what became of them afterward I find not in mine author.

In the same council also was decreed by the said Clement, that all religious orders exempted should be subject under the common laws as other were. But the Cistercian monks with money and great gifts redeemed their privileges and exemption of the pope, and so had them granted. These Cistercians sped better herein than did the Minorites of the Franciscans in their suit. Of which Franciscans, when certain of them had offered unto the said Pope Clement forty thousand florins of gold, beside other silver, that the pope would dispense with them to have lands and possessions

against their rule; the pope asked them where was that money. They answered, In the merchant-men's hands. So the space of three days being given them to bring forth these merchants, the pope absolved the merchants of their bond made to the friars, and commanded all that money to be employed and reverted to his use; declaring to the friars, that he would not infringe or violate the rule of St. Francis lately canonized, neither ought he to do it for any money. And thus the beggarly rich friars lost both their money and their indulgence.

Concerning this Pope Clement the Fifth, Sabellicus writeth, that he excommunicated the Venetians, for aiding and preferring of Azoda unto the state of Ferrara; and wrote his letters throughout all Europe, condemning them as enemies of the church, and giving their goods as a lawful prey unto all men; which caused them to sustain great harm. But Francis Dandulus, a nobleman of Venice, being ambassador from the Venetians to the said Clement, for the obtaining of their absolution and safeguard of their city and country, and for the pacifying of the pope's fury toward them, was fain so to humble himself before this proud, tyrannical prelate, that he suffered a chain of iron to be tied about his neck, and he to lie down flat before his table, and so to catch the bones and fragments that fell from his table, as it had been a dog, till the pope's fury was towards them assuaged; so that after that he, in reproach, because he so humbled himself for the behalf and helping of his country, was of some called a dog. But the city of Venice showed themselves not unkind again to Dandulus for his gentle good will declared to his country; for as he had abased himself before in the vile and ignominious condition of a dog for his country's sake; so they extolled him with as much glory again being returned home, decking and adorning him after the best array, with the chief princely ornaments of the city, to make him amends for his former reproach received.

Concerning the Constitutions of this Pope Clement, and of his Decretals and Clementines, and how Henricus the emperor in his days was poisoned in receiving of the sacrament, ye have heard before. About this time Robert Winchelsea, archbishop of Canterbury, (whom this king's father had banished before,) was released and returned home from Rome.

These things thus declared, let us proceed (by the Lord's grace) to the next year, which is of the Lord 1311, and the fifth year of this king's reign. In the which year, counting the year from Michaelmas to the same feast again, as then the usage of the realm was, Peter Gaveston, who had wandered the countries about, and could find no safe resting-place, (notwithstanding he was utterly banished, upon forfeiting life and goods, out of the realm, yet trusting upon the king's favour, and the good will of the earl of Gloucester, whose sister he had married,) secretly returning into England with a certain company of strangers, presented himself to the king's sight. At the beholding of whom the king for joy ran to him, and embracing him, did not only retain him, but also for his sake undid all such acts as had been in the parliament before enacted. The queen and the whole court, seeing this doting of the king, made a heavy Christmas. After this return of Gaveston was noised among the commons, the peers and nobles of the realm were not a little stirred, casting with themselves what way were best to take. If he were suffered still, they saw not only themselves rejected, but also that the queen could not enjoy the love of the king, neither could there be any quietness in the realm. Again, to stir up war in the land, it were not the best; to vex or disquiet the king also they were afraid. But forasmuch as they could not abide all the nobility so to be thrust out and vilipended for the love of one stranger, and also the realm so to be spoiled and impoverished by the same; this way they took, that

Thomas, earl of Lancaster, should be elected among them the chieftain, and chief doer in that business; to whom all other earls, and barons, and prelates also did concordly condescend and consent, except only Walter, bishop of Coventry, whom Robert the archbishop therefore afterward did excommunicate. Which Thomas of Lancaster, by the public assent of the rest, sent to the king, lying then at York, humble petitions, in the name as well of the whole nobility as of the commons; desiring his Grace to give the foresaid Gaveston unto them, or else, according to the ordinance of the realm, that the land might be avoided of him. But the tyrannous king, who set more by the love of one stranger than by his whole realm beside, neither would hearken to their counsel, nor give place to their supplications; but in all hasty fury removed from York to Newcastle, where he remained almost till Midsummer.

In the mean season the barons had gathered a host of sufficient and able soldiers, coming toward Newcastle; not intending any molestation against the king, but only the execution of the laws upon the wicked Gaveston. The king, having wherewith to resist their power, removeth in all speedy manner to Teignmouth, where the queen lay. And hearing there that Newcastle was taken, he taketh shipping and saileth from thence; (notwithstanding the queen there, being great with child, with weeping tears and all instance desireth him to tarry with her, as safely he might;) but he, nothing relenting to her, took Peter his compeer with him, and coasted over to the castle of Scarborough; where he leaving Peter Gaveston to the safe keeping of his men, himself journeyeth toward the coast beside Warwick. The lords, hearing where Peter was, bend thither all their power; so that at length Gaveston, seeing no remedy but he must needs come into their hands, yieldeth and submitteth himself; requiring none other condition, but only that he might talk but a few words with the king in his presence. Thus Gaveston being apprehended, the king hearing thereof sendeth unto the lords, requiring his life to be spared; and that he might be brought to his speech; and promised, that in so doing he would satisfy their minds and requests, whatsoever. About this advisement was taken; but then the earl of Pembroke, hearing the king's promise, persuaded the barons to grant unto his petition; promising himself, upon losing all his lands, to take the charge upon him to be brought unto the king's speech, and so to be recommitted to them again. Which when he had obtained, he taketh Peter Gaveston with him, to bring him where the king lay. And so coming to Dedington, not far from Warwick, he leaveth him in the keeping of his soldiers, while he that night went to his wife, being not far off from thence.

The same night it chanced Guido, the earl of Warwick, to come to the same place where Gaveston was left; who, taking him out of the hands of his keepers, carrieth him to the castle of Warwick, where incontinently they would have put him to death; but, doubting and fearing the king's displeasure, a little they stayed. At that time one of the company, (a man of sage and wise counsel, as mine author writeth,) standing up among them, with his grave oration declareth the nature of the man, the wickedness of his own condition, the realm by him so greatly endamaged, the nobles despised and rejected, the pride and ambition of the man intolerable, the ruin of things like to ensue by him, and the great charges and expenses they had been at in so long pursuing and getting of him; and now being gotten and in their hands, he exhorteth them so to use and take the occasion now present, that hereafter, being out of their hands, they afterward might seek, and should not find it.

Briefly, in such sort he persuaded the hearers, that forthwith he was brought out, and by common agreement beheaded in a place called Blakelow; which place in stories I find to be called Gaveshead; but that name, as I think, was derived upon this

occasion afterward. And thus he, that before had called the earl of Warwick the black dog of Ardeine, was thus by the said dog worried, as ye have heard, &c. His carcass the Dominic friars of Oxford had in their monastery interred the space of two years; but after that the king caused the same carcass to be taken, up and buried within his own manor of Langley.

After this, great disturbance began to rise between the king and the lords; who, having their power lying about Dunstable, sent stout message unto the king at London, to have their former acts confirmed. Gilbert, earl of Gloucester, the king's nephew, who neither did hold against the king, nor yet against the nobles, with the bishops and prelates of the realm, went between both parties with great diligence to make unity. At which time also came two cardinals from Rome, with letters sent unto them from the pope. The nobles answered to the message of the cardinals, lying then at St. Albans, that as touching themselves, they should be at all times welcome to them; but as touching their letters, forasmuch as they were men unlettered, and only brought up in war and feats of arms, therefore they cared not for seeing the same. Then message was sent again, that they would grant at least but to speak with the pope's legates, which purposely came for the intent to set quiet and unity in the realm. They answered again, that they had bishops both godly and learned, by whose counsel they would be led only, and not by any strangers, who knew not the true cause of their commotion. And therefore they said precisely, that they would have no foreigners or aliens to be doers in their business and affairs pertaining to the realm. Yet notwithstanding, through the mediation of the archbishop, and of the earl of Gloucester, the matter at length was so taken up, that the barons should restore to the king, or his attorney of St. Albans, all the treasure, horses, and jewels of the foresaid Gaveston taken at Newcastle, and so their requests should be granted. And so was the matter at that time composed.

Shortly upon the same Isabella the queen was delivered of a fair child at Windsor, whom Louis the French king's son, the queen's brother, with other Frenchmen there present, would have to be called by the name of the French king; but the English lords were contrary, willing him to be called by the name of Edward his father. At the birth of which Edward great rejoicing was through all the land; and especially the king his father so much joyed thereat, that he began daily more and more to forget the sorrow and remembrance of Gaveston's death, and was after that more agreeable to the will of his nobles.

Thus peace and concord between them began to be in a good towardness; which more and more might have been confirmed in wearing out of time, had not Satan, the author and sower of discord, stirred up his instruments, (certain Frenchmen, titivillers and make-baits about the king,) which ceased not, in carping and depraving the nobles, to inflame the king's hatred and grudge against them. By the exciting of whom, the old quarrels being renewed afresh, the king in his parliament, called upon the same, began to charge the foresaid barons and nobles with sedition and rebellion, and for slaying Peter Gaveston. Neither were the nobles less stout again in defending their cause, declaring that they in so doing had deserved rather thank and favour with the king than any displeasure, in vanquishing such a public enemy of the realm; who not only had spoiled and wasted the king's substance, but also raised much disturbance in the realm. And forasmuch as they had begun with the matter to their so great labours and expenses, they would proceed further, they said, not ceasing till they saw an end thereof. To be short, great threats there were on both parts, and a foul matter like to have followed. But again, through the diligent mediation of the queen,

the prelates, and the aforesaid earl of Gloucester, the matter was taken up and brought to reconciliation upon these conditions; that the lords and barons openly in Westminster Hall should, humble themselves before the king, and ask pardon there of their doings, and every man there to receive a letter of the king's pardon for their indemnity and assurance. And so passed over that year, within the which year died Robert Winchelsea, archbishop of Canterbury. In whose room Thomas Cobham was elected by the king and church of Canterbury to succeed; but the pope, frustrating the election, placed Walter Reinold, bishop of Worcester.

In the mean time the Scots, hearing this civil discord in the realm, began to be busy, and to rebel of new through the means of Robert Bruce; who being chased out of Scotland by King Edward the First, as is above premised, into Norway, was now returned again into Scotland; where he demeaned himself in such sort to the lords there, that in short process he was again made king of the realm, and warred so strongly upon them that took the king's part, that he won from them many castles and strong holds; and invaded the borders of England. The king hearing this, assembleth a great power, and by water entereth the realm of Scotland. Against whom encountered Robert de Bruce with his Scots at Estrivelin, where was fought a strong battle; in the end whereof the Englishmen were discomfited, and so eagerly pursued by the Scots, that many of the noblemen were slain, as the earl of Gloucester, Sir Robert Clifford, Sir Edmund Maule, with other lords, to the number of forty-two, and knights and barons two hundred and twenty-seven, besides men of name, which were taken prisoners; of common soldiers ten thousand, or, after the Scottish story, fifty thousand slain. After which time, Sir Robert Bruce reigned as king of Scotland.

About which time, and in which year, died Pope Clement, who, keeping in the realm of France, never came to the see of Rome; after whose death the papacy stood void two years.

The Scots after this, exalted with pride and fierceness, invaded the realm of England so sore, killing and destroying man, woman, and child, that they came winning and wasting the north parts as far as to York. Besides this, such dearth of victuals, and penury of all things, so oppressed the whole land, such murrain of sheep and oxen, as men were fain to eat horse-flesh, dogs, cats, mice, and what else they could get. Moreover, such a price of corn followed withal, that the king hardly had bread for the sustentation of his own household. Moreover, some there were that did steal children and eat them, and many for lack of victual died. And yet all this amended not the king of his evil living.

The cause and origin of this great dearth, was partly the wars and dissension between them and the Scots, whereby a great part of the land was wasted. But the chieftest cause was the intemperate season of the year; which, contrary to the common course, was so moist with abundance of rain, that the grain laid in the earth could have no ripening by heat of the sun, nor grow to any nourishment. Whereby they that had to eat could not be satisfied with saturity, but eftsoons were as hungry again. They that had nothing were driven to steal and rob; the rich were constrained to avoid and diminish their households; the poor for famine died. And not so much the want of victual, which could not be gotten, as the unwholesomeness of the same when it was taken, so consumed the people, that the quick were not sufficient to bury the dead. For the corruption of the meats, by reason of the unseasonableness of the ground, was so infectious, that many died of the flux, many of hot fevers, divers of the pestilence. And not only the bodies of men thereby were infected, but also the beasts by the

putrefaction of the herbs and grass fell into as great a murrain; so far forth, as that the eating of flesh was suspected and thought contagious. A quarter of corn and salt, from the month of June to September, grew from thirty shillings unto forty shillings. The flesh of horses was then precious to the poor. Many were driven to steal fat dogs, and to eat them; some were said in secret corners to eat their own children. Some would steal other men's children to kill them and eat them privily. The prisoners and thieves that were in bands for hunger fell upon such as were newly brought in unto them, and tearing them in pieces did eat them half alive. Briefly, this extreme penury had extinguished and consumed, as it was thought, the greatest part of the people of the land, had not the king by the advice of the Londoners given forth commandment through-all his land, that no corn should at that time be turned to the making of drink. Such a Lord is God, thus able to do where he is disposed to strike. And yet we miserable creatures, in our wealth and abundance, will not cease daily to provoke his terrible Majesty.

But let us return to the order again of our story. After the Scots had thus plagued miserably, as ye have heard, the realm of England, they invaded also Ireland, where they kept and continued war the space of four years. But, in fine, the Irishmen, by aid sent to them from England, quit themselves so well, that they vanquished the Scots, and slew Edward Bruce, and many of the nobles of Scotland, with many other, and drove the residue out of the country.

The king, about the twelfth year of his reign, assembled a new host and went into Scotland, where he laid siege to Berwick. But in the mean time the Scots by another way invaded the merchants of Yorkshire, robbing and harrying the country, and they slew much people. Wherefore the archbishop of York, and other abbots, priors, clerks, with husbandmen, assembled a great company, and gave them battle at a place called Mitton, where the Englishmen were discomfited, and many of them slain; but the archbishop, and the abbot of Selby, and divers others there escaped. But because there were so many spiritual men there slain, it was called therefore the white battle. By reason whereof, the king, hearing of this, and partly because winter did approach, was constrained to break up his siege, and so returned, not without great danger.

At this time the two Spensers (Sir Hugh Spenser, the father, and Hugh Spenser, the son) were of great power in England, and by the favour of the king practised such cruelty, and bare themselves so haughtily and proud, that no lord of this land might gainsay them in any thing that they thought good, whereby they were in great hatred and indignation, both with the nobles and the commons, no less than Peter Gaveston was before.

Soon upon this, came two legates from Rome, sent by Pope John the Twenty-second, under pretence to set agreement between England and Scotland; who, for their charges and expenses, required of every spiritual person four pence in every mark. But all their labour nothing availed; for the legates, as they were in the north parts (about Darlington) with their whole family and train, were robbed and despoiled of their horses, treasure, apparel, and what else they had, and with an evil-favoured handling retired back again to Durham, where they stayed a while waiting for an answer from the Scots. But when neither the pope's legacy nor his curse would take any place with the Scots, they returned again to London, where they first excommunicated and cursed as black as soot all those arrogant and presumptuous robbers of Northumberland. Secondly, for supplying of the losses received, they

exacted of the clergy to be given and paid unto them eight pence in every mark. But the clergy thereunto would not agree, seeing it was their own covetousness (as they said) that made them venture further than they needed. Only they were contented to relieve them after four pence in a mark, as they promised before; further they would not grant. Whereof the king being advertised, and taking part with his clergy, directed his letters to the said legates in form as followeth:

"The king to Master Rigand of Asserio, canon of Aurelia, greeting. We have taken notice of the clamours and lamentable petitions of the subjects of our realm, perceiving by the same that you practise many and sundry inconveniences very strange, never heretofore accustomed nor heard of in this our realm, as well against the clergy and ecclesiastical persons, as against the laity, even to the utter oppression and impoverishing of many our liege people, which if it should be winked at, (as God forbid,) may in process of time be occasion of greater perils to ensue; whereat we are (not without cause) moved, and not a little grieved; we forbid you therefore, that from henceforth you practise not, nor presume in any case to attempt, any thing within this our realm, either against our clergy or laity, that may any manner of way tend to the prejudice of our royal person, or of our crown and dignity regal. Witness the king at Windsor the sixth day of February, in the eleventh year of his reign."

Likewise in the same year the said king writeth to the same effect to the archbishop of Canterbury, as followeth:

"The king to the reverend father in God, W., by the same grace archbishop of Canterbury, primate of England, greeting. We are credibly informed by many our subjects, that certain strange impositions, never heard of before within any our dominions, upon lands and tenements, goods and chattels, concerning the testaments and cases of matrimony, are brought into our realm to be executed upon our subjects by you or some others; which, if it should proceed to execution, would manifestly tend to the disherison and impeachment of our crown and dignity regal, and the intolerable damage of the subjects of our realm, to the due preservation of the which you are bound by solemn oath of allegiance. We therefore command and straitly charge you that you proceed not in any case to the execution of any such letters, either in your own person or by any other, nor yet presume by colour of the same to attempt any thing that may be prejudicial or hurtful to our crown or dignity regal. And if you, or any other in your name, have done or attempted any thing by colour of the same, that ye call back and revoke the same forthwith without delay. Witness the king at Shene the seventeenth of February, the eleventh year of his reign."

The like letters in effect were directed to the archbishop of York, and to every other bishop through England. By force of which letters the greedy legates, being restrained of their ravening purpose, taking what they could get, and settling a peace, such as it was, between the king and the earl of Lancaster, were fain to pack.

Besides the restraint above mentioned for strange impositions, there followed moreover the same year. the king's prohibition for the gathering of Peter pence, directed to the foresaid legate, the tenor whereof followeth.

A prohibition of Peter pence.

"The king to Master Rigand of Asserio, canon of of Aurelia, greeting. We are given to understand that you do demand and purpose to levy the Peter penny within our realm, otherwise than the said Peter penny hath been heretofore accustomed to be levied in the time of any our progenitors, exercising herein grievous censures

ecclesiastical, to the great annoyance and damnifying of the subjects of our realm; for present remedy whereof our loving subjects have made their humble supplication unto us. And forasmuch as the said Peter penny hath been hitherto accustomed to be gathered and levied upon lands and tenements within our realm after a due manner and form, we, not willing that any such unaccustomed impositions shall in any wise be made upon the lands and tenements of any our subjects within our dominions, prohibit you, upon grievous pain, straitly charging that in no wise you presume to exact, gather, or levy the said Peter penny in any other form or manner than hath been heretofore accustomed to be gathered and levied in the time of our progenitors, or since the beginning of our. reign, until further order be taken in our high court of parliament by the advice of the nobles and peers of our realm, such as may well be taken without prejudice of our crown and damage of subjects. Witness the king at Westminster the first day of March."

To the same effect letters were directed to the archbishops, deans, archdeacons, and the rest of the clergy.

Touching the first original of which Peter pence, though mention be made before in the life of King Offa, and others; yet to make a brief recapitulation of the same, according to the rolls as they come to our hands, thus it followeth. It is thus found recorded in ancient Chronicles touching the Peter pence of St. Peter, A.D. 187. Offa, king of Mercia, travelled up to Rome in the time of Pope Adrian the First, to obtain the canonizing of St. Alban. And having performed his vow, visiting the college of English students which then flourished in Rome, he did give to the maintenance of the scholars of England, students in Rome, one penny out of every tenement within this realm that had land belonging to the same, amounting to the yearly value of thirty pence. And for this his munificence he obtained of the Pope Adrian, that no person within his dominion public, repenting him for not performing enjoined penance, should therefore be banished.

Concerning which Peter pence, it is touched in the laws of King Edward the saint, chap. x., when, where, of whom, under what pain this Peter pence must be gathered, being but the king's mere alms, as is aforesaid. And thus much touching Peter pence. Now for other letters written by the king to the pope, the same year, for other matters, as craving the pope's help in compounding the variance betwixt the two archbishops, of Canterbury and York, for bearing the cross from the one province to the other, thus it followeth; that the king grievously complaineth, that such hurly-burly and uproar arose thereof, that they could not meet together in one place, through the great multitude of armed men, assistants on both parts, in the very bearing of the cross, to the great disturbance of the people.

Now after this long digression to turn to our English matters again. Mention was made before of the variance between the king, and the earl of Lancaster, and of a peace concluded between them. But this peace did not long endure; which the king by his own default did break; sending to the Scots a privy messenger (which was taken in the way) to have the foresaid earl of Lancaster by their means made away.

In the mean time the lords and nobles of England, detesting the outrageous pride of the Spencers, whereby they wrought daily both great dishonour to the king, and hinderance to the commonwealth, in such wise conspired against them, that, gathering their power together, they made a request to the king, that he should remove the Spencers from his person. For the which there was a parliament called at London, and the barons came together with a great company. At the which parliament both the

Spensers were banished the land for term of their lives; and they took shipping at Dover, and so voided the land. But it was not long after but the king (contrary to the ordinance made in the parliament) sent for the Spensers again, and set them in high authority; and they ruled all things after their sensual appetites, nothing regarding justice nor the commonwealth. Wherefore the barons, intending again to reform this mischief, assembled their powers; but the king (making so hasty speed, and gathering his people so soon) was stronger than they, and pursued them so in divers places, that the barons, not fully joined together, (some flying, and some departing to the king, some slain by the way,) in the end were chased so eagerly, that in short space the foresaid Thomas, earl of Lancaster, was taken and put to death with the rest of the nobility, to the number of two and twenty of the greatest men and chiefest captains of this realm. Of whom only Thomas, earl of Lancaster, for the nobility of his blood, was beheaded; all the other lords and barons were hanged, drawn, and quartered, &c. Which bloody unmercifulness of the king toward his natural subjects, not only procured to him dishonour within the realm, but also turned afterward to his much more greater harm and hinderance in his foreign wars against the Scots; and finally wrought his utter confusion, and overthrow of his seat royal, as in the sequel of his end appeared, and worthily.

After the ruin of these noble personages, the king, as though he had gotten a great conquest, (who then indeed began first to be overcome and conquered himself, when he so oppressed and cut off the strength and sinews of his chivalry,) began to triumph not little with the Spensers, and to count himself sure as though he were in heaven, to exercise more sharp severity upon his subjects, trusting and committing all to the counsel only of the fore-said Spensers; insomuch that both the queen and the residue of the other nobles could little be regarded. Who, as they grew ever in more contempt with the king, so they increased in more hatred against the Spensers; but strength and ability lacked to work their will.

The next year, the king being at York, after he had made Sir Hugh Spenser earl, and Sir John Baldock, a man of evil fame, to be chancellor of England, he then arreared a mighty host against the Scots. But for lack of skilful guiding, expert captains, and for want specially of due provision of victuals necessary for such an army, the great multitude, to the number reckoned of a hundred thousand, wandering through Scotland, from whence the Scots had conveyed all their goods and cattle into mountains and marshes, were so pinched and starved with famine, that a great part of the army there presently perished; and they that returned home, as soon as they tasted of meats, escaped not. The king, not having resistance of his enemies, and seeing such a destruction of his subjects, was forced without any act done to retire. But in his retiring Sir James Douglas and the Scots, having knowledge thereof, pursued him in such wise, that they slew many Englishmen, and had well near taken the king himself. After which distress the king, thus beaten and wearied with the Scots, would fain have joined in truce with the Scots; but because they stood excommunicate by the pope, he, standing in fear thereof, desireth licence to entreat with them of peace, the said excommunication notwithstanding; which licence being obtained, a treaty was appointed by commissioners on both parts at Newcastle, at the feast of St. Nicolas next ensuing, and so truce was taken for twelve years. Whereupon this is to be noted by the way, gentle reader, not unworthy of observation, that whereas in former times, and especially of the late King Edward the First, so long as the Scots were under the pope's blessing, and we in displeasure with his Holiness for dealing with them, so long we prevailed mightily against them, even to the utter subversion in manner of

their whole state. But now, so soon as the pope took our part, and the Scots were under his curse and excommunication, then got they greater victories against us, than at any time either before or since, insomuch as being before not able to defend themselves against us, they now pursued us into the bowels of our country.

The king, purposing to erect a house of Friars Augustines within the town of Boston in Lincolnshire first paid the pope's licence in that behalf.

Polydore Virgil, among other histories of our English nation which he intermeddled withal, prosecuting also the acts and life of this present king, and coming to write of the queen's going over into France, inferreth much variety and diversity of authors and story-writers concerning the cause thereof. Otherwise, he giveth himself no true certainty of that matter, neither yet toucheth he that which was the cause indeed. By reason partly, that he, being an Italian and a foreigner, could not understand our English tongue; and partly again, being but one man, neither could he alone come to the sight of all our Latin authors. One I am sure came not to his perusing, an old ancient Latin history fair written in parchment, but without name, belonging to the library of William Cary, citizen of London. In which story the truth of this matter, without all ambiguity, is there fully and with all circumstances expressed, as here briefly is inserted.

The king of England had been divers and sundry times cited up to the court of France to do homage to the French king, for the dukedom of Aquitaine, and other lands which the king then held of France. Which homage because the king of England refused to tender, the French king began to enter all such possessions as the king then did hold in France; whereupon great contention and conflicts there were on both sides. At length, in this year now present, a parliament was called at London; where, after much altercation, at last it was determined, that certain should be sent over, to wit, the bishops of Winchester and Norwich, and the earl of Richmond, to make agreement betwixt the two kings. For the better help and fortification of which agreement, it was thought good afterward that Queen Isabella, sister to Charles, then the French king, should be sent over. Where is to be noted, first, that the queen's lands, possessions, and castles, a little before, upon the breach between the French king and the king of England, were seized into the king's hands, and the queen put unto her pension, &c. Thus the queen, being sent over with a few to attend upon her, only Sir John Cromwell, baron, and four knights, took their passage into France; by whose mediation it was there concluded, that the king of England, if he would not himself come to do his homage, should give to his son Edward the dukedom of Aquitaine, and the earldom of Pontigny, and so he to come to make his homage to the king, and to possess the same. This being in France concluded, was sent over by message to the king of England, with the king's letters patent adjoined for the safe conduct of him or of his son. Upon this, deliberation was taken in the council of England. But the two Spencers, fearing either to take the seas with the king, or else without the king to remain behind, for fear of the nobles, so appointed, that Prince Edward, the king's son, was sent, which happened after to their utter desolation, as it followed. For all things being quieted and ordered according to the agreement in France, King Edward of England, soon after Michaelmas, sendeth for his wife and his son again out of France. But she, sending home most part of her family, refuseth herself to return: for what cause it is not fully certain, whether for indignation that her possessions and lands were seized to the king, as is before premised; or whether for fear and hatred of the Spencers, as is likely; or else for love and familiarity of Sir Roger Mortimer. For here is to be noted, that the said Sir Roger Mortimer, with divers other of the barons' part,

which had broken prison in England, were fled before into France, and now resorted unto the queen. The king, seeing this, giveth forth in proclamation, and limiteth a certain day to the queen and his son to return; or else to be proclaimed traitors to the king and to the realm. Notwithstanding the queen, persisting in her purpose, denieth to return, unless the other nobles which were fled might be permitted safely also to return with her. Whereupon the king immediately caused them both to be proclaimed traitors, and all them that took their parts.

Here then began great hatred between king and king, between the king and the queen, much preparation of war, great spoiling on the sea, much sending between the pope and them; but that would not serve. Then the king, by the counsel of the Spencers, sendeth privily to procure the death of the queen and of his son; which should be wrought by the execution of the earl of Richmond, the queen's familiar. But as the Lord would, that imagination was prevented and utterly frustrated. Albeit, the queen yet notwithstanding (whether misdoubting what corruption of money might do in the court of France; or whether the French king, being threatened by the king of England and by the pope, durst not detain her) removed from thence, and was received, with Edward her son, joyously and honourably in the court or country of the earl of Heinnault. Where, by means of such as were about her, a marriage was concluded between the said Edward, her son, being of the age of fourteen years, and Philip, the aforesaid earl's daughter. When this was noised in England, divers men of honour and name came over to the queen. And soon after the earl of Heinnault prepared a crew of five hundred men of arms to set over the young prince with his mother into England. Of this the fame sprang shortly through the realm. Wherefore the king, in all defensible ways, made provision to have the havens and ports of his land surely kept, to resist the landing of his enemies. On the contrary side, the queen with no less preparation provideth all things to her expedition necessary. Who, when she saw her time, speeding herself to the sea coast with Prince Edward her son, Lord Edmund, earl of Kent, the king's brother, Sir Roger Mortimer, the Lord Wygmore, and other exiles of England, accompanied also with the aforesaid Heinnaults, of whom Sir John of Heinnault, the earl's brother, was captain, having with her of Englishmen and strangers the number of two thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven soldiers; she took shipping in those parts, and had the wind so favourable, that they landed in England at a port called Orwell, beside Harwich, in Suffolk, in the dominion of the earl marshal, the month of September. To whom, after her landing, resorted earl marshal the earl of Leicester, with other, barons, knights, and bishops also; namely, of Lincoln, Hereford, Durham, and Ely. The archbishop of Canterbury, though he came not himself, yet sent his aid and money. Thus the queen, well furnished with plenty both of men and victual, setteth forward toward London; so that the further she came, the more her number daily increased, and the king's power contrarily decreased; insomuch that, as mine author affirmeth, not one almost in all the realm could he hire with any wages to fight on the king's behalf against the queen. Neither did the queen's army hurt any man or child, either in goods or any other thing, by the way.

At the arriving of the queen the king was in London which first would not believe it to be true. Afterward, seeing and perceiving how it was, he asketh help of the Londoners; who, after mature advisement, rendered this answer to the king again: that as touching the king, the queen, and their son, the lawful heir of the kingdom, they were ready with all duty and service to honour and obey. As for strangers and traitors to the realm, they would receive none such within their city gates. Furthermore, to go out of the city to fight, that they said they would not, unless it were

so, that, according to the liberties of their city, they might return home again before sun-set. The king, hearing this answer, (which liked him not well,) fortifieth the Tower of London with men and victual, committing the custody thereof to John Ealham his younger son, and to the wife of Hugh Spenser, his niece; and leaving Walter Stapleton, bishop of Exeter, behind him to have the rule of the city of London, he himself hearing daily the great recourse of the people that drew to the queen, for more safeguard to himself, fled with a small company westward toward Wales. But before his departing from London he caused a proclamation to be made, wherein all and singular persons were charged, upon forfeit of life and goods, every man with all his power to rise and invade the rebels and destroy them all, only the life of the queen, his son, and his brother, reserved. Also that no man, upon pain aforesaid, should help, rescue, or relieve the said rebels, with goods, victuals, or otherwise. Item, it was also proclaimed, that whosoever would bring to the king the head and body of Sir Roger Mortimer, either dead or alive, should have out of the king's coffers a thousand pounds.

In contrariwise, the queen setteth forth another proclamation, wherein it was forbidden to take or spoil violently the value of any man's goods against the will of the owner, under pain of losing his finger, if it were three pence; of his hand, if it were six pence; of his head, if it were twelve pence. Moreover, whosoever would bring to the queen the head of Hugh Spenser the younger, chopped off from his body, should receive, for so doing, of the queen, two thousand pounds. This done, the queen sendeth her letters to the city of London for aid and succour to subdue the oppressor of the realm, to the which letters first no answer was made. Again she wrote the second letter, which was then tacked upon the cross in Cheap, which was then called the new cross. The copy and tenor of which letter was this:

"Isabella, by the grace of God, queen of England, lady of Ireland, and countess of Pountif, and we, Edward, the first son of the king of England, duke of Guienne, earl of Chester, of Pountif, and of Mounstrell, to the mayor and all the commonalty of London, send greeting. Forasmuch as we have before this time sent to you by Our letters, and how we come into this land in good array, and good manner, for the profit of holy church, and of our right dear lord and king, and all the realm, with all our might and strength to keep and maintain the realm, as all good people ought to do; and upon that we prayed you and desired you that ye would be helping to us for the health and profit of the realm; and we have had none answer of you, nor knew not your will in that part: wherefore we send to you again, and pray you, and charge you, that ye bear you so toward us, that ye have nor make us no cause to grieve, but that ye be helping to us in all the ways that you may. And weet ye well in certain, that we, and also those that come with us into this realm, intend nothing to be done, but what shall be pleasing to God, and the common profit to all the realm; not any thing else, but to destroy the Spensers, enemies to the realm, as ye well know. Wherefore we pray and charge you in the faith that ye owe to our lord the king, to the crown, and to us, and upon all that we may forfeit, that if Hugh Spenser, both the father and the son, our enemies, come within your power, that ye cause them hastily to be taken and safely kept, till we have ordained for them our will, as ye desire profit and honour of us, and of the realm. Understanding well, if it be so that ye do our desire and prayer, we shall the more be beholden to you; and also we shall do you profit and worship if that you send us hastily word again of your will. Given at Baldock, the sixth day of October."

These aforesaid letters being published and perused, the bishop of Exeter, to whom, as ye heard, was committed the rule of the city, sent to the mayor for the keys

of the gates, using so sharp words in the king's name, that variance began to kindle between him and the citizens; so far forth that the commons in their rage took the foresaid bishop and beheaded him and two of his household at the Standard in Cheap. Then the king went to Bristol, and ordained Sir Hugh Spenser, the father, there to keep the castle and the town; and the king, with Hugh Spenser, the son, and Sir Robert Baldock, chancellor, and the earl of Arundel, went into Wales. And the queen so pursued them, that first they took the town, yielded up to her; then they took Sir Hugh Spenser the father, whom, being drawn and torn, they at last hanged up at Bristol in chains of iron. As the king was thus flying, the queen caused to be proclaimed through her army that the king should come and appear, and so receive his kingdom again, if he would be comfortable to his liege subjects. Who when he did not appear, Prince Edward his son was proclaimed high keeper of the realm.

In the mean time Henry, earl of Lancaster, and brother to the good Earl Thomas which before was beheaded, also Lord William Souch, and Master Uphowel, were sent by the queen into Wales to pursue the king; and there they took him, and sent him to the castle of Kenilworth; and took Hugh Spenser, the son, and Sir Robert Baldock, chancellor, Sir John, earl of Arundel, and brought them all to the town of Hereford. And anon after Hugh Spenser, the son, was drawn and hanged on a' gallows fifty foot high, and after beheaded and quartered, whose quarters were sent into four quarters of the realm. Sir John of Arundel was beheaded, Sir Robert Baldock was put in Newgate at London, where shortly after he pined away and died among the thieves. This done, a parliament was assembled at London, from whence message was sent to the king, that if he would resign up his crown, his son should have it after him; if not, another should take it to whom the lot would give it. Whereupon the king, being constrained to yield up his crown to his son, was kept in prison, and after had to Barkley, where he is said to take great repentance. After this message being sent, and the king half condescending thereunto, (the parliament notwithstanding prosecuting and going forward,) there was a bill exhibited and put up, containing certain articles against the said king, then in prison in the castle of Barkley, touching his misbehaviour and imprudent governing of the realm; which bill openly before the lords and commons, by the speaker of the parliament house, was read. After long consultation thereof amongst themselves touching those articles, and also for the better and more circumspect government of the realm from that time forth; it was consulted and agreed upon by the lords temporal and spiritual, and commons there assembled, that the said Edward was a man not meet to be their king, nor from that time forth any more to bear the crown royal or title of a king; but that Edward his eldest son, who there in the same court of high parliament was present, as he was rightful heir and inheritor thereunto, so should he be crowned king thereof in his father's stead, with these conditions thereunto annexed: That he should take wise, sage, and true counsellors unto him, that the realm might be better and more circumspectly governed than before in the time of Edward his father it was: That the old king his father should be honourably provided for and kept so long as he lived, according as unto his estate appertained, &c. These and other things thus finished and ended, the parliament breaketh up, and all things necessary to the coronation of a prince appertaining were in speedy wise prepared, whereof more hereafter (Christ willing) shall be specified.

In the mean time, as touching the king which was yet in prison, it is thought by some writers, that the next year following by the means of Sir Roger Mortimer he was

miserably slain, with a spit, as is said, being thrust up into his body, and was buried at Gloucester, after he had reigned nineteen years.

In the time and reign of this king, the college of Cambridge, called Michael House, was founded and builded by Sir Henry Stanton, knight, to the use and increase of learning; a thing in a commonwealth very profitable and necessary to be had; the want and need whereof, many sundry times, as sooner felt in this realm of ours and other realms abroad, than is the discommodity thereof of most men commonly understood.

About the same time also was Nicolaus de Lyra, which wrote the ordinary Gloss of the Bible. Also Gulielmus Ocham, worthy divine, and of a right sincere judgment, as the times then would either give or suffer.

In the tractation of this king's history, before was declared what grudge did kindle in the hearts of the barons against the king, for revoking such acts and customs as had been before in the parliament established, both for Peter Gaveston, and for the two Spensers. Also what severe punishment the king did execute upon them for the same, in such cruel and rigorous sort, that as he spared none of them whom he could there find, so he never ceased all his life after to inquire out, and to be revenged of all such as had been in any part or consenting to that matter. For the which his extreme and implacable tyranny he was in such hatred of all the people, that, as he said, he could not find one of all the commons to take his part, when need required. Among all other which were for that matter troubled, was one Adam, bishop of Hereford; who being impeached of treason with other more, was at length arrested in the parliament to appear and answer to that which should be to him objected. Many things there were laid against him, for taking part with them that rose against the king, with matters more, and heinous rebukes, &c.; whereunto the bishop a great while answered nothing.

At length the bishop, claiming the liberties and privileges of the church, answered to the king in this form: "The due reverence of your princely Majesty ever saved, I, a humble minister and member of the holy church of God, and bishop consecrate, albeit unworthy, cannot, neither ought to answer to these so high matters, without the authority of the archbishop of Canterbury, my direct judge next under the high bishop of Rome, whose suffragan also I am, and the consent likewise of the other my fellow bishops." After which words by him pronounced, the archbishop and other bishops with him were ready to make humble intercession for him to the king, and did. But when the king would not be won nor turned with any supplication, the said bishop, together with the archbishop and the clergy, coming with their crosses, took him away challenging him for the church, without any more, answer making; charging moreover, under censures of the church and excommunication, none to presume to lay any further hands upon him. The king, moved with this boldness and stoutness of the clergy, commandeth notwithstanding to proceed in judgment, and the jury of twelve men to go upon the inquiry of this cause; who finding and pronouncing the bishop to be guilty, the king caused immediately all his goods and possessions to be confiscate unto himself; moreover, he made his plate and all his household provision to be thrown out of his house into the street; but yet he remained so still under the protection and defence of the archbishop, &c.

This archbishop was Walter Winchelsea; after whom succeeded Simon Mepham in the same see of Canterbury, A.D. 1327.

After Pope Clement the Fifth, by whose decease the Romish see stood vacant (as ye have heard) two years and three months, next was elected Pope John the Twenty-second, a Cistercian monk, who sat in that papacy eighteen years. He was stout and inflexible, given so much to the heaping of riches, that he proclaimed them heretics which taught that Christ and his apostles had no possessions of their own in this world. At this time was emperor Louis of Bavaria, a worthy man; who, with this pope and other that followed him, had no less contention than had Fredericus before mentioned in the time of King Henry the Third. Insomuch that this contention and variance continued the space of four and twenty years. The cause and first origin of this tragical conflict, rose upon the constitution of Clement the Fifth, predecessor to this pope; by whom it was ordained, as is afore mentioned, that emperors by the German princes elected might be called kings of the Romans, but might not enjoy the title or right of the empire, to be nominated emperors, without their confirmation given by the pope. Wherefore this foresaid emperor, because he used the imperial dignity in Italy before he was authorized by the pope, the said pope therefore excommunicated the emperor. And notwithstanding the emperor oftentimes did proffer himself to make entreaty of peace and concord; yet the pope, inflexible, would not bend. The writings of both parts yet be extant, wherein the said bishop doth make his vaunt, that he had full power to create and depose kings and emperors at his pleasure. In the same time were divers learned men, which seeing the matter, did greatly disallow the bishop of Rome's doings; among whom was Gulielmus Ocham, whose tractations were afterward condemned by the pope for writing against the temporal jurisdiction of their see. And another, named Marsilius Patavinus, which wrote the book entitled *Defensor Pacis*, which was given into the hands of the said emperor; wherein the controversy of the pope's unlawful jurisdiction in things temporal is largely disputed, and the usurped authority of that see set forth to the uttermost. It is found in some writers, that a great cause of this variance first began, for that one of the emperor's secretaries, unknown to the emperor, in certain of his letters had likened the papal see to the beast rising out of the sea in the Apocalypse. At length, when the emperor, after much suit made to the pope at Avignon, could not obtain his coronation; coming to Rome he was there received with great honour, where he with his wife were both crowned by the full consent of all the lords and cardinals there; and moreover, another pope was there set up, called Nicolas the Fifth. After which things done, the pope not long after departed at Avignon in France; after whom succeeded then Benedictus the Twelfth, a monk of Benedictus order, and reigned seven years. Who, by the counsel of Philip the French king, confirmed and prosecuted the censures and cursings that John his predecessor had published against Louis the emperor; moreover, he deprived him of his imperial crown, and also of his dukedom of Bavaria. The emperor upon this cometh to Germany, and assembling the princes electors, dukes, bishops, nobles, and the learned, in a council at Frankfort, there declared before them, out of the ancient laws and customs of the empire, how it standeth only in the princes electors, and in none other, to elect the kings or the emperors of the Romans, for in both these names was no difference, so that the same electors, in choosing the king of the Romans, did also elect and choose the emperor. Which emperor so by them constituted had lawful right, without any information of the apostolical see, to exercise the administration of the empire. And if he were lawfully elect, he ought to be anointed of the Roman bishop; which if he do refuse, then might he be anointed and declared emperor and Augustus by any other catholic bishop thereunto appointed, as by the old manner and custom hath been; especially seeing these injunctions are but certain solemnities added and invented by the bishops,

only for a token of unity between the church and empire, to govern and defend the faith together. Wherefore in that the emperor sweareth to the bishop of Rome, in that is to be understood no homage or fealty made to the bishop, but only it is a sacrament and a promise given to defend the faith. The which oath or sacrament so given, giveth no majority to the pope in any temporal rule, but only bindeth the emperor to be prepared and ready to defend the faith and church of Christ when need shall require obedience. Wherefore, whereas the pope leaveth only to the electors authority to make the king of Romans, and taketh upon himself alone power to make the emperor; that, as it is newly brought in and devised of late by Pope Clement the Fifth, so is it contrary both to all ancient order, and also derogatory to the liberty and majesty of the sacred empire. Again, neither is that also less absurd and contrary to all right and reason, that the pope, in time of the imperial seat being vacant, taketh upon him to have the whole and full doings of the empire as lawful emperor for the time. Which prerogative and function, by ancient orders of our fore-elders, should properly and only appertain to the palatine of the Rhine; the constitution Clementine of the foresaid Pope Clement to the contrary notwithstanding. Then in the end, for his own excuse, he, in the presence of them all, reciteth the public confession of his faith, to answer and purge himself of those objections laid to him by the pope. This did the meek emperor Louis in that council. Yet, all this notwithstanding, the said emperor remained still excommunicate, till time that variance fell between this Pope Benedict and Philip the French king. Wherefore, to make his party good, at least to have some friends to flee to, he began to pretend favour and absolution, rather for necessity than for any good-will to the emperor. But not long after this pope died.

After whom followed Pope Clement the Sixth, a man most furious and cruel; who, renewing again the former excommunications of his former predecessors, caused his letters to be set upon church doors, wherein he threatened and denounced most terrible thunderbolts against the said Louis the emperor, unless within three days he should satisfy to God and the church, and renounce the imperial possession of the crown. The emperor upon this cometh to Frankfort, and, there ready to stand in all things to the ordinance of the pope, sendeth his orators to the court of Rome, to entreat the pope of his favour and good-will towards him. To the which messengers the pope answered again, that he would never pardon the emperor before he gave over and confessed his errors and heresies, and, resigning up his empire to his hands, would submit himself, his children, and all his goods to the will and pleasure of the bishop, promising that he should not receive again any part of the same but upon his good grace, as his will should be to restore them.

The heresy here mentioned, which was to this emperor objected by the pope, was this, because (as is above touched) he used and executed the imperial dignity after his election, before he was of the pope confirmed. Over and besides, the pope sendeth to the emperor by the said orators a certain form of a bill contained in writing with certain conditions, which he commanded to be given to the hands of the emperor. Here, if the emperor Louis had as much mind to set upon the pope with dint of sword, as he lacked neither occasion nor power so to do, what blood might here have been spilled! But the good emperor, sparing the effusion of blood, receiveth gently the bill; and not only with his seal doth confirm it, but also sweareth to observe all the conditions thereof; which the pope hearing of doth greatly marvel. But yet all this would nothing help to mollify the modest heart of this Pharaoh.

The princes and electors, seeing the bill of the articles and conditions, whereof some sounded to the malicious defacing and destruction of the empire, abhorring the

wickedness thereof, desired the emperor to stand to the defence of the imperial dominion as he had began; promising that their assistance and aid to the uttermost thereunto' should not lack. Upon that other orators were sent to Pope Clement from the princes, desiring him to abstain from such manner of articles conceived against the state and majesty of the empire. The pope surmising all this to spring from Louis the emperor, to the utter subversion of him and all his posterity, on Maundy Thursday blustereth out most black curses against him, also reneweth all the former processes of his predecessor against him, as against both a heretic and a schismatic; commanding, moreover, the princes electors to proceed in choosing a new emperor. The archbishop of Mentz, seeing the innocency of the emperor, would not consent to the violating of his majesty, wherefore he was deprived by the pope of all his dignities. The other bishops electors, as the archbishop of Cologne, which took eight thousand marks, with the duke of Saxony, which took two thousand marks, being corrupted with money by John, king of Bohemia, elected Charles, the son of the said John, whom Pope Clement eftsoons in his consistory did approve. Who seeth not here what matter of war and bloodshed was ministered by the pope between these two emperors, if the patience of Louis had not been more prudent to quench the fire than the pope was to kindle it? Charles, then the new emperor elect, sped him to Aquitaine, according to the custom, there to be crowned. But by the citizens, there and the empress, the wife of Louis keeping thereabout, he was repelled. All this happened in the time and reign of Edward the Third, king of England; with whom the said Charles, with the French king, and king of Bohemia, set on by the pope, encountered in war; where the king of England had against them a noble victory, and slew a great number of the Frenchmen and Almaines, and put Charles the new emperor to flight. In the mean time, among the princes and cities of Germany what sorrow and what complaints were against Pope Clement and those electors, it cannot be expressed. For as they were all together at Spires congregated in a general assembly, so there was none among them all that allowed the election of Charles, or that cared for the pope's process, promising all to adhere and continue faithful subjects to Louis their lawful emperor. But Louis, remembering his oath made before to the pope's bill, voluntarily and willingly gave over his imperial dignity, and went to Burgravia; where shortly after, through the procured practice of Pope Clement, as Hieronymus Marius doth write, poison was given him to drink. After the which being drunk, when he would have vomited out and could not, he took his horse and went to hunt the bear, thereby through the chasing and heat of his body to expel the venom. And there the good and gentle emperor, wickedly persecuted and murdered of the pope, fell down dead, whom I may well recount among the innocent and blessed martyrs of Christ. For if the cause being righteous doth make a martyr, what papist can justly disprove his cause or faith? If persecution joined thereunto causeth martyrdom, what martyr could be more persecuted than he who, having three popes like three ban-dogs upon him, at length was devoured by the same. The princes then, hearing of his death, assembled themselves to a new election; who, refusing Charles aforesaid, elected another for emperor, named Gunterus de Monte Nigro. Who, shortly after falling sick at Frankfort, was likewise poisoned through his physician's servant, whom the aforesaid Charles had hired with money to work that feat. Gunterus tasting of the poison, although he did partly cast it up again, yet so much remained within him as made him unable afterward to serve that place; wherefore, for concord's sake, being counselled thereto by the Germans, he gave over his empire to Charles; for else great bloodshed was like to ensue. This Charles, thus ambitiously aspiring to the imperial seat contrary to the minds of the states and peers of the empire, as he did wickedly and unlawfully

come by it, so was he by his ambitious guiding the first and principal mean of the utter ruin of that monarchy; for that he, to have his son set up emperor after him, convented and granted to the princes electors of Germany all the public taxes and tributes of the empire. Which covenant, being once made between the emperor and them, they afterward held so fast, that they caused the emperor to swear never to revoke or call back again the same. By reason whereof the tribute of the countries of Germany, which then belonged only to the emperor for the sustentation of his wars, ever since to this day is dispersed diversely into the hands of the princes, and free cities within the said monarchy; so that both the empire being disfurnished and left desolate, and the emperors weakened thereby, they have neither been able sufficiently since to defend themselves, nor yet to resist the Turk, or other foreign enemies. Whereof a great part, as ye have heard, may be imputed unto the popes, &c.

This Pope Clement first reduced the year of jubilee to every fifty years, which before was kept but on the hundredth year. And so he being absent to Avignon, which he then purchased with his money to the see of Rome, caused it to be celebrated at Rome, A.D. 1350. In the which year were numbered, of peregrines going in and coming out every day at Rome, to the estimation of five thousand. The bull of Pope Clement, given out for this present year of jubilee, proceedeth in these words as followeth "What person or persons soever for devotion sake shall take their peregrination unto the holy city, the same day when he setteth forth out of his house, he may choose unto him what confessor or confessors either in the way or where else he listeth ; unto the which confessors we grant, by our authority, plenary power to absolve all cases papal, as fully as if it were in our proper person there present. Item, we grant that whosoever being truly confessed shall chance by the way to die, he shall be quit and absolved of all his sins. Moreover, we command the angels of paradise to take his soul out of his body, being absolved, and to carry it into the glory of paradise," &c. And in another bull, "We will (saith he) that no pain of hell shall touch him; granting, moreover, to all and singular person and persons, signed with the holy cross, power and authority to deliver and release three or four souls, whom they list themselves, out of the pains of purgatory," &c.

This Clement, as mine author affirmeth, took upon him so prodigally in his popedom, that he gave to his cardinals of Rome bishoprics and benefices, which then were vacant in England, and began to give them new titles for the same livings he gave them in England. Wherewith the king, as good cause he had, was offended, and undid all the provisions of the pope within his realm ; commanding, under pain of imprisonment and life, no man to be so hardy as to induce and bring in any such provisions of the pope, any more within his land. And under the same punishment he charged the two cardinals to avoid the realm, A. D. 1343. In the same year all the tenths, as well of the Templars as of other spiritual men, were given and paid to the king through the whole realm. And thus much concerning good Louis, emperor and martyr, and Pope Clement the Sixth his enemy. Wherein, because we have a little exceeded the course of years whereat we left, let us return somewhat back again, and take such things in order as belong to the church of England and Scotland, setting forth the reign of King Edward the Third, and the doings of the church which in his time have happened, as the grace of Christ our Lord will assist and enable us thereunto.

This aforesaid King Edward the Second in his time builded two houses in Oxford for good letters, to wit, Oriel College, and St. Mary Hall.

Here I omit also by the way the furious outrage and conflict which happened in the time of this king, a little before his death, A. D. 1326, between the townsmen and the abbey of Bury ; wherein the townsmen gathering themselves together in a great multitude, for what cause or old grudge between them the register doth not declare, invaded an& sacked the monastery. And after they had imprisoned the monks they rifled the goods and treasure of the whole house, spoiling and carrying away their plate, money, copes, vestments, censers, crosses, chalices, basons, jewels, cups, maces, books, with other ornaments and implements of the house, to the value inestimable. In the which conflict certain also on both sides were slain. Such was the madness then of that people, that when they had gathered unto them a great concourse of servants and light persons of that country, to the number of twenty thousand, to whom they promised liberty and freedom ; by virtue of such writs which they had out of that house, first they got into their hands all their evidences, copies, and instruments, that they could find ; then they took off the lead; that done, setting fire to the abbey gates, they burnt up near the whole house. After that they proceeded further to the farms and granges belonging to the same abbey, whereof they wasted, spoiled, and burnt to the number of twenty-two manor places in one week, transporting away the corn, horses, cattle, or other movables belonging to the same, the price whereof is registered to come to nine hundred and twenty-two pounds, five shillings, and eleven pence, besides the valuation of other riches and treasure within the abbey, which cannot be estimated.

The abbot all this space was at London in the parliament, by whose procurement at length such rescue was sent down, that twenty-four of the chief of the town (submitting themselves) were committed to ward; carts full of the townsmen were carried to Norwich, of whom nineteen were there hanged, divers convicted were put to prison. The whole township was condemned in sevenscore thousand pounds to be paid for damages of the house. John Berton, alderman, W. Herling, with thirty-two priests, thirteen women, and one hundred and thirty-eight other of the said town were outlawed; of whom divers, after grudging at the abbot for breaking promise with them at London, did confederate themselves together, and privily in the night coming to the manor of Chenington, where the abbot did lie, burst open the gates, who then entering in first bound all his family ; and after they had robbed him of all his plate, jewels, and money, they took the abbot and shaved him, and secretly with them conveyed him away to London ; where they, removing him from street to street unknown, from thence had him over Thames into Kent: at length over the sea they ferried to Dist in Brabant, where they a sufficient time kept him in much penury, misery, and thralldom ; till at length, the matter being watched out, they were all excommunicated, first by the archbishop of Canterbury, then by the pope. And at last it being known where he was, by his friends he was delivered and rescued out of the thieves' hands, and finally brought home with procession, and restored to his house again. And thus was that abbey with the abbot of the same, for what demerits I know not, thus vexed and afflicted about this time, as more largely I have seen in their Latin register. But thus much briefly; the rest I omit here, passing over to the reign of the next king.

Concerning the acts and story of King Edward the Second, his deposing, and cruel death, wrought by the false and counterfeit letter of Sir Roger Mortimer, sent in the king's name to the keepers, for the which he was charged, drawn, and quartered, I have written sufficiently before, and more peradventure than the profession of this ecclesiastical history will well admit. Notwithstanding, for certain respects and causes I thought somewhat to extend my limits herein the more; whereby both kings, and

such as climb to be about them, may take the better example by the same; the one to have the love of his subjects; the other to learn to flee ambition, and not to bear themselves to brag of their fortune and state, how high soever it be; considering with themselves nothing to be in this world so firm and sure, that may promise itself any certain continuance, and is not perpetual danger of mutation, unless it be fastened by God's protection.

70. King Edward III – Wars with the French and Scots

After the suppression of this king, as is above expressed, Edward his son was crowned king of England, being about the years of fifteen, and reigned the space of fifty years; who was a prince of much and great temperance, in feats of arms very expert, and no less fortunate and lucky in all his wars, than his father was unfortunate before him. For liberality also and clemency he was worthily commended; briefly, in all princely virtues famous and excellent. Concerning the memorable acts of which prince, done both in wars and peace, as how he subdued the Scots, had great victories by the sea, how he conquered France, A.D. 1332, won Calais, A.D. 1348, and translated the staple thither, took the French king prisoner, and how the French arms first by him were brought in, and conjoined with the English arms, also how the order of the garter first by the said king was invented and ordained, A.D. 1356; also, A.D. 1357, how the king in his parliament at Nottingham decreed, that all such, in Flanders or other where, that had skill in making cloth, should peaceably inhabit the land and be welcome. For three years before that, it was enacted, that no wool should be transported over the sea; which was to bridle the pride of the Flemings, who then loved better the sacks of wool than the nation of Englishmen. All these, with other noble acts of this worthy prince, although in other chronicles they be fully treated of; yet according to that order I have begun, (saying somewhat of each king's reign, although not pertinent to our ecclesiastical history,) I have here inserted the same, making haste to other matters, shortly and compendiously abridging them out of divers and sundry authors together compacted, mentioned in this wise.

The coronation and solemnity of King Edward the Third, and all the pomp thereof, was no sooner ended, but Robert of Bruce, king of Scotland, understanding the state and government of the realm to be, as it was indeed, in the queen, the young king, the earl of Kent, and Sir Roger Mortimer; and that the lords and barons, as he was informed, did scarcely well agree amongst themselves, although he grew now in age, and was troubled with the falling disease, yet thought he this a meet time for his purpose, to make invasion; hoping for as good success and like victory now as but lately before he had at the castle of Eustrivelin. Whereupon, about the feast of Easter, he sent his ambassadors with heralds and letters of defiance, to the young King Edward the Third, the queen, and the council, declaring that his purpose was with fire and sword to enter and invade the realm of England, &c. The king, queen, and council, hearing this bold defiance, commanded in all speedy preparation musters to be made throughout all the realm; appointing to every band captains convenient, and at the city of York, by a day assigned them, commanding every man to be, with all their necessary furniture ready and thoroughly provided. They directed their letters also with all speed to Sir John of Heinault, requiring him, with such soldiers and men at arms as he might conveniently provide in Flanders, Heinault, and Brabant, to meet the king and queen upon the Ascension day next ensuing at their city of York.

The king and queen made speedy preparation for this expedition; the noblemen provided themselves of all things necessary thereunto; the English captains and soldiers, their bands thoroughly furnished, were ready at their appointed time and place; Sir John of Heinault, Lord Bedmount, mustering his men as fast, was ready to take shipping; where at Wysant, in English bottoms, there lying for him ready, he went aboard, and with a merry wind landed at Dover, travelling from thence by small

journeys daily, till he came within three days after the feast of Pentecost to the city of York; where the king and queen, with a great power of sixty thousand men, within and about the city of York, expected his coming; before whom, in courteous wise he presented himself, and mustered his troop, wherein he had to the number of five hundred good men at arms well appointed and mounted. His coming and furniture was well liked both of the king and queen; and he was by the harbinger appointed to be lodged, with his household retinue, in the abbey of white monks. To be brief, such grudge and variance fell between some of the king's soldiers and his, within the suburbs of the town, being together lodged, that from the little to the more, whilst the king and queen, with divers other of the nobles, strangers and others, were at dinner, the said fray so greatly increased, that the whole army, so many as were in the town then lodged, stood to their defence; so that there were slain of the English archers, in short space, by the strangers, to the number of three hundred men. Whereupon grew, after the fray was with much difficulty both of the king and queen ended, such heartburning between the parties, as that the number of six thousand conspired together against them, thinking to have burned them in their lodgings; had they not been, by the great grace of God, and discreet handling, otherwise prevented and let. Whereupon the Heinauldiers were fain to take and keep the field; using as diligent watch and ward as though they had been among their hostile enemies. After this the king set forward his army towards Durham, and encamped himself near about the same, who also sent the Lord Vifford and the Lord Mounbrey to Carlisle with a sufficient company to keep that entrance, and also the lord marshal of England to keep the town of Newcastle, with a sufficient company to defend the same, and the country adjoining. For well knew the king, that by one of these two entries the Scots must pass into England, standing both of them upon the river of Tyne, twenty-four miles distant.

But the Scots privily with their army passed the river betwixt the two towns into England, few understanding thereof, till that the great fires which the Scots had kindled and made in England, bewrayed them; who came burning and destroying the country all about as far as Stanhope park. This thing being declared to the king, he commandeth his host with all speed to march towards them, which so long travelled that they came in sight of each other. The king also commanded the passages of the river to be so straitly and narrowly guarded, that by no means the Scots could retire and have escaped back again into Scotland without battle given them of the king. But the Scots, understanding the great power the king was of, kept always the advantage of the hills, retiring in the nights from one to another, that without great odds and advantage on the one side, and hazard to the other, the king could not set upon them. Thus, in the day time the Scots keeping the advantage of the hills, and in the night time retiring to the advantage of such other like, came near against that river where they first passed over, where they made a show to offer battle to the king upon the morrow. Whereupon the king being busied in putting his men and battles in a readiness to fight the next morning, being almost wearied out in pursuing the Scots from place to place; the Scots in the mean season got over the river, and escaped the danger of the king. Which thing, as it could not be done without great treason of some near about the king, so Sir Roger Mortimer was grievously suspected thereof, and after it was laid unto his charge. But to be short, by this means the Scots escaped the river, after whom it should have availed the king very little to have made pursuit, as the wily Scots knew full well. For the joy whereof the Lord William Douglas, one of the Scots' generals, with two hundred horses, gave alarm in the king's camp, and came so near that he cut certain of the lines of the king's tent in sunder with his sword, and retired to his company without great loss of any of his men. Then on the morrow the

king, perceiving the Scots to be gone, came to the place where over-night they lodged, where were found five hundred great oxen and kine ready killed; five hundred caldrons made of beasts' skins full of flesh, over the fire seething; a thousand spits full of flesh ready to be roasted, and more than ten thousand shoes of raw leather (the hair still upon the same) which the Scots had left behind them; and five poor English prisoners tied to trees and their legs broken. All which the king seeing, returned with his army (and left any further pursuing the Scots) to Durham; where he dismissed his army and came again to London, sending with Sir John of Heinault two hundred men at arms for their better safeguard against the English archers, with whom at York, as you have heard, they frayed, till they had taken shipping, and so returned home.

The king, then being at London, confirmed the liberties of the citizens, and ordained. that the mayor should sit in all places as chief justice within the liberties of the same. And that what alderman soever had been mayor before, should be a justice of peace within his own ward.

Then the king, the queen, and the council, sent over to the earl of Heinault certain ambassadors, touching the solemnization of the marriage between the king and the Lady Philippa his daughter; who in such sort sped their message, that she was soon after conveyed over to England very honourably, and at Dover arrived. And from thence she came to London, some chronicles affirm to York, where, upon the day of the conversion of St. Paul, the year above specified, the marriage and coronation of the queen was with much triumph during the space of three weeks solemnized.

After which coronation and marriage the king summoned his parliament to be kept at Northampton; whereat, by the means of Sir Roger Mortimer and the old queen, a peace was purchased for the Scots, (who had for that purpose sent their ambassadors,) for four years to endure. Also the king (then being within age) granted to release the Scots of all their homage and fealty unto the realm of England, which by their charter ensealed they were bound to; as also their indenture, which was called the Ragman Roll, wherein was specified the fore-said homage and fealty to the king and crown of England, by the said king of Scots, nobles, and prelates to be made; having all their seals annexed to the same. Also there was then delivered unto them the black cross of Scotland, which King Edward before for a rich jewel and relic had conquered and brought from Scone abbey; with all such rights and titles as any the barons else had enjoyed in the said realm of Scotland, with many other things more, to the great prejudice both of the realm and discontent of all the nobles and barons for the most part, more than the old queen, Sir Roger Mortimer, and the bishop of Ely; who in such sort ruled the roast, that all the rest of the nobles and barons cast with themselves how best they might redress and remedy the great inconveniences that unto the realm by means of them grew and happened. Whereupon the king and queen, and Sir Roger Mortimer, caused another parliament to be called at Salisbury; where the said Sir Roger Mortimer was made earl of March, against all the barons' wills, to prevent and disappoint the foresaid purpose of them; but the earl Henry of Lancaster, with others, would not be at the same; wherefore it was laid unto their charges that they went about to conspire the king's death.

And further, for that the king was as well under the government of the earl of Kent his uncle, as the queen his mother, and the earl of March, and for that they could not do in all things as they listed for the said earl the king's uncle, who loved the king and the realm; envy began to rise between the earl Mortimer and him; and by Isabella

the queen's practice, he found the means to persuade the king that the earl of Kent, to enjoy the crown, as next heir unto the king, went about to poison him. Whereunto the king giving light credit caused his said uncle to be apprehended, and, without answer making to his accusation and accusers, to be beheaded at Winchester, the third of October, and third year of his reign. But the just judgment of God not permitting such odious crimes in him to be unpunished nor undetected, so in fine it fell forth, that Isabella the old queen, the king's mother, was found and understood to be with child by the said Mortimer. Complaint hereof was made to the king, as also of the killing of King Edward his father, and of the conspiracy of him against the earl of Kent, the king's uncle, before put to death. Whereupon, divers other articles laid against him, and manifestly read in the court, he was arraigned and indicted, and by verdict found guilty, having his judgment as in cases of high treason, and suffered death accordingly, at London; where, upon London bridge, next unto Spenser's, his head obtained a place. The queen, his mother, also, by good advice of his council, was restrained of her liberty, and within a certain castle not permitted once to come abroad; unto whom the king her son once or twice a year would resort, and visit her.

This year Prince Edward was born at Woodstock; who in process of time and years grew to be a most valiant prince, and was, before he died, accounted throughout the world the flower of chivalry.

After this the king prepared another army into Scotland in the year prefixed. But first he summoned King David of Scotland, who had, in the last truce, four years to continue, as you heard, his father then living, married the Lady Jane, sister to the king, (termed Jane Makepeace,) to do his homage to the king; but that he refused. Whereupon, not forgetting therewithal the scoffing rhymes which daily from that time of truce the Scots had in their mouths, he did so much, that with an army well furnished he entered Scotland by the river of Tweed; for the Scots had then the possession of the town of Berwick. The Scottish jigs and rhymes were these, "Long beards heartless, Painted hoods witless, Grey coats graceless, Make England thriftless." To be short, the king wasted the land, burnt, destroyed, and took towns and castles with small resistance or none; and the space of six months together did in that land what he listed, without any battle offered to him. For the king of Scots was but a child, and not above the age of fifteen years, and wanted good captains that should have defended the realm; insomuch that they were all fain, saving those that kept in holds for their defence, to take the forest of Gedworth, and there kept themselves so long as the king remained in Scotland. Who at length, when he had sufficiently wasted, and spoiled, and burnt the same, returned towards Berwick, about the which he bent his siege, vowing not to remove the same till he had gotten the town.

The Scots that kept the same, after a certain time and many assaults made, were contented upon certain conditions to have delivered up the town. But that the king refused, unless that, all conditions set apart, they would with bag and baggage depart. Whereupon they condescended to the king, that if by a certain time they were not by the king of Scots rescued, they would render up the town, and with bag and baggage depart; and so the time expired, frustrate of all hope and rescue, at the day appointed they did. The king then entered the town, and tarried there the space of twelve days; who, after he had appointed Sir Edward Baillew captain over the town, and leaving also behind him other knights, esquires, and soldiers, as well to keep the same as other holds the king had conquered in Scotland and frontiers thereof, he returned with his people towards London, permitting every man to depart and go what way they liked.

Then Sir Robert d'Artois, a nobleman of France, and which descended of the blood royal, being in England with the king, ceased not oftentimes to advertise the king, and put him in memory of his good and right title to the inheritance of the crown of France. This Sir Robert, for a certain displeasure that Philip the French king took against him for a certain plea which by him was moved before the king, was fain, for the safeguard of his life, to flee the realm of France, and so come to the king's court. King Edward was not unwilling at all to hear thereof, but took delight oftentimes to reason and debate that matter with him concerning his right, title, and inheritance to the crown of France. But yet, notwithstanding, he thought it not good to make any attempt thereunto without advised and circumspect counsel; for that it contained matter of no small, but most difficult importance: neither yet he took it to deserve the fame either of wisdom or prowess to let so good a title die, or so fit opportunity to pass. Wherefore he, calling together certain of his council, used their deliberate advices touching the seriousness of this matter. In fine, it was by them thought good that the king should send certain ambassadors over to the earl of Heinnault, whose daughter he had married, as well to hear his advice and counsel herein; as also what friends and aid, by him and his means, in this so great an expedition to be begun in the empire, to him might be procured. The king hereunto condescendeth, and appointeth for this embassy the bishop of Lincoln, with two other baronets, and two doctors; who in such speedy wise made their voyage, that in short space they returned again to the king with this answer: that not only the earl's counsel and advice should be herein pressed to the king of England their master, but also the whole country of Heinnault. And further, for that to such an expedition as appertained, he said, the province of Heinnault was but a small matter to make account of; he would procure for the king greater aid and friendship in the empire, as the duke of Brabant his cousin-german, and a puissant prince, the duke of Guerles, the archbishop of Cologne, the marquis of Juliers, &c., which are all good men of war, and able to make ten thousand fighting men, saith he. Which answer well liked the king, and made him joyous thereof. But this counsel of the king, as secret as it was, came to Philip the French king's ears; whereupon he staid the voyage of the cross which then he had in hand, sending forth countermands to stay the same, till he knew further the purpose of the king of England.

The king hereupon himself taketh shipping, accompanied as to a king appertained; and when he had consulted with all the foresaid lords of the empire in this matter, and understood their fidelity, he made his repair to the emperor, at whose hands he was well entertained and honourably received, whom the emperor appointed to be his lieutenant-general, having thereby more authority both to will and command such, as for this his expedition he had engaged, and made convention with. Philip, hearing this, prepared his army, and rigged his navy, that so soon as the king should enter into the dominion of France, they also might enter into England, requiting like for like.

The king of England, after the feast of St. John Baptist, according to his purpose, prepared all things ready to such an expedition, conducting his army, and gathering a greater strength in the empire, as before to him was promised, using the emperor's authority therein, as his lieutenant-general; howbeit at the charge altogether of the king of England. The French king, as soon as King Edward had landed his army at Machelen in Flanders, hearing of the defiance which the king and other noblemen of the empire had sent unto him, sent certain ships lying ready thereunto, and waiting for such opportunity, upon the coast of England; which, upon a Sunday, whilst the

townsmen were at the church, little looking for any such matter, entered the haven of Southampton, took the town and spoiled the same, deflowered maidens, enforced wives, burned, killed, took captives, and carried away rich spoils and great booties to their ships; and so again departed into France. Further, as the king of England had allied himself with the noblemen of the empire, and had the friendly favour of the emperor also thereunto; so the French king made the like league and alliance with David the king of Scots, whom the king had so hardly dealt withal in Scotland, (as partly before you heard,) and kept the most part of Scotland under his subjection; binding the said David, as well by writing as oath and pledge, that without his consent he should make no peace nor conclude any truce with the king of England. Who again assured him of aid, and rescue, and help, and to recover his kingdom and dominion to his use; and forthwith sent certain garrisons and bands into Scotland to keep play with the Englishmen, and there to fortify divers places till further opportunity served. He also fortified with men, money, victual, and munition, the town of Cambray; which he suspected would be besieged, lying so near upon the empire, as indeed it came to pass. For King Edward, departing from Machelen, set forward his host toward Heinault, and by the way assembled such power as in the empire he looked for, marching forward still till that they came to Cambray, and besieged it with forty thousand men, while that with another company the Flemings, Brabanters, and Hollanders went to St. Quintin. But in effect, neither there, nor at Cambray, nor elsewhere, any thing notorious was achieved. But the summer being well spent, and little prevailing in the siege of Cambray, being of situation strong and well defended therewithal with men and munition, he broke up the siege, and marched further into the heart of France towards Mutterel. Which thing the French king having understanding of, prepared himself to give battle to the king of England, who with another great army came to Vironfosse, where days were appointed to meet in battle; but in the end nothing was done nor attempted between the princes; and the king of England, without any battle either given or taken, returned with his army from thence to Ghent. Concerning the cause of the sudden removing of the king out of France, it seemeth most specially to rise of the pope; which at the same time sent down his legates, for the order of a peace to be taken between the kings. At Ghent were gathered by the king's appointment all the nobles, as well of England as of the empire, in council together, what was best to be done; where plain answer was made to the king of England, that unless he would take upon him the claim and title of France, as his lawful inheritance, and as king thereof prosecute his wars, it might not be lawful for them any further to aid the king of England, or to fight with him against the French king; for that the pope had bound them in two millions of florins of gold, and under pain of excommunication, that they should not fight against the lawful king of France. Whereupon the king thought good therefore presently to make open challenge to the realm and crown of France; and further, to quarter and intermingle the arms of France with the arms of England in one escutcheon. Whereupon eftsoons King Edward made answer unto the pope again, directing unto him his letters, wherein he declareth at large his right and title unto the crown of France, purging thereby himself and his cause unto the bishop. The copy and tenor of which letter, because it is too long to express, it is to be found in the story of Thomas Walsingham, remaining in the library of J. Stephenson, citizen of London, whoso hath list or leisure to peruse the same. Besides this letter to the pope he directed another to the peers and prelates of France.

This done, for that the winter then drew on, neither was there any hope, as the time served, of further doing good, the king thought best for a season to return again

to England with his company, giving over the wars until the next spring; and so did, taking shipping, and so arrived at Dover. When he came to London, it was declared unto him of the great spoil the Frenchmen had made at Southampton; who answered again, that within one year he doubted not but the same should be well paid for and recompensed. And according to the same purpose of his he lingered no time, but calling a parliament at Westminster, with much grudge and evil will of his subjects there was for the maintenance of his wars granted to him a great subsidy, which was the fifth of every man's goods, and also the customs of his wools two years beforehand, and the ninth sheaf of every man's corn. At the spring the king again prepared his army, and rigged his navy, purposing to land in Flanders. But the archbishop of Canterbury, then lord chancellor, having understanding of the French power upon the sea lying for the king, gave him advertisement there, willing him to go more strongly, or else not to venture. But the king not crediting the archbishop, and being angry with him therefore, said that he would go forward; whereupon the bishop resigned the chancellorship, and removed himself from his council. Then the king, consulting hereupon further with the Lord Morley his admiral, and others, hearing also the same of them, furnished himself with stronger power, and committed him to his ship, and did so much, that a few days before Midsummer he was upon the sea with a great fleet. Before the town of Sluys, the French king, to stop his passage, had laid ready a great navy, well near to the number of twentyscore sail; and had made the Christopher of England (which before the Frenchmen took at Southampton) their admiral: betwixt which two navies was a long and terrible fight; but in the end, the victory, by God's grace, fell to the king of England, in which fight he himself was personally; so that of the number of thirty thousand Frenchmen few or none were left and escaped alive, and two hundred sail of ships taken, in one of the which were found four hundred dead bodies.

After this great slaughter of the Frenchmen, of whom many for fear of the sword leaped into the sea, when no man durst bring tidings thereof to the French king, they which were next about the king did suborn his fool, to insinuate the understanding thereof by subtlety of covert words; which was thus. As the aforesaid fool, being in the king's presence, and was talking of many things; among other talk he suddenly burst out, being prompted by others, into a vehement railing against the Englishmen, calling them cowards and dastards, with many such opprobrious words tending to that effect. The king, not knowing whereunto the words of the fool did appertain, asked the fool, why he called the Englishmen such weaklings and cowards, &c. "Why," saith the fool, "because the fearful and cowardly Englishmen had not the hearts to leap into the sea so lustily as our Normans and gentlemen of France had." Whereby the French king began to understand the victory of his part to be lost, and the Englishmen to be victors.

This victory achieved, the fame thereof spreading abroad in England, first was not believed, till letters thereof came from the king to Prince Edward his son, being then at Waltham, directed to the bishops and prelates of the realm.

After this aforesaid victory upon the sea, and news thereof, with due thanks to our Saviour, sent into England; the king, striking into Flanders, came to Ghent in Brabant, where he had left the queen, who joyfully received him, being a little before purified, or churched, as we term it, of her fourth son, whose name was John, and commonly called John of Gaunt, and was earl of Richmond, and duke of Lancaster. At Villenorth the king assembled his council, whereat the noblemen of Flanders, Brabant, and Heinault conjoining together in most firm league, the one to help and

defend the other, with the king of England, against the French king, purposing and determining from thence to march toward Tournay, and it to besiege. But the French king, understanding their counsel, fortified and victualled the same before their coming thither. Furthermore the said French king the same time, to stop the siege of King Edward, sent with King David of Scotland a great power, to that intent to make invasion in England, thereby the sooner to cause the king to remove his siege. In the mean time King Edward wrote his letters to Philip de Valois, making unto him certain requests, as in the same his letters here following is to be seen; who, for that he wrote not unto him as king of France, but by the name of Philip de Valois, refused to answer him touching the same.

Mention was made a little before of David, king of Scots, whom the French king had supported and stirred up against the king and realm of England which David, with the aid of the Scots and Frenchmen, did so much prevail, that they recovered again almost all Scotland, which before he had lost, and was constrained to live in the forest of Gedworth many years before. Then invaded they England, and came with their army, wasting and burning the country before them, till they came as far as Durham, and then returned again into Scotland, where they recovered all their holds again, saving the town of Berwick. Edinburgh they took by a stratagem or subtle device practised by Douglas and certain other, who apparelling themselves in poor men's habits, as victuallers with corn, and provender, and other things, demanded the porter early in the morning what need they had thereof; who, nothing mistrusting, opened the outward gate, where they should tarry till the captain rose; and perceiving the porter to have the keys of the inward gate, they threw down their sacks in the outward gate, that it might not be shut again, and slew the porter, taking from him the keys of the town. Then they blew their horn as a warning to the bands, which privily they had laid not far off; who in hasty wise coming, and finding the gates ready opened, entered upon the sudden, and killed as many as resisted them, and so obtained again the city of Edinburgh.

The Scots thus being busy in England, the French king in the mean season gathered together a puissant power, purposing to remove the siege from Tournay; and among other sent for the king of Scots, who came to him with great force, besides divers other noblemen of France; insomuch that the French king had a great army, and thought himself able enough to raise the siege, and thither bent his host. But the French king, for all this his foresaid huge power and force, durst not yet approach the king so near, as either to give him battle, or else remove his siege, but kept himself with his army aloof, in a sure place for his better defence. And notwithstanding the king of England wasted, burned, spoiled, and destroyed the country, twenty miles in manner compass about Tournay, and took divers and sundry strong towns and holds, as Ortois, Urses, Grenay, Archies, Odint, St. Amand, and the town of Lille, where he slew above three hundred men of arms, and about St. Omer he slew and killed of noblemen, the lord of Duskune, of Maurisleou, of Rely, of Chastillion, of Melly, of Fenis, of Hamelar, Mountfaucou, and other barons, to the number of fourteen, and also slew and killed above one hundred and thirty knights, being all men of great possessions and prowess, and took other small cities and towns to the number of three hundred: yet for all this, Philip de Valois, the French king, durst neither rescue his towns, nor relieve his own men; but of his great army he lost, (which is to be marvelled at, being in the midst of his own country,) by famine and other inconveniences, and for want of water, more than twenty thousand men without any battle by him given. Whereupon, at the entreaty of the said Philip by his ambassadors

to the king sent, and by the mediation of the Lady Jane, sister to the said Philip, and mother to the earl of Heinnault, whose daughter King Edward, as you heard, had married, a truce containing the number of fifteen articles for one year was concluded, the king of England being very unwilling and loth thereunto. Yet, notwithstanding, partly by the instance of the aforesaid lady, but specially for that the king was greatly disappointed, through the negligence of his officers in England; which sent him not over such money as he needed for the continuance of his wars and payment of his soldiers' wages, (the articles being somewhat reasonable,) he agreeth to the, truce thereof.

This truce thus finished, King Edward broke up his camp, removing his siege from Tournay, and came again to Ghent; from whence (very early in the morning) he with a small company took shipping, and by long seas came to the Tower of London, very few or none having understanding thereof. And being greatly displeased with divers of his council and high officers, for that through their default he was constrained against his will, not having money to maintain his wars, to condescend unto the aforesaid truce, he commanded to be apprehended and brought unto him to the Tower, the Lord. John Stonehore, chief justice of England, and Sir John Poulteney, with divers others. And the next morning he sent for L. R., bishop of Chichester, and the Lord Wake, the lord treasurer, and divers other such that were in authority and office, and commanded them all to be kept as prisoners in the said Tower, only the said bishop excepted; whom, for fear of the constitution of Pope Clement, which commanded that no bishop should be by the king imprisoned, he set at liberty and suffered him to go his way, and in his place substituted Sir Roger Boucher, knight, lord chancellor of England. The history treating of this matter reporteth thus: that the king had at this time under him evil substitutes and covetous officers, who, attending more to their own gain than to the public honour and commodity of the realm, left the king destitute and naked of money. With which crime also John Stratford, then archbishop of Canterbury, was vehemently noted and suspected, whether of his true deserving, or by the setting on of others, hereafter shall more appear. Insomuch that the king, ardently incensed against him, charged him with great falsehood used against his person, as by his letters written and directed to the dean and chapter of Paul's against the said archbishop, manifestly appeareth. By the objections and accusations of the king, premised and laid against the archbishop of Canterbury, what is to be thought of the doings of the said archbishop, I leave it to thy judgment, gentle reader, as I said before, to be conjectured; forasmuch as our histories somewhat bearing with the said archbishop, seem either to be uncertain of the truth of the matter, or else covertly to dissemble some part of that they knew. And especially of Polydore Virgil I marvel, who, having so good occasion to touch the matter, doth so slightly pass it over without any word of mention. In which matter, if probable conjecture, beside history, might here be heard, it, is not unlike but that some old practice of prelates hath herein been put in use, through some crafty conspiracy between the pope and the archbishop. And the rather it is to be gathered, for that as the pope was enemy unto the king in this his challenge to the crown of France, so the archbishop against his prince (as for the most part always they have been) was a friend, as no man need to doubt thereof, unto the pope. Which thing also more probably may be supposed, because of the coming down of the two cardinals the same time, from the pope to the king of England, about the matter of further truce; whereof (Christ willing) more hereafter shall follow. Albeit the archbishop (and this notwithstanding) subtilly excused himself to the king of the aforesaid objections, and cunningly handled the matter in words by his letter directed to the king.

And thus stood the case between the king and the archbishop of Canterbury, who, coming thus (as is said) in secret wise into England from the siege of Tournay, his army in the mean while by ships was conveyed to Brittany. Of whom a great number, through unseasonable and inconvenient meats and drinks, was there consumed; to whom also no less danger happened by the seas, coming out of Brittany into England by tempest, thunder and lightning, stirred up, as is thought, by the necromancers of the French king.

About which season, approaching to the year of our Lord 1341, were sent from the pope two other cardinals to treat with King Edward for three years' truce more to be concluded with the French king, beside the former truce taken before for one year, and all by the pope's means. For here is to be understood, that as it was not for the pope's purpose to have the king of England to reign over so many countries, so his privy supportation lacked not by all means possible, both by the archbishops and cardinals, and also by the emperor, to maintain the state of the French king, and to stablish him in his possessions.

In the said histories where these things be mentioned, it is also noted, that the same year such plenty there was here in the realm of victuals, that a quarter of wheat was sold for two shillings, a fat ox for a noble, and, as some say, a sheep for four pence.

The next year following, which was 1342, Louis of Bavaria, the emperor, who before had showed great courtesy to King Edward, in his first voyage over, insomuch that he made him his vicar or vicegerent general, and offered him also aid against the French king; now, either turned by inconstancy, or seduced by the pope, writeth to him contrary letters, wherein he revoketh again the vicegerentship granted to him, and seeketh all means in the favour of the French king, against King Edward, as by his letters may better appear.

In this mean time died Pope Benedict the Twelfth, mentioned a little before; after whom succeeded in that room Pope Clement the Sixth. Of whom it is reported in stories, that he was very liberal and bountiful to his cardinals of Rome, enriching and heaping them with goods and possessions, not of his own, but with the ecclesiastical dignities and preferments of the churches of England. For so recordeth the author, that he bestowed upon his cardinals the livings and promotions, such as were or should be vacant in the churches of England, and went about to set up new titles for his cardinals here within this realm. But the king being offended therewith, made void and frustrate all those aforesaid provisions of the pope; charging moreover and commanding that no person whatsoever should busy himself with any such provisions, under pain of imprisonment and losing his life. Which law was made the next year following, which was A.D. 1344.

It followeth then, that the said Pope Clement again began to make new provisions for two of his cardinals, of benefices and churches that should benext vacant, beside bishoprics and abbotships, to the extent of two thousand marks; whereupon the procurators of the said cardinals were sent down for the same. But the king and nobility of the realm not suffering that, under pain of imprisonment caused the said procurators forthwith to depart the realm, whereupon the nobles and commons shortly after wrote a fruitful epistle to the pope, for the liberties and maintenance of the English church; whereunto, as saith the author, the pope and the cardinals were not able to answer.

After these things thus passed over, the king shortly after sent over his procurators, the earl of Lancaster and Derby, Hugh Spenser, Lord Ralph Stafford, with the bishop of Exeter and divers other, to the pope's court, to discuss and plead about the right of his title before the pope; unto whom the said Pope Clement the Sixth, not long after, sent down this message: how that Louis, duke of Bavaria, the emperor, whom the pope had before deposed, had submitted himself to him in all things, and therefore deserved at his hands the benefit of absolution; and how the pope therefore had conferred and restored unto him justly and graciously the empire, which he before unjustly did hold, &c. Which message when the king did hear, being therewith moved to anger, he answered again, saying, that if he also did agree and compound with the French king, he was ready to fight with them both, &c.

Within the time of this year, pence, halfpence, and farthings, began to be coined in the Tower. And the next year following, which was A.D. 1344, the castle of Windsor, where the king was born, began to be repaired; and in the same house what was called the round table was situated, the diameter whereof, from the one side to the other, contained two hundred feet; to the expenses of which house weekly was allowed a hundred pounds for the maintaining of the king's chivalry, till at length, by the occasion of the French wars, it came down to nine pounds a week. By the example whereof, the French king being provoked, he began also the like round table in France, for the maintaining of the knighthood. At which time the said French king moreover gave free liberty through his realm to fell down trees for making of ships and maintaining of his navy, whereby the realm of England was not a little damnified.

During the same year the clergy of England granted to the king tenths for three years; for the which the king in recompence again granted to them his charter containing these privileges: That no archbishop nor bishop should be arraigned before his justices, if the said clerk do submit and claim his clergy, professing himself to be a member of holy church; who so doing shall not be bound to come to his answer before the justices. And if it shall be laid unto them to have married two wives, or to have married a widow, the justices shall have no power to proceed against them, to inquire of the matter; so that the cause shall be reserved to the spiritual court, &c.

About this present time, at the setting up of the round table, the king made Prince Edward, his eldest son, the first prince of Wales. All this while yet continued the truce between the two kings, albeit it is likely to be thought that the French king gave many attempts to infringe the same; whereupon Henry, earl of Lancaster, with six hundred men at arms, and as many archers, was sent over to Gascony the year after, 1345, who there so valiantly is said to have behaved himself, that he subdued fifty-five townships unto the king; twenty-three noblemen he took prisoners, encountering with the Frenchmen at Allebroke. So courteously and liberally he dealt with his soldiers, that it was a joy to them and a preferment to fight underneath him. His manner was, in winning any town, to reserve little or nothing to himself, but to disperse the whole spoil to his soldiers. One example in the author whom I follow is touched; how the aforesaid earl, at the winning of the town of Briers, where he had, granted to every soldier, for his booty, the house with all the implements therein which he by victory should obtain; among other his soldiers, to one named Reh, fell a certain house with the implements thereof, wherein was contained the mint and money coined for that country, to the value of a great substance; which when the soldier had found, in breaking up a house where first the gross metal was, not yet perfectly wrought, he came to the earl, declaring to him the treasure, to know what was his pleasure therein. To whom the earl answered, that the house was his, and

whatsoever he found therein. Afterward the soldier, finding a whole mint of pure silver ready coined, signified the same to the earl, forasmuch as he thought such treasure to be too great for his portion; to whom the said earl again answering, declared that he had once given him the whole house, and that he had once given he would not call back again, as children use to play; and therefore bade him enjoy that which was granted to him; and if the money were thrice as much, it should be his own. Which story, whether it was true or otherwise in those days, I have not to affirm. But certes, if in these our covetous, wretched days now present, any author should report the like act to be practised, I would hardly believe it to be true.

As the earl of Lancaster was thus occupied in Gascony, the Scots were as busy here in England, wasting and spoiling without mercy; which were thought, and not unlike, to be set on by the French king; and therefore he was judged both by that, and by divers other ways, to have broken the covenants of truce between him and the king of England.

Wherefore, the next year ensuing, A.D. 1346, King Edward first sending his letters to the court of Rome, and therein complaining to the pope of Philip de Valois, how he transgressed and broke the truce between them made, which by evident probations he there made manifest, about the month of July he made his voyage into Normandy in such secret wise, that no man well knew whither he intended. Where first he entered the town of Hogs, from thence proceeded unto Cardoyne. Where, about the twenty-seventh of July, by the river of Cardoyne he had a strong battle with the Normans and other Frenchmen, which to stop his passage defended the bridge; at the which battle were taken of the lords of France, the earl of Ewe, the earl of Tankerville; and of knights with other men of arms, to the number of one hundred; of footmen six hundred; and the town and suburbs beaten down to the hard walls; and all that could be borne away was transported to the ships.

A little before, mention was made how the French king began first to infringe the truce taken, and how the earl of Lancaster, upon the same, was sent unto Gascony. Now for the more evidence of the matter concerning the falling of the French king from the league, and other his wrongs and untrue dealing, it shall better in the king's letter appear; who, hearing word that the Lord Philip de Valois (contrary to the form of truce taken at Vanes) had apprehended certain of his nobles of England, and had brought them to Paris to be imprisoned and put to death; besides other slaughters and spoilings made in Brittany, Gascony, and other places more; he, therefore, seeing the truce to be broken of the French king's part, and being thereto of necessity compelled, in the year above prefixed, the fourteenth of the month of June, did publish and send abroad his letters of defiance.

And thus much for the king's letters. Now let us again return to his passage, from whence a little we have digressed. Concerning the which passage of the king, with the order of his acts achieved in the same, from the winning of Cadane or Cardoyne, unto the town of Poissy, it is sufficiently described by one of the king's chaplains and his confessor; who, being a Dominic friar, and accompanying the king through all his journey, writeth thereof as followeth.

"Great cause we have to praise and laud the God of heaven, and most worthily to confess his holy name, who hath wrought so his mercy to us. For after the conflict had at Cadane, in the which many were slain, and the city taken and sacked even to the bare walls, the city of Baia immediately yielded itself of its own accord, fearing lest their counsels had been bewrayed. After this the lord our king directed his

progress toward Rouen; who being at the town of Leeson, there came certain cardinals to him, greatly exhorting him to peace; which cardinals being courteously entertained of the king for the reverence of the pope's see, it was thus answered to them again; That the king being much desirous of peace, had assayed by all ways and means reasonable how to maintain the same; and therefore hath offered conditions and manifold ways of peace, to be had to the no small prejudice of his own cause; and yet is ready to admit any reasonable offer of peace, if by any means it may be sought, &c. With this answer, the cardinals going to the French king, the king's adversary, to persuade with him in like manner, returned to King Edward again, offering to him in the French king's name, the dukedom of Aquitaine, in as full assurance as his father before him ever had it; besides further hope also of obtaining more, if entreaty of peace might be obtained. But forasmuch as that contented not enough the king's mind, neither did the cardinals find the French king so tractable and prepense to the study of peace as they looked for, the cardinals returned, leaving the matter as they found it. And so the king speeding forward by the way as his journey did lie, he subdued the country and the great towns without any resistance of the inhabitants, who did all flee and run away. Such fear God struck into them, that it seemed they had lost their hearts. In the same voyage, as the king had gotten many towns and villages, so also he subdued castles and munitions, very strong, and that with little stress. His enemy being at the same time at Rouen had reared a great army, who, notwithstanding being well manned, yet ever kept on the other side of the river Seine, breaking down all the bridges that we should not come over to him. And although the country round about continually was spoiled, sacked, and with fire consumed, by the circuit of twenty miles round about; yet the French king, being distant scarce the space of one mile from us, either would not, or else durst not, (when he might easily have passed over the river,) make any resistance for the defence of his country and people. And so our king, journeying forward, came to Pusiake or Poissy, where the French king had likewise broken down the bridge, and keeping on the other side of the river would rest in no place."

After the siege and winning of Poissy, the third day of September, A.D. 1346, the king, through the midst of France, directed his passage unto Calais, as by the tenor of this letter you hear, and besieged the same; which siege he continued from the third of September aforesaid till the third day of August the year next ensuing, upon the which day it was rendered up unto the said King Edward the Third, and subdued unto the crown of England; as after, the Lord willing, shall more appear.

In the mean time, during the siege of Calais, David the Scottish king, at the request of the French king, with a great army burst into the north parts of England, and first besieging the town of Liddell, within six days obtained the greatest part of the town; and there taking all that he could find, with Sir Walter Selby, a valiant knight, which was the keeper of the hold, he caused him uncourteously to be put to the sword: and so from thence proceeded further into England; till at length, being met withal by William Surch, archbishop of York, and the Lord Percy, and the Lord Nevil, with other nobles of those parts, (calling and gathering their men together,) in the plain near to Durham, the seventeenth day of October, in the year above said, through the gracious hand of Christ, there they were subdued and conquered. In the which conflict, the earls of Murray and Strathern, with the flower of all the chivalry and principal warriors of Scotland, were slain. Also the aforesaid King David, with the earls of Mentife and Fife, and other lords, and William Douglas Masklime, a Fleming,

and William Douglas, and many more men at arms, were taken prisoners; and so the mischief which they intended to other fell upon their own heads.

Moreover, during yet the siege of Calais, the French king had sent certain offers to the men of Flanders, that if they would relinquish the king of England, and adhere to him:

First, he would remit all their former transgressions.

Secondly, he would unburden them of their interdict.

Thirdly, he would send unto them such plenty of corn, that what was sold for twelve shillings with them, should be sold for four shillings, and that for six years.

Fourthly, he would store them with plenty of French wool to make cloth, for a small price; and that they might sell the said cloths both in Flanders and in France, and that the Frenchmen should use the same cloth, forasmuch as all other manner of cloth should be forbidden in France so long as any of that (made of French wool) might be found.

Fifthly, he would restore to them these three cities, Insulam, Rowocum, and Betony.

Sixthly, he would defend them from all their adversaries; and in pledge of the same would send them money beforehand.

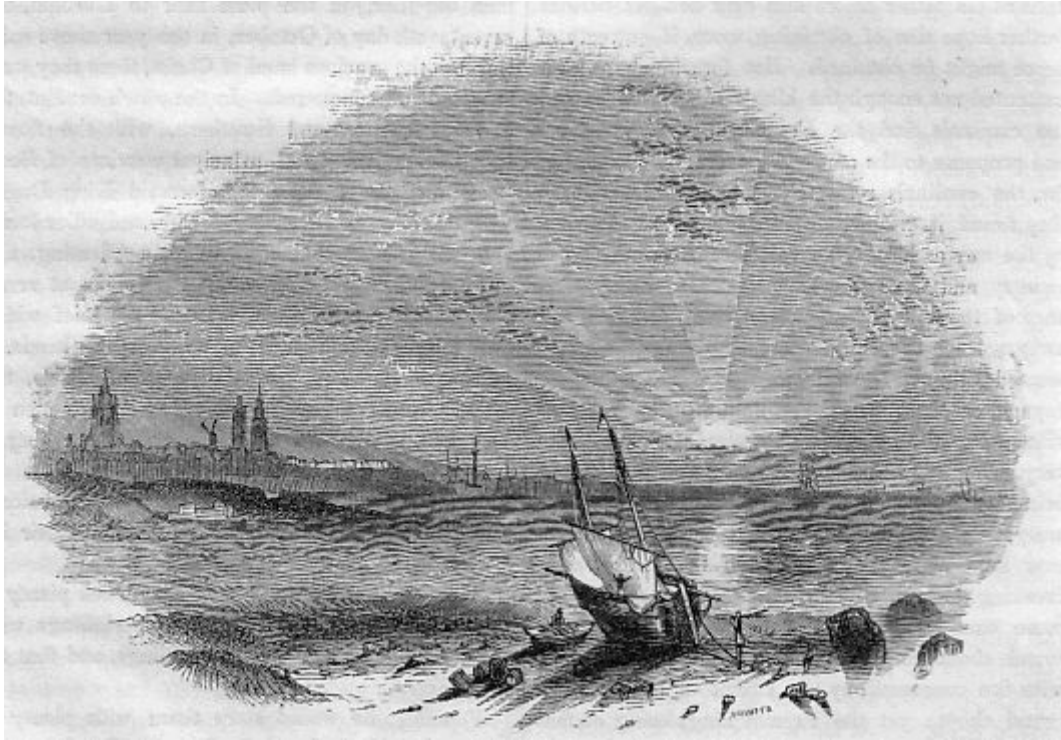
Seventhly, such as were able and forward men among them, he would retain and promote them, &c.

But these offers, seeming to proceed more of fair words to serve the present turn than of any hearty truth, were not received. Then the Lord John, prince and heir to the French king, during the aforesaid siege of Calais above mentioned, coming with a mighty army of Frenchmen, set upon the men of Flanders and Englishmen in the town of Cassel: in the which conflict, during from morning to noon, the Frenchmen were vanquished, and the young dauphin driven back from whence he came. Of whose number divers were slain and taken prisoners; where on the other side, through the Lord's defence, not one is reported to be grievously wounded.

As this passed on, not long after, about the seventh day of June, A.D. 1347, King Edward continuing still his siege against Calais, Philip the French king came down with a mighty army, purposing to remove the siege; where, not far off from the English host, he encamped himself. Which done, two cardinals, Ambald and Stephan, procured for the same purpose, going between the two kings, gave to the king of England thus to understand: That if he would condescend to any reasonable way of peace, the French king was ready to offer such honest proffers unto him as to reason and to his contentation should seem agreeable. But in conclusion, when it came to talk, the nobles could not agree upon the conditions; wherefore the French king, seeing no other remedy, caused it to be signified to King Edward, that between that present Tuesday and the next Friday, if he would come forth into the field, he should have battle given him. Thus the place being viewed of four captains of either host for the battle to be fought, it so fell, the French king on Wednesday, at night, before the battle should join, secretly by night setting his pavilions on fire, returned back with his army out of the sight of the Englishmen.

Upon the Friday following, they which were besieged in the town of Calais, seeing the king to be retired, upon whose help they trusted, being also in great penury

and famine for lack of victuals, and otherwise in much misery vehemently distressed, surrendered the town to the king's hands; who, like a merciful prince, only detaining certain of the chief, the rest with the whole commons he let go with bag and baggage, diminishing no part of their goods, showing therein more princely favour to them, than they did of late in Queen Mary's days unto our men, in recovering the said town of Calais again.



Calais

After the winning thus of Calais, as hath been premised, King Edward, remaining in the said town a certain space, was in consultation concerning his voyage and proceeding further into France. But, by means of the aforesaid cardinals, truce for a certain time was taken, and instruments made (so provided) that certain noblemen, as well for the French king, as for the king of England, should come to the pope, there to debate upon the articles; unto the which King Edward, for peace' sake, was not greatly disagreeing: which was A.D. 1347.

The next year following, which was A.D. 1348, fell a sore plague, which they call the first general pestilence in the realm of England. This plague, as they say, first springing from the east, and so proceeding westward, did so mightily prevail here in this land, beginning first at Dorchester, and the countries thereabout, that every day lightly twenty, some days forty, some sixty and more dead corpses were brought and laid together in one pit. This beginning the first day of August, by the first of November it came to London; where the vehement rage thereof was so hot, and did increase so much, that from the first day of February, till about the beginning of May, in a churchyard then newly made by Smithfield, about two hundred dead corpses every day were buried, besides them which in other churchyards of the city were laid also. At length, by the grace of Christ, ceasing there, it proceeded from thence to the north parts; where also the next year after, A.D. 1349, it assuaged.

After this, in the next year ensuing, A.D. 1350, the town of Calais was, by treason of the keeper of the castle, almost betrayed and won from the Englishmen. Within the compass of which year died Philip, the French king; after whom King John, his son, succeeded in the crown, who, the next year after, under false pretence of friendship, caused the constable of France, earl of Ewe, to be beheaded, who, being taken prisoner before in war by Englishmen, and long detained in prison in England, was licensed by King Edward to visit his country of France. In the same year the town of Guines was taken by Englishmen, while the keepers of the hold were negligent and asleep.

The year next following, the marshal of France with a great army was put to flight by Sir Roger Bentele, knight, and captain in Brittany, having but only six hundred soldiers with him. In this battle were taken nine knights, esquires and gentlemen one hundred and forty. The Frenchmen and men of Brittany by this victory were exceedingly discouraged and their pride cut down.

In the year after was Henry first made duke of Lancaster, which before was earl of Derby and Lancaster; also divers good ordinances were appointed in the parliament at Westminster, which after, by avarice and partial favour of the head men, were again undone.

Concord and agreement about the year 1354 began to come well forward, and instruments were drawn upon the same between the two kings; but that the matter being brought up to Pope Innocent the Sixth, partly by the quarrelling of the Frenchmen, partly by the winking of the pope, which ever held with the French side, the conditions were repealed, which were these: That to the king of England all the dukedom of Aquitaine, with other lands there, should be restored without homage to the French king; and that King Edward again should surrender to him all his right and title which he had in France, whereupon rose the occasion of great war and tumult, which followed after between the two realms.

It followed after this, the year of our Lord 1355, that King Edward, hearing of the death of Philip the French king, and that King John his son had granted the dukedom of Aquitaine to Charles, his eldest son, and dauphin of Vienna, sent over Prince Edward with the earls of Warwick, of Salisbury, of Oxford, and with them a sufficient number of able soldiers into Aquitaine, where he, being willingly received of divers, the rest partly by force of sword he subdued, partly received, submitting themselves to his protection.

Not long after this, in the same year, word being brought to King Edward, that John the French king was ready to meet him at St. Omer, there to give him battle, he gathered his power, and set over to Calais with his two sons, Lionel, earl of Wilton, and John of Gaunt, earl of Richmond, and with Henry, duke of Lancaster, &c., who being come to St. Omer, the French king, with a mighty army of his Francklings, hearing of his coming, the nearer he approached to them, the further they retired back; wasting and destroying behind them, to the intent that the English army in pursuing them should find no victuals. By reason whereof, King Edward, following him by the space of nine or ten days unto Hadem, when neither he could find his enemy to fight, nor victuals nor forage for his army, he returned unto Calais; where war again being offered in the name of the king, upon unstable conditions, and yet the same not performed, King Edward, seeing the shrinking of his enemy, from Calais crossed the seas into England, where he recovered again the town of Berwick, which the Scots before by subtle train had gotten. At which time was granted unto the king in

parliament fifty shillings for every sack or pack of wool that should be carried over, for the space of six years together; by the which grant the king might dispend every day by estimation above one hundred marks sterling. And forasmuch as every year one hundred thousand sacks of wool were thought to be exported out of the realm, the sum thereof for six years' space was estimated to amount to one million five hundred thousand pounds sterling.

The same year, when King Edward had recovered Berwick and subdued Scotland, Prince Edward, being in Gascony, made towards the French king; who, notwithstanding by the way all bridges were cast down, and great resistance made, yet the victorious prince made way with his sword, after much slaughter of the Frenchmen, and many prisoners taken, at length joining with the French king at Poitiers, scarce with two thousand, gave the overthrow to the French king with seven thousand men of arms and more. In which conflict, the French king himself, and Philip his son, with Lord James of Bourbon, the archbishop of Sens, eleven earls, twenty-two lords were taken; of other warriors and men of arms two thousand. Some affirm in this conflict were slain two dukes, of lords and noblemen twenty-four, of men of arms two thousand and two, of other soldiers about eight thousand. The common report is, that more Frenchmen were there taken prisoners than were the number of them which took them. This noble victory, gotten by the grace of God, brought no little admiration to all men.

It were too long, and little pertaining to the purpose of this history, to comprehend in order all the doings of this king, with the circumstances of his victories, of the bringing in of the French king into England, of his abode there, of the ransom levied on him, and of David the Scottish king; of which the one was rated at three millions of scutes, the other at one hundred thousand marks, to be paid in ten years: how the staple was after translated to Calais, with such like. I refer them that would see more, to the chronicle of Thomas Walsingham of St. Albans, of John Froysard, Adam Merimouth, who discourse all this at large.

71. King Edward III — Matters Ecclesiastical

Thus having discoursed at large all such martial affairs and warlike exploits, incident in the reign of this king betwixt him and the realms of France and Scotland; now, to return again to our matters ecclesiastical, it followeth in order to recapitulate and notify the troubles and contentions growing between the same king and the pope, and other ecclesiastical persons in matters touching the church, in order of years remaining in the Tower, taken out of the records, as followeth. As where first, in the fourth year of his reign, the king wrote to the archbishop of Canterbury to this effect: That whereas King Edward the First, his grandfather, did give to a clerk of his own, being his chaplain, the dignity of treasurer of York, the archbishopric of York being then vacant and in the king's hands, in the quiet possession whereof the said clerk continued until the pope misliking therewith would have displaced him, and promoted to the same dignity a cardinal of Rome, to the manifest prejudice of the crown of England; the king therefore straitly chargeth the archbishop of York not to suffer any matter to pass that may be prejudicial to the donation of his grandfather, but that his own clerk should enjoy the said dignity accordingly, upon pain of his Highness's displeasure.

The like precepts were also directed to these bishops following, namely, to the bishop of Lincoln, bishop of Worcester, bishop of Sarum, Monsieur Marmion, archdeacon of Richmond, archdeacon of Lincoln, the prior of Lewen, the prior of Lenton, to Master Rich of Bentworth, to Master Iherico de Concoreto, to the pope's nuncio, to Master Guido of Calma. And withal, he wrote his letters unto the pope, as touching the same matter, consisting in three parts: First, in the declaration and defence of his right and title to the donation and gift of all manner of temporalties, of offices, prebends, benefices, and dignities ecclesiastical, holden of him *in capite*, as in the right of his crown of England. Secondly, in expostulating with the pope for intruding himself into the ancient right of the crown of England, intermeddling with such collations, contrary to right and reason, and the example of all his predecessors, which were popes before. Thirdly, entreating him that he would henceforth abstain and desist from molesting the realm with such novelties and strange usurpations; and so much the more, for that, in the public parliament lately holden at Westminster, it was generally agreed upon by the universal assent of all the estates of the realm, that the king should stand to the defence of all such rights and jurisdictions as to his regal dignity and crown any way appertained.

After this, in the ninth year of the reign of this king, Pope Benedict the Twelfth sendeth down letters touching his new creation, with certain other matters and requests to the king; whereunto the king answering again, declareth how glad he is of that his preferment; adding, moreover, that his purpose was to have sent unto him certain ambassadors for congratulation of the same; but being otherwise occupied by reason of wars, could not attend to his Holiness's requests: notwithstanding, he minded to call a parliament about the feast of Ascension next, where, upon the assembly of his clergy and other estates, he would take order for the same, and so direct his ambassadors to his Holiness accordingly.

The next year after, which was the tenth year of his reign, the king writeth another letter to the pope; That forasmuch as his clergy had granted him one year's

tenth for the supportation of his wars, and for that the pope also had the same time to take up the payment of six years' tenths granted him by the clergy a little before, therefore the pope would vouchsafe, at his request, to forbear the exaction of that money for one year, till that his tenth for the necessities of his wars were despatched.

The same year he wrote also to the pope to this effect: That whereas the prior and chapter of Norwich did nominate a clerk to be bishop of Norwich, and sent him to Rome for his investiture, without the king's knowledge; therefore the pope would withdraw his consent, and not intermeddle in the matter appertaining to the king's peculiar jurisdiction and prerogative.

After this, in the sixteenth year of this king, it happened that the pope sent over certain legates to hear and determine matters appertaining to the right of patronages of benefices; which the king perceiving to tend to the no small derogation of his right, and the liberties of his subjects, writeth unto the said legates, admonishing and requiring them not to proceed therein, nor attempt any thing unadvisedly, otherwise than might stand with the lawful ordinances and customs of the laws of his realm, and the freedom and liberty of his subjects.

Writing moreover the same year to other legates, being sent over by the pope to treat of peace between the king and the French king, with request that they would first make their repair to the French king, who had so oftentimes broken with him, and prove what conformity the French king would offer; which, if he found reasonable, they should soon accord with him; otherwise he exhorted them not to enter into the land, nor to proceed any further in that behalf.

The year following, which was the seventeenth of his reign, ensued another letter to the pope against his provisions and reservations of benefices.

The year following, another letter likewise was sent by the king to the pope, upon occasion taken of the church of Norwich, requiring him to surcease his reservations and provisions of the bishoprics within the realm, and to leave the elections thereof free to the chapters of such cathedral churches, according to the ancient grants and ordinances of his noble progenitors.

Proceeding now to the nineteenth year of this king's reign, there came to the presence of the king certain legates from Rome, complaining of certain statutes passed in his parliament tending to the prejudice of the Church of Rome, and the pope's primacy: viz. That if abbots, priors, or any other ecclesiastical patrons of benefices should not present to the said benefices within a certain time, the lapse of the same should come to the ordinary or chapter thereof; or if they did not present, then to the archbishop; if the archbishop likewise did fail to present, then the gift to pertain not unto the lord pope, but unto the king and his heirs. Another complaint also was this, that if archbishops should be slack in giving such benefices as properly pertained to their own patronage in due time, then the collation thereof likewise should appertain to the aforesaid king and his heirs. Another complaint was, that if the pope should make void any elections in the church of England for any defect found therein, and so had placed some honest and discreet persons in the same, that then the king and his heirs was not bound to render the temporalities unto the parties placed by the pope's provision. Whereupon the pope being not a little aggrieved, the king writeth unto him, certifying that he was misinformed, denying that there was any such statute made in that parliament. And further, as touching all other things, he would confer with his prelates and nobles, and thereof would return answer by his legates.

In the twentieth year of his reign, another letter was written to the pope by the king, the effect whereof, in few words to express it, was this: to certify him that, in respect of his great charges sustained in his wars, he hath by the counsel of his nobles, taken into his own hands the fruits and profits of all his benefices here in England.

To proceed in the order of years: in the twenty-sixth year of this king, one Nicholas Heath, clerk, a busy-headed body, and a troubler of the realm, had procured divers bishops, and others of the king's council, to be cited up to the court of Rome, there to answer such complaints as he had made against them. Whereupon commandment was given by the king to all the ports of the realm, for the restraint of all passengers out, and for searching and arresting all persons bringing in any bulls or other process from Rome, tending to the derogation of the dignity of the crown, or molestation of the subjects; concerning which Nicholas Heath, the king also writeth to the pope his letters, complaining of the said Heath, and desiring him to give no ear to his lewd complaints.

The same year the king writeth also to the pope's legate, resident in England, requiring him to surcease from exacting divers sums of money of the clergy, in the name of first-fruits of benefices.

The thirty-first year of this king's reign, the king, by his letters, complaineth to the pope of a troublesome fellow named Nicholas Stanway, remaining in Rome, which by his slanderous complaints procured divers citations to be sent into the realm, to the great disturbance of divers and sundry honest men; whereupon he prayeth and adviseth the pope to stay himself, and not to send over such hasty citations upon every light occasion.

To pass further to the thirty-eighth year of the same king, thus we find in the rolls: That the king the same year took order by two of his clergy, to wit, John à Stock, and John of Norton, to take into their hands all the temporalities of all deaneries, prebends, dignities, and benefices, being then vacant in England, and to answer the profits of the same to the king's use.

The same year an ordinance was made by the king and his council, and the same was proclaimed in all port towns within the realm – "That good and diligent search should be made that no person whatsoever, coming from the court of Rome, &c., do bring into the realm with him any bull, instrument, letters patent, or other process, that may be prejudicial to the king, or any of his subjects; nor that any person, passing out of this realm toward the court of Rome, do carry with him any instrument or process that may redound to the prejudice of the king or his subjects, and that all persons passing to the said court of Rome, &c., with the king's special licence, do notwithstanding promise and find surety to the lord chancellor, that they shall not in any wise attempt to pursue any matter to the prejudice of the king or his subjects, under pain to be put out of the king's protection, and to forfeit his body, goods, and chattels, according to the statute thereof made, in the twenty-seventh year," &c.

72. Anti-Papal Writers: 1300-1360

And thus much concerning the letters and writings of the king, with such other domestic matters, perturbations, and troubles, passing between him and the pope, taken out of the public records of the realm, whereby I thought to give the reader to understand the horrible abuses, the intolerable pride, and the unsatiable avarice of that bishop, more like a proud Lucifer than a pastor of the church of Christ, in abusing the king, and oppressing his subjects with exactions unmeasurable; and not only exercising his tyranny in this realm, but raging also against other princes both far and near, amongst whom neither spared he the emperor himself. In the story and acts of which Emperor Louis, mentioned a little before, whom the pope did most arrogantly excommunicate upon Maundy Thursday, and the selfsame day placed another emperor in his room, relation was made of certain learned men which took the emperor's part against the pope. In number of whom was Marsilius of Padua, William Ockam, John of Ganduno, Luitpoldus, Andreas Landensis, Ulricus Hangenor, treasurer of the emperor, Dante, Aligerius, &c.; of whom Marsilius of Padua compiled and exhibited unto the Emperor Louis a worthy work entitled *Defensor Pacis*, written in the emperor's behalf against the pope. Wherein, both godly and learnedly disputing against the pope, he proveth all bishops and priests to be equal, and that the pope hath no superiority above other bishops, much less above the emperor; that the word of God ought to be only the chief judge in deciding and determining causes ecclesiastical; that not only spiritual persons, but laymen also, being godly and learned, ought to be admitted into general councils; that the clergy and the pope ought to be subject unto magistrates; that the church is the university of the faithful, and that the foundation and head of the church is Christ, and that he never appointed any vicar or pope over his universal church; that bishops ought to be chosen every one by their own church and clergy; that the marriage of priests may lawfully be permitted; that St. Peter was never at Rome; that the clergy and synagogue of the pope is a den of thieves; that the doctrine of the pope is not to be followed, because it leadeth to destruction; and that the corrupt manners of the Christians do spring and flow out of the wickedness of the spirituality, &c. He disputeth, moreover, in another work, of free justification by grace; and extenuateth merits, saying that they are no causes efficient of our salvation, but only *sine qua non*, that is to say, that works be no cause of our justification, but yet our justification goeth not without them. For the which his doctrine, most sound and catholic, he was condemned by the pope, A.D. 1324. Concerning the which man and his doctrine I thought good thus much to commit to history, to the intent men may see that they which charge this doctrine now taught in the church with the note of novelty or newness, how ignorant and unskilful they be in the histories and order of times forepast.

In the same part of condemnation, at the same time, also was John of Ganduno, A.D. 1330. Which Johannes wrote much upon Aristotle and Averrois, and his books are yet remaining; and no doubt but he wrote also of divinity, but it is not unlike that these works have been abolished.

In the same number and catalogue cometh also William Ockam, who was in the year of our Lord 1326, as is before mentioned, and wrote likewise in defence of Louis the emperor against the pope; and also in defence of Michael, general of Grey Friars, whom the pope had excommunicated and cursed for a heretic. Divers treatises

were by the said Ockam set forth, whereof some are extant and in print, as his Questions and Distinctions; some are extinct and suppressed. Some again be published under no name of the author, being of his doing; as the dialogue between the soldier and the clerk: wherein it is to be conjectured what books and works this Ockam had collected against the pope. Of this Ockam, John Sleidan in his history inferreth mention, to his great commendation, whose words be these: "William Ockam, in time of Louis the Fourth, emperor, did flourish about the year of our Lord 1326; who, among other things, wrote of the authority of the bishop of Rome; in the which book he handleth these eight questions very copiously: First, Whether both the administrations of the bishop's office, and of the emperor's, may be in one man? Secondly, Whether the emperor taketh his power and authority only of God, or else of the pope? Thirdly, Whether the pope and Church of Rome have power by Christ to set and place kings and emperors, and to commit to them their jurisdiction to be exercised? Fourthly, Whether the emperor being elected hath full authority, upon the said his election, to administer his empire? Fifthly, Whether other kings besides the emperor and king of Romans, in that they are consecrated of priests, receive of them any part of their power? Sixthly, Whether the said kings in any case be subject to their consecrators? Seventhly, Whether if the said kings should admit any new sacrifice, or should take to themselves the diadem without any further consecration, they should thereby lose their kingly right and title? Eighthly, Whether the seven princes electors give as much to the election of the emperor, as succession rightfully giveth to other kings?" Upon these questions he disputeth and argueth with sundry arguments and sundry reasons on both sides; at length he decideth the matter on the part of the civil magistrate, and by occasion thereof entereth into the mention of the pope's Decrees Extravagant, declaring how little force or regard is to be given thereunto.

Trithemius maketh mention of one Gregorius Ariminensis, a learned and a famous and right godly man; who not much differing from the age of this Ockam, about the year of our Lord 1350, disputed in the same doctrine of grace and free-will as we do now, and dissented therein from the papists and sophisters, counting them worse than Pelagians.

Of the like judgment, and in the same time, was also Andreas de Castro, and Burdianus upon the Ethics of Aristotle; which both maintained the grace of the gospel, as is now in the church received, above two hundred years since.

And what should I speak of the duke of Burgundy, named Eudo, who at the same time, A.D. 1350, persuaded the French king not to receive in his land the new-found constitutions, Decretal and Extravagant, nor to suffer them within his realm; whose sage counsel then given, yet remaineth among the French king's records, as witnesseth Carolus Molineus.

Dante, an Italian writer, a Florentine, lived in the time of Louis, the emperor, about the year of our Lord 1300, and took part with Marsilius of Padua against three sorts of men, which, he said, were enemies to the truth: that is, first, the pope; secondly, the order of religious men, which count themselves the children of the church, when they are the children of the devil their father; thirdly, the doctors of decrees and decretals. Certain of his writings be extant abroad, wherein he proveth the pope not to be above the emperor, nor to have any right or jurisdiction in the empire. He proveth the donation of Constantine to be a forged and a feigned thing, as which neither did stand with any law or right; for the which he was taken of many for a heretic. He complaineth, moreover, very much, of the preaching of God's word to be

omitted; and instead thereof, the vain fables of monks and friars to be preached and believed of the people, and so the flock of Christ to be fed not with the food of the gospel, but with wind. "The pope," saith he, "of a pastor is made a wolf, to waste the church of Christ, and procure with his clergy not the word of God to be preached, but his own decrees." In his Canticle of Purgatory, he declareth the pope to be the whore of Babylon; and to her ministers, to some he applieth two horns, to some four, as to the patriarchs, whom he noteth to be the tower of the said whore Babylonical.

Hereunto may be added the saying out of the book of Jornandus, imprinted with the aforesaid Dante; that forasmuch as antichrist cometh not before the destruction of the empire, therefore such as go about to have the empire extinct, are in so doing forerunners and messengers of antichrist. "Therefore let the Romans," saith he, "and their bishops beware, lest their sins and wickedness so deserving, by the just judgment of God, the priesthood be taken from them. Furthermore, let all the prelates and princes of Germany take heed," &c.

And because our adversaries, which object unto us the newness of our doctrine, shall see and perceive the course and form of this religion now received, not to have been either such a new thing now, or a thing so strange in times past; I will add to these above recited, Master Taulerus, a preacher of Argentine, in Germany, A.D. 1350; who, contrary to the pope's proceedings, taught openly against all men's merits, and against invocations of saints, and preached sincerely of our free justification by grace; referring all man's trust only to the mercy of God, and was an enemy to all superstition.

With whom also may be adjoined Franciscus Petrarcha, a writer of the same age, who, in his works and his Italian metre, speaking of Rome, calleth it the whore of Babylon, the school and mother of error, the temple of heresy, the nest of treachery, growing and increasing by the oppressing of others; and saith further, that she (meaning the pope's court) extolleth herself against her founders; that is, the emperors who first set her up, and did so enrich her; and seemeth plainly to affirm, that the pope was antichrist, declaring that no greater evil could happen to any man than to be made pope. This Franciscus was about the year of our Lord 1350.

And if time would serve us to seek out old histories, we should find plenty of faithful witnesses, of old and ancient time, to give witness with us against the pope, beside the other above rehearsed; as Johannes de Rupe Scissa, A.D. 1340; who, for rebuking the spiritually for their great enormities, and neglecting their office and duty, was cast into prison.

Illyricus, a writer in our days, testifieth that he found and read in an old pamphlet, that the said Johannes should call the Church of Rome the whore of Babylon, and the pope to be the minister of antichrist, and the cardinals to be the false prophets. Being in prison, he wrote a book of prophecies, bearing the title, *Vade Mecum in Tribulationem*; in which book, which also I have seen, he prophesied and admonished affliction and tribulation to hang over the:spiritually. And he pronounceth plainly, that God will purge his clergy, and will have priests that shall be poor, godly, and that shall faithfully feed the Lord's flock; moreover, that the goods of the church shall return again to the laymen. He prophesied also the same time, that the French king and his army should have an overthrow; which came likewise to pass during the time of his imprisonment. Of this Johannes de Rupe, writeth Froisart in his time, and also Wickliff; of whose prophecies much more may be said at more leisure, Christ willing, hereafter.

About the same year of our Lord, 1340, in the city of Herbipoli, was one named Master Conrad Hager; who, as appeareth by the old bulls and registers of Otho, bishop of the said city, is there recorded to have maintained and taught, the space of twenty-four years together, the mass to be no manner of sacrifice, neither that it profiteth any man either quick or dead; and that the money given of the dead for masses, be very robberies and sacrileges of priests, which they wickedly do intercept and take away from the poor; and he said, moreover, that if he had a stove full of gold and silver, he would not give one farthing for any mass. For the same his doctrine this good preacher was condemned and enclosed in prison; what afterward became of him we do not find.

There is among other old and ancient records of antiquity belonging to this present time, a certain monument in verses poetically compiled, but not without a certain moral, entitled Pœnitentiarius Asini, The Ass's Confessor, bearing the date and year of our Lord in this number, Completus, A.D. 1343. In this treatise are brought forth the wolf, the fox, and the ass, coming to shrift and doing penance. First, the wolf confesseth him to the fox, who easily doth absolve him from all his faults, and also excuseth him in the same. In like manner the wolf, hearing the fox's shrift, sheweth to him the like favour again. After this cometh the ass to confession, whose fault was this, that he, being hungry, took a straw out from the sheaf of one that went in peregrination unto Rome. The ass, both repenting of this fact, and because he thought it not so heinous as the faults of the other, he hoped the more for his absolution. But what followed? After the silly ass had uttered his crime in auricular confession, immediately the discipline of the law was executed upon him with severity; neither was he judged worthy of any absolution, but was apprehended upon the same, slain, and devoured. Whosoever was the author of this fabulous tale, he had a mystical understanding in the same; for by the wolf no doubt was meant the pope; but the fox was resembled to the prelates, courtesans, priests, and the rest of the spiritually. Of the spiritually the lord pope is soon absolved; as, contrarily, the pope soon doth absolve them in like manner. By the ass is meant the poor laity, upon whose back the strait censure of the law is sharply executed, especially when the German emperors come under the pope's inquisition, to be examined by his discipline, there is no absolution nor pardon to be found, but in all haste he must be deposed, as in these stories may partly appear before. And thus they, aggregating and exaggerating the fault to the uttermost, fly upon the poor ass and devour him. By the which apology, the tyrannical and fraudulent practices of these spiritual Romanists are lively described.

Not long after these above rehearsed, about the year of our Lord 1350, Gerhardus Ridder wrote also against the monks and friars a book entitled Lacryma Ecclesiæ, wherein he disputeth against the aforesaid religious orders, namely, against the Begging Friars; proving that kind of life to be far from Christian perfection, for that it is against charity to live upon others, when a man may live by his own labours: and affirmeth them to be hypocrites, filthy livers, and such as for man's favour, and for lucre's sake, do mix with true divinity, fables, apocryphas, and dreams of vanity. Also that they, under pretence of long prayer, devour widows' houses, and with their confessions, sermons, and burials, do trouble the church of Christ manifold ways. And therefore persuaded the prelates to bridle and keep short the inordinate licence and abuses of these monastical persons, &c.

Yet I have made no mention of Michael Sesenas, provincial of the Grey Friars, nor Petrus de Corbaria, of whom writeth Antoninus, *in quarta parte summæ*, and saith they were condemned in the Extravagant of Pope John, with one Johannes de Poliac.

Their opinions, saith Antoninus, were these: That Peter the apostle was no more the head of the church than the other apostles; and that Christ left no vicar behind him, or head in his church; and that the pope hath no such authority to correct and punish, to institute or depose the emperor. Item, that all priests, of what degree soever, are of equal authority, power, and jurisdiction, by the institution of Christ; but by the institution of the emperor, the pope to be superior, which, by the same emperor, also may be revoked again. Item, that neither the pope nor yet the church may punish any man, *punitiōe coactiva*, that is, by extern coaction, unless they receive licence of the emperor. This aforesaid Michael, general of the Grey Friars, wrote against the tyranny, pride, and primacy of the pope, accusing him to be antichrist, and the Church of Rome to be the whore of Babylon, drunk with the blood of saints. He said there were two churches, one of the wicked flourishing, wherein reigned the pope; the other of the godly afflicted. Item, that the verity was almost utterly extinct: and for this cause he was deprived of his dignity, and condemned of the pope. Notwithstanding, he stood constant in his assertions. This Michael was about the year of our Lord 1322, and he left behind him many favourers and followers of his doctrine, of whom a great part were slain by the pope; some were condemned, as William Ockam; some were burned, as Johannes de Castilione, and Franciscus de Arcatara.

With him also was condemned, in the said Extravagant, Johannes de Poliaco, above touched, whose assertions were these: That the pope could not give licence to hear confessions to whom he would, but that every pastor in his own church ought to suffice. Item, that pastors and bishops had their authority immediately from Christ and his apostles, and not from the pope. Item, that the constitution of Pope Benedict the Second, wherein he granteth larger privileges to the friars above other pastors, was no declaration of the law, but a subversion: and for this he was by the said friars oppressed, about the year of our Lord 1322.

After Simon Mepham, archbishop of Canterbury, before mentioned, who lived not long, succeeded John Stratford. After whom came John Offord, who lived but ten months; in whose room succeeded Thomas, and remained but one year, A.D. 1350; and after him Simon Islip was made archbishop of Canterbury by Pope Clement the Sixth, who sat seventeen years, and built Canterbury college in Oxford. Which Simon Islip succeeded the bishop of Ely, named Simon Langhan, who within two years was made cardinal. In whose stead, Pope Urban the Fifth ordained William Wittlesey, bishop of Worcester, to be archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 1366. In which year, William, bishop of Winchester, elected and founded the New college in Oxford.

Again, in the order of the popes, next unto Pope Clement the Sixth before mentioned, about the same time, A.D. 1353, succeeded Pope Innocent the Sixth; in the first year of which, pope, two friars Minors, or Franciscans, were burned at Avignon, *Pro opinionibus* (as mine author saith) *erroneis, prout D. papæ et ejus cardinalibus videbatur*, that is, "for certain opinions, as seemed to the pope and his cardinals erroneous." Of the which two friars I find, in the Chronicles De Actis Rom. Pontificum, and in the history of Premonstratensis, that the one was Johannes Rochtayladus; or rather, as I find in Catalog. Testium, cited out of the Chronicle of Henricus de Herfordia, his name to be Hayabalus who being, as he recordeth, a friar Minorite, began first in the time of Pope Clement the Sixth, A.D. 1345, to preach and affirm openly, that he was, by God's revelation, charged and commanded to preach, that the church of Rome was the whore of Babylon, and the pope with his cardinals to be very antichrist; and that Pope Benedict, and the others before him his predecessors, were damned; with other such-like words tending much against the pope's tyrannical

majesty. And that the aforesaid Hayabalus being brought before the pope's face, constantly did stand in the same, saying, that he was commanded by God's revelation so to say, and also that he would preach the same if he might. To whom it was then objected, that he had some heretical books, and so was committed to prison in Avignon. In the time of his accusation it happened that a certain priest, coming before the pope, cast the pope's bull down before his feet, saying, Lo here, take your bull unto you, for it doth me no good at all. I have laboured now these three years withal, and yet notwithstanding, for all this your bull, I cannot be restored to my right. The pope hearing this, commanded the poor priest to be scourged, and after to be laid in prison with the aforesaid friar. What became of them afterward, the aforesaid writer, Henricus de Herfordia, maketh no mention; but I may probably conjecture this priest and this friar, Rochtayladus, or rather Hayabalus, were the two, whom mine author, Thomas Walsingham, writeth to be burned at this time in Avignon, about the first beginning of this Pope Innocent the Sixth. Of this Rochtayladus I thought good here to infer the testimony. and mention of John Froisart, written of him in his first volume, chap. 211, in these words:

There was, saith Froisart, a friar Minor, in the city of Avignon, which was full of great clergy, called friar John of Rochtaylada, the which friar Pope Innocent the Sixth held in prison in the castle of Baignour, for showing of many marvels after to come: principally he showed many things to fall unto the prelates of the church for the great superfluity and pride that was then used among them; and also he spake many things to fall of the realm of France, and of the great lords of Christendom, for the oppressions that they did to the poor common people. This friar, said he, would prove all his saying by the authority of the Apocalypse, and by other books of holy saints and prophets, the which were opened to him by the grace of the Holy Ghost: he showed many things hard to believe, and many things fell after as he said. He said them not as a prophet, but he showed them by authority of ancient Scriptures, and by the grace of the Holy Ghost, who gave him understanding to declare the ancient prophets, and to show to all Christian people the years and times when such things should fall. He made divers books founded on great sciences and clergy, whereof one was made the year of our Lord 1346, wherein were written such marvels, that it were hard to believe them; howbeit many things according thereto fell out after. And when he was demanded of the wars of France, he said that all that had been seen was not like that should be seen after; for he said that the wars in France should not be ended till the realm were utterly wasted and spoiled, in every part. The which saying was well seen after, for the noble realm of France was sore wasted and soiled, and specially in the term that the said friar had set; the which was in the years of our Lord 1356-1359. He said, in those years the princes and gentlemen of the realm should not for fear show themselves against the people of low estate, assembled of all countries without head or captain; and they should do as they list in the realm of France; the which fell after, as ye have heard, how the companions assembled them together, and by reason of their robbery and pillage waxed rich, and became great captains.

About the same time happened in France a certain contention between the French prelates and the friars of Paris, testified and recorded by Godfridus de Fontanis; the brief effect of which story is this. The prelates of France conventing and assembling together in the city of Paris, after a long deliberation among themselves, caused, by the beadles, to be called together all the students, masters, and bachelors of every faculty, with the chief heads also of all the religious houses and friars in the university of Paris: who being all there congregated together in the house of the

bishop of Paris, where there were present four archbishops and twenty bishops, first stood up the bishop of Biturecense, who, there making his sermon, took for his theme the Epistle of St. Paul to the Ephesians; and concluded thereupon, first, that true charity would compel them to see and provide for their flocks. Secondly, that the vigour of charity would arm them to withstand errors. Thirdly, he concluded, that by duty of charity they were bound to give their lives for the souls of their flock committed to their charge. Fourthly, that by the same charity every man ought to hold himself content with that which was his own, and not to intermeddle or busy himself further than to him appertained or belonged to his office. "For there," saith he, "all order ecclesiastical is dissolved, whereas men, not containing themselves in their own precincts, presume in other men's charges, where they have nothing to do. But this charity," saith he, "now-a-days waxeth cold, and all ecclesiastical order is confounded and utterly out of order. For many there be, which nowadays presume to thrust in themselves where they have nothing to do; so that now the church may seem a monster. For as in a natural body appeareth a monster, where one member doth the office of another; so in the spiritual body, which is the church, it may be thought likewise; as when our learned and prudent brethren, to wit, the friars Majors and Minors, do take upon them to usurp and occupy the office to us especially appertaining; namely, whereas the Scripture warneth us all, none to take upon him any office, except he be called thereunto of the Lord, as Aaron was. Wherefore we have heretofore oftentimes caused the said friars, both by the king himself in his own person, and also by other nobles, to be spoken to and desired to surcease from doing and intermeddling in our office, and yet they would not, but have preached against our wills through all our diocesses, and have heard confessions, saying, that they have the pope's privilege to bear them out therein. For the which cause we come to you, and not we here present only, but also we have the hand-writing and the full consent of all other our fellow bishops throughout the kingdom of France, to complain to you of this so great insolency and presumption of the friars. For that as we are, you shall be. Neither do I think that there be any of us prelates here now, which have not some time been taken out of this university of yours. We have desired, moreover, and caused to be desired of the aforesaid friars, that they would send their privileges to the see apostolical, to be interpreted and expounded more plainly by the lord pope; which they refused also to do. Wherefore to the intent you may the better understand and see what their privileges be, and how far they do extend, we have appointed the said privileges here openly to be read unto you."

Then stood up another in the public place, and there read the privileges of both the orders; and afterward read also the constitution of Pope Innocent the Third, written in the fifth of the decretals, and beginneth, *Omnis utriusque sexus*, &c.; which constitution was repugnant and contrary to the aforesaid privileges, as he there manifestly proved, declaring how both the privileges were derogatory to that constitution.

This done, then rose up the Bishop Ambianensis, a great lawyer, who discoursing from article to article, there proved by good law, that the said constitution stood in all its force and vigour, and ought not to be infringed by the friar's privileges in any part. And, therefore, by the virtue of that constitution, that the friars ought not so disorderly to intrude themselves in hearing confessions, in enjoining of penance, and in preaching in churches and diocesses, without special licence of the bishop of the diocess, and curate of the parish; unto whose words never a friar at that time replied again. And so the bishop proceeding to his conclusion, desired the university

to assist them in that case, wherein they were all determined, saith he, to stand firmly to the shedding of their blood, in resisting that disorder and injuries of the friars. This happened the sixth day of December, which they dedicated to St. Nicholas.

The next day, being Sunday, one of the order of the Minorites, or Franciscans, went to the church of the Majorites, or Preaching Friars, where he made a sermon, which was never seen before, the one order to come and resort to the other, beginning in the aforesaid matter to reply, and to expound in order through every article as well as he could; adding, moreover, and saying, that they went not so far in their privileges as they lawfully might. And he said moreover, that what time the said privileges were in obtaining in Rome, the Bishop Ambianensis was there present himself, resisting the same with all his power; yea, all the prelates also of France sent and wrote up to the court against the same, and yet did not prevail. For when the friars there presently declared and opened to the pope in what manner and how far they had used their privileges, the pope the same time said, Placet, that is, agreed unto the same. "And now," saith he, "the prelates require and demand of us to send up our privileges to the court, which were great folly in us. For in so doing, what should we else but give place and occasion to revoke again the authority which is given into our hands already? Furthermore, our warden and master is now lately dead, and the master here of the Dominic Friars is not now present. Wherefore we dare not determine in such a weighty cause, touching the privileges of our order, without the presence of them. And therefore we desire you of the university to hold us therein excused, and not to be so lightly stirred against us, for we are not the worst and vilest part of the university," &c.

The next day, being the eighth day of the same month, is also dedicate to the conception of our Lady; upon which day it was determined likewise, that one of the Dominic Friars should preach in the church of the Franciscan or Grey Friars; and so he did, tending to the same end, as the other friar in the other church had done before. Whereto it may seem the proverb well answered, whereof we read in the Gospel, *Facti sunt amici Herodes et Pilatus in ipso die.*

It was not long after that the feast of St. Thomas the apostle followed, in whose vigil all the heads of the university again were warned the third day after to congregate together in the church of St. Bernard at the sermon time. Which being done, and the assembly meeting together, another sermon was made by a divine of the university, whose theme was, *Prope est dominus omnibus invocantibus eum in veritate*, &c.; wherein he, with many words and great authorities, argued against them that would not be obedient unto their prelates, &c. The sermon being ended, then rose up again the Bishop Ambianensis, who, prosecuting the rest of the theme, and coming to the word *in veritate*, divided it into three parts, according to the common gloss of the decretals:

*Est serum vitæ, doctrinæ, justitiæque,
Primum semper Habe; duo propter scandalA linque.*

Showing and declaring by many authorities, both of canonical Scriptures and out of the law, and by evident demonstration of experience, that the friars first had no verity of life, because they were full of hypocrisy; neither had they verity of doctrine, because in their heart they bare gall, and in their tongue honey; neither verity of justice, because they usurped other men's offices. And thus concluding with the same, he caused again to be read the said privileges, with the constitution above specified. And so expounding place by place, he did argue and prove that the said constitution in

no part was evacuate or infringed by the privileges aforesaid. Which thing being declared, he added, moreover, that, "whereas the friars say," saith he, "that I should be present in the obtaining of the privileges, I grant it to be true; and when word came to me thrice thereof, I went to the pope, reclaiming and requiring the said privileges to be revoked; but the next day after, it so pleased the pope to send me out abroad upon weighty affairs, so that then the matter had no end. After that, we sent also other messengers with our letters, for the same cause, unto the court of Rome, whom the friars say not to have prevailed, but they lie therein; for the said messengers again brought us letters from the chief of the court of Rome, sealed with their seals; which letters we have divers times presented to our king, and will shortly show them unto you all; in the which letters the load pope hath promised the said privileges either to be utterly abrogate, or else to be mitigated with some more plain interpretation, of the which we trust shortly to have the public bull or writ from the pope."

At last the said bishop required and desired of all there, of what diocess or country soever they were, that they would copy out the aforesaid privileges, and send them abroad into their countries, that all men might see what they were, and how far they did extend. In fine, the matter coming into open disputation, it was concluded by Master Giles, one of the Augustine friars, (who was thought to be most reasonable of all the other friars,) in this wise, that after his sentence the prelates were in the truer part.

Concerning this wrangling contention between the university and friars of France, here before mentioned, whereof partly the original cause may be understood, by that which hath been said, to rise upon certain privileges granted by popes to the friars, to intermeddle in matters of parish churches; as to hear confessions, to preach and teach, with power thereto annexed to gather for their labour, to bury within their houses, and to receive impropriations, &c., because it were too long here to describe the full circumstances thereof, also because the said contention did endure a long time not only in France, but also came over into England; the whole discourse thereof more amply, Christ willing, shall be declared in the beginning of the next book following, when we come to the story of Armachanus.

About what time and year this brawl was in the university of Paris, between the friars and prelates there, as hath been declared, the like contention happened also in the university of Oxford, in the year above prefixed, 1354, save only that the strife among the masters of Paris, as it rose upon friarly ceremonies, so it went no further than brawling words and matter of excommunication; but this tumult, rising of a drunken cause, proceeded further unto bloody stripes. The first original whereof began in a tavern, between a scholar and the good man of the house; who, falling together in altercation, grew to such heat of words, that the student (*contra jus hospitii*) poured the wine upon the head of the host, and brake his head with the quart pot. Upon this occasion given, eftsoons parts began to be taken between the townsmen and the scholars; insomuch that grievous sedition and conflict followed upon the same, wherein many of the townsmen were wounded, and to the, number of twenty slain; divers also of the scholars were grievously hurt. The space of two days this hurly-burly continued. Upon the second day certain religious and devout persons ordained a solemn procession general, to pray for peace. Yet notwithstanding all that procession, as holy as it was, it would not bring peace. In the which procession, the skirmish still waxing hot, one of the students, being hardly pursued by the townsmen, for succour in his flight came running to the priest or friar, who carried about, as the manner was, the pix; thinking to find refuge at the presence of the transubstantiated

god of the altar there carried imboxed. Notwithstanding, the god being not there present, or else not seeing him, or else peradventure being asleep, the scholar found there small help; for the townsmen in heat of the chase, forgetting belike the virtue of the pope's transubstantiation, followed him so hard, that in the presence of the pix they brake his head, and wounded him grievously. This done, at length some peace or truce for that day was taken. The next morrow following, other townsmen in the villages about, joining with the townsmen of Oxford, confederated together in great force and power to set upon the students there, and so did, having a black flag borne before them, and so invaded the university men; whereupon the scholars being overmatched, and compelled to flee into their halls and hostels, were so pursued by their enemies, that twenty of the doors of their halls and chambers were broke open, and many of them wounded, and, as it is said, slain and thrown into privies; their books with knives and bills cut all in pieces, and much of their goods carried away. And thus the students of that university, being conquered by the townsmen of Oxford, and of the country about, departed and left the university; so that for a time the schools there, and all school acts, did utterly cease from all exercise of study, except only Merton college-hall, with a few other remaining behind.

This being done the twelfth day of February, the queen at the same time being at Woodstock was brought to bed, and purified on the first Sunday in Lent, with great solemnity of jousting. About which time the bishop of Lincoln, their diocesan, hearing of this excessive outrage, sendeth his inhibition to all parsons and priests, forbidding them throughout all Oxford, to celebrate mass or any divine service in the presence of any lay person within the said town of Oxford, interdicting withal the whole town; which interdiction endured the space of a whole year and more.

The king also sent thither his justices to examine and inquire of the matter, before whom divers laymen and of the clergy were indicted, and four of the chief burgesses of the said town were indicted, and by the king's commandment sent to the Tower of London, and were there imprisoned. At length, through much labour of the nobles, the king so took up the matter, that sending his writings unto all sheriffs in England, he offered pardon to all and singular students of that university, wheresoever dispersed, for that transgression; whereby the university in short time was replenished again as before. Moreover, it was granted to the vice-chancellor or commissary, as they term him, of the town and university of Oxford, to have the assize of bread, ale, wine, and all other victual, the mayor of the said town being excluded. Also it was granted and decreed, that the commons of Oxford should give to the university of Oxford two hundred pounds sterling, in part of satisfaction for their excesses; reserved, notwithstanding, to every one of the students his several action against any several person of the townsmen, &c.

About the year of our Lord 1354, the king, with the consent of his council, revoked home again out of Flanders the staple of wool, with all things thereunto appertaining, and stablished the same in sundry places within the realm, namely, in Westminster, Canterbury, Chichester, Bristol, Lincoln, and in Hull; which staple, after A.D. 1362, was translated over into Calais.

Of Simon Islip, archbishop of Canterbury, mentioned a little before, I read in the said author above specified, that he, by his letters patent, directed to all parsons and vicars within his province, straitly charged them and their parishioners, under pain of excommunication, not to abstain from bodily labour upon certain saints' days, which before were wont to be hallowed and consecrated to unthrifty idleness. Item,

that to priests should be given no more for their yearly stipend, but three pounds, six shillings, and eight pence, which made divers of them to rob and steal, &c. A.D. 1362. The next year following, which was 1363, the aforesaid King Edward kept his parliament at London, in the month of October; wherein was prohibited, that gold nor silver should be worn in knives, girdles, brooches, rings, or in any other ornament belonging to the body, except the wearer might dispend ten pounds a year. Item, that none should wear either silks or costly furs, except such as might dispend one hundred pounds a year. Also that merchant venturers should not export over any merchandise out of the realm, or seek for wines in other countries; whereby other nations should be constrained rather to seek to us, &c. But none of this did take any great effect.

After this Simon Islip, as is above recorded, followed Simon Langham, then William Wittlesey, after whom next in the place succeeded Simon Sudbury.

Much about the same time the nuns of St. Bridget's order began first; about which time also was builded the Queen's college in Oxford, by Queen Philippa of England, wife to King Edward the Third.

Moreover, in the time of this Pope Innocent, friar John Lyle, bishop of Ely, moved with certain injuries, as he thought, done to him by the Lady Blanch, made his complaint to the pope; who sending down his curse to the bishop of Lincoln and other prelates, to be executed upon the adversaries of the bishop of Ely, commanded them, that if they did know any of the said adversaries dead and buried, that notwithstanding, they should cause the same to be taken up: which also they performed accordingly, of whom some had been of the king's council; wherefore the king being displeased, and not unworthily, did trouble and molest again the said prelates. This coming to the pope's hearing, certain were directed down from the court of Rome, in the behalf of the aforesaid bishop of Ely, who meeting with the bishop of Rochester, the king's treasurer, delivered unto him, being armed, letters from the bishop of Rome, the tenor whereof was not known. Which done, they incontinently avoided away; but certain of the king's servants pursuing, did overtake them; of whom some they imprisoned, some they brought to the justices, and so they were condemned to be hanged. Wherein may appear what reverence the pope's letters, in this king's days, had in this realm of England. This Pope Innocent ordained the feast of the Holy Spear, and of the Holy Nails.

Forasmuch as Satan, being chained up all this while for the space of a thousand years, beginneth about this time to be loosed and to come abroad, according to the forewarning of St. John's Revelation; therefore, to conclude the Fourth Book, wherein sufficiently hath been described the excessive pride and pomp of antichrist, flourishing in his ruff and security, from the time of William the Conqueror hitherto; now, Christ willing and assisting us thereunto, we mind in these latter books hereafter following, in order of history to express the latter persecutions and horrible troubles of the church, raised up by Satan, in his minister antichrist, with the resistance again of Christ's church against him. And so to prosecute, by the merciful grace of Christ, the proceeding and course of times, till we come at length to the fall and ruin of the said antichrist; to the intent that if any be in such error to think that antichrist is yet to come, he may consider and ponder well the tragical rages, the miserable and most sorrowful persecutions, murders, and vexations of these latter three hundred years now following, and then I doubt not but he will be put out of all doubt, and know that not only antichrist is already come, but also will know where he sitteth, and how he is now falling apace, the Lord Christ be thanked for ever, to his decay and confusion.

FOXES' BOOK OF MARTYRS

END OF VOLUME 2

**THE ACTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE
CHRISTIAN CHURCH**

by

JOHN FOXE

Commonly known as

FOXES' BOOK OF MARTYRS

Volume 3

From King Edward III to King Henry V.

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John Wickliff

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**THE FIFTH BOOK,
CONTAINING
THE LAST THREE HUNDRED YEARS FROM THE
LOOSING OUT OF SATAN.**

73. The Persecutions Foretold in the Scriptures



HUS having discoursed in these former books the order and course of years, from the first tying up of Satan unto the year of our Lord 1360, I have a little overpassed the stint of time in the Scripture appointed, for the loosing out of him again. For so it is written by St. John, Apoc. xx., that after a thousand years, Satan, the old dragon, shall be let loose again for a season, &c.

For the better explanation of the which mystery, let us first consider the context of the Scripture; afterward let us examine, by history and course of times, the meaning

of the same. And first, to recite the words of the Apocalypse, the text of the prophecy is this, chap. xx.

"And I saw an angel descending from heaven, having a key of the bottomless pit and a great chain in his hand. And he took the dragon, the old serpent, which is the devil, and Satan, and bound him for a thousand years, and put him in the bottomless dungeon and shut him up, and signed him with his seal, that he should no more seduce the Gentiles, till a thousand years were expired. And after that he must be loosed again for a little space of time. And I saw seats, and they sat upon them, and judgment was given unto them; and the souls I saw of them which were beheaded for the testimony of Jesus," &c.

By these words of the Revelation, here recited, three special times are to be noted.

First, the being abroad of Satan to deceive the world.

Secondly, the binding up of him.

Thirdly, the loosing out of him again, after a thousand years consummate, for a time.

Concerning the interpretation of which times, I see the common opinion of many to be deceived by ignorance of histories, and state of things done in the church; they supposing that the chaining up of Satan for a thousand years, spoken of in the Revelation, was meant from the birth of Christ our Lord. Wherein I grant that spiritually the strength and dominion of Satan, in accusing and condemning us for sin, was cast down at the passion and by the passion of Christ our Saviour, and locked up not only for a thousand years, but for ever. Albeit, as touching the malicious hatred and fury of that serpent against the outward bodies of Christ's poor saints, which is the heel of Christ, to afflict and torment the church outwardly; that I judge to be meant in the Revelation of St. John, not to be restrained till the ceasing of those terrible persecutions of the primitive church; at what time it pleased God to pity the sorrowful affliction of his poor flock, being so long under persecution, the space of three hundred years, and so to assuage their griefs and torments; which is meant by binding up of Satan, worker of all those mischiefs; understanding thereby that forasmuch as the devil, the prince of this world, had now by the death of Christ the Son of God, lost all his power and interest against the soul of man, he should turn his furious rage and

malice, which he had to Christ, against the people of Christ, which is meant by the heel of the seed, Gen. iii., in tormenting their outward bodies; which yet should not be for ever, but for a determinate time, whenas it should please the Lord to bridle the malice and snaffle the power of the old serpent, and give rest unto his church for the term of a thousand years; which time being expired, the said serpent should be suffered loose again for a certain or a small time, Apoc. xx.

And thus to expound this prophetical place of Scripture, I am led by three reasons.

The first is, for that the binding up of Satan, and closing him in the bottomless pit by the angel, importeth as much that he was at liberty, raging and doing mischief, before. And, certes, those so terrible and so horrible persecutions of the primitive time universally through the whole world, during the space of three hundred years of the church, do declare no less. Wherein it is to be thought and supposed, that Satan all that time was not fastened and closed up.

The second reason moving me to think that the closing up of Satan was after the ten persecutions of the primitive church, is taken out of the twelfth chapter of the Apocalypse; where we read, that after the woman, meaning the church, had travailed forth her man-child, the old dragon, the devil, the same time being cast down from heaven, drawing the third part of the stars with him, stood before the woman with great anger, and persecuted her, that is, the church of God, with a whole flood of water, (that is, with abundance of all kinds of torments,) and from thence went moreover to fight against the residue of her seed, and stood upon the sands of the sea, whereby it appeareth that he was not as yet locked up.

The third reason I collect out of the Apocalypse, thirteenth chapter, where it is written of the beast, signifying the imperial monarchy of Rome, that he had power to make war forty and two months. By the which months is meant, no doubt, the time that the dragon and the persecuting emperors should have in afflicting the saints of the primitive church. The computation of which forty-two months, counting every month for a sabbath of years, that is, for seven years, after the order of Scripture, riseth to the sum, counting from the passion of the Lord Christ, of three hundred years, lacking six; at what time Maxentius, the last persecutor in Rome, fighting against Constantine, was drowned with his soldiers, like as Pharaoh, persecuting the children of Israel, was drowned in the Red Sea. Unto the which forty-two months, or sabbaths of years, if ye add the other six years wherein Licinius persecuted in the east, ye shall find just three hundred years, as is specified before in the first book of this volume.

After the which forty and two months, being expired, manifest it is that the fury of Satan, that is, his violent malice and power over the saints of Christ, was diminished and restrained universally through the whole world.

Thus then, the matter standing evident that Satan, after three hundred years, counting from the passion of Christ, began to be chained up, at what time the persecution of the primitive church began to cease; now let us see how long this binding up of Satan should continue, which was promised in the book of the Revelation to be a thousand years; which thousand years, if ye add to the forty-two months of years, that is, to two hundred and ninety-four years, they make one thousand two hundred and ninety four years after the passion of the Lord. To these, moreover, add the thirty years of the age of Christ, and it cometh to the year of our

Lord 1324, which was the year of the letting out of Satan, according to the prophecy of the Apocalypse.

The first persecution of the primitive church, beginning at the thirtieth year of Christ, was prophesied to continue forty-two months; that is, till A. D. 294.

The ceasing of the last persecution of the primitive church by the death of Licinius, the last persecutor, began in the year 324 from the nativity of Christ, which was from the thirtieth year of his age, 294.

The binding up of Satan after peace given to the church, counting from the thirty years of Christ, began A. D. 294, and lasted a thousand years, that is, counting from the thirtieth year of Christ, to the year 1294.

About which year Pope Boniface the Eighth was pope, and made the sixth book of the Decretals, confirmed the orders of friars, and privileged them with great freedoms, as appeareth by his constitution, Super Cathedram, A. D. 1294.

Unto the which count of years doth not much disagree that which I found in a certain old chronicle prophesied and written in the latter end of a book; which book was written, as it seemeth, by a monk of Dover, and remaineth yet in the custody of William Cary, a citizen of London; alleging the prophecy of one Hayncard, a Grey Friar, grounded upon the authority of Joachim the abbot, prophesying that antichrist should be born the year from the nativity of Christ 1260; which is, counting after the Lord's passion, the very same year and time when the orders of friars both Dominics and Franciscans began first to be set up by Pope Honorius the Third, and by Pope Gregorius the Ninth, which was the year of our Lord, counting after his passion, 1226; and counting after the nativity of the Lord, was the year 1260.

These things thus premised for the loosing out of Satan, according to the prophecy of the Apocalypse, now let us enter (Christ willing) to the declaration of these latter times which followed after the letting out of Satan into the world; describing the wondrous perturbations and cruel tyranny stirred up by him against Christ's church; also the valiant resistance of the church of Christ against him and antichrist, as in these our books here under following may appear.

The argument of which books consisteth in two parts: first, to treat of the raging fury of Satan now loosed, and of antichrist, against the saints of Christ fighting and travailing for the maintenance of the truth, and reformation of the church. Secondly, to declare the decay and ruin of the said antichrist, through the power of the word of God, being at length, either in a great part of the world overthrown, or, at least, universally in the whole world detected.

Thus then to begin with the year of our Lord 1360, wherein I have a little, as is aforesaid, transgressed the stint of the first loosing out of Satan: we are come now to the time wherein the Lord, after long darkness, beginneth some reformation of his church, by the diligent industry of sundry his faithful and learned servants, of whom divers already we have foretouched in the former book before, as namely, Guliel. de Sancto Amore, Marsilius Patavinus, Ockam, Robertus Gallus, Robertus Grossthead, Petrus de Cugneriis, Johannes Rupescissanus, Conradus Hager, Johannes de Poliacio, Cesenas, with other more, which withstood the corrupt errors and intolerable enormities of the bishop of Rome, beside them which about these times were put to death by the said bishop of Rome, as Castillo and Franciscus de Arcatara in the book before recorded; also the two Franciscans, martyrs, which were burned at Avignon, mentioned above.

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Now to these, the Lord willing, we will add such other holy martyrs and confessors, who following after in the course of years with like zeal and strength of God's word, and also with like danger of their lives, gave the like resistance against the enemy of Christ's religion, and suffered at his hands the like persecutions. First, beginning with that godly man, whosoever he was, the author of the book, his name I have not, entitled *The Prayer and Complaint of the Ploughman*; written, as it appeareth, about this present time.

Which book, as it was faithfully set forth by William Tindal, so I have as truly distributed the same abroad to the reader's hands; neither changing any thing of the matter, neither altering many words of the phrase thereof. Although the oldness and age of his speech and terms be almost grown now out of use, yet I thought it so best, both for the utility of the book to reserve it from oblivion, as also in his own language to let it go abroad, for the more credit and testimony of the true antiquity of the same. The matter of this complaining prayer of the ploughman thus proceedeth.

74. The Prayer and Complaint of the Ploughman.

"Jesus Christ that was ybore of the maide Marie, have on thy poore servants mercy and pitie, and helpe them in their great need to fight against sinne, and against the divell that is author of sinne, and more neednesse there never was to crie to Christ for helpe, than it is right now. For it is fulfilled that God said by Isay the prophet; Yee riseth up earlich to follow drunkennesse, and to drinke till it be even, the harpe and other minstrelsies beeth in your feasts and wine. But the worke of God ye ne beholdeth not, ne taketh no keepe to the workes of his hands: and therefore my people is take prisoner, for they ne had no cunning. And the noblemen of my people deyeden for hunger, and the multitude of my people weren drie for thirst, and therefore hell hath drawne abrode their soule, and hath yopened his mouth without any end. And eftsoones saith Isay the prophet; The word is floten away, and the highnesse of the people is ymade sicke, and the earth is infect of his wonnyers, for they have broken my lawes, and ychanged my right, and han destroyed mine everlasting bond and forward betweene them and me. And therefore cursing shall devoure the earth, and they that wonneth on the earthly shallen done sinne. And therefore the earth tilyars shullen ware wood, and few men shullen ben yleft upon the earth. And yet saith Isay the prophet, This saith God, Forasmuch as this people nigheth me with their mouth, and glorifieth me with their lips, and their heart is farre from me; and they han ydrad more mens commandement, than mine, and more draw to their doctrines, than mine; therefore will I make a great wondring unto this people, wisdom shall perish away from wise men, and understanding of ready men shall bee yhid. And so it seemeth that another saying of Isay is fulfilled, here as God bad him goe teach the people, and said, Goe forth and say to this people: Eares have ye, and understand ye not, and eyes ye have and sight, ne know ye not. Make blind the heart of this people, and make their eares heavie, and close their eyen, lest he see with his eyne, and yheare with his ears, and understand with his heart, and be yturned, and ych heale him of his sicknesse. And Isay said to God; How long Lord shall this bee? And God said, For to that the cities ben desolate withouten a wonnier, and an house withouten a man.

"Heere is mychel nede for to make sorrow, and to crie to our Lord Iesus Christ heartilich for helpe and for succour, that hee wole forgive us our sinnes, and give us grace and conning to serven him better hereafter. And God of his endlesse mercie give us grace and conning trulich to tellen which is Christs law in helping of mens soules; for we beth lewd men and sinfull men, and unconning, and if hee woll bee our help and our succour, we shullen well performe our purpose. And blessed be our Lord God that hideth his wisdom from wise men, and fro readie men, and teacheth it to small children, as Christ teacheth in the gospell.

"Christen men have a law to keepe, the which law hath two partes. Beleeve in Christ that is God, and is the foundment of their law, and upon this foundment, as he said to Peter, and the gospell beareth witnesse, he woll byelden his church, and this is the 1. partie of Christs law. The 2. partie of this law beth Christs commandements that beth written in the gospell, and more verilich in Christen mens hearts.

"And as touching the beleve, we beleven that Christ is God, and that there ne is no God but he. We beleven neverthelesse that in the Godhead there bene three

persons, the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghost, and all these three persons ben one God, and not many gods, and all they beth ylich mightie, ylich good, and ylich wise, and ever have ben, and ever shullen ben. We beleven this God made the world of nought, and man hee made after his owne likenesse in Paradise, that was a land of blisse, and gave him that land for his heritage, and bad him that hee should not eate of the tree of knowledge of good and evill, that was amid Paradise. Then the divell, that was fallen out of heaven for his pride, had envie to man, and by a false suggestion hee made man eate of this tree, and breake the commandement of God, and tho was man overcome of the divell, and so hee lost his heritage, and was put out thereof into the world that was a land of travell, and of sorrow under the fiends thraldome, to bee punished for his trespassse. There man followed wickednesse and sinne, and God for the sinne of man sent a floud into this world, and drownd all mankinde, save eight soules. And after this floud hee let men multiply in the world, and so he assayed whether man dread him or loved him, and among other hee found a man, that hight Abraham: this man hee proved whether hee loved him and dread him, and bad him that he should offeren Isaac his sonne upon an hill; and Abraham as a true servant fulfilled the Lords commandement: and for his buxumnesse and truth, God sware unto Abraham that hee would multiply his seed as the gravell in the sea, and as the starres of heaven, and hee behight to him and to his heires the land of behest for heritage for ever, gif they wolden ben his true servants and keepe his hests. And God held him forward, for Isaac Abrahams sonne begat Jacob and Esau: and of Iacob, that is ycleped Israel, comen God's people that hee chose to bee his servants, and to whom he behight the land of behest. This people was in great thraldome in Egypt under Pharaoh that was king of Egypt: and they crieden to God that hee should deliveren them out of that thraldome, and so hee did: for hee sent to Pharaoh, Moses and his brother Aaron, and bad him deliver his people to done him sacrifice: and tofore Pharaoh hee made Moses done many wonders, or that Pharaoh would deliver his people, and at the last by night he delivered his people out of thraldome, and led them through a desert toward the land of behest, and there hee gave them a law, that they shoulde liven after, when, they comen into their country, and in their way thitherward, the ten commandements God wrote himselfe in two tables of stone; the remnant of the law hee taught them by Moses his servant, how they should doe everichone to other, and gif they trespassed against the law, hee ordained how they shoulde be punished. Also hee taught them what manner sacrifices they should doe to him, and hee chose him a people to ben his priests, that was Aaron and his children, to done sacrifices in the tabernacle, and afterward in the temple also. He chose him the remnant of the children of Levi to ben servants in the tabernacle to the priest, and hee said; When ye come into the land of behest, the children of Levi they shullen have none heritage amongst their brethren, for I would bee their part, and their heritage, and they shullen serve mee in the tabernacles by dayes and by nights, and hee ordained that priests should have a part of the sacrifices that were offred in the tabernacle, and the first begotten beasts, both of men and beasts and other things, as the law telleth. And the other children of Levi, that served in the tabernacle, should have tithings of the people to their livelode, of the which tithings they should given the priests the tenth party in forme of offring. The children of Levi, both priests and other, should have houses and crofts, and lessewes for their beasts in the land of behest, and none other heritage: and so God gave them their land of behest, and bad them that they ne should worship no other than him: so hee bad them that they should keepe his commandements; and gif they did so, all their enemies about them should drede them, and bee their servants. And gif they worshipped false gods, and so

forsaken his lawes, hee behight them that hee would bring them out of that land, and make them serve their enemies: but yet he said he would not benemen his mercie away from them, if they would crie mercy and amend their defaults; and all this was done on Gods side.

"And here is much love showed of God to man. And who so looketh the Bible, hee shall finde that man showed him little love againeward: for when they were come into their heritage, they forgatten their God, and worshipped false gods. And God sent to them the prophets and his servants feile times to bid them withdrawen them from their sinnes, and other they have slowen them, or they beaten them, or they led them in prison: and oft-times God tooke upon them great vengeance for their sinnes; and when they cried after helpe to God, hee sent them helpe and succour. This is the generall processe of the Old Testament, that God gave to his people by Moses his servant. And all this Testament and this doing ne was but a shadow and a figure of a new Testament that was given by Christ. And it was byhoten by Ieremie the prophet, as Saint Paul beareth witnesse in the Epistle that hee writeth to the Iewes. And Ieremie saith in this wise; Loe daies shall come, God saith, and I will make a new band to the house of Israel, and to the house of Iuda, not like the forward that I made with their fathers, in that day that I tooke their hand to lead them out of the land of Egypt, the which forward they maden veine, and I had lordship over them. But this shall bee the forward that I wold make with them after those dayes: I will give my lawes with them in their inwardnesse, and I will writen them in their hearts, and I will bee their God, and they should bee my people: and after that a man shall not teach his neighbour, ne his brother. For all (God saith) from the least to the most, should know me, for I will forgiven them their sinnes, and will no more thinke on their sins.

"This is the New Testament, that Christ both God and man, borne of the maide Mary, hee taught here in this world to bring man out of sinne, and out of the divels thraldome and service to heaven, that is a land of blisse and heritage, to all tho that beleeven on him, and keepen his commandements, and for his teaching hee was done to the death. But the third day hee arose againe from death to life, and fet Adam and Eve, and many other folke out of hell, and afterward he came to his disciples, and comforted them. After, hee stied up to heaven to his Father, and tho he sent the Holy Ghost amongst his disciples, and in time comming, hee will come and demen all mankinde after their workes, and after the words hee spake upon earth; some to blisse, within body and in soule ever withouten end; and some to paine withouten end, both in body and in soule.

"This is our beleewe and all Christen mens, and this beleewe is the first point of the New Testament, that ych Christen man is hold stedfastly to beleewe, and rather to suffer the death, then forsaken this beleewe; and so this beleewe is the bread of spirituall life, in forsaking sinne, that Christ brought us to life.

"But forasmuch as mans living ne stondeth not all onlych by bread, he hath ygiven us a draught of water of life to drinke. And who that drinketh of that water he ne shall never afterward ben athurst. For this water is the cleare teaching of the gospell, that encloseth seven commandements.

"The first is this: Thou shalt love thy God over all other things, and thy brother as thy selfe, both enemy and friend.

"The second commandement is of meeknesse, in the which Christ chargeth us to forsake lordship upon our brethren, and other worldly worships, and so hee did himselfe.

"The third commandement, is in standing stedfastlich in truth, and forsaking all falsenesse.

"The fourth commandement, is to suffer in this world diseases and wrongs, withouten againststandings.

"The fifth commandement is mercy, to forgiven our brethren their trespasses, as often time as they gilteth, without asking of vengeance.

"The sixth commandement is poorenesse in spirit, but not to ben a beggar.

"The seventh commandement, is chastitie; that is, a forsaking of fleshlich likings displeasing to God. These commandements enclosen the ten commandements of the old law, and somewhat more.

"This water is a blessed drinke for Christen mens soules. But more harme is, much folke would drinke of this water, but they mowe not come thereto: for God saith by Ezechiel the prophet; When ich geve to you the most cleane water to drinke, ye troubled that water with your feet, and that water is so defouled, ye geve my sheepe to drinke. But the cleane water is yhid fro the sheepe, and but gif God cleare this, it is dread lest the sheepe dyen for thirst. And Christ that is the wisdom of the Father of heaven, and well of this wisdom, that come from heaven to earth to teach man this wisdom, through the which man should overcome the sleights of the divell, that is the principall enemy of mankind; have mercy and pitie of his people, and shew, if it bee his will, how this water is troubled, and by whom; and sith cleare this water that his sheepe mowe drinke hereof, and kele the thirst of their soules. Blessed mote our Lord ben, for he hath ytaught us in the gospel, that ere then he would come to the universall dome, then should come many in his name, and sayen, that they weren Christ; and they sholden done many wonders, and begilen many men; and many false prophets sholden arisen and beguilen much folke.

"A Lord, yblessed mote thou ben of everich creature; which ben they that have ysaid that they weren in Christ, and have thus begiled thy people? Trulich Lord I trow, thilke that sayen that they ben in thy stead, and benemen thy worship, and maken the people worshippen them as God, and have hid thy lawes from thy people: Lord, who durst sit in thy steed, and benemen thee thy worship and thy sacrifice, and durst maken the people worshippen them as gods? The Sauter tels, that God ne wole not in the day of dome demen men for bodilich sacrifices and holocaustes; but God saith; Yeld to me sacrifice of heryng, and yeld to God thine avowes, and clepe me in the day of tribulation, and ich wil defend thee, and thou shalt worship me.

"The heryng of God standeth in three things. In loving God over all other things; in dreading God over all other things; in trusting in God over all other things.

"These three points Christ teacheth in the gospell. But I trow men loven him but a little. For who so loveth Christ, he wole kepen his words. But men holden his words for heresie and folly, and keepeth mens words. Also men dreden more men and mens lawes and their cursings, than Christ and his lawes and his cursings. Also men hopen more in men and mens helpes, than they doe in Christ and in his helpe. And thus hath hee, that setteth in Gods stede, bynomen God these three heryngs, and makes men loven him and his lawes, more than Christ and Christs law, and dreaden

him also. And there as the people shulden yeeld to God their vowes, he saith, hee hath power to assoylen them of their avowes, and so this sacrifice hee nemeth away from God. And there as the people should cry to God in the day of tribulation, hee letteth them of their crying to God, and bynemeth God that worship. This day of tribulation is when man is fallen through sinne into the divels service, and then we shulden cry to God after helpe, and axen forgiveness of our sinne, and make great sorrow for our sinne, and ben in full will to doe so no more, ne none other sinne, and that our Lord God wole forgiven vs our sinne, and maken our soule cleane. For his mercy is endlesse.

"But Lord, heere men haue benomen thee much worship: for men seyn that thou ne might not cleane assoylen vs of our sinne: but if we knowledgen our sinnes to priests, and taken of them a penance for our sinne, gif we mowen speake with them.

"A Lord, thou forgave sometime Peter his shynes, and also Mary Magdalen, and many other sinfull men without shriuing to priests, and taking penance of priests for their sinnes. And Lord thou art as mighty now as thou were that time, but gif any man haue bynomen thee thy might. And wee lewd men beleuen, that there is no man of so great power, and gif any man maketh himselfe of so great power, he heighteth himselfe aboue God. And S. Paul speaketh of one that sitteth in the temple of God, and heighten him aboue God; and gif any such be, he is a false Christ.

"But hereto seyn priests, that when Christ made clean leprous men, he bade them go and shew them to priests. And therefore they seyn that it is a commandement of Christ, that a man should shewen his sinne to priests. For as they seyn, lepre in the old law betokeneth sinne in this new law. A Lord God, whether thine apostles knew not thy meaning as well as men done now? And gif they hadden yknow that thou haddest commanded men to shriuen them to priests, and they ne taught not that commandement to the people; me thinketh they hadden ben to blame. But I trow they knewen well that it was none of thy commandements, ne needfull to heale of mans soule. And as me thinketh, the law of lepre is nothing to the purpose of shriuing: for priests in the old law hadden certaine points and tokens to know whether a man were leprous or not: and gif they were leprous, they hadden power to putten them away from other cleane men, for to that they weren cleane; and then they hadden power to receiven him among his brethren, and offeren for him a sacrifice to God.

"This is nothing to the purpose of shriuing. For there is but one Priest, that is Christ, that may know in certaine the lepre of the soule. Ne no priest may make the soule cleane of her sinne, but Christ that is Priest after Melchisedeks order: ne no priest here beneath may ywit for certaine whether a man be clean of his sinne, or cleane assoiled, but gif God tell it him by reuelation. Ne God ordained not that his priests should set men a penance for their sinne, after the quantitie of the sinne, but this is mans ordinance, and it may well be that there commeth good thereof. But I wot well that God is much unworshipped thereby. For men trust more in his absolutions, and in his yeeres of grace, than in Christs absolutions, and thereby is the people much appaired. For now the sorrow a man should make for his sinne, is put away by this shrift: and a man is more bold to doe sinne for trust of this shrift, and of this bodilich penance.

"Another mischiefe is, that the people is ybrought into this beliefe, that one priest hath a great power to assoylen a man of his sinne and clenner, than another priest hath.

"Another mischiefe is this, that some priest may assoylen them both of sin and paine: and in this they taken them a power that Christ granted no man in earth, ne he ne used it dought on earth himselfe.

"Another mischiefe is, that these priests sellen forgiuenesse of mens sinnes and absolutions for money; and this is an heresie accursed that is ycleped simony: and all thilke priests that axeth price for granting of spiritual] grace, beth by holy lawes depriued of their priesthood, and thilke that assenteth to this heresie. And be they ware; for Helyse the prophet toke no mony of Naaman, when he was made cleane of his lepre; but Giesi his seruant; and therefore the lepre of Naaman abode with him and with his heires euermore after.

"Here is much matter of sorrow, to see the people thus farre ylad away from God and worshupen a false god in earth, that by might and by strength hath ydone away the great sacrifice of God out of his temple: of which mischiefe and discomfort, Daniel maketh mention, and Christ beareth therof witnesse in the gospels. Who that readeth it, understand it. Thus we haue ytold apertly, how he that saith he sitteth in Christs stede bynemeth Christ his worship, and his sacrifice of his people, and maketh the people worshupen him as a god on earth.

"Cry we to God, and knowledge we our sinnes everichone to other, as S. James teacheth, and pray wee heartilich to God everichone one for other, and then we shulen hopen forgiuenesse of our sinnes. For God that is endlesse in mercy saith, that he ne will not a sinfull mans death, but that he be turned from his sin and liven. And therefore, when he came downe to save mankind, he gaue us a law of love and of mercy; and bade, gif a man doe a trespasse, amend him priuilich, and gif he leue not his sinne, amend him before witnesse, and gif he ne amendeth not, men should tell to the church; and gif he ne amendeth not then, men should shone his company as a publican, or a man that is misbeleued and this law was yfigured in the law of lepre, who that reades it, he may see the sooth.

"But Lord God, he that sitteth in thy stede hath undoe thy law of mercy and love; Lord, thou biddest loven enemies as our selfe; and shewest in the gospels there as the Samaritan had mercy on the Iew. And thou biddest us also prayen for them that cursen us, and that defamen us, and pursuen us to death. And so Lord thou diddest, and thine apostles also. But hee that clepeth himselfe thy vicar on earth, and head of thy church, he hath undone thy law of love and mercy. For gif we speaken of loving our enemies, he teacheth us to fight with our enemies, that Christ hath forboden. He curseth and desireth vengeance to them that so doth to him. Gif any man pursueth him, he curseth him, that it is a sorrow a Christen man to hearken the cursings that they maken, and blasphemies in such cursing. Of what thing that I know, I may beare true witnesse.

"But gif we speake of louing of our brethren, this is undone by him that saith he is Gods vicar in earth. For Christ in the gospels biddeth us, that we shoulden clepen us no father upon earth: but clepen God our Father, to maken us loue perfittlich together. And he clepeth himselfe Father of fathers, and maketh many religions, and to euerich a father. But whether is love and charity encreased by these fathers and by their religions, or else ymade lesse? For a frier ne loueth not a monke, ne a secular man neither, nor yet one frier another that is not of the order, and it is againward.

"A Lord, me thinketh that there is little perfection in these religions. For Lord, what charitie hauen such men of religion, that knowne how they mown againstand

sinne, and flee away from their brethren that ben more uncunning than they ben, and sufferen them to trauelen in the world withouten their counsell as beasts? Trulich Lord, me thinketh that there is but little charitie, and then is there little perfection. Lord God, when thou were on earth, thou were among sinfull men to drawen them from sinne, and thy disciples also. And Lord, I trow thou ne grantest not one man more cunning than another all for himselfe: and I wote well that lewd men that ben laborers, ne trauell not alonlich for himselfe. Lord our beliefe is, that thou ne were not of the world, ne thy teaching, neither thy seruants that linden after thy teaching. But all they forsaken the world, and so euery Christen man must. But Lord; whether thou taughtest men to forsake their brethrens company and trauell of the world, to liven in ease and in rest, and out of trouble and anger of the world, by their brethrens trauell, and so forsaken the world?

"A Lord, thou ne taughtest not a man to forsaken a poore estate and trauell, to ben afterward a lord of his brethren, or beene a lords fellow, and dwelling with lords, as doth men of these new religions. Lord thou ne taughtest not men of thy religion thus to forsake the world, to liven in perfection by themselfe in ease, and by other mens trauell. But Lord they sayen they ben ybound to thy seruice, and seruen thee both night and day in singing their praiers, both for themselfe and for the other men, that done them good both quicke and dead, and some of them gone about to teach thy people when they hauen leisure.

"A Lord, gif they be thy servants; whose seruants ben we that cannot preien as they done? And when thou were here on earth, for our neede thou taughtest thy seruants to preien thy Father priulich and shortlich: and gif there had beene a better manner of preying, I trow thou wouldest haue taught it in help of thy people. And Lord thou reproveest hypocrites that preyen in long prayer, and in open places, to ben yholden holy men. And thou seyst in the gospel, Wo to you Pharises hypocrites. And Lord thou ne chargedst not thy seruants with such manner seruice: but thou seyst in the gossell, that the Pharises worshopen thee with their lips, and their heart is farre from thee. For they chargin more mens traditions than thy commandement.

"And Lord, we lewd men han a beliefe, that thy goodnesse is endlesse: and gif we keepen thine hestes, then ben we thy true seruants. And though we preyen thee but a little and shortlich, thou wilt thinken on us, and granten us that us nedeth, for so thou behighted us sometime. And Lord I trow, that pray a man neuer so many quaint prayers, gif hee ne keepe not thine hests, hee is not thy good seruant. But gif hee keepe thine bests, then hee is thy good seruant. And so me thinketh, Lord, that praying of long praiers ne is not the seruice that thou desirest, but keeping of thine hests: and then a lewd man may serue God as well as a man of religion; though that the ploughman ne may not haue so much siluer for his prayer, as men of religion. For they kunnen not so well preisen their praiers as these other chap-men: but Lord, our hope is, that our praiers be neuer the worse, though it be not so well sold as other mens prayers.

"Lord, Ezechiel the prophet saith, that when he spake to the people thy words, they turned thy words into songs and into tales. And so Lord men done now: they sing merilich thy words, and that singing they clepen thy seruice. But Lord I trow that the best singers herieth thee not most: but he that fulfilleth thy words, he herieth thee full well, though hee weepe more than sing: and I trow that weeping for breaking of thy commandements bee more pleasing seruice to thee than the singing of thy words. And would God that men would serue him in sorrow for their sins, and that they shoulde

afterward seruen thee in mirth. For Christ saith, yblessed ben they that maken sorrow, for they shoulde ben ycomforted. And woe to them that ben merry, and haue their comfort in this world. And Christ said, that the world should joyen, and his seruants shulde be sorry, but their sorrow should be turned into joy.

"A Lord, hee that clepeth himselfe thy vicar upon earth hath yordained an order of priests to doe thy seruice in church tofore thy lewd people in singing mattens, euensong, and masse. And therefore hee chargeth lewd men in paine of cursing, to bring to his priests tithings and offrings to finden his priests, and he clepeth that Gods part, and due to priests that seruen him in church.

"But Lord, in the old law the tithings of the lewd people ne were not due to priests, but to that other childer of Leui that serueden thee in the temple, and the priest hadden their part of sacrifices, and the first bygeten beasts and other things as the law telleth. And Lord S. Paul thy seruant saith, that the order of the priesthood of Aaron ceased in Christs comming and the law of that priesthood. For Christ was end of sacrifices yoffered upon the crosse to the Father of heauen, to bring man out of sinne, and become himselfe a priest of Melchisedeks order. For he was both King and Priest, without beginning and end; and both the priesthood of Aaron, and also the law of that priesthood ben ychanged in the comming of Christ. And S. Paul saith it is reprobued, for it brought no man to perfection. For blood of goats, ne of other beasts ne might done away sinne, for to that Christ shad his blood.

"A Lord Iesus; whether thou ordenest an order of priests to offren in the auter thy flesh and thy blood to bringen men out of sin, and also out of peine? And whether thou geue them alonelych a power to eate thy flesh and thy blood, and whether none other man may eate thy flesh and thy blood withouten leue of priests? Lord, we beleuen, that thy flesh is uery meat, and thy blood uery drinke; and who eateth thy flesh, and drinketh thy blood, dwelleth in thee, and thou in him, and who that eateth this bread shall liue without end. But Lord thine disciples said; this is a word; but thou answerest them and saidest; when ye seeth man soone stiuen up there he was rather, the spirit is that maketh you liue, the words that ych haue spoken to you ben spirit and life. Lord, yblessed mote thou be, for in this word thou teachest us that he that keepeth thy words, and doth after them, eateth thy flesh, and drinketh thy blood, and hath an euerlasting life in thee. And for we shoulde haue minde of this living, thou gauest us the sacrament of thy flesh and blood, in forme of bread and wine at thy supper, before that thou shouldest suffer thy death, and tooke bread in thine hand, and saidest; Take ye this, and eate it, for it is my body: and thou tookest wine, and blessedst it, and said; This is the blood of a new and an euerlasting testament, that shall be shed for many men in forgiuenesse of sins: as oft as ye done this, do ye this in mind of me.

"A Lord, thou ne bede not thine disciples maken this a sacrifice, to bring men out of peines, gif a priest offred thy body in the altar; but thou bed them goe and fullen all the folke in the name of the Father, and the Sonne, and the Holy Ghost, in forgiuenesse of their sins; and teach ye them to keepe those things that ych haue commanded you. And Lord, thine disciples ne ordained not priests principallich to make thy body in sacrament, but for to teach the people, and good husbandmen that well gouerne their houtholds, both wives and children, and their meiny, they ordeined to be priests to teachen other men the law of Christ, both in word, in dede, and they lived ein as true Christian men, euery day they eaten Christs body, and drinken his blood, to the sustenance of living of their soules, and other whiles they taken of the sacrament of his body in forme of bread and wine, in minde of our Lord Iesus Christ.

"But all this is turned upsedowne: for now whoso will liven as thou taughtest, hee shall ben holden a foole. And gif he speake thy teaching, he shall ben holden an hereticke, and accursed. Lord, haue no longer wonder hereof, for so they seiden to thee when thou were here sometime. And therefore we moten take in patience their words of blasphemy as thou diddest thy selfe, or else we were to blame. And trulich Lord I trow, that if thou were now in the world, and taughtest as thou diddest sometime, thou shouldest ben done to death. For thy teaching is damned for heresie of wise men of the world, and then moten they needes ben heretikes that teachen thy lore, and all they also that trauailen to liue thereafter.

"And therefore Lord, gif it be thy will, helpe thine uncunning and lewd seruants, that wolen by their power and their cunning helpe to destroy sinne. Leue Lord, sith thou madest woman in helpe of man, and in a more fraile degree than man is, to be gouerned by mans reason: what perfection of charity is in these priests and in men of religion, that haue forsaken spoushod that thou ordeinedst in Paradise betwixt man and woman, for perfection to forsaken traueile, and liven in ease by other mens traueile? For they mow not doe bodilich workes for defouling of their hands, with whom they touchen thy precious body in the altar.

"Leue Lord, gif good men forsaken the company of woman, and needes they moten haue the gouernaile of man, then moten they ben ycoupled with shrewes, and therefore thy spousehood that thou madest in cleannesse from sinne, it is now ychanged into liking of the flesh. And Lord, this is a great mischief unto thy people. And young priests and men of religion, for default of wives, maken many women horen, and drawne through their ensample many other men to sinne, and the ease that they liven in, and their welfare, is a great cause of this mischief. And Lord me thinketh, that these ben quaint orders of religion, and none of thy sect that wolen taken horen, whilke God forbends, and forsaken wives that God ne forbendeth not: and forsaken trauaile that God commands, and geuen their selfe to idlenes, that is the mother of all naughtinesse.

"And Lord, Mary thy blessed mother and Ioseph touched oftentimes thy body, and wroughten with their hands, and liueden in as much cleannes of soule, as our priests done now, and touched thy body, and thou touchedest them in their souls. And Lord our hope is, that thou goen not out of a poore mans soule that traueileth for his livelode with his hands. For Lord, our beliefe is, that thine house is mans soule, that thou madest after thine owne likenesse.

"But Lord God, men maketh now great stonen houses full of glazen windowes, and clepeth thilke thine houses and churches. And they setten in these houses mawmets of stocks and stones, tofore them they knelen priuilich and apert, and maken their praier; and all this they sayen is thy worship, and a great herying to thee. A Lord, thou forbiddest sometime to make such mawmets, and who that had yworshipped such, had ben worthy to be dead.

"Lord in the gospel thou sayst, that true heriers of God ne herieth him not in that hill beside Samaria, ne in Hierusalem neither, but true heriers of God herieth him in spirit and in truth. And Lord God, what herying is it to bidden thee a church of dead stones, and robben thy quicke churches of their bodilich liuelood? Lord God, what herying is it, to cloth mawmets of stocks and of stones in siluer and in gold, and in other good colours? And Lord I see thine image gone in cold and in hete, in clothes all to-broken, without shone and hosen, an hungred and athurst. Lord what herying is it to teende tapers and torches before blinde mawmets that mowen not I seyen? And hide

thee that art our light and our lantern towards heauen, and put thee under a bushell, that for darknesse we ne may not seene our way toward blisse? Lord what herying is it to kneele tofore mawmets that mow not yheren, and worshepen them with preyers, and maken thine quicke images kneele before them, and asken of them absolutions and blessings, and worshepen them as gods, and putten thy quicke images in thraldome and in traueile euermore as beasts, in cold and in heate, and in feeble fare to finden them in liken of the world? Lord what herying is it to fetch deed mens bones out of the ground, there as they shoulde kindelich rotten, and shrinen them in gold and siluer; and suffren the quick bones of thine images to rot in prison for default of clothings? And suffren also thy quicke images to perish for default of sustenance, and rooten in the hoorehouse in abominable lechery? Some become theeues and robbers, and manquellers, that mighten ben yholpen with the gold and siluer that hongeth about deed mens bones, and other blind mawmets of stocks and stones.

"Lord, here ben great abominations that thou shewdest to Ezechiel thy prophet, that priests done in thy temple, and yet they clepen that thine herying. But leue Lord, me thinketh that they louen thee little that thus defoulen thy quicke images, and worshippen blinde mawmets.

"And Lord, another great mischiefe there is now in the world, an hunger that Amos thy prophet speaketh of; that there shall comen an hunger in the earth, not of bread, ne thurst of drinke, but of hearing of Gods word. And thy sheepe woulde be refreshed, but their shepheards taken of thy sheepe their livelode, as tythings, &c. and liuen themselfe thereby where them liketh.

"Of such shepheards thou speaketh by Ezechiel thy prophet, and seyst; Woe to the shepheards of Israel that feden themselfe, for the flocks of sheepe shoulde be yfed of their shepheards: but ye eaten the milke, and clothen you with their wolles, and the fat sheepe ye slew, and my flocke ye ne fede not, the sicke sheepe ye ne healed not, thilke that weren to-broken ye ne knit not together, thilke that perished ye ne brought not againe; but ye ratled them with sternship and with power. And so the sheepe be sprad abroad in deuouring of all the beasts of the field. And Ieremie the prophet saith; Woe to the shepheards that desparseth abroad and teareth the flock of my lesew.

"A Lord, thou were a good shepheard, for thou puttest thy soule for thy sheepe. But Lord, thou teldest that thilke that comen not in by the dore ben night theeues and day theeues, and a theefe, as thou seyst, commeth not but for to steal, to slein, and to destroy. And Zechary the prophet saith; that thou wouldest reren up a shepheard uncunning, that ne wol not hele thy sheepe that beth sicke, ne seeke thilke that beth lost. Vpon his arme is a swerd, and upon his right eye; his arme shall waxe dry, and his right eye shall lose his light. O Lord, help, for thy sheep beth at great mischiefe in the shepherds default.

"But Lord, there commeth hired men, and they ne feden not thy sheep in thy plenteous lesew, but feden thy sheepe with sweuens, and false miracles and tales. But at thy truth they ne comen not: for Lord, I trow thou sendest them neuer. For haue they hire of thy sheepe, they ne careth but little of the feding and the keping of thy sheepe. Lord, of these hired men speaketh Ieremie the prophet, and thou seyst that word by him; I ne send them not, and they nonne blue; I ne speake unto them, and they propheciden. For if they hadden stonden in my counsell, and they had made my words knowne to the peouple, ich would haue turned them away from their yuill way, and from their wicked thoughts. For Lord, thou seyst that thy words ben as fire, and as

an hammer breaking stones. And Lord, thou seyst; Lo. I to these prophets meeting sweuens of lesing, that haue ytold her sweuens, and haue begiled my people in their lesing, and in their false miracles, when I neither sent, ne bed them. And these haue profitet nothing to my people. And as Ieremie saith; From the least to the most all they studien couetice, and from the prophet to the priest all they done gile.

"A Lord, here is much mischiefe and matere of sorrow: and yet there is more. For gif a lewd man would teach thy people truth of thy words, as hee is yhold by thy commandement of charity, he shall be forboden and put in prison gif he do it. And so Lord, thilk that haue the key of conning, haue ylockt the truth of thy teaching under many wardes, and yhid it from thy children. But Lord, sith thy teaching is ycome from heauen aboue, our hope is, that with thy grace it shall breake these wards, and shew him to thy people, to kele both the hunger and thirst of the soule. And then shall no shepheard, ner no false hirid-man begile thy people no more. For by thy law I write, as thou ihighest sometime, that from the least to the most, all they shullen knowen thy will, and weten how they shullen please thee euermore in certaine.

"And leue Lord, gif it be thy will helpe at this need, for there is none help but in thee. Thus Lord, by him that maketh himselfe thy uiker in earth, is thy commandement of lone to thee and our brethren ybroken, both to him and to thy people. But Lord God mercy and patience, that beth tweine of thy commandements, beth destroyed, and thy poeple hath forsake mercy. For Lord, Daudid in the Sauter saith; Blessed beth they that done dome and rightfulness in euerich time.

"O Lord, thou hast ytaught vs as rightfulness of heauen, and hast ybeden vs forgeuen our breathren as oft as they trespassen against vs. And Lord, thine old law of iustice was, that such harme as a man did his brother, such he should suffer by the law, as eye for an eye, and tooth for a tooth. But Christ made an end of this law, that one brother should not desire wracke of another: but not that he would that sin should ben unpunished, for thereto hath he ordained kings and dukes, and other lewd officers vnder them; whilke as S. Paul saith, ne carien not the swerd in uain, for they ben the ministers of God, and wrakers to wrath, to them that euill done. And thus hath Christ ymade an end of this old law, that one brother may not suen another himselfe, for that to wreken without sinne, for breaking of charity. But this charity Lord hath thy uicar ybroke, and says that we sinnen, but gif we suen for our right. And we see, I wot, that thou taughtest us sometime to giue our mantell also, euer that we shoulde suen for our coat. And so Lord beleuen we, that we ben ybonden to done by thy law, that is all charity, and officers duty is to defenden us from thilke theeuery, though we complainen not. But Lord, thy law is turned upsedowne.

"A Lord, what dome is to sleane a theefe that take a mans cattell away from him, and sufferen a spouse-breaker to liue, and a lecherour that killeth a womans soule? And yet thy law stoned the spouse-breakers and lecherous, and let the theeues liven and haue other punishment.

"A Lord, what dome is it to sleane a theefe for stealing of an horse, and to let him liue unpunished, and to mainetaine him that robbeth thy poore people of their livelode, and the soule of his food?

"Lord, it was never thy dome to sayen, that a man is an heretike, and cursed for breaking of mans law, and demen him for a good man for breaking thy hests.

"Lord, what dome is it to curse a lewd man if he smite a priest, and not curse a priest that smiteth a lewd man, and leeseth his charity?

"Lord, what dome is it to curse the lewd people for tithings, and not curse the parson that robbeth the people of tithings, and teacheth them not Gods law, but feedeth them with painting of stone walles, and songs of Latine, that the people known not?

"Lord, what dome is it to punish the poore man for his trespasse, and suffer the rich to continue in his sinne for a quantity of mony?

"Lord, what dome is it to sleane an uncunning lewd man for his sinne, and suffer a priest, other a clerke that doth the same sinne, scape alive? Lord the sinne of the priest or of the clerke is greater trespasse than it is of a lewd uncunning man; and greater ensample of wickednesse to the common people?

"Lord, what maner people be we, that neither keep thy domes and thy rightfulness of the Old Testament, that was a law of dread, nor thy domes and thy rightfulness of thy New Testament, that is a law of loue and of mercy: but haue another law, and taken out of both thy lawes, that is liking to us, and remnant of heathen mens lawes? and Lord this is a great mischiefe.

"O Lord, thou saiest in thy law, deme ye not and ye should not be demed; for the same mesure that ye meten to other men, men shall meten to yo againward: and Lord thou saiest that by their work we should know them; and by what we know thou commanded vs not to demen mens thought not their works, that were not against thy lawe expresly. And yet Lord he, that saith he is thy car, will demen our thoughts, and aske us what thinke: not of the Lord, of thy hests, for they care little for them, but of him and of his, whilke they sate aboue thine, and maken us accusen our selfe, or else they willen accursen us, for our accusers mowen we not knowne. And Lord, thou saiest in thine old law, that under two witnes at the least, or three, should stand euery matter: and that the witnes shoulden euer be the first the shoulden helpe to kill them.

"And when the scribes and the Pharises sometimes brought before thee a woman that was ytake in spouse-breaking, and exeden of thee a dome, thou didst write on the earth, and then thou gaue this dome; He that is without sinne, throw first at her a stone, and Lord they went forth away from thee and the woman: and thou forgau the woman her trespasse, and bade her goe forth, and sinne no more.

"Sweet Lord, if the priests tooke keepe to thy dome, they would be agast to demen men as they done, O Lord, if one of them breake a commandement of thy law, he will aske mercy of thee, and not a peine that is due for the sinne, for peine of death were too little. O Lord, how daren they demen any man to the death for breaking of their lawes, other assent to such law? for breaking of thy law they will set penance, or pardon them, and maintaine them as often as they trespassen. But Lord, if a man once breake their lawes, or speake against them, he may done penance but once, and after be burnt. Trulich Lord thou saiest, but if euery one of us forgiue not other his trespasse, thy Father will not forgeuen us our sinnes. And Lord when thou hong on the crosse, thou praiedst to thy Father to haue mercy on thy enemies.

"And yet they sein Lord, that they demen no man to the death, for they sein, they ne mown by their law demen any man to the death. A leeue Lord, euen so saiden their forefathers the Pharises, that it ne was not lawfull for them to kill any man: and yet they bidden Pilate to done thee to the death against his owne conscience, for he would gladly haue yquit thee, but for that they threatened him with the emperor, and broughten against thee false witnes also: and he was an heathen man.

"O Lord, how much truer dome was there in Pilat, that was an heathen justice, than in our kings and justices that woulde demen to the death, and burne in the fire him that the priests deliueren unto them withouten witnes, or prefe? For Pilat ne would not demen thee; for that the Pharises sayden that gif thou ne haddest not ben a misdoer, we ne would not deliuer him unto thee; for to, they broughten in their false witnesse against thee. But Lord, as thou saidst sometime that it should ben lighter at domesday to Tyre, and to Sydon, and Gomorra, than to the cities where thou wrought wonders and miracles: so I dred, it shall be more light to Pilat in the dome than to our kings and domesmen, that so demen without witnes and prefe. For Lord, to demen thy folke for heretiks, is to holden thee an heretike; and to brennen them, is to brennen thee: for thou saidst to Paul when he persecuted thy people; Saul, Saul, wherefore persecutest thou me? and in the dome thou shalt say; that ye haue done to the least of mine, ye haue don to me.

"Thus Lord is thy mercy and justice foredone by him that saith he is thy uicar in earth: for he neither keepeth it himselfe, nor nil not suffer other to doe it.

"The third commandement, that is, patience and sufferance, is also ybroken by this uicar. Lord thou biddest sufferen both wrongs and strokes withouten againststanding; and so thou diddest thy selfe to geuen us ensample to sufferen of our brethren. For suffering nourisheth loue, and againststandeth debate. All thy lawes is loue, or else the thing that draweth to loue.

"But Lord, men teachen, that men shoulde pleten for their right, and fighten also therefore; and else they seyn, men ben in perill: and thou bid in the old law men fight for their countrey. And thy selfe haddest two swords in thy company, when thou shouldest goe to thy passion; that as these clerkes sein, betokeneth a spirituall sword, and a temporall sword, that thou gaue to thy uicar to rule thy church with.

"Lord, this is a sleight speech; but Lord we beleue that thou art King of blisse, and that is thine heritage and mankindes countrey; and in this world we ne ben but strangers and pilgrimes. For thou Lord ne art of this world, ne thy law neither, ne thy true seruants that keepe thy law. And Lord, thou were King of Iuda by heritage, if thou wouldest haue yhad it; but thou forsooke it, and pletedest not therefore, ne fought not therfore.

"But Lord, for thy kinde heritage, and mandkindes country, that is a land of blisse, thou foughtest mightilich. In battell thou ouercame thy enemy, and so thou won thine heritage. For thou that were a Lord mightiest in battle, and also Lord of uertues, are rightfullich King of blisse; as Dauid saith in the Psalter. But Lord thine enemy smote thee dispitfullich, and had power of thee, and hang thee upon the crosse as thou hadst ben a theefe and benomin thee all thy clothes, and sticked thee to the heart with a speare.

"O Lord, this was an hard assault of a battell, and here thou ouercome by patience mightilich thine enemies; for thou ne wouldest not done against the will of thy Father. And thus Lord thou taughtest thy seruants to fight for their countrey. And Lord this fighting was in figure ytaught in the old law. But Lord, men holden now the shadow of the old fighting and leauen the light of thy fighting, that thou taughtest openlich both in word and in deed.

"Lord, thou gaue us a sword to fighten against our enemies for our countrey, that was thine holy teaching, and Christen mens law. But Lord thy sword is put in a sheath, and in priests ward, that haue forsake the fighting that thou taughtest. For as

they seyn, it is against their order to ben men of armes in thy batten, for it is unseemelich, as they seyn, that thy uicar in earth, other, his priests shulden suffer of other men. And therefore gif any man smite him, other any of his clerks, he ne taketh it not in patience, but anon he smiteth with his sword of cursing, and afterward with his bodelich sword, he doth them to death. O Lord, me thinketh that this is a fighting against kind, and much against thy teaching.

"O Lord, whether axsedest thou after swerds in the time of thy passion to againstond thine enemies? nay forsooth thou Lord. For Peter, that smote for great love of thee, had no great thanke of thee for his smiting. And Lord, thou were mighty enough to haue againstond thine enemies, for through thy looking they fellen downe to the ground, Lord yblessed mote thou be. Here thou teachest us that we shoulde suffren: for thou were mighty ynow to haue againstand thine enemies, and thou haddest wepen, and thy men weren hearty to haue smitten.

"O sweet Lord, how may he for shame clepen himselfe thy uicar and head of the church, that may not for shame suffer? Sith thou art a Lord, and sufferedst of thy subjects, to giuen us ensample, and so did thy true seruants.

"O Lord, whether geue thou to Peter a spirituall swerd to curse, and a temporall swerd to sle mens bodies? Lord, I trow not, for then Peter that loued thee so much, would haue smit with thy swerds. But Lord, he taughten us to blessen them that cursen us, and suffren and not smiten. And Lord, he fed thy people as thou bed him, and therefore he suffred the death as thou didst.

"O Lord, why clepeth any man him Peters successor, that hath forsaken patience, and feedeth thy people with cursing, and with smiting? Lord thou saidest in thy gospell, when thy disciples knewen well that thou were Christ, and that thou mustest go to Ierusalem, and sufferen of the scribes and Pharises spittings, reproofes, and also the death. And Peter tooke thee aside, and said; God forbid that. And Lord, thou saydest to Peter, Goe behinde me Sathanas, thou sclaunderest me in Israel. For thou ne sauorest not thilke things that ben of God, but thilke that ben of men. Lord to mens wit it is unreasonable, that thou or thy uicar, gif thou madest any on earth, shoulde suffren of your suggets.

"A Lord, whether thou ordeinest an order of fighters to turne men to the beliefe? Other ordeinest that knights shoulde sweare to fight for thy words?

"A Lord, whether bed thou, that gif any man turne to the faith, that he should geue his goods and cattell to the uicar that hath great lordshops, and more than him needeth? Lord I wot well, that in the beginning the churchmen that were conuerted threwen adown their goods afore the apostles feete. For all they weren in charity, and none of them said this is mine, ne Peter made himselfe no lord of these goods.

"But Lord, now he that clepeth himselfe thy uicar upon earth, and successor to Peter, hath ybroke commandement of charity, for he is become a lord. And hee hath also broken thy commandement of mercy, and also of patience. Thus Lord wee be fallen into mischiefe and thraldome, for our chiefetaine hath forsaken war and armes, and hath treated to haue peace with our enemies.

"A Lord, gif it be thy will, draw thy swerd out of his sheath, that thy seruants may fight therewith against their enemies, and put cowardise out of our hearts: and comfort us in battaile, or than thou come with thy swerd in thy mouth, or take uengeance on thine enemies. For gif wee ben accorded with our enemies till that time

come, it is dread lest thou take uengeance both of them and of us together. A Lord, there is no helpe now in this great mischeife but only in thee.

"Lord, thou geuest us a commandement of truth, in bidding us say yea, yea, nay, nay, and sweare for nothing. Thou geue us also a maundement of meekenesse, and another of poorenesse: but Lord, he that clepeth himselfe thy uicar on earth, hath both ybroken these commandements; for he maketh a law to compell men to sweare, and by his lawes he teacheth that a man, to saue his life, may forswear and lie. And so Lord, through comfort of him and his lawes, the people ne dreadeth not to sweare and to lie, ne oft times to forswearen them. Lord here is little truth.

"O Lord, thou hast ybrought us to a lining of souls that stands in beleeuing in thee, and keeping thy hests, and when wee broken thy hests, then wee slen our souls: and lesse harme it were to suffer bodilich death.

"Lord, King Saul brake thine hests, and thou tooke his kingdome from his heires euermore after him, and giue it to Dauid thy seruant, that kept thine hests. And thou saidst by Samuel thy prophet to Saul the king, that it is a manner of worshipping of false gods to breake thy hests. For who that loueth thee ouer all things, and dreadeth thee also, he nole for nothing breake thine hests.

"O Lord, gif breaking of thine hests be herying of false gods, I trow that hee that maketh the people breake thine hests, and commandeth that his hests ben kept of the people, maketh himselfe a false god on earth; as Nebugodonosor did sometime that was king of Babylon.

"But Lord, we forsaken such false gods, and beleuen that there ne ben no mo gods than thou: and though thou suffer us a while to ben in disease for knowledging of thee; we thanken thee with our heart, for it is a token that thou louest us, to giuen us in this world some penance for our trespas.

"Lord, in the old law, thy true seruants tooke the death, for they would not eaten swines flesh that thou haddest forbidde them to eat. O Lord, what truth is in us to eaten unclean mete of the soule, that thou hast forbid? Lord thou saidst, he that doth sinne is seruant of sin, and then he that lieth in forswearing himselfe, is seruant of lesing: and then he is seruant to the diuell, that is a lier and father of lesings. And Lord, thou sayest, no man may serue two lords at once. O Lord then, euery lier for the time that he lieth, other forswareth himselfe, and forsaketh thy seruice for dread of his bodily death, becommeth the diuels seruant.

"O Lord, what truth is in him that clepeth himselfe seruant of thy seruants, and in his doing hee maketh him a lord of thy seruants. Lord thou were both Lord and Master, and so thou said thy selfe; but yet in thy works thou were as a seruant. Lord this was a great truth, and a great meeknesse: but Lord, bid thou thy seruants that they should not haue lordship ouer their brethren. Lord thou saydst kings of the heathen men han lordship ouer their subjects, and they that use their power be cleped well doers.

"But Lord, thou saidst it should not be so amongst thy seruants. But he that were most, should be as a seruant. Thou Lord, thou taughtest thy disciples to be meeke. Lord in the old law thy seruants durst haue no lordship of their brethren, but if that thou bid them: and yet they should not doe to their brethren as they did to thralles that serued them. But they should do to their brethren that were their seruants, as to their owne brethren: for all they were Abrahams children: and at a certaine time, they

should let their brethren passe from them in all freedom, but if they would wilfullich abide still in seruice.

"O Lord, thou gaue us in thy comming a law of perfect loue, and in token of loue thou clepedst thy selfe our brother. And to make us perfect in loue, thou bid that we should clepe to us no father upon earth, but thy Father of heauen wee should clepe our Father. Alas, Lord, how uiolently our brethren, and thy children ben now put in bodily thraldome, and in despite as beasts euermore in grieuous trauell to finde proud men in ease. But Lord, if we take this defoule and this disease in patience, and in meeknesse, and keepe thine hests, we hope to be free. And Lord giue our brethren grace to come out of thraldome of sinne, that they fall in through the desiring and usage of lordship upon their brethren. And Lord, thy priests in the old law had no lordships among their brethren, but houses and pastures for their beasts: but Lord our priests now haue great lordships, and put their brethren in greater thraldome than lewde men that be lords. Thus is meeknesse forsaken.

"Lord, thou biddest in the gospell, that when a man is bid to the feast, he should sit in the lowest place, and then he may be set higher with worship, when the lord of the feast beholdeth how his guEsts sitteth. Lord it is dread that they, that sit now in the highest place, should be bid in time comming sit beneath: and that will be shame and villany for them. And it is thy saying, those that hyeth himselfe should be lowed, and those that loweth himselfe should be an heyghed. O Lord, thou biddest in thy gospell to beware of the Pharises, for it is a point of pride contrary to meeknesse. And Lord, thou sayest that they love the first sittings at suppers, and also the principal chaires in churches, and greetings in cheeping, and to bee cleped masters of men. And Lord, thou sayest be yee not cleped masters, for one is your Master, and that is Christ, and all ye be brethren: and clepe ye to you no father upon earth, for one is your Father that is in heauen. O Lord, this is a blessed lesson to teach men to be meeke.

"But Lord, he that clepeth himselfe thy uicar on earth, he clepeth himselfe father of fathers against thy forbidding. And all those worships thou hast forbad. He approueth them, and maketh them masters to many, that teach thy people their owne teaching, and leaue thy teaching that is needfull, and hidden it by quaint glosses from thy lewd people and feede thy people with sweuens that they meete, and tales that doth little profite but much harme to the people. But Lord, these glosers object, that they desire not the state of masterie to be worshipped thereby, but to profit the more to thy people, when they preach thy word. Far as they suggen the people will beleue more the preaching of a master that hath taken a state of schoole, than the preaching of another man that hath not taken the state of mastry.

"Lord; whether it be any need that masters bearen witnesse to thy teaching, that it is true and good? O Lord, whether may any master now by his estate of mastry, that thou hast forboden, draw any man from his sinne, rather then another man that is not a master, ne wole be none; for it is forbodden him in thy gospell? Lord thou sendest to masters to preach thy people; and thou knowledgist in the gospell to thy Father, that he hath hid his wisdom from wise men and readie men; and shewed it to little children. And Lord, masters of the law hylden thy teaching folly, and saiden that thou wouldest destroy the people with thy teaching. Trulich Lord, so these masters seggeth now; for they haue written many bookes against thy teaching, that is truth; and so the prophecie of Ieremy is fulfilled when he saith; Trulich the false points of the masters of the law hath wrought lesing. And now is the time come that S. Paul speaketh of, where he saith; Time shall come when men shall not sustaine wholsome

teaching; but they shullen gather to hear masters with hutching eares, and from truth they shullen turnen away their hearing, and turnen them to tales, that masters haue maked to showne their maistry and their wisdom.

"And Lord, a man shall beleue more a mans workes than his words, and the deede sheweth well of these masters, that they desiren more maistry for their owne worship, than for profit of the people. For when they be masters, they ne preachen not so oft as they did before. And gif they preachen, commonlich it is before rich men, there as they mowne beare worship and also profit of their preaching. But before poore men they preachen but seldem, when they ben masters: and so by their workes we may seene that they ben false glosers.

"And Lord, me thinketh that who so wole keepen thine hests, him needeth no gloses: but thilke that clepen themselfe Christen men, and liven against thy teaching and thine hests, needelich they more glose thine hests, after their lining, other elsmen shulden openlich yknow their hypocrisie and their falshod.

"But Lord, thou sayst that there is nothing yhid that shall not be shewed sometime. And Lord yblessed mote thou be: for somewhat thou shewest us now of our mischiefes that we beene fallen in through the wisdomes of masters, that haue by sleights ylad us away from thee and thy teaching, that thou, that were the Master of heauen, taught us for love, when thou were here sometime to heale of our soules, withouten error or heresie. But masters of worlds wisdom and their founder haue ydamned it for heresie and for error.

"O Lord, me thinketh it is a great pride thus to reprove thy wisdom and thy teaching. And Lord, me thinketh that this Nabugodonosor king of Babylon, that thus hath reproved thy teaching and thine hests, and commandeth on all wise to keepen his hests, maken thy people hearen him as a god on earth, and maketh them his thralls and his seruants.

"But Lord, we lewd men knowen no God but thee, and we with thine helpe and thy grace forsaken Nabugodonosor and his lawes. For he in his proud estate wole haue all men under him, and he nele be under no man. He ondoth thy lawes that thou ordainest to ben kept, and maketh his owne lawes as him liketh: and so he maketh him king aboue all other kings of the earth, and maketh men to worshipping him as a god, and thy great sacrifice he hath ydone away.

"O Lord, here is thy commandement of meeknes, mischiflich to-broke: and thy blessed commandement of poornes is also to-broken, and yhid from thy people. Lord, Zechary thy prophet saith, that thou that shouldest be our King, shouldest ben a poore man, and so thou were: for thou saidest thy selfe; Foxes haue dens, and birds of heauen nests, and mans Sonne hath not where to ligge his head on. And thou saidest, yblessed ben poore men in spirit, for thy kingdome of heauen is therein: and woe to rich men, for they han their comfort in this world. And thou bad thy disciples to ben ware of all couetise, for thou saydest, in the abundance of mans hauing, ne is not his lifelode. And so thou teachest, that thilke that han more then them needeth to their liuing liuen in couetise. Also thou sayst, but gif a man forsake all things that he oweth, he ne may not ben thy disciple. Lord, thou sayst also, that thy word, that is sowne in rich mens hearts, bringeth forth no fruit; for riches and the businesse of this world maken it withouten fruit.

"O Lord, here bene many blessed teachings to teach men to ben poore, and loue poorenesse. But Lord harme is, poore men and poorenesse ben ybated, and rich

men ben yloued and honored: and gif a man bee a poore man, men holden him a man withouten grace; and gif a man desireth poorenesse, men holden him but a foole: and gif a man be a rich man, men clepen him a gracious man, and thilke that ben busie in getting of riches, ben yhold wise men and ready: but Lord, these rich men sayen, that it beth lawfull to them to gather riches together. For they ne gathereth it for themselfe, but for other men that ben needy, and Lord their workes shewen the truth. For if a poore needy man would borrowen of their riches, he nele lean him none of his good; but gif he mow be seker to haue it againe by a certaine day.

"But Lord, thou bed that a man should lend, and not hoping yelding againe of him that he lendeth to: and thy Father of heauen wole quite him his mede. And gif a poore man aske a rich man any good, the rich man will giue him but a little, and yet it shall be little worth. And Lord me thinketh that here is little loue and charity, both to God and to our brethren.

"For Lord, thou teachest in thy gossell, that what men doe to thy servants, they done to thee. A Lord, gif a poore man axe good for thy loue, men giueth him a little of the wurst. For these rich men ordeinen both bread and ale for Gods men of the wurst that they haue. O Lord, sith all good that men hath, commeth of thee; how dare any man geue thee of the wurst, and kepe to himselfe of the best? How may such men say that they gatheren riches for others need, as well as himselfe, sith their workes ben contrary to their words? and that is no great truth. And be ye seker these goods that rich man han, they ben Gods goods, ytake to your keeping, to looke how he wolen be setten them to the worshipping of God. And Lord, thou saiest in the gossell, that who so is true in little, he is true in that thing that is more: and who that is false in a little thing, who wole taken him toward things of a greater ualue? And therefore be yee ware that han Gods goods to keepe. Spend ye thilke trulich to the worship of God, lest ye leesen the blisse of heauen, for the untrue dispending of Gods goods in this world.

"O Lord, these rich men seggen that they don much for thy loue. For many poore labourers ben yfound by them, that shoulde fare febelich, ne we not they and their readinesse. Forsooth me thinketh that poore laborers giueth to these rich men, moren then they given them againeward. For the poore men more gone to his labour in cold and in heat, in wete and dry, and spend his flesh and his bloud in rich mens workes, upon Gods ground, to finde the rich man in ease, and in liking, and in good fare of meate, of drinke, and of clothing. Here is a great gift of the poore man, for he giueth his owne body. But what giueth the rich man again-ward? Certes feeble meat, and feeble drinke, and feeble clothing. What euer they seggen, such bee their workes, and here is little loue. And whosoever looketh well about, all the world fareth as we seggen: and all men studieth on euery side, how they may wex rich men; and euerich man almost is ashamed to ben holden a poore man.

"And Lord, I trow for thou were a poore man, men token little regard to thee, and to thy teaching. But Lord thou came to giue us a New Testament of loue; and therefore it was semelich that thou came in poorenesse, to proue who would love thee, and keepen thy hests. For gif thou haddest ycome in forme of a rich man and of a lord, men wold rather for thy dread then for thy loue, have yclept thine hests. And so Lord, now thou might well ysee which louen thee as they should in keeping thine hests. For who that loveth thee in thy poorenesse and in thy lownesse, needs he mote loue thee in thy lordship and highnesse.

"But Lord, the world is turned upse downe, and men loue poore men but a little, ne poorenesse neither. But men be ashamed of poorenesse; and therefore Lord, I

trow that thou art a poore King. And therefore I trow that he that clepeth himself thy uicar on earth, hath forsaken poorenesse, as he hath do the remnant of thy law, and is become a rich man and a lord, and maketh his treasure upon the earth, that thou forbiddest in the gospell; and for his right and riches, he will plete, and fight and curse. And yet Lord he will segge, that he forsaketh all things that he oweth, as thy true disciple mete done after thy teaching in the gospell.

"But Lord, thou ne taughtest not a man to forsaken his goods, and plete for them, and fight, and curse. And Lord, he taketh on him power to assoile a man of all manner things, but if it be of debt. Truly Lord, me thinketh he knoweth little of charity. For who that beth in charity, possesseth thy goods in common, and not in proper at his neighbors neede. And then shall there none of them segge this is mine, but it is Gods that God granteth to us to spenden it to his worship. And so if any of them borroweth a portion of those goods, and dispendeth them to Gods worship, God is apayed of this spending, and alloweth him this true doing. And if God is payed of that dispending, this is the principall lord of those goods, how dare any of his seruants axen thereof accounts, other challenge it for det? Serten, of one thing I am incerteine, that these that charge so much det of worldly cattell, they know little of Christs law of charity: for if Ich am a baily of Gods goods in the world; if I see my brother in need, I am hold by charitie to part with him of these goods to his nede; and if he spendeth them well to the worship of God, I mote be well apaid, as though I my selfe had spended them to the worship of God. And if the principall Lord is well payed of my brothers doing, and the dispending of his goods, how may I segge for shame that my brother is dettour to mee of the goods that I tooke him to spend in Gods worship at his nede? And if my brother spendeth amisse the goods that I take him, I am discharged of my deliuerance of the goods, if I take him in charity thilke goods at his nede. And I am hold to bee sory of his euill dispending, ne I may not axen the goods, that I tooke him to his nede in forme of debt, for at his need they were his as well as mine. And thus is my brother yhold to done to me gif he see me in nede, and gif we bed in charity, little should we chargen of det. And ne we should not axen so dets, as men that knowen not God: and then we be poore in forsaking all things that we own. For gif we ben in charitie, we wollen nother fight nor curse, ne plete for our goods with our brethren.

"O Lord, thus thou taughtest thy seruants to liuen; and so they liueden while they hadden good shepheards, that fedden thy sheep, and robbed them not of their livelode, as Peter thy good shepheard and thy other apostles. But Lord, he that clepeth himselfe thy vicar upon earth, and successor to Pcter, he robbeth thy people of their bodilich livelode, for hee ordeineth proud shepheards to liven in ease by the tenth party of poore mens trauell: and he giueth them leaue to liven where them liketh. And gif men ne wolen wilfullich giuen them the tithings, they wolen han them against their will by maisterie and by cursing, to maken them rich.

"Lord, how may any man segge that such shepheards that loven more the wolle than the sheepe, and fedden not thy sheepe in body, ne in soule, ne ben such ravenors and theeves? And who may segge, that the mainteinour of such shepheards ne is not a mainteinour of theeves and robbers? How wole hee assoile shepheards of their robbing, without restitution of their goods, that they robben thy shepe of against their will? Lord of all shepheards, blessed mote thou bee. For thou lovedst more the sheepe than their wolle. For thou feedest thy sheepe both in body and, soule. And for love of thy sheepe, thou tooke thy death to bring thy sheepe out of wolves mouthes. And the most charge that thou Bove to Peter was to feede thy sheepe. And so hee did

truelich, and tooke the death for thee and for thy sheepe. For hee came into the fold of sheepe by thee that were the doore. And so I trow few other did as hee did, though they clepen themselfe successors to Peter; for their workes shoven what they ben. For they robben and sleene and destroyen; they robben thy sheepe of the tenth part of their trauell, and feeden themselves in ease. They sleene thy sheepe, for they pyenen them for hunger of their soule to the death. They destroyen the sheepe, for with might and with sternship they rulen thy sheepe; that for dred they ben dispersed abroad in mountaines, and there the wilde beasts of the field destroyeth them for default of a good shepheard.

"O Lord, gif it be thy will deliver thy sheepe out of such shepheards ward that watcheth not of thy sheepe, so they han their wolles to make themselfe rich. For thy sheepe ben in great mischiefe, and foule accombred with their shepheards.

"But for thy shepheards wolden ben excused, they have ygetten them hired men to feed thy people, and these comen in sheepes clothing. But dredlesse their workes shewen that within forth they ben but wolfes. For han they their hire, they ne retcheth but a little how sorrilich thy sheepe ben kept. For as they seggen themselfe, they ben but hired men that han no charge of thy sheepe. And when they shulden feden thy sheepe in the plenteous lesew of thy teaching, they stonden between them and their lesew, so that the sheepe ne han but a sight of thy lesew, but eaten they shall not thereof. But they feden them in a sorrie sowre lesew of lesings and of tales. And so thy sheepe fallen into grievous sicknesse through this evill lesew. And gif any sheepe breake ouer into thy lesew to tasten the sweetnesse thereof, anon these hired men drive him out with hounds. And thus thy sheepe by these hired men ben ykept out of their kindlich lesew, and ben yfed with sowre grasse and sorrie barren lesew. And yet they feden but seldome, and when they han sorrilich fed them, they taken great hire, and gone away from thy sheepe and letten them a worth.

"And for dread lest thy sheepe wolden in their absence goe to thy sweet lesew, they han enclosed it all about so stronglich and so high, that there may no sheepe comen there within, but gif it be a Walisch leper of the mountaines, that may with his long legs lepen over the vallys. For the hired men ben full certaine, that gif thy sheepe had once ytasted the sweetnesse of thy lesew: they ne would no more bene yfed of these hired men in their sowre lesewes, and therefore these hired men kepen them out of that lesew. For haden the sheepe once ytasted well of that lesew, they wolden without a leader goe thider to their mete, and then mote these hired men sechen them another labor to live by than keeping of sheepe. And they ben fell and ware ynow thereof, and therefore they feeden thy sheepe with sowre meat that naught is, and hidden from thy sheepe the sweetnesse of thy lesew. And so though these hired men gon in sheepes clothing, in their workes they ben wolves, that much harme done to thy sheepe as we have ytold.

"O Lord, they comen as sheepe, for they seggen that they ben poore and have forsaken the world to liven perfiltich as thou taughtest in the gospell. Lord this is sheepes clothing. But Lord thou ne taughtest not a man to forsaken the travellous living in poorenesse in the world, to liven in ease with riches by other mens travell, and have lordship on their brethren. For Lord, this is more to forsaken thee and goe to the world.

"O Lord, thou ne taughtest not a man to forsake the world to liven in poorenesse of begging by other mens travell that ben as feeble as they ben. Ne Lord thou ne taughtest not a man to live in poorenesse of begging, that were strong enough

to travell for his lifelode. Ne Lord, thou ne taughtest not a man to ben a begger to begge of men more than him needeth, to build great castles and make great feasts to thilke that han no neede.

"O Lord, thou ne taughtest not men this poorenesse, for it is out of charitie. But thy poorenesse, that thou taughtest, nourisheth charitie. Lord, sith Paul saith, that hee that forsaketh the charge of thilke that ben homelich with him, hath forsaken his faith and is worse then an misbeleeven man: how then now these men seggen that they beleeven in Christ, that han forsaken their poore feeble friends, and let them live in travell and in disease, that travelled full sore for them, when they weren yong and unmightie to helpen themselves? And they wolen live in ease by other mens travell, evermore begging withouten shame.

"Lord thou ne taughtest not this manner poorenesse, for it is out of charitie. And all thy law is charitie and thing that nourisheth charitie, and these shepheards send about to keepe thy sheepe, and to feden them other whiles in bareine lesewes. Lord thou ne madest none such shepheards, ne keepers of the sheepe that feede sorrilich thy sheepe, and for so little travell taken a great hire, and sithen all the yeere afterward, doe what them liketh, and let thy sheepe perish for default of keeping.

"But thy shepheards abiden still with their sheepe, and feeden them in thy plenteous lesew of thy teaching, and gone before thy sheepe, and teachen them the way into the plenteous and sweete lesew, and keepen thy flocke from ravening of the wilde beasts of the field.

"O Lord deliver the sheep out of the ward of these shepheards, and these hired men, that stonden more to keepe their riches that they robben of thy sheepe, than they stonden in keeping of thy sheepe.

"O Lord when thou come to Jerusalem, sometime thou drove out of the temple sellers of beasts and of other chaffare, and saidst: Mine house shoulde ben cleped an house of prayers, but they maden a den of theeves of it. O Lord thou art the temple in whom we shoulde praie thy Father of heaven. And Salomons temple, that was ybelded at Jerusalem, was figure of this temple. But Lord, he that clepeth himselfe thy vicar upon earth, and saith that he occupieth thy place here on earth, is become a chapman in thy temple, and hath his chap-men walking in diuers countries to sellen his chaffare, and to maken him rich. And hee saith, thou gave him so great a power aboven all other men, that whatever he bindeth other unbindeth in earth, thou bindest other unbindest the same in heaven. And so of great power hee selleth other men forgiveness of their sinne. And for much money he will assoilen a man so cleane of his sinne, that he behoteth men of the blisse of heaven withouten any paine after that they be dead, that given him much money.

"Bishoppricks and chirches, and such other chaffares he selleth also for money, and maketh himselfe rich. And thus he beguiled the people.

"O Lord Iesus here is much untruth, and mischief, and matter of sorrow. Lord thou saidest sometime, that thou wouldest bee with thy servants unto the end of the world. And thou saidest also, there as tweine or three ben ygadred togedder in thy name, that thou art in the middle of them. A Lord, then it was no need to thee to maken liefetenant, sith thou wolte be evermore amongst thy servants.

"Lord, thou axedst of thy disciples, who they trowed that thou were. And Peter answered and said, that thou art Christ Gods Sonne. And thou saidest to Peter; Thou art yblessed Simon Bariona, for flesh and bloud ne showed not this to thee, but my

Father that is in heaven. And I say to thee that thou art Peter, and upon this stone ych would bilde my church, and the gates of hell hee shullen not availen agens it.

"And to thee ych wole geve the keyes of heaven, and what ever thou bindest upon earth shall bee bound in heaven, and what ever thou unbindest on earth, shall be unbounden in heaven. This power also was granten unto the other disciples, as well as to Peter, as the gospell openlich telleth. In this place men seggen that thou granted to Peters successours the selue power that thou gave to Peter. And therefore the bishop of Rome, that saith he is Peters successour, taketh this power to him to binden and unbinden in earth what him liketh. But Lord, ych have much wonder how hee may for shame clepen himselfe Peters successour: for Peter knowledged that thou wert Christ and God, and kept the hests of thy law: but these han forsaken the hests of thy law, and hath ymaken a law contrary to thine hests of thy law. And so he maketh himselfe a false Christ, and a false god in earth. And I trow thou gave him no power to undoe thy law. And so in taking this power upon him, maketh him a false Christ and antichrist.

"For who may be more agens Christ, than hee that in his words maketh himselfe Christs vicar in earth; and in his werkes undoth the ordinance of Christ, and maketh men beleeven that it is needfull to the heale of mans soules, to beleeven that he is Christs vicar in earth? And what ever he bindeth in earth, is ybounden in heaven, and under this colour hee undoth Christs law, and maketh men alwayes to keepen his law and hests.

"And thus man may yseene that bee is against Christ, and therefore hee is antichrist that maketh men worshipping him as a god on earth, as the proud kin Nabugodonosor did sometime, that was king of Babylon. And therefore wee lewde men that knowen not God but thee Iesus Christ, beleeven in thee that art our God, and our King, and our Christ, and thy lawes; and forsaken antichrist, and Nabugodonosor that is a false god, and a false Christ, and his lawes ben contrary to thy preaching.

"And Lord strength thou us against our enemies. For they ben about to maken us forsaken thee and thy law, other else to putten us to death.

"O Lord, onlich in thee is our trust to helpe us in this mischiefe, for thy great goodnesse that is withouten end.

"Lord thou ne taughtest not thy disciples to assoilen men of their sinne, and setten them a penance for their sinne, in fasting, ne in praying, ne other almous deed; ne thy selfe, ne thy disciples, useden no such power here on earth. For Lord, thou forgeve men her sinnes and bede him sinne no more. And thy disciples fulleden men in thy name, in forgivenessse of her sinnes. Nor they tooke no such power upon them as our priests dare now. And Lord, thou ne assoildest no man both of his sinne and of his paine, that was due for his sinne, ne thou grantedst no man such power here on earth.

"And Lord, me thinketh that gif there were a purgatorie, and any earthlich man had power to deliveren sinfull men from the peines of purgatorie, hee should, and hee were in charitie, saven everich man that were in way of salvation from thilke peines, sith they make them greater than any bodilich peines of this world. Also gif the bishop of Rome had such a power, hee himself shuld never come in purgatorie, ne in hell. And sith we see well that hee ne hath no power to kepen himselfe, ne other men nother out of these bodilich peines of the world, and he may goe to hell for his sinne as another man may: I ne beleeeve not, that he hath so great power to assoylen men of

their sinne as bee taketh upon him aboven all other men. And I trow that in this hee higheth himselfe above God.

"As touching the selling of bishoppricks and parsonages, I trow it be a point of falsehed. For agenst Gods ordinance hee robbeth poore men of a portion of their sustenance, and selleth it, other giveth it, to find proud men in idlenesse that don the lewd people little profit, but much harme, as we told before. Thus ben thy commandements of truth, of meeknesse, and of poorenesse undone by him, that clepeth himselfe thy vicar here upon earth.

"A Lord, thou gave us a commandement of chastice, that is, a forsaking of fleshlich lusts. For thou broughtest us to a living of soule, that is, ygoverned by the word. For Lord, thou ordeinedist women more frele than man to ben ygoverned by mans rule, and his helpe, to please thee and keepe thine hests. Ne thou ne ordeinedist that a man should desire the company of a woman, and maken her his wife, to liven with her in his lustis, as a swine doth or a horse. And his wife ne like him not to his lustes, Lord thou ne gave not a man leave to departen him from his wife, and taken him another.

"But Lord, thy marriage is a common accord betweene man and woman, to liven together to their lives end, and in thy service either the better for others helpe, and thilke that thus ben ycome together, ben joyned by thee, and thilke that God joyneth, may no man depart. But Lord, thou saiest, that gif a man see a woman to coveten her, then he doth with the woman lecherie in his heart. And so Lord, gif a man desire his wife in covetise of such lusts, and not to flie from whoredome, his weddins is lecherie, ne thou ne joynest them not together. Thus was Raguels daughter ywedded to seven husbands that the divell instrangled. But Toby tooke her to live with her in cleannesse, and bringing up of her children in thy worship, and on him the divell ne had no power. For the wedding was I-maked in God, for God, and through God.

"A Lord, the people is farre ygo from this manner of wedding. For now men wedden their wives for fairenesse, other for riches, or some such other fleshlich lusts. And Lord, so it preveth by them for the most part. For a man shall not find two wedded in a land, where the husband loues the wife, and the wife is buxum to the man, as they shoulde after the law of marriage. But other the man loves not his wife, or the wife is not buxum to her man. And thus Lord is the rule of prefe, that never faileth no preue whether it bee done by thee or no. And Lord, all this mischief is common among thy people, for that they know not thy word, but their shepherds and hired men fedden them with their sweuens and leasings. And Lord, where they shoulde gon before us in the field, they seggen their order is too holy for thy marriage. And Lord, he that calleth himselfe thy vicar upon earth will not suffren priests to taken them wives, for that is against his law: but Lord, hee will dispensen with them to kepen horen for a certaine summe of money. And Lord, all whoredome is forfended in thy law. And Lord, thou never forfendest priests their wiues, ner thy apostles neither. And well I wote in our land, priests hadden wives untill Anselmus dayes in the yeare of our Lord God 1129, as Huntingdone writes. And Lord, this makes people for the most part beleven, that lecherie is no sinne. Therefore wee lewd men prayen thee that thou wolt send vs shepherds of thine own, that wolen feeden thy flocke in thy lesew, and gon before themselfe, and so written thy law in our hearts, that from the least to the most all they mayen knowen thee. And Lord, geue our king and his lords heart to defenden thy true shepherds and thy sheepe from out of the

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wolues mouthes, and grace to know thee that art the true Christ, the Sonne of thy heauenly Father, from the antichrist, that is, the sonne of pride. And Lord, geue vs thy poore sheepe patience and strength to suffer for thy law, the cruelnesse of the mischieuous wolues. And Lord, as thou hast promised, shorten these daies. Lord we axen this now, for more neede was there neuer."

75. The Parable of Friar Rupescissanus

I doubt not, gentle reader, but in reading this godly treatise above prefixed, the matter is manifest and plain of itself without any further explication, what is to be thought and judged of this vicar of Christ, and successor of Peter, whom we call the bishop of Rome; whose life here thou seest not only to be disordered in all points, swerving from the steps and example of Christ, the Prince and Bishop of our souls, but also whose laws and doctrines are so repugnant and contrary to the precepts and rule of the gospel, that almost there is no convenience between them; as in the perusing of this complaining prayer thou mayest notoriously understand. Wherefore, having no need to stand in any further expressing of this matter, but leaving it to thine own consideration and discretion, I will speed myself (Christ willing) to proceed toward the time of John Wickliff and his fellows, taking by order of years as I go, such things by the way, as both happened before the said time of Wickliff, and also may the better prepare the mind of the reader to the entering of that story; where, first, I think it not inconvenient to infer a propheticall parable, written about this time, or not much before, which the author morally applieth unto the bishop of Rome. To what author this prophecy or moral is to be ascribed, I have not certainly to affirm: some say, that Rupescissanus, of whom mention is made before, was the author thereof, and allegeth it out of Froisart; but in Froisart, as yet, I have not found it. In the mean season, as I have found it in Latin expressed, because it painteth out the pope so rightly in his feathers and colours; as I thought the thing was not to be omitted, so I took this present place, as most fit, although, peradventure, missing the order of years a little, to insert the same. The effect of which parable followeth hereunder written.

In the time of Pope Innocent the Sixth above specified, this Johannes de Rupescissa, a friar, among other his prophecies marvellously forespake (as allegeth Froisart, who both heard and saw him) of the taking of John the French king prisoner, and brought forth many other notable collections concerning the perils, mutations, and changings in the church to come. And at what time the pope kept him at Avignon in prison, where Froisart is said to see him, and to speak with him, the said Froisart heard in the pope's court this example and parable recited by the aforesaid friar Rupescissanus, to the two cardinals, to wit, Cardinal Hostiensis, and Cardinal Auxercensis, which followeth in these words:

"When, on a certain time, a bird was brought into the world all bare and without feathers, the other birds hearing thereof, came to visit her; and for that they saw her to be a marvellous fair and beautiful bird, they counselled together how they might best do her good, since by no means without feathers she might either fly, or live commodiously. They all wished her to live for her excellent form and beauty's sake, insomuch that among them all there was not one that would not grant some part of her own feathers to deck this bird withal; yea, and the more trim they saw her to be, the more feathers still they gave unto her, so that by this means she was passing well penned and feathered, and began to fly. The other birds that thus had adorned her with goodly feathers, beholding her to fly abroad, were marvellously delighted therewith. In the end this bird, seeing herself so gorgeously feathered, and of all the rest to be had in honour, began to wax proud and haughty; insomuch that she had no regard at all unto them by whom she was advanced; yea, she punged them with her beak, plucked them by the skin and feathers, and in all places annoyed them. Whereupon

the birds, sitting in council again, called the matter in question, demanding one of another what was best to be done touching this unkind bird, whom they lovingly with their own feathers had decked and adorned; affirming that they gave not their feathers to the intent that she, thereby puffed up with pride, should contemptuously despise them all. The peacock, therefore, answereth the first; Truly, saith he, for that she is bravely set forth with my painted feathers, I will again take them from her. Then saith the falcon, And I also will have mine again. This sentence at length took place among them all, so that every one plucked from her those feathers which before they had given, challenging to them their own again. Now this proud bird, seeing herself thus to be dealt withal, began forthwith to abate her haughty stomach, and humbly to submit herself openly, confessing and acknowledging, that of herself she had nothing, but that her feathers, her honour and other ornaments, was their gift; she came into the world all naked and bare; they clad her with comely feathers, and therefore of right may they receive them again. Wherefore, in most humble wise she desireth pardon, promising to amend all that is past, neither would she at any time hereafter commit, whereby through pride she might lose her feathers again. The gentle birds, that before had given their feathers, seeing her so humble and lowly, being moved with pity, restored again the feathers which lately they had taken away, adding withal this admonition, We will gladly, say they, behold thy flying among us, so long as thou wilt use thine office with humbleness of mind, which is the chiefest comeliness of all the rest: but this have thou for certainty, that if at any time hereafter thou extol thyself in pride, we will straightway deprive thee of thy feathers, and reduce thee into thy former state wherein we found thee. Even so, O you cardinals, (saith Johannes Rupescissanus,) shall it happen unto you; for the emperors of the Romans and Almaines, and other Christian kings, potentates, and princes of the earth, have bestowed upon you goods, lands, and riches, that should serve God, but you have poured it out, and consumed it upon pride, all kind of wickedness, riot, and wantonness."

76. Armachanus and The Begging Friars

In the catalogue of these learned and zealous defenders of Christ against antichrist above rehearsed, whom the Lord about this time began to raise up for the reanimation of his church, being then far out of frame; I cannot forget nor omit something to write of the reverend prelate, and famous clerk, Richard Armachanus, primate and archbishop of Ireland: a man for his life and learning so memorable, as the condition of those days then served, that the same days then, as they had but few good, so had they none almost his better. His name was Richard Fitzraf, made primate and archbishop, as is said, of Ireland; first brought up in the university of Oxford in the study of all liberal knowledge, wherein he did exceedingly profit under John Bakenhorpe, his tutor and instructor. In this time the Begging Friars began greatly to multiply and spread, unto whom this Bakenhorpe was ever a great enemy; whose steps the scholars also following, began to do the like. Such was the capacity and dexterity of this Fitzraf, that he, being commended to King Edward the Third, was promoted by him, first, to be archdeacon of Lichfield, then to be the commissary of the University of Oxford, at length to be archbishop of Armagh in Ireland. He being archbishop, upon a time had a cause to come up to London; at what time here, in the said city of London, was contention between the friars and the clergy about preaching and hearing confessions, &c. Whereupon, this Armachanus, being requested to preach, made seven or eight sermons; wherein he propounded nine conclusions against the friars, for the which he was cited up by the friars before this Pope Innocent the Sixth to appear; and so he did: who before the face of the pope valiantly defended, both in preaching and in writing, the same conclusions, and therein stood constantly unto the death, as the words of John Wickliffe, in this Trialogo, do well testify. The like also Waldenus testifieth of him: also Volateranus reporteth the same. Gulielmus Botonerus, testifying of him in like manner, saith, that Armachanus first reproveth Begging Friars for hearing the confessions of professed nuns, without licence of their superiors, and also of married women without knowledge of their husbands. What dangers and troubles he sustained by his persecutors, and how miraculously the Lord delivered him from their hands; insomuch that they, meeting him in the open streets, and in clear daylight, yet had no power to see him nor to apprehend him: in what peril of thieves and searchers he was, and yet the Lord delivered him; yea, and caused his money, being taken from him, to be restored again to him by portions in time of his necessity and famine: and in what dangers he was of the king's officers, which, coming with the king's letters, laid all the havens for him; and how the Lord Jesus delivered him, showing him by what ways, and how to escape them: moreover, what appeals were laid against him, to the number of sixteen; and yet how the Lord gave him to triumph over all his enemies: how the Lord also taught him and brought him out of the profound vanities of Aristotle's subtilty, to the study of the Scriptures of God: all this, with much more, he himself expresseth in a certain prayer or confession made to Christ Jesus our Lord, in which he describeth almost the whole history of his own life; which prayer I have to show in old written hand, and hereafter (Christ willing) intend, as time serveth, to publish the same. Thus what were the troubles of this good man, and how he was cited up by the friars to the pope, you have partly heard. Now what were his reasons and arguments wherewith he defended his cause in the pope's presence, followeth to be declared; for the tractation whereof, first, I must put the reader in remembrance of the controversy mentioned before in the story of

Gulielmus de sancto Amore; also in the story of the university of Paris contending against the friars; for so long did this controversy continue in the church, from the year 1240, when the Oxford men began first to stand against the friars, to the time of this Armachanus, that is, to the year 1360; and after this time yet more increased. So it pleased the secret providence of God, for what cause he best knoweth, to suffer his church to be entangled and exercised sometimes with matters and controversies of no great importance; either to keep the vanity of men's wits thus occupied from idleness, or else to prepare their minds, by these smaller matters, to the consideration and searching out of other things more grave and weighty. Like as now in these our queen's days, we see what tragedies be raised up in England about forms and fashions of ministers' wearings, what troubles grow, what placing and displacing there is about the same. Even so at this time happened the like stir about the liberties and privileges of the friars, which not a little troubled and occupied all the churches and divines almost through Christendom. The which controversy, to the intent it may better be understood, (all the circumstances thereof being explained,) we will first begin from the original and foundation of the matter, to declare by order and course of years, upon what occasion this variance first rising, in continuance of time increased and multiplied in gathering more matter, and burst out at length to this tumultuous contention among learned men.

Concerning therefore this present matter; first, it is to be understood, that in the year of our Lord 1215, under Pope Innocent the Third, was called a general council at Lateran, mentioned before, in the days of King John. In the which council, among many other things, was constituted a certain law or canon, beginning *Omnis utriusque sexus, &c.*, the tenor of which canon in English is thus:

"Be it decreed, that every faithful Christian, both man and woman, coming to the years of discretion, shall confess himself alone of all his sins to the priest of his own proper parish, once in the year at least; and that he shall endeavour, by his own self, to fulfil the penance, whensoever he receiveth the sacrament of the Eucharist, at least at the time of Easter. Unless by the assent of his minister, upon some reasonable cause, he abstain for the time. Otherwise doing, let him both lack the communion of the church being alive, and Christian burial when he is dead. Wherefore be it decreed, that this wholesome constitution shall be published accustomedly in churches, to the end that no man of ignorance or of blindness make to himself a cloak of excuse. And if any shall confess himself to any other priest than of his own parish upon any just cause, let him ask and obtain first licence of his own priest; otherwise the priest shall have no power to bind him or to loose him," &c.

In the time of this Innocent, and of this Lateran council, was Dominic, the first author and founder of the Preaching Friars; who laboured to the said Pope Innocent, for the confirmation of his order, but did not obtain in his lifetime.

The next year after this Lateran council died Pope Innocent, A. D. 1216, after whom came Honorius the Third, who in the first year of his popedom confirmed the order of the friar Dominic, and gave to him and his friars authority to preach, and to hear confessions, with divers other privileges more. And under this pope, which governed ten years, lived Dominic five years after the confirmation of his order, and died A. D. 1221. About which year the order of the Franciscan Friars began also to breed, and to spread in the world, through preaching and hearing confessions.



fter this Honorius, next followed Pope Gregory the Ninth, about the year of our Lord 1228, who, for the promoting of the aforesaid order of Dominics, gave out this bull, in tenor as followeth:

"Gregorius bishop, servant of God's servants, to his reverend brethren, archbishops, bishops, and to his well-beloved children, abbots, priors, and to all prelates of churches, to whomsoever these presents shall come, greeting, and apostolical blessing.

Because iniquity hath abounded, and the charity of many hath waxed cold; behold, the Lord hath raised up the order of our well-beloved children the Preaching Friars, who not seeing things of their own, but pertaining to Jesus Christ, to the extirpating a swell of heresies, as to the rooting out also of other pernicious pestilences, have dedicated themselves to the preaching of the word of God. We therefore, minding to advance their sacred purpose, &c. And followeth; commanding you to see the said persons, gently to be received among you; and that your flocks committed to your charge do receive devoutly the seed of God's word out of their mouth, and do confess their sins unto them, all such as list, whom we have authorized to the same, to hear confessions, and to enjoin penance, &c. Dat. Perusii. An. Pont. nostri 8."

This Pope Gregory died about the year of our Lord 1241, after whom came Celestine the Fourth, and sat but eighteen days: then came Innocent the Fourth, and sat eleven years and six months; who, although he began first to favour the friars, yet afterward being altered by certain divines of universities, prelates of churches, and curates, he debarred them of their liberties and privileges, and gave out again precepts and excommunications, as well against friars, as all other religious persons. And not long after the same he was despatched and made away.

Innocent being thus removed out of the way, about the year of our Lord 1353, then succeeded Pope Alexander the Fourth, a great maintainer of the friars, and sat seven years. He revoked and repealed the acts and writings of Pope Innocent his predecessor, given forth against the friars; wherewith the divines and students of Paris being not well contented, stirred up four principal doctors: the first and chief captain was Gulielmus de Sancto Amore, mentioned before, against whom wrote Albertus Magnus, and Thomas Aquinas; and at last he was condemned by this aforesaid Pope Alexander the Fourth, in the Extravagant, *Non sine mulcta*. The second was Simon Jornalensis; the third, Godfridus de Fontibus; the fourth, Henricus de Gandavo. These four, with other their complices, compiled a certain book against the begging order of friars, both Dominicans and Franciscans, entitled *De periculis Ecclesiae*, containing fourteen chapters, whereof the fourteenth, which is the last, with thirty-nine articles against the friars, we have already translated and expressed. Beside these thirty-nine articles, be other seven articles, moreover, to the said book annexed, under the name of the students of Paris against the friars, proving why the said friars ought not to be admitted into their society.

"First, We say they are not to be admitted to the society of our school, but upon our will and licence; for our company or fellowship ought not to be co-active, but voluntary and free.

"Secondly, We say they are not to be admitted, forasmuch as we oft proved their community manifold ways to be hurtful and incommodious.

"Thirdly, Seeing they be of a diverse profession from us, (for they are called regular, and not scholastical,) we therefore ought not to be joined and associate together in one scholastical office; forasmuch as the council of Spain doth say, Thou shalt not plough with an ox and with an ass together; which is to say, Men of diverse professions ought not together to be matched in one kind of calling, or standing, for their studies and conditions be disagreeing and dissevered from ours, and cannot frame or couple together in one communion.

"Fourthly, We affirm by the apostle that they are not to be admitted, because they work dissensions and offences; for so saith the apostle, Rom. xvi. We desire you, brethren, that ye observe and take heed of such as make dissensions and offences about the doctrine which you have learned by the apostles, and avoid them; for such serve not the Lord, but their own belly. Gloss. 'Some they flatter, some they backbite, whereby they might feed their bellies.' That through their sweet and pleasant words, and by their benedictions, they may deceive the hearts of the simple. Gloss. 'That is, with their fine sugared and trim-couched words they set forth their own traditions, wherewith they beguile the hearts of the simple innocents.'

"Fifthly, We say they are not to be admitted, for that we fear lest they be in the number of them which go about and devour men's houses; for they thrust in themselves into every man's house, searching and sacking the conscience and states of all persons: and whom they find easy to be seduced, and women, such they do circumvent, and lead them away from the counsels of their prelates, binding them in act or oath: from such we are warned by the apostle to avoid.

"Sixthly, We say they are to be avoided, because we fear they are false prophets; which being neither bishops, nor parish priests, nor yet their vicars, nor sent by them, yet they preach (not sent) against the mind of the apostle, Rom. x., saying, How shall they preach except they be sent? for else there appeareth in them no such great virtue, for the which they ought to be admitted to preach uncalled. Seeing therefore that such are so dangerous to the church, they ought to be avoided.

"Seventhly, We say they are not to be admitted, because they be a people so curious in searching and inquiring of other men's doings and spiritual demeanour. And they yet be neither apostles, nor yet successors of the apostles, as bishops; nor of the number of the seventy-two disciples of the Lord; nor their successors, that is, parish priests, nor their helpers, nor yet vicars. Wherefore, seeing they live so in no order, by the sentence of the apostle we are commanded to avoid them, 2 Thess. iii., where he saith, We admonish and denounce unto you, O brethren! in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, (that is, as the gloss saith, 'We command you by the authority of Christ,') that you withdraw yourselves from every brother that walketh inordinately, and not after the tradition which you have received of us, &c. Look upon the common gloss of this place, and you shall find, that such are to be avoided till time they amend from so doing," &c.

Besides these articles above rehearsed, certain propositions or conclusions were also propounded in the schools of Paris the same time, solemnly to be disputed and defended against the friars; which, in a brief sum of words to collect them, were these:

"First, That the Begging Friars were not in the state of salvation.

"Secondly, That they were bound to labour with their hands that could, and not to beg.

"Thirdly, That they ought not to exercise the office of preaching, or to hear the confessions of them that will come unto them, although being licensed thereunto by the bishop of Rome, or by the diocesan, forasmuch as the same is prejudicial to the ministers and priests of the parishes."

All these aforesaid articles and conclusions, with the book set forth by these Paris men, this Pope Alexander the Fourth condemned to be abolished and burned, writing his precepts to the French king, and also the university of Paris, in the favour of the friars, willing and commanding the said friars to be restored to all their privileges and liberties in as ample manner as in Pope Gregory's time before.

Not long after Pope Alexander the Fourth followed Clement the Fourth, A. D. 1263, and sat three years: who also gave the privilege to the friars, beginning, *Quidam temere*, &c.; in which privilege he condemneth them that say that no man without licence of his curate or minister ought to confess him to the friars, or that a subject ought to ask licence of their ministers so to do, which was against the canon *Omnis utriusque sexus*, &c., made by Pope Innocent the Third, before recited.

After this Clement again came Pope Martin the Fourth, A. D. 1281, who renewed again the canon, *Omnis utriusque sexus*, in the behalf of the curates against the friars.

Then Pope Boniface the Eighth began to sit, A. D. 1294, and sat eight years and nine months; who, taking side with the friars, gave to them another privilege, beginning, *Supra cathedram*, &c.; in the which privilege he licensed the friars, that without licence of vicars of churches they shall first present themselves to the prelates to be admitted; by whom, if they be refused the second time, then they, upon special authority of this pope, shall be privileged, without either bishop or curate, to preach, to bury, and to hear confessions, whosoever will come to them, revoking all that was decreed by his predecessors before to the contrary.

By this Pope Boniface, a certain Dominic Friar was made cardinal, named Nicolaus de Tervisio, and after the death of Boniface he was also made pope, A. D. 1303, surnamed Pope Benedict the Eleventh, who, seeing the constitution of Boniface, his predecessor, to gender dissension between the priests and friars, made another constitution, beginning, *Inter cunctas*, &c., revoking the constitution of Boniface his predecessor. Upon which constitution of Pope Benedict, Johannes Monachus, making a gloss, revoked also his other made upon the constitution of Pope Boniface before.

Again, after this Benedict the Eleventh followed Pope Clement the Fifth, A. D. 1305, and sat nine years. Who, in his general council holden at Vienna, revoked the constitution of Benedict his predecessor, and renewed again the former decree of Boniface, by a new constitution of his, beginning, *Dudum a Bonifacio VIII.*, &c., which constitution, moreover, was confirmed afterward by Pope John the Twenty-second, A. D. 1316. Which pope also caused Johannes de Poliacco to recant.

Upon this variable diversity of the popes (one dissenting and repugning from another) rose among the divines and schoolmen in universities great matter of contention, as well in the university of Paris as the university of Oxford, about the Begging Friars, some holding one way, some another way. But especially five principal opinions be noted of learned men, who, then disputing against the friars, were condemned for heretics, and their assertions reproved.

The first was the opinion of them which defended that the friars might not, by the licence of the bishop of Rome and of the prelates, preach in parishes and hear confessions. And of this opinion was Gulielmus de Sancto Amore, with his fellows, who, as it is said, were condemned.

The second opinion was this, that friars, although not by their own authority, yet by privilege of the pope and of the bishop, might preach and hear confessions in parishes, but yet not without licence of the parish priests. Of this opinion was Bernard, glossing upon the canon, *Omnis utriusque sexus*, afore mentioned.

The third opinion was, that friars might preach and hear confessions without licence of the parish priests; but yet the said parishioners, notwithstanding, were bound by the canon *Omnis utriusque sexus*, to repeat the same sins again, if they had no other, to their own proper curate. And of this opinion were many, as Godfridus de Fontibus, Henricus de Gandavo, Johannes Monachus Cardinalis, Johannes de Poliac; which Johannes de Poliac Pope John the Twenty-second caused openly in Paris to recant and retract.

This Johannes de Poliac, doctor of divinity in Paris, being complained of by the friars for certain articles or assertions, was sent for to the pope; where, time and place being to him assigned, he, in the audience of the pope and of friarly cardinals and other doctors, was straitly examined of his articles. To make the story short he, at length submitting himself to the authority of the terrible see of Rome, was caused to recant his assertions openly at Paris. His assertions which he did hold were these:

First, that they which were confessed to friars, although having a general licence to hear confessions, were bound to confess again their sins to their own parish priest, by the constitution *Omnis utriusque sexus*, &c.

The second was, that the said constitution *Omnis utriusque sexus* standing in his force, the pope could not make, but parishioners were bound once a year to confess their sins to their priest. For the doing otherwise importeth a contradiction in itself.

The third was, that the pope could not give general licence to hear confessions so, but that the parishioner so confessed was bound to reiterate the same confession made unto his own curate; which he proved by these places of the canon law: "Those things which be generally ordained for public utility, ought not to be altered by any change, &c. Item, the decrees of the sacred canons none ought to keep more than the bishop apostolical, &c. Item, to alter or to ordain any thing against the decrees of the fathers, is not in the authority or power, no, not of the apostolical see."

The fourth opinion was, that the friars by the licence of the pope and of the bishops might lawfully hear confessions, and the people might be of them confessed and absolved. But yet notwithstanding, it was reason, convenient, honest, and profitable, that once in the year they should be confessed to their curates, (although being confessed before to the friars,) because of the administration of the sacraments, especially at Easter. Of which opinion was Gulielmus de Monte Landuno. Henricus de Gaudano also held it not only to be convenient, but also that they were bound so to do.

The fifth opinion was, that albeit the friars might at all times, and at Easter also, hear confessions as the curates did; yet it was better and more safe, at the time of Easter, to confess to the curates, than to the friars. And of this opinion was this our Armachanus, of whom we presently now treat.

And thus have ye, as in a brief sum, opened unto you what was the matter of contention between the friars and the churchmen; what popes made with the friars, and what popes made against them. Moreover, what learned men disputed against them in Paris, and other places; and what were their opinions.

The matter of contention about the friars stood in four points; first, preaching without licence of curates; secondly, in hearing confession; thirdly, in burying; fourthly, in begging and taking of the people.

The popes that maintained the friars were, Honorius the Third, Gregorius the Ninth, Alexander the Fourth, Clement the Fourth, Boniface the Eighth, Clement the Fifth. The popes that maintained curates, were Innocentius the Third, Innocentius the Fourth, Martinus the Fourth, Benedictus the Eleventh.

The learned men that disputed against the friars were, Gulielmus de S. Amore, Bernardus super capitulum, Omnis utriusque sexus, Godfridus de Fontibus, Henricus de Gandavo, Gulielmus de Landuno, Johannes Monachus Cardinalis, Johannes de Poliac, and Armachanus. All these were condemned by the popes, or else caused to recant.

These considerations and circumstances hitherto premised, for the more opening of this present cause of Armachanus sustained against the idle beggarly sects of friars, in whom the reader may well perceive antichrist plainly reigning and fighting against the church: it now remaineth, that as I have before declared the travails and troubles of divers godly learned men in the church striving against the said friars, continually from the time of Gulielmus de Amore, hitherto; so now forasmuch as this our Armachanus laboured, and in the same cause sustained the like conflict with the same antichrist, we likewise collect and open his reasons and arguments uttered in the consistory and in the audience of the pope himself, wherewith he maintaineth the true doctrine and cause of the church against the pestiferous canker creeping in by these friars after subtle ways of hypocrisy, to corrupt the sincere simplicity of Christ's holy faith and perfect testament; the which reasons and arguments of his, with the whole process of his doings, I thought good and expedient for the utility of the church more amply and largely to discourse and prosecute, for that I note in the sects, institutions, and doctrine of these friars, such subtle poison to lurk, more pernicious and hurtful to the religion of Christ and souls of Christians than all men, peradventure, do consider.

Thus Armachanus, joining with the clergy of England, disputed and contended with the friars here of England, A. D. 1358, about a double matter; whereof the one was concerning confession and other excheats which the friars encroached in parish churches against the curates, and public pastors of churches. The other was concerning wilful beggary and poverty, which the friars then took upon them, not upon any necessity, being otherwise strong enough to work for their living, but only upon a wilful and affected profession. For the which cause the friars appealed him up to the court of Rome. The occasion whereof thus did rise.

It befell that Armachanus, upon certain business coming up to London, found there certain doctors disputing and contending about the begging of Christ our Saviour. Whereupon he, being greatly urged and requested oftentimes thereunto, at request made seven or eight sermons unto the people at London, wherein he uttered nine conclusions; whereof the first and principal conclusion was, touching the matter of the friars' privileges in hearing confessions.

By this oration of Armachanus the learned prelate, made before Pope Innocent and his cardinals, divers and sundry things there were, for the utility of the church, worthy to be observed. First, what troubles and vexations came to the church of Christ by these friars. Also what persecution followeth after by the means of them, against so many learned men and true servants of Christ. Furthermore, what repugnance and contrariety was among the popes, and how they could not agree among themselves about the friars. Fourthly, what pestiferous doctrine, subverting well nigh the Testament of Jesus Christ. Fifthly, what decay of ministers in Christ's church. Sixthly, what robbing and circumventing of men's children. Seventhly, what decay of universities, as appeareth by Oxford. Eighthly, what damage to learning and lack of books to students came by these friars. Ninthly, to what pride, under colour of feigned humility, to what riches, under dissembled poverty, they grew, here is to be seen; insomuch that at length, through their subtle and most dangerous hypocrisy, they crept up to be lords, archbishops, cardinals, and at last also chancellors of realms, yea, and of most secret counsel with kings and queens.

All these things well considered, now remaineth in the church to be marked; that forasmuch as these friars, (with their new-found testament of friar Francis,) not being contented with the testament of God in his Son Christ, began to spring the same time when Satan was prophesied to be let loose by the order of the Scripture; whether therefore it is to be doubted, that these friars make up the body of antichrist, which is prophesied to come in the church, or not; which is much less to be doubted, because whoso list to try shall find, that of all other enemies of Christ, of whom some be manifest, some be privy, all be together cruel, yet is there no such sort of enemies which more sleightly deceiveth the simple Christian, or more deeply drowneth him in damnation, than doth this doctrine of the friars.

But of this oration of Armachanus enough. Which oration what success it had with the pope, by story it is not certain: by his own life declared, it appeareth that the Lord so wrought that his enemies did not triumph over him. Notwithstanding, this by story appeareth, that he was seven or eight years in banishment for the same matter, and there died in the same at Avignon, of whom a certain cardinal hearing of his death openly protested, that the same day a mighty pillar of Christ's church was fallen.

After the death of Armachanus, the friars had contention likewise with the monks of Benedict's order about the same year, 1360, and so removed their cause, both against the monks and against the university of Oxford, unto the court of Rome; wherein, saith the author, they lacked another Richard. By this that appeareth to be true, which is testified in the first tome of Waldenus, that long debate continued between the friars and the university of Oxford. Against whom first stood Robert Grossthead, bishop of Lincoln, above mentioned, then Sevallus of York, Johannes Baconthorpe, and now this Armachanus, of whom here presently we treat; and after him again John Wickliff, of whom (Christ willing) we will speak hereafter. Against this aforesaid Armachanus wrote divers friars; Roger Conaway, a Franciscan, John Heyldesham, a Carmelite, Galfridus Hardby, a friar Augustine. Also friar Engelbert, a Dominican, in a book entituled Defensorium Privilegiorum, and divers other. I credibly hear of certain old Irish Bibles translated long since into the Irish tongue, which, if it be true, it is not other like but to be the doing of this Armachanus. And thus much of this learned prelate and archbishop of Ireland, a man worthy, for his Christian zeal, of immortal commendation.

After the death of this Innocent, next was popped in the see of Rome Pope Urban the Fifth, who by the father's side was an Englishman. This Urban had been a long waiter in the court of Rome; and when he saw no promotion would light upon him, complaining to a certain friend of his, he made to him his moan, saying, That he thought, verily, if all the churches of the world should fall, yet none would fall in his mouth. The which friend after seeing him to be pope, and enthronized in his threefold crown, cometh to him, and putting him in remembrance of his words to him before, saith, That where his Holiness had moaned his fortune to him, that if all the churches in the world would fall, none would fall upon his head; now (saith he) God hath otherwise so disposed, that all the churches in the world are fallen upon your head, &c.

This pope maintained and kindled great wars in Italy, sending Egidius, his cardinal and legate, and after him Arduinus, a Burgundian, his legate and abbot, with great puissance and much money, against sundry cities in Italy; by whose means the towns and cities which before had broken from the bishop of Rome, were oppressed; also Barnabes and Galeaceus, princes of Milan, vanquished. By whose example other, being sore feared, submitted themselves to the Church of Rome; and thus came up that wicked church to her great possessions, which her patrons would needs father upon Constantine, the godly emperor.

In the time of this Pope Urban the Fifth, and in the second year of his reign, about the beginning of the year of our Lord 1364, I find a certain sermon of one Nicholas Orem, made before the pope and his cardinals, on Christmas even. In the which sermon the learned man doth worthily rebuke the prelates and priests of his time, declaring their destruction not to be far off, by certain signs taken of their wicked and corrupt life. All the sayings of the prophets, spoken against the wicked priests of the Jews, he doth aptly apply against the clergy of his time, comparing the church then present to the spiritual strumpet spoken of in the 16th chapter of the prophet Ezekiel. And proveth, in conclusion, the clergy of the church then to be so much worse than the old synagogue of the Jews, by how much it is worse to sell the church and sacraments, than to suffer doves to be sold in the church. With no less judgment also and learning he answereth to the old and false objections of the papists, who, albeit they be never so wicked, yet think themselves to be the church which the Lord cannot forsake.

This sermon was made by master Nicholas Orem before Pope Urban and his cardinals, upon the even of the nativity of the Lord, being the fourth Sunday of Advent, in the year of our Lord 1364, and the second of his popedom.

In the fifth year of this forenamed Pope Urban began first the order of the Jesuits. And unto this time, which was about the year of our Lord 1367, the offices here in England, as the lord chancellor, lord treasurer, and of the privy seal, were wont to be in the hands of the clergy; but about this year, through the motion of the lords in the parliament, and partly (as witnesseth mine author) for hatred of the clergy, all the said offices were removed from the clergy to the lords temporal.

77. Pope Gregory the Eleventh and King Edward the Third



fter the death of Pope Urban, next succeeded Pope Gregory the Eleventh, who, among his other acts, first reduced again the papacy out of France unto Rome, which had from thence been absent the space now of seventy years; being thereto moved (as Sabellicus recordeth) by the answer of a certain bishop, whom, as the pope saw standing by him, he asked, why he was so long from his charge and church at home, saying, that it was not the part of a good pastor, to keep him from his flock so long. Whereunto the bishop answering again, said, And

you yourself being the chief bishop, who may and ought to be a spectacle to us all, why are you from the place so long where your church doth lie? By the occasion whereof the pope sought all means after that to remove and to rid his court out of France again to Rome, and so he did.

This Gregory the Eleventh, in a certain bull of his sent to the archbishop of Prague, maketh mention of one named Militzius, a Bohemian, and saith in the same bull, that this Militzius should hold opinion and teach, A. D. 1366, that antichrist was already come. Also that the said Militzius had certain congregations following him; and that in the same congregations were certain harlots, who, being converted from their wickedness, were brought to a godly life; which harlots being so converted, he used to say, were to be preferred before all the holy religious virgins. And therefore he commanded the archbishop to excommunicate and persecute the said Militzius, which in foretime had been a religious man of Prague, and after forsook his order, and gave himself to preaching, and at length was by the aforesaid archbishop imprisoned.

Jacobus Misnensis, a learned man and a writer in the time of John Huss, maketh mention of this Militzius, and calleth him a worthy and a famous preacher. Also he citeth many things out of his writings, in the which writings this good Militzius thus declareth of himself, how he was moved and urged by the Holy Ghost to search out by the sacred Scriptures, concerning the coming of antichrist. And that he was compelled by the same Holy Spirit publicly to preach at Rome, and also before the inquisitor there to protest plainly, that the same great antichrist, which is prophesied of in the Holy Scriptures, was already come. Moreover his saying was, That the church through negligence of the pastors was desolate, did abound in temporal riches, but in spiritual riches was empty. Also, That in the church of Christ were certain idols which destroyed Jerusalem, and defaced the temple, but hypocrisy caused that those idols could not be, seen. Also, That many there were which denied Christ, because that knowing the truth, yet for fear of men they durst not confess their conscience, &c. And thus much of good Militzius, living in the time of Gregory the Eleventh, and King Edward the Third, A. D. 1370. The which king of England, holding a parliament in the third year of this pope, sent his ambassadors to him, desiring him, that he from henceforth would abstain from his reservations of benefices used in the court of England; and that spiritual men within this realm promoted unto bishoprics, might freely enjoy their elections within the realm, and be confirmed by their metropolitans, according to the ancient custom of the realm. Wherefore, upon

these, and such other like, wherein the king and the realm thought themselves much grieved, he desired of the pope some remedy to be provided, &c. Whereunto the pope returned a certain answer again unto the king, requiring by his messengers to be certified again of the king's mind concerning the same. But what answer it was it is not in the story expressed, save that the year following, which was 1374, there was a tractation at Bruges upon certain of the said articles between the king and the pope, which did hang two years in suspense; and so at length it was thus agreed between them, that the pope should no more use his reservations of benefices in England, and likewise the king should no more confer and give benefices upon the writ, *Quare impedit*, &c.; but as touching the freedom of elections to be confirmed by the metropolitan, mentioned in the year before, thereof was nothing touched.

As touching these reservations, provisions, and collations, with the elections of the archbishops, bishops, beneficed men, and other, wherewith the pope vexed this realm of England, as before you have heard; the king, by the consent of the lords and commons, in the twenty-fifth year of his reign, enacted, that according to a statute made in the thirtieth year of his grandfather, Edward the First, wherein was made an act against the ravenous pillage of the pope, through the same provisions, reservations, and collations, &c., but not put in execution; by the which provisions, the state of the realm decreased more and more, the king's royalty and prerogative was greatly obscured and diminished, innumerable treasure of the realm transported, aliens and strangers placed in the best and fattest bishoprics, abbeyes, and benefices within the realm; and such, as either for their offices in Rome, as cardinalships and such like, could not be here resident, or, if resident, yet better away for causes infinite, as partly have been touched before; he not only revived the said statute made by Edward the First, his grandfather, but also enlarged the same; adding thereunto very strait and sharp penalties against the offenders therein, or in any part thereof, as exemption out of the king's protection, loss of all their lands, goods, and other possessions, and their bodies to be imprisoned at the king's pleasure; and further, whosoever was lawfully convict, or otherwise, for want of appearance by process directed forth, were within the lapse of this statute of *Præmunire*, for so bare the name thereof, should suffer all and every such molestations and injuries, as men exempted from the protection of the king. Insomuch, that whosoever had killed such men, had been in no more danger of law therefore, than for the killing of any outlaw, or one not worthy to live in a commonwealth. Like unprofitable members were they then, yea, in that time of ignorance, esteemed in this commonwealth of England, which would offer themselves to the wilful slavery and servile obedience of the pope; which thing in these days, yea, and that amongst no small fools, is counted more than evangelical holiness. He that list to peruse the statute, and would see every branch and article thereof at large discussed and handled, with the penalties therefore due, let him read the statute of Provision and *Præmunire*, made in the twenty-fifth year of this king's days. And let him read in the statutes made in the parliaments holden the twenty-seventh year and thirty-eighth year of his reign; and under the same title of Provision and *Præmunire* he shall find the pope's primacy and jurisdiction within this realm more nearly touched, and much of his papal power restrained: insomuch that whosoever, for any cause or controversy in law, either spiritual or temporal, the same being determinable in any of the king's courts, as all matters were, whether they were personal or real citations, or other, should either appeal, or consent to any appellation to be made, out of the realm to the pope or see of Rome, should incur the said penalty and danger of *Præmunire*. Divers other matters wherein the pope is restrained of his usurped power, authority, and jurisdiction within this realm of England, are in the said titles and statutes

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expressed, and at large set forth, whoever list to peruse the same, which for brevity's sake I omit, hastening to other matters.

78. Anti-Papal Writers, 1370-1390

About this time, being the year of our Lord 1370, lived holy Bridget, whom the Church of Rome hath canonized not only for a saint, but also for a prophetess; who, notwithstanding, in her book of revelations, which hath been oftentimes imprinted, was a great rebuker of the pope, and of the filth of his clergy, calling him a murderer of souls, a spiller and a piller of the flock of Christ, more abominable than the Jews, more cruel than Judas, more unjust than Pilate, worse than Lucifer himself. The see of the pope, she prophesieth, shall be thrown down into the deep, like a millstone, and that his assister shall burn with brimstone; affirming that the prelates, bishops, and priests, are the cause why the doctrine of Christ is neglected, and almost extinguished. And that the clergy have turned the ten commandments of God in two words, to wit, *Da pecuniam*, that is, Give money. It were long and tedious to declare all that she against them writeth. Among the rest which I omit, let this suffice for all; whereas the said Bridget affirmeth in her revelations, that when the holy virgin should say to her Son, how Rome was a fruitful and fertile field; Yea, said he, but of weeds only and cockle, &c.

To this Bridget I will join also Catharina Senensis, a holy virgin, which lived much about the same time, A. D. 1379. This Catharine, having the spirit of prophecy, was wont much to complain of the corrupt state of the church, namely, of the prelates of the court of Rome, and of the pope; prophesying before of the great schism which then followed in the Church of Rome, and dured to the council of Constance, the space of thirty-nine years; also of the great wars and tribulation, which ensued upon the same. And moreover, declared before and foretold of this so excellent reformation for religion in the church now present. The words of Antoninus be these: After this virgin, in her going to Rome, had told her brother of the wars and tumults that should rise in the countries about Rome, after the schism of the two popes; I, then curious to know of things to come, and knowing that she understood by revelation on what should happen, demanded of her; I pray you, (good mother,) said I, and what shall befall after these troubles in the church of God? And she said, "By these tribulations and afflictions, after a secret matter unknown unto man, God shall purge his holy church, and stir up the spirit of his elect. And after these things shall follow such a reformation of the holy church of God, and such a renovation of holy pastors, that the only cogitation and remembrance thereof maketh my spirit to rejoice in the Lord. And, as I have oftentimes told you heretofore, the spouse, which now is all deformed and ragged, shall be adorned and decked with most rich and precious ouches and brooches. And all the faithful shall be glad and rejoice to see themselves so beautified with so holy shepherds. Yea, and also the infidels then, allured by the sweet savour of Christ, shall return to the catholic fold, and be converted to the true Bishop and Shepherd of their souls. Give thanks therefore to God; for after this storm he will give to his a great calm." And after she had thus spoken, she staid, and said no more.

Besides these aforementioned, the Lord, which never ceaseth to work in his church, stirred up against the malignant Church of Rome the spirits of divers other good and godly teachers, as Matthew Paris, a Bohemian born, who, about the year of our Lord 1370, wrote a large book of antichrist, and proveth him to be already come, and noteth the pope to be the same; which book one Illiricus, a writer in these our days, hath, and promiseth to put it in print. In this book he doth greatly inveigh

against the wickedness and filthiness of the clergy, and against the neglecting of their duty in governing the church. The locusts mentioned in the Apocalypse, he saith, be the hypocrites reigning in the church. The works of antichrist, he saith, be these, the fables and inventions of men reigning in the church, the images and feigned relics that are worshipped every where. Item, That men do worship every one his proper saint and saviour beside Christ, so that every man and city almost hath his diverse and peculiar Christ. He taught and affirmed, moreover, that godliness and true worship of God are not bound to place, persons, or times, to be heard more in this place than in another, at this time more than at another, &c. He argueth also against the cloisterers, which, leaving the only and true Saviour, set up to themselves their Franciscans, their Dominics, and such other, and have them for their saviours, glorying and triumphing in them, and feigning many forged lies upon them. He was greatly and much offended with monks and friars for neglecting or rather burying the word of Christ, and instead of him, for celebrating and setting up their own rules and canons; affirming it to be much hurtful to true godliness, for that priests, monks, and nuns do account themselves only spiritual, and all other to be lay and secular, attributing only to themselves the opinion of holiness, and contemning other men, with all their politic administration, and the office as profane in comparison of their own. He further writeth that antichrist hath seduced all universities and colleges of learned men, so that they teach no sincere doctrine, neither give any light to the Christians with their teaching. Finally, he forewarneth that it will come to pass, that God yet once again will raise up godly teachers, who, being fervent in the spirit and zeal of Elias, shall disclose and refute the errors of antichrist, and antichrist himself, openly to the whole world. This Matthew, in the said book of antichrist, allegeth the sayings and writings of the university of Paris, also the writings of Gulielmus de Sancto Amore, and of Militzius, afore noted.

About the same time, or shortly after, A. D. 1384, we read also of Johannes of Mountziger, rector of the university of Ulm, who openly in the schools, in his oration, propounded that the body of Christ was not God, and therefore not to be worshipped as God with that kind of worship called *Latria*, as the sophister termeth it, meaning thereby the sacrament not to be adored, which afterward he also defended by writing; affirming also, that Christ in his resurrection took to him again all his blood which in his passion he had shed. Meaning thereby to infer, that the blood of Christ, which in many places is worshipped, neither can be called the blood of Christ, neither ought to be worshipped. But by and by he was resisted and withstood by the monks and friars, who by this kind of idolatry were greatly enriched, till at length the senate and council of the city was fain to take up the matter between them.

Nilus was archbishop of Thessalonica, and lived much about this time. He wrote a long work against the Latins; that is, against such as took part and held with the Church of Rome. His first book being written in Greek was afterward translated into Latin, and lately now into English, in this our time. In the first chapter of this book, he layeth all the blame and fault of the dissension and schism between the East and the West Church upon the pope. He affirmed that the pope only would command what him listed, were it never so contrary to all the old and ancient canons; that he would hear and follow no man's advice; that he would not permit any free councils to be assembled, &c. And that therefore it was not possible that the controversies between the Greek Church and Latin Church should be decided and determined.

In the second chapter of his book, he purposely maketh a very learned disputation. For first, he declareth that he no whit at all by God's commandment, but

only by human law, hath any dignity, more than hath other bishops; which dignity the councils, the fathers, and emperors, have granted unto him: neither did they grant the same for any other consideration more, or greater ordinance, than for that the same city then had the empire of all the whole world, and not at all for that Peter ever was there, or not there.

Secondarily he declareth, that the same primacy or prerogative is not such and so great as he and his sycophants do usurp unto themselves. Also he refuteth the chiefest propositions of the papists one after another. He declareth that the pope hath no dominion more than other patriarchs have, and that he himself may err as well as other mortal men; and that he is subject both to laws and councils as well as other bishops. That it belonged not to him, but to the emperor, to call general councils; and that in ecclesiastical causes he could establish and ordain no more than all other bishops might. And lastly, that he getteth no more by Peter's succession, than that he is a bishop, as all other bishops after the apostles be, &c.

I cannot, among other, following here the occasion of this matter offered, leave out the memory of Jacobus Misuensis, who also wrote of the coming of antichrist. In the same he maketh mention of a certain learned man, whose name was Militzius, which Militzius, saith he, was a famous and worthy preacher in Prague. He lived about the year 1366, long before Huss, and before Wickliff also. In the same his writings he declareth, how the same good man Militzius was by the Holy Spirit of God incited, and vehemently moved, to search out of the Holy Scriptures the manner and coming of antichrist, and found that now in his time he was already come. And the same Jacobus saith, that the said Militzius was constrained by the Spirit of God to go up to Rome, and there publicly to preach. And that afterward, before the inquisitor, he affirmed the same; that the same mighty and great antichrist, the which the Scriptures made mention of, was already come.

He affirmed also, that the church, by the negligence of the pastors, should become desolate; and that iniquity should abound, that is, by reason of Mammon, master of iniquity. Also, he said that there were in the church of Christ idols, which should destroy Jerusalem, and make the temple desolate, but were cloaked by hypocrisy. Further, that there be many which deny Christ, for that they keep silence; neither do they hear Christ, whom all the world should know, and confess his verity before men; which also wittingly do detain the verity and justice of God.

There is also a certain bull of Pope Gregory the Eleventh to the archbishop of Prague; wherein he is commanded to excommunicate and persecute Militzius and his auditors. The same bull declareth that he was once a canon of Prague, but afterward he renounced his canonship, and began to preach; who also, for that he so manifestly preached of antichrist to be already come, was of John, archbishop of Prague, put in prison, declaring what his error was; to wit, how he had his company or congregation to whom he preached, and that amongst the same were certain converted harlots, which had forsaken their evil life, and did live godly and well, which harlots he accustomed in his sermons to prefer before all the blessed virgins that never offended. He taught also openly, that in the pope, cardinals, bishops, prelates, priests, and other religious men, was no truth, neither that they taught the way of truth, but that only he, and such as held with him, taught the true way of salvation. His postil in some places is yet to be seen. They allege unto him certain other inconvenient articles, which, notwithstanding, I think the adversaries, to deprave him withal, have slanderously

invented against him. He had, as appeared by the aforesaid bull, very many of every state and condition, as well rich as poor, that cleaved unto him.

About the year of our Lord 1371, lived Henricus de Iota, whom Gerson doth much commend, and also his companion Henricus de Hassia, an excellent learned and famous man. An epistle of this Henricus de Hassia, which he wrote to the bishop of Normacia, Jacobus Cartsiensis inserted in his book *De Erroribus Christianorum*. In the same epistle the author doth greatly accuse the spiritual men of every order, yea, and the most holy of all other, the pope himself, of many and great vices. He said, that the ecclesiastical governors in the primitive church were compared to the sun shining in the day time; and the political governors, to the moon shining in the night. But the spiritual men, he said, that now are, do neither shine in the day time, nor yet in the night time, but rather with their darkness do obscure both the day and the night; that is, with their filthy living, ignorance, and impiety. He citeth also out of the prophecy of Hildegard these words: "Therefore doth the devil in himself speak of you priests: Dainty banquets and feasts, wherein is all voluptuousness, do I find amongst these men; insomuch that mine eyes, mine ears, my belly, and my veins be even filled with the froth of them, and my breasts stand astrut with the riches of them, &c. Lastly, saith he, they every day more and more, as Lucifer did, seek to climb higher and higher; till that every day with him, more and more, they fall deeper and deeper."

About the year of our Lord 1390, there were burned at Bringa thirty-six citizens of Moguntina, for the doctrine of Waldensis, as Brussius affirmeth; which opinion was nothing contrary to that they held before, wherein they affirmed the pope to be that great antichrist which should come; unless, peradventure, the pope seemed then to be more evidently convicted of antichristianity, than at any other time before he was revealed to be.

For the like cause, many other beside these are to be found in stories, which sustained the like persecutions by the pope, if leisure would serve to peruse all that might be searched. As where Masseus recordeth of divers to the number of one hundred and forty, which in the province of Narbonne chose rather to suffer whatsoever grievous punishment by fire, than to receive the decretals of the Romish church, contrary to the upright truth of the Scripture.

What should I here speak of the twenty-four which suffered at Paris, A. D. 1210? Also in the same author is testified that, A. D. 1211, there were four hundred under the name of heretics burned, eighty beheaded, Prince Americus hanged, and the lady of the castle stoned to death.

Moreover, in the chronicles of Hoveden, and of other writers, be recited a marvellous number, which in the countries of France were burned for heretics; of whom, some were called Publicans, some Catharites, some Paterines, and other by other names. What their assertions were, I find no certain report worthy of credit.

In Trithemius it is signified of one Eckhard, a Dominican friar, who, not long before Wickliff's time, was condemned and suffered for heresy at Heidelburgh, A. D. 1330, who as he differeth not much in name, so may he be supposed to be the same, whom other do name Beghard, and is said to be burned at Erphord.

Of Albigenes, because sufficient mention is made before, of whom a great number were burned about the time of King John, I pass them over.

Likewise, I let pass the hermit, of whom John Bacon maketh relation, who, disputing in Paul's church, affirmed that those sacraments, which were then used in

the church, were not instituted by Christ, A. D. 1306. Peradventure, it was the same Ranulphus, mentioned in the Flower of Histories, and is said to die in prison; for the time of them doth not much differ.

In Boetius, why the pope should so much commend a certain king, because for one man he had slain four hundred, cutting away the genitals from the rest, I cannot judge, except the cause were that which the pope calleth heresy.

79. John Wickliff



John Wickliff

But to let these things overpass that be uncertain, because neither is it possible to comprehend all them which have withstood the corruption of the pope's see, neither have we any such firm testimony left of their doings, credibly to stay upon, we will now, Christ willing, convert our story to things more certain and undoubted, grounding upon no light reports of feeble credit, nor upon any fabulous legends

without authority, but upon the true and substantial copies of the public records of the realm, remaining yet to be seen under the king's most sure and faithful custody: out of the which records such matter appeareth against the popish Church of Rome, and against his usurped authority, such open standing and crying against the said see, and that not privily, but also in open parliament, in the days of this King Edward the Third; that neither will the Romish people of this our age easily think it to be true when they see it, neither yet shall they be able to deny the same, so near standeth the force of those records.

Besides the truths and notes of the king's parliaments, wherein may appear the toward proceedings of this king and all his commons against the pretended Church of Rome; this is, moreover, to be added to the commendation of the king, how in the volumes of the Acts and Rolls of the king it appeareth, that the said King Edward the Third sent also John Wickliff, reader then of divinity lecture in Oxford, with certain other lords and ambassadors, over into the parts of Italy, to treat with the pope's legates concerning affairs betwixt the king and the pope, with full commission; the tenor whereof here followeth expressed.

"The king, to all and singular to whom these presents shall come, greeting. Know ye, that we, reposing assured confidence in the fidelity and wisdom of the reverend father, John, bishop of Bangor, and other our loving and faithful subjects, Master John Wickliff, reader of the divinity lecture, Master John Guntur, dean of Segobyen, and Master Simon Moulton, doctor of the law, Sir William Burton, knight, Master John Belknap, and Master John Honnington, have directed them as our ambassadors and special commissioners to the parts beyond the seas. Giving to the said our ambassadors and commissioners, to six or five of them, of whom I will that the said bishop shall be one, full power and authority, with commandment special, to treat and consult mildly and charitably with the legates and ambassadors of the lord pope, touching certain affairs; whereupon, of late, we sent heretofore the said bishop, and William Ughtred, monk of Durham, and Master John Shepy, to the see apostolical: and hereof to make full relation of all things done and passed in the said assembly, that all such things which may tend to the honour of holy church and the advancement of our crown and this our realm, may, by the assistance of God and the wisdom of the see apostolical, be brought to good effect, and accomplished accordingly. Witness ourselves, &c., at London, dated the twenty-sixth day of July, in the forty-eighth year of our reign."

By the which it is to be noted, what good-will the king then bare to the said Wickliff, and what small regard he had to the sinful see of Rome.

Of the which John Wickliff, because we are now approached to his time, it remaineth consequently for our story to treat of, so as we have heretofore done of other like valiant soldiers of Christ's church before him.

After all these heretofore recited, by whom, as ye have heard, it pleased the Lord something to work against the bishop of Rome, and to weaken the pernicious superstition of the friars, it now remaineth consequently, following the course of years, orderly to enter into the story and tractation of John Wickliff, our countryman, and other more of his time and same country, whom the Lord (with the like zeal and power of spirit) raised up here in England, to detect more fully and amply the poison of the pope's doctrine, and false religion set up by the friars. In whose opinions and assertions, albeit some blemishes perhaps may be noted; yet such blemishes they be, which rather declare him to be a man that might err, than which directly did fight

against Christ our Saviour, as the pope's proceedings and the friars' did. And what doctor or learned man hath been from the prime age of the church so perfect, so absolutely sure, in whom no opinion hath sometime swerved awry? And yet be the said articles of his, neither in number so many, nor yet so gross in themselves and so cardinal, as those cardinal enemies of Christ perchance do give them out to be; if his books, which they abolished, were remaining, to be conferred with those blemishes, which they have wrested to the worst, as evil-will never said the best.

This is certain and cannot be denied, but that he, being the public reader of divinity in the university of Oxford, was, for the rude time wherein he lived, famously reputed for a great clerk, a deep school-man, and no less expert in all kind of philosophy; the which doth not only appear by his own most famous and learned writings and monuments, but also by the confession of Walden, his most cruel and bitter enemy, who, in a certain epistle written unto Pope Martin the Fifth, saith, that he was wonderfully astonished at his most strong arguments, with the places of authority which he had gathered, with the vehemency and force of his reasons, &c. And thus much out of Walden. It appeareth by such as have observed the order and course of times, that this Wickliff flourished about the year of our Lord 1371, Edward the Third reigning in England; for thus we do find in the Chronicles of Caxton: "In the year of our Lord 1371, saith he, Edward the Third, king of England, in his parliament was against the pope's clergy: he willingly hearkened and gave ear to the voices and tales of heretics, with certain of his council, conceiving and following sinister opinions against the clergy; wherefore (afterward) he tasted and suffered much adversity and trouble. And not long after, in the year of our Lord (saith he) 1372, he wrote unto the bishop of Rome, that he should not by any means intermeddle any more within his kingdom, as touching the reservation or distribution of benefices; and that all such bishops as were under his dominion should enjoy their former and ancient liberty, and be confirmed of their metropolitans, as hath been accustomed in times past," &c. Thus much writeth Caxton. But as touching the just number of the year and time, we will not be very curious or careful about it at this present. This is out of all doubt, that at what time all the world was in most desperate and vile estate, and that the lamentable ignorance and darkness of God's truth had overshadowed the whole earth, this man steppeth forth like a valiant champion, unto whom it may justly be applied that is spoken in the book called Ecclesiasticus, of one Simon, the son of Onias: Even as the morning star being in the midst of a cloud, and as the moon being full in her course, and as the bright beams of the sun; so doth he shine and glister in the temple and church of God.

Thus doth Almighty God continually succour and help, when all things are in despair: being always (according to the prophecy of the Psalm) a helper in time of need; the which thing never more plainly appeared, than in these latter days and extreme age of the church, whenas the whole state and condition, not only of worldly things, but also of religion, was depraved and corrupted; that, like as the disease named lethargy amongst the physicians, even so the state of religion amongst the divines, was past all men's help and remedy. The name only of Christ remained amongst Christians, but his true and lively doctrine was as far unknown unto the most part, as his name was common unto all men. As touching faith, consolation, the end and use of the law, the office of Christ, of our impotency and weakness, of the Holy Ghost, of the greatness and stength of sin, of true works, of grace and free justification by faith, of liberty of a Christian man, wherein consisteth and resteth the sum and matter of our profession, there was no mention, nor any word almost spoken of

Scripture, learning, and divinity, were known but unto a few, and that in the schools only, and there also turned and converted almost all into sophistry. Instead of Peter and Paul, men occupied their time in studying Aquinas and Scotus, and the Master of Sentences. The world, leaving and forsaking the lively power of God's spiritual word and doctrine, was altogether led and blinded with outward ceremonies and human traditions, wherein the whole scope, in a manner, of all Christian perfection did consist and depend. In these was all the hope of obtaining salvation fully fixed; hereunto all things were attributed; insomuch that scarcely any other thing was seen in the temples or churches, taught or spoken of in sermons, or finally intended or gone about in their whole life, but only heaping up of certain shadowy ceremonies upon ceremonies; neither was there any end of their heaping.

The people were taught to worship no other thing but that which they did see; and did see almost nothing which they did not worship.

The church, being degenerated from the true apostolic institution above all measure, reserving only the name of the apostolic church, but far from the truth thereof in very deed, did fall into all kind of extreme tyranny; whereas the poverty and simplicity of Christ was changed into cruelty and abomination of life. Instead of the apostolic gifts and continual labours and travails, slothfulness and ambition had crept in amongst the priests. Beside all this, there arose and sprung up a thousand sorts and fashions of strange religions; being only the root and well-head of all superstition. How great abuses and depravations were crept into the sacraments, at what time they were compelled to worship similitudes and signs of things for the very things themselves, and to adore such things as were instituted and ordained only for memorials! Finally, what thing was there in the whole state of Christian religion so sincere, so sound and pure, which was not defiled and spotted with some kind of superstition? Besides this, with how many bonds and snares of daily newfangled ceremonies were the silly consciences of men, redeemed by Christ to liberty, snared and snarled; insomuch that there could be no great difference almost perceived between Christianity and Jewishness, save only the name of Christ: so that the state and condition of the Jews might seem somewhat more tolerable than ours! There was nothing sought for out of the true fountains, but out of the dirty puddles of the Philistines; the Christian people were wholly carried away as it were by the noses, with mere decrees and constitutions of men, even whither as pleased the bishops to lead them, and not as Christ's will did direct them. All the whole world was filled and overwhelmed with errors and darkness; and no great marvel: for why, the simple and unlearned people, being far from all knowledge of the Holy Scripture, thought it sufficient enough for them to know only these things which were delivered them by their pastors and shepherds, and they on the other part taught in a manner nothing else but such things as came forth of the court of Rome; whereof the most part tended to the profit of their order, more than to the glory of Christ.

The Christian faith was esteemed or counted none other thing then, but that every man should know that Christ once suffered, that is to say, that all men should know and understand that thing which the devils themselves also knew. Hypocrisy was counted for wonderful holiness. All men were so addict unto outward shows, that even they themselves, which professed the most absolute and singular knowledge of the Scriptures, scarcely did understand or know any other thing. And this did evidently appear, not only in the common sort of doctors and teachers, but also in the very heads and captains of the church, whose whole religion and holiness consisted, in a manner, in the observing of days, meats, and garments, and such like rhetorical

circumstances, as of place, time, person, &c. Hereof sprang so many sorts and fashions of vestures and garments; so many differences of colours and meats, with so many pilgrimages to several places, as though St. James at Compostella could do that, which Christ could not do at Canterbury; or else that God were not of like power and strength in every place, or could not be found but being sought for by running and gadding hither and thither. Thus the holiness of the whole year was transported and put off unto the Lent season. No country or land was counted holy, but only Palestine, where Christ had walked himself with his corporal feet. Such was the blindness of that time, that men did strive and fight for the cross at Jerusalem, as it had been for the chief and only force and strength of our faith. It is a wonder to read the monuments of the former times, to see and understand what great troubles and calamities this cross hath caused almost in every Christian commonwealth; for the Romish champions never ceased by writing, admonishing, and counselling, yea, and by quarrelling, to move and stir up princes' minds to war and battle, even as though the faith and belief of the gospel were of small force or little effect, without that wooden cross. This was the cause of the expedition of the most noble prince King Richard unto Jerusalem; who, being taken in the same journey, and delivered unto the emperor, could scarcely be ransomed home again for thirty thousand marks. In the same enterprise or journey, Frederic, the emperor of Rome, a man of most excellent virtue, was much endamaged, A. D. 1179; and also Philip, the king of France, scarcely returned home again in safety, and not without great losses: so much did they esteem the recovery of the holy city and cross.

Upon this alone all men's eyes, minds, and devotions were so set and bent; as though either there were no other cross but that, or that the cross of Christ were in no other place but only at Jerusalem. Such was the blindness and superstition of those days, which understood or knew nothing but such as were outwardly seen; whereas the profession of our religion standeth in much other higher matters and greater mysteries. What is the cause why that Urban did so vex and torment himself? Because that Antioch, with the holy cross, was lost out of the hands of the Christians; for so we do find it in the chronicles, at what time as Jerusalem with King Guido and the cross of our Lord was taken, and under the power of the sultan, Urban took the matter so grievously, that for very sorrow he died. In whose place succeeded Lambert, which was called Gregory the Eighth, by whose motion it was decreed by the cardinals, that (setting apart all riches and voluptuousness) they should preach the cross of Christ, and by their poverty and humility first of all should take the cross upon them, and go before others into the land of Jerusalem. These are the words of the history, whereby it is evident unto the vigilant reader, unto what grossness the true knowledge of the spiritual doctrine of the gospel was degenerate and grown in those days; how great blindness and darkness was in those days, even in the first primacy and supremacy of the bishop of Rome; as though the outward succession of Peter and the apostles had been of greater force and effect to the matter. What doth it force in what place Peter did rule or not rule? It is much more to be regarded that every man should labour and study with all their endeavour to follow the life and confession of Peter; and that man seemeth unto me to be true successor of Peter against whom the gates of hell shall not prevail. For if that Peter in the Gospel do bear the type and figure of the Christian church, as all men in a manner do affirm, what more foolish or vain thing can there be, than through private usurpation to restrain and to bind that unto one man, which by the appointment of the Lord is of itself free and open to so many?

Thus, in these so great and troublous times and horrible darkness of ignorance, what time there seemed in a manner to be no one so little a spark of pure doctrine left or remaining, this aforesaid Wickliff, by God's providence, sprang and rose up, through whom the Lord would first waken and raise up again the world, which was overmuch drowned and whelmed in the deep streams of human traditions. Thus you have here the time of Wickliff's original.

Which Wickliff, after he had now a long time professed divinity in the university of Oxford, and perceiving the true doctrine of Christ's gospel to be adulterate and defiled with so many filthy inventions of bishops, sects of monks, and dark errors; and that he, after long debating and deliberating with himself, (with many secret sighs, and bewailing in his mind the general ignorance of the whole world,) could no longer suffer or abide the same; he at the last determined with himself to help and to remedy such things as he saw to be wide, and out of the way. But, forasmuch as he saw that this dangerous meddling could not be attempted or stirred without great trouble, neither that these things, which had been so long time with use and custom rooted and grafted in men's minds, could be suddenly plucked up or taken away, he thought with himself that this matter should be done by little and little. Wherefore he, taking his original at small occasions, thereby opened himself a way or mean to greater matters. And first he assailed his adversaries in logical and metaphysical questions, disputing with them of the first form and fashion of things, of the increase of time, and of the intelligible substance of a creature, with other such-like sophisms of no great effect; but yet, notwithstanding, it did not a little help and furnish him, which minded to dispute of greater matters. So in these matters first began Keningham (a Carmelite) to dispute and argue against John Wickliff.

By these originals the way was made unto greater points, so that at the length he came to touch the matters of the sacraments, and other abuses of the church; touching which things this holy man took great pains, protesting (as they said) openly in the schools, that it was his chief and principal purpose and intent, to revoke and call back the church from her idolatry, to some better amendment, especially in the matter of the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ. But this boil or sore could not be touched without the great grief and pain of the whole world; for first of all, the whole glut of monks and Begging Friars were set on a rage or madness, which (even as hornets with their sharp stings) did assail this good man on every side; fighting (as is said) for their altars, paunches, and bellies. After them the priests, and then after them the archbishop, took the matter in hand, being then Simon Sudbury; who, for the same cause, deprived him of his benefice, which then he had in Oxford.

Notwithstanding, he being somewhat friended and supported by the king, as appeareth, continued and bare out the malice of the friars, and of the archbishop, all this while of his first beginning, till about the year of our Lord 1377; after which time, now to prosecute likewise of his troubles and conflicts, first I must fetch about a little compass, as requisite is, to infer some mention of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, the king's son, Lord Henry Percy, which were his special maintainers.

As years and time grew on, King Edward the Third, which had reigned now about fifty-one years, after the decease of Prince Edward his son, who departed the year before, was stricken in great age, and in such feebleness withal, that he was unwieldy through lack of strength, to govern the affairs of the realm. Wherefore, a parliament being called the year before his death, it was there put up by the knights and other the burgesses of the parliament, because of the misgovernment of the realm,

(by certain greedy persons about the king, raking all to themselves, without seeing any justice done,) that twelve sage and discreet lords and peers, such as were free from note of all avarice, should be placed as tutors about the king, to have the doing and disposing under him (six at one time, and in their absence, six at another) of matters pertinent to the public regiment. Here, by the way, I omit to speak of Alice Perris, the wicked harlot which, as the story reporteth, had bewitched the king's heart, and governed all, and sat upon causes herself, through the devilish help of a friar Dominic; who by the duke of Lancaster was caused to be taken, and was convicted, and should have suffered for the same, had not the archbishop of Canterbury and the friars (more regarding the liberty of their church than the punishing of vice) reclaimed him for their own prisoner. This Alice Perris, notwithstanding she was banished by this parliament from the king, yet afterward she came again, and left him not, till at his death she took all his rings upon his fingers and other jewels from him, and so fled away like a harlot. But this of her by the way.

These twelve governors, by parliament aforesaid being appointed to have the tuition of the king, and to attend to the public affairs of the realm, remained for a certain space about him; till afterward it so fell out, that they being again removed, all the regiment of the realm, next under the king, was committed to the duke of Lancaster, the king's son For as yet Richard, the son of Prince Edward lately departed, was very young and under age.

This duke of Lancaster had in his heart of long time conceived a certain displeasure against the popish clergy; whether for corrupt and impure doctrine joined with like abominable excess of life, or for what other cause, it is not precisely expressed; only by story the cause thereof may be guessed to rise by William Wickham, bishop of Winchester. The matter is this:

The bishop of Winchester, as the saying went then, was reported to affirm, that the aforesaid John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, was not the son of King Edward, nor of the queen; who, being in travail at Gaunt, had no son (as he said) but a daughter, which the same time, by lying upon of the mother in the bed, was there smothered. Whereupon the queen, fearing the king's displeasure, caused a certain man-child of a woman of Flanders (born the very same time) to be conveyed, and brought unto her instead of her daughter aforesaid; and so she brought up the child whom she bare not, who now is called duke of Lancaster. And this, said the bishop, did the queen tell him, lying in extremes on her death-bed under seal of confession; charging him, if the said duke should ever aspire to get the crown, or if the kingdom by any means should fall unto him, he then should manifest the same, and declare it to the world, that the said duke of Lancaster was no part of the king's blood, but a false heir of the king. This slanderous report of the wicked bishop, as it savoureth of a contumelious lie, so seemeth it to proceed of a subtle zeal toward the pope's religion, meaning falsehood. For the aforesaid duke, by favouring of Wickliff, declared himself to be a professed enemy against the pope's profession; which thing was then not unknown, neither unmarked of the prelates and bishops then in England. But the sequel of the story thus followed:

This slanderous villany of the bishop's report being blazed abroad, and coming to the duke's ear; he therewith not being a little discontented (as no marvel was) sought again, by what means he could, to be revenged of this forenamed bishop. In conclusion the duke, having now all the government of the realm under the king his father, in his own hands, so pursued the bishop of Winchester, that by act of

parliament he was condemned and deprived of all his temporal goods; which goods were assigned to Prince Richard of Bourdeaux, the next inheritor of the crown after the king; and furthermore he inhibited the said bishop not to approach near to the court by twenty miles. Further as touching this bishop, the story thus proceedeth: Not long after, in the year of our Lord 1377, a parliament was called by the means of the duke of Lancaster, upon certain causes and respects; in which parliament great request and suit was made by the clergy for the deliverance of the bishop of Winchester. At length, when a subsidy was asked in the king's name of the clergy, and request also made in the king's behalf, for speedy expedition to be made for the dissolving of the parliament, the archbishop therefore accordingly convented the bishops for the tractation thereof. To whom the bishops with great lamentation complaining for lack of their fellow and brother, the bishop of Winchester, whose injury, said they, did derogate from the liberties of the whole church; and therefore denied to join themselves in tractation of any such matters, before all the members together were united with the head; and (seeing the matter touched them all together in common, as well him as them) they would not otherwise do. And seemed, moreover, to be moved against the archbishop for that he was not more stout in the cause, but suffered himself so to be cited of the duke.

The archbishop, although having sufficient cause to excuse himself, wherefore not to send for him, as also he did, because of the perils which might ensue thereof, yet being enforced and persuaded thereunto by the importunity of the bishops, directed down his letters to the aforesaid bishop of Winchester, willing him to resort unto the convocation of the clergy; who being glad to obey the same, was received with great joy of the other bishops. And at length, by the means of Alice Perris, the king's paramour above mentioned, giving to her a good quantity of money, the said Winchester was restored to his own temporalities again.

As the bishops had thus sent for Winchester, the duke in the mean time had sent for John Wickliff, who, as is said, was then the divinity reader in Oxford, and had commenced in sundry acts and disputations, contrary to the form and teaching of the pope's church in many things; who also for the same had been deprived of his benefice, as hath been afore touched. The opinions which he began in Oxford, in his lectures and sermons, first to treat of, and wherefore he was deprived, were these: That the pope had no more power to excommunicate any man, than hath another. That if it be given by any person to the pope to excommunicate, yet to absolve the same is as much in the power of another priest, as in his. He affirmed, moreover, that neither the king nor any temporal lord could give any perpetuity to the church, or to any ecclesiastical person; for that when such ecclesiastical persons do sin, *habitualiter*, continuing in the same still, the temporal powers ought and may meritoriously take away from them that before hath been bestowed upon them. And that he proved to have been practised before here in England by William Rufus; which thing, said he, if he did lawfully, why may not the same also be practised now? if he did it unlawfully, then doth the church err, saith he, and doth unlawfully in praying for him. But of his assertions more shall follow, Christ willing, hereafter. The story which ascribeth to him these assertions, being taken out, as I take it, of the monastery of St. Alban's, addeth withal: That in his teaching and preaching he was very eloquent, but a dissembler, saith he, and a hypocrite. Why he surmiseth him to be a hypocrite, the cause was this:

First, Because he resorted much to the orders of the Begging Friars, frequenting and extolling the perfection of their poverty.

Secondly, Because he and his fellows usually accustomed in their preaching to go barefoot, and in simple russet gowns.

By this, I suppose, may efficiently appear to the indifferent, the nature and condition of Wickliff, how far it was from the ambition and pride, which the slanderous pen of Polydore Virgil reporteth in his 19th book of him, that because he was not preferred to higher honours and dignities of the church, (conceiving therefore indignation against the clergy,) he became their mortal enemy. How true was this, He only knoweth best, that rightly shall judge both the one and the other.

In the mean time, by other circumstances and parts of his life, we may also partly conjecture what is to be thought of the man. But howsoever it was in him either true or false, yet it had been Polydore's part, either not so intemperately to have abused his pen, or at least to have showed some greater authority and ground of that his report. For to follow nothing else but flying fame, so rashly to defame a man whose life he knoweth not, is not the part of a faithful story-writer.

But to return from whence we digressed. Beside these his opinions and assertions above recited, with other more, which are hereafter to be brought in order, he began also then something nearly to touch the matter of the sacrament, proving that in the said sacrament the accidents of bread remained not without the subject of substance; both by the Holy Scriptures, and also by the authority of the doctors, but specially by such as were most ancient. As for the later writers, that is to say, such as have written upon that argument under the thousand years since Christ's time, he utterly refused, saying, That after these years Satan was loosed and set at liberty; and that since that time the life of man hath been most subject, and in danger of errors; and that the simple and plain truth doth appear and conlist in the Scriptures, whereunto all human traditions, whatsoever they be, must be referred, and specially such as are set forth and published now of late years. This was the cause why he refused the later writers of decretals, leaning only to the Scriptures and ancient doctors; most stoutly affirming out of them, that in the sacrament of the body which is celebrate with bread, the accidents not to be present without the substance; that is to say, that the body of Christ is not present without the bread, as the common sort of priests in those days did dream. As for his arguments, what they were, we will shortly, at more opportunity, by God's grace, declare them in another place. But herein the truth, as the poet speaketh very truly, had gotten John Wickliff great displeasure and hatred at many men's hands; and specially of the monks and richest sort of priests.

Albeit through the favour and supportation of the duke of Lancaster and Lord Henry Percy, he persisted hitherto in some mean quiet against their wolfish violence and cruelty: till at last, about the year of our Lord 1376, the bishops still urging and inciting their archbishop Simon Sudbury, who before had deprived him, and afterward prohibited him also not to stir any more in those sorts of matters, had obtained, by process and order of citation, to have him brought before them; whereunto both place and time for him to appear, after their usual form, was to him assigned.

The duke, having intelligence that Wickliff his client should come before the bishops, fearing that he, being but one, was too weak against such a multitude, calleth to him, out of the orders of friars, four bachelors of divinity, out of every order one, to join them with Wickliff also, for more surety. When the day was come, assigned to the said Wickliff to appear, which day was Thursday, the nineteenth of February, John Wickliff went, accompanied with the four friars aforesaid, and with them also the

duke of Lancaster, and Lord Henry Percy, lord marshal of England; the said Lord Percy also going before them to make room and way where Wickliff should come.

Thus Wickliff (through the providence of God) being sufficiently guarded, was coming to the place where the bishops sat; whom, by the way, they animated and exhorted not to fear nor shrink a whit at the company of the bishops there present, who were all unlearned, said they, in respect of him; for so proceed the words of my aforesaid author, whom I follow in this narration; neither that he should dread the concourse of the people, whom they would themselves assist and defend, in such sort as he should take no harm. With these words, and with the assistance of the nobles, Wickliff, in heart encouraged, approached to the church of St. Paul in London, where a main press of people was gathered to hear what should be said and done. Such was there the frequency and throng of the multitude, that the lords, notwithstanding all the puissance of the high marshal, and only with great difficulty could get way through; insomuch that the bishop of London, whose name was William Courtney, seeing the stir that the lord marshal kept in the church among the people, speaking to the Lord Percy, said, That if he had known before what masteries he would have kept in the church, he would have stopped him out from coming there; at which words of the bishop, the duke, disdaining not a little, answered to the bishop again, and said, That he would keep such mastery there, though he said nay.

At last, after much wrestling, they pierced through and came to our Lady's chapel, where the dukes and barons were sitting together with the archbishops and other bishops; before whom the aforesaid John Wickliff, according to the manner, stood to know what should be laid unto him. To whom first spake the Lord Percy, bidding him to sit down, saying, that he had many things to answer to, and therefore had need of some softer seat. But the bishop of London, cast eftsoons into a fumish chafe with those words, said, He should not sit there. Neither was it, said he, according to law or reason, that he, which was cited there to appear to answer before his ordinary, should sit down during the time of his answer, but should stand. Upon these words a fire began to heat and kindle between them; insomuch that they began so to rate and revile one the other, that the whole multitude, therewith disquieted, began to be set on a hurry.

Then the duke, taking the Lord Percy's part, with hasty words began also to take up the bishop. To whom the bishop again, nothing inferior in reproachful checks and rebukes, did render and requite not only to him as good as he brought, but also did so far excel him in this railing art of scolding, that the duke blushed and was ashamed, because he could not overpass the bishop in brawling and railing, and therefore fell to plain threatening; menacing the bishop, that he would bring down the pride not only of him, but also of all the prelacy of England. And speaking, moreover, unto him: Thou, said he, bearest thyself so brag upon thy parents, which shall not be able to help thee; they shall have enough to do to help themselves; for his parents were the earl and countess of Devonshire. To whom the bishop again answered, that to be bold to tell truth, his confidence was not in his parents, nor in any man else, but only in God in whom he trusted. Then the duke softly whispering in the ear of him next by him, said, That he would rather pluck the bishop by the hair of his head out of the church, than he would take this at his hand. This was not spoken so secretly, but that the Londoners overheard him. Whereupon, being set in a rage, they cried out, saying, that they would not suffer their bishop so contemptuously to be abused. But rather they would lose their lives than that he should so be drawn out by the hair. Thus that council, being broken with scolding and brawling for that day, was dissolved before

nine of the clock; and the duke, with the Lord Percy, went to the parliament, where the same day, before dinner, a bill was put up in the name of the king by the Lord Thomas Woodstock and Lord Henry Percy, that the city of London should no more be governed by a mayor, but by a captain, as in times before; and that the marshal of England should have all the ado in taking the arrests within the said city, as in other cities besides, with other petitions more, tending to the like derogation of the liberties of London. Which bill being read, John Philpot, burgess then for the city, standeth up, saying to them which read the bill, that that was never seen so before; and adding, moreover, that the mayor would never suffer any such things, or other arrest to be brought into the city, with more such words of like stoutness.

The next day following the Londoners assembled themselves in a council, to consider among them upon the bill for changing the mayor, and about the office of the marshal, also concerning the injuries done the day before to their bishop.

In which mean time, they being busy in long consultation of this matter, suddenly and unawares entered in the place two certain lords, whether to come to spy, or for what other cause, the author leaveth it uncertain, the one called Lord Fitz-Walter, the other Lord Guy Bryan. At the first coming in of them the vulgar sort was ready forthwith to fly upon them as spies, had not they made their protestation with an oath, declaring that their coming in was for no harm toward them. And so they were compelled by the citizens to swear to the city their truth and fidelity; contrary to the which oath, if they should rebel, they would be contented to forfeit whatsoever goods and possessions they had within the city.

This done, then began the Lord Fitz-Walter, in this wise, to persuade and exhort the citizens, first declaring how he was bound and obliged to them and to their city, not for the oath only now newly received, but of old and ancient good-will from his great-grandfather's time. Besides other divers duties, for the which he was chiefly bound to be one of their principal favourers; forasmuch as whatsoever tendeth to their damage and detriment, redounded also no less unto his own, for which cause he could not otherwise choose, but that what he did understand to be attempted against the public profit and liberties of the city, he must needs communicate the same to them; who, unless they, with speedy circumspection, do occur, and prevent perils that may and are like to ensue, it would turn in the end to their no small incommodity. And as there were many other things which required their vigilant care and diligence, so one thing there was which he could in no wise but admonish them of; which was this, necessary to be considered of them all, how the lord marshal Henry Percy, in his place within himself, had one in ward and custody, whether with the knowledge or without the knowledge of them, he could not tell: this he could tell, that the said lord marshal was not allowed any such ward or prison in his house, within the liberties of the city; which thing, if it be not seen to in time, the example thereof being suffered, would, in fine, breed to such a prejudice unto their customs and liberties, as they should not hereafter, when they would, reform the injury thereof.

These words of the Lord Fitz-Walter were not so soon spoken, but they were as soon taken of the rash citizens; who, in all hasty fury, running to their armour and weapons, went incontinently to the house of the Lord Percy, where, breaking up the gates, by violence they took out the prisoner, and burned the stocks wherein he sat, in the midst of London. Then was the Lord Percy sought for, whom, saith the story, they would doubtless have slain if they might have found him. With their bills and javelins, all corners and privy chambers were searched, beds and hangings torn asunder. But

the Lord Percy, as God would, was then with the duke, whom one John Yper the same day, with great instance, had desired to dinner.

The Londoners not finding him at home, and supposing that he was with the duke at Savoy, in all hasty heat turned their power thither, running as fast as they could to the duke's house; where also in like manner they were disappointed of their cruel purpose. In the mean while, as this was doing, cometh one of the duke's men running in post haste to the duke and to the Lord Percy, declaring what was done. The duke, being then at his oysters, without any further tarrying, and also breaking both his shins at the fall for haste, took boat with the Lord Percy, and by water went to Kingston, where then the princess, with Richard the young prince, did lie; who there declared unto the princess all the whole matter concerning the outrage of the Londoners, as it was. To whom she promised again, that such an order should be taken in the matter, as should be to his contentation. At what time the commons of London thus, as is said, were about the duke's house at Savoy, there meeteth with them a certain priest, who, marvelling at the sudden rage and concourse, asked what they sought. To whom answer was given again of some, that they sought for the duke and the lord marshal, to have of them the Lord Peter de la Mare, whom they wrongfully had detained in prison. To this the priest answered again more boldly than opportunely: That Peter (said he) is a false traitor to the king, and worthy long since to be hanged. At the hearing of these words, the furious people, with a terrible shout, cried out upon him, that he was a traitor, and one that took the duke's part, and so falling upon him with their weapons, strove who might first strike him; who, after they had wounded him very sore, so being wounded they had him into prison; where, within few days, upon the soreness of his wounds, he died.

Neither would the rage of the people thus have ceased, had not the bishop of London, leaving his dinner, come to them at Savoy, and putting them in remembrance of the blessed time, as they term it, of Lent, had persuaded them to cease and to be quiet.

The Londoners, seeing that they could get no advantage against the duke, who was without their reach, to wreak their anger they took his arms, which in most despiteful ways they hanged up in the open places of the city, in sign of reproach, as for a traitor. Insomuch that when one of his gentlemen came through the city, with a plate containing the duke's arms hanging by a lace about his neck, the citizens not abiding the sight thereof, cast him from his horse, and plucked his escutcheon from him, and were about to work the extremity against him, had not the mayor rescued him out of their hands, and sent him home safe unto the duke his master. In such hatred was then the duke among the vulgar people of London.

After this the princess, understanding the hearts and broil of the Londoners, set against the aforesaid duke, sent unto London three knights, Sir Albred Lewer, Sir Simon Burley, and Sir Lewis Clifford, to entreat the citizens to be reconciled with the duke. The Londoners answered, that they, for the honour of the princess, would obey and do with all reverence what she would require; but this they required and enjoined the messengers to say to the duke by word of mouth: that he should suffer the bishop of Winchester afore mentioned, and also the Lord Peter de la Mare, to come to their answer, and to be judged by their peers; whereby either they might be quit, if they were guiltless; or otherwise, if they be found culpable, they might receive, according to their deserts after the laws of the realm, what grief and displeasure the duke conceived and retained in his mind hereof. Again, what means and suit the Londoners

for their part made to the old king for their liberties; what rhymes and songs in London were made against the duke; how the bishops, at the duke's request, were moved to excommunicate those malicious slanderers; and, moreover, how the duke at last was revenged of those contumelies and injuries; how he caused them to be brought before the king; how sharply they were rebuked for their misdemeanour by the worthy oration of the lord chamberlain, Robert Aston, in the presence of the king, archbishops, bishops, with divers other states, the king's children, and other nobilities of the realm; in conclusion, how the Londoners were compelled to this at length, by the common assent and public charges of the city, to make a great taper of wax, which, with the duke's arms set upon it, should be brought with solemn procession to the church of St. Paul, there to burn continually before the image of our Lady; and, at last, how both the said duke and the Londoners were reconciled together, in the beginning of the new king, with the kiss of peace, and the same reconcilment publicly announced in the church of Westminster, and what joy was in the whole city thereof: these, because they are impertinent and make too long a digression from the matter of Wickliff, I cut off with brevity, referring the reader to other histories, namely, of St. Alban's, where they are to be found at large.

As these aforesaid, for brevity' sake, I pass over, so will I not be long, and yet cannot omit that which happened the same time and year to the bishop of Norwich, to the intent that this posterity now may see to what pride the clergy of the pope's church was then grown. The same time as this broil was at London, the bishop of Norwich, a little after the time of Easter, coming to the town of Lennam, belonging to his lordship; being not contented with the old accustomed honour due unto him, and used of his predecessors before in the same town, required, moreover, with a new and unused kind of magnificence to be exalted: insomuch that when he saw the chief magistrate or mayor of that town to go in the streets with his officer going before him, holding a certain wand in his hand tipped at both ends with black horn, as the manner was, he, reputed himself to be lord of that town, as he was, and thinking to be higher than the highest, commanded the honour of that staff due to the mayor, to be yielded and borne before his lordly personage. The mayor or bailiff, with other the townsmen, courteously answered to him again, that they were right willing and contented with all their hearts to exhibit that reverence unto him; and would so do, if he first of the king and council could obtain that custom, and if the same might be induced, after any peaceable way, with the good-wills of the commons and body of the town; otherwise, said they, as the matter was dangerous, so they durst not take in hand any such new alteration of ancient customs and liberties, lest the people, (which is always inclinable and prone to evil,) do fall upon them with stones, and drive them out of the town. Wherefore, kneeling on their knees before him, there humbly they besought him that he would require no such thing of them; that he would save his own honour and their lives, who, otherwise, if he intended that way, were in great danger. But the bishop, youthful and haughty, taking occasion, by their humbleness, to swell the more in himself, answered, that he would not be taught by their council, but that he would have it done, though all the commons (whom he named ribalds) said nay. Also he rebuked the mayor and his brethren for mecocks and dastards, for so fearing the vulgar sort of people.

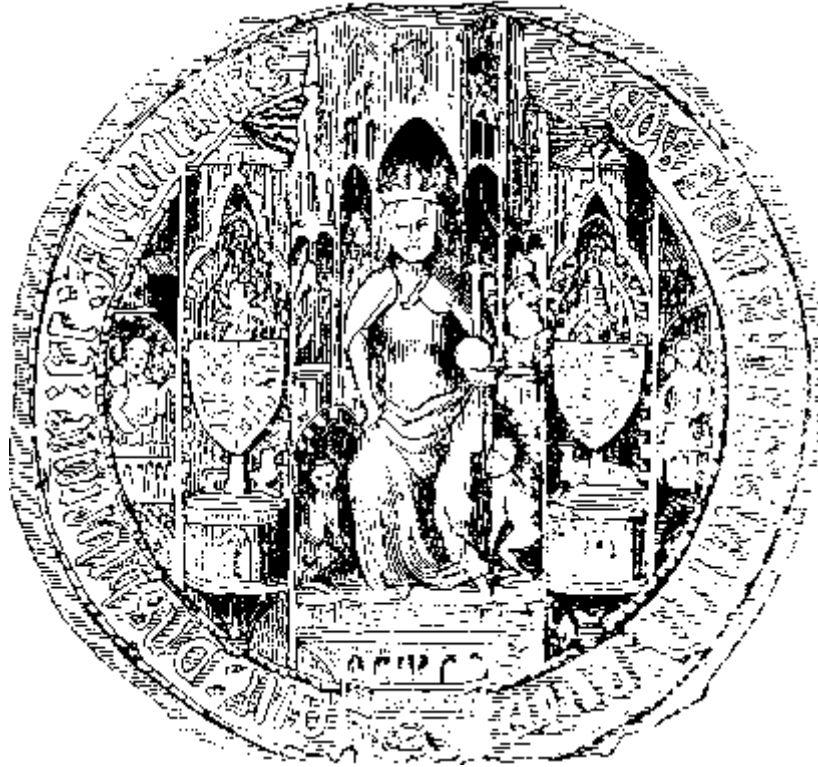
The citizens perceiving the wilful stoutness of the bishop, meekly answering again, said, They minded not to resist him, but to let him do therein what he thought good: only they desired him that he would license them to depart, and hold them excused for not waiting upon him, and conducting him out of the town with that

reverence which he required; for if they should be seen in his company, all the suspicion thereof would be upon them, and so should they be all in danger, so much as their lives were worth. The bishop, not regarding their advice and counsel, commanded one of his men to take the rod borne before the mayor, and to carry the same before him. Which being done, and perceived of the commons, the bishop after that manner went not far, but the rude people running to shut the gates, came out with their bows, some with clubs and staves, some with other instruments, some with stones, and let drive at the bishop and his men as fast as they might, in such sort, that both the bishop and his horse under him, with most part of his men, were hurt and wounded. And thus the glorious pride of this jolly prelate, ruffling in his new sceptre, was received and welcomed there. That is, he was so pelted with bats and stones, so wounded with arrows and other instruments fit for such a skirmish, that the most part of his men, with his mace-bearer, all running away from him, the poor wounded bishop was there left alone, not able to keep his old power, which went about to usurp a new power more than to him belonged. Thus, as it is commonly true in all, so is it well exemplified here, which is commonly said, and as it is commonly seen, that pride will have a fall, and power usurped will never stand. In like manner, if the citizens of Rome, following the example of these Lennam men, as they have the like cause, and greater, to do by the usurped power of their bishop, would after the same sauce handle the pope, and unsceptre him of his mace and regality, which nothing pertaineth to him; they, in so doing, both should recover their own liberties, with more honour at home, and also win much more commendation abroad.

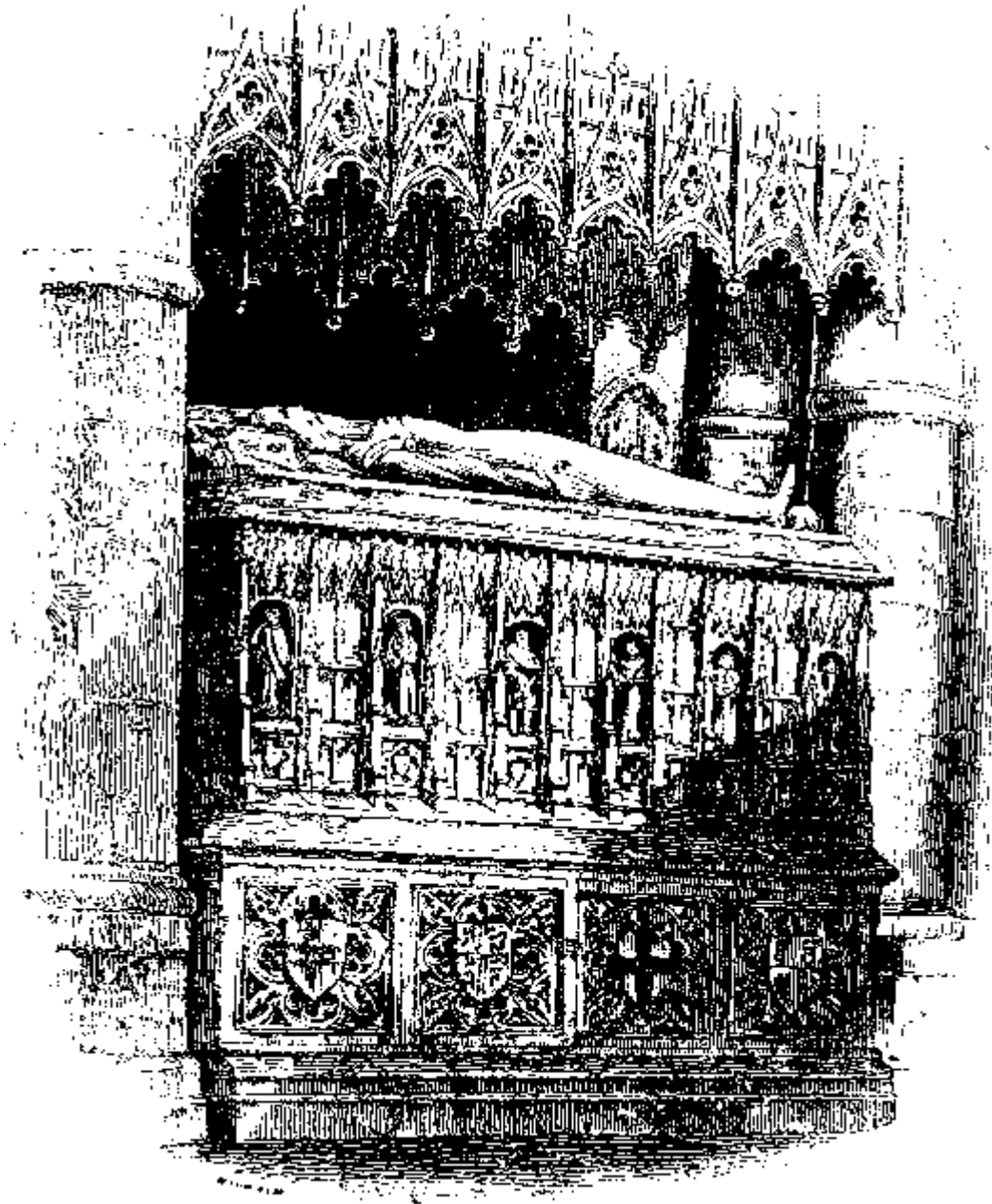
This tragedy, with all the parts thereof, being thus ended at Lennam, which was a little after Easter, as is said, about the month of April, A. D. 1377, the same year, upon the twelfth day of the month of June next after, died the worthy and victorious prince, King Edward the Third, after he had reigned fifty-one years; a prince not more aged in years than renowned for many singular and heroical virtues, but principally noted and lauded for his singular meekness and clemency towards his subjects and inferiors, ruling them by gentleness and mercy, without all rigour or austere severity. Among other noble and royal ornaments of his nature, worthily and copiously set forth of many, thus he is described by some, which may briefly suffice for the comprehension of all the rest: to the orphans he was a father, compassionate to the afflicted, mourning with the miserable, relieving the oppressed, and to all them that wanted a helper in time of need, &c. But chiefly, above all other things in this prince, in my mind, to be commemorate is this, that he above all other kings of this realm, unto the time of King Henry the Eighth, was the greatest bridler of the pope's usurped power and outrageous oppressions: during all the time of which king, neither the pope could greatly prevail in this realm, and also John Wickliff was maintained with favour and aid sufficient.



Edward III



Seal of Edward III



Tomb of Edward III

But before we close up the story of this king, there cometh to hand that which I thought good not to omit, a noble purpose of the king in requiring a view to be taken in all his dominions of all benefices and dignities ecclesiastical remaining in the hands of Italians and aliens, with the true valuation of the same, directed down by commission; whereof the like also is to be found in the time of King Richard the Second, the tenor of which commission of King Edward I thought hereunder to set down for worthy memory.

The king directed writs unto all the bishops of England in this form.

"Edward, by the grace of God, king, &c. To the reverend father in Christ N., by the same grace bishop L., greeting. Being willing upon certain causes to be certified what and how many benefices, as well archdeaconries and other dignities, as vicarages, parsonages, prebends, and chapels, within your diocese, be at this present in the hands of Italians and other strangers, what they be, of what value, and how every of the said benefices be called by name; and how much every of the same is worth by the year, not as by way of tax or extent, but according to the true value of the same; and likewise of the names of all and singular such strangers being now incumbents or occupying the same and every of them; moreover, the names of all them, whether Englishmen or strangers, of what state or condition soever they be, which have the occupation or disposition of any such benefices with the fruits and profits of the same, in the behalf, or by the authority, of any the aforesaid strangers, by way of farm, or title, or procuration, or by any other ways or means whatsoever, and how long they have occupied or disposed the same; and withal if any the said strangers be now residents upon any benefices: we command you, as heretofore commanded you, that you send us a true certificate of all and singular the premises, into our high court of chancery under your seal distinctly and openly, on this side the feast of the Ascension of our Lord next coming, without further delay: returning unto us this our writ withal. Witness ourself at Westminster the 16th day of April in the 48th year of our reign of England, and over France the 35th year." A. D. 1375.

By virtue hereof, certificate was sent up to the king into his chancery, out of every diocese of England, of all such spiritual livings as were then in the occupation either of priors aliens, or of other strangers; whereof the number was so great, that being all set down, it would fill almost half a quire of paper. Whereby may appear that it was high time for the king to seek remedy herein, either by treaty with the pope or otherwise; considering so great a portion of the revenues of his realm was by this means conveyed away, and employed either to the relief of his enemies, or maintenance of the foreigners; amongst which number the cardinals of the court of Rome lacked not their share.

[Fox subjoins to this statement a long list of the rich and numerous preferments enjoyed by the cardinals of Rome. In fact the chief part of the church revenues was reaped, by men who had no connexion whatever with the country.]



John Wicliff defending himself.



fter King Edward the Third, succeeded his grandson, Richard the Second, being yet but young, of the age of eleven years: who, in the same year of his father's decease, with great pomp and solemnity was crowned at Westminster, A. D. 1377, who, following his father's steps, was no great disfavoured of the way and doctrine of Wickliff: albeit at the first beginning, partly through the iniquity of time, partly through the pope's letters, he could not do that he would.

Notwithstanding something he did in that behalf, more perhaps than in the end he had thank for from the papists, as more (by the grace of Christ) shall appear. But as times do change, so changeth commonly the cause and state of man. The bishops now seeing the aged king to be taken away, during the time of whose old age all the government of the realm depended upon the duke of Lancaster; and now the said bishops again seeing the said duke, with the Lord Percy, the lord marshal, to give over their offices, and to remain in their private houses without intermeddling, thought now the time to serve them, to have some advantage against John Wickliff; who hitherto, under the protection of the aforesaid duke and lord marshal, had some rest and quiet. Concerning the story of this Wickliff, I trust, gentle reader, it is not out of thy memory what went before, how he being brought before the bishops, by the means of the duke and of Lord Henry Percy, the council was interrupted, and brake before nine of the

clock. By reason whereof Wickliff at that time escaped without any further trouble. Who, notwithstanding his being by the bishops forbidden to deal in that doctrine any more, continued yet with his fellows, going barefoot and in long frieze gowns, preaching diligently unto the people. Out of his sermons these articles most chiefly at that time were collected.

"That the holy eucharist, after the consecration, is not the very body of Christ, but figuratively.

"That the Church of Rome is not the head of all churches more than any other church is; nor that Peter hath any more power given of Christ, than any other apostle hath.

"Item, That the pope of Rome hath no more part in the keys of the church, than hath any other within the order of priesthood.

"Item, If God be, the lords temporal may lawfully and meritoriously take away their temporalities from the churchmen offending *habitualiter*.

"Item, If any temporal lord do know the church so offending, he is bound, under pain of damnation, to take the temporalities from the same.

"Item, That the gospel is a rule sufficient of itself to rule the life of every Christian man here, without any other rule.

"Item, That all other rules, under whose observances divers religious persons be governed, do add no more perfection to the gospel, than doth the white colour to the wall.

"Item, That neither the pope, nor any other prelate of the church, ought to have prisons wherein to punish transgressors."

Besides these articles, divers other conclusions afterward were gathered out of his writings and preachings by the bishops of England, which they sent diligently to Pope Gregory at Rome; where the said articles being read and perused, were condemned for heretical and erroneous by three and twenty cardinals.

In the mean time the archbishop of Canterbury, sendeth forth his citations, as is aforesaid, called before him the said John Wickliff in the presence of the duke of Lancaster and Lord Percy; who, upon the declaration of the pope's letters made, bound him in silence, forbidding him not to treat any more of those matters. But then, through the disturbance of the bishop of London, and the duke, and Lord Percy, that matter was soon despatched, as hath been above recorded. And all this was done in the days and last year of King Edward the Third, and Pope Gregory the Eleventh.

In the year following, A. D. 1378, being the first year of King Richard the Second, the said Pope Gregory taking his time, after the death of King Edward, sendeth his bull by the hands and means, peradventure, of one Master Edmund Stafford, directed unto the university of Oxford, rebuking them sharply, imperiously, and like a pope, for suffering so long the doctrine of John Wickliff to take root, and not plucking it up with the crooked sickle of their catholic doctrine. When the bull came to be delivered into their hands by the pope's messenger aforesaid, the proctors and masters of the university, joining together in consultation, stood long in doubt, deliberating with themselves whether to receive the pope's bull with honour, or to refuse and reject it with shame.

I cannot here but laugh in my mind to behold the authors of this story whom I follow; what exclamations, what wonderings and marvels, they make at these Oxford men, for so doubting at a matter so plain, so manifest of itself, as they say, whether the pope's bull sent to them from Rome was to be received or not; which thing to our monkish writers seemed then such a prodigious wonder, that they with blushing cheeks are fain to cut off the matter in the midst with silence.

The copy of this wild bull, sent to them from the pope, was this:

"Gregory the bishop, the servant of God's servants, to his well-beloved sons, the chancellor and university of Oxford, in the diocese of Lincoln, greeting and apostolical benediction.

"We are compelled not only to marvel, but also to lament, that you, considering the apostolical seat hath given unto your university of Oxford so great favour and privilege, and also for that you flow, as in a large sea, in the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, and ought to be champions and defenders of the ancient and catholic faith, without the which there is no salvation, by your great negligence and sloth will suffer wild cockle, not only to grow up among the pure wheat of the flourishing field of your university, but also to wax strong and choke the corn. Neither have ye any care, as we are informed, to extirpate and pluck the same up by the roots, to the great blemishing of your renowned name, the peril of your souls, the contempt of the Church of Rome, and to the great decay of the ancient faith. And further, which grieveth us, the increase of that filthy weed was more sharply rebuked and judged of in Rome, than in England where it sprang. Wherefore let there be means sought, by the help of the faithful, to root out the same. Grievously it is come to our ears, that one John Wickliff, parson of Lutterworth, in Lincoln diocese, a professor of divinity, (would God he were not rather a master of errors,) is run into a kind of detestable wickedness, not only and openly publishing, but also vomiting out of the filthy dungeon of his breast, divers professions, false and erroneous conclusions, and most wicked and damnable heresies; whereby he might defile the faithful sort, and bring them from the right path headlong into the way of perdition, overthrow the state of the church, and utterly subvert the secular policy. Of which his mischievous heresies some seem to agree, certain names and terms only being changed, with the perverse opinions and unlearned doctrine of Marsilius of Padua, and of John of Ganduno, of unworthy memory, whose books were utterly abolished in the realm of England, by our predecessor of happy memory, John the Twenty-second, which kingdom doth not only flourish in power, and abundance of faculties, but is much more glorious and shining in pureness of faith; accustomed always to bring forth men excellently learned in the true knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, ripe in gravity of manners, men notable in devotion, and defenders of the catholic faith. Wherefore we will and command you, by our writing apostolical, in the name of your obedience, and upon pain of privation of our favour, indulgences and privileges granted unto you and your university from the said see apostolical; that hereafter ye suffer not those pestilent heresies, and those subtle and false conclusions and propositions, misconstruing the right sense of faith and good works, (howsoever they term it, or what curious implication of words soever they use,) any longer to be disputed of, or brought in question; lest if it be not withstood at the first, and plucked up by the roots, it might perhaps be too late hereafter to prepare medicines, when a greater number is infected with the contagion. And further, that ye apprehend immediately, or cause to be apprehended, the said John Wickliff, and deliver him to be detained in the safe custody of our well-beloved brethren, the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London, or either of them.

And if you shall find any gainsayers corrupted with the said doctrine, which God forbid, in your said university within your jurisdiction, that shall obstinately stand in the said errors, that then in like manner ye apprehend them, and commit them to safe custody, and otherwise to do in this case as it shall appertain unto you; so as by your careful proceedings herein, your negligence past concerning the premises may now fully be supplied and recompensed with present diligence. Whereby you shall not only purchase unto you the favour and benevolence of the seat apostolical, but also great reward and merit of Almighty God.

"Given at Rome, at St. Mary's the Greater, xi. kalends of June, and in the 7th year of our consecration."

Beside this bull sent to the university of Oxford, the said Pope Gregory directed moreover his letters the same time to the archbishop of Canterbury, Simon Sudbury, to the bishop of London, named William Courtney, with the conclusions of John Wickliff therein enclosed, commanding them, by virtue of those his letters apostolical, and straitly enjoining them to cause the said John Wickliff to be apprehended and cast into prison, and that the king and the nobles of England should be admonished by them, not to give any credit to the said John Wickliff, or to his doctrine in any wise.

Beside this bill or bull of the pope, sent unto the archbishop of Canterbury and to the bishop of London, bearing the date, 11th kal. June, and the seventh year of the reign of the pope; I find, moreover, in the said story two other letters of the pope concerning the same matter, but differing in form, sent unto the same bishops, and all bearing the same date, both of the day, year, and month of the reign of the said Pope Gregory. Whereby it is to be supposed, that the pope either was very exquisite and solicitous about the matter, to have Wickliff to be apprehended, which wrote three divers letters to one person, and all in one day, about one business; or else that he did suspect the bearers thereof; the solution whereof I leave to the judgment of the reader.

Furthermore, beside these letters written to the university, and to the bishops, he directeth also another epistle bearing the same date unto King Edward, as one of my stories saith, but as another saith, to King Richard, which soundeth more near to the truth, forasmuch as in the seventh year of Pope Gregory the Eleventh, which was A. D. 1378, King Edward was not alive.

The copy of the epistle sent by the bishop of Rome to Richard, king of England, to persecute John Wickliff:

"Unto his well-beloved son in Christ, Richard the most noble king of England, health, &c.

The kingdom of England, which the Most Highest hath put under your power and governance, being so famous and renowned in valiancy and strength, so abundant and flowing in all kind of wealth and riches, but much more glorious, resplendent, and shining through the brightness and clearness of all godliness and faith, hath been accustomed always to bring forth men endued with the true knowledge and understanding of the Holy Scriptures, grave in years, fervent in devotion, and defenders of the catholic faith: the which have not only directed and instructed their own people through their wholesome doctrine and precepts into the true path of God's commandments, but also we have heard by the report and information of many credible persons, to our great grief and heart sorrow, that John Wickliff, parson of

Lutterworth, in the diocese of Lincoln, professor of divinity, (I would to God he were no author of heresy,) hath fallen into such a detestable and abominable madness, that he hath propounded and set forth diverse and sundry conclusions full of errors, and containing most manifest heresy, which do tend utterly to subvert and overthrow the state of the whole church. Of the which, some of them (albeit under coloured phrase and meeche) seem to smell and savour of perverse opinions, the foolish doctrine of condemned memory of Marsilius of Padua, and John of Ganduno, whose books were by Pope John the Twenty-second, our predecessor, a man of a most happy memory, reprov'd and condemned," &c.

itherto, gentle reader, thou hast heard how Wickliff was accused by the bishop. Now you shall also hear the pope's mighty reasons and arguments, by the which he did confute him, to the king. It followeth:

"Therefore, forasmuch as our reverend brethren, the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London, have received a special commandment from us, by our authority to apprehend and commit the forenamed John Wickliff unto prison, and to transport his confession unto us; if they shall seem in the prosecution of this their business to lack your favour or help, we require and most earnestly desire your Majesty, even as your most noble predecessors have always been most earnest lovers of the catholic faith, (whose case or quarrel in this matter is chiefly handled,) that you would vouchsafe, even for the reverence of God, and the faith aforesaid, and also of the apostolic seat, and of our person, with your help and favour to assist the said archbishop and all other that go about to execute the said business. Whereby, besides the praise of men, you shall obtain a heavenly reward and great favour and good will at our hand, and of the see aforesaid. Dated at Rome, at St. Mary the Greater, the 11th kal. of June, in the 7th year of our bishopric, A. D. 1378."

The articles included in the pope's letters, which he sent to the bishops and to the king against Wickliff, were these which in order do follow.

The conclusions of John Wickliff, exhibited in the convocation of certain bishops at Lambeth.

"1. All the whole race of mankind here on earth, besides Christ, hath no power simply to ordain that Peter and all his offspring should politically rule over the world for ever.

"2. God cannot give to any man for him and his heirs any civil dominion for ever.

"3. All writings invented by men, as touching perpetual heritage, are impossible.

"4. Every man, being in grace justifying, hath not only right unto the thing, but also for his time hath right indeed above all the good things of God.

"5. A man cannot only ministratoriously give any temporal or continual gift, either as well to his natural son, or to his son by imitation.

"6. If God be, the temporal lords may lawfully and meritoriously take away the riches from the church when delinquent. We know that Christ's vicar cannot, neither is able by his bulls, neither by his own will and consent, neither by the consent of his college, either to enable or disable any man.

"7. A man cannot be excommunicated to his hurt or undoing, except he be first principally excommunicate by himself.

"8. No man ought, but in God's cause alone, to excommunicate, suspend, or forbid, or otherwise to proceed to revenge, by any ecclesiastical censure.

"9. A curse or excommunication doth not simply bind, but in case it be pronounced and given out against the adversary of God's law.

"10. There is no power given by any example of Christ or his apostles to excommunicate any subject, specially for denying of any temporalities, but rather contrariwise.

"11. The disciples of Christ have no power to exact, by any civil authority, temporalities by censures.

"12. It is not possible by the absolute power of God, that if the pope or any other Christian do pretend by any means to bind or to loose, that thereby he doth so bind and loose.

"13. We ought to believe that the vicar of Christ doth only bind and loose, when he worketh conformably to the law and ordinance of Christ.

"14. This ought universally to be believed, that every priest rightly and duly ordered, according unto the law of grace, hath power according to his vocation, whereby he may minister the sacraments, and consequently absolve any man confessing his fault, he being contrite for the same.

"15. It is lawful for kings, in causes licensed by the law, to take away the temporalities from the spirituality, sinning *habitualiter*, that is, which continue in the custom of sin, and will not amend.

"16. Whether they be temporal lords, or any other men whatsoever they be, which have endowed any church with temporalities, it is lawful for them to take away the same temporalities, as it were by way of medicine, to avoid sin, notwithstanding any excommunication or other ecclesiastical censure; forasmuch as they are not given but under a condition.

"17. An ecclesiastical minister, and also the bishop of Rome, may lawfully be rebuked of his subjects, and for the profit of the church be accused either of the clergy or of the laity."

These letters, with the articles enclosed, being received from the pope, the bishops took them no little to heart, thinking and fully determining with themselves, and that in open profession before their provincial council, that, all manner respects of fear or favour set apart, no person neither high nor low should hinder them, neither would they be seduced by the entreaty of any man, nor by any threatenings or rewards, but that in this cause they would execute most surely upright justice and equity; yea, albeit even if danger of life should follow thereupon. But these so fierce brags and stout promises, with the subtle practices of these bishops, who thought them so sure before, the Lord, against whom no determination of man's counsel can prevail, by a small occasion, did lightly confound and overthrow. For the day of the examination being come, a certain personage of the prince's court, and yet of no great noble birth, named Lewis Clifford, entering in among the bishops, commanded them that they should not proceed with any definitive sentence against John Wickliff. With which words all they were so amazed, and their combs so cut, that (as in the story is

mentioned) they became mute and speechless, as men having not one word in their mouths to answer. And thus, by the wondrous work of God's providence, escaped John Wickliff the second time out of the bishops' hands, and was by them clearly dismissed upon this declaration made of his articles, as anon shall follow.

Moreover, here is not to be passed over, how, at the same time, and in the said chapel of the archbishop at Lambeth, where the bishops were sitting upon John Wickliff, the historian, writing of the doing thereof, addeth these words, saying, "I say not only that the citizens of London, but also the vile abjects of the city, presumed to be so bold in the same chapel at Lambeth, where the bishops were sitting upon John Wickliff, as both to entreat for him, and also to let and stop the said matter; trusting, as I suppose, to the negligence which they saw before in the bishops," &c.



ohn Wickliff, by giving his exposition unto his aforesaid propositions and conclusions, unto the bishops in writing at the time of his examination, either shifted off the bishops, or else satisfied them so, that for that time he was dismissed and escaped clearly away, only being charged and commanded by them, that he should not teach or preach any such doctrine any more, for the offence of the lay people.

Thus this good man, being escaped from the bishops with this charge, yet, notwithstanding, ceased not to proceed in his godly purpose, labouring and profiting still in the church as he had begun.

Unto whom also, as it happened by the providence of God, this was likewise a great help and stay, for that in the same year, or in the beginning of the next year following, the aforesaid Pope Gregory the Eleventh, which was the stirrer up of all this trouble against him, turned up his heels and died. After him ensued such a schism in Rome, between two popes, and other succeeding after them, one striving against another, that it endured the space of thirty-nine years, until the time of the council of Constance.

The first occasioner of which schism was Pope Urban the Sixth, who, in the beginning of his popedom, was so proud and insolent to his cardinals, and other, as to dukes, princes, and queens, and so set to advance his nephews and kindred, with injuries to other princes, that the greatest number of his cardinals and courtiers by little and little shrunk from him, and set up another French pope against him, named Clement, who reigned eleven years. And after him Benedict the Thirteenth, who reigned twenty-six years. Again, on the contrary side, after Urban the Sixth succeeded Boniface the Ninth, Innocent the Eighth, Gregory the Twelfth, Alexander the Fifth, John the Twenty-third.

As touching this pestilent and most miserable schism, it would require here another Iliad to comprehend in order all the circumstances and tragical parts thereof, what trouble in the whole church, what parts taking in every country, what apprehending and imprisoning of priests and prelates taken by land and sea, what shedding of blood did follow thereof. How Otho, duke of Brunswick and prince of Tarentum, was taken and murdered. How Joan his wife, queen of Jerusalem and Sicily, who before had sent to Pope Urban, beside other gifts at his coronation, forty thousand ducats in pure gold, was after by the said Urban committed to prison, and in

the same prison strangled. What cardinals were racked, and miserably, without all mercy, tormented on gibbets to death; what slaughter of men, what battles were fought between the two popes, whereof five thousand on one side were slain, beside the number of them which were taken prisoners. Of the beheading of five cardinals together after long torments, and how the bishop of Aquilonensis, being suspected of Pope Urban, for not riding faster with the pope, his horse being not good, was there slain by the pope's commandment, sending his soldiers unto him to slay him, and cut him in pieces. All which things, with divers other more acts of horrible cruelty, happening in the time of this abominable schism, because they are abundantly discoursed at full by Theodricus Niemus, who was near to the said Pope Urban, and present at all his doings; therefore, as a thing needless, I here omit; referring them who covet to be certified more amply herein, unto the three books of the said Theodric, above mentioned.

About the same time also, about three years after, there arose a cruel dissension in England, between the common people and the nobility, which did not a little disturb and trouble the commonwealth. In this tumult Simon of Sudbury, archbishop of Canterbury, was taken by the rustic and rude people, and was beheaded. In whose place succeeded William Courtney, which was no less diligent than his predecessor had been before him, in doing his diligence to root out heretics. Notwithstanding, in the mean season Wickliff's sect increased privily, and daily drew to greater force, until the time that William Barton, vice-chancellor of Oxford, about A. D. 1380, had the whole rule of that university; who calling together eight monastical doctors, and four other, with the consent of the rest of his affinity, putting the common seal of the university unto certain writings, set forth an edict, declaring unto every man, and threatening them under a grievous penalty, that no man should be so hardy hereafter to associate themselves with any of Wickliff's fautors or favourers; and unto Wickliff himself he threatened the greater excommunication and further imprisonment, and to all his abettors, unless that they, after three days canonical admonition or warning, or, as they call it, peremptory, did repent and amend. When Wickliff understood this, forsaking the pope and all the clergy, he thought to appeal unto the king's majesty; but the duke of Lancaster coming between, forbade him, that he should not hereafter attempt or begin any such matters, but rather submit himself unto the censure and judgment of his ordinary. Whereby Wickliff being beset with troubles and vexations, as it were in the midst of the waves, he was forced once again to make confession of his doctrine; in which his confession, to avoid the rigour of things, he answered as is aforesaid, making his declaration, and qualifying his assertions after such a sort, that he did mitigate and assuage the rigour of his enemies.

The year after, A. D. 1382, by the commandment of William, archbishop of Canterbury, there was a convocation holden at London, where John Wickliff was also commanded to be present. But whether he there appeared personally or not, I find it not in story certainly affirmed. The mandate of the archbishop, William Courtney, (sent abroad for the convening together of this council,) here followeth underwritten, truly copied out of his own registers.

"Memorandum — Whereas amongst the nobles as well as commons of this realm of England, there hath a certain bruit been spread of divers conclusions, both erroneous, and also repugnant to the determination of the church, which tend to the subversion of the whole church, and to our province of Canterbury, and also to the subversion of the whole realm, being preached in divers and sundry places of our said province, generally, commonly, and publicly: We William, by God's permission

archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the see apostolical, being minded to execute our office and duty herein, have convoked or called together certain of our fellow brethren and others a great many, as well doctors and bachelors of divinity, as doctors of the canon and civil law, and those whom we thought to be the most famous men, skilfullest men, and men of soundest judgment in religion, that were in all the realm, whose names hereunder ensue. And the same being (the seventh day of the month of May) in the year of our Lord 1382, in a certain chamber within the territories of the priory of the Friars Preachers of London, before us and our foresaid fellow brethren assembled, then and there personally present: after that the said conclusions (the tenor whereof hereunder ensueth) were openly put forth, and distinctly and plainly read, we burdened our aforesaid fellow brethren, doctors and bachelors, in the faith wherein they stood bound to our Lord Jesus Christ, and as they would answer before the high Judge in the day of judgment, that they should speak their opinions touching the said conclusions, and what each of them thinketh therein.

"And at length, after good deliberation had upon the premises, the aforesaid our brethren the bishops, doctors, and bachelors reassembled before us the twenty-first day of the same month in the aforesaid chamber, the aforesaid conclusions being again and again repeated and plainly read; by us, and by the common consent of us all, it remaineth published and declared, that some of the said conclusions are heretical, and other erroneous and contrary to the determination of the church, as hereafter most manifestly shall appear. And forasmuch as by sufficient information we find and perceive, that the said conclusions in many places of our said province have been, as is said, both taught and preached; and that divers other persons do hold and maintain the same, and be of heresy vehemently and notoriously suspected; we have thought good, as well generally as specially, to send out this process underwritten." The names of the jurors were these:— Eight bishops,

Canterbury, Winchester, Durham, Exeter, Hereford, Sarum, Rochester, and Friar Botlesham, bishop: three Friars Preachers; Siward, Paris, Langley: four Minorites; Folvile, Carlel, Frisly, Bernwell: Augustine friars four; Ashborne, Bowkin, Woldley, Hornington: Carmelites four; Glanvile, Dis, Loney, Kiningham: monks four; Wells, Ramsey, Bloxam, Marton: doctors of the canon and civil law fourteen; Appelby, Waltram, Baketon, Chadesden, Tregision, Stow, Blanchard, Rocombey, Lidford, Welbourne, Flainburgh, Motrum, Brandon, and Prophet: bachelors of divinity six; Humbleton, Pickwech, Lindlow, Wich, Chiselden, Tomson.

The articles of John Wickliff here above specified, whereof there were ten which were by these friars condemned as heretical, the rest as erroneous, here in order follow, and are these: although it may be thought, that some of them were made worse by their sinister collecting, than he meant them in his own works and writings.

The articles of John Wickliff condemned as heretical.

1. That the substance of material bread and wine doth remain in the sacrament of the altar after the consecration.

2. That the accidents do not remain without the subject in the same sacrament, after the consecration.

3 That Christ is not in the sacrament of the altar truly and really, in his proper and corporal person.

4. That if a bishop or a priest be in deadly sin, he doth not order, consecrate, nor baptize.

5. That if a man be duly and truly contrite and penitent, all exterior and outer confession is but superfluous and unprofitable unto him.

6. That God ought to obey the devil.

7. That it is not found or established by the gospel, that Christ did make or ordain mass.

8. That if the pope be a reprobate and evil man, and consequently a member of the devil, he hath no power by any manner of means given unto him over faithful Christians, except peradventure it be given him from the emperor.

9. That since the time of Urban the Sixth, there is none to be received for pope, but every man is to live after the manner of the Greeks, under his own law.

10. That it is against the Scripture, that ecclesiastical ministers should have any temporal possessions.

Other articles of John Wickliffe, condemned as erroneous.

11. That no prelate ought to excommunicate any man, except he know him first to be excommunicate of God.

12. That he who doth so excommunicate any man, is thereby himself either a heretic or excommunicated.

13. That a prelate or bishop excommunicating any of the clergy, which hath appealed to the king or the council, is thereby himself a traitor to the king and realm.

14. That all who do leave off preaching or hearing the word of God, or preaching the gospel, for fear of excommunication, are already excommunicated, and in the day of judgment shall be counted as traitors unto God.

15. That it is lawful for any man, either deacon or priest, to preach the word of God without the authority or licence of the apostolical see or any other of his Catholics.

16. That so long as the man is in deadly sin, he is neither bishop nor prelate in the church of God.

17. Also that the temporal lords may, according to their own will and discretion, take away the temporal goods from the churchmen whensoever they do offend.

18. That tenths are pure alms, and that the parishioners may, for offence of their curates, detain and keep them back, and bestow them upon others, at their own will and pleasure.

19. Also, that all special prayers applied to any private or particular person, by any prelate or religious man, do no more profit the same person, than general or universal prayers do profit others, which be in like case or state unto him.

20. Moreover, in that any man doth enter into any private religion, whatsoever it be, he is thereby made the more unapt and unable to observe and keep the commandments of God.

21. That holy men, which have instituted private religions, whatsoever they be, (as well such as are endued and possessed, as also the order of Begging Friars having no possessions,) in so doing have grievously offended.

22. That religious men, being in their private religion, are not of the Christian religion.

23. That friars are bound to get their living by the labour of their hands, and not by begging.

24. That whosoever doth give any alms unto friars, or to any begging observant, is accursed, or in danger thereof.

The letter of William Courtney, archbishop of Canterbury, directed to the bishop of London, against John Wickliff and his adherents.

"William, by God's permission, archbishop of Canterbury, metropolitan of all England, and of the apostolical see legate; to our reverend brother, by the grace of God, bishop of London, salutation. The prelates of the church ought to be so much the more vigilant and attentive about the charge of the Lord's flock committed unto them; how much the more they shall understand the wolves, being clothed in sheep's apparel, fraudulently to go about to worry and scatter the sheep. Truly by the continual cry and public fame, which it grieveth me to report, it is come to our knowledge, that although by the canonical sanctions no man, being forbidden, or not admitted, should either publicly or privily, without the authority of the apostolical see or bishop of that place, usurp or take upon him the office of a preacher; some, notwithstanding, such as are the children of damnation, being under the veil of blind ignorance, are brought into such a doting mind, that they take upon them to preach, and are not afraid to affirm and teach divers and sundry propositions and conclusions here-under recited, both heretical, erroneous, and false, condemned by the church of God, and repugnant to the decree of holy church, which tend to the subverting of the whole state of the same, of our province of Canterbury, and to the destruction and weakening of the tranquillity of the same; and that as well in the churches as in the streets, as also in many other profane places of our said province, generally, commonly, and publicly, they do preach the same, infecting very many good Christians, causing them lamentably to wander out of the way, and from the catholic church, without which there is no salvation. We therefore, considering that so pernicious a mischief, which may creep amongst many, we ought not to suffer, and by dissimulation to pass over, which may with deadly contagion slay the souls of men, lest their blood be required at our hands; are willing, so much as God will permit us to do, to extirpate the same. Wherefore, by the counsel and consent of many of our brethren and suffragans, we have convented divers and sundry doctors of divinity, as also professors and other clerks of the canon and civil laws, the most learned within the realm, and of the soundest opinion and judgment in the catholic faith, to give their opinions and judgments concerning the aforesaid conclusions. But forasmuch as the said conclusions and assertions, being in the presence of us, and our fellow brethren and other convokes, openly expounded, and diligently examined, were in the end found by common counsel and consent, as well of them as of us, and so declared, that some of those conclusions were heretical, and some of them erroneous, and repugnant to the determination of the church, as hereunder are described: we will and command your brotherhood, and, by virtue of holy obedience, straitly enjoin all and singular our brethren, and suffragans of our body and church of Canterbury, that with all speedy diligence you possibly can, you likewise enjoin them, as we have enjoined you, and

each of them; and that every one of them, in their churches and other places of their city and diocese, do admonish and warn, and that you, in your church and other churches of your city and diocese, do admonish and warn, as we, by the tenor of these presents, do admonish and warn the first time, the second time, and the third time; and yet more straitly do warn, assigning for the first admonition one day, for the second admonition another day, and for the third admonition canonical and peremptory, another day: That no man from henceforth, of what estate or condition soever, do hold, preach, or defend the aforesaid heresies and errors, or any of them; nor that he admit to preach any one that is prohibited, or not sent to preach; nor that he hear or hearken to the heresies or errors of him or any of them, nor that he favour or lean unto him either publicly or privately; but that immediately he shun him, as he would avoid a serpent putting forth most pestiferous poison, under pain of the greater curse, which we command to be thundered against all and every one which shall be disobedient in this behalf, and not regarding these our monitions, after those three days be past which are assigned for the canonical monition, and that their delay, fault, or offence committed require the same: and then, according to the tenor of these writings, we command both by every one of our fellow brethren and our suffragans in their cities and dioceses, and by you in your city and diocese, (so much as belongeth both to you and them,) that to the uttermost both ye and they cause the same excommunications to be pronounced. And, furthermore, we will and command our aforesaid fellow brethren, and all and singular of you apart by yourselves, to be admonished, and by the aspersion of the blood of Jesus Christ we likewise admonish you; that according to the institution of the sacred canons, every one of them, in their cities and dioceses, be a diligent inquisitor of this heretical pravity; and that every one of you also in your cities and dioceses be the like inquisitor of the aforesaid heretical pravity and that of such like presumption they and you carefully and diligently inquire, and that both they and you (according to your duties and office in this behalf) with effect do proceed against the same, to the honour and praise of his name that was crucified, and for the preservation of the Christian faith and religion."

Here is not to be passed over the great miracle of God's divine admonition or warning; for when the archbishop and suffragans, with the other doctors of divinity and lawyers, with a great company of babbling friars and religious persons, were gathered together to consult as touching John Wickliff's books, and that whole sect; when, as I say, they were gathered together at the Grey Friars in London, to begin their business, upon St. Dunstan's day after dinner, about two of the clock, the very hour and instant that they should go forward with their business, a wonderful and terrible earthquake fell throughout all England; whereupon divers of the suffragans, being feared by the strange and wonderful demonstration, doubting what it should mean, thought it good to leave off from their determinate purpose. But the archbishop, (as chief captain of that army, more rash and bold than wise,) interpreting the chance which had happened clean contrary to another meaning or purpose, did confirm and strengthen their hearts and minds, which were almost daunted with fear, stoutly to proceed and go forward in their attempted enterprise. Who then discoursing Wickliff's articles, not according unto the sacred canons of the Holy Scriptures, but unto their own private affections and traditions, pronounced and gave sentence, that some of them were simply and plainly heretical, some half erroneous, other irreligious, some seditious, and not consonant to the Church of Rome.



The convocation thrown into confusion by an earthquake

80. Herford, Reppington and Ashton

Item, the twelfth day of June, in the year aforesaid, in the chamber of the Friars Preachers, the aforesaid Master Robert Rigges, chancellor of the university of Oxford, and Thomas Brightwell, professors of divinity, being appointed the same day and place, by the aforesaid reverend father in God, archbishop of Canterbury, appeared before him in the presence of the reverend father in God, Lord William, by the grace of God, bishop of Winchester, and divers other doctors and bachelors of divinity, and of the canon and civil law, whose names are before recited. And first, the said chancellor, by the said lord archbishop of Canterbury, being examined what his opinion was touching the aforesaid articles, publicly affirmed and declared, that certain of those conclusions were heretical, and certain erroneous, as the other doctors and clerks aforementioned had declared. And then immediately next after him the aforesaid Thomas Brightwell was examined, who upon some of the conclusions at first somewhat staggered, but in the end being by the said archbishop diligently examined upon the same, did affirm and dispute the same to be heretical and erroneous, as the aforesaid chancellor had done. Another bachelor of divinity, also, there was, named N., stammering also at some of those conclusions, but in the end affirmed that his opinion therein was as was the judgment of the aforesaid chancellor and Thomas, as is above declared. Whereupon the said lord archbishop of Canterbury, willing to let and hinder the peril of such heresies and errors, delivered unto the aforesaid chancellor, there being publicly read, his letters patent to be executed, the tenor whereof in these words doth follow.

"William, by the grace of God archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the apostolic see: To our well-beloved son in Christ, the chancellor of the university of Oxford, within the diocese of Lincoln, greeting, grace, and benediction. The prelates of the church, about the Lord's flock committed to their charge, ought to be so much more vigilant as that they see the wolf, clothed in sheep's attire, fraudulently go about to worry and scatter the sheep. Doubtless, the common fame and rumour is come unto our ears. We will, therefore, and command, straitly enjoining you, that the church of our blessed Lady in Oxford, upon those days in the which accustomedly the sermon is made, as also in the schools of the said university upon those days the lectures be read, ye publish, and cause by others to be published, to the clergy and people; as well in their vulgar tongue, as in the Latin tongue, manifestly and plainly, without any curious implication, the same heretical and erroneous conclusions, so repugnant to the determination of holy church, as is aforesaid, to have been and be condemned; which conclusions we also declare by these our letters to be utterly condemned. And furthermore that you forbid, and canonically admonish, and cause to be admonished, as we by the tenor of these presents do forbid and admonish you, once, twice, and thrice, and that peremptorily, that none hereafter hold, teach, and preach, or defend the heresies and errors above said, or any of them, either in school or out of school, by any sophistical cavilling or otherwise; or that any admit to preach, hear, or hearken unto, John Wickliff, Nicholas Herford, Philip Reppington, canon regular, or John Ashton, or Lawrence Redman, who be vehemently and notoriously suspected of heresy, or else any other whatsoever, so suspected or defamed; or that either privately or publicly they either aid or favour them or any of them, but that immediately they shun and avoid the same as a serpent

which putteth forth most pestiferous poison. And furthermore, we suspend the said suspected persons from all scholastical act, till such time as they shall purge themselves before us in that behalf; and we enjoin that you denounce the same publicly by us to have been and be suspended; and that ye diligently and faithfully inquire of all their abettors and favourers, and cause to be inquired throughout all the halls of the said university. And that when you shall have intelligence of their names and persons, that ye compel all, and every of them, to abjure their outrages by ecclesiastical censures and other pains canonical whatsoever, under pain of the greater curse, the which against all and singular the rebellious in this behalf, and disobeying our monitions, we pronounce; so that their fault, deceit, and offence in this behalf deserve the same, (the said monition of ours being first sent,) which in this behalf we esteem and allow canonical, that then and again, according to the effect of these our letters, &c., the absolution of all and singular such, which shall incur the sentence of this instrument by us sent forth, (which God forbid,) we specially reserve unto ourselves; exhorting you, the chancellor, by the sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ, that to the uttermost of your power hereafter you do your endeavour, that the clergy and people being subject unto you, if there be any which have strayed from the catholic faith by such errors, may be brought home again to the laud and honour of His name that was crucified, and preservation of the true faith. And further, our will is, that whatsoever you shall do in the premises, in manner and form of our process in this behalf it be had and done; and that you, for your part, when you shall be required thereunto, plainly and distinctly do certify us by your letters patent, having the tenor hereof."

The conclusions and articles here mentioned in this letter are above prefixed. Of which some were condemned for heretical, some for erroneous. After this, within few days the aforesaid archbishop, William Courtney, directed down his letters of admonition to Robert Rigges, commissary of Oxford, for the repressing of this doctrine; which still notwithstanding, both then, and yet to this day (God be praised) doth remain.

The examination of Nicholas Herford, Philip Reppington, and John Ashton.

The eighteenth day of the month and year aforesaid, in the chamber of the Preaching Friars before mentioned, before the aforesaid archbishop, in the presence of divers doctors and bachelors of divinity, and many lawyers both canon and civil, whose names are underwritten, appeared Master Nicholas Herford, Philip Reppington, and John Ashton, bachelors of divinity, who, after a corporal oath taken to show their judgment upon the conclusions aforesaid, were examined severally, each one by himself, before the archbishop; who there required day and place to deliberate upon the conclusions aforesaid, and to give their answer unto the same in writing; and also required to have a copy of the said conclusions to be delivered unto them. The which copy the said Nicholas and Philip (being openly read unto them) received. Also the aforesaid Master John Ashton likewise was examined, and judicially admonished by the said archbishop by virtue of his oath, that he, setting aside all sophistical words and subtleties, would say his mind fully and plainly upon the conclusions aforesaid. And being asked, moreover, by the said archbishop whether he would have a further day to deliberate upon his answers, as the aforesaid Nicholas and Philip had before, he said expressly that he would not, but would answer presently to those conclusions; and so for final answer said, as concerning all these conclusions, (containing them all together,) that his judgment was in this behalf to hold his peace. Wherefore, the aforesaid archbishop, reputed the said John herein to be suspected, admonished him

in form of words as followeth: "We admonish thee, John Ashton, whom we repute to be defamed, and notoriously suspected of heresy, the first, the second, and third time, that in our province of Canterbury hereafter thou do not preach publicly or privately, without our special licence, under pain of the greater curse, which we denounce here by these presents against thy person, if thou obey not our monitions, for now as for then." And consequently, forasmuch as the said John, being asked of the archbishop, confessed that he had heard before of the publication of the archbishop's mandate, wherein was contained, that no person prohibited or not sent should preach hereafter, the aforesaid archbishop assigned to him Friday next following, which was the twentieth day of the same month, after dinner, to appear before him either at Lambeth, or in the same place, to say for himself wherefore he might not be pronounced for a heretic, and for such a one to be denounced through his whole province. Also the said archbishop assigned to the aforesaid Nicholas and Philip, the said day and place to answer peremptorily, and to say fully and plainly to the conclusions aforesaid, all sophistication of words and disputation set apart.

The names of the friars that sat upon them — Friars Preachers, seven: Thomas Barnewell, William Swinherd, William Pickworth, Thomas Whately, Lawrence Grenham, John Leigh, John Haker. Carmelites, three: Walter Dish, John Kiningham, John Lovey. Augustine Friar: Thomas Ashborne, doctor.

At the time and place above prefixed, before the aforesaid archbishop, sitting in his tribunal seat, in the presence of divers doctors of divinity, and lawyers both civil and canon, personally appeared Master Nicholas Herford, and Philip Reppington, bachelors of divinity, and John Ashton, master of arts. The aforesaid Nicholas and Philip, being required by the said archbishop to answer, and say fully and plainly their judgment upon the conclusions prefixed, to which purpose the archbishop had assigned to the said Nicholas and Philip the same term, did exhibit to the archbishop, there judicially sitting, certain answers in writing, contained after the manner of indenture. The tenor of which indenture, containing the aforesaid conclusions, followeth in these words.

The protestation of Nicholas Herford, Philip Reppington, and John Ashton, with their articles and answers.



We protest here as before, publicly in these presents, that we intend to be humble and faithful children to the church and Holy Scripture, and to obey in all things the determinations of the church. And if it shall chance to us at any time, which God forbid, to swerve from this our intention, we submit ourselves humbly to the correction of our reverend father, lord archbishop of Canterbury, and primate of all England, and of all other who have interest to correct such swervers.

This protestation premised, thus we answer to the conclusions aforesaid.

"That the substance of material bread and wine remaineth in the sacrament of the altar after consecration."

"After the sense contrary to the decretal, beginning *Firmiter credimus*:— We grant that it is heresy.

"That the accidents do not remain without the subject after consecration of the sacrament."

"After the sense contrary to that decretal, *Cum Marthe*:— We grant that it is heresy.

"That Christ is not in the sacrament of the altar truly and really in his own corporal presence.'

"Although this conclusion, as the words stand, sound to be probable and intelligible, yet, in the sense contrary to the decretal in Cle. *Si dudum*, we grant that it is heresy. And, briefly, concerning this whole matter of the sacrament of the altar, as touching also all other things, we profess that we will both in word and sense hold with the Holy Scripture, with the determination of the holy church, and sayings of the holy doctors.

"Obstinately to affirm that it hath no foundation in the gospel, that Christ ordained the mass:' — We grant that it is heresy.

"That God ought to obey the devil.'

"In this sense, that God in his own person or essence, ought to obey the devil with the obedience of necessity:— We grant that it is heresy.

"If a man be duly contrite, that all external confession is to him superfluous and unprofitable:' — We grant that it is heresy.

"If the pope be a reprobate and an evil man, and consequently a member of the devil, he hath no power over the faithful of Christ given to him of any, unless it be of Cæsar:' — We grant that it is heresy.

"That after Pope Urban the Sixth, none is to be received for pope, but that we ought to live after the manner of the Grecians, under our own laws:' — We grant that it is heresy.

"That it is against the Holy Scripture for ecclesiastical persons to have temporal possessions:' — If obstinacy be joined withal, we grant that it is heresy.

"That no prelate ought to excommunicate any man, unless he know him before to be excommunicate of God:' — - We grant that it is an error; understanding this knowledge to signify an experimental knowledge; so that herewith may stand the decree of the church.

"That he who doth so excommunicate, is thereby a heretic or excommunicate:' — After the sense, agreeing with the other before, we grant this to be an error.

"That a prelate excommunicating a clerk, which appealeth to the king or council of the realm, in so doing is a traitor to God, the king, and the realm: '— We grant it is an error.

"That they which leave off to preach, or to hear the word of God, and the gospel preached, for the excommunication of men, are excommunicate, and in the day of judgment shall be counted traitors to God:' — Understanding this conclusion universally, so as Scripture and laws do understand such indefinite propositions, we grant it is an error.

"That it is lawful for any deacon or priest to preach the word of God without the authority of the see apostolic, or catholic bishop, or of any other whose authority he knoweth sufficient:' — We grant it is an error.

"That there is no civil lord, no bishop, nor prelate, whilst he is in mortal sin:' — We grant it is an error.

"That temporal lords may at their pleasure take away the temporal goods from churches offending *habitualiter*: — We grant it is an error, after this sense, that they may so take away temporal goods of the churches, without the cases limited in the laws of the church and kingdoms.

"That the vulgar people may correct the lords offending at their pleasure:' — Understanding by this word 'may,' that they may do it by the law, we grant it is an error, because that subjects have no power over their lords.

"That tithes are pure alms, and that parishioners may, for the offences of their curates, detain the same, and bestow them on others at their pleasure: '— Understanding by this word 'may,' as before, to be, 'may by the law,' we grant it is an error. "

"That special prayers applied to any one person by prelates or religious men, do no more profit than the general prayers if there be no let by the way to make them unlike:' — Understanding this conclusion universally negative, and understanding by special prayers, the prayers made upon special devotion, and general prayers of general devotion; then, after this sense, no such special prayers, applied to any one person, by special orators, do profit more specially the said person, than general prayers do, which are made of the same, and for the same persons, we grant it is an error.

"That he that giveth alms to the friars, or to any friar that preacheth, is excommunicate; both he that giveth, and he that taketh: '— Understanding this proposition universally or conditionally, as is aforesaid, we grant it to be an error.

"That whoso entereth into any private religion whatsoever is thereby made more unapt and unmeet to obey the commandments of God:' — We grant it is an error.

"That such holy men as did institute any private religions whatsoever, as well of secular having possessions, as of friars having none, in so instituting did sin:' — Understanding this reduplicatively or universally, we grant it an error, after this sense, that what saint soever did institute private religion, instituting the said religion upon that consideration as they did, did sin.

"That religious men, living in private religions, be not of the religion of Christ:' — Understanding the proposition universally, as is aforesaid, we grant it is an error.

"That friars are bound to get their living by the labour of their hands, and not by begging:' — Understanding this proposition universally, as before, we grant it is an error.

"These things have we spoken, reverend father and lord, in all humility, under your gracious supportation and benign correction, according to our abilities and slender capacities for this present, (the honour of God, the verity of our belief, and safe conscience in all points reserved,) more humbly yet beseeching you, that if any other thing there be, that seemeth meet unto your excellency and discretion to be more or otherwise said and spoken, that your gracious fatherhood would vouchsafe to inform us as children, by the sacred Scriptures, by the determination of the church, or authorities of the holy doctors. And, doubtless, with ready wills and obedient minds, we will consent and agree unto your wholesome doctrine. May it therefore please your fatherhood, right reverend in God, according to the accustomed manner of your

benignity, favourably to accept these our words and sayings, forasmuch as the aforesaid conclusions were never by us either in schools affirmed, or else in sermons publicly preached."

Further examinations and proceedings against the aforesaid Nicholas Herford, Philip Reppington, and John Ashton.

When all these answers were made unto the said lord archbishop of Canterbury, the said Nicholas and Philip, for that they answered not unto the meaning and words of the first conclusion expressly, but contrary to the sense of the decretal *Firmiter credimus*, were there judicially examined what their sense and meaning was; but they would not express the same. Then was it demanded of them, according to the sense of the same conclusion declared on the behalf of the said lord of Canterbury, whether the same material bread *in numero*, which before the consecration is laid upon the altar, remain in proper substance and nature, after the consecration in the sacrament of the altar; and likewise of the wine? To this the said Nicholas and Philip answered, that for that time they could say no more therein, than that they had already answered, as is before alleged in writing. And for that unto the sense and words of the second conclusion they answered not fully and expressly, but in a sense contrary to the decretal *Cum Marthe*; being asked what was their meaning, they would not express the same: therefore it was demanded of them, according to the sense of the same conclusion, declared in the behalf of the said lord of Canterbury, whether those corporal accidents which formally were in the bread and wine before the consecration of them, were in the same bread and wine after the consecration, or else were subjected in any other substance? To this they answered: that to answer better than, before in their writings, they already had, for that time they could not. To the meaning also and words of the third conclusion, for that they answered not plainly and expressly, but in sense contrary to the decretal in the Clementines, *Si dudum*, being asked what was that sense and meaning, would not declare the same. Wherefore it was then demanded of them, according to the sense of the same conclusion, declared on the behalf of the said lord of Canterbury, whether the same body of Christ, which was assumed of the Virgin, be in the sacrament of the altar, *secundum seipsum*, even as he is really in carnal substance, proper essence, and nature? To this they answered, that for that time they could say no more than that they had said, as before is specified in writing.

Furthermore, to the sense and text of the sixth conclusion, for that they answered not fully and expressly, being asked whether God owed any manner of obedience to the devil or not? they said, Yea, as the obedience of love, because he loveth him, and punished him as he ought. And to prove that God ought so to obey the devil, they offered themselves to the fire.

To the eleventh conclusion, for that they answered not expressly, being asked whether a prelate might excommunicate any man being in the state of grace? they said, Yea.

Unto the twentieth conclusion, for that they answered not fully, simply, and expressly; being demanded whether special or general prayers did most profit, and were of greater force, they would not say but that special did.

Unto the last conclusion, for that they answered neither simply, nor expressly; and being demanded particularly, whether any friar were bound to get his living with his

manual labour, so that it might not be lawful for him to live by begging, they would make no answer at all.

After that, the aforesaid lord archbishop of Canterbury demanded of all the aforesaid doctors, what their judgment was touching the answers that were made upon all and singular such conclusions. All which doctors and every of them severally said, that all the answers given unto the first, second, third, and sixth conclusions, (as is before recited,) were insufficient, heretical, and subtle; and that all the answers made specially to the ninth, tenth, and last conclusions, as is above mentioned, were insufficient, erroneous, and perverse. Whereupon the said lord archbishop of Canterbury, considering the said answers to be heretical, subtle, erroneous, and perverse, accordingly as the said doctors (as is aforesaid) had weighed and considered, admonished the said Nicholas and Philip sufficiently under this form of words.



Trial of Herford, Reppington and Ashton

"The name of Christ being called upon, we, William, by God's permission, archbishop of Canterbury, metropolitan of all England, and legate of the apostolic see, and through all our province of Canterbury, inquisitor of all heretical pravity, do sufficiently and lawfully admonish and cite you, Nicholas Herford, and Philip Reppington, professors of divinity, having this day and place assigned you by your own consent and our appointment, peremptorily to answer and to say fully and plainly your opinions touching these conclusions, whereunto we do refer you, (all subtle, sophistical, and logical words set apart,) being thereunto sworn, cited, and commanded. Which thing to do, without cause reasonable or any licence given thereunto, you neither have been willing, nor are willing; nay, rather ye contemptuously refused to answer to some of those conclusions before us judicially, according to the effect of our monition, citation, and commandment aforesaid. But for that ye have answered unto some of them heretically, and to other some erroneously, although not fully; we admonish and cite you once, twice, and thrice, and that peremptorily, that plainly and fully (all subtle, sophistical, and logical words set apart) you and every of you answer unto the same conclusions, and unto that sense and meaning by us limited, under the pain that otherwise such conclusions by you confessed deserve, and that for the same conclusions you ought to have."

Which admonition being made and done, for that the aforesaid Nicholas and Philip would make none other answer, the said lord archbishop of Canterbury concluded that business, prefixing and assigning unto the aforesaid Nicholas and Philip eight days' space; that is to say, until the twenty-seventh day of the same month, and that then they should appear before the said lord archbishop of Canterbury, wheresoever within the same his province of Canterbury he should fortune to be, to hear his decree that should be made in that behalf. This done, the aforesaid archbishop of Canterbury admonished and cited lawfully and sufficiently John Ashton, under the tenor of these words following.

"In the name of God; we, William, by God's mission, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, legate of the see apostolical, and through all our province of Canterbury, of all heretical pravity chief inquisitor, do admonish and cite thee, John Ashton, master of arts, and student in divinity, appearing before us, judicially to say and speak the plain verity touching these conclusions, to the which we do refer thee, and to the which we have caused thee to swear, laying thy hand upon a book; as being also otherwise by us admonished and commanded to keep this day and place by us appointed, for the third time peremptorily, to propone such reasonable cause (if thou hast any) wherefore thou oughtest not to be pronounced a heretic. And sufficiently and lawfully we admonish and cite thee, the first, second, and third time, and that peremptorily, that thou fully and plainly (all subtle, sophistical, and logical words set apart) do answer unto the same conclusions under the pain that unto such conclusions belong, and on thy part confessed, and that thou for such conclusions oughtest to suffer." Which monition being thus premised, the said archbishop read the first conclusion, and of the said John inquired what was his opinion and meaning therein? and hereupon he said his mind concerning the aforesaid monition. Then the aforesaid John Ashton, being often required by the archbishop, that he would answer in the Latin tongue to those questions which were demanded of him, because of the lay people that stood about him; he, crying out in the English tongue, uttered frivolous and opprobrious contumelies to move and excite the people against the said archbishop, as it should seem. Neither did he unto the first conclusions, nor unto any of these other conclusions, effectually and pertinently seem to them to answer; but

rather by subtleties and shifts, saying oftentimes, and as expressly as Luke said, it was sufficient for him to believe as the holy church believed. Then the said archbishop examined him upon the first conclusion touching the sacrament of the altar; whether that after the words of consecration there remaineth material bread, particular bread, or universal bread? He said the matter passed his understanding, and therefore said, he would in that form and manner answer, and otherwise not: but amongst other things, he spake in deriding-wise unto the said archbishop against this word material, saying, You may put that in your purse, if you have any. Whereupon the said archbishop calling that an unwise and foolish answer, as the rest of the doctors did, (of whom mention was made before,) the rather for that he was a graduate in the schools, further proceeded against the said John Ashton in this wise.

"And thou John Ashton, admonished and commanded by us, as is aforesaid, after thine oath taken, without any reasonable cause or any other licence, neither wouldest thou, nor yet wilt, but refusedst, and yet dost contemptuously, to answer unto such conclusions before us; judicially, according to our monition and commandment aforesaid, we do hold all such conclusions to be by thee confessed, and thee, the aforesaid John, with all thy aforesaid conclusions, convicted. And therefore we do pronounce and declare by sentence giving, that thou John Ashton, concerning those conclusions, which by us with good deliberation of divers prelates our suffragans, and also divers and sundry professors of divinity, and other wise men and learned in the law, according to the canonical sanctions, being condemned and declared for a heretic and heretical, hast been and still art a heretic, and thy conclusions heretical. And as touching thy other conclusions, by us heretofore counted erroneous, and for erroneous condemned, we do pronounce and declare sententially by these our writings, both that thou hast erred, and dost err."

Upon the same twentieth day of June, in the year and place above recited, the aforesaid lord of Canterbury being desirous, as he pretended, to be informed by Thomas Hilman, bachelor of divinity, there being present, and somewhat favouring the said Master John Ashton, what his judgment and opinion was touching the aforesaid conclusions, prefixed and assigned unto the said Thomas (for that time demanding the same deliberation and day) eight days after, that is to say, the twenty-eighth of the said month, to appear before the archbishop of Canterbury, wheresoever within his said province of Canterbury he should then happen to be, to declare plainly and fully what his judgment and opinion was touching the aforesaid conclusions.

The Friday next following, that is to say, the twenty-eighth day of June, A. D. 1382, the aforesaid Nicholas Herford, Philip Reppington, and Thomas Hilman, appeared before the said archbishop and lord inquisitor of Canterbury, in the chapel of his manor of Otford, in the diocese of Canterbury, there sitting in his tribunal seat; to whom the said bishop of Canterbury saying, that because at that time he had not the presence and assistance of the doctors in divinity and of the canon and civil law, he continued the said business touching the said Nicholas, Philip, and Thomas, in the same state wherein then it was, till Tuesday next and immediately ensuing, that is to say, the first day of July, the year of our Lord aforesaid; and prefixed unto the said Nicholas, Philip, and Thomas Hilman the same day to appear before him, wheresoever within his province of Canterbury he should then chance to be, to do that which upon the said twenty-eighth day they were purposed to do together or apart.

Which Tuesday being come, the aforesaid archbishop, in the chief house of his church at Canterbury, before the hour of nine, with the doctors whose names are

under contained, and other clerks a great multitude, expected the aforesaid Nicholas, Philip, and Thomas a long time, the beadle calling them and looking after them; who, nevertheless, appeared not before two of the clock after dinner the same day, continuing the aforesaid business in the pristine state till the same hour; at which hour the aforesaid archbishop of Canterbury, having assistants the doctors and clerks under recited, examined the aforesaid Master Thomas Hilman, then and there judicially appearing, what his opinion was touching the aforesaid conclusions; who, at them and the meaning of them somewhat stammering, at last, to all and singular the same conclusions then to him read and expounded, thus answered: "I suppose and judge all and singular those conclusions lately condemned by my lord of Canterbury that now is, together with the counsel and consent of his clerks, to be heretical and erroneous, even as the same my lord of Canterbury and other doctors of divinity, of the canon and civil law, by common consent and counsel, have supposed and thought. And the same, being for heresies and errors, as before is said, condemned, I do, as much as in me is, condemn; protesting that I will hold and affirm the contrary of those conclusions, and in the same faith live and die." Then the said archbishop of Canterbury, then and there sitting as tribunal or judge, pronouncing the said Masters Nicholas and Philip, long in court called before and tarried for, and yet not appearing, guilty of contumacy and disobedience, excommunicated them for the penalty of this their contumacy.

Against this blind excommunication of the said archbishop the parties excommunicate commenced and exhibited their appeal unto the bishop of Rome; which appeal of theirs, as insufficient, or rather to him unpleasant, the said archbishop utterly rejected, (as might oftentimes overcome right,) proceeding in his preconceived excommunication against them, and writing moreover his letters to him that should preach next at Paul's Cross, as is aforesaid, to denounce and to publish openly the said Nicholas Herford and Philip Reppington to be excommunicate, for not appearing at their term assigned, which was in the thirteenth day of the month of July.

This archbishop, moreover, the said year, the month and day aforesaid, sent also another letter to Master Rigges, commissary of Oxford, straitly enjoining and charging him, not only to denounce the said sentence of excommunication, and to give out public citation against them, but also to make diligent search and inquisition through all Oxford for them, to have them apprehended and sent up to him, personally before him to appear at a certain day, prescribed for the same. Whereby may appear how busy this bishop was in disquieting and persecuting these poor men, whom rather he should have nourished and cherished as his brethren. But as his labour is past, so his reward will follow, at what day the great Archbishop of our souls shall judicially appear in his tribunal seat, to judge both the quick and the dead.

The archbishop, not yet contented with this, doth moreover by all means possible solicit the king to join withal the power of his temporal sword; for that he well perceived, that hitherto as yet the popish clergy had not authority sufficient, by any public law or statute of this land, to proceed unto death against any person whatsoever, in case of religion, but only by the usurped tyranny and example of the court of Rome. Where note (gentle reader) for thy better understanding, the practice of the Romish prelates in seeking the king's help to further their bloody purpose against the good saints of God. Which king being but young, and under years of ripe judgment, partly induced, or rather seduced, by importune suit of the aforesaid archbishop, partly also either for fear of the bishops, (for kings cannot always do in their realms what they will,) or else perhaps enticed by some hope of subsidy to be

gathered by the clergy, was content to adjoin his private assent (such as it was) to the setting down of an ordinance, which was indeed the very first law that is to be found made against religion and the professors thereof, bearing the name of an act made in the parliament holden at Westminster, in the fifth year of Richard the Second; where among sundry other statutes then published, and yet remaining in the printed books of statutes, this supposed statute is to be found, cap. 5, et ultimo.



tem, forasmuch as it is openly known that there be divers evil persons within the realm, going from country to country, and from town to town, in certain habits under dissimulation of great holiness, and without the licence of the ordinaries of the places, or other sufficient authority, preaching not only in churches and churchyards, but also in markets, fairs, and other open places where a great congregation of people is, divers sermons containing heresies and notorious errors, to the great emblemishing of Christian faith, and destruction of the laws and of the estate of holy church, to the great

peril of the souls of the people, and of all the realm of England, as more plainly is found, and sufficiently proved before the reverend father in God, the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops and other prelates, masters of divinity, and doctors of canon and of civil law, and a great part of the clergy, of the said realm, specially assembled for this great cause; which persons do also preach divers matters of slander, to engender discord and dissension betwixt divers estates of the said realm, as well spiritual as temporal, in exciting of the people to the great peril of all the realm; which preachers being cited or summoned before the ordinaries of the places, there to answer to that whereof they be impeached, they will not obey to their summons and commandments, nor care for their monitions, or censures of the holy church, but expressly despise them; and moreover, by their subtle and ingenious words, do draw the people to hear their sermons, and do maintain them in their errors by strong hand, and by great routs; it is ordained and assented in this present parliament, that the king's commissions be made and directed to the sheriffs and other ministers of our sovereign lord the king, or other sufficient persons learned, and according to the certifications of the prelates thereof, to be made in the chancery from time to time, to arrest all such preachers, and also their favourers, maintainers, and abettors, and to hold them in arrest and strong prison, till they will justify themselves according to the law and reason of holy church. And the king willeth and commandeth that the chancellor make such commissions at all times, that he, by the prelates, or any of them, shall be certified and thereof required, as is aforesaid.

An examination of the aforesaid supposed statute, and of the invalidity thereof.

Which supposed statute, forasmuch as it was the principal ground whereupon proceeded all the persecution of that time, it is therefore not impertinent to examine the same more particularly, whereby it shall appear, that as the same was fraudulently and unduly devised by the prelates only, so was it in like manner most injuriously and unorderedly executed by them. For immediately upon the publishing of this law, without further warrant either from the king or his council, commissions under the great seal of England were made in this form: "Richard, by the grace of God," &c.; *ut patet act.*, above; "witness myself, at Westminster, the twenty-sixth day of June, in the sixth year

of our reign;" without more words of warrant underwritten, such as in like cases are both usual and requisite; viz. *per ipsum regem: per regem et concilium; per breve de privato sigillo*: all or any which words being utterly wanting in this place, as may be seen in the king's records of that time, it must therefore be done either by warrant of this aforesaid statute, or else without any warrant at all. Whereupon it is to be noted, that whereas the said statute appointed the commissions to be directed to the sheriff, or other ministers of the king's, or to other sufficient persons learned, for the arresting of such persons; the said commissions are directed to the archbishop and his suffragans, being, as it appeareth, parties in the case, authorizing them further, without either the words or reasonable meaning of the said statute, to imprison them in their own houses, or where else pleased them.

Besides also, what manner of law this was, by whom devised, and by what authority the same was first made and established, judge by that that followeth: viz.

In the Utas of St. Michael next following, at a parliament summoned and holden at Westminster, the sixth year of the said king, among sundry petitions made to the king by his commons, whereunto he assented, there is one in this form, article 52.

"Item, praying the commons, that whereas a statute was made the last parliament, in these words: It is ordained in this present parliament, that commissions from the king be directed to the sheriffs and other ministers of the king, or to other sufficient persons skilful, and according to the certificates of the prelates thereof, to be made unto the chancery from time to time, to arrest all such preachers, and their favourers, maintainers, and abettors; and them to detain in strong prison, until they will justify themselves according to reason, and law of holy church: and the king willeth and commandeth that the chancellor make such commissions at all times as he shall be by the prelates or any of them certified, and thereof required, as is aforesaid.' The which was never agreed nor granted by the commons; but whatsoever was moved therein, was without their assent: That the said statute be therefore disannulled. For it is not in any wise their meaning, that either themselves, or such as shall succeed them, shall be further justified or bound by the prelates, than were their ancestors in former times: whereunto is answered, *Il plaist al roy*, that is, 'The king is pleased.'"

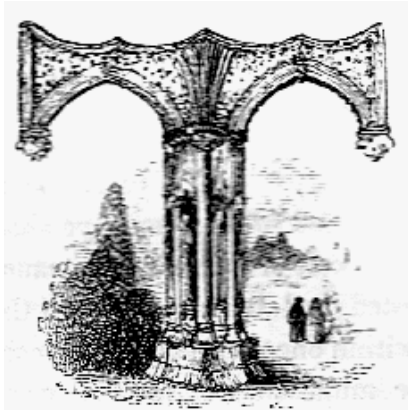
Hereby, notwithstanding the former unjust law of the fifth of Richard the Second was repealed, and the fraud of the framers thereof sufficiently discovered, yet such means was there made by the prelates, that this act of repeal was never published, nor ever since imprinted with the rest of the statutes of that parliament; insomuch as the said repeal being concealed, like commissions and other process were made from time to time, by virtue of the said bastard statute, as well during all the reign of this king, as ever since, against the professors of religion, as shall hereafter, by the grace of God, appear in the second year of King Henry the Fourth, where the clergy pursued the like practice. And now again to the story of our Oxford divines, and of the archbishop, to whom the king writeth his letters patent, first to the archbishop, then to the vice-chancellor of Oxford, in form as followeth.

The king's letters patent to the archbishop.



RICHARD, by the grace of God, king of England, and lord of Ireland, to all those to whom these present letters shall come, greeting. By the petition of the reverend father in God, William, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of England, exhibited unto us, we right well understand: That divers and sundry conclusions, very contrary to wholesome doctrine, and redounding both to the subversion of the Catholic faith, the holy church, and of his province of Canterbury, in divers and sundry places of the same his province, have been openly and publicly preached, although damnably preached: of the which conclusions, some as heresies, other some as errors, have been condemned, but not before good and mature deliberation first therein had and used; and by common counsel of the said archbishop, his suffragans, and many doctors in divinity, and other clerks and learned men in the Holy Scriptures, were sententially and wholesomely declared. Whereupon the said archbishop hath made his supplication unto us; that both for the coercion and due castigation of such as shall henceforth, of an obstinate mind, preach or maintain the aforesaid conclusions, we would vouchsafe to put to the arm and helping hand of our kingly power. We therefore, moved by the zeal of the Catholic faith, whereof we be and will be defenders, and unwilling that any such heresies or errors should spring up within the limits of our dominion, give and grant special licence and authority, by the tenor of these presents, unto the aforesaid archbishop, and to his suffragans, to arrest and imprison, either in their own prisons or any other, all and every such person and persons, as shall either privily or apertly preach and maintain the aforesaid conclusions, so condemned; and the same persons, so imprisoned there, at their pleasures to detain, till such time as they shall repent them and amend them of such heretical pravitie, or else it shall be of such arrests, by us and our council otherwise determined and provided: further charging and commanding all and singular our liegemen, ministers, and subjects, of what state and condition soever they be, upon their fidelity and allegiance, wherein they stand bound to us, that by no means they either favour, counsel, or help the preachers or maintainers of the said conclusions so condemned, or their favourers, upon pain and forfeiture of all that ever they have; but that they obey and humbly attend upon the said archbishop, his suffragans, and ministers, in the execution of these presents; so that due and manifest publication against the aforesaid conclusions and their maintainers, without any perturbation, may be done and executed, as for the defence of our realm and Catholic faith shall be thought most meet and requisite. In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters patent to be made.

Witness ourself at Westminster, the sixteenth of June, and sixth year of our reign.

The king's letters patent to the vice-chancellor.

HE king, to the chancellor and the procurators of the university of Oxford which now be, or for the time being shall be, greeting. Moved by the zeal of Christian faith, whereof we be, and always will be, defenders, and for our soul's health induced thereunto, having a great desire to repress, and by condign punishment to restrain the impugnors of the aforesaid faith, which newly and wickedly go about, and presume to sow their naughty and perverse doctrine within our kingdom of England, and to preach and hold damnable conclusions, so notoriously repugnant and contrary to the same faith, to the perverting of our subjects and people, as we understand; before they any further proceed in their malicious errors, or else infect others, we have by these presents appointed you to be inquisitor-general, all the chief divines of the said university being your assistants, and the same likewise to be done of all and singular the graduates, divines, and lawyers of the same university. And if they shall know any which be of the jurisdiction of the said university of Oxford, which be probably of them suspected to be in the favour, belief, or defence of any heresy or error, and specially of any one of the conclusions publicly condemned by the reverend father, William, archbishop of Canterbury, by the counsel of his clergy, or else of any other conclusion like unto any of them in meaning, or in words; and that if henceforth you shall find any that shall believe, favour, or defend any of the aforesaid heresies or errors, or any other such-like, or else which shall be so bold to receive into their houses and inns, Master John Wickliff, Master Nicholas Herford, Master Philip Reppington, or Master John Ashton, or any other noted by probable suspicion of any the aforesaid heresies, or errors, or any other like unto them in meaning, or in word; or that shall presume to communicate with any of them, or else to defend or favour any of such favourers, receivers, communicants, and defenders, within seven days after the same shall appear and be manifest unto you, that you banish and expel them from the university and town of Oxford, till such time as they shall declare their innocency before the archbishop of Canterbury for the time being, by manifest purgation. So, notwithstanding, that such as be compelled to purge themselves, you certify us and the said archbishop, under your seals, from time to time within one month, that they be such manner of men. Commanding furthermore, that through all the halls of the said university ye cause diligently to be searched and inquired out of hand, if any man have any book or tractation of the edition, or compiling of the aforesaid Master John Wickliff, or Nicholas Herford; and that, when and wheresoever ye shall chance to find any such book or tractation, ye cause the same to be arrested and taken, and unto the aforesaid archbishop within one month, (without correction, corruption, or mutation whatsoever,) word for word, and sentence for sentence, to be brought and presented. And therefore we straitly enjoin and command you, upon your fidelity and allegiance wherein ye stand bound unto us, and upon the pain of forfeiture of all and singular your liberties and privileges of your said university, and of all that ever you have besides; that you give your diligent attendance upon the premises, and that well and faithfully you execute the same in manner and form aforesaid. And that you obey the aforesaid archbishop, and his lawful and honest mandates, that he shall think good to

direct unto you in this behalf, as it is meet ye should. And we give in charge unto the vice-chancellor and mayor of Oxford for the time being, and to all and singular our sheriffs, and under-sheriffs, bailiffs, and subjects, by these presents, that they aid, obey, and be attendant upon you in the execution of the premises. In witness whereof, &c., witness the king at Westminster, the thirteenth day of July, the sixth year of his reign.

Besides these letters patent, the said young king, moved by the unquiet importunity of the archbishop, sendeth, moreover, another special letter to the vice-chancellor and proctors of the university of Oxford. Wherein, under a pretended zeal of defence of Christian faith, he straitly and sharply enjoineth and assigneth them (for the utter abolishing of those conclusions and opinions) to make a general inquisition through the whole university, as well for the parties aforesaid, John Wickliff, Nicholas Herford, Philip Reppington, John Ashton, and such others, as also for all other whom they know or judge to be suspected of that doctrine, or to be maintainers, receivers, and defenders of the aforesaid parties, or their conclusions any manner of way; to the intent that they being so apprehended through their diligent search, may be, within seven days of their admonitions, expelled the university, and cited up to the archbishop of Canterbury, before him to appear and to stand to their answers; willing, moreover, and commanding the said vice-chancellor and proctors, with other regents, their assisters, that if any person or persons in any house, hall, or college, or in any other place, shall be found to have any of their books or treatises compiled by the said John Wickliff, Nicholas Herford, &c., they will cause without delay the said person or persons, with their books, to be arrested and attached, and presented within one month, without correction, corruption, or mutation, to the aforesaid archbishop, upon their faith and allegiance, as they will avoid the forfeiture of all and singular the liberties and privileges of the university appertaining. And that they will be obedient to the archbishop aforesaid in the ordering hereof, and all other his injunctions to be obeyed in all things lawful and honest. Giving, moreover, in these our letters, charge and commandment to the mayor, bailiffs, and other the inhabitants of Oxford, to be assistant and attendant unto the aforesaid vice-chancellor and proctors, touching the execution of the premises, bearing the date of the fourteenth day of July, which was the year of our Lord 1382.

Matters incident of Robert Rigges, vice-chancellor of Oxford, Nicholas Herford, and Philip Reppington, with others.

The vice-chancellor the same time in Oxford was Master Robert Rigges; the two proctors were John Huntman and Walter Dish; who then, as far as they durst, favoured the cause of John Wickliff and that side; insomuch that the same time and year, which was A. D. 1382, when certain public sermons should be appointed customably at the feast of the Ascension, and of Corpus Christi, to be preached in the cloister of St. Frideswide (now called Christ's Church) before the people, by the vice-chancellor aforesaid and the proctors; the doings thereof the vice-chancellor aforesaid and proctors had committed to Philip Reppington and Nicholas Herford, so that Nicholas Herford should preach on the Ascension day, and Reppington upon Corpus Christi day. First, Herford beginning, was noted to defend John Wickliff openly to be a faithful, good, and innocent man; for the which no small ado with outcries was amongst the friars. This Herford, after he had long favoured and maintained Wickliff's part, grew first in suspicion amongst the enemies of the truth. For as soon as he began somewhat liberally and freely to pronounce and utter any thing, which tended to the defence of Wickliff; by and by the Carmelites, and all the orders of religion, were on

his top, and laid not a few heresies unto his charge; the which they had strained here and there out of his sermons, and had compiled together in a certain form, by the hands of certain notaries, through the industry and diligence of one Peter Stokes, a Carmelite; a kind of people prone and ready to all kind of mischief, uproars, and debate, and dissension. After this the feast of Corpus Christi drew near; upon which day it was looked for that Reppington should preach. This man was a canon of Leicester, and had before taken his first degree unto doctorship, who preaching the same time at Broadgate, for the same sermon he became first suspected, and hated of the Pharisaical brood of the friars: but through the great and notable dexterity of his wit, (which all men did behold and see in him,) accompanied with like modesty and honesty, he did so overcome, or at the least assuage, this cruelty and persecution which was towards him, that shortly after, by the consent of the whole fellowship, he was admitted doctor. Who as soon as he had taken it upon him, by and by he stepped forth in the schools, and began immediately to show forth and utter that which he had long hidden and dissembled, protesting openly, that in all moral matters he would defend Wickliff; but as touching the sacrament he would as yet hold his peace, until such time as the Lord shall otherwise illuminate the hearts and minds of the clergy.

Now the day of Corpus Christi aforesaid approaching near, when the friars understood that this man should preach, fearing lest that he would rub the galls of their religion, they convented with the archbishop of Canterbury that the same day, a little before that Philip should preach, Wickliff's conclusions, which were privately condemned, should be openly defamed in the presence of the whole university. The doing of which matter was committed to Peter Stokes, friar, standard-bearer and chief champion of that side against Wickliff.

There were also letters sent unto the commissary, that he should help and aid him in publishing of the same conclusions, as is before declared.

These things thus done and finished, Reppington at the hour appointed proceeded to his sermon. In the which sermon, among many other things, he was reported to have uttered these sayings, or to this effect.

That the popes or bishops ought not to be recommended above temporal lords.

Also that in moral matters he would defend Master Wickliff as a true Catholic doctor.

Moreover, that the duke of Lancaster was very earnestly affected and minded in this matter, and would that all such should be received under his protection; besides many things more, which touched the praise and defence of Wickliff.

And finally, in concluding his sermon, he dismissed the people with this sentence; I will (said he) in

the speculative doctrine, as appertaining to the matter of the sacrament of the altar, keep silence and hold my peace, until such time as God otherwise shall instruct and illuminate the hearts of the clergy.



hen the sermon was done, Reppington entered into St. Frideswide's church, accompanied with many of his friends; who, as the enemies surmised, were privily weaponed under their garments, if need had been. Friar Stokes, the Carmelite aforesaid, suspecting all this to be against him, and being afraid of hurt, kept him within the sanctuary of the church, not daring as then to put out his head. The vice-chancellor and Reppington, friendly saluting one another in the church porch, sent away the people, and so departed every man home to his own

house. There was not a little joy through the whole university for that sermon; but in the mean time, the unquiet and busy Carmelite slipt not his matter. For first, by his letters he declared the whole order of the matter unto the archbishop, exaggerating the perils and dangers that he was in, requiring and desiring his help and aid, pretermittting nothing thereby to move and stir up the archbishop's mind, which of his own nature was as hot as a toast, as they say, and ready enough to prosecute the matter of his own accord, though no man had pricked him forward thereunto. Besides all this, three days after, with a fierce and bold courage, the said friar, breathing out threatenings and heresies against them, took the way into the schools, minding there to prove, that the pope and the bishops ought to be prayed for before the lords temporal. Whilst this friar was thus occupied in the schools, he was mocked and derided of all men, and shortly after he was sent for by the archbishop to London; whom, immediately after, the vice-chancellor and Brightwell followed up, to purge and clear themselves and their adherents from the accusations of this Friar Peter. At the length, they being examined upon Wickliff's conclusions that were condemned, they did all consent that they were worthily condemned. The vice-chancellor being afterward accused for the contempt of the archbishop's letters, whenas he perceived and saw that no excuse would prevail to avoid that danger, humbling himself upon his knees, he desired pardon. The which when he had now again, (as is aforesaid,) albeit very hardly, obtained, by the help of the bishop of Winchester he was sent away again with certain commandments, and suspensions of heretics. Then began the hatred on either part somewhat to appear and show, and especially, men were offended, above all, with the friars and religious men, unto whom, whatsoever trouble or mischief was raised up, they did impute it, as to the authors and causers of the same. Amongst whom there was one Henry Crompe, a monk Cistercian, a well learned divine, which afterward was accused by the bishops of heresy. He at that time was openly suspected by the commissary, because in his lectures he called the heretics Lollards, or rather in his acts (as they term them) in the school. Then he, coming by and by up to London, made his complaint unto the archbishop and to the king's council.

Whereupon he obtained the letters of the king, and of his council, by virtue whereof he (returning again to the university) was released and restored again to his former state.

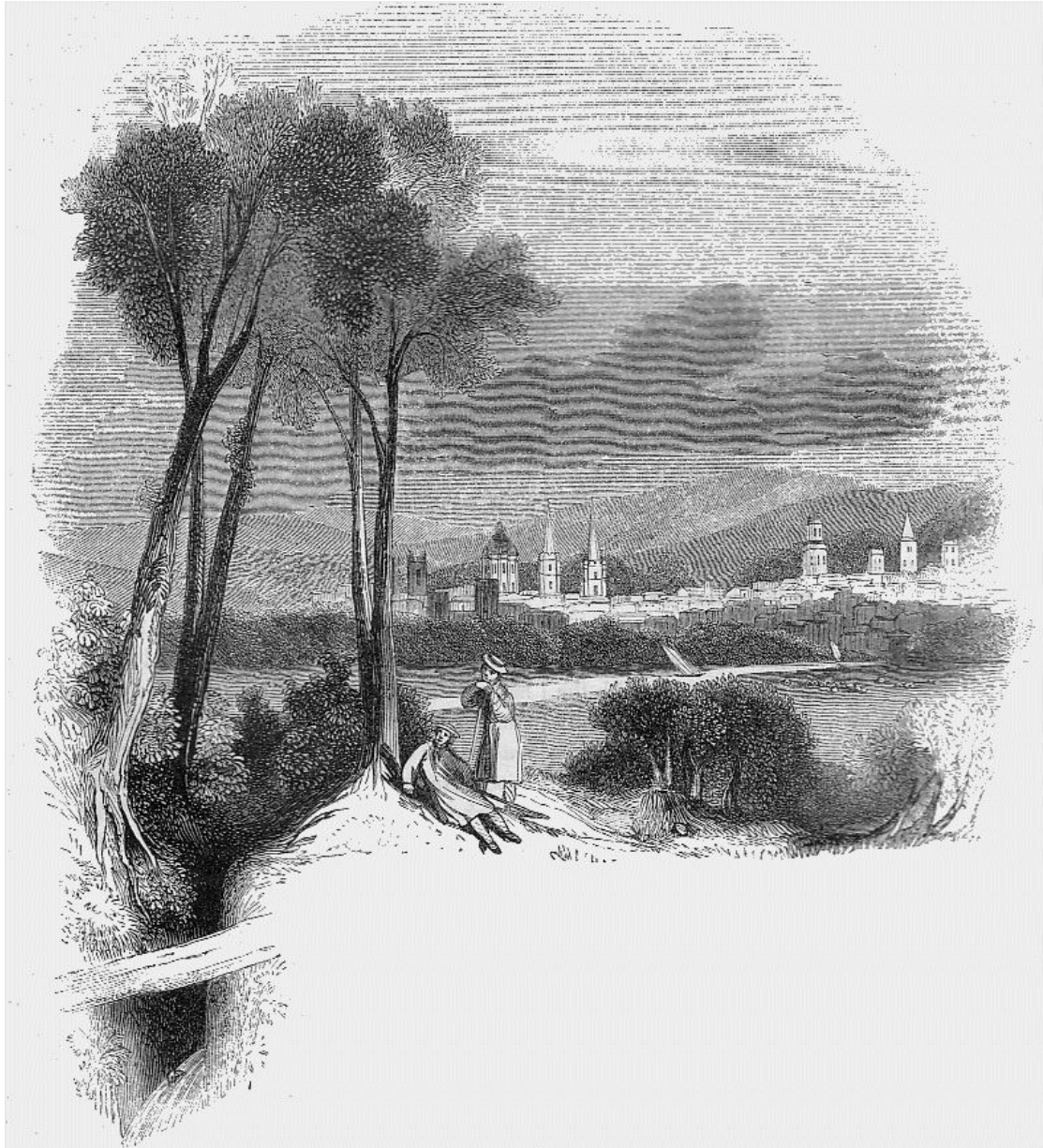
Mention was made, as you heard a little before, how Master Rigges, vice-chancellor of Oxford, coming up with Master Brightwell to the archbishop of Canterbury, was there straitly examined of the conclusions of Wickliff, where he, notwithstanding, through the help of the bishop of Winchester, obtained pardon, and

was sent away again with commandments and charges, to seek out all the favourers of John Wickliff. This commandment being received, Nicholas Herford and Philip Reppington (being privily warned by the vice-chancellor) in the mean season conveyed themselves out of sight, and fled to the duke of Lancaster for succour and help; but the duke, whether for fear, or for what cause else I cannot say, in the end forsook his poor and miserable clients.

In the mean time, while they were fled thus to the duke, great search and inquisition was made for them, to cite and to apprehend them wheresoever they might be found. Whereupon the archbishop of Canterbury, William Courtney, directed out his letters first to the vice-chancellor of Oxford, then to the bishop of London, named Robert Braybroke; charging them not only to excommunicate the said Nicholas and Philip within their jurisdiction, and the said excommunication to be denounced likewise throughout all the diocese of his suffragans; but also, moreover, that diligent search and watch should be laid for them, both in Oxford and in London, that they might be apprehended; requiring, moreover, by them to be certified again, what they had done in the premises. And this was written the fourteenth day of July, A. D. 1382.

Unto these letters received from the archbishop, diligent certificate was given accordingly, as well of the bishop of London his part, as also of the vice-chancellor.

In the mean time, Nicholas Herford and Reppington, being repulsed of the duke, and destitute, as was said, of his support, whether they were sent, or of their own accord went, to the archbishop, it was uncertain. This I find in a letter of the aforesaid archbishop, contained in his register; that Reppington, the twenty-third day of October, the same year, 1382, was reconciled again to the archbishop, and also by his general letter was released, and admitted to his scholastical acts in the university; and so was also John Ashton, of whom (Christ willing) more shall follow hereafter. Of Nicholas Herford all this while I find no special relation.



Oxford

In the mean time, about the twenty-third of the month of September, the said year, the king sent his mandate to the archbishop for collecting of a subsidy, and to have a convocation of the clergy summoned against the next parliament, which should begin the eighteenth day of November. The archbishop likewise, on the fifteenth day of October, directed his letters monitory, as the manner is, to Robert Braybroke, bishop of London, to give the same admonition to all his suffragans, and other of the clergy within his province, for the assembling of the convocation aforesaid. All which done and executed, the parliament begun, being holden at Oxford the eighteenth day of November, where the convocation was kept in the monastery of Frideswide, in Oxford. In the which convocation the archbishop, with other bishops there sitting in their pontificalibus, declared two causes of that their present assembly: the one, said he, to repress heresies, which began newly in the realm to spring, and for correcting other excesses in the church: the other cause, said he, was to aid and support the king with some necessary subsidy of money to be gathered, which thus declared, the

convocation was continued till the day following, which was the nineteenth of November.

At the said day and place, the archbishop with the other prelates assembling themselves as before, the archbishop, after the used solemnity, willed the procurators of the clergy, appointed for every diocese, to consult within themselves, in some convenient several place, what they thought for their parts touching the redress of things, to be notified and declared to him and to his brethren, &c.

Furthermore, forasmuch, saith he, as it is so noised through all the realm, that there were certain in the university of Oxford, which did hold and maintain conclusions, as he calleth them, heretical and erroneous, condemned by him, and by other lawyers and doctors of divinity; he therefore assigned the bishops of Sarum, Hereford, and Rochester, with William Rugge, then vice-chancellor of the university of Oxford, (for perhaps Robert Rigges was then displaced,) as also William Berton, and John Middleton, doctors; giving them his full authority, with cursing and banning to compel them to search and to inquire with all diligence and ways possible, over all and singular whatsoever, either doctors, bachelors, or scholars of the said university, which did hold, teach, maintain, and defend, in schools or out of schools, the said conclusions heretical (as he called them) or erroneous, and afterward to give certificate truly and plainly touching the premises. And thus for that day the assembly brake up to the next, and so to the next, and the third, being Monday, the twenty-fourth day of November.

On the which day, in the presence of the prelates and the clergy in the chapter-house of St. Frideswide, came in Philip Reppington, otherwise called by the brethren, afterward, Rampington, who there abjured the conclusions and assertions aforesaid, in this form of words as followeth:

"I Philip Reppington, canon of the house of Leicester, acknowledging one catholic and apostolic faith, do curse and also abjure all heresy, namely, these heresies and errors underwritten, condemned and reprov'd by the decrees canonical, and by you, most reverend father, touching which hitherto I have been defamed; condemning, moreover, and reprov'ing both them and the authors of them, and do confess the same to be catholically condemned. And I swear also, by these holy evangelists, which here I hold in my hand, and do promise, never by any persuasions of men, nor by any way hereafter, to defend or hold as true any of the said conclusions underwritten; but do and will stand and adhere in all things to the determination of the holy catholic church, and to yours, in this behalf. Over and besides, all such as stand contrary to this faith, I do pronounce them, with their doctrine and followers, worthy of everlasting curse. And if I myself shall presume at any time to hold or preach any thing contrary to the premises, I shall be content to abide the severity of the canons. Subscribed with mine own hand, and of mine own accord,

"PHILIP REPPINGTON."

And thus the said Rampington was discharged, who afterward was made bishop of Lincoln, and became at length the most bitter and extreme persecutor of this side, of all the other bishops within the realm, as in process hereafter may appear.

After the abjuration of this Reppington, immediately was brought in John Ashton, student of divinity; who being examined of those conclusions, and willed to say his mind, answered, that he was too simple and ignorant, and therefore would not, and could not, answer any thing clearly or distinctly to those conclusions. Whereupon

the archbishop assigned to him Doctor William Rugge, the vice-chancellor, and other divines, such as he required himself, to be instructed in the mystery of those conclusions against the afternoon; who then, appearing again after dinner before the archbishop and the prelates, did in like sort and form of words abjure, as did Reppington before.

Of this John Ashton we read, that afterward, by Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, he was cited and condemned; but whether he died in prison, or was burned, we have yet no certainty to show. This is certain by the plain words of the Chronicle of St. Alban's, that when the archbishop with his doctors and friars sat in examination upon this said John Ashton, in London, the Londoners brake open the door of the conclave, and did hinder the archbishop himself sitting in the city of London, when he would have made process against John Ashton, A. D. 1382. And thus much of John Ashton.

As touching Nicholas Herford, during the time of this convocation he did not appear; and therefore had the sentence of excommunication, against which he put in his appeal from the archbishop to the king and his council. The archbishop would not admit it, but finding stays and stops, caused him to be apprehended and enclosed in prison. Notwithstanding, through the will of God and good means, he escaped out of the prison, returning again to his former exercise and preaching as he did before, albeit in as covert and secret manner as he could.

Whereupon the archbishop, thundering out his bolts of excommunication against him, sending to all pastors and ministers, willing them in all churches, and on all festival days, to divulge the said excommunication against him to all men; he writeth moreover, and sendeth special charge, to all and singular of the laity, to beware that their simplicity be not deceived by his doctrine, but that they, like catholic children, will avoid him, and cause him of all other to be avoided.

Furthermore, not contented with this, he addresseth also his letter unto the king, requiring also the aid of his temporal sword to chop off his neck, whom he had already cast down. See and note, reader, the seraphical charity of these priestly prelates towards the poor redeemed flock of Christ. And yet these be they which, washing their hands with Pilate, say, and pretend, *Nobis non licet interficere quenquam*, It is not our parts to kill any man. The copy of the letter written to the king is this:

"To the most excellent prince in Christ, &c.: William, &c., greeting in Him by whom kings do reign and princes bear rule. Unto your kingly celsitude by the tenor of these presents we intimate, that one Master Nicholas Herford, doctor of divinity, for his manifest contumacy and offence in not appearing before us, being called at the day and place assigned, is therefore enwrapped in the sentence of the greater curse, publicly by our ordinary authority; and in the same sentence hath continued now forty days, and yet still continueth with indurate heart, wickedly contemning the keys of the church, both to the greater peril of his soul, and to the pernicious example of other. Forasmuch, therefore, as the holy mother the church hath not to do, or to proceed, any further in this matter, we humbly desire your kingly majesty to direct out your letters for the apprehending of the said excommunicate, according to the custom of this realm of England, wholesomely observed and kept hitherto; to the intent that such, whom the fear of God doth not restrain from evil, the discipline of the secular arm may bridle and pluck back from offending. Your princely celsitude the Lord long continue. From Lambeth, the fifteenth of January."

81. John Wickliff (Contd.)

And thus far concerning Nicholas Herford, and the other aforesaid. But all this mean while what became of John Wickliff is not certainly known; albeit, so far as may be gathered out of Walden, it appeareth that he was banished and driven to exile. In the mean time it is not to be doubted, but he was alive during all this while, wheresoever he was, as by his letter may appear, which he about this time wrote to Pope Urban the Sixth. In the which letter he doth purge himself, that being commanded to appear before the pope at Rome, he came not; declaring also in the same a brief confession of his faith: the copy of which epistle here followeth, A. D. 1382.

"Verily I do rejoice to open and declare unto every man the faith which I do hold; and especially unto the bishop of Rome; the which, forasmuch as I do suppose to be sound and true, he will most willingly confirm my said faith, or, if it be erroneous, amend the same.

"First, I suppose that the gospel of Christ is the whole body of God's law; and that Christ, which did give that same law himself, I believe to be very God and very man, and in that point to exceed the law of the gospel, and all other parts of the Scripture. Again, I do give and hold the bishop of Rome, forasmuch as he is the vicar of Christ here in earth, to be bound most of all other men unto that law of the gospel. For the greatness amongst Christ's disciples did not consist in worldly dignity or honours, but in the near and exact following of Christ in his life and manners: whereupon I do gather out of the heart of the law of the Lord, that Christ for the time of his pilgrimage here was a most poor man, abjecting and casting off all worldly rule and honour, as appeareth by the Gospel of St. Matthew, the 8th chapter, and the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, the 8th chapter.

"Hereby I do fully gather, that no faithful man ought to follow, either the pope himself, or any of the holy men, but in such points as he hath followed the Lord Jesus Christ. For Peter and the sons of Zebedee, by desiring worldly honour contrary to the following of Christ's steps, did offend, and therefore in those errors they are not to be followed.

"Hereof I do gather, as a counsel, that the pope ought to leave unto the secular power all temporal dominion and rule, and thereunto effectually to move and exhort his whole clergy; for so did Christ, and especially by his apostles. Wherefore, if I have erred in any of these points, I will most humbly submit myself unto correction, even by death, if necessity so require; and if I could labour according to my will or desire in mine own person, I would surely present myself before the bishop of Rome; but the Lord hath otherwise visited me to the contrary, and hath taught me rather to obey God than men. Forasmuch then as God hath given unto our pope just and true evangelical instincts, we ought to pray that those instincts be not extinguished by any subtle or crafty device. And that the pope and cardinals be not moved to do any thing contrary unto the law of the Lord.

"Wherefore let us pray unto our God, that he will so stir up our Pope Urban the Sixth, as he began, that he with his clergy may follow the Lord Jesus Christ in life and manners; and that they may teach the people effectually, and that they, likewise, may faithfully follow them in the same. And let us specially pray, that our pope may

be preserved from all malign and evil counsel, which we do know that evil and envious men of his household would give him. And seeing the Lord will not suffer us to be tempted above our power, much less then will he require of any creature to do that thing which it is not able; forasmuch as that is the plain condition and manner of antichrist."



hus much wrote John Wickliff unto Pope Urban. But this Pope Urban, otherwise termed Turbanus, was so hot in his wars against Clement, the French pope, his adversary, that he had no leisure, and less list, to attend unto Wickliff's matters. By the occasion of which schism, God so provided for poor Wickliff, that he was in some more rest and quietness.

Concerning which schismatical wars of these popes, forasmuch as we have here entered into the mention thereof, it shall not be impertinent from the order of our story, digressing a little from the matter of John

Wickliff, to touch something of the tragical doings of these two holy popes, striving for the triple crown; to the intent that the Christian reader, judging by their fruits and proceedings, may see and understand what difference is between these popes, and Christ and his apostles. For though in the story of the gospel it is read, that certain of the disciples did strive which should be the greater, yet neither do we read that one of them took ever weapon against the other; and moreover, in the said story of the gospel it doth appear, that they, for so striving as they did, were therefore sharply rebuked of our Saviour Christ, and were taught by him another lesson.

About the beginning of the next year following, which was A. D. 1383, Pope Urban setting all his study how to repress and conquer the contrary pope, his adversary, being then at Avignon, seeing all his other means to fail, and that his cross keys could do no good, took to him the sword of Romulus, and set upon him with open war. And first devising with himself whom he might best choose for his chief champion, he thought none meeter for such affairs than Henry Spencer, being then bishop of Norwich, a young and stout prelate, more fitting for the camping cure, than for the peaceable church of Christ, as partly also might appear before by his acts done at Lennam, in striving for the mayor's mace, mentioned before. Unto this bishop of Norwich the pope had sent his bulls about this time, to croisy whomsoever would go with him into France, to destroy the antipope, which named himself Clement, and to make war against all those that took his part. Which bulls, for that they gave unto him such great authority, he caused to be published in the parliament house, and caused the copies of the same to be sent all about, and to be set up and fastened upon all the church doors and monastery gates, that all men might read them. In the which bulls many privileges were granted.

This courageous or rather outrageous bishop, armed thus with the pope's authority, and prompt with his privileges, in the year aforesaid, 1383, about the time of Lent, came to the parliament; where great consultation and contention, and almost no less schism, was about the voyage of this popish bishop in the parliament, than was between the popes themselves. In the which parliament many there were, which thought it not safe to commit the king's people and subjects unto a rude and unskilful priest. So great was the diversity of judgments in that behalf, that the voyage of the

said bishop was protracted unto the Saturday before Passion Sunday. In the which Sunday was sung the solemn anthem, Behold the cross of the Lord, fly away, all you adversaries. After which Sunday the parties so agreed amongst themselves by common decree, that the bishop should set forth in his voyage, having given to him the fifteenth, which was granted to the king in the parliament before. Which things thus concluded in the parliament, this warlike bishop, preparing before all things in readiness, set forward in his pope-holy journey. Who about the month of May, being come to Canterbury, and there tarrying for a wind in the monastery of St. Augustine, received a writ from the king that he should return to him, to know further of his pleasure. The bishop fearing that, if he turned again to the king, his journey should be staid, and so all his labour and preparation lost with great derision and shame unto him, thought better to commit himself to fortune with that little army he had, than, by tarrying, to be made a laughing-stock to his adversaries. Wherefore he sent word back again to the king, that he was now ready prepared, and well forward on his journey; and that it was not expedient now to protract the time for any kind of talk, which, peradventure, should be to no manner of purpose; and that it was more convenient for him to hasten in his journey to God's glory, and also to the honour of the king. And thus he, calling his men unto him, entered forthwith the seas, and went to Calais; where he waiting a few days for the rest of his army, after the receipt of them, took his journey first to the town of Gravelines; which he besieged so desperately, without any preparation of engines of war, or counsel, or of politic men skilful in such affairs, that he seemed rather to fly upon them, than to invade them. At length, through the superstition of our men, trusting upon the pope's absolution, he so harshly approached the walls and invaded the enemies, that a great number of them were piteously slain with shot and wildfire; till at the end (the inhabitants being oppressed and vanquished) our men entered the town with their bishop, where they, at his commandment, destroying both man, woman, and child, left not one alive of all them which remained in the whole town. And so it came to pass by the virtue of the cross, that the enemies of the cross were so utterly destroyed that not one of them remained alive.

From Gravelines this warlike bishop set forward to Dunkirk, where not long after the Frenchmen meeting with him, joined with them in battle; in which battle, if the story be true, twelve thousand of the Frenchmen were slain in the chase, and of our men but seven only missing. It would require a long tractation here to discourse all things done in these popish wars; also it would be no less ridiculous to view and behold the glorious temerity of this new upstart captain. But certes, lamentable it is to see the pitiful slaughter and murder of Christ's people by the means of these pitiless popes, during these wars in France; as when the bishop coming from Dunkirk to the siege of Ypres, a great number of Englishmen there were lost, and much money consumed, and yet nothing done effectually, to the great shame and ignorance of the bishop. Again, after the siege of Ypres, thus with shame broke up, the same bishop proceeding with a small power to fight with the French king's camp, contrary to the counsel of his captains, which counted him rash and unskilful in his attempt, was fain to break company with them; whereby part of the army went unto Burburgh, and the bishop with his part returned to Gravelines; which both towns shortly after were besieged by the French army, to the great loss both of the English and French men. In fine, when the bishop could keep Gravelines no longer, the said bishop with his croysies, crossing the seas, came home again as wise as he went. And thus, making an end of this pontifical war, we will return again from whence we digressed, to the story and matter of John Wickliff.

Which John Wickliff returning again within short space, either from his banishment, or from some other place where he was secretly kept, repaired to his parish of Lutterworth, where he was parson; and there, quietly departing this mortal life, slept in peace in the Lord, in the beginning of the year 1384, upon Silvester's day.

Here is to be noted the great providence of the Lord in this man, as in divers other, whom the Lord so long preserved in such rages of so many enemies from all their hands, even to his old age. For so it appeareth by Thomas Walden, writing against him in his tomes entitled, *De Sacramentis contra Wiclevium*, that he was well aged before he departed; by that which the aforesaid Walden writeth of him in his epilogue, speaking of Wickliff in these words; "so that the same thing pleased him in his old age, which did please him being young." Whereby it seemeth that Wickliff lived till he was an old man, by this report. Such a Lord is God, that whom he will have kept, nothing can hurt.

This Wickliff had written divers and sundry works, the which, in the year of our Lord 1410, were burnt at Oxford, the abbot of Shrewsbury being then commissary, and sent to oversee that matter. And not only in England, but in Bohemia likewise, the books of the said Wickliff were set on fire, by one Subincus, archbishop of Prague, who made diligent inquisition for the same, and burned them; the number of the volumes, which he is said to have burned, most excellently written, and richly adorned with bosses of gold, and rich coverings, (as Æneas Silvius writeth,) were about the number of two hundred.

Johannes Cocleus, in his book *De historia Hussitarum*, speaking of the books of Wickliff, testifieth, that he wrote very many books, sermons, and tractations. Moreover, the said Cocleus, speaking of himself, recordeth also, that there was a certain bishop in England which wrote unto him, declaring that he had yet remaining in his custody two huge and mighty volumes of John Wickliff's works, which for the quantity thereof might seem to be equal with the works of St. Augustine.

Among other of his treatises I myself also have found out certain, as *De sensu et veritate Scripturæ*; item, *De Ecclesia*; item, *De Eucharistia confessio Wicklevi*; which I intend hereafter, the Lord so granting, to publish abroad.

By his words of this blessed man, whom the whole church doth reverence and worship, it doth appear that the pope hath not power to occupy the church goods, as lord thereof; but as minister, and servant, and proctor for the poor. And would to God that the same proud and greedy desire of rule and lordship, which this seat doth challenge unto it, were not a preamble to prepare a way unto anti-christ; for it is evident by the gospel, that Christ through his poverty, humility, and suffering of injury, got unto him the children of his kingdom.

And moreover, so far as I remember, the same blessed man, Bernard, in his third book writeth also thus unto Eugenius; "I fear no other greater poison to happen unto thee, than greedy desire of rule and dominion."

This Wickliff, albeit in his lifetime he had many grievous enemies, yet was there none so cruel unto him as the clergy itself. Yet, notwithstanding, he had many good friends, men not only of the base and meanest sort, but also of the nobility, amongst whom these men are to be numbered, John Clenbon, Lewis Clifford, Richard Stury, Thomas Latimer, William Nevil, John Montague, who plucked down all the images in his church. Besides all these, there was the earl of Salisbury; who, for contempt in him noted towards the sacrament in carrying it home to his house, was

enjoined by Ralph Ergom, bishop of Salisbury, to make in Salisbury a cross of stone, in which all the story of the matter should be written, and he every Friday during his life to come to the cross barefoot and bareheaded in his shirt, and there kneeling upon his knees to do penance for his fact.

The Londoners at this time, somewhat boldly, trusting to the mayor's authority, who for that year was John of Northampton, took upon them the office of the bishops, in punishing the vices, belonging to civil law, of such persons as they had found and apprehended in committing both fornication and adultery. For first, they put the women in the prison, which, amongst them, was then named Dolium; and lastly, bringing them into the marketplace, where every man might behold them, and cutting off their golden locks from their heads, they caused them to be carried about the streets, with bagpipes and trumpets blown before them, to the intent they should be the better known, and their companies avoided; according to the manner then of certain thieves that were named appellatores, accusers or appeachers of others that were guiltless, which were so served. And with other suchlike opprobrious and reproachful contumelies, did they serve the men also that were taken with them, in committing the forenamed wickedness and vices. Here the story recordeth how the said Londoners were encouraged hereunto by John Wickliff, and others that followed his doctrine, to perpetrate this act, in the reproach of the prelates being of the clergy; for they said, that they did not only abhor to see the great negligence of those to whom that charge belonged, but also their filthy avarice they did as much detest; which for greediness of money were choked with bribes, and, winking at the penalties due to such persons by the laws appointed, suffered such fornicators and incestuous persons favourably to continue in their wickedness. They said furthermore, that they greatly feared, lest for such wickedness perpetrated within the city, and so apparently dissimulated, that God would take vengeance upon them and destroy their city. Wherefore they said, that they could do no less than purge the same; lest by the sufferance thereof God would bring a plague upon them, or destroy them with the sword, or cause the earth to swallow up both them and their city.

This story, gentle reader, albeit the author thereof, whom I follow, doth give it out in reproachful wise, to the great discommendation of the Londoners for so doing, yet I thought not to omit, but to commit the same to memory, which seemeth to me rather to tend unto the worthy commendation both of the Londoners that so did, and to the necessary example of all other cities to follow the same. After these things thus declared, let us now adjoin the testimonial of the university of Oxford of John Wickliff.

The public testimony given out by the university of Oxford, touching the commendation of the great learning and good life of John Wickliff.

"Unto all and singular the children of our holy mother the church, to whom this present letter shall come, the vice-chancellor of the university of Oxford, with the whole congregation of the masters, with perpetual health in the Lord. Forasmuch as it is not commonly seen, that the acts and monuments of valiant men, nor the praise and merits of good men, should be passed over and hidden with perpetual silence, but that true report and fame should continually spread abroad the same in strange and far distant places, both for the witness of the same, and example of others; forasmuch also as the provident discretion of man's nature, being recompensed with cruelty, hath devised and ordained this buckler and defence against such as do blaspheme and

slander other men's doings, that whensoever witness by word of mouth cannot be present, the pen by writing may supply the same.

"Hereupon it followeth, that the special good will and care which we bear unto John Wickliff, sometime child of this our university, and professor of divinity, moving and stirring our minds, as his manners and conditions required no less, with one mind, voice, and testimony, we do witness, all his conditions and doings throughout his whole life to have been most sincere and commendable; whose honest manners and conditions, profoundness of learning, and most redolent renown and fame, we desire the more earnestly to be notified and known unto all faithful, for that we understand the maturity and ripeness of his conversation, his diligent labours and travails, to tend to the praise of God, the help and safeguard of others, and the profit of the church.

"Wherefore we signify unto you by these presents, that his conversation, even from his youth upward, unto the time of his death, was so praiseworthy and honest, that never at any time was there any note or spot of suspicion noised of him. But in his answering, reading, preaching, and determining, he behaved himself laudably, and as a stout and valiant champion of the faith, vanquishing, by the force of the Scriptures, all such who by their wilful beggary blasphemed and slandered Christ's religion. Neither was this doctor convicted of any heresy, either burned of our prelates after his burial. God forbid that our prelates should have condemned a man of such honesty for a heretic; who, amongst all the rest of the university, had written in logic, philosophy, divinity, morality, and the speculative arts, without peer. The knowledge of which all and singular things, we do desire to testify and deliver forth; to the intent that the fame and renown of this said doctor may be the more evident and had in reputation, amongst them unto whose hands these present letters testimonial shall come.

"In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters testimonial to be sealed with our common seal. Dated at Oxford, in our congregation-house, the first day of October, in the year of our Lord 1406."

Now as we have declared the testimony of the university of Oxford, concerning the praise of John Wickliff, it followeth likewise that we set forth and express the contrary censures and judgments of his enemies, blinded with malicious hatred and corrupt affections against him, especially of the pope's council gathered at Constance, proceeding first in condemning his books, then of his articles, and afterward burning of his bones. The copy of which their sentence given against him by that council here followeth.

The sentence given by the Council of Constance, in condemning the doctrine and five and forty articles of John Wickliff.

"The most holy and sacred Council of Constance, making and representing the catholic church, for the extirpation of this present schism, and of all other errors and heresies, springing and growing under the shadow and pretence of the same, and for the reformation and amendment of the church, being lawfully congregate and gathered together in the Holy Ghost, for the perpetual memory of the time to come.

"We are taught by the acts and histories of the holy fathers, that the catholic faith, without the which, as the holy apostle St. Paul saith, it is impossible to please God, hath been always defended by the faithful and spiritual soldiers of the church, by the shield of faith, against the false worshippers of the same faith, or rather perverse impugnors; which, through their proud curiosity, will seem to know more and to be

wiser than they ought to be, and for the desire of the glory of the world have gone about oftentimes to overthrow the same. These kinds of wars and battles have been prefigured to us before, in those carnal wars of the Israelites against the idolatrous people. For in those spiritual wars the holy catholic church, through the virtue and power of faith, being illustrate with the beams of the heavenly light, by the providence of God, and being holpen by the help and defence of the saints and holy men, hath always continued immaculate, and the darkness of errors, as her most cruel enemies, being put to flight she hath most gloriously triumphed over all. But in these our days, the old and unclean enemy hath raised up new contentions and strifes, that the elect of this world might be known, whose prince and captain in time past was one John Wickliff, a false Christian; who, during his lifetime, taught and sowed very obstinately many articles contrary and against the Christian religion, and the catholic faith. And the same John Wickliff wrote certain books which he called a Dialogue, and a Trialogue, besides many other treatises and works, the which he both wrote and taught, in the which he wrote the aforesaid and many other damnable and execrable articles; the which his books, for the publication and advancement of his perverse doctrine, he did set forth openly for every man to read. Whereby, beside many offences, great hurt and damage of soul hath ensued in divers regions and countries, but specially in the kingdom of England and Bohemia. Against whom the masters and doctors of the universities of Oxford and Prague, rising up in truth and verity of God, according to the order of schools, within a while after, did reprove and condemn the said articles.

"Moreover, the most reverend fathers the archbishops and bishops, for that time present, of Canterbury, York, and Prague, legates of the apostolic see, in the kingdom of England and Bohemia, did condemn the books of the said Wickliff to be burned. And the said archbishop of Prague, commissary of the apostolic see, did likewise in this behalf determine and judge. And, moreover, he did forbid that any of those books, which did remain unburned, should be hereafter any more read. And again, these things being brought to the knowledge and understanding of the apostolic see, and in the general council, the bishop of Rome in his last council condemned the said books, treatises, and volumes, commanding them to be openly burned; most straitly forbidding that any men, which should bear the name of Christ, should be so hardy either to keep, read, or expound any of the said books or treatises, volumes or works, or by any means to use or occupy them, or else to allege them openly or privily, but to their reproof and infamy. And to the intent that this most dangerous and filthy doctrine should be utterly wiped away out of the church, he gave commandment throughout all places, that the ordinaries should diligently inquire and seek out, by the apostolic authority and ecclesiastical censure, for all such books, treatises, volumes, and works; and the same so being found, to burn and consume them with fire; providing withal, that if there be any such found, which will not obey the same, process to be made against them, as against the favourers and maintainers of heresies. And this most holy synod hath caused the said forty-five articles to be examined and oftentimes perused, by many most reverend fathers of the Church of Rome, cardinals, bishops, abbots, masters of divinity, and doctors of both laws, besides a great number of other learned men; the which articles being so examined, it was found as in truth it was no less that many, yea, and a great number of them, be notoriously for heretical reprovèd and condemned by the holy fathers; other some not to be catholic, but erroneous; some full of offence and blasphemy; certain of them offensive unto godly ears, and many of them to be rashful and seditious. It is found, also, that his books do contain many articles of like effect and quality, and that they do induce and bring into

the church unsound and unwholesome doctrine, contrary unto the faith and ordinance of the church. Wherefore, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, this sacred synod, ratifying and approving the sentences and judgments of the archbishops and council of Rome, do by this their decree and ordinance perpetually for evermore condemn and reprove the said articles, and every one of them, his books which he entituled his Dialogue and Trialogue, and all other books of the same author, volumes, treatises, and works, by what name soever they be entituled or called, the which we will here to be sufficiently expressed and named. Also we forbid the reading, learning, exposition, or alleging of any of the said books unto all faithful Christians, but so far forth as shall tend to the reproof of the same; forbidding all and singular catholic persons, under the pain of curse, that from henceforth they be not so hardy openly to preach, teach, or hold, or by any means to allege the said articles, or any of them, except (as is aforesaid) that it do tend unto the reproof of them; commanding all those books, treatises, works, and volumes aforesaid, to be openly burned, as it was decreed in the synod at Rome, as is afore expressed. For the execution whereof duly to be observed and done, the said sacred synod doth straitly charge and command the ordinaries of the place diligently to attend and look unto the matter, according as it appertaineth unto every man's duty by the canonical laws and ordinances."

What these articles were, here condemned by the council, collected out of all his works, and exhibited to that said council, to the number of forty-five, the copy of them following underwritten declareth.

Certain other articles gathered out of Wickliff's books by his adversaries, to the number of forty-five, exhibited up to the council of Constance after his death, and in the same council condemned.

Besides the twenty-four articles above mentioned, there were others also gathered out of his books, to the number of forty-five in all, which his malicious adversaries, perversely collecting, and maliciously expounding, did exhibit up to the Council of Constance; all which to repeat, though it be not here needful, yet to recite certain of them as they stand in that council, it shall not be superfluous.

25. All such as be hired for temporal living to pray for other, offend, and sin of simony.

26. The prayer of the reprobate prevaieth for no man.

27. Hallowing of churches, confirmation of children, the sacrament of orders, be reserved to the pope and bishops only, for the respect of temporal lucre.

28. Graduations and doctorships in universities and colleges, as they be used, conduce nothing to the church.

29. The excommunication of the pope and his prelates is not to be feared, because it is the censure of antichrist.

30. Such as found and build monasteries do offend and sin; and all such as enter into the same be members of the devil.

31. To enrich the clergy is against the rule of Christ.

32. Silvester the pope, and Constantine the emperor, were deceived in giving and taking possessions into the church.

33. A deacon or a priest may preach the word of God without the authority of the apostolical see.

34. Such as enter into orders, or religion monastical, are thereby unable to keep God's commandments, and also to attain to the kingdom of heaven, except they return from the same.

35. The pope, with all his clergy, having those great possessions as they have, be heretics in so having, and the secular powers in so suffering them do not well.

36. The church of Rome is the synagogue of Satan; neither is the pope immediately the vicar of Christ, nor of the apostles.

37. The decretals of the pope be apocryphal, and seduce from the faith of Christ, and the clergy that study them be fools.

38. The emperor and secular lords be seduced, which so enrich the church with such ample possessions.

39. It is not necessary to salvation to believe the Church of Rome to be supreme head over all churches.

40. It is but folly to believe the pope's pardon.

41. All oaths, which be made for any contract or civil bargain betwixt man and man, be unlawful.

42. Benedict, Francis, Dominic, Bernard, with all such as have been patrons of private religion, except they have repented, with such also as have entered into the same, be in a damnable state, and so, from the pope to the lowest novices, they be altogether heretics.

Besides these articles, to the number of forty and five, condemned as is said by the council of Constance, other articles also I find diversely collected, or rather wrested out of the books and writings of Wickliff; some by William Woodford, some by Walden, by Friar Tissington, and other, whom they in their books have impugned rather than confuted.

Besides this William Woodford aforementioned, divers other there were which wrote against these articles of Wickliff aforesaid, maintaining the pope's part, as seemeth, for flattery, rather than following any just cause so to do, or showing forth any reason or learning in disproving the same. Notwithstanding, on the contrary part, some there were again, both learned and godly, which taking the part of Wickliff, without all flattery, defended the most of the said articles openly in schools and other places; as appeareth by the works of John Huss, who, in his public determinations in the university of Prague, stood in defence of the same against all his adversaries.

John Huss prosecuted Wickliff's articles with long arguments and reasons; and it were too long a travail, neither agreeable for this place, to allege all the whole order of his reasons and proofs, which he used in that disputation, above the number of twenty more, besides the testimonies of all the writers before recited, the which he allegeth out of the Scriptures, decretals, St. Ambrose in his book of offices, St. Augustine in his fifth book and fifth question, and also unto Macedo, Isidore, the Council of Nice, Gregory his eleventh question, Bernard unto Eugene in his third book, and out of Lincolniensis, the threescore and one epistle, besides many other more. The sum of all which testimonies tend unto this end, that he might utterly take away all earthly rule and dominion from the clergy, and to bring them under the subjection and censure of kings and emperors, as it were within certain bonds, the which is not only agreeable unto equity and God's word, but also profitable for the

clergy themselves. He teacheth it also to be necessary, that they should rather be subject under the secular power, than to be above them; because that else it were dangerous, lest that they, being entangled with such kind of business, should be an easier prey unto Satan, and sooner trapped in his snares. And thereby it should come to pass, that the governance and principality of all things being at the length brought into the hands of the clergy, the lawful authority of kings and princes should not only be given over unto them, but in a manner as it were grow out of use; especially forasmuch as already, in certain kingdoms and commonwealths, the ecclesiastical power is grown unto such height, that not only in Bohemia, but also almost throughout all the commonwealths, they do occupy the third, or at least the fourth part of the rents and revenues. And last of all, he allegeth the example of Gregory and of Mauritius, and afterward the prophecy of Hildegard, writing in this manner:

"As the ecclesiastical ministers do willingly receive reward and praise of kings and rulers for their good deeds; so also ought they, when they do offend, willingly suffer and receive punishment at their hands for their evil doings. The consequence holdeth thus; forasmuch as the punishment meekly and humbly received for his offence doth more profit a man than his praise received for any good work: whereupon St. Gregory writeth thus unto Mauritius the emperor, when he did persecute him, saying, 'I believe that you do please Almighty God so much the better, in so cruelly afflicting me, which have been so evil a servant unto him.' If then this holy pope did so humbly and meekly, without any offence, suffer this affliction of the emperor, why should not any of the clergy, when they do offend, meekly sustain punishment at the king's or ruler's hands, under whom they are bound to be subject, whenas the true vicar of Christ saith, 1 Pet. ii., Be ye subject unto every creature for God's cause, whether it be unto the king, as most excellent, or unto the rulers, as men sent of God for the punishing of the wicked, and to the praise of the good; for so is the good will of God?

"Whereupon Pope Leo, leaning unto this rule, submitted himself unto Louis, the emperor, as it is written in the second question, 7 par., in these words, 'If we have done any thing incompetently, or if we have not observed the upright path and way of equity among subjects, we will amend the same, either by your own judgment, or else by the advice or judgment of those which you shall appoint for that purpose. For if we, which ought to correct and punish other men's faults, do commit more grievous ourselves, we are not then the disciples of the truth, but, with sorrow we speak it, we shall be above all other the masters of error.'

"And in the tenth distinction he writeth thus, touching the obedience unto the emperor: As concerning the precepts and commandments of our emperors, and our predecessors bishops, (the which the Gloss nameth emperors, which are anointed after the manner of bishops,) to be observed and kept unbroken, we do profess ourselves by all means possible, as much as in us lieth, or that we may and can, we will by the help of God preserve and keep them both now and ever. And if peradventure any man do inform, or hereafter shall inform, you otherwise, know you him assuredly to be a liar and slanderer.'

Mark how this devout and holy pope, calling the emperors bishops, submitted himself, according to the rule of St. Peter the apostle, under the obedience, and also punishment, of the emperor. Wherefore then should not the clergy of the kingdom of Bohemia submit themselves under the obedience of their king, for God's cause, to be punished if they do offend; and not only submit themselves unto the king, but also

unto the rulers; and not only unto the rulers, but unto every other creature? For by how much they do so humble and abase themselves in this world for God's sake, so much the more shall they be exalted with him: but what is the let thereof, but only pride, whereby antichrist doth exalt himself above the most humble and meek Lord Jesus Christ?

"Also it seemeth to appear by that which is aforesaid upon the taking away of the temporalities, out of the prophecy of Hildegard, the virgin, the which she writeth in her books under Eugene the pope, in the Council of Treves, approved and allowed by many bishops of France, Italy, and Almain, which were there present, where also St. Bernard himself was present; the which virgin prophesying, spake in this manner: 'The kings and other rulers of the world, being stirred up by the just judgment of God, shall set themselves against them, and run upon them, saying, We will not have these men to reign over us with their rich houses, and great possessions, and other worldly riches, over the which we are ordained to be lords and rulers; and how is it meet or comely that those shavelings, with their stoles and chisils, should have more soldiers, or more or richer armour or artillery, than we? So is it not convenient that one of the clergy should be a man of war, neither a soldier to be one of the clergy. Wherefore let us take away from them that, which they do not justly, but wrongfully possess.' And immediately after she saith, 'The omnipotent Father equally divided all things, that is to say, the heavens he gave unto the heavenly creatures, and the earth unto the earthly. And by this means was there a just division made between the children of men, that the spirituality should have such things as belong unto them, and the secular people, such things as are meet and necessary for them, so that neither of these two sorts should oppress each other by violence; for God doth not command, that the one son or child should have both the cloak and the coat, and the other should go naked, but he willed that the one should have the cloak and the other the coat. Wherefore the secular sort ought to have the cloak for the greatness of their worldly cares, and for their children, which daily increase and multiply. The coat he giveth unto the spirituality, that they should not lack clothing, and that they should not possess more than necessity doth require. Wherefore we judge and think it good, that all these aforesaid be divided by reason and equity; and that where the cloak and the coat are both found, there the cloak should be taken away, and given unto the needy, that they do not perish for lack or want.' These aforesaid spake the virgin Hildegard, plainly foreshowing the taking away of the temporalities from the clergy by the secular lords; and showing for what cause they shall be so taken away, and what manner of division shall be made of those things that are taken away, that they be not consumed, and spent unprofitably."

Hugo, also, in his second book of Sacraments, in the second part, and third chapter, saith, "The laity, forasmuch as they intermeddle with earthly matters necessary unto an earthly life, they are the least part of the body of Christ. And the clergy, forasmuch as they do dispose those things which pertain unto a spiritual life, are, as it were, the right side of the body of Christ." And afterward, interpreting both these parts himself, he saith, "A spiritual man ought to have nothing but such as pertaineth unto God, unto whom it is appointed to be sustained by the tithes and oblations which are offered unto God; but unto the Christian and faithful laity the possession of the earth is granted; and unto the clergy the whole charge of spiritual matters is committed, as it was in the Old Testament." And in his seventh chapter he declareth how that certain things are given unto the church of Christ by the devotion of the faithful, the power and authority of the secular power reserved, lest there might

happen any confusion; forasmuch as God himself cannot allow any disordered thing. Whereupon oftentimes the worldly princes do grant the bare use of the church, and oftentimes use and power to exercise justice, which the clergy cannot exercise by any ecclesiastical minister, or any other person of the clergy. Notwithstanding they may have certain lay persons ministers unto that office; "but in such sort," saith he, "that they do acknowledge the power which they have to come from the secular prince or ruler, and that they do understand their possessions can never be alienated away from the king's power; but (if that necessity or reason do require) the same possessions, in all such case of necessity, do owe him obeisance and service. For like as the king's power ought not to turn away the defence or safeguard which he oweth unto another; so likewise the possessions obtained and possessed by the clergy, according to the duty and homage which is due unto the patronage of the king's power, cannot by right be denied." Thus much writes Hugo.

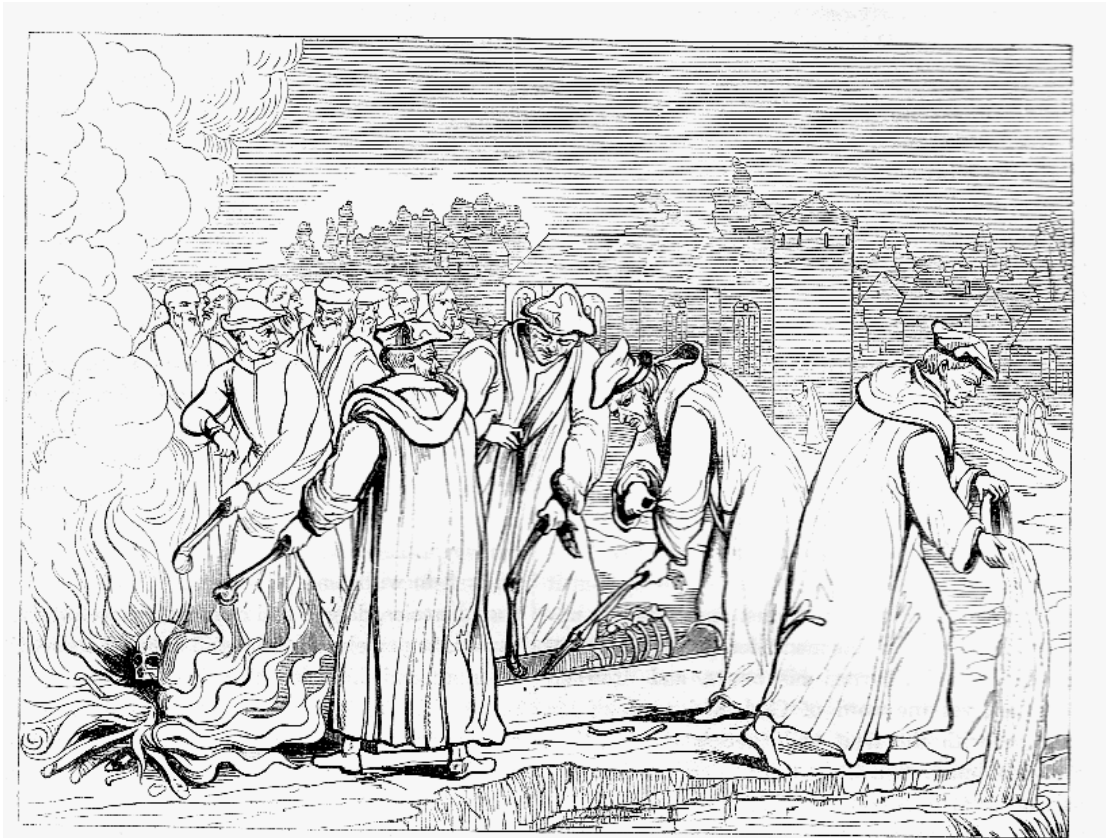
And thus, hitherto, I may peradventure seem to have made sufficient long recital out of John Huss, but so, notwithstanding, that the commodity of those things may abundantly recompense the prolixity thereof. Wherefore, if I shall seem unto any man, in the rehearsal of this disputation, to have passed very far the bounds of the history, let him think thus of me, that in what time I took in hand to write of these ecclesiastical matters, I could not omit these things which were so straitly joined with the cause of the church. Not that I did make more account of the history which I had taken in hand, than of the common utility whereunto I had chief respect.

There were, besides these, certain other articles, whereupon the said John Huss had very wisely and learnedly disputed; but these shall suffice us for this present. And for the residue, we will pass them over, to the intent we may the more speedily return whereas our story left; declaring what cruelty they used not only against the books and articles of John Wickliff, but also in burning his body and bones, commanding them to be taken up forty-one years after he was buried, as appeareth by the decree of the said synod, the form whereof we thought hereunto to annex.

The decree of the synod of Constance, touching the taking up of the body and bones of John Wickliff to be burned forty-one years after he was buried in his own parish at Lutterworth.

"Forasmuch as by the authority of the sentence and decree of the Council of Rome, and by the commandment of the church and the apostolical see, after due delays being given, they proceeded unto the condemnation of the said John Wickliff and his memory, having first made proclamation, and given commandment to call forth whosoever would defend the said Wickliff, or his memory, if there were any such (but there did none appear, which would either defend him or his memory). And moreover witnesses being examined, by commissioners appointed by Pope John, and his council, upon the impenitency and final obstinacy and stubbornness of the said John Wickliff, (reserving that which is to be reserved, as in such business the order of the law requireth,) and his impenitency and obstinacy, even unto his end, being sufficiently proved by evident signs and tokens, and also by lawful witnesses, and credit lawfully given thereunto: wherefore, at the instance of the steward of the treasury, proclamation being made to hear and understand the sentence against this day, the sacred synod declareth, determineth, and giveth sentence, that the said John Wickliff was a notorious obstinate heretic, and that he died in heresy: cursing and condemning both him and his memory.

"This synod also decreeth and ordaineth, that the body and bones of the said John Wickliff, if it might be discerned and known from the bodies of other faithful people, should be taken out of the ground, and thrown away far from the burial of any church, according unto the canon laws and decrees. Which determination and sentence definitive being read and pronounced, the lord president, and the aforesaid presidents of the four nations, being demanded and asked whether it did please them or no, they all answered, (and first Hostiensis the president, and after him the other presidents of the nations,) that it pleased them very well; and so they allowed and confirmed all the premises, &c."



The Burning of the bones of John Wickliff

What Heraclitus would not laugh, or what Democritus would not weep, to see these so sage and reverend Catos, to occupy their heads to take up a poor man's body, so long dead and buried before, by the space of forty-one years; and yet, peradventure, were not able to find his right bones, but took up some other body, and so of a catholic made a heretic! Albeit, herein Wickliff had some cause to give them thanks, that they would at least spare him so long till he was dead, and also to give him so long respite after his death, forty-one years to rest in his sepulchre before they ungraved him, and turned him from earth to ashes; which ashes also they took and threw into the river. And so was he resolved into three elements, earth, fire, and water, thinking thereby utterly to extinguish and abolish both the name and doctrine of Wickliff for ever. Not much unlike to the example of the old Pharisees and sepulchre-knights, which, when they had brought the Lord unto the grave, thought to make him sure never to rise again. But these and all other must know, that as there is no counsel

against the Lord, so there is no keeping down of verity, but it will spring and come out of dust and ashes, as appeared right well in this man: for though they digged up his body, burned his bones, and drowned his ashes, yet the word of God, and truth of his doctrine, with the fruit and success thereof, they could not burn; which yet to this day, for the most part of his articles, do remain, notwithstanding the transitory body and bones of the man were thus consumed and dispersed, as by this picture here above set forth to thine eyes, gentle reader, may appear.

These things thus finished and accomplished, which pertain to the story and time of Wickliff, let us now, by the supportation of the Lord, proceed to treat and write of the rest, which either in his time or after his time, springing out of the same university, and raised up (as ye would say) out of his ashes, were partakers of the same persecution; of whom speaketh Thomas Walden in his book, *De Sacramentis et Sacramentalibus*, cap. 53, where he saith, that after Wickliff many suffered most cruel death, and many more did forsake the realm; in the number of whom were William Swinburn, Walter Brute, John Purvey, Richard White, William Thorp, and Reynold Peacock, bishop of St. Asaph, and afterward of Chichester.

To this catalogue also pertaineth (mentioned in ancient writers) Lawrence Redman, master of arts; David Sautre, a divine; John Ashwarby, vicar, as they call him, of St. Mary's church at Oxford; William James, an excellent young man, well learned; Thomas Brightwell, and William Hawlam, a civilian; Rafe Greenhurst, John Scut, and Philip Norise; which, being excommunicated by Pope Eugenethe Fourth, in the year of our Lord 1446, appealed unto a general or œcumenical council.

Peter Paine also, who, flying from Oxford unto Bohemia, did stoutly contend against the sophisters, as touching both kinds of the sacrament of the last supper; who, afterward, among the rest of the orators, was one of the fourteen that was sent unto the Council of Basil; where, by the space of three days, he disputed upon the fourth article, which was touching the civil dominion of the clergy, A. D. 1438. Also the Lord Cobham, &c., with divers others besides, whose names are mentioned in the king's writ, sent to the sheriff of Northampton, which writ of the king followeth in this tenor:

"Forasmuch as John Attyate of Chepingwarden, John Warryner, R. Brewood, &c. being receivers and abettors of heretics, and especially of John Woodward, priest, publicly defamed and condemned of heresy, will not be justified by the censures of the church, as the reverend father, John, bishop of Lincoln, hath certified us; we therefore, willing to withstand all defenders and abettors of such heresies, do will and command as well the fore named, as namely, the aforesaid John Woodward to be apprehended, straitly charging the same to be imprisoned by their bodies, or otherwise punished, as shall seem good to the justices, until they and every of them shall submit themselves to the obedience of the aforesaid bishop in that behalf accordingly. Whereof fail you not, under pain of a hundred pounds. Witness ourselves: Given at our manor of Langley, the eighth day of March, the twelfth year of our reign."

To these above rehearsed, and other favourers of Wickliff, within this our country of England, we may add also the Bohemians; forasmuch as the propagation of the said doctrine of Wickliff in that country also took root, coming from England to Bohemia by this occasion, as in story here followeth.

There chanced at that time a certain student of the country of Bohemia to be at Oxford, one of a wealthy house, and also of a noble stock, who, returning home from

the university of Oxford to the university of Prague, carried with him certain books of Wickliff, *De Realibus Universalibus*, *De Civili Jure et Divino*, *De Ecclesia*, *De Quæstionibus Variis contra Clerum*, &c. It chanced the same time, a certain nobleman in the city of Prague had founded and builded a great church of Matthias and Matthew, which church was called Bethlehem, giving to it great lands, and finding in it two preachers every day, to preach both holy day and working day to the people. Of the which two preachers this John Huss was one, a man of great knowledge, of a pregnant wit, and excellently favoured for his worthy life amongst them. Thus John Huss having familiarity with this young man in reading and perusing these books of Wickliff, took such pleasure and fruit in reading thereof, that not only he began to defend this author openly in the schools, but also in his sermons; commending him for a good man, a holy man, and heavenly man, wishing himself, when he should die, to be there placed, where the soul of Wickliff should be. And thus for the spreading of Wickliff's doctrine enough.

And thus much briefly concerning the favourers and adherents of John Wickliff in general. Now, particularly and in order, let us, by Christ's grace, prosecute the stories and persecutions of the said parties aforementioned, as the course of their times shall require, first beginning with the valiant champions William Swinderby and Walter Brute.

82. William Swinderby.

In the year 1389, William Swinderby, priest, within the diocese of Lincoln, being accused and detected upon certain opinions, was presented before John, bishop of Lincoln, and examined upon certain articles in the church of Lincoln, after the form and order of the pope's law, according to their usual rite observed; his denouncers were these, Friar Frisby, an observant, Friar Hincely, an Augustine, and Thomas Blaxton, Dominican. The articles wherewith they charged him, although in form of words, as they put them up, they might seem something strange here to be recited; yet to the intent that all men may see the spiteful malice of these spider friars, in sucking all things to poison, and in forging that which is not true, as in process (Christ willing) hereafter shall better appear by his answers, I thought good to notify the same.

That men may ask their debts by charity, but in no manner for debt to imprison any man; and that he so imprisoning is accursed.

That if parishioners do know their curate to be a lecher, incontinent, and an evil man, they ought to withdraw from him their tithes, or else they be abettors of his sins.

That tithes be purely alms, and in case that curates be evil men, the same may lawfully be conferred to other men.

That for an evil curate to curse his subject for withholding of tithes, is nothing else, but to take with extortion wickedly and unduly from them their money.

That no prelate may curse a man, except he know before that he is cursed of God.

That every priest may absolve any sinner being contrite; and is bound (notwithstanding the inhibition of the bishop) to preach the gospel unto the people.

That a priest, taking any annual pension upon covenant, is in so doing a simoniac and accursed.

That any priest being in deadly sin, if he give himself to consecrate the body of the Lord, committeth idolatry rather than doth consecrate.

That no priest entereth into any house, but to evil entreat the wife, the daughter, or maid; and therefore he admonished the good man of the house to take heed what priest he let into his house.

Another conclusion falsely to him objected, That a child is not truly baptized, if the priest that baptizeth, or the godfather or godmother, be in deadly sin.

Item, that no man living against the law of God is a priest, however he were ordained priest of any bishop.

These articles or conclusions, untruly collected, were as cruelly exhibited against him by the friars in the bishop of Lincoln's court. The which articles, although he never preached, taught, or at any time defended, as appeareth more in the process following; yet the friars with their witnesses standing forth against him, declared him to be convict; bringing also dry wood with them to the town to burn him, and would not leave him before they made him promise and swear, for fear of death, never to hold them, teach them, nor preach them privily nor apertly, under pain of relapse; and

that he should go to certain churches to revoke the aforesaid conclusions, which he never affirmed: as first in the church of Lincoln; then in St. Margaret's church of Leicester; also in St. Martin's church in Leicester; and in our Lady's churches at Newark; and in other parish churches also, of Melton-Mowbray, of Helhoughton, Hareborough, and Lent-borough. Which penance, being to him enjoined, he did obediently accomplish; with this form of revocation, which they bound him unto, under these words.

"I, William Swinderby, priest, although unworthy, of the diocese of Lincoln, acknowledging one true catholic and apostolic faith of the holy Church of Rome, do abjure all heresy and error repugning to the determination of the holy mother church, whereof I have been hitherto defamed; namely, the conclusions and articles above prefixed, and every one of them, to me judicially objected, by the commissary of the reverend father in Christ and Lord, Lord John, by the grace of God, bishop of Lincoln; and do revoke the same, and every one of them, some as heretical, some as erroneous and false; and do affirm and believe them to be so, and hereafter will never teach, preach, or affirm publicly or privily the same. Neither will I make any sermon within the diocese of Lincoln, but asking first and obtaining the licence of the aforesaid reverend father and lord, the bishop of Lincoln. Contrary to the which if I shall presume hereafter to say or do, to hold or preach, I shall be content to abide the severity of the canon, as I have judicially, by the necessity of the law, sworn, and do swear," &c.

Thus have you the conclusions and articles of this good man, falsely objected to him by the malicious and lying friars; and also the retractation whereunto they by force compelled him; whereby it may likewise be conjectured what credit is to be given to the articles and conclusions which these cavilling friars, wresting all things to the worst, have objected and imputed both to Wickliff and all other of that sort, whom they so falsely do defame, so slanderously do belie, and so maliciously do persecute. After these things thus done and wrought in the diocese of Lincoln, it so befell, that the said William Swinderby removed to the diocese and county of Hereford; where he was as much, or more, molested by the friars again, and by John Tresnant, bishop of Hereford, as by the process and story here ensuing, set out at large out of their own registers, may appear.

The process of John Tresnant, bishop of Hereford, had against the aforesaid William Swinderby in the cause of heretical pravity, as the popish heretics call it.

"The glorious name of the Prince of Peace, and his counsel (whose counsellor no man is, and whose providence in his disposition is never deceived) being invocated, To all and singular believers of Christ, which shall see or hear this our process underwritten, John, by the sufferance of God, bishop of Hereford, greeting, and peaceable charity in the, Lord. Forasmuch as God, the Creator of all things, the keeper of justice, the lover of right, and the hater of malice, beholding from the high throne of his providence the sons of men, now, through the fall of their first father, prone and declining to dishonest, and filthy, and detestable mischiefs, and to keep under their malice, which wicked transgression did first gender, hath appointed divers presidents of the world stablished in sundry degrees, by whom, and their circumspect providence, man's audacity should be restrained, innocency should be nourished amongst the good, and terror should be stricken into the wicked not to deceive; also that their power to hurt and their insolency should be bridled in all places: and whereas, amongst many kinds of cares which come to our thoughts, by the duty of the

office committed unto us, we are specially bound to extend our strength, chiefly that the catholic faith may prosper in our times, and heretical pravity may be rooted from out of the borders of the faithful. We, therefore, being excited, through the information of many credible and faithful Christians of our diocese, to root out pestiferous plants, as sheep diseased with an incurable sickness, going about to infect the whole and sound flock, are by the care of the shepherd to be removed from the flock, that is to say, preachers, or more truly execrable offenders of the new sect, vulgarly called Lollards; which, under a certain cloaked show of holiness, running abroad through divers places of our diocese, and endeavouring to cut asunder the Lord's unsewed coat, that is to say, to rend the unity of the holy church, and of the catholic faith, and also to tear in pieces with their tempestuous blasts the power of St. Peter, that is to say, to weaken the strength of the ecclesiastical states and degrees, and the determination of the same holy church, have wickedly presumed and do presume from day to day to speak, to teach, to maintain, and, that which is more horrible to be uttered, to preach openly many things heretical, blasphemies, schisms, and slanderous defamings, even quite contrary to the sacred canons and decrees of the holy fathers, so that they know not to direct their paths in the ways of righteousness and truth, in that they expound to the people the Holy Scripture as the letter soundeth, after a judicial sort, otherwise than the Holy Ghost will have it, whereas the words wander from their proper significations, and appear to bring in, by guessing, new meanings; whereas the words must not be judged by the sense that they make, but by the sense whereby they be made, where the construction is not bound to the Donates' rules, where faith is far placed from the capacity of reason; but they labour, by their pernicious doctrines and teachings, public and privy, to boil out the poison of schisms between the clergy and the people. We, to encounter against such kind of preachers, nay rather deceivers, and horrible seducers amongst the people, advancing and rousing up ourselves in God's behalf, and holy mother church, with the spiritual sword, which may strike them wisely, and wound them medicinally, for their health and welfare; and namely, William Swinderby, priest, so pretending himself to be, as a teacher of such kind of pernicious doctrine, and a horrible seducer amongst the people; to whom personally appearing before us on the Wednesday, to wit, the fourteenth of the month of June, in the parish church of Kingston, of our diocese, in the year of our Lord 1391, he being vehemently defamed to us of heresy, schism, and his perverse doctrines both manifest and privy; we, therefore, have caused many cases and articles concerning the catholic faith to be ministered unto him, that he should answer to the same at a day and place for him meet and convenient, of his own choice and free will; that is to say, on the Friday, being the last of the same month of June next following; assigned to him, at the church of Bodenham of the same our diocese: of which cases and articles exhibited unto us by many of Christ's faithful people, zealous followers of the catholic faith, to make information to our office, which cases and articles also were by us administered, as is before said, to the same William Swinderby, the tenor thereof followeth, and is thus:

"Reverend father and high lord, Lord John, by God's sufferance bishop of Hereford, it is lamentably declared unto your reverend fatherhood on the behalf of Christ's faithful people, your devout children of your diocese of Hereford, that notwithstanding the misbelief of very many Lollards, which have too long a time sprung up here in your diocese, there is newly come a certain child of wickedness, named William Swinderby; who, by his horrible persuasions and mischievous endeavours, and also by his open preachings and private teachings, doth pervert as much as in him is the whole ecclesiastical state, and stirreth up, with all his possible

power, schism between the clergy and the people. And that your reverend fatherhood may be the more fully informed, who and what manner of man the same William Swinderby is, there be proposed and exhibited hereafter to the same your fatherhood, on the behalf of the same faithful people of Christ, against the same William Swinderby, cases and articles. Which if the same William shall deny, then shall the same cases and articles most evidently be proved against him by credible witness worthy of belief, and by other lawful proof and evidences, to the end that those being proved, the same fatherhood of yours may do and ordain therein, as to your pastoral office belongeth.

"Imprimis, the same William Swinderby, pretending himself priest, was openly and publicly convicted of certain articles and conclusions, being erroneous, schismatical, and heretical, preached by him at divers places and times before a multitude of faithful Christian people. And the same articles and conclusions did he by force of law revoke and abjure, some as heretical, and some as erroneous and false; avouching and believing them for such, as that from thenceforth he would never preach, teach, or affirm openly or privily any of the same conclusions: and if, by preaching or avouching, he should presume to do the contrary, that then he should be subject to the severity of the canons, accordingly as he did take a corporal oath, judicially, upon the holy Gospels.

"2. Also the conclusions, which by the same William were first openly taught and preached, and afterward abjured and revoked, as is aforesaid, are contained before in the process of the bishop of Lincoln, even as they be there written word by word. And, for the cases and articles, they were consequently exhibited by the forenamed faithful Christian people against the said William Swinderby, together with the conclusions before said, and hereafter written: of which cases and articles the tenor here ensueth.

"3. Item, The said William, contrary to the former revocation and abjuration, not converting to repentance, but perverted from ill to worse, and given up to a reprobate sense, came into your diocese, where he, running about in sundry places, hath presumed to preach, or rather to pervert and to teach of his own rashness, many heretical, erroneous, blasphemous, and other slanderous things, contrary and repugnant to sacred canons and the determination of the holy catholic church. What those things were, at what place and what time, it shall hereafter more particularly be declared.

"4. Item, The same William, notwithstanding your commandments and admonitions, sealed with your seal, and to all the curates of your diocese directed, containing amongst other things, that no person, of what state, degree, or condition soever he were, should presume to preach or to teach, or else expound the Holy Scripture to the people, either in hallowed or profane places within your diocese, without sufficient authority, by any manner of pretence that could be sought, as in the same your letters monitory and of inhibition, the tenor whereof hereafter ensueth, is more largely contained; which letters the same William did receive into his hands, and did read them word by word in the town of Monmouth of your diocese, in the year of our Lord 1390, so that these your letters and the contents thereof came to the true and undoubted knowledge of the same William; yet, notwithstanding, hath the same William presumed in divers places and times to preach within the same your diocese, after and against your commandments aforesaid."

The tenor of the same letters before mentioned followeth, and is this:

"John, by the sufferance of God, bishop of Hereford, to the dean and chapter of our church of Hereford; and to all and singular abbots, priors, provosts, deans rural, parsons and vicars of monasteries, priories, churches, colleges, and parishes, and to other having cure of souls within the city and diocese of Hereford; and to all and every other being within the same city and diocese, greeting, grace, and blessing. Forasmuch as the golden laurel of teaching doctoral is not from above indifferently every man's gift, neither is the office of preaching granted, save to such as are called, and especially by the church admitted thereunto: we do admonish and require you, all and singular clerks aforesaid, and do straitly enjoin you all, in the virtue of holy obedience, that you nor any of you do admit any man to preach or to teach the catholic faith, saving such as the same office of preaching shall by the authority apostolical, or else your bishop, be specially committed unto; but that, as much as in you shall lie, you do by word and deed labour to let those that would attempt the contrary. And you, lords, ladies, knights, barons, esquires, and all singular persons, of what estate, degree, pre-eminence, or condition soever ye be, remaining within the city and diocese of Hereford, we do beseech and exhort in our Lord, that, following the words of our Saviour, you beware of the leaven of the Pharisees.

"Item, according to the saying of the apostle, Be not ye carried away with divers and strange doctrines, and that in the mean while, as saith the apostle, you be not removed from the sense of the holy ancient fathers, lest that any man by any means should seduce you; but you, agreeing together in one mind, see that you honour God with one mouth. But if any man, to whom that thing is not specially, as is aforesaid, committed, shall attempt to instruct, or in this your life to direct you into the catholic faith, do ye deny to give them audience, and refuse you to be present at their assemblies, and shun ye their teachings, because they be wicked and perverse. And as for us, we will not omit to proceed according to the sacred canons and precepts of the holy fathers, against such as do the contrary.

"Dated at London, in the house of our habitation, under our seal, the last day save one of December, in the year of our Lord 1389, and of our consecration the first."

"5. Item, The same William, in his preaching to the people on Monday, being the first of August, in the year of our Lord 1390, in the parish of Whitney, of your diocese, did hold and affirm that no prelate of the world, of what estate, pre-eminence, or degree soever he were of, having cure and charge of souls, he being in deadly sin, and hearing the confession of any under his hand, in giving him absolution doth nothing; as who neither doth loose him from his sin, nor in correcting or excommunicating him for his demerits doth bind him by his sentence, except the prelate shall be free himself from deadly sin, as St. Peter was, to whom our Lord gave power to bind and loose.

"6. Item, The same William in many places said and affirmed, in the presence of many faithful Christian people, that after the sacramental words uttered by the priest, having the purpose to consecrate, there is not made the very body of Christ in the sacrament of the altar.

"7. Item, That accidents cannot be in the sacrament of the altar without a subject, and that there remaineth material bread there to such as be partakers communicant with the body of Christ, in the same sacrament.

"8. Item, That a priest, being in deadly sin, cannot be able, by the strength of the sacramental words, to make the body of Christ, or bring to perfection any other sacrament of the church, neither yet to minister it to the members of the church.

"9. Item, That all priests are of like power in all things, notwithstanding that some of them in this world are of higher and greater honour, degree, or pre-eminence.

"10. Item, That only contrition putteth away sin, if so be that a man shall be duly contrite; and that all auricular and outward confession is superfluous, and not requisite or necessity to salvation.

"11. Item, Inferior curates have not their power of binding and loosing immediately from the pope or bishop, but immediately from Christ; and therefore neither can the pope nor bishop revoke to themselves such kind of power, when they see time and place, at their lust and pleasure.

"12. Item, That the pope cannot grant such kind of annual and yearly pardons, because there shall not be so many years to the day of judgment, as are in the pope's bulls or pardons contained. Whereby it followeth that the pardons are not of such like value as they speak of, and are praised to be.

"13. Item, It is not in the pope's power to grant unto any person penitent, forgiveness of the punishment of the fault.

"14. Item, That person that giveth his alms to any, which in his judgment is not in necessity, doth sin in so giving it.

"15. Item, That it stands not in the power of any prelate, of what religion soever he be of, privately to give letters for the benefit of his order; neither doth such benefit granted profit them, to the salvation of their soul, to whom they be granted.

"16. Item, That the same William, unmindful of his own salvation, hath many and oftentimes come into a certain desert wood, called Dervallwood, of your diocese, and there in a certain chapel not hallowed, or rather in a profane cottage, hath, in contempt of the keys, presumed of his own rashness to celebrate, nay, rather to profanate.

"17. Item, The same William hath also presumed to do such things in a certain profane chapel, being situate in the park of Newton, nigh to the town of Leintwarden, of the same your diocese.

"Upon Friday, being the last of the month of June, in the year above said, about six of the clock, in the said parish church of Bodenham, hath the said William Swinderby personally appeared before us. And he, willing to satisfy the term to him assigned, as before specified, hath read out word by word before all the multitude of faithful Christian people, many answers made and placed by the same William (in a certain paper-book of the sheet folded into four parts) to the said articles, and the same answers for sufficient hath he already to us exhibited, avouching them to be agreeable to the law of Christ. Which thing being done, the same William (without any more with him) did depart from our presence, because that we, at the instance of certain noble personages, had promised to the same William free access, that is, to wit, on that day for the exhibiting of those answers, and also free departing without prefixing of any term, or without citation, or else any other offence or harm in body or in goods."

FOXES' BOOK OF MARTYRS

William Swinderby keeping from the bishop was cited as followeth.

"John, by God's permission bishop of Hereford: to his dear sons, our dean of Leamster, to the parsons of Croft, Almady, and Whitney, and also to the vicars of Kingston, Ladersley, Wiggemore, and Monmouth Clifford, and of St. John's altar in our cathedral church of Hereford, and to the rest of the deans, parsons, vicars, chaplains, parish priests, and to other, whosoever in any place are appointed through our city and diocese of Hereford, sendeth greeting, grace, and benediction.

"We bid and command, charging you straitly, in the virtue of holy obedience, that you cite or cause to be cited peremptorily, and under the pain of excommunication, William Swinderby, pretending himself to be a priest; that he appear before us, or our commissaries, the twentieth day of this present month of July, at North Lodebury, within our diocese, with the continuance of the days following in other places also to be assigned unto him if it be expedient, till such things as have been and shall be laid against him be fully discussed, to answer more at large to certain positions and articles, touching the catholic faith, and the holy mother church's determination, that have been exhibited and ministered unto the said William; and to see and hear also many things that have openly, in judgment before us and a great number of faithful Christians, by him been even in writing confessed, to be condemned as heretical, false, schismatical, and erroneous; and to see and hear positions and articles denied by the said William, to be proved by faithful witnesses, and other lawful trials against the said William; and to receive for his false, heretical, erroneous, and schismatical doctrine, that justice shall appoint, or else to show causes why the premises should not be done.

"And if the said William lieth privily, or else cannot be so cited in his proper person, we will that in your churches, when most people shall then come together to Divine service, you openly, with a loud voice, and that may be understood, cause the said William, peremptorily to be cited unto the premises, certifying the same William, that whether he shall appear the day and place appointed or no, we notwithstanding will proceed unto the premises against the said William, according to the canonical decrees by form of law, in the absence or contumacy of the said William notwithstanding. We will, moreover, if the said William shall appear at the said day and place, as is aforesaid, before us, friendly hear him, and honestly and favourably, as far as we may with God's leave, deal with him; granting free licence to come and to go for his natural liberty without any hurt either in body or goods. And see that you fully certify us of the things that you or any of you shall do about the execution of this our commandment, and that by your letters patent signed with your seal authentical; giving also faithfully to the said William, or to his lawful proctor, if he require it, a copy of this our present commandment.

"Given at our house of Whitborne, under our seal, the fifth day of the month of July, in the year of our Lord 1391."

First sitting against William Swinderby.

"On Thursday, the twentieth of July, in the year of the Lord aforesaid, we, in the parish church of North Lodebury aforesaid, about six of the clock, sitting in judgment, after that it was reported unto us how the aforesaid William was personally taken and lawfully cited, caused the same William then and there openly in judgment to be called out, to do, hear, and receive such things, whereto he was afore cited, and to do otherwise that which justice should persuade. And the said William appeared

neither by himself, nor by proctor; but only by a servant, whose name we know not, he sent a certain schedule of paper, made like an indenture, unto us, to excuse him. After which schedule seen, read, and with right deliberation weighed, and in any wise notwithstanding, we adjudged the said William, after he was often called, and long, even to the due hour, tarried for, and by no means appearing, worthily obstinate; and for his obstinacy, and for his stubbornness, we assigned unto him the 29th day of July, in the church of Ponsley, to appear before us with the aforesaid safeguard, to answer more fully to such articles, and otherwise to hear, receive, and do as before is noted."

Second sitting.

"Upon Saturday, being the twenty-nine of July, and in the year of our Lord aforesaid, we, John, by God's permission the fore-remembered bishop, in the church of Pontesbury, of our diocese, at six of the clock, or thereabout, sitting in judgment, made the said William of Swinderby to be openly called, that, as was to him appointed and assigned, he should appear before us, to answer to the aforesaid articles more fully, and to declare the said articles as the darkness of his answers did worthily require. And because the said William, being called, and for a due time looked for, did make no means to appear, we pronounced him to be obstinate, and for his obstinateness (to overcome his malice, and of our exceeding favour) thought good to appoint, and did appoint the eighth of August, then next following, at Cleobury Mortemere of the same our diocese, unto the said William for the same thing."

Third sitting.

"Upon Tuesday, the eighth of August, the year aforesaid, I, John, by God's permission bishop of Hereford aforesaid, in the church of Cleobury Mortemere, about six of the clock, sitting in judgment, caused the aforesaid William Swinderby to be called many times openly, to do and receive about the premises, according to the appointment of the same day, that justice should advise; which William did not appear at all. Whereupon, we, after that the said William was called, and often proclaimed, and long looked for, but appeared not at all, did judge him worthily (as of right appertained) obstinate; and, for his obstinateness, assigned him the sixteenth day of the same month of August next following, in the parish church of Whitborne, of the same our diocese, to bring forth, or to see brought forth, all laws, muniments, and other kinds of proofs, and to see all witnesses brought forth, admitted and sworn, by whom and which things we intend to prove the aforesaid articles, or, at leastwise, some of the same."

Fourth sitting.

"Upon Wednesday, the sixteenth day of the month of August, the year aforesaid, we, John, the bishop, in the parish church of Whitborne aforesaid of our diocese, sitting in judgment, caused the said William Swinderby oftentimes to be called, who, as is aforesaid, appeared not all; whom, after that he was so called, proclaimed, and long looked for, and yet by no means appeared, we pronounced to be obstinate. We received also, by certain faithful Christians, and zealous men for the catholic faith of our diocese, a certain process made and had at another time against the same William, before the reverend father in God and lord, Lord John, by the grace of God, bishop of Lincoln, confirmed by the hanging on of the seal of the same reverend father, the lord bishop of Lincoln. The tenor whereof, word for word, is contained before. And these faithful Christians, moreover, against the obstinateness of the said William Swinderby, brought forth discreet men, Master William Leviet,

parson of the parish church of Kyversly, and also Edmund Waterdon, parish chaplain of the chapel of N., and Roger Newton, and Hugh Sheppert, laymen of the diocese of Lincoln, asking instantly that they might be received for witnesses, to prove some of the aforesaid articles, whom, against the obstinateness of the said William Swinderby, we thought good to receive, and did receive, and their oaths on the holy Gospels of God, being laid hands on corporally in our hand; and did diligently examine them in proper person severally in form of law; whose sayings and depositions are afterward brought in, and at the instance of the same faithful Christians, we assigned the second day of September then next following to the said William Swinderby, to say and allege against the said process, witnesses, and their sayings, in the said church of Whitborne; decreeing that a copy should be made for him of these things that were brought forth, and of the depositions of the witnesses. * * * [Here we fail in our copy, till the register come to our hands again.]

by the doore, but wendeth upon another halfe, he is a night theefe and a day theefe. And there he telleth, how he that flyeth from the flock, is not the sheepeheard, but an hired man, and it pertaineth not to him of the sheep.

"* To the second conclusion that he saien is error or heresie, that toucheth taking away of the temporalities and of lordships of priests that beene evill liveres.

"I say, me seemeth that the conclusion is true, and is this; that it were needfull and leeffull to secular lords by way of charity, and by power given to them of God, in default of prelates that amend nought by Gods law: cursed curates that openly misuse the goods of the holy church, that ben poore mens goods: and customably ayens the law of God, (the which poore men lords ben holden to maintaine and defend) to take away and to draw from such curates poore mens goods in help of the poore, and their owne wilfull offrings, and their bodily almsdeeds of worldly goods, and give them to such as duly serven God in the church, and ben ready in upbearing of the charge that prelates shoulde do, and done it not. And as anences taking away of temporalities, I say thus, that it is leeffull to kings, to princes, to dukes, and to lords of the world to take away from popes, from cardinals, from bishops, prelates, and possessioners in the church, their temporalities and their almes that they have given them upon condition, that they shoulde serve God the better: when they verily seene that their giving and taking ben contrary to the law of God, contrary to Christs living, and his apostles; and namely in that they taken upon them that they shoulde be next followers of Christ and his apostles, in poorenesse and meekenesse, to be secular lords against the teaching of Christ and of Saint Peter. Truly me seemeth that all Christen men, and namely priests shoulde take keepe, that their doing were according with the law of God, either the old law, either the new. The priests of the old law weren forbidden to have lordships among their brethren; for God said, that he would be their part and their heritage. And Christ that was the highest Priest of the New Testament forsooke worldly lordship, and was here in forme of a servant, and forbad his priests such lordships, and said, the kings of the heathen beare dominion and rule, &c. But you shall not doe so. And as Saint Peter saith, Not bearing rule and dominion of the clergie, &c. So it seemeth me, that it is against both lawes of God, that they have such lordships, and that their title to such lordships is not ful good: and so it seemeth me that if they have beene thereto of evill living, it is no great perill to take away from them such lordships, but rather meedfull, if the taking away were in charity, and not for singular covetousnesse ne wrath. And I suppose that if friers that beene bounden to their founders to live in povertie, would break their rule and take worldly lordships; might not men lawfully take from them such lordships, and make them to live in

povertie as their rule would? And forsooth it seemeth me, that priests oughten also well to keepe Christs rule, as friers owen to keep the rule of their founder. Jeremie witnesseth how God commended Rechabs children for that they would not breake their faders bidding in drinking of wine. And yet Jeremy proffered them wine to drink. And so I trow, that God would commend his priests, if they woulden forsake worldly lordships, and holden them apayed with lifelot, and with clothing, and busie them fast about their heritage of heaven. And God saith, You shall have no inheritance in that land, nor have no part amongst them: I will be your part and inheritance amongst the children of Israel, &c. Deut. xviii. The priests and Levites, and all that be of the same tribe, shall have no part nor inheritance with the rest of Israel; because they shall eate the sacrifices of the Lord and his oblations, and they shall take nothing for the possession of their brethren. The Lord himself is their possessions, as he spake unto them. And the 14. chapter of Luke; Even so every one of you, which forsaketh not all that he possesseth, cannot be my disciple. And Jerome in his 14. Epistle hath the like words. And Bernard in his 20. booke to Eugenius the Pope. And also Hugo in his book De Sacramentis, the second part of his second book the 7. chapter. And also in the 12. q. first chapter, *Duo sunt*, and in the chapter *Clericus*. And again, Bernard in Sermone de Apostolis, upon this place; Behold we leave all, &c. Chrysostome upon the Gospel of S. Matth. &c.

"* The third conclusion toucheth the matter of preaching of priests, withouten leave of bishops, and is this; that such true priests may counsell sinfull men, that shewen to them their sins, after the wit and cunning that God hath given, to turne hem from sin to vertuous life.

"As touching preaching of the gospell, I say that no bishop oweth to let a true priest, that God hath giffen grace, wit, and cunning to doe that office. For both priests and deacons that God hath ordained deacons or priests bene holden, by power given to them of God, to preach to the people the gospell; and namely, and sovereignly popes, bishops, prelates, and curates; for this is due to the people and the parishioners, to have it and ask it. And hereto seemeth me, that Christ said generally to his disciples, Goe and preach the gospell to all creatures, as well as he said, Goe and baptize all nations; and also as well longeth preaching to priests without leave of a bishop, as doth baptizing; and then why may he not preach Gods word withouten a bishops leave? And sithen Christ bad his priests preach, who should forbidden them preach? The apostles were forbidden of a bishop at Jerusalem to speak more of the name of Jesus; but Peter said, Whether it be iust in the sight of God to hear and obey you before the Lord, be your selves judges. A bishop may not let a priest of giving bodily almes in his diocese: much more may he not let the doing of spirituall almes in his diocese by Gods law. A priest may say his mattens withouten the bishops leave; for the pope, that is above the bishop, hath charged priests therewith: and me thinketh that Christs bidding should be all so much of charge as the popes. Matt. x. Goe you forth and preach. And againe, Behold I send you, &c. Mark xvi. Go you into all the world, &c. and Luke x. And Beda upon this place; The harvest is great. Also Isidorus. And Gregorius in the canon distinct. 43. and Chrysostome in his 34. distinction. And Augustine in the 34. distinction. And Gregory in his pastorall. And Chrysostome in his 31. Homily. And Augustine in the prologue of his Sermons. And Hierome in the 95. distinct. And Augustine upon this place, A certaine traveller.

"* The fourth conclusion toucheth the sacrament of the altar, and is this: That wholly I beleeeve that the sacrament of the altar, made by vertue of heavenly words, is bread and Christs body; so as Christ himselfe saith in the gospell, and as Saint Paul

saith, and as doctors in the common law have determined: to this sentence John vi., Moses hath not given you bread from heaven, but my Father will give you bread from heaven. He is the true bread that came downe from heaven, and giveth life unto the world. My Father giveth unto you bread indeed: the very true bread of God is that, which came downe from heaven and giveth life unto the world. I am the bread of life: the bread which I will give is my flesh. And in the canon of the masse, the holy bread of life. And Corinthians the tenth chapter and first Epistle; The bread which we break, is it not the communicating of the body of the Lord? Let a man prove himselfe, and so eat of that bread, &c. And canon *De consecratione*, distinction 2. under the authority of Hilarius the pope; *Corpus Christi quod sumitur de altari*, &c. And Augustine in the foresaid distinction: That which is seene is bread, &c. That which faith requireth, is bread and is the body of Christ. And in the foresaid distinction, cap. *Omnia quaecunque*, &c. By these two sentences it is manifestly declared, that that bread and this be not two, but one bread and one flesh. Note the words for that he saith the bread and flesh. And the author, *De divinis officiis*, and also Augustine in his booke *De remediis pœnitentiæ*: Why preparest thou thy teeth, &c.? And Ambrose, *De Sacramentis, de consecratione*, dist. 2. *Revera mirabile est*, &c. This meate which you receive, and this bread of one which descended from heaven, doth minister the substance of eternall life, and whosoever shall eate the same shall not dye everlastingly, and is the body of Christ. Note how hee saith and is the body of Christ.

"* The fifth article telleth of forgiveness of sinnes, and is this: That very contrition withouten charitie and grace, doe away all sinnes before done of that man that is verily contrite; and all true confession made by mouth outwardly to a wise priest and a good, profiteth much to a man, and it is need-full and helping, that men shew their life to such, trusting fully to Gods mercy, that he forgiveth the sinne.

"And hereto I say, that there been two remissions of sinnes; one that belongeth only to God; and that remission is the cleansing of the soul from sinn: and the other remission, a certifying that one man certifieth another that his sinnes beene forgiven of God, if he be sorry with all his heart for them; and is in full will to leave them for ever: and this maner of forgiveness longeth to priests. Of the first manner of forgiveness David saith; And I said I will confesse my unrighteousnesse unto the Lord, and thou forgavest me my misdeed. And Zecharie saith, And thou O child shalt be called the prophet of the highest, &c. To give knowledge of salvation unto his people for the remission of their sins, by the bowels of Gods mercy. And John Baptist, Behold the Lambe of God that taketh away the sinnes of the world. And Saint John the evangelist saith in his Epistle; If we confesse our sinns, he is faithfull and iust to forgive us our sinnes, and cleanse us from all our iniquitie. And it followeth: If any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, even Jesus Christ, and he it is that is the propitiation for our sins. And of the other remission of sins Christ speaketh in the gospel, and saith; Whose sins ye forgive they shall bee forgiven. And mans forgiveness availeth little, but if God forgive our sins through his grace.

"* The sixth conclusion toucheth indulgences and pardons that the pope granteth in his buls; and men callen it an absolution, *A pœna et culpa*.

"Of this manner of speech I cannot find in the gospell, ne in no place of holy writ, ne I have not read that Christ used this manner of remission, ne none of his apostles. But as mee seemeth, if the pope had such a power, sithen the paines after a mans death beene much greater than any bodily paines of the world; me thinketh he should of charite keepe men out of such paines, and then men needed not to find so

many vicious priests, after their life, to bring their soules out of purgatorie. Another thing me thinketh, that sith the popes power ne may not keepe us in this world from bodily paines, as from cold, from hunger, from dread, from sorrow and other such paines, how should his power helpe us from spirituall paines, when wee beene dead? But for that no man commeth after his death to tell us the sooth of what paine they been, men mow tell thereof what him list. Saint John saith in his Apocalypse, that he saw under the altar the soules of them which were slaine for the word of God, and for the testimonie which they had. And they did cry with a loud voice saying; How long Lord holy and true, dost not thou revenge our blood of them which dwell on the earth? And white stoles were given to every of them to rest a while, til the number of their fellow servants and brethren should be fulfilled, which also remained to be slaine as they were, &c. Here seemeth it, that these soules were not assoiled *a pœna*, that is, from paine; for their desire is not fullfilled. And they were bidden abide awhile, and that is a paine. And if martyrs were not assoiled from paine, it is hard for any man to say, that he assoileth other men *a pœna*. Also good mens souls have not but spirituall blisse, and they want bodily blisse, untill their resurrection in the day of doome. And after they desiren to have that blisse, and abiden it, and that is paine to them. And I cannot see that the pope hath power to bring him from this paine. But if any man can shew me, that he hath such a power granted in the troth of holy writ, I will gladly leefen it."

"* The seventh point speaketh of the pope, and is this; Sith it is only due to God, as I have said before, to geve and to grant plenar remission from paine, and from blame: that whatsoever he be, pope or other, that presumptuously mistaketh upon him the power that is onely due to God, in that, inasmuch as in him is, he maketh himselfe even with Christ, and blasphemeth God, as Lucifer did, when he said, I will ascend, and be like the highest, &c.

"For that I say, if the pope hold men of armes in maintaining of his temporall lordship, to venge him on them that gilten and offenden him, and geveth remission to fight and to sley them, that contrarien him, as men sayden he did by the bishop of Norwich, not putting his sword in his sheath, as God commanded to Peter; he is antichrist. For hee doth the contrary of the commandement of Jesus Christ, that had Peter forgiven to his brother seventy sithe seven sithe. Well I finde in the Gospell, that when Christ sent his disciples to Samaria, the Samaritans would not receive them. And some of them bidden Christ, that hee should make fire come downe from heaven, to destroy the citie. And he blamed them and said; Ye know not of what spirit ye are; the Son of man is not come downe to destroy, but to save the lives and soules of men, &c. If Christ then come to save men, and not to slea them: who that doth the revers hereof, is against Christ, and then he is antichrist. Christ bad Peter put his sword into his sheath and said; All which take the sword, shall perish with the sword. And I cannot find that Peter drew out his sword after that time, but suffered as Christ said; When thou shalt waxe old, another shall gird thee, and lead thee whither thou wilt not. And therefore said Peter, Christ suffered for us, leaving us example that we should follow his steps. And Paul saith, Not defending your selves but give place to anger, leave revenging to me, and I shall reward them, &c. And therefore it seemeth to me, that it is much against Christs lore, that his vicar should bee a fighter; sithen that hee mote bee a shepheard, that should goe before his sheepe, and let them come after him, and not with swords to drive them away from him. For as Christ saith, A good shepheard shal putt his life for his sheepe. And zif all that Christ had two swords, when that he was taken of the Jewes, he said himselfe, it was for that the Scriptures

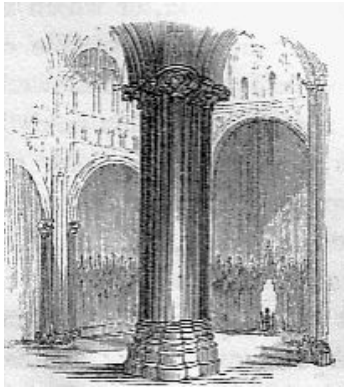
moten zif be fulfilled, He was reputed among the wicked: and not to figure two swords, that men sayen the pope hath to governe with the church. And when I see such doings of the pope, and many other that accorden not with Christs lore, ne his living; and when I read divers Scriptures of holy writ, I am foule astonied whether they shoulde bee understood of him, or of any other. And I pray you for Gods love tell mee the sooth. Christ saith; Many shall come in my name, saying, I am Christ, and shall seduce many, &c. Christ (I wot well) is as much to say, as hee that is anointed, and two anointings there weren in the law, one of kings, another of priests. And Christ was both king and priest, and so the pope saith that he is. And if all that have been emperours of Rome, and other heathen kings have beene antichrists, they come not in Christs name. But who so commeth in Christs name, and faineth himselfe Christs friend, and he be privily his enemy, he may lightly beguile many. Saint Paul saith, before there commeth a defection first and the sonne of perdition shall be revealed, which is the adversary, and is extolled above all that is named God, or which is worshipped; so that he shall sit in the temple of God, shewing himselfe as God. And it followeth in the same place; And now ye know what holdeth till he be revealed in his time, for he worketh already the mystery of iniquity. Onely he that holdeth, let him hold till he come abroad, and then that wicked one shall be revealed, whom the Lord Jesus shall slay with the spirit of his mouth, &c. And Saint John saith in the Apocalyps; I saw another beast ascending out of the earth, and two homes like to the lamb. He spake like the dragon, and had the power of the first beast. Many such authorities astonieth me oft sithes; and therefore I pray you, for the love of God, to tell me what they meane."

The sentence.

"The which schedule aforementioned, with the contents thereof, diligently of us perused, we considering that diseases, which he not easily cured with gentle remedy, must have harder plaisters; considering moreover these his articles with his answers to the same, and to other articles, also lastly against him produced; first mature deliberation had before upon the whole matter, with the aforesaid masters and doctors, as well secular as regular, to a great number, observing in the same all things to be observed in this behalf, have given sentence against the said William in form as followeth.

"The name of Christ being invocated, we John, by the permission of God bishop of Hereford, sitting in tribunal seat, having God before our eyes, weighing and considering the articles by the aforesaid faithful Christians put up against the said Swinderby, pretending himself to be priest, with his answers upon the same *actis et actitatis* before us, in the cause of heretical perversity, with mature deliberation had before, in this behalf, with masters and doctors of divinity, and also of other faculties, with their counsel and consent, do pronounce, decree, and declare the said William to have been and to be a heretic, schismatic, and a false informer of the people, and such as is to be avoided of faithful Christians. Wherefore we admonish, under the pain of the law, all and singular Christians, of what sex, state, condition, or pre-eminence soever, that neither they nor any of them within our diocese, or any other, do believe, receive, defend, or favour the said William, till he shall deserve fully to be reconciled to the bosom again of holy church."

The appeal of William Swinderby, from this sentence of the bishop prefixed, unto the king and his council.



n the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, Amen. I, William Swinderby, priest, knowledge openly to all men, that I was before the bishop of Hereford the third day of October, and before many other good clerkes, to answer to certaine conclusions of the faith that I was accused of. And mine answer was this, that if the bishop or any man couthe shew me by Gods law, that my conclusions or my answers were errour or heresie, I would be amended, and openly revoke them before all the people. * * * knowes in any of my conclusions, but sayden singly with sword, that there was errors in them, and bidden me subiect me

to the bishop, and put me into his grace, and revoke mine errour, and shewed me nought by Gods law ne reason, ne proved which they weren. And for I would not knowledge mee guilty, so as I knew no errour in them, of which I should be guilty, therefore the bishops sate in doome in mine absence, and deemed me an heretike, a schismatike, and a teacher of errors, and denounced me accursed, that I come not to correction of the church. And therefore for this unrightfull judgement, I appeale to the kings justices for many other causes.

"One cause is, for the kings court in such matter is above the bishops court; for after that the bishop has accursed, he may no feare by his law, but then mote he sech succour of the kings law, and by a writ of *Significavit* put a man in prison.

"The second cause is, for in cause of heresie there liggeth judgement of death, and that dome may not be given without the kings justices. For the bishop will say; It is not lawfull for us to kill any man; as they saiden to Pilate, when Christ should be doomed. And for I thinke that no justice will give sodainly an untrue doome, as the bishop did, and therefore openly I appeale to hem, and send my conclusions to the knights of the parliament, to be shewed to the lords, and to be taken to the justices, to be well aviset or that they geven doome.

"The third cause is, for it was a false doome; for no man is an heretike, but he that masterfully defends his errour or heresie, and stiffely maintaines it. And mine answer has beene alway conditionall, as the people openly knowes, for ever I say, and yet say, and alway will; that if they kannen shew me by Gods law that I have erret, I will gladly bene amendet, and revoke mine errors, and so I am no heretike, ne nevermore in Gods grace will ben in no wise.

"The fourth cause is, for the bishops law, that they doome men by, is full of errors and heresies, contrary to the truth of Christs law of the gospels.

"For there as Christs law bids us love our enemies, the popes law gives us leave to hate them and to sley them, and grants men pardon to werren against heathen men, and sley hem. And there as Christs law teach us to be merciful, the bishops law teaches to be wretchfull. For death is the greatest wretch that men mowen done to him that guiltie is.

"Where as Christs law teaches us, to blessen him that diseazen us, and to pray for him; the popes law teacheth us to curse them, and in their great sentence that they

usen, they presume to damne hem to hell that they cursen. And this is a foule heresie of blasphemie: there as Christs law bids us be patient, the popes lawes iustifies two swords, wherewith he smiteth the sheep of the church. And he has made lords and knights to swear to defend him and his church.

"There as Christs law forbiddeth us lechery, the popes law iustifies the abominable whoredome of common women; and the bishops in some place have a great tribute or rent of whoredome.

"There as Christs law bids to minister spirituall things freely to the people; the pope with his law sels for money, after the quantitie of the gift, pardons, orders, blessing, and sacraments, and prayers, and benefices, and preaching to the people, as it is knowne amongst them.

"There as Christs law teaches peace; the pope with his law assoiles men for money to gader the people, priests, and other to fight for his cause.

"There as Christs law forbids swearing; the popes law iustifieth swearing, and compels men thereto.

"Whereas Christs law teacheth his priest to bee poore; the pope with his law iustifies and maintains priests to be lords.

"And yet the fifth cause is, for the popes law, that bishops demen men by is the same unrightfull law that Christ was demet by of the bishops, with the Scribes and with the Pharisees. For right as at that time they gaven more credens to the two false witnesses that witnessed against Christ, than they deden to all the people that witnesseden to his true preaching and his miracles: so the bishops of the popes law geven more leven by their law to two heretiks and apostates, or two comen women that woulde witnesseden agains a man in the cause of heresie, than two thousands of people that were true and good. And for the pope is this antichrist, and his law contrary to Christ his law, fully I forsake this law, and so I reed all Christen men. For thus by another point of this law they mighten conquer much of this world: for whan they can by this law present a man an heretike, his goods shulen bee forfeit from him & from his heires, & so might they lightly have two or three false witnesses to record an heresie againe what true man so hem liked. Herefore mee thinks, that whatsoever that I am a Christen man, I may lawfully appeale from a false doome of the law, to bee righteously demet by the trouthe of Gods law. And if this appeale will not serve, I appeale openly to my Lord Jesus Christ that shall deme all the world, for hee, I wot well, will not spare for no man to deeme a trouthe. And therefore I pray God almighty with David in the Sauter book, O God, give thy iudgement to the king, & thy iustice to the kings son, to iudge thy people in iustice, & thy poore ones in iudgement, &c."

A letter sent to the nobles and burgesses of the parliament, by Master William Swinderby.

"Jesus that art both God and man, helpe thy people that loven thy law, and make knowne through thy grace thy teaching to all Christen men. Deare sirs, so as wee seene by many tokens that this world drawes to an end, and all that ever have beene brought forth of Adams kind into this world shulen come togeder at domesday, rich and poore, schone to geve accompt and receive after his deeds, joy or paynen for evermore: therefore make wee our werkes good, ye while that God of mercy abides, and bee yee stable and true to God, and yee shulen see his helpe about you.

Constantes estote et videbitis auxilium Domini super vos. This land is full of ghostly cowards; in ghostly battell few dare stand. But Christ that comforter of all that falleth

(to that his heart brast for our love) against the fiend the doughty duke comforteth us thus; *Estote fortes in bello*, &c. Bee yee strong in battell, hee sayes, and fight yee with the old adder. *State in fide, viriliter agite*, &c. Wake yee and pray yee, stonde yee in beleewe, doe yee manly and bee yee comforted, and let all your things bee done with charity. For, Saint Paul that saw the mysteries of God in heaven, bids thus in his Epistle, Awake yee that beene righteous men, bee yee stable and unmoveable: awake yee quickly and sleepe nought, and stonde now strongly for Gods law. For Saint Iohn in the Apocalyps sayes, Blessed bee hee that awakes; for nought to sleepers but to wakers God has behite the crowne of life. For the houre is now, as S. Paul saith to us, from sleepe for to rise, for bee that earely awakes to mee, he shall finde mee, saith Christ himselfe. This waking ghostly is good living out of sinne: this sleepe betokens that which cowardeth a mans heart from ghostly comfort, and to stand in the same through a deceiveable sleepe is this that lets a man of the blisse of heaven: the fiend makes men bold in sinne, and ferd to doe worship to God: death is a likening to a theefe that privily steales upon a man that now is rich, and full of wele, anon bee makes him a needy wretch? therefore said God by Saint Iohn in the Apocalyps in this wise, Bee thou waking, for if thou wake nought, I shall come to thee as a theefe, and thou shalt not wit what houre. And if the husbandman (sayes Christ) wist what houre the theefe should come, hee would wake and suffer him not to undermine his house. Saint Peter therefore warneth and saith: Wake and bee yee ware, suffer yee no man (hee saies) as a theefe, but willingly for Gods love; for it is time, as Peter sayes, that doome begin from the house of God. Yee beene the body of Christ, sayes Paul, that needs must suffer with the head, or else your bodies beene but dead and departed from Christ that is the head. And therefore curset bee hee, sayes Paul, that loves not Iesus Christ. And who it is that loves him, Christ himselfe tels in the Gospell: Hee that has my hests, and keepest them, hee it is that loves mee. Cursed hee bee therefore, sayes Paul, that doth Christs workes deceiveably. Bee yee not therefore, sayes Paul, ashamed of the true wisse of Iesus Christ; for Christ our God sayes in his Gospell, Hee that shames mee and my words, him shall mans Sonne ashame, when hee shall come for to set in the siege of his Majestie. And each man, hee sayes, that knowes mee and my words before men in this sinfull generation and whorish, mans Sonne shall knowledge him before my Father, sayes Christ himselfe, when hee shall come with his angels in the glory of his Father. Sith yee therefore beene Christen men, that is to say, Christs men, shew in deed that yee beene such as yee daren shew you the Kings men; for hit had beene, as Peter saies, better not to have knowne the way of truth, than after the knowing thereof to bee converted backward therefrom. We knowen Christ, that is tought; wee sain all through our believe, if wee turne from him for dred, truly wee deny the troth. And therefore sith our time is short, how short no man knowes but God, do we the good that wee may to Gods worship, when wee have time. Bee true, saies God, to the death, and you shall have the crowne of life. And thinke on Iudas Macchabeus, that was Gods true knight, that comforted heartily Gods true people, to bee the followers of his law. And geve ye, he said, your lives for the testament of your fathers. And ye shulen win, hee said, great joy, and a name for evermore. Was not Abraham, he said, in temptation founden true, and was arectet unto him evermore to righteousness: Ioseph in time of his anguish he kept truely Gods hest, hee was made by Gods providence lord of Egypt, for his troth. Phinees our fadure loving, he saith, the zeale of God, tooke the testament of everlasting priesthood. Iosue, for hee fulfilllet the word of God, was doomes man in Israel. Caleph, that witnessed in the church, he took therefore the heritage, he saith: David in his mercy hee gat the siege of the kingdome in worlds: Heli, for that hee loved the

zeale of Gods law, was taken up into heaven. Ananie, Azarie, and Misael, hee sayes, weren delivered thooore through true beliefe out of the hoat flame of fire. True Daniel in his simplenesse was deliveret from the lions mouth. Bethinke ye therefore, he sayes, by generation and generation, and thou shalt never find that hee failed that man that truely trusted in him. And therefore dread you nought, hee sayes, of the words of a sinfull man; his glory is, he sayes, but wormes and tords: hee is to day, he saith, ymade hie, to morrow, he says, he is not founden; for he is turned, he sayes, into his earth again, and the minde of him is perished. Sonnes therefore, he sayes, be yee comfortet, and die manly in the law: for when yee han done that that God commands you to doe, ye shulen be glorious in him. And King David sayes also on this wise in the Psalter booke: Blesset be they (Lord) that keepe thy law, in worlds of worlds they shall praise thee. And in Levit. sayes God thus, Gif that ye wenden in mine hests, and keepe my commandements, and done hem, I shall bring forth their fruit, and trees shall be fulfilled with apples. And ye shall eate your bread in fulnesse, ye shoulde dwell in your land without drede; I shall give peace in your costes, yee shall sleepe and no man shall feare you. Evill beasts I shall done away from you, and sword shall not passe your termes, yee shulne pursue your enemies, and they shall fall before you; fifty of yours shulne pursue an hundreth of heren, an hundret of yours, a thousand of theirs: your enemies, hee saith, sholen fall through sword, and your sute: I shall, hee sayes, behold you and make you to wax, and ye shall bee multipliet: And I shall strength with you my covenant, yee shall eat the aldest, and the new shulne come in thereon; and yee shulne cast forth the old: I shall dwell in the midst of you. And I shall wend amongs you, and I shall bee your God, and yee shulne bee my people. If that yee heare mee not, ne done nought all my hests, but despisen my law and my doomes, and that yee done not those things that of mee bene ordenet, and broken my commandements and my covenants; I shall doe these things to you. I shall visit you surely in nene and brenning, which shall dimme your eghenen, and shall waste your lives about nought. Yee shulne sow your sede, for hit shall bee devouret of enemies, I shall put my face against you, and yee shall fall before your enemies. And yee shullen bee underlings to them that han hatet you, yee shall flee, no man pursuing. And if yee will not be buxome to mee, I shall adde thereunto thornes and sevenfold blame. And I shall all to-brast the hardnesse of you, I shall geve the heaven above you as iron, and the earth as brasse. About nought shall your labour bee, for the earth shall bring you forth no fruite, ne tree shall geve none apples unto you. If that ye wenden against mee, and will not heare mee, I shall adde hereto sevenfold wounds for your sinnes. I shall send amongst you beasts of the field that shall devoure you and your beasts, I shall bring you into a field, and wayes shulne be desart. And if that yee will not receive lore, but wenden against me, I will also wenden against you, and I shall smite you seven sithes for your sinnes. I shall leade in upon you sword, venger of my covenant; and upon the fleen into cities I shall send pestilence in the midst of you. So that tenne women shall bake their bread in one furnace, and yeld them againe by weight, and yee shall eat, and bee not fillet. If that yee heare mee not by these things, but wenden against mee, I shall wend in against you in a contrary woodnesse, and blame you with seven plagues for your sinnes, so that they shulne eate the flesh of your sonnes and of your daughters. And insomuch my soule shall loth you, that I shall bring your cities into wilderness, and your sanctuaries I shall make desart, ne I shall not over that receive sweet odor of your mouth. And I shall disperkle your land, and enemies shullen marvell thereon, when they shulen inhabit it, I shall disperkle you among heathen, and draw my sword after you. These vengeancees and many moe God said should fall on them that breake his bidding, and despiseth his lawes, and his

doomes. Then sith Christ become man, and bought us with his heart blood, and has shewed us so great love, and given us an easie law, of the best that ever might bee made, and to bring us to the joy of heaven, and wee despise it and loven it nought: what vengeance will bee taken hereon, so long as hee has suffered us, and so mercifully abidden, when hee shall come that righteous judge in the cloudes to deme this world? Therefore turne wee us to him, and leave sinne that hee hates, and over all things maintaine his law that hee confirmed with his death. For other lawes, that men had made, should be demed at that day by the just law of Christ, and the maker that them made; and then we wonne that long life and that joy that Paul speaketh of, that eye ne see not, ne eare heard not, ne into mans heart ascended not, the blisse and joy that God hath ordained to them that loven him and his lawes.

"Deare worshipfull sirs in this world, I beseech you for Christs love, as yee that I trow loven Gods law and trouth (that in these dayes is greatly borne abacke) that they wollen vouchsafe these things that I send you written to Gods worship, to let them bee shewed in the parliament, as your wits can best conceive, to most worship to our God, and to sheaving of the trouth and amending of holy church. My conclusions, and mine appeale, and other true matters of Gods law (gif any man can finde therein error, falsenesse, or default, provet by the law of Christ clearely to Christen mens knowledge) I shall revoke my wrong conceit, and by Gods law bee amendet; ever ready to hold with Gods law openly and privily with Gods grace, and nothing to hold, teach, or maintaine that is contrary to his law."

Of this process, answers, and condemnation of this worthy priest, and true servant of Christ, William Swinderby, you have heard. What afterward became upon him I have not certainly to say or affirm; whether he in prison died, or whether he escaped their hands, or whether he was burned, there is no certain relation made. This remaineth out of doubt, that during the life of King Richard the Second, no great harm was done unto him. Which was to the year 1401, at what time King Richard being wrongfully deposed, Henry the Fourth invaded the kingdom of England. About the beginning of whose reign we read of a certain parliament holden at London, mentioned also of Thomas, Walden, as is above specified, in which parliament it was decreed, that whosoever showed themselves to be favourers of Wickliff, who at that time were called Lollards, they should be apprehended, and if so be they did obstinately persevere in that doctrine, they should be delivered over unto the bishop of the diocese, and from him should be committed unto the secular magistrate. This law, saith the story, brought a certain priest unto punishment the same year, who was burned in Smithfield in the presence of a great number. This we have drawn out of a piece of an old story; and it is most certain that there such a priest was burned for the affirmation of the true faith; but it doth not appear by the story what the priest's name was. Notwithstanding by divers conjectures it appeareth unto me that his name was Swinderby, that was forced to recant before the bishop of Lincoln. Whereby what is to be conjectured by the premises let other men judge what they think, I have nothing hereof expressly to affirm. This is plain for all men to judge, which have here seen and read his story, that if he were burned, then the bishops, friars, and priests, which were the causes thereof, have a great thing to answer to the Lord, when he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

83. Walter Brute.

After the story of William Swinderby, I thought good and convenient to adjoin the acts and doings of Walter Brute, his joint fellow and companion, being a layman, and learned; brought up, as it seemeth, in the university of Oxford, being there also graduate; the tractation of whose discourse, as it is something long, so therein may appear divers things worthy to be read and considered.

First, the mighty operation of God's Spirit in him, his ripe knowledge, modest simplicity, his valiant constancy, his learned tractations and manifold conflicts sustained against God's enemies. On the contrary part, in his adversaries may appear, might against right; man's authority against plain verity; against which they, having nothing directly to answer, proceed in condemnation, against whom they are able to bring forth no confutation. The chieftest occasion, that seemed to stir up the heart and zeal of this Walter against the pope, was the impudent pardons and indulgences of Pope Urban, granted to Henry Spencer, bishop of Norwich, to fight against Pope Clement, mentioned before. Secondly, the wrongful condemnation of the articles and conclusions of William Swinderby; the whole order whereof, in the process here following, more plainly may appear.

The process had by John, bishop of Hereford, against Walter Brute, a layman and learned, of the diocese of Hereford, touching the cause of heresy, as they called it; set forward by the way of the bishop's office, &c., at the instruction of certain faithful Christians, as he termed them, but indeed cruel and false promoters.

"In the name of God, Amen: To all manner of faithful Christian people, that shall see and hear this our present process, John, by the sufferance of God, bishop of Hereford, sendeth greeting and continual charity, in the Lord. We would that you all should know, that of late, by many faithful Christian people, and specially zealous followers of the catholic faith, it was lamentably done us to understand, by way of complaint, that a certain son of ours going out of kind, named Walter Brute, a lay person, learned, of our diocese, hath, under a cloaked show of holiness, damnably seduced the people; and, setting behind him the fear of God, doth seduce them as much as he can, from day to day; informing and teaching openly and privily as well the nobles as the commons, in certain conclusions heretical, schismatical, and erroneous, and also heretofore condemned: and they have also probably exhibited against the same Walter, articles underwritten, in manner and form as followeth.

"Reverend father and lord! we, the faithful people of Christ, and zealous lovers of the catholic faith, and also your humble and devout children, do minister and exhibit to your reverend fatherhood the articles underwritten, touching the catholic faith, contrary and against malicious persons, and detractors of the same faith, and the determinations of holy mother church; and, namely, against the child of Belial, one Walter Brute, a false teacher and seducer amongst the people: humbly beseeching, that you would vouchsafe to have regard to the correction of the enormities underwritten, according unto the canonical constitutions, even as to your office pastoral doth lie and belong.

"Imprimis, We do give and exhibit, and intend to prove, that the same Walter Brute, being unmindful of his salvation, hath been, by many and divers faithful Christian people, sundry times accused of the cursedness of heresy, as by the swift

report, slander, and rumour of the people, proceeding before the most reverend father and lord, Lord William, archbishop of Canterbury, and also before the reverend father and lord, Lord John, late bishop of Hereford, your predecessor, and now bishop of St. Asaph, hath been testified; and also hath been many and divers times cited to answer unto articles by him against the catholic faith avouched, and openly and publicly taught. But he, in this matter of heretical cursedness, (so grievously and shamefully spoken of,) hath never regarded to purge his innocency; but lurkingly, and running into corners, hath many and sundry years laboured to advance things erroneous and schismatical, and also heresies, and to imprint them in the hearts of faithful people.

"Item, The aforesaid Walter Brute hath openly, publicly, and notoriously avouched, and commonly said and taught, and stubbornly affirmed, that every Christian man, yea, and woman, being without sin, may make the body of Christ so well as the priest.

"Item, The same Walter hath notoriously, openly, and publicly avouched and taught, that in the sacrament of the altar there is not the very body, but a sign and a memorial only.

"Item, The aforesaid Walter hath said commonly, and avouched and also hath laboured to inform men and companies, that no man is bound to give tithes nor oblations; and if any man will needs give, he may give his tithes and oblations to whom he will, excluding thereby their curates.

"Item, That such as do preach and prefer croised matters and pardons (granted by the high bishop to them that helped the purpose of the reverend father Lord Henry, by the grace of God bishop of Norwich, when he took his journey upon him to fight for the holy father the pope) are schismatics and heretics, and that the pope cannot grant such manner of pardons.

"Item, The said Walter hath oftentimes said, and commonly avouched, that the pope is antichrist, and a seducer of the people, and utterly against the law and life of Christ.

"Item, Whereas of late your reverence did (at the instance of faithful Christian people) proceed in form of law against William Swinderby; and that the said William Swinderby had unto the said articles objected against him given up his answers in writing, containing in them errors, schisms, and heresies, even as you, with the mature counsel of masters and doctors in divinity and other faculties, have determined and given sentence, and have pronounced the same William Swinderby to be a heretic and a schismatic, and an erroneous teacher of the people: nevertheless the forenamed Walter hath openly, publicly, and notoriously said, avouched, and stubbornly affirmed, that the said William's answers (whereof notice hath been given before) are good, righteous, and not able to be convinced, in that they contain none error; and that your sentence before said, given against the said William, is evil, false, and unjust; and that your assistants have wickedly, naughtily, perversely, and unjustly condemned the answers aforesaid.

"Now thereupon immediately those same faithful Christian people have instantly required, that we would vouchsafe that other articles given by the same faithful Christians against the said William Swinderby, together with the writings and answers of the same William thereunto, should be admitted against Walter Brute, mentioned of in this matter of cursed heresy; of which articles and answers the tenors do follow in these words:

"Imprimis, That one William Swinderby, pretending himself priest, was of certain articles and conclusions, erroneous, false, schismatical, and heretical, by him preached, at divers places and times, before a great multitude of faithful Christians, judicially convinced; and the same articles and conclusions did he (enforced by necessity of law) revoke and abjure, some as heretical, and other as erroneous and false; and for such did he avouch them for ever afterward, promising so to take and believe them, and that from thenceforth he would openly or privily preach, teach, or affirm none of them; nor that he should make sermon or preach within your diocese without licence demanded and obtained: and in case he should to the contrary presume, by preaching or avouching, that then he should be subject to the severity of the canons, even as he judicially sware accordingly as the law enforced. Also the conclusions abjured by the said William do follow, and are such:

"1. Imprimis, That men by the rule of charity may demand debts, but by no means imprison any man for debts: and that the party so imprisoning a body, is excommunicated.

"2. Item, That if the parishioners shall know their curate to be incontinent and naughty, they ought to withdraw from him their tithes, &c.

"3. Item, That tithes are mere alms, and in case that the curates shall be ill, that they may be lawfully bestowed upon others by the temporal owners, &c.

"4. Item, That an evil curate to excommunicate any under his jurisdiction for withholding of tithes, is nought else, &c.

"5. Item, That no man may excommunicate any body, except that first he know him excommunicate of God: neither do those that communicate with such a one incur the sentence of excommunication by any manner of means.

"6. Item, That every priest may absolve every sinner, being contrite; and is bound to preach the gospel unto the people, notwithstanding the prohibition of the bishops.

"7. Item, That a priest, receiving by bargain any thing of yearly annuity, is in so doing a schismatic, and excommunicate.

"8. Item, He doth assuredly believe (as he avoucheth) that every priest, being in deadly sin, if he dispose himself to make the body of Christ, doth rather commit idolatry, than make Christ's body.

"9. Item, That no priest doth enter into any house, but to handle ill the wife, the daughter, or the maid, and therefore, &c.

"10. Item, That the child is not rightly baptized, if the priest, &c.

"11. Item, That no manner of person, if he live against God's law, &c.

"12. Item, The same William, against the things premised, and his revocation and abjuration, (not to his heart converting, but from evil to worse perverting,) did turn aside into our diocese, where, running to and fro in divers places, he hath of his own rash head presumed to preach, or rather to pervert, &c.

"13. Item, After that we had heard divers rumours, and slanders of very many, we directed divers monitions and commandments comminatory, to be sent abroad by our commissaries to sundry places of our diocese; that no person, of what estate,

degree, or condition soever he were, should presume to preach or to teach the sacred Scripture to the people, in places holy or profane, within our diocese.

"14. Item, That the same sort of monitions, inhibitions, and precepts, confirmed by our seal, came to the true and undoubted knowledge of the said William.

"15. Item, The same William, unmindful of his own salvation, hath since, and against those monitions, inhibitions, and precepts, and (that which is more abominable to be spoken) in contempt of the high bishop's dignity, and to the slander and offence of many people, presumed, in divers places of our said diocese, to preach, or rather to pervert, and to teach the forementioned and other heretical, erroneous, and schismatical devices.

"16. Item, The same William, in preaching to the people on Monday, to wit, the first of August, in the year of our Lord 1390, in the church of Whitney in our diocese, held and affirmed, that no prelate of the world, of what state, pre-eminence, or degree soever he were, having cure of souls and being in deadly sin, &c.

"17. Item, The same William in many places said and affirmed in the presence of many faithful Christian people, after the sacramental words uttered by the priest, having the intent to consecrate, there is not made the very body of Christ in the sacrament of the Eucharist.

"18. Item, That accidents cannot be in the sacrament of the altar without their subject; and that there remaineth material bread *concomitanter*, with the body of Christ in the sacrament.

"19. Item, That a priest being in deadly sin cannot, by the power of the sacramental words, make the body of Christ.

"20. Item, That all priests are of like power in all points, notwithstanding that some of them are in this world of higher dignity, degree, or preeminence.

"21. Item, That contrition only putteth away sin if a man shall be duly contrite; and that all vocal confession and exercise is superfluous, and not requisite of necessity to salvation.

"22. That inferior curates have not their power of binding and loosing immediately from the pope or bishop, but immediately of Christ, &c.

"23. Item, That the pope cannot grant such a kind of annual pardons, because there shall not be so many years to the day of judgment as are contained in the pope's bulls or pardons. Whereby it followeth, that pardons are not so much worth as they are noised and praised to be.

"24. Item, That it is not in the pope's power to grant to any penitent body forgiveness of the pain, or of the trespass.

"25. Item, That one giving his alms to any body, which as he judgeth hath no need thereof, doth sin in so giving, &c.

"26. Item, That it stands not in the power of any prelate, of what private religion soever he be, to give by letters benefits of their order; neither do such kind of benefits given profit them to whom they be given for the salvation of souls.

"27. Item, That the same William, unmindful of his own salvation, hath many times and often resorted to a certain desert wood called Derwalswood, of our diocese,

and there in a certain unhallowed chapel (nay, a profane cottage) hath presumed of his own proper rashness, to celebrate, &c.

"28. Item, The same William hath also presumed to do the like things in a certain profane chapel, situate in the park of Newton, nigh to the town of Leyntwardyn, in the same our diocese.

"Which things being done, the same faithful Christian people, and specially Sir Walter Pride, the penitentiary of our cathedral church of Hereford, personally appearing before us, sitting in our judgment-seat in the parish church of Whitborne of our diocese, brought forth and exhibited two public instruments against the same Walter Brute, in the case of cursed heresy aforesaid, of which instruments here followeth the tenors and articles in this sort.

"In the name of God, Amen. Be it plainly known to all persons by this present public instrument, that in the year from the incarnation, after the course and computation of the church of England, 1391, the indiction fifteen of the pontifical office of our most holy father and lord in Christ, Lord Boniface the Ninth, by God's wisdom pope; the second year, the fifteenth day of the month of October, in the dwelling-house of the worshipful man, Master John Godemoston, canon of the cathedral church of Hereford, in the presence of me the public notary underwritten, and of witnesses subscribed; Walter Brute, a layman, learned, of Hereford diocese, personally appearing said, avouched, and stiffly maintained, that the said bishop of Hereford, and his assistants which were with him, the third day of the foresaid month of October, the year of our Lord aforesaid, in the church of Hereford, did naughtily, wickedly, perversely, and unjustly condemn the answers of Sir William Swinderby, chaplain, given by the same Sir William to the same lord bishop in writing, and also the articles ministered by the same Sir William.

"And furthermore he said, held, and avouched, that the same conclusions given by the same Sir William, even as they were given, are true and catholic.

"Item, as touching the matters objected against him by them that stood by, concerning the sacrament of the altar; he said, that after the sacramental words there doth remain very bread, and the substance thereof after the consecration of the body of Christ; and that there do not remain accidents without substance or subject after the consecration of the body of Christ. And as touching this matter, the doctors hold divers opinions.

"Furthermore, as concerning the pope, he said, held, and avouched, that he is the very antichrist; because that in life and manners he is contrary to the laws, doctrines, and deeds of Christ our Lord.

"All and every of these things were done, even as they be above-written and rehearsed, in the year of our Lord, pontifical office, month, day, and place aforesaid, at supper time of the day aforenamed; then and there being present the worshipful and discreet men, Sir Walter Ramsbury, chief chanter of the said cathedral church of Hereford, Roger Hoore, canon of the same church, Walter Wall, chaplain of the said church of Hereford, being a vicar of the choral, and certain other worthy witnesses of credit, that were specially called and desired to the premises.

"And I, Richard Lee, wheeler, clerk of Worcester, being a public notary, by the authority apostolic, was personally present at all and singular the premises, whilst that, as is before rehearsed, they were done and a doing in the year of our Lord 1391; pontifical office, month, day, place, and the hour aforesaid; and I did see, write, and

hear all and singular those things thus to be done, and have reduced them into this public manner and form; and, being desired truly to testify the premises, have sealed the said instrument made hereupon, with mine accustomed seal and name.

"In the name of God, Amen. Be it plainly known to all persons, by this present public instrument, that in the year from the incarnation of the Lord, after the course and computation of the Church of England, 1391, the indiction fifteen, in the third year of the pontifical office of the most holy father in Christ, and our lord, Lord Boniface, pope, by the providence of God, the Ninth, and in the nineteenth day of the month of January; Walter Brute, layman, of Hereford diocese, personally appearing before the reverend father in Christ and lord, Lord John, by God's grace bishop of Hereford, in the presence of me, being a public notary, and one of the witnesses underwritten, did say, hold, publish, and affirm, the conclusions hereafter written, that is to say, that Christian people are not bound to pay tithes, neither by the law of Moses nor by the law of Christ.

"Item, That it is not lawful for Christians, for any cause in any case, to swear by the Creator, neither by the creature.

"Item, He confesseth openly and of his own accord, that within the same month of January, he did eat, drink, and communicate with William Swinderby, not being ignorant of the sentence of the said reverend father, whereby the same William Swinderby was pronounced a heretic, schismatic, and a false seducer of the common people; which conclusions the same reverend father caused to be written, and in writing to be delivered to the same Walter; which when he had seen and read, he said also that he did maintain and justify them according to the laws aforesaid. These things were done in the chamber of the said bishop of Hereford, at his manor of Whitborne of the said diocese of Hereford; there being then present the same bishop abovesaid, Master Reynold, of Wolston, canon of Hereford; Sir Philip Dilesk, parson of the parish church of Blamurin; Thomas Guildefeld, parson of the church of Englishbyknore; John Cresset, parson of the church of Whitborne; and Thomas Wallewayne, household servant; for witnesses especially called and desired to the premises, of the diocese of Hereford and St. Asaph.

"And I, Benedict Come, clerk of the diocese of St. Asaph, public notary, by the apostolic authority of the diocese of St. Asaph, was personally present, together with the witnesses before named, at all and singular these and other things here premised, whilst they were so done and a doing; and did see, hear, and write those things so to be done, as is before mentioned; and did write the same, and reduce them into this public form, and with my wonted and accustomed seal and name have sealed it, being desired and required truly to testify the premises.

"At the last, the aforesaid Walter Brute did present and cause to be presented to us, at divers places and times, assigned by us to the same Walter, to answer to the former conclusions and articles, divers scrolls of paper, written with his own proper hand, for his answers to the same articles and conclusions above written; he partly appearing by his own self, before us sitting in our judgment-seat, and partly by his messengers, specially appointed to that purpose; of which scrolls, the tenors do follow in order, word by word, and be on this manner.

"In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and the Holy Ghost, Amen. I, Walter Brute, sinner, layman, husbandman, and a Christian, (having my offspring of the Britons, both by my father's and mother's side,) of the Britons have been accused

to the bishop of Hereford, that I did err in many matters concerning the catholic Christian faith, by whom I am required that I should write an answer in Latin to all those matters; whose desire I will satisfy to my power, protesting first of all, before God, and before all the world, that like as it is not my mind, through God's grace, to refuse the known truth, for any reward greater or smaller, yea, be it never so big, nor yet for the fear of any temporal punishment; even so it is not my mind to maintain any erroneous doctrine for any commodity's sake. And, if any man, of what state, sect, or condition soever he be, will show me that I err in my writings or sayings, by the authority of the sacred Scripture, or by probable reason grounded on the sacred Scripture, I will humbly and gladly receive his information. But as for the bare words of any teacher, (Christ only excepted,) I will not simply believe, except he shall be able to stablish them by the truth of experience, or of the Scripture; because that, in the holy apostles elected by Christ, there hath been found error by the testimony of the Holy Scripture, because that Paul himself doth confess that he rebuked Peter, for that he was worthy to be rebuked, Gal. ii. There have been errors found in the holy doctors that have been before us, as they themselves confess of themselves. And oftentimes it falleth out, that there is error found in the teachers in our age, who are of contrary opinions among themselves, and some of them do sometimes determine one thing for truth, and others do condemn the selfsame thing to be heresy and error. Which protestation premised, I will here place two suppositions or cases for a ground and a foundation of all things that I shall say, out of which I would gather two probable conclusions, stablished upon the same, and upon the sacred Scripture. By which conclusions, when they shall be declared after my manner and fashion, it shall plainly appear what my opinion and judgment is concerning all matters that I am accused of. But because I am ignorant and unlearned, I will get me under the mighty defences of the Lord: O Lord, I will remember thine only righteousness.

"God the Father Almighty, uncreate, the Maker of heaven and earth, hath sent his Son, that was everlastingly begotten, into this world, that he should be incarnated for the salvation and redemption of mankind, who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, everlastingly proceeding from the Father and the Son, and was born of Mary the Virgin, to the end that we might be born anew. He suffered passion under Pontius Pilate for our sins, laying down his life for us, that we should lay down our life for our brethren. He was crucified, that we should be crucified to the world, and the world to us. He was dead, that he might redeem us from death, by purchasing for us forgiveness of sins. He was buried, that we, being buried together with him into death by baptism, and that we, being dead to sins, should live to righteousness. He descended into hell, thereby delivering man from thralldom, and from the bondage of the devil, and restoring him to his inheritance, which he lost by sin. The third day he rose from the dead, through the glory of his Father, that we also should walk in newness of life. He ascended up to the heavens, to which nobody hath ascended, saving he that descended from heaven, even the Son of man which is in heaven. He sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty, until his enemies be made his footstool. He being in very deed so much better than the angels, as he hath obtained by inheritance a more excellent name than they. From whence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead, according to their works, because the Father hath given all judgment to the Son. In whose terrible judgment we shall rise again, and shall all of us stand before his judgment-seat, and receive joy, as well bodily as spiritually, for ever to endure, if we be of the sheep placed at the right hand; or else punishment both of body and soul, if we shall be found amongst goats, placed on the left hand, &c.

"Jesus Christ, the Son of God, very God and very man, a King for ever, by establishing an everlasting kingdom, breaking to powder all the kingdoms of the world, Dan. ii.; a Priest for ever, after the order of Melchisedek, whereby also he is able evermore to save such as by him come unto God, and always liveth to entreat for us, Heb. vii. He, offering one sacrifice for our sins, hath made perfect for ever by one oblation those that be sanctified, Heb. x. Being the wisdom that cannot be deceived, and the truth that cannot be uttered, he hath in this world taught the will of God his Father, which will he hath in work fulfilled, to the intent that he might faithfully instruct us; and hath given the law of charity to he of his faithful people observed; which he hath written in the hearts and minds of the faithful with the finger of God, where is the Spirit of God, searching the inward secrets of the Godhead. Wherefore his doctrine must be observed above all other doctrines, whether they be of angels or of men, because that he could not or would not err in his teaching. But in men's doctrine there chanceth oftentimes to be error, and therefore we must forsake their doctrines, if cloakedly or expressly they be repugnant to the doctrine of Christ. Men's doctrines being made for the people's profit, must be allowed and observed, so that they be grounded upon Christ's doctrine, or at least be not repugnant to his words.

"If the high bishop of Rome, calling himself the servant of the servants of God, and the chief vicar of Christ in this world, do make and maintain many laws contrary to the gospel of Jesus Christ, then is he of those that have come in Christ's name, saying, I am Christ, and have seduced many a one, by the testimony of our Saviour in Matt. xxiv., and the idol of desolation sitting in the temple of God, and taking away from him the continual sacrifice for a time, times, and half a time, which idol must be revealed to the Christian people, by the testimony of Daniel, whereof Christ speaketh in the Gospel; When ye shall see the abomination of desolation that was told of by Daniel the prophet, standing in the holy place, let him that readeth understand; he is the pestiferous mountain infecting the whole universal earth, as witnesseth Jeremiah, chap. li., and not the head of Christ's body. For the ancient person in years, and honourable in reverence, he is the head: and the prophet teaching lies is the tail, as Isaiah allegeth, chap. ix.; and he is that wicked and sinful captain of Israel, whose foreappointed day of iniquity is come in time of iniquity, who shall take away Cidarim, and take away the crown, Ezekiel, chap. xxi., to whom it was said, Forasmuch as thy heart was exalted, and didst say, I am a god, and sittest in the seat of god, in the heart of the sea, seeing thou art a man and not a god, and hast given thine heart, as if it were the heart of God; therefore, behold, I will bring upon thee the most strong and mighty strangers of the nations, and they shall draw their swords upon the beauty of thy wisdom, and shall defile the commandments, and kill thee, and pull thee out; and thou shalt die in the destruction of the slain. And it followeth, In the multitude of thine iniquities, and of the iniquities of thy merchandise, thou hast defiled thy sanctification. I will therefore bring forth a fire from the midst of the whole earth, and will make thee as ashes upon the earth. Thou art become nothing, and never shalt thou be any more, Ezekiel, chap. xxviii. Furthermore, he is the idle shepherd, forsaking his flock, having a sword on his arm, and another sword on his right eye, Zech. xi., and, sitting in the temple of God, doth advance himself above all that is called God, or whatsoever is worshipped, by the testimony of Paul to the Thessalonians, 2 Epist. chap. ii.: and in the defection or falling away shall the man of sin be revealed, whom the Lord Jesus shall slay with the breath of his mouth. For every kingdom divided in itself shall be brought to desolation. He is also, besides, the beast ascending up out of the earth, having two horns like unto a lamb, but he speaketh like a dragon; and as the cruel beast ascending up out of the sea, whose

power shall continue forty and two months. He worketh the things that he hath given to the image of the beast. And he compelled small and great, rich and poor, free-men and bond-slaves, to worship the beast, and to take his mark in their forehead or their hands, Apoc. xiii. And thus, by the testimony of all these places, is he the chief antichrist upon the earth, and must be slain with the sword of God's word, and cast, with the dragon, the cruel beast, and the false prophet that hath seduced the earth, into the lake of fire and brimstone to be tormented world without end.

"If the city of Rome do allow his traditions, and do disallow Christ's holy commandments, and Christ's doctrine, that it may confirm his traditions, then is she Babylon the great, or the daughter of Babylon, and the great whore sitting upon many waters, with whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication, and the inhabitants of the earth are become drunken with the wine of her harlotry, lying open to lewdness, with whose spiritual whoredom, enchantments, witchcrafts, and Simon Magus merchandises, the whole round world is infected and seduced; saying in her heart, I sit as queen, and widow I am not, neither shall I see sorrow and mourning. Yet is she ignorant that within a little while shall come the day of her destruction and ruin by the testimony of the Apocalypse, chap. xvii., because that from the time that the continual sacrifice was taken away, and the abomination of desolation set up, there be passed twelve hundred and ninety days by the testimony of Daniel, chap. xii.; and the chronicles added do agree to the same. And the holy city also hath been trodden under foot of the heathen for forty-two months, and the woman was nourished up in the wilderness (unto which she fled for fear of the face of the serpent) during twelve hundred and sixty days, or else for a time, times, and half a time, which is all one. All these things be manifest by the testimony of the Apocalypse, and the chronicles thereto agreeing. And as concerning the fall of Babylon aforesaid, it is manifest in the Apocalypse, chap. xiv.; where it is said, In one day shall her plagues come, death, lamentation, and famine, and she shall be burned with fire. For, strong is the Lord, which shall judge her. And again, Babylon, that great city, is fallen, which hath made all nations to drink of the wine of her whoredom. And thirdly, One mighty angel took up a mill-stone, that was a very great one, and did cast it into the sea, saying, With such a violence as this is, shall that great city Babylon be overthrown, and shall no more be found. For her merchants were the princes of the earth, and with her witchcraft all nations have gone astray, and in her is there found the blood of the saints and prophets. And of her destruction speaketh Isaiah in chap. xiii.: And Babylon, that glorious city, being so noble amongst kingdoms in the pride of the Chaldeans, it shall be that, like as the Lord did overturn Sodom and Gomorrah upside down, it shall never more be inhabited, nor have the foundation laid in no age, from generation to generation. Jeremiah, chap. li., saith, Your mother that hath borne you is brought to very great confusion, and made even with the ground. And again, The Lord hath devised and done as he hath spoken against the inhabitants of Babylon, which dwell richly in their treasures upon many waters, thine end is come. And thirdly, Drought shall fall upon her waters, and they shall begin to be dry; for it is a land of graven images, and boasteth in her prodigious wonders: it shall never more be inhabited, neither be builded up in any age or generation. Verily even as God hath subverted Sodom and Gomorrah with their calves.

"Pardon me, I beseech you, though I be not plentiful in pleasant words; for if I should run after the course of this wicked world, and should please men, I should not be Christ's servant. And, because I am a poor man, and neither have nor can have notaries hired to testify of these my writings, I call upon Christ to be my witness,

which knoweth the inward secrets of my heart, that I am ready to declare the things that I have written after my fashion, to the profit of all Christian people, and to the hurt of no man living, and am ready to be reformed if any man will show me where I have erred; being ready also (miserable sinner though I be) to suffer for the confession of the name of Christ, and of his doctrine, as much as shall please him by his grace and love to assist me, a miserable sinner. In witness of all these things I have to this writing set the seal of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, which I beseech him to imprint upon my forehead, and to take from me all manner of mark of antichrist. Amen."

These two suppositions, as they are termed in the schools, written by Walter Brute, and exhibited unto the bishop, although they contained matter sufficient either to satisfy the bishop if he had been disposed to learn, or else to have provoked him to reply again, if his knowledge therein had been better than his; yet could they neither of them work effect in him. But he, receiving and perusing the same, when he neither could confute that which was said, neither would reply or answer by learning to that which was truth, finding other by-cavillations, said, That this his writing was too short and obscure; and therefore required him to write upon the same again more plainly and more at large. Whereupon the said Master Walter, satisfying the bishop's request, and ready to give to every one an account of his faith in a more ample tractation, reneweth his matter again before declared, writing to the bishop in words and form as followeth

"Reverend father, forasmuch as it seemeth to you that my motion in my two suppositions or cases, and in my two conclusions, is too short and somewhat dark, I will gladly now satisfy your desire, according to my small learning, by declaring the same conclusions; in opening whereof, it shall plainly appear, what I do judge in all matters that I am accused of to your reverence, desiring you, first of all, that your discretion would not believe that I do enterprise of any presumption to handle the secrets of the Scriptures, which the holy, and just, and wise doctors have left unexpounded. It is not unknown to many, that I am in all points far inferior to them, whose holiness of life and profoundness in knowledge is manifoldly always allowed. But as for mine ignorance and multitude of sins, they are to myself and others sufficiently known; wherefore I judge not myself worthy to unloose or to carry their shoes after them. Do you therefore no otherwise deem of me, than I do of mine own self. But if you shall find any goodness in my writings, ascribe it to God only, who, according to the multitude of his mercy, doth sometimes reveal those things to idiots and sinners, which are hidden from the holy and wise, according to this saying, I will praise and confess thee, O Father! for that thou hast hidden these things from the wise and prudent, and hast disclosed them to the little ones; even so, O Father! because it hath thus pleased thee. And in another place: I am come to judgment into this world, that they which see not, may see, and that they which see, may be made blind. And Paul saith, That God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the mighty; that no man shall boast in himself, but that all men should give the honour to God.

"It was commanded to Isaiah, bearing the type of Christ: Go, and say to this people, Hear ye with your hearing, and do not understand? Behold ye the vision, and yet know ye not the thing that ye see? Make blind the heart of this people, and make dull their ears, and shut their eyes, lest that perchance with their eyes they should see, and with their ears they should hear, and with their hearts they should understand, and be converted, and I should heal them. And I said, How long Lord? And he said, Until

that the cities be made desolate without inhabitants, and the house without any person within it. Also in Isaiah thus it is written: And the multitude of the nations, which shall fight against Ariel, and all persons that have warred, and besieged and prevailed against it, shall be as a dream that appeareth in the night, and as the hungry person dreameth that he eateth, but when he shall awake out of sleep, his soul is empty. And like as the hungry person dreameth that he eateth, and yet after that he shall awake he is still weary and thirsty, and his soul void of nourishment; even so shall it be with the multitude of all nations that have fought against the mount Zion. Be you amazed, and have great wonder; reel ye to and fro, and stagger ye; be ye drunken, and not with wine; stagger, but not through drunkenness; for the Lord hath mingled for you the spirit of drowsiness. He shall shut your eyes, he shall cover your prophets and princes that see visions. And a vision shall be to you, altogether, like the words of a sealed book, which when he shall give to one that is learned, he shall say, Read here, and he shall answer, I cannot, for it is sealed. And the book shall be given to one that is unlearned, and knoweth not his letters, and it shall be said unto him, Read; and he shall answer, I know not the letters, I am unlearned. Wherefore the Lord saith, Forasmuch as this people draweth nigh me with their mouths, and glorifieth me with their lips, but their hearts are far from me, and they have rather feared the commandments of men, and have cleaved to their doctrines; behold, therefore, I will add besides, and bring such a muse and marvel upon this people which shall make men amazed with marvelling. For wisdom shall perish from their wise men, and the understanding of the prudent persons shall be hidden. And soon after it followeth in the same place; Yet a little while and Libanus shall be turned into Carmel, and Carmel counted for a copse or grove; and in the same day shall the deaf folks hear the word of this book, and the eyes of the blind (changed from darkness and blindness) shall see.

"Nebuchadnezzar inquiring of Daniel said, Thinkest thou that thou canst truly declare me the dream that I have seen, and the meaning thereof? And Daniel said, As for the mystery whereof the king doth ask, neither the wise men, magicians, soothsayers, nor enchanters can declare to the king: but there is a God in heaven, that discloseth mysteries, who will declare to thee (O King Nebuchadnezzar) what things shall come to pass in the last times of all. To me also is this sacrament or mystery disclosed, not for any wisdom that is in me more than in all men living, but to the end that the interpretation might be made manifest to the king, and that thou shouldst know the cogitations of thy mind.

"It was also said to Daniel, And thou, Daniel, shut up the words, seal up the book, until the time appointed. Verily many people shall pass over, and manifold knowledge shall there be. And Daniel said to the man that was clothed with linen garments, who stood upon the waters of the flood: How long will it be before the end shall come of these marvellous things? And I heard the man that was clothed in linen apparel, who stood upon the waters of the floods, when he had lifted up his right hand and his left hand unto heaven, and had sworn by him that liveth for evermore, that for a time, times, and half a time, and when the scattering abroad of the hand of the holy people shall be accomplished, then shall all these things be finished. And I heard and understood not, and I said, O my Lord! what shall be after these things? And he said, Go thy ways, Daniel, for this talk is shut and sealed up, until the time that is before appointed.

"All these things have I written, to show that he that hath the key of David, who openeth and no man shutteth, shutteth and no man openeth, doth (when and how long it pleaseth him) hide the mysteries, and the hid secrets of the Scriptures, from the

wise, prudent, and righteous; and otherwhiles at his pleasure revealeth the same to sinners, and lay persons, and simple souls, that he may have the honour and glory in all things. Wherefore, as I have before said, if you shall find any good thing in my writings, ascribe the same to God alone; if you shall find otherwise, think ye the same to be written of ignorance, and not of malice. And if any doubt of error be showed me in all my writings, I will humbly allow your information and fatherly correction.

"But why that such manner of matters are moved touching the disclosing of antichrist in this kingdom, more than in other kingdoms, and in this time also more than in time past; the answer, as concerning the time of the motion, is, that it is the last conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter in the sign of the Twins, which is the house of Mercury, being the signifier of the Christian people; which conjunction seemeth to me to betoken the second coming of Christ to reform his church, and to call men again, by the disclosing of antichrist, to the perfection of the gospel, from their heathenish rites, and ways of the Gentiles. By whom the holy city was trampled under foot for forty-two months, even as the conjunction of the said two planets, being enclosed in the side of the Virgin, which is also the house of Mercury, did betoken the first coming of Christ, for the salvation of all people that were perished of the house of Israel, whereby to call them, through the same coming, to the full perfection of the gospel. As touching this calling of the heathen speaketh Christ in the gospel, I have also other sheep that are not of this fold, and those must I bring, and they shall hear my voice, and there shall be one sheepfold, and one shepherd. For although the Gentiles be converted from the infidelity of their idolatry to the faith of Christ, yet are they not converted to the perfection of the law of Christ. And therefore did the apostles in the primitive church lay no burden upon the Gentiles, but that they should abstain from heinous things, as from things offered to idols, and from blood, and strangled, and fornication. As touching this second coming speaketh Isaiah; On that day the root of Jesse, which standeth for a sign or mark to the people, to him shall the heathen make their homage and supplication, and his sepulchre shall be glorious; and in that day shall it come to pass, that the Lord shall the second time put to his hand, to possess the remnant of his people, &c. And he shall lift up a token toward the nations, and he shall assemble the runagate people of Israel that were fled, and those that were dispersed of Judah shall he gather together from the four quarters of the earth. And the zealous emulation of Ephraim shall be broken to pieces, and the enemies of Judah shall come to nought. Paul to the Thessalonians saith, We beseech you, brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and our gathering together before him, that you be not soon removed from your understanding, neither that you be put in fear, as though the day of the Lord were at hand, neither, as it were, by letter sent by us, neither by spirit, nor yet by talk. Let not anybody by any means bring you out of the way, or seduce you, for except there shall first come a departing, and that the man of sin, the son of perdition, shall be disclosed, which maketh resistance and is advanced above all that is called God, or that is worshipped, so that he doth sit in the temple of God, showing himself as if he were God. Do you not remember, that whilst I was as yet with you, I told you of this? And now ye know what keepeth him back, that he may be uttered in his due time. For even now doth he work the mystery of iniquity; only that he which holdeth, may hold still until he be come to light; and then shall that wicked one be disclosed, whom the Lord Jesus shall slay with the breath of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming; even him whose coming is, according to the working of Satan, in all power, with signs and lying wonders, and in all deceitful leading out of the truth towards those that do perish, because that they receive not heartily the love of truth, that they might be saved.

"Christ being demanded of the apostles what should be the token of his coming, and of the end of the world, said unto them, There shall come many in my name, saying, I am Christ, and they shall seduce many: also he telleth them of many other signs; of battles, famine, pestilence, and earthquakes. But the greatest sign of all he teacheth to be this, When you shall see, saith he, the abomination of desolation standing in the holy place, he that readeth let him understand. But Luke, in chap. xxi. of his Gospel, speaketh more plainly hereof; When you, therefore, shall see Jerusalem to be compassed about with an army, then know ye that the desolation thereof shall draw nigh. And afterward it followeth, And they shall fall by the face of the sword, and shall be led away captive to all nations, and Jerusalem shall be trodden underfoot of the heathen, until the times of the nations be fulfilled. Now in Daniel thus it is written of this matter: And after seventy-two weeks shall Christ be slain, neither shall that be his people, that will deny him. And as for the city and sanctuary, a people shall (with his captain that will come with them) destroy the said city and sanctuary, and his end shall be to be wasted utterly, till it be brought to nought; and, after the end of the war, shall come the desolation appointed. In one week shall he confirm the covenant to many, and within half a week shall the offering and sacrifice cease. And in the temple shall there be the abomination of desolation, and even unto the end shall the desolation continue. And elsewhere, in Daniel, thus it is written, From the time that the continual sacrifice shall be offered, and that the abomination shall be placed in desolation, there shall be one thousand two hundred and ninety days.

"Now if any man will behold the Chronicles, he shall find that after the destruction of Jerusalem was accomplished, and after the strong hand of the holy people was fully dispersed, and after the placing of the abomination, that is to say, the idol of desolation of Jerusalem, within the holy place, where the temple of God was before, there had passed twelve hundred and ninety days, taking a day for a year, as commonly it is taken in the prophets; and the times of the heathen people are fulfilled, after whose rites and customs God suffered the holy city to be trampled under foot for forty and two months. For although the Christian church, which is the holy city, continued in the faith from the ascension of Christ, even till this time, yet hath it not observed and kept the perfection of the faith all this whole season; for soon after the departure of the apostles, the faith was kept with the observation of the rites of the Gentiles, and not of the rites of Moses's law, nor of the law of the gospel of Jesus Christ. Wherefore, seeing that this time of the error of the Gentiles is fulfilled, it is likely that Christ shall call the Gentiles from the rites of their Gentility to the perfection of the gospel, as he called the Jews from the law of Moses to the same perfection in his first coming; that there may be one sheepfold of the Jews and Gentiles, under one Shepherd. Seeing, therefore, that antichrist is known, which hath seduced the nations, then shall the elect, after that they have forsaken the errors of their Gentility, come, through the light of God's word, to the perfection of the gospel, and that same seducer shall be slain with the sword of God's word: so that by these things it doth partly appear unto me, why that at this time, rather than at any other time, this matter of antichrist is moved.

"And why that this motion is come to pass in this kingdom, rather than in other kingdoms, methinks there is good reason; because that no nation of the Gentiles was so soon converted unto Christ as were the Britons, the inhabitants of this kingdom. For to other places of the world there were sent preachers of the faith, who, by the working of miracles, and continual preaching of the word of God, and by grievous passion and death of the body, did convert the people of those places; but, in this

kingdom, in the time of Lucius, the king of the Britons, and of Eleutherius, bishop of the Romans, did Lucius hear from the Romans, who were infidels, (by the way of rumours and tales,) of the Christian faith which was preached at Rome. Who believed straightways, and sent to Rome, to Eleutherius, for men skilful to inform him more fully in the very faith itself; at whose coming he was joyful, and was baptized, with his whole kingdom. And, after the receiving of the faith, they never forsook it, neither for any manner false preaching of other, neither for any manner of torments, or yet assaults of the Painims, as in other kingdoms it hath come to pass. And thus it seemeth to me the Britons, amongst other nations, have been, as it were by the special election of God, called and converted to the faith of Christ.

"Of them, as me seemeth, did Isaiah prophesy, saying, For they did see, to whom there was nothing told of him, and they did behold, that had not heard of him. And again, Behold, thou shalt call a nation which thou knowest not; and nations that have not known thee shall run unto thee; for the Lord thy God, and the Holy One of Israel, shall glorify thee.

"Of this kingdom did St. John in the Apocalypse prophesy, (as me seemeth,) where he said, The dragon stood before the woman, which was about to be delivered of a child, to the intent that when she had brought it forth into the world, he might devour up her son: and she brought forth her child, which was a man-child, who should govern all nations with an iron rod. And the same son was taken up to God, and to his throne. And the woman fled into the wilderness, where she had a place prepared of God, that they may feed her one thousand two hundred and sixty days. And again, in the same chapter, after that the dragon saw that he was cast out upon the earth, he did persecute the woman, which brought forth the man-child. And there were given to the woman two wings of a great eagle, that she might flee into the wilderness into her place, where she is fostered up for a time, times, and half a time, from the face of the serpent. And the serpent did cast, as it were, a flood of water after the woman, to the intent that he might cause her to be drowned by the flood; and the earth, opening her mouth, did help the woman, and did swallow up the flood which the dragon did cast out of his mouth. Let us see how these sayings may be applied unto this kingdom rather than to other kingdoms. It is well known that this kingdom is a wilderness or a desert place, because that the philosophers and wise men did not pass upon it, but did leave it for a wilderness and desert, because it is placed without the climates.

"Unto this place fled the woman; that is to say, the church, (which by faith did spiritually bring forth Christ into the world,) where she was fed with the heavenly bread, the flesh and blood of Jesus Christ, for one thousand two hundred and sixty days, seeing that for so many days, taking a day for a year, the Britons continued in the faith of Christ; which thing cannot be found so of any Christian kingdom, but of this desert. And well it is said, that she flew to this place. For from the East came the faith into Britain, not by walking in journey, nor yet by sailing; for then should it have come by Rome, Italy, Almaine, or France, which cannot be found: and therefore she flew over those plates, and rested not in them, even as a bird, flying over a place, resteth not in the same, but resteth in this wilderness for a time, times, and half a time, that is, one thousand two hundred and sixty years, from the first coming of the faith into Britain until this present.

"In saying for a time, times, and half a time, there is a going forward from the greater to the less. The greatest time that we name, is one thousand years; there is a

time; and the next time, that is less, in the singular number, is one hundred years. In the plural number, "times" signify that there be more hundreds than one, at least two hundred years. Wherefore, if they be put under a certain number, it must needs be that they be two; but the same two cannot fitly be called some times, except they be hundreds. For in that, that there is a going down from the greater to the less, when it is said a time, times, and half a time, and that the number of one thousand is likely assigned for a time, it must needs follow, that times must be taken for hundreds, and half a time for sixty, because it is the greater half of a hundred years, though that fifty be the even half.

"And when that the serpent sent the water of the persecution after the woman to cause her to be drowned of the flood, then did the earth, that is to say, the stableness of faith, help the woman, by supping up the water of tribulation. For in the most cruel persecution of Dioclesian and Maximian against the Christians, when Christianity was almost every where rooted out, yet did they, in this kingdom, stand continually in the faith unmovable. And so, considering that the Britons were converted to the faith of Christ, as you would say, by an election and picking out amongst all the nations of the heathen, and that, after they had received the faith, they did never start back from the faith for no manner of tribulation; it is not to be marvelled, if, in their place, the calling of the Gentiles be made manifest, to the profiting of the gospel of Jesus Christ, by the revealing of antichrist.

"But besides this, me seemeth that Ezekiel doth specially speak of them, where he speaketh of the fall of the prince of Tyre, saying; Forasmuch as thy heart is lifted up, as if it were the heart of God, therefore, behold, I will bring upon thee some of the strongest of the heathen; and they shall draw their naked swords upon the beauty of thy wisdom, and they shall defile thy comeliness, and they shall slay thee, and pull thee out; and thou shalt die in the slaughter of the slain persons, in the heart of the sea.

"This prince, who saith that he himself is God, and doth sit in God's chair in the heart of the sea, doth signify, as most likely it seemeth to me, that antichrist shall be destroyed by the most mighty persons of the Gentile folk, through the sword of the word of God; because that amongst the other Gentiles there have been none more strong than the Britons, either in their body or their faith; and, in their bodily wars, there have been none more mighty than they, for never in wars have they been vanquished, but by their own sedition or treason. But how many kingdoms have they conquered! Yea, and neither by the most mighty city of Rome could they be driven out of their kingdom, until that God sent upon them pestilence and famine; whereby they, being wasted, were compelled to leave their country; which thing I have not heard of any other people. Now, in the faith, have they been amongst all the people the strongest, as is before said, because that by no tribulation could they be compelled to forsake the faith.

"Wherefore of them this seemeth to me to be understood: Then I will bring upon thee some of the strongest people, and they shall draw their naked swords, &c. By these things it may plainly appear, why at this time (rather than in time past) this matter is stirred up; and why in this kingdom (rather than in other kingdoms) the calling of the Gentiles is treated of, to the verifying of the gospel, through the disclosing of antichrist.

"But forasmuch as many tales and fables are told of antichrist and his coming, and many things, which do rather seduce than instruct the hearers, are applied to him out of the Scriptures of the prophets, we will briefly write those things which are

spoken of him, and we will show that the same fable sprang from the error of people imagining, and from no truth of the Scriptures prophesying. Now then they do say, that antichrist shall be born in Babylon of the tribe of Dan, and conceived of the mixture of man and woman in sin, because that Christ was born of a virgin, and conceived of the Holy Ghost. They say, that he shall be an ill-favoured personage, because that it is written of Christ, Comely and beautiful is he, beyond the sons of men. They say, that he shall preach three years and a half where Christ preached; and that he shall circumcise himself, and say that he is Christ and the Messiah, sent for the salvation of the Jews. And they say, that he shall three manner of ways seduce the people; by false miracles, gifts, and torments; so that whom he shall not be able to overcome with miracles nor with gifts, those shall he go about to overcome with divers kinds of torments; and those that he shall seduce, will he mark with his tokens in their forehead or hands. He shall sit in the temple of God, and cause himself to be worshipped as God. He shall fight (as they say) with the two witnesses of Christ, Enoch and Elijah, and shall kill them; and he himself shall finally be slain with lightning. To this imagined man of their own imagination, but of none of the prophets foreshowed, (at least in no such wise as this is,) do they apply the prophets, as this of Daniel: When that continual sacrifice shall be taken away, and abomination shall be placed to desolation: that is, (say they,) when the worshipping of God shall be taken away, and desolation (to wit, antichrist) shall abominably show forth himself to be worshipped, then shall there be one thousand two hundred and ninety days; that is to say, three years and a half: and this time do they say is the time, times, and half a time. And when it is said in Daniel, Blessed is he that looketh for and cometh to one thousand three hundred and thirty-five days; this, do they say, is thus to be understood: forty-five days of repentance to such as have worshipped antichrist; which forty-five days added to the one thousand two hundred and ninety, make one thousand three hundred and thirty-five days: which days they that shall reach unto shall be called blessed.

"They apply also to this antichrist, this saying of the Apocalypse, I saw a beast rising up out of the sea, having seven heads and ten horns, who had power given him to make forty-two months: which months (as they say) do make three years and a half, in which antichrist shall reign. And many other things there are told, and applied unfitly to this imagined antichrist, that are not truly grounded upon the Scriptures.

Now let us show the errors of this fable. First of all, if there shall come such a one, (saying expressly that he is Christ,) what Christian would be seduced by him, though he should do never so many miracles? Neither shall he come after the manner of a seducer, which shall show himself an express adversary. Neither is it likely that the Jews can be seduced by such a one, seeing that Christ is not promised unto them of the stock of Dan by any of the prophets, but of the stock of Judah; nor yet is he promised to them to be a king warlike, but peaceable, taking war away, and not making war. For of Christ saith Isaiah, And in the last days shall there be prepared the mountain of the house of the Lord, in the top of the mountains, and it shall be exalted above the hills; and to it shall all the nations have great recourse, and many people shall go and say, Come, let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, and to the house of the God of Jacob, and he shall teach us his ways, and we shall walk in his paths. For out of Zion shall there go a law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem, and he shall judge the nations, and reprove much people. And they shall turn their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into scythes. There shall not a nation lift up itself against another nation, nor yet shall they be any more exercised to war. And again, A

little babe is born to us, and a son is given to us, and his imperial kingdom upon his shoulder; and his name shall be called, The great Counsellor, The mighty God, The Father of the world to come, The Prince of Peace. His empire shall be multiplied, and there shall be no end of his peace. He shall sit upon the seat of David, and upon his kingdom; that he may make it stedfast and strong in judgment and in justice, from henceforth and for evermore. Zechariah doth say of Christ, Rejoice thou greatly, O thou daughter Zion! be thou exceeding merry, O daughter Jerusalem! Behold, thy king shall come a righteous person and a Saviour unto thee, and yet he a poor man, and getting up upon an ass, even upon a young colt of the she-ass. And I will scatter abroad the chariot of Ephraim, and the horse of Jerusalem; and the bow of war shall be dispersed, and he shall speak peace to the nations, and his power shall be from the sea to the sea, and from the flood unto the borders of the earth.

"By which things it is manifest, that the wise Jews knew well enough Christ to be promised to them of the stock of Judah, and not of the stock of Dan; and that he was given all to peace, and not to war: therefore it is not likely that they can be seduced by such a one. But if there should have been, in time to come, some such singular antichrist, then would Christ (seeing he loved his) have said somewhat unto them of him. Now, of one singularly doth he not speak, but of many, saying, Many shall come in my name, and say, I am Christ; and they shall seduce many persons. But now let us see how the prophecies in Daniel, and in the Apocalypse, aforesaid, be falsely and erroneously applied to the same imagined antichrist. For in Daniel, chap. ix., thus it is written: And after seventy-two weeks shall Christ be slain, and they which will deny him shall not be his people. And the city and sanctuary shall a people, with their captain that shall come with them, destroy; whose end shall be utter desolation, and after the end of the war a determined destruction. Now he shall in one week confirm his covenant towards many, and in the half week shall the offering and sacrifice cease; and in the temple shall there be an abomination of desolation; and even to the fulfilling up of all, and to the end shall the desolation continue. It is plain and manifest that this prophecy is now fulfilled. For the people of Rome, with their captain, destroyed Jerusalem even to the ground, and the people of the Jews were slain and scattered. And the abomination, that is, the idol of desolation, was placed of Adrian, in the last destruction, in Jerusalem, in the holy place, that is to say, in a place of the temple. And from that time hitherto have passed near about twelve hundred and ninety days, taking a day for a year, as Daniel takes it in his prophecies, and other prophets likewise. For Daniel, speaking of sixty-two weeks, doth not speak of the weeks of days, but of years. So, therefore, when he saith, From the time that the continual sacrifice was taken away, &c., twelve hundred and ninety days must be taken for so many years, from the time of the desolation of Jerusalem, even unto the revealing of antichrist; and not for three years and a half, which, they say, antichrist shall reign. And again, whereas Daniel said, How long till the end of these marvellous matters? It was answered him, For a time, and times, and half a time. Behold also, how unfitly they did assign this time, by three years and a half, which they say antichrist shall reign. For when it is said a time, times, and half a time; there is a going downward from the greater to the less, from the whole to the part, because it is from a time to half a time. If, therefore, there be a going downward from the whole to the part, by the midst, (which is greater than the whole itself,) the going downward is not meet nor agreeing. And this is done when it is said, that a time, times, and half a time, is a year, two years, and half a year. Wherefore more fitly it is said, that a time, times, and half a time, doth signify twelve hundred and ninety years, as is before said in the

chapter preceding. Thus therefore is the prophecy of Daniel falsely applied to that imagined antichrist.

"Likewise is the process of the Apocalypse applied to the same imagined antichrist too much erroneously. Because that the same cruel beast which came up out of the sea, having seven heads and ten horns, to whom there was power given over every tribe, people, and tongue; and the power given for the space of forty-two months: this beast doth note the Roman emperors, which most cruelly did persecute the people of God, as well Christians as Jews. For when the condemnation of the great whore sitting upon the many waters was showed to John, he saw the same woman sitting upon the purple-coloured beast, full of the names of blasphemy, having seven heads and ten horns; and he saw a woman being drunk with the blood of the saints and martyrs of Jesus. And the angel, expounding and telling him the mystery of the woman and the beast that carried her, said, That seven heads are seven hills, and are seven kings: five are fallen; one is, the other is not yet come: and when he shall come, he must reign a short time. And the ten horns which thou sawest, are ten kings, who have not yet taken their kingdom, shall receive their power as it were in one hour under the beast. And, finally, he saith, The woman whom thou sawest is the great city, which hath the kingdom over the kings of the earth. And it is manifest that the city of Rome, at the time of this prophecy, had the kingdom over the kings of the earth. And this city was borne up and upholden by her cruel and beastly emperors; who, by their cruelty and beastliness, did subdue unto themselves, in a manner, all the kingdoms of the world; of zeal to have lordship over others, and not virtuously to govern the people that were their subjects, seeing that they themselves did lack all virtue, and drew back others from the faith, and from virtue.

"Wherefore that cruel beast coming up out of the sea, doth rightly note the Roman emperors, who had power over every language, people, and country. And the power of the beast was for forty-two months, because that from the first emperor of Rome, that is to say, Julius Cæsar, unto the end of Frederic, the last emperor of Rome, there were forty-two months, taking a month for thirty days, as the months of the Hebrews and Grecians are, and taking a day always for a year, as commonly it is taken in the prophets. By which things it may plainly appear how unfitly this prophecy is applied to that imagined antichrist; and the forty-two months taken for three years and a half, which they say he shall reign in, against the saying of the prophets, because that days are taken for years. As in the 2nd of the Apocalypse, They shall be troubled ten days; which do note the most cruel persecution of Dioclesian against the Christians, that endured ten years. And in another place of the Apocalypse it is written of the smoke coming up out of the bottomless pit: out of which pit there came forth grasshoppers into the earth, and to them was power given, as scorpions have power, to vex and trouble men five months. Now, it is manifest, that from the beginning of the Friars Minors and Preachers, to the time that Armachanus began to disclose and uncover their hypocrisy, and their false foundation of valiant begging under the poverty of Christ, were five months, taking a month for thirty days, and a day for a year: and to Ezekiel were days given for years. Wherefore it is an unfit thing to assign the forty-two months, being appointed to the power of the beast, unto three years and a half, for the reign of that fantastical and imagined antichrist; especially seeing that they do apply to his reign the twelve hundred and ninety days in Daniel, which make forty-two months, and in the Apocalypse they assign him forty-two months. It is plain that the psaltery and the harp agree not. And, therefore, seeing that it is sufficiently showed that the same fabling tale of that imagined antichrist to come,

is a fable and erroneous; let us go forward to declare whether antichrist be already come, and yet is he hid from many, and must be opened and disclosed within a little while, according to the truth of the Holy Scripture, for the salvation of the faithful.

"And because that in the first conclusion of mine answer I have conditionally put it, Who is that antichrist lying privy in the hid Scriptures of the prophets? I will pass on to the declaration of that conclusion, bringing to light those things which lay hid in darkness, because nothing is hid which shall not be disclosed, and nothing covered which shall not be known. And therefore the thing which was said in the darkness, let us say in the light; and the thing that we have heard in the ear, let us preach upon the house-tops. I, therefore, as I have before said, so say, that if the high bishop of Rome, calling himself the servant of God, and the chief vicar of Christ in this world, do make and justify many laws contrary to the gospel of Jesus Christ, then is he the chief of many, which, coming in the name of Christ, have said, I am Christ; who have seduced many: which is the first part of the first conclusion, and is manifest; for Christ is called of the Hebrews the very same that we call anointed; and amongst them there was a double sort of legal anointing by the law, the one of kings, and the other of priests; and as well were the kings, as the priests, called in the law Christs. The kings, as in the Psalm, The kings of the earth stood up together, and the princes assembled themselves in one against the Lord, and against his Christ or Anointed. And in the Books of the Kings, very often are the kings called Christs; and our Saviour was Christ, or anointed King, because he was a King for evermore upon the throne of David, as the Scriptures do very oftentimes witness. The priests also were called anointed, as where it is written, Do not ye touch my Christs, that is, mine anointed ones, and be not ye spiteful against my prophets. And so was our Saviour Christ a Priest for ever, according to the order of Melchisedec.

Seeing then that the bishops of Rome do say that they are the high priests, they say also therein that they are kings, because they say that they have the spiritual sword pertaining to their priesthood, and the corporal sword which agreeth for a king's state. So is it plain, that really and in very deed, they say that they are Christs, albeit that expressly they be not called Christs. Now, that they come in the name of Christ is manifest, because they say that they are his principal vicars in this world, ordained of Christ specially for the government of the Christian church. Therefore, seeing they say that really and in very deed they are Christs, and the chief friends of Christ; if they make and justify many laws contrary to the gospel of Jesus Christ, then is it plain that they themselves in earth are the principal antichrists, because there is no worse plague and pestilence than a familiar enemy. And if in secret they be against Christ, and yet in open appearance they say that they are his friends, they are so much the more meet to seduce and deceive the Christian people; because that a manifest enemy shall have much ado to deceive a man, because men trust him not; but a privy enemy, pretending, outward friendship, may easily seduce, yea, those that be wise.

"But that this matter may the more fully be known, let us see what is the law and doctrine of Christ, that ought to be observed of all faithful people; which being known, it shall be an easy thing to see, if the bishop of Rome do make or maintain any laws contrary to the law of the gospel of Jesus Christ.

"I say then, that the law of Christ is charity, which is the perfect love of God and of Christ. This thing is plain and manifest. For Christ being demanded of a certain doctor of the law, What is the greatest commandment in the law? answered: Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy

mind: that is the principal and greatest commandment. And as for the second, it is like unto this: Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thine own self. On these two commandments the whole law and prophets depend. And in another place Christ saith, All manner of things, therefore, that you would that men should do to you, the same also do ye unto them, for this is the law and the prophets. And in John xiii. Christ saith, And now do I say unto you, I give you a new commandment, that you should love each other; as I loved you, in like manner that you also should love one another. In this shall all men know that you are my disciples, if you shall have love one towards another. And John xv., This is my commandment, that you love together as I have loved you. Greater love than this hath nobody, that a man should give his life for his friends. The apostle Peter saith, in his First Epistle, chap. iv., Above all things having continually charity one towards another; for charity covereth the multitude of sins. Be ye harbourers, and entertain ye one another without grudging: every one as he hath received grace, so let him bestow it upon another man, as the good stewards of the manifold graces of God. If any man speak, let him speak as the word of God. If any man do aught for another, let it be done with singleness and unfeigned verity, ministered of God to usward, that in all things God may be honoured through Jesus Christ our Lord. James, in his Epistle, chap. ii.: If ye perform the royal law accordingly to the Scriptures, Thou shalt love thy neighbour, ye do well; but if ye be partial in receiving and preferring men's personages, ye work wickedness, being blamed of the law as transgressors. And again, So speak ye, and so do ye, as ye should now begin to be judged by the law of liberty. What shall it avail, my brethren, if a man say he have faith and have no works? Never shall the faith be able to save him. For if a brother or sister be naked, and have need of daily food, and some of you say to them, Go ye in peace, be ye made warm and satisfied; and if ye shall not give those things that are necessary for the body, what shall it avail? Even so faith, if it have not works, is dead in itself.

"John, in his First Epistle, chap. iii., This is the tidings which you have heard from the beginning, that you should love one another. And again, We know that we are translated from death to life, if we love the brethren: he that loveth not, abideth in death. And again, Herein do we know the love of God, because that he hath laid down his life for us, and we ought to lay down our life for the brethren. He that shall have the substance of this world, and shall see his brother have need, and shall shut up his bowels from him, how abideth the love of God in him? My little children, let us not love in word nor tongue, but in deed and truth. And again, 4th chapter: Most dearly beloved, let us love together. For love is of God; he that loveth not, knoweth not God; for God is love. In this thing hath the love of God appeared in us, that God hath sent his only begotten Son into the world, that we should live by him. Herein is love; not that we have loved God, but that he hath first loved us, and hath sent his Son an atonement for our sins. Most dearly beloved, if God have loved us, we so ought to love together. No man hath seen God at any time; if we love together, God abideth in us, and his love is perfect in us. And again, Let us love God, for he hath first loved us. If a man shall say, I love God, and do hate his brother, he is a liar. For he that loveth not his brother whom he seeth, how can he love God whom he seeth not? And this commandment have we of God, that whoso loveth God, should love his brother also. Paul the apostle, in his Epistle to the Romans, the 13th chapter: Owe ye nothing to nobody, saving that you should love together, for he that loveth his brother hath fulfilled the law. For thou shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt not murder, thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not bear false witness, thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's goods;

and if there be any other commandment, it is plentifully fulfilled in this word, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. Wherefore the fulfilling of the law is love.

"Paul to the Corinthians, the 13th chapter, saith, If I should speak with the tongues of men and angels, and yet have not charity, I am become as it were a piece of sounding metal or tinkling cymbal. And if I shall have all prophecy, and know all mysteries and all knowledge, and shall have all faith, so that I might remove mountains, and yet shall not have charity, I am nothing. And if I shall give abroad all my goods to feed the poor, and shall give up my body to be burned, and yet have not charity, it profits me nothing. To the Galatians, chap. v., saith Paul, For you, my brethren, are called unto liberty; do ye not give your liberty for an occasion of the flesh, but by charity of the spirit serve ye one another. For all the law is fulfilled in one saying, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thine own self. To the Ephesians, 4th chapter, he saith, I therefore that suffer bonds in the Lord do beseech you, that you would walk worthy of the calling wherewith ye are called, with all humbleness and mildness, with patience, forbearing one another in love, being careful to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace; that you be onebody and one spirit, even as you be called in one hope of your calling. And again in the 5th chapter, Be ye followers of me as most dear children, and walk ye in love, as Christ also hath loved us, and hath delivered up himself for us, an offering and sacrifice to God of a sweet savour. To the Philippians, thus he speaketh, in the first chapter: Only let your conversation be worthy of the gospel of Christ, that either when I shall come and see you, or else in mine absence I may hear of you, that you stand stedfast in one spirit, labouring together with one accord for the faith of the gospel. And in nothing be ye afraid of the adversaries, which is to them a cause of damnation, but to you of salvation, and that of God. For to you it is given, not only that you should believe in him, but also that you should suffer with him, you having the like fight and battle that both you have seen in me, and also now do hear of me. If therefore there be any consolation in Christ, if any comfort of charity, if any fellowship of the spirit, if any bowels of compassion, fulfil you my joy, that you may be of one judgment, having one and the selfsame charity, being of one accord, of one manner of judgment, doing nothing of contention nor of vain-glory, but in humbleness accounting other amongst you, every one, better than yourselves; not everybody looking upon the things that be his own, but those that belong unto others. And to the Colossians, 3rd chapter, thus he writeth, You therefore, as the elect of God, holy and beloved, put upon you the bowels of mercy, gentleness, humbleness, lowliness, modesty, patience, bearing one with another, and giving place to yourselves: if any have a quarrel against any body, even as the Lord forgave you, so do you also. Above all things have ye charity, which is the bond of perfection, and let the peace of Christ triumph in your hearts, in which peace you also are called in one body; and be ye kin and thankful. And to the Thessalonians, thus Paul writeth, in his First Epistle, chap. iv.: As concerning brotherly charity we have no need to write unto you; for you yourselves have learned of God, that you should love one another. And the same thing ye do towards all the brethren throughout all Macedonia.

"Out of all these and many other places of the Holy Scripture it sufficiently appeareth, that the law of Christ is charity; neither is there any virtue commanded of Christ, or any of his apostles, to be observed of the faithful people, but that it cometh out of charity, or else doth nourish charity.

"The law is given by Moses, and the truth by Christ. Christ came not to unloose the law and the prophets, but to fulfil them. But yet many things were lawful

and might have been observed in the time of the law, which in the time of grace must not be observed. And many things were unlawful to them that were under the law, which in the time of grace are lawful enough. After what sort then he did not loose the law, but did fulfil it, it is necessary to declare, for those things which hereafter must be said; for amongst Christians many things are judged to be lawful, because in the former testament in the law they were lawful, and yet they be expressly contrary to Christ's gospel. But the authors of such things do argue and reason thus, Christ came not to loose the law or the prophets. Now, after what sort he did not unloose them it is manifest by the Holy Scripture; that the law given by Moses, was written in tables of stone, to declare the hardness of the people's heart towards the love of God, or of Christ. But Christ hath written his law in the hearts and in the minds of his; that is to say, the law of perfect love of God, and of Christ; which law, whosoever observeth, he doth observe the law of Moses, and doth much greater works of perfection, than were the works of the law. Thus, therefore, were the morals of the old law fulfilled in the law of charity of Christ, and not unloosed; because they are much more perfectly observed, than of the Jews: this I say, if the Christians do observe the commandments of Christ in such sort as he commanded the same to be observed. Christ hath fulfilled the laws moral of the Old Testament, because that the morals and judicials were ordained, that one person should not do injury to another, and that every man should have paid him that is his. Now they that are in charity, will do no injury to others, neither do they take other men's goods away from them. Nay, it seeketh not her own things; for charity seeketh not the things that be her own. Wherefore much less by a stronger reason it ought not to seek for other men's goods. And when the judicials and morals were ordained, Christ did not by the works of the law justify the believers in him, but by grace justified them from their sins. And so did Christ fulfil that by grace, that the law could not by justice.

"Paul to the Romans declareth in a godly discourse, and to the Galatians likewise, that none shall be justified by the works of the law, but by grace in the faith of Jesus Christ. As for the morals and ceremonies of the law, as circumcision, sacrifices for offences and for sins, first-fruits, tenths, vows, divers sorts of washings, the sprinkling of blood, the sprinkling of ashes, abstaining from unclean meats, which are ordained for the sanctifying and cleansing of the people from sin; no, nor yet the prayers of the priests, neither the preachings of the prophets, could cleanse a man from his sin. For death reigned even from Adam to Moses, and sin from Moses to Christ, as Paul declareth to the Romans, in the fifth chapter. But Christ, willing to have mercy and not sacrifice, being a Priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec, and a High Priest of good things to come, did neither by the blood of goats nor calves, but by his own blood, enter in once into the holy places, when everlasting redemption was found: neither did Jesus enter into the holy places that were made with hands, which are the examples of true things, but unto the very heaven, that now he may appear before the countenance of God for us. Nor yet he did so, that he should offer up himself oftentimes, as the high bishop entered into the holy place every year with strange blood (for otherwise he must needs have suffered oftentimes since the beginning of the world); but now, in the latter end of the world, hath he once appeared by his own sacrifice, for the destruction of sin. And, like as it is decreed for men once to die, and after that cometh judgment, even so was Christ once offered up to consume away the sins of many. The second time shall he appear without sin to the salvation of such as look for him. For the law having a shadow of good things to come, and not the very image or substance itself of the things, can never by those sacrifices which they offer (of one selfsame sort continually, year by year) make them perfect that come

unto her. Otherwise men would leave off offering, because that those worshippers, being once cleansed, should have no more prick of conscience for sin afterwards. But in them is there remembrance made of sins every year. For it is impossible, that by the blood of goats and bulls sins should be taken away. Wherefore he, entering into the world, doth say, As for sacrifice and offering thou wouldst not have, but a body hast thou framed unto me: and sacrifices for sin have not pleased thee. Then said I, Behold, I come; in the head, or principal part, of the book it is written of me, that I should do thy will, O God. Wherefore he said before, that sacrifices, oblations, and burnt-offerings, and that for sin, thou wouldst not have; neither were those things pleasant to thee which are offered according to the law: then said I, Behold, I come, that I may do thy will, O God. He taketh away the first, that he may establish that that followed. In which will we are sanctified and made holy by the offering up of the body of Jesus Christ once. And verily every priest is ready every day ministering, and oftentimes offering the selfsame sacrifices, which never can take away sins. But this man, offering one sacrifice for sins, doth for ever and ever sit at God's right hand, looking for the rest to come, till that his enemies be placed to be his footstool. For with one offering hath he for ever made perfect those that be sanctified. By which things it plainly appeareth, that Christ by once offering hath cleansed him from their sins, who could not be cleansed from the same by all the ceremonies of the law, and so did fulfil that which the priesthood of the law could. Wherefore only the morals and judicials he fulfilled by the law of charity, and by grace; and the ceremonials, by one offering up of his body on the altar of the cross. And so it is plain that Christ fulfilled the whole law.

"Wherefore since that the holy things of the law were a shadow of those things that were to come in the time of grace, it were meet that all those things should utterly cease amongst Christians, which should either be against charity or the grace of Christ. Although in the time of the law they were lawful, and not utterly contrary to it, but were figures of perfections in Christ's faith; yet it were meet that they should cease at the coming of the perfection which they did prefigure; as circumcision, the eating of the paschal lamb, and other ceremonial points of the law. Whereupon also, Paul to the Hebrews, chap. vii., saith thus, If, therefore, the making up of the perfection of all, was by the Levitical priesthood, (for the people received the law under him,) why was it necessary besides that another Priest should rise up after the order of Melchisedec, and not be called after the order of Aaron? For when the priesthood is removed, it must needs be that the law also be removed. For he in whom these things are spoken, is of another tribe, of which none stood present at the altar; because it is manifest that our Lord had his offspring of Judah, in which tribe Moses spake nothing of the priests. And besides this, it is manifest, if, according to the order of Melchisedec, there do rise up another Priest, which was not made according to the law of the carnal commandment, but according to the power of the life that cannot be lost. For thus he beareth witness, that thou art a Priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec: so that the commandment that went before, is disallowed for the weakness and unprofitableness thereof, for the law hath brought nobody to perfection. By which things it appeareth that Christ, making an end of the priesthood of Aaron, doth also make up a full end of the law belonging to that priesthood. Whereupon I marvel that your learned men do say, that Christian folks are bound to this small ceremony of the payment of tithes, and care nothing at all for other, as well the great as the small ceremonies of the law.

"It is plain that the tithes were given to the sons of Levi, for their serving in the tabernacle and in the temple of the Lord, as the first-fruits were given to the priests, and also part of the sacrifices; and so were the vows of their ministry, as it appeareth in the book of Numbers, chap. xxii. But forasmuch as the labour of those sacrifices did cease at the coming of Christ, how should those things be demanded, which were ordained for that labour? And seeing that the first-fruits were not demanded of Christians, which first-fruits were then rather and sooner demanded than the tithes; why must the tithes be demanded, except it be therefore, peradventure, because that the tithes be more worth in value than be the first-fruits?

"Secondly, why are the lay people bound to the payment of tithes, more than the Levites and the priests were to the not having of possessions of realties and lordships amongst their brethren, seeing that the selfsame law, in the selfsame place, (where he saith that the tithes ought to be given to Levites,) saith also to the Levites, You shall be contented with the offering of the tithes, and have none other thing amongst your brethren. Wherefore seeing that the priests be bound to the not having of temporal lordships, how are the lay people bound by that law (of God he meaneth, and not of man) to the payment of tithes?

"Thirdly, as touching circumcision, which is one of the greater ceremonies of the law, and was given before the law, and was a universal ceremony concerning the covenant between God and his people, and was so much regarded in the law, that thereof it was said, The soul, whose flesh shall not be circumcised in the foreskin, shall perish from amongst his people: yet did this ceremony utterly cease at the coming of Christ, although that certain of the Jews did say in the primitive church, that the Christians must needs keep the commandment of circumcision with the faith; whom Paul reproveth, writing thus to the Galatians, chap. iv., where he speaketh of the children of the bond-woman and of the free-woman, which do signify the two testaments: But we, O brethren, are the children of the promise after Isaac; but like as at that time, he that was born after the flesh did persecute him which was after the spirit, even so it is now also. But what saith the Scripture? Throw out the bond-woman and her son. The son of the bond-woman shall not be heir with the son of the free-woman. Wherefore, brethren, we are not the sons of the bondwoman, but of the free. Stand ye stedfast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath delivered you, and be not ye holden again under the yoke of slavery. Behold, I Paul say unto you, if you be circumcised, Christ shall nothing profit you. For I testify again, to every man that circumciseth himself, that he is bound to keep all the whole law. Ye are utterly void of Christ: whosoever will be justified in the law, are fallen from grace.

"In like manner we may reason, if we be bound to tithing, we are debtors and bound to keep all the whole law. For to say that men are bound to one ceremony of the law, and not to the others, is no reasonable saying. Either, therefore, we are bound to them all, or to none. Also, that by the same old law men are not bound to pay tithes, it may be showed by many reasons, which we need not any more to multiply and increase, because these things that be said are sufficient. Whereupon some do say that by the gospel we are bound to pay tithes, because Christ said to the Pharisees, Matt. xxiii., Woe be to you scribes and Pharisees, which pay your tithe of mint, of anise seed, and of cummin, and leave judgment, mercy, and truth undone, being the weightier things of the law! both should ye have done these things, and also not have left the other undone. O ye blind guides, that strain out a gnat, and swallow up a camel. This word soundeth not as a commandment or manner of bidding, whereby Christ did command tithes to be given; but it is a word of disallowing the hypocrisy of

the Pharisees, who, of covetousness, did weigh and esteem tithes because of their own singular commodity, rather than other great and weighty commandments of the law. And me seemeth that our men are in the same predicament of the Pharisees, which do leave off all the ceremonies of the old law, keeping only the commandment of tithing. It is manifest and plain enough by the premises, and by other places of the Scripture, that Christ was a priest after the order of Melchisedec, of the tribe of Judah, not of the tribe of Levi; who gave no new commandment of tithing of any thing to him and to his priests, whom he would place after him; but when his apostles said to him, Behold, we leave all things and have followed thee, what then shall we have; he did not answer them thus, Tithes shall be paid you; neither did he promise them a temporal, but an everlasting reward in heaven. For he both for food, and also apparel, taught his disciples not to be careful: Be ye not careful for your life, what ye shall eat, or for your body, what ye shall put on: is not the life of man more worth than the meat, and the body more worth than apparel? Behold ye the birds of heaven, which do not sow, nor reap, neither yet lay up in barns, and yet your heavenly Father feedeth them. And as for apparel, why should you be careful? Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow, they labour not, neither do they spin, &c. In conclusion he saith, Be not ye careful, saying, What shall we eat, or what shall we drink, or wherewithal shall we be covered? For all these things do the Gentiles seek after; for your Father knoweth that you have need of all these things. First, therefore, seek ye for the kingdom of God and the righteousness thereof, and all these things shall be cast unto you. And Paul, right well remembering this doctrine, instructeth Timothy, and saith thus, But we having food, and wherewithal to be covered, let us therewith be contented. And as the Acts of the Apostles do declare in the first conversion of the Jews at Jerusalem, they had all things common, and to every one was division made, as need required. Neither did the priests make the tithes their own proper goods. For like as it was not meet that the lay people, being converted, should have propriety of goods, even so neither that priests should have propriety of tithes. So that if the priests started back from fervent charity in challenging to themselves the propriety of tithes; it is no marvel of departing backward (as do the priests from the perfection of charity) also of the laity, to be willing to appropriate to themselves the nine parts remaining after tithes. Wherefore seeing that neither Christ, nor any of the apostles, commanded to pay tithes; it is manifest and plain, neither by the law of Moses, nor by Christ's law, Christian people are bound to pay tithes; but by the tradition of men they are bound.

"By the premises now it is plain, that Christ did not undo the law, but by grace did fulfil it. Notwithstanding, in the law many things were lawful which in the time of grace are forbidden; and many things were then unlawful, which now are lawful enough. For nothing that is contrary to charity, is lawful to a Christian.

"Let us now hear what manner of commandments Christ hath given us in the gospel, without the observation of which commandments, charity shall not perfectly be kept. By which commandments Christ did not undo the old law, but did fulfil it. By the observation also of which commandments, he teacheth us to pass and go beyond the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, who most perfectly thought themselves to keep the law. This absolute and perfect righteousness, which we are bound to have beyond the righteousness of the Pharisees and the scribes, he teacheth in Matt. v. — vii., which being heard and compared to the traditions made and commanded by the Roman prelates, it shall plainly appear, whether they be contrary or no. Christ therefore saith, You have heard, that it was said to them of the old time, Thou shalt not kill; for he that killeth shall be guilty of judgment. But I say unto you, that every

one that is angry with his brother shall be in danger of judgment. In this he doth teach that we ought not to be angry with our brethren; not that he would undo this old commandment (Thou shalt not kill); but that the same should be the more perfectly observed. Again, he saith, You have heard that it was said, Thou shalt love thy friend and hate thine enemy. But I say unto you, Love your enemies, do well to them that hate you, pray for them that persecute and slander you, that you may be the children of your Father which is in heaven; which maketh his sun to arise upon the good and the evil people, and raineth upon the just and unjust. For if you love them which love you, what reward shall you have? Do not the publicans thus? And if you shall salute your brethren only, what great thing do ye? do not the heathens thus also? Be you therefore perfect, as also your heavenly Father is perfect, Matt. v. 38 — 42.

"Again Christ saith: You have heard that it is said, An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth. But I say unto you, see that you resist not evil; but if any man shall strike you upon the right cheek, give him the other too. And to him that will strive with thee for thy coat in judgment, let him have thy cloak also. And whosoever shall constrain thee one mile, go with him also two other. He that asketh of thee, give him; and he that will borrow of thee, turn not thyself from him, Matt. vi. 38 — 42.

"By these things it may plainly appear how that Christ, the King of Peace, the Saviour of mankind, who came to save, and not to destroy, who gave a law of charity to be observed of his faithful people, hath taught us not to be angry, not to hate our enemies, nor to render evil for evil, nor to resist evil: for all these things do foster and nourish peace and charity, and do proceed and come forth of charity; and when they be not kept, charity is loosed, and peace is broken. But the bishop of Rome approveth and alloweth wars, and slaughters of men in war, as well against our enemies, that is, the infidels, as also against the Christians, for temporal goods. Now, these things are quite contrary to Christ's doctrine, and to charity, and to peace.

"In the decree 23. q. 1. cap. *Paratus*, it is taught, that the precepts of patience must always be retained in purpose of the heart; so that patience, with benevolence, must be kept in the mind secret. But apparently and manifestly that thing should be done which seemeth to do good to those whom we ought to wish well unto; wherein they give to understand, that a Christian may freely defend himself. And for confirmation of this saying they do say, that Christ, when he was stricken on the face of the high bishop's servant, did not fulfil (if we look upon the words) his own commandment; because he gave not to the smiter the other part, but rather did forbid him, that he should not do it, to double his injury. For he said, If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil; but if well, why dost thou strike me? I do marvel of this saying, for, first, if those commandments of patience must be kept in secret in the mind, and seeing the body doth work at the motion of the mind, and is and ought to be moved and ruled by the same, it must then needs be, that if patience be in the mind, it must appear also outwardly in the body.

"Secondly, I marvel that it is said, that Christ did not fulfil his own precept of patience: for it is manifest, that albeit he, teaching always as a good schoolmaster those things which were fit for the salvation of souls, speaking the wholesome word of instruction to the high bishop's servant smiting him unjustly, did neither by word forbid another stroke to be given on the other cheek, neither did he defend himself bodily from striking on the same cheek; but, speaking to him, it is likely that he gave him the other cheek; he meaneth, that he turned not the other cheek away. For a man turneth not away from him whom he speaketh to, or whom he informeth, but layeth

open before him all his face; even so do I believe that Christ did, that he might fulfil in very deed that which before he had taught in word. Neither yet did Christ, by his word, or by his deed, show any thing of defence, or of bodily resistance.

"Thirdly, I marvel why wise men, leaving the plain and manifest doctrine of Christ, whereby he teacheth patience, do leave corners of their own imagining, to the intent they may approve fightings and wars. Why mark they not after what manner Christ spake to Peter, striking the high bishop's servant, saying, Put up thy sword into the sheath, for every one that shall take the sword, shall perish with the sword? But in another case we must make resistance; which case may be so righteous, as it is for a man's lord and master being a most righteous man, and yet suffering injury of mischievous persons.

"Fourthly, I marvel, seeing that we are bound of charity, and by the law of Christ, to give our lives for our brethren, how they can allow such manner of dissensions, and resisting; for when thy brother shall maliciously strike thee, thou mayst be sure, that he is manifestly fallen from charity, into the snare of the devil. If thou shalt keep patience, he shall be ashamed of his doing, and thou mayst bow and bend him to repentance, and take him out from the snare of the devil, and call him back again to charity. If thou resist, and perchance by resisting dost strike again, his fury shall be the more kindled, and he, being stirred up to greater wrath, peradventure shall either slay thee, or thou him. Touching thyself, thou art uncertain, if thou go about to make resistance, whether thou shalt fall from charity, and then shalt thou go backward from the perfection of Christ's commandment; neither dost thou know but that it may happen thee so greatly to be moved, as that by the heat and violence of wrath, thou shalt slay him. Whereas if thou wouldst dispose thyself to patience, (as Christ teacheth,) thou shouldst easily avoid all these mischiefs, as well on the behalf of thy brother, as also of thine own part. Wherefore the observing of charity, as the precept of patience, is to be observed.

"Fifthly, I do marvel why, that for the allowing of this corporal resistance, he doth say in the same chapter, that Paul did not fulfil the precept of the patience of Christ, when he, being stricken in the place of judgment by the commandment of the high priest, did say, God strike thee, O thou painted wall; dost thou sit to judge me according to the law, and dost thou command me to be stricken against the law? It is manifest that Paul made resistance in nothing, though he spake a word of instruction to the priest, who against the law commanded him to be stricken. And if Paul had over-passed the bounds of patience, through the grief of the stroke, what of that? Must the deed of Paul's impatience for this cause be justified, and the commandment of patience taught by Christ be left undone for Paul's deed, and corporal resistance be allowed? God forbid. For both Paul and Peter might err; but in the doctrine of Christ there may be found no error. Wherefore we must give more credence and belief to Christ's sayings, than to any living man's doings. Wherefore although Paul had resisted, which I do not perceive in that scripture, it followeth not thereof, that corporal resistance must be approved, which is of Christ expressly forbidden. I much marvel that always they seek corners and shadows to justify their deeds. Why do they not mark what great things Paul reciteth himself to have suffered for Christ? And where, I pray you, have they found that he, after his conversion, struck any man that did hurt him? Or where do they find that he in express word doth teach such a kind of corporal resistance? But as touching patience, he saith in plain words to the Romans, Be not wise in your own conceits: render ill for ill to nobody; providing good things not only before God, but also before all men, if it be possible. Be at peace with all

folks as much as in you lieth; not revenging yourselves, my most dearly beloved, but give you place unto anger; for it is written, Vengeance is mine, and I will recompense them, saith the Lord. But if thine enemy shall be an hungered, give him meat; if he be athirst, give him drink: for thus doing, thou shalt heap coals of fire upon his head. Be not overcome of evil, but overcome thou evil with good.

"To the Corinthians, 1 Cor. vi., as touching judgment and contention, which are matters of less weight than are fightings, thus he writeth: Now verily there is great fault in you, that ye be at law amongst yourselves: why rather take ye not wrong? why rather suffer ye not deceit? And generally, in all his epistles, he teacheth that patience should be kept, and not corporal resistance by fighting, because charity is patient, it is courteous, it suffereth all things. I marvel how they justify and make good the wars by Christians, saving only the wars against the devil and sin; for, seeing that it is plain, that those things which were in the Old Testament were figures of things to be done in the New Testament, therefore, we must needs say, that the corporal wars being then done, were figures of the Christian wars against sin and the devil, for the heavenly country which is our inheritance. It is plain that it was written thus of Christ: The mighty Lord, and of great power in battle, hath girded himself in force and manliness to the war; and he came not to send peace into the earth, but war. In this war ought Christian people to be soldiers, according to that manner which Paul teacheth to the Ephesians, chap. vi.: Put upon you the armour of God, that you may be able to stand against the deceits of the devil. For we have not to wrestle against flesh and blood, but against princes and potentates, against the rulers of the darkness of the world, against spiritual wickedness in heavenly things, which are in the high places. Wherefore take ye the armour of God, that ye may be able to resist in the evil day, and to stand perfectly in all things. Stand ye, therefore, girded about in truth upon your loins, having put upon you the breastplate of righteousness, and your feet shod in a readiness to the gospel of peace; in all things taking the shield of faith, wherewith you may quench all the fiery darts of that wicked one. And take unto you the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God.

"By these things it is plain, what are the wars of Christians, and what are the weapons of their warfare. And because it is manifest, that this testament is of greater perfection than the former, we must now fight more perfectly than at that time: for now spiritually, then corporally; now for a heavenly everlasting inheritance, then for an earthly and temporal; now by patience, then by resistance. For Christ saith, Blessed are they that suffer persecution for righteousness, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. He saith not, Blessed are they that fight for righteousness. How can a man say that they may lawfully make war and kill their brethren for the temporal goods, which peradventure they unjustly occupy, or unjustly intend to occupy? for he that killeth another to get those goods which another body unjustly occupieth, doth love more the very goods than his own brother; and then he, falling from charity, doth kill himself spiritually: if he go forward without charity to make war, then doth he evil, and to his own damnation. Wherefore he doth not lawfully nor justly in proceeding to the damnation of his own self and his brother, whom, though he see unjustly to occupy his goods, yet he doth intend to kill. And what if such kind of wars were lawful to the Jews? this argueth not that now they are lawful to Christians; because that their deeds were in a shadow of imperfection, but the deeds of Christians in the light of perfection. It was not said unto them, All people that shall take the sword, shall perish with the sword. What if John the Baptist disallowed corporal fightings, and corporal warfare, at such time as the soldiers asked him, saying, And what shall we do? who

saith to them, See that ye strike no man, neither pick ye quarrels against any, and be ye contented with your wages. This saying of John alloweth not corporal warfare amongst Christians; for John was of the priests of the Old Testament, and under the law; neither to him it appertained not to follow the law, but to warn the people to the perfect observation of the law: for he, being likewise demanded of the publicans what they should do, said unto them, Do no other thing than is appointed unto you. But Christ, the author of the New Testament, and of greater perfection than was the perfection of the old law, gave new things, as it plainly appeareth by the gospel; so that Christians ought to receive information of Christ, not of John. For of John also doth Christ speak, Verily I say unto you, there hath not risen amongst the children of men a greater than John Baptist; but he that is least in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he. In which saying Christ sheweth, that those that the least in the kingdom of heaven in the time of grace, are placed in greater perfection than was John, which was one of them that were the elders; and he lived also in the time of the law in greater perfection. And when certain of John's disciples said unto him, Master, he that was beyond Jordan, to whom thou gavest witness, behold, he baptizeth, and all people come unto him: John answered and said, A man cannot take upon him, unless it shall be given him from above. You yourselves do bear me record, that I said, I am not Christ, but that I was sent before him. He that hath the bride, is the bridegroom; as for the bridegroom's friend, who standeth and heareth him, he rejoiceth with great joy to hear the voice of the bridegroom. This therefore my joy is fulfilled; he must increase, and I must be diminished. He that cometh from on high, is above all; he that is of the earth is earthly, and speaketh of the earth: he that cometh from heaven, is above all folks; that which he hath seen and heard, the same doth he witness, and yet his witnessing doth nobody receive. But he that receiveth his witnessing, hath put to his seal, that God is true. For he whom God hath sent, speaketh the words of God.

"By which things it plainly appeareth, that credence is to be given neither to John, nor yet to an angel, if he teach any thing that is not agreeable to Christ's doctrine. For Christ is above the angels, because that God infinitely passeth them in wisdom. Now, if Moses the servant of God, a minister of the Old Testament., was so much to be believed, that nothing could be added, nor yet any thing diminished from the commandments that were given by him, (for so Moses had said, The thing that I command thee, that do thou only to the Lord, neither add thou any thing, nor diminish,) how much more ought we not to add nor to take away from the commandments given by God himself, and also the Son of God! In the primitive church, because the Christians had fervent love and charity, they observed these precepts as they were given; but their fervent charity afterward waxing lukewarm, they invented glosses by drawing the commandments of God hack to their own deeds, which they purposed to justify and maintain; that is to say, wars against the infidels. But that these, by wars, should be converted to the faith is a deed faithless enough: because that by violence, or unwillingly, nobody can believe in Christ, nor be made a Christian; neither did he come to destroy them by battle that believed not in him; for he said to his disciples, You know not what spirit you are of. The Son of man came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them. Then to grant pardons and forgiveness of sins to those that kill the infidels, is too much an infidel's fact, seducing many people; for what greater seducing can there be, than to promise to a man forgiveness of sins, and afterward the joy of heaven, for setting himself against Christ's commandments in the killing of infidels, that would not be converted to the faith? whereas Christ doth say, Not every one that saith to me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that doth the will of my Father which is in heaven, this person shall

enter into the kingdom of heaven. Now the will of the Father is, that we should believe in his only Son Jesus Christ, and that we should obey him by observing of those things which he himself hath commanded. Wherefore Christ's precepts of patience must be fulfilled; wars, fightings, and contentions must be left, because they are contrary to charity.

"But peradventure some man will thus reason against Christ: The saints, by whom God hath wrought miracles, do allow wars against the faithful people, as also against the infidels; and the holy kings were warriors, for whose sakes miracles also have been showed, as well in their death, as also in their life, yea, in the very time wherein they were at warfare: wherefore it seemeth that their facts were good and lawful; for, otherwise, God would not have done miracles for them.

"To this again I say, that we for no miracles must do contrary to the doctrine of Christ, for in it there can be no error; but in miracles there oftentimes chanceth error, as it is plain as well by the Old, as by the New Testament. God forbid then that a Christian should, for deceivable miracles, depart from the infallible doctrine of Christ. In Exodus, chap. vii., it is manifest, how that the wicked wise men of the Egyptians, through the enchantments of Egypt, and certain secret workings, threw their wands upon the earth, which were turned into dragons; even as Aaron, beforetime, in the presence of Pharaoh, threw his wand upon the earth, which, by the power of God, was turned into a serpent. In the first book of Kings, chap. xxii. 19, Micaiah did see the Lord sitting upon his throne, and all the host of heaven standing about him on the right hand and on the left. And the Lord said, Who shall deceive Ahab the king of Israel, that he may go up and be slain in Ramoth-gilead? And one said this way, and another otherwise. Now there went forth a spirit, and stood before the Lord, and said, I will deceive him. To whom the Lord spake; By what means? And he said, I will go forth, and be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophets. And the Lord said, Thou shalt deceive him and prevail; go thy ways forth, and do even so. Thus also it is written in Deuteronomy: If there shall arise a prophet amongst you, or one that shall say he hath seen a dream, and shall foretell a sign and a wonder; and if that shall come to pass that he hath spoken, and he shall say unto thee, Let us go and follow strange gods, whom thou knowest not, and let us serve them, thou shalt not hearken unto the words of that prophet, or dreamer; for the Lord your God tempteth you, to make it known whether ye love him, or no, with all your heart, and with all your soul.

"In Jeremiah, chap. xxiii.: Are not my words even like fire, saith the Lord? and like a hammer that breaketh the stone? Therefore, behold, I will come against the prophets which have dreamed a lie, (saith the Lord,) which have showed those things, and have seduced the people through their lies and their miracles, whenas I sent them not, neither commanded them; which have brought no profit unto this people, saith the Lord. In Mark, chap. xiii., saith Christ; For there shall arise false Christs and false prophets, and shall show great signs and wonders, to deceive, if it were possible, even the very elect. Paul, in his Second Epistle to the Corinthians, chap. xi.: Such false apostles are deceitful workers, transforming themselves into the apostles of Christ. And no marvel, for even Satan transformeth himself into an angel of light; therefore it is no great thing though his ministers transform themselves, as though they were the ministers of righteousness, whose end shall be according to their works.

"In the Apocalypse, chap. xiii., John saw a beast ascending up out of the earth, and it had two horns like a lamb, but he spake like the dragon, and he did all that the

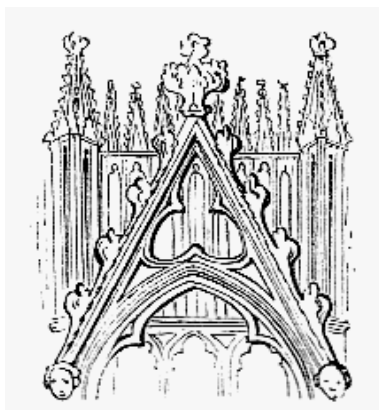
first beast could do before him; and he caused the earth and the inhabitants thereof to worship the first beast, whose deadly wound was healed, and did great wonders, so that he made fire come down from heaven on the earth, in the sight of men, and deceived them that dwelt on the earth, by means of the signs which were permitted him to do in the sight of the beast.

"By these things it is most manifest and plain, that in miracles this manifold error oftentimes happeneth, through the working of the devil, to deceive the people withal; wherefore we ought not, for the working of miracles, to depart from the commandments of God. I would to God that they which put confidence in miracles, would give heed unto the word of Christ, in the seventh chapter of Matthew, thus speaking: Many shall say unto me in that day, Lord, Lord, have we not in thy name prophesied? and in thy name cast out devils, and in thy name done many great works? &c. I will profess unto them, I never knew you, depart from me, all ye which work iniquity.

"By this saying it is most manifest that the servants of Christ are not discerned by working of miracles, but by the working of virtues, departing from iniquity, and obeying the commandments of God. Wherefore it is wonderful, that any in this life dare presume to prevent the day of the judgment of God, to judge by means of miracles, that some are saints, whom men ought to worship; whom, peradventure, God will in the last judgment condemn, saying, Depart from me, all ye which work iniquity. If any man could here on earth judge sinners to be condemned, then, if this judgment were certain, Christ should not judge the second time; and whatsoever such judges bind in earth, the same ought to be bound in heaven. But if such a judgment be uncertain, then it is perilous and full of deceit, when by it men on earth may, instead of saints, worship such as are damned with the fellowship of the devils, and in prayer require their aid, who, even like as the devils their companions, are more ready, and more of might, to evil than to good, more to hurt than to profit. I wonder they mark not what Christ said, when his kinswoman came unto him, desiring and requiring something of him, and saying, Command that these my two sons may sit one upon thy right hand, and the other upon thy left hand in thy kingdom. But Jesus answering, said, Ye know not what ye ask; can ye drink of the cup which I shall drink of? They said unto him, We can. He said unto them, Of my cup indeed ye shall drink but to sit at my right hand, or at my left, it is not mine to give, but unto whom it is prepared of my Father. Christ, being equal unto the Father according to his Godhead, and exceeding all manner of men according to his manhood, namely, in goodness and wisdom, said, To sit at my right hand, or at my left, is not mine to give, but unto whom it is prepared of my Father. If it were none of his to give, to sit at the right hand, or at the left, &c.; how then is it in the power of any sinful man to give unto any man a seat, either on the right hand, or on the left, in the kingdom of God, which sinful man knoweth not whether such have any seat prepared for them of the Father in his kingdom? They much extol themselves, which exercise this judicial power in giving judgment, that there are some saints which ought to be honoured of men, by reason of the evidences of dreams, or of deceitful miracles; of which men they are ignorant, whether God in his judgment will condemn them or not, together with the devils, for ever to be tormented. Let them beware, for the infallible truth saith, that every one that exalteth himself shall be brought low.

"By these things is gathered that the wars of Christians are not lawful; for that by the doctrine and life of Christ they are prohibited, and by reason of the evidence of the deceitful miracles of those which have made wars amongst the Christians, as well

against the Christians, as also against the infidels: because Christ could not err in his doctrine, forasmuch as he was God; and forasmuch as heaven and earth shall pass away, but the words of Christ shall not pass away. He, therefore, which establisheth his laws, allowing wars and the slaughter of men in war, as well of Christians as of infidels, doth he not justify those things which are contrary unto the gospel and law of Christ? Therefore in this he is against Christ, and therefore antichrist, seducing the people, making men believe that to be lawful and meritorious unto them, which is expressly prohibited by Christ."



and thus much concerning the first part, touching peace and war, wherein he declareth Christ and the pope to be contrary, that is, the one to be given all to peace, the other all to war, and so to prove, in conclusion, the pope to be antichrist: where, in the mean time, thou must understand, gentle reader, his meaning rightly; not that he so thinketh no kind of wars among the Christians in any case to be lawful, for he himself before hath openly protested the contrary; but that his purpose is to prove the pope, in all his doings and teachings, more to be addicted to war than to peace; yea, in such cases where is no necessity of war. And therein proveth he the pope to be contrary to Christ, that is, to be antichrist.

Now he proceedeth further to the second part, which is of mercy. In which part he sheweth how Christ teacheth us to be merciful, because mercy, as he saith, proceedeth from charity, and nourisheth it.

"In this doctrine of mercy, Christ breaketh not the law of righteousness, for he himself, by mercy, hath cleansed us from our sins, from which we could not by the righteousness of the law be cleansed. But whom he hath made clean by mercy, undoubtedly it behoveth those same to be also merciful; for in the 6th chapter of Matthew he saith, Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy. And again, in the 6th of Matthew, If ye forgive unto men their sins, your Father will forgive unto you your sins. And again, in the 7th chapter of Matthew, Judge not, and ye shall not be judged; condemn not, and ye shall not be condemned; and with what measure ye measure, with the same shall it be measured unto you again. In the 18th chapter of Matthew, Peter asked the Lord, saying, Lord, how often shall my brother sin against me, and I shall forgive him? seven times? Jesus said unto him, I say not unto thee seven times, but seventy times seven times. Therefore is the kingdom of heaven likened unto a certain king, which would take account of his servants. And when he had begun to reckon, one was brought unto him which oweth him ten thousand talents; and because he had nothing wherewithal to pay, his master commanded him to be sold, and his wife, and his children, and all that he had, and the debt to be paid. The servant therefore fell down, and besought him, saying, Have patience with me, and I will pay thee all. And the Lord had pity on that servant, and loosed him, and forgave him the debt. But when that servant was departed, he found one of his fellow servants, which owed him an hundred pence, and he laid hands on him, and took him by the throat, saying, Pay me that thou owest; and his fellow fell down, and besought him, saying, Have patience with me, and I will pay thee all. But he would not, but went and cast him into prison, till he should pay the debt. And when his other fellows

saw the things that were done, they were very sorry, and came and declared unto their master all that was done. Then his master called him, and said unto him, O thou ungracious servant, I forgave thee all that debt when thou desiredst me: oughtest thou not then also to have such pity on thy fellow, even as I had pity on thee? And his Lord was wroth, and delivered him unto the jailers, till he should pay all that was due unto him. So likewise shall my heavenly Father do unto you, except ye forgive from your hearts each one to his brother their trespasses.

"By this doctrine it is most plain and manifest, that every Christian ought to be merciful unto his brother, how often soever he offendeth against him; because we, so often as we offend, do ask mercy of God. Wherefore forasmuch as our offence against God is far more grievous than any offence of our brother against us, it is plain that it behoveth us to be merciful unto our brethren, if we will have mercy at God's hand. But, contrary to this doctrine of mercy, the Romish bishop maketh and confirmeth many laws which punish offenders even unto the death; as it is plain by the process of the decrees. It is declared and determined, that to kill men *ex officio*, that is, having authority and power so to do, is not sin; and again, The soldier which is obedient unto the higher power, and so killeth a man, is not guilty of murder; and again, He is the minister of the Lord, which smiteth the evil in that they are evil, and killeth them. And many other such-like things are, throughout the whole process of that question, determined: that for certain kinds of sins men ought, by the rigour of the law, to be punished even unto death. But the foundation of their saying they took out of the old law, in which, for divers transgressions were appointed divers punishments. It is very much wonderful unto me, why that wise men, being the authors and makers of laws, do always, for the foundation of their sayings, look upon the shadow of the law, and not the light of the gospel of Jesus Christ; for they give not heed unto the figure of perfection, nor yet unto the perfection figured. Is it not written in the 3rd of John, God sent not his Son into the world to judge the world, but to save the world by him? In John the 8th chapter, The scribes and Pharisees bring in a woman taken in adultery, and set her in the midst, and said unto Christ, Master, even now this woman was taken in adultery; but in the law, Moses hath commanded us to stone such: what sayest thou therefore? This they said to tempt him, that they might accuse him. But Jesus stooped down, and with his finger wrote on the ground. And while they continued asking him, he lift himself up, and said unto them, Let him that is among you without sin, cast the first stone at her. And again he stooped and wrote on the ground. And when they heard it, they went out one by one, beginning at the eldest: so Jesus was left alone, and the woman standing in the midst. When Jesus had lift up himself again, he said unto her, Where be they which accused thee? hath no man condemned thee? She said, No man, Lord. And Jesus said unto her, Neither do I condemn thee, go thy way, and sin no more.

"It is manifest by the Scriptures, that Christ was promised he should be King of the Jews, and unto the kings pertained the judgments of the law; but, because he came not to judge sinners according to the rigour of the law, but came according to grace, to save that which was lost, in calling the sinner to repentance; it is most plain, that in the coming of the law of grace, he would have the judgment of the law of righteousness to cease: for otherwise he had dealt unjustly with the aforesaid woman, forasmuch as the witnesses of her adultery bare witness against her. Wherefore, seeing the same King, Christ, was a judge, if it had been his will that the righteousness of the law should be observed, he ought to have adjudged the woman to death, according as the law commanded; which thing, forasmuch as he did not, it is most

evident that the judgments of the righteousness of the law are finished in the coming of the King, being King of the law of grace; even as the sacrifices of the priesthood of Aaron are finished in the coming of the Priest, according to the order of Melchisedec, who hath offered himself up for our sins; because, as it is before said, neither the righteousness of the law, nor sacrifices for sin, brought any man to perfection. Wherefore it was necessary that the same, by reason of their imperfection, should cease. And seeing, among all the laws of the world, the law of Moses was most just; forasmuch as the author thereof was God, who is the most just Judge; and by that law always look, what manner of injury one had done unto another, contrary to the commandment of the law, the like injury he should receive for his transgression, according to the upright judgment of the law; as death for death, a blow for a blow, burning for burning, wound for wound, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, and most just punishments were ordained according to the quantity of the sins. But if this law of righteousness be clean taken away in the coming of the law of grace, how then shall the law of the Gentiles remain among Christians, which was never so just? Is not this true, that in them which are converted unto the faith, there is no distinction between the Jew and the Grecian? For both are under sin, and are justified by grace in the faith of Christ, being called unto faith and unto the perfection of the gospel.

"If therefore the Gentiles converted are not bound to play the Jews, to follow the law of the Jews; why should the Jews converted follow the laws of the Gentiles, which are not so good? Wherefore it is to be wondered at, why thieves are, among Christians, for theft put to death, when after the law of Moses they were not put to death. Christians suffer adulterers to live, Sodomites, and they which curse father and mother, and many other horrible sinners; and they which according to the most just law of God were condemned to death, are not put to death. So we neither keep the law of righteousness given of God, nor the law of mercy taught by Christ.

"Wherefore the law-makers and judges do not give heed unto the aforesaid sentence of Christ unto the scribes and Pharisees, who said, He which amongst you is without sin, let him cast the first stone at her. What is he that dareth be so bold as to say he is without sin, yea, and without a grievous sin, when the transgression of the commandment of God is a grievous sin? And who can say that he never transgressed this commandment of God, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself; or the other commandment, which is of greater force, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, &c.? Wherefore thou, whatsoever thou art, that judgest thy brother unto death, thinkest thou that thou shalt escape the judgment of God, which peradventure hast offended more grievously than he hath whom thou judgest? How seest thou a mote in thy brother's eye, and seest not a beam in thine own eye? Knowest thou not that with what measure thou measurest, that same shall be measured to you again? Doth not the Scripture say, Unto me belongeth vengeance, and I will render again, saith the Lord? How can any man say that these men can with charity keep these judgments of death? Who is it that offendeth God, and desireth of God just judgment for his offence? He desireth not judgment, but mercy. If he desire mercy for himself, why desireth he vengeance for his brother offending? How therefore loveth he his brother as himself? Or how dost thou show mercy unto thy brother (as thou art bound by the commandment of Christ) which seekest the greatest vengeance upon him that thou canst infer unto him? for death is the most terrible thing of all, and a more grievous vengeance than death can no man infer. Wherefore, they which will keep charity, ought to observe the commandments of Christ touching mercy; and they which live in the law of charity, ought to leave the law of vengeance and judgments.

Ought we to believe that Christ in his coming, by grace, abrogated the most just law which he himself gave unto the children of Israel, by Moses's servant, and established the laws of the Gentiles, being not so just, to be observed of his faithful? Doth not Daniel expound the dream of Nebuchadnezzar the king, concerning the image, whose head was of gold, the breast and arms of silver, the belly and thighs of brass, the legs of iron, one part of the feet was of iron, and the other part of clay. Nebuchadnezzar saw that a stone was cut out of a mountain without hands, and struck the image in his feet of iron and of clay, and brake them to pieces. Then was the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver, and gold broken all together, and became like the chaff of the summer floor, which is carried away by the wind, and there was no place found for them; and the stone that smote the image became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth. He applieth therefore four kingdoms unto the four parts of the image, namely, the kingdom of the Babylonians unto the head of gold; the kingdom of the Medes and Persians unto the breast and arms of silver; the kingdom of the Grecians unto the belly and thighs of brass; but the fourth kingdom, which is of the Romans, he applieth unto the feet and legs of iron. And Daniel addeth, In the days of their kingdoms shall God raise up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed: and his kingdom shall not be delivered unto another, but it shall break and destroy those kingdoms; and it shall stand for ever, according as thou sawest, that the stone was cut out of the mountain without hands, and brake in pieces the clay, and iron, brass, silver, and gold. Seeing therefore it is certain that this stone signifieth Christ, whose kingdom is for ever; it is also a thing most assured, that he ought to reign every where, and to break in pieces the other kingdoms of the world. Wherefore if terrestrial kings, and the terrestrial kingdom of the Jews, and their laws and judgments, have ceased by Christ the King calling the Jews unto the perfection of his gospel, namely, unto faith and charity; it is not to be doubted, but that the kingdom of the Gentiles, which is more imperfect, and their laws, ought to cease among the Gentiles, departing from their Gentility unto the perfection of the gospel of Jesus Christ. For there is no distinction between the Jews and Gentiles being converted unto the faith of Christ; but all of them, abiding in that eternal kingdom, ought to be under one law of charity and of virtue. Therefore they ought to have mercy, and to leave the judgments of death, and the desire of vengeance. Wherefore they which do make laws mark not the parable of Christ, saying, The kingdom of heaven is like unto a man which sowed good seed in his field; but when men were asleep, the enemy came and sowed tares in the midst of the wheat, and went his way. But when the herb was grown and brought forth fruit, then appeared the tares. And the servants came unto the good man of the house, and said unto him, Lord, didst not thou sow good seed in thy field? from whence then come these tares? And he said unto them, The enemy hath done this. And the servants said unto him, Wilt thou that we go and gather them up? And he said, No, lest peradventure gathering up the tares ye pluck up the wheat by the roots; suffer them both to grow until the harvest, and in the time of the harvest I will say unto the harvestmen, Gather first the tares and bind them in bundles, that they may be burnt, but gather the wheat into my barn. Christ himself only expoundeth this parable in the selfsame chapter, saying, He which soweth the good seed is the Son of man, but the field is the world, and the good seed, those are the children of the kingdom. But the tares are the naughty children. And the enemy which soweth them is the devil. And the harvest is the end of the world; and the harvestmen are the angels. Even as therefore the tares are gathered and burnt with fire, so shall it be in the end of the world. The Son of man shall send his angels, and they shall gather out of his kingdom

all offenders, and those which commit iniquity, and shall put them into a furnace of fire; there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.

"By which plain doctrine it is manifest, that Christ will have mercy showed unto sinners, even unto the end of the world, and will have them to remain mingled with the good; lest peradventure, when a man thinketh that he doth right well to take away the tares, he taketh away the wheat. For how great a sinner soever a man be, we know not whether his end shall be good, and whether in the end he shall obtain mercy of God; neither are we certain of the time, wherein God will by grace judge him whom we abhor as a sinner. And peradventure such a one shall more profit after his conversion in the church, than he whom we think to be just, as it came to pass in Paul. And if God justifieth a man by grace, although at his end, why darest thou be so bold to be his judge, and to condemn him? Yea rather, although a man seem to be obstinate and hardened in his evil, so that he is not corrected by a secret correction, correct him before one alone; if he do not receive open correction, being done before two or three witnesses; neither passeth upon a manifest correction when his sin is made known unto the church; Christ doth not teach to punish such a one with the punishment of death. Yea rather, he saith, If he hearken not unto the church, let him be unto thee as an ethnic and publican. And Paul, following this doctrine in 1 Cor. v., saith, There goeth a common saying, that there is fornication among you, and such fornication as is not once named among the Gentiles, that one should have his father's wife. And ye are puffed up, and have not rather sorrowed, that he which hath done this deed might be put from among you. For I, verily, as absent in body, but present in spirit, have already determined, as though I were present, that he which hath done this thing, when ye are gathered together, and my spirit, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that such a one, by the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, be delivered unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus. Paul teacheth not to kill this man, as some gather by this text, but to separate him from the other faithful, and so from Christ, which is the Head of the church of the faithful; and so is he delivered unto Satan, which is separated from Christ, that the flesh may be killed, that is, that the carnal concupiscence, whereby he luxuriously lusted after the wife of his father, may be destroyed in him by such a separation, that the spirit may be saved, and not that his body should be killed, as some say; as it is most manifest in the same chapter, where he saith, I wrote unto you an epistle, that you should not keep company with fornicators; and I meant not of all the fornicators of this world, either of the covetous, or extortioners, or idolaters, for then must ye needs have gone out of the world. But now I have written unto you, that ye keep not company together; if any that is called a brother be a fornicator, or covetous person, or a worshipper of images, either a cursed speaker, or drunkard, or an extortioner: with him that is such, see that ye eat not.

"By which it is manifest, that Paul would have the aforesaid fornicator separated from the fellowship of the faithful; that his carnal concupiscence might be mortified, for the health of the spirit, and not that the body should be killed: wherefore they do ill understand Paul, which by this saying do confirm the killing of men. And forasmuch as heresy is one of the most grievous sins, (for a heretic leadeth men in errors, whereby they are made to stray from faith, without which they cannot be saved,) it doth most great hurt in the church.

"Further, as concerning such a wicked man, Paul thus speaketh, Flee from the man that is a heretic after the first and second correction, knowing that such a one is subverted and sinneth, forasmuch as he is by his own judgment condemned. Behold,

Paul teacheth not to kill this man, but with Christ to separate him from the fellowship of the faithful. But some say, that Peter, in the primitive church, slew Ananias and Sapphira for their sins: wherefore, they say, it is lawful for them to condemn wicked men to death. We will declare, in showing the whole process, how falsely they speak in alleging of Peter, to justify their error.

"In the 4th chapter of the Acts it is written, that as many as were possessors of lands or houses, they sold them, and offered the prices of that which they sold, and laid it before the feet of the apostles; and it was divided unto every one as he had need thereof. But a certain man, called Ananias, with Sapphira his wife, sold a piece of land, and kept back a part of the price of the field, his wife being privy unto it; and bringing a certain part thereof, he laid it at the feet of the apostles. But Peter said unto Ananias, Ananias, why hath Satan tempted thy heart, that thou shouldest lie unto the Holy Ghost, to keep back a part of the price of the land? Did it not, whilst it remained, remain unto thee; and being sold, was it not in thine own power? why hast thou conceived this thing in thine heart? Thou hast not lied unto men, but unto God. And when Ananias heard these words, he fell down and gave up the ghost, and great fear came on all them that heard these things. And the young men rose up and took him up, and carried him out, and buried him. And it came to pass, about the space of three hours after, that his wife came in, being ignorant of that which was done. And Peter said unto her, Tell me, woman, sold ye the land for so much? And she said, Yea, for so much. But Peter said unto her, Why have ye agreed together to tempt the Spirit of the Lord? Behold, the feet of them which buried thy husband are at the door, and shall carry thee out. And straightway she fell down before his feet, and gave up the ghost; and the young men entering in, found her dead, and they carried her out, and buried her by her husband. And great fear came on all the church, and all those which heard these things. It is marvel that any man that is wise will say that by this process Peter slew Ananias or his wife. For it was not his act, but the act of God, who made a wedding to his Son, and sent his servants to call them that were bidden unto the wedding, and they would not come. The king then sent forth his servants to the out-corners of the highways, to gather all that they could find, both good and evil, and so they did; and the marriage was full furnished with guests. Then came in also the king to view and see them sitting; among whom he perceived there one sitting, having not a wedding garment, and saith unto him, Friend, how earnest thou hither? And he being dumb had not a word to speak. Then said the king to the servitors, Take and bind him hand and foot, and cast him into the outward darkness; there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth. Many there be called, but few chosen.

"It is manifest, that this wedding garment is charity, without which because Ananias entered into the marriage of Christ, he was given to death, that by one many might be informed to learn and understand, that they which have faith and not charity, although they appear to men to have, yet it cannot be privy to the Spirit of God, that they do feign. Such there are, no doubt, but they shall be excluded from the marriage of Christ, as we see this here exemplified in the death of Ananias and his wife by the hand of God, and not by the hand of Peter. And how should Peter then have judged Ananias (albeit he had judged him) worthy of death by the rigour of the old law? For why? by the law he had not been guilty of death, for that part which they fraudulently and dissemblingly did reserve to themselves: yea, and if they had stolen as much from another man, which was greater, neither yet for his lie committed, he had not therefore, by that law of justice, been found guilty of death. Wherefore, if he did not condemn him by the law of justice, it appeareth that he condemned him by the law of

grace and mercy, which he learned of Christ: and so, consequently, it followeth much more apparent, that Peter could not put him to death. Furthermore, to say that Peter put him to death by the mere motion of his own will, and not by the authority of the old law, nor by the new, it were derogatory and slanderous to the good fame and name of Peter. But if Peter did kill him, why then doth the bishop of Rome, which pretendeth to be the successor of Peter, excuse himself and his priests from the judgment of death against heretics and other offenders, although they themselves be consenting to such judgments done by laymen? For that which was done of Peter without offence, may reasonably excuse him and his fellow priests from the spot of crime, Acts v.

"It is manifest that there was another which did more grievously offend than Ananias, and that Peter rebuked him with more sharp words; but yet he commanded him not so to be put to death. For Simon Magus also remaining at Samaria, after that he believed and was baptized, he joined himself with Philip; and when he saw that the Holy Spirit was given by the apostles, (laying their hands upon men,) he offered them money, saying, Give unto me this power, that upon whomsoever I shall lay my hand, he shall receive the Holy Ghost. To whom Peter answered, Destroyed be thou and thy money together; and for that thou supposest the gift of God to be bought with money, thou shalt have neither part nor fellowship in this doctrine. Thy heart is not pure before God, therefore repent thee of thy wickedness, and pray unto God that this wicked thought of thy heart may be forgiven thee; for I perceive thou art even in the bitter gall of wickedness, and band of iniquity. Behold here the grievous offence of Simon Peter's hard and sharp rebuking of him, and yet thereupon he was not put to death. Whereby it appeareth that the death of Ananias, aforesaid, proceeded of God and not of Peter. Of all these things it is to be gathered, seeing the judgments of death are not grounded upon the express and plain Scriptures, but only under the shadow of the old law, that they are not to be observed of Christians, because they are contrary to charity. Ergo, the bishop of Rome, approving such judgments, alloweth those that are contrary to the law and doctrine of Christ; as before is said of wars, where he approveth and justifieth that which is contrary to charity. The order of priesthood, albeit it doth justify the judgments to death of the laity, whereby offenders are condemned to die, yet are they themselves forbidden to put in execution the same judgments. The priests of the old law, being imperfect, when Pilate said unto them concerning Christ, whom they had accused worthy of death, Take him unto you, and according to your law judge him, answered, That it was not lawful for them to put to death any man.

" Whereby it appeareth, that our priests, being much more perfect, may not lawfully give judgment of death against any offenders: yet, notwithstanding, they claim unto them the power judicial upon offenders; because, say they, it belongeth unto them to know the offences by the auricular confession of the offenders, and to judge upon the same being known, and to enjoin divers penances unto the parties offending, according to the quantity of their offences committed, so that the sinner may make satisfaction, say they, unto God, for the offences which he never committed. And to confirm unto them this judicial power, they allege the Scripture in many places, wresting it to serve their purpose.

"First, They say that the bishop of Rome (who is the chief priest and judge among them) hath full power and authority to remit sins. Whereupon they say, that he is able fully and wholly to absolve a man; so that if a man at the time of his death had this remission, he should straightways fly unto heaven without any pain of purgatory.

The other bishops, as they say, have not so great authority. The priests constituted under every bishop, have power, say they, to absolve the sins of them that are confessed, but not all kind of sins: because there are some grievous sins reserved to the absolutions of the bishops; and some again to the absolution only of the chief and high bishop. They say also, that it behoveth the offenders, for the necessity of their souls' health, to call to remembrance their offences, and to manifest the same, with all the circumstances thereof, unto the priest in auricular confession, supplying the place of God, after the manner of a judge; and afterward humbly to fulfil the penance enjoined unto him by the priest for his sins, except the said penance so enjoined, or any part thereof, be released by the superior power. All these things, say they, are manifestly determined, as well in the decrees as decretals. And although these things have not expressly their foundation in the plain and manifest doctrine of Christ, nor any of the apostles, yet the authors of the decrees and decretals concerning this matter, have grounded the same upon divers places of the Scriptures, as in the process of Christ in the Gospel of St. Matthew, chap. xvi. Whereupon they ground the pope's power judicial, to surmount the powers of other priests; as where Christ said unto his disciples, Whom do men say that I am? And they answered, Some say thou art John Baptist, some Elias, and some Jeremias, or one of the prophets. To whom he said, But who say you that I am? Simon Peter making answer, said, Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God. And Jesus answered and said unto him, Blessed art thou, Simon the son of Jonas; for flesh and blood hath not opened this unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven. And I say unto thee, That thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church, and hell-gates shall not prevail against it. And I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, shall also be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose upon earth, shall be loosed also in heaven.

"Out of this text of Christ, divers expositors have drawn divers errors. For when Christ said, And I say unto thee, That thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church: some thereupon affirm that Christ meant he would build his church upon Peter, by authority of that text, as it is written in the first part of the decrees. The exposition hereof is ascribed to Pope Leo; the error whereof is manifestly known. For the church of Christ is not builded upon Peter, but upon the rock of Peter's confession, for that he said, Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God. And for that Christ said singularly unto Peter, I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind, &c. By this saying they affirm, that Christ gave unto Peter specially, as chief of the rest of the apostles, a larger power to bind and to loose, than he did unto the rest of the apostles and disciples. And because Peter answered for himself and all the apostles, not only confessing the faith which he had chiefly above the rest, but also the faith which the rest of the apostles had even as himself, by the revelation of the heavenly Father; it appeareth that as the faith of all the apostles was declared by the answer of one; so by this that Christ said unto Peter, Whatsoever thou shalt bind, &c., is given unto the rest of the apostles the same power and equality to bind and to loose, as unto Peter. Which Christ declareth in the Gospel of St. Matthew, chap. xviii., in these words: Verily I say unto you, what things soever you shall bind upon earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever you shall loose upon earth, shall be also loosed in heaven. And further he addeth: And again I say unto you, that if two of you shall consent upon earth, and request, whatsoever it be, it shall be granted unto you of my Father which is in heaven. For when two or three be gathered together in my name, I am there in the midst of them. And in John, chap. xx., he saith generally

unto them, Receive ye my Spirit. Whose sins ye shall remit, shall be remitted unto them; and whose sins you shall retain, shall be retained.

"By this it appeareth that the power to bind and to loose is not specially granted to Peter, as chief and head of the rest, and that by him the rest had their power to bind and to loose; for that the head of the body of the church is one, which is Christ, and the head of Christ is God. Peter and the rest of the apostles are the good members of the body of Christ, receiving power and virtue of Christ; whereby they do confirm and glue together the other members, (as well the strong and noble, as the weak and unable,) to a perfect composition and seemliness of the body of Christ; that all honour from all parts and members may be given unto Christ as head and chief, by whom, as head, all the members are governed. And therefore Paul, 1 Cor. iii.: When one man saith, I hold of Paul, and another saith, I hold of Apollos, are ye not carnal men? For what is Apollos? what is Paul? The minister of him in whom ye have believed, and he, as God, giveth unto every man. I have planted, Apollos hath watered, but God hath given the increase. Therefore neither he that planteth is any thing, neither he that watereth, but God that giveth the increase. And Paul to the Galatians, chap. ii.: God hath no respect of persons. Those that seemed to be great and do much, availed or profited me nothing at all; but, contrariwise, when they saw that the gospel of the uncircumcision was committed unto me, as the circumcision unto Peter, for he that wrought with Peter in the apostleship of the circumcision, wrought with me also among the Gentiles; and when they knew the grace which was given me, Peter, James, and John straightways joined themselves with me and Barnabas; that we among the Gentiles, and they in circumcision only, might be mindful of the poor, the which to do I was very careful. Hereby it appeareth, that Paul had not his authority of Peter to convert the Gentiles, to baptize them, and to remit their sins, but of him which said unto him, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? It is hard for thee to kick against the pricks. Here is Paul the head of the church, and not Peter; by which head they say, that all the members are sustained and made lively.

"The third error which the authors of the canons conceive in the said text of Christ, which was said to Peter, Unto thee will I give the keys, is this. They say that in this sentence which was said to Peter, of the authority to bind and loose, was meant, that as Christ gave unto Peter, above all the rest of the apostles, a special, and as it were an excellent power above all the apostles; even so, say they, he gave power unto the bishops of Rome, whom they call Peter's chief successors, the same special power and authority, exceeding the power of all other bishops of the world.

"The first part of this similitude and comparison doth appear manifestly by the premises to be erroneous; wherein is plainly showed, that the other apostles had equal power with Peter to bind and loose. Wherefore consequently it followeth the second part of the similitude, grounded upon the same text, to be also erroneous. But and if the first part of the said similitude were truth, as it is not, yet the second part must needs be an error, wherein is said, that the bishops of Rome are Peter's chief successors. For although there be but one catholic Christian church of all the faithful sort converted, yet the first part thereof, and first converted, was of the Jews, the second of the Greeks, and the third part was of the Romans or Latins: whereof the first part was most perfectly converted unto the faith, for that they faithfully observed the perfection of charity, as appeareth in the Acts of the Apostles, chap. ii., by the multitude of the believers. They were of one heart and one soul, neither called they any thing that they possessed their own, but all was common amongst them.

"Hereupon Paul to the Romans, chap. i.: Salutation to every believer, first to the Jew, and to the Greeks after the Jews. The Greeks were the second, and after the Jews next converted; and after them the Romans, taking their information of the Greeks, as appeareth by the chronicles, although indeed some Romans were converted unto the faith by Peter and Paul; and as Christ said thrice unto Peter, Feed my sheep, so Peter ruled these three churches, as witnesseth the chronicles. But first he reformed the church of the Jews in Jerusalem and Judea, as appeareth by the testimony of the Acts of the Apostles; for, chap. i., it is manifest how Peter, standing up amongst his brethren, spake unto them concerning the election of an apostle in the place of Judas the traitor, alleging places unto them out of the Scripture, that another should take upon him his apostleship: and so by lot was Matthias constituted in the twelfth place of Judas. Acts ii., after that the Holy Ghost was come upon the apostles, and that they spake with the tongues of all men, the hearers were astonished at the miracle; and some mocked them, saying, These men are full of new wine: but Peter stood up and spake unto them, saying, That it was fulfilled in them that was prophesied by Joel the prophet. And he preached unto the people Christ, whom they of ignorance had put to death; to whom was a Saviour promised by the testimony of the prophets. And when they heard the words of Peter, they were pricked at the heart, saying unto him and the rest of the apostles, What shall we then do? And Peter said unto them, Repent, and let every one of you be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of your sins, and ye shall receive the Holy Ghost. And there were joined unto them the same day about three thousand souls. And Acts iii. — v., it appeareth that Peter, above the rest, did those things which belonged to the ministry of the apostleship, as well in preaching as in answering. Whereupon some chronicles say, that Peter governed the church of the Jews at Jerusalem four years before he governed Antioch. And by the testimony of Paul to the Galatians, chap. ii., as before is said, the gospel of the uncircumcision is committed to Paul, even as the circumcision to Peter; and he that wrought with Peter in the apostleship of circumcision, wrought with Paul amongst the Gentiles; whereby it appeareth that the church of the Jews was committed to the government of Peter. And in the process of the Acts of the Apostles it appeareth, that Peter believed that the faith of Christ was not to be preached unto those Gentiles, which always lived in uncleanness of idolatry. But when Peter was at Joppa, Cornelius, a Gentile, sent unto him that he would come and show him the way of life: but Peter, a little before the coming of the messengers of Cornelius, being in his chamber, after he had prayed, fell in a trance, and saw heaven open, and a certain vessel descending even as a great sheet, letten down by four corners from heaven to earth; in the which were all manner of four-footed beasts, serpents of the earth, and fowls of the air. And a voice spake unto him, saying, Arise, Peter, kill and eat: and Peter said, Not so, Lord, because I have never eaten any common or unclean thing. This was done thrice. And Peter descended, not knowing what the vision did signify, and found the messengers of Cornelius.

"As concerning the authority judicial of the clergy, many things are written thereof in the canons of decrees greatly to be marvelled at, and far from the truth of the Scripture. The authors of the canons say, that Christ gave unto the priests power judicial over sinners that confessed their sins unto them. And this they ground upon the text of Christ, I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou loosest, &c. And these keys of the kingdom of heaven they call the knowledge to discern, and the power to judge, which they say only belongeth to the priests, except in case of necessity; then they say a layman may absolve a man from sin. And as touching absolution, they say there are three things to be required on the

sinner's part: first, hearty contrition, whereby the sinner ought to bewail his offending of God through sins. The second is, auricular confession, whereby the sinner ought to show unto the priest his sins, and the circumstances of them. The third is, satisfaction through penance enjoined unto him by the priest for his sins committed. And of his part that giveth absolution there are two things, say they, to be required: that is to say, knowledge to discern one sin from another; whereby he ought to make a difference of sins, and appoint a convenient penance, according to the quantity of the sins. The second is, authority to judge, whereby he ought to enjoin penance to the offender. And further they say, that he that is confessed ought with all humility to submit himself to this authority, and wholly and voluntarily to do those penances which are commanded him by the priest, except the said penance be released by a superior power; for all priests, as they say, have not equal authority to absolve sins. The chief priest, whom they call Peter's successor, hath power fully and wholly to absolve. But the inferior priests have power, some more, some less. The more, as they are near him in dignity; the less, as they are further from the degree of his dignity. All this is declared by process in the decrees, but not by the express doctrine of Christ, or of any of his apostles; for although Christ absolved men from their sins, I do not find that he did it after the manner of a judge, but of a Saviour. For Christ saith, God sent not his Son into the world to judge sinners, but that the world should be saved by him, John iii. Whereupon he spake unto him whom he healed of the palsy, Behold, thou art made whole, go thy ways and sin no more: and to the woman taken in adultery Christ said, Woman, where be thy accusers? hath no man condemned thee? who said, No man, Lord. To whom then Jesus thus said, No more will I condemn thee; go, and sin no more, John v.

"By which words and deeds of Christ, and many other places of the Scripture, it appeareth he was not, as a judge, at his first coming, to punish sinners according to the quantity of their offences; but that day shall come hereafter, wherein he shall judge all men, according to their works, as in Matt. xxv., where he saith, When the Son of man shall come in his majesty, and all his angels with him, then shall he sit upon the seat of his majesty, and all nations shall be gathered together before him, and he shall separate them one from another, as a shepherd separateth the sheep from the goats, &c. Neither shall he judge alone, but his saints also with him: for he saith, You that have followed me in this generation, when the Son of man shall sit in the seat of his majesty, shall sit also upon twelve seats, and judge the twelve tribes of Israel. If then Christ came not as a judge, why do the priests say, that they supply the room of Christ on earth, to judge sinners according to the quantity of their offences? And yet not only this, but it is more to be marvelled at, how the bishop of Rome dareth to take upon him to be a judge before the day of judgment, and to prevent the time, judging some to be saints in heaven, and to be honoured of men, and some again to be tormented in hell eternally with the devils. Would God these men would weigh the saying of St. Paul, 1 Cor. iv., Judge ye not before the time until the coming of the Lord, who shall make light the dark and secret places, and disclose the secrets of hearts, and then every one shall have his praise. Let the bishop of Rome take heed, lest that in Ezekiel be spoken of him, Because thy heart is elevate, and thou saidst unto thyself, I am God, I have sitten in the seat of God, and in the heart of the sea, when thou art but man, and not God. It is manifest that the remission of sins principally belongeth to God, who, through grace, washeth away our sins. For it is said, The Lamb of God taketh away the sins of the world. And unto Christians it belongeth as the ministers of God. For in John xx. Christ saith, Receive unto you the Holy Ghost; whose sins you shall remit, they are remitted unto them; and whose sins

you shall retain, they are retained. Seeing, therefore, that all Christians that are baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, receive the Holy Ghost, it appeareth that they have power given to them of Christ, to remit sins ministerially. Hath not every Christian (according to the principles and practice of the Church of Rome) authority to baptize? and in the baptism all the sins of the baptized are remitted. Ergo, they that do baptize do remit sins. And thus ministerially all such have power to remit sins. I pray you, how are the sins remitted him that is baptized of the priest, (yea, although he were of the pope himself baptized,) more than if he were baptized of another Christian? Surely I think no more. For seeing that before baptism he remaineth a sinner, and of the kingdom of the devil by sin, after baptism he entereth into the kingdom of heaven; it appeareth that he that doth baptize, openeth the gate of the kingdom of heaven to him that is baptized, the which he cannot do without the keys of the kingdom of heaven. Therefore every one that doth baptize, hath the keys of the kingdom of heaven; as well the inferior priest, as the pope. But these keys are not the knowledge to discern, and power to judge, because these do nothing avail in baptism. Ergo, there are other keys of the kingdom of heaven than these. Wherefore it seemeth that the authors of the canons erred in mistaking the keys, whereupon they ground the authority judicial of the clergy.

"Now a little error in the beginning granted, groweth to great inconvenience in the end. Wherefore, in my judgment, it seemeth that the keys of the kingdom of heaven are faith and hope. For by faith in Jesus Christ, and hope in him for the remission of sins, we enter the kingdom of heaven. This faith is a spiritual water, springing from Jesus Christ the fountain of wisdom, wherein the soul of the sinner is washed from sin. With this water were the faithful patriarchs baptized before the law; and the faithful people of the Hebrews, and the faithful Christians, after the law. Wherefore I greatly marvel at that saying in the decrees, which is ascribed unto Augustine, that little children that are not baptized shall be tormented with eternal fire, although they were born of faithful parents, that wished them with all their hearts to have been baptized: as though the sacrament of baptism in water were simply necessary to salvation, when nevertheless many Christians are saved without this kind of baptism, as martyrs. If that kind of sacrament be not necessary to one of elder years, how then is it necessary to an infant born of the faithful? Are not all baptized with the Holy Ghost, and with fire? but yet not with material fire; no more is the lotion of water corporally necessary to wash away sins, but only spiritual water, that is to say, the water of faith. Are not the quick baptized for them that are dead? as witnesseth Paul, 1 Cor. xv., If the dead rise not at all, why are the living then baptized for them? If the living be baptized for the dead, why then is not the infant saved by the baptism of his parents; seeing the infant itself is impotent at the time of death, and not able to require baptism? Christ saith, He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved. He saith not, he that is not baptized, but he that believeth not, shall be damned. Wherefore in the 12th chapter of John Christ saith, I am the resurrection and life; he that believeth in me, yea, although he were dead, shall live. The faith, therefore, is necessary which the infant hath in his faithful parents, although he be not washed with corporal water. How then is the infant damned and tormented with eternal fire? Were not they that were before the coming of Christ, and dead before his death by a thousand years, saved also by his death and passion? All that believed in him were baptized in his blood, and so were saved and redeemed from sin and the bondage of the devil, and made partakers of the kingdom of heaven. How then in the time of grace shall the infant be damned that is born of faithful parents, that do not despise, but rather desire, to have their children baptized? I dare not consent to so hard a

sentence of the decrees; but rather believe that he is saved by virtue of the passion of Christ in faith of his faithful parents, and the hope which they have in Christ; which faith and hope are the keys of the heavenly kingdom. God were not just and merciful, if he would condemn a man that believeth not in him, except he showed unto him the faith which he ought to believe. And therefore Christ saith, If I had not come and spoken unto them, sin could not have been laid unto their charge, but now they have no excuse of sin. Therefore seeing the faith of Christ is not manifest unto the infant departing before baptism, neither hath he denied it, how then shall he be damned for the same? But if God speaketh inwardly by way of illumination of the intelligence of the infant, as he speaketh unto angels, who then knoweth (save God alone) whether the infant receiveth or not receiveth the faith of Christ? What is he, therefore, that so rashly doth take upon him to judge the infants begotten of faithful parents dying without baptism, to be tormented with eternal fire?

"Now let us consider the three things which the canons of decrees affirm to be requisite for the remission of the sins of those that sin after baptism; that is to say, contrition of heart, auricular confession, and satisfaction for the deed through penance enjoined by the priest for the sins committed. I cannot find in any place in the gospel, where Christ commanded that this kind of confession should be done unto the priest; nor can I find that Christ assigned any penance unto sinners for their sins, but that he willed them to sin no more. If a sinner confess that he hath offended God through sin, and sorroweth heartily for his offences, minding hereafter no more to sin, then is he truly repentant for his sin, and then he is converted unto the Lord. If he shall then, humbly and with good hope, crave mercy at God and remission of his sins, what is he that can let God to absolve that sinner from his sin? And as God absolveth a sinner from his sin, so hath Christ absolved many, although they confessed not their sins unto the priests, and although they received not due penance for their sins. And if Christ could, after that manner, once absolve sinners, how is he become now not able to absolve, except some man will say that he is above Christ, and that his power is minished by the ordinances of his own laws? How were sinners absolved of God in the time of the apostles, and always heretofore, unto the time that these canons were made? I speak not these things as though confession to priests were wicked, but that it is not of necessity requisite unto salvation. I believe verily that the confession of sins unto good priests, and likewise to other faithful Christians, is good, as witnesseth St. James the apostle: Confess ye yourselves one to another, and pray ye one for another, that ye may be saved; for the continual fervent prayer of the just availeth much. Elias was a man that suffered many things like unto you, and he prayed that it should not rain upon the earth, and it rained not in three years and six months. And again he prayed, and it rained from heaven, and the earth yielded forth her fruit. This kind of confession is good, profitable, and expedient; for if God peradventure heareth not a man's own prayer, he is helped with the intercession of others. Yet, nevertheless, the prayers of the priests seem too much to be extolled in the decrees, where they treat of penitence, and that saying is ascribed unto Pope Leo, dist. 1. cap. *Multiplex misericordiæ Dei*, &c. And it followeth, So is it ordained by the providence of God's divine will, that the mercy of God cannot be obtained but by the prayer of the priests, &c. The prayer of a good priest doth much avail a sinner, confessing his faults unto him. The counsel of a discreet priest is very profitable for a sinner, to give the sinner counsel to beware hereafter to sin, and to instruct him how he shall punish his body by fasting, by watching, and such-like acts of repentance, that hereafter he may be better preserved from sin.

"After this manner I esteem confession to priests very expedient and profitable to a sinner. But to confess sins unto the priest as unto a judge, and to receive of him corporal penance as a satisfaction unto God for his sins committed; I see not how this can be founded upon the truth of the Scripture. For before the coming of Christ, no man was sufficient or able to make satisfaction unto God for his sins, although he suffered never so much penance for his sins. And therefore it was needful that he that was without sin, should be punished for sins, as witnesseth Isaiah, chap. liii. 4, where he saith, He took our griefs upon him, and our sorrows he bare. And again, He was wounded for our iniquities, and vexed for our wickedness. And again, The Lord put upon him our iniquity. And again, For the wickedness of my people have I stricken him. If, therefore, Christ through his passion hath made satisfaction for our sins, whereas we ourselves were unable to do it; then through him have we grace and remission of sins. How can we say now, that we are sufficient to make satisfaction unto God by any penance enjoined unto us by man's authority, seeing that our sins are more grievous after baptism, than they were before the coming of Christ? Therefore, as in baptism the pain of Christ in his passion was a full satisfaction for our sins; even so after baptism, if we confess that we have offended, and be heartily sorry for our sins, and mind not to sin again afterwards.

"Hereupon John writeth in his First Epistle, chap. i. 8: If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us. If we confess our sins, God is faithful and just, he will remit them, and cleanse us from all our iniquities. If we say we have not sinned, we make him a liar, and his word is not in us. My well-beloved children, thus I write unto you, that ye sin not; but if any man sin, we have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous, and he is the propitiation for our sins; and not for our sins only, but for the sins of the whole world. Therefore we ought to confess ourselves chiefly unto God, even from the heart, for that he chiefly doth remit sins, without whose absolution little availeth the absolution of man. This kind of confession is profitable and good. The authors of the canons say, that although auricular confession made unto the priest be not expressly taught by Christ, yet, say they, it is taught in that saying which Christ said unto the diseased of the leprosy, whom he commanded, Go your ways and show yourselves unto the priests; because, as they say, the law of cleansing lepers, which was given by Moses, signified the confession of sins unto the priest. And whereas Christ commanded the lepers to show themselves unto the priests, they say, that Christ meant, that those that were unclean with the leprosy of sin, should show their sins unto the priests by auricular confession. I marvel much at the authors of the canons; for, even from the beginning of their decrees unto the end, they ground their sayings upon the old law, which was the law of sin and death, and not (as witnesseth Paul) upon the words of Christ, which are spirit and life. Christ saith, The words which I speak unto you, are spirit and life. They ground their sayings in the shadow of the law, and not in the light of Christ. For every evil-doer hateth the light, and cometh not unto it, that his deeds be not reproved; but he that doth the truth, cometh into the light, that his works may be openly seen, because they are done in God, John iii. 20, 21.

"Now let us pass to the words that Christ spake to the leper: Lord, if thou wilt, thou canst make me clean. And Jesus stretching forth his hand touched him, saying, I will, be thou clean; and straightways he was cleansed of his leprosy. And Jesus said unto him, See thou tell no man, but go and show thyself to the priests, and offer the gifts that Moses commanded for a witness of these things. This Gospel witnesseth plainly, that the diseased of the lepers were cleansed only by Christ, and not by the

priests: neither did Christ command the leper to show himself unto the priests, for any help of cleansing that he should receive of the priests; but to fulfil the law of Moses, in offering a sacrifice for his cleansing, and for a testimony unto the priests, who always of envy accused Christ as a transgressor of the law. For if Christ, after he had cleansed the leper, had licensed him to communicate with others that were clean, before he had showed himself cleansed unto the priests, then might the priests have accused Christ as a transgressor of the law; because it was a precept of the law, that the leper, after he was cleansed, should show himself unto the priests. And they had signs in the book of the law, whereby they might judge whether he were truly cleansed or no. And if he were cleansed, then would the priests offer a gift for his cleansing; and if he were not cleansed, then would they segregate him from the company of others that were clean. Seeing every figure ought to be assimilated unto the thing that is figured, I pray you then what agreement is there between the cleansing of lepers by the law, and the confession of sins? By that law the priest knew better whether he were leprous than he himself that had the leprosy. In confession, the priest knew not the sins of him that was confessed, but by his own confession. In that law the priest did not cleanse the leprous. How now therefore ought the priests to cleanse sinners from their sin, and that without them they cannot be cleansed? In this law the priest had certain signs, by the which he could certainly know whether a man were cleansed from his leprosy or not. In confession the priest is not certain of the cleansing of sins, because he is ignorant of his contrition. He knoweth not also whether he will not sin any more; without the which contrition and granting to sin no more, God hath not absolved any sinner. And if God hath not absolved a man, without doubt then is he not made clean. And how then is confession figured under that law? Doubtless so it seemeth to me, (under the correction of them that can judge better in the matter,) that this law beareth rather a figure of excommunication, and reconciliation of him that hath been obstinate in his sin, and is reconciled again. For so it appeareth by the process of the gospel, that when the sinner doth not amend for the private correction of his brother, nor for the correction of two or three, neither yet for the public correction of the whole church; then is he to be counted as an ethnic and a publican, and as a certain leper to be avoided out of the company of all men. Which sinner, notwithstanding, if he shall yet repent, is then to be reconciled, because he is then cleansed from his obstinacy.

"But he which pretendeth himself to be the chief vicar of Christ, and the high priest, saith that he hath power to absolve *a pœna et culpa*. But I do not find it is founded in the Scripture, that of his own authority he may enjoin to sinners penance for their sins. And grant that from their sins he may well absolve them, yet from the pain (which they call *a pœna*) he doth not simply absolve, as in his indulgences he promiseth. But if he were in charity, and had such power as he pretendeth, he would suffer none to lie in purgatory for sin: forasmuch as that pain doth far exceed all other pain which here we suffer, what man is therebeing in charity, but if he see his brother to be tormented in this world, if he may, he will help him and deliver him? Much more ought the pope then to deliver out of pains of purgatory, indifferently, as well rich as poor. And if he sell to the rich his indulgences, doublewise, yea treblewise, he seduceth them. First, in promising them to deliver them out of the pain from whence he doth not, neither is able to deliver them; and so maketh them falsely to believe that which they ought not to believe. Secondly, he deceiveth them of their money, which he taketh for his indulgences. Thirdly, he seduceth them in this, that he, promising to deliver them from pain, doth induce them into grievous punishment indeed, for the heresy of simony, which both of them do commit, and, therefore, are worthy both of

great pain to fall upon them: for so we read that Jesus cast out buyers and sellers out of his temple. Also Peter said unto Simon, the first author of this heresy, Thy money, said he, with thee be destroyed, for that thou hast thought the gift of God to be possessed for money. Moreover, whereas Christ saith, Freely you have received, freely give; and whereas, contrary, the pope doth sell that thing which he hath taken; what doubt is there, but that he doth grievously deserve to be punished, both he that selleth, and he that buyeth, for the crime of simony which they commit? Over and besides, by many reasons and authorities of the Scripture it may be proved, that he doth not absolve a man contrite for his sins, although he do absolve him from the guilt.

"But this marvelleth me, that he, in his indulgences, promiseth to absolve men from all manner of deadly sins, and yet cannot absolve a man from debt; forasmuch as the debt which we owe to God, is of much greater importance than is the debt of our brother. Wherefore, if he be able to remit the debt due to God, much more it should seem that he is able to forgive the debt of our brother.

"Another thing there is that I marvel at, for that the pope showeth himself more strait in absolving a priest for not saying, or negligently saying, his matins, than for transgressing the commandment of God; considering that the transgression of the commandment of God, is much more grievous than the breach of man's commandment.

"For these and many other errors concurring, in this matter of the pope's absolutions, blessed be God, and honour be unto him, for the remission of our sins. And let us firmly believe and know, that he doth and will absolve us from our sins, if we be sorry from the bottom of our hearts that we have offended him, having a good purpose and will to offend him no more. And let us be bold to resort unto good and discreet priests, who, with wholesome discretion and sound counsel, can instruct us, how to avoid the corruption of sin hereafter. And which, because they are better than we, may pray to God for us; whereby we may both obtain sooner the remission of our sins past, and also may learn better how to avoid the danger of sin to come."

And thus much concerning the judgment and doctrine of this Walter for Christian patience, charity, and mercy; which, as they be true and infallible notes and marks of true Christianity, so the said Walter Brute, making comparison herein between Christ and the pope, goeth about purposely to declare and manifest, whereby all men may see, what contrariety there is between the rule of Christ's teaching, and the proceedings of the pope; between the examples and life of the one, and the examples of the other. Of which two, as one is altogether given to peace, so is the other, on the contrary side, as much disposed to wars, murder, and bloodshed, as is easy to be seen. Whoso looketh not upon the outward shows and pretended words of these Romish popes, but adviseth and considereth the inward practices and secret works of them, shall easily espy, under the visor of peace, what discord and debate they work; who bearing outwardly the meek horns of the lamb mentioned in the Apocalypse, within do bear the bowels of a wolf, full of cruelty, murder, and bloodshed. Which, if any do think to be spoken of me contumeliously, would God that man could prove as well the same to be spoken of me not truly! But truth it is, I speak it sincerely, without affection of blind partiality, according to the truth of histories both old and new. Thus, under *in Dei nomine, Amen*, how unmercifully doth the pope condemn his brother! And while he pretended not to be lawful for him to kill any man, what thousands of men hath he killed! And likewise in this sentence,

pretending *in visceribus Jesu Christi*, as though he would be a mediator to the magistrate for the party; yet, indeed, will he be sure to excommunicate the magistrate, if he execute not the sentence given. Who be true heretics, the Lord when he cometh shall judge; but give them to be heretics whom he condemneth for heretics, yet what "bowels of mercy" is here, where is nothing but burning, faggoting, drowning, poisoning, chaining, famishing, racking, hanging, tormenting, threatening, reviling, cursing, and oppressing; and no instructing, nor yet indifferent hearing of them, what they can say? The like cruelty also may in their wars appear, if we consider how Pope Urban the Fifth, beside the racking and murdering of seven or eight cardinals, set up Henry Spencer, bishop of Norwich, to fight against the French pope Innocent the Fourth was in war himself against the Apulians. Likewise Alexander the Fourth, his successor, stirred up the son of King Henry the Third to fight against the son of Frederic the Second, emperor, for Apulia. Boniface the Eighth moved Albertus, which stood to be emperor, to drive Philip, the French king, out of his realm. Gregory the Ninth excited Louis, the French king, three sundry times to mortal war against the Earl Raimund, and city of Toulouse, and Avignon, where Louis, the said French king, died. Honorius the Third, by strength of war, many ways resisted Frederic the Second, and sent out thirty-five galleys against the coasts of the emperor's dominions. The same pope also besieged Ferrara. To pass over the war at Ticinum, with many other battles and conflicts of popes against the Romans, Venetians, and divers other nations, Innocent the Third set up Philip, the French king, to war against King John. What stir Pope Gregory the Seventh, otherwise named Hildebrand, kept against the emperor, Henry the Fourth, it is not unknown. And who is able to recite all the wars, battles, and fields, fought by the stirring up of the pope? These, with many other like examples considered, did cause this Walter Brute to write in this manner so as he did, making yet thereof no universal proposition, but that Christian magistrates, in case of necessity, might make resistance in defence of public right. Now he proceedeth further to other matter of the sacrament.

"Touching the matter," saith he, "of the sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, divers men have divers opinions, as the learned do know. As concerning my judgment upon the same, I firmly believe whatsoever the Lord Jesus taught implicitly or expressly to his disciples and faithful people to be believed. For he is, as I believe and know, the true bread of God which descended from heaven, and giveth life to the world: of which bread whosoever eateth, shall live for ever; as it is in the 6th of John declared. Before the coming of Christ in the flesh, although men did live in body, yet in spirit they did not live, because all men were then under sin, whose souls thereby were dead; from the which death no man, by the law, nor with the law, was justified: For by the works of the law shall no flesh be justified, Gal. ii. And again, in the same Epistle, chap. iii., That by the law no man is justified before God, it is manifest; for the just man shall live by his faith: the law is not of faith; but whosoever hath the works thereof, shall live in them. And again in the same chapter: If the law had been given, which might have justified, then our righteousness had come by the law. But the Scripture hath concluded all under sin, that the promise might be sure by the faith of Jesus Christ to all believers. Moreover, before that faith came, they were kept and concluded all under the law, until the coming of that faith which was to be revealed. For the law was our schoolmaster in Christ Jesus, that we should be justified by faith. Also the said Paul, Rom. v. 20, saith, That the law entered in the mean time, that sin might more abound. Where then sin hath more abounded, there hath also grace superabounded; that like as sin hath reigned unto death, so that grace might also reign by righteousness unto eternal life, through Jesus Christ our

Lord. Whereby it is manifest, that by the faith which we have in Christ, believing him to be the true Son of God which came down from heaven to redeem us from sin, we are justified from sin; and so do live by him, which is the true bread and meat of the soul. And the bread which Christ gave is his flesh given for the life of the world, John vi. For he being God, came down from heaven, and being truly carnal man, did suffer in the flesh for our sins, which in his Divinity he could not suffer. Wherefore like as we believe by our faith that he is true God; so must we also believe that he is true man. And then do we eat the bread of heaven, and the flesh of Christ. And if we believe that he did voluntarily shed his blood for our redemption, then do we drink his blood.

"And thus, except we eat the flesh of the Son of man, and shall drink his blood, we have not eternal life in us; because the flesh of Christ verily is meat, and his blood is drink indeed; and whosoever eateth the flesh of Christ and drinketh his blood, abideth in Christ and Christ in him, And as in this world the souls of the faithful live, and are refreshed spiritually, with this heavenly bread, and with the flesh and blood of Christ; so in the world to come, the same shall live eternally in heaven, refreshed with the Deity of Jesus Christ, as touching the most principal part thereof, that is, to wit, *intellectum*: forasmuch as this bread of heaven, in that it is God, hath in itself all delectable pleasantness. And as touching the intelligible powers of the same, as well exterior as interior, they are refreshed with the flesh, that is to say, with the humanity, of Jesus Christ; which is as a queen standing on the right hand of God, decked with a golden robe of divers colours: for this queen of heaven alone, by the word of God, is exalted above the company of all the angels; that by her all our corporal power intellective may fully be refreshed, as is our spiritual intelligence with the beholding of the Deity of Jesus Christ, and even as the angels shall we be fully satisfied. And in the memory of this double refection, present in this world and in the world to come, hath Christ given unto us, for eternal blessedness, the sacrament of his body and blood in the substance of bread and wine; as it appeareth in Matt. xxvi. 26: As the disciples sat at supper, Jesus took bread and blessed it, brake it, and gave it unto his disciples, and said, Take, eat, this is my body: and he took the cup, and thanked, and gave it them, saying, Drink ye all of this, this is my blood of the new testament, which shall be shed for many for the remission of sins. And Luke in his Gospel, chap. xxii., of this matter thus writeth: And after he had taken the bread, he gave thanks, he brake it, and gave it unto them, saying, This is my body which shall be given for you; do you this in my remembrance. In like manner he took the cup after supper, saying, This is the cup of the new testament in my blood, which shall be shed for you. That Christ said, This is my body, in showing to them the bread, I firmly believe, and know that it is true; that Christ, forasmuch as he is God, is the very truth itself, and, by consequence, all that he saith is true. And I believe that the very same was his body, in such wise as he willed it to be his body; for in that he is almighty, he hath done whatsoever pleased him. And as in Cana of Galilee he changed the water into wine, really, so that after the transubstantiation it was wine, and not water; so when he said, This is my body, if he would have had the bread really to be transubstantiated into his very body, so that after this changing it should have been his natural body, and not bread as it was before, I know that it must needs have been so. But I find not in the Scripture, that his will was to have any such real transubstantiation or mutation.

"And as the Lord God Omnipotent, in his perfection essential being the Son of God, doth exceed the most pure creature, and yet when it pleased him he took upon him our nature, remaining really God as he was before, and was really made man; so

that after this assuming of our substance, he was really very God and very man; even so, if he would, when he said, This is my body, he could make this to be his body really, the bread still really remaining as it was before. For less is the difference of the essence between bread and the body of a man, than between the Deity and humanity, because that of the bread is naturally made the body of a man. Of the bread is made blood; of the blood, natural seed; and of natural seed the natural substance of man is engendered. But in that that God became man, this is an action supernatural. Wherefore, he that could make one man to be very God and very man, could, if he would, make one thing to be really very bread, and his very body. But I do not find it expressly in the Scripture, that he would any such identity or conjunction to be made. And, as Christ said, I am very bread, not changing his essence or being into the essence or substance of bread, but was the said Christ which he was before really, and yet bread by a similitude or figurative speech; so, if he would, it might be, when he said, This is my body, that this should really have been the bread as it was before, and sacramentally or memorially to be his body. And this seemeth unto me most nearly to agree to the meaning of Christ, forasmuch as he said, Do this in remembrance of me. Then, forasmuch as in the supper it is manifest that Christ gave unto his disciples the bread of his body, which he brake, to that intent to eat with their mouths, in which bread he gave himself also unto them, as one in whom they should believe, (as to be the food of the soul,) and by that faith they should believe him to be their Saviour which took his body, wherein also he willed it to be manifest, that he would redeem them from death; so was the bread eaten with the disciples' mouths, that he, being the true bread of the soul, might be in spirit received and eaten spiritually by their faith which believed in him.

"The bread which in the disciples' mouths was chewed, from the mouth passed to the stomach. For as Christ saith, Whatsoever cometh to the mouth, goeth into the belly, and from thence into the draught, Matt. xv. 17. But that true and very bread of the soul was eaten of the spirit of the disciples, and by faith entered their minds, and abode in their inward parts through love. And so the bread broken seemeth unto me to be really the meat of the body, and the bread which it was before; but, sacramentally, to be the body of Christ; as Paul, I Cor. x. 16, The bread which we break, is it not the participation of the body of the Lord? So the bread which we break is the participation of the Lord's body: and it is manifest that the heavenly bread is not broken, neither yet is subject to such breaking, therefore Paul calleth the material bread which is broken, the body of Christ, which the faithful are partakers of. The bread therefore changeth not its essence, but is bread really, and is the body of Christ sacramentally: even as Christ is the very vine, abiding really and figuratively the vine; so the temple of Jerusalem was really the material temple, and, figuratively, it was the body of Christ, because he said, Destroy you this temple, and in three days I will repair the same again. And this spake he of the temple of his body; whereas others understood it to be the material temple, as appeared by their answer. For, said they, Forty and seven years hath this temple been in building, and wilt thou build it up in three days?

"Even so may the consecrated bread be really bread, as it was before, and yet, figuratively, the body of Christ. And if, therefore, Christ would have this bread to be only sacramentally his body, and would not have the same bread actually to be transubstantiated into his body, and so ordained his priests to make this sacrament as a memorial of his passion, then do the priests grievously offend, which beseech Christ in the holy mass, that the bread which lieth upon the altar may be made really the body of Christ, if he would only have the same to be but a sacrament of his body; and

then both be they greatly deceived themselves, and also do greatly deceive others. But whether the bread be really transubstantiated into the body of Christ, or is only the body of Christ sacramentally, no doubt but that the people are marvellously deceived; for the people believe that they see the body of Christ, nay rather Christ himself, between the hands of the priests, for so is the common oath they swear, By him whom I saw this day between the priest's hands. And the people believe that they eat not the body of Christ but at Easter, or else when they lie upon their death-bed, and receive with their bodily mouth the sacrament of the body of Christ. But the body of Christ, (admit the bread be transubstantiated really into the body) is in the sacrament not able to be divided; and so, not able to be measured: ergo, not able to be seen. To believe therefore that he may be seen corporally in the sacrament, is erroneous. And forasmuch as the body of Christ is the soul's food, and not the food of the body in this world, for that whosoever believeth doth eat spiritually and really, at any time when he so believeth; it is manifest that they do greatly err which believe that they eat not the body of Christ, but when they eat with their teeth the sacrament of the body of Christ.

"And although it should be to the great honour of priests, that the bread really were changed into the body of Christ, by the virtue of the sacramental words pronounced; yet if Christ would not have it to be so, then they, desiring to do this contrary to the will of Christ, and informing the people what is to be done, so contrary to the will of Christ, are in great peril, most dangerously seducing both themselves and the people. And then, although that hereby they get a little worldly and transitory honour for a short time, it is to be feared lest perpetual shame finally shall follow and ensue upon the same; for Christ saith, Every one that exalteth himself shall be brought low. Let them therefore take heed, lest they, extolling themselves for this sacrament above the company of angels which never sinned, for the error which they be in, for evermore be placed with the sinful angels under the earth.

"Let every man therefore think lowly of himself, in what state or degree soever he be; neither let him presume to do that which he is not able to do; neither desire to have that thing done, which God would not have done.

"I greatly marvel at those which were the makers of the canons, how variably, and contrary one to another, they write of this sacrament of the body of Christ. In the last part of the decrees where this matter is touched, not only in the text, but also in the process of the matter, divers do diversely write, and one contrary to another. For in the chapter that thus beginneth, *Prima inquit hæresis*, it is thus written, You shall not eat this body which you see, nor shall drink this blood which they shall shed which shall crucify me: I will commend unto you a certain sacrament spiritually understood that quickeneth you; for the flesh profiteth you nothing at all. And in the end of the same chapter it is thus written, Till the world shall have an end, the Lord's place is in heaven: yet notwithstanding the verity of the Lord is here abiding with us. For the body wherewith he rose ought to be in one place; but his verity is in every place diffused and spread abroad. And in the chapter following, which thus beginneth, *Omnia quaecunque voluit*, &c., it is written, Although the figure of the bread and wine seem to be nothing, yet, notwithstanding, they must, after the words of consecration, be believed to be none other thing than the very flesh of Christ, and his blood. Whereupon the Verity himself said unto his disciples, This is, saith he, my flesh, which is given for the life of the world, and to speak yet more marvellously, this is none other flesh than that which was born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered upon the cross, and rose out of the sepulchre.

"See how far this chapter differeth from the first. And in the chapter which beginneth, *Ego Berengarius, &c.*, this is the confession which Berengarius himself confessed touching this sacrament, and his confession is of the church allowed: 'I confess,' saith Berengarius, that the bread and wine which is laid upon the altar after the consecration, is not only a sacrament, but also that it is the very body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ: and the same not only sensually to be a sacrament, but also verily to be handled with the priest's hands, and to be broken, and chewed with the teeth of faithful men.' This confession doubtless is heretical: for why? If the body of Christ be in the sacrament (as of the church it is so determined) it is there then multiplicative, and so *indivisibiliter*, wherefore not *sensualiter*. And if it be there *indivisibiliter*, that is, in such sort as it cannot be divided or separated, then can it not be touched, felt, broken, nor with the teeth of men chewed.

"The writers of this time and age do affirm, that if, by the negligence of the priest, the sacrament be so negligently left, that a mouse, or any other beast or vermin, eat the same; then they say, that the sacrament returneth again into the nature and substance of bread. Whereby they must needs confess, that a miracle is as well wrought by the negligence of the priest, as first there was made by the consecration of the priest in making the sacrament. For either by the eating of the mouse the body of Christ is transubstantiated into the nature of bread, which is a transubstantiation supernatural, or else of nothing by creation is this bread produced; and therefore either of these operations is miraculous and to be marvelled at. Now, considering the disagreeing opinions of the doctors, and for the absurdities which follow, I believe with Paul, that the bread which we break, is the participation of the body of Christ; and, as Christ saith, that the bread is made the body of Christ for a memorial and remembrance of him. And in such sort as Christ willed the same to be his body, in the same manner and sort do I believe it to be his body.

"But, whether women may make the body of Christ, and minister it unto the people; or whether that priests be divided from the lay-people for their knowledge, pre-eminence, and sanctity of life, or else by external signs only; also, whether the sign of tonsure and other external signs of holiness in priests, be signs of antichrist and his characters, or else introduced and taught by our Lord Jesus Christ: consequently it remaineth next to speak thereof unto the faithful sort, according to the process of the Holy Scripture; and first, of the three kinds of the priests. I remember that I have read, the first of them to be Aaronical, legal, and temporal; the second to be eternal and regal, according to the order of Melchisedec; the third to be Christian. The first of these ceased at the coming of Christ; for that, as St. Paul to the Hebrews saith, The priesthood of Aaron was translated to the priesthood of the order of Melchisedec. The legal sort of priests of Aaron were separate from the rest of the people by kindred, office, and inheritance: by kindred, for that the children of Aaron only were priests: by office, for that it only pertained to them to offer sacrifice for the sins of the people, and to instruct the people in the precepts and ceremonies of the law: by inheritance, because the Lord was their portion of inheritance; neither had they any other inheritance amongst their brethren, but those things which were offered unto the Lord, as the first-fruits, parts of the sacrifices, and vows; except places for their mansion houses, for them and theirs, as appeareth by the process of Moses's law. The priesthood of Christ did much differ from this priesthood, as Paul doth witness to the Hebrews, chap. vii. — x.

"First, in kindred: because that our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ came of the stock and tribe of Judah, of which tribe none had to do with the altar, and in which tribe nothing at all was spoken of the priests of Moses.

"Secondly, for that other were made priests without their oath taken; but he, by an oath by him which said, The Lord swore and it shall not repent him, Thou art a priest for ever according to the order of Melchisedec.

"Thirdly, by durability; for that many of them were made priests but during the term of their lives; but he, for that he remaineth for ever, hath an eternal priesthood. Wherefore he is able to save us for ever, having by himself access unto God, which ever liveth to make intercession for us. The law made also such men priests as had infirmities; but *Sermo* (that is, the Word, which, according to the law, is the eternal Son and perfect) by an oath.

"The priesthood of Christ also did differ from the priesthood of Aaron and the law in the matter of the sacrifice, and in the place of sacrificing. In the matter of their sacrifice: because they did use in their sacrifices strange bodies of the matter of their sacrifices, and did shed strange blood for the expiation of sins; but he offering himself unto God his Father for us, shed his own blood for the remission of our sins. In the place of sacrificing: because that they did offer their sacrifice in the tabernacle or temple; but Christ suffering death without the gates of the city, offered himself upon the altar of the cross to God his Father, and there shed his precious blood. In his supping chamber, also, he blessed the bread, and consecrated the same for his body, and the wine which was in the cup he also consecrated for his blood; delivering the same to his apostles to be done for a commemoration and remembrance of his incarnation and passion. Neither did Jesus enter into the sanctuary made with man's hands, which be examples and figures of true things, but he entered into heaven itself, that he might appear before the Majesty of God for us. Neither doth he offer himself oftentimes, as the chief priest in the sanctuary did every year with strange blood (for then should he oftentimes have suffered from the beginning); but now once for all, in the latter end of the world, to destroy sin by his peace-offering hath he entered. And even as it is decreed, that man once shall die, and then cometh the judgment, so Christ hath been once offered, to take away the sins of many. The second time he shall appear without sin to them that look for him, to their salvation. For the law having a shadow of good things to come, can never, by the image itself of things, (which every year without ceasing they offer by such sacrifices,) make those perfect that come thereunto; for otherwise that offering should have ceased, because that such worshippers, being once cleansed from their sins, should have no more conscience of sin. But in these, commemoration is made every year of sin; for it is impossible that by the blood of goats and calves, sins should be purged and taken away. Therefore, coming into the world he said, Sacrifice and oblation thou wouldst not have, but a body hast thou given me; peace-offerings for sins have not pleased thee: then said I, Behold I come; in the volume of the book it is written of me, that I should do thy will, O God: saying, as above, Because thou wouldst have no sacrifices nor burnt-offerings for sin, neither dost thou take pleasure in those things that are offered according to the law. Then said I, Behold I come, that I may do thy will, O God. He taketh away the first to establish that which followeth. In which will we are sanctified, by the oblation of the body of Jesus Christ once for all. And every priest is ready daily ministering, and oftentimes offering like sacrifices, which can never take away sins. But this Jesus, offering one sacrifice for sin, sitteth for evermore on the right hand of God, expecting

the time till his enemies be made his footstool. For by his own only oblation hath he consummated for evermore those that are sanctified.

"All these places have I recited which Paul writeth, for the better understanding and declaration of those things I mean to speak; by all which it appeareth manifestly, how the priesthood of Christ differeth from the legal priesthood of Aaron; and by the same also appeareth, how the same differeth from all other priesthood Christian, that imitateth Christ; for the properties of the priesthood of Christ, above recited, are found in no other priest, but in Christ alone.

"Of the third priesthood, that is, the Christian priesthood, Christ, by his express words, speaketh but little to make any difference between the priests and the rest of the people; neither yet doth use this name of *sacerdos*, in the gospel, but some he calleth disciples, some apostles, whom he sent to baptize and to preach, and in his name to do miracles. He calleth them the salt of the earth, in which name wisdom is meant; and he calleth them the light of the world, by which good living is signified: for he saith, Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven. And Paul, speaking of the priests to Timothy and Titus, seemeth not to me to make any diversity betwixt the priests and the other people, but in that he would have them to surmount other in knowledge and perfection of life.

"But the fourth priesthood is the Roman priesthood, brought in by the Church of Rome; which church maketh a distinction between the clergy and the lay-people; and after that the clergy is divided into sundry degrees, as appeareth in the decretals. This distinction of the clergy from the laity, with the tonsure of clerks, began in the time of Anacletus, as it doth appear in the chronicles. The degrees of the clergy were afterward invented and distinguished by their offices, and there was no ascension to the degree of the priesthood, but by inferior orders and degrees. But in the primitive church it was not so; for immediately after the conversion of some of them to faith and baptism received; they were made priests and bishops; as appeareth by Anianus, whom Marcus made of a tailor or shoemaker to be a bishop; and of many other it was in like case done, according to the traditions of the Church of Rome. Priests are ordained to offer sacrifices, to make supplication and prayers, and to bless and sanctify. The oblation of the priesthood only to priests (as they say) is congruent; whose duties are upon the altar to offer for the sins of the people of the Lord's body, which is consecrated of bread. Of which saying I have great marvel, considering St. Paul's words to the Hebrews before recited. If Christ, offering for our sins one oblation for evermore, sitteth at the right hand of God, and with that one oblation hath consummated for evermore those that are sanctified; if Christ evermore sitteth at the right hand of God, to make intercession for us; what need he to leave here any sacrifice for our sins, by the priests to be daily offered? I do not find in the Scriptures of God, nor of his apostles, that the body of Christ ought to be made a sacrifice for sin; but only as a sacrament and commemoration of the sacrifice passed, which Christ offered upon the altar of the cross for our sins. For it is an absurdity to say that Christ is now every day really offered as a sacrifice upon the altar by the priests; for then the priests should really crucify him upon the altar, which is a thing of no Christian to be believed. But even as in his supper his body and his blood he delivered to his disciples, in memorial of his body that should be crucified on the morrow for our sins: so, after his ascension, did his apostles use the same (when they brake bread in every house) for a sacrament, and not for a sacrifice, of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. And by this means were they put in remembrance of the great love of

Christ, who so entirely loved us, that willingly he suffered the death for us, and for the remission of our sins. And thus did they offer themselves to God by love, being ready to suffer death for the confession of his name, and for the saving health of his brethren, fulfilling the new commandment of Christ, which said unto them, A new commandment do I give unto you, that you love one another, as I have loved you. But when love began to wax cold, or rather to be frozen for cold, through the anguish and anxiety of persecution for the name of Christ; then priests did use the flesh and blood of Christ, instead of a sacrifice. And because many of them feared death, some of them fled into solitary places, not daring to give themselves a sacrifice by death unto God through the confession of his name, and saving health of their brethren; some other worshipped idols, fearing death, as did also the chief bishop of Rome, and many other more in divers places of the world. And thus it came to pass, that that which was ordained and constituted for a memorial of the one and only sacrifice, was altered, for want of love, into the reality of the sacrifice itself."

After these things thus discussed, he inferreth consequently upon the same, another brief tractation of women and laymen; whether, in defect of the other, they may exercise the action of prayer, and administration of sacraments belonging to priests; where he declareth the use received in the pope's church for women to baptize, which, saith he, cannot be without remission of sins; wherefore seeing that women have power by the pope to remit sin, and to baptize, why may not they as well be admitted to minister the Lord's supper, in like case of necessity? Wherein also he maketh relation of Pope Joan the Eighth, a woman pope, moving certain questions of her. All which, for brevity, I pretermitt, proceeding to the ministration of prayer, and blessing of sanctification, appropriate to the office of priests, as followeth:

"Furthermore, as touching the function and office of praying and blessing, whereunto priests seem to be ordained, (to omit here the question whether women may pray in churches, in lack of other meet persons,) it remaineth now also to prosecute. Christ, being desired of his disciples to teach them to pray, gave them the common prayer both to men and women, to the which prayer in my estimation no other is to be compared. For in that, first, the whole honour due unto the Deity is comprehended. Secondly, whatsoever is necessary for us, both for the time present, or past, or for time to come, is there desired and prayed for. He informeth us besides to pray secretly, and also briefly; secretly to enter into our close chamber, and there in secrecy he willeth us to pray unto his Father. And saith, moreover, When ye pray, use not much babbling, or many words, as do the heathen; for they think in their long and prolix praying to be heard: therefore be you not like to them. By the which doctrine he calleth us away from the errors of the heathen Gentiles, from whom proceed these superstitious manners of arts, (or rather of ignorances,) as necromancy, the art of divination, and other species of conjuration, not unknown to them that be learned; for these necromancers believe one place to be of greater virtue than another; there to be heard sooner, than in another. Like as Balaam, being hired to curse the people of God by his art of soothsaying or charming, when he could not accomplish his purpose in one place, he removed to another; but he in the end was deceived of his desire: for he, intending first to curse them, was not able to accurse them whom the Lord blessed, so that his curse could not hurt any of all that people. After like sort the necromancers turn their face to the East, as to a place more apt for their prayers. Also the necromancers believe that the virtue of the words of the prayer, and the curiosity thereof, causeth them to bring to effect that which they seek after; which is also another point of infidelity, used much of charmers, sorcerers, enchanters, soothsayers,

and such like. Out of the same art, I fear, proceedeth the practice of exorcising, whereby devils and spirits be conjured to do that whereunto they are enforced by the exorcist. Also, whereby other creatures likewise are exorcised or conjured, so that, by the virtue of their exorcism, they may have their power and strength exceeding all natural operation.

"In the Church of Rome many such exorcisms and conjurations be practised, and are called of them benedictions, or hallowings. But here I ask of these exorcisers, whether they believe the things and creatures so exorcised and hallowed, have that operation and efficacy given them which they pretend? If they so believe, every child may see that they are far beguiled. For holy water, being of them exorcised or conjured, hath no such power in it, neither can have, which they in their exorcism do command. For there they enjoin and command, that wheresoever that water is sprinkled, all vexation or infestation of the unclean spirit should avoid, and that no pestilent spirit there should abide, &c. But most plain it is, that no water, be it never so holy, can have any such power so to do, as it is commanded; to wit, to be a universal remedy to expel all diseases.

"This I would ask of these exorcists: whether in their commanding they do conjure, or adjure, the things conjured to be of a higher virtue or operation, than their own nature doth give; or else whether they in their prayers desire of God, that he will infuse into them that virtue which they require? If they, in their commanding, do so believe, then do they believe that they have that power in them to the which the inferior power of the thing exorcised must obey, in receiving that which is commanded. And so doing, they are much more deceived, forasmuch as they see themselves, that they which are so authorized to the office of exorcising, say to the devil being conjured, Go, and he goeth not; and to another, Come, and he cometh not: and many things else they command the inferior spirit, their subject, to do, and he doth not. So, in like case, when they pray to God to make the water to be of such virtue, that it may be to them health of mind and body, and that it may be able to expulse every unclean spirit, and to chase away all manner of distemperature and pestilence of the air, (being an unreasonable petition asked, and sore displeasing to God,) it is to be feared lest their benediction, their hallowing and blessing, is changed into cursing, according to that saying that followeth: And now, O you priests, I have a message to say unto you; if you will not hear and bear well away in your minds, to give the glory unto my name, saith the Lord God of hosts, I will send scarcity amongst you, and I will curse your blessings. What things, and how many, were blessed or hallowed in the church, that in hallowing thereof displease God, and are accursed? And therefore, according to the saying of St. James, chap. iv., they ask and are not heard, because they ask not as they should, that they in their own desires may perish. Let a man behold the blessing or hallowing of their fire, water, incense, wax, bread, wine, the church, the altar, the churchyard, ashes, bells, copes, palms, oil, candles, salt, the hallowing of the ring, the bed, the staff, and of many such-like things; and I believe that a man shall find out many errors of the heathen magicians, witches, soothsayers, and charmers. And notwithstanding the ancient and old magicians, in their books, command those that be conjurers, that they in any wise live devoutly, (for otherwise, as they say, the spirits will not obey their commandments and conjurations,) yet the Roman conjurers do impute it to the virtue of the holy words, because they be they which work, and not the holiness of the conjurers. How cometh it to pass that, they say, the things consecrated of a cursed and vicious javel should have so great virtue in pronouncing (as they say) the holy and mystical words,

as if they were pronounced of a priest never so holy? But I marvel that they say so, reading this saying in the Acts of the Apostles: because the charmers pronouncing the name of Jesus, that is above all names, would have healed those that were possessed with devils, and said, In the name of Jesus, whom Paul preacheth, go ye out of the men; and the possessed with devils answered, Jesus we know, and Paul we know, but what are ye? And they all to be beat the conjurers.

"And now, considering this and many such-like things, I marvel wherefore the vicious priests do sell their prayers and blessings dearer (as also their masses and trentals of masses) than those that be devout laymen, and holy women, which, with all their heart, desire to flee from vices, and take hold of virtue: forasmuch as God, in divers places of the Scripture, doth promise that he will not hear sinners and wicked persons; neither should he seem to be just, if he should sooner hear the prayers of his enemies, than of his faithful friend. How, I pray you, shall a sinful priest deliver another man from sin by his prayers, or else from the punishment of sin, when he is not able to deliver himself, by his prayers, from sin? What then doth God so much accept in the mass of a vicious priest, that for his mass, his prayer or oblation, he might deliver any man either from sin, or from the pain due for sin? No, but for this, that Christ once offered himself for our sins, and now sitteth on the right hand of God the Father, always showing unto him what and how great things he hath suffered for us. And every priest always maketh mention in his mass of this oblation; neither do we this that we might bring the same oblation into the remembrance of God, because that he always, in his presence, seeth the same; but that we should have in remembrance this so great love of God, that he would give his own Son to death for our sins, that he might cleanse and purify us from our sins. What doth it please God, that the remembrance of so great love is made by a priest which more loveth sin than God? Or how can any prayer of such a priest please God, in what holy place soever he be, or what holy vestments soever he put on, or what holy prayers soever he maketh? And, whereas Christ and his apostles do command the preaching of the word of God, the priests be now more bound to celebrate the mass, and more straitly bound to say the canonical hours; whereat I cannot but greatly marvel. For why? To obey the precepts of men more than the commandments of God, is in effect to honour man as God, and to bestow the sacrifice upon man which is due unto God, and this is also spiritual fornication. How, therefore, are priests bound, at the commandment of man, to leave the preaching of the word of God, at whose commandment they are not bound to leave the celebration of the mass, or singing of matins? Therefore, as it seemeth, priests ought not, at the commandment of any man, to leave the preaching of the word of God, unto the which they are bound both by Divine and apostolical precepts. With whom agreeth the writing of Jerome upon the decretals, saying in this wise; Let none of the bishops swell with the envy of devilish temptation; let none be angry, if the priest do sometimes exhort the people; if they preach in the church, &c. For to him that forbiddeth me these things I will say, that he is unwilling that priests should do those things which be commanded of God. What thing is there above Christ? or what may be preferred before his body and his blood? &c.

"Do priests therefore sin or not, which bargain for money to pray for the soul of any dead man? It is well known that Jesus did whip those that were buyers and sellers out of the temple, saying, My house shall be called the house of prayer, but you have made the same a den of thieves. Truly he cast not out such merchants from out of the church, but because of their sins. Whereupon Jerome, upon this text, saith; Let the priest be diligent and take good heed in this church, that they turn not the house of

God into a den of thieves. He doubtless is a thief which seeketh gain by religion, and by a show of holiness studieth to find occasion of merchandise. Hereupon the holy canons do make simoniacal heresy accursed, and do command that those should be deprived of the priesthood, which, for the surpassing or marvellous spiritual grace, do seek gain or money. Peter, the apostle, said to Simon Magus, Let thy money and thou go both to the devil, which thinkest that the gifts of God may be bought for money. Therefore the spiritual gifts of God ought not to be sold.

"Verily prayer is the spiritual gift of God, as is also the preaching of the word of God, or the laying on of hands, or the administration of other the sacraments. Christ, sending forth his disciples to preach, said unto them, Heal ye the sick, cast out devils, raise the dead; freely ye have received, freely give ye again. If the priest have power by his prayers to deliver souls being in purgatory from grievous pains, without doubt he hath received that power freely from God. How, therefore, can he sell his act, unless he resist the commandments of God, of whom he hath received that authority? This truly cannot be done without sin, which is against the commandment of God. How plainly spake Christ to the Pharisees and priests, saying; Woe be unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, because ye have eaten the whole houses of such as be widows by making long prayers, and therefore have you received greater damnation? Wherein, I pray you, do our Pharisees and priests differ from them? Do not our priests devour widows' houses and possessions, that by their long prayers they might deliver the souls of their husbands from the grievous pains of purgatory? How many lordships, I pray you, have been bestowed upon the religious men and women to pray for the dead, that they, by their prayer, might deliver those dead men from the pain (as they said) that they suffer in purgatory, grievously tormented and vexed? If their prayers and speaking of holy words shall not be able to deliver themselves from pain, unless they have good works, how shall other men be delivered from pain by their prayers, which, whilst they lived here, gave themselves over to sin? Yea, peradventure those lordships or lands, which they gave unto the priests to pray for them, they themselves have gotten by might, from other faithful men, unjustly, and violently: and the canons do say, that sin is not forgiven, till the thing taken away wrongfully be restored: how then shall they be able (which do unjustly possess such lordships or lands) to deliver them by their prayers from pain, which have given to them these lordships or lands, seeing God, from the beginning, hath hated all extortion in his burnt-sacrifices? Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven: but he which doth the will of my Father which is in heaven. And again, Not the hearers of the law, but the doers of the law shall be justified.

"If, therefore, the words of him that prayeth, do not deliver himself from sin, nor from the pain of sin, how do they deliver other men from sin or from the pain of sin, when no man prayeth more earnestly for another man than for himself? Therefore many are deceived in buying or selling of prayers, as in the buying of pardons, that they might be delivered from pain; whenas commonly they pay dearer for the prayers of the proud and vicious prelates, than for the prayers of devout women and devout men of the lay-people. But, out of doubt, God doth not regard the person of him that prayeth, neither the place in which he prayeth, nor his apparel, nor the curiousness of his prayer, but the humility and godly affection of him that prayeth. Did not the Pharisee and the publican go up into the temple to pray? The publican's prayer, for his humility and godly affection, is heard. But the Pharisee's prayer, for his pride and arrogancy, is contemned. Consider that neither the person, nor the place, nor the state, nor the curiousness of his prayer, doth help the Pharisee: because the publican, not

thinking himself worthy to lift up his eyes unto heaven, for the multitude of his sins, saying, O God! be merciful unto me a sinner, is justified by his humility, and his prayer is heard. But the Pharisee, boasting in his righteousness, is despised; because God thrusteth down the proud, and exalteth the humble and those that be meek. The rich glutton also, that was clothed with purple and silk, and fared every day daintily, prayed unto Abraham, and is not heard, but is buried in pains and torments of hell-fire. But Lazarus, which lay begging at his gate, being full of sores, is placed in the bosom of Abraham. Behold that neither the riches of his apparel, nor the deliciousness of his banquets, nor the gorgeousness of his estate, neither the abundance of his riches, doth help any thing to prefer the prayers or petitions of the rich glutton, nor yet diminish his torments, because that mighty men in their mightiness, shall suffer torments mightily. How dare any man, by composition, demand or receive any thing of another man for his prayers? If he believe that he can, by his prayer, deliver his brother from grievous pain, he is bound by charity to relieve his brother with his prayers, although he be not hired thereunto: but if he will not pray unless he be hired, then hath he no love at all. What therefore helpeth his prayer which abideth not in charity? Therefore let him first take compassion of himself by prayer, that he may come into charity, and then he shall be the better able to help others. If he believe not, or if he standeth in doubt whether he shall be able to deliver his brother by his prayer, wherefore doth he make with him an assured bargain, and taketh his money, and yet knoweth not whether he shall relieve him ever a whit the more or not, from his pain? I fear lest the words of the prophet are fulfilled, saying, From the least to the most, all men apply themselves to covetousness; and from the prophet to the priest, all work deceitfully. For the poor priests excuse themselves of such bargaining and selling of their prayers, saying, The young cock learneth to crow of the old cock. For, say they, thou mayest see that the pope himself, in stalling of bishops and abbots, taketh the first-fruits: in the placing or bestowing of benefices he always taketh somewhat, and especially if the benefices be great. And he selleth pardons and bulls; and, to speak more plain, he taketh money for them. Bishops, in giving orders, in hallowing churches and churchyards, do take money; in ecclesiastical correction they take money for the mitigation of penance; in the grievous offences of convict persons, money is required, and caused to be paid. Abbots, monks, and other religious men that have possession, will receive no man into their fraternity, or make them partakers of their spiritual suffrages, unless he bestow somewhat upon them, or promise them somewhat. Curates and vicars, having sufficient livings by the tithes of their parishioners, yet in dirges and years-minds, in hearing confessions, in weddings and buryings, do require and have money. The friars, also, of the four orders of beggars, which think themselves to be the most perfect men of the church, do take money for their prayers, confessions, and buryings of the dead; and when they preach, they believe that they shall have either money or some other thing worth money. Wherefore then be the poor priests blamed? ought not they to be held excused, although they take money for their prayers by composition? Truly, me thinketh that this excuse by other men's sins doth not excuse them, forasmuch as to heap one mischief upon another's head, is no sufficient discharge. I would to God that all the buyers and sellers of spiritual suffrages would with the eyes of their heart behold the ruin of the great city, and the fall of Babylon, and that which they shall say after that fall. Doth not the prophet say, And the merchants of the earth shall weep and mourn for her, because no man shall buy any more their merchandise; that is, their merchandise of gold and silver, and of precious stone, and of pearl, and of silk and purple? And again, he saith, And the merchants which were made rich by her, shall

stand aloof for fear of her torments, weeping, mourning, and saying, Alas! alas! that city Babylon, that great city, which was wont to wear purple, white silk, crimson, gold, pearl, and precious stone, because that in one hour all those riches are come to nought. And again, And they cast dust upon their heads, and cried out, weeping, and mourning, and saying, Alas! alas! that great and mighty city Babylon, by whom all such as had ships upon the sea were made rich by her rewards; because that in one hour she is become desolate.

"Thus, reverend father, have I made mine answer to the matter whereof I am accused; beseeching you, that as I have been obedient to your desire, and that even as a son, declaring unto you the secrets of my heart in plain words (although rudely); so I may know your opinion, and crave your fatherly benevolence, that now your labour may be for my instruction and amendment, and not to accusation and condemnation. For like as in the beginning, I have promised you, if any man, of what state, sect, or condition soever he be, can show me any error in any of my writings by the authority of Holy Scripture, or by any probable reason grounded on the Scriptures; I will receive his information willingly and humbly."

After that all the aforesaid things were exhibited and given by the aforesaid Walter Brute, unto the aforesaid bishop of Hereford, he further appointed to the same Walter, the third day of the month of October, at Hereford, with the continuance of the days following, to hear his opinion. Which third day now at hand, being Friday, in the year of our Lord God 1393, the said Walter Brute appeared before him, sitting in commission in the cathedral church of Hereford, at six o'clock or thereabout; having for his assistants in the same place, divers prelates, abbots, and twenty bachelors of divinity, whereof twelve were monks, and two doctors of the law. Amongst these was Nicholas Herford, accompanied with many other prelates and worshipful men and wise graduates in sundry faculties. Now was the aforesaid Walter apposed of his writings aforesaid, and the contents therein. Earnest were they in picking out of those writings his heresies, and in showing his schisms, sundry errors, and divers other things. Now, after that they had continued all that day and the two days following, (that is, Friday, Saturday, and Sunday,) in their informations and examinations against the same Walter Brute, the same Walter Brute submitted himself to the determination of the church, and to the correction of the said John, bishop, as it appeareth word for word in a scroll written in the English tongue: the tenor of which scroll is as followeth

"I, Walter Brute, submit myself principally to the evangel of Jesus Christ, and to the determination of holy kirk, and to the general councils of holy kirk. And to the sentence and determination of the four doctors of holy writ; that is, Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, and Gregory. And I meekly submit me to your correction, as a subject ought to his bishop."

Which scroll, as before is recited, in the English tongue, the aforesaid Walter Brute read, with a loud and intelligible voice, at the cross in the churchyard, on Monday, that is to say, the sixth of the said month of October, before the sermon made unto the people, in presence of the said bishop of Hereford and other above written, as also other barons, knights, and noblemen, and clergy, and also a great multitude of people. After which reading of the scroll, the aforesaid Thomas Crawlay, bachelor of divinity, made a sermon unto the people, and took for his theme the words of the apostle to the Romans, chap. xi. 20, that is as followeth: Be not over-wise in your own conceits, but stand in fear, &c.

Out of these declarations and writings of Walter Brute, the bishop, with the monks and doctors above rehearsed, did gather and draw certain articles, to the number of thirty-seven, which they sent to the university of Cambridge to be confuted, unto two learned men, Master Colwill and Master Newton, bachelors of divinity: which Masters Colwill and Newton did both labour in the matter, to the uttermost of their cunning, in replying and answering to the said thirty-seven articles.

Besides them also, William Woodford, a friar, who wrote likewise against the articles of Wickliff, labouring in the same cause, made a solemn and a long tractation; compiling the articles of the said Brute, to the number of nine and twenty: all which treatises, as I wish to come to the reader's hand, that the slenderness of them might be known; so it may happen percase, that the same being in my hands may hereafter be further published, with other like tractations more, as convenient time, for the prolixity thereof, may hereafter better serve than now.

What, after this, became to this Walter Brute, or what end he had, I find it not registered; but like it is, that he for this time escaped. Certain other writings I find, moreover, which albeit they bear no name of this Walter, nor of any certain author, yet because they are in the same register adjoined to the history of him, I thought therefore most fit here to be inserted: of the which one was a letter sent to Nicholas Herford, a little above specified, who, being at the first a great follower of John Wickliff, as appeareth before, was now in the number of them which sat upon this Walter, as is above recorded. The copy of this letter, bearing no name of any special author, but only as sent by a certain Lollard, as the register doth term him, is written in the manner and form as followeth.

"Forasmuch as no man that putteth his hand to the plough and looketh back, is meet for the kingdom of God, as our Saviour Christ saith, what marvel is it, although Master Nicholas Herford, which at the first (by the visitation of the Spirit of God, peradventure) put his hand, that is, gave his diligence unto the plough; that is, to the sowing of the word of God and Holy Scripture, as well in preaching as in doing good works, is now so blind and unskilful to expound the Scripture, that he knoweth not what is understood by the kingdom of heaven? Truly it is no marvel, O thou that art the master of the Nicolaitans! which, like Nicholas the most false deacon, hast left or forsaken the infallible knowledge of the Holy Scripture: for the true knowledge of the theological verity is shut up as well from thee as from all the other Nicolaitans following thy conditions; forasmuch as thou goest not in by the door to expound the same evangelical verity. Therefore when thou didst recite this other day, first, the Pharisaical and hypocritical woe, (nothing at all to any purpose,) thou shouldest have said justly in this sort, both of thyself, and other thy followers and religious antichrists: Woe be unto us, scribes and Pharisees, which shut up the kingdom of heaven! that is to say, the true knowledge of the Holy Scriptures before men, by our false glosses and crooked similitudes; and neither we ourselves enter into the same kingdom or knowledge, nor suffer others to enter into it. Wherefore, it seemeth unto the faithful sort, that wrongfully, falsely, and without any reverence, ye have expounded that text of Gregory, 1 quæst. 1, that is to say, *Quicumque studet, &c.* For this is the true understanding of the same: knowing, first, that there be some priests after the thing and name only; and doth show that this is true, that whosoever studieth to receive the holy order by giving of money, he is not a priest, *secundum rem et nomen*; but, to say the truth, he desireth to be called a priest, that is, to be a priest *secundum nomen tantum*. And such a priest, which is a priest in name only, is no priest; no more than St. Mary painted is St. Mary; nor a false doctor a doctor, but no

doctor; and a man painted is not a man, but no man. And thus such a priest in name only is not a priest; because that all faithful men do firmly believe with St. Gregory, that no man buying the holy orders, may then be called a priest, as he saith, 1 quæst. 1, They that buy or sell holy orders can be no priests. Whereupon it is written, *Anathema danti*, and *Anathema accipienti*; that is, simoniacal heresy. And it followeth, How, therefore, if they be accursed and not blessed, can they make others blessed? And when that they be not in the body of Christ, how can they either receive or deliver the body of Christ? He that is accursed, how can he bless? as though he would say, It is impossible. As Pope Urban saith, 1 quæst. 1, *Si quis a simoniacis*, &c., They that willingly know and suffer themselves to be consecrated, nay rather execrated, of those that are infected with simony, we judge that their consecration is altogether void. Also Pope Leo, in 2 quæst. 1, saith in this wise: Grace, if it be not freely given and received, is not grace. Spiritual usurers do not receive freely: therefore they receive not the spiritual grace, which specially worketh in the ecclesiastical orders. If they receive it not, they have it not: if they have it not freely, they cannot give it freely. And by this it is more clear than the light, that they which know so much, and receive orders by spiritual usury or simony, are neither priests nor deacons, neither after the manner nor character. For if such character or mark were otherwise given in giving orders, it were requisite always that there should be a certain grace imprinted in the man; but there is no such grace given or imprinted, as afore is manifest. Therefore there is no such character to be feigned. Therefore such character or mark abideth not in him, forasmuch as he never had, nor hath, the same. And yet furthermore, in the same place, What then do the simoniacal prelates give? And he maketh answer, Truly even that which they have, as the spirit of lying. How prove we this? Because that if it be the spirit of verity, as the same verity doth testify from whom it cometh, it is freely received. And it followeth for the whole purpose no doubt, it is convicted to be the spirit of lying, which is not freely received.

"By this it appeareth manifestly to the faithful sort, that those which wittingly and simoniacally are made priests, forasmuch as they receive not the character of the Lord, but only the spirit of lying and the mark of Simon Magus, and of Judas the traitor, they be not priests neither according to the mark nor manner: and such do no more make the sacraments of the church, than any other laymen may in the time of necessity; nor yet so truly, during their heretical naughtiness. And yet indeed, brother mine, *uni voce natura*, but yet *æqui voce in moribus*; I do not write thus sharply unto you, through anger, or any imperfect hate, but through the perfect hate of your horrible heresy and denying the faith of Christ, that I may say with David in the psalm, *Perfecto odio oderam*, &c. And I am very sorry for you, that you, which in times past have excellently well and fruitfully preached the gospel in the pulpit, do now as well fail in the congruity of the Latin tongue, as in the other science natural. For, as it was heard, thrice in one lecture you said *appetitis*; that is to say, pronouncing the middle syllable long, which thing not only the masters, but also the young scholars, understood. And many other faults there were in your grammar, which for shame I dare not recite. I send unto you these five conclusions.

"First, It is an infallible verity that the words of the four chief doctors, expounding the Holy Scripture according to the verity which the words do pretend, are to be holden and kept.

"Second, He which importeth any equivocation out of any of the doctors' expounding, for the colouring of his text, his equivocation is always to be left.

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"Third, No perversion of any reprobate is able to turn the congregation of the elect from the faith, because all things that shall come to pass are eternally in God, devised and ordained for the best unto the elect Christians.

"Fourth, Like as the mystical body of Christ is the congregation of all the elect, so antichrist, mystically, is the church of the wicked and of all the reprobates.

"Fifth, The conclusions of Swinderby be agreeable to the faith in every part."

This letter was thus subscribed: "By the Spirit of God, sometime visiting you."

84. A Letter from Lucifer to the Pope and Prelates

Besides this epistle above prefixed, there is also found annexed with the same, a device of another certain letter counterfeited under the name of Lucifer, prince of darkness, writing to the pope and all popish prelates, persecuting the true and right church with all might and main, to maintain their pride and domination in this earth, under a colourable pretence and visor of the catholic church and succession apostolical: which letter, although it seemeth in some authors to be ascribed to Ocham, above mentioned; yet, because I find it in the same register of the church of Hereford contained, and inserted among the tractations of Walter Brute, and devised, as the register said, by the Lollards, I thought no meeter place than here to annex the same; the tenor whereof thus proceedeth in words as follow:

"I, Lucifer, prince of darkness and profound heaviness, emperor of the high mysteries of the king of Acheron, captain of the dungeon, Erebus king of hell, and controller of the infernal fire: To all our children of pride, and companions of our kingdom, and especially to our princes of the church of this latter age and time, (of which our adversary Jesus Christ, according to the prophet, saith, I hate the church or congregation of the wicked,) send greeting; and wish prosperity to all that obey our commandments, as also to those that be obedient to the laws of Satan already enacted, and that are diligent observers of our behests, and the precepts of our decree.

"Know ye that in times past certain vicars or vicegerents of Christ, following his steps in miracles and virtues, living and continuing in a beggarly life, converted, in a manner, the whole world from the yoke of our tyranny unto their doctrine and manner of life, to the great derision and contempt of our prison-house and kingdom, and also to the no little prejudice and hurt of our jurisdiction and authority; not fearing to hurt our fortified power, and to offend the majesty of our estate. For then received we no tribute of the world, neither did the miserable sort of common people rush at the gates of our deep dungeon as they were wont to do, with continual pealing and rapping; but then the easy, pleasant, and broad way, which leadeth to death, lay still, without great noise of trampling travellers, neither yet was trod with the feet of miserable men. And when all our courts were without suitors, hell then began to howl; and thus, continuing in great heaviness and anguish, was robbed and spoiled: which thing considered, the impatient rage of our stomach could no longer suffer, neither the ugly, reckless negligence of our great captain-general could any longer endure; but we, seeking remedy for the time that should come after, have provided us of a very trim shift. For, instead of these apostles and other their adherents which draw by the same line of theirs, as well in manners as doctrine, and are odious enemies unto us, we have caused you to be their successors, and put you in their place, which be prelates of the church in these latter times, by our great might and subtlety, as Christ hath said of you: They have reigned, but not by me. Once we promised unto him all the kingdoms of the world if he would fall down and worship us; but he would not, saying, My kingdom is not of this world, and went his way when the multitude would have made him a temporal king. But to you, truly, which are fallen from the state of grace, and that serve us in the earth, is that my promise fulfilled; and by our means all terrene things which we have bestowed upon you, are under your government: for he hath said of us, as ye know, The prince of this world cometh, &c., and hath made us to reign over all children of unbelief. Therefore our adversaries before recited did

patiently submit themselves unto the princes of the world, and did teach that men should do so, saying, Be ye subject to every creature for God's cause, whether it be to the king, as most chief: and again, Obey ye them that are made rulers over you, &c. For so their Master commanded them, saying, The kings of the heathen have dominion over them, &c. But I think it long till we have poured our poison upon the earth, and therefore fill yourselves full.

"And now, be ye not only unlike those fathers, but also contrary unto them in your life and conditions; and extol yourselves above all other men. Neither do ye give to God that which belongeth to him, nor yet to Cæsar that which is his: but exercise you the power of both the swords, according to our decrees, making yourselves doers in worldly matters, fighting in our quarrel, entangled with secular labours and business. And climb ye, by little and little, from the miserable state of poverty, unto the highest seats of all honours, and the most princely places of dignity by your devised practices, and false and deceitful wiles and subtlety: that is, by hypocrisy, flattery, lying, perjury, treasons, deceits, simony, and other greater wickedness than which our infernal furies may devise. For after that ye have by us been advanced thither where ye would be, yet that doth not suffice you, but, as greedy shavelings, more hungry than ye were before, ye suppress the poor, scratch and rake together all that comes to hand, perverting and turning every thing topsyturvy; so swollen, that ready ye are to burst for pride, living like lechers in all corporal delicateness, and by fraud directing all your doings. You challenge to yourselves names of honour in the earth, calling yourselves lords, holy, yea, and most holy persons.

"Thus, either by violence ye ravin, or else by ambition subtly ye pilfer away, and wrongfully wrest, and by false title possess, those goods, which for the sustentation of the poor members of Christ, (whom from our first fall we have hated,) were bestowed and given, consuming them as ye yourselves list; and therewith ye cherish and maintain an innumerable sort of whores, strumpets, and bawds, with whom ye ride pompously like mighty princes, far otherwise going than those poor beggarly priests of the primitive church. For I would ye should build yourselves rich and gorgeous palaces; yea, and fare like princes, eating and drinking the daintiest meats and pleasantest wines that may be gotten: hoard and heap together an infinite deal of treasure, not like to him that said, Gold and silver have I none: serve and fight for us according to your wages! O most acceptable society or fellowship, promised unto us by the prophet, and of those fathers long ago reprov'd: whilst that Christ called thee the synagogue of Satan, and likened thee to the mighty whore which committed fornication with the kings of the earth, the adulterous spouse of Christ, and of a chaste person made a strumpet. Thou hast left thy first love and hast cleaved unto us, O our beloved Babylon! O our citizens, which from the transmigration of Jerusalem come hither! we love you for your deserts; we rejoice over you, which condemn the laws of Simon Peter, and embrace the laws of Simon Magus our friend, and have them at your fingers' ends; and exercise the same publicly, buying and selling spiritual things in the church of God, and against the commandment of God. Ye give benefices and honours by petition, or else for money; for favour, or else for filthy service: and refusing to admit those that be worthy to ecclesiastical dignities, and preferring those that are unworthy, you call unto the inheritance of God's sanctuary, bawds, liars, flatterers, your nephews, and your own children; and to a childish boy ye give many prebends, the least whereof ye deny to bestow upon a poor good man: ye esteem the person of a man, and receive gifts; ye regard money and have no regard of souls. Ye have made the house of God a den of thieves. All abuse,

all extortion, is more exercised a hundred-fold in your judgment-seats, than with any secular tyrant. Ye make laws and keep not the same; and ye dispense with your dispensations as it pleaseth you; you justify the wicked for rewards, and you take away the just man's desert from him. And, briefly, ye perpetrate or commit all kind of mischief, even as it is our will ye should. And ye take much pain for lucre's sake, in our service; and, especially, to destroy the Christian faith; for now the lay-people are almost in doubt what they may believe; because, if ye preach any thing to them, (as sometimes, although it be but seldom seen, and that negligently enough, even as we would have it,) yet, notwithstanding, they believe you not, because they see manifestly that ye do clean contrary to that ye say. Whereupon the common people, doing as ye do which have the government of them, and should be an example to them of well-doing; now, many of them, leaning to your rules, do run headlong into a whole sea of vices, and so, continually, a very great multitude flocketh at the strong and well-fenced gates of our dungeon. And doubtless ye send us so many day by day of every sort and kind of people, that we should not be able to entertain them, but that our insatiable chaos, with her thousand ravening jaws, is sufficient to devour an infinite number of souls: and thus the sovereignty of our empire by you hath been reformed, and our intolerable loss restored. Wherefore, most specially we commend you, and give you most hearty thanks; exhorting you all that in any wise ye persevere and continue, as hitherto ye have done; neither that you slack henceforth your enterprise. For why? by your helps we purpose to bring the whole world again under our power and dominion. Over and besides this, we commit unto you no small authority, to supply our places in the betraying of your brethren; and we make and ordain you our vicars, and the ministers of antichrist our son, now hard at hand, for whom ye have made a very trim way and passage. Furthermore, we counsel you which occupy the highest rooms of all others, that you work subtly, and that ye feignedly procure peace between the princes of the world, and that ye cherish and procure secret causes of discord. And, like as craftily ye have destroyed and subverted the Roman empire, so suffer ye no kingdom to be overmuch enlarged or enriched by tranquillity and peace; lest perhaps in so great tranquillity, all desire of peace set aside, they dispose themselves to view and consider your most wicked works, suppressing on every side your estate; and from your treasures take away such substance as we have caused to be reserved and kept in your hands, until the coming of our well-beloved son antichrist. We would ye should do our commendations to our entirely beloved daughters, Pride, Deceit, Wrath, Avarice, Belly-cheer, and Lechery, and to all other our daughters; and specially to Lady Simony, which hath made you men, and enriched you; and hath given you suck with her own breasts, and weaned you, and therefore see that in no wise you call her Sin. And be ye lofty and proud, because that the most high dignity of your estate doth require such magnificence: and also be ye covetous, for whatsoever you get and gather into your fardel, it is for St. Peter, for the peace of the church, and for the defence of your patrimony and the crucifix; and therefore ye may lawfully do it. Ye may promote your cardinals to the highest seat of dignities without any let in all the world, in stopping the mouth of our adversary Jesus Christ, and alleging again, that he preferred his kinsfolks, being but of poor and base degree, unto the apostleship; but do not you so, but rather call, as ye do, those that live in arrogancy, in haughtiness of mind, and filthy lechery, unto the state of wealthy riches and pride; and those rewards and promotions, which the followers of Christ forsook, do ye distribute unto your friends. Therefore, as ye shall have better understanding, prepare ye vices cloaked under the similitude of virtues. Allege for yourselves the glosses of the Holy Scripture, and wrest them directly to serve for your

purpose: and if any man preach or teach otherwise than ye will, oppress ye him violently with the sentence of excommunication; and by your censures heaped one upon another, by the consent of your brethren, let him be condemned as a heretic, and let him be kept in most strait prison, and there tormented till he die, for a terrible example to all such as confess Christ. And, setting all favour apart, cast him out of your temple; lest, peradventure, the ingrafted word may save your souls, which word I do abhor as I do the souls of other faithful men. And do your endeavour that ye may deserve to have the place which we have prepared for you, under the most wicked foundation of our dwelling-place. Fare ye well, with such felicity as we desire and intend, finally, to reward and recompense you with.

"Given at the centre of the earth, in that our dark place, where all the rabblement of devils was present, specially for this purpose called unto our most dolorous consistory; under the character of our terrible seal, for the confirmation of the premises."

Who was the true author of this poesy or epistle above written, it is not evidently known; neither doth it greatly skill. The matter being well considered on their part which here be noted, may minister unto them sufficient occasion of wholesome admonition, either to remember themselves what is amiss, or to bethink with themselves what is to be amended. Divers other writings of like argument, both before and since, have been devised; as one bearing the title, *Luciferi ad malos Principes Ecclesiasticos*, imprinted first at Paris in Latin; and under the writing thereof, bearing this date, A. D. 1351; which if ye count from the passion of the Lord, reacheth well to the time of Wickliff, 1385; which was above six years before the examination of this Walter Brute.

There is also another epistle of Lucifer, prince of darkness, mentioned in the epistle of the school of Prague, to the university of Oxford, set forth by Hulderic Hutten, about the year of our Lord (as is there dated) 1370; which seemeth to be written before this epistle.

Also Vincentius, in Speculo Hist. lib. 25. cap. 89, inferreth like mention of a letter of the fiends infernal unto the clergymen, as in a vision represented, four hundred years before. In which the devils gave thanks to the spiritual men, for that by their silence, and not preaching the gospel, they sent infinite souls to hell, &c.

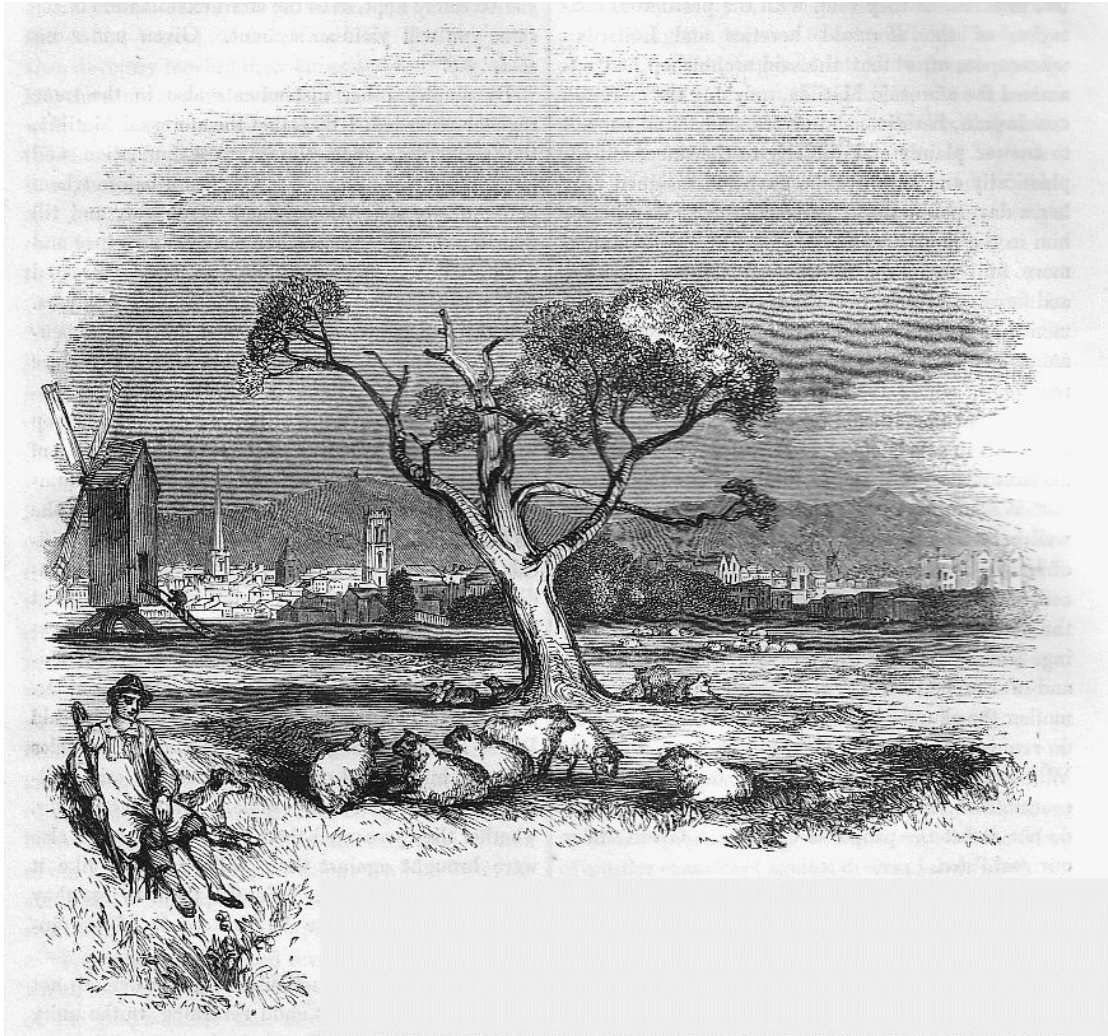
Divers other letters also of like device have been written, and also recorded in authors: whereunto may be added, that one, Jacobus Carthusiensis, writing to the bishop of Worms, allegeth out of the prophecy of Hildegard, in these words: "Therefore, saith he, the devil may say of you priests in himself, The meats of banqueting dishes, and feasts of all kind of pleasure, I find in these men; yea, also mine eyes, mine ears, my belly, and all my veins be full of their frothing, and my breasts be full stuffed with their riches," &c. "Furthermore," saith he, "they labour every day to rise up higher with Lucifer, but every day they fall with him more deeply."

Hereunto also appertaineth a story written, and commonly found in many old written books: In the year of our Lord 1228, at Paris in a synod of the clergy, there was one appointed to make a sermon; who being much careful in his mind, and solicitous what to say, the devil came to him, and asking him why he was so careful for his matter what he should preach to the clergy; say thus, quoth he, The princes of hell salute you, O you princes of the church, and gladly give you thanks, because

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through your default and negligence it cometh to pass, that all souls go down to hell. Adding, moreover, that he was also enforced by the commandment of God to declare the same; yea, and that a certain token, moreover, was given to the said clerk for a sign, whereby the synod might evidently see that he did not lie.

85. King Richard II and the Followers of Wickliff



Leicester

King Richard, by the setting on of William Courtney, archbishop of Canterbury, and his fellows, taking part with the pope and Romish prelates, waxed somewhat strait and hard to the poor Christians of the contrary side of Wickliff; albeit, during all the life of the said king I find of none expressly by name that suffered burning. Notwithstanding some there were, which by the aforesaid archbishop, William Courtney, and other bishops, had been condemned; and divers also abjured, and did penance, as well in other places, as chiefly about the town of Leicester, as followeth here to be declared out of the archbishop's register and records.

At what time the said archbishop, William Courtney, was in his visitation at the town of Leicester, certain there were, accused and detected to him, by the monks and other priests in the said town: the names of which persons there detected were, one Roger Dexter, Nicholas Taylor, Richard Wagstaff, Michael Scrivener, William Smith, John Henry, William Parchmeanar, and Roger Goldsmith, inhabitants of the same town of Leicester. These, with other more, were denounced to the archbishop

for holding the opinion of the sacrament of the altar, of auricular confession, and other sacraments, contrary to that which the Church of Rome doth preach and observe. All which parties above named, and many other more, whose names are not known, did hold these heresies and errors here underwritten, and are of the Romish Church condemned.

"1. That in the sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration, there remaineth the body of Christ with the material bread.

"2. That images ought not to be worshipped in any case, and that no man ought to set any candle before them.

"3. That no cross ought to be worshipped.

"4. The masses and matins ought not with a high and loud voice to be said in the church.

"5. Item, that no curate or priest, taken in any crime, can consecrate, hear confessions, or minister any of the sacraments of the church.

"6. That the pope and all prelates of the church cannot bind any man with the sentence of excommunication, unless they know him to be first excommunicated of God.

"7. That no prelate of the church can grant any pardons.

"8. That every layman may in every place preach and teach the gospel.

"9. That it is sin to give any alms or charity to the friars Preachers, Minorites, Augustines, or Carmelites.

"10. That no oblation ought to be used at the funerals of the dead.

"11. That it is not necessary to make confession of our sins to the priest.

"12. That every good man, although he be unlearned, is a priest."

These articles they taught, preached, and affirmed manifestly in the town of Leicester, and other places adjoining. Whereupon the said archbishop monished the said Roger and Nicholas, with the rest, on the next day to make answer unto him in the said monastery to the aforesaid articles. But the aforesaid Roger and Nicholas, with the rest, hid themselves out of the way, and appeared not. Whereupon the archbishop, upon All-hallow day, being the first day of November, celebrating the high mass, at the high altar in the said monastery, being attired in his pontificals, denounced the said parties, with all their adherents, abettors, favourers, and counsellors, as excommunicate and accursed, which either held, taught, or maintained the aforesaid conclusions heretical and erroneous; and that in solemn wise, by ringing the bells, lighting the candles, and putting out the same again, and throwing them down to the ground, with other circumstances thereunto belonging. Upon the morrow after (being All-souls' day) he sent for all the curates and other, laymen, of the town of Leicester, to inquire more diligently of the verity of such matter as they knew, and were able to say against any persons whatsoever, concerning the aforesaid articles, as also against the parties before named and specified upon their oaths, denouncing every one of them severally by their names to be excommunicate and accursed and caused them also in divers parish churches in Leicester also to be excommunicate. And further the said archbishop interdicted the whole town of Leicester, and all the churches in the same, so long as any of the aforesaid excommunicate persons should

remain or be within the same; and till that all the Lollards of the town should return and amend from such heresies and errors, obtaining at the said archbishop's hands the benefit of absolution.

At length it was declared and showed to the said archbishop, that there was a certain anchoress, whose name was Matilda, enclosed within the churchyard of St. Peter's church of the said town of Leicester, infected, as they said, with the pestiferous contagion of the aforesaid heretics and Lollards: whereupon, after that the said archbishop had examined the aforesaid Matilda, touching the aforesaid conclusions, heresies, and errors, and found her not to answer plainly and directly to the same, but sophistically and subtilly; he gave and assigned unto her a day, peremptory, personally to appear before him in the monastery of St. James at Northampton, more fully to answer to the said articles, heresies, and errors: which was the sixth day of the said month of November; commanding the abbot of the monastery of Pratis aforesaid, that the door of the recluse, in which the said Matilda was, should be opened, and that till his return he should cause her to be put in safe custody. That done, he sent forth his mandate against the Lollards, under this form:

"William, by the permission of God, &c. To his well-beloved sons, the mayor and bailiffs of the town of Leicester diocese, greeting. We have lately received the king's letters, graciously granted us for the defence of catholic faith, in these words following, Richard, by the grace of God king of England and of France, &c. We, on the behalf of our holy mother the church, by the king's authority aforesaid, do require you, that you cause the same Richard, William, Roger, and the rest, to be arrested, and sent unto us; that they with their pernicious doctrine do not infect the people of God, &c. Given under our seal," &c.

By another instrument also in the same register is mention made of one Margaret Caily, nun, which, forsaking her order, was by the said archbishop constrained, against her will, again to enter the same, as by this instrument hereunder ensuing may appear.

"William, by the grace of God, &c. To our reverend brother in God, John, by the grace of God bishop of Ely, greeting, &c. In the visitation of our diocese of Lincoln according to our office, amongst other enormities worthy reformation, we found one sheep out of our fold strayed, and amongst the briers tangled; to wit, Margaret Caily, nun professed, in the monastery of St. Radegond within your diocese; who, casting off the habit of her religion, was found in secular attire, many years being an apostate, and leading a dissolute life. And lest her blood should be required at our hands, we have caused her to be taken and brought unto you, being her pastor: and straitly enjoining you, by these presents we do command, that you admit the same Margaret again into her aforesaid monastery, although returned against her will, or else into some other place, where for her soul's health you shall think most convenient; and that from henceforth she be safely kept, as in the strait examination of the same you will yield an account. Given under our seal," &c.

By sundry other instruments also in the same register recorded, I find, that the aforesaid Matilda, the anchoress, upon the strait examination and handling of the aforesaid archbishop, before whom peremptorily she was enjoined to appear, and till that day of appearance taken out of the recluse and committed to safe custody, as you heard, retracted and recanted her aforesaid articles and opinions. For the which she, being enjoined forty days' penance, was again admitted into her aforesaid recluse in Leicester.

Also by another letter of the aforesaid archbishop to the dean of the cathedral church of our Lady of Leicester being registered, I find, that of the number of those eight persons before recited, whom the archbishop himself at high mass did in his pontificals so solemnly curse with book, bell, and candle; after certain process being sent out against them, or else in the mean time they being apprehended and taken, two of them recanted their opinions; to wit, William Smith, and Roger Dexter. But in the mean time, Alice, the wife of the said Roger Dexter, taking hold of the aforesaid articles with her husband also, together with the said William Smith, abjured the same. Notwithstanding, whether they presented themselves willingly, or else were brought against their wills, as most like it was, hard penance was enjoined them before they were absolved. These be the words of the instrument.

"Seeing our holy mother the church denieth not her lap to any penitent child returning to the unity of her, but rather proffereth to them the same; we therefore do receive again the said William, Roger, and Alice, to grace: and further have caused them to abjure all and singular the aforesaid articles and opinions, before they received of us the benefit of absolution, and were loosed from the sentence of excommunication, wherein they were snarled; enjoining unto them penance, according to the quantity of the crime, in form as followeth: that is to say, that the Sunday next after their returning to their proper goods, they, the said William, Roger, and Alice, holding every one of them an image of the crucifix in their hands, and in their left hands every one of them a taper of wax, weighing half a pound weight, in their shirts, having none other apparel upon them, do go before the cross three times during the procession of the cathedral church of our Lady of Leicester; that is to say, in the beginning of the procession, in the middle of the procession, and in the latter end of the procession; to the honour of Him that was crucified, in the memorial of his passion, and to the honour of the Virgin his mother: who also, devoutly bowing their knees and kneeling, shall kiss the same crucifix so held in their hands: and so, with the same procession, they entering again into the church, shall stand, during all the time of the holy mass, before the image of the cross, with their tapers and crosses in their hands; and when the mass is ended, the said William, Roger, and Alice shall offer to him that celebrated that day the mass.

"Then, upon the Saturday next ensuing, the said William, Roger, and Alice, shall, in the full and public market, within the town of Leicester, stand in like manner in their shirts, without any more clothes upon their bodies, holding the aforesaid crosses in their right hands; which crosses three times they shall, during the market, devoutly kiss, reverently kneeling upon their knees: that is, in the beginning of the market, in the middle of the market, and in the end of the market. And the said William, for that he somewhat understandeth the Latin tongue, shall say this anthem with the collect, *Sancta Katharina*, and the aforesaid Roger and Alice, being unlearned, shall say devoutly a *Pater Noster*, and an *Ave Maria*. And thirdly, the Sunday next immediately after the same, the said William, Roger, and Alice, in their parish church of the said town of Leicester, shall stand and do, as, upon the Sunday before they stood and did in the cathedral church of our Lady aforesaid in all things which done, the aforesaid William, Roger, and Alice, after mass, shall offer to the priest or chaplain that celebrated the same, with all humility and reverence, the wax tapers, which they shall carry in their hands. And because of the cold weather that now is, lest the aforesaid penitents might peradventure take some bodily hurt, standing so long naked, (being mindful to moderate partly the said our rigour,) we give leave, that after their entrance into the churches abovesaid, whilst they shall be in

hearing the aforesaid masses, they may put on necessary garments to keep them from cold, so that their heads and feet notwithstanding be bare and uncovered. We, therefore, will and command you, together and apart, that you denounce the said William, Roger, and Alice, to be absolved and restored again to the unity of our holy mother the church, and that you call them forth to do their penance in manner and form aforesaid. Given at Dorchester, the seventeenth day of November, in theyear of our Lord God 1389, and the ninth year of our translation."

Unto the narration of these abovesaid, we will adjoin the story of one Peter Pateshul, an Austin friar, who, obtaining by the pope's privilege, through the means of Walter Dis, confessor to the duke of Lancaster, liberty to change his coat and religion, and hearing the doctrine of John Wickliff and other of the same sort, began at length to preach openly, and to detect the vices of his order, in such sort as all men wondered to hear the horrible reciting thereof. This being brought to the ears of his order, they, to the number of twelve, coming out of their houses to the place where he was preaching, thought to have withstood him by force: among whom one especially, for the zeal of his religion, stood up openly in his preaching, and contraried that which he said; who then was preaching in the church of St. Christopher in London. This when the faithful Londoners did see, taking grief hereat, they were moved with great ire against the said friar, thrusting him with his other brethren out of the church, whom they not only had beaten and sore wounded, but also followed them home to their house, minding to have destroyed their mansion with fire also; and so would have done, had not one of the sheriffs of London, with two of the friars of the said house, well known and reported amongst the Londoners, with gentle words mitigated their rage and violence. After this, Peter Pateshul thus disturbed, as is aforesaid, was desired by the Londoners, forasmuch as he could not well preach amongst them, to put in writing that which he had said before, and other things more that he knew of the friars; who then, at their request, writing the same, accused the friars of murder committed against divers of their brethren. And to make the matter more apparent and credible, he declared the names of them that were murdered, with the names also of their tormentors; and named, moreover, time and place, where and when they were murdered, and where they were buried. He affirmed further, that they were sodomites, and traitors both to the king and the realm; with many other crimes, which mine author for tediousness leaveth off to recite. And for the more confutation of the said friars, the Londoners caused the said bill to be openly set up at St. Paul's church-door in London, which was there read and copied out of very many. This was done in the year of our Lord 1387, and in the tenth year of King Richard the Second.

Thus it may appear, by this and other above recited, how the gospel of Christ, preached by John Wickliff and others, began to spread and fructify abroad in London, and other places of the realm; and more would have done, no doubt, had not William Courtney, the archbishop, and other prelates, with the king, set them so forcibly, with might and main, to gainstand the course thereof: albeit, as is said before, I find none which yet were put to death therefore, during the reign of this King Richard the Second; whereby it is to be thought of this king, that although he cannot utterly be excused for molesting the godly and innocent preachers of that time, (as by his briefs and letters aforementioned may appear,) yet neither was he so cruel against them, as other that came after him; and that which he did, seemed to proceed by the instigation of the pope and other bishops, rather than either by the consent of his parliament, or advice of his council about him, or else by his own nature. For, as the decrees of the parliament in all his time were constant in stopping out the pope's provisions, and in

bridling his authority, as we shall see (Christ willing) anon; so the nature of the king was not altogether so fiercely set, if that he, following the guiding thereof, had not stood so much in fear of the bishop of Rome and his prelates, by whose importunate letters and calling on, he was continually urged to do contrary to that which both right required, and will, perhaps, in him desired. But howsoever the doings of this king are to be excused, or not, undoubted it is, that Queen Anne, his wife, most rightly deserveth singular commendation; who at the same time, living with the king, had the Gospels of Christ in English, with four doctors upon the same. This Anne was a Bohemian born, and sister to Wencislaus, king of Bohemia before; who was married to King Richard, about the fifth (some say the sixth) year of his reign, and continued with him the space of eleven years: by the occasion whereof it may seem not improbable, that the Bohemians coming in with her, or resorting into this realm after her, perused and received here the books of John Wickliff, which afterward they conveyed into Bohemia, whereof partly mention is made before.

The said virtuous Queen Anne, after she had lived with King Richard about eleven years, in the seventeenth year of his reign changed this mortal life, and was buried at Westminster; at whose funeral Thomas Arundel, then archbishop of York, and lord chancellor, made the sermon; in which sermon, as remaineth in the library of Worcester recorded, he, treating of the commendation of her, said these words, That it was more joy of her than of any woman that ever he knew; for, notwithstanding that she was an alien born, she had in English all the four Gospels, with the doctors upon them: affirming, moreover, and testifying, that she had sent the same unto him to examine; and he said, they were good and true. And, further, with many words of praise he did greatly commend her, in that she, being so great a lady, and also an alien, would study so lowly, so virtuous books; and he blamed in that sermon sharply the negligence of the prelates and other men: insomuch that some said, he would on the morrow leave up the office of chancellor, and forsake the world, and give him to fulfil his pastoral office, for what he had seen and read in those books; and then it had been the best sermon that ever they heard.

In the which sermon of Thomas Arundel, three points are to be considered: First, the laudable use of those old times received, to have the Scripture and doctors in our vulgar English tongue. Secondly, the virtuous exercise and also example of this godly lady, who had these books not for a show hanging at her girdle; but also seemed, by this sermon, to be a studious occupier of the same. The third thing to be noted is, what fruit the said Thomas, archbishop, declared also himself to receive at the hearing and reading of the same books of hers in the English tongue. Notwithstanding, the same Thomas Arundel, after this sermon and promise made, became the most cruel enemy that might be against English books, and the authors thereof; as followeth after in his story to be seen. For shortly after the death of Queen Anne, the same year (the king being then in Ireland) this Thomas Arundel, archbishop of York, and Robert Braybrocke, bishop of London, (whether sent by the archbishop of Canterbury and the clergy, or whether going of their own accord,) crossed the seas to Ireland, to desire the king in all speedy wise to return and help the faith and church of Christ, against such as, holding of Wickliff's teaching, went about, as they said, to subvert all their proceedings, and to destroy the canonical sanctions of their holy mother church. At whose complaint, the king hearing the one part speak, and not advising the other, was in such sort incensed, that incontinently, leaving all his affairs uncomplete, he sped his return toward England, having kept his Christmas at Dublin; in the which mean time, in the beginning of the next year following, which was A. D.

1395, a parliament was called at Westminster by the commandment of the king. In which parliament certain articles or conclusions were put up by them of the Gospel's side, to the number of twelve; which conclusions, moreover, were fastened up upon the church-door of St. Paul in London, and also at Westminster: the copy of which conclusions, with the words and contents thereof, hereunder ensue.

"The first conclusion: — When the Church of England began first to dote in temporalities after her stepmother the great Church of Rome, and the churches were authorized by appropriations; faith, hope, and charity began in divers places to vanish and fly away from our church, forasmuch as pride, with her most lamentable and dolorous genealogy of mortal and deadly sins, did challenge that place by title of heritage. And this conclusion is general, and approved by experience, custom, and manner, as ye shall after hear.

"The second conclusion, That our usual priesthood, which took its original at Rome, and is feigned to be a power higher than angels, is not that priesthood which Christ ordained unto his disciples. This conclusion is thus proved, forasmuch as the Romish priesthood is done with signs, and pontifical rites, and ceremonies, and benedictions, of no force and effect, neither having any ground in Scripture; forasmuch as the bishop's ordinal, and the New Testament, do nothing at all agree; neither do we see that the Holy Ghost doth give any good gift through any such signs or ceremonies, because that he, together with all noble and good gifts, cannot consist and be in any person with deadly sin. The corollary or effect of this conclusion is, That it is a lamentable and dolorous mockery unto wise men, to see the bishops mock and play with the Holy Ghost in the giving of their orders; because they give crowns for their characters and marks, instead of white hearts; and this character is the mark of antichrist, brought into the holy church to cloak and colour their idleness.

"The third conclusion, — That the law of chastity enjoined unto priesthood, the which was first ordained to the prejudice of women, induceth infamy into the church; but we do excuse us by the Bible, because the suspect decree doth say, that we should not name it. Both reason and experience prove this conclusion. Reason thus: forasmuch as the delicate feeding and fare of the clergy will have either a natural purgation, or some worse. Experience thus: forasmuch as the secret trial and proof of such men is, that they do delight in women; and whensoever thou dost prove or see such a man, mark him well, for he is one of that number. The corollary of this conclusion is, That these private religions, with the beginners thereof, ought most chiefly to be disannulled, as the original of that sin and offence: but God of his might doth, for privy sins, send open vengeance.

"The fourth conclusion, that most harmeth the innocent people, is this, That the famed miracle of the sacrament of bread induceth all men, except it be a very few, unto idolatry; forasmuch as they think that the body, which shall never be out of heaven, is by the virtue of the priest's words essentially included in the little bread, the which they do show unto the people. But would to God they would believe that which the evangelical doctor teacheth us in his Dialogue, that the bread of the altar is the body of Christ accidentally: forasmuch as we suppose that by that means every faithful man and woman in the law of God may make the sacrament of that bread without any such miracle. The corollary of this conclusion is, That albeit the body of Christ be endowed with the eternal joy, the service of Corpus Christi, made by friar Thomas, is not true, but painted full of false miracles; neither is it any marvel, forasmuch as friar Thomas, at that time taking part with the pope, would have made a

miracle of a hen's egg; and we know it very well, that every lie, openly preached and taught, doth turn to the rebuke and opprobrium of Him, which is always true without any lack.

"The fifth conclusion is this, That the exorcisms and hallowings, consecrations and blessings, over the wine, bread, wax, water, oil, salt, incense, the altar-stone, and about the church-walls, over the vestment, chalice, mitre, cross, and pilgrim-staves, are the very practices of necromancy, rather than of sacred divinity. This conclusion is thus proved: because that by such exorcisms the creatures are honoured to be of more force and power than by their own proper nature; for we do not see any alteration or change in any creature so exorcised, except it be by false faith, which is the principal point of devilish art. The corollary of this is, That if the book of exorcisation or conjuring of holy water, which is sprinkled in the church, were altogether faithful and true, we think certainly that holy water used in the church, were the best medicine for all kind of sickness and sores; the contrary whereof daily experience doth teach us.

"The sixth conclusion, which maintaineth much pride, is, That a king and bishop both in one person, a prelate and justice in temporal causes, a curate and officer in worldly office, doth make every kingdom out of good order. This conclusion is manifest, because the temporality and spirituality are two parts of the holy universal church; and therefore he which addicteth himself to the one part, let him not intermeddle with the other; wherefore to be called *amphroditæ*, which are men of both kinds, or *ambodextri*, which is such as can play with both hands, were good names for such men of double estates. The corollary of this conclusion is, That thereupon we, the procurators of God, in this case do sue unto the parliament, that it may be enacted, that all such as be of the clergy, as well of the highest degree as of the lowest, should be fully excused, and occupy themselves with their own cure and charge, and not with others.

"The seventh conclusion that we mightily affirm is, That spiritual prayers made in the church for the souls of the dead, preferring any one by name more than another, is a false foundation of alms, whereupon all the houses of alms in England are falsely founded. This conclusion is proved by two reasons: the one is, that a meritorious prayer (of any force or effect) ought to be a work proceeding from mere charity; and perfect charity accepteth no person, because thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. Whereby it appeareth that the benefit of any temporal gift, bestowed and given unto priests and houses of alms, is the principal cause of any special prayers, the which is not far different from simony. The other reason is, that every special prayer, made for men condemned to eternal punishment, is very displeasing before God; and albeit it be doubtful, yet it is very likely unto the faithful Christian people, that the founders of every such house of alms, for their wicked endowing of the same, are, for the most part, passed by the broad way. The corollary is, that every prayer of force and effect, proceeding of perfect charity, would comprehend generally all such whom God would have saved, and to live. The merchandise of special prayers now used for the dead, maketh mendicant possessioners and other hireling priests; which, otherwise, were strong enough to work and to serve the whole realm; and maintaineth the same in idleness, to the great charge of the realm, because it was proved in a certain book which the king hath, that a hundred houses of alms are sufficient for the whole realm; and thereby might, peradventure, greater increase and profit come unto the temporality.

"The eighth conclusion, needful to tell to the people beguiled, is, That pilgrimages, prayers, and oblations made unto blind crosses or roods, or to deaf images made either of wood or stone, are very near of kin unto idolatry, and far different from alms: and, albeit that these things which are forbidden and imagined are the books of errors unto the common people, notwithstanding the usual and common image of the Trinity is most especially abominable. This conclusion God himself doth openly manifest, commanding alms to be given to the poor and needy man, for he is the image of God, in a more perfect similitude and likeness, than any block or stone. For God did not say, Let us make a block or stone unto our likeness and image, but, Let us make man; forasmuch as the supreme and highest honour, which the clergy call *Latria*, pertaineth only to the Godhead, and the inferior honour, which the clergy call *Dulia*, pertaineth unto men and angels, and to none other inferior creature. The corollary is, That the service of the cross, celebrated twice every year in our church, is full of idolatry: for if rood, tree, nails, and spear, ought so profoundly to be honoured and worshipped, then were Judas's lips, if any man could get them, a marvellous goodly relic. But thou, pilgrim, we pray thee tell us, when thou dost offer to the bones of the saints and holy men which are laid up in any place, whether dost thou relieve thereby the holy man which is already in joy, or that alms-house which is so well endowed, where they are canonized, the Lord knoweth how? and to speak more plainly, every faithful Christian may well judge and suppose that the strokes of that same man, whom they call St. Thomas, were no cause of martyrdom, nor yet be.

"The ninth conclusion, that keepeth the people low, is, That auricular confession, which is said to be so necessary for salvation, and the feigned power of absolution, exalteth and setteth up the pride of priests, and giveth them opportunity of other secret talks, which we will not at this time talk of; forasmuch as both lords and ladies do witness, that for fear of their confessors they dare not speak the truth: and in time of confession is good opportunity ministered of wooing, or to play the bawd, or to make other secret conventions to deadly sin. They affirm and say, that they are commissaries sent of God to judge and discern of all manner of sin, to pardon and cleanse whatsoever please them. They say also, that they have the keys of heaven and hell, and that they can excommunicate, curse and bless, bind and loose, at their own will and pleasure: insomuch, that for a small reward, or for twelve pence, they will sell the blessing of heaven by charter and clause of warranty, sealed by their common seal. This conclusion is so commonly in use, that it needeth not any probation. The corollary hereof is, That the pope of Rome which feigned himself to be the profound treasurer of the whole church, having that same worthy jewel, which is the treasure of the passion of Christ, in his own keeping and custody, together with the merits of all the saints in heaven, whereby he giveth feigned indulgences and pardons *a pœna et culpa*, is a treasurer almost banished out of charity, whereby he may deliver all captives being in purgatory at his pleasure, and make them not to come there. But here every faithful Christian may easily perceive that there is much falsehood hid in our church.

"The tenth, That manslaughter, either by war or by any pretended law of justice, for any temporal cause or spiritual revelation, is expressly contrary unto the New Testament, which is the law of grace, full of mercy. This conclusion is evidently proved by the examples of the preaching of Christ here on earth, who chiefly teacheth every man to love his enemies, and to have compassion upon them, and not to kill and murder them. The reason is this, that for the most part when men do fight, after the first stroke, charity is broken; and whosoever dieth without charity, goeth the right

way to hell. And beside that, we do well understand and know, that none of the clergy, by any lawful reason, can deliver any from the punishment of death for one deadly sin, and not for another: but the law of mercy, which is the New Testament, forbiddeth all manner of murder. For in the gospel it is spoken unto our forefathers, Thou shalt not kill. The corollary is, It is a very robbing of the people, when lords purchase indulgences and pardons *a pœna et culpa*, unto such as do help their armies to kill and murder the Christian people in foreign countries, for temporal gain; as we do see certain soldiers which do run among the heathen people, to get themselves fame and renown by the murder and slaughter of men. Much more do they deserve evil thanks at the hands of the King of Peace, forasmuch as by humility and peace our faith is multiplied and increased; for murderers and man-quellers Christ doth hate, and menaceth, He that striketh with the sword, shall perish with the sword.

"The eleventh conclusion is, which is shame to tell, That the vow of chastity, made in our church by women that are frail and imperfect in nature, is the cause of bringing in many great and horrible offences and vices, incident unto the nature of man: for, albeit the murder of their children born before their time, and before they are christened, and the destruction of their nature by medicine, are filthy and foul sins; yet they, accompanying among themselves, do pass to such unseemliness, that they ought to be punished by infernal torments. The corollary is, That widows, and such as take the mantle and the ring, deliciously fed, we would that they were married, because that we cannot excuse them from private offence of sin.

"The twelfth, That the multitude of arts not necessary, used in this our church, causeth much sin and offence in waste, curiosity, and disguising in curious apparel: experience and reason partly doth show the same, forasmuch as nature, with a few arts, is sufficient for man's use and necessity.

"This is the whole tenor of our embassy, which Christ hath commanded us to prosecute at this time, most fit and convenient for many causes. And, albeit that these matters be here briefly noted and touched, yet, notwithstanding, they are more at large declared in another book, with many other more in our own proper tongue, which we would should be common to all Christian people. Wherefore, we earnestly desire and beseech God, for his great goodness' sake, that he will wholly reform our church, now altogether out of frame, unto the perfection of her first beginning and original."

Certain verses were annexed unto the conclusions, which are thus Englished:

"The English nation doth lament, of these vile men their sin,
Which Paul doth plainly signify, by idols to begin.
But Giersites, full ingrate, from sinful Simon sprung,
This to defend, though priests in name, make bulwarks great and strong.
Ye princes, therefore, which to rule the people God hath placed,
With justice' sword, why see ye not, this evil great defaced."

After these conclusions were thus proposed in the parliament, the king not long after returned home from Dublin into England, towards the latter end of the parliament. Who at his return called certain of his nobles unto him, Richard Stury, Lewis Clifford, Thomas Latimer, John Mountacute, &c., whom he did sharply rebuke, and did terribly threaten, for that he heard them to be favourers of that side; charging them straitly, never to hold, maintain, nor favour any more those opinions and conclusions: and namely of Richard Stury he took an oath, that he should never, from that day, favour or defend any such opinions, which oath being taken, the king then

answered, "And I swear," saith he, "again to thee, that if thou dost ever break thine oath, thou shalt die for it a shameful death," &c.

All this while, William Courtney, archbishop of Canterbury, was yet alive, who was a great stirrer in these matters; but yet Pope Urban, the great master of the Romish sect, was dead and buried six years before, after whom succeeded in the schismatical see of Rome Pope Boniface the Ninth, who, nothing inferior to his predecessor in all kind of cruelties, left no diligence unattempted to set forward that which Urban had begun, in suppressing them that were setters-forth of the light of the gospel; and had written sundry times to King Richard, as well for the repealing of the acts of parliament against his provisions, as also that he should assist the prelates of England in the cause of God, as he pretended, against such, whom he falsely suggested to be Lollards, and traitors to the church, to the king, and the realm. Thus the courteous pope, whom he could not reach with his sword, at least, with cruel slander of his malicious tongue, would work his poison against them; which letter he wrote to the king in the year of our Lord 1396, which was the year before the death of William Courtney, archbishop of Canterbury; after whom succeeded in that see Thomas Arundel, brother to the earl of Arundel, being first bishop of Ely, afterward archbishop of York, and lord chancellor of England; and at last made archbishop of Canterbury about the year of our Lord 1397. The next year following, which was the year of our Lord 1398, and the ninth year of the pope, I find, in certain records of the bishop of Durham, a certain letter of King Richard the Second, written to the said Pope Boniface, which, because I judged not unworthy to be seen, I thought here to annex the same, proceeding in form as followeth:

"To the most holy father in Christ, and lord, Lord Boniface the Ninth, by the grace of God high pope of the most holy Romish and universal church, his humble and devout son Richard, by the grace of God, king of England and France, lord of Ireland, greeting, and desiring to help the miseries of the afflicted church, and kissing of those his blessed feet:

"Who will give my head water, and mine eyes streaming tears, that I may bewail the decay, and manifold troubles of our mother, which have chanced to her by her own children in the distresses of this present schism and division? For the sheep have forgotten the proper voice of their shepherds, and hirelings have thrust in themselves to feed the Lord's flock, who are clothed with the apparel of the true shepherd, challenging the name of honour and dignity; resembling so the true shepherd, that the poor sheep can scarce know whom they ought to follow; or what pastor, as a stranger, they ought to flee; and whom they should shun as an hireling. Wherefore, we are afraid lest the holy standard of the Lord be forsaken of his host, and so that city, being full of riches, become solitary and desolate, and lest the land or people which was wont to say, flourishing in her prosperities, I sat as a queen, and am not a widow, be destitute of the presence of her husband, and, as it were, so bewitched, that she shall not be able to discern his face, and so wrapped in mazes, that she shall not know where to turn her; that she might more easily find him, and that she shall with weeping speak that saying of the spouse, I sought him whom my soul loveth; I sought him and found him not. For now we are compelled so to wander, that if any man say, Behold, here is Christ, or there, we may not believe him so saying; and so many shepherds have destroyed the Lord's vineyard, and made his amiable portion a waste wilderness.

"This multitude of shepherds is become very burdensome to the Lord's flock: for when two strive to be chief, the state of both their dignities stands in doubt, and, in so doing, they give occasion to all the faithful of Christ for a schism and division of the church. And although both parties go about to subdue unto their power the whole church militant, yet, contrary to both their purposes, by working this way, there beginneth to rise now a division in the body of the church, like as when the division of the quick innocent body was asked, when the two harlots did strive before Solomon; like as the ten tribes of Israel followed Jeroboam the intruder, and were withdrawn from the kingdom for Solomon's sin: even so, of old time, the desire of ruling hath drawn the great power of the world from the unity of the church. Let yourselves remember, we beseech you, how that all Greece did fall from the obedience of the Romish Church, in the time of the faction of the patriarch of Constantinople; and how Mahomet, with his fellows, by occasion of supremacy in ecclesiastical dignity, deceived a great part of the Christians, and withdrew them from the empire and ruling of Christ; and now, in these days, where the same supremacy is, hath withdrawn itself from the obedience of it; insomuch that now, in very few realms the candle that burns before the Lord remaineth, and that for David's sake, his servant. And, although now remain few countries professing the obedience of Christ's true vicar, yet, peradventure, if every man were left to his own liberty, he would doubt of the preferring of your dignity, or, what is worse, would utterly refuse it by such doubtful evidence alleged on both sides: and this is the subtle craft of the crooked serpent, that is to say, under the pretence of unity, to procure schisms, as the spider of a wholesome flower gathers poison, and Judas learned of peace to make war.

"Wherefore it is lively believed of wise men, that except this pestilent schism be withstood, by and by, the keys of the church will be despised, and they shall bind the conscience but of a few: and when either none dare be bold to correct this fault, or to reform things contrary to God's law; so, by this means, at length temporal lords will take away the liberties of the church, and, peradventure, the Romans will come and take away their place, people, and lands: they will spoil their possessions, and bring the men of the church into bondage, and they shall be contemned, reviled, and despised, because the obedience of the people, and devotions towards them, will almost be taken away; when the greater part of the church, left to their own liberty, shall wax prouder than they be wont, leaving a wicked example to them that do see it. For when they see the prelates study more for covetousness than they were wont, to purse up money, to oppress the subjects, in their punishings to seek for gain, to confound laws, to stir up strife, to suppress truth, to vex poor subjects with wrong corrections, in meat and drink intemperate, in feastings past shame: what marvel is it if the people despise them as the foulest forsakers of God's law? But all these things do follow if the church should be left long in this doubtfulness of a schism, and then should that old saying be verified; In those days there was no king in Israel, but every one did that that seemed right and straight to himself. Micaiah did see the people of the Lord scattered in the mountains, as they had been sheep without a shepherd; for when the shepherd is smitten, the sheep of the flock shall be scattered: the great stroke of the shepherd is the minishing of his jurisdiction, by which the subjects are drawn from his obedience. When Jason had the office of the highest priest, he changed the ordinance of God, and brought in the customs of the heathen; the priests leaving the service of the holy altar, and applying themselves to wrestling, and other exercises of the Grecians, and despising those things that belonged to the priests, did labour with all their might to learn such things of the Grecians; and by that means the place, people, and holy anointing of priests, which, in times past, were had in great

reverence of kings, were trodden under foot of all men, and robbed by the king's power, and was profaned by thrusting in for money. Therefore, let the highest vicar of Christ look unto this with a diligent eye, and let him be the follower of him by whom he hath gotten authority above others.

"If you mark well, most holy father! you shall find that Christ rebuked sharply two brethren, coveting the seat of honour: he taught them not to play the lords over the people, but the more grace they were prevented with, to be so much more humble than other, and more lowly to serve their brethren; to him that asked his coat, to give the cloak; to him that smote him on the one cheek, to turn the other to him. For the sheep that are given to his keeping he must forsake all earthly things, and to shed his own blood, yea, and if need required, to die. These things, I say, be those that adorn the highest bishop, if they be in him; not purple, not his white horse, not his imperial crown, because he, among all men, is most bound to all the sheep of Christ. For the fear of God, therefore, and for the love of the flock which ye guide, consider these things diligently, and do them wisely, and suffer us no longer to waver betwixt two: although not for your own cause, to whom peradventure the fulness of your own power is known, yet in pitying our weakness, if thou be he, tell us openly, and show thyself to the world, that all we may follow one. Be not to us a bloody bishop, lest, by your occasion, man's blood be shed; lest hell swallow such a number of souls, and lest the name of Christ be evil spoken of by infidels, through such a worthy personage. But, peradventure ye will say, for our righteousness it is manifest enough, and we will not put it to other men's disputation. If this bald answer should be admitted, the schism should continue still; seeing neither part is willing to agree to the other, and that where the world is, as it were, equally divided betwixt them, neither part can be compelled to give place to the other without much bloodshed. The incarnation of Christ and his resurrection was well enough known to himself and his disciples; yet he asked of his Father to be made known to the world. He made also the gospel to be written, and the doctrine of the apostles, and sent his apostles into all the world, to do the office of preaching, that the same thing might be known to all men. The foresaid reason is the subtlety of Mahomet, who, knowing himself guilty of his sect, utterly forbade disputations. If ye have so full trust of your righteousness, put it to the examinations of worthy persons in a general council, to the which it belongeth by right to define such doubts, or else commit it unto able persons, and give them full power to determine all things concerning that matter; or, at the least, by forsaking the office on both parties, leave the church of God free, speedily to provide for a new shepherd.

"We find kings have forsaken their temporal kingdoms, only upon respect of devotion, and have taken the apparel of monks' profession. Therefore let Christ's vicar (being a professor of most high holiness) be ashamed to continue in his seat of honour to the offence of all people, and the prejudice and hurt of the Romish Church, and the devotion of it, and cutting away kingdoms from it.

"But if you say, It is not requisite that the cause of God's church should be called in controversy, and, therefore, we cannot so easily go from it, seeing our conscience gainsayeth it: to this we answer, If it be the cause of God and the church, let the general council judge of it; but if it be a personal cause, (as almost all the world probably thinketh,) if ye were the followers of Christ, ye would rather choose a temporal death, than to suffer such a wavering, I say not, to the hurt of so many, but to the endless destruction of souls, to the offence of the whole world, and to an everlasting shame of the apostolical dignity. Did not Clement, named, or (that I may

more truly speak) ordained of St. Peter to the apostolical dignity, and to be bishop, resign his right, that his deed might be taken of his successors for an example? Also Pope Siricius gave over his popedom to be a comfort of the eleven thousand virgins; therefore much more ought you (if need require) give over your popedom, that you might gather together the children of God which be scattered abroad. For, as it is thought a glorious thing to defend the common right, even to bloodshed; so is it sometimes necessary for a man to wink at his own cause, and to forsake it for a greater profit, and by that means better to procure peace. Should not he be thought a devil and Christ's enemy of all men, that would agree to an election made of him for the apostolical dignity and popedom, if it should be to the destruction of Christians, the division of the church, the offence and loss of all faithful people? If such mischiefs should be known to all the world by God's revelation to come to pass, by such receiving of the popedom and apostolical dignity: then, by the like reason, why shall he not be judged of all men an apostate, and forsaker of his faith, which chooseth dignity, or worldly honour, rather than the unity of the church? Christ died that he might gather together the children of God, which are scattered abroad: but such an enemy of God and the church wisheth his subjects bodily to die in battle, and the more part of the world to perish in soul, rather than, forsaking to be pope, to live in a lower state, although it were honourable. If the fear of God, the desire of the heavenly kingdom, and the earnest love of the unity of the church, do move your heart, show indeed that your works may bear record to the truth. Clement and Siricius, most holy popes, not only are not reproved, but rather are revered of all men, because they gave over their right for profitable causes, and for the same cause all the church of holy men show forth their praise. Likewise your name should live for ever and ever, if ye would do the like for necessary cause, that is to say, for the unity of God's church. Give no heed to the unmeasurable cryings of them that say, that the right choosing of popes is lost, except ye defend your part manfully: but be afraid, lest such stirrers up of mischief look for their own commodity or honour, that is to say, that under your wing they might be promoted to riches and honour. After this sort Ahithophel was joined with Absalom in persecuting his own father, and false usurping of his kingdom.

"Furthermore, there should be no jeopardy to that election, because both parties stick stiffly to the old fashion of election, and either of them covet the pre-eminence of the Romish Church, counselling all Christians to obey them. And although, through their giving over, the fashion of choosing the pope should be changed for a time, it were to be borne, rather than to suffer any longer this division in God's church. For that fashion in choosing is not so necessarily required to the state of a pope, but the successor of the apostle, as necessary cause required, might come in at the door by another fashion of choosing, and that canonical enough. And this we are taught manifestly by examples of the fathers; for Peter the apostle appointed after him Clement, and that not by false usurping of power, as we suppose; and it was thought that that fashion of appointing popes was lawful unto the time of Pope Hilary, which decreed that no pope should appoint his successor.

"Afterwards, the election of the pope went by the clergy and people of Rome, and the emperor's council agreeing thereto, as it appeareth in the election of the blessed Gregory; but Pope Martin, with the consent of the holy synod, granted Charles the power to choose the pope: but of late, Nicholas the Second was the first whom Martin makes mention of in his councils to be chosen by the cardinals. But all the bishops of Lombardy, for the most part, withstood this election, and chose Cadulus to be pope, saying, that the pope ought not to be chosen but of the precinct of Italy.

Wherefore we think it not a safe way so earnestly to stick to the traditions of men, in the fashion of choosing the pope, and so oft to change, lest we be thought to break God's traditions concerning the unity of the church: yea; rather, it were better yet to ordain a new fashion of his election, and meeter for him than as it hath been afore. But all things concerning the same election might be kept safe, if God's honour were looked for before your own, and the peace of the church were uprightly sought; for such a dishonouring should be most honour unto you, and that giving place should be the getting of a greater dignity, and the willing deposing of your honour should obtain you the entry of everlasting honour, and should procure the love of the whole world towards you, and you should deserve to be exalted continually, as David was in humbling himself.

"Oh how monstrous a sight, and how foul a monster, is a man's body disfigured with two heads! So, if it were possible, the spouse of Christ should be made so monstrous, if she were ruled with two such heads; but that is not possible: she is ever altogether fair, in whom no spot is found; therefore we must cast away that rotten member, and thruster-in of his second head. We cannot suffer any longer so great a wickedness in God's house, that we should suffer God's coat that wants a seam, by any means to be torn by the hands of two, that violently draw it in sunder; for if these two should be suffered to reign together, they would so betwixt them tear in pieces that little coat of the Lord, that scarce one piece would hang to another. They pass the wickedness of the soldiers that crucified Christ; for they, willing to have the coat whole, said, Let us not cut it, but let us cast lots for it whose it shall be: but these two popes, suffering their right and title to be tried by no lot nor way, although not in words yet in deeds, they pronounce this sentence, It shall neither be thine nor mine, but let it be divided; for they choose rather, as it appeareth, to be lords, though it be but in a little part, and that to the confusion of the unity of the church, than in leaving that lording, to seek for the peace of the church. We do not affirm this, but we show almost the whole judgment of the world of them; being moved so to think by likely conjectures. We looked for amendment of this intolerable confusion, by the space that these two inventors of this mischief lived. But we looked for peace, and behold trouble; for, neither in their lives nor in their deaths, they procured any comfort, but rather, dying as it were in a doubt betwixt two ways, left to their successors matter of contention continual. But now, for the space of seven years, whereas of their successors we desired and looked for that they should bear good grapes, and they bring forth wild grapes; in this matter we fall into a deep despair. But inasmuch as we hear the comfort of the Lord, which promised that miserably he would destroy those wicked men, and let his vineyard to other husbandmen which will bring him fruit at their times appointed, and hath promised faithfully that he will help his spouse in her need to the end of the world; we, leaning on the sure hope of this promise, and in hope contrary to hope believing, by God's grace will put our helping hands to the easing of this misery, when a convenient time shall serve, as much as our kingly power is able; and although our wit doth not perceive how these things afore rehearsed may be amended, yet we, being encouraged to this by the hope of God's promise, will do our endeavour; like as Abraham believed, his son being slain by sacrifice, that the multitude of his seed should increase to the number of the stars, according to God's promise.

"Now, therefore, the times draw near to make an end of this schism, lest a third election of a schismatic against the apostles' successor make a custom of the doing, and so the pope of Avignon shall be double Romish pope, and he shall say with

his partakers, as the patriarch of Constantinople said unto Christ's vicar when he forsook him: The Lord be with thee, for the Lord is with us; and is much to be feared of all Christian men, for that Pharisee begins now to be called the pope of Avignon among the people.

"But peradventure it would be thought of some men, that it belongeth not to secular princes to bridle outrages of the pope. To whom we answer, that naturally the members put themselves in jeopardy to save the head, and the parts labour to save the whole. Christ so decked his spouse, that her sides should cleave together, and should uphold themselves, and by course of time and occasion of things they should correct one another, and cleave together tunably. Did not Moses put down Aaron, because he was unfaithful? Solomon put down Abiathar, who came by lineal descent from Anathoth, and removed his priesthood from his kindred to the stock of Eleazar in the person of Zadok, which had his beginning from Eli the priest? Otho also, the emperor, deposed Pope John the Twelfth, because he was lecherous. Henry the emperor put down Gratian, because he used simony in buying and selling spiritual livings. And Otho deposed Pope Benedict the First, because he thrust in himself. Therefore, by like reason, why may not kings and princes bridle the Romish pope in default of the church, if the quality of his fault require it, or the necessity of the church, by this means, compel to help the church oppressed by tyranny? In old time schisms, which rose about making the pope, were determined by the power of secular princes; as the schism betwixt Symmachus and Laurence was ended in a council before Theodoric, king of Italy. Henry the emperor, when two did strive to be pope, deposed them both, and received the third, being chosen at Rome to be pope, that is to say, Clement the Second, which crowned him with the imperial crown; and the Romans promised him that from thenceforth they would promote none to be pope without his consent. Alexander also overcame four popes, schismatics; all which Frederic the emperor corrected.

"Thus, look on the register of popes and their deeds, and ye shall find that schisms most commonly have been decided by the power of secular princes; the schismatics cast out, and sometimes new popes made, and sometimes the old ones cast out of their dignities, and restored to their old dignities again. If it were not lawful for secular princes to bridle the outrages of such a pope lawfully made, and afterward becoming a tyrant; in such a case he might oppress over-much the church, he might change Christendom into heathens, and make the labour of Christ crucified to be in vain: or else truly God should not have provided for his spouse in earth, by all means, as much as is possible, by service of men to withstand dangers. Therefore we counsel you, with such a loving affection as becomes children, that ye consider in your heart well, lest, in working by this means, ye prepare a way to antichrist through your desire to bear rule, and so by this means as we fear the one of these two shall chance, either ye shall cause all the princes of this world to rise against you to bring in a true follower of Christ to have the state of the apostolical dignity; or, that is worse, the whole world, despising the ruling of one shepherd, shall leave the Romish Church desolate. But God keep this from the world, that the desire of honour of two men should bring such a desolation into the church of God: for then, that departing away which the apostle prophesied, should come before the coming of antichrist were at hand, which should be the last disposition of the world, peaceably to receive antichrist with honour. Consider, therefore, the state of your most excellent Holiness, how ye received the power from God to the building of the church, and not to the destruction of it; that Christ hath given you wine and oil to heal the wounded, and hath appointed

you his vicar in these things which pertain to gentleness, and hath given us those things which serve to rigour. For we bear not the sword without a cause to the punishment of evil-doers, the which power, ordained of God, we have received, ourselves being witness; beseeching you to receive our counsel effectually, that in doing thus, the waters may return to the places from whence they came, and so the waters may begin to be made sweet with salt; lest the axe swim on the water, and the wood sink, and lest the fruitful olive degenerate into a wild olive, and the leprosy of Naaman, that nobleman, cleave continually to the house of Gehazi, and lest the pope and the Pharisees crucify Christ again. Christ, the spouse of the church, which was wont to bring the chief bishop into the holiest place, increase your holiness, or rather restore it, being lost."

This epistle of King Richard the Second, written to Pope Boniface the Ninth, in the time of the schism, about the year, as appeared, 1397, as it contained much good matter of wholesome counsel to be followed, so how little it wrought with the pope the sequel afterward declared; for the schism, notwithstanding, continued long after, in which neither of the popes would give over their hold, or yield any thing to good counsel given them, for any respect of public weal. Such a stroke beareth ambition in this apostolical see, which we are wont so greatly to magnify: but of this enough, which I leave and refer to the consideration of the Lord, seeing men will not look upon it.

Drawing now toward the latter end of King Richard's reign, it remaineth that, as we did before in the time of King Edward the Third, so here also we show forth a summary recapitulation of such parliamentary notes and proceedings, as then were practised by public parliament in this king's time, against the jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome, to the intent that such, if any such be, that think, or have thought, the receiving of the pope's double authority to be such an ancient thing within this realm, may diminish their opinions; as evidently may appear by divers arguments heretofore touched, concerning the election and investing of bishops by the king; as where King Oswin commanded Cedde to be ordained archbishop of York; also where King Egfride caused Cuthbert to be brought to King Canute, and at his commandment was instituted bishop of the same see. And likewise Matthew Paris testifieth, that King Henry the Third gave the archbishopric of Canterbury to Radulph, then bishop of London, and invested him with staff and ring: and the same king gave the bishopric of Winchester to William Gifford; and, moreover, following the steps both of his father and brother before him, endowed him with the possessions pertaining to the said bishopric (the contrary statute of Pope Urban, forbidding that clerks should receive any ecclesiastical dignity at the hand of princes, or of any lay person, to the contrary notwithstanding). That innumerable examples of like sort are to be seen in ancient histories of this our realm, as also out of the parliament rolls in the time of King Edward the Third, hath sufficiently been touched a little before: whereunto also may be added the notes of such parliaments as have been holden in the reign of this present King Richard the Second, the collection whereof in part here followeth.

Notes of certain parliaments, holden in the reign of King Richard the Second, making against the pope.

"In the first year of King Richard the Second, in the parliament holden at Westminster, it was requested and granted, that the pope's collector be willed no longer to gather the first-fruits of benefices within this realm, being a very novelty, and that no person do any longer pay them.

"Item, That no man do procure any benefice by provision from Rome, on pain to be out of the king's protection.

"Item, That no Englishman do take to farm of any alien, any ecclesiastical benefice or prebend, on the like pain. In which bill was rehearsed, that the Frenchmen had six thousand pounds yearly of such livings in England.

"Item, That remedy might be had against the pope's reservations to dignities elective, the same being done against the treaty of the pope, taken with King Edward the Third.

"In the second year of the said King Richard the Second, it was by petition requested, that some order might be taken touching aliens, having the greatest part of the church dignities in their hands: whereunto the king answered, That by advice of the lords be would provide therefore.

Item, It was enacted, that all the benefices of cardinals, and other rebels to Pope Urban that now is, shall be seized into the king's hands.

"An act that Pope Urban was true and lawful pope, and that the livings of all cardinals, and other rebels to the said pope, should be seized into the king's hands, and the king be answered of the profits thereof: and that whosoever within this realm shall procure or obtain any provision or other instrument from any other pope than the same Urban, shall be out of the king's protection.

"Moreover, in the third year of King Richard the Second, the prelates and clergy made their protestation, in this parliament, expressly against a certain new grant, to wit, their extortions: That the same never should pass with their assent and good will, to the blemishing of the liberties of the church, if, by that word extortion, they meant any thing largely to proceed against ordinaries and others of the church; but if they meant none otherwise to deal hereafter therein, than before that time had been done, then would they consent. Whereunto it was replied for the king, that neither for the same their said protestation, or other words in that behalf, the king would stay to grant to his justices in that case, and in all other cases, as was used to be done in times past, and he was bound to do by virtue of his oath taken at his coronation.

"Furthermore, in the fourth year of the said King Richard the Second, it was requested, That provision might be had against the pope's collectors, for levying of the first-fruits of ecclesiastical dignities within the realm.

"Item, That all priors, aliens, might be removed out of their houses, and licensed to depart, and never to revert; and that Englishmen may be placed in their livings, answering the king as they did.

"And in the ninth year of the aforesaid king, touching matter of the staple, the speaker of the parliament pronounced, that he thought best the same were planted within the realm, considering that Calais, Bruges, and other towns beyond the seas grew very rich thereby, and good towns here very much decayed; and so it was much for the common profit. Touching the king, he affirmed that the subsidy and custom of wool yielded more to the king when the staple was kept in England, by one thousand marks yearly, than it did now, being holden beyond the seas.

"Item, That inquisition and redress might be had against such religious persons, as under the licence to purchase £10 yearly, do purchase £80, or £100.

"Item, That all clerks, advanced to any ecclesiastical dignity or living by the king, will grant to the king the first-fruits of their livings, none otherwise than they would have done to the pope, being advanced by him.

"In the eleventh year of King Richard the Second, it was put up by the petitions of the commons, that such impositions as are gathered by the pope's bulls of *Volumus* and *Imponimus* of the translations of B. B. and such-like, might be employed on the king's wars against the schismatics of Scotland; and that such as bring unto the realm the like bulls and novelties may be reputed for traitors.

"In the thirteenth year of his reign followed another parliament, in which, although the archbishops of Canterbury and York, for them and the whole clergy of their provinces, made their solemn protestations in open parliament, that they in no wise meant, or would assent to any statute or law made in restraint of the pope's authority, but utterly withstood the same; willing this protestation of theirs to be enrolled; yet the said protestation of theirs at that time took no great effect.

"Item, In the same parliament it was put up by public petition, that the pope's collector should be commanded to avoid the realm within forty days, or else to be taken as the king's enemy; and that every such collector, from henceforth, may be an Englishman, and sworn to execute the statutes made in this parliament.

"Moreover, in the said parliament, the year abovesaid of the king, the twenty-sixth of January, Master John Mandoure, clerk, was charged openly in the parliament, that he should not pass or send over to Rome, or attempt or do any thing there touching the archdeaconry of Durham, in prejudice of the king, or of his laws, or of the party presented thereto by the king, on peril that might ensue.

"The next year following, which was the fourteenth of this king's reign, it was enacted first touching the staples, that, after the feast of the Epiphany next ensuing, the staple should be removed from Calais into England, in such places as are contained in the statute made in the twenty-seventh of Edward the Third; the which statute should be fully executed: and further, that every alien that bringeth merchandise into the realm, should find sufficient surety to buy and carry away commodities of the realm, to half the value of the said merchandise.

"Item, In the same parliament petition was made, That against the horrible vice of usury, then termed shifts, practised as well by the clergy as laity, the order made by John Notte, late mayor of London, might be executed throughout the realm.

"Moreover, in the fifteenth year of the reign of the aforesaid king it was accorded: for that Sir William Brian, knight, had purchased from Rome a bull directed from the archbishops of Canterbury and York, to excommunicate such as had broken up his house, and had taken away divers letters, privileges, and charters; the same bull, being read in the parliament house, was adjudged prejudicial to the king's crown, and in derogation of the laws: for the which he was, by the king, and assent of the lords, committed to the Tower, there to remain at the king's will and pleasure.

"In the said parliament also, William, archbishop of Canterbury, maketh his protestation in the open parliament, saying, that the pope ought not to excommunicate any bishop, or to intermeddle for or touching any presentation to any ecclesiastical dignity recorded in any of the king's courts. He further protested, that the pope ought to make no translation to any bishopric within the realm against the king's will; for that the same was to the destruction of the realm and crown of England, which hath always been so free, as the same hath had none earthly sovereign, but hath been

subject to God only, in all things touching regalities, and to none other: the which protestation he prayed might be entered.

"In the seventeenth year of the reign of the king aforesaid, it was desired that remedy might be had against such religious persons as caused their villains or underlings to marry free women inheritable, whereby the lands came to those religious mens' hands by collusion.

"Item, That sufficient persons might be presented to benefices, who may dwell on the same, so as their stock, for want thereof, do not perish.

"Item, That remedy might be had against the abbots of Colchester and Abingdon, who, in the towns of Colchester and Colnham, claim to have sanctuary.

"To come to the parliament holden in the twentieth year of this king's reign, we find, moreover, in the said rolls, how that the archbishops of Canterbury and York, for themselves and the clergy of their provinces, declared to the king in open parliament, that, forasmuch as they were sworn to the pope. and see of Rome, if any thing were in the parliament attempted in restraint of the same, they would in no wise assent thereto, but verily withstand the same: the which their protestation they require to be enrolled.

"Upon the petition of the Begging Friars, there at large it was enacted, that none of that order should pass over the seas without licence of his sovereign, nor that he should take upon him any order of master of divinity, unless he were first apposed in his chapter provincial; on pain to be put out of the king's protection.

"Item, That the king's officers, for making arrests or attachments in churchyards, are therefore excommunicated; whereof remedy was required.

"In the twenty-first year of the same king's reign, the parliament being holden at Westminster, we find how the commons, in full parliament, accused Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, for that he as chancellor procured, and as chief doer executed, the same commission, made traitorously in the tenth year of the king: and also that he, the said archbishop, procured the duke of Gloucester, and the earls of Arundel and Warwick, to encroach to themselves royal power, and to judge to death Simon de Burley and Sir John Berners, without the king's assent: whereupon the commons required that the same archbishop might rest under safe keeping: whereunto, for that the same impeachments touched so great a person, they would be advised.

"Item, The twenty-fifth day of September, the commons prayed the king to give judgment against the said archbishop, according to his deserts. The king answered, that privately the said archbishop had confessed to him, how he mistook himself in the said commission, and therefore submitted himself to the king's mercy; wherefore the king, lords, and Sir Thomas Percy, proctor for the clergy, adjudged the fact of the said archbishop to be treason, and himself a traitor; and therefore it was ordered, that the said archbishop should be banished, his temporalties seized, his lands and goods forfeited, as well in use as in possession.

"The king further prescribed, that the said archbishop should take his passing on Friday, within six weeks of Michaelmas, at Dover, towards the parts of France."

86. The Deposing of King Richard II.

Thus having hitherto sufficiently touched and comprehended such things as have happened in the reign of this king, necessary for the church to know, by course of story we come now to the twenty-second year of King Richard's reign, which is the year of our Lord, 1399. In the which year happened the strange and also lamentable deposing of this King Richard the Second aforesaid, from his kingly sceptre: strange, for that the like example hath not often been seen in seats royal: lamentable, for that it cannot be but grievous to any good man's heart, to see him either so to deserve, if he were justly deposed; or if he were unjustly deprived, to see the kingly title there not able to hold his right, where, by force, it is compelled to give place to might.

As concerning the order and process of whose deposing, for that it neither is greatly pertinent to my argument, and is sufficiently contained in Robert Fabian, and in the king's records in the chronicle of St. Albans, and in other histories at large, it were here tedious and superfluous to intermeddle with repeating thereof. What were the conditions and properties of this king; partly before hath been touched; in whom, as some good virtues may be noted, so also some vices may seem to be mixed withal, but especially this, that he, starting out of the steps of his progenitors, ceased to take part with them which took part with the gospel. Whereupon it so fell, not by the blind wheel of fortune, but by the secret hand of Him which directeth all estates, that, as he first began to forsake the maintaining of the gospel of God, so the Lord began to forsake him.

In such as write the life and acts of this prince, thus I read of him reported, that he was much inclined to the favouring and advancing of certain persons about him, and ruled all by their counsel, which were then greatly abhorred and hated in the realm; the names of whom were Robert Vere, earl of Oxford, whom the king made duke of Ireland; Alexander Nevile, archbishop of York; Michael De la Pole, earl of Suffolk; Robert Trisilian, lord chief justice; Nicholas Brembre, with others.

These men, being hated and disdained of divers of the nobles and of the commons, the king also, by favouring them, was less favoured himself; insomuch, that the duke of Gloucester, named Thomas Woodstock, the king's uncle, with the earl of Warwick, and earl of Derby, stood up in arms against those counsellors and abusers (as they named them) of the king. Insomuch that the king for fear was constrained, against his mind, to remove out of his court, Alexander Nevile, archbishop of York; John Ford, bishop of Durham; Friar Thomas Rushoke, bishop of Chichester, the king's confessor; with the Lord Haringworth, Lord Burnel and Beamond, Lord Vere, and divers others.

And furthermore, in the parliament, the same year following, Robert Trisilian, the justice, was hanged and drawn: also Nicholas Brembre, knight, James Salisbury also, and James Barnese, both knights; John Beauchamp, the king's steward, and John Blake, esquire, in like manner.

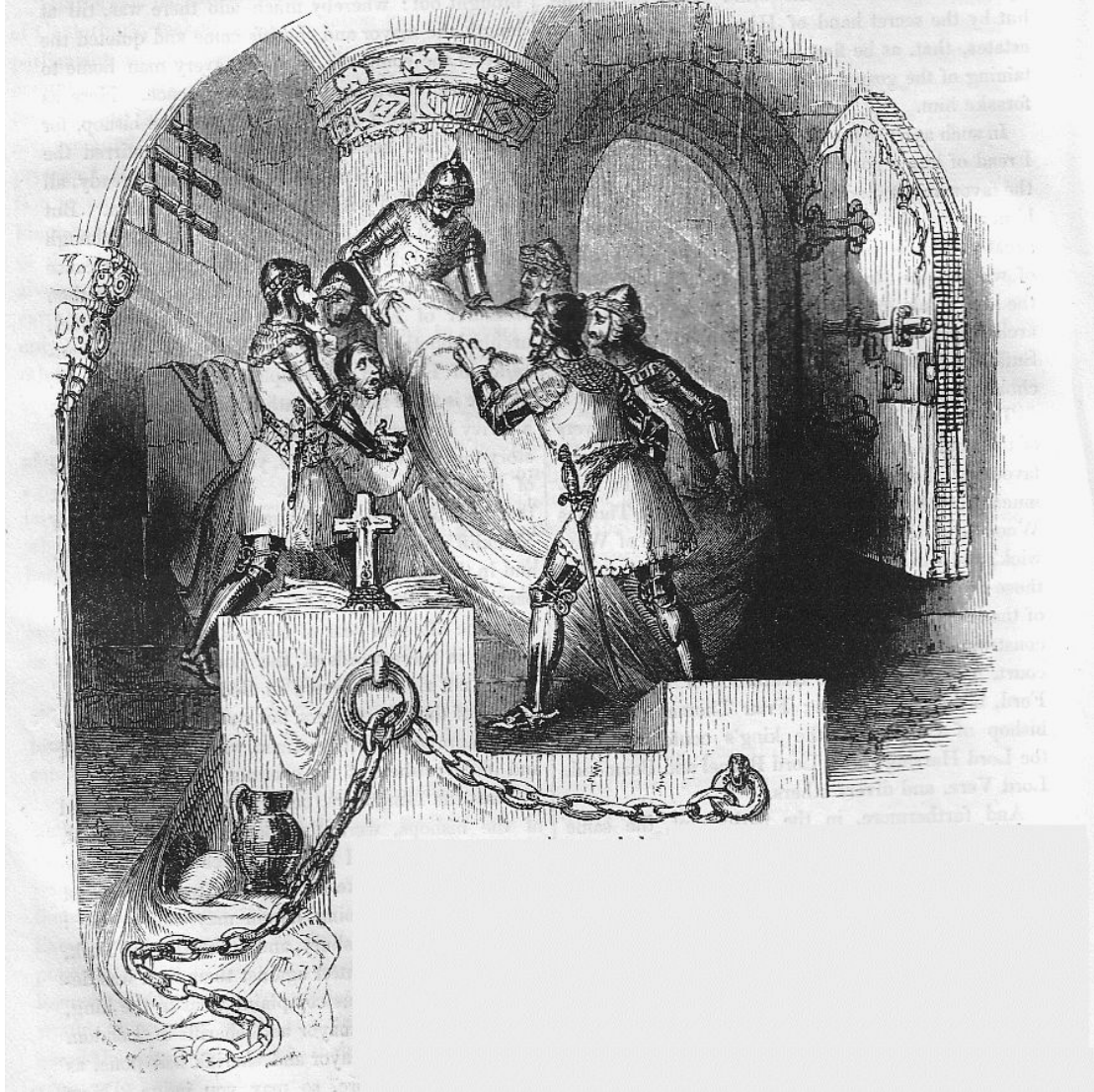
Secondly, Another thing that stirred him up as much against the Londoners, was this, for that he would have borrowed of, them a thousand pounds, and they denied him, to their double and treble disadvantage, as after ensued upon it. Another occasion besides this, between the king and the Londoners, happened thus, by reason of one of the bishop of Salisbury's servants, named Roman, and a baker's man, who

then carrying a basket of horse-bread in Fleet Street, the aforesaid Roman took a horse-loaf out of the basket. The baker asking him why he did so, the bishop's lusty yeoman turned back again and brake his head: whereupon the neighbours came out, and would have arrested this Roman, but he escaped away unto the bishop's house. Then the constable would have had him out; but the bishop's men shut fast the gates, that they should not approach. Thus much people gathered together, threatening to burst open the gates, and fire the house, unless they had the aforesaid party to them brought out: whereby much ado there was, till at length the mayor and sheriffs came and quieted the rage of the commons, and sent every man home to his house, charging them to keep peace. Here as yet was no great harm done; but if the bishop, for his part, had been quiet, and had not stirred the coals of debate, which were well slaked already, all had been ended without further perturbation. But the stomach of the bishop not yet digested, although his man had done the wrong, having no great cause so to do, whose name was John Waltham, being then treasurer of England, went to Thomas Arundel, archbishop the same time of York, and Lord Chancellor of England, to complain of the Londoners. Where is to be noted, or rather revealed, by the way, a privy mystery, which although it be not in this story touched of the writers, yet it touched the hearts of the bishops not a little. For the Londoners at that time were notoriously known to be favourers of Wickliff's side, as partly before this is to be seen, and in the story of St. Alban's more plainly doth appear, where the author of the said history, writing upon the fifteenth year of King Richard's reign, reporteth in these words of the Londoners, that they were "not right believers in God, nor in the traditions of their forefathers, but sustainers of the Lollards, depravers of religious men, withholders of tithes, and impoverishers of the common people," &c.

Thus the Londoners, being noted and suspected of the bishops, were the more hated, no doubt, therefore, of the said bishops, which were the more ready to find and take all occasions to work against them, as by their doing herein may well appear: for the bishop of Salisbury, and archbishop of York, having no greater matter against them than was declared, with a grievous complaint went to the king, complaining of the mayor and sheriffs of London. What trespass the mayor and sheriffs had done, as ye have heard before, so may you judge. Now what followed after let us hear. The king, incensed not a little with the complaint of the bishops, conceived eftsoons against the mayor and sheriffs, and against the whole city of London, a great wrath; insomuch, that the mayor and both the sheriffs were sent for, and removed from their office. Sir Edward Darlington was then made warden and governor of the city; who also, for his gentleness showed to the citizens, was also deposed, and another, named Sir Baldwin Radington, placed in that room. Moreover, so much grew the king's displeasure against the city, that he also removed from London the courts and terms, to be kept at York, that is to say, the chancery, the exchequer, the king's bench, the hanaper, and the common pleas; where the same with his own hands, he arrested the said duke his uncle, and sent him down by water immediately to Calais; and there, through the king's commandment, by secret means he was put to death, being continued from Midsummer till Christmas, to the great decay of the city of London; which was A. D. 1393.

Thirdly, Another great cause which purchased the king much evil will amongst his subjects, was the secret murdering of his own uncle, named Thomas Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, of whom mention was made before; where was declared, how the said duke, with the earl of Arundel, the earl of Warwick, and the earl of Derby, with others, were up in armour against certain wicked counsellors about

the king. Whereupon the king, watching afterwards his time, came into Chelmsford, and so to the place near by where the duke lay; where, strangled under a feather bed, the earl marshal being then the keeper of Calais, whereby great indignation rose in many men's hearts against the king.



The Murder of Thomas Woodstock

With the same duke of Gloucester, also, about the same time, were arrested and imprisoned the earl of Warwick and the earl of Arundel, who, being condemned by parliament, were then executed; whereby great grudge and great indignation rose in the hearts of many against the king, A. D. 1397.

Fourthly, To omit here the blank charts sent over all the land by the king, and how the king was said to let out his realm to farm: over and beside all these above premised befell another matter, which was the principal occasion of this mischief; the banishment, I mean, of Henry, earl of Derby, made duke of Hereford a little before, being son of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, who died shortly after the banishment of his son, and lieth buried in the church of St. Paul, in London, and the duke of Norfolk, who was before earl of Nottingham, and after, by the king, made duke of

Norfolk the year before. At which time the king made five dukes, a marquis, and four earls; to wit, duke of Hereford, which was before earl of Derby; duke of Awmerle, which was before earl of Rutland; duke of Southrey, who was before earl of Kent; duke of Exeter, which was before earl of Huntingdon; and this duke of Norfolk, being before earl of Nottingham, as is aforesaid, &c. The occasion of banishing these aforesaid dukes was this:

About this present time the duke of Hereford did impeach the duke of Norfolk upon certain words to be spoken against the king: whereupon, casting their gloves one against the other, they appointed to fight out the quarrel, a day being for the same appointed at Coventry. But the king took up the matter in his own hands, banishing the duke of Norfolk for ever, who after died at Venice; and the other duke, which was the duke of Hereford, for ten years. Beside these, also was exiled into France Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, by act of parliament in the same year, for points of treason, as ye have heard before expressed above; all which turned to the great inconvenience of this king, as in the event following may appear.

These causes and preparatives thus premised, it followed the year after, which was A. D. 1399, and last year of this king, that the king, upon certain affairs to be done, took his voyage into Ireland. In which mean time Henry of Bolingbroke, earl of Derby and duke of Hereford, and with him the aforesaid archbishop, Thomas Arundel, which before were both exiled, returning out of France to Calais, came into England, challenging the dukedom of Lancaster, after the death of his father. With them also came the son and heir of the earl of Arundel, being yet but young. These together setting out of Calais, arrived at Ravenspur in the north; at the knowledge whereof much people gathered unto them.

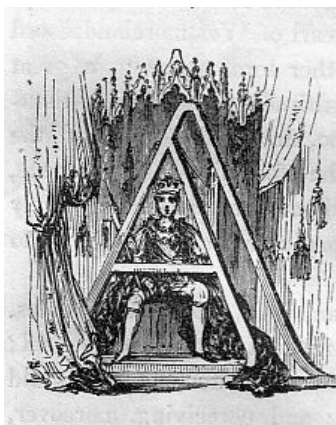
In this mean time, as the duke was hovering on the sea to enter the land, Lord Edmund, duke of York, the king's uncle, to whom the king committed the custody of this realm, having intelligence thereof, called to him the bishop of Chichester, named Edmund Stafford, chancellor of the realm; and William Scrope, earl of Wiltshire, lord treasurer; also John Bushey, William Bagot, Henry Grene, and John Ruschell, with divers others, consulting with them what was best in that case to be done; who then gave their advice, whether wilful or unskilful it is not known, but very unfruitful, that he should leave London, and go to St. Alban's, there to wait for more strength, able to encounter with the duke. But, as the people out of divers quarters resorted thither, many of them protested that they would do nothing to the harm and prejudice of the duke of Lancaster, who, they said, was unjustly expelled. The rest then of the council, John Bushey, William Bagot, Henry Grene, William Scrope, treasurer, hearing and understanding how the commons were minded to join with the duke of Hereford, left the duke of York and the lord chancellor, and fled to the castle of Bristol. Where it is to be understood, that these four were they, to whom the common fame ran, that the king had let out his realm to farm; and were so hated of the people, that it is to be thought, that for the hatred of them, more than for the king, this commotion was among the people.

As this broil was in England, the noise thereof sounding to the king's ears, being then in Ireland, for hasty speed of returning into England, he left in Ireland both his business, and most of his ordnance also behind him; and so, passing the seas, landed at Milford Haven, not daring, as it seemed, to come to London.

On the contrary side, unto Henry, duke of Hereford, being landed, as is said, in the north, came the earl of Northumberland, Lord Henry Percy, and Henry his son, the

earl of Westmoreland, Lord Radulph Nevile, and other lords more to a great number, so that the multitude rose to sixty thousand, able soldiers; who, first making toward the castle of Bristol, took the aforesaid Bushey, Grene, Scrope, and Bagot, of whom three were immediately beheaded; Bagot escaped away, and fled away to Ireland.

The king, in this mean while, lying about Wales, destitute and desolate, without comfort or counsel; who neither durst come to London, neither would any man come to him; and perceiving, moreover, the commons, that were up in such a great power against him, would rather die than give over that they had begun, for fear of themselves; seeing therefore no other remedy, called to him Lord T. Percy, earl of Worcester, and steward of his household, willing him, with other of his family, to provide for themselves in time; who then openly in the hall brake his white rod before them all, commanding every man to shift for himself. Although Fabian and some others say, that he did this of his own accord, contrary to his allegiance. The king, compassed on every side with miseries, shifted from place to place, the duke still following him; till at length, being at the castle of Conway, the king desired to talk with Thomas Arundel, archbishop, and the earl of Northumberland; to whom he declared, that he would resign up his crown, on condition that an honourable living might be for him provided, and life promised to eight persons, such as he would name. Which being granted and ratified, but not performed, he came to the castle of Flint, whence, after talk had with the duke of Lancaster, he was brought the same night, by the duke and his army, to Chester, and from thence was conveyed secretly into the Tower, there to be kept till the next parliament. By the way, as he came near to London, divers evil-disposed men of the city being warned thereof, gathered themselves, thinking to have slain him, for the great cruelty he had used before toward the city; but, by the policy of the mayor and rulers of the city, the madness of the people was stayed. Not long after followed the duke, and also began the parliament: in which parliament the earl of Northumberland, with many other earls and lords, were sent to the king in the Tower, to take of him a full resignation, according to his former promise; and so they did. This done, divers accusations and articles were laid and engrossed against the said king, to the number of thirty-three, some say thirty-eight; which, for the matter not greatly material in them contained, I overpass: and the next year after, he was had to Pomfret Castle, and there famished to death.



ND thus King Richard by common assent being deposed from his rightful crown, the duke of Lancaster was led by Thomas Arundel, the archbishop, to the seat royal; who there standing up, and crossing himself on the forehead and the breast, spake in words as followeth

"In the name of God, Amen. I Henry of Lancaster claim the realm of England and the crown, with all the appurtenances, as I that am descended by right line of the blood, coming from that good lord King Henry the Third, and, through the right that God of his grace hath sent to me, with the help of my kin and of my friends to recover

the same, which was in point to be undone for default of good governance, and due justice," &c.

After which words the archbishop, asking the assent of the people, being joyful of their new king, took the duke by the hand, and placed him in the kingly

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throne, which was A. D. 1399, and, shortly after, by the aforesaid archbishop, he was crowned also for king of England.

87. William Sautre

The next year after followed a parliament holden at Westminster: in which parliament one William Sautre, a good man and a faithful priest, inflamed with zeal of true religion, required he might be heard for the commodity of the whole realm. But the matter being smelt before by the bishop, they obtained that the matter should be referred to the convocation; where the said William Sautre being brought before the bishops and notaries thereunto appointed, the convocation was deferred to the Saturday next ensuing.

"When Saturday was come, that is to say, the twelfth day of February, Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, in the presence of his council provincial, being assembled in the said chapterhouse, against one Sir William Sautre, otherwise called Chatris, chaplain, personally then and there appearing by the commandment of the aforesaid archbishop of Canterbury, objected, that the said Sir William, before the bishop of Norwich, had once renounced and abjured divers and sundry conclusions heretical and erroneous; and that after such abjuration made, he publicly and privily held, taught, and preached the same conclusions, or else such-like, disagreeing to the catholic faith, and to the great peril and pernicious example of others. And after this he caused such-like conclusions holden and preached, as is said, by the said, Sir William without renunciation, then and there to be read unto the said archbishop, by Master Robert Hall, chancellor unto the said bishop, in a certain scroll written, in tenor of words as followeth

"Sir William Chatris, otherwise called Sautre, parish priest of the church St. Scithe the virgin, in London, publicly and privily doth hold these conclusions underwritten:

"Imprimis, He saith, That he will not worship the cross on which Christ suffered, but only Christ that suffered upon the cross.

"2. Item, That he would sooner worship a temporal king, than the aforesaid wooden cross.

"3. Item, That he would rather worship the bodies of the saints, than the very cross of Christ on which he hung, if it were before him.

"4. Item, That he would rather worship a man truly contrite, than the cross of Christ.

"5. Item, That he is bound rather to worship a man that is predestinate, than an angel of God.

"6. Item, That if any man would visit the monuments of Peter and Paul, or go on pilgrimage to the tomb of St. Thomas, or any whither else, for the obtaining of any temporal benefit; he is not bound to keep his vow, but he may distribute the expenses of his vow upon the alms of the poor.

"7. Item, That every priest and deacon is more bound to preach the word of God, than to say the canonical hours.

"8. Item, That after the pronouncing of the sacramental words of the body of Christ, the bread remaineth of the same nature that it was before, neither doth it cease to be bread.

"To which conclusions or articles, being thus read, the archbishop of Canterbury required the same Sir William to answer: and then the said William asked a copy of such articles or conclusions, and a competent space to answer unto the same. Whereupon the said archbishop commanded a copy of such articles or conclusions to be delivered then and there unto the said Sir William, assigning the Thursday then next ensuing to him to deliberate and make answer in. When Thursday, the said day of appearance, was come, Master Nicholas Rishton, auditor of the causes and businesses belonging to the said archbishop, then being in the parliament-house at Westminster, otherwise let, continued the said convocation with all matters rising, depending, and appertinent thereunto, by commandment of the said bishop, until the next morrow at eight of the clock. When the morrow came, being Friday, the aforesaid Sir William Sautre, in the chapter-house, before the said bishop and his council provincial then and there assembled, making his personal appearance, exhibited a certain scroll, containing the answers unto certain articles or conclusions given unto him, as is aforesaid, by the said bishop; and said, that unto the aforesaid archbishop he delivered the same as his answer in that behalf, under the tenor of such words as follow:

"I, William Sautre, priest unworthy, say and answer, that I will not, nor intend not to worship the cross whereon Christ was crucified, but only Christ that suffered upon the cross; so understanding me, that I will not worship the material cross, or the gross corporal matter: yet, notwithstanding, I will worship the same as a sign, token, and memorial of the passion of Christ, *adoratione vicaria*. And that I will rather worship a temporal king, than the aforesaid wooden cross, and the material substance of the same. And that I will rather worship the bodies of saints, than the very cross of Christ whereon he hung; with this addition, that if the very same cross were afore me as touching the material substance. And also that I will rather worship a man truly confessed and penitent, than the cross on which Christ hung, as touching the material substance.

"And that also I am bound, and will rather worship him whom I know to be predestinate, truly confessed, and contrite, than an angel of God: for that the one is a man of the same nature with the humanity of Christ, and so is not a blessed angel. Notwithstanding I will worship both of them, according as the will of God is I should.

"Also, that if any man hath made a vow to visit the shrines of the apostles Peter and Paul, or to go on pilgrimage unto St. Thomas's tomb, or any whither else, to obtain any temporal benefit or commodity, he is not bound simply to keep his vow upon the necessity of salvation; but he may give the expenses of his vow in alms amongst the poor, by the prudent counsel of his superior, as I suppose.

"And also I say, that every deacon and priest is more bound to preach the word of God, than to say the canonical hours, according to the primitive order of the church.

"Also, touching the interrogation of the sacrament of the altar, I say, that after the pronouncing of the sacramental words of the body of Christ, there ceaseth not to be very bread simply, but remains bread, holy, true, and the bread of life; and I believe the said sacrament to be the very body of Christ, after the pronouncing of the sacramental words.

"When all these answers were thoroughly, by Master Robert Hall, directly and publicly there read, the aforesaid archbishop of Canterbury inquired of the said Sir

William, whether he had abjured the aforesaid heresies and errors objected against him, as before is said, before the bishop of Norwich, or not; or else had revoked and renounced the said or such-like conclusions or articles, or not? To which he answered and affirmed that he had not. And then, consequently, all other articles, conclusions, and answers above written immediately omitted, the said archbishop examined the same Sir William Sautre, especially upon the sacrament of the altar.

"First, Whether in the sacrament of the altar, after the pronouncing of the sacramental words, remaineth very material bread or not? Unto which interrogation, the same Sir William somewhat waveringly said and answered, that he knew not that. Notwithstanding he said, that there was very bread, because it was the bread of life which came down from heaven.

"After that the said archbishop demanded of him, whether, in the sacrament, after the sacramental words rightly pronounced of the priest, the same bread remaineth, which did before the words pronounced, or not. And to this question the aforesaid William answered in like manner as before, saying, that there was bread, holy, true, and the bread of life, &c.

"After that, the aforesaid archbishop asked him, whether the same material bread before consecration, by the sacramental words of the priest rightly pronounced, be transubstantiated from the nature of bread into the very body of Christ, or not? Whereunto Sir William said, that he knew not what that matter meant.

"And then the said archbishop assigned unto the said Sir William time to deliberate, and more fully to make his answer, till the next day; and continued this convocation then and there till the morrow: which morrow, to wit, the nineteenth day of February, being come, the aforesaid archbishop of Canterbury, in the said chapter-house of St. Paul in London, before his council provincial then and there assembled, specially asked and examined the same Sir William Sautre, there personally present, upon the sacrament of the altar, as before: and the same Sir William, again, in like manner as before, answered.

"After this, amongst other things, the said bishop demanded of the same William, if the same material bread being upon the altar, after the sacramental words being of the priest rightly pronounced, is transubstantiated into the very body of Christ or not? And the said Sir William said, he understood not what he meant.

"Then the said archbishop demanded, whether that material bread being round and white, prepared and disposed for the sacrament of the body of Christ upon the altar, wanting nothing that is meet and requisite thereunto, by the virtue of the sacramental words being of the priest rightly pronounced, be altered and changed into the very body of Christ, and ceaseth any more to be material and very bread or not? Then the said Sir William, deridingly answering, said, he could not tell.

"Then, consequently, the said archbishop demanded, whether he would stand to the determination of the holy church or not, which affirmeth, that in the sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration being rightly pronounced of the priest, the same bread, which before in nature was bread, ceaseth any more to be bread. To this interrogation the said Sir William said, that he would stand to the determination of the church, where such determination was not contrary to the will of God.

"This done, he demanded of him again, what his judgment was concerning the sacrament of the altar: who said and affirmed, that after the words of consecration, by the priest duly pronounced, remained very bread, and the same bread which was

before the words spoken. And this examination about the sacrament, lasted from eight o'clock until eleven, or thereabouts, of the same day: insomuch that during all this time the aforesaid William would no otherwise answer, neither yet, touching the same sacrament, receive catholic information, according to the institution of the pope's church, and his Christian faith. Wherefore the said Canterbury, by the counsel and assent of his whole convent then and there present, did promulgate and give sentence, by the mouth of Robert Hall, against the same Sir William Sautre, being personally present, and refusing to revoke his heresies, that is to say, his true doctrine, but constantly defended the same, under the tenor of words as followeth:

"In the name of God, Amen. We, Thomas, by the grace of God archbishop of Canterbury, primate of England, and legate of the see apostolical, by the authority of God Almighty, and blessed St. Peter and Paul, and of holy church, and by our own authority, sitting for tribunal or chief judge, having God alone before our eyes, by the counsel and consent of the whole clergy, our fellow brethren and suffragans, assistants unto us in this present council provincial, by this our sentence definitive, do pronounce, decree, and declare, by these presents, thee William Sautre, otherwise called Chatris, parish priest pretended, personally appearing before us, in and upon the crime of heresy, judicially and lawfully convicted as a heretic, and as a heretic to be punished.

"Which sentence definitive being thus read, the aforesaid archbishop of Canterbury, continued in the same provincial council till Wednesday next and immediately ensuing, to wit, the twenty-fourth day of the same month of February; which being expired, the bishop of Norwich, according to the commandment of the said archbishop of Canterbury, presented unto the aforesaid William Sautre, by a certain friend of his, being present at the same council, a certain process enclosed and sealed with his seal, giving the names of credible witnesses, and sealed with their seals, to which William Sautre thus replied:

"Imprimis, Touching the first and second, where I said, that I would adore rather a temporal prince, and the lively bodies of the saints, than the wooden cross whereupon the Lord did hang: I do revoke and recant the same, as being therein deceived.

"To this I say, that the article is false and erroneous, and by false information I held it; the which I renounce and ask forgiveness thereof, and say, that it is a precious relic, and that I shall hold it while I live, and that I swear here.

"I know well that I erred wrongfully by false information; for I wot well, that a deacon or a priest is more bound to say his matins and hours, than to preach; for thereto he is bounden by right: wherefore I submit me, &c.

"Touching that article, I know right well that I erred by false information: wherefore I ask forgiveness.

"As concerning vows, I say that opinion is false and erroneous, and by false information I held it; for a man is bounden to hold his vow, &c.

"To the seventh article I say, that I did it by authority of priesthood, through which deed I acknowledge well that I have guilt and trespassed: wherefore I submit me to God and to holy church, and to you, father, swearing that I shall never hold it more.

"To the eighth I say, that I held it by false and wrong information: but now I know well that it is heresy, and that bread, anon as the word of the sacrament is said, is no longer bread material, but that it is turned into Christ's very body; and that I swear here.

"I say, that this is false and erroneous, &c. "I say as I said, &c.

"This being done, the twenty-second of February aforesaid, in the year of our Lord 1400, in the chapter-house of St. Paul, in London aforesaid, the aforesaid archbishop of Canterbury, in the convocation of his prelates and clergy, and such-like men there being present, caused the afore recited process of the bishop of Norwich to be read openly and publicly to Sir William Sautre, otherwise called Chatris, And afterward he asked the said Sir William, whether he plainly understood and knew such process, and the contents within the same; and he said, Yea. And further he demanded of him, if he would or could say or object any thing against the process; and he said, No. And after that incontinent, the aforesaid archbishop of Canterbury demanded and objected against the said Sir William, as divers others more did; that after he had, before the bishop of Norwich, revoked and abjured, judicially, divers errors and heresies, among other errors and heresies by him taught, holden, and preached, he affirmed, that in the same sacrament of the altar, after the consecration made by the priest, as he taught, there remained material bread; which heresy, amongst others, as errors also he abjured before the aforesaid bishop of Norwich. Hereunto the afore-said William answered smiling, or in mocking wise, saying and denying that he knew of the premises. Notwithstanding, he publicly affirmed, that he held and taught the aforesaid things after the date of the said process made by the said bishop of Norwich, and that in the same council also he held the same. Then finally it was demanded of the said Sir William, why he ought not to be pronounced as a man fallen into heresy, and why they should not further proceed unto his degradation according to the canonical sanctions: whereunto he answered nothing, neither could he allege any cause to the contrary.

"Whereupon the aforesaid archbishop of Canterbury, by the counsel and assent of the whole council, and especially by the counsel and assent of the reverend fathers and bishops, as also priors, deans, archdeacons, and other worshipful doctors and clerks then and there present in the council, fully determined to proceed to the degradation and actual deposing of the said William Sautre, as refallen into heresy, and as incorrigible; according to the sentence definitive put in writing, the tenor whereof is in words as followeth:

"In the name of God, Amen. We, Thomas, by the grace of God archbishop of Canterbury, legate of the see apostolical, and metropolitan of all England, do find and declare, that thou, William Sautre, otherwise called Chatris, priest, by us, with the counsel and assent of all and singular our fellow brethren and whole clergy, by this our sentence definitive declared in writing, hast been for heresy convicted and condemned, and art (being again fallen into heresy) to be deposed and degraded by these presents.

"And from that day, being Wednesday, there was in the said council provincial nothing further prosecuted, but was continued with all dependents till the Friday next ensuing; which Friday approaching, Master Nicholas Rishton, by the commandment of the said archbishop of Canterbury, being then busied, as he said, in the parliament house, continued this council and convocation with all incidents, dependents, and occasions growing and annexed thereunto, the next day, to wit, Saturday next and

immediately after ensuing. Upon Saturday, being the 26th of the said month of February, the aforesaid archbishop of Canterbury sat in the bishop's seat of the aforesaid church of St. Paul in London, and solemnly apparelled in his pontifical attire, sitting with him as his assistants these reverend fathers and bishops, of London, Lincoln, Hereford, Exeter, Menevensis, and Rossensis, above-mentioned, commanded and caused the said Sir William Sautre, apparelled in priestly vestments, to be brought and appear before him. That done, he declared and expounded in English to all the clergy and people there in a great multitude assembled, that all process was finished and ended against the said Sir William Sautre. Which thing finished, before the pronouncing of the said sentence of the relapse against the said Sir William, as is premised, he often then and there recited and read. And for that he saw the said William in that behalf nothing abashed, he proceeded to his degradation and actual deposition, in form as followeth:

"In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, We, Thomas, by God's permission archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the apostolic see, do denounce thee, William Sautre, otherwise called Chatris, chaplain feigned, in the habit and apparel of a priest, as a heretic, and one re-fallen into heresy, by this our sentence definitive, by counsel, assent, and authority, to be condemned; and by conclusion of all our fellow brethren, fellow bishops, prelates, council provincial, and of the whole clergy, do degrade and deprive thee of thy priestly order. And in sign of degradation and actual deposition from thy priestly dignity, for thine incorrigibility and want of amendment, we take from thee the paten and chalice, and do deprive thee of all power and authority of celebrating the mass, and also we pull from thy back the casule, and take from thee the vestment, and deprive thee of all manner of priestly honour.

"Also, We, Thomas, the aforesaid archbishop, by authority, counsel, and assent, which upon the aforesaid William we have, being deacon pretended, in the habit and apparel of a deacon, having the New Testament in thy hands, being a heretic, and twice fallen, condemned by sentence as is aforesaid, do degrade and put thee from the order of a deacon. And in token of this thy degradation and actual deposition, we take from thee the book of the New Testament, and the stole, and do deprive thee of all authority in reading of the gospel, and of all and all manner of dignity of a deacon.

"Item, We, Thomas, archbishop aforesaid, by authority, counsel, and assent, which over thee the aforesaid William we have, being a sub-deacon pretended, in the habit and vestment of a sub-deacon, a heretic, and twice fallen, condemned by sentence, as is aforesaid, do degrade and put thee from the order of a sub-deacon; and in token of this thy degradation and actual deposition, we take from thee the albe and maniple, and do deprive thee of all and all manner of sub-diaconical dignity.

"Also, We, Thomas, archbishop aforesaid, by counsel, assent, and authority which we have over thee, the aforesaid William, an acolyte pretended, wearing the habit of an acolyte, and heretic, twice fallen, by our sentence, as is aforesaid, condemned, do degrade and put from thee all order of an acolyte; and in sign and token of this thy degradation, and actual deposition, we take from thee the candlestick and taper, and also *urceolum*, and do deprive thee of all and all manner of dignity of an acolyte.

"Also, We, Thomas, archbishop aforesaid, by assent, counsel, and authority, which upon thee the aforesaid William we have, an exorcist pretended, in the habit of

an exorcist or holy water clerk, being a heretic, twice fallen, and by our sentence, as is aforesaid, condemned, do degrade and depose thee from the order of an exorcist; and, in token of this thy degradation and actual deposition, we take from thee the book of conjurations, and do deprive thee of all and singular dignity of an exorcist.

"Also, We, Thomas, archbishop aforesaid, by assent, counsel, and authority, as is above said, do degrade and depose thee, the aforesaid William, reader pretended, clothed in the habit of a reader, a heretic, twice fallen, and by our sentence, as is aforesaid, condemned, from the order of a reader; and in token of this thy degradation and actual deposition, we take from thee the book of the divine lections, (that is, the book of the church legend,) and do deprive thee of all and singular manner of dignity of such a reader.

"Item, We, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury abovesaid, by authority, counsel, and assent, the which we have, as is aforesaid, do degrade, and put thee, the aforesaid William Sautre, sexton pretended, in the habit of a sexton, and wearing a surplice, being a heretic, twice fallen, by our sentence definitive condemned, as aforesaid, from the order of a sexton; and in token of this thy degradation and actual deposition, for the causes aforesaid, we take from thee the keys of the church-door, and thy surplice, and do deprive thee of all and singular manner of commodities of a door-keeper.

"And also, by the authority of omnipotent God, the Father, the Son, and Holy Ghost, and by our authority, counsel, and assent of our whole council provincial above written, we do degrade thee, and depose thee, being here personally present before us, from orders, benefices, privileges, and habit in the church; and, for thy pertinacy incorrigible, we do degrade thee before the secular court of the high constable and marshal of England, being personally present; and do depose thee from all and singular clerkly honours and dignities whatsoever, by these writings. Also, in token of thy degradation and deposition, here actually we have caused thy crown and ecclesiastical tonsure, in our presence, to be rased away, and utterly to be abolished, like unto the form of a secular layman; and here we do put upon the head of thee, the aforesaid William, the cap of a lay, secular person; beseeching the court aforesaid, that they will receive favourably the said William unto them thus re-committed."

Thus William Sautre, the servant of Christ, being utterly thrust out of the pope's kingdom, and metamorphosed from a clerk to a secular layman, was committed, as ye have heard, unto the secular power: which so done, the bishops, yet not herewith contented, cease not to call upon the king, to cause him to be brought forth to speedy execution. Whereupon the king, ready enough and too much to gratify the clergy, and to retain their favours, directeth out a terrible decree against the said William Sautre, and sent it to the mayor and sheriffs of London to be put in execution; the tenor whereof hereunder ensueth.

"The decree of our sovereign lord the king and his council in the parliament, against a certain newly sprung up heretic, to the mayor and sheriffs of London, &c. Whereas the reverend father Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the apostolic see, by the assent, consent, and council of other bishops, and his brethren suffragans, and also of all the whole clergy within his province or diocese, gathered together in his provincial council, the due order of the law being observed in all points in this behalf, hath pronounced and declared, by his definitive sentence, William Sautre, sometime chaplain, fallen again into his most damnable heresy, the which before-time the said William had abjured, thereupon to be

a most manifest heretic, and therefore hath decreed that he should be degraded, and hath for the same cause really degraded him from all prerogative and privilege of the clergy, decreeing to leave him unto the secular power; and hath really so left him, according to the laws and canonical sanctions set forth in this behalf, and also that our holy mother the church hath no further to do in the premises; we therefore, being zealous in religion, and reverent lovers of the catholic faith, willing and minding to maintain and defend the holy church, and the laws and liberties of the same, to root all such errors and heresies out of our kingdom of Enggland, and with condign punishment to correct and punish all heretics or such as be convict; provided always that both according to the law of God and man, and the canonical institutions in this behalf accustomed, such heretics convict and condemned in form aforesaid, ought to be burned with fire: we command you, as straitly as we may, or can, firmly enjoining you that you do cause the said William, being in your custody, in some public or open place within the liberties of your city aforesaid, the cause aforesaid being published unto the people, to be put into the fire, and there in the same fire really. to be burned, to the great horror of his offence, and the manifest example of other Christians. Fail not in the execution hereof, upon the peril that will fall thereupon."

Thus it may appear how kings and princes have been blinded and abused by the false prelates of the church, insomuch that they have been their slaves and butchers, to slay Christ's poor innocent members. See, therefore, what danger it is for princes not to have knowledge and understanding themselves, but to be led by other men's eyes, and specially trusting to such guides, who, through hypocrisy, both deceive them, and, through cruelty, devour the people.

As King Henry the Fourth, who was the deposer of King Richard, was the first of all English kings that began the unmerciful burning of Christ's saints for standing against the pope; so was this William Sautre, the true and faithful martyr of Christ; the first of all them in Wickliffs time, which I find to be burned in the reign of the aforesaid king, which was in the year of our Lord 1400.



The burning of William Sautre

88. Opposition to Henry IV.

After the martyrdom of this godly man, the rest of the same company began to keep themselves more closely for fear of the king, who was altogether bent to hold with the pope's prelacy. Such was the reign of this prince, that to the godly he was ever terrible, in his actions immeasurable, of few men heartily beloved; but princes never lack flatterers about them. Neither was the time of his reign very quiet, but full of trouble, of blood, and misery. Such was their desire of King Richard again, in the reign of this king, that many years after he was rumoured to be alive, of them which desired belike that to be true which they knew to be false, for the which divers were executed. For the space of six or seven years together almost no year passed without some conspiracy against the king. Long it were here to recite the blood of all such nobles and others, which was spilled in the reign of this king, as the earl of Kent, earl of Salisbury, earl of Huntingdon, named John Holland, &c., as writeth the story of St. Alban's. But the English writers differ something in their names, and make mention of four earls, of Surrey, of Exeter, of Salisbury, and Lord Spencer, earl of Gloucester.

And the next year following Sir John Clarendon, knight, with two of his servants, the prior of Laund, with eight friars, were hanged and quartered. And after these Henry Percy the younger; the earl of Worcester, named Thomas Percy, his uncle; the Lord of Kinderton, and Lord Richard de Vernova. The earl of Northumberland scarce escaped with his pardon, A. D. 1403: in the which year the prison in Cornhill, called the Tun, was turned into the Conduit there now standing.

To let pass others more hanged and quartered the same time, as Blunt, knight, and Benet Kely, knight, and Thomas Winterset, esquire; also the same year was taken and executed Sir Bernard Brookes, knight, Sir John Shilley, knight, Sir John Mandelin, and William Frierby. After all these, Lord Henry, earl of Northumberland, and Lord Bardolf, conspiring the king's death, were taken in the north, and beheaded, which was in the eighth year of this King Henry.

This civil rebellion of so many nobles, and others, against the king, declared what grudging hearts the people then bare toward this King Henry; among whom I cannot pretermite here also the archbishop of York, named Richard Scrope, who, with the Lord Mowbray, marshal of England, gathered a great company in the north country against theaforesaid king, to whom also was adjoined the help of Lord Bardolf, and Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland: and to stir up the people more willingly to take their parts, they collected certain articles against the said king, to the number of ten, and fastened them upon the doors of churches and monasteries, to be read of all men in English; which articles if any be disposed to understand, forasmuch as the same also contain a great part of the doings between King Henry and King Richard aforesaid, I thought, for the better opening of the matter, hereunder to insert the same, in such form as I found them in the story of Scala Mundi expressed.

Articles set upon church-doors against King Henry the Fourth.

"In the name of God, Amen. Before the Lord Jesus Christ, judge of the quick and dead, &c. We A. B. C. D., &c., not long since became bound by oath, upon the sacred evangelical book, unto our sovereign Lord Richard, late king of England and France, in the presence of many prelates, potentates, and nobility of the realm, that we, so long as we lived, should bear true allegiance and fidelity toward him and his

heirs succeeding him in the kingdom, by just title, right, and line, according to the statutes and custom of this realm of England; by virtue whereof we are bound to foresee that no vices, or heinous offences, arising in the commonwealth, do take effect or wished end, and we ought to give ourselves and our goods to withstand the same, without fear of the sword or death whatsoever, upon pain of perjury, which pain is everlasting damnation. Wherefore we, seeing and perceiving divers horrible crimes, and great enormities daily, without ceasing, to be committed by the children of the devil, and Satan's soldiers, against the supremacy of the Church of Rome, the liberty of the Church of England, and the laws of the realm; against the person of King Richard and his heirs; against the prelates, noblemen, religion, and commonalty; and finally, against the whole weal public of the realm of England, to the great offence of the majesty of Almighty God, and to the provocation of his just wrath and vengeance towards the realm and people of the same: and fearing also the destruction both of the Church of Rome and England, and the ruin of our country to be at hand, having before our eyes the justice and the kingdom of God, calling always on the name of Jesus, having an assured confidence in his clemency, mercy, and power, have here taken unto us certain articles, subscribed in form following, to be propounded, tried, and heard before the just Judge, Jesus Christ, and the whole world, to his honour, the delivery of the church, the clergy, and commonalty, and to the utility and profit of the weal public. But if (which God forbid) by force, fear, or violence of wicked persons, we shall be cast in prison, or by violent death prevented, so as in this world we shall not be able to prove the said articles as we would wish, then do we appeal to the high celestial Judge, that he may judge and discern the same, in the day of his supreme judgment.

"First, We depose, say, except, and intend, to prove, against the Lord Henry Derby, son of the Lord John of Gaunt, late duke of Lancaster, and commonly called king of England, (himself pretending the same, although without all right and title thereunto,) and against his adherents, abettors, and complices, that ever they have been, are, and will be traitors, invaders, and destroyers of God's church in Rome, England, Wales, and Ireland, and of our sovereign Lord Richard, late king of England, his heirs, his kingdom, and commonwealth, as shall hereafter manifestly appear.

"Secondly, We depose, &c., against the said Lord Henry, for that he had conceived, devised, and conspired, certain heinous crimes and traitorous offences against his said sovereign Lord Richard, his state and dignity, as manifestly did appear in the contention between the said Lord Henry, and the Lord Thomas, duke of Norfolk, begun at Coventry, but not finished thoroughly. Afterwards he was sent into exile by sentence of the said King Richard, by the agreement of his father, the Lord John, duke of Lancaster, by the voice of divers of the lords temporal, and nobility of the realm, and also by his own consent, there to remain for a certain time appointed unto him by the said lords; and withal he was bound, by oath, not to return into England before he had obtained favour and grace of the king. Not long after, when the king was departed into Ireland, for reformation of that country appertaining to the crown of England, but as then rebelling against the same, the said Lord Henry in the mean time, contrary to his oath and fidelity, and long before the time limited unto him was expired, with all his abettors and invaders, secretly entered into the realm, swearing and protesting before the face of the people, that his coming into the realm in the absence of the king was for none other cause, but that he might, in humble sort, with the love and favour of the king, and all the lords spiritual and temporal, have and enjoy his lawful inheritance descending unto him of right after the death of his father:

which thing as it pleased all men, so cried they, Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord. But how this blessing afterward turned into cursing, shall appear in that which followeth: and also yeshall understand his horrible and wicked conspiracy against his sovereign lord King Richard, and divers other lords as well spiritual as temporal; besides that his manifest perjury shall well be known, and that he remaineth not only forsworn and perjured, but also excommunicate, for that he conspired against his sovereign lord our king: wherefore we pronounce him, by these presents, as well perjured, as excommunicate.

"Thirdly, We depose, &c., against the Lord Henry, that he the said Lord Henry, immediately after his entry into England, by crafty and subtle policy caused to be proclaimed openly throughout the realm, that no tenths of the clergy, fifteenths of the people, sealing up of cloth, diminution of wool, impost of wine, or other extortions or exactions whatsoever, should hereafter be required or exacted; hoping by this means to purchase unto him the voice and favour of the prelates spiritual, the lords temporal, the merchants, and commonalty of the whole realm. After this he took by force the king's castles and fortresses, spoiled and devoured his goods wheresoever he found them, crying, Havoc, havoc. The king's Majesty's subjects, as well spiritual as temporal, he spoiled and robbed; some he took captive and imprisoned them; and some he slew and put to miserable death; whereof many were bishops, prelates, priests, and religious men: whereby it is manifest, that the said Lord Henry is not only perjured, in promising and swearing that there should be hereafter no more exactions, payments, or extortions within the realm, but also excommunicate, for the violence and injury done to prelates and priests: wherefore, by these presents we pronounce him, as before, as well perjured, as excommunicate.

"Fourthly, We depose, &c., against the said Lord Henry, that he, hearing of the king's return from Ireland into Wales, rose up against his sovereign lord the king with many thousands of armed men, marching forward with all his power towards the castle of Flint, in Wales, where he took the king and held him prisoner, and so led him captive as a traitor unto Leicester; from whence he took his journey towards London, misusing the king by the way, both he and his, with many injuries and opprobrious contumelies and scoffs: and in the end committed him to the Tower of London, and held a parliament, the king being absent and in prison; wherein, for fear of death he compelled the king to yield and resign unto him all his right and title of the kingdom and crown of England. After which resignation being made, the said Lord Henry, standing up in the parliament house, stoutly and proudly before them all, said and affirmed, that the kingdom of England and crown of the same, with all thereunto belonging, did pertain unto him at that present, as of very right, and to none other; for that the said King Richard, by his own deed, was deprived for ever of all the right, title, and interest that ever he had, hath, or may have in the same. And thus at length, by right and wrong, he exalted himself unto the throne of the kingdom; since which time our commonwealth never flourished nor prospered, but altogether hath been void of virtue, for that the spirituality was so oppressed, exercise and warlike practices have not been maintained, charity is waxed cold, and covetousness and misery have taken place, and finally mercy is taken away, and vengeance supplieth the room: whereby it doth appear, as before is said, that the said Lord Henry is not only perjured and false by usurping the kingdom and dominion belonging to another, but also excommunicate for the apprehending, unjust imprisoning, and depriving his sovereign lord the king of his royal crown and dignity: wherefore, as in the articles before, we pronounce the said Lord Henry to be excommunicate.

"Fifthly, We depose, &c., against the said Lord Henry, that he the same Lord Henry, with the rest of his favourers and complices, heaping mischief upon mischief, have committed and brought to pass a most wicked and mischievous fact, yea, such as hath not been heard of at any time before: for, after that they had taken and imprisoned the king, and deposed him by open injury against all human nature, yet, not content with this, they brought him to Pomfret Castle, and there imprisoned him, where fifteen days and nights they vexed him with continual hunger, thirst, and cold, and finally bereft him of life, with such a kind of death as never before that time was known in England, but by God's. providence it is come to light. Who ever heard of such a deed, or who ever saw the like of it? Wherefore, O England! arise, stand up, avenge the cause, the death and injury of thy king and prince: which if thou do not, take this for certain, that the righteous God will destroy thee by strange invasions and foreign power, and avenge himself on thee for this so horrible an act: whereby doth appear not only his perjury, but also his excommunication most execrable, so that, as before, we pronounce the said Henry not only perjured, but also excommunicate.

"Sixthly, We depose, &c., against the said Lord Henry, that after he had attained to the crown and sceptre of the kingdom, he caused forthwith to be apprehended divers lords spiritual, bishops, abbots, priors, and religious men of all orders, whom he arrested, imprisoned, and bound, and against all order brought them before the secular judges to be examined; not sparing the bishops, whose bodies were anointed with sacred oil, nor priests, nor religious men, but commanded them to be condemned, hanged, and beheaded, by the temporal law and judgment, notwithstanding the privilege of the church and holy orders, which he ought to have revered and worshipped, if he had been a true and lawful king; for the first and chiefest oath in the coronation of a lawful king is, to defend and keep inviolate the liberties and rights of the church, and not to deliver any priest or religious man into the hands of the secular power, except for heresy only, and that after his degradation, according to the order of the church. Contrary unto all this hath he done; so that it is manifest by this article, as before in the rest, that he is both perjured, and excommunicate.

"Seventhly, We depose, &c., against the said Lord Henry, that not only he caused to be put to death the lords spiritual and other religious men, but also divers of the lords temporal and nobility of the realm, and chiefly those that studied for the preservation of the commonwealth, not ceasing as yet to continue his mischievous enterprise, if by God's providence it be not prevented, and that with speed. Amongst all other of the nobility, these first he put to death; the earl of Salisbury, the earl of Huntingdon, the earl of Gloucester, the Lord Roger Clarendon, the king's brother, with divers other knights and esquires; and afterwards, the Lord Thomas Percy, earl of Worcester, and the Lord Henry Percy, son and heir to the earl of Northumberland; the which Lord Henry he not only slew, but to the uttermost of his power again and again he caused him to be slain. For after that he was once put to death, and delivered to the lord of Furnile to be buried, who committed his body to holy sepulture, with as much honour as might be, commending his soul to Almighty God with the suffrages of the blessed mass and other prayers, the said Lord Henry, most like a cruel beast still thirsting for his blood, caused his body to be exhumed and brought forth again, and to be reposed between two millstones in the town of Shrewsbury, there to be kept with armed men; and afterwards to be beheaded and quartered, commanding his head and quarters to be carried into divers cities of the kingdom: wherefore, for so detestable a

fact, never heard of in any age before, we pronounce him, as in the former articles, excommunicate.

"Eighthly, We depose, &c., against the said Lord Henry, for that after his attaining to the crown, he willingly ratified, allowed, and approved a most wicked statute set forth and renewed in the parliament holden at Winchester; the which statute is directly against the Church of Rome, and the power and principality thereof given by our Lord Jesus Christ unto blessed St. Peter and his successors, bishops of Rome; unto whom belongeth, by full authority, the free disposing of all spiritual promotions, as well superior as inferior; which wicked statute is the cause of many mischiefs; viz. of simony, perjury, adultery, incest, disorder, and disobedience; for that many bishops, abbots, priors, and prelates (we will not say by virtue, but rather by error of this statute) have bestowed the benefices vacant upon young men, rude and unworthy persons, which have compacted with them for the same, so that scarce one prelate is found that hath not covenanted with the party promoted, for the half-yearly, or, at the least, the third part of the said benefice so bestowed. And by this means the said statute is the destruction of the right of St. Peter, the Church of Rome and England, the clergy and universities, the whole commonwealth and maintenance of wars, &c.

"Ninthly, We say and depose, &c., against the said Lord Henry, that after he had tyrannously taken upon him the government of the realm, England never flourished since, nor prospered, by reason of his continual exactions of money, and oppressions yearly of the clergy and commonalty; neither is it known how this money so extorted is bestowed, since neither his soldiers nor his gentlemen are paid as yet their wages and fees for their charges and wonderful toil and labour, neither yet the poor country people are satisfied for the victual taken of them; and, nevertheless, the miserable clergy, and more miserable commonalty, are forced still to pay by menaces and sharp threatenings: notwithstanding he swore, when he first usurped the crown, that hereafter there should be no such exactions nor vexations, neither of the clergy nor laity: wherefore, as before, we pronounce him perjured, &c.

In the tenth and last article we depose, say, and openly protest by these presents, for ourselves, and all our assistants in the cause of the Church of Rome and England, and in the cause of King Richard, his heirs, and the clergy and commonalty of the whole realm, that neither our intention is, was, nor shall be, in word or deed to offend any state, either of the prelates spiritual, lords temporal, or commons of the realm; but rather, foreseeing the perdition and destruction of this realm to approach, we have here brought before you certain articles concerning the destruction of the same, to be circumspectly considered of the whole assembly, as well of the lords spiritual as temporal, and the faithful commons of England: beseeching you all in the bowels of Jesus Christ, the righteous Judge, and for the merits of our blessed Lady, the mother of God, and of St. George our defender, under whose displayed banner we wish to live and die, and under pain of damnation, that ye will be favourable to us, and to our causes which are three in number: whereof the first is, that we exalt unto the kingdom the true and lawful heir, and him to crown in kingly throne with the diadem of England. And secondly, that we revoke the Welchmen, the Irishmen, and all other our enemies unto perpetual peace and unity. Thirdly, and finally, that we deliver and make free our native country from all exactions, extortions, and unjust payments; beseeching our Lord Jesus Christ to grant his blessing, the remission of their sins, and life everlasting to all that assist us to their power in this godly and meritorious work: and unto all those that are against us we threaten the curse of

Almighty God, by the authority committed unto us by Christ and his holy church, and by these presents we pronounce them excommunicate."

These articles being seen and read, much concourse of people daily resorted more and more to the archbishop. The earl of Westmoreland (being then not far off, with John, the king's son) hearing of this, mustered his soldiers with all the power he was able to make, and bent toward the archbishop; but seeing his part too weak to encounter with him, he useth practice of policy, where strength would not serve. And first, coming to him under colour of friendship dissembled, he laboureth to seek out the causes of that great stir: to whom the archbishop again answering no hurt to be intended thereby, but profit rather to the king and commonwealth, and maintenance of the public peace; but forasmuch as he stood in great fear and danger of the king, he was therefore compelled so to do. And withal he showed unto him the contents of the articles aforesaid; which when the earl had read, setting a fair face upon it, he seemed highly to commend the purpose and doings of the bishop, promising, moreover, that he would help also forward in that quarrel to the uttermost of his power, and he required upon the same a day to be set, when they, with equal number of men, might meet together, in some place appointed, to have further talk of the matter. The archbishop, easily persuaded, was content, although much against the counsel of the earl marshal, and came; where the articles being openly published and read, the earl of Westmoreland with his company pretended well to like the same, and to join their assents together. Which done, he exhorted the archbishop, that, forasmuch as his garrison had been now long in armour and from home, he would therefore discharge the needless multitude of his soldiers, and dismiss them home to their work and business, and they would together drink and join hands in the sight of the whole company. Thus they, shaking hands together, the archbishop sendeth away his soldiers in peace, not knowing himself to be circumvented, before he was immediately arrested by the hands of the aforesaid earl of Westmoreland: and, shortly after, the king coming with his power to York, he was there beheaded the Monday in Whitsun-week, and with him also Lord Thomas Mowbray, marshal, with divers others, moreover, of the city of York, which had taken their parts; after whose slaughter the king proceedeth further to persecute the earl of Northumberland, and Lord Thomas Bardolph, who then did fly to Berwick. From thence they removed to Wales. At length, within two years after, fighting against the king's part, they were slain in the field, A. D. 1408: in the which year divers others also in the north parts, for favouring the aforesaid lords, were likewise condemned by the king, and put to death; among whom the abbot of Hales, for the like treason, was hanged.

The king, after the shedding of so much blood, seeing himself so hardly beloved of his subjects, thought to keep in yet with the clergy, and with the bishop of Rome, seeking always his chiefest stay at their hands; and therefore he was compelled in all things to serve their humour, as did appear as well in condemning William Sautre before, as also in others, which consequently we have now to treat of; in the number of whom cometh now, by the course of time, to write of one John Badby, a tailor and a layman, who, by the cruelty of Thomas Arundel, archbishop, and other prelates, was brought to his condemnation in this king's reign, A. D. 1409, according as by their own registers appeareth, and followeth by this narration to be seen.

89. John Badby

In the year of our Lord 1409, on Sunday, being the first day of March, in the afternoon, the examination following of one John Badby, tailor, being a layman, was made in a certain house or hall within the precinct of the Preaching Friars of London, in an outer cloister, on the crime of heresy, and other articles repugnant to the determination of the erroneous Church of Rome, before Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, and other his assistants, as the archbishop of York, bishops of London, of Winchester, of Oxford, of Norwich, of Salisbury, of Bath, of Bangor; and also Edmund, duke of York, Thomas Beaufort, the chancellor of England, Lord de Roos, the clerk of the rolls, and a great number of other lords, both spiritual and temporal, being then at the self-same time present: Master Morgan read the articles of his opinions to the hearers, according as it is contained in the instrument read by the aforesaid Master Morgan, the tenor whereof followeth, and in effect is such:

"In the name of God, Amen. Be it manifest to all men by this present public instrument, that in the year of the incarnation of our Lord, according to the course and computation of the Church of England, otherwise in the year 1409, in the second indiction, in the third year of the popedom of the most holy father in Christ and lord, Lord Gregory the Eleventh, by the divine permission pope, the second day of January, in the chapel Carvariæ, of St. Thomas, martyr, nigh unto the cathedral church of Worcester, being situate in the said diocese, in the presence of me, the public notary, and of the witnesses underwritten, the aforesaid John Badby, a layman, of the said diocese of Worcester, appearing personally before the reverend father in Christ and lord, Lord Thomas, by the grace of God bishop of Worcester, sitting in the said chapel for chief judge, was detected of and upon the crime of heresy being heretically taught and openly maintained by the aforesaid John Badby: that is, that the sacrament of the body of Christ, consecrated by the priest upon the altar, is not the true body of Christ by the virtue of the words of the sacrament; but that after the sacramental words spoken by the priests to make the body of Christ, the material bread doth remain upon the altar as in the beginning, neither is it turned into the very body of Christ, after the sacramental words spoken of the priests.

"Which John Badby being examined, and diligently demanded by the aforesaid reverend father concerning the premises, in the end did answer, That it was impossible that any priest should make the body of Christ, and that he believed firmly that no priest could make the body of Christ by such words sacramentally spoken in such sort. And also he said expressly, That he would never, while he lived, believe that any priest could make the body of Christ sacramentally, unless that first he saw manifestly the like body of Christ to be handled in the hands of the priest upon the altar, in his corporal form. And furthermore he said, That John Rakier, of Bristol, had as much power and authority to make the like body of Christ, as any priest had. Moreover he said, that when Christ sat at supper with his disciples, he had not his body in his hand, to the intent to distribute it to his disciples; and he said expressly, that he did not this thing. And also he spake many other words, teaching and fortifying the heresy in the same place, both grievous, and also out of order, and horrible to the ears of the hearers, sounding against the catholic faith.

"Upon which occasion the same reverend father admonished and requested the said John Badby oftentimes, and very instantly to charity; forasmuch as he would willingly that he should have forsaken such heresy and opinion holden, taught, and maintained by him in such sort against the sacrament; to renounce, and utterly abjure them, and to believe other things which the holy mother the church doth believe: and he informed the said John on that behalf both gently, and yet laudably. Yet the said John Badby, although he were admonished and requested both often and instantly by the said reverend father, said and answered expressly, That he would never believe otherwise than before he had said, taught, and answered. Whereupon, the aforesaid reverend father, bishop of Worcester, seeing, understanding, and perceiving the aforesaid John Badby to maintain and fortify the same heresy, being stubborn, and proceeding in the same stubbornness, pronounced the said John to be before this time convicted of such a heresy, and that he hath been and is a heretic, and in the end declared it in these words:

"In the name of God, Amen. We, Thomas, bishop of Worcester, do accuse thee, John Badby, being a layman of our diocese, of and upon the crime of heresy, before us sitting for chief judge, being oftentimes confessed and convicted of and upon that that thou hast taught, and openly affirmed, as hitherto thou dost teach, boldly affirm, and defend: that the sacrament of the body of Christ, consecrated upon the altar by the priest, is not the true body of Christ; but after the sacramental words, to make the body of Christ, by virtue of the said sacramental words pronounced, to have been in the crime of heresy; and we do pronounce thee both to have been, and to be, a heretic, and do declare it, finally, by these writings.'

"These things were done accordingly, as is above written, and are recited in the year, indiction, popedom, month, day, and place aforesaid; being present the same time John Malune, prior of the cathedral church of Worcester; John Dudle, monk; and Haul, the sub-prior of the said church; Thomas Penings, of the order of the Carmelites; Thomas Fekenham, of the order of the Preaching Friars; William Pomfret, of the order of the Minorites, being professors and masters in divinity; William Hailes, Gualter of London, John Swippedew, being public notaries; and William Beauchamp and Thomas Gerbis, being knights; Richard Wish, of Tredington; Thomas Wilby, of Hembury; John Weston, of Yewley, being parsons of churches; and Thomas Baleinges, the master of St. Wolston, in Worcester; and also Henry Haggely, John Penerel, Thomas Trogmorton, and William Wasleborne, esquires, of the dioceses of Worcester and Norwich, and many other worshipful and honest men being witnesses, and called specially to the things aforesaid.

"And I, John Chew, clerk of the diocese of Bath and Wells, and, by the authority apostolical, public notary of the said bishop, have, in testimony of the premises, put my hand and seal to the examination, interrogation, monition, and answer of the same John Badby, and to his obstinacy, and also to the proceedings of all and singular other doings as is aforesaid, which against him, before the said bishop, were handled and done, in the year, indiction, popedom, month, day, and place aforesaid, which, with the forenamed witnesses, was personally present; and the same, even as I heard them and saw them to be done, (being occupied with other matters,) I caused to be written and published, and into this public form have compiled the same. I, the aforesaid notary, am also privy unto the words and examinations interlined between seven or eight lines of the beginning of this instrument; which lines I, also, the aforesaid notary, do approve and make good.

"And I, Walter London, clerk of the diocese of Worcester, and, by the authority apostolical, public notary, to all and singular the aforesaid things as before by the aforesaid notary recited, and in the year, indiction, popedom, month, day, and place aforesaid handled and done, being with other the fore-recited witnesses personally present, and to all and every of the same, (as I saw and heard them to be done, being thereunto faithfully desired and required,) in testimony of the premises, have signed and subscribed according to the accustomed manner.

"And when the articles, in the aforesaid instrument contained, were, by the archbishop of Canterbury, publicly and vulgarly read and approved, he publicly confessed and affirmed, that he had both said and maintained the same. And then the archbishop, to convince the constant purpose of the said John Badby, commanded the same articles again to be read, often instructing him both by words and examples, informing and exhorting him that thereby he might be brought the sooner to the religion that he was of. And, furthermore, the said archbishop said and affirmed there openly to the same John, that he would, if he would live according to the doctrine of Christ, gage his soul for him at the judgment day. And after that again he caused those articles, in the said instrument expressed, to be read by the aforesaid Philip Morgan, and the said archbishop himself expounded the same in English as before; whereunto John Badby answered: as touching the first article, concerning the body of Christ, he expressly said, That after the consecration at the altar, there remaineth material bread, and the same bread which was before; notwithstanding, said he, it is a sign or sacrament of the living God.

"Also, when the second article was expounded unto him, That it is impossible for any priest, &c., to this article he answered and said, That it could not sink into his mind that the words are to be taken as they literally lie, unless he should deny the incarnation of Christ.

"Also, being examined of the third article, concerning Jack Rakier, he said, that if Jack Rakier were a man of good living, and did love and fear God, he hath as much power so to do, as hath the priest; and said further, that he hath heard it spoken of some doctors of divinity, that if he should receive any such consecrated bread, he were worthy to be damned, and were damned in so doing.

"Furthermore he said, That he would believe the omnipotent God in Trinity; and said moreover, that if every host being consecrated at the altar were the Lord's body, that then there be twenty thousand gods in England. But he believed (he said) in one God omnipotent; which thing the aforesaid archbishop of Canterbury denied not.

"And when the other conclusion was expounded, That Christ sitting with his disciples at supper, &c., to this he answered and said, That he would greatly marvel, that if any man had a loaf of bread, and should break the same, and give to every man a mouthful, that the same loaf should afterwards be whole.

"When all these things were thus finished, and all the said conclusions were often read in the vulgar tongue, the aforesaid archbishop demanded of him, whether he would renounce and forsake his opinions and such-like conclusions or not, and adhere to the doctrine of Christ and catholic faith? He answered, That, according to that he had said before, he would adhere and stand to those words, which before he had made answer unto. Then the archbishop oftentimes required the said John, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, that he would forsake those opinions and conclusions, and that

henceforth he would cleave to the Christian faith; which thing to do, in the audience of all the lords and others that were present, he expressly denied and refused.

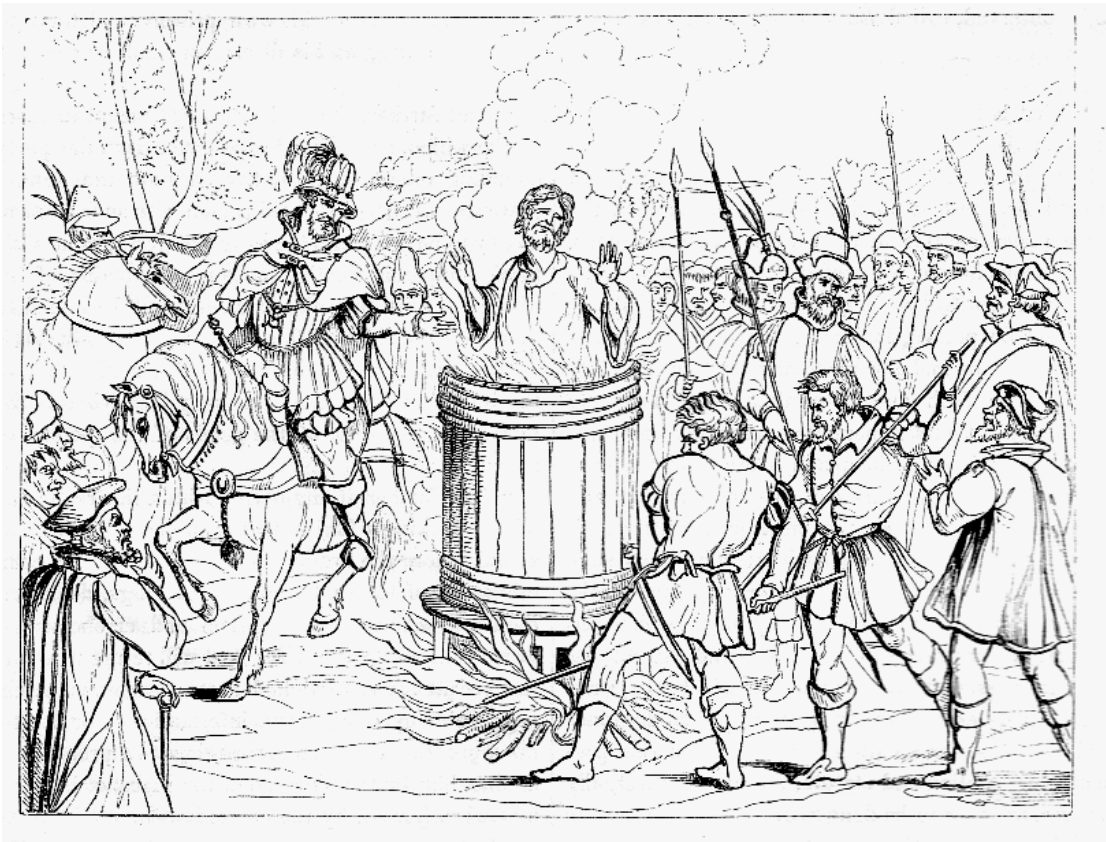
"After all this, when the aforesaid archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London had consulted together, to what safe keeping the said John Badby, until the Wednesday next, might be committed, it was concluded, that he should be put into a certain chamber or safe house within the mansion of the Friars Preachers, and so he was; and then the archbishop of Canterbury said, that he himself would keep the key thereof in the mean time. And when the aforesaid Wednesday was expired, being the fifteenth day of March, and that the aforesaid archbishop of Canterbury, with his fellow brethren and suffragans, were assembled in the church of St. Paul in London, the archbishop of Canterbury, taking the episcopal seat, called unto him the archbishop of York, Richard London, Henry Winchester, Robert Chichester, Alexander Norwich, and the noble Prince Edmund the duke of York, Ralph, earl of Westmoreland, Thomas Beaufort, knight, lord chancellor of England; and the Lord Beaumont, with other noblemen, as well spiritual as temporal, that stood, and sat by, whom to name it would be long; before whom the said John Badby was called personally to answer unto the articles premised in the aforesaid instrument: who when he came personally before them, the articles were read by the official of the court of Canterbury, and by the archbishop, in the vulgar tongue, expounded publicly and expressly; and the same articles, as he had before spoken and deposed, he still held and defended, and said, that whilst he lived he would never retract the same. And, furthermore, he said, specially to be noted, that the lord duke of York, personally there present, as is aforesaid, and every man else for the time being, is of more estimation and reputation, than the sacrament of the altar, by the priest in due form consecrated."

And whilst they were thus in his examination, the archbishop considering and weighing that he would in no wise be altered, and seeing, moreover, his countenance stout, and heart confirmed, so that he began to persuade others, as it appeared, in the same: these things considered, the arch-prelate, when he saw that by his allurements it was not in his power, either by exhortations, reasons, or arguments, to bring the said John Badby from his constant truth to his catholic faith, (executing and doing the office of his great Master,) proceeded to confirm and ratify the former sentence given before by the bishop of Worcester against the said John Badby, pronouncing him for an open and public heretic. And thus, shifting their hands of him, they delivered him to the secular powers, and desired the said temporal lords then and there present, very instantly, that they would not put the same John Badby to death for that his offence, nor deliver him to be punished or put to death, in the presence of all the lords above recited.

These things thus done and concluded by the bishops in the forenoon, in the afternoon the king's writ was not far behind, by the force whereof John Badby, still persevering in his constancy unto the death, was brought into Smithfield, and there, being put in an empty barrel, was bound with iron chains fastened to a stake, having dry wood put about him. And as he was thus standing in the pipe or tun, (for as yet Perillus's brazen bull was not in use among the bishops,) it happened that the prince, the king's eldest son, was there present, who, showing some part of the good Samaritan, began to endeavour how to save the life of him, whom the hypocritical Levites and Pharisees sought to put to death.

In this mean season, the prior of St. Bartholomew's in Smithfield brought, with all solemnity, the sacrament of God's body, with twelve torches borne before, and so showed the sacrament to the poor man being at the stake. And then they demanding of him how he believed in it, he answered, That he knew well it was hallowed bread, and not God's body. And then was the tun put over him, and fire put unto him. And when he felt the fire, he cried, Mercy! calling belike upon the Lord; and so the prince immediately commanded to take away the tun, and quench the fire. The prince, his commandment being done, asked him if he would forsake heresy, to take him to the faith of holy church? which thing if he would do, he should have goods enough; promising also unto him a yearly stipend out of the king's treasury, so much as should suffice his contentation.

But this valiant champion of Christ refused the offer of worldly promises, being no doubt more vehemently inflamed with the Spirit of God than with any earthly desire. Wherefore, when as yet he continued unmoved in his former mind, the prince commanded him straight to be put again into the pipe or tun, and that he should not afterward look for any grace or favour. But as he could be allured by no rewards, even so was he nothing at all abashed at their torments, but, as a valiant champion of Christ, he persevered invincible to the end, not without a great and most cruel battle, but with much greater triumph; the Spirit of Christ having always the upper hand in his members, maugre the fury, rage, and power of the whole world. For the manifestation of which torment, we have here set forth the picture of his burning, in such manner as it was done.



The description of the horrible burning of John Badby, and how he was used at his death

90. Laws Made against Heretics

This godly martyr, John Badby, having thus consummated his testimony and martyrdom in fire, the persecuting bishops yet not herewith contented, and thinking themselves as yet either not strong enough, or else not sharp enough, against the poor innocent flock of Christ, to make all things sure and substantial on their side, in such sort as this doctrine of the gospel now springing should be suppressed for ever, laid their conspiring heads together; and having now a king for their own purpose, ready to serve their turn in all points, (during the time of the same parliament above-recited yet continuing,) the aforesaid bishops and clergy of the realm exhibited a bill unto the king's Majesty, subtly declaring what quietness had been maintained within this realm by his most noble progenitors, who always defended the ancient rites and customs of the church, and enriched the same with large gifts, to the honour of God and the realm; and, contrariwise, what trouble and disquietness was now risen by divers, as they termed them, wicked and perverse men, teaching and preaching openly and privily a certain new, wicked, and heretical kind of doctrine, contrary to the catholic faith and determination of holy church. Whereupon the king, always oppressed with blind ignorance, by the crafty means and subtle pretences of the clergy, granted in the said parliament, by consent of the nobility assembled, a statute to be observed, called *Ex Officio*, as followeth:

The statute Ex Officio.

"That is to say, that no man within this realm, or other the king's Majesty's dominions, presume to take upon him to preach privily or apertly, without special licence first obtained of the ordinary of the same place (curates in their own parish churches, and persons heretofore privileged, and others admitted by the canon law, only excepted): nor that any hereafter do preach, maintain, teach, inform openly or in secret, or make or write any book, contrary to the catholic faith and determination of the holy church: nor that any hereafter make any conventicles or assemblies, or keep and exercise any manner of schools touching this sect, wicked doctrine, and opinion. And further, that no man hereafter shall by any means favour any such preacher, any such maker of unlawful assemblies, or any such bookmaker or writer; and, finally, any such teacher, informer, or stirrer up of the people: and that all and singular persons having any of the said books, writings, schedules, containing the said wicked doctrines and opinions, shall, within forty days after this present proclamation and statute, really and effectually deliver, or cause to be delivered, all and singular the said books and writings unto the ordinary of the same place. And if it shall happen that any person or persons, of what kind, state, or condition soever he or they be, do or attempt any manner of thing contrary to this present proclamation and statute, or do not deliver the same books in form aforesaid: that then the ordinary of the same place, in his own diocese, by authority of the said proclamation and statute, shall cause to be arrested and detained under safe custody the said person or persons in this case defamed and evidently suspected, or any of them, until he or they so offending have, by order of law, purged him or themselves as touching the articles laid to his or their charge in this behalf; or until he or they have denied and recanted (according to the laws ecclesiastical) the said wicked sect, preachings, teachings, and heretical and erroneous opinions. And that the said ordinary, by himself or his commissaries, proceed openly and judicially to all the effect of law, against the said persons so

arrested and remaining under safe custody, and that he end and determine the matter within three months after the said arrest, all delays and excuses set apart, according to the order and custom of the canon law. And if any person, in any cause above mentioned, shall be lawfully convicted before the ordinary of the diocese or his commissaries, that then the said ordinary may lawfully cause the said person so convicted (according to the manner and quality of his fact) to be laid in any of his own prisons, and there to be kept so long as his discretion shall be thought expedient.

"And further, the said ordinary (except in cases by the which, according to the canon law, the party offending ought to be delivered unto the secular power) shall charge the said person with such a fine of money to be paid unto the king's Majesty, as he shall think competent for the manner and quality of his offence. And the said diocesan shall be bound to give notice of the said fine, into the king's Majesty's exchequer, by his letters patent under his seal; to the intent that the said fine may be levied to the king's Majesty's use of the goods of the person so convicted.

"And further, if any person within this realm and other the king's Majesty's dominions shall be convicted before the ordinary of the place, or his commissaries, of the said wicked preachings, doctrines, opinions, schools, and heretical and erroneous informations, or any of them; and will refuse to abjure and recant the said wicked sect, preachings, teachings, opinions, schools, and informations; or if, after his abjuration once made, the relapse be pronounced against him by the diocesan of the place, or his commissaries, (for so, by the canon law, he ought to be left to the secular power, upon credit given to the ordinary or his commissaries,) that then the sheriff of the same county, the mayor, sheriffs or sheriff, or the mayor or bailiffs of the same city, village, or borough of the same county, and nearest inhabiting to the said ordinary, or his said commissaries, shall personally be present, as oft as they shall be required to confer with the said ordinary or his commissaries in giving sentence against the said persons offending, or any of them: and, after the said sentence so pronounced, shall take unto them the said persons so offending, and any of them, and cause them openly to be burned in the sight of all the people; to the intent that this kind of punishment may be a terror unto others, that the like wicked doctrines and heretical opinions, or the authors and favourers thereof, be no more maintained within this realm and dominions, to the great hurt (which God forbid) of Christian religion, and decrees of holy church. In all which and singular the premises, concerning the statute aforesaid, let the sheriffs, mayors, and bailiffs of the said counties, cities, villages, and boroughs, be attendant, aiding and favouring the said ordinaries and their commissaries."

By this bloody statute, so severely and sharply enacted against these simple men, here hast thou, gentle reader, a little to stay with thyself, and to consider the nature and condition of this present world, how it hath been set and bent ever from the beginning, by all might, counsel, and ways possible, to strive against the ways of God, and to overthrow that which he will have set up. And although the world may see, by infinite stories and examples, that it is but in vain to strive against him, yet such is the nature of this world (all set in malignity) that it will not cease still to be like itself.

The like law and statute in the time of Dioclesian and Maximinus was attempted, as before appeareth; and for the more strength was written also in tables of brass, to the intent that the name of Christ should utterly be extinguished for ever: and yet the name of Christ remaineth, whereas that brazen law remained not three years. The which law, written then in brass, although it differ in manner and form from this our statute *Ex officio*, yet to the same end and cruelty, to spill the blood of saints, there

is no difference between the one and the other; neither is there any diversity touching the first original doer and worker of them both: for the same Satan which then wrought his uttermost against Christ, before he was bound up, the same also now, after his loosing out, doth what he can, though not after the same way, yet to the same intent; for then, with outward violence, as an open enemy, he did what he could; now, by a more covert way, under the title of the church, he impugneth the church of Christ, using a more subtle way to deceive, under gay pretended titles, but no less pernicious in the end whereto he shooteth; as well appeareth by this bloody statute *Ex officio*, the sequel whereof cost afterward many a Christian man's life, as, in process of story, remaineth more hereafter, Christ willing, to be declared.

Furthermore, for the more fortification of this statute of the king aforesaid, concurrereth also another constitution made much about the same time by the archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Arundel: so that no industry nor policy of man here did lack to set the matter forward, but specially on the bishops' parts, who left no means unattempted, how to subvert the right ways of the Lord.

First, In most diligent and exquisite execution of the king's statute set forth, the execution whereof they did so exactly apply, that marvel it is to consider, all other laws of kings commonly, be they never so good, to be so coldly kept, and this only, among all the rest, so nearly followed. But herein is to be seen the diligence of the Romish prelates, which never let any thing fall, that maketh for the dignity of their estate.

Secondly, Beside their vigilant care in seeing the king's statute to be executed, no less industrious also were they in adding thereunto more constitutions of their own, as from time to time appeareth as well by other archbishops hereafter, and by Pope Martin, as also by this constitution here present made by Thomas Arundel, the archbishop.

But before we enter to the relation of these aforesaid constitutions of the clergymen, here cometh in more to be said and noted touching the aforesaid statute *Ex officio*, to prove the same not only to be cruel and impious, but also to be of itself of no force and validity for the burning of any person for the cause of religion; for the disproof of which statute we have sufficient authority remaining as yet in the Parliament Rolls to be seen in her Majesty's Court of Records: which here were to be debated at large, but that upon special occasion we have deferred the ample discourse thereof to the cruel persecution of the Lord Cobham hereafter ensuing; as may appear in the defence of the said Lord Cobham against Nicholas Harpsfield, under the title and name of Alanus Copus. And thus referring them for the examination of this statute to the place aforesaid, let us now return to Thomas Arundel, and his bloody constitutions above-mentioned: the style and tenor whereof, to the intent the rigour of the same may appear to all men, I thought hereunder to adjoin, in words as followeth:

"Thomas, by the permission of God, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the see apostolic: to all and singular our reverend brethren, fellow bishops, and our suffragans; and to abbots, priors, deans of cathedral churches, archdeacons, provosts, and canons; also to all parsons, vicars, chaplains, and clerks in parish churches, and to all laymen, whom and wheresoever dwelling within our province of Canterbury, greeting, and grace to stand firmly in the doctrine of the holy mother church.

"It is a manifest and plain case, that he doth wrong and injury to the most reverend council, whoso revolteth from the things being in the said council once discussed and decided; and whosoever dare presume to dispute of the supreme or principal judgment here in earth, in so doing incurreth the pain of sacrilege, according to the authority of civil wisdom and manifold tradition of human law. Much more then they who, trusting to their own wits, are so bold to violate, and with contrary doctrine to resist, and in word and deed to contemn, the precepts of laws and canons, rightly made and proceeding from the key-bearer and porter of eternal life and death, bearing the room and person not of pure man, but of true God here in earth; which also have been observed hitherto of the holy fathers, our predecessors, unto the glorious effusion of their blood, and voluntary sprinkling out of their brains; are worthy of greater punishment, deserving quickly to be cut off, as rotten members, from the body of the church militant. For such ought to consider what is in the Old Testament written, Moses and Aaron among his priests, that is, were chief heads amongst them; and in the New Testament, among the apostles there was a certain difference: and though they were all apostles, yet was it granted of the Lord to Peter, that he should bear preeminence above the other apostles; and also the apostles themselves would the same, that he should be the chieftain over all the rest; and being called Cephas, that is, Head, should be a prince over the apostles, unto whom it was said, Thou being once converted, confirm thy brethren. As though he would say, If there happen any doubt among them, or if any of them chance to err and stray out of the way of faith, of just living, or right conversation, do thou confirm and reduce him in the right way again; which thing, no doubt, the Lord would never have said unto him, if he had not so minded, that the rest should be obedient unto him. And yet, all this notwithstanding, we know and daily prove that we are sorry to speak, how the old sophister, the enemy of mankind, (foreseeing and fearing lest the sound doctrine of the church, determined from ancient times by the holy forefathers, should withstand his malice, if it might keep the people of God in unity of faith under one head of the church,) doth therefore endeavour, by all means possible, to extirpate the said doctrine, feigning vices to be virtues. And so, under false pretences of verity dissimuled, he soweth discord in catholic people, to the intent that some going one way, some another, he, in the mean time, may gather to himself a church of the malignant, differing wickedly from the universal mother, holy church: in the which, Satan, transforming himself into an angel of light, bearing a lying and deceitful balance in his hand, pretendeth great righteousness, in contrarying the ancient doctrine of the holy mother church, and refusing the traditions of the same, determined and appointed by holy fathers; persuading men, by feigned forgeries, the same to be nought, and so inducing other new kinds of doctrine, leading to more goodness, as he by his lying persuasions pretendeth, although he in very truth neither willeth nor mindeth any goodness, but rather that he may sow schisms, whereby divers opinions, and contrary to themselves, being raised in the church, faith thereby may be diminished, and also the reverend holy mysteries, through the same contention of words, may be profaned by pagans, Jews, and other infidels, and wicked miscreants. And so that figure in the Apoc. chap. vi. is well verified, speaking of him that sat on the black horse, bearing a pair of balances in his hand; by the which heretics are understood, who, at the first appearance, like to weights or a balance, make as though they would set forth right and just things, to allure the hearts of the hearers; but afterward appeareth the black horse, that is to say, their intention, full of cursed speaking. For they, under a diverse show and colour of a just balance, with the tail of a black horse sprinkling abroad heresies and errors, do strike; and, being poisoned

themselves, under colour of good raise up infinite slanders, and, by certain persons fit to do mischief, do publish abroad, as it were, the sugared taste of honey mixed with poison, thereby the sooner to be taken: working and causing, through their sleight and subtleties, that error should be taken for verity, wickedness for holiness and for the true will of Christ. Yea, and moreover, the aforesaid persons thus picked out, do preach before they be sent, and presume to sow the seed, before the seed discreetly be separate from the chaff; who, not pondering the constitutions and decrees of the canons, provided for the same purpose against such pestilent sowers, do prefer sacrifice diabolical (so to term it) before obedience to be given to the holy church militant.

We, therefore, considering and weighing that error which is not resisted seemeth to be allowed, and that he openeth his bosom too wide, which resisteth not the viper, thinking there to thrust out her venom; and willing, moreover, to shake off the dust from our feet, and to see to the honour of our holy mother church, whereby one uniform holy doctrine may be sown and planted in the church of God, (namely, in this our province of Canterbury,) so much as in us doth lie, to the increase of faith and service of God, first rooting out the evil weeds and offendicles which, by the means of perverse preaching and doctrine, have sprung up hitherto, and are like more hereafter to grow; purposing by some convenient way, with all diligence possible, to withstand them in time, and to provide for the peril of souls, which we see to rise under pretence of the

premises: also, to remove all such obstacles, by which the said our purpose may be stopped, by the advice and assent of all our suffragans and other prelates, being present in this our convocation of the clergy, as also of the procurators of them that be absent, and at the instant petition of the procurators of the whole clergy within this our province of Canterbury, for the more fortification of the common law in this part; adding thereunto punishment and penalties condign, as be hereunder written.

"We will and command, ordain and decree, That no manner of person, secular or regular, being authorized to preach by the laws now prescribed, or licensed by special privilege, shall take upon him the office of preaching the word of God, or by any means preach unto the clergy or laity, either within the church or without, in English, except he first present himself, and be examined of the ordinary of the place where he preacheth: and so being found a fit person, as well in manners as knowledge, he shall be sent by the said ordinary to some one church or more, as shall be thought expedient by the said ordinary, according to the quality of the person. Nor any person aforesaid shall presume to preach, except first he give faithful signification in due form of his sending and authority; that is, that he that is authorized, do come in form appointed him in that behalf, and that those that affirm they come by special privilege, do show their privilege unto the parson or vicar of the place where they preach. And those that pretend themselves to be sent by the ordinary of the place, shall likewise show the ordinary's letters made unto him for that purpose, under his great seal. Let us always understand, the curate (having the perpetuity) to be sent of right unto the people of his own cure: but if any person aforesaid shall be forbidden by the ordinary of the place, or any other superior, to preach, by reason of his errors or heresies which before, peradventure, he hath preached and taught; that then, and from thenceforth, he abstain from preaching within our province, until he have purged himself, and be lawfully admitted again to preach by the just arbitrement of him that suspended and forbade him; and shall always, after that, carry with him, to all places wheresoever he shall preach, the letters testimonial of him that restored him.

"Moreover the parish priests or vicars temporal, not having perpetuities, nor being sent in form aforesaid, shall simply preach in the churches where they have charge, only those things which are expressly contained in the provincial constitution set forth by John, our predecessor, of good memory, to help the ignorance of the priests, which beginneth, *Ignorantia Sacerdotum*; which book of constitutions we would should be had in every parish church in our province of Canterbury, within three months next after the publication of these presents, and (as therein is required) that it be effectually declared by the priests themselves yearly, and at the times appointed. And, lest this wholesome statute might be thought hurtful to some, by reason of payment of money, or some other difficulty, we therefore will and ordain, that the examinations of the persons aforesaid, and the making of their letters by the ordinary, be done gratis and freely, without any exaction of money at all by those to whom it shall appertain. And if any man shall willingly presume to violate this our statute grounded upon the old law, after the publication of the same, he shall incur the sentence of greater excommunication, *ipso facto*; whose absolution we specially reserve, by tenor of these presents, to us and our successors. But if any such preacher, despising this wholesome statute, and not weighing the sentence of greater excommunication, do, the second time, take upon him to preach, saying and alleging, and stoutly affirming, that the sentence of greater excommunication aforesaid cannot be appointed by the church in the persons of the prelates of the same, that then the superiors of the place do worthily rebuke him, and forbid him from the communion of all faithful Christians.

"And that the said person hereupon lawfully convicted (except he recant and abjure after the manner of the church) be pronounced a heretic by the ordinary of the place. And that from thenceforth he be reputed and taken for a heretic and schismatic, and that he incur the penalties of heresy and schismacy, expressed in the law; and, chiefly, that his goods be adjudged confiscate by the law, and apprehended, and kept by them to whom it shall appertain. And that his abettors, receivers, and defenders, being convicted, in all cases be likewise punished, if they cease not off within one month, being lawfully warned thereof by their superiors.

"Furthermore, no clergyman, or parochians of any parish or place within our province of Canterbury, shall admit any man to preach within their churches, churchyards, or other places whatsoever, except first there be manifest knowledge had of his authority, privilege, or sending thither, according to the order aforesaid: otherwise the church, churchyard, or what place soever in which it was so preached, shall *ipso facto* receive the ecclesiastical interdict, and so shall remain interdicted, until they that so admitted and suffered him to preach, have reformed themselves, and obtained the place so interdicted to be released in due form of law, either from the ordinary of the place, or else his superior.

"Moreover, like as a householder casteth wheat into the ground, well ordered for that purpose, thereby to get the more increase, even so we will and command that the preacher of God's word, coming in form aforesaid, preaching either unto the clergy or laity, according to his matter proponed, shall be of good behaviour, sowing such seed as shall be convenient for his auditory: and chiefly, preaching to the clergy, he shall touch the vices commonly used amongst them; and to the laity, he shall declare the vices commonly used amongst them; and not otherwise. But if he preach contrary to this order, then shall he be sharply punished by the ordinary of that place, according to the quality of that offence.

"Item, Forasmuch as the part is vile that agreeth not with the whole, we do decree and ordain, that no preacher aforesaid, or any other person whatsoever, shall otherwise teach or preach concerning the sacrament of the altar, matrimony, confession of sins, or any other sacrament of the church, or article of the faith, than that already is discussed by the holy mother church; nor shall bring any thing in doubt that is determined by the church, nor shall, to his knowledge, privily or apertly pronounce blasphemous words concerning the same; nor shall teach, preach, or observe any sect, or kind of heresy whatsoever, contrary to the wholesome doctrine of the church. He that shall wittingly and obstinately attempt the contrary, after the publication of these presents, shall incur the sentence of excommunication ipso facto: from the which, except in point of death, he shall not be absolved, until he hath reformed himself by abjuration of his heresy, at the discretion of the ordinary in whose territory he so offended, and hath received wholesome penitence for his offences. But if the second time he shall so offend, being lawfully convicted, he shall be pronounced a heretic, and his goods shall be confiscated and apprehended, and kept by them to whom it shall appertain. The penance before-mentioned, shall be after this manner: if any man, contrary to the determination of the church, that is, in the decrees, decretals, or our constitutions provincial, do openly or privily teach or preach any kind of heresy or sect, he shall in the parish church of the same place where he so preached, upon one Sunday or other solemn day, or more, at the discretion of the ordinary, and as his offence is more or less, expressly revoke what he so preached, taught, or affirmed, even at the time of the solemnity of the mass, when the people are most assembled; and there shall he, effectually and without fraud, preach and teach the very truth determined by the church; and, further, shall be punished after the quality of his offence, as shall be thought expedient, at the discretion of the ordinary.

"Item, Forasmuch as a new vessel, being long used, savoureth after the head, we decree and ordain, that no schoolmasters and teachers whatsoever, that instruct children in grammar, or others whosoever, in primitive sciences, shall, in teaching them, intermingle any thing concerning the catholic faith, the sacrament of the altar, or other sacraments of the church, contrary to the determination of the church; nor shall suffer their scholars to expound the Holy Scriptures, (except the text as hath been used in ancient time,) nor shall permit them to dispute openly or privily concerning the catholic faith, or sacraments of the church. Contrariwise, the offender herein shall be grievously punished by the ordinary of the place, as a favourer of errors and schisms.

"Item, For that a new way doth more frequently lead astray than an old way, we will and command, that no book or treatise made by John Wickliffe, or others whomsoever, about that time, or since, or hereafter to be made, be from henceforth read in schools, halls, hospitals, or other places whatsoever, within our province of Canterbury aforesaid, except the same be first examined by the university of Oxford or Cambridge; or, at least, by twelve persons, whom the said universities, or one of them, shall appoint to be chosen at our discretion, or the laudable discretion of our predecessors; and the same being examined as aforesaid, to be expressly approved and allowed by us or our successors, and in the name and authority of the university, to be delivered unto the stationers to be copied out, and the same to be sold at a reasonable price, the original thereof always after to remain in some chest of the university. But if any man shall read any such kind of book in schools or otherwise, as aforesaid, he shall be punished as a sower of schism, and a favourer of heresy, as the quality of the fault shall require.

"Item, It is a dangerous thing, as witnesseth blessed St. Jerome, to translate the text of the Holy Scripture out of one tongue into another; for in the translation the same sense is not always easily kept, as the same St. Jerome confesseth, that although he were inspired, yet oftentimes in this he erred: we therefore decree and ordain, that no man hereafter, by his own authority translate any text of the Scripture into English, or any other tongue, by way of book, libel, or treatise; and that no man read any such book, libel, or treatise, now lately set forth in the time of John Wickliff, or since, or hereafter to be set forth, in part or in whole, privily or apertly, upon pain of greater excommunication, until the said translation be allowed by the ordinary of the place, or, if the case so require, by the council provincial. He that shall do contrary to this, shall likewise be punished as a favourer of error and heresy.

"Item, For that Almighty God cannot be expressed with any philosophical terms, or otherwise invented of man; and St. Augustine saith, that he hath oftentimes revoked such conclusions as have been most true, because they have been offensive to the ears of the religious; we do ordain and specially command, that no manner of person, of what state, degree, or condition soever he be, do allege or propone any conclusions or propositions contrary to the catholic faith, or repugnant to good manners, (except necessary doctrine pertaining to their faculty of teaching or disputing in their schools or otherwise,) although they defend the same with never so curious terms and words. For, as saith blessed St. Hugh of the sacraments, That which oftentimes is well spoken, is not well understood. If any man, therefore, after the publication of these presents, shall be convicted wittingly to have proponed such conclusions or propositions, except (being monished) he reform himself in one month, by virtue of this present constitution, he shall incur the sentence of greater excommunication *ipso facto*, and shall be openly pronounced an excommunicate, until he hath confessed his fault openly in the same place where he offended, and hath preached the true meaning of the said conclusion or proposition in one church or more, as shall be thought expedient to the ordinary.

"Item, No manner of person shall presume to dispute upon the articles determined by the church, as is contained in the decrees, decretals, or constitutions provincial, or in the general councils; but only to seek out the true meaning thereof, and that expressly, whether it be openly or in secret; nor shall call in doubt the authority of the said decretals or constitutions, or the authority of him that made them; nor teach any thing contrary to the determination thereof: and, chiefly, concerning the adoration of the holy cross, the worshipping of images, of saints, going on pilgrimage to certain places, or to the relics of saints, or against the oaths, in cases accustomed to be given in both common places, that is to say, spiritual and temporal. But of all it shall be commonly taught and preached, that the cross and image of the crucifix, and other images of saints, in the honour of them whom they represent, are to be worshipped with procession, bowing of knees, offering of frankincense, kissing, oblations, lighting of candles, and pilgrimages, and with all other kind of ceremonies and manners that have been used in the time of our predecessors; and that giving of oaths in cases expressed in the law, and used of all men to whom it belongeth, in both common places, ought to be done upon the book of the gospel of Christ. Contrary unto this whosoever doth preach, teach, or obstinately affirm, (except he recant in manner and form aforesaid,) shall forthwith incur the penalty of heresy, and shall be pronounced a heretic, in all effect of law.

"Item, We do decree and ordain, that no chaplain be admitted to celebrate in any diocese within our province of Canterbury, where he was not born, or received

not orders; except he bring with him his letters of orders, and letters commendatory from his ordinary, and also from other bishops in whose diocese of a long time he hath been conversant, whereby his conversation and manners may appear; so that it may be known, whether he hath been defamed with any new opinions touching the catholic faith, or whether he be free from the same: otherwise, as well he that celebrateth, as he that suffereth him to celebrate, shall be sharply punished at the discretion of the ordinary.

"Finally, Because those things which newly and unaccustomably creep up, stand in need of new and speedy help, and where more danger is, there ought to be more wary circumspection and stronger resistance; and not without good cause, the less noble ought discreetly to be cut away, that the more noble may the more perfectly be nourished: considering, therefore, and in lamentable wise showing unto you, how the ancient university of Oxford, which as a fruitful vine was wont to extend forth her fruitful branches to the honour of God, the great perfection and defence of the church, now partly being become wild, bringeth forth bitter grapes, which being indiscreetly eaten of ancient fathers, that thought themselves skilful in the law of God, hath set on edge the teeth of their children; and our province is infected with divers and unfruitful doctrines, and defiled with a new and damnable name of Lollardy, to the great reproof and offence of the said university, being known in foreign countries, and to the great irksomeness of the students there, and to the great damage and loss of the church of England, which in times past by her virtue, as with a strong wall, was wont to be defended, and now is like to run into ruin not to be recovered: at the supplication, therefore, of the whole clergy of our province of Canterbury, and by the consent and assent of all our brethren and suffragans, and other the prelates in this convocation assembled, and the proctors of them that are absent, lest the river being cleansed, the fountain should remain corrupt, and so the water coming from thence should not be pure, intending most wholesomely to provide for the honour and utility of the holy mother the church and the university aforesaid; we do ordain and decree, that every warden, provost, or master of every college, or principal of every hall within the university aforesaid, shall, once every month at the least, diligently inquire in the said college, hall, or other place where he hath authority, whether any scholar or inhabitant of such college or hall, &c., have holden, alleged, or defended, or by any means proponed, any conclusion, proposition, or opinion, concerning the catholic faith, sounding contrary to good manners, or contrary to the determination of the church, otherwise than appertaineth to necessary doctrine; and if he shall find any suspected or defamed herein, he shall, according to his office, admonish him to desist. And if, after such monition given, the said party offend again in the same or such like, he shall incur *ipso facto* (besides the penalties aforesaid) the sentence of greater excommunication. And nevertheless, if it be a scholar that so offendeth the second time, whatsoever he shall afterward do in the said university shall not stand in effect. And if he be a doctor, a master, or bachelor, he shall forthwith be suspended from any scholar's act, and in both cases shall lose the right that he hath in the said college or hall, whereof he is, *ipso facto*; and by the warden, provost, master, principal, or other to whom it appertaineth, he shall be expelled, and a catholic, by lawful means, forthwith placed in his place. And if the said wardens, provosts, or masters of colleges, or principals of halls, shall be negligent concerning the inquisition and execution of such persons suspected and defamed, by the space of ten days from the time of the true or supposed knowledge of the publication of these presents, that then they shall incur the sentence of greater excommunication, and nevertheless shall be deprived *ipso facto* of all the right which they pretend to have in the colleges, halls,

&c., and the said colleges and halls to be effectually vacant: and after lawful declaration hereof made by them to whom it shall appertain, new wardens, provosts, masters, or principals, shall be placed in their places, as hath been accustomed in colleges and halls, being vacant in the said university. But if the wardens themselves, provosts, masters, or principals aforesaid, be suspected and defamed of and concerning the said conclusions or propositions, or be favourers and defenders of such as do therein offend, and do not cease, being thereof warned by us, or by our authority, or by the ordinary of the place: that then by law they be deprived, as well of all such privilege scholastical, within the university aforesaid, as also of their right and authority in such college, hall, &c., besides other penalties aforementioned, and that they incur the said sentence of greater excommunication.

"But if any man, in any case of this present constitution, or any other above expressed, do rashly and wilfully presume to violate these our statutes in any part thereof, although there be another penalty expressly there limited, yet shall he be made altogether unable and unworthy by the space of three years after, without hope of pardon, to obtain any ecclesiastical benefice within our province of Canterbury: and nevertheless, according to all his demerits and the quality of his excess, at the discretion of his superior, he shall be lawfully punished.

And further, that the manner of proceeding herein be not thought uncertain, considering with ourselves, that although there be a kind of equality in the crime of heresy and offending the prince, as is avouched in divers laws; yet the fault is much unlike, and to offend the Divine Majesty requireth greater punishment than to offend the prince's Majesty: and where it is sufficient, for fear of danger that might ensue by delays, to convince by judgment the offender of the prince's Majesty, proceeding against him fully and wholly, with a citation sent by messenger, by letters, or edict not admitting proof by witnesses, and sentence definitive to be: we do ordain, will, and declare, for the easier punishment of the offenders in the premises, and for the better reformation of the church divided and hurt, that all such as are defamed, openly known, or vehemently suspected, in any of the cases aforesaid, or, in article of the catholic faith, sounding contrary to good manners, by the authority of the ordinary of the place or other superior, be cited personally to appear, either by letters, public messenger being sworn, or by edict openly set at that place where the said offender commonly remaineth, or in his parish church, if he have any certain dwelling-house; otherwise, in the cathedral church of the place where he was born, and in the parish church of the same place where he so preached and taught: and afterwards, certificate being given that the citation was formerly executed against the party cited being absent and neglecting his appearance, it shall be proceeded against him fully and plainly, without sound or show of judgment, and without admitting proof by witnesses and other canonical probations. And also, after lawful information had, the said ordinary (all delays set apart) shall signify, declare, and punish the said offender, according to the quality of his offence, and in form aforesaid; and further, shall do according to justice, the absence of the offender notwithstanding. Given at Oxford."

Who would have thought, by these laws and constitutions, so substantially founded, so circumspectly provided, so diligently executed, but that the name and memory of this persecuted sort should utterly have been rooted up, and never could have stood? And yet, such be the works of the Lord, passing all men's admiration, all this notwithstanding, so far was it off that the number and courage of these good men was vanquished, that rather they multiplied daily and increased. For so I find in registers recorded, that these aforesaid persons, whom the king and the catholic

fathers did so greatly detest for heretics, were, in divers countries of this realm, dispersed and increased; especially at London, in Lincolnshire, in Norfolk, in Herefordshire, in Shrewsbury, in Calais, and divers other quarters more, with whom the archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Arundel, the same time had much ado, as by his own registers doth appear. Albeit some there were that did shrink; many did revolt and renounce, for danger of the law; among whom was John Purvey, which recanted at Paul's cross, of whom more followeth, the Lord willing, to be said in the year 1421. Also John Edward, priest of the diocese of Lincoln, who revoked in the Green-yard at Norwich; Richard Herbert and Emmot Willy of London; also John Becket, who recanted at London; item, John Seynons of Lincolnshire, who was caused to revoke at Canterbury. The articles of whom, which commonly they did hold, and which they were constrained to abjure, most especially were these which follow:

"First, That the office of the holy cross (ordained by the whole church) celebrated, doth contain idolatry.

"Item, They said and affirmed, that all they which do reverence and worship the sign of the cross, do commit idolatry, and are reputed as idolaters.

"Item, They said and affirmed, that the true flesh and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, is not in the sacrament of the altar, after the words spoken by the priest truly pronounced.

"Item, They said and affirmed the sacrament of the altar to be sacramental bread, not having life, but only instituted for a memorial of Christ's passion.

"Item, They said and affirmed, that the body of Christ, which is taken on the altar, is a figure of the body of Christ as long as we see the bread and wine.

"Item, They said and affirmed, that the decree of the prelates and clergy in the province of Canterbury, in their last convocation, with the consent of the king and the nobles in the last parliament, against him that was burnt lately in the city of London, was not sufficient to change the purpose of the said John, when the substance of material bread is even as it was before in the sacrament of the altar, no change being made in the nature of bread.

"Item, That any layman may preach the gospel in every place, and may teach it by his own authority, without the licence of his ordinary.

"Item, That it is sin to give any thing to the Preaching Friars, to the Minorites, to the Angustines, to the Carmelites.

"Item, That we ought not to offer at the funerals of the dead.

"Item, That the confession of sins to the priest is unneedful.

"Item, That every good man, though he be unlearned, is a priest.

"Item, That the infant, though he die unbaptized, shall be saved.

"Item, That neither the pope, nor the prelate, neither any ordinary, can compel any man to swear by any creature of God, or by the Bible book.

"Item, That the bishop, the simple man, the priest and layman, be of like authority, as long as they live well.

"Item, That no man is bound to give bodily reverence to any prelate."

91. William Thorpe.

Thus much briefly being signified by the way, touching these which have been forced in time of this king to open abjuration, next cometh to our hands the worthy history of Master William Thorpe, a valiant warrior under the triumphant banner of Christ, with the process of his examinations before the aforesaid Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, written by the said Thorpe, and storied by his own pen, at the request of his friends, as by his own words, in the process hereof, may appear; in whose examination, which seemeth first to begin, A. D. 1407, thou shalt have, good reader, both to learn and to marvel: to learn, in that thou shalt hear truth discoursed and discussed, with the contrary reasons of the adversary dissolved; to marvel, for that thou shalt behold here in this man, the marvellous force and strength of the Lord's might, Spirit, and grace, working and fighting in his soldiers, and also speaking in their mouths, according to the word of his promise, Luke xxi. To the text of the story we have neither added nor diminished, but, as we have received, copied out and corrected by Master William Tindal, who had his own hand writing, so we have here sent it, and set it out abroad. Although for the more credit of the matter, I rather wished it in his own natural speech, wherein it was first written; notwithstanding, to put away all doubt and scruple herein, this I thought before to premonish and testify to the reader, touching the certainty hereof, that they be yet alive which have seen the self-same copy in his own old English, resembling the true antiquity both of the speech and of the time, the name of whom, as for record of the same to avouch, is Master Whitehead; who, as he hath seen the true ancient copy in the hands of George Constantine, so hath he given credible relation of the same, both to the printer, and to me. Furthermore, the said Master Tindal, albeit he did somewhat alter and amend the English thereof, and frame it after our manner, yet not fully in all words but that something doth remain, savouring of the old speech of that time. What the causes were, why this good man and servant of Christ, William Thorpe, did write it, and pen it out himself, it is sufficiently declared in his own preface, set before his book, which here is prefixed in manner as followeth:

The preface of William Thorpe.

The Lord God that knoweth all things, wotteth well that I am right sorrowful to write to make known this sentence beneath written: whereby of mine even Christian, set in high state and dignity, so great blindness and malice may be known, that they which do presume of themselves to destroy vices, and to plant in men virtues, neither dread to offend God, nor lust to please him, as their works do show. For certes the bidding of God and his law, which, in the praising of his most holy name, he commandeth to be known and kept of all men and women, young and old, after the cunning and power that he hath given to them, the prelates of this land and their ministers, with the convent of priests chiefly consenting to them, enforce them most busily to withstand and destroy the holy ordinance of God. And therethrough God is greatly wroth, and moved to take hard vengeance, not only upon them that do the evil, but also on them that consent to these antichrist's limbs; which know, or might know, their malice and falsehood, and dress them not to withstand their malice and their great pride. Nevertheless, four things move me to write this sentence beneath.

"The first thing that moveth me hereto is this, that whereas it was known to certain friends, that I came from the prison of Shrewsbury, and as it befell indeed that I should to the prison of Canterbury, then divers friends in divers places spake to me full heartily and full tenderly, and commanded me then if it so were that I should be examined before the archbishop of Canterbury, that if I might in any wise, I should write mine apposing, and mine answering. And I promised to my special friends, that if I might, I would gladly do their bidding as I might.

"The second thing that moveth me to write this sentence is this: divers friends, which have heard that I have been examined before the archbishop, have come to me in prison, and counselled me busily, and coveted greatly that I should do the same thing. And other brethren have sent to me, and required on God's behalf, that I should write out and make known, both mine apposing and mine answering, for the profit that (as they say) upon my knowledging may come thereof. But this they bade me, that I should be busy in all my wits, to go as near the sentence and the words as I could, both that were spoken to me, and that I spake: peradventure this writing may come another time before the archbishop and his council. And of this counselling I was right glad: for in my conscience I was moved to do this thing, and to ask hitherto the special help of God. And so then I, considering the great desire of divers friends of sundry places, according all in one, I occupied all my mind and my wits so busily, that through God's grace I perceived, by their meaning and their charitable desire, some profit might come therethrough. For soothfastness and truth hath these conditions, wherever it is impugned, it hath a sweet smell, and thereof cometh a sweet savour. And the more violently the enemies dress themselves to oppress and to withstand the truth, the greater and the sweeter smell cometh thereof. And therefore this heavenly smell of God's word, will not, as a smoke, pass away with the wind; but it will descend and rest in some clean soul that thirsteth thereafter. And thus some deal by this writing may be perceived through God's grace, how that the enemies of the truth (standing boldly in their malice) enforce them to withstand the freedom of Christ's gospel, for which freedom Christ became man and shed his heart-blood. And therefore it is great pity and sorrow, that many men and women do their own wayward will, and busy them not to know nor to do the pleasant will of God. "The men and women that hear the truth and soothfastness, and hear or know of this, (perceiving what is now in the church,) ought herethrough to be the more moved in all their wits to able them to grace, and to set lesser price by themselves; that they, without tarrying, forsake wilfully and bodily all the wretchedness of this life, since they know not how soon, nor when, nor where, nor by whom God will teach them and essay their patience. For no doubt, whoever will live piteously, that is, charitably in Christ Jesus, shall suffer now here in this life persecution, in one wise or another: that is, if we shall be saved, it behoveth us to imagine full busily the vility and foulness of sin, and how the Lord God is displeased therefore; and because of this vility and hideousness of sin, it behoveth us to busy us in all our wits, to abhor and hold in our mind a great shame of sin ever, and so then we ought to sorrow heartily therefore, and ever fleeing all occasion thereof. And then it behoveth us to take upon us sharp penance, continuing therein, to obtain of the Lord forgiveness of our fore-done sins, and grace to abstain hereafter from sin. And if we force ourselves not to do this wilfully, and in convenient time, the Lord (if he will not utterly destroy and cast us away) will in divers manners move tyrants against us; to constrain us violently to do penance, which we would not do wilfully. And trust that this doing is a special grace of the Lord, and a great token of life and mercy. And no doubt whoever will not apply himself (as is said before) to punish himself wilfully, neither will suffer patiently,

meekly, and gladly the rod of the Lord, howsoever that he will punish him; their wayward wills and their impatience are unto them earnest of everlasting damnation. But because there are but few in number that do able them thus faithfully to grace, to live here so simply and purely, and without gall of malice and of grudging; therefore the lovers of this world hate and pursue them that they know patient, meek, chaste, and wilfully poor, hating and fleeing all worldly vanities and fleshly lusts. For surely their virtuous conditions are even contrary to the manners of this world.

"The third thing that moveth me to write this sentence is this: I thought I shall busy me in myself to do faithfully, that all men and women (occupying all their business in knowing and in keeping of God's commandments) able them so to grace, that they might understand truly the truth, and have and use virtue and prudence, and so deserve to be lightened from above with heavenly wisdom; so that all their words and their works may be hereby made pleasant sacrifices unto the Lord God; and not only for help of their own souls, but also for edification of holy church. For I doubt not, but all they that will apply them to have this aforesaid business shall profit full mickle both to friends and foes. For some enemies of the truth, through the grace of God, shall through charitable folks be made astonished in their conscience, and peradventure converted from vices to virtues; and also, they that labour to know and to keep faithfully the biddings of God, and to suffer patiently all adversities, shall hereby comfort many friends.

"And the fourth thing that moveth me to write this sentence is this: I know by my sudden and unwarned apposing and answering, that all they that will of good heart without feigning able themselves wilfully and gladly, after their cunning and their power, to follow Christ patiently, travailing busily, privily, and openly in work and in word, to withdraw whomsoever that they may from vices, planting in them (if they may) virtues, comforting them and furthering them that stand in grace; so that therewith they be not borne up in vain-glory through presumption of their wisdom, nor inflamed with any worldly prosperity, but ever meek and patient; purposing to continue stedfastly in the will of God, suffering wilfully and gladly, without any grudging, whatsoever rod the Lord will chastise them with; that then this good Lord will not forget to comfort all such men and women in all their tribulations, and at every point of temptation that any enemy purposed for to do against them. To such faithful lovers specially, and patient followers of Christ, the Lord sendeth by his wisdom from above them which the adversaries of the truth may not know nor understand. But through their old and new unshamefast sins, those tyrants and enemies of soothfastness shall be so blinded and obstinate in evil, that they shall ween themselves to do pleasant sacrifices unto the Lord God in their malicious and wrongful pursuing and destroying of innocent men's and women's bodies; which men and women, for their virtuous living, and for their true knowing of the truth, and their patient, wilful, and glad suffering of persecution for righteousness, deserve through the grace of God, to be heirs of the endless bliss of heaven. And for the fervent desire and great love that these men have, as to stand in soothfastness and witness of it, though they be suddenly and unwarnedly brought forth to be apposed of their adversaries; the Holy Ghost yet, that moveth and ruleth them through his charity, will in that hour of their answering speak in them, and show his wisdom, that all their enemies shall not gainsay, nor gainstand, lawfully.

"And therefore all they that are stedfast in the faith of God, yea, which through diligently keeping of his commandments, and for their patient suffering of whatsoever adversity that cometh to them, hope surely in his mercy, purposing to stand

continually in perfect charity; for those men and women dread not so the adversities of this life, that they will fear (after their cunning and their power) to know knowledge prudently the truth of God's word, when, where, and to whom they think their knowledging may profit. Yea, and though therefore persecution come to them in one wise or another, certes they patiently take it, knowing their conversation to be in heaven. It is a high reward and a special grace of God to have and enjoy the everlasting inheritance of heaven, for the suffering of one persecution in so short time as is the term of this life. For, lo, this heavenly heritage and endless reward, is the Lord God himself, which is the best thing that may be. This sentence witnesseth the Lord God himself, whereas he said to Abraham, I am thy meed: and as the Lord said, he was and is the meed of Abraham, so he is of all other his saints. This most blessed and best meed, he grant to us all for his holy name that made us of nought, and sent his only most dear worthy Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, to redeem us with his most precious heart-blood. Amen."



The examination of William Thorpe

The examination of William Thorpe, penned with his own hand.

"Known be it to all men that read or hear this writing, that on the Sunday next after the feast of St. Peter, that we call Lammas, in the year of our Lord 1407, I, William Thorpe, being in prison in the castle of Saltwood, was brought before Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, and chancellor then of England. And when that I came to him, he stood in a great chamber and much people about him; and when that he saw me, he went fast into a closet, bidding all secular men that followed

him to go forth from him soon, so that no man was left then in that closet but the archbishop himself, and a physician that was called Malveren, parson of St. Dunstan's in London, and other two persons unknown to me, which were ministers of the law. And I standing before them, by and by the archbishop said to me, William, I know well that thou hast this twenty winters and more, travelled about busily in the north country, and in divers other countries of England, sowing about false doctrine, having great business if thou might, with thine untrue teaching and shrewd will to infect and poison all this land. But through the grace of God thou art now withstanded and brought into my ward, so that I shall now sequester thee from thine evil purpose, and let thee to envenom the sheep of my province. Nevertheless, St. Paul saith, If it may be, as much as in us is, we ought to have peace with all men: therefore, William, if thou wilt now meekly and of good heart, without any feigning, kneel down, and lay thy hand upon a book and kiss it, promising faithfully as I shall here charge thee, that thou wilt submit thee to my correction, and stand to mine ordinance, and fulfil it duly by all thy cunning and power, thou shalt yet find me gracious unto thee. Then said I to the archbishop, Sir, since ye deem me a heretic, and out of belief, will you give me here audience to tell my belief? And he said, Yea, tell on. And I said, I believe that there is not but one God Almighty, and in this Godhead, and of this Godhead, are three persons, that is, the Father, the Son, and the soothfast, Holy Ghost. And I believe that all these three persons are even in power, and in wisdom, and in might, full of grace and of all goodness. For whatsoever that the Father doth, or can, or will, that thing also the Son doth, and can, and will; and in all their power, cunning, and will, the Holy Ghost is equal to the Father, and to the Son.

"Over this, I believe that through counsel of this most blessed Trinity, in most convenient time before ordained for the salvation of mankind, the second person of this Trinity was ordained to take the form of man, that is, the kind of man. And I believe, that this second person, our Lord Jesus Christ, was conceived through the Holy Ghost in the womb of the most blessed Virgin Mary, without man's seed. And I believe that after nine months Christ was born of this most blessed Virgin, without any pain or breaking of the closter of her womb, and without filth of her virginity.

"And I believe that Christ our Saviour was circumcised in the eighth day after his birth, in fulfilling of the law, and his name was called Jesus, which was so called of the angel, before that he was conceived in the womb of Mary his mother.

"And I believe that Christ, as he was about thirty years old, was baptized in the flood of Jordan of John Baptist; and in the likeness of a dove the Holy Ghost descended there upon him, and a voice was heard from heaven, saying, Thou art my well-beloved Son, in thee I am full pleased.

"And I believe that Christ was moved then by the Holy Ghost to go into the desert, and there he fasted forty days and forty nights, without bodily meat and drink. And I believe that by and by after his fasting, when the manhood of Christ hungered, the fiend came to him, and tempted him in gluttony, in vain-glory, and in covetise; but in all those temptations Christ concluded the fiend, and withstood him. And then without tarrying Jesus began to preach, and say unto the people, Do ye penance, for the realm of heaven is now at hand.

"I believe that Christ in all his time here lived most holily, and taught the will of his Father most truly: and I believe that he suffered therefore most wrongfully greatest reproofs and despisings.

" And after this, when Christ would make an end here of this temporal life, I believe that in the day next before that he would suffer passion in the morn, in form of bread and of wine he ordained the sacrament of his flesh and his blood, that is, his own precious body, and gave it to his apostles to eat; commanding them, and by them all their after-comers, that they should do it in this form that he showed to them, use themselves, and teach and commune forth to other men and women this most worshipful and holiest sacrament, in mindfulness of his holiest living, and of his most true preaching, and of his wilful and patient suffering of the most painful passion.

"And I believe that this Christ our Saviour, after that he had ordained this most worthy sacrament of his own precious body, went forth wilfully against his enemies, and he suffered them most patiently to lay their hands most violently upon him, and to bind him, and to lead him forth as a thief, and to scorn him and buffet him, and all to blow or defile him with their spittings. Over this, I believe that Christ suffered most meekly and patiently his enemies, to ding out with sharp scourges the blood that was between his skin and his flesh; yea, without grudging, Christ suffered the cruel Jews to crown him with most sharp thorns, and to strike him with a reed. And after, Christ suffered wicked Jews to draw him out upon the cross, and to nail him thereupon hand and foot. And so through his pitiful nailing, Christ shed out wilfully for man's blood the blood that was in his veins. And then Christ gave wilfully his spirit into the hands or power of his Father, and so, as he would, and when he would, Christ died wilfully for man's sake upon the cross. And notwithstanding that Christ was wilfully, painfully, and most shamefully put to death, as to the world, there was left blood and water in his heart, as before ordained, that he would shed out this blood and this water for man's salvation. And therefore he suffered the Jews to make a blind knight to thrust him in the heart with a spear, and this blood and water that was in his heart, Christ would shed out for man's love: and after this, I believe that Christ was taken down from the cross and buried. And I believe that on the third day, by the power of his Godhead, Christ rose again from death to life. And the fortieth day thereafter, I believe that Christ ascended up into heaven, and that he there sitteth on the right hand of the Father Almighty. And the fiftieth day after his up-going, he sent to his apostles the Holy Ghost that he had promised them before. And I believe that Christ shall come and judge all mankind, some to everlasting peace, and some to everlasting pains.

"And as I believe in the Father, and in the Son, that they are one God Almighty, so I believe in the Holy Ghost that he is also with them the same God Almighty.

"And I believe a holy church; that is, all they that have been, and that now are, and always to the end of the world shall be, a people the which shall endeavour them to know and to keep the commandments of God, dreading over all things to offend God, and loving and seeking most to please him: and I believe that all they that have had, and yet have, and all they that yet shall have, the aforesaid virtues, surely standing in the belief of God, hoping stedfastly in his merciful doings, continuing to their end in perfect charity, wilfully, patiently, and gladly suffering persecutions, by the example of Christ chiefly, and his apostles, all these have their names written in the book of life.

"Therefore, I believe that the gathering together of this people, living now here in this life, is the holy church of God, fighting here on earth against the fiend, the prosperity of the world, and their filthy lusts. Wherefore, seeing that all the gathering

together of this church beforesaid, and every part thereof, neither coveteth, nor willeth, nor loveth, nor seeketh any thing but to eschew the offence of God, and to do his pleasing will; meekly, gladly, and wilfully, with all mine heart, I submit myself unto this holy church of Christ, to be ever buxom and obedient to the ordinance of it, and of every member thereof, after my knowledge and power, by the help of God. Therefore I knowledge now, and evermore shall, if God will, that with all my heart, and with all my might, I will submit me only to the rule and governance of them, whom after my knowledge I may perceive by the having and using of the beforesaid virtues, to be members of the holy church. Wherefore these articles of belief and all other (both of the old law, and of the new, which after the commandment of God any man ought to believe) I believe verily in my soul, as a sinful, deadly wretch, of my cunning and power, ought to believe; praying the Lord God for his holy name, to increase my belief, and to help my unbelief.

"And because, to the praising of God's name, I desire above all things to be a faithful member of holy church, I make this protestation before you all four that are now here present, coveting that all men and women that now be absent knew the same; that is, what thing soever before this time I have said or done, or what thing here I shall do or say at any time hereafter, I believe; that all the old law and new law, given and ordained by counsel of the three persons of the Trinity, were given and written to the salvation of mankind. And I believe that these laws are sufficient for man's salvation. And I believe every article of these laws, to the intent that these articles ordained and commanded of these three persons of the most blessed Trinity are to be believed.

"And therefore to the rule and the ordinance of these God's laws, meekly, gladly, and wilfully, I submit me with all mine heart; that whosoever can or will, by authority of God's law, or by open reason, tell me that I have erred, or now err, or any time hereafter shall err, in any article of belief, (from which inconvenience God keep me for his goodness;) I submit me to be reconciled, and to be buxom and obedient unto those laws of God, and to every article of them. For by authority specially of these laws I will, through the grace of God, be united charitably unto these laws. Yea, sir, and over this, I believe and admit all the sentences, authorities, and reasons of the saints and doctors according unto Holy Scripture, and declaring it truly.

"I submit me wilfully and meekly to be ever obedient, after my cunning and power, to all these saints and doctors, as they are obedient in work and in word to God and to his law, and further not, (to my knowledge,) not for any earthly power, dignity, or state, through the help of God. But, sir, I pray you tell me, if after your bidding I shall lay my hand upon the book, to what intent; to swear thereby? And the archbishop said to me, Yea, wherefore else? And I said to him, Sir, a book is nothing else but a thing coupled together of divers creatures, and to swear by any creature, both God's law and man's law is against it.

"But, sir, this thing I say here to you before these your clerks, with my aforesaid protestation, that how, where, when, and to whom, men are bound to swear or to obey in any wise after God's law, and saints, and true doctors, according with God's law, I will through God's grace be ever ready thereto, with all my cunning and power. But I pray you, sir, for the charity of God, that ye will, before that I swear, (as I have rehearsed to you,) tell me how or whereto that I shall submit me; and show me that whereof ye will correct me, and what is the ordinance that ye will thus oblige me to fulfil.

And the archbishop said unto me, I will shortly that now thou swear here to me, that thou shalt forsake all the opinions which the sect of Lollards hold, and is slandered with; so that after this time, neither privily nor apertly, thou hold any opinion which I shall (after thou hast sworn) rehearse to thee here. Nor shalt thou favour any man or woman, young or old, that holdeth any these aforesaid opinions; but after thy knowledge and power thou shalt force thee to withstand all such distroublers of holy church in every diocese that thou comest in; and them that will not leave their false and damnable opinions, thou shalt put them up, publishing them and their names, and make them known to the bishop of the diocese that they are in, or to the bishop's ministers. And over this, I will that thou preach no more unto the time that I know by good witness and true, that thy conversation be such, that thy heart and thy mouth accord truly in one, contrarying all the lewd learning that thou hast taught here before.

"And I, hearing these words, thought in my heart that this was an unlawful asking; and deemed myself cursed of God if I consented hereto, and I thought how Susan said, Anguish is to me on every side. And in that I stood still and spake not, the archbishop said to me, Answer one way or other. And I said, Sir, if I consented to you thus as ye have here-before rehearsed to me, I should become an appealer, or every bishop's espie, somoner of all England. For if I should thus put up and publish the names of men and women, I should herein deceive full many persons; yea, sir, as it is likely by the doom of my conscience, I should herein be cause of the death both of men and women, yea, both bodily and ghostly. For many men and women that stand now in the way of salvation, if I should, for the learning and reading of their belief, publish them therefore up to the bishops or to their unpiteous ministers, I know some deal by experience that they should be so distroubled and diseased with persecution or otherwise, that many of them (I think) would rather choose to forsake the way of truth than to be travelled, scorned, slandered, or punished as bishops and their ministers now use to constrain men and women to consent to them.

"But I find in no place in Holy Scripture, that this office, that ye would now enfeoff me with, accordeth to any priest of Christ's sect, nor to any other Christian man: and therefore to do this were to me a full noyous bond to be bounden with, and over grievous charge. For I suppose, that if I thus did, many men and women would, yea, sir, might justly, to my confusion, say to men, that I were a traitor to God and to them: since (as I think in mine heart) many men and women trust so mickle in this case, that I would not for saving of my life do thus to them. For if I thus should do, full many men and women would (as they might full truly) say that I had falsely and cowardly forsaken the truth, and slandered shamefully the word of God. For if I consented to you to do here after your will, for bonchief or mischief that may befall unto me in this life, I deem in my conscience, that I were worthy heretofore to be cursed of God and also of all his saints: from which inconvenience keep me and all Christian people, Almighty God, now and ever for his holy name.

"And then the archbishop said unto me, Oh, thine heart is full hard indurate, as was the heart of Pharaoh, and the devil hath overcome thee, and perverted thee, and he hath so blinded thee in all thy wit, that thou hast no grace to know the truth, nor the measure of mercy that I have proffered to thee. Therefore, as I perceive now by thy foolish answer, thou hast no will to leave thine old errors.

"But I say to thee, lewd losel, either quickly consent thou to mine ordinance, and submit thee to stand to my decrees, or by St. Thomas thou shalt be degraded, and

follow thy fellow into Smithfield. And at this saying I stood still and spake not, but I thought in mine heart, that God did to me great grace, if he would of his great mercy bring me to such an end. And in mine heart I was nothing afraid with this menacing of the archbishop. And I considered there two things in him. One, that he was not yet sorrowful that he had made William Sautre wrongfully to be burnt: and as I considered, that the archbishop thirsted yet after more shedding out of innocent blood. And fast therefore I was moved in all my wits, to hold the archbishop neither for prelate nor for priest of God. And for that mine inward man was thus altogether departed from the archbishop, methought I should not have any dread of him. But I was right heavy and sorrowful, for that there was no audience of secular men by; but in my heart I prayed the Lord God to comfort me and strengthen me against them that there were against the soothfastness. And I purposed to speak no more to the archbishop and his clerks than me need behoved: and all thus I prayed God for his goodness to give me then and alway grace to speak with a meek and an easy spirit: and whatsoever thing that I should speak, that I might thereto have true authorities of the Scriptures or open reason. And for that I stood thus still and nothing spake, one of the archbishop's clerks said unto me, What thing musest thou? Do thou as my lord hath now commanded to thee here.

"And yet I stood still and answered him not: and then soon after the archbishop said to me, Art thou not yet bethought whether thou wilt do as I have said to thee? And I said then to him, Sir, my father and my mother, on whose souls God have mercy, (if it be his will,) spent mickle money in divers places about my learning, for the intent to have made me a priest to God. But when I came to years of discretion, I had no will to be priest, and therefore my friends were right heavy to me, and then methought their grudging against me was so painful to me, that I purposed therefore to have left their company. And when they perceived this in me, they spake sometime full fair and pleasant words to me; but for that they might not make me to consent of good heart to be a priest, they spake to me full oftentimes very grievous words, and menaced me in divers manners, showing to me full heavy cheer. And thus one while in fair manner, another while in grievous, they were long time (as methought) full busy about me, ere I consented to them to be a priest.

"But at the last, when in this matter they would no longer suffer mine excusations, but either I should consent to them, or I should ever bear their indignation, yea their curse (as they said); then I, seeing this, prayed them that they should give me licence to go to them that were named wise priests, and of virtuous conversation, to have their counsel, and to know of them the office and the charge of priesthood. And hereto my father and my mother consented full gladly, and gave me their blessing and good leave to go, and also money to spend in this journey. And so I went to those priests whom I heard to be of best name, and of most holy living, and best learned, and most wise of heavenly wisdom; and so I communed with them unto the time, that I perceived by their virtuous and continual occupations, that their honest and charitable works passed their fame which I had heard before of them.

"Wherefore, sir, by the example of the doctrine of them, and specially for the godly and innocent works which I perceived then of them, and in them, after my cunning and power, I have exercised me then and in this time, to know perfectly God's law, having a will and desire to live thereafter, which willeth that all men and women should exercise themselves faithfully thereabout. If then, sir, either for pleasure of them that are neither so wise nor of so virtuous conversation, to my knowledge, nor, by common fame, to any other men's knowledge in this land, as these

men were of whom I took my counsel and information, I should now forsake thus suddenly and shortly, and unwarned, all the learning that I have exercised myself in these thirty winters and more, my conscience should ever be herewith out of measure unquieted: and, sir, I know well, that many men and women should be therethrough greatly troubled and slandered. And as I said, sir, to you before, for mine untruth and false cowardliness, many a one should be put into full great reproof: yea, sir, I dread that many a one (as they might then justly) would curse me full bitterly; and, sir, I fear not, but the curse of God, which I should deserve herein, would bring me to a full evil end, if I continued thus. And if, through remorse of conscience, I repented me any time, returning into the way, which you do your diligence to constrain me now to forsake; yea, sir, all the bishops of this land, with full many other priests, would defame me, and pursue me as a relapse: and they that now have (though I be unworthy) some confidence in me, hereafter would never trust to me, though I could teach and live never so virtuously, more than I can or may. For if after your counsel I left utterly all my learning, I should hereby first wound and defile mine own soul, and also I should herethrough give occasion to many men and women of full sore hurting; yea, sir, as it is likely to me, if I consented to your will, I should herein by mine evil example in it, as far as in me were, slay many folk ghostly, that I should never deserve to have grace of God to the edifying of his church, neither of myself, nor of any other man's life, and should be undone both before God and man.

"But, sir, by example chiefly of some whose names I will not now rehearse, of H., of I. P., and B. and also by the present doing of Philip Rampington, that now is become bishop of Lincoln, I am now learned (as many more hereafter through God's grace shall be learned) to hate and to flee all such slander that these aforesaid men chiefly have defiled principally themselves with. And in it that in them is, they have envenomed all the church of God, for the slanderous revoking at the cross of Paul's, of H. P., and of B., and how now Philip Rampington pursueth Christ's people. And the feigning that these men dissemble by worldly prudence, keeping them cowardly in their preaching and communing within the bonds and terms (which without blame may be spoken and showed out of the most worldly livers) will not be unpunished of God. For to the point of truth, that these men showed out sometime, they will not now stretch forth their lives. But by example each one of them, as their words and their works show, busy them through their feigning to slander and to pursue Christ in his members, rather than they will be pursued.

"And the archbishop said to me, These men, the which thou speakest of now, were fools and heretics, when they were counted wise men of thee and other such losels; but now they are wise men, though thou and other such deem them unwise. Nevertheless, I never wilt any that right said, that any while were envenomed with your contagiousness, that is, contaminated and spotted doctrine.

"And I said to the archbishop, Sir, I think well that these men and other such are now wise as to this world; but as their words sounded sometime, and their works showed outwardly, it was like to move me that they had earnest of the wisdom of God, and that they should have deserved mickle grace of God to have saved their own souls and many other men's, if they had continued faithfully in wilful poverty, and in other simple virtuous living; and specially if they had with these aforesaid virtues continued in their bust fruitful sowing of God's word: as to many men's knowledge they occupied them a season in all their wits, full busily to know the pleasant will of God, travailing all their members full busily to do thereafter, purely and chiefly to the praising of the most holy name of God, and for grace of edification and salvation of

Christian people. But woe worth false covetise, and evil counsel and tyranny, by which they and many men and women are led blindly into an evil end.

"Then the archbishop said unto me, Thou, and such other losels of thy sect, would shave your beards full near to have a benefice. For, by Jesus, I know none more covetous shrews than ye are, when that ye have a benefice; for lo, I gave to John Purvey a benefice but a mile from this castle, and I heard more complaints about his covetousness for tithes, and other misdoings, than I did of all men that were advanced within my diocese.

"And I said to the bishop, Sir, Purvey is neither with you now for the benefice you gave him, nor holdethe he faithfully with the learning that he taught and wrote wrote beforetime; and thus he showeth himself to be neither hot nor cold, and therefore he and his fellows may sore dread, that if they turn not hastily to the way that they have forsaken, peradventure they be put out of the number of God's chosen people.

"And the archbishop said, Though Purvey be now a false harlot, I quit me now to him; but come he more for such a cause before me, (ere we part,) I shall know with whom he holdeth. But I say to thee, which are these holy men and wise, of whom thou hat taken thine information?

"And I said, Sir, Master John Wickliffe was holden of many men the greatest clerk that they knew then living, and therewith he was named a passing ruly man and an innocent in his living; and therefore great men communed of with him, and they loved so his learning, that they wrote it and busily enforced them to rule themselves thereafter. Therefore, sir, this aforesaid learning of Master John Wickliff is yet holden of full many men and women the most agreeable learning unto the living and teaching of Christ, and of his apostles, and most openly showing and declaring how the church of Christ hath been, and yet should be, ruled and governed. Therefore so many men and women covet this learning, and purpose, through God's grace, to conform their living like to this learning of Wickliff. Master John Ashton taught and wrote accordingly and full busily, where, and when, and to whom that he might, and he used it himself right perfectly unto his life's end. And also Philip of Rampington, while he was a canon of Leicester, Nicholas Herford, Davy Gotray of Pakring, monk of Byland, and a master of divinity, and John Purvey, and many other which were holden right wise men and prudent, taught and wrote busily this aforesaid learning, and conformed them thereto. And with all these men I was right homely, and communed with them long time and oft; and so before all other men I chose willingly to be informed of them and by them, and specially of Wickliff himself, as of the most virtuous and godly wise man that I heard of or knew. And therefore of him specially, and of these men, I took the learning that I have taught, and purpose to live thereafter (if God will) to my life's end. For though some of those men be contrary to the learning that they taught before, I wot well that their learning was true which they taught; and therefore with the help of God I purpose to hold and to use the learning which I heard of them, while they sat on Moses's chair, and specially while that they sat on the chair of Christ. But after the works that they now do, I will not do with God's help; for they feign and hide, and contrary the truth, which before they taught out plainly and truly. For as I know well, when some of those men have been blamed for their slanderous doing, they grant not that they have taught amiss or erred beforetime, but that they were constrained by pain to leave to tell out the sooth, and thus they choose now rather to blaspheme God, than

to suffer a while here persecution bodily, for soothfastness that Christ shed out his heart-blood for.

"And the archbishop said, That learning, that thou callest truth and soothfastness, is open slander to holy church, as it is proved of holy church. For albeit that Wickliff, your author, was a great clerk, and though that many men held him a perfect liver, yet his doctrine is not approved of holy church, but many sentences of his learning are damned as they well worthy are. But as touching Philip of Rampington, that was first canon, and after abbot of Leicester, which is now bishop of Lincoln, I tell thee, that the day is coming, for which he fasted the even. For neither he holdeth now, nor will hold, the learning that he taught when he was a canon of Leicester. For no bishop of this land pursueth now more sharply them that hold thy way, than he doth.

"And I said, Sir, full many men and women wondereth upon him, and speaketh him mickle shame, and holdeth him for a cursed enemy of the truth.

"And the archbishop said to me, Wherefore tarriest thou me thus here with such fables, wilt thou shortly (as I have said to thee) submit thee to me or no?

"And I said, Sir, I tell you at one word, I dare not, for the dread of God, submit me to you, after the tenor and sentence that ye have above rehearsed to me.

"And thus, as if he had been wroth, he said to one of his clerks, Fetch hither quickly the certification that came to me from Shrewsbury under the bailiff's seal, witnessing the errors and heresies which this losel hath venomously sown there.

"Then hastily the clerk took out, and laid forth on a cupboard, divers rules and writings, among which there was a little one, which the clerk delivered to the archbishop. And by and by the archbishop read this roll containing this sentence:

"The third Sunday after Easter, the year of our Lord 1407, William Thorpe came unto the town of Shrewsbury, and through leave granted unto him to preach, he said openly in St. Chad's church in his sermon, that the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration, was material bread. And that images should in no wise be worshipped. And that men should not go on pilgrimages. And that priests have no title to tithes. And that it is not lawful to swear in any wise.

"And when the archbishop had read thus this roll, he rolled it up again, and said to me, Is this wholesome learning to be among the people?

"And I said, Sir, I am both ashamed on their behalf, and right sorrowful for them that have certified you these things thus untruly, for I never preached nor taught thus privily nor apertly.

"And the archbishop said to me, I will give credence to these worshipful men which have written to me, and witnessed under their seals there among them. Though now thou deniest this, weenest thou that I will give credence to thee? Thou, losel, hast troubled the worshipful commonalty of Shrewsbury, so that the bailiffs and commonalty of that town have written to me, praying me that am archbishop of Canterbury, primate and chancellor of England, that I will vouchsafe to grant them, that if thou shalt be made (as thou art worthy) to suffer open jouresse for thine heresies, that thou may have thy jouresse openly there among them; so that all they whom thou and such other losels have there perverted, may, through fear of thy deed, be reconciled again to the unity of holy church. And also they that stand in true faith of holy church, may, through thy deed, be more established therein. And as if this

asking well pleased the archbishop, he said, By my thrift this hearty prayer and fervent request shall be thought on.

"But certainly, neither the prayer of the men of Shrewsbury, nor the menacing of the archbishop, made me any thing afraid; but in rehearsing of this malice, and in the hearing of it, my heart greatly rejoiced, and yet doth I thank God for the grace that I then thought, and yet think shall come to all the church of God herethrough, by the special merciful doing of the Lord. And as having no dread of the malice of tyrants, by trusting stedfastly in the help of the Lord, with full purpose to knowledge the soothfastness, and to stand thereby after my cunning and power, I said to the archbishop, Sir, if the truth of God's word might now be accepted as it should be, I doubt not to prove by likely evidence, that they that are feigned to be out of the faith of holy church in Shrewsbury, and in other places also, are in the true faith of holy church. For as their words sound, and their works show to man's judgment, (dreading and loving faithfully God,) their will, their desire, their love, and their business are most set to dread to offend God, and to love to please him in true and faithful keeping of his commandments. And again, they that are said to be in the faith of holy church in Shrewsbury and in other places, by open evidence of their proud, envious, malicious, covetous, lecherous, and other foul words and works, neither know, nor have will to know, nor to occupy their wits truly and effectually in the right faith of holy church. Wherefore neither all these, nor any that follow their manners, shall any time come verily in the faith of holy church, except they enforce them more truly to come in the way which now they despise. For these men and women, that are now called faithful and holden just, neither know, nor will exercise themselves to know (of faithfulness) commandment of God.

"And thus full many men and women now, and especially men that are named to be principal limbs of holy church, stir God to great wrath, and deserve his curse for that they call or hold them just men, which are full unjust, as their vicious words, their great customable swearing, and their slanderous and shameful works, show openly and witness. And therefore such vicious men and unjust in their own confession call them unjust men and women, which after their power and cunning busy themselves to live justly after the commandment of God. And where, sir, ye say that I have distroubled the commonalty of Shrewsbury, and many other men and women with my teaching; if it thus be, it is not to be wondered of wise men, since all the commonalty of the city of Jerusalem was distroubled of Christ's own person, that was very God and man, and the most prudent preacher that ever was or shall be. And also all the synagogue of Nazareth was moved against Christ, and so fulfilled with ire towards him for his preaching, that the men of the synagogue rose up and cast Christ out of their city, and led him up to the top of a mountain to cast him down there headlong; also accordingly hereto the Lord witnesseth by Moses, that he shall put dissensions betwixt his people, and the people that contrarieth and pursueth his people. Who, sir, is he that shall preach the truth of God's word to the unfaithful people, and shall let the soothfastness of the gospel, and the prophecy of God Almighty to be fulfilled?

"And the archbishop said to me, It followeth of these thy words, that thou and such other thinkest that ye do right well to preach and teach as ye do, without authority of any bishop. For you presume that the Lord hath chosen you only to preach, as faithful disciples, and special followers of Christ.

"And I said, Sir, by authority of God's law, and also of saints and doctors, I am learned to deem, that it is every priest's office and duty to preach busily, freely, and

truly the word of God. For no doubt every priest should purpose first in his soul, and covet to take the order of priesthood, chiefly to make known to the people the word of God, after his cunning and power; approving his words ever to be true by his virtuous works: and for this intent we suppose that bishops and other prelates of holy church should chiefly take and use their prelacy, and for the same cause bishops should give to priests their orders. For bishops should accept no man to priesthood, except that he had good will and full purpose, and were well disposed, and well learned to preach. Wherefore, sir, by the bidding of Christ, and by the example of his most holy living, and also by the witnessing of his holy apostles and prophets, we are bound under full great pain, to exercise us after our cunning and power (as every priest is likewise charged of God) to fulfil duly the office of priesthood. We presume not here of ourselves to be esteemed (neither in our own reputation, nor in none other man's) faithful disciples, and special followers of Christ. But, sir, as I said to you before, we deem this, by authority chiefly of God's word, that it is the chief duty of every priest to busy him faithfully to make the law of God known to his people; and so to commune the commandment of God charitably, how that we may best, where, when, and to whom that ever we may, is our very duty: and for the will and business that we owe of due debt to do justly our office through the stirring and special help, as we trust, of God, hoping stedfastly in his mercy, we desire to be the faithful disciples of Christ, and we pray this gracious Lord for his holy name, that he make us able to please him with devout prayers, and charitable priestly works, that we may obtain of him to follow him thankfully.

"And the archbishop said to me, Lewd losel, whereto makest thou such vain reasons to me? Asketh not St. Paul, How should priests preach except they be sent? But I sent thee never to preach. For thy venomous doctrine is so known throughout England, that no bishop will admit thee to preach by witnessing of their letters. Why then, lewd idiot, wilt thou presume to preach, since thou art not sent nor licensed of thy sovereign to preach? Saith St. Paul, that subjects ought to obey their sovereigns, and not only good and virtuous, but also tyrants that are vicious.

"And I said to the archbishop, Sir, as touching your letter of licence, or other bishop's, which, ye say, we should have to witness that we are able to be sent to preach; we know well that neither you, sir, nor any other bishop of this land, will grant to us any such letters of licence, but if we should oblige us to you and to other bishops, by unfeull oaths, not to pass the bounds and terms which ye, sir, or other bishops, will limit to us. And since in this matter your terms be some too large, and some too strait; we dare not oblige us thus to be bounden to you to keep the terms, which you will limit to us, as you do to friars and such other preachers; and therefore, though we have not your letter, sir, nor letters of any other bishops written with ink upon parchment, we dare not therefore leave the office of preaching (to which preaching all priests after their cunning and power are bound, by divers testimonies of God's law, and great doctors) without any mention making of bishops' letters. For as mickle as we have taken upon us the order of priesthood, though we are unworthy thereto, we came and purpose to fulfil it with the help of God, by authority of his own law, and by witness of great doctors and saints, accordingly hereto trusting stedfastly in the mercy of God. For that he commandeth us to do the office of priesthood, he will be our sufficient letters and witness, if we, by example of his holy living and teaching, specially occupy us faithfully to do our office justly: yea, the people to whom we preach, be they faithful or unfaithful, shall be our letters, that is, our witness-bearers: for the truth where it is sown may not be unwitnessed. For all that are converted and

saved by learning of God's word, and by working thereafter, are witness-bearers, that the truth and soothfastness, which they heard and did after, is cause of their salvation: and again, all unfaithful men and women which heard the truth told out to them, and would not do thereafter; also all they that might have heard the truth, and would not hear it, because that they would not do thereafter; all these shall bear witness against themselves, and the truth which they would not hear, or else heard it and despised to do thereafter through their unfaithfulness, is and shall be cause of their damnation. Therefore, sir, since this aforesaid witnessing of God, and of divers saints and doctors, and of all the people good and evil, sufficeth to all true preachers; we think that we do not the office of priesthood, if that we leave our preaching, because that we have not, or may not have duly, bishops' letters, to witness that we are sent of them to preach. This sentence approveth St. Paul, where he speaketh of himself and of faithful apostles and disciples, saying thus: We need no letters of commendations as some preachers do, which preach for covetousness of temporal goods, and for men's praising. And where ye say, sir, that Paul biddeth subjects obey their sovereigns, that is sooth, and may not be denied. But there be two manner of sovereigns, virtuous sovereigns, and vicious tyrants. Therefore to these last sovereigns neither men nor women, that be subject, owe to obey in two manners. To virtuous sovereigns and charitable subjects they owe to obey wilfully and gladly, in hearing of their good counsel, in consenting to their charitable biddings, and in working after their fruitful works.

"This sentence Paul approveth, where he saith to subjects, Be ye mindful of your sovereigns, that speak to you the word of God, and follow you the faith of them, whose conversation you know to be virtuous. For, as Paul saith after, these sovereigns to whom subjects ought to obey in following of their manners, work busily in holy studying, how they may withstand and destroy vices, first in themselves and after in all their subjects, and how they may best plant in them virtues. Also these sovereigns make devout and fervent prayers to purchase grace of God, that they and their subjects may over all things dread to offend him, and to love to please him. Also these sovereigns to whom Paul biddeth us obey, as it is said before, live so virtuously, that all they that will live well, may take of them good example, to know and to keep the commandments of God., But in this aforesaid wise, subjects ought not to obey nor to be obedient to tyrants, while they are vicious tyrants, since their will, their counsel, their biddings, and their works are so vicious, that they ought to be hated and left. And though such tyrants be masterful and cruel in boasting and menacing, in oppressions and divers punishings, St. Peter biddeth the servants of such tyrants to obey meekly such tyrants, suffering patiently their malicious cruelty; but Peter counselleth not any servant or subject to obey any lord, or prince, or sovereign, in any thing that is not pleasing to God.

"And the archbishop said unto me, If a sovereign bid his subject do that thing that is vicious, this sovereign herein is to blame, but the subject for his obedience deserveth meed of God; for obedience more pleaseth God than any sacrifice.

"And I said, Samuel the prophet said to Saul the wicked king, that God was more pleased with the obedience of his commandments than with any sacrifice of beasts. But David saith, and St. Paul, and St. Gregory accordingly together, that not only they that do evil are worthy of death and damnation, but also they that consent to evil-doers. And, sir, the law of the holy church teacheth in the decrees, that no servant to his lord, nor child to the father or mother, nor wife to her husband, nor monk to his abbot, ought to obey, except in lefull things, and lawful.

"And the archbishop said to me, All these allegings that thou bringest forth, are not else but proud presumptuousness. For hereby thou enforcest thee to prove, that thou and such other are so just, that ye ought not to obey to prelates. And thus, against the learning of St. Paul, that teacheth you not to preach but if ye were sent, of your own authority ye will go forth and preach, and do what ye list.

"And I said, Sir, presenteth not every priest the office of the apostles, or the office of the disciples of Christ? And the archbishop said, Yea. And I said, Sir, as the 10th chapter of Matthew and the last chapter of Mark witnesseth, Christ sent his apostles to preach. And the 10th chapter of Luke witnesseth, that Christ sent his two and seventy disciples to preach in every place that Christ was to come to. And St. Gregory in the common law saith, that every man that goeth to priesthood, taketh upon him the office of preaching: for, as he saith, that priest stirreth God to great wrath, of whose mouth is not heard the voice of preaching. And as other more glosses upon Ezekiel witness, that the priest that preacheth not busily to the people, shall be partaker of their damnation that perish through his default. And though the people be saved by other special grace of God, than by the priests' preaching, yet the priests, in that they are ordained to preach, and preach not, as before God they are manslaughterers. For as far as on them is, such priests as preach not busily and truly, slay all the people ghostly; in that they withhold from them the word of God, that is the life and substance of men's souls. And St. Isidore said, Priests shall be damned for wickedness of the people, if they teach not them that are ignorant, or blame not them that are sinners: for all the work or business of priests standeth in preaching and teaching, that they edify all men as well by cunning of faith, as by discipline of works, that is, virtuous teaching; and as the Gospel witnesseth, Christ said in his teaching, I am born and come into this world, to bear witness to the truth, and he that is of the truth heareth my voice.

"Then, sir, since by the word of Christ specially, that is, his voice, priests are commanded to preach, whatsoever priest that it be, that hath not good will and full purpose to do thus, and ableth not himself after his cunning and power to do his office by the example of Christ and of his apostles, whatsoever other thing that he doth, displeaseth God. For, lo, St. Gregory saith, that thing left that a man is bound chiefly to do, whatsoever other thing that a man doth, it is unthankful to the Holy Ghost; and therefore saith Lincoln, The priest that preacheth not the word of God, though he be seen to have none other default, he is antichrist and Satan's, a night thief, and a day thief, a slayer of souls, and an angel of light turned into darkness. Wherefore, sir, these authorities and other well considered, I deem myself damnable, if I, either for pleasure or displeasure of any creature, apply me not diligently to preach the word of God. And in the same damnation I deem all those priests, which of good purpose and will enforce them not busily to do thus, and also all them that have purpose or will to let any priest of this business.

"And the archbishop said to those three clerks that stood before him, Lo, sirs, this is the manner and business of this losel and such other, to pick out such sharp sentences of Holy Scripture and doctors, to maintain their sect and lore against the ordinance of holy church. And therefore, losel, it is thou that covetest to have again the Psalter that I made to be taken from thee at Canterbury, to record sharp verses against us. But thou shalt never have that Psalter nor any other book, till that I know that thy heart and thy mouth accord fully to be governed by holy church.

"And I said, Sir, all my will and power is, and ever shall be, (I trust to God,) to be governed by holy church.

"And the archbishop asked me, what was holy church.

"And I said, Sir, I told you before what was holy church. But since ye ask me this demand, I call Christ and his saints holy church.

"And the archbishop said unto me, I wot well that Christ and his saints are holy church in heaven, but what is holy church in earth?

"And I said, Sir, though holy church be every one in charity, yet it hath two parts: the first and principal part hath overcome perfectly all the wretchedness of this life, and reigneth joyfully in heaven with Christ. And the other part is here yet in earth, busily and continually fighting day and night against temptations of the fiend; forsaking and hating the prosperity of this world, despising and withstanding their fleshly lusts, which only are the pilgrims of Christ, wandering toward heaven by stedfast faith, and grounded hope, and by perfect charity. For these heavenly pilgrims may not nor will not be letted of their good purpose, by the reason of any doctors discording from Holy Scripture, nor by the floods of any tribulation temporal, nor by the wind of any pride, of boast, or of menacing of any creature; for they are all fast grounded upon the sure stone, Christ; hearing his word and loving it, exercising them faithfully and continually in all their wits to do thereafter.

"And the archbishop said to his clerks, See ye not how his heart is indurate, and how he is travailed with the devil, occupying him thus busily to inedge such sentences to maintain his errors and heresies. Certain, thus he would occupy us here all day, if we would suffer him.

"One of the clerks answered, Sir, he said right now, that this certification, that came to you from Shrewsbury, is untruly forged against him. Therefore, sir, appose you him now here in all the points which are certified against him, and so we shall hear of his own mouth his answers, and witness them.

"And the archbishop took the certification in his hand, and looked thereon awhile, and then he said to me,

"Lo here it is certified against thee by worthy men and faithful of Shrewsbury, that thou preachedst there openly in St. Chad's church, that the sacrament of the altar was material bread after the consecration; what sayest thou? Was this truly preached?

"And I said, Sir, I tell you truly that I touched nothing there of the sacrament of the altar, but in this wise as I will, with God's grace, tell you here. As I stood there in the pulpit, busying me to teach the commandment of God, there knelled a sacred bell, and therefore mickle people turned away hastily, and with noise ran from towards me. And I, seeing this, said to them thus, Good men, ye were better to stand here still and to hear God's word. For certes the virtue and the meed of the most holy sacrament of the altar standeth mickle more in the belief thereof that you ought to have in your soul, than it doth in the outward sight thereof; and therefore ye were better to stand still quietly to hear God's word, because that through the hearing thereof men come to very true belief. And otherwise, sir, I am certain I spake not there of the worthy sacrament of the altar.

"And the archbishop said to me, I believe thee not, whatsoever thou sayest, since so worshipful men have witnessed thus against thee; but since thou deniest that

thou saidst thus there, what sayest thou now? Resteth there, after the consecration in the host, material bread or no?

"And I said, Sir, I know in no place in Holy Scripture where this term material bread is written; and therefore, sir, when I speak of this matter, I use not to speak of material bread.

"Then the archbishop said to me, How teachest thou men to believe in this sacrament?

"And I said, Sir, as I believe myself, so I teach other men.

"He said, Tell out plainly thy belief thereof.

"And I said with my protestation, Sir, I believe that the night before that Christ Jesus would suffer (wilfully) passion for mankind on the morn after, he took bread in his holy and most worshipful hands, lifting up his eyes, and giving thanks to God his Father, blessed this bread, and brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying to them, Take and eat of this all you, this is my body. And that this is, and ought to be, all men's belief, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and Paul witnesseth. Other belief, sir, I have none, nor will have, nor teach; for I believe that this sufficeth in this matter. For in this belief with God's grace I purpose to live and die, knowing, as I believe, and teach other men to believe, that the worshipful sacrament of the altar is the sacrament of Christ's flesh and blood in the form of bread and wine.

"And the archbishop said to me, It is sooth that this sacrament is very Christ's body in form of bread, but thou and thy sect teachest it to be substance of bread. Think you this true teaching?

"And I said, Neither I, nor any other of the sect that ye damn, teach any otherwise than I have told you, nor believe otherwise to my knowing. Nevertheless, sir, I ask of you for charity, that you will tell me here plainly, how ye shall understand the text of St. Paul, where he saith thus, This thing feel you in yourself that is in Christ Jesus, while he was in the form of God. Sir, calleth not Paul here the form of God, the substance or kind of God? Also, sir, saith not the church, in the hours of the most blessed Virgin accordingly hereto, where it is written thus, Thou author of health, remember that sometime thou took of the undefiled virgin the form of our body? Tell me for charity, therefore, whether the form of our bodies be called here the kind of our body or no?

"And the archbishop said to me, Wouldst thou make me to declare this text after thy purpose, since the church now hath determined that there abideth no substance of bread, after the consecration, in the sacrament of the altar? Believest thou not this ordinance of the church?

"And I said, Sir, whatsoever prelates have ordained in the church, our belief standeth ever whole. I have not heard that the ordinance of men under belief should be put into belief.

"And the archbishop said to me, If thou hast not learned this before, learn now to know that thou art out of belief, if in this matter and other thou believest not as the holy church believeth. What say doctors treating of this sacrament?

"And I said, Sir, St. Paul, that was a great doctor of holy church, speaking to the people, and teaching them in the right belief of this most holy sacrament, calleth it bread that we break. And also in the canon of the mass, after the consecration, this

most worthy sacrament is called holy bread. And every priest in this land, after that he hath received this sacrament, saith in this wise, That thing that we have taken with our mouth, we pray God that we may take it with a pure and clean mind; that is, as I understand, We pray God that we may receive, through very belief, this holy sacrament worthily. And, sir, St. Augustine saith, That thing that is seen is bread, but that men's faith asketh to be informed of is very Christ's body. And also Fulgence, an ententive doctor, saith, As it were an error to say that Christ was but a substance, that is, very man, and not very God, or to say that Christ was very God and not very man; so is it, this doctor saith, an error to say, that the sacrament of the altar is but a substance. And also, sir, accordingly hereto, in the secret of the mid mass on Christmas day, it is written thus, *Idem refulsit Deus, sic terrena substantia nobis conferat quod divinum est*; which sentence, sir, with the secret of the fourth ferie, *quatuor temporum Septembris*, I pray you, sir, declare here openly in English.

"And the archbishop said to me, I perceive well enough whereabout thou art, and how the devil blindeth thee, that thou may not understand the ordinance of holy church, nor consent thereto; but I command thee now, answer me shortly, believest thou that, after the consecration of this aforesaid sacrament, there abideth substance of bread or not?

"And I said, Sir, as I understand, it is all one to grant or believe that there dwelleth substance of bread, and to grant and to believe that this most worthy sacrament of Christ's own body is accident without subject. But, sir, for as mickle as your asking passeth my understanding, I dare neither deny it, nor grant it; for it is school matter, about which I busied me never to know; and, therefore, I commit this term, *accidens sine subjecto*, to those clerks which delight them so in curious and subtle sophistry, because they determine oft so difficult and strange matters, and wade and wander so in them from argument to argument, with *pro et contra*, till that they wot not where they are, and understand not themselves. But the shame that these proud sophisters have to yield them to men, and before men, maketh them oft fools, and to be concluded shamefully before God.

"And the archbishop said to me, I purpose not to oblige thee to the subtle arguments of clerks, since thou art unable thereto; but I purpose to make thee obey to the determination of holy church.

"And I said, Sir, by open evidence and great witness, a thousand years after the incarnation of Christ, the determination which I have here before you rehearsed, was accept of holy church, as sufficient to the salvation of all them that would believe it faithfully, and work thereafter charitably. But, sir, the determination of this matter was brought in, since the fiend was loosed, by Friar Thomas again, especially calling the most worshipful sacrament of Christ's own body an accident without subject: which term, since I know not that God's law approveth it in this matter, I dare not grant, but utterly I deny to make this friar's sentence, or any such other, my belief; do with me God what thou wilt.

"And the archbishop said to me, Well, well, thou shalt say otherwise ere that I leave thee. But what sayest thou to this second point that is recorded against thee by worthy men of Shrewsbury, saying that thou preachedst there, that images ought not to be worshipped in any wise?

"And I said, Sir, I preached never thus, nor through God's grace will I at any time consent to think, or to say thus, either privily or apertly. For lo, the Lord

witnesseth by Moses, that the things which he made were right good, and so then they were, and yet they are and shall be good and worshipful in their kind. And therefore, to the end that God made them so, they are all praiseable and worshipful, and specially man, that was made after the image and likeness of God, is full worshipful in his kind, yea, this holy image, that is man, God worshippeth. And therefore every man should worship other, in kind, and also for heavenly virtues that men use charitably. And also I say, wood, tin, gold, silver, or any other matter that images are made of, all these creatures are worshipful in their kind, and to the end that God made them for. But the carving, casting, and painting of an imagery, made within man's hand, albeit that this doing be accept of man of highest state and dignity, and ordained of them to be a calendar to lewd men, that neither can nor will be learned to know God in his word, neither by his creatures, nor by his wonderful and divers workings; yet this imagery ought not to be worshipped in form, nor in the likeness of man's craft. Nevertheless, that every matter the painters paint with, since it is God's creature, ought to be worshipped in the kind, and to that end that God made and ordained it to serve man.

"Then the archbishop said to me, I grant well that nobody ought to do worship to any such images for themselves. But a crucifix ought to be worshipped for the passion of Christ that is painted therein, and so brought therethrough to man's mind; and thus the images of the blessed Trinity, and of the Virgin Mary, Christ's mother, and other images of saints, ought to be worshipped. For lo, earthly kings and lords which use to send their letters ensealed with their arms, or with their privy signet, to them that are with them, are worshipped of these men. For when these men receive their lords' letters, in which they see and know the wills and biddings of the lords, in worship of their lords, they doff their caps to these letters. Why not then, since in images made with man's hand, we may read and know many and divers things of God, and of his saints, shall we not worship their images?

"And I said, Within my aforesaid protestation I say, that these worldly usages of temporal laws that ye speak now of, may be done in case without sin. But this is no similitude to worship images, made by man's hand, since that Moses, David, Solomon, Baruch, and other saints in the Bible, forbid so plainly the worshipping of such images.

"Then the archbishop said to me, Lewd losel, in the old law before that Christ took mankind, was no likeness of any person of the Trinity neither showed to man, nor known of man: but now since Christ became man, it is lefull to have images to show his manhood, yea, though many men which are right great clerks, and other also, held it an error to paint the Trinity; I say, it is well done to make and to paint the Trinity in images. For it is great moving of devotion to men, to have and to behold the Trinity and other images of saints carved, cast, and painted. For beyond the sea are the best painters that ever I saw. And, sirs, I tell you, this is their manner, and it is a good manner; when that an image-maker shall carve, cast in mould, or paint any images, he shall go to a priest, and shrive him as clean as if he should then die and take penance, and make some certain vow of fasting or of praying, or pilgrimages doing, praying the priest specially to pray for him, that he may have grace to make a fair and a devout image.

"And I said, Sir, I doubt not if these painters that ye speak of, or any other painters, understood truly the text of Moses, of David, of the wise man, of Baruch, and of other saints and doctors; these painters should be moved to shrive them to God

with full inward sorrow of heart, taking upon them to do right sharp penance for the sinful and vain craft of painting, carving, or casting they had used: promising God faithfully never to do so after: knowledging openly before all men their reprobable learning. And also, sir, these priests that shrive (as you do say) painters, and enjoin them to do penance, and pray for their speed, promising to them help of their prayers to be curious in their sinful crafts, sin herein more grievously than the painters. For these priests do comfort and give them counsel to do that thing, which of great pain, yea, under the pain of God's curse, they should utterly forbid them. For certes, sir, if the wonderful working of God, and the holy living and teaching of Christ, and of his apostles and prophets, were made known to the people by holy living, and true and busy teaching of priests; these things (sir) were sufficient books and calendars to know God by, and his saints, without any images made with man's hand. But certes, the vicious living of priests and their covetousness are chief cause of this error, and all other viciousness that reigneth among the people.

"Then the archbishop said unto me, I hold thee a vicious priest and accurst, and all they that are of thy sect; for all priests of holy church, and all images that move men to devotion, thou and such other go about to destroy. Losel, were it a fair thing to come into the church, and see therein none image?

"And I said, Sir, they that come to the church, to pray devoutly to the Lord God, may in their inward wits be the more fervent, that all their outward wits be close from all outward seeing and hearing, and from all disturbance and lettings. And since Christ blessed them that saw him not bodily, and have believed faithfully in him; it sufficeth then to all men, through hearing and knowing God's word, and doing thereafter; to believe in God, though they never see images made with man's hand after any person of the Trinity, or of any other saint.

"And the archbishop said to me with a fervent spirit, I say to thee, losel, that it is right well done to make and to have an image of the Trinity: yea, what sayest thou? is it not a stirring thing to behold such an image?

"And I said, Sir, ye said right now, that in the old law, ere Christ took mankind, no likeness of any person of the Trinity was showed to men: wherefore, sir, ye said it was not then lefull to have images, but now ye say, since Christ is become man, it is lefull to have and to make an image of the Trinity, and also of other saints. But, sir, this thing would I learn of you: since the Father of heaven, yea, and every person of Trinity, was without beginning God Almighty, and many holy prophets that were deadly men, were martyred violently in the old law, and also many men and women then died confessors; why was it not then as lefull and necessary as now, to have made an image of the Father of heaven, and to have made and had other images of martyrs, prophets, and holy confessors, to have been calendars to advise men and move them to devotion, as ye say that images now do?

"And the archbishop said, The synagogue of the Jews had not authority to approve those things as the church of Christ hath now.

"And I said, Sir, St. Gregory was a great man in the new law, and of great dignity, and, as the common law witnesseth, he commended greatly a bishop, in that he forbade utterly the images made with man's hand should be worshipped.

"And the archbishop said, Ungracious losel, thou savourest no more truth than a hound. Since at the rood at the north door at London, at our Lady at Walsingham, and many other places in England, are many great and praiseable miracles done:

should not the images of such holy saints and places at the reverence of God, and of our Lady, and other saints, be more worshipped than other places and images, where no miracles are done?

"And I said, Sir, there is no such virtue in any imagery, that any image should heretofore be worshipped; wherefore I am certain that there is no miracle done of God in any place in earth, because that any images made with man's hand should be worshipped. And therefore, sir, as I preached openly at Shrewsbury and other places, I say now here before you, That nobody should trust that there were any virtue in imagery made with man's hand; and therefore no body should vow to them, nor seek them, nor kneel to them, nor bow to them, nor pray to them, nor offer any thing to them, nor kiss them, nor incense them. For, lo, the most worthy of such images, the brazen serpent, by Moses made, at God's bidding, the good king Hezekiah worthily and thankfully, and all because it was incensed. Therefore, sir, if men take good heed to the writing and the learning of St. Augustine, of St. Gregory, and of St. John Chrysostom, and of other saints and doctors, how they spake and wrote of miracles, that shall be done now in the last end of the world; it is to be dreaded, that for the unfaithfulness of men and women, the fiend hath great power to work many of the miracles that now are done in such places. For both men and women delight now more to hear and know miracles, than they do to know God's word, or to hear it effectually. Wherefore, to the great confusion of all them that thus do, Christ saith, The generation of adulterers requireth tokens, miracles, and wonders. Nevertheless, as divers saints say, now when the faith of God is published in Christendom, the word of God sufficeth to man's salvation, without such miracles; and thus also the word of God sufficeth to all faithful men and women without any such images. But, good sir, since the Father of heaven, that is God in his Godhead, is the most unknown thing that may be, and the most wonderful Spirit, having in it no shape nor likeness and members of any deadly creature; in what likeness, or what image, may God the Father be showed or painted?

"And the archbishop said, As holy church hath suffered the images of the Trinity, and all other images, to be painted and showed, it sufficeth to them that are members of holy church. But since thou art a rotten member, cut away from holy church, thou savourest not the ordinance thereof. But since the day passeth, leave we this matter.

"And then he said to me, What sayest thou to the third point that is certified against thee, preaching openly in Shrewsbury, that pilgrimage is not lefull? And over this thou saidst that those men and women that go on pilgrimages to Canterbury, to Beverley, to Karlington, to Walsingham, and to any other such places, are accursed and made foolish, spending their goods in waste.

"And I said, Sir, by this certification I am accused to you that I should teach, that no pilgrimage is lefull. But I never said thus. For I know that there be true pilgrimages and lefull, and full pleasant to God; and therefore, sir, howsoever mine enemies have certified you of me, I told at Shrewsbury of two manner of pilgrimages.

"And the archbishop said to me, Whom callest thou true pilgrims?

"And I said, Sir, with my protestation I call them true pilgrims travelling toward the bliss of heaven, which, in the state, degree, or order that God calleth them to, do busy them faithfully to occupy all their wits, bodily and ghostly, to know truly and to keep faithfully the biddings of God, hating and fleeing all the seven deadly

sins, and every branch of them: ruling them virtuously (as it is said before) with their wits, doing discreetly, wilfully, and gladly, all the works of mercy, bodily and ghostly, after their cunning and power, abling them to the gifts of the Holy Ghost, disposing them to receive them in their souls, and to hold therein the right blessings of Christ; busying them to know and to keep the seven principal virtues, and so then they shall obtain herethrough grace, to use thankfully to God all the conditions of charity. And then they shall be moved with the good Spirit of God, to examine oft and diligently their conscience, that neither wilfully nor wittingly they err in any article of belief, having continually, as frailty will suffer, all their business to dread and to fly the offence of God, and to love over all, and to seek ever to do his pleasant will. Of these pilgrimages I said, whatsoever good thought that they at any time think, what virtuous word that they speak, and what fruitful work that they work; every such thought, word, and work is a step numbered of God toward him into heaven. These aforesaid pilgrims of God, delight sore when they hear of saints, or of virtuous men and women, how they forsook wilfully the prosperity of this life, how they withstood the suggestion of the fiend, how they restrained their fleshly lusts, how discreet they were in their penance doing, how patient they were in all their adversities, how prudent they were in counselling of men and women, moving them to hate all sins, and to fly them, and to shame ever greatly thereof, and to love all virtues, and to draw to them; imagining how Christ, and his followers by example of him, suffered scorns and slanders, and how patiently they abode and took the wrongful menacing of tyrants; how homely they were, and serviceable to poor men, to relieve and to comfort them, bodily and ghostly, after their power and cunning; and how devout they were in prayers, how fervent they were in heavenly desires, and how they absented them from spectacles of vain sayings and hearings; and how stable they were to let and destroy all vices, and how laborious and joyful they were to sow and to plant virtues. These heavenly conditions and such other have pilgrims, or endeavour to have them, whose pilgrimage God accepteth.

"And again, I said, As their works show, the most part of men and women that go now on pilgrimages, have not these aforesaid conditions, nor love to busy them faithfully to have. For as I well know, since I have full oft essayed, examine whosoever will twenty of these pilgrims, and he shall not find three men or women that know surely a commandment of God, nor can say their *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria*, nor their creed, readily in any manner of language. And as I have learned, and also know somewhat by experience, of these same pilgrims, telling the cause why that many men and women go hither and thither now on pilgrimage, it is more for the health of their bodies than of their souls; more to have riches and prosperity of this world, than to be enriched with virtues in their souls; more to have here worldly and fleshly friendship, than to have friendship of God and of his saints in heaven; for whatsoever thing man or woman doth, the friendship of God, or of any other saint, cannot be had, without keeping of God's commandments. Further with my protestation, I say now, as I said in Shrewsbury, though they that have fleshly wills, travel far their bodies, and spend mickle money, to seek and to visit the bones or images (as they say they do) of this saint or of that, such pilgrimage-going is neither praiseable nor thankful to God, nor to any saint of God, since, in effect, all such pilgrims despise God and all his commandments and saints; for the commandments of God they will neither know, nor keep, nor conform them to live virtuously by example of Christ and of his saints. Wherefore, sir, I have preached and taught openly, and so I purpose all my lifetime to do with God's help, saying that such fond people waste blamefully God's goods in their vain pilgrimages, spending their goods

upon vicious hostelers, which are oft unclean women of their bodies; and, at the least, those goods with the which they should do works of mercy, after God's bidding, to poor needy men and women.

"These poor men's goods, and their livelode, these runners about offer to rich priests, which have mickle more livelode than they need; and thus those goods they waste wilfully, and spend them unjustly against God's bidding upon strangers, with which they should help and relieve, after God's will, their poor needy neighbours at home; yea, and over this folly, oftentimes divers men and women, of these runners thus madly hither and thither into pilgrimage, borrow hereto other men's goods, yea, and sometimes they steal men's goods hereto, and they pay them never again. Also, sir, I know well that when divers men and women will go thus after their own wills, and finding out one pilgrimage, they will ordain with them before, to have with them both men and women, that can well sing wanton songs, and some other pilgrims will have with them bagpipes, so that every town that they come through, what with the noise of their singing, and with the sound of their piping, and with the jangling of their Canterbury bells, and with the barking out of dogs after them, they make more noise than if the king came there away with all his clarions, and many other minstrels. And if these men and women be a month out in their pilgrimage, many of them shall be an half year after great janglers, tale-tellers, and liars.

"And the archbishop said to me, Lewd losel, thou seest not far enough in this matter, for thou considerest not the great travail of pilgrims, therefore thou blamest that thing that is praiseable. I say to thee, that it is right well done, that pilgrims have with them both singers and also pipers; that when one of them that goeth barefoot striketh his toe upon a stone, and hurteth him sore, and maketh him to bleed, it is well done that he or his fellow begin then a song, or else take out of his bosom a bagpipe, to drive away with such mirth the hurt of his fellow: for with such solace the travail and weariness of pilgrims is lightly and merrily borne out.

"And I said, Sir, St. Paul teacheth men to weep with them that weep.

"And the archbishop said, What janglest thou against men's devotion? Whatsoever thou or such other say, I say that the pilgrimage that now is used, is to them that do it a praiseable and a good mean to come the rather to grace. But I hold thee unable to know this grace, for thou enforcest thee to let the devotion of the people, since by authority of Holy Scripture men may lefully have and use such solace as thou reprovest: for David, in his last psalm, teacheth men to have divers instruments of music to praise God therewith.

"And I said, Sir, by the sentence of divers doctors, expounding the Psalms of David, that music and minstrelsy that David and other saints of the old law spake of, ought now neither to be taken nor used by the letter; but these instruments with their music ought to be interpreted ghostly, for all those figures are called virtues and grace, with which virtues men should please God, and praise his name. For St. Paul saith, all such things befell to them in figure. Therefore, sir, I understand that the letter of this psalm of David, and such other psalms and sentences, doth slay them that take them now literally; this sentence, as I understand, sir, Christ himself approveth, putting out the minstrels, that he would quicken the dead damsel.

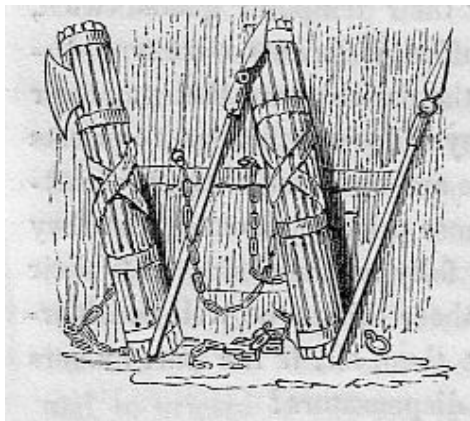
"And the archbishop said to me, Lewd losel, is it not lefull to us to have organs in the church to worship therewithal God? And I said, Yea, sir, by man's ordinance;

but by the ordinance of God, a good sermon, to the people's understanding, were mickle more pleasant to God.

"And the archbishop said, that organs and good delectable songs quickened and sharpened more men's wits, than should any sermon.

"But I said, Sir, lusty men and worldly lovers delight, and covet, and travail to have all their wits quickened and sharpened with divers sensible solace, but all the faithful lovers and followers of Christ, have all their delight to hear God's word, and to understand it truly, and to work thereafter faithfully and continually. For no doubt, to dread to offend God, and to love to please him in all things, quickeneth and sharpeneth all the wits of Christ's chosen people; and ableth them so to grace, that they joy greatly to withdraw their ears and all their wits and members from all worldly delight, and from all fleshly solace. For St. Jerome (as I think) saith, Nobody may joy with this world and reign with Christ.

"And the archbishop (as if he had been displeased with my answer) said to his clerks, What guess ye that this idiot will speak there where he hath no dread, since he speaketh thus now here in my presence? Well, well, by God, thou shalt be ordained for. And then he spake to me all angrily.



hat sayest thou to this fourth point, that is certified against thee, preaching openly and boldly in Shrewsbury, that priests have no title to tithes?

"And I said, Sir, I named there no word of tithes in my preaching. But more than a month after that I was arrested there in prison, a man came to me into the prison, asking me what I said of tithes; and I said to him, Sir, in this town are many clerks and priests, of which some are called religious men, though many of them be seculars, therefore ask ye of them this question. And this man said to me, Sir, our prelates say, that we also are obliged to pay our tithes of all things that renew to us; and that they are accursed that withdraw any part wittingly from them of their tithes. And I said, sir, to that man, as with my protestation I say now before you, that I wonder that any priest dare say man to be accursed, without any ground of God's word. And the man said, Sir, our priests say, that they curse men thus by the authority of God's law. And I said, Sir, I know not where this sentence of cursing is authorized now in the Bible. And therefore, sir, I pray ye that ye will ask the most cunning clerk of this town, that ye may know where this sentence of cursing them that tithe not, is now written in God's law; for if it were written there, I would right gladly be learned where. But, shortly, this man would not go from me to ask this question of another body, but required me there, as I would answer before God, if in this case that cursing of priests were lawful and approved of God? And shortly herewith came to my mind the learning of St. Peter, teaching priests specially to hallow the Lord Christ in their hearts, being evermore ready, as far as in them is, to answer through faith and hope to them that ask of them a reason. And this lesson Peter teacheth men to use with a meek spirit, and with dread of the Lord. Wherefore, sir, I said to this man in this wise, In the old law, which ended not fully till the time that Christ rose up again from death to life,

God commanded tithes to be given to the Levites, for the great business and daily travail that pertained to their office. But priests, because their travail was mickle more easy and light, than was the office of the Levites, God ordained the priests should take for their livelihood to do their office, the tenth part of those tithes that were given to the Levites. But now, I said, in the new law, neither Christ nor any of his apostles took tithes of the people, nor commanded the people to pay tithes, neither to priests, nor to deacons. But Christ taught the people to do alms, that is, works of mercy, to poor needy men, (of surplus, that is, superfluous of their temporal goods,) which they had more than they needed reasonably to their necessary livelihood. And thus, I said, not of tithes, but of pure alms of the people, Christ lived and his apostles, when they were so busy in preaching of the word of God to the people, that they might not travail otherwise to get their livelihood. But after Christ's ascension, and when the apostles had received the Holy Ghost, they travailed with their hands to get their livelihood, when that they might thus do for busy preaching. Therefore, by example of himself, St. Paul teacheth all the priests of Christ to travail with their hand, when for busy teaching of the people they might thus do. And thus all these priests, whose priesthood God accepteth now, or will accept, or did in the apostles' time, and after their decease, will do to the world's end. But, as Cisterciensis telleth, in the thousand year of our Lord Jesus Christ, 211 year, one Pope Gregory the Tenth ordained new tithes first to be given to priests now in the new law. But St. Paul in his time, whose trace or trample all priests of God enforce them to follow, seeing the covetousness that was among the people, desiring to destroy that foul sin through the grace of God and true virtuous living and example of himself, wrought and taught all priests to follow him as he followed Christ, patiently, willingly, and gladly in high poverty: wherefore Paul saith thus, The Lord hath ordained that they that preach the gospel, shall live of the gospel. But we, saith Paul, that covet and busy us to be faithful followers of Christ, use not this power. For lo, (as Paul witnesseth afterward,) when he was full poor and needy, preaching among the people, he was not chargeous unto them, but with his hands he travailed not only to get his own living, but also the living of other poor and needy creatures; and since the people was never so covetous nor so avaricious, I guess, as they are now, it were good counsel that all priests took good heed to this heavenly learning of Paul, following him here in wilful poverty, nothing charging the people for their bodily livelihood. But because that many priests do contrary to Paul in this aforesaid doctrine, Paul biddeth the people take heed to those priests that follow him as he had given them example. As if Paul would say thus to the people; Accept ye none other priests than they, that live after the form that I have taught you. For certain, in whatsoever dignity or order that any priest is in, if he conform him not to follow Christ and his apostles in wilful poverty, and in other heavenly virtues, and specially in true preaching of God's word; though such a one be named a priest, yet he is no more but a priest in name, for the work of a very priest in such a one wanteth. This sentence approveth Augustine, Gregory, Chrysostom, and Lincoln, plainly.

"And the archbishop said to me, Thinkest thou this wholesome learning to sow openly, or yet privily among the people? Certain this doctrine contrarieth plainly the ordinance of holy fathers, which have ordained, granted, and licensed priests to be in divers degrees, and to live by tithes and offerings of the people, and by other duties.

"And I said, Sir, if priests were now in measurable measure and number, and lived virtuously, and taught busily and truly the word of God, by example of Christ

and of his apostles, without tithes, offerings, and other duties that priests now challenge and take, the people would give them freely sufficient livelihood.

"And a clerk said to me, How wilt thou make this good, that the people will give freely to priests their livelihood; since that now by the law every priest can scarcely constrain the people to give them their livelihood?

"And I said, Sir, it is now no wonder though the people grudge to give priests the livelihood that they ask; mickle people know now, how that priests should live, and how that they live contrary to Christ and to his apostles. And therefore the people is full heavy to pay, as they do, their temporal goods to parsons, and to other vicars and priests, which should be faithful dispensators of the parish's goods; taking to themselves no more but a scarce living of tithes, nor of offerings, by the ordinance of the common law. For whatsoever priests take of the people (be it tithe or offering, or any other duty or service) the priests ought to have thereof no more but a bare living; and to depart the residue to the poor men and women, specially of the parish of whom they take this temporal living. But the most deal of priests now wasteth their parishes' goods, and spendeth them at their own will after the world, in their vain lusts: so that in few places poor men have duly, as they should have, their own sustenance, neither of tithes, nor of offerings, nor of other large wages and foundations that priests take of the people in divers manners above that they need for needful sustenance of meat and clothing: but the poor needy people are forsaken and left of priests to be sustained of the parishioners, as if the priests took nothing of the parishioners to help the people with.

"And thus, sir, into over-great charges of the parishioners they pay their temporal goods twice, where once might suffice, if priests were true dispensators. Also, sir, the parishioners that pay their temporal goods, be they tithes or offerings, to priests that do not their office among them justly, are partners of every sin of those priests; because that they sustain those priests' folly in their sin, with their temporal goods. If these things be well considered, what wonder is it then, sir, if the parishioners grudge against these dispensators?

"Then the archbishop said to me, Thou that shouldst be judged and ruled by holy church, presumptuously thou deemest holy church to have erred in the ordinance of tithes and other duties to be paid to priests. It shall be long ere thou thrive, losel, that thou despisest thy ghostly mother. How darest thou speak this, losel, among the people? Are not tithes given to priests to live by?

"And I said, Sir, St. Paul saith, that tithes were given in the old law to Levites and to priests, that came of the lineage of Levi. But our priests, he saith, came not of the lineage of Levi, but of the lineage of Judah, to which Judah no tithes were promised to be given. And therefore Paul saith, since the priesthood is changed from the generation of Levi to the generation of Judah, it is necessary that changing also be made of the law. So that priests live now without tithes and other duties that they claim, following Christ and his apostles in wilful poverty, as they have given them example. For since Christ lived, all the time of his preaching, by pure alms of the people; and by example of him his apostles lived in the same wise, or else by the travail of their hands, as it is said above: every priest, whose priesthood Christ approveth, knoweth well, and confesseth in word and work, that a disciple ought not to be above his master; but it sufficeth to a disciple to be as his master, simple and pure, meek and patient; and by example specially of his Master Christ, every priest

should rule him in all his living; and so, after his cunning and power, a priest should busy him to inform and to rule whomsoever he might charitably.

"And the archbishop said to me with a great spirit, God's curse have thou and mine for this teaching; for thou wouldst hereby make the old law more free and perfect than the new law. For thou sayest that it is lefull to Levites and to priests to take tithes in the old law, and so to enjoy their privileges: but to us priests in the new law, thou sayest it is not lawful to take tithes; and thus thou givest to Levites of old law more freedom than to priests of the new law.

"And I said, Sir, I marvel that ye understand this plain text of Paul thus. Ye wot well, that the Levites and priests in the old law that took tithes, were not so free nor so perfect as Christ and his apostles that took no tithes. And, sir, there is a doctor (I think that it is St. Hierome) that saith thus, The priests that challenge now in the new law tithes, say, in effect, that Christ is not become man, nor that he hath yet suffered death for man's love. Wherefore this doctor saith this sentence: Since tithes were the heirs and wages limited to Levites and to priests of the old law for bearing about of the tabernacle, and for slaying and flaying of beasts, and for burning of sacrifice, and for keeping of the temple, and for trumping of battle before the host of Israel, and other divers observances that pertained to their office; those priests that will challenge or take tithes, deny that Christ is come in the flesh, and do the priests' office of the old law, for whom tithes were granted, for else, as this doctor saith, priests now take tithes wrongfully.

"And the archbishop said to his clerks, Heard you ever losel speak thus? Certain this is the learning of them all, that wheresoever they come, and they may be suffered, they enforce them to expugn the freedom of holy church.

"And I said, Sir, why call ye the taking of tithes and of such other duties that priests challenge now, wrongfully, the freedom of holy church, since neither Christ nor his apostles challenged nor took such duties? Therefore these takings of priests now are not called justly the freedom of holy church, but all such giving and taking ought to be called and holden, the slanderous covetousness of men of the holy church.

"And the archbishop said to me, Why, losel, wilt not thou, and other that are confederate with thee, seek out of Holy Scripture and of the sense of doctors, all sharp authorities against lords, knights, and squires, and against other secular men, as thou dost against priests?

"And I said, Sir, whatsoever men or women, lords or ladies, or any other that are present in our preaching specially, or in our communing, after our cunning, we tell out to them their office and their charges; but, sir, since Chrysostom saith, that priests are the stomach of the people, it is needful in preaching, and also in communing, to be most busy about this priesthood: since by the viciousness of priests both lords and commons are most sinfully infected and led into the worst. And because that the covetousness of priests and pride, and the boast that they have and make of their dignity and power, destroyeth not only the virtues of priesthood in priests themselves, but also over this, it stirreth God to take great vengeance both upon the lords, and upon the commons, which suffer these priests charitably.

"And the archbishop said to me, Thou judgest every priest proud that will not go arrayed as thou dost: by God, I deem him to be more meek that goeth every day in a scarlet gown, than thou in thy threadbare blue gown. Whereby knowest thou a proud man?

"And I said, Sir, a proud priest may be known, when he denieth to follow Christ and his apostles in wilful poverty and other virtues; and coveteth worldly worship, and taketh it gladly, and gathereth together, with pleading, menacing, or with flattering, or with simony, any worldly goods; and most, if a priest busy him not chiefly in himself, and after in all other men and women after his cunning and power, to withstand sin.

"And the archbishop said to me, Though thou knewest a priest to have all these vices, and though thou sawest a priest a fornicator, wouldst thou therefore damn this priest damnable? I say to thee, that in the turning about of thy hand, such a sinner may be verily repented.

"And I said, Sir, I will not damn any man for any sin that I know done or may be done, so that the sinner leaveth his sin. But by authority of Holy Scripture, he that sinneth thus openly as you show here, is damnable for doing of such a sin; and most specially a priest, that should be example to all other to hate and flee sin. And in how short time soever ye say that such a sinner may be repented, he ought not of him that knoweth his sinning, to be judged verily repentant, without open evidence of great shame and hearty sorrow for sin. For whosoever (and specially a priest) that useth pride, envy, covetousness, lechery, simony, or any other vices, sheweth not as open evidence of repentance as he hath given evil example and occasion of sinning, if he continue in any such sin as long as he may, it is likely that sin leaveth him, and he not sin. And, as I understand, such a one sinneth unto death, for whom nobody oweth to pray, as St. John saith.

"And a clerk said then to the archbishop, Sir, the longer that ye oppose him, the worse he is; and the more you busy you to amend him, the waywarder he is. For he is of so shrewd a kind, that he shameth not only to be himself a foul nest, but without shame he busieth him to make his nest fouler.

"And then the archbishop said to his clerk, Suffer a while, for I am at an end with him, for there is another point certified against him, and I will hear what he saith thereto.

"And so then he said to me, Lo, it is here certified against thee, that thou preachedst openly at Shrewsbury, that it is not lawful to swear in any case.

"And I said, Sir, I never preached so openly, nor have I taught in this wise in any place. But, sir, as I preached in Shrewsbury, with my protestation I say to you now here, that by the authority of the Epistle of St. James, and by witness of divers saints and doctors, I have preached openly in one place or other, that it is not lefull in any case to swear by any creature. And over this, sir, I have also preached and taught by the aforesaid authorities, that nobody should swear in any case, if that without oath in any wise he that is charged to swear might excuse him to them that have power to compel him to swear in lefull thing and lawful. But if a man may not excuse him, without oath, to them that have power to compel him to swear, then he ought to swear only by God, taking him only, that is soothfastness, to witness to soothfastness.

"And then a clerk asked me, If it were not lefull to a subject, at the bidding of his prelate, to kneel down and touch the holy gospel book, and kiss it, saying, So help me God and this holy dame? for he should after his cunning and power do all things that his prelate commandeth him.

"And I said to them, Sirs, ye speak here full generally or largely. What if a prelate commanded his subject to do an unlawful thing, should he obey thereto?

"And the archbishop said to me, A subject ought not to suppose that his prelate will bid him do an unlawful thing. For a subject ought to think that his prelate will bid him do nothing but that he will answer for before God, that it is lefull: and then, though the bidding of the prelate be unlawful, the subject hath no peril to fulfil it, since that he thinketh and judgeth, that whatsoever thing his prelate biddeth him to do, that it is lefull to him for to do it.

"And I said, Sir, I trust not thereto. But to our purpose: sir, I tell you that I was once in a gentleman's house, and there were then two clerks there, a master of divinity, and a man of law, which man of law was also communing in divinity. And among other things, these men spake of oaths; and the man of law said, At the bidding of his sovereign which had power to charge him to swear, he would lay his hand upon a book, and hear his charge; and if his charge to his understanding were unfeull, he would hastily withdraw his hand upon the book, taking there only God to witness, that he would fulfil that lefull charge, after his power. And the master of divinity said then to him thus, Certain, he that layeth his hand upon a book in this wise, and maketh there a promise to do that thing that he is commanded, is obliged thereby by book-oath, then to fulfil his charge. For no doubt, he that chargeth him to lay his hand thus upon a book (touching the book, and swearing by it, and kissing it, promising in this form to do this thing or that) will say and witness that he that toucheth thus a book, and kisseth it, hath sworn upon that book. And all other men that see that man thus do, and also all those that hear hereof, in the same wise will say and witness, that this man hath sworn upon a book. Wherefore, the master of divinity said, it was not lefull either to give or to take any such charge upon a book; for every book is nothing else, but divers creatures of which it is made of. Therefore to swear upon a book, is to swear by creatures, and this swearing is ever unfeull. This sentence witnesseth Chrysostom plainly, blaming them greatly that bring forth a book to swear upon, charging clerks that in nowise they constrain any body to swear, whether they think a man to swear true or false.

"And the archbishop and his clerks scorned me, and blamed me greatly for this saying. And the archbishop menaced me with great punishment and sharp, except I left this opinion of swearing.

"And I said, Sir, this is not my opinion, but it is the opinion of Christ our Saviour, and of St. James, and of Chrysostom, and of other divers saints and doctors.

"Then the archbishop had a clerk read this homily of Chrysostom, which homily this clerk held in his hand written in a roll, which roll the archbishop caused to be taken from my fellow at Canterbury. And so then this clerk read this roll, till he came to a clause where Chrysostom saith, That it is sin to swear well.

"And then a clerk (Malveren, as I guess) said to the archbishop, Sir, I pray you wete of him, how he understandeth Chrysostom here, saying it to be sin to swear well.

"And so the archbishop asked me, how I understood here Chrysostom.

"And certain, I was somewhat afraid to answer hereto. For I had busied me to study about the sense thereof, but lifting up my mind to God, I prayed him of grace. And as fast as I thought how Christ said to his apostles, When for my name ye shall be brought before judges, I shall give into your mouth wisdom that your adversaries shall not against say. And trusting faithfully in the word of God, I said, Sir, I know well that many men and women have now swearing so in custom, that they neither know, or will know, that they do evil to swear as they do: but they think and say, that

they do well to swear as they do, though they know well that they swear untruly. For they say, they may by their swearing, though it be false, void blame or temporal harm, which they should have if they swear not thus. And, sir, many men and women maintain strongly that they swear well, when that thing is sooth that they swear for. Also full many men and women say now, that it is well done to swear by creatures, when they may not, as they say, otherwise be believed. And also, full many men and women now say, that it is well done to swear by God, and by our Lady, and by other saints, to have them in mind. But since all these sayings are but excusations, and sin; methinketh, sir, that this sense of Chrysostom may be alleged well against all such swearers: witnessing that all these sin grievously, though they think themselves to swear in this aforesaid wise well: for it is evil done, and great sin, to swear truth, when in any manner a man may excuse himself without oath.

"And the archbishop said, that Chrysostom might be thus understood.

"And then a clerk said to me, Wilt thou tarry my lord no longer, but submit thee here meekly to the ordinance of holy church, and lay thy hand upon a book, touching the holy gospel of God, promising not only with thy mouth, but also with thine heart, to stand to my lord's ordinance?

"And I said, Sir, have I not told you here, how that I heard a master of divinity say, that in such case it is all one to touch a book, and to swear by a book?

"And the archbishop said, There is no master of divinity in England so great, but if he hold this opinion before me, I shall punish him as I shall do thee, except thou swear as I shall charge thee.

"And I said, Sir, is not Chrysostom an ententive doctor?

"And the archbishop said, Yea.

"And I said, If Chrysostom proveth him worthy great blame, that bringeth forth a book to swear upon; it must needs follow, that he is more to blame that sweareth on that book.

"And the archbishop said, If Chrysostom meant accordingly to the ordinance of holy church, we will accept him.

"And then said a clerk to me, Is not the word of God and God himself equipollent, that is, of one authority.

"And I said, Yea.

"Then he said to me, Why wilt thou not swear then by the gospel of God, that is, God's word, since it is all one to swear by the word of God and by God himself?

"And I said, Sir, since I may not now otherwise be believed but by swearing, I perceive (as Augustine saith) that it is not speedful that ye that should be my brethren, should not believe me; therefore I am ready by the word of God (as the Lord commanded me by his word) to swear.

"Then the clerk said to me, Lay then thine hand upon the book, touching the holy gospel of God, and take thy charge.

"And I said, Sir, I understand that the holy gospel of God may not be touched with man's hand.

"And the clerk said I fonded, and that I said not truth.

"And I asked this clerk, whether it were more to read the gospel than to touch the gospel.

"And he said, It was more to read the gospel.

"Then I said, Sir, by authority of St. Hierome, the gospel is not the gospel for reading of the letter, but for the belief that men have in the word of God. That it is the gospel that we believe, and not the letter that we read; because the letter that is touched with man's hand, is not the gospel, but the sentence that is verily believed in man's heart, is the gospel. For so Hierome saith, The gospel, that is the virtue of God's word, is not in the leaves of the book, but it is in the root of reason. Neither the gospel, he saith, is in the writing alone of the letters, but the gospel is in the marking of the sentence of Scriptures. This sentence approveth St. Paul, saying thus, The kingdom of God is not in word, but in virtue. And David saith, The voice of the Lord, that is, his word, is in virtue. And after David saith, Through the word of God the heavens were formed, and in the spirit of his mouth is all the virtue of them. And I pray you, sir, understand ye well how David saith then, In the spirit of the mouth of the Lord is all the virtue of angels and of men.

"And the clerk said to me, Thou wouldst make us too fond with thee. Say we not that the gospel is written in the mass book?

"And I said, Sir, though men use to say thus, yet it is an imperfect speech, for the principal part of a thing is properly the whole thing; for lo, man's soul, that may not now be seen here, nor touched with any sensible thing, is properly man. And all the virtue of a tree is in the root thereof that may not be seen; for do away the root, and the tree is destroyed. And, sir, as ye said to me right now, God and his word are of one authority; and, sir, St. Hierome witnesseth that Christ, very God and very man, is hid in the letter of the law; thus, also, sir, the gospel is hid in the letter. For, sir, as it is full likely, many and divers men and women, here in the earth, touched Christ and saw him, and knew his bodily person, which neither touched, nor saw, nor knew ghostly his Godhead; right thus, sir, many men now touch, and see, and write, and read the Scriptures of God's law, which neither see, touch, nor read effectually the gospel. For as the Godhead of Christ, that is, the virtue of God, is known by the virtue of belief, so is the gospel, that is, Christ's word.

"And a clerk said to me, These be full misty matters and unsavoury, that thou showest here to us.

"And I said, Sir, if ye that are masters know not plainly this sentence, ye may sore dread that the kingdom of heaven be taken from you, as it was from the princes of priests, and from the elders of the Jews.

"And then a clerk (as I guess, Malveren) said to me, Thou knowest not thine equivocations; for the kingdom of heaven hath divers understandings. What callest thou the kingdom of heaven in this sentence that thou showest here?

"And I said, Sir, by good reason and sentence of doctors, the realm of heaven is called here the understanding of God's word.

"And a clerk said to me, From whom thinkest thou that this understanding is taken away?

"And I said, Sir, (by authority of Christ himself,) the effectual understanding of Christ's word is taken away from all them chiefly, which are great lettered men, and presume to understand high things, and will be holden wise men, and desire

mastership and high state and dignity, but they will not conform them to the living and teaching of Christ and of his apostles.

"Then the archbishop said, Well, well, thou wilt judge thy sovereigns. By God, the king doth not his duty, unless he suffer thee to be condemned.

"And then another clerk said to me, Why (on Friday that last was) counselledst thou a man of my lord's that he should not shrive him to no man, but only to God?

"And with this asking I was abashed; and then by and by I knew that I was subtly betrayed of a man that came to me in prison on the Friday before, communing with me in this matter of confession: and certain, by his words I thought that this man came then to me of full fervent and charitable will, but now I know he came to tempt me and to accuse me; God forgive him if it be his will. And with all my heart when I had thought thus, I said to this clerk, Sir, I pray you that you would fetch this man hither, and all the words, as near as I can repeat them, which I spake to him on Friday in the prison, I will rehearse now here before you all, and before him.

"And, as I guess, the archbishop said then to me, They that are now here suffice to repeat them. How saidst thou to him?

"And I said, Sir, that man came and asked me in divers things, and after his asking, I answered him (as I understood) that good was. And as he showed to me by his words, he was sorry of his living in court, and right heavy for his own vicious living, and also for the viciousness of other men, and specially of priests' evil living, and therefore he said to me, with a sorrowful heart, as I guessed, that he purposed fully within short time to leave the court, and to busy him to know God's law, and to conform all his life thereafter. And when he had said to me these words, and more other which I would rehearse if he were present, he prayed me to hear his confession. And I said to him, Sir, wherefore come ye to me to be confessed of me? Ye wot well that the archbishop putteth and holdeth me here, as one unworthy either to give or to take any sacrament of holy church.

"And he said unto me, Brother, I wot well, and so wot many other more, that you and such other are wrongfully vexed, and therefore I commune with you the more gladly. And I said to him, Certain I wot well that many men of this court, and specially the priests of this household, would be full evil apaid both with you and me, if they wist that ye were confessed of me. And he said, that he cared not therefore, for he had full little affection in them. And, as methought, he spake these words and many other of a good will, and of a high desire to have known and done the pleasant will of God; and I said to him, as with my aforesaid protestation I say to you now here, Sir, I counsel you to absent you from all evil company, and to draw you to them that love and busy them to know and to keep the precepts of God, and then the good Spirit of God will move you to occupy busily all your wits in gathering together of all your sins, as far as ye can bethink you, shaming greatly of them and sorrowing heartily for them; yea, sir, the Holy Ghost will then put in your heart a good will and a fervent desire to take and to hold a good purpose, to hate ever and to flee, after your cunning and power, all occasion of sin: and so then wisdom shall come to you from above, lightening, with divers beams of grace and of heavenly desire, all your wits, informing you how ye shall trust stedfastly in the mercy of the Lord, knowing to him only all your vicious living, praying to him ever devoutly of charitable counsel and continuance, hoping without doubt, that if ye continue thus, busying you faithfully to know and to keep his biddings, he will, for he only may, forgive you all

your sins. And this man said to me, Though God forgive men their sins, yet it behoveth men to be assoiled of priests, and to do the penance that they enjoin them.

"And I said to him, Sir, it is all one to assoil men of their sins, and to forgive men their sins. Wherefore, since it pertaineth only to God to forgive sin, it sufficeth in this case, to counsel men and women to leave their sin, and to comfort them that busy them thus to do, to hope stedfastly in the mercy of God. And again, priests ought to tell sharply to customable sinners, that if they will not make an end of their sin, but continue in divers sins while that they may sin, all such deserve pain without any end. And therefore, priests should ever busy them to live well and holily, and to teach the people busily and truly the word of God, showing to all folk, in open preaching and in privy counselling, that the Lord God only forgiveth sin. And, therefore, those priests that take upon them to assoil men of their sins, blaspheme God; since that it pertaineth only to the Lord to assoil men of all their sins. For no doubt a thousand years after that Christ was man, no priest of Christ durst take upon him to teach the people, neither privily nor apertly, that they behoved needs to come to be assoiled of them as priests now do. But by authority of Christ's word priests bound indurate customable sinners to everlasting pains, which in no time of their living would busy them faithfully to know the biddings of God, nor to keep them. And again, all they that would occupy all their wits to hate and to flee all occasion of sin, dreading over all things to offend God, and loving to please him continually; to these men and women priests showed how the Lord assoiled men of all their sins; and thus Christ promised to confirm in heaven all the binding and loosing that priests by authority of his word bind men in sin that are indurate therein, or loose them out of sin here upon earth that are verily repentant. And this man hearing these words said, that he might well in conscience consent to this sentence. But he said, Is it not needful to the lay-people that cannot thus do, to go shrive them to priests? And I said, If a man feel himself so distroubled with any sin, that he cannot by his own wit avoid this sin without counsel of them that are herein wiser than he; in such a case the counsel of a good priest is full necessary. And if a good priest fail, as they do now commonly, in such a case, St. Augustine saith, that a man may lawfully commune and take counsel of a virtuous secular man. But certain, that man or woman is overladen and too beastly, which cannot bring their own sins into their mind, busying them night and day to hate and to forsake all their sins, doing a sigh for them after their cunning and power. And, sir, full accordingly to this sentence upon Mid-lent Sunday, two years, as I guess, now agone, I heard a monk of Feversham, that men called Borden, preach at Canterbury at the cross within Christ-church abbey, saying thus of confession, That as through the suggestion of the fiend, without counsel of any other body, of themselves many men and women can imagine and find means and ways enough to come to pride, to theft, to lechery, and other divers vices; in contrariwise this monk said, since the Lord God is more ready to forgive sin than the fiend is or may be of power to move any body to sin, then whosoever will shame and sorrow heartily for their sins, knowledging them faithfully to God, amending them after their power and cunning, without counsel of any other body than of God and of himself, through the grace of God, all such men and women may find sufficient means to come to God's mercy, and so to be clean assoiled of all their sins. This sentence I said, sir, to this man of yours, and the self words as near as I can guess.

"And the archbishop said, Holy church approveth not this learning.

"And I said, Sir, holy church, of which Christ is Head, in heaven and in earth, must needs approve this sentence. For lo, hereby all men and women may, if they

will, be sufficiently taught to know and keep the commandments of God, and to hate and to fly continually all occasion of sin, and to love and to seek virtues busily, and to believe in God stably, and to trust in his mercy stedfastly, and so to come to perfect charity and continue therein perseverantly. And more the Lord asketh not of any man here now in this life. And certain, since Jesus Christ died upon the cross wilfully, to make men free; men of the church are too bold and too busy to make men thrall, binding them under the pain of endless curse (as they say) to do many observances and ordinances, which neither the living nor teaching of Christ nor of his apostles approveth.

"And a clerk said then to me, Thou showest plainly here thy deceit, which thou hast learned of them that travailed to sow the popple among the wheat; but I counsel thee to go away clean from this learning, and submit thee lowly to my lord, and thou shalt find him yet to be gracious to thee.

"And as fast then another clerk said to me, How wast thou so bold at Paul's Cross in London, to stand there hard with thy tippet bounden about thine head, and to reprove in his sermon the worthy clerk Alkerton, drawing away all that thou mightest? yea, and the same day at afternoon, thou, meeting the worthy doctor in Watling Street, calledst him false flatterer and hypocrite.

And I said, Sir, I think certainly that there was no man nor woman that hated verily sin and loved virtues, hearing the sermon of the clerk at Oxford, and also Alkerton's sermon, but they said, or might justly say, that Alkerton reproveth that clerk untruly, and slandered him wrongfully and uncharitably. For, no doubt, if the living and teaching of Christ chiefly and of his apostles be true, nobody that loveth God and his law will blame any sentence that the clerk then preached there, since by authority of God's word, and by approved saints and doctors, and by open reason, this clerk approved all things clearly that he preached there.

"And a clerk of the archbishop said to me, His sermon was false, and that he showed openly, since he dare not stand forth and defend his preaching that he then preached there.

"And I said, Sir, I think that he purposeth to stand stedfastly thereby, or else he slandereth foully himself, and also many other that have great trust that he will stand by the truth of the gospel. For I wot well, this sermon is written both in Latin and English, and many men have it, and they set great price thereby. And, sir, if ye were present with the archbishop at Lambeth when this clerk appeared and was at his answer before the archbishop, ye wot well that this clerk denied not there his sermon, but two days he maintained it before the archbishop and his clerks.

"And then the archbishop or one of his clerks said, I wot not which of them, That harlot shall be met with for that sermon; for no man but he and thou, and such other false harlots, praiseth any such preaching.

"And then the archbishop said, Your cursed sect is busy, and it joyeth right greatly, to contrary and to destroy the privilege and freedom of holy church.

"And I said, Sir, I know no men that travail so busily as this sect doth, which you reprove, to make rest and peace in holy church; for pride, covetousness, and simony, which distrouble holy church, this sect hateth and fleeth, and travaileth busily to move all other men in like manner, unto meekness, and wilful poverty, and charity, and free ministering of the sacrament; this sect loveth and useth, and is full busy to

move all other folks thus to do. For these virtues owe all members of holy church to their Head, Christ.

"Then a clerk said to the archbishop, Sir, it is far day, and ye have far to ride to-night, therefore make an end with him, for he will none make; but the more, sir, that ye busy you to draw him toward you, the more contumacious he is made and the further from you.

"And then Malveren said to me, William, kneel down, and pray my lord's grace, and leave all thy fantasies, and become a child of holy church.

"And I said, Sir, I have prayed the archbishop oft, and yet I pray him for the love of Christ, that he will leave his indignation that he hath against me, and that he will suffer me, after my cunning and power, to do mine office of priesthood, as I am charged of God to do it; for I covet nought else but to serve my God to his pleasing in the state that I stand in, and have taken me to.

"And the archbishop said to me, If of good heart thou wilt submit thee now here meekly, to be ruled from this time forth by my counsel, obeying meekly and wilfully to my ordinance, thou shalt find it most profitable and best to thee to do thus: therefore tarry thou me no longer, grant to do this that I have said to thee now here shortly, or deny it utterly.

"And I said to the archbishop, Sir, owe we to believe that Jesus Christ was and is very God and very man?

"And the archbishop said, Yea.

"And I said, Sir, owe we to believe that all Christ's living and his teaching is true in every point? "And he said, Yea.

"And I said, Sir, owe we to believe that the living of the apostles, and the teaching of Christ and all the prophets, are true, which are written in the Bible for the health and salvation of good people?

"And he said, Yea.

"And I said, Sir, owe all Christian men and women, after their cunning and power, to conform all their living to the teaching specially of Christ, and also to the teaching and living of his apostles and of prophets, in things that are pleasant to God, and edification of his church?

"And he said, Yea.

"And I said, Sir, ought the doctrine, the bidding, or the counsel of any body to be accepted or obeyed unto, except this doctrine, these biddings, or this counsel may be granted and affirmed by Christ's living and his teaching specially, or by the living and teaching of his apostles and prophets?

"And the archbishop said to me, Other doctrines ought not to be accepted, nor owe we to obey to any man's bidding or counsel, except we can perceive that this bidding or counsel accordeth with the life and teaching of Christ, and of his apostles and prophets.

"And I said, Sir, is not all the learning, and biddings, and counsels of holy church, means and healing remedies, to know and understand the privy suggestions and the apert temptations of the fiend? and also ways and healing remedies to slay

pride and all other deadly sins, and the branches of them, and sovereign means to procure grace to withstand and overcome all the fleshly lusts and movings?

"And the archbishop said, Yea.

"And I said, Sir, whatsoever thing ye or any other body bid or counsel me to do, accordingly to this aforesaid learning, after my cunning and power, through the help of God, I will meekly with all my heart obey thereto.

"And the archbishop said to me, Submit thee then now here meekly and wilfully to the ordinance of holy church, which I shall show to thee.

"And I said, Sir, accordingly as I have here now before you rehearsed, I will now be ready to obey full gladly to Christ the Head of the holy church, and to the learnings, and biddings, and counsels of every pleasing member of him.

"Then the archbishop, striking with his hand fiercely upon a cupboard, spake to me with a great spirit, saying, By Jesus, but if thou leave not such additions, obliging thee now here without any exception to mine ordinance, or that I go out of this place, I shall make thee as sure, as any thief that is in the prison of Lanterne; advise thee now what thou wilt do. And then, as if he had been angered, he went from the cupboard where he stood, to a window.

"And then Malveren and another clerk came nearer me, and they spake to me many words full pleasantly; and another while they menaced me, and counselled full busily to submit me, or else they said I should not escape punishing over measure; for they said I should be degraded, cursed, and burned, and so then damned. But now they said, Thou mayst eschew all these mischiefs, if thou wilt submit thee wilfully and meekly to this worthy prelate, that hath cure of thy soul. And for the pity of Christ (said they) bethink thee, how great clerks the bishop of Lincoln, Herford, and Purvey were, and yet are, and also B., that is a well understanding man; which also have forsaken and revoked all the learning and opinions that thou and such other hold. Wherefore since each of them is mickle wiser than thou art, we counsel thee for the best; that by the example of these four clerks, thou follow them, submitting thee as they did.

"And one of the bishop's clerks said then there, that he heard Nicholas Herford, say, that since he forsook and revoked all the learning and Lollards' opinions, he hath had mickle greater favour and more delight to hold against them, than ever he had to hold with them, while he held with them.

"And therefore Malveren said to me, I understand and thou wilt take thee to a priest, and shrive thee clean, forsake all such opinions, and take the penance of my lord here for the holding and teaching of them, within short time thou shalt be greatly comforted in this doing.

"And I said to the clerks, that thus busily counselled me to follow these aforesaid men, Sirs, if these men, of whom ye counsel me to take example, had forsaken benefices of temporal profit, and of worldly worship, so that they had absented them, and eschewed from all occasions of covetousness and of fleshly lust, and had taken upon them simple living and wilful poverty, they had herein given good example to me and to many other to have followed them. But now since all these four men have slanderously and shamefully done the contrary, consenting to receive and to have and to hold temporal benefices, living now more worldly and more fleshly than they did before, conforming them to the manners of this world; I forsake them herein,

and in all their aforesaid slanderous doing. For I purpose, with the help of God, into remission of my sins, and of my foul, cursed living, to hate and to flee privily and apertly to follow these men, teaching and counselling whomsoever that I may, to flee and to eschew the way that they have chosen to go in, which will lead them to the worst end, if in convenient time they repent them not, verily forsaking and revoking openly the slander that they have put, and every day yet put to Christ's church. For certain, so open blasphemy and slander as they have spoken and done in their revoking and forsaking of the truth, ought not, nor may not, privily be amended duly. Wherefore, sirs, I pray you that you busy not to move me to follow these men, in revoking and forsaking the truth, soothfastness as they have done, and yet do; wherein by open evidence they stir God to great wrath, and not only against themselves, but also against all them that favour them, or consent to them herein, or that commune with them, except it be to their amendment. For whereas these men first were pursued of enemies, now they have obliged them by oath to slander and pursue Christ in his members. Wherefore, as I trust stedfastly in the goodness of God, the worldly covetousness, and the lusty living, and the sliding from the truth, of these runagates, shall be to me and to many other men and women an example and an evidence to stand more stiffly by the truth of Christ.

"For certain, right many men and women do mark and abhor the foulness and cowardness of these aforesaid untrue men, how that they are overcome and stopped with benefices, and withdrawn from the truth of God's word, forsaking utterly to suffer therefore bodily persecution. For by this unfaithful doing and apostacy of them, specially, that are great lettered men, and have knowledged openly the truth, and now, either for pleasure or displeasure of tyrants, have taken hire and temporal wages to forsake the truth, and to hold against it, slandering and pursuing them that covet to follow Christ in the way of righteousness; many men and women therefore are now moved. But many more, through the grace of God, shall be moved hereby to learn the truth of God to do thereafter, and to stand boldly thereby.

"Then the archbishop said to his clerks, Busy you no longer about him, for he, and other such as he is, are confederate together that they will not swear to be obedient, and to submit them to prelates of holy church. For now since I stood here, his fellow also sent me word that he will not swear, and that this fellow counselled him that he should not swear to me. And, losel, in that thing that in thee is, thou hast busied thee to loose this young man; but blessed be God, thou shalt not have thy purpose of him. For he hath forsaken all thy learning, submitting him to be buxom and obedient to the ordinance of holy church, and weepeth full bitterly, and curseth thee full heartily, for the venomous teaching which thou hadst showed to him, counselling him to do thereafter.

"And for thy false counselling of many other and him, thou hast great cause to be sorry. For long time thou hast busied thee to pervert whomsoever thou mightest. Therefore, as many deaths thou art worthy of, as thou hast given evil counsels. And therefore, by Jesus, thou shalt go thither where Nicholas Herford and Thomas Purvey were harboured. And I undertake ere this day eight days, thou shalt be right glad to do what thing that ever I bid thee to do. And, losel, I shall essay if I can make thee there as sorrowful as (it was told me) thou wast glad at my last going out of England. By St. Thomas, I shall turn thy joy into sorrow.

"And I said, Sir, there can nobody prove lawfully that I joyed ever of the manner of your going out of this land.

"But, sir, to say the sooth, I was joyful when ye were gone; for the bishop of London, in whose prison ye left me, found in me no cause to hold me longer in his prison, but at the request of my friends, he delivered me to them, asking of me no manner of submitting.

"Then the archbishop said to me, Wherefore that I yede out of England, is unknown to thee; but be this thing well known to thee, that God (as I wot well) hath called me again, and brought me into this land, to destroy thee and the false sect that thou art of; as, by God, I shall pursue you so narrowly, that I shall not leave a slip of you in this land.

"And I said to the archbishop, Sir, the holy prophet Jeremy said to the false prophet Anany, When the word, that is, the prophecy, of a prophet is known or fulfilled, then it shall be known, that the Lord sent the prophet in truth.

"And the archbishop, as if he had not been pleased with my saying, turned him awayward hither and thither, and said, By God, I shall set upon thy shins a pair of pearls, that thou shalt be glad to change thy voice.

"These and many more wonders and convincing words were spoken to me, menacing me and all other of the same sect to be punished and destroyed unto the uttermost.

"And the archbishop called then to him a clerk, and rowned with him; and that clerk went forth, and soon he brought in the constable of Saltwood castle, and the archbishop rowned a good while with him; and then the constable went forth, and then came in divers seculars, and they scorned me on every side, and menaced me greatly, and some counselled the archbishop to burn me by and by, and some other counselled him to drown me in the sea, for it is near hand there.

"And a clerk standing beside me, there kneeled down to the archbishop, praying him that he would deliver me to him to say matins with him, and he would undertake, that within three days I should not resist any thing that were commanded me to do of my prelate.

"And the archbishop said, that he would ordain for me himself.

"And then after came again the constable and spake privily to the archbishop; and the archbishop commanded the constable to lead me forth thence with him, and so he did. And when we were gone forth thence, we were sent after again. And when I came in again before the archbishop, a clerk had me kneel down and ask grace, and submit me lowly, and I should find it for the best.

"And I said then to the archbishop, Sir, as I have said to you divers times to-day, I will wilfully and lowly obey and submit me to be ordained ever, after my cunning and power, to God and to his law, and to every member of holy church, as far forth as I can perceive that these members accord with their Head, Christ, and will teach me, rule me, or chastise me by authority specially of God's law.

"And the archbishop said, I wist well he would not without such additions submit him.

"And then I was rebuked, scorned, and menaced on every side; and yet after this divers persons cried upon me to kneel down and submit me; but I stood still, and spake no word. And then there was spoken of me, and to me, many great words, and I stood and heard them menace, curse, and scorn me: but I said nothing.

"Then awhile after the archbishop said to me, Wilt thou not submit thee to the ordinance of holy church?

"And I said, Sir, I will full gladly submit me, as I have showed you before.

"And then the archbishop bade the constable to have me forth thence in haste.

"And so then I was led forth, and brought into a foul, unhonest prison, where I came never before. But thanked be God, when all men were gone forth then from me, and had sparred fast the prison door after them; by and by after, I therein by myself busied me to think on God, and to thank him for his goodness. And I was then greatly comforted in all my wits, not only for that I was then delivered for a time from the sight, from the hearing, from the presence, from the scorning, and from the menacing of mine enemies; but much more I rejoiced in the Lord, because that through his grace he kept me so, both among the flattering especially, and among the menacing of mine adversaries, that without heaviness and anguish of my conscience I passed away from them. For as a tree laid upon another tree overthwart or cross-wise, so was the archbishop and his three clerks always contrary to me, and I to them.

"Now, good God, for thine holy name, and to the praising of thy most blessed name, make us one together, if it be thy will, by authority of thy word, that is true perfect charity, and else not. And that it may thus be, all that this writing read or hear, pray heartily to the Lord God, that he for his great goodness, that cannot be with tongue expressed, grant to us, and to all other which in the same wise, and for the same cause specially, or for any other cause, be at distance, to be knit and made one in true faith, in stedfast hope, and in perfect charity. Amen."

What was the end of this good man, and blessed servant of God, William Thorpe, I find as yet in no story specified. By all conjectures it is to be thought that the archbishop, Thomas Arundel, being so hard an adversary against those men, would not let him go; much less it is to be supposed, that he would ever retract his sentence and opinion, which he so valiantly maintained before the bishop; neither doth it seem that he had any such recanting spirit. Again, neither is it found that he was burned; wherefore it remaineth most like to be true, that he, being committed to some strait prison, (according as the archbishop in his examination before did threaten him,) there, (as Thorpe confesseth himself,) was so straitly kept, that either he was secretly made away with, or else there he died by sickness.

The like end also I find to happen to John Ashton, another good follower of Wickliff, who, for the same doctrine of the sacrament, was condemned by the bishops; and, because he would not recant, he was committed to perpetual prison, wherein the good man continued till his death, A. D. 1382.



William Thorpe in prison

92. John Purvey.

Furthermore, in the said examination of William Thorpe, mention is made, as ye heard, of John Purvey, of whom also something we touched before; promising of the said John Purvey more particularly to treat, in order and process of time. Of this Purvey, Thomas Walden writeth thus in his second tome: "John Purvey," saith he, "was the brary of Lollards, and glosser upon Wickliff. He said that the worshipping of Abraham was but a salutation." And in his third tome he saith, "This John Purvey, with Herford, a doctor of divinity, were grievously tormented and punished in the prison of Saltwood, and at the length recanted at Paul's Cross at London; Thomas Arundel being then archbishop of Canterbury. Afterward again, he was imprisoned under Henry Chichesley, archbishop of Canterbury, in the year of our Lord 1421." Thus much writeth Walden. The works of this man which he wrote, were gathered by Richard Lavingham, his adversary, which I think worthy to be remembered. First, as touching the sacrament of the last supper, the sacrament of penance, the sacrament of orders, the power of the keys, the preaching of the gospel, of marriages, of vows, of possessions, of the punishing and correcting of the clergy, of the laws and decrees of the church, of the state and condition of the pope and the clergy; of all these generally be left divers monuments gravely and exactly written, part whereof here in the end of his story we thought to exhibit, being translated out of Latin into English.

The articles which he taught, and afterwards was forced to recant at Paul's Cross, were these hereafter following:

"1. That in the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration, there is not, neither can be, any accident without the subject; but there verily remaineth the same substance, and the very visible and corruptible bread, and likewise the very same wine, the which, before the consecration, were set upon the altar to be consecrate of the priest; likewise as when a pagan or infidel is baptized, he is spiritually converted into a member of Christ through grace, and yet remaineth the very same man which he before was, in his proper nature and substance.

"2. That auricular confession, or private penance, is a certain whispering, destroying the liberty of the gospel, and newly brought in by the pope and the clergy, to entangle the consciences of men in sin, and to draw their souls into hell.

"3. That every layman being holy and predestinate unto everlasting life, albeit he be a layman, yet is he a true priest before God.

"4. That divers prelates and other of the clergy do live wickedly, contrary to the doctrine and example of Christ and his apostles: therefore they which so live have not the keys either of the kingdom of heaven, or yet of hell; neither ought any Christian to esteem his censure any more than as a thing of no force. Yea, albeit the pope should, peradventure, interdict the realm, yet could he not hurt, but rather profit us, forasmuch as thereby we should be dismissed from the observation of his laws, and from saying of service according to the custom of the church.

"5. That if any man do make an oath or vow, to keep perpetual chastity, or do any thing else whereunto God hath not appointed him, giving him grace to perform his purpose, the same vow or oath is unreasonable and indiscreet, neither can any prelate compel him to keep the same, except he will do contrary unto God's ordinance.

But he ought to commit him unto the governance of the Holy Ghost and of his own conscience; forasmuch as every man, which will not fulfil his vow or oath, cannot do it for that cause.

"6. That whosoever taketh upon him the office of priesthood, although he have not the charge of souls committed unto him according to the custom of the church, not only may, but ought, to preach the gospel freely unto the people; otherwise he is a thief, excommunicated of God, and of the holy church.

"7. That Innocent the Third, pope, and six hundred bishops, and a thousand other prelates, with all the rest of the clergy, which together with the same pope agreed and determined, that in the sacrament of the altar, after the conversion of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, the accidents of the said bread and wine do remain there without any proper subject of the same; the which also ordained, that all Christians ought to confess their sins once a year unto a proper priest, and to receive the reverend sacrament at Easter, and made certain other laws at the same time: all they, saith he, in so doing, were fools and blockheads, heretics, blasphemers, and seducers of Christian people. Wherefore we ought not to believe the determinations of them, or of their successors; neither ought we to obey their laws or ordinances, except they be plainly grounded upon the Holy Scripture, or upon some reason which cannot be impugned."

Other articles drawn out of Purvey's books more at large, by Richard Lavingham.

"As touching the sacrament of thanksgiving, he saith, That that chapter of repentance and remission, *Omnis utriusque sexus*, wherein it is ordained that every faithful man ought once every year at the least, that is to say, at Easter, to receive the sacrament of the eucharist, is a beastly thing, heretical and blasphemous.

"Item, That Innocent the Third, pope, was the head of antichrist, who, after the letting loose of Satan, invented a new article of our faith, and a certain feigned verity touching the sacrament of the altar; that is to say, that the sacrament of the altar is an accident without a substance, or else a heap of accidents without a substance: but Christ and his apostles do teach manifestly, that the sacrament of the altar is bread and the body of Christ together, after the manner that he spake. And in that he calleth it bread, he would have the people to understand, as they ought with reason, that it is very and substantial bread, and no false nor feigned bread.

"And although Innocent, that antichrist, doth allege, that in the Council of Lyons, where this matter was decided, were six hundred bishops with him, and one thousand prelates, which were in one opinion of this determination, all those notwithstanding he calleth fools, according to that saying of Eccles. i., Of fools there are an infinite number. And so in like manner he calleth them false Christs and false prophets, of whom Christ speaketh in the 24th of Matthew, Many false Christs and false prophets shall arise, and deceive many. And therefore every Christian man ought to believe firmly, that the sacrament of the altar is very bread indeed, and no false nor feigned bread. And although it be very bread indeed, yet, notwithstanding, it is the very body of Christ in that sort he spake, and called it his body; and so it is very bread, and the very body of Christ. And as Christ, concerning his humanity was both visible and passible, and by his Divinity was invisible and impassible; so likewise this sacrament, in that it is very bread, may be seen with the corporal eye, and may also abide corruption. But although a man may see that sacrament, yet notwithstanding cannot the body of Christ in that sacrament be seen with the corporal eye, although it

be the body of Christ in that manner he spake it; for, that notwithstanding, the body of Christ is now incorruptible in heaven. So the sacrament of the cup is very wine, and the very blood of Christ, according as his manner of speaking was. Also, Innocent the Third, with a great multitude of his secular clerks, made a certain new determination, That the sacrament of the altar is an accident without a substance, whereas neither Jesus Christ, nor any of his apostles, taught this faith, but openly and manifestly to the contrary, neither yet the holy doctors, for the space of a thousand years and more, taught this faith openly.

"Therefore when antichrist, or any of his shavelings, doth ask of thee that art a simple Christian, whether that this sacrament be the very body of Christ or not? affirm thou it manifestly so to be. And if he ask of thee whether it be material bread, or what other bread else? say thou, that it is such bread as Christ understood and meant by his proper word; and such bread as the Holy Ghost meant in St. Paul, when he called that to be very bread which he brake; and wade thou no further therein. If he ask thee how this bread is the body of Christ? say thou, As Christ understood the same to be his body, which is both omnipotent and true, and in whom is no untruth; say thou also as the holy doctors do say, That the terrestrial matter or substance may be converted into Christ, as the pagan or infidel may be baptized, and hereby spiritually be converted, and be a member of Christ, and so, after a certain manner, become Christ, and yet the same man remain still in his proper nature. For so doth St. Augustine grant that a sinner, forsaking his sin, and being made one spirit with God by faith, grace, and charity, may be converted into God, and be, after a manner, God, as both David and St. John do testify, and yet be the same person in substance and nature, and in soul and virtue be altered and changed. But yet men of more knowledge and reason may more plainly convince the falsity of antichrist, both in this matter and in others, by the gift of the Holy Ghost working in them. Notwithstanding, if those that be simple men will humbly hold and keep the manifest and apparent words of the Holy Scripture, and the plain sense and meaning of the Holy Ghost, and proceed no further, but humbly commit that unto the Spirit of God, which passeth their understanding; then may they safely offer themselves to death, as true martyrs of Jesus Christ.

"As touching the sacrament of penance, that chapter by which a certain new-found auricular confession was ordained, is full of hypocrisy, heresy, covetousness, pride, and blasphemy, he saith; and reproveth the same chapter, and that by the sentences of the same process: also, that the penance and pains limited by the canons be unreasonable and unjust, for the austerity and rigorousness which they contain, more than are taxed by God's law. He also doth exemplify of the solemn and public denial of penitents to be received into orders, according to the decree of the general council: also of the sevenfold penitence of a priest committing fornication, according to the chapter, *Presbyter*, Dist. 82. And further he sheweth another example of the penitence of priests, according to that chapter, *Qui presbyterium*, &c., where the decretal of the general council saith, That such a one ought to remain continuing his life in the wars, and not to marry; and how Innocent the Third brought, in a new-found confession, whereby the priests do oppress the simple laymen; and that many other things they do, compelling them to confess themselves to blind and ignorant priests, in whom is nothing else but pride and covetousness, having such in contempt as are learned and wise. Also, that the decretal of Innocent the Third, touching the aforesaid auricular or vocal confession, was brought in and invented to intricate and entangle men's consciences with sin, and to draw them down to hell; and furthermore, that such manner of confession destroyeth the evangelical liberty, and doth let men to

inquire after and to retain the wise counsel and doctrine of such as be good priests, which know faithfully how to observe his precepts and commandments, and which would willingly teach the people the right way to heaven: for which abuse all Christian men, and especially all Englishmen, ought to exclaim against such wicked laws.

"As touching the sacrament of order, Purvey saith, That all good Christians are predestinate and be ordained of God, and made true priests to offer Christ in themselves, and to Christ themselves; as also to teach and preach the gospel to their neighbours, as well in word, as in example of living. But the worldly shavelings do more magnify the naked and bare signs of priesthood, invented by sinful men, than the true and perfect priesthood of God, grounded by a true and lively faith, annexed with good works. Also, if it were needful to have such shavelings, God knoweth how, and can make, when it pleaseth him, priests (without man's working and sinful signs; that is to say, without either sacraments or characters) to be known and discerned of the people by their virtuous life and example, and by their true preaching of the law of God; for so made he the first-made priests and elders before the law of Moses; and so made he Moses a priest before Aaron, and before the ceremonies of the law, without man's operation at all; and even so hath God made all such as are predestinate, to be his priests. But such as be true Christians receive none such as priests, unless they follow Christ and his apostles; neither do they believe that they make the sacrament of the altar, which they affirm to be God's body, when it pleaseth them, lest haply God be not with them, forasmuch as they do this thing for covetousness' sake, or else to brag of their own power. And therefore, such as be simple men will worship that sacrament in this doubtfulness, with a silent condition, that is, if it be made by God's authority, and have their devotion to the body of Christ in heaven. Also, that such as be elders, if they be God's priests, be bishops, prelates, and curates of their Christian brethren, whom they may lead to heaven by the example of their holy conversation, and by preaching of the gospel, although they make no sacrifice to that antichrist of Rome for their confirmation; neither be they dedicated to the world by secular divine things, and by consuming the livings of the poor, as be those secular bishops, prelates, and curates. Also, that although there were no pope, according as the custom of the church is, yet Christ, which is the Head of his church, doth ordain such a pope as pleaseth him; and that is, whosoever is most humble and lowly, and best doth the office of a true priest, although he be unknown to the world; and although there were no such proud bishop above all the rest as the church doth use, yet all the priests might well govern the church by common assent, as once they did, before such worldly pride crept in amongst the bishops, &c. And, admit that no such priests were according to the accustomed use now of receiving of order and tonsure by such a mitred bishop and his tonsure, yet Christ knoweth both how to make and choose such as shall well please him both in conversation of life and sincere preaching of the gospel, in ministering to his people all necessary sacraments. And every holy man which is a minister of Christ, although he be not shaven, is a true priest ordained of God, although no mitred bishop ever laid his character upon him: so that the pope and prelates do make more estimation of their characters (as tonsures and crowns by them invented) than of the true and perfect priesthood ordained of God; whereas all those that are predestinate, are true priests made of him.

"As touching the authority of the keys and censures, no Christian man ought to esteem Satan, whom men call the pope, and his unjust censures, more than the hissing of a serpent, or the blast of Lucifer. Also, that no man ought to trust or put confidence

in the false indulgences of covetous priests, which indulgences do draw away the hope which men ought to repose in God, to a sort of sinful men, and do rob the poor of such alms as is given to them. Such priests be manifest betrayers of Christ and of the whole church, and be Satan's own stewards, to beguile Christian souls by their hypocrisy and feigned pardons. Also, forasmuch as those prelates and clergymen lived so execrable a life, contrary to the gospel of Christ and examples of his apostles, and teach not truly the gospel, but only lies and the traditions of sinful, wicked men, it appeareth most manifestly, that they have not the keys of the kingdom of heaven, but rather the keys of hell; and they may be right well assured that God never gave unto them authority to make and establish so many ceremonies and traditions, which be contrary to the liberty of the gospel, and are blocks in Christian men's ways, that they can neither know nor observe the same his gospel in liberty of conscience, and so attain a ready way to heaven.

"Also, that all manner of religious men, notwithstanding the chapter *Religiosi*, touching the privileges in the Clementines, may lawfully minister all sacraments to them that are worthy the same; forasmuch as the same is a work of charity, which only the will and ordinance of the pope and his abettors in this case is to hinder and let. Item, If the pope shall interdict this our realm, that cannot hurt us, but much profit us, because that thereby he should separate us from all his wicked laws, and from the charges of sustaining of so many thousand shavelings, which, with small devotion, or none at all, patter and chatter a new-found song, *Secundum usum Sarum*: so that not whatsoever the pope in his general council bindeth on earth, is bound of God in heaven, either for that he bindeth unreasonably, and contradictorily doth against himself, or else, for that he hath forsaken the judgment of God.

"As touching the preaching of the gospel, whosoever receiveth or taketh upon him the office of a priest, or of a bishop, and dischargeth not the same by the example of his good conversation and faithful preaching of the gospel, is a thief, excommunicated of God, and of holy church. And further, if the curates preach not the word of God, they shall be damned; and if they know not how to preach, they ought to resign their benefices: so that those prelates which preach not the gospel of Christ, although they could excuse themselves from the doing of any other evil, are dead in themselves, are antichrists, and Satans transfigured into angels of light, night-thieves, man-quellers by daylight, and betrayers of Christ's people.

"Concerning the sacrament of matrimony: notwithstanding any spiritual kindred or gossopry, a man and woman may lawfully marry together by the law of God, without any dispensation papistical. And in the same place he saith, that if our realm do admit one not born in matrimony, or illegitimate, to the imperial crown, so that he doth well discharge the office of a king, God maketh him a king, and by consequence doth reject another king or heir of the kingdom, being born in matrimony and legitimate: so for such spiritual kindred there ought no divorce to be made. Also, notwithstanding if any man shall make any contract with any woman by the words of the future tense, by an oath taken, and afterwards shall with another woman make the like contract by the words of the present tense, that then the second contract standeth. Also, if a man make any contract with a woman by the words of the future tense, upon his oath taken, and maketh afterwards the like contract with another, not altering the words, and hath carnal connexion upon the same, the first contract maketh the matrimony good, and not the second. Also if a man, before witness, assure himself to a woman by a contract made in the present tense, and hath children by the same woman, and afterwards the same man marrieth another woman, with the like words in

the present tense before witness, although the first witnesses be dead, or, else by bribes corrupt, and the second bring his witnesses before the judge to prove the second contract, the first contract yet standeth in force, although the pope, allowing the second contract, doth compel them to live in adultery against the commandment of God. Also he condemneth the decretal of the restitution of things stolen, which willeth, that a man and woman having carnal connexion in the degree of consanguinity forbidden, and hath no witness hereof, if the woman will depart from the man, she shall be compelled by the censures to remain with him, and to yield her debt. Also, in case where a man hath made contract with two women, with one secretly, having no witness, and with the other openly, having witness, then were it better to acknowledge the insufficiency of the law, and to suffer men to be ruled by their own consciences, than by the censures to compel them to commit and live in adultery.

"As touching the keeping and making of vows: that vow or oath is beastly, and is without discretion made, which to perform and keep a man hath no power, but by grace given him of God; because that some such there be, whom God not doth accept to persevere in the state of chastity and perpetual virginity; and such a one cannot keep his vow, although he make the same. Also, that every one making a vow of continency or chastity, when, making the same, he shall not be accepted of God, doth very indiscreetly, and as one without all reason maketh the same, when he is not able of himself, without the gift of God, to fulfil his promise, according to that saying of the wise man, chap. viii., No man hath the gift of continency, unless that God give it unto him: for otherwise, if God help not such a one to perform the vow or oath which he hath made and taken, no prelate can compel him, unless he do contrary to God's ordinance; but he ought to commit himself to the government of God's Holy Spirit and his own conscience.

"For the possessions of the church, in another treatise it is declared, how the king, the lords, and commons, may, without any charge at all, keep fifteen garrisons, and find fifteen thousand soldiers, (having sufficient lands and revenues to live upon,) out of the temporalities gotten into the hands of the clergy, and feigned religious men, which never do that which pertaineth to the office of curates to do, nor yet to secular lords. And, moreover, the king may have, every year, twenty thousand pounds to come freely into his coffers, and above. Also he may find or sustain fifteen colleges more, and fifteen thousand priests and clerks with sufficient living, and a hundred hospitals for the sick, and every house to have one hundred marks in lands. And all this may they take of the aforesaid temporalities, without any charge to the realm; whereunto the king, the lords, and the commons are to be invited: for otherwise, there seemeth to hang over our heads a great and marvellous alteration of this realm, unless the same be put in execution. Also, if the secular priests and feigned religious, which be simoniacs and heretics, which feign themselves to say mass, and yet say none at all, according to the canons, which to their purpose they bring and allege, by which chapter such priests and religious do not make the sacrament of the altar: that then all Christians, especially all the founders of such abbeyes, and endowers of bishoprics, priories, and chantries, ought to amend this fault and treason committed against their predecessors, by taking from them such secular dominions which are the maintenance of all their sins: and also, that Christian lords and princes are bound to take away from the clergy such secular dominion as noursleth and nourisheth them in heresies, and ought to reduce them unto the simple and poor life of Christ Jesus and his apostles.

"And further, that all Christian princes, if they will amend the malediction and blasphemy of the name of God, ought to take away their temporalities from that shaven generation, which most of all doth nourish them in such malediction. And so in like wise the fat tithes from churches appropriate to rich monks, and other religious, feigned by manifest lying, and other unlawful means; likewise ought to debar their gold to the proud priest of Rome, which doth poison all Christendom with simony and heresy. Further, that it is a great abomination that bishops, monks, and other prelates, be so great lords in this world; whereas Christ, with his apostles and disciples, never took upon them secular dominion, neither did they appropriate unto them churches, as these men do, but led a poor life, and gave a good testimony of their priesthood. And therefore, all Christians ought, to the uttermost of their power and strength, to swear that they will reduce such shavelings to the humility and poverty of Christ and his apostles; and whosoever doth not thus, consenteth to their heresy. Also, that these two chapters of the immunity of churches are to be condemned, that is, cap. *Non minus*, and cap. *Adversus*; because they do decree, that temporal lords may neither require tallages nor tenths of any ecclesiastical persons.

"Now to the correction of the clergy. By the law of God, and by reason, the king and all other Christians may take revenge of Italy, and of all the false priests and clerks within the same, and reduce them unto the humble ordinance of Jesus Christ. Also, that the law of Silvester the pope, is contrary to the law of Christ, and either Testament: and that proud and ambitious Silvester, by his law, so defended two cardinals which were not to be defended by the law of Christ, that by no means they might be convinced, although they were both vicious and evil: and although Christ sustained and suffered the judgment of unjust temporal judges, our mitred prelates in these days so magnify themselves beyond Christ and his apostles, that they refuse and will none of such judgments. Also, that those decretals of accusations, which do prohibit that any clerks should be brought before a secular judge to receive judgment, do contain both heresy, blasphemy, and error, and bring great gain and commodity to antichrist's coffers.

"Furthermore, that all Christian kings and lords ought to exclaim against the pope and those that be his abettors, and banish them out of their lands, till such time as they will obey God and his gospel, kings, and other ministers of God's justice. Also, that bishops and their favourers, that say it appertaineth not to kings and secular lords, but unto them and their officials, to punish adultery and fornication, do fall into manifest treason against the king, and heresy against the Scripture. Also, that it appertaineth to the king to have the order both of priests and bishops, as these kings Solomon and Jehoshaphat had.

"Furthermore, that chapter by the which secular judges are forbidden, without the bishop's commandment, to condemn any clerk to death, is manifestly against the Holy Scripture, declaring that kings have power over clerks and priests, to punish them for their deserved crimes. Also, that the decree of Boniface, made against the prosecutors, strikers, and imprisoners of cardinals, is contrary both to the Holy Scripture, and to all reason. Also, that by the law of God and reason, a secular lord may lawfully take a cardinal and put him in prison for committing the crime of open simony, adultery, and manifest blasphemy. Also, that the chapter which saith that the pope ought to be judged of none, unless he be *devius a fide*, is contrary to the gospel, which saith, If thy brother sin against thee, correct him. Also, whereas St. Gregory and St. Augustine called themselves the servants of God's servants, this proud bishop of Rome, which will not be judged by his subjects, (which be in very deed his lords, if

they be just and good men,) doth destroy the order of God's law, and all humility, and doth extol himself above God and his apostles. Also, that Christian kings ought not only to judge this proud bishop of Rome, but also to depose him, by the example that Cestrensis, lib. 6. cap. 8, declareth of Otho the emperor, which deposed John the Twelfth, and did institute Leo in his place. And further, he maketh an exhortation to the princes to judge the Church of Rome, which he calleth the great and cursed strumpet, of whom St. John writeth in the Apocalypse, chap. xviii.

Lastly, touching the laws and determinations of the church, Christians have reasonable excuses and causes to repel the statutes of the pope and of his shavelings, which be not expressly grounded on the Holy Scriptures, or else upon reason inevitable. Also he saith, That such secular men as do not receive the sacrament of the altar at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, are not to be counted amongst the number of Christians, nor are to be esteemed as Christians; whereby it followeth that all clerks and laymen that observe not the same, it seemeth they go straight to hell. But if this law be of no force, for that the custom and use in receiving is contrary to the same, then may we bless such rebellion and disobedience to the pope and his law; for otherwise we should flee to hell without any stay or let. Whereby we may conclude, that all Christians ought well to practise this school of disobedience against the pope and all his laws, (not founded upon the Holy Scripture,) which do let men to climb to heaven by the keeping of charity, and the liberty of the gospel. Also, that Christian men have great cause to refuse the laws and statutes of these worldly clerks, which the people call the papal laws and bishop-like statutes, for the covetousness and voluptuousness of them; without the which the church and congregation of God might safely run towards heaven by the sweet yoke of the Lord, as it did a thousand years before the said laws were prescribed and sent to the universities, and withdrew men from studying of the Holy Scripture, for the desire of benefices and worldly goods. Also, that simple men do reverently receive the sentences of the doctors and other laws, so far forth as they be expressly grounded upon the Holy Scripture or good reason. Also, that whereas the pope's laws, and laws of his ministers and clerks, be both contrary to themselves, and have not their foundation either upon the Scripture, or yet upon reason, simple men ought to bid them farewell. Also, that when all the apostles' faith failed them in the time of the Lord's passion, faith then rested in the blessed Virgin, much more might that proud priest of Rome, with all his rabble, easily err in the faith; and yet is the Christian faith preserved whole and safe in the faithful members of Christ, which are his true church; but the pope and all his rabblement cannot prove that they be any part of his church. Also that the pope, with all his supporters, may as well be deceived by a lying spirit, as was Ahab and all his prophets; and that one true prophet, as was Micaiah, may have the verity showed unto him, *contra concilium*. Also, that all good Christians ought to cast from them the pope's laws, saying, Let us break their bands in sunder, and let us cast from our necks those heavy yokes of theirs. Also, that where these prelates do burn one good book, for one error, perhaps, contained in the same, they ought to burn all the books of the canon law, for the manifold heresies contained in them."

This I thought good to annex further in our story, after the examination of William Thorpe, and the martyrdom of William Sautre, and of John Badby, thus described, as ye have heard; which was about the year 1409.

93. Continuing Schism.

By the way, here is to be considered, at least to be admonished, that all this while the schism in the Church of Rome did yet continue, and so endured till the Council of Constance, which was, in the whole, the space of twenty-nine years; the origin whereof, as was said before, first began at Urban the Fifth, which Urban being dead, A. D. 1389, next followed Pope Boniface the Ninth, who sat fourteen years. He, in selling his pardons, was so impudent and so past shame, that he brought the keys of Peter, as saith Platina, in contempt. After him succeeded Innocent the Seventh, and sat two years; who being dead, the cardinals consulting together, and seeing the foul enormity and inconvenience growing upon this contentious schism in their Church of Rome, (minding to provide some remedy for the same, after the best device they could,) in their conclave where they were assembled for a new election for the pope, took this order, promising among themselves with solemn vow made to God, to Mary the blessed Virgin, to Peter and Paul, and to all the blessed company of saints: That if any of them, within the college or without the college, should be called to that high place of apostolical pre-eminence, he should effectuously renounce the jurisdiction and title of his popedom, if or whensoever the contrary pope for the time being would in like manner renounce his place and title, and his cardinals in the like manner condescend to the other cardinals of Rome; so that both these two colleges of cardinals agreeing together, one chief bishop might be chosen and taken out of them both, to be made the true pope: provided, moreover, that none should seek any releasement or absolution from the said promise, vow, and bond, once passed among them: unto all which things furthermore every one subscribed with his hand. These things thus prefixed and ratified upon the same, they proceeded to the election, in which was chosen Gregory the Twelfth, who, the same day of his election, in the presence of all the cardinals, confirmed the vow, sacrament, and promise made, subscribing the same with his hand in form as followeth: "And I, Gregory, this day, being the last of November, in the year of our Lord 1407, chosen and elected for bishop of Rome, do swear, vow, and promise, and confirm, all the premises above contained," &c. This being done, shortly after he was crowned, being of the age of eighty years. As the time thus passed, the people and cardinals were in great expectation, waiting when the pope, according to his oath, would give over, with the other pope also. And not long after, the matter began indeed between the two popes to be attempted by letters from one to another, assigning both day and place, where and when they should meet together; but yet no effect did follow.

This so passing on, great murmuring was among the cardinals, to see their holy perjured father so to neglect his oath and vow aforenamed; insomuch that at length divers of them did forsake the pope, as being perjured, as no less he was, sending, moreover, to kings and princes of other lands, for their counsel and assistance therein, to appease the schism. Amongst the rest, Cardinal Bituriensis was sent to the king of England; who, publishing divers propositions and conclusions, (remaining in the registers of Thomas Arundel,) disputeth, that the pope ought to be subject to laws and councils. Then King Henry (moved to write to Gregory the pope) directeth his letter hereunder ensuing, which was the year of our Lord 1409. The contents of the letter be these:

"Most blessed father! if the discreet providence of the apostolical see would call to mind with what great perils the universal world hath been damnified, hitherto, under pretence of this present schism; and especially would consider, what slaughter of Christian people, to the number of two hundred thousand, (as they say,) hath been, through the occasion of war raised up in divers quarters of the world; and now of late, to the number of thirty thousand soldiers, which have been slain through the dissension moved about the bishopric of Leodium between two set up, one by the authority of one pope, the other by the authority of the other pope, fighting in camp for the title of that bishopric: certes, ye would lament in spirit and be sore grieved in mind for the same, so that with good conscience ye would relinquish rather the honour of the see apostolic, than suffer such horrible bloodshed hereafter to ensue, under the cloak of dissimulation; following herein the example of the true mother in the Book of Kings, who pleading before Solomon for the right of her child, rather would depart from the child, than the child should be parted by the sword. And although it may be vehemently suspected by the new creation of nine cardinals, by you last made, contrary to your oath, (as other men do say,) that you do but little heed or care for ceasing the schism, yet far be it from the hearing and noting of the world, that your circumspect seat should ever be noted and distained with such an inconstancy of mind, whereby the last error may be worse than the first."

King Henry the Fourth to the cardinals.

And to the cardinals, likewise, the said king directeth another letter with these contents here following: "We, desiring to show what zeal we have had and have to the reformation of peace of the church, by the consent of the states of the realm, have directed to the bishop of Rome our letters after the tenor of the copy herewith in these presents enclosed, to be executed effectually: wherefore we seriously beseech your reverend college, that if it chance the said Gregory to be present at the council of Pisa, and to render up his popedom, according to your desire, and his own oath, you then so ordain for his state totally, that chiefly God may be pleased thereby, and that both the said Gregory, and also we, which entirely love his honour and commodity, may have cause to give you worthily condign thanks for the same."

This being done in the year of our Lord 1409, afterward in the year next following, A. D. 1410, the cardinals of both the popes, to wit, of Gregory and Benedict, by common advice assembled together at the city of Pisa, for the reformation of unity and peace in the church. To the which assembly a great multitude of prelates and bishops being convened, a new pope was chosen, named Alexander the Fifth. But to this election neither Gregory nor Benedict did fully agree, whereby there were three popes together in the Roman church; that is to understand, not three crowns upon one pope's head, but three heads in one popish church together. This Alexander, being newly made pope, scarcely had well warmed his triple crown, but straight giveth out full remission, not of a few, but of all manner of sins whatsoever, to all them that conferred any thing to the monastery of St. Bartholomew, by Smithfield, resorting to the said church any of these days following: to wit, on Maundy-Thursday, Good Friday, Easter-even, the feast of the Annunciation, from the first even-song to the latter. But this pope, which was so liberal in giving remission of many years to others, was not able to give one year of life to himself, for within the same year he died: in whose stead stepped up Pope John the Twenty-third.

94. John Huss Condemned by Pope Alexander V.

In the time of this Alexander great stir began in the country of Bohemia, by the occasion of the books of John Wickliff, which, then coming to the hands of John Huss, and of others, both men and women, especially of the lay-sort, and artificers, began there to do much good; insomuch that divers of them, not only men, but women also, partly by the reading of their books translated into their tongue, partly by the setting forward of John Huss, a notable learned man, and a singular preacher at that time in the university of Prague, were in short time so ripe in judgment, and prompt in the Scriptures, that they began to move questions, yea, and to reason with the priests, touching matters of the Holy Scriptures.

By reason whereof complaint was brought to the said Pope Alexander the Fifth, who caused eftsoons the aforementioned John Huss to be cited up to Rome: but when he came not at the pope's citation, then the said Pope Alexander addressed his letters to the archbishop of Swinco, wherein he straitly charged him to prohibit and forbid, by the authority apostolical, all manner of preachings or sermons to be made to the people, but only in cathedral churches, or colleges, or parish churches, or in monasteries, or else in their churchyards; and that the articles of Wickliff should in no case, of any person, of what state, condition, or degree soever, be suffered to be holden, taught, or defended, either privily or apertly; commanding, moreover, and charging the said archbishop, that he, with four bachelors of divinity, and two doctors of the canon law joined unto him, would proceed upon the same, and so provide that no person in churches, schools, or any other place, should teach, defend, or approve any of the aforesaid articles, so that whosoever should attempt the contrary, should be accounted a heretic, and, unless he shall revoke solemnly and publicly the said articles, and shall for ever abjure the books wherein the aforesaid articles be contained, so that they may be utterly abolished out from the eyes of the faithful, the same should be apprehended and imprisoned, all appellation set apart, the help also of the secular arm being called thereunto, if need shall require, &c. These were the contents of this mighty and fierce bull of Pope Alexander.

Against the which bull, on the other side, John Huss, justly complaining, excepteth again, and objecteth many things: he declareth this mandate of the pope to stand directly against the doings and sayings both of Christ and of his apostles; considering how Christ himself preached to the people, both in the sea, in the desert, in fields, in houses, in synagogues, in villages; and the apostles also, in all places, did the same, the Lord mightily working with them. He declared, moreover, the said mandate or bull of the pope to redound unto the great detriment of the church, in binding the word of God, that it might not have his free passage; also, the same to be prejudicial unto chapels newly erected for the word of God to be preached in them: "Wherefore," saith he, "from this commandment or mandate of Pope Alexander, I did appeal unto the said Alexander, being better informed and advised; and, as I was prosecuting my appeal, the lord pope," saith John Huss, "immediately died."

Then the archbishop of Swinco aforesaid, to whom this present bull was directed, when he saw the process, bulls, and mandates of the bishop of Rome to be thus contemned of John Huss and his fellows, neither having any hope of redress in Wincelaud the king, which seemed to neglect the matter, went out of his country into

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Hungary, to complain unto Sigismund, king of Hungary, and brother to the said Wincelaus. But this quarrelling archbishop, whether before, as the Bohemians say, or after, as Silvius saith, that he had spoken with Sigismund, immediately there, by the just judgment of God, died in Hungary, as the story saith, for sorrow; whereby a little more liberty and quiet was given by the Lord unto his gospel, newly beginning to take root among the Bohemians. Albeit, this tranquillity there did not long continue without trouble and persecution, neither could it in those furious days and reign of antichrist; for after this Alexander succeeded Pope John the Twenty-third, who, likewise playing his part in this tragedy, bent all his might and main to disturb the Bohemians, as more hereafter, Christ willing, shall be declared in further process of our history, coming to the year of our Lord 1413.

95. Insufferable Pride and Vainglory of The Prelates

Thus the poor Christians, as ye see, like to the silly Israelites under the tyranny of Pharaoh, were infested and oppressed in every place, but especially here in England; and that so much the more here, because that the king, not like to Wincelous, went full and whole with the pope and his prelates against the gospellers; by reason whereof the kingdom of the pope and his members here in this realm began to be so strong, that none durst stir or once move against them. The bishops, having the king so full on their side, armed, moreover, with laws, statutes, punishments, imprisonments, sword, fire, and faggot, reigned and ruled as they listed, as kings and princes within themselves. So strong were they of power, that no human force was able to stand against them; so exalted in pride, and puffed up in glory, that they thought all things to be subject to their reverend majesties. Whatsoever they set forth or decreed, it must of all men be received and obeyed. And such was their superstitious blindness and curious vanity, that whatsoever they came once in their fantasy, it was straightways determined and established for a law of all men to be observed, were it never so frivolous or superstitious; as well appeareth by Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, and others, who, having now a little leisure from slaying and killing the innocent people, martyrs, and confessors of the Lord, and having now brought their enemies, as they thought, under feet, began to set up themselves, and to invent new customs, as the guise of the pope's church is, ever to intrude into the church of God some ceremony or custom of their own making, whereby the church of Christ hath been hitherto exceedingly pestered. So likewise this Thomas Arundel, thinking the church yet not sufficiently stuffed with ceremonies and vain traditions of men, bringeth in a new-found gaud, commonly called The tolling of *Aves*, in honour of our Lady, with certain *Aves* to be said, and days of pardon to be given, for the same; for the ratification whereof, under the pretence of the king's request, he directed his mandate to the bishop of London, well stuffed with words of idolatry, as by the reading thereof may appear, in form of terms as followeth

A mandate of Thomas Arundel, directed to the bishop of London, to warn men to say certain prayers at the tolling of the Aves, or ringing of the curfew.

"Thomas, &c. To the right reverend our brother, the Lord Robert, by the grace of God bishop of London, greeting, &c. While we lift our eyes round about us, and behold attentively with circumspect consideration, how the most high Word that was in the beginning with God, chose to him a holy and immaculate virgin of the kingly stock, in whose womb he took true flesh by inspiral inspiration, that the merciful goodness of the Son of God, that was uncreate, might abolish the sentence of condemnation, which all the posterity of mankind, that was created, had by sin incurred: amongst other labours in the vine of the Lord of Sabaoth, we sung to God our Saviour with great joy in him, carefully thinking, that though all the people of the Christian religion did extol with voices of praises so worthy a virgin, by whom we received the beginnings of our redemption, by whom the holy day first shined to us, which gave us hope of salvation; and although all the same people were drawn to reverence her, which, being a happy virgin, conceived the Son of God, the King of heaven, the Redeemer and Saviour of all nations, ministering light to the people that were miserably drowned in the darkness of death: we truly, as the servants of her own inheritance, and such as are written of, to be of her peculiar dower, as we are by every

man's confession acknowledged to be, we, I say, ought more watchfully than any others to show the endeavours of our devotion in praising her, who being hitherto merciful to us, yea, being even cowards, would that our power, being, as it were, spread abroad every where through all the coasts of the world, should, with a victorious arm, fear all foreign nations; that our power, being on all sides so defended with the buckler of her protection, did subdue unto her victorious standards, and made subject unto us, nations both near at hand and far off.

"Likewise our happy estate, all the time that we have passed since the beginning of our lives, may be well attributed only to the help of her medicine; to whom also we may worthily ascribe now of late in these our times, under the mighty government of our most Christian king, our deliverance from the ravening wolves, and the mouths of cruel beasts, which had prepared against our banquets a mess of meat mingled full of gall, and hated us unjustly, secretly lying in wait for us, in recompence of the good will that we showed to them. Wherefore, that she being on high, sitting before the throne of the heavenly Majesty, the defendress and patroness of us all, being magnified with all men's praises, may more plentifully exhibit to us, the sons of adoption, the teats of her grace, in all those things that we shall have to do: at the request of the special devotion of our lord the king himself, we command your brotherhood, straitly enjoining you, that you command the subjects of your city and diocese, and of all other suffragans, to worship our Lady Mary, the mother of God and our patroness and protectress, evermore in all adversity, with such-like kind of prayer and accustomed manner of ringing, as the devotion of Christ's faithful people is wont to worship her at the ringing of curfew. And when before day in the morning ye shall cause them to ring, that with like manner of prayer and ringing she be every where honoured devoutly by the aforesaid our and your suffragans, and their subjects as well religious as secular, in your and their monasteries and collegiate churches: that we, so humbly calling upon the mercy of the heavenly Father, the right hand of the heavenly Piety, may mercifully come to the help, the protection and defence of the same our Lord the king, who, for the happy remedy of quietness, and for our succour from tempestuous floods, is ready to apply his hands to work, and his eyes, with all his whole desire, to watching. We, therefore, coveting more earnestly to stir up the minds of all faithful people to so devout an exercise of God, &c., we grant by these presents, to all and every man, &c., that shall say the Lord's prayer and the salutation of the angel five times at the morning peal with a devout mind, forty days' pardon by these presents. Given under our seal, in our manor of Lambeth, the tenth day of February."

By this frivolous and barbarous constitution, with many other of like sort heaped into the church by the papists, appeareth the proper natures and condition of this catholic generation; who, being themselves not greatly exercised nor experienced in any serious cogitation of spiritual matter, as seemeth, take upon them to govern the spiritual church of Christ, whereof indeed they have no skill or very little: and, therefore, according to their unskilful handling, they lead and rule the church after such outward sights and ceremonies, seemly perhaps to their own gross affection, but not agreeing, nay rather clean contrary, to the right nature and condition of the spiritual house and kingdom of the Lord: and like as in their inventions they swerve utterly from the right handling of all spiritual government, so, in their manners and form of life likewise, they do resemble little or no part almost of such as are, and ought to be, true pastors and ministers of the mystical body of Christ.

Examples hereof are plenty and plain in these Roman prelates to be noted, whoso, well considering the humble state and lowly spirit which ought to be in

pastoral leaders of the church, will compare the same with the usual pomp of these glorious potentates.

As for example: What can be more convenient for a true pastor ecclesiastical, than humility of heart and spirit, according to the example of the head bishop himself? so what greater show of arrogancy and pride could there be, than in this, whom I have oft named before, Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury? who, passing by the high street of London, did not only look and wait for the ringing of the bells, for a triumph of his coming, but took great snuff, and did suspend all such churches in London, (not only with the steeple and bells, but also with the organs,) so many as did not receive his coming with the noise of bells, according as out of his own registers may appear, the words whereof, written to his own somner, I have hereto annexed in his own form, as followeth.

A commission directed to the somner, to suspend certain churches of London, because they rung not their bells at the presence of my lord, the archbishop of Canterbury.

"Thomas, by the permission of God, &c. To our well-beloved Thomas Wilton, our somner sworn, health, grace, and blessing. The comeliness of our holy church of Canterbury, over which we bear rule, deserveth and requireth, that while we pass through the province of the same our church, having our cross carried before us, every parish church in their turns ought, and are bounden, in token of special reverence that they bear to us, to ring their bells: which notwithstanding, yea, on Tuesday last past, when we, betwixt eight and nine of the clock before dinner, passed openly on foot as it were, through the midst of the city of London, with our cross carried before us, divers churches, whose names are here beneath noted, showed towards us willingly, though they certainly knew of our coming, unreverence rather than reverence, and the duty that they owe to our church of Canterbury, ringing not at all at our coming. Wherefore we, being willing to revenge this injury, for the honour of our spouse, as we are bounden, command you, that by our authority you put all those churches under our indictment, suspending God's holy organs and instruments in the same: which we also suspend by the tenor of these presents, till the ministers of the aforesaid churches be able hereafter to attain of us the benefit of more plentiful grace. Given," &c.

What great reason was in this, why this archbishop either should thus look for the ringing of the bells, or why he should be thus displeased with not ringing, I do not see. Belike, his mind, in the mean time, was greatly occupied with some great muse, as feeling of God's fear, with repentance and remembrance of his sins, with zealous care and solicitude for his flock, with the earnest meditation of the passion and life of our Saviour, who in this world was so despised; or else was set upon some grave study, while he so waited for the ringing of the bells, which were wont to be so noisome to all students. And why were not the trumpeters also shent as well, because they did not sound before his person? But though the bells did not clatter in the steeples, and therefore his thunderbolt should have fallen upon the steeples, which had deserved, why should the body of the church therefore be suspended? At least, the poor organs, methinketh, had some part of wrong to be put to silence in the quire, because the bells rang not in the tower.

Of the like matter, also, we read in the said registers, falling between the bishop of Worcester and the priory of the same town, for not ringing at the bishop's coming into the church: whereupon much suit and contention was between them, till at length the archbishop of Canterbury took up the matter, moderating it, as in the said registers, fol. 441, appeareth to be seen as followeth:

"Thomas, &c. Whereas there happened variance lately between our reverend brother the lord bishop of Worcester on the one party, and the religious and discreet men the prior and convent of the same church on the other party, for not ringing of bells at the coming of our said brother to his aforesaid church, at length the parties, considering the great inconvenience that might come thereof, at our instance and request did agree on this manner: that as often as it shall happen our reverend brother to go to his aforesaid church, either to celebrate orders, or to visit his church in the head or in the inferiors, or to make cream and oil in the same church, also in the feast of the Assumption of the blessed Virgin Mary, which is the chiefest feast in the abbey aforesaid; then the prior and the convent, and their successors for the time being, shall ring solemnly against his coming, or shall cause to be rung solemnly, without all contradiction, or any reclaiming hereafter to be made against the same: which agreement that it may be more firmly kept, we let you all understand by these presents, sealed with our seal. Given at our palace of Canterbury, July 12, the tenth year of our government."

The like stir for bell-ringing and for processions had almost happened between the archbishop of Canterbury, successor to this Thomas Arundel, named Henry Chichesley, on the one party, and the abbey of St. Alban's on the other party, had not the abbot, in time submitting himself to the archbishop, so provided, that the ringing of their bells at his coming might not redound to any derogation of their liberties. Whereunto the archbishop granted by these his letters as followeth:

"Henry, &c., to the religious men, the abbot and convent of the monastery of St. Alban's, in the diocese of Lincoln, health, &c. Whenas of late there happened a matter of variance between us, and you, the abbot and convent, by reason of not giving reverence to us, being due to our province of Canterbury, that is, for not ringing the bells, and meeting us with processions when we passed by divers places of our province, as well due of common custom, as of old use and for the prerogative of the church of Canterbury, as also being due of every one being within the compass of this our said province, when and as often as we shall pass by their places; at length your lord abbot, coming personally to us, did grant both for you and the convent aforesaid, to do and to give of your gentleness all reverence and honour, with such reverence both to us and our church of Canterbury, as often as we pass by your monastery, or the places nigh or adjoining thereto, or shall hereafter go by; so that it might not be prejudicial to your exemption, and nothing be attempted to the violating of your privilege; and that it might not be challenged for duty hereafter. Wherefore we, desiring to keep you from damage, let you understand by these presents, that it is not our intent to derogate your exemptions or privilege whatsoever herein; nor by any means to be prejudicial to you by these your reverences or other duties, whatsoever you have or shall grant to us of your devotion and liberality, both by you, and in places under your dominion. In witness whereof," &c.

To express, moreover, and describe, the glorious pomp of these prince-like prelates, in these blind days of popish religion, reigning then in the church, I thought to adjoin hereunto another example not much unlike, neither differing much in time, concerning certain poor men cited up, and enjoined strait penance by William Courtney, predecessor of the said Thomas Arundel, for bringing litter to his horse, not in wains as they should do, but in privy sacks, in a secret manner under their cloaks or coats: for the which so heinous and horrible trespass, the said archbishop, sitting in his tribunal seat, did call and cite before him the said persons, and, after their submission, enjoined them penance; which penance what it was, and what were the names of the

aforesaid parties, here followeth out of the said archbishop's registers, both by his own words, and by picture of the persons in the same registers annexed and painted, in all resemblance, as there standeth, and here is also to be seen.



A peasant carrying a sack of straw as a penance

"Ignorance, the mother of error, so much hath blinded and deceived certain persons, to wit, Hugh Pennie, John Forstall, John Boy, John Wanderton, William Hayward, and John White, tenants of the lord of Wengham, that against the coming of the aforesaid archbishop to his palace of Canterbury on Palm Sunday even, the year of our Lord 1390, where they, being warned by the bailiff to convey and carry hay, straw, and other litter to the aforesaid palace, as they were bound by the tenor of their

lands, which they hold of the see of Canterbury; refusing and disdainng to do their service, as they were accustomed, brought their straw and other litter, not in carts and wains openly and sufficiently, but by piece-meal and closely in bags or sacks, in contempt of their lord, and derogation of the right and title of the see of Canterbury. Whereupon they, being cited and presented before the archbishop, sitting in judgment at his manor of State-wood, yielded and submitted themselves to his lordship's pleasure, humbly craving pardon of their trespass. Then the aforesaid archbishop absolved the above-named Hugh Pennie, &c., they swearing to obey the laws and ordinances of holy church, and to do the punishment that should be appointed them for their deserts: that is, that they, going leisurely before the procession, every one of them should carry openly on his shoulder his bag stuffed with hay and straw, so that the said hay and straw should appear hanging out, the mouths of the sacks being open."

96. Notes of Certain Parliament Matters Passed in King Henry V's Days.

To proceed now further in the reign of this king, and to treat also something of his parliaments as we have done of other before: first, we will begin with the parliament holden in the first year of his coming in.

Moreover, forasmuch as our catholic papists will not believe, yet the contrary, but that the jurisdiction of their father the pope hath ever extended throughout all the world, as well here in England, as in other places, here, therefore, speaking of the parliaments holden in this king's days concerning this matter, I refer them to the parliament of the said King Henry, in his first year holden, and to the twenty-seventh article of the same, where they may read, in the tenth objection laid against King Richard, in plain words, how that, "Forasmuch as the crown of this realm of England, and the jurisdiction belonging to the same, as also the whole realm itself, at all times lately past, hath been at such liberty, and enjoyed such prerogative, that neither the pope, nor any other out of the same kingdom, ought to intrude himself nor intermeddle therein: it was, therefore, objected unto the afore-named King Richard the Second, for procuring the letters apostolical from the pope, to the confirming and corroborating of certain statutes of his, and that his censures might be prosecuted against the breakers thereof, which seemed then to the parliament to tend against the crown and regal dignity, as also against the statutes and liberties of this the said our realm of England.

"Furthermore, in the second year of the said king, this was in the parliament required, that all such persons as shall be arrested by force of the statute made against the Lollards, in the second year of Henry the Fourth, may be bailed, and freely make their purgation; that they be arrested by none other than by the sheriffs, or such-like officers, neither that any havoc be made of their goods. The king granted to their advice therein.

"In the eighth year, moreover, of this king's reign, it was likewise propounded in the parliament, that all such persons as shall procure, or sue in the court of Rome, any process touching any benefice, collation, or presentation of the same, shall incur the pain of the statute of provisors, made in the thirteenth year of Richard the Second, whereunto the king granted, that the statutes heretofore provided should be observed.

"Item, in the said parliament there, it was put up by petition, that the king might enjoy half the profits of every parson's benefice who is not resident thereon. Thereunto the king answered, That the ordinaries should do their duties therein, or else he would provide further remedy to stay their pluralities.

"Item, in the said parliament it was required, that none do sue to the court of Rome for any benefice, but only to the king's courts."

In the next year following, which was the ninth of this king, another petition of the commons was put in parliament against the court of Rome, which I thought good here to express, as followeth:

"The commons do beseech, that forasmuch as divers provisors of the benefices of holy church, dwelling in the court of Rome, through their singular covetousness,

now newly imagined to destroy those that have been long time incumbents in divers their benefices of holy church peaceably, some of them by the title of the king, some by title ordinary, and by the title of other true patrons thereof, by colour of provisions, relations, and other grants made to the same provisors by the apostoil, of the said benefices, do pursue processes in the said court by citation made beyond the sea, without any citations made within the realm, in deed, against the same incumbents, whereby many of the said incumbents, through such privy and crafty processes and sentences of privation and inabilitation, have lost their benefices, and others put in the places of the said incumbents, before the publication of the same sentences, they not knowing any thing; and many are in great hazard to lose their benefices through such processes, to their perpetual destruction and mischief: and forasmuch as this mischief cannot be holpen without an especial remedy be had by parliament: pleaseth it the king to consider the great mischief and danger that may so come unto divers his subjects without their knowledge, through such citations out of the realm, and thereupon to ordain, by the advice of the lords of this present parliament, that none presented be received by any ordinary unto any benefice of any such incumbent for any cause of privation or inabilitation, whereof the process is not founded upon citation made within the realm, and also that such incumbents may remain in all their benefices, until it be proved by due inquest in the court of the king, that the citations, whereupon such privations and inabilitations are granted, were made within the realm; and that if such ordinaries, or such presented, or others, do pursue the contrary, that then they and their procurators, supporters, and counsellors, do incur the pains contained in the statute made against provisors in the thirteenth year of the reign of the late Richard the Second, king of England, by processes to be made, as is declared in the statute made against such provisors in the twenty-seventh year of the reign of King Edward, predecessor to our lord the king that now is, any royal licences or grants in any manner to the contrary notwithstanding; and that all other statutes made against provisors, and not repealed before this present parliament, be in their full force, and be firmly kept in all points.

"That the king's council have power by authority of parliament, in case that any man find himself grieved in particular, that he may pursue; and that the said council, by the advice of the justices, do right unto the parties. This to endure until the next parliament, reserving always unto the king his prerogative and liberty.

"Item, That no pope's collector thenceforth should levy any money within the realm for first-fruits of any ecclesiastical dignity, under pain of incurring the statute of provisions."

Besides, in the said parliament holden the eleventh year of this king, is to be noted, how the commons of the land put up a bill unto the king, to take the temporal lands out from spiritual men's hands or possession; the effect of which bill was, "That the temporalties disordinately wasted by men of the church, might suffice to find to the king fifteen earls, one thousand five hundred knights, six thousand two hundred esquires, and a hundred houses of almose, to the relief of the poor people, more than at those days within England. And over all these aforesaid charges, the king might put yearly in his coffers twenty thousand pounds.

"Provided, that every earl should have of yearly rent three thousand marks; and every knight a hundred marks and four plough lands; and every esquire forty marks by year, with two plough lands; and every house of almose a hundred marks, with oversight of two true seculars unto every house; and also with provision, that

every township should keep all poor people of their own dwellers, which might not labour for their living: with condition, that if more fell in a town than the town might maintain, then the said alms-houses to relieve such townships.

"And to hear these charges, they alleged by their said bill, that the temporalties, being in possession of spiritual men, amounted to three hundred and twenty-two thousand marks by year, whereof they affirmed to be in the see of Canterbury, with the abbeyes of Christ's-church, of St. Augustine's, Shrewsbury, Coggeshal, and St. Osus, twenty thousand marks by year; in the see of York, and abbeyes there, twenty thousand marks; in the see of Winchester, and abbeyes there, twenty thousand marks; in the see of London, with abbeyes and other houses there, twenty thousand marks; in the see of Lincoln, with the abbeyes of Peterborough, Ramsey, and others, twenty thousand marks; in the see of Norwich, with the abbeyes of Bury and others, twenty thousand marks; in the see of Ely, Spalding, and others, twenty thousand marks; in the see of Bath, with the abbey of Okinborne, and others, twenty thousand marks; in the see of Worcester, with the abbeyes of Evesham, Abingdon, and others, twenty thousand marks; in the see of Chester, with the precinct of the same, with the sees of St. David, of Salisbury, and Exeter, with the precincts, twenty thousand marks; the abbeyes of Ravens or Revens, of Fountaines, of Gernons, and divers others, to the number of five more, twenty thousand marks; the abbeyes of Leicester, Walthun, Gosborne, Merton, Ticeter, Osney, and others, unto the number of six more, twenty thousand marks; the abbeyes of Dover, Battle, Lewes, Coventry, Daventry, and Tournay, twenty thousand marks; the abbeyes of Northampton, Thornton, Bristol, Killingworth, Winchcomb, Hailes, Parchissor, Frideswide, Notly, and Grimsby, twenty thousand marks.

"The which aforesaid sums amount to the full of three hundred thousand marks. And for the odd twenty-two thousand marks, they appointed Hertford, Rochester, Huntingdon, Swinshed, Crowland, Malmesbury, Burton, Tewkesbury, Dunstable, Sherborne, Taunton, and Biland.

"And over this, they alleged by the said bill, that over and above the said sum of three hundred and twenty-two thousand marks, divers houses of religion in England possessed as many temporalties as might suffice to find yearly fifteen thousand priests and clerks, every priest to be allowed for his stipend seven marks by the year.

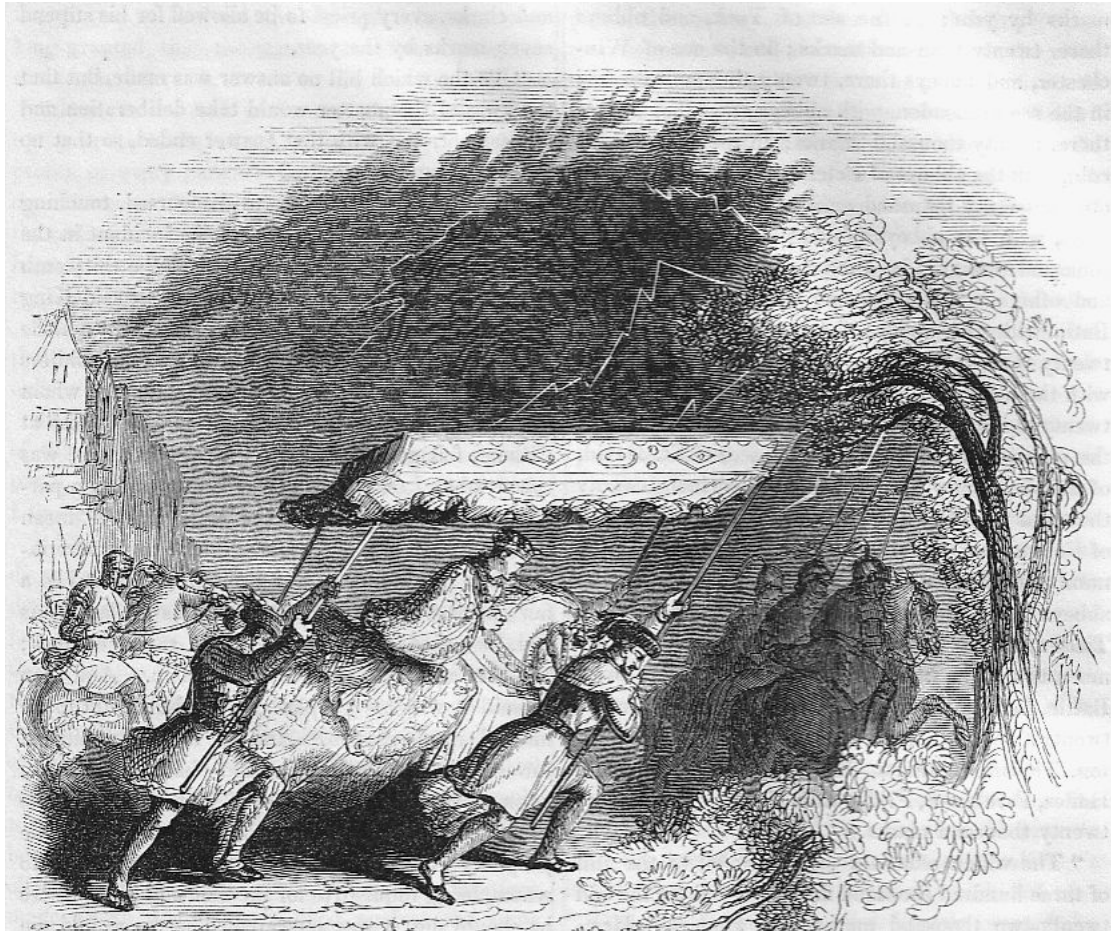
"To the which bill no answer was made, but that the king of this matter would take deliberation and advisement, and with that answer ended, so that no further labour was made."

These things thus hitherto discoursed, touching such acts and matters as have been incident in the lifetime of this king, followeth next the thirteenth year of his reign. In the which year the said King Henry the Fourth, (after that he had sent a little before a certain company of captains and soldiers to aid the duke of Burgundy in France, among whom was the Lord Cobham,) keeping his Christmas at Eltham, fell grievously sick. From thence he was conveyed to London, where he began to call a parliament, but tarried not the end. In the mean time, the infirmity of the king more and more increasing, he was taken and brought into a bed in a fair chamber at Westminster; and as he lay in his bed, he asked how they called the same chamber; and they answered and said, Jerusalem. And then he said it was his prophecy, That he should make his end in Jerusalem. And so, disposing himself toward his end in the aforesaid chamber, he died; upon what sickness, whether of leprosy, or of some other sharp disease, I have not to affirm. The like prophecy we read of Pope Silvester the

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Second; to whom, being inquisitive for the time and place where he should die, it was answered, That he should die in Jerusalem. Who then saying mass in a chapel, called likewise Jerusalem, perceived his end there to be near, and died. And thus King Henry the Fourth, successor to the lawful King Richard the Second, finished his life at Westminster, and was buried at Canterbury by the tomb of Thomas Becket, A. D. 1413.

97. Coronation of Henry V. Synod of London



Storm at the coronation of Henry V



AFTER this Henry the Fourth, reigned Henry the Fifth, his son, who was born at Monmouth in Wales, of whose other virtues, and great victories gotten in France, I have not greatly to intermeddle; especially, seeing the memory of his worthy prowess being sufficiently described in other writers in this our time, may both content the reader and unburden my labour herein; especially seeing these latter troubles and perturbations of the church offer me so much, that scarcely any vacant leisure shall be left to intermeddle with matters profane.

After the coronation then of this new king, which was the ninth day of April, called then Passion Sunday, which was an exceeding stormy day, and so tempestuous, that many did wonder at the portent thereof, not long after the same, a parliament began to be called, and to be holden after the feast of Easter, at Westminster, A. D. 1413. At which time, Thomas Arundel, the archbishop of Canterbury, collected in Paul's church at London a universal synod of all the bishops and clergy of England. In that synod, among other weighty matters and ponderous, it was determined, that the

day of St. George, and also of St. Dunstan, should be a double feast, called *Duplex festum*, in holy church; in holy kitchen, I would say.

And because the order and manner of those pope-holy feasts either yet is not sufficiently known to some rude and gross capacities, or may, peradventure, grow out of use, and be strange and unknown to our posterity hereafter, therefore, to give a little memorandum thereof, by the way, for erudition of times hereafter to come, touching this mystical science of the pope's deep and secret divinity, here is to be noted, that the feasts of the pope's holy mother, catholic church, be divided into sundry members. Like as a plentiful root in a fruitful field riseth up and brancheth into manifold arms, and the arms again do multiply into divers and sundry branches, out of the which, moreover, although no fruit do come, yet both leaves and flowers do bud and blossom in most copious wise, right beautiful to behold: even so this *festum*, containing a large matter of great variety of days and feasts, groweth in itself, and multiplieth, being thus divided: first, into *festum duplex*, and into *festum simplex*; that is, into feast double, and into feast simple. Again, this *festum duplex* brancheth four-fold wise; to wit, into *festum principale duplex*, into *majus duplex*, into *minus duplex*, and *inferius duplex*; that is, into principal double, into greater double, into lesser double, and inferior or lower double. Unto these several sorts of feasts, what days were peculiarly assigned, it were too long to recite. For this present purpose it shall suffice to understand, that as unto the principal double feast only belonged eight days in the year, so the *majus duplex festum* had given unto it by this convocation the day of St. George and of St. Dunstan, as is before remembered: albeit by constitution it was so decreed, yet by custom it was not so used. Item, it is to be noted, that these two feasts, to wit, *principale duplex*, and *majus duplex*, did differ, and were known from all other, by four notes: by service in the kitchen, and by service in the church, which were both double; by ringing in the steeple, which was with double peal; by copes in the quire; and by thurifying or censuring the altars: for in these two principal and greater double feasts, the seventh, eighth, and ninth lesson must be read with silken copes. Also at the said feasts, in the time of the lessons, the altars in the church must be thurified; that is, smoked with incense, &c. And likewise the *minus duplex* and *inferius duplex* had also their peculiar service to them belonging. Secondly, the *simplex festum*, which is the second arm springing of this division, is thus divided: either having a triple invitory, or a double, or else a single invitory; of the which, moreover, some have three lessons, some have nine, &c.

And thus much, by occasion, for popish feasts; not that I do so much deride them, as I lament, that so much and manifest idolatry in them is committed, to the great dishonour of our Lord God, which is only to be honoured.

98. The Trouble and Persecution of the Lord Cobham.

But to let this by-matter pass, again to return to the aforesaid universal synod, assembled by Thomas Arundel at St. Paul's church in London, as is before remembered, the chief and principal cause of the assembling thereof, as reporteth the Chronicle of St. Alban's, was to repress the growing and spreading of the gospel, and especially to withstand the noble and worthy Lord Cobham, who was then noted to be a principal favourer, receiver, and maintainer of them, whom the bishop misnamed to be Lollards; especially in the dioceses of London, Rochester, and Hereford, setting them up to preach whom the bishops had not licensed, and sending them about to preach, which was against the constitution provincial, before remembered; holding also and teaching opinions of the sacraments, of images, of pilgrimage, of the keys and Church of Rome, contrary and repugnant to the received determination of the Romish Church, &c.

In the mean time, as these were in talk amongst themselves concerning the good Lord Cobham, there resorted unto them the twelve inquisitors of heresies, whom they had appointed at Oxford the year before, to search out heretics, with all Wickliff's books; who brought two hundred and forty-six conclusions, which they had collected as heresies out of the said books. The names of the said inquisitors were these:

John Whitnam, a master in the New College; John Langedon, monk of Christ's Church in Canterbury; William Ufford, regent of the Carmelites; Thomas Claxton, regent of the Dominics; Robert Gilbert, Richard Earthisdale, John Lucke, Richard Snedisham, Richard Flemming, Thomas Rotborne, Robert Ronbery, Richard Grafdale.

These things thus done, and the articles being brought in, further they proceeded in their communication, concluding among themselves, that it was not possible for them to make whole Christ's coat without seam (meaning thereby their patched popish synagogue) unless certain great men were brought out of the way, which seemed to be the chief maintainers of the said disciples of Wickliff. Among whom this noble knight, Sir John Oldcastle, the Lord Cobham, was complained of by the general proctors to be the chief principal. Him they accused, first, for a mighty maintainer of suspected preachers in the dioceses of London, Rochester, and Hereford, contrary to the minds of the ordinaries. Not only they affirmed him to have sent thither the said preachers, but also to have assisted them there by force of arms, notwithstanding their synodal constitution made before to the contrary. Last of all, they accused him that he was far otherwise in belief of the sacrament of the altar, of penance, of pilgrimage, of image-worshipping, and of the ecclesiastical power, than the holy Church of Rome had taught many years before.

In the end it was concluded among them, that, without any further delay, process should be awarded out against him, as against a most pernicious heretic.

Some of that fellowship which were of more crafty experience than the others, thought it not best to have the matter so rashly handled, but by some preparation made thereunto before: considering the said Lord Cobham was a man of great birth, and in favour at that time with the king, their counsel was to know first the king's mind, to save all things upright. This counsel was well accepted, and thereupon the archbishop,

Thomas Arundel, with his other bishops, and a great part of the clergy, went straightways unto the king then remaining at Kennington, and there laid forth most grievous complaints against the said Lord Cobham, to his great infamy and blemish, being a man right godly.

The king gently heard those blood-thirsty prelates, and far otherwise than became his princely dignity: notwithstanding requiring, and instantly desiring them, that in respect of his noble stock and knighthood, they should yet favourably deal with him; and that they would, if it were possible, without all rigour or extreme handling, reduce him again to the church's unity. He promised them also, that in case they were contented to take some deliberation, himself would seriously commune the matter with him.



Lord Cobham and the King

Anon after, the king sent for the said Lord Cobham, and as he was come, he called him secretly, admonishing him betwixt him and him, to submit himself to his mother the holy church, and, as an obedient child, to acknowledge himself culpable. Unto whom the Christian knight made this answer: "You, most worthy prince," saith he, "I am always prompt and willing to obey, forasmuch as I know you a Christian

king, and the appointed minister of God, bearing the sword to the punishment of evil-doers, and for safeguard of them that be virtuous. Unto you, next my eternal God, owe I my whole obedience, and submit thereunto, as I have done ever, all that I have, either of fortune or nature, ready at all times to fulfil whatsoever ye shall in the Lord command me. But, as touching the pope and his spirituality, I owe them neither suit nor service, forasmuch as I know him, by the Scriptures, to be the great antichrist, the son of perdition, the open adversary of God, and the abomination standing in the holy place." When the king had heard this, with such-like sentences more, he would talk no longer with him, but left him so utterly.

And as the archbishop resorted again unto him for an answer, he gave him his full authority to cite him, examine him, and punish him according to their devilish decree, which they called The Laws of holy Church. Then the said archbishop, by the counsel of his other bishops and clergy, appointed to call before him Sir John Oldcastle, the Lord Cobham, and to cause him personally to appear, to answer to such suspect articles, as they should lay against him: so he sent forth his chief summoner, with a very sharp citation, unto the castle of Cowling, where he at that time dwelt for his solace; and as the said summoner was come thither, he durst in no case enter the gates of so noble a man without his licence, and therefore he returned home again, his message not done.

Then called the archbishop one John Butler unto him, which was then the door-keeper of the king's privy chamber, and with him he covenanted, through promises and rewards, to have this matter craftily brought to pass under the king's name. Whereupon the said John Butler took the archbishop's summoner with him, and went unto the said Lord Cobham, showing him that it was the king's pleasure that he should obey that citation, and so cited him fraudulently. Then said he to them in few words, that he in no case would consent to those most devilish practices of the priests. As they had informed the archbishop of that answer, and that it was for no man privately to cite him after that, without peril of life, he decreed by and by to have him cited by public process or open commandment; and, in all the haste possible, upon the Wednesday before the nativity of our Lady, in September, he commanded letters citatory to be set upon the great gates of the cathedral church of Rochester, (which was but three English miles from thence,) charging him to appear personally before him at Ledis, the eleventh day of the same month and year, all excuses to the contrary set apart. Those letters were taken down anon after, by such as bore favour unto the Lord Cobham, and so conveyed aside. After that caused the archbishop new letters to be set up on the nativity day of our Lady, which also were rent down, and utterly consumed.

Then, forasmuch as he did not appear at the day appointed at Ledis, (where he sat in consistory, as cruel as ever was Caiaphas, with his court of hypocrites about him,) he judged him, denounced him, and condemned him, of most deep contumacy. After that, when he had been falsely informed by his hired spies, and other glosing glaverers, that the said Lord Cobham had laughed him to scorn, disdained all his doings, maintained his old opinions, contemned the church's power, the dignity of a bishop, and the order of priesthood, (for all these was he then accused of,) in his moody madness, without just proof, did he openly excommunicate him. Yet was not with all this his fierce tyranny satisfied, but he commanded him to be cited afresh, to appear before him the Saturday before the feast of St. Matthew the apostle, with these cruel threatenings added thereunto, that if he did not obey at the day, he would more extremely handle him. And to make himself more strong towards the performance

thereof, he compelled the lay-power, by most terrible menacings of curses and interdictions, to assist him against that seditious apostate, schismatic, and heretic, the troubler of the public peace, that enemy of the realm, and great adversary of holy church; for all these hateful names did he give him.

This most constant servant of the Lord, and worthy knight, Sir John Oldcastle, the Lord Cobham, beholding the unpeaceable fury of antichrist thus kindled against him, perceiving himself also compassed on every side with deadly dangers; he took paper and pen in hand, and so wrote a Christian confession or reckoning of his faith, (which followeth hereafter,) both signing and sealing it with his own hand; wherein he also answered to the four chiefest articles that the archbishop laid against him. That done, he took the copy with him, and went therewith to the king, trusting to find mercy and favour at his hand. None other was that confession of his, than the common belief or sum of the church's faith, called The Apostles' Creed, of all Christian men then used, with a brief declaration upon the same, as hereunder ensueth:

The Christian belief of the Lord Cobham.

"I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth: And in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord, which was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, crucified, dead, and buried, went down to hell, the third day rose again from death, ascended up to heaven, sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty; and from thence shall come again to judge the quick and the dead. I believe in the Holy Ghost, the universal holy church, the communion of saints, the forgiveness of sins, the uprising of the flesh, and everlasting life. Amen.

"And for a more large declaration (saith he) of this my faith in the catholic church, I stedfastly believe, That there is but one God Almighty, in and of whose Godhead are these three persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and that those three persons are the selfsame God Almighty. I believe also, that the second person of this most blessed Trinity, in most convenient time appointed thereunto before, took flesh and blood of the most blessed Virgin Mary, for the safeguard and redemption of the universal kind of man, which was before lost in Adam's offence.

"Moreover I believe, That the same Jesus Christ our Lord, thus being both God and man, is the only head of the whole Christian church, and that all those that have been or shall be saved, be members of this most holy church. And this holy church I think to be divided into three sorts or companies.

"Whereof the first sort be now in heaven, and they are the saints from hence departed. These, as they were here conversant, conformed always their lives to the most holy laws and pure examples of Christ, renouncing Satan, the world, and the flesh, with all their concupiscence and evils.

"The second sort are in purgatory, (if any such place be in the Scriptures,) abiding the mercy of God, and a full deliverance of pain.

"The third sort are here upon the earth, and be called the church militant; for day and night they contend against crafty assaults of the devil, the flattering prosperities of this world, and the rebellious filthiness of the flesh.

"This latter congregation, by the just ordinance of God, is also severed into three divers estates; that is to say, into priesthood, knighthood, and the commons; among whom the will of God is, that the one should aid the other, but not destroy the

other. The priests, first of all, secluded from all worldliness, should conform their lives utterly to the examples of Christ and his apostles. Evermore should they be occupied in preaching and teaching the Scriptures purely, and in giving wholesome examples of good living to the other two degrees of men. More modest also, more loving, gentle, and lowly in spirit, should they be, than any other sorts of people.

"In the knighthood are all they which bear sword by law of office: these should defend God's laws, and see that the gospel were purely taught, conforming their lives to the same, and secluding all false preachers; yea, those ought rather to hazard their lives, than to suffer such wicked decrees as either blemish the eternal testament of God, or yet let the free passage thereof, whereby heresies and schisms might spring in the church. For of none other arise they, as I suppose, than of erroneous constitutions, craftily first creeping in under hypocritical lies, for advantage. They ought also to preserve God's people from oppressors, tyrants, and thieves, and to see the clergy supported so long as they teach purely, pray rightly, and minister the sacraments freely. And if they see them do otherwise, they are bound by the law or office to compel them to change their doings; and to see all things performed according to God's prescript ordinance.

"The latter fellowship of this church, are the common people; whose duty is to bear their good minds and true obedience to the aforesaid ministers of God, their kings, civil governors, and priests. The right office of these, is justly to occupy every man his faculty, be it merchandise, handicraft, or the tithe of the ground. And so one of them to be as a helper to another, following always, in their sorts, the just commandments of the Lord God.

"Over and besides all this, I most faithfully believe, That the sacraments of Christ's church are necessary to all Christian believers; this always seen to, that they be truly ministered according to Christ's first institution and ordinance. And, forasmuch as I am maliciously and most falsely accused of a misbelief in the sacrament of the altar, to the hurtful slander of many, I signify here unto all men, that this is my faith concerning that: I believe in that sacrament to be contained very Christ's body and blood under the similitude of bread and wine, yea, the same body that was conceived of the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, done on the cross, died and was buried, arose the third day from the death, and is now glorified in heaven. I also believe the universal law of God to be most true and perfect, and they which do not so follow it in their faith and works (at one time or another) can never be saved: whereas he that seeketh it in faith, accepteth it, learneth it, delighteth therein, and performeth it in love, shall taste for it the felicity of everlasting innocency.

"Finally, this is my faith also, That God will ask no more of a Christian believer in this life, but only to obey the precepts of that most blessed law. If any prelate of the church require more, or else any other kind of obedience, than this to be used, he contemneth Christ, exalting himself above God, and so becometh an open antichrist. All the promises I believe particularly, and, generally, all that God hath left in his Holy Scripture, that I should believe; instantly desiring you, my liege lord and most worthy king, that this confession of mine may be justly examined by the most godly-wise and learned men of your realm; and, if it be found in all points agreeing to the verity, then let it be so allowed, and I, thereupon, holden for none other than a true Christian. If it be proved otherwise, then let it be utterly condemned: provided always, that I be taught a better belief by the word of God; and I shall most reverently at all times obey thereunto."

This brief confession of his faith the Lord Cobham wrote, as is mentioned before, and so took it with him to the court, offering it with all meekness unto the king, to read it over. The king would in no case receive it, but commanded it to be delivered unto them that should be his judges. Then desired he, in the king's presence, that a hundred knights and esquires might be suffered to come in upon his purgation, which he knew would clear him of all heresies. Moreover, he offered himself, after the law of arms, to fight for life or death with any man living, Christian or heathen, in the quarrel of his faith; the king and the lords of his council excepted. Finally, with all gentleness, he protested before all that were present, that he would refuse no manner of correction that should, after the laws of God, be ministered unto him; but that he would at all times with all meekness obey it. Notwithstanding all this, the king suffered him to be summoned personally in his own privy chamber. Then said the Lord Cobham to the king, that he had appealed from the archbishop to the pope of Rome, and therefore he ought, he said, in no case to be his judge.



Examination of Lord Cobham

As the day of examination was come, which was the twenty-third day of September, the Saturday before the feast of St. Matthew, Thomas Arundel, the archbishop, sitting in Caiaphas' room, in the chapter-house of Paul's, with Richard Clifford, bishop of London, and Henry Bolingbrook, bishop of Winchester; Sir Robert Morley, knight, and lieutenant of the Tower, brought personally before him the said Lord Cobham, and there left him for the time; unto whom the archbishop said these words:

"Sir John, in the last general convocation of the clergy of this our province, ye were detected of certain heresies, and by sufficient witnesses found culpable: whereupon ye were, by form of spiritual law, cited, and would in no case appear. In conclusion, upon your rebellious contumacy, ye were both privately and openly excommunicated. Notwithstanding we neither yet showed ourselves unready to have given you absolution, nor yet do to this hour, would ye have meekly asked it."

Unto this the Lord Cobham showed as though he had given no ear, having his mind otherwise occupied, and so desired no absolution; but said he would gladly, before him and his brethren, make rehearsal of that faith which he held, and intended always to stand to, if it would please them to license him thereunto. And then he took out of his bosom a certain writing, indented, concerning the articles Whereof he was accused, and so openly read it before them, giving it unto the archbishop, as he had made thereof an end; whereof this is the copy:

"I, John Oldcastle, knight, lord of Cobham, will that all Christian men know and understand, that I call Almighty God to witness, that it hath been, now is, and ever, with the help of God, shall be, mine intent and my will, to believe faithfully and fully all the sacraments that ever God ordained to be done in holy church; and moreover, do declare me in these four points: I believe that the most worshipful sacrament of the altar is Christ's body in form of bread, the same body that was born of the blessed Virgin, our lady St. Mary, done on the cross, dead and buried, the third day rose from death to life, the which body is now glorified in heaven.

"Also, as for the sacrament of penance, I believe, that it is needful to every man that shall be saved, to forsake sin, and do due penance for sin before done, with true confession, very contrition, and due satisfaction as God's law limiteth and teacheth, and else may not be saved; which penance I desire all men to do.

"And as for images, I understand that they be not of belief, but that they were ordained since the belief of Christ was given by sufferance of the church, to be calendars to lewd men, to represent and bring to mind the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, and martyrdom and good living of other saints: and that whoso it be that doth the worship to dead images that is due to God, or putteth such hope or trust in help of them as he should do to God, or hath affection in one more than in another, he loth in that the greatest sin of image worship.

"Also I suppose this fully, That every man in this earth is a pilgrim toward bliss, or toward pain; and that he that knoweth not, ne will not know, ne keep the holy commandments of God in his living here, albeit that he go on pilgrimages to all the world, and he die so, he shall be damned: he that knoweth the holy commandments of God, and keepeth them to his end, he shall be saved, though he never in his life go on pilgrimage, as men now use, to Canterbury, or to Rome, or to any other place."

This answer to his articles thus ended and read, he delivered it to the bishops, as is said before. Then counselled the archbishop with the other two bishops and with divers of the doctors, what was to be done in this matter; commanding him, for the time, to stand aside. In conclusion, by their assent and information, he said thus unto him: "Come hither, Sir John: in this your writing are many good things contained, and right catholic also, we deny it not; but ye must consider that this day was appointed you to answer to other points concerning those articles, whereof as yet no mention is made in this your bill: and therefore ye must yet declare us your mind more plainly. And thus, whether that ye hold, affirm, and believe, that in the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration rightly done by a priest, remaineth material bread, or not? Moreover, whether ye do hold, affirm, and believe, that, as concerning the sacrament of penance, where a competent number of priests are, every Christian man is necessarily bound to be confessed of his sins to a priest ordained by the church or not?"

After certain other communication, this was the answer of the good Lord Cobham: That none otherwise would he declare his mind, nor yet answer unto his articles, than was expressly in his writing there contained. Then said the archbishop again unto him; "Sir John, beware what ye do; for if ye answer not clearly to those things that are here objected against you, especially at the time appointed you only for that purpose, the law of holy church is, That, compelled once by a judge, we may openly proclaim you a heretic. Unto whom he gave this answer, "Do as ye shall think best, for I am at a point." Whatsoever he or the other bishops did ask him after that, he bade them resort to his bill; for thereby would he stand to the very death. Other answer would he not give that day; wherewith the bishops and prelates were in a manner amazed and wonderfully disquieted.

At the last the archbishop counselled again with his other bishops and doctors, and in the end thereof declared unto him, what the holy Church of Rome, following the saying of St. Augustine, St. Jerome, St. Ambrose, and of the holy doctors, had determined in these matters: no manner of mention once made of Christ! "which determination "(saith he) "ought all Christian men both to believe and follow."

Then said the Lord Cobham unto him, that he would gladly both believe and observe whatsoever holy church of Christ's institution had determined, or yet whatsoever God had willed him either to believe or to do: but that the pope of Rome, with his cardinals, archbishops, bishops, and other prelates of that church, had lawful power to determine such matter as stood not with His word thoroughly that, would he not (he said) at that time affirm. With this the archbishop bade him to take good advisement, till the Monday next following, (which was the twenty-fifth day of September,) and then justly to answer, specially unto this point: Whether there remained material bread in the sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration, or not? He promised him also, to send unto him in writing those matters clearly determined, that he might then be the more perfect in his answer-making. And all this was nought else, but to blind the multitude with somewhat. The next day following, according to his promise, the archbishop sent unto him into the Tower this foolish and blasphemous writing, made by him and by his unlearned clergy.

"The faith and determination of the holy church touching the blissful sacrament of the altar, is this: That after the sacramental words be once spoken by a priest in his mass, the material bread, that was before bread, is turned into Christ's very body; and the material wine, that was before wine, is turned into Christ's very

blood; and so there remaineth in the sacrament of the altar, from thenceforth, no material bread, nor material wine, which were there before the sacramental words were spoken. — How believe ye this article?

"Holy church hath determined that every Christian man, living here bodily upon the earth, ought to be shaven to a priest ordained by the church, if he may come to him. — How feel ye this article?

"Christ ordained St. Peter the apostle to be his vicar here in earth, whose see is the holy Church of Rome; and he granted that the same power which he gave unto Peter should succeed to all Peter's successors, which we call now popes of Rome; by whose power, in churches particular, be ordained prelates, as archbishops, bishops, parsons, curates, and other degrees more; unto whom Christian men ought to obey after the laws of the Church of Rome. This is the determination of holy church. — How feel ye this article?

"Holy church hath determined, that it is meritorious to a Christian man to go on pilgrimage to holy places, and there specially to worship holy relics and images of saints, apostles, and martyrs, confessors and all other saints besides, approved by the Church of Rome. — How feel ye this article? "

And as the Lord Cobham had read over this most wretched writing, he marvelled greatly of their mad ignorance; but that he considered again, that God had given them over, for their unbelief's sake, into most deep errors and blindness of soul. Again, he perceived hereby, that their uttermost malice was purposed against him, howsoever he should answer. And therefore he put his life into the hands of God, desiring his only Spirit to assist him in his next answer. When the said twenty-fifth day of September was come, (which was also the Monday before Michaelmas,) in the said year of our Lord 1413, Thomas Arundel, the archbishop of Canterbury, commanded his judicial seat to be removed from the chapter-house of Paul's to the Dominic Friars within Ludgate at London. And as he was there set, with Richard the bishop of London, Henry the bishop of Winchester, and Bennet the bishop of Bangor, he called in unto him his council and his officers, with divers other doctors and friars, of whom these are the names here following: Master Henry Ware, the official of Canterbury; Philip Morgan, doctor of the laws; Howel Kiffin, doctor of the canon law; John Kempe, doctor of the canon law; William Carleton, doctor of the canon law; John Whitnam, of the New College in Oxford; John Whitehead, doctor in Oxford also; Robert Wombewel, vicar of St. Lawrence in the Jewry; Thomas Palmer, the warden of Minors; Robert Chamberlain, prior of the Dominics; Richard Dodington, prior of the Augustines; Thomas Walden, prior of the Carmelites: all doctors of divinity. John Stephens also, and James Cole, both notaries, appointed there purposely to write all that should be either said or done. All these, with a great sort more of priests, monks, canons, friars, parish clerks, bell-ringers, pardoners, disdained him with innumerable mocks and scorns, reckoning him to be a horrible heretic, and a man accursed before God.

Anon the archbishop called for a mass-book, and caused all these prelates and doctors to swear thereupon, that every man should faithfully do his office and duty that day; and that neither for favour nor fear, love nor hate of the one party or the other, any thing should there be witnessed, spoken, or done, but according to the truth, as they would answer before God and all the world, at the day of doom. Then were the two aforesaid notaries sworn also to write and to witness the process that there should be uttered on both parties, and to say their minds, if they otherwise knew, before they

should register it. And all this dissimulation was but to colour their mischiefs before the ignorant multitude.

Consider herein, gentle reader, what this wicked generation is, and how far wide from the just fear of God; for as they were then, so are they yet to this day.

After that, came out before them Sir Robert Morley, knight, and lieutenant of the Tower; and he brought with him the good Lord Cobham, there leaving him among them as a lamb among wolves, to his examination and answer.

"Then said the archbishop unto him, Lord Cobham, ye be advised, I am sure, of the words and process which we had unto you upon Saturday last past, in the chapter-house of Paul's, which process were now too long to be rehearsed again. I said unto you then, that you were accursed for your contumacy and disobedience to the holy church, thinking that ye should with meekness then have desired your absolution.

"Then spake the Lord Cobham with a cheerful countenance, and said, God said by his holy prophet, I shall curse where you bless.

"The archbishop made then as though he had continued forth his tale and not heard him, saying, Sir, at that time I gently proffered to have assoiled you if you would have asked it; and yet I do the same if ye will humbly desire it in due form and manner as holy church hath ordained.

"Then said the Lord Cobham, Nay, forsooth will I not, for I never yet trespassed against you, and therefore I will not do it. And with that he kneeled down on the pavement, holding up his hands towards heaven, and said, I shrive me here unto thee, my eternal living God, that in my frail youth I offended thee, O Lord! most grievously in pride, wrath, and gluttony, in covetousness, and in lechery. Many men have I hurt in mine anger, and done many other horrible sins; good Lord, I ask thee mercy. And therewith weepingly he stood up again, and said with a loud voice, Lo, good people! lo! for the breaking of God's law and his great commandments, they never yet cursed me, but, for their own laws and traditions most cruelly do they handle both me and other men; and therefore, both they and their laws, by the promise of God, shall utterly be destroyed.

"At this the archbishop and his company were not a little blemished. Notwithstanding, he took stomach unto him again after certain words had, in excuse of their tyranny, and examined the Lord Cobham of his Christian belief.

"Wherunto the Lord Cobham made this godly answer: I believe, saith he, fully and faithfully in the universal laws of God; I believe that all is true which is contained in the holy sacred scriptures of the Bible; finally, I believe all that my Lord God would I should believe.

"Then demanded the archbishop an answer of that bill which he and the clergy had sent him into the Tower the day before, in manner of a determination of the church concerning the four articles whereof he was accused; especially for the sacrament of the altar, how he believed therein.

"Whereunto the Lord Cobham said, That with that bill he had nothing to do; but this was his belief, he said, concerning the sacrament, that his Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, sitting at his last supper, with his most dear disciples, the night before he should suffer, took bread in his hand; and giving thanks to his eternal Father, blessed it, brake it, and so gave it unto them, saying, Take it unto you, and eat thereof all: this is my body which shall be betrayed for you: do this hereafter in my remembrance.

This do I thoroughly believe, saith he, for this faith am I taught in the Gospel of Matthew, chap. xxvi., in Mark, chap. xiv., and in Luke, chap. xxii., and also in the First Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, chap. xi.

"Then asked the archbishop, If he believed that it were bread after the consecration or sacramental words spoken over it.

"The Lord Cobham said, I believe that in the sacrament of the altar is Christ's very body in form of bread, the same that was born of the Virgin Mary, done on the cross, dead, and buried, and that the third day arose from death to life, which now is glorified in heaven.

"Then said one of the doctors of the law, After the sacramental words be uttered, there remaineth no bread, but only the body of Christ.

"The Lord Cobham said then to one Master John Whitehead, You said once unto me in the castle of Cowling, that the sacred host was not Christ's body; but I held then against you, and proved that therein was his body, though the seculars and friars could not therein agree, but held each one against the other in that opinion. These were my words then, if ye remember it.

"Then shouted a sort of them together, and cried with great noise, We say all, that it is God's body. "And divers of them asked him in great anger, Whether it were material bread after the consecration, or not?

"Then looked the Lord Cobham earnestly upon the archbishop, and said, I believe surely that it is Christ's body, in form of bread. Sir, believe not you thus?

"And the archbishop said, Yes, marry, do I.

"Then asked him the doctors, Whether it were only Christ's body after the consecration of a priest, and no bread, or not?

"And he said unto them, It is both Christ's body and bread; I shall prove it thus: for like as Christ's dwelling here upon the earth had in him both Godhead and manhood, and had the invisible Godhead covered under that manhood, which was only visible and seen in him; so, in the sacrament of the altar, is Christ's very body and bread also: as I believe the bread is the thing that we see with our eyes, the body of Christ, which is his flesh and his blood, is thereunder hid, and not seen but in faith.

"And, moreover, to prove that it is both Christ's body and also bread after the consecration, it is by plain words expressed by one of your own doctors, writing against Eutyches, which saith, Like as the selfsame sacraments do pass by the operation of the Holy Ghost into a Divine nature, and yet, notwithstanding, keep the property still of their former nature, so that principal mystery declareth to remain one true and perfect Christ, &c.

"Then smiled they each one upon another, that the people should judge him taken in a great heresy. And with a great brag divers of them said, It is a foul heresy.

"Then asked the bishop what bread it was? And the doctors also inquired of him whether it were material or not?

"The Lord Cobham said unto them, The Scriptures make no mention of this word material, and therefore my faith hath nothing to do therewith: but this I say and believe, that it is Christ's body and bread; for Christ said in the sixth of John's Gospel, I, who came down from heaven, am the living, and not the dead bread. Therefore I say

now again, as I said before, as our Lord Jesus Christ is very God and very man, so in the most blessed sacrament of the altar is Christ's very body and bread.

"Then said they all with one voice, It is a heresy!

"One of the bishops stood up, by and by, and said, What? it is a heresy manifest to say, that it is bread after the sacramental words be once spoken, but Christ's body only.

"The Lord Cobham said, St. Paul the apostle was, I am sure, as wise as you be now, and more godly learned, and he called it bread, writing to the Corinthians: The bread that we break, saith he, is it not the partaking of Christ? Lo! be called it bread! and not Christ's body, but a mean whereby we receive Christ's body.

"Then said they again, Paul must be otherwise understood; for it is sure a heresy to say that it is bread after the consecration, but only Christ's body.

"The Lord Cobham asked, How they could make good that sentence of theirs?

"They answered him thus, For it is against the determination of holy church.

"Then said the archbishop unto him, Sir John, we sent you a writing concerning the faith of this blessed sacrament, clearly determined by the Church of Rome, our mother, and by the holy doctors.

"Then he said again unto him, I know none holier than Christ and his apostles. And as for that determination, I wot it is none of theirs; for it standeth not with the Scriptures, but manifestly against them. If it be the church's, as ye say it is, it hath been hers only since she received the great poison of worldly possessions, and not before.

"Then asked they him, to stop his mouth therewith, if he believed not in the determination of the church?

"And he said unto them, No, forsooth, for it is no God. In all our creed, this word in is but thrice mentioned concerning belief: In God the Father, in God the Son, in God the Holy Ghost, three persons and one God. The birth, the death, the burial, the resurrection and ascension of Christ, hath none in for belief, but in him; neither yet hath the church the sacraments, the forgiveness of sin, the latter resurrection, nor yet the life everlasting, nor any other in than in the Holy Ghost.

"Then said one of the lawyers, Tush, that was but a word of office; but what is your belief concerning holy church?

"The Lord Cobham answered, My belief is, as I said before, that all the Scriptures of the sacred Bible are true. All that is grounded upon them I believe thoroughly, for I know it is God's pleasure that I should so do. But in your lordly laws and idle determinations have I no belief. For ye be no part of Christ's holy church, as your open deeds do show; but ye are very antichrists, obstinately set against his holy law and will. The laws that ye have made are nothing to his glory, but only for your vain-glory and abominable covetousness.

"This, they said, was an exceeding heresy, and that in a great fume, not to believe the determination of holy church.

"Then the archbishop asked him, What he thought of holy church?

"He said unto him, My belief is, that the holy church is the number of them which shall be saved, of whom Christ is the Head. Of this church one part is in heaven

with Christ, another in purgatory, you say, and the third is here in earth. This latter part standeth in three degrees, in knighthood, priesthood, and the commonalty, as I said before plainly in the confession of my belief.

"Then said the archbishop unto him, Can you tell me who is of this church?

"The Lord Cobham answered, Yea, truly can I.

"Then said Doctor Walden, the prior of the Carmelites, It is doubt unto you, who is thereof. For Christ saith in Matthew, Presume to judge no man. If ye be here forbidden the judgment of your neighbour or brother, much more the judgment of your superior.

"The Lord Cobham made him this answer: Christ saith also in the selfsame chapter of Matthew, That like as the evil tree is known by his fruit, so is a false prophet by his works, appear they never so glorious. But that ye left behind ye. And in John he hath this text: Believe you the outward doings. And in another place of John: When we know the thing to be true, we may so judge it, and not offend. For David said also, Judge rightly always ye children of men. And as for your superiority, were ye of Christ, ye should be meek ministers, and no proud superiors.

"Then said Doctor Walden unto him, Ye make here no difference of judgments; ye put no diversity between the evil judgments which Christ hath forbidden, and the good judgments which he hath commanded us to have. Rash judgment and right judgment, all is one with you. So swift judges always are the learned scholars of Wickliff.

"Unto whom the Lord Cobham thus answered, It is well sophistered of you, forsooth. Preposterous are your judgments evermore. For as the prophet Isaiah saith, Ye judge evil good, and good evil: and therefore the same prophet concludeth, that your ways are not God's ways, nor God's ways your ways. And as for the virtuous man Wickliff, whose judgments ye so highly disdain, I shall say here, of my part, both before God and man, that before I knew that despised doctrine of his, I never abstained from sin. But since I learned therein to fear my Lord God, it hath otherwise, I trust, been with me: so much grace could I never find in all your glorious instructions.

"Then said Doctor Walden again yet unto him, It were not well with me (so many virtuous men living, and so many learned men teaching the Scripture, being also so open, and the examples of fathers so plenteous) if I then had no grace to amend my life, till I heard the devil preach. St. Jerome saith, That he which seeketh such suspected masters shall not find the mid-day light, but the mid-day devil.

"The Lord Cobham said, Your fathers, the old Pharisees, ascribed Christ's miracles to Beelzebub, and his doctrine to the devil; and you, as their natural children, have still the selfsame judgment concerning his faithful followers. They that rebuke your vicious living must needs be heretics, and that must your doctors prove, when you have no Scripture to do it. Then said he to them all To judge you as you be, we need go no further than to your own proper acts. Where do you find in all God's law, that ye should thus sit in judgment of any Christian man, or yet give sentence upon any other man unto death, as ye do here daily? No ground have ye in all the Scripture so lordly to take it upon you, but in Annas and Caiaphas, which sat thus upon Christ, and upon his apostles after his ascension. Of them only have ye taken to judge Christ's members as ye do; and neither of Peter nor John.

"Then said some of the lawyers, Yes, forsooth, sir, for Christ judged Judas.

"The Lord Cobham said, No! Christ judged him not, but he judged himself, and thereupon went forth and so did hang himself: but indeed Christ said, Woe unto him, for that covetous act of his, as he doth yet still unto many of you. For since the venom of him was shed into the church, ye never followed Christ, neither yet have ye stood in the perfection of God's law.

"Then the archbishop asked him, what he meant by that venom?

"Then Lord Cobham said, Your possessions and lordships. For then cried an angel in the air, as your own chronicles mention, Woe, woe, woe, this day is venom shed into the church of God. Before that time all the bishops of Rome were martyrs in a manner; and since that time we read of very few. But indeed, since that same time, one hath put down another, one hath poisoned another, one hath cursed another, and one hath slain another, and done much more mischief besides, as all the chronicles tell. And let all men consider well this, that Christ was meek and merciful; the pope is proud and a tyrant: Christ was poor and forgave; the pope is rich and a malicious manslayer, as his daily acts do prove him: Rome is the very nest of antichrist; and out of that nest come all the disciples of him: of whom prelates, priests, and monks are the body, these pill'd friars are the tail, which covereth his most filthy part.

"Then said the prior of the friars Augustines, Alack, sir, why do you say so? that is uncharitably spoken.

"And the Lord Cobham said, Not only is it my saying, but also the prophet Isaiah, long afore my time. The prophet, saith he, which preacheth lies, is the tail behind. For as you friars and monks be, like Pharisees, divided in your outward apparel and usages, so make ye division among the people. And thus you, with such others, are the very natural members of antichrist.

"Then said he unto them all, Christ saith in his gospel, Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye close up the kingdom of heaven before men, neither enter ye in yourselves, nor yet suffer any other that would enter into it, but ye stop up the ways thereunto with your own traditions, and therefore are ye the household of antichrist: ye will not permit God's verity to have passage, nor yet to be taught of his true ministers, fearing to have your wickedness reprov'd. But by such flatterers as uphold you in your mischiefs, ye suffer the common people most miserably to be seduced.

"Then said the archbishop, By our Lady, sir, there shall none such preach within my diocese, and God will, nor yet in my jurisdiction, if I may know it, as either make division, or yet dissension among the poor commons.

"The Lord Cobham said, Both Christ and his apostles were accused of sedition-making, yet were they most peaceable men. Both Daniel and Christ prophesied that such a troublous time should come, as hath not been yet since the world's beginning. And this prophecy is partly fulfilled in your days and doings; for many have ye slain already, and more will ye slay hereafter, if God fulfil not his promise. Christ saith also, If those days of yours were not shortened, scarcely should any flesh be saved; therefore look for it justly, for God will shorten your days. Moreover, though priests and deacons, for preaching of God's word, and for ministering the sacraments, with provision for the poor, be grounded on God's law, yet have these other sects no manner of ground hereof, so far as I have read.

"Then a doctor of law, called Master John Kemp, plucked out of his bosom a copy of the bill which they had before sent him into the Tower by the archbishop's council, thinking thereby to make shorter work with him; for they were so amazed with his answers, not all unlike to them which disputed with Stephen, that they knew not well how to occupy the time; their wits and sophistry, as God would, so failed them that day.

"My Lord Cobham, saith this doctor, we must briefly know your mind concerning these four points here following. The first of them is this: and then he read upon the bill, The faith and determination of holy church touching the blessed sacrament of the altar is this, That after the sacramental words be once spoken of a priest in his mass, the material bread, that was before bread, is turned into Christ's very body, and the material wine is turned into Christ's blood. And so there remaineth, in the sacrament of the altar, from thenceforth no material bread, nor material wine, which were there before the sacramental words were spoken. Sir, believe you not this?

"The Lord Cobham said, This is not my belief; but my faith is, as I said to you before, that in the worshipful sacrament of the altar is Christ's very body in form of bread.

"Then said the archbishop, Sir John, ye must say otherwise.

"The Lord Cobham said, Nay, that I will not, if God be upon my side, as I trust he is; but that there is Christ's body in form of bread, as the common belief is.

"Then read the doctor again:

"The second point is this: Holy church hath determined, that every Christian man, living here bodily upon earth, ought to be shriven of a priest ordained by the church, if he may come to him. Sir, what say you to this?

"The Lord Cobham answered and said, A diseased or sore wounded man hath need to have a sure wise chirurgeon and a true, knowing both the ground and the danger of the same. Most necessary were it therefore to be first shriven unto God, which only knoweth our diseases, and can help us. I deny not in this the going to a priest, if he be a man of good life and learning; for the laws of God are to be required of the priest, which is godly learned. But if he be an idiot, or a man of vicious living, that is my curate, I ought rather to fly from him than to seek unto him; for sooner might I catch evil of him that is naught, than any goodness towards my soul's health.

"Then read the doctor again:

"The third point is this: Christ ordained St. Peter the apostle to be his vicar here in earth, whose see is the Church of Rome. And he granted that the same power which he gave unto Peter should succeed unto all Peter's successors, which we call now popes of Rome: by whose special power in churches particular be ordained prelates and archbishops, parsons, curates, and other degrees more, to whom Christian men ought to obey after the laws of the Church of Rome. This is the determination of holy church. Sir, believe ye not this?

"To this he answered and said, He that followeth Peter most nighest in pure living, is next unto him in succession; but your lordly order esteemeth not greatly the lowly behaviour of poor Peter, whatsoever ye prate of him. Neither care ye greatly for the humble manners of them that succeeded him, till the time of Silvester, which, for the more part, were martyrs, as I told you before. Ye can let all their good conditions

go by you, and not hurt yourselves with them at all. All the world knoweth this well enough by you, and yet ye can make boast of Peter.

"With that, one of the other doctors asked him, Then what do you say of the pope?

"The Lord Cobham answered, As I said before, so I say again, that he and you together make whole the great antichrist, of whom he is the great head: you bishops, priests, prelates, and monks, are the body, and the Begging Friars are the tail, for they cover the filthiness of you both with their subtle sophistry; neither will I in conscience obey any of you all, till I see you with Peter follow Christ in conversation.

"Then read the doctor again: The fourth point is this: Holy church hath determined, that it is meritorious to a Christian man to go on pilgrimage to holy places, and there specially to worship the holy relics and images of saints, apostles, martyrs, confessors, and all other saints besides, approved by the Church of Rome. Sir, what say you to this?

"Whereunto he answered, I owe them no service by any commandment of God, and therefore I mind not to seek them for your covetousness. It were best ye swept them fair from cobwebs and dust, and so laid them up for catching of scathe, or else to bury them fair in the ground as ye do other aged people, which are God's images.

"It is a wonderful thing, that saints now being dead should become so covetous and needy, and thereupon so bitterly beg, which all their lifetime hated all covetousness and begging. But this I say unto you, and I would all the world should mark it, that with your shrines and idols, your feigned absolutions and pardons, ye draw unto you the substance, wealth, and chief pleasures of all Christian realms.

"Why sir, said one of the clerks, will ye not worship good images?

"What worship should I give unto them? said the Lord Cobham.

"Then said Friar Palmer unto him, Sir, will ye worship the cross of Christ, that he died upon? "Where is it? said the Lord Cobham.

"The friar said, I put you the case, sir, that it were here, even now before you.

"The Lord Cobham answered, This is a great wise man, to put me an earnest question of a thing, and yet he himself knoweth not where the thing itself is. Yet once again I ask you, what worship I should do unto it.

"A clerk said to him, Such worship as Paul speaketh of, and that is this; God forbid that I should joy, but only in the cross of Jesus Christ.

"Then said the Lord Cobham, and spread his arms abroad, This is the very cross, yea, and so much better than your cross of wood, in that it was created of God; yet will not I seek to have it worshipped.

"Then said the bishop of London, Sir, ye wot well that he died on a material cross.

"The Lord Cobham said, Yea, and I wot also, that our salvation came not in by that material cross, but alone by him which died thereupon. And well I wot, that holy St. Paul rejoiced in none other cross, but in Christ's passion and death only, and in his own sufferings of like persecution with him, for the selfsame verity that he hath suffered for before.

"Another clerk yet asked him, Will ye then do none honour to the holy cross?

He answered him, Yes, if it were mine own, I would lay him up honestly, and see unto him that he should take no more scathe abroad, nor be robbed of his goods, as he is now adays.

"Then said the archbishop unto him, Sir John, ye have spoken here many wonderful words to the slanderous rebuke of the whole spirituality, giving a great evil example unto the common sort here, to have us in the more disdain. Much time have we spent here about you, and all in vain, so far as I can see. Well, we must now be at this short point with you, for the day passeth away: ye must either submit yourself to the ordinance of the holy church, or else throw yourself (no remedy) into most deep danger. See to it in time, for anon it will be else too late.

"The Lord Cobham said, I know not to what purpose I should otherwise submit me. Much more have you offended me, than ever I offended you, in this troubling me before this multitude.

"Then said the archbishop again unto him, We once again require you to remember yourself well, and to have none other manner of opinion in these matters, than the universal faith and belief of the holy Church of Rome is. And so, like an obedient child, return again to the unity of your mother. See to it, I say, in time, for yet ye may have remedy, whereas, anon, it will be too late.

"The Lord Cobham said expressly before them all, I will none otherwise believe in these points than that I have told you here before. Do with me what you will.



inally, then the archbishop said, Well, then I see none other but we must needs do the law; we must proceed forth to the sentence definitive, and both judge you and condemn you for a heretic."

And with that the archbishop stood up, and read there a bill of his condemnation, all the clergy and laity veiling their bonnets. And this was the tenor thereof:

"In the name of God; so be it. We, Thomas, by the sufferance of God, archbishop of Canterbury, metropolitan and primate of all England, and legate from the apostolic see of Rome, will this to be known

unto all men. In a certain cause of heresy, and upon divers articles, whereupon Sir John Oldcastle, knight, and Lord Cobham, after a diligent inquisition made for the same, was detected, accused, and presented before us, in our last convocation of all our province of Canterbury, holden in the cathedral church of Paul's at London, at the lawful denouncement and request of our universal clergy of the said convocation, we proceeded against him according to the law (God to witness) with all the favour possible: and, following Christ's example in all that we might, which willeth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he might be converted and live; we took upon us to correct him, and sought all other ways possible to bring him again to the church's unity, declaring unto him what the holy and universal Church of Rome hath said, holden, determined, and taught, in that behalf. And though we found him in the catholic faith far wide, and so stiff-necked that he would not confess his error, nor

purge himself, nor yet repent him thereof, we yet, pitying him of fatherly compassion, and entirely desiring the health of his soul, appointed him a competent time of deliberation, to see if he would repent and seek to be reformed; but since that time we have found him worse and worse. Considering, therefore, that he is not corrigible, we are driven to the very extremity of the law, and with great heaviness of heart we now proceed to the publication of the sentence definitive against him."

Then brought he forth another bill, containing the said sentence, and that he read also in his beggarly Latin. *Christi nomine invocato, ipsumquæ solum pre oculis habentes. Quia per acta inactitata*, and so forth. Which I have also translated into English, that men may understand it.

"Christ we take unto witness, that nothing else we seek in this our whole enterprise, but his only glory. Forasmuch as we have found, by divers acts done, brought forth, and exhibited, by sundry evidences, signs, and tokens, and also by many most manifest proofs, the said Sir John Oldcastle, knight, and Lord Cobham, not only to be an evident heretic in his own person, but also a mighty maintainer of other heretics against the faith and religion of the holy and universal Church of Rome; namely, about the two sacraments, (of the altar and of penance,) besides the pope's power, and pilgrimages; and that he, as the child of iniquity and darkness, hath so hardened his heart, that he will in no case attend unto the voice of his pastor; neither will he be allured by straight admonishments, nor yet be brought in by favourable words: the worthiness of the cause first weighed on the one side, and his unworthiness again considered on the other side, his faults also aggravated or made double through his damnable obstinacy, (we being loth that he which is naught should be worse, and so with his contagiousness infect the multitude,) by the sage counsel and assent of the very discreet fathers, our honourable brethren, and lords bishops here present, Richard of London, Henry of Winchester, and Bennet of Bangor, and of other great, learned, and wise men here, both doctors of divinity, and of the laws canon and civil, seculars and religious, with divers other expert men assisting us: we sententially and definitively, by this present writing, judge, declare, and condemn the said Sir John Oldcastle, knight, and Lord Cobham, for a most pernicious and detestable heretic, convicted upon the same, and refusing utterly to obey the church again, committing him here from henceforth, as a condemned heretic, to the secular jurisdiction, power, and judgment, to do him thereupon to death. Furthermore, we excommunicate and denounce accursed, not only this heretic here present, but so many else besides as shall hereafter, in favour of his error, either receive him or defend him, counsel him, or help him, or any other way maintain him, as very favourers, receivers, defenders, counsellors, aiders, and maintainers of condemned heretics.

"And that these premises may be the better known of all faithful Christian men, we commit it here unto your charges, and give you straight commandment thereupon by this writing also, that ye cause this condemnation and definitive sentence of excommunication concerning both this heretic and his favourers, to be published throughout all dioceses, in cities, towns, and villages, by your curates and parish priests, at such times as they shall have most recourse of people. And see that it be done after this sort: As the people are thus gathered devoutly together, let the curate every where go into the pulpit, and there open, declare, and expound this excess in the mother tongue, in an audible and intelligible voice, that it may be perceived of all men: and that upon the fear of this declaration also the people may fall from their evil opinions conceived now, of late, by seditious preachers. Moreover we will, that after we have delivered unto each one of you bishops, which are here

present, a copy hereof, that ye cause the same to be written out again into divers copies, and to be sent unto the other bishops and prelates, of our whole province, that they may also see the contents thereof solemnly published within their dioceses and cures. Finally, we will that both you and they signify again unto us, seriously and distinctly, by your writings, as the matter is, without feigned colour, in every point performed, the day whereon ye received this process, the time when it was of us executed, and after what sort it was done in every condition, according to the tenor hereof, that we may know it to be justly the same."

A copy of this writing sent Thomas Arundel, the archbishop of Canterbury, afterward from Maidstone, the tenth day of October, within the same year of our Lord, 1413, unto Richard Clifford the bishop London, which thus beginneth: *Thomas, permissione Divina, &c.*

The said Richard Clifford sent another copy thereof, enclosed within his own letters, unto Robert Maschal, a Carmelite friar, which was then bishop of Hereford in Wales, written from Haddam, the twenty-third of October in the same year, the beginning whereof is as followeth: *Reverende in Christo Pater, &c.*

This Robert Maschal directed another copy thereof from London the seven and twentieth day of November in the same year, enclosed in his own commission also, unto his archdeacon and deans in Hereford and Shrewsbury; and this is thereof the beginning, *Venerabilibus et discretis viris, &c.* In like manner did the other bishops within their dioceses.

After that the archbishop had thus read the bill of his condemnation, with most extremity, before the whole multitude, the Lord Cobham said with a most cheerful countenance: "Though ye judge my body, which is but a wretched thing, yet am I certain and sure, that ye can do no harm to my soul, no more than could Satan unto the soul of Job. He that created that, will of his infinite mercy and promise save it. I have, therein, no manner of doubt. And as concerning these articles before rehearsed, I will stand to them even unto the very death, by the grace of my eternal God."

And therewith he turned him unto the people, casting his hands abroad, and saying with a very loud voice, "Good Christian people, for God's love be well ware of these men, for they will else beguile you, and lead you blindfold into hell with themselves. For Christ saith plainly unto you, If one blind man leadeth another, they are like both to fall into the ditch."

After this, he fell down there upon his knees, and thus before them all prayed for his enemies, bolding up both his hands and his eyes towards heaven, and saying, "Lord, eternal! I beseech thee, of thy great mercy sake, to forgive my pursuers, if it be thy blessed will." And then he was delivered to Sir Robert Morley, and so led forth again unto the Tower of London; and thus there was an end of that day's work.

While the Lord Cobham was thus in the Tower, he sent out privily unto his friends; and they, at his request, wrote this little bill here following, causing it to be set up in divers quarters of London, that the people should not believe the slanders and lies that his enemies, the bishop's servants and priests, had made on him abroad. And thus was the letter:

"Forasmuch as Sir John Oldcastle, knight, and Lord Cobham, is untruly convicted and imprisoned, falsely reported and slandered among the common people by his adversaries, that he should both otherwise think and speak of the sacraments of the church, and especially of the blessed sacrament of the altar, than was written in the

confession of his belief; which was intended and taken to the clergy, and so set up in divers open places of the city of London: known be it here to all the world, that he never since varied in any point therefrom, but this is plainly his belief: That all the sacraments of the church be profitable and expedient also to all them that shall be saved, taking them after the intent that Christ and his true church hath ordained. Furthermore he believeth, That the blessed sacrament of the altar is verily and truly Christ's body in form of bread."

After this, the bishops and priests were in great discredit both with the nobility and commons; partly, for that they had so cruelly handled the good Lord Cobham, and partly again, because his opinion (as they thought at that time) was perfect concerning the sacrament. The prelates feared this to grow to further inconvenience towards them both ways, wherefore they drew their heads together, and at the last consented to use another practice somewhat contrary to that they had done afore. They caused it by and by to be blown abroad by their feed servants, friends, and babbling Sir Johns, that the said Lord Cobham was become a good man, and had lowly submitted himself in all things unto holy church, utterly changing his opinion concerning the sacrament. And thereupon, they counterfeited an abjuration in his name, that the people should take no hold of his opinion by any thing they had heard of him before, and so to stand the more in awe of them, considering him so great a man, and by them subdued.

This is the abjuration, say they, of Sir John Oldcastle, knight, sometime the Lord Cobham.

"In Dei Nomine. Amen. I, John Oldcastle, denounced, detected, and convicted of, and upon, divers articles savouring both of heresy and error, before the reverend father in Christ, and my good lord, Thomas, by the permission of God, lord archbishop of Canterbury, and my lawful and rightful judge in that behalf, expressly grant and confess: That as concerning the estate and power of the most holy father the pope of Rome, of his archbishops, his bishops, and his other prelates, the degrees of the church, and the holy sacraments of the same, especially of the sacraments of the altar, of penance, and other observances besides of our mother, holy church, as pilgrimages and pardons; I affirm, I say, before the said reverend father archbishop, and elsewhere, that I, being evil-seduced by divers seditious preachers, have grievously erred, and heretically persisted, blasphemously answered, and obstinately rebelled; and therefore I am, by the said reverend father, before the reverend fathers in Christ also, the bishops of London, Winchester, and Bangor, lawfully condemned for a heretic.

"Yet nevertheless, I now, remembering myself, and coveting by this means to avoid that temporal pain which I am worthy to suffer as a heretic, at the assignation of my most excellent Christian prince and liege lord, King Henry the Fifth, now, by the grace of God, most worthy king both of England and of France; minding also to prefer the wholesome determination, sentence, and doctrine of the holy universal Church of Rome, before the unwholesome opinions of myself, my teachers, and my followers, I freely, willingly, deliberately, and thoroughly confess, grant, and affirm, that the most holy fathers in Christ, St. Peter the apostle, and his successors, bishops of Rome, especially now at this time my most blessed lord, Pope John, by the permission of God, the three and twentieth pope of that name, which now holdeth Peter's seat, (and each of them in their succession,) hath full strength and power to be Christ's vicar in earth, and the head of the church militant: and that by the strength of his office (what though he be a great sinner, and afore-known of God to be damned?) he hath full

authority and power to rule and govern, bind and loose, save and destroy, accurse and assoil, all other Christian men.

"And agreeably still unto this I confess, grant, and affirm, all other archbishops, bishops, and prelates in their provinces, dioceses, and parishes, appointed by the said pope of Rome to assist him in his doings or business, by his decrees, canons, or virtue of his office, to have had in times past, to have now at this time, and that they ought to have in time to come, authority and power to rule and govern, bind, loose, accurse, and assoil the subjects or people of their aforesaid provinces, dioceses, and parishes, and that their said subjects or people ought, of right, in all things to obey them. Furthermore, I confess, grant, and affirm, that the said spiritual fathers, as our most holy father the pope, archbishops, bishops, and prelates, have had, have now, and ought to have hereafter, authority and power for the state, order, and governance of their subjects or people, to make laws, decrees, statutes, and constitutions, yea, and to publish, command, and compel their said subjects and people to the observation of them.

"Moreover, I confess, grant, and affirm, that all these aforesaid laws, decrees, statutes, and constitutions made, published, and commanded, according to the former spiritual law, all Christian people, and every man in himself is straitly bound to observe, and meekly to obey, according to the diversity of the aforesaid powers, as the laws, statutes, canons, and constitutions of our most holy father the pope, incorporated in his decrees, decretals, Clementines, codes, charts, rescripts, sextiles, and extravagants over all the world; and as the provincial statutes of archbishops in their provinces, the synodal acts of bishops in their dioceses, and the commendable rules and customs of prelates in their colleges, and curates in their parishes, all Christian people are both bound to observe, and also most meekly to obey. Over and besides all this, I, John Oldcastle, utterly forsaking and renouncing all the aforesaid errors and heresies, and all other errors and heresies like unto them, lay my hand here upon this book or holy evangely of God, and swear, that I shall never more from henceforth hold these aforesaid heresies, nor yet any other like unto them, wittingly. Neither shall I give counsel, aid, help, or favour at any time, to them that shall hold, teach, affirm, and maintain the same, as God shall help me, and these holy evangelists.

"And that I shall from henceforth faithfully obey and inviolably observe all the holy laws, statutes, canons, and constitutions, of all the popes of Rome, archbishops, bishops, and prelates, which are contained and determined in their holy decrees, decretals, Clementines, codes, charts, rescripts, sextiles, sums-papal extravagants, statutes provincial, acts synodal, and other ordinary regules and customs constituted by them, or that shall chance hereafter directly to be determined or made. To these and all such other will I myself, with all power possible, apply. Besides all this, the penance which it shall please my said reverend father the lord archbishop of Canterbury hereafter to enjoin me for my sins, I will meekly obey and faithfully fulfil. Finally, all my seducers and false teachers, and all other besides, whom I shall hereafter know suspected of heresy or errors, I shall effectually present, send or cause to be presented, unto my said reverend father, lord archbishop, or to them which have his authority, so soon as I can conveniently do it, and see that they be corrected to my uttermost power."

This abjuration never came to the hands of the Lord Cobham, neither was it compiled of them for that purpose, but only therewith to blind the eyes of the unlearned multitude for a time; after the which like fetch and subtle practice was also

devised the recantation of the archbishop Thomas Cranmer, to stop for a time the people's mouths: which subtlety in like manner was also practised with the false recantation of the Bishop Hooper, and divers other, as in their places hereafter, Christ granting, shall be showed.

And thus much hitherto concerning the first trouble of Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, with all the circumstances of the true time, place, occasion, causes, and order belonging to the same, wherein I trust I have sufficiently satisfied all the parts requisite to a faithful history, without corruption. For the confirmation whereof, to the intent the mind also of the wrangling caviller may be satisfied, and to stop the mouth of the adversary, which I see in all places to be ready to bark, I have, therefore, of purpose annexed withal my ground and foundation, taken out of the archives and registers of the archbishop of Canterbury: whereby may appear the manifest error both of Polydore and of Edward Hall, who, being deceived in the right distinction of the times, assign this citation and examination of the Lord Cobham to be after the Council of Constance, whereas Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, at the Council of Constance was not alive. The copy and testimony of his own letter shall declare the same, being written and sent to the bishop of London in form as followeth:

The copy of the epistle of the archbishop of Canterbury, written to the bishop of London, whereon dependeth the ground and certainty of this aforesaid history of the Lord Cobham above premised.

To the reverend father in Christ, and lord, the Lord Robert, by the grace of God, bishop of Hereford, Richard, by the permission of God, bishop of London, health and continual increase of sincere love: We have of late received the letters of the reverend father in Christ, and lord, the Lord Thomas, by the grace of God, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the apostolic see, to this effect: Thomas, by the permission of God, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the apostolic see, to our reverend brother, the Lord Richard, bishop of London, health and brotherly love in the Lord. It was lately concluded before us, in the convocation of prelates and clergy of our province of Canterbury last celebrate in our church of St. Paul, intreating amongst otherthings with the said prelates and clergy upon the union and reformation of the Church of England, by us and the said prelates and clergy; that it was almost impossible to amend the hole of our Lord's coat which was without seam, unless, first of all, certain nobles of the realm, which are authors, favourers, protectors, defenders, and receivers of these heretics called Lollards, were sharply rebuked, and, if need were, by the censures of the church and the help of the secular power, they be revoked from their errors. And afterward, having made diligent inquisition in the convocation amongst the proctors of the clergy and others, which were there in number out of every diocese of our province, it was found out amongst others, that Sir John Oldcastle, knight, was, and is, the principal receiver, favourer, protector, and defender of them; and that, specially in the dioceses of London, Rochester, and Hereford, he had sent the said Lollards to preach, not being licensed by the ordinaries and bishops of the dioceses or places, contrary to the provincial constitutions in that behalf made, and hath been present at their wicked sermons, grievously punishing with threatenings, terrors, and the power of the secular sword, such as did withstand him: alleging and affirming amongst others, that we and our fellow-brethren, suffragans of our provinces, had not, neither have, any power to make any such constitutions: also he hath holden and doth hold opinion, and teach, as touching the sacraments of the altar, of penance, of pilgrimage,

and the worshipping of saints, and of the keys, contrary to that which the universal Church of Rome doth teach and affirm.

"Wherefore, on the behalf of the said prelates and clergy, we were then required that we would vouchsafe to proceed against the said Sir John Oldcastle upon the premises. Notwithstanding, for the reverence of our lord the king, in whose favour the said Sir John at that present was, and no less also for honour of his knighthood, we, with our fellow brethren, and suffragans then present, with a great part of the clergy of our province, coming personally before the presence of our lord the king, being then at his manor of Kennington, put up against the said Sir John a complaint, partly reciting the faults of the said Sir John; but at the request of our lord the king, we, desiring to reduce the said Sir John to the unity of the church, without any reproach, deferred all the execution of the premises for a great time. But at the last, forasmuch as our said lord the king, and his great travails taken about the conversion of him, did nothing at all profit, as our said lord the king vouchsafed to certify us both by word and writing, we immediately decreed to call forth the said Sir John personally to answer before us at a certain time already passed, in and upon the premises, and sent our messengers with these our letters of citation to the said Sir John, then being at his castle at Cowling: unto the which messenger we gave commandment, that he should in no case go into the castle, except he were licensed; but by the mean of one John Butler, porter of the king's chamber, he should require the said Sir John, that he would either licence the said messenger to come into the castle, or that he would cite him, or at the least, that he would suffer himself to be cited, without his castle. The which Sir John openly answered unto the said John Butler, declaring the premises unto him on the behalf of our Lord the king, that he would by no means be cited, neither in any case suffer his citation. Then we, being certified of the premises, lawfully proceeded further.

"First, having faithful report made unto us, that he could not be apprehended by personal citation, we decreed to cite him by an edict, to be openly set up in the porches of the cathedral church of Rochester next unto him, little more than three English miles distant from the said castle of Cowling. As we had thus caused him to be cited, and our edict aforesaid to be publicly and openly set upon the porches of the said church, that he should personally appear before us the eleventh day of September last past, to answer unto the premises, and certain other things concerning heresy: the which day being come, and we, sitting in the tribunal seat in our great chapel within the castle of Leeds, of our diocese, the which we then inhabited, and whereas we then kept residence with our court, and having taken an oath, which is requisite in the premises, and the information by us heard and received, as the common report goeth, in the parts whereas the said Sir John dwelleth, (fortifying himself in his said castle,) defending his opinions manifoldly, contemning the keys of the church and the archbishop's power; we therefore caused the said Sir John Oldcastle, cited as is aforesaid, to be openly, with a loud voice, called by the crier; and so being called, long looked for, and by no means appearing, we judged him (as he was no less worthy) obstinate, and for punishing of his said obstinacy we did then and there excommunicate him. And, forasmuch as by the order of the premises, and other evident tokens of his doings, we understand that the said Sir John, for the defence of his errors doth fortify himself, as is aforesaid, against the keys of the church, by pretence whereof, a vehement suspicion of heresy riseth against him; We have decreed, if he may be apprehended, again personally to cite him, or else, as before, by an edict, that he should appear before us the Saturday next after the feast of St.

Matthew the apostle and evangelist next coming, to show some reasonable cause, if he can, why we should not proceed against him, to a more grievous punishment, as an open heretic, schismatic, and open enemy of the universal church. And personally to declare why he should not be pronounced such a one, or that the aid of the secular power should not be solemnly required against him; and further to answer, do, and receive as touching the premises, whatsoever justice shall require. The which time being come, that is to say, the Saturday next after the feast of St. Matthew, being the twenty-fourth day of September, Sir Robert Morley, knight, lieutenant of the Tower of London, appeared personally before us, sitting in the chapter-house of the church of St. Paul at London, with our reverend fellow-brethren and lords, Richard, by the grace of God, bishop of London, and Henry, bishop of Winchester, and brought with him Sir John Oldcastle, knight, and set him before us; for a little before he was taken by the king's servants, and cast into the Tower: unto which Sir John Oldcastle, so personally present, we rehearsed all the order of the process, as it is contained in the acts of the day before passed, with good and modest words and gentle means; That is to say, how he, the said Sir John, was detected and accused in the convocation of the prelates and clergy of our said province, as is aforesaid, upon the articles before rehearsed, and how he was cited, and for his contumacy, excommunicate: and when we were come to that point, we offered ourselves ready to absolve him. Notwithstanding, the said Sir John not regarding our offer, said, that he would willingly rehearse before us, and my said fellow brethren, the faith which he held and affirmed. So he, having his desire, and obtaining license, took out of his bosom a certain schedule indented, and there openly read the contents of the same, and delivered the same schedule unto us, and the schedule of the articles whereupon he was examined, which was in form following:

"I, John Oldcastle, knight, Lord of Cobham, desire to make manifest unto all Christians, and God to be taken to witness, that I never thought otherwise, or would think otherwise, by God's help, than with a stedfast and undoubted faith to embrace all those his sacraments which he hath instituted for the use of church.

"Furthermore, that I may the more plainly declare my mind in these four points of my faith; first of all, I believe the sacrament of the altar to be the body of Christ under the form of bread. The very same body which was born of his mother Mary, crucified for us, dead, and buried, rose again the third day, sitteth on the right hand of his immortal Father, now being a triumphant partaker with him of his eternal glory.

"Then, as touching the sacrament of penance, this is my belief, That I do think the correction of a sinful life to be most necessary for all such as desire to be saved, and that they ought to take upon them such repentance of their former life, by true confession, unfeigned contrition, and lawful satisfaction, as the word of God doth prescribe unto us; otherwise there will be no hope of salvation.

"Thirdly, as touching images, this is my opinion, That I do judge them no point of faith, but brought into the world, after the faith of Christ, by the sufferance of the church, and so grown in use, that they might serve for a calendar for the lay-people and ignorant; by the beholding whereof they might the better call to remembrance the godly examples and martyrdom of Christ and other holy men: but if any man do otherwise abuse this representation, and give the reverence unto those images which is due unto the holy men whom they represent, or rather unto him to whom the holy men themselves owe all their honour, setting all their trust and hope in

them which ought to be referred unto God; or if they be so affected toward the dumb images, that they be in any behalf addicted unto them, either be more addicted unto one saint than another, in my mind they do little differ from idolatry, grievously offending against God, the author of all honour.

"Last of all, I am thus persuaded, That there be no inhabitants here in earth, but that we shall pass straight either to life or punishment; for whosoever doth so order his life that he stumbleth at the commandments of God, which either he knoweth not, or he will not be taught them, it is but in vain for him to look for salvation, although he ran over all the corners of the world. Contrariwise, he which observeth his commandments cannot perish, although in all his lifetime he walked no pilgrimage, neither to Rome, Canterbury, nor Compostella, or to any other place, whither the common people are accustomed to walk.

"This schedule, with the articles therein contained, being read, as is aforesaid, by the said Sir John, we, with our fellow-brethren aforesaid, and many other doctors and learned men, had conference upon the same; and at the last, by the counsel and consent of them, we spake these words following unto the said Sir John there present: Behold, Sir John! there are many good and catholic things contained in this schedule, but you have at this time to answer unto other matters which savour of errors and heresies, whereunto, by the consent of this schedule, it is not fully answered; and, therefore, you must answer thereunto, and more plainly express and declare your faith and opinions as touching those points in the same bill: that is to say, Whether you hold, believe, and affirm, that in the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration rightly done, there remaineth material bread or not.

"Item, Whether you hold, believe, and affirm, that it is necessary, in the sacrament of penance, for a man to confess his sins unto a priest appointed by the church?

"The which articles in this manner delivered unto him, amongst many other things he answered plainly, That he would make no other declaration or answer thereunto than was contained in the said schedule. Whereupon, we, favouring the said Sir John, with the benign and gentle means we spake unto him in this manner: Sir John! take heed, for if you do not plainly answer to these things which are objected against you, within a lawful time now granted you by the judges, we may declare you to be a heretic: but the said Sir John persevered as before, and would make no other answer. Consequently, notwithstanding, we, together with our said fellow-brethren, and others of our counsel, took advice, and by their counsel declared unto the said Sir John Oldcastle, what the said holy Church of Rome in this matter, following the saying of blessed St. Augustine, Jerome, Ambrose, and other holy men, hath determined: the which determinations every catholic ought to observe. Whereupon the said Sir John answered, That he would believe and observe whatsoever the holy church determined, and whatsoever God would he should observe and believe. But that he would in no case affirm, that our lord the pope, the cardinals, archbishops, and bishops or other prelates of the church, have any power to determine any such matters. Whereunto, we, yet favouring him, under hope of better advisement, promised the said Sir John, that we would give him in writing certain determinations upon the matter aforesaid, whereunto he should more plainly answer, written in Latin, and, for his better understanding, translated into English: whereupon we commanded and heartily desired him, that against Monday next following he should give a plain and full answer; the which determination we caused to be translated the same day, and

to be delivered unto him the Sunday next following. The tenor of which determinations here follow in this manner

"The faith and determination of the holy church upon the holy sacrament of the altar is this: That after the consecration done in the mass by the priest, the material bread shall be changed into the material body of Christ and the material wine into the material blood of Christ; therefore, after the consecration, there remaineth no more any substance of bread and wine, which was there before: — what do you answer to this article?

"And holy mother church hath determined, that every Christian, dwelling upon earth ought to confess his sins unto a priest ordained by the church, if he may come unto him: — how think you by this article?

"Christ ordained St. Peter his vicar on earth, whose seat is in the church of Rome, giving and granting the same authority, which he gave unto Peter, also to his successors, which are now called popes of Rome; in whose power it is to ordain and institute prelates in particular churches, as archbishops, bishops, curates, and other ecclesiastical orders, unto whom the Christian people owe obedience, according to the tradition of the Church of Rome. This is the determination of the holy church: what think you by this article?

"Besides this the holy church hath determined, That it is necessary for every Christian to go on pilgrimage to holy places, and there specially to worship the holy relics of the apostles, martyrs, confessors, and all saints whomsoever the Church of Rome hath allowed: — what think you of this article?

"Upon which Monday, being the five and twentieth day of the said month of September, before us and our fellow-brethren aforesaid, having also taken unto us our reverend brother Benedict, by the grace of God, bishop of Bangor, and, by our commandment, our counsellors and ministers, Master Henry Ware, official of our court of Canterbury; Philip Morgan, doctor of both laws; Howel Kiffin, doctor of the decretals; John Kemp and William Carleton, doctors of law; John Witnam, Thomas Palmer, Robert Wombewell, John Withe, and Robert Chamberlain, Richard Dotington, and Thomas Walden, professors of divinity; also James Cole and John Stephens, our notaries appointed on this behalf: they, all and every one, being sworn upon the Holy Gospel of God, laying their hands upon the book, that they should give their faithful counsel in and upon the matter aforesaid, and in every such cause, and to the whole world: by and by appeared Sir Robert Morley, knight, lieutenant of the Tower of London, and brought with him the aforesaid Sir John Oldcastle, setting him before us; unto whom we gently and familiarly rehearsed the acts of the day before passed, and, as before, we told him that he both is and was excommunicate, requiring and entreating him that he would desire and receive in due form the absolution of the church. Unto whom the said Sir John then and there plainly answered: That in this behalf he would require no absolution at our hands, but only of God. Then, afterwards, by gentle and soft means we desired and required him to make plain answer unto the articles which were laid against him; and first of all, as touching the sacrament of the altar. To the which article, besides other things, he answered and said thus: That as Christ, being here on earth, had in him both Godhead and manhood, notwithstanding, the Godhead was covered and invisible under the humanity, the which was manifest and visible in him: so likewise, in the sacrament of the altar, there is the very body and very bread; bread which we do see, the body of Christ hidden under the same, which we do not see. And plainly he denied, that the faith, as

touching the said sacrament, determined by the Romish church and holy doctors, and sent unto him by us in the said schedule, was the determination of the holy church. But if it be the determination of the church, he said that it was done contrary unto the Scriptures; after the church was endowed, and after that poison was poured into the church, and not afore. Also, as touching the sacrament of penance and confession, he plainly said and affirmed then and there: That if any man were in any grievous sin, out of the which he knew not how to rise, it were expedient and good for him to go unto some holy and discreet priest to take counsel of him; but, that he should confess his sin to any proper priest or to any other, although he might have the use of him, it is not necessary to salvation; forasmuch as by only contrition such sin can be wiped away, and the sinner himself purged. As concerning the worshipping of the cross, he said and affirmed: That the only body of Christ which did hang upon the cross, is to be worshipped; forasmuch as that body alone was and is the cross, which is to be worshipped.

And being demanded what honour he would do unto the image of the cross, he answered by express words: That he would only do it that honour, that he would make it clean and lay it up safe. As touching the power and authority of the keys, the archbishops, bishops, and other prelates, he said, That the pope is very antichrist, that is the head; that the archbishops, bishops, and other prelates, be his members, and that the friars be his tail: the which pope, archbishops, and bishops, a man ought not to obey, but so far forth as they be followers of Christ and of Peter, in their life, manners, and conversation, and that he is the successor of Peter which is best and purest in life and manners. Furthermore, the said Sir John, spreading his hands, with a loud voice said thus to those which stood about him: These men, which judge and would condemn me, will seduce you all and themselves, and will lead you unto hell; therefore take heed of them. When he had spoken those words, we again, as oftentimes before, with lamentable countenance, spake unto the said Sir John, exhorting him, with as gentle words as we might, that he would return to the unity of the church, to believe and hold that which the church of Rome doth believe and hold: who expressly answered, that he would not believe or hold otherwise than he had before declared. Wherefore, we perceiving, as it appeared by him, that we could not prevail, at the last, with bitterness of heart we proceeded to the pronouncing of a definitive sentence in this manner:

"In the name of God, Amen. We, Thomas, by the permission of God, archbishop and humble minister of the holy church of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the apostolic see, in a certain cause or matter of heresy upon certain articles, whereupon Sir John Oldcastle, knight, Lord Cobham, before us, in the last convocation of our clergy of our province of Canterbury holden in the church of St. Paul in London, after diligent inquisition thereupon made, was detected and accused, and by our said province notoriously and openly defamed. At the request of the whole clergy aforesaid thereupon made to us in the said convocation, with all favour possible that we might (God we take to witness), lawfully proceeding against him, following the footsteps and example of Christ, who would not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should be converted and live, we have endeavoured by all ways and means, we might or could, to reform him, and rather reduce him to the unity of the church, declaring unto him what the holy universal church of Rome doth teach, hold, and determine in this behalf. And albeit that we found him wandering astray from the catholic faith, and so stubborn and stiff-necked, that he would not confess his error, or clear himself thereof, to detest the same; notwithstanding, we, favouring him

with a fatherly affection, and heartily wishing and desiring his preservation, prefixed him a certain competent time to deliberate with himself, and, if he would, to repent and reform himself. And last of all, forasmuch as we perceived him to be unreasonable, observing chiefly those things which by the law are required in this behalf, with great sorrow and bitterness of heart we proceeded to the pronouncing of the definitive sentence in this wise:—

"The name of Christ being called upon, setting him only before our eyes: Forasmuch as by act enacted, signs exhibited, evidences, and divers tokens, besides sundry kind of proofs, we find the said Sir John to be, and have been, a heretic, and a follower of heretics in the faith and observation of the sacred universal church of Rome, and specially as touching the sacraments of the eucharist and of penance; and that as the son of iniquity and darkness he hath so hardened his heart, that he will not understand the voice of his Shepherd, neither will be allured with his monitions, or converted with any fair speech: having first of all searched and sought out, and diligently considering the merits of the cause aforesaid, and of the said Sir John, his deserts and faults aggravated through his damnable obstinacy, not willing that he that is wicked should become more wicked, and infect others with his contagion: by the counsel and consent of the reverend men of profound wisdom and discretion, our brethren, the lords, Richard, bishop of London, Henry, bishop of Winchester, and Benedict, bishop of Bangor, and also of many other doctors of divinity, the decretals and civil law, and of many other religious and learned persons our assistants, we have judged and declared sententially, and definitively condemned the said Sir John Oldcastle, knight, Lord Cobham, being convicted in and upon that most detestable guilt, not willing penitently to return unto the unity of the church, and in those things which the sacred universal church of Rome, doth hold, teach, determine, and show forth. And especially as one erring in the articles above-written, leaving him from henceforth as a heretic, unto the secular judgment.

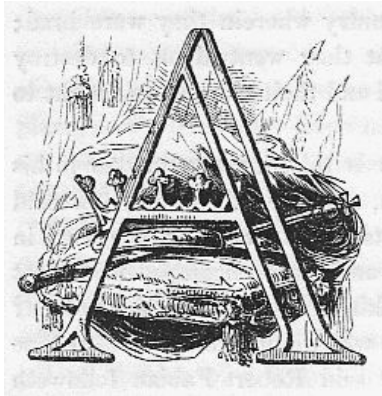
"Moreover, we have excommunicated, and by these writings do pronounce and excommunicate him, as a heretic, and all other which from henceforth, in favour of his error, shall receive, defend, or give him counsel or favour, or help him in this behalf, as favourers, defenders, and receivers of heretics. And, to the intent that these premises may be known unto all faithful Christians, we charge and command you, that, by your sentence definitive, you do cause the curates which are under you, with a loud and audible voice in their churches, when as most people is present, in their mother tongue, through all your cities and dioceses, to publish and declare the said Sir John Oldcastle, as is before said, to be by us condemned as a heretic, schismatic, and one erring in the articles abovesaid; and all other which from henceforth in favour of his errors shall receive or defend him, giving him any counsel, comfort, or favour in this behalf, to be excommunicate as receivers, favourers, and defenders of heretics: as is more effectually contained in the process. That by such means the erroneous opinions of the people, (which, peradventure, hath otherwise conceived the matter,) by those declarations of the truth, how the matter is, may be cut off: the which thing also we will and command to be written and signified by you, word for word, unto all our fellow brethren, that they all may manifest, publish, and declare throughout all their cities, and dioceses, the manner and form of this our process, and also the sentence by us given, and all other singular the contents in the same; and likewise cause it to be published by their curates which are under them, as touching the day of receipt of these presents, and what you have done in the premises, how you and they have executed this our commandment. We will that you and they duly and distinctly

certify us, the business being done, by your and their letters patent according to this tenor.

"Dated in our manor of Maidstone, the tenth of October, A. D. 1413, and in the eighteenth year of our translation."

Thus have you here the judicial process of the bishops against this most noble Christian knight, described by their own letters and style. After all this, the sentence of death being given, the Lord Cobham was sent away, Sir Robert Morley carrying him again unto the Tower, where, after he had remained a certain space, in the night season, (it is not known by what means,) he escaped out and fled into Wales, where he continued by the space of four years.

99. Cope's Book of Lord Cobham, Answered



S I was entering into this story of the Lord Cobham, after the tractation of all the former histories hitherto passed, having next to set upon this present matter, luckily, and as God would, in such opportunity of season, as God may seem to work himself for defence of his saints, cometh to my hands a certain book of new-found dialogues, compiled in Latin by Nicholas Harpsfield, set out by Alanus Copus, an Englishman, a person to me unknown, and obscure, hitherto, unto the world, but now, to purchase himself a name with Erostratus, or with the sons of Anakim, cometh out

not with his five eggs, but with his six railing dialogues; in the which dialogues the said Alanus Copus, Anglus (whether he, under the armour of another, or another under the title of his name, I know not, nor pass not,) uncourteously behaving himself, intemperately abusing his time, study, and pen, forgetting himself, neglecting all respect of honesty, and mild modesty, neither dreading the stroke of God, nor caring for shame, neither favouring the living, nor sparing the dead, who, being alive as they never offended him, so now cannot answer for themselves, being gone; thus provoking both God and man against him, after an unseemly sort, and with a foul mouth, and a stinking breath, rageth and fareth against dead men's ashes, taking now the spoil of their good name, after their bodies lie slain in the field; his gall and choler being so bitter against them, that he cannot abide any memory after them to remain upon earth; insomuch that for the hatred of them he spurneth also against me, and flieth in my face, for that in my Acts and Monuments, describing the history of the church, I would say any thing in the favour of them, whom the Romish catholics have so unmercifully put to death. The answer to whose book, although it would require a several tractation by itself (as, if Christ grant space and leisure, hereafter it shall not be forgotten) yet, because such opportunity of the book is offered to me at this present, coming now to the matter of the Lord Cobham, Sir Roger Acton, and others, with whom he first beginneth to quarrel, it shall be requisite a little by the way to cope with this Cope, whatsoever he be, so much as truth shall give me for their defence to say something. And here, to cut off all the offals of his railing talk and dishonest rebukes, which I leave to scolds and men of his profession against they list to brawl, let us briefly and quietly consider the matter for discussing of the truth; wherein first I shall desire the reader, with equality and indifferency, to hear both the parties to speak, as well what the martyrs, hence gone and slain, could say for themselves if they were present, as also what this man here doth object against them now being gone. And so, according to the same, to judge both upon them, as they deserve, and of me, as they shall please.

Now to the scope of Master Cope's matter, which is this: whether this aforesaid Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham (first to begin with him), is rather to be commended for a martyr, or to be reprov'd for a traitor? and whether that I, in writing of him, and of Sir Roger Acton, with others more, in my former edition, have dealt fraudulently and corruptly, in commending them in these Acts and Monuments, or no? Touching the discussion whereof, first I trust the gentle Master Cope, my friend,

neither will nor well can deny any part of all that hitherto, touching the story of the Lord Cobham, hath been premised; who yet all this while was neither traitor to his country, nor rebel to his prince, as by the course of his history hitherto the reader may well understand. First, in the time of King Henry the Fourth, he was sent over to France to the duke of Orleans, he did obey. Afterwards King Henry the Fifth coming to the crown, he was of him likewise well liked and favoured, until the time that Thomas Arundel, with his clergy, complaining to the king, made bate between them. Then the Lord Cobham, being cited by the archbishop, at his citation would not appear: but, sent for by the king, he obeyed and came. Being come, what lowly subjection he showed there to the king, the story declareth. Afterwards he yielded an obedient confession of his faith; it would not be received. Then did he appeal to the bishop of Rome, for the which the king took great displeasure with him, and so was he repealed by the king to the archbishop, and committed to the Tower; which also he did obey. From thence he was brought to his examination once or twice; there, like a constant martyr, and witness of the truth, he stood to his confession, and that unto the very sentence of death defined against him. If this be not the effect of a true martyr, let Alanus Copus say what he will, or what he can: this I say, at least I doubt, whether the said Alanus Copus, Anglus, put to the like trial himself, would venture so narrow a point of martyrdom for his religion, as this Christian knight did for his: certes, it hath not yet appeared.

To proceed: After this deadly sentence was thus awarded against him, the said Lord Cobham was then returned again unto the Tower, which he with patience and meekness did also obey; from the which Tower if he afterward by the Lord's providence did escape, whether hath Alanus Copus herein more to praise God for offering to him the benefit, or to blame the man for taking that which was offered? What catholic in all Louvain, having his house over his head on fire, will not be glad to have, if he might, the door set open to fly the peril? or else why did Alanus Copus fly his country, having so little need, if this man, bleeding almost under the butcher's axe, might not enjoy so great an offer of so lucky deliverance?

Thus hitherto, I trust, the cause of the Lord Cobham standeth firm and strong against all danger of just reprehension; who being, as ye have heard, so faithful and obedient to God, so submiss to his king, so sound in his doctrine, so constant in his cause, so afflicted for the truth, so ready and prepared to death, as we have sufficiently declared, not out of uncertain and doubtful chronicles, but out of the true originals and instruments remaining in ancient records: what lacketh now, or what should let to the contrary, but that he, declaring himself such a martyr, that is, a witness to the verity, for the which also at last he suffered the fire, may therefore worthily be adorned with the title of martyr, which is in Greek as much as a witness-bearer.

But here now steppeth in dame η διαβολη [Greek: E Diabole], with her cousin-scolld Aleto, &c., who, neither learning to hold her tongue, nor yet to speak well, must needs find here a knot in a rush, and beginning now to quarrel, inferreth thus "But after," saith he, "that the Lord Cobham was escaped out of the Tower, his fellows and confederates convented themselves together seditiously against the king, and against their country." A great crime no doubt, Master Cope, if it be true; so, if it be not true, the greater blame returneth unto yourself, to enter this action of such slander, unless the ground whereupon ye stand be sure. First, what fellows of the Lord Cobham were these you mean? "Sir Roger Acton," ye say, "Master Brown, and John Beverly, with thirty-six others, hanged and burned in the said field of St. Giles's." A

marvellous matter, that such a great multitude of twenty thousand, specified in story, should rise against the king, and yet but three persons only be known and named. And then to proceed further, I would ask of Master Cope, what was the end of this conspiracy; to rebel against the king? to destroy their country? and to subvert the Christian faith? for so purporteth the story. As like true the one as the other: for even as it is like that they, being Turks, went about to destroy the faith of Christ wherein they died, and to subvert their country wherein they were bred; even so like it is that they went about to destroy the king, whom God and their conscience taught to obey.

Yet further proceeds this furnish promoter in his accusation, and saith, moreover, that these aforesaid fellows and adherents of the Lord Cobham were in the field assembled, and there encamped in a great number against the king. And how is this proved? By Robert Fabian: which appeareth to be as true as that which in the said Robert Fabian followeth in the same place, where he affirmeth, that John Claydon and Richard Turming were burned in the same year, being 1413, when indeed by the true registers they were not burned before the year of our Lord 1415. But what will Master Cope say, if the original copy of the indictment of these pretended conspirators do testify that they were not there assembled or present in the field, as your accusation pretendeth? "But they purposed," you will say, "and intended to come." The purpose and intent of a man's mind is hard for you and me to judge, where no fact appeareth. But grant their intent was so to come, yet might they not come to those thickets near to the field of St. Giles's, having Beverly their preacher with them, as ye say yourself, as well to pray and to preach in that worthy place, as to fight? Is this such a strange thing in the church of Christ, in time of persecution, for Christians to resort in desolate woods and secret thickets, from the sight of enemies, when they would assemble in praying and hearing the word of God? In Queen Mary's time was not the same colour of treason objected against George Eagle, and others more, for frequenting and using into back sides and fields, who suffered for that whereof he was innocent and guiltless? Did not Adam Damlip die in like case of treason, for having a French crown given him at his departure out of Rome by Cardinal Pool? What cannot cankered Calumnia invent, when she is disposed to cavil? It was not the cardinal's crown that made him a traitor, but it was the hatred of his preaching that stirred up the accuser.

In France, what assemblies have there been in late years, of good and innocent Christians congregating together in back fields and coverts, in great routes, to hear the preaching of God's holy word, and to pray; yea, and not without their weapon also, for their own safeguard; and yet never intended nor minded any rebellion against their king. Wherefore, in cases of religion it may and doth happen many times that such congregations may meet without intent of any treason meant. But howsoever the intent and purpose was of these aforesaid confederates of the Lord Cobham, whither to come, or what to do, seeing this is plain by records, as is aforesaid, that they were not yet come unto the place, how will Master Cope now justify his words, so confidently affirming, that they were there assembled seditiously together in the field of St. Giles against the king? And mark here, I beseech thee, gentle reader, how unlikely and untidely the points of this tale are tied and hanged together, I will not say without all substance of truth, but without all fashion of a cleanly lie; wherein these accusers in this matter seem to me to lack some part of Simon's art, in conveying their narration so unartificially. First, say they, the king was come first, with his garrison, unto the field of St. Giles; and then, after the king was there encamped, consequently, the fellows of the Lord Cobham, the captain being away, came and were assembled in the same field where the king was, against the king, and yet not knowing of the king,

to the number of twenty thousand, and yet never a stroke in that field given. And furthermore, of all this twenty thousand aforesaid, never a man's name known but only three: to wit, Sir Roger Acton, Sir John Brown, and John Beverly, a preacher. How this gear is clamped together let the reader judge, and believe as he seeth cause.

But give all this to be true, although by no demonstration it can be proved, yet by the pope's dispensation, which in this earth is almost omnipotent, be it granted, that after the king had taken the field of St. Giles's before, the companions of the Lord Cobham afterward coming and assembling in the thickets near the said field, to fight seditiously against the king, their country, and against the faith of Christ, to the number of twenty thousand, where no stroke being given, so many were taken, that all the prisons of London were full, and yet never a man's name known of all this multitude, but only three; all this I say, being imagined to be true, then followeth to be demanded of Master Cope, whether the Lord Cobham was here present with this company in the field or not? "Not in person," saith Cope, "but with his mind and with his counsel he was present:" and addeth this reason, saying, "and therefore he, being brought again after his escape, was convict both of treason and heresy, and therefore, sustaining a double punishment, was both hanged and burned for the same," &c. And how is all this proved? "By Robert Fabian," he saith. Whereunto briefly I answer, that Robert Fabian in that place maketh no such mention of the Lord Cobham assisting or consenting to them either in mind or in counsel. His words be these, "That certain adherents of Sir John Oldcastle assembled in the field near to St. Giles, in great number, of whom was Sir Roger Acton, Sir John Brown, and John Beverly: the which, with thirty-six more in number, were afterwards convicted of heresy and treason, and for the same were hanged and burned within the said fields of St. Giles," &c. Thus much in Fabian touching the commotion and condemnation of these men; but that the Lord Cobham was there present with them in any part, either of consent or counsel, as Alanus Copus, Anglus, pretendeth, that is not found in Fabian, but is added of his liberal *cornucopiæ*, whereof he is so copious and plentiful, that he may keep an open shop of such unwritten untruths, which he may afford very good and cheap, I think, being such a plentiful artificer.

But here will be objected against me the words of the statute made the second year of King Henry the Fifth, whereupon this adversary, triumphing with no little glory, thinketh himself to have double vantage against me; first, in proving these aforesaid accomplices and adherents of the Lord Cobham to have made insurrection against the king, and so to be traitors: secondly, in convicting that to be untrue, where, in my former book of Acts and monuments, I do report, how that after the death of Sir Roger Acton, Brown, and Beverley, a parliament was holden at Leicester, where a statute was made to this effect: That all and singular such as were of Wickliff's learning, if they would not give over, as in case of felony and other trespasses, losing all their goods to the king, should suffer death in two manner of kinds: that is, they should first be hanged for treason against the king, and then be burned for heresy against God.

Whereupon it remaineth now in examining this objection, and answering the same, that I purge both them of treason, and myself of untruth, so far as truth and fidelity in God's cause shall assist me herein. Albeit in beginning first my history of ecclesiastical matters, wherein I having nothing to do with debatement of causes judicial, but only following the simple narration of things done and executed, I never suspected that ever any would be so captious with me, or so nice-nosed, as to press

me with such narrow points of the law, in trying and discussing every cause and matter so exactly, and straining, as ye would say, the bowels of the statute law so rigorously against me; yet, forasmuch as I am thereunto constrained now by this adversary, I will first lay open all the whole statute made the second year of this aforesaid Henry the Fifth, after the death of the aforesaid Sir Roger Acton and his fellows, at the parliament holden at Leicester, A. D. 1415. That done, I will note upon the words thereof, so as by the circumstances of the same may appear what is to be concluded, either for the defence of their innocency, or for the accusation of this adversary. The tenor and purport of the statute hereunder ensueth:

"Forasmuch as great (A) rumors, congregations and insurrections here in England, by divers the king's majesty's liege people, have been made here of late, as well by those which were of the sect of heresy called Lollardy, as by other of their considerations, excitations and abatement; to the intent (B) to annul and subvert the Christian faith and the law of God within the same realm, as also to (C) destroy our sovereign lord the king himself, and (D) all manner of estates of the same his realm, as well spiritual as temporal, (E) and also all manner of policy and the laws of the land; finally, the same our lord the king, to the honour of God, in conscrvation and fortification of the Christian faith, and also in salvation of his royal estate, and of the estate of all his realm, willing to provide a more open and more due punishment against the malice of such heretics and Lollards, than hath been had or used in that case heretofore, so that for the fear of the same laws and punishments, such heresies and Lollardies may the rather cease in time to come.

"By the advice and assent aforesaid, and at the prayer of the said commons, hath ordained and established; that especially the chancellor, the treasurer, the justice of the one bench and of the other, justices of assize, justices of peace, sheriffs, mayors, and bailiffs of cities and towns, and all other officers, having the government of people either now present, or which for the time shall be, do make an oath in taking of their charge and offices, to extend their whole pain and diligence to put out, to do to put out, cease and destroy, all manner of heresies and errors, commonly called Lollardies, within the places in which they exercise their charges and offices, from time to time, with all their power; and that they assist, favour, and maintain the ordinaries and their commissaries, so often as they or any of them shall be thereunto required by the said ordinaries or their commissaries; so that when the said officers and ministers travel or ride to arrest any Lollard, or to make any assistance at the (F) instance and request of the ordinaries or their commissaries, by virtue of this statute, the same ordinaries and commissaries (G) do pay for their cost reasonably. And that the services of the king, unto whom the officers be first sworn, be preferred before all other statutes for the liberty of holy church and the ministers of the same, and especially for the punishment of heretics and Lollards, made before these days, and not repealed, but being in force; and also that all persons convict of heresy, of whatsoever estate, condition, or degree they be, by the said ordinaries or their commissaries left unto the secular power, according to the laws of holy church, shall leese and forfeit all their lands and tenements which they have in fee simple, in manner and form as followeth: that is to say, that the king shall have all the lands and tenements which the said convicts have in fee simple, and which be immediately holden of him, as forfeited; and that the other lords, of whom the lands and tenements of such convicts be holden, immediately after that the king is thereof seized and answered of the (H) year, day and wast, shall have livery thereof out of the hands of the king, of the lands and tenements aforesaid, so of them holden, as hath been used in

case of attainder of felonies, except the lands and tenements which be holden of the ordinaries or their commissaries, before whom any such impeached of heresy be convict, (I) which lands and tenements shall wholly remain to the king as forfeit. And moreover, that all the goods and chattels of such convicted be forfeit to our right sovereign lord the king, so that no person convict of heresy, and left unto the secular power (according to the laws of holy church), do forfeit his lands before that he be dead. And if any such person so. convicted be enfeoffed, whether it be by fine or by deed, or without deed, in lands and tenements, rents, or services, in fee or otherwise, in whatsoever manner, or have any other possessions or chattels by gift or grant of any person or persons, to the use of any other than only to the use of such convicts; that the same lands, tenements, rents, or services, or other such possessions, or chattels, shall not be forfeit unto our sovereign lord the king in any manner wise.

"And moreover, that the justices of the king's bench, the justices of peace, and justices of assize, have full power to inquire of all such which hold any errors or heresies, as Lollards, and who be their maintainers, receivers, favourers, and sustainers, common writers of such books, as well of their sermons, as schools, conventicles, congregations, and confederacies, and that this clause be put in the commissions of the justices of peace. And if any persons be indicted of any points abovesaid, that the said justices have power to award against them a *capias*, and that the sheriff be bound to arrest the person or persons so indicted, as soon as he can find them, either by himself or by his officers. And forasmuch as the cognisance of heresies, errors, or Lollardies, appertaineth to the judges of holy church, and not unto the secular judges, that such persons indicted, (K) be delivered unto the ordinaries of the places, or to their commissaries, by indentures between them to be made, within ten days after their arrest, or sooner, if it may be done, to be thereof acquitted, or convicted by the laws of holy church, in case such persons be not indicted of any other thing, the cognisance whereof appertaineth to the judges and secular officers; in which case, after they shall be acquitted, or delivered before the secular judges of such things as appertain to the secular judges, they shall be safely sent unto the said ordinaries or their commissaries, and to them to be delivered by indentures, as is aforesaid, to be acquitted or convicted of the same heresies, errors, and Lollardies, as is aforesaid, according to the laws of holy church, and that within the term abovesaid; provided, that the said indictments be not taken in evidence, (L) but only for information before the judges spiritual, against such persons indicted: but that the ordinaries begin their process against such persons indicted, in the same manner as though no such judgment were, having no regard to such indictments. And if any be indicted of heresy, error, or Lollardy, and taken by the sheriff, or any other officer of the king, he may be let to mainprise, within the said ten days, by good surety, for whom the said sheriffs or other officers will answer, so that the person so indicted be ready to be delivered unto the said ordinaries, or to their commissaries, before the end of the tenth day abovehere recited, if he may by any means for sickness. And that every ordinary have sufficient commissaries or commissary abiding in every county, in place notable, so that if any such person indicted be taken, the said commissaries or commissary may be warned in the notable place of his abiding, by the sheriff, or any of his officers, to come unto the king's gaol within the said county, there to receive the same person so indicted, by indenture, as is aforesaid; and that in the inquests in this case taken, the sheriffs and other officers unto whom it appertaineth, do impanel good and sufficient persons, not suspected, nor procured, that is to say, such as have at the least, every one of them that shall be so impanelled in such inquests, within the realm, a hundred shillings by the year, in lands, tenements, or rent, upon pain to leese to the

king's use twenty pounds. And that those which shall be impanelled upon such inquests or sessions and gaols, have, every one of them, to the value of forty shillings by the year. And if any such person arrested, whether it be by the ordinaries, or the officers of the king, (M) either escape or break prison, before he be thereof acquit before the ordinary; that then all his goods and chattels which he had at the day of such arrest, shall be forfeit to the king; and his lands and tenements which he had the same day be seized also into the king's hands, and that the king have the profits thereof from the same day until he render himself to the said prison from whence he escaped. And that the aforesaid justices have full power to inquire of all such escapes and breaking of prisons, and also of the lands, tenements, goods, and chattels of such persons indicted. Provided, that if any such person indicted do not return unto the said prison, and dieth, not being convict, that then it shall be lawful for his heirs to enter into the lands and tenements of his or their ancestor, without any other suit made unto the king for this cause. And that all those which have liberties, or franchises royal, in England, as the county of Chester, the county and liberty of Durham, and other like; and also the lords which have jurisdictions and franchises royal in Wales, where the king's writs do not run, have like power to execute and put in execution in all points these articles, by them or by their officers, in like manner as do the justices and other the king's officers above declared."

Thus having recited the words of the statute, now let us consider the reasons and objections of this adversary, who, grounding peradventure upon the preface or preamble of this aforesaid statute, will prove thereby the Lord Cobham and Sir Roger Acton, with the rest of their abettors, to have been traitors to their king and their country. Whereunto I answer, first, in general, that although the face or preface prefixed before the statute, may show and declare the cause and occasion original why the statute was made, yet the making of the statute importeth no necessary probation of the preface always to be true that goeth before; which being but a colour to induce the making thereof, giveth no force material thereunto, nor is any necessary part of the body of the said statute, but only adhereth as a declaration of the circumstance thereof, and sometimes is clean omitted, and differeth much from the substance of the same. For, as statutes in civil policy most commonly do tend to a public end, and are general, so prefaces before statutes, which most commonly declare the cause or beginning thereof, are private, and do stand only but upon particular facts, which either of ill-will or displeasure may be suggested, or by colour may be exaggerated, or for fear may be believed, at least suspected, as many suspicions do oftentimes rise in princes' heads through false surmises, and malicious complaints of certain evil-disposed about them, whereby many cruel laws, rising upon a false ground, are promulgated, to the ruin of much innocent blood. Example whereof we have not only in this present statute, but also in the like statute, commonly called the statute *Ex officio, vel de comburendo*, made by this king's father and predecessor. In the preface of which bloody statute is contained another like complaint of the prelates and clergy, not only as heinous, but also as shamefully false and untrue, against the poor Lollards, as by the words of the complaint may appear; wherein most falsely they slander and misreport the true servants of Christ to be Lollards, heretics, subverters of the commonwealth, destroyers of the Christian faith, enemies to all good laws, and to the church of Christ. The words of which statute, proceeding much after the like course as doth this present statute, may easily bewray the untruth and false surmise thereof, if thou please, gentle reader, to mark and confer the words according as they are there to be read and seen, as followeth: *Conventiculas et confederationes faciunt, scholas tenent et exercent, libros conficiunt atque scribunt, populum nequiter instruunt et*

informant, et ad seditionem seu insurrectionem excitant, quantum possunt, et magnas dissensiones in populo faciunt, et alia diversa enormia auditui horrenda in dies perpetrant, in fidei catholicæ, et ecclesiæ subversionem, divinique cultus diminutionem, ac etiam destructionem status, jurium, et libertatum dictæ ecclesiæ Anglicanæ. And after a few words, *Ad omnem juris, et rationis ordinem atque regimen, penitus destruendum, &c.* He that is or shall be acquainted with old histories, and with the usual practices of Satan, the old enemy of Christ, from the first beginning of the primitive church unto this present time, shall see this to be no news, but a common, and, as one would say, a quotidian fever among Christ's children, to be vexed with false accusations and cruel slanders.

Nemesion, the Egyptian and true martyr of Christ, was he not first accused to be a felon? And when that could not be proved, he was condemned at the same judgment for a Christian; and therefore being cast into bands, was scourged, by the commandment of the president, double to the other felons, and at length was burned with the thieves, although he never was found thief nor felon.

Against Cyprian, in like sort, it was slanderously objected by Galenus Maximus, proconsul, that he had long continued with a mind full of sacrilege, and that he had gathered unto him men of wicked conspiracy.

So Justin Martyr, what false and criminous accusations suffered he by Crescens! Cornelius, bishop of Rome, and martyr, was accused of Decius, that he wrote letters unto Cyprian against the commonwealth.

To consider the laws and statutes made by tyrants and emperors in the first persecution of the primitive church, against the innocent servants of Christ, and to compare the same with the laws and statutes in this latter persecution under antichrist, a man shall find, that as they agree all in like cruelty, so was there no great difference in false forging of pretended causes and crimes devised. For as then the Christians were wrongfully accused of the Gentiles for insurrections and rebellions against the emperors and empire, for being enemies to all mankind, for murdering of infants, for worshipping the sun, (because they prayed toward the east,) for worshipping also the head of an ass, &c., upon the rumours whereof divers and sundry laws and statutes were enacted, some engraven in brass, some otherwise written against them; so in this aforesaid statute, and in such other statutes or indictments made and conceived against the Lollards, the case is not so strange, but it may credibly be supposed, that the making thereof did rise rather upon malice and hatred against their religion conceived, than upon any just cause ministered on their parts, whom they did wrongfully charge and accuse. Like as in the time of Domitian, for fear of David's stock, all the nephews of Jude, the Lord's brother in the flesh, were accused to the emperor. And also the like fear and hatred stirred up other emperors and the senate of Rome, to proceed with persecuting laws against the Christian flock of Christ; whereupon rose up those malicious slanders, false surmises, infamous lies, and wrongful accusations against the Christians; so that what crimes soever malice could invent, or rash suspicion could minister, that was imputed against them.

Not unlike also it may seem, that the pope with his prelates, fearing and misdoubting lest the proceeding of the gospel preached by these persons should overthrow the state of their majesty, did therefore, by sinister accusations, inflame the hearts of princes against them, and under some coloured covert, to shadow their cloaked hatred, devised these and other like crimes which were not true, but which might cleanly serve their purpose.

This hitherto have I said as in a general sum, answering to the preamble of the aforesaid statute, for the defence of Sir John Oldcastle, and Sir Roger Acton, and others, as not defining precisely what was, or was not; (for here I may say with Hall, that as I was not present at the deed doing, so, with him, I may also leave the same at large;) but as one, by tracing the footsteps of the truth, as by all conjectures hunting out in this matter, what is most like, would but only say my mind.

Now consequently it followeth that we descend to the special points and particulars of the aforesaid preamble; to consider what thereof may be collected, or necessarily is to be judged, either for proof or disproof, of this aforesaid Sir John Oldcastle and his fellows.

(A) And first, where the proem of this statute beginneth with "rumours, congregations, and insurrections," &c. As it is not like, that if these men had intended any forcible entries or rebellion against the king, they would have made any rumours thereof before the deed done; so is it more credibly to be supposed, all these flourishes of words to be but words of course, or of office, and to savour rather of the rankness of the indicter's pen, who disposed either to show his copy, or else to aggravate the crime; and to make mountains of molehills, first of rumours maketh congregations, and from congregations riseth up to insurrections; whereas in all these rumours, congregations, and insurrections, yet never a blow was given, never a stroke was stricken, no blood spilled, no furniture nor instruments of war, no sign of battle, yea, no express signification either of any rebellious word, or malicious fact, described neither in records, nor yet in any chronicle. Again, if these rumours were words spoken against the king, as calling him a tyrant, a "usurper of the crown," the "prince of priests," &c., why then be none of these words expressed in their indictments, or left in records? Doth Master Cope think for a man to be called a traitor, to be enough to make him a traitor, unless some plain and evident proof be brought for him to be so indeed, as he is called? "Rumours," saith he, "congregations, and insurrections were made." Rumours are uncertain, congregations have been, and may be, among Christian men in dangerous times, for good purposes, and no treason against their princes meant. The term of insurrections may be added εκ του περισσου[Greek: ek ton perisson] by practice, or surmise of the prelates and penmen, who, to bring them the more in hatred of the king, might add this rather of their own gentleness, than of the others' deserving. Certain it is, and undoubted, that the prelates in those days, being so mightily inflamed against these Lollards, were not altogether behind for their parts, nor utterly idle in this matter, but practised against them what they could, first to bring them into hatred, and then to death.

Examples of which kind of practice among the popish clergy have not lacked neither before nor since. Moreover, if these men had made such a rebellious insurrection against the king, as is pretended in the preamble before this statute, which were a matter of high treason, how chanceth then that the whole body of the statute, following after the said preface or preamble, runneth in all the parts or branches thereof, both in matter of arrest, of indictment, information, request, allowance of officers, cognizance of ordinaries, of the forefact, &c., upon cases of heresy, and not of treason, as by particular tractation shall be, Christ willing, declared.

And, forasmuch as these men be so grievously accused of Alanus Copus, for congregating and rising against their king, and the whole realm, if I had so much leisure to defend, as he hath pleasure to defame, here might be demanded of him, to keep him some further play, touching this mighty insurrection, Where they came in

number twenty thousand against the king? in what order of battle-array they marched? what captains, under-captains, and petty captains they had, to guide the wings, and to lead the army? whether they were horsemen or footmen? If they were horsemen, as is pretended, what meant they then to resort to the thickets near to St. Giles's field, which was no meet place for horses to stir? If they were footmen, how standeth that with the author, which reporteth them to be horsemen? Moreover, it is to be demanded, what ensigns or flags, what shot, what powder, what armour, weapons, and other furniture of war? also what treasure of money to wage so many, to the number of twenty thousand? what trumpets, drums, and other noise necessary for the purpose they had? All these preparations for such an enterprise, are requisite and necessary to be had. And, peradventure, if truth were well sought, it would be found at length, that instead of armies and weapons, they were coming only with their books, and with Beverly their preacher, into those thickets. But as I was not there present at the fact, as is before said, so have I neither certainty to define upon their case, nor yet, Master Cope, to exclaim against them; unless, peradventure, that he, taking an occasion of the time, will thus argue against them, that because it was the hot month of January, the second day after the Epiphany, therefore it is like that Sir John Oldcastle, with twenty thousand Lollards, camped together in the fields in all the heat of the weather, to destroy the king and all the nobles, and to make himself regent of England: and why not as well the king, as regent of England, seeing all the nobles should have been destroyed, and he only left alone to reign by himself?

It followeth more in the preamble of the aforesaid statute, (B) to annul, destroy, and subvert the Christian faith, and the law of God, and holy church, &c. He that was the forger and inventor of this report, as it appeareth to proceed from the prelates, seemeth no cunning Dædalus, nor half his crafts-master in lying for the whetstone. Better he might have learned of Sinon in Virgil, more artificially to have framed and conveyed his narration; which although in no case could sound like any truth, yet some colour of probability should have been set upon it, to give it some countenance of a like tale: as if he had first declared the Lord Cobham to have been before in secret confederacy with the great Turk; or if he had made him some Termagant or Mahound out of Babylonia, or some Herod of Judea, or some antichrist out of Rome, or some grand paunched epicure of this world, and had showed, that he had received letters from the great Soldan, to fight against the faith of Christ, and law of God; then had it appeared somewhat more credible, that the said Sir John Oldcastle, with his sect of heresy, went about to "annul, destroy, and subvert the Christian faith and law of God, within the realm of England," &c.

But now, where will either he or Master Cope find men so mad to believe, or so ingenious that can imagine this to be true, that the Lord Cobham, being a Christian, and so faithful a Christian, would, or did, ever cogitate in his mind to destroy and annul the faith of Christ in the realm of England? Whatsoever the report of this pursuant or preface saith, I report me unto the indifferent reader, how standeth this with any face of truth? that he which before, through the reading of Wickliff's works, had been so earnestly converted to the law of God, who had also approved himself such a faithful servant of Christ, that for the faith of Christ he, being examined and tried before the prelates, not only ventured his life, but stood constant unto the sentence of death defined against him, being a condemned and a dead man by law, who had, as much as to devotion and fear appertained, "suffered already what he might or could suffer," as Cyprian said by Cornelius; that he, I say, which a little before, in the month of September, stood so constant in defence of Christ's faith,

would now, in the month of January, rise to destroy, annul, and subvert Christ's faith, and the law of God, and holy church within the realm of England?

How can it be, not like only, but possible to be true, that he, which never in all the time of his life denied the faith; which ever confessed the faith so constantly; which was for the same faith condemned; yea, and at last also burned for the faith; would ever fight against the faith and law of God, to annul and subvert it? Let us proceed yet further, and see when he should have so destroyed and annulled the Christian faith and law of God in England, what faith or law then could he, or did he, intend to bring into the realm of England? the Turk's faith? or the Jew's faith? or the pope's faith? or what faith else I pray you? for he that will be an enemy to the faith of Christ, and will show himself a friend to no other faith besides, I account him not out of his right faith, but out of his right wits.

(C) And therefore, even as it is true, that Sir John Oldcastle with his confederates and abettors were up in arms to subvert and extinguish the faith of Christ and law of God in the realm of England, so, by the like truth, it may be esteemed, that the same persons rose also "to destroy their sovereign lord the king and his brethren." First, thanks be to God, that neither the king nor any of his brethren had any hurt by him. But his intent, saith the preface, was to destroy their sovereign lord the king. Whereunto I answer with this interrogatory, Whether was his intent privily to have destroyed him, or by open force of arms? If privily, what needed then such a great army of twenty thousand men, to achieve that secret feat? rather I would think that he needed more the help of such as were near about the king; as some of the king's privy chamber, or some of his secret counsel; whereof neither chronicle nor record doth insinuate any mention. If his intent was openly to invade the king; you must understand Master Cope, that to withstand a king in his own realm, many things are required: long time, great preparation, many friends, great assistance, and aid of kindred, money, horse, men, armour, and all other things appertaining for the same.

Earl Godwin of Westsax, who had married Canute's daughter, being a man both ambitious and as false a traitor, for all his six sons and great alliance, yet durst not set upon King Edward to invade him in his realm; although he sought many occasions so to do, yet never durst he enterprise openly that which his ambition so greatly presumed unto.

In the time of King Henry the Third, Simon Montfort, earl of Gloucester, Gilbert Clare, earl of Leicester, Humfrey Rone, earl of Ferrence, with a great number of lords and barons, thought themselves to have great right on their sides; yet durst they not, for all their power, openly assail the king in his realm, before great debatement and talk first had between.

Likewise, what murmuring and grudging was in the realm against King Edward the Second, among the peers and nobles, and also prelates, only Walter, bishop of Coventry, excepted, first for Gaveston, then for the Spencers, at what time Thomas, earl of Lancaster, Guido, earl of Warwick, with the most part of all other earls and barons, concordly consenting together to the displacing first of Gaveston, then of the Spencers, yet neither rashly, nor without great fear, durst stir up war in the land, or disquiet or vex the king; but first, by all means of moderate counsel, and humble petition, thought rather to persuade, than to invade the king.

In like manner, and with like grudging minds, in the reign of King Richard the Second, Thomas Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, the king's uncle, with the earls of

Arundel, Warwick, and Derby, with the power almost of the whole commons, stood up in arms against the king; and yet, notwithstanding all their power joined together being so great, and their cause seeming to them so reasonable, yet were they not so hardy, straightways to fly upon the king, but by way of parliament thought to accomplish that which their purpose had conceived; and so did, without any war striking against the king.

After King Richard the Second was deposed, and was in prison yet living, divers noblemen were greatly inflamed against King Henry the Fourth, as Sir John Holland, earl of Huntingdon, Thomas Spenser, earl of Gloucester, the earls likewise of Kent and Salisbury, with Sir John Cheiney, and others more, whereof divers had been dukes before, and now deposed by King Henry the Fourth; although they had conceived in their hearts great grudge and malice against the said King Henry yet had they neither heart nor power openly, with man's force, to assail the king, but secretly were compelled to achieve their conceived intent, which notwithstanding they could not accomplish.

Thus you may see, Master Cope, or else Master Harpsfield, or whatsoever ye be, to gainstand a king, and with open force to encounter with him in his own land, and in his own chamber of London, where he is so sure and strong, what a matter and of how great achievance it is, wherein so many and so great difficulties do lie, the attempt so dangerous, the chances so uncertain, the furniture of so many things required, that scarce in any king's days heretofore any peers or nobles of the realm, were they never so strongly assisted with power, wit, or counsel, yet either were able, or else well durst, ever to enterprise upon a case so dangerous, notwithstanding they were of themselves never so far from all fear of God, and true obedience. And shall we then think, or can we imagine, Master Cope, that Sir John Oldcastle, a man so well instructed in the knowledge of God's word, being but a poor knight by his degree, having none of all the peers and nobles in all the world to join with him, being prisoner in the Tower of London a little before in the month of December, could now, in the month of January, so suddenly, in such a hot season of the year, start up an army of twenty thousand fighting men to invade the king, to kill two dukes his brethren, to annul Christian faith, to destroy God's law, and to subvert holy church? And why doth not he add, moreover, to set also all London on fire, and to turn all England into a fish-pool? Belike these men, which give out these figments of Sir John Oldcastle, did think him to be one of Deucalion's stock, who by casting of stones over his shoulder, could, by and by, make men at his pleasure; or else that he had Cadmus' teeth to sow, to make so many harvest-men to start up at once.

But let us consider yet further of these twenty thousand soldiers, so suddenly, without wages, without victual or other provision, congregated together, what they were, from whence, out of what quarter, county, or counties they came. In other kings' days, whensoever any rebellion was against the king moved by the commons, as when Jack Straw and Wat Tyler, of Kent and Essex, rose in the time of King Richard the Second; when William Mandevil of Abingdon, Jack Cade of Kent, in the time of King Henry the Sixth; in the time of King Henry the Eighth, when the commotion was of rebels in Lincolnshire, then in Yorkshire; when in King Edward the Sixth's time, Humphrey Arundel in Devonshire, and Captain Kett in Norfolk, made stir against the king, the country and parts from whence these rebels did spring, were both noted and also defamed. In this so traitorous commotion, therefore, let us now learn what men these were, and from what county or counties in all England they came. If they came out of any, let the chroniclers declare what counties they were. If they came out of

none, as none is named, then let them come out of Eutopia, where, belike, this figment was first forged and invented. Wherefore, seeing neither the county from whence they came, nor yet the names of any of all these twenty thousand, do appear, what they were, either in chronicle or in record, but remain altogether unknown, I leave it, gentle reader, to thy judgment, to think thereupon, as thy wisdom shall lead thee.

(D) It followeth more in the aforesaid preface: "And to destroy all other manner of estates of the same realm of England, as well spiritual as temporal," &c. By the course of this preamble it appeareth, that the said Sir John Oldcastle was a wonderful cruel tyrant and murderer, who, being not yet satisfied with the blood of the king, nor of the two dukes his brethren, would also make havoc and sweepstake of all manner of estates in the realm of England. What! and leave no manner of estate alive? No! neither lords spiritual nor temporal, but all together shall be destroyed. And what had all these estates done, thus so miserably to be destroyed? Although, percase, the mood of this man might have been incensed and kindled against the king and the lords spiritual, by whom he had been condemned, as is aforesaid; yet why should all other manner of other estates both spiritual and temporal be killed? If none of all the estates in England, neither duke, earl, baron, lord, knight, or other gentleman had been his friend, but all his enemies, how then is it like, that he, having all the estates, peers, nobles, and gentlemen of the realm against him, and none to stand with him, either could or durst attempt any commotion against the whole power of the land, he being but one gentleman only, with Sir Roger Acton and Master Brown left alone? At least, good reason yet would, that those hundred knights should have been spared out of this bloody slaughter, whom he offered to reduce unto the king, before, for his purgation. And, finally, if this was his purpose, that all these estates both spiritual and temporal should have been cut down, what needed then that he should have made himself a regent, whenas he might as well have made himself a king, or what else he would, being left then prince alone?

(E) The preamble, as it began with untruth, and continued in the same figure, heaping one untruth upon another, so now endeth with another misreport as untrue as the rest, showing and declaring that the intent of Sir John Oldcastle was also, "To destroy all manner of policy," and, finally, "the laws of the land," &c. We read of William the Conqueror, otherwise named William Bastard, who, being a puissant duke in his country, when that the crown of England was allotted to him, and he coming over with all his peers, nobles, and barons of his whole land, into this realm, and had with great difficulty obtained victory against King Harold; yet to alter and destroy the policy and the laws of the land, it passed his power; insomuch that it had not been permitted unto him to have proceeded so far as he did, unless he had first sworn to the nobles of this land, to retain still the laws of King Edward, as he found them. And albeit he afterward forswore himself, breaking his oath in altering and changing many of the aforesaid laws, yet, wild he, nild he, he could not so destroy them all, (for the which much war and great commotions endured long after in the realm,) but that he was constrained, and also contented, to allow and admit a great part of the said laws of King Edward. And if he, being king and conqueror, with all his strength of Normans and Englishmen about him, was too weak and insufficient to destroy all manner of policy and laws of this land which he had conquered; how much less then is it to be supposed that Sir John Oldcastle, being but a private subject, and a poor knight, and a condemned prisoner, destitute and forsaken of all lords, earls, and barons, who, to save his own life, had more to do than he could well compass, would either take in hand or conceive in his head any such exploit, after the subversion of

Christian faith and law of God, after the slaughter of the king and all manner of estates, as well spiritual as temporal, in the realm of England, after the desolation of holy church, to destroy also all manner of policy, and finally, the laws of the land? Which monstrous and incredible figment, how true it may seem to Master Cope, or to some other late chroniclers of the like credulity, I cannot tell.

But here will it be said again, perhaps, that the matter of such preambles and prefaces being but pursuants of statutes, and containing but words of course, to aggravate and to give a show of a thing which they would have to seem more odious to the people, is not so precisely to be scanned, or exquisitely to be stood upon, as for the ground of a necessary case of truth.

This is it, Master Cope, that I said before, and now do well grant and admit the same, that such preambles or forefaces lined with a *non sequitur*, containing in them matter but of surmise, and words of course, and rather monsters out of course, and many times rising upon false information, are not always in themselves material or necessary probations in all points to be followed; as appeareth, both by this statute, and also by the statute of this king's father. And yet, notwithstanding, out of these same preambles and forefronts of statutes, and other indictments, which, commonly rising upon matter of information, run only upon words of course, of office, and not upon simple truth, a great part of our chroniclers do often take their matter, which they insert into their stories, having no respect or examination of circumstances to be compared, but only following bare rumours, or else such words as they see in such fabling prefaces or indictments expressed; whereby it cometh so to pass, that the younger chronicler following the elder, as the blind leading the blind, both together fall into the pit of error. And you also, Master Cope, following the steps of the same, do seem likewise to err together with them for good fellowship. And thus concerning the face of this statute hitherto sufficiently.

Now let us consider and discuss in like manner, first the coherence, then the particular contents, of the said statute: as touching the which coherence, if it be well examined, a man shall find almost a chimera of it, in which neither the head accordeth with the body, nor yet the branches of the statute well agree with themselves.

For whereas the preface of the statute standeth only upon matter of treason, conceived by false suggestion and wrong information, the body of the said statute, which should follow upon the same, runneth only upon matter of heresy pertaining to the ordinaries, as by every branch thereof may appear.

(F) For first, Where he saith, "At the instance and request of the ordinaries or their commissaries," &c.: hereby it appeareth, this to be no cause of treason nor felony; for that every man, of duty, is bound to, and by the laws of the realm may, arrest and apprehend a traitor or a felon, if he can; where otherwise by this statute, an officer is not bound to arrest him which offendeth in case of this statute, without request made by the ordinaries or their commissaries; and therefore this offence seemeth neither to be treason nor felony.

(G) Secondly, Where it followeth, that "the same ordinaries and commissaries do pay for their costs," &c.: this allowance of the officers' charges in this sort proveth this offence neither treason nor felony.

(H) Thirdly, Where the statute willeth the king to be "answered of the year, day, and wast," &c.: by this also is proved the offence not to be treason; for else in

cases of treason, the whole inheritance, I trow, Master Cope, (speaking as no great skilful lawyer,) is forfeit to the prince.

(I) The fourth argument I take out of these words of the statute, "Whereas such lands and tenements which are holden of the ordinaries, are willed wholly to remain to the king as forfeit," &c.: whereby it is manifest, that the prelates for their matter of Lollardy only were the occasioners and procurers of this statute; and therefore were barren of the benefit of any forfeit rising thereby, as good reason was they should. And thus it is notorious, that the preface running specially and principally upon treason, and the statute running altogether upon points of heresy, do not well cohere nor join together.

(K) Fifthly, In that "such persons indicted shall be delivered unto the ordinaries of the places," &c.: it cannot be denied, but that this offence concerneth no manner of treason, forasmuch as ordinaries cannot be judges in cases of treason or felony, by the laws of our realm, Bract. in fine libri 1.

(L) Sixthly, By the indictments provided "not to be taken in evidence, but only for information, before the judges spiritual," &c.: it is likewise to be noted, to what end these indictments were taken; to wit, only to inform the ordinaries, which cannot be in cases of treason.

(M) Lastly, Where it followeth, toward the end of the statute, touching escape or breaking of prison, &c.: by this it may lightly be smelt, whereto all the purpose of this statute driveth; that is, to the special escape of the Lord Cobham out of the Tower, to this end, to have his lands and possessions forfeit unto the king. And yet the same escape of the Lord Cobham, in this statute considered, is taken by Mr. Justice Stanford, in the first book of the Pleas of the Crown, cap. 33, to be an escape of one arrested for heresy, where he speaketh of the case of the Lord Cobham.

Moreover, as touching the parts of this aforesaid statute, how will you join these two branches together, whereas in the former part is said, "That the lands of such persons convict shall be forfeit to the king, not before they be dead:" and afterwards it followeth, "That their goods and possessions shall be forfeit at the day of their arrest to the king?" But herein standeth no such great doubt, nor matter to be weighed. This is without all doubt, and notoriously, evidently, and most manifestly may appear, by all the arguments and whole purport of the statute; that as well the preamble and preface thereof, as the whole body of the said statute, were made, framed, and procured only by and through the instigation, information, and excitation, of the prelates and the popish clergy; not so much for any treason committed against the king, but only for fear and hatred of Lollardy tending against their law, which they more dreaded and abhorred than ever any treason against the prince. And then, to set the king and all the states against them, whereby the more readily to work their despatch, they thought it best, and none so compendious a policy, as prettily to join treason together with their Lollardy; wherein the poor men once entangled, could no ways escape destruction.

This, Master Cope, have I said, and say again, not as one absolutely determining upon the matter. At the doing whereof, as I was not present myself, so with your own Hall, I may and do leave it at large, but as one leading the readers by all conjectures and arguments of probability and of due circumstances, to consider with themselves what is further to be thought in these old accustomed practices and proceedings of these prelates. Protesting, moreover, Master Cope, in this matter to

you, that those chronicles which you so much ground upon, I take them in this matter neither to be as witnesses sufficient, nor as judges competent; who, as they were not themselves present at the deed done, no more than I, but only following uncertain rumours, and words of course and office, bringing with them no certain trial of that which they do affirm, may therein both be deceived themselves, and also deceive you and other which depend upon them.

And hitherto concerning this statute enough: out of which statute you see, Master Cope, that neither your chroniclers, nor you, can take any great advantage, to prove any treason in the Lord Cobham, or in his fellows, as hath been hitherto abundantly declared in the premises.



hus then having sufficiently cleared the Lord Cobham and his partners, from all that you can object unto them out of records and statutes, let us now come to your English chroniclers wherewith you seem to press me, and to oppress them, whom ye name to be Robert Fabian, Edward Hall, Polydore Virgil, Thomas Cooper, Richard Grafton, with other brief epitomes and summaries, &c.; concerning which authors, as I have nothing to say, but to their commendations, in this place; so, if that you had avouched the same to the commendation rather than to the reproof of others, I would better have commended your nature, and believed your cause. But now, like a spider-catcher, sucking out of every one what is the worst, to make up your laystall, you heap up a dunghill of dirty dialogues, containing nothing in them but malicious railing, virulent slanders, manifest untruths, opprobrious contumelies, and stinking blasphemy, able almost to corrupt and infect the air. Such is the malady and cacoethes of your pen, that it beginneth to bark, before it hath learned well to write; which of yours, nevertheless, I do not here reproach or condemn, as neither do I greatly fear the same. God, of his mercy, keep the sword out of the papists' hand: it is not the pen of the papists I greatly pass upon, though twenty Copes and so many surplices were set against the Book of Monuments, were I so disposed, Master Cope, to dally, or, as the Greeks do say, αὐτος εἶναι [Greek: Autos eoe] and to repay again as I am provoked. But, in despiteful railing, and in this satirical sort of barking, I give you over, and suffer you therein to pass not only yourself, but also Cerberus himself, if ye will, the great ban-dog of Pluto. Mildness and humanity rather beseemeth, and is the grace of the Latin phrase. If ye could hit upon the vein thereof, it would win you much more honesty with all honest men: but the Lord hereafter may call you, which I beseech him to do, and to forgive you that you have done.

In the mean time, seeing this your prattling pen must needs be walking, yet this you might have learned of these your own authors whom you allege, more civilly to have tempered your fume in exclaiming against them whose cause is to you not perfectly known. And now briefly to answer to these your aforesaid writers, as witnesses produced against these men: there be two things (as I take it) in chronicle writers to be considered; first, the grounds which they follow; secondly, in what place they serve.

As touching the order and ground of writing among these chroniclers, ye must consider, and cannot be ignorant, that as none of all these by you forenamed was present at the deed, nor witness of the fact, so have they nothing of themselves herein certainly to affirm, but either must follow public rumour and hearsay for their author; or else one of them must borrow of another: whereof neither seemeth to me sufficient; for, as public rumour is never certain, so one author may soon deceive another.

By reason whereof it cometh oft to pass, that as these story-writers hit many times the truth, so again all is not in the gospel that they do write: wherefore great respect is here to be had, either not to credit rashly every one that writeth stories, or else to see what grounds they have whom we do follow.

Now to demand, Master Cope, of you, what authority or foundation hath your Robert Fabian, have Polydore Virgil, Edward Hall, and other of your authors, to prove these men to be traitors? what authority do they avouch? what acts, what registers, what records, or out of what court do they show, or what demonstration do they make? And do you think it sufficient, because these men do only affirm it, without further probation, with your αὐτος εἶπεν [Greek: Autos eoe], therefore we are bound to believe it? Take me not so, Master Cope, that I do here diminish any thing, or derogate from the credit of those writers you allege, whose labours have deserved well, and serve to great utility: but coming now to trial of a matter lying in controversy between us, we are now forced to seek out the fountain and bottom of the truth, where it is not enough to say, So it is, but the cause is to be showed why it is so affirmed. And what though Robert Fabian, Polydore Virgil, and Edward Hall should altogether (as they do not) agree in the treason of Sir John Oldcastle, and of the rest? yet neither is this any sufficient surety to prove them traitors;; considering that writers of stories, for the most part following either blind report, or else one taking of another, use commonly all to sound together after one tune, so that as one saith, all say; and if one err, all do err. Wherefore you see, Master Cope, how it is not sufficient nor sure to stick only to the names and authorities of chronographers, unless the ground be found substantial whereupon they stand themselves, which yet in none of these whom you have produced doth appear.

Secondly, In alleging and writing of chronicles, it is to be considered to what place and effect they serve. If ye would show out of them the order and course of times, what years were of dearth and of plenty, where kings kept their Christmas, what conduits were made, what mayors and sheriffs were in London, what battles were fought, what triumphs and great feasts were holden, when kings began their reign, and when they ended, &c.: in such vulgar and popular affairs the narration of the chronicler serveth to good purpose, and may have his credit, wherein the matter forceth not much whether it be true or false, or whether any listeth to believe them. But where a thing is denied, and in cases of judgment, and in controversies doubtful, which are to be decided and bolted out by evidence of just demonstration; I take them neither for judges of the bench, nor for arbiters of the cause, nor as witnesses of themselves sufficient necessarily to be sticked unto: albeit I deny not but histories are taken many times, and so termed, for witnesses of times, and glasses of antiquity, &c., yet not such witnesses as whose testimony beareth always a necessary truth, and bindeth belief.

The two witnesses which came against Susanna, being senators, both of ancient years, bare a great countenance of a most evident testimony, whereby they almost both deceived the people and oppressed the innocent, had not young Daniel, by

the Holy Spirit of God, taken them aside, and severally examining them one from the other, found them to be false liars both; leaving to us thereby a lesson of wholesome circumspection, not rashly to believe all that cometh, and also teaching us how to try them out. Wherefore, Master Cope, following here the like example of Daniel in trying these your records which ye infer against these men, we will, in like manner, examine them severally one from another, and see how their testimony agreeth: first, beginning with your Robert Fabian; which Robert Fabian, being neither in the same age, nor at the deed-doing, can of himself give no credit herein, without due proof and evidence convenient.

How then doth Robert Fabian prove this matter of treason to be true? what probation doth he bring? what authority doth he allege? And doth Robert Fabian think, if he were not disposed to conceive of the Lord Cobham and those men, a better opinion but to be traitors, that men are bound to believe him only at his word, without any ground or cause declared, why they should so do, but only because he so saith, and it pleased him so to write? And if ye think, Master Cope, the word only of this witness sufficient to make authority, speaking against the Lord Cobham, and proving nothing which followed so many years after him; why may not I, as well and much rather, take the word and testimony of Richard Belward, a Norfolk man of the town of Crisam, who, living both in his time, and possibly knowing the party, and punished also for the like truth, is not reported, but recorded also in the registers of the church of Norwich, to give this testimony, among other his articles, for the aforesaid Lord Cobham, viz. that Sir John Oldcastle was a true catholic man, and falsely condemned, and put to death without a reasonable cause, &c.

Against this man if you take exception, and say, that one heretic will hold with another; why may not I, with the like exception, reply to you again, and say as well, one papist will hold with another, and both conjure together, to make and say the worst against a true protestant?

Further yet to examine this aforesaid Fabian, witness against Sir John Oldcastle, as Daniel examined the witnesses against Susanna: I will not here ask under what tree these adherents of Sir John Oldcastle conspired against the king, and subversion of the land, but in what time, in what year and month, this conspiracy was wrought? Fabian witnesseth, that it was in the month of January. Contrariwise, Edward Hall, and others our abridgementers, following him, do affirm that they were condemned in the Guildhall the twelfth of December, and that their execution upon the same was in January following, so that by their sentence the fact was done either in the month of December, or else before; or, if it were in the month of January, as Fabian saith, then is Hall and his followers deceived, testifying the fact to be done in the month of December.

And yet to object, moreover, against the said Fabian, forasmuch as he is such a rash witness against these burned persons, whom he calleth traitors, it would be demanded further of him, or in his absence of Master Cope, in what year this treason was conspired? If it were in the same year, as he confesseth himself, in which year John Claydon, the skinner, and Richard Turning, baker, were burned, then was it neither in the month of January, nor in the first year of King Henry the Fifth, for in the register of Canterbury it appeareth plain, that John Claydon was condemned neither in the time of Thomas Arundel, archbishop, nor yet in the first or second year of King Henry the Fifth, but was condemned in the second year of the translation of Henry Chichesly, archbishop of Canterbury, the seventeenth day of August, which was the

year of our Lord 1415: so that if this conspiracy was in the same year, after the witness of Fabian, in which year John Claydon was burned, then doth the testimony of Fabian neither accord with other witnesses, nor with himself, nor yet with truth. And thus much concerning the witness of Robert Fabian.

Let us next proceed to Polydore Virgil, whose partial and untrue handling of our history, in other places of his books, doth offer to us sufficient exception not to admit his credit in this: and yet because we will rather examine him than exclude him, let us hear a little what he saith, and how he faileth, and in how many points, numbering the same upon my five fingers.

First, ending with the life of King Henry the Fourth, he saith, that he reigned fourteen years and six months, and two days, which is an untruth worthy to be punished with a whole year's banishment, (to speak after the manner of Apuleius,) when, as truth is, he reigned, by the testimony of the story of St. Alban's, of Fabian, of Hall, of our old English chronicle, and of Scala Mundi, but thirteen and six months, lacking, as some say, five days; Hall saith he reigned but twelve years.

The second untruth of Polydore is this, whereas he, speaking of this sedition of Sir John Oldcastle and his adherents, affirmeth the same to be done after the burning of John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, which was, saith he, A. D. 1415, in which year, saith he, Thomas Arundel died: in which words he not only erreth, falsely assigning the cause and occasion of this sedition to the death of John Huss, and of Jerome, but also misseth as much in the order and computation of the years. For neither was Sir Roger Acton, with his aforesaid fellows, alive at the time of the council; neither doth he agree therein with any of our English writers, except only with Hall, who also erreth therein as wide as he.

For the third and fourth untruth I note this, where he addeth and saith, that after this rebellion raised against the king, the said Sir John Oldcastle, being there present himself, was taken and imprisoned in the Tower, and afterward escaped out of the said Tower by night: wherein is contained a double untruth; for neither was Sir John Oldcastle there present himself, if we believe Fabian and Cope, neither yet did he ever escape out of the Tower after that conspiracy, if ever any such conspiracy was.

His fifth, but not the last untruth in Polydore, is this, that he states Thomas Arundel to have died in the same year, noting the year to be A. D. 1415, whereas by the true registers he died A. D. 1414.

To this untruth another may be joined, where he, erring in the computation of the years of the said Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, reporteth him to sit twenty-two years; who was there archbishop but only eighteen years, as is to be seen in the records of Canterbury. Albeit in this I do not greatly contend with Polydore, and, peradventure, the adversary will find some easy shift for this matter.

But let us now pass from Polydore, not, as they say, out of the hall into the kitchen, but out of the kitchen into the hall, examining and perpending what saith Edward Hall, another witness in this matter; upon whom Master Cope bindeth so fast that he supposeth his knot is never able to be loosed. And, moreover, he so treadeth me down under his feet in the dirt, as a man would think him some dirt-dauber's son, "so that the spots thereof," he saith, "will never be gotten out while the world standeth, and a day longer." Notwithstanding I trust, Master Cope, that your dirty pen, with your cockish brags, hath not so bedaubed and bespotted me, nor yet convicted

me to be such a depraver of histories, but I hope to sponge it out. At least with a little *asperges* of the pope's holy water, I trust to come to a *dealbabor* (i. e. a whitener) well enough. But, certes, Master Cope, your mastership must first understand, that if ye think so to depress and disprove me of untruth in my history, you must go more groundly to work, and bring against me other authors than Edward Hall. You must consider, Master Cope, if you be a controller of story-matters, it is not enough for you to bring a railing spirit, or a mind disposed to carp and cavil where any matter may be picked: diligence is required, and great searching out of books and authors, not only of our time, but of all ages. And especially where matters of religion are touched pertaining to the church, it is not sufficient to see what Fabian or what Hall saith; but the records must be sought, the registers must be turned over, letters also and ancient instruments ought to be perused, and authors with the same compared: finally, the writers amongst themselves one to be conferred with another; and so with judgment matters are to be weighed, with diligence to be laboured, and with simplicity, pure from all addition and partiality, to be uttered.

Thus did Aventine, thus did Sleidan, write. These helps also the eldest and best historians seemed to have, both Livy, Sallust, Quintus Curtius, and such-like; as by their letters and records inserted may well appear. The same helps likewise, both in your Fabian, and in your Edward Hall, were to be required, but especially in you, Master Cope, yourself, which take upon you so cockishly, rather than wisely, to be a controller and master moderator of other men's matters: in which matters, to say the truth, you have no great skill, and less experience; neither have you such plenty of authors meet for that purpose, nor yet ever travelled to search out the origins and grounds of that whereof ye write; but contented with such only as cometh next to hand, or, peradventure, receiving such alms as some of your poor friends bestow upon you, you think it sufficient if you can allege Fabian and Hall for your purpose.

Now what purpose and affection herein doth lead you, or rather doth drive you, to the carping and barking against the history of these good men that be hence gone, and had their punishment, all men may see it to be no simple sincerity of a mind indifferent, but the zeal only of your sect of popery, or rather of fury, which setteth your railing spirit on fire. But now, out of the fiery kitchen to come to the hall again, let us see what matter lieth in the testimony of Edward Hall, to prove these men to be traitors. And here forasmuch, Master Cope, as you seem neither sufficiently acquainted with this your own master and author, Master Hall, nor yet well experienced in the searching out of histories, I will take a little pains for you, in this behalf, to certify you, concerning the story of this author, whereof, percase, you yourself are ignorant.

The truth whereof is this, that as the said Edward Hall, your great master and *testis*, was about the compiling of his story, certain there were which resorted to him, of whom some were drawers of his pedigree and vineat, some were gravers, the names of whom were John Betts, and Tyrral, which be now both dead. And other there were of the same sodality, who be yet alive, and were then in the house of Richard Grafton, both the printer of the said book, and also, as is thought, a great helper of the penning of the same. It so befell, that as Hall was entering into the story of Sir John Oldcastle, of Sir Roger Acton, and their fellows, the book of John Bale, touching the story of the Lord Cobham, was the same time newly come over: which book was privily conveyed, by one of his servants, into the study of Hall, so that in turning over his books it must needs come to his hands. At the sight whereof, when he saw the ground and reasons in that book contained, he turned to the authors in the

aforesaid book alleged; whereupon, within two nights after, moved by what cause I know not, but so it was, that he, taking his pen, rased and cancelled all that he had written before against Sir John Oldcastle and his fellows, and was now ready to go to the print, containing near to the quantity of three pages. And lest, Master Cope, you or any other should think me to speak beside my book, be it therefore known both to you, and to all others, by these presents, that the very selfsame first copy of Hall, rased and crossed with his own pen, remaineth in my hands to be shown and seen, as need shall require. The matter which he cancelled out, came to this effect. Wherein he, following the narration of Polydore, began with like words to declare how the sacramentaries here in England, after the death of John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, being pricked, as he saith, with a demoniacal sting, first conspired against the priests, and after against the king, having to their captains Sir John Oldcastle the Lord Cobham, and Sir Roger Acton, knight; with many more words to the like purpose and effect, as Polydore, and other such-like chroniclers do write against him. All which matter, notwithstanding, the said Hall, with his pen, at the sight of John Bale's book, did utterly extinguish and abolish; adding in the place thereof the words of Master Bale's book, touching the accusation and condemnation of the said Lord Cobham before Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, taken out of the letter of the said archbishop, as is in his own story to be seen.

And thus Edward Hall, your author, revoking and calling back all that he had devised before against the Lord Cobham, (whereof I have his own hand to show, and witness substantial upon the same,) in his printed book recordeth of him no more, but only showeth the process between the archbishop of Canterbury and him, for matters of religion. And so, ending with Sir John Oldcastle, he proceedeth further to the assembly of Sir Roger Acton, (whom he falsely calleth Robert Acton,) John Brown, and Beverly, the narration whereof he handleth in such sort, that he neither agreeth with the record of other writers, nor yet with the truth itself. For where he excludeth the Lord Cobham out of that assembly, he discordeth therein from Polydore and others; and where he affirmeth the fact of that conspiracy to be wrought before, or at the twelfth day of December, that is manifestly false, if the records before alleged be true. And where he reporteth this assembly to be after the burning of John Huss, and of Jerome of Prague, therein he accordeth with Polydore, but not with the truth. Moreover, so doubtful he is and ambiguous, in declaration of his story, that no great certainty can be gathered of him.

First, as touching the confession of them, he confesseth himself that he saw it not, and therefore leaveth it at large; and as concerning the causes of their death, he leaveth the matter in doubt, not daring (as doth Master Cope) to define or pronounce any thing thereof, but only recite the surmises and minds of divers men diversely, some thinking it was for conveying the Lord Cobham out of the Tower, some that it was for treason and heresy. And here cometh in the mention only of a record, but what record it is neither doth he utter it, nor doth he examine it; otherwise again affirming, as he saith, that it was for feigned causes surmised by the spirituality, more of displeasure than truth. And thus your author Hall, having recited the variety of men's opinions, determineth himself no certain thing thereof; but, as one indifferent, neither bound to the conjectures of all men, nor to the witnesses of all men, referreth the whole judgment of the matter free unto the reader. And so, concluding his narration, forasmuch as he was neither a witness of the fact, nor present at the deed, he overpasseth the story thereof.

And what witness then will you, or can you, Master Cope, take of Edward Hall, which denieth himself to be a witness? will you compel him to say that he saw not, and to witness that he cannot? Wherefore, like as Susanna, in the story of Daniel, was quit by right judgment in the case of adultery, because her accusers and witnesses, being examined asunder, were found to vary and halt in their tale, and not to agree in the two trees; so why may not, in like case of treason, Sir Roger Acton, Sir John Oldcastle, Brown, with the rest, claim the same privilege? seeing among the accusers and witnesses produced against them such discord is found, and such halting among them, that neither do they agree in place, person, year, day, nor month.

For first, Where Fabian and his fellows say, that they were assembled together in a great company in the field near to St. Giles, the forged indictment above alleged saith, they were but riding toward the field.

Secondly, Where the aforesaid indictment, and Polydore, give the Lord Cobham to be present personally in that assembly, Hall, and Alanus Copus, Anglus, do exclude his personal presence from thence; and so doth Fabian also seem to agree, speaking only of the adherents of Sir John Oldcastle.

Thirdly, Where Hall and Polydore report this assembly to be after the burning of John Huss and of Jerome, at the council of Constance, which was A. D. 1415, that cannot be; but if there were any such conspiracy in the first year of Henry the Fifth, it must needs be in 1413. And here, by the way, why do certain of your epitome-writers, speaking of the Lord Cobham, committed first to the Tower for heresy, refer the said imprisonment to the year 1412, whereas by their own count, reckoning the year from the Annunciation, it must needs be in the year 1413, being done in harvest-time.

Fourthly, Where Hall with his followers affirm that Sir Roger Acton, Brown, and Beverly were condemned the twelfth day of December, the record is evident against it, which holdeth the fact to be in working, the tenth day of January.

Fifthly, Whereas the aforesaid record of the indictment giveth the Wednesday next after the Epiphany, which was the tenth day of January that present year, both the fact to be committed the same day, the commission also to be granted and delivered to the commissioners the same day, the said commissioners to sit in commission the same day, the sheriffs of Middlesex to return a jury out of the body of Middlesex the same day, and the jurors to find the indictment on the same day; and yet no juror in the indictment named the same day.

Item, the Lord Cobham the same day to be found conspiring to make himself regent, whenas the king, that day and year, was not yet passed into France — how all these can concur and hang together, and all in one day — I suppose it will cost you two days before you, with all your learned council, will study it out; and when you, in your unlawful assemblies, have conspired and conferred together all ye can, yet will ye make it (as I think) three days, before you honestly despatch your hands of the matter.

And where ye think that ye have impressed in me such a foul note of lying, never to be clawed off while the world standeth, yet shall the posterity to come judge between you and me, whether shall appear more honest and true, my defence for that worthy lord, or your uncourteous and viperous wrangling against him, moved with no other cause but only with the peevish spirit of popery, which can abide nothing but that savoureth of your own sect. For else, how many loud lying legends, yea, what legions of lies, are daily used and received in the popish church! What doltish dreams!

what feigned miracles! what blasphemous tales, and friarly fables, and idle inventions, fighting against the sincere religion, doctrine, and cross of Christ! And could you hold your pen from all these, and find nothing else to set your idleness on work, but only to write against the Lord Cobham, Sir Roger Acton, Brown, Onley, Cowbridge, with a few others, whom with much ado at length you have sought out, not so much for any true zeal to rebuke iniquity, as craftily seeking matter by these to deface and blemish the book of Acts and Monuments? which seemeth belike to make you scratch there where it itcheth not. And if I should after the like dealing take in hand your popish portues, and with the like diligence excuse every popish martyr and saint there canonized; think you, Master Cope, I could not make you out half a dozen as rank traitors and rebels to their kings and princes, as ever were any of these of your picking out? What pope almost hath there been these last five hundred years, which hath not been a traitor to his emperor and prince, and to his country? either openly rebelling against them, or privily conspiring their destruction, or proudly setting their feet upon their necks, or spurning their crowns off from their heads, or making the son to fight against the father? How many have they deposed, and set up other in their seats! How many emperors and kings have they wrongfully cursed! What consuls of Rome have they resisted, deposed, and put to death! What wars have they raised up against their own country of Rome! Yea, the continual holding of the city of Rome from his lawful emperor, what is it but a continual point of treason?

What will you answer me, Master Cope, to the pope, which conspired to let fall down a stone upon the emperor's head, kneeling at his prayers?

And though this treachery, being as big as a millstone, seemed but a small mote in your eye, that it could not be espied, yet what will ye say of the monk of Swinstead, that poisoned King John, who was both absolved by his abbot before his treason committed, and after his treason had a perpetual mass sung for him, to help him out of purgatory? And what think ye in your conscience is to be said of Thomas Becket, who did enough, and more than became him, to set the French king and the king of England together by the ears? Of Anselm likewise, and of Stephen Langton, who departed both out of the realm to complain of their princes and sovereigns? The like may be said also of John Peckham. John Stratford, archbishop of the same see of Canterbury, notoriously resisted the king's commandment, being sent for by King Edward the Third, to come to the parliament at York; through the default of whose coming the present opportunity of getting of Scotland was the same time lost.

Richard Scrope, archbishop of York, was openly in arms to rebel and fight against King Henry the Fourth, for the which he was condemned and put to death: and yet, notwithstanding, commission was sent down from the pope shortly after, to excommunicate them which put him to death, his treason notwithstanding. Read the story sincerely of Pope Benedict the Twelfth, and of Pope Clement the Sixth, and see how the traitorous rebellion of these two popes against Louis, their rightful emperor, can be defended; which emperor at last was also poisoned, and not without the practice of Pope Clement, as Hieronimus Marius doth credibly witness.

In the reign of King Edward the Second, mention was made before of Thomas, earl of Lancaster, who, with a great number of other nobles and barons of the realm, rose in armour against their prince, and, therefore, at length were put to death as traitors. And yet, notwithstanding this treason committed, Master Cope, if you be so ignorant in our stories that you know it not, set your setters-on to search, and you shall find it true, that certain noblemen went up to Rome, for the canonizing of the said

Thomas of Lancaster to be made a saint, and obtained the same; insomuch that in a certain old calendar, the name of the said St. Thomas of Lancaster is yet extant to be seen.

In the fourth book of the Acts and Monuments, mention was made of Edmund Abbingdon, archbishop of Canterbury, whom although I do not disprove, but rather commend, in my history, for his bold and sage counsel given unto King Henry the Third, and also for offering the censure of excommunication against the king in so necessary a cause, yet, notwithstanding, the same Edmund afterwards, about his latter end, went up with a rebelling mind to complain of his king unto the pope, and in his journey died, before his return; who, afterward, for the same was canonized by the pope, and now shineth among the saints in the pope's calendar.

Let us come more near to these days and times, and consider the doings of Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, who being first deposed and exiled for his contemptuous deserts against the king, and afterwards coming in with Henry Bolingbroke, duke of Hereford, in open arms, and with main force, rose against his natural and lawful king. Think you, Master Cope, this is not as great a point of treason, as that which was done in Thickets' fields? and though he be not placed among the portuous saints, yet I think nothing contrary, but in your heart you will not greatly stick to say, Holy St. Thomas, pray for us.

All these things well considered, tell me, Master Cope, I pray you, is treason such a strange and uncouth thing in your pope-catholic church, that your burning zeal of obedience to kings and princes cannot read the story of the Lord Cobham and Sir Roger Acton, but your pen must needs be inflamed to write against them, and yet so many traitors in your own calendars neither seen nor once spoken of? And if the traitorous conspiracy and rebellion of so many your calendar saints, committed against emperors, kings, and princes, cannot stir your zeal, nor move your pen; nor if the treason of Pope Gregory the Ninth, raising war against his own city of Rome, and causing thirty thousand citizens in one battle to be slain, deserveth not to be espied and accused, as much as this treason of the Lord Cobham; yet what will you or can you answer to me, Master Cope, as touching the horrible treason of Pope Gregory the Seventh, committed not against emperor nor king, nor any mortal man, but against the Lord himself, even against your God of your own making, being therein, as you say, no substance of bread, but the very personal body, flesh, blood, and bone of Christ himself; which body, notwithstanding, the aforesaid Pope Gregory the Seventh took and cast with his own hands into the burning fire, because he would not answer him to a certain doubt or demand? Soothly, if Sir John Oldcastle had taken the body of King Henry the Fifth, and thrown him into the fire, the fact being so notoriously certain as this is, I would never have bestowed any word in his defence. And could this, and so many other heinous treasons, pass through your fingers, Master Cope, and no other to stick in your pen but the Lord Cobham?

Finally and simply to conclude with you, Master Cope, and not to flatter you, what is the whole working, the proceedings, actions, and practices of your religion, or hath been almost these five hundred years, but a certain perpetual kind of treason, to thrust down your princes and magistrates, to derogate from their right and jurisdiction, and to advance your own majesties and dominations, as hath been sufficiently above proved and laid before your faces in a parliament holden in France, by the Lord Peter de Cugneriis? Wherefore, if the assembly of these forenamed persons, either within or without St. Giles's field, be such a great mote of treason in your eyes, first look upon

the great blocks and millstones of your own traitors at home, and when you have well discussed the same, then after pour out your wallet of trifling dialogues, or trialogues, if ye list, against us, and spare us not. Not that I so think this to be a sufficient excuse to purge the treason of these men, if your popish calendars and legends be found full of traitors: but this I think, that the same cause which made them to suffer as traitors, hath made you also to rail against them for traitors, that is, mere hatred only against their religion, rather than any true affection you have to your princes and governors, who, if they had been as fervent in your popery, and had suffered so much for the holy father of Rome, or for the liberties of the holy mother church of Rome, I doubt not but they, as holy children of Rome, had been rung into your Romish calendar with a *festum duplex*, or at least with a *festum simplex*, of nine lessons; also with a vigil, peradventure, before them.

Now, because they were of the contrary profession, and enemies to your great Diana you play with them as the Ephesian carvers did with St. Paul, and worse. Ye thrust them out as seditious rebels, not only out of life and body, but also cannot abide them to have any poor harbour in their own friends' houses, among our Acts and Monuments to be remembered. In the which Acts and Monuments, if gentle Master Ireneus, with his fellow Critobulus, in your clerkly dialogues, will not suffer them to be numbered for martyrs; yet speak a good word for them, Master Cope, they may stand for tests or witness-bearers of the truth. And thus much for defence of them.

Now to the other part of his accusation; wherein this Alarms Copus, Anglus, in his εξαπλα [Greek: exapla], or six-fold dialogues, contendeth and chafeth against my former edition, to prove me in my history to be a liar, forger, impudent, a misreporter of truth, a depraver of stories, a seducer of the world, and what else not; whose virulent words, and contumelious terms, how well they become his popish person, I know not. Certes, for my part, I never deserved this at his hands wittingly, that I do know. Master Cope is a man whom yet never I saw, and less offended, nor ever heard of him before. And if he had not, in the front of his book, entitled himself to be an Englishman, by his writing I would have judged him rather some wild Irishman, lately crept out of St. Patrick's purgatory, so wildly he writeth, so fumishly he fareth.

But I cease here, and temper myself, considering not what Master Cope deserveth to be said unto, nor how far the pen here could run, if it had its scope, but considering what the tractation rather of such a serious cause requireth; and therefore seriously to say unto you, Master Cope, in this matter; where you charge my history of Acts and Monuments so cruelly, to be full of untruths, false lies, impudent forgeries, depravations, fraudulent corruptions, and feigned fables; briefly, and in one word, to answer you, not as the Lacones answered to the letters of their adversary, with *si*, but with *osi*; would God, Master Cope, that in all the whole book of Acts and Monuments, from the beginning to the latter end of the same, were never a true story, but that all were false, all were lies, and all were fables! would God the cruelty of your catholics had suffered all them to live, of whose death ye say now, that I do lie! Although I deny not but in that book of Acts and Monuments, containing such diversity of matter, something might overscape, yet I have bestowed my poor diligence. My intent was to profit all men, to hurt none.

If you, Master Cope, or any other, can better my rude doings, and find things out more finely and truly, with all my heart I shall rejoice with you and the commonwealth, taking profit by you. In perfection of writing, of wit, cunning,

dexterity, finesse, or other endowments required in a perfect writer, I contend neither with you nor any other. I grant that in a laboured story, such as you seem to require, containing such infinite variety of matter as this doth, much more time would be required: but such a time as I had, that I did bestow; if not so laboriously as other could, yet as diligently as I might.

But here partly I hear what you will say — I should have taken more leisure and done it better. I grant and confess my fault; such is my vice, I cannot sit all the day, Master Cope, fining and mincing my letters, and combing my head, and smoothing myself all the day at the glass of Cicero; yet, notwithstanding, doing what I can, and doing my good will, methinks I should not be reprehended, at least not so much railed on at Master Cope's hand; who if he be so pregnant in finding fault with other men's labours, which is an easy thing to do, it were to be wished, that he had enterprised himself upon the matter; and so should have proved what faults might have been found in him. Not that I herein do utterly excuse myself, yea, rather am ready to accuse myself, but yet, notwithstanding, think myself ungently dealt withal at Master Cope's hands; who, being mine own countryman, an Englishman, as he saith, also of the same university, yea, college and school, that I was of; knowing that the first edition of these Acts and Monuments was begun in the far parts of Germany, where few friends, no conference, small information could be had; and the same edition afterward translated out of Latin into English by others, whilst I, in the mean time, was occupied about other registers; and now the said Cope, hearing moreover and knowing that I was about a new edition of the same Acts and Monuments, at this present time to be set forth, for the amending of divers things therein to be reformed, if he had known any fault needful to be corrected, he might gently, by letters, have admonished me thereof; gentleness would so have required it, time would well have suffered it. Neither was he so far off, but he might sooner have written a letter to me, than a book against me; neither was I so ungrateful and inhuman, but I would have thanked him for his monition; neither yet so obstinate, but being admonished, I would have corrected willingly, where any fault had been committed.

But herein your nature, Master Cope, doth right well appear. First, in the said book of Acts and Monuments, where many other good things be contained, not unfruitful nor unprofitable, peradventure, for the instruction of your conscience, and wherein my labours perhaps might have deserved your thanks, all that you dissemble and pass over, only excepting those matters which make for cavillation. Thus the black spider out of pleasant flowers sucketh his poison. And what book is so pleasant and fruitful, though it were the pope's own portues, yea, his own decretals, yea, his own very mass-book, to the reading whereof if I brought the like mind so disposed to caviel, as you brink to the reading of my history, but I could find out twice as many "lies," "faults," "follies," as you have done in these Acts and Monuments? and yet you have done pretty well.

Besides all this, yet better to mark the goodness of your gentle nature: be it so that I had been in some piece of my story deceived, as I do not justify myself in all points therein, yet you, understanding that I was about the correction of my book again, might either have taken the best, and left the worst, or else have gently taken the pains to have advertised me of such notes as you had, without further exclamation, or at least might have deferred your dialogues for a time, till the coming out of my book, to see first what would in the later edition be altered. But belike your gall was full, your haste could not tarry, your venom must needs burst out.

Seeing therefore the order of your doings to be such, and disposition of your nature so far from all humanity, dealing with me so extremely, if I, thus provoked with your extremity again, should now after this your currish nature shape you a name accordingly, and instead of Cope, godfather you to be a perpetual sycophant, could you much blame me? and doth not your sycophantical book well deserve it? or think you I could not repay you again with like extremity as you bring, and dress your drowsy, or rather lousy, Dialogues in their right colours, if I were so disposed? But my purpose is with patience to spare you, and rather to pray for you: God make you a good man! Peradventure he may hereafter call you; and rather had I to win you, than to sting you. Leaving therefore the consideration of your ungrateful doings, I will now consider only the points wherein you charge me in your book, answering briefly unto the same: briefly, I say, because the greatness of this volume, and abundance of other more fruitful matter, giveth me little leisure at this present to stand about brawling words.

First, he seemeth to be highly grieved with me for my calendar prefixed before the Book of Monuments; wherein he hath no cause either to be offended with me, or to chafe with himself. As touching which calendar I have sufficiently and expressly declared before so much, as might quickly satisfy this scruple of Master Cope, if he either would have taken the pains, or else had had leisure to read the words contained in the Latin preface before the book prefixed, which are thus: *Quanquam a me quidem non aliter Calendarium hoc institutum est, nisi ut pro indice duntaxat suum cujusque Martyris mensem et annum designante, at privatum lectoris serviret usum, &c.*: in which words preventing before the cavilling objection of the adversary, I forewarned the reader aforehand touching the calendar, wherefore it was ordained and prefixed; for no other purpose, but to serve the use only of the reader, instead of a table, showing the year and month of every martyr, what time he suffered, &c. What hurt, I pray you, is in this calendar prefixed; before the Book of Monuments, more than in the table of Master Cope's book set after his Dialogues? But Master Cope had no leisure to peruse this place; it made not for his humour.

But this grieveth him in the calendar, and that very sore: for that I place in this calendar, Sir John Oldcastle, Sir Roger Acton, Brown, Beverly, and other for martyrs; and displace for them other holy, ancient martyrs and saints, as Anatholius, Sother, Dorothea, Clarus, Lucianus, Severinus, &c. — Answer. If Master Cope cannot abide the Lord Cobham, Sir Roger Acton, Brown, and Beverly, which were hanged, (as he saith, for treason,) to have the name of martyrs, then let them bear the name of witness-bearers, or *testes* of the truth, because they were also burned for the testimony of their faith: seeing there is no difference in the said names, all is one to me by which they are called. And where he chargeth me for thrusting and shouldering out the old and ancient holy saints aforenamed out of this calendar, and placing other new-come saints in their rooms; this is not the first untruth that Master Cope hath made in his Dialogues, nor yet the least: unto whom I might, therefore, fitly answer again with his own familiar phrase, or rather the phrase of Cicero, which he doth so much affect: *Quod nimirum hic ipse Alanus Copus, Anglus, unde me mendacii coarguit, inde sibi ipsi sempiternam ac indelebilem turpissimum mendacii ac singularis impudentiae notam inurat*; for why have not I as just cause to say this to him, as he to me? forasmuch as in the first beginning and preface of the said book of Acts and Monuments, I so diligently and expressly do warn all men beforehand, first, that I make here no calendar purposely of any saints, but a table of good and godly men that suffered for the truth, to show the day and month of their suffering. My words be extant and

evident, which are these: *Neque vero ideo inter divos a me referuntur isti, quod inseruntur in calendarium, &c.*; and declaring afterward how the said calendar doth stand but instead of a table, my words do follow thus: *Haud aliter calendarium hoc institutum est, nisi ut pro indice duntaxat suum cujusque martyris mensem et annum designante, lectori ad usum atque ad manum serviat, &c.*

Again, neither did I receive these men into that calendar, that holy Anatholius, Sother, Dorothea, with other ancient holy saints, should be removed out, as you do falsely and untruly affirm, but because the course of that story, reaching but five hundred years, did not comprehend those former times of such ancient martyrs, but only of such as suffered in these latter days: therefore, requisite it was, that in the table such should be placed chiefly of whom the whole book did then principally and only treat; to demonstrate thereby the time and day of their martyrdom. Neither yet were the other excluded out of this new calendar, which were never inserted in the same before, but only because both together could not there have standing; necessity so there required these in no case to be omitted; and yet no injury meant to the other to be excluded out of their own calendars, whereto properly they did pertain. As for this calendar, or this table, because they were not pertinent unto it, they could not therein, neither was it necessary they should, be included: and yet neither did I, Master Cope, without due and solemn protestation omit the same in my aforesaid catalogue, to prevent and stop all cavilling mouths; as by special words in the said proem of my book unto the reader doth appear, following in this wise: *Interim nullius ego boni sanctique viri (modo qui vere sanctus sit) causam redo, nec memoriam extinguo, nec gloriam minuo. Et si cui hoc displiceat calendarium, mimineret, non in templis a me collocari sed domesticæ tantum lectioni præparari, &c.* And where is now, Master Cope, this your rejecting, expelling, removing, expulsing, exempting, deturbating, and thrusting out, of Anatholius, Sother, Dorothea, and other holy saints, out of Catalogues, fasts, and calendars? or what man is that, or where dwelleth he, "which tumbleth down true martyrs from heaven into hell?" which if ye mean by me, in one word I answer, ye falsely belie me, Master Copus; I had almost called you Master Capus, so like a capon you speak. Neither have you, nor any other, ever heard me so say. Neither have I ever heard of any so mad, to play so the giants with their mountains to climb the heavens, to tumble down God's true and holy martyrs out of heaven into hell, unless it were yourself, (as yet ye are, ye may be better,) and such other of your gilded and popish fraternity, which make of God's true saints stinking dunghills, (for so ye term them in your books,) and not only thrust into heaven your *pseudosantos*, saints of your own making, whom God by his word, doth not allow; but also depulse down from heaven, and make dunghills of God's well-beloved servants, his faithful people and blessed martyrs, which have died for the word of God. And what marvel then, if in your blasphemous books ye cast down from heaven to hell the poor saints of Christ, when in effect you deject also the blood and cross of the Son of God, Christ Jesus himself, setting up the blood of St. Thomas in his office and place. Say, Master Cope, your conscience indifferently; set all popish partiality apart; whereas the Scripture teacheth us simply, "Without blood there is no remission;" whether ye think, by this blood of the New Testament is meant the blood of Christ alone, or the blood of other more besides? If the blood of one must stand alone, why do ye then with the giants build up your mountains, and make a ladder of Becket's popish blood, for men to scale the heavens? Or in so doing, how can you, but either with the protestants wipe out of your calendar the blood of Thomas, or else demolish from heaven the blood of Christ, with the papists?

Now what will the reader say, or what may he judge, considering and conferring this your cavilling with the matter of my premonition made before, but that you are altogether set to play the perpetual syc — : I had almost called you by your right name, Master Cope. But God make you, as I said, a good man! — Reading further in your book, I could not but smile and laugh at this your ridiculous and most loud-lying hyperbolism; where you, comparing my making of saints with the pope's making, can find, as ye say, in the pope, no such impudent arrogance in presuming, as ye find in me, &c. If the pope had not abused his arrogant jurisdiction in canonizing and deifying his saints, more than I have done, the year should not be cumbered with so many idle holy-days, nor the calendars with so many rascal saints; some of them as good as ever were they that put Christ to death.

But where will you find, Master Cope, any man to believe this your hyperbolical comparison to be true, which seeth and knoweth the infinite and unmeasurable excess of the pope's arrogance, not only in shrining such a rabble of blind saints of his own creating, but also in prescribing the same to be received universally in the whole world; and not to be received only, but also to be invoked for gifts and graces; also to be worshipped for advocates and mediators? wherein riseth a double abomination of the pope, the one for his idolatrous making and worshipping of saints; the other for his blasphemous injury and derogation to Christ in repulsing him out of his office of mediation, and placing other mediators of his own making.

And now, to consider what saints these were, or what were the causes of their sancting: what saint almost among all the pope's saints shall you find, Master Cope, made within these five hundred years, but commonly he was either some pope, or some rich bishop and prelate, or some fat abbot, or some blind friar, some monk or nun, some superstitious regular, or some builder of monasteries, or some giver and benefactor to the popish clergy, or maintainer, agonizing for the dignities and liberties of the popish church? What poor layman or laywoman, were their lives never so Christian, their faith and confession never so pure, their death never so agonizing for the witness of Christ and truth of his word, shall find any place of favour in all the pope's calendar, either in red colour, or else in black?

But here, Master Cope, if ye had the wit so much to defend as ye have to overthrow, you might take me with the manner, and reply again for the defence of your great saint-maker, or rather god-maker, of Rome, that he maketh more martyrs and saints of these aforesaid poor laymen and laywomen, than ever he did of any other: for he burneth them, he hangeth them, he drowneth them, imprisoneth and famisheth them, and so maketh truer martyrs of Christ, than any other of his new shrined saints, whom he hath so dignified in his calendar; for the one he doth rubricate only with his red letters, the other doth he rubricate with their own blood. And, therefore, to answer you, Master Cope, to your comparison made between the pope and me, for making of holy martyrs and saints: briefly I say, and report me to all the world, that therein is no comparison; for if ye speak of true martyrs, who doth make them, but the pope? if ye speak of false martyrs, who doth make them, but the pope? And, furthermore, to compare together the causes of these martyred saints in my calendar with them which shine shrined in the pope's calendar, taking the same proportion of time as I do, within these last five hundred years, why may not I have as good cause to celebrate these in my calendar, which lost their lives and were slain principally for the cause of Christ and of his word, as the pope hath to celebrate his double and simple feasted saints in his calendar; who in their doings, doctrine, and

life, as they seemed rather to serve the pope, than Christ the Lord, so in their death appeared no such cause why they should be sanctified in the church beyond all others? Let not the church of Christ, Master Cope, be deluded with hypocritical names, nor feigned apparitions and fabulous miracles, neither be you deceived yourself, but let us resort sincerely to the word of God.

What was in St. Francis, (look upon his superstitious life and presumptuous testament, wrought no doubt by Satan to diminish and obscure the Testament of Jesus Christ,) why he should be made a saint, and not an enemy, rather, of Christ? What was, likewise, in friar Dominic, who, before Francis, ten years together persecuted the poor Waldenses to death and destruction? why should he stand a saint and a pillar of the church? I pray you what see you in Thomas Becket, but that he died for the ambitious liberties of the popish church? What in Aldelm and in Anselm, but only that they chased away married priests from the churches, and planted in idle monks in their stead? The like also did Dunstan, who was rubricated with a double festival. Elizabeth, who was the wife of the marquis of Thuringia, when she had, with much persuasion, got out her husband to fight against the Turks, and he was there slain, she afterward encloistered herself, and was made a nun. And do ye think these causes to be sufficient why they should be made saints, worshipped in churches, and set in calendars? Long it were to make rehearsal of all this ruff-raff, and almost infinite. One example may suffice for many. St. Gilbert of Sempringham was the son of Jocelin, a knight, who, for the deformity of his body, was set to learning, and afterward made canon, and was author of the Gilbertines in the time of King John.

This Gilbert, after he had erected thirteen monasteries of his order of Sempringham, was afterwards laboured for unto the pope to be made a saint, who, hearing of his miracles, wrote his letters to Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, in the behalf of the aforesaid Gilbert, willing and commanding that the feast of the said Gilbert should be solemnized through all the province of Canterbury; whereupon, Hubert, the archbishop, directeth down his writings to all the bishops within his province.

The sum of the which writing of the archbishop tendeth to this effect: That forasmuch as the pope, hearing of the life and miracles of Gilbert, master of the order of Sempringham, by sufficient witness and testimonies, hath in his letters commanded him, by the advice of his cardinals, that the said Gilbert should be canonized and ascribed in the catalogue of saints, and that his solemnity should be celebrated solemnly throughout all the province of Canterbury; and also his body to be taken up and shrined to the honour and glory of God; he, therefore, at the pope's commandment writing unto them, willeth all the suffragans within his province of Canterbury, yearly to solemnize, and cause to be solemnized, reverently, the deposition of the said St. Gilbert, confessor; to the intent that their devotion may be commended of the Lord, and of him. And also that the humble intercession of the said saint, may profit them to their salvation.

Furthermore, for the more full canonizing (canvising, I had almost said) of this new-made saint, the said Pope Innocent, writing to Hubert aforesaid, adjoineth withal a collect of his own making, which is this: "Work in us, O eternal Saviour, full remedy of thy virtue, that we which worship the worthy merits of blessed Gilbert, thy confessor, being succoured by his suffrages, may be delivered from all languors and diseases of our souls; who livest and reignest," &c.

The consecration of this one saint, who perhaps was not the worst, I thought here to commemorate, to the intent that the reader, measuring, by this one, the canonization of all the rest, may judge the better upon this comparison of Master Cope, whether of us doth vindicate more impudent authority, the pope in his calendar, or I in mine; or, to make the comparison more fit, whether is more impudent, the pope in his calendar, or else Master Cope, in his Dialogues, more doltish.

But, briefly to make an end of this matter with you: to canonize or to authorize any saints, for man it is presumptuous; to prescribe any thing here to be worshipped, beside God alone, it is idolatrous; to set up any mediators but Christ only, it is blasphemous. And whatsoever the pope doth, or hath done, in his calendar, my purpose in my calendar, was neither to deface any old saint, or to solemnize any new. In my book of Acts and Monuments treating of matters passed in the church, these latter five hundred years, I did regulate out a calendar, not for any canon to constitute saints, but only for a table of them, which, within the same time did suffer for the testimony of the word, whom I did, and do, take to be good and godly men. If any have other judgment of them, I bind no man to my opinion, as the pope doth to his. The day will come which shall judge both them and you. In the mean season it shall be best for you, Master Cope, in my judgment, to keep a good tongue in your head, and to quiet your railing mood. A hard thing it is to judge before the Lord. Man's judgment may fail and is uncertain, the judgment of God is always sure. Best it is, therefore, either to be sure by the word and judgment of God before, what you do say, or else to say the best. Of such slanderous and intemperate railing can come no good; neither to them whom ye rail upon, nor to yourself which railleth, nor to the church of God that heareth you rail. For them you cannot hurt; they are gone: to yourself, though your matters be true, yet little honesty it will bring to be counted a railer; and if it be uncertain, your state is dangerous, and if it be false, most miserable: and as to the church, what great edification can proceed of such contentious brawling and barking one against another, I do not greatly see. And if the zeal of the bishop of Rome's church have so much swallowed you up, that you cannot but stamp and stare at traitors when ye see them put in calendars, first, Master Cope, be ye sure that they be traitors (wisdom would) whom you call traitors. And if ye can so prove them, (as ye have not yet,) then let your Irenæus, or Critobulus, tell me, why doth not this flagrant zeal of yours, as hot as purgatory, burn out and flame as well against your own traitors, having so many in your own calendar and church at home?

And if there be such a catholic zeal in you, that hath set your gentle breast on such a pelting chafe, why then is not this your catholic zeal equally indifferent? What indifference, Master Cope, call you this? or what zeal make you this to be? albeit, your zeal I judge not, as I know it not. Swift judgment shall not become me, which go about to correct the same in you; but this I exhort you to beware, Master Cope, that by your own fruits and doings evident, ye do not bewray this zeal in you to be not according to knowledge, nor such a zeal as fighteth *pro domo Dei, sed pro domo pontificis*. As I said, I judge you not. You have your Judge to whom ye stand or fall. My counsel is, that you do not so zeal the bishop of Rome, that for his sake ye lose your own soul. Ye remember the old vulgar voice, it is not good *Ludere cum sanctis*; worse it is *Illudere*; worst of all it is *Debacchari in immerentes*; because that *Deus ipse ultionem Dominus* many times taketh their cause in hand, according as it is written, The rebukes of thy rebuker fell upon me. And seldom have I seen any such blasphemous railers against the end or punishment of God's saints and servants, without great repentance, to come to any good end themselves.

And admit this, as granted unto you, Master Cope, that these men had been traitors, which ye are not able to prove: Well! they had their punishment therefore; the world can go no further, and what would you have more? who, if they repented, why may they not have as good part in Christ's kingdom as yourself? Now, forasmuch as the said persons also suffering a double punishment were so constant in the way of truth, and most principally for the same were persecuted, and chiefly therefore brought to their death: that part of example, because I saw it pertain to the profit of the church, why might I not insert it with other church stories in my book? Let the church take that which belongeth to the church. Let the world take that which to the world pertaineth, and go no further. And if ye think it much, that I would exemplify these whom ye call traitors in the Book of Martyrs; first, ye must understand, that I wrote no such book bearing the title of the Book of Martyrs; I wrote a book called the Acts and Monuments of things passed in the Church, &c., wherein many other matters be contained beside the martyrs of Christ. But this, peradventure, moveth your choler, that in the calendar I name them for martyrs. And why may I not, in my calendar, call them by the name of martyrs, which were faithful witnesses of Christ's truth and testament, for the which they were also chiefly brought unto that end? Or why may I not call them holy saints, whom Christ hath sanctified with his blessed blood? And what if I should also call the thief and murderer, hanging on the right side of the Lord, by the name of a holy saint and confessor, for his witnessing of the Lord? what can Master Cope say against it?

And as for colouring the names of certain martyrs in the said calendar in red or scarlet letters, (although that pertaineth nothing to me, which was as pleased the painter or printer,) yet, if that be it, that so much breaketh patience, why rather doth he not expostulate in this behalf with the great saint-maker of Rome, who hath redded them much more than ever did I? for he did red and dye them with their own blood, whereas I did but only colour them with red letters. And thus for matter of my calendar enough.

Proceeding now out of the calendar unto the book, wherein he chargeth me with so many lies, impudencies, vanities, depravations, and untruths, it remaineth likewise I clear myself, answering first to those lies and untruths, which to the story of Sir Roger Acton, and Sir John Oldcastle do appertain; and after to other particulars, as in order of my book do follow. And first, where he layeth against me whole heaps and cart-loads, I cannot tell how many, of lies and falsities: I here briefly answer Master Cope again, or what English Harpsfield else soever lieth covered under this English Cope, that if a lie be, after the definition of St. Austin, whatsoever thing is pronounced with the intent to deceive another; then, I protest to you, Master Cope, and to all the world, there is never a lie in all my book. What the intent and custom is of the papists to do, I cannot tell: for mine own part I will say, although many other vices I have, yet from this one I have always of nature abhorred, wittingly to deceive any man or child, so near as I could, much less the church of God, whom I with all my heart do reverence, and with fear obey. And therefore, among divers causes that have withdrawn my mind from the papists' faction, almost there is none greater than this; because I see them so little given to truth, so far from all serious feeling and care of sincere religion, so full of false pretended hypocrisy and dissimulation; so little regarding the church of Christ in their inward hearts, which they so much have in their mouths, so as under the title thereof they may hold up their own estate. Otherwise, so little reverence they yield to the true and honourable church of Jesus the Son of God, that what unworthy and rascal ministers they take into it they pass not; what fictions,

what lies and fables, what false miracles and absurd forgeries, they invent to delude it, they care not. I speak not of all.

Some there be of that sect unfeigned in conscience, and more religious and better disposed natures, only of simple ignorance deceived: but such commonly have been, and be, the chief guides and leaders of the papists' church, that little true care and small zeal hath appeared in them toward the church of Christ, not much regarding what corruption increased therein, so that their commodity might not decrease. Thus out of this fountain have gushed out so many prodigious lies in church legends, in saints' lives, in monkish fictions, in fabulous miracles, in false and forged relics; as in pieces of the holy cross, in the blood of Hales, in our Lady's milk, in the nails of Christ, which they make to a great number. Likewise in their false and blind errors, corrupt doctrines, absurd inventions, repugnant to the truth of the word. Item, in their bastard books, forged epistles, their Apocrypha, and Pseudopigrapha. Here come in their forged canons, their foisting and cogging in ancient councils and decrees, as in *ὡς ἀπο εμου πετρου* [Greek: *os apo emou petrou*], in Canons of the Apostles, (if those canons were the apostles',) foisted into the decrees by Gratian, also the cogging in a false canon to the Council of Nice for the maintenance of the see of Rome, as appeareth in the sixth synod of Carthage.

Here come in also the epistles of Clement, and other sundry epistles decretal, which as they are no doubt fastly inserted by others, so are they the wellhead of many superstitious traditions, oppressing this day the church of Christ. To speak, moreover, of the liturgies of St. James, of Chrysostom and others, of the first mass said by St. Peter at Rome, and that St. Peter sat twenty-five years bishop of Rome. To speak also of the works of Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, and Gregory, what doctor or famous writer hath there been in the church, under whose name some counterfeited books have not falsely been fathered, and yet stand still authorized under their patronage, to the great detriment of the church? What should I speak of Abdias, Amphilochius, Dionysius Areopagita; the Dialogues of Gregory, which falsely to this day have been ascribed to Gregory the First, whereas indeed they were first written in Greek by Gregory the Third, and afterward translated out of Greek into Latin by Pope Zachary, *vide supra*. Likewise that worthy and imperial sermon entitled, Eusebii Pamphili Sermo ad Conventum Sanctorum, hath to this day wrongfully borne the name of Eusebius; whereas, in very truth, it was made by the good emperor Constantine himself, in his own heroical style in Latin, and afterward translated out of Latin into Greek by Eusebius, as he himself confesseth in his work *De Vita Constant.* lib. 4. But as touching this sermon, although the name be changed, so godly and fruitful it is, that it mattereth not much under whose name it be read, yet worthy to be read under the name of none so much, as of the emperor Constantine himself, who was the true author and owner thereof.

Briefly, except it be the books only of the New Testament, and of the Old, what is almost in the pope's church, but either it is mingled, or depraved, or altered, or corrupted, either by some additions interlaced, or by some diminution mangled and mutilated, or by some gloss adulterate, or with manifest lies contaminate? so that in their doctrine standeth little truth; in their legends, portues, and mass-book, less truth; in their miracles and relics least truth of all. Neither yet do their sacraments remain clear and void of manifest lies and corruption. And specially here cometh in the master-bee, which bringeth in much sweet honey into the pope's hives; the master-lie, I mean, of all lies, where the pope, leaving not one crumb of bread nor drop of wine in the reverend communion, untruly and idolatrously taketh away all substance of bread

from it, turning the whole substance of bread into the substance of Christ's own body; which substance of bread if the pope take from the sacrament, then must he also take the breaking from it; for breaking, and the body of Christ, can in no wise stand literally together by the Scripture. Thus, then, as this is proved by the word of God to be a manifest lie, so think not much, good reader, hereat, as though I passed the bounds of modesty in calling it the arch-lie, or master-lie of all lies; because upon this one, an infinite number of other lies and errors in the pope's church, as handmaids, do wait and depend.

But, forasmuch as I stand here not to charge other men, so much as to defend myself, ceasing therefore, or rather deferring for a time, to stir this stinking puddle of these wilful and intended lies and untruths, which, in the pope's religion, and in papists' books, be innumerable, I will now return to those untruths and impudent lies, which Master Cope hath hunted out in my history of Acts and Monuments, first beginning with those untruths which he carpeth at in the story of the aforesaid Sir John Oldcastle, and Sir Roger Acton, Brown, and the rest.

And first, where he layeth to my charge, that I call them martyrs, which were traitors and seditious rebels against the king, and their country; to this I have answered sufficiently before.

Now here then must the reader needs stay a little, at Master Cope's request, to see my vanity and impudency yet more fully and amply repressed in refuting a certain place in my Latin story, concerning the king's statute made at Leicester, which place and words by him alleged, be these, page 107: *Quocirca rex indicto Leicestriae concilio (quod fortassis Londini ob Cobhami fautores non erat tutum) proposito edicto, immanem denunciat pœnam his, quicunque deinceps hoc doctrine genus sectarentur; usque adeo in eos severus, ut non modo hæreticos, sed perduelliones etiam haberi, ac proinde gemino eos supplicio, suspendio simul et incendio afficiendos statuerit, &c.; et mox: Adeo ille vires, rationesque intendebat omnes, adversus Wicklevianos. Wickleviani id temporis dicebantur, quicunque Scripturas Dei sua lingua lectitarent, &c.*

Upon these words out of my aforesaid Latin book alleged, Master Cope persuadeth himself to have great advantage against me, to prove me a notorious liar, in three sundry points. First, in that whereas I say, that the king did hold his parliament at Leicester, adding this by the way of parenthesis, *quod fortassis Londini ob Cobhami fautores non erat tutum*, &c.: here he concludeth thereby, *simpliciter* and precisely, that the Lord Cobham and Sir Roger Acton with his fellows, were traitors, &c.; whereby a man may soon shape a caviller, by the shadow of Master Cope. For whereas my Dialysis out of the text speaketh doubtfully and uncertainly, by this word *fortassis* meaning indeed the king to be in fear of the gospellers, that he durst not hold his parliament at London, but went to Leicester: he argueth precisely, therefore, that the Lord Cobham, Sir Richard Acton, and his fellows, went about to kill the king. Secondly, whereas I affirm that the king in that parliament made a grievous law against all such as did hold the doctrine of Wickliff, that they should be taken hereafter, not for heretics, but also for felons, or rebels, or traitors, and therefore should sustain a double punishment, both to be hanged, and also to be burned, &c.: here cometh in Master Momus, with his Cope on his back, and proving me to be a liar, denieth plainly that the king made any such statute; see page 853, line 6, where his words be these: *Atqui quod hæretici pro perduellionibus, et deinceps geminatas pœnas suspendii et incendii luerant, ut nugatur Foxus, nullo modo illic traditur, &c.*

First, here would be asked of Master Cope, what he calleth *patriæ hostes, et proditores*? If he call these traitors, then let us see whether they that followed the sect of Wickliff were made traitors and heretics by the king's law, or not. And first, let us hear what saith Polydore Virgil, his own witness, in this behalf, whose words in his twenty-second book, page 441, be these: "Wherefore it was by public statute decreed, that whosoever were found hereafter to follow the sect of Wickliff, should be accounted for traitors; whereby, without all lenity, they should be punished more severely and quickly," &c.

Thus have you, Master Cope, the plain testimony of Polydore with me. And because ye shall further see yourself more impudent in carping, than I am in depraving of histories, you shall understand, moreover, and hear, what Thomas Walden, one of your own catholic brotherhood, and who was also himself alive, and a doer in the same parliament, being the provincial of the Carmelites, saith in this matter, writing to Pope Martin, whose very words here follow, written in his prologue to the said Martin, in this wise: "And it was not long after, but a public law and statute came out, by the common assent of the general parliament of the whole realm, that all Wicklevists, as they are traitors to God, so also should be counted traitors to the king and to the realm, having their goods lost and confiscate to the king; and, therefore, should suffer double punishment, as to be burned for God, and to be hanged for the king," &c. And thus have you, Master Cope, not only my sentence, but also the very words of my story confirmed by this author; because ye shall not think me to speak so lightly or impudently without my book. And, moreover, to confirm the sentence of Thomas Walden, it followeth also in another place of the aforesaid author: "And yet when the noble King Henry the Fifth, who as yet doth live and reign, began first to reign, he began to set forth a law, by his learned catholics which were about him, against the falseness of these men; so that whosoever was proved to be a Wicklevist, through the whole realm, should be punished for a traitor," &c. What words can you have, Master Cope, more plain these? or what authority can you require of more credit, which lived in the same time, and both did see and hear of the same things done? who, also, writing to Pope Martin, was by the said Pope Martin allowed, approved, and solemnly commended; as appeareth by the pope's epistle to him, wherein the pope declareth how he caused his books "by solemn persons to be seen and examined," &c. So that you must needs grant either this to be true that Walden writeth, or else that the pope, in allowing his writings, may err and be deceived. Choose ye, Master Cope, of these two opinions whether you will take.

And if ye think this my assertion yet not sufficiently rescued with these authorities aforesaid, I will also hereunto adjoin the testimony of another writer, named Roger Wall, who writing *De Gestis Henrici V.* and speaking of the said statute of this parliament something more plainly than the rest, hath these words: "Also in this parliament the noble king, reputed Christ's enemies to be traitors to himself, to the intent that all men should know, without all doubt, that so long as he lived he would be a true and perfect follower of Christian faith, did enact and decree, that whosoever should be found followers and maintainers of this sect, which is called the Lollard's sect, *ipso facto*, should be counted and reputed guilty of treason against the king's Majesty," &c.

By these hitherto alleged, if Master Cope will not be satisfied, yet let the reader indifferently judge. And yet, moreover, to make the matter more certain, mark the exclamation of the said Roger Wall added to the end of those words above recited, whereby we have to understand more clearly both what were the proceedings of the

king in the said parliament, and also what was the blind affection of monks and priests at that time toward their king and prince, which was then called *Princeps sacerdotum*, in condemning and destroying the poor Lollards. The words of the monk be these: "O true friend, who taketh and reckoneth that injury no less done to himself, which is done to his friend; and that prejudice which is intended against him, reputeth to be as his own; and, to bear together the burdens of his friend, sticketh not to lay to his own shoulders, for the easing and helping of him," &c.

How can it now be denied, Master Cope, in reading these authors, and seeing their testimonies, but that Lollardism in the parliament was made both treason and heresy, and had, therefore, a double judgment of punishment annexed, to be hanged for the one, and to be burned for the other; according as in my former Latin story I recorded, and yet I trifled not?

But you will say again, as ye do, that there is no mention made for heresy to be made treason, nor of any double punishment to be inflicted for the same. In the body of the statute, I grant, there is no express mention in words of heresy to be made treason, expressly signified in rigour of words; but that inclusively it is so inferred, it cannot be denied. For, first, where lands, goods, and cattle of the said Lollards were lost and forfeit to the king, what doth this import else, but treason or felony?

And where the Lord Cobham, for whose cause specially this statute seemed to be made, did sustain afterwards both hanging and burning by the vigour of the same statute, what is here contained, but a double penalty? Again, where in the beginning of the statute mention is made of "rumours" and "congregations," and afterwards upon the same followeth "the services of the king, whereunto the officers be first sworn, should be first preferred for liberty of holy church, and punishment of heretics, made before these days and now repealed," *ut supra*: what meaneth this, but to make these congregations of the Lollards to be forceable entries, riots, great ridings, unlawful assemblies, affrayers of the people, armour, routs, and insurrections, and so sendeth them to the former statutes not repealed; that is, to the statute, Anno 13 Hen. IV. cap. vii., where the punishment is left to the discretion of the king; or else to the statute, Anno 15 Rich. II. cap. ii., where the penalty is made fine and ransom; or else to the statute, Anno 5 Rich. II. cap. vi., where such assemblies be made plain treason. And as here is matter of treason sufficiently contained, so for heresy, likewise, the same statute referreth them to the ordinaries, and to the laws properly to heresy appertaining, and to the statute, Anno 2 Hen. IV. cap. xv., where the penalty is burning; also to the statute, Anno 5 Rich. II. cap. v. vi. So that in this present statute here, mention is contained, as ye see, although not in express words, yet inclusively (by referring to other statutes not repealed) both Lollardy, which is punished with burning, and forcible entries, which are punished at the king's pleasure. And thus much concerning the second untruth, which Master Cope untruly noted in me.

The third untruth which he noteth in me concerning this matter is this, wherein he reporteth me, that I say, there was no other cause of devising this sharp law and punishment against these men, but only for having the Scripture books; and, therefore, here is to be noted in the margin *Foxi dolus malus*; but let Master Cope take heed he deceive not himself and others. For my part I remember no such place in this my Latin story where I so say. Only my words be these, added in the latter end of the place above recited: "They were called Wicklevists, whosoever at that time read the Scriptures in English, or vulgar tongue," &c. I say not, that for the Scriptures being read in the English tongue, therefore the law was enacted; but so is Master Cope

disposed to construe it. What law and statutes were made against writing or reading of any book in English, or in any other tongue, contrary to the catholic, that is, the Romish faith, or to the determination of the holy church, that is, of Rome, read, I beseech thee, the bloody statute made Anno 2 Hen. IV. cap. xv., above specified. Also read the constitution provincial of Thomas Arundel above-mentioned, where it was decreed that the text of Holy Scripture should not be had, or read in the vulgar tongue, from the time of Master John Wickliff for ever after, unless the said translation be approved first by the ordinary, or by provincial council, under pain and punishment of heresy. Now let the reader judge whether the reading of Scripture books in the English tongue, by the making or translating of Wickliff, or from the time of Wickliff downward, be counted heresy, or not. As for the approving of the ordinary, or of the provincial council added in the end of the said constitution, it maketh more for a show or pretence, than for any just exception, or any true intention: for what man, having those Scriptures translated into English, would either present them to their ordinaries being so set against the reading of such books? or what ordinary would, or did ever yet, since Arundel's time, approve any such translation, presented unto them? Or else why did the good martyrs of Amersham suffer death, in the beginning of King Henry the Eighth, for having and reading certain books of Scripture, which were, as is said, only four epistles of St. Paul, with certain other prayers? and the others which heard them but only read, did bear faggots; and the same time, the children were compelled to set faggots unto their fathers, at which time Longland, being then bishop of Lincoln, and preaching to them at the stake, said, that whatsoever they were that did but move their lips in reading those chapters, were damned for ever; as when we come to that time, by the grace of Christ, shall hereafter more amply and notoriously appear. And where then is this *dolus malus Foxi* margined against me, for crafty dealing in my story?

Moreover, where Master Cope, proceeding further in this matter, asketh me, "How was the Lord Cobham obedient to the king, whenas for the fear of him the king durst not then keep his parliament at London?" To whom I answer again, asking likewise of Master Cope, How was the king then afraid to hold his parliament at London for the Lord Cobham, when the Lord Cobham at that time was in Wales? And here Master Cope, thinking to have me at a narrow strait, and to hold me fast, biddeth me tell him how it could be otherwise, but the Lord Cobham must needs have favourers? "And who should these favourers be (saith he) but Sir Roger Acton, Brown, and their fellows?" The which mighty question of Master Cope, I answer again; How could Sir Roger Acton, Brown, and their fellows be then favourers of the Lord Cobham, for whom the king durst not hold the parliament at London, whenas the said Roger Acton, Brown, and the rest, were put to death, a whole year almost before the parliament at Leicester began?

And now, as I have hitherto briefly and truly answered your askings, Master Cope, let me be so bold with you again, to propound to you likewise another question, forasmuch as you have put me to the searching of the statutes in this matter, wherewith before I was not much acquainted. Now, out of the same statutes riseth a double scruple, or question, worthy to be solved. The case is this, that forasmuch as so many good martyrs and saints of God hitherto, in this realm of England, have been burned from the time of King Henry the Fourth, Henry the Fifth, Henry the Sixth, Henry the Eighth, to the time, and in the time of Queen Mary, my question is, that you, with all your learned counsel about you, will tell me, by what law or statute of the realm were these men burnt? I know the ancient custom hath been, that heretics

convicted by a provincial council were wont to be left to the secular power. But how will ye prove me, these heretics were either convicted by such provincial council, or that these secular men ought to be your butchers in burning them whom ye have committed to them? If ye allege the six articles made in the reign of King Henry the Eighth, those articles neither did serve before the time of King Henry the Eighth, neither yet were they revived after his time. If ye allege the statute made Anno 5 Rich. II. cap. v., in that statute, I answer, is contained no matter of burning, but only of arrest to be done at the certifications of the prelates, without any further punishment there mentioned. To conclude, if ye allege the statute made Anno 2 Hen. IV. cap. v., and revived in the reign of Queen Mary, mentioned before; to that statute I answer, that although the pretended statute appeareth, in form of words in the printed book, to give unto the temporal officers authority to bring them to the stake, and to burn them whom the bishop delivereth, yet is it not to be proved, either by you or any other, that statute to be law, or warrant sufficient to burn any person or persons committed to the secular power by the clergy. And that I prove thus: for although the statute of King Henry the Fourth, in the books printed, appear to have law and authority sufficient, by the full assent both of the king, of the lords, and of the commons; yet, being occasioned by Master Cope to search further in the statutes, I have found, that in the rolls and first originals of that parliament, there is no such mention either of any petition or else of any assent of the commons annexed, or contained in that statute, according as in the printed books usual in the lawyers' hands, too craftily and falsely is foisted in; as by the plain words thereof may well appear.

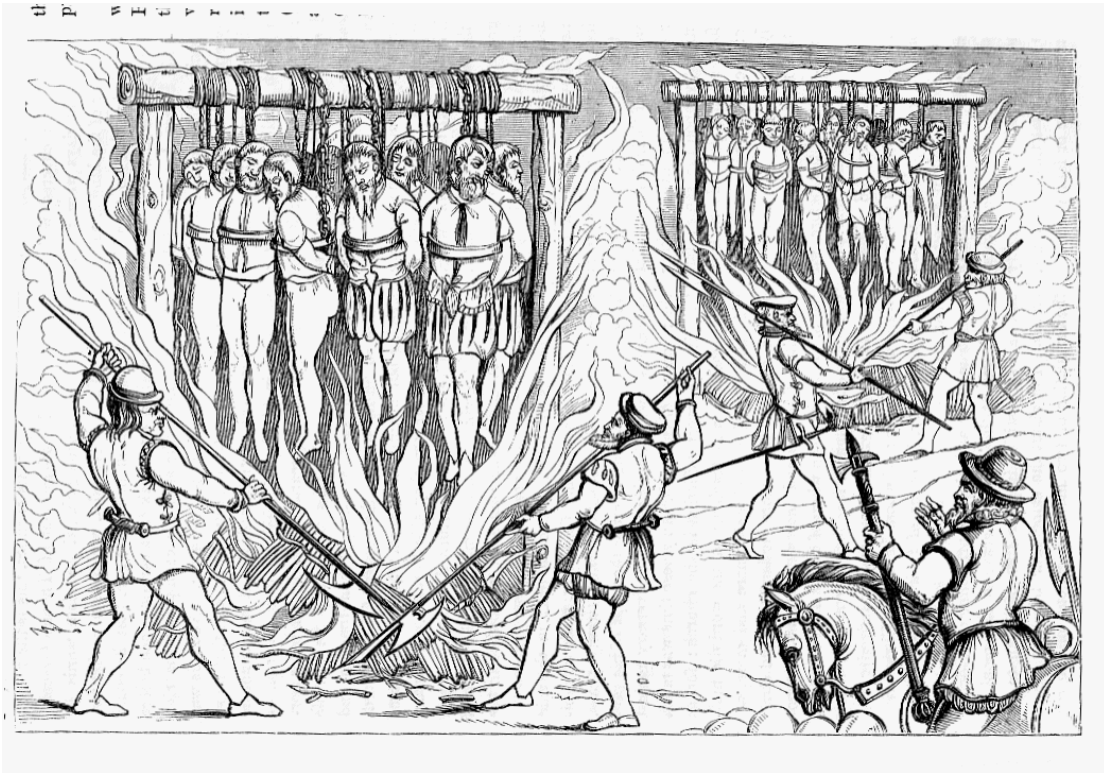
In searching of these statutes, as you have occasioned me to find out these scruples, so being found out, I thought here not to dissemble them, forasmuch as I see and hear many nowadays so boldly to bear themselves upon this statute; and thinking so to excuse themselves, do say, that they have done nothing but the law, the law! to the intent that these men, seeing now how inexcusable they be, both before God and man, having no law to bear them out, may the sooner repent their bloody and unlawful tyranny, exercised so long against God's true servants, yet, in time, before that the just law of God shall find out their unjust dealings; which partly he beginneth already to do, and more, no doubt, will do hereafter.

In the mean time, this my petition I put up to the commons, and to all other which shall hereafter put up any petition to the parliament; that they, being admonished by this abuse, will show themselves hereafter more wise and circumspect, both what they agree unto in parliaments, and also what cometh out in their name. And, as these good commons, in this time of King Henry the Fourth, would not consent or agree to this bloody statute, nor to any other like; for so we read that the commons in that bloody time of King Henry the Fourth, when another like cruel bill was put up by the prelates in Anno 8 Henry the Fourth, against the Lollards, they neither consented to this, and also overthrew the other: so in like manner it is to be wished, that the commons, in this our time, or such other that shall have to do in parliaments hereafter, following the steps of these former times, will take vigilant heed to such cruel bills of the pope's prelacy being put up, that neither their consent do pass rashly, nor that their names in any condition be so abused; considering with themselves that a thing once being passed in the parliament, cannot afterward be called back; and a little inconvenience once admitted, may grow afterward to mischiefs that cannot be stopped. And sometimes it may so happen, that through rash consent of voices, the end of things being not well advised, such a thing may be granted in one day, that afterward many days may cause the whole realm to rue. But I

trust men are bitten enough with such black parliaments, to beware of after-claps. The Lord Jesus, only protector of his church, stop all crafty devices of subtle enemies, and with his wisdom direct our parliaments, as may be most to the advantage of his word, and comfort of his people! Amen, Amen.

And thus much having said for the defence of the Lord Cobham, of Sir Roger Acton, knight, Master John Brown, esquire, John Beverly, preacher, and of other their fellows, against Alanus Copus, Anglus, here I make an end with this present interim, till further leisure serve me hereafter, Christ willing, to pay him the whole interest which I owe unto him: adding this in the mean time, and by the way; that if Master Cope had been a Momus any thing reasonable, he had no great cause so to wrangle with me in this matter, who as I did commend the Lord Cobham, and that worthily, for his valiant standing by the truth of his doctrine before Thomas Arundel, the archbishop; so touching the matter of this conspiracy, I did not affirm or define any thing thereof in my former history so precisely that he could well take any vantage thereof against me, who, in writing of this conspiracy laid against Sir Roger Acton, and Sir John Oldcastle, do but disjunctively or doubtfully speak thereof, not concluding certainly this conspiracy either to be true, or not true, but only proving the same not to be true at that time, as Polydore Virgil, and Edward Hall; in their histories do affirm; which say, that this conspiracy began after the burning of John Huss and Jerome of Prague; which could not be. And thereto tendeth my assertion.

But to the truth of the matter: as I said before, so I say again, whatsoever this worthy, noble, virtuous knight, Sir Roger Acton, was otherwise, this is certain, that he was always of contrary mind and opinion to the bishop of Rome, and to that kind of people; for the which cause he had great envy and hatred at their hands, and could as little bear it: neither do I greatly dissent from them, which do suspect or judge that the Lord Cobham, by his friendly help, escaped out of the Tower; and that, peradventure, was the cause why he was apprehended and brought to trouble, and, in the end, came to his death. Other causes also there might be, that these good men percase did frequent among themselves some conventicles, (which conventicles were made treason by the statute aforesaid,) either in those thickets, or in some place else, for the hearing of God's word, and for public prayer; and therefore had they this Beverly, their preacher, with them. But to conclude: whatsoever this Sir Roger Acton was, this is the truth, which I may boldly record, as one writing the Acts and things done in the Church, that he was at length apprehended, condemned, and put to death or martyrdom, three years and more before the Lord Cobham died. Likewise Master John Brown, and John Beverly, the preacher, suffered with him the same kind of death, as some say, in the field of St. Giles, with others more, to the number of thirty-six, if the stories be true; which was in the month of January, A. D. 1413, after the computation of our English stories, counting the year from the Annunciation; but after the Latin writers, counting from Christ's nativity, A. D. 1414, according as in this picture is specified.



Lollards hanged and burned

These men, as is said, suffered before the Lord Cobham about three years, of whose death divers do write diversely. Some say they were hanged and burned in St. Giles's field; of whom is Fabian, with such as follow him. Other there be which say that some of them were hanged and burned. Polydore, speaking only of their burning, maketh no mention of hanging. Another certain English chronicle I have in my hands, borrowed of one Master Bowyer, who, somewhat differing from the rest, recordeth thus of Sir Roger Acton, that his judgment before the justice was thus; to be drawn through London to Tyburn, and there to be hanged; and so he was, naked, save certain parts of him covered with a cloth, &c. "And when certain days were past," saith the author, "a trumpeter of the king's, called Thomas Cliff, got grant of the king to take him down, and to bury him; and so he did." And thus have you the story of Sir Roger Acton, and his fellow brethren. As touching their cause, whether it were true, or else by error mistaken of the king, or by the fetch of the bishops surmised, I refer it to the judgment of him which shall judge both the quick and the dead; to whom also I commit you, Master Cope: God speed your journey well to Rome, whither I hear say you are going, and make you a good man.

After the decease or martyrdom of these above mentioned, who were executed in the month of January, A. D. 1414, in the next month following, and in the same year, the twentieth day of February, God took away the great enemy of his word, and rebel to his king, Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury; whose death following after the execution of these good men above recited, by the marvellous stroke of God, so suddenly, may seem somewhat to declare their innocency, and that he was also some great procurer of their death, in that God would not suffer him longer to live, striking him with death incontinently upon the same: but as I did the other before, so this also I do refer to the secret judgment of the Lord, who once shall judge all secrets openly.

In the mean time this may seem strange, that the same Thomas Arundel, who, a little before, sat in judgment against the Lord Cobham, and pronounced sentence of death upon him, did himself feel the stroke of death, and the sentence of God executed upon him before the other. Who would have thought but that the Lord Cobham, being so cast and condemned definitively, by the archbishop's sentence, should have died long before the archbishop? But such be the works of God's almighty hand, who so turned the wheel, that this condemned lord survived his condemner three or four years.

In the death of this archbishop, first Polydore Virgil is deceived, who affirmed his death to be A. D. 1415, and in the second year of King Henry the Fifth, also after the beginning of the Council of Constance; who, indeed, never reached the beginning thereof, nor ever saw the second year of that king, unless ye count the first day for a year, but died before, A. D. 1414, February the twentieth. Furthermore, concerning the death of this Arundel, and the manner thereof, who had been so heavy a troubler of Christ's saints in his time, because the thing seem eth worthy of noting, to behold the punishment of God upon his enemies, this is the report, as I have found it alleged out of Thomas Gascoin, in *Dictionario Theologico*, whose plain words be these: "Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, was so stricken in his tongue, that he could neither swallow nor speak for a certain space before his death, much like after the example of the rich glutton; and so died upon the same. And this was thought of many to come upon him, for that he so bound the word of the Lord, that it should not be preached in his days." Which if it be true, as it doth well here appear, these and such other horrible examples of God's wrath may be terrible spectacles for such as occupy their tongues and brains so busily to stop the course of God's word, striving but against the stream; against the force whereof neither are they able to resist, and many times in resisting are overturned themselves and drowned therein. And thus much for the death of Thomas Arundel, who continued archbishop in the see of Canterbury the space of eighteen years.

After this Arundel, succeeded next in the said see of Canterbury Henry Chichesly, made archbishop A. D. 1414, and sat five and twenty years. This Henry, following likewise the steps of his predecessor, showed himself no small adversary against the favourers of the truth. In whose time was much trouble and great affliction in the church; for, as the preaching and teaching of the word did multiply and spread abroad daily more and more, so, on the contrary side, more vigilant care and strait inquisition followed and increased against the people of God, by reason whereof divers did suffer, and were burned; some for fear fled the country; many were brought to examination, and by infirmity constrained to abjure; of whom hereafter, Christ willing, particularly, in order of their times, we will treat.

As true piety and sincere preaching of Christ's word began at this time to decay, so idle monkery and vain superstition in place thereof began to increase. For about the same year the king began the foundation of two monasteries, one on the one side of Thames, of Friars Observants, the other on the other side of Thames, called Sheen and Zion, dedicated to Charter-house monks, with certain Bridget nuns or recluses, to the number of sixty, dwelling within the same precinct, so that the whole number of these, with priests, monks, deacons, and nuns, should equal the number of twelve apostles, and seventy-two disciples. The order of these was according to the description of St. Paul the apostle, Col. i., Eat not, taste not, touch not, &c.; to eat no flesh, to wear no linen, to touch no money, &c.

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

About Michaelmas, the same year, the king began his parliament at Leicester, above mentioned. In the which parliament the commons put up their bill again, which they had put up before, in the eleventh year of Henry the Fourth, that temporalities, disorderly wasted by men of the church, might be converted and employed to the use of the king, of his earls, and knights, and to the relief of the poor people, as is before recited; in fear of which bill, lest the king would give thereunto any comfortable audience, as testifieth Robert Fabian and other writers, certain of the prelates and other head men of the church, put the king in mind to claim his right in France: whereupon Henry Chichesly, archbishop of Canterbury, made a long and solemn oration before the king to persuade him to the same, offering to the king, in the behalf of the clergy, great and noble sums: by reason whereof, saith Fabian, the bill was again put off, and the king set his mind for the recovery of the same: so that soon after he sent his letters and messengers to the French king concerning that matter, and received from him again answer of derision, with a pipe of tennis balls, as some record, sent from the Dauphin, for him to play with at home. Whereby the king's mind was incensed the more toward that voyage; who, when furnishing himself with strength and armour, with powder and shot, and gun-stones, to play with in France, and with other artillery for that purpose convenient, so set over into France, where he got Harfleur, with divers other towns and castles in Normandy and Picardy, and, at Agincourt, had a great victory over the French army, they being counted but seven thousand, by pricking sharp stakes before them, &c. After that he won Caen, Touques, Rouen, with other towns more, as Meldune, or Melione, and married with Katharine, the French king's daughter. And yet, notwithstanding, the third time he made his voyage again into France, where at length, at Blois, he fell sick and died: concerning all which voyages, because they are sufficiently discoursed in Fabian, Hall, and other chronographers, referring therefore the reader unto them, I will return my story to other matters of the church more effectual.

END OF VOLUME 3

**THE ACTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE
CHRISTIAN CHURCH**

by

JOHN FOXE

Commonly known as

FOXES' BOOK OF MARTYRS

Volume 4

From John Huss to the Death of Pope Julius II

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THE ACTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH



John Huss preaching

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100. The Entry of the Story of the Bohemians.

I declared a little before, how, by the occasion of Queen Anne, who was a Bohemian, and married to King Richard the Second, the Bohemians, coming thereby to the knowledge of Wickliff's books here in England, began first to taste and savour Christ's gospel, till at length, by the preaching of John Huss, they increased more and more in knowledge, insomuch that Pope Alexander the Fifth, hearing thereof, began at last to stir coals, and directeth his bull to the archbishop of Swinco, requiring him to look to the matter, and to provide that no person in churches, schools, or other places, should maintain that doctrine; citing also John Huss to appear before him. To whom the said John answering again, declared that mandate or bull of the pope utterly to repugn against the manifest examples and doings both of Christ and of his apostles, and to be prejudicial to the liberty of the gospel, in binding the word of God not to have free recourse; and, therefore, from this mandate of the pope, he appealed to the same pope better advised. But, while he was prosecuting his appeal, Pope Alexander died, as is aforesaid.

After whom succeeded Pope John the Twenty-third, who also, playing his part here in this matter like a pope, sought by all means possible how to repress and keep under the Bohemians, first beginning to work his malice upon the aforesaid John Huss, their preacher, who at the same time preaching at Prague in the temple of Bethlehem, because he seemed rather willing to teach the gospel of Christ than the traditions of bishops, was therefore accused of certain to the forenamed Pope John the Twenty-third for a heretic. The bishop committed the whole matter unto Cardinal de Columna; who, when he had heard the accusation, he appointed a day to John Huss, that he should appear in the court of Rome: which thing once done, Wenceslaus, king of the Romans, and of Bohemia, at the request specially of his wife Sophia, and of the whole nobility of Bohemia, as also at the earnest suit and desire of the town and university of Prague, sent his ambassadors to Rome, to desire the bishop to quit and clearly deliver John Huss from that sentence and judgment; and that if the bishop did suspect the kingdom of Bohemia to be infected with any heretical or false doctrine, he should send his ambassadors, the which might correct and amend the same, if there be any error or fault in them; and that all this should be done at the only cost and charges of the king of Bohemia; and to promise in his name, that he would aid and assist the bishop's legates with all his power and authority, to punish all such as should be taken or found in any erroneous doctrine. In the mean season, also, John Huss, before his day appointed, sent his lawful and meek procurators unto the court of Rome, and with most firm and strong reasons did prove his innocency; whereupon he trusted so, that he thought he should have easily obtained that he should not have been compelled, by reason of the great danger, to appear the day appointed. But when the Cardinal de Columna, unto whose will and judgment the whole matter was committed, would not admit any defence or excuse, John Huss's procurators appealed unto the high bishop: yet, notwithstanding, this last refuge did not so much prevail with Cardinal de Columna, but that he would openly excommunicate John Huss as an obstinate heretic, because he came not at his day appointed unto Rome. Notwithstanding, forasmuch as his procurators had appealed unto the high bishop, they had other judges appointed unto them, as Cardinal Aquileianus and Cardinal Venetus, with certain others; the which judges, after they had prolonged and deferred the matter for the

space of a year and a half, at last returned to the sentence and judgment of Cardinal de Columna, and, confirming the same, commanded John Huss's procurators that they should leave off to defend him any more, for they would suffer it no longer: whereupon, when his procurators would not cease their instant suit, certain of them were cast into prison, and grievously punished; the others, leaving their business undone, returned into Bohemia.

The Bohemians, notwithstanding, little cared for all this; but continuing still, as they grew more in knowledge, so the less they regarded the pope, complaining daily against him and the archbishop for stopping the word of God and the gospel of Christ to be preached, saying, that by their indulgences, and other practices of the court of Rome, and of the bishop's consistory, they sought their own profit, and not the glory of Jesus Christ; that they plucked from the sheep of Christ the wool and milk, and did not feed them, either with the word of God, or with good examples. Teaching, moreover, and affirming, that the commandments of the pope and prelates are not to be obeyed, but so far as they follow the doctrine and life of Christ and of his apostles; and that laymen ought to judge the works of prelates, as Paul judged the works of Peter in correcting him, Gal. ii. Furthermore, they had amongst them certain notes and observations, whereby they might discern how far, and wherein, they might obey their prelates; they derided also and scorned the pope's jurisdiction, because of the schism that was then in the church, when there were three popes together, one striving against another for the papacy.

Over and besides this, at the same time John Huss did propound publicly, and by the notaries caused to be written, three doubtful questions, the tenor whereof followeth here word for word, and is this: "Forasmuch," saith he, "as it is good for men being in doubt to ask counsel, whereby all dubitation is removed, they may be able more firmly to adhere to the truth; three doubts arise here to be solved: The first doubt is, Whether we ought to believe in the pope? The second, Whether it be possible for any man to be saved, which confesseth not with his mouth unto a mortal priest? The third doubt is, Whether any of the doctors do hold or say, that some of Pharaoh's host being drowned in the Red Sea, and of the Sodomites being subverted, be saved?"

As concerning the first, he did hold negatively, alleging the saying of Bede upon this place of the apostle, To him that believeth upon him which justifieth the wicked, his faith is imputed to righteousness, Rom. iv. Upon this place saith Bede, *Aliud est credere in Deum, aliud credere Deo, aliud credere Deum, &c.* "The second doubt," saith he, "the master of the sentences doth answer in these words, 'What is then to be holden or said herein? Certes, that without the confession of the mouth, and assoiling of the outward pain, sins be forgiven through contrition and humility of the heart,'" &c. For the third doubt he brought in the words of St. Jerome upon the prophet Nahum, speaking of the Egyptians destroyed in the sea, and of the Sodomites destroyed with fire, and of the Israelites destroyed in the desert. "Know you," saith Jerome, "that God, therefore, punished them for their sins here temporally, because they should not be punished hereafter perpetually; and therefore, because they were here punished, they should not be punished hereafter, for else the Scripture should lie, which is not to be granted." These three questions belike John Huss did bring in, to declare how the doctors do not agree in all things, neither with the Church of Rome, neither are to be followed in all points of all men.

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It followeth, moreover, after the death of the archbishop Swinco abovementioned, that one named Conrad was placed by the pope there to be chief general, which Conrad, conferring with the divines and doctors of the university of Prague, required their advices and counsels, what way they might best take to assuage the dissension and discords between the clergy and the people whereupon a certain council was devised to be holden after this sort and manner, as followeth

"1. First, That all doctors and masters of the university of Prague should be assembled in the court of the archbishop, and that, in his presence, every doctor and master should swear, not to hold or maintain any of the forty-five articles of John Wickliff before condemned.

"2. Item, Concerning the seven sacraments of the church, the keys and censures of the church, the manners, rites, ceremonies, customs, and liberties of the church, concerning also the worshipping of relics and indulgences, the orders and religions of the church, that every one shall swear that he doth hold, believe, and maintain, and will maintain, as doth the Church of Rome, and no otherwise, of which Church of Rome the pope is the head, and the college of cardinals is the body, who are the true and manifest successors of blessed St. Peter, prince of the apostles, and of the college of the other apostles of Christ.

"3. Item, That every one shall swear, that in every catholic matter, belonging to the church, he will stand to the determination of the apostolical see, and that he will obey the prelates in all manner of things, wheresoever the thing, which is pure good, is not forbidden, or that which is mere ill, is not commanded; but is mean and indifferent between both: which mean or indifferent thing, yet, notwithstanding, by circumstances of time, place, or person, may be either good or evil.

"4. Item, That every one shall swear and confess by his oath, that the opinions of Wickliff and others, touching the seven sacraments of the church, and other things above notified, being contrary to the said Church of Rome, be false.

"5. Item, That an oath be required of them all, that none of them shall hold, defend, or maintain any of the forty-five articles of John Wickliff aforesaid, or in any other matter catholic, and especially of the seven sacraments and other articles above specified, but only as doth the Church of Rome, and no otherwise.

"6. Item, That every ordinary in his diocese shall cause the said premises, contained in the first, second, third, and fourth articles aforesaid, to be published in his synods, and by his preachers to be declared to the people in the kingdom of Bohemia.

"7. Item, If any clerk, student, or layman shall withstand any of the premises, that the ordinary have authority, if he be convicted thereof, to correct him according to the old laws and canons, and that no man shall defend such a one by any means; for none but the ordinary hath power to correct such a man, because the archbishop is chancellor both of the kingdom and university of Prague.

"8. Item, That the songs lately forbidden, being odious, slanderous, and offensive to others' fame, be not sung either in streets, taverns, or any other place.

"9. Item, That Master John Huss shall not preach so long as he shall have no absolution of the court, neither shall hinder the preaching in Prague by his presence; that by this, his obedience to the apostolical see may be known.

"10. Item, That this council doth appear to be good and reasonable for the putting away of ill report and dissension that is in the kingdom of Bohemia.

"11. Item, If Master John Huss, with his accomplices, will perform this, which is contained in the four former articles, then we will be ready to say as they would wish us and have us, whensoever need shall require, that we do agree with them in matter of faith: otherwise, if they will not so do, we, in giving this testimony, should lie greatly unto our lord the king and to the whole world. And, moreover, we will be content to write for them to the court of Rome, and do the best we can for them, our honours saved."

This counsel and device being considered amongst the heads of the university of Prague, the aforesaid administrator, named Conrad, presented it to the king and to the barons of the realm, and also to the senate of Prague; whereof, as soon as word came to John Huss and his adherents, they likewise drew out other articles in manner and form of a counsel, as followeth:

"For the honour of God and the true preaching of his gospel, for the health of the people, and to avoid the sinister and false infamy of the kingdom of Bohemia, and of the marquesship of Moravia, and of the city and university of Prague, and for the reforming of peace and unity between the clergy and the scholars of the university:

"1. Let the right and just decreement of the princes, and of the king's council, be holden and stand in force, which, between the lord archbishop Swinco, on the one party, and between the rector and Master John Huss, on the other party, was made, proclaimed, sealed, and solemnly on both parts received and allowed, in the court of our sovereign lord the king.

"2. Item, That the kingdom of Bohemia remain in its former rites, liberties, and common customs, such as other kingdoms and lands do enjoy, that is, in all approbations, condemnations, and other acts concerning the holy mother universal church.

"3. Item, That Master John Huss (against whom the aforesaid Lord Swinco could object no crime before that council) may be present in the congregation of the clergy, and there whosoever will object to him either heresy or error, let him object; binding himself to suffer the like pain, if he do not prove it.

"4. Item, If no man will set himself on the contrary part against him, then let the commandment be made by our sovereign lord the king through all his cities; and, likewise, let it be ordained and proclaimed through all villages and towns, that Master John Huss is ready to render account of his faith; and therefore if any will object unto him any heresy or error, let him write his name in the chancery of the lord archbishop, and bring forth his probations openly before both the parties.

"5. Item, If none such shall be found to object, or which will write his name, then let them be called for, which caused to be noised and rumoured in the pope's court, that in the kingdom of Bohemia, in the city of Prague, and in the marquissdom of Moravia, many there be whose hearts be infected with heresy and error, that they may prove who they be; and if they be not able to prove it, let them be punished.

"6. Item, That commandment be directed to doctors of divinity and of the canon law, and to the chapter of cathedral churches, and that it be required of them all and of every one particularly, that they will bring forth his name, if they know any such to be a heretic or erroneous, and if they deny to know any such, then let them

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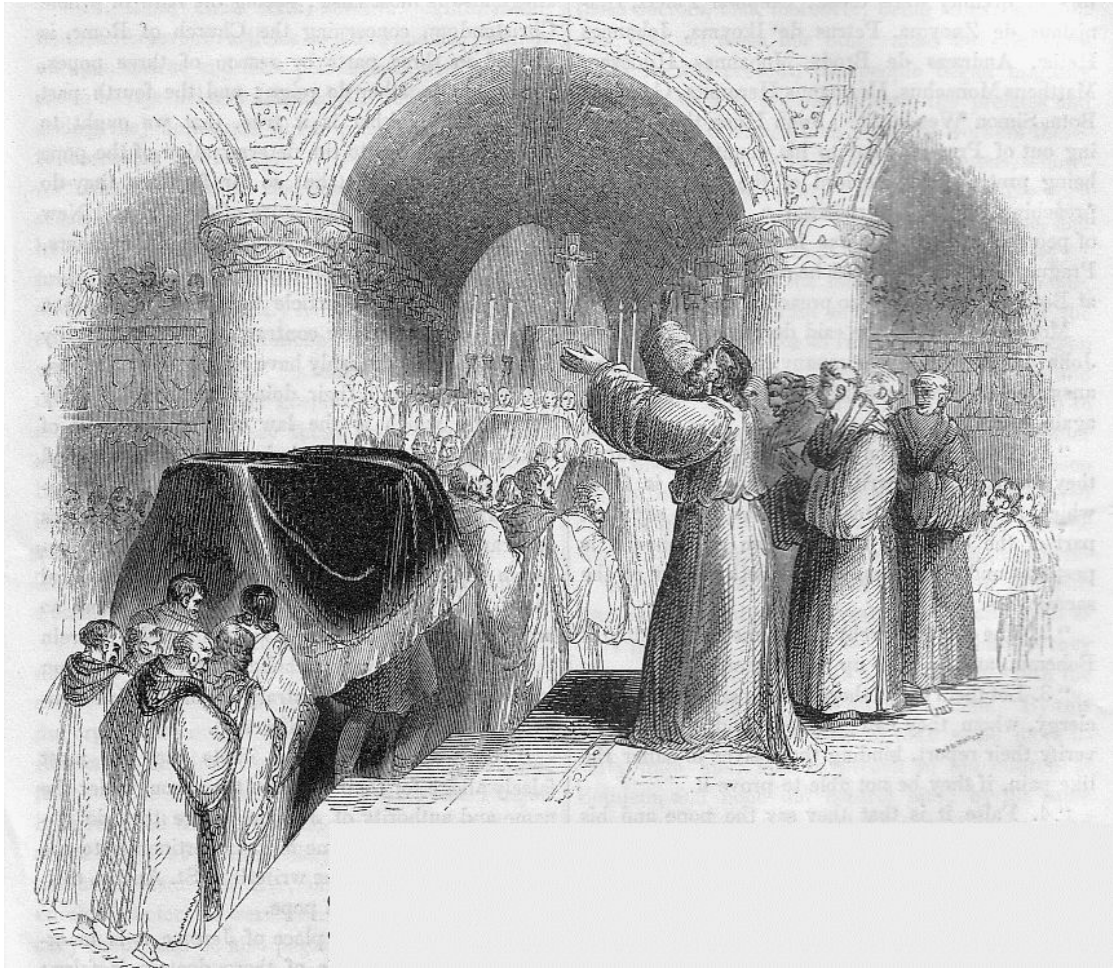
make recognition thereof, before the public notary, confirming the same with their seals.

"7. Item, These things thus done and premised, then that our sovereign lord the king, and also that the archbishop, will give commandment under pain, that no man shall call one another heretic or erroneous, unless he will stand to the probation of that heresy or error, as it becometh him.

"8. Item, After these things obtained, that our sovereign lord the king, with the consent of his barons, will then levy a subsidy, or collect of the clergy, and direct an honest embassy to the pope's court, with the which ambassadors let them also go upon their own proper charges or expenses for their purgation, which have caused this kingdom falsely and grievously to be defamed in the apostolical court.

"9. Item, In the mean season, for the presence of Master John Huss, no interdict ought to be made, as it was made of late, contrary to the order and determination of our holy mother church," &c.

As this matter was thus in altercation between the two parties, the one objecting, the other answering in articles as is aforesaid, in the mean time it happened by the occasion of Ladislaus, king of Naples, who had besieged the pope's towns and territories, that Pope John, raising up war against the said Ladislaus, gave full remission of sins to all them which would war of his side to defend the church. When this bull of the pope's indulgence was come to Prague, and there published, the King Wenceslaus, who then favoured that pope, gave commandment that no man should attempt any thing against the said pope's indulgences. But Huss, with his followers, not able to abide the impiety of those pardons, began manifestly to speak against them; of the which company were three certain artificers, who, hearing the priest preaching of these indulgences, did openly speak against them, and called the pope antichrist, which would set up the cross to fight against his even-christened. Wherefore they were brought before the senate, and committed to ward: but the people, joining themselves together in arms, came to the magistrates, requiring them to be let loose. The magistrates, with gentle words and fair promises, satisfied the people, so that every man returning home to his own house, the tumult was assuaged: but the captains, being in prison, were notwithstanding there beheaded, whose names were John, Martin, and Stascon. The death and martyrdom of these three being known unto the people, they took the bodies of them that were slain, and with great solemnity brought them unto the church of Bethlem: at whose funeral divers priests favouring that side, did sing on this wise; "These be the saints which, for the testament of God, gave their bodies," &c. And so their bodies were sumptuously interred in the church of Bethlem, John Huss preaching at the same funeral, much commending them for their constancy, and blessing God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which had hid the Way of his verity so from the prudent of this world, and had revealed it to the simple lay-people and inferior priests, which chose rather to please God than men.



John Huss preaching at the funeral of John, Martin, and Stascon

Thus the city of Prague was divided. The prelates, with the greatest part of the clergy, and most of the barons, which had any thing to lose, did hold with the pope, especially Stephen Paletz, being the the chiefest doer on that side. On the contrary part, the commons, with part of the clergy and students of the university, went with John Huss. Wenceslaus the king, fearing lest this would grow to a tumult, being moved by the doctors and prelates and council of his barons, thought best to remove John Huss out of the city, who had been excommunicated before by the pope. And further to cease this dissension risen in the church, he committed the matter to the disposition of the doctors and the clergy. They, consulting together among themselves, did set forth a decree, ratified and confirmed by the sentence of the king, containing the sum of eighteen articles for the maintenance of the pope and of the see of Rome, against the doctrine of Wickliff and John Huss. The names of the doctors of divinity were these: Stephen Paletz, Stanislaus de Znoyma, Petrus de Ikoyma, Johannes Heliæ, Andræas de Broda, Johannes Hildesen, Mattheus Monachus, Hermanus Heremita, Georgius Bota, Simon Wenda, &c. John Huss, thus departing out of Prague, went to his country, where he, being protected by the lord of the soil, continued preaching, to whom resorted a great concourse of people; neither yet was he so expelled out of Prague, but that sometimes he resorted to his church at Bethlem, and there also preached unto the people.

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Moreover, against the said decree of the doctors, John Huss, with his company, replied again, and answered to their articles, with contrary articles again, as followeth:

"1. The foundation of the doctors, whereupon they found all their writings and counsels, is false, which foundation is this: whereas they say that part of the clergy in the kingdom of Bohemia is pestilent and erroneous, and holdeth falsely of the sacraments.

"2. The doctors hereby do defame the kingdom of Bohemia, and do raise up new discords.

"3. Let them show, therefore, those persons of the clergy, whom they call pestilent, and so let them verify their report, binding themselves to suffer the like pain, if they be not able to prove it.

"4. False it is that they say the pope and his cardinals to be the true and manifest successors of Peter and of the apostles, and that no other successors of Peter and of the apostles can be found upon the earth besides them: whereas no man knoweth whether he be worthy of hatred or of favour; and all bishops and priests be successors of Peter and of the apostles.

"5. Not the pope, but Christ only is the head; and not the cardinals, but all Christ's faithful people be the body of the catholic church; as all Holy Scripture and decrees of the holy fathers do testify and affirm.

"6. And as touching the pope, if he be a reprobate, it is plain that he is no head, no nor member also of the holy church of God, but of the devil and of his synagogue.

"7. The clergy of the gospellers, agreeing with the saying of St. Austin which they allege, and according to the sanctions of the fathers, and determinations of the holy mother church, do say and affirm laudably: that the condemnation and prohibition of the forty-five articles is unlawful, and unjust, and rashly done; and that not only because the doctors, but also all bishops and archbishops, in such great causes, namely, touching faith, as these articles do, have no authority at all.

"8. The second cause of the discord which they allege also is most false; seeing the faith of whole Christendom, concerning the Church of Rome, is divided in three parts by reason of three popes, which now together do reign; and the fourth part is neutral. Neither is it true, that we ought to stand in all things to the determination of the pope and of the cardinals, but so far forth as they do agree with the Holy Scripture of the Old and New Testament, from whence the sanctions of the fathers, as is evident, did first spring.

"9. In the fourth article they burst out into a certain dotage, and are contrary to themselves; by reason that they doltishly have reprehended the gospellers, who in all their doings receive the Holy Scripture, which is the law of God, the way of truth and life, for their judge and measure: and afterwards they themselves do allege the Scripture, Deut. xvii., where all judges, both popes and cardinals, are taught to judge and discern between leper and leper, and in every ecclesiastical cause, only after the rule of God's law. And so are they contrary unto their second article, wherein they say, that in every catholic matter we must run to the pope; which is contrary to the foolish condemnation of the articles aforesaid.

"10. Consequently, like idiots they do most falsely allege for their purpose the canon, under the name and authority of Jerome, where they do apply the words of

Jerome most impertinently to the pope of Rome, which he writeth to St. Austin, calling him a most blessed pope.

"11. By the which place of Jerome it is manifest that the first article of those doctors is false: forasmuch as by these words appeareth that others besides the bishop of Rome and his cardinals are called blessed popes, holding the faith and seat of Peter, and are successors of the apostles; as was Austin and other holy bishops more.

"12. Whereof it followeth moreover, that the Church of Rome is not that place, where the Lord did appoint the principal see of his whole church: for Christ, which was the head priest of all, did first sit in Jerusalem, and Peter did sit first in Antioch, and afterward in Rome. Also other popes did sit some in Bononia, some at Perugia, some at Avignon.

"13. Item, The aforesaid prelates are falsifiers of the Holy Scriptures and canons, and therefore are worthy to be punished; which affirm and say, that we must obey the pope in all things. For why? it is known that many popes have erred, and one pope was also a woman; to whom not only it was not lawful to give obedience, but also unlawful to communicate with them, as all rubrics and infinite canons do declare.

"14. Item, Their sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh articles do stand and are grounded upon untrue and false persuasions, and therefore are to be rejected and detested like the other before; seeing they do induce, not to peace and verity, but to dissension and falsity.

"15. It is manifest also to the laity, that this dissension among the clergy riseth for no other cause, but only for the preaching of the gospel, which reprehendeth such simoniacs, and such heretics in the church of God, as namely haunt the court of Rome, spreading out their branches abroad into all the world, who deserve to be removed and extirpate, not only of the clergy gospellers, but also of the secular power. And so these three vices, to wit, simony, luxury, and avarice, which is idol-worship, be the causes of all this dissension among the clergy in the kingdom of Bohemia, and not the other, which they falsely ascribe to the gospellers of Prague. These three vices being removed, peace and unity would soon be restored in the clergy.

"16. Moreover, their last article is too gross, and not only is without all law, but also without all colour of law: whereas they fondly and childishly do argue thus: that the processes made against Master John Huss ought to be obeyed, because, forsooth, the common sort of the clergy of Prague hath received them. By the same reason they may argue also, that we must obey the devil, for our first parents, Adam and Eve, obeyed him. Also our ancestors before us were pagans, wherefore we must obey them, and be also pagans.

"17. But let this frivolous opinion go, this is certain truth, that the said processes, made against Master John Huss, by law, are none, forasmuch as they were obtained, drawn, wrought, and executed, contrary to the commission of the pope, against the determination of the holy mother church, and a thousand other laws besides.

"18. Finally, whosoever wittingly and obstinately doth defend and execute, (the said process made,) or consenteth unto them, are all to be counted as blasphemers, excommunicate, and heretics, as hath been before written and exhibited to the lord general bishop Olomucense; and more shall be declared and proved, if audience may be given openly before all the doctors."

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Tedious it were to recite all the bibble-babble of these doctors in this their long responsal. Whoso listeth to see the bottom of their profound writing and knowledge, may resort either to the history of Æneas Silvius, or else to Master Cochleus, in his first book, De Hist. Hussit.

Thus then Master John Huss, being driven out of Prague, as is before touched, by the motion of these doctors, and, moreover, being so excommunicate, that no mass nor other must be said there where he was present, the people began mightily to grudge and to cry out against the prelates and other popish priests, which were the workers thereof, accusing them to be simoniacs, covetous, whoremasters, adulterers, proud; sparing not to lay open their vices to their great ignominy and shame, and much craving reformation to be had of the clergy.

The king, seeing the inclination of the people, being also not ignorant of the wickedness of the clergy, under pretence to reform the church, began to require greater exactions upon such priests and men of the clergy, as were known and accused to be wicked livers. Whereupon they, on the other part, that favoured John Huss, taking that occasion present, complained of all, accused many, and spared none, whomsoever they knew to be of the catholic faction, or enemies to John Huss; by reason whereof the priests of the popish clergy were brought, such as were faulty, into great distress, and such as were not faulty, into great fear; insomuch that they were glad to fall in, at least not to fall out, with the Protestants, being afraid to displease them. By this means Master Huss began to take some more liberty unto him, and to preach in his church at Bethlem, and none did control him: by the same means the people also received some comfort, and the king much gain and money by that reason.

And thus the popish clergy, while they went about to persecute John Huss, were enwrapped themselves in great tribulation, and afflicted on every side, as well of laymen, as of learned men of the clergy, insomuch that women also and children were against them; and by the same reason wherewith they thought to entangle him, they were overthrown themselves. For the doctors, which before condemned this doctrine in John Huss for intolerable heresy, and cried out so much against him, for teaching that temporal lords might take away temporal livings from the clergy sinning *habitualiter*, that is, lying and continuing still in the custom of iniquity; now, when the king and the lords temporal began to amerce them, and bereave them of their temporalties for their transgressions, the said doctors did keep silence and durst speak never a word. Again, where the aforesaid doctors before could not abide in John Huss, that tithes were to be counted for pure alms, now coming to the Guildhall, they were feign to entreat for their temporal goods not to be taken from them; pleading the same temporalties .to be mere alms and devotion of good men, given unto the church.

And thus now did they themselves grant the thing, which before they did condemn. The more that the pope's clergy was pinched, the more grudge and hatred redounded to John Huss, although he was in no cause thereof, but only their own wicked deservings, for the which cause Stephen Paletz, and Andræas de Broda, being the chief champions of that faction, though they would not remedy the cause, yet, to ease their minds, wrote sharp and cruel letters to Master Huss. And, to help the matter forward, the pope also here must help at a pinch, who likewise writeth his letters to Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia, which was brother to Sigismund, emperor, for the suppressing of John Huss and of his doctrine. Which was in the fifth and last year of his popedom, A. D. 1414: the tenor of whose letters to King Wenceslaus in this wise proceedeth.

"John, bishop, servant of God's servants, to his well-beloved son in Christ, Wenceslaus, king of Romans and of Bohemia, greeting and apostolical benediction. Among other desires and delights of our heart, who, although unworthy, represent the room of Christ here in earth, this doth chiefly redound to our singular comfort, so often as we do hear of the brotherly entreaty of peace and of concord (by which concord kingdoms do increase, as contrary by discord they are diminished) which is between your honour and our well-beloved son in the Lord, Sigismund, your brother germain and cousin, for the noble king of the Romans, &c.

"And as we have cause to joy at the premises, so likewise again the heavy rumours which are here, do trouble and damp our minds. For we hear that in divers places under your dominion, there be certain which do follow and lean to the errors of that arch-heretic Wickliff, whose books have been long since condemned in the general Roman council, to be erroneous, heretical, and swerving from the catholic faith. And furthermore, which is worst of all, the said persons, cleaving to the opinions of the heretics, (lest they should be corrected of their superior powers for their excess, to cover their naughtiness and stubbornness in despising the commandments of the apostolical seat,) do openly teach disobedience and contempt of the keys and ecclesiastical censure, to the subversion of the apostolical dignity, setting at naught the decrees of the holy fathers and canons. Wherefore we do exhort your worship, for the mercy of our God, as heartily as we may or can, that it would please you, as we desire and hope you will, so effectuously to show forth your regal power, both for the glory of God, and defence of the catholic faith, which you go about to defend, and for the conservation of your kingly name, state, and honour, for the prosperous and safe government of your kingdom and dominions, as it becometh a catholic prince: whereby this blot of heresy, which doth so lamentably and miserably spring and creep in those parts, and doth so infect the minds of mortal men, to the destruction of their souls, and doth sequester them from the congregation of the pure and catholic faith and truth, may be rooted out, &c.

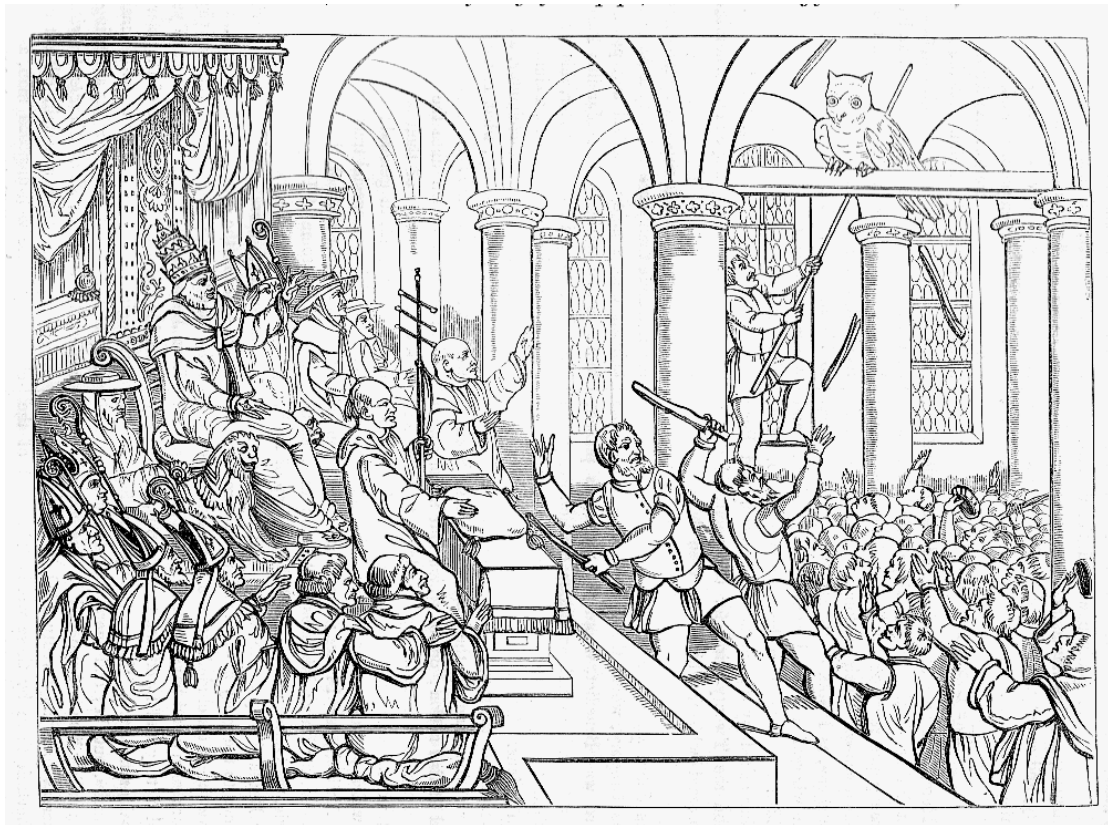
"Given at Bononia, in the ides of June, in the fifth year of our popedom," &c.

In this epistle of Pope John above prefixed, forasmuch as mention is made of a certain council before holden at Rome (which was four years before) against the articles and books of John Wickliff, it shall not be impertinent, nor out of purpose, to repeat a certain merry history, and worthy otherwise to be noted, written by Nicholas Clemangis, of a certain spirit which ruled the popish councils: his words are these:

"The same pope called a council at Rome about four years before, at the earnest suit of divers men; and a mass of the Holy Ghost being said at the entrance into the said council, according to the accustomed manner, the council being set, and the said John sitting highest in a chair prepared for him for that purpose; behold, an ugly and dreadful owl, or, as the common proverb is, the evil sign of some mischance of death to follow, coming out of the back half of him, flew to and fro, with her evil-favoured voice, and standing upon the middle beam of the church, cast her staring eyes upon the pope sitting. The whole company began to marvel to see the night-crow, which is wont to abide no light, how he should, in the mid-day, come in the face of such a multitude; and judged, not without cause, that it was an ill-favoured token. 'For behold,' said they, (whispering one in another's ear,) 'the spirit appeareth in the shape of an owl.' And as they stood beholding one another, and advising the pope, scarcely could they keep their countenance from laughter. John himself, upon whom the owl stedfastly looked, blushing at the matter, began to sweat, and to fret and fume

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with himself, and not finding by what other means he might salve the matter, being so confused, dissolving the council, rose up and departed. After that there followed another session: in the which the owl again, after the manner aforesaid, although, as I believe, not called, was present, looking stedfastly upon the bishop; whom he beholding to be come again, was more ashamed than he was before, and justly, saying he could no longer abide the sight of her, and commanded that she should be driven away with bats and shoutings. But she, being afraid neither with their noise, neither with any thing else, would not away, until that, with the strokes of the sticks which were thrown at her, she fell down dead before them all. This I learned of a faithful friend, who at the same time came to Rome: the which thing I scarcely crediting for the rareness of the matter, he affirmed by his oath, that it was most certain and true; adding, moreover, that all there present were much offended, and did greatly deride that council called for such a purpose; and by little and little the council was dissolved, nothing done there, as he saith."



The Council disturbed by an Owl

Although it hath not been always seen that such spiritual doves have been present with popes and their councils, and governed them, yet their evil doctrine declareth no less. Read, gentle reader! the book of Clemangis, and thou shalt not think thy labour evil bestowed; for he hath both learnedly, truly, freely, and godly bewrayed the filthiness of antichrist, and his ministers, their wickedness, impiety, and cruelty, and the miserable state and face of the church, &c. And thus much for Pope John.

101. The Council of Constance.

Here, by the way, is to be noted and understood, that during all this time of Pope John, there were three popes reigning together, neither was yet the schism ceased, which so long time had continued, the space, as I said, of twenty-nine years; by reason whereof a general council was ordained and holden at Constance in the same year, A. D. 1414, being called by Sigismund the emperor, and Pope John the Twenty-third, for the pacifying of the aforesaid schism, which was then between three popes striving for the popedom; the first whereof was John, whom the Italians set up; the second was Gregory, whom the Frenchmen set up; the third was Benedict, whom the Spaniards placed. In this schismatical ambitious conflict, every one defended his pope, to the great disturbance of Christian nations. This council endured four years long, wherein all their matters were decided mostly by four nations, namely, the English, German, French, and Italian nation; out of which four nations were appointed and chosen four presidents, to judge and determine the matters of the council. The names of which presidents were these: John, the patriarch of Antioch, for France; Anthony, archbishop of Riegen, for Italy; Nicholas, archbishop of Genesensis, for Germany; and Nicholas, bishop of Bath, for England; by whom many great and profitable things to the glory of God, and public profit, might have been concluded, if the rotten flesh of the churchmen could have abiden the salt of the gospel, and if they had loved the truth. But, as Gregory Nazianzen writeth, "There lightly come few general councils, but they end more with disturbance, than tranquillity," so it happened in this council. For whereas John the Twenty-third, in the first session, exhorteth them by these words taken out of the eighth of Zechariah, *Veritatem diligite*, that is to say, Love the truth, further monishing them, and especially the divines, every man to do his endeavour for the unity of the church, and to speak their mind freely; how soon this his exhortation was forgotten, it appeared shortly after by the despising of the prophets, and persecuting of Christ in his members, as by the grace of Christ shall appear hereafter in the process of this history.

First, this John did resign his papacy: the emperor, giving him thanks, kissed his feet. Afterwards, the said John, repenting him that he had so done, sought means to flee, whereunto Frederic, duke of Austria, did assist him; for he, changing his garments, fled by night with a small company. And when he was now come unto Schaffhausen, to go into Italy, the emperor pursuing, took him, and proclaimed Frederic traitor, and for that cause took away certain cities from him. At the last the matter was appeased under this condition, that Frederic should require grace of the emperor, and resign all his possessions unto him: whereupon the emperor received him again into favour, and restored him to his dukedom. This pope, being thus deposed, was committed unto the county Palatine, and by him carried to the castle of Manheim, where he was kept prisoner by the space of three years. Afterwards he was again, by Pope Martin, admitted to the number of cardinals.

This Pope John was deposed by the decree of the council, more than three and forty most grievous and heinous crimes being objected and proved against him: as that he had hired Marculus Parmensis, a physician, to poison Alexander, his predecessor; further, that he was a heretic, a simoniac, a liar, a hypocrite, a murderer, an enchanter,

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a dice-player, an adulterer; and, finally, what crime is it that he was not infected withal?

And now, to return unto the council: first, we will declare the order of their sessions, with things therein concluded, in general; then we will, Christ willing, adjoin the special tractation of such matters as pertain to the story of the Bohemians, and John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, who, in the same ungodly council, were condemned and burned.

This council, therefore, of Constance, which was summoned by the emperor Sigismund, and Pope John the Twenty-third, about the nativity of our Lord Jesus, A. D. 1414, began the same year to be assembled about the latter end of the year; which first beginning, as the manner is, with a mass of the Holy Ghost, as they were singing according to their custom their hymn, *Veni Sancte Spiritus*, there was, at the same time, a certain bill set up in the church by some well-disposed man, as it seemed, wherein were contained these words following: "We are otherwise occupied at this time; we cannot attend to come to you." Here is also to be remembered the worthy saying of the emperor Sigismund, when talk was ministered as touching the reformation of the spiritually, and some said, "The reformation ought first to begin at the Minorites;" the emperor answering again, "Not with the Minorites, but with the Majorites," meaning the reformation ought first to begin with the pope, cardinals, and bishops, and other superior states of the church; and so to descend after to the inferiors. Thus much by the way, and now to the purpose and order of the sessions as we promised. The which council continued, as is aforesaid, by the space of four years, and had in it forty-five sessions, wherein many things were concluded, the which altogether were too long to be recited in this place; as the deposition of three several popes, which were before spoken of, and the hearing of certain legates. Yet I mind to make some brief recapitulation of the most principal matters there done in the sessions orderly ensuing.

"In the first session chiefly was concluded, First, that this council was lawfully congregated.

"In the second session, Item, that the going away of the pope should be no let or stay, but the council might proceed. — Wherein note, gentle reader, that the authority of the general council is above the pope, contrary to their own doctrine.

"In the third session, Item, this council should not be dissolved before the church were reformed, as well in the superiors as inferiors.

"In the fourth session, amongst other things this was first concluded, That a synod congregated in the Holy Ghost, making a general council, representing the whole catholic church here militant, hath power of Christ immediately, to the which power every person, of what state or dignity soever he be, yea, being the pope himself, ought to be obedient in all such things as concern the general reformation of the church, as well in the heads, as in the subjects. Item, the said pope should not translate the court of Rome, and the officers of the same court, from the city of Constance; and that all his censures, doings, and workings, after the time of his departure, whatsoever he should enterprise to do to the prejudice of this council, should be of no effect.

"In the fifth session, the same articles were repeated and concluded again.

"In the sixth session, procuration and citation was sent out against the pope. Item, commissioners were appointed out of the four nations for the hearing of John

Huss, which shall be hereafter mentioned in his story following. Item, the memory of John Wickliff was condemned, and the sentence, given in the council holden at Rome upon the condemnation and burning of Wickliff's books, was there confirmed. Item, in the same session, citation was sent out against Jerome of Prague, the tenor whereof followeth after in the story of the said Jerome. Item, in this session was decreed against libels of infamy.

"In the seventh session, nothing was handled, but that the tenor of the citation against Pope John was recited.

"In the eighth session, the sentence and condemnation of John Wickliff and his forty-five articles was recited, and sentence given against his memory, and bones to be burned. The tenor whereof is rehearsed in the history of John Wickliff before passed.

"In the ninth session, the matter and cause of Pope John was again treated, and commissioners appointed to inquire upon his cause, and judges for the same.

"In the tenth session, suspension was given out and read against the said pope.

"In the eleventh and twelfth sessions, notaries were assigned, and definitive sentence was given against the said pope; where also it was decreed that none of them that intended before for the papacy, should be chosen pope.

"In the thirteenth session was decreed, that no priest, under pain of excommunication, shall communicate unto the people under both kinds of bread and wine.

"In the fourteenth session came in the resignation of Pope Gregory the Twelfth, which was one of the three before mentioned, striving for the papacy, with certain other articles concerning the election of the bishop of Rome, and the ratification of their resigning, which gave over the papacy.

"Then ensueth the fifteenth session, in the which silence was commanded on all parts under pain of excommunication and the great curse; that no person or persons, high or low, of what estate or degree soever he were, emperor, king, cardinal, or other, should disturb the said session with any manner of noise, either by hand, foot, or voice. This being done, the sentence and condemnation against John Huss was read and published, which after in the story of John Huss followeth to be seen more at large.

"In the sixteenth session, ambassadors were assigned by the council to go into Arragon to Benedict the Thirteenth, to treat with him for the resignation of his papacy, as the other two had done before. Item, power was given to judges to cite, under pain of deprivation, all such as privily departed away from the council; in the which session also the sentence against John Huss was confirmed and ratified.

"In the seventeenth session, the emperor took upon him a journey to the king of Arragon, to treat with Pope Benedict. Item, an excommunication denounced against all such as should go about to impeach the emperor's journey about that matter, &c. Item, prayers and processions were determined to be made by the council every Sunday for the same cause, with a hundred days of pardon given to them that would be present thereat; and that all prelates should be present at every of these said masses and processions, in their pontificalibus. Granting besides to every priest that said one mass, for the same a hundred days of pardon: and to all other that once a day

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should say one Pater Noster, and one Ave, for the safety of the emperor, forty days of pardon.

"In the eighteenth session, certain judges were assigned for the hearing of matters, which the council had no leisure to hear. It was there also decreed, that such letters and bulls as were written in the name of that council, should be received with no less credit and authority than the bulls proceeding from the see apostolical, and that the falsifiers of the same should incur no less penalty than the falsifiers of the other. Legates, also, and ambassadors, were sent into Italy.

"In the nineteenth session, which was the same year, in the month of September, Jerome of Prague, who was cited, as is before said, was accused of heresy, and cast into prison, by the said council, and constrained to abjure; the which his abjuration hereafter followeth to be seen in his history. Item, it was decreed, notwithstanding the safe conduct given by the emperor and kings, &c., inquiry may be made against a man for heresy by a sufficient judge, and process to be made according to the law. Item, the causes of heresies were committed to certain judges and deputies. Item, the chart called Carolina, and divers other charts and constitutions concerning the liberties of the Church of Rome, being brought forth, were approved and confirmed.

"In the twentieth session, letters and instruments were made and set upon church doors, to require and admonish Duke Frederic to restore again unto George, bishop of Austria, such lands, rents, and revenues as he detained and withheld, under pain of interdictment, suspending, and excommunication. During the time of this session, the ambassadors returned out of Arragon from Pope Benedict, and were heard with great audience; where certain articles and conditions between the pope and the council were brought forth and agreed upon, to the number of twelve.

"In the year of our Lord 1416, was the twenty-first session, beginning, after their manner, with a mass of the Holy Ghost, with procession and such other rites; in the time of which mass, James, bishop of Londe, made a sermon, taking for his theme these words, The Lord rebuked their misbelief and hardness, &c. This sermon being ended, Jerome of Prague, which had abjured, as is said, the year before, being present thereat, stood up upon a certain bench or form, replying against the aforesaid James and his sermon, alleging and preaching divers and sundry things; whereupon the patriarch of Constantinople, one of the commissioners, proceeded against him, pronouncing the sentence definitive, which he had in writing against the said Jerome; which sentence being read and approved by the council, (the tenor whereof ensueth in his history,) the said Jerome was delivered unto the secular power, and burned.

"The twenty-second and twenty-third sessions contain no worthy matter, but only the placing of the ambassadors of Alphonsus, king of Arragon, and granting them voices in the council.

"In the twenty-fourth session, citation was given out against Benedict, keeping with Alphonsus, king of Arragon.

"The twenty-fifth session containeth nothing but a certain *Commendam* given to the church of Olmutz.

"In the twenty-sixth session there was nothing else handled, but the uniting and incorporating of the ambassadors of the king of Navarre into the council; and also concerning the derogation of the priority of voices.

"After this followed the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth sessions, which were in the year 1417; wherein was treated the relation and declaration concerning the cause betwixt Duke Frederic and the bishop of Trent, and process given out against the said duke, accusing him of sacrilege; and also excommunicating him for not obeying the admonition of the council, concerning the usurpation and detaining of the city of Trent and other possessions from Bishop George, as is before specified.

"In the twenty-ninth and thirtieth sessions, proctors and notaries were given out in the cause against Pope Benedict, and order decreed upon his obstinacy; wherein also the withdrawing of the king of Arragon from the same pope was recited, and approved by the council.

"In the thirty-first session, certain instruments and special letters monitory were directed from the council to a certain earl of Italy, named Comes Virtutum, for laying violent hands upon Albert, bishop of Asce, and for bringing him to prison; requiring the said earl, under pain of interdiction and excommunication, to set the said bishop at liberty. Also another decree was set forth for the restoring again the liberties of the church of Beron.

"In the thirty-second and thirty-third sessions, the accusation of Pope Benedict was renewed, and his obstinacy accused, and witness brought in; at which thing doing the Emperor Sigismund was present.

"In the thirty-fourth session, the cause of the aforesaid pope was heard, and process given out against him.

"In the thirty-fifth session, the ambassadors of the king of Castile were brought in, and united to the council, and instruments thereof made and read. Also, that notwithstanding the oaths made to the aforesaid pope, men might lawfully forsake his obedience.

"In the thirty-sixth session, a certain citation was made and read against the pope, containing his deprivation and the sentence against him, and instruments made upon the same. And whereas this pope had thundered out his curses, deprivations, and excommunications against them, the said synod did annihilate all his doings.

"The thirty-seventh session did renew again the accusation of the aforesaid pope, and the sentence definitive against him was published.

"In the thirty-eighth session, certain decrees were made touching the annihilating of the penalties of the ambassadors of King Henry, son of Alphonsus, king of Arragon. Also, another decree was made touching the revocation of the voices granted to the ambassadors of the king of Arragon.

"Thus Pope Benedict being deposed and excommunicated, as is aforesaid, in the next sessions following they addressed themselves to the election of a new pope, beginning first in the thirty-ninth session, to give out decrees concerning general councils, and provision for the avoiding of such-like schisms hereafter; decreeing every tenth year to have a general council, after the two councils that should follow immediately after this, of the which, the one should be kept within five years then next following, and the second within seven years after that. Item, In the same session was drawn out a form touching such things as the pope should profess and bind himself to observe at the time of his election, of the which form, the order and tenor is this:

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"I, *N.*, elected for pope, profess with heart and mouth unto Almighty God, whose church I take upon me to govern by his help, and to blessed St. Peter, the prince of the apostles, so long as I shall endure in this frail and brittle life, firmly to believe and hold the holy catholic faith, after the traditions of the apostles, of general councils, and of other holy fathers, and namely, of the eight general councils: Nice the first, the second of Constantinople, Ephesus the third, Chalcedon the fourth, the fifth and sixth of them in Constantinople, the seventh of Nice, the eighth of Constantinople. And also of the general councils of Lateran, Lyons, and Vienna; willing to observe the same faith inviolate even to the uttermost, and to preach and defend the same, even to the spending of my life and blood; and also, by all means possible, to prosecute and observe the rites of the sacraments canonically delivered to the catholic church. And this my profession and confession, by my commandment being written out by the notary of the arches of the holy Church of Rome, I have subscribed with mine own hand, and sincerely, with a pure mind and devout conscience, I offer it unto the Almighty God upon such an altar, &c. In the presence of such witnesses, &c. Given,' &c.

"It was also decided in this session, that no prelates should be translated against their wills.

"The third of the same month and the same year, followed the fortieth session, wherein certain decrees were constituted and read, as touching reformation to be made through the whole church by the pope that next should be, with the council, before this synod should break up. Item, That they should so proceed to the election of the bishop of Rome, notwithstanding the absence of those cardinals which were with Pope Benedict in Spain. This done, the order and manner was decreed for the election of the pope.

"After these things thus decreed, in the next session, which was forty-one, the constitution of Clement the Sixth was read, concerning the order and diet of the cardinals being then in the conclave about the choosing of the pope; and upon the same, oaths were ministered unto the cardinals and other electors, binding them to observe and keep all such things as they should be bound to, during the time of the election.

"First, That they should enter into the conclave within ten days after the fortieth session, which was this present day, after sunset.

"Secondly, That every cardinal should have but two servitors attending upon him at the most, either of the laity or clergy, as they would themselves.

"Thirdly, That they should remain together in the said conclave, without any wall betwixt them, or any other cover, save only bare curtains, if any were disposed to sleep.

"Fourthly, That the conclave should so be shut up, and the entry to the privy chamber be kept so straitly, that none of them should come in or out, nor any have recourse unto them to talk with them privily or apertly, nor they to admit any man to come to them, except, by the consent of them all, certain should be called about matters concerning the election.

"Fifthly, that no man should send to them either messenger or writings.

"Sixthly, that a competent window should be assigned unto them to receive in their victuals, but that no person might come in thereat.

"Seventhly, That no day after their first ingress into the conclave, beside bread, wine, and water, they should have any more dishes but one of one only kind, either of flesh or fish, eggs, pottage made of fish or flesh, not after the daintiest sort; besides salads, cheese, fruit, and conserves, whereof there shall be no principal mess made, but for sauce and taste.

"Eighthly, That not one should be compelled to go into the conclave; but if they did all refuse to go in, then they should be compelled thereunto.

"Ninthly, That such as would go out, might: but if they would all go out before the pope were elect, they should be compelled to go in again, except such whom infirmity did excuse; but without the excuse of infirmity, if any went out, he should no more be admitted, except they went all out together.

"Tenthly, That such as went out, by reason of infirmity, to be absent, and return before the election be determined, may be admitted again into the conclave in the same state wherein they shall find the election to stand.

"Further and besides, the keepers of the conclave should also be sworn to see all these premises observed and kept without fraud or guile, and that they should not straiten the cardinals and other electors above the order here taken. And if the king be there himself, sitting in his throne of estate, he should receive the same oath of the cardinals. Upon this, such as should be electors, besides the cardinals, were chosen."

Furthermore, forasmuch as the goods and substance of such as were elect, were accustomed to be given and granted unto such as could catch them, (whereupon, under the pretence of the same, many did invade the goods of the cardinals, and others which were in the conclave, falsely feigning them to be elected which were not elected,) to stop the greedy ravening of such, a decree also was published in the same session.

These things thus prepared and set in order, the patriarch of Constantinople, with the cardinals and other archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, deans, archdeacons, doctors, with other electors, entering into the conclave upon Monday, on Thursday after they had hatched out a pope, being St. Martin's even, whereupon they named him Martin. This Martin being thus elected, was straightway brought in by the emperor and the council into the church of Constance, and there enthroned for pope, not without great solemnity and triumph. The twenty-first day of the said month, this aforesaid Martin, according to their accustomed pomp, was honourably brought in to be crowned with sumptuous procession from the high church of Constance, unto the monastery of St. Austin; the emperor on foot leading his horse by the bridle on the right hand, and the marquis of Brandenburg, prince elector, likewise leading his horse on the left hand; the pope himself riding in the midst upon his palfrey.



Pope Martin riding in procession

And thus being brought into the monastery aforesaid, and so reduced round about again from thence to the high church of Constance, he was there crowned with all magnificence. Notwithstanding all this, yet all the trifling and fond vanity of this council, more great than wise, did not end thus; for "in the next session, which was the forty-second, came out a decree in the name of the pope and the council, discharging the bond of the emperor and the county palatine, touching the safe custody of Pope John, who was by bond committed unto them to be kept in safety.

"In the forty-third session, certain other decrees and statutes were made by Pope Martin in the said synod, annulling and reprovng all the acts and proceedings of the other popes before, during the time of the schism from the time of Gregory the Eleventh; as in matters concerning exemptions, unions, fruits, and profits of the church, benefices, simony, dispensations, tithes, and other burdens of the church. Also concerning the apparel of the clergy, and such other things.

"In the forty-fourth session, the sage fathers of this council were occupied about the determining what place the next council should be kept in. The forty-fifth session brake up and dissolved this synod."

Now, to finish our tedious rehearsal of this synod, the Cardinal Umbald, by the commandment of the pope and the council, with a high and loud voice pronounced these words, Domini! ite in pace; which is, "Lords! depart in peace;" whereunto the standers-by answered, "Amen."

Thus the council being dissolved, Friar John, bishop of Catania, by the consent and commandment of the pope and the council, went up into the pulpit to make a sermon, taking for his theme, "You are now in sadness, I will see you again, and then your hearts shall rejoice." The which collation being ended, another cardinal, named Anthony, was sent up by the pope and the council, with this proclamation; first, to dismiss the synod, and to give every man leave to depart home. Also to declare the pope's indulgence unto them, who, by the authority of God Almighty, had granted to them all and every one present at that council, full absolution once in their life; so that every one, within two months after the hearing of this indulgence, should procure the same in form of writing. Also, another indulgence was granted in like manner of plenary remission at the hour of death, and that was understood as well of the household as of the masters themselves; but under this condition, that from the time of notification of the same, they should fast by the space of one whole year every Friday, for the absolution in their life-time; and for the absolution at the hour of death, to fast the same Friday another year, except they had some lawful impediment to the contrary, so that after the second year, they should fast unto their lives' end, or else do some other good work; the which being in this manner proclaimed, the synod brake up, and every man departed home.

The number of the foreigners resorting to this council, both spiritual and temporal, was sixty thousand five hundred, whereof the number of archbishops and bishops was three hundred and forty-six; abbots and doctors, five hundred and sixty-four; princes, dukes, earls, knights, esquires, sixteen thousand; besides common women belonging to the same council four hundred and fifty; barbers, six hundred; minstrels, cooks, and jesters, three hundred and twenty; so that the whole multitude which were viewed to be in the town of Constance, between Easter and Whitsuntide, were numbered to be sixty thousand five hundred strangers and foreigners at that council.

Here is to be noted that in this council of Constance nothing was decreed or enacted worthy of memory, but this only, that the pope's authority is under the council, and that the council ought to judge the pope. And, as touching the communion in both kinds, although the council did not deny, but that it was used by Christ and his apostles, yet, notwithstanding, by the same council it was decreed to the contrary.

102. John Huss before the Council of Constance

Hitherto we have comprehended the order and discourse of this council, with the acts and sessions concerning the same; which council, although it was principally thought to be assembled, for quieting of the schism between the three popes; yet, notwithstanding, a great part thereof was for the cause of the Bohemians, and especially for John Huss, as appeared by their preparation before the council. For before the council began, the Emperor Sigismund, aforesaid, sent certain gentlemen, Bohemians, which were of his own household, giving them in charge to bring John Huss, bachelor of divinity, unto the said council, and that under his safe-conduct. The meaning and intent thereof was, that John Huss should purge and clear himself of the blame which they had laid against him: and, for the better assurance, the emperor did not only promise him safe-conduct, that he might come freely unto Constance, but also that he should return again into Bohemia, without fraud or interruption; he promised also to receive him under his protection, and under safeguard of the whole empire. For the same only cause the emperor sent him afterwards the safe-conducts double written, both in Latin and Almain; the form whereof doth hereafter ensue.

"Sigismund, by the grace of God, king of the Romans, of Hungary and Denmark, Croatia, &c. To all princes, as well ecclesiastical as secular, dukes, marquisses, and earls, barons, captains, borough-masters, judges, and governors, officers of towns, burgages, and villages, and unto all rulers of the commonalty; and generally, to all the subjects of our empire, to whom these letters shall come, grace and all goodness.

"We charge and command you all, that you have respect unto John Huss, the which is departed out of Bohemia, to come unto the general council, the which shall be celebrate and holden very shortly at the town of Constance. The which John Huss we have received under our protection, and safeguard of the whole empire, desiring you that you will cheerfully receive him when he shall come towards you, and that you entreat and handle him gently, showing him favour and good will, and show him pleasure in all things, as touching the forwardness, ease, and assurance of his journey, as well by land as by water.

"Moreover, we will, that he and all his company, with his carriage and necessities, shall pass throughout all places, passages, ports, bridges, lands, governances, lordships, liberties, cities, towns, burgages, castles, and villages, and all other your dominions, without paying of any manner of imposition or Dane-money, peage, tribute, or any manner of toll, whatsoever it be. We will also, that you suffer him to pass, rest, tarry, and to sojourn at liberty, without doing unto him any manner of impeachment, or vexation, or trouble; and that if need shall so require, you do provide a faithful company to conduct him withal, for the honour and reverence which you owe unto our imperial majesty. Given at Spires, the eighteenth of October, in the year of our Lord God 1414."

By this it may appear, that this safe-conduct was granted not in the time of the council, by the bishops, but before the council, by the emperor, who was or ought to be the principal ordainer and director of the council, under God. Now, whether the bishops did well in breaking and annulling this promise of the emperor, against the

emperor's mind, because the discussion thereof belongeth *ad materiam juris, non facti*, being a matter rather of law than of story, I will defer to reason this case with Master Cope, to such time as may be more convenient to the full tractation thereof.

Notwithstanding, briefly to touch and pass, let us consider part of the reasons of the said Cope, how frivolous and false they be, and easy to be refelled. "What," saith he, "if he preached by the way, coming up?" First, that it is false. "What," saith he, "if he stood obstinate in his heresy?" "what if he sought to escape away after his coming up?" To this the lords of Bohemia do answer: That this safe-conduct was broken, and he imprisoned, not only before he attempted to escape, or before he was condemned for a heretic, but also before he was heard of the council what he was.

Further, where Cope saith, that the general council was above the emperor, and hath power in case of heresy to break public leagues and grants: to that I say, that this safe-conduct stood not only upon the emperor, but also upon the consent of the pope himself.

And admit that to be true, that the council had power to make this decree, to break promise with heretics; yet this cannot be denied, but that John Huss was condemned and judged before that decree in the nineteenth session was made. Finally, when Cope hath proved by what scripture the councils have power to defeat the authority of their emperors in such secular causes touching safe-conducts and outward safety, then will I answer him more fully herein. But to the purpose again of the story.

John Huss, seeing so many fair promises, and the assurance which the emperor had given unto him, sent answer unto the emperor, that he would come unto the council. But before he departed out of the realm of Bohemia, and especially out of the town of Prague, he did write certain bills long enough before, as well in Latin as in the Bohemian language and Almain, and caused them to be set and fastened upon the gates of the cathedral churches and parish churches, cloisters and abbeys, signifying unto them all, that he would go to the general council at Constance; wherefore, if any man have any suspicion of his doctrine, that he should declare it before the Lord Conrad, archbishop of Prague; or, if he had rather, at the general council, for there he would render and give up unto every one, and before them all, an account and reason of his faith. The example of his letters and intimations set up, were these, the copy whereof here followeth:

"Master John Huss, bachelor of divinity, will appear before the most reverend father the Lord Conrad, archbishop of Prague, and legate of the apostolic seat, in their next convocation of all their prelates and clergy of the kingdom of Bohemia; being ready always to satisfy all men which shall require him to give a reason of his faith and hope that he holdeth, and to hear and see all such as will lay unto his charge either any stubbornness of error or heresy, that they should write in their names there, as is required both by God's law and man's. And if so be that they could not lawfully prove any stubbornness of error or heresy against him, that then they should suffer the like punishments that he should have had; unto whom altogether he will answer the next general council at Constance, before the archbishop and the prelates, and, according to the decrees and canons of the holy fathers, show forth his innocency in the name of Christ. — Dated the Sunday next after the feast of St. Bartholomew."

"I, Master John Husnetz, do signify unto all men, that I am ready to come and stand before the face of my lord the archbishop, and to answer to all things whereof I am falsely accused in the next convocation of bachelors; and chiefly to this point, that

in many places they do report me to be a heretic, not having respect unto justice or law, neither yet to my merits or deserts. Therefore, since that you, which do never cease to slander and backbite me with your words, do understand and know these things, come forth openly before the face and presence of the lord archbishop, and with an open mouth declare and show forth what false doctrine or other things ye have heard me teach, contrary to the catholic faith; and if that I shall be found faulty in never so small a matter, contrary or against the faith of Christ, or in any false doctrine, and that I do choose that or other things contrary to the faith of Christ, then I will hold my peace and suffer punishment as a heretic. And if there be no man that will resist against me, or accuse me in this point, once again I say unto you, that I am ready to appear at Constance in the famous congregation, to the end that I may stand in the company of the divines, even before the face of the pope. Therefore, whosoever knoweth any false doctrine contrary to the faith of Christ in me, let him come thither and show it forth boldly, if he have any thing to lay against me; and for my part I will not be slack, if I may understand or know it, to answer as well to small as great, as touching the truth which I have received of God, and desire to be defended. All you good men, therefore, which love the truth, say now whether, by these my words, I do think or go about any thing, either contrary to the law of God or man. If I be not admitted then to be heard, be it known and manifest unto all men, that it happeneth not through my fault. — The same day."

This epistle which followeth, was set upon the gates of the king's palace, translated into Latin, out of the Bohemian tongue.

"Unto the king's Majesty, the queen, and to all such as are of his council, and to all other rulers and magistrates, which now are in the king's court, I, John Huss, do signify and publish, that I have understood, not by any vain rumour or tale, that there be letters brought from the pope to the king's Majesty, the contents whereof are these: That the king's Majesty should bring to pass, that the heretics which were now lately sprung up in his kingdom and dominions, should not take any firm or strong root. Forasmuch as without any desert, as I trust by God's grace, the fame or noise is sprung and blown abroad, it shall be our part to foresee and take heed, that neither the king's Majesty, neither the noble kingdom of Bohemia, should be driven to bear or suffer any reproach or slander for me. Wherefore now of late I have sent my letters to and fro, which I have with great labour and diligence caused to be openly set up; to this intent, that I might thereby cause the archbishop to be careful and diligent about the matter; signifying openly, that if there were any man in all Bohemia, which did know me to be a follower of any false or corrupt doctrine, he should profess his name in the archbishop's court, and there show forth and declare what he thought. And, forasmuch as there would none be found or come forth, which would accuse me, the archbishop commanded me and my procurers to depart in peace. Wherefore I require and desire the king's Majesty, which is the defender of the truth, also the queen and their counsellors, and all other rulers and magistrates, that they would give me a faithful testimonial of this matter; forasmuch as I have oftentimes willed and attempted this, and no man hath either accused me or troubled me. I do it, moreover, to be known unto all Bohemia, and to all nations, that I will be present even at the first time before the council of Constance, in the most famous place, in the presence of the pope, the pope being president; and finally, in the presence of all others which will come to that most famous place; and that whosoever hath any suspicion of me, that I have either taught or defended any thing contrary unto the faith of Christ, let him come thither

also, let him declare there before, or in the presence of, the pope, and all the doctors of divinity, what erroneous and false doctrine I have at any time followed or holden. Moreover, if he shall convince me of any error, or prove that I have taught any thing contrary unto the Christian faith, I will not refuse to suffer whatsoever punishment shall be due for a heretic. But I hope and trust, even from the bottom of my heart, that God will not give the victory to unfaithful and unbelieving men, who do willingly kick and spurn against the truth."

The same time John Huss sent his procurers to the lord bishop of Nazareth, ordained, by the apostolic see, inquisitor of heresy of the city and diocese of Prague, requiring him, that if he had found any error in him, he would declare it openly. But the said bishop, before the said procurer, and the public notary, with many other credible witnesses, answered, that he had often talked with John Huss, and that he never knew any thing in him, but as becometh a godly and faithful man; and this his testimony of John Huss, he approved by his letters, the copy whereof is hereunder written:

"We, Nicholas, by the grace of God, bishop of Nazareth, and inquisitor, specially deputed by the apostolic seat, for heresies both of the city and diocese of Prague, by these presents do it to be known unto all men, that we in times past have often communed and talked with that honourable man, Master John Huss, bachelor of divinity, of the famous university of Prague, and have had divers and sundry conferences with him, both of the Scriptures and divers other matters; and in all his sayings, doings, and behaviour, we have proved and found him to be a faithful and a catholic man, finding no manner of evil, sinister, or, by any means, erroneous doings, in him unto this present. We do witness and protest moreover, how the said John Huss, of late, in the cathedral church of Prague, and in other both collegiate and parish churches, and in the colleges of the university of Prague, and in the gates and porches of the most noble prince and lord, the Lord Wenceslaus, king of Romans and of Bohemia; also in the gates of the reverend father, the Lord Conrad, archbishop of Prague, legate of the apostolic see, and chancellor of the university, of Prague, and of other princes and barons, then being in the city of Prague, hath set up his letters, written both in Latin and in the Bohemian tongue, containing sententially in effect, how the aforesaid Master John Huss would appear before the reverend father, the Lord Conrad, the aforesaid archbishop of Prague, and all the prelates and clergy of the kingdom of Bohemia, that shall be congregated and called together by the said archbishop, at the day appointed in the said city of Prague; ready always to satisfy every man that shall desire and require him to show a reason of his faith and hope that he holdeth, and to see and hear all and every one which could prove any obstinacy of error or heresy lawfully against him, under the pain to receive the like punishment: unto whom all together he would, by God's help, answer in the council of Constance, which was now at hand, before the said lord archbishop and us, with all other prelates; and there, in Christ's name, according to the decrees and canons of the holy fathers, to declare and show forth his innocency. After the which letters as is aforesaid, by the said Master John Huss openly set up, there did no man appear before us, the which would accuse the said Master John Huss of any error, either of any heresy. For the evident witness of all which things we have commanded these present letters to be made, and confirmed the same with the setting to of our seal. Dated in Prague the thirtieth of August, A. D. 1414."

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Upon which matter also, a public instrument was drawn, testified with the hand and seal of the public notary, named Michael Pruthatietz: the copy of which instrument hereunder followeth:

"In the name of God, Amen. In the year of his nativity, one thousand four hundred and fourteen, the thirtieth of August, in the fifth year of the bishopric of the most holy father in Christ, John, by the grace of God, pope, the three and twentieth of that name, in the uppermost parlour of the house of the most famous man the Lord Peter of Zwogsta, called Zuirglits, master of the mint of the most famous prince and lord, the Lord Wenceslaus, king of the Romans and of Bohemia, in the greater city of Prague, about the abbey of St. James the apostle, in the presence of me the public notary hereunder written, and certain witnesses here within written, specially called for that purpose.

"There was personally present Master John Jessenitz, master of arts, procurer in the name of the honourable man, Master John Huss, bachelor, formed in divinity of the university of Prague. He most humbly and earnestly required of the reverend father in Christ and lord, Nicholas, bishop of Nazareth, inquisitor of heresies for the city and diocese of Prague, specially appointed by the apostolic see, being there also present, saying, 'Reverend father, do you know any heresy or error in Master John Husnetz, otherwise called Huss?' The which said Lord Nicholas, not compelled or constrained, but of his own will and accord freely and openly, did there recognise, saying these or the like words, in the Bohemian tongue:

"I have often and many times been conversant with Master John Huss, and have eaten and drunk with him; also I have been often present at his sermons, and divers of his collations which he hath made upon divers places of the Scripture, and I never found or perceived in him any error or heresy, but in all his words and deeds I have found him always a true and a catholic man, neither have I found any thing that doth savour of any error or heresy.'

"Again, the said Master John's procurer in the behalf as above, required and asked the said Lord Nicholas, bishop and inquisitor, whether any man have accused the said Master John Huss of any heresy before him, being inquisitor for heresy, and hath convicted him of heresy. He answered, that since the time he knew John Huss, and that he was made inquisitor for heresy in the city and diocese of Prague, (as is aforesaid,) never any man accused, either convinced the said Master John Huss of any heresy before him unto this present time. Adding, moreover, that he, the said Master John Huss, did openly set up his letters patent this present year aforesaid, in the said month of August, upon the porches of the cathedral church of Prague, and other collegiate and parish churches of the city of Prague, and upon the gates of our said lord, our lord the king, and the archbishop of Prague, containing in them this effect: how that he would appear before Conrad, archbishop of Prague, and all the prelates and clergy of the kingdom of Bohemia, which should be congregated and called together at a certain day of the month aforesaid, ready always to satisfy all men as touching the faith and hope which he held, and to see and hear all or singular that would lay any obstinacy of error and heresy unto him; that they should determine themselves there to suffer the like punishment, according to the extremity both of God's law and man's law; unto whom altogether he would answer in his own right before the said archbishop of Prague, and the said Lord Nicholas, bishop and inquisitor aforesaid, and the prelates even in the next general council of Constance; and there, according unto the canons and decrees of the holy fathers, declare and show

forth his uprightness and innocency; upon all and singular of which proceedings, Master John de Jessenitz, procurer, and in the procurer's name or behalf as before, required and desired that he might have one or many public instruments made unto him by me the public notary here underwritten. These things were done the year, indiction, day, month, hour, place, and bishopric, as is aforesaid, in the presence of these noble and famous men, the Lord William de Zwingelitz, baron of the kingdom of Bohemia; Peter his son; the Lord Hlawaczion de Renow, likewise Baron Wenceslaus de Lunarx, Vassone de Miekonitz, burgrave of the castle of Lichtenburg, Czitborius de Bodanetz, esquire, and William de Dupoer, knight of the said diocese of Prague, with many other worthy and credible witnesses, which were specially desired and required unto the premises. And I, Michael, sometime the son of Nicholas de Prachatitz of the diocese of Prague, and by the imperial authority, public notary, was present with the witnesses afore-named, at the affairs aforesaid, at the request, demand, answer, and petition, and all and singular the doings within written, and did see and hear all these things to be done in the aforesaid manner and form. But being busied with other matters, I have caused this to be faithfully drawn and written, and subscribing the same with mine own hand, have published and reduced it into this form, and have signed it with my seal and name accustomed, being called and required to bear witness of all and singular the premises."

After this, as all the barons of Bohemia were assembled in the abbey of St. James, about the affairs of the realm, where the archbishop of Prague was also present, there the said John Huss presented supplications, by the which he most humbly desired the barons, that they would show him that favour towards the said archbishop: that if the said archbishop did suspect him of any error or heresy, that he would declare it openly, and that he was ready to endure and suffer correction for the same at his hands. And if that he had found or perceived no such thing in him, that he would then give him a testimonial thereof, through the which he, being as it were armed, he might the more freely go unto Constance. The said archbishop confessed openly, before all the assembly of barons, that he knew not that the said John Huss was culpable or faulty in any crime or offence, and this was his only counsel: that the said John Huss should purge himself of the excommunication he had incurred. This report which the archbishop had given of John Huss, doth appear by the letters which the barons of Bohemia sent unto the Emperor Sigismund by the said Huss, in the town of Constance.

Finally, all the prelates and clergy assembled together in the town of Prague, in the archbishop's court, where appeared personally the worshipful Master John Jessenitz, doctor of decretals and procurer, in the name and behalf of the honourable man, Master John Huss, requiring that either the said Master John Huss, or that he, in the name and behalf of him, might be suffered to come into the said archbishop's court, to the presence of the archbishop, and the prelates which were there congregated together, forasmuch as Master John Huss is ready to satisfy all men which shall require him to show any reason of his faith or hope which he holdeth, and to see and hear all and singular which were there gathered together; that is to say, the lord archbishop and prelates, or any of them which would lay any manner of obstinacy, or error, or heresy unto him: that they should there write in their names, and according both unto God's law and man's, and the canon law, prepare themselves to suffer like punishment, if they could not lawfully prove any obstinacy of error or heresy against him: unto whom altogether he would, by God's help, answer before the said archbishop and the prelates in the next general council holden at Constance, and

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stand unto the law: and, according to the canons and decretals of the holy fathers, show forth and declare his innocency, in the name of Christ. Unto the which Master John of Jessenitz, doctor, one called Ulricus Swabe, of Swabenitz, marshal of the said archbishop, coming forth of the said court, did utterly deny unto the said master doctor and his party, all manner of ingress and entrance into the court, and to the presence of the archbishop aforesaid, and of the prelates there gathered together; pretending that the archbishop, with the prelates aforesaid, were occupied about the king's affairs: requiring the said master doctor, that he would tarry in some place without the said court, that when the archbishop and the prelates had finished the king's affairs, he might then return, and have liberty to come into the court there. The said Master John Huss and the doctor of law tarried awhile, entreating to be admitted into the archbishop's court; but seeing he could prevail nothing, he made there a solemn protestation of his request, that both he, and also Master John Huss and his party, could not be suffered to come into the archbishop's court, to the presence of the archbishop and the prelates; requiring of the aforesaid notary, public instruments to be made of the same, which also was done.

And these were the things which were done before John Huss took his journey to the general council of Constance, the which I minded briefly to rehearse, whereunto I will also annex somewhat as touching his journey thitherwards.

About the ides of October, 1414, John Huss being accompanied with two noble gentlemen, that is, to wit, Wencelate of Duba, and John of Clum, he departed from Prague, and took his journey towards Constance. And in every place as he passed, he notified his presence by his letters which he sent abroad, and especially in every good town or city of name, the tenor whereof ensueth:

"Master John Huss goeth now unto Constance, there to declare his faith which he hath hitherto holden, and even at this present doth hold, and by God's help will defend and keep even unto death. Therefore, even as he hath manifested throughout all the kingdom of Bohemia by his letters and intimations, willing before his departure to have satisfied and given an account of his faith unto every man, which should object or lay any thing against him in the general convocation holden in the archbishop of Prague's court: so likewise he doth manifest and signify, that if there be any man in this noble and imperial city, the which will impute or lay any error or heresy unto him, that he should prepare himself to come unto the council, forasmuch as the said Master John Huss is ready to satisfy every man at the said council, which shall lay any thing unto his charge as touching his faith."

In all cities as he passed by, and principally when he was departed out of Bohemia and entered into Almain, a great number of people did come unto him, and he was very gently received and entertained of his hosts through all the towns of Germany, and especially of the citizens and burgesses, and oftentimes of the curates; insomuch that the said Huss did confess, in a certain epistle, that he found in no place so great enemies as in Bohemia. And if it happened that there were any bruit or noise before of his coming, the streets were always full of people which were desirous to see John Huss and gratify him; and, amongst all others, especially at Nuremberg, where certain merchants, which went before, certified the citizens of his coming. In the same city there were many curates which came unto him, desiring him that they might talk with him secretly apart, unto whom he answered, That he loved much rather to pronounce and show forth his mind and opinion openly before all men, than in hugger-mugger, for he would keep nothing close nor hidden. So, after dinner, until

it was night, he spake before the priests, senators, and divers other citizens, insomuch that they all had him in great estimation and reverence, one only doctor excepted, which was a charter-house monk, and the curate of St. Sebauld, which did improve all that he had said.



John Huss speaking after dinner

The twentieth day after that he departed out of the town of Prague, which was the third day of November, he came unto Constance, and lodged at an honest matron's house, being a widow named Faith, in St. Galle's Street.

The morrow after, the gentleman, Master John de Clum, and Master Henry Latzemboge, went to speak with the pope, and certified him that John Huss was come, whom they had brought to Constance to the general council, under the emperor's safe-conduct; desiring him also, that he, on his part, would grant the said John Huss liberty to remain in Constance, without any trouble, vexation, or interruption. Unto whom the pope answered, That albeit that John Huss had killed his brother, yet would he go about, as much as in him lay, that no outrage or hurt should be done unto him during his abode in the town of Constance.

In this mean time, the greatest adversary that John Huss had, named Master Stephen Paletz, the which was also a Bohemian born, was come unto Constance. But his companion, Master Stanislaus Znoyma, was not yet passed the borders of Bohemia when he was stricken with an imposthume, whereof he died. As soon as the said Paletz was come to Constance, he did associate unto him one Michael de Causis, the which had before falsely accused and blamed the same John Huss. And this may not be forgotten, that the said Paletz had been familiarly conversant and acquainted

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with the said John Huss from his youth upward; but after that there was a bull brought unto Prague, from Pope John the Twenty-third, against the king of Apulia, named Ladislaus, the said John Huss withstood it openly, forasmuch as he saw that it was wicked and naught.

And as touching the said Paletz, albeit that he had confessed at a certain banquet, in the presence of the said John Huss, that the said bull was contrary to all equity and right, yet notwithstanding, forasmuch as he was obliged and bound unto the pope, by means of certain benefices received at his hand, he maintained and defended the said bull against John Huss: and this was the cause of the discord and falling out between them. As for Michael de Causis, the companion of Master Paletz, he was sometime the curate of New Prague; but he, not being content therewith, but seeking after a further prey, dreamed, and imagined out a new device how to attain unto it, for he made a semblance that he had found out a new invention, or mean whereby the mines of gold in Gilory, which were perished and lost, might be renewed and set on work again. By this means he did so much with the king Wenceslaus, that he did put a great sum of money into his bands, to do that withal which he had promised.

This honest man, after he had laboured and travailed certain days about it, and perceiving that he brought nothing to pass, and that by that means he was utterly in despair of his purpose, he conveyed himself privily out of the realm of Bohemia, with the rest of the money, and withdrew himself, as a worthy bird for such a nest, into the court of Rome. Such a man, of such conditions, was easily corrupted with money, and that, by the adversaries of the said Huss, and promised them to do what he could for them, the which he did shortly after. These two jolly roisters, Stephen Paletz and Michael de Causis, drew out certain articles against the said Huss, saying, that they had gathered them out of his own writings, and specially out of his treatise which he had written of the church. They trotted up and down, hither and thither, taking great pains to show the said articles unto the cardinals, bishops, and monks, and such other of that sort, doing them also to understand, that there were other matters of greater importance, which the said John Huss had committed and done against the holy constitutions, and other ordinances of the pope and the church; which, if need were, they said they would propound before the council. Through the kindling of this their fire, they did so incense the cardinals and all the priests, that all they, with one mind and consent, thought to cause the good man to be taken and laid hands on.

The twenty-sixth day after the said Huss was come to Constance, during all which time he was occupied in reading, writing, and familiar talk with his friends; the cardinals, through the instigation and motion of Paletz and Michael de Causis, sent two bishops, to wit, the bishop of Augusta, and of Trent, and with them the borough-master of the town of Constance, and a certain knight, to the place where John Huss lodged, about dinner time, which should make report unto him, that they were sent by the pope and his cardinals, to advertise him that he should come to render some knowledge or witness of his doctrine before them, as he had oftentimes desired, and that they were ready to hear him.

Unto whom John Huss answered, "I am not come for any such intent, as to defend my cause particularly before the pope and his cardinals, protesting that I never desired any such thing, but that I would willingly appear before the whole assembly of the council, and there answer for my defence openly, without any fear or doubt, unto all such things as shall be demanded or required of me. Notwithstanding," said he,

"forasmuch as you require me so to do, I will not refuse to go with you before the cardinals; and if it happen that they evil entreat or handle me, yet nevertheless, I trust in my Lord Jesus, that he will so comfort and strengthen me, that I shall desire much rather to die for his glory's sake, than to deny the verity and truth which I have learned by his Holy Scriptures." Wherefore it came to pass, that the bishops being instant upon him, and not showing any outward semblance that they bare any malice or hatred against him in their hearts, albeit they had privily laid garrisons both in the house where they were assembled, and also in other houses, John Huss took his horse which he had at his lodgings, and went unto the court of the pope and the cardinals.

When he was come thither, and had saluted the cardinals, they began to speak to him in this sort: "We have heard many reports of you, the which, if they be true. are in no case to be suffered; for men say, that you have taught great and manifest errors, and contrary and against the doctrine of the true church; and that you have sowed your errors abroad through all the realm of Bohemia, by a long space or time; wherefore we have caused you to be called hither before us, that we might understand and know how the matter standeth."

Unto whom John Huss answered in few words: "Reverend fathers, you shall understand that I am thus minded and affectioned, that I should rather choose to die, than I should be found culpable of one only error, much less of many and great errors. For this cause I am the more willingly come unto the general council, which is here appointed, to show myself ready, even with all my heart, to receive correction, if any man can prove any errors in me." The cardinals answered him again, that his sayings pleased them very well; and upon that they went away, leaving the said John Huss, with Master John de Clum, under the guard and keeping of the armed men.



John Huss and the Franciscan

In the mean season, they did suborn and furnish out a certain divine, a friar Franciscan, a subtle and crafty man, and a malicious hypocrite, to question with the said John Huss, which was compassed round about with armed men. This man drawing near in his monkish gesture, said, "Reverend master, I, a simple and rude idiot, am come unto you to learn; for I have heard many strange and contrary things against the catholic faith to be ascribed unto you, the which do diversely move my mind, being wholly inclined to the truth. Wherefore I do desire you, even for the love which you bear unto the truth, and to all good and godly men, that you would teach me, most simple and miserable man, some certainty and truth. And first, men say, that you hold opinion that, after the consecration and pronunciation of the words in the sacrament of the altar, there remaineth only material bread." John Huss answered, that it was falsely attributed and imputed unto him. Then said he, "I pray you, is not this your opinion?" "No verily," said John Huss, "I do not so think of it." When the monk asked this question the third time, Master John de Clum, being somewhat moved with him, said, "Why art thou so importunate upon him? Verily, if any man had affirmed or denied any thing unto me but once, I would have believed him. And thou, albeit he hath showed thee his mind so often, yet ceasest not to trouble him." Then said the monk, "Gentle master, I pray you pardon me, a poor idiot and simple friar; surely I did it of a good mind and intent, being willing and desirous to learn." This friar put forth another question unto him, protesting his simplicity and ignorance: "What manner of unity of the Godhead and manhood was in the person of Christ?" When John Huss had heard this question, he, turning himself unto Master John de Clum, in

the Bohemian language said: "Truly this friar is not simple as he doth pretend, for he hath propounded unto me a very hard question." And afterwards, turning himself to the friar, he said unto him, "Brother! you say that you are simple, but as I have heard of you, I perceive very well that you are double and crafty, and not simple." "It is not so, verily," said the friar. "Well," said John Huss, "I will cause you well to understand that it is so. For as touching the simplicity of a man, it is required in things that concern civility and manners, that the spirit, the understanding, the heart, the words, and the mouth, should agree together: and I do not perceive that this is in you. There is in your mouth a certain semblance of simplicity, the which would very well declare you to be an idiot and simple, but your deeds show plainly and evidently a great subtlety and craft in you, with a great quickness and liveliness of wit, in that you have proponed unto me so hard and difficult a question. Notwithstanding, I will not fear to show you my mind in this question." And when he had made an end, the monk gave him great thanks for his gentleness, and so departed. After that, the pope's garrison which was about the said John Huss, told him that this friar was called Master Didace, who was esteemed and counted the greatest and most subtle divine in all Lombardy. "Oh!" said John Huss, "that I had known that before; I would have handled him after another sort and fashion: but I would to God they were all such; then, through the help and aid of the Holy Scriptures, I would fear none of them."

In this manner the said Huss and Master John de Clum were left under the keeping of these men of arms, until four of the clock in the afternoon. After which time the cardinals assembled again in the pope's court, to devise and take counsel what they should do with John Huss. Then Stephen Paletz and Michael de Causis, with divers other of their adherents, made earnest suit that he should not be let go at liberty again, and having the favour of the judges on their part, they bragged up and down in a manner as they had been mad-men, and mocked the said John Huss, saying, "Now we will hold thee well enough; thou art under our power and jurisdiction, and shalt not depart until such time as thou hast paid the uttermost farthing."

A little before night, they sent the provost of the Roman court unto Master John de Clum, to show him that he might return to his lodging; but as for John Huss, they had otherwise provided for him. When Master John de Clum heard this news, he was wonderfully displeased, forasmuch as through their crafts, subtleties, and glosing words, they had so trained this good man into their snares; whereupon he went unto the pope, declaring unto him all that was done; most humbly beseeching him, that he would call to remembrance the promise which he had made unto him and Master Henry Latzemboge, and that he would not so lightly falsify and break his faith and promise. The pope answered, that all these things were done without his consent or commandment; and said further to Master Clum apart, "What reason is it that you should impute this deed unto me, seeing that you know well enough that I myself am in the hands of these cardinals and bishops?"

In mine opinion, forasmuch as Pope John feared that which indeed did after follow, that he should be deprived of his dignity, he thought to win the favour of these Herodian cardinals and bishops, by betraying this good man unto them. So the said Master Clum returned very pensiveful and sorry; he complained very sore, both privily and openly, of the injury and outrage that the pope had done; but all profited nothing. After this, the said John Huss was led by the officers to the chapter-house of the great church of Constance, where he was kept prisoner by the space of eight days; from thence he was carried unto the Jacobines, hard by the river Rhine, and was shut up in the prison of the abbey, the which was hard by the Bogardes.



John Huss in prison

After he had been enclosed there a certain time, he fell sore sick of an ague, by means of the stench of the place, and became so weak, that they despaired of his life. And for fear lest this good man should die in prison, as others are wont to do, the pope sent unto him certain of his physicians to cure and help him. In the midst of his sickness his accusers made importunate suit to the principals of the council, that the said John Huss might be condemned, and presented unto the pope these articles hereunder written:

"First, he doth err about the sacraments of the church, and especially about the sacrament of the body of Christ, forasmuch as he hath openly preached, that it ought to be ministered openly unto the people under both kinds, that is to say, the body and blood. This article is evident, forasmuch as his disciples at this instant in Prague do minister the same in both kinds. Moreover, it is affirmed by divers, that he hath taught both in the schools and in the church, or at the least that he doth hold this opinion, that after the words of consecration pronounced upon the altar, there remaineth still material bread in the sacrament. This article shall be known by his examination.

"Secondly, He doth err as touching the ministers of the church, forasmuch as he saith, that they cannot consecrate or minister the sacraments when they are in mortal sin. This article shall likewise be known by his examination: notwithstanding, all that which is here contained may be gathered by his writings De Ecclesia; the which if he deny, let there then be some divines and others appointed, to peruse and look over his said writings of the church. Moreover he saith, that other men besides priests may minister the sacrament. This article is evident, forasmuch as his disciples do the same at Prague, the which of themselves do violently take the sacrament out of the treasury, and communicate among themselves, when the holy communion is denied unto them. By this and other things also it is sufficiently evident, that he hath taught that every man, being without mortal sin, hath the power of orders or priesthood, forasmuch as such only as have taken orders ought to minister the sacrament unto themselves. And because he proceedeth from small matters unto great and weightier, it doth consequently appear and follow, that those which be in state of grace can bind and loose.

"Thirdly, He doth err as touching the church, and especially for that he doth not allow and admit that the church signifieth the pope, cardinals, archbishops, and the clergy underneath them; but saith, that this signification was drawn out from the schoolmen, and is in no case to be holden or allowed. This article is manifest by his said treatise upon the church.

"Moreover, He doth err concerning the church, in that he saith, that the church ought not to have any temporal possessions. And that the temporal lords may take them away from the church and the clergy without any offence. This error is evident, forasmuch as through his doctrine and enticements many churches in the kingdom of Bohemia, and in the city of Prague, are already spoiled and robbed of a great part of their temporalties and goods. He saith also, that Constantine and other secular princes erred by enriching and enduing churches and monasteries. This article is manifest by that which goeth next before.

"Fourthly, He erreth as touching the church, in that he saith, that all priests are of like power; and therefore affirmeth, that the reservations of the pope's casualties, the ordering of bishops, and the consecration of the priests, were invented only for covetousness. This article doth somewhat appear by those aforegoing, but by his examination shall be more evident.

"Fifthly, He erreth concerning the church, in that he saith, that the church, being in sin, hath no power of the keys, when the pope, cardinals, and all other of the priests and clergy are in deadly sin, the which he saith is possible enough. This also doth appear in his treatise upon the church, in his first error as touching the ministers of the church.

"Sixthly, He erreth touching the church, forasmuch as through contempt he doth not fear excommunication. This doth notoriously appear by his own doings, that he did condemn and despise the apostolic and ordinary censure; and in all the apostolic excommunications and injunctions he hath borne himself upon the divine commandments; and in contempt of the keys, to the setting out of his hypocrisy, he hath said mass all the ways between this and the city of Prague, and thereby hath profaned the process and authority of the church.

"Seventhly, He erreth again as touching the church, because he keepeth not the institutions and investitures thereof, but holdeth opinion that every man hath authority

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to invest and appoint any man to the cure of souls. This is evident by his own doings, forasmuch as many in the kingdom of Bohemia, by their defenders and favourers, or rather by himself, were appointed and put into parish churches, the which they have long ruled and kept, not being appointed by the apostolic see, neither yet by the ordinary of the city of Prague.

"Eightly, He erreth as touching the church, in that he holdeth opinion, that a man, being once ordained a priest or a deacon, cannot be forbidden or kept back from the office of preaching. This is likewise manifest by his own doings, forasmuch as he himself could never be letted from preaching, neither by the apostolic see, neither yet by the archbishop of Prague.

"And to the intent that the said John Huss, who is clothed in sheep's clothing, and inwardly a ravening wolf, may be the better known by his fruits, for the better information of you, most reverend fathers, I say, that from the first time that he took in hand, or went about to sow such errors and heresies, the which afterward he did indeed, he, understanding and perceiving himself to be withstood and gainsaid by the Germans, which were in the university of Prague, forasmuch as he could conclude nothing, because they had three voices, and he on his part had but one voice only: he went about and brought to pass, and that by the secular power, that the Germans should have but one voice, and he and his parts three voices; the which thing when the Germans once perceived, rather then they would lose or forsake any part of their right which they had in voices, or be in danger in their persons, the which would then have ensued upon it, to save themselves, they wholly, with one consent, agreed together to depart out of Prague; and by this means this solemn and famous university of Prague was made desolate, that had brought forth so many notable men in divers sciences. Behold this his first-fruits, which divided that so famous university, forasmuch as grapes are not gathered of thorns, neither figs of brambles.

"Moreover, when there were questions moved amongst the divines of the university of Prague upon the forty-five articles of John Wickliff, and that they had called a convocation, and all the divines of Bohemia, (for the Germans were already departed,) they concluded that every one of those articles were either heretical, seditious, or erroneous. He alone held the contrary opinion, that none of those articles were either heretical, seditious, or erroneous, as afterward he did dispute, hold, and teach, in the common schools of Prague; whereby it is evidently enough foreseen, that he doth affirm those articles of Wickliff, the which are not only condemned in England, but also by the whole church, because they were first invented and set forth by the members of antichrist.

"Moreover, he being complained of to the archbishop of Prague, that he preached and set forth certain articles which were heretical, false, and seditious, he was forbidden by the said archbishop to preach any more, who proceeded against him, according to the canonical sanctions; the which process is confirmed by the apostolic see, and published as well in the court of Rome, as without; the which John Huss and his adherents have divers and manifold ways violated and profaned. And whosoever did speak against him, they were deprived of their benefices, and others placed in, which have ruled and yet do rule the said churches, and the flocks pertaining to the same, not having any cure or charge of the souls committed unto them, neither by the apostolic see, neither yet by the ordinary of the place.

"Also as many, as well priests as laymen, in the city of Prague and kingdom of Bohemia, which have spoken against the doctrine of Huss, and the profanation of the

process aforesaid, or at the least not allowing the same, have suffered most mortal hatred and persecutions, and yet to this day do suffer, but that at this present it is dissimuled until the end of the process against John Huss. Wherefore, if he be now let go again, without doubt they shall suffer great persecution both in body and goods, and throughout all the realm of Bohemia 'house shall be against house;' and this mischief will creep, yea, suddenly spring up throughout all Germany, and innumerable souls shall be infected, so that there shall be such persecution of the clergy and faithful, as hath not been since the time of the Emperor Constantine to this present day; for he ceaseth not to move and stir up the laity against the clergy and faithful Christians. And, when any of the clergy would draw him away, or call him from his heresy, and for that cause doth forbid him to preach, that he do not teach any heresies; then saith he, and teacheth, that the clergy do that of envy and malice, because he rebuketh their vices and faults; that is to say, their simony, and pride, and covetousness.

"Moreover, he stirreth up the secular princes against the prelates of churches, monasteries, and universities, and generally against the whole clergy. Going about by this means, he preacheth and teacheth that prelates and other men of the church ought not to have any temporal goods or possessions, but only to live upon alms. And by this means he hath done already very much hurt, and annoyed divers and many prelates, clerks, and churches in the kingdom of Bohemia and city of Prague, forasmuch as thereby they are already spoiled and robbed of their possessions. Yea, he teacheth also that it is lawful for the lay-people without sin, to withhold and keep back the tithes and oblations, or to give the church-goods to any other minister; all the secular princes are greatly inclined hereunto, but especially the laity, who follow every man his own will.

"He hath generally to lay for himself all those heretics which do but very smally regard the ecclesiastical censures, and hate the authority of the Roman Church, yea, do utterly detest and abhor the same; the which thing will more and more increase, except it be effectually and manfully withstood: and if he do by any means escape from the council, he and his favourers will say that his doctrine is just and true, and that it is allowed by the authority of the universal sacred council, and that all his adversaries are wicked and naughty men; so that he would do more mischief, than ever any heretic did since the time of Constantine the Great. "Wherefore, most holy fathers, provide and take heed to yourselves, and to the whole flock amongst whom the Holy Ghost hath placed you, to rule the church of Christ, the which he hath purchased with his own blood; and whilst the disease is new and fresh, help and remedy it, as well touching him which doth so infect and trouble the church of God, as also concerning the occasions, through the which he hath presumed, and might do the same, because the prelates do abuse the ecclesiastical censures, and as well the prelates as those that are under them, do not keep and observe the order of the church which is appointed them by God; whereby it cometh to pass, that whilst they themselves do walk the broken and unknown paths, their flock falleth headlong into the ditch.

"Wherefore let our sovereign lord the pope, and this most sacred council, ordain and depute commissioners, the which may examine the said John Huss upon all aforewritten, and other things in the presence of them which know the matter. Let there be also certain doctors and masters appointed to read over and peruse his books which he hath written, whereof some are here present; that the church may be speedily purged and cleansed from these errors."

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Upon this his accusation, they ordained and appointed three commissioners or judges; that is to say, the patriarch of Constantinople, and the bishop of Castile, and the bishop of Lybusse; the which prelates being thus deputed, heard the accusation and the witness which was brought in by certain babbling priests of Prague, confirmed by their oaths, and afterwards recited the said accusation unto the said Huss in the prison, at such time as his ague was fervent and extremely upon him.

Upon this, John Huss required to have an advocate to answer for him; the which was plainly and utterly denied him. And the reasons that the masters and commissioners brought against it was this, that the plain canon doth forbid that any man should be a defender of any cause of his, which is suspected of any kind of heresy. The vanity and folly of the witnesses was such, that if in case they had not been both the accusers and judges themselves, there should have needed no distinct confutation. I would have rehearsed the testimonies in this place, but that I knew them to be such, as the prudent and wise reader could have read without great tediousness. Howbeit, some of them shall be declared, when we come to the process of his judgment.

Afterward, when John Huss had recovered a little strength or health, by the commandment of the three commissioners, there were presented unto him certain articles, many in number, which, they said, they had gathered out of his book which he made of the church; of which articles some were forged and invented by Master Paletz, and other some were gathered only by halves, as shall be more plainly declared hereafter, when we come to speak of the judgment pronounced and given against the said Huss.

Thus John Huss remained in the prison of the convent of the Franciscans, until the Wednesday before Palm Sunday, and certain appointed to keep him; and in the mean season, to employ and spend his time withal, he wrote certain books, that is to say, of the ten commandments, of the love and knowledge of God, of matrimony, of penance, of the three enemies of mankind, of the prayer of our Lord, and of the supper of our Lord.

The same day Pope John the Twenty-third changed his apparel, and conveyed himself secretly out of Constance, fearing the judgment by the which afterwards he was deprived of his papal dignity, by means of most execrable and abominable forfeits and doings. This was the cause that John Huss was transported and carried unto another prison; for the pope's servants, which had the charge and keeping of John Huss, understanding that their master was fled and gone, delivered up the keys of the prison unto the Emperor Sigismund, and to the cardinals, and followed their master the pope. Then, by the whole consent of the council, the said John Huss was put into the hands of the bishop of Constance, who sent him to a castle on the other side of the river of Rhine, not very far from Constance, where he was shut up in a tower with fetters on his legs, that he could scarce walk in the day-time, and at night he was fastened up to a rack against the wall hard by his bed.

In the mean season, certain noblemen and gentlemen of Poland and Bohemia did all their endeavour to purchase his deliverance, having respect to the good renown of all the realm, the which was wonderfully defamed and slandered by certain naughty persons. The matter was grown unto this point, that all they which were in the town of Constance, that seemed to bear any favour unto John Huss, were made as mocking-stocks, and derided of all men, yea, even of the slaves and base people. Wherefore they took counsel and concluded together to present their request in writing unto the

whole council, or at the least unto the four nations, of Almain, Italy, France, and England: this request was presented the fourteenth day of May, A. D. 1415; the tenor here ensueth:

"Most reverend fathers and lords, the nobles and lords of Bohemia and Poland here present, by these their present writings do show and declare unto your fatherly reverences, how that the most noble king and lord, the Lord Sigismund, king of Romans, always Augustus, king of Hungary, Croatia, Dalmatia, &c., hearing of the great dissension that was in the kingdom of Bohemia, as heir, king, and lord successor, willing and minding to foresee and provide for his own honour, sent these noblemen, Master Wencelate de Duba, and John de Clum here present, that they would bring and assure Master John Huss under the king's name and safe-conduct; so that he would come to the sacred general council of Constance, under the safe-conduct of the said king, and the protection of the said empire, openly given and granted unto the said Master John Huss, that he might purge himself and the kingdom of Bohemia from the slander that was raised upon them, and there to make an open declaration of his faith to every man that would lay any thing to his charge: the which the said nobles, with the forenamed Master John Huss, have performed and done, according to the king's commandment.

"Whereas the said Master John Huss was freely of his own accord come unto Constance, under the said safe-conduct, he was grievously imprisoned before he was heard, and at this present is tormented both with fetters, and also with hunger and thirst. Albeit that in times past, at the council holden at Pisa, in the year of our Lord 1410, the heretics which were condemned, were suffered to remain there at liberty, and to depart home freely; notwithstanding this, Master John Huss, neither being convicted nor condemned, no not so much as once heard, is taken and imprisoned, whereas neither king nor any prince elector, neither any ambassador of any university, was yet come or present. And albeit the lord the king, together with the nobles and lords here present, most instantly required and desired, that as touching his safe-conduct they would foresee and have respect unto his honour, and that the said Master John Huss might be openly heard, forasmuch as he would render and show a reason of his faith; and if he were found and convicted obstinately to affirm or maintain any thing against the truth of Holy Scripture, that then he ought to correct and amend the same, according to the instruction and determination of the council; yet could he never obtain this. But the said Master John Huss, notwithstanding all this, is most grievously oppressed with fetters and irons, and so weakened with thin and slender diet, that it is to be feared, lest that, his power and strength being hereby consumed and wasted, he should be put in danger of his wit or reason.

"And although the lords of Bohemia here present are greatly slandered, because they, seeing the said Master John Hues so to be tormented and troubled, contrary to the king's safe-conduct, have not by their letters put the king in mind of his said safe-conduct, that the said lord and king should not any more suffer any such matters, forasmuch as they tend to the contempt and disregard of the kingdom of Bohemia, which from the first original and beginning, since it received the catholic faith, never departed or went away from the obedience of the holy Church of Rome; yet, notwithstanding, they have suffered and borne all these things patiently hitherto, lest by any means, occasion of trouble or vexation of this sacred council might arise or spring thereof.

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"Wherefore, most reverend fathers and lords, the nobles and lords, before named, do wholly and most earnestly desire and require your reverences here present, that both for the honour of the safe-conduct of our said lord the king, and also for the preservation and increase of the worthy fame and renown, both of the aforesaid kingdom of Bohemia, and your own also, you will make a short end about the affairs of Master John Huss; forasmuch as by the means of his strait handling he is in great danger by any longer delay; even as they do most specially trust upon the most upright consciences and judgments of your fatherly reverences. But, forasmuch as, most reverend fathers and lords, it is now come to the knowledge and understanding of the nobles and lords of Bohemia here present, how that certain backbiters and slanderers of the most famous kingdom of Bohemia aforesaid, have declared and told unto your reverences, how that the sacrament of the most precious blood of our Lord is carried up and down through Bohemia in vessels not consecrated or hallowed, and that cobblers do now hear confessions, and minister the most blessed body of our Lord unto others: the nobles, therefore, of Bohemia here present, require and desire you, that you will give no credit unto false promoters and tale-tellers, for that, as most wicked and naughty slanderers and backbiters of that kingdom aforesaid, they do report and tell untruths; requiring also your reverences, that such slanderous persons of the kingdom aforesaid may be named and known. And the lord the king, together with your reverences, shall well perceive and see, that the lords of Bohemia will go about in such manner to refel and put away the false and frivolous slanders of these naughty persons, that they shall be ashamed to appear hereafter before the lord the king and your reverences."

As soon as this their supplication was read, the bishop of Luthonis, rising up, said, "Most reverend fathers, I well perceive and understand, that the last part of this writing doth touch me, my familiars, and friends, as though the kingdom of Bohemia were slandered by us. Wherefore I desire to have time and space of deliberation, that I may purge myself from this crime that is laid against me." The principal of the council appointed him the seventeenth day of May, at which day the lords of Bohemia should be present again, to hear both the answers of the council, and also the excuse of the bishop of Luthonis; the which thing indeed was afterward performed, for, the seventeenth day of May, which which was the fourth day before Whitsuntide, they met there again; where, first of all, a certain bishop, in the name of the whole council, answered by word to the nobles of Bohemia; the contents of whose answer may easily be known by the second supplication which the Bohemians put up to the council. But first, I shall here, in these few words following, show how the bishop of Luthonis defended himself against that which is before written.

"Most reverend fathers and noble lords, as Peter de Mladoneywitz, bachelor of arts, in the name of certain of the nobles of the kingdom of Bohemia, in his writings, amongst other things did propound how that certain slanderers and backbiters of the said kingdom, have brought to the ears of your reverences, that the most precious blood of Christ is carried up and down in Bohemia in bottles, and that cobblers do hear confessions, and minister the body of Christ unto others; whereupon, most reverend fathers and lords, albeit that I, together with the other prelates, doctors, masters, and other innumerable catholics of the said kingdom, the which do desire, as much as in them lieth, to defend the faith of Christ, have laboured for the extirpation and rooting out of that most wicked and detestable sect of Wickliff's, which now (alas! for sorrow) beginneth to spring and rise in the said kingdom, as it is well known: notwithstanding, here, in this my oration, not for any shame or reproof, but

for the honour of the kingdom aforesaid, I have propounded and declared a certain new sect, which is now lately sprung up in the said kingdom, the followers whereof do minister and communicate the sacraments in many cities, towns, and places of the said kingdom, under both kinds, both of bread and wine, and do constantly teach the common people, both men and women, that it is so to be communicated, obstinately affirming the same, and that the clergy which do repugn or say nay unto it, are to be counted church robbers; as by the writings of their assertions, being directed and presented hither, shall openly appear.

"Moreover, by the report and fame which goeth here abroad, and by the writings which were sent over unto me, I have propounded that it came to my knowledge, that the blood of Christ is carried about in vessels not consecrated, approving the aforesaid erroneous assertion of the Wicklevists, that affirm it necessary for salvation, that the people should communicate under both kinds of bread and wine; and that it is necessary, as the body of Christ is carried in the pix or box, so the blood of Christ should be carried in bottles, or other necessary vessels, from place to place, and especially about the ministration of the sick. Also I declared not of myself, but I heard it to be declared by others, both great and credible persons, that there was a certain woman, a follower of that sect, the which, taking by violence the body of Christ out of a priest's hands, did communicate unto herself, and affirmed that all men ought to do so, if the priests should deny them the communion. And the same woman, amongst many other errors of the which she was convicted, did affirm that a good laywoman might better consecrate and give absolution, than an evil priest; affirming that an evil priest can neither consecrate nor absolve. But I know that neither I, neither any of my assistants in this matter, have brought this at any time unto your ears, that cobblers in the said kingdom do hear confession, or minister the sacrament of the body of Christ, as is alleged by the said Peter, in the behalf of the said supplicants. Notwithstanding that, we did fear, if means were not found to recounter or stop the offences before named, that this would immediately follow upon it. Wherefore, most reverend fathers, lest that the kingdom might be defamed any more by such pestiferous sects, and that the Christian faith might happen to be endangered, with all reverence and charity, I do desire you, even by the bowels of mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ, that this most sacred council would provide some speedy remedy for this kingdom, as touching the premises.

"Moreover, whether be they backbiters and slanderers, or wicked and false enviers of the kingdom of Bohemia, the which do let the errors aforesaid, and many others more, which are sown by the Wicklevists in the said kingdom, and also elsewhere? which also both do labour, and have laboured, for the extirpation and rooting out of those errors out of the kingdom aforesaid, and as catholic men, for the zeal of their faith have manifestly put forth themselves against the maintainers of the said errors, or such as do maintain and defend the teachers of those errors? This answer I have here presented before your reverences, always wholly submitting myself and assistants unto your judgment, and to the definition of this most sacred council of Constance."

The day before Whitsuntide, the nobles of Bohemia did confute this their answer, made two days before in the council to their former writing, as here followeth:

"Most reverend fathers and lords, forasmuch as upon Thursday it was answered in the behalf of your reverences, to the requests of the nobles and lords of

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Bohemia, that the said lords were misinformed of divers points contained in the declaration of their said bill; therefore the aforesaid lords have now determined and decreed, to declare their former propounded requests more at large unto your reverences, not minding hereby to argue or reprove your fatherly wisdoms and circumspections; but that your reverences (their desires being partly on this behalf fulfilled) might the more effectuously and distinctly discern and judge as touching this matter.

"And first of all, whereas the lords alleged and said, how that Master John Huss was come hither unto Constance freely of his own good will, under the safe-conduct of the lord the king, and the protection of the sacred empire; it is answered on the behalf of your reverences, how that the said lords are misinformed as touching the safe-conduct, and that you have understood by such as are worthy credit, that the friends and favourers of the said Master John Huss, did first procure and get his safe-conduct, fifteen days after his imprisonment.

"The lords of Bohemia, and specially the Lord John de Clum here present, whom this matter doth chiefly touch, doth answer, that not only the fifteenth day after, but even the very same day that John Huss was apprehended and taken, when our reverend father the pope, in the presence of all his cardinals, demanded of Master John de Clum, whether Master John Huss had any safe-conduct from the king his son, he answered, Most holy father and cardinals, know ye that he hath a safe-conduct; and when he was asked the question again the second time, he answered in like manner.

"Yet, notwithstanding, none of them required to have the safe-conduct showed unto them and again, the third day following, the Lord John de Clum complained unto our lord the pope, how, notwithstanding the safe-conduct of our sovereign lord the king, he detained and kept Master John Huss as prisoner, showing the said safe-conduct unto many. And for the further truth herein, he referreth himself unto the testimonies and witnesses of divers earls, bishops, knights, gentlemen, and famous citizens of the town of Constance, the which all together at this present, did see the said safe-conduct, and heard it read; whereupon the said John de Clum is ready to bind himself under what penalty shall be required, evidently to prove and confirm that which he hath promised, whosoever say to the contrary.

"Moreover, the lords of Bohemia refer themselves unto the knowledge of certain princes electors, and other princes, bishops, and many other noblemen, which were present before the king's Majesty, where and when the said safe-conduct was granted and given out by the special commandment of our said lord the king.

"Hereby your fatherly reverences may understand and perceive that the said lords of Bohemia are not evil informed as touching the said safe-conduct; but rather they, which by such reports have falsely and untruly informed your reverences. And first of all, they have offended against the lord our king, and his chancellors. Secondly, against the lords and nobles of Bohemia, as though we had privily and by stealth purchased the said safe-conduct. Wherefore the lords aforesaid most humbly require and desire your reverences, that you will not so lightly believe such as be not worthy of credit; but rather, hearing the contrary part, to labour and discuss, that the truth may the more evidently appear.

"Secondly, Whereas the lords aforesaid, alleging how Master John Huss, coming unto Constance of his own free will, being neither condemned nor heard, was imprisoned, your reverences have made answers thereunto, that he, the said Master

John Huss, in the time of Alexander the Fifth, was infamed and slandered upon certain heresies, and thereupon cited personally to appear in the court of Rome, and there was heard by his procurers.

"And forasmuch as he refused obstinately to appear, he was excommunicated; in the which excommunication he continued, as you affirm, by the space of five years: for the which he was judged, and counted not only a simple and plain heretic, but a heresiarch, that is to say, an inventor and sower of new and strange heresies; and that he, coming toward Constance, did preach by the way openly. To this the lords aforesaid do answer, that, as touching his slander and citation, they can affirm nothing but by report. But, as touching that he did not personally appear, they say they have heard both himself and divers other credible persons say, yea, even the most famous Prince Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia, and almost all the whole nobility is witness, that he would willingly have appeared at Rome, or elsewhere, if he might safely have come thither, and that deadly enmity had not letted: and, moreover, his procurers which he sent unto the court of Rome, alleging reasonable causes for his non-appearance, some of them were cast into prison, and others were evil entreated.

"As for the excommunication which he hath so long sustained, they have often heard him say, that he hath not resisted against the same by contumacy, or stubbornness, but under evident appellation, and thereupon referreth himself unto the acts of his causes which were pleaded in the court of Rome, wherein all this is more largely contained; the which your reverences may easily perceive and see in this our present public transumpt, which we have offered unto you upon certain points aforesaid.

"As concerning his preaching, wherewithal his enemies do report and charge, that Master John Huss did preach openly in the city of Constance; the lords aforesaid, and especially the Lord John de Clum here present, do answer, that he hath continually lodged with the said Master John Huss, here in Constance, and that whosoever they be, that have been so bold, or dare be so bold, to say and affirm that Master John Huss had preached, as is premised, or, which is less, that since the time of his coming unto this city, even unto the very day and time of his captivity and imprisonment, that he went but one step out of the house of his lodging, that the said Lord John de Clum will and is content to bind himself with any such as shall affirm the same, under what penalty soever it be, of money or otherwise, that that which they have falsely reported unto your reverences, they shall never be able justly and truly to affirm and prove.

"Thirdly, Whereas your reverences do say, that you do not understand or know, what the lords do mean, by the heretics condemned at the council holden at Pisa, whether the mocking or deriding of the pope, whose ambassadors came thither for unity or concord, the which were suffered, and gently treated, as their lords were most inclined unto unity and peace; or else that they did understand or mean the particular heretics, which were there condemned; adjoining thereunto, that the heretics also coming unto the council under the pretence of that unity, should be gently handled and. entreated, &c. Reverend fathers and lords, whether they be counted the first, or that they be thought the second or last, the lords aforesaid require none other thing, but that the said Master John Huss may use such liberty as they used, forasmuch as he came willingly unto this most sacred council, not for any other purpose, but only publicly to recognise his faith. And in what point soever he shall seem to vary from the word of God, and the union of the holy mother the church, in

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that point he will willingly be united and reconciled again thereunto; and not only himself, but also his favourers and adherents he would move and provoke thereunto, of whom the greater number are in the kingdom of Bohemia. Also he is come hither, that he might purge and clear the noble kingdom of Bohemia from the sinister and evil slander which was raised upon it.

"Last of all, most reverend fathers and lords, forasmuch as your reverences have most favourably answered unto the principal request made by the lords aforesaid, that the process of Master John Huss, through God's help, should be determined and ended with all expedition and gentleness; the lords aforesaid do render most hearty thanks unto your reverences, and whensoever their desire, by God's help, shall come to the end or effect long wished or looked for, they will not only here, but also before the whole kingdom of Bohemia, and in all other places wheresoever they come, render most immortal thanks unto your reverences for ever."

Whereas the noblemen of Bohemia by long time could receive no answer of those supplications which they had already put up, they determined, the last day of May following, by another supplication being put up unto the principals of the council, to entreat that John Huss might be delivered out of prison, and defend his own cause openly: they also put up the testimonial of the bishop of Nazareth as touching John Huss; the copy whereof is expressed in the beginning of this history, word by word.

Another supplication of the nobles of Bohemia.

"Most reverend fathers and lords in Christ, of late there was a supplication put up unto your reverences on the behalf of the lords and nobles of Bohemia, and the nation of the Poles, wherein they most humbly desired your reverences to consider how the informations which were put up unto your reverences, by the enemies of Master John Huss, were insufficient, and, with reverence be it spoken, in many points untrue; as in the safe-conduct granted by the king's Majesty, and also in other articles, as more plainly appeareth in the schedule, which was then offered unto you; upon the which said schedule and other things at that present, being put up, they could not as yet receive any answer. Wherefore the lords aforesaid most humbly require your fatherly reverences, that it would please you to consider the said supplication, and to give some answer to the lords aforesaid thereupon, and specially having respect unto the great injuries and griefs which are done unto the said Master John Huss, the which may be understood and known by the schedule aforesaid, that you will mercifully consider and foresee, that all those griefs and evils, so far different from all brotherly love and charity, are done unto him by his enemies even for very malice and hatred.

"To the intent, therefore, that the rancour and malice may be confounded and overthrown, and the plain and evident truth appear, it may please your fatherly reverences to understand that it is notified and known unto the barons, nobles, and citizens, the clergy and laity, of the kingdom of Bohemia, that Master John Huss in all his acts and doings, as well scholastical as ecclesiastical, and especially in all his public and open sermons, hath made, and hath accustomed to make, these manner of protestations; and which, without any thing to the contrary, he hath always endeavoured to have them strong and firm, as by this his protestation here following, (which he made about the determination of a certain question,) it may most evidently

and plainly appear unto every man which would behold and look upon the same: the form and tenor whereof here followeth, and is such."

The protestation of John Huss.

"Forasmuch as about all things I do desire the honour of God, the profit of the holy church, and that I myself may be a faithful member of our Lord Jesus Christ, which is the head and husband of the holy church which he hath redeemed; therefore, as heretofore oftentimes I have done, even so now again, I make this protestation: That I never obstinately said, or hereafter will say, any thing that shall be contrary unto the truth and verity; and, moreover, that I have always holden, do hold, and firmly desire to hold, the very true and infallible truth and verity; so that before that I would defend and maintain any error contrary thereunto, I would rather choose, by the hope and help of the Lord, to suffer extreme punishment, even unto death: yea, and through the help of God, I am ready to offer this, my miserable life unto death for the law of Christ, the which I do believe, every part and parcel thereof, to be given and promulgated for the salvation of mankind, by the counsel and determination of the most holy Trinity and the saints of God,' &c.

"By the which his protestation, and also other protestations by the said Master John Huss, being well observed and noted, it may be easily gathered and known, that his whole intent and purpose was and is, that he neither would nor will have spoken or written any thing in his books, treatises, doctrines, or public sermons; or else to have affirmed any articles, the which willingly and wittingly he did understand or know to be erroneous, offensive, seditious, heretical, or offending the godly ear; albeit that these and such-like things are falsely imputed unto him by his enemies. But it hath always been his chief intent and purpose, and so is, that every point, conclusion, or article, contained in his books or articles, to have put and affirmed them to this end, according to the truth of the gospel, the holy doctors, and writers upon the Holy Scriptures; and to that end and purpose, as is before expressed in his protestations: and if in any point he should be found to vary or go astray, or that he were not well understood of others, by like information to be informed, understood, corrected, and amended: and that he will by no means sustain or defend any manner of article against the holy Church of Rome, or the catholic faith.

"Wherefore, most reverend fathers, the premises notwithstanding, his enemies, through the extreme hatred which they bear unto him, have picked and taken out by piecemeal, certain articles out of the books of Master John Huss, rejecting and not looking upon the allegations and reasons, neither having any relation unto the distinction of their equivocations, have compounded and made thereof certain false and feigned articles against him to this end, that, all charity and love being set apart, they might the better overthrow him, and bring him unto death, contrary unto the safe-conduct upon good and just occasion openly assigned and given unto the said Master John Huss, by the most noble prince the Lord Sigismund, King of the Romans and of Hungary, for his just defence against all the frivolous accusations and assaults of the enemies, not only of the said Master John Huss, but also of the famous kingdom of Bohemia, and for the quiet appeasing of all such tumults and rumours rising and springing in the said kingdom of Bohemia, or elsewhere; the avoiding of which most perilous uproars, the said king of Romans doth greatly desire and wish, as the right heir and successor of the said kingdom.

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"Whereupon, the barons and nobles aforesaid most humbly desire and require, the premises being considered, and respect had unto the great infamy and slander which may happen by the premises unto the said kingdom and inhabitants thereof, that you will put to your hands and take some order and means, that Master John Huss may be directly heard by some famous men, divines, already deputed, or otherwise to be appointed, upon all and singular such articles as shall be laid unto him; to declare his own mind and intent, and also the mind of the doctors alleged for this purpose, with the manifold distinctions and equivocations, in the which the drawers-out of the most part of his articles have also made equivocations, that so, according unto the disposition of the witnesses, of the which a great number of them are and have a long time been his mortal enemies, that at the frivolous instigation of his enemies, when he was miserably detained prisoner, that he should not be condemned unheard. Forasmuch as by the said declarations your fatherly reverences might be the better informed of the truth, he himself is ready always to submit himself under the determination of this most sacred council. For your reverences, by the crafty and feigned persuasions of his enemies, are thus informed, that Master John Huss hath been uncurably obstinate for a long time, in most perilous articles, the which your reverences may now plainly perceive to be untrue: and for the more evidence herein to be showed, there is presented unto your reverences an instrument of public recognition of the most reverend Father in Christ, the Lord Nicholas, bishop of Nazareth, an inquisitor of heresies, specially appointed by the apostolic see in the diocese of Prague, the which by your reverences is more diligently to be hearkened unto.

"Wherefore it may please your fatherly reverences to command the said Master John Huss, neither convicted nor condemned, to be taken and brought out of his bonds and chains, in the which he is now most grievously detained and kept, and to put him into the hands of some reverend lords, bishops, or commissioners, appointed, or to be appointed, by this present council; that the said Master John Huss may somewhat be relieved, and recover again his health, and be the more diligently and commodiously examined by the commissioners. And for the more assurance, the barons and nobles aforesaid, of the kingdom of Bohemia, will provide most sure and good sureties, the which will not break their fidelity and faith for any thing in the world; which also shall promise in this behalf, that he shall not flee or depart out of their hands, until such time as the matter be fully determined by the said commissioners. In the execution of the which premises, we have determined to provide and foresee, unto the fame and honour of the said kingdom of Bohemia, and also to the safe-conduct of the most worthy prince, the king of Romans; lest that the enemies and detractors of the honour and fame of the kingdom aforesaid, might not a little slander and reprove the said lords, pretending and showing forth hereafter, that they had made unreasonable or unlawful requests: for the withstanding of which mischief, we require your fatherly reverences, that you will decree, and most graciously consent, that this our petition and supplication may be drawn out again by your notary, and reduced into public form and order."

After this supplication was read before the deputies of the four nations, the patriarch of Antioch answered in the name of them all, unto every article the said supplication; but it was done in few words.

"First, as touching the protestation of John Huss, whether it be true or false, it shall be made evident in the process of his cause. Moreover, whereas they say that the adversaries of John Huss have perversely drawn certain things out of his books: that,

also, the matter itself shall declare in the end; whereas, if it shall be found and decreed that John Huss is unjustly and untruly accused, that then it shall come to pass that his adversaries shall incur perpetual ignominy and slander. But as touching sureties, albeit there might be a thousand put in or bound, yet can it not by any means be, that the deputies of the council, with a safe conscience, may receive or take them in this man's cause, unto whom there is no faith or credit to be given. Howbeit thus much they will do, upon the fifth day of June next, John Huss shall be brought again unto Constance, and there have free liberty to speak his mind before the council:" and he promised that they would lovingly and gently hear him: but the matter in the end fell out far contrary to this promise.

The same day the said barons and lords presented a supplication of this tenor unto the emperor:

"Unto the most high and mighty prince, the Lord Sigismund, king of the Romans, always Augustus, king of Hungary, Croatia, and Dalmatia, our most gracious lord, faithful and true service in all things, and at all times. Most noble prince and gracious lord, we signify unto your worthiness, that we all, together with one mind, consent, and accord, have delivered up unto the reverend fathers and lords, the deputies of the four nations, and to the whole sacred council of Constance, this our supplication hereunder written, as reasonable, just, and worthy of consideration; the tenor whereof here followeth word by word, and is this."

The copy of the supplication, which was presented unto the deputies of the council, is before written, whereunto this which followeth was annexed:

"Wherefore we most humbly require and desire your princely Majesty, that both for the love of justice, and also of the fame and renown of that most famous kingdom of Bohemia, whereof we acknowledge you undoubtedly the true lord, heir, and successor; and also foreseeing unto the liberty of your safe-conduct, that you will, with your favourable countenance, beholding these most reasonable and just supplications, which we have put up to the lords aforesaid, put to your helping hand toward the said most reverend fathers and lords, that they will effectually hear us in this our most just petition, which we have offered up to them, as is aforesaid; lest that the enemies of the renown and honour of the famous kingdom of Bohemia, and such be our slanderers also, hereafter may detract and slander us, that we should make unreasonable and unlawful requests unto the said reverend fathers and lords; and therefore we required and desired of them, that it would please them to decree by setting to their public hand and seal, to authorize our said publication. Likewise, we do most heartily require your Highness, that you would vouchsafe in like manner to give us your testimony of the premises."

But what answer the emperor made hereunto, we could never understand or know; but by the process of the matter a man may easily judge, that this good emperor was brought and led even unto this point, through the obstinate mischief of the cardinals and bishops, to break and falsify his promise and faith which he had made and promised; and this was their reason whereby he was driven thereunto, that no defence could or might be given either by safe-conduct, or by any other means, unto him which was suspected or judged to be a heretic. But by the epistles and letters of John Huss a man may easily judge what the king's mind was. Now we will proceed in the history.

103. The Trial of John Huss

The fifth day of June, the cardinals, bishops, and the rest of the priests, almost all that were in Constance, assembled to a great number, at the convent of the Franciscans in Constance; and there it was commanded, that before John Huss should be brought forth, in his absence they should rehearse the witnesses and articles, which they had slanderously gathered out of his books; the which articles, with John Huss's answer, we will hereafter repeat. By chance there was then present a certain notary, named Peter Mladoniewitz, the which bare great love and amity unto the said Huss; who, as soon as he perceived that the bishops and cardinals were already determined and appointed to condemn the said articles in the absence of John Huss, he went with all speed unto Master Wencelate de Duba, and John of Clum, and told them all the matter, who incontinent made report thereof to the emperor, who, understanding their intent, sent Louis, the county Palatine of Heidelburgh, and the Lord Frederic, burgrave of Nuremberg, to signify unto them which ruled the council, that nothing should be resolved or done in the case of John Huss before that it were first heard with equity, and that they should send him all such articles as were laid against the said Huss, which were either false or heretical; and he would do so much, that the said articles should be examined by good and learned men. Then, according to the emperor's will, the judgment of the principals of the council was suspended, until such time as John Huss were present.

In the mean season, these gentlemen, Master Wencelate of Duba, and John of Clum, did give unto the two princes, which the emperor had sent, certain small treatises which the said John Huss had made, out of the which they had drawn certain articles to present unto them which ruled the council; under this condition, that they would render them again, when they should demand them. The intent and meaning of these barons was, that by this means the adversaries of John Huss might the more easily be reproved, the which, of a naughty and corrupt conscience, had picked out corrupt sentences out of the said books of John Huss. The books were delivered unto the cardinals and bishops; and, that done, John Huss was brought forth, and the princes which were sent by the emperor departed back again. Afterwards they showed the books unto John Huss, and he confessed openly, before the whole assembly, that he had made them; and that he was ready, if there were any fault in them, to amend the same.

Now hearken a little to the holy proceedings of these reverend fathers, for there happened a strange and shameful matter. With much ado they had scarcely read one article, and brought forth a few witnesses upon the same against him, but, as he was about to open his mouth to answer, all this mad herd or flock began so to cry out upon him, that he had not leisure to speak one only word. The noise and trouble was so great and so vehement, that a man might well have called it a bruit or noise of wild beasts, and not of men; much less was it to be judged a congregation of men gathered together to judge and determine so grave and weighty matters. And if it happened that the noise and cry did never so little cease, that he might answer any thing at all out of the Holy Scriptures or ecclesiastical doctors, by and by he should hear these goodly replies upon him, "That maketh nothing to the purpose."

Besides all this, some did outrage in words against him, and other some spitefully mocked him; so that he, seeing himself overwhelmed with these rude and barbarous noises and cries, and that it profited nothing to speak, he determined finally with himself to hold his peace and keep silence. From that time forward, all the whole rout of his adversaries thought that they had won the battle of him, and cried out all together, "Now he is dumb, now he is dumb; this is a certain sign and token, that he doth consent and agree unto these his errors." Finally, the matter came to this point, that certain of the most moderate and honest among them, seeing this disorder, determined to proceed no further, but that all should be deferred and put off until another time. Through their advice, the prelates and others departed from the council for that present, and appointed to meet there again the morrow after to proceed in judgment.

The next day, which was the seventh of June, on which day the sun was almost wholly eclipsed, somewhat after about seven of the clock, this same flock assembled again in the cloister of the Friars Minor, and by their appointment John Huss was brought before them, accompanied with a great number of armed men. Thither went also the emperor, whom the gentlemen, Master Wencelate of Duba, and John of Clum, and the notary named Peter, which were great friends of the said Huss, did follow to see what the end would be. When they were come thither, they heard that in the accusation of Michael de Causis, they read these words following: "John Huss hath taught the people divers and many errors both in the chapel of Bethlem, and also in many other places of the city of Prague, of the which errors, some of them he hath drawn out of Wickliff's books, and the rest he hath forged and invented of his own head, and doth maintain the same very obstinately and stiffly.

"First, that after the consecration and pronounciation of the words in the supper of the Lord, there remaineth material bread." And this is proved by the witness of John Protway, parish priest of St. Clement's in Prague; John Pecklow, preacher at St. Giles in Prague; Benise, preacher in the castle of Prague; Andrew Brode, canon of Prague, and divers other priests. Unto this John Huss, taking a solemn oath, answered that he never spake any such word; but thus much he did grant, that at what time the archbishop of Prague forbade him to use any more that term or word, bread, he could not allow the bishop's commandment; forasmuch as Christ, in the 6th chapter of John, doth oftentimes name himself the bread of angels, which came down from heaven, to give life unto the whole world; but as touching material bread, he never spake any thing at all. Then the cardinal of Cambray, taking a certain bill in his hand, which he said he received the day before, said unto John Huss: "Will you put any universalities, as touching the thing?" When John Huss answered, that he would, because St. Anselm and divers others had so done, the cardinal did proceed to gather his argument in this manner.

"It followeth then," said he, "that after the consecration is made, there remaineth the substance of material bread; and that I do thus prove: that the consecration being done, while the bread is changed and transubstantiated into the body of Christ, as you say, either there doth remain the common substance of material bread, or contrariwise. If the substance do remain, then is our purpose at an end. If contrariwise, then it doth follow, that by the decision of the singularity, the universal ceaseth any more to be." John Huss answered, "Truly it ceaseth to be, in this singular material bread, by means of this transubstantiation, by which it is changed and transubstantiated into the body of Christ; but, notwithstanding, in other singularities it is made subject."

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Then a certain Englishman by that argument would prove out of the first position, that there remained material bread. Then said John Huss, "That is a childish argument, which every boy in schools knoweth:" and thereupon gave a solution. Then another Englishman would prove, that there remained material bread in the sacrament, because the bread after the consecration was not annihilate. Unto whom John Huss answered, "Although," said he, "that the bread be not annihilate or consumed, yet singularly it ceaseth there to be by means of the alteration of its substance into the body of Christ." Here another Englishman stepping forth, said; "John Huss seemeth unto me to use the same kind of crafty speech which Wickliff used, for he granted all these things which this man hath done, and yet in very deed was fully persuaded that material bread remained in the sacrament after the consecration." The which when John Huss had denied, saying, that he spake nothing but only sincerely and uprightly, according to his conscience; the Englishman proceeded to demand of him again, whether the body of Christ be totally and really in the sacrament of the altar. Whereunto John Huss answered, "Verily, I do think that the body of Christ is really and totally in the sacrament of the altar, even that body which was born of the Virgin Mary, suffered, died, and rose again, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty." When they had disputed a good while to and fro, as touching universalities, the Englishman, which before would prove that material bread remained in the sacrament, because that the bread was not annihilate, interrupting and breaking their talk, said: "To what purpose is this disputation upon universalities, the which maketh nothing to the purpose, as touching faith? For as far as I can perceive or hear, this man holdeth a good opinion as touching the sacrament of the altar." Then another Englishman, named Stokes, said, "I have seen at Prague a certain treatise, the which was ascribed unto this man John Huss, wherein it was plainly set forth, that after the consecration there remained material bread in the sacrament." "Verily," said John Huss, "saving your reverence, that is not true."

Then they returned again unto the witnesses of them which were spoken of a little before, who, every man for himself, affirmed, with an oath, that which he had said; amongst whom John Protyway, parish priest of St. Clement's in Prague, when he should come to confirm his testimony, added more, that John Huss should say, that St. Gregory was but a rhymers, when he did allege his authority against him. Unto whom John Huss answered, that in this point they did him great injury, forasmuch as he always esteemed and reputed St. Gregory for a most holy doctor of the church.

These contentions and disputations being somewhat appeased, the cardinal of Florence turned himself toward John Huss and said: "Master, you know well enough that it is written, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses, all witness is firm and stable; and here you see now almost twenty witnesses against you, men of authority and worthy of credit, amongst the which some have heard you teach these things themselves, the other by report and common bruit or voice do testify of your doctrine; and all together, generally, bring firm reasons and proofs of their witness, unto the which we are forced and constrained to give credit; and, for my part, I see not how you can maintain and defend your cause against so many notable and well-learned men." Unto whom John Huss answered in this manner: "I take God and my conscience to witness, that I never taught any thing, neither was it ever in my mind or fantasy to teach in sort or manner, as these men here have not feared to witness against me that which they never heard. And albeit they were as many more in number as they are, for all that I do much more esteem, yea, and without comparison

regard, the witness of my Lord God, before the witness and judgment of all mine adversaries, upon whom I do in no point stay myself."

Then said the cardinal again unto him, "It is not lawful for us to judge according to your conscience; for we cannot choose, but that we must needs stay ourselves upon the firm and evident witness of these men here. For it is not for any displeasure or hatred, that these men do witness this against you, (as you do allege,) for they allege and bring forth such reasons of their witness, that there is no man that can perceive any hatred in them, or that we can, in any case, be in doubt thereof. And as touching Master Stephen Paletz, whereas you say, you do suspect him that he hath craftily and deceitfully drawn out certain points or articles out of your books to betray them afterwards; it seemeth that in this point you do him great wrong, for in mine advice he hath used and showed a great fidelity and amity toward you, in that he hath alleviated and moderated many of your articles much more than they are in your own books. I understand also that you have like opinion of divers other notable men, and specially you have said, that you do suspect Master Chancellor of Paris, than whom there is no more excellent and Christian man in all the whole world."

Then was there read a certain article of accusation, in the which it was alleged, that John Huss had taught, and obstinately defended, certain erroneous articles of Wickliff's in Bohemia. Whereunto Huss answered, that he never taught any errors of John Wickliff's, or of any other man's. "Wherefore, if it be so that Wickliff hath sowed any errors in England, let the Englishmen look to that themselves." But to confirm their article, there was alleged that John Huss did withstand the condemnation of Wickliff's articles, the which were first condemned at Rome. And afterwards also, when the archbishop of Swinco, with other learned men, held a convocation at Prague for the same matter, when they would have there been condemned for this cause, that none of them were agreeing to the catholic faith or doctrine, but were either heretical, erroneous, or offensive; he answered, that he durst not agree thereunto, for offending his conscience, and especially for these articles, that Silvester the pope, and Constantine, did err in bestowing those great gifts and rewards upon the church. Also, that the pope or priest, being in mortal sin, cannot consecrate nor baptize. "This article," said he, "I have thus determined, as if I should say, that he doth unworthily consecrate or baptize, when he is in deadly sin, and that he is an unworthy minister of the sacraments of God." Here his accusers, with their witnesses, were earnest and instant that the article of Wickliff was written by the very same words of the treatise which John Huss made against Stephen Paletz. "Verily," said John Huss, "I fear not to submit myself, even under the danger of death, if you shall not find it so as I have said." When the book was brought forth, they found it written as John Huss had said. He added also, moreover, that he durst not agree unto them which had condemned Wickliff's articles, for this article, "The tenths were pure alms." Here the cardinal of Florence objected unto him this argument, as touching the alms: "It is required that it should be given freely without bond or duty. But tenths are not given freely without bond or duty; therefore are they no alms." John Huss, denying the major of this syllogism, brought this reason against him: "Forasmuch as rich men are bound, under the pain of eternal damnation, unto the fulfilling of the six works of mercy, which Christ repeateth in the 25th chapter of Matthew, and these works are pure alms; ergo, alms are also given by bond and duty." Then an archbishop of England, stepping up, said, "If we all be bound unto those six works of mercy, it doth follow that poor men, which have nothing at all to give, should be damned." "I answer," said Huss, "unto your antecedent, that I spake distinctly of rich men, and of those which had

wherewithal to do those works. They, I say, were bound to give alms under pain of damnation."

He answered, moreover, unto the minor of the first argument, that tenths were at first given freely, and afterward made a bond and duty; and when he would have declared it more at large, he could not be suffered. He declared also divers other causes why he could not, with safe conscience, consent unto the condemnation of Wickliff's articles. But howsoever the matter went, he did affirm and say, that he did never obstinately confirm any articles of Wickliff's, but only that he did not allow and consent that Wickliff's articles should be condemned before that sufficient reasons were alleged out of the Holy Scripture for their condemnation. "And of the same mind," saith John Huss, "are a great many other doctors and masters of the university of Prague; for when Swinco the archbishop commanded all Wickliff's books to be gathered together in the whole city of Prague, and to be brought unto him, I myself brought also certain books of Wickliff's which I gave unto the archbishop, desiring him, that if he found any error or heresy in them, he would note and mark them, and I myself would publish them openly. But the archbishop, albeit that he showed me no error nor heresy in them, burned my books, together with those that were brought unto him, notwithstanding that he had no such commandment from Pope Alexander the Fifth. But, notwithstanding, by a certain policy, he obtained a bull from the said pope by means of Jaroslaus, bishop of Sarepta, of the order of Franciscans, that all Wickliff's books, for the manifold errors contained in them, (whereof there were none named,) should be taken out of all men's hands. The archbishop, using the authority of this bull, thought he should bring to pass that the king of Bohemia and the nobles should consent to the condemnation of Wickliff's books; but therein he was deceived. Yet nevertheless, calling together certain divines, he gave them in commission to sit upon Wickliff's books, and to proceed against them by a definitive sentence in the canon law. These men, by a general sentence, judged all those books worthy to be burned; the which when the doctors, masters, and scholars of the university heard report of, they all together, with one consent and accord, (none excepted but only they which before were chosen by the archbishop to sit in judgment,) determined to make supplication unto the king to stay the matter. The king, granting their request, sent by and by certain unto the archbishop to examine the matter. There he denied that he would decree any thing, as touching Wickliff's books, contrary unto the king's will and pleasure. Whereupon, albeit that he had determined to burn them the next day after, yet for fear of the king, the matter was passed over. In the mean time Pope Alexander the Fifth, being dead, the archbishop, fearing lest the bull which he had received of the pope, would be no longer of any force or effect, privily calling unto him his adherents, and shutting the gates of his court round about him, being guarded with a number of armed soldiers, consumed and burned all Wickliff's books.



The burning of John Huss's books

Besides this great injury, the archbishop, by means of his bull aforesaid, committed another no less intolerable; for he gave out commandment, that no man after that time, under pain of excommunication, should teach any more in chapels. Whereupon I did appeal unto the pope; who being dead, and the cause of my matter remaining undetermined, I appealed likewise unto his successor John the Twenty-third: before whom when, by the space of two years, I could not be admitted by my advocates to defend my cause, I appealed unto the high Judge, Christ.

When John Huss had spoken these words, it was demanded of him whether he had received absolution of the pope or no? He answered, "No." Then again, whether it were lawful for him to appeal unto Christ or no? Whereunto John Huss answered; "Verily I do affirm here before you all, that there is no more just or effectual appeal, than that appeal which is made unto Christ, forasmuch as the law doth determine, that to appeal, is no other thing than in a cause of grief or wrong done by an inferior judge, to implore and require aid and remedy at a higher judge's hand. Who is then a higher judge than Christ? Who, I say, can know or judge the matter more justly, or with more equity? when in him there is found no deceit, neither can he be deceived; or, who can better help the miserable and oppressed than he?" While John Huss, with a devout and

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sober countenance, was speaking and pronouncing those words, he was derided and mocked of all the whole council.

Then was there rehearsed another article of his accusation, in this manner; that John Huss, to confirm the heresy which he had taught the common and simple people out of Wickliff's books, said openly these words: "That at what time a great number of monks and friars, and other learned men, were gathered together in England, in a certain church, to dispute against John Wickliff, and could by no means vanquish him, or give him the foil; suddenly the church door was broken open with lightning, so that with much ado Wickliff's enemies hardly escaped without hurt." He added, moreover, that he wished his soul to be in the same place where John Wickliff's soul was. Whereunto John Huss answered, that a dozen years before that any books of divinity of John Wickliff's were in Bohemia, he did see certain works of philosophy of his, the which, he said, did marvellously delight and please him. And when he understood the good and godly life of the said Wickliff, he spake these words: "I trust," said he, "that Wickliff is saved; and albeit that I doubt whether he be damned or no, yet, with a good hope, I wish that my soul were in the same place where John Wickliff's is." Then again did all the company jest and laugh at him.

It is also in his accusation, that John Huss did counsel the people, according to the example of Moses, to resist with the sword against all such as did gainsay his doctrine. And the next day after he had preached the same, there were found openly, in divers places, certain intimations that every man, being armed with his sword about him, should stoutly proceed; and that brother should not spare brother, neither one neighbour another. John Huss answered, that all these things were falsely laid unto his charge by his adversaries; for he at all times, when he preached, did diligently admonish and warn the people, that they should all arm themselves to defend the truth of the gospel, according to the saying of the apostle, with the helmet and sword of salvation; and that he never spake of any material sword, but of that which is the word of God. And as touching intimations, or Moses's sword, he never had any thing to do withal.

It is moreover affirmed in his accusation and witness, that many offences are sprung up by the doctrine of Huss. For first of all, he sowed discord between the ecclesiastical and the political state; whereupon followed the persecution, spoiling, and robbery of the clergy and bishops; and moreover, that he, through his dissension, dissolved the university of Prague. Hereunto John Huss briefly answered, that these things had not happened by his means or default; for the first dissension that was between the ecclesiastical and political state, sprang and grew upon this cause, that Pope Gregory the Twelfth promised at his election, that at all times, at the will and pleasure of the cardinals, he would depart from and give over his seat again; for under that condition he was elect and chosen. This man, contrary and against Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia, and was then also king of the Romans, made Louis, duke of Bavaria, emperor.

A few years after it happened, when Pope Gregory would not refuse and give over his seat and office at the request of the cardinals, that the whole college of cardinals sent letters to the king of Bohemia, requiring him, that, together with them, he would renounce and forsake his obedience unto Pope Gregory, and so it should come to pass, that by the authority of a new bishop he should recover again his imperial dignity. For this cause the king consented to the will of the cardinals as touching a neutrality; that is to say, that he would neither take part with Pope Gregory,

neither yet with Benedict the Twelfth, bishop of Avignon, who was then named pope, as it doth appear by chronicles. In this cause then, forasmuch as the archbishop Swinco with the clergy were against the king, and abstaining from the divine service, many of them departed out of the city, and the archbishop himself, breaking down the tomb of the Lord Wencelate, contrary and against the king's will, did also take Wickliff's books and burned them. Thereupon the king, without any gainsaying, suffered that certain goods of theirs, which of their own wills were fled away, should be spoiled; because they should not consent or accord with the bishop. Whereupon it is easy to be understood and known that John Huss was falsely accused for that matter. Howbeit a certain man, one Naso, rising up, said: "The clergy did not abstain from the divine service, because they would not swear to consent unto the king; but because that they were spoiled and robbed of their goods and substance." And the cardinal of Cambray, who was one of the judges, said: "Here I must say somewhat which is come into my mind. When I came from Rome, the same year that these things were done, by chance I met on the way certain prelates of Bohemia: whom, when I demanded what news they had brought out of Bohemia, they answered, that there was happened a wonderful cruel and heinous fact; for all the clergy were spoiled of all their substance, and very ill entreated and handled."

Then John Huss, alleging the same cause which he did before, went forward unto the second part of the article which was objected against him, denying, also, that it happened through his fault, that the Germans departed from the university of Prague. "But when the king of Bohemia, according to the foundation of Charles the Fourth, his father, granted three voices unto the Bohemians, and the fourth unto the Germans; whereat the Germans grudging that they should be exempted from their voices, of their own accord departed and went their ways; binding themselves with a great oath, and under a great penalty, both of their fame, and also money, that none of them should return again unto Prague. Notwithstanding, I am not ashamed to confess, that I did approve and allow the doings of the king, unto whom of duty I owe obedience for the commodity and profit of my country. And because you shall not think that I have spoken any untruth, here is present Albert Warren Trapius, which was deacon of the faculties, who had sworn to depart with the rest of the Germans; he, if that he will say the truth, shall easily clear me of this suspicion."

But when Albert would have spoken, he could not be heard. But the aforesaid Naso, of whom before is made mention, after he had asked leave to speak, said: "This matter do I understand well enough, for I was in the king's court when these things were done in Bohemia, when I saw the masters of the three nations, of the Germans, Bavarians, Saxons, and Silesians, amongst whom the the Polonians were also numbered, most humbly come unto the king, requiring that he would not suffer the right of their voices to be taken from them; then the king promised them that he would foresee and provide for their requests: but John Huss and Jerome of Prague, with divers others, persuaded the king that he should not so do. Whereat the king at the first, being not a little moved, gave him a sore check, that he and Jerome of Prague did so much intermeddle themselves, and moved such open controversies, insomuch that he threatened them, that except they would foresee and take heed, he would bring it to pass that the matter should be determined and decreed by fire. Wherefore, most reverend fathers, you shall understand that the king of Bohemia did never favour with his heart these men, whose unshamefacedness is such, that they feared not even of late to entreat me evil, being so much in the king's favour and credit." After him stepped forth Paletz, saying, "Verily, most reverend fathers, not only the learned men of other

nations, but also of Bohemia itself, are, through the counsel of John Huss and his adherents, banished out of Bohemia, of the which number some remain yet in exile in Moravia." Hereunto John Huss answered: "How can this be true," said he, "since I was not at Prague at that time, when these men you speak of departed and went away from thence?" These things were thus debated the day aforesaid as touching John Huss.

This done, the said John Huss was committed to the custody of the bishop of Reggio, under whom Jerome of Prague was also prisoner. But before that he was led away, the cardinal of Cambray calling him back again, in the presence of the emperor, said, "John Huss, I have heard you say, that if you had not been willing of your own mind to come unto Constance, neither the emperor himself, neither the king of Bohemia, could have compelled you to do it." Unto whom John Huss answered: "Under your licence, most reverend father, I never used any such kind of talk or words. But this I did say, that there was in Bohemia a great number of gentlemen and noblemen, which did favour and love me, the which also might easily have kept me in some sure and secret place, that I should not have been constrained to come into this town of Constance, neither at the will of the emperor, neither of the king of Bohemia." With that the cardinal of Cambray, even for very anger, began to change his colour, and despitefully said: "Do you not see the unshamefacedness of the man here?" And as they were murmuring and whispering on all parts, the Lord John de Clum, ratifying and confirming that which John Huss had spoken, said, that John Huss had spoken very well; "for on my part," said he, "which, in comparison of a great many others, am but of small force in the realm of Bohemia, yet always, if I would have taken it in hand, I could have defended him easily by the space of one year, even against all the force and power of both these great and mighty kings. How much better might they have done it which are of more force or puissance than I am, and have stronger castles and places than I have!" After that the Lord de Clum had spoken, the cardinal of Cambray said, "Let us leave this talk; and I tell you, John Huss, and counsel you, that you submit yourself unto the sentence and mind of the council, as you did promise in the prison; and if you will do so, it shall be greatly both for your profit and honour."

And the emperor himself began to tell him the same tale, saying, "Albeit that there be some which say, that the fifteenth day after you were committed to prison, you obtained of us our letters of safe-conduct; I can well prove, by the witness of many princes and noblemen, that the said safe-conduct was obtained and gotten of us by my lords de Duba and de Clum, before you were parted out of Prague, under whose guard we have sent for you, to the end that none should do you any outrage or hurt, but that you should have full liberty to speak freely before all the council, and to answer as touching your faith and doctrine: and, as you see, my lords the cardinals and bishops have so dealt with you, that we do very well perceive their good will towards you; for the which we have great cause to thank them. And forasmuch as divers have told us, that we may not, or ought not, of right to defend any man which is a heretic, or suspected of heresy; therefore, now we give you even the same counsel which the cardinal of Cambray hath given you already, that you be not obstinate to maintain any opinion, but that you do submit yourself under such obedience as you owe unto the authority of the holy council, in all things that shall be laid against you, and confirmed by credible witnesses; the which thing if you do according to our counsel, we will give order that, for the love of us, of our brother, and the whole realm of Bohemia, the council shall suffer you to depart in peace, with an easy and tolerable penance and satisfaction. The which thing if you, contrariwise, refuse to do, the

presidents of the council shall have sufficient wherewithal to proceed against you. And, for our part, be ye well assured, that we will sooner prepare and make the fire with our own hands, to burn you withal, than we will endure or suffer any longer that you shall maintain or use this stiffness of opinions, which you have hitherto maintained and used. Wherefore our advice and counsel is, that you submit yourself wholly unto the judgment of the council." Unto whom John Huss answered in this sort; "O most noble emperor, I render unto your Highness most immortal thanks for your letters of safe-conduct." Upon this, Lord John de Clum did break him of his purpose, and admonished him that he did in no point excuse himself of the blame of obstinacy.

Then said John Huss, "O most gentle lord, I do take God to my witness, that I was never minded to maintain any opinion ever obstinately; and that for this same intent and purpose I did come hither of mine own good will, that if any man could lay before me any better or more holy doctrine than mine, that then I would change mine opinion without any further doubt." After he had spoken and said these things, he was sent away with sergeants.

104. The Articles against John Huss, and his Answers.

The morrow after, which was the eighth day of June, the very same company which was assembled the day before, assembled now again at the convent of the Franciscans. And in this assembly were also John Huss's friends, Lord de Duba, and Lord de Clum, and Peter the notary. Thither was John Huss also brought; and in his presence there were read about thirty-nine articles, the which, they said, were drawn out of his books. Huss acknowledged all those that were faithfully and truly collected and gathered, to be his; of the which sort there were but very few. The residue were counterfeited and forged by his adversaries, and specially by Stephen Paletz, the principal author of this mischief: for they could find no such thing in the books, out of the which they said they had drawn and gathered them; or at the least, if they were, they were corrupted by slanders, as a man may easily perceive by the number of articles.

These be the same articles in a manner which were showed before in the prison to John Huss, and are rehearsed here in another order. Howbeit there were more articles added unto them, and other some corrected and enlarged. But now we will show them one with another, and declare what the said Huss did answer both openly before them all, as also in the prison, for he left his answers in the prison briefly written with his own hand in these words:

"I, John Huss, unworthy minister of Jesus Christ, master of arts, and bachelor of divinity, do confess that I have written a certain small treatise entitled, Of the Church; the copy whereof was showed me by the notaries of the three presidents of the council; that is to say, the patriarch of Constantinople, the bishop of Castile, and the bishop of Libusse: the which deputies or presidents, in reproof of the said treatise, delivered unto me certain articles, saying, that they were drawn out of the said treatise, and were written in the same.

"The first article: 'There is but one holy universal or catholic church, which is the universal company of all the predestinate.' I do confess that this proposition is mine, and is confirmed by the saying of St. Augustine upon St. John.

"The second article: 'St. Paul was never any member of the devil, albeit that he committed and did certain acts like unto the acts of the malignant church. And likewise St. Peter, which fell into a horrible sin of perjury and denial of his Master, it was by the permission of God, that he might the more firmly and stedfastly rise again and be confirmed.' I answer, according to St. Augustine, that it is expedient that the elect and predestinate should sin and offend. Hereby it appeareth that there are two manner of separations from the holy church. The first is not to perdition, as all the elect are divided from the church. The second is to perdition, by the which certain heretics are, through their deadly sin, divided from the church. Yet notwithstanding, by the grace of God, they may return again unto the flock, and be of the fold of our Lord Jesus Christ, of whom he speaketh himself, saying, I have other sheep which are not of this fold, John xx.

"The third article: 'No part or member of the church doth depart or fall away at any time from the body, forasmuch as the charity of predestination, which is the bond and chain of the same, doth never fall.' This proposition is thus placed in my book: As

the reprobate of the church proceed out of the same, and yet are not as parts or members of the same, forasmuch as no part or member of the same doth finally fall away, because that the charity of predestination, which is the bond and chain of the same, doth never fall away.' This is proved by the 13th chapter of the First to the Corinthians; and to the Romans, the 8th chapter: All things turn to good to them which love God. Also, I am certain that neither death nor life can separate us from the charity and love of God: as it is more at large in the book.

"The fourth article: 'The predestinate, although he be not in a state of grace according to present justice, yet is he always a member of the universal church.' This an error, if it be understood of all such as be predestinate: for thus it is in the book, about the beginning of the 5th chapter, where it is declared, that there be divers manners and sorts of being in the church; for there are some in the church according to the misshapen faith, and other some according to predestination, as Christians predestinate, now in sin, but shall return again unto grace.

"The fifth article: 'There is no degree of honour or dignity, neither any human election, or any sensible sign, that can make any man a member of the universal church.' I answer, this article is after this manner in my book: 'And such subtleties are understood and known by considering what it is to be in the church, and what it is to be a part or member of the church; and that predestination doth make a man a member of the universal church, the which is a preparation of grace for the present, and of glory to come; and not any degree of dignity, neither election of man, neither any sensible sign. For the traitor, Judas Iscariot, notwithstanding Christ's election, and the temporal graces which were given him for his office of apostleship, and that he was reputed and counted of men a true apostle of Jesus Christ, yet was he no true disciple, but a wolf covered in a sheep's skin, as St. Augustine saith.'

"The sixth article: 'A reprobate man is never a member of the holy church.' I answer, it is in my book, with sufficient long probation out of the 26th Psalm, and out of the 5th chapter to the Ephesians; and also by St. Bernard's saying, The church of Jesus Christ is more plainly and evidently his body, than the body which he delivered for us to death.' I have also written in the 5th chapter of my book, that the holy church is the barn of the Lord, in the which are both good and evil, predestinate and reprobate, the good being as the good corn or grain, and the evil as the chaff; and thereunto is added the exposition of St. Augustine.

"The seventh article: 'Judas was never a true disciple of Jesus Christ.' I answer, and I do confess the same. This appeareth by the fifth article, which is passed before, and by St. Augustine in his Book of Penance, where he doth expound the meaning of St. John, in the First Epistle and 2nd chapter, where he said, 'They came out from amongst us, but they were none of us. He knew from the beginning all them which should believe, and him also which should betray him, and said, And therefore I say unto you, that none cometh unto me, except it be given him of my Father. From that time many of the disciples parted from him: and were not those also called disciples, according to the words of the gospel? And yet, notwithstanding, they were no true disciples, because they did not remain and continue in the word of the Son of God, according as it is said, If you remain in my word, you be my disciples; forasmuch then as they did not continue with Christ as his true disciples, so likewise are they not the true sons of God: although they seem so, unto him they are not so, unto whom it is known what they shall be, that is to say, of good, evil.' Thus much writeth St. Augustine. It is also evident that Judas could not be the true disciple of Christ, by

means of his covetousness; for Christ himself said in the presence of Judas, as I suppose, Except a man forsake all that he hath, he cannot be my disciple. Forasmuch then as Judas did not forsake all things, according to the Lord's will, and follow him, he was a thief, as it is said, John xii.; and a devil, John vi.; whereby it is evident by the word of the Lord, that Judas was not his true, but feigned, disciple. Whereupon St. Augustine writing upon John, declaring how the sheep hear the voice of Christ, saith, 'What manner of hearers, think ye, his sheep were? Truly, Judas heard him and was a wolf, yet followed he the Shepherd; but being clothed in a sheep's skin, he lay in wait for the Shepherd.'

"The eighth article: 'Of the congregation of the predestinate, whether they be in the state of grace or no, according unto present justice, is the holy universal church; and therefore it is an article of faith, and it is the same church which hath neither wrinkle, neither spot in it, but is holy and undefiled, the which the Son of God doth call his own. The answer: The words of the book out of the which this article was drawn, are these: 'Thirdly, the church is understood and taken for the congregation and assembly of the faithful, whether they be in the state of grace, according to present justice, or not. And in this sort it is an article of our faith, of the which St. Paul maketh mention in the 5th chapter to the Ephesians, Christ so loved his church, that he delivered and offered himself for the same, &c. I pray you, then, is there any faithful man the which doth doubt that the church doth not signify all the elect and predestinate, the which we ought to believe to be the universal church, the glorious spouse of Jesus Christ, holy and without spot? Wherefore this article is an article of faith, the which we ought firmly to believe according to our creed, 'I believe the holy catholic church:' and of this church doth St. Augustine, St. Gregory, St. Jerome, and divers other make mention.'

"The ninth article: 'Peter never was, neither is, the head of the holy universal church.' The answer: This article was drawn out of these words of my book; 'All men do agree in this point, that Peter had received of the Rock of the church, (which is Christ,) humility, poverty, stedfastness of faith, and consequently blessedness. Not as though the meaning of our Lord Jesus Christ was, when he said, Upon this Rock I will build my church, that he would build every militant church upon the person of Peter; for Christ should build his church upon the Rock, which is Christ himself, from whence Peter received his stedfastness of faith, forasmuch as Jesus Christ is the only Head and Foundation of every church, and not Peter.'

"The tenth article: 'If he that is called the vicar of Jesus Christ, do follow Christ in his life, then he is his true vicar; but if so be he do walk in contrary paths and ways, then is he the messenger of antichrist, and the enemy and adversary of St. Peter, and of our Lord Jesus Christ, and also the vicar of Judas Iscariot!' I answer, the words of my book are these: 'If he which is called the vicar of St. Peter, walk in the ways of Christian virtues aforesaid, we do believe verily that he is the true vicar, and true bishop of the church which he ruleth; but if he walk in contrary paths and ways, then is he the messenger of antichrist, contrary both to St. Peter, and our Lord Jesus Christ. And therefore St. Bernard, in his fourth book, did write in this sort unto Pope Eugene: Thou delightest and walkest in great pride and arrogancy, being gorgeously and sumptuously arrayed; what fruit or profit do thy flock or sheep receive by thee? If I durst say it, these be rather the pastures and feedings of devils than of sheep. St. Peter and St. Paul did not so; wherefore thou seemest by these thy doings to succeed Constantine, and not St. Peter. These be the very words of St. Bernard.' It followeth after, in my book, 'That if the manner and fashion of his life and living be contrary to

that which St. Peter used, or that he be given to avarice and covetousness, then is he the vicar of Judas Iscariot, which loved and chose the reward of iniquity, and did set out to sale the Lord Jesus Christ.' As soon as they had read the same, those which ruled and governed the council beheld one another, making mocks and mows, they nodded their heads at him.

"The eleventh article: 'All such as do use simony, and priests living dissolutely and wantonly, do hold an untrue opinion of the seven sacraments, as unbelieving bastards, and not as children, not knowing what is the office and duty of the keys or censures, rites and ceremonies; neither of the divine service of the church, or of veneration or worshipping of relics; neither of the orders constituted and ordained in the church; neither yet of indulgences or pardons.' I answer, that it is placed in this manner in my book: 'This abuse of authority or power is committed by such as do sell and make merchandise of holy orders, and get and gather together riches by simony, making fairs and markets of the holy sacraments, and living in all kind of voluptuousness and dissolute manners, or in any other filthy or villanous kind of living: they do pollute and defile the holy ecclesiastical state. And albeit that they profess in words that they do know God, yet do they deny it again by their deeds, and consequently believe not in God; but, as unbelieving bastards, they hold a contrary and untrue opinion of the seven sacraments of the church. And this appeareth most evidently, forasmuch as all such do utterly contemn and despise the name of God, according to the saying of Malachi, chap. i., Unto you, O priests! be it spoken, which do despise and contemn my name.'

"The twelfth article: 'The papal dignity hath his original from the emperors of Rome.' I answer, and mark well what my words are: 'The pre-eminence and institution of the pope is sprung and come of the emperor's power and authority. And this is proved by the ninety-sixth distinction; for Constantine granted this privilege unto the bishop of Rome, and other after him confirmed the same: That like as Augustus, for the outward and temporal goods bestowed upon the church, is counted always the most high king above all others; so the bishop of Rome should be called the principal father above all other bishops. This notwithstanding, the papal dignity hath his original immediately from Christ, as touching his spiritual administration and office to rule the church.' Then the cardinal of Cambray said, 'In the time of Constantine, there was a general council holden at Nice, in the which, albeit the highest room and place in the church was given to the bishop of Rome, for honour's cause, it is ascribed unto the emperor. Wherefore then do ye not as well affirm and say, that the papal dignity took his original rather from that council, than by the emperor's authority and power?'

"The thirteenth article: 'No man would reasonably affirm (without revelation) either of himself or of any other, that he is the head of any particular church.' I answer, I confess it to be written in my book, and it followeth straight after, 'Albeit that through his good living he ought to hope and trust that he is a member of the holy universal church, the spouse of Jesus Christ, according to the saying of the Preacher, No man knoweth whether he be worthy and have deserved grace and favour, or hatred. And Luke xvii., When ye have done all that ye can, say that you are unprofitable servants.'

"The fourteenth article: 'It ought not to be believed, that the pope, whatsoever he be, may be the head of any particular church, unless he be predestinate or ordained of God.' I answer, that I do acknowledge this proposition to be mine; and this is easy

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to prove, forasmuch as it is necessary that the Christian faith should be depraved, forasmuch as the church was deceived by N., as it appeareth by St. Augustine.

"The fifteenth article: 'The pope's power as vicar, is but vain and nothing worth, if he do not confirm and address his life according to Jesus Christ, and follow the manners of St. Peter.' I answer, that it is thus in my book; 'That it is meet and expedient that he which is ordained vicar, should address and frame himself, in manners and conditions, to the authority of him which did put him in place.' And John Huss said, moreover, before the whole council: 'I understand that the power and authority in such a pope as doth not represent the manners of Christ, is frustrate and void, as touching the merit and reward which he should obtain and get thereby, and doth not get the same: but not as concerning his office.' Then certain others standing by, asked of him, saying, 'Where is that gloss in your book?' John Huss answered, 'You shall find it in my treatise against Master Paletz:' whereat all the assistants, looking one upon another, began to smile and laugh.

"The sixteenth article: 'The pope is most holy, not because he doth supply and hold the room and place of St. Peter, but because he hath great revenues.' I answer, that my words are mutilated, for thus it is written: 'He is not most holy, because he is called the vicar of St. Peter, or because he hath great and large possessions; but if he be the follower of Jesus Christ in humility, gentleness, patience, labour, and travail, and in perfect love and charity.'

"The seventeenth article: 'The cardinals are not the manifest and true successors of the other apostles of Jesus Christ, if they live not according to the fashion of the apostles, keeping the commandments and ordinances of the Lord Jesus.' I answer, that it is thus written in my book, and it proveth itself sufficiently: 'For if they enter in by another way than by the door, which is the Lord Jesus, they be murderers and thieves.'

"Then said the cardinal of Cambray, 'Behold, both this and all other articles before rehearsed, he hath written much more detestable things in his book than are presented in his articles. Truly, John Huss, thou hast kept no order in thy sermons and writings, Had it not been your part to have applied your sermons according to your audience? for to what purpose was it, or what did it profit you, before the people to preach against the cardinals, when none of them were present? It had been meeter for you to have told them their faults before them all, than before the laity.' Then answered John Huss: 'Reverend father, forasmuch as I did see many priests and other learned men present at my sermons, for their sakes I spake those words.' Then said the cardinal, 'Thou hast done very ill, for by such kind of talk thou hast disturbed and troubled the whole state of the church.'

"The eighteenth article: 'A heretic ought not to be committed to the secular powers to be put to death, for it is sufficient only that he abide and suffer the ecclesiastical censure.' These are my words: That they might be ashamed of their cruel sentence and judgment, especially forasmuch as Jesus Christ, Bishop both of the Old and New Testament, would not judge such as were disobedient by civil judgment, neither condemn them to bodily death.' As touching the first point, it may evidently be seen in the 12th chapter of St. Luke. And for the second, it appeared also by the woman which was taken in adultery, of whom it is spoken in the 8th chapter of St. John. And it is said in the 18th chapter of St. Matthew, If thy brother have offended thee, &c. Mark therefore what I do say, That a heretic, whatsoever he be, ought first to be instructed and taught with Christian love and gentleness by the Holy Scriptures,

and by the reasons drawn and taken out of the same, as St. Augustine and others have done, disputing against the heretics. But if there were any which, after all these gentle and loving admonitions and instructions, would not cease from or leave off their stiffness of opinions, but obstinately resist against the truth, such, I say, ought to suffer corporal or bodily punishment."

As soon as John Huss had spoken those things, the judges read in his book a certain clause, wherein he seemed grievously to inveigh against them which delivered a heretic unto the secular power, not being confuted or convicted of heresy, and compared them unto the high priests, scribes, and Pharisees, which said unto Pilate, It is not lawful for us to put any man to death, and delivered Christ unto him; and yet, notwithstanding, according unto Christ's own witness, they were greater murderers than Pilate; For he, said Christ, which hath delivered me unto thee, hath committed the greatest offence. Then the cardinals and bishops made a great noise, and demanded of John Huss, saying, "Who are they that thou dost compare or resemble unto the Pharisees?" Then he said, "All those which delivered up any innocent unto the civil sword, as the scribes and Pharisees delivered Jesus Christ unto Pilate." "No, no," said they again; "for all that, you spake here of doctors." And the cardinal of Cambray, according to his accustomed manner, said, "Truly they which have made and gathered these articles, have used great lenity and gentleness, for his writings are much more detestable and horrible."

"The nineteenth article: 'The nobles of the world ought to constrain and compel the ministers of the church to observe and keep the law of Jesus Christ.' I answer, that it standeth thus word for word in my book: 'Those which be on our part do preach and affirm that the church militant, according to the parts which the Lord hath ordained, is divided, and consisteth in these parts: That is to say, ministers of the church, which should keep purely and sincerely the ordinances and commandments of the Son of God, and the nobles of the world, that should compel and drive them to keep the commandments of Jesus Christ, and of the common people, serving to both these parts and ends, according to the institution and ordinance of Jesus Christ.'

"The twentieth article: The ecclesiastical obedience is a kind of obedience, which the priests and monks have invented without any express authority of the Holy Scriptures.' I answer and confess, that those words are thus written in my book. I say that there be three kinds of obedience, spiritual, secular, and ecclesiastical. The spiritual obedience is that which is only due according to the law and ordinance of God, under the which the apostles of Jesus Christ did live, and all Christians ought to live. The secular obedience is that which is due according to the civil laws and ordinances. The ecclesiastical obedience is such as the priests have invented, without any express authority of Scripture. The first kind of obedience doth utterly exclude from it all evil, as well on his part which giveth the commandment, as on his also which doth obey the same. And of this obedience it is spoken in the 24th chapter of Deuteronomy: Thou shalt do all that which the priests of the kindred of Levi shall teach and instruct thee, according as I have commanded them.

"The twenty-first article: 'He that is excommunicated by the pope, if he refuse and forsake the judgment of the pope and the general council, and appealeth unto Jesus Christ, after he hath made his apellation, all the excommunications and curses of the pope cannot annoy or hurt him.' I answer, that I do not acknowledge this proposition; but indeed I did make my complaint in my book, that they had both done me and such as favoured me great wrong, and that they refused to hear me in the

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pope's court. For after the death of one pope, I did appeal to his successor, and all that did profit me nothing. And to appeal from the pope to the council it were too long; and that were even as much as if a man in trouble should seek an uncertain remedy. And therefore, last of all, I have appealed to the Head of the church, my Lord Jesus Christ, for he is much more excellent and better than any pope, to discuss and determine matters and causes, forasmuch as he cannot err, neither yet deny justice to him that doth ask or require it in a just cause, neither can he condemn the innocent. Then spake the cardinal of Cambray unto him, and said, Wilt thou presume above St. Paul, who appealed unto the emperor, and not unto Jesus Christ?' John Huss answered, 'Forasmuch then as I am the first that do it, am I therefore to be reputed and counted a heretic? And yet, notwithstanding, St. Paul did not appeal unto the emperor of his own motion or will, but by the will of Christ, which spake unto him by revelation, and said, Be firm and constant, for thou must go unto Rome.' And as he was about to rehearse his appeal again they mocked him."

Forasmuch as mention here is made of the appeal of the said Huss, it seemeth good here to show the manner and form thereof.

"Forasmuch as the most mighty Lord, one in essence, three in person, is both the chief and first, and also the last and uttermost refuge of all those which are oppressed, and that he is the God which defendeth verity and truth throughout all generations, doing justice to such as be wronged, being ready and at hand to all those which call upon him in verity and truth, unbinding those that are bound, and fulfilling the desires of all those which honour and fear him, defending and keeping all those that love him, and utterly destroying and bringing to ruin the stiff-necked and impenitent sinner; and that the Lord Jesus Christ, very God and man, being in great anguish, compassed in with the priests, scribes, and Pharisees, wicked judges and witnesses, willing, by the most bitter and ignominious death, to redeem the children of God, chosen before the foundation of the world, from everlasting damnation; hath left behind him this godly example for a memory unto them which should come after him, to the intent they should commit all their causes into the hands of God, who can do all things, and knoweth and seeth all things, saying in this manner: O Lord! behold my affliction, for my enemy hath prepared himself against me, and thou art my protector and defender. O Lord! thou hast given me understanding, and I have acknowledged thee; thou hast opened unto me all their enterprises; and for mine own part, I have been as a meek lamb which is led unto sacrifice, and have not resisted against them. They have wrought their enterprises upon me, saying, Let us put wood in his bread, and let us banish him out of the land of the living, that his name be no more spoken of nor had in memory. But thou, O Lord of hosts! which judgest justly, and seest the devices and imaginations of their hearts, hasten thee to take vengeance upon them, for I have manifested my cause unto thee, forasmuch as the number of those which trouble me is great, and have counselled together, saying, The Lord hath forsaken him, pursue him and catch him. O Lord my God! behold their doings, for thou art my patience; deliver me from mine enemies, for thou art my God; do not separate thyself far from me, forasmuch as tribulation is at hand, and there is no man which will succour me. My God! my God! look down upon me; wherefore hast thou forsaken me? So many dogs have compassed me in, and the company of the wicked have besieged me round about; for they have spoken against me with deceitful tongues, and have compassed me in with words full of despite, and have enforced me without cause. Instead of love towards me they have slandered me, and have recompensed me with evil for good; and in place of charity they have conceived hatred against me.

"Wherefore, behold, I, staying myself upon this most holy and fruitful example of my Saviour and Redeemer, do appeal before God for this my grief and hard oppression, from this most wicked sentence and judgment, and the excommunication determined by the bishops, scribes, Pharisees, and judges, which sit in Moses's seat, and resign my cause wholly unto him; so as the holy patriarch of Constantinople, John Chrysostom, appealed twice from the council of the bishops and clergy; and Andrew, bishop of Prague, and Robert, bishop of Lincoln, appealed unto the sovereign and most just Judge, the which is not defiled with cruelty, neither can he be corrupted with gifts and rewards, neither yet be deceived by false witness. Also I desire greatly, that all the faithful servants of Jesus Christ, and especially the princes, barons, knights, esquires, and all other which inhabit our country of Bohemia, should understand and know these things, and have compassion upon me, which am so grievously oppressed by the excommunication which is out against me, the which was obtained and gotten by the instigation and procurement of Michael de Causis, my great enemy, and by the consent and furtherance .of the canons of the cathedral church of Prague, and given and granted out by Peter of St. Angles, dean of the Church of Rome, and cardinal, and also ordained judge by Pope John the Twenty-third, who hath continued almost these two years, and would give no audience unto my advocates and procurators: which they ought not to deny, (no, not to a Jew or pagan, or to any heretic whatsoever he were,) neither yet would he receive any reasonable excuse, for that I did not appear personally; neither would he accept the testimonials of the whole university of Prague with the seal hanging at it, or the witness of the sworn notaries, and such as were called unto witness. By this all men may evidently perceive, that I have not incurred any fault or crime of contumacy or disobedience, forasmuch as that I did not appear in the court of Rome, was not for any contempt, but for reasonable causes.

"And moreover, forasmuch as they had laid ambushments for me on every side by ways where I should pass, and also because the perils and dangers of others have made me the more circumspect and advised; and forasmuch as my procurers were willing and contented to bind themselves, even to abide the punishment of the fire, to answer to all such as would oppose or lay any thing against me in the court of Rome; as also because they did imprison my lawful procurator in the said court, without any cause, demerit, or fault, as I suppose. Forasmuch then as the order and disposition of all ancient laws, as well Divine of the Old and New Testament, as also of the canon laws, is this; that the judges should resort unto the place where the crime or fault is committed or done, and there to inquire of all such crimes as shall be objected and laid against him which is accused or slandered, and that of such men as by conversation have some knowledge or understanding of the party so accused (the which may not be the evil-willers or enemies of him which is so accused or slandered; but must be men of an honest conversation, no common quarrel-pickers or accusers, but fervent lovers of the law of God): and finally, that there should be a fit and meet place appointed, whither as the accused party might without danger or peril resort or come, and that the judge and witnesses should not be enemies unto him that is accused. And also forasmuch as it is manifest, that all these conditions were wanting and lacking, as touching my appearance for the safeguard of my life, I am excused before God from the frivolous pretended obstinacy and excommunication. Whereupon I, John Huss, do present and offer this my appeal unto my Lord Jesus Christ, my just Judge, who knoweth and defendeth, and justly judgeth, every man's just and true cause."

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"The twenty-second article: 'A vicious and naughty man liveth viciously and naughtily; but a virtuous and godly man liveth virtuously and godly.' I answer, My words are these; 'That the division of all human works is in two parties, that is, that they be either virtuous, or vicious; forasmuch as it doth appear, that if any man be virtuous and godly, and that he do any thing, he doth it then virtuously and godly. And contrariwise, if a man be vicious and naught, that which he doth is vicious and naught. For as vice, which is called crime or offence, and thereby understand deadly sin, doth universally infect or deprave all the acts and doings of the subject, that is, of the man which doth them: so likewise virtue and godliness doth quicken all the acts and doings of the virtuous and godly man; insomuch that he being in the state of grace, is said to pray and do good works even sleeping, as it were by a certain means working; as St. Augustine, St. Gregory, and divers others affirm. And it appeareth in the 6th chapter of Luke: If thine eye, that is to say, the mind or intention, be simple, not depraved with the perverseness of any sin or offence, all the whole body, that is to say, all the acts and doings, shall be clear and shining, that is, acceptable and grateful unto God. But if thine eye be evil, the whole body is darkened. And in the Second to the Corinthians, chap. x., All things that you do, do them to the glory of God. And likewise in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, and last chapter, it is said, Let all your doings be done with charity. Wherefore all kind of life and living according unto charity, is virtuous and godly; and if it be without charity, it is vicious and evil. This saying may well be proved out of the 23rd chapter of Deuteronomy, where God speaketh to the people, that he that keepeth his commandments is blessed in the house and in the field, out going and in coming, sleeping and waking; but he that doth not keep his commandments is accursed in the house and in the fields, in going out and in coming in, sleeping and waking, &c. The same also is evident by St. Augustine upon the Psalm, where he writeth, that a good man in all his doings doth praise the Lord. And Gregory saith, that the sleep of saints and holy men doth not lack their merit. How much more then his doings which proceed of good zeal, be not without reward, and consequently be virtuous and good! And contrariwise, it is understood of him which is in deadly sin, of whom it is spoken in the law, that whatsoever the unclean man doth touch, is made unclean.

"To this end doth that also appertain which is before repeated out of the 1st of Malachi. And Gregory, in the first book and first question, saith, We do defile the bread, which is the body of Christ, when we come unworthily to the table, and when we, being defiled, do drink his blood. And St. Augustine, upon the 146th Psalm, saith, If thou dost exceed the due measure of nature, and dost not abstain from gluttony, but gorge thyself up with drunkenness, whatsoever laud and praise thy tongue doth speak of the grace and favour of God, thy life doth blaspheme the same.' When he had made an end of this article, the cardinal of Cambray said, The Scripture saith, that we be all sinners. And again, If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and so we should always live in deadly sin.' John Huss answered, 'The Scripture speaketh in that place of venial sins, the which do not utterly expel or put away the habit of virtue from a man, but do associate themselves together.' And a certain Englishman, whose name was W., said, 'But those sins do not associate themselves with any act morally good.' John Huss alleged again St. Augustine's place upon 146th Psalm, the which when he rehearsed, they all with one mouth said, 'What makes this to the purpose?'

"The twenty-third article: 'The minister of Christ, living according to his law, and having the knowledge and understanding of the Scriptures, and an earnest desire to edify the people, ought to preach, notwithstanding the pretended excommunication

of the pope. And moreover, if the pope or any other ruler do forbid any priest or minister, so disposed, to preach, that he ought not to obey him.' I answer, that these were my words; 'That albeit the excommunication were either threatened or come out against him, in such sort that a Christian ought not to do the commandments of Christ, it appeareth by the words of St. Peter and the other apostles, that we ought rather to obey God than man. Whereupon it followeth that the minister of Christ, living according unto his law, &c., ought to preach notwithstanding any pretended excommunication. For it is evident that it is commanded unto the ministers of the church to preach the word of God. Acts v., God hath commanded us to preach and testify unto the people; as by divers other places of the Scripture, and the holy fathers rehearsed in my treatise, it doth appear more at large.' The second part of this article followeth in my treatise in this manner:

"By this it appeareth, that for a minister to preach, and a rich man to give alms, are not indifferent works, but duties and commandments. Whereby it is further evident, that if the pope or any other ruler of the church do command any minister, disposed to preach, not to preach, or a rich man, disposed to give alms, not to give, that they ought not to obey him.' And he added, moreover, 'To the intent that you may understand me the better, I call that a pretended excommunication, the which is unjustly disordered and given forth, contrary to the order of the law and God's commandments: For the which the meet minister appointed thereunto, ought not to cease from preaching, neither yet to fear damnation.' "

When they objected unto him, that he said that such kind of excommunications were rather blessings: "Verily," said John Huss, "even so I do now say again, that every excommunication, by the which a man is unjustly excommunicate, is unto him a blessing before God; according to that saying of the prophet, I will curse whereas you bless; and the contrariwise, They shall curse, but thou, O Lord, shalt bless." Then the cardinal of Florence, which had always a notary ready at his hand to write such things as he commanded him, said, "The law is, that every excommunication, be it never so unjust, ought to be feared." "It is true," said John Huss, "for I do remember eight causes, for the which excommunication ought to be feared." Then said the cardinal, "Are there no more but eight?" "It may be," said John Huss, "that there be more."

"The twenty-fourth article: 'Every man which is admitted into the ministry of the church, receiveth also by special commandment the office of a preacher, and ought to execute and fulfil that commandment, notwithstanding any excommunication pretended to the contrary.' The answer: My words are these; 'Forasmuch as it doth appear by that which is aforesaid, that whosoever cometh or is admitted unto the ministry, receiveth also by especial commandment the office of preaching, he ought to fulfil that commandment, any excommunication to the contrary pretended notwithstanding. Also, no Christian ought to doubt but that a man sufficiently instructed in learning, is more bound to counsel and instruct the ignorant, to teach those which are in doubt, to chastise those which are unruly, and to remit and forgive those that do him injury, than to do any other works of mercy. Forasmuch then as he that is rich and hath sufficient, is bound, under the pain of damnation, to minister and give corporal and bodily alms, as appeareth in the 25th chapter of Matthew, how much more is he bound to do spiritual alms!'

"The twenty-fifth article: 'The ecclesiastical censures are antichristian, such as the clergy have invented for their own preferment, and for the bondage and servitude of the common people. Whereby if the laity be not obedient unto the clergy at their

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will and pleasure, it doth multiply their covetousness, defendeth their malice, and prepareth a way for antichrist. Whereby it is an evident sign and token, that such censures proceed from antichrist; the which censures in their processes they do call fulminations or lightnings, whereby the clergy doth chiefly proceed against such as do manifest and open the wickedness of antichrist, which thrust themselves into the office of the clergy.' These things are contained in the last chapter of his treatise *Of the Church*. I answer, and I deny that it is in that form. But the matter thereof is largely handled in the 23rd chapter. And in the examination of the audience, they have gathered certain clauses most contrary thereunto. The which, when they had read, the cardinal of Cambray renewed his old song, saying, 'Truly these are much more grievous and offensive than the articles which are gathered.'

"The twenty-sixth article: 'There ought no interdictment to be appointed unto the people, forasmuch as Christ the high Bishop, neither for John Baptist, neither for any injury that was done unto him, did make any interdictment.' My words are these: 'When I complained, that for one minister's sake, an interdictment was given out, and thereby all good men ceased from the laud and praise of God. And Christ the high Bishop, notwithstanding that the prophet was taken and kept in prison, than whom there was no greater amongst the children of men, did not give out any curse or interdictment, no, not when Herod beheaded him; neither when he himself was spoiled, beaten, and blasphemed of the soldiers, scribes, and Pharisees, did he then curse them, but prayed for them, and taught his disciples to do the same, as it appeareth in the 5th chapter of Matthew. And Christ's first vicar, following the same doctrine and learning, saith in his First Epistle of St. Peter, and the 2nd chapter, Hereunto are ye called; for Christ hath suffered for us, leaving us an example, that we should follow his footsteps, who, when he was cursed and evil spoken of, did not curse again. And St. Paul, following the same order and way in the 12th chapter of the Romans, saith, Bless them that persecute you.' There were, besides these, many other places of Scripture recited in that book; but they, being omitted, these were only rehearsed, which did help or prevail to stir up or move the judges' minds."

And these are the articles which are alleged out of John Huss's book entitled, *Of the Church*.

Other articles, moreover, out of his other books were collected, and forced against him, first out of his treatise written against Stephen Paletz, to the number of seven articles. Also six other articles strained out of his treatise against Stanislaus Znoyma. Whereunto his answers likewise be adjoined, not unfruitful to be read.

Here followeth seven articles, which are said to be drawn out of his treatise which he wrote against Stephen Paletz.

"The first article: 'If the pope, bishop, or prelate be in deadly sin, he is then no pope, bishop, nor prelate.' The answer: I grant thereunto, and I send you unto St. Augustine, Jerome, Chrysostom, Gregory, Cyprian, and Bernard; the which do say, moreover, that whosoever is in deadly sin, is no true Christian, how much less then is he pope or bishop! Of whom it is spoken by the prophet Amos, in his 8th chapter, They have reigned and ruled, and not through me; they became princes, and I knew them not, &c. But afterwards I do grant that a wicked pope, bishop, or priest, is an unworthy minister of the sacrament, by whom God doth baptize, consecrate, or otherwise work to the profit of his church; and this is largely handled in the text of the book by the authority of the holy doctors; for even he which is in deadly sin, is not worthily a king before God, as appeareth in the First Book of the Kings, the 15th

chapter; where God saith unto Saul, by the prophet Samuel, saying, "Forasmuch as thou hast refused and cast off my word, I will also refuse and cast thee off, that thou shalt be no more king." Whilst these things were thus entreating, the emperor, looking out at a certain window of the cloister, accompanied with the count Palatine and the burgrave of Nuremberg, conferring and talking much of John Huss, at length he said, that there was never a worse or more pernicious heretic than he. In the mean while, when John Huss had spoken these words, as touching the unworthy king, by and by the emperor was called, and he was commanded to repeat those words again; which, after that he had done, his duty therein being considered, the emperor answered, 'No man,' saith he, 'doth live without fault.' Then the cardinal of Cambray, being in a great fury, said, 'Is it not enough for thee that thou dost condemn and despise the ecclesiastical state, and goest about, by thy writings and doctrine, to perturb and trouble the same, but that now also thou wilt attempt to throw kings out of their state and dignity?' Then Paletz began to allege the laws whereby he would prove that Saul was king, even when those words were spoken by Samuel, and therefore that David did forbid that Saul should be slain, not for the holiness of his life, the which there was none in him, but for the holiness of his anointing.' And when John Huss repeated out of St. Cyprian, that he did take upon him the name of Christianity in vain, which did not follow Christ in his living, Paletz answered, 'Behold and see what a folly is in this man, which allegeth those things which make nothing for the purpose; for albeit any man be not a true Christian, is he not therefore true pope, bishop, or king? whenas these are names of office, and to be a true Christian is a name of merit and desert, and so may any man be a true pope, bishop, or king, although he be no true Christian.' Then said John Huss, 'If Pope John the Twenty-third were a true pope, wherefore have ye deprived him of his office?' The emperor answered, 'The lords of the council have now lately agreed thereupon that he was true pope, but for his notorious and manifest evil doings, wherewithal he did offend and trouble the church of God, and did spoil and bring to ruin the power thereof, he is rejected and cast out of his office.'

"The second article: 'The grace of predestination is the bond whereby the body of the church, and every part and member thereof, is firmly knit and joined unto the Head.' The answer: I acknowledge this article to be mine, and it is proved in the text out of the 8th chapter to the Romans, Who shall separate us from the charity and love of Christ, &c.? and in the 10th chapter of John, My sheep hear my voice, and I know them, and they follow me, and I give them eternal life, neither shall they perish eternally, neither is there any man which shall take them out of my hands. This is the knot of the body of the church, and of our spiritual head Christ, understanding the church to be the congregation of the predestinate.

"The third article: 'If the pope be a wicked man, and especially a reprobate, then, even as Judas the apostle, he is a devil, a thief, and the son of perdition, and not the head of the holy militant church, forasmuch as he is no part or member thereof.' The answer: My words are thus; 'If the pope be an evil or wicked man, and especially if he be a reprobate, then, even as Judas, so is he a devil, a thief, and the son of perdition. How then is he the head of the holy militant church? whereas he is not truly any member or part thereof; for if he were a member of the holy church, then should he be also a member of Christ; and if he were a member of Christ, then should he cleave and stick unto Christ by the grace of predestination and present justice, and should be one spirit with God, as the apostle saith in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, the 6th chapter, Know ye not that your bodies are the members of Christ?'

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"The fourth article: 'An evil pope or prelate, or reprobate, is no true pastor, but a thief and a robber. The answer: The text of my book is thus; 'If he be evil or wicked, then is he an hireling, of whom Christ speaketh, He is no shepherd, neither are the sheep his own. Therefore when he seeth the wolf coming, he runneth away and forsaketh the sheep: and so finally doth every wicked and reprobate man. Therefore every such reprobate, or wicked pope or prelate, is no true pastor, but a very thief and a robber, as is more at large proved in my book.' Then said John Huss, I do so limit all things, that such as, touching their desert, are not truly and worthily popes and shepherds before God, but as touching their office and reputation of men, they are popes, pastors, and priests.'

"Then a certain man rising up behind John Huss, clothed all in silk, said, My lords, take heed lest that John Huss deceive both you and himself with these his glosses, and look whether these things be in his book or not; for of late I had disputation with him upon these articles, in the which I said, that a wicked pope, &c. was no pope, as touching merit and desert, but as touching his office he was truly pope. Whereupon he used these glosses which he had heard of me, and did not take them out of his book.' Then John Huss, turning himself unto him, said, 'Did you not hear that it was so read out of my book? and this did easily appear in John the Twenty-third, whether he were a true pope, or a very thief and robber.' Then the bishops and cardinals looking one upon another, said that he was a true pope, and laughed John Huss to scorn.

"The fifth article: 'The pope is not, neither ought to be called according unto his office, most holy; for then the king ought also to be called most holy, according to his office. Also the tormentors, lictors, and devils ought also to be called holy.' The answer: My words are otherwise placed in this manner; 'So ought a feigner say, that if any man be a most holy father, then he doth most holily observe and keep his fatherliness: and if be a naughty and wicked father, then doth he most wickedly keep the same. Likewise, if the bishop be most holy, then is he also most good; and when he saith, that he is pope, it is the name of his office.

"Whereupon it followeth, that the man which is pope, being an evil and reprobate man, is a most holy man; and consequently, by that his office he is most good. And forasmuch as no man can be good by his office, except he do exercise and use the same his office very well; it followeth, that if the pope be an evil and reprobate man, he cannot exercise or use his office well. Forasmuch as he cannot use the office well, except he be morally good; Matthew xii., How can you speak good things, when you yourselves are evil? And immediately after it followeth, If the pope by reason of his office be called most holy, wherefore should not the king of Romans be called most holy, by reason of his office and dignity; since the king, according unto St. Augustine's mind, representeth the Deity and Godhead of Christ, and the priest representeth only his humanity. Wherefore also should not judges, yea, even tormentors, be called holy, forasmuch as they have their office by ministering unto the church of Christ? These things are more at large discoursed in my book; but I cannot find or know,' saith John Huss, any foundation whereby I should call the pope most holy, seeing this is only spoken of Christ: Thou only art most holy. Thou only art the Lord, &c. Should I then truly call the pope most holy?

"The sixth article: 'If the pope live contrary unto Christ, albeit he be lawfully and canonically elect and chosen, according to human election, yet doth he ascend and come another way than by Christ.' The answer: The text is thus; 'If the pope live

contrary unto Christ in pride and avarice, how then doth he not ascend and come in another way into the sheepfold, than by the lowly and meek door, our Lord Jesus Christ?' But admit, as you say, that he did ascend by lawful election, the which I call an election principally made of God, and not according unto the common and vulgar constitution and ordinances of men, yet for all that, it is affirmed and proved that he should ascend and come in another way; for Judas Iscariot was truly and lawfully chosen of the Lord Jesus Christ unto his bishopric, as Christ saith in the 6th of John, and yet he came in another way into the sheepfold, and was a thief and a devil, and the son of perdition. Did he not come in another way? whereas our Saviour spake thus of him, He that eateth bread with me, shall lift up his heel against me.

"The same also is proved by St. Bernard unto Pope Eugenius.' Then said Paletz, 'Behold the fury and madness of this man; for what more furious or mad thing can there be than to say, Judas is chosen by Christ, and notwithstanding he did ascend another way, and not by Christ?' John Huss answered, 'Verily both parts are true, that he was elect and chosen by Christ, and also that he did ascend and came in another way, for he was a thief, a devil, and the son of perdition.' Then said Paletz, 'Cannot a man be truly and lawfully chosen pope, or bishop, and afterward live contrary unto Christ; and that notwithstanding, he doth not ascend any other way?' 'But I,' said John Huss, 'do say, that whosoever doth enter into any bishopric or like office by simony, not to the intent to labour and travail in the church of God, but rather to live delicately, voluptuously, and unrighteously, and to the intent to advance himself with all kind of pride; every such man ascendeth and cometh up by another way, and according unto the gospel he is a thief and a robber.'

"The seventh article: 'The condemnation of the forty-five articles of John Wickliff made by the doctors is unreasonable and wicked, and the cause by them alleged is feigned and untrue; that is to say, that none of these articles are catholic, but that every of them be either heretical, erroneous, or offensive.' The answer: I have written it thus in my treatise; 'The forty and five articles are condemned for this cause, that none of those forty and five is a catholic article, but each of them is either heretical, erroneous, or offensive.'

"O master doctor, where is your proof? you feign a cause which you do not prove, &c., as it appeareth more at large in my treatise. Then said the cardinal of Cambray, 'John Huss, thou didst say that thou wouldst not defend any error of John Wickliff's, and now it appeareth in your books, that you have openly defended his articles.' John Huss answered, Reverend father, even as I said before, so do I now say again, that I will not defend any errors of John Wickliff's, neither of any other man's; but forasmuch as it seemed unto me to be against conscience, simply to consent unto the condemnation of them, no scripture being alleged or brought contrary against them, thereupon I would not consent or agree unto the condemnation of them; and forasmuch as the reason, which is copulative, cannot be verified in every point, according to every part thereof."

Now there remain six articles of thirty-nine. These are said to be drawn out of another treatise, which he wrote against Stanislaus de Znoyma.

"The first article: 'No man is lawfully elect or chosen, in that the electors or the greater part of them have consented, with a lively voice, according to the custom of men, to elect and choose any person, or that he is thereby the manifest and true successor of Christ, or vicar of Peter in the ecclesiastical office; but in that that any man doth most abundantly work meritoriously to the profit of the church, he hath

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more abundant power given him of God thereunto.' The answer: These things which follow are also written in my book: 'It standeth in the power and hands of wicked electors to choose a woman into the ecclesiastical office, as it appeareth by the election of Agnes, which was called John, who held and occupied the pope's place and dignity by the space of two years and more.

"It may also be that they do choose a thief, a murderer, or a devil, and consequently they may also elect and choose antichrist.

"It may also be that for love, covetousness, or hatred, they do choose some person whom God doth not allow. And it appeareth that that person is not lawfully elect and chosen; insomuch as the electors or the greater part of them have consented and agreed together according to the custom of men, upon any person, or that he is thereby the manifest successor or vicar of Peter the apostle, or any other in the ecclesiastical office.

"Therefore, they which most accordingly unto the Scripture do elect and choose, revelation being set apart, do only pronounce and determine by some probable reason upon him they do elect and choose, whereupon whether the electors do so choose good or evil, we ought to give credit unto the works of him that is chosen; for in that point that any man doth most abundantly work meritoriously to the profit of the church, he hath thereby more abundant power given him of God thereunto. And hereupon, saith Christ in the 10th of John, give credit unto works.'

"The second article: 'The pope being a reprobate, is not the head of the holy church of God.' The answer: I wrote it thus in my treatise, that I would willingly receive a probable and effectual reason of the doctor, how this question is contrary unto the faith, to say, that if the pope be a reprobate, how is he the head of the holy church? Behold, the truth cannot decay or fail in disputation, for did Christ dispute against the faith, when he demanded of the scribes and Pharisees, Matt. xii., Ye stock and offspring of vipers, how can ye speak good things, when you yourselves are wicked and evil? And behold, I demand of the scribes, if the pope be a reprobate, and the stock of vipers, how is he the head of the holy church of God, that the scribes and Pharisees, which were in the council-house of Prague, may make answer hereunto? For it is more possible that a reprobate man should speak good things, forasmuch as he may be in a state of grace according unto present justice, than to be the head of the holy church of God.

"Also in the 5th of John, our Saviour complaineth upon the Jews, saying, How can you believe which do seek for glory amongst yourselves, and do not seek for the glory that cometh only of God? And I likewise do complain how, that if the pope be a reprobate, can he be the head of the church of God, which receiveth his glory of the world, and seeketh not for the glory of God? For it is more possible that the pope being a reprobate should believe, than that he should be the head of the church of God, forasmuch as he taketh his glory of the world.

"The third article 'There is no spark of appearance, that there ought to be one head in the spirituality, to rule the church, the which should be always conversant with the militant church.' The answer: I do grant it. For what a consequence is this, The king of Bohemia is head of the kingdom of Bohemia; ergo, the pope is head of the whole militant church? Christ is the Head of the spirituality, ruling and governing the militant church by much more and greater necessity than Cæsar ought to rule the temporality. Forasmuch as Christ, that sitteth on the right hand of God the Father, doth

necessarily rule the militant church as Head. And there is no spark of appearance that there should be one head in the spirituality ruling the church, that should always be conversant with the militant church, except some infidel would heretically affirm, that the militant church should have here a permanent and continual city or dwelling-place, and not inquire and seek after that which is to come. It is also further evident in my book, how unconsequent the proportion of the similitude is, for a reprobate pope to be the head of the militant church, and a reprobate king to be the head of the kingdom of Bohemia.

"The fourth article: 'Christ would better rule his church by his true apostles dispersed throughout the whole world without such monstrous heads.' I answer, that it is in my book as here followeth: That albeit that the doctor doth say, that the body of the militant church is oftentimes without a head, yet, notwithstanding, we do verily believe that Christ Jesus is the head over every church, ruling the same without lack or default, pouring upon the same a continual motion and sense, even unto the latter day; neither can the doctor give a reason why the church in the time of Agnes, by the space of two years and five months, lived according to many members of Christ in grace and favour, but that by the same reason the church might be without a head by the space of many years. Forasmuch as Christ should better rule his church by his true disciples dispersed throughout the whole world, without such monstrous heads.' Then said they all together, 'Behold, now he prophesieth.' And John Huss again further prosecuting his former talk, said, 'But I say that the church in the time of the apostles, was far better ruled and governed than now it is. And what doth let and hinder that Christ should not now also rule the same better by his true disciples without such monstrous heads, as have now been of late? For, behold, even at this present, we have no such head; and yet Christ ceaseth not to rule his church.' When he had spoken these words, he was derided and mocked.

"The fifth article: 'Peter was no universal pastor or shepherd of the sheep of Christ, much less is the bishop of Rome.' The answer: Those words are not in my book, but these which do follow; 'Secondly, it appeareth by the words of Christ, that he did not limit unto Peter, for his jurisdiction, the whole world, no not one only province. So likewise neither unto any other of the apostles. Notwithstanding certain of them walked through many regions, and other some fewer, preaching and teaching the kingdom of God: as Paul, which laboured and travailed more than all the rest, did corporally visit and convert most provinces; whereby it is lawful for any apostle or his vicar to convert and confirm as much people or as many provinces in the faith of Christ, as they are able, neither is there any restraint of their liberty or jurisdiction, but only by disability or insufficiency.'

"The sixth article 'The apostles and other faithful priests of the Lord have stoutly ruled the church in all things necessary unto salvation, before the office of the pope was brought into the church, and so would they very possibly do still, if there were no pope even unto the latter day.' Then they all cried out again and said, 'Behold the prophet.' But John Huss said, 'Verily it is true that the apostles did rule the church stoutly, before the office of the pope was brought into the church. And certainly a great deal better than it is now ruled. And likewise may other faithful men which do follow their steps do the same; for as now we have no pope, and so peradventure it may continue and endure a year or more.'"

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Besides this, were brought against him other nineteen articles, objected unto him being in prison, which, with his answers to the same, here likewise follow. Of the which articles, the first is this:

"The first article: 'Paul, according unto present justice was a blasphemers and none of the church, and therewithal was in grace, according unto predestination of life everlasting.' The answer: This proposition is not in the book, but this which followeth; 'Whereby it doth seem probable, that as Paul was both a blasphemers according to present justice, and therewithal also was a faithful child of our holy mother the church, and in grace, according to predestination of life everlasting; so Iscariot was both in grace according unto present justice, and was never of our holy mother the church, according to the predestination of life everlasting, forasmuch as he lacked that predestination. And so Iscariot, albeit he was an apostle, and a bishop of Christ, which is the name of his office, yet was he never any part of the universal church.'

"The second article: 'Christ doth more love a predestinate man, being sinful, than any reprobate, in what grace possible soever he be.' The answer: My words are, in the fourth chapter of my book entitled Of the Church, 'And it is evident that God doth more love any predestinate, being sinful, than any reprobate, in what grace soever he be for the time; forasmuch as he will, that the predestinate shall have perpetual blessedness, and the reprobate to have eternal fire. Wherefore God partly infinitely loving them both, as his creatures, yet he doth more love the predestinate, because he giveth him greater grace, or a greater gift, that is to say, life everlasting, which is greater and more excellent than only grace, according unto present justice. And the third article of those articles before soundeth much near unto this, that the predestinate cannot fall from grace, for they have a certain radical grace rooted in them, although they be deprived of the abundant grace for a time. These things are true in the compound sense.'

"The third article: 'All the sinful, according unto present justice, are not faithful, but do swerve from the true catholic faith, forasmuch as it is impossible that any man can commit any deadly sin but in that point that he doth swerve from the faith.' The answer: I acknowledge that sentence to be mine, and it appeareth that if they did think upon the punishment which is to be laid upon sinners, and did fully believe, and had the faith of the Divine knowledge and understanding, &c., then undoubtedly they would not so offend and sin. This proposition is verified by the saying of the prophet Isaiah, Thy rulers are unfaithful, misbelievers, fellows and companions of thieves, they all love bribes and follow after rewards. Behold, the prophet calleth the rulers of the church infidels for their offences, for all such as do not keep their faith inviolate unto their principal Lord, are unfaithful servants, and they also are unfaithful children which keep not their obedience, fear, and love, unto God their Father.

"Item, this proposition is verified by the saying of the apostle, the first chapter to Titus, They do confess that they know God, but by their works they do deny him. And forasmuch as they which are sinful, do swerve away from the meritorious work of blessedness, therefore they do swerve from the true faith grounded upon charity, forasmuch as faith without works is dead. To this end doth also pertain that which the Lord speaketh, Matthew xxiii., of the faithful and unfaithful servant.

"The fourth article: 'These words of John in his 22nd chapter, Receive the Holy Ghost, and, Whatsoever you shall bind upon earth, &c.; and Matthew the 16th and 18th chapters, For lack of understanding shall terrify many Christians, and they

shall be wonderfully afraid, and others shall be deceived by them, presuming upon the fulness of their power and authority.' The answer: This sentence I do approve and allow, and therefore I say in the same place, that 'it is first of all to be supposed that the saying of our Saviour is necessary, as touching the virtue of the word, forasmuch as it is not possible for a priest to bind and loose, except that binding and loosing be in heaven. But for the lack of the true understanding of those words, many simple Christians shall be made afraid, thinking with themselves that, whether they be just or unjust, the priests may at their pleasures, whensoever they will, bind them. And the ignorant priests do also presume and take upon them to have power to bind and loose whensoever they will. For many foolish and ignorant priests do say, that they have power and authority to absolve every man confessing himself, of what sin or offence soever it be, not knowing that in many sins it is forbidden them, and that it may happen that a hypocrite do confess himself, or such a one as is not contrite for his sin, whereof proof hath oftentimes been found, and it is evident, forasmuch as the letter doth kill, but the spirit doth quicken.'

"The fifth article: 'The binding and loosing of God, is simply and plainly the chief and principal.' The answer: This is evident, forasmuch as it were blasphemous presumption to affirm, that a man may remit and forgive an evil fact or offence done against such a Lord, the Lord himself not approving or allowing the same. For by the universal power of the Lord, it is necessary that he do first absolve and forgive, before that his vicar do the same; neither is there one article of our faith, which ought to be more common or known unto us, than that it should be impossible for any man of the militant church to absolve or bind, except in such case as it be conformable unto the Head of the church, Jesus Christ. Wherefore every faithful Christian ought to take heed of that saying, If the pope or any other pretend, by any manner of sign, to bind or loose, that he is thereby bound or loosed; for he that doth grant or confess that, must also consequently grant and confess that the pope is without sin, and so that he is a God; for otherwise he must needs err and do contrary unto the keys of Christ. This saying proveth the fact of the pope, who always, in his absolution, presupposeth contrition and confession. Yea, moreover, if any letter of absolution be given unto any offender, which doth not declare the circumstances of the offence which ought to be declared, it is said that thereby the letter of absolution is of no force and effect. It is also hereby evident, that many priests do not absolve those which are confessed, because that either through shamefacedness they do cloak or hide greater offences, or else that they have not due contrition or repentance; for unto true absolution there is, first, required contrition; secondly, a purpose and intent to sin no more; thirdly, true confession; and fourthly, stedfast hope of forgiveness. The first appeareth by Ezekiel, If the wicked do repent him, &c. The second in the 5th and 8th of John, Do thou not sin any more. The third part by this place of Luke, Show yourselves unto the priests. And the fourth is confirmed by the saying of Christ, My son, believe, and thy sins are forgiven thee. I also added many other probations in my treatise out of the holy fathers, Augustine, Jerome, and the master of the sentences.

"The sixth article: 'The priests do gather and heap up out of the Scriptures those things which serve for the belly, but such as pertain to the true imitation and following of Christ, that they reject and refuse, as impertinent unto salvation.' The answer: This St. Gregory doth sufficiently prove in his 17th Homily, alleging the saying of Christ, The harvest is great, the workmen are few; speaking also that which we cannot say without grief or sorrow, that 'albeit there be a great number which willingly hear good things, yet there lack such as should declare the same unto them;

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for behold, the world is full of priests, but notwithstanding there is a scarcity of workmen in the harvest of the Lord. We take upon us willingly priesthood, but we do not fulfil and do the works and office of priesthood.' And immediately after he saith, 'We are fallen unto outward affairs and business, for we take upon us one office for honour sake, and we do exhibit and give another to ease ourselves of labour. We leave preaching, and, as far as I can perceive, we are called bishops to our pain, which do retain the name of honour, but not the verity.'

"And immediately after he saith, 'We take no care for our flock, we daily call upon for our stipend and wages, we covet and desire earthly things with a greedy mind, we gape after worldly glory, we leave the cause of God undone, and make haste about our worldly affairs and business; we take upon us the place of sanctity and holiness, and we are wholly wrapped in worldly cares and troubles,' &c. This writeth St. Gregory, with many other things more in the same place; also in his Pastoral, in his Morals, and in his Register. Also St. Bernard, as in many other places, so likewise in his 33rd sermon upon the Canticles, he saith, 'All friends, and all enemies, all kinsfolks, and adversaries, all of one household, and no peacemakers; they are the ministers of Christ, and serve antichrist; they go honourably honoured with the goods of the Lord, and yet they do honour,' &c.

"The seventh article: 'The power of the pope, which doth follow Christ, is not to be feared.' The answer: It is not so in my treatise, but contrariwise, 'that the subjects are bound willingly and gladly to obey the virtuous and good rulers, and also those which are wicked and evil. But, notwithstanding, if the pope do abuse his power, it is not then to be feared as by bondage. And so the lords, the cardinals, as I suppose, did not fear the power of Gregory the Twelfth before his deposition, when they resisted him, saying, that he did abuse his power contrary unto his own oath.'

"The eighth article: 'An evil and a wicked pope is not the successor of Peter, but of Judas.' The answer: I wrote this in my treatise; 'If the pope be humble and meek, neglecting and despising the honours and lucre of the world; if he be a shepherd, taking his name by the feeding of the flock of God; (of the which feeding the Lord speaketh, saying, Feed my sheep;) if he feed the sheep with the word, and with virtuous example, and that he become even like his flock with his whole heart and mind; if he do diligently and carefully labour and travail for the church; then is he without doubt the true vicar of Christ. But if he walk contrary unto these virtues, forasmuch as there is no society between Christ and Belial, and Christ himself saith, He that is not with me is against me, how is he then the true vicar of Christ or Peter, and not rather the vicar of antichrist? Christ called Peter himself Satanas, when he did contrary him but only in one word, and that with a good affection, even him whom he had chosen his vicar, and specially appointed over his church. Why should not any other then, being more contrary unto Christ, be truly called Satanas, and consequently antichrist, or at least the chief and principal minister or vicar of antichrist? There be infinite testimonies of this matter in St. Augustine, St. Jerome, Cyprian, Chrysostom, Bernard, Gregory, Remigius, and Ambrose, &c.

"The ninth article: 'The pope is the same beast of whom it is spoken in the Apocalypse, Power is given unto him to make war upon the saints.' The answer: I deny this article to be in my book.

"The tenth article: 'It is lawful to preach, notwithstanding the pope's inhibition.' The answer: The article is evident, forasmuch as the apostles did preach contrary to the commandment of the bishops of Jerusalem. And St. Hilary did the like,

contrary to the commandment of the pope, which was an Arian. It is also manifest by the example of cardinals, which, contrary unto the commandment of Pope Gregory the Twelfth, sent throughout all realms such as should preach against him. It is also lawful to preach under appeal, contrary unto the pope's commandment. And finally, he may preach which hath the commandment of God, whereunto he ought chiefly to obey.

"The eleventh article: 'If the pope's commandment be not concordant and agreeable with the doctrine of the gospel or the apostles, it is not to be obeyed.' The answer: I have thus written in my book; 'The faithful disciple of Christ ought to weigh and consider whether the pope's commandment be expressly and plainly the commandment of Christ or any of his apostles, or whether it have any foundation or ground in their doctrine or no; and that being once known or understood, he ought reverently and humbly to obey the same. But if he do certainly know that the pope's commandment is contrary and against the Holy Scripture, and hurtful unto the church, then he ought boldly to resist against it, that he be not partaker of the crime and offence by consenting thereunto.' This I have handled at large in my treatise, and have confirmed it by the authorities of St. Augustine, Jerome, Gregory, Chrysostom, Bernard, and Bede, and with the Holy Scripture and canons, the which for brevity's cause I do here pass over. I will only rehearse the saying of St. Isidore, who writeth thus: 'He which doth rule, and doth say or command any thing contrary and besides the will of God, or that which is evidently commanded in the Scriptures, he is honoured as a false witness of God, and a church robber. Whereupon we are bounden to obey no prelate, but in such case as he do command or take counsel of the counsels and commandments of Christ.'

"Likewise St. Augustine upon this saying, upon the chair of Moses, &c., saith, 'Secondly, they teach in the chair of Moses the law of God; ergo, God teacheth by them: but if they will teach you any of their own inventions, do not give ear unto them, neither do as they command you. Also in the saying of Christ, He that heareth you, heareth me, all lawful and honest things be comprehended, in the which we ought to be obedient, according to Christ's saying, It is not you which do speak, but the Spirit of my Father which speaketh in you. Let, therefore, my adversaries and slanderers learn, that there be not only twelve counsels in the gospel, in the which subjects ought to obey Christ and his appointed ministers; but that there are so many counsels and determinations of God, as there be lawful and honest things joined with precepts and commandments of God, binding us thereunto, under the pain of deadly sin; for every such thing doth the Lord command us to fulfil in time and place, with other circumstances, at the will and pleasure of their minister.

"The twelfth article: 'It is lawful for the clergy and laity, by their power and jurisdiction, to judge and determine of all things pertaining unto salvation, and also the works of the prelates.' The answer: I have thus written in my book; 'That it is lawful for the clergy and laity to judge and determine of the works of their heads and rulers.' It appeareth by this, that the judgment of the secret counsels of God in the court of conscience is one thing, and the judgment of the authority and power in the church is another. Wherefore subjects, first, ought principally to judge and examine themselves, 1 Cor. xi. Secondly, they ought to examine all things which pertain unto their salvation, for a spiritual man judgeth and examineth all things. And this is alleged as touching the first judgment, and not the second, as the enemy doth impute it unto me. Whereupon in the same place I do say, that the layman ought to judge and examine the works of his prelate, like as Paul doth judge the doings of Peter in

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blaming him. Secondly, to avoid them, according to this saying, Beware of false prophets," &c. Thirdly, to rule over the minister: for the subject ought by reason to judge and examine the works of the prelates. And if they be good, to praise God therefore and rejoice; but if they be evil, they ought with patience to suffer them, and to be sorry for them, but not to do the like, lest they be damned with them, according to this saying, If the blind lead the blind, both fall into the ditch.

"The thirteenth article: 'God doth suspend of himself every wicked prelate from his ministry, while he is actually in sin, for by that means that he is in deadly sin, he doth offend and sin, whatsoever he do, and consequently is forbidden so to do; therefore also is he suspended from his ministry.' The answer: This is proved as touching suspension from dignity, by Hosea the 4th chapter, and Isaiah, and Malachi the 1st. And Paul, in the First to the Corinthians, the 11th chapter, suspendeth all such as be sinful, or in any grievous crime or offence, from the eating of the body of the Lord, and the drinking of his blood; and consequently suspendeth all sinful prelates from the ministration of the reverend sacrament. And God doth suspend the wicked and sinful from the declaration of his righteousness, Psal. xlix. Forasmuch then as to suspend in effect, is to prohibit the ministry or any other good thing for the offence sake, or, as the new laws do determine or call it, to interdict or forbid: it is manifest by the Scriptures afore rehearsed, that God doth prohibit the sinful, being in sin, to exercise or use their ministry or office, which by God's commandment ought to be exercised without offence. Whereupon he saith by Isaiah the prophet, Ye that carry the vessels of the Lord, be ye cleansed and made clean. And to the Corinthians it is said, Let all things be done with love and charity, &c. The same thing also is commanded by divers and sundry canons, the which I have alleged in my treatise.

"The fourteenth article. The answer which he made to the five and twentieth article in prison sufficeth for this, that is to say, that the clergy, for their own preferment and exaltation, doth supplant and undermine the lay-people, doth increase and multiply their covetousness, cloaketh and defendeth their malice and wickedness, and prepareth a way for antichrist.

"The first part be proveth by experience, by the example of Peter de Luna, which named himself Benedict, by the example of Angelus Coriarius, which named himself Gregory the Twelfth, and also by the example of John the Twenty-third. Likewise by the 13th and 24th of Ezekiel, and out of Gregory, which saith, 'What shall become of the flock, when the shepherds themselves are become wolves,' &c. Also out of Hosea, Michael, and other of the prophets, and many places of St. Bernard.

"The second part is proved by the 8th chapter of Jeremiah, Gregory in his seventeenth Homily, and St. Bernard upon the Canticles.

"The third part of this article is also proved by experience; for who defendeth the wickedness of any schism but only the clergy, alleging Scriptures, and bringing reasons therefore? Who excuseth simony, but only the clergy? likewise covetousness in heaping together many benefices, luxuriousness, and fornication? for how many of the clergy are there now-a-days which do say it is no deadly sin, alleging (albeit disorderly) the saying of Genesis, Increase and multiply!

"Hereby also is the fourth part of the article easily verified. For the way of antichrist is wickedness and sin, of the which the apostle speaketh to the

Thessalonians; Gregory, in his Register, Pastoral, and Morals; also St. Bernard upon the Canticles plainly saith, 'Wicked and evil priests prepare the way for antichrist.'

"The fifteenth article: 'John Huss doth openly teach and affirm that these conclusions aforesaid are true.' The answer is manifest by that which I have before written. For some of these propositions I did write and publish, other some mine enemy did feign, now adding, then diminishing and taking away, now falsely ascribing and imputing the whole proposition unto me, the which thing the commissioners themselves did confess before me. Whom I desired, for the false invention and feigning of those articles, that they would punish those, whom they themselves knew and confessed to be mine enemies.

"The sixteenth article. Hereby also it appeareth, that it is not true which they have affirmed in the article following, that is to say, that all the aforesaid conclusions be false, erroneous, seditious, and such as do weaken and make feeble the power and strength of the church, invented contrary to the Holy Scriptures and the church. But if there be any such, I am ready most humbly to revoke and recant the same.

"The seventeenth article. There was also an objection made against me as touching the treatises which I wrote against Paletz and Stanislaus de Znoyma. The which I desired for God's sake they might be openly read in the audience of the whole council, and said that I, notwithstanding my former protestation, would willingly submit myself to the judgment of the whole council.

"The eighteenth article. There was also another article objected against me in this form: 'Item, John Huss said and preached that he should go to Constance, and if so be that for any manner of cause he should be forced to recant that he had before taught, yet, notwithstanding, he never purposed to do it with his mind; forasmuch as whatsoever he had before taught was pure and true, and the sound doctrine of Christ.' The answer: This article is full of lies, to the inventor whereof I suppose the Lord saith thus, All the day long thou hast imagined mischief and wickedness, and with thy tongue, as with a sharp razor, thou hast wrought deceit; thou hast delighted and loved rather to talk of wickedness and mischief than of equity and justice. Verily, I do grant, that I left behind me a certain epistle to be read unto the people, the which did contain that all such, as did weigh and consider my careful labours and travails, should pray for me, and stedfastly persevere and continue in the doctrine of our Lord Jesus Christ, knowing for a certainty that I never taught them any such errors as mine enemies do impute or ascribe unto me; and if it should happen that I were overcome by false witness, they should not be vexed or troubled in their minds, but stedfastly continue in the truth.'

"The nineteenth article. Last it was objected against me, that after I was come into Constance, I did write unto the kingdom of Bohemia, that 'the pope and emperor received me honourably, and sent unto me two bishops to make agreement between me and them; and that this seemeth to be written by me to this end and purpose, that they should confirm and establish me and my hearers in the errors which I had preached and taught in Bohemia.' This article is falsely alleged even from the beginning. For how manifestly false should I have written that the pope and the emperor did honour me, when otherwise I have written before that as yet we knew not where the emperor was? And before the emperor himself came unto Constance, I was by the space of three weeks in prison. And to write that I was honoured by my imprisonment, the people of the kingdom of Bohemia would repute the honour as no great renown and glory unto me. Howbeit, mine enemies may in derision say unto me,

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that according to their wills and pleasures I am exalted and honoured. Wherefore this article is wholly throughout false and untrue."

Unto these articles above prefixed were other articles also to be annexed, which the Parisians had drawn out against Master John Huss, to the number of nineteen. The chief author whereof was John Gerson, chancellor of the university of Paris, a great setter-on of the pope against good men. Of these articles John Huss doth often complain in his epistles, that he had no time nor space to make answer unto them. Which articles being falsely collected and wrongfully depraved, although John Huss had no time to answer unto them, yet I thought it not unfit here to set them down for the reader to see and judge.

"The first article: 'No reprobate is true pope, lord, or prelate.' The error is in the faith, and behaviour, and manners, being both of late and many times before condemned, as well against the poor men of Lyons, as also against the Waldenses and Picards. The affirmation of which error is temerarious, seditious, offensive, and pernicious, and tending to the subversion of all human policy and governance, forasmuch as no man knoweth whether he be worthy of love or hatred, for that all men do offend in many points, and thereby should all rule and dominion be made uncertain and unstable, if it should be founded upon predestination and charity: neither should the commandment of Peter have been good, which willeth all servants to be obedient unto their masters and lords, although they be wicked.

"The second article: 'That no man being in deadly sin, whereby he is no member of Christ, but of the devil, is true pope, prelate, lord.' The error of this is like unto the first.

"The third article: 'No reprobate or otherwise being in deadly sin, sitteth in the apostolic seat of Peter, neither hath any apostolical power over the Christian people.' This error is also like unto the first.

"The fourth article: 'No reprobates are of the church, neither likewise any which do not follow the life of Christ.' This error is against the common understanding of the doctors, concerning the church.

"The fifth article: 'They only are of the church, and sit in Peter's seat, and have apostolic power, which follow Christ and his apostles in their life and living.' The error hereof is in faith and manners, as in the first article, but containing more arrogancy and rashness.

"The sixth article: 'That every man which liveth uprightly according to the rule of Christ, may and ought openly to preach and teach, although he be not sent, yea, although he be forbidden or excommunicate by any prelate or bishop, even as he might and ought to give alms; for his good life in living together with his learning doth sufficiently send him.'

"This is a rash and temerarious error, offensive and tending to the confusion of the whole ecclesiastical hierarchy.

"The seventh article: 'That the pope of Rome being contrary unto Christ, is not the universal bishop, neither hath the Church of Rome any supremacy over other churches, except peradventure it be given unto him of Cæsar, and not of Christ.' An error lately and plainly reprovèd.

"The eighth article: 'That the pope ought not to be called most holy, neither that his feet are holy and blessed, or that they ought to be kissed.' This error is temerarious, unreverently and offensively published.

"The ninth article: 'That according unto the doctrine of Christ, heretics, be they never so obstinate or stubborn, ought not to be put to death, neither to be accursed or excommunicated.' This is the error of the Donatists, temerariously, and not without great offence, affirmed against the laws of the ecclesiastical discipline, as St. Augustine doth prove.

"The tenth article: 'That subjects and the common people may and ought publicly and openly to detect and reprove the vices of their superiors and rulers, as having power given them of Christ, and example of St. Paul so to do.' This error is pernicious, full of offence, inducing all rebellion, disobedience, and sedition, and the curse and malediction of Ham.

"The eleventh article: 'That Christ only is Head of the church, and not the pope.' It is an error according unto the common understanding of the doctors, if all the reason of the supremacy, and of being head, be secluded and taken away from the pope.

"The twelfth article: 'That the only church, which comprehendeth the predestinate and good livers, is the universal church, whereunto subjects do owe obedience.' And this is consequent unto the former article. The error is contained as in the former articles.

"The thirteenth article: 'That tithes and oblations, given unto the church, are public and common alms.' This error is offensive, and contrary to the determination of the apostle, 1 Cor. ix.

"The fourteenth article: 'That the clergy, living wickedly, ought to be reprov'd and corrected by the lay-people, by the taking away of their tithes and other temporal profits.' A most pernicious error, and offensive, inducing the secular people to perpetrate sacrilege, subverting the ecclesiastical liberty.

"The fifteenth article: 'That the blessings of such as are reprobate or evil livers of the clergy are maledictions and cursings before God, according to the saying, I will curse your blessings.' This error was lately reprov'd of St. Augustine, against St. Cyprian and his followers, neither is the master of the sentences allowed of the masters in that point that he seemeth to favour this article.

"The sixteenth article: 'That in these days, and in long time before, there hath been no true pope, no true church, or faith, which is called the Romish Church, whereunto a man ought to obey, but that it both was and is the synagogue of antichrist and Satan.' The error in this article is in this point, that it is derived, and taketh his foundation, upon the former articles.

"The seventeenth article: 'That all gift of money given unto the ministers of the church, for the ministration of any spiritual matter, doth make such ministers in that case users of simony.' This error is seditious and temerarious, forasmuch as something may be given unto the clergy, under the title of sustentation or maintaining the minister, without the selling or buying of any spiritual thing. "The eighteenth article: 'That whosoever is excommunicate of the pope, if he appeal unto Christ, he is preserved that he need not fear the excommunication, but may utterly contemn and despise the same.' This error is temerarious and full of arrogancy.

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"The nineteenth article: 'That every deed done without charity is sin.' This error was reprov'd and revoked before this time at Paris, especially if it be understood of deadly sin; for it is not necessary that he which lacketh grace should continually sin and offend anew, albeit he be continually in sin."

Reasons and determinations of the masters of Paris.

"We affirm that these articles aforesaid are notoriously heretical, and that they are judicially to be condemned for such, and diligently to be rooted out with their most seditious doctrines, lest they do infect others. For albeit they seem to have a zeal against the vices of the prelates and the clergy, the which (the more is the pity and grief) do but too much abound, yet is it not according unto learning; for a sober and discreet zeal suffereth and lamenteth those sins and offences, which he seeth in the house of God, that he cannot amend or take away; for vices cannot be rooted out and taken away by other vices and errors, forasmuch as devils are not cast out through Beelzebub, but by the power of God, which is the Holy Ghost, who willeth that in correction the measure and mean of prudence be always kept, according to the saying, Mark who, what, where, and why, by what means, and when, prelates and bishops are bound, under grievous and express penalties of the law, diligently and vigilantly to bear themselves against the aforesaid errors and such other like, and the maintainers of them; for let it always be understood and noted, that the error which is not resisted is allowed, neither is there any doubt of privy affinity or society of him, which slacketh to withstand a manifest mischief.

"These things are intermeddled by the way under correction, as by way of doctrine."

These things thus declared, a man may easily understand, that John Huss was not accused for holding any opinion contrary to the articles of our faith, but because he did stoutly preach and teach against the kingdom of antichrist, for the glory of Christ, and the restoring of the church.

105. The Trial of John Huss (Continued)



The Trial of John Huss

Now to return unto the story; when the first thirty-nine articles which I have before rehearsed were all read over together with their testimonies, the cardinal of Cambray, calling unto John Huss, said, "Thou hast heard what grievous and horrible crimes are laid against thee, and what a number of them they are; and now it is thy part to devise with thyself what thou wilt do. Two ways are proponed and set before thee of the council, whereof the one of them thou must of force and necessity enter into.

"First, that thou do humbly and meekly submit thyself unto the judgment and sentence of the council, that whatsoever shall be there determined, by their common voice and judgment, thou wilt patiently bear and suffer the same. The which thing if thou wilt do, we of our part, both for the honour of the most gentle emperor, here present, and also for the honour of his brother, the king of Bohemia, and for thy own

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safeguard and preservation, will treat and handle thee with as great humanity, love, and gentleness, as we may. But if as yet thou art determined to defend any of those articles which we have propounded unto thee, and dost desire or require to be further heard thereupon, we will not deny thee power and licence thereunto; but this thou shalt well understand, that here are such manner of men, so clear in understanding and knowledge, and having so firm and strong reasons and arguments against thy articles, that I fear it will be to thy great hurt, detriment, and peril, if thou shouldst any longer will or desire to defend the same.

"This I do speak and say unto thee to counsel and admonish thee, and not as in manner of a judge."

This oration of the cardinal's, many other, prosecuting every man for himself, did exhort and persuade John Huss to the like; unto whom with a lowly countenance he answered: "Most reverend fathers, I have often said that I came hither of mine own free-will, not to the intent obstinately to defend any thing, but if that in any thing I should seem to have conceived a perverse or evil opinion, that I would meekly and patiently be content to be reformed and taught. Whereupon, I desire that I may have yet further liberty to declare my mind. Whereof except I shall allege most firm and strong reasons, I will willingly submit myself (as you require) unto your information."

Then there started up one which with a loud voice said, "Behold, how craftily this man speaketh! he termeth it information, and not correction or determination." "Verily," said John Huss, "even as you will term it, information, correction, or determination; for I take God to my witness, that I speak nothing but with my heart and mind."

Then said the cardinal of Cambray, "Forasmuch then as thou dost submit thyself unto the information and grace of this council, this is decreed almost by threescore doctors, whereof some of them are now departed hence, in whose room and place the Parisians are succeeded; and also is approved by the whole council, not one man speaking the contrary thereunto.

"First of all, that thou shalt humbly and meekly confess thyself to have erred in these articles, which are alleged and brought against thee.

"Moreover, that thou shalt promise by an oath, that from henceforth thou shalt not teach, hold; or maintain any of these articles. And last of all, that thou shalt openly recant all these articles."

Upon the which sentence, when many others had spoken their minds, at the length John Huss said, "I once again do say, that I am ready to submit myself to the information of the council; but this I most humbly require and desire you all, even for his sake which is the God of us all, that I be not compelled or forced to do the thing which my conscience doth repugn or strive against, or the which I cannot do without danger of eternal damnation, that is, that I would make revocation by oath to all the articles which are alleged against me. For I remember that I have read in the book of universalities, that to abjure, is to renounce an error which a man hath before holden. And forasmuch as many of these articles are said to be mine, which were never in my mind or thought to hold or teach, how should I then renounce them by an oath? But as touching those articles which are mine indeed, if there be any man which can teach me contrariwise unto them, I will willingly perform that which you desire."

Then said the emperor, "Why mayst not thou without danger also renounce all those articles which thou sayest are falsely alleged against thee by the witnesses? For

I verily would nothing at all doubt to abjure all errors, neither doth it follow that therefore by and by I have professed any error." To whom John Huss answered: "Most noble emperor, this word, to abjure, doth signify much otherwise than your Majesty doth here use it." Then said the cardinal of Florence, "John Huss, you shall have a form of abjuration, which shall be gentle, and tolerable enough, written and delivered unto you, and then you will easily and soon determine with yourself, whether you will do it or no." Then the emperor, repeating again the words of the cardinal of Cambray, said, "Thou hast heard that there are two ways laid before thee: First, that thou shouldst openly renounce those thy errors, which are now condemned, and subscribe unto the judgment of the council, whereby thou shouldst try and find their grace and favour. But if thou proceed to defend thy opinions, the council shall have sufficient, whereby according to their laws and ordinances, they may decree and determine upon thee"

Huss answered, "I refuse nothing, (most noble emperor,) whatsoever the council shall decree or determine upon me. Only this one thing I except, that I do not offend God and my conscience, or say that I have professed those errors which was never in my mind or thought to profess. But I desire you all, if it may be possible, that you will grant me further liberty to declare my mind and opinion, that I may answer as much as shall suffice, as touching those things which are objected against me, and specially concerning ecclesiastical offices, and the state of the ministry."

But when other men began to speak, the emperor himself began to sing the same song which he had sung before. "Thou art of lawful age," said the emperor, "thou mightest easily have understood what I said unto thee yesterday, and this day; for we are forced to give credit unto these witnesses which are worthy of credit, forasmuch as the Scripture saith, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses all truth is tried; how much more then by so many witnesses of such worthy men!

"Wherefore if thou be wise, receive penance at the hands of the council, with a contrite heart, and renounce thy manifest errors, and promise by an oath that from henceforth thou wilt never more teach or preach them. The which if thou refusest to do, there are laws and ordinances whereby thou shalt be judged of the council."

Here a certain very old bishop of Poland put to his verdict. He said the laws are evident as touching heretics, with what punishment they ought to be punished. But John Huss constantly answered as before; insomuch that they said he was obstinate and stubborn. Then a certain well-fed priest, and gaily apparelled, cried out unto the presidents of the council, saying, "He ought by no means to be admitted to recantation, for he hath written unto his friends, that although he do swear with his tongue, yet he will keep his mind unsworn without oath; wherefore he is not to be trusted." Unto this slander John Huss answered as is said in the last article, affirming that he was not guilty of any error.

Then said Paletz, "To what end is this protestation, forasmuch as thou sayest that thou wilt defend no error, neither yet Wickliff, and yet dost defend him." When he had spoken these words, he brought forth for witness nine articles of John Wickliff's, and read them openly, and afterward he said, "When I and Master Stanislaus, in the presence of Ernest of Austria, duke of Prague, preached against them, he obstinately defended the same, not only by his sermons, but also by his books which he set forth. The which except you do here exhibit, we will cause them to be exhibited." So said the emperor also. Unto whom John Huss answered, "I am

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very well contented that not only those, but also all other my books, be brought forth and showed."

In the mean time there was exhibited unto the council a certain article, wherein John Huss was accused, that he had slanderously interpreted a certain sentence of the pope's: the which he denied that he did, saying, that he never saw it but in prison, when the article was showed him by the commissioners; and when he was demanded who was the author thereof, he answered, that he knew not, but that he heard say that Master Jessenitz was the author thereof.

"What," said they, "then do you think or judge of the interpretation thereof?" Then answered John Huss, "What should I say thereunto, when I said I never saw it, but as I have heard it of you." Thus they were all so grievous and troublesome unto him that he waxed faint and weary, for he had passed all the night before without sleep, through the pain of his teeth.

Then was there another article read, in the which was contained that three men were beheaded at Prague, because that, through Wickliff's doctrine and teaching, they were contumelious and slanderous against the pope's letters; and that they were by the same Huss, with the whole pomp of the scholars, and with a public convocation or congregation, carried out to be buried, and by a public sermon placed amongst the number of saints; and the same Doctor Naso, of whom you have heard certain testimonies already recited, affirmed the same to be true, and that he himself was present, when the king of Bohemia commanded those blasphemers so to be punished.

Then said John Huss, "Both those parts are false, that the king did command any such punishment to be done, and that the corpses were by me conveyed with any such pomp unto their sepulture or burial: wherefore you do injury both unto me and the king."

Then Paletz confirmed the affirmation of Doctor Naso, his fellow, with this argument, for they both laboured to one end and purpose; That it was provided by the king's commandment, that no man should once speak against the pope's bulls: and these three spake against the pope's bulls: ergo, by virtue of the king's commandment they were beheaded. And what John Huss's opinion and mind was as touching these men, it is evident enough by his book entitled *Of the Church*, wherein he writeth thus, "I believe they have read Daniel the prophet, where it is said, And they shall perish with sword and fire, and with captivity, and many shall fraudulently and craftily associate themselves unto them." And afterward he saith, how "this is fulfilled in these two laymen, who not consenting, but speaking against the feigned lies of antichrist, have offered their lives therefore, and many other were ready to do the same, and many were fraudulently associate unto them, which being feared by the threatenings of antichrist are fled, and have turned their backs," &c.

When these things were read, one looking upon another, as though they had been all in a marvellous strange study, they held their peace for a certain space. For this Paletz, and the aforesaid Doctor Naso, had also added that John Huss in an open sermon had inflamed and stirred up the people against the magistrates, insomuch that a great number of the citizens did openly set themselves against the magistrates; and by that means was it that, he said, those three were ready to suffer death for the truth. And this sedition was hardly appeased by any benefit or help that the king could do. Then the Englishmen exhibited the copy of a certain epistle, which they said was falsely conveyed unto Prague, under the title of the university of Oxford, and that

John Huss did read the same out of the pulpit unto the people, that he might commend and praise John Wickliff unto the citizens of Prague. When they had read the same before the council, the Englishmen demanded of John Huss, whether he had read the same openly or no. Which when he had confessed, because it was brought thither by two scholars under the seal of the university; they also inquired of him what scholars they were. He answered, "This my friend "(meaning Stephen Paletz) "knoweth the one of them as well as I; the other I know not what he was."

Then they first inquired of him, as touching the last man, where he was. John Huss answered, "I heard say," said he, "that in his return into England he died by the way." As touching the first, Paletz said, that he was a Bohemian and no Englishman, and that he brought out of England a certain small piece of the stone of Wickliff's sepulchre, which they that are the followers of his doctrine at this present do reverence and worship as a thing most holy. Hereby it appeareth for what intent all these things were done, and that John Huss was the author of them all.

Then the Englishmen exhibited another epistle, contrary to the first, under the seal of the university, the effect and argument whereof was this: "The senate of the university, not without great sorrow and grief, hath experimented and found, that the errors of Wickliff are scattered and spread out of that university throughout all England. And to the intent that through their help and labour means may be found to remedy this mischief, they have appointed for that purpose twelve doctors, men of singular learning, and other masters, which should sit in judgment upon the books of Wickliff.

"These men have noted out above the number of two hundred articles, the which the whole university have judged worthy to be burnt; but for the reverence of the said sacred council, the said university hath sent them unto Constance, referring and remitting the whole authority of the judgment unto this council."

Here was great silence kept for a while. Then Paletz rising up, as though he had finished now his accusation, said, "I take God to my witness before the emperor's Majesty here present, and the most reverend fathers, cardinals and bishops, that in this accusation of John Huss I have not used any hatred or evil will; but that I might satisfy the oath which I took, when I was made doctor, that I would be a most cruel and sharp enemy of all manner of errors, for the profit and commodity of the holy catholic church." Michael de Causis did also the like. "And I," said John Huss, "do commit all these things unto the heavenly Judge, which shall justly judge the cause or quarrels of both parties." Then said the cardinal of Cambray, "I cannot a little commend and praise the humanity and gentleness of Master Paletz, which he hath used in drawing out the articles against Master John Huss; for, as we have heard, there are many things contained in his book much worse and more detestable."

When he had spoken these words, the bishop of Reggio, unto whom John Huss was committed, commanded that the said John Huss should be carried again safely unto prison. Then John de Clum, following him, did not a little encourage and comfort him. No tongue can express what courage and stomach he received by the short talk which he had with him; when in so great a broil and grievous hatred, he saw himself in a manner forsaken of all men. After that John Huss was carried away, the emperor began to exhort the presidents of the council in this manner, saying,

"You have heard the manifold and grievous crimes which are laid against John Huss, which are not only proved by manifest and strong witnesses, but also confessed

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by him; of the which every one of them by my judgment and advice have deserved, and are worthy of, death. Therefore, except he do recant them all, I judge and think meet that he be punished with fire: and albeit he do that which he is willed and commanded to do, notwithstanding, I do counsel you, that he be forbid the office of preaching and teaching, and also that he return no more into the kingdom of Bohemia. For if he be admitted again to teach and preach, and especially in the kingdom of Bohemia, he will not observe and keep that which he is commanded; but, hoping upon the favour and good-will of such as be his adherents and abettors there, he will return again unto his former purpose and intent, and then, besides these errors, he will also sow new errors amongst the people, so the last error shall be worse than the first.

"Moreover, I judge and think it good that his articles which are condemned, should be sent unto my brother, the king of Bohemia, and afterward into Poland and other provinces, where men's minds are replenished with his doctrine, with this commandment, that whosoever do proceed to hold or keep the same, they should, by common aid both of the ecclesiastical and civil power, be punished. So at the length shall remedy be found for this mischief, if the boughs together with the root be utterly rooted and pulled up; and if the bishops and other prelates, which here in this place have laboured and travailed for the extirpating of this heresy, be commended by the whole voices of the council unto the king and princes under whose dominion they are. Last of all, if there be any found here at Constance, which are familiars unto John Huss, they also ought to be punished with such severity and punishment as is due unto them, and especially his scholar, Jerome of Prague." Then said the rest, "When the master is once punished, we hope we shall find the scholar much more tractable and gentle."

After they had spoken these words, they departed out of the cloister, where they were assembled and gathered together. The day before his condemnation, which was the 6th of July, the Emperor Sigismund sent unto him four bishops, accompanied with Master Wencelate de Duba, and John de Clum, that they should learn and understand of him what he did intend to do. When he was brought out of prison unto them, John de Clum began first to speak unto him, saying,



ASTER John Huss, I am a man unlearned, neither am I able to counsel or advertise you, being a man of learning and understanding; notwithstanding I do require you, if you know yourself guilty of any of those errors, which are objected and laid against you before the council, that you will not be ashamed to alter and change your mind to the will and pleasure of the council; if contrariwise, I will be no author unto you, that you should do any thing contrary, or against your conscience, but rather to suffer and endure any kind of punishment, than to deny that which you have known to be truth." Unto whom John Huss turning himself, with lamentable tears, said, "Verily, as before I have oftentimes done, I do take the most high God for my witness, that I am ready with my whole heart and mind, if the council can instruct or teach me any better by the Holy Scripture, and I will be ready with all my heart to alter and change my purpose." Then one of the bishops, which sat by, said unto him, that he would never be so arrogant or proud, that he would prefer his own mind or opinion before the judgment of the whole council. To whom John Huss answered, "Neither do I otherwise mind or intend; for if he which is the meanest or least in all this council can convict me of error, I will, with a

humble heart and mind, perform and do whatsoever the council shall require of me." "Mark," said the bishops, "how obstinately he doth persevere in his errors." And when they had thus talked, they commanded the keepers to carry him again unto prison, and so they returned again unto the emperor with their commission.

The next day after, which was Saturday, and the sixth day of July, there was a general session holden of the princes and lords, both of the ecclesiastical and temporal estates, in the head church of the city of Constance, the Emperor Sigismund being president in his imperial robes and habit; in the midst whereof there was made a certain high place, being square about like a table, and hard by it there was a desk of wood, upon the which the garments and vestments pertaining unto priesthood were laid, for this cause, that before John Huss should be delivered over unto the civil power, he should be openly deprived and spoiled of his priestly ornaments. When John Huss was brought thither, he fell down upon his knees before that same high place, and prayed a long time. In the mean while the bishop of Londe went up into the pulpit, and made this sermon following:

"In the name of the Father, the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Trusting, by humble invocation upon the Divine help and aid, most noble prince and most Christian emperor, and you, most excellent fathers, and reverend lords, bishops, and prelates, also most excellent doctors and masters, famous and noble dukes, and high counts, honourable nobles, and barons, and all other men worthy of remembrance; that the intent and purpose of my mind may the more plainly and evidently appear unto this most sacred congregation, I am first of all determined to treat or speak of that which is read in the Epistle on the next Sunday, in the 6th chapter to the Romans, that is to say, Let the body of sin be destroyed, &c.

"It appeareth by the authority of Aristotle, in his book entitled, De Cælo et Mundo, how wicked, dangerous, and foolish a matter it seemeth to be, not to withstand perverse and wicked beginnings. For he saith that a small error in the beginning is very great in the end. It is very damnable and dangerous to have erred, but more hard to be corrected or amended. Whereupon that worthy doctor St. Jerome, in his book upon the exposition of the catholic faith, teacheth how necessary a thing it is that heretics and heresies should be suppressed, even at the first beginning of them, saying thus, The rotten and dead flesh is to be cut off from the body, lest that the whole body do perish and putrefy. For a scabbed sheep is to be put out of the fold, lest that the whole flock be infected. And a little fire is to be quenched, lest the whole house be consumed and burned.' Arius was first a spark in Alexandria, who, because he was not at the first quenched, he presumed and went about with his wicked and perverse imaginations, and fantastical inventions, to spot and defile the catholic faith, which is founded and established by Christ, defended with the victorious triumphs of so many martyrs, and illuminate and set forth with the excellent doctrines and writings of so many men. Such therefore must be resisted; such heretics, of necessity, must be suppressed and condemned.

"Wherefore I have truly propounded, as touching the punishment of every such obstinate heretic, that the body of sin is to be destroyed. Whereupon it is to be considered, according unto the holy traditions of the fathers, that some sins are adverse and contrary unto others; other some are annexed or conjoined together; other some are, as it were, branches and members of others; and some are, as it were, the roots and head of others. Amongst all which, those are to be counted the most detestable, out of the which the most and worst have their original and beginning.

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Wherefore, albeit that all sins and offences are to be abhorred of us, yet those are specially to be eschewed, which are the head and root of the rest. For by how much the perverseness of them is of more force and power to hurt, with so much the more speed and circumspection ought they to be rooted out and extinguished, with apt preservatives and remedies. Forasmuch, then, as amongst all sins, none doth more appear to be inveterate than the mischief of this most execrable schism, therefore have I right well propounded that the body of sin should be destroyed. For by the long continuance of this schism, great and most cruel destruction is sprung up amongst the faithful, and hath long continued; abominable divisions of heresies are grown; threatenings are increased and multiplied; the confusion of the whole clergy is grown thereupon, and the opprobries and slanders of the Christian people are abundantly sprung up and increased. And truly it is no marvel, forasmuch as that most detestable and execrable schism, is, as it were, a body and heap of dissolution of the true faith of God: for what can be good or holy in that place, where such a pestiferous schism hath reigned so long a time? For, as St. Bernard saith, Like as in the unity and concord of the faithful, there is the habitation and dwelling of the Lord, so likewise in the schism and dissipation of the Christians, there is made the habitation and dwelling of the devil. Is not schism and division the original of all subversion, the den of heresies, and the nourisher of all offences? for the knot of unity and peace being once troubled and broken; there is free passage made for all strife and debate. Covetousness is uttered in oaths for lucre's sake, lust and will is set at liberty, and all means opened unto slaughter. All right and equity is banished, the ecclesiastical power is injured, and the calamity of this schism bringeth in all kind of bondage; sword and violence doth rule, the laity have the dominion, concord and unity are banished, and all the prescript rules of religion utterly contemned and set at nought.

"Consider, most gentle lords, during this most pestiferous schism, how many heresies have appeared and showed themselves, how many heretics have escaped unpunished, how many churches have been spoiled and pulled down, how many cities have been oppressed, and regions brought to ruin! What confusion hath there happened in the clergy! What and how great destruction hath been amongst the Christian people! I pray you, mark how the church of God, the spouse of Christ, and the mother of all faithful, is contemned and despised. For who doth reverence the keys of the church, who feareth the censures or laws, or who is it that doth defend the liberties thereof? But rather who is it that doth not offend the same, or who doth not invade it, or else, what is he that dare not violently lay hands upon the patrimony or heritage of Jesus Christ? The goods of the clergy, and of the poor, and the relief of pilgrims and strangers, gotten together by the blood of our Saviour, and of many martyrs, are spoiled and taken away: behold the abomination of the desolation brought upon the church of God, the destruction of the faith, and the confusion of the Christian people, to the ruin of the Lord's flock or fold, and all the whole company of our most holy Saviour and Redeemer. This loss is more great or grievous than any which could happen unto the martyrs of Christ, and this persecution much more cruel than the persecution of any tyrant; for they did but only punish the bodies, but in this schism and division the souls are tormented. There the blood of men was only shed, but in this case the true faith is subverted and overthrown. That persecution was salvation unto many; but this schism is destruction unto all men. When the tyrants raged, then the faith did increase; but by this division it is utterly decayed. During their cruelty and madness the primitive church increased; but through this schism it is confounded and overthrown. Tyrants did ignorantly offend; but in this schism many do wittingly and willingly, even of obstinacy, offend. There came in heretics, users of simony, and

hypocrites, to the great detriment and deceit of the church; under those tyrants, the merits of the just were increased.

"But during this schism mischief and wickedness are augmented; for in this most cursed and execrable division, truth is made an enemy to all Christians, faith is not regarded, love and charity hated, hope is lost, justice overthrown, no kind of courage or valiantness, but only unto mischief: modesty and temperance cloaked, wisdom turned into deceit, humility feigned, equity and truth falsified, patience utterly fled, conscience small, all wickedness intended, devotion counted folly, gentleness abject and cast away, religion despised, obedience not regarded, and all manner of life reproachful and abominable. With how great and grievous sorrows is the church of God replenished and filled, whilst that tyrants do oppress it, heretics invade it, users of simony do spoil and rob it, and schismatics go about utterly to subvert it! O most miserable and wretched Christian people, whom now by the space of forty years, with such indurate and continual schism, they have tormented, and almost brought to ruin! O the little bark and ship of Christ, which hath so long time wandered and strayed now in the midst of the whirlpools, and by and by sticketh fast in the rocks, tossed to and fro with most grievous and tempestuous storms! O miserable and wretched boat of Peter, if the most holy Father would suffer thee to sink or drown, into what dangers and perils have the wicked pirates brought thee! amongst what rocks have they placed thee! O most godly and loving Christians, what faithful and devout man is there, which, beholding and seeing the great ruin and decay of the church, would not be provoked unto tears? What good conscience is there that can refrain weeping? because that contention and strife is poured upon the ecclesiastical rulers, which have made us to err in the way; because they have not found, or rather would not find, the way of unity and concord: whereupon so many heresies, and so great confusion is sprung up, and grown in the flock of Peter, and the fold of our Lord.

"Many princes, kings, and prelates, have greatly laboured and travailed for the rooting out hereof; but yet could they never bring to pass or finish that most wholesome and necessary work. Wherefore, most Christian king, this most glorious and triumphant victory hath tarried only for thee, the crown and glory thereof shall be thine for ever, and this most happy victory shall be continually celebrate to thy great honour and praise, that thou hast restored again the church which was so spoiled, thou hast removed and put away all inveterate and over-grown schisms and divisions, thou hast trodden down users of simony, and rooted out all heretics. Dost thou not behold and see how great, perpetual, and famous renown and glory it will be unto thee? For what can be more just, what more holy, what better, what more to be desired, or finally, what can be more acceptable, than to root out this wicked and abominable schism, to restore the church again unto her ancient liberty, to extinguish and put away all simony, and to condemn and destroy all errors and heresies from amongst the flock of the faithful? Nothing, truly, can be better, nothing more holy, nothing more profitable for the whole world, and finally, nothing more acceptable unto God: for the performance of which most holy and godly work, thou wast elect and chosen of God; thou wast first deputed and chosen in heaven, before thou wast elect and chosen upon earth. Thou wast first appointed by the celestial and heavenly Prince, before the electors of the empire did elect or choose thee, and specially, that by the imperial force and power, thou shouldst condemn and destroy those errors and heresies, which we have presently in hand to be condemned and subverted. To the performance of this most holy work, God hath given unto thee the knowledge and understanding of his Divine truth and verity, power of princely majesty, and the just judgment of equity

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and righteousness, as the Most Highest himself doth say; I have given thee understanding and wisdom, to speak and utter my words, and have set thee to rule over nations and kingdoms, that thou shouldst help the people, pluck down and destroy iniquity, and by exercising of justice thou shouldst, I say, destroy all heresies, and specially this obstinate heretic here present, through whose wickedness and mischief, many places of the world are infected with most pestilent and heretical poison, and by his means and occasion almost utterly subverted and destroyed. This most holy and godly labour, O most noble prince, was reserved only for thee, upon thee it doth only lie, unto whom the whole rule and ministration of justice is given; wherefore thou hast established thy praise and renown, even by the mouths of infants and sucking babes, for thy praises shall be celebrate for evermore, that thou hast destroyed and overthrown such and so great enemies of the faith. The which that thou mayst prosperously and happily perform, and bring to pass, our Lord Jesus vouchsafe to grant thee his grace and help, who is blessed for ever and ever. Amen."

When this sermon was thus ended, the proctor of the council rising up, named Henricus de Piro, required that the process of the cause against John Huss might be continued, and that they might proceed unto the definitive sentence. Then a certain bishop, which was appointed one of the judges, declared the process of the cause, which was pleaded long since in the court of Rome and elsewhere, between John Huss and the prelates of Prague.

At the last he repeated those articles which we have before remembered, amongst the which he rehearsed also one article, that John Huss should teach the two natures of the Godhead and manhood to be one Christ. John Huss went about briefly with a word or two to answer unto every of them; but as often as he was about to speak, the cardinal of Cambray commanded him to hold his peace, saying, "Hereafter you shall answer to all together, if you will." Then said John Huss, "How can I at once answer unto all those things which are alleged against me, when I cannot remember them all?" Then said the cardinal of Florence, "We have heard thee sufficiently." But when John Huss for all that would not hold his peace, they sent the officers which should force him thereunto. Then began he to entreat, pray, and beseech them, that they would hear him, that such as were present might not credit or believe those things to be true which were reported of him. But when all this would nothing prevail, he, kneeling down upon his knees, committed the whole matter unto God and the Lord Jesus Christ, for at their hands he believed easily to obtain that which he desired.

When the articles above-said were ended, last of all there was added a notable blasphemy, which they all imputed to John Huss; that is, that he said there should be a fourth person in Divinity, and that a certain doctor did hear him speak of the same. When John Huss desired that the doctor might be named, the bishop which had alleged the article said, that it was not needful to name him. Then said John Huss, O miserable and wretched man that I am, which am forced and compelled to bear such a blasphemy and slander.

Afterward the article was repeated, how he appealed unto Christ, and that by name was called heretical. Whereunto John Huss answered, "O Lord Jesus Christ, whose word is openly condemned here in this council, unto thee again I do appeal; which, when thou wast evil-entreated of thine enemies, didst appeal unto God thy Father, committing thy cause unto a most just Judge, that by thy example we also, being oppressed with manifest wrongs and injuries, should flee unto thee." Last of all the article was rehearsed, as touching the contempt of the excommunication by John

Huss, whereunto he answered as before, That he was excused by his advocates in the court of Rome, wherefore he did not appear when he was cited; and also that it may be proved by the acts, that the excommunication was not ratified; and, finally, to the intent he might clear himself of obstinacy, he was for that cause come unto Constance, under the emperor's safe-conduct. When he had spoken these words, one of them, which was appointed judge, read the definitive sentence against him, which followeth thus word for word.

"The most holy and sacred general council of Constance, being congregate and gathered together, representing the catholic church, for a perpetual memory of the thing, as the verity and truth doth witness, an evil tree bringeth forth evil fruit; hereupon it cometh, that the man of most damnable memory, John Wickliff, through his pestiferous doctrine, not through Jesus Christ by the gospel, as the holy fathers in times past have begotten faithful children; but, contrary unto the wholesome faith of Jesus Christ, as a most venomous root, hath begotten many pestilent and wicked children, whom he hath left behind him, successors and followers of his perverse and wicked doctrine, against whom this sacred synod of Constance is forced to rise up, as against bastards and unlawful children, and with diligent care, with the sharp knife of the ecclesiastical authority, to cut up their errors out of the Lord's field, as most hurtful brambles and briers, lest they should grow to the hurt and detriment of others.

"Forasmuch, then, as in the holy general council lately celebrated and holden at Rome, it was decreed, that the doctrine of John Wickliff, of most damnable memory, should be condemned, and that his books which contained the same doctrine should be burned as heretical, and this decree was approved and confirmed by the sacred authority of the whole council; nevertheless one John Huss, here personally present in this sacred council, not the disciple of Christ, but of John Wickliff, an arch-heretic, after, and contrary, or against the condemnation and decree, hath taught, preached, and affirmed the articles of Wickliff, which were condemned by the church of God, and, in times past, by certain most reverend fathers in Christ, lords, archbishops, and bishops, of divers kingdoms and realms, masters of divinity of divers universities; especially resisting in his open sermons, and also with his adherents and accomplices in the schools, the condemnation of the said articles of Wickliff's oftentimes published in the said university of Prague, and hath declared him, the said Wickliff, for the favour and commendation of his doctrine, before the whole multitude of the clergy and people, to be a catholic man, and a true evangelical doctor. He hath also published and affirmed certain and many of his articles, worthily condemned, to be catholic, the which are notoriously contained in the books of the said John Huss.

"Wherefore, after diligent deliberation and full information first had upon the premises by the reverend fathers and lords in Christ of the holy Church of Rome, cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, and other prelates, doctors of divinity, and of both laws, in great number assembled and gathered together, this most sacred and holy council of Constance declareth and determineth the articles above said (the which, after due conference had, are found in his books written with his own hand, the which also the said John Huss in open audience, before this holy council, hath confessed to be to his books) not to be catholic, neither worthy to be taught; but that many of them are erroneous, some of them wicked, other some offensive to godly ears, many of them temerarious and seditious, and the greater part of them notoriously heretical, and even now of late by the holy fathers and general councils reprov'd and condemned. And forasmuch as the said articles are expressly contained in the books

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of the said John Huss, therefore this said sacred council doth condemn and reprove all those books which he wrote, in what form or phrase soever they be, or whether they be translated by others, and doth determine and decree, that they all shall be solemnly and openly burned in the presence of the clergy and people of the city of Constance, and elsewhere; adding, moreover, for the premises, that all his doctrine is worthy to be despised and eschewed of all faithful Christians. And to the intent this most pernicious and wicked doctrine may be utterly excluded and shut out of the church, this sacred synod doth straitly command, that diligent inquisition be made by the ordinaries of the places, by the ecclesiastical censure, for such treatises and works, and that such as are found be consumed and burned with fire. And if there be any found, which shall contemn or despise this sentence or decree, this sacred synod ordaineth and decreeth that the ordinaries of the places, and the inquisitors of heresies, shall proceed against every such person as suspected of heresy.

"Wherefore, after due inquisition made against the said John Huss, and full information had by the commissaries and doctors of both laws, and also by the sayings of the witnesses which were worthy of credit, and many other things openly read before the said John Huss, and before the fathers and prelates of this sacred council, (by the which allegations of the witnesses, it appeareth that the said John Huss hath taught many evil and offensive, seditious, and perilous heresies, and hath preached the same by a long time,) this most sacred and holy synod, lawfully congregate and gathered together in the Holy Ghost, the name of Christ being invocated and called upon, by this their sentence which here is set forth in writing, determineth, pronounceth, declareth, and decreeth, that John Huss was and is a true and manifest heretic, and that he hath preached openly errors and heresies lately condemned by the church of God, and many other seditious, temerarious, and offensive things, to no small offence of the Divine Majesty, and of the universal church, and detriment of the catholic faith and church, neglecting and despising the keys of the church, and ecclesiastical censure. In the which his error he hath continued with a mind altogether indurate, and hardened by the space of many years, much offending the faithful Christians by his obstinacy and stubbornness, when he made his appeal unto the Lord Jesus Christ, as the most high Judge, omitting and leaving all ecclesiastical means. In the which his appeal he allegeth many false, injurious, and offensive matters, in contempt of the apostolic see, and the ecclesiastical censures and keys.

"Whereupon, both for the premises and many other things, the said synod pronounceth John Huss to be a heretic, and judgeth him by these presents to be condemned and judged as a heretic; and reproveth the said appeal as injurious, offensive, and done in derision unto the ecclesiastical jurisdiction; and judgeth the said Huss not only to have seduced the Christian people, by his writings and preachings, and especially in the kingdom of Bohemia, neither to have been a true preacher of the gospel of Christ unto the said people, according to the exposition of the holy doctors; but also to have been a seducer of them, and also an obstinate and stiff-necked person, yea, and such a one as doth not desire to return again to the lap of our holy mother the church, neither to abjure the errors and heresies which he hath openly preached and defended. Wherefore this most sacred council decreeth and declareth, that the said John Huss shall be famously deposed and degraded from his priestly orders and dignity," &c.

Whilst these things were thus read, John Huss, albeit he were forbidden to speak, notwithstanding did often interrupt them; and especially when he was reprov

of obstinacy, he said with a loud voice, I was never obstinate, but as always heretofore, even now again, I desire to be taught by the Holy Scriptures, and I do profess myself to be so desirous of the truth, that if I might by one only word subvert the errors of all heretics, I would not refuse to enter into what peril or danger soever it were. When his books were condemned, he said, "Wherefore have you condemned those books, when you have not proved by any one article, that they are contrary to the Scriptures, or articles of faith? And moreover, what injury is this that you do to me, that you have condemned these books written in the Bohemian tongue, which you never saw, neither yet read?" And oftentimes, looking up unto heaven, he prayed.

When the sentence and judgment was ended, kneeling down upon his knees, he said, "Lord Jesus Christ, forgive mine enemies, by whom thou knowest that I am falsely accused, and that they have used false witness and slanders against me; forgive them, I say, for thy great mercies' sake." This his prayer and oration, the greater part, and especially the chief of the priests, did deride and mock.

At the last, the seven bishops which were chosen out to degrade him of his priesthood, commanded him to put on the garments pertaining unto priesthood, which thing when he had done, until he came to the putting on of the albe, he called to his remembrance the white vesture which Herod put upon Jesus Christ, to mock him withal. So, likewise, in all other things he did comfort himself by the example of Christ. When he had now put on all his priestly vestures, the bishops exhorted him that he should yet alter and change his mind and purpose, and provide for his honour and safeguard. Then he, (according as the manner of the ceremony is,) going up to the top of the scaffold, being full of tears, spake unto the people in this sort:

"These lords and bishops do exhort and counsel me, that I should here confess before you all that I have erred; the which thing to do, if it were such as might be done with the infamy and reproach of man only, they might peradventure easily persuade me thereunto; but now truly I am in the sight of the Lord my God, without whose great ignominy, and grudge of mine own conscience, I can by no means do that which they require of me. For I do well know, that I never taught any of those things which they have falsely alleged against me, but I have always preached, taught, written, and thought contrary thereunto. With what countenance then should I behold the heavens? with what face should I look upon them whom I have taught, whereof there is a great number, if through me it should come to pass that those things which they have hitherto known to be most certain and sure, should now be made uncertain? Should I by this my example astonish or trouble so many souls, so many consciences, endued with the most firm and certain knowledge of the Scriptures and gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ and his most pure doctrine, armed against all the assaults of Satan? I will never do it, neither commit any such kind of offence, that I should seem more to esteem this vile carcass, appointed unto death, than their health and salvation." At this most godly word he was forced again to hear, by the consent of the bishops, that he did obstinately and maliciously persevere in his pernicious and wicked errors.

Then he was commanded to come down to the execution of his judgment, and in his coming down, one of the seven bishops before rehearsed, first took away the chalice from him which he held in his hand, saying, "O cursed Judas, why hast thou forsaken the counsel and ways of peace, and hast counselled with the Jews? we take away from thee this chalice of thy salvation." But John Huss received this curse in this manner: "But I trust unto God the Father omnipotent, and my Lord Jesus Christ, for whose sake I do suffer these things, that he will not take away the chalice of his

redemption, but have a stedfast and firm hope that this day I shall drink thereof in his kingdom." Then followed the other bishops in order, which every one of them took away the vestments from him which they had put on, each one of them giving him their curse. Whereunto John Huss answered, that he did willingly embrace and hear those blasphemies for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. At the last they came to the rasing of his shaven crown. But before the bishops would go in hand with it, there was a great contention between them, with what instrument it shoule be done, with a razor, or with a pair of shears.

In the mean season, John Huss, turning himsel towards the emperor, said, "I marvel that, foras much as they be all of like cruel mind and stomach yet they cannot agree upon their kind of cruelty.' Notwithstanding, at the last they agreed to cut of the skin of the crown of his head with a pair of shears. And when they had done that, they added these words, "Now hath the church taken away all her ornaments and privileges from him. Now there resteth nothing else, but that he be delivered over unto the secular power." But before they did that, there yet remained another knack of reproach; for they caused to be made a certain crown of paper; almost a cubit deep, in the which were painted three devils of wonderful ugly shape, and this title set over their heads, Heresiarcha. The which when he saw, he said, "My Lord Jesus Christ for my sake did wear a crown of thorns; why should not I then for his sake again wear this light crown, be it never so ignominious? Truly I will do it, and that willingly." When it was set upon his head, the bishops said, "Now we commit thy soul unto the devil." "But I," said John Huss, (lifting up his eyes towards the heavens,) "do commit my spirit into thy hands. O Lord Jesus Christ, unto thee I commend my spirit which thou hast redeemed." These contumelious opprobries thus ended, the bishops, turning themselves towards the emperor, said, "This most sacred synod of Constance leaveth now John Huss, which hath no more any office, or to do in the church of God, unto the civil judgment and power." Then the emperor commanded Ludovicus duke of Bavaria, which stood before him in his robes, holding the golden apple with the cross in his hand, that he should receive John Huss of the bishops, and deliver him unto them which should do the execution. By whom, as he was led to the place of execution, before the church doors he saw his books burning, whereat he smiled and laughed. And all men that he passed by, he exhorted not to think that he should die for any error or heresy, but only for the hatred and ill-will of his adversaries, which had charged him with most false and unjust crimes. All the whole city in manner being in armour, followed him.



The Execution of John Huss

The place appointed for the execution was before the gate Gotlebian, between the gardens and the gates of the suburbs. When John Huss was come thither, kneeling down upon his knees, and lifting his eyes up unto heaven, he prayed, and said certain psalms, and especially the 50th and 31st psalms. And they which stood hard by, heard him oftentimes in his prayer, with a merry and cheerful countenance, repeat this verse, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit," &c. Which thing when the lay-people beheld which stood next unto him, they said, What he hath done before we know not, but now we see and hear that he doth speak and pray very devoutly and godly. Other some wished that he had a confessor. There was a certain priest by, sitting on horseback, in a green gown, drawn about with red silk, which said, he ought not to be heard, because he is a heretic. Yet, notwithstanding, whilst he was in prison, he was both confessed, and also absolved by a certain doctor, a monk, as Huss himself doth witness in a certain epistle which he wrote unto his friends out of prison. Thus Christ reigneth unknown unto the world, even in the midst of his enemies. In the mean time whilst he prayed, as he bowed his neck backward to look upward unto heaven, the crown of paper fell off from his head upon the ground. Then one of the soldiers taking it up again, said, "Let us put it again upon his head, that he may be burned with his masters the devils, whom he hath served."

When, by the commandment of the tormentors, he was risen up from the place of his prayer, with a loud voice he said, "Lord Jesus Christ, assist and help me, that with a constant and patient mind, by thy most gracious help, I may bear and suffer this cruel and ignominious death, whereunto I am condemned for the preaching of thy most holy gospel and word." Then, as before, he declared the cause of his death unto the people. In the mean season the hangman stripped him of his garments, and, turning his hands behind his back, tied him fast unto the stake with ropes that were made wet. And whereas by chance he was turned towards the east, certain cried out that he should not look towards the east, for he was a heretic: so he was turned towards the west. Then was his neck tied with a chain unto the stake, the which chain

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when he beheld, smiling, he said, that he would willingly receive the same chain for Jesus Christ's sake, who, he knew, was bound with a far worse chain. Under his feet they set two faggots, admixing straw withal, and so likewise from the feet up to the chin he was enclosed in round about with wood. But before the wood was set on fire, Ludovicus, duke of Bavaria, with another gentleman with him, which was the son of Clement, came and exhorted John Huss, that he would yet be mindful of his safeguard, and renounce his errors. To whom he said, "What error should I renounce, when I know myself guilty of none? For as for those things which are falsely alleged against me, I know that I never did so much as once think them, much less preach them. For this was the principal end and purpose of my doctrine, that I might teach all men penance and remission of sins, according to the verity of the gospel of Jesus Christ, and the exposition of the holy doctors; wherefore with a cheerful mind and courage I am here ready to suffer death." When he had spoken these words, they left him, and shaking hands together, they departed.

Then was the fire kindled, and John Huss began to sing with a loud voice, "Jesus Christ, the Son of the living God, have mercy upon me." And when he began to say the same the third time, the wind drove the flame so upon his face, that it choked him. Yet, notwithstanding, he moved a while after, by the space that a man might almost say three times the Lord's prayer. When all the wood was burned and consumed, the upper part of the body was left hanging in the chain, the which they threw down stake and all, and making a new fire, burned it, the head being first cut in small gobbets, that it might the sooner be consumed unto ashes. The heart, which was found amongst the bowels, being well beaten with staves and clubs, was at last pricked upon a sharp stick, and roasted at a fire apart until it was consumed. Then with great diligence gathering the ashes together, they cast them into the river Rhine, that the least remnant of the ashes of that man should not be left upon the earth, whose memory, notwithstanding, cannot be abolished out of the minds of the godly, neither by fire, neither by water, neither by any kind of torment.

I know very well that these things are very slenderly written of me, as touching the labours of this most holy martyr John Huss, with whom the labours of Hercules are not to be compared; for that ancient Hercules slew a few monsters, but this our Hercules, with a most stout and valiant courage, hath subdued even the world itself, the mother of all monsters and cruel beasts. This story were worthy some other kind of most curious handling; but forasmuch as I cannot otherwise perform it myself, I have endeavoured according to the very truth, as the thing was indeed, to commend the same unto all godly minds; neither have I heard it reported by others, but I myself was present at the doing of all these things, and, as I was able, I have put them in writing, that by this my labour and endeavour, howsoever it were, I might preserve the memory of this holy man and excellent doctor of the evangelical truth.

What was the name of this author which wrote this story it is not here expressed. Cochleus, in his second book, *Contra Hussitas*, supposeth his name to be Johannes Pizibram, a Bohemian. Who afterward succeeding in the place of John Huss at Prague, at last is thought to relent to the papists.

106. Certain Letters relating to the Case of John Huss

How grievously this death of John Huss was taken among the nobles of Bohemia and of Moravia, hereafter (Christ willing) shall appear by their letters which they sent unto the council, and by the letters of Sigismund, the king of Romans, written unto them; wherein he laboureth, all that he can, to purge and excuse himself of Huss's death. Albeit he was not altogether free from that cruel fact, and innocent from that blood; yet, notwithstanding, he pretendeth in words so to wipe away that blot from him, that the greatest part of that crime seemeth to rest upon the bloody prelates of that council, as the words of the king do purport in form as followeth:

"In the mean time as we were about the coasts of Rhine, John Huss went to Constance, and there was arrested, as it is not to you unknown; who if he had first resorted unto us, and had gone with us up to the council, perhaps it had been otherwise with him; and God knoweth what grief and sorrow it was to our heart, to see it so to fall out, as with no words can be well expressed. Whereof all the Bohemians, which were there present, can bear us witness, seeing and beholding how careful and solicitous we were in labouring for him: insomuch that we many times with anger and fury departed out of the council; and not only out of the council, but also went out of the city of Constance taking his part, unto such time as the rulers of the council, sending unto us, said, that if we would not permit them to prosecute that which right required in the council, what should they then do in the place? Whereupon thus we thought with ourselves, that here was nothing else for us more to do, nor yet to speak in this case, forasmuch as the whole council otherwise had been dissolved. Where is to be noted, moreover, that in Constance the same time there was not one clerk, or two, but there were ambassadors from all kings and princes in Christendom, especially, since the time that (Petrus de Luna giving over) all those kings and princes which took his part, came to us; so that whatsoever good was to be done, it was now to be passed in this present council," &c. Ex Regist. Imp. Sigismund. ad Nobiles, &c.

By this it may appear that the emperor, as partly ashamed and sorry of that which was, would gladly have cleared himself thereof, and have washed his hands with Pilate; yet he could not so clear himself, but that a great portion of that murder remained in him to be noted, and well worthy of reprehension, as may appear by his last words spoken in the council to John Huss, whereof John Huss, in his epistles, complaineth, writing to certain of his friends in Bohemia, in his 33rd epistle, as by his words here following may appear:

"I desire you yet again, for the love of God, that the lords of Bohemia, joining together, will desire the king for a final audience to be given me. Forasmuch as he alone said to me in the council, that they should give me audience shortly, and that I should answer for myself briefly in writing; it will be to his great confusion, if he shall not perform that which he hath spoken. But I fear that word of his will be as firm and sure as the other was concerning my safe-conduct granted by him. Certain there were in Bohemia, which willed me to beware of his safe-conduct; and other said, "He will surely give you to your enemies;" and the Lord Mikest Dwakie told me, before Master Jessenitz, saying, "Master, know it for certain you shall be condemned." And this I suppose he spake, knowing before the intention of the king. I hoped well that he had

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been well affected toward the law of God and the truth, and had therein good intelligence; now I conceive that he is not greatly skilful, nor so prudently circumspect in himself. He condemned me before mine enemies did, who, if it had pleased him, might have kept the moderation of Pilate, the Gentile, which said, I find no cause in this man; or, at least, if he had said but thus, Behold, I have given him his safe-conduct safely to return, and if he will not abide the decision of the council, I will send him home to the king of Bohemia with your sentence and attestations, that he with his clergy may judge him. But now I hear, by the relation of Henry Leffi, and of others, that he will ordain for me sufficient audience, and if I will not submit myself to the judgment of the council, he will send me safe the contrary way," &c.

This John Huss, being in prison, wrote divers treatises, as of the Commandments, of the Lord's Prayer, of Mortal Sin, of Matrimony, of the Knowledge and Love of God, of Three Enemies of Mankind, the World, and Flesh, and the Devil; of Penance, of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of the Lord, of the Sufficiency of the Law of God to rule the Church, &c. He wrote also divers epistles and letters to the lords, and to his friends of Bohemia, and in his writings did foreshow many things before to come, touching the reformation of the church; and seemeth in the prison to have had divers propheticall revelations showed to him of God. Certain of which his letters and predictions I thought here underneath to insert, in such sort, as neither in reciting all I will overcharge the volume too much, nor yet in reciting of none will I be so brief, but that the reader may have some taste and take some profit of the Christian writings and doings of this blessed man; first beginning with the letter of the Lord Clum, concerning the safe-conduct of John Huss.

A letter of the Lord John de Clum, concerning the safe-conduct of John Huss.

"To all and singular that shall see and hear these presents, I, John de Clum, do it to understand how Master John Huss, bachelor of divinity, under the safe-conduct and protection of the renowned prince and lord, Sigismund of Romans, semper Augustus, and king of Hungary, &c., my gracious lord, and under the protection, defence, and safeguard of the holy empire of Rome, having the letters patent of the said my lord, king of Romans, &c., came unto Constance, to render full account of his faith, in public audience, to all that would require the same. This, the said Master John Huss, in this imperial city of Constance, under the safe-conduct of the said my lord, king of Romans, hath been and yet is detained. And although the pope, with the cardinals, have been seriously required by solemn ambassadors of the said my lord, king of Romans, &c., in the king's name and behalf, that the said Master John Huss should be set at liberty, and be restored unto me; yet, notwithstanding, they have, and yet do refuse hitherto to set him at liberty, to the great contempt and derogation of the safe-conduct of the king, and of the safeguard and protection of the empire, or imperial majesty. Wherefore I, John, aforesaid, in the name of the king, do here publish and make it known, that the apprehending and detaining of the said Master John Huss was done wholly against the will of the forenamed king of Romans, my lord, seeing it is done in the contempt of the safe-conduct of his subjects, and of the protection of the empire, because that the said my lord was then absent far from Constance, and if he had been there present, would never have permitted the same. And when he shall come, it is to be doubted of no man, but that he, for this great injury and contempt of this safe-conduct done to him and to the empire, will grievously be molested for the same.

"Given at Constance, in the day of the nativity of the Lord, 1414."

In this instrument above prefixed, note, gentle reader, three things.

First, the goodness of this gentle lord, John de Clum, being so fervent and zealous in the cause of John Huss, or rather in the cause of Christ.

Secondly, the safe-conduct granted unto the said John Huss, under the faith and protection of the emperor, and of the empire.

Thirdly, here is to be seen the contempt and rebellion of these proud prelates, in disobeying the authority of their high magistrate, who, contrary to his safe-conduct given, and the mind of the emperor, did arrest and imprison this good man, before the coming of the said emperor, and before that John Huss was heard. Let us now, as we have promised, adjoin some of the epistles of this godly man.

"Grace and peace from our Lord Jesus Christ, that you, being delivered from sin, may walk in his grace, and may grow in all modesty and virtue, and after this may enjoy eternal life.

"Dearly beloved, I beseech you, which walk after the law of God, that you cast not away the care of the salvation of your souls, when you, hearing the word of God, are premonished wisely to understand that you be not deceived by false apostles, which do not reprehend the sins of men, but rather do extenuate and diminish them; which flatter the priests, and do not show to the people their offences; which magnify themselves, boast their own works, and marvellously extol their own worthiness, but follow not Christ in his humility, in poverty, in the cross, and other manifold afflictions. Of whom our merciful Saviour did premonish us before, saying, False Christs and false prophets shall rise, and shall deceive many. And when he had forewarned his well-beloved disciples, he said unto them, Beware and take heed of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly are ravening wolves: ye shall know them by their fruits. And truth it is, that the faithful of Christ have much need diligently to beware and take heed unto themselves. For as our Saviour himself doth say, the elect also, if it were possible, shall be brought into error. Wherefore, my well-beloved, be circumspect and watchful, that ye be not circumvented with the crafty trains of the devil. And the more circumspect ye ought to be, for that antichrist laboureth the more to trouble you. The last judgment is near at hand; death shall swallow up many; but to the elect children of God, the kingdom of God draweth near, because for them he gave his own body. Fear not death; love together one another; persevere in understanding the good-will of God without ceasing. Let the terrible and horrible day of judgment be always before your eyes, that you sin not; and also the joy of eternal life, whereunto you must endeavour. Furthermore, let the passion of our Saviour be never out of your minds; that you may bear with him, and for him gladly, whatsoever shall be laid upon you. For if you shall consider well in your mind his cross and afflictions, nothing shall be grievous unto you, and patiently you shall give place to tribulations, cursings, rebukes, stripes, and imprisonment, and shall not doubt to give your lives moreover for his holy truth, if need require. Know ye, well-beloved, that antichrist, being stirred up against you, deviseth divers persecutions. And many he hath not hurt, no not the least hair of their heads, as by mine own example I can testify, although he hath been vehemently incensed against me. Wherefore, I desire you all, with your prayers to make intercession for me to the Lord, to give me intelligence, sufferance, patience, and constancy, that I never swerve from his Divine verity. He hath brought me now to Constance. In all my

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journey, openly and manifestly, I have not feared to utter my name as becometh the servant of God. In no place I kept myself secret, nor used any dissimulation. But never did I find in any place more pestilent and manifest enemies than at Constance. Which enemies neither should I have had there, had it not been for certain of our own Bohemians, hypocrites and deceivers, who for benefits received, and stirred up with covetousness, with boasting and bragging have persuaded the people that I went about to seduce them out of the right way; but I am in good hope, that through the mercy of our God, and by your prayers, I shall persist strongly in the immutable verity of God, unto the last breath. Finally, I would not have you ignorant, that whereas every one here is put in his office, I only as an outcast am neglected, &c. I commend you to the merciful Lord Jesus Christ, our true God, and the Son of the immaculate Virgin Mary, which hath redeemed us by his most bitter death, without all our merits, from eternal pains, from the thralldom of the devil, and from sin.

"From Constance, the year of our Lord 1415."

Another letter of John Huss, to his benefactors.

"My gracious benefactors and defenders of the truth, I exhort you by the bowels of Jesus Christ, that now ye, setting aside the vanities of this present world, will give your service to the eternal King, Christ the Lord. Trust not in princes, nor in the sons of men, in whom there is no health. For the sons of men are dissemblers and deceitful. To-day they are, to-morrow they perish, but God remaineth for ever. Who hath his servants, not for any need he hath of them, but for their own profit; unto whom he performeth that which he promiseth, and fulfilleth that which he purposeth to give. He casteth off no faithful servant from him, for he saith, Where I am, there also shall my servant be. And the Lord maketh every servant of his to be the lord of all his possession, giving himself unto him, and, with himself, all things; that without all tediousness, fear, and without all defect, he may possess all things, rejoicing with all saints in joy infinite. O happy is that servant, whom, when the Lord shall come, he shall find watching! Happy is the servant, which shall receive that King of glory with joy! Wherefore, well-beloved lords and benefactors, serve you that King in fear; which shall bring you, as I trust, now to Bohemia at this present by his grace in health, and hereafter, to eternal life of glory. Fare you well, for I think that this is the last letter that I shall write to you; who to-morrow, as I suppose, shall be purged in hope of Jesus Christ, through bitter death for my sins. The things that happened to me this night I am not able to write. Sigismund hath done all things with me deceitfully, God forgive him, and only for your sakes. You also heard the sentence which he awarded against me. I pray you have no suspicion of faithful Vitus."

Another letter to the Lord John de Clum.

"Most gracious benefactor in Christ Jesus, dearly beloved, yet I rejoice not a little, that, by the grace of God, I may write unto your honour. By your letter, which I received yesterday, I understand, first, how the iniquity of the great strumpet, that is, of the malignant congregation, (whereof mention is made in the Apocalypse,) is detected, and shall be more detected. With the which strumpet the kings of the earth do commit fornication, fornicating spiritually from Christ, and, as is there said, sliding back from the truth, and consenting to the lies of antichrist, through his seduction, and through fear, or through hope of confederacy, for getting of worldly honour.

Secondly, I perceived by your letter how the enemies of the truth begin now to be troubled. Thirdly, I perceived the settled constancy of your charity, wherewith you profess the truth bodily. Fourthly, with joy I perceived that you mind now to give over the vanity and painful service of this present world, and to serve the Lord Jesus Christ quietly at home. Whom to serve is to reign, as Gregory saith. Whom he that serveth faithfully, hath Jesus Christ himself in the kingdom of heaven to minister unto him, as he himself saith, Blessed is that servant, whom, when the Lord shall come, he shall find waking, and so doing. Verily I say unto you, that he rising shall gird himself, and shall minister to him. This do not the kings of the world to their servants; whom only they do love so long as they are profitable and necessary for their commodities," &c.

Another epistle of John Huss, wherein he declareth why God suffereth not his to perish, bringing divers examples, wherewith he doth comfort and confirm both himself and other.

"The Lord God be with you. Many causes there were, well-beloved in God, my dear friends, which moved me to think that those letters were the last, which before I sent unto you, looking that same time for instant death. But now, understanding the same to be deferred, I take it for great comfort unto me, that I have some leisure more to talk with you by letters? and therefore I write again to you, to declare and testify at least my gratitude and mindful duty toward you. And as touching death, God doth know why he doth defer it both to me, and to my well-beloved brother Master Jerome, who I trust will die holily and without blame; and do know also that he doth and suffereth now more valiantly than I myself, a wretched sinner., God hath given us a long time, that we might call to memory our sins the better, and repent for the same more fervently. He hath granted us time, that our long and great temptation should put away our grievous sins, and bring the more consolation. He hath given us time, wherein we should remember the horrible rebukes of our merciful King and Lord Jesus, and should ponder his cruel death, and so more patiently might learn to bear our afflictions. And, moreover, that we might keep in remembrance, how that the joys of the life to come are not given after the joys of this world immediately, but through many tribulations the saints have entered into the kingdom of heaven. For some of them have been cut and chopped all to pieces, some their eyes bored through, some sod, some roasted, some flayed alive, some buried quick, stoned, crucified, ground betwixt millstones, drawn and haled hither and thither unto execution, drowned in waters, strangled and hanged, torn in pieces, vexed with rebukes before their death, pined in prisons, and afflicted in bonds. And who is able to recite all the torments and sufferings of the holy saints, which they suffered under the Old and New Testament for the verity of God; namely, those which at any time rebuked the malice of the priests, or have preached against their wickedness? And it will be a marvel, if any man now also shall escape unpunished, whosoever dare boldly resist the wickedness and perversity, especially of those priests, which can abide no correction. And I am glad that they are compelled now to read my books, in the which their malice is somewhat described; and I know they have read the same more exactly and willingly, than the holy gospel, seeking therein to find out errors. Given at Constance upon Thursday, the 28th day of June, A. D. 1415."

Another letter of John Huss, wherein he rehearseth what injuries he received of the council, and of the deputies.

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"If my letter be not yet sent to Bohemia, keep it and send it not, for hurt may come thereof, &c.

"Item, If the king do ask, who ought to be my judge, since that the council neither did call me, nor did cite me, neither was I ever accused before the council, and yet the council hath imprisoned me, and hath appointed their proctor against me.

"Item, I desire you, right noble and gracious Lord John, if audience shall be given me, that the king will be there present himself, and that I may have a place appointed near unto him, that he may hear me well, and understand what I say; and that you also, with Lord Henry, and with Lord Wencelate and other more, if you may, will be present, and hear what the Lord Jesus Christ, my procurator and advocate, and most gracious judge, will put in my mouth to speak; that whether I live or die, you may be true and upright witnesses with me, lest lying lips shall say hereafter that I swerved away from the truth which I have preached.

"Item, Know you that before witnesses and notaries in prison, I desired the commissioners that they would depute unto me a proctor and an advocate, who promised so to do, and afterward would not perform it. Wherefore I have committed myself to the Lord Jesus Chrst, that he will be my procurator and advocate, and judge of my cause.

"Item, Know you, that they have, as I suppose, no other quarrel against me, but only this, that I stood against the pope's bull, which Pope John sent down to Bohemia, to sanctify war with the sign of the cross and full remission of sins, to all them which would take the holy cross, to fight for the patrimony of the Romish Church against Ladislaus king of Naples, and they have mine own writing which was read against me, and I do acknowledge it to be mine. Secondly, they have also against me, that I have continued so long in excommunication, and yet did take upon me to minister in the church and say mass. Thirdly, they have against me, because I did appeal from the pope to Christ; for they read my appeal before me, the which, with a willing mind, smiling, I confessed before them all to be mine. Fourthly, because I left a certain letter behind me, which was read in the church of Bethlehem, the which letter my adversaries have very evil-favouredly translated, and sinisterly expounded, in the which I did write that I went out with a safe-conduct. Whereunto you yourselves can say and bear me record, that I in my going out had no safe-conduct of the pope, neither yet did I know whether you should go out with me when I wrote that letter.

"Item, If audience may be given to me, and that after the same audience the king would suffer me not to be returned again into prison, but that I may have your counsels and others my friends; and if it may please God that I may say something to my sovereign lord the king, for the behalf of Christianity, and for his own profit," &c.

Another letter of John Huss, wherein he confirmeth the Bohemians, and describeth the wickedness of that council.

"John Huss, in hope the servant of God, to all the faithful in Bohemia which love the Lord, greeting, through the grace of God. It cometh in my mind, wherein I must needs admonish you that be the faithful and beloved of the Lord, how that the council of Constance, being full of pride, avarice, and all abomination, hath condemned my books written in the Bohemian tongue for heretical, which books they never saw, nor ever heard them read. And if they had heard them, yet could they not

unstand the same, being some Italians, some Frenchmen, some Britons, some Spaniards, Germans, with other people of other nations more; unless, peradventure, John, bishop of Litomysl, understood them, which was present in that council, and certain other Bohemians and priests which are against me, and labour all they may how to deprave both the verity of God, and the honesty of our country of Bohemia; which I judge, in the hope of God, to be a godly land, right well given to the true knowledge of the faith, for that it doth so greatly desire the word of God, and honest manners. And if you were here at Constance, ye should see the grievous abomination of this council, which they call so holy, and such as cannot err. Of the which council I have heard it by the Switzers reported, that the city of Constance is not able in thirty years to be purged of those abominations in that council committed. And all be offended almost with that council, being sore grieved to behold such execrable things perpetrated in the same.

"When I stood first to answer before mine adversaries, seeing all things there done with no order, and hearing them also outrageously crying out, I said plainly unto them, that I looked for more honest behaviour, and better order and discipline in that council. Then the chief cardinal answered, 'Sayest thou so? But in the Tower thou spakest more modestly.' To whom said I, 'In the Tower no man cried out against me, whereas now all do rage against me.' My faithful and beloved in Christ, be not afraid with their sentence in condemning my books. They shall be scattered hither and thither abroad, like light butterflies, and their statutes shall endure as spiders' webs. They went about to shake my constancy from the verity of Christ; but they could not overcome the virtue of God in me. They would not reason with the Scriptures against me, as divers honourable lords can witness with me, which being ready to suffer contumely for the truth of God, took my part stoutly; namely, Lord Wencelate de Duba, and Lord John de Clum; for they were let in by King Sigismund into the council. And when I said, that I was desirous to be instructed, if I did in any thing err; then they heard the chief cardinal answer again, Because thou wouldst be informed, there is no remedy but that thou must first revoke thy doctrine, according to the determination of fifty bachelors of divinity appointed.' O high instruction!

"After like manner St. Katherine also should have denied and revoked the verity of God and faith in Christ, because the fifty masters likewise did withstand her; which, notwithstanding, that good virgin would never do, standing in her faith unto death: but she did win those her masters unto Christ, when I cannot win these my masters by any means. These things I thought good to write unto you, that you might know how they have overcome me, with no grounded Scripture, nor with any reason; but only did essay with terrors and deceits to persuade me to revoke and to abjure. But our merciful God, whose law I have magnified, was and is with me, and I trust, so will continue, and will keep me in his grace unto death. Written at Constance after the feast of John Baptist, in prison and in bonds, daily looking for death; although, for the secret judgments of God, I dare not say whether this be my last epistle; for now also Almighty God is able to deliver me."

Another letter of John Huss, wherein he comforteth his friends, and willeth them not to be troubled for the condemning of his books; and also declareth the wickedness of the clergy.

"Master John Huss, in hope the servant of God, to all the faithful which love him and his statutes, wisheth the truth and grace of God.

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"Beloved, I thought it needful to warn that you should not fear or be discouraged because the adversaries have decreed that my books shall be burnt. Remember how the Israelites burned the preachings of the prophet Jeremiah, and yet they could not avoid the things that were prophesied of in them. For after they were burnt, the Lord commanded to write the same prophecy again, and that larger; which was also done. For Jeremiah sitting in prison spake, and Baruch which was ready at his hand wrote. This is written either in the thirty-fifth or forty-fifth chapter of the vision of Jeremiah. It is also written in the books of the Maccabees, that the wicked did burn the law of God, and killed them that had the same. Again, under the New Testament, they burned the saints, with the books of the law of God. The cardinals condemned and committed to fire certain of St. Gregory's books, and had burnt them all if they had not been preserved of God by the means of Peter, Gregory's minister. Having these things before your eyes, take heed lest through fear you omit to read my books, and deliver them to the adversaries to be burnt. Remember the sayings of our merciful Saviour, by which he forewarneth us, Matthew xxiv., There shall be (saith he) before the day of judgment great tribulation, such as was not from the beginning until this day, neither shall be afterwards: so that even the elect of God should be deceived, if it were possible. But for their sakes those days shall be shortened. When you remember these things (beloved) be not afraid, for I trust in God that that school of antichrist shall be afraid of you, and suffer you to be inquiet, neither shall the council of Constance extend to Bohemia. For I think, that many of them which are of the council shall die before they shall get from you my books. And they shall depart from the council and be scattered abroad, throughout the parts of the world, like storks, and then they shall know when winter cometh what they did in summer. Consider that they have judged their head, the pope, worthy of death, for many horrible facts that he hath done. Go to now; answer to this, you preachers, which preach that the pope is the god of the earth; that he may, as the lawyers say, make sale of the holy things; that he is the head of the whole church in verity well governing the same; that he is the heart of the church in quickening the same spiritually; that he is the well-spring from which floweth all virtue and goodness; that he is the sun of the holy church; that he is the safe refuge to which every Christian man ought to fly for succour. Behold, now that head is cut off with the sword, now the god of the earth is bound, now his sins are declared openly, now that well-spring is dried up, that sun darkened, that heart is plucked out and thrown away, lest that any man should seek succour thereat. The council hath condemned that head, and that for this offence, because he took money for indulgences, bishoprics, and other such like. But they condemned him by order of judgment which were themselves the buyers and sellers of the same merchandise. There was present John, bishop of Lytomysl, who went twice about to buy the bishopric of Prague, but others prevented him. O wicked men, why did they not first cast out the beam out of their own eyes? These men have accursed and condemned the seller, but they themselves, which were the buyers and consenters to the bargain, are without danger. What shall I say, that they do use this manner of buying and selling at home in their own countries? For at Constance there is one bishop that bought, and another which sold, and the pope, for allowing of both their facts, took bribes on both sides. It came so to pass in Bohemia also, as you know. I would that in that council God had said, He that amongst you is without sin, let him give the sentence against Pope John; then surely they had gone all out of the council house, one after another. Why did they bow the knee to him always, before this his fall, kiss his feet, and call him the most holy father. seeing they saw apparently before that he was a heretic, that he was a man-killer, that he was a wicked snner, all which things now they have

found in him? Why did the cardinals choose him to be pope. knowing before that he had killed the holy father? Why suffered they him to meddle with holy things, in bearing the office of the popedom? for to this end they are his counsellors, that they should admonish him of that which is right. Are not they themselves as guilty of these faults as he, seeing that they accounted these things vices in him, and were partakers of some of them themselves? Why durst no man lay aught to his charge before he had fled from Constance, but as soon as the secular power, by the sufferance of God, laid hold upon him, then, and never before, they conspired all together that he should not live any longer? Surely, even at this day, is the malice, the abomination, and filthiness of antichrist revealed in the pope and others of this council.

"Now the faithful servants of God may understand what our Saviour Christ meant by this saying, When you shall see the abomination of desolation, which is spoken of by Daniel, &c.; whoso can understand it, &c. Surely these be great abominations, pride, covetousness, simony, sitting in a solitary place, that is to say, in a dignity void of goodness, of humility, and other virtues; as we do now clearly see in those that are constituted in any office and dignity. Oh how acceptable a thing should it be, if time would suffer me, to disclose their wicked acts, which are now apparent, that the faithful servants of God might know them! I trust in God that he will send after me those that shall be more valiant, and there are alive at this day, that shall make more manifest the malice of antichrist, and shall give their lives to the death for the truth of our Lord Jesus Christ, who shall give both to you and me the joys of life everlasting. This epistle was written upon St. John Baptist's day, in prison, and in cold irons, I having this meditation with myself, that John was beheaded in his prison and bonds, for the word of God."

Another letter of John Huss.

"John Huss, in hope the servant of God, to all the faithful at Bohemia, which love the Lord, wisheth to stand and die in the grace of God, and at last to attain unto eternal life.

"Ye that bear rule over others and be rich, and ye also that be poor, well-beloved and faithful in God, I beseech you, and admonish you all, that ye will be obedient unto God, make much of his word, and, gladly hearing the same, will humbly perform that which ye hear. I beseech you, stick fast to the verity of God's word, which I have written and preached unto you out of his law, and the sermons of his saints. Also I desire you, if any man, either in public sermon or in private talk, heard of me any thing, or have read any thing written by me, which is against the verity of God, that he do not follow the same. Albeit I do not find my conscience guilty that I ever have spoken or written any such thing amongst you.

I desire you, moreover, if any man at any time have noted any levity either in my talk or in my conditions, that he do not follow the same, but pray to God for me, to pardon me that sin of lightness. I pray you that ye will love your priests and ministers, which be of honest behaviour, to prefer and honour them before others; namely, such priests as travail in the word of God. I pray you, take heed to yourselves, and beware of malicious and deceitful men, and especially of these wicked priests of whom our Saviour doth speak, that they are under sheep's clothing, and inwardly are ravening wolves. I pray such as be rulers and superiors, to behave themselves gently towards their poor inferiors, and to rule them justly. I beseech the citizens, that they

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will walk every man in his degree and vocation with an upright conscience. The artificers also I beseech, that they will exercise their occupations diligently, and use them with the fear of God. I beseech the servants, that they will serve their masters faithfully. And likewise the schoolmasters I beseech, that they, living honestly, will bring up their scholars virtuously, and teach them faithfully, first to learn to fear God; then for the glory of God and the public utility of the commonwealth, and their own health, and not for avarice or for worldly honour, to employ their minds to honest arts. I beseech the students of the university and all schools, in all honest things to obey their masters, and to follow them, and that with all diligence they will study to be profitable both to the setting forth of the glory of God, and to the soul's health, as well of themselves, as of other men. Together I beseech and pray you all, that you will yield most hearty thanks to the right honourable lords, the Lord Wencelate de Duba, Lord John de Clum, Lord Henry Lumlovio, Lord Vilem Zagecio, Lord Nicholas, and other lords of Bohemia, of Moravia, and Poland; that their diligence towards me may be grateful to all good men; because that they, like valiant champions of God's truth, have oftentimes set themselves against the whole council for my deliverance, contending and standing against the same to the uttermost of their power;; but especially Lord Wencelate de Duba, and Lord John de Clum.

Whatsoever they shall report unto you, give credit unto them, for they were in the council when I there answered many. They know who they were of Bohemia, and how many false and slanderous things they brought in against me, and that council cried out against me, and how I also answered to all things whereof I was demanded. I beseech you also, that you will pray for the king of Romans, and for your king, and for his wife your queen, that God of his mercy would abide with them and with you, both now and henceforth in everlasting life. Amen.

"This epistle I have written to you out of prison and in bonds, looking the next day after the writing hereof for the sentence of the council upon my death; having a full trust that He will not leave me, neither suffer me to deny his truth and to revoke the errors, which false witnesses maliciously have devised against me. How mercifully the Lord God hath dealt with me, and was with me in marvellous temptations, ye shall know when hereafter by the help of Christ we shall all meet together in the joy of the world to come. As concerning Master Jerome, my dearly beloved brother and fellow, I hear no other but that he is remaining in strait bonds, looking for death as I do; and that for the faith which he valiantly maintained amongst the Bohemians, our cruel enemies of Bohemia have given us into the power and hands of other enemies, and into bonds. I beseech you, pray to God for them.

"Moreover, I beseech you, namely you of Prague, that ye will love the temple of Bethlehem, and provide so long as God shall permit, that the word of God may be preached in the same. For, because of that place the devil is angry, and against the same place he hath stirred up priests and canons, perceiving that in that place his kingdom should be disturbed and diminished. I trust in God that he will keep that holy church so long as it shall please him, and in the same shall give greater increase of his word by other, than he hath done by me a weak vessel. I beseech you also, that ye will love one another, and, withholding no man from the hearing of God's word, ye will provide and take care that good men be not oppressed by any force and violence. Written at Constance, the year of Lord 1415."

Another right godly letter of John Huss to a certain priest, admonishing him of his office, and exhorting him to be faithful; worthy to be read of all ministers.

"The peace of our Lord Jesus Christ, &c. My dear brother, be diligent in preaching the gospel, and do the work of a good evangelist; neglect not your vocation; labour like a blessed soldier of Christ. First, live godly and holily. Secondly, teach faithfully and truly. Thirdly, be an example to others in well doing, that you be not reprehended in your sayings; correct vice and set forth virtue. To evil livers threaten eternal punishment; but to those that be faithful and godly, set forth the comforts of eternal joy. Preach continually, but be short and fruitful, prudently understanding and discreetly dispensing the Holy Scriptures. Never affirm or maintain those things that be uncertain and doubtful, lest that your adversaries take hold upon you, which rejoice in depraving their brethren, whereby they may bring the ministers of God into contempt. Exhort men to the confession of their faith, and to the communion of both kinds, both of the body and blood of Christ, whereby such as do repent earnestly of their sins, may the more often come to the holy communion. And I warn you that you enter into no taverns with guests, and be not a common company-keeper. For the more a preacher keepeth him from the company of men, the more he is regarded. Albeit, deny not yet your help and diligence, wheresoever you may profit others. Against fleshly lust preach continually all that ever you can; for that is the raging beast, which devoureth men, for whom the flesh of Christ did suffer. Wherefore, my heartily beloved, I beseech you to fly fornication; for where a man would most profit and do good, there this vice useth most to lurk. In any case fly the company of young women, and believe not their devotion; for St. Austin saith, the more devout she is, the more proclive to wantonness; and under the pretence of religion the snare and venom of fornication lurketh. And this know, my well-beloved, that the conversation with them subverteth many, whom the conversation of this world could never blemish nor beguile. Admit no women into your house, for what cause soever it be, and have not much talk with them otherwise, for avoiding of offence. Finally, howsoever you do, fear God and keep his precepts; so shall you walk wisely, and shall not perish; so shall you subdue the flesh, condemn the world, and overcome the devil; so shall you put on God, find life, and confirm others, and shall crown yourself with the crown of glory, the which the just Judge shall give you. Amen."

This letter of John Huss containeth a confession of the infirmity of man's flesh, how weak it is, and repugnant against the spirit; wherein he also exhorteth to persevere constantly in the truth.

"Health be to you from Jesus Christ, &c. My dear friend, know that Paletz came to me to persuade me that I should not fear the shame of abjuration, but consider the good which thereof will come. To whom I said, that the shame of condemnation and burning is greater than to abjure; and why should I fear then that shame? But I pray you tell me plainly your mind; presuppose that such articles were laid to you, which you knew yourself not to be true, what would you do in that case? would you abjure? Who answered, The case is sore, and began to weep. Many other things he spake which I did reprehend. Michael de Causis was sometimes before in the prison with the deputies; and when I was with the deputies, thus I heard him speak unto the keepers, We, by the grace of God, will burn this heretic shortly, for whose cause I have spent many florins. But yet understand that I write not this to the intent to

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revenge me of him, for that I have committed to God, and pray to God for him with all my heart.

"Yet I exhort you again, to be circumspect about our letters; for Michael hath taken such order, that none shall be suffered to come into the prison; no, nor yet the keepers' wives are permitted to come to me. O holy God, how largely doth antichrist extend his power and cruelty! But I trust that his power shall be shortened, and his iniquity shall be detected more and more amongst the faithful people.

"Almighty God shall confirm the hearts of his faithful, whom he hath chosen before the constitution of the world, that they may receive the eternal crown of glory. And let antichrist rage so much as he will, yet he shall not prevail against Christ, which shall destroy him with the spirit of his mouth, as the apostle saith; and then shall the creature be delivered out of servitude of corruption, into the liberty of the glory of the sons of God, as saith the apostle in the words following: We also within ourselves do groan, waiting for the adoption of the sons of God, the redemption of our body.

"I am greatly comforted in those words of our Saviour, Happy be you when men shall hate you, and shall separate you, and shall rebuke you, and shall cast out your name as execrable, for the Son of man. Rejoice and be glad, for behold, great is your reward in heaven, Luke vi. O worthy, yea, O most worthy consolation, which not to understand, but to practise in time of tribulation, is a hard lesson!

"This rule St. James, with the other apostles, did well understand, which saith, Count it exceeding joy, my brethren, when ye shall fall into divers temptations, knowing that the probation of your faith worketh patience: let patience have her perfect work. For certainly it is a great matter for a man to rejoice in trouble, and to take it for joy to be in divers temptations. A light matter it is to speak it and to expound it, but a great matter to fulfil it. For why? our most patient and valiant champion himself, knowing that he should arise again the third day, overcoming his enemies by his death, and redeeming from damnation his elect, after his last supper was troubled in spirit, and said, My soul is heavy unto death. Of whom also the gospel saith, that he began to fear, to be sad and heavy; who being then in an agony, was confirmed of the angel, and his sweat was like the drops of blood falling upon the ground. And yet he notwithstanding, being so troubled, said to his disciples, Let not your hearts be troubled, neither fear the cruelty of them that persecute you, for you shall have me with you always, that you may overcome the tyranny of your persecutors. Whereupon those his soldiers, looking upon the Prince and King of glory, sustained great conflicts. They passed through fire and water, and were saved, and received the crown of the Lord God, of the which St. James, in his canonical Epistle, saith, Blessed is the man that suffereth temptation, for when he shall be proved, he shall receive the crown of life, which God hath promised to them that love him. Of this crown I trust stedfastly the Lord will make me partaker also with you, which be the fervent sealers of the truth, and with all them which stedfastly and constantly do love the Lord Jesus Christ, which suffered for us, leaving to us example that we should follow his steps. It behoved him to suffer, as he saith, and us also it behoved to suffer, that the members may suffer together with the Head. For he saith, If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me.

"O most merciful Christ, draw us weak creatures after thee, for except thou shouldst draw us, we are not able to follow thee. Give us a strong spirit, that it may be ready, and although the flesh be feeble, yet let thy grace go before us, go with us, and

follow us; for without thee we can do nothing, and much less enter into the cruel death, for thy sake. Give us that prompt and ready spirit, a bold heart, an upright faith, a firm hope, and perfect charity, that we may give our lives patiently and joyfully for thy name's sake. Amen. Written in prison and in bonds, in the Vigil of holy St. John the Baptist, who, being in prison and in bonds for the rebuking of wickedness, was beheaded."

Among divers other letters of John Huss, which he wrote to the great consolation of others, I thought also here to intermix another certain godly letter, written out of England, by a faithful scholar of Wickliff, as appeareth, unto John Huss and the Bohemians, which, for the zealous affection therein contained, seemeth not unworthy to be read.

A letter of a scholar of Wickliff to John Huss, and to the Bohemians, dated from London.

"Greeting, and whatsoever can be devised more sweet, in the bowels of Christ Jesus. My dearly beloved in the Lord, whom I love in the truth, and not I only, but also all they that have the knowledge of the truth, which abideth in you, and shall be with you through the grace of God for evermore. I rejoiced above measure, when our beloved brethren came, and gave testimony unto us of your truth, and how you walked in the truth. I have heard, brethren, how sharply antichrist persecuteth you, in vexing the faithful servants of Christ with divers and strange kinds of afflictions. And surely no marvel if amongst you (since it is so almost all the world over) the law of Christ be too grievously impugned, and that red dragon, having so many heads, (of whom it is spoken in the Apocalypse,) have now vomited out of his mouth that great flood, by which he goeth about to swallow up the woman; but the most gracious God will deliver for ever his only and most faithful spouse. Let us therefore comfort ourselves in the Lord our God, and in his unmeasurable goodness, hoping strongly in him, which will not suffer those that love him to be unmercifully defrauded of any their purpose, if we, according to our duty, shall love him with all our heart; for adversity should by no means prevail over us, if there were no iniquity reigning in us. Let, therefore, no tribulation or sorrow for Christ's cause discourage us, knowing this for a surety, that whomsoever the Lord vouchsafeth to receive to be his children, those he scourgeth; for so the merciful Father will have them tried in this miserable life by persecutions, that afterwards he may spare them. For the gold that this high Artificer hath chosen, he purgeth and trieth in this fire, that he may afterwards lay it up in his pure treasury. For we see that the time we shall abide here is short and transitory; the life which we hope for after this, is blessed and everlasting. Therefore, whilst we have time, let us take pain that we may enter into that rest. What other thing do we see in this brittle life, than sorrow, heaviness, and sadness, and, that which is most grievous of all to the faithful, too much abusing and contempt of the law of the Lord? Let us therefore endeavour ourselves, as much as we may, to lay hold of the things that are eternal and abiding, despising in our minds all transitory and frail things. Let us consider the holy fellowship of our fathers that have gone before us. Let us consider the saints of the Old and New Testaments. Did they not pass through this sea of tribulation and persecution? were not some of them cut in pieces, other some stoned, and other of them killed with the sword? some others of them went about in pelts and goats' skins, as the apostle to the Hebrews witnesseth. Surely they all walked straightways, following the steps of Christ, which said, He that ministereth unto me,

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let him follow me wheresoever I go, &c. Therefore let us also, which have so noble examples given us of the saints that went before us, laying away, as much as in us lieth, the heavy burden and the yoke of sin which compasseth us about, run forward through patience to the battle that is set before us, fixing our eyes upon the author of faith, and Jesus the finisher of the same; who, seeing the joy that was set before him, suffered the pains of the cross, despising death. Let us call upon him, which suffered such reproach against himself of sinners, that we be not wearied, fainting in our hearts, but that we may heartily pray for help of the Lord, and may fight against his adversary antichrist; that we may love his law, and not be deceitful labourers, but that we may deal faithfully in all things, according to that which God hath vouchsafed to give us, and that we may labour diligently in the Lord's cause, under hope of an everlasting reward. Behold, therefore, brother Huss, most dearly beloved in Christ, although in face unknown to me, yet not in faith and love, for distance of places cannot separate those whom the love of Christ doth effectually knit together, be comforted in the grace which is given unto thee, labour like a good soldier of Christ Jesus, preach, be instant in word and in example, and call as many as thou canst to the way of truth; for the truth of the gospel is not to be kept in silence, because of the frivolous censures and thunderbolts of antichrist. And therefore, to the uttermost of thy power, strengthen thou and confirm the members of Christ, which are weakened by the devil; and, if the Lord will vouchsafe it, antichrist shall shortly come to an end. And there is one thing wherein I do greatly rejoice, that in your realm, and in other places, God hath stirred up the hearts of some men that they can gladly suffer, for the word of God, imprisonment, banishment, and death.

"Further, beloved, I know not what to write unto you, but I confess that I could wish to pour out my whole heart, if thereby I might comfort you in the law of the Lord. Also I salute, from the bottom of my heart, all the faithful lovers of the law of the Lord, and especially Jacobellus, your coadjutor in the gospel, requiring that he will pray unto the Lord for me in the universal church of Jesus Christ. And the God of peace, which hath raised from the dead the Shepherd of the sheep, the mighty Lord Jesus Christ, make you apt in all goodness, to do his will, working in you that which may be pleasant in his sight. All your friends salute you which have heard of your constancy; I would desire also to see your letters written back to us, for know ye that they shall greatly comfort us.

"At London, by your servant, desiring to be fellow with you in your labours, Ricus Wichewitze, priest unworthy."

The consolation of Master Jerome to Master Huss.

"My master, in those things which you have both written hitherto, and also preached, after the law of God, against the pride, avarice, and other inordinate vices of the priests, go forward, be constant and strong. And if I shall know that you are oppressed in the cause, and if need shall so require, of mine own accord I will follow after to help you, as much as I can."

By the life, acts, and letters of John Huss, hitherto rehearsed, it is evident and plain that he was condemned not for any error of doctrine, which they could well prove in him, who neither denied their popish transubstantiation, neither spake against the authority of the Church of Rome if it were well governed, nor yet the seven sacraments, and also said mass himself, and almost in all their popish opinions was a

papist with them; but only of evil will was accused of his malicious adversaries, because he spake against the pomp, pride, and avarice, and other wicked enormities of the pope, cardinals, and prelates of the church, and because he could not abide the high dignities and livings of the church, and thought the doings of the pope to be antichrist-like. For this cause he procured so many enemies and false witnesses against him; who, straining and picking matter out of his books and writings, having no one just article of doctrine to lay unto him, yet they made him a heretic, whether he would or no, and brought him to his condemnation. This can hatred and malice do, where the charity of Christ hath no place. Which being so, as thy charity, good reader, may easily understand, in perusing the whole course of his story; I beseech thee then, what cause had John Cochleus to write his twelve books against John Huss and Hussites? In which books how bitterly and intemperately he misuseth his pen, by these few words in his second book thou mayst take a little taste; which words I thought here briefly to place in English, to the end that all Englishmen may judge thereby, with what spirit and truth these catholics be carried. His words be these: "I say, therefore, John Huss is neither to be counted holy nor blessed, but rather wicked and eternally wretched; insomuch that in the day of judgment, it shall be more easy, not only with the infidel pagans, Turks, Tartarians, and Jews, but also with the most sinful Sodomites, and the abominable Persians, which most filthily do lie with their daughters, sisters, or mothers; yea, and also with most impious Cain, killer of his own brother, with Thiestes, killer of his own mother, and the Lestrygones and other anthropophagi, which devour man's flesh; yea, more easy with those infamous murderers of infants, Pharaoh and Herod, than with him," &c. These be the words of Cochleus, whose railing books, although they deserve neither to be read nor answered, yet, if it please God, it were to be wished that the Lord would stir up some towardly young man, that hath so much leisure, to defend the simplicity of this John Huss, which cannot now answer for himself. In the mean time, something to satisfy or stay the reader's mind against this immoderate hyperbole of Cochleus, in like few words I will bring out John Huss to speak and to clear himself against this slander; whose words in his book I beseech the reader to note: "For in writing these things, I confess nothing else to have moved me hereunto, but only the love of our Lord Jesus crucified, whose prints and stripes, according to the measure of my weakness and vileness, I covet to bear in myself, beseeching him so to give me grace that I never seek to glory in myself or in any thing else, but only in his cross, and in the inestimable ignominy of his passion, which he suffered for me. And therefore, I write and speak these things, which, I do not doubt, will like all such as unfeignedly do love the Lord Christ crucified; and contrary, will mislike not a little all such as be of antichrist. Also again, I confess before the most merciful Lord Jesus Christ crucified, that these things which I do now write, and those that I have written before, neither I could have written, nor knew how, nor durst so have written, unless he by his inward unction had so commanded me. Neither yet do I write these things as of authority, to get me fame and name. For as St. Augustine and Jerome do say, that is only to be given to the Scriptures and writings of the apostles, evangelists, and prophets, and to the canonical Scriptures, which do abound in the fulness of the Spirit of Jesus. And whatsoever is there said, is full of verity and wholesome utility," &c. And here place also would require something to say to Æneas Sylvius, to Antoninus, and to Laziardus, which falsely impute articles to him which he never maintained. But because time suffereth not, I will proceed to the story of Master Jerome of Prague.

107. Jerome of Prague.



Portrait of Jerome of Prague

These things hitherto being discoursed, touching the life, acts, and constant martyrdom of Master John Huss, with part also of his letters adjoined to the same,

whose death was on the sixth of July, A. D. 1416, now remaineth consequently to describe the like tragedy and cruel handling of his Christian companion and fellow in bonds, Master Jerome of Prague; who grievously sorrowing the slanderous reproach and defamation of his country of Bohemia, and also hearing tell of the manifest injuries done unto that man of worthy memory Master John Huss, freely and of his own accord came unto Constance the fourth day of April, A. D. 1415. Who there perceiving that John Huss was denied to be heard, and that watch and wait was laid for him on every side, he departed to Iberling, a city of the empire, until the next day, the which city was a mile off from Constance; and from thence he wrote his letters by me unto Sigismund, king of Hungary, and his barons, and also unto the council, most earnestly requiring that the king and the council would give him a safe-conduct freely to come and go, and that he would then come in open audience to answer unto every man, if there were any of the council that would lay any crime unto him, as by the tenor of his intimation shall more at large appear.

When the said king of Hungary was required thereunto, as is aforesaid, being in the house of the lord cardinal of Cambray, he denied to give Master Jerome any safe-conduct, excusing himself for the evil speed he had with the safe-conduct of John Huss before, and alleging also certain other causes. The deputies also of the four nations of the council, being moved thereunto by the lords of the kingdom of Bohemia, answered, "We," say they, "will give him a safe-conduct to come, but not to depart." Whose answers, when they were reported unto Master Jerome, he, the next day after, wrote certain intimations according to the tenor hereunder written, which he sent unto Constance to be set upon the gates of the city, and upon the gates of the churches and monasteries, and of the houses of the cardinals, and other nobles and prelates. The tenor whereof here followeth word for word in this manner:

"Unto the most noble prince and lord, the Lord Sigismund, by the grace of God king of the Romans, always Augustus, and of Hungary, &c. I, Jerome of Prague, master of arts of the general universities of Paris, Cullen, Heidelberg, and Prague, by these my present letters do notify unto the king, together with the whole reverend council, and, as much as in me lieth, do all men to understand and know, that because of the crafty slanderers, backbiters, and accusers, I am ready, freely, and of my will, to come unto Constance, there to declare openly before the council, the purity and sincerity of my true faith and mine innocency, and not secretly in corners before any private or particular person. Wherefore if there be any of my slanderers, of what nation or estate soever they be, which will object against me any crime of error, or heresy, let them come forth openly before me, in the presence of the whole council, and in their own names object against me, and I will be ready, as I have written, to answer openly and publicly before the whole council, of mine innocency, and to declare the purity and sincerity of my true faith; and if so be that I shall be found culpable in error or heresy, then I will not refuse openly to suffer such punishment as shall be meet and worthy for an erroneous person, or a heretic.

"Wherefore, I most humbly beseech my lord the king, and the whole sacred council, that I may have, to this end and purpose aforesaid, safe and sure access. And if it happen that I, offering such equity and right as I do, before any fault be proved against me, be arrested, imprisoned, or have any violence done unto me; that then it may be manifest unto the whole world, that this general council doth not proceed according to equity and justice, if they would by any means put me back from this profound and strait justice, being come hither freely of mine own mind and accord. The which thing I suppose to be far from so sacred and holy council of wise men."

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When as yet he through such intimations copied out in the Bohemian, Latin, and German tongue, being set up as is aforesaid, could not get any safe-conduct, then the nobles, lords, and knights especially of the Bohemian nation, present in Constance, gave unto Master Jerome their letters patent, confirmed with their seals for a testimony and witness of the premises. With the which letters the said Master Jerome returned again unto Bohemia; but by the treason and conspiracy of his enemies he was taken in Hirsaw by the officer of Duke John, and in Zultzbach was brought back again to the presence of the duke. In the mean time, such as were the setters forward of the council against Master John Huss, and Master Jerome, that is to say, Michael de Causis, and Master Paletz, and other their accomplices, required that the said Master Jerome should be cited by reason of his intimations; and certain days after, the citation hereunder written was set upon the gates and porches of the city and churches, which followeth here in this manner:

"This most sacred and holy synod and general council of Constance, faithfully congregated and gathered together in the Holy Ghost, representing the universal militant church, unto Jerome of Prague, which writeth himself to be a master of arts of so many universities, and pretendeth those things which are only pertaining unto sobriety and modesty, and that he knoweth no more than he ought, &c. Know thou that there is a certain writing come unto our understanding and knowledge, the which was set up as it were by thine own person upon the gates of the churches and city of Constance, upon the Sunday, when there was sung in the church of God, *Quasi modo geniti*; wherein thou dost affirm, that thou wilt openly answer unto thy accusers and slanderers which shall object any crime, error, or heresy against thee, whereof thou art marvellously infamed and accused before us, and specially touching the doctrine of Wickliff, and other doctrines contrary unto the catholic faith, so that thou mightest have granted unto thee a safe-conduct to come. But forasmuch as it is our part principally and chiefly to foresee and look unto these crafty foxes which go about to destroy the vineyard of the Lord of hosts, therefore we do cite and call forth, by the tenor of these presents, thy person, manifoldly defamed and suspected for the temerarious affirming and teaching of manifold errors; so that within the term of fifteen days to be accounted from the date of these presents, whereof five days are appointed for the first term, five for the second, and other five for the third, we do ordain and appoint by canonical admonition and warning, that thou do appear in the public session of the sacred council, if there be any holden the same day, or else the first day immediately following, when any session shall be, according to the tenor of thy said writing, to answer to those things, which any person or persons shall object or lay against thee in any cause of thy faith, and to receive and have as justice shall require. Whereupon, so much as in us lieth, and as catholic faith shall require, we offer and assign to thee, by the tenor hereof, our safe-conduct from all violence, (justice always being saved,) certifying thee, that whether thou dost appear or not, the said term or time appointed notwithstanding, process shall go forward against thee by the sacred council, or by their commissary or commissaries, for the time aforesaid not observed and kept, thy contumacy or stubbornness in any thing notwithstanding. Given in the sixth session of the general council, the seventeenth day of April, under the seal of the presidents of the four nations."

After that Sigismund, king of Hungary, with the rest of the council, understood by the aforesaid Duke John, that Master Jerome was taken, they were earnestly in hand, requiring that Master Jerome should be brought before them unto the council. The which Duke John, after he had received letters of the king and the council,

brought Master Jerome bound unto Constance, whom his brother, Duke Ludovicus, led through the city to the cloister of the Friars Minors in Constance, where the chief priests and elders of the people, scribes and Pharisees, were gathered together, attending and waiting for his coming. He, the said Master Jerome, carried a great handbolt of iron with a long chain in his hand, and as he passed, the chain made a great rattling and noise; and for the more confusion and despite towards him, they led him by the same chain after Duke Ludovicus aforesaid, holding and stretching out the same a great way from him, with the which chain they also kept him bound in the cloister. When he was brought into the cloister, they read before him the letter of Duke John, which was sent with the said Master Jerome unto the council, containing in effect, how that the said Duke John had sent Master Jerome unto the council, who by chance was fallen into his hands, because he heard an evil report of him, that he was suspected of the heresies of Wickliff; that the council might take order for him, whose part it was to correct and punish such as did err and stray from the truth; besides many other flattering tales which were written in the said letter for the praise of the council. After this, they read the citation which was given out by the council against Master Jerome, whereof we have spoken before. Then certain of the bishops said unto him, "Jerome, why didst thou fly, and run away, and didst not appear when thou wast cited?" He answered, "Because I could not have any safe-conduct, neither from you, neither from the king, as it appeareth by these letters patent of the barons, which you have, neither by mine open intimations could I obtain any safe-conduct."

"Wherefore I, perceiving many of my grievous and heavy friends to be here present in the council, would not myself be the occasion of my perils and dangers; but if I had known or had any understanding of this citation, without all doubt, albeit I had been in Bohemia, I would have returned again." Then all the whole rabble rising up, alleged divers and sundry accusations and testimonies against him with a great noise and tumult. When the rest held their peace, then spake Master Gerson, the chancellor of Paris; "Jerome, when thou wast at Paris thou thoughtest thyself by means of thy eloquence to be an angel, and didst trouble the whole university, alleging openly in the schools many erroneous conclusions with their *corolaria*, and especially in the question *de universalibus et de Idæis*, with many other very offensive questions." Unto whom Master Jerome said, "I answer to you, Master Gerson; those matters which I did put forth there in schools at Paris, in the which also I answered to the arguments of the masters, I did put them forth philosophically, and as a philosopher, and master of the university; and if I have put forth any questions which I ought not to have put forth, teach me that they be erroneous, and I will most humbly be informed, and amend the same."

While he was yet speaking, another (as I suppose, the master of the university of Cullen upon the river Rhine) rising up said, "When thou wast also at Cullen, in thy position which thou didst there determine, thou didst propound many erroneous matters." Then said Master Jerome unto him, "Show me first one error which I propounded." Wherewithal he being in a manner astonished, said, "I do not remember them now at the first, but hereafter they shall be objected against you."

And by and by the third man rising up, said, "When that you were also at Heidelberg, you propounded many erroneous matters as touching the Trinity, and there painted out a certain shield or scutcheon, comparing the Trinity of persons in Divinity unto water, snow, and ice, and such-like." Unto whom Master Jerome answered, "Those things that I wrote or painted there, the same will I also speak,

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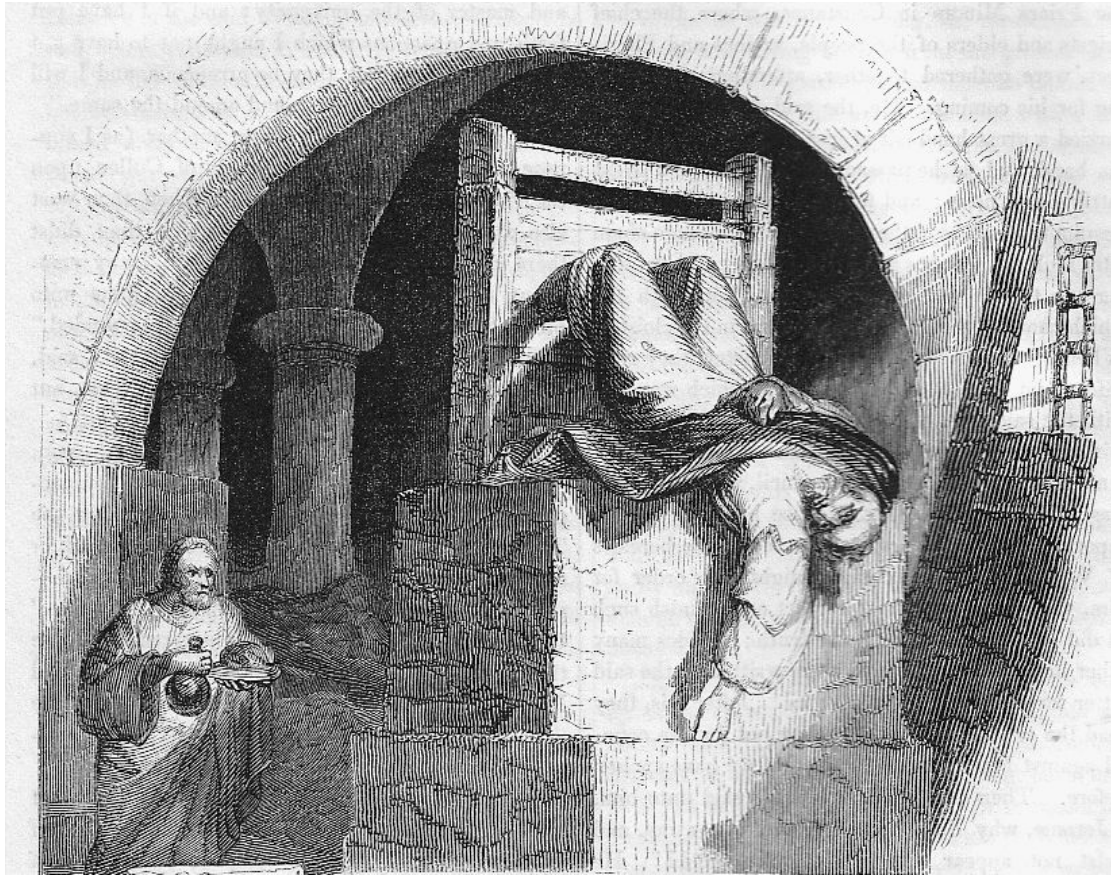
write, and paint here; and teach me that they be erroneous, and I will most humbly revoke and recant the same."

Then certain cried out, "Let him be burned, let him be burned." Unto whom he answered, "If my death do delight or please you, in the name of God let it be so."

Then said the archbishop of Salisbury, "Not so, Master Jerome, forasmuch as it is written, I will not the death of a sinner, but rather that he convert and live." When these and many other tumults and cries were passed, whereby they did then most disorderly and outrageously witness against him, they delivered the said Master Jerome, being bound, unto the officers of the city of Constance, to be carried to prison for that night; and so every one of them returned to their lodgings.

In the mean time, one of the friends of Master John Huss, looking out at a window of the cloister, said unto him, "Master Jerome." Then said he, "You are welcome, my dear brother." Then said Peter unto him, "Be constant and fear not to suffer death for the truth's sake, of the which, when you were in times past at liberty, you did preach so much goodness." Unto whom Jerome answered, "Truly, brother, I do not fear death; and forasmuch as we know that we have spoken much thereof in times past, let us now see what may be known or done in effect." By and by his keepers coming to the window, threatening him with strokes, did put away the said Peter from the window of the cloister.

Then came there one Vitus unto Master Jerome, and said, "Master, how do you?" Unto whom he answered, "Truly, brother, I do very well." Then his keepers coming about him laid hold of the said Vitus, saying, "This is also one of the number," and kept him. When it drew towards evening, the archbishop of Reigen sent certain of his servants which led away Master Jerome, being strongly bound with chains, both by the hands and by the neck, and kept him so for certain hours. When night drew on, they carried him unto a certain tower of the city in St. Paul's churchyard, where they, tying him fast unto a great block, and his feet in the stocks, his hands also being made fast upon them, they left him; whereas the block was so high, that he could by no means sit thereupon, but that his head must hang downward. They carried also the said Vitus unto the archbishop of Reigen, who demanded of him, why he durst be so bold to talk with such a man, being a reprobate of all men, and a heretic; and when he could find no cause of imprisonment in him, and that he said he was Master John de Clum's friend, taking an oath and promise of him that he should not go about to endamage the council by reason of that imprisonment and captivity, so dismissed him and sent him away. Master Jerome, unknown unto us whither he was carried, lay in the said tower two days and two nights, relieved only with bread and water. Then one of his keepers coming unto Master Peter, declared unto him how that Master Jerome lay hard by in bonds and chains, and how he was fed. Then Master Peter desired that he might have leave given him to give him meat, because he would procure the same unto him. The keeper of the prison, granting his request, carried meat unto him. Within eleven days after, so hanging by the heels, he used so small repast, that he fell sore sick, even unto the death. When he living then in that captivity and prison desired to have a confessor, they of the council denied that he should have any, until such time as, by great importunity, he obtained to have one; his friends being then there present in the same prison and tower, wherein he then lay by the space of one year, lacking but seven days.



Jerome of Prague in the Stocks

After they had put John Huss to death, then about the feast of the Nativity of Mary the Virgin, they brought forth Master Jerome, whom they had kept so long in chains, unto the church of St. Paul; and threatening him with death, being instant upon him, they forced him to abjure and recant, and consent unto the death of Master John Huss, that he was justly and truly condemned and put to death by them. He, what for fear of death, and hoping thereby to escape out of their hands, according to their will and pleasure, and according to the tenor which was exhibited unto him, did make abjuration, and that in the cathedral church and open session, the draught whereof penned to him by the papists, here ensueth.

The abjuration of Master Jerome of Prague.

"I Jerome of Prague, master of arts, acknowledging the catholic church, and the apostolic faith, do accurse and renounce all heresies, and specially that whereof I have hitherto been infamed, and that which in times past John Huss and John Wickliff have holden and taught in their works, treatises, and sermons, made unto the people and clergy; for the which cause the said Wickliff and Huss, together with the said doctrines and errors, are condemned by this synod of Constance as heretics, and all the said doctrine sententially condemned, and especially in certain articles expressed in the sentences and judgments given against them by this sacred council.

"Also I do accord and agree unto the holy Church of Rome, the apostolic seat in this sacred council, and with my mouth and heart do profess in all things, and touching all things, and specially as touching the keys, sacraments, orders, and

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offices, and ecclesiastical censures, of pardons, relics of saints, ecclesiastical liberty, also ceremonies, and all other things pertaining unto Christian religion, as the Church of Rome, the apostolic see, and this sacred council, do profess; and specially that many of the said articles are notoriously heretical, and lately reprov'd by the holy fathers; some of them blasphemous, other some erroneous; some offensive unto godly ears, and many of them temerarious and seditious: and such also were counted the articles lately condemned by the sacred council, and it was inhibited and forbidden to all and singular catholic men hereafter to preach, teach, or presume to hold or maintain any of the said articles, under pain of being accursed.

"And I, the said Jerome, forasmuch as I have laboured by scholastical arts to persuade the opinion, that one substance of the common kind should signify many things subject under the same, and every one of them, as St. Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, do affirm, and likewise others. For the teaching hereof by a plain example, I described as it were a certain triangle, form, or figure, the which I called the shield of faith.

"Therefore utterly to exclude and take away the erroneous and wicked understanding thereof, the which peradventure some men may gather thereby, I do say, affirm, and declare that I never made the said figure, neither named it the shield of faith, to that intent or purpose, that I would extol or prefer the opinion of universalities above or before the contrary opinion, in such sort, as though that were the shield of faith, and that without the affirmation thereof the catholic faith could not be defended or maintained, whenas I myself would not obstinately stick thereto; but this I said, because I had put example in the description of the triangle or form, that one Divine essence consisted in three subjects, or persons, in themselves distinct, that is to say, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. The article of the which Trinity, is the chief shield of faith, and foundation of the catholic truth.

"Furthermore, that it may be evident unto all men what the causes were for the which I was reputed and thought to stick to, and favour sometime John Huss; I signify unto all men, by these presents, that when I heard him oftentimes, both in his sermons, and also in the schools, I believed that he was a very good man, neither that he did in any point gainsay the traditions of our holy mother the church, or holy doctors; insomuch as when I was lately in this city, and the articles which I affirmed were showed unto me, which were also condemned by the sacred council, at the first sight of them I did not believe that they were his, at the least not in that form; but when I had further understood by certain famous doctors and masters of divinity that they were his articles, I required for my further information and satisfaction to have the books of his own hand-writing showed unto me, wherein it was said those articles were contained. The which books, when they were showed unto me, written with his own hand, which I did know as well as mine own, I found all and every one those articles therein written in like form as they are condemned. Wherefore I do worthily judge and think him and his doctrine, with his adherents, to be condemned and reprov'd by the sacred council, as heretical and without reason. All which the premises, with a pure mind and conscience, I do here pronounce and speak, being now fully and sufficiently informed of the aforesaid sentences and judgments given by the sacred council against the doctrines of the said John Wickliff and John Huss, and against their own persons; unto the which judgment, as a devout catholic in all things, I do most humbly consent and agree.

"Also I, the aforesaid Jerome, which before the reverend fathers the lords cardinals, and reverend lords, prelates, and doctors, and other worshipful persons of this sacred council in this same place, did heretofore freely and willingly declare and expound mine intent and purpose, amongst other things, speaking of the church, did divide the same into three parts; and, as I did perceive afterward, it was understood by some that I would affirm, that in the triumphant church there was faith. Whereas I do firmly believe that there is the blessed sight and beholding of God, excluding all dark understanding and knowledge. And now also I do say, affirm, and declare, that it was never my intent and purpose, to prove that there should be faith, speaking of faith as faith is commonly defined, but knowledge far exceeding faith. And generally whatsoever I said, either there, or at any time before, I do refer, and most humbly submit myself unto the determination of this sacred council of Constance.

"Moreover, I do swear both by the holy Trinity, and also by the most holy gospel, that I will for evermore remain and persevere without all doubt, in the truth of the catholic church. And all such as by their doctrine and teaching shall impugn this faith, I judge them worthy, together with their doctrines, of eternal curse. And if I myself at any time (which God forbid I should) do presume to preach or teach contrary thereto, I will submit myself unto the severity of the canons, and be bound unto eternal pain and punishment. Whereupon I do deliver up this my confession, and tenor of my profession, willingly before this sacred general council, and have subscribed and written all these things with mine own hand."

After all this they caused him to be carried again unto the same prison, but not so straitly chained and bound as he was before; notwithstanding, kept every day with soldiers and armed men. And when, afterward, his enemies which were appointed against him, as Michael de Causis, and wicked Paletz, with other their companions in these affairs, understood and knew by the words and talk of Master Jerome, and by other certain tokens, that he made the same abjuration and recantation, not of a sincere and pure mind, but only to the intent thereby to escape their hands; they, together with certain friars of Prague, of the order of Carmelites, then coming in, put up new accusations against the said Master Jerome, and drew the same into articles, being very instant and earnest that he should answer thereunto. And forasmuch as his judges, and certain cardinals, as the cardinal of Cambray, the cardinal de Ursinis, the cardinal of Aquilegia, and of Florence, considering the malice of the enemies of Master Jerome, did see the great injury that was done unto him, they laboured before the whole council for his delivery.

It happened upon a certain day, as they were labouring in the council for the delivery of the said Master Jerome, that the Germans and Bohemians his enemies with all force and power resisted against it, crying out that he should in no case be dismissed. Then started up one, called Doctor Naso, which said unto the cardinals, "We marvel much of you, most reverend fathers, that your reverences will make intercession for such a wicked heretic, for whose sake we in Bohemia with the whole clergy have suffered much trouble and mischief, and, peradventure, your fatherhoods shall suffer; and I greatly fear, lest that you have received some rewards, either of the king of Bohemia, or of these heretics." When the cardinals were thus rebuked, they discharged themselves of Master Jerome's cause and matter.

Then his enemies aforesaid obtained to have other judges appointed, as the patriarch of Constantinople, and a German doctor, forasmuch as they did know that

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the patriarch was a grievous enemy unto Master Jerome, because he, being before appointed judge by the council, had condemned John Huss unto death.

But Master Jerome would not answer them in prison, requiring to have open audience, because he would there finally declare unto them his mind, neither would he by any means consent unto those private judges. Whereupon the presidents of the council, thinking that the said Master Jerome would renew his recantation before the said audience, and confirm the same, did grant him open audience.

In the year of our Lord 1416, the twenty-fifth day of May, which was the Saturday before the Ascension of our Lord, the said Master Jerome was brought unto an open audience before the whole council, to the great cathedral church of Constance, where, by the commissioners of the council, in the behalf of his aforesaid enemies, there were laid against him of new, a hundred and seven articles, to the intent that he should not escape the snare of death, which they provided and laid for him; insomuch as the judges had before declared, that, by the saying of the witnesses, it was already concluded in the same audience. The day aforesaid, from morning until noon, he answered unto more than forty articles, most subtilly objected against him; denying that he held or maintained any such articles as were either hurtful or false, and affirming that those witnesses had deposed them against him falsely and slanderously, as his most cruel and mortal enemies. In the same session they had not yet proceeded unto death, because that the noon-time drew so fast on, that he could not answer unto the articles. Wherefore, for lack of time sufficient to answer unto the residue of the articles, there was another time appointed, which was the third day after the aforesaid Saturday before the Ascension of our Lord, at which time again, early in the morning, he was brought unto the said cathedral church, to answer unto all the residue of the articles.

In all which articles, as well those which he had answered unto the Saturday before, as in the residue, he cleared himself very learnedly, refelling his adversaries (who had no cause, but only of malice and displeasure were set against him, and did him great wrong) in such sort, that they were themselves astonished at his oration and refutation of their testimonies brought against him, and with shame enough were put to silence: as when one of them had demanded of him, what he thought of the sacrament of the altar, he answered, "Before consecration," said he, "it is bread and wine; after the consecration, it is the true body and blood of Christ;" adding withal more words according to their catholic faith. Then another rising up, "Jerome," said he, "there goeth a great rumour of thee, that thou shouldest hold bread to remain upon the altar." To whom he pleasantly answered, saying, that he believed bread to be at the baker's. At which words being spoken, one of the Dominic friars fumishly took on, and said, "What! doest thou deny that which no man doubteth of?" Whose peevish sauciness Jerome, with these words, did well repress, "Hold thy peace," said he, "thou monk, thou hypocrite;" and thus the monk, being nipped in the head, sat down dumb. After whom started up another, who with a loud voice cried out, "I swear," said he, "by my conscience, that to be true, that thou dost deny." To whom said Jerome again, "Thus to swear by your conscience is the next way to deceive." Another there was, a spiteful and a bitter enemy of his, whom he called by no other name than dog, or ass. After he had thus refuted them one after another, that they could find no crime against them, neither in this matter nor in any other, they were all driven to keep silence.

This done, then were the witnesses called for, who, coming in presence, gave testimony unto the articles before produced; by reason whereof the innocent cause of

Jerome was oppressed, and began in the council to be concluded. Then Jerome, rising up, began to speak, "Forasmuch," saith he, "as you have heard mine adversaries so diligently hitherto, convenient it is that you should also now hear me to speak for myself." Whereupon, with much difficulty, at last audience was given in the council for him to say his mind; which being granted, he, from morning to noon continuing, treated of divers and sundry matters, with great learning and eloquence: who, first beginning with his prayer to God, besought him to give him spirit, ability, and utterance, which might most tend to the profit and salvation of his own soul. And so entering into his oration:

"I know," saith he, "reverend lords, that there have been many excellent men, which have suffered much otherwise than they have deserved, being oppressed with false witnesses, and condemned with wrong judgments." And so beginning with Socrates, he declared how he was unjustly condemned of his countrymen, neither would he escape when he might; taking from us the fear of two things, which seem most bitter to men, to wit, of imprisonment and death. Then he inferred the captivity of Plato, the banishment of Anaxagoras, and the torments of Zeno. Moreover, he brought in the wrongful condemnation of many Gentiles, as the banishment of Rupilius, reciting also the unworthy death of Boetius, and of others whom Boetius himself doth write of.

From thence he came to the examples of the Hebrews, and first began with Moses, the deliverer of the people, and the lawgiver, how he was oftentimes slandered of his people, as being a seducer and contemner of the people. Joseph also, saith he, for envy was sold of his brethren, and for false suspicion of whoredom was cast into bonds. Besides these, he reciteth Isaiah, Daniel, and almost all the prophets, who, as contemnors of God, and seditious persons, were oppressed with wrongful condemnation. From thence he proceeded to the judgment of Susanna, and of divers other besides, who being good and holy men, yet were they unjustly cast away with wrongful sentence. At the length he came to John Baptist, and so in long process he descended unto our Saviour, declaring how it was evident to all men, by what false witnesses both he and John Baptist were condemned. Moreover, how Stephen was slain by the college of the priests, and how all the apostles were condemned to death, not as good men, but as seditious stirrers up of the people, and contemnors of the gods, and evil-doers. "It is unjust," saith he, "unjustly to be condemned one priest of another," and yet he proved that the same hath so happened most unjustly in that council of priests. These things did he discourse at large, with marvellous eloquence, and with singular admiration of all that heard him.

And forasmuch as the whole sum of the cause did rest only in the witnesses, by many reasons he proved that no credit was to be given unto them, especially seeing they spake all things of no truth, but only of hatred, malice, and envy. And so prosecuting the matter, so lively and expressly he opened unto them the causes of their hatred, that he had almost persuaded them. So lively and likely their hatred was detected, that almost no trust was given to their testimonies, save only for the cause and quarrel wherein they stood touching the pope's doctrine. All men's minds here were moved and bending to mercy towards him; for he told them how that he, of his own accord, came up to the council, and, to purge himself, he did open unto them all his life and doings, being full of virtue and godliness. "This was," saith he, "the old manner of ancient and learned men and most holy elders, that in matters of faith they did differ many times in arguments, not to destroy the faith, but to find out the verity.

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So did Augustine and Jerome dissent, not only being diverse, but also contrary one from the other, and yet without all suspicion of heresy."

And this while the pope's holy council did wait still, when he would begin to excuse himself and to retract those things which were objected against him, and to crave pardon of the council. But he persisting still in his constant oration, did acknowledge no error, nor gave any signification of retractation.

At last, entering into the praise and commendation of Master John Huss, he affirmed, that he was a good, just, and holy man, and much unworthy that death which he did suffer. Whom he did know from his youth upward, to be neither fornicator, drunkard, neither any evil or vicious person, but a chaste and sober man, and a just and true preacher of the holy gospel; and whatsoever things Master John Huss and Wickliff had holden or written specially against the abuse and pomp of the clergy, he would affirm even unto the death, that they were holy and, blessed men, and that in all points of the catholic faith he doth believe as the holy catholic church doth hold or believe. And finally he did conclude, that all such articles as John Wickliff and John Huss had written and put forth against the enormities, pomp, and disorder of the prelates, he would firmly and stedfastly, without recantation, hold and defend even unto the death. And last of all he added, that all the sins that ever he had committed, did not so much gnaw and trouble his conscience, as did that only sin, which he had committed in that most pestiferous fact, when in his recantation he had unjustly spoken against that good and holy man and his doctrine, and specially in consenting unto his wicked condemnation, concluding that he did utterly revoke and deny that wicked recantation which he made in that most cursed place, and that he did it through weakness of heart and fear of death; and moreover, that whatsoever thing he hath spoken against that blessed man, he hath altogether lied upon him, and that he doth repent him with his whole heart that ever he did it.

And at the hearing hereof the hearts of the hearers were not a little sorry; for they wished and desired greatly that such a singular man should be saved, if otherwise their blind superstition would have suffered it. But he continued still in his prefixed sentence, seeming to desire rather death than life. And persisting in the praise of John Huss, he added, moreover, that he never maintained any doctrine against the state of the church, but only spake against the abuses of the clergy, against the pride, pomp, and excess of the prelates. Forasmuch as the patrimonies of the churches were first given for the poor, then for hospitality, and thirdly, to the reparations of the churches; it was a grief to that good man, said he, to see the same mispent and cast away upon harlots, great feastings, and keeping of horses and dogs, upon gorgeous apparel, and such other things, unseemingly Christian religion. And herein he showed himself marvellous eloquent; yea, never more.

And when his oration was interrupted many times by divers of them, carping at his sentences as he was in speaking, yet was there none of all those that interrupted him which escaped unblanched, but he brought them all to confusion, and put them to silence. When any noise began, he ceased to speak, and after began again, proceeding in his oration, and desiring them to give him leave awhile to speak, whom they hereafter should hear no more; neither yet was his mind ever dashed at all these noises and tumults.

And this was marvellous in him to behold, notwithstanding he continued in strait prison three hundred and forty days, having neither book, nor almost light to read by, yet how admirably his memory served him; declaring how all those pains of

his strait handling did not so much grieve him, as he did wonder rather to see their unkind humanity towards him.

When he had spoken these and many things as touching the praise of John Wickliffe and John Huss, they which sat in the council whispered together, saying, "By these his words it appeareth that he is at a point with himself." Then was he again carried into prison, and grievously fettered by the hands, arms, and feet, with great chains and fetters of iron.

The Saturday next before the Ascension day, early in the morning, he was brought with a great number of armed men unto the cathedral church before the open congregation, to have his judgment given him. There they exhorted him, that those things which he had before spoken in the open audience, as is aforesaid, touching the praise and commendation of Master John Wickliffe and Master John Huss, confirming and establishing their doctrine, he would yet recant the same; but he marvellous stoutly, without all fear, spake against them, and amongst other things said unto them, "I take God to my witness, and I protest here before you all, that I do believe and hold the articles of the faith, as the holy catholic church doth hold and believe the same; but for this cause shall I now be condemned, for that I will not consent with you unto the condemnation of those most holy and blessed men aforesaid, whom you have most wickedly condemned for certain articles, detesting and abhorring your wicked and abominable life." Then he confessed there before them all his belief, and uttered many things very profoundly and eloquently, insomuch that all men there present could not sufficiently commend and praise his great eloquence and excellent learning, and by no means could they induce or persuade him to recant.

Then a certain bishop, named the bishop of Londe, made a certain sermon exhortative against Master Jerome, persuading to his condemnation.

After the bishop had ended the said sermon, Master Jerome said again unto them, "You shall condemn me wickedly and unjustly; but I, after my death, will leave a remorse in your conscience, and a nail in your hearts. And here I cite you to answer unto me before the most high and just Judge within a hundred years."

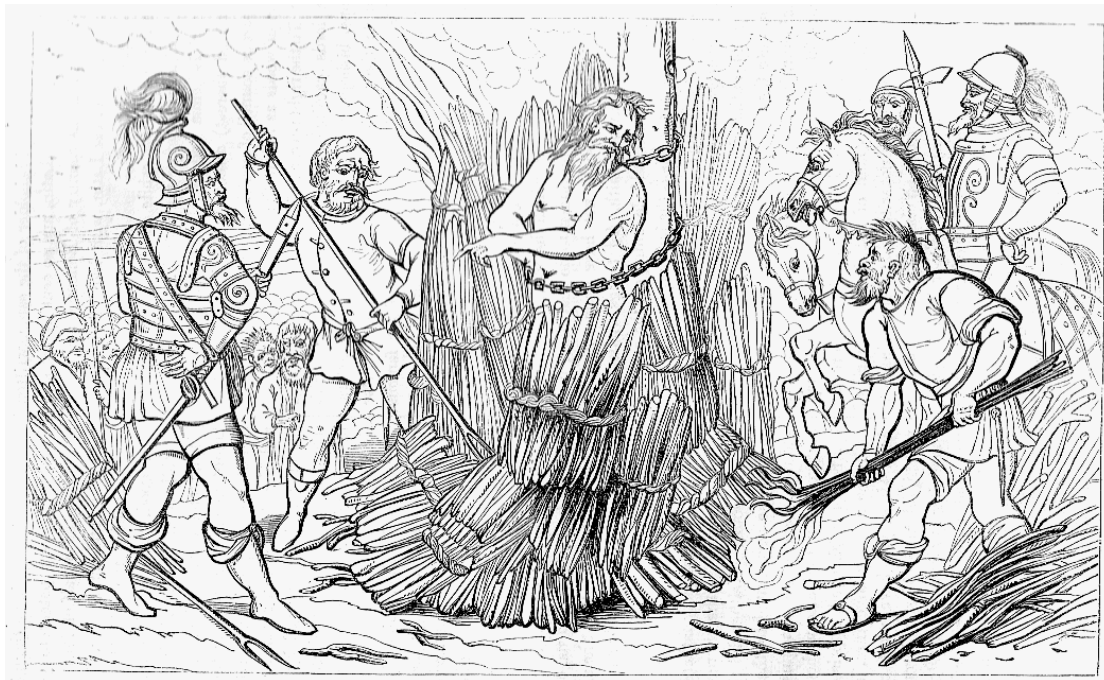
No pen can sufficiently write or note those things which he most eloquently, profoundly, and philosophically had spoken in the said audience, neither can any tongue sufficiently declare the same; wherefore I have but only touched here the superficial matter of his talk, partly and not wholly noting the same. Finally, when by no means he might be persuaded to recant the premises, immediately, even in his presence, the sentence and judgment of his condemnation was given against him, and read before him.

"In the name of God. Amen. Christ our God, and our Saviour, being the true vine, whose Father is the husbandman, taught his disciples, and all other faithful men, saying, If any man dwell not in me, let him be cast out as a bough or branch, and let him wither and dry, &c. The doctrine and precepts of which most excellent doctor and master, this most sacred synod of Constance executing and following in the cause of inquisition against heretics, being moved by this said sacred synod, through report, public fame, and open infamation, proceeding against Jerome of Prague, master of arts, layman. By the acts and processes of whose cause it appeareth that the said Master Jerome hath holden, maintained, and taught divers articles heretical and erroneous, lately reprov'd and condemned by the holy fathers, some being very blasphemous, other some offending godly ears, and many temerarious and seditious,

which have been affirmed, maintained, preached, and taught by the men of most damnable memory, John Wickliff and John Huss, the which are also written in divers of their works and books. Which articles of doctrine and books of the said John Huss and Wickliff, together with their memory and the person of the said John Huss, were, by the said sacred synod, condemned of heresy. The which sentence of condemnation this Jerome afterward, during the time of inquisition, acknowledged in the said sacred synod, and approved the true catholic and apostolic faith, thereunto consenting, accursing all heresy, especially that whereof he was infamed, and confessed himself to be infamed, and that which in times past John Huss and John Wickliff maintained and taught in their works, sermons, and books, for the which the said Wickliff and Huss, together with their doctrine and errors, were by the said sacred synod as heretical condemned. The condemnations of all which the premises he did openly profess and allow, and did swear that he would persevere and continue in the verity of that faith; and if that he should presume at any time to hold opinion or preach contrary thereunto, that he would submit himself to the trial and truth of the canons, and be bound to perpetual punishment. And this his profession, written with his own hand, he delivered unto the holy council. Many days after his said profession and abjuration, as a dog returning unto his vomit, to the intent he might openly vomit up the most pestilent poison which had long lurked and lain hid in his breast, he required and desired that he might be openly heard before the council. The which being granted unto him, he affirmed, said, and professed, before the whole synod, being publicly gathered together, that he had wickedly consented and agreed to the sentence and judgment of the condemnation of the said Wickliff and Huss, and that he had most shamefully lied in approving and allowing the said sentence, neither was he ashamed to confess that he had lied; yea, he did also revoke and recant his confession, approbation, and protestation, which he had made upon their condemnation, affirming that he never at any time had read any errors or heresy in the books and treatises of the said Wickliff and Huss. Albeit he had before confessed it, and it is evidently proved, that he did diligently study, read, and preach their books, wherein it is manifest that there are contained many errors and heresies. Also the said Master Jerome did profess as touching the sacrament of the altar, and the transubstantiation of the bread into the body of Christ, that he doth hold and believe as the church doth hold and believe, saying also, that he doth give more credit unto St. Augustine, and the other doctors of the church, than unto Wickliff and Huss. It appeareth, moreover, by the premises, that the said Jerome is an adherent and maintainer of the said Wickliff and Huss, and their errors, and both is and hath been a favourer of them. Wherefore the said sacred synod determineth the said Master Jerome, as a rotten and withered branch, not growing upon the vine, to be cut off and cast out. The said synod also pronounceth, declareth, and condemneth him, as a heretic, and drowned in all kind of heresies, excommunicate and accursed, leaving him unto the arbitrement and judgment of the secular judge, to receive just and due punishment, according to the quality of so great an offence; the sacred synod notwithstanding entreating that the said judge would moderate his sentence of judgment without peril of death."

The which sentence so given before his face, and ended, a great and long mitre of paper was brought unto him, painted about with red devils, the which when he beheld and saw, throwing away his hood upon the ground amongst the prelates, he took the mitre and put it upon his head, saying, "Our Lord Jesus Christ, when he should suffer death for me, most wretched sinner, did wear a crown of thorns upon his head; and I, for his sake, instead of that crown, will willingly wear this mitre and cap." Afterward he was laid hold of by the secular power.

After that, he was led out of the said church to the place of execution. When he was going out of the church, with a cheerful countenance, and a loud voice, lifting his eyes up unto heaven, he began to sing, *Credo in unum Deum*, as it is accustomed to be sung in the church. Afterward as he passed along, he did sing some canticles of the church; the which being ended, in the entering out of the gate of the city, as men go unto Gothlehem, he did sing this hymn, *Felix namque*. And that response being ended, after he came to the place of execution, where Master John Huss before had suffered death innocently, kneeling down before an image which was like unto the picture of Master John Huss, which was there prepared to burn Master Jerome, he made a certain devout prayer.



Execution of Jerome of Prague

While he was thus praying, the tormentors took him up, and lifting him up from the ground spoiled him of all his garments, and left him naked, and afterwards girded him about the loins with a linen cloth, and bound him fast with cords and chains of iron, to the said image which was made fast unto the earth; and so standing upon the ground, when they began to lay the wood about him, he sung *Salve festa dies*. And when the hymn was ended, he sung again with a loud voice, *Credo in unum Deum*, unto the end. That being ended, he said unto the people in the German tongue, in effect as followeth: "Dearly beloved children, even as I have now sung, so do I believe and none otherwise. And this creed is my whole faith, notwithstanding now I die for this cause, because I would not consent and agree to the council, and with them affirm and hold that Master John Huss was by them holily and justly condemned, for I did know well enough that he was a true preacher of the gospel of Jesus Christ."

After that he was compassed in with the wood up to the crown of the head, they cast all his garments upon the wood also, and with a firebrand they set it on fire. The which being once fired, he began to sing with a loud voice, *In manus tuas*,

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Domine, commendo spiritum meum. When that was ended, and that he began vehemently to burn, he said in the vulgar Bohemian tongue, "O Lord God, Father Almighty, have mercy upon me, and be merciful unto mine offences, for thou knowest how sincerely I have loved thy truth." Then his voice by the vehemency of the fire was choked and stopped, that it was no longer heard, but he moved continually his mouth and lips, as though he had still prayed or spoken within himself.

When in a manner his whole body with his beard was burned round about, and that there appeared, through the great burning, upon his body certain great bladders as big as an egg, yet he continually very strongly and stoutly moved, and shook his head and mouth, by the space almost of one quarter of an hour. So burning in the fire, he lived with great pain and martyrdom, whilst one might easily have gone from St. Clement's over the bridge unto our Lady church; he was of such a stout and strong nature. After that he was thus dead in the fire, by and by they brought his bedding, his straw-bed, his boots, his hood, and all other things that he had in the prison, and burned them all to ashes in the same fire. The which ashes, after that the fire was out, they did diligently gather together, and carry them in a cart, and cast them into the river Rhine, which ran hard by the city.

That man which was the true reporter hereof, and which testified unto us the acts and doings about the condemnation of Master Jerome, and sent the same unto us to Prague in writing, doth thus conclude: "All these things," saith he, "I did behold, see, and hear to be done in this form and manner. And if any man do tell you the contrary, do not credit him; for all those things which happened unto him, when he came toward Constance, and also at his first coming unto Constance of his own free will, and afterward when he was brought bound unto Constance, as is aforesaid, I myself did see and perfectly behold, and for a perpetual memory thereof to be had for ever, I have directed the same unto you, not lying or falsifying any point thereof, as He which is the searcher of all men's hearts can bear me witness, willing rather to sustain the note of ignorance and rudeness of style, to bear witness unto the truth, than I would by any means be compelled by tickling or flattering the ears of the hearers with feigned and cloaked speech, to swerve or go aside from the truth."

Thus end the tragical histories of Master John Huss and Master Jerome of Prague, faithfully gathered and collected by a certain Bohemian, being a present witness and beholder of the same, written and compiled first in Latin, and so sent by the said Bohemian unto his country of Bohemia, and again translated out of the Latin, with like fidelity, unto our English tongue.

108. The Letter of the Lords of Bohemia to the Council

In the mean time, while Master Jerome was in this trouble, and before the council, the nobles and lords of Bohemia and of Moravia (but not a little aggrieved thereat) directed their letters unto this barbarous council of popish murderers, in tenor and form of words as followeth:

"To the right reverend fathers and lords in Christ, the lords cardinals, patriarchs, primates, archbishops, bishops, ambassadors, doctors, and masters, and to the whole council of Constance, we, the nobles, lords, knights, and esquires, of the famous marquisdom of Moravia, wish the desire of all goodness, and the observation of the commandments of our Lord Jesus Christ.

"Forasmuch as every man, both by the law of nature, and also by God's law, is commanded to do that unto another man which he would have done unto himself, and is forbidden to do that thing unto another which he would not have done unto himself; as our Saviour saith, All things whatsoever you will that men should do unto you, the same do you unto them, for this is the law and the prophets; yea, the law is fulfilled in this one point, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself: We, therefore, God being our author, having respect, as much as in us lieth, unto the said law of God, and the love of our neighbour, before did send our letters unto Constance for our dearly beloved friend of good memory, Master John Huss, bachelor of divinity, and preacher of the gospel; whom of late, in the council of Constance, we know not with what spirit being led, you have condemned as an obstinate heretic; neither having confessed any thing, neither being lawfully convict as were expedient; having no errors or heresies declared or laid against him, but only at the sinister, false, and importune accusations, suggestions, and instigations of his mortal enemies, and the traitors of our kingdom and marquisdom of Moravia. And being thus unmercifully condemned, you have slain him with most shameful and cruel death, to the perpetual shame and infamy of our most Christian kingdom of Bohemia, and the famous marquisdom of Moravia, as we have written unto Constance, unto the most noble prince and lord, the Lord Sigismund, king of Romans and of Hungary, the heir and successor of our kingdom, the which was also read and published in your congregations, which we will here also have enrolled, and have burned him, as it is reported, in reproach and contempt of us.

"Wherefore we have thought good even now to direct our letters patent to your reverences, now present, in the behalf of Master John Huss, openly professing and protesting, both with heart and mouth, that he, the said Master John Huss, was a just, good, and catholic man, and a long season worthily commended and allowed in our kingdom for his life and conversation. He also preached and taught us and our subjects the law of the gospel, and of the holy prophets, and the books of the Old and New Testament, according to the exposition of the holy doctors approved by the church, and left many monuments in writing, most constantly detesting and abhorring all errors and heresies, continually admonishing both us and all faithful Christians to do the like, diligently exhorting all men, as much as in him lay, by his words, writings, and travail, unto quietness and concord: so that, using all the diligence that we might, we never heard, or could understand, that Master John Huss had preached, taught, or by any means affirmed any error or heresies in his sermons, or that by any

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manner of means he had offended us, or our subjects, either by word or deed; but that he always led a quiet and a godly life in Christ, exhorting all men diligently, both by his word and works, as much as he might, to observe and keep the law of the gospel, and the institutions of the holy fathers, after the preaching of our holy mother the church, and to the edifying of men's souls. Neither did these premises, which you had so perpetrated to the reproach both of us and our kingdom and marquisdom, suffice and content you; but that also without all mercy and pity you have apprehended, imprisoned, and condemned, and even now, peradventure, like as you did Master John Huss, you have most cruelly murdered the worshipful man, Master Jerome of Prague, a man abounding in eloquence, master of the seven liberal arts, and a famous philosopher, not being seen, heard, examined, neither convicted, but only at the sinister and false accusations of his and our accusers and betrayers.

"Furthermore, it is come to our knowledge and understanding, which we do not without great grief rehearse, as we may also evidently gather by your writings, how that certain detractors, odious both to God and men, privy enviers and betrayers, have wickedly and grievously, albeit falsely and traitorously, accused us, our kingdom and marquisdom aforesaid, before you in your council, that in the said kingdom of Bohemia, and marquisdom of Moravia, divers errors are sprung up, which have grievously and manifoldly infected both our hearts, and also the hearts of many faithful men; insomuch that without a speedy stop or stay of correction, the said kingdom and marquisdom, together with the faithful Christians therein, should incur an irreparable loss and ruin of their souls.

"These cruel and pernicious injuries which are laid unto us, and to our said kingdom and marquisdom, albeit most falsely and slanderously, how may we suffer? Forasmuch as, through the grace of God, (when in a manner all other kingdoms of the world have oftentimes wavered, making schisms and anti-popes,) our most gracious kingdom of Bohemia, and most noble marquisdom of Moravia, since the time they did receive the catholic faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, as a most perfect quadrant, have always without reproof stuck upon the Church of Rome, and have sincerely done their true obedience. Also with how great costs and charges, and great travail, with what worship and due reverence they have revered the holy mother the church and her pastors, by their princes and faithful subjects, it is more manifest than the day-light unto the whole world; and yourselves, if you will confess the truth, can witness the same also.

"Wherefore, that we, according to the mind of the apostle, may procure honest and good things, not only before God, but before men also, and lest by neglecting the famous renown of the kingdom and marquisdom, we be found cruel toward our neighbours; having a stedfast hope, a pure and sincere conscience and intent, and a certain true faith in Christ Jesus our Lord, by the tenor of these we signify and declare unto your fatherhoods, and to all faithful Christians, openly professing both with heart and mouth, that whatsoever man, of what estate, pre-eminence, dignity, condition, degree, or religion soever he be, which hath said or affirmed, either doth say or affirm, that in the said kingdom of Bohemia, and marquisdom of Moravia, heresies have sprung up which have infected us and other faithful Christians, as is aforesaid, the only person of our most noble prince and lord, Sigismund, king of Romans and of Hungary, &c., our lord and heir successor, being set apart, whom we trust and believe not to be guilty in the premises, all and every such man, as is aforesaid, doth lie falsely upon his head, as a wicked and naughty traitor and betrayer of the said kingdom and marquisdom, and most traitorous unto us, and most pernicious heretic,

the son of all malice and wickedness, yea, and of the devil himself, who is a liar and the father of all lies.

"Notwithstanding, we for this present, committing the aforesaid injuries unto God, unto whom vengeance pertaineth, who will also abundantly reward the workers of iniquity, will prosecute them more amply before him whom God shall appoint in the apostolic see, to govern his holy church, as the only and undoubted pastor. Unto whom, God willing, we, exhibiting our due reverence and obedience as faithful children, in those things which are lawful, honest, and agreeable to reason and the law of God, will make our request and petition, that speedy remedy may be provided for us, our said kingdom and marquisdom, upon the premises, according to the law of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the institutions of the holy fathers. The premises notwithstanding, we setting apart all fear and men's ordinances provided to the contrary, will maintain and defend the law of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the devout, humble, and constant preachers thereof, even to the shedding of our blood.

"Dated at Sternberg, in the year of our Lord 1415, upon St. Wenceslaus' day, martyr of our Lord Jesus Christ."

Round about the said letters there were fifty-four seals hanging, and their names subscribed, whose seals they were. The names of which noblemen I thought it here good to annex withal.

1. Alssokabat de Wiscowitz.
2. Vlricus de Lhota.
3. Ioan. de Ksimicz.
4. Ioslko de Sczitoiwcz.
5. Pærdus Zwiranowicz.
6. Ioan. de Ziwla.
7. Ioan. de Reychenberg.
8. Wildo Skitzyny.
9. Diliko de Biesa.
10. Kos de Doloylatz.
11. Ioan. de Simusin.
12. Dobessimus de Tissa.
13. Drazko de Aradeck.
14. Steph. de Hmdorkat.
15. Ioan. Dern. de Gaboneex.
16. Barso dictus Hloder de Zeinicz.
17. Ioan. Hmrsdorf.
18. Psateska de Wilklek.
19. Petrus Mog de Sczitowicy.
20. N. Studenica.
21. N. Brischell.
22. N. de Cromassona.
23. Arannisick Donant de Polonia.
24. Ioan. Donant de Polonia.
25. Ioan. de Cziczow.
26. Wenceslaus de N.
27. N. de N.
28. N. N.
29. Iosseck de N.
30. Henricus de N.

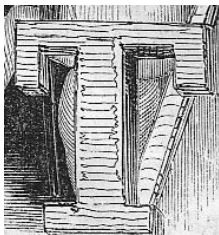
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31. Waczlals de kuck. This nobleman did accompany John Huss, and with certain horsemen conducted him to Constance.
32. Henr. de Zrenowicz.
33. Baczko de Convald.
34. Petr. dictus Nienick de Zaltoroldeck.
35. Czenko de Mossnow.
36. N.
37. Zibilutz de Clezam.
38. Ioan. de Paterswald.
39. Parsifal de Namyescz.
40. Zodoni de Zwietzick.
41. Raczeck Zawskalp.
42. Ion de Tossawicz.
43. Diwa de Spissnia.
44. Steff ko de Draczdw.
45. Issko de Draczdw.
46. Odich. de Hlud.
47. Wosfart de Paulowicz.
48. Pirebbor de Tyrezewicz.
49. Rynard de Tyrezewicz.
50. Bohunko de Wranicz.
51. Vlricus de Racdraw.
52. Dessaw de Nali.
53. Bonesb de Frabretisdow.
54. Eybl de Roissowan.

109. John Claydon and Others



The Trial of John Claydon



he order of time calleth me back to matters here of our own country, which passed in the mean time with us in England; which things being taken by the way and finished, we will (Christ willing) afterward return to prosecute the troubles and conflicts of the Bohemians, with other things beside pertaining to the latter end of the council of Constance, and choosing of Pope Martin, as the order of years and time shall require.

Ye heard before how after the death of Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, succeeded Henry Chichesley, A. D. 1414, and sat twenty-five years. In whose time was much trouble and great affliction of good men here in England; of whom many were compelled to abjure, some were burned, divers were driven to exile: whereof partly now to treat as we find them in registers and histories recorded, we will first begin with John Claydon, currier, of London, and Richard Turning, whom Robert Fabian doth falsely affirm to be burned in the year wherein Sir Roger Acton and Master Brown suffered; who indeed suffered not before the second year of Henry Chichesley being archbishop of Canterbury, which was A. D. 1413. The history of which John Claydon in the registers is thus declared:

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THE seventeenth of August, 1415, did personally appear John Claydon, currier, of London, arrested by the mayor of the said city, for the suspicion of heresy, before Henry, archbishop of Canterbury, in St. Paul's church; which John (it being objected to him by the archbishop, that in the city of London and other places of the province of Canterbury he was suspected by divers godly and learned men for heresy, and to be contrary to the catholic faith, and determination of the church) did openly confess and denied not, but that he had been for the space of twenty years suspected, both about the city of London, and also in the province of Canterbury, and especially of the common sort, for Lollardy and heresy, and to be contrary to the catholic faith and determination of the Church of Rome, and defamed of the same all the time aforesaid.

Insomuch that, in the time of Master Robert Braybrooke, bishop of London, deceased, he was, for the space of two years, committed to the prison of Conway for the aforesaid defamation and suspicion, and for the same cause also he was in prison in the Fleet for three years. Out of which prison he (in the reign of King Henry the Fourth) was brought before the Lord John Scarle, then chancellor to the king, and there did abjure all heresy and error. And the said John Claydon being asked of the said archbishop whether he did abjure the heresy of which he was suspected before any other, did confess, that in a convocation at London, in Paul's church, before Thomas Arundel, late archbishop, deceased, he did abjure all such doctrine which they called heresy and error, contrary to the catholic faith and determination of the church; and that he had not only left such articles and opinions, wherein he was defamed, but also did abstain from all company that were suspected of such opinions, so that he should neither give aid, help, counsel, nor favour unto them.

And, moreover, the said John was asked by the said archbishop, whether he ever had in his house since his abjuration, in his keeping, any books written in English. Whereunto he confessed that he would not deny, but that he had in his house and in his keeping many English books; for he was arrested by the mayor of the city of London for such books as he had, which books (as he thought) were in the mayor's keeping. Upon the which the mayor did openly confess, that he had such books in his keeping, which in his judgment were the worst and the most perverse that ever he did read or see; and one book that was well bound in red leather, of parchment, written in a good English hand; and among the other books found with the said John Claydon, the mayor gave up the said book before the archbishop. Whereupon the said John Claydon, being asked of the archbishop if he knew that book, did openly confess that he knew it very well, because he caused it to be written of his own costs and charges, for he spent much money thereupon since his abjuration. Then was he asked who wrote it. He did answer, "One called John Grime."

And further, being required what the said John Grime was, he answered, he could not tell. Again, being demanded whether he did ever read the same book, he did confess that he could not read, but he had heard the fourth part thereof read of one John Fullar. And being asked whether he thought the contents of that book to be catholic, profitable, good, and true? he answered, that many things which he had heard in the same book were both profitable, good, and healthful to his soul; and, as he said, he had great affection to the said book, for a sermon preached at Horsleydown, that was written in the said book. And being further asked, whether, since the time of his said abjuration, he did commune with one Richard Baker of the city aforesaid, he did answer, yea, for the said Richard Baker did come often unto his house to have communication with him; and being asked whether he knew the said

Richard to be suspected and defamed of heresy, he did answer again, that he knew well that the said Richard was suspected and defamed of many men and women in the city of London, as one whom they thought to be a heretic.

Which confession being made, he did cause the said books to be delivered to Master Robert Gilbert, doctor of divinity, to William Lindewood, doctor of both laws, and other clerks, to be examined; and in the mean time, David Beard, Alexander Philip, and Balthasar Mero, were taken for witnesses against him, and were committed to be examined to Master John Escourt, general examiner of Canterbury. This done, the archbishop continued his session till Monday next in the same place. Which Monday being come, which was the twentieth of the said month, the said Master Escourt openly and publicly exhibited the witnesses, being openly read before the archbishop, and other bishops; which being read, then after that were read divers tractations, found in the house of the said John Claydon; out of the which being examined, divers points were gathered and noted for heresies and errors, and especially out of the book aforesaid, which book the said John Claydon confessed by his own costs to be written and bound, which book was entitled, The Lantern of Light. In the which, and in the other examined, were these articles underwritten contained.

"1. Upon the text of the gospel, how the enemy did sow the tares, there is said thus, That wicked antichrist the pope, hath sowed among the laws of Christ his popish and corrupt decrees, which are of no authority, strength, nor value.

"2. That the archbishops and bishops, speaking indifferently, are the seats of the beast antichrist, when he sitteth in them, and reigneth above other people in the dark caves of errors and heresies.

"3. That the bishop's licence for a man to preach the word of God, is the true character of the beast, i. e. antichrist, and therefore simple and faithful priests may preach when they will against the prohibition of that antichrist, and without licence.

"4. That the court of Rome is the chief head of antichrist, and the bishops be the body; and the new sects, that is, the monks, canons, and friars, brought in not by Christ, but damnably by the pope, be the venomous and pestiferous tail of antichrist.

"5. That no reprobate is a member of the church, but only such as be elected and predestinate to salvation; seeing the church is no other thing but the congregation of faithful souls, which do and will keep their faith constantly, as well in deed as in word.

"6. That Christ did never plant private religions in the church, but whilst he lived in this world he did root them out. By which it appeareth that private religions be unprofitable branches in the church, and to be rooted out.

"7. That the material churches should not be decked with gold, silver, and precious stones, sumptuously; but the followers of the humility of Jesus Christ ought to worship their Lord God humbly, in mean and simple houses, and not in great buildings, as the churches be now-a-days.

"8. That there be two chief causes of the persecution of the Christians; one is, the priests' unlawful keeping of temporal and superfluous goods; the other is, the insatiable begging of the friars, with their high buildings.

"9. That alms is not given virtuously nor lawfully, except it be given with these four conditions: first, Unless it be given to the honour of God; secondly, Unless it be given of goods justly gotten; thirdly, Unless it be given to such a person as the

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giver thereof knoweth to be in charity; and fourthly, Unless it be given to such as have need, and do not dissemble.

"10. That the often singing in the church is not founded in the Scripture, and therefore it is not lawful for priests to occupy themselves with singing in the church, but with the study of the law of Christ, and preaching his word.

"11. That Judas did receive the body of Christ in bread and his blood in wine. In the which it doth plainly appear, that after consecration of bread and wine made, the same bread and wine that was before doth truly remain on the altar.

"12. That all ecclesiastical suffrages do profit all virtuous and godly persons indifferently.

"13. That the pope's and the bishops' indulgences be unprofitable, neither can they profit them to whom they be given by any means.

"14. That the laity is not bound to obey the prelates whatsoever they command, unless the prelates do watch to give God a just account of the souls of them.

"15. That images are not be sought to by pilgrimages, neither is it lawful for Christians to bow their knees to them, neither to kiss them, nor to give them any manner of reverence."

For the which articles, the archbishop, with other bishops and divers learned communing together, first condemned the books as heretical, and burned them in fire; and then, because they thought the said John Claydon to be forsworn and fallen into heresy, the archbishop did proceed to his definitive sentence against the said John personally appearing before him in judgment, (his confessions being read and deposed against him,) after this manner:

"In the name of God. Amen. We Henry, by the grace of God, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the apostolic see, in a certain cause of heretical pravity and of relapse into the same, whereupon John Claydon, layman, of the province of Canterbury, was detected, accused, and denounced, and in the said our province of Canterbury publicly defamed, (as by public fame and common report notoriously to us hath been known,) first, sitting in judgment-seat and observing all things lawfully required in this behalf, do proceed to the pronouncing of the sentence definitive in form as followeth: The name of Christ being invoked and only set before our eyes, forasmuch as by the acts and things enacted, produced, exhibited, and confessed before us, also by divers signs and evidences, we have found the said John Claydon to have been, and to be, publicly and notoriously relapsed again into his former heresy, heretofore by him abjured; according to the merits and deserts of the said cause, being of us diligently searched, weighed, and pondered before, to the intent that the said John Claydon shall not infect other with his scab, by the consent and assent of our reverend brethren, Richard, bishop of London, John, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, and Stephen, bishop of St. David's, and of other doctors, as well of divinity as of both laws, and also of other discreet and learned men assisting us in this behalf, we do judge, pronounce, and declare the said John Claydon to be relapsed again into his heresy, which he before did abjure, finally and definitively appointing him to be left unto the secular judgment, and so do leave him by these presents."

Thus John Claydon, receiving his judgment and condemnation of the archbishop, was committed to the secular power, and by them unjustly and unlawfully was committed to the fire, for that the temporal magistrate had no such law sufficient for them to burn any such man for religion condemned of the prelates, as is above sufficiently proved and declared. But to be short, John Claydon, notwithstanding, by the temporal magistrates, not long after was had to Smithfield, where meekly he was made a burnt offering unto the Lord, A. D. 1415.

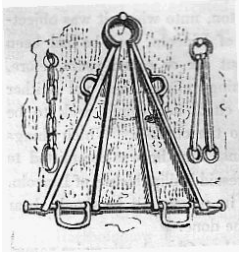
Robert Fabian, and other chronologers which follow him, add also that Richard Turming, baker, of whom mention is made before in the examination of John Claydon, was likewise the same time burnt with him in Smithfield. Albeit in the register I find no sentence of condemnation given against the said Turming, neither yet in the story of St. Alban's is there any such mention of his burning made, but only of the burning of John Claydon aforesaid; wherefore the judgment hereof I leave free to the reader. Notwithstanding, concerning the said Turming, this is certain, that he was accused to the bishops, and no doubt was in their hands and bonds. What afterward was done with him, I refer it unto the authors.

The next year, after the burning of these two aforesaid, and also of John Huss, being burnt at Constance, which was A. D. 1416, the prelates of England, seeing the daily increase of the gospel, and fearing the ruin of their papal kingdom, were busily occupied with all their counsel and diligence to maintain the same: wherefore, to make their state and kingdom sure, by statutes, laws, constitutions, and terror of punishment, as Thomas Arundel and other prelates had done before, so the forenamed Henry Chichesley, archbishop of Canterbury, in his convocation holden at London, maketh another constitution (as though there had not enough been made before) against the poor Lollards, the copy and tenor whereof he sendeth abroad to the bishop of London, and to other his suffragans, by them to be put in straight execution, containing in words as followeth:

"Henry, by the grace of God, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the chief seat, to our reverend brother in the Lord, Richard, by the grace of God, bishop of London, health and brotherly love, with continual increase. Lately, in our last convocation in St. Paul's church in London, being kept by you and other our brethren and clergy of our province, we do remember to have made this order underwritten by your consents: 'Whereas among many other our cares this ought to be chief, that by some means we may take those heretics, which like foxes lurk and hide themselves in the Lord's vineyard; and that the dust of negligence may be utterly shaken from our feet, and from the feet of our fellow brethren, in this the said convocation of the prelates and clergy, we have ordained that our fellow brethren, our suffragans and archdeacons of our province of Canterbury, by themselves, their officials or commissaries, in their jurisdictions, and every of their charges in their country, twice every year at the least, do diligently inquire of such persons as are suspected of heresy; and that in every such their archdeaconries in every parish, wherein is reported any heretics to inhabit, they cause three or more of the honestest men, and best reported of, to take their oath upon the holy evangelist, that if they shall know or understand, any frequenting either in privy conventicles, or else differing in life or manners from the common conversation of other catholic men, or else that hold any either heresies or errors, or else that have any suspected books in the English tongue, or that do receive any such persons suspected of heresies and errors into their houses, or that be favourers of them that are inhabitants in any such place, or conversant with them, or else have any recourse unto them; they make certificates of

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those persons in writing, with all the circumstances wherewith they are suspected, unto the said our suffragans or archdeacons, or to their commissaries, so soon, and with as much speed, as possibly they can; and that the said archdeacon, and every of their commissaries aforesaid, do declare the names of all such persons denounced, together with all the circumstances of them, the diocese, and places, and secretly under their seals do send over unto us the same; and that the same diocesans effectually direct forth lawful process against them, as the quality of the cause requireth, and that with all diligence they discern, define, and execute the same.



and if perhaps they leave not such persons convicted unto the secular court, yet, notwithstanding, let them commit them unto the perpetual or temporal prisons, as the quality of the cause shall require, until the next convocation of the prelates and clergy of our province of Canterbury, there personally to remain; and that in the same prisons they cause them to be kept according as the law requireth; and that of all and singular the things aforesaid, that is, what inquisition they have made, and what they have found, and how in the process they have behaved themselves, and what persons so convicted they have caused to be put in safe keeping, with what diligence or negligence of the commissaries aforesaid, with all and all manner of other circumstances premised, and thereunto in any wise appertaining, and especially of the abjurations, if in the mean time they shall chance to abjure any heresies; that then in the next convocation of the prelates and clergy under the form aforesaid, they cause the same distinctly and apertly to be certified to us and our successors; and that they deliver effectually to the official of our court, the same process to remain with them, or else, in the register of our court of Canterbury; so that every one, to whom such things appertain for the further execution of the same process, may have recourse unto the same official with all effect.

"We therefore command that, as touching the constitution brought unto your city and diocesan, you cause the same in convenient place and time to be published, and that in all points you both observe the same yourselves, and cause it also of others to be diligently observed: commanding, furthermore, all and singular our fellow brethren and suffragans, that they in like wise cause the same to be published throughout all their cities and diocese, and both diligently observe the same themselves, and also cause all others to do the same; and what thing soever you shall do in the premises, that you certify us betwixt this and the feast of St. Peter *ad vincula* next coming, that you duly certify us of these things, by your letters patent, containing the same effect, sealed with your seals. Dated at our house in London, the first day of July, A. D. 1416."

During the time of this convocation, in the year abovesaid, two priests were presented and brought before the bishops, noted and defamed for heretics, one named John Barton, unto whom it was objected by Philip, bishop of Lincoln, that he had been excommunicated about six or seven years before, upon articles concerning religion, and yet neither would appear being cited, nor would seek to be reconciled again unto the church. Which things being so proved against him, he was committed to the custody of the aforesaid Philip, bishop of Lincoln, and so to be holden in prison, till he should hear further what should be done.

"The other was Robert Chapel, otherwise named Holbech, chaplain sometimes to the Lord Cobham; unto whom likewise it was objected, that he, being under the sentence of excommunication about three or four years, yet, notwithstanding, to the contempt of the keys, did continue saying mass, and preaching, and sought not to be reconciled; Chapel denying that he did know any such excommunication given out against him. Then was the copy of his excommunication first made by the bishop of Rochester, afterward denounced by the bishop of London, at Paul's cross, brought and read before him; and so that done that session brake up for that time, which was about the latter end of May, A. D. 1416.

The twelfth day of the month of July, next following, the said Chapel appeared again before the archbishop and the prelates. To whom when it is objected as before, how he had preached without the bishop's licence in divers places, as at Cobham, at Cowling, and at Shorne; at length he, confessing and submitting himself, desired pardon. Which although it was not at the first granted unto him, yet, at the last the bishop of Rochester, putting in his hands the decree of the canon law, and causing him to read the same, made him to abjure all his former articles and opinions, as heretical and schismatical, never to hold the same again, according to the contents of the aforesaid canon. Whereupon the said Robert, being absolved by the authority of the archbishop, (save only that he should not intermeddle with saying mass before he had been dispensed from the pope himself for irregularity,) was enjoined by the archbishop himself for his penance, standing at Paul's, to publish these articles following unto the people, instead of his confession given him to be read.

"1. I confess that bishops, priests, and other ecclesiastical persons, having no other profession to the contrary, may lawfully have, receive, and retain lands and possessions temporal, to dispense and dispose the same, and the rents thereof, to the behoof of themselves, or of their church where they dwell, according as seemeth good to them.

"2. Item, I confess that it were very unlawful, yea, rather unjust, that temporal men upon any occasion, whatsoever it be, should take away temporal lands and possessions from the church, either universal or particular, to which they are given, the consideration of the abuse of mortal prelates, priests, or other ministers in the church, conversant, (which are mixed together good with bad,) abusing the same, to the contrary notwithstanding.

"3. Item, I confess that peregrinations to the relics of saints and to holy places are not prohibited, nor to be contemned of any catholic, but are available to remission of sins, and approved of holy fathers, and worthy to be commended.

"4. Item, I confess that to worship the images of Christ or of any other saints, being set up in the church, or any other place, is not forbidden, neither is any cause inductive of idolatry, being so used as the holy fathers do will them to be worshipped; but rather such images do profit much to the health of Christians, because they do put us in remembrance of the merits of those saints whom they represent, and the sight of them doth move and stir the people to prayers and devotion.

"5. Item, I confess that auricular confession used in the church is necessary for a sinner to the salvation of his soul, and necessary to be done of such a priest, as is ordained by the church to hear the confession of the sinner, and to enjoin him penance for the same; without which confession (if it may be had) there is no remission of sins to him that is in sin mortal.

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"6. Item, I confess and firmly do hold, that although the priest be in mortal sin, yet may he make the body of Christ, and minister other sacraments and sacramentals; which nevertheless are profitable to all the faithful, whosoever receive them in faith and devotion of the church.

"7. Item, I confess that bishops in their own dioceses may forbid, decree, or ordain, upon reasonable causes, that priests should not preach, without their special licence, the word of God, and that those that do against the same should suffer the ecclesiastical censures.

"8. Item, I confess that private religions, as well of monks, canons, and other, as also of the Begging Friars, being allowed by the Church of Rome, are profitable to the universal church, and in no means contrary to God's law, but rather founded and authorized thereon.

"9. Item, I promise and swear upon these holy evangelists, which I hold here in my hands, that I will henceforth never hold, affirm, nor by any means teach any thing contrary unto the premises either openly or privately."

After the setting out of the constitution aforesaid in the days of the above-named Henry Chichesley, archbishop of Canterbury, great inquisition hereupon followed in England, and many good men, whose hearts began to be won to the gospel, were brought to much vexation and caused outwardly to abjure.

Thus, while Christ had the inward hearts of men, yet the catholic antichrist would needs possess their outward bodies, and make them sing after his song. In the number of whom, being compelled to abjure, besides the other aforesaid, was also John Taylor, of the parish of St. Michael's at Querne; William James, master of arts and physician, who had long remained in prison, and at length, after abjuration, was licensed with his keeper to practise his physic.

Also John Dwarf, so named for his low stature, which was sent by the duke of Bedford to the aforesaid Chichesley, and other bishops, to be examined before them in the convocation; there he at length, revolting from his doctrine recanted, and did penance.

In like manner John Jourdelay of Lincolnshire, well commended in the registers for his learning, accused by the priests of Lincoln for a certain book, which he, contrary to the former decree of the bishops, did conceal and did not exhibit unto them, was therefore enforced to abjure. After whom was brought likewise before the bishops one Katharine Dertford, a spinster, who being accused and examined upon these three articles, concerning the sacrament of the pope's altar, adoration of images, and of pilgrimage, answered, that she was not able, being unlearned, to answer to such high matters, neither had she any further skill, but only her creed and ten commandments; and so was she committed to the vicar-general of the bishop of Winchester, (for that she was of the same diocese,) to be kept and further to be examined of the same.

At the same sitting was also brought before the said archbishop and his fellow bishops, by the lieutenant of the Tower, the parson of Heggely in Lincolnshire, named Master Robert, who being long kept in the Tower, at length by the king's writ was brought and examined the same time upon the like articles, to wit, touching the sacrament of their altar, peregrination, adoration of images, and whether it was lawful for spiritual men to enjoy temporal lordships, &c. To the which articles he answered (saith the register) doubly and mockingly, save only in the sacrament he seemed

something more conformable, albeit not yet fully to their contentation. Wherefore being committed to the custody and examination of Richard, bishop of Lincoln, in the end he was also induced to submit himself.

The same likewise did W. Henry of Tenterden, being suspected and arrested for company-keeping with them whom the bishops called Lollards, and for having suspected books.

Besides these, divers other there were also which in the same convocation were convented and revoked their opinions, as J. Galle, a priest of London, for having a book in English, entitled, A book of the New Law. Item, Richard Monk, vicar of Chesham in Lincolnshire, who submitted himself likewise. In this race and number followed, moreover, Bartholomew Cornmonger, Nicholas Hoper, servant to the Lord Cobham, Thomas Granter, with other more, mentioned in the aforesaid register.

Among the rest which were at this time troubled for their faith, was one Ralph Mungin, priest, who for the same doctrine was arrested and sent by the lord chancellor of England to the aforesaid archbishop, and by him committed to David Price, vicar-general to the bishop of London: where after he had endured four months in prison, he was by the said David presented to the convocation, against whom divers articles were objected.

But for the better explaining of the matter, first here is to be noted, that touching the time of this convocation provincial, Pope Martin had sent down to the clergy of England for a subsidy to be gathered of the church, to maintain the pope's war against the Lollards (so the papists did term them) of Bohemia. Also another subsidy was demanded to persecute one Peter Clerke, master of arts of Oxford, who, flying out of England, was at the council of Basil, disputing on the Bohemians' side. And thirdly, another subsidy was also required to persecute William Russel, warden of the Grey Friars in London, who the same time was fled from England to Rome, to maintain his opinion before the pope, and there escaped out of prison, &c., of whom more largely hereafter (Christ willing) we shall treat. In the mean time, mark here the pretty shifts of the pope to hook in the English money, by all manner of pretences possible.

Thus Ralph Mungin, the aforesaid examinee, appearing before the bishops in the convocation, it was articulated against him, first, that he should affirm and hold, that it was not lawful for any Christian to fight and make war against the heretics of Bohemia.

Item, It was to him objected, that he did hold and say, that it was not lawful for any man to have propriety of goods, but the same to be common; which he expressly denied that ever he so said or affirmed. Whereby we have to observe, how the crafty malice of these adversaries useth falsely to collect and surmise of men, what they never spake, whereby to oppress them wrongfully whom by plain truth they cannot expugn.

Moreover, they objected against him, that he should keep company with Master Clerke aforesaid, and also that he dispersed in the city of London certain books of John Wickliff and of Peter Clerke, namely, the book Trialogus, and the Gospels of John Wickliff, &c. He was charged, moreover, to have spoken against the pope's indulgences, affirming that the pope had no more power to give indulgences then he had.

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Upon these and other such articles objected, the said Mungin, being asked if he would revoke, answered, that it seemed to him not just or meet so to do, which did not know himself guilty of any heresy. Thus he, being respited for the time, was committed to prison till the next sitting; who then being called divers and sundry times afterward before the bishops, after long inquisition and strait examination made, also depositions brought in against him so much as they could search out, he notwithstanding still denied, as before, to recant. Wherefore the aforesaid Henry the archbishop, proceeding to his sentence definitive, condemned him to perpetual prison.

After whose condemnation, the Sunday next following the recantation of Thomas Granter, and of Richard Monk, priests above mentioned, were openly read at Paul's cross; the bishop of Rochester the same time preached at the said cross. The tenor of whose recantations, which his articles in the same expressed, hereunder followeth.

"In the name of God. Before you my lord of Canterbury, and all you my lords here being present, and afore you all here gathered at this time, I Thomas Granter priest unworthy, dwelling in the cite of London, feeling and understanding that afore this time I affirmed open errors and heresies saying, beleeving, and affirming within this cite, that he that Christian men callen pope, is not very pope, nor Gods vicar in earth, but I said he was antichrist. Also I said, beleevd, and affirmed, that after the sacramentall words said by a priest in the masse, there remaineth materiall bread and wine, and is not turned into Christ's body and His blood. Also I said and affirmed that it was not to doe in no wise, to goe on pilgrimage, but it was better I said to abide at home and beat the stooles with their heeles; for it was, I said, but tree and stone that they soughten. Also I said and affirmed that I held no Scripture catholike ner holy, but onely that is contained in the Bible. For the legends and lives of saints, I held hem nought, and the miracles written of hem I held untrue. Because of which errors and heresies I was tofore Master Davie Price vicar generall of my lord of London, and since tofore you my lord of Canterbury and your brethren in your counsell provincially, and by you fully informed, which so said, mine affirming, beleeving and teaching beene open errors and heresies, and contrarious to the determination of the Church of Rome. Wherefore I willing to follow and sewe the doctrine of holy church, and depart fro all manner errors and heresie, and turne with good will and heart to the one head of the chirch, considering that holy chirch shutteth ner closeth not her bosome to him that will turne again, ne God will not the death of a sinner, but rather he ben turned and live; with a pure heart I confesse, detest, and despise my said errors and heresies, and the said opinions I confesse as heresies and errors to the faith of the Church of Rome, and to all universally holy chirch repugnant. And therefore, these said opinions in speciall, and all other errors and heresies, doctrines and opinions, ayen the faith of the church, and the determinations of the Chirch of Rome, I abjure and forswear here tofore you all, and sweare by these holy Gospels by me bodily touched, that from henceforth I shall never hold, teach, ne preach error, errors, heresie, ne heresies, nor false doctrine against the faith of holy chirch, and determination of the Chirch of Rome, ner none such thing I shall obstinately defend, ne any man holding or teaching such manner things by me or any other person, openly or privily I shall defend, I shall never after this time be receitor, fautor, counsellor, or defendor of heretikes, or of any person suspect of heresie, ner I shall trow to him, ner wittingly fellaship with him, ner yeve him counsell, favour, yifts, ne comfort. And if I know any heretikes, or of heresie, or of such false opinions any person suspect, or any man or woman making or holding privy conventicles, or assemblies, or any divers or singular opinions from the

common doctrine of the Church of Rome, or if I may know any of their fautors, comforters, counsellors, or defenders; or any that have suspect bookes or quiers of such errours and heresies; I shall let you my lord of Canterbury, or your officers in your absence, or the diocesans and ordinaries of such men, have soon and ready knowing, so help me God and holydeme, and these holy evangelies by me bodily touched."

After this recantation at the cross, thus published, and his submission made, the said Granter then was, by the advice of the prelates, put to seven years prisonment, under the custody and charge of the bishop of London.

After this followed in like manner the recantation of Richard Monk. Also of Edmund Frith, which was before butler to Sir John Oldcastle.

Besides this above remembered, many and divers there be in the said register recorded, who likewise for their faith and religion were greatly vexed and troubled, especially in the diocese of Kent, in the towns of Romney, Tenterden, Woodchurch, Cranbrook, Staphelhurst, Beninden, Halden, Rolvenyden, and others, where whole households, both man and wife, were driven to forsake their houses and towns for danger of persecution; as sufficiently appeareth in the process of the Archbishop Chichesley, against the said persons, and in the certificate of Burbath, his official, wherein are named these persons following:

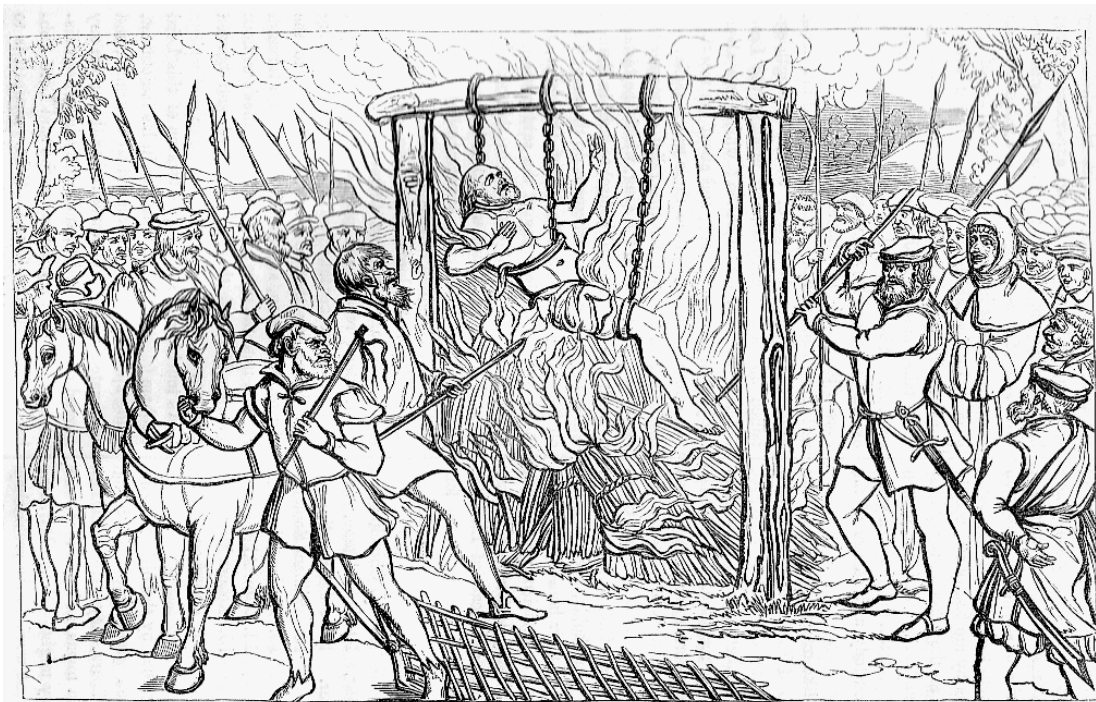
1. W. White, priest.
2. Th. Grenested, priest.
3. Bartho. Cornmonger.
4. John Wadnon.
5. Joan, his wife.
6. Tho. Everden.
7. William Everden.
8. Stephen Robin.
9. W. Chiveling.
10. John Tame.
11. John Fowlin.
12. William Somer.
13. Marian, his wife.
14. John Abraham.
15. Robert Munden.
16. Laurence Coke.

These being cited together by the bishop would not appear. Whereupon great inquisition being made for them by his officers, they were constrained to flee their houses and towns, and shift for themselves as covertly as they might. When Burbath, and other officers, had sent word to the archbishop that they could not be found, then he directed down order that citations should be set up for them on every church door, through all towns where they did inhabit, appointing them a day and term when to appear. But, notwithstanding, when they yet could not be taken, neither would appear, the archbishop, sitting in his tribunal seat, proceedeth to the sentence of excommunication against them. What afterward happened to them in the register doth not appear; but like it is, at length they were forced to submit themselves.

Concerning Sir John Oldcastle, the Lord Cobham, and of his first apprehension, with his whole story and life, sufficiently hath been expressed before; how he being committed to the Tower, and condemned falsely of heresy, escaped

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afterward out of the Tower, and was in Wales about the space of four years. In the which mean time, a great sum of money was proclaimed by the king to him that could take the said Sir John Oldcastle, either quick or dead. About the end of which four years being expired, the Lord Powis, whether for love or greediness of the money, or whether for hatred of the true and sincere doctrine of Christ, seeking all manner of ways how to play the part of Judas, at length obtained his bloody purpose, and brought the Lord Cobham bound up to London; which was about the year of our Lord 1417, and about the month of December. At which time there was a parliament assembled in London, for the relief of money the same time to be sent to the king, whom the bishops had sent out (as ye heard before) to fight in France. The records of which parliament do thus say, That on Tuesday the fourteenth day of December, and the nine and twentieth day of the said parliament, Sir John Oldcastle, of Cowling in the county of Kent, knight, being outlawed, as is before minded, in the king's bench, and excommunicated before by the archbishop of Canterbury for heresy, was brought before the lords, and having heard his said convictions, answered not thereto in his excuse. Upon which record and process it was adjudged that he should be taken as a traitor to the king and the realm; that he should be carried to the Tower of London, and from thence drawn through London unto the new gallows in St. Giles's without Temple Bar, and there to be hanged, and burned hanging.



The Execution of John Oldcastle

As touching the pretended treason of this Lord Cobham falsely ascribed unto him in his indictment, rising upon wrong suggestion and false surmise, and aggravated by rigour of words rather than upon any ground of due probation, sufficiently hath been discoursed before in my defence of the said Lord Cobham, against Alanus Copus. Where again it is to be noted, as I said before, and by this it appeareth that the Lord Cobham was never executed by force of the indictment or outlawry, because if he had, he should then have been brought to the bar in the king's

bench, and there the judges should have demanded of him, what he could have said, why he should not have died; and then not showing sufficient cause for the discharge or delay of execution, the judges should have awarded and given the judgment of treason; which being not so, it is clear he was not executed upon the indictment. Besides, to prove that he was not executed upon the indictment and the outlawry, the manner of the execution proveth it; because it was neither an execution of a traitor, nor was the whole punishment thereof pronounced by the judge, as by due order of law was requisite.

Finally, as I said before, here I repeat again, that albeit the said Lord Cobham was attainted of treason by the act, and that the king, the lords, and the commons assented to the act; yet all that bindeth not in such sort (as if indeed he were no traitor) that any man may not, by search of the truth, utter and set forth sincerely and justly the very true and certain cause whereupon his execution did follow. Which seemeth, by all circumstance and firm arguments, to rise principally of his religion, which first brought him in hatred of the bishops; the bishops brought him in hatred of the king; the hatred of the king brought him to his death and martyrdom. And thus much for the death and execution of this worthy servant of Christ, the Lord Cobham.

Moreover, in the records above mentioned it followeth, how in the said parliament, after the martyrdom of this valiant knight, motion then was made, that the Lord Powis might be thanked and rewarded, according to the proclamation made, for his great travail taken in the apprehension of Sir John Oldcastle, knight, heretic. Thus stand the words of the record; where two things are to be noted: First, how Sir John here in the record is called not traitor, but heretic only. Secondly, mark how this brother of Judas here craveth his reward for betraying the innocent blood. Wherein it is not to be doubted, but that his light fee in this world, will have a heavy reward hereafter in the world to come, unless he repented, &c.

Furthermore, in the said parliament, Act 17, it was enacted, that the church and all estates should enjoy all their liberties, which were not repealed, or repealable, by the common law; meaning belike the excluding of the jurisdiction of the pope's foreign power, which had always by the common law been excluded out of this realm.

In the same parliament also a grievous complaint was made (by the bishops no doubt) against insurrections. In the end they suspected that they were the Lollards, heretics and traitors, with a request that commissions might at all times be granted to inquire of them. Whereunto answer was made, that the statutes therefore made should be executed, &c. Thus the clergy ceased not to roar after Christian blood, and whosoever was else in fault, still the clergy cried, Crucify Christ, and deliver us Barabbas; for then all horrible acts and mischiefs, if any were done, were imputed to the poor Lollards.

110. The Bohemians Resist the Pope

And now, from our English matters, to return again to the story of the Bohemians, from whence we have a little digressed. When the news of the barbarous cruelty exercised at Constance against John Huss and Jerome of Prague, were noised in Bohemia, the nobles and gentlemen of Moravia and Bohemia, such as favoured the cause of John Huss, gathering themselves together in the zeal of Christ, first sent their letter unto the council, expostulating with them for the injury done to those godly men, as is before expressed: for the which letter they were all cited up to the council. Unto this letter Sigismund, the emperor, maketh answer again in the name of the whole council; first, excusing himself of John Huss's death, which he said was against his safe-conduct, and against his will; insomuch that he rose in anger from the council, and departed out of Constance, as is before remembered. Secondly, he requireth them to be quiet, and to conform themselves peaceably unto the order of the catholic Church of Rome, &c.

Also the council, hearing or fearing some stir to rise among the Bohemians, did make laws and articles whereby to bridle them, to the number of twenty-four.

"First, That the king of Bohemia shall be sworn to give obedience and to defend the liberties of the Church of Rome.

"That all masters, doctors; and priests shall be sworn to abjure the doctrine of Wickliff and Huss, in that council condemned.

"That all they which, being cited, would not appear, should also be sworn to abjure; and they. which would not appear, contemning the censure of the keys, should have process against them, and be punished.

"That all such laymen as had defended the causes of John Wickliff and John Huss, should swear to defend them no more, and to approve the doings of that council, and the condemnation of John Huss.

"That all such secular men as had spoiled the clergy should be sworn to restitution.

"That priests, being expelled from their benefices, should be restored again.

"That all profaners of churches should be punished after the canonical sanctions.

"That such as had been promoters in the council against John Huss, should be permitted safely to return into Bohemia again, and to enjoy their benefices.

"That the relics and treasure, taken out of the church of Prague, should be restored fully again.

"That the university of Prague should be restored again and reformed, and that they which had been the disturbers thereof should be really punished.

"That the principal heretics and doctors of that sect should be sent up to the see apostolic, namely, Johannes Jessenetz, Jacobellus de Misna, Simon de Tysna,

Simon de Rochinzano, Christians de Brachatitz, Johannes Cardinalis, Zdenko de Loben, the provost of Allhallows, Zaislaus de Suiertitz, and Michael de Czisko.

"That all secular men, which communicated under both kinds, should abjure that heresy, and swear to stop the same hereafter.

"That they which were ordained priests by the suffragan of the archbishop of Prague, taken by the Lord Zencho, should not be dispensed with, but sent up to the see apostolic.

"That the treatises of John Wickliff, translated into the Bohemian tongue by John Huss and Jacobellus, should be brought to the ordinary. "That the treatises of John Huss, condemned in the council, should also be brought to the ordinary.

"That all the tractations of Jacobellus, wherein he calleth the pope antichrist, should likewise be brought and burned.

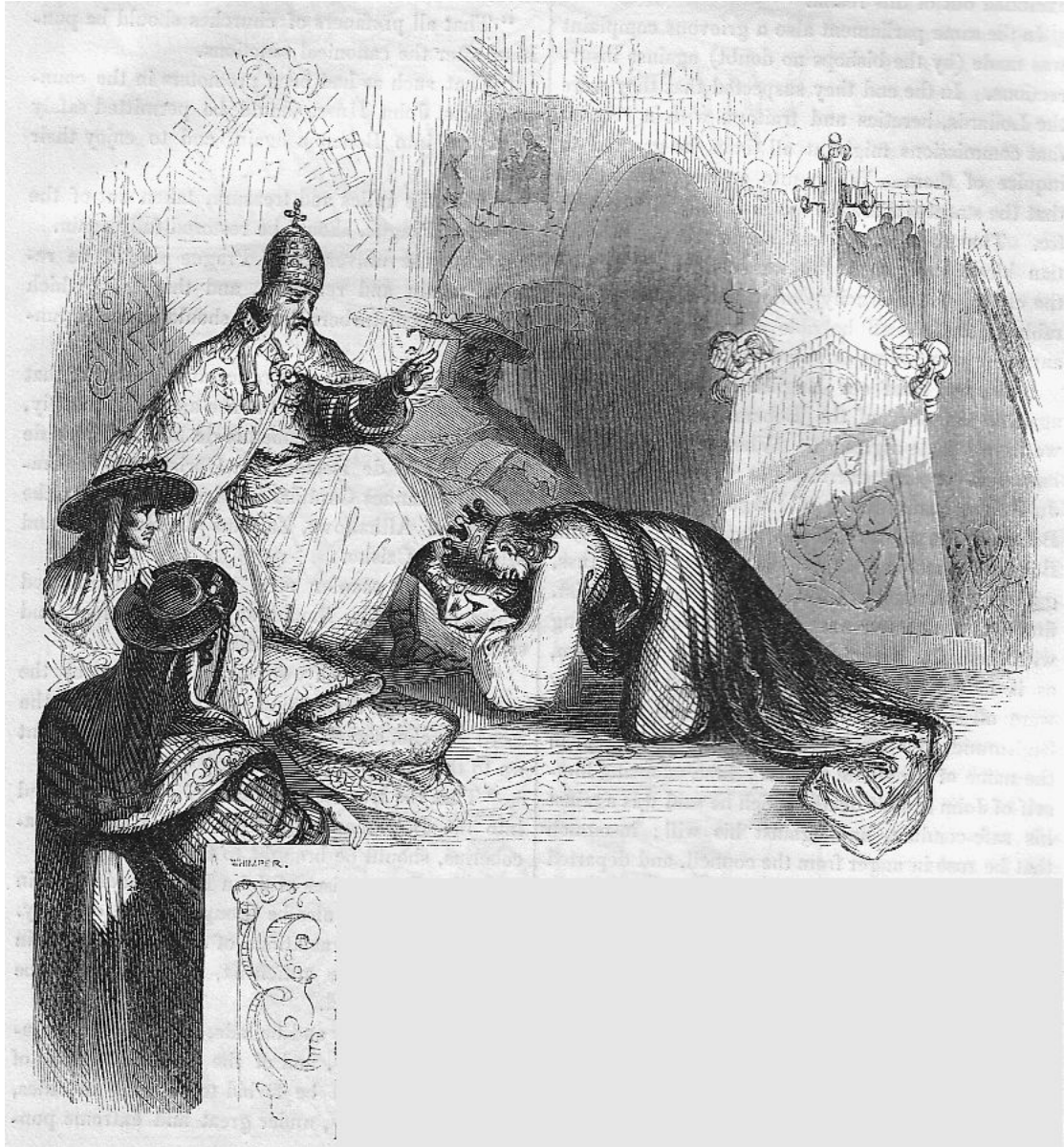
"That all songs and ballads, made to the prejudice of the council, and of the catholic persons of both states, should be forbid to be sung in cities, towns, and villages, under great and extreme punishment.

"That none should preach the word without the licence of the ordinary, or of the parson of that place.

"That all and singular, either spiritual or secular, that shall preach, teach, hold, or maintain the opinions and articles of John Wickliff, John Huss, and Jerome, in this council condemned, and convicted of the same, shall be holden for heretics, and falling in relapse shall be burned," &c.

The Bohemians, notwithstanding these cruel articles, contemning the vain devices of these prelates and fathers of the council, ceased not to proceed in their league and purpose begun, joining themselves more strongly together.

In this mean time it happened, that during this council of Constance, after the deposing of Pope John, and spoiling of his goods, which came to seventy-five thousand pounds of gold and silver, as is reported in the story of St. Alban's, Pope Martin, upon the day of St. Martin, was elected. Concerning whose election great preparation was made before of the council, so that beside the cardinals, five other bishops of every nation should enter into the conclave, who there together should be kept with thin diet, till they had founded a pope. At last, when they were together, they agreed upon this man, and not tarrying for opening the door, like mad-men for haste, they burst open a hole in the wall, crying out, We have a Martin pope. The emperor hearing thereof, with the like haste came apace, and falling down kissed the new pope's feet. Then went they all to the church together, and sang *Te Deum*.



The Emperor Kissing Pope Martin's feet

The next day following, this Martin was made priest, (which before was but a cardinal deacon,) and the next day after was consecrated bishop, and sang his first mass, whereat was present one hundred and forty mitred bishops. After this, the next morrow the new holy pope ordained a general procession, where a certain clerk was appointed to stand with flax and fire; who setting this flax on fire, thus said, "Behold, holy father, thus fadeth the transitory glory of this world." Which done, the same day the holy father was brought up unto a high scaffold, (saith the story,) I will not say to a high mountain, where was offered to him all the glory of the world, &c., there to be crowned for a triple king. This done, the same day, after dinner, the new-crowned pope was with great triumph brought through the midst of the city of Constance, where all the bishops and abbots followed with their mitres. The pope's horse was all trapped with red scarlet down to the ground. The cardinals' horses were all in white silk; the emperor on the right side, and prince elector on the left, (playing both the pope's footmen,) went on foot, leading the pope's horse by the bridle.

As this pageant thus with the great giant proceeded, and came to the market-place, there the Jews (according to the manner) offered to him their law and ceremonies.; which the pope receiving cast behind him, saying, Let old things pass, all things be made new, &c. This was A. D. 1417.

Thus the pope, being now confirmed in his kingdom, first beginneth to write his letters to the Bohemians, wherein partly he moveth them to catholic obedience, partly he dissembleth with them, feigning that if it were not for the emperor's request, he would enter process against them. Thirdly and finally, he threateneth to attempt the uttermost against them, and with all force to invade them, as well with the apostolical, as also with the secular arm, if they did still persist as they began.

Albeit, these new threats of the new bishop did nothing move the constant hearts of the Bohemians, whom the inward zeal of Christ's word had before inflamed.

And although it had been to be wished such bloodshed and wars not to have followed, yet, to say the truth, how could these rabbins greatly blame them herein, whom their bloody tyranny had before provoked so unjustly, if now with their glosing letters they could not so easily appease them again?

Wherefore these aforesaid Bohemians, partly for the love of John Huss and Jerome their countrymen, partly for the hatred of their malignant papistry, assembling together, first agreed to celebrate a solemn memorial of the death of John Huss and Jerome, decreeing the same to be holden and celebrated yearly. And afterward, by means of their friends, they obtained certain churches of the king, wherein they might freely preach and minister the sacraments unto the congregation. This done, they suppressed divers monasteries, pharisaical temples, and idolatrous fanes, beginning first with the great monastery of the Black Friars, eight miles from Prague, driving away the wicked and vicious priests and monks out of them, or compelling them unto a better order. And thus their number more and more increasing under the safe-conduct of a certain nobleman named Nicholas, they went again unto the king, requiring to have more and ampler churches granted unto them. The king seemed at the first willingly and gently to give ear unto the said Nicholas entreating for the people, and commanding them to come again the next day.

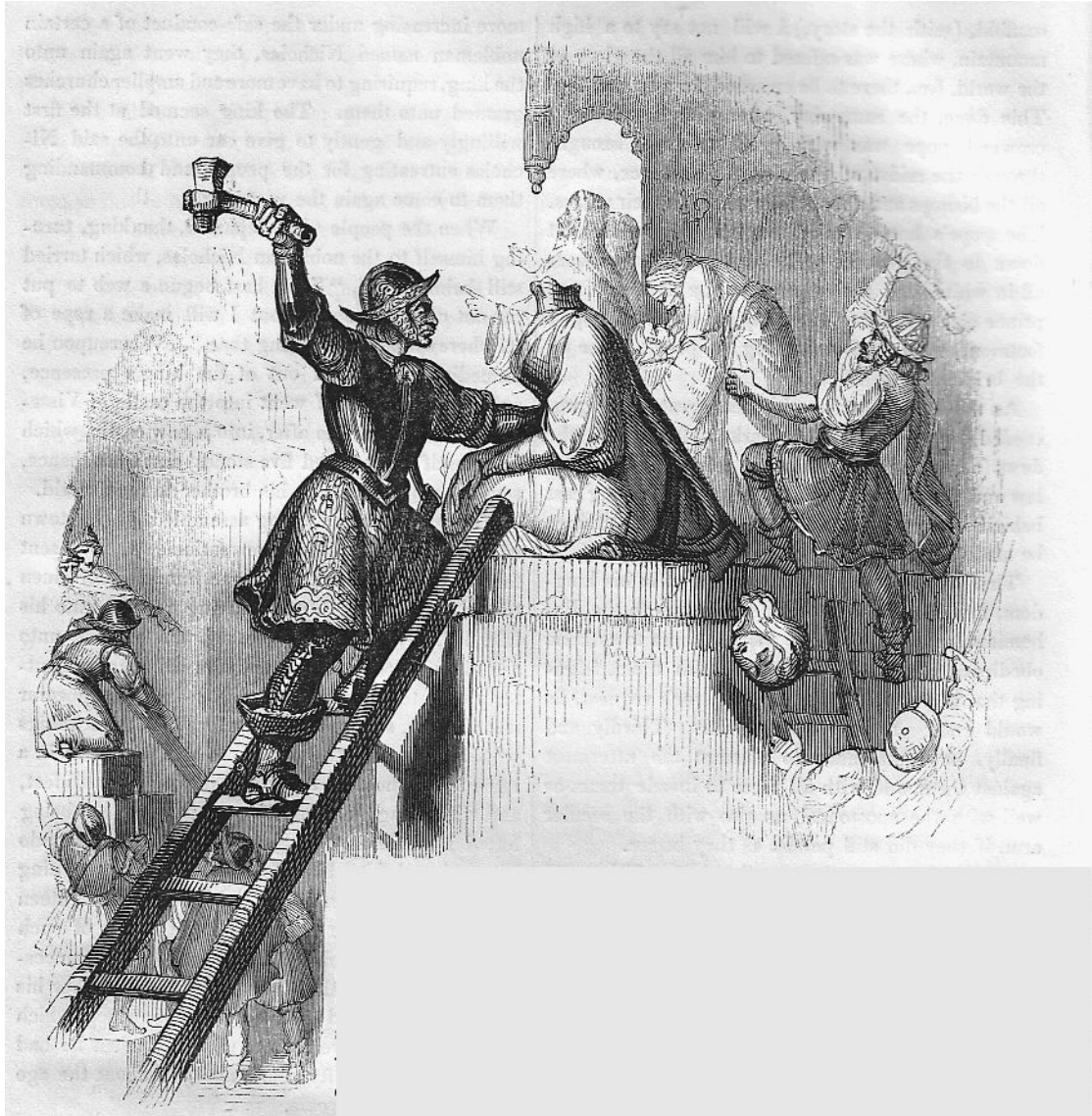
When the people were departed, the king, turning himself to the nobleman Nicholas, which tarried still behind, said, "Thou hast begun a web to put me out of my kingdom, but I will make a rope of it, wherewithal I will hang thee." Whereupon he immediately departed out of the king's presence, and the king himself went into the castle of Vissegrade, within a while after, into a new castle, which he himself had builded five stones' cast from thence, sending ambassadors to his brother to require aid.

These protestants being assembled in the town of Prague, holding their conventions, the king sent forth his chamberlain with three hundred horsemen to run upon them; but he having respect unto his life, fled. When news thereof was brought unto the king, all that were about him being amazed, utterly detested the fact; but the king's cupbearer standing by, said, "I knew before that these things would thus come to pass." Whom the king in a rage, taking hold of, threw him down before his feet, and with a dagger would have slain him; but being letted by such as were about him, with much ado he pardoned him his life. Immediately the king being taken with a palsy fell sick, and within eighteen days after, when he had marked the names of such whom he had appointed to be put to death, incessantly calling for aid of his brother,

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and other his friends, he departed this life before the princes which he had sent unto were come with aid, when he had reigned five and fifty years, and was about the age of seven and fifty years.

The story of Zisca.



Zisca Destroying the Images

Immediately after the death of Wenceslaus, there was a certain nobleman named Zisca, born at Trosnovia, which, from his youth upward was brought up in the king's court, and had lost one of his eyes in a battle, whereat he had valiantly borne himself. This man being sore grieved for the death of John Huss and Jerome of Prague, minding to revenge the injuries which the council had done, greatly to the dishonour of the kingdom of Bohemia, upon their accomplices and adherents; he gathered together a number of men of war, and subverted the monasteries and idolatrous temples, pulling down and breaking in pieces the images and idols, driving away the priests and monks, which he said were kept up in their cloisters, like swine

in their sties, to be fatted. After this his army being increased, having gathered together about forty thousand men, he attempted to take the castle of Vissegrade, which was but slenderly warded. From thence the said Zisca, under the conduct of Coranda, went speedily unto Pilsen, where he knew he had many friends of his faction, and took the town into his power, fortifying the same very strongly, and those which tarried behind, took the castle of Vissegrade.

Then the Queen Sophia, being very careful, sent letters and messengers unto the Emperor Sigismund, and other nobles adjoined unto her, requiring aid and help; but the emperor made preparation against the Turk, which had then lately won certain castles of him. Whereupon the queen, seeing all aid so far off, together with Zencho Warterberge, gathered an host with the king's treasure, and fortified the castle of Prague, and the lesser city which joineth unto the castle, making gates and towers of wood upon the bridge over the river Multaine, to stop that the protestants should have no passage that way. Then it happened that, at the Isle of St. Benedict, one Peter Steremberge fought an equal or indifferent battle with them.

In the mean time, the number of the protestants being increased in Prague, they fought for the bridge. In which battle many were slain on both parts, but at the length the Hussites won the bridge, and the nether part of lesser Prague, the queen's part flying into the upper part thereof; where they, turning again fiercely, renewed the battle, and fought continually day and night by the space of five days. Many were slain on both parts, and goodly buildings were razed, and the council-house, which was in a low place, was utterly defaced and burned.

During the time of this troublous estate, the ambassadors of the Emperor Sigismund were come, which, taking upon them the rule and governance of the realm, made a truce, or league, with the city of Prague, under this condition, that the castle of Vissegrade being rendered, it should be lawful for them to send ambassadors to the Emperor Sigismund to treat as touching their estate, and that Zisca should render Pilsen and Piesta, with the other forts which he had taken. These conditions thus agreed upon and received, all the foreign protestants departed out of the city, and the senate of the city began to govern again according to their accustomed manner, and all things were quieted. Howbeit, the papists which were gone out of the town durst not return again, but still looked for the emperor, by whose presence they thought they should have been safe. But this their hope was frustrated, by means of certain letters which were sent from the emperor, wherein it was written, that he would shortly come and rule the kingdom, even after the same order and manner as his father, Charles, had done before him. Whereupon the protestants understood that their sect and religion should be utterly banished, which was not begun during the reign of the said Charles.

About Christmas the Emperor Sigismund came to Brunna, a city of Moravia, and there he pardoned the citizens of Prague, under condition that they would let down the chains and bars of the city, and receive his rulers and magistrates. Whereunto the whole city obeyed, and the magistrates thereof, lifting up their hands unto heaven, rejoiced at the coming of the new king. But the emperor turned another way, and went unto Uratislavia, the head city of Silesia, where a little before the commonalty of the city had slain, in an insurrection, the magistrates, which his brother Wenceslaus had set in authority, the principals whereof he beheaded. The news whereof, when they were reported at Prague, the citizens being feared by the examples of the Uratislavians, distrusting their pardon, rebelled out of hand, and

having obtained Zencho, on their part, which had the government of the castle of Prague, they sent letters into all the realm, that no man should suffer the emperor to enter, which was an enemy unto Bohemia, and sought nothing else but to destroy the kingdom; which also bound the ancient city of the Prutenians under order by pledges, and put the marquis of Brandenburg from the Bohemian crown; and had not only suffered John Huss and Jerome of Prague to be burnt at the council of Constance, but also procured the same, and, with all his endeavour, did impugn the doctrine and faith which they taught and followed. Whilst these things were thus done, Zisca, having given over Pilsen by composition, was twice assaulted by his enemies, but through policy he was always victor. The places where they fought were rough and unknown, his enemies were on horseback, and all his soldiers on foot, neither could there be any battle fought but on foot. Whereupon, when his enemies were alighted from their horses, Zisca commanded the women which customably followed the host, to cast their kerchiefs upon the ground, wherein the horsemen, being entangled by their spurs, were slain before they could unloose their feet.

After this, he went unto Ausca, a town situate upon the river Lucinitius, out of which town Procopius and Ulricius, two brethren papists, had cast out many protestants. This town Zisca took, by force of arms, the first night of Lent, razed it, and set it on fire. He also took the castle of Litius, which was a mile off, whither Ulricius was fled, and put Ulricius and all his family to the sword, saving one only.

Then forasmuch as he had no walled or fenced town to inhabit, he chose out a certain place upon the same river, which was fenced by nature, about eight miles from the city of Ausca. This place he compassed in with walls, and commanded every man to build them houses, where they had pitched their tents, and named this city Tabor, and the inhabitants, his companions, Taborites, because their city by all like, was builded upon the top of some hill or mount. This city, albeit it was fenced with high rocks and cliffs, yet was it compassed with a wall and outwork, and the river of Lucinitius fenceth a great part of the town; the rest is compassed in with a great brook, the which running straight into the river Lucinitius, is stopped by a great rock, and driven back towards the right hand all the length of the city, and at the further end it joineth with the great river. The way unto it by land is scarce thirty foot broad, for it is almost an island. In this place there was a deep ditch cast, and a triple wall made, of such thickness, that it could not be broken with any engine. The wall [was] full of towers and forts set in their convenient and meet places. Zisca was the first that builded the castle, and those that came after him fortified it, every man according to his own device. At that time the Taborites had no horsemen amongst them, until such time as Nicholas, master of the mint, (whom the emperor had sent into Bohemia with a thousand horsemen to set things in order, and to withstand the Taborites, lodging all night in a village named Vogize,) was surprised by Zisca coming upon him suddenly in the night, taking away all his horse and armour, and setting fire upon the village. Then Zisca taught his soldiers to mount on horseback, to leap, to run, to turn, and to cast a ring, so that after this he never led army without his wings of horsemen.

In this mean time Sigismund, the emperor, gathering together the nobles of Silesia, entered into Bohemia, and went unto Grecium, and from thence with a great army unto Cuthna, alluring Zencho with many great and large promises to render up the castle of Prague unto him, and there placed him to annoy the town. This Zencho, infamed with double treason, returned home. The citizens of Prague sent for Zisca, who, speeding himself thither with the Taborites, received the city under his governance. In the Bohemians' host there were but only two barons, Hilco Crusina of

Lutemperg, and Hilco Waldestene, with a few other nobles. All the residue were of the common people. They went about first to subdue the castle, which was by nature very strongly fenced, and could not be won by any other means than with famine; whereupon all the passages were stopped, that no victuals should be carried in. But the emperor opened the passages by dint of sword; and when he had given unto them which were besieged all things necessary, having sent for aid out of the empire, he determined shortly after to besiege the city. There were in the emperor's camp the dukes of Saxony, the marquis of Brandenburg, and his son-in-law Albert of Austria. The city was assaulted by the space of six weeks.. The Emperor Sigismund was crowned in the metropolitan house in the castle, Conradus the archbishop solemnizing the ceremonies of the coronation. The city was straitly besieged. In the mean time the captains, Rosenses and Chragery, which had taken the tents of the Taborites, being overcome in battle by Nicholas Huss, whom Zisca had sent with part of his power for that purpose, were driven out of their tents, and Grecium, the queen's city, was also taken.

There is also above the town of Prague a high hill, which is called Videchon. On this hill had Zisca strongly planted a garrison, that his enemies should not possess it, with whom the marquis of Misnia skirmishing, lost a great part of his soldiers. For when the Misnians had gotten the top of the hill, being driven back into a corner, which was broken and steep, and fiercely set upon, when they could no longer withstand the violent force of their enemies, some of them were slain, and some falling headlong from the hill were destroyed. Whereupon the Emperor Sigismund, raising his siege, departed into Cuthna, and Zisca with his company departed unto Thabor, and subdued many places; amongst which he subverted a town pertaining to the captain of Vissegrade. During this time the castle of Vissegrade was strongly besieged, where, when other victuals wanted, they were compelled to eat horse-flesh. Last of all, except the emperor did aid them by a certain day, they promised to yield it up, but under this condition, that if the emperor did come, they within the castle should be no more molested.

The emperor was present before the day, but being ignorant of the truce taken, entering into astrait underneath the castle, was suddenly set upon by the soldiers of Prague, where he had a great overthrow, and so leaving his purpose unperformed, returned back again. There were slain in that conflict fourteen noblemen of the Moravians, and of the Hungarians, and other a great number. The castle was delivered up unto them. Whilst these things were in doing, Zisca took Boslaus, a captain, which was surnamed Cigneus, by force, in a very strong town of his, and brought him unto his religion; who, a few years after, leading the protestants' host in Austria, was wounded before Rhetium, and died. There were in the territory of Pilsen many monasteries, of the which Zisca subverted and burned five. And forasmuch as the monastery of St. Clare was the strongest, there he pitched himself.

Thither also came the emperor with his army; but when Zisca brought forth his power against him, he most cowardly fled; and not long after, he departed and left Bohemia. Then Zisca went with his army unto Pilsen; but forasmuch as he saw the city so fenced, that he was in doubt of winning the same, he went from thence to Commitavia, a famous city, the which he took by force, burning all the priests therein.

Afterward, when he lay before the town of Raby, and strongly besieged the same, he was stricken with a shaft in the eye, having but that one before to see withal. From thence he was carried to Prague by physicians, where he being cured of his

wound, and his life saved, yet he lost his sight, and for all that he would not forsake his army, but still took the charge of them.

After this the garrisons of Prague went unto Verona, where there was a great garrison of the emperor's, and took it by force, many being slain of either part. They also took the town of Broda in Germany, and slew the garrison, and afterward took Cuthna and many other cities by composition. Further, when they led their army unto a town called Pons, which is inhabited of the Misnians, the Saxons meeting them by the way, because they durst not join battle, they returned back. After all this, the emperor appointed the princes electors a day, that at Bartholomewtide they should with their army invade the west part of Bohemia; and he with a host of Hungarians would enter into the east part. There came unto his aid the archbishop of Mentz, the county Palatine of Rhine, the dukes of Saxony, the marquis of Brandenburg, and many other bishops out of Almaine; all the rest sent their aids. They encamped before the town of Sozius, a strong and well-fenced place, which they could by no means subdue. The country was spoiled and wasted round about, and the siege continued until the feast of St. Galle. Then it was broken up, because the emperor was not come at his day appointed: but he having gathered together a great army of the Hungarians, and west Moravians, about Christmas entered into Bohemia; and took certain towns by force, and Cuthna was yielded unto him. But when Zisca (although he was blind) came towards him, and set upon him, he, being afraid and many of his nobles slain, fled. But first he burned Cuthna, which the Taborites, by means of the silver mines, called the pouch of antichrist. Zisca pursuing the emperor a day's journey, got great and rich spoil, and taking the town of Broda by force, set it on fire; the which afterward, almost by the space of fourteen years, remained disinhabited. The emperor passed by a bridge over the river of Iglaria. And Piso, a Florentine, which had brought fifteen thousand horsemen out of Hungary to these wars, passed over the ice; the which by the multitude and number of his horsemen being broke, devoured and destroyed a great number. Zisca having obtained this victory, would not suffer any image or idol to be in the churches, neither thought it to be borne withal, that priests should minister with copes or vestments: for the which cause he was much the more envied amongst the states of Bohemia. And the consuls of Prague, being aggrieved at the insolency of John Premonstratensis, called him and nine other of his adherents, whom they supposed to be the principals of this faction, into the council-house, as though they would confer with them as touching the commonwealth; and when they were come in, they slew them, and afterward departed home every man to his own house, thinking the city had been quiet, as though nothing had been done. But their servants, being not circumspect enough, washing down the court or yard, washed out also the blood of those that were slain, through the sinks or channels; the which being once seen, the people understood what was done. By and by there was a great tumult; the council-house was straightway overthrown, and eleven of the principal citizens, which were thought to be the authors thereof, were slain, and divers houses spoiled.

About the same time the castle of Purgell, wherein the emperor had left a small garrison, (whither also many papists, with their wives and children, were fled,) was through negligence burned, and those which escaped out of the fire went into Pelzina. After this, divers of the Bohemian captains, and the senate of Prague, sent ambassadors to Vitold, duke of Lituania, and made him their king: this did Zisca and his adherents gainsay. This Vitold sent Sigismund Coributus with two thousand horsemen into Bohemia, who was honourably received of the inhabitants of Prague.

At his coming they determined to lay siege unto a castle situate upon a hill, which was called Charles's Stone.

Here Sigismund had left for a garrison four centurions of soldiers. The tents were pitched in three places. The siege continued six months, and the assault never ceased day and night. Five great slings threw continually great stones over the walls, and about two thousand vessels, tubs, or baskets, filled with dead carcasses and other excrements, were cast in among those which were besieged; which thing did so infect them with stench, that their teeth did either fall out, or were all loose. Notwithstanding, they bare it out with stout courage, and continued their fight until the winter, having privily received medicine out of Prague, to fasten their teeth again.

In the mean time, Frederic the Elder, prince of Brandenburg, entering into Bohemia with a great power, caused them of Prague to raise the siege. And Vitold, at the request of Uladislaus, king of Poland, which had talked with the emperor in the borders of Hungary, called Coributus, his uncle, with his whole army, out of Bohemia: whereupon the emperor supposed that the protestants, being destitute of foreign aid, would the sooner do his commandment; but he was far deceived therein, for they, leading their armies out of Bohemia, subdued the borderers thereupon adjoining. It is also reported that Zisca went into Austria, and when the husbandmen of the country had carried away a great number of their cattle by water into an isle of the river called Danube, and by chance had left certain calves and swine in their villages behind them, Zisca drave them unto the river-side, and kept them there so long, beating them, and causing them to roar out and cry, until that the cattle, feeding in the island, hearing the lowing and grunting of the cattle on the other side the water, for the desire of their like did swim over the river, by the means whereof, he got and drave away a great booty.

About the same time the Emperor Sigismund gave unto his son-in-law Albert, duke of Austria, the country of Moravia, because it should not want a ruler. At the same time also Ericius, king of Denmark, and Peter Infant, brother to the king of Portugal, and father of James, cardinal of St. Eustachius, came unto the emperor, being both very expert men in the affairs of war, which did augment the emperor's host with their aid and power. Whereupon they straightway pitched their camp before Lutemperge, a town of Moravia, and continued the siege by the space of three months. There was at that time a certain knight at Prague, surnamed Aqua, which was very rich and of great authority. This man, forasmuch as he had no child of his own, adopted unto him his sister's son, named Procopius, whom, when he was of mean nature and age, he carried with him into France, Spain, and Italy, and unto Jerusalem, and at his return caused him to be made priest. This man, when the gospel began to flourish in Bohemia, took part with Zisca; and forasmuch as he was strong and valiant, and also painful, he was greatly esteemed.

This Procopius, for his valiant acts, was afterward called Procopius Magnus, and had committed unto him the whole charge of the province of Moravia and the defence of the Lutemperges, who, receiving a great power, by force, maugre all the whole power which lay in the siege, carried victuals into the town which was so besieged, and so did frustrate the emperor's siege. The emperor, before this, had delivered unto the marquisses of Misnia the bridge and town of Ausca, upon the river Elbe, that they should fortify them with their garrisons. Whereupon Zisca besieged Ausca, and Frederic, the marquis of Misnia, with his brother, the landgrave of

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Thuringia, gathering together a great army out of Saxony, Thuringia, Misnia, and both the Lusaces, determined to rescue and aid those which were besieged.

There was a great battle fought before the city, and the victory depended long uncertain; but at last it fell on the protestants' part. There were slain in the battle the burgraves of Misnia or Chyrpogenses, the barons of Glychen, and many other nobles, beside nine thousand common soldiers, and the town of Ausca was taken and utterly razed.

At the last, dissension rising between Zisca and them of Prague, they of Prague prepared an army against him, wherewith he perceiving himself overmatched, fled unto the river Elbe, and was almost taken, but that he had passage through the town of Poggiebras; but they of Prague, pursuing the tail of the battle, slew many of his Taborites. At the length they came unto certain hills, where Zisca, going into the valley, knowing the straits of the place, that his enemies could not spread their army, he commanded his standard to stand still, and exhorting and encouraging his soldiers, he gave them battle.

This battle was very fierce and cruel; but Zisca, having the upper hand, slew three thousand of them of Prague and put the rest to flight, and straight-ways took the city of Cuthna by force (which they of Prague had repaired) and set it on fire; then with all speed he went with his army to besiege Prague, and encamped within a bow-shot of the town. There were many both in the city, and also in his host, which grudged sore at that siege; some accusing Zisca, other some them of Prague. There were great tumults in the camp, the soldiers saying that it was not reasonable, that the city should be suppressed, which was both the head of the kingdom, and did not dissent from them in opinion, saying that the Bohemians' power would soon decay, if their enemies should know that they were divided within themselves; also that they had sufficient wars against the emperor, and that it was but a foolish device to move wars amongst themselves. This talk came unto the ear of Zisca, who calling together his army, standing upon a place to be heard, spake in these words.

"Brethren, be ye not aggrieved against me, neither accuse him which hath sought your health and safeguard. The victories which ye have obtained under my conduct are yet fresh in memory, neither have I brought you at any time unto any place, from whence you have not come victors. You are become famous and rich, and I for your sake have lost my sight, and dwell in darkness. Nothing have I gotten by all these fortunate battles, but only a vain name. For you have I fought, and for you have I vanquished; neither do I repent me of my travail, neither is my blindness grievous unto me, but only that I cannot provide for you according to my accustomed manner: neither do I persecute them of Prague for mine own cause, for it is your blood that they thirst and seek for, and not for mine. It were but small pleasure for them to destroy me, being now an old man and blind, it is your valiantness and stout stomachs which they fear. Either must you or they perish; who whilst they seem to lie in wait for me, do seek after your lives. You must rather fear civil wars than foreign, and civil sedition ought first to be avoided. We will subdue Prague, and banish the seditious citizens before the emperor shall have any news of this sedition. And then having but a few of his faction left, we may with the less fear look for it; better than if these doubtful citizens of Prague were still in our camp. But because ye shall accuse me no more, I give you free liberty to do what you will. If it please you to suffer them of Prague to live in quietness, I will not be against it, so that there be no treason wrought.

If you determine to have war, I am also ready. Look which part you will incline unto, Zisca will be your aid and helper."

When he had spoken these words, the soldiers' minds were changed, and wholly determined to make wars, so that they ran by and by to take up their armour and weapons, to run unto the walls, to provoke their enemies to fight for the gates of the city. Zisca in the mean time prepared all things ready for the assault. There is, a little from Pilsen, a certain village named Rochezana. In this place there was a child born of poor and base parentage, whose name was John; he came unto Prague, and got his living there by begging, and learned grammar and logic. When he came to man's state, he became the schoolmaster of a nobleman's child; and forasmuch as he was of excellent wit and ready tongue, he was received into the college of the poor: and last of all, being made priest, he began to preach the word of God to the citizens of Prague, and was named Johannes de Rochezana, by the name of the town where he was born. This man grew to be of great name and authority in the town of Prague. Whereupon when Zisca besieged Prague, he by the consent of the citizens went out into the camp, and reconciled Zisca again unto the city.

When the emperor perceived that all things came to pass according unto Zisca's will and mind, and that upon him alone the whole state of Bohemia did depend, he sought privy means to reconcile and get Zisca into his favour, promising him the governance of the whole kingdom, the guiding of all his hosts and armies, and great yearly revenues, if he would proclaim him king, and cause the cities to be sworn unto him. Upon which conditions, when Zisca for the performance of the covenants went unto the emperor, being in his journey, at the castle of Priscovia, he was stricken with sickness and died.

It is reported, that when he was demanded, being sick, in what place he would be buried; he commanded the skin to be pulled off from his dead carcass, and the flesh to be cast unto the fowls and beasts, and that a drum should be made of his skin which they should use in their battles; affirming, that as soon as their enemies should hear the sound of that drum, they would not abide but take their flight. The Taborites, despising all other images, yet set up the picture of Zisca over the gates of the city.

The Epitaph of John Zisca, the valiant captain of the Bohemians.

"I, John Zisca, not inferior to an emperor or captain in warlike policy, a severe punisher of the pride and avarice of the clergy, and a defender of my country, do lie here. That which Appius Claudius by giving good counsel, and M. Furius Camillus by valiantness, did for the Romans; the same I, being blind, have done for my Bohemians. I never slacked opportunity of battle, neither did fortune at any time fail me. I, being blind, did foresee all opportunity of well-ordering or doing my business. Eleven times in joining battle I went victor out of the field. I seemed to have worthily defended the cause of the miserable and hungry against the delicate, fat, and gluttonous priests, and for that cause to have received help at the hands of God. If their envy had not let it, without doubt I had deserved to be numbered amongst the most famous men. Notwithstanding, my bones lie here in this hallowed place, even in despite of the pope.

"John Zisca, a Bohemian, enemy to all wicked and covetous priests, but with a godly zeal."

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And thus have you the acts and doings of this worthy Zisca, and other Bohemians, which for the more credit we have drawn out of Æneas Sylvius, only his railing terms excepted, which we have here suppressed.

All this while the emperor, with the whole power of the Germans, were not so busy on the one side, but Martin, the pope, was as much occupied on the other side; who, about the same time, directed down a terrible bull, full of all poison, to all bishops and archbishops, against all such as took any part or side with Wickliff, John Huss, Jerome, or with their doctrine and opinions. The copy of which bull, which I found in an old written monument, I wish the reader thoroughly to peruse, wherein he shall see the pope to pour out at once all his poison.

"Martin, bishop, the servant of God's servants, to our reverend brethren the archbishops of Salzburg, Gueznen, and Prague, and to the bishops of Olumitz, Luthomysl, Bamberg, Misnen, Patavia, Uratislavia, Ratisbon, Cracow, Posnamen, and Nitrien, and also to our beloved children the inquisitors appointed of the prelates above recited, or where else soever, unto whom these present letters shall come, greeting, and apostolical benediction. Amongst all other pastoral cares wherewith we are oppressed, this chiefly and specially doth enforce us, that heretics, with their false doctrine and errors, being utterly expelled from amongst the company of Christian men, and rooted out, (so far forth as God will make us able to do,) the right and catholic faith may remain sound and undefiled; and that all Christian people, immovable and inviolate, may stand and abide in the sincerity of the same faith, the whole veil of obscurity being removed. But lately in divers places of the world, but especially in Bohemia, and the dukedom of Moravia, and in the straits adjoining thereunto, certain arch-heretics have risen and sprung up, not against one only, but against divers and sundry documents of the catholic faith, being landlopers, schismatics, and seditious persons, fraught with devilish pride and wolfish madness, deceived by the subtlety of Satan, and from one evil vanity brought to a worse. Who, although they rose up and sprang in divers parts of the world, yet agreed they all in one, having their tails as it were knit together, to wit, John Wickliff of England, John Huss of Bohemia, and Jerome of Prague, of damnable memory, who drew with them no small number to miserable ruin and infidelity. For when those and such-like pestiferous persons did in the beginning of their poisoned doctrine obstinately sow and spread abroad perverse and false opinions, the prelates, who had the regiment and execution of the judicial power, like dumb dogs not able to bark, neither yet revenging speedily with the apostle all such disobedience, nor regarding corporally to cast out of the Lord's house (as they were enjoined by the canons) those subtle and pestilent arch-heretics, and their wolfish fury and cruelty, with all expedition, but suffering their false and pernicious doctrine negligently, by their over-long delays, to grow and wax strong; a great multitude of people, instead of true doctrine, received those things, which they did long, falsely, perniciously, and damnably sow among them, and giving credit unto them, fell from the right faith, and are entangled (the more pity) in the foul errors of paganism.

"Insomuch, that those arch-heretics, and such as spring of them, have infected the catholic flock of Christ in divers climates of the world, and parts bordering upon the same, and have caused them to putrefy in the filthy dunghill of their lies. Wherefore the general synod of Constance was compelled, with St. Augustine, to exclaim against so great and ruinous a plague of faithful men, and of the sound and true faith itself, saying, 'What shall the sovereign medicine of the church do, with motherly love seeking the health of her sheep, chasing, as it were, amongst a company

of men frantic, and having the disease of the lethargy? what! shall she desist and leave off her good purpose? No, not so. But rather let her, if there be no remedy, be sharp to both these sorts, which are the grievous enemies of her womb. For the physician is sharp unto the man distraught and raging in his frenzy, and yet he is a father to his own rude and unmannerly son, in binding the one, in beating the other, by showing therein his great love unto them both. But if they be negligent, and suffer them to perish, (saith St. Augustine,) this mansuetude is rather to be supposed false cruelty.'

"And therefore the aforesaid synod, to the glory of Almighty God, and preservation of his catholic faith, and augmenting of Christian religion, and for the salvation of men's souls, hath corporally rejected and cast forth of the household of God, the aforesaid John Wickliff, John Huss, and Jerome; who amongst other things did believe, preach, teach, and maintain of the sacrament of the altar, and other sacraments of the church, and articles of the faith, contrary to that the holy Church of Rome believeth, holdeth, preacheth, and teacheth, and have presumed obstinately to preach, teach, hold, and believe many other more, to the damnation of themselves and of others; and the said synod hath separated the same, as obstinate and malapert heretics, from the communion of the faithful people, and hath declared them to be spiritually thrown forth. And many other things, both wholesome and profitable, hath the same council, as touching the premises, stablished and decreed, whereby they, which by the means of those arch-heretics, and by their false doctrine, have spiritually departed from the Lord's house, may by the canonical rules be reduced to the straight path of truth and verity.

"And moreover, (as we to our great grief do hear,) not only in the kingdom of Bohemia, and dukedom of Moravia, and other places above recited, but also in certain parts and provinces near adjoining, and bordering upon the same, there be many other of the sectaries and followers of the aforesaid arch-heretics, and heretical opinions; casting behind their backs, as well the fear of God as the shame of the world, neither receiving fruit of conversion and repentance by the miserable destruction of the aforesaid John Huss and Jerome; but as men drowned in the dungeon of their sins, cease not to blaspheme the Lord God, taking his name in vain, (whose minds the father of lies hath damnably blinded,) and do read and study the aforesaid books or works, containing heresies and errors, being lately by the aforesaid synods. condemned to be burned; also to the peril of themselves and many other simple men, and against the statutes, decrees, and ordinances in the synod aforesaid, and the canonical sanctions, do presume to preach and teach the same, to the great peril of souls, and derogation of the catholic faith, and slander of many other besides: we, therefore, considering that error, where it is not resisted, seemeth to be allowed and liked; and having a desire to resist such evil and pernicious errors, and utterly root them out from amongst the company of faithful Christians, especially from the afore-recited places of Bohemia, Moravia, and other straits and islands joining and bordering upon the same, lest they should stretch out and enlarge their limits; we will and command your discretions by our letters apostolical, the holy council of Constance approving and allowing the same, that you that are archbishops, bishops, and other of the clergy, and every one of you by himself, or by any other or others, being grave and fit persons to have spiritual jurisdiction, do see that all and singular persons, of what dignity, office, pre-eminence, state, or condition soever they be, and by what name soever they are known, which shall presume otherwise to teach, preach, or observe, touching the most high and excellent, the most wholesome and superadmirable, sacrament of the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, or else of the

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sacrament of baptism, confession of sins, penance for sins, and extreme unction, or else of any other sacraments of the church, and the articles of the faith, than that which the right holy and universal Church of Rome doth hold, teach, preach, and observe; or else that shall presume obstinately, by any ways or means, privily or apertly, to hold, believe, and teach the articles, books, or doctrine of the aforesaid arch-heretics, John Wickliff, John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, being by the aforesaid synod of Constance with their authors (as is said) damned and condemned, or dare presume publicly or privily to allow or commend in any wise the death and end of the said arch-heretics, or any other their receivers, aiders, and favourers, in the favour or supportation of the aforesaid errors, as also their believers and adherents; that then, as before, you see and cause them, and every one of them, to be most severely punished, and that you judge and give sentence upon them as heretics, and that as arrant heretics you leave them to the secular court or power. Let the receivers also, and favourers, and defenders of such most pestiferous persons, notwithstanding they neither believe, favour, nor have devotion towards their errors, but haply shall receive or entertain such pestiferous persons because of carnal affection or friendly love, besides the punishment due unto them by both laws, over and above the same punishment by competent judges, be so afflicted, and for so heinous acts of theirs with so severe pain and punishment excruciated, that the same may be to other, in like case offending, an example of terror; that, at the least, those whom the fear of God by no means may revoke from such evil doing, yet the severity of this our discipline may force and constrain.

"As touching the third sort, which shall be any manner of ways infected with this damnable sect, and shall, after competent admonition, repent and amend themselves of such errors and sects aforesaid, and will return again into the lap and unity of our holy mother the church, and fully acknowledge and confess the catholic faith; towards them let the severity of justice, as the quality of the fact shall require, be somewhat tempered with a taste of mercy.

"And furthermore, we will and command, that by this our authority apostolical ye exhort and admonish all the professors of the catholic faith, as emperors, kings, dukes, princes, marquisses, earls, barons, knights, and other magistrates, rectors, consuls, proconsuls, shires, countries, and universities of the kingdoms, provinces, cities, towns, castles, villages, their lands and other places, and all other executing temporal jurisdiction, according to the form and exigence of the law, that they expel out of their kingdoms, provinces, cities, towns, castles, villages, and lands, and other places, all and all manner of such heretics, according to the effect and tenor of the council of Lateran, beginning, *Sicut ait ecclesia*, &c.; that those whom publicly and manifestly, by the evidence of their deeds, shall be known to be such as, like sick and scabbed sheep, infect the Lord's flock, they expel and banish till such time as from us, or you, or else other ecclesiastical judges or inquisitors, holding the faith and communion of the holy Church of Rome, they shall receive other order and countermand; and that they suffer no such within their shires and circuits, to preach or to keep either house or family, either yet to use any handicraft or occupations, or other trades of merchandise, or else to solace themselves any ways, or frequent the company of Christian men.

"And furthermore, if such public and known heretics shall chance to die, although not so denounced by the church, yet in this so great a crime let him and them want Christian burial, and let no offerings or oblations be made for them, nor received. His goods and substance also, from the time of his death, according to the

canonical sanctions being confiscated, let no such enjoy them to whom they appertain, till that by the ecclesiastical judges, having power and authority in this behalf, sentence upon that, his, or their crime of heresy be declared, and promulgated; and let such owners as be found suspected or noted with any such suspicion of heresy, before a competent and ecclesiastical judge, according to the consideration and exigence of that suspicion, and according to the quality of the person, by the arbitrement of such a judge, show and declare his proper and own innocency with devotion, as beseemeth in that behalf. And if in his purgation, being canonically interdicted, he do fail, or be not able canonically to make his purgation, or that he refuse to take his oath by damnable obstinacy to make such purgation, then let him be condemned as a heretic. But such as through negligence or through slothfulness shall omit to show their said innocency, and to make such purgation, let him be excommunicated, and so long put out from the company of Christian men, till that they shall make condign satisfaction; so that if by the space of one whole year they shall remain in such excommunication, then let them as heretics be condemned.

"And further, if any shall be found culpable in any point of the aforesaid pestiferous doctrine of the arch-heretics aforesaid, or in any article thereof, whether it be by the report of the seditious, or else well disposed, let them yet be punished according to the canons. If only through infamy and suspicion of the aforesaid articles, or any of them, any man shall be found suspected, and in his purgation canonical for this thing being interdicted, shall fail, let him be accounted as a man convicted, and as a convicted person by the canons let him be punished.

"And furthermore, we, invoking and putting in execution the canon of our predecessor of happy memory, Pope Boniface the Eighth, which beginneth thus, *Ut inquisitionis negotium*, &c., in exhorting-wise require, and also command all temporal potentates, lords, and judges, before recited, by whatsoever dignities, offices, and names they are known, that as they desire to be had, esteemed, and counted for the faithful members and children of the church, and do rejoice in the name of Christ, so in like wise, for defence of the same faith, they will obey, intend, give their aid and favourable help to you that are archbishops, bishops, and ecclesiastical men, inquisitors of all heretical pravity, and other judges and ecclesiastical persons by you hereunto, as aforesaid, appointed, holding the faith and communion of our holy mother the church, for the searching out, taking, and safe custody of all the aforesaid heretics, their believers, their favourers, their receivers, and their defenders, whensoever they shall be thereunto of them required.

"And that they bring, and cause to be brought, all delay set apart, the aforesaid pestiferous persons, so seeking to destroy others with them, into such safe-keeping and prisons, as by you, the archbishops, bishops, clergy, and inquisitors aforesaid, are to be appointed, or else unto such other place or places, as either you or they shall command within any of their dominions, governments, and rectories, where they, by catholic men, that is, by you, the archbishops, bishops, the clergy, and inquisitors, or any other that shall be by you appointed, or are already appointed by any of you, may be holden and kept in safe-keeping, putting them in fetters, shackles, bolts, and manacles of iron, under most strait custody, for escaping away, till such time as all that business, which belongeth unto them, be, by the judgment of the church, finished and determined, and that of such heresy, by a competent ecclesiastical judge, which firmly holdeth the faith and communion of the aforesaid holy Church of Rome, they be condemned.

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"The residue let the aforesaid temporal lords, rectors, judges, or other their officers and pursuivants, take amongst them, with condign deaths, without any delay to punish. But fearing lest to the prejudice and slander of the aforesaid catholic faith and religion, through the pretext of ignorance, any man herein should be circumvented, or that any subtle and crafty men should, under the veil of frivolous excuse, cloak and dissemble in this matter; and that as touching the convincing or apprehending of the aforesaid heretics, their receivers and defenders, favourers, believers, and adherents, and also of such as are suspected of heresy, and with suchlike perverse doctrine in any wise spotted, we might give more perfect instruction; therefore, as well to the kingdom of Bohemia and parts near adjoining to the same, as all other where this superstitious doctrine began to spread, we have thought it good to send the articles hereunder written concerning the sect of those arch-heretics, for the better direction of the aforesaid catholic faith.

"Touching which articles, by virtue of holy obedience, we charge and command you and all other archbishops and bishops, all manner of commissaries and inquisitors, that every of them within the diocese and limits of their jurisdiction, and also in the aforesaid kingdom, and dukedom, and places near adjoining, although the same places be beyond the same their jurisdiction, in the favour of the catholic faith, do give most diligent and vigilant care about the extirpation and correction of those errors, arch-heresies, and most pestiferous sect aforesaid; and also that they compel all defamed persons and suspected of so pestiferous a contagion, whether it be under the penalty of the crime confessed, or of excommunication, suspension, or interdict, or any other formidable pain canonical or legal, when and wheresoever it shall seem good unto them, and as the quality of the fact requireth, by an oath corporally taken either upon the holy evangelists, or upon the relics of saints, or upon the image of the crucifix, according to the observances of certain places, and according to the interrogatories, to make convenient answer to every article therein written. For we intend against all and singular archbishops, bishops, ecclesiastical persons, or inquisitors, which shall show themselves negligent and remiss in the extirpation of the leaven of this heretical pravity, and purging their territories, diocese, and places to them appointed, of such evil and wicked men, to proceed and to cause to be proceeded unto the deprivation and deposition of their pontifical dignities, and shall substitute such other in their places, which can and may be able to confound the said heretical pravity, and proceed to further pains against such by the laws limited, and to other yet more grievous, if need require, we our selves will proceed, and cause to be proceeded, according as the party's fact, and filthiness of his crime committed, shall deserve. The tenor of those articles whereof we have made mention in this our own writting are in words as follow.

The articles of John Huss to be inquired upon.

"1. There is one only universal church, which is the university of the predestinate, as shall after be declared.

"2. The universal church is only one; as there is one university of those that are predestinate.

"3. Paul was never a member of the devil, although he did certain acts like unto the acts of the church malignant.

"4. The reprobate are not parts of the church, for that no part of the same finally falleth from her, because that the charity of predestination, which bindeth the same church together, never faileth.

"5. The two natures, that is, the Divinity and the humanity, be one Christ.

"6. The reprobate, although he be sometime in grace, according to present justice, yet is he never a part of the church, and the predestinate is ever a member of the church, although sometime he fall from grace *adventitia*, but not from grace of predestination; ever taking the church for the convocation of the predestinate, whether they be in grace or not, according to present justice. And after this sort the church is an article of our belief.

"7. Peter is not, nor ever was, the head of the holy catholic church.

"8. Priests living viciously do defile the authority of priesthood, and so, as unfaithful children, do unfaithfully believe of the seven sacraments, of the keys of the church, of offices, of censures, of ceremonies, of the worshipping of relics, indulgences, orders, and other holy things of the church.

"9. The papal dignity came and grew from the emperor; and his government and institution sprang from the emperor's government.

"10. No man can reasonably affirm, either of himself or other, that he is the head of any particular church, or that the bishop of Rome is the head of the Church of Rome.

"11. A man ought not to believe, that he which is bishop of Rome is the head of every particular church, unless God have predestinated him.

"12. None is the vicar of Christ, or else of Peter, unless he follow him in manners and conditions, seeing that there is no other following more pertinent, nor otherwise apt to receive of God this power procuratory. For unto the office of a vicegerent of Christ, is required the conformity of manners and the authority of the institutor.

"13. The pope is not the manifest and true successor of Peter the prince of the apostles, if he live in manners contrary to St. Peter; and if he hunt after avarice, then is he the vicar of Judas Iscariot. And likewise the cardinals be not the true and manifest successors of the college of the other apostles of Christ, unless they live according to the manner of the apostles, keeping the commandments and counsels of our Lord Jesus Christ.

"14. The doctors alleging that a man, which will not be amended by the ecclesiastical censures, is to be delivered to the secular powers, do follow in this point the bishops, scribes, and Pharisees, that delivered Christ to the secular power, (saying, It is not lawful for us to kill any man,) because he would not obey them in all things; and that such be greater homicides than Pilate.

"15. The ecclesiastical obedience is such an obedience as the priests of the church have found out, besides the express authority of the Scripture. The immediate division of human works is, that they be either virtuous or vicious; and if a man be vicious, and doth any thing, then doth he it viciously; and if he be virtuous, and doth any thing, then doth he it virtuously. For like as vice, which is called a great offence or mortal sin, doth stain all the doings of a vicious man; so virtue doth quicken all the doings of a virtuous man.

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"16. A priest of God living after his law, and having the knowledge of the Scripture, and a desire to edify the people, ought to preach, notwithstanding any excommunication pretended of the pope. And further, if the pope, or any other magistrate, doth forbid a priest so disposed to preach, he ought not to be obedient unto him. For every one that taketh upon him the order of priesthood, receiveth in charge the office of a preacher; and of that burden ought he well to discharge himself, any excommunication against him pretended in any wise notwithstanding.

"17. By the censures ecclesiastical, as of excommunication, suspending, and interdict, the clergy, to their own advancement, cause the lay-people to aid them; they multiply their avarice, they defend their malice, and prepare the way to antichrist. And it is an evident sign that such censures proceed from antichrist, which in their process they call *fulminationes*, that is, their thunderbolts wherewith the clergy principally proceed against those that declare the wickedness of antichrist, who so greatly, for his own commodity, hath abused them.

"18. If the pope be evil, especially if he be a reprobate, then is he with Judas a very devil, a thief, and the son of perdition, and is not the head of the holy church militant, nor any member of the same.

"19. The grace of predestination is the band wherewith the body of the church and every member of the same is indissolubly joined to their Head Christ.

"20. The pope or prelate that is evil and a reprobate, is a pastor in name and not in deed, yea, he is a thief and a robber in very deed.

"21. The pope ought not to be called the most holy one for his office sake, for then ought a king to be called by his office the most holy one; and hangmen, with other such officers also, were to be called holy, yea, the devil himself ought to be called holy, forasmuch as he is God's officer.

"22. If the pope live contrary unto Christ, although he climb up by the right and lawful election, according to the common custom of men; yet notwithstanding, should he otherwise climb than by Christ, yea, though we admit that he should enter by the election principally made by God. For Judas Iscariot was lawfully elect of God, Christ Jesus, to his bishopric, and yet came not he the same way he ought to do unto the sheepfold.

"23. The condemnation of forty-five articles of John Wickliff by the doctors made, is unreasonable, wicked, and naught, and the cause by them alleged is feigned, that is, that none of them are catholic, but every one of them heretical, erroneous, or slanderous.

"24. Not for that the electors or the most part of them have consented together with lively voice, according to the custom of men upon the person of any, therefore that person is lawfully elect, or therefore is the true and manifest successor and vicar of Peter the apostle, or of any other the apostles in the ecclesiastical office. Wherefore, whether the electors have either well or evil made their election, it behoveth us to believe the same by the works of him that is elected. For in that that every one worketh more meritoriously to the profit of the church, he hath so much the more greater authority from God.

"25. There is not so much as one spark of appearance, that there ought to be one head, ruling and governing the church in spiritual causes, which should always be conversant in the church militant; for Christ without any such monstrous heads, by his

true disciples sparsed through the whole world, could better, a great deal, rule his church.

"26. The apostles and faithful priests of God have right worthily, in all things necessary to salvation, governed the church before the pope's office took place, and so might they do again, by like possibility, until Christ came to judgment, if the office should fail.

"Let every one that is suspected in the aforesaid articles, or else otherwise found with the assertion of them, be examined in manner and form as followeth:

"Imprimis, Whether he knew John Wickliff of England, John Huss of Bohemia, and Jerome of Prague, or any of them, and how he came by the knowledge of them; whether that during the lives of them, or any of them, they had either been conversant with them, or found any friendship at their hands.

"2. Item, Whether he, knowing them, or any of them, to be excommunicate, did willingly participate with them; esteeming and affirming the same their participation to be no sin.

"3. Item, Whether that after their deaths he ever prayed for them, or any of them, openly or privily, doing any work of mercy for them, affirming them to be either saints, or else to be saved.

"4. Item, Whether he thought them, or any of them, to be saints, or whether that ever he spake such words, and whether ever he did exhibit any worship unto them as unto saints.

"5. Item, Whether he believe, hold, and affirm, that every general council, as also the council of Constance, doth represent the universal church.

"6. Item, Whether he doth believe, that that which the holy council of Constance, representing the universal church, hath and doth allow in the favour of the faith, and salvation of souls, is to be approved and allowed of all the faithful Christians; and that, whatsoever the same council hath condemned, and doth condemn, to be contrary both to the faith and to all good men, is to be believed, holden, and affirmed for condemned, or not.

"7. Item, Whether he believeth that the condemnations of John Huss, John Wickliff, and Jerome of Prague, made, as well upon their persons, as their books and doctrine, by the holy general council of Constance, be rightly and justly made, and of every good catholic man are so to be holden and affirmed, or not.

"8. Item, Whether he believe, hold, and affirm, that John Wickliff of England, John Huss of Bohemia, and Jerome of Prague, were heretics or not, and for heretics to be nominated and preached, yea or not; and whether their books and doctrines were and be perverse or not; for the which, together with their pertinacy, they were condemned by the holy sacred council of Constance for heretics.

"9. Item, Whether he have in his custody any treatises, small works, epistles, or other writings, in what language or tongue soever, set forth and translated by any of these heretics, John Wickliff, John Huss, and Jerome, or any other of their false disciples and followers, that he may deliver them to the ordinaries of that place, or to the commissary, or to the inquisitors upon his oath. And if he say, that he hath no such writing about him, but that they are in some other place, that then you swear him to

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bring the same before his ordinary, or other aforementioned, within a certain time to him prefixed.

"10. Item, Whether he knoweth any that hath the treatises, works, epistles, or any other writings of the aforesaid John Wickliff, John Huss, and Jerome, in whatsoever tongue they are made or translated, and that he detect and manifest the same, for the purgation of their faith and execution of justice.

"11. Item, Especially let the learned be examined, whether he believeth that the sentence of the holy council of Constance, upon the forty-five articles of John Wickliff, and the thirty articles of John Huss, be not catholic; which saith, that some of them are notorious and heretical, some erroneous, other some blasphemous, some slanderous, some rash and seditious, some offensive to godly ears.

"12. Item, Whether he believeth and affirmeth that in no case it is lawful for a man to swear.

"13. Item, Whether he believeth, that at the commandment of a judge or any other it is lawful to take an oath to tell the truth in any convenient cause, although it be but purging of infamy, or not.

"14. Item, Whether he believeth that perjury wittingly committed, upon what cause soever, whether it be for the safeguard of his own life, or of any other man's life, (yea, although it be in the cause and defence of the faith,) be a sin or not.

"15. Item, Whether a man contemning purposely the rites of the church, and the ceremonies of exorcism, of catechism, and the consecration of the water of baptism, be in deadly sin or not.

"16. Item, Whether he believe, that after the consecration of the priest, in the sacrament of the altar, under the figure of bread and wine, be no material bread and wine; but in all points the same very Christ, which was crucified upon the cross, and sitteth upon the right hand of the Father.

"17. Item, Whether he believe, that after the consecration made by the priest, under the only form of bread, and besides the form of wine, be the very flesh of Christ and his blood, his soul and his Deity, and so whole Christ as he is; and in like wise, under the form of wine, without the form of bread, be the very flesh of Christ and his very blood his soul, and Deity, and so whole Christ, and the same body absolutely under every one of those kinds singularly.

"18. Item, Whether he doth believe, that the custom of houseling of the lay-people under the form of bread only, observed of the universal church, and allowed by the only council of Constance, be to be used, and not without the authority of the church at men's pleasures to be altered, and that they that obstinately affirm the contrary to this are to be punished as heretics, or not.

"19. Item, Whether he believe that those which condemn the receiving of the sacraments of confirmation, or extreme unction, or else the solemnization of matrimony, commit deadly sin or not.

"20. Item, Whether he believe that a Christian man, over and besides the contrition of heart, being licensed of a convenient priest, is bound to confess himself only to a priest, and not to any layman, be he never so devout or good, upon the necessity of salvation.

"21. Item, Whether he believe, that in the cases before put, a priest may absolve a sinner, confessing himself and being contrite, from all sins, and enjoin him penance for the same.

"22. Item, Whether he believe, that an evil priest, with due manner and form, with the intention of doing, doth verily consecrate, doth verily absolve, doth verily baptize, and doth verily dispose all other sacraments even as the church doth.

"23. Item, Whether he believe that St. Peter was the vicar of Christ, having power to bind and to loose upon the earth.

"24. Item, Whether he believe that the pope, being canonically elect, which for the time shall be, by that name expressly be the successor of Peter or not, having supreme authority in the church of God.

"25. Item, Whether he believe that the authority or jurisdiction of the pope, an archbishop, or a bishop, in binding or loosing, be more than the authority of a simple priest or not, although he have charge of souls.

"26. Item, Whether he believe, that the pope may, upon a just and good cause, give indulgences and remission of sins to all Christian men, being verily contrite and confessed, especially to those that go on pilgrimage to holy places and good deeds.

"27. Item, Whether he believe, that by such grant the pilgrims that visit those churches, and give them any thing, may obtain remission of sins or not.

"28. Item, Whether he believe that all bishops may grant unto their subjects, according as the holy canons do limit, such indulgences, or not.

"29. Item, Whether he believe and affirm, that it is lawful for faithful Christians to worship images and the relics of saints, or not.

"30. Item, Whether he believe that those religions, which the church hath allowed, were lawfully and reasonably brought in of the holy fathers, or. not.

"31. Item, Whether he believe that the pope, or any other prelate for the time being, or their vicars, may excommunicate their subject, ecclesiastical or secular, for disobedience or contumacy; so that such a one is to be holden and taken for excommunicate, or not.

"32. Item, Whether he believe, that for the disobedience and contumacy of persons excommunicate, increasing, the prelates or their vicars in spiritual things have power to aggravate and to reaggravate, to put upon men the interdict and to call for the secular arm; and that the same secular arm or power ought to be obedient to the censures, by their inferiors called for.

"33. Item, Whether he believe that the pope and other prelates, or else their vicars, have power, in spiritual things, to excommunicate priests and laymen that are stubborn and disobedient, from their office, benefice, or entrance into the church, and from the administration of the sacraments of the church, also to suspend them.

"34. Item, Whether he believe that it is lawful for ecclesiastical persons, without committing sin, to have any possessions and temporal goods; and whether he believe that it is not lawful for laymen to take away the same from them by their authority; but rather that such takers away and encroachers upon ecclesiastical goods are to be punished as committers of sacrilege, yea, although such ecclesiastical persons live naughtily that have such goods.

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"35. Item, Whether any such taking away or encroaching upon any priest rashly or violently made, although the priest be an evil liver, be sacrilege, or not.

"36. Item, Whether he believe that it is lawful for laymen of whether sex soever, that is, men and women, to preach the word of God, or not.

"37. Item, Whether he believe that it is lawful to all priests freely to preach the word of God, wheresoever, whensoever, and to whomsoever it shall please them, although they be not sent at all.

"38. Item, Whether he believe that all mortal sins, and especially such as be manifest and public, are to be corrected and to be extirpated, or not.

"Furthermore, we will, command, and decree, that if any by secret information, by you or any other to be received, shall he found either infamed or suspected of any kind of the pestiferous sect, heresy, and doctrine of the most pestilent men, John Wickliff, John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, the arch-heretics aforesaid, or of favouring, receiving, or defending the aforesaid damned men whilst they lived on the earth, their false followers and disciples, or any that believeth their errors, or any that after their death pray for them or any of them, or that nominateth them to be amongst the number of catholic men, or that defendeth them to be placed amongst the number of the saints, either by their preaching, worshipping, or other ways, wherein they deserve to be suspected; that then they by you, or some of you, may be cited personally to appear before you, or some of you, without either proctor or doctor to answer for them, an oath being openly taken by them as is aforesaid, to speak the plain and mere verity of the articles above written, and every of them, or other opportune, as case and circumstance shall require, according to your discretion, as you, or any of you, shall see expedient to proceed against them, or any of them, according to these presents, or otherwise canonically, as you shall think good.

"Also that you do publish solemnly, and cause to be published, these present letters, omitting the articles and interrogatories herein contained, in the cities and other places of your diocese, where conveniently you may, under our authority, and there to denounce and cause to be denounced all and singular such heretics, with their abettors and favourers of their heresies and errors, of what sex or kind soever, that do hold and defend the said errors, or do participate any manner of way with heretics, privily or apertly; of what state, dignity, or condition soever he or they be, patriarch, archbishop, king, queen, duke, or of what other dignity either ecclesiastical or secular he be; also with their advocates and procurators whosoever, which are believers, followers, favourers, defenders, or receivers of such heretics, or suspected to be believers, followers, favourers, defenders, or receivers of them, to be excommunicate every Sunday and festival day, in the presence of the people.

"Furthermore, that you diligently cause to be inquired, by the said our authority, upon all and singular such persons, both men and women, that maintain, approve, defend, and teach such errors, or that be favourers, receivers, and defenders of them, whether exempt or not exempt, of what dignity, state, pre-eminence, degree, order, or condition so-ever. And such as you shall find in the said your inquisition, either by their own confession, or by any other mean, to be defamed or otherwise infected with the spot of such heresy, or error, you through the sentence of excommunication, suspension, interdict, and privation of their dignities, parsonages, offices, or other benefices of the church, and fees which they hold of any church, monastery, and other ecclesiastical places, also honours and secular dignities and

degrees of sciences or other faculties, as also by other pains and censures of the church, or by ways and means whatsoever else shall seem to you expedient, by taking and imprisoning their bodies, and other corporal punishments wherewith heretics are punished, or are wont, and are commanded by canonical sanctions, to be used; and if they be clerks, by degradation, do correct and punish, and cause them to be corrected and punished with all diligence.

Furthermore, that you do rise up stoutly and courageously against such heretics, and the goods as well of them, as of the laymen, according to the canonical sanction made against heretics and their followers, under the which we will and command them and their partakers to be subject. And also such persons as shall be infamed of the heresies or errors aforesaid, or any of the premises, shall be bound to purge themselves at your arbitrement; but the other, which either by witnesses, or by their own confessions, or other allegations or probations, shall be convicted of the aforesaid heresies or articles, or of any the premises, they shall be compelled to revoke and abjure publicly and solemnly the said articles and errors, and to suffer condign penance and punishment, yea, even to perpetual imprisonment, (if need be,) for the same.

"And to the intent that they shall not nourish any kind of heresies hereafter, either in word, deed, or gesture, or shall induce other either in word or deed, privily or apertly, directly or indirectly, to believe the same, they shall be forced to put in sufficient surety; who, if it so chance that they will not publicly and solemnly renounce and abjure their articles and errors, and take at your hands condign penance, though it be to perpetual or temporal punishment according to your discretion, neither will be contented to put in sufficient surety that they will not hereafter hold or nourish these errors and heresies, neither will induce other by word or deed, privily or apertly, directly or indirectly, or by any other manner of colour, to believe the same, that then you shall proceed against them, according to the quality of their errors and demerits; yea, and if you see it so expedient, as against heretics, and as infected with heresy, by our authority, according to the canonical sanctions summarily, and simply and plainly, and of office, all appellation or appellations whatsoever ceasing, and that you punish the same, according to the sanctions and traditions canonical, yea, if need be, in leaving and committing them to the secular power; and against such as be superiors or learned doctors, laying the censures of ecclesiastical excommunication, all appellation set aside, also invoking, if need shall require, aid of the secular arm; the constitution as well of our predecessor Pope Boniface the Eighth of blessed memory, wherein is decreed, that no man without his city or diocese, (except in certain cases,) or in places being one day's journey distant from thence where he inhabiteth, shall be called into judgment, and that no man do presume to depute judges from the see apostolic, without the city and diocese where they are deputed to proceed against any; and do presume to commit their authority to any other person or persons, or to fetch and remove any man beyond one day's journey from out his diocese where he dwelleth, or at most two days' journey, if it be in a general council; as also all other constitutions of any bishop of Rome, touching as well judges delegate, as persons not to be called to judgment beyond a certain number; or else any other edict, indulgence, privilege, or exemption general or special, granted from the apostolic see, for any person or persons not to be interdicted, suspended, or excommunicated, or cited up to judgment without the compass of certain limits, or else whatsoever thing otherwise may hinder, stop, or impeach your jurisdiction, power, and free proceeding herein by any means to the contrary notwithstanding. Given at Constance, the first year of our popedom."

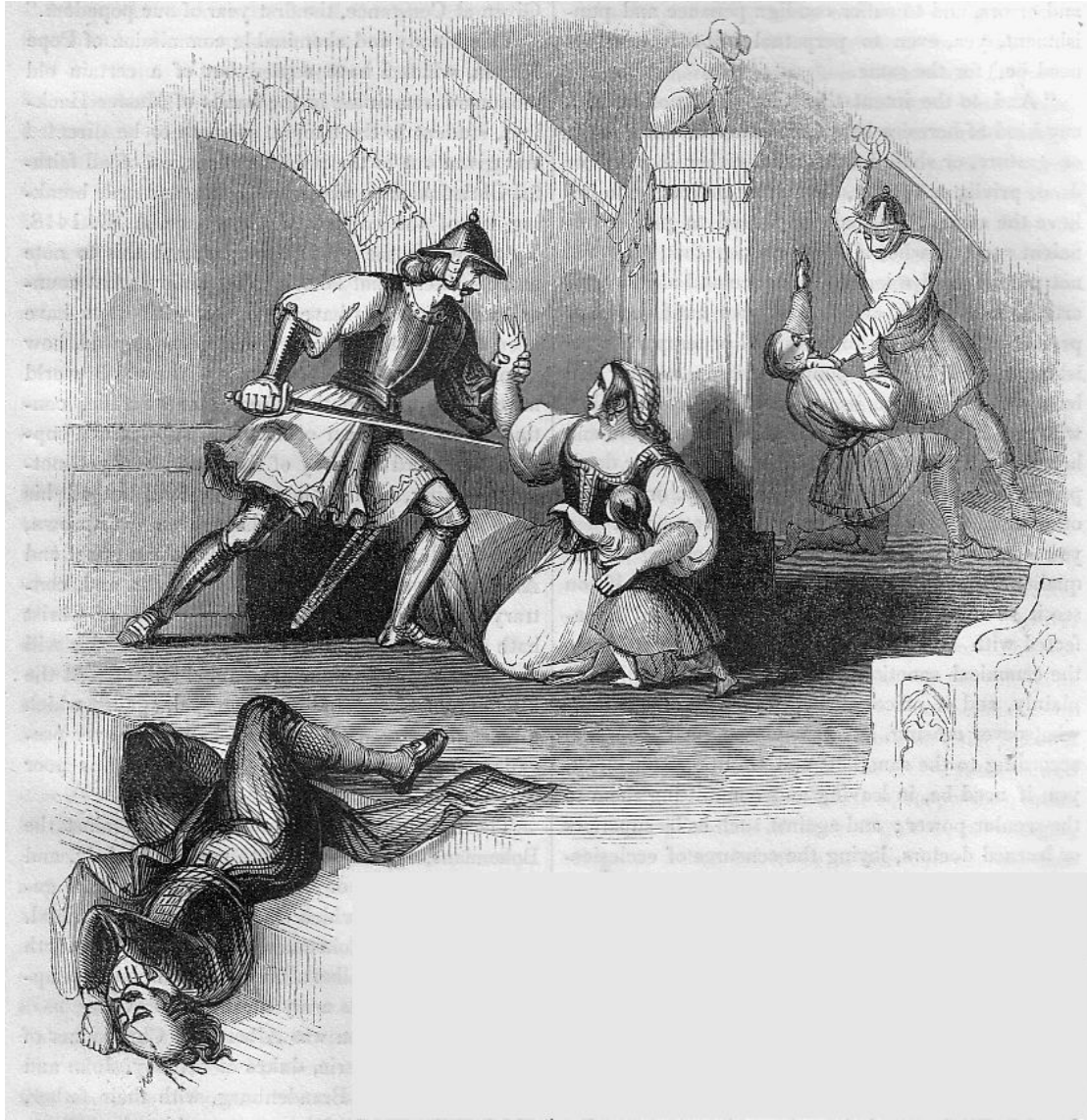
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This bloody and abominable commission of Pope Martin, which I have copied out of a certain old monument remaining in the hands of Master Hackluyt, student in the temple, seemeth to be directed and given out to the public destruction of all faithful Christian men, about the latter end and breaking up of the council of Constance, A. D. 1418. By the which the prudent reader hath this to note and consider, what labour, what policy, what counsel, and what laws have been set, what ways have been taken, what severity hath been showed, how men's power, wit, and authority of the whole world have conspired together from time to time, continually by all manner of means to subvert and supplant the word and way of the Lord; and yet, notwithstanding, man hath not prevailed, but all his force and devised policies have been overthrown, despatched, and, with the counsel of Achitophel and Ammon, have been brought to nought, and, contrary to the fury of the world, the gospel of Christ hath still increased. Neither yet for all this will the pope cease to spurn and rebel still against the kingdom of Christ and of his gospel, against which neither he, nor yet the gates of hell, shall ever prevail. The Lord of hosts be merciful to his poor persecuted flock. Amen.

There was a new expedition decreed against the Bohemians, against the eighth calends of July, and Frederic, marquis of Brandenburg, appointed general of that war, which should follow the cardinal. He entered into Bohemia by the way that leadeth unto Thopa, and Albert, prince of Austria, was appointed to bring his army through Moravia.

In this expedition was Albert and Christopher of Bavaria, and Frederic, dukes of Saxony, John and Albert, princes of Brandenburg, with their father, which was general of those wars. Also the bishops of Hyperbolis, Bamberge, and Eysten. Also the company of the Swevians, which they called the company of St. George, and the magistrates of the imperial cities, the bishop of Mentz, Trevers, and Cologne sent their aids, and with them the chieftains of their provinces. It is said that the number of their horsemen were above forty thousand, but their footmen were not full so many, for the Germans for the most part do use to fight their battles on horseback.

Also Rhenatus, prince of Loraine, promised to come to these wars; but being letted by his civil wars, forasmuch as he went about to vanquish the earl of Vandome, he could not keep his promise, and the county Palatine of Rhine, which did aid and succour the earl of Vandome, could not go against the Bohemians. The cardinal staying for them deferred his journey until the calends of August.



Massacre of Old People, Women and Children

In the mean time Albert leading his army out of Austria, understanding that the cardinal was not present at the day appointed, and seeing himself unable to encounter with the Bohemian power, he returned back again. After this the cardinal entered into Bohemia with a huge army, and destroyed many of the protestants' towns, killing men, women, and children, sparing neither old nor young; notwithstanding this his tyranny was exercised in the uttermost borders of Bohemia, for his captains feared to enter far into the land. The Bohemians, as soon as they had heard tell that their enemy was come, made ready, and gathered their host with all speed, and laid siege to a tower called Stiltiverge, and brought it under subjection. In the mean season; there fell such a marvellous sudden fear amongst all the papists, throughout the whole camp, that they began most shamefully to run away before any enemy came in sight. The Cardinal Julian marvelling at this most sudden fear, and what should move so great an army to fly, went about unto the captains, exhorting them to put on armour, to order their battles, and courageously to abide their enemies, saying, they did not fight for the glory of their kingdom, or for the possession of lands, but for their lives, and honour, and religion of Christ, and for the salvation of souls. "How ignominious a

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thing is it," saith he, "for the Germans to fly in battle, whose courage and valiantness all the world doth extol! It were much better to die, than to give place to any enemies before they were seene, for they can by no means live in safety within the walls, which give place unto their enemy in the field; for it is the weapon that defendeth a man, and not the walls, and except they would even presently defend their liberty with the sword, they should shortly be in greater bondage, more miserable than any death." But this exhortation was all in vain, for fear had put away all boldness; for the ensignes were snatched up, and, as though there had been no captain in the host, every man ran headlong away. No man regarded any commandment, neither once took his leave of his captain, but casting away their armour, with speedy flight they ran away, as though their enemy had been at their backs. The cardinal also, although it were against his will, was forced to do the like.

Thus the protestants, by the fear of their enemies made the more bold and courageous, pursued them through the woods, and had a great prey and spoil of them. Notwithstanding, Albert, when he heard tell that the cardinal was entered into Bohemia, with all speed came again out of Austria with his army, and besieged the strong town of Prezorabia; but when he understood how the cardinal was fled, he left off his purpose, and returned through Moravia, which was not yet subject unto him, and destroyed above fifty towns with fire and sword, took many of their cities by force, and spoiled them, committing great murder and slaughter, and so afflicted them that they took upon them his yoke, and promised to be subject and obedient to him, under this condition, that, as touching religion, he would be bound to do that which the council of Basil should determine.

Then was there an embassage sent out of Bohemia unto Basil, where Sigismund held the council, who, during the time of the wars, had kept himself at Nuremberg. When he should take his journey unto Rome to be crowned emperor, he wrote letters unto the nobles of Bohemia, wherein was contained, how that he was a Bohemian born, and how he was not more affectioned to any nation than to his own, and that he went to Rome for none other cause but to be crowned, the which his honour should also be a renown to the Bohemians, whom to advance it hath been always his special care.

Also, how that through his endeavour the council was begun at Basil, exhorting all such as were desirous to be heard as touching religion, that they should come thither, and that they would not maintain any quarrel contrary to the holy mother the church; that the council would lovingly and gently hear their reasons, that they should only endeavour themselves to agree with the synod as touching religion, and reserve and keep a quiet and peaceable kingdom for him, against his return; neither should the Bohemians think to refuse his regiment, whose brother, father, and uncle had reigned over them, and that he would reign over them after no othermean or sort than other Christian kings used to do.

The council of Basil also wrote their letter to the Bohemians, that they should send their ambassadors which should show a reason of their faith, promising safe-conduct to go and come, and free liberty to speak what they would. The Bohemians in this point were of two opinions; for the protestants, and almost all the common people, said, it was not good to go, alleging the example of John Huss and Jerome of Prague, which, going unto Constance, under the safe-conduct of the emperor, were there openly burned. But the nobility, following the mind of Maynard, prince of the new house, said, that they ought to go unto the council, and that they are not to be

suffered which had invented those new and strange opinions of faith, and new kind of religion, except they would render account of their doings and sayings before the universal church, and defend those things which they had openly taught before learned men. This opinion took place, and an embassage of three hundred horse was sent unto Basil. The chief whereof were William Cosca, a valiant knight, and Procopius, surnamed Magnus, a man of worthy fame for his manifold victories, John Rhochezana, preacher of Prague, Nicholas Gallicus, minister of the Taborites, and one Peter, an Englishman, of excellent, prompt, and pregnant wit. The people came in great number out of the town, and many out of the synod and council, attending before the gates to see the coming of this valiant and famous people; other some gathered together in great number into the streets where they should pass through. The matrons, maids, and children filled the windows and houses to behold and see, and to marvel at their strange kind of apparel, and stout, courageous countenances, saying, that it was not untrue which was reported of them; notwithstanding, all men beheld Procopius, saying, "This is he which hath overthrown the papists in so many battles, which hath subverted so many towns, and slain so many men, whom both his enemies, and also his own soldiers, do fear and reverence;" also that he was a bold, valiant, and invincible captain, which could not be overcome with any terror, labour, or travail.

These Bohemian ambassadors were gently received. The next day after, Cardinal Julian, sending for them unto the council-house, made a gentle, long, and eloquent oration unto them, exhorting them to unity and peace, saying, that the church was the spouse of our Saviour Christ, and the mother of all faithful, that it hath the keys of binding and loosing, and also that it is white and fair, without spot or wrinkle, and cannot err in those points that are necessary to salvation, and that he which doth condemn the same church, is to be counted as a profane ethnic, and publican, neither can this church be represented better by any means than in this council. He exhorteth them also to receive decrees of the council, and to give no less credit unto the council than unto the gospel, by whose authority the Scriptures themselves are received and allowed. Also that the Bohemians, which call themselves the children of the church, ought to hear the voice of their mother, which is never unmindful of her children; how that now of late they have lived apart from their mother; albeit, said he, that is no new or strange thing, for there have been many in times past which have forsaken their mother, and yet, seeking after salvation have returned to her again; that in the time of Noah's flood, as many as were without the ark perished; that the Lord's passover was to be eaten in one house; that there is no salvation to be sought for out of the church, and that this is the garden and famous fountain of water, whereof whosoever shall drink, shall not thirst everlastingly; that the Bohemians have done as they ought, in that they have sought the fountains of this water at the council, and have determined now at length to give ear unto their mother. Now all hatred ought to cease, all armour and weapon is to be laid apart, and all occasion of war utterly to be rejected. For the fathers would lovingly and gently hear whatsoever there they would say in their own cause or quarrel, requiring only that they would willingly receive and embrace the good counsels and determinations of the sacred synod; whereunto not only the Bohemians, but also all other faithful Christians, ought to consent and agree, if they will be partakers of eternal life.

This oration of the cardinal was heard and very well allowed of the fathers. Whereunto the Bohemians answered in few words, that they neither had condemned the church nor the council; that the sentence given at Constance, against those which

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were unheard, doth diminish nothing of the Christian religion; that the authority of the fathers hath always remained amongst them inviolate; and that whatsoever thing the Bohemians have taught, was confirmed by the Scriptures and gospel; and that they are now come to manifest their innocency before the whole church, and to require open audience, where the laity may also be present. Their request was granted them; and being further demanded in what points they did disagree from the Church of Rome, they propounded four articles.

First, they affirmed, that all such as would be saved, ought of necessity to receive the communion of the last supper under both kinds of bread and wine.

The second article, they affirmed all civil rule and dominion to be forbidden unto the clergy by the law of God.

The third article, that the preaching of the word of God is free for all men, and in all places. The fourth article, as touching open crimes and offences, which are in no wise to be suffered for the avoiding of greater evil.

These were the only propositions which they propounded before the council in the name of the whole realm. Then another ambassador affirmed that he had heard of the Bohemians divers and sundry things offensive to Christian ears, amongst the which this was one point, that they should preach that the invention of the order of Begging Friars was diabolical.

Then Procopius rising up, said, "Neither is it untrue; for if neither Moses, neither before him the patriarchs, neither after him the prophets, neither, in the new law, Christ and his apostles did institute the order of Begging Friars, who doth doubt but that it was an invention of the devil, and a work of darkness."

This answer of Procopius was derided of them all. And Cardinal Julianus went about to prove that not only the decrees of the patriarchs and prophets, and those things which Christ and his apostles had instituted, were of God, but also that all such decrees as the church should ordain, being guided through the Holy Ghost, be the works of God. Albeit, as he said, the order of Begging Friars might seem to be taken out of some part of the Gospel. The Bohemians chose out four divines which should declare their articles to be taken out of the Scriptures. Likewise on the contrary part there were four appointed by the council. This disputation continued fifty days, where many things were alleged on either part, whereof, as place shall serve, more hereafter (by the grace of Christ) shall be said, when we come to the time of that council.

In the mean season, while the Bohemians were thus in long conflicts with Sigismund the emperor, and the pope, fighting for their religion, unto whom, notwithstanding all the fulness of the pope's power was bent against them, God of his goodness had given such noble victories, as is above expressed, and ever did prosper them so long as they could agree among themselves; as these things, I say, were doing in Bohemia, King Henry the Fifth, fighting likewise in France, albeit for no like matters of religion, fell sick at Blois and died, after he had reigned nine years, five months, three weeks, and odd days from his coronation. This king, in life and in all his doings, was so devout and serviceable to the pope and all his chaplains, that he was called of many the prince of priests: who left behind him a son being yet an infant, nine months and fifteen days of age, whom he had by Queen Katherine, daughter to the French king, married to him about two or three years before. The name of which prince, succeeding after his father, was Henry the Sixth, left under the government and protection of his uncle named Humphrey, duke of Gloucester.

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

The names of the archbishops of Canterbury in this fifth book contained.

54	Simon Islepe.	17
56	Simon Langham.	2
57	William Witlesey.	5
58	Simon Sudbury.	6
59	William Courtney.	15
60	Thomas Arundel.	18
61	Henry Chichesley.	29

**THE SIXTH BOOK,
PERTAINING TO
THE LAST THREE HUNDRED YEARS FROM THE
LOOSING OUT OF SATAN.**

111. A Preface to the Reader.



ACCORDING to the five sundry diversities and alterations of the church, so have I divided hitherto the order of this present church story into five principal parts, every part containing three hundred years. So that now coming to the last three hundred years, that is, to the last times of the church, counting from the time of Wickliff: forasmuch as in the compass of the last three hundred years are contained great troubles and perturbations of the church, with the marvellous reformation of the same through the wondrous operation of the Almighty; all which things cannot be comprehended in one book; I have therefore disposed the said latter three hundred years into divers books, beginning now with the sixth book at the reign of King Henry the Sixth. In which book, beside the grievous and sundry persecutions raised up by antichrist, to be noted, herein is also to be observed, that whereas it hath of long time been received and thought of the common people, that this religion now generally used hath sprung up and risen but of late, even by the space (as many do think) of twenty or thirty years, it may now manifestly appear, not only by the acts and monuments heretofore passed, but also by the histories hereafter following, how this profession of Christ's religion hath been spread abroad in England of old and ancient time, not only for the space of these two hundred late years, from the time of Wickliff, but hath continually from time to time sparkled abroad, although the flames thereof have never so perfectly burst out as they have done within these hundred years and more; as by these histories here collected and gathered out of registers, especially of the diocese of Norwich, shall manifestly appear: wherein may be seen what men, and how many both men and women, within the said diocese of Norwich, have been, which have defended the same cause of doctrine which now is received by us in the church. Which persons although then they were not so strongly armed in their cause and quarrel as of late years they have been, yet were they warriors in Christ's church, and fought to their power in the same cause. And although they gave back through tyranny, yet judge thou the best, good reader, and refer the cause thereof to God, who revealeth all things according to his determinate will and appointed time.

112. Further Persecutions of Wicliff's Followers

THE young prince Henry the Sixth, being under the age of one year, after the death of his father, succeeded in his reign and kingdom of England, A. D. 1422, and in the eighth year was crowned at Westminster; and the second year after was crowned also at Paris, Henry, bishop of Winchester, cardinal, being present at them both, and reigned thirty-eight years, and then was deposed by Edward the Fourth, as hereafter (Christ willing) shall be declared in his time. In the first year of his reign was burned the constant witness-bearer and testis of Christ's doctrine, William Taylor, a priest, under Henry Chichesley, archbishop of Canterbury. Of this William Taylor I read, that in the days of Thomas Arundel he was first apprehended, and abjured. Afterward, in the days of Henry Chichesley, and about the year of our Lord 1421, which was a year before his burning, the said William Taylor appeared again in the convocation before the archbishop, being brought by the bishop of Worcester, being complained of to have taught at Bristol these articles following:

"First, That whosoever hangeth any Scripture about his neck, taketh away the honour due only to God, and giveth it to the devil.

"Secondly, That no human person is to be worshipped, but only God is to be adored.

"Thirdly, That the saints are not to be worshipped or invocated."

Upon these articles the said William Taylor being examined, denied that he did preach or hold them in way of defending them, but only did commune and talk upon the same, especially upon the second and third articles, only in way of reasoning, and for argument sake. And to justify his opinion to be true in that which he did hold, he brought out of his bosom a paper or libel written, wherein were contained certain articles, with the testimonies of the doctors alleged, and exhibited the same unto the archbishop. Who then being bid to stand aside, the archbishop consulting together with the bishops and other prelates what was to be done in the matter, delivered the writings unto Master John Castle, and John Rikinhale, the two vice-chancellors of Oxford and Cambridge, and to John Lang-don, monk of Canterbury; who, advising with themselves and with other divines, about the articles and allegations, on the Monday following presented the said articles of William Taylor to the archbishops and prelates, as erroneous and heretical. Whereupon William Taylor, being called before them, in conclusion was contented to revoke the same, and for his penance was by them condemned to perpetual prison.

Notwithstanding, through favour they were contented that he should be released from his prison endurance, in case he would put in sufficient surety in the king's chancery, and swear that he shall never hold nor favour any such opinions hereafter. And thus the said William Taylor, appointed to appear the next Wednesday at Lambeth before the archbishop, to take his absolution from his long excommunication during the time from Thomas Arundel, appeared again before him; where he, laying aside his *arunlousa*, that is, his cloak, his cap, and stripped unto his doublet, kneeled at the feet of the archbishop; who then standing up, and having a rod in his hand, began the psalm *Miserere*, &c., his chaplains answering the second verse.

After that was said the collect, *Deus cuius proprium*, &c., with certain other prayers. And so taking an oath of him, the archbishop committed him to the custody of the bishop of Worcester, to whom power and authority was permitted to release him, upon the conditions aforesaid. And thus was William Taylor for that time absolved, being enjoined, notwithstanding, to appear at the next convocation, whensoever it should be, before the said archbishop or his successor that should follow him.

In the mean time, while William Taylor was thus in the custody of the bishop of Worcester, there passed certain writings between him and one Thomas Smith, priest, at Bristol, in the which writings William Taylor replied against the said Thomas, concerning the question of worshipping of saints. Upon the occasion of which reply, being brought to the hands of the bishop of Worcester, William Taylor began anew to be troubled, and was brought again before the public convocation of the clergy by the said bishop of Worcester, to answer unto his writings. This was A. D. 1422, the eleventh day of February. Unto the which convocation the said William being presented, his writings were read to him; which he would not, nor could not, deny to be of his own hand-writing.

The tenor and effect of whose writing only tended to prove, that every petition and prayer for any supernatural gift ought to be directed to God alone, and to no creature. Albeit in this his writing he did not utterly deny that it was lawful in any respect to pray to saints, (and bringeth for the same St. Thomas Aquinas,) but only in respect of that worship which is called *Cultus latriæ*. And further, so prosecuteth his mind herein, that he seemeth little or nothing to differ from the superstition of the papists, as most plainly appeareth by his own words, saying, *Nunquam tamen negavi, aut negare intendo, merita aut sanctorum suffragia tam beatorum quam viventium, tam vivis, quam marquis ad hoc dispositis, quantum possunt, suffragari, vel proficere quia hoc est elicibile ex Scriptura, quæ non fallit, et ex consona ratione*, &c. And moreover he inferreth the example of Moses, who prayed unto God, alleging the merits of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, which were dead, &c. And furthermore, passing from the testimony of Jerome, and alleging the example of Stephen, saith, *Quod nunc magis exauditur pro veneratoribus suis, quam tunc exauditus est pro lapidatoribus*. And at length he cometh to this conclusion, proving by St. Austin, in this manner: "And therefore, lest we run about in circles with the wicked, and with the idolaters of the Old Testament, and never come to the centre, it is wholesome and good counsel that we follow the mind of the apostle, saying, Let us resort with boldness unto the throne of his grace, that we may obtain mercy, and find grace in time of opportune help," &c.

Thus much out of the aforesaid writing of William Taylor I have excerpted, to the intent that the indifferent reader, using his judgment herein, may see how little matter was in this, wherefore he should be condemned by the papists. And yet, notwithstanding, the same writing, being delivered by the archbishop to the four orders of friars of London, to be examined, was found erroneous and heretical in these points:

"First, That every prayer which is a petition of some supernatural gift or free gift, is to be directed only to God.

"2. Item, That prayer is to be directed to God alone.

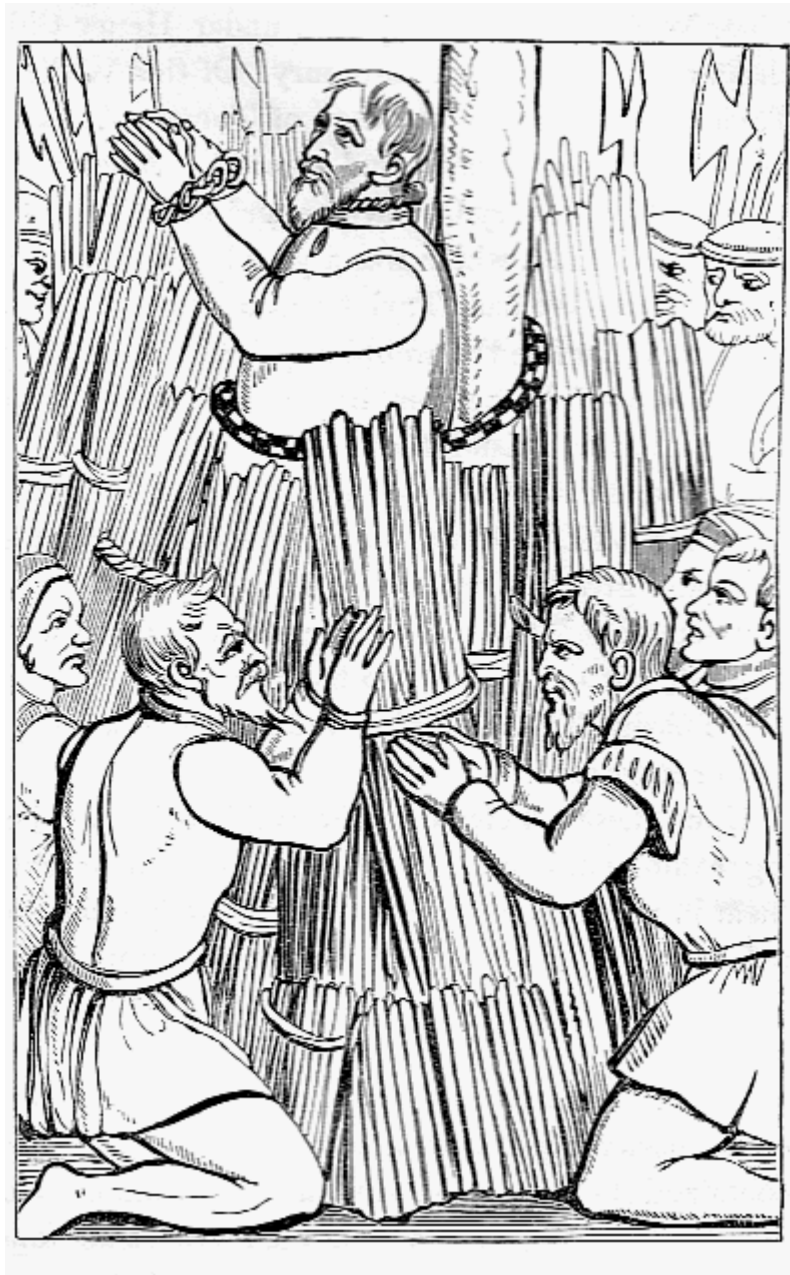
"3. Item, To pray to any creature is to commit idolatry."

4. Also, another opinion there was much like to the other, to make up the fourth: so that although all these opinions agreed in one, yet to make up a number,

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every order of the four sorts of friars, thought to find out some matter to offer up to the archbishop against him, lest one order should seem more cunning or pregnant, in finding out more than could another; or else, perchance, lest any of them should seem to favour the party, in bringing nothing against him, as the rest had done.

When the Saturday was come, which was the twentieth day of February, upon the which day, the four orders were appointed to declare their censure upon the articles in the Chapter-house of Paul's, first appeareth Friar Tille, for the black friars, then Friar Winchelsey, then Friar Lowe, after Friar Ashwell, each friar for his order severally bringing his heresy, as is above specified.



A Martyr Prepared for Burning At The Stake

Thus the verdict of these four orders being given up to the archbishop, and severally, each order coming in with his heresy, which was the twentieth day of February; hereupon cometh down a writ from the king, directed to the lord mayor and sheriffs of London, dated the first day of March, the first year of his reign. The copy whereof remaineth in the records of the Tower. Whereupon the said William Taylor, condemned as a relapse, first was degraded, and after to be burned, and so was committed to the secular power. Who then being had to Smithfield, the first day of March, with Christian constancy, after long imprisonment, there did consummate his martyrdom, 1422.

The manner of his degrading was all one with the degrading of John Huss before; for the papists use but one form for all men. First, degrading them from priesthood, by taking from them the chalice and paten. From deaconship, by taking from them the Gospel Book and Tunicle. From subdeaconship, by taking- from them the Epistle Book and Tunicle. From acoluteship, by taking from them the cruet and candlestick. From an exorcist, by taking away the Book of Exorcisms or Gradual. From the sextonship, by taking away the church-door key and surplice. And likewise from Benet, in taking away the surplice, and first tonsure, &c. All which they orderly accomplished upon this godly martyr, before his burning.

John Florence, a turner.

John Florence, a turner, dwelling in Shelton, in the diocese of Norwich, was attached for that he held and taught these heresies hereunder written, (as they called them,) contrary to the determination of the Church of Rome.

"Imprimis, That the pope and cardinals have no power to make or constitute any laws.

"Item, That there is no day to be kept holy, but only the Sunday, which God hath hallowed.

"Item, That men ought to fast no other time, but of the *quatuor temporum*.

"Item, That images are not to be worshipped, neither that the people ought to set up any lights before them in the churches, neither to go on pilgrimage, neither to offer for the dead, or with women that are purified.

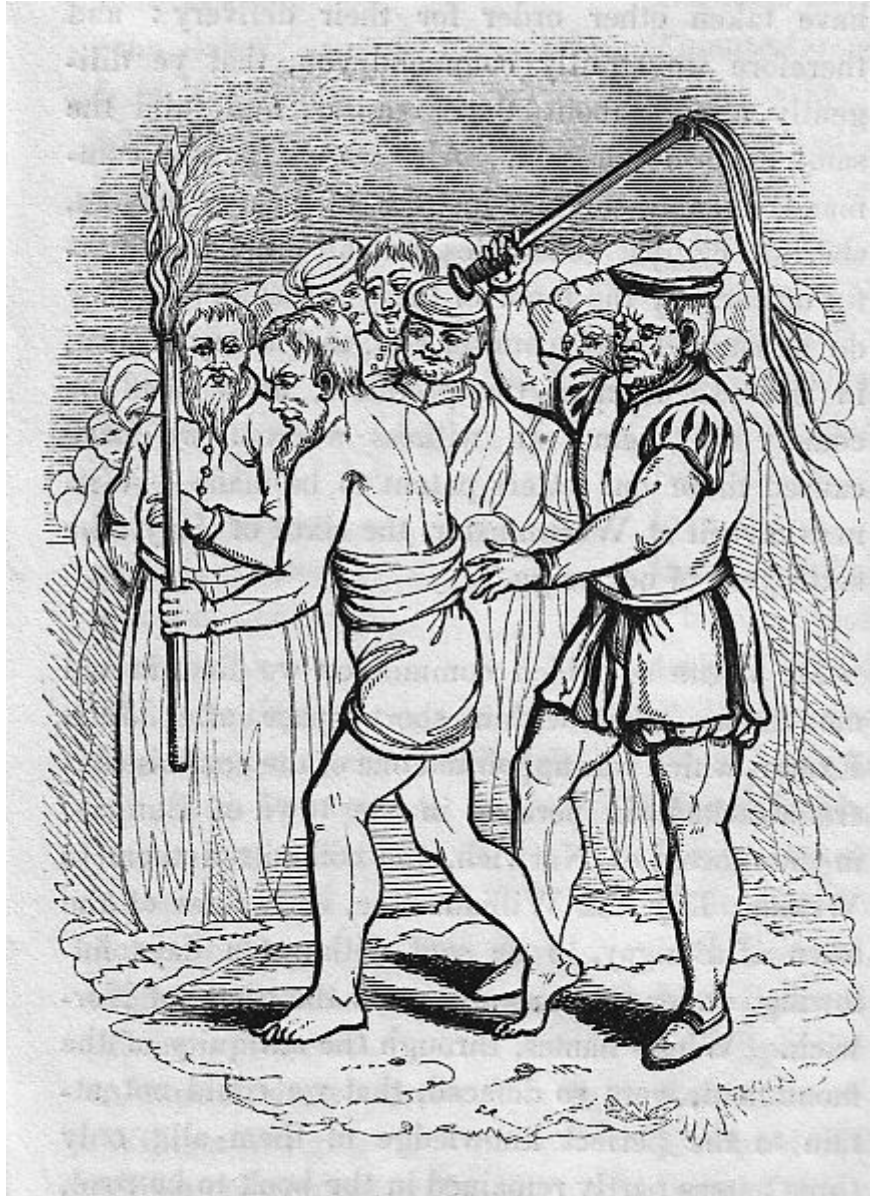
"Item, That curates should not take the tithes of their parishioners, but that such tithes should be divided amongst the poor parishioners.

"Item, That all such as swear by their life or power shall be damned, except they repent."

Upon Wednesday, being the second day of August, in the year of our Lord 1424, the said John Florence personally appeared before William Bernam, chancellor to William, bishop of Norwich, where he, proceeding against him, objected the first article touching the power of the pope and cardinals; to which article the said John Florence answered in this manner; "If the pope lived uprightly as Peter lived, he hath power to make laws; otherwise I believe he hath no power." But being afterward threatened by the judge, he acknowledged that he had erred, and submitted himself to the correction of the church, and was abjured, taking an oath, that from that time forward he should not hold, teach, preach, or willingly defend, any error or heresy contrary to the determination of the Church of Rome; neither maintain, help, or aid any that shall teach or hold any such errors or heresies, either privily or apertly; and for his offence in this behalf done he was enjoined this penance following:

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Three Sundays in a solemn procession, in the cathedral church of Norwich, he should be disciplined before all the people. The like also should be done about his parish church of Shelton, three other several Sundays, he being bareheaded, barefooted, and barenecked, after the manner of a public penitentiary, his body being covered with a canvass shirt, and canvass breeches, carrying in his hand a taper of a pound weight; and that done he was dismissed.



A Martyr Flogged Through The Streets

Richard Reheard of Earsham, in the diocese of Norwich.

Richard Belward of Earsham, in the diocese of Norwich, was accused for holding and teaching these errors and opinions hereunder written, contrary to the determination of the Church of Rome.

"Imprimis, That ecclesiastical ministers, and ordinaries, have no power to excommunicate, neither can excommunicate. And albeit that a bishop do excommunicate any man, God doth absolve him.

"Item, That he held the erroneous opinions and conclusions, that Sir John Oldcastle held when he was in prison, and affirmed that Sir John Oldcastle was a true catholic man, and falsely condemned, and put to death without any reasonable cause.

"Item, That such as go on pilgrimage, offering to images made of wood and stone, are excommunicate, because they ought to offer to the quick and not to the dead; and that the ecclesiastical ministers, that is to say, the curates, do sell God upon Easter-day, when they receive offerings of such as should communicate, before they do minister the sacrament unto them.

"Item, That he counselled divers women, that they should not offer in the church for the dead, neither with women that were purified.

"Item, That he blamed divers of his neighbours that refused his doctrine, saying unto them, 'Truly ye are fools that deny to learn the doctrine of my sect, for your neighbours which are of my sect are able to confound and vanquish all other that are of your sect.'

"Item, That the saints which are in heaven ought in no case to be prayed unto, but only God.

"Item, That the said Richard keepeth schools of Lollardy in the English tongue, in the town of Ditchingham, and a certain parchment-maker bringeth him all the books containing that doctrine from London."

The fifth day of July, 1424, the said Richard Belward was brought before John, bishop of Norwich, sitting in place of judgment, where the aforesaid articles were objected against the said Richard, which he there denied; whereupon the bishop appointed him another day to purge himself, the Monday next after the feast of St. Margaret; upon which day, being the twenty-fourth of July, in the year aforesaid, he appeared again before the bishop, and brought with him nine of his neighbours, to purge him upon those articles, and there did solemnly purge himself. And afterward, forasmuch as the said bishop suspected the said Richard Belward greatly of Lollardy, he commanded him there presently to swear upon the evangelists, that from that day forward he should not wittingly preach, teach, or defend any error or heresy, contrary to the Church of Rome, neither aid, assist, favour, or maintain, privily or apertly, any manner of person or persons that should hold or maintain the said errors or heresies. In the presence of Master William Bernam, John Wadden, Robert Serle, and J. Berne, esquire, and other of his neighbours which came unto his purgation.

In like manner John Goddesell, of Ditchingham, parchment-maker, was detected and accused upon the same articles, and thereupon brought before the bishop, where he, denying them, purged himself by his neighbours, as Richard Belward before had done, being sworn also in like manner as he was, and so was dismissed and set at liberty, until the year of our Lord 1428, when he was again apprehended, accused, and abjured, as shall be more at large declared in the history, when we come to that year. Sir Hugh Pie, also, chaplain of Ludney, in the diocese of Norwich, was likewise accused and brought before the bishop of Norwich, the fifth day of July, A. D. 1424, for holding of these opinions following:

"That the people ought not to go on pilgrimage.

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"Item, That the people ought not to give alms, but only unto such as beg at their doors.

"Item, That the image of the cross, and other images, are not to be worshipped. And that the said Hugh had cast the cross of Bromehold into the fire to be burned, which he took from one John Welgate, of Ludney."

Which articles, as is aforesaid, being objected against him, he utterly denied; whereupon he had a day appointed to purge himself by the witness of three laymen and three priests: that so done, he was sworn, as the other before, and so dismissed.

After this, in the year of our Lord 1428, King Henry the Sixth sent down most cruel letters of commission unto John Exeter and Jacolet Germaine, keeper of the castle of Colchester, for the apprehending of Sir William White, priest, and others suspected of heresies, the tenor whereof hereafter ensueth:

The copy of the king's letters, directed to John Exeter and Jacolet Germaine, keeper of the castle of Colchester, for the apprehending of Sir William White, priest, and other (as they called them) Lollards.

"Henry, by the grace of God, king of England and of France, lord of Ireland, to his well-beloved John Exeter, and Jacolet Germaine, keeper of the castle of Colchester, health.

"Ye shall understand that we, fully trusting unto your fidelity and circumspections, have appointed you jointly and severally to take and arrest William White, priest, and Thomas, late chaplain of Setling, in the county of Norfolk, and William Northampton, priest, and all other, whatsoever they be, that are suspected of heresy or Lollardy, wheresoever they may be found, within the liberties or without, and straightway, being so taken, to send them unto our next gaol or prison, until such time as we shall have taken other order for their delivery: and therefore we straitly command you, that ye diligently attend about the premises, and fulfil the same in form aforesaid. Also we charge and command all and singular justices of peace, mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, constables, and all other our faithful officers, by the tenor of these presents, that they do assist, aid, and counsel you, and every of you, in the execution of the premises, as it shall be comely for them. In witness whereof we have caused these our letters patent to be made. Witness myself at Westminster, the sixth of July, the sixth year of our reign."

By virtue of which commission we find in old monuments, that within short space after John Exeter, which was appointed one of the commissioners, attached six persons in the town of Bungay, in the diocese of Norwich, and committed them to William Day and William Roe, constables of the town of Bungay, to be sent within ten days following, under safe custody, unto the castle of Norwich. Whose names, through the antiquity of the monument, were so defaced, that we could not attain to the perfect knowledge of them all; only three names partly remained in the book to be read, which were these:

John Wadden of Tenterden, in the county of Kent; Bartholomew, monk of Earsham, in the county of Norfolk, cornleader, a married man; William Scuts.

These three were in the custody of the duke of Norfolk, at his castle of Fremingham.

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Besides these, we also find in the said old monuments within the diocese of Norfolk and Suffolk, specially in the towns of Beccles, Earsham, and Ludney, a great number both of men and women to have been vexed and cast into prison, and after their abjuration brought to open shame in churches and markets, by the bishop of the said diocese, called William, and his chancellor, William Bernham, John Exeter being the register therein: so that within the space of three or four years, that is, from the year 1428 unto the year 1431, about the number of a hundred and twenty men and women were examined, and sustained great vexation for the profession of the Christian faith; of whom some were only taken upon suspicion, for eating of meats prohibited on vigil days, who, upon their purgation made, escaped more easily away, and with less punishment, whose names here follow subscribed.

The names of them that were taken and examined upon suspicion of heresy.

Robert Skirving of Harlstone.

William Skirving.

John Terry of Ersham.

John Abtre of Ersham.

John Middleton of Halvergate.

John Wayde of Ersham.

Richard Clarke of Sething.

Thomas White of Bedingham.

Master Robert Beete of Berry.

Richard Page of Clipsly.

The other were more cruelly handled, and some whom we do specially find mention made of these of them were put to death and burned, among I three:

Father Abraham of Colchester.

William White, priest.

John Wadden, priest.

The residue, for a great number of good men and women were forced to abjure sustaining such cruel penance as pleased then the said bishop and his chancellor to lay upon them. The names of which, both men and women, here follow together in this brief catalogue to be seen.

John Beverley.

Richard Fletcher of Beckles.

John Wardon.

Nicholas Belward.

John Baker.

Thomas Grenemere.

John Middleton.

John Clarke.

John Kynget.

William Bate.

Margery Backster.

William Scherming.

John Skilley.

William Scherming.

John Godhold.

William Osbourne.

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Thomas Albecke.
Iohn Rene of Beckles.
Iohn Pierce.
Baldwine Cooper of Beckles.
Nicholas Canon of Eye.
Iohn Pet. M. Moones servant
Thomas Pye.
Rob. Briggs.
Iohn Mendham.
Iohn Finch.
John Middleton.
Iohn Wropham.
Thomas Chatris.
Thomas Moone.
Thomas Wade.
Isabel Chaplaine of Martham.
William Taylor.
William Marsh of Ersham.
Iohn Cuppet, vicar of Tunstall.
Iohn Goodwin of Ersham.
Sir Hugh Pye, priest.
Henry Latchcold of Ersham.
Bartholomew Tatcher.
Henry Broode of Ersham.
Thomas Iames.
Rich. Horne of Ersham.
Iohn Fouling.
Iohn Belward, senior, of Ersham.
Bertram Cornmonger.
Iohn Belward, junior, of Ersham.
Thomas Swerden.
Iohn Spire of Bungay.
Alanus Andrew.
Rob. Cole of Turming.
William Wright.
The herd of Shepemedow.
William Everden.
Isabel Davy of Costes.
William Taylor.
Sibyl, wife of Iohn Godesel o Dicham f
Avis the wife of Thomas Moone and her daughter.
Iohn Pyry of Bartham.
Iohn Baker.
Margery Wright.
Thomas Burrell and his wife.
Iohn Pert.
Edm. Archer.
The Clerk of Ludney.
Richard Clerke of Sething.
Katherine, the wife of William Wright.

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William Collin of Southereke.
Rich. King of Windeham.
Tho. Plowman.
John Fellis.
Tho. Love of Rokeland.
Richard Knobbing of Beckles.
Rich. Grace of Beckles.
John Eldon of Beckles.
William Hardy.
William Bate.
John Weston.
Katherine Hobs.
John Daw.
Rob. Grigs of Martham.
Wil. Calls, priest.
Tho. Pert. priest.
Katherine Davy.
Iacob Bodhome, and Margaret his wife.
John Manning of Marton.
John Culling of Beemster.
Rich. Fletcher of Beckles, and Matild his wife
Rob. Canel, priest.
William Hardy of Mundham.
Nich. Drey.
John Poleyne.
John Eldon of Beckles.

These forenamed persons and soldiers of Christ, being much beaten with the cares and troubles of those days, although they were constrained to relent and abjure, that is, to protest otherwise with their tongues than their hearts did think, partly through correction, and partly through infirmity, being as yet but new-trained soldiers in God's field, yet for their good will they bare unto the truth, although with their tongues they durst not express it, we have thought good that their names should not be suppressed, as well for other sundry causes, as specially for this, either to stop the mouths of malignant adversaries, or to answer to their ignorance, who, following rather blind affection than the true knowledge of times and antiquities, for lack of knowledge blame that they know not, accusing the true doctrine of the word of God for novelty, and carping the teachers thereof for new-broached brethren; who, if they did as well foresee times past, as they be unwilling to follow times now present, they should understand, as well by these stories as other before, how this doctrine of the grace of God, lacking no antiquity, hath, from time to time, continually sought to burst out, and in some places hath prevailed, although in most places, through tyranny, and the malice of men, Christ's proceedings have been suppressed and kept under from rising, so much as men's power and strength, joined with craft and subtlety, could labour to keep down the same; as here, by these good men of Norfolk and Suffolk, may well appear. For if the knowledge and the good towardness of those good men had had the like liberty of time, with the help of like authority, as we have now, and had not been restrained through the iniquity of time and tyranny of prelates, it had well appeared how old this doctrine would have been, which now they condemn and reject for the newness thereof; neither needed Bonner to have asked of Thomas Hawkes, and such other, where their church was for forty years ago, inasmuch as for

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forty years ago, and more, within the country of Norfolk and Suffolk, was then found such plenty of the same profession and like doctrine which we now profess. And thus much for the number and names of these persons.

Now as touching their articles which they did maintain and defend, first, this is to be considered, as I find it in the registers, such society and agreement of doctrine to be amongst them, that almost in their assertions and articles there was no difference; the doctrine of the one was the doctrine of all the other: what their articles were, partly it is showed in the leaf before, and partly here followeth to be declared more at large.

Although it is to be thought concerning these articles, that many of them either were falsely objected against them, or not truly reported of the notaries, according as the common manner is of these adversaries, where the matter is good, there to make heresy, and of a little occasion to stir up great matter of slander, as they did before by the articles of John Wickliff and John Huss, and others more: so in like manner it seemeth they did in the articles of these men, either mistaking that which they said, or misunderstanding that which they meant, especially in these two articles concerning baptism and paying of tithes. For whereas they, speaking against the ceremonial and superfluous traditions then used in baptism, as salt, oil, spittle, taper, light, chrisomes, exorcising of the water, with such other, accounted them as no material thing in the holy institution of baptism, the notaries slanderously depraving this their assertion, to make it more odious to the ears of the people, so gave out the article, as though they should hold, that the sacrament of baptism used in the church by water is but a light matter and of small effect.

Again, in speaking against the christening the midwives use in private houses, against the opinion of such as think such children to be damned which depart before they come to their baptism, they are falsely reported, as though they should say, that Christian people be sufficiently baptized in the blood of Christ, and need no water, and that infants be sufficiently baptized if their parents be baptized before them. Which thing is so contrary to the manifest word, that it is not to be thought any to be so ignorant of the gospel, that ever would or did affirm the same.

Moreover, they thought, or said peradventure, that in certain cases tithes might be withholden from wicked priests sometime, and be conferred to better uses, to the behoof of the poor: therefore they are falsely slandered, as saying and affirming that no tithes were to be given to the ministers and curates of the churches.

And likewise for matrimony, wherein they are reported to hold and affirm, as though it consisted only in the mutual consent betwixt the man and the woman, needing no other solemnizing in the public church, and all because (as it is like) they denied it to be a sacrament. Other articles were objected against them, as these which hereafter follow.

"That auricular confession is not to be made unto a priest, but unto God only; because no priest hath any power to absolve a sinner from his sin.

"Item, That no priest hath power to make the body of Christ in the sacrament of the altar, but that, after the sacramental words, there remaineth pure material bread as before.

"Item, That every true Christian man is a priest to God.

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"Item, That no man is bound under pain of damnation unto Lent, or any other days prohibited by the Church of Rome.

"Item, That the pope is antichrist, and his prelates the disciples of antichrist, and the pope hath no power to bind and loose upon earth.

"Item, That it is lawful for every Christian to do any bodily work (sin only except) upon holy days.

"Item, That it is lawful for priests to have wives.

"Item, That excommunications and ecclesiastical censures given out by the prelates, are not to be regarded.

"Item, It is not lawful to swear in private cases.

"Item, That men ought not to go on pilgrimage.

"Item, That there is no honour to be given to the images of the crucifix, of our Lady, or any other saint.

"Item, That the holy water, hallowed in the church by the priest, is not holier or of more virtue than other running or well water, because the Lord blessed all waters in their first creation.

"Item, That the death of Thomas Becket was neither holy nor meritorious.

"Item, That the relics, as dead men's bones, ought not to be worshipped or digged out of their graves, or set up in shrines.

"Item, That prayers made in all places are acceptable unto God.

"Item, That men ought not to pray to any saint, but only to God.

"Item, That the bells and ringing in the church was ordained for no other purpose, but to fill the priests' purses.

"Item, That it is no sin to withstand the ecclesiastical precepts.

"Item, That the catholic church is only the congregation of elect."

These were the articles which were generally objected against them all, wherein they did so agree in one uniform faith, that whatsoever one did hold, all the other did maintain and hold the same. By the which their consent and doctrine it appeareth, that they all received it of some one instructor, who was William White; which being a scholar and follower of John Wickliff, resorted afterward into this country of Norfolk, there instructed these men in the light of the gospel. And now, as we have declared the names and articles of these good men, so it remaineth somewhat to speak of their troubles, how they were handled, beginning first with William White.

William White, priest.

This William White, being a follower of John Wickliff, and a priest, not after the common sort of priests, but rather to be reputed amongst the number of them, of whom the wise man speaketh, He was as the morning star in the midst of a cloud, &c. This man was well learned, upright, and a well-spoken priest. He gave over his priesthood and benefice, and took unto him a godly young woman to his wife, named Joan; notwithstanding he did not therefore cease to leave from his former office and duty, but continually laboured to the glory and praise of the spouse of Christ, by

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reading, writing, preaching. The principal points of his doctrine were these, which he was forced to recant at Canterbury.

"That men should seek for the forgiveness of their sins only at the hands of God.

"That the wicked living of the pope, and his holiness, is nothing else but a devilish estate and heavy yoke of antichrist, and therefore he is an enemy unto Christ's truth.

"That men ought not to worship images, or other idolatrous paintings.

"That men ought not to worship the holy men which are dead.

"That the Romish Church is the fig tree which the Lord Christ hath accursed, because it hath brought forth no fruit of the true belief.

"That such as wear cowls, or be anointed or shorn, are the lance-knights and soldiers of Lucifer; and that they all, because their lamps are not burning, shall be shut out, when the Lord shall come."

Upon which articles he being attached at Canterbury under the archbishop, Henry Chichesley, in the year of our Lord 1424, there, for a certain space, stoutly and manly witnessed the truth which he had preached; but like as there he lost his courage and strength, so afterward he became again much more stout and strong in Jesus Christ, and confessed his own error and offence. For after this, he going into Norfolk with his said wife Joan, and there occupying himself busily in teaching and converting the people unto the true doctrine of Christ, at the last, by the means of the king's letters sent down for that intent and purpose, he was apprehended and taken, and brought before William, bishop of Norwich, by whom he was convicted, and condemned of thirty articles, and there was burned in Norwich, in the month of September, A. D. 1424.

This William White and his wife had his most abode with one Thomas Moone of Ludney. This man was of so devout and holy life, that all the people had him in great reverence, and desired him to pray for them; insomuch that one Margaret Wright confessed, that if any saints were to be prayed to, she would rather pray to him than any other. When he was come unto the stake, thinking to open his mouth to speak unto the people, to exhort and confirm them in the verity, one of the bishop's servants struck him on the mouth, thereby to force him to keep silence. And thus this good man, receiving the crown of martyrdom, ended this mortal life, to the great dolour and grief of all the good men of Norfolk. Whose said wife Joan, following her husband's footsteps according to her power, teaching and sowing abroad the same doctrine, confirmed many men in God's truth; wherefore she suffered much trouble and punishment the same year at the hands of the said bishop.

About the same time also was burned Father Abraham of Colchester, and John Wadden, priest, for the like articles.

Concerning them which abjured, how, and by whom they were examined, what depositions came in against them, and what was the order and manner of the penance enjoined them, here it might be set out at large; but for avoiding of prolixity, it shall be sufficient briefly to touch certain of the principals, whereby the better understanding may be given to the reader, after what manner and order all the other were treated.

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

First, amongst them which were arrested and caused to abjure in this year aforesaid specified, 1428, were Thomas Pye and John Mendham, of Alburgh, who, being convicted upon divers of the articles before mentioned, were enjoined penance to be done in their own parish church, as by the bishop's letter directed to the dean of Redenhall, and the parish priest of Alburgh, doth more at large appear, the tenor whereof here ensueth.

The copy of the bishop of Norwich's letter.

"William, by the sufferance of God bishop of Norwich, to our well-beloved sons in Christ, the dean of Redenhall of our diocese, and to the parish priest of the parish church of Alburgh of the same our diocese, health, grace, and benediction. Forasmuch as we, according to our office, lawfully proceeding to the correction and amendment of the souls of Thomas Pye and John Mendham of Alburgh of the diocese aforesaid, because they have holden, believed, and affirmed divers and many errors and heresies, contrary to the determination of the holy Church of Rome, and the universal church and catholic faith, have enjoined the said Thomas and John, appearing before us personally, and confessing before us judicially that they have holden, believed, and affirmed divers and many errors and heresies, this penance, hereunder written, for their offences, to be done and fulfilled in manner, form, and time hereunder written, according as justice doth require; that is to say, six fustigations or disciplinings about the parish church of Alburgh aforesaid, before a solemn procession, six several Sundays, and three disciplinings about the market-place of Harleston, of our said diocese, three principal market-days, barenecked, head, legs, and feet, their bodies being covered only with their shirts and breeches, either of them carrying a taper in his hand of a pound weight, as well round about the church, as about the market-place, in every of the aforesaid appointed days; which tapers, the last Sunday after the penance finished, we will' that the said John and Thomas do humbly and devoutly offer unto the high altar of the parish church of Alburgh, at the time of the offertory of the high mass, the same day; and that either of them, going about the market-place aforesaid, shall make four several pauses and stays, and at every of those same pauses humbly and devoutly receive at your hands three disciplinings. Therefore we straitly charge and command you, and either of you, jointly and severally, by virtue of your obedience, that every Sunday and market-day, after the receipt of our present commandment, you do effectually admonish and bring forth the said Thomas Pye and John Mendham, to begin and accomplish their said penance, and so successively to finish the same in manner and form before appointed. But if they will not obey your monitions, or rather our commandments, in this behalf, and begin and finish their said penance effectually, you, or one of you, shall cite them peremptorily, that they, or either of them, appear before us, or our commissary, in the chapel of our palace at Norwich, the twelfth day after the citation so made, if it be a court day, or else the next court day following, to declare if they, or any of them, have any cause why they should not be excommunicated for their manifest offence in this behalf committed, according to the form and order of law, and further to receive such punishment as justice shall provide in that behalf. And what you have done in the premises, whether the said Thomas, and John have obeyed your admonitions, and performed the same penance, or no, we will that you, or one of you, which have received our said commandment for the execution thereof, do distinctly certify us, between this and the last day of November next coming. Dated at our palace of Norwich, under our commissary's seal, the eighth day of October, A. D. 1428."

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This, gentle reader, was, for the most part, the order of their whole penance; howbeit, some were oftentimes more cruelly handled, and after their penance they were banished out of the diocese, and other some more straitly used by longer imprisonment, whereof we will briefly rehearse one or two for example.

John Beverley, alias Battild.

John Beverly, alias Battild, a labourer, was attached by the vicar of Southereke, the parish priest of Waterden, and a lawyer, and so delivered unto Master William Barnham, the bishop's commissary, who sent him to the castle of Norwich, there to be kept in irons; where, afterward he being brought before the commissary, and having nothing proved against him, he took an oath, that every year afterward he should confess his sins once a year to his curate, and receive the sacrament at Easter, as other Christians did; and for his offence was enjoined, that the Friday and Saturday next after he should fast bread and water, and upon the Saturday to be whipped from the palace of Norwich, going round about by Tombland, and by St. Michael's church, by Cottlerew, and about the market, having in his hand a wax candle of two pence, to offer to the image of the Trinity, after he had done his penance. And forasmuch as he confessed that he had eaten flesh upon Easter day, and was not shriven in all Lent, nor received upon Easter day, the judge enjoined him that he should fast Tuesday, Wednesday, and Friday, in Whitsun week, having but one meal a day, of fish and other white meats; and after this penance so done, he should depart out of the diocese, and never come there any more.

John Skilley of Flixton, miller, and others.

John Skilley of Flixton, miller, being apprehended and brought before the bishop of Norwich, the fourteenth day of March, 1428, for holding and maintaining the articles above written, was thereupon convicted, and forced to abjure; and after this abjuration solemnly made, (which here, to avoid tediousness, we omit,) he had a most sharp sentence of penance pronounced against him, the effect whereof being briefly collected, was this: "That forasmuch as the said Skilley was convicted, by his own confession, for holding and maintaining the articles before written, and for receiving certain good and godly men into his house, as Sir William White, priest, and John Wadden, whom they called famous, notorious, and damnable heretics, and had now abjured the same, being first absolved from the sentence of excommunication which he had incurred by means of his opinions, he was enjoined for penance seven years' imprisonment in the monastery of Langley, in the diocese of Norwich. And forasmuch as in times past he used upon the Fridays to eat flesh, he was enjoined to fast bread and water every Friday, by the space of that seven years to come; and that by the space of two years next, immediately after the seven years expired, every Wednesday in the beginning of Lent, and every Maundy Thursday, he should appear before the bishop or his successor, or commissary for the time being, in the cathedral church of Norwich, together with the other penitentiaries, to do open penance for his offences.

Besides these there were divers other of the same company, which the same year were forced to like abjuration and penance. And so to proceed to the next year following, which was 1429, there ensueth a great number in the same register, which were examined, and did penance in like sort, to the number of sixteen or seventeen. In

the number of whom was John Baker, otherwise called Usher Tonstall, who, for having a book with the Paternoster, the Ave, and Creed in English, and for certain other articles of fasting, confession, and invocation, contrary to the determination of the Romish Church, after much vexation for the same, was caused to abjure, and sustain such penance as the other before him had done.

The story of Margery Backster.

Another was Margery Backster, wife of William Backster, wright, in Martham, the same year accused; against whom one Joan, wife of Cliffeland, was brought in by the bishop, and compelled to depose, and was made to bring in, in form following.

"First, That the said Margery Backster did inform this deponent, that she should in no case swear, saying to her in English, 'Dame, beware of the bee, for every bee will sting, and therefore take heed you swear not, neither by God, neither by our Lady, neither by any other saint; and if ye do contrary, the bee will sting your tongue and venom your soul.'

"Item, This deponent being demanded by the said Margery, what she did every day at church, answered, that she kneeled down and said five Paternosters in worship of the crucifix, and as many Ave Marias in worship of our Lady; whom Margery rebuked, saying, 'You do evil to kneel or pray to such images in the churches, for God dwelleth not in such churches, neither shall come down out of heaven, and will give you no more reward for such prayer, than a candle lighted, and set under the cover of the font, will give light by night to those which are in the church; saying moreover in English, 'Lewd wrights, of stocks hew and form such crosses and images, and after that lewd painters glee them with colours. And if you desire so much to see the true cross of Christ, I will show it you at home in your own house; 'which this deponent being desirous to see, the said Margery, stretching out her arms abroad, said to this deponent, 'This is the true cross of Christ, and this cross thou oughtest and mayest every day behold and worship in thine own house, and therefore it is but vain to run to the church to worship dead crosses and images.'

"Item, This deponent, being demanded by the said Margery, how she believed touching the sacrament of the altar, said, that she believed the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration, to be the very body of Christ in form of bread. To whom Margery said, 'Your belief is naught; for if every such sacrament were God, and the very body of Christ, there should be an infinite number of gods, because that a thousand priests and more do every day make a thousand such gods, and afterwards eat them, and void them out again by their hinder parts, filthily stinking under the hedges, where you may find a great many such gods if you will seek for them. And therefore know for certainty, that, by the grace of God, it shall never be my god, because it is falsely and deceitfully ordained by the priests in the church, to induce the simple people to idolatry; for it is only material bread.'

"Moreover, the said Margery said to this deponent, that Thomas of Canterbury, whom the people called St. Thomas, was a false traitor, and damned in hell, because he injuriously endowed the churches with possessions, and raised up many heresies in the church, which seduce the simple people; and therefore if God be blessed, the said Thomas is accursed; and those false priests that say that he suffered

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his death patiently before the altar, do lie; for as a cowardly traitor he was slain in the church door, as he was flying away.

"Moreover, this deponent saith, that the said Margery told her that the cursed pope, cardinals, archbishops, and bishops, and specially the bishop of Norwich and others that support and maintain heresies and idolatry, reigning and ruling over the people, shall shortly have the very same or worse mischief fall upon them, than that cursed man Thomas of Canterbury had. For they falsely and cursedly deceive the people with their false mammetries and laws, to extort money of the simple folk to sustain their pride, riot, and idleness. And know assuredly that the vengeance of God will speedily come upon them, which have most cruelly slain the children of God, Father Abraham, and William White, a true preacher of the law of God, and John Wadden, with many other godly men; which vengeance had come upon the said Caiaphas, the bishop of Norwich and his ministers, which are members of the devil, before this time, if the pope had not sent over these false pardons unto those parties, which the said Caiaphas had falsely obtained, to induce the people to make procession for the state of them and of the church; which pardons brought the simple people to cursed idolatry.

"Item, The said Margery said to this deponent, that every faithful man or woman is not bound to fast in Lent, or other days appointed for fasting by the church, and that every man may lawfully eat flesh and all other meats upon the said days and times: and that it were better to eat the fragments left upon Thursday at night on the fasting days, than to go to the market to bring themselves in debt to buy fish; and that Pope Silvester made the Lent.

"Item, The said Margery said to this deponent, that William White was falsely condemned for a heretic, and that he was a good and holy man, and that he willed her to follow him to the place of execution, where she saw that when he would have opened his mouth to speak unto the people to instruct them, a devil, one of Bishop Caiaphas's servants, struck him on the lips and stopped his mouth, that he could in no case declare the will of God.

"Item, This deponent saith, that the said Margery taught her that she should not go on pilgrimage, neither to our Lady at Walsingham, nor to any other saint or place.

"Also this deponent saith, that the said Margery desired her that she, and Joan her maid, would come secretly in the night to her chamber, and there she should hear her husband read the law of Christ unto them, which law was written in a book that her husband was wont to read to her by night, and that her husband is well learned in the Christian verity.

"Also that the same Margery had talked with a woman named Joan West, and that the said woman is in a good way of salvation.

"Also that the said Margery said to this deponent, 'Joan, it appeareth, by your countenance, that you intend to disclose this that I have said unto you;' and this deponent sware that she would never disclose it, without the said Margery gave her occasion. Then said Margery unto this deponent, 'If thou do accuse me unto the bishop, I will do unto thee as I did once unto a certain friar, a Carmelite, of Yarmouth, which was the best learned friar in all the country.' Then this deponent desired to know what she had done to the friar. Unto whom Margery answered, that she had talked with the said friar, rebuking him because he did beg, saying, that it was no alms

to give him any good thing, except he would leave his habit, and go to the plough, and so he should please God more, than following the life of some of those friars. Then the friar required of the said Margery, whether she could teach him or tell him any thing else. Then the said Margery (as she affirmed to this deponent) declared to this friar the Gospels in English, and then the friar departed from her. After this the same friar accused the said Margery of heresy, and she, understanding that the friar had accused her, accused the friar again, that he would have known her carnally, and because she would not consent unto him, the friar had accused her of heresy. And moreover, she said, that her husband would have killed the friar therefore; and so the friar for fear held his peace, and went his way for shame.

"This Margery also said, that she had oftentimes been feignedly confessed to the dean of the fields, because he should think her to be a woman of good life, and therefore he gave the said Margery oftentimes money. Then this deponent asked her, whether she had confessed her sins to a priest or not. And she answered, that she had never offended any priest, and therefore she would never confess herself to any priest, neither obey him, because they have no power to absolve any man from their sins, for that they offend daily more grievously than other men, and therefore that men ought to confess themselves only unto God, and to no priest.

"Item, That the said Margery said to this deponent, that the people did worship devils which fell from heaven with Lucifer, which devils, in their fall to the earth, entered into the images which stand in the churches, and have long lurked and dwelt in them; so that the people, worshipping those images, commit idolatry.

"Item, She said more to this deponent, that holy bread and holy water were but trifles of no effect or force, and that the bells are to be cast out of the church, and that they are excommunicated which first ordained them.

"Moreover, That she should not be burned, although she were convicted of Lollardy, for that she had a charter of salvation in her body.

"Also the said deponent saith, that Agnes Berthem, her servant, being sent to the house of the said Margery the Saturday after Ash Wednesday, the said Margery not being within, found a brass pot standing over the fire, with a piece of bacon and oatmeal seething in it, as the said Agnes reported to this deponent.

"There were also, besides this deponent, divers others sworn and examined upon the said Margery, as John Grimley and Agnes Berthem, servants to William Clifland, which all together confirmed the former depositions."

Thus much we have thought good to note as concerning Margery Backster, which we have gathered out of the old monuments and registers. But what became of her after this her accusation, because we find no mention made in the said registers, we are not able to declare.

The same year also were the like depositions made by one William Wright, against divers good men; as here followeth:

"First, This deponent saith, that William Taylor told John Piry of Ludney, in the house of John Bungay of Beghton, in the presence of John Bungay, Robert Grigges, wright, of Martham, and John Usher, that all the good men of Martham, which were favourers and helpers to that good man, William White, are evil troubled now-a-days, and that the said William White was a good and holy doctor, and that the best doctor after him was William Everden, which wrought with the said William

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Taylor of Ludney, by the space of one month, and that the first Sunday of the same month, the said William Everden did sit all day upon the table at work, saying to the said William Taylor, that he would not go to church to show himself a scribe or a Pharisee; and the second Sunday he put on gentleman's apparel, and went to Norwich to hearken how the bishop and his ministers used the poor Christians there in prison.

"Also the said William Wright deposed, that William Taylor of Ludney was one of the sect, and went to London with Sir Hugh Pye, and had conversation oftentimes with Sir William White, having often conference upon the Lollards' doctrine.

"Item, That Anise, wife of Thomas Moone, is of the same sect, and favoured them, and receiveth them often; and also the daughter of Thomas Moone is partly of the same sect, and can read English.

"Item, That Richard Fletcher of Beccles, is a most perfect doctor in that sect, and can very well and perfectly expound the Holy Scriptures, and hath a book of the new law in English, which was Sir Hugh Pye's first.

"Item, That Nicholas Belward, son of John Bel-ward, dwelling in the parish of Southelmham, is one of the same sect, and hath a New Testament which he bought in London for four marks and forty pence, and taught the said William Wright and Margery his wife, and wrought with them continually by the space of one year, and studied diligently upon the said New Testament.

"Item, That Thomas Gremner, turner, of Ditchingham, is perfect in that sect and law.

"John Clarke, the younger, of Bergh, had the bedding and apparel of William Everden in his custody, after the return of William White from Bergh, and is of the same sect.

"Item, William Bate, tailor, of Seething, and his wife, and his son, which can read English very well, are of the same sect.

"Item, William Skirving, of Seething, received Joan the wife of William White into his house, being brought thither by William Everden, after their departure from Martham.

"Item, William Osbourne of Seething, John Reeve, glover, and Bawdwin Cooper of Beccles, are of the same sect.

"Item, John Pert, late servant of Thomas Moone, is of the same sect, and can read well, and did read in the presence of William White, and was the first that brought Sir Hugh Pye into the company of the Lollards, which assembled oftentimes together at the house of the said Thomas Moone, and there conferred upon their doctrine.

"Item, Sir Hugh Pye bequeathed to Alice, servant to William White, a New Testament, which they then called the Book of the New Law, and was in the custody of Oswald Godfrey of Colchester.

"John Parker, mercer, of a village by Ipswich, is a famous doctor of that sect. Also he said, that Father Abraham, of Colchester, is a good man.

"Item, The said William Wright deposeth, that it is read in the prophecies amongst the Lollards, that the sect of Lollards shall be in a manner destroyed;

notwithstanding, at the length, the Lollards shall prevail and have the victory against all their enemies.

"Also he said, that Tuck knoweth all of that sect in Suffolk, Norfolk, and Essex."

Besides these, there were many other the same year troubled, whose names being before expressed in the table of Norfolk men, here for brevity's sake we omit further to treat of, passing over to the next year following, which was 1430.

John Burrell, servant to Thomas Moone of Ludney, in the diocese of Norwich, was apprehended and arrested for heresy the ninth day of September, in this year of our Lord 1430, and examined by Master William Bernham, the bishop's commissary, upon the articles before mentioned, and divers others hereafter following, objected against him.

"Imprimis, That the catholic church is the soul of every good Christian man.

"Item, That no man is bound to fast the Lent or other fasting days appointed by the church, for they were not appointed by God, but ordained by the priests; and that every man may eat flesh or fish upon the same days indifferently, according to his own will, and every Friday is a free day to eat both flesh and fish indifferently.

"Item, That pilgrimage ought not to be made but only unto the poor.

"Item, That it is not lawful to swear, but in case of life and death.

"Item, That masses and prayers for the dead are but vain; for the souls of the dead are either in heaven or hell, and there is none other place of purgatory but this world."

Upon the which articles he being convicted, was forced to abjure, and suffered like penance as the other before had done.

Thomas Moone of Ludney was apprehended and attached for suspicion of heresy, against whom were objected by the bishop the articles before written, but especially this article, that he had familiarity and communication with divers heretics, and had received, comforted, supported, and maintained divers of them, as Sir William White, Sir Hugh Pye, Thomas Pet, and William Callis, priests, with many more; upon the which articles he being convicted before the bishop was forced to abjure, and receive the like penance, in like manner as before.

In like manner, Robert Griggs of Martham was brought before the bishop, the seventeenth day of February, in the year aforesaid, for holding and affirming the aforesaid articles, but specially these hereafter following:

"That the sacrament of confirmation, ministered by the bishop, did avail nothing to salvation.

"That it was no sin to withstand the ordinances of the Church of Rome.

"That holy bread and holy water were but trifles, and that the bread and the water were the worse for the conjurations and characters which the priests made over them."

Upon which articles he being convicted was forced to abjure, and received penance in manner and form as the other had done before him.



Norwich cathedral

The like also (albeit somewhat more sharp) happened unto John Finch of Colchester, the twentieth day of September, who, albeit he was of the diocese of London, being suspected of heresy, was attached in Ipswich, in the diocese of Norwich, and brought before the bishop there, before whom he, being convicted of the like articles, as all the other before him, was enjoined penance, three disciplinings in solemn procession about the cathedral church of Norwich, three several Sundays,

and three disciplinings about the market-place of Norwich, three principal market-days, his head, and neck, and feet being bare, and his body covered only with a short shirt, or vesture, having in his hands a taper of wax, of a pound weight, which, the next Sunday after his penance, he should offer to the Trinity; and that for the space of three years after, every Ash Wednesday and Maundy Thursday, he should appear in the cathedral church of Norwich, before the bishop or his vicegerent, to do open penance amongst the other penitentiaries for his offences.

There were, besides these men which we have here rehearsed, divers and many others, who, both for the concordance of the matter, and also for that their articles and punishments were all one, we have thought good at this time to pass over, especially forasmuch as their names be before recited in the catalogue.

About the same time, even the same year, 1430, shortly after the solemn coronation of King Henry the Sixth, a certain man, named Richard Hoveden, a wool-winder, and a citizen of London, received also the crown of martyrdom. Which man, when he could by no persuasions be withdrawn or plucked back from the opinions of Wickliff, he was by the rulers of the church condemned for heresy; and, as Fabian writeth, burned hard by the Tower of London.

Nicholas Canon, of Eye.

Now to proceed in our story of Norfolk and Suffolk, in following the order of years, we find that in the year of our Lord 1431, one Nicholas Canon of Eye was brought before the bishop of Norwich for suspicion of heresy, with certain witnesses sworn to depose against him touching his manners and conversation; which witnesses appointing one William Christopher to speak in the name of them all, he deposed in manner and form following:

"First, That on Easter-day, when all the parishioners went about the church of Eye solemnly in procession, as the manner was, the said Nicholas Canon, as it were mocking and deriding the other parishioners, went about the church the contrary way, and met the procession."

This article he confessed, and affirmed that he thought he did well in so doing.

"Item, The said Nicholas asked of Master John Colman of Eye this question; Master Colman, what think you of the sacrament of the altar?' To whom the said Colman answered, 'Nicholas, I think that the sacrament of the altar is very God and very man, the very flesh and very blood of our Lord Jesus Christ under the form of bread and wine.' Unto whom Nicholas in derision said, Truly, if the sacrament of the altar be very God and very man, and the very body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, then may very God and very man be put in a small room; as when it is in the priest's mouth, that receiveth it at mass. And why may not we simple men as well eat flesh upon Fridays, and all other prohibited days, as the priest to eat the flesh and drink the blood of our Lord every day indifferently?' The which article the said Nicholas denied that he spake unto Master Colman, but unto a monk of Hockesney; and furthermore he thought he had spoken well in that behalf.

"Item, That on Corpus Christi day, at the elevation of high mass, when all the parishioners and other strangers kneeled down, holding up their hands, and doing reverence unto the sacrament, the said Nicholas went behind a pillar of the church, and turning his face from the high altar, mocked them that did reverence unto the

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sacrament." This article he also acknowledging, affirmed that he believed himself to do well in so doing.

"Item, When his mother would have the said Nicholas to lift up his right hand, and to cross himself from the crafts and assaults of the devil, forasmuch as he deferred the doing thereof, his mother took up his right hand and crossed him, saying, *In nomine Patris, Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, Amen*. Which so ended, the said Nicholas immediately, deriding his mother's blessing, took up his right hand of his own accord, and blessed him otherwise, as his adversaries report of him." This article the said Nicholas acknowledged to be true.

"Item, That upon Allhallows-day, in the time of elevation of high mass, when many of the parishioners of Eye lighted many torches, and carried them up to the high altar, kneeling down there in reverence and honour of the sacrament, the said Nicholas, carrying a torch, went up hard to the high altar, and standing behind the priest's back, saying mass, at the time of the elevation he stood upright upon his feet, turning his back to the priest, and his face toward the people, and would do no reverence unto the sacrament." This article he acknowledged, affirming that he thought he had done well in that behalf. All which articles the bishop's commissary caused to be copied out word for word, and to be sent unto Master William Worsted, prior of the cathedral church of Norwich, and to other doctors of divinity, of the order of Begging Friars, that they might deliberate upon them, and show their minds between that and Thursday next following. Upon which Thursday, being the last of November, the year abovesaid, the said Nicholas was again examined, before Master Bernham, and divers other, upon two other articles which he had confessed unto J. Exetor, notary, and Thomas Gerusten, bachelor of divinity, and others. Whereof the first article was this: "That the said Nicholas Canon, being of perfect mind and remembrance, confessed that he doubted whether in the sacrament of the altar were the very body of Christ or no." This article he confessed before the commissary to be true.

"Item, That he, being of perfect mind and remembrance, believed that a man ought not to confess his sins to a priest." This article he also confessed that he doubted upon.

Now remaineth to declare what these doctors aforesaid concluded upon the articles, whose answer unto the same was this:

First of all, as touching the first article, they said that the article, in the same terms as it was propounded, is not simply a heresy, but an error.

Item, As touching the second article, the doctors agree as in the first.

Item, As touching the third article, they affirm that it is a heresy.

Unto the fourth article, they answered as unto the first and second.

Item, The doctors affirm the fifth article to be a heresy.

Item, As touching the sixth article, the doctors conclude, that if the said Nicholas, being of perfect mind and remembrance, did doubt whether the sacrament of the altar were the very perfect body of Christ or no, then the article is simply a heresy.

Whereupon the said commissary declared and pronounced the said Nicholas Canon, upon the determination of the said doctors, to be a heretic, and thereupon

forced the said Nicholas to abjure all the said articles. That done, he enjoined the said Nicholas penance for his offences, three disciplinings about the cloister of the cathedral church of Norwich, before a solemn procession, bareheaded and barefoot, carrying a taper of half a pound in his hand, going after the manner aforesaid, like a mere penitentiary; the which his penance the judge commanded should be respited until the coming of the bishop into his diocese, and that in the mean time he should be kept in prison, to the end that he should not infect the flock with his venom and poison of errors and heresies.

Thus have we briefly discoursed unto you the great trouble and afflictions which happened in Norfolk and Suffolk by the space of those four years before mentioned, having drawn out briefly for every year certain notable examples, sufficient for the declaration of all the rest, forasmuch as their opinions being nothing different, their penance and punishment did also nothing differ, otherwise than by those particular examples may be plainly seen.

Thomas Bagley, priest.

And now to proceed as we have begun with our former stories, generally, we find in Fabian's chronicles, that in the same year of our Lord, 1431, Thomas Bagley, a priest, vicar of Monenden, beside Malden, being a valiant disciple, and adherent of Wickliff, was condemned by the bishops of heresy at London, about the midst of Lent, and was degraded and burned in Smithfield.

Paul Craw, a Bohemian.

The same year also was Paul Craw, a Bohemian, taken at St. Andrew's, by the Bishop Henry, and delivered over to the secular power to be burnt, for holding contrary opinions unto the Church of Rome touching the sacrament of the Lord's supper, the worshipping of saints, auricular confession, with other of Wickliff's opinions.

The story of Thomas Rhedon, a Frenchman, and a Carmelite friar, burnt in Italy for the profession of Christ.

We have declared before, how this cruel storm of persecution, which first began with us in England, after it had long raged here against many good and godly men, brake out and passed into Bohemia, and after, within a short time, the fire of this persecution, increasing by little and little, invaded Scotland, and from thence now with greater force and violence this furious devouring flame hath entered Italy, and suffereth not any part of the world to be free from the murder and slaughter of most good and godly men. It happened about this time, that one Thomas Rhedon, a friar of that sect which taketh its name of the Mount of Carmel, by chance came with the Venetian ambassadors into Italy. This man, although he was of that, sort and sect, which instead of Christians are called Carmelites, yet was he of a far other religion, and understood the word of God, judging that God ought not to be worshipped, neither in that mount, nor at Jerusalem only, but in spirit and truth. This man, being a true Carmelite, and savouring with his whole heart that new sweet wine of Jesus Christ, with earnest study and desire seeking after a Christian integrity of life, prepared himself first to go into Italy, trusting that he should find there, or else in no

place, some, by whose good life and living he might be edified and instructed. For where ought more abundance of virtue and good living to be, than in that place which is counted to be the fort and fountain of all religion? And how could it otherwise be, but that, where so great holiness is professed, whereupon all men's eyes are bent as upon a stage, whereat St. Peter's seat is, and is thought to be the ruler and governor of all the church, all things should flourish and abound worthy of so great expectation in that place? This holy man having these things before his eyes, and considering the same with himself, forsook his own country and city, and went unto Rome, conceiving a firm and sure hope, that by the example of so many notable and worthy men, he should greatly profit in godliness and learning; but the success of the matter did utterly frustrate his hope, for all things were clean contrary. Whatsoever he saw was nothing else but mere dissimulation and hypocrisy. Instead of gold, he found nothing but coals; and to say the truth, he found nothing else there but gold and silver. Instead of heavenly gifts there reigned amongst them the pomp and pride of the world: in place of godliness, riot: instead of learning and study, slothfulness and superstition. Tyranny and haughtiness of mind had possessed the place of apostolic simplicity: that now there remained no more any place or liberty for a man to learn that which he knew not, or to teach that which he perfectly understood. Finally, all things were turned upside down, all things happened unto him contrary to his expectation wheresoever he went. But nothing so much offended this good man's mind, as the intolerable ambition and pompous pride in them, whom example of humility should especially commend and praise to the whole world. And albeit that he saw here nothing which did accord and agree with the rule of the apostles; yet these things did so much pass all measure and patience, that he could by no means refrain his tongue in so great abuse and corruption of the church, seeing such ambitious pride in their buildings, apparel, in their palaces, in their dainty fare, in their great trains of servants, in their horse and armour, and, finally, in all things pertaining unto them. Which things how much they did vary from the prescript rule of the gospel, so much the more was this good man forced to speak; albeit he did well understand how little he should prevail by speaking: for if admonition would profit any thing at all, the books of Wickliff and divers other were not wanting. The famous testimonies of John Huss, and of Jerome of Prague, and their blood shed for the same, was yet present before their eyes: at whose most effectual exhortations, they were so little corrected and amended, that they seemed twice more cruel than they were before. Yet all this could not fear this good man, but that in so necessary and wholesome an office he would spend his life, if need should be. So by this means, he which came to be a scholar unto others, was now forced to be their teacher; and he which determined to follow other men's lives and manners, had now contrariwise set before them his life to be marked and followed. For he lived so amongst them, that his life might be a rule unto them all, and so taught, as he might also be their schoolmaster. For even as Paul had foreshowed unto such as desired to live godly in Christ, that they should suffer persecution, such like reward happened unto this man. He gave unto them the fruit of godliness, which they should follow: they again set upon his head the diadem of martyrdom. He showed them the way to salvation; and they for the benefit of life rewarded him death: and whereas no rewards had been worthy for his great labours and travails, they with most extreme ignominy persecuted him even unto the fire. For when by continual preaching he had gotten great envy and hatred, the rulers began to consult together by what means they might circumvent this man's life. Here they had recourse to their accustomed remedies: for it was a peculiar and continual custom amongst the prelates of the church, that if any man did displease them, or that his talk

be not according to their mind, or by any means hurtful, or a hinderance to their lucre and gain, by and by they frame out articles of some heresy, which they charge him withal. And like as every living thing hath his peculiar and proper weapon to defend himself from harm, as nature hath armed the boar with his tusks, the hedgehog with his prickles, the lion is feared for his claws, the dog for his biting, the bull fighteth with his horns, neither doth the ass lack his hoofs to strike withal; even so this is the only armour of the bishops, to strangle a man with heresy, if he once go about to mutter against their will and ambition: which thing may be easily perceived and seen in this most holy man, beside a great number of other; who, when now he began to wax grievous unto them, and could no longer be suffered, what did they? straightways fly unto their old policies, and as they had done with Huss, and Jerome of Prague, even so went they about to practise against this man. They overwhelm him with suspicion, they seek to entangle him with questions, they examine him in judgment, they compile articles against him, and lay heresy unto his charge; they condemn him as a heretic, and being so condemned, they destroy and kill him. This was their godliness; this was the peaceable order of those Carmelites; whose religion was to wear no sword nor shield, notwithstanding, they did bear in their hearts malice, rancour, vengeance, poison, craft, and deceit, sharper than any sword. With how great care and policy is it provided by law, that none of these clergymen should fight with sword in the streets, when in judgment and accusations (whereas it is not lawful for a man to oppress his brother) there is no murderer which hath more ready vengeance, or that doth more vilely esteem his brother's soul than they? They shed no blood themselves, they strike not, nor kill, but they deliver them over unto others to be slain. What difference is there, I pray you, but that they are the authors, and the other are but the ministers of the cruel fact? They kill no man as murderers do. How then? Although not after the same sort, yet they do it by another mean.

The articles which they falsely gathered against this man, are affirmed by some to be these:

"That the church lacketh reformation, and that it shall be punished and reformed.

"That infidels, Jews, Turks, and Moors shall be converted unto Christ in the latter days.

"That abominations are used at Rome.

"That the unjust excommunication of the pope is not to be feared; and those which do not observe the same do not sin or offend."

But yet there lacked a minister for these articles, albeit he could not long be wanting at Rome, where all things are to be sold, even men's souls; for this office and ministry there was no man thought more meet, than William of Rouen, cardinal of St. Martin's in the Mount, vice-chancellor of the court of Rome. Eugenius at that time was pope, who had a little before succeeded Pope Martin above mentioned. Before the which Eugenius this godly Rhedonensis, the Frenchman, was brought, and from thence sent unto prison. And again, after his imprisonment, and divers and sundry grievous torments, he was brought before the judges. The wolf sat in judgment, the lamb was accused. Why? because he had troubled the spring: but here need not many words. This good Thomas not being able to resist the malice of these mighty potentates, had offended enough, and was easily convicted and condemned to be burned, but in such sort, as first of all he should be deprived of all such degrees as he

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had taken of priesthood. For it is counted an unlawful thing, that a priest should be punished with profane punishment, when, notwithstanding, it is lawful enough for priests to put any layman to death, be he never so guiltless.

How religiously and earnestly do they foresee, that the majesty of the priestly dignity should not in any case be hurt! But how little care have they, that their consciences be not hurt with false judgments, and oppressing the guiltless! Wherefore, before that he should come unto punishment, this good man must be degraded. The order and manner of this popish degrading is partly before touched in the story of William Taylor.

After that it had pleased the bishops to degrade this man from the degrees wherewith before they had consecrated him, and thought not that sufficient, by and by after they deprived him of his life also, and burned him, four years after that he came to Rome, in the year of our Lord 1436.

And thus, through the cruelty of these most tyrannous prelates, this blessed martyr died. Albeit it is not to be thought that he died, but made a loss of this body for a greater gain of salvation before the just judgment of God. Neither is it to be doubted, but that he liveth eternally under the altar with them whose blood the Lord will revenge, peradventure too soon for some of them, whom the earth hath here so long holden unpunished.

As this Thomas abovesaid suffered at Rome, so were divers others, in other places about Germany, executed near about the same time, after the burning of John Huss; and Henry Grundfelder, priest, of Ratisbon, A. D. 1420; also Henry Radtgeber, priest, in the same city, A. D. 1423; John Draendorf of noble birth, and a priest, was burned at Worms, A. D. 1424; Peter Thoraw, at Spire, A. D. 1426; Matthew Hager also suffered at Berlin in Germany, not long after.

113. The Council of Basil

After the death of Pope Martin, who reigned fourteen years, succeeded Eugenius, the fourth of that name, about the year of our Lord 1431. Of whom Antonius thus writeth, That he was much given to wars, as his conflicts and fighting with the Romans may declare; also the battles between the Venetians and the Florentines.

This pope began first to celebrate the council of Basil, which council, Martin, his predecessor, had before intended, according to the institution of the council of Constance. Notwithstanding, the said Eugenius, perceiving afterward this council of Basil not to favour him and his doings, and fearing some detriment to come to him by the same, afterward laboured by all subtle practice to dissolve and interrupt the said council, and from Basil to translate it first to Ferrara, then to Florentia, more near to his own see of Rome. Concerning the which council of Basil, forasmuch as we have begun here to make mention, it shall be no great digression out of the way, to discourse something thereof (the Lord so permitting) more at large, so much as for the most principal matters thereof shall seem sufficient or necessary to be known.

Here followeth the order and manner of the council of Basil, touching the principal matters concluded therein, briefly collected and abridged here in this present book.

In the thirty-ninth session of the council of Constance, as is before mentioned, it was decreed and provided concerning the order and times of such general councils as should hereafter follow: The first that should next ensue, to be kept the fifth year after the said council of Constance: The second to be holden the seventh year after that; and so orderly all other to follow successively from ten years to ten years. Wherefore, according to this decree, followed a general council five years after the council of Constance, celebrate and holden at Sene, under Pope Martin, A. D. 1424, but it soon broke up. After the which council, the term of seven years being expired, another council was holden at Basil, in the year of our Lord 1431. The which council is noted to have been the most troublesome, and to have endured longer than any other council beforetime celebrate and holden in the church. This council continued almost the space of seventeen years; wherein it was concluded, as before in the council of Constance, that the general councils were above the pope, and both of these two councils did attribute the chief authority in decreeing and determining unto the general council; which is the cause that the contrary part doth derogate so much from the authority of this present council.

When Pope Martin the Fifth had appointed Julian, cardinal and deacon of St. Angel, his legate, to celebrate and hold a general council at Basil, for the reformation of the church and rooting out of heresies, within short space after Pope Martin died, in whose seat Eugenius the Fourth succeeded, who confirmed unto the said Cardinal Julian the same authority which his predecessor before had given him. Unto this council of Basil, being begun, came the Emperor Sigismund, who during his lifetime, with his presence and authority, did protect and defend the said synod. After the emperor's death, Pope Eugenius, altering his former mind and purpose, would transport the council unto Bononia (that is, Bologna in Italy,) and thereby hindered the

success of the council of Basil. And first he held a contrary council at Ferrara, and afterward at Florence. For, after the death of the Emperor Sigismund, there were no princes nor noblemen that had any care or regard of the council. Eugenius the pope pretended causes, as touching the Greeks which should come unto the council, and the uniting of the church unto the West Church, the which Greeks would in no wise pass the Alps: also as touching his own incommmodity, that he could not come unto Basil, being so long a journey, and that all his men might have easy access unto Bononia, and that amongst the Germans, which in their own country are so intractable, nothing can be attempted for their reformation: whereupon he cited Cardinal Julian and the fathers of the council unto Bononia, under great penalty. They again cited the pope, that either he should come himself unto the council, or send ambassadors, under the like penalty. For this cause the ambassadors of Albert, king of the Romans, and of the other princes of Germany, assembled together first at Noremburg; and when they could determine nothing there, they assembled again at Frankfort to appease the dissension between the council and the pope; for it was thought that the electors of the empire might best assemble and meet in that place. In the mean time, the emperor's ambassadors and the ambassadors of the electors went into Basil, and having conference with the ambassadors of the other princes which were there, they did earnestly exhort the fathers of the council, that they would embrace and receive the unity which they would offer. The request of the princes was, that the fathers would transport the council, and go unto another place; the which only thing Pope Eugenius seemed always to seek and desire, that thereby he might either divide the fathers of the council, or take away their liberty.

Notwithstanding, this sacred synod thought good neither to deny the princes' request, nor to grant that which Pope Eugenius required. During this doubt, the emperor's ambassadors, the bishops of Patavia and Augusta, being much required and stirred thereunto, appointed a noble and valiant baron, called Conrade Weinsperge, by the king's commandment, to be protector and defender of the council and the fathers. Whereby as the enemies perceived the emperor's mind to be alienate from the pope, so the fathers of the council understood his good will towards them, forasmuch as he would not have sent them a protector, if he had not judged it a lawful council; neither again would he have judged it a council in Basil, if he had given credit to Pope Eugenius. But by means of a great pestilence which began to grow, the assembly that should have been held at Frankfort was transported unto Mentz. The ambassadors of the princes also thought good to go thither, if they might find any means of unity, whereby they might unite and knit the pope again unto the council.

The assembly was very famous, for there were present the archbishops of Mentz, Cologne, and Trevers, electors of the sacred empire, and all the ambassadors of the other electors. Notwithstanding, the archbishop of Cologne was the chief favourer of the council in this assembly, who, with all his labour and diligence, went about to bring the matter unto a good end. Rabanus, the archbishop of Trevers, showed himself somewhat more rough. The sacred synod also thought good to send thither their ambassadors, and appointed out the patriarch of Aquileia, the bishop of Vicene, and the bishop of Argen: divines, John Segovius, and Thomas de Corcellis, with divers others. There was no man there present which would name himself the ambassador of Eugenius; albeit there were many of his favourers and friends come thither, both from the council, and also out of Florence, the which, albeit they had sworn to the contrary, yet favoured they more Eugenius than the council. But the chief Hercules of all the Eugenians was Nicholas Cusanus, a man singularly well learned,

and of great experience. After divers consultations had, the electors of the empire, and the ambassadors of the other princes of Germany, thought good to give out commandment throughout their whole nation and country, that the decrees of the council of Basil should be received and observed.

Whilst these things were thus debated at Mentz, there sprang a certain very doubtful question amongst the divines which remained at Basil, whether Eugenius might be called a heretic, which had so rebelliously contemned the commandments of the church. Hereupon they gathered themselves together, disputing long amongst themselves, some affirming, and other some holding the negative part. Upon this their disputation there arose three several opinions, some affirming that he was a heretic; other some, that he was not only a heretic, but also a relapse; the third sort would neither grant him to be a heretic nor a relapse. Amongst these divines, the chief and principal, both in learning and authority, was the bishop of Ebrun, ambassador of the king of Castile, and a certain Scottish abbot; which, as two most valiant champions, subdued all their enemies, so that all the rest did either consent unto their arguments, or gave place unto them, and so their determination took place, and Eugenius was pronounced both a heretic and relapse. Eight conclusions were there determined and allowed amongst the divines, which they called verities, the copy whereof they did divulgate throughout all Christendom.

When the ambassadors of the council were returned from Mentz, and that certain report was made of the allowing of their decrees, the fathers of the council thought good to discuss the conclusions of the divines more at large. Whereupon, by the commandment of the deputies, all the masters, and doctors, and clergy were called together, with all the residue of the prelates, into the chapter-house of the great church, there openly to dispute and discuss Eugenius's heresy. The which thing so grieved the bishop of Milan, fearing lest this disputation would work the deprivation of Eugenius, the which, as he said, he had always letted for fear of a schism. Wherefore he ceased not by all manner of ways to labour to stop and trouble the matter, exhorting them that were absent by his letters, and encouraging those that were present by his words, to the defence of Eugenius. But at the last there was a great assembly in the chapter-house, some coming thither to dispute, and other some to hear. This disputation continued six days, both forenoon and afternoon, amongst whom Cardinal Ludovicus, Archbishop Arelatensis was appointed as judge and arbiter of the whole disputation; who, beside many other notable virtues, was both valiant and constant. Nicholas Amici, which was also a protector of the faith, a famous man amongst the divines of Paris, demanded of every man what their opinion was.

John Deinlefist, public notary, wrote every man's sentence and judgment. The conclusions of the divines, which were the ground and foundation of their disputation, were these here following:

"1. It is a verity of the catholic faith, that the sacred general council hath power over the pope, or any other prelate.

"2. The pope cannot, by his own authority, either dissolve, transport, or prorogue the general council, being lawfully congregated, without the whole consent of the council; and this is of like verity.

"3. He which doth obstinately resist these verities, is to be counted a heretic.

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"4. Pope Eugenius the Fourth hath resisted these verities, whereas at the first, by the fulness of his apostolic power, he attempted to dissolve or to transport the council of Basil.

"5. Eugenius, being admonished by the sacred council, did recant the errors repugnant to these verities.

"6. The dissolution or translation of the council, attempted the second time by Eugenius, is against the aforesaid verities, and containeth an inexcusable error touching the faith.

"7. Eugenius, in going about to dissolve and transport the council again, is fallen into his before revoked errors.

"8. Eugenius, being warned by the synod that he should revoke the dissolution or translation the second time attempted, after that his contumacy was declared, persevering in his rebellion, and erecting a council at Ferrara, showed himself thereby obstinate."

These were the conclusions which were read in the chapter-house before the fathers of the council. Upon the which, when they were desired to speak their minds, they all in a manner confirmed and allowed them. Notwithstanding, Panormitane, archbishop, disputed much against them. Likewise did the bishop of Burgos, the king of Arragon's almoner. Yet did they not gainsay the three first conclusions, but only those wherein Pope Eugenius was touched. This Panormitane, as he was subtle, so did he subtly dispute against the last conclusions, endeavouring himself to declare that Eugenius was not relapsed, and had great contention with the bishop of Argen, John Segovius, and Francis de Fure, divines. He divided the articles of the faith into three sorts; straitly, as in the creed; largely, as in the declarations made by the church; most largely of all, as in those things which rise of the premises; affirming that Eugenius did by no means violate his faith in his first dissolution that he made, because it is not contained in the creed, neither yet in the determinations of the church, that the pope cannot dissolve the councils; and that it seemeth not unto him to rise of the determinations before made, but rather of the decrees of the council of Constance. And further, that this, as a case omitted, is reserved for the pope to be discussed, forasmuch as in the chapter beginning *Frequens*, it appeareth that the place where the council should be kept ought to be chosen by the pope, the council allowing the same, and nothing is thereof at all spoken. And if, peradventure, Eugenius had offended in the first dissolution, notwithstanding he ought to be holden excused, because he did it by the counsel of the cardinals, representing the Church of Rome, whose authority he said to be such, that the judgment thereof should be preferred before all the world. Neither had there been any sacred council found to have proceeded against Eugenius as a heretic; and that is an evident sign that the council hath not thought him to have swerved from the faith, neither to have any occasion that he should be called heretic for his errors revoked; and that he himself hath read the whole text, that the pope did not revoke the dissolution as contrary unto the faith, but as breeding offence: also that the last dissolution hath no such cause in it, forasmuch as likewise he had done it by the counsel of the cardinals, and for the uniting of the Greeks, that he might not be compelled in a criminal cause to answer by his procurator, when he, being letted by sickness, could not come personally. [And] forasmuch as in the first dissolution Eugenius hath fallen into no error of faith, he cannot be persuaded that he can be called a relapse, forasmuch as he neither in the first, neither yet in the second, dissolution did violate his faith.

This oration of Panormitane was more praised than allowed of men. Notwithstanding, this effect it wrought, that afterward this word relapse was taken out of the conclusions, and instead thereof this word prolapse put in. Neither durst Panormitane himself altogether excuse Eugenius of heresy, but defended more the first dissolution, than the second; yet departed he not without answer, for John Segovius, an expert divine, rising up, answered him reverently, as was comely for such a prelate. He said, He granted that which Panormitane had spoken touching the division of the articles of the faith into three points, because it made for this purpose. For if those things are to be holden for articles of faith, said he, which may be gathered of the determinations of the church, it were manifest that the conclusions whereupon we now contend, redound and come of the determinations of the church, that is to say, of the council of Constance; for if therein the pope be made subject unto the general council, who is it that will say that the pope hath power over the council which is above him; or that Eugenius ought to remain pope, because he could not dissolve the council, which is above him, without the consent thereof? The which article undoubtedly he hath violated and broken. And if any man will say that in the first dissolution this article was not violated, because there was no declaration made thereof, let him which so thinketh thus, understand, That the bishop of Rome ought not only to know the plain and manifest, but also the secret and hidden, things of the faith; for he being the vicar of Christ, and the head of all other, ought to instruct and teach all men. But if so be he will not, then he shall be convicted for being head, because he continued long in the dissolution after the declaration of the council, neither did consent unto the determination of the church; and therefore if, peradventure, he did not err in the faith in dissolving of the council, yet did he err in persevering in the same, as it manifestly appeareth by the saying of Clement oftentimes alleged by Panormitane, wherein it is said, That he which liveth rebelliously, and neglecteth to do good, is rather a member of the devil than of Christ, and rather an infidel than a true believer; so that Eugenius by disobeying the church may worthily be called an infidel. Neither is it true that the pope hath not offended in the faith; forasmuch, as well in that answer which beginneth *Cogitanti*, as also in the answer which beginneth *Sperant*, made unto the pope's ambassadors, these words are manifest: this article concerneth faith, and we had rather die, than through cowardliness to give place. By the which saying it is evident, the synod to have sufficiently admonished the pope that he did against the faith, and therefore it seemed that afterward, when Eugenius revoked the dissolution, he also revoked the error of faith contained in the same. There are also divers offences sprung and risen through the error of faith: for some say that the pope is under the council, other some deny it, and this diversity of doctrine bringeth offence. Also it is expressly against the authority of the council, that the pope did revoke the assertions made in their name.

And albeit in such revocations the style and order of judgments is not observed, notwithstanding, it doth suffice in such case when the council doth proceed against the pope, in which case only the truth is to be observed; neither is the council subject unto any positive law, that it ought to observe any terms or judicial orders. Also he said that he utterly contemned that singular gloss, which did prefer the pope before all the world, so that it might well be called singular, which decreed so foolish and fond things, and unworthy to be followed of any man; and that he did much marvel at Panormitane, and other doctors of those days, which whilst they went about to extol the authority of the glosses, do abase the same by adding a singularity thereto; for that gloss is singular which is alone. But who would not more esteem a gloss constantly written and agreeable in all places, than that which in any one place

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teacheth any thing which may seem to be an error; and that as touching the verity and truth? St. Jerome, a grave and ancient doctor, is contrary to this gloss, who doubteth nothing at all but that the world, as touching authority, is above the city itself, that is to say, Rome.

Segovius could scarcely finish this his oration without interruption; for Panormitane, oftentimes interrupting him, went about to confute now this and now that reason. Whereupon the bishop of Argen rising up, a man not only eloquent, but also of a stout courage, troubled Panormitane in his reasons and arguments, and put him from his purpose; yet they proceeded so far, that they passed the manner of disputation, and did not abstain from opprobrious taunts.

When the bishop of Argen chanced to say that the bishop of Rome ought to be the minister of the church, Panormitane could not suffer that: inasmuch that he so forgot himself that day, and his knowledge (which otherwise was great) did so fail him, that he was not ashamed to say and affirm, that the pope was lord over the church. Whom Segovius answered, "Mark," saith he, "O Panormitane, what thou sayest; for this is the most honourable title of the bishop of Rome, wherein he calleth himself the servant of the servants of God. Which is gathered upon this point, when Christ said unto his disciples, when they demanded of him which of them was the greatest, you know he answered them, The princes of the people have rule and dominion over them, but amongst you it is not so, &c. Wherein he doth utterly prohibit lordship and dominion; and Peter, which was the first vicar of Christ, saith, Feed the flock of Christ which is committed unto you, providing for them not by compulsion, but willingly; and immediately after he said, not as lords over the clergy. For if Christ the Son of God came not to be ministered unto, but to minister and to serve, how then can his vicar have any dominion, or be called lord, as you Panormitane will affirm? forasmuch as the disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord. And the Lord himself saith, Be ye not called masters, forasmuch as your only master is Christ, and he which is the greatest among you shall be your servant." Panormitane being somewhat disquieted with this answer, the council brake up and departed.

The next day, there was a general congregation, and they returned all again unto the chapter-house after dinner, where the archbishop of Lyons, the king's orator, being required to speak his mind, after he had by divers and sundry reasons proved Eugenius to be a heretic, he bitterly complained, detesting the negligence and ignavy of those that had preferred such a man unto the papacy, and so moved all their hearts which were present, that they all together with him did bewail the calamities of the universal church.

Then the bishop of Burgos, the ambassador of Spain, divided the conclusions into two parts, some he called general, and other some personal, disputing very excellently as touching the three first conclusions, affirming that he did in no point doubt of them, but only that the addition, which made mention of the faith, seemed to be doubtful unto him. But upon this point he stayed much, to prove that the council was above the pope. The which, after he had sufficiently proved both by God's law and man's law, he taught it also by physical reason, alleging Aristotle for witness. He said, that in every well-ordered kingdom it ought specially to be desired, that the whole realm should be of more authority than the king; which if it happened contrary, it were not to be called a kingdom, but a tyranny: so likewise doth he think of the church, that it ought to be of more authority, than the prince thereof, that is to say, the

pope. The which his oration he uttered so eloquently, learnedly, and truly, that all men depended upon him, and desired rather to have him continue his oration, than to have an end thereof.

But when he entered into the other conclusions, he seemed to have forgotten himself, and to be no more the same man that he was; for neither was there the same eloquence in his words, neither gravity in oration, or cheerfulness of countenance; so that if he could have seen himself, he would peradventure greatly have marvelled at himself. Every man might well see and perceive then the power and force of the truth, which ministered copy of matter unto him, so long as he spake in the defence thereof; but when he began once to speak against her, she took away even his natural eloquence from him. Notwithstanding, Panormitane, and the bishop of Burgos, showed this example of modesty, that albeit they would not confess or grant the last conclusions to be verities of faith; yet they would not that any man should follow or lean unto their opinion, which were but mean divines; but rather unto the opinions of the divines but the king of Arragon's almoner, being a subtle and crafty man, did not directly dispute upon the conclusions, but picking out here and there certain arguments, sought to let and hinder the council. Against whom an abbot of Scotland, a man of an excellent wit, disputed very much; and Thomas de Corcellis, a famous divine, alleged much against him out of the decrees of the sacred council, and with a certain modest shamefacedness, always beholding the ground, did very largely dispute in the defence of the conclusions.

But now, to avoid tediousness, I will only proceed to declare arguments whereby the conclusions were ratified and confirmed, not minding to treat of the five last conclusions, which concern the person of Eugenius, but only upon the three first, whereunto I will adjoin several probable arguments, gathered out of the disputation of the fathers. In the first conclusion is the greatest force, and first to be discussed; touching the which, two things are to be required, and examined. The one, whether the general council have authority over the pope; the other, whether the catholic faith commandeth it to be believed. As touching that the pope is subject to the general council, it is excellently well proved by the reason before alleged by the bishop of Burgos. For the pope is in the church, as a king in his kingdom; and for a king to be of more authority than his kingdom, it were too absurd: ergo, neither ought the pope to be above the church. For like as oftentimes kings which do wickedly govern the commonwealth, and exercise cruelty, are deprived of their kingdoms; even so it is not to be doubted, but that the bishops of Rome may be deposed by the church, that is to say, by the general council.

Neither do I herein allow them which attribute so ample and large authority unto kings, that they will not have them bound under any laws; for such as so do say, be but flatterers, which do talk otherwise than they think. For albeit that they do say that the moderation of the law is alway in the prince's power; that do I thus understand, that when reason shall persuade, he ought to digress from the rigour of the law; for he is called a king, which careth and provideth for the commonwealth, taketh pleasure in the commodity and profit of his subjects, and in all his doings hath respect to the commodity of those over whom he ruleth: which if he do not, he is not to be counted a king, but a tyrant, whose property it is only to seek his own profit; for in this point a king differeth from a tyrant, that the one seeketh the commodity and profit of those whom he ruleth, and the other only his own. The which to make more manifest, the cause is also to be alleged wherefore kings were ordained.

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At the beginning, as Cicero in his Offices saith, it is certain, that there was a certain time when the people lived without kings. But afterward, when lands and possessions began to be divided according to the custom of every nation, then were kings ordained for no other cause but only to exercise justice. For when at the beginning the common people were oppressed by rich and mighty men, they ran by and by to some good and virtuous man, which should defend the poor from injury, and ordain laws whereby the rich and poor might dwell together. But when yet under the rule of kings the poor were oftentimes oppressed, laws were ordained and instituted, the which should judge neither for hatred nor favour, and give like ear unto the poor as unto the rich; whereby we do understand and know not only the people, but also the king, to be subject to the laws. For if we do see a king to contemn and despise the laws, violently rob and spoil his subjects, deflower virgins, dishonest matrons, and do all things licentiously and temerarily; do not the nobles of the kingdom assemble together, deposing him from his kingdom, set up another in his place, which shall swear to rule and govern uprightly, and be obedient unto the laws? Verily as reason doth persuade, even so doth the use thereof also teach us. It seemeth also agreeable unto reason, that the same should be done in the church, that is to say, in the council, which is done in any kingdom. And so is this sufficiently apparent, which we have before said, that the pope is subject unto the council.

But now to pass unto the arguments of divinity, the foundation of the matter which we do treat upon, are the words of our Saviour Jesus Christ in divers places, but specially where he speaketh unto Peter, Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. Upon which words it seemeth good to begin this disputation, forasmuch as some were wont to allege these words, to extol the authority of the bishop of Rome. But (as it shall by and by appear) the words of Christ had another sense and meaning than divers of them do think, for he saith, And the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. Verily this is a great promise, and these words of the Lord are of great importance; for what greater word could there have been spoken, than that the gates of hell should not prevail against the church? These gates of hell, as St. Jerome saith, do signify sins; wherefore, if sins cannot prevail against the church, neither can any malign spirits prevail against the same, which have no power at all over mankind, but only through sin. And for that cause, whereas it is said in Job, that there is no power upon the earth that may be compared unto the power of the malign spirit, thereby it followeth that the power of the church is above all other power.

We may also, upon the same saying, reason after another sort; forasmuch as the gates of hell, that is to say, sins, cannot prevail against the church, the church thereby is declared to be without sin; the which cannot be spoken of the pope, which is a mortal man, forasmuch as it is written, Seven times in the day the just man doth offend. If the church be without spot because it cannot be defiled with sin, who is it that will prefer a sinful man before an undefiled church? Neither let us give ear unto those which will not refer these words of Christ unto the church, whereas he saith, Peter, I have prayed for thee, that thy faith should not fail thee. For, as St. Augustine saith in the expositions of the Psalms, Certain things are spoken as though they seemed properly to pertain unto the apostle Peter, notwithstanding, they have no evident sense, but when they are referred unto the church, the person whereof he is understood figuratively to represent. Whereupon in another place, in the questions of the New and Old Testament, upon the words, I have prayed for thee, Peter; what is doubted? did he pray for Peter, and did he not pray for James and John, beside the

rest? It is manifest that under the name of Peter all other are contained. For in another place of St. John, he saith, I pray for whom thou hast given me, and I will that wheresoever I am they shall be also with me. Whereupon we do oftentimes, by the name of Peter, understand the church, which we do nothing at all doubt to be done in this place; otherwise the truth could not consist, forasmuch as, within a while after, the faith of Peter failed for a time by the denial of Christ, but the faith of the church, whose person Peter did represent, did always persevere inviolate.

As touching the bishops of Rome, if time would suffer us, we could rehearse many examples, how that they either have been heretics, or replenished with other vices. Neither are we ignorant how that Marcellinus, at the emperor's commandment, did sacrifice unto idols, and that another, which is more horrible, did attain unto the papacy by devilish fraud and deceit. Notwithstanding, the testimony of Paul unto the Hebrews shall suffice us at this time, who saith, that every bishop is compassed in with infirmity; that is to say, with wickedness and sin. Also the testimonies of Christ himself do approve that the church remaineth always without sin; for in Matthew he saith, I am with you even unto the end of the world. The which words were not only spoken to the apostles, (for they continued not unto the end of the world,) but also unto their successors; neither would Christ then signify that he was God, dispersed throughout all the world, as he is also perceived to be amongst sinners, but would declare a certain gift of grace through his assistance, whereby he would preserve the holy church, consisting amongst his apostles and their successors, always immaculate and undefiled.

And again in another place; I, saith he, will pray, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may remain with you for ever, even the Spirit of truth, whom the world cannot receive, because the world seeth him not, neither knoweth him; but you shall know him, because he shall remain with you. The which words being spoke unto the disciples of Jesus, are also understood to be spoken unto their successors, and so, consequently, unto the church. And if the Spirit of truth be continually in the church, no man can deny but that the church ought to continue undefiled. By the same authority also that Christ is called the Spouse of the church, who seeth not but that the church is undefiled? For the husband and the wife, as the apostle saith, are two in one flesh, and, as he doth also add, no man hateth his own flesh; thereby it cometh to pass, that Christ cannot hate the church, forasmuch as she is his spouse, and one flesh with him, and no man can hate himself: ergo, the church doth not sin; for if it did sin, it should be hated, for sinners the Lord doth hate. The which authorities being gathered together, we ought, with the apostle, to confess that the church of God hath neither spot nor wrinkle. Also he, writing unto Timothy, affirmeth the church to be the pillar and foundation of the truth; whereupon, in this song to the spouse, it is said, My friend, thou art altogether fair and beautiful, neither is there any spot in thee. These words, peradventure, may abash some, that I do go about to prove the church to be without sin. For whereas the church doth contain all men which are called Christians, which also do agree and come together in one belief of faith, and participation of the sacraments, I do fear lest some men will think that I do affirm all men to be without sin, which is so far from my meaning, that I do verily think the contrary to be most true. For I suppose that there is no man in the church, being clothed in this mortal flesh, without sin. Neither do these things vary or dissent among themselves; for the church hath this gift, that albeit every part and member thereof may sin, yet the whole body cannot sin. For there be always good men in the church, the which, albeit that they be subject unto human fragility, notwithstanding they have so perfect a gift of

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sincere and pure virtue, that subduing all carnal desires and affections, they keep themselves a pleasant and acceptable sacrifice unto God. Neither do I consent or agree unto the opinion of divers, which affirm, that the Virgin Mary only persevered in faith at the Lord's passion. Whereupon divers have not been ashamed to say, that the faith might be so debilitated and weakened, that it should return to one only old woman; whose opinion, or rather madness, St. Paul seemeth openly to reject, writing thus unto the Romans: Do ye not know (saith he) what the Scripture writeth of Elias, how incessantly he called upon God against the children of Israel, (saying,) O Lord, they have slain thy prophets, and digged down thine altars, and I alone am left, and they seek after my soul? But what answer received he of God? I have left unto myself yet seven thousand men, which have not bowed their knees unto Baal. What other thing doth this answer of God declare, than that it is a foolish opinion of them which think the church of God to be brought unto so small a number? We ought to believe the words of Christ, which are altogether repugnant unto those men who affirm that the Virgin only did persevere in faith. For Jesus said unto his Father, O holy Father, save them in thy name, whom thou hast given me, that they may be one as we are one. When I was with them, I kept them in thy name: I have kept them that thou gayest unto me, and none of them perished, but only the son of perdition. And I do not desire that thou shouldest take them out of the world, but that thou shouldest preserve them from evil.

Behold, Christ prayeth that his disciples should not fall, but should be preserved from evil, and he so praying, without doubt, is heard; for he saith in another place, I know that thou hearest me. But how is he heard, if all those for whom he prayeth, swerved at the time of his passion? As for example, By what means did Christ, hanging upon the cross, commend his dearly beloved mother unto John, if so he she were either then swerved, or should by and by after have swerved from the faith? Moreover, did not the centurion by and by cry out, and say, Truly this is the Son of God? The Jews also which at that time were far distant from Jerusalem, might both be called faithful, and also saved by their faith: seeing that (as the apostle saith) men are bound unto the gospel, after it is once known and revealed unto them. But let us leave these men, and speak of that which is more likely, and let us judge that there hath been, and is, a great number of good men in the church, and by them, as by the more worthy part, let us name the church holy and immaculate, the which doth comprehend as well the evil as the good. For the church is compared unto a net, which is cast into the sea, and gathered together all kind of fishes.

And again, it is compared unto a king, which made a marriage for his son, and sent forth his servants to call those which were bidden unto the wedding, and they gathered together good and evil, as many as they could find. Wherefore, their opinion is erroneous, which affirm, that only good men be comprehended in the church; the which if it were true, it would confound all things, neither could we understand or know where the church were. But forasmuch as the Scripture saith, no man knoweth whether he be worthy of love or hatred, their opinion is more to be allowed and truer, which include all the faithful in the church; of whom, although a great part be given to voluptuousness and avarice, yet some, notwithstanding, are clean from deadly sin. The which part, as it is the most worthy, it giveth the name unto the church, to be called most holy, which is so often done, that we are commanded to sing in our creed, one holy catholic and apostolic church; the which article, the synod of Constantinople added unto the rest: Wherefore, if the church be holy, it is also without sin. But to return to our former purpose, this word sanctum, which signifieth holy, (as

Macrobius, alleging Trebatius, affirmeth,) is sometimes taken for religious, and sometimes for clean and uncorrupt. And after the same manner, we call the church holy, as the apostle Peter calleth it immaculate, as we read in the famous epistle of Clement.

To this end also tendeth that which is spoken by St. Paul, that Christ is the Head of the church; for if the church should wholly sin, she should not agree with her Head Christ, who is in no point defiled. This also Christ himself would signify unto us in Matthew, when he commendeth the house which was builded upon the strong Rock, against the which, neither the winds, neither the storms, could prevail. Is the house of God, saith the apostle, which is the church, builded upon the Rock, which Rock (as the said apostle declareth) is Christ? Who then is so unshamefaced, that he will affirm the church, which is founded upon Christ, to be subject to sin, and will not rather cry out with the prophet and say, O Lord, I have loved the beauty of thy house? Hereupon wrote John Chrysostom this golden sentence: The church never ceaseth to be assaulted, never ceaseth to be laid in wait for; but in the name of Christ it hath always the upper hand and overcome. And albeit that other do lie in wait for it, or that the floods do beat against it, yet the foundation which is laid upon the rock, is not shaken. St. Hilary also saith, that it is the property of the church to vanquish when it is hurt, to understand when it is reprov'd, to be in safety when it is forsaken, and to obtain victory when it seemeth almost overcome. Thus by many reasons and testimonies it is proved that the church doth not err, which is not spoken or affirmed of the bishops of Rome, so that this reason doth make the pope subject unto the church; for it is convenient, that the less perfect be subject unto the more perfect. There be also many other testimonies and reasons, whereof we will now somewhat more treat.

If authority be sought for, saith St. Jerome, (for I willingly occupy myself in his sentences, as in a most fertile field,) the world is greater than a city. What then, I pray you, Jerome? Is the pope mighty because he is the head of the Church of Rome? His authority is great, notwithstanding the universal church is greater, which doth not only comprehend one city, but also the whole world. Hereupon it followeth, that if the church be the mother of all faithful, then she hath the bishop of Rome for her son; otherwise, as St. Augustine saith, he can never have God for his Father which will not acknowledge the church for his mother. The which thing Anacletus understanding, called the universal church his mother, as the writers of the canons do know. And Calixtus saith, As a Son he came to do the will of his Father, so we do the will of our mother which is the church: whereby it appeareth, that how much the son is inferior to the mother, so much the church is superior or above the bishop of Rome.

Also we have said before that the church was the spouse of Christ, and the pope we know to be a vicar; but no man doth so ordain a vicar, that he maketh his spouse subject unto him, but that the spouse is always thought to be of more authority than the vicar; forasmuch as she is one body with her husband, but the vicar is not so. Neither will I here pass over the words of St. Paul unto the Romans, Let every soul, saith he, be subject unto the higher powers. Neither doth he herein except the pope. For albeit that he be above all other men, yet it seemeth necessary that he should be subject to the church. Neither let him think himself hereby exempt, because it was said unto Peter by Christ, Whatsoever thou bindest, &c. In this place, as we will hereafter declare, he represented the person of the church, for we find it spoken afterterward unto them, Whatsoever. ye shall bind upon earth, shall be also bound in heaven. And furthermore, if all power be given of Christ, as the apostle writeth unto

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the Corinthians, it is given for the edifying of the church, and not for the destruction thereof; why then may not the church correct the pope, if he abuse the keys, and bring all things unto ruin?

Add hereunto also another argument. A man in this life is lesser than the angels; for we read in Matthew, of John Baptist, that he which is least in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he. Notwithstanding, Christ saith in another place, that amongst the children of women there was not a greater than John Baptist. But to proceed; men are forced, by the example of Zacharias, to give credit unto angels, lest through their misbelief they be stricken blind as he was. What more? The bishop of Rome is a man; ergo, he is less than the angels, and is bound to give credit to the angels. But the angels learn of the church, and do reverently accord unto her doctrine, as the apostle writeth unto the Ephesians; ergo, the pope is bound to do the same, who is less than the angels, and less than the church, whose authority is such, that worthily it is compared by St. Augustine unto the sun, that, like as the sun by his light doth surmount all other lights, so the church is above all other authority and power. Whereupon St. Augustine writeth thus: I would not believe the gospel, saith he, if the authority of the church did not move me thereunto: the which is not in any place found to be spoken of the bishop of Rome, who, representing the church, and being minister thereof, is not to be thought greater or equal to his Lord and Master. Notwithstanding, the words of our Saviour Christ do specially prove the bishop of Rome to be subject to the church, as we will hereafter declare. For he, sending Peter to preach unto the church, said, Go, and say unto the church. To the confirmation of whose authority these words do also pertain, He that heareth you heareth me. The which words are not only spoken unto the apostles, but also unto their successors and unto the whole church.

Whereupon it followeth, that if the pope do not hearken and give ear unto the church, he doth not give ear unto Christ, and consequently he is to be counted as an ethnic and publican. For, as St. Augustine affirmeth, when the church doth excommunicate, he which is so excommunicate is bound in heaven, and when the church looseth, he is loosed. Likewise if he be a heretic which taketh away the supremacy of the Church of Rome, as the decrees of the council of Constance do determine, how much more is he to be counted a heretic which taketh away the authority from the universal church, wherein the Church of Rome and all other are contained? Wherefore it is now evident, that it is the opinion of all men before our days, (if it may be called an opinion, which is confirmed by grave authors,) that the pope is subject unto the universal church. But this is called into question, whether he ought also to be judged of the general council. For there are some, which, whether it be for desire of vain-glory, or that through their flattery they look for some great reward, have begun to teach new and strange doctrines, and to exempt the bishop of Rome from the jurisdiction of the general council. Ambition hath blinded them, whereof not only this present schism, but also all other schisms even unto this day have had their original. For as in times past the greedy desire and ambition of the papacy, brought in that pestiferous beast, which through Arius then first crept into the church; even so they specially nourish and maintain this present heresy which are not ashamed to beg. Of the which number some cry out and say, the works of the subjects ought to be judged by the pope, but the pope to be reserved only unto the judgment of God. Others said, that no man ought to judge the high and principal seat, and that it cannot be judged either by the emperor, either by the clergy, either by any king or people. Other affirm that the Lord hath reserved unto himself the depositions of the

chief bishop. Others are not ashamed to affirm, that the bishop of Rome, although he carry souls in never so great number unto hell, yet he is not subject unto any correction or rebuke.

And because these their words are easily resolved, they run straightways unto the gospel, and interpret the words of Christ; not according to the sense and meaning of the Holy Ghost, but according to their own will and disposition. They do greatly esteem and regard this which was spoken unto Peter, Thou shalt be called Cephas: by the which word, they make him the head of the church. Also, I will give thee the keys of the kingdoms of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind upon the earth, &c. I have prayed for thee, Peter, that thy faith should not fail. And again, Feed my sheep; Cast thy net into the deep; Be not afraid, for from henceforth thou shalt be a fisher of men. Also that Christ commanded Peter, as the prince of the apostles, to pay toll for them both; and that Peter drew the net unto the land full of great fishes; and that only Peter drew out his sword for the defence of Christ. All which places these men do greatly extol, altogether neglecting the expositions of the fathers: the which if, as reason were, they would consider, they should manifestly perceive by the authorities aforesaid, that the pope is not above them, when they are gathered together in council, but when they are separate and divided.

But these things being passed over, forasmuch as answer shall appear by that which hereafter shall follow, we will now declare what was reasoned of by the learned men upon this question. But first we would have it known, that all men which are of any name or estimation, do agree, that the pope is subject to the council, and for the proof thereof they repeat, in a manner, all those things which were before spoken of the church; for they suppose all that which is spoken of the church, to serve for the general council. And first of all they allege this saying of the gospel, Tell it unto the church. In the which place it is convenient to understand that Christ spake unto Peter, instructing him what he should do as touching the correction of his brother. He saith, If thy brother offend or sin against thee, rebuke him between thee and him alone. If he give ear unto thee, thou hast won thy brother; but if he do not give ear unto thee, take with thee one or two, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses all truth may stand: if then he will not give ear unto thee, tell it unto the church.

What shall we understand by the church in that place? Shall we say that it is the multitude of the faithful dispersed throughout the whole world? My yoke is pleasant, saith the Lord, and my burden is light. But how is it light, if Christ command us to do that which is impossible to be done? For how could Peter speak unto the church which was dispersed, or to seek out every Christian scattered in every town or city? But the meaning of these words is far otherwise, and they must be otherwise interpreted; for which cause it is necessary that we remember the double person which Peter represented, as the person of the high bishop, and a private man. The sense and meaning of his words are evident and plain enough of themselves, that they need no supplement or alteration. We must first mark and see what this word *ecclesia*, signifieth, the which we do find to be but only twice spoken of by Christ; once in this place, and again when he said to Peter, Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church. Wherefore the church signifieth the convocation or congregation of the multitude. *Dic ecclesiae*, Tell it unto the church; that is to say, Tell it unto the congregation of the faithful; the which, forasmuch as they are not accustomed to come together but in a general council, this interpretation shall seem very good, Tell it unto the church, that is to say, tell it unto the general council.

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In this case I would gladly hear if there be any man which doth think these words to be more properly expressed in any prelate, than in the council, when they must put one man for the multitude; which if it be admitted in the Scriptures, we shall from henceforth find no firm or stable thing therein? But if any man do marvel at this interpretation, let him search the old writers, and he shall find that this is no new or strange interpretation, but the interpretation of the holy fathers and old doctors, which have first given light unto the church, as Pope Gregory witnesseth, (a man worthy of remembrance, both for the holiness of his life, and his singular learning,) whose words are these, written in his register unto the bishop of Constantinople: "And we," said he, "against whom so great an offence is committed through temerarious boldness, do observe and keep that which the truth doth command us, saying, *Si peccaverit in te frater*, that is, If thy brother do offend against thee," &c. And afterward he addeth more, "If my rebukes and corrections be despised, it remaineth that I do seek help of the church." The which words do manifestly declare the church here to be taken for the general council. Neither did Gregory say, that he would seek help of the church that is dispersed abroad in every place, but of that which is gathered together, that is to say, the general council; for that which is dispersed abroad cannot be had, except it be gathered together. Also Pope Nicholas, reproving Lotharius the king for adultery, said, "If thou dost not amend the same, take heed that we tell it not unto the holy church."

In the which saying, Pope Nicholas did not say, that he would go throughout the world to certify every one, man by man; but that he would call the church together, that is to say, the general council, and there would publish and declare the offence of Lotharius, that he which had contemned the pope's commandments, should fear the reverence of the general council. I could recite an infinite number of witnesses for that purpose, the which all tend unto one end: but this one testimony of the council of Constance shall suffice for them all; wherein it is said, that not only the pope in the correction of his brother is remitted unto the council when he cannot correct him of himself; but also when any thing is done as touching the correction of the pope himself, the matter ought to be referred to the council. Whereby it appeareth our interpretation to be most true, which doth expound the church to be in the general council. Hereupon in the Acts of the Apostles, the congregations which were then holden were called the church. Also in the council of Nice, and in other councils, when many should be excommunicated, always in manner, this sentence was adjoined, the catholic and apostolic church doth excommunicate this man. And hereupon that title is given unto the councils whereby we do say, that the general council doth represent the universal church.

Wherefore the laws and decrees of the council are called the laws of the church, for that the church doth not set forth any laws in any other place, but in the general council; except we will call the pope's constitutions the laws of the church, which cannot be properly said but of the council; whereas, albeit all these which are of the church do not assemble and come together, yet the most part of them are accustomed to be there present, and in those which come, the whole power of the church doth consist. Whereupon we read in the Acts of the Apostles, It pleased the apostles and elders with all the church. For albeit that all the faithful were not there present, (because a great number of them remained at Antioch,) yet, notwithstanding, it was called the whole church, because the whole power of the church consisted in the council. Thus for this present it is sufficient that we understand by the church the general council.

And now to return unto our purpose, let us hear what our Saviour saith unto Peter, If thy brother do offend against thee, unto this text following, tell it unto the church; and let us understand the council by the church. Who is greater in this place, he which is sent unto the council, or the council whereunto Peter was sent? The verity doth remit the bishop of Rome unto the general council. And why so? verily because the bishop of Rome should not disdain to acknowledge some power in earth to be above him, the which he should consult withal in matters of importance, and agree unto the determinations thereof. Whereupon Peter is also called by another name, Simon; the which, as Rabanus in his Homilies writeth, is interpreted in the Hebrew tongue, obedience, that all men might understand obedience to be necessary even in the bishop of Rome.

The authority of the council of Constance might suffice us in this point; but we think it good to stay a little upon this matter, and to leave no place open for our adversaries, which, while they go about to maintain the insatiable wilfulness of one man, preferring a private wealth before a common commodity, it is incredible how great errors they do stir up. Against the which, besides many other, Zacharias, bishop of Chalcedon, a man both famous and eloquent, did earnestly strive. Who, in the great and sacred synod of Chalcedon, when the sentence of the bishop of Rome was objected unto him, that the canon of Pope Nicholas and other patriarchs was above the council, he replied against it. And Zosimus the pope saith thus, as touching the decrees of the general council, The authority of this seat cannot make or alter any thing contrary to the decrees of the fathers. Neither doth he here speak of the decrees of the fathers, which are dispersed abroad in cities or wilderness, for they do not bind the pope; but of them which are made and published by the fathers in the general council. For the more manifest declaration whereof, the words of Pope Leo, the most eloquent of all the bishops of Rome, are here to be annexed, who wrote unto Anatholius, that the decrees of the council of Nice are in no part to be violated and broken; thereby (as it were) excluding himself and the high patriarch.

The authority also of Damasus upon this sentence is more manifest, writing unto Arelius, the archbishop, as Isidorus declareth in the book of councils, whose worthy saying as touching the authority of the synod is this, That they which are not compelled of necessity, but of their own will either frowardly do any thing, either presume to do any thing, or wilfully consent unto those which would do any thing, contrary and against the sacred canons, they are worthily thought and judged to blaspheme the Holy Ghost. Of the which blasphemy whether Gabriel, which calleth himself Eugenius, be presently partaker, let them judge which have heard him say, That it is so far from his office and duty to obey the general councils, that he saith, he doth then best merit and deserve, when he contemneth the decrees of the council. Damasus addeth yet moreover: "For this purpose," saith he, "the rulers of the sacred canons, which are consecrated by the Spirit of God, and the reverence of the whole world, are faithfully to be known and understood of us, and diligently looked upon, that by no means, without a necessity which cannot be eschewed, (which God forbid,) we do transgress against any of the decrees of the holy fathers." Notwithstanding we daily see in all the pope's bulls and letters, these words, *Non obstante*, that is to say, notwithstanding, which no other necessity hath brought in, than only insatiable desire of gathering of money. But let them take heed to these things which be the authors thereof.

But now to return again unto Damasus, mention is made in the epistles of Ambrose, bishop of Milan, of a certain epistle, which is said to be written by

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Damasus, unto the judges deputed by the council of Capua, where he declareth that it is not his office to meddle with any matter which hath been before the council. By the which saying, he doth manifestly reprove all those which affirm and say the bishop of Rome to be above the council. The which, if it were true, Damasus might have taken into his hands the cause of Bonosius, the bishop, to determine, which was before begun by the council; but forasmuch as the council is above the pope, Damasus knew himself to be prohibited. Whereupon Hilarius also acknowledging the synod to be above him, would have his decrees confirmed by the council. Also the famous doctor, St. Augustine, in his epistle which he did write unto Glorius and Eleusius, and Felix the grammarian, declareth the case. Cecilianus, the bishop, was accused by Donatus, with others. Melchiades the pope, with certain other bishops, absolved Cecilian, and confirmed him in his bishopric. They being moved with those doings, made a schism in the parts of Africa. St. Augustine reproveth them, which, having another remedy against the sentence of the pope, did raise a schism, and doth inveigh against them in this manner; Behold, let us think those bishops which gave judgment at Rome, not to have been good judges; there remained yet the judgment of the universal church, where the cause might have been pleaded even with the judges themselves, so that if they were convicted not to have given just judgment, their sentence might be broken.

Whereby it appeareth, that not only the sentence of the pope alone, but also the pope with his bishops joined with him, might be made frustrate by the council; for the full judgment of the universal church is not found elsewhere but in the general council. Let not any man doubt, in that St. Augustine seemeth here only to speak of bishops, for if the text of his epistle be read over, he shall find the bishop of Rome to be comprehended amongst the other bishops. It was also prohibited by the councils of Africa, that the bishops of Rome should not receive or hear the appeals of any which did appeal from the council; which altogether declare the superiority of the council. And this appeareth more plainly in the Acts of the Apostles, where Peter is rebuked by the congregation of the apostles, because he went in to Cornelius, a heathen man, as if it had not been lawful for him to attempt any greater matter without the knowledge of the congregation, and yet it was said unto him, as well as others, Go and baptize. But this seemeth to make more unto the purpose which St. Paul writeth unto the Galatians, where he saith, he resisted Peter even unto his face, because he did not walk according to the verity of the gospel. Which words, if they be well understood, signify none other thing by the verity of the gospel, than the canon of the council decreed amongst the apostles; for the disciples, being gathered together, had so determined it. Whereupon St. Paul doth show that Peter ought to have obeyed the general council.

But now to finish this disputation, we will here adjoin the determination of the council of Constance, the which council aforesaid, willing to cut off all ambiguity and doubts, and to provide a certain order of living, declared, by a solemn decree, that all men, of what estate or condition soever they were, yea, although that they were popes themselves, be bound under the obedience and ordinances of the sacred general councils. And although there be a certain restraint, where it is said, in such things as pertain unto the faith, the extirpation of schism, and the reformation of the church, as well in the head as in the members; notwithstanding this amplificative clause, which is adjoined, is to be noted, with all the appurtenances. The which addition is so large, that it containeth all things in it which may be imagined or thought. For the Lord said thus unto his apostles, Go ye forth and teach all people. He did not say in three points only, but teach them to observe and keep all things whatsoever I have commanded

you. And in another place he saith, not this or that, but whatsoever ye shall bind, &c., which all together are alleged for the authority of the church and general councils. For the preferment whereof these things also come in place: He that heareth you, heareth me. And again, It is given unto you to know the mysteries of God. Also, Where two or three be gathered in my name, &c. Again, Whatsoever ye shall ask, &c. O holy Father, save them whom thou hast given me, &c. And, I will be with them even unto the end of the world. Also out of St. Paul these places are gathered: We are helpers of God, &c. Which hath made us apt ministers of the New Testament, &c. And he appointed some apostles and some prophets, &c. In all which places both Christ and the apostles spake of the authority of many, which all together are alleged for the authority of the universal church.

But forasmuch as that church, being dispersed and scattered abroad, cannot decree or ordain any thing, therefore, of necessity it is to be said, that the chief and principal authority of the church doth consist in the general councils, where they assemble together. And therefore it was observed in the primitive church, that hard and weighty matters were not treated upon, but only in the general councils and congregations. The same is also found to be observed afterward; for when the churches were divided, general councils were holden. And in the council of Nice we do find the heresy of Arius condemned; in the council of Constantinople the heresy of Macedonius; in the council of Ephesus the heresy of Nestorius; in the council of Chalcedon the heresies of Eutychius were also condemned: forasmuch as they thought the judgment of the bishop of Rome not to suffice to so great and weighty matters; and also they thought the sentence of the council to be of greater force than the sentence of the pope, forasmuch as he might err as a man; but the council, wherein so many men were gathered together, being guided with the Holy Ghost, could not err. Also it is a very excellent saying of Martianus the emperor, which serveth for that purpose, whose words are these, "Truly he is to be counted a wicked and sacrilegious person, which after the sentence of so many good and holy men, will stick to withdraw any part of his opinion. For it is a point of mere madness, at the noon-time and fair day-light, to seek for a feigned light; for he which, having found the truth, seeketh to discuss any thing further, seeketh but after vanities and lies.

Now I think it is evident enough unto all men, that the bishop of Rome is under the council. Notwithstanding, some do yet still doubt, whether he may also be deposed by the council or not: for albeit it be proved that he is under the council, yet for all that will they not grant that he may be also deposed by the council. Wherefore, it shall be no digressing at all from our purpose, somewhat to say upon that matter: and first of all, to speak of these railers which are yet so earnest for the defence of the bishop of Rome, which, being vanquished in one battle, still renew another, and contend rather of obstinacy than of ignorance. They would have here recited again that which we have before spoken, as touching the pre-eminence of the bishop of Rome, or the patriarch. And as there are many of them more full of words than eloquent, they stay much of this point, where Christ said unto Peter, I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, shall be bound in heaven; as though by those words he should be made head over the other. And again, they do amplify it by this, Feed my sheep; which they do not find to be spoken to any other of the apostles. And because it is said that Peter was the chief and the mouth of the apostles, therefore they judge it well spoken, that no man shall judge the chief and principal see; being all of this opinion with Boniface, which said, that the pope ought to be judged for no cause, except he be perceived or known to swerve

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from the faith, although he do carry innumerable people with him headlong into hell, there to be perpetually tormented: as though he could open the kingdom of heaven to others, if any other could shut it against him; that he could feed other, if he himself lacked pasture.

But we count these as things of no force or difficulty. For St. Augustine, in the sermon of the nativity of Peter and Paul, saith in this wise, Our Lord Jesus Christ., before his passion, chose his disciples, as •ye do know, whom he called brethren. Amongst those, Peter alone almost in every place represented the person of the church, and therefore it was said unto him, Unto thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven. These keys did he not receive as one man, but as one he received them for the church. And in another place, where he writeth of the Christian agony, he saith, The keys of the kingdom of heaven were given unto the church, when they were given unto Peter. And when it was spoken unto him Lovest thou me? Feed my sheep; it was spoken unto them all. And St. Ambrose in the beginning of his Pastoral, saith, "Which sheep and which flock the blessed apostle St. Peter took no charge of alone, but together with us, and we all together with him." By which words the foundation and principal arguments of those flatterers are utterly subverted and overthrown. For if Peter represented the person of the church, we ought not to ascribe the force of these words unto Peter, but unto the church. Neither do I see how that can stand which Boniface doth affirm, for it is far distant from the truth, except it be understood otherwise than it is spoken.

But it may, peradventure, seem a great thing unto some, that it is said the bishop of Rome to be the head of the militant church. For as in the body of man physicians do never give counsel to cut off the head for any manner of sickness and disease, although it be never so full of ulcers, or infected: so in this mystical body of the church the head ought always to be kept; and albeit it be never so wicked, yet is it to be suffered and borne withal. But now convert this argument: If it were possible in the body of man, when one head is taken away, to find another to put in his place, as we see it may be done in the church, should not heads then be oftentimes changed for divers diseases? Moreover, if we will thus reason, that the head of the church should be, in respect of his body, as the head of man in respect of the body of man; then doth it necessarily follow, that the head being dead, the body must also die, as is manifest in the body of man. So should it grow into an absurdity to confess, that the pope being dead, the church also should be dead: the which how far it dissenteth from the truth, it is most manifest. Therefore whatsoever other men say, I am not of opinion with them, which affirm the bishop of Rome to be head of the church, except peradventure they do make him the ministerial head: for we do read that Christ is the Head of the church, and not the pope; and that he is the true Head, immutable, perpetual, and everlasting, and the church is his body, whereof the pope himself is also a member, and the vicar of Christ, not to the destruction, but to the maintenance and edifying of the same body of Christ. Wherefore if he be found a damnable destroyer of the church, he may be deposed and cast out, be-cause he doth not that he was ordained to do: and we ought, as Pope Leo saith, to be mindful of the commandment given us in the gospel: that if our eye, our foot, or our right hand do offend us, it should be cut off from the body. For the Lord saith in another place, Every tree which bringeth not forth fruit, shall be cut down and cast into the fire. And in another place also it is said unto us, Take away all evil and wickedness from among you. It is very just and true which is written in the epistle of Clement, unto James the brother of our Lord, that he which will be saved ought to be separated from them which will not be saved.

But for the more manifest declaration hereof, we must have recourse to that which is spoken by the Lord in the Gospel of John: I am the true vine, saith the Lord, and my Father is the husbandman, but ye are the branches; every branch thereof that bringeth not forth fruit in me, my Father will cut off: These words were spoken unto the apostles, amongst whom also Peter was present, whom the Lord would have cut off, if he brought not forth his fruit. Also St. Jerome upon these words of Matthew, Unsavoury salt is profitable for nothing, but to be cast forth and trodden of swine. Whereupon in the person of Peter and Paul he saith thus, "It is no easy matter to stand in the place of Peter and Paul, and to keep the chair of them which reign with Christ. This unsavoury salt, that is to say, a foolish prelate, unsavoury in preaching, and foolish in offending, is good for nothing but to be cast forth, that is to say, deposed, and to be trodden of swine, that is, of wicked spirits, which have dominion over the wicked and naughty prelates, as their own flock and herd." Behold, this testimony of Jerome is plain and evident; "Let him be cast out," saith he. He expoundeth and speaketh it of the prelate which usurpeth the place of Peter, and so consequently of the bishop of Rome, who, being unsavoury in preaching, and foolish in offending, ought to be deposed (as Jerome affirmeth) from his degree and dignity. Neither, as some do dream, is he to be deposed for heresy only. Isidorus, in the Book of Councils, rehearseth a certain epistle of Clement, the successor of Peter, written unto James the apostle, where the said Clement, referring the words of Peter unto himself, saith thus, "If thou be occupied with worldly cares, thou shalt both deceive thyself, and those which shall give ear unto thee; for thou canst not fully distribute unto every man those things which pertain unto salvation: whereby it shall come to pass that thou, as a man, for not teaching those things which pertain unto salvation, shalt be deposed, and thy disciples shall perish through ignorance." Notwithstanding, in another place, instead of this word deposed, it is found, Thou shalt be punished; which two words, if they be well understood, do not much differ, for deposition is oftentimes used in the place of punishment. But peradventure some will here object, that this epistle is not to be judged Clement's, because it is said to be written unto James, who, as the ecclesiastical history affirmeth, was dead before that Peter was put to death. But Clement might think that James was alive when he wrote: which were far distant asunder, and messengers of the Christians came not often unto Rome. Moreover, there is mention made of this epistle in divers places of the decretals, as most true, and therefore it shall be nothing from the purpose to rehearse other sayings out of the same epistle: where he saith, that he which liveth rebelliously, and refuseth both to learn and to do good, is rather a member of the devil than of Christ, and doth show himself rather to be an infidel than a faithful Christian. Upon which words, the gloss which Panormitane calleth singular, and is much allowed, saith, that if the crime or offence of the bishop of Rome be notorious, whereby the church is offended, if he be incorrigible, he may be accused thereof. If then he may be accused, ergo, also he may be punished, and according to the exigent of the fault deposed; otherwise he should be accused in vain.

Now is there no more any place of defence left for our adversaries, but that the pope may be deposed. Notwithstanding, it is not yet evident whether he may be deposed by the council or no, which we now take in hand to discourse. And, first of all, the adversaries will grant this unto us; that the bishop of Rome may be deposed by the church, forasmuch as the pope being the vicar of the church, no man doubteth but that a lord may put out his vicar at his will and pleasure; neither is it to be doubted but that the pope is more truly called the vicar of the church, than of Christ. But if the church may depose the pope, ergo, the council also may do the same. Also the gloss,

which Panormitane in his writing doth so greatly commend, hath this sentence; that the general council is judge over the pope in all cases. Likewise the most sacred synod of Constantinople, which is allowed of all men, doth appoint the bishops of Rome to be under the judgment of the council; and the council to judge and determine of every doubtful matter or question that doth arise concerning the bishop of Rome. Neither let any man doubt thereof, because this word deposition is not mentioned; for it is said of every doubtful matter or question; for if the synod do judge of every doubt; ergo, it shall also judge whether the pope shall be deposed or not: for that may also come in doubt. And because we will not seek examples far off, John the Twenty-third, whom all the world did reverence, was deposed of his papacy by the council of Constance. Neither yet was he condemned for any heresy; but because he did offend the church by his manifold crimes, the sacred synod thought good to depose him: and ever since continually the church hath proceeded by like example, that their opinion might cease, which affirm that the pope cannot be deposed but only for heresy.

But here is yet one thing not to be omitted, that certain men do affirm the general councils to be of no effect, except the pope do call and appoint them, and his authority remain with them. Whereupon they said that Dioscorus did rebuke Paschasius the bishop of Sicily, and legate of Pope Leo, because that he did enterprise, without the authority of the apostolic see, to call a council at Ephesus. They also allege another testimony of the synod of Chalcedon; where, when mention was made of the council of Ephesus, all the bishops cried out, saying, "We ought not to call it a council, because it was neither gathered by the apostolic authority, neither rightly kept." By the which authorities, they which say that the councils cannot be holden without the consent of the pope, do think themselves marvellously armed. Whose sentence and opinion, if it take place and prevail as they desire, it shall bring with it the great ruin and decay of the church. For what remedy shall we find, if that a wicked pope do disturb the whole church, destroy souls, seduce the people by his evil example, if finally he preach contrary unto the faith, and fill the people full of heresies? shall we provide no stay or stop for him? shall we suffer all things to run to ruin and decay with him? Who would think that the bishop of Rome would congregate a council for his own correction or deposition? for as men are prone unto sin, so would they also sin without punishment. But when I do peruse ancient histories, and the Acts of the Apostles, I do not find this order, that councils should be gathered only at the will of the pope; for the first council of all, after that Matthias was substitute in the place of Judas, was not congregate at the commandment of Peter, but at the commandment of Christ, who commanded the apostles that they should not depart from Jerusalem, but look for the promise of the Father.

The second council, as touching the election of the deacons, Peter alone did not congregate, but the twelve apostles; for it is written, The twelve apostles calling together the multitude, &c.

The third council, which was holden as touching the taking away of circumcision and other ceremonies of the law, was gathered together by a general inspiration; for it is written, The apostles and elders came together, &c.

The fourth council, where certain things contained in the law are permitted, seemeth to be gathered by James, and so discoursing throughout all, there can nothing be found in the primitive church, whereby it should appear that the authority of congregating of councils should pertain only unto bishops of Rome. Neither afterwards in the time of Constantine the Great, and other emperors, was the consent

of the bishops of Rome greatly required to the congregating of councils; and therefore it is written thus of the synod of Chalcedon, "The sacred and universal synod gathered together at Chalcedon, the chief city of the province of Bethulia, according unto the grace of God, and the sanctions of the most godly and Christian emperors Valentinian and Martian, doth not make any mention of the bishop of Rome, although his consent were there."

Wherefore, if the pope would resist, and would have no council congregate, yet if the greater part of the church do judge it necessary to have a council, the council may be congregate whether the pope will or no. The council holden at Pisa was not congregate by the authority and consent of any pope, when Gregory did condemn it, and Benedict cursed it. The same also may be aid of the council of Constance, which was assembled the authority of Pope John, who in respect of the Spaniards was no true pope. And if the council of Pisa were no true council, Pope John was no true pope: whereupon his consent to the congregation of the council of Constance was of no effect. Moreover, it is more than folly to affirm, that when the pope hath once given his consent, if it should be called back, the council should then cease, for then it is no more in his power to revoke his consent. And of necessity he must be obedient unto the council, whereof he is a member, and give place unto the greater part; and if he separate himself from the consent of the greater part, and depart from the unity of the church, he maketh himself a schismatic.

Now, to come unto the second conclusion: if it be true, as it is indeed, that the pope is under the council, how can the pope then dissolve, alter, and transport the council, against the will of the same? For with what countenance can we say, that the inferior hath power over the superior? How can the synod correct the pope, if the pope may dissolve the synod contrary to the will thereof? Admit that the pope be libidinous, covetous, a sower of war and discord, and a most mortal enemy unto the church and the name of Christ, how can the council reprove him, if he have authority to dissolve the council? For as soon as ever that the bishop of Rome shall understand, that in the council they do treat or talk of his correction or punishment, straightways he will seek remedy by dissolving the council. For, as Macrobius saith, He that hath liberty to do more than is fit or necessary, will oftentimes do more than is lawful. If so be that the bishop of Rome may exempt himself from correction by dissolving or transporting the council, it followeth that the council is not above him. Therefore we must either deny that which is aforesaid, that the pope is under the council, or else deny that the pope hath power to dissolve the council, contrary to the will and determination of the council.

And as this first conclusion is most true, so are all other conclusions false, which seem to impugn the same. Wherefore the second conclusion of the divines is also manifest, albeit that some do admit it in certain cases, and in other some exclude it again. For if we do admit, that for certain causes the pope may dissolve the council contrary to the will and determination thereof, that is to say, to make the pope judge of the council, it were clean contrary unto the first conclusion.

Now it is proved that the council is above the pope, and cannot be dissolved by the pope without consent thereof. Now we must further see, whether it be an article of our faith to believe it; which matter hath respect unto the third conclusion. For there have been many, which albeit they did confess those two conclusions to be true, yet they doubted whether it were a verity of the catholic faith or no. Therefore this second part must be confirmed. And we must see whether it be an article of faith that

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the pope be under the council. Which being proved, it hall also appear to he an article of faith, that the pope cannot dissolve the council without the consent thereof. Which consequent none of the contrary part hath refuted. First of all, therefore, we must inquire what faith is, that we may-thereby the better understand what pertaineth thereunto.

Faith, as the divines do define it, is a firm and stedfast cleaving unto things, believed by the authority of him that speaketh. If then we believe, as is aforesaid, that the pope of Rome is under the council, some authority doth move us thereunto; so is it the faith of him which believeth it. But the question is not, whether it be an article of faith only, but whether it be an article of the catholic faith. Wherefore we must again inquire what the catholic faith is. This word catholic is a Greek word, and signifieth universal. The catholic faith, that is to say, the universal faith, is not so called because that every man holdeth it; but because every man ought to believe it. For all men do not believe that God is incarnate, but every man ought so to believe. And albeit that many be against this faith, yet doth it not cease to be universal. For what writeth the apostle unto the Romans? If some of them have not believed, doth their misbelief make the faith of God vain? God forbid. Verily God is true, but every man is a liar. Therefore to believe that the pope is under the council, is a point of catholic faith, although some think the contrary; for we are bound to believe it, forasmuch as it is taken out of the gospel. For we are not bound only to believe those things which are noted to us in the Creed, but also all those things which are contained in the Holy Scriptures, whereof we may not deny one jot. And those things which we allege for the superiority of the general council are gathered out of the sayings of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and the epistles of St. Paul; *ergo*, we are all bound to believe it. And to prove that these things are taken out of the gospel, the council of Constance doth witness, the which groundeth his authority upon these words, *Dic ecclesiæ*, that is to say, Tell it unto the church. And, Where two or three are gathered together in my name, &c. And, Whatsoever ye shall bind, &c.; with other such-like texts.

Whereupon Pope Martin the Fourth, being yet at Constance, under the licence of the council, sent out his bulls, which do reckon up the articles whereupon they ought to be examined which had fallen into any heresy; amongst the which articles he putteth this article: "Whether he do believe the sacred general council to have power immediately from God, and that the ordinances thereof are to be received of all faithful Christians, which, if any man would deny, he should be counted a heretic." Wherefore, when the sacred synod of Constance doth set forth this verity, as touching the superiority of the general council, what should let, but that we also should confess the same to be a verity of the catholic faith? For the catholic church being congregate at Constance, received that faith, that is to say, believed it by the authority of him which spake it, that is, Christ and his saints.

To this purpose also serve very well the words of the synod of Chalcedon, written in this manner: "It is not lawful for him that is condemned by the whole synod to nominate any bishop. The determination pleaseth all men. This is the faith of the fathers. He that holdeth any opinion contrary unto this, is a heretic." And again, it is a rule, that it is not lawful to appeal from the elect and chosen synod.

Mark the manifest witness of this most sacred synod, which said, that he is a heretic which holdeth any opinion contrary unto the council: But he is no heretic, except he refuse the catholic faith; *ergo*, it was the catholic faith to believe that it was not lawful to appeal from the sacred council. But how was the same any point of the

catholic faith? Verily forasmuch as the sacred synod, perusing over the Holy Scriptures, hath received this conclusion out of the words of Christ and other holy fathers, And like as the synod of Chalcedon took their conclusions out of the Holy Scriptures, so did the council of Constance; this we now reason upon. And like as the one is an article of the catholic faith, so is the other also. And he which holdeth any opinion contrary to either of both, is a heretic.

Furthermore, they seem unto me to dream and dote, which, confessing them to be verities, will not confess them to be verities of faith. For if they be verities, I pray you, whereof are they verities? Truly not of grammar, much less of logic; and from astronomy and physick they are far distant. Neither is there any other man but a divine, that will grant this verity, whom Scripture doth force unto it of necessity, if he do believe Christ, or his apostles. Therefore this is a verity of the catholic faith, which all men ought to embrace; and he which obstinately resisteth against the same, is to be judged a heretic, as the third conclusion doth affirm. Neither let any man think it hard or cruel, that he should be called a heretic, which goeth about to derogate any thing from the power of the general council, which is confirmed by so many testimonies and authorities. Also Panormitane allegeth St. Jerome, saying, "He which understandeth the Scripture otherwise than the consent of the Holy Ghost doth require, albeit he do not depart from the church, may be called a heretic."

Whereupon it followeth, that he which upon the words of Christ, saying unto Peter, *Dic ecclesiae*, Tell it unto the church, doth not understand by the church the general council, understandeth it otherwise than the sense of the Holy Ghost doth require, and thereby may be noted as a heretic. And to prove that the sense of the Holy Ghost is otherwise than he doth judge it, the council of Constance doth declare; the which interpreting those words, Tell it unto the church, spoken by the Holy Ghost, understandeth them to be spoken of the general council. By these and many other weightier reasons the three aforesaid conclusions seemed true unto the divines, and through them they also allowed the residue.

Now have we sufficiently said, as touching that which was before promised; neither do I think any man now to be in doubt of these three first conclusions. Now to return again unto our story, it is our purpose to declare those things which happened after the conclusions of the divines; for there are many things worthy of remembrance, which also may happily be profitable unto the posterity. When the disputation was ended, and a final conclusion of these matters even at hand, the archbishop of Milan, and Panormitane, with the residue of their fellow ambassadors of the king of Arragon, and duke of Milan, armed themselves with all their power to let the matter, exhorting all men of their faction to withstand it with stout and valiant stomachs.

And first of all, as soon as the congregation was assembled together, the bishop of Burgos exhorted them to defer the conclusion, and to tarry for the ambassadors of other provinces, which would return from Mentz.

After him Panormitane, with a grave and rhetorical oration, spake (in a manner) as followeth I have, said he, had a commandment by the prophet, to cry without ceasing. Which prophet said, Cry out, cease not, lift up thy voice as a trumpet. If that in any matter at any time before he ought to have cried, this matter specially which is now in hand lacketh crying and roaring out, when the state of the universal church is treated upon, either to be preserved, or utterly overthrown: and that he hath

cried so much in this matter, that he doubted not but the saying of David was fulfilled in him, where he saith, I have laboured, crying out, that my jaws are become hoarse.

Notwithstanding that he would, both now, and as often as need should require, without ceasing still cry out, and especially now in this most difficult and weighty matter; wherein he required the sacred council gently to hear both him, and the ambassadors of other princes: adding, moreover, four things to be considered in all requests made of any man; the which he also required the fathers now presently to mark and consider: Who it is that maketh the request. What is required. Why it should be required. And what effect would come by the request either granted or denied. As touching the first point, he said, the most noble kings and excellent princes with their prelates, to be of great power; and then he reckoned up the king of Castile, the king of Arragon, the duke of Milan, and the bishops of the same princes, rehearsing also the merits and good deeds of the said kings, and also of the duke of Milan. But when he came to make mention of the prelates, he could not refrain himself, but began to wax somewhat hot, saying, that the greatest number of prelates were on his part. For if the bishops and abbots were counted, it were not to be doubted but the greatest part of them would have this present matter deferred; and forasmuch as the whole power of the council doth consist in the bishops, it is not to be suffered, that, they being neglected and contemned, that should be concluded which pleased the greater part of the inferiors. For the keys, said he, were given to the apostles, and to their successors, which are the bishops; also that there are three kinds of synods, episcopal, provincial, and general, and none of all these without bishops. Wherefore the manner and order of the present council seemed undecent, whereas things were not weighed according as men excel in dignity, but by most voices: notwithstanding, according to the most famous epistle of Clement, the bishops were the pillars and keys of heaven, and the inferiors had no determining voice, but only a consultative voice with them; wherefore there would be a great offence in this behalf, if a matter of faith should be determined without the bishops; in which matter not only the bishops, but also the secular princes, ought to be admitted. And forasmuch as they, in the name of their princes, desired to be admitted to the examination of this present matter, and would examine the matter more fully, he complained greatly how unworthy a thing it was, that they should be contemned or despised.

After many things spoken to this end and effect, he passed over to the second part of his oration, declaring what it was that he required; not gold, nor silver, neither precious stones, neither provinces nor kingdoms, neither a thing hard to be done; but that only the delay of the sacred council was required, and that the fathers would stay in the process against the pope, in the conclusion and determination of matters which are now in hand. Neither should the delay be long, but only until the return of the ambassadors from Mentz, whom he knew well would return very shortly. That this was but a small matter, and needed but small entreaty, because there was no danger in it. And also it should seem injurious, not to tarry for the ambassadors of the princes which were then at Mentz, when they were not absent for their own private commodity, but about the affairs of the commonwealth, and the commodity of peace; neither had he forgotten, that at their departure they had desired, that during their absence there should be nothing renewed concerning the matters of Eugenius.

Then immediately adjoining the third part of his oration, wherefore this delay was required, he concluded, that it was not required for the private commodity of any one man, but for a commonwealth; not to cause any trouble or unquietness, but for the better examination of the matter, that all things might pass with peace and quietness,

that the matter might be so much the more firm and stable, by how much it is ratified and allowed by the consent of many. And so he proceeded to the last part of his argument, requiring the fathers that they would consider, and weigh in their minds the effect that would follow, if they should grant or deny this request; "for," saith he, "if ye shall deny this small petition of the princes, they all will be aggrieved therewith, and take this repulse in ill part. They will say, they are contemned of you, neither will they be obedient unto you, or receive your decrees. In vain shall ye make laws, except the princes do execute them, and all your decrees shall be but vain; yet would I think this to be borne withal, if I did not fear greater matters to ensue. What if they should join themselves with Eugenius, who desireth to spoil you not only of your livings, but also of your lives? Alas, what slaughter and murder do the eyes of my mind behold and see! Would God my opinion were but vain. But if you do grant and consent unto their petitions, they will think themselves bound unto you; they will receive and embrace your decrees and whatsoever you shall require of them shall be obtained. They will forsake your adversary, they will speak evil of him and abhor him; but you they will commend and praise, you they will reverence; unto you they will wholly submit themselves; and then shall follow that most excellent fruit of reformation and tranquillity of the church." And thus he required the matter to be respited on all parts. At the last he said, that except the ambassadors of the princes were heard, he had a protestation written, which he would command to be read before them all.

When Panormitane had made an end of his oration, Ludovicus, the protonotary of Rome, rose up, a man of such singular wit and memory, that he was thought not to be inferior unto any of the famous men aforetime. Insomuch that he had always in memory whatsoever he had heard or read, and never forgot any thing that he had seen. This man, first commending Panormitane, said, That he came but the day before from the baths, and that it seemed unto him a strange thing which was now brought in question; wherein he desired to hear other men's minds, and also to be heard of others, and that those prelates which were at Mentz should be tarried for, to be present at the discussing of this matter, in the name and behalf of their princes, which prelates were men of great estimation, and the orators of most mighty princes.

He allowed also the saying of Panormitane, touching the voices of the inferiors, that it seemeth not to be against the truth, that only bishops should have a deciding or determining voice in councils. And albeit that some in this disputation do think that which is written in the 15th chapter of the Acts to be their force or defence; notwithstanding, he was nothing moved therewith, nor took it to be of any effect, albeit it was said, it seemed good unto the Holy Ghost and to us; whereas both the apostles and the elders were gathered together; whereby it appeared, that the others had a deciding voice with the apostles. For he said, that there was no argument to be gathered of the Acts of the Apostles, whose examples were more to be marvelled at than to be followed; and that it doth not appear there, that the apostles called the elders of duty, but that it is only declared that they were there present; whereupon nothing could be inferred. And that it seemed unto him, that the inferiors in the council of Basil were admitted to determine with the bishops but of grace and favour only, because the bishops may communicate their authority unto others. He alleged for testimony the bishop of Constance, a man of great authority, who would not suffer any incorporation, or fellowship of the meaner sort, and therefore neither any inferior, neither himself, which as yet was not made bishop, to have any decided voice in the council. Wherefore, forasmuch as the matter was weighty which was now in hand,

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and that the bishops spake against it, he required the council that they would of necessity stay and tarry for the ambassadors of the princes coming from Mentz.

His oration was so much the more grievous, in that many were touched with his words, and specially in that point, that he said the apostles were not to be followed; for that all men did impugn as a blasphemy. But here a man may marvel, that a man of such excellency alleged no more or better matter. But in this point the memory of the man is to be pardoned, which did not willingly speak in this matter, and desired nothing so much as not to obtain that which he entreated for. After him many other spake their minds, but all to this end, that they might protract the time, and defer the conclusion of these matters.

Then Ludovicus, the Cardinal Arelatensis, a man of marvellous constancy, and born for the governance of general councils, gathering together the words of all the orators, spake in this wise: "Most reverend fathers, this is no new or strange business, nor begun to-day or yesterday; for it is now many weeks ago since the conclusions were disputed upon amongst the divines, and sent unto Mentz, and to all other parts of the world. After this they were disputed upon six days continually, and fully discussed; and after that, not without great delay, approved by the deputies; and as the truth seeketh no corners, so all things were done publicly and openly. Neither can any man pretend ignorance, neither are the prelates or princes contemned; for we called all that were present at Basil, and exhorted all the rest to be present. And forasmuch as mention is made of the most noble king of Castile, who is it that is ignorant that the king's orators were there present? The bishop of Burgos and Ebrun, men of singular learning and eloquence, and you also, Panormitane, yourself, which here represent the person of the most famous king of Arragon, were twice present yourself in the chapter-house, and disputed twice most subtly, and twice declared your mind, what you thought in that matter. What do you desire any more? Also out of the territory of the duke of Milan there was present the archbishop of Milan, who, albeit he be no ambassador, yet how famous a prelate he is, you are not ignorant." When he had spoken these words, the archbishop, being somewhat moved, said unto him, "My lord cardinal, you supply the place of a president no better than I do the place of a duke's orator;" and began to taunt him with many words. But the cardinal, as he was a man most patient, and would not be provoked to anger by any means, said, "This is it that I even now desired; for if the archbishop be an ambassador, then hath the duke no cause to complain, which had his orator present at the discussing of those matters.

"I pass over other princes, because they do not complain. Notwithstanding, the most Christian king of France had there the bishop of Lyons, a grave and sober man, his ambassador, at the disputation. As for other princes, I see no cause why they should be tarried for, which, knowing the council to be congregated for such matters as pertain unto faith, do not think it absurd that the doubtful matters of faith should be declared in the council; whereunto if they had been willing to come, they would have been present ere this.

"Why this matter should need so much discussing as some will have, I do not understand. For if I be well remembered, Panormitane, and also Ludovicus, have oftentimes affirmed in this place, even the very same thing which the conclusions signify. And if any of them now will go about to gainsay it, it will happen unto them as it did unto Didimus; to whom, when on a time he repugned against a certain history, as vain and frivolous, his own book was delivered unto him, wherein the same was written; so likewise these two men, (meaning Panormitane and Ludovicus the

protonotary,) although they be excellently learned, and eloquent, yet may they be confuted by their own writings. Besides this, there are synodal epistles and decrees of this council, which are full of such conclusions. What is it then whereupon any difficulty can be raised? What is it that may be impugned? Shall we now bring that again in doubt, which hath so often been declared, affirmed, and decreed? But (say they) the princes and ambassadors are absent, which are bishops, by whose presence the decrees should be of more authority. Well, they are not only absent which are gone to Mentz, but almost an infinite number of others, dispersed throughout the whole world; whom if we should tarry to look for, nothing at any time should be decreed. They are all called unto the council; they might have come if they would. To those that are present power is given, and they ought to debate these matters. If any man will say, that they which are absent are about the affairs of the commonwealth; truly we sent them not thither, but they went rather against the will of the council, than with the consent thereof.

"And admit that they had been sent by the council, yet were not our power so much restrained but that we might reform the church, for otherwise there could never any thing be done in the council; forasmuch as always some are sent out by the council, and some are always to be looked and tarried for, and therefore we must either do nothing at all, or send out no prelates from the council. Whereas he said that prelates, and specially bishops, are contemned, that is most far from the truth, for they have the chief and first places. They speak first, and give their voices first of all unto all things; and if so be they do speak learnedly and truly, all the inferiors, without any gainsaying, did soon follow their mind.

"Neither peradventure shall it be found untrue, that there was never any synod, which did more amplify the power and authority of bishops, than this. For what have the bishops been in our days, but only shadows? Might they not well have been called shepherds without the sheep? What had they more than their mitre and their staff, when they could determine nothing over their subjects? Verily in the primitive church the bishops had the greatest power and authority; but now was it come to that point that they exceeded the common sort of priests only in their habit and revenues. But we have restored them again to their old state; we have reduced the collation of benefices again unto them; we have restored unto them the confirmation of elections; we have brought again the causes of the subjects to be heard into their hands, and have made them bishops which were none before. What cause is there then, that the bishops should say they are contemned of the council? or what injurious thing have we at any time done unto them? But Panormitane saith, that forasmuch as most bishops are on his part, and few against him, the conclusion is not to be determined by the multitude of the inferiors; but let Panormitane remember himself, that this is no new kind of proceeding.

"This order of proceeding, the council ordained from the beginning, neither hath it been changed at any time since. And this order, Panormitane, in times past hath pleased you well enough, when the multitude did follow your mind. But now, because they do not follow your mind, they do displease you. But the decrees of the council are not so mutable as the wills of men. Know ye, moreover, that the very same bishops which do consent with you in word, do not consent with you in mind, neither speak the same secretly, which they now do openly. They do fear that which you told them at home in their country, that except they would follow your mind they should displease the king. They fear the power of the prince. and to be spoiled of their temporalities; neither have they free liberty to speak as is requisite in councils. Albeit

if they were true bishops, and true pastors of souls, they would not doubt to put their lives in venture for their sheep, neither be afraid to shed their blood for their mother the church.

"But at this present (the more is the pity) it is too rare to find a prelate in this world, which doth not prefer his temporalities before his spiritualities, with the love whereof they are so withdrawn, that they study rather to please princes than God; and confess God in corners, but princes they will openly confess. Of whom the Lord speaketh in his gospel, Every one, saith he, that confesseth me before men, I will confess him before my Father which is in heaven. And contrariwise, the Lord will not confess him before his Father, which is afraid to confess the Lord before men. Neither is it true which Panormitane saith, most bishops to be on his part; for here are many bishops' proctors whom he doth not reckon, because they are not of his opinion. Neither is the dignity of the fathers to be respected in the council, as he saith, but only reason; nor any thing more to be looked for than the truth; neither will I for my part prefer a lie of any bishop, be he never so rich, before a verity or truth of a poor priest. Neither ought a bishop to disdain, if he be rude or unlearned, that the multitude doth not follow him, or that the voice of a poor learned and eloquent priest should be preferred before his. For wisdom dwelleth oftener under a bare and ragged cloak, than in rich ornaments and apparel.

"Wherefore, I pray you, my lord bishops, do not so much contemn your inferiors; for the first which died for Christ, the which also opened unto all other the way of martyrdom, was no bishop, but only a Levite. As for that which Ludovicus and Panormitane do allege, touching the voices of bishops, I know not where they have it. Wherefore, I desire them that they would tell me where they have found it. But if we repeat the examples of old councils, we shall find that the inferiors were always present with the bishops. And albeit that Ludovicus do forbid us the examples of the apostles, I stay myself most upon their doings. For what is more comely for us to follow, than the doctrine and customs of the primitive church? It is said, therefore, in the 15th chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, It seemed good unto the Holy Ghost, and to us. The which word (to us) is referred unto them which are before named the apostles and the elders. Neither this word, (it seemed good,) signifieth in this place consultation, but decision and determination; whereby it appeareth that other beside the bishops had determining voices. In another place also of the said Acts, when the apostles should treat upon a weighty matter, they durst not determine by themselves, but the twelve called together the multitude.

"Here Ludovicus saith, that it doth not appear that the apostles called other of necessity; but I say unto him, how knowest thou that they did not call them of necessity? But forasmuch as both parts are uncertain, nothing doth prohibit us to follow the apostles. For seeing that all things are written for our learning, it appeareth that the apostles would give us example, that in weighty matters we should admit our inferiors. And therefore in all councils which were celebrated and holden afterwards, we find that priests were also present; as in the council of Nice, which of all other was most famous, Athanasius being then but only a priest, withstood the Arians, and infringed their arguments, albeit there were also other priests. And albeit mention be made of three hundred twenty-two bishops, yet it is not denied but that the inferiors were there, whom I think to be omitted for this cause, for that they were almost innumerable; for as you know well enough, the denomination for the most part is taken of the most worthy.

"In the synod of Chalcedon, (which was counted one of the four principal synods,) it is said that there were there present six hundred priests; the which name is common both unto bishops and priests. In other councils the name both of bishops and priests is omitted, and mention made only of fathers, which hath the same signification that this word elders hath in the Acts of the Apostles. We have also a testimony of the ecclesiastical history, how that there was a council gathered at Rome of sixty bishops, and as many priests and deacons, against the Novatians, which called themselves Cathari.

Also, when Paul the bishop of Antioch, in the time of Galienus the emperor, preached, that Christ was a man of common nature, the council assembled against him in Antioch; whereunto there came bishops out of Cesarea, Cappadocia, out of Pontus, Asia, and from Jerusalem, and many other bishops, priests, and deacons; and it is said, that for that cause the council was often holden.

"And at the last in the same place, under Aurelius the emperor, Paul was condemned of all Christian churches which were under heaven: neither was there any man which did more confound the said Paul, then Malchion, a priest of Antioch, which taught rhetoric in Antioch. But to make no long digression from the matter, we have most evident testimonies for the defence of inferiors. For the chief and principal amongst all the divines, St. Austin, upon the words of Matthew, where Christ saith to Peter, I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, saith, that by those words the judicial power was given not only unto Peter, but also to the other apostles, and to the whole church, the bishops and priests. If then priests have a judicial power in the church, what should let that they have not also a determining voice in the councils? The famous doctor St. Jerome doth also agree with St. Austin, whose words are these upon the Epistle of Paul unto Titus. Before that difference was made in religion by the instigation of the devil, or that it was spoken amongst the people, I hold of Paul, I of Apollos, and I of Cephas, the churches were governed by the common consent and council of the priests; for a priest is the very same that a bishop is. Wherefore all bishops ought to understand, that they are of greater power than priests, rather by custom, than by the dispensation of the truth of God, and that they ought to rule the church together. And this we do also gather out of Paul unto Titus, which maketh so much concordance between bishops and priests, that oftentimes he calleth priests bishops: whereby it doth evidently appear, that priests are not to be excluded from the conventions of bishops, and determinations of matters. Albeit, as St. Jerome writeth, that bishops only by custom are preferred before priests, it may be that a contrary custom may take away that custom. For if priests ought to rule the church together with the bishops, it is evident that it also pertaineth unto them to decide and determine the doubtful matters of the church.

"Wherefore the testimony of St. Paul is evident; for, as he, writing unto the Ephesians, saith, If Christ instituted his apostles, prophets, pastors, and teachers to the work of the ministry, for the edifying of his church, until such time as we should meet him, for this purpose, that there should be no doubt in the diversity of doctrine; who doubteth, then, but that the governance of the church is committed unto others together with the apostles? Let these our champions now hold their peace, and seem to be no wiser than they ought to be. The memorial of the council of Constance is yet fresh in memory, where divers of us were present, and I myself also, which was neither cardinal nor bishop, but only a doctor, where I did see, without any manner of doubt or difficulty, the inferiors to be admitted with the bishops, to the deciding of hard and doubtful matters. Neither ought we to be ashamed to follow the example of

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that most sacred and great council, which also followed the examples of the council of Pisa, and the great council at Lateran, wherein it is not to be doubted, but that the priests did jointly judge together with the bishops.

"Moreover, if abbots, as we do see it observed in all councils, have a determining voice, which notwithstanding were not instituted by Christ; why should not priests have the same, whose order Christ ordained by his apostles? Hereupon also, if only bishops should have a determining voice, nothing should be done but what pleased the Italian nation, the which alone doth excel all other nations, or at the least is equal with them, in number of bishops. And howsoever it be, I judge it in this behalf to be a work of God, that the inferiors should be admitted to the determinations; for God hath now revealed that unto little ones which he hath hidden from the wise.

"Behold, you do see the zeal, constancy, uprightness, and magnanimity of these inferiors. Where should the council now be, if only bishops and cardinals should have their voice? Where should the authority of the councils be? Where should the catholic faith be? Where should the decrees and reformation be? For all things have now a long time been under the will of Eugenius, and he had now obtained his wicked and naughty purpose, except these inferiors, whom ye now condemn, had withstood him. These are they which have condemned the privation made by Eugenius. These, I say, are they which have not regarded his threatenings, spoil, and persecution. These are they which, being taken, imprisoned, and tormented, have not feared to defend the truth of the council; yea, even these are they, who, albeit they were by Eugenius delivered over for a prey, yet would they still continue in the sacred council, and feared not to suffer war, famine, and most cruel pestilence; and finally, what thing is it that these men have not willingly suffered for the right and equity of the council? You might have heard this inferior sort, even in the midst of their tribulations, with a loud voice cry out and say, 'Albeit that all men become obedient unto that subverter of the church, Eugenius, and that every man do depart from the verity of the faith and constitutions of the fathers, consenting unto the commandments of Eugenius, yet we and our brethren will be constant, and doubt not to die for the truth and traditions of the holy fathers:' the which indeed they have done. Neither could they be feared with threatenings or discouraged with any spoils, neither could any fear or hope turn them from their most blessed purpose. And, (to speak somewhat of mine own order,) whether any cardinals have done the like or no, that judge you.

"As for the bishops, whom Panormitane alone would have to determine, you see how few of them are on our part, and even they which are here present are not able by virtue to overcome iniquity, they fear the terrene power, and commit offence with their haste. Have ye not heard how they all said, they would consent unto the king's will and pleasure? But the inferiors are they which have had truth, righteousness, and God himself before their eyes, and they are greatly to be commended for showing themselves such men unto the church of God. But why do I defend the cause of these inferiors? when some will also exclude those bishops which are but bishops by name and title, and have no possession of the church, from our company, not understanding that whilst they go about to put back those men, they do condemn Peter, and the other apostles, who (as it is evident) were long without any great flock, neither was Rome unto Peter, nor Jerusalem unto James, at any time wholly obedient; for at that time no great number of people, but a small flock, believed in Christ.

"For, I pray you, what is that we should require of these bishops? They have no flock; but that is not their fault. They have no revenues; but money maketh not a bishop, and, as the Lord saith, Blessed are the poor in spirit. Neither was there any rich bishops in the primitive church, neither did the ancient church reject Dionysius, bishop of Milan, Eusebius, bishop of Vercelli, or Hilary, bishop of Pictavia, although they were never so poor, and banished without a flock. But if we will grant the truth, the poor are more apt to give judgment than the rich; because that riches bring fear, and their poverty causeth liberty. For the poor men do not fear tyranny as our rich men do, which being given over unto all kind of vanities, idleness, and sloth, will rather deny Christ than lack their accustomed pleasures; whom not their flock but their revenues make bishops, delighting so much in riches, that they judge all poor men unhappy. But, as Cicero saith, 'Nothing can happen better unto a wise man, than mediocrity of substance.' Whereupon it is written in the Gospel, It is easier for a camel to pass through a needle's eye, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven.

"But now, to return to a more full declaration of Panormitane's words, I determine to pass over two points which he propounded in the beginning of his oration, that is, who maketh the petition, and for what cause they make their petition. We grant that they are great men, and men of power, and (as he doth affirm) that they have deserved good of the church; neither do I doubt but that they are moved thereunto with a sincere affection. But whether it be a small matter that is required, or that the same effects would rise thereupon which he spake of, it is now to be inquired. A delay, saith he, is required; a delay for a few days. A small matter; a matter of no importance; a matter easy to be granted. Notwithstanding, let Panormitane here mark well, that he requireth a delay in a matter of faith. The verities are already declared; they be already discussed and determined. If now there should be but a little delay, it would grow to a long delay; for oftentimes the delay of one moment is the loss of a whole year; hereof we have many examples. Hannibal, when he had obtained his victory at Cannæ, if he had gone straight unto Rome, by all men's judgments he had taken the city. But forasmuch as he did defer it until the next day, the Romans having recovered their force again, he was shut out, and deserved to hear this opprobry:

Hannibal, thou knowest victory to get,
But how to use it thou know'st not yet.'

"Likewise the Frenchmen, after they had taken Rome and besieged the capitol, whilst that they greedily sought to have great sums of money, and delayed the time in making of their truce, Camillus, coming upon them, did most shamefully drive them out again. But what need I to rehearse old stories, when our own examples are sufficient for us? Ye know yourselves how often these delays have been hurtful unto you, and how often the delay of a few days hath grown to a long tract of time. For now this is the eighth year that you have spent in delays, and you have seen, that always of one delay another hath sprung and risen. Wherefore I do require that Panormitane should consider, that the conclusion being this day disturbed, we know not whether it will be brought to pass hereafter again or no; many impediments or lets may rise. Neither doth Panormitane say, that this delay, being obtained, he would afterward consent with his fellows unto the conclusions, for he denieth that he hath any commandment thereunto; and, which is more to be considered, he saith, that the ambassadors, at their return from Mentz, may bring such news, whereby these conclusions may be omitted; as though any thing were more excellent than the truth.

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"The which thing doth manifestly declare, that they do not seek delays for the better examination of the matter, but for to impugn the conclusions the more strongly. Neither do I agree with Panormitane, as touching the effects which he said should rise, either of the denial or granting of the requests; for I see no cause why the princes should so greatly require any delay. There are no letters of any prince come unto us as touching such request, neither is there any man lately come from them, neither is it greatly material unto them, but that the matters of faith should be determined. But this is a most pernicious conclusion which Panormitane hath made, and not to be looked for at the hands of those most godly princes; where he saith, if we do please them, they will take our part; if contrariwise, they will decline unto Eugenius, and wholly resist and rebel against us. This is a marvellous word, and a wonderful conclusion, altogether unworthy to be spoken of such a man. The decrees of the council of Constance are, that all manner of men, of what state or condition soever they be, are bound to the ordinances and decrees of the general councils. But Panormitane's words do not tend to that effect, for he would not have the princes obedient unto the council, but the council to be obedient unto the princes.

"Alas, most reverend fathers, alas, what times and days, what manners and conditions, are these! Into what misery are we now brought! How shall we at any time bring to pass, that the pope, being Christ's vicar, and (as they say) another Christ in earth, should be subject unto the council of the Christians, if the council itself ought to obey worldly princes? But I pray you, look for no such things at the princes' hands. Do not believe that they will forsake their mother the church. Do not think them so far alienated from the truth, that they would have justice suppressed.

"The conclusions, whereupon the controversy is, are most true, most holy, most allowable. If the princes do refuse them, they do not resist against us, but against the Holy Scriptures, yea, and against Christ himself; which you ought neither to believe, neither was it comely for Panormitane so to say. Panormitane, (by your licence be it spoken,) you have uttered most cruel words, neither do you seem to go about any other matter than to inculcate terror and fear into the minds of the fathers; for you have rehearsed great perils and dangers, except we submit ourselves unto the princes.

"But you, most reverend fathers, shall not be afraid of them that kill the body, the soul they cannot kill; neither shall ye forsake the truth, although you should shed your blood for the same. Neither ought we to be any whit more slack in the quarrel of our mother the church, and the catholic faith, than those most holy martyrs, which have established the church with their blood. For why should it be any grievous matter unto us to suffer for Christ, which for our sakes hath suffered so cruel and grievous death? who, when he was an immortal God, void of all passions, took upon him the shape of a mortal man, and feared not for our redemption to suffer torments upon the cross. Set before your eyes the prince of the apostles, Peter, Paul, Andrew, James, and Bartholomew, and (not to speak only of bishops) mark what Stephen, Laurence, Sebastian, and Fabian did. Some were hanged, some beheaded, some stoned to death, other some burned, and others tormented with most cruel and grievous torments suffered for Christ's sake. I pray you, for God's sake, let us follow the example of these men. If we will be bishops and succeed in honour, let us not fear martyrdom. Alas, what effeminate hearts have we! Alas, what faint-hearted people are we! They in times past, by the contempt of death, converted the whole world, which was full of Gentility and idolatry; and we, through our sluggishness and desire of life, do bring the Christian religion out of the whole world into one corner; and I fear greatly, lest

the little also which is left we shall lose through our cowardliness, if that, by following Panormitane's mind, we do commit the whole governance and defence of the church unto the princes. But now play the stout and valiant men in this time of tribulation, and fear not to suffer death for the church, which Curtius feared not to do for the city of Rome; which Mencotheus for Thebes, and Codrus for Athens, willingly took upon them.

"Not only the martyrs, but also the Gentiles, might move and stir us to cast off all the fear of death. What is to be said of Theremeus the Athenian? with how joyful heart and mind, and pleasant countenance, did he drink the poison! What say you unto Socrates, that most excellent philosopher? did he either weep or sigh when he supped up the poison? They hoped for that which we are most certain of; not by dying to die, but to change this present life for a better.

"Truly we ought to be ashamed, being admonished by so many examples, instructed with so great learning, yea, and redeemed with the precious blood of Christ, so greatly to fear death.

"Cato writeth not of one or two men, but of whole legions, which have cheerfully and courageously gone unto those places, from whence they knew they should not return. With like courage did the Lacedemonians give themselves to death at Thermopolis, of whom Symonides writeth thus:

'Report thou, stranger, the Spartans here to lie,
Whiles that their country laws they obeyed willingly.'

"Neither judge the contrary, but that the Lacedemonians went even of purpose unto death; unto whom their captain Leonidas said, 'O ye Lacedemonians, go forward courageously, for this day we shall sup together with the infernal gods.' But I, most reverend fathers, do not invite you unto the infernals, as he did his Lacedemonians, but unto the celestial and everlasting joys of paradise, if that you can suffer death for the truth's sake, and patiently abide the threatenings of these princes, if there be any threatenings at all. I call you unto that eternal glory, where there is no alteration of state, nothing decayeth or fadeth; where all good and perpetual things do abound; where no man wanteth, no man envieth another, no man stealeth from another, no man violently taketh from another, no man banisheth, no man murdereth, and finally, no man dieth. Where all men are blessed and happy, all are of one mind and one accord, all are immortal, all are of like estate; and that all men have, every man hath, and that every man hath, all men have. Which things if we well consider, we shall truly answer Panormitane, as Theodorus Cyrenensis is said to have answered Lysimachus the king, when he threatened to hang him, who said, 'I pray you, threaten these horrible things unto your courtiers; as for Theodorus, it maketh no matter whether he rot above the ground or under the ground.' So likewise let us answer unto the princes, if there be any that do threaten us, and let us not fear their torments.

"What doth a longer life prevail to help us? No man hath lived too short a time, which hath obtained the perfect gift of virtue. And if the death which a man suffereth in the quarrel of his country, seemeth not only to be glorious amongst the rhetoricians, but also happy and blessed, what shall we say for these deaths which are sustained for the country of all countries, the church? Truly, most reverend fathers, it is too much that our adversaries do persuade themselves of you, for they judge you fearful, sluggish, and faint-hearted; and therefore they do object princes unto you, because they think that you will not suffer hunger, thirst, exile, in the quarrel and defence of the church. But I think you will esteem it no hard matter, for the obtaining

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of ever-lasting life, to do the same which shipmen do for the obtaining of transitory riches, to put themselves in danger of the sea and wind, and suffer most cruel storms.

"The hunters lie abroad in the nights in the snow, in the hills and woods, and are tormented with cold; yet have they none other reward, but some wild beast of no value or price. I pray you, what ought you then to do whose reward shall be paradise? I am ashamed of your ignavy, when I read that women, yea, even young maidens, have violently obtained heaven through their martyrdom, and we are made afraid only with the name of death. This river of Rhine, which runneth along by the city, in times past hath carried eleven thousand virgins unto martyrdom. In India (as Cicero writeth) when any man was dead, his wives (for there they had many wives) came into contention who should be burned with him; and she whom he loved best having vanquished the other (all the rest joyfully following her) was cast into the fire with the dead carcass of her husband, and burnt. The other which were overcome, departed full of heaviness and sorrow, wishing rather to have died than live.

"The which courage we now taking upon us for Christ's sake, will answer Panormitane even as the Lacedemonians answered Philip, who, when by his letters he threatened them, that he would stop all that which they went about, they asked him, whether he would also let them to die. Therefore, as you are excellent men, so use your virtue, which is always free, and remaineth always invincible. For you do know that power is given of the Lord, and strength from the Most High; who will take account of your works, and examine your thoughts, unto whom ye should be careful to render a good account, judging rightly and keeping the law of righteousness, and in all things walking according to the will of God, and not according to the will of men.

"And whereas the ambassadors of Eugenius do openly preach and declare a new doctrine, extolling the bishop of Rome above the universal church, to the end that ignorant souls be not snared, ye shall not cease or leave to publish the three first conclusions, following the example of the apostle Paul, which would in no point give place unto Peter when he walked not according to the gospel. As for the other matters which do respect only the person of Eugenius, because Panormitane and the other ambassadors of the princes shall not say that we do pass our bounds, ye shall defer them for this present."

When Cardinal Arelatensis had made an end of this oration, there was a great noise, crying out and brawling every where. The president's commandments were not regarded, neither was the accustomed order observed; for sometimes they spake unto Panormitane, sometimes unto Ludovicus; no man was suffered to speak, but in haste the bishops brawled with bishops, and the inferiors with their fellows. All was full of contention and debate; which even as Ludovicus the patriarch of Aquileia perceived, a man of no less courage and stomach than of nobility and birth, being also a duke, for the zeal that he bare unto the universal church, turning himself unto Panormitane and Ludovicus the protonotary, he said, "Do not think the matter shall so pass, you know not yet the manners of the Germans, for if you go forward on this fashion, it will not be lawful for you to depart out of this country with whole heads." With which words Panormitane, Ludovicus, and the archbishop of Milan being stricken, as it were with lightning from heaven, rose up, and said, "Is our liberty thus taken from us? What meaneth it that the patriarch doth threaten us, that our heads should be broken? "And turning themselves unto John, earl of Diernstein, who then supplied the protector's place, they demanded of him whether he would defend the council, and preserve all men in their liberty, or no?

The citizens also and senators were present to provide and foresee that no offence should rise, for the citizens observed always this order, that they would be present in all affairs, which they supposed would breed dissension, foreseeing specially that no tumults should rise, otherwise than with words. They used always such a marvellous foresight and providence, that no man unto this day could have any cause against them, to complain for violating their promise. Wherefore if at any time any citizens have deserved well at the hands of the church, surely this praise is to be given unto the Basilians. These men, together with John, earl of Diernstein, being present in the assembly of the fathers, gave a sign of preservation of their liberty. The earl (albeit he was moved at the strangeness of the matter, for he would not have thought so great contentions could have risen amongst wise men) answered by his interpreter, that they all should be of good cheer; for the emperor's safe-conduct should be observed and kept even to the uttermost; neither should the patriarch nor any other once violate the liberty or take away the assurance granted by the emperor. Notwithstanding he desired the patriarch that he would call back his words again, and not to speak any more in such sort. But that famous father, being nothing at all moved or troubled, committed his whole mind unto John Bacheisteine, auditor of the chamber, a man both grave and eloquent, to be declared; who affirmed that the patriarch's mind was not to threaten any man, or disturb the liberty of the council, but to move the fathers unto constancy, that they should be mindful of the reformation which they had promised unto the whole world, and not to say one thing to-day, and another to-morrow; for if they would so do, it were to be feared lest the laity, seeing themselves deluded, and despairing of reformation, should rise against the clergy.

Therefore he admonisheth the fathers to foresee and provide for the peril, that they should not depart from the council, nothing being determined or done; and finally he desired pardon, if in his words he had offended either against the council, Panormitane, or any other man. Whereby he declared it to be true which is commonly said, that humility is the sister of nobility; both which did very excellently appear in this man. Yet for all this could not the humility of the patriarch stop or stay their noise or cries; for as often as mention was made of reading the *concordatum*, great noise and rumours were still made to stop the same. Then Amodeus, archbishop of Lyons, and primate of all France, a man of great reverence and authority, being touched with the zeal of faith, which he saw there to be stopped and suppressed, said, "Most reverend fathers, I have now a great occasion to speak; for it is now seven years or more that I have been amongst you, yet have I never seen the matter at that point which it is now at, most like unto a miracle; for even presently I do behold most wonderful signs of miracles: for it is no small matter that the lame do walk, the dumb do speak, and that poor men preach the gospel. Whereupon, I pray you, cometh this sudden change? How happeneth it that those which lie lurking at home, are now suddenly started up? Who hath given hearing to the deaf, and speech to the dumb? Who hath taught the poor man to preach the gospel? I do see here a new sort of prelates come in, which unto this present have kept silence, and now begin to speak. Is not this like to a miracle? I would to God they came to defend the truth, and not to impugn justice.

"But this is more to be marvelled at than any miracle, that I do see the best learned men of all impugn our conclusions which are most certain and true; and they which now reprove them in times past allowed them. You are not ignorant how that Ludovicus, the protonotary, preached these verities at Louvaine and at Cologne, and brought them from thence confirmed with the authorities of the universities.

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Wherefore, albeit that he be now changed, yet is the truth in no point altered. And therefore I desire you and beseech you all, that ye will not give ear unto these men, which albeit they are most excellently learned, yet have they no constancy in them, which doth adorn all other virtues."

When he had ended his oration, Ludovicus the protonotary rising up, said, "It is most true that I brought those verities, but you do call them verities of faith, which addition seemeth very doubtful unto me." When he had spoken these words, Cardinal Arelatensis required that the concordatum of the twelve men should be read, and many whispered him in the ear, that he should go forward, and not alter his purpose.

Then Panormitane, as soon as the concordatum began to be read, rising up with his companions and other Arragons, cried out with a loud voice, saying, "You fathers do condemn our requests, you condemn kings and princes, and despise prelates; but take heed lest whilst that ye despise all men, you be not despised of all men. You would conclude, but it is not your part for to conclude. We are the greatest part of prelates, we make the council, and it is our part to conclude; and I in the name of all other prelates do conclude, that it is to be deferred and delayed." With this word there sprang such a noise and rumour in the council, as is accustomed to be in battle, with the sound of trumpets and noise of horsemen, when two armies join; some cursing that which Panormitane went about, other some allowing the same; so that diversity of minds made divers contentions.

Then Nicholas Amici, a divine of Paris, according unto his office, said, "Panormitane, I appeal from this your conclusion to the judgment of the council here present; neither do I affirm any thing to be ratified which you have done, as I am ready to prove, if it shall seem good. The contrary part seemed now to be in the better place, for they had already concluded. The other part had neither concluded, neither was it seen how they could conclude amongst so great cries and uproars. Notwithstanding, amongst all this troublous noise, John Segovius, a singular divine of the university of Salamanca, lacked not audience; for the whole council was desirous to hear him: wherefore all men, as soon as he rose up, kept silence, and he, perceiving that they were desirous to hear him speak, began in this sort:

"Most reverend fathers, the zeal and love of the house of God forceth me now to speak, and I would to God that I had been either blind this day, not to have seen those things which have happened, or that I had been deaf, that I should not have heard those words which have been spoken. Who is it that is so stony or hard-hearted, which can abstain from tears, when the authority of the church is so spoiled, liberty taken away both from us and the council, and that there is no place given unto the verity. O sweet Jesus, why hast thou forsaken thy spouse? Behold and look upon thy people, and help us if our requests are just.

"We come hither to provide for the necessity of the church, we require nothing for ourselves, and our desire is only that truth might appear. We trusted now to have concluded upon the verities which were sometimes allowed in the sacred deputations. The orators of the princes are present, and require the conclusions to be deferred. But we be not unmindful of those things which Ambrose wrote unto Valentinian the emperor in this manner: If we shall treat upon the order of the Holy Scripture and ancient times past, who is it that will deny but that in case of faith (I say, in case of faith) the bishops ought to judge upon Christian emperors, and not emperors upon bishops? Neither do we admit their petition but upon most urgent causes.

Notwithstanding we heard them patiently and willingly, whilst that they did speak even so long as they would.

"But now if any of our part would speak, by and by he is interrupted, troubled, and letted. What honesty is this? what modesty or gravity? is it lawful so to do in the council? where is the decree of the council of Toulouse now become? (where are our decrees, which do not only prohibit tumults, but also all small babblings and talk?) They say, it is because we condemn them; but they are they which not only condemn the council, but also resist the same. The patriarch spake but one small word against them, and that of no evil intent or purpose, and by and by they complained that their liberty was broken; but they, when they do enforce the council, when they forbid the president to speak, and will not suffer the ordinances to be read, do not judge that they do any thing contrary to the liberty of the council. They say, they are the council themselves, and yet they entreat the council. These things do not I understand; for if they be the council, why do they entreat themselves? If they be not the council, why do they not suffer the council to speak? Why do they not look for an answer of him to whom they make their petitions?

Truly this is too much violence, and certes our patience is also too much, to suffer such excess even in the face of the church. But this doth most of all grieve me, and this do I most marvel at, that Panormitane, a man of singular wit and doctrine, did conclude without any discussing or deciding of the deputies, and without the examination of the twelve men, or any rite or order. The which, except mine eyes had beheld and seen, I would scarcely believe if any other man should report it unto me of him. Neither do I yet know whether I may sufficiently credit myself, the matter seemeth so horrible: for I do not see by what authority his conclusion doth stand, except it be by the authority of his king, who he saith will have it so. But you, most reverend fathers, take heed that ye bring in no such custom; for so it shall come to pass, that in all matters, a few froward prelates shall have one to conclude for them.

"And albeit Panormitane hath proved (as he thinketh) by strong reasons, that the verity ought to be deferred, yet, notwithstanding, I do require you, most reverend fathers, to follow the example of the apostle, who (as Arelatensis hath very well declared) would not give one hour's respite unto Peter, when he swerved from the truth of the gospel. The faith is speedily to be relieved and holpen; neither doth any thing sustain more danger by delays, than faith doth. For heresies, except they be rooted out at the first, when they are once grown, are hardly taken away. Wherefore, I desire you speedily to help and aid. Hoist up your sails, and launch out your oars. What should we tarry looking for either the prelates or the princes? You are now in conflict: I only desire that you would hasten unto the victory. Regard not the threatenings of those princes, neither the opprobries of those contumelious persons: For you are blessed, saith the Lord, when men curse you and persecute you, speaking all evil against you, making lies and slanders upon you for my sake; rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven. What is it, I pray you, that the princes do so much object against us? Is not our Lord God able to take us out of the furnace of hot burning fire, and deliver us out of the hands of those princes? I beseech you, most reverend fathers and loving brethren, have no less hope in Jesus Christ, than Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego had, which feared not that old king Nabuchodonosor: and let the people know, that the Most High ruleth over the kingdoms of men, and giveth them unto whom he pleaseth. God beholdeth all things from above; he is (I say) in the midst amongst us; wherefore are ye then afraid? Be of good courage, and show yourselves as a strong wall for the church of God; suffer not

the faith to perish under your hands. The Almighty God is present with you. He is present that will defend you. Fear not them which seek only to kill the body. Do justice and equity, and be assured that he will not deliver you over into the hands of the backbiter and slanderer. Again, I say unto you, show yourselves valiant and stout: defend your mother the church. And unto thee, O thou president, I say, that thou oughtest rather to please God than man; for if thou depart thence without a final conclusion, know assuredly that thou shalt render account in the strait judgment of God." And thus without any more words he sat down in his place.

In the mean time many grave and ancient men had exhorted Panormitane that he should give over his conclusion. The bishop of Burgos was very instant and earnest with him, that he should make unity and concord amongst the fathers, and went about to make a unity with all men. But neither the fathers of the council were determined to depart without a conclusion; neither was Panormitane minded to alter his intent and purpose. All things were disturbed, neither did the prelates sit in their seats, as they were accustomed, but as every man's affection led him. Some went to the Cardinal Arelatensis, some unto Panormitane, and exhorted them, as if they had been princes or rulers of armies. Then Arelatensis, knowing the matter to be in danger, and that there was no ready way to make a conclusion, thought to use some policy to appease the tumult.

"Most reverend fathers," said he, "we have received now letters out of France, which declare unto me marvellous things; that there are incredible news sprung up there, which, if you will give me willing audience, I will declare unto you." By this means there was a sudden silence throughout the whole council, and by this marvellous policy he made all men attentive to hear. When he saw he had free liberty to speak, without either fable or history of any letters sent, he opened the whole order of the matter, and, as it is requisite in an orator, came by little and little to the principal point, saying, that "Eugenius's messengers filled all France, preaching a new doctrine, and extolling the authority of the bishop of Rome above the general council; against whom, except speedy remedy were found, it would come to pass that many would give credit unto them, and therefore the sacred council ought of necessity to provide remedy, and of necessity to conclude upon the verities which were examined, that thereby the temerity of the Eugenians might be repressed; which verities, albeit they were eight in number, yet was it not the fathers' intent to conclude upon them all, but only the three first: even as I also," saith he, "here do conclude, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost."

When he had finished his oration, with a cheerful and merry countenance, rising up, he departed. Some of them kissed him, and some of them kissed the skirts of his garments. A great number followed him, and greatly commended his wisdom, that being a Frenchman born, had that day vanquished the Italians, which were men of great policy. Howbeit this was all men's opinion, that it was done rather by the operation of the Holy Ghost, than by the cardinal's own power. The other of the contrary faction, as men bereft of their minds, hanging down their heads, departed every man to his lodging. They went not together, neither saluted one another; so that their countenances declared unto every man that they were overcome. Something more also is reported of Panormitane, that when he came to his lodging, and was gone unto his chamber, he complained with himself upon his king, which had compelled him to strive against the truth, and put both his soul and good name in danger of losing; and that in the midst of his tears and complaints he fell asleep, and did eat no

meat until late in the evening, for very sorrow, for that he had neither ignorantly, neither unwillingly, impugned the truth.

After this there was great consultation amongst the Eugenians, what were best to be done in this matter. Some thought good to depart and leave the council, other some thought it meet to tarry, and withal endeavour to resist that nothing should further be done against the Eugenians; and this opinion remained amongst them. The next day after, being the fifteenth day of April, the archbishop of Lyons, and the bishop of Burgos, calling together the prelates in the chapter-house of the great church, began many things as touching peace. The bishop of Burgos persuaded, that there should be deputations appointed that day, unto whom the archbishop of Lyons should give power to make an agreement. Unto whom answer was made, as they thought, very roughly, but, as other judged, gently, but notwithstanding justly and truly; for they said there could be no unity of concord made before the adversaries confessed their fault, and asked pardon therefore.

The day following, the said bishop of Burgos, with the other Lombards and Castilians, went unto the Germans, and from thence unto the senate of the city, speaking much as touching the prohibiting of schisms. The Germans referred themselves to those things which the deputation should determine. The senate of the city (as they were great men in wisdom, which would do nothing without diligent advice and deliberation) answered, that the matter pertained not unto them, but unto the council: the fathers whereof were most wise men, and were not ignorant what pertained unto the Christian faith; and if there were any danger toward, it should be declared unto the council, and not to the senate. For they believe that the elders of the council, if they were premonished, would foresee that there should no hurt happen: as for the senate of the city, it was their duty only to defend the fathers, and to preserve the promise of the city. With this answer the bishop of Burgos departed.

In the mean time the fathers of the council had drawn out a form of a decree upon the former conclusions, and had approved the same in the sacred deputations. By this time the princes' orators were returned from the assembly at Mentz, and holding a council amongst themselves, they had determined to let the decree. The ninth day of May, there was a general convocation holden, whereunto all men resorted, either part putting forth himself unto the conflict.

The princes' ambassadors were called by the bishop of Lubeck and Conrad de Winsperge the protector into the choir, and there kept, where they treated of a unity, and by what means it might be had, and there they tarried longer than some thought to do; the which matter gave occasion to bring things well to pass, beyond all expectation, for the only form of the decree was appointed to be concluded that day. Whereupon, as soon as Cardinal Arelatensis perceived the congregation to be full, and that the twelve men had agreed, and that there was a great expectation with silence, he thought good not to delay it for fear of tumult, but commanded by and by the public concordances to be read, wherein this was also contained, that the Cardinal Arelatensis might appoint a session whensoever he would. Which being read, he, being desired by the promoters, concluded according as the manner and custom is. The ambassadors of the princes being yet in the choir, as soon as they understood how the matter passed, being very much troubled and vexed, they brake off their talk, imputing all things to the bishop of Lubeck, which of purpose had kept them in the choir, and protracted the time. Whereupon they, entering into the congregation, filled the church full of complaints.

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First of all, the orator of Lubeck complained both in his own name and the name of the proctor, as touching the conclusion, and required that the council would revoke the same. If that might be granted, he promised to entreat a peace, and to be a proctor between the council and the ambassadors of the princes. But the archbishop of Turnon said, that it seemed unto him, every man to have free liberty to speak against that law which should be promulgated unto the session, when the canons should be consecrated and receive their force; when the bishops, in their pontificalibus, after the reading of the decree in the session, should answer that it pleased them; otherwise the demand which was made by the promoters in the session, to be but vain; and for that the conclusions were not yet allowed in the session, therefore he said that he might without rebuke speak somewhat as touching the same; and that it was a great and hard matter, and not to be knit up in such a short time, and that he had the knowledge thereof but even now; notwithstanding that he, being an archbishop, ought to have known the matter, that at his return home he might inform the king, and also instruct those which were under him; and that he and his fellows, before any session should be, would both hear and be heard of others. Neither doth it seem good unto him that the session should be holden, before report were made of those things which the ambassadors of the princes had done at Mentz, which would peradventure be such as might alter and change the minds of the fathers. Then the bishop of Concen, ambassador of the king of Castile, which was also lately returned from Mentz, a man of great understanding, but lacking utterance, grievously complained that the prelates were contemned. "Neither had it been," said he, "any great matter if they had been tarried for, which not without great danger and expenses went to Mentz, not for their pleasure, but of necessity." And afterward, as it were, smiling, he said, "How mad am I, that would have the prelates to be tarried for, until they return from Mentz, when they are not tarried for whilst they came out of the choir of the church! Do therefore as ye list: if there rise any offence or mischief hereupon, neither are we, the ambassadors of Castile, to be blamed, neither can any man of right impute any thing to our most noble king."

Here were it long to repeat, with what rebukes and taunts they inveighed against the Cardinal Arelatensis; but especially the bishop of Milan railed most cruelly upon him, saying that he fostered and maintained a rabble of sophisters and schoolmasters, and that he had concluded in matters of faith with them; calling him also another Catiline, unto whom all desperate and naughty persons had refuge, that he was their prince, and ruled the church with them; and that he would not give ear unto the ambassadors of the most noble princes, or to the most famous prelates in this most weighty matter. Albiganensis, a bishop, and a man of great nobility, descended of the emperor's blood, albeit he had never alienated his mind before from the council, yet, lest he should seem to dissent from other ambassadors of the princes, he made the like complaint as touching the attempt of the prelates. After this it came unto Panormitane to speak, who, as he had a greater vehemency in speaking, so also he did declare a more angry stomach and mind; for in the beginning of his oration he seemeth not to go about, according to the precept of the orators, to get the good-will of the hearers, but rather their hatred. For he said that our Saviour showed four signs in the gospel, whereby we should know the good from the reprobate; For he which is of God, saith he, heareth the words of God, but ye hear not the words of God, because ye are not of God. And again, He that doeth evil hateth the light. And in another place also, By their fruits ye shall know them. And a good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit.

All which sayings he wrested against the fathers of the council, because they would not hear the words of God, that is to say, the words of peace which the ambassadors had spoken; because they fled from the light in the absence of the ambassadors, privily concluding; and because in their deputation they had not holden and kept the holy day, but had concluded thereupon; also because they had the upper hand in the aforesaid conclusion, not by reason, but by deceit. As touching the fruits, he said, that the fathers themselves should meditate and consider how that, if their fruits were not good, they also themselves were not good; and that he did see another council at hand, where he feared lest these conclusions should be revoked, as the fruit of an evil tree; and therefore they ought not so suddenly to proceed in so weighty matters; and that he would be yet more fully heard before the session, as well in his own name, because he was an archbishop, as in the name of his prince, which reigned not over one kingdom alone, but over many. Also he said, that he, heretofore, by his words, deeds, and writings, hath extolled the authority of the council; and that he feared, lest by these means the authority thereof should be subverted. At the last he required pardon if he had offended the fathers of the council, forasmuch as very sorrow and grief forced him to speak so.

The abbot of Virgilia would have made answer to those things which Panormitane had touched, concerning his deputation, but Arelatensis thought good that all the contrary part should speak first, among whom, last of all, Ludovicus the protonotary, the Homer of lawyers, rose up: and albeit that he spake unwillingly, yet when he had begun, he could not refrain his words. And while he went about to seem learned and eloquent, he utterly forgot to be good. He said that the council ought to take heed, that they treated of no matter of faith against the prelates, lest any offence should follow; for that some would say it were a matter of no force or effect. For albeit that Christ chose twelve apostles and seventy disciples, notwithstanding in the setting forth of the creed only the apostles were present, thereby, as it were, giving example that the matters of faith did pertain only unto the apostles, and so consequently unto bishops. Neither that they ought hastily to proceed in matters of faith, which ought to be clearly distinct, forasmuch as Peter affirmeth the trial of faith to be much more precious than gold, which is tried by the fire. And if the bishops be condemned, which are called the pillars and keys of heaven, the faith cannot seem to be well proved or examined. But at length he confessed that the inferiors might determine with the bishops, but denied that the least part of the bishops with the most part of the inferiors might determine any thing. From thence he, passing to the matter of faith, said, that those verities whereupon question was now had, are articles of faith, if they were verities of faith. And forasmuch as every man should be found to believe those, therefore he would be better instructed and taught in that matter which he should believe as an article of faith. Neither should it be comely for the council to deny him his request; which, according to the rule of the apostle, ought to be ready to give account unto every man which shall require it, touching the faith which it holdeth.

After every man had made an end of speaking, the Cardinal Arelatensis, calling his spirits together, made an oration, wherein he answered now the one, and now the other. And first of all he commended the desires of the imperial ambassadors, which offered to treat of a peace and unity; but neither necessity nor honesty (he said) would suffer those things which are concluded to be revoked. He answered also, that the petition of the ambassadors of France is most just, in that they required to be instructed touching the faith; and that the council would grant their request, and send

unto them certain divines, which should instruct them at home at their lodgings, but the matter was already concluded, and could no more be brought in question; that the session was only holden, rather to beautify the matter, than to confirm the same. And as touching that which the bishop of Concen so greatly complaineth of, he doth not much marvel; for he could not know the process of the matter, when he was absent; who being better instructed, he supposed would speak no more any such words, forasmuch as a just man would require no unjust thing. Also that his protestation had no evil sense or meaning, in that he would not; have it imputed either unto him, or unto his king, if any offence should rise upon the conclusions. Notwithstanding, it is not to be feared, that any evil should spring of good works. But unto the bishop of Milan he would answer nothing, because he saw him so moved and troubled, for fear of multiplying of more grievous and heinous words. As for Panormitane, he reserved unto the last. But unto Ludovicus the protonotary, which desired to be instructed, he said, he willed him to be satisfied with the words which were spoken unto the bishop of Turnon.

Notwithstanding, he left not this untouched which Ludovicus had spoken concerning the Apostles' Creed. For albeit that in the setting forth of the Creed the apostles be only named, yet it doth not follow (saith he) that they only were present at the setting forth thereof. For it happeneth oftentimes, that princes are commended and praised as chief authors and doers of things, when, notwithstanding, they have other helpers; as it appeareth in battles, which, although they are fought with the force of all the soldiers, yet the victory thereof is imputed but unto a few. As in these our days they do ascribe all things which the army doth, either fortunately or wisely, unto Nicholas Picenius, that most valiant captain, which hath obtained so many famous victories; albeit that oftentimes other have been the inventors of the policy, and workers of the feat. And therefore Ludovicus ought to know and understand, that they are not only articles of faith, which are contained in the Creed, but all other determinations made by the councils as touching the faith. Neither is he ignorant, that there be some articles of the Creed which we now use in the church, that were not put to by the apostles, but afterward by general councils; as that part wherein mention is made of the Holy Ghost, which the council of Lyons did add; in which council also it is not to be doubted, but that the inferiors did judge together with the bishops. But forasmuch as he had sufficiently declared that matter in the congregation before passed, he would stay no longer thereupon. But coming unto Panormitane, he rehearsed his words, He that is of God, heareth God's word; which is very well taken out of the Gospel, but not well applied unto the council, (said he,) for he firmly believed, that his predecessors have judged the Holy Ghost to be in the midst of the councils, and therefore the words of the councils to be the words of the Holy Ghost, which if any man do reject, he denieth himself to be of God. Neither doth the council hate the light, which doth all things publicly and openly, whose congregations are evident unto all men, neither doth it, as the conventicles of the adversaries, admit some, and exclude other some. Moreover, the thing which is now in hand was begun to be treated of for two months ago, and first the conclusions were largely disputed upon in the divinity schools, and afterward sent unto Mentz and other places of the world.

After all this the fathers were called into the chapter-house of the great church, to the number of a hundred and twenty; amongst whom Panormitane, which now complaineth, was also present, and, according to his manner, did learnedly and subtly dispute, and had liberty to speak what he would. Likewise in the disputations

every man spake his mind freely, and in the deputation where Panormitane was, the matter was three days discussed. After this the twelve men did agree upon it, and the general congregation did conclude it. Neither hath there been at any time any thing more ripely or exactly handled, both openly and also without any fraud or deceit. And whereas the deputation did sit upon a holy day, there is no hurt in that, neither is it any new or strange thing, forasmuch as they have often holden their session upon festival days, when the matter hath had haste, and specially for that the matter of faith hath no holy days. And further, he said, that he did not conclude craftily and deceitfully in the congregation, as Panormitane hath reported, but publicly and openly at the request of the promoters: neither hath any man any just cause to complain upon him, forasmuch as when he was made president, he was sworn that always when three or four of the deputations did agree, he should conclude thereupon. And forasmuch as he had already concluded, in divers causes, touching the pope, he saw no cause why he should not conclude in the matter of faith, for that he was a cardinal, and did wear his red hat for this purpose, that he should shed his blood in the defence of the faith. Neither hath he done any thing now against the pope, for that, omitting the five conclusions touching Eugenius, he had concluded but only the general conclusions; which except he had done, the fathers should have had just cause to complain against him, in that they, trusting in his fidelity and faithfulness, had chosen him president, if by him they should now be forsaken in this most necessary cause of faith. And, turning himself unto the people, he desired the fathers to be of good comfort, forasmuch as he would never forsake them, yea, although he should suffer death; for he had given his faith and fidelity unto the council, which he should observe and keep; neither should any man's flattery or threatenings put him from his purpose, that he would be always ready to do whatsoever the council should command him, and never leave the commandments of the deputies by any means unperformed.

As touching that Panormitane had extolled the authority of the council, he said that he was greatly to be thanked: but yet he ought to understand and know the authority of the council to be such as cannot be augmented or increased by any man's praise or commendation, or be diminished by any opprobry or slander. These things thus premised, he commanded the form of the decree to be read. Then Panormitane, and those which took his part, would needs have a certain protestation to be first read. There was great contention on every side. Notwithstanding, at the last Arelatensis prevailed, and the form of the decree was read unto this word, *Decernimus*, that is to say, We decree. Then Panormitane, rising up, would not suffer it to be heard any further: and the bishop of Catania cried out, saying, that it was uncomely that Arelatensis, with a few other bishops by name, should conclude the matter. The like did also all those which favoured Panormitane. The cardinal of Terragona also (which until that time had holden his peace) did grievously rebuke his partakers, that as men being asleep, or in a dream, they did not read the protestation, and commanded by and by one of his familiars to read it. But like as the adversaries before did perturb the reading of the concordances, so would not the fathers of the council now give place to the reading of the protestation. Which, when Albiganensis did consider, he commanded the writing to be brought unto him, and as he begun to speak, suddenly Arelatensis rose up, with a great number of the fathers, to depart; which thing pleased the cardinal of Terraconia and Panormitane very well, for that they hoped that they alone, with their adherents, should remain in the church. They exhorted Arelatensis to revoke the conclusion and to make another.

THE ACTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

There was in that congregation in his place, George, the protonotary of Bardaxina, sitting somewhat beneath his uncle, the cardinal of Terragona, a man but young of age, but grave in wisdom, and noble in humanity; who, as soon as he saw the Cardinal Arelatensis rise, he determined also to depart, and when his uncle called him, commanding him to tarry, he said, "God forbid, father, that I should tarry in your congregation, or do any thing contrary to the oath which I have taken." By which words he declared his excellent virtue and nobility, and admonished our men which remained, of those things which they had to do. His voice was the voice of the Holy Ghost, and words more necessary than could be thought. For if he had not spoken that word, the fathers of the council had peradventure departed, and gone their way, and the other remaining in the church had made another conclusion, which they would have affirmed to have been of force, because they would say the last conclusion was to be received. But many, being warned by the words of the protonotary, and calling to remembrance the like chance of other councils before, called back again the multitude which were departing, and cried upon the cardinal and the patriarch to sit down again, and that they should not leave the church void and quiet for their adversaries. Whereupon suddenly all the whole multitude sat down, and the gates were shut again. In the mean time Mattheus Albiganensis, a bishop, read the protestation to none else but to himself alone, for it could not be heard for noise; which being ended, the Lombards and the Cathelanes confirmed the protestation. When the cardinal of Terraconia said that he did agree to that dissension, they marvelled at that saying. And when some smiled and laughed at him, "What," said he, "ye fools, do ye mock me? do not the ambassadors of my king dissent from you? What do you marvel then if I do say, I consent unto their dissension?" And with these words he and almost all the Arragons, Lombards, and Cathelanes departed; all the other tarried still. And albeit it was somewhat late, (for it was past two at afternoon,) Arelatensis, seeing the congregation quiet, commanded the affairs of private persons to be read, as the manner is; which being ended, he commanded also the public affairs to be read, and willed the conclusions and the form of the decree to be read again. There remained in the congregation, the ambassadors of the empire of France, talking together of their affairs. Notwithstanding, the bishop of Turnon heard mention made of the conclusions, and turning himself to the bishop of Lubeck, said, "Lo, the matters of faith are now in hand again, let us go hence, I pray you, that we be not an offence unto others, or that we be not said to dissent from the other ambassadors." To whom the bishop of Lubeck answered, "Tarry, father, tarry here; are not the conclusions most true? Why are you afraid to be here for the truth?" These words were not heard of many, for they spake them softly between themselves. Notwithstanding, I heard it, for I, sitting at their feet, did diligently observe what they said. Arelatensis, after all things were read which he thought necessary, at the request of the deputies concluded, and so making an end, dismissed the congregation. Twice it is declared, with how great difficulty Arelatensis concluded, forasmuch as neither the matter nor the form could be concluded without dissension: and the conclusions were miraculous, and past all men's hope, but were obtained by the industry of Arelatensis, or rather by the special gift of the Holy Ghost.

After this it was determined between the Lombards and Arragons to abstain from the deputations for a certain time, which they did not long observe; notwithstanding, the deputations were holden very quietly for a certain space, neither was there any thing done worthy of remembrance until the fifteenth day of May; during which time, all means possible were sought to set a concord between the fathers, but would not be. Then Nicholas Amici, promoter of the faith, was called into

the congregation, and briefly rehearsed those things which were done the days before, and declared how that Arelatensis might appoint a session. Wherefore, forasmuch as delay in matters of faith was dangerous, he required that a session should be appointed against the morrow after, requiring the cardinal for his dignities' sake, in that he was called the principal of the church, and the other bishops, that (as they had promised in their consecration) they would not now shrink from the church in these weighty affairs, and suffer the faith to be oppressed; but the other inferiors he required, upon their oath which they had taken, to show themselves faithful and constant herein. Then again there fell a great contention upon these words; for Arelatensis, as he was required, did appoint a session, and exhorted all men to be there present in their robes. The bishop of Lubeck rising up made a protestation in his own name, and also in the name of his protector, that he would not consent that there should be any session, if it should in any part derogate from the agreement had at Mentz. Gregory Miles also, his fellow ambassador, consented to this protestation. When the protector of the council, appointed by the emperor, understood himself to be named by the bishop of Lubeck, he marvelled awhile what the matter should be. But being certified by an interpreter, he answered that he would in no case consent unto the protestation of the bishop of Lubeck, and that he did not know any thing of their doings at Mentz; also that he was sent by the emperor to the sacred council, and hath his charge which he doth well remember, and would be obedient thereunto. After whom the bishop of Concen, according to his accustomed manner, made his protestation, and after him also followed Panormitane. Whose words before I will repeat, I desire that no man would marvel that I make mention so often of Panormitane; for it is necessary to declare the matter in order as it was done.

It happened in these matters even as it doth in warlike affairs: for as there, such as are most valiant and strong, and do most worthy feats, obtain most fame, as in the battle of Troy, Achilles and Hector; so in these spiritual wars and contentions, those which most excel in learning and eloquence, and do more than others, should be most renowned and: named: for on the one part, Panormitane was prince and captain; on the other, Arelatensis: but his own will made not the one captain, but only necessity; for it behoved him to obey his prince. Notwithstanding, he was not ignorant of the truth and verity, neither did he resist willingly against it; for I have seen him oftentimes in his library complain of his prince, that he followed other men's counsel. When his time came to speak, he said, that he did not a little marvel why the protector of the faith should require the prelates to have a session, which was nothing pertaining to his office, and that he ought not to usurp the president's place. And again, he complained touching the contempt of the prelates, for the matter did presently touch the state of the apostolic see, and for that cause the see ought to be heard before any session be holden. Neither is it to be regarded, said he, that the council of Constance seemeth to have decreed, that it should now be spoken of, forasmuch as Pope John was not heard at Constance, neither any man else, to speak for the see; by which words he seemed both to condemn and bring in doubt all the decrees of that most great and sacred synod of Constance: therefore there was a great tumult, and all men cried out with one voice, saying, that the synod of Constance is holy, and the authority thereof ought to be inviolate. But he, being still instant, with a stout and haughty courage affirmed, that the matter could not be finished without the ambassadors of the princes, and that the princes ought to be heard in a matter of faith. And again, that the ambassadors themselves cannot consent, forasmuch as in the colloquy holden at Mentz, they had promised, during the treaty of peace by them begun, they would receive and allow nothing that the pope should either do against the council, or the

council against the pope; and that he doubted not, but that the three first conclusions declared Eugenius a heretic, insomuch that it was evident that Eugenius did vehemently resist the two first. And therefore, forasmuch as the session was not yet holden, and that it was lawful for every man before that session to speak what he will, he desired and required them most instantly that there might be no session as yet holden. Unto whom Arelatensis answered, that it was not to be doubted but that the promoter of the faith, by his office, might call the prelates to determine a matter of faith, and specially forasmuch as the deputation of the faith and the whole council had so given him in commandment.

As touching the prelates, he saith, that albeit without all doubt bishops have chief authority, yet, notwithstanding, it is accustomed in councils not to make any conclusion in the name of the bishops, but in the name of the whole council: and the universal church hath decreed certain laws in this council which should remain inviolate. Neither let the bishops think the presence of the inferiors grievous unto them, when oftentimes under a bare and torn coat wisdom lieth hid, and under rich vestures and ornaments folly lurketh. Bishops ought also to be mindful of the saying of Domitius, which, as St Jerome reporteth, said, Why should I esteem thee as a prince, if thou dost not regard me as a senator? For the bishops ought to esteem priests as priests, if they will have reverence done unto them as bishops. Neither ought the princes to be looked for to the deciding of this matter, forasmuch as the church is not congregated in the name of the princes, but in the name of Christ, which hath not received his power from princes, but immediately from God; to the defence whereof he should perceive the inferiors to be no less encouraged than the bishops, for that he did well understand and know, that they would not only spend their temporal goods, but also their lives, for the defence thereof. As for some bishops, rather than they will lose any part of their temporalities, they will sell the liberty of the church unto the princes; and make them judges and lords over the council. As touching the acts at Mentz, he doth not regard them, forasmuch as, it is said, they counted without their host; for he saith, he doth not understand how this can be, that they had decreed neither to obey the pope nor the council. The one or the other they must needs be obedient unto; for there is no third tribunal whereunto any obedience is due in these matters, which concern the faith and salvation of souls. And finally, that the church would not suffer that their affairs and matters of faith should be determined by the judgment of princes; for the Holy Ghost is not subject unto princes, but princes unto him; and upon this conclusion he would not fear either the loss of his goods, or any death or martyrdom. And whereas Panormitane doth now show himself so great a defender of Eugenius; he saith, that he doth not a little marvel at it, for that in times past no man hath more published Eugenius's errors than he: by whose special labour and council, both a decree monitory, and also the suspension, was admitted and set out against Eugenius. And now, whereupon this sudden change should come, he saith that he was utterly ignorant, forasmuch as neither Eugenius had altered his life, neither could the church continue in such a schism. Wherefore he desired Panormitane diligently to consider, whether he spake according to his conscience or not; for, saith he, the conclusions which now shall be decreed, are most general; neither is there any mention in them of the pope; and, moreover, the verity of faith is contained in them; against the which if Eugenius did contend, it were more meet that the pope should be corrected, than the verity omitted. And thus he maketh an end, all were warned to come the next day unto the session. The protector also desired the sacred council, that none should be suffered to bring any weapon to the session; forasmuch as he was

ready to observe the safe-conduct of the emperor, and, together with the senate of the city, to prohibit all quarrels for doing of injury.

When the sixteenth day of May was come, all they whom the session contented and pleased assembled at the hour. The ambassadors also of the princes were come together into the choir of the church, to attempt further what they could do; and sending the bishop of Lubeck and Concen, and the dean of Turnon, an excellent learned man, they offered themselves to be present at the session, if that the deposition of Eugenius might yet be deferred four months. Who, when they had received a gentle answer of Arelatensis and the other principals, returning again unto the ambassadors, they would only have the first conclusion decreed, and thereupon sent again unto Arelatensis; unto whom answer was made, that the chief force did consist in the two other conclusions, and that the council would specially determine upon them. If the ambassadors would not be present, they should understand, that the concord was broken by them, which would not observe that which they had offered. With which answer they departed, and the session began to be celebrated. There was no prelate of Arragon present at it, neither out of Spain, nor out of Italy, only the bishop of Grosseto, and the abbot of Dona, which for their constancy and stedfast good-will toward the universal church, could not be changed from their purpose; but of doctors and other inferiors, there were a great number of Arragons, and almost all the inferiors of Spain and Italy, (for the inferiors feared not the princes, as the bishops did,) and then the worthy stoutness of the Arragons and Cathelanes appeared in the inferior sort, which would not shrink away in the necessity of the church. Of the two other nations there were only present twenty bishops. The residue lurked in their lodgings, professing the faith in their hearts, but not in their mouths. Arelatensis, considering before what would come to pass, caused prayers to be made; and after their prayers made unto Almighty God, with tears and lamentation, that he would send them his Holy Spirit to aid and assist them, they were greatly comforted and encouraged. This congregation was famous, and albeit that there were not many bishops present, yet all the seats were filled with the bishops' proctors, archdeacons, presidents, priors, priests, and doctors of both laws, which I judged to be about the number of four hundred or more; amongst whom was no noise, no chiding, no opprobrious words or contention, but one exhorted another to the profession of the faith, and there appeared a full and whole consent of them all to defend the church. The bishop of Massilia, a noble man, read the decree, which was attentively hearkened unto, and not one word interrupted. When it was ended, *Te Deum laudamus* was sung with great joy and gladness, and so the session dissolved, which was in number the thirty-third session, and amongst all the first the most quiet and peaceable.

The day following, being the twenty-second of May, the princes' ambassadors, without all men's expectation, came unto the general congregation, by that their doing at the least giving their assent unto the session before passed. In celebrating whereof, if the fathers had erred, it had not been lawful for the princes and ambassadors to have holden the council with those fathers. But it was thought that they were touched with remorse of conscience, and even now to detest and abhor that which they had done; as it was not hidden to the ambassadors of the empire and France. For the bishop of Lubeck said, that the cause of his absence was, for that he was appointed by the emperor's commandment to treat a peace. Wherefore it was not comely for him to be present at any business, whereby he should be vexed or troubled, with whom the peace should be treated. Notwithstanding, he did much commend the session before

holden, and believed the decree therein promulgated to be most good and holy, and the verities therein contained to be undoubted; and said, that he would stick thereunto both now and ever, even to the death. But the bishop of Turnon, a man both learned and eloquent, speaking for him and his fellows, said, that he heard how that they were evil spoken of amongst some, in that they had not honoured their king in that most sacred session, whom it becomed especially to exalt and defend the faith; which also for that cause above all other kings was named most Christian; notwithstanding, he said that they had a lawful excuse, in that it was convenient that they, which were sent to treat peace, should do nothing whereby their embassage should be stopped or letted. Also there are two kinds of injustice (said he) whereby either things are done that should not be done, or things that should be done are not done. The first doth not always bind, because it is convenient to have respect of time, place, and person. But the last doth always bind, wherein he said they were not culpable. But as touching the first point, they might seem unto some to have erred, because they were not present at the session; but yet in this point they had sufficient to answer, forasmuch as if they had been present at that session, they should have been unmeet to have treated of any peace with Eugenius. And therefore, albeit they were wanting at so holy a business, in that point they followed the example of Paul, which, albeit he desired to be dissolved and to be with Christ, yet, for the further profit and advancement of the church, it was deferred. So likewise, he said, that they had now done; for that they were not absent because they doubted of the conclusions, (which they judged to be most true and holy, and whereunto they would stick even unto the death,) but because they would not be unmeet for the treaty of peace for which they came: and yet, that which they had not done in their own persons, they had fulfilled, said he, by their servants and household, whom altogether they commanded to reverence that session. I would that I had been then in the place of some great prelate; surely they should not have gone unpunished, which thought to have played bo-peep. For what doth the declaration of the truth hinder the treaty of peace? Or, if it do hurt, why is he not accounted as great an offender, which consenteth to him that declareth the truth, as he which doth declare it? What shall we need any further testimony? For now the ambassadors of the princes have declared Eugenius to be an enemy unto the truth. But to pass over these things, it is sufficient that Eugenius wrote afterward unto the king of France, that he did understand the bishop of Turnon to become his enemy.

After that the bishop of Tournon had made an end, Cardinal Arelatensis gave thanks unto God, which had so defended his church, and after great storms and clouds had sent fair and clear weather: and commending the good-will of the emperor and the king of France toward the church, he also praised the bishops of Lubeck and Turnon, for that oftentimes in the council, and also of late at Mentz, they had defended the authority of the council. But specially he commended this their present doings, that they had openly confessed the truth, and had not sequestered themselves from the faith of the church.

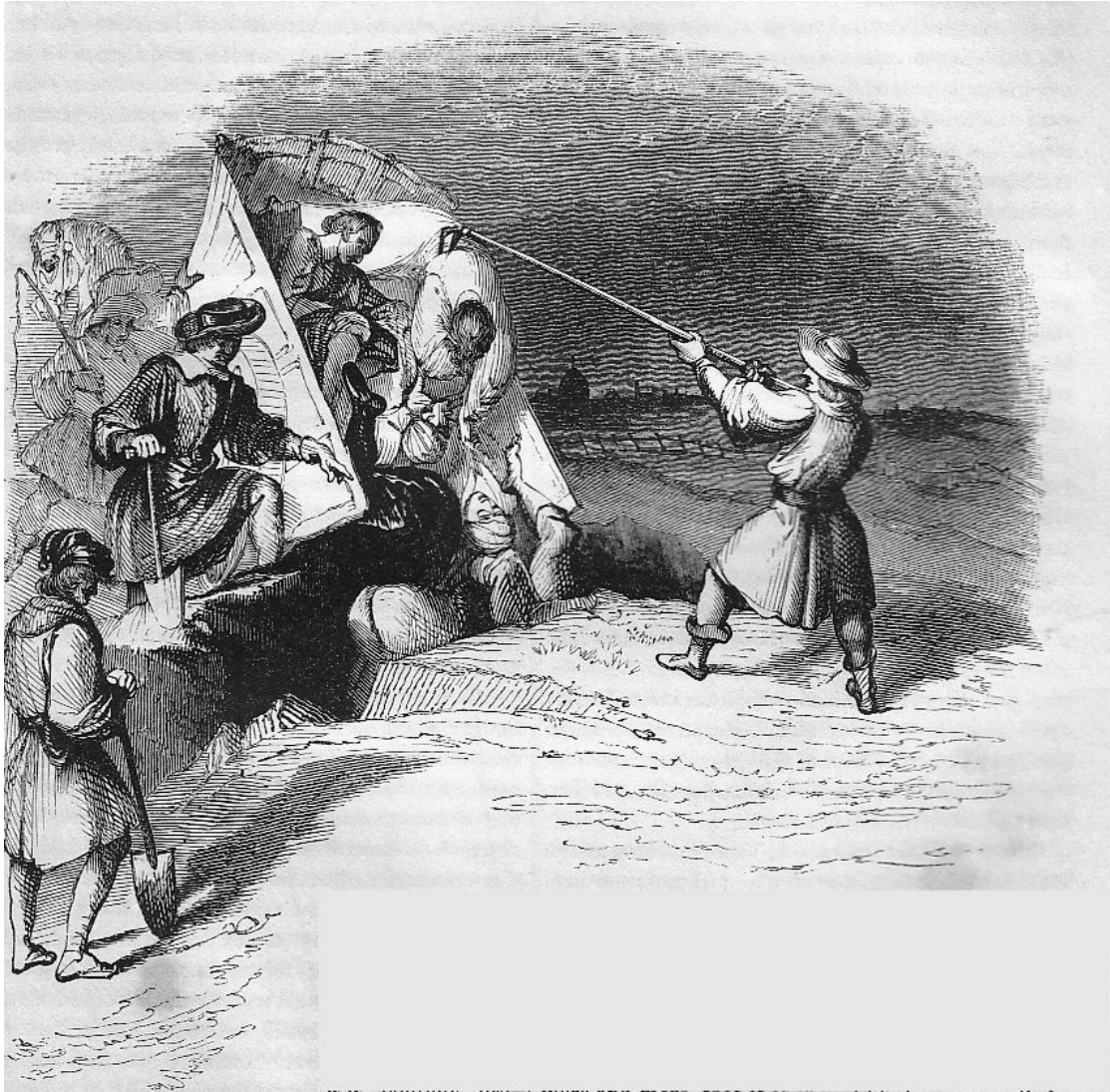
Afterward he, entering into the declaration of the matter, said, that he was at Pisa and at Constance, and never saw a more quiet and devout session than this; affirming that this decree was most necessary, to repress the ambition of the bishops of Rome, which, exalting themselves above the universal church, thought it lawful for them to do all things after their own pleasure; and that no one man from henceforth should transport the council from one place to another, as Eugenius attempted to do, now to Bononia, now to Florentia, then again to Bononia, after to Ferraria, and after that again to Florentia; and that hereafter the bishops should withdraw their minds

from the carefulness of temporal goods, which (as he himself did see) had no mind at all on spiritual matters; and therefore by how much this session was most holy and necessary, by so much more the assent of the ambassadors was most laudable and acceptable to all the fathers. These words thus spoken, he rose up, and the congregation was dissolved.

114. The Election of Pope Felix V.

Now after that Gabriel Condulmarius was deposed from the bishopric of Rome, the principal fathers of the council, being called together in the chapter-house of the great church, consulted together, whether it were expedient that a new bishop should be created out of hand, or deferred for a time. Such as thought good that the election should be done with speed, showed how dangerous a thing it was for such a congregation to be without a head; also what a pestiferous sickness was in all the city, which not only consumed young men and children, but also men of middle age, and old men in like manner; and that this plague came first by strangers unto the poor of the city, and so infected the rich, and now was come unto the fathers of the council: amplifying moreover and increasing the terror thereof, and making the thing worse than it was, as the manner is. Neither doth the decree, said they, any thing let or hinder, wherein it is provided that there should be delay of sixty days after the see is void; for that is to be understood when the see is void, at such time as there is no council holden; neither ought we to tarry or make any delay, lest the princes, being persuaded by Gabriel, should resist; unto whom the deposition of Gabriel, and the election of some other, is to be certified all under one message. The other, which thought good that there should be a delay, said, that the council did lack no head, forasmuch as Christ was the Head thereof; neither did lack a ruler, forasmuch as it was governed by the presidents and other officers; and that no mention should be made of any pestilence in such case, seeing that, unto stout and strong men, death is not to be feared, neither can any thing daunt or fear them which contend for the Christian faith. As for that pestilence which doth now increase and grow in the city, forasmuch as judgment is now given, it is to be hoped that it will assuage, which was thought to have come for the neglecting of justice. Also that in so doubtful a matter they ought rather to use the princes against their will, than to neglect them, and that it is not to be feared but that, in this case, God will help those that are stout and valiant. The matter being thus discussed amongst them, (albeit that there were as many minds as there were men,) yet it seemed unto them all, that it was most profitable to choose the bishop by and by, but most honest to defer it.

Hereupon John Segovius, a man of excellent learning, said, "Most reverend fathers, I am diversely drawn, by sundry reasons, to this side and that. But as I weigh the matter more deeply in my mind, this is my opinion, that to come to a speedy election it seemeth good, to speak after man's judgment; but to delay it for two months, to speak after God's judgment, it seemeth much better. I do judge that not only the words, but also the meaning, of our decree ought to be observed. Wherefore, if ye will give any credit unto me, follow rather dangerous honesty, than secure utility; albeit that indeed utility cannot be discerned from honesty." This opinion of delay took place among the fathers, and they determined to stay for the space of two months. In the mean time messengers were sent unto the princes, to declare the deposition of Eugenius by the synod, and publish it abroad.



Burial of Plague Victims

During this time the corrupt air was nothing at all purged, but the mortality daily increasing, many died and were sick. Whereupon a sudden fear came upon the fathers. Neither were they sufficiently advised what they might do; for they thought it not to be without danger either to depart or to tarry. Notwithstanding, they thought it good to tarry, and also they caused others to tarry; that since they had overcome famine, and the assaults of their enemies on earth, they would not seem to shrink for the persecution of any plague or sickness. But forasmuch as they could not all be kept there, it was politicly provided, that the council should not seem to be dissolved for any man's departure. And for the more establishment of the matter, there were certain things read before the fathers, which they called *De stabilimento*, whose authority continued long time after. When the dog-days were come, and that all herbs withered with heat, the pestilence daily increased more and more, that it is incredible how many died. It was too horrible to see the corpses hourly carried through the streets, when on every side there was weeping, wailing, and sighing. There was no house void of mourning; no mirth or laughter in any place, but matrons bewailing their husbands, and the husbands their wives. Men and women went through the streets, and durst not speak one to another. Some tarried at home, and other some, that went abroad, had perfumes to smell unto, to preserve them against the plague.

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The common people died without number; and like as in the cold autumn the leaves of the trees do fall, even so did the youth of the city consume and fall away. The violence of the disease was such, that ye should have met a man merry in the street now, and within ten hours heard that he had been buried. The number of the dead corpses was such also, that they lacked place to bury them in; insomuch that all the churchyards were digged up, and filled with dead corpses, and great holes made in the parish churches, where a great number of corpses being thrust in together, they covered them over with earth. For which cause the fathers were so afraid that there appeared no blood in their faces; and specially the sudden death of Ludovicus the protonotary did make all men afraid, who was a strong man, and flourishing in age, and singularly learned in both laws; whom the same envious and raging sickness took away in a few hours. By and by after died Ludovicus the patriarch of Aquileia, a man of great age, and brought up always in troubles and adversity, neither could he see the day of the pope's election, which he had long wished for. Notwithstanding, he took partly a consolation in that he had seen Gabriel deposed before his death. This man's death was grievous unto all the fathers, for now they said that two pillars of the council were decayed and overthrown, meaning the protonotary and the patriarch, whereof the one by the law, and the other with his deeds, defended the verity of the council.

About the same time also died the king of Arragon's almoner in Switzerland, a man of excellent learning, being bishop of Liege. The abbot of Vergilia died at Spire, and John, the bishop of Lubeck, between Vienna and Buda.

These two last rehearsed, even at the point of death, did this thing worthy of remembrance. When they perceived the hour of their death approach, calling unto them certain grave and wise men, said, All you that be here present, pray to God that he will convert such as acknowledge Gabriel for high bishop, for in that state they cannot be saved; and professing themselves that they would die in the faith of the council of Basil, they departed in the Lord. In Bohemia also departed the bishop of Constance, which was ambassador for the council. There was great fear and trembling throughout all the council.

There had been also in the council, by a long time, the abbot of Dona, of the diocese of Cumana, a man poor unto the world, but rich unto God, whom neither flattering nor threatenings could turn away from his good purpose and intent, choosing rather to beg in the truth of the fathers, than to abound in riches with the false flattering adversaries.

Whereupon, after the lords were departed which gave him his living, he, remaining still, was stricken with the plague and died. Likewise a great number of the registers and doctors died; and such as fell into that disease, few or none escaped. One amongst all the rest, Æneas Sylvius, being stricken with this disease, by God's help escaped. This man lay three days even at the point of death, all men being in despair of him; notwithstanding, it pleased God to grant him longer life. When the pestilence was most fervent and hot, and that daily there died about one hundred, there was great entreaty made unto Cardinal Arelatensis, that he would go to some other town or village near hand; for these were the words of all his friends and household, "What do you, most reverend father? At the least, void this wane of the moon, and save yourself; who being safe, all we shall also be safe; if you die, we all perish. If the plague oppress you, unto whom shall we fly? Who shall rule us? or who shall be the guide of this most faithful flock? The infection hath already invaded your chamber.

Your secretary and chamberlain are already dead. Consider the great danger, and save both yourself and us." But neither the entreaty of his household, neither the corpses of those which were dead, could move him, willing rather to preserve the council with peril of his life, than to save his life with peril of the council; for he did know, that if he should depart, few would have tarried behind, and that deceit should have been wrought in his absence.

Wherefore, like as in wars, the soldiers fear no danger when they see their captain in the midst of their enemies; so the fathers of the council were ashamed to fly from this pestilence, seeing their president to remain with them in the midst of all dangers. Which their doings did utterly subvert the opinion of them, which babbled abroad, that the fathers tarried in Basil to seek their own profit and commodity, and not the verity of the faith; for there is no commodity upon earth which men would change for their lives; for that all such as do serve the world, do prefer it before all other things. But these our fathers, showing themselves an invincible strong wall for the house of God, vanquishing all the crafty deceits which Gabriel used, and overcoming all difficulties, which this most cruel and pestiferous year brought upon them, at the length all desire of life also being set apart, they have overcome all dangers. and have not doubted with most constant minds to defend the verity of the council, even unto this present.

The time of the decree being passed, after the deposition of Gabriel, it seemed good unto the fathers, to proceed to the election of another bishop. And first of all they nominated those that, together with the cardinals, should elect the pope. The first and principal of the electors was the Cardinal Arelatensis, a man of invincible constancy, and incomparable wisdom; unto whose virtue I may justly ascribe whatsoever was done in the council; for without him, the prelates had not persevered in their purpose, neither could the shadow of any prince have so defended them. This man came not to the election by any favour or denomination, but by his own proper right. The rest of the electors were chosen out of the Italian, French, German, and Spanish nations, and their cells and chambers appointed to them by lots without respect of dignity or person, and as the lots fell, so were they placed; whereby it chanced a doctor to have the highest place, and a bishop the last. Wherein the distribution of lots was very strange, or rather a Divine dispensation, reproving the devices of man, whereas the prelates had determined to have the best chambers appointed for themselves, and had earnestly contended before to have their chambers appointed according to their dignity.

The next day after, there was a session holden, wherein Marcus, a famous divine, made an oration unto the electors, wherein he reckoned up the manifold crimes of Gabriel, which was deposed. He endeavoured to persuade the electors to choose such a man, which should in all points be contrary unto Gabriel, and eschew all his vices; that as he, through his manifold reproaches, was hurtful unto all men, so he which should be chosen should show himself acceptable unto all men, through justice; and as Gabriel was covetous and full of rapine, so this man should show himself continent.

There was so great a number of people gathered together to behold this matter, that neither in the church, neither in the streets, any man could pass. There was present, John, earl of Diernstein, who supplied the place of the emperor's protector; also the senators of the city, with many other noblemen, to behold the same, whereof you shall hear (Christ willing) more largely hereafter. The citizens were without in

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armour, to take care that there should be no uproar made. The electors received the communion together, and afterwards they received their oath, and the Cardinal Arelatensis, opening the book of decrees, read the form of the oath in the audience of all men, and first of all, he, taking the oath himself, began in this manner:

"Most reverend fathers, I promise, swear, and vow, before my Lord Jesus Christ, (whose most blessed body I, unworthy sinner, have received, unto whom, in the last judgment, I shall give account of all my deeds,) that in this business of election, whereunto now, by the will of the council, we are sent, I will seek nothing else, but only the salvation of the Christian people, and the profit of the universal church. This shall be my whole care and study, that the authority of the general councils be not contemned, that the catholic faith be not impugned, and that the fathers which remain in the council be not oppressed. This will I seek for, this shall be my care; unto this, with all my whole force and power, will I bend myself; neither will I respect any thing in this point, either for mine own cause, or for any friend, but only God, and the profit of the church. With this mind and intent, and with this heart, will I take mine oath before the council."

His words were lively and fearful. After him all the other electors, in their order, did swear and take their oath. Then they went with great solemnity unto the conclave, where they remained seven days. The manner of their election was in this sort: before the cardinal's seat was set a desk, whereupon there stood a basin of silver, into the which basin all the electors did cast their schedules, which the cardinal receiving, read one by one, and four other of the electors wrote as he read them.

The tenor of the schedules was in this manner: I George, bishop of Vicenza, do choose such a man, or such a man, for bishop of Rome, and peradventure named one or two: every one of the electors subscribed his name unto the schedule, that he might thereby know his own, and say nay, if it were contrary to that which was spoken; whereby all deceit was utterly excluded. The first scrutiny thus ended, it was found that there were many named to the papacy, yet none had sufficient voices; for that day there were seventeen of divers nations nominated. Notwithstanding, Amedeus, duke of Savoy, a man of singular virtue, surmounted them all, for in the first scrutiny he had the voice of sixteen electors, which judged him worthy to govern the church.

After this, there was diligent inquisition had in the council touching those which were named of the electors, and as every man's opinion served him, he did either praise or discommend those which were nominated. Notwithstanding, there was such report made of Amedeus, that in the next scrutiny, which was holden in the Nones of November, the said Amedeus had twenty-one voices, and likewise in the third and fourth scrutiny, twenty-one voices. And forasmuch as there was none found in all the scrutiny to have two parts, all the other schedules were burnt. And forasmuch as there lacked but only one voice to the election of the high bishop, they fell unto prayer, desiring God that he would vouchsafe to direct their minds to unity and concord, worthily to elect and choose him which should take the charge over the flock of God. Forasmuch as Amedeus seemed to be nearer unto the papacy than all other, there was great communication had amongst them touching his life and disposition. Some said that a layman ought not so suddenly to be chosen; for it would seem a strange thing for a secular prince to be called unto the bishopric of Rome; which would also too much derogate from the ecclesiastical state, as though there were none therein meet or worthy for that dignity. Other some said, that a man which

was married and had children was unmeet for such a charge. Other some again affirmed, that the bishop of Rome ought to be a doctor of law, and an excellent learned-man.

When these words were spoken, other some rising up spake far otherwise; that albeit Amedeus was no doctor, yet was he learned and wise, forasmuch as all his whole youth he had bestowed in learning and study, and had sought not the name, but even the ground of learning. Then said another, "If ye be desirous to be instructed further of this prince's life, I pray you give ear unto me, which do know him thoroughly. Truly this man from his youth upward, and even from his young and tender years, hath lived more religiously than secularly, being always obedient to his parents and masters, and being always endued with the fear of God, never given to any vanity or wantonness; neither hath there at any time been any child of the house of Savoy, in whom hath appeared greater wit or towardness; whereby all those which did behold and know this man, judged and foresaw some great matter in him; neither were they deceived. For if ye desire to know his rule and governance, what and how noble it hath been, first know ye this, that this man hath reigned, since his father's decease, about forty years.

"During whose time, justice, the lady and queen of all other virtues, hath always flourished: for he, hearing his subjects himself, would never suffer the poor to be oppressed, or the weak to be deceived. He was the defender of the fatherless, the advocate of the widows, and protector of the poor. There was no rapine or robbery in all his territory. The poor and rich lived all under one law, neither was he burdensome to his subjects, or importune against strangers throughout all his country; there were no grievous exactions of money throughout all his dominion. He thought himself rich enough, if the inhabitants of his dominions did abound and were rich; knowing that it is the point of a good shepherd to shear his sheep, and not to devour them. In this also was his chief study and care, that his subjects might live in peace, and such as bordered upon him might have no occasion of grudge.

"By which policies he did not only quietly govern his father's dominion, but also augmented the same by others, which willingly submitted themselves unto him. He never made war upon any, but resisting against such as made war upon him, he studied rather to make peace, than to seek any revenge, desiring rather to overcome his enemies with benefits than with the sword. He married only one wife; which was a noble virgin, and of singular beauty and chastity. He would have all his family to keep their hands and eyes chaste and continent, and throughout all his house, honesty and integrity of manners were observed. When his wife had changed her life, and that he perceived his duchy to be established, and that it should come without any controversy unto his posterity, he declared his mind, which was always religious, and devoted unto God, and showed what will and affection he had long borne in his heart. For he, contemning the pomp and state of this world, calling unto him his dear friends, departed and went into a wilderness; where building a goodly abbey he addicted himself wholly to the service of God, and taking his cross upon him, followed Christ. In which place he being conversant by the space of many years, showed forth great examples of holiness, wearing no other garments but such as could withstand the cold, neither using any kind of dainty fare, but only to resist hunger, watching and praying the most part of the night. Wherefore, this prince is not newly come unto the church, (as some do suppose,) but being a Christian born of progenitors a thousand years and more being Christians, doth now serve God in a monastery.

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"But as touching that also which is spoken concerning a wife, I do not regard it; when not only he which hath had a wife, but he also which hath a wife, may be elect and chosen pope: but why do the doctors dispute, whether a married man chosen pope ought to perform his duty towards his wife, but only because a married man might be received and chosen? For, as you know well enough, there were many popes that had wives; and Peter also was not without a wife. But what do we stand about this? For peradventure it had been better that more priests had been married; for many should be saved through marriage, which are now damned through their single life. But hereof we will," saith he, "speak in another place. But this seemeth unto me rather to be laughed at, than worthy any answer, which is objected touching his children: for in what can children (specially being of great age) be impediment or let unto the father, being a bishop? Doth not the Scripture say, Woe be unto him that is alone! for if he fall, he hath none to help him up again? This cannot be imputed unto the prince; for he hath two sons, both comely and wise; whereof the one is prince of Piedmont, the other earl of the Genoese: these men will rule the country of Savoy in the absence of their father, and will help him if he have need; for they have already learned to rule over that people. I pray you, what hurt is it for a bishop of Rome to have valiant children, which may help their father against tyrants? O most reverend fathers, the more I do behold the storm of this most perverse and froward time, the more I do consider the vexations and troubles which the church is now tormented withal, I do so much the more think it profitable, yea, and necessary, that this man should be chosen prince and head: I will think that God hath showed his mercy upon us, if I may see him have the governance over this ship. I pray you, consider into what straits we are now driven, with what perils we are now vexed and tossed. What prince is it that is obedient unto this council? For some will not confess that the council is here, neither receive our decrees; other some confess it in their words, but by their deeds they declare it to be at Florence. For albeit that by their words and letters they do not deny that the church is here, yet do they procure promotions at the hands of Gabriel which is deposed. This is the state of the church, with these storms and tempests the ship is shaken and bruised; wicked children have risen up against their mother, which being unmindful of their mother's labours and kindness towards them, despise her, contemn her, and beat her. What is to be done herein? Shall we choose a bare man, which shall rather be derided of our princes, than had in reverence? The days are not now, that men have respect only unto virtue; for (as the satirical poet writeth) virtue is praised, but is coldly followed. A poor man speaketh, and they ask what he is. Truly virtue is good; but for our purpose, it must be marked and looked upon, whether it be in a rich man, or a poor man; you must choose a governor which may rule the ship not only by counsel, but by power also. The wind is great; wherefore, except the counsel be good, and the power strong, the ship shall be broken, and all put in danger. The memorial is yet fresh before our eyes, that the princes do neglect the authority which is of no force or power. Is there not great valiantness showed in this point, in that you, fearing no peril or danger, either of life or goods, have so long contended for the truth of Christ? But the most mighty and high God looketh down from on high, and will resist this their pride. I have often consented unto their opinion, which said it was expedient that the temporal dominions should be divided from the ecclesiastical state; for I did think that the priests should thereby be made more apt to the Divine ministry, and secular princes more obedient to the clergy. But forasmuch as at this present the churches of the world are possessed partly by Eugenius, and partly by other tyrants, we must provide that we choose such a one, which may recover again the patrimony of the church, and in whom the office of Christ's vicar may not be contemned; through the

shield of whose power their contumacy may be suppressed, which condemn both verity and reason. Whereunto no man seemeth unto me more apt or meet than Amedeus, duke of Savoy, which holdeth the one part of his possessions in Italy, and the other in France; unto whom all Christian princes are allied either by consanguinity, or joined by amity and friendship, and whose virtue, how famous it is, I have already declared. Why do we then stay or doubt to choose him, than whom Gabriel feareth no man more? Let him therefore perish with the sword wherewithal he hath stricken. There is no man which can more pacify the church than he. Do you require devotion in a bishop? there is no man more devout than he. Do you require prudence? Now ye understand by his former life what manner of man he is. If ye seek for justice, his people are a witness thereof; so that whether you seek for virtue or power, all are here present before you. Whereupon do ye stay? Go to, I pray you, choose this man. He will augment the faith, he will reform manners, and preserve the authority of the church. Have ye not heard these troubles of the church to have been before spoken of, and that the time now present should be an end of all troubles? Have ye not heard that about this time there should a pope be chosen, which should comfort Sion, and set all things in peace? And who, I pray you, should he be that could fulfil these things, except we choose this man? Believe me, these sayings must be fulfilled, and I trust that God will move your minds thereunto. Notwithstanding, do whatsoever you shall think most good and holy."

When he had spoken these words, the greatest number of the electors seemed to consent unto him, and his words took such effect, that in the next scrutiny the matter was finished and ended, and when the scrutiny was opened, it was found that Amedeus, the most devout duke of Savoy, according to the decree of the council, was chosen pope. Wherefore suddenly there was great joy and gladness amongst them, and all men highly commended their doings. Then the Cardinal Arelatensis published unto them the name of the elect bishop. After this all the prelates in their robes and mitres, and all the clergy of the city, coming unto the conclave, the electors being likewise adorned, they brought him unto the great church, where, after great thanks given unto God, and the election again declared unto the people, a hymn being sung for joy, the congregation was dissolved.

This Amedeus aforesaid, was a man of reverend age, of comely stature, of grave and discreet behaviour, also before married. Who thus being elected for pope about November, was called Felix the Fifth, and was crowned in the city of Basil, in the month of July. There was present at his coronation, Lewis, duke of Savoy; Philip, Earl Gebenensis; Lewis, marquis of Salutz; the marquis of Rotelen; Conrad of Winsperge, chamberlain of the empire; the earl of Diernstein; the ambassadors of the cities of Strasburgh, Berne, Friburg, Solatorne, with a great multitude of other beside, to the view of fifty thousand persons. At this coronation, the pope's two sons did serve and minister to their father. Lewis, cardinal of Hostia, did set on his head the pontifical diadem, which was esteemed at thirty thousand crowns. It were long here to recite the whole order and solemnity of the procession, or the pope's riding about the city. First proceeded the pope, under his canopy of cloth of gold, having on his head a triple crown, and blessing the people as he went. By him went the marquis of Rotelen, and Conrad of Winsperge, leading his horse by the bridle. The procession finished, they went to dinner, which lasted four full hours, being excessively sumptuous; where the pope's two sons were butlers to his cup; the marquis of Salutz was the steward.

Of this Felix thus writeth Volateran, in his third book, "that he, being desired of certain of the ambassadors, if he had any dogs or hounds to show them, he willed

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them the next day to repair unto him, and he would show unto them such as he had. When the ambassadors, according to the appointment, were come, he sheweth unto them a great number of poor people and beggars sitting at his tables at meat, declaring that those were his hounds, which he every day used to feed, hunting with them (he trusted) for the glory of heaven to come."

And thus you have heard the state of this council hitherto, which council endured a long season, the space of seventeen years.

About the sixth year of the council, Sigismund the emperor died, leaving but one daughter to succeed him in his kingdoms, whom he had married to Albert, the second duke of Austria, which first succeeded in the kingdom of Hungary and Bohemia, being a sore adversary to the Bohemians; and afterward was made emperor, A. D. 1438, and reigned emperor but two years, leaving his wife, which was Sigismund's daughter, great with child. After which Albert succeeded his brother Frederic, the third duke of Austria, in the empire, &c., whereof more (Christ willing) hereafter.

In the mean time, Eugenius, hearing of the death of Sigismund, above recited, began to work the dissolution of the council of Basil, and to transfer it to Ferrara, pretending the coming of the Grecians. Notwithstanding, the council of Basil, through the disposition of God, and the worthiness of Cardinal Arelatensis, constantly endured. Albeit in the said council were many stops and practices to impeach the same, beside the sore plague of pestilence which fell in the city, during the said council. In the which plague time, besides the death of many worthy men, Æneas Sylvius also, himself, the writer and compiler of the whole history of that council, sitting at the feet of the bishops of Turnon and Lubeck, lay sore sick three days of the same, as is above touched, and never thought to escape. They that died, departed with this exhortation, desiring men to pray to God, that he would convert the hearts of them that stuck to Eugenius as pope, against that council, as partly is afore noted, and now repeated again for the better marking. Arelatensis, being most instantly exhorted by his friends to fly that danger, could by no means be entreated to avoid, fearing more the danger of the church, than of his own life.

Beside these so great difficulties and obstacles to stay and hinder this council, strange it was to behold the mutation of men's minds. Of whom such as first seemed to favour the council afterwards did impugn it, and such as before were against it, in the end showed themselves most friends unto the same. The chief cardinals and prelates, the more they had to lose, the sooner they slipped away, or else lurked in houses or towns near, and absented themselves for fear; so that the stay of the council most rested upon their proctors, doctors, archdeacons, deans, provosts, priors, and such other of the inferior sort. Whereof Æneas Sylvius, in his 183rd epistle, maketh this relation, where one Caspar Schlicke, the emperor's chancellor, writeth to Cardinal Julian in these words: "Those cardinals," saith he, "who so long time magnified so highly the authority of the church, and of general councils, seeming as though they were ready to spend their lives for the same, now at the sight of one letter from their king, (wherein yet no death was threatened, but only loss of their promotions,) slipped away from Basil." And in the same epistle deridingly commendeth them, as "wise men, that had rather lose their faith than their flock. Albeit," saith he, "they departed not far away, but remained about Solatorne, waiting for other commandments from their prince. Whereby it may appear, how they did shrink away not willingly, but the

burse," quoth he, "bindeth faster than true honour. What matter maketh the name of a man, so his money be safe? "

Moreover, in one of the sessions of the said council, the worthy Cardinal Arelatensis is said thus to have reported, that "Christ was sold for thirty pence, but I," said he, "was sold much more dear; for Gabriel, otherwise called Eugenius, pope, offered threescore thousand crowns, whoso would take me, and present me unto him." And they that took the said cardinal, afterward excused their fact by another colour, pretending the cause, for that the cardinal's brother, what time the Armiaques wasted Alsace, had brought great damage to the inhabitants there, and therefore they thought (said they) that they might lawfully lay hands upon a Frenchman, wheresoever they might take him. At length, by the bishop of Strasburgh, Rupert, and the said city, the matter was taken up, and he rescued. Wherein no doubt appeared the hand of God, in defending his life from the pestilent danger of the pope his adversary.

115. The Bohemians and the Council of Basil

And thus far having proceeded in the matters of this aforesaid council, until the election of Amedeus, called Pope Felix the Fifth, before we prosecute the rest that remaineth thereof to be spoken, the order and course of times requireth to intermix withal the residue pertaining to the matters concluded between this council and the Bohemians, declaring the whole circumstances of the embassy, their articles, disputations, and answers, which they had first in the said council, then in their own country with the council's ambassadors; also with their petitions and answers unto the same.

Touching the story of the Bohemians, how they, being sent for, came up to the council of Basil, and how they appeared, and what was there concluded and agreed, partly before hath been expressed. Now, as leisure serveth from other matters, to return again unto the same, it remaineth to prosecute the rest that lacketh, so far as both brevity may be observed, and yet the reader not defrauded of such things, principally worthy in the same to be noted and known.

The Bohemians then (as is before declared) having always the upper hand, albeit they were accused by the new bishop Eugenius, yet it was thought good that they should be called unto Basil, where the council was appointed. Whereupon Cardinal Julian sent thither before John Pullumiar, doctor of the law, and John de Ragusio, a divine. Who coming unto Basil in the month of August, A. D. 1431, called by their letters unto the council, John, abbot of Mulbrun, and John Gelhusius, monk of the same cloister; which men, for dexterity of their wit, and experience, and knowledge of countries, were very meet and necessary for embassages.

Within a few days after, Julian also came thither as he had promised, and immediately sent out John Gelhusius, and Hammon Offenbourg, a senator of Basil, first unto the Emperor Sigismund, being at Feldkirch, and afterward unto Frederic, duke of Austria, for the appeasing of the wars between him and Philip, duke of Burgundy. This was done to the intent that, peace being had, not only the ecclesiastical prelates, but also the merchants might have safe access unto Basil, and so bring in all things necessary for sustentation.

They going on this embassy, received letters from the synod to be delivered unto the Emperor Sigismund, whereby the Bohemians and Moravians were called unto the council. These letters he by and by caused to be carried unto Bohemia; but forasmuch as he himself went into Italy, to receive the imperial crown of the bishop, he left William, duke of Bavaria, as his deputy to be protector unto the council. Furthermore, when the synod understood that our men would take a peace with the Bohemians, after their most shameful flight, they sent John Niderus, a divine, and John Gelhusius, to comfort the people which joined upon Bohemia, and earnestly to move the Moravians and Bohemians, who were before called, to come unto the council.

They, departing from Basil about the end of October, took their journey toward Monacum, a town of Bavaria; where, after they had saluted William, duke of Bavaria, and his brother Ernest, and Albert the son of Ernest, and had declared the

commission of their embassy, and had showed unto Duke William, how that as soon as he should come unto Basil, the protection of the council should be committed unto him by the emperor; they exhorted Frederic, marquis of Brandenburg, and John, duke of Bavaria, the senate of Nuremberg, and other princes and lords, partly by the letters of the council, and partly by words of mouth, that they should by no means take any truce with the Bohemians, for that it might be hurtful unto the church, and said they should have aid out of hand. They desired them also, in the name of the council, that if the Bohemians would send their ambassadors unto Basil, they would guide them, every man through his country in safety, which they promised to do. It is incredible how all men rejoiced that the Bohemians were sent for.

After this, when they counselled with the senate of Nuremberg, touching the sending of the council's letters unto Bohemia, it seemed best, first of all to inquire of the rulers of Egra, whether the Bohemians had made any answer to the former letters of the council which they had sent. The rulers of Egra, being advertised by these letters, sent him which carried the council's letters into Bohemia, unto Nuremberg. He reported how reverently the council of the greater city of Prague received the letters, and how he was rewarded.

Whereupon they conceived great hope of the good success of the embassy. Therefore the ambassadors, using the council of the senate of Nuremberg, and divers others, sent the messenger back again unto Egra, with their own private letters, and with letters of the council: for there was no better means to send the letters to Bohemia. Much travail was taken by them of Egra, Frederic, marquis of Brandenburg, and John, duke of Bavaria, in this matter; for that they were very desirous that peace might be had amongst Christians. The copy of those letters, whereby the synod did call the Bohemians unto the council, and other letters exhortatory of the ambassadors, and the Bohemians' answer unto the same, for brevity's cause we have here pretermitted. The Bohemians, not in all points trusting unto the ambassadors, required by their letters that the council's ambassadors, with the other princes, would come unto Egra, where their ambassadors should also be present, to treat upon the safe-conduct and other matters.

The day appointed for the meeting was, the Sunday after Easter, which was the twenty-seventh day of April. Then came the ambassadors of the council unto Egra, with the noble princes, Frederic, marquis of Brandenburg, and John, duke of Bavaria, with other nobles, almost to the number of two hundred and fifty-two horse. But none of the Bohemians were present, because the inhabitants of Pilsina and the Lord Swamberg had not sent their safe-conduct. When they understood this by their letters, they brought it to pass that the ambassadors of the Bohemians, Nicholas Humpelz, secretary of the greater city of Prague, and Matthew Clumpezane, president of Piesta, should be brought forth by them of Egra, and the Elenbogenses, and so they came unto Egra with nineteen horse, the eighth day of May. The next day after, Henry Togyne received the Bohemian ambassadors before the marquis with an eloquent oration, taking this part of the gospel for his theme, Peace be with you. Then they propounded what great injuries they had hitherto received at their hands, which was the cause of so many great slaughters on either party, and that they were glad that yet now at the length there was some hope that they should be heard.

After this they conferred as touching the safe-conduct. The Bohemians required pledges, and that not of the common sort, but princes and nobles. Which thing, forasmuch as it did not content the ambassadors, and that the matter should so

be put off, the common people of Egra began to cry out, that for a long time a concord had not been made with the Bohemians by the ecclesiastical princes. Then Frederic, marquis of Brandenburg, and John, duke of Bavaria, bound themselves of their own good will. The like also did William, duke of Bavaria, at the request of the council. Likewise also did the council and the Emperor Sigismund. Furthermore, promise was made, that all the princes and cities should do the like, through whose dominion they should come, and the city of Basil also. The copy of which safe-conduct was afterward sent unto Prague. This also was required by the Bohemians, that, if it were possible, the emperor should be present at the council.

This convention at Egra continued twenty-one days. But the Bohemians, albeit they heard the council's ambassadors make great promises, yet did they not fully give credit unto them. Whereupon they chose out two ambassadors, Nicholas Humgolizius, and John Zaczenses, which should go to Basil, and diligently inquire out all things. These men, Conrad, bishop of Ratisbon, and Conrad Seglaver, dean of Estein, brought into Cattelspurge, where the marquis dwelt, being sent out by the synod a little before, to inquire whether the Bohemian ambassadors would come or not. When they were come to Biberack, one being over-curious, inquired of one of the Bohemian ambassadors, of what country he was. He answered that he was a Zaczen. "There," said he, "are most execrable heretics and naughty men," &c. Who for that slanderous word, as a breaker of the truce, was straightway carried to prison, and there should have suffered more punishment, if the Bohemian ambassadors, and the abbot of Ebera, had not entreated for him. When they came unto Basil, they were honourably received with wine and fish. They tarried there five days and a half. The tenth day of October they came unto the synod, which was assembled at the Friars Augustines.

These ambassadors, when they were returned home with the charter of the synod, and declared those things which they had seen, and that the matter was earnestly handled without fraud or deceit; there were ambassadors chosen to be sent unto the council, both for the kingdom of Bohemia, and the marquisdom of Moravia, which, coming unto Tusca, were brought from thence with thirty-two horse, and divers noblemen, unto Chambia. From thence they came to Swenkendorph, and so unto Nuremberg, where, beside their entertainment of wine and fish, twenty-two horsemen accompanied them unto Ulmes; from thence they of Ulmes brought them unto Biberack and Sulgotia; there James Tunches, a knight, receiving them, brought them to Stockacum, and from thence the bands of the duke of Bavaria brought them unto Schaffhausen. There they taking ship the fourth day of January, came unto Basil the ninth day of the same month. What were the names of these ambassadors of the Bohemians, which were brought up with three hundred horse, and how they were received at Basil, mention is made before. When they came unto the synod, Cardinal Julian made an oration, that whatsoever was in any place in doubt, the same ought to be determined by the authority of the council, forasmuch as all men are bound to submit themselves to the judgment of the holy church, which the general council doth represent. Which oration was not allowed of all the Bohemians.

Then Rochezanus made an oration, requiring to have a day appointed when they should be heard, which was appointed the sixteenth day of the same month. Upon which day John Rochezanus, having made his preface, began to propound the first article, touching the communion to be ministered under both kinds, and disputed upon the same by the space of three days always before noon. Then Wenceslaus the Taborite disputed upon the second article, touching the correction and punishing of sin, by the space of two days. After whom Ulderic, priest of the Orphanes,

propounded and disputed upon the third article by the space of two days, touching the free preaching of the word of God.

Last of all, Peter Paine, an Englishman, disputed three days upon the fourth article, touching the civil dominion of the clergy, and afterward gave copies of their disputations in writing unto the council, with hearty thanks that they were heard. The three last did somewhat inveigh against the council, condemning John Huss and John Wickliff for their doctrine. Whereupon John de Ragusso, a divine, rising up, desired that he might have leave to answer in his own name to the first article of the Bohemians. The council consented thereunto; so that by the space of eight days in the forenoon he disputed thereupon. But before he began to answer, John, the abbot of Sistertia, made an oration unto the Bohemians, that they should submit themselves to the determination of the holy church, which this council, said he, doth represent. This matter did not a little offend the Bohemians. John Ragusinus, a divine, after scholar's fashion, in his answer, spake often of heresies and heretics. Procopius could not suffer it, but rising up with angry stomach complained openly to the council of this injury: "This our countryman," saith he, "doth us great injury, calling us oftentimes heretics." Whereunto Ragusinus answered, "Forasmuch as I am your countryman both by tongue and nation, I do the more desire to reduce you again unto the church." He was a Dalmatian born, and it appeareth that the Dalmatians, going into Bohemia, took their name by their country which they possessed. It came almost to this point, that through this offence the Bohemians would depart from Basil, and could scarcely be appeased. Certain of the Bohemians would not hear Ragusinus finish his disputation.

After him a famous divine, one Egidius Carlerius, dean of the church of Cambray, answered unto the second article, by the space of four days. To the third article answered one Henricus, surnamed Frigidum Ferrum, three days together. Last of all, one Johannes Polomarius, master of the requests of the palace, answered unto the fourth article likewise by the space of three days; so that the long time which they used in disputations seemed tedious unto the Bohemians. Notwithstanding this answer, the Bohemians still defended their articles, and especially the first, insomuch as John Roehezanus did strongly impugn Ragusinus' answer by the space of six days. But forasmuch as one disputation bred another, and it was not perceived how that by this means any concord could be made; the Prince William, duke of Bavaria, protector of the council, attempted another remedy, that all disputations being set apart the matter should be friendly debated.

There were certain appointed on either part to treat upon the concord; who coming together the eleventh day of March, those which were appointed for the council were demanded to say their minds. It seemed good, said they, if these men would be united unto us, and be made one body with us, that this body might then accord, declare and determine all manner of diversities of opinions and sects, what is to be believed or done in them.

The Bohemians, when they had a while paused, said, this way seemed not apt enough, except first of all the four articles were exactly discussed, so that either we should agree with them, or they with us; for otherwise it would be but a frivolous matter, if they, being now united, again disagree in the deciding of the articles. Here answer was made to the Bohemians, that if they were rightly united, and the aid of the Holy Ghost called for, they should not err in the deciding of the matter, forasmuch as every Christian ought to believe that determination; which if they would do, it would breed a most firm and strong concord and amity on either part. But this answer

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satisfied them not, insomuch that the other three rose up, and disputed against the answers which were given. At that time Cardinal Julian, president of the council, made this oration unto the Bohemian ambassadors.

"This sacred synod," saith he, "hath now, by the space of ten days, patiently heard the propositions of your four articles:" and afterward he annexed: "You have propounded," saith he, "four articles, but we understand that, beside these four, you have many other strange doctrines, wherein ye dissent from us. Wherefore it is necessary, if a perfect unity and fraternity shall follow between us, that all these things be declared in the council, to the end that by the grace of the Holy Ghost, who is the author of peace and truth, due provision may be made therein. For we have not gathered these things of light conjectures, but have heard them of credible persons, and partly here are some present which have seen them with their own eyes in Bohemia, and partly we do gather it by your own report. For Master Nicholas, which was the second that did propound, amongst other things, alleged that John Wickliff was an evangelical doctor. If ye believe him to be a true doctor, it followeth, that you must repute his works as authentic. If ye do not so think, it is reason that it should be opened unto us.

"Wherefore we desire you, that you will certify us upon these and certain other points, what you do believe, or what credit you do give unto them. But we do not require that you should now declare your reasons, but it shall satisfy us, if you will answer unto every article by this word, We believe, or believe not; which if you will do, as we trust you will, then we shall manifestly perceive that you desire that we should conceive a good estimation of you. If there be any thing whereof you would be certified by us, ask it boldly, and we will give you an answer out of hand; for we are ready, according to the doctrine of St. Peter, to render account unto every man which shall require it, touching the faith which we hold." Hereunto the Bohemian ambassadors answered in few words, that they came only to propound those four articles, not in their own name, but in the name of the whole kingdom of Bohemia, and speak no more. Whereupon, William, the noble protector of the council, calling upon him four men on either part, entreated touching the pacifying of the matter, by whose advice the council decreed to send a famous embassy, with the Bohemian ambassadors, unto Prague, where the people should assemble upon Sunday. But they would not receive these conditions of peace which were offered, but made haste to depart. Whereupon, the fourteenth day of April, there were ten chosen out of the council, to go with the Bohemian ambassadors unto Prague.

It were too long here to declare what honour was done unto these ambassadors all the way in their journey, and specially when they came unto Bohemia, by the citizens of Prague, when a great number of Bohemians were assembled at Prague at the day appointed, both of the clergy, nobility, and common people.

After the coming of those ambassadors, much contention began to rise between the parties. First began John Rochezanus, who speaking in the public person of the commonalty, laboured to commend and prefer the four verities of the Bohemians before propounded; charging also the prelates and priests for their slanderous obtractions and undeserved contumelies, wherewith they did infame the noble kingdom of Bohemia, complaining also that they would not receive those Christian verities, left and allowed by their king Wenceslaus now departed. Wherefore he required them in the behalf of the whole nation, that they would leave off hereafter to oppress them in such sort, that they would restore to them again their Joseph's

vesture, that is, the ornament of their good fame and name, whereof their brethren, their enemies, had spoiled them, &c.

To this Polomar maketh answer again, with a long and curious oration, exhorting them to peace and unity of the church, which if they would embrace, all other obstacles and impediments, said he, should be soon removed; promising also that this their vesture of honour and fame should be amply restored again; and that afterward, if there were any doubtful matters, they might and should be the better discussed.

But all this pleased not the Bohemians, unless they might first have a declaration of their four articles, which if they might obtain, they promised then to embrace peace and concord. Which peace, said they, began first to be broken by themselves, in that the council of Constance, by their unjust condemnation, burned John Huss and Jerome of Prague, and also by their cruel bulls and censures, raised up first excommunication, then war against the whole kingdom of Bohemia.

Hereunto Polomar, reclaiming again, began to advance and magnify the honour and dignity of general councils. To conclude, as much as the said Polomar did extol the authority of the councils, so much did the answer of the Bohemians extenuate the same, saying, that the latter councils, which are not expressed in the law of God, have erred, and might err, not only in faith, but also in manners. For that which hath chanced to the green wood, may also chance unto the dry. But of other, the most strong pillars of the militant church, the apostles I mean, seem all to have erred, and the catholic faith to have remained three days sound and incorrupt only in the Virgin Mary. No Christian man therefore ought to be compelled to stand to the determination of the pope or the council, except it be in that which is plainly expressed in the law of God. For it is evident that all the general councils which have been of long time, have reformed very few things as touching the faith, peace, and manners of the church, but have always, both in their life and decrees, notoriously swerved, and have not established themselves upon the foundation, which is Christ. Wherefore the said Bohemians protested, that they would not, simply and plainly. God being their good Lord. yield themselves to their doctrine, nor to such rash and hasty decrees: lest, through their hasty and uncircumspect submission, they should bind their faith and life contrary to the wholesome and sound doctrine of our Lord Christ Jesus. In short, in no case they would enter into any agreement of peace, except their four articles, which they counted for evangelical verities, were first accepted and approved. Which being obtained, said they, if they would condescend with them in the verity of the gospel, so would they join together, and be made one with them in the Lord.

When the ambassadors saw the matter would not otherwise be brought to pass, they required to have those articles delivered unto them in a certain form, which they sent unto the council by three Bohemian ambassadors.

Afterward the council sent a declaration into Bohemia to be published unto the people in the common assemblies of the kingdom, by the ambassadors, which were commanded to report unto the Bohemians, in the name of the council, that if they would receive the declaration of those three articles, and the unity of the church, there should be a mean found whereby the matter touching the first article. of the communion under both kinds, should be passed with peace and quietness.

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They propounded in Prague, in an open assembly of the nobles and commons, the declarations of the three articles in form following:

"Forasmuch as touching the doctrine of the verity we ought to proceed soberly and warily, that the truth may be declared with words being so orderly conceived and uttered, that there be no offence given to any man, whereby he should fall to take occasion of error, and, to use the words of Isidore, that nothing by obscurity be left doubtful; whereas you have propounded touching the inhibition and correction of sin in these words; 'All mortal sins, and specially open offences, ought to be rooted out, punished, and inhibited, by them whose duty it is so to do, reasonably and according to the law of God.' here it is to be marked and understood, that these words, 'whose duty it is,' are too general, and may be an offence; and according to the meaning of the Scripture, we ought not to lay any stumbling-stock before the blind, and the ditches are to be closed up, that our neighbour's ox do not fall therein; all occasion of offence is to be taken away. Therefore we say, that according to the meaning of the Holy Scripture, and the doctrine of the holy doctors, it is thus universally to be holden; That all mortal sins, especially public offences, are to be rooted out, corrected, and inhibited, as reasonably as may be, according to the law of God and the institutions of the fathers. The power to punish these offenders doth not pertain unto any private person, but only unto them which have jurisdiction of the law over them, the distinction of law and justice being orderly observed.

"As touching the preaching of the word of God, which article you have alleged in this form, 'That the word of God should be freely and faithfully preached by the fit and apt ministers of the Lord;' lest by this word, 'freely,' occasion might be taken of disordered liberty, (which, as you have often said, you do not mean,) the circumstance thereof is to be understood; and we say, that (according to the meaning of the Holy Scripture, and doctrine of the holy fathers) it is thus universally to be believed; That the word of God ought freely, but not every where, but faithfully and orderly to be preached by the priests and Levites of the Lord, being allowed and sent by their superiors unto whom that office appertaineth, the authority of the bishop always reserved, who is the provider of all things according to the institution of the holy fathers.

"As concerning the last article, expressed under these words; 'It is not lawful for the Christian clergy, in the time of the law of grace, to have dominion over temporal goods; we remember that in the solemn disputation holden in the sacred council, he which was appointed by the council to dispute, propounded two conclusions in this sort:

"First, that such of the clergy as were not religious, and had not bound themselves thereunto by a vow, might lawfully have and possess any temporal goods; as the inheritance of his father or any other, if it be left unto him, or any other goods justly gotten by means of any gift, or other lawful contract, or else some lawful art.

"The second conclusion, The church may lawfully have and possess temporal goods, movable and unmovable, houses, lands, towns and villages, castles and cities, and in them a private and civil dominion. Your ambassador which disputed against him, granted those conclusions, saying that they did not impugn the sense of this article being well understood, forasmuch as he understandeth this article of civil dominion formally meant. Whereby, and also by other things, it may be understood, that those words, 'to have secular dominion,' expressed in the aforesaid article, seemeth to be referred to some special manner or kind of dominion. But forasmuch as

the doctrine of the church is not to be treated upon by any ambiguous or doubtful words, but fully and plainly; therefore we have thought good more plainly to express that which, according to the law of God, and the doctrine of the holy doctors, is universally to be believed, that is to say, the two aforesaid conclusions to be true. And also, that the clergy ought faithfully to distribute the goods of the church, whose administrators they are, according to the decrees of the holy fathers; and that the usurpation of the administration of the church goods, done by any other than by them, unto whom the administration is canonically committed, cannot be without guilt of sacrilege.

"Thus the sacred council," said they, "hath diligently gone about, according to the verity of the gospel, all ambiguity set apart, to expound the true sense of the three aforesaid articles. Wherefore, if there do yet remain any doubt, according to the information which we have received in the sacred council, we are ready by God's help (who is the principal verity) to declare the truth unto you. If ye do receive and embrace the declaration of the said three articles, which is grounded upon the verity of the Holy Scripture, as you are bound, and will effectually have a pure, simple, and perfect unity, touching the liberty of the communion under both kinds, which you desire and require, which also you cannot lawfully have without the licence of holy church; we have authority from the general council, by certain means to treat and conclude with you, trusting that you will show yourselves as you will continue."

These things thus declared, after the Bohemians had taken deliberation, they said that they would give no answer unto the premises, before they understood what should be offered them as touching the communion. Wherefore, it shall be necessary to declare the matter, as it was written in form following:

"In the name of God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, upon the sacrament of whose most blessed last supper we shall treat, that he which hath instituted this most blessed sacrament of unity and peace, will vouchsafe to work this effect in us, and to make us that we may be one in the said Lord Jesus, our Head, and that he will subvert all the subtleties of the devil, who, through his envious craftiness, hath made the sacrament of peace and unity an occasion of war and discord; that whilst Christians do contend touching the manner of communicating, they be not deprived of the fruit of the communion. Whereupon St. Augustine, in his sermon upon infants, saith thus, 'So the Lord Jesus Christ certified us, and willed that we should appertain unto him, and consecrate the mystery of our peace and unity upon the table. He that receiveth the mystery of unity, and doth not keep the bond of peace, doth not receive a mystery for himself, but a testimony against himself.' This we thought good above all things to be premised, that the general custom of the church, which your fathers, and you also, in times past have observed, hath a long time had and still useth, that they which do not consecrate, communicate only under the kind of bread. Which custom being lawfully brought in by the church and holy fathers, and now a long time observed, it is not lawful to reject, or to change at your will and pleasure, without the authority of the church. Therefore to change the custom of the church, and to take in hand to communicate unto the people under both kinds, without the authority of holy church, is altogether unlawful. For holy church, upon reasonable occasions, may grant liberty unto the people to communicate under both kinds. And every communion, which, being attempted without the authority and licence of the church, should be unlawful, when it is done with the authority of holy church, shall be lawful, if other things let it not; because, as the apostle saith, He that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation.

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"Whereupon St. Isidore, of the second Distinction upon the Consecration, writeth thus, 'They which live wickedly, and cease not daily to communicate in the church, thinking thereby to be cleansed, let them learn that it doth nothing at all profit them to the cleansing of their sins.' And St. Augustine in the same Distinction saith, 'Holy things may hurt the evil, for unto the good they are salvation, but unto the evil damnation.' There are besides these many other authorities. The apostle Judas was amongst them which did first communicate, but forasmuch as he received unworthily, having that sin of treason in his heart, it did profit him nothing, but the devil by and by exercised the more power and authority over him. This is declared by a great reason; Which of you is it, that if you should receive your lord into your house, would not with all diligence and care study to make clean and adorn his house, that he may receive the lord honestly? Much more he that shall receive the Lord and Saviour into the house of his soul, ought diligently to make clean and deck his soul, to cleanse it by the sacrament of penance, with sorrow and contrition of heart, humbly, purely, and truly confessing his sins, and receiving due satisfaction and penance, to adorn and deck the same with the purple or rich array of devotion, that the heart being so purged and adorned with fervent desire, he may come to that most holy sacrament, whereby God reconcileth all the world unto him.

"Wherefore the most sacred synod admonisheth, exhorteth, and commandeth, that all priests should diligently exhort and admonish the people, and that they should use all their care and endeavour, that no man come to that most blessed sacrament, except he be duly prepared with great reverence and devotion, lest that which is received for the salvation of the soul, redound to the condemnation, through the unworthy receiving thereof.

"Moreover, doctors do say, that the custom of communicating unto the people only under the kind of bread, was reasonably introduced by the church and holy fathers for reasonable causes, especially for the avoiding of two perils, of error and irreverence. Of error, as to think that the one part of Christ's body were in the bread, and the other part in the cup, which were a great error. Of unreverence, forasmuch as many things may happen, as well on the part of the minister, as on the part of the receiver; as it is said that it happened when a certain priest carried the sacrament of the cup unto a sick man, when he should have ministered, he found nothing in the cup, being all spilt by the way, with many other such-like chances. We have heard, moreover, that it hath often happened, that the sacrament consecrated in the cup hath not been sufficient for the number of communicants, whereby a new consecration must be made, which is not agreeable to the doctrine of the holy fathers, and also, that oftentimes they do minister wine unconsecrated for consecrated wine, which is a great peril. By this means then it shall be brought to pass, that if you will effectually receive the unity and peace of the church in all other things, besides the use of the communion under both kinds, conforming yourselves to the faith and order of the universal church, you that hate that use and custom shall communicate still by the authority of the church under both kinds, and this article shall be discussed fully in the sacred council, where you shall see what, as touching this article, is to be holden as a universal verity, and is to be done for the profit and salvation of the Christian people; and all things being thus thoroughly handled, then, if you persevere in your desire, and that your ambassadors do require it, the sacred council will grant licence in the Lord unto your ministers, to communicate unto the people under both kinds, that is to say, to such as be of lawful years and discretion, and shall reverently and devoutly require the same; this always observed, that the ministers shall say unto those which

shall communicate, that they ought firmly to believe not the flesh only to be contained under the form of bread, and the blood only under the wine, but under each kind to be whole and perfect Christ."

Thus, hitherto, we have declared the decree of the council. As touching the other doubts and questions which were afterward moved by the masters and prelates of Bohemia, the ambassadors of the council answered thus:



First they said, that it was not the meaning of the sacred council, to suffer the communion under both kinds by toleration, or as the libel of divorcement was permitted to the Jews; forasmuch as the council, intending even to open the bowels of motherly charity and pity unto the Bohemians and Moravians, doth not mean to suffer it with such kind of sufferance, which should not exclude sin; but so to grant it, that by the authority of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of his true spouse the church, it may be lawful, profitable, and healthful unto those who worthily receive the same. Also, as touching that which was spoken by the said Bohemians of the punishing of offences, that it is in the Scriptures, how that God oftentimes stirreth up the hearts of private persons to the correcting and punishing of sins, and so it should seem lawful unto the inferiors to correct and punish their superiors; they answered, alleging the text of St. Augustine in the three and thirtieth decree: "He that striketh wicked men in that they are wicked, and hath cause of death against them, is the minister of God: but he which without any public administration or office murdereth or maimeth any wicked thief, sacrilegious, adulterous, or perjured person, or any other offender, shall he judged as a homicide, and so much the more sharply, in that he feared not to abuse and usurp the power not granted him of God; and truly this city would take it much more grievously, if any private man should attempt to punish an offender, and set up a gallows in the street, and there hang him, than if one man should kill another in brawl or quarrel." They alleged also other texts of St. Ambrose and St. Jerome agreeable to the same. They said, that no man doubteth that the law of God is duly and holily appointed, and therein is simply written, Thou shalt not steal. And, notwithstanding, by the commandment of God the children of Israel carried away the goods of the Egyptians, which they had borrowed of them. Also in the same law it is plainly written, Thou shalt do no murder. Whereupon St. Augustine in his first book proveth, that it is not lawful for any man to kill himself; and when he maketh example of Samson, he answereth with these words: "When God commandeth and doth affirm himself to command without any doubt, who is he that will call obedience sin? or who will accuse the obedience to God? "

Here in this proposition you have the words of St. Augustine for answer. But let every man well foresee, if God do command, or that he do intimate the commandment without any circumstances, and let him prove the spirits whether they be of God. But in such cases there are no laws to be given, neither are they much to be talked of; for thereby there should easily rise occasion to make sedition, and for the inferiors to rise against the superiors; for when any man had stolen any thing, or killed any man, he would say that he was moved thereunto by the Spirit of God: but without manifest proof thereof, he should be punished.

Again, they said that there were certain cases wherein the laity had power over the clergy. It was answered, that there were certain cases in the law, wherein the laity

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had power over the clergy, and oftentimes over cardinals. For if, the pope being dead, the cardinals would not enter the conclave to elect a new pope, the king, prince, or other lord or secular power may compel them; but in these cases he is now no private person, but useth his jurisdiction by the authority of the law. The like is to be understood of all other cases expressed in the law.

They said further, that no common law hath any right or justice, except God's law do allow the same.

It was answered, that no common law hath right or justice, if it be against the law of God; because the law of God is the rule of all other laws. But there is great cunning and knowledge in applying the rule to that which is made by the rule, for oftentimes it seemeth that there is diversity in the thing made by the rule, when there is none indeed; but the default is in the applying, because the rule is not duly applied to the thing made by it.

As touching the article of preaching the word of God, it was moved, that oftentimes some prelates, through their own envy and malice, without any reasonable cause, do inhibit a good and meet preacher that preacheth catholicly and well.

Answer was made, how that they understood well enough that the abuse of certain prelates, which did inordinately behave themselves, gave a great occasion of those troubles. Also that they never heard of any such complaints in those parts, but that the prelates do favour good preachers, and stir them up to preach, by entreaty, favour, and promotion. In all such cases there are remedies already provided by the law; for when any man is so prohibited to use his right, he hath remedy to appeal; and if he do trust his appeal to be just, he may use his right, all violence both of the spiritual and secular power set apart; for the end of the matter shall declare if he had just cause to appeal. Then shall it be declared that the superior hath done evil in prohibiting, and the plaintiff justly in doing, and the superior for his unjust prohibition shall be punished. But if he be justly prohibited, and that through his temerity he do condemn the just commandment of his superior, he is worthy to be punished with condign punishment.

Where it was moved concerning the third article, whether it were lawful for the ecclesiastical prelates to exercise, in their proper person, the acts of secular dominion. Hereunto it was answered, that if by this word, acts of secular dominion, are understood acts which a secular lord may do or exercise, then it is to be said, that a prelate may lawfully exercise some such acts in his proper person, as to sell, pawn, or pledge, to infeoff by manner and form ordained by law; but there are some acts, which it is not lawful for them to exercise in their proper person, but ought to have afterward a vicegerent or proctor to do the same.

It was also moved, whether that coercive power, which ought to be exercised by a steward, &c., be in the hands of an ecclesiastical prelate.

Whereupon John Polomar answered, that this question presupposeth another; whereof there are divers opinions amongst the doctors, in whose power the dominion of the church should be; and, furthermore, whether the actions be in the person of the tutor or proctor, or if they be not in their person, notwithstanding by the constitution of any actor or proctor, (whose exercising of those actions doth give authority unto the actor or proctor,) they be; with other difficulties, whereof it is not needful to speak at this present. But forasmuch as he was urged to say his opinion, he said, that to such as had either leisure or pleasure in disputation, and would argue against him, he would

be contented to give the choice to take which part he would; but his opinion was rather that the dominion of church matters should be in the power of Christ: and the prelates, with the other clergy, are but canonical administrators in manner of tutors; but they have more power and administration than tutors, and by constituting a steward or vicegerent, &c., their constitution being made, the steward or vicegerent hath the same coactive power and exercise of jurisdiction.

Also as touching the fourth article, for the declaration of the first conclusion, it is agreed that these words, "justly gotten," alleged therein, determine all things contained in the same.

Also as touching the second conclusion, whereas the sacred canons and holy doctors speak thus, "The goods of the church, the substance of the church, and the possessions of the church, and divers other opinions there be amongst the doctors, in whose power the rule thereof should be," they do not intend to constrain any man to any of those opinions, neither to exclude any of them, but that every man should have liberty probably to maintain which of them he thinketh best.

Moreover the Bohemians said, that they did believe that the clergy are but administrators of the temporalities of the church, and not lords thereof, according to the manner of speaking of the Scriptures, holy doctors, and canons. Also the Bohemians said, that in all occasions, which shall hereafter rise, they would wholly stand to the determination of the judge, agreed upon in Egra, with one consent. In this manner did the ambassadors make answer unto the Bohemians. At the last, after much communication had to and fro, a concord and unity was concluded and confirmed by setting to their hands. The Bohemians promised to receive the peace and unity of the church, and the declaration of the three articles. This was done A. D. 1438. About the feast of St. Martin, it was afterward agreed, both by the ambassadors of that council and of Bohemia, that whatsoever remained should be determined and agreed upon, first at Ratisbon, afterward at Bruna, in the diocese of Olmutz, then at Alba in Hungary, before the Emperor Sigismund, but the matter could not be ended in any place.

At the last the concord was confirmed by writing with their seals at Ingolavia, a city of Moravia, the fifth day of July, in the presence of the emperor.

Certain petitions, which the Bohemians put up last of all in the sacred council of Basil, A. D. 1438, in the month of November.

"Unto the most reverend fathers in Christ, and our most gracious lords. We, the ambassadors of the kingdom of Bohemia, do most humbly and heartily require you, that for the perpetual preservation of peace and concord, and for the firm preservation of all things contained in the composition, you will vouchsafe of your clemency to give and grant unto us all and singular our requests, hereunder written, with effectual execution of the same.

"First, and above all things, we desire and require you, for the extirpation of divers dissensions and controversies, which will undoubtedly follow amongst our people, under the diversity of the communion, and for the abolishing of infinite evils which we are not able to express as we have conceived them, that you will gently vouchsafe of your goodness and liberality to give, grant, and command, unto our kingdom of Bohemia, and marquidom of Moravia, one uniform order of the communion unto all men, under both kinds, that is to say, unto the archbishop of

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Prague, the bishop of Luthonus, Olmutz, and other prelates of the kingdom and marquisdom, having charge of souls, and to their vicars, and also to their flocks and subjects, and that according to those things which are contained in the bull of the ambassadors, and in the compositions made in the name of the whole council, where it is thus said, 'And all other things shall be done, which shall be meet and necessary for the preservation of the peace and unity.' For this done, by your benefit the whole kingdom shall be comforted above measure, and established in brotherly love; whereby a uniform subjection and obedience shall be perpetually attributed unto the holy church.

"Item, we require and desire, as before, that for the avoiding of all false suspicion and doubtfulness of many, which suppose that the sacred council hath granted the said communion under both kinds unto us but for a time, as neither profitable nor wholesome, but as the libel of divorcement, that you will vouchsafe, according to this chapter alleged in the compositions, 'First they said, that it was not the intent of the sacred council,' &c., wholesomely and speedily to provide for our safety, and with your grant in this behalf, and with the bulls of your letters, to confirm that chapter, together with the other pertaining to the office of your ambassadors.

"Item, we beseech you, as before, that for the confirmation of obedience, and for the discipline of all the clergy, and for the final defence and observation of all things determined and agreed upon, and for the good order in spiritualties, ye will vouchsafe effectually to provide for us a good and lawful pastor, archbishops and bishops, which shall seem unto us most meet and acceptable for our kingdom, to execute those offices and duties.

"Item, We require you, as aforesaid, that your fatherly reverences will vouchsafe, for the defence of the worthy fame of the kingdom and marquisdom, to declare and show our innocency, in that they have communicated, do, and hereafter shall communicate under both kinds; to give out, ordain, and direct the letters of the sacred council, in manner and form most apt and meet for such declaration, unto all princes, as well secular as spiritual, cities and commonalties, according to the compositions, and as the lords the ambassadors are bound unto us to do.

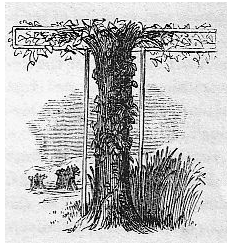
"Item, We desire you, that in the discussing of the matter for the communion under both kinds, and of the commandment thereof given unto all faithful, ye will not proceed otherwise than according to the concordatum agreed upon in Egra; that is to say, according to the law of God, the order of Christ, and his apostles, the general councils, and the minds of the holy doctors, truly grounded upon the law of God.

"Item, We desire that your fatherly reverences, considering the great affection of our people, will give us the desired liberty to communicate unto the younger sort the sacrament of the supper. For if this use of communicating should be taken away, which our kingdom being godly, moved by the writings of most great and holy doctors, and brought in by examples, hath received as catholic, and exercised now a long time; verily it should raise up an intolerable offence amongst the people, and their minds would be grievously vexed and troubled.

"Item, We require you, as before, that for like causes your fatherly reverences would vouchsafe to permit, at the least the Gospels, Epistles, and Creed to be sung and read in the church in our vulgar tongue, before the people, to move them unto devotion; for in our Slavonic language it hath been used of old in the church, and likewise in our kingdom.

"Item, We require you in the name of the said kingdom, and of the famous university of Prague, that your fatherly reverences would vouchsafe to show such diligence and care toward the desired reformation of that university, that, according to the manner and form of other universities reformed by the church, prebends and collations of certain benefices of cathedral and parish churches may be annexed and incorporated unto the said university, that thereby it may be increased and preferred.

"Item, We desire you, as before, as heartily as we may, and also (saving always your fatherly reverences) require you, and by the former compositions we most instantly admonish you, that with your whole minds and endeavours, and with all care and study, your reverences will watch and seek for that long desired and most necessary reformation of the church and Christian religion, and effectually labour for the rooting out of all public evils, as well in the head as in the members, as you have often promised to do in our kingdom, in the compositions, and as our fourth article, touching the avoiding of all public evils, doth exact and require."



here were certain answers provided by the council, to these petitions of the Bohemians, which were not delivered unto them, but kept back, for what purpose and intent we know not. Wherefore, because we thought them not greatly necessary for this place, and also to avoid prolixity, we have judged it meet at this present to omit them. Thus have ye heard compendiously the chief and principal matters treated and done in this famous council of Basil. And here, to conclude withal, we have thought good to declare unto you, for the aid and help of the ignorant people, (which judge many things to be of longer time and continuance than indeed they be, and thereupon have established a great part of their opinions,) how that, toward the latter end of this council, that is to say, in the thirty-seventh session of the same, holden the seventeenth of September, A. D. 1439, the feast of the conception of our Lady was ordained to be holden and celebrated yearly. In like case also in the forty-fourth session of the same council, holden the first day of July, A. D. 1441, it was ordained that the feast of the visitation of our Lady should be celebrated and holden yearly in the month of July. We have also thought it good, before we do end this story, to annex hereunto certain degrees, profitably and wholesomely ordained in the said council, against the inordinate giving of the ecclesiastical benefices and livings by the pope, with certain other constitutions also, fruitful for the behalf and edification of the church.

During the time that the general council at Basil was so diligent and careful about the reformation of the church, this one thing seemed good unto them to be prosecuted and followed with an earnest care and diligence, that through every church apt and meet ministers might be appointed, which might shine in virtue and knowledge, to the glory of Christ and the healthful edifying of the Christian people; whereunto the multitude of expectative graces hath been a great impediment and let, in that they have been found to have brought grievous troubles, divers disorders, and many dangers upon the ecclesiastical state. For hereby oftentimes, scarcely apt or meet ministers have been appointed for the churches, which are neither known nor examined; and this expectation of void benefices (as the old laws do witness) doth give occasion to desire another man's death, which is greatly prejudicial unto salvation; besides that, innumerable quarrels and contentions are moved amongst the servants of God; rancour and malice nourished; the ambition and greedy desire of

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pluralities of benefices maintained; and the riches and substance of kingdoms and provinces marvellously consumed. Poor men suffer innumerable vexations by running unto the court of Rome. They are oftentimes spoiled and robbed by the way, troubled and afflicted with divers plagues; and having spent their patrimony and substance left them by their parents, they are constrained to live in extreme poverty. Many do challenge benefices, which, without any just title, (yea, such indeed as ought not to have them,) obtain and get the same; such, I say, as have most craft and subtlety to deceive their neighbour, or have greatest substance to contend in the law. It happeneth oftentimes that under the intrication of these prerogatives, antelations, and such other as do associate these expectative graces, much craft and deceit is found. Also, oftentimes the ministry is taken away from young men by their ordinary givers, whilst that by the troubles of those contentions, and divers discourses, running to and fro by means of those graces, they are vexed and troubled; the ecclesiastical order is confounded, while every man's authority and jurisdiction is not preserved; and the bishops of Rome also, by challenging and taking upon them too much the office of the inferiors, are withdrawn from more weighty and fruitful matters, neither do they diligently attend to the guiding and correction of the inferiors, as the public utility doth require. All which things do bring a great confusion unto the clergy and ecclesiastical state, to the great prejudice and hinderance of God's true worship, and public salvation.

In the same council also divers other constitutions were made, not unprofitable for reformation, and for removing of certain abuses and disorders brought in, especially by the bishop of Rome, as touching causes not to be brought up and translated to the court of Rome; wherein it was decreed, that no actions nor controversies should be brought from other countries to be pleaded at Rome, which were beyond four days' journey distant from the said court of Rome, a few principal matters only excepted. Also, that no frivolous appeals should be made to the pope hereafter. It was, moreover, in the same council decreed, for the number, age, and condition of the cardinals, that they should not exceed the number of four and twenty, besides them that were already, and that they should be freely taken out of all countries; and that they should not be of kin to the bishop of Rome, or to the cardinals, nor yet blemished with any spot or crime. Also for annats, or first-fruits, or half-fruits, it was there provided that no such annats, or confirmation of elections, or collation of benefices, should be paid or reserved any more to the pope, for the first year's voidance. All which things, there agreed and concluded by them, were afterward confirmed and ratified by the French king, Charles the Seventh, with the full consent of his prelates, in his high court of parliament in Bourges, and there called Pragmatica Sanctio, A. D. 1438, whereupon great utility ensued afterward to the kingdom of France. Albeit, in process of time, divers friars there were which wrote against the same.

Amongst many decrees of the said council of Basil, in the nineteenth session there was also a decree made, touching the converting of Jews and young novices in religion unto the Christian faith.

Also that all ordinaries should yearly, at appointed times, provide certain men well learned in the Holy Scriptures, in such places where Jews and other infidels did dwell, to declare to them the truth of the catholic faith, that they, acknowledging their error, might forsake the same; unto the which preaching the said ministers should compel them to resort, and to hear, under pain of excluding them from occupying any more in that place; provided that the said diocesans and preachers should behave

themselves towards them mercifully and with all charity, whereby they might win them to Christ, not only by the declaring of the verity, but also in exhibiting their offices of humanity.

And to the intent their preaching might be the more fruitful, and that the preachers might be the better instructed in the tongues, it was also in the same council provided and commanded, that the constitution made before in the council of Vienna, for learning the Hebrew, Chaldee, Arabic, and Greek tongues, should by all means be observed and kept, and ordinary stipends provided for them that should teach the same tongues.

Another decree moreover in the twentieth session was enacted, that whosoever was known or publicly noted to be a keeper of concubines, should be sequestered from all fruits of his benefices for the space of three months, which fruits should be converted by the ordinary to the reparations, or some other utility of the church; and if he did not so amend, it was by the synod decreed, that he should be clearly deposed from all his benefices.

Furthermore, the said synod did greatly inveigh against them, which, having the jurisdiction of the church, did not shame to suffer such offenders, for bribes and money, still to continue in their filthiness, &c.

By these decrees of the council above specified, it is to be seen, what corruption had been then frequented in the church of God, through the bishop and court of Rome. For the more express declaration whereof, we thought it not much impertinent here to infer the words of one Martin Meyre, writing to Æneas Sylvius, touching and noting the said corruptions; the tenor of whose epistle here ensueth.

"Unto the reverend father, the Lord Æneas, cardinal of Sienna; Martin Meyre, chancellor to the bishop of Mentz, wisheth health.

"I have understood by certain of my friend's letters, that you are created cardinal. I am glad for your part, that you have received so worthy rewards for your virtues. I rejoice also for mine own part, that my friend hath attained unto such a dignity wherein he may in time to come both help me and my friends: but this is a grief unto me, that you have happened upon those days, which seem to be troublesome unto the apostolic see. For there are many complaints made unto my lord the archbishop upon the pope, that he will neither keep the decrees of the council of Constance, neither of Basil, neither yet thinketh himself bound to the covenants of his predecessors, and seemeth utterly to contemn our nation, and to seek the utter ruin thereof. For it is evident that the election of prelates is every where rejected; benefices and dignities, of what sort soever they be, are reserved for the cardinals and chief notaries; and you yourself have obtained the reservation of three provinces of Germany, under such a form as hath not been accustomed or heard of. Advowsons or gifts of benefices are granted without number; yearly stipends and half the revenues are exacted without delay; and it is evident that there is more extorted than is due. The regiments of churches are not committed unto such as best deserve them, but unto such as offer most money for them, and new pardons are granted out daily to scrape and gather together money. Tithes are commanded to be exacted without the consent of our prelates, for the Turkish war; and those matters which were accustomed to be debated and determined at home, are now carried unto the apostolic see of Rome. A thousand ways are invented and devised, how the see of Rome may, by subtlety and craft, extort and get gold and treasure from us, even as it were of the Turks or

barbarians; whereby our nation, which was sometime famous and valiant, which by their power and blood conquered the Roman empire, and was once the lady and queen of all the world, now being brought unto poverty, is made a handmaid, and become tributary, and, being now in extreme misery, hath of long time bewailed her cruel fortune and poverty. But now our nobles, being (as it were) wakened out of their sleep, hath begun to consider and devise with themselves, by what means they might withstand this calamity, and utterly shake off this yoke and bondage, and have determined with themselves to challenge again their former liberty. This will be no small loss unto the court of Rome, if the princes of Germany bring to pass that which they have devised. Wherefore, as much as I do rejoice of your late obtained dignity, so much also am I moved and grieved that these things happen in your days. But peradventure God's determination is otherwise, and his will shall surely take place. You, in the mean time, be of good cheer, and devise according to your wisdom, by what means the vehemency of these floods may be stayed. Thus fare ye well.

"From Hasthaffenberge, the last day of August."

Concerning the authority of this general council of Basil, what is to be esteemed of it, by the acts and fruits thereof may be understood of all good men. Neither was it of any man doubted in the first beginning, so long as the pope agreed and consented unto it. But after the pope began to draw back, many others followed, especially of the richer sort of prelates which had any thing to lose; whereof sufficiently hath been said by Aretalensis the cardinal before. In the number of those unconstant prelates, besides many others, was, first, Cardinal Julian, the first collector of this council and vicegerent of the pope, as by his fervent and vehement letter, written to Pope Eugenius in defence of this council, may well appear. Wherein he most earnestly doth expostulate with the aforesaid Pope Eugenius, for seeking to dissolve the council, and declareth in the same many causes, why he should rather rejoice, and give God thanks for the godly proceedings and joyful agreement between the council and the Bohemians, and so exhorteth him, with manifold persuasions, to resort to the council himself; and not to seek the dissolution of the same.

In like manner Æneas Sylvius also, with his own hand and writing, not only gave testimony to the authority of this council, but also bestowed his labour and travail in setting forth the whole story thereof. Notwithstanding, the same Sylvius afterward, being made pope, with his new honour did alter and change his old sentence. The Epistle of which Æneas, touching the commendation of the said council, because it is but short, and will occupy but little room, I thought hereunder, for the more satisfying of the reader's mind, to insert.

"To a Christian man which will be a true Christian indeed, nothing ought to be more desired, than that the sincerity and pureness of faith, given to us of Christ by our forefathers, be kept of all men immaculate; and if at any time any thing be wrought or attempted against the true doctrine of the gospel, the people ought with one consent to provide lawful remedy, and every man to bring with him some water to quench the general fire; neither must we fear how we be hated or envied, so we bring the truth. We must resist every man to his face, whether he be Paul or Peter, if he walk not directly by the truth of the Gospel. Which thing I am glad, and so we are all, to hear that your university hath done in this council of Basil. For a certain treatise of yours is brought hither unto us, wherein you reprehend the rudeness, or rather the rashness, of such, which do deny the bishop of Rome, and the consistory of his judgment, to be subject unto the general council; and that the supreme tribunal seat of judgment

standeth in the church, and in no one bishop. Such men as deny this you so confound with lively reasons and truth of the Scriptures, that they are neither able to slide away like slippery eels, neither to cavil or bring any objection against you." These be the words of Sylvius.

Furthermore, as touching the authority and approbation of the aforesaid council, this is to be noted, that during the life of Sigismund the emperor no man resisted this council. Also, continuing the time of Charles the Seventh, the French king, the said council of Basil was fully and wholly received through all France. But after the death of Sigismund, when Eugenius was deposed, and Felix, duke of Savoy, was elected pope, great discords arose, and much practice was wrought, but especially on Eugenius's part; who being now excommunicated by the council of Basil, to make his part more strong, made eighteen new cardinals. Then he sent his orators unto the Germans, labouring by all persuasions to dissolve the council of Basil. The Germans at that time were so divided, that some of them did hold with Felix and the council of Basil; other some, with Eugenius and the council of Ferrara; and some were neuters. After this, the French king being dead, which was Charles the Seventh, about the year of our Lord 1444, the pope beginneth a new practice, after the old guise of Rome, to excite, as is supposed, the Dauphin of France by force of arms to dissipate that council collected against him. Who, leading an army of fifteen thousand men into Alsatia, did cruelly waste and spoil the country; after that, laid siege unto Basil, to expel and drive out the prelates of the council. But the Helvetians, most stoutly meeting their enemies, with a small power did vanquish the Frenchmen, and put them to sword and flight; like as the Lacedemonians with three hundred only did suppress and scatter all the mighty army of Xerxes at Thermopylæ.

Although Basil was by the valiantness of the Helvetians thus defended, yet notwithstanding, the council, through these tumults, could not continue by reason of the princes' ambassadors, which shrunk away and would not tarry. So that at length Eugenius brought to pass, partly through the help of Frederic, being not yet emperor, but labouring for the empire, partly by his orators, in the number of whom was Æneas Sylvius above mentioned amongst the Germans, that they were content to give over both the council of Basil and their neutrality.

This Frederic of Austria, being not yet emperor, but towards the empire, brought also to pass, that Felix, which was chosen of the council of Basil to be pope, was contented to renounce and resign his papacy to Nicholas the Fifth, successor to Eugenius, of the which Nicholas the said Frederic was confirmed at Rome to be emperor, and there crowned, A. D. 1451.

As these things were doing at Basil, in the mean season Pope Eugenius brought to pass in his convocation at Florence, that the emperor and the patriarch of Constantinople, with the rest of the Grecians there present, were persuaded to receive the sentence of the Church of Rome, concerning the proceeding of the Holy Ghost; also to receive the communion in unleavened bread, to admit purgatory, and to yield themselves to the authority of the Romish bishop. Whereunto notwithstanding the other churches of Grecia would in no wise assent at their coming home; insomuch that with a public execration they did condemn afterward all those legates which had consented to these articles, that none of them should be buried in Christian burial; which was A. D. 1439.

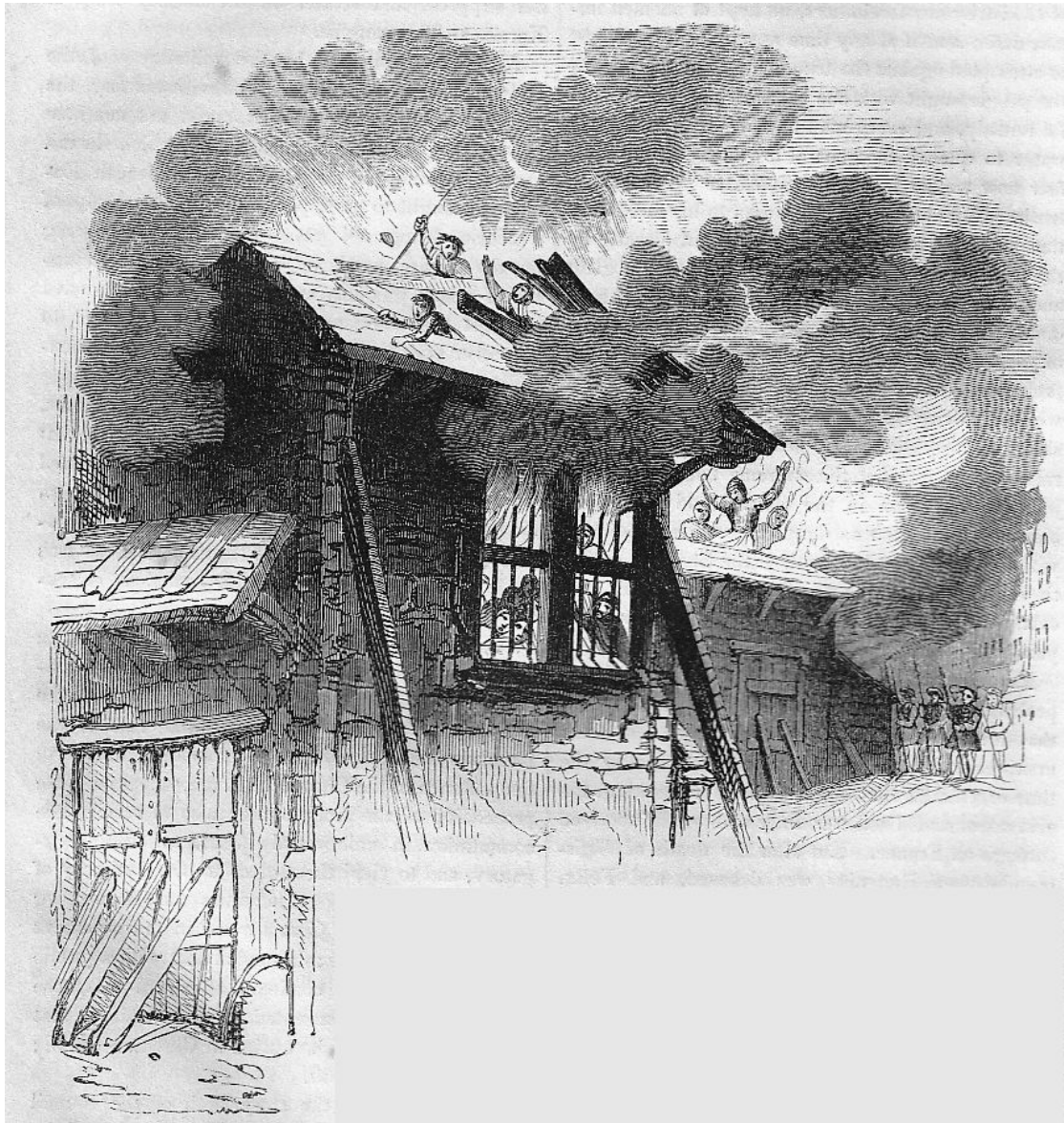
And thus endeth the story, both of the council of Basil, and of the council of Florence, also of the Emperor Sigismund, and of the schism between Pope Eugenius

and Pope Felix, and also of the Bohemians. The which Bohemians, notwithstanding all these troubles and tumults abovesaid, did right well, and were strong enough against all their enemies, till at length, through discord, partly between the two preachers of the old and new city of Prague, partly also through the discord of the messengers and captains taking sides one against the other, they made their enemies strong and enfeebled themselves. Albeit afterward, in process of time, they so defended the cause of their religion, not by sword, but by argument and disputation, that the bishop of Rome could never yet to this day remove the Taborites and city of Prague from the communion of both kinds, nor could ever cause them to keep the conditions, which in the beginning of the council was enjoined their priests to observe, as testifieth Cochleus, lib. 8. Hist. Huss. With whom also recordeth Antoninus, who in 3. part. Hist. saith, That the doctrine of the Bohemians, which he termeth by the name of Zizania, did take so deep root with them, and grew so fast, that afterward neither by fire nor sword it could be extinct.

Concerning the which Bohemians, briefly and in a general sum to recapitulate their whole acts and doings, here is to be noted, that they, in their own defence, and in the quarrel of John Huss and Jerome of Prague, provoked by their catholic adversaries to war, fighting under Zisca their captain, had eleven battles with the pope's side, and ever went away victors. Moreover in the history of Fencer it is testified, that Pope Martin the Fifth, sending for the bishop of Winchester, then cardinal, had levied three main armies, intending to overrun all the Bohemians; one army of the Saxons under the prince elector; the second of the Francones, under the marquis of Brandenburg; the third of Rhenates, Bavarians and Switzers, under Octo archbishop of Treves. With these, Sigismund also the emperor, and Cardinal Julian the pope's legate, (who at last was slain in war, and being spoiled of all his attire, was left naked in the field) joined all their force. These joining together five times (saith the story) with five sundry battles, assailed and invaded the Bohemians; at every which battle, five times the said adversaries, stricken and daunted with a sudden fear, ran away out of the field, leaving their tents with all their implements and furniture behind them, before any stroke was given, whereby it may appear that the holy angels of God do fight for them which embrace the sincere doctrine of Christ's gospel.

Thus the Bohemians, through the mighty protection of Almighty God, continued a long time invincible, during all the life of Zisca, and also of Procopius, till at length, through discord growing between them and their captains, Procopius and Mainardus, they were subdued unto their enemies.

And here by the way is not to be omitted the wicked and cruel fact of Mainardus, who, after the death of Procopius, thinking to purge the realm of Bohemia of those chief and principal soldiers, which had been long expert and trained up in wars, found means for a proclamation made, as though he would war against other countries of their enemies bordering about them, craftily to train all them which were disposed to take wages, into certain barns or hovels prepared for the same purpose, and so shutting the doors upon them, the wicked dissembler set fire upon them, and burnt of them divers thousands, and so brought the rest by that means under subjection to the emperor during his lifetime; which after that continued not long. The which soldiers, if they had fought so much for the catholic liberties of the pope and his church, as they had fought against him, it is marvel if the pope had not dignified them all for holy martyrs. But they that kill with the sword (saith Christ) shall perish with the sword. Notwithstanding, the cruel deceit of Mainardus is worthy of all men to be detested.



The burning of the Hussite Soldiers

116. Events in England 1431-1450

During this business among the bishops beyond the sea, in the mean time our bishops here also in England were not unoccupied. Whether it be the nature of the country that so giveth, or whether the great livings and wealthy promotions of the clergy do draw with them a more insensible untowardness in God's religion, hard it is to say; this is manifest to all them which will read and mark our stories from time to time, that in England is more burning and slaying for religion and for all other matters, more bloodshed among us, than in any other land or nation in Christendom besides. After the burning of Richard Hoveden, and Nicholas Canon, and of Thomas Bagley, priest, above recorded, whom the bishops condemned to death, A. D. 1431, not long after, about the year of our Lord 1439, which was the eighteenth of the reign of King Henry the Sixth, they had another poor man by the back, named Richard Wiche, priest, mentioned both in Robert Fabian, and also in another old English Chronicle borrowed of one Permyngier. What his opinions were they do not express. This they record, that this Richard Wiche first was degraded, then burned at the Tower-hill for heresy. Some do affirm, that he before his death revolted; but that seemeth by his burning not to be true.

It is also testified of him, that before his death he spake, (as prophesying,) that the postern of the Tower should sink; which also afterward came, as he saith, to pass; wherefore, of many of the people he was counted for a holy man; insomuch that (as it is affirmed) they came to the place where he was burnt, and there made their oblations and prayers, and reared a great heap of stones, and set up a cross there by night; so that by this means a great clamour ran upon the churchmen, and especially upon such as put him to death. Then, to cease the rumour, the king gave commandment to punish such as went thither on pilgrimage. The copy whereof is here to be seen as followeth.

"Rex vicecomitibus London. et Midd. salutem. Albeit Richard Wiche, late clerk, who heretofore long sithence heretically did hold, teach, and publicly preach certain heresies and erroneous opinions in many places within our realm of England, and for the same many years now past being judicially convicted, did before a judge in that behalf sufficiently abjure all heresy generally, and afterward, as a dog returning to his vomit, did presume to maintain, teach, and publicly preach his former errors and heresies, so that he was worthily adjudged a relapse. And again, being impeached for the same before the reverend father in God, Robert, bishop of London, his lawful ordinary, was called forth to judgment, and being before him, did judicially confess his errors and heresies; for the which cause the said reverend father, upon mature deliberation by him the said reverend father first had, with the advice of the learned in the law, his assistants, lawfully proceeding against the said Richard, did by his sentence definitive pronounce and adjudge him to be a relapse, and did degrade him from the order and dignity of priesthood, and took from him all priestly ornaments, and deprived him of all priestly function and privilege, (according to justice,) and last of all turned him over to the secular power as the manner is; and afterwards you, by our princely commandment and warrant, did, according to the law of our realm, for his last punishment, consume the body of the said Richard to ashes, being a relapse convict, and degraded as a notorious traitor, not only against God, but also against us,

and our crown and dignity; all which notwithstanding, certain our subjects, (as we have been sundry times informed,) being pricked forward with a diabolical spirit, practising of all likelihood not only sedition, but also idolatry within our realm, are not afraid publicly to affirm, that the said Richard was altogether innocent of heretical pravity. Nay, rather, they do most shamefully with their vain devices, and wickedly conceived imaginations, blaze abroad, that he was, and died, a good, just, and a holy man, and that he doth many miracles (whereas, indeed, no such miracles be done by him). Which disorderly persons we may well, and upon probable causes, repute and deem culpable not only of heretical pravity, but also of high treason, and as rebels to our person, majesty, and violaters of the peace and dignity of our realm, as withal breakers and trespassers against the sacred canons of the church, who dare so presumptuously adventure to worship the said Richard as a saint, whereas it is not lawful to worship any manner of person, be he never so holy, before he be canonized by the authority of the bishop of Rome. We, therefore, being very careful for the good preservation of our peace, and desirous to abolish from out all the coasts of the same all manner of idolatry, do charge and command you, that in certain places within your liberties, where you shall think most convenient, you cause forthwith proclamations to be made on our behalf, straitly charging, that no person from henceforth presume to resort to the place where the said Richard was executed under colour of a pilgrim, or for any other cause of devotion whatsoever, nor send any offering thither, nor worship him hereafter openly or secretly, or adjudge, esteem, repute, name, or talk of him as otherwise justified or innocent, than such as the said reverend father by his definitive sentence hath pronounced him to be, upon pain and penalty to be taken and reputed for a heretic, or a favourer of heretics, and to receive condign punishment provided for heretics. And that you arrest all and every person whom ye shall find to do any thing contrary to this our proclamation, and the same so arrested commit to our prison, there to remain until we shall think good to send countermand for their deliverance. Witness the king at his manor of Easthampsted, the fifteenth day of July, in the eighteenth year of his reign."

Like writs, and to the same effect, were directed to all the sheriffs through all the realm, bearing all one and the same date. By the virtue of which letter, the mayor and sheriffs did use such diligence, that shortly after that concourse and seeking of the people was left off.

After the burning of this man, which was about the month of June, in the same year, about November, a convocation was called by Hemy, archbishop of Canterbury, wherein was propounded among the clergy, to consult with themselves what way were best to be taken for the removing away the law of *Præmuniri facias*; for so were the hearts then of the temporally set against the ecclesiastical sort, that where any advantage might be given them by the law, they did nothing spare; by reason whereof the churchmen at that time were greatly molested by the said law of *Præmuniri*, and by the king's writs, and other indictments, to their no small annoyance. By long consultation and good advisement, at last this way was taken, that a petition or supplication should be drawn and presented to the king, for the abolishing of the aforesaid law of *Præmuniri facias*, and also for the restraining of other briefs, writs, and indictments, which seemed then to lie heavy upon the clergy. This bill or supplication being contrived and exhibited, by the archbishop of Canterbury and of York, unto the king standing in need the same time of a subsidy to be collected of the clergy; this answer was given to their supplication on the king's behalf: That forasmuch as the time of Christmas then drew near, whereby he had as yet no

sufficient leisure to advise upon the matter, he would take therein a further pause. In the mean time, as one tendering their quiet, he would send to all his officers and ministers within his realm, that no such brief of Præmuniri should pass against them, or any of them, from the said time of Christmas, till the next parliament, A. D. 1439.

In my former edition of Acts and Monuments, so hastily rushed up at that present, in such shortness of time, as in the said book thou mayest see (gentle reader) declared and signified; among many other matters therein contained, there is a short note made of one Eleanor Cobham, duchess of Gloucester, and of Sir Roger Onley, knight, (priest, it should have been printed,) which two persons, about the year of our Lord 1440, or the next year following, were condemned, the one to death, the other to perpetual prison. Of this little short matter, Master Cope, the pope's scout, lying in privy wait to spy faults in all men's works wheresoever any may appear, taketh pepper in the nose, and falleth again unto this old barking against me, for placing these fore-said persons in my Book of Martyrs; but especially he thinketh to have great advantage against me, for that in the same story I do join withal one Margaret Jourdeman, the witch of Eye, condemned also with them the same time, and burned for practising the king's death by an image of wax, &c. To answer hereunto, first, I say (as I before said) that I profess no such title to write of martyrs, but in general to write of acts and monuments passed in the church and realm of England. Wherein, why should I be restrained from the free walk of a story writer, more than other that have gone before me?

Secondly, touching my commendation of Sir Roger Onley and the Lady Eleanor, if Master Alane he therewith offended, I answer, that I commended them for savouring and favouring of the truth of Christ's doctrine; for the fact, if any such were in them, I do not commend them. And although I did commend them, yet neither did I it with any long tarrying upon it, nor yet altogether upon mine own head, without some sufficient warrant of authority. For why may not I as well believe John Bale, as Master Alane believe Master Fabian? Especially seeing I do know, and was privy, that the said John, in recognising his centuries, followed altogether the history of Leland de Catalogo Virorum Illustrium; which book, being borrowed of Master Cheeke, I myself did see in the hands of the aforesaid John Bale, what time we were both together, dwelling in the house of the noble lady, duchess of Richmond. Wherefore if he think me so lewd to speak without mine authors, he is deceived. And if he think mine authors not to be believed, then let this jolly dictator come forth and prescribe us a law, what authors he would have us to take, and what to refuse. For else why is it not as free for me to credit John Bale and Leland, as for him to credit Robert Fabian and Edward Hall; especially seeing they had seen his books and works left behind him, whereupon they might better judge, and so did never these?

Thirdly, for the name of Roger Onley, if Cope deny that there was any such name in stories mentioned, but that there was one called Roger Bolingbroke, &c., hereby it may appear, that either his prompter out of England deceived him, or else that he, going no further but to Fabian and Hall, lacketh no good will in him, but only a little matter to make a perfect sycophant. And admit the said name of Onley could not be found in those writers, yet were it not impossible for a man to have two names, especially if he were a religious man, to bear the name of the town where he was born, beside his own proper surname. But now what if I, Master Cope, can avouch and bring forth to you the name of Roger Onley out of sufficient record, which you seem not to have yet read? Have ye not then done well and properly, think you, so bitterly to fly in my face, and to bark so eagerly all this while at moon-shine in the water,

having no more cause almost against me, than against the man in the moon? And now, lest you should think me so unprovided of unjust authority for my defence, as I see you unprovided of modesty and patience; write you to your prompter or suborner, wheresoever he lurketh here in England, to send you over unto Louvain the book of John Harding, a chronicler, more ancient than either Fabian or Hall, printed in the house of Richard Grafton, A. D. 1513, where turn to the fol. 223. fac. b. lin. 19, and there shall you find and read these words:

"Again, the church and the king cursedly,
By help of one Master Roger Onley," &c.

By the which words ye must necessarily confess Roger Onley to be the name of the man, or else must ye needs deny the author. For otherwise, that Master Roger Bolingbroke was the only helper to the duchess in that fact, by no wise it can stand with the story of these authors, which say, that four other besides him were condemned for the same crime, &c. And moreover, though the said Sir Roger Onley was no knight, (as I have said in my former edition,) yet this ye cannot deny, by the testimony of them that have seen his works, but that he was a priest, which you will grant to be a knight's fellow. And thus much for the name and condition of Master Roger Onley.

Fourthly, as concerning Margaret Jourdeman, whom ye call the witch of Eye, ye offer me herein great wrong, to say, that I make here a martyr which was a witch; whereas I here profess, confess, and ascertain both you and all Englishmen, both present, and all posterity hereafter to come, that this Margaret Jourdeman I never spake of, never thought of, never dreamed of, nor did ever hear of, before you named her in your book yourself. So far is it off, that I, either with my will, or against my will, made any martyr of her.

Furthermore, I profess and denounce in like manner, that neither have you any just or congruous occasion in my book so to judge, much less to rail on me. For where, in express words, I do speak of the mother of the Lady Young, what occasion have you thereby to slander me and my book with Margaret Jourdeman? Which Margaret, whether she was a witch or not, I leave her to the Lord. As for me, neither did I know of her then, nor did I mean of her now. But because I couple her in the same story, you say. To this I say, Because she was the mother of a lady, I thought to join her with another lady in the same story, as in one pew together, although in one cause I will not say. And yet, notwithstanding, I do so couple the said mother with the duchess, in such distinct difference of years, that you, Master Cope, might easily have understood, or beside you no man else would have thought the contrary, but that Margaret Jourdeman was neither here in my book, nor yet in my *memento*. For the words of my story are plain, where the condemnation of the Lady Eleanor, and of the mother of Lady Young, being referred to the year of our Lord 1441, I do also, in the same story, (through the occasion of that lady,) infer mention of the mother of the Lady Young, declaring in express words, that she followed certain years after, and in the end of that chapter do name also the year of her burning to be 1490, which was fifty years after the death of Onley, and Margaret Jourdeman; by the computation of which years, it is plain, that no other woman could be noted in that place, but only the Lady Young's mother.

But Master Cope, continuing still in his wrangling mood, objecteth again, for that in my calendar the said Lady Young's mother hath the next day in the catalogue next after the death of Roger Onley, which day pertaineth properly to Margaret

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Jourdeman, which was burned the same day in Smithfield, and not to the lady's mother, &c.

What order was taken in placing the names and days, what is that to me? If he which had the disposing of the catalogue, did place them so in months, as he saw them joined in chapters, not perusing, peradventure, nor advising the chapters, that doth nothing prejudice the truth of my story, which sufficiently doth clear itself in distinguishing them rightly in names and also in years, as is before declared.

Fifthly and lastly, having thus sufficiently answered to your circumstances of persons, names, and times, Master Cope, I will now enter to encounter with you concerning the fact and crime objected to the lady duchess, and to the rest; with this protestation before premised unto the reader, that if the fact be true, and so done as is reported in the histories of Fabian, Hall, and Harding, I desire the reader then so to take me, as though I did not deal here withal, nor speak of the matter, but utterly to have pretermitted, and dispunged the same. But, forasmuch as the deed and offence laid and given forth against these parties, may be a matter made, and of evil will compacted, rather than true indeed; therefore I do but only move a question by way of history, not as defending, nor commending, nor commemorating the thing, if it be true, but only moving the question, whether it is to be judged true, or suspected rather to be false and forged; and so having briefly propounded certain conjectural suspicions or supposals concerning that matter, I will pass it over, neither meddling on the one side nor on the other.

The first conjecture, why it may be possible that this act of treason, laid to the charge of the duchess and Roger Onley, against the king, may be untrue, is this; That the said Onley (otherwise named Bolingbroke) took it upon his death, that they never intended any such thing as they were condemned for.

The second conjecture; For that the Lady Eleanor and Onley seemed then to favour and savour of that religion set forth by Wickliff; and therefore it is like enough that they were hated of the clergy. Furthermore, what hatred and practices of papists can do, it is not unknown.

The third conjecture; For that the said Master Roger Onley, falsely noted and accused of necromancy, wrote a book in purgation of himself, entitled, *De Innocentia Sua*. Also another book, entitled, *Contra Vulgi Superstitiones*. Whereupon it is not credible, that he which wrote professedly against the superstitions of the people, was overtaken with that filth of necromancy himself.

The fourth conjecture; Because this accusation against the duchess of Gloucester, Duke Humphrey's wife, began not before, but after the grudge kindled between the cardinal of Winchester and Duke Humphrey her husband.

Another conjecture may be hereof, For that if the duchess had intended any such heinous treason against the king's life, as by burning of a wax candle to consume him, it is not like (neither was there any such need) that she would have made so many privy to such a pernicious counsel, as the witch of Eye, Master Roger Bolingbroke, Master Thomas Southwell, and John Hume.

Sixthly, It is not to be supposed, if any such high treason had been wrought or pretended against the king's person by these, that either the duchess should so escape with bearing a taper and banishment; or that John Hume should be pardoned his life; the fact being so heinous, that neither any durst ask this pardon, nor if it had been asked, had it been like to be granted.

To these we may also add another supposal, rising upon the words and form of their accusation, as it standeth in Harding, Polychronicon, and other more, wherein they were accused for working sorcery and enchantments against the church and the king. Now what sorcery can be wrought against the church, that is, the whole multitude of Christians, let the reader judge; and by the truth of this, consider also the truth of the other, which was against the king. Furthermore, if by this church is meant the cardinal of Winchester, as like it is; then it may be conjectured, that all this matter rose of that cardinal, who was then a mortal enemy to the house of Gloucester, &c.

Eighthly, And that all this was done and wrought by the said cardinal of Winchester, the witch of Eye maketh the matter the more suspicious, seeing that town of Eye, as Fabian witnesseth, was near beside Winchester, and see of that bishop.

Moreover, forasmuch as Polydore Virgil, among other story authors, being a man, as may be supposed, rather favouring the cardinal's part than the duke's, made no mention at all touching this treason, his silence therefore may minister matter not only to muse, but also to conjecture, that he had found something which made him to mistrust the matter. Otherwise it is unlike that he would have so mewed up the matter, and passed it over without some mention.

Finally, and briefly, The frequent practices and examples of other times may make this also more doubtful, considering how many subtle pretences after the like sort have been sought, and wrongful accusations brought against many innocent persons. For (not to repeat the like forgeries against the Lord Cobham, and Sir Roger Acton, &c.) why may not this accusation of the duchess and Onley be as false, as that, in the time of King Edward the Fifth, which was laid to the charge of the queen and Shore's wife by the protector, for enchanting and bewitching of his withered arm? Which to be false, all the world doth know, and but a quarrel made only to oppress the life of the Lord Hastings, and the Lord Stanley, &c.

Although these, with many more conjectures, may be alleged in some part of defence of this duchess, and of her chaplains and priests, yet because it may not be impossible, again, the matter laid against them to be true, I leave it therefore at large as I find it, saying as I said before, that if it be true which the stories say in this matter, think, I beseech thee, gentle reader, that I have said nothing hereof. Only, because the matter may be disputable, and not impossible to be false, I have but moved thereof a question, and brought my conjectures, leaving the determination and judgment hereof to thy indifferent and free arbitrement. And if Master Cope be so highly offended with me, because in my first edition of Acts and Monuments I durst name the Lady Eleanor Cobham, and Roger Onley; let him take this for a short answer, because my leisure serveth not to make long brawls with him, that if I had thought no imperfections to have passed in my former edition before, I would never have taken in hand the recognition thereof now the second time, whereby to sponge away such moles as I thought would seem great stumbling-blocks in such men's walks, which walk with no charity to edify, but with malice to carp and reprehend, neither admonishing what they see amiss in others, neither tarrying while other men reform themselves, and finally, finding quarrels where no great cause is justly given. And here an end with Master Cope for this time.

Forasmuch as in the process before, mention was touched concerning the grudge between the cardinal, called the rich cardinal of Winchester, and the good Duke Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, the king's uncle and protector of the realm, order of story now requireth to open some part of that matter more at large. Wherein



Winchester

this first is to be understood, that long before great flames of grudge and discord did burst out between these two. For as the noble heart of the duke could not abide the proud doings of the cardinal, so much again the cardinal in like manner sore envied and disdained at the rule of the duke of Gloucester. Notwithstanding that, by the means of the duke of Bedford, the bursting out between them was before appeased and cured; yet not so, but that under imperfect amity, privy hatred, as sparkles under the embers, did still remain; so that the cardinal, joining with the archbishop of York, attempted many things of their own presumption, contrary to the consent, not only of the king, (being then under age,) but also of the protector and governor of the realm. Wherewith the duke (like a true-hearted prince) being not without just cause offended, declared in writing to the king, certain complaints contained in twenty-one articles, wherein the cardinal and archbishop had transgressed both against the king and his laws. The tenor whereof more at large is in other stories expressed, the brief abstract thereof followeth in a short summary here to be seen.

"1. Complained to his sovereign prince his right redoubted lord Duke Humphrey, his uncle and protector of the realm, that the bishop of Winchester, in the days of his father, King Henry the Fifth, took upon him the state of a cardinal, being denied by the king, saying, that he had as lief set his own crown beside him, as to see him wear a cardinal's hat; and that in parliaments, he, not being contented with the place of a bishop among the spiritual persons, presumed above his order; which the said duke desired to be redressed.

"2. Item, Whereas he, being made a cardinal, was voided of his bishopric of Winchester, he procured from Rome the pope's bull, unknowing to the king, whereby he took again his bishopric, contrary to the common law of this realm, incurring thereby the case of provision, and forfeiting all his goods to the king, by the law of *Præmuniri facias*.

"3. Item, He complained, that the said cardinal, with the archbishop of York, intruded themselves to have the governance of the king, and the doing under the king of temporal matters, excluding the king's uncle, and other temporal lords of the king's kin, from having knowledge of any great matter.

"4. Item, Whereas the king had borrowed of the cardinal four thousand pounds, upon certain jewels, and afterward had his money ready at the day to quit his jewels; the cardinal caused the treasurer to convert that money to the payment of another army, to keep the jewels still to his own use and gain.

"5. Item, He being then bishop of Winchester, and chancellor of England, delivered the king of Scots upon his own authority, contrary to the act of parliament, wedding his niece afterward to the said king. Also, where the said king of Scots should have paid to the king forty thousand pounds, the cardinal procured ten thousand marks thereof to be remitted, and yet the rest very slenderly paid.

"6. Item, The said cardinal, for lending notable sums to the king, had the profit of the port of Hampton, where he, setting his servants to be the customers, wool and other merchandise was, under that cloak, exported, not so much to his singular advantage, being the chief merchant, as to the great prejudice of the king, and detriment to his subjects.

"7. Item, The cardinal, in lending out great sums to the king, yet so deferred and delayed the loan thereof, that coming out of season the same did the king little pleasure, but rather hinclerance.

"8. Item, Where jewels and plate were prized at eleven thousand pounds in weight of the said cardinal forfeited to the king, the cardinal, for loan of a little piece, gat him a restorement thereof, to the king's great damage, who better might have spared the commons, if the sum had remained to him clear.

"9. Item, Where the king's father had given Elizabeth Beauchampe three hundred marks of livelihood, with this condition, if she wedded within a year; the cardinal, notwithstanding she was married two or three years after, yet gave her the same, to the king's great hurt, and diminishing of his inheritance.

"10. Item, The cardinal, having no authority nor interest in the crown, presumed, notwithstanding, to call before him like a king, to the king's high derogation.

"11. Item, That the cardinal sued a pardon from Rome, to be freed from all dismes due to the king, by the church of Winchester, giving thereby example to the

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clergy, to withdraw their dismes likewise, and lay all the charge only upon the temporalty and poor commons.

"12, 13. Item, By the procuring of the said cardinal and archbishop of York, great goods of the king's were lost and dispended upon needless embassies, first to Arras, then to Calais.

"14. Item, It was laid to the charge of the said cardinal and archbishop, that by their means, going to Calais, the two enemies of the king, the duke of Orleans and duke of Burgundy, were deduced together in accord and alliance; who, being at war before between themselves, and now confederated together again, joined both together against the king's towns and countries over the sea, to the great danger of Normandy and destruction of the king's people.

"15. Item, by the archbishop of York, and the cardinal, persuasions were moved openly in the king's presence, with allurements and inducements, that the king should leave his right, his title, and honour of his crown, in nominating him king of France, during certain years, and that he should utterly abstain, and be content only in writing with *Rex Angliæ*, to the great note and infamy of the king, and all his progenitors.

"16, 17. Item, Through the sleight and subtlety of the said cardinal and his mate, a new convention was intended between the king and certain adversaries of France; also the deliverance of the duke of Orleans was appointed in such sort, as thereby great dishonour and inconvenience was like to fall, rather of the king's side, than of the other.

"18. Item, That the cardinal had purchased great lands and livelihoods of the king, the duke being on the other side the sea, occupied in wars, which redounded little to the worship and profit of the king, and moreover he had the king bound to make him as sure estate of all those lands by Easter next, as could be devised by any learned counsel, or else the said cardinal to have and enjoy to him and his heirs for ever, the lands of the duchy of Lancaster in Norfolk to the value of seven or eight hundred marks by the year.

"19. Item, Where the duke, the king's uncle, had often offered his service for the defence of the realm of France, and the duchy of Normandy, the cardinal ever laboured to the contrary, in preferring other, after his singular affection, whereby a great part of Normandy hath been lost.

"20. Item, Seeing the cardinal was risen to such riches and treasure, which could grow to him, neither by his church, nor by inheritance, which he then had, it was of necessity to be thought, that it came by his great deceits, in deceiving both the king and his subjects, in selling offices, preferments, livelihoods, captainships, both here and in the realm of France, and in Normandy; so that what hath been there lost, he hath been the greatest causer thereof.

"21. Furthermore, when the said cardinal had forfeited all his goods by the statute of provision, he having the rule of the king, and of other matters of the realm, purchased from the pope a charter of pardon, not only to the defeating of the laws of the realm, but also to the defrauding of the king, who otherwise might and should have had wherewith to sustain his wars, without any tallage of his poor people," &c.

When the king heard these accusations, he committed the hearing thereof to his council, whereof the most part were spiritual persons. So, what for fear, and what

for favour, the matter was winked at, and dallied out, and nothing said thereunto, and a fair countenance was made to the duke, as though no displeasure had been taken, nor malice borne in these spiritual stomachs. But shortly after, the smoke hereof, not able to keep in any longer within the spiritual breasts of these charitable churchmen, burst out in flames of mischief. For upon the neck of this matter, as witnesseth Fabian, Polychronicon, and Hall, which followeth Polychronicon, first ensued the condemnation of Lady Eleanor, the duchess, and her chaplains, as ye have heard before. Whereby it may appear, the said duchess, more of malice than of any just cause, thus to have been troubled. Also within six years after followed the lamentable destruction of the duke himself, as hereafter more is to be declared.

About which time, or not long after, A. D. 1443, the steeple of Paul's was set on fire by lightning, and at last by diligent labour of helpers the fire was quenched.

And after the condemnation of Lady Eleanor, the duchess aforesaid, within few years, A. D. 1445, followed the death of Henry Chichesley, archbishop of Canterbury, by whom she was condemned in St. Stephen's chapel at Westminster, for penance, to bear a taper through Cheapside three sundry times, and afterward outlawed to the Isle of Man, under the custody of Sir John Stanley, knight. This Henry Chichesley builded in his time two colleges in the university of Oxford, the one called All-souls' College, the other named Barnard College.

Proceeding now to the year, wherein suffered Humphrey that good duke of Gloucester, which was the year of our Lord 1447, first we will begin in few words to treat of his life and conversation; then of the manner and cause of his death. As touching the offspring and descent of this duke, first, he was the son of Henry the Fourth, brother to King Henry the Fifth, and uncle to King Henry the Sixth, assigned to be the governor and protector of his person. Of manners he seemed meek and gentle, loving the commonwealth, a supporter of the poor commons, of wit and wisdom discreet and studious, well affected to religion, and a friend to verity, and no less enemy to pride and ambition, especially in haughty prelates, which was his undoing in this present evil world. And, which is seldom and rare in such princes of that calling, he was both learned himself, and no less given to study, and also a singular favourer and patron to them which were studious and learned.

Furthermore, as the learning of this prince was rare and memorable, so was the discreet wisdom and singular prudence in him no less to be considered; as for the more manifest proof thereof I thought here good, amongst many other .his godly doings, to recite one example, reported as well by the pen of Sir Thomas Moore, as also by Master William Tindall, the true apostle of these our latter days, to the intent to see and note, not only the crafty working of false miracles in the clergy, but also that the prudent discretion of this high and mighty prince, the aforesaid Duke Humphrey, may give us the better to understand what man he was. The story lieth thus:

In the young days of this King Henry the Sixth, being yet under the governance of this Duke Humphrey his protector, there came to St. Alban's a certain beggar with his wife, and there was walking about the town begging, five or six days before the king's coming thither, saying, that he was born blind, and never saw in his life, and was warned in his dream, that he should come out of Berwick, where he said he had ever dwelled, to seek St. Alban, and that he had been at his shrine, and had not been holpen, and therefore he would go and seek him at some other place; for he had heard some say, since he came, that St. Alban's body should be at Cologne, and

indeed such a contention hath there been. But of truth, as I am surely informed, he lieth here, at St. Alban's, saving some relics of him which they there show shrined. But to tell you forth my tale, when the king was come, and the town full, suddenly this blind man at St. Alban's shrine had his sight again, and a miracle solemnly rung, and *Te Deum* sung, so that nothing was talked of in all the town, but this miracle. So happened it then, that Duke Humphrey of Gloucester, a man also no less wise than well learned, having great joy to see such a miracle, called the poor man unto him; and first showing himself joyous of God's glory so showed in the getting of his sight, and exhorting him to meekness, and to no ascribing of any part of the worship to himself, nor to be proud of the people's praise, which would call him a good and godly man thereby; at last, he looked well upon his eyes, and asked whether he could see nothing at all in all his life before. And when as well his wife as himself affirmed falsely, No, then he looked advisedly upon his eyes again, and said, I believe you very well, for methinketh ye cannot see well yet. Yea, sir, quoth he, I thank God and his holy martyr, I can see now as well as any man. You can, quoth the duke, what colour is my gown? Then anon the beggar told him. What colour, quoth he, is this man's gown? He told him also, and so forth, without any sticking, he told him the names of all the colours that could be showed him. And when the duke saw that, he bade him walk traitor, and made him to be set openly in the stocks; for though he could have seen suddenly by miracle the difference between divers colours, yet could he not by the sight so suddenly tell the names of all these colours, except he had known them before, no more than the names of all the men that he should suddenly see.

By this may it be seen how Duke Humphrey had not only a head to discern and dissever truth from forged and feigned hypocrisy, but study also and diligence likewise was in him to reform that which was amiss.

And thus much hitherto for the noble prowess and virtues, joined with the like ornaments of knowledge and literature, shining in this princely duke; for the which as he was both loved of the poor commons, and well spoken of of all men, and no less deserving the same, being called the good duke of Gloucester; so neither yet wanted he his enemies and privy enviers, whether it was through the fatal and unfortunate luck of the name of that house, which is but a vain and frivolous observation of Polydore and Hall which followeth him, bringing in the examples of Hugh Spenser, of Thomas of Woodstock, son of King Edward the Third, of this Duke Humphrey, and after of King Richard the Third, duke likewise of Gloucester; or whether it was that the nature of true virtue commonly is such, that as the flame ever beareth his smoke, and the body his shadow, so the brightness of virtue never blazeth, but hath some disdain or envy waiting upon it; or else, whether it was rather for some divorcement from his wife, or for some other vice or trespass done, as seemeth most like truth, which God as well in dukes' houses correcteth, as in other inferior persons, especially where he loveth. But howsoever the cause is to us unknown, this good duke of Gloucester, albeit being both the king's sole uncle, and having so many well-willers through the whole realm, yet lacked not his Satan, lacked not his secret maligners. Of whom specially was Henry Beaufort, cardinal, bishop of Winchester, and chancellor of England; who, of long time disdaining and envying the rule and authority of this duke, first had disposed and appointed himself to remove the king's person from Eltham unto Windsor, out of the duke's hands, and there to put in such governors as him listed. After that, intending the duke's death, he set men of arms and archers at the end of London bridge, and fore-barring the highway with a draw-chain, set men in chambers, cellars, and windows with bows and arrows, and other weapons, to the

purposed destruction both of the duke and his retinue, if God had not so disposed to turn his journey another way. Besides other manifold injuries and molestations, the ambitious cardinal, seeking by all means to be pope, procured such trouble against him, that great division was thereby in the whole realm; insomuch that all the shops within the city of London were shut in, for fear of the favourers of these two great personages; for each part had assembled no small number of people. For the pacifying whereof, the archbishop of Canterbury, and the duke of Quember, called the prince of Portugal, rode seven times in one day between those two adversaries. Such were then the troubles of this tumultuous division within the realm, and all by the excitation of this unquiet cardinal.

Over and beside this cardinal aforementioned, another capital enemy to the said duke was William de la Pole, first earl, then marquis, at last duke, of Suffolk, a man very ill reported of in stories, to be not only the organ and instrument of this good man's death, but also to be the annoyance of the commonwealth, and ruin of the realm. For by him, and his only device, was first concluded the unprofitable and unhonourable marriage between the king and Lady Margaret, daughter of the duke of Anjou; whereas the king had concluded and contracted a marriage before with the daughter of the earl of Arminik, upon conditions so much more profitable and honourable, as more convenient it is for a prince to marry a wife with riches and friends, than to take a maid with nothing, and disinherit himself and his realm of old rights and ancient inheritance; which so came to pass. And all this the good duke did well foresee, and declared no less; but his counsel would not be taken. Whereupon followed, first the giving away the duchy of Anjou, and the city of Maine, with the whole country of Maine, to Reiner duke of Anjou and father of the damsel, called then king of Sicily and of Jerusalem, having thereof no penny profit, but only a vain name to play withal.

Another sore enemy and mortal plague to this duke was the queen herself, lately before married to the king. Who being of haughty stomach, and all set upon glory, of wit and wiliness lacking nothing, and perceiving her husband to be simple of wit, and easy to be ruled, took upon her to rule and govern both the king and kingdom. And because the advice and counsel of Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, was somewhat a stay, that her authority and regiment could not so fully proceed, and partly because the said duke before did disagree from that marriage, this manly woman and courageous queen ceased not by all imaginations and practices possible to set forward his destruction, having also for her helper herein the duke of Buckingham, &c.

These being his principal enemies and mortal foes, fearing lest some commotion might arise, if such a prince, so near the king's blood, and so dear to the people, and of all men so beloved, should be openly executed and put to death, they devised how to trap him, and circumvent him unknowing and unprovided. For the more speedy furtherance whereof a parliament was summoned to be kept at Bury, A. D. 1447, far from the citizens of London, as William Tindall in his Book of Practice writeth, where resorted all the peers of the realm, and amongst them the duke of Gloucester, thinking no harm to any man, and less to himself. Who on the second day of the session was by the Lord Beaumont, high constable then of England, accompanied with the duke of Buckingham and other, arrested, apprehended, and put inward, and upon the same, all his servants discharged and put from him, of whom thirty-two of the principal, being also under arrest, were dispersed into divers prisons, to the great murmuring and grievance of the people. After this arrest thus done, and

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the duke put into ward, the night after, saith Hall, (six nights after, saith Fabian and Polychron.) he was found dead in his bed, the twenty-fourth of February, and his body showed to the lords and commons, as though he had been taken naturally with some sudden disease. And although no wound in his body could be seen, yet to all indifferent persons it might well be judged that he died of no natural pang, but of some violent hand. Some suspected him to be strangled; some, that a whole spit was privily forced into his body; some affirm that he was stifled between two featherbeds. After the death of this duke, and his body being interred at St. Alban's, after he had politicly by the space of twenty-five years governed this realm, five of his household, to wit, one knight, three esquires, and a yeoman, were arraigned, and convicted to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. Who being hanged and cut down half alive, the marquis of Suffolk there present showed the charter of the king's pardon, and so they were delivered. Notwithstanding, all this could not appease the grudge of the people, saying, that the saving of the servants was no amends for the murdering of the master.



Duke Humphrey's Body

In this cruel fact of these persons, which did so conspire and consent to the death of this nobleman, and which thought thereby to work their own safety, the marvellous work of God's judgment appeareth herein to be noted, who, as in all other like cruel policies of man, so in this also turned all their policies clean contrary. So that where the queen thought most to preserve her husband in honour, and herself in state, thereby both she lost her husband, her husband lost his realm, the realm lost Anjou, Normandy, the duchy of Aquitaine, with all her parts beyond the sea, Calais only except, as in the sequel of the matter, whoso will read the stories, shall right well understand.

The next year following it followed also that the cardinal, who was the principal artificer and ringleader of all this mischief, was suffered of God no longer to live. Of whose wicked conditions, being more largely set forth in Edward Hall, I omit here to speak. What he himself spake on his death-bed for example to other, I thought not less to premit. Who hearing that he should die, and that there was no remedy, murmured and gruded, wherefore he should die, having so much riches, saying, that if the whole realm would save his life, he was able either by policy to get it, or by riches to buy it; adding and saying, moreover, "Fie," quoth he, "will not death be hired? will money do nothing? When my nephew of Bedford died, I thought myself half up the wheel, but when I saw mine other nephew of Gloucester deceased, then I thought myself able to be equal with kings, and so thought to increase my treasure, in hope to have worn the triple crown," &c. And thus is the rich bishop of Winchester, with all his pomp and riches, gone; with the which riches he was able not only to build schools, colleges, and universities, but also was able to sustain the king's armies in war, (as is specified in stories,) without any taxing of the commons.

In whose seat next succeeded William Wanflet, preferred to the bishopric of Winchester, who, though he had less substance, yet having a mind more godly disposed, did found and erect the college of Mary Magdalene in Oxford. For the which foundation as there have been and be yet many students bound to yield grateful thanks unto God, so I must needs confess myself to be one, except I will be unkind.

Among the other mischievous adversaries which sought and wrought the death of Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, next to the cardinal of Winchester, (who, as is said, died the next year following,) was William de la Pole, marquis of Suffolk, who also lived not long after, nor long escaped unpunished. For although he was highly exalted, by the means of the queen, (whose marriage he only procured,) unto the favour of the king, and was made duke of Suffolk, and magnified of the people, and bare the whole sway in the realm, whose acts and facts his vain-glorious head caused also by the assent of the commons to be recorded, and substantially to be registered in the rolls of the parliament, for a perpetual renown to him and all his posterity for ever; yet, notwithstanding, the hand of God's judgment still hanging over him, he enjoyed not long this his triumphant victory. For within three years after the death and ruin of the cardinal, the voices of the whole commons of England were utterly turned against him, accusing him in the parliament at the Black Friars for delivery of the duchy of Anjou, and the earldom of Maine; also for the death of the noble Prince Humphrey, duke of Gloucester. They imputed moreover to him the loss of all Normandy, laying unto him that he was a swallower up and consumer of the king's treasure, the expeller of all good and virtuous counsellors from the king, and advancer of vicious persons, apparent adversaries to the public wealth; so that he was called in every man's mouth a traitor, a murderer, and a robber of the king's treasure.

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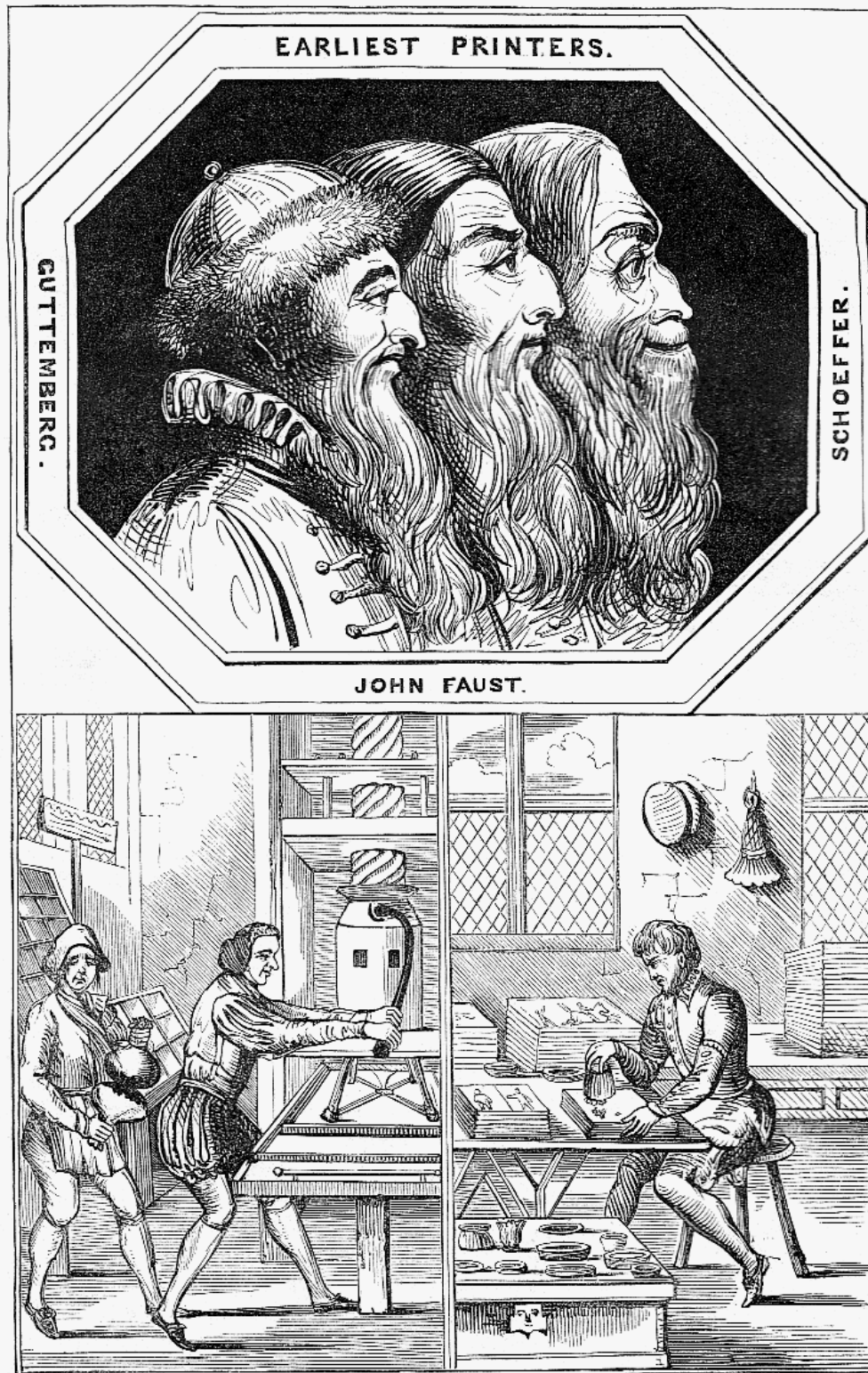
The queen, albeit she tenderly loved the duke, yet to appease the exclamation of the commons, was forced to commit him to the Tower, where he, with as much pleasure and liberty as could be, remained for a month, which being expired he was delivered and restored again unto his old place and former favour with the king, whereat the people more grudged than before. It happened by the occasion of a commotion then beginning amongst the rude people, by one whom they called Bluebeard, that the parliament was for that time adjourned to Leicester, the queen thinking by force and rigour of law to repress there the malice and evil will conceived against the duke. But at that place few of the nobility would appear. Wherefore it was again re-adjourned unto London, and kept at Westminster, where was a whole company, and a full appearance with the king and queen, and with them the duke of Suffolk, as chief counsellor. The commons, not forgetting the old grudge, renewed again their former articles and accusations against the said duke, against the bishop of Salisbury and Sir James Finies, Lord Say, and others. When the king perceived that no glossing nor dissimulation would serve to appease the continual clamour of the importunate commons, to make some quiet pacification, first he sequestered from him the Lord Say, treasurer of England, and other the duke's adherents, from their offices. Then he put in exile the duke of Suffolk for the term of five years, supposing by that space the furious rage of the people would assuage. But the hand of God would not suffer the guiltless blood of Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, to be unrevenged, or the flagitious person further to continue. For when he was shipped in Suffolk, intending to be transported into France, he was encountered with a ship of war belonging to the Tower; whereby he was taken, and brought into Dover road, and there, on the side of a ship boat, one struck off his head; which was about the year of our Lord 1450.

And thus have ye heard the full story and discourse of Duke Humphrey, and of all his adversaries; also of God's condign punishment upon them for their bloody cruelty. But before I remove from the said story of the aforesaid duke, and of the proud cardinal his enemy, I will here by the way annex a certain instrument, by the king and advice of his council made against the said cardinal, taking upon him to enter into this realm as legate from the pope, contrary to the old laws and customs of this realm, as by the words of the said instrument here in Latin may well appear.

The sum and effect whereof in English is this, "That in the year of our Lord 1428, as the king with Duke Humphrey, lord protector, and the rest of the council, were in the duke's house in the parish of St. Benet's by Paul's wharf, one Richard Candray, procurator, in the king's name and behalf, did protest and denounce by this public instrument, that whereas the king and all his progenitors, kings before him of this realm of England, have been heretofore possessed, time out of mind, with special privilege and custom used and observed in this realm from time to time, that no legate from the apostolic see should enter into this land or any of the king's dominions, without the calling, petition, request, invitement, or desire of the king; and forasmuch as Henry, bishop of Winchester, and cardinal of St. Eusebius, hath presumed so to enter as legate from the pope, being neither called, sent for, required, or desired by the king; therefore the said Richard Candray, in the king's name doth protest by this instrument, that it standeth not with the king's mind or intent, by the advice of his council, to admit, approve, or ratify the coming of the said legate in any wise, in derogation of the right, customs, and laws of this his realm; or to recognise or assent to any exercise of this his authority legatine, or to any acts, attempts, or hereafter by him to be attempted in this respect, contrary to the aforesaid laws, rights, customs, and liberties of this realm, by these presents," &c.

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

And thus much as an appendix, annexed to the story of Duke Humphrey, and the cardinal of Winchester, extract out of an old written volume, remaining in the hands of Master William Bowyer.



Printers and Printing

117. The Invention and Benefit of Printing.

In following the course and order of years, we find this aforesaid year of our Lord, 1450, to be famous and memorable for the divine and miraculous inventing of printing. Naclerus, and Wymselingus following him, refer the invention thereof to the year 1440. In Paralip. Abbatis Ursi. it is recorded this faculty to be found, A. D. 1446. Aventinus and Zieglerus do say, A. D. 1450. The first inventor thereof, as most agree, is thought to be a German, dwelling first in Argentoratum, afterward citizen of Mentz, named J. Faustus, a goldsmith. The occasion of this invention first was by engraving the letters of the alphabet in metal; who, then laying black ink upon the metal, gave the form of letters in paper. The man, being industrious and active, perceiving that, thought to proceed further, and to prove whether it would frame as well in words, and in whole sentences, as it did in letters. Which, when he perceived to come well to pass, he made certain other of his council, one J. Guttemberg, and P. Schafferd, binding them by their oath to keep silence for a season. After ten years John Guttemberg, copartner with Faustus, began then first to broach the matter at Strasburgh. The art, being yet but rude, in process of time was set forward by inventive wits, adding more and more to the perfection thereof. In the number of whom J. Mentell, J. Prus, Adolphus Ruschius, were great helpers. Ulricus Han, in Latin called Gallus, first brought it to Rome.

Notwithstanding, what man soever was the instrument, without all doubt God himself was the ordainer and disposer thereof, no otherwise than he was of the gift of tongues, and that for a singular purpose. And well may this gift of printing be resembled to the gift of tongues; for like as God then spake with many tongues, and yet all that would not turn the Jews; so now, when the Holy Ghost speaketh to the adversaries in innumerable sorts of books, yet they will not be converted, nor turn to the gospel.

Now to consider to what end and purpose the Lord hath given this gift of printing to the earth, and to what great utility and necessity it serveth, it is not hard to judge, who so wisely perpendeth both the time of the sending, and the sequel which thereof ensueth.

And first, touching the time of this faculty given to the use of man, this is to be marked, that when the bishop of Rome, with all the whole and full consent of the cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, lawyers, doctors, provosts, deans, archdeacons, assembled together in the council of Constance, had condemned poor John Huss and Jerome of Prague to death for heresy, notwithstanding they were no heretics, and after they had subdued the Bohemians and all the whole world under the supreme authority of the Romish see, and had made all Christian people obedienciaries and vassals unto the same, having, as one would say, all the world at their will, so that the matter now was past not only the power of all men, but the hope also of any man to be recovered; in this very time, so dangerous and desperate, where man's power could do no more, there the blessed wisdom and omnipotent power of the Lord began to work for his church, not with sword and target to subdue his exalted adversary, but with printing, writing, and reading, to convince darkness by light, error by truth, ignorance by learning. So that, by this means of printing, the secret operation

of God hath heaped upon that proud kingdom a double confusion. For whereas the bishop of Rome had burned John Huss before, and Jerome of Prague, who neither denied his transubstantiation, nor his supremacy, nor yet his popish mass, but said mass and heard mass themselves; neither spake against his purgatory, nor any other great matter of his popish doctrine, but only exclaimed against his excessive and pompous pride, his unchristian, or rather antichristian, abomination of life: thus while he could not abide his wickedness only of life to be touched, but made it heresy, or at least matter of death, whatsoever was spoken against his detestable conversation and manners, God, of his secret judgment, seeing time to help his church, hath found a way by this faculty of printing, not only to confound his life and conversation, which before he could not abide to be touched, but also to cast down the foundation of his standing, that is, to examine, confute, and detect his doctrine, laws, and institutions, most detestable in such sort, that though his life were never so pure, yet his doctrine, standing as it doth, no man is so blind but he may see, that either the pope is antichrist, or else that antichrist is near cousin to the pope; and all this doth and will hereafter more and more appear by printing.

The reason whereof is this, for that hereby tongues are known, knowledge groweth, judgment increaseth, books are dispersed, the Scripture is seen, the doctors be read, stories be opened, times compared, truth discerned, falsehood detected, and with finger pointed, and all, as I said, through the benefit of printing. Wherefore, I suppose, that either the pope must abolish printing, or he must seek a new world to reign over; for else, as this world standeth, printing doubtless will abolish him. But the pope, and all his college of cardinals, must this understand, that through the light of printing the world beginneth now to have eyes to see and heads to judge: he cannot walk so invisible in a net, but he will be spied. And although, through might, he stopped the mouth of John Huss before, and of Jerome, that they might not preach, thinking to make his kingdom sure; yet, instead of John Huss and others, God hath opened the press to preach, whose voice the pope is never able to stop, with all the puissance of his triple crown. By this printing, as by the gift of tongues, and as by the singular organ of the Holy Ghost, the doctrine of the gospel soundeth to all nations and countries under heaven, and what God revealeth to one man is dispersed to many, and what is known in one nation is opened to all.

The first and best were for the bishop of Rome, by the benefit of printing, to learn and know the truth. If he will not, let him well understand that printing is not set up for nought. To strive against the stream it availeth not. What the pope hath lost, since printing and the press began to preach, let him cast his counters. First, when Erasmus wrote, and Frobenius printed, what a blow thereby was given to all friars and monks in the world! And who seeth not that the pen of Luther, following after Erasmus, and set forward by writing, hath set the triple crown so awry on the pope's head, that it is like never to be set straight again?

Briefly, if there were no demonstration to lead, yet, by this one argument of printing, the bishop of Rome might understand the counsel and purpose of the Lord to work against him, having provided such a way in earth, that almost how many printing presses there be in the world, so many block-houses there be against the high castle of St. Angel; so that either the pope must abolish knowledge and printing, or printing at length will root him out. For if a man wisely consider the hold and standing of the pope, thus he may repute with himself, that as nothing made the pope strong in time past, but lack of knowledge and ignorance of simple Christians; so contrariwise, now nothing doth debilitate and shake the high spire of his papacy so

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much, as reading, preaching, knowledge, and judgment, that is to say, the fruit of printing; whereof some experience we see already, and more is like (by the Lord's blessing) to follow. For although, through outward force and violent cruelty, tongues dare not speak, yet the hearts of men daily (no doubt) be instructed through the benefit of printing. And though the pope, both now by cruelty, and in times past by ignorance, had all under his possession; yet, neither must he think that violence will always continue, neither must he hope for that now which he had then; forasmuch as in those former days books then were scarce, and also of such excessive price, that few could attain to the buying, fewer to the reading and studying thereof; which books now by the means of this art, are made easy unto all men. Ye heard before, how Nicholas Belward bought a New Testament in those days for four marks and forty pence, whereas now the same price will well serve forty persons with so many books.

Moreover, it was before noted and declared by the testimony of Armachanus, how, for defect of books and good authors, both universities were decayed and good wits kept in ignorance, while begging friars, scraping all the wealth from other priests, heaped up all books that could be gotten into their own libraries, where either they did not diligently apply them, or did not rightly use them, or at least kept them from such as more fruitfully would have perused them. In this then so great rarity and also dearth of good books, when neither they which could have books would well use them, nor they that would, could have them to use, what marvel if the greediness of a few prelates did abuse the blindness of those days, to the advancement of themselves? Wherefore, Almighty God of his merciful providence, seeing both what lacked in the church, and how also to remedy the same, for the advancement of his glory, gave the understanding of this excellent art or science of printing, whereby three singular commodities at one time came to the world. First, the price of all books is diminished. Secondly, the speedy help of reading more furthered. And thirdly, the plenty of all good authors enlarged; according as Aprutinus doth truly report:

"The press in one day will do in printing,
That none in one year can do in writing."

By reason whereof, as printing of books ministered matter of reading; so reading brought learning, learning showed light, by the brightness whereof blind ignorance was suppressed, error detected, and finally, God's glory with truth of his word advanced. This faculty of printing was after the invention of guns the space of one hundred and thirty years; which invention was also found in Germany, A. D. 1380. And thus much for the worthy commendation of printing.

118. The Lamentable Losing of Constantinople.



Constantinople

A. D. 1453, Constantinus Paleologus being emperor of Constantinople, the 29th day of May, the great city of Constantinople was taken by the Turk Mahomet, after the siege of fifty-four days, which siege began in the beginning of April. Within the city, beside the citizens, were but only six thousand rescuers of the Greeks, and three thousand of the Venetians and Genoese. Against these, Mahomet brought an army of four hundred thousand, collected out of the countries and places adjoining near about, as out of Grecia, Illyrica, Wallachia, Dardanis, Triballis, Bulgaria, out of Bithynia, Galatia, Lydia, Sicily, and such other; which places had the name yet of Christians. Thus one neighbour for lucre sake helped to destroy another.

The city was compassed of the Turks both by the sea and land. Mahomet the Turk divided his army into three sundry parts, which in three parts of the city so beat the walls and brake them down, that they attempted by the breaches thereof to enter the city. But the valiantness of the Christians therein won much commendation; whose duke was called John Justinianus, of Genoa. But forasmuch as the assaults were great, and the number of the Christian soldiers daily decreased, fighting both at the walls and at the haven against such a multitude of the Turks, they were not able long to hold out. Beside the armies which lay battering at the walls, the Turk had upon the sea his navy of two hundred and fifty sail, laying upon the haven of the city, reaching from the one side of the haven's mouth unto the other, as if a bridge should

be made from the one bank to the other. Which haven by the citizens was barred with iron chains, whereby the Turks were kept out a certain space. Against which navy seven ships there were of Genoa within the haven, and three of Crete, and certain of Chios, which stood against them. Also the soldiers issuing out of the city, as occasion would serve, did manfully gainsay them, and with wild-fire set their ships on fire, that a certain space they could serve to no use. At length the chains being burst, and a way made, the Turk's navy entered the haven, and assaulted the city; whereby the Turk began to conceive great hope, and was in forwardness to obtain the city. The assault and skirmish then waxing more hot, Mahomet the tyrant stood by upon a hill, with his warriors about him, crying and howling out unto them to scale the walls and enter the town; otherwise, if any rebelled, he threatened to kill them, and so he did. Wherefore a great number of his soldiers, in their repulse and retire, were slain by the Turk's men, being sent by his commandment to slay them; and so they were justly served, and well paid their hire.

Although this was some comfort to the Christians, to see and behold out of the city the Turk's retinue so consumed, yet that hope lasted not long. Shortly after, by rage of war, it happened Justinian, the duke above named, to be hurt; who, notwithstanding that he was earnestly desired by Paleologus the emperor, not to leave his tower which he had to keep, seeing his wound was not deadly dangerous; yet could he not be entreated to tarry, but left his standing, and his fort disfurnished, setting none in his place to award the same. And so this doughty duke, hurt more with his false heart than with force of weapon, gave over and fled to Chios, where shortly after for sorrow, rather than for soreness of his wound, he died. Many of his soldiers, seeing their captain flee, followed after, leaving their fort utterly destitute without defence. The Turks, understanding that vantage, soon burst into the city. The Emperor Paleologus, seeing no other way but to fly, making toward the gate, either was slain, or else trodden down with the multitude. In the which gate eight hundred dead men's bodies were found and taken up.

The city of Constantinople thus being got, the Turks sacking and ranging about the streets, houses, and corners, did put to the sword most unmercifully whomsoever they found, both aged and young, matrons, virgins, children, and infants, sparing none; the noble matrons and virgins were horribly ravished, the goods of the city, the treasuries in houses, the ornaments in churches, were all sacked and spoiled, the pictures of Christ opprobriously handled, in hatred of Christ. The spoil and havoc of the city lasted three days together, while the barbarous soldiers murdered and rifled what them listed.

These things thus being done, and the tumult ceased, after three days Mahomet the Turk entereth into the city, and first calling for the heads and ancients of the city, such as he found to be left alive, he commanded them to be mangled and cut in pieces. It is also (saith my author) reported, that in the feasts of the Turks, honest matrons and virgins, and such as were of the king's stock, after other contumelies, were hewn and cut in pieces for their disport.

And this was the end of that princely and famous city of Constantinople, beginning first by Constantinus, and ending also with Constantinus, which for the princely royalty thereof was named and ever honoured, from the time of the first Constantine, equally with the city of Rome, and called also by the name thereof new Rome, and so continued the space of eleven hundred and twenty years. I pray God that old Rome may learn of new Rome, to take heed and beware betime.

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

This terrible destruction of the city of Constantinople, the queen of cities, I thought here to describe, not so much to set forth the barbarous cruelty of these merciless murderers, as specially for this, that we, being admonished by the doleful ruin and misery of those equally christened with ourselves, may call to mind the plagues and miseries deserved, which seem to hang no less over our own heads; and thereby may learn betime to invoke and call more earnestly upon the name of our terrible and merciful God, that he, for his Son's sake, will keep us, and preserve his church among us, and mitigate those plagues and sorrows, which we no less have deserved, than these above minded have done before us. Christ grant it, Amen.

119. Reynold Pecocke

After the death of Henry Chichesley, archbishop of Canterbury, next succeeded John Stafford, A. D. 1445, who continued eight years. After him came John Kemp, A. D. 1453, who sat but three years. Then succeeded Thomas Burschere. In the time of which archbishop, fell the trouble of Reynold Pecocke, bishop of Chichester, afflicted by the pope's prelates for his faith and profession of the gospel. Of this bishop, Hall also, in his chronology toucheth a little mention, declaring that an overthwart judgment, as he termeth it, was given by the fathers of the spirituality against him. "This man," saith he, "began to move questions not privately, but openly in the universities, concerning the annats, Peter pence, and other jurisdictions and authorities, pertaining to the see of Rome, and not only put forth the questions, but declared his mind and opinion in the same; wherefore he was for this cause abjured at Paul's cross." Thus much of him writeth Hall. Of whom also recordeth Polychronicon, but in few words. This bishop, first of St. Asaph, then of Chichester, so long as Duke Humphrey lived, by whom he was promoted and much made of, was quiet and safe, and also bold to dispute and to write his mind, and wrote (as Leland recordeth) divers books and treatises. But after that good duke was thus (as ye have heard) made away, this good man, lacking his back-stay, was open to his enemies, and matter soon found against him. Whereupon he, being complained of, and accused by privy and malignant promoters unto the archbishop, letters first were directed down from the archbishop, to cite all men to appear that could say any thing against him. The form of which citation here ensueth:

"Thomas, by the permission of God, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the apostolic see, to all and singular, parsons, vicars, chaplains, curates and not curates, clerks, and learned men, whatsoever they be, constituted and ordained in any place throughout our province of Canterbury, health, grace, and benediction.

"We have received a grievous complaint of our reverend fellow brother, Reynold Pecocke, bishop of Chichester, containing in it, that albeit our said reverend fellow brother, the bishop, delivered unto us certain books written by him in the English tongue, by us and our authority to be examined, corrected, reformed, and allowed; notwithstanding many (the examination and reformation of the said books depending and remaining before us undiscussed) have openly preached and taught at Paul's cross in London, and in divers other places of our province of Canterbury, that our said fellow brother, the bishop, hath propounded, made, and written, or caused to be written in the said books, certain conclusions repugnant to the true faith, and that he doth obstinately hold and defend the same. By the pretence of which preaching and teaching, the state and good name and fame of the Lord Reynold, the bishop, are grievously offended and hurt, and he and his opinion marvellously burdened. Wherefore we charge you all together, and severally apart do command you, firmly enjoining you, that openly and generally you do warn, or cause to be warned, all and singular such persons, which will object any thing contrary and against the conclusions of our said reverend fellow brother, the bishop, had or contained in his books or writings; that the twentieth day after such monition or warning had, they do

freely, of their own accord, appear before us and our commissaries in this behalf appointed, wheresoever we shall then be in our city, diocese, or province of Canterbury, to speak, propound, or allege, and affirm fully and sufficiently in writing, whatsoever heretical or erroneous matter they will speak, propound, or object against the said conclusions contained in his said books; and both to satisfy and receive whatsoever shall seem meet and right, in this behalf, by the holy institution and ordinances.

"And forasmuch as this matter depending yet undetermined and undiscussed, nothing ought to be attempted or renewed; we charge you, that by this, our authority, you inhibit and forbid all and every one so to preach and teach hereafter. Unto whom also we, by the tenor of these presents, do likewise forbid, that during the examination of the conclusions and books aforesaid, depending before us and our commissaries undiscussed, they do not presume by any means, without good advice and judgment, to preach, judge, and affirm any thing to the prejudice or offence of the said Lord Reynold, the bishop: and if so be you do find any in this behalf gainsaying or not obeying this our inhibition, that you do cite, or cause them peremptorily to be cited, to appear before us or our commissaries, in this behalf appointed, the tenth day after their citation, if it be a court day, or else the next court day following, wheresoever we shall then be, in our city, diocese, or province of Canterbury, to make further declaration by form of law of the cause of their disobedience, and to receive such punishment as justice and equity shall determine in their behalf; and that by your letters you do duly certify us or our commissaries, what you have done in the premises, at the day and place aforesaid; or that he which hath so executed our commandment, do so certify us by his letters. Dated at our manor of Lambeth, the twenty-second day of October, A. D. 1457, and in the fourth year of our translation."

This citation being directed, the bishop, upon the summons thereof, was brought, or rather came, before the judges and bishops unto Lambeth, where the aforesaid Thomas the archbishop, with his doctors and lawyers, were gathered together in the archbishop's court. In which convention also the duke of Buckingham was present, accompanied with the bishops of Rochester and of Lincoln. What were the opinions and articles against him objected, after in his revocation shall be specified. In his answering for himself, in such a company of the pope's friends, albeit he could not prevail; notwithstanding he, stoutly defending himself, declared many things worthy great commendation of learning, if learning against power could have prevailed.

But they on the contrary part, with all labour and travail extended themselves, either to reduce him, or else to confound him. As here lacked no blustering words of terror and threatening, so also many fair flattering words and gentle persuasions were admixed withal. Briefly, to make a short narration of a long and busy traverse, here was no stone left unturned, no ways unproved, either by fair means to entreat him, or by terrible menaces to terrify his mind, till at length he, being vanquished and overcome by the bishops, began to faint, and gave over. Whereupon, by and by a recantation was put unto him by the bishops, which he should declare before the people. The copy of which his recantation here followeth.

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N the name of God, Amen. Before you the most reverend father in Christ and lord, the Lord Thomas, by the grace of God archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the apostolic see, I, Reynold Pecocke, unworthy bishop of Chichester, do purely, willingly, simply, and absolutely confess and acknowledge, that I in times past, that is to say, by the space of these twenty years last past and more, have otherwise conceived, holden, taught, and written, as touching the sacraments, and the articles of the faith, than the holy Church of Rome, and universal church; and also that I have made, written, published, and set forth many and divers pernicious doctrines, hooks, works, writings, heresies, contrary and against the true catholic and apostolic faith, containing in them errors contrary to the catholic faith, and especially these errors and heresies hereunder written.

"1. First of all, That we are not bound, by the necessity of faith, to believe that our Lord Jesus Christ after his death descended into hell.

"2. Item, That it is not necessary to salvation to believe in the holy catholic church.

"3. Item, That it is not necessary to salvation to believe the communion of saints.

"4. Item, That it is not necessary to salvation to affirm the body material in the sacrament.

"5. Item, That the universal church may err in matters which pertain unto faith.

"6. Item, That it is not necessary unto salvation to believe that that which every general council doth universally ordain, approve, or determine, should necessarily, for the help of our faith and the salvation of souls, be approved and holden of all faithful Christians.

"Wherefore, I, Reynold Pecocke, wretched sinner, which have long walked in darkness, and now, by the merciful disposition and ordinance of God, am reduced and brought again unto the light and way of truth, and restored unto the unity of our holy mother the church, renounce and forsake all errors and heresies aforesaid."

Notwithstanding, godly reader, it is not to be believed that Pecocke did so give over these opinions, howsoever the words of the recantation pretend. For it is a policy and play of the bishops, that when they do subdue or overcome any man, they carry him whither their list, as it were a young steer by the nose, and frame out his words for him beforehand, as it were for a parrot, that he should speak unto the people, not according to his own will, but after their lust and fantasy. Neither is it to be doubted but that this bishop repented him afterward of his recantation; which may easily be judged hereby, because he was committed again to prison, and detained captive, where it is uncertain whether he was oppressed with privy and secret tyranny, and there obtained the crown of martyrdom, or no.

The dictionary of Thomas Gascoigne I have not in my hands at present. But if credit be to be given to such as have to us alleged the book, this we may find in the eighth century of John Bale, chap. xix., that the said Thomas Gascoigne, in his third part of his dictionary, writing of Reynold Pecocke, maketh declaration of his articles containing in them matters of sore heresy. "First," saith he, "Reynold Pecocke at Paul's Cross preached openly, that the office of a Christian prelate, chiefly above all

other things, is to preach the word of God. That man's reason is not to be preferred before the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament. That the use of the sacraments, as they be now handled, is worse than the use of the law of nature. That bishops which buy their admissions of the bishop of Rome, do sin. That no man is bound to believe and obey the determination of the Church of Rome. Also, that the riches of bishops by inheritance, are the goods of the poor. Item, that the apostles themselves personally were not the makers of the Creed; and that in the same Creed once was not the article, he went down to hell. Item, that the four senses of the Scripture none is to be taken, but the very first and proper sense. Also, that he gave little estimation, in some points, to the authority of the old doctors. Item, that he condemned the wilful begging of the friars, as a thing idle and needless." This out of Thomas Gascoigne. Leland also, adding this moreover, saith, that he, not contented to follow the catholic sentence of the church, in interpreting of the Scripture, did not think soundly (as he judged it) of the holy eucharist.

At length, for these and such other articles, the said Reynold Pecocke was condemned for a heretic, by the archbishops and bishops of Roffe, Lincoln, and Winchester, with other divines more. Whereupon he, being driven to his recantation, was, notwithstanding, detained still in prison. Where, some say, that he was privily made away by death.

Hall addeth, "that some say his opinions to be, that spiritual persons by God's law ought to have no temporal possessions." Other write, that he said that personal tithes were not due by God's law. But whatsoever the cause was, he was caused at Paul's Cross to abjure, and all his books burnt, and he himself kept in his own house during his natural life. I marvel that Polydore, of this extremity of the bishop's handling, and of his articles, in his history maketh no memorial. Belike it made but little for the honesty of his great master the pope.

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120. The Papacy, 1449-1492

From persecution and burning in England now out of the way to digress a little, to speak of foreign matters of the Church of Rome: you remember before, in the latter end of the council of Basil, how Eugenius was deposed. Of whose conditions and martial affairs, how he made war against Sfortia, a famous captain of Italy, and what other wars he raised beside, not only in Italy but also in Germany, against the city and council of Basil, I shall not need to make any long rehearsal. After his deposition ye heard also how Felix, duke of Savoy, was elected pope. Whereupon another great schism followed in the church during all the life of Eugenius.

After his death, his next successor was Pope Nicholas the Fifth, who (as you before have heard) brought so to pass with the Emperor Frederic the Third, that Felix was contented to renounce and resign his papacy to Nicholas, and was, therefore, of him afterward received to the room of cardinal for his submission; and Frederic for his working was confirmed at Rome to be full emperor, and there crowned, A. D. 1451. For emperors, before they be confirmed and crowned by the pope, are no emperors, but only called kings of Romans.

This Pope Nicholas here mentioned, to get and gather great sums of money, appointed a jubilee in the year of our Lord 1450, at which time there resorted a greater number of people unto Rome, than hath at any time before been seen. At which time we read, in the story of Platina, that to have happened, which I thought here not unworthy to be noted for the example of the thing. As there was a great concourse of people resorting up to the mount Vatican to behold the image of our Saviour, which there they had to show to pilgrims, the people being thick going to and fro between the mount and the city, by chance a certain mule of the cardinals of St. Mark came by the way, by reason whereof the people not being able to avoid the way, one or two falling upon the mule, there was such a press and throng upon that occasion on the bridge, that to the number of two hundred bodies of men and three horses were there strangled, and on each side of the bridge many besides fell over into the water, and were drowned.

By means of which occasion the pope afterward caused the small houses to be plucked down, to make the way broader. And this is the fruit that cometh by idolatry.

In the time of this pope, one Matthew Palmerius wrote a book *De Angelis*, for defending whereof he was condemned by the pope, and burned at Corna, A. D. 1448.

After him succeeded Calixtus the Third, who, amongst divers other things, ordained, both at noon and at evening, the bell to toll the Aves, as it was used in the popish time, to help the soldiers that fought against the Turks, for the which cause also he ordained the feast of the transfiguration of the Lord, solemnizing it with like pardons and indulgences as was *Corpus Christi* day.

Also this pope, proceeding contrary to the councils of Constance and Basil, decreed that no man should appeal from the pope to any council. By whom also St. Edmund of Canterbury, with divers other, were made saints.

Next after this Calixtus succeeded Pius Secundus, otherwise called Æneas Sylvius, who wrote the two books of Commentaries upon the Council of Basil, before mentioned. This Æneas, at the time of the writing of those his books, seemed to be a man of an indifferent and tolerable judgment and doctrine, from the which he afterward, being pope, seemed to decline and swerve, seeking, by all means possible, how to deface and abolish the books which heretofore he had written.

Sentences attributed unto this Pope Pius II.

"The Divine nature of God may rather be comprehended by faith, than by disputation.

"Christian faith is to be considered, not by what reason it is proved, but from whom it proceedeth.

"Neither can a covetous man be satisfied with money, nor a learned man with knowledge.

"Learning ought to be to poor men instead of silver, to noblemen instead of gold, and to princes instead of precious stones.

"An artificial oration moveth fools, but not wise men.

"Suitors in the law be as birds, the court is the bait, the judges be the nets, and the lawyers be the fowlers.

"Men are to be given to dignities, and not dignities to men.

"The office of a bishop is heavy, but it is blessed to him that doth well bear it.

"A bishop without learning may be likened to an ass.

"An evil physician destroyeth bodies, but an unlearned priest destroyeth souls.

"Marriage was taken from priests not without great reason, but with much greater reason it ought to be restored again."

The like sentence to this he uttereth in his Second Book of the Council of Basil, before specified, saying, peradventure it were not the worst, that "the most part of priests had their wives, for many should be saved in priestly marriage, which now in unmarried priesthood are damned." The same Pius also, as Celius reporteth, dissolved certain orders of nuns, of the orders of St. Bridget and St. Clare, bidding them to depart out, that they should burn no more, nor cover a harlot under the vesture of religion.

This Pius, if he had brought so much piety and godliness as he brought learning unto his popedom, had excelled many popes that went before him.

It shall not be impertinent here to touch, what the said Æneas, called Pius the Pope, writeth, touching the peace of the church, unto Gasper Schlick, the emperor's chancellor, in his 54th epistle.

"All men do abhor and detest schism. The way to remedy this evil, Charles, the French king, hath showed us both safe and brief, which is, that princes or their orators should convent and assemble together in some common place, where they may conclude upon matters amongst themselves. To bring this to pass, it were needful writings to be sent again to all kings and princes, to send their orators to Strasburgh, or to Constance, with their full authority there to treat of matters appertaining to the

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peace of the church. Neither would it require so great expenses, forasmuch as we see the year before 300 gilders to be sufficient. Constantine the emperor bestowed not much more in the congregation of the council of Nice. And this way could not be stopped; neither could the pope or the council withstand it, or make excuse, as though this might not easily be done without them. For why? the secular princes may convent and assemble together, will they, nill they; and yet, notwithstanding, unity may there be concluded; for he shall be an undoubted pope, whom all princes would obey. Neither do I see any of the clergy so constant to death, which will suffer martyrdom, either for the one part or the other. All we lightly hold that faith which our princes hold, which, if they would worship idols, we would also do the same, and deny not only the pope, but God also, if the secular power strain us thereunto, for charity is waxed cold, and all faith is gone. Howsoever it be, let us all desire and seek for peace; the which peace, whether it come by a council, or by assembly of princes, call it what you will, I care not, for we stand not upon the term, but upon the matter. Call bread, if you will, a stone, so you give it me to assuage my hunger. Whether you call it a council, or a conventicle, or an assembly, or a congregation, or a synagogue, that is no matter, so that schism may be excluded, and peace established."

Thus much out of the epistle of Pius.

By this it may appear, of what sentence and mind this Pius was in the time of the council of Basil, before he was made pope. But as our common proverb saith, Honours change manners; so it happened with this Pius, who after he came once to be pope, was much altered from what he was before. For whereas before he preferred general councils before the pope, now, being pope, he did decree, that no man should appeal from the high bishop of Rome to any general council.

And likewise for priests' marriage, whereas before he thought it best to have their wives restored, yet afterward he altered his mind otherwise; insomuch that in his book treating of Germany, and there speaking of the noble city of Augsburg, by occasion he inveighed against a certain epistle of Hulderick, once bishop of the said city, written against the constitution of the single life of priests. Whereby it appeareth how the mind of this Pius was altered from that it was before. This epistle of Hulderick is before expressed at large.

Here also might I touch something concerning the discord betwixt this Æneas Sylvius and Diotherus, archbishop of Mentz, and what discord was stirred up in Germany upon the same, between Frederick the Palatine and the duke of Wittenberge, with others; by the occasion whereof, besides the slaughter of many, the city of Mentz, which was free, lost her freedom and became servile.

The causes of the discord betwixt Pope Pius and Diotherus were these:

First, because that Diotherus would not consent unto him in the imposition of certain tallages and taxes within his country.

Secondly, for that Diotherus would not be bound unto him, requiring that the said Diotherus, being prince elector, should not call the other electors together without his licence, that is, without the licence of the bishop of Rome.

And thirdly, because Diotherus would not permit to the pope's legates, to convocate his clergy together after their own lust. This Pope Pius began his see about the year of our Lord 1458.

After this Pius the Second succeeded Paulus the Second, a pope wholly set upon his belly and ambition, and not so much void of all learning, as the hater of all learned men. This Paulus had a daughter begotten in fornication, and because he saw her to be had in reproach, for that she was gotten in fornication, he began (as the stories report) to repent him of the law of the single life of priests, and went about to reform the same, had not death prevented him.

After this Paulus came Sixtus the Fourth, which builded up in Rome a stews of both kinds, getting thereby no small revenues and rents unto the Church of Rome. This pope, amongst his other acts, reduced the year of jubilee from the fiftieth unto the twenty-fifth. He also instituted the feast of the Conception, and the presentation of Mary and of Anna her mother, and Joseph. Also he canonized Bonaventure and Saint Francis for saints.

By this Sixtus also beads were brought in, and instituted to make our Lady's Psalter, through the occasion of one Alanus and his order, whom Baptista maketh mention of in this verse, "These men putting their beads upon a string, number their prayers." This Sixtus the pope made two and thirty cardinals in his time, of whom Petrus Ruerius was the first, who for that time that he was cardinal, which was but two years, spent in luxurious riot, wasted and consumed two hundred thousand florins, and was left sixty thousand in debt. Wesellus Groningensis, in a certain treatise of his writing of this Pope Sixtus, reporteth this, that at the request of the aforesaid Peter, cardinal, and of Jerome his brother, the said Pope Sixtus permitted and granted unto the whole family of the cardinal of St. Lucy, in the three hot months of summer, June, July, and August, (a horrible thing to be spoken,) free leave and liberty to use sodomitery, with this clause, Be it as it is asked.

Next after this Sixtus came Innocentius the Eighth, as rude, and as far from all learning, as his predecessor was before him. Amongst the noble facts of this pope this was one, that in the town of Polus apud Equicolas, he caused eight men and six women, with the lord of the place, to be apprehended and taken, and judged for heretics, because they said that none of them was the vicar of Christ which come after Peter, but they only which followed the poverty of Christ. Also he condemned of heresy, George, the king of Bohemia, and deprived him of his dignity and also of his kingdom, and procured his whole stock to be utterly rejected and put down, giving his kingdom to Matthias king of Pannonia.

121. The Wars of the Roses

Now from the popes to descend to other estates, it remaineth likewise somewhat to write of the emperors incident to this time, which matters and grievances of the Germans, and also of other princes, first beginning with our troubles and mutations here at home pertaining to the overthrow of this King Henry and his seat, now following to be showed. And briefly to contract long process of much tumult and business into a short narration, here is to be remembered, which partly before was signified, how, after the death of the duke of Gloucester, mischiefs came in by heaps upon the king and his realm. For after the giving away of Anjou and Maine to the Frenchmen, by the unfortunate marriage of Queen Margaret above mentioned, the said Frenchmen, perceiving now, by the death of the duke of Gloucester, the stay and pillar of this commonwealth to be decayed, and seeing, moreover, the hearts of the nobility among themselves to be divided, foreslacked no time, having such an open way into Normandy, and in short time they recovered the same, and also got Gascony, so that no more now remained to England of all the parts beyond the sea, but only Calais. Neither yet did all the calamity of the realm only rest in this; for the king now having lost his friendly uncle, as the stay and staff of his age, which had brought him up so faithfully from his youth, was now thereby the more open to his enemies, and they more imboldened to set upon him; as appeared, first by Jack Cade the Kentish captain, who, encamping first on Blackheath, afterward aspired to London, and had the spoil thereof, the king being driven into Warwickshire. After the suppressing of Cade ensued not long after the duke of York, who, being accompanied with three earls, set upon the king near to St. Alban's, where the king was taken in the field captive, and the duke of York was by parliament declared protector, which was in the year of our Lord 1453. After this followed long division and mortal war between the two houses of Lancaster and York, continuing many years. At length, about the year of our Lord 1459, the duke of York was slain in battle by the queen near to the town of Wakefield, and with him also his son, earl of Rutland. By the which queen also shortly after, in the same year, were discomfited the earl of Warwick and duke of Norfolk, to whom the keeping of the king was committed by the duke of York, and so the queen again delivered her husband.

After this victory obtained, the northern men, advanced not a little in pride and courage, began to take upon them great attempts, not only to spoil and rob churches, and religious houses, and villages, but also were fully intended, partly by themselves, partly by the inducement of their lords and captains, to sack, waste, and utterly to subvert the city of London, and to take the spoil thereof; "and no doubt," saith my history, "would have proceeded in their conceived intent, had not the opportune favour of God provided a speedy remedy." For as these mischiefs were in brewing, suddenly cometh the noble Prince Edward unto London with a mighty army, the seven and twentieth day of February, who was the son and heir to the duke of York above mentioned, accompanied with the earl of Warwick, and divers more. King Henry in the mean time, with his victory, went up to York; when Edward, being at London, caused there to be proclaimed certain articles concerning his title to the crown of England, which was the second day of March.

Whereupon, the next day following, the lords both temporal and spiritual being assembled together, the said articles were propounded, and also well approved. The fourth day of the said month of March, after a solemn general procession, (according to the blind superstition of those days,) the bishop of Exeter made a sermon at Paul's Cross, wherein he commended and proved by manifold evidences, the title of Prince Edward to be just and lawful, answering the same to all objections which might be made to the contrary.

This matter being thus discussed, Prince Edward, accompanied with the lords spiritual and temporal, and with much concourse of people, rode the same day to Westminster Hall, and there, by the full consent, as well of the lords, as also by the voice of all the commons, took his possession of the crown, and was called King Edward the Fourth.

These things thus accomplished at London, as to such a matter appertained, and preparation of money sufficiently being administered of the people and commons, with most ready and willing minds, for the necessary furniture of his wars; he, with the duke of Norfolk, and earl of Warwick, and Lord Falconbridge, in all speedy wise took his journey toward King Henry; who now being at York, and forsaken of the Londoners, had all his refuge only reposed in the northern men.

When King Edward with his army had passed over the river of Trent, and was come near to Ferry-bridge, where also the host of King Henry was not far off, upon Palm Sunday, between Ferrybridge and Tadcaster, both the armies of the southern and northern men joined together in battle. And although at the first beginning divers horsemen of King Edward's side turned their backs, and spoiled the king of carriage and victuals; yet the courageous prince, with his captains, little discouraged therewith, fiercely and manfully set on their adversaries. The which battle on both sides was so cruelly fought, that in the same conflict were slain to the number, as is reported, beside men of name, thirty thousand of the poor commons. Notwithstanding, the conquest fell on King Edward's part, so that King Henry having lost all, was forced to fly into Scotland, where also he gave up to the Scots the town of Berwick, after he had reigned eight and thirty years and a half.

The claim and title of the duke of York, and after him of Edward his son, put up to the lords and commons, whereby they challenged the crown to the house of York, is thus in the story of Scala Mundi, word for word, as here-under is contained.

The title of the house of York to the crown of England.

Edward the Third, right king of England, had issue, first, Prince Edward; second, William Hatfield; third, Lionel; fourth, John of Gaunt, &c. Prince Edward had Richard the Second, which died without issue, William Hatfield died without issue, Lionel, duke of Clarence, had issue lawfully begot, Philippa, his only daughter and heiress; who was lawfully coupled to Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, and had issue lawfully begot, Roger Mortimer, earl of March, and heir; which Roger had issue Edmund, earl of March, Roger, Anne, and Eleanor; Edmund and Eleanor died without issue, and the said Anne by lawful matrimony was coupled unto Richard, earl of Cambridge, the son of Edmund of Langley, who had issue and lawfully bare Richard Plantagenet, now duke of York; John of Gaunt gat Henry; which unrightfully treated King Richard, then being alive Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, son of the said Philippa, daughter to Lionel. To the which Richard, duke of York, and son to Anne,

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daughter to Roger Mortimer, earl of March, son and heir to the said Philippa, daughter and heir to the said Lionel, the third son of Edward the Third, the right and dignity of the crown appertained and belonged, before any issue of the said John of Gaunt. Notwithstanding the said title of dignity of the said Richard of York, the said Richard, desiring the wealth, rest, and prosperity of England, agreeth and consenteth that King Henry the Sixth, should be had and taken for king of England during his natural life, from this time, without hurt of his title.

"Wherefore the king understanding the said title of the said duke to be just, lawful, true, and sufficient, by the advice and assent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in the parliament, and by the authority of the same parliament, declareth, approveth, ratifieth, confirmeth, accepteth the said title for just, good, lawful, and true, and thereto giveth his assent and agreement of his free will and liberty; and over that, by the said advice and authority declareth, calleth, stablisheth, affirmeth, and reputeth the said Richard of York, very true and rightful heir to the crown of England and France; and that all other statutes and acts made by any of the late Henries, contrary to this advice, be annulled, repelled, damned, cancelled, void, and of no force or effect. The king agreed and consented that the said duke and his heirs should after his natural life enjoy the crown, &c. Also, that all sayings and doings against the duke of York shall be high treason, and all acts of parliaments contrary to this principal act be void and of none effect."

And thus much for the reign of King Henry the Sixth, who now lacked his uncle and protector, duke of Gloucester, about him. But commonly the lack of such friends is never felt before they be missed.

In the time of this king was builded the house in London called Leadenhall, founded by one Simon Eyre, mayor once of the said city of London, A. D. 1445.

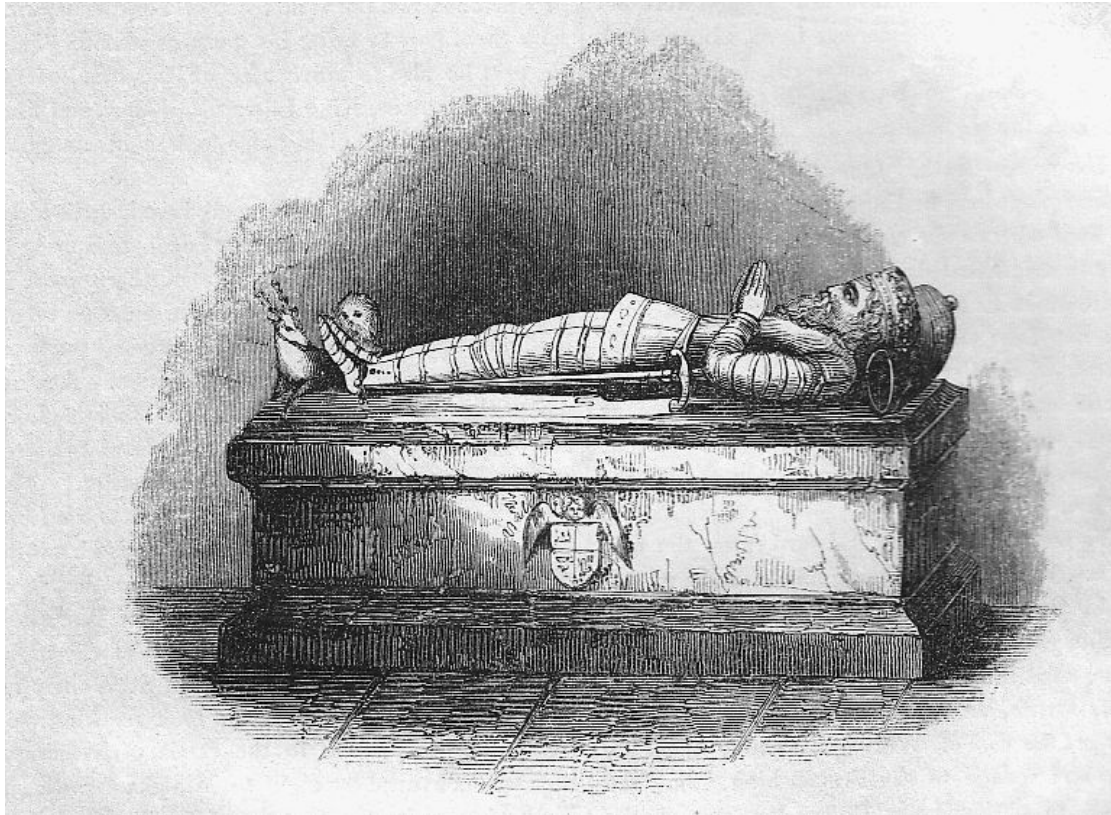
Also the standard in Cheap, builded by John Wells, A. D. 1442; the conduit in Fleet Street, by William Castfield, A. D. 1438. Item, Newgate, builded by the goods of Richard Whittington, A. D. 1422.

Moreover the said Henry the Sixth founded the college of Eton, and another house, having then the title of St. Nicholas, in Cambridge, now called the King's College.

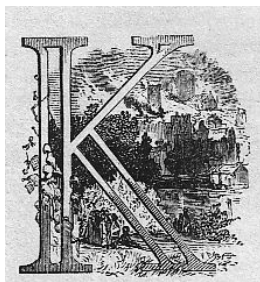
In the reign of this Henry the Sixth, it is not to be passed over in silence which we find noted in the parliament rolls, how that Louis, archbishop of Rouen, after the death of the late bishop of Ely, had granted unto him by the pope's bulls, during his life, all the profits of the said bishopric, by the name of the administrator of the said bishopric. Louis, the aforesaid archbishop, sheweth his bulls to the king, who utterly rejected his bulls. Notwithstanding, for his service done in France, the king granted to him the administration aforesaid, the which to all intents, at the petition of the said Louis, should be affirmed to be of as great force as though he were bishop, touching profits, liberties, and ability.

Neither again is here to be overpast a certain tragical act done betwixt Easter and Whitsuntide, of a false Briton, A. D. 1427, which murdered a good widow in her bed, (who had brought him up of alms, without Aldgate, in the suburbs of London,) and bare away all that she had, and afterward he took succour of holy church at St. George's in Southwark; but at the last he took the cross and forswore the king's land. And as he went his way, it happened him to come by the same place where he had done that cursed deed; and women of the same parish came out with stones and channel dung, and there made an end of him in the high street, so that he went no

farther, notwithstanding the constables and other men also which had him under governance to conduct him forward; for there was a great company of them, so that they were not able to withstand them.



Tomb of Henry VI



King Edward, after his conquest and victory achieved against King Henry, returned again to London, where, upon the vigil of St. Peter and Paul, being on Sunday, he was crowned king of England, and reigned twenty-two years, albeit not without great disquietness, and much perturbation in his reign.

Queen Margaret, hearing how her husband was fled into Scotland, was also fain to fly the land, and went to her father, duke of Anjou; from whence, the next year following, she returned again to renew war against King Edward, with small succour and less luck. For being encountered by the earl of Warwick, about November, she was driven to the seas again, and by tempest of weather she was driven into Scotland.

In this year we read that King Edward, in the cause of a certain widow for rape, sat in his own person in Westminster Hall upon his own bench, discussing her cause.

The year following, King Henry, issuing out of Scotland with a sufficient power of Scots and Frenchmen, came into the north country to recover the crown, unto whom the Lord Ralph Percy, and Lord Ralph Gray, flying from King Edward, did adjoin themselves; but the Lord so disposing, King Henry with his power was repulsed in battle at Exham by the Lord Mountecute, having then the rule of the north;

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where the duke of Somerset, Lord Hungerford, Lord Ross, with certain other were taken. The Lord Ralph Percy was slain, the residue fled. Albeit the history of Scala Mundi referreth this battle to the year 1464, the fifteenth day of May. In the which month of May, were beheaded the duke of Somerset, Lord Hungerford, Lord Ross, Lord Philip Wentworth, Lord Thomas Hussy, Lord Thomas Findern, beside twenty-one other belonging to the retinue and household of King Henry the Sixth. Queen Margaret, finding no resting-place here in England, took her progress again from whence she came, learning in her own country to drink that drink, which she herself had brewed here in England.

And not long after, the next year, A. D. 1465, on the day of St. Peter and Paul, King Henry, being found and known in a wood by one Cantlow, as they say, was arrested by the earl of Warwick, and at last, of a king made prisoner in the Tower of London.

In this mean time, King Edward (after the motion of marriage for him being made, and first the Lady Margaret, sister to James the Fourth, king of Scots, thought upon; but that motion taking no effect, afterward the Lady Elizabeth, sister to Henry, king of Castile, being intended; but she, being under age, the earl of Warwick, turning then his legation and voyage to the French king, Louis the Eleventh, to obtain Lady Bona, daughter of the duke of Savoy, and sister to Carlot, the French queen, and obtained the same) had cast favour unto one Elizabeth Grey, widow of Sir John Grey, knight, slain before in the battle of St. Alban's, daughter to the duchess of Bedford, and Lord Rivers, and first went about to have her to his concubine. But she, as being unworthy, as she said, to be the wife of such a high personage, so thinking herself to be too good to be his concubine, in such sort won the king's heart, that incontinent, before the return of the earl of Warwick, he married her; at the which marriage were no more than only the duchess of Bedford, two gentlewomen, the priest and clerk. Upon this so hasty and unlucky marriage ensued no little trouble to the king, much bloodshed to the realm, undoing almost to all her kindred, and finally, confusion to King Edward's two sons, which both were declared afterward to be bastards, and also deprived of their lives. For the earl of Warwick, who had been the faithful friend and chief maintainer before of the king, at the hearing of this marriage, was therewith so grievously moved and chafed in his mind, that he never after sought any thing more, than how to work displeasure to the king, and to put him beside his cushion. And although for a time he dissembled his wrathful mood, till he might spy a time convenient, and a world to set forward his purpose, at last, finding occasion somewhat serving to his mind, he breaketh his heart to his two brethren, to wit, the marquis Mountacute, and the archbishop of York, conspiring with them how to bring his purpose about. Then thought he also to prove afar off the mind of the duke of Clarence, King Edward's brother, and likewise obtained him, giving also to him his daughter in marriage.

This matter being thus prepared against the king, the first flame of his conspiracy began to appear in the north country. Where the northern men, in short space gathering themselves in an open rebellion, and finding captains of their wicked purpose, came down from York toward London. Against whom was appointed by the king, William Lord Herbert, earl of Pembroke, with the Lord Stafford, and certain other captains to encounter. The Yorkshiremen giving the overthrow first to the Lord Stafford, then to the earl of Pembroke, and his company of Welchmen at Banbury Field, at last joining together with the army of the earl of Warwick, and the duke of Clarence, in the dead of the night secretly stealing on the king's field at Wolney by

Warwick, killed the watch, and took the king prisoner, who first being in the castle of Warwick, then was conveyed by night to Middleham castle, in Yorkshire, under the custody of the archbishop of York, where he, having loose keeping, and liberty to go on hunting, meeting with Sir William Standley, Sir Thomas of Borough, and other his friends, was too good for his keepers, and escaped the hands of his enemies, and so came to York, where he was well received; from thence to Lancaster, where he met with the Lord Hasting, his chamberlain, well accompanied, by whose help he came safe to London.

After this tumult, when reconciliation could not come to perfect peace and unity, although much labour was made by the nobility, the earl of Warwick raiseth up a new war in Lincolnshire, the captain whereof was Sir Robert Wells, knight, who shortly after, being taken in battle with his father, and Sir Thomas Dunocke, were beheaded, the residue casting away their coats, ran away and fled, giving the name of the field, called Losecoat Field. The earl of Warwick, after this, put out of comfort and hope to prevail at home, fled out of England, A. D. 1470, first to Calais, then to Louis the French king, accompanied with the duke of Clarence. The fame of the earl of Warwick, and of his famous acts, was at that time in great admiration above measure, and so highly favoured, that both in England and France all men were glad to behold his personage. Wherefore the coming of this earl, and of the duke of Clarence, was not a little grateful to the French king, and no less opportune to Queen Margaret, King Henry's wife, and Prince Edward, her son, who also came to the French court to meet and confer together touching their affairs, where a league between them was concluded, and moreover a marriage between Edward, prince of Wales, and Anne, the second daughter of the earl of Warwick, was wrought. Thus all things falling luckily upon the earl's part, beside the large offers and great promises made by the French king, on the best manner to set forward their purpose, the earl having also intelligence, by letters, that the hearts almost of all men went with him, and longed sore for his presence, so that there lacked now but only haste with all speed possible to return; he, with the duke of Clarence, well fortified with the French navy, set forward toward England; for so was it between them before decreed, that they two should prove the first venture, and then Queen Margaret, with Prince Edward her son, should follow after. The arrival of the earl was not so soon heard of at Dartmouth in Devonshire, but great concourse of people by thousands went to him from all quarters to receive and welcome him: who immediately made proclamation in the name of King Henry the Sixth, charging all men, able to bear armour, to prepare themselves to fight against Edward, duke of York, usurper of the crown. Here lacked no friends, strength of men, furniture, nor policy convenient for such a matter.

When King Edward (who before not passing for the matter, nor seeking how either to have stopped his landing, or else straightways to have encountered with him, before the gathering of his friends, but passing forth the time in hunting, in hawking, in all pleasure and dalliance) had knowledge what great resort of multitudes incessantly more repaired and more daily about the earl and the duke, he began now to provide for remedy, when it was too late; who, trusting too much to his friends and fortune before, did now right well perceive what a variable and inconstant thing the people is, and especially here of England, whose nature is never to be content long with the present state, but always delighting in news, seeketh new variety of changes, either envying that which standeth, or else pitying that which is fallen. Which inconstant mutability of the light people, changing with the wind, and wavering with the reed, did well appear in the course of this king's story. For he, through the favour

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of the people when he was down, was exalted; now, being exalted, of the same was forsaken. Whereby this is to be noted of all princes, that as there is nothing in this mutable world firm and stable; so there is no trust nor assurance to be made, but only in the favour of God, and in the promises of his word, only in Christ his Son, whose only kingdom shall never have end, nor is subject to any mutation.

These things thus passing on in England on the earl's side against King Edward, he, accompanied with the duke of Gloucester his brother, and the Lord Hastings, who had married the earl of Warwick's sister, and yet was never untrue to the king his master, and the Lord Scales, brother to the queen, sent abroad to all his trusty friends for furniture of able soldiers for defence of his person, to withstand his enemies. When little rescue and few in effect would come, the king himself, so destitute, departed to Lincolnshire, where he, perceiving his enemies daily to increase upon him, and all the countries about to be in a roar, making fires, and singing songs, crying, King Henry, King Henry, a Warwick, a Warwick, and hearing moreover his enemies the Lancasterians to be within half a days' journey of him, was advised by his friends to flee over the sea to the duke of Burgundy, which not long before had married King Edward's sister.

Here might be thought, by the common judgment and policy of man, peradventure that King Edward, as he had in his hands the life of King Henry, of his queen and prince, so if he had despatched them out of the way, when he might, he had not fallen into this misery; but because he took not the vantage, which time rather than godly reason gave him, therefore that sparing pity of his turned. now to his confusion and ruin. And certes I suppose no less, but if the same case had fallen in these our pitiless days, in which charity now waxeth utterly cold, and humanity is almost forgotten, the occasion of such a time should not be so neglected. But let us here note and learn, how godly simplicity always in the end of things gaineth more than man's policy, forasmuch as man worketh with the one, but God worketh with the other.

And so far it is off, that event and success of things be governed by man's advised policy, or unadvised affection in this world, that that is judged to be weaker which flourisheth in man, than that which is cast down in the Lord; as in the double case of both these kings may well appear. And first, let us consider the case of King Edward, who, being so beset and compassed with evils and distresses on every side, first was compelled to take the Washes between Lincolnshire and Lynn (which was no less dangerous to his life, than it was unseemly for his state). Being come to Lynn, in what peril was he there, through the doubtful mutability of the townsmen, if he had been known to his enemies? And how could he be but known, if he had tarried any space? But though men and friends forsook him, yet the mercy of God, not forsaking the life of him which showed mercy unto other, so provided, that at the same present there was an English ship, and two hulks of Holland, ready to their journey. Thus King Edward, without provision, without bag or baggage, without cloth-sack or mail, without store of money, without raiment, save only apparel for war, also without all friends, except only his brother, duke of Gloucester, the Lord Scales, and Lord Hastings, with a few other trusty friends, to the number of seven or eight hundred persons, took shipping toward Holland; at which time he was in no less jeopardy almost on the sea, than he was on the land. For certain Easterlings having many ships of war, which lay roving the same time on the sea, and had done much damage the year before, as well to the English merchants as to the French nation, spying the king's ship, with seven or eight gallant ships, made sail after the king and his company. The king's ship was good of sail, and got some ground, albeit not much, of the Easterlings,

that she came, to the coast of Holland before Alquemare, and there cast anchor; for otherwise, being an ebbing water, they could not enter the haven. The Easterlings with their great ships approached as near as they could possibly come for the low water, purposing at the flood to obtain their prey, and so were like to do, if the Lord had not there also provided Monsieur de Grounture, governor for Duke Charles in Holland, at that season to be personally present in the town of Alquemare, who, hearing of the jeopardy of the king being there at anchor, prohibited the Easterlings, on pain of death, to meddle with any Englishmen, which were the duke's friends and allies.

Thus King Edward, well chastised of God for his wantonness, both by sea and land, but not utterly given over from his protection, escaping so many hard chances, was set on land with his company; who, there well refreshed and new apparelled, were conducted to Hague.

Duke Charles, at the hearing of the unprosperous case and condition of King Edward his brother-in-law, was greatly amazed and perplexed in himself, much casting and doubting what he should do. For being then in war with the French king, he could not well provoke the English nation against him, without his manifest grievance and decay; neither yet could he, without great shame and obloquy, leave the king his brother in that necessity. Notwithstanding, so he demeaned himself through fair speech, pretending to the Englishmen to join part with the house of Lancaster, being himself partly descended of the same family by his grandmother's side; that he both was his own friend openly, and the king's friend covertly, pretending that he did not, and doing that he pretended not.

When tidings was spread in England of King Edward's flying, innumerable people of all hands resorted to the earl of Warwick, to take his part against King Edward, a few only except of his constant friends, which took sanctuary. Among whom was also Elizabeth his wife, who, despairing almost of all comfort, took also sanctuary at Westminster, where she, in great penury forsaken, was delivered of a fair son called Edward, which without all pomp was baptized like another poor woman's child, the godfathers being the abbot and prior of Westminster, the godmother was Lady Scroope.

To make the story short, the earl of Warwick having now brought all things to his appetite, upon the twelfth day of October rode to the Tower, which was then delivered to him, and there took King Henry out of the ward, and placed him in the king's lodging. The five and twentieth day of the same month, the duke of Clarence, accompanied with the earls of Warwick, Shrewsbury, and the Lord Stanley, with a great company, brought him in a long gown of blue velvet through the high streets of London, first to Paul's church to offer, then to the bishop's palace of London, and there he resumed again the crown royal, A. D. 1471, which he did not long enjoy.

After this followed a parliament, in the which King Edward with all his partakers were judged traitors. Queen Margaret, with her son Prince Edward, all this while was tarrying for a fair wind, thinking long belike till she came to an evil bargain, as it proved after. For King Edward, within six months after his departure out of England unto the duke of Burgundy, whether by letters from his friends solicited, or whether by his adventurous courage incited, made instant suit to Duke Charles his brother, to rescue him with such power as he would bestow upon him; for he was fully resolved to defer the matter, and to protract the time no longer.

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The duke camped in double fear in such a dangerous case, notwithstanding, overcome by nature and affinity, secretly caused to be delivered to him fifty thousand florins, and further caused four great ships to be appointed for him in a haven in Zealand, where it was free for all men to come. Also the same duke had for him hired fourteen ships of the Fastenings well appointed, taking bond of them to serve him truly till he were landed in England, and fifteen days after.

Thus King Edward, being furnished but only with two thousand men of war, with more luck than hope to speed, sped his voyage into England, and landed at Ravenspur, in the coast of Yorkshire. Although there was no way for the king with such a small company of soldiers to do any good, yet, to use policy where strength did lack, first he sent forth certain light horsemen to prove the country on every side, with persuasions, to see whether the uplandish people would be stirred to take King Edward's part. Perceiving that it would not be, king Edward flieth to his shifts, dissembling his purpose to be, not to claim the crown and kingdom, but only to claim the duchy of York, which was his own title, and caused the same to be published. This being notified to the people, that he desired no more but only his just patrimony and lineal inheritance, they began to be moved with mercy and compassion towards him, either to favour him or not to resist him, and so, journeying toward York, he came to Beverley. The Marquis Mountacute, brother to the earl of Warwick, was then at Pomfret, to whom the earl had sent straight charge, with all expedition to set upon him, or else to stop his passage; and likewise to the citizens of York, and all Yorkshire, to shut their gates and take armour against him. King Edward, being in these straits, proceeded notwithstanding near to York without resistance, where he required of the citizens to be admitted into their city. But so stood the case then, that they durst not grant unto him, but, on the contrary, sent him word to approach no nearer, as he loved his own safeguard. The desolate king was here driven to a narrow strait, who neither could retire back, for the opinion of the country and loss of his cause; neither could go farther, for the present danger of the city. Wherefore, using the same policy as before, with lovely words and gentle speech he desired the messengers to declare unto the citizens, that his coming was not to demand the realm of England, or the title of the same, but only the duchy of York, his old inheritance; and therefore determined to set forward, neither with armynor weapon. The messengers were not so soon within the gates, but he was at the gates in a manner as soon as they.

The citizens, hearing his courteous answer, and that he intended nothing to the prejudice of the king, nor of the realm, were something mitigated toward him, and began to commune with him from the walls, willing him to withdraw his power to some other place, and they should be the more ready to aid him, at least he should have no damage by them.

Notwithstanding, he again used such lowly language, and delivered so fair speech unto them, entreating them so courteously, and saluting the aldermen by their names, requiring at their hands no more but only his own town, whereof he had the name and title, that at length the citizens, after long talk and debating upon the matter, partly also enticed with fair and large promises, fell to this convention, that if he would swear to be true to King Henry, and gentle in entertaining his citizens, they would receive him into the city.

This being concluded, the next morning, at the entering of the gate, a priest was ready to say mass, in the which, after the receiving of the sacrament, the king received a solemn oath to observe the two articles before agreed. By reason of which

oath, so rashly made, and as shortly broken, and not long after punished, as it may well be thought, in his posterity, he obtained the city of York. Where he, in short time forgetting his oath, to make all sure, set in garrisons of armed soldiers. Furthermore, perceiving all things to be quiet, and no stir to be made against him, he thought to neglect no opportunity of time, and so made forward toward London, leaving by the way the Marquis Mountacute, which lay then with his army at Pomfret, on the right hand, not fully four miles distant from his camp; and so returning to the high-way, he went forward without any stirring to the town of Nottingham, where came to him Sir William Parre, Sir Thomas of Borough, Sir Thomas Montgomery, and divers else of his assured friends, with their aids, which caused him by a proclamation to stand to his own title of King Edward the Fourth, saying, that they would serve no man but a king: at the fame hereof being blown abroad, as the citizens of York were not a little offended, and that worthily, so from other towns and cities lords and noblemen began to fall unto him, thinking with themselves that the Marquis Mountacute either favoured his cause, or was afraid to encounter with the man. Howsoever it was, King Edward, being now more fully furnished at all points, came to the town of Leicester, and there, hearing that the earl of Warwick, accompanied with the earl of Oxford, were together at Warwick with a great power, minding to set on the earl, he removed from thence his army, hoping to give him battle. The duke of Clarence, in the mean time, about London had levied a great host, coming toward the earl of Warwick, as he was by the earl appointed. But when the earl saw the duke to linger the time, he began to suspect (as it fell out indeed) that he was altered to his brethren's part. The king, advancing forward his host, came to Warwick, where he found all the people departed. From thence he moved toward Coventry, where the earl was; unto whom, the next day after, he boldly offered battle. But the earl, expecting the duke of Clarence's coming, kept him within the walls. All this made for the king; for he, hearing that his brother, the duke of Clarence, was not far off, coming toward him with a great army, raised his camp, and made toward him, either to treat or else to encounter with his brother. When each host was in sight of the other, Richard, duke of Gloucester, brother to them both, as arbiter between them, first rode to the one, then to the other. Whether all this was for a face of a matter made, it is uncertain. But hereby both the brethren, laying all army and weapon aside, first lovingly and familiarly communed; after that, brotherly and naturally joined together. And that fraternal amity by proclamation also was ratified, and put out of all suspicion.

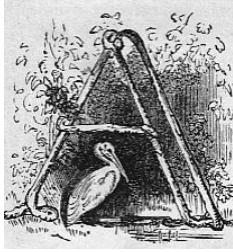
Then was it agreed between the three brethren to attempt the earl of Warwick, if he likewise would be reconciled; but he, crying out shame upon the duke of Clarence, stood at utter defiance. From thence King Edward, so strongly furnished and daily increasing, taketh his way to London; where, after it was known that the duke of Clarence was come to his brethren, much fear fell upon the Londoners, casting with themselves what was best to do. The suddenness of time permitted no long consultation. There was at London the same time the archbishop of York, brother to the earl of Warwick, and the duke of Somerset, with other of King Henry's council, to whom the earl had sent in commandment a little before, knowing the weakness of the city, that they should keep the city from their enemies two or three days, and he would follow with all possible speed with a puissant army, who, according to their commandment, defended the city with all their power, but yet to little purpose. For the citizens consulting with themselves for their own most indemnity, having no walls to defend them, thought best to take that way which seemed to them most sure and safe, and therefore concluded to take part with King Edward. This was not so soon known abroad, but the commonalty ran out by heaps to meet King Edward, and to salute him

as their king. Whereupon the duke of Somerset, with other of King Henry's council, hearing thereof, and wondering at the sudden change of the world, to shift for themselves, fled away and left there King Henry alone. Who, the same day being caused by the archbishop of York to ride about London like a king, was before night made captive, and reduced again to the Tower.

It was not long after these things thus done at London, but the coming of the earl of Warwick was heard of; who, thinking to prevent mischiefs with making speed, came a little too late and missed of his purpose. In the earl's army were John, duke of Exeter, Edmund, earl of Somerset, John, earl of Oxford, and Marquis Mountacute, the earl's brother. The earl had now passed a great part of his journey, when he, hearing news of the world so changed, and of the captivity of King Henry, was not a little thereat appalled in his mind; wherefore he stayed with his army at St. Alban's, to see what way further to take. And forasmuch as there was no other remedy, but either he must yield, or one conflict must finish the matter, he removed to Barnet, ten miles from St. Alban's.

Against him set forth King Edward, well appointed with a strong army of picked and able persons, with artillery, engines, and instruments meet for the purpose; bringing with him also King Henry. On Easter-even he came to Barnet, and there he embattled himself. In the morning upon Easter-day the battle began, and fiercely continued almost till noon, with murder on each side, much doubtful, till both parts were almost weary with fighting and murdering. King Edward then desirous to see an end, off or on, with a great crew of new fresh soldiers set upon his wearied enemies. Where the earl's men, encouraged with words of their captain, stoutly fought, but they, sore wounded and wearied, could not long hold out. The earl, rushing into the midst of his enemies, ventured so far that he could not be rescued; where he was stricken down and slain, and there lay he. Marquis Mountacute, thinking to succour his brother, whom he saw to be in great jeopardy, was likewise overthrown and slain. After that Richard Nevill, earl of Warwick, and his brother were gone, the rest fled, and many were taken. The number of them which were in this field slain, are judged about ten thousand, as Polydore Virgil reciteth. Fabian numbereth of them that were slain but fifteen hundred. The duke of Somerset and earl of Oxford, thinking to fly to Scotland, returned to Jasper, earl of Pembroke, in Wales. The duke of Exeter hardly escaped to Westminster, and there took sanctuary. For the death of the earl of Warwick the king was not so glad, as he was sorry for the Marquis Mountacute, whom he took to be his friend. The corpses of these two were brought to the church of Paul's, where they lay open in two coffins two days, and then were interred.

In the narration of this history, Polydore Virgil, whom Hall followeth word for word, doth some deal differ from Robert Fabian. Neither do I doubt but both these had their authors by whom they were directed. Notwithstanding this, I marvel that Polydore, writing of so many things which he never saw, doth not vouchsafe to cite unto us those writers of whom he borrowed. And more do I marvel, or rather lament, if it be true that I have heard, that he not only nameth no author unto us, but also burned a heap of our English stories unknown, after the finishing of his, in the days of King Henry the Eighth. But now to our text again.



Il this while yet Queen Margaret, with young Prince Edward her son, was scarce come over, being long let with contrary winds; who at length in the month of April arrived at Weymouth in Dorsetshire, and hearing the sorrowful tidings of these things lately happened to her husband, and to the earl of Warwick and his brother, and of the prosperous success of King Edward, was so dismayed, disquieted, and pierced with sorrow, seeing all things, contrary to her expectation, so to frame against her, that she feared and took on with herself, lamenting her husband,, bewailing her son, cursing her coming, and crying out of Fortune, as though blind Fortune were she that governeth times and tides, (rewarding just punishments to unjust deservings of men,) and not the secret power and terrible justice of Almighty God. Such was then the impatience of that queen, being not able to bear the vehemency of her passion, (who rather should have sorrowed the dolorous death of Duke Humphrey, whom before she neglected, but now she lacked,) that her senses failed, her spirits were taken, her speech decayed, and, life almost gone, she fell to the ground, as one that would rather die than live. In this desolate case Queen Margaret, learning now to know her friends from her foes, when it was too late, fraught full of heaviness, without solace or hope of remedy, she with her son and her company departed for the next refuge, to a monastery of monks called Beaulieu in Hampshire, there to take sanctuary and privilege of the house.

Yet all hearts were not sound nor subdued in England, especially Edmund, duke of Somerset, with Lord John his brother, Thomas Courtney, earl of Devonshire, Jasper, earl of Pembroke, Lord Wenlock, John Longscrother, being prior of the knights of Rhodes, in St. John's. These, hearing of the queen's return, with speed resorted to her; by whom she being somewhat quickened in her spirits, and animated to war, began to take some heart, and to follow their counsel; which was, in all the hot haste, to renew war against King Edward, being now unprovided, by reason his army was now dispersed, and chiefest of his soldiers wasted. Here great hope of victory was showed, great promises made. Although the queen's mind was, being more careful for the young prince than for herself, to send him over into France, before some proof or trial made; yet following the contrary counsel of them, and partly cut off by shortness of time which required haste, she began with all expedition to gather power. Likewise Jasper, earl of Pembroke, posted into Wales to do the same.

King Edward, having intelligence of all these doings, first sendeth out certain light horsemen, to espy abroad through the west parts what ways his enemies did take. In the mean time he, using all celerity to meet them before they came to London, gathered a power, such as he could make about London, and first cometh to Abingdon, from thence to Marlebridge, hearing that the queen was at Bath, thinking to encounter with them, before they diverted into Wales to the earl of Pembroke, whither he thought (as they indeed intended) that they would take. But the queen, understanding the king to be so nigh, removeth from Bath to Bristol, sending word in the mean while to the citizens of Gloucester, that they would grant her leave safely to pass by their city. Which when it could not be obtained, with her army she departed from Bristol to Tewkesbury; where the duke of Somerset, knowing King Edward to be at hand at his very back, willed the queen there to stay, and in no wise to fly backward for certain doubts that might be cast. Although this counsel was against the consent of many other captains, who thought it best rather to draw aside, while the earl of Pembroke with his army were with them associate; yet the mind of the duke prevailed, the place was prefixed, the field pitched, the time of battle came, the king

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was looked for; who being within one mile of Tewkesbury, with like industry and policy, as his enemies had done, disposed his army likewise in their array. The celerity of the king, taking the time, was to him great advantage; who otherwise, if he had deferred till he had conjoined with the earl of Pembroke, had put the matter in great hazard. Such a matter it is to take a thing in time.

Of this battle Hall thus reporteth, adding more than Polydore, that the duke of Somerset, although he was strongly intrenched, yet, through the occasion or policy of the duke of Gloucester, which had the fore ward of the king's part, a little recoiling back, followed the chase, supposing that the Lord Wenlock, who had the middle ward, would have followed hard at his back. The duke of Gloucester, whether for shame rather than of policy, espying his advantage, suddenly turned face to his enemies. Whereupon the contrary part was eftsoons discomfited, and so much the more, because they were separated from their company. The duke of Somerset, not a little aggrieved at this so unfortunate a case, returneth to the middle ward, where he seeing the Lord Wenlock abiding still, revileth him, and calleth him traitor, and with his axe striketh the brains out of his head.

Thus much addeth Hall besides Polydore; but showeth not his author where he had it. Polydore, writing of this conflict, writeth no more but this, that the queen's army being overset with the number and multitude of their enemies, and she having no fresh soldiers to furnish the field, was at last overmatched, and for the most part slain or taken. In which battle were named to be slain, the earl of Devonshire, the Lord Wenlock, Lord John, duke of Somerset's brother, besides other. Among them that were taken was Queen Margaret, found in her chariot almost dead for sorrow, Prince Edward, Edmund, duke of Somerset, John, prior of St. John's, with twenty other knights; all which were beheaded within two days after, the queen only and the young prince excepted. Which Prince Edward being then brought to the king's presence, it was demanded of him how he durst be so bold to stand in battle against him. To this Edward Hall addeth more, and saith, that after the field was finished the king made proclamation, that whosoever would bring Prince Edward to him, should have annuity of a hundred pounds during his life, and the prince's life should be saved. Whereupon Sir Richard Croftes, not mistrusting the king's promise, brought forth his prisoner, &c. And so the king demanding of the prince, as is said, how he durst so presumptuously enter this realm with his banner displayed against him; he answered, saying, that he came to recover his father's kingdom and inheritance, from his grandfather and father to him descending; whereat (said Polydore) the king with his hand disdainfully thrust him from him. Other say that the king struck him on the face with his gauntlet.

At the speaking of these words were present George, duke of Clarence, Richard, duke of Gloucester, and the earl Lord William Hastings; who upon the same, uncourteously falling upon the prince, did slay him. Queen Margaret, being brought prisoner to London, was afterward ransomed of her father, duke of Anjou, for a great sum of money, which he borrowed of the French king, and for the payment thereof was fain to yield unto him the title of the kingdom of Sicily, and Naples, &c. King Edward for these prosperous wars rendered to God his hearty thanks, and caused publicly through his realm solemn processions to be kept three days together. And thus much, and too much, touching the wars of King Edward the Fourth, which was done, A. D. 1471.

The same year, and about the same time, upon the Ascension even, King Henry, being prisoner in the Tower, departed, after he had reigned in all thirty-eight years and six months. Polydore, and Hall following him, affirm that he was slain with a dagger by Richard, duke of Gloucester, the king's brother, for the more quiet and safeguard of the king his brother. In the history entitled *Scala Mundi*, I find these words, that King Henry being in the Tower, upon the Ascension even, there happily or quietly departing, was brought by Thames in a boat to the abbey of Chertsey, and there buried.

Polydore, after he hath described the virtues of this king, recordeth that King Henry the Seventh did afterward translate the corpse of him from Chertsey to Windsor, and addeth, moreover, that by him certain miracles were wrought. "For the which cause the said King Henry the Seventh," saith he, "laboured with Pope Julius, to have him canonized for a saint, but the death of the king was the let why that matter proceeded not." Edward Hall, writing of this matter, addeth more, declaring the cause why King Henry's sainting went not forward to be this; for that the fees of canonizing of a king were of so great a quantity at Rome, (more than of another, bishop or prelate,) that the said king thought it better to keep the money in his chests, than with the impoverishing of the realm to buy so dear and pay so much for a new holy-day of St. Henry in the calendar, &c. Which if it be true, it might be replied then to Pope Julius, that if popes be higher than kings in the earth, and especially in heaven, why then is a pope-saint so cheap in the marketplace of Rome, and a king-saint so dear? Again, if the valuation of things in all markets and burses be according to the price and dignity of the thing that is bought; what reason is it, seeing the sainting of a king beareth a bigger sale than the sainting of any pope in heaven, but that kings should be above popes also upon the earth? As I do not doubt but that King Henry was a good and a quiet prince, if he had not otherwise been abused by some; so touching the ruin of his house, I think not contrary, but it came not without the just appointment of the Lord, either for that the Henries of Lancaster's house were such enemies to God's people, and for the burning of the Lord Cobham and many other; or else for the unjust displacing of King Richard the Second; or else, thirdly, for the cruel slaughter of Humphrey, the good duke of Gloucester, his uncle, whereof sufficiently hath been said before.

During the time of these doings, being about the year of our Lord 1465, there was here in England a certain Friar Carmelite, who, about the term of Michael the archangel, preached at Paul's, in London, that our Lord Jesus Christ, being here in this present world, was in poverty, and did beg. To whose opinion and doctrine the provincial of that order seemed also to incline, defending the same both in his reading and preaching, with other doctors more and brethren of the same order; unto whom also adjoined certain of the Jacobites, and stiffly did take their parts. On the contrary side, many doctors and also lawyers, both in their public lectures and preaching, to the uttermost of their cunning did withstand their assertion, as being a thing most pestiferous in the church to be heard. Such a bitter contention was among them, that the defendant part was driven for a while to keep silence. Much like to those times I might well resemble these our days now present, with our tumultuous contention of forms and fashions of garments. But I put myself here in Pythagoras's school, and keep silence with these friars. In the story, moreover, it followeth, that this beggarly question of the Begging Friars, whether Christ did beg or no, went so far, that at length it came to the pope's ears, Paulus the Second, who was no beggar ye may be sure. After that the fame of this doctrine, mounting over the Alps, came flying to the

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court of Rome, which was about the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, the year next following, A. D. 1465, it brought with it such an evil smell to the fine noses there, that it was no need to bid them to stir; for begging to them was worse than high heresy. Wherefore the holy father, Pope Paulus the Second, to repress the sparkles of this doctrine, which otherwise, perhaps, might have set his whole kitchen on fire, taketh the matter in hand, and eftsoons directeth down his bull into England, insinuating to the prelates here, That this heresy, which pestiferously doth affirm that Christ did openly beg, was condemned of old time by the bishop of Rome, and his councils, and that the same ought to be declared in all places for a damned doctrine, and worthy to be trodden down under all men's feet, &c. This was in the same year when Prince Edward, King Edward's son, was born in the sanctuary of Westminster, A. D. 1465.

As touching the rest of the doings and affairs of this king, (which had vanquished hitherto in nine battles, himself being present,) how afterward he, through the incitement of Charles, duke of Burgundy, his brother-in-law, ventured into France with a puissant army, and how the duke failed him in his promise; also how peace between these two kings was at length concluded in a solemn meeting of both the said kings together, (which meeting is notified in stories, by a white dove sitting the same day of meeting upon the top of King Edward's tent,) also of the marriage promised between the young Dauphin and Elizabeth King Edward's eldest daughter, but afterward broken off on the French king's part; moreover, as touching the death of the duke of Burgundy slain in war, and of his daughter Mary, niece to King Edward, spoiled of her lands and possessions wrongfully by Louis the French king, and married after to Maximilian. Furthermore, as touching the expedition of King Edward into Scotland, by reason of King James breaking promise in marrying with Cicely the second daughter of King Edward, and of driving out his brother, and how the matter was composed there, and of the recovery again of Berwick; of these (I say) and such other things more, partly because they are described sufficiently in our common English stories, partly also because they be matters not greatly pertaining to the church, I omit to speak, making of them a supersedeas. Two things I find here, among many other, specially to be remembered.

The first is concerning a godly and constant servant of Christ, named John Goose, which in the time of this king was unjustly condemned and burnt at the Tower Hill, A. D. 1473, in the month of August. Thus had England also its John Huss as well as Bohemia. Wherein, moreover, this is to be noted, that since the time of King Richard the Second, there is no reign of any king to be assigned hitherto, wherein some good man or other hath not suffered the pains of fire for the religion and true testimony of Christ Jesus. Of this said John Goose, or John Huss, this, moreover, I find in another English monument recorded, that the said John being delivered to Robert Belisdon, one of the sheriffs, to see him burnt the afternoon; the sheriff, like a charitable man, had him home to his house, and there exhorted him to deny (saith the story) his errors. But the godly man, after long exhortation heard, desired the sheriff to be content, for he was satisfied in his conscience. Notwithstanding this, he desired of the sheriff, for God's sake to give him some meat, saying that he was very sore hungered. Then the sheriff commanded him meat; whereof he took and did eat, as if he had been toward no manner of danger, and said to such as stood about him, I eat now a good and competent dinner, for I shall pass a little sharp shower ere I go to supper. And when he had dined, he gave thanks, and required that he might shortly be led to the place where he should yield up his spirit unto God.

The second thing herein to be noted, is the death of George, duke of Clarence, the king's second brother; of whom relation was made before, how he assisted King Edward his brother, against the earl of Warwick at Barnet field, and helped him to the crown; and now after all these benefits was at length thus requited, that, for what cause it is uncertain, he was apprehended and cast into the Tower, where he, being adjudged for a traitor, was privily drowned in a butt of Malmsey. What the true cause was of his death, it cannot certainly be affirmed. Divers conjectures and imaginations there be diversely put forth. Some partly imputed it to the queen's displeasure. Other suppose it came for taking part in the cause of his servant, which was accused and condemned for poisoning, sorcery, or enchantment. Another fame there is, which surmiseth the cause hereof to rise upon the vain fear of a foolish prophecy, coming no doubt, if it were true, by the crafty operation of Satan, as it doth many times else happen among infidels and Gentiles, where Christ is not known; where among high princes and in noble houses much mischief groweth, first murder and parricide, and thereby ruin of ancient families, and alteration of kingdoms. The effect of this prophecy, as the fame goeth, was this, that after King Edward should one reign whose name should begin with G. And because the name of the duke of Clarence, being George, began with a G, therefore he began to be feared, and afterward privily, as is aforesaid, was made away.

122. On False Prophecies

By these experiments and mischievous ends of such prophecies, and also by the nature of them, it is soon to be seen from what fountain or author they proceed, that is, no doubt, from Satan, the ancient enemy of mankind, and prince of this world; against whose deceitful delusions, Christian men must be well instructed, neither to marvel greatly at them though they seem strange, nor yet to believe them though they happen true. For Satan being the prince of this world, in such worldly things can foresee what will follow, and can say truth for a mischievous end, and yet for all that is but a Satan. So the dream of Astiages, seeing a vine to grow out of his daughter, which should cover all Asia, and fearing thereby that by his nephew he should lose his kingdom, proved true in the sequel thereof; and yet, notwithstanding, of Satan it came, and caused cruel murder to follow, first of the shepherd's child, then of the son of Harpagus, whom he set before his own father to eat. Likewise Cyrus was prophetically admonished by his dream, to take him for his guide whom he first met the next morrow. In that also his dream fell true, and yet was not of God. In the same number are to be put all the blind oracles of the idolatrous Gentiles, which although they proceed of a lying spirit, yet sometimes they hit the truth to a mischievous purpose. The like judgment also is to be given of Merlin's prophecies. The sorceress mentioned 1 Sam. xxviii., raising up Samuel, told Saul the truth, yet was it not of God. In the 16th chapter of the Acts, there was a damsel having the spirit of Pytho, who said truth of Paul and Silas, calling them the messengers of the high God, and yet it was a wrong spirit. The unclean spirits in giving testimony of Christ said the truth, yet, because their testimony came not of God, Christ did not allow it.

Paulus Diaconus recordeth of Valentinian the emperor, that he also had a blind prophecy, not much unlike to this of King Edward, which was, that one should succeed him in the empire whose name should begin with Θ, ο and δ.[Greek: Th, o and d]. Whereupon one Theodorus, trusting upon the prophecy, began rebelliously to hope for the crown, and for his labour felt the pains of a traitor. Notwithstanding, the effect of the prophecy followed; for after Valentinian succeeded Theodosius. Wherefore Christian princes and noblemen, and all Christ's faithful people, must beware and learn:

First, That no man be inquisitive or curious in searching to know what things be to come, or what shall happen, besides those things only which are promised and expressed in the word.

Secondly, To understand what difference there is, and how to discern the voice of God from the voice of Satan.

Thirdly, How to resist and avoid the danger of false and devilish prophecies.

Many there be, which, being not contented with things present, curiously occupy their wits to search what is to come, and not giving thanks to God for their life which they have, will also know what shall bechance them, how and when their end shall come, how long princes shall reign, and who after shall succeed them, and for the same get unto them soothsayers, astrologers, sorcerers, conjurors, or familiars. And these are not so much inquisitive to search or ask, but the devil is as ready to

answer them, who either falsely doubleth with them to delude them, or else telleth them truth, to work them perpetual care and sorrow. Thus was Pope Silvester the sorcerer circumvented by the devil, who told him that he should be at Jerusalem before he died, and so it fell out; for as he was saying his mass at a chapel in Rome, called Jerusalem, there he fell sick, and within three days after died. To King Henry the Fourth also it seemeth it was prophesied, that he should not die before he went to Jerusalem, who, being brought to the abbot's chamber of Westminster, and hearing the name of the chamber to be called Jerusalem, knew his time to be come, and died.

By such deceitful prophecies it cannot be lamented enough to see what inconvenience, both publicly and privately, groweth to the life of men, either causing them falsely to trust where they should not, or else wickedly to perpetrate that they would not; as may appear both by this king, and also divers more. So was Pompey, Crassus, and Cesar, (as writeth Cicero,) deceived by the false Chaldees, in declaring to them that they should not die but in their beds, and with worship, and in their old age. Of such a false trust, rising upon false prophecies, St. Ambrose, in his book of Exameron, writeth, speaking of rain, which being in those parts greatly desired, was promised and prophesied of one certainly to fall upon such a day, which was at the changing of the new moon; "but," saith St. Ambrose, "there fell no such rain at all, till at the prayers of the church the same was obtained; giving us to understand, that rain cometh not by the word of man, nor by the beginnings of the moon, but by the providence and mercy of our Creator."

Johannes Picus, earl of Mirandula, in his excellent books written against these vain star-tellers and astrologers, writeth of one Ordelaphus, a prince, to whom it was prognosticated, by a famous cunning man in that science, called Hieronymus Manfredus, that he should enjoy long continuance of health, and prosperous life; who, notwithstanding, the selfsame year, and in the first year of his marriage, deceased: and after divers other examples, added moreover upon the same, he inferreth also mention, and the name of a certain rich matron in Rome, named Constantia, who, in like manner, departed the same year, in which she received great promises by these soothsayers and astrologers, of a long and happy life, saying to her husband these words, "Behold," saith she, "how true be the prognostications of these soothtellers!" If it were not for noting of them which now are gone, and whose names I would in no case to be blemished with any spot, I could recite the names of certain, especially one, which, taking his journey in a certain place, after diligent calculation and forecasting of the success and good speed of his journey, was, notwithstanding, in the same journey apprehended and brought where he would not, and after that, never enjoying good day, in short time he departed. In Basil, this I myself heard, of one which knew and was conversant with the party, who, having a curious delight in these speculations of chances and events to come, by his calculation noted a certain day which he mistrusted should be fatal unto him, by something which at that day should befall upon him. Whereupon he determined with himself all that day to keep him sure and safe within his chamber, where he, reaching up his hand to take down a book, the book falling down upon his head, gave him his death's wound, and shortly after he died upon the same. Of these, and such-like examples, the world is full, and yet the curiousness of men's heads will not refrain, still to pluck the apple of this unlucky and forbidden tree.

Beside all this, what murder and parricide cometh by the fear of these prophecies, in great bloods and noble houses, I refer it unto them which read and well advise the stories, as well of our kings here in England, as in other kingdoms more,

both Christened and Turkish, whereof another place shall serve as well, Christ willing, more largely to treat, and particularly to discourse. To this pertaineth also the great inconvenience and hinderance that groweth by the fear of such prophecies in the vocation of men, forasmuch as many there be which, fearing some one danger, some another, leave their vocations undone, and follow inordinate ways: as if one, having a blind prophecy, that his destruction should be on the day, would wake and do all his business by night and candle light; and so forth in other several cases of men and women, as every one in his own conscience knoweth his own case best.

The second thing to be considered in these prophecies, is rightly to discern and understand, as near as we can, the difference between the prophecies proceeding from God, and the false prophecies counterfeited by Satan. For Satan sometimes playeth God's ape, and transformeth himself into an angel of light, bearing such a resemblance and colour of truth and religion, that a wise man is scarcely able to discern the one from the other, and the most part is beguiled. Concerning prophecies therefore, to know which be of God, which be not, three things are to be observed:

1. First, whether they go simply and plainly, or whether they be doubtful and ambiguous; whereof the one seemeth to taste of God's Spirit, such as be the prophecies of the Scripture; the other to come otherwise, having a double or doubtful interpretation. Although the time of God's prophecies, as also of miracles, is commonly and ordinarily expired; yet if the Lord in these days now extraordinarily do show and prophesy, by the simpleness and plainness thereof it may partly be discerned.

2. Secondly, this is to be expended, whether they be private, tending to this family or that family, or public. For as the Scriptures, so commonly the prophecies of God, have no private interpretation, but general; forasmuch as the care of God's Holy Spirit is not restrained partially to one person more than to another, but generally and indifferently respecteth the whole church of his elect in Christ Jesus his Son. Wherefore such prophecies as privately are touching the arms of houses or names of men, rising or falling of private and particular families, are worthily to be suspected.

3. The third note and special argument to descry the true prophecies of God from the false prophecies of Satan and his false prophets, is this, to consider the matter and the end thereof, that is, whether they be worldly, or whether they be spiritual, or whether they tend to any glory or state of this present world, or whether they tend to the spiritual instruction, admonition, or comfort of the public church.

Now remaineth, thirdly, after we know what prophecies be of God, and what not, that we be instructed next, how to eschew the fear and peril of all devilish prophecies which make against us. Wherein two special remedies are to be marked of every Christian man, whereby he may be safe and sure against all danger of the enemy. The first is, That we set the name of Christ Jesus the Son of God against them, through a true faith in him, knowing this, that the Son of God hath appeared to dissolve the works of the devil. And again, This is the victory (saith the Scripture) that overcometh the world, even our faith. Whatsoever then Satan worketh or can work against us, be it never so forcible, faith in Christ will vanquish it. Such a majesty is in our faith, believing in the name of the Son of God.

The other remedy is faithful prayer, which obtaineth in the name of Christ all things with the Lord. So that wicked fiend, which had killed before seven husbands of Tobias' wife, could not hurt him entering his matrimony with earnest prayer; so no

more shall any sinister prophecy prevail, where prayer out of a faithful heart doth strive against it. Neither am I ignorant, that against such temporal evils and punishments to this life inflicted, a great remedy lieth also in this, when Satan findeth nothing wherein greatly to accuse our conscience. But because such a conscience is hard to be found, the next refuge is to fly to repentance, with amendment of life. For many times where sin doth reign in our mortal bodies, there also the operation of Satan is strong against us, to afflict our outward bodies here; but as touching our eternal salvation, neither work nor merit hath any place, but only our faith in Christ. And thus much briefly touching the two special remedies, whereby the operation of all devilish prophecies may be avoided and defeated.

Now many there be, which leaving these remedies aforesaid, and the safe protection which the Lord hath set up in Christ, take other ways of their own, seeking by their own policy how to withstand and escape such prophecies, either in eschewing the place and time subtly, or else cruelly, by killing the party whom they fear; whereof cometh injury, murder, and parricide, with other mischiefs in commonwealths unspeakable. To whom commonly it cometh so to pass, that whereby they think most to save themselves, by the same means they fall most into the snare, being subverted and confounded in their own policy, for that they trusting to their own device, and not unto the Lord, which only can dissolve the operation of Satan, the Lord so turneth their device into a trap, thereby to take them, whereby they think most surely to escape. Examples whereof we see not only in Astyages, king of the Medes aforesaid, and Cyrus; but in infinite other-like events, which the trade of the world doth daily offer to our eyes. So Queen Margaret thought her then cocksure, when Duke Humphrey was made away; when nothing else was her confusion so much as the loss and lack of that man.

So if King Richard the Second had not exercised such cruelty upon his uncle, Thomas, duke of Gloucester, he had not received such wrong by King Henry the Fourth as he did. Likewise this King Edward the Fourth, if he had suffered his brother George, duke of Clarence, to have lived, his house had not so gone to wreck, by Richard his other brother, as it did. What befell upon the student of astrology in the university of Basil, ye heard before; who, if he had not mewed himself in his chamber for fear of his divination, had escaped the stroke that fell. Now in avoiding such propheticall events which he should not have searched, he fell into that which he did fear. These few examples, for instruction sake, I thought by occasion to infer, not as though these were alone; but by these few to admonish the reader of infinite other, which daily come in practice of life, to the great danger and decay, as well in private houses, as in commonweals.



herefore, briefly to repeat what before simply hath been said touching this matter, seeing that Satan through such subtle prophecies hath, and yet doth daily practise so manifold mischiefs in the world, setting brother against brother, nephew against the uncle, house against house, and realm against realm, gendering hatred where love was, and subverting privily the simplicity of our Christian faith; therefore the first and best thing is, for godly men not to busy their brains about such fantasies, neither in delighting in them, nor in hearkening to them, nor in searching for them, either by soothsayer, or by conjuration, or by familiar, or by astrologer, knowing and considering this, that whosoever shall be

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desirous or ready to search for them, the devil is as ready to answer his curiosity therein. For as once, in the old time of Gentility, he gave his oracles by idols and priests of that time; so the same devil, although he worketh not now by idols, yet he craftily can give now answer by astrologers and conjurers in these our days, and in so doing, both to say truth, and yet to deceive men when he hath said. Wherefore, leaving off such curiosity, let every Christian man walk simply in his present vocation, referring hid things, not in the word expressed, unto him which saith in his word, It is not for you to know the times, and seasons of times, which the Father hath kept in his own power, &c.

Secondly, in this matter of prophecies, requisite it is (as is said) for every Christian man to learn, how to discern and distinguish the true prophecies which proceed of God, and the false prophecies which come of Satan. The difference whereof, as it is not hard to be discerned, so necessary it is that every good man do rightfully understand the same, to the intent that he, knowing and flying the danger of the one, may be the more certain and constant in adhering to the other.

Thirdly, because it is not sufficient that the deceitful prophecies of the devil be known, but also that they be resisted, I have also declared, by what means the operation of Satan's works and prophecies are to be overcome, that is, not with strength and policy of man, for that there is nothing in man able to countervail the power of that enemy. Under heaven there is nothing else that can prevail against his works, but only the name of the Lord Jesus the Son of God, not outwardly pronounced only with our lips, or signed in our foreheads with the outward cross, but inwardly apprehended and dwelling in our hearts by a silent faith, firmly and earnestly trusting upon the promises of God, given and sealed unto us in his name. For so it hath pleased his fatherly wisdom to set him up, to be both our righteousness before himself, and also to be our fortitude against the enemy, accepting our faith in his Son in no less price, than he accepteth the works and worthiness of the same his Son in whom we do believe.

Such is the strength and effect of faith both in heaven, in earth, and also in hell; in heaven to justify, in earth to preserve, in hell to conquer. And therefore when any such prophecy or any other thing is to us objected, which seemeth to tend against us, let us first consider whether it savour of Satan, or not. If it do, then let us seek our succour, not in ourselves where it doth not dwell, neither let us kill, nor slay, nor change our vocation therefore, following inordinate ways; but let us run to our castle of refuge, which is to the power of the Lord Jesus, remembering the true promise of the Psalm, Whoso putteth his trust in the succour of the Lord, shall have the God of heaven to his protector. And then shall it afterward follow in the same Psalm, And he shall deliver him from the snare of the hunter, and from all evil words and prophecies, be they never so sharp or bitter against him, &c. And thus much by the occasion of King Edward, of prophecies.

123. Turmoil in the Empire

Now having long tarried at home in describing the tumults and troubles within our own land, we will let out our story more at large, to consider the afflictions and perturbations of other parties and places also of Christ's church, as well here in Europe under the pope, as in the east parts under the Turk, first deducing our story from the time of Sigismund, where before we left. Which Sigismund, as it is above recorded, was a great doer in the council of Constance against John Huss and Jerome of Prague. This emperor had ever evil luck, fighting against the Turks. Twice he warred against them, and in both the battles was discomfited and put to flight; once about the city of Mysia, fighting against Bajazet the great Turk, A. D. 1395; the second time fighting against Celebinus the son of Bajazet, about the town called Columbaciū. But especially after the council of Constance, wherein were condemned and burned these two godly martyrs, more unprosperous success did then follow him, fighting against the Bohemians, his own subjects, A. D. 1420, by whom he was repulsed in so many battles, to his great dishonour, during all the life of Zisca, and of Procopius, as is before more at large expressed; who was so beaten both of the Turks, and at home of his own people, that he never did encounter with the Turks after. Then followed the council of Basil, after the beginning whereof, within six years, this Sigismund, which was emperor, king of Hungary, and king of Bohemia, died in Moravia, A. D. 1437.

Albert the emperor.

This Sigismund left behind him one only daughter, Elizabeth, who was married to Albert, duke of Austria, by reason whereof he was advanced to the empire, and so was both duke of Austria, emperor, king of Hungary, and king also of Bohemia. But this Albert, as is before declared, being an enemy and a disquieter to the Bohemians, and especially to the good men of Tabor, as he was preparing and setting forth against the Turks, in the mean time died, in the second year of his empire, A. D. 1439, leaving his wife great with child; who, lying then in Hungary, and thinking herself to be great with a daughter, called to her the princes and the chieftains of the realms, declaring to them that she was but a woman, and insufficient to the governance of such a state; and moreover, how she thought herself to be with child of a daughter, and therefore required them to provide among them such a prince and governor, (reserving the right of the kingdom to herself,) as were fit and able, under her, to have the regiment of the land committed. The Turk, in the mean while, being elevated and encouraged with his prosperous victories against Sigismund aforesaid, began then more fiercely to invade Hungary and those parts of Christendom. Wherefore the Hungarians, making the more haste, consulted among themselves to make Duke Uladislaus, brother to Casimir, king of Poland, their king.

But while this was in working between the Hungarians and Uladislaus the duke, in the mean space Elizabeth brought forth a son, called Ladislaus, who, being the lawful heir of the kingdom, the queen called back again her former word, minding to reserve the kingdom for her son, being the true heir thereof, and therefore refuseth marriage with the said Uladislaus, which she had before pretended. But Uladislaus,

joining with a great part of the Hungarians, persisting still in the condition before granted, would not give over, by reason whereof, great contention and division kindling among the people of Hungary, Amurath, the great Turk, taking his advantage of their discord, and partly surprised with pride of his former success against Sigismund aforesaid, with his whole main and force invaded the realm of Hungary; where Huniades, surnamed Vaivoda, prince of Transylvania, joining with the new king Uladislaus, did both together set against the Turk, A. D. 1444, and there Uladislaus, the new king of Hungary, the fourth year of his kingdom, was slain. Elizabeth, with her son, was fled in the mean while to Frederic the emperor. Of Huniades Vaivoda, the noble captain, and of his acts, and also of Ladislaus, Christ willing, more shall be said hereafter, in his time and place.

Frederic the Third, emperor.

After the decease of Albert, succeeded in the empire Frederic the Third, duke of Austria, A. D. 1440. By whom it was procured, as we have before signified, that Pope Felix, elected by the council of Basil, did resign his popedom to Pope Nicholas the Fifth, upon this condition, that the said Pope Nicholas should ratify the acts decreed in the said council of Basil. In the days of this emperor much war and dissension raged almost through all Christian realms, in Austria, Hungary, Poland, in France, in Burgundy, and also here in England, between King Henry the Sixth and King Edward the Fourth, as ye have already heard; whereby it had been easy for the Turk, with little mastery, to have overrun all the Christian realms in Europe, had not the providence of our merciful Lord otherwise provided to keep Amurath, the Turk, occupied in other civil wars at home in the mean while. Unto this Frederic came Elizabeth, as is aforesaid, with Ladislaus, her son, by whom he was nourished and entertained a certain space, till at length, after the death of Uladislaus aforesaid, king of Hungary, which was slain in battle by the Turks, the men of Austria, through the instigation of Ulricus Eizingerus, and of Ulricus, earl of Cilicia, rising up in armour, required of Frederic the emperor, either to give them their young king, or else to stand to his own defence.

When Frederic heard this, neither would he render to them a sudden answer, neither would they abide any longer delay, and so the matter, growing to war, the new city was besieged, where many were slain, and much harm done. At length the emperor's part, being the weaker, the emperor, through the intervention of certain nobles of Germany, restored Ladislaus unto their hands, who, being yet under age, committed his three kingdoms to three governors. Whereof John Huniades, the worthy captain above mentioned, had the ruling of Hungary; George Pogiebracius had Bohemia; and Ulricus the earl of Cilicia had Austria. Which Ulricus, having the chief custody of the king, bare the greatest authority above the rest; a man as full of ambition and tyranny, as he was hated almost of all the Austrians, and shortly after, by the means of Eizingerus, was also excluded from the king and the court, but afterward restored again, and Eizingerus thrust out. Such is the unstable condition of them which be next in place about princes. But this contention between them I overpass.

Not long after, Ladislaus the young king went to Bohemia, there to be crowned, where George Pogiebracius, as is said, had the governance. But Ladislaus, during all the time of his being there, though being much requested, yet would neither enter into the churches, nor hear the service of them, which did draw after the doctrine

of Huss. Insomuch that when a certain priest, in the high tower of Prague, was appointed and addressed, after the manner of priests, to say service before the king, being known to hold with John Huss and Rochezana, the king disdainng at him commanded him to give place and depart, or else he would send him down headlong from the rock of the tower; and so the good minister, repulsed by the king, departed. Also another time the said Ladislaus, seeing the sacrament carried by a minister of that side, whom they called then Hussites, would do thereunto no reverence.

At length the long abode of the king, although it was not very long, yet seemed to the godly disposed to be longer than they wished; and that was not to the king unknown, which made him to make the more haste away; but before he departed, he thought first to visit the noble city Uratislavia in Silesia. In the which city, the aforesaid King Ladislaus being there in the high church at service, many great princes were about him. Among whom was also George Pogiebracius, who then stood nearest to the king; unto whom one Chilianus, playing the parasite about the king, as the fashion is of such as feign themselves fools, to make other men as very fools as they, spake in this wise as followeth; "With what countenance you do behold this our service, I see right well, but your heart I do not see. Say then, doth not the order of this our religion seem unto you decent and comely? Do you not see how many and how great princes, yea, the king himself, do follow one order and uniformity? And why do you then follow rather your preacher Rochezana than these? Do you think a few Bohemians to be more wise than all the church of Christ besides? Why then do you not forsake that rude and rustical people, and join to these nobles, as you are a nobleman yourself? "

Unto whom thus Pogiebracius sagely again doth answer. "If you speak these words of yourself," saith he, "you are not the man whom you feign yourself to be; and so to you I answer, as not to a fool. But if you speak this by the suggestion of others, then must I satisfy them. Hear therefore: As touching the ceremonies of the church, every man hath a conscience of his own to follow. As for us, we use such ceremonies as we trust please God; neither is it in our arbitrement to believe what we will ourselves. The mind of man, being persuaded with great reasons, is captivated, will he, nill he; and as nature is instructed and taught, so is she drawn, in some one way, and in some another. As for myself, I am fully persuaded in the religion of my preachers. If I should follow thy religion, I might perchance deceive men, going contrary to mine own conscience; but I cannot deceive God, who seeth the hearts of all. Neither shall it become me to frame myself to thy disposition. That which is meet for a jester, is not likewise convenient for a nobleman. And these words either take to thyself, as spoken to thee, if thou be a wise man; or else I refer them to those which set thee on work."

After the king was returned from the Bohemians again to Austria, the Hungarians likewise made their petitions to the king, that he would also come unto them. The governor of Hungary, as ye before have heard, was Johannes Huniades, whose victorious acts against the Turks are famous. Against this Huniades, wicked Ulricus, carl of Cilicia, did all he could with the king to bring him to destruction, and therefore caused the king to send for him up to Vienna, and there privily to work his death. But Huniades, having thereof intelligence, offereth himself within Hungary to serve his prince, to all affairs: out of the land where he was, it was neither best, said he, for the king nor safest for himself, to come. The earl being so disappointed came down with certain nobles of the court, to the borders of Hungary, thinking either to apprehend him and bring him to Vienna, or there to despatch him. Huniades, without

in the fields, said he would commune with him, within the town he would not be brought. After that another train also was laid for him, that under pretence of the king's safe-conduct he should meet the king in the broad fields of Vienna. But Huniades, suspecting deceit, came indeed to the place appointed, where he neither seeing the king to come, nor the earl to have any safe-conduct for him, was moved (and not without cause) against the earl, declaring how it was in his power there to slay him, which went about to seek his blood, but for the reverence of the king he would spare him and let him go.

Not long after this, the Turk with a great power of fighting men, to the number of a hundred and fifteen thousand, arrived in Hungary, where he laid siege to the city Alba. But through the merciful hand of God, John Huniades, and Capistranus, a certain Minorite, with a small garrison of Christian soldiers, gave him the repulse, and put him to flight with all his mighty host; whereof more (Christ willing) hereafter. Huniades shortly after this victory deceased. Of whose death when the king and the earl did understand, they came the more boldly into Hungary, where he being received by Ladislaus, Huniades' son, into the town of Alba, there viewed the places where the Turks before had pitched their tents. When this Ladislaus heard that the king was coming first toward the town, obediently he opened to him the gates. Four thousand only of armed soldiers he debarred from entering the city.

In the mean time, while the king was there resident in the city, the earl with other nobles did sit in council, requiring also Ladislaus to resort unto them; who, first doubting with himself what he might do, at length putteth on a privy coat of mail, and cometh to them. Whether the earl first began with him, or he with the earl, it is not known. The opinion of some is, that Ulricus first called him traitor, for shutting the gates against the king's soldiers. Howsoever the occasion began, this is undoubted, that Ulricus taking his sword from his page let fly at his head. To break the blow, some putting up their hands had their fingers cut off. The Hungarians hearing a noise and tumult within the chamber brake it open upon them, and there incontinent slew Ulricus the earl, wounding and cutting him almost all to pieces. The king hearing thereof, although he was not a little discontented thereat in his mind, yet seeing there was then no other remedy, dissembled his grief for a time.

From thence the king took his journey again to Buda, accompanied with the aforesaid Ladislaus; who, passing by the town where the wife of Huniades was mourning for the death of her husband, seemed with many fair words to comfort her; and after he had there sufficiently repasted himself, with such pretence of dissembled love, and feigned favour, that they were without all suspicion and fear, from thence he set forward in his journey, taking with him the two sons of Huniades, Ladislaus and Matthias, who were right ready to wait upon him. The king being come to Buda, (whether of his own head, or by sinister counsel set on,) when he had them at a vantage, caused both the sons of Huniades, to wit, Ladislaus and Matthias, to be apprehended. And first was brought forth Ladislaus the elder son to the place of execution, there to be beheaded, where meekly he suffered, being charged with no other crime but this, published by the voice of the crier, saying, "Thus are they to be chastened, which are rebels against their lord." Peucerus writing of his death, addeth this moreover, that after the hangman had three blows at his neck, yet, notwithstanding, the said Ladislaus, having his hands bound behind him, after the third stroke rose upright on his feet, and looking up to heaven called upon the Lord, and protested his innocency in that behalf; and so laying down his neck again, at the

fourth blow was despatched. Matthias, the other brother, was led captive with the king into Austria. The rest of the captives brake the prison and escaped.

It was not long after this cruelty was wrought upon Ladislaus, the king being about the age of twenty and two years, that talk was made of the king's marriage with Magdalene, daughter to the French king. The place of the marriage was appointed at Prague, where great preparation was for the matter. At the first entrance of the king into the city of Prague, Rochezana with a company of ministers, such as were favourers of John Huss, and of sincere religion, came with all solemnity to receive the king, making there his oration to gratulate the king's most joyful and prosperous access into the same his own realm and country of Bohemia. Unto which Rochezana, after he had ended his oration, scarce would the king open his mouth to give thanks to him, or any cheerful countenance unto his company, but fiercely seemed to frown upon them. In the next pageant after these came forth the priests of the high minister, after the most popish manner, meeting him with procession, and with the sacrament of the altar: for as panacea among physicians serveth for all diseases, so the sacrament of the pope's altar serveth for all pomps and pageants. First it must lie upon the altar, then it must be holden up with hands, then it must hang in the pix, it must serve for the quick, it must also help the dead, it must moreover visit the sick, it must walk about the churchyard, it must go about the streets, it must be carried about the fields to make the grass to grow, it must be had to the battle, it must ride on horseback before the pope, and finally, it must welcome kings into cities. Wherein these catholic fathers do seem somewhat to forget themselves. For if the pope, being inferior to the sacrament of the altar, at the coming of kings do use to sit still while the kings come and kiss his feet, what reason is it that the sacrament of the altar, which is (I trow) above the pope, should meet kings by the way, and welcome them to the town? But this by the way of parenthesis: let us now continue the text.

When Ladislaus this catholic king, who had showed himself before so stout and stern against Rochezana and his company, had seen these catholic priests with their procession, and especially with their blessed sacrament, to come, with all reverence and much devotion he lighted down from his horse, he embraced the cross and kissed it, and with cheerful countenance saluted the priests in order. All this while his young wife was not yet come out of France, but legates were sent, after most sumptuous wise, to conduct her. Other legates also were sent the same time to the Emperor Frederic, for conclusion of peace. The third legacy was directed likewise to Pope Calixtus about religion, how to reduce the Bohemians to the Church of Rome. The author of this story, (which was Pope Pius himself,) declareth further the opinion of some to be, that King Ladislaus the same time had intended to make a final end and destruction of all that sect in Bohemia, which held with the doctrine of John Huss and Jerome, by the assembly and concourse of the catholic princes and popish prelates which were appointed there to meet together at that marriage in Prague. For there should be first the Emperor Frederic, Elizabeth, the king's mother, and his sisters Elizabeth and Anna, the princes of Saxony, Bavaria, Silesia, Franconia, the Palatine, and other princes of the Rhine; many also of the lords of France, besides the pope's cardinals, legates, prelates, and other authorities of the pope's church; who, if they had all together convented in Bohemia, no doubt but some great mischief had been wrought there against the Hussites; against whom this Ladislaus, following the steps of Sigismund his grandfather, and Albert his father, was ever an utter enemy. But when man hath purposed, yet God disposeth as pleaseth him.

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And, therefore, truly it is written of Æneas Sylvius in the same place, saying, "In regiment of cities, in alteration of kingdoms, in ruling and governing the world, it is less than nothing that man can do; it is the high God that ruleth high things." Whereunto then I may well add this, moreover, and say; that if the governance of worldly kingdoms standeth not in man's power, but in the disposition of God, much less is it then that man's power can do in the regiment and governing of religion. Example whereof in this purposed device of princes doth evidently appear. For as this great preparation and solemnity of marriage was in doing, and the princes ready to set it forth, with a little turn of God's holy hand, all these great purposes were suddenly turned and dashed. For in the midst of this business, about the one and twentieth day of November, A. D. 1461, this great adversary of Christ's people, King Ladislaus, king of Bohemia, of Hungary, and prince of Austria, sickened, and within six and thirty hours died, some say of a pestilent sore in his groin, some say of poison. But howsoever it was, it came not without the just judgment of God, revenging the innocent blood of Ladislaus, Huniades' son, wrongfully put to death before. So by the opportune death of this king, the poor churches of Bohemia were graciously delivered. And this end made Ladislaus, one of the mightiest princes at that time in all Europe; in whom three mighty kingdoms were conjoined and combined together, Austria, Hungary, and Bohemia; which countries do lie south-east from England, in the farthest parts of all Germany, toward Constantinople, and the dominions of the Turks, and contain these principal towns in them.

The large dominions of Ladislaus

AUSTRIA,

called once Pannonia Superior.

Vienna, which was besieged of the Turk, A. D. 1533.

Meleck.

Neustadt, nova Civitas.

Gretz.

St. Hypolit.

Lintz.

Stein.

Haimburg.

Kremsier.

Karolsburg.

Teben.

Kotzo.

Raba.

Lindenburg.

To Austria be adjoining also certain provinces and earldoms, as

Stiria.

Carinthia.

Croatia.

(Provinces)

Cilicia.

Tyrolentz.

(Earldoms.)

HUNGARY,

which was once called Pannonia Inferior.

Buda, or Ofen.

Strigonium. Kalachia. Varadein.

Nitria

Nicopolis Nova

Nicopolis Vetus

Agria.

Orszaw.

Bossen.

Sabaria.

This Hungary was first called Pannonia, or Pœnia. After the coming of the Huns, it was called Hungary. Of them came Attila, which destroyed Italy, about the year of the Lord 440. Through Hungary runneth the Danube, having on the west side Austria; and Bohemia on the east; Servia on the south side. The most of this Hungary is now under the Turk; which Turk first came into Europe, A. D. 1211.

BOHEMIA.

Prague.

Plizen.

Tabor.

Budweis.

Kolm, or Kœlu.

Egra.

Kuttenberg.

Leimiritz.

Laun.

Racownitz.

Glataw.

Bern, or Beraun.

Bruck, or Most.

Gretz, or Hradetz.

Austi.

Maut, or Myto.

Hof.

Iaromir.

Dubitz, or Biela.

Lantzhut.

Gilgwey.

Krupa.

Krumaw.

Pardubitz.

Chumitaum.

Loket, or Teplitz.

Hantzburg, or Zbraslau.

Labes, or Ultawa.

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After the death of Ladislaus, the kingdom of Bohemia fell to George Pogiebracius, above mentioned, whom Pope Innocent the Eighth did excommunicate and depose for his religion, as is before declared.

Furthermore, the kingdom of Hungary was given to Matthias son of Huniades, who was in captivity, as is said, with King Ladislaus, and should have been put to death after his brother, had not the king before been prevented with death, as is above recorded. Moreover, here is to be noted that the said King Ladislaus, thus dying without wife and issue, left behind him two sisters alive, to wit, Elizabeth, which was married to Casimirus, king of Poland; and Anna, married to William, duke of Saxony. Elizabeth, by her husband Casimirus, king of Poland, had Uladislaus, who at length was king of both Bohemia and Hungary. This Casimirus first was married to Beatrix, wife before to Matthias. Then being divorced from her by the dispensation of Pope Alexander, he married a new wife a countess of France, by whom he had two children, Louis, and Anna; Louis, which was heir of both kingdoms, of Bohemia and Hungary, was slain fighting against the Turks; Anna was married to Ferdinandus, by whom he was archduke of Austria, king of Bohemia, &c.

Ye heard before, how, after the decease of Ladislaus, the Hungarians by their election preferred Matthias, surnamed Corvinus, which was son of Huniades, to the kingdom of Hungary. For which cause dissension fell between Frederic the emperor and him, for that the said Frederic was both nominated himself by divers unto that kingdom, and also because he had the crown of Hungary then remaining in his hands, which Elizabeth, mother to King Ladislaus, had brought to the emperor, as was before declared. But this war between them was ceased by the intercession of the princes of Germany, so that Matthias ransomed that crown of Frederic for eight thousand florins.

Not long after, Pope Innocent, being displeased with George Pogiebracius, (or Bojebracius,) king of Bohemia, for favouring of John Huss and his religion, that is to say, for playing the part of a godly prince, did excommunicate and depose him, conferring his kingdom to Matthias. But forasmuch as Frederic the emperor would not thereto consent, and especially after the death of the aforesaid George, when the emperor and the Bohemians, leaving out Matthias, did nominate Uladislaus son of Casimirus, king of Poland, and of Elizabeth, to be king of Bohemia, therefore great war and trouble kindled between him and Frederic the emperor. Wherein the emperor had utterly gone to ruin, had not Albert, duke of Saxony, rescued the emperor, and repressed the vehemency of Matthias.

The noble acts of John Huniades, and of this Matthias his son, were not only great stays to Hungary, but almost to all Christendom, in repelling back the Turk. For beside the other victories of John Huniades the father, aforementioned, this Matthias also his son, succeeding no less in valiantness than in the name of his father, did so recover Sirmium, and the confines of Illyrica, from the hands of the Turks, and so vanquished their power, that both Mahomet, and also Bajazet his son, were enforced to seek for truce.

Over and besides, the same Matthias conducting his army into Bosnia, which lieth south from Hungary, recovered again Jaitza, the principal town of that kingdom, from the Turk's possession. Who, if other Christian princes had joined their helps withal, would have proceeded farther into Thracia. But behold here the malicious subtlety of Satan, working by the pope. For while Matthias was thus occupied in this expedition against the Turks, wherein he should have been set forward and aided by Christian princes and bishops, the bishop of Rome wickedly and sinfully ministereth

matter of civil discord between him and Pogiebracius aforesaid, in removing him from the right of his kingdom, and transferring the same to Matthias. Whereupon not only the course of victory against the Turks was stopped, but also great war and bloodshed followed in Christian realms, as well between this Matthias and Pogiebracius, with his two sons Victorinus and Henricus, as also between Casimirus, Uladislaus, and Matthias, warring about Uratislavia, till at length the matter was taken up by the princes of Germany.

Albeit, for all the execrable excommunication of the pope against Pogiebracius, a great part of Bohemia would not be removed from the obedience of their king, whom the pope had cursed and deposed; yet Matthias took from him Moravia, and a great portion of Silesia, and adjoined it to his kingdom of Hungary, A. D. 1474.

Here this by the way is to be noted, that the religion in Bohemia, planted by John Huss, could not be extinguished or suppressed with all the power of four mighty princes, Wenceslaus, Sigismund, Albert, and Ladislaus, notwithstanding they, with the popes, did therein what they possibly could; but still the Lord maintained the same, as ye see by this Pogiebracius, king of Bohemia, whom the pope could not utterly remove out of the kingdom of Bohemia.

This forementioned Matthias, beside his other memorable acts of chivalry, is no less also commended for his singular knowledge and love of learning and of learned men, whom he with great stipends procured into Pannonia; where, by the means of good letters, and furniture of learned men, he reduced, in short space, the barbarous rudeness of that country into a flourishing commonwealth. Moreover, such a library he did there erect, and replenish with all kind of authors, sciences and histories, which he caused to be translated out of Greek into Latin, as the like is not thought to be found, next to Italy, in all Europe beside. Out of which library we have received divers fragments of writers, as of Polybius, and Diodorus Siculus, which were not extant before.

The constant fortitude also of Georgius Pogiebracius, king of Bohemia, is not unworthy of commendation; of whom also Pope Pius himself, in Descriptione Europæ, doth honestly report, as a pope may speak of a protestant, in these words writing, *Magnus vir alioqui, et rebus bellicis clarus*, &c. Who, although Pope Innocent did execrate with his children, yet he left not off the profession of the verity and knowledge which he had received. Moreover, the Lord so prospered his sons, Victorinus and Henricus, that they subdued their enemies and kept their estate: insomuch, that when Frederic the emperor at Vienna was in custody enclosed by the citizens, Victorinus did restore and deliver him out of their hands. Wherefore the emperor after-ward advanced them to be dukes. Also God gave them sometimes prosperous victory against Matthias, as at the city of Glogovia, &c.

After the decease of Georgius Pogiebracius, king of Bohemia, Frederic the emperor assigned that kingdom, not to Matthias, upon whom the pope had bestowed it before, but upon Uladislaus, son of Casimirus, king of Poland, and of Elizabeth, daughter of the Emperor Albert, and sister to Ladislaus. For the which Matthias, being discontented, and for that the emperor had denied him his daughter Kunegunda, went about to exclude Uladislaus out of Bohemia, and also proclaimed war against Frederic. But before he accomplished his purposed preparation, death prevented him, who without issue departed, A. D. 1490.

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After the death of Matthias, departing without issue, Uladislaus, son of Casimirus, king of Poland, and of Elizabeth, daughter to Albert, emperor, and sister to King Ladislaus, married his wife Beatrix, whom Matthias left a widow, and with her was elected king of Hungary, with this condition made between him and Frederic the emperor, that if he died without lawful issue, then the kingdoms of Hungary and of Bohemia should return to Maximilian, son to Frederic. But Uladislaus, not long after, did repudiate his wife Beatrix, and, depriving her of her kingdom, caused the said Beatrix to swear and to consent to his marrying of another woman, which was the daughter of the French king, named Anne, procuring from Pope Alexander a dispensation for the same, as is before signified. By this Anne, Uladislaus had Louis and Anne; which Anne afterward was married to Ferdinand.

Louis, succeeding after his father, had both the said kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary, A. D. 1492, and married Mary, sister to Charles the Fifth, emperor. Anne, as is said, was coupled to Ferdinand, &c.

Of Charles, duke of Burgundy, somewhat was before touched, who had married King Edward's sister; and what troubles by him were stirred up in France, partly was before notified. This Charles, after he had besieged the city Nuys, or Novasium, the space of a whole year, went about to alienate the territory of Cologne, from the empire to his own dominion; wherefore war began to be moved between him and Frederic the emperor. At length, through communication had, peace was concluded, and a marriage appointed between Mary, the only daughter of Charles, and Maximilian, the emperor's son, A. D. 1475. Then from Novasium Charles leadeth his army toward Helvetia, against Renatus, or Reinhardus, duke of Lotharing; then against the Helvetians, where he, being thrice overcome, first at Granson, then at Moratum, or Murta, in the higher part of Helvetia, at last, at the town of Nantes, was overthrown and slain, A. D. 1477. The procurer of which wars was chiefly Louis the Eleventh, the French king, to the intent he might compass the dominion of Burgundy under his subjection; which afterward by open wrong and privy fraud he brought about, defrauding Mary, the daughter of Charles, of her rightful inheritance; for the which cause the Burgundians were the more willing to join her marriage with Maximilian, son of Frederic the emperor; by reason whereof the title of Burgundy was first joined to the house of Austria.

And thus have you the miserable vexations and contentions among our Christian princes here in Europe described, under the reign of this Frederic the Third, emperor, so that almost no angle or portion of all Christendom (whether we consider the state of the church, or civil government) was free from discord, tumults, and dissensions. This cankered worm of ambition so mightily creepeth, and every where prevaieth in these latter ends of the world, that it suffereth neither rest in commonwealths, nor peace in the church, nor any sparkle of charity almost to remain in the life of men. And what marvel then, if the Lord, seeing us so far to degenerate, not only from his precepts and counsels, but almost from the sense and bond of nature, that brother with brother, uncle with nephew, blood with blood, cannot agree, in striving, killing, and fighting for worldly dominions, do send therefore these cruel Turks upon us, so to scourge and devour us? Of whose bloody tyranny and daily spilling of Christian blood, hereafter (by the grace of Christ) we will discourse more at large, when we come to the peculiar consideration of the Turkish stories. In the mean time this shall be for us to note and observe, not so much the scourge how grievous it is, but rather to behold the causes which bring the whip upon us, which is our own miserable ambition and wretched wars among ourselves.

And yet if this Christian peace and love, left and commended so heartily unto us by the mouth of the Son of God, being now banished out of Christian realms and civil governance, might at least find some refuge in the church, or take sanctuary among men professing nothing but religion, less cause we had to mourn. Now so it is, that as we see little peace and amity among civil potentates; so less we find in the spiritual sort of them, which chiefly take upon them the administration of Christ's church. So that it may well be doubted whether the scourge of the Turk or the civil sword of princes have slain more in the fields, or the pope's keys have burnt more in towns and cities. And albeit such as be professed to the church do not fight with sword and target for dominions and revenues, as warlike princes do; yet this ambition, pride, and avarice, appeareth in them nothing inferior unto other worldly potentates; especially if we behold and advise the doings and insatiable desires of the court of Rome. Great argument and proof hereof neither is hard to be found, nor far to be sought. What realm almost through all Christendom hath not only seen with their eyes, but have felt in their purses, the ambition intolerable and avarice insatiable of that devouring church, and also have complained upon the grievance thereof, but never could be redressed? What exactions and extortions have been here in England out of bishoprics, monasteries, benefices, deaneries, archdeaconries, and all other offices of the church, to fill the pope's coffers! and when they had all done, yet every year brought almost some new invention from Rome to fetch in our English money; and if all the floods in England (yea, in all Europe) did run into the see of Rome, yet were that ocean never able to be satisfied.

In France likewise what floods of money were swallowed up into this see of Rome! It was openly complained of in the council of Basil, as is testified by Henry Token, canon and ambassador of the archbishop of Maidenburg, written in his book entitled *Rapulari*, where he writeth, that in the council of Basil, A. D. 1436, the archbishop of Lyons did declare, that in the time of Pope Martin there came out of France to the court of Rome, nine millions of gold, which was gathered of the bishops and prelates, besides those which could not be counted of the poor clergy, which daily without number ran unto the court of Rome, carrying with them all their whole substance. The archbishop of Tours said also at Basil, in the year of our Lord 1439, that three millions of gold came unto Rome in his time, within the space of fourteen years, from the prelates and prelacies, whereof no account could be made, beside the poor clergy which daily run to that court. Let the man which feareth God judge what a devouring gulf this is. A million containeth ten hundred thousand.

And what made Pope Pius the Second to labour so earnestly to Louis the Eleventh, the French king, (who, as is aforesaid, was a great enemy to the house of Burgundy,) that he would (according to his former promise) abolish and utterly extinguish the constitution established before at the council of Bitures, by King Charles the Seventh, his predecessor, called *Pragmatica Sanctio*; but only the ambition of that see, which had no measure, and their avarice, which had no end? The story is this: King Charles the Seventh, the French king, willing to obey and follow the council of Basil, did summon a parliament at Bourges; where, by the full consent of all the states in France, both spiritual and temporal, a certain constitution was decreed and published, called *Pragmatica Sanctio*; wherein was comprehended briefly the pith and effect of all the canons and decrees concluded in the council of Basil. The which constitution the said King Charles willed and commanded through all his realm inviolably to be observed and ratified, for the honour and increase of Christian religion for ever. This was A. D. 1438.

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It followed, that after the decease of the aforesaid Charles the Seventh, succeeded King Louis the Eleventh, who had promised before (being Dauphin) to Pope Pius, that if he ever came to the crown, the aforesaid Sanctio Pragmatica should be abolished; whereupon Pius, hearing him to be crowned, did send unto him John Balveus, a cardinal, with his great letters patent, willing him to be mindful of his promise made. The king, either willing, or else pretending a will to perform and accomplish that he had promised, directed the pope's letters patent, with the said cardinal, to the council of Paris, requiring them to consult upon the cause.

Thus the matter being brought and proposed in the parliament house, the king's attorney, named Johannes Romanus, a man well spoken, singularly witted, and well reasoned, stepping forth, with great eloquence and no less boldness, proved the said sanction to be profitable, holy, and necessary for the wealth of the realm, and in no case to be abolished. Unto whose sentence the university of Paris, adjoining their consent, did appeal from the attempts of the pope to the next general council. The cardinal, understanding this, took no little indignation thereat, fretting and fuming, and threatening many terrible things against them; but, all his minatory words notwithstanding, he returned again to the king, his purpose not obtained, A. D. 1438.

Thus the pope's purpose in France was disappointed, which also in Germany had come to the like effect, if Frederic the emperor had there done his part likewise toward the Germans, who at the same time, bewailing their miserable estate, went about with humble suit to persuade the emperor that he should no longer be under the subjection of the popes of Rome, except they had first obtained certain things of them as touching the charter of appeals; declaring their estate to be far worse (although undeserved) than the Frenchmen or Italians, whose servants, and especially of the Italians, they are worthily to be called, except that their estate were altered. The nobles and commonalty of Germany did instantly entreat, with most weighty reasons and examples, both for the utility and profit of the empire, to have the emperor's aid and help therein, for that which he was bound unto them by an oath; alleging also the great dishonour and ignominy in that they alone had not the use of their own laws, declaring how the French nation had not made their suit unto their king in vain against the exactions of popes, by whom they were defended; which also provided decrees and ordinances for the liberty of his people, and caused the same to be observed; the which thing the emperor ought to foresee within his empire, and to provide for his people and states of his empire, as well as other kings do for what shall come to pass thereby, if, that foreign nations, having recourse unto their kings, being relieved and defended by them from the said exactions, and the Germans and states of the empire, flying unto their emperor, be by him forsaken, or rather betrayed, and deprived of their own laws and decrees? The emperor, being moved and partly overcome by their persuasions, promised that he would provide no less for them, than the king of France had done for the Frenchmen, and to make decrees in that behalf. But the grave authority of Æneas Sylvius, as Platina writeth in the history of Pius the Second, brake off the matter; who, by his subtle and pestiferous persuasions, did so bewitch the emperor, that he, contemning the equal, just, and necessary requests of his subjects, chose the said Æneas to be his ambassador unto Calixtus, then newly chosen pope, to swear unto him in his name, and to promise the absolute obedience of all Germany, as the only country (as they call it) of obedience, neglecting the ordinances and decrees of their country, as before he had done unto Eugenius the Fourth, being ambassador for the said Frederic, promising that he and all the Germans would be obedient unto him from henceforth in all matters, as well spiritual as temporal.

Thus twice Frederic of Austria contemned and derided the Germans, and, frustrating them of their native decrees and ordinances, brought them under subjection and bondage of the pope, which partly was the cause that seven years before his death he caused his son Maximilian, not only to be chosen, but also crowned king of Romans, and did associate him to the ministration of the empire, lest, after his death, (as it came to pass,) the empire should be transported into another family, suspecting the Germans, whom he had twice, contrary to his laws, made subject and in bondage unto the pope's exactions; first before he was crowned in the time of Eugenius the Fourth, and again, the second time, after his coronation, and death of Pope Nicholas the Fifth, denying their requests. Whereupon Germany being in this miserable poverty and grievous subjection under the popes tyranny and polling, with tears and sighs lamenting their estate, continued so almost unto Luther's time; as the histories hereafter following do testify.

And here, ceasing with the story of Frederic, we will now proceed to the reign of Maximilian his son, omitting divers things else incident in the time of this emperor; as first, touching the unbrotherly contention and conflicts between this Frederic and Albert his brother, and Sigismund his uncle, for the dukedom of Austria, after the death of Matthias before mentioned. Omitting also to speak of the long and cruel war between the Prussians and Poles, in the time of Uladislaus: omitting also the strife and variance for the dukedom of Milan, between Frederic the emperor, Alfonsus, Charles, duke of Orleans, and Francis Sfortia: and how the said principedom being after given to Sfortia, great wars were kindled and long continued between Sfortia and the Milanese, then between the Milanese and Venetians, and after between the Frenchmen and the Milanese. All which tumults and commotions, as not pertinent greatly to the purpose of this story, I refer to other writers, where they are to be found more amply discoursed.

124. John the Neatherd of Franconia, a Martyr, and Doctor Johannes De Wesalia.

This, as more properly belonging to the story of the church, I thought good not to pass over, touching such as were condemned, and suffered the pains of fire for testimony of Christ and his truth. Of whom one was John, a pastor or a neatherd, which was a keeper of cattle: the other was Johannes de Wesalia, although not burned, yet persecuted near to death, under the reign of this emperor, Frederic the Third.

And first touching this John the neatherd, thus writeth Sebastian Munsterus, That the bishop of Herbipolis condemned and burned for a heretic one John, which was a keeper of cattle, at a town called Nicholas Hansen in Franconia, because he taught and held that the life of the clergy was ignominious and abominable before God.

The other was Doctor Johannes Wesalia, who was complained upon unto Dietherus, the archbishop of Mentz, by the Thomists, upon certain articles and opinions gathered out of his books. Wherefore the said Dietherus, fearing else to be deposed again from his bishopric, directeth forth commission to the universities of Heidelberg and Cologne, to have the matter in examination; who, convening together the year above mentioned, called this Doctor de Wesalia before them, making him to swear that heshould present and give up all his treatises, works, and writings, whatsoever he had made or preached; that being done, they divided his books amongst themselves, severally every man to find out what heresies and errors they could. His articles and opinions are these:

"That all men be saved freely, and through mere grace by faith in Christ. Free-will to be nothing. That we should only believe the word of God, and not the gloss of any man, or fathers. That the word of God is to be expounded with the collation of one place with another. That prelates have no authority to make laws, nor to expound the Scriptures by any peculiar right given them more than to another. That men's traditions, as fastings, pardons, feasts, long prayers, peregrinations, and such like, are to be rejected. Extreme unction and confirmation to be reproved; confession and satisfaction to be reprehended. The primacy of the pope also he affirmed to be nothing."

Certain other articles also were gathered out of him by his adversaries, but in such sort that they may seem rather to follow their own malicious gathering, than any true intelligence of his mind; whereof more is to be understood in this process hereafter.

Thus when Weselianus was commanded to appear, there converted together first the archbishop, the inquisitor, the doctors of Cologne, and the doctors of Heidelberg, with the masters of the same, and the rector of the university of Mentz, the dean of faculties, bachelors of divinity, and many other masters of the same university, canons, doctors, with the bishop's chancellor, and his counsellors, besides many religious prelates, scholars, with a doctor of Frankfort, the sumner and beadles, which all met together in the great hall of the Minorites for the examination of this Johannes de Wesalia.

Friar Elton, the inquisitor, first sitteth in the highest place, then after him others according to their degree. In the beginning of the examination, first the inquisitor beginneth with these words, "Most reverend father and honourable doctors, &c. Our reverend father and prince elector hath caused this present convocation to be called, to hear the examination of Master John de Wesalia, in certain suspected articles concerning the catholic faith. But something I will say before, that may do him good, and desire that two or three of them that favour him, or some other, will rise up and give him counsel to forsake and leave his errors, to recognise himself, and to ask pardon; which, if he will do, he shall have pardon; if he will not, we will proceed against him without pardon." And thus Wesalia being cited and brought in the midst betwixt two Minorites, being very aged, and having a staff in his hand, was set before the inquisitor. Who, beginning to answer for himself with a long protestation, could not be suffered to prosecute his oration, but was cut off, and required briefly to make an end, and to tell them in few words whether he would stand to his opinions, or to the determination of the church. To this he answered, that he never spake any thing against the determination of the church, but said, that he had written divers and sundry treatises, in the which if he had erred, or were found to say otherwise than well, he was contented to revoke and call back the same, and do all things that were requisite. Then said the inquisitor, "Do you ask then pardon?" The other answered, "Why should I ask pardon, when I know no crime or error committed?" The inquisitor said, "Well, we will call you to the remembrance thereof, and proceed to the examination."

In the mean time others called upon him instantly to ask pardon. Then said Wesalianus, "I ask pardon." Notwithstanding, the inquisitor proceeded to the examination, reading there two instruments, declaring that he had authority from the apostolic see: after this he cited the said John to appear to his examination. Thirdly, he commanded him under pain of disobedience, in the virtue of the Holy Ghost, and under pain of excommunication of the greater curse, (from the which no man could absolve him, but only the pope, or the inquisitor, except only at the point of death,) to tell plainly the truth upon such things as should be demanded of him concerning his faith, without ambushes and sophistication of words. And so being demanded first whether he did believe upon his oath taken, that he was bound to tell the truth, although it were against himself or any other, to this he answered, *Scio*, that is, I know. Then the inquisitor biddeth him say, *Credo*, that is, I believe. To which he answered again, "What need I say that I believe that thing which I know?" There the inquisitor, something stirred with the matter, as hot as a toast, (as they say,) cried with a loud voice, "Master Johannes, Master Johannes, Master Johannes, say *Credo*, say *Credo*." Then he answered, *Credo*.

After this, being demanded whether he had written any treatise, concerning the binding of human laws, to one Nicholas of Bohemia; and whether he had written any treatise of the ecclesiastical power of indulgences and pardons, and of fasting, and other treatises; he answered, that he believed that he had so written, and had conferred with divers learned men; also that he had sent to the bishop of Wormes a certain treatise of fasting.

Many other interrogatories were ministered unto him, whereof some were vain, some false. Such as were more principal here we will briefly touch, leaving out superfluities.

Being demanded whether he was a favourer of the Bohemians; he said he was not. Also being demanded concerning the sacrament of the holy body and blood of

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our Lord, whether he thought Christ there to be contained really, or only divinely, and whether he did believe in the said sacrament the substance of bread there to remain, or only the form thereof; to this he answered, not denying but the body of Christ was there really contained, and also that with the body of Christ the substance of bread did remain.

After this he was demanded his opinion concerning religious men, as monks, nuns, or beguines, whether he thought them to be bound to the vow of chastity, or to the keeping of any other vow, and whether he said to the Friars Minorites any such word in effect, "I cannot save you in this your state and order." This he confessed that he had said, how that not your religion saveth you, but the grace of God, &c., not denying but they might be saved.

Item, being required whether he believed or had written that there is no mortal sin, but which is expressed to be mortal in the canon of the Holy Bible; to this he answered, that he did so believe as he hath written, till he was better informed. Likewise, being required what he thought of the vicar of Christ in earth, he answered, that he believed that Christ left no vicar in earth; for the confirmation whereof he alleged and said, that Christ, ascending up to heaven, said, Behold, I am with you, &c. In the which words he plainly declared, that he would substitute under him no vicar here in earth; and said moreover, if a vicar signified any man which in the absence of the principal hath to do the works of the principal, then Christ hath no vicar here in earth.

In like manner, concerning indulgences and pardons, such as the church doth use to give, they demanded of him, whether they had any efficacy, and what he thought thereof; who answered again, that he had written a certain treatise of that matter, and what he had written in that treatise, he would persist therein: which was thus; that he believed that the treasure box of the merits of saints could not be distributed of the pope to others, because that treasure is not left here in earth; for so it is written in the Apocalypse, Their works follow them.

Item, That their merits could not be applied to other men, for the satisfaction of their pain due unto them; and therefore that the pope and other prelates cannot distribute that treasure to men.

It was objected to him moreover, that in the said his treatise he called pardons and indulgences, holy frauds and deceits of the faithful.

Also being demanded what he thought of the hallowing and blessing of altars, chalices, vestments, wax candles, palms, herbs, holy water, and other divine things, &c.; he answered, that they had no spiritual virtue and power in them to drive away devils, and that holy water hath no more efficacy than other water not hallowed, as concerning remission of venial sins, and driving away devils, and other effects, which the school doctors do attribute to it.

Item, For degrees of marriage forbidden in the Scriptures, he believeth that all Christian men under deadly sin are bound unto the same.

Item, That he believeth that God may give grace to a man, having the use of reason, without all motion of free-will. Also he thinketh that St. Paul in his conversion did nothing of his own free-will for his conversion. He believeth moreover, that God may give such grace to a man having the use of reason, not doing that which in him is.

Item, He affirmed that nothing is to be believed which is not contained in the canon of the Bible.

Also, that the elect are saved only by the grace of God.

Besides all these, moreover he was charged with the old opinion of the Grecians, which they did hold contrary to the Roman Church, unto the time of the council of Ferrara, above mentioned, concerning the proceeding of the Holy Ghost.

The Wednesday next following, three doctors, the suffragan, Herwicus, and Jacobus Sprenger, were sent unto him with persuasions to exhort him; and when he would not stand to their canons, whereby they went about to refute his doctrine, he was then demanded of Herwicus, why he would believe rather the four evangelists, than the Gospel of Nicodemus. To whom he answered, Because he would. Being asked again, why he believed the four evangelists; he said, Because he so received of his parents. Then being demanded, why he would not believe the doctors; Because, said he, their doctrine is not canonical Scripture. Again, it was to him objected, why he would be credited himself when he preached, seeing he would not believe the holy doctors? To whom he answered in this wise, saying, that he did preach as his duty was, but whether they gave credit to his words, he did not care.

This examination being ended, after these articles were condemned by the inquisitor and his assistants, then said he after this manner, "As you do with me, if Christ himself were here, he might be condemned as a heretic." After this they sent divers to him to have communication with him, and to persuade him, sending also to him, with his articles, a form of asking pardon. At length, within three or four days after, he was content to condescend unto them, and to submit himself to their holy mother church, and the information of the doctors. In the book of Orthuinus Gratius, and in Paralipomena, adjoined to Abbas Urspergensis, we read these words written of this Johannes de Wesalia: "Except only the article of the proceeding of the Holy Ghost, in other articles it seemeth that he was not to be chastened with so sharp censure, if respite and space had been given him, if good counsellors had been about him, if all they which did accuse and molest him had not been as Thomists, that is, of the sect of Thomas; which Thomists were set at that time against the other sect of the seculars, which were called Nominales, and therefore they so spited this doctor, because he did not hold with their Thomas, against whom otherwise, had it not been for that cause, they would never have been so fierce and malicious in proceeding against him. I take God to witness, which knoweth all things, that the process which was made against him, for his revoking and burning of his books, did greatly displease Master Engeline of Brunswick, a great divine, and also Master John Keisersburge, being both learned and famous men; but namely, Master Engeline thought, that too much malice and rashness was showed in handling of that same man, and did not fear to say, that many of his articles, and the greater part thereof, might be holden well enough, and greatly blamed the mad and fantastical dissension of the Thomists, seeking, by all manner of ways, how to get the triumph over the secular divines," &c.

Although this aged and feeble old man by weakness was constrained to give over unto the Romish clergy by outward profession of his mouth, yet, notwithstanding, his opinions and doctrine declared his inward heart, of what judgment he was, if fear of death present had not enforced him to say otherwise than he did think. Again, although he had revoked after their minds, yet we read no such

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form of recantation to be prescribed to him to read openly unto the people, as the use is here in England.

As touching the reign of this Frederic, emperor, seeing we have comprehended hitherto sufficiently the most principal matters in his time occurring, we will now pass forward, the Lord guiding us, to Maximilian, after I have first given a brief memorandum of three valiant princes and captains, flourishing in the same time of this Frederic in Germany: of the which, one was Albert, duke of Saxony, who, for his renowned and famous acts, was called by public voice, The right hand of the empire. The other was Albert, marquis of Brandenburg, to whom also the name was attributed, named of Pope Pius, to be Achilles Germanicus. The third was Frederic, Earl Palatine, surnamed Victoriosus, who manfully defended the freedom and majesty of the empire, from the fraudulent oppressions of the pope's tyranny.

In the year of our Lord 1484, in this emperor's time, died Pope Sixtus the Fourth, a little before touched on, a monster rather of nature, than a prelate of the church. Of him writeth Platina, that unjustly he vexed all Italy with war and dissension. Agrippa, writing of him, saith, that among all the bawds of these other latter days, which were builders of brothel houses, this Pope Sixtus the Fourth surmounted all other, who at Rome erected a stews of double abomination, not only of women, but also of men, whereupon no small gain redounded to his coffers. For every such common harlot in Rome paid him a July piece, the sum whereof grew in the year, some while to two thousand, at length to forty thousand ducats. Whereunto accordeth right well the epitaph of John Sapidus:

Non potuit sævum vis ullo extinguere Sixtum,
Audito tandem nomine pacis obit.

John Carion also witnesseth him to be a man rather born to war than to religion. For he warred against Vitellius Tiphernates, against the Florentines, the Venetians, whom he excommunicated, and did not absolve till he died: also against Columnensis, against Ferdinandus, king of Apulia, and duke of Calabria; also against other nations and princes more.

Of the said pope it is recorded, that he was a special patron and tutor to all Begging Friars, granting them to have and enjoy revenues in this world, and in the world to come everlasting life. Among the which friars there was one named Alanus de Rupe, a Black Friar, which made the rosary of our Lady's Psalter, so they term it, and erected a certain new fraternity upon the same, called *Fraternitas Coronariorum*, pertaining to the order of the Dominics, of the which order Jacobus Sprenger, one of the condemners of Johannes de Wesalia above-mentioned, was a great advancer, and especially this Pope Sixtus the Fourth, who gave to the said fraternities large graces and privileges.

Concerning the institution of this rosary, there was a book set forth about the year of our Lord 1480. In the beginning whereof is declared, that the blessed Virgin entered into the cell of this Alanus, and was so familiar with him, that not only she did espouse him to her husband, but also kissed him with her heavenly mouth, and also for more familiarity opened to him her paps, kissed him with her heavenly mouth, and also for and poured great plenty of her own milk into his mouth. For the confirmation whereof the said Alanus, this holy babe, saith the story, did swear deeply, cursing himself, if it were not thus as he had made relation.

This fabulous figment when I read in the Centuries of John Bale, I began with myself to mistrust the credit thereof, and had thought not to trouble the reader with such incredible forgeries; but as the providence of God worketh in all things, so also it appeared in this, that the very same book came to my hands at the writing hereof, wherein this selfsame narration is contained, wherein I found not only this to be true, which in John Bale is expressed, but also found in like manner another wonder as prodigious as this; where in another place not far off it is storied in the same book, how that about the time of St. Dominic, there was a certain matron in Spain, named Lucia, which being taken captive by the Saracens, having her husband killed, was carried great with child into the Turkish land.

When the time of her labour came, she being left desolate among beasts and hogs, and remembering this twice holy rosary, (first instituted, saith the book, by St. Dominic, and afterward renewed by Alanus,) eftsoons the holy Virgin was ready and stood by her, and received the child at her travail, supplying all the parts of a diligent midwife; and moreover causing a priest suddenly to appear, she gave the child to be christened, calling it after her own name, Marianus; and so was she wife to Alanus, midwife to Lucia, and godmother to Marianus. Which story if it be true, then is the pope's canon by this example to be controlled, which permitteth midwives in times of necessity to baptize, seeing the blessed Virgin, playing the part herself of a midwife, durst not baptize this child without a priest.

It followeth more in the story, that by the help of the said blessed Virgin, this Lucia, our Lady's gossip, after her purification, was restored with her child safe to her country again.

And this by the occasion of Pope Sixtus. Which Sixtus, what a maintainer of blind superstition he was, partly by that before spoken, partly by the end following, it may be seen. For we read in certain writers, that after this pope had understanding that Hercules Estensis, duke of Ferraria, had joined peace with the Venetians against his will, he was so grieved therewith, that for rancour of mind, within five days after, he died; about whose time also died Platina, a man not unlearned, but yet a shameful flatterer and bearer with the wicked lives of the popes.

125. The Wars of the Roses (Concluded)

But leaving here Pope Sixtus, let us now proceed, as we before promised, to enter the story of Maximilian, keeping, notwithstanding, the order of our kings here in England. For a little before the reign of Maximilian, King Edward the Fourth ceased his life, A. D. 1483, after he had reigned twenty and two years. In the time of which King Edward, this also is not to be forgotten, that one Burdet, a merchant, dwelling in Cheapside, at the sign of the Crown, which is now the sign of the Flower-de-luce, merrily speaking to his son, said, that he would make him inheritor of the crown, meaning, indeed, his own house. For the which words, King Edward causing them to be misconstrued, and interpreted as though he had meant the crown of the realm, within less space than four hours he was apprehended, judged, drawn, and quartered in Cheapside.



HIS King Edward left behind him, by his wife Elizabeth, two sons, Edward and Richard, and two daughters, Elizabeth and Cicely. Which two sons, Edward and Richard, forasmuch as they were under age, and not ripe to govern, a consultation was called among the peers, to debate whether the aforesaid young prince and king should be under the government of his mother; or else that Richard duke of Gloucester, brother to King Edward the Fourth, and uncle to the child, should be governor of the king, and protector of the realm. There hath been and is an old adage, the words whereof, rather than the true meaning, wrested out of Solomon: Woe to the kingdom, the king whereof is a child, &c. But if I may find leave herein to thrust in a gloss, I would add this, and say, Woe to that child, which is a king in a kingdom unruly and ambitious. There was the same season, among other noble peers of the realm, the duke of Buckingham, a man of great authority, who had married King Edward's wife's sister. Because the duke, being so near allied to the king, had been unkindly (as he thought) of the king treated, having by him no advancement nor any great friendship showed, according to his expectation, he took part thereof with Richard duke of Gloucester, both against the queen and her children, to make the aforesaid duke the chief governor and protector. The which thing being brought to pass by the aid, assistance, and working of the duke of Buckingham, the queen took sanctuary with her younger son; the elder brother, which was the king, remained in the custody of the duke of Gloucester his uncle. Who, being now in a good towardness to obtain that which he long looked for, sought all the means, and soon compassed the matter, by false colour of dissembled words, by perjury, and labour of friends, namely, the duke of Buckingham, and the cardinal archbishop of Canterbury, that the other brother also should be committed to his credit. Thus the ambitious protector and unnatural uncle, having the possession of his two nephews and innocent babes, thought himself almost up the wheel where he would climb; although he could not walk in such mists and clouds, but his devised purposes began to be espied; which caused him more covertly to go about to remove from him all suspicion, and to blind the people's eyes. But before he could accomplish his execrable enterprise, some there were, whom he thought first must be rid out of

the way, as, namely, the Lord Hastings, and the Lord Stanley; who, as they were sitting together in council within the Tower, the protector (the matter being so appointed before) suddenly rushed in among them, and after a few words there communed, he suddenly hasted out again; his mind belike being full of mischief and fury, was not quiet. Who, within the space of an hour, returned again into the chamber with a stern countenance and a frowning look, and so there set him down in his place. When the lords were in great marvel and muse at the meaning hereof, then he, out of a cankered heart, thus began to bray, asking them, What are they worthy to have, which go about to imagine the destruction of him being so near to the king's blood, and protector of the realm? At the which question as the other lords sat musing, the Lord Hastings, because he had been more familiar with him, thus answered, that they were worthy of punishment, whatsoever they were. Which, when the other lords also had affirmed, that is (quoth the protector) yonder sorceress, my brother's wife, meaning the queen and other with her; adding, moreover, and saying, that sorceress and other of her counsel, Shore's wife with her affinity, have by their witchcraft thus wasted my body, and therewith showed forth his left arm a dry, withered thing, as it was never otherwise, as was well known.

This Shore's wife had been before a concubine to King Edward, and afterward was kept by the same Lord Hastings. Moreover, here is to be noted, that by the consent of the said Lord Hastings, the cruel protector had devised about the same time, the kindred of the queen innocently to be beheaded at Pomfret, of mere despite and hatred. Wherefore this punishment not undeservedly, by the just hand of God, fell upon the Lord Hastings.

It followeth then more in the story, that when the Lord Hastings had heard of these false accusations of the tyrant, which he knew to be untrue; "Certainly, my lord," said he, "if they have so done, they be worthy of heinous punishment." "Why," quoth the protector, "Dost thou serve me with if and with and? I tell thee, they have so done, and that I will make good on thy body, traitor:" and therewith giving a great rap on the board, for a token or watchword, one cried Treason without, and forthwith the chamber was full of harnessed men. The protector then approaching to the Lord Hastings, arrested him as a traitor. Another let fly at the Lord Stanley; who to avoid the blow, shrunk under the table, or else his head had been cleft asunder: notwithstanding he received such a wound, that the blood ran about his ears. There were in that council the same time the archbishop of York, and Doctor Morton, bishop of Ely, by whose procurement afterward King Henry the Seventh was sent for into England, and he made archbishop after that of Canterbury: these with the Lord Stanley diversely were bestowed in divers chambers. The Lord Hastings was commanded to speed and shrive him apace, for before dinner the protector swore by St. Paul that he should die; and so incontinently, without further judgment, his head was stricken off, by whose counsel the queen's kindred were at the same time and day beheaded at Pomfret.

After this tyrannous murder accomplished, the mischievous protector aspiring still to the crown, to set his devices forward, first through gifts and fair promises did suborn Doctor Shaw, a famous preacher then in London, at Paul's Cross to insinuate to the people, that neither King Edward with his sons, nor the duke of Clarence, were lawfully begotten, nor the very children of the duke of York, but begotten unlawfully by other persons in adultery on the duchess their mother, and that he alone was the true and only lawful heir of the duke of York. Moreover, to declare and to signify to the audience, that King Edward was never lawfully married to the queen, but his wife

before was Dame Elizabeth Lucy, and so the two children of King Edward to be base and bastards, and therefore the title of the crown most rightly to pertain to the lord protector. Thus this false flatterer, and loud, lying preacher, to serve the protector's humour, shamed not most impudently to abuse that holy place, that reverend auditory, the sacred word of God, taking for his theme, *Adulteræ plantationes non dabunt radices altos*, &c., which he most impiously did apply against the innocent children and right heirs of the realm. Whereupon such grudge and disdain of the people with worldly wonder followed him, that, for shame of the people crying out of him, in few days after he pined away.

When this sermon would take no effect with the people, the protector, unmercifully drowned in ambition, rested not thus, but within few days after excited the duke of Buckingham, first to break the matter in covert talk to the mayor and certain of the heads of the city picked out for the purpose; that done, to come to the Guildhall, to move the people by all flattering and lying persuasions to the same, which shameless Shaw before had preached at Paul's Cross; which the duke with all diligence and helps of eloquence, being a man both learned and well spoken, endeavoured to accomplish, making to the people a long and artificial oration, supposing no less but that the people, allured by his crafty insinuations, would cry, King Richard, King Richard. But there was no King Richard in their mouths, less in their hearts. Whereupon the duke, looking to the lord mayor, and asking what this silence meant, contrary to the promise of the one, and the expectation of the other; it was then answered of the mayor, that the people peradventure well understood him not; wherefore the duke, reiterating his narration in other words, declared again that he had done before. Likewise the third time he repeated his oration again and again. Then the commons which before stood mute, being now in amaze, seeing this importunity, began to mutter softly among themselves, but yet no King Richard could sound in their lips, save only that in the nether end of the hall certain of the duke's servants, with one Nashfield, and other belonging to the protector, thrusting into the hall among the press, began suddenly at men's backs to cry, King Richard, King Richard, throwing up their caps; whereat the citizens, turning back their heads, marvelled not a little, but said nothing.

The duke and the lord mayor with that side, taking this for sufficient testimony, incontinent came blowing for haste to the protector, then lying at Baynard's Castle; where the matter, being made before, was now so contrived, that forsooth humble petition was made in the name of the whole commons, and that with three sundry suits, to the humble and simple protector, that he, although it was utterly against his will to take it, yet would of his humility stoop so low, as to receive the heavy kingdom of England upon his shoulders. At this their tender request and suit of the lords and commons made, (ye must know how,) the mild duke, seeing no other remedy, was contented at length to yield, although sore against his will, (ye must so imagine,) and to submit himself so low, as of a protector to be made king; not much herein unlike to our prelates in the popish church, who when they have before well compounded for the pope's bulls, yet must they for manners' sake make courtesy, and thrice deny that for which they so long before have gaped, and so sweetly have paid for.



Portrait of Richard III

And thus Richard duke of Gloucester took upon him to be made and proclaimed king of England, the year aforesaid, A. D. 1483, in the month of June. Who then coming to the Tower by water, first made his son, a child of ten years old, prince of Wales, and John Howard (a man of great industry and service) he advanced to be duke of Norfolk, and Sir Thomas Howard his son he ordained earl of Surrey. Also William Lord Barkley was appointed earl of Nottingham. Francis Lord Lovell

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was made Viscount Lovell. Lord Stanley, for fear of his son, was delivered out of the Tower, and made steward of the king's household. Likewise the archbishop of York was set free; but Morton, bishop of Ely, was committed to the duke of Buckingham, by whom was wrought the first device to bring in Henry earl of Richmond into England, and to conjoin marriage between Elizabeth, King Edward's daughter, and him, whereby the two houses of York and Lancaster were united together.

After the kingdom of England was thus allotted to King Richard the usurper, as in manner above remembered, he tarried not long for his coronation, which was solemnized the month next ensuing, the sixth day of July.

The triumph and solemnity of his usurped coronation being finished, and all things to the same appertaining, this unquiet tyrant yet could not think himself safe, so long as young Edward, the right king, and his brother were alive; wherefore the next enterprise which he did set upon was this, how to rid those innocent babes out of the way, that he might reign king alone.

In the mean time, while all this ruffling was in hand, what dread and sorrow the tender hearts of these fatherless and friendless children were in, what little joy of themselves, what small joy of life they had, it is not so hard as dolorous for tender hearts to understand. As the younger brother lingered in thought and heaviness; so the prince, which was eleven years old, was so out of heart and so fraught with fear, that he never tied his points, nor joyed good day, till the traitorous impiety of their cruel uncle had delivered them of their wretchedness, which was not long in despatching. For after King Richard their uncle had first attempted to compass his devilish device by Robert Brakenbury, constable of the Tower, and could not win him to such a cruel fact, (to die therefore,) then he got one James Tyrill, joining with him John Dighton and Miles Forrest, to perpetrate this heinous murder. Which Dighton and Forrest, about midnight entering into their chamber, so bewrapped and entangled them amongst the clothes, keeping down the featherbed and pillows hard unto their mouths, that within a while they smothered and stifled them piteously in their bed.

And thus ended these two young princes their lives, through the wretched cruelty of these forenamed tormentors, who, for their detestable and bloody murder committed, escaped not long unpunished by the just hand of God. For first, Miles Forrest, at St. Martin's le Grand, by piecemeal miserably rotted away. John Dighton lived at Calais long after, so disdained and hated, that he was pointed at of all men, and there died in great misery. Sir James Tyrill was beheaded at Tower-hill for treason. Also King Richard himself, within a year and a half after, was slain in the field, hacked and hewed of his enemies' hands, torn and tugged like a cur dog.

Furthermore, the said justice of God's hand let not the duke of Buckingham escape free, which was a great maintainer and setter up of this butcherly usurper; for less than within a year after, so God wrought, that he was himself beheaded for treason by the said king, whom he so unjustly before had advanced and set up.

In the same catalogue and order of these wicked doers before recited, we have also to comprehend two other, as well worthy of memorial as the best, or rather as the worst. The name of the one was Doctor Shaw above rehearsed; the other Doctor Pinkie, provincial of the Austin Friars; both famous preachers, and both doctors in divinity, both of more learning than virtue, (saith the story,) of more fame than learning, and yet of more learning than truth. Shaw made a sermon in praise of the protector, before his coronation. Pinkie preached after his coronation. Both were so

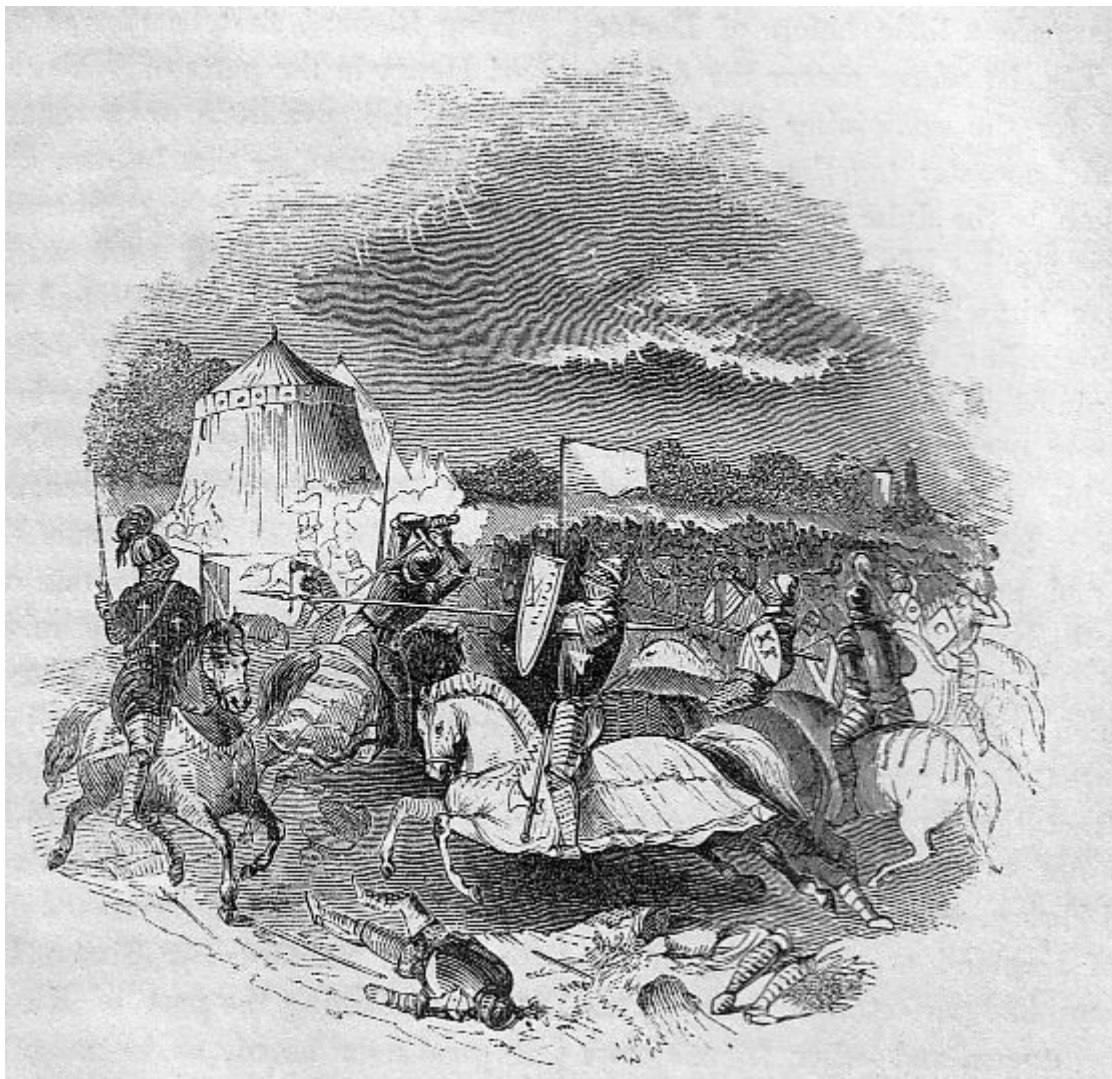
full of tedious flattery, that no good ears could abide them. Pinkie in his sermon so lost his voice, that he was faine to leave off and came down in the midst. Doctor Shaw by his sermon lost his honesty, and soon after his life, for very shame of the world, so that he never durst after that show his face again. But as for the friar, he was so far past shame, that the loss thereof did little touch him. Mention was made a little before of Doctor Morton, bishop of Ely, by whose means the device was first broached for the conjoining of the two houses of York and Lancaster together. This device was first broken to the duke of Buckingham, which soon after cost him his life. But that bishop, more crafty to save himself, incontinent fled into Brittany. Notwithstanding, the device, once being broached, was so plausible, and took such effect, that message was sent over the sea to Henry, earl of Richmond, by his mother and by the queen, mother to the Lady Elizabeth, that if he would make his return, and promise to marry with the said Lady Elizabeth, King Edward's daughter, he should be received. To make a longer discourse of this matter, which is sufficiently set forth by Sir Thomas More so ornately, it needeth not.

Briefly, to contract that in a small compass of words, which was not so small a thing in doing, after that the Earl Henry, with such other banished men as fled out of England at the taking of the duke of Buckingham, had perfect intelligence by his mother and by the queen, and other friends more out of England, how the case of the realm stood, and how it was here purposed by his friends, that is, that he should, with all convenient speed, haste his return over into England, promising to marry with the Lady Elizabeth; he, with all diligence, as time and preparation would serve, advanced forward his journey, being well helped and furnished by Francis, duke of Brittany, and so shipped his men. Albeit his first voyage sped not; for that, the winds turning contrary, by force of weather his ships were dispersed, and he repulsed back into France again. His second voyage was more prosperous; who, taking the seas at Harfleur, in the month of August, A. D. 1485, accompanied only with two thousand men, and a small number of ships, arrived at Milford-haven in Wales, and first came to Dale, then to Haverfordwest, where he was joyfully received, and also, by the coming in of Arnold Butler and the Pembroke men, was in power increased. From thence he, removing by Cardigan to Shrewsbury, and then to Newport, and so to Stafford, from thence to Litchfield, his army still more and more augmented. Like as a great flood, by coming in of many small rivers, gathereth more abundance of water; so to this earl divers noble captains and men of power adjoined themselves, as Richard Griffith, John Morgan, Rice ap Thomas, then Sir George Talbot, with the young earl of Shrewsbury, his ward, Sir William Stanley, Sir Thomas Burchier, and Sir Walter Hungerford, knights. At the last, the said earl, hearing of the king's coming, conducted his whole army to Tamworth.

King Richard, first hearing of the arrival of the Earl Henry in the parts of Wales after such a slender sort, did give little or no regard unto it. But after understanding that he was come to Litchfield without resistance or encumbrance, he was sore moved, and exceedingly took on, cursing and crying out against them which had so deceived him, and in all post speed sent for John, duke of Norfolk, Henry, earl of Northumberland, Thomas, earl of Surrey, with other his friends of special trust. Robert Brakenbury also, lieutenant of the Tower, was sent for, with Sir Thomas Burchier, and Sir Walter Hungerford, with certain other knights and esquires, of whom he partly misdoubted, or had some suspicious jealousy. Thus King Richard, after most forcible manner well fortified and accompanied, leaving nothing undone that diligence could require, set forward toward his enemies. The earl by this time was

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come to Tamworth, to whom secretly in the evening resorted Sir John Savage, Sir Bryan Sanford, Sir Simon Digby, and many others, forsaking the part of King Richard, whom all good men hated, as he no otherwise deserved. The king, having perfect knowledge the earl to be encamped at Tamworth, embattled himself in a place near to a village called Bosworth, not far from Leicester, appointing there to encounter with his adversaries. Here the matter lay in great doubt and suspense concerning the Lord Stanley, (which was the earl's father-in-law, and had married his mother,) to what part he would incline. For although his heart went (no doubt) with the earl, and had secret conference with him the night before, yet because of his son and heir, George, Lord Strange, being then in the hands of King Richard, lest the king should attempt any prejudicial thing against him, he durst not be seen openly to go that way where in heart he favoured, and therefore closely kept himself between both, till the push came that his help might serve at a pinch.



The Battle of Bosworth Field

The number of the earl's part exceeded not to the one half of the side of King Richard. When the time and the place was appointed, where the two battles should encounter and join together, sore stripes and great blows were given on both sides,

and many slain. If number and multitude might govern the success of battle, King Richard had double to the earl. But God is he, not man, that giveth victory, by what means it seemeth to his Divine providence best. In what order and by what occasion this field was won and lost, the certain intelligence we have not certainly expressed, but only by the history of Polydore Virgil, whom Sir Thomas More doth follow word for word. In the which story it doth appear, that as these two armies were coupling together, King Richard, understanding by his espials where the earl of Richmond was, and how he was but slenderly accompanied, and seeing him to approach more near unto him, rather carried with courage than ruled with reason, set spurs to the horse, and ranging out of the compass of his ranks, pressed toward the earl, setting upon him so sharply, that first he killed Sir William Brandon, the earl's standard-bearer, father to the Lord Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, then after overthrew Sir John Cheney, thinking likewise to oppress the earl. But as the Lord by his secret providence disposeth the event of all things, as the earl with his men about him, being over-matched, began to despair of victory, suddenly and opportunely came Sir William Stanley with three thousand well-appointed able men, whereby King Richard's men were driven hack, and he himself, cruelly fighting in the thick of his enemies, was there slain, and brought to his confusion and death, which he worthily deserved.

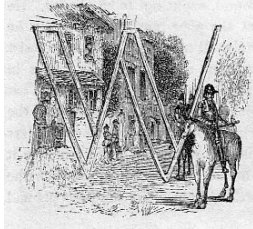
In the mean time the earl of Oxford, who had the guiding of the fore ward, discomfited the forefront of King Richard's host, and put them to flight, in which chase many were slain, of noblemen especially, above other, John, duke of Norfolk, Lord Ferrers, Sir Richard Radcliff, and Robert Brakenbury, lieutenant of the Tower, &c. Lord Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey, there submitted himself, and although he was not received at first to grace, but long remained in the Tower, yet, at length, for his fidelity, he was delivered and advanced to his recovered honour and dignity again.

This King Richard had but one son, who, shortly after the cruel murder of King Edward's sons, was taken with sickness and died. The wife of the said King Richard (whether by poison or by sickness) died also a little before the field of Bosworth; after whose decease, the story of Polydore and of Sir Thomas More affirmeth, that he intended himself to marry the Lady Elizabeth his own brother's daughter, and so to prevent the earl of Richmond.

Moreover, as touching the Lord Stanley, thus reporteth the story, that King Richard being in Bosworth field, sent for the Lord Stanley by a pursuivant, to advance forward with his company, and come to his presence; otherwise he swore by Christ's passion, that he would strike off his son's head before dinner. The Lord Stanley sent word again, that if he did he had more sons alive. Whereupon the king immediately commanded the Lord Strange to be beheaded, which was the very time when both the armies were within sight, and were ready to join together. Wherefore the kings counsellors, pondering the time and the case, persuaded the king that it was now time to fight, and not to do execution, advising him to delay the matter till the battle were ended. And so (as God would) King Richard breaking his oath, or rather keeping his oath, for he himself was slain before dinner, the Lord Strange was committed to be kept prisoner within the king's tent; who then, after the victory gotten, was sought out and brought to his joyful father. And thus have ye the tragical life and end of this wretched King Richard. Henry, the earl of Richmond, after hearty thanks given to Almighty God, for his glorious victory obtained, proceeded to the town of Leicester, where was brought to him, by the Lord Strange, the crown, and put on the earl's head.

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In the mean time the dead corpse of King Richard was shamefully carried to the town of Leicester, being naked and despoiled to the skin; and being trussed behind a pursuivant of arms, was carried like a hog or a dog, having his head and arms hanging on the one side of the horse, and the legs on the other side, all sprinkled with mire and blood. And thus ended the usurped reign of King Richard, who reigned two years and two months.



When King Henry, by the providence of God, had obtained this triumphant victory, and diadem of the realm, first sending for Edward Plantagenet, earl of Warwick, son to George, duke of Clarence, and committing him to safe custody within the Tower, from Leicester he removed to London, and not long after, according to his oath and promise made before, espoused to him the young Lady Elizabeth, heir of the house of York; whereby both the houses of York and Lancaster were conjoined together, to the no little rejoicing of all English hearts, and no less quiet unto the realm, which was A. D. 1485. This king reigned twenty-three years and eight months, and being a prince of great policy, justice, and temperance, kept his realm in good tolerable rule and order. And here, interrupting a little the course of our English matters, we will now (the Lord willing) enter the story above promised, of Maximilian the emperor, and matters of the empire, especially such as pertain to the church.

In the year of our Lord 1486, Frederic waxing aged, and partly also mistrusting the hearts of the Germans, who had complained before of their grievances, and could not be heard; and therefore misdoubting that his house, after his decease, should have the less favour among them, for that cause in his life-time did associate his son Maximilian to be joined emperor with him; with whom he reigned the space of seven years till the death of the said Frederic his father, who departed A. D. 1494, after he had reigned over the empire fifty-three years, lacking only but three years of the reign of Augustus Cæsar, under whom was the birth of our Lord and Saviour Christ.

This Maximilian, as he was a valiant emperor, prudent and singularly learned, so was his reign entangled in many unquiet and difficult wars; first, in the lower countries of Flanders and Brabant, where the said Maximilian was taken captive, but shortly after rescued and delivered again by his father, A. D. 1487. It was signified before how this Maximilian, by the advice of the Burgundians, had to wife Mary, the only daughter of Charles Duke of Burgundy, before mentioned, by whom he had two children, Philip and Margaret, A. D. 1477. Which Mary, not long after, about the year of our Lord 1481, by a fall from her horse fell into an ague, and departed. Other wars many more the same Maximilian also achieved, both in France, in Italy, in Hungary, and divers beside.

So happy was the education of this emperor in good letters, so expert he was in tongues and sciences, but especially such was his dexterity and promptness in the Latin style, that he, imitating the example of Julius Cæsar, did write and comprehend in Latin histories his own acts and feats done, and that in such sort, that when he had given a certain taste of his history to one Pircamerus, a learned man, asking his judgment how his warlike style of Latin did like him, the said Pircamerus did affirm and report of him to John Carion, the witness and writer of this story, that he did never see nor read in any German story, a thing more exactly, and that in such haste, done,

as this was of Maximilian. Moreover, as he was learned himself, so was he a singular patron and advancer of learned students, as may well appear by the erecting and setting up the university of Wittenberg. By this emperor many in those days were excited to the embracing as well of other liberal arts, as also, namely, to the searching out of old antiquities of histories, whereby divers were then by him first occasioned in Germany to set their minds and to exercise their diligence in collecting and explicating matters pertaining to the knowledge of history, as well of ancient as also of later times, as namely Cuspinianus, Nauclerus, Conradus Peutingerus, Manlius, and other.

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Here now it began right well to appear, what great benefit was broached to the world, by the art and facility of printing, as is before mentioned. Through the means of which printing, the church and commonwealth of Christ began now to be replenished with learned men, as both may appear by this emperor, being so endued himself with such excellent knowledge of good letters, and also by divers other famous and worthy wits, which began now in this age exceedingly to increase and multiply; as Baptista Mantuanus, Ang. Politianus, Hermolaus Barbarus, Picus Mirandula, and Franciscus his cousin, Rodol. Agricola, Pontanus, Philippus, Beroaldus, Marsilius Ficinus, Volateranus, Georgius Valla, with infinite other.

Among whom is also to be numbered Weselus Groningensis, otherwise named Basilius, who was not long after Johannes de Wesalia, above recited, both much about one time, and both great friends together. This Weselus died in the year of our Lord 1490. After that Johannes, Doctor de Wesalia, aforesaid, was condemned, this Weselus being familiar with him, thought that the inquisitor would come and examine him also, as he himself in a certain epistle doth write. He was so notable and worthy a man, that of the people he was called Lux Mundi, that is, The light of the world.

Concerning his doctrine, first he reprehended the opinion of the papists, as touching repentance, which they divided into three parts, of the which three parts, satisfaction and confession he did disallow; likewise purgatory and supererogation of works and pardons he did disprove, both at Rome and at Paris. He spake against the pope's indulgences, by the occasion whereof divers of the pope's court, persuaded by him, began to speak more freely against the same matter than he himself had done.

The abuses of masses and praying for the dead he disallowed; and likewise the supremacy of the pope he utterly rejected, as appeareth in a book of his, De Sacramento Pœnitentiæ, denying utterly that any supreme head or governor ought to be in the world over all other; affirming also and saying many times, that the pope had no authority to do any thing by commandment, but by truth, that is, so far as truth goeth with him, so far his sentence to stand; neither that he ought to prevail by commanding, but only by teaching, so as every true Christian bishop may prevail over another. Also in some place in his writings he denieth not, but that popes and their spiritual prelates, proceeding against Christ's doctrine, be plain antichrists. Such as were infirm, and not able to perform the bond of chastity taken upon them, he said they might well. break their vow.

Also the said Weselus witnesseth that the forefathers which were before Albert and Thomas, did resist and withstand the pope's indulgences, calling them in their writings plain idolatry, mere fraud and error; adding moreover, that unless the severity of some good divines had withstood these pardons and indulgences of the pope, innumerable errors had overflowed the church.

Amongst these works of Weselus, there is a certain Epistle of one written to him, in which the author of the Epistle confesseth, that in his time there was a certain learned man at Paris, called Master Thomas de Curselis, a dean; who being in the council of Basil, where divers began to advance the pope too far, declared and

affirmed, to be said to him of Christ, Whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth shall be bound in heaven, but not, Whatsoever thou sayest to be bound; as who should say the pope cannot nor doth not bind therefore, because he so saith, except truth and righteousness go also with him, then he doth so bind indeed. There is a certain book of this man amongst divers others, which he entituled, *De Subditis et Superioribus*, in the which he disputeth greatly against the pope and his prelates; affirming, that the pope, unless his faith and doctrine be sound, ought not to be obeyed. He affirmeth also that the pope may err, and when he erreth, men ought by all manner of means to resist him. Item, That great and superfluous riches in the clergy do not profit, but hurt the church. That the pope doth wickedly distribute the rents of the church, and the church itself, to unworthy ministers by simony, for his own profit and gain, whereby it may appear that he neither careth for God nor the health of the church. Item, That the precepts and commandments of the pope and prelates be no otherwise but as the counsels and precepts of physicians, binding no further than they are found to be wholesome and standing with the truth of the word. Item, That the pope can command no man under pain of deadly sin, except God command him before. He saith, that the keys of the pope and of the prelates be not such wherewith they open the kingdom of heaven, but rather shut it, as the Pharisees did. Concerning vows, he disputeth that such as be foolish and impossible ought to be broken; that the hearers ought to discern and judge of the doctrine of their prelates, and not to receive every thing that they say, without due examination.

He sheweth moreover, that the sentence of excommunication is of more force, proceeding from a true godly, honest, simple, and learned man, than from the pope; as in the council of Constance, Bernard was more esteemed than Eugenius. Also if the pope with his prelates govern and rule naughtily, that the inferiors, be they never so base, ought to resist him.

Writing moreover of two popes, Pius the Second and Sixtus the Fourth, he saith, that Pius the Second did usurp unto himself all the kingdoms of the whole world, and that Sixtus the pope did dispense with all manner of oaths in causes temporal, not only with such oaths as have been already, but also with all such as shall be made hereafter; which was nothing else but to give liberty and licence for men to forswear themselves and deceive one another.

This Weselus being a Phrygian born, and now aged in years, upon a certain time when a young man, called Master Johannes Ostendorpius, came to him, said these words, "Well my child, thou shalt live to that day, when thou shalt see that the doctrine of these new and contentious divines, as Thomas and Bonaventure, with others of the same sort, shall be utterly rejected and exploded from all true Christian divines." And this which Ostendorpius, then being young, heard Weselus to speak, he reported himself to Noviomagus, which wrote this story, A. D. 1520, and heard it of the mouth of the said Weselus, A. D. 1490, March 18.

Philip Melancthon, writing of the life of Rodolphus Agricola, saith, that Josquinus Groningensis, an ancient and a godly man, reported, that when he was young he was oftentimes present at the sermons of Rodolphus and Weselus, wherein they many times lamented the darkness of the church, and reprehended the abuses of the mass, and of the single life of priests. Item, That they disputed oftentimes of the righteousness of faith, why St. Paul so oftentimes did inculcate, that men be justified by faith and not works. The same Josquinus also reported, that they did openly reject and disprove the opinion of monks, which say, that men be justified by their works.

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Item, Concerning men's traditions their opinion was, that all such were deceived, whosoever attributed unto those traditions any opinion of God's worship, or that they might not be broken. And thus much for the story of Doctor Wesalia and Weselus.

By this it may be seen and noted, how, by the grace of God and gift of printing, first came forth learning; by learning came light to judge and discern the errors of the pope from the truth of God's word; as partly by these abovesaid may appear, partly by other that follow after, (by the grace of Christ,) shall better be seen.

About the very same time and season, when the gospel began thus to branch and spring in Germany, the host of Christ's church began also to muster and to multiply likewise here in England, as by these histories here consequent may appear. For not long after the death of this Weselus, in the year of our Lord 1494, and in the ninth year of the reign of Henry the Seventh, the 28th of April, was burned a very old woman named Joan Boughton, widow, and mother to the Lady Young, which lady was also suspected to be of that opinion which her mother was. Her mother was of fourscore years of age or more, and held eight of Wickliff's opinions, (which opinions my author doth not show,) for the which she was burnt in Smithfield the day abovesaid. My author saith, she was a disciple of Wickliff, whom she accounted for a saint, and held so fast and firmly eight of his ten opinions, that all the doctors of London could not turn her from one of them; and when it was told her that she should be burnt for her obstinacy and false belief, she set nothing by their menacing words, but defied them; for she said she was so beloved of God, and his holy angels, that she cared not for the fire, and in the midst thereof she cried to God to take her soul into his holy hands. The night following that she was burnt, the most part of her ashes were had away of such as had a love unto the doctrine that she died for.

Shortly after the martyrdom of this godly aged mother, in the year of our Lord 1497, and the seventeenth of January, being Sunday, two men, the one called Richard Milderale, and the other James Sturdie, bare faggots before the procession of Paul's, and after stood before the preacher in the time of his sermon. And upon the Sunday following stood other two men at Paul's Cross all the sermon-time; the one garnished with painted and written papers, the other having a faggot on his neck. After that in Lent season upon Passion Sunday, one Hugh Glover bare a faggot before the procession of Paul's, and after with the faggot stood before the preacher all the sermon-while at Paul's Cross. And on the Sunday next following four men stood, and did their open penance at Paul's, as is aforesaid, in the sermon-time, and many of their books were burnt before them at the Cross.

Furthermore, the next year following, which was the year of our Lord 1498, in the beginning of May, the king then being at Canterbury, was a priest burnt, which was so strong in his opinion that all the clerks and doctors then there being could not remove him from his faith; whereof the king being informed, he caused the said priest to be brought before his presence, who by his persuasion caused him to revoke, and so he was burnt immediately. In the same year above mentioned, which was the year of our Lord 1498, after the beheading of Edward Plantagenet, earl of 'Warwick, and son to the duke of Clarence, the king and queen being removed to Calais, a certain godly man and a constant martyr of Christ, named Babram, in Norfolk, was burnt in the month of July, as is in Fabian recorded, after the copy which I have written. Albeit in the book of Fabian printed, his burning is referred to the next year following, which is A. D. 1500.

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About which year likewise, or in the year next following, the twentieth day of July, was an old man burnt in Smithfield.



Smithfield

127. Jerome Savanarola

In the same year also, which was of the Lord one thousand four hundred ninety and nine, fell the martyrdom and burning of Hieronymus Savanarola, a man no less godly in heart than constant in his profession. Who, being a monk in Italy, and singularly well learned, preached sore against the evil life and living of the spirituality, and especially of his own order, complaining sore upon them as the springs and authors of all mischiefs and wickedness. Whereupon by the help of certain learned men he began to seek reformation in his own order. Which thing the pope perceiving, and fearing that the said Jerome, which was now in great reputation amongst all men, should diminish or overthrow his authority, he ordained his vicar or provincial to see reformation in these matters; which vicar with great superstition began to reform things: but the said Jerome did always withstand him, whereupon he was complained of to the pope, and because that, contrary unto the pope's commandment, he did withstand his vicar, he was accursed. But for all that Jerome left not off preaching, but threatened Italy with the wrath and indignation of God, and prophesied before unto them, that the land should be overthrown for the pride and wickedness of the people, and for the untruth, hypocrisy, and falsehood of the clergy, which God would not leave unrevenge, as afterward it came to pass, when King Charles came into Italy and to Rome, and so straitly beset the Pope Alexander, that he was forced to make composition with the king.

Now, forasmuch as the said Jerome would not leave off preaching, he was commanded to appear before the pope, to give account of his new learning, (for so then they called the truth of the gospel,) but by means of the manifold perils, he made his excuse that he could not come. Then was he again forbidden by the pope to preach, and his learning pronounced and condemned as pernicious, false, and seditious.

This Jerome, as a man worldly wise, foreseeing the great perils and dangers that might come unto him, for fear left off preaching. But when the people, which sore hungered and longed for God's word, were instant upon him that he would preach again, he began again to preach in the year of our Lord 1496, in the city of Florence; and albeit that many counselled him that he should not so do without the pope's commandment, yet did he not regard it, but went forward freely of his own good will. When the pope and his shavelings heard news of this, they were grievously incensed and inflamed against him, and now again cursed him, as an obstinate and stiffnecked heretic. But for all that Jerome proceeded in teaching and instructing the people, saying, that men ought not to regard such curses, which are against the true doctrine and the common profit, whereby the people should be learned and amended, Christ's kingdom enlarged, and the kingdom of the devil utterly overthrown.

In all his preaching he desired to teach no other thing than the only pure and simple word of God, making often protestation that all men should certify him if they had heard him teach or preach any thing contrary thereunto, for upon his own conscience he knew not that he had taught any thing but the pure word of God. What his doctrine was all men may easily judge by his books that he hath written.

After this, in the year of our Lord 1498, he was taken and brought out of St. Mark's cloister, and two other friars with him, named Dominic and Silvester, which favoured his learning, and was carried into prison, where he wrote a godly meditation upon that most comfortable thirty-first Psalm; wherein he doth excellently describe and set forth the continual strife between the flesh and the spirit.

After this, the pope's legates came to Florence, and called forth these three good men, threatening them marvellously; but they continued still constant. Then came the chief counsellors of the city, with the pope's commissioners, which had gathered out certain articles against these men, whereupon they were condemned to death; the tenor of which articles hereafter ensue.

1. The first article was as touching our free justification through faith in Christ.
2. That the communion ought to be ministered under both kinds.
3. That the indulgences and pardons of the pope were of no effect.
4. For preaching against the filthy and wicked living of the cardinals and spirituality.
5. For denying the pope's supremacy.
6. Also that he had affirmed that the keys were not given unto Peter alone, but unto the universal church.
7. Also, that the pope did neither follow the life nor doctrine of Christ, for that he did attribute more to his own pardons and traditions, than to Christ's merits; and therefore he was antichrist.
8. Also, that the pope's excommunications are not to be feared, and that he which doth fear or fly them is excommunicated of God.
9. Item, That auricular confession is not necessary.
10. Item, That he had moved the citizens to uproar and sedition.
11. Item, That he had neglected and contemned the pope's citation.
12. Item, That he had shamefully spoken against and slandered the pope.
13. Item, That he had taken Christ to witness of his naughtiness and heresy.
14. Also, that Italy must be cleansed through God's scourge, for the manifold wickedness of the princes and clergy.

These and such other like articles were laid unto them and read before them. Then they demanded of the said Jerome and his companions, whether they would recant and give over their opinions. Whereunto they answered, that through God's help they would stedfastly continue in the manifest truth, and not depart from the same. Then were they degraded one after another by the bishop of Vasion, and so delivered over to the secular rulers of Florence, with strait commandment to carry them forth, and handle them as obstinate and stiffnecked heretics.

Thus was the worthy witness of Christ, with the other two aforesaid, first hanged up openly in the market-place, and afterward burnt to ashes, and the ashes gathered up, and cast into the river of Arno, the twenty-fourth of May, in the year of our Lord 1499.

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This man foreshowed many things to come, as the destruction of Florence and Rome, and the renewing of the church, which three things have happened in these times within our remembrance. Also he foreshowed that the Turks and Moors, in the latter days, should be converted unto Christ. He also declared that one should pass the Alps into Italy, like unto Cyrus, which should subvert and destroy all Italy. Whereupon Johannes Franciscus Picus, earl of Mirandula, called him a holy prophet, and defended him by his writings against the pope. Many other learned men also defended the innocency of the said Savanarola. Masilius Ficinus also, in a certain epistle, doth attribute unto him the spirit of prophecy, greatly commending and praising him. In like manner, Philippus Comineus, a French historiographer, which had conference with him, witnesseth that he was a holy man, and full of the spirit of prophecy, forasmuch as he had foreshowed unto him so many things which in event had proved true.

Anton. Flaminius, an Italian, and for piety and learning famous, in that age wrote this epigram upon the death of Jerome Savanarola:

"Whilst flames unjust (blest saint) thy body burns,
Weeping religion, with dishevelled hairs,
Cries out, and says, Oh spare his sacred urns,
Spare, cruel flames! that fire our soul impairs."

There were, besides these, many other, not to be passed over or forgotten; as Philip Norice, an Irishman, professor at Oxford, who, albeit he was not burned, yet (as it is said) he was long time vexed and troubled by the religious rout. But would to God that such as have occupied themselves in writing of histories, and have so diligently committed unto memory all other things done in foreign commonwealths, had bestowed the like diligence and labour in noting and writing those things which pertain unto the affairs of the church; whereby the posterity might have had fuller and more perfect understanding and knowledge of them.

128. Discontent in Germany

This Savanarola, above mentioned, suffered under Pope Alexander the Sixth, of which pope more leisure and opportunity shall serve hereafter, Christ willing, to treat, after that we shall first make a little digression, to treat of certain causes and complaints of the Germans, incident in the mean time, which, as they are not to be overpast in silence, so can they have no place nor time more convenient to be inferred. What complaints of the Germans were made and moved unto the Emperor Frederic against the pope's suppressions and exactions, mention was made before; where also was declared, how the said Germans at that time were twice put back and forsaken of the emperor, whereby they continued in the same yoke and bondage until the time of Luther. Wherefore it cometh now to hand, and we think it also good here briefly to declare, how the said Germans, in the time of Maximilian the emperor, renewing their complaints again, delivered unto the emperor ten principal grievances, whereby the Germans have been long time oppressed; showing also the remedies against the same, with certain advisements unto the emperor's Majesty, how he might withstand and resist the pope's subtleties and crafts: the order and tenor whereof here ensueth.

The ten grievances of the Germans.

"1. That the bishops of Rome, successors one unto another, do not think themselves bound to observe and keep the bulls, covenants, privileges, and letters, granted by their predecessors, without all derogation; but by often dispensation, suspension, and revocation, even at the instance of every vile person, they do gainsay and withstand the same.

"2. That the elections of prelates are oftentimes put back.

"3. That the elections of presbyteries are withstood, which the chapter-houses of many churches have obtained with great cost and expense, as the church of Spire and Haselt do well know; whose bull, touching the election of their president, is made frustrate, he being yet alive which granted the same.

"4. That benefices, and the greatest ecclesiastical dignities, are reserved for cardinals and head notaries.

"5. That expectative graces, called advowsons, are granted without number, and many oftentimes unto one man, whereupon continual contentions do arise, and much money is spent, both that which is laid out for the bulls of those advowsons, which never take effect, and also that which is consumed in going to law. Whereupon this proverb is risen, Whosoever will get an advowson from Rome, must have one or two hundred pieces of gold laid up in his chest, for the obtaining of the same, which he shall have need of, to prosecute the law withal.

"6. That annats, or yearly revenues, are exacted without delay or mercy, even of the bishops lately dead, and oftentimes more extorted than ought to be, through the new offices and new servants, as by the examples of the churches of Mentz and Strasburgh may be seen.

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"7. That the rule of the churches is given at Rome unto those that are not worthy, which were more fit to feed and keep mules, than to have the rule and governance of men.

"8. That new indulgences and pardons, with the suspension and revocation of the old, are granted to gather and scrape money together.

"9. That tenths are exacted, under pretence of making war against the Turk; when no expedition doth follow thereupon.

"10. That the causes which might be determined in Germany, where there are both learned and just judges, are indistinctly carried unto the court of Rome; which thing St. Bernard, writing to Pope Eugenius, seemeth wonderfully to reprove."

Here ensueth the remedy against the said grievances.

"If it shall seem good unto the emperor's Majesty, let it be declared unto the bishop of Rome, how grievous and intolerable a thing it is unto the Germans, to suffer continually so great charges and grievances, to pay so great annats for the confirmation of the bishops and archbishops, and especially in such bishoprics, where the annats by process of time are enhanced, and in many, as it is said, doubled. For the archbishop's see of Mentz, as it is said, sometime paid only 10,000 florins; which sum, when one which was chosen there refused to give, and so continued even unto his death, he which was afterward elected, being desirous of confirmation, fearing to withstand the apostolic see, offered the old sum of 10,000 florins; but, notwithstanding, he could not get his confirmation, except he would pay the other 10,000, which his predecessor before him had not paid.

"By this means he was compelled to pay 20,000 florins; which, being enrolled in the register of the chamber, as much hath been exacted of every archbishop since, until these our days; and not only 20,000, but also 25,000, for their new offices, and new servants. At last, the sum drew to 27,000 florins, which James, the archbishop of Mentz, was compelled to pay, as his commissary did report. So by this means, in a little time there was seven times 25,000 florins paid out of the archbishopric of Mentz unto Rome, for the confirmation of the archbishop. And when this Archbishop James had kept the archbishopric scarce four years, the Lord Uriel was elected after him, who was compelled to pay at the least 24,000 or 25,000 florins. Whereof a part he borrowed of the merchants; but to satisfy and pay them again, he was forced to exact a subsidy of his poor subjects and husbandmen, whereof some have not yet satisfied and paid the tribute for the bishop's pall: so that by this means our people are not only tormented and brought to extreme poverty, but also are moved unto rebellion, to seek their liberty by what means soever they may, grievously murmuring against the cruelty of the clergy.

"The pope also should be admonished, how that, through divers and sundry wars and battles, the lands of Germany lie desolate and waste, and through many mortalities, the number of men is diminished, so that, for the scarceness of husbandmen, the fields, for the most part, lie unfilled, the tolls are by divers means diminished, the mines consumed, and the profits daily decay, whereby the archbishops and bishops should pay their annats unto the apostolic see, besides their other necessary and honest charges; insomuch that, not without just cause, James .the archbishop of Mentz, being even at the point of death, said, that he did not so much sorrow for his own death, as for that his poor subjects should be again forced to pay a

grievous exaction for the pall. Wherefore let the high bishop, as a godly father and lover of his children, and a faithful and prudent pastor, deal more favourably with his children the Germans, lest that persecution happen to rise against the priests of Christ, and that men, following the example of the Bohemians, do swerve from the Church of Rome.

"At the least, let him be more favourable, as often as any archbishop or bishop happened to rule his church but a few years; as it happened to the bishops of Bamberg, whereof three died within few years. The like also might happen by other bishoprics, whereof, as Æneas Sylvius witnesseth, there are in Germany to the number of fifty, besides abbots, whereof a great number are confirmed at Rome.

"And admit that in Germany there were greater profits and revenues rising of the ground, mines, and tolls; notwithstanding, the emperor and the other princes should lack treasure and munition of war against their enemies, and specially the infidels, and to preserve Germany in peace and quietness, and to minister justice unto every man; for which purpose the council of the chamber, being most holily instructed and furnished with great cost and charges, doth chiefly serve. Besides that, the emperor hath need of treasure, to suppress the rebels in the empire, to banish and drive away thieves and murderers, whereof a great number are not ashamed to spoil churches only, and to rob them of their goods, but also to assail the clergy themselves. Finally, our nation and country of Germany hath need of great riches and treasure, not only for the repairing of churches and monasteries, but also for hospitals for children that are laid out in the streets, for widows, for women with child, for orphans, for the marriage of the daughters of poor men, that they be not deflowered, for such as have need and necessity, for the old and weak, for the sick and the sore, whereof (the more is the sorrow) Germany is fully replenished and filled."

Hereafter ensueth the copy of a certain letter of the Emperor Maximilian, given out in manner of a decree or commandment against certain abuses of the clergy.

"We, according to the example of our dearly beloved father, Frederic, emperor of Rome, reverencing the chief pastor of the church, and all the clergy, have suffered no small revenues of the ecclesiastical dignities to be carried out of our dominion by the prelates and clergy that are absent, whose faults committed by human frailty, with Constantine our predecessor, we have not disdained to hide and cover. But forasmuch as through our liberality the decay of God's honour is risen, it is our part to foresee (which are elect unto the empire, without any desert) that among all other affairs of peace and war, the churches do not decay, religion quail not, or God's true worship be not diminished, which we have manifestly experimented, and daily do perceive, by the insatiable covetousness of some, which are never satisfied in getting of benefices, through whose absence (being resident but only upon one) God's honour and worship is diminished, houses decay, churches decrease, the ecclesiastical liberty is hurt, learning and monuments are lost and destroyed, hospitality and alms diminished, and by their unsatiable greediness, such of the clergy as for their learning and virtue were worthy of benefices, and their wisdom profitable in commonwealths, are hindered and put back. Wherefore, according to the office and duty of our estate, for the love of the increase of God's honour, we exhort and require, that no man from henceforth, having any canonship or vicarage in one city of our empire, shall occupy or possess a prebend in another church of the same city, except he give over the first within a year's space unto some person fit and profitable for the church; neither that he do, by unjust quarrels, vex or trouble any man in getting of benefices; neither that any man

do falsely feign himself to have been of the emperor's household, which hath not been comprehended within the league and agreement made by the princes; neither that any man attempt to take away the patronages from any layman, or aggravate the small prebends of curates, or churches with pensions; neither that they do use in getting of benefices and bulls, any fraud, deceit, false instruments, corrupt witnesses, and cloaked simony; neither that any man presume to obtain any regress, or other thing contrary to the sacred canons, right, honesty, equity, and reason, upon pain of the most grievous offence of treason: the which we will, that not only they going so contrary to God and all honesty; but also all their favourers, which do help, counsel, harbour, or give them any thing, all their messengers and writers, proctors, sureties, and other their friends, shall incur and receive condign punishment for so great offence and contempt of our commandment. From Cenopont," &c.

To return now to the order of popes, where we left before, speaking of Innocent the Eighth. After the said Innocent, next succeeded Pope Alexander the Sixth. In which Alexander, among other horrible things, this is one to be noted, that when Gemes, (Peucer named him Demes,) brother to Bajazet the great Turk, was committed by the Rhodians to the safe custody, first of Pope Innocent, then of Alexander the Sixth, for whose keeping the pope received every year forty thousand crowns; yet notwithstanding, when Pope Alexander afterward was compelled to send the said Gemes to Charles the Eighth, the French king, for a pledge, because the French king should not procure the great Turk's favour, by sending his brother Gemes to him to be slain, he being hired by the Turk, caused the said Gemes to be poisoned, who, in his journey going toward the French king, died at Terracina.

Moreover, in the said Hieronymus Marius it appeareth, that this Alexander, taking displeasure with the aforesaid Charles, the French king, about the winning of Naples, sent to Bajazet the Turk, to fight against the aforesaid Charles.

Munsterus, lib. 4. Cosmog., declaring the aforesaid history of Gemes something otherwise, first calleth him Zizymus, and saith that he was first committed by the Rhodians to the French king. And when Johannes Huniades before mentioned did labour to the French king to have him, thinking by that means to obtain a noble victory against the Turks, as it was not unlike, this Alexander the pope, through his fraudulent flattery, got him of the French king into his own hands, by whose means the said Gemes afterward was poisoned, as is in manner before expressed.

Unto these poisoned acts of the pope, let us also adjoin his malicious wickedness, with like fury exercised upon Antonius Mancinellus; which Mancinellus being a man of excellent learning, because he wrote an eloquent oration against his wicked manners and filthy life, with other vices, he therefore commanded both his hands and his tongue to be cut off, playing much like with him as Antoninus the tyrant once did with M. Cicero, for writing against his horrible life. At length, as one poison requireth another, this poisoned pope, as he was sitting with his cardinals and other rich senators of Rome at dinner, his servants, unawares, brought to him a wrong bottle, wherewith he was poisoned, and his cardinals about him.

In the time of this Pope Alexander also it happened (which is not to be pretermitted) how that the angel, which stood in the high top of the pope's church, was beaten down with a terrible thunder; which thing seemed then to declare the ruin and fall of the popedom. After this pope next succeeded Pius the Third, about the year of our Lord 1503. After whom came next Julius the Second, a man so far passing all other in iniquity, that Wicelius, and such other of his own friends writing of him, are

compelled to say of him, That he was more given to war and battle than to Christ. Concerning the madness of this man, this is most certainly known, that at what time he was going to war, he cast the keys of St. Peter into the river Tiber, saying, that forasmuch as the keys of Peter would not serve him to his purpose, he would take himself to the sword of Paul.

Of this Julius it is certainly reported, that partly with his wars, partly with his cursings, within the space of seven years, as good as two hundred thousand Christians were destroyed. First he besieged Ravenna against the Venetians, then Servia, Imola, Faventia, Forolivium, Bononia, and other cities, which he got out of princes' hands, not without much bloodshed. The Chronicles of John Sleydan made mention, that when this Julius was made pope, he took an oath, promising to have a council within two years; but when he had no leisure thereunto, being occupied with his wars in Italy among the Venetians, and with the French king, and in Ferrara, and in other countries, nine of his cardinals, departing from him, came into Milan, and there appointed a council at the city of Pisa; amongst whom, the chief were Bernardus, Cruceius, Gulielmus Prenestinus, Franciscus Constantinus, with divers others; unto whom also were adjoined the procurators of Maximilian the emperor, and of Charles the French king. So the council was appointed the year of our Lord 1511, to begin in the kalends of September. The cause why they did so call this council was thus alleged, because the pope had so broken his oath, and all this while he gave no hope to have any council; and also because there were divers other crimes, whereupon they had to accuse him. Their purpose was to remove him out of his seat, the which he had procured through bribes and ambition. Julius hearing this, giveth out contrary commandment, under great pain, that no man should obey them, and calleth himself another council against the next year, to be begun the 19th day of April. The French king, understanding Pope Julius to join with the Venetians, and so to take their part against him, converted a council at Turin, in the month of September; in which council these questions were proposed:

"Whether it was lawful for the pope to move war against any prince without cause?

"Whether any prince, in defending himself, might invade his adversary, and deny his obedience?" Unto the which questions it was answered, That neither the bishop ought to invade, and also that it was lawful for the king to defend himself. Moreover, that the Pragmatical Sanction was to be observed through the realm of France: neither that any unjust excommunications ought to be feared, if they were found to be unjust. After this the king sent to Julius the answer of his council, requiring him either to agree to peace, or to appoint a general council some other where, where this matter might be more fully decided. Julius would neither of both these, but forthwith accursed Charles the French king, with all his kingdom. At the length, at Ravenna, in a great war he was overcome by the French king, and at last, after much slaughter, and great bloodshed, and mortal war, this pope died, in the year of our Lord 1513, the 21st day of February.

THE ACTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

END OF VOLUME 4

**THE ACTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE
CHRISTIAN CHURCH**

by

JOHN FOXE

Commonly known as

FOXES' BOOK OF MARTYRS

Volume 5

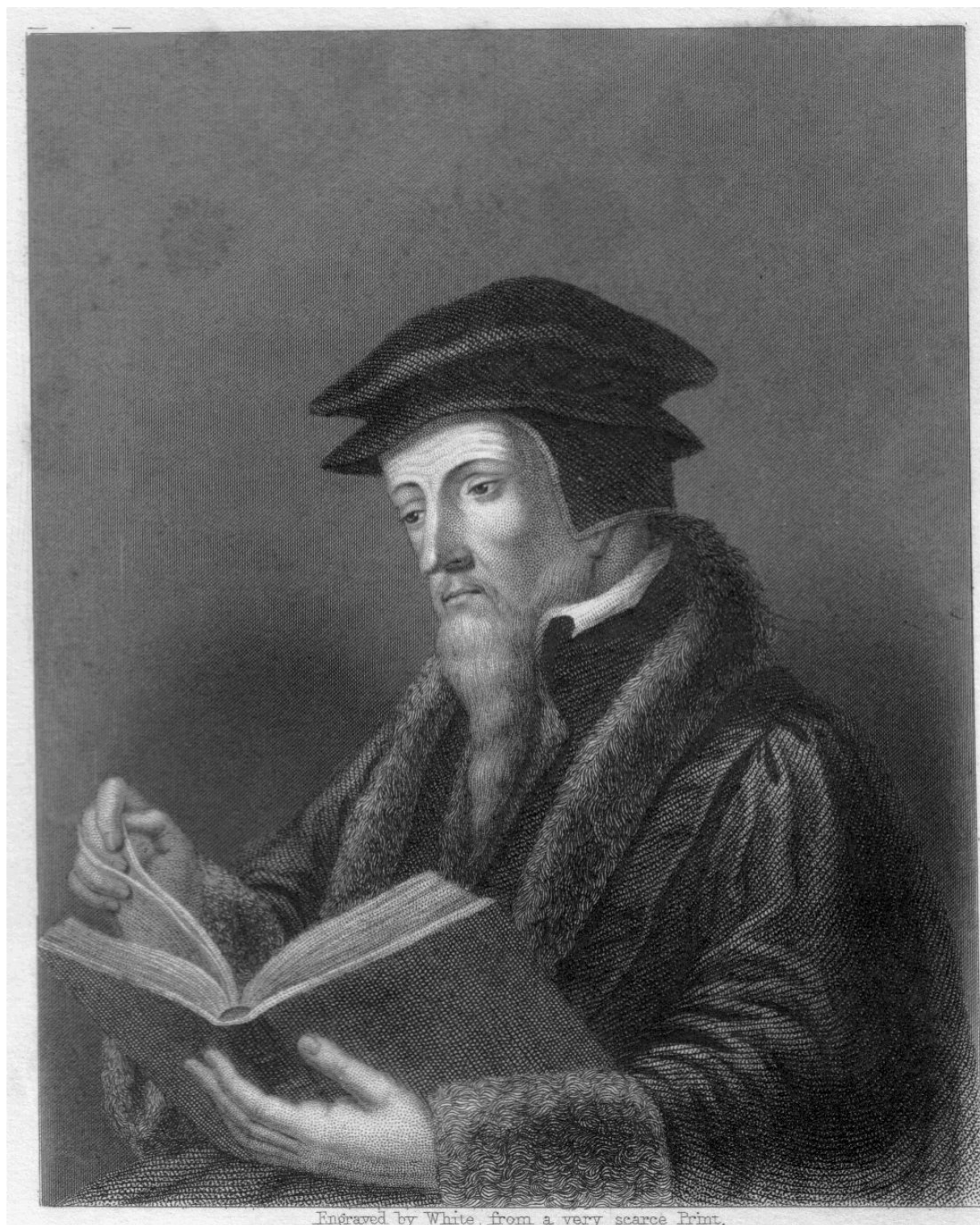
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VOLUME 5



John Calvin

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

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FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

THE SEVENTH BOOK
OF
THE ACTS AND MONUMENTS

129. History of the Turks.



F it were not that I fear to overlay this our volume with heaps of foreign histories, which have professed chiefly to treat of Acts and Monuments here done at home, I would adjoin after these popes above rehearsed, some discourse also of the Turks' story; of their rising and cruel persecution of the saints of God, to the great annoyance and peril of Christendom: yet, notwithstanding, certain causes there be, which necessarily require the knowledge of their order and doings, and of their wicked proceedings, their cruel tyranny, and bloody victories, the ruin and subversion of so many Christian churches, with the horrible murders and captivity of infinite Christians, to be made plain and manifest, as well to this our country of England, as also to other nations.

First, For the better explaining of the prophecies of the New Testament, as in St. Paul's Epistle to the Thessalonians, and also in the Revelation of St. John. Which Scriptures otherwise, without the opening of these histories, cannot so perfectly be understood. Of the which Scriptures, we mind hereafter, Christ granting, orderly, as the course of matter shall lead us, to make rehearsal.

Another cause is, That we may learn thereby, either with the public church to lament with our brethren, such a great defection and decay of Christian faith, through these wicked Turks; or else may fear thereby our own danger.

The third cause, That we may ponder more deeply with ourselves the scourge of God for our sins, and corrupt doctrine; which in the sequel hereof more evidently may appear to our eyes, for our better admonition.

Fourthly, The consideration of this horrible persecution of the Turks, rising chiefly by our discord and dissension among ourselves, may reduce us again from our domestic wars, in killing and burning one of another, to join together in Christian patience and concord.

Fifthly, But chiefly, these great victories of the Turks, and unprosperous speed of our men fighting against them, may admonish and teach us, following the example of the old Israelites, how to seek for greater strength to encounter with these enemies of Christ, than hitherto we have done. First, we must consider that the whole power of Satan, the prince of this world, goeth with the Turks; which to resist, no strength of man's army is sufficient, but only the name, spirit, and power of our Lord Jesus, the Son of God, going with us in our battles; as among the old Israelites, the ark of God's covenant and promise went with them also, fighting against the enemies of God. For so are we taught in the Scripture, that we Christian men have no strength but in Christ only. Whether we war against the devil, or against the Turk, it is true that the Scripture saith, Without me ye can do nothing. Otherwise there is no puissance to stand against the devil, or to conquer the world, but our faith only; to which all the promises of God, touching salvation, be annexed, beyond which promises we must not go, for the word must be our rule. He that presumeth beyond the promises in the word expressed, goeth not, but wandereth, he cannot tell whither. Neither must we appoint God how to save the world, but must

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take that way which he hath appointed. Let us not set God to school, nor comprehend his Holy Spirit within our skulls. He that made us without our counsel, did also redeem us as pleased him. If he be merciful, let us be thankful. And if his mercies surmount our capacity, let us therefore not resist, but search his word, and thereunto apply our will, which, if we will do, all our contentions will be soon at a point. Let us therefore search the will of our God in his word, and if he will his salvation to stand free to all nations, why do we make merchandise thereof? If he have graciously offered his waters to us, without money, or without money-worth, let us not hedge in the plenteous springs of his grace given us.

And finally, if God have determined his own Son only to stand alone, let not us presume to admix with his majesty any of our trumpery. He that bringeth St. George or St. Dennis as patrons to the field to fight against the Turk, leaveth Christ (no doubt) at home. Now, how we have fought these many years against the Turk, though stories keep silence, yet the success declareth. We fight against a persecutor, being no less persecutors ourselves. We wrestle against a bloody tyrant, and our hands be as full of blood as his. He killeth Christ's people with the sword, and we burn them with fire. He, observing the works of the law, seeketh his justice by the same; the like also do we. But neither he nor we seek our justification as we should, that is, by faith only in the Son of God.

And what marvel then, our doctrine being as corrupt almost as his, and our conversation worse, if Christ fight not with us, fighting against the Turk? The Turk hath prevailed so mightily, not because Christ is weak, but because that Christians be wicked, and their doctrine impure. Our temples with images, our hearts with idolatry, are polluted: our priests stink before God for adultery, being restrained from lawful matrimony. The name of God is in our mouths, but his fear is not in our hearts. We war against the Turk with our works, masses, traditions, and ceremonies; but we fight not against him with Christ, and with the power of his glory, which if we did, the field were won.

Wherefore, briefly to conclude, saying my judgment in this behalf, what I suppose; this hope I have, and do believe, that when the church of Christ, with the sacraments thereof, shall be so reformed, that Christ alone shall be received to be our justifier, all other religions, merits, traditions, images, patrons, and advocates, set apart, the sword of the Christians, with the strength of Christ, shall soon vanquish the Turks' pride and fury. But of this more largely in the process of this story.

The sixth and last cause, why I think the knowledge of the Turks' history requisite to be considered, is this: Because that many there be, which, for that they be further from the Turks, and think therefore themselves to be out of danger, take little care and study what happeneth to their other brethren. Wherefore, to the intent to excite their zeal and prayer to Almighty God, in this so lamentable ruin of Christ's church, I thought it requisite, by order of history, to give this our nation also something to understand, what hath been done in other nations by these cruel Turks, and what detriment hath been, and is like more to happen by them to the church of Christ, except we make our earnest invocation to Almighty God, in the name of his Son, to stop the course of the devil by these Turks, and to stay this defection of Christians, falling daily unto them, and to reduce them again to his faith which are fallen from him. Which the Lord Jesus of his grace grant with speed. Amen.

Before we enter into this story of the Turks and Saracens, first let us call to remembrance the prophecy and forewarning of St. Paul, writing to the Thessalonians, in his Second Epistle, in

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these words: Be not moved or troubled in your minds, either by preaching or writing, or by letter from us, as though the day of the Lord were at hand; for the Lord will not come, except there come a defection first, and the wicked person be revealed, &c. Of this defection, sundry minds there be of sundry expositors; some thinking this defection to mean a falling away from the empire of Rome; some, from the obedience of the pope. But as St. Paul little passed upon the outward glory of the Roman empire, so less he passed upon the proud obedience of the pope. What St. Paul meant by this defection, the reading of these Turkish stories, and the miserable falling away of these churches by him before planted, will soon declare.

Another mystery there is in the Revelation, chap. xiii., where the number of the beast is counted six hundred and sixty-six. Whereby may seem, by all evidences, to be signified the first origin and springing of these beastly Saracens, as by sequel hereof may appear, by the first rising of this devilish sect of Mahomet.

Moreover, another place there is, Rev. xvi., where we read, that by pouring out of the vial of God's wrath, of the sixth angel, the great flood Euphrates was dried up, to let in the kings of the east; the opening of which prophecy may also more evidently appear, in considering the order and manner of the coming of these Turks into Europe.

Some also apply to the Turks certain prophecies of Daniel, Ezekiel, and other places of the Old Testament more, which here I omit, forasmuch as the prophecies of the Old Testament, if they be taken in their proper and native sense, after my judgment, do extend no further than to the death of our Saviour, and to the end of the Jews' kingdom. Albeit herein I do not prejudicate to any man's opinion, but that every man may abound in his own sense.

As touching the year and time when this pestiferous sect of Mahomet first began, histories do not fully consent, some affirming that it began A. D. 621, and in the tenth year of Heraclius the emperor of Constantinople; in which mind is Johannes Lucidus. As Munsterus counteth, it was in the year of our Lord 622. Martin Luther and John Carion refer it to the eighteenth year of the reign of Heraclius, which is the year of our Lord 630. Unto the which number, the computation of the beast signified in the Apocalypse doth not far disagree, which numbereth the name of the beast with three Greek letters, χ , ξ , σ [chi, xi, sigma,] which Greek letters, after the supputation of the Grecians, make the number of six hundred sixty and six.

In this all writers agree, that this damnable Mahomet was born in the country of Arabia, bordering on the east part of Jewry. His father was a Syrian, or a Persian, his mother was an Ishmaelite; which Ishmaelites being a people of Arabia, were called then Agarenes; which term Mahomet afterward turned to the name of Saracens. Of this wretched Mahomet mention was made before, where we showed, how he, making himself the highest prophet of all other, yet denieth not Christ to be a holy prophet, and next to him, and Moses also to be another. Moreover, he denieth not Mary the mother of Christ to be a virgin, and to have conceived Christ by the Holy Ghost; affirming further, that Christ in his own person was not crucified, but another called Judas for him. He greatly commendeth also John the son of Zacharias for a virgin; when he himself permitteth a man to have four wives, and as many concubines as he is able to find; and saith, that whereas Christ and other prophets had the gift given them to work miracles, he was sent by force of sword to compel men to his religion,

The prodigious vanities, lies, and blasphemies contained in his law, called Alcoran, are rather to be laughed at than recited.

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It is thought that Sergius, a Nestorian, was a great doer with Mahomet, in contriving of this lying Alcoran; and so it doth well appear by the scope and pretence thereof, which especially tendeth to this end, to take the Divinity from the person of Christ, whom he granteth, notwithstanding, to be a most holy man, and also that he is received up to God, and shall come again to kill antichrist, &c.

Moreover, this ridiculous Alcoran is so blanced and powdered with so divers mixtures of the Christians', Jews', and the Gentiles' laws, giving such liberty to all wantonness of flesh, setting up circumcision, abstaining from swine's flesh, and Judaical lotions, and so much standeth upon Father Abraham, that it is supposed of some, this filthy Alcoran not to be set out in the days of Mahomet, but that certain Jews had some handling also in this matter, and put it out after his death; and so seemeth first to take his force about the number of years limited in the Apocalypse, as is aforesaid, where thus it is written: He that hath intelligence, let him count the number of the beast; for it is the number of a man, and his number is six hundred sixty and six.

After this devilish Mahomet had thus seduced the people, teaching them that he came not by miracles, but by force of sword to give his law, and that they which will not obey it, must either be put to death, or else pay tribute (for so be the words of the Alcoran); and after that he had gathered strength about him of the Arabians, which Arabians had then occasion to rebel against the emperor, because their stipends were not paid them of Heraclius the emperor's officers, he began to range with force and violence in the parts of Syria bordering near unto him, and first subdued Mecca, then Damascus; and further increasing in power, he entered into Egypt and subdued the same. From thence he turned his power against the Persians, with whom Cosroes, the king of Persia, encountering with a puissant army, overthrew the Saracens, and put Mahomet to flight. Of these Persians came the Turks, which afterward joining with the Saracens, maintained them against the Christians.

After the death of this beast, which, as some say, was poisoned in his house, succeeded Ebocara, or Ebubecer, his father-in-law, or, as Bibliander affirmeth, his son-in-law, who took upon him the government of the Christians, and got the city Gaza, and besieged also Jerusalem two years. He reigned two years, having for his chief city Damascus.

After him followed Omar, or Ahumar, who conquered a great part of Syria, and got Egypt.

The fourth king of the Saracens, after Mahomet, was Odman, then followed Haly, and after him Muhantias; which, after the siege of seven years, obtained and got the Christian city of Cesarea; also overcame the Persians, with their king Orimasda, and subdued that country to his law.

Thus the wicked Saracens, in the space of thirty years, subdued Arabia, got Palestine, Phoenicia, Syria, Egypt, and Persia, which came directly to the six hundred and sixty-six years prophesied of in the Revelation of St. John, as is aforesaid. And not long after they proceeded further, and got Africa, and then Asia, as in the process of their story shall appear, the Lord willing.

Not long after Heraclius, emperor of Constantinople, succeeded Constance his nephew, who, in the thirteenth year of his empire, fighting unluckily against the Saracens in Lycia, was overthrown of Muhantias aforesaid, in the year of our Lord 655. Which Constance, if he were not prospered by the Lord in his wars, it was no great marvel, considering that he had slain his

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brother Theodosius before at home; moreover, lived in incestuous matrimony; also, being inclined to certain new sects, could not abide the contrary teachers, but slew them which admonished him thereof. The said Constance going afterward to Italy, was also overcome of the Lombards, &c. The Saracens after this victory spoiled all Rhodes.

Although these cursed Saracens, in these their great victories and conquests, were not without domestic sedition and divisions among themselves, yet the princes of the Saracens, being called then sultans, had in their possession the government of Syria, Egypt, Africa, and of a great part of Asia, about the term of four hundred years; till at length the Saracen king which ruled in Persia, fighting against the Saracen of Babylon, sought aid of the Turks, to fight with him against the sultan of Babylon. The which Turks by little and little surprised upon the sultan of Persia, and not long after putting him out of place, usurped the kingdom of Persia; which afterward went further, as ye shall hear, the Lord willing. And this is the first beginning of the Turks' dominion.

These Turks, after they had thus overcome great countries and provinces, and made their power large and mighty both in Asia and Europe, began to divide their kingdoms and countries amongst themselves. But when they could not agree, but with deadly war contended for the bounds of those kingdoms and dominions, in the mean time four of the principal families, conquering and subduing all the rest, parted the whole empire amongst themselves. And yet they also not so contented, fell to such cruel hatred, contention, war, and slaughter, (no doubt by the just judgment of God against his blasphemous enemies,) that there was no end thereof, until the remnant of the ancient Turks was utterly rooted out.

For it is evident that there are few now remaining which are Turks indeed by birth and blood, and that the state of that great empire is not up-holden, but by the strength and power of soldiers which have been Christians, and now are turned to Mahomet's religion; so that even their own natural language is now out of use amongst them, saving in certain families of their nobility and gentlemen.

These four families above mentioned, with their captains and armies, about the year of our Lord 1330, went raging throughout all Asia and Europe, and every one of them conquered some part of the countries where they passed.

The causes of these great invasions and victories, were the dissension and discord, falsehood, idleness, inconstancy, greedy avarice, lack of truth and fidelity among Christian men of all states and degrees, both high and low. For by the wilful defection and backsliding of the Christians the Turkish power did exceedingly increase, in that many, desiring the licentious life and liberty of war, and allured with the prosperous success of things, forsook the church of God, and made themselves bondslaves to Mahomet and his devilish sect; both because that fleshly liberty is delightful to all men, and partly also because as fortune favoureth, so commonly the wills of men incline. And again, such as be profane and without the fear of God, (whereof there is an infinite number in the church,) in all ages, are wont commonly to judge of religion according to the success of realms and kingdoms. For many, not only for the variety of opinions, but also for the diversity of events and fortune amongst men, have inquired, and do inquire, whether there be any church of God distinct from other nations; what it is, and where it is; especially, forasmuch as the greatest part of men, both in the old time, when the four monarchies flourished in order, was ignorant of this doctrine, which is peculiar to the church alone, and now also the barbarity of Mahomet prevaieth and reigneth in the most part of the world. And how standeth this with man's reason, that a small number, both miserable and also feeble and broken

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with many battles, should be regarded and loved of God, and the other flourishing in all wealth, prosperities, victories, authority, and power, should be rejected and despised of God, seeing there is no power and authority, but by the ordinance of God? Albeit, therefore, the power of the Turks had been, for these two hundred years, of greater force than any other monarchy of the world besides, yet is there no imperial dignity to be esteemed in that Turkish tyranny, but amongst those nations only, where the heavenly doctrine of the Gospel is preached, and other disciplines necessary for the church of God, and the common life of man maintained and regarded; where the laws of God, and other honest and civil ordinances agreeable to the same, do flourish and reign; where lawful judgment is exercised; where virtue is honoured and rewarded; where sin and wickedness is punished; where honest families are maintained and defended.

These things are not regarded amongst the Turks, the enemies of the Son of God, and all lawful empires; because they dissolve and reject all godly societies, honest discipline, good laws, policies, righteous judgment, the ordinance of matrimony, and godly families. For what hath the empire of the Turks been hitherto, but most deadly, cruel, and perpetual war, to work all mischief, destruction, and desolation; to subvert good laws, cities, kingdoms, policies, and to enlarge their cruel power and dominion? The stay and strength whereof, is not love and favour proceeding of virtue and justice, as in lawful and well-governed empires; but fear, violence, oppression, swarms and infinite thousands of barbarous and most wicked people, ministers of Satan's malice and fury. Which kind of dominion and tyranny hath been condemned by the voice of God many years ago; the testimonies whereof the Lord would have to remain in the church, lest the godly, being moved with the power and success thereof, should fall away and forsake the Son of God.

Wherefore, let us not seek for any imperial state in that barbarity; but let us be thankful, and acknowledge the great benefit of God, for that he hath reserved to us certain remnants of the Roman empire; and let us call upon him daily, with hearty petitions and groans, and with zeal and love to the house of God, that this Turkish power, joined with the malice of Satan against the Son of God, prevail not against the poor congregations and little remnant of his church, as it hath hitherto done against those strong and noble Christian kingdoms and churches, where now we see the Turkish tyranny to reign, and Satan to have taken full possession. Whose state was once far better than ours is now, and more like to continue without such horrible overthrows and desolation. Oh that we might foresee a little the great danger that hangeth over our heads! For though the Turk seemeth to be far off, yet do we nourish within our breasts at home, that which may soon cause us to feel his cruel hand, and worse, if worse may be, to overrun us; to lay our land waste; to scatter us amongst the infidels, the enemies and blasphemers of the Son of God.

Now, although these four families above mentioned long continued together in bloody wars, deadly hatred, yet one of them passed the rest in all cruelty and tyranny, and subduing the other three families, took upon him the government alone, and so became the first monarch, or emperor, that reigned amongst them, called Ottomannus; of whom all that reigned after him were called Ottomanni. Who succeeding orderly of his line, have occupied the same dominion and seat of the Turks, from the year of our Lord 1300, unto this present time, which have been to the number of twelve; of the which twelve, in such order as they lived and reigned, I intend, Christ so permitting, severally and compendiously something to treat, briefly abstracting, out of prolix and tedious writers, such specialties as for us Christians shall be briefly requisite to be known.

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Ottoman, the first great emperor, or tyrant, of the Turks.

This Ottoman was at the first of poor estate, and obscure amongst the common sort of men, coming of a base progeny, and of rustical parents; but through his valiantness and activity in war, he got him a great name amongst the Turks; for he being a man of fierce courage, refusing no labour, and delighting in war, and gathering together by subtlety a multitude of common soldiers, began to make war, and by conquest and victories to advance himself and his family. First, he began to rob and spoil with a great band of rovers, and afterward he attempted to set upon all men. Neither did he vex and destroy the Christians only, but set upon his own nation also, and sought all occasion to subdue them wholly unto him. For now the princes and captains of the Turks, inflamed with ambition and desire of rule, began to fall out and contend among themselves, insomuch that they fell to domestic and inward war, with all the power they could.

Ottoman having this occasion very fit and meet to accomplish that which he long had sought for, gathering unto him all such as he thought to be given to robbing and spoiling, and set all upon mischief, in short time began to grow in authority, and first set upon certain towns, as he saw opportunity to serve him. Of which towns some he took by force, some by yielding, other some he spoiled and overthrew to terrify the rest, thus laying the first foundation of his rising. In the mean time, the discord which was amongst the Christians was no small advantage to this Ottoman, by occasion whereof he, within ten years' space, subdued Bithynia, and all the provinces about Pontus; also Natolia, which comprehended all the dominion of the Greeks within Asia; Ancyra, a city in Phrygia; Synope, a city in Galatia; and Sabastia, a city in Cappadocia: and thus still prevailing, he increased in short time to a mighty power, either through the secret judgment of God against that nation, or else because God would have them so far and so cruelly to prevail, for the punishment of the sins of other nations; like as it was prophesied before, that such a kingdom there should be of Gog and Magog.

This Ottoman, after he had reigned twenty-eight years, in the year of our Lord 1327, died, and departed to his Mahomet, leaving behind him three sons, of whom Orchan, being the youngest, killed his two brethren, whilst they were at variance between themselves.

Orchan, the second emperor after Ottoman.

Orchan, the youngest of the sons of Ottoman, after he had slain his two brethren, took the regiment of the Turks after his father. Who, after he had drawn to him the hearts of the multitude, such as had their dispositions set upon the licentious life of war, converted his power further to enlarge his father's dominion, winning and subduing Mysia, Lydia, Lycaonia, Phrygia, and Caria; all which countries, being within the compass of Asia, unto the sea-side of Hellespontus, and the sea Euxinus, he added to the Turkish empire. Also he won Prusia, which was the metropolitan city of Bithynia, which then he made the chief seat of the Turkish empire. Besides these, moreover, he conquered Nicea, and got Nicomedia; all which were before Christian cities and regions. And yet all this could not make the Christian princes in Grecia to cease their civil wars, and to join and accord among themselves; such debate and variance was then between Cantacuzenus on the Greeks' part, and Paleologus, the emperor of Constantinople. By reason whereof, the Turks' aid was sent out of Asia to help our Christians one to kill another, and at length to get all those parts of Europe from them both. Who, if they had, according to their profession, so well joined in brotherly unity, as they did in cruel hostility dissent, neither had Orchan so prevailed in getting Prusia from the Grecians, neither had the Turks so soon presumed

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into Europe as afterward they did. Orchan, after these victories, when he had reigned two and twenty years, was stricken, some say, with a dart in the shoulder, at the siege of Prusia. The opinion of other is, that he, fighting against the Tartars, where he lost a great part of his army, was there also slain himself, A. D. 1349.

Amurath, the third emperor of the Turks.

The Greek writers do hold that Orchan had two sons, Soliman and Amurath. Of which two, first Soliman reigned, albeit not long. After him followed Amurath, who, after that Asia now was subdued by his predecessors, sought by all means and ways how to proceed further, and to invade Europe. To whose ambitious purpose the domestic wars of the Christians gave unprosperous occasion, which occasion is thus declared. Certain discord fell between the princes of Greece (whose captain was Cantacuzenus) and Paleologus, emperor of Constantinople. Whereupon Paleologus, for that he was not able to make his party good with the Grecians, most unwisely sent for Amurath to help him. Who being glad to have such an occasion offered, which he so long had sought, sent to aid him twelve thousand Turks into Thracia; but first he used all delays he could of crafty policy, to the intent that the Greeks first should waste their strength and power upon themselves, whereby he might be more able afterward to set upon them, and to accomplish his conceived desire.

The Turks thus being called into Europe by the Christians, whether they, tasting the sweetness of the soil, incensed Amurath their emperor to make invasion, or whether Amurath of his own head thought good to use the time, in the year of our Lord 1363, he came himself over into Europe with sixty thousand Turks, falling upon the Grecians, being wasted and spent with their long wars and battles before. The pretence of the devilish Turk was, to aid and to assist the Emperor Paleologus, whether he would or no, and to subdue such as had fallen from him. The Christian ships of the Ligurians, for money were hired to conduct them over, taking for every soldier a piece of gold.

Thus the Turks' army being conveyed over by the Grecian sea, called Hellespont, first got Calipolis, with other towns and cities bordering about the sea, and there planting themselves, and preparing ships of their own for transporting their munitions out of Asia, advanced their power further into Thracia, and there won Philippolis, then got Adrianopolis, which was not far from Constantinople, and there Amurath made his chief seat. Then began Paleologus the emperor at length to bewail his offer and covenant made with Amurath. When the Turks had expugned thus a great part of Thracia, they extended forth their army unto Mysia, which they soon subdued; from thence proceeding and conquering the Bessos and Triballoes, they entered into Servia and Bulgaria, where they joining battle with Lazarus Despota, prince of Servia, and with other dukes of Dalmatia and Epirus, won of them the field, and put them to the worse; where Lazarus Despota, being taken and committed to prison, ended his life. This Lazarus had a certain faithful client or servant, who to revenge his master's death, with a bold courage, although seeing death before his eyes, yet ventured his life so far, that he came to the tyrant and thrust him through with his dagger. This Amurath reigned twenty-three years, and was slain in the year of our Lord 1372.

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Bajazet, the fourth emperor of the Turks.

The power of the Turks began to increase in Europe, what time Bajazet, the first of that name, after the death of his father, entered the possession of the Turks' kingdom. This Bajazet had two brethren, Soliman and Saucis; which Saucis had his eyes put out by his father, for striving for the kingdom. Soliman was slain of his brother. Thus Bajazet, beginning his kingdom with the murder of his brother, reduced his imperial seat from Prusia, a city of Bithynia, unto Adrianople, intending with himself to subdue both Asia and Europe to his own power. First he set upon the Servians and Bulgarians, thinking to revenge his father's death, where he gave the overthrow to Marcus Despota, with all the nobility of the Servians and Bulgarians, and put all those parts under his subjection, unto the confines and borders of the Illyrians. All Thracia moreover he brought likewise under his yoke, only Constantinople and Pera excepted. That done, he invaded the residue of Grecia, prevailing against the countries of Thessalia, Macedonia, Phocides, and Attica, spoiling and burning as he passed without any resistance; and so, returning with innumerable spoil of the Christians unto Adrianople, laid siege to Constantinople the space of eight years, and had expugned the same, but that Paleologus, being brought to extremity, was driven to crave aid of the Frenchmen, and of Sigismund the emperor; who, being accompanied with a sufficient power of Frenchmen and Germans, came down to Hungary, and toward Servia, against the Turk. Bajazet, hearing of their coming, raised his siege from Constantinople, and with sixty thousand horsemen came to Nicopolis, where he, encountering with them, overthrew all the Christian army, took John, the captain of the French power, prisoner; Sigismund, which before in the council of Constance had burned John Huss and Jerome of Prague, hardly escaped by flying. Bajazet, after the victory got, carried away Duke John with five other in bands, into Prusia, where before his face he caused all the other Christian prisoners to be cut in pieces. Afterward the said John, being ransomed with 200,000 crowns, was delivered. Some authors refer this story to the time of Calpine, as followeth hereafter to be seen.

Bajazet, the cruel tyrant, after this victory won and tyranny showed upon the Christians, returned again to the siege of Constantinople, fully bending himself to conquer and subdue the same; which thing no doubt he had accomplished, but that the providence of God had found such a means, that Tamerlane, king of Parthia, with a hundred thousand horsemen, and swarms of footmen, like a violent flood overrunning Asia, and pressing upon Syria and Sebastia, had taken Orthobules, the son of Bajazet, prisoner, and afterward slew him, exercising the like cruelty upon his prisoners, as Bajazet had done before upon the Christians; insomuch that he spared neither sex nor age of the Turkish multitude; of whom he caused twelve thousand at one time to be overridden and trodden down under his horses' feet. By reason whereof, Bajazet the tyrant was forced to raise his siege from Constantinople, and to return his power into Asia; where he, near the hill called Stella, pitched his tents there to encounter with Tamerlane.

The fight between these two was long and great on both sides, which was in the year of our Lord 1397, and the second year after the slaughter of our Christians at Nicopolis in Pannonia; but the victory of this battle fell to Tamerlane at length. In the which battle, as Munsterus writeth, were slain two hundred thousand Turks. Among whom Bajazet the tyrant, having his horse slain under him, was taken prisoner; and to make a spectacle of his wretched fortune, he was bound in golden fetters, and so being enclosed in an iron grate, whom before all Grecia could not hold, was led about and showed through all Asia, to be scorned and laughed at; and moreover, was used instead of a footstool to Tamerlane, or a block, as often as he mounted upon his horse. Some add also, that he was made, like a dog, to feed under Tamerlane's table.

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The tyranny of which Bajazet against the Christians, as it was not much unlike to the cruelty of Valerian the Roman emperor above mentioned, so neither was the example of his punishment much discrepant; for as Saporess, king of the Persians, did then with Valerian in time of the eighth persecution of the primitive church, so likewise was Bajazet this persecutor worthily handled by Tamerlane king of the Parthians, as in manner abovesaid.

Tamerlane after this conquest passed with his army into Mesopotamia, to Egypt, and all Syria, where he victoriously subduing the cities and munitions of the Turks, at length also conquered Damascus. In his sieges his manner was, the first day to go all in white attire, the second day in red, the third day in black; signifying thereby mercy the first day, to them that yielded; the second day the sword; the third day fire and ashes. At last, after great victories, and spoils gotten of the Turks, he returned into his country again, and there died, A. D. 1402.

Seb. Munsterus, writing of this Tamerlane, recordeth that he had in his army two hundred thousand men; and that he overcame the Parthians, Scythians, Hiberians, Albans, Persians, Medes, and conquered all Mesopotamia; and after he had also subdued Armenia, passing over the river Euphrates, with six hundred thousand footmen, and four hundred thousand horsemen, he invaded all Asia Minor, conquering and subduing from the flood Tanais unto the Nile in Egypt, and was called Terror orbis, The terror of the world. He left behind him two sons, who, falling in discord for their possessions, lost all again that their father got.

In the mean time Bajazet, in the second year of his captivity, died, leaving behind him divers sons, Jesus or Josua the eldest, Mulsuman, Moses, Celebine, or Calepine, Jesus the younger, Mustapha, and Hali; of whom first Jesus the eldest was overcome and slain of Mulsuman; which Mulsuman afterward was delivered to Moses his brother, and by him was slain likewise; which Moses had also the like end by his brother Calepine, having his neck broke with a bowstring, which was then the usual manner among the Turks in killing their brethren. The same Calepine sparing only the life of Mustapha his other brother, condemned him to perpetual prison. Jesus the younger was baptized, and shortly after departed at Constantinople. In these such discords and divisions among the Turks, what occasions were given to the Christians to have recovered again of the Turks that they had lost, if they had not been either negligent, or in their own private wars otherwise occupied with themselves?

Calepine, the fifth emperor of the Turks.

Calepine, or Celebine, was the son of Bajazet, and of four brethren the eldest; who being all taken captives of the Parthians, he only escaped and obtained his father's kingdom. This Calepine, encouraged by the sloth and negligence of the princes of Europe, and by the discord of the Grecians amongst themselves and other nations near about them, long troubled and vexed the Bulgarians, Servians, and Macedonians, even to the time of Sigismund. Which Sigismund, seeing now Bajazet to be overcome and taken of Tamerlane, and the power of the Turks weakened in Europe, and having such occasion offered him, as it were from heaven, to destroy and utterly to root out, not only out of Asia, but also all Europe, that barbarous nation and cruel enemies to the name and religion of Christ; and also to revenge the great slaughter and discomfiture of his army, fighting before with Bajazet at Nicopolis, a city in Mysia; with great power made war against Calepine at Columbatium, a town in Servia, as is also before mentioned, but as unluckily and with as little success as he did before against Bajazet his father. For in that battle were slain of the Christians to the number of twenty thousand, and the rest

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utterly discomfited, the king himself escaping so hardly, that he entered not again into his kingdom for the space of eighteen months after. Some write that this was done under Bajazet, other some refer this battle to Amurath; but howsoever it was, most pernicious was it to the Christians. He reigned but six years, and died very young, A. D. 1404.

Orchan and Moses his uncle, the sixth after Ottoman.

After the captivity of Bajazet above mentioned, histories diversely do dissent. The Greek writers, making no mention at all of Calepine, only make mention of the sons of Bajazet, and of the contention among them, until the time of Mahomet. The Latin stories, writing of the children of Bajazet and of their succession, do not therein agree, some affirming that Bajazet had two sons, Orchan surnamed Calepine, and Mahomet his brother, which within two years slew the said Calepine, and entered his dominion. Other attribute to Bajazet more sons, as is above rehearsed. Some again do give to Bajazet only these two sons, Celebine and Mustapha; and hold that Calepine or Celebine had two sons, to wit, Orchan and Mahomet; and add, moreover, that the said Orchan, being somewhat young, was slain of his uncle Moses, who governed but two years. For Mahomet, to revenge his brother's death, slew Moses, and invaded his dominion. The Greek stories make no mention at all of Orchan.

Mahomet, the seventh emperor of the Turks.

This Mahomet, whether he was the son of Bajazet, or else of Calepine, converted to himself alone the kingdom, or tyranny rather, of the murdering Turks: who afflicted the Christians with sore wars within Europe, especially the country called Wallachia, lying not far from the flood Danube, between Hungary and Thrace. From thence he removed into Asia, where he recovered divers parts in Galatia, Pontus, Cappadocia, Cilicia, which before Tamerlane had alienated from the Turks. This Mahomet planted his chief imperial seat in Adrianople, not far from Constantinople, within the country of Thrace. In some writers the conflict between Sigismund and the Great Turk, wherein the Christians were so discomfited, is referred rather to this Mahomet, than to Calepine; of which conflict mention is above made in the story of Sigismund. This Mahomet reigned, as some say, fourteen years, and died in the year of our Lord 1419; other affirm seventeen years.

Amurath, the eighth emperor of the Turks.

Amurath, as Philephus saith, was the son of Celebine; as Laonicus Chalcondiles testifieth, of Mahomet: whose son soever he was, a wretched tyrant he was, and permitted, as a scourge of God, to correct the sins of the Christians. In the story of Bajazet, mention was made before of Mustapha, his son, who was condemned to perpetual prison by Calepine, his brother. This Mustapha, escaping out of his brother's prison, was conveyed to the Grecians, where he remained long in custody, till at length they, understanding the purpose of Amurath, set him up with sufficient habiliments and furniture of war, to fight against the said Amurath, his nephew. But in conclusion, he, being not able to make his party good, came into the hands of his enemy, and had his neck broke with a bow-string, after the manner of the Turkish execution.

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The Grecians then, terrified with this sinister adversity, required truce of the Turk; but when that would not be granted, they procured unto them Mustapha, the other brother to Amurath, being of the age of thirteen years; who, likewise being armed of the Grecians, got the city of Nice, in Bithynia, from Amurath his brother. Albeit it was not long but he was circumvented in the same city, and brought to Amurath, who caused him likewise to taste of the same whip, as the other Mustapha had done before. Amurath, being now out of all fear and doubt of brethren and kinsfolk to rise against him, converted all his power against the Grecians; and first ranging throughout Thrace, where divers cities yielded unto them, which before belonged to the emperor of Constantinople, from thence he set forward to the noble and famous city Thessalonica, being then under the league and protection of the Venetians. This Thessalonica is a city in Greece, bordering upon Macedonia, to the citizens whereof St. Paul writeth, foreshowing unto them, in his Second Epistle, of a defection to come before the coming of the day of the Lord, 2 Thess. ii. By the which apostacy or defection, what the holy apostle doth mean, this story of the Turks may easily declare. After Thessalonica was subdued, Phocis, with all the country about Athens, Boetia likewise, Ætolia, Acarnania, with all the region beyond Peloponnesus, unto the coast of Corinth, to whom St. Paul also wrote two other Epistles, were brought in bondage and slavery unto the Turk.

In Epirus, and in that quarter that adjoineth to Macedonia, named Albania, reigned then one Johannes Castriotus; who, perceiving himself too weak to match with the Turk's power, made with the Turk this convention, that he should have Croia, a famous city in Grecia, and also gave to him his three sons for hostages, to wit, Constantinus, Reposius, and Georgius.

In this George, such towardness of noble courage, such vigour of mind and strength of body, singularly did appear, that the Turk caused him more freely to be instructed after the Turkish religion and manner in his own court; where he, being trained up, did so shoot up, as well in feats of activity as in strength of body, that he excelled all his equals; insomuch that he was named Scanderbeius, which soundeth as much as Alexander Magnus.

After this Alexander was grown up to mature ripeness of age, and was well trained up in feats of war, he was sent out by the Turk, to war against Caramannus of Cilicia, the Turk's enemy. In which expedition he sped himself most manfully, fighting hand to hand, first with a footman of Scythia, then with a horseman of Persia, being challenged by them both to encounter, first with the one, after with the other; whom he so valiantly overthrew that he won great renown with the Turk; insomuch that he, trusting to the Turk's favour, when he heard of the decease of his father, durst ask of the Turk the grant of his father's dominion to be given unto him: which request, although Amurath the Turk did not deny him, yet, notwithstanding, he, perceiving the matter to be dallied out with fair words, by subtle means and policy slipped out of the Turk's court, and came to Epirus, his own inheritance, where first by forged letters he recovered Croia. The other cities of their voluntary mind yielded themselves unto him; who then gathering unto him the people of Epirus and Macedonia, (which were not so many in number, as with good willing minds they stuck unto him,) so manfully and valiantly behaved himself, that against all the puissance both of Amurath, and also of Mahomet, he maintained his own, repulsed their violence, and put to flight their armies many years together. But to return again to the course of Amurath's victories, after he had thus prevailed (as is before signified) against the east parts of Europe and Greece, and had converted thus for the dominion of Epirus, he invaded Illyricum, (otherwise called now Sclavonia,) containing in it Dalmatia, Croatia, Istria, and Liburnia; which countries after he had spoiled and wasted, he continued his course to Albania and Bosnia. In

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which regions, when he had subdued a great part, and had led away an innumerable multitude of captives, he moved further to Wallachia and Servia, upon hope to conquer all Pannonia.

There reigned at the same time in Servia a certain prince named Georgius Despota, who made great suit to the Turk for truce and peace, promising to give his daughter to marriage; for by the Turk's law they marry as many wives as they lust. It was not long after Amurath had married the daughter of Despota, but he, contrary to his league and promise, made war upon Despota his father-in-law, and expelled him out of his kingdom, taking from him divers cities, as Scopia, Novomonte, Sophia, and all Mysia. Georgius himself fled into Hungary, leaving behind him his son to defend the town of Sinderonia. Amurath, understanding of the flight of Despota his father-in-law, compassed the city of Sinderonia with a strong siege, which, when he in few days had expugned, he took his wife's brother, the son of Despota, and without all regard of mercy and affinity, after the barbarous tyranny of the Turks, put out his eyes, with a bason red hot set before his eyes, and after that led him about with him in derision, in despite of his cowardly father.

Servia being thus won and gotten, Amurath, thinking to go farther into Hungary, besieged the city called Belgrade, and no doubt had also suppressed the same, had not the providence of God found means, that partly through slaughter of his men, partly for lack of victual and other forage, he was compelled to raise his siege and retire.

In the mean time Johannes Huniades (of whom mention was made before) had got great victories against the Turkish power, and had recovered part of Servia, and all Moldavia; against whom Amurath the Turk, with a mighty army, moved into Pannonia. But Huniades, with the power and aid of Ladislaus, king of Poland, (but especially by the power of the Lord,) did soon infringe the puissance of the Turk, and gave him the overthrow, recovering unto the Christians the greatest part of Servia and Bulgaria.

In this battle Huniades had five sundry conflicts with the Turks upon one day, and with five victories put them to the worse, and toward night did so discomfit and overthrow the great captain of Amurath called Bassa, the duke of Anatolia, (which is otherwise named Asia Minor,) that he slew of the Turks that day to the number of thirty thousand. Amurath, although he was not a little thereat discouraged, yet dissembling his fear, with stout countenance sent for Carambeius his principal stay and captain, with a new power brought out of Asia, to assist him in his wars. This Carambeius, in the downs of Transylvania, Ladislaus, the aforesaid king of Poland, (the Lord so working,) through the industry of Johannes Huniades, so received and with such celerity oppressed him unprovided, that all his stout and sturdy army either was slain downright, or else put to flight and disparkled, Carambeius the captain being himself taken prisoner in the same field.

These victories of Huniades struck no little terror to Amurath, insomuch that for distress of mind he was ready to destroy himself, (as some do write,) but being confirmed by Helibeus Bassa, his counsellor, he kept himself within the straits of the Mount Rhodope. Who, then hearing that Caramannus invaded the same time the country of Bithynia and Pontus in Asia, was glad to take truce with Ladislaus and Huniades upon such conditions as they listed to make themselves; which conditions were these, that Amurath should depart clearly from all the region of Servia, and should remove from thence all his garrisons, which were placed in the castles and forts of the same; also he should restore George Despota, (which is to say,) prince of Servia, unto his possession, and set his children free, whom he had in captivity, and restore them to their

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inheritance. Item, that he should make no more claim nor title to the country of Moldavia above mentioned, nor to that part of Bulgaria which he had lost; and that he should desist hereafter from all wrongs and injuries against the Christians. Upon these conditions the Turk being agreed, so was truce concluded on both parts for ten years, and with solemn oath between them confirmed.

This done, Amurath, the tyrant, addressed himself toward Asia, to resist the invasion of Caramannus aforesaid. At what time Pope Eugenius, so soon as he heard the Turk to be returned into Asia, sendeth Julianus Cæsarianus his cardinal, (whose story is before touched,) unto Ladislaus the aforesaid king, with full dispensation and absolution to break his oath and league with the Turk, promising moreover great hope and aid, if he would go in arms stoutly against the tyrant.

Where by the way is to be noted, that as there is no truth of promise in that pestilent see of Rome, neither was there any war prospered, which was taken in hand by the pope's counsel; so was there never any counsel of the pope that brought with it more detriment to Christianity than this. But the pope belike thought, that as he might lawfully break promise with John Huss, and with other Christians, so also he needed not to observe any league or truce taken with the Turk; but it turned much otherwise than the pope's blind brains imagined, as by the sequel is to be seen. For Ladislaus being thus excited by the unadvised and sinister instigation of Pope Eugenius, contrary to the truce established a little before, set out with his army from Seledinus, and so proceeding to Wallachia and Bulgaria, came to Varna, a town of Bulgaria, where he fell sick.

It was not long but the Turk, having thereof intelligence, left his wars begun with Caramannus in Asia, and with great journeys made haste into Europe, passing over by the Straits near to Callipolis, where all the Italian navy still looking on, and whether of purpose, or whether for cowardliness, would not stir one oar to stop the passage of the Turkish army. When Amurath was come to Adrianople in Thrace, using such celerity as no man looked for, within eight days he was in Bulgaria, and there encamped himself against Ladislaus. The day of battle being set, the armies joined on both sides. Huniades was himself there present, but all the matter was ruled by Julian the cardinal, and the pope's clergy. The fight continued three days and three nights together, with great courage and much bloodshed on each side; insomuch that the field did stand with lakes of blood. It seemed at the first to incline to the Christians, by breaking the first ranks of the Turks. But the priests and prelates which were at the field, (which had been more fit to have been in the church,) seeing the Turks to begin to fly, unskilfully left their array to pursue the enemy, so that they, leaving the other standings of the Christians naked, gave great advantage to the Turks with their darts and shot to disturb the Christian ranks. By the which occasion Amurath enclosing the Christians with his army round about, obtained the victory. In the which field, Ladislaus the young king of Poland, having his horse first killed under him, was stricken down and slain. The pope's bishops flying to save themselves, fell into the marshes, and there were destroyed, sustaining a dirty death condign to their filthy falsehood and untruth. Julian the cardinal, which with the pope was the chief doer in breaking the league, in the way was found dead, being full of wounds, and spoiled to his naked skin. Of the rest of the army that escaped by flying, part was drowned in the marshes, some perished miserably for hunger, some for cold, watching and wandering in the woods. Huniades hardly escaped the danger, by the merciful providence of God, being reserved to the further profit and commodity of Christendom.

This John Huniades the worthy warrior was born in Wallachia, being earl of Bistice, of all captains that ever went against the Turks most famous and singular, prudent in wit, discreet in

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counsel, expert and politic in war, prompt of hand, circumspect before he attempted, quick in expedition; in whom wanted almost no good property requisite in a warlike captain. Against two most mighty and fierce tyrants, Amurath and Mahomet, through the Lord's might, he defended all Pannonia, and therefore was called the thunderbolt and terror of the Turks. Like as Achilles was unto the Grecians, so was he set up of God to be as a wall of bulwark of all Europe against the cruel Turks, and enemies of Christ and of his Christians. Neither was there any king or prince that ever achieved such noble victories, either so many in number, or so profitable for the public utility of all Europe, as did he, and that not only in the days of this Amurath, but also of Mahomet his successor, as hereafter remaineth further to be seen. This battle of Amurath against the Christians at Varna in Bulgaria, was fought in the year of our Lord 1404.

Amurath, by reason of this victorious overthrow against the Christians, surprised with no small pride, directed his journey incontinent toward the Grecians, where Castriotus was, otherwise called Scanderbeius. And first coming to Peloponnesus, and breaking down the wall about the straits of Corinth, encountered with the brother of the emperor of Constantinople, whom with his sudden coming he oppressed, with all the Greeks' army, ere they were provided. Paleologus, the emperor, after that did build up the wall again, but at the Turk's bidding he was compelled to undo it again; which wall afterwards the Venetians did repair. After the demolition of the wall, Amurath entering into Peloponnesus took divers towns and cities, as Sycion, and Patris; and moreover made all the parts of Thessalia and Achaia tributaries unto him.

The next year after this battle of Amurath fought against the Christians at Varna, the Turk being now about the parts of Grecia, purposed to bend all his force and main against the country of Epirus, belonging to Georgius Castriotus Scanderbeius. Of this Scanderbeius mention was made before, how he was brought up in the Turk's court, from whence we declared also how subtly he conveyed himself, and came to the possession of his own patrimony of Epirus. Which Epirus this noble and victorious Scanderbeius, whom the Lord also had raised up the same time with Huniades, to bridle the fury of the Turks, valiantly defended against all the power of Amurath; insomuch that he discomfited and vanquished seven of the most expert bassas or dukes of the Ottoman emperor, one after another, with all their armies of most picked and chosen soldiers, dislodged them of their tents, and expelled them utterly out of all Epirus. And when Amurath himself with his whole puissance had environed about the city of Croia, with cruel siege and ordinance out of measure, yet, notwithstanding, the said Scanderbeius, through the power and blessing of the Lord, beat him out of the field, and repulsed him from the siege.

After this discomfiture, the saying is, that Amurath, to keep his vow made before, after his victory at Varna, gave himself unto a religious order, living a contemplative life, with certain other priests joined unto him, in the forest of Bithynia, renouncing the government of his realm to the hands of Haly, one of his princes; for thou must understand, good reader, that the Turks also be not without their sundry sects of religion, no more than we Christians are without our friars and monks.

In the mean time, while Amurath this Turkish tyrant was cloistered up in his monkish religion, Johannes Huniades in the kingdom of Hungary, and Castriotus Scanderbeius in Grecia, kept great stir against the Turks. By reason whereof Amurath was taken again from his monkish vow and profession, and brought again into the field; for first, Huniades had rescued the whole country of Hungary, and had propelled moreover all the might of the Turks far from Servia. And although the peevish practice of Georgius, prince of Servia, had oftentimes disclosed his counsels unto the Turks, whereby twice he was brought in danger, yet, notwithstanding, through

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the Lord's gracious protection, he was preserved and delivered by the said George unto the Hungarians again, and after that manfully vanquished the Turks, so that they had no resting-place about those parts of Servia and Bulgaria, so long as he lived.

On the other side, in Grecia, Castriotus Scanderbeius so foiled the Turk in defence of his country, Epirus and Macedonia, and kept Amurath so short, that not only he was not able to win any great town in all Epirus; but also coming from Epirus in the straits, he was so entangled by Castriotus, that he was forced to give battle; in the which battle he was so vanquished, and most part of his army slain, that, for grief and sorrow conceived, he falling into a raving sickness was transported out of his pavilion unto Adrianople, and there in fury and madness died, after he had reigned thirty-four years, which was about the year of our Lord 1450.

This Amurath first ordained the order of the Janizaries; which were the men-children of such Christians as he conquered and took captive; whom he forced to renounce the faith of Christ wherein they were baptized, and brought them up in Mahomet's law, and exercised them in the same feats of war as he did his own people, and after that they came to men's estate, he named them Janizaries, that is to say, soldiers of a strange country, and made them to guard his person. They wear on their head, instead of a helmet, a white attire made of the grossest sort of wool, and in so many folds about their head that it cannot be pierced with a sword. It hangeth down on the back with a tail, and before on the forehead it is garnished with gold and silver. They were wont to use bows and lances in the field, but now they use daggers as our horsemen do.

At the first institution there were but eight thousand in their garrison, but now there be twice so many. This of all bondage and servitude that the Christians suffer under the Turk is most intolerable, and greatly to be of all true Christians lamented. For what can godly minds behold more to their grief, than to see their children pulled from the faith of Christ wherein they were baptized, and by whose blood they should eternally be saved, and to be instructed and nourished with the blasphemous doctrine of Mahomet, and so be professed enemies of Christ and his church, to make war against heaven, and to perish everlastingly? And finally, what a lamentable thing is it, to see and behold our own children, born of our own bodies, to become our mortal and cruel enemies, and to cut our throats with their own hands! This servitude of mind is far greater than death itself; which if our princes would well consider, it would cause them the rather to agree, and bend their whole force and power against this cruel enemy.

Mahomet the Second, the ninth emperor of the Turks.

Amurath left behind him three sons, Mahomet, born of the daughter of Despota, prince of Servia, being twenty years of age; the second son, called Turcin; the third, named Calepine. This Turcin being an infant, and but eighteen months old, was strangled at the commandment of the Turk by his servant Moses, himself being there present and beholding the horrible murder. And when Moses, the executer of the murder, had desired him not to pollute his hands with the blood of his brother, he answered, that it was the manner of all the Ottoman Turks, that all the other brethren, being destroyed, none should be left alive but one to govern the empire. Wherefore Moses was commanded by the tyrant, there presently, and in his sight, to kill the infant. This horrible fact, when the mother of the child understood, she cried out, and, almost mad for sorrow, cursed the tyrant to his face. But he, to mitigate the rage of his mother, at her request, being desirous to be revenged upon the executer of her son's death, delivered the said Moses

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bound into her hands, who then, in the presence of the tyrant, thrust him to the heart with a knife, and opening his side, took out his liver, and threw it to the dogs to be devoured.

The third son, called Calepine, which was but six months old, the aforesaid Amurath, his father, commended to the custody of Halibassa, one of his nobles, who, to gratify and please the tyrant, betrayed the infant, and brought him unto him, and thereupon he, at the tyrant's commandment, was strangled. Some affirm, that instead of Calepine, another child was offered unto the tyrant, and that Calepine was conveyed to Constantinople, and after the taking of Constantinople was carried to Venice, and then to Rome to Pope Calixtus, where he was baptized, and afterward came into Germany to Frederic the emperor, and there was honourably entertained, and kept in Austria during his life. Where note how the merciful providence of God, whom he list to save, can fetch out of the devil's mouth. And note moreover the aforesaid Halibassa, the betrayer of the infant, how he escaped not unrevenged. For Mahomet, understanding him to be a man of great substance and riches, through forging of false crimes, with great torments put him to death to have his riches, for this tyrant was given to insatiable avarice. Thus this bloody Mahomet began regiment with horrible murder, after the example of other cursed tyrants, his predecessors.

Although this Mahomet, notwithstanding that he came of a Christian mother, being the daughter of Despota, prince of Servia, and by her was brought up and instructed from his childhood in the precepts of Christian religion and manners, yet he, soon forgetting all, gave himself to Mahomet's religion, and yet so, that he, being addicted to neither religion, became an atheist, believing and worshipping no God at all, but only the goddess of good fortune, deriding and mocking the minds and judgments of men, which believe that God by his providence governeth and regardeth the state of human things on earth.

After that this Mahomet heard of the victories and conquests of other his predecessors, and had understanding how Bajazet lay eight years about Constantinople, and could not win it; he, dispraising Bajazet, and disdaining that so long, time should be spent about the siege thereof, and yet no victory gotten, bent all his study and device how to subdue the same. But first, having a privy hatred against the city of Athens, and having his hands lately imbrued with the blood of his brethren, this murdering Mahomet first of all taketh his voyage to subvert and destroy the city aforesaid, being a famous school of all good learning and discipline. Against the which city he did so furiously rage for the hatred of good letters, that he thought he ought not to suffer the foundation thereof to stand, because that city was a good nurse and fosterer of good arts and sciences; wherefore he commanded the city to be razed and utterly subverted; and wheresoever any monuments or books could be found, he caused them to be cast into dirty sinks, and the filthiest places of the city, or put to the most vile uses that could be devised, for extirpating and abolishing all good literature; and if he understood any to lament the case and ruin of that noble place, those he grievously punished and put to death.

Thus the famous and ancient school of Athens being destroyed and overthrown, he returned his army and power into Thrace, where in all haste he, gathering up his power together, both by sea and land, with a mighty multitude compassed the city of Constantinople about, and began to lay his siege against it, in the year of our Lord 1453, and in the four and fiftieth day of the said siege it was taken, sacked, and the Emperor Constantine slain. As touching the cruelty and fierceness of the Turks in getting of this city, and what slaughter there was of men, and women, and children, what calamity and misery was there to be seen, forasmuch as sufficient relation, with a full description thereof, hath been made before, it shall be superfluous now to

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repeat the same. This only is not to be omitted touching three principal causes of the overthrow of this city, whereof the first was the filthy avarice of those citizens which, hiding their treasures in the ground, would not employ the same to the necessary defence of their city. For so I find it in story expressed, that when the Turk, after the taking of the city, had found not so much treasure as he looked for, suspecting with himself (as the truth was) the treasures and riches to be hidden under the ground, commanded the earth to be digged up, and the foundations of the houses to be searched; where when he had found treasures incredible, "What," quoth he, "how could it be that this place could ever lack munition and fortifications, which did flow and abound with such great riches as here is, and plenty of all things?" The second cause was the absence of the navy of the Venetians, which, if they had been ready in time, might have been a safeguard against the invasion of the enemies. A third cause also may be gathered upon occasion incident in stories, either for that the city of Constantinople fifteen years before did yield to the bishop of Rome, as is before to be seen, or else because (as in some writers it is evident) that images were there received and maintained in their churches, and by the Turks the same time destroyed.

Johannes Ramus, writing of the destruction of this city, amongst other matters maketh relation of the image of the crucifix, being there in the high temple of Sophia; which image the Turk took, and writing this superscription upon the head of it, This is the god of the Christians, gave it to his soldiers to be scorned, and commanding the said image with a trumpet to be carried through all his army, made every man spit at it most contumeliously. Wherein thou hast, good reader, by the way to note, what occasion of slander and offence we Christians give unto the barbarous infidels by this our ungodly superstition, in having images in our temples, contrary to the express commandment of God in his word. For if St. Paul, writing to the Corinthians, saith, We know Christ now no more after the flesh; how much less then is Christ to be known of us in blind stocks and images set up in our temples, serving for none other purpose, but for the infidels to laugh both us and our God to scorn, and to provoke God's vengeance! which, by the like example, I fear, may also fall upon other cities, where such images and idolatrous superstition is maintained; whereof God grant Vienna to take heed betime, which hath been so long, and yet is, in such great danger of the Turk, and polluted with so many images and plain idolatry.

To make the story short, such was the cruelty of these Turks in winning the city, that when Mahomet had given licence to the soldiers three days together, to spoil, to kill, and to do whatsoever they listed, there was no corner in all Constantinople, which did not either flow with Christian blood, or else was polluted with abominable abusing of maids, wives, and matrons, without all reverence of nature. Of the which citizens, some they murdered, some they roasted upon spits, of some they flayed off their skin, hanging them up to consume with famine, of other some they put salt into their wounds, the more terribly to torment them, insomuch that one of them contended with another, who could devise most strange kinds of new torments and punishments, exercising such cruelty upon them, that the place where the city was before, seemed now to be no city, but a slaughter-house or shambles of Christian men's bodies. Among the dead bodies, the body also of Constantine the emperor was found; whose head being brought to Mahomet, he commanded it to be carried upon a spear through the whole city for a public spectacle and derision to all the Turkish army. And because he would diminish the number of the captives, which seemed to him to be very great, he never rose from his table, but he put every day some of the nobles to death, no less to fill his cruel mind with blood, than his body was filled with wine; which he used so long to do as any of the nobles of that city were left alive. And of the other sort also, as the stories do credibly report, there passed no day in the which he did not orderly slay more than three hundred persons; the residue he gave to his rascal soldiers to kill,

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and to do with them what they would. Where is to be noted, that as Constantine, the son of Helena, was the first emperor of Constantinople, so Constantine, the son also of Helena, was the last emperor thereof.

Not far from the said city of Constantinople there was another little city called Pera, and once called Gallatia, situated by the sea-side; who, hearing of the miserable destruction of Constantinople, and seeing the city flaming with fire, sent certain of the chief men with speed to Mahomet, declaring unto him, that they neither had sent any help to the city of Constantinople, neither yet wrought any detriment to any of his army; wherefore they desired and prayed him, that as they would gladly yield unto him, so he would be favourable unto them and spare them, and not punish the guiltless with the guilty. Mahomet, although he was not ignorant that for fear, rather than of any good will, they submitted themselves, and that they would rather resist him if they had been able, yet he received for that time the submission of the messengers; but sending with them his ambassadors into the city, he commanded also his army to follow withal, and to enter with him into the city, which although it was greatly suspected and misliked of the citizens, yet they durst not otherwise do but suffer them to enter; which being done, the ambassador gave a sign to the soldiers, every man to do whatsoever he was bidden; of whom, some ran to the walls, some to the temples and churches, some to the streets and houses of the city, plucking all things down to the ground, sacking and ranging with no less fury and abominable filthiness than they had done at Constantinople before, saving only that they abstained from murder; but the same day letters came from Mahomet to the ambassador, that he should spare none, but destroy and murder all that ever were in the city; which message, because it seemed to the ambassador to be too cruel, forasmuch as they had yielded themselves, he stayed his hand a little until night came. In the mean time, drunken Mahomet coming something to himself, (whom drunkenness had before overcome,) sent his second letters to revoke the first. Where again is to be noted the merciful providence of God towards his people in their deserved plagues, by staying the hands and bridling the fury many times of their enemies, when otherwise the case seemeth to be past all remedy.

Mahomet thus being in himself not a little advanced and elevated by the winning of Constantinople, where he had now made the imperial seat of the Turkish dominion, the third year next following, to adventure more masteries, he set out to the siege of Belgrade, a city of Hungary, lying near to the banks of the Danube, thinking to have the like success there as he had in the winning of Constantinople, albeit, through the Lord's disposing, it fell out much otherwise. Within the city of Belgrade, the same time of the siege thereof, was Johannes Huniades, the valiant captain, of whom in divers places mention hath been made before; who with a sufficient strength of picked soldiers, albeit in number nothing equal to the Turk's army, valiantly defended the city with great courage, and no less success. In the which siege great diligence was bestowed, and many of the Turks slain. Among whom also Mahomet himself, being stricken with a pellet under the left arm, was fain to be carried out of the field for half dead, and the rest so put to flight, that of the Turks the same time were destroyed to the number, or not much under the number, of forty thousand, besides the loss of all their ordnance, which the Turks, in haste of their flight, were forced to leave behind them.

Hieronimus Zieglerus, writing of the siege of this Belgrade, addeth moreover, that when Mahomet was at the siege thereof, seeing the town to be so small and weak of itself, that it could not be won with all his great multitude, he staring and faring like a mad man, commanded all his brazen pieces to be laid, to batter down the walls and towers of the town; so that the Christians

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within the walls were vehemently distressed; for the siege continued both night and day without intermission. Among the rest of the Christians which defended the town, Hieronymus Zieglerus maketh mention of a certain Bohemian, much worthy of his condign commendation; who being upon the walls, and seeing a Turk with a banner or ensign of the Turks to be gotten up, by the sight whereof the whole town was in danger to be conquered and taken, runneth unto the Turk, and clasping him about the middle, speaking to John Capistranus standing below, asking him, whether it were any danger of damnation to him, if he of his voluntary mind did cast himself with that dog (so he termed him) down headlong from the wall to be slain with him; what should become of his soul, and whether he might be saved or not? To whom when the other had answered, that he should be saved without doubt, he eftsoons tumbleth himself with the Turk down off the wall, where, by his death he saved the same time the life of all the city. Mahomet being so wounded, and in despair of winning the city, was carried (as ye heard) out of the field. Who at length coming again to himself, partly for fear and partly for shame, was ready to kill himself. And thus was the town of Belgrade at that time rescued through God's providence, by the means of Johannes Huniades and this good Bohemian.

This siege of Belgrade began in the year of our Lord 1456, and endured six and forty days. At which siege were numbered of the Turks two hundred thousand. Of whom more than forty thousand (as is aforesaid) were slain, where the victory fell to the Christians through the prosperous success given of God to Johannes Huniades, and Capistranus. Which Huniades not long after the said victory, through the importune labour and travail in defending of the said town, was taken with a sore sickness, and thereof departed; to whose valiant prowess and singular courage stories do give great laud and commendation.

Mahomet the Turk, after this done in Europe, returned into Asia to war with Usumcassanes a Persian, one of the Turk's stock, with whom he had three battles. The first was about the river Euphrates, where the Turk lost ten thousand men, and was put to the worse. In the second field likewise he was discomfited. The third battle was at Arsenga, where through the terrible noise of the brazen pieces, the Persian horses disturbed the camp, and so was Usumcassanes overcome.

From thence the Turk reduced again his power against the Christians, and first subdued unto him Synope and all Paphlagonia; also the kingdom of Trapezunce, which he besieging both by land and water, won from the Christians, and sent David the king of the same with his two sons, and Calus his uncle, unto Constantinople, where they were miserably and cruelly put to death, and all the stock of the Conneni, which were of the king's stock, by the Turk were destroyed. Which was about the year of our Lord 1459, at which time this mischievous Mahomet was first saluted emperor.

Not long after he got from the Grecians Corinth and Mitylene, not without great slaughter of Christian men, insomuch that the whole city of Mitylene was utterly to the ground almost destroyed. The isles also of Lemnos and Lesbos he won from the Venetians; in the which island of Lesbos is the city of Mitylene aforesaid.

Not far from this isle of Lesbos and Mitylene, there is a country in Asia toward the sea side, bordering next to Europe, called Mysia, or of some called Mœsia, wherein stood the city of Troy. This country Mahomet coveting to win rather by policy and falsehood, than by doubtful danger of war, secretly sent for the prince thereof, to come to speak with him for certain causes, as he pretended, which should concern the profit and commodity of them both. Which when the king of Mysia either for shame would not, or for fear durst not, deny, he came to him as to confer

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upon necessary affairs in common to them appertaining. Mahomet, when he had brought that to pass which he would, he caused the king to be apprehended, and cruelly to be slain, or rather torn in pieces; and so invading the land of Mysia, he exercised the like tyranny upon his kindred and affinity.

This Mysia by fraud being taken and lost, Mahomet flyeth again toward Europe, where he assailed the island Eubœa, otherwise called Negropont, making a bridge of a marvellous frame over the sea Euripus, to convey over his army out of Grecia, and there laid his siege to the city Chalcis, which at length in thirty days he overcame, not without a great slaughter of his army; who, in the siege thereof, is said to have lost forty thousand of the Turks. But the slaughter of the Christians was greater, for when the city was won, the tyrant commanded, most cruelly, none to be spared within the whole city, but to be put to the sword, whosoever was above the age of twenty years. This cruelty was showed of the barbarous tyrant for anger and fury, because such a number of his Turks were slain at the siege thereof, being reckoned, as is said, to forty thousand. In the fierce siege of this city it is memorable that is in stories recorded, how that the women of that city, seeing the men begin to faint, and the city to lie in present danger, took the matter themselves in hand, and playing the men, went to the walls, and there defended the city with no less trouble to the enemy than the men had before done, and so for a space continued, so long as any man's strength and diligence could do any good. A great cause of the loss of this city and island is imputed to the cowardly timidity of the Venetians' navy, who being there present, and having prosperous wind, yet durst not, or would not, adventure upon the Turks' bridge, which if they had done, the island of Eubœa and Chalcis had not so soon been overmatched of the Turks.

Thus all the east parts of Grecia being subdued to the Turkish tyrant, with all Achaia, Attica, Acarnania, and Eubœa, shortly after followed also Peloponnesus, brought in like subjection to the Turk. Within Peloponnesus were these provinces contained, Achaia, Messenia, Laconia, Argolica, and Arcadia, &c. The Venetians in this Peloponnesus had great possessions, and had made up the wall again toward the sea side, near to the straits of Corinth before mentioned, where, for the more speed of the work, they had thirty thousand workmen to the building thereof; which when it came to the knowledge of the the Turk, he burst into the country of Peloponnesus with an army of eighty thousand, and first wasted the regions of the Coroneans, and Methoneans, and making a great slaughter of the Venetians, in short time he brought the whole dominion of Peloponnesus under his yoke and tribute.

Long it is, and more lamentable, to recite all the victories of this Mahomet, gotten against the Christians both by land and sea; who, after he had overcome the isle Lesbos above mentioned, and had cruelly slain Nicolaus Catalusius, the prince thereof, turning his army toward the sea of Pontus Euxinus, got the country of Capha from the Genoese. Before was declared how truce was taken between Georgius Scanderbeius and the Turk for ten years; which truce being expired, Mahomet leaveth no time unspent, no diligence unsought, but maketh all his power to Epirus and Albania, which he, after long fatigation of siege, at length overcame and subdued. In the which tract also, he won from the Venetians Scodra, Lysson, and Dinastrum. Notwithstanding, when Scanderbeius, the valiant captain, had done against the Turk what in man's strength did lie, yet being overmatched with power and multitude, seeing no possibility to make his party good, he was forced to depart his country as an exile, and went to Italy, and there, being sent for by the pope's letters, openly declared that it was not possible otherwise to resist the furious rage of the barbarous Turks by the strength of any one king or prince, unless all Europe,

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with one consent, should join their power and force together. And thus Georgius Scanderbeius, a man of puissant courage, being driven out of his country, continued his age in exile. Whose courage and vehemency is reported to have been such, that in fighting against the barbarous enemy, for very eagerness of spirit, his blood was seen to burst out of his lips. It is testified also of him, that being provoked, he neither denied to fight, and in his fighting never turned his back, neither yet was ever wounded but only once with a light shaft in his foot, neither ever set against the Turks with more than six thousand horsemen and three thousand footmen; who is said with his own hand to have slain above two thousand Turks, whom with such violence he did strike, that many of them he did cleave asunder from the head to the middle.

Neither yet was the unsatiable greediness of this Turkish hell-hound with all this satisfied, but still he conceived greater things in his mind, thinking to conquer the whole world; and so passing forward towards Europe, he subdued all Illyria, slaying Stephanus the king of Bosnia, about the year of our Lord 1463. But afterward Matthias Corvinus, the son of Huniades before mentioned, recovered again the said kingdom of Bosnia, with many other cities near unto Croatia and Dalmatia, and moreover repulsed Mahomet the Turk in his second siege of Jaitza, taking his tents and munitions left behind him.

Moreover, the said Mahomet passing unto Wallachia, set upon Dracula the prince thereof; which Dracula, although he had no great power of soldiers, yet he so enclosed and environed the Turk, that he had almost lost his whole army, of whom a great part, notwithstanding, was destroyed, and many of his ensignes taken. Into Dalmatia were sent two captains of the Turk, who, fighting against the provinces of the Venetians, made great spoil and waste about the regions of Stiria and Carinthia; where also the Venetian power was discomfited, and Hieronymus Nouell their captain slain. At length truce was taken between the Turk and the Venetians, upon this condition, that Scodra, Tenarus, and Lemnos should be yielded unto him, and they should pay to him yearly eight thousand ducats, for the free passage of their merchants.

After this peace concluded with the Venetians, Mahomet himself sailed over into Asia, sending two of his great captains abroad to sundry places; of whom Mesithes was sent against Rhodes with a mighty navy. The other, called Acomates Bassa, was sent into Italy to take Rome, and all the west empire. Concerning the voyage of which two captains, this was the event, that Mesithes, after his great travail and bloody siege against the Rhodians, was fain to retire at length with great shame and loss. The other captain, Acomates, as is said, was sent into Italy with a navy of a hundred ships, and fifteen thousand men, who by the way in his sailing got Leucadia, (which now they call St. Maure,) Cephalonia, and Zacynthus, and sailing by Favelona, arrived in Apulia, and so passing along by the sea side, spoiled and wasted divers parts by the coast, till at length he came to Hydruntium, a city in Calabria in Italy, which after long siege he overcame and subdued, and brought such a terror into all Italy, that the pope, forgetting all other things, yet mindful of himself, with all hastefled out of Rome. After the city of Hydruntium was taken, and the Turks placed in the same, which was the year of our Lord 1481. Matthias Corvinus, Huniades' son, was sent for by the Italians, to set upon the said city, upon the rescue whereof, when Acomates was about to make his return with five and twenty thousand Turks, in the mean time news came, that Mahomet the Great Turk was dead; by reason whereof, the siege broke up, and the city was delivered to the Italians again, and so was Italy delivered at that time out of that present peril and danger. This Mahomet won from the Christians two hundred cities, and twelve

kingdoms, and two empires, which he joined both together. He died in the year abovesaid, A. D. 1481.

Bajazet the Second, the tenth emperor of the Turks.

Mahomet aforesaid had three sons; of the which, Mustapha the eldest, through voluptuousness and carnal lust, died before his father. The other two were Bajazet and Demes, otherwise called Zizimus. About whom great controversy rose amongst the Turks, which of them should succeed in their father's kingdom. For neither of them was present at Constantinople when Mahomet died; Bajazet being in Cappadocia, and Demes in Lycaonia; wherefore, when great dissension was among the nobles for the succession, and great strife and bloodshed for the matter, the Janizaries, which were the Turk's guard, did proclaim Bajazet emperor; others, in the absence of Bajazet the father, did choose Corchuthus his son. Bajazet the father coming at length from Cappadocia, partly through yielding, partly by corrupting with money, got the wills of the Janizaries, and was made emperor. Demes the other brother being in Lycaonia more near, although he made no less speed in his coming, yet was prevented of Bajazet, and excluded out of Constantinople. Wherefore he being put back from all hope of his kingdom, incited by some of his friends, moved war against his brother; who being overcome in three battles by Acomates, Bajazet's captain, who had got Hydruntium before, did fly to the great master of Rhodes, leaving in a place called Carræ his mother and two young children, whom Bajazet slew.

This Demes, being with the master of Rhodes, was desired first of Pope Innocent the Fourth, then of Ludovicus the Second, French king, but especially of Matthias Corvinus, king of Hungary, intending by him to obtain great victory against Bajazet. But in conclusion, the knights of Rhodes sent him to the bishop of Rome, where he, being kept, and afterwards sent to Charles the Eighth, the French king, for a hostage of Pope Alexander the Sixth, was poisoned by the way of Terracina, by the said Pope Alexander, as is before declared. After whose death, Bajazet, to requite the aforesaid Acomates for his good service, put him to the halter, partly misdoubting his power, partly for lucre sake to have his treasure; whose death redounded to the great profit of the Christians, forasmuch as he was ever an utter enemy to the religion and name of Christ.

Bajazet thus being confirmed in his tyranny, made his expedition against Wallachia, where he subdued two great forts, one called Lithostomus, the other called Moncastrum. From thence he removed his power, taking his voyage into Asia, thinking to be revenged of the sultan of Egypt, which had succoured and entertained before his brother Demes against him; where he lost two great battles, the one fought at Adena, the other at Tarsus; but especially at the field at Tarsus, the army of the Turk took such a wound, that of a hundred thousand brought into the field, scarce the third part remained unslain. But as touching the Rhodians, although they were succourers of Demes aforesaid, yet Bajazet (whether for fear or for subtlety) abstained to provoke them with war, but rather entering with them the league of peace, requiring the master of Rhodes to keep his brother safe under his custody, promising for his yearly salary, to be paid unto him every year in the month of August, 45,000 ducats.

Thus Bajazet, being overthrown and terrified with evil luck, fighting against the sultan of Egypt, removed from Asia, and directed his army into Europe, where he got Dyrrachium near unto Verona, and had a great victory over the Christian army in the country of Croatia, where the Illyrians, Pannonians, and Croatians, joining their powers together, encountered with the Turk, and lost the field, about the year of our Lord 1493.

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From thence the Turk leading his army against the Venetians, had with them divers and doubtful conflicts, where the Turk sometimes was put to the worse, and sometimes again prevailed, out of Jadra and divers other cities about Dalmatia, carried away great multitudes of Christians into captivity, which was about the year of our Lord 1498.

Two years after this, which was the year of our Lord 1500, Bajazet, with a hundred and fifty thousand armed men, entered into Peloponnesus, which although Mahomet had expugned before, yet the Venetians had defended Methone, otherwise called Modon, all this while against the Turks. Which Methone the Turk besieged with three armies, having about the walls five hundred great brazen cannons, whereof twenty-two were most violent and hurtful, wherewith he battered the city both day and night; but the citizens, which were within the city, committing themselves to God, defended their city as well as they could, rather choosing to die than to yield unto the Turk's tyranny. But the Turk prevailing, and they not able to withstand the siege, the Christians convented together into a certain house prepared for the purpose, both men, women, and children; where they, setting the house on fire, gave themselves rather to be burned, than to come into the tyrant's hands. Certain women also, with their children, cast themselves headlong into the sea, by that means to avoid the Turkish captivity. Some writers there be, which affirm that the Methonians, seeing five great ships of the Venetians coming with men and victuals toward them, issued down from the walls to the sea side to receive them, which were all taken captives, being above the number of a thousand; which all being tied with long ropes, were brought before the tyrant, and in his sight were cruelly slain, except certain nobles, whom Cherseogles, son-in-law to Bajazet, got to be pardoned, amongst whom was Andreas Gritto. The city of Coron, and also Pilus, cities in Greece, being terrified with the example of the Methonians, yielded themselves to the power of the Turks. Crisseum, otherwise called Caput Sancti Galli, was expugned by Cherseogles, by force of guns.

These things thus achieved, although Bajazet went away victor unto Constantinople, yet, notwithstanding, the Venetians, through the help of the kings of France and Spain, had won from the Turk Cephalonia, an island very commodious for their traffic. Also they had gotten other two islands, Leucas and Nericus, otherwise called Sancta Maura, slaying all the garrison of the Turks. But afterwards, peace being taken between the Venetians and the Turks, by the counsel of Andreas Gritto aforesaid, the Turks so agreed, that Leucas and Nericus, the islands abovesaid, should be rendered unto the Turks, and the Venetians should keep still the possession of Cephalonia.

Unto this league the Turk did the rather condescend, for that he had to maintain war against Ismael Sophus in Asia, king of Persia. Which Sophus was stirred up by God's providence to war with this Bajazet, whereby the Christian churches in Europe might have some breathing time, and freedom from the Turk's cruel tyranny and bloodshed. This Sophus was a valiant Turk, who with great power and victories had overrun a great compass of the east parts of Asia; then passing from Assyria into Media, and returning again into Armenia, he made war against the Albanians, Iberians, and Scythians, and from thence coming into Asia Minor, encountered with Corchuthus, Bajazet's son, and afterward coming to Bithynia, fought with Caragius Bassa, Bajazet's captain, whom he overcame and put to flight, and afterward took him alive, and his wife, prisoners. Afterward he was encountered by Halibassa another captain of the Turks, whom Techelles, one of the said Sophus's captains, meeting in the plain of Galatia, did withstand, and so by the way slew Caragius the captain, and hanged him upon a pole in the sight of Halibassa; which Halibassa shortly after was slain in war, and his army scattered and put to flight.

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Thus through the admirable example of God's justice and providence, were these Turks kept occupied, and so came it to pass, that these barbarians, being blasphemous against the Son of God, should thus horribly run on to the destruction one of another, being worthily punished with mutual slaughter and bloodshed, for their impiety and blasphemy against Christ and his religion, whereby in the mean time some rest was given to the Christians.

Bajazet, partly by these victories discouraged, partly diseased and languishing of the gout, and partly also broken with age, finding himself unwieldy to the regiment of that tumultuous kingdom, began to have talk with the nobles about the choosing of one to succeed him; the occasion whereof ministered much matter of inward wars amongst the Turks. This Bajazet had in all six sons, whereof three died before him, and three yet were left alive, to wit, Acomates, Corchutus, and Selim. Bajazet himself had most mind to Acomates, but the chiefest of his nobles did favour rather Selim; who, through their traitorous incitation, provoked him to stir war against his father; and notwithstanding that he was overcome in war, yet, through intercession, he was reconciled again to his father, and afterward proclaimed again emperor against his father's will, through the help and favour of the soldiers, entering the first beginning of his kingdom with the murdering of his own father. The story whereof in some authors is thus declared.

After that the Janizaries had persuaded with Bajazet, for that he himself was unwieldy, therefore he should do well to constitute some successor, and that he had assigned Acomates to succeed him; the Janizaries being offended with the said Acomates, because he would not enlarge their stipends, and bribe them, compassing about the king's palace with their privy swords which they had under their garments, with a mighty cry, required Selim to be appointed for their emperor. Unto whom when Bajazet had answered, that he had assigned Acomates, they refused him, because he was fat, gross, and unable thereunto; but needs would have Selim, which was stout and warlike, to be made emperor; and withal they drew out their swords, crying, Selim, Selim. Then Bajazet, giving place to their fury, showed himself content to give them Selim; whom the Janizaries receiving, brought him into the palace; unto whom Bajazet his father giving place, willed him not to be so hasty and furious in his doings, but to be modest and take heed what he did, and not to follow his fury, but to give place unto time, which revealeth all things, and think himself to be a man subject to dangers and jeopardies as other men are; and thus speaking, he resigned his imperial throne and seat unto him, and went away all heavy, entering into a certain order of their religion. Whereupon followed great exclamations of the people, saluting Selim as emperor. Who then taking the rule upon him, began with great cruelty to govern, destroying many of his nobles, such as had stood against him, some with poison, some by other cruel means, and advancing his own side with great honours and promotions.

Not long after that Selim was thus settled in his kingdom, Bajazet his father intending to see and prove how he behaved himself in his government, first entered into his treasure house, where he found all his riches to be scattered and gone. Afterward he came into his armoury, where all the spoils gotten by war were likewise wasted; then he entered into the jewel house, where all his plate and gifts sent from kings and princes were kept, which likewise were dispersed and given away. At length he came into the stable, where also he seeing his principal horses to be lacking, sighing with himself, and crying vengeance upon him, he prepared himself, with the residue of the treasure which was remaining, to sail over into Natolia unto his eldest son; and passing by an orchard near to the sea-side, where he had appointed to take ship, in the mean time, whilst the ships were in furnishing, he sat down under a tree, and began to curse his

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son, and to ask vengeance upon him, for that he had so despised his father, and was become so impious a wretch.

Selim, understanding of his father's departure, came into the orchard where his father was, seeming to be very heavy, and much lamenting that his father would so privily depart and go away, seeing that he desired not the government of the empire, but was contented only with the title thereof. "O father," said he, "do not thus privily depart away; do not procure this shame to your son, who so tenderly loveth you. Let me have but the name only, and be you the emperor indeed. The end of your natural life most patiently I shall expect, which I pray God may long continue. And thus using many fair and flattering words to his father, he commanded a banquet with many dainty junkets to be brought unto him, but tempered and infected with poison. Which as soon as Bajazet had begun to taste of, and felt the strength of the poison working in his body, he took his last farewell of his son, and going out of the city accompanied with a great retinue of men, yelling and crying out in the streets, in the middle of his journey fell down and miserably died, in the year of our Lord 1512. Here mayest thou see, good reader, a cursed brood of this Turkish generation, where the father dieth in cursing the son, the son reigneth by poisoning his father.

Selim, the eleventh emperor of the Turks.

After that this wretched Selim had exercised his barbarous cruelty upon his father, with like impiety he seeketh destruction of his brethren and their children, first beginning his murder with the five children his nephews, which were the sons of his three brethren before departed. Which done, then remained his other two brethren yet alive, Acomates and Corchutus, with their children, likewise to be destroyed. Of whom the one had three sons, whom the father sent to Selim his brother, and their uncle, with fair and gentle words, to entreat him to be good unto their father, offering to him their duty and service in all things, honouring him also as emperor. But cruel Selim commanded forthwith his said nephews to be strangled. The father hearing of the cruel murder of his sons, leaving house and home, went and hid himself in mountains, where he lived for a space with herbs and wild honey; but being betrayed by one of his men, he was brought to Selim, and so was strangled.

Christopherus Richerus, writing of these matters, seemeth something to differ from other stories, and saith that Selim, after the death of his brother Corchutus, came to Bursia, where he, under the colour of making a great triumph, ordained a feast for his friends and kinsfolk, whereunto were called especially his nephews, who then at the end of the feast calling his nephews aside, as under the pretence of conferring with them secretly about his necessary affairs, committed them to his servants to be strangled and put to death. All this while Acomates his other brother, through the help and instruction of his mother, was kept out of the tyrant's hands, till at length, after great labour and search made how to get him, certain forged letters were cast abroad, wherein was contained, that Acomates, to revenge the great impiety and subdue the tyranny of Selim his brother, should show himself abroad; which if he would do, he shall find friends enow to take his part. Acomates, circumvented with these subtle trains, partly for hope of revengement, partly for desire of the empire, showed himself abroad with such power and strength as he had; who, being set upon incontinent by Selim his brother, was overcome in battle, and falling from his horse, being a man corpulent and gross, and his horse falling upon him, was so overpressed and slain.

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Touching the death of this Acomates, Munsterus somewhat differing from this narration, addeth moreover, and saith, That he was not killed with the fall from his horse, but sitting all dismayed upon a stone, and seeing no other remedy but death, desired the captain, taking his rings from his fingers, to deliver the same to his brother, desiring him that he might not be put to any extreme cruelty of death, but that he gently would suffer him to be let blood in the bath, and so to die. But Selim, being not ignorant of this, suborneth privy tormentors, who binding his hands behind him, with their feet cast him down upon the ground, and so twisting his neck with a cord, did strangle him. This Acomates had two sons, who hearing of the death of their father, did fly for succour, the one to Sophus in Persia, and the other to the sultan in Egypt.

By the means whereof, new occasion of war grew unto Selim, whereby he was kept in Asia, at home, to fight against the Persians and Egyptians; so that, through the Lord's providence, Christendom by that means was delivered from great danger and peril of the Turk's tyranny. For otherwise the Turk was wholly minded, with all his force and puissance, to invade the Christians, being in doubt whether first to begin with Rhodes, or whether to assault Pannonia, or else to set upon Italy, being then at great discord within itself; but this cause occupied the Turk's mind otherwise, and kept him at home. Such was then the providence of the Lord for the safeguard of his people.

Wherefore, forasmuch as the affairs and doings of this Turk were spent for the most part in the Turkish and heathenish countries, it shall not be greatly necessary to trouble our Christian stories therewith, but only shall suffice to contract them in a brief sum, declaring superficially what unquietness was amongst them there, which could never be quieted, but ever working some mischief either abroad or at home. Amurath, the Turk's nephew aforesaid, after he had obtained aid of Sophus, the king of the Persians, first invaded Cappadocia; not long after whom followed Ismael Sophus the Persian king. By reason whereof a great battle was fought betwixt the Persians and Selim, in the fields of Armenia Major. In the which battle Ismael Sophus, the Persian king, was hurt on the shoulder with a pellet, and so being carried out of the field, left the victory to Selim; who, albeit he had an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men, yet he in the same field lost about thirty thousand of his Turks. Which field was fought in the year of our Lord 1514. Selim, after this victory, went to Tauricia, the imperial city of the Persians, which he, by yielding, subdued.

In this mean time it happened that one Aladulus, a king of Armenia the Greater, was also a helper to Ismael against the Turk; whereupon Selim the Turk taking great indignation, the next year following, leaving the Persians, fought against the said Aladulus, and in the end overcame him; and afterward being found in a cave in a wood, he was taken out and brought to Selim, and so beheaded; whose head, being first carried about Asia for a triumph, was afterward sent to the senate of Venice for a terror unto them. The eldest son of Aladulus, escaping the hands of his pursuers, fled into Egypt. This battle thus fought and ended, Selim, after he had divided the kingdom of Aladulus into three provinces, went to Lyconia, and from thence to Europe, there to defend the city of Samandria against the Christians in Hungary, but the Hungarians being soon repressed by Juno Bassa, the Turk's captain, great preparation began to be made by the Turks against the confines of Servia bordering upon Hungary. The terror whereof stirred up Maximilian the emperor, and Ladislaus, king of Hungary, and Sigismund, king of Poland, to consult together, and conjoin their power for defence of Christendom. But through new encumbrances incident, the Turk, leaving Europe, made haste again into Asia, to renew again his wars against the Persians, who had made a vow not to give over that war before Ismael was overthrown.

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But before he entered that war, first he sent his messengers to the sultan of Egypt, requiring him not to intermeddle in that war; for this sultan before had promised to assist the Persians against the Turk. The name of the sultan which reigned then in Egypt, was Campson, set up by the Mamalukes. These Mamalukes were a certain order amongst the Egyptians, much like to the Janizaries about the Turk, who, being the children of Christian men, and after denying Christ, were the chiefest doers in the sultan's court; and being grown into a great multitude, did degenerate into a Turkish barbarity, or rather became worse than Turks. This Campson unto the messengers of the Turk gave this answer again, That, unless he would leave off this war against Ismael, and restore the son of Aladulus, he would not lay down his armour.

Selim, being incensed not a little with this insolent answer of the sultan, leaving all other wars aside, with great celerity advanced his power against the sultan. Which sultan, partly through the falsehood of his captain, Cajerbeius, partly by the suddenness of the Turk's coming, not far from the city of Damascus, encountered with the Turk, and there overthrown from his horse, being a fat and gross body, and falling under his horse, and his horse also falling upon him, was quashed in pieces, and so died, which was the year of our Lord 1516.

The Mamalukes, of whom more than a thousand in this battle were slain, flying from thence to Memphis, set up Tomumbeius instead of Campson; whose captain, Gazelles, was overcome at the city of Gaza, and he afterward himself driven out of Memphis, where a great part of the Mamalukes were destroyed. Then Tomumbeius, flying over the flood Nile, renewed his army again; but in the end was discomfited and chased into a marsh, where he was found standing in the water up to the chin: and so being brought to Selim, was put to the rack and great torments, to make him confess where Campson's treasures were; but when he would not declare, he was carried about the town with a halter about his neck, and hanged up upon a high gibbet for a spectacle to all Egypt; which was the year of our Lord 1517. And thus were the two sultans of Egypt destroyed with the Mamalukes, which there had borne the rule in Egypt the space of two hundred and forty-three years. The progeny of the which Mamalukes remaining of the wars, the Turk commanded in the prison-gates of Alexandria to be cut in pieces; Selim from thence triumphing, departed to Constantinople, intending to spend the rest of his time in persecuting the Christians. But in that mean space he was stricken with a cankered sore rotting inward, and died, after he had reigned seven years, like a beast, in the year of our Lord 1520.

The reign of this Turk was but short in number of years; but in number of his murders and cruel bloodshed it might seem exceeding long, which lived more like a beast than a man; for he never spared any of his friends or kindred. His father first he poisoned, his brethren and all his cousins he quelled, leaving none of his kindred alive. Moreover, his chief and principal captains for small occasions he put to death, as Mustapha, Calogere, Chendeme, Bostang, his son-in-law, and Juno Bassa.

It is said moreover, that he intended the poisoning of his own son Solyman, sending unto him a shirt infected with poison, because he seemed something freely to speak against the cruel demeanour of his father; but by the means of his mother, the gift being suspected, was given to another, which was his chamberlain, who, putting on the shirt, was stricken with the poison thereof, and therewithal died.

As touching this Turk Selim, by the way here may be noted how the secret providence of the Lord kept him occupied with his Turkish wars at home, while that the reformation of Christian religion here in Europe, the same time begun by Martin Luther, might the more quietly

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take some rooting without disturbance or interruption. For so it appeareth by the computation of time, that in the days of this Selim Martin Luther first began to write against the pope's indulgences, which was in the year of our Lord 1516.

130. Solyman, the Twelfth Emperor of The Turks.

Solyman, the only son of Selim, succeeded after his father's death, who in the first beginning seemed to some to be simple and sheepish, and not meet for the Turkish government. Wherefore certain of his nobles, consulting how to depose him, intended to set up another emperor. In which conspiracy, especially are named Cajerbeius and Gazelles. This Cajerbeius was he that betrayed before Campson, the sultan of Egypt, to Selim, as is aforesaid; who now also being in consultation with Gazelles and other about this matter, detected them also unto Solyman. Wherefore the said Gazelles and his fellows, being thus detected, were put to death by Solyman, declaring thereby that he was not so sheepish as he was thought of them to be, and as also by his acts afterward did more appear.

Solyman, after this execution done upon the conspirators, taking his voyage into Europe, first besieged Belgrade; which, being a city in Hungary, was the strongest fort of all the Roman empire, and the chief defence at that time of all Christendom; which also being assaulted before time by Amurath the Second, was valiantly defended by Johannes Huniades, as is above specified. But here now lacked such a one as Huniades was. For the kingdom of Hungary at that time was under the government of Ludovicus, a young king, unexpert and of a simple wit: whom other princes, and specially the covetous churchmen, did so pill and poll, that they left him nothing but only the bare name and title of his kingdom, whereby he, being unfurnished both of men and money, was unable to match with such an enemy.

Another vantage also the Turks had in besieging Belgrade: for the Christian princes at that time were in civil dissension and variance amongst themselves, and the pope, with his churchmen also, were so busy in suppressing of Luther, and of the gospel then newly springing, that they minded nothing else, except it were to maintain the wealth of their own bellies. Which pope, if he set his care, as his duty was, so much in stirring up princes against the common enemy, as he was bent to deface the gospel, and to persecute the true professors thereof, soon might he have brought to pass, not only that Belgrade might have been defended against the Turk, but also that to be recovered again which was lost before; and moreover, he might have stopped the great dangers and perils which now are like to fall upon the religion and church of Christ, which the Lord of his great mercy avert and turn away.

Certes, whatsoever the pope then did, this had been his duty, setting all other things apart, to have had an earnest compassion of so many miserable and lost captives, which were fallen from their faith and religion, unto the misery and slavery of the Turk, and thralldom of the devil, and to have sought all means possible to have reduced them, as lost sheep, into the fold again. Which then might soon have been done, if prelates and princes, joining together in Christian concord, had loved so well the public glory of Christ, and souls of Christians, as they tendered their own private, worldly, and frivolous quarrels. And admit that the pope had conceived never so much malice against Luther, his quarrel also being good, yet the public church standing in such danger, as it then did by the invasion of the Turk, reason would, nature led, religion taught, time required, that a good prelate, forgetting lighter matters, should rather have laid his shoulder to the excluding of so great a danger, as then was imminent both to himself and the universal church of Christ; but now, his quarrel being unjust, and the cause of Luther being most just and

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godly, what is to be said or thought of such a prelate, who forbearing the Turk, whom in a time so dangerous he ought chiefly to have resisted, persecuted the truth which he should specially have maintained? But Christ for his mercy stands for his church, and stirs up zealous princes and prelates, if not to recover that that is lost, yet at least to retain that little which is left.

Solyman therefore, taking this occasion, and using the commodity of time, while our princes were thus at variance betwixt themselves, without any resistance or interruption brought his army unto Belgrade, in the year of our Lord 1521. Which city, being but slenderly defenced, the Turk, through his underminers, guns, and other engines of war, without great difficulty, and with little loss of his soldiers, soon subdued and overcame.

After this victory, Solyman resting himself a whole year, and casting in his mind how to make all sure behind him, for fear of enemies to come upon his back, thought it expedient for his purpose if he might obtain the island of Rhodes; for that only remained yet Christian betwixt him and Asia; wherefore the next year following he brought his army of four hundred and fifty ships, and three hundred thousand men, to the besieging thereof. This Rhodes was a mighty and strong island, within the sea called Mare Mediterraneum. The inhabitants whereof at the first did manfully resist the Turk, sparing no labour nor pains for the defence of themselves and of all Christendom; but afterward being brought to extremity, and pinched with penury, seeing also no aid to come from the Christians, somewhat began to languish in themselves. The Turks in the mean time casting up two great mountains with strength of hand, two miles off from the city, like rolling trenches carried them before them near unto the city, in the tops whereof they planted their ordnance and artillery, to batter the city. The master of the knights of Rhodes was then one Philippus Villadamus, a Frenchman, in whom no diligence was lacking that appertained to the defence of the city. The Rhodians likewise so valiantly behaved themselves upon the walls, that with their shot all the ditches about the city were filled with carcasses of dead Turks. Besides this, such a disease of the bloody flux reigned in the Turk's camp, that thirty thousand of them died thereof; and yet for all this Solyman would not cease from this siege begun; who, at length by underminers casting down the vaumures and uttermost parts of the city, won ground still more and more upon the Rhodians, and with mortar pieces so battered the houses, that there was no free place almost standing in all the city. And thus continued the siege for the space of five or six months, and yet all this while came no help unto them from the Christians. Wherefore they being out of all hope, through the advice of Villadamus, yielded themselves unto the Turk, upon condition that he would spare them with life and goods; which convention the Turk kept with them faithfully and truly.

Thus Solyman with his great glory, and utter shame to all Christian princes, and also ruin of all Christendom, got the noble isle of Rhodes, although not without great loss and detriment of his army, insomuch that at one assault twenty thousand Turks about the walls were slain with fire, sword, stones, and other engines. Whereby it may be conjectured what these Rhodians might or would have done, if succour had come to them from other Christian princes as they looked for. This city was won upon Christmas day, A. D. 1522.

This conquest of Rhodes obtained, Solyman, the fourth year after, bringeth back his army again into Hungary, where he found to resist him but only Ludovick the young king, who being accompanied with a small army, and nothing able to match with the Turk, yet of a hasty rashness and vain hope of victory, would needs set upon him; who if he had stayed but a little, had prospered the better; for Johannes Vaivoda, being a captain well exercised in Turkish wars before, was not far off, coming with a sufficient power of able soldiers. But Paulus, the

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archbishop of Colosse, a Franciscan friar, a man more bold than wise, with his temerity and rashness troubled all their doings. For the whole sum of the army of the Hungarians contained in all but only four and twenty thousand horsemen and footmen, who at length coming unto the battle, and being compassed about with a great multitude of the Turk's army, were brought into great distress. The Turks twice shot off their pieces against the Christian army; yet scarce was any Christian touched with the stroke thereof; which was thought to be done of purpose, because they were Christians which had the ordering of the guns, for then the special gunners of the Turks were Christians, whom for the same cause they spared. Then the Turk's horsemen, coming back upon the Christian army, compassed them about, and by reason of their multitude overcharged their horsemen. Amongst whom was slain the same time the archbishop friar above-said, with the bishops of Strigone and Varadine, and many other nobles beside. Also the king himself, being destitute of his necessary aid and succour, was compelled to fly into a marsh, where he falling from his horse, being heavy laden with the harness, was not able to rise again, but there miserably perished.

Solyman the Turk marvelled at the foolishness of Ludovick the king, who with so small an army would presume to encounter with such a great host of two hundred thousand. This battle in Hungary was fought A. D. 1526.

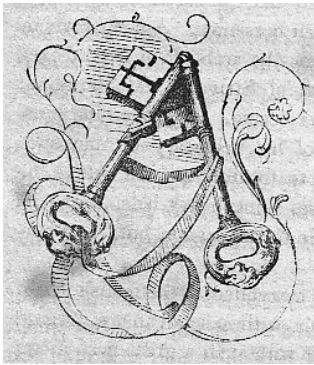
After the decease of Ludovick, Ferdinand succeeded in the kingdom, being duke of Austria and king of Hungary. Then Solyman, setting contention betwixt Johannes Vaivoda and Ferdinand for the kingdom of Hungary, sped his voyage to the city of Buda, which also in short time he made to be yielded unto him, upon condition that they should escape with their lives and goods; which condition some say he kept, and some say he did not. Besides Buda, divers places and munitions the said Turk, contrary to his league made before, did spoil and waste, as Varadinum, Quinque Ecclesias, and other forts and munitions more, bordering about the coasts of Hungary.

131. The Siege of Vienna



Vienna

In the year of our Lord 1529, Ferdinand, king of Hungary aforesaid, recovered divers holds gotten of the Turk before, and also warring against Johannes Vaivoda his enemy, with whom he had variance, (as ye heard before,) expelled him out of his kingdom. Whereupon Vaivoda, flying to the Turk, desired his aid. The Turk, glad to take that occasion, with great preparation addressed himself to return into Hungary, where he, recovering again the city of Buda, which Ferdinand had gotten from him a little before, removed his army into Austria, spoiling and destroying by the way all that came to his hands, showing many examples of great cruelty and tyranny most lamentable to hear and understand. For of some he put out their eyes, of some he cut off their hands, of some their ears and noses, and of their children he cut off their privy members. The maidens he corrupted, the matrons had their breasts cut off, and such as were with child were ripped, and their children cast into the fire. And these examples of horrible and barbarous tyranny this wretched Turk perpetrated by the way coming toward Vienna, a noble city in Austria, besides the captives which he took by the way and led into servitude most miserable, amounting to the number of thirty thousand.



mong other holds by the way as the Turks came, there was a castle called Altenburch, strongly by nature situated, and by art defended; which castle the Turk intending not to overpass, because he would make all things sure behind him, began to make his assault, and lay his ordnance against it. The warders and keepers of the castle, so soon as the Turk began to lay siege against them, making no resistance, of a womanly cowardliness sent their messengers to the Turk, to yield themselves ready to do his commandment, and further him with their victual. Amongst whom were three hundred Bohemians, who were commanded to follow the host, that the Turk by them might learn what strength was in the city of Vienna; also where the king was, and what was to be done for the winning thereof.

Of whom when the Turk had understanding how all things stood, and how that there were but twenty thousand men in Vienna able to bear armour, and that other cities of Austria would soon yield if that were gotten, and that Vienna was victualled but for two months, and that the king was of late in Bohemia; thus the Turk of all things certified, having no doubt in his mind of victory, made speed toward Vienna; and first coming to Neapolis, a city but eight miles distant from Vienna, he required them to yield themselves; who, notwithstanding, withstood them, and repulsed them valiantly. Then the Turks assigned a place for the pitching of their tents; which, because it seemed something too little for such a great multitude, they took in more ground to the compass of seven miles circuit. The multitude of his army, which he there planted, is accounted of some to extend to two hundred and fifty thousand soldiers. The Turk thus being planted made daily excursions over all the country of Austria, especially about the city of Vienna, wasting and spoiling with great cruelty and murder amongst the poor Christians.

Moreover, to make all things more sure toward the preparation of the siege, scouts were sent abroad, and ambushments were laid about the river-side of the Danube, to provide that no aid nor victual should be brought to Vienna. So it pleased the providence of the Lord, (who disposeth all things,) that three days before the coming of the Turk, Frederic, the Earl Palatine, which was then assigned by the empire to take the charge of Vienna, was come down by the river Danube with fourteen thousand, and with a certain troop of horsemen well appointed and picked for the purpose. After the coming of this Frederic, provision also of victual was appointed to follow shortly after by the said river of Danube.

In the mean time, they who had the carriage and transporting thereof, hearing how the ways were laid, and all the passages ten miles about Vienna stopped by the Turks, although they knew the city to stand in great need of victual, yet seeing there was no other remedy, rather than it should come to the enemy's hand, thought it best to sink their boats with their carriage, and so they did. Whereby, albeit the Christians wanted their relief, yet were the Turks disappointed of their prey and purpose. The captains which had the keeping of the city, which were chiefly Frederic the Earl Palatine, William Rogendorf, and Nicholas earl of Salm, seeing themselves so straitened contrary to their expectation, although they had great causes to be discouraged, yet calling their courage unto them, they consulted together for the best way to be taken; and seeing that the little city Neapolis, (above mentioned,) being eight miles distant from them, so valiantly withstood the Turks, that in one day they sustained seven grievous assaults against all the main force of the Turkish army; by their example and manful standing being the more animated and encouraged, thought to abide the uttermost before they would give over; and, first plucking down

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all the suburbs and buildings without the walls, whereby the enemy might have any succour, they willed all the farmers and inhabitants about the city to save themselves, and to bring in their goods within the walls. Such places as were weak within the walls, they made strong. About the towers and munition of the walls they provided ramparts and bulwarks, distant eighty feet one from another, to keep off the shot; and every man had his place and standing awarded to him upon the wall, and his office appointed what to do; but especially that side of the city which lieth to the river Danube they fortified after the best wise; for that way only now remained for victual to be transported from the Bohemians unto them. Wherefore eight ensigns were assigned to the keeping of the bridge, and in the plain, which was like an island enclosed within the river, a sufficient garrison of horsemen were placed, lying within gunshot of the city, to the intent that if any grain or victuals were sent from the Bohemians, they might provide the same safely to be brought into the city.

These things thus being disposed and set in order, Lord William Rogendorf, to assay the strength of the Turks, made divers roads out with his horsemen, albeit much against the minds of the Austrians; who, knowing the manner of the Turks, thought it better to suffer them, while either with time they might be over-wearied, or for lack of victuals consumed. Among many and sundry skirmishes which the Christians had with the Turks, one especially was to our men unprosperous; in which, certain of the horsemen, espying a small troop of the Turks scattered abroad from their company, made out after them, who suddenly and guilefully were enclosed and circumvented by the Turks, before they could recover the gates of the city, and so were all taken alive; of whom three were sent from the Turks into the city, to declare to the Viennians what strength they had seen in the camp of their adversaries, and to solicit them to yield their city for fear of punishment which would follow. The residue they reserved to torments and punishment, whom in the sight of the whole army, and of the Christians, which should tell the same to the citizens, they caused every man to be drawn each with four horses, and so to be dismembered and plucked asunder.

After this done, the barbarous Turk immediately sent his herald to talk with the captains of the city, whether they would yield the city upon honest conditions, or else would abide the arbitrement of war. If they would gently submit themselves, they should have all gentleness to them showed. If they would be stubborn, and stand to their defence, he would also stand to his siege begun, so that he neither would spare man, woman, or child. To this the captains answered again, that they were contented that Solyman should stand to his siege begun, and do his uttermost, what he would, or what he could; as for them, they were at a point to defend themselves and their city so long as they might; the event and fall of victory to be doubtful, and many times so to happen, that they which begin the war are wearied sooner than they which be provoked; neither again that they were so unmindful either of themselves, or of their country, but that they did remember well what they are, and what they be called, named to be Germans; who use always first to assay the adversary, what he is able to do, and not rashly to commit themselves into their enemies' hands.

Solyman not a little disdaining at this answer, first burning and consuming all the villages, houses, and places round about the city, infecting also the springs and fountains which gave water into the city, and so stopping all passages that no relief should have way unto them, began with angry mood to approach more near to the city, with three great camps; sending them word in scorn and contumely by one of his captains, that if they stood in need of help of soldiers, he would send unto them the three hundred Bohemians (mentioned a little before) to aid them in

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their defence. To whom the Palatine directed answer again, that they had more soldiers in the city than they needed. As for the Bohemians which had yielded themselves, he might do with them what he would, for Vienna stood in no great need of them.

In the mean time a messenger coming from Ferdinand was privily let in by night into the city, which brought word that they should play the men in keeping out the enemy awhile; for it would not be long, but both Ferdinand and Charles his brother, with the strength of all Germany, would be ready to rescue them. At which message the hearts of the soldiers began somewhat to be cheered, and to contemn the huge multitude of the adversaries, being so great as they never did behold, nor did ever almost hear of before. The largeness of whose army extended no less in compass, as is abovesaid, than of seven miles round about the city walls.

Long it were to recite the whole order of this terrible siege, with all the parts and circumstances thereof. Briefly to touch so much as shall suffice for this history, with fewer words than were stripes given at the siege thereof; this is to be judged and confessed, whosoever beholdeth the number and fierceness of the Turks, the absence of King Ferdinand, the lack of provision and victual within the city, the noise of the guns, the violence of the shot, the terror of the sight, and yet no succour sent unto them; that the custody of that city was no man's doing, but the arm only of the Lord God of hosts, according to the true saying of the Psalm, Unless the Lord do keep the city, the watchmen watch in vain which watch to save it: unless the Lord do build the house, the builder striveth in vain which taketh upon him to build it. Experience whereof in keeping this city may well appear.

First, Solyman, bending his shot and ordnance against the city, beat down to the ground the vaumures with all the uttermost suburbs of the city, and that in such a short moment of time, that the hearts of the Viennians, a little before refreshed, were now as much appalled again with fear, misdoubting with themselves, lest the Turk with the same celerity and violence would have prevailed against the inward walls, as he did in beating down the outward vaumures. And no doubt the same time the Turk had put the city in great hazard, had not night coming on broken off the siege for that day.

In the mean time the citizens laboured all night in repairing and refreshing the walls, to make all things sure against the next assault. The next day early in the morning the Turks approaching the city again with a new assault, thinking to scale the walls, were so repulsed and manfully resisted by the Germans, that scarcely any ditches about the walls could be seen for the bodies of the dead Turks, wherewith they were replenished; so that the Turks were fain to fight standing upon the bodies of them which were slain. By the which calamity the force of the enemy was not a little abated.

It happened the same time, that a company of the Turks being spied out of the city wandering out of order, the captain Rogendorf with two legions of horsemen issuing out of the city gate called Salmaria, and so passing closely under the hill's side, did so set upon them, that they slew a great number of them; the rest being driven to take the river, whom with stones and shot likewise they destroyed, and so retired back into the city again. By this victory the captain Rogendorf began to be terrible to the Turks. For in the same skirmish (as after was known) were slain of them so many, that of five thousand and three hundred horsemen and footmen scarce one hundred and forty escaped alive.

Solyman disdaining at this repulse thought to prove another way, and so bringing his power toward the gate called the king's gate, there making his trenches and bulwarks, planted his

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ordnance, with the violence whereof the walls were so battered and shaken, that no man was able there to stand. Wherefore the Turk, seeing two great breaches made in the wall, commanded his soldiers covertly in the dark smoke of the gunpowder to press into the city. The like also was done at the Scottish tower, whereby the city was invaded in two sundry places at one time. The Viennians at the first freshly began to withstand them, new soldiers still coming in the place of them that were slain and hurt; and so this assault continuing more than six hours together, our men began at length to languish and faint, not only in strength but also in courage; whereby the city had been in great danger of losing, had not the two aforesaid captains, Rogendorf in the one place, and the earl of Salm in the other place, manfully encouraged the soldiers to abide the brunt, and to bear out awhile the violence of the Turks, promising that immediately they should have aid from Ferdinand.

In the mean time the Turks came so thick for the greediness of the victory, scaling, climbing, and fighting upon the walls, that had it not been for that press and throng of the great multitude of the Turks, coming so thick that one of them could not fight for another, Vienna that same day had been taken and utterly lost. But by the policy of the captains giving a sign within the city, as though new soldiers were called for, our men began to be encouraged, and the Turks' hearts to be discomfited.

When Solyman saw his army the second time repulsed, he began to attempt a new way, purposing by undermining to overthrow the city; in the which work especially he used the help of the Illyrians, of whom he had a great number in his camp, expert in that kind of feat. These Illyrians beginning to break the earth at the gate Carinthia, and coming near to the foundations of the tower, which they by strength of hand attempted to break, could not work so closely under the ground, but they were perceived by certain men above, which were skilful and expert in that kind of matter; who contrariwise undermining against them, and filling their trenches as they went with gunpowder, so conveyed their train, that when fire should be set unto it, the violence thereof should burst out by the trenches of the enemies; which done, suddenly the ground beneath made a great shaking, so that the tower did cleave asunder, and all the underminers of the Turks, working in their trenches. were smothered and destroyed; which came to the number (as it was supposed afterward) of eight thousand persons; insomuch that yet till this day a great number of dead men's skulls are found in the ground.

When Solyman saw that this way also would not serve, and had privy intelligence that the walls about the gates of Stubarium were negligently kept, and that he might have there more easy entrance; secretly he conveyeth about ten garrisons of fresh soldiers, in such sort as the townsmen should not perceive them; who came so suddenly upon them, that they had filled their ditches, and were upon the top of the fortresses and munitions, before that our men were aware of them, or could make themselves ready to resist them. For although there was no lack of soldiers within the city, yet forasmuch as the whole brunt of the siege did lie especially at the two gates aforesaid, from whence the soldiers which were there warding could not be well removed, for a shift the rescuers, which within the city were ready for all sudden adventures, were sent to the walls, by whose coming, those few which kept the enemies off before, being sore hurt and wounded, were succoured and sent to surgery; and thus the said assault continued terrible and doubtful, until the dark night coming upon them, they could not well know the one from the other. In this bickering were counted of the Turks to be slain more than five thousand.

Then the captain Rogendorf, commending the valiant standing of his soldiers, misdoubting with himself, as it happened indeed, that the Turks would not so give over, but

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would set upon him the next day with a fresh assault, providing with all diligence for the purpose, made up the breaches of the walls, and prepared all things necessary for resistance. The next morning following, which was something dark and misty, the Turks, thinking to prevent our men with their sudden coming, began again busily to bicker upon the top of the walls.

It would require a long tractation here to describe the great distress and danger that the city those three days following was in; during all the which time there was no rest, no intermission, nor diligence lacking, either in the enemies fighting against the city, either in our men in defending the same. For the Turks, besides the multitude of the great ordnance, wherewith, as with a great tempest of gunshot, they never ceased, still battering the walls and beating the munitions of the city, sent also such heaps and multitudes of the Turks to the scaling and climbing of the walls, that scarcely with all the ordnance and shot of the city, either the violence of them could be broken, or the number of them diminished; till at the last, the soldiers of the Turk, perceiving themselves able by no means to prevail, but only to run in danger of life, and to do no good, began to wrangle among themselves, grudging and repining against their dukes and captains, imputing the whole cause only to them, that the city was yet untaken, seeing there was in them neither diligence nor good will lacking; and so ceased the siege for that time.

After this, when Solyman had purposed in himself with his last and strongest siege to try against the city the uttermost that he was able to do, and had encouraged his soldiers to prepare themselves in most forcible wise thereunto; the soldiers showed themselves much unwilling to return again from whence they were so often repulsed before, by reason whereof great commotion began to rise in the Turk's camp. The rumour whereof when it came to Solyman's ears, he sendeth his grand captain to keep all the soldiers in order and obedience; or if they would be stubborn, to compel them, whether they would or not, to accomplish his commandment. Who coming to the soldiers, showed to them the Great Turk's message, and to animate and encourage them, declared that the opportunity of the time present was not to be neglected, neither could they now, without great shame, give over, after so many assaults attempted; who, if they would sustain but one brunt more, the victory were in their own hands. The townsmen, he said, were wasted, and their victuals spent; and the more to inflame their minds, he promised them not only great thanks and reward of their emperor, but also the whole spoil of the city, in recompence of their travail.

But when all this would not stir up the sturdy stomachs of the tired Turks, using compulsion where persuasion would not serve, he appointed a number of horsemen to be set at their backs, whereby to enforce them either to go forward, or if they denied, with guns and spears to destroy them. The Turks, seeing themselves in such a strait, that whether they went or tarried, it was to them like peril, yet would they not set forward except the captain would take the venture before them. Who warding forward in his array, thus spake unto his fellows, saying, "Do you forsake your faith and allegiance, and betray the emperor of Constantinople unto the Christians if you will, but I will discharge my duty towards the commonwealth and my emperor;" and with that word advanced his ensign, making toward the city walls. Whom when other followed, and still more and more pressed after, so it came to pass that whole routs of them were overthrown and slain of our men upon the walls, before it was known what they meant. Other, terrified by their example, gave back and left their array, and winding themselves by by-ways and under covert of hills, returned again into their tents; and so came it to pass, that the strength of the enemies daily more and more decreasing, they had less hope every day more than other of obtaining the city. For besides the innumerable slaughter of Turks upon the walls, the

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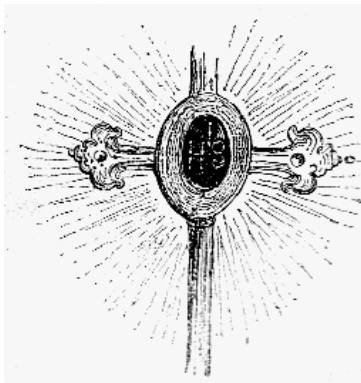
townsmen also, watching the foragers and purveyors of the Turks, as they ranged about for victual for the camp, ever as occasion served them did compass them about, and so encountered with them by that way, that of a whole legion scarcely the tenth part returned again to their fellows alive, by means whereof the courage of the enemies began greatly to faint. Whereby such a marvellous alteration happened, that as our men began to receive more hope and courage, so the Turks began still more to droop and to languish with despair; so that at length scarce durst they appear without the bounds where they were intrenched, but only in light skirmishes, when they were provoked by our men to come out and to show themselves.

Solyman perceiving his soldiers thus daily to go to wreck, of whom he had lost already more than eighty thousand, and that with long tarrying he could do no good, being also in lack of forage, for that the country about him was wasted, beginneth to consult with his captains and counsellors what remained best to be done. Of whom the most part advised him to raise his siege, and betime to provide for himself. Which to do, many causes there were that moved him. First, the loss of his men, which daily were cut from him by great numbers, besides them which lay in his camp wounded, or sick, or famished. Secondly, lack of purveyance. Thirdly, the approaching near of winter. But the chiefest cause was, for that he heard Frederic Palatine above mentioned, coming with a great army at Ratisbon towards Vienna, and there had done great molestation to a great number of the Turk's foragers, whom by the way he prevented, and so enclosed in the woods that he slew them. Whereof when Solyman had intelligence, thinking it not best to abide the coming of the Palatine, made haste with bag and baggage to remove his camp and to retire; and first sending away his carriage before him, he made speed himself with his army to follow shortly after.

The Viennians, when they heard of the removing away of the Turks, although at the first they scarcely believed it to be true, being afterward certified out of doubt, both of their removing, and also of the order thereof, how it was in a manner of a flight or chase, were greatly desirous to make out of the city after them. Wherein, albeit the presence of the Palatine with his army, if he had been there present, might have stood them in great stead, yet, notwithstanding, they took the opportunity of the time present, and, issuing out of the city, in most speedy wise set after them with their horsemen; and, first overpassing the tents, (where the Turks had pitched their stations or pavilions,) for haste of the way, they made such pursuit after them, that within little time they overtook the rearward or latter end of the army, whereof they made such havoc and destruction, that (as the author reporteth) there was never a shot of the pursuers, nor weapon drawn, nor stroke stricken, which was in vain. Which was no hard thing for our men to do. For as the Turks in their flight went scattered out of order and array, neither would they in the fore-rank (being so far off from jeopardy) return back to help their fellows, it was easy for our men, without resistance, to come upon their backs as they would. Yet, notwithstanding, in long pursuit, when our men could not see the carriage of the Turks, which was wont in armies to come alway behind after the host, and suspecting (as truth was) some ambush to be left in privy wait behind them, to come betwixt them and home; they called themselves to retreat, and consulted upon the matter, thinking good first to send out certain scouts, to espy and bring them word where the enemies lay, and what was the number of them. Whereof, when intelligence was given them that the remnant of the Turk's army was remaining in the tents behind, word was sent to their fellows in Vienna to issue out, and to join also with them against the tail of the Turks, which had entrenched themselves within the camp. Other were appointed to follow the chase, lest, peradventure, the Turks seeing our men to recoil back, might return again upon them and help their fellows. Which things being thus ordered and appointed, in the mean time, while part

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of the Viennians were hovering after the main army, the rest encountered with them that were left in the camp. Who, seeing themselves overmatched, first defended their camp with a deep ditch and bulwark, to delay the time until some help might come to them from the army. Secondly, they directed messengers to the Christians, to entreat for peace. Thirdly, they conveyed their privy letters unto Solyman for speedy aid and rescue. But all the ways and passages being stopped by the Christians, their letters were intercepted, and so the miserable Turks, being destitute of all hope and succour, seeing no other remedy, made out of their camp, to hazard and prove the uttermost for their defence: but, in conclusion, in their desperate venture they were enclosed about by our men on every side, and there put to the sword and slain, a few only excepted, who, escaping out very hardly by secret passages, shifted after the rest of their fellows as well as they could. Their carriage and other furniture left behind them in their tents was distributed amongst the soldiers, only such things reserved as might serve for their public use and commodity of the city.



hus through the merciful protection and benefit of Almighty God, Austria was delivered from the fierce and barbarous hostility of the cruel Turks. Notwithstanding that neither Ferdinand the king, nor the emperor his brother, were there present, but only the power of God, through the valiantness of the worthy Germans, defended that city; in defence whereof consisted the safety and deliverance (no doubt) of all these west parts of Christendom. For the which, immortal praise and thanks be unto our immortal God in Christ our Lord, according as he hath of us most graciously and worthily deserved. Wherein by the way take this for a note, gentle reader, how and after what manner God's blessing goeth with the true reformers of his religion; and so much the more is it to be noted, for that the Turks in so many battles and sieges heretofore were never so repulsed and foiled as at this present time, in encountering with the protestants and defenders of sincere religion. This city of Vienna was besieged and delivered the year of our Lord 1529. The assaults of the Turk against the city are numbered to be twenty, and his repulses as many. The number of his army which he first brought, was two hundred and fifty thousand, whereof were reckoned to be slain eighty thousand and above. During the time of his siege he led away, out of the country about, many captives; virgins and matrons he quelled, and cast them out naked, the children he stuck upon stakes.

132. Further Campaigns of Solyman

Solyman thus put from the hope of victory of Vienna, after he had breathed himself awhile at home, the second year after, which was A. D. 1531, repairing his host, returned again into Hungary, with no less multitude than before; where first he got the town called Gunza, being but slenderly kept with a small garrison. By reason whereof the townsmen and soldiers, yielding themselves unto the Turks, were constrained to agree upon unreasonable conditions.



elchoir Soiterus in his Second Book, writing *De bello Pannonico*, touching the aforesaid town of Gunza, or Gunzium, differeth herein something from Remus, declaring how this Gunza, being a small town in Hungary, and having in it but only a hundred soldiers (or, as Wolfgangus Drechslerus in his Chronicle reporteth, at the most but two hundred soldiers) under the valiant captain Nicolaus Jureschitz, defended themselves so manfully and wonderfully, through the notable power of God, against the whole puissance of two hundred thousand Turks, that they, being notwithstanding distressed with lack and penury of purveyance, and suddenly of the Turks invaded, yet with pure courage and promptness of heart sustained the uttermost force and violence of thirteen assaults of that great multitude, for the space of twenty-five days together.

Although the narration of the author may seem to some incredible, yet thus he writeth, that what time the great ordnance and battering pieces of the Turks were planted upon two mountains much higher than the town, whereby they within the town were oppressed both before and behind, insomuch that eight ensigns of the Turks were already within the town, yet by the reason of women and children, and other impotent persons, who in the middle of the town were congregated in a house together, such a noise and clamour went up to heaven, praying and crying to God for help, that the Turks within the walls, supposing a new army of fresh soldiers to be sent into the town, for sudden fear voided the town, and leaped down from the walls again, (which before they had got,) whom no man either pursued or resisted; for never a soldier almost was left on the walls, which was not either slain or else wounded with the Turk's ordnance. At what time through the Lord's providence it so happened, that one Ibrahim Besse, near about the Turk, seeing both the town to be small, and the great destruction of the Turks in the siege thereof, and that the captain in no case would yield, persuaded so the Turk, declaring how the town being so little was not worth the loss of so many men, in the winning whereof there was no glory, and if he were repulsed, great dishonour might follow; whereby the Turk being persuaded did follow his counsel, which was this; that Nicolaus, the Christian captain, being called unto him, under pledges and safe-conduct, should receive the town as of his hand and gift, with condition that he should do no violence to his soldiers left behind and wounded, but should procure such means as he could for the recuring of them; and so he raising his siege departed. Another cause might be also, which moved him so suddenly to raise his siege, for that he heard the Palatine not to be far off in pursuing after him; and therefore taking his flight by the

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mountains of the Noricians, he returned with much spoil of Christian men's goods unto Constantinople.

For so it was provided the same time in Germany, after the council of Augsburg and Ratisbon, (at what time the controversy of religion between the protestants and the papists was deferred and set off to the next general council,) that Charles the Fifth and Ferdinand his brother, having understanding of the Turk thus ranging in Hungary, should collect of the Germans, Hungarians, and Spaniards, and others, an able army of eighty thousand footmen and thirty thousand horsemen, to repulse the invasions of the Turk. But Solyman having intelligence of this preparation of the Christian power coming toward him, whether for fear, or whether to espy further opportunity of time for his more advantage and our detriment, refused at that time to tarry their coming, and so, speeding his return unto Constantinople, retired with much spoil and prey sent before him, as is above premised; which was in the year of our Lord 1532.

Not long after, being the year of our salvation 1534, Solyman intending two wars at once, first sent Conradinus Barbarossa, the admiral of his navies into Africa, to war against the king of Tunis; whom then Barbarossa also dispossessed and deprived of his kingdom; but Charles the emperor, the year next following, A. D. 1535, restored the said king again into his kingdom, and delivered in the same voyage twenty thousand captives out of servitude.

The same time the Turk also sent another captain into Hungary, to war against Vaivoda, while he himself taking his course to Persia, planted his siege against the city Taurus, which he in short space subdued and expugned. Albeit he long enjoyed not the same; for Tahames, king of the Persians, suddenly coming upon the Turks unprepared, slew of them twenty thousand, and took his concubines, to the great foil and reproach of the Turk.

Two years after this, which was the year of our Lord 1537, Solyman, who could not be quiet at home, nor rest in peace, returning again out of Asia into Europe with 270 ships, great and little, set upon Corcyra, another island belonging to the Venetians, which he besieged ten days, wasting and burning the towns and fields as he went, beside the destruction of much people therein, whom partly he slew, partly led away captives. From thence he sailed to Zacynthus and Cythara, another island not far off from Corcyra, bordering near to the coasts of Epirus and Grecia. Where he suddenly by night invading the husbandmen in villages and fields, sleeping and mistrusting no harm, drew them out of their houses and possessions, men and women, besides children, to the number of nine hundred, whom he made his bondslaves; burning moreover their houses, and carrying away all the goods and cattle being without the said city of Zacynthus and Cythara.

From thence these hell-hounds turned their course to the siege and spoil of Egina, a rich and populous island, lying between Grecia and Asia. Where first the Eginians did manfully in battle resist them, and were like to have prevailed; but being wearied at length, and oppressed with innumerable thousands of fresh Turks, which still were sent in, to rescue the other which were overcome before, were compelled to fly unto the city of Egina. Which city the cruel Turks, or rather devils on earth, with much labour, and violence of their great ordnance brought out of their ships, subdued and cast down to the ground; the citizens and inhabitants whereof, the Turk, after he had burned their houses and ransacked their goods, commanded to be slain and killed every one. The women, both noble and un noble, with their infants, were given to the mariners to be abused, and from thence being shipped unto Constantinople were led away to perpetual misery and slavery, which was in the year of our Lord 1537.

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In the same journey Solyman also took the isle in the said sea of Ægeum, called Paros; also the isle adjoining to the same named Naxos, and made them to him tributaries. The duke whereof was he which wrote the story both of these islands aforesaid, and also of the other islands, called Cyclades.

This done, Solyman directed his navy unto Apulia, where he set on land ten thousand footmen, and two thousand horsemen, which spoiled likewise and wasted those parts, while the emperor, the pope, and the Venetians were together in war and dissension. Furthermore, the next year following, A. D. 1538, great attempts began in Stiria, but by the resistance of the inhabitants the force of the barbarous Turks was repulsed, notwithstanding great spoils of men and cattle were carried from thence, and the country miserably spoiled. In the which year also the Turks turning into Hungary, gave battle unto the Christians in Savia; where through fraudulent falsehood of the captain Cassianerus, (Wolfgangus nameth him Calcianus,) being, as they say, corrupted with money, our men were put to the worse, A. D. 1538.

After that the Turks had invaded the island of Corcyra, abovesaid, the Venetians with Solyman the Turk had joined truce for a certain time, for the which they gave the Turk three hundred thousand crowns, with the city Neapolis, and Malvasia, in the borders of Macedonia. But within four or five years, the Turk, to get a new stipend of the Venetians, brake his league, and invaded their dominions; whereby they were enforced to enter new conditions again with him.

In the year of our Lord 1540, the restless Turk making his return toward Hungary, by the way passing by Dalmatia, lay against the town called Newcastle, being defended by the Spaniards. In the which town, because they refused to yield themselves, all the inhabitants and soldiers were put to the sword and slain every one. This Newcastle was a strong fort of the Christians, which being now in the Turk's power, he had great advantage over all those quarters of Dalmatia, Stiria, Carinthia, and Hungary. From thence he proceeded further, keeping his course into Hungary, where he planted his power against the city of Buda.

This Buda was a principal city in Hungary, about which great contention had been (as ye have heard before) between Johannes Vaivoda and Ferdinand. By reason whereof the Turk, occasioned by Vaivoda, came into Hungary, and delivered the city to Vaivoda. This Vaivoda, living not long after, left behind him a son, whom, being an infant, he committed to the government of one Georgius Monachus, who, being left tutor unto the infant, reduced all Transylvania, Buda, Pesta, with other parts of Hungary, which belonged to Vaivoda before, to the subjection of the child. Ferdinand hearing thereof, in a great haste and anger levied an army to recover his lands in Hungary, and so laid siege to Buda. Monachus, seeing his part weak, first sent his legate to Ferdinand, desiring him to talk and confer with him upon matters, as he pretended, pertaining to the behoof of them both. Whereupon both the parties being agreed, the place and manner of their convention was appointed, and also the day and time assigned. Thus the parties, according to the agreement, conventing together with their armies, withdrawing a little aside, as they were entered in communication, suddenly among Ferdinand's men happened a dag to be heard, which, by the heat of the day, (as is thought,) loosing of his own accord, gave a crack: the sound whereof coming to the ears of Monachus, he, supposing the same to have been discharged against him, in great anger drew out his sword, bidding Ferdinand avaunt with his doubling dissimulation, saying, that he would never any more trust the promises of Christians, and immediately upon the same sent to Solyman the Turk for aid against the Christians, promising that he would surrender to him free possession of Hungary, if he would come and

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vanquish the army of Ferdinand, lying about the siege of Buda. The Turk maketh no long tarrying, but taketh the occasion, and with a mighty power flyeth into Hungary, and eftsoons discharging the host of Ferdinand, and putting them off from the siege of Buda, getteth the city into his own hands, commanding the son of Vaivoda, with his mother, to follow after his camp.

In the history of Johannes Ramus it followeth, that when Solyman the Turk had thus prevailed against the city of Buda aforesaid, and against other parts more of Hungary, by the assent of the empire, one Joachimus, duke of Brandenburg, prince elector, was assigned, with a puissant army of chosen soldiers of all nations collected, to recover the city of Buda from the Turk, and to deliver the other parts of Christendom from the fear of the Turk, A. D. 1542. Which Joachimus, at his first setting forth, appeared so courageous and valiant, as though he would have conquered the whole world; but this great heat was so slaked in short time by the Turk, that before any great jeopardy was offered unto him, he was glad to be discharged of the voyage, and with shame enough returned home again. And would God he had left behind him in the fields no more but his own shame. For the enemies, having intelligence before of his cowardly departure, thinking to work some point of mastery or victory before his going, did set upon the right wing of his army, (which chiefly consisted of Dutchmen of low Germany,) out of the which they took away with them above five hundred strong and valiant soldiers, not killing them, but carrying them away alive. For whom it had been much better to have stood to their weapon, and to have died manfully upon the Turks, than by yielding themselves to be disgarnished of weapon and armour, and so to be left to the cursed courtesy of the foul Turks: to whom what courtesy was showed, by the sequel did appear. For after the Turks had led them out of Hungary into their own dominions, after a most horrible and beastly sort they disfigured and mangled them, and so sent them abroad through all Grecia to be witnesses of the Turk's victory. Their kind of punishment was thus: first, they had their right arm thrust through with an iron red hot, whereby they should be unable and unmeet to all labour and warfare. Secondly, their heads were shaven to the very skulls, after the manner of our friars and monks, when they are newly shaven. Thirdly, they had all their privy members cut off from their bodies, to the intent to make them unfruitful for propagation; which wound was so grievous unto them, that the greatest part of them died thereupon, the few that recovered the torment thereof led a life more bitter and more miserable than death itself. And this kind of cruelty was executed in order upon them all. In much like sort did cruel Pharaoh exercise his tyranny against the people of God in Egypt; who, to destroy the generation of them, caused all the male children to be drowned in the river. Whereby it is the more to be hoped, that seeing the tyranny of this Turkish Pharaoh is come to such an extremity, the merciful goodness of God will the more shortly send some Moses or other unto us for our speedy deliverance. This was by the cruel Turks done, A. D. 1542, witnessed by Johannes Ramus, which not only writeth the story, but by the testimony also of his own eyes recordeth the same to be true, beholding with his eyes one of the same number in the city of Vienna, who having wife and children in Brussels, either for shame or sorrow had no mind to return home to his own house.

But to return again to the city of Buda, from whence we have digressed, here is not to be pretermitted what falsehood and what cruelty the Turks used toward the Christians there after their victory. For after that Solyman the Turk, upon yielding and submission of the men of Buda, had given to them his promise of safety and life, within short time the said Turk picking a quarrel with them for selling oxen unto the Christians, and for bargaining with them, slew all the magistrates of the said city of Buda; like as in all other cities, wheresoever the Christians yielded

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unto him, he never, or very rarely, kept his promise with them, neither did ever any Christians speed better with the Turk, than they which most constantly did resist him.

And as his promise with the magistrates of Buda was false and wretched, so his cruelty with the soldiers thereof was much more notorious and abominable. For in the expugnation of Buda, amongst the rest which were slain, two cohorts or bands of Christian soldiers came alive to his hands. To whom, when he seemed at first to grant pardon of life, he commanded to put on their armour again, and to dispose themselves in order and battle array, after the warlike manner of the Christians. Which when they had accomplished readily, according to his commandment, and he, riding about the ranks of them, had diligently viewed and beholden them a certain space, at length he commanded them to put off their armour again. Which done, certain of the tallest and strongest of them he picked out, the residue he commanded, by his soldiers coming behind them with swords, to be cut in pieces and slain. Of the other, whom he had elected and chosen, some he set for marks and butts to be shot at; some he appointed to his two sons, for them to slash with their swords, and try their strength, which of them could give the deeper wound, and, as they termed it, the fairer blow, whereby the most blood might follow out of their Christian bodies.

After the winning of Buda, the Turk purposing not so to cease, before he had subdued and brought under his obedience all Hungary, proceeding farther with his army, first brought under a strong hold of the Christians, named Pestum, or Pesta, where a great number of Christian soldiers partly were slain, partly were led away to more cruel affliction.

Then he came to another castle called Walpo, situate in the confines of Bosnia, Croatia, and Hungary. Which fort or castle he besieged three months, while no rescue or aid was sent unto them, neither from Ferdinand, king of Hungary, nor from any other Christian prince or princes. Whereupon at length the fort was given up to the Turk; but more through the false treachery or cowardly heart of the soldiers than of the captain. Wherein is to be noted an example not unworthy of memory. For when the cowardly soldiers, either for fear or flattery, would needs surrender themselves and the place unto the Turk, contrary to the mind of the captain, which in no case would agree to their yielding; they, thinking to find favour with the Turk, apprehended their captain, and gave him to Solyman. But see how the justice of God, sometimes by the hands of the enemy, disposeth the end of things to the rewarding of virtue and punishing of vice. For where they thought to save themselves by the danger of the faithful captain, the event turned clean contrary, so that the Turk was to the captain bountiful and very liberal; and the soldiers, notwithstanding that they had all yielded themselves, yet were all put to death, and commanded piteously to be slain.



Battle between Turks and Christians

There is in Hungary another town, bearing the name of Five-churches, called *Quinque-ecclesiæ*, which being partly spoiled before, as is above mentioned, which now through the loss of Walpo, and by the hugeness of the Turk's army, containing in it two hundred and twenty thousand fighting men, so discouraged, and put out of hope and heart, that the bishop and chief nobles of the town fled before the jeopardy; the rest of the commons, which were partly prevented by the sudden coming of the Turks, partly for poverty could not avoid, sent their messengers to the Turk, to yield and surrender the town, upon promise of life, unto his hands. Whose promise how firm it stood, the story leaveth it uncertain. This is affirmed, that three days after the yielding of this *Quinque-ecclesiæ*, never a Turk durst enter the city, A. D. 1543.

The next fort or hold gotten by the Turks in Hungary was *Soclosia*. The town at the first invasion of the Turks was won, sacked, and fired. The castle within the town did something hold out for a time, and first requiring truce for fourteen days, to see what aid should be sent unto them, to deliberate upon the conditions that should be proposed unto them, after the fourteen

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days expired, they, trusting to the situation and munition of the place, which was very strong, began for a certain space stoutly to put back the enemy. But afterward seeing their walls to be battered, their foundations to shake, for the Turk had set twelve thousand under-miners under the ditches of the castle, and their strength to diminish, and misdoubting themselves not to be able long to hold out, agreed in like manner to yield themselves, upon condition to escape with life and goods; which condition of saving their goods was the losing of their lives, especially of the richer sort. For the Turks perceiving by that condition that they were of wealth and substance, omitting the inferior or baser sort, fell upon the wealthy men for their riches, and slew them every one, A. D. 1543.

In the which history, this is also to be noted, that during the time while the castle of Soclosia was besieged, the villages and pagans [i. e. villagers] round about the same came of their own accord, submitting and yielding themselves unto the Turk, bringing in, as they were commanded, all kind of victual and forage into the Turk's camp. Which done, Solyman the Turk commanded all the head men of the pagans to appear before him; which humbly obeyed and came. Then the Turk warned them to return again the next day after, every one bringing with him his inferior retinue, and household servants. Which when they had with like diligence also according to his commandment accomplished, the Turk immediately commanded them every one, in the face of his whole army, to be slain, and so was this their reward. Which reward, the more that it declareth the bloody cruelty of the Turk, the more courage it may minister to our men, the more constantly to withstand him.

Another strong town there is in Hungary, named Strigonium, distant from Buda abovesaid the space of five Dutch miles, against the which the Turks made great preparation of ordnance, and all other instruments of artillery necessary for the siege thereof. Which city in like manner began also to be compassed and enclosed by the Turks, before it could be sufficiently prepared and garnished of our men, but that the archbishop only of Strigon privily conveyed unto them two hundred oxen. Such was then the negligence of Ferdinand, king of Hungary, which so slenderly looked unto the necessary defence of his towns and cities. Moreover, such was the discord then of Christian kings and princes, which in their civil dissension and wars were so occupied and hot in needless quarrels, that they had neither leisure nor remembrance to help in time there where true need required. Which slender care and cold zeal of the Christian rulers, not in tendering the public cause, while they contended in private trifles, hath caused the Turk to come so far as he hath, and yet farther is like, unless the mercy of the Lord do help more than our diligence. One of the chief captains within the city, was Martinus Lascanus, a Spaniard.

The Turks in the beginning of the siege, began first to tempt the citizens with fair words and accustomed promises, to yield and gently to submit themselves. But they, not ignorant of the Turk's promises, wisely refused, and manfully stood so long as they could to the defence of the city; now and then skirmishing with them in out-corners, and killing certain numbers of them; sometime with their shot disturbing their munitions, and breaking the wheels of their guns, &c.

Three special means the Turks use in winning great forts and cities: great multitude of soldiers; great ordnance and mortar pieces; the third is by undermining. All which here in the siege of this city lacked not. This siege continued vehement a certain space; in which the Strigonians had borne out four strong assaults, and slew many thousands of the Turks, till at length the Turks either departing away, or else seeming to depart unto Buda, the people at last being so persuaded and made to believe of some chief rulers of the city, (peradventure not the truest men,) the citizens being erected with hope and comfort, and singing Te Deum, as though

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the city had been free from all danger, suddenly (by whose counsel it is unknown) conveyed themselves all out of the city; three hundred horsemen also passed over the river and departed. The Italians which were under Franciscus Salamanca, a Spanish captain, hardly could be persuaded by him to abide, which were in all scarce six hundred.

Within three days after, three hundred German soldiers, with two ships laden with shot, powder, and artillery, were privily let into the town; so that of our men in all there were scarce one thousand three hundred soldiers. Who, seeing the small quantity of their number, burning and casting down the town and suburbs, took them to the castle; from whence they beat off the Turks valiantly with their ordnance a good space, and with wild-fire destroyed great companies of them, till at last they seeing their walls to fail them, and the whole castle to shake by undermining, but especially by the working of a certain Italian surnamed Presbyter, they gave over. This Italian, whether for fear or, falsehood, secretly, unknown to the rest of the soldiers, accompanied with two other, conveyed himself down from the walls, and being brought into the tents of the next captain or Bassa of the Turks, there in the name of all his fellows convented with the Turks, to give up to them the castle; whereupon the Turks were bid to cease the shooting. This Italian shortly after with two other Turks was sent back to Salamanca his captain, with the Turk's message. The going out of this Italian being privy to the residue of his fellows, contrary to the laws and discipline of war, although it seemed to come of his own head; yet, forasmuch as the other soldiers were not so sure, but rather suspected lest the other Italians his countrymen had been in some part of consent therein, and would take his part; they neither durst offer him any harm for that his doing, nor yet could well advise with themselves what was best to do, for fear of privy confederacy within themselves.

Thus while Lascanus, the chief captain of the Christians aforesaid, with his fellow soldiers, were in a maze what to do, or not to do; in the mean time came one running, who, giving a sign both to the Christians and to the Turks to hold their hands and weapons, for that it was against all law of war to fight after peace and truce taken; our men, as they were commanded, went into the inward tower. The Turks in the mean time had got into the castle, and occupied all the utter parts. Then was Salamanca, by the consent of the rest, sent out to the Turk, who there being stayed that night; the next morrow the Turk's bull or warrant was sent into the castle, permitting free liberty to the Christians to depart with bag and baggage. Who now being ready to depart, first were commanded by the Turks, compassing them round about, to cast from them their dags, lances, and battle-axes into the trench. Then coming to the gate to go out, their swords were taken from them, looking then for nothing but present death.

At last when they were come a little further, other were sent to them to discharge them of their helmets, their targets, cuirasses, and whatsoever piece of harness was about them. Whereupon great fear came upon them, lest some great cruelty should be showed upon them. Solyman, after he had long deliberated with himself, whether to kill them or not, at last, contrary to all expectation, granted their lives; but before they should be dismissed, he first caused them, in derision of Christianity, to be baited with scorns and mocks throughout all the Turkish army, and so the next day commanded them, being stripped out of their coats and apparel, to be reduced again into the castle by companies, setting over them certain Turks with cudgels and bats to lay upon their backs and sides, causing them to bury the dead carcasses, and to gather up the rubbish broken down from the castle walls, and to scour the ditches. Which done, the next day following he demanded of them, by an interpreter, whether they would enter wages with him, and take horse and armour to serve him in his wars; which condition divers for fear were

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contented to take, seeing no other remedy to avoid present death. Some neither by menacing words, nor for fear of any death, could be compelled thereunto; of whom certain, which stood stoutly in refusing thereof, were presently slain, whom I may worthily recite in the number and catalogue of holy martyrs.

Of the aforesaid Christians, part were carried over the river Danube, not without great villany, and contumely most despitiful. For some had their wives taken from them, and carried away; some had their wives ravished before their face; and such as made or showed any resistance thereat, had their wives before them cast into the river and drowned; also their infants and young children, being appointed by the Turks to the abominable order of the Janizaries, mentioned before, their parents not consenting thereunto, were precipitated and thrown into the river and drowned. All which things are testified by John Martinus Stella, in his Epistles, in print extant, written to his two brethren, William and Michael, &c. Which Martin Stella moreover addeth and affirmeth this, That he himself, being the same time at Vienna, did see one of the aforesaid wives, who being holden fast by the hair of the head, yet notwithstanding, having her hair plucked off, cast herself into the river Danube for the singular love to her husband, and so swam to the ship where he was. And thus this miserable company of Germans, Spaniards, and Italians mixed together, macerated with labours, with hunger pined, with watchings, dolours, and sorrow consumed, came at length to Schinda.

When the tidings thereof was noised at Vienna, partly with fear and dread, partly with indignation, all men's hearts were moved and vexed diversely. Some thought them not worthy to be received into their city, showing themselves so dastardly and cowardly. Others thought again that mercy was to be showed unto them, and commended their fact, for that they being so few, and unfurnished of aid, neither able to match by any means with such an innumerable multitude of the Turks, kept themselves till better time might serve them. But howsoever the matter was to be thought of, the captains brought the poor remnant of that rueful company unto Possidonium, where the said captains were laid fast, and there kept in durance, to render account of the whole matter how it was wrought and handled. And thus have ye the lamentable story of Strigonium.



he Turk proceeding in his victories conducted his army next unto Tath, and to the parts lying near about Comaron. This Tath was also a strong hold in Hungary, wherein were placed certain garrisons, partly of the Germans, partly of the Italians. The chieftain of the Italians was one Annibal Tasso, constituted by Philippus Tornelius. This Tasso was a man well expert in prowess of war; but of a filthy, corrupt life, and also a foul swearer, and horrible blasphemer of God and his saints. To make the story short, this fort of Tath, before any siege was laid unto it, was yielded and given up to the Turks; upon what conditions, or by whose means, the author sheweth not. Thus much he sheweth, that the said Annibal shortly upon the same, returning into Italy, was commanded by Tornelius, aforesaid, to be apprehended and beheaded.

After the Turks had subverted and destroyed the fort of Tath, they turned their power against Alba, surnamed Regalis, for that the kings of Hungary, have been always wont there to be crowned and buried. This Alba is a little well-compacted city in Hungary, having on the one

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side a marsh somewhat boggy or fenny, which made the town less assaultable. But near to the same was a wood, from the which the Turks every day with six hundred carts brought such matter of wood, and trees felled for the same purpose, in the marsh, that within less than twelve days they made it apt and hard to their feet, which the townsmen thought never could be gone upon but only in the hard frosts of winter. At the first beginning of the siege there stood a little without the munitions, in the front of the city, a certain church or monastery, which the citizens pretending to maintain and keep against the Turks, had privily conveyed light matter easily to take flame, with powder, in secret places thereof, and had hid also fire withal. Which done, they (as against their wills being driven back) withdrew themselves within the munitions, waiting the occasions when this fire would take. Thus the Turks having the possession of the church, suddenly the fire coming to the powder, raised up the church, and made a great scatter and slaughter among the barbarous Turks. This was not so soon espied of them within the town, but they issued out upon them in this disturbance, and slew of them a great number. Among whom divers of their nobles also the same time were slain, and one Bassa, a eunuch, which was of great estimation with the Turks. Moreover, in the same skirmish was taken one of those gunners which the French king is said to have sent to the Turk a little before. Which if it be true, let the Christian reader judge what is to be thought of those Christian princes, which not only forsaking the common cause of Christ's church, joined league with the Turk, but also sent him gunners to set forward his wars to the destruction of Christ's people, and to the shedding of their blood, for whom they know the blood of Christ to be shed. If this be not true, I show mine author; if it be, then let the pope see and mark well how this title of Christianissimus can well agree with such doings.

But to let this matter sleep, although the Turks (as ye heard) had won the fen with their policy and industry, against the city of Alba, yet all this while the Albanians were nothing inferior to their enemies, through the valiant help and courageous endeavour of Octavianus Scruzatus, a captain of Milan: by whose prudent counsel and constant standing, the busy enterprises of the Turks did little prevail a long time, till at length suddenly arose a thick fog or mist upon the city, whereas round about besides the sun did shine bright. Some said it came by art magical, but rather it may appear to rise out of the fen or marsh, being so pressed down with men's feet and other matter laid upon it.

The Turks, using the occasion of this misty darkness, in secret-wise approaching the walls, had got up to a certain fortress where the Germans were, before our men could well perceive them; where they pressed in so thick, and in such number, that albeit the Christian soldiers, standing strongly to the defence of their lives, did what valiant men, in cases of such extremity, were able to do; yet being overmatched by the multitude of the Turks, and the suddenness of their coming, gave back, seeking to retire into the inward walls. Which when their other fellows did seek to rescue, then was there flying of all hands, every man striving to get into the city. There was between the outward walls, or vaumures, and inward gate of the city, a strait or narrow passage, cast up in the manner of a bank or causeway, ditched on both sides; which passage or ingress happened the same time to be barred and stopped. By reason whereof the poor soldiers were forced to cast themselves into the ditch, thinking to swim as well as they could into the city; where many of them sticking in the mud were drowned, one pressing upon another; many were slain of their enemies coming behind them, they having neither heart nor power to resist. A few which could swim out, were received into the city, but the chief captains and warders of the town were there slain.

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The citizens, being destitute of their principal captains and warriors, were in great perplexity and doubt among themselves what to do, some thinking good to yield, some counselling the contrary. Thus while the minds of the citizens were distracted in divers and doubtful sentences, the magistrates minding to stand to the Turk's gentleness, sent out one of their heads unto the Turk, who in the name of them all should surrender to him the city, and become unto him tributaries, upon condition they might enjoy liberty of life and goods; which being to them granted, after the Turkish faith and assurance, first the soldiers which were left within the city, putting off their armour, were discharged and sent away. Who being but only three hundred left of four ensigns of Italians, and of one thousand Germans, by the way were laid for by the Tartarians for hope of their spoil, so that they, scattering asunder one one way, another another, to save themselves as well as they could, fled every one what way he thought best. Of whom, some wandering in woods and marshes fainted for famine, some were taken and slain by the Hungarians, a few with bare and empty and withered bodies, more like ghosts than men, escaped and came to Vienna. And this befell upon the soldiers.

Now understand what happened to the yielding citizens. So in the story it followeth, that when the Turk had entered the town, and had visited the sepulchre of the kings, for three or four days he pretended much clemency toward the citizens, as though he came not to oppress them, but to be revenged of Ferdinand their king, and to deliver them from the servitude of the Germans. On the fourth day all the chief and head men of the city were commanded to appear before the Turk in a plain not far from the city, where the condemned persons before were wont to be executed, as though they should come to swear unto the Turk. At this commandment of the Turk, when the citizens in great number and in their best attire were assembled; the Turk, contrary to his faith and promise, commanded suddenly a general slaughter to be made of them all. And this was the end of the citizens of Alba.

In the mean time, during the siege of Alba, the Hungarians, meeting sometimes with the horsemen of the Tartarians, which were sent out to stop their victuals from the city, slew of them at one bickering three thousand Turks. In which story is also reported and mentioned of mine author, a horrible sight and example of misery, concerning a certain captain, (a Christian belike,) who coming unto Vienna, was found to have in his scrip or satchel the half of a young child of two years old, which remained yet uneaten, the other half being eaten before, A. D. 1543.

Next after this was expugned the castle of Pappa by the Turks. Let the castle now of Papa take heed lest one day it follow after.

The like fidelity the Turks also kept with the fort of Wizigradum, and the soldiers thereof. This Wizigradum is situate in the mid-way between Buda and Strigonium. Of the which fort or castle the highest tower so mounteth upon the hill, that unless it be for famine and lack of water, they have not to dread any enemy. Notwithstanding, so it happened, that the lower place being won, they in the higher tower abiding four days without drink, were compelled, with liberty granted of life and goods, to yield themselves. But the devilish Turks, keeping no faith nor promise, slew them every one; only Petrus Amandus, the captain of the place, excepted; who privily was conveyed by the captain of the Turks out of the slaughter, A. D. 1544.

To these, moreover, may be added the winning of Novum Castellum, in Dalmatia, where he slew all that were within, both soldiers and other, for that they did not yield themselves in time. Thus the Turk, whether they yielded to him or not, never spared the people and flock of Christ.

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As the false and cruel Turk was thus raging in Hungary, and intended further to rage without all mercy and pity of the Christians, and easily might then have prevailed and gone whither he would, for that Charles the emperor, and Francis the French king, were the same time in war and hostility, and also other Christian princes, as Henry, duke of Brunswick, against John Frederic, duke of Saxony, also princes and rulers were contending among themselves; behold the gracious providence of our Lord and God toward us, who, seeing the misery, and having pity of his poor Christians, suddenly, as with a snaffle, reined this raging beast, and brought him out of Europe into his own country again, by occasion of the Persians, who were then in great preparation of war against the Turks, and had invaded his dominion. By reason whereof the Turks were kept there occupied, fighting with the Persians a long continuance. Which wars at length being achieved and finished, (wherein the said Turk lost great victories, with slaughter of many thousands of his Turks,) he was not only provoked by the instigation of certain evil disposed Hungarians, but also occasioned by the discord of Christian princes, to return again into Europe, in hope to subdue all the parts thereof unto his dominion. Whereunto when he had levied an army incredible of such a multitude of the Turks, as the like hath not lightly been heard of, see again the merciful providence and protection of our God toward his people. As the Turk was thus intending to set forward with his innumerable multitude against the Christians, the hand of the Lord sent such a pestilence through all the Turk's army and dominions, reaching from Bithynia, and from Thrace to Macedonia and also to Hungary, that all the Turk's possessions seemed almost nothing else but as a heap of dead corpses, whereby his voyage for that time was stopped, and he almost compelled to seek a new army.

Besides this plague of the Turks aforesaid, which was worse to them than any war, other lets also and domestical calamities, through God's providence, happened unto Solyman, the great rover and robber of the world, which stayed him at home from vexing the Christians, especially touching his eldest son Mustapha.

This Mustapha being hated, and partly feared, of Rustanus the chief counsellor about the Turk, and of Rosa the Turk's concubine, and after his wife, was divers times complained of to his father, accused, and at length so brought into suspicion and displeasure of the Turk's by them aforesaid; that in conclusion, his father caused him to be sent for to his pavilion, where six Turks with visors were appointed to put him to death; who, coming upon him, put (after their manner) a small cord or bowstring full of knots about his neck, and so throwing him down upon the ground, not suffering him to speak one word to his father, with the twitch thereof throttled and strangled him to death, his father standing in a secret corner by, and beholding the same. Which fact being perpetrated, afterward when the Turk would have given to another son of his and of Rosa, called Ganger, the treasures, horse, armour, ornaments, and the province of Mustapha his brother; Ganger crying out for sorrow of his brother's death, "Fie of thee," saith he to his father, "thou impious and wretched dog, traitor, murderer, I cannot call thee father, take the treasures, the horse and armour of Mustapha to thyself;" and with that taking out his dagger, thrust it through his own body. And thus was Solyman murderer and parricide of his own sons; which was the year of our Lord 1552.

Wherein, notwithstanding, is to be noted the singular providence and love of the Lord toward his afflicted Christians. For this Mustapha, as he was courageous and greatly expert and exercised in all practice of war, so had he a cruel heart, maliciously set to shed the blood of Christians. Wherefore great cause have we to congratulate, and to give thanks to God, for the happy taking away of this Mustapha. And no less hope also and good comfort we may conceive

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of our loving Lord hereby ministered unto us, to think that our merciful God, after these sore afflictions of his Christians under these twelve Turks before recited, now after this Solyman intendeth some gracious good work to Christendom, to reduce and release us out of this so long and miserable Turkish captivity, as may be hoped now by taking away these young imps of this impious generation, before they should come to work their conceived malice against us; the Lord therefore be glorified and praised. Amen.

133. Recent Defeats Of The Turks

Moreover, as I was in writing hereof, opportunely came to my hands a certain writing out of Germany, certifying us of such news and victory of late achieved against the Turk, as may not a little increase our hope and comfort us, touching the decay and ruin of the Turk's power and tyranny against us. Which news are these: That after the Turkish tyrant had besieged, with an army of thirty thousand men, the famous and strong town and castle of Jula in Hungary, lying forty Dutch miles beyond the river Danube, which city had by the space of six weeks sustained many grievous assaults; God, through his great mercy and goodness, so comforted the said town of Jula and the poor Christians therein, at their earnest prayers, that the Turk with all his host was driven back by the hands of the general, called Karetshim Laslaw, and his valiant company; who not only defended the said town, but also constrained the Turks to retire to their great shame and confusion, with a great slaughter of the Turkish rabble; for the which the everlasting God be praised for ever.

The manner of the overthrow was this. As the aforesaid general did see his advantage, with Captain George and other horsemen of the Silesians and Hungarians, they set on the rearward of the Turks, and killed about eight thousand of them, and took also some of their artillery, and followed them so fast, that the Turks were constrained to fly into a marsh ground, and to break the wheels of the rest of their artillery to save themselves, and therewith they got a very rich booty, rescuing besides and taking from the Turks a great number of Christian prisoners. Like thanks are also to be given to God for the prosperous success given to Magotschy the valiant captain of Erla; who making toward the Turks, and encountering with the Tartarians, slew of them about eight hundred.

Not long after this it happened, through the like providence of our God, a Turkish captain called Begen, accompanied with a thousand fresh horsemen, came newly out of Turkey, to go toward the city named Finffenkyrchen, with whom the earl of Serin by the way did encounter, and in the night setting upon him, killed the captain, and took eight camels, and eight mules laden with treasure, and also got two red standards, with a whole great piece of rich cloth of gold, and with another fair and strange jewel. The horse of this aforesaid Turkish captain was betrapped and decked most richly. The saddle whereof had the pommel and back part covered over with plate of fine Arabic gold, and the rest of the saddle, beside the sitting-place, was plated with silver very fair gilded. The seat of the saddle was covered with purple velvet; the trappers and bridle beset with little Turquoises and rubies: which horse was sent to Vienna unto the Emperor Maximilian for a present.

Although the earl would very fain have saved the captain, not knowing what he was, yet the Janizaries, labouring to carry away their captain, so stiffly defended themselves, that the earl with his company, was constrained to kill both them and their captain. From whom the said earl of Serin the same time got fifteen thousand Turkish and Hungarian ducats; which money was brought for the payment of the Turkish soldiers in the town aforesaid of Finffenkyrchen, &c. All which be good beginnings of greater goodness to be hoped for hereafter, through the grace of Christ our Lord, especially if our Christian rulers and potentates, first the churchmen and prelates for their parts, then the civil powers and princes for their parts, withholding their affections a

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little, will turn their brawls and variance into brotherly concord and agreement, which the Lord of peace put in their minds to do. Amen. Or otherwise, if it will so please the Lord that the Turk come further upon us, so as he hath begun, for our punishment and castigation, his grace then give to the flock of his poor Christians constancy of faith, patience in suffering, and amendment of life. For so I understand by public fame, although uncertainly rumoured by the voice of some, that the Turk's power of late, this present year of our Lord 1566, hath pierced the parts of Apulia within Italy, wasting and burning the space of a hundred miles toward Naples. Which if it be certain, it is to be feared, that the Turk having thus set in his foot, and feeling the sweetness of Italy, will not so cease before he get in both head and shoulders also so far into Italy, that he will display his banners within the walls of Rome, and do with old Rome the like as Mahomet his great grandfather did with new Rome, the city of Constantinople, and as the Persians did with Babylon.

The causes why we have so to judge be divers; first, that the see of Rome hath been defended hitherto and maintained with much blood; and therefore it may seem not incredible, but that it will not long continue, but be lost with blood again, according to the verdict of the gospel; He that striketh with the sword, shall perish with the sword, &c. Another cause is, the fulfilling of the eighteenth chapter of the Apocalypse, where it is written, That great Babylon shall fall and be made an habitation of devils, and a den of unclean spirits, and a cage of filthy and unclean birds: the fall whereof shall be like a millstone in the sea, that is, which shall not rise again. And this to come before the day of judgment, the text of the said chapter doth apertly declare; where the words do follow, showing that the kings of the earth, and the merchants which had to do with the whorish city, standing afar off for fear of the heat, and beholding the smoke of the said city flaming and burning with fire, shall bewail and rue her destruction and desolation, &c. What city this is, called great Babylon, which like a millstone shall fall and burn, and be made an habitation of unclean spirits and beasts, let the reader construe. This is certain and plain, by these her kings and merchants standing afar off for fear, and beholding her burning, that the destruction of this city (what city soever it be) shall be seen here in earth before the coming of the Lord's judgment, as may easily be gathered by these three circumstances, that is, by the standing, the beholding, and bewailing of her merchants. By the which merchants and kings of the earth, peradventure may be signified the pope, the rich cardinals, the great prelates and fat doctors, and other obedienciaries of the Romish see, who at the coming of the Turks will not adventure their lives for their church, but will flee the city (no doubt) and stand afar off from danger; and when they shall see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, the city of Rome to be set on fire and consumed by the cruel Turks, the sight whereof shall seem to them piteous and lamentable, to behold the great and fair city of Rome, the tall castle of St. Angel, the pope's mighty see, (where they were wont to fish out such riches, dignities, treasures, and pleasure,) so to burn before their eyes, and to come to such utter desolation, which shall never be re-edified again, but shall be made an habitation of devils and unclean spirits, that is, of Turks, and heathen sultans, and barbarous Saracens, &c. This (I say) peradventure may be the meaning of that propheticall place of the Apocalypse; not that I have here any thing to pronounce, but only give my guess what may probably be conjectured. But the end at length will make this and all other things more plain and manifest. For mystical prophecies lightly are never so well understood, as when the event of them is past and accomplished.

Another cause, concurring with the causes aforesaid, may be collected out of Paulus Jovius, who writing of the subversion of Rhodes, which was, as ye heard, A. D. 1522, upon Christmas day, saith, That it chanced suddenly the same day in Rome, that as Pope Hadrian the Sixth was

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entering into the church to his service, suddenly over his head the upper frontier or top of the chapel door, which was of marble, immediately as the pope was entering, fell down, and slew certain of his guard waiting upon him. Whereby peradventure may be meant, that the ruin of Rome was not long after to follow the loss of Rhodes.

The fourth cause I borrow out of Johannes Aventinus, who in his third book alleging the names, but not the words, of Hildegard, Bridget, and other prophetic men, hath these words: "If the sayings and prophecies of Hildegard, of Bridget, and of other prophetic persons, be true, which being foretold long before, we have seen now in these our days accomplished, the town of Cologne, will we, nill we, must needs be the head city of the Turks," &c.

And this I wrote not as one pronouncing against the city of Rome what will happen, but as one fearing what may fall. Which if it come to pass, (as I pray God it do not,) then shall the pope well understand, whither his wrong understanding of the Scriptures, and his false flattering glossers upon the same, have brought him.

Wherefore my counsel is to the pope, and all his popish maintainers and upholders, to humble themselves, and to agree with their brethren betime, letting all contention fall; lest that while the bishop of Rome shall strive to be the highest of all other bishops, it so fall out shortly, that the bishop of Rome shall be found the lowest of all other bishops, or peradventure no bishop at all.

Whereunto also another cause may be added, taken out of Hieronymus Savonarola, who prophesieth, that one shall come over the Alps like unto Cyrus, and destroy Italy. Whereof see more before.

This Solymán, if he be yet alive, hath now reigned forty-six years, who began the same year in the which the emperor Charles the Fifth was crowned, which was A. D. 1520, and so hath continued by God's permission, for a scourge to the Christians, unto this year now present, 1556. This Solymán by one of his concubines had his eldest son, called Mustapha. By another concubine, called Rosa, he had four sons, Mahomet, Bajazet, Selim, and Gianger. Of the which sons, Mustapha and Gianger were slain, as ye heard before, by the means of their own father. And thus much concerning the wretched tyranny of the Turks out of the authors hereunder written.

The authors of the Turks' stories.

Laconicus Chalcondyla.

Nicolaus Eboicus Episc. Saguntinus.

Johannes Ramus.

Andræas a Lucana.

Wolfgangus Drechslerus.

Johannes Crispus.

Johannes Faber.

Ludovicus Vives.

Bernardus de Breydenbach.

Mityleneus Archiepisc. Sabellicus.

Isidorus Rutherus.

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Marinus Barletus.
Henricus Penia de bello Rhodio.
Melchior Soiterus.
Paulus Jovius.
Johan. Martinus Stella.
Gaspar Peucerus, &c.
Nicolaus a Mogen Burgundus.
Sebast. Munsterus.
Baptista Egnatius.
Barthol. Peregrinus.

134. A Notice touching the miserable Persecution, Slaughter, and Captivity of the Christians under the Turks.

Hitherto thou halt heard, Christian reader, the lamentable persecutions of these latter days, wrought by the Turks against the people and servants of Christ. In the reading whereof such as sit quietly at home, and be far from jeopardy, may see what misery there is abroad: the knowledge and reading whereof shall not be unprofitable for all Christians earnestly to weigh and consider, for that many there be which, falsely deceiving themselves, imagine that Christianity is a quiet and restful state of life, full of pleasure and solace in this present world; when indeed it is nothing less, testified by the mouth of our Saviour himself, who rightly defining his kingdom, teacheth us that his kingdom is not of this world, premonishing us also before, that in this world we must look for affliction, but in him we shall have peace. Examples hereof in all parts of this history through all ages are plenteous and evident to be seen, whether we turn our eyes to the first ten persecutions in the primitive church, during the first three hundred years after Christ; or whether we consider the latter three hundred years in this last age of the church, wherein the poor flock of Christ hath been so afflicted, oppressed, and devoured, that it is hard to say whether have been more cruel against the Christians, the infidel emperors of Rome in the primitive age of the church, or else these barbarous Turks in these our latter times of the church now present.

Thus from time to time the church of Christ almost hath had little or no rest in this earth, what for the heathen emperors on the one side, what for the proud pope on the other side, on the third side what for the barbarous Turk; for these are and have been from the beginning the three principal and capital enemies of the church of Christ, signified in the Apocalypse by the beast, the false lamb, and the false prophet, from whom went out three foul spirits like frogs, to gather together all the kings of the earth to the battle of the day of the Lord God Almighty, Apoc. xvi. The cruelty and malice of these enemies against Christ's people hath been such, that to judge which of them did most exceed in cruelty of persecution it is hard to say; but that it may be thought that the bloody and beastly tyranny of the Turks especially above the rest, incomparably surmounteth all the afflictions and cruel slaughters that ever were seen in any age, or read of in any story. Insomuch that there is neither history so perfect, nor writer so diligent, who writing of the miserable tyranny of the Turks, is able to express or comprehend the horrible examples of their unspeakable cruelty and slaughter, exercised by these twelve Turkish tyrants upon poor Christian men's bodies, within the compass of these latter three hundred years. Whereof although no sufficient relation can be made, nor number expressed; yet to give to the reader some general guess or view thereof, let us first perpend and consider what dominions and empires, how many countries, kingdoms, provinces, cities, towns, strong holds, and forts, these Turks have surprised and won from the Christians. In all which victories, being so many, this is secondly to be noted, that there is almost no place which the Turks ever came to and subdued, where they did not either slay all the inhabitants thereof, or led away the most part thereof into such captivity and slavery, that they continued not long after alive, or else so lived, that death almost had been to them more tolerable.

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Like as in the time of the first persecutions of the Roman emperors, the saying was, that no man could step with his feet in all Rome, but should tread upon a martyr; so here may be said, that almost there is not a town, city, or village in all Asia, Grecia, also in a great part of Europe and Africa, whose streets have not flowed with the blood of the Christians, whom the cruel Turks have murdered. Of whom are to be seen in histories, heaps of soldiers slain, of men and women cut in pieces, of children stuck upon poles and stakes, whom these detestable Turks most spitefully (and that in the sight of their parents) used to gore to death; some they drag at their horses' tails, and famish to death; some they tear in pieces, tying their arms and legs to four horses; other some they make marks to shoot at; upon some they try their swords, how deep they can cut and slash, as before ye have read. The aged and feeble they tread under their horses; women with child they spare not, but rip their bodies, and cast the infants into the fire, or otherwise destroy them. Whether the Christians yield to them, or yield not, is no matter. As in their promises there is no truth, so in their victories there is no sense of manhood or mercy in them, but they make havoc of all.

So the citizens of Croja, after they had yielded and were all promised their lives, were all destroyed, and that horribly. In Mysia, after the king had given himself to the Turk's hand, having promise of life, Mahomet the Turk slew him with his own hands. The princes of Rasia had both their eyes put out with basins red hot set before them. Theodosia, otherwise called Capha, was also surrendered to the Turk, having the like assurance of life and safety; and yet, contrary to the league, the citizens were put to the sword and slain. At the winning and yielding of Lesbos, what a number of young men and children were put upon sharp stakes and poles, and so thrust through! At the winning of the city of Buda, what tyranny was showed and exercised against the poor Christians, which had yielded themselves, and against the two dukes, Christopher Bisserer and Johannes Tranbinger, contrary to the promise and hand-writing of the Turk, is to be seen in the story of Melchior Soiterus, *De Bello Pannonico*.

The like also is to be read in the story of Bernardus de Breydenbach, who, writing of the taking of Hydruntum, a city in Apulia, testifieth of the miserable slaughter of the young men there slain, of old men trodden under the horses' feet, of matrons and virgins ravished, of women with child cut and rent in pieces, of the priests in the churches slain, and of the archbishop of that city, who, being an aged man and holding the cross in his hands, was cut asunder with a wooden saw, &c. The same Bernardus also, writing of the overthrow of Negropont, otherwise called Chalcides, A. D. 1471, describeth the like terrible slaughter which there was exercised; where the Turk, after his promise given to the contrary, most cruelly caused all the youth of Italy to be pricked upon sharp stakes; some to be dashed against the hard stones, other some to be cut in sunder in the midst, and other more with other kinds of torments to be put to death; insomuch that all the streets and ways of Chalcides did flow with the blood of them which were there slain. In which history the aforesaid writer recordeth one memorable example of maidenly chastity, worthy of all Christians to be noted and commended. The story is told of the prætor's daughter of that city, who being the only daughter of her father, and noted to be of an exceeding singular beauty, was saved out of the slaughter, and brought to Mahomet the Turk, to be his concubine. But she denying to consent to his Turkish appetite and filthiness, was commanded therewith to be slain and murdered, and so died she a martyr, keeping both her faith and her body undefiled unto Christ her spouse.

The like cruelty also was showed upon them which kept the castle, and afterward yielding themselves upon hope of the Turk's promise, were slain every one. What should I speak

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of the miserable slaughter of Methone, and the citizens thereof dwelling in Peloponnesus; who, seeing no other remedy but needs to come into the Turk's hands, set the barn on fire where they were gathered together, men, women, and children? some women also with child voluntarily cast themselves into the sea, rather than they would sustain the Turk's captivity.

Miserable it is to behold, long to recite, incredible to believe, all the cruel parts and horrible slaughters wrought by these miscreants against the Christians through all places almost of the world, both in Asia, in Africa, but especially in Europe. Who is able to recite the innumerable societies and companies of the Grecians martyred by the Turk's sword in Achaia, Attica, Thessalia, Macedonia, Epirus, and all Peloponnesus; besides the island of Rhodes and other islands and Cyclades adjacent to the sea about, numbered to two and fifty; of the which also Patmos was one, where St. John being banished wrote his Revelation? Where did ever the Turks set any foot, but the blood of Christians there, without pity or measure, went to wreck? and what place or province is there almost through the world, where the Turks either have not pierced, or are not likely shortly to enter? In Thrace, and through all the coasts of the Danube, in Bulgaria, Dalmatia, in Servia, Transylvania, Bosnia, in Hungaria, also in Austria, what havoc hath been made by them of Christian men's bodies, it will rue any Christian heart to remember. At the siege of Moldavia, at the winning of Buda, of Pesta, of Alba, of Walpo, Strigonium, Soclosia, Tath, Wizigradum, Novum Castellum in Dalmatia, Belgrade, Varadinum, Quinque Ecclesia; also at the battle of Verna, where Ladislaus, king of Poland, with all his army almost, through the rashness of the pope's cardinal, were slain; at the winning moreover of Xabiacchus, Lyssus, Dynastrum; at the siege of Gunza, and of the faithful town Scorad, where the number of the shot against their walls, at the siege thereof, were reckoned to two thousand five hundred and thirty-nine. Likewise at the siege of Vienna, where all the Christian captives were brought before the whole army and slain, and divers drawn in pieces with horses; but especially at the winning of Constantinople, above-mentioned, also at Croja and Methone, what beastly cruelty was showed, it is unspeakable. For as in Constantinople Mahomet the drunken Turk never rose from dinner, but he caused every day, for his disport, three hundred Christian captives of the nobles of that city to be slain before his face; so in Methone, after that his captain Osmares had sent unto him at Constantinople five hundred prisoners of the Christians, the cruel tyrant commanded them all to be cut and divided in sunder by the middle, and so being slain, to be thrown out into the fields.

Leonicus Chalcondyla, writing of the same story, addeth moreover a prodigious narration (if it be true) of a brute ox, which being in the fields, and seeing the carcasses of the dead bodies so cut in two, made there a loud noise after the lowing of his kind and nature; and afterwards, coming to the quarters of one of the dead bodies lying in the field, first took up the one half, and then coming again took up likewise the other half, and so (as he could) joined them both together. Which being espied of them which saw the doing of the brute ox, and marvelling thereat, and word being brought thereof to Mahomet, he commanded the quarters again to be brought where they were before, to prove whether the beast will come again; who failed not, (as the author recordeth,) but in like sort as before, taking the fragments of the dead corpse, laid them again together. It followeth more in the author, how that Mahomet, being astonished at the strange wonder of the ox, commanded the quarters of the Christian man's body to be interred, and the ox to be brought to his house, and much made of. Some said it to be the body of a Venetian; some affirmed, that he was an Illyrian; but whatsoever he was, certain it is, that the Turk himself was much more bestial than was the brute ox; which being a beast, showed more sense of humanity to a dead man, than one man did to another.

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To this cruelty add moreover, that beside these five hundred Methonians thus destroyed at Constantinople, in the said city of Methone all the townsmen also were slain by the aforesaid captain Omares, and among them their bishop likewise was put to death.

John Faber, in his oration made before King Henry the Eighth, at the appointment of King Ferdinand, and declaring therein the miserable cruelty of the Turks toward all Christians, as also toward the bishops and ministers of the church, testifieth, how that in Mitylene, in Constantinople, and Trapezunda, what bishops and archbishops or other ecclesiastical and religious persons the Turks could find, they brought them out of the city into the fields, there to be slain like oxen and calves. The same Faber also writing of the battle of Solyman in Hungary, where Ludovicus the king of Hungary was overthrown, declareth, that eight bishops in the same field were slain. And moreover, when the archbishop of Strigon, and Paulus the archbishop of Colossensis, were found dead, Solyman caused them to be taken up, and to be beheaded and chopped in small pieces, A. D. 1526.

What Christian heart will not pity the incredible slaughter done by the Turks in Eubœa, where the said Faber testifieth that innumerable people were sticked and gored upon stakes, divers were thrust through with a hot iron, children and infants not yet weaned from the mother were dashed against the stones, and many cut asunder in the midst?

But never did country taste and feel more the bitter and deadly tyranny of the Turks, then did Rasia, called Mysia inferior, and now Servia. Where (as writeth Wolfgangus Drechslerus) the prince of the same country being sent for, under fair pretence of words and promises, to come and speak with the Turk, after he was come of his own gentleness, thinking no harm, was apprehended, and wretchedly and falsely put to death, and his skin flayed off, his brother and sister brought to Constantinople for a triumph, and all the nobles of his country (as Faber addeth) had their eyes put out, &c.

Briefly to conclude, by the vehement and furious rage of these cursed caitiffs it may seem that Satan the old dragon, for the great hatred he beareth to Christ, hath stirred them up to be the butchers of all Christian people, inflaming their beastly hearts with such malice and cruelty against the name and religion of Christ, that they, degenerating from the nature of men to devils, neither by reason will be ruled, nor by any blood or slaughter satisfied. Like as in the primitive age of the church, and in time of Dioclesian and Maximilian; when the devil saw that he could not prevail against the person of Christ which was risen again, he turned all his fury upon his silly servants, thinking by the Roman emperors utterly to extinguish the name and profession of Christ out from the earth; so in this latter age of the world Satan, being let loose again, rageth by the Turks, thinking to make no end of murdering and killing, till he have brought, as he intendeth, the whole church of Christ, with all the professors thereof, under foot. But the Lord, I trust, will send a Constantine to vanquish proud Marentius; Moses, to drown indurate Pharaoh; Cyrus, to subdue the stout Babylonian.

And thus much hitherto touching our Christian brethren which were slain and destroyed by these blasphemous Turks. Now forasmuch as, besides these aforesaid, many other were plucked away violently from their country, from their wives and children. from liberty, and from all their possessions, into wretched captivity and extreme penury, it remaineth likewise to treat somewhat also concerning the cruel manner of the Turks handling of the said Christian captives. And first here is to be noted, that the Turk never cometh into Europe to war against the Christians, but there followeth after his army a great number of brokers or merchants, such as

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buy men and children to sell again, bringing with them long chains in hope of great escheats. In the which chains they link them by fifty and sixty together, such as remain undestroyed with the sword, whom they buy of the spoils of them that rob and spoil the Christian countries; which is lawful for any of the Turk's army to do, so that the tenth of their spoil or prey, whatsoever it be, be reserved to the head Turk, that is, to the great master thief.

Of such as remain for tithe, if they be aged, of whom very few be reserved alive, because little profit cometh of that age, they be sold to the use of husbandry or keeping of beasts. If they be young men or women, they be sent to certain places, there to be instructed in their language and arts, as shall be most profitable for their advantage, and such are called in their tongue Sarai: and the first care of the Turks is this, to make them deny the Christian religion, and to be circumcised: and after that they are appointed, every one as he seemeth most apt, either to the learning of their laws, or else to learn the feats of war. Their first rudiment of war is to handle the bow, first beginning with a weak bow, and so as they grow in strength coming to a stronger bow, and if they miss the mark, they are sharply beaten; and their allowance is twopence or threepence a day, till they come and take wages to serve in war. Some are brought up for the purpose to be placed in the number of the wicked Janizaries, that is, the order of the Turk's champions, which is the most abominable condition of all other. Of these Janizaries, see before. And if any of the aforesaid young men or children shall appear to excel in any beauty, him they so cut, that no part of that which nature giveth to man remaineth to be seen in all his body, whereby, while the freshness of age continueth, he is compelled to serve their abominable abomination; and when age cometh, then they serve instead of eunuchs to wait upon matrons, or to keep horses and mules, or else to be scullions and drudges in their kitchens.

Such as be young maidens and beautiful, are deputed for concubines. They which be of mean beauty serve for matrons to their drudgery work in their houses and chambers, or else are put to spinning and such other labours; but so, that it is not lawful for them either to profess their Christian religion, or ever to hope for any liberty. And thus much of them which fall to the Turk by tithe.

The other which are bought and sold amongst private subjects, first are allured with fair words and promises to take circumcision. Which if they will do, they are more favourably treated; but all hope is taken from them of returning again into their country, which if they attempt, the pain thereof is burning. And if such coming at length to liberty will marry, they may; but then their children remain bond to the lord, for him to sell at his pleasure; and therefore such as are wise amongst them will not marry. They which refuse to be circumcised are miserably handled; for example whereof, the author, which giveth testimony hereof, doth infer his own experience. Such captives as be expert in any manual art or occupation can better shift for themselves; but contrariwise, they which have no handicraft to live upon are in worse case. And therefore such as have been brought up in learning, or be priests or noblemen, and such other whose tender education can abide no hardness, are the least reputed, and most of all other neglected of him that hath the sale or keeping of them, for that he seeth less profit to rise of them than of the other; and therefore no cost of raiment is bestowed upon them, but they are carried about barehead and barefoot, both summer and winter, in frost and snow. And if any faint and be sick in the way, there is no resting for him in any inn, but first he is driven forward with whips, and if that will not serve, he is set, peradventure, upon some horse; or if his weakness be such that he cannot sit, then is he laid athwart the horse upon his belly like a calf; and if he chance to die, they take off his garment such as he hath, and throw him in a ditch.

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In the way, moreover, beside the common chain which doth enclose them all, the hands also of every one are manacled, which is because they should not harm their leaders, for many times it happened that ten persons had the leading of fifty captives; and when night came their feet also were fettered, so that they lodged in no house, but lay upon the ground all night.

The young women had a little more gentleness showed, being carried in panniers in the day time. But when night came, pity it was to hear the miserable crying out of such as were enclosed within, by reason of the filthy injuries which they suffered by their carriers; insomuch that the young tender age of seven or eight years, as well of the one sex as of the other, could not save them from the most filthy villany of the bestial Turks.

When the morning cometh, they are brought forth to the market to sale, where the buyer, if he be disposed, plucking off their garments vieweth all the bones and joints of their body; and if he like them he giveth his price, and carrieth them away into miserable servitude, either to tilling of their ground, or to pasture their cattle, or some other strange kind of misery incredible to speak of; insomuch that the author reporteth, that he hath seen himself certain of such Christian captives yoked together like horses and oxen, and to draw the plough. The maid servants likewise are kept in perpetual toil and work in close places, where neither they come in sight of any man, neither be they permitted to have any talk with their fellow servants, &c. Such as are committed to keep beasts, lie abroad day and night in the wild fields, without house and harbour, and so, changing their pasture, go from mountain to mountain; of whom also, beside the office of keeping the beasts, other handy labour is exacted at spare hours, such as pleaseth their masters to put unto them.

Out of this misery there is no way for them to fly, especially for them that are carried into Asia beyond the seas; or if any do attempt so to do, he taketh his time chiefly about harvest, when he may hide himself all the day time in the corn, or in woods or marshes, and find food; and in the night only he flieth, and had rather be devoured of wolves and other wild beasts, than to return again to his master. In their flying they use to take with them a hatchet and cords, that when they come to the sea-side they may cut down trees, and bind together the ends of them, and so where the sea of Hellespont is narrowest, about Sestos and Abydos, they take the sea, sitting upon trees, where, if the wind and tide do serve luckily, they may cut over in four or five hours. But the most part either perish in the floods, or are driven back again upon the coasts of Asia, or else be devoured of wild beasts in woods, or perish with hunger and famine. If any escape over the sea alive into Europe, by the way they enter into no town, but wander upon the mountains, following only the north star for their guide.

As touching such towns and provinces which are won by the Turk, and wherein the Christians are suffered to live under tribute; First, all the nobility there they kill and make away, the churchmen and clergy hardly they spare. The churches, with the bells and all the furniture thereof, either they cast down, or else they convert to the use of their own blasphemous religion, leaving to the Christians certain old and blind chapels, which when they decay, it is permitted to our men to repair them again for a great sum of money given to the Turk. Neither be they permitted to use any open preaching or ministration, but only in silence and by stealth to frequent together. Neither is it lawful for any Christian to bear office within the city or province, nor to bear weapon; nor to wear any garment like to the Turks. And if any contumely or blasphemy, be it never so great, be spoken against them, or against Christ, yet must thou bear it, and hold thy peace. Or if thou speak one word against their religion, thou shalt be compelled (whether thou wilt or no) to be circumeised; and then if thou speak one word against Mahomet, thy punishment

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is fire and burning. And if it chance a Christian being on horseback to meet or pass by a Mussulman, that is, a Turkish priest, he must light from his horse, and with a lowly look devoutly reverence and adore the Mussulman; or if he do not, he is beaten down from his horse with clubs and staves.

Furthermore, for their tribute they pay the fourth part of their substance and gain to the Turk; beside the ordinary tribute of the Christians, which is to pay for every poll within his family a ducat unto the Turk; which if the parents cannot do, they are compelled to sell their children into bondage. Other being not able to pay, go chained in fetters from door to door begging, to make up their payment, or else must lie in perpetual prison.

And yet, notwithstanding, when the Christians have discharged all duties, it remaineth free for the Turks to take up among the Christians' children whom they best like, and them to circumcise, and to take them away, being young, from the sight of their parents to far places, to be brought up for the Turk's wars, so that they may not return to them again; but first are taught to forget Christ, and then their parents; so that if they come again amongst them, yet are they not able to know their kinsfolks and parents.

This misery, passing all other miseries, no man is able with tongue to utter, or with words to express. What weeping and tears, with sorrow and lamentation, what groaning, sighs, and deep dolour, doth tear and rend asunder the woeful hearts of the silly parents at the plucking away of their babes and children! To see their sons and their own children, whom they have borne and bred up to the service of Christ Jesus the Son of God, now to be drawn away violently from them to the warfare of Satan, and to fight against Christ! to see their babes, born of Christian blood, of Christians to be made Turks, and so to be plucked out of their arms, and out of their sight, without hope ever to return to them again! to live perpetually with aliens, barbarous and blasphemous Turks, and so become of the number of them which are called fatherless and motherless!

Albeit the same children afterward do greatly degenerate from the faith of Christ, yet very many of them have privily about them the Gospel written of St. John, *In principio erat Verbum*, &c.; which for a token or remembrance of their Christian faith they carry under their arm-hole, written in Greek and Arabic; who greatly desire, and long look for the revenging sword of the Christians to come, and deliver them out of their dolorous thralldom and captivity, according as the Turks themselves have a prophecy, and greatly stand in fear of the same. Whereof more shall be said (Christ willing) in the chapter following.

And thus have ye heard the lamentable afflictions of our Christian brethren under the cruel tyranny and captivity of the Turks, passing all other captivities that ever have been to God's people, either under Pharaoh in Egypt, or under Nebuchadnezzar in Babylon, or under Antiochus in the time of the Maccabees. Under the which captivity, if it so please the Lord to have his spouse, the church, to be nurtured, his good will be done and obeyed. But if this misery come by the negligence and discord of our Christian guides and leaders, then have we to pray and cry to our Lord God, either to give better hearts to our guides and rulers, or else better guides and rulers to his flock.

And these troubles and afflictions of our Christian brethren suffered by the Turks, I thought good and profitable for our country people here of England to know, forasmuch as by the ignorance of these and such-like histories worthy of consideration, I see much inconvenience doth follow. Whereby it cometh to pass, that because we Englishmen being far off from these

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countries, and little knowing what misery is abroad, are the less moved with zeal and compassion to tender their grievances, and to pray for them whose troubles we know not. Whereupon also it followeth, that we, not considering the miserable state of other, are the less grateful to God, when any tranquillity by him to us is granted. And if any little cloud of perturbation arise upon us, be it never so little, as poverty, loss of living, or a little banishment out of our country for the Lord's cause, we make a great matter thereof, and all because we go no further than our own country, and only feeling our own cross, do not compare that which we feel with the great crosses whereunto the churches of Christ commonly, in other places abroad, are subject. Which if we did rightly understand, and earnestly consider, and ponder in our minds, neither would we so excessively forget ourselves in time of our prosperity given us of God, nor yet so impatiently be troubled as we are in time of our adversity, and all because either we hear not, or else we ponder not, the terrible crosses which the Lord layeth upon our other brethren abroad in other nations, as by this present story here prefixed may appear.

The world being divided commonly into three parts, Asia, Africa, and Europe, Asia is counted to be the greatest in compass, containing as much as both the other, and is divided into two portions, the one called Asia Major, the other called Asia Minor. And although the empire of the Turk extendeth unto them both; yet especially his dominion standeth in the other Asia, which is called Asia Minor, which reacheth from the coasts of Europe unto Armenia Major, beyond the river Euphrates.

Æneas Sylvius, otherwise Pope Pius the Second, in describing Asia Minor, chap. lxxiv., reciteth a certain fact of a worthy virgin, who, at what time the Turks were besieging a certain town in Lesbos, and had cast down a great part of the walls, so that all the townsmen had given over, putting on man's harness, stepped forth into the breach, where not only she kept the Turks from entering in, but also slew of them a great sort. The citizens seeing the rare courage and good success of the maiden, took to them again their hearts and harness, and so lustily laid about them, that an incredible number of the Turks were slain. The rest being repulsed from the land recoiled into their ships; who being then pursued by a navy of Calisa were worthily discomfited likewise upon the sea. And thus was the isle of Lesbos at that time, by a poor virgin, that is, by the strong hand of the Lord working in a weak creature, preserved from the Turks.

Beside these regions and countries of Asia Minor, above described, Sebastian Munster, in the fifth book of his *Cosmography*, declareth moreover, that the Turks and sultans have under their subjection, both Arabia, Persia, and also India exterior, wherein is Calcutta. The which Persia, although it be under the Sophi, which is an enemy to the Turk, yet it is to be thought that he is a sultan, one of Turkish and Mahometan religion. This Persia and India were once seasoned with Christ's gospel, as may appear by the primitive church. And thus have you the parts of Asia described, which in times past being almost all Christened, do now serve under the Turk.

After the description of Asia, let us next consider the parts and countries of Africa. Where, although the greatest part either consisteth in deserts desolate, or is possessed with Prester John, which professeth Christ and his gospel; yet the Turk hath there also no little portion under his dominion.

As I was writing hereof, a certain sound of lamentable news was brought unto us, how the Turk, whom we had hoped before to have been repulsed by the Emperor Maximilian out of Christendom, hath now of late, this present year, 1566, got the town of Gyula about Transylvania, after they had sustained sixteen of his most forcible assaults, destroying in the

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same most cruelly many thousand of our Christian brethren, men, women, and children; but because we have no full certainty, we will refer the story thereof to further information.

A table describing the times and years of the Saracens, Turks, and Tartarians, for the better explaining of the story above prefixed.

	YEARS
A. D. 632. Began the kingdom of the Saracens or Arabians, after the death of Mahomet the first ring-leader of the mischief, which Saracens, reigning in Babylon over Persia and Asia, continued about	198
A. D. 667. Jerusalem was taken of the Saracens. These Saracens, after they had subdued Ormisda, king of Persia, set up to themselves a new kingdom, calling their chief prince, caliph, which signifieth a general lord; and under him, seriphes, that is, an under prince; and again under him their soldan, which is, a ruler or captain; under the which soldans all the provinces were divided. And thus ruled they the space abovesaid of	198
A. D. 703. The Egyptians, being weary of their subjection under the Romans, called for help of the Saracen caliph; and so casting off the Romans, submitted themselves to the law of the Saracens, and had also their caliph and their Babylon, called Cairo, where their caliph continued unto Saraco, or Syracinus,	447
A. D. 810. Mauginetus, or Muchumetus, the chief sultan of Persia, being at variance with Imbrael, the sultan of Babylon, sent for the aid of the Turks out of Scythia; by whom, when he had got the victory against the Babylonians, the said Turks shortly after conquered the Persians, and subdued their country, within the space of	20
A. D. 830. The Saracens being expelled out of Asia by the Turks, wandered about Africa, Spain, and Italy, and were in divers places dispersed, and so remain.	
A. D. 830. The Turks, after they had ex-pulsed the Saracens out of Asia, began to reign in Asia, in Persia, and in Arabia, and there reigned without interruption, till the coming of the Tartars, the space of	192
A. D. 1009. The Turks won the city of Jerusalem from the Saracens; which city the sultan of Egypt won again from the Turks shortly after, and possessed the same till the coming of Gotfridus.	
A. D. 1051. Began the first king of the Turks, called Zaduke, to reign in Asia, and joined league with the caliph of Egypt, and there reigned till the conquest of Gotfridus and the Christians, the space of	46
A. D. 1078. Solyman, nephew to Aspasalem the Turkish king in Asia, otherwise called Turquinia, subdued Cappadocia, which had continued now the space of	500

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A. D. 1099. Gotfridus Bulion, duke of Lotharing, a Christian prince, taking his voyage into Asia with seven hundred thousand Christian soldiers, first got the city of Nicea against the sultan of the Turks; then Lycaonia, Silicia, Syria; afterward Mesopotamia, and Comagena; then Antiochia, A. D. 1098, and the next year recovered Jerusalem, being then in the hands of the Saracens, which they a little before had won from the Turks, as is aforesaid. After this Gotfridus succeeded eight Christian kings, which kept the kingdom of Jerusalem and Asia, both from the Turks and Saracens, the space of	88
A. D. 1100. The Georgians, which be a people of Armenia the Greater, vanquished the Turks out of the kingdom of Persia, after they had cut their king in pieces. Whereby the Turks flying to Cappadocia, there remained under Salomon, and joined themselves to the soldan of Egypt, and waxed then strong in Asia Minor, called now Turquinia.	
A. D. 1170. When Almericus, the seventh king of Jerusalem after Gotfridus, had overcome the caliph or sultan of Egypt, the sultan being overcome, called for the help of Saracon the sultan of Syria. This Saracon, after he had expelled the Christians out of Egypt, turned his power against the sultan of Egypt, and vanquished him, took to himself the kingdom of Egypt; which kingdom he with his posterity did hold till the coming of the Tartarians, and the Mamalukes, about the space of	88
A. D. 1187. Saladin, the nephew of Saracon the sultan of Egypt, perceiving the dissension among the Christian states of Palestine, got Antioch, where he slew Raymund the prince with his own hands; then got Tiberias: from thence he went to Acre, where he took Guido, king of Jerusalem, and master of the Templars, prisoners; for whose ransom the Turk had Ascalon yielded up to him of the Christians. That done, he subdued Jerusalem, which had been in the hands of the Christians before, the space of	88
A. D. 1189. Frederic the emperor, Philip French king, Richard king of England, made their voyage into Asia, where Frederic washing in a river at Cilicia, died. In this voyage, at the siege of Acre, Saladin won the field of our men, of whom two thousand were slain in the chase. Acre at length was got of the Christians. King Richard got Epirus. The two kings fell at strife. Philip retired home without any good doing. King Richard laid siege to Jerusalem, but in vain, and so returning homeward, was taken near to Vienna in Austria, after he had taken truce before with the soldan, upon such condition as pleased him. And this good speed had the popes, sending out against the Turks.	
A. D. 1215. There was another council holden at Rome by Pope Innocent the Third, where was enacted a new article of our faith for transubstantiation of bread and wine, to be turned into the body and blood of our Saviour. In this council also great excitation was made by the pope, and great preparation was through all Christendom to set forward for recovery of the Holy Land. A mighty army was collected of dukes, lords,	

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knights, bishops, and prelates, that if God's blessing had gone with them, they might have gone throughout all Asia and India.	
A. D. 1219. The Christians after eighteen months' siege got a certain town in Egypt, called Damietta or Elipolis, with much ado, but not much to the purpose. For afterward as the Christian army of the pope's sending went about to besiege the city Cairo or Babylon, the sultan, through his subtle train, so entrapped and enclosed them within the danger of the Nile, that they were constrained to render again the city of Damietta with their prisoners, and all the furniture thereof as they found it, into the sultan's hand, and glad so with their lives to pass forward to Tyrus, A. D. 1221.	
In the mean time the Egyptian Turk caused the city of Jerusalem to be razed, that it should serve to no use to the Christians. What great thing else was done in that voyage, it doth not greatly appear in stories. Albeit Frederic the Second, emperor, was not unfruitfully there occupied, and much more might have done, had it not been for the violence and persecution of the bishop of Rome against him; whereby he was enforced to take truce with the sultan for ten years, and so returned. After which things done, not many years after, at length the last city of all belonging to the Christians, which was Ptolomais or Acre, was also taken from them by the sultan, so that now the Christians had not one foot left in all Asia.	
A. D. 1230. Thus the Christians being driven out of Asia by the sultans and Turks, yet the said Turks and sultans did not long enjoy their victory. For eftsoons the Lord stirred up against them the Tartarians, who breaking into Asia by the ports of Caspius, subdued divers parts of Asia, namely about Comana, Colchis, Iberia, Albania, &c. These Tartarians, as they had got many captives in their wars, so for gain they used to ship them over customably to Alexandria in Egypt to be sold; which servants and captives Melechsala the great sultan was glad to buy to serve him in his wars. Which captains and servants after they had continued a certain space in Egypt, and through their valiant service grew in favour and estimation with the said Melechsala, and began more to increase in number and strength; at length they slew him, and took to themselves the name and kingdom of the sultan. And thus ceased the stock of Saracon and Saladin aforementioned, which continued in Egypt about the space as is said of	100
A. D. 1240. After the death of Melechsala, the army of these aforesaid rascals and captives set up to themselves a king of their own company, whom they called Turquemenius. Who, to fill up the number of their company that it should not diminish, devised this order, to get or to buy Christian men's children, taken young from their parents, and the mother's lap; whom they used so to bring up, to make them to deny Christ, and to be circumcised, and instructed in Mahomet's law, and afterward to be trained in the feats of war; and these were called Mamalukes. Among whom this was their order, that none might be advanced to be king but out of their own number, or else chosen by them; neither that any should be made knights or horsemen, but only the children of Christians which should deny	260

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Christ before, called Mamalukes. Also it was among them provided, that to this dignity neither Saracens nor Jews should be admitted. Item, That the succession thereof should not descend to the children and offspring of these Mamalukes. Also that the succession of the crown should not descend to the children of the aforesaid sultan, but should go by voice and election. The Tartarians, with Turquemenius their king, about this time obtained Turquia, that is Asia Minor, from the Turks, and within two years after, prevailing against the Turks, expelled them from their kingdom; and so continued these Mamalukes reigning over Egypt, and a great part of Asia, till the time of Tomumbeius their last king, which was destroyed and hanged at the gates of Memphis, by Selim the Turk, father to this Solyman, as in his history is declared. These Mamalukes continued the space of	
A. D. 1245. These Tartarians ranging through the countries of the Georgians, and all Armenia, came as far as Iconium, which was then the imperial city of the Turks.	
A. D. 1289. The soldan of Egypt and Babylon got from the Christians, Tripolis, Tyrus, Sidon, and Berithus in Syria.	
A. D. 1291. Lastly, Ptolomais, which also is called Acre, was surprised by the said soldan, razed and cast down to the ground, and all the Christians therein (which were not many left) were slain. And this was the last city which the Christians had in Asia. So that now the Christians have not one foot (as is said before) left in all Asia. Thus the Egyptian soldans and the Tartarians reigned and ranged over the most part of Asia above the Turks, till the reign of Ottoman the great Turk, about the space of	80

And thus have ye the whole discourse of the Turkish story, with their names, countries, towns, dominions, also with their times, continuance, interruptions, and alterations, in order described, and in years distinguished; which, otherwise, in most authors and writers be so confused, that it is hard to know distinctly, what difference is between the Saracens, Turks, Tartarians, the sultans or soldans,. Mamalukes, or Janizaries; what is their caliph, their seriphes, their sultan or bashaw, in what times they began, and how long, and in what order of years they reigned. All which in this present table manifestly to thine eye may appear.

Wherein this thou hast moreover, gentle reader, to consider, which is worthy the noting, how the bishop of Rome all this season, from the first beginning of the Turk's reign, hath not ceased, from time to time continually, calling upon Christian princes and subjects, to take the cross, and to war against the Turks; whereupon so many great voyages have been made to the Holy Land, and so many battles fought against the Turk and soldan for winning the holy cross; and yet no lucky success hath followed thereof hitherto, nor ever came it prosperously forward, whatsoever through the exciting of that bishop hath been attempted against that great enemy of the Lord; insomuch that the Christians have lost not only all that they had in Asia, but also are scarce able to defend that little they have in Europe against his violence. What the cause is of this hard luck of the bishop's doings, it is hard for man to define. Let men muse as their mind leadeth, and, as the gospel saith, He that hath eyes to see, let him see. This is certain, that as there hath lacked no care nor diligence in the bishop of Rome, to stir men up to that business, so on the

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princes' behalf there hath lacked no courage nor strength of men, no contribution of expenses, no supportation of charges, no furniture or habiliment of war, only the blessing of God seemeth to have lacked. The reason and cause whereof I would it were so easy to be reformed, as it may be quickly construed. For what man, beholding the life of us Christians, will greatly marvel why the Lord goeth not with our army to fight against the Turks? And if my verdict might here have place, for me to add my censure, there appeareth to me another cause in this matter, yet greater than this aforesaid; which to make plain and evident in full discourse of words, leisure now doth not permit. Briefly to touch what I conceive, my opinion is this, that if the sincere doctrine of Christian faith delivered and left unto us in the word of God, had not been so corrupted in the Church of Rome, or if the bishop of Rome would yet reclaim his impure idolatry and profanations, and admit Christ the Lamb of God to stand alone, without our impure additions, to be our only justification, according to the free promise of God's grace; I nothing doubt, but the power of this faith, grounding only upon Christ the Son of God, had both framed our lives into a better disposition; and also soon would, or yet will, bring down the pride of that proud Holofernes. But otherwise, if the bishop of Rome will not gently give place to the mild voice of God's word, I think not contrary, but he shall be compelled at last to give place and room to the Turk, whether he will or not. And yet, notwithstanding, when both the Turk and the pope shall do against it what they can, the truth and grace of God's testament shall fructify and increase by such means as the Lord shall work, which beginneth already, praise to the Lord, to come graciously and luckily forward in most places.

A prayer against the Turks.

O eternal Lord God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Creator and disposer of all things, just, gracious, and wise only; in the name and reverence of thy Son Jesus, we prostrate ourselves, desiring thine omnipotent Majesty to look down upon these afflicted times of thy poor creatures and servants; relieve thy church, increase our faith, and confound our enemies: and as thou hast given thine only begotten Son unto us, promising with him life to all that shall believe upon his name; so incline the obedience of our faith to thy promises in him, that our hearts may be far off from all other sinful additions and profane inventions, which are besides him, and not in him, grounded upon thy will and promise. And grant, we beseech thee, to thy church, more and more to see how terrible a thing it is, to set up any other means or help of salvation, but only in him whom thou only hast sent and sealed. Reform thy church with perfect doctrine and faithful teachers, that we, seeing our own weakness, may put off ourselves, and put on him without whom we can do nothing. So shall we stand strong, when nothing standeth in us, but thy Son alone, in whom thou art only pleased. Renew in this thy church again the decayed faith of thy Son Jesus, which may plentifully bring forth in us, not leaves only, but fruits of Christian life. And forgive our wretched idolatry and blind fantasies past, wherewith we have provoked, manifold ways, thy deserved indignation against us. For our hearts have been full of idols, our temples full of images, our ways full of hypocrisy; thy sacraments profaned, and thy religion turned to superstition; because the lantern of thy word went not before us, therefore we have stumbled. Miserably we have walked hitherto, like sons, not of Sarah, but of Hagar, and therefore these Turkish Hagarenes have risen up against us. Many hard and strait ways we have passed, but the ways of the Lord we have not found. Much cost we have bestowed on bread that assuageth no hunger, but that bread which only feedeth and cometh freely we have not tasted. We have sailed far and near in barks of our own building, but have not kept within the ark only

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of thy promise, and therefore these floods have taken us. We have prayed much, but not in thine appointed temple, and therefore have not been heard. We have ploughed and tilled, but without thy heifer, and therefore this untidy ground of ours bringeth forth so many weeds. We do fish apace, and that all night, but because we fish not on the right side of the boat, in our fishing we catch never a fin. Our buildings be full of good intentions and great devotions, but because the ground-work is not surely laid upon the rock of thy promise, the east wind riseth and shaketh them all to shivers. We walk and have walked long after the precepts and doctrines of men, having a show of wisdom, but not a holding the Head, where lieth all our strength, and therefore these Philistine Turks have hitherto so prevailed against us. Briefly, all the parts and bones of the body be shaken out of place. Wherefore we beseech thee, O Lord, put to thy holy hand, and set them in the right joint again. And finally, reduce this same thy mystical body again to his perfect and natural Head, which is thine only Son Jesus Christ, and none other; for him only hast thou anointed and appointed. Neither is there any other head that can minister strength and nutriment to this body, but he alone; forasmuch as all other heads be sinful, and are not able to stand in thy sight, but make this body rather worse than better. Only this thy well-beloved and perfect Son is he, in whom only dwelleth all our strength and fulness; him only we confess and acknowledge. For whom and with whom, we beseech thee, O Lord God of hosts, grant to thy church strength and victory against the malicious fury of these Turks, Saracens, Tartarians, against Gog and Magog, and all the malignant rabble of antichrist, enemies to thy Son Jesus our Lord and Saviour. Prevent their devices, overthrow their power, and dissolve their kingdom, that the kingdom of thy Son, so long oppressed, may recover and flourish over all; and that they which wretchedly be fallen from thee, may happily be reduced again into the fold of thy salvation, through Jesus Christ our only Mediator and most merciful Advocate. Amen.

135. Persecution in England, 1500-1509

In this long digression, wherein sufficiently hath been described the grievous and tedious persecution of the Saracens and Turks against the Christians, thou hast to understand, good reader, and behold the image of a terrible antichrist evidently appearing both by his own doings, and also by the Scriptures, prophesied and declared to us before. Now in comparing the Turk with the pope, if a question be asked, whether of them is the truer or greater antichrist, it were easy to see and judge, that the Turk is the more open and manifest enemy against Christ and his church. But if it be asked whether of them two hath been the more bloody and pernicious adversary to Christ and his members; or whether of them hath consumed and spilt more Christian blood, he with sword, or this with fire and sword together, neither is it a light matter to discern, neither is it my part here to discuss, which do only write the history and the acts of them both. Wherefore, after the story of the Turks thus finished, now to re-enter again there where we left, in describing the domestical troubles and persecutions here at home under the bishop of Rome; after the burning of Babram in Norfolk above declared. I signified also of another certain aged man, mentioned in an old written Chronicle borrowed of one in the Tower, entitled Polychron, although I find not his name in the said Chronicle expressed, which suffered the pains of burning in Smithfield, about the same time, which was the year of our Lord 1500.

This aged father, I suppose, is he of whom I find mention made of certain old papers and records of William Cary, citizen, albeit the day of the month doth a little differ, wherein is thus testified, that on the twentieth day of July, A. D. 1500, upon the day of St. Margaret, there was an old man burned in Smithfield for a heretic; and the same person, upon the tenth day before he was burnt, would have stolen out of the Lollard's Tower, and so falling out of the Tower, did foully hurt himself; whereupon he was carried in a cart to his death, as he went to his burning.

In the aforesaid papers of ancient record, is furthermore declared, how in the year above prefixed, which was A. D. 1499, in the time of one Persevel, many were taken for heretics in Kent, and at Paul's Cross they bare faggots and were abjured; and shortly after, the same year, there went thirteen Lollards before the procession in Paul's, and there were of them eight women and a young lad, and the lad's mother was one of the eight, and all the thirteen bare faggots on their necks before the procession.

William Tylsworth, martyr.

Forasmuch as the world is come now to such a morosity and peevish insensibility in these contentious and cavilling days of ours, that nothing can be so circumspectly written and storied, but shall lie in danger of one sycophant or another, which never will credit there where they list not to like; neither will they ever like that which seemeth prejudicial to their faction, or not to serve the humour wherewith their fantasies be infected; therefore to stop the mouths of such carping cavillers with as much possibility as I may, be it known to all and singular such persons, who by evidence of truth and witness will be satisfied, that in the town of Amersham be yet alive both men and women, which can and do bear witness of this that I shall declare. Also there is of the said company, one named William Page, an aged father and yet alive, witness to the same.

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Also another named Agnes Wetherley, widow, being about the age of a hundred years, yet living and witness hereof; that in the days of King Henry the Seventh, A. D. 1506, in the diocese of Lincoln in Buckinghamshire, (William Smith being bishop of the same diocese,) one William Tylsworth was burned in Amersham, in a close called Stanley, about sixty years ago. At which time one Joan Clerke, being a married woman, which was the only daughter of the said William Tylsworth and a faithful woman, was compelled with her own hands to set fire to her dear father; and at the same time her husband, John Clerke, did penance at her father's burning, and bare a faggot, as did also

Bobert Bartlet.

Richard Bartlet.

John Bartlet.

Thomas Harding, and his wife.

Henry Harding.

Richard Harding.

Robert Harding.

John Milsent, and his wife.

William White.

John Mumbe, and his wife.

Richard Bennet.

Roger Bennet.

John Fip.

William Grinder.

Thomas Homes.

Yomand Dorman.

William Scrivener.

John Scrivener.

Thomas Chase.

John Cracher.

All these bare faggots, and afterward were compelled to wear certain badges, and went abroad to certain towns to do penance, as to Buckingham, Aylesbury, and other towns more. And also divers of these men were afterward burned in the cheek, as William Page, which at this present is alive, and likewise did bear a faggot with the aforesaid. Furthermore, the aforesaid Agnes Wetherley testifieth, that at the burning of this William Tylsworth, sixty and above that were put to bear faggots for their penance, of whom divers were enjoined to bear and wear faggots at Lincoln the space of seven years, some at one time, some at another, &c. In which number was also one Robert Bartlet, a rich man, who for his profession sake was put out of his farm and goods, and was condemned to be kept in the monastery of Ashryge, where he wore on his right sleeve a square piece of cloth, the space of seven years together.

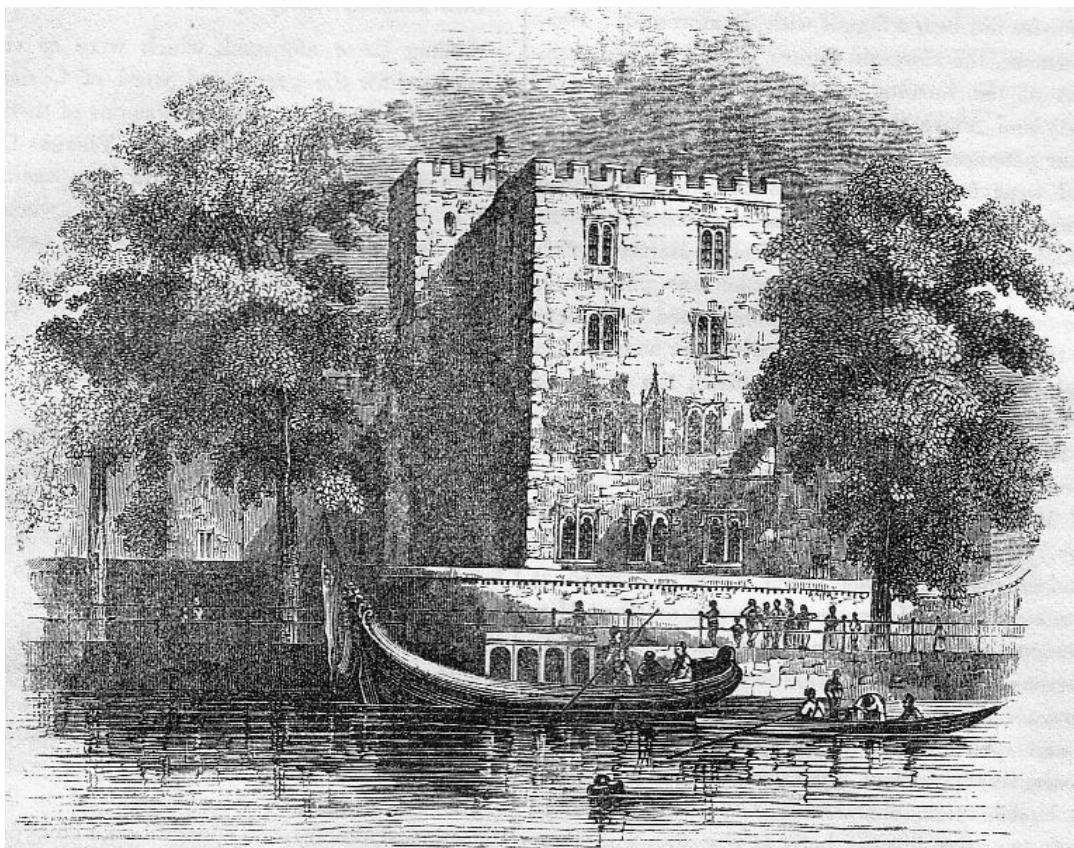
It followeth moreover, in the testimony of the forenamed, that about the same time of the burning of William Tylsworth, (as the Amersham men do say,) or the next day after, as recordeth the aforesaid Agnes, was one father Roberts burned at Buckingham. He was a miller, and dwelt at Missenden; and at his burning there were about twenty persons that were compelled to bear faggots, and to do such penance as the wicked Pharisees did compel them. After that, by the space of two or three years, was burned at Amersham, Thomas Bernard, a husbandman, and James Mordon, a labourer; they two were burned both at one fire, and there was William

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Littlepage, (who is yet alive,) compelled to be burned in the right cheek, and father Rogers, and father Rever, alias Reive, which after was burned. This father Rogers was in the bishop's prison fourteen weeks together, night and day, where he was so cruelly handled with cold, hunger, and irons, that after his coming out of the said prison he was so lame in his back, that he could never go upright as long as he lived, as can testify divers honest men that be now living. Also there were thirty more burned in the right cheek and bare faggots the same time. The cause was, that they would talk against superstition and idolatry, and were desirous to hear and read the Holy Scriptures. The manner of their burning in the cheek was this: their necks were tied fast to a post or stay with towels, and their hands holden that they might not stir, and so the iron, being hot, was put to their cheeks; and thus bare they the prints and marks of the Lord Jesus about them.

The cruel handling of Thomas Chase of Amersham, wickedly strangled and martyred in the bishop's prison at Woburn, under William Smith, bishop of Lincoln.

Among these aforesaid, which were so cruelly persecuted for the gospel and word of Christ, one Thomas Chase, of Amersham, was one of them that was thus cruelly handled: which Thomas Chase, by the report of such as did know him, was a man of a godly, sober, and honest behaviour, (whose virtuous doings do yet remain in memory,) and could not abide idolatry and superstition, but many times would speak against it. Wherefore the ungodly and wicked did the more hate and despise him, and took him, and brought him before the blind bishop, being at that time in Woburn, in the county of Buckingham; and as it is written, Acts xii., that wicked Herod did vex certain of the congregation, and killed James the brother of John with the sword, and because he saw that it pleased the Jews, &c.; he proceeded further, and had this same Thomas Chase before him, asking him many questions touching the Romish religion, with many taunts, checks, and rebukes; but what answer this godly man, Thomas Chase, made them, it is unknown. Howbeit it is to be supposed, that his answer was most zealous and godly in professing Christ's true religion and gospel, and to the extirpation of idolatry, and superstition, and hypocrisy, for that the said Thomas Chase was commanded to be put in the bishop's prison, called Little Ease, in the bishop's house at Woburn, which prison had not been ministered unto him had not his answers been sound and upright. There Thomas Chase lay bound most painfully with chains, gyves, manacles, and irons, oftentimes sore pined with hunger, where the bishop's alms was daily brought unto him by his chaplains; which alms was nothing else but checks, taunts, rebukes, and threatenings, floutings, and mockings. All which cruelty the godly martyr took most quietly and patiently, remembering and having respect to Christ's promises, Matt. v., Blessed are they which suffer persecution for righteousness sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven; and as followeth, Blessed are ye when men revile you and persecute you, &c. When the bishop, with his band of shavelings, perceived that by their daily practices of cruelty they could not prevail against him, but rather that he was the more fervent and earnest in professing Christ's true religion, and that he did tolerate and bear most patiently all their wickedness and cruelty ministered unto him, they imagined how and which way they might put him to death, lest there should be a tumult or an uproar among the people. And as Richard Hun shortly about the year of our Lord 1514, even so these after was hanged or strangled in Lollards' Tower, blood-suckers most cruelly strangled and pressed to death this said Thomas Chase in prison, which most heartily called upon God to receive his spirit, as witnesseth a certain woman that kept him in prison.



Lollard's Tower, Lambeth Palace

After that these stinging vipers, being of the wicked brood of antichrist, had thus most cruelly and impiously murdered this faithful Christian, they were at their wits' end, and could not tell what shift to make to cloak their shameful murder withal: at last, to blind the ignorant, silly people, these bloody butchers most slanderously caused it by their ministers to be bruited abroad, that the aforesaid Thomas Chase had hanged himself in prison; which was a most shameful and abominable lie, for the prison was such that a man could not stand upright, nor lie at ease, but stooping, as they do report that did know it. And besides that, this man had so many manacles and irons upon him, that he could not well move either hand or foot, as the woman did declare that saw him dead, insomuch that they confessed that his heart was broken, by reason they had so vilely beaten him and bruised him. And yet these holy catholics had not made an end of their wicked act in this both killing and slandering of this godly martyr; but to put out the remembrance of him, they caused him to be buried in the wood called Norland wood, in the highway betwixt Woburn and Little Marlow, to the intent he should not be taken up again to be seen: and thus commonly are innocent men laid up by these clerkly clergymen. But He that is effectually true, of himself hath promised, at one time or at another, to clear his true servants, not with lies and fables, but by his own true word. No secret, saith he, is so close, but once shall be opened; neither is any thing so hid, that shall not at the last be known clearly. Such a sweet Lord is God always to those that are his true servants. Blessed be his holy name therefore, for ever and ever. Amen.

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Thomas Harding, being one of this company, thus molested and troubled, as is aforesaid, in the town of Amersham, for the truth of the gospel, after his abjuration and penance done, was again sought for, and brought to the fire, in the days of King Henry the Eighth, and under Dr. Longland, then bishop of Lincoln, succeeding after Cardinal Wolsey; of whose death and martyrdom we shall likewise record, Christ willing and granting, in order, when we shall come to the time and year of his suffering.

After the martyrdom of these two, I read also of one Thomas Norice, who likewise for the same cause, that is, for the profession of Christ's gospel, was condemned by the bishop, and burnt at Norwich, the last day of March, A. D. 1507.

In the next year following, which was A. D. 1508, in the consistory of London, was convented Elizabeth Sampson, of the parish of Aldermanbury, upon certain articles, and specially for speaking against pilgrimage and adoration of images, as the image of our Lady at Wilsdon, at Staines, at Crome, at Walsingham, and the image of St. Saviour of Bermondsey, and against the sacrament of the altar, and for that she had spoken these or like words; that our Lady of Wilsdon was but a burnt arse elf, and a burnt arse stock; and if she might have holpen men and women which go to her on pilgrimage, she would not have suffered her tail to have been burnt: and what should folk worship our Lady of Wilsdon, or our Lady of Crome? for the one is but a burnt arse stock, and the other is but a puppet: and better it were for the people to give their alms at home to poor people, than to go on pilgrimage. Also she called the image of St. Saviour, Sim Saviour with kit lips; and that she said she could make as good bread as that which the priest occupied, and that it was not the body of Christ, but bread, for that Christ could not be both in heaven and in earth at one time. For these and certain other articles, she was compelled to abjure before Master William Horsey, chancellor, the day and year above written.

Lamentable it is to remember, and a thing almost infinite to comprehend the names, times, and persons of all them which have been slain by the rigour of the pope's clergy, for the true maintaining of Christ's cause, and of his sacraments. Whose memory being registered in the book of life, albeit it need not the commemoration of our stories, yet for the more confirmation of the church, I thought it not unprofitable, the suffering and martyrdom of them to be notified, which innocently have given their blood to be shed in Christ's quarrel.

Laurence Ghest.

In the catalogue of whom, next in order, cometh the memorial of Laurence Ghest, who was burned in Salisbury for the matter of the sacrament, in the days of King Henry the Seventh: he was of a comely and tall personage, and otherwise (as appeareth) not unfriended; for the which, the bishop and the close were the more loth to burn him, but kept him in prison the space of two years. This Laurence had a wife and seven children. Wherefore they, thinking to expugn and persuade his mind, by stirring of his fatherly affection toward his children, when the time came which they appointed for his burning, as he was at the stake, they brought before him his wife and his aforesaid seven children. At the sight whereof, although nature is commonly wont to work in other, yet in him religion overcoming nature, made his constancy to remain unmovable, in such sort, as when his wife began to exhort and desire him to favour himself, he again desired her to be content, and not to be a block in his way, for he was in a good course, running toward the mark of his salvation; and so fire being put to him, he finished his life, renouncing not only wife and children, but also himself to follow Christ. As he was in burning,

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one of the bishop's men threw a firebrand at his face; whereat the brother of Laurence, standing by, ran at him with his dagger, and would have slain him, had he not been otherwise stayed.

Testified and witnessed by the credible report of one William Russell, an aged man dwelling of late in Coleman Street, who was there present the same time at the burning of Laurence, and was also himself burned in the cheek, and one of the persecuted flock in those days, whose daughter is yet living: the same is confirmed also with the testimony of one Richard Webb, servant sometime to Master Latimer, who, sojourning in the house of the said William Russell, heard him many times declare the same.

A faithful woman burned.

But amongst all the examples of God, whereof so many have suffered from time to time for Christ and his truth, I cannot tell if ever were any martyrdom more notable and admirable, wherein the plain demonstration of God's mighty power and judgment hath at any time been more evident against the persecutors of his flock, than at the burning of a certain godly woman, put to death in Chipping Sudbery, about the same time, under the reign of King Henry the Seventh.

The constancy of which blessed woman, as it is glorious for all true godly Christians to behold; so again the example of the bishop's chancellor, which cruelly condemned the innocent, may offer a terrible spectacle to the eyes of all papistical persecutors to consider, and to take example, which the living God grant they may. Amen. The name of the town where she was martyred was, as is said, Cheaping Sadbery. The name of the woman is not as yet come to my knowledge. The name of the chancellor who condemned her, was called Doctor Whittington. The time of her burning was in the reign and time of King Henry the Seventh, orderly therefore in this place and time to be inserted. Wherein is to be noted moreover the opportunity of this present history brought to my hands, and that in such convenient season, as I was drawing toward the end of the aforesaid king's reign; so that it may appear to them which behold the opportunity of things, not to be without God's holy will and providence, that this aforesaid example should not lie hid and unremembered, but should come to light and knowledge, and that in such order of placing, according as the due course of our story hitherto kept, requireth.

After this godly woman, and manly martyr of Christ, was condemned by the wretched chancellor above-named, Doctor Whittington, for the faithful profession of the truth, which the papists then called heresy, and the time now come when she should be brought to the place and pains of her martyrdom, a great concourse of all the multitude, both in the town and country about, (as the manner is in such times,) was gathered to behold her end. Among whom was also the aforesaid Doctor Whittington the chancellor, there present, to see the execution done. Thus the faithful woman, and true servant of God, constantly persisting in the testimony of the truth; committing her cause to the Lord, gave over her life to the fire, refusing no pains nor torments to keep her conscience clear and unreprouable in the day of the Lord. The sacrifice being ended, the people began to return homeward, coming from the burning of this blessed martyr. It happened in the mean time, that as the catholic executioners were busy in slaying this silly lamb at the town's side, a certain butcher was as busy within the town slaying of a bull, which bull he had fast bound in ropes, ready to knock him on the head. But the butcher, (belike not so skilful in his art of killing beasts as the papists be in murdering Christians,) as he was lifting his axe to strike the bull, failed in his stroke, and smote a little too low, or else how he smote I know not; this was

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certain, that the bull, although somewhat grieved at the stroke, but yet not stricken down, put his strength to the ropes, and brake loose from the butcher into the street, the very same time as the people were coming in great press from the burning. Who seeing the bull coming towards them, and supposing him to be wild, (as it was no other like,) gave way for the beast, every man shifting for himself as well as he might. Thus the people giving back, and making a lane for the bull, he passed through the throng of them, touching neither man nor child, till he came where the chancellor was. Against whom the bull, as pricked with a sudden vehemency, ran full butt with his horns, and taking him upon the paunch, gored him through and through, and so killed him immediately, carrying his guts, and trailing them with his horns all the street over, to the great admiration and wonder of all them that saw it.

Although the carnal sense of man be blind in considering the works of the Lord, imputing many times to blind chance the things which properly pertain to God's only praise and providence; yet in this so strange and so evident example, what man can be so dull or ignorant, which seeth not herein a plain miracle of God's mighty power and judgment, both in the punishing of this wretched chancellor, and also in admonishing all other like persecutors, by his example, to fear the Lord, and to abstain from the like cruelty.

Now for the credit of this story, lest I be said upon mine own head to commit to story things rashly, which I cannot justify; therefore, to stop such cavilling mouths, I will discharge myself with authority, I trust, sufficient, that is, with the witness of him which both was a papist, and also present at the same time at the burning of the woman, whose name was Rowland Webb; which Rowland, dwelling then in Chipping Sudbery, had a son named Richard Webb, servant sometime to Master Latimer, who also enduring with him in time of his trouble six years together, was himself imprisoned and persecuted for the same cause. Unto the which Richard Webb, being now aged, then young, the aforesaid Rowland his father, to the intent to exhort him from the sect of heresy, (as he then called it,) recited to him many times the burning of this woman, and withal added the story of the bull aforesaid, which he himself did see and testify.

And thus much concerning the state of the church. Wherein is to be understood, what storms and persecutions have been raised up in all quarters against the flock and congregation of Christ, not only by the Turks, but also at home within ourselves, by the bishop of Rome and his retinue. Where also it is to be noted in the days and reign of this King Henry the Seventh, how mightily the working of God's gospel hath multiplied and increased, and what great numbers of men and women have suffered for the same with us in England, as by these stories above passed may be apparent.

Now these things declared, which to the church matters be appertaining, consequently it remaineth something to treat of the state likewise of the commonwealth, which commonly doth follow the state of the church. Where the church is quietly and modestly governed, and the flock of Christ defended by godly princes in peace and safety, from devouring and violence of bloody wolves; the success of civil estate, for the most part, there doth flourish, and the princes long continue, through God's preservation, in prosperous rest and tranquillity. Contrariwise, where either the church of Christ, through the negligence of princes, or, through their setting on, the poor members of Christ, be persecuted and devoured; shortly after ensueth some just recompence of the Lord upon those princes, that either their lives do not long continue, or else they find not that quiet in the commonwealth which they look for. Examples hereof, as in all other ages be abundant, so in this present time be not lacking, whether we consider the state and condition of other countries far off, or else of our own country near at home.

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And here not to wander in our story farther than to France only, let us a little behold the example of King Charles the Eighth, who living in this king's time, died also not long before him. This Charles is commended of Philippus Comineus, to be a moderate, valiant, and victorious prince, adorned with many special virtues to a prince appertaining. And yet the same king, because he was slack and remiss in defence of Christ's church, neither did use his authority, nor took his occasion offered to him of God, to amend and reform the estate of the bishop and clergy of Rome when he might, he was therefore himself punished and cut off of the Lord, as by his story ensuing may right well appear. For so it is of him recorded, that being marvellously excited and provoked, of his own mind (contrary to the counsel of most of his nobles) he took his journey into Italy, neither being furnished with money, nor the season of the year being convenient thereunto. And that this may appear the better to proceed of the Lord's doing, to the intent he would have the Church and clergy of Rome reformed by the prince's sword, which so vexed all Christendom at that time, we shall hear what is testified in the Commentaries of the said Philip Comineus, writing in this wise.

"There was," (saith he,) "in the city of Florence the same time a Dominic Friar, named Hieronymus Savanarola, (of whom mention was made before,) a man of a right godly and approved life; who in the said city of Florence preached and prophesied long before, that the French king should come with an army into Italy, being stirred up of God to suppress the tyrants of Italy, and none should withstand him. He should also come to the city of Pisa, and the state of Florence should be altered: all which happened true. He affirmed moreover to be signified to him of the Lord, that the ecclesiastical state of the church must be redressed *per vim armorum*, i. e. by the sword, or force of arms. Many things also he prophesied of the Venetians, and of the French king, saying, that the king with some danger and difficulty should pass that journey, yet notwithstanding should overcome it and escape, albeit his strength were never so slender, for God would safely conduct him in that journey, and safely bring him home again. But because he had not done his office, in amending the state of the church, and in defending his people from injury, and from devouring, therefore it should come to pass, (saith he,) and that shortly, that some incommodity or detriment should happen to the king; or if he should escape that danger of his sickness and recover health, then if he did resist the cruelty of the wicked, and procure the safety of the poor and miserable, God would show mercy unto him," &c. And this the said Hieronymus declared before to Comineus, one of the king's counsellors, which was the writer of the story, and required him to signify the same unto the king, which so did; and he, moreover, himself coming to the presence of the king, declared no less.

All which things, as he had foretold, came directly to effect. For the king, being but easily accompanied with a small power, entered into Italy, where first he came to Asta, then to Genoa, and to Pisa, from thence proceeded to Florence, which also he obtained, displacing there Petrus Medices, the duke, who had used great tyranny upon the subjects. From thence he removed toward Rome, where a great part of the city wall, at the coming of the French king, fell down.

Afterward, when the king was entered into the city, and the pope (who then took part with Alphonsus, king of Naples, against the French king) had immured himself within the mount of Adrian, the wall of the castle fell down of itself; whereby when the king was both occasioned, and exhorted also by his captains, to invade the pope, and to depose him, and to reform the Church of Rome, which he might then easily have done as it had pleased him, yet all these occasions, offered so opportunely of God, moved not the king to do his duty, and to help the poor church of Christ; wherefore shortly after, returning home into France from Naples, either

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the same year, or the next year following, he was stricken with a sudden sickness at Amboise, as he was looking on them that played at tennis, and that in the most stinking place in all the castle, where he fell down and died within twelve hours, according to the forewarning of Hieronymus, who wrote unto him a little before, both of his son's death, and of his own, which was about the year of our Lord 1498.

Like examples we have many here also in this our realm of England. So long as King John kept out of the realm the pope's authority and power, he continued safe and quiet with his nobles; but so soon as he brought the realm under tribute and subjection to that foreign bishop, God stirred up his nobles against him, whereby he had much disquiet and trouble, and soon thereupon decayed.

Of all the kings of England, from William Conqueror to this King Henry the Seventh, were none which either longer continued, or more prosperously flourished, than King Henry the Second, King Henry the Third, King Edward the First, King Edward the Third; of whom the first, how stout he was in withstanding Thomas Becket and Pope Alexander the Third, is sufficiently before comprehended.

The second, which was son of King John, albeit, through the wretchedness of that time, his power was not sufficient to repulse the pope's usurped jurisdiction out of the realm, yet his will was good: at last he so defended and provided for his subjects, that they took no great wrong at the pope's hands; who reigned one year longer than Augustus Cæsar, which hath not commonly been seen in any prince.

The third, which was King Edward the First, so vigilantly behaved himself for the public commodity and safety of his people, that he defended them from all foreign power and hostility, both of the Scots, (then our enemies, now our friends,) and also from the bishop of Rome, taking part with them against us, as may appear above. Furthermore, of the same king, and of his worthy nobles and house of parliament, how valiantly they stood in denial of the pope's subsidies, and also how the said king secluded out of his protection the bishops, and especially the Archbishop Peckham, for standing with the pope, read before.

Now as touching King Edward the Third, how little he regarded, how princely he, with his nobles, likewise resisted the pope's reservations and provisions, how he bridled the archbishop, John Stratford, and rejected the vain authority of the bishop of Rome, both in defence of his subjects, and also in defence of claiming his right title in the realm of France, read before.

Not that I do here affirm or define, as in a general rule, that worldly success and prosperity of life always follow the godly, which we see rather to be given more often to the wicked sort; but speaking of the duty of princes, I note and observe, by examples of histories, that such princes as have most defended the church of Christ, committed to their governance, from injury and violence of the bishop of Rome, have not lacked at God's hand great blessing and felicity; whereas, contrariwise, they which either themselves have been persecutors of Christ's members, or have not shielded them by their protection from foreign tyranny and injuries, have lacked at God's hand that protection which the other had; as may appear by King Edward the Second, Richard the Third, King Henry the Fourth, King Henry the Fifth, King Henry the Sixth, &c.; who because either negligently they have suffered or cruelly caused such persecuting laws to be made, and so much Christian blood injuriously to be devoured, therefore have they been the less prospered of the Lord, so that either they were deposed, or if they

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flourished for a while, yet they did not long continue, almost not half the time of the other kings before named.

And therefore, as the state of the commonwealth doth commonly follow the state of the church, as ye heard before; so it had been to be wished, that this King Henry the Seventh, being otherwise a prudent and temperate prince, had not permitted the intemperate rage of the pope's clergy so much to have their wills over the poor flock of Christ, as then they had; according as by these persecutions above mentioned may appear. The which King Henry the Seventh, albeit he had a sufficient continuance, who had now reigned twenty-four years, yet, notwithstanding, here cometh the same thing to be noted, whereof I spake before; that when the church of Christ beginneth to be injured with violence, and to go to wreck through disorder and negligence, the state of the commonwealth cannot there long endure without some alteration, and stroke of God's correction. But howsoever this mark is to be taken, thus lieth the story; that after the burning and vexing of these poor servants of Christ above recited, when the persecution began now in the church to be hot, God calleth away the king, the same year above mentioned, which was 1509, after he had reigned the term of twenty-four years. Who, if he had adjoined a little more pitiful respect, in protecting Christ's poor members from the fire of the pope's tyranny, to his other great virtues of singular wisdom, excellent temperance, and moderate frugality; so much had he been comparable with the best of those princes above comprehended, as he had been inferior but to a few; but this defect which lacked in him, was supplied most luckily, blessed be the Lord, by his posterity succeeding after him. Of whom in the next volume following, Christ thereunto assisting us, we have to specify more at large.

Among many other things incident in the reign of this King Henry the Seventh, I have overpassed the history of certain godly persons persecuted in the diocese of Coventry and Litchfield, as we find them in the registers of the diocese recorded, here following. The year of our Lord 1485, March the ninth amongst divers and sundry other good men in Coventry, these nine hereunder named, were examined before John, bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, in St. Michael's church, upon these articles following in order.

"First, John Blomston was openly and publicly infamed, accused, reported, and appeached, that he was a very heretic, because he had preached, taught, holden, and affirmed, that the power attributed to St. Peter in the church of God, by our Saviour Jesus Christ immediately, did not flit or pass from him, to remain with his successors.

"Item, That there was as much virtue in a herb, as in the image of the Virgin Mary.

"Item, That prayer and alms avail not the dead; for incontinent after death he goeth either to heaven or hell, whereupon he concludeth there is no purgatory.

"Item, That it was foolishness to go on pilgrimage to the image of our Lady of Doncaster, Walsingham, or of the tower of the city of Coventry; for a man might as well worship the blessed Virgin by the fire-side in the kitchen, as in the aforesaid places; and as well might a man worship the blessed Virgin when he seeth his mother or sister, as in visiting the images, because they be no more but dead stocks and stones.

"Item, That he said in English, with a frowning countenance, as it appeared, A vengeance on all such whoreson priests, for they have great envy that a poor man should get his living among them.

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"Richard Hegham of the same city was accused, &c., to be a very heretic, because he did hold that a Christian man being at the point of death, should renounce all his own works good and ill, and submit him to the mercy of God.

"Item, That it was fondness to worship the images of our Lady of Tower in the aforesaid city, or of other saints, for they are but stocks and stones.

"Item, That if the image of our Lady of Tower were put into the fire, it would make a good fire.

"Item, That it were better to deal money unto poor folks, than to offer to the image of Christ and other saints; which are but dead stocks and stones.

"Robert Crowther of the same city was accused that he was a heretic, because he did hold, that whoso receiveth the sacrament of the altar in deadly sin, or out of charity, receiveth nothing but bread and wine.

"Item, That neither bishop, nor priests or curates of churches, have power in the market of penance to bind and loose.

"Item, That pilgrimage to the image of our Lady of Tower is foolishness, for it is but a stock or a stone.

"John Smith was accused to be a very heretic, because he did hold, that every man is bound to know the Lord's Prayer and the Creed in English, if he might for these false priests.

"Item, That whoso believed as the churchmen did believe, believe ill; and that a man had need to frequent the schools a good while, ere that he can attain to the knowledge of the true and right faith.

"Item, That no priest hath power to absolve a man, in the market of penance, from his sins.

"Roger Browne, of the same city, was also accused to be a heretic, because he did hold, that no man ought to worship the image of our Lady of Walsingham, nor the blood of Christ at Hales, but rather God Almighty, who would give him whatsoever he would ask.

"Item, That he held not up his hands, nor looked up, at the elevation of the eucharist.

"Item, That he promised one to show him certain books of heresy, if he would swear that he would not utter them, and if he would credit them.

"Item, That he did eat flesh in Lent, and was taken with the manner.

"Item, If any man were not shriven in his whole life long, and in the point of death would be confessed, and could not, if he had no more but contrition only, he should pass to joy without purgatory; and if he were confessed of any sin, and were enjoined only to say for penance one Pater-noster, if he thought he should have any punishment in purgatory for that sin, he would never be confessed for any sin.

"Item, Because he said all is lost that is given to priests.

"Item, That there was no purgatory that would pardon all sins, without confession and satisfaction.

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"Thomas Butler, of the same city, was likewise openly accused to be a very heretic, because he did hold, that there were but two ways, that is to say, to heaven and to hell.

"Item, That no faithful man should abide any pain after the death of Christ, for any sin, because Christ died for our sins.

"Item, That there was no purgatory, for every man immediately after death passeth either to heaven or hell.

"Item, That whosoever departeth in the faith of Christ and the church, howsoever he hath lived, shall be saved.

"Item, That prayers and pilgrimages are nothing worth, and avail not to purchase heaven.

"John Falkes was accused to be a very heretic, because he did affirm, that it was a foolish thing to offer to the image of our Lady, saying, Her head hall be hoar or I offer to her; what is it but a block? If it could speak to me, I would give it a halfpenny worth of ale.

"Item, That when the priest carrieth to the sick the body of Christ, why carrieth he not also the blood of Christ?

"Item, That he did eat cow milk upon the first Sunday of Lent.

"Item, That as concerning the sacrament of penance and absolution, no priest hath power to assoil any man from his sins, when he cannot make one hair of his head.

"Item, That the image of our Lady was but a stone or a block.

"Richard Hilmin was accused that he was a very heretic, because he did say and maintain, that it was better to part with money to the poor, than to give tithes to priests, or to offer to the images of our Lady, and that it were better to offer to images made by God, than to the images of God painted.

"Item, That he had the Lord's Prayer, and the salutation of the angel, and the Creed in English, and another book did he see and had, which contained the Epistles and Gospels in English, and according to them would he live, and thereby believed to be saved.

"Item, That no priest speaketh better in the pulpit than that book.

"Item, That the sacrament of the altar is but bread, and that the priests make it to blind the people.

"Item, That a priest, whilst he is at mass, is a priest; and after one mass done, till the beginning of another mass, he is no more than a layman, and hath no more power than a mere layman."

After they were enforced to recant, they were assoiled and put to penance.

"In the year of our Lord 1488, the third of April, Margaret Goyt, wife of James Goyt, of Ashburn, was brought before the aforesaid John, bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, who was there accused that she said, that that which the priests lift over their heads at mass, was not the true and very body of Christ; for if it were so, the priests could not break it so lightly into four parts, and swallow it as they do; for the Lord's body hath flesh and bones, so hath not that which the priests receive.

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"Item, That priests, buying forty cakes for a halfpenny, and showing them to the people, and saying, that of every of them they make the body of Christ, do nothing but deceive the people and enrich themselves.

"Item, Seeing God in the beginning did create and make man, how can it be that man should be able to make God?"

This woman also was constrained to recant, and so was she assoiled and did penance.

Thus much I thought good here to insert, touching these aforesaid men of Coventry, especially for this purpose, because our cavilling adversaries be wont to object against us the newness of Christ's old and ancient religion. To the intent, therefore, they may see this doctrine not to be so new as they report, I wish they would consider both the time and articles here objected against these aforesaid persons, as is above premised.

I should also in the same reign of King Henry the Seventh, have induced that story of Johannes Picus, earl of Mirandula, the mention of whose name partly is touched before. This Picus, earl of Mirandula, being but a young man, was so excellently witted, and so singularly learned in all sciences and in all tongues, both Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, Chaldee, and Arabic, that coming to Rome booted and spurred, he set up ninety conclusions, to dispute in the same with any in all Christendom, whosoever would come against him. Of which conclusions divers were touching the matter of the sacrament, &c. And when none was found in all Rome, nor in Europe, that openly would dispute with him, privily and in corners certain of the pope's clergy, prelates, lawyers, and friars, by the pope appointed, consulted together to inquire upon his conclusions, whereupon they did articulate against him for suspicion of heresy. And thus the unlearned clergy of Rome privily circumvented and entangled this learned earl in their snares of heresy, against whom they durst never openly dispute. He died being of the age of thirty-two years, of such wit and towardness, as is hard to say whether ever Italy bred up a better. In his sickness, Charles the Eighth, then French king, moved with the fame of his learning, came to visit him. The furniture of his books cost him seven thousand florins. A little before his death his mind was to give all away, and to take a cowl, to go about and preach, but the Lord would not permit him. His story requireth a long tractation, which, if place do serve, we will not, peradventure, forget. With two popes, that is, with Pope Innocent, and Alexander the Sixth, he had much vexation.

The names of the archbishops of Canterbury in this sixth book contained.

62	John Stratford.	8
63	John Kemp.	3
64	Thomas Bouchier.	33
65	John Morton.	14
66	Thomas Langhton.	
67	Henry Dene.	2
68	William Warham.	28

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Various Martyrdoms

136. The Proud Primacy of Popes

The proud primacy of popes described, in order of their rising up by little and little, from faithful bishops and martyrs, to become lords and governors over kings and kingdoms, exalting themselves in the temple of God, above all that is called God, c. 2 Thess. ii.

In the table of the primitive church above described, hath been, gentle reader, set forth and exhibited before thine eyes, the grievous afflictions and sorrowful torments which, through God's secret sufferance, fell upon the true saints and members of Christ's church in that time, especially upon the good bishops, ministers, and teachers of the flock; of whom some were scourged, some beheaded, some crucified, some burned, some had their eyes put out, some one way, some another, miserably consumed; which days of woeful calamity continued (as is fore-shewed) near the space of three hundred years. During which time the dear spouse and elect church of God, being sharply assaulted on every side, had small rest, no joy, nor outward safety in this present world, but in much bitterness of heart, in continual tears and mourning under the cross, passed over their days, being spoiled, imprisoned, contemned, reviled, famished, tormented, and martyred every where; who neither durst well tarry at home for fear and dread, and much less durst come abroad for the enemies, but only by night, when they assembled as they might, sometime to sing psalms and hymns together. In all which their dreadful dangers and sorrowful afflictions, notwithstanding, the goodness of the Lord left them not desolate, but the more their outward tribulations did increase, the more their inward consolations did abound; and the further off they seemed from the joys of this life, the more present was the Lord with them with grace and fortitude, to confirm and rejoice their souls. And though their possessions and riches in this world were lost and spoiled, yet were they enriched with heavenly gifts and treasures from above, a hundredfold. Then was true religion truly felt in heart. Then was Christianity not in outward appearance showed, but in inward affection received, and the true image of the church not in outward show pretended, but in her perfect state effectual. Then was the name and fear of God true in heart, not in lips alone dwelling. Faith then was fervent, zeal ardent, prayer not swimming in the lips, but groaned out to God from the bottom of the spirit. Then was no pride in the church, nor leisure to seek riches, nor time to keep them. Contention for trifles was then so far from Christians, that well were they when they could meet to pray together against the devil, author of all dissension. Briefly, the whole church of Christ Jesus, with all the members thereof, the further it was from the type and shape of this world, the nearer it was to the blessed respect of God's favour and supportation.

The first rising of the bishops of Rome.



Constantine the emperor embracing Christian bishops

After this long time of trouble, it pleased the Lord at length mercifully to look upon the saints and servants of his Son, to release their captivity; to release their misery, and to bind up the old dragon the devil, which so long vexed them, whereby the church began to aspire to some more liberty; and the bishops, which before were as abjects, utterly contemned of emperors, through the providence of God, (which disposeth all things in his time after his own will,) began now of emperors to be esteemed and had in price. Furthermore, as emperors grew more in devotion, so the bishops more and more were exalted, not only in favour, but also preferred unto honour, insomuch that in short space they became not quarter-masters, but rather half emperors with emperors.

After this, in process of time, as riches and worldly wealth crept into the clergy, and that the devil had poured his venom into the church, (as the voice was heard the same time over Constantinople,) so true humility began to decay, and pride to set in his foot, till at last they played as the ivy doth with the oak tree, which first beginning with a goodly green show, embraceth him so long, till at length it overgroweth him, and so sucketh all his moisture from him, setting his root fast in his bark, till at last it both stiflenth the stock, and killeth the branches,

and so cometh to be a nest for owls and all unclean birds. Not untruly therefore it was said of Augustine, *Religio peperit divitias, et filia devoravit matrem*, that is, Religion begat riches, and the daughter hath devoured the mother. The verity whereof notoriously may appear above all other in the Church of Rome, and the bishops of the same. For after that the Church of Rome, through favour of emperors, was endowed with lands, donations, possessions, and patrimonies, so that the bishops thereof, feeling the smack of wealth, ease, and prosperity, began to swell in pomp and pride; the more they flourished in this world, the more God's Holy Spirit forsook them; till at last the said bishops, who at the first were poor, creeping low upon the ground, and were persecuted a long time, every man treading upon them in this world, now of persecuted people began to be persecutors of others, and to tread upon the necks even of emperors, and to bring the heads of kings and princes under their girdle. And not only that, but, furthermore, through pride and riches, they were so far gone from all religion, that in the very end they became the great adversary of God, (whom we call antichrist,) prophesied of so long before by the Spirit of God to come, sitting in the temple of God, &c. Of whom thus we read in the Epistle of Paul, 2 Thess. ii., where he saith, We beseech you, brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by our fellowship together in him, that ye be not suddenly moved in your mind, nor troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor letter, as it were from us, as though the day of Christ were at hand. Let no man in any wise deceive you, for that day shall not come except there come a departing first, and that man of sin be revealed, even the son of perdition, that adversary which exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped, so that he shall sit in the temple of God, as God, and set forth himself as he were God, &c.

By which words of St. Paul, we have divers things to understand: First, that the day of the Lord's coming was not then near at hand. Secondly, the apostle giving us a token before, to know when that day shall approach, biddeth us look for an adversary first to be revealed. Thirdly, to show what adversary this shall be, he expreseth him not to be as a common adversary, such as were then in his time. For although Herod, Annas, and Caiaphas, the high priests and Pharisees, Tertullus, Alexander the coppersmith, Elymas, and Simon Magus, and Nero the emperor, in Paul's time were great adversaries; yet here he meaneth another besides these, greater than all the rest, not such a one as should be like to priest, king, or emperor, but such as far exceeding the state of all kings, priests, and emperors, should be the prince of priests, should make kings to stoop, and should tread upon the neck of emperors, and make them to kiss his feet. Moreover, where the apostle saith, that he shall sit in the temple of God, thereby is meant, not the personal sitting of the pope in the city only of Rome, but the authority and jurisdiction of his see exalted in the whole universal church, equal with God himself. For let men give to the pope that which he in his laws, decrees, and in his pontifical requireth, and what difference is there between God and the pope? If God set laws and ordinances, so doth he. If God have his creatures, so hath he. If God require obedience, so doth he. If the breach of God's commandments are punished, much more be his. God hath his religion, the pope also hath his, yea, for God's one religion, he hath a hundred. God hath set up an Advocate, he hath a hundred. God hath instituted but a few holy days; for God's one, he hath instituted forty. And if the holy day that God hath appointed be *simplex*, the feast that the pope appointeth is *duplex et triplex*. Christ is the Head of the church; so is the pope. Christ giveth influence to his body; so doth the pope. Christ forgiveth sin; the pope doth no less. Christ expelleth evil spirits by his power; so pretendeth the pope by his holy water. Furthermore, where Christ went barefoot upon the bare ground; he with his golden shoes is carried on men's shoulders. And where Christ was called *sanctus sanctorum*; he is called *sanctorum sanctissimus*. Christ never practised but only the spiritual sword; he claimeth both

spiritual and temporal. Christ bought the church; he both buyeth and selleth the church. And if it be necessary to believe Christ to be the Saviour of the world, so it is necessary to believe the pope to be the head of the church. Christ paid tribute unto Cæsar; he maketh Cæsar pay tribute unto him. Finally, the crown of Christ was of sharp thorns; the pope hath three crowns of gold upon his head, so far exceeding Christ the Son of God in glory of this world, as Christ exceedeth him in the glory of heaven. The image and pattern of whose intolerable pride and exaltation, according as St. Paul doth describe him in his Epistle aforesaid, we have here set forth, not only in these tables to be seen, and by his own facts to be noted, but also in his own words and registers, Clementines, Extravagants, and Pontificals expressed, as in order (the Lord willing) shall follow.

The exaltation of popes above kings and emperors, out of histories.



Bishops of Rome advanced by emperors, Constantine, Theodosius, &c

First, after that Italy and the city of Rome were overrun by the Goths and Vandals, so that the seat of the empire was removed to Constantinople, then began John, patriarch of Constantinople, to put forth himself, and would needs be called universal bishop of the world; but the bishop of Rome in no case would suffer that, and stopped it. After this came the

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emperor's deputy, and exarch of Ravenna, to rule Italy; but the bishop of Rome, through aid of the king of Lombards, soon quailed him.

Not long after, about the year of our Lord 500, came Phocas the murderer, who slew the emperor of Constantinople, his master Mauritius, and his children. By which Phocas the bishops of old Rome aspired first to their pre-eminence, to be counted the head bishops over the whole church, and so together with the Lombards began to rule the city of Rome. Afterwards, when the Lombards would not yield unto him in accomplishing his ambitious desire, but would needs require of the bishop the said city of Rome; he stirred up Pepin, but first deposed Childeric the king of France, and so thrusting him into an abbey, set up in his place Pepin and his son Charlemagne to put down the said king of Lombards, called Aistulphus. And so he translated the empire from Constantinople into France, dividing the spoil between him and them; so that the kings of France had all the possessions and lands which before belonged to the empire, and he to receive of them the quiet possession of the city of Rome, with such donations and lordships, which now they challenge unto them under the name of St. Peter's patrimony, which they falsely ascribe to that donation of Constantine the Great.

It followeth then in process of time, after the days of Pepin, Charlemagne, and Louis, (who had endowed these bishops of Rome, called now popes, with large possessions,) when the kings of France were not so appliable to their beck, to aid and maintain them against the princes of Italy, who began then to pinch the said bishops for their wrongful usurped goods, they practised with the Germans to reduce the empire to Otho first of that name, duke of Spain, referring the election thereof to seven princes, electors of Germany, which was about A. D. 1002; notwithstanding, reserving still in his hands the negative voice, thinking thereby to enjoy that they had in quietness and security, and so did for a good space.



The Emperor kissing the pope's feet.

At length, when some of these German emperors also after Otho began a little to spurn against the said bishops and popes of Rome, some of them they accursed, some they subdued and brought to the kissing of their feet, some they deposed, and placed other in their possessions.

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So was Henry the Fourth by these bishops accursed, the emperor himself forced, with his wife and child, to wait attendance upon the pope's pleasure three days and three nights in winter, at the gates of Canossus. Read before. Besides all this, the said pope raised up Rodulphus to be emperor against him; who, being slain in war, then the said Pope Gregory the Seventh, not resting thus, stirred up his own son, Henry the Fifth, to fight against his own natural father, and to depose him, which Henry the Fifth was also himself afterward accursed and excommunicated, and the Saxons at last set up by the bishops to fight against him.



Henry the Fourth, emperor, waiting three days upon Pope Gregory the Seventh.

After this, the emperors began to be somewhat calmed, and more quiet, suffering the bishops to reign as they listed, till Frederic the First, called Barbarossa, came and began to stir coals against them. Howbeit they hampered both him and his son Henry in such sort, that they brought first the neck of Frederic, in the church of Venice, under their feet to tread upon; and after the said bishops, crowning Henry his son in the church of St. Peter, set his crown on his head with their feet, and with their feet spurned it off again, to make him know that the popes of Rome had power both to crown emperors, and depose them again. Whereof read before.



Pope Celestine the Fourth crowning the Emperor Henry the Sixth, with his feet

Then followed Philip, brother to Henry aforesaid, whom also the popes accursed, about the year of our Lord 1198, and set up Otho, duke of Saxony. But when the said Otho began to be so saucy, to dispossess the bishops of their cities and lands which they had encroached into their hands, they could not bear that, but incontinent they put him beside the cushion. The like also fell upon Otho the Fourth, that followed after Philip, who was suffered no longer than four years to reign, about the year of our Lord 1209.

At this time Frederic the Second, the son of Frederic Barbarossa, above mentioned, was but young, whom the bishops of Rome, supposing to find more mortified and tamed to their hand, advanced to be emperor after his father. But that fell out much contrary to their expectation. For he, perceiving the immoderate pomp and pride of the Roman bishops, which he could in no case abide, so nettled them and cut their combs, and waxed so stout against them, intending to extirpate their tyranny, and to reduce their pompous riches to the state and condition of the primitive church again, putting some of them to flight, and imprisoning some of their

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cardinals, that of three popes, one after another, he was accursed, circumvented by treason, at last deposed, and after that poisoned, and at last forsaken and died.

After this Frederic followed his son Conrad, whom the aforesaid bishops, for his disobedience, soon despatched, exciting against him in mortal war the landgrave of Thuringia, whereby he was at length driven into his kingdom of Naples, and there deceased.

This Conrad had a son called Conradinus, duke and prince of Suevia. When this Conradinus, after the decease of his father, came to enjoy his kingdom of Naples, the said bishops stirred up against him Charles, the French king's brother, in such sort, that through crafty conveyance, both Conradinus, which descended of the blood of so many emperors, and also Frederic, duke of Austria, were both taken, and after much wretched handling in their miserable endurance, unseemingly to their state, at length were both brought under the axe by the pope's procurement, and so both beheaded. And thus ended the imperial stock of Frederic the First, surnamed Barbarossa.

The like as happened to Frederic the emperor, had almost also fallen upon Philip the French king, by Pope Boniface the Eighth, who, because he could not have his commodities and revenues out of France after his will, sent out his bulls and letters patent to displace King Philip aforesaid, and to possess Albert, king of Romans, in his room.

And thus hitherto in foreign stories. Now touching our country princes here in England, to speak somewhat likewise of them: did not Pope Alexander the Third, presumptuously taking upon him where he had nothing to do, to intermeddle with the king's subjects, for the death of Becket the rebel, albeit the king sufficiently cleared himself thereof, yet, notwithstanding, did he not wrongfully bring the said King Henry the Second to such penance as it pleased him to enjoin, and also violently constrained him to swear obedience to the see of Rome? The like also was showed before in this story to happen to King John his son. For when the said king, like a valiant prince, had held out the tyranny of those bishops seven years together, were not all the churches in England barred up, and his inheritance with all his dominions given away, by Pope Innocent the Third, to Louis the French king, and he afterward compelled to submit both himself, and to make his whole realm feudatory to the bishops of Rome, and moreover the king himself driven also to surrender his crown to Pandulph, the pope's legate, and so continued as a private person five days, standing at the pope's courtesy, whether to receive it again at his hands or no. And when the nobles of the realm rose afterward against the king for the same, was not he then fain to seek and sue to the aforesaid pope for succour, as by his own letter, taken out of the rolls, may appear?

And yet, all this notwithstanding, that the said King John did so yield to the pope, he was both pursued by his nobles, and also in the end was poisoned by a subject of the pope's own religion, a monk of Swinstead; as I have sufficiently to prove, not only by William Caxton, above in my story alleged, but also have testimony of the most part of Chronicles for the same, (a few only excepted,) as of Thomas Gray, in his French Chronicle; also of another French Chronicle in metre; of Ranulphus Cestrensis. Thomas Rudburn also doth witness the same; so doth Richard Bede, in *Novo Chronico ad Tempora Henr. 6.* The like also doth the chronicle called *Eulogium Monachi Cant.* The words of Walter Gisborn, an ancient historiographer, be plain. No less is to be found in Joan. Major. *de Gestis Scotorum*, libr. 4. cap. 3. fol. 56, where he not only maketh mention of the monk and of the poison, but also of the abbot, of his absolution, and of the three monks every day singing for the said monk's soul. To these I could also annex

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divers other writers both English and Latin, without name, which witness that King John was poisoned; one beginning thus, "Here beginneth a book in the English tongue, called Brute," &c. Another beginneth, "Because this book is made to tell what time any thing notable," &c. The third in English beginneth, "The reign of Britain that now is called England," &c. Of Latin books which have no name, one beginneth thus, *Britannia, quæ et Anglia dicitur, a Bruto nomen est sortita*, &c.; another hath this beginning, *Adam pater generis humani*, &c.

Besides this King Henry the Second, and King John his son, what kings have here reigned in England since their time, until the reign of King Henry the Eighth; who although they were prudent princes, and did what they could in providing against the proud domination of these bishops, yet were forced at length, sore against their wills, for fear, to subject themselves, together with their subjects, under their usurped authority, insomuch as some of them (as Matthew Paris writeth by King Henry the Third) were fain to stoop and kiss their legate's knee.



King Henry the Second kissing the knee of the pope's legate coming into England

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King John offering his crown to Pandulph the pope's legate



Henry the Fourth, emperor, surrendering his crown to the pope

The image of antichrist, exalting himself in the temple of God, above all that is named God, out of his men Decrees, Decretals, Extravagants, Pontificals, &c., word for word, as it is out of the said books here alleged and quoted.



ORASMUCH as it standeth upon necessity of salvation, for every human creature to be subject unto me the pope of Rome, it shall be therefore requisite and necessary for all men that will be saved, to learn and know the dignity of my see and excellency of my domination, as here is set forth according to the truth and very words of mine own laws, in style as followeth. First, my institution began in the Old Testament, and was consummate and finished in the New; in that my priesthood was prefigured by Aaron, and other bishops under me were prefigured by the sons of Aaron, that were under him. Neither is it to be thought that my Church of Rome hath been preferred by any general council, but obtained the primacy only by the voice of the gospel, and the mouth of the Saviour. And hath in it neither spot nor wrinkle, nor any such like thing. Wherefore as other seats be all inferior to me, and as they cannot absolve me; so have they no power to bind me or to stand against me, no more than the axe hath power to stand or presume above him that heweth with it, or the saw to presume above him that ruleth it. This is the holy and apostolic mother church of all other churches of Christ. From whose rules it is not meet that any person or persons should decline; but like as the Son of God came to do the will of his Father, so must you do the will of your mother the church, the head whereof is the Church of Rome. And if any other person or persons shall err from the said church, either let them be admonished, or else their names taken, to be known who they be that swerve from the customs of Rome. Thus then forasmuch as the holy Church of Rome, whereof I am governor, is set up to the whole world for a glass or example, reason would, what thing soever the said church determineth, or ordaineth, that to be received of all men for a general and a perpetual rule for ever. Whereupon we see it now verified in this church, that was foreprophesied by Jeremy, saying, Behold, I have set thee up over nations and kingdoms, to pluck up and to break down, to build and to plant, &c. Whoso understandeth not the prerogative of this my priesthood, let him look up to the firmament, where he may see two great lights, the sun and the moon, one ruling over the day, the other over the night; so in the firmament of the universal church God hath set two great dignities, the authority of the pope, and of the emperor. Of the which two, this our dignity is so much more weightier, as we have the greater charge to give account to God for kings of the earth, and the laws of men. Wherefore be it known to you emperors, which know it also right well, that you depend upon the judgment of us; we must not be brought and reduced to your will. For, (as I said,) look what difference there is betwixt the sun and the moon, so great is the power of the pope ruling over the day, that is, over the spirituality, above emperors and kings ruling over the night, that is, over the laity. Now seeing then the earth is seven times bigger than the moon, and the sun eight times greater than the earth; it followeth, that the pope's dignity fifty-six times doth surmount the estate of the emperor's. Upon consideration whereof, I say therefore and pronounce, that Constantine the emperor did naught setting the patriarch of Constantinople at his feet on his left hand. And although the said emperor wrote to me, alleging the words of St. Peter, commanding us to submit ourselves to every human creature, as to kings, dukes, and other, for the cause of God, &c., I Pet. ii., yet in answering again in my decretal, I expounded the mind and the words of St. Peter to

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pertain to his subjects, and not his successors, willing the said emperor to consider the person of the speaker, and to whom it was spoken. For if the mind of Peter had been there to debase the order of priesthood, and to make us underlings to every human creature, then every Jack might have dominion over prelates, which maketh against the example of Christ, setting up the order of priesthood to bear dominion-over kings, according to the saying of Jeremiah, Behold, I have set thee up over kings and nations, &c. And as I feared not then to write this boldly unto Constantine, so now I say to all other emperors, that they, receiving of me their approbation, unction, consecration, and crown imperial, must not disdain to submit their heads under me, and swear unto me their allegiance. For so you read in the decree of Pope John, how that princes heretofore have been wont to bow and submit their heads unto bishops, and not to proceed in judgment against the heads of bishops. If this reverence and submission was wont to be given to bishops, how much more ought they to submit their heads to me, being superior, not only to kings, but emperors! and that for two causes: first, for my title of succession, that I, pope of Rome, have to the empire, the room standing vacant; also for the fulness of power that Christ, the King of kings, and Lord of lords, hath given to me, though unworthy, in the person of Peter. By reason whereof, seeing my power is not of man, but of God, who by his celestial providence hath set me over his whole universal church, master and governor, it belongeth therefore to my office, to look upon every mortal sin of every Christian man; whereby all criminal offences, as well of kings as all other, be subject to my censure, in such sort, that in all manner of pleading, if any manner of person at any time, either before the sentence given, or after, shall appeal to me, it shall be lawful for him so to do. Neither must kings and princes think it much to submit themselves to my judgment; for so did Valentinian, the worthy emperor, so did Theodosius, and also Charles. Thus you see, all must be judged by me, and I of no man. Yea, and though I, pope of Rome, by my negligence or evil demeanour, be found unprofitable or hurtful, either to myself or others; yea, if I should draw with me innumerable souls by heaps to hell, yet may no mortal man be so hardy, so bold, or so presumptuous to reprove me, or to say to me, Sir, why do you so? For although you read that Balaam was rebuked of his ass, by the which ass our subjects, by Balaam we prelates, are signified; yet that ought to be no example to our subjects to rebuke us. And though we read in the Scripture, that Peter, who received power of the kingdom, and being chief of the apostles might by virtue of his office control all other, was content to come and give answer before his inferiors, objecting to him his going to the Gentiles; yet other inferiors must not learn by this example to be checkmate with their prelates, because that Peter so took it at their hands, showing thereby rather a dispensation of humility, than the power of his office; by the which power, he might have said to them again in this wise, It becometh not sheep, nor belongeth to their office, to accuse their shepherd. For else why was Dioscorus, patriarch of Alexandria, condemned and excommunicated at Chalcedon? not for any cause of his faith, but only for that he durst stand against Pope Leo, and durst excommunicate the bishop of Rome; for who is he that hath authority to accuse the seat of St. Peter? Albeit, I am not ignorant what St. Jerome writeth, that Paul would not have reprehended Peter, unless he had thought himself equal unto him. Yet Jerome must thus be expounded by my interpretation, that this equality betwixt Peter and Paul consisteth not in like office of dignity, but in pureness of conversation. For who gave Paul his licence to preach but Peter, and that by the authority of God, saying, Separate to me Paul and Barnabas, &c. Wherefore be it known to all men, that my Church of Rome is prince and head of all nations; the mother of the faith, the foundation cardinal, whereupon all churches do depend as the door doth depend by the hinges; the first of all other seats, without all spot or blemish; lady, mistress, and instructor of all churches; a glass and a spectacle unto all men, to be

followed in all whatsoever she observeth; which was never found yet to slide or decline from the path of apostolic tradition, or to be entangled with any newness of heresy. Against which Church of Rome, whosoever speaketh any evil, is forthwith a heretic; yea, a very pagan, a witch, an idolater or infidel; having fulness of power only in her own hands in ruling, deciding, absolving, condemning, casting out, or receiving in; albeit I deny not but other churches be partakers with her in labouring and carrying. To the which Church of Rome it is lawful to appeal for remedy, from all other churches. Although it was otherwise concluded in the general council of Millevitane, that no man should appeal over the sea under pain of excommunication, yet my gloss cometh in here with an exception, Except the appeal be to the see of Rome, &c. By the authority of which Church of Rome all synods and decrees of councils stand confirmed. And hath always full authority in her hands to make new laws and decreements; and to alter statutes, privileges, rights, or documents of churches; to separate things joined, and to join things separated upon right consideration, either in whole or in part, either personally or generally. Of the which Church of Rome I am head, as a king is over his judges; the vicar of St. Peter; yea, not the vicar of Peter properly, but the vicar of Christ properly, and successor of Peter; vicar of Jesus Christ, rector of the universal church, director of the Lord's universal flock; chief magistrate of the whole world; *cephas*, i. e. *caput*, the head and chief of the apostolic church; universal pope, and diocesan in all places exempt, as well as every bishop is in places not exempt; most mighty priest; *lex animata in terris*, i. e. a living law in the earth, judged to have all laws in the chest of my breast; bearing the room of no pure man, being neither God nor man, but the admiration of the world, and a middle thing betwixt both; having both swords in my power, both of the spiritual and temporal jurisdiction; so far surmounting the authority of the emperor, that I of mine own power alone, without a council, have authority to depose him, or to transfer his kingdom, and to give a new election, as I did to Frederic and divers other. What power then or potentate in all the world is comparable to me, who have authority to bind and loose both in heaven and earth? that is, who have power both of heavenly things, and also of temporal things; to whom emperors and kings be more inferior, than lead is inferior to gold. For do you not see the necks of great kings and princes bend under our knees, yea, and think themselves happy and well defended, if they may kiss our hands? Wherefore the sauciness of Honorius the emperor is to be reprehended, and his constitution abolished, who with his laity would take upon him to intermeddle, not only with the temporal order, but also with matters ecclesiastical, and election of the pope. But here perchance some will object the examples and words of Christ, saying, That his kingdom is not of this world; and where he, being required to divide betwixt two brethren their heritage, did refuse it. But that ought to be no prejudice to my power. For if Peter, and I in Peter, if we, I say, have power to bind and loose in heaven, how much more then is it to be thought, that we have power in earth to loose and to take away empires, kingdoms, dukedoms, and what else soever mortal men may have, and to give them where we will? And if we have authority over angels, which be the governors of princes, what then may we do upon their inferiors and servants! And for that you shall not marvel that I say angels be subject to us, you shall hear what my blessed clerk Antoninus writeth of the matter, saying, that our power, of Peter and me, is greater than the angels in four things; 1. In jurisdiction, 2. In administration of sacraments, 3. In knowledge, 4. And in reward, &c. And again, in Bulla Clementis, do I not there command in my bull the angels of paradise, to absolve the soul of man out of purgatory, and to bring it into the glory of paradise? And now, besides my heavenly power, to speak of mine earthly jurisdiction, who did first translate the empire from the Greeks to the Al-mains, but I? And not only in the empire am I emperor, the place being empty, but in all ecclesiastical

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benefices have full right and power to give, to translate, and to dispose after my arbitrement. Did not I, Zacharias, put down Childeric the old king of France, and set up Pepin? Did not I, Gregory the Seventh, set up Robert Wysard, and make him king of Silieia, and duke of Capua? &c. Did not I, the same Gregory, also set up Rodulph against Henry the Fourth, emperor? And though this Henry was an emperor of most stout courage, who stood sixty-two times in open field against his enemies, yet did not I, Gregory, bring him *coram nobis*, and made him stand at my gate three days and three nights bare-foot and bare-leg, with his wife and child, in the deep of winter, both in frost and snow, entreating for his absolution, and after did excommunicate him again; so that he was twice excommunicated in my days? Again, did not I, Paschal, after Gregory, set up the son of the said Henry against his father in war, to possess the empire, and to put down his father, and so he did? Item, did not I, Pope Alexander, bring under Henry the Second, king of England, for the death of Thomas Becket, and cause him to go barefoot to his tomb at Canterbury with bleeding feet? Did not I, Innocent the Third, cause King John to kneel down at the feet of Pandulph my legate, and offer up his crown to his hands; also to kiss the feet of Stephen Langton, bishop of Canterbury, and besides merced him in a thousand marks by year? Did not I, Urban the Second, put down Earl Hugo, in Italy, discharging his subjects from their oath and obedience to him? Did not I, Paschal, excommunicate also his son Henry the Fifth, and get out of his hands all his right and title of elections and donations of spiritual promotions? Did not I, Gelasius the Second, bring the captain of Cintius under, unto the kissing of my feet? And after Gelasius, did not I, Calixtus the Second, quail the aforesaid Emperor Henry the Fifth, and also bring in subjection Gregory, whom the said emperor had set up against me to be pope, bringing him into Rome upon a camel, his face to the tail, making him to hold the tail in his hand instead of a bridle? Further, did not I, Innocent the Second, set up and make Lotharius to be emperor for driving out Pope Anacletus out of Rome? Did not I, the said Innocent, take the dukedom of Sicily from the empire, and make Roger to be king thereof, whereby afterward the kingdom became the patrimony of St. Peter? Did not I, Alexander the Third, suspend all the realm and churches of England for the king's marriage? A. D. 1159. But what do I speak of kings? did not the said Alexander bring the valiant Emperor Frederic the First to Venice, by reason of his son Otho, there taken prisoner, and there in St. Mark's church made him fall down flat upon the ground while I set my foot upon his neck, saying the verse of the Psalm, *Super aspidem et basilicum ambulabis?* &c.



Frederic the First, emperor, corrected for holding Pope Adrian's stirrup on the wrong side

Did not I, Adrian, pope, an Englishman born, excommunicate William, king of Sicily, and refuse his peace, which he offered? and had not he overcome me in plain field, I would have shaken him out of his kingdom of Sicily, and dukedom of Apulia. Also, did not I, the said Adrian, control and correct the aforesaid Frederic, emperor, for holding the left stirrup of my horse, when he should have holden the right? and afterward did not I excommunicate and curse him, for that he was so saucy to set his own name in writing before mine? And although a poor fly afterward overcame and strangled me, yet I made kings and emperors to stoop. Did not I, Innocent the Third, eject Philip, brother to Frederic, from the imperial crown, being elected without my leave, and after set him up again? and also set up Otho of Brunswick, and after did excommunicate and also depose the same four years, setting up the French king to war against him. Then was Frederic the Second set up by me, and reigned thirty-seven years; and yet, five years before he died, did not I, Honorius, interdict him, for not restoring certain to their possessions at my request? Whom also Gregory the Ninth did excommunicate twice together, and raised the Venetians against him. And at length Innocent spoiled him of his empire; after that he caused him to be poisoned, at length to be strangled by one Manfred, and did excommunicate his son Conrad after him, not only depriving him of his right inheritance, but also caused him, with Frederic duke of Austria, to be beheaded. Thus then did not I excommunicate and depose all these emperors in order? Henry the Fourth, Henry the Fifth, Frederic the First, Philip, Otho the Fourth, Frederic the Second, and Conrad his son? Did not I interdict King Henry the Eighth, and all his kingdom of England? And had not his prudence and power prevented my practice, I had displaced him from his kingdom also. Briefly, who is able to comprehend the greatness of my power and of my seat? For by me only, general councils take their force and confirmation, and the interpretation of the said councils, and of all other causes hard and doubtful, ought to be referred and stand to my determination. By me the works of all writers, whatsoever they be,

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either be reprov'd or allowed: then how much more ought my writings and decrees to be preferred before all other! Insomuch that my letters and epistles decretal be equivalent with general councils? and whereas God hath ordained all causes of men to be judged by men, he hath only reserved me, that is, the pope of Rome, without all question of men, unto his own judgment. And therefore, where all other creatures be under their judge, only I, which in earth am the judge of all, can be judged of none, neither of emperor, nor the whole clergy, nor of kings, nor of the people. For who hath power to judge upon his judge. This judge am I, and that alone, without any other assistance of any council joined to me. For I have power upon councils; councils have no power upon me. But if the council determine amiss, it is in my authority alone to infringe it, or to condemn whom I wish without any council. And all for the pre-eminence of my predecessor, blessed St. Peter, which by the voice of the Lord he received, and ever shall retain. Furthermore, and whereas all other sentences and judgments, both of councils, person or persons, may and ought to be examined, for that they may be corrupted four ways, by fear, by gifts, by hatred, by favour, only my sentence and judgment must stand, as given out of heaven by the mouth of Peter himself, which no man must break nor retract, no man must dispute or doubt of. Yea, if my judgment, statute, or yoke, seem scarcely tolerable, yet for remembrance of St. Peter it must be humbly obeyed. Yea, and moreover obedience is to be given, not only to such decrees set forth by me in time of my popedom, but also to such as I do foresee and commit to writing before I be pope. And although it be thought by some writers, to be given to all men to err, and to be deceived, yet neither am I a pure man. And again, the sentence of my apostolic seat is always conceived with such moderation, is concoct and digested with such patience and ripeness, and delivered out with such gravity of deliberation, that nothing is thought in it necessary to be altered or detracted; wherefore it is manifest, and testified by the voice of holy bishops, that the dignity of this my seat is to be revered through the whole world, in that all the faithful submit themselves to it as to the head of the whole body. Whereof it is spoken to me by the prophet, speaking of the ark; If this be humbled, whither shall you run for succour, and where shall your glory become? Seeing then this is so, that so holy bishops and Scriptures do witness with me, what shall we say then to such as will take upon them to judge of my doings, to reprehend my proceedings, or to require homage and tribute of me, to whom all other are subject? Against the first sort the Scripture speaketh, Deut. Thou oughtest not to put thy scythe into another man's corn; which thing to attempt against me, what is it but plain sacrilege? According to my canonists, which thus define sacrilege to consist in three things; either when a man judgeth of his prince's judgment; or when the holy day is profaned; or when reverence is not given to laws and canons. Against the second sort maketh the place of the Book of Kings, where we read the ark of God was brought from Gaba to Jerusalem, and in the way the ark inclining by reason of the unruly oxen, Ozias the Levite put to his hand to help, and therefore was stricken of the Lord. By the ark is signified the prelates; by the inclination thereof, the fall of prelates; which also be signified by the angels that Jacob did see going up and coming down the ladder; also by the prophet, where he saith, He bowed down the heavens and came down, &c. By Ozias, and by the unruly oxen, are meant our subjects. Then like as Ozias was stricken for putting his hand to the ark inclining, no more must subjects rebuke their prelates going awry. Albeit, here may be answered again, that all be not prelates which so be called; for it is not the name that maketh a bishop, but his life. Against the third sort, of such as would bring us under the tribute and exactions of secular men, maketh the New Testament, where Peter was bid to give the groat in the fish's mouth, but not the head nor the body of the fish; no more is the head or body of the church subdued to kings, but only that which is in the mouth, that is, the external things of the

church. And yet not they neither; for so we read in the Book of Genesis, that Pharaoh in time of dearth subdued all the land of the Egyptians, but yet he ministered to the priests, so that he took neither their possessions from them, nor their liberty. If then prelates of the church must be neither judged, nor reprehended, nor exacted, how much more ought I to be free from the same, which am the bishop of bishops, and head of prelates for it is not to be thought that the case betwixt me and other prelates, betwixt my see and other churches, be like. Although the whole catholic and apostolic church make one bride chamber of Christ; yet the catholic and apostolic Church of Rome had the pre-eminence given over all other by the mouth of the Lord himself, saying to Peter, Thou art Peter, &c. Thus a discretion and difference must be had in the church as it was betwixt Aaron and his children; betwixt the seventy-two disciples and the twelve apostles; betwixt the other apostles and Peter; wherefore it is to be concluded, that there must be an order and difference of degrees in the church betwixt powers superior and inferior; without which order, the universality of the whole cannot consist. For as amongst the angelical creatures above in heaven there is set a difference and inequality of powers and orders, some be angels, some archangels, some cherubims and seraphims; so in the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the church militant in the earth, priests must not be equal with bishops, bishops must not be like in order with archbishops, with patriarchs, or primates, who contain under them three archbishops, as a king containeth three dukes under him. In the which number of patriarchs cometh in the state also of cardinals or principals, so called, because as the door turneth by his hinges, so the universal church ought to be ruled by them. The next and highest order above these is mine, which am pope, differing in power and majority, and honour reverential, from these and all other degrees of men. For the better declaration whereof, my canonists make three kinds of power in earth; *Immediata*, which is mine immediately from God; *Derivata*, which belongeth to other inferior prelates from me; *Ministralis*, belonging to emperors and princes to minister for me. For the which cause the anointing of princes and my consecration doth differ; for they are anointed only in the arms or shoulders, and I in the head, to signify the difference of power betwixt princes and me. This order therefore of priests, bishops, archbishops, patriarchs, and other, as a thing most convenient, my Church of Rome hath set and instituted through all churches, following therein, not only the example of the angelical army in heaven, but also of the apostles. For amongst them also there was not a uniform equality or institution of one degree, but a diversity or distinction of authority and power. Albeit they were all apostles together, yet it was granted notwithstanding to Peter, themselves also agreeing to the same, that he should bear dominion and superiority over all the other apostles. And therefore he had his name given him Cephas, that is, head or beginning of the apostlehood, whereupon the order of priesthood first in the New Testament began in Peter, to whom it was said, Thou art Peter, and upon thee I will build my church, And I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven. And thou being converted, confirm thy brethren. I have prayed for thee that thy faith shall not fail. Wherefore seeing such power is given to Peter, and to me in Peter, being his successor, who is he then in all the world that ought not to be subject to my decrees, which have such power in heaven, in hell, in earth, with the quick and also the dead? commanding and granting in my bull of lead sent to Vienna, unto all such as died in their peregrination to Rome, that the pain of hell should not touch them: and also that all such as took the holy cross upon them should every one, at his request, not only be delivered himself, but also deliver three or four souls whomsoever he would, out of purgatory. Again, having such promise and assurance that my faith shall not fail, who then will not believe my doctrine? For did not Christ himself first pray for Peter that his faith should not fail? Also have I not a sure promise of Paul's own mouth, writing to my church by these

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words; God is my witness whom I serve in my spirit, in the gospel of his Son, that without ceasing I make mention of you always in my prayers? Rom. i. Wherefore as I condemn all such worthily, which will not obey my decrees, to be dispossessed of all their honour without restitution. So all they that believe not my doctrine, or stand against the privilege of the church, especially the Church of Rome, I pronounce them heretics. And as the other before is to be called unjust, so this man is to be called a heretic. For why, he goeth against the faith which goeth against her who is the mother of faith. But here may rise perchance a doubt or scruple, that if my faith and knowledge stand so sure by the promise of Christ, and by the continual prayer of St. Paul; whether is it true, or is it to be granted that any other should excel me in knowledge, or interpretation of Holy Scripture? For look whose knowledge is grounded on most reason, his words would seem to be of more authority. Whereunto I answer and grant, that many there be, and have been, more abundantly endued with fuller grace of the Holy Ghost and greater excellency of knowledge; and therefore that the tractations of Augustine, Jerome, and others ought to be preferred before the constitutions of divers popes; yet I say in determination of causes, because they have not the virtue and height of that authority which is given to me, therefore in expounding of Scriptures they are to be preferred, but in deciding of matters they stand inferior to my authority. By virtue of which authority, both they themselves be allowed for doctors, and their works approved, and also all other matters be ruled, through the power of the keys which is given to me immediately of Christ. Although I deny not but the same keys be also committed to other prelates, as they were to other apostles besides Peter, yet it is one thing to have the keys, another thing to have the use of the keys. Wherefore here is to be noted a distinction of keys, after the mind of my school doctors: one key which is called *clavis ordinis*, having authority to bind and loose, but not over the persons whom they bind and loose; and this authority they take not immediately of Christ, but mediately by me the vicar of Christ. The other key is called *clavis jurisdictionis*, which I, the vicar of Christ, take immediately of him, having not only authority to bind and loose, but also dominion over them on whom this key is exercised. By the jurisdiction of which key the fulness of my power is so great, that whereas all other are subjects, yea, and emperors themselves ought to subdue their executions to me; only I am subject to no creature; no, not to myself, except I list *in foro pœnitentiæ* to my ghostly father submitting myself as a sinner, but not as pope. So that my papal Majesty ever remaineth unpunished; superior to all men, whom all persons ought to obey, and follow; whom no man must judge nor accuse of any crime, either of murder, adultery, simony, or such-like; no man depose, but I myself. No man can excommunicate me, yea, though I communicate with the excommunicate, for no canon bindeth me. Whom no man must lie to; for he that lieth to me is a church robber; and who obeyeth not me is a heretic, and an excommunicate person. For like as all the Jews were commanded to obey the high priest of the Levitical order, of what state or condition soever they were; so are all Christian men more and less bound to obey me, Christ's lieutenant in earth. Concerning the obedience or disobedience of whom ye have in Dent. xvii., where the common gloss saith, that he who denieth to the high priest *obedientiam*, lieth under the sentence of condemnation, as much as he that denieth to God his *omnipotentiam*. Thus then it appeareth, that the greatness of my priesthood, begun in Melchisedec, was solemnized in Aaron, continued in the children of Aaron, perfected in Christ, represented in Peter, exalted in the universal jurisdiction, and manifested in Silvester, &c. So that through this pre-eminence of my priesthood, having all things subject to me, it may seem well verified in me that was spoken of Christ, Psal. viii., Thou hast subdued all things under his feet, sheep and oxen, and all cattle of the field, the birds of heaven, and fish of the sea, &c. Where it is to be noted, that by oxen, Jews

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and heretics, by cattle of the field, pagans, be signified. For although as yet they be out of the use of my keys of binding and loosing, yet they be not out of the jurisdiction of my keys, but if they return I may absolve them. By sheep and all cattle, are meant all Christian men both great and less, whether they be emperors, princes, prelates, or other. By birds of the air you may understand the angels and potentates of heaven, who be all subject to me, in that I am greater than the angels; and that in four things, as is before declared; and have power to bind and loose in heaven, and to give heaven to them that fight in my wars. Lastly, by the fishes of the sea, are signified the souls departed in pain, or in purgatory, as Gregory by his prayer delivered the soul of Trajanus out of hell, and I have power to deliver out of purgatory whom I please. Lastly, by the fishes of the sea are signified such as be in purgatory; insomuch that they stand in need and necessity of other men's help, and yet be in their journey, passengers, and belonging to the court of the pope; therefore they may be relieved out of the storehouse of the church, by the participation of indulgence. And forasmuch as some do object that my pardons cannot extend to them that be departed, for that it was said to Peter, Whatsoever thou shalt loose upon earth; and therefore seeing they are not upon earth, they cannot be loosed of me: here I answer again by my doctors, that this word, upon the earth, may be referred two manner of ways; first to him that is the looser, so that he which shall loose shall be upon the earth; and so I grant that the pope being dead can loose no man. Also it maybe referred to him that is loosed, so that whosoever is loosed must be upon the earth, or about the earth; and so the souls in purgatory may be loosed, which albeit they are not upon the earth, yet they are about the earth, at least they be not in heaven. And because oftentimes one question may rise upon another, and the heads of men now-a-days are curious, a man hearing now that I can deliver out of purgatory, will ask here a question, Whether I be able also to empty all purgatory at once, or not? To whom my canonist, August. de Ancho., doth answer by a triple distinction: *Quantum ad absolutam meam jurisdictionem, quantum ad ordinatam executionem, quantum ad divinam acceptationem*. First, touching my absolute jurisdiction, he saith, I am able to rid out all purgatory together, for as many as be under my jurisdiction, as all be, except only infants unbaptized, in limbo, and men departed only with the baptism of the Spirit, and such as have no friends to do for them that wherefore pardons be given; these only excepted. For all other besides, the pope, he saith, hath power to release all purgatory at once, as touching his absolute jurisdiction. Albeit Thomas Aquinas, part 4, denieth the same, forasmuch as Christ himself, he saith, when he came down, did not utterly at once release all purgatory. As touching my ordinary execution, they hold, that I may if I will, but I ought not to do it. Thirdly, as concerning the Divine acceptation, that is, how God would accept it if I did it, that (they say) is unknown unto them, and to every creature, yea, and to the pope himself.

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The order of the pope's riding, the emperor holding his bridle, and kings going before him.



The pope carried on men's shoulders, the emperor and king going before him.

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And to the intent I would all men to see and understand that I lack not witnesses more besides these, if I list to bring them out, you shall hear the whole choir of my divine clergy brought out, with a full voice, testifying in my behalf in their books, tractations, distinctions, titles, glosses, and summaries, as by their own words here followeth. The pope (say they) being the vicar of Jesus Christ through the whole world, in the stead of the living God, hath that dominion and lordship which Christ here in earth would not have, although he had it *in habitu*, but gave it to Peter *in actu*, that is, the universal jurisdiction both of spiritual things, and also of temporal, which double jurisdiction was signified in the two swords in the gospel, and also by the offering of the wise men, who offered not only incense, but also gold, to signify not only the spiritual dominion, but also the temporal, to belong to Christ and to his vicar. For as we read, The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof; as Christ saith, All power is given to him both in heaven and earth: so it is to be affirmed inclusive, that the vicar of Christ hath power on things celestial, terrestrial, and infernal; which he took immediately of Christ; all other take it immediately by Peter and the pope. Wherefore such as say that the pope hath dominion only on spiritual things in the world, and not of temporal, may be likened to the counsellors of the kings of Syria, 1 Kings xx., which said, That the gods of the mountains be their gods, and therefore they have overcome us; but let us fight against them in the low meadows, and in valleys, where they have no power, and so we shall prevail over them. So evil counsellors now-a-days, through their pestiferous flattery, deceive kings and princes of the earth, saying, Popes and prelates be gods of mountains, that is, of spiritual things only, but they be not gods of valleys, that is, they have no dominion over temporal things; and therefore let us fight with them in the valleys, that is, in the power of the temporal possessions, and so we shall prevail over them. But what saith the sentence of God to them, let us hear. Because, saith he, the Syrians say that the god of mountains is their god, and not the god of valleys, therefore I will give all this multitude into your hand, and ye shall know that I am the Lord. What can be more effectually spoken to set forth the majesty of my jurisdiction, which I received immediately of the Lord; of the Lord, I say, and of no man? For whereas Constantine the emperor gave to Silvester, endowing him with this possession and patrimony; that is so to be expounded and taken, not so much for a donation, as to be counted for a restitution made of that which tyrannously was taken from him before. And again, whereas I have given at sundry times to Louis and other emperors, of my temporal lands and possessions, yet that was done not so much for any recognising of homage to them, as for keeping peace with them. For I owe to emperors no due obedience that they can claim; but they owe to me as to their superior. And, therefore, for a diversity betwixt their degree and mine, in their consecration, they take the unction on their arm, I on the head. And as I am superior to them, so am I superior to all laws, and free from all constitutions. Which am able of myself, and by my interpretation, to prefer equity not being written before the law written; having all laws within the chest of my breast, as is aforesaid. And whatsoever this my see shall enact, approve, or disprove, all men ought to approve or reprove the same, without either judging, disputing, doubting, or retracting. Such is the privilege given of Christ, in the behalf of Peter, to the Church of Rome, that what country soever, kingdom, or province, choosing to themselves bishops and ministers, although they agree with all other Christ's faithful people in the name of Jesus, that is, in faith and charity, believing in the same God, and in Christ his true Son, and in the Holy Ghost, having also the same creed, the same evangelists and Scriptures of the apostles; yet, notwithstanding, unless their bishops and ministers take their origin and ordination from this apostolic seat, they are to be counted not of the church. So that succession of faith only is not

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sufficient to make a church, except the ministers take their ordination by them which have their succession from the apostles. So their faith, supremacy, the chair of Peter, keys of heaven, power to bind and loose, all these be inseparable to the Church of Rome; so that it is to be presumed, that God always providing, and St. Peter helping the bishopric and diocese of Rome, it shall never fall from the faith. And likewise it is to be presumed and presupposed, that the bishop of that church is always good and holy. Yea, and though he be not always good, or be destitute of his own merits, yet the merits of St. Peter, predecessor of that place, be sufficient for him, who hath bequeathed and left a perpetual dowry of merits, with inheritance of innocency, to his posterity. Yea, though he fall into homicide or adultery, he may sin, but yet he cannot be accused, but rather excused by the murders of Samson, the thefts of the Hebrews, the adultery of Jacob. And likewise, if any of his clergy should be found embracing a woman, it must be expounded and presupposed that he doth it to bless her. Furthermore, the pope (say they) hath all the dignities, and all power of all patriarchs. In his primacy, he is Abel; in government, the ark of Noah; in patriarchdom, Abraham; in order, Melchisedec; in dignity, Aaron; in authority, Moses; in seat judicial, Samuel; in zeal, Elijah; in meekness, David; in power, Peter; in unction, Christ. (Nay, thou art antichrist.) My power (they say) is greater than all the saints. For whom I confirm, no man may infirm: I may favour and spare whom I please, to take from one and to give to another. And if I be enemy to any man, all men ought to eschew that person forthwith, and not tarry and look while I bid them so to do. All the earth is my diocese, and I the ordinary of all men, having the authority of the King of all kings upon subjects. I am all in all, and above all; so that God himself, and I the vicar of God, have both one consistory, and I am able to do almost all that God can do, *Clave non errante*.

Item, it is said of me, that I have a heavenly arbitrement, and therefore am able to change the nature of things, and of nothing to make things to be; and of a sentence that is nothing to make it stand in effect; in all things that I list, my will to stand for reason. For I am able by the law to dispense above the law, and of wrong to make justice, in correcting laws and changing them. You have heard hitherto sufficiently out of my doctors. Now you shall hear greater things out of mine own decrees. Read there Dist. 96. Satis. Also 12. Cans. 11. q. 1. cap. Sacerdotibus. Also 12. q. 1. cap. Futuram. Do you not find there expressed, how Constantine the emperor, sitting in the general council of Nice, called us prelates of the church, all gods? Again, read my canon Decretal De transl. Episc. cap. Quanto. Do you not see there manifestly expressed, how not man, but God alone, separateth that which the bishop of Rome doth dissolve and separate? Wherefore, if those things that I do be said to be done not of man, but of God, what can you make me but God? Again, if prelates of the church be called and counted of Constantine for gods, I then, being above all prelates, seem by this reason to be above all gods. Wherefore no marvel, if it be in my power to change time and times, to alter and abrogate laws, to dispense with all things, yea, with the precepts of Christ. For where Christ biddeth Peter put up his sword, monishing his disciples not to use any outward force in revenging themselves, do not I, Pope Nicolaus, writing to the bishops of France, exhort them to draw out their material swords in pursuing their enemies, and recovering their possessions, setting against the precept of Christ, the prophet saying, *Dissolve colligationes impietatis*, &c.? Item, where Christ was present himself at the marriage in Cana of Galilee, do not I, Pope Martinus, in my Distinction inhibit the spiritual clergy to be present at marriage feasts, and also to marry themselves? Item, where matrimony by Christ cannot be loosed but only for whoredom, do not I, Pope Gregory, Junior, writing ad Bonifacium, permit the same to be broken for impotency or infirmity of body? Item, against the express caution of the Gospel, doth not Innocent the Fourth permit *vim vi repellere*? Likewise

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against the Old Testament I do dispense in not giving tithes. Item, against the New Testament, in swearing, and that in these six causes: *Pax, fama, fides, reverentia, cautio damni, defectus veri, poscunt sibi magna caveri.*

Wherein two kinds of oaths are to be noted. Whereof some be *promissoria*, some be *assertoria*, &c. Item, in vows, and that *ex toto voto*, whereas other prelates cannot dispense *ex toto a voto*, I can deliver *ex toto a voto*, like God himself. Item, in perjury, if I absolve my absolution standeth; where also note, that in all swearing always the authority of the superior is excepted. Moreover, where Christ biddeth to lend without hope of gain, do not I, Pope Martin, give dispensation for the same? and notwithstanding the council of Turin enacted the contrary, yet with two bulls I disannulled that decreement. What should I speak of murder, making it no murder nor homicide to slay them that be excommunicated. Likewise, against the law of nature. Item, against the apostle. Also, against the canons of the apostles I can and do dispense. For where they in their canon command a priest for fornication to be deposed, I through the authority of Silvester do alter the rigour of that constitution, considering the minds and bodies also of men to be weaker than they were then. Briefly, against the universal state of the church I have dispensation, *scilicet quando status ecclesiae non decoloratur*. And for marriage in the second degree of consanguinity and affinity, between the brethren's children, although not *inæquali linea*, so that the uncle may not marry his niece, unless for an urgent and weighty cause. As for all such contracts betwixt party and party, where that matrimony is not yet consummated by carnal copulation, it is but a small matter for me to dispense withal. *In summa*, if ye list briefly to hear the whole number of all such cases as properly do appertain to my papal dispensation, which come to the number of one and fifty points, that no man may meddle withal, but only I myself alone, I will recite them in English, as they be set forth in my canonical doctors.

Cases papal, to the number of one and fifty, wherein the pope hath power only to dispense, and none else besides, except by special licence from him.

- First, determination of doubts and questions belonging to faith.
- Translation of a bishop elect, or confirmed: likewise of abbots exempted.
- Deposition of bishops.
- The taking of resignation of bishops.
- Exemptions of bishops, not to be under archbishops.
- Restitution of such as be deposed from their order.
- The judicial definition, or interpretation of his own privileges.
- Changing of bishoprics, or dismissal of convents, &c.
- New correction of bishops' seats, or institution of new religions.
- Subjection or division of one bishopric under another.
- Dispensation for vowing to go to the Holy Land.
- Dispensation for the vow of chastity, or of religion, or of holy orders.
- Dispensation against a lawful oath, or vow made.
- Dispensation against divers irregularities, as in crimes greater than adultery, and in such as be suspended for simony.
- Dispensation in receiving into orders him that had two wives.
- Dispensing with such as being within orders do that which is above their order, as if a deacon should say mass, being not yet priest.
- To receive into order such as be blemished or maimed in body.

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Dispensation with murder, or with such as willingly cut off any member of man's body.
Dispensation to give orders to such as have been under the sentence of the greater curse or excommunication.
Dispensation with such as being suspended with the greater curse do minister in any holy order.
Dispensation with such as be unlawfully born to receive orders or benefices.
Dispensation for pluralities of benefices.
Dispensation to make a man bishop before he be thirty years old.
Dispensation to give orders under age.
The pope only hath power to make and call a general council.
The pope only hath power to deprive an ecclesiastical person, and give away his benefice being not vacant.
The pope alone is able to absolve him that is excommunicate by name.
The pope only is able to absolve him whom his legate doth excommunicate.
The pope both judgeth in the causes of them that appeal unto him, and where he judgeth, none may appeal from him.
Only he hath authority to make deacon, and priest, whom he made subdeacon, either upon Sundays, or upon other feasts.
Only the pope, and none else, at all times, and in all places, weareth the pall.
The pope only dispenseth with a man, either being not within orders, or being unworthy to be made bishop.
He only either confirmeth or deposeth the emperor when he is chosen.
A man being excommunicated, and his absolution referred to the pope, none may absolve that man but the pope alone.
The same hath authority in any election, before it be made, to pronounce it none, when it is made.
He doth canonize saints, and none else but he.
Dispensation to have many dignities and personages in one church, and without charge and cure of soul, belongeth only to the pope.
To make that effectual which is of no effect, and contrariwise, belongeth only to the pope.
To pluck a monk out of his cloister both against his own will and the abbot's, pertaineth only to the pope.
His sentence maketh a law.
The same day in which the pope is consecrate, he may give orders.
He dispenseth in degrees in consanguinity and affinity.
He is able to abolish laws, quoad utrumque forum, that is, both civil and canon, where danger is of the soul.
It is in his dispensation to give general indulgences to certain places or persons.
Item, to legitimate what persons soever he please, as touching spiritualties; in all places, as touching temporalties, as honours, inheritance, &c.
To erect new religions, to approve or reprove rules, or ordinances, and ceremonies in the church.
He is able to dispense with all the precepts and statutes of the church.
Item, to dispense and to discharge any subject from the bond of allegiance, or oath made to any manner of person.

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No man may accuse him of any crime, except of heresy, and that neither, except he be incorrigible.

The same is also free from all laws, so that he cannot incur into any sentence of excommunication, suspension, irregularity, or into the penalty of any crime, but in the note of crime he may well.

Finally, he by his dispensation may grant, yea, to a simple priest, to minister the sacrament of confirmation to infants; also to give lower orders, and to hallow churches and virgins, &c.

These be the cases wherein I only have power to dispense, and no man else, neither bishop, nor metropolitan, nor legate, without a licence from me.

After that I have now sufficiently declared my power in earth, in heaven, and in purgatory, how great it is, and what is the fulness thereof, in binding, loosing, commanding, permitting, electing, confirming, deposing, dispensing, doing and undoing, &c., I will treat now a little of my riches likewise, and great possessions, that every man may see by my wealth and abundance of all things, rents, tithes, tributes, my silks, my purple, mitres, crowns, gold, silver, pearls and gems, lands and lordships, how God here prospereth and magnifieth his vicar on the earth. For to me pertaineth first the imperial city of Rome; the palace of Lateran, the kingdom of Sicily is proper to me; Apulia and Cappua be mine. Also the kingdom of England and Ireland, be they not, or ought they not to be, tributaries to me? To these I adjoin also, besides other provinces and countries, both in the occident and orient, from the north to the south, these dominions by name: as Surrianum, Montembordon, et Lunæ insulam, Corsicæ regnum, Parvam Mantuam, Montemselete, Insulam Venetiarum, Ducatum Ferrariæ, Canellum, Caniodam, Ducatum Histriæ, Dalmatiam, Exarchatum Ravennæ, Faventiam, Cesenam, Castrum, Tiberiatus Roccam Mediolanum, Castrum Ceperianum, Castrum Cusianum, Terram Cornulariam, Ducatum Armini, Contam, Montem Ferretum, Montem Capiniæ seu Olympicum, Castrum exforii, Robin, Eugubin, Urbin, forum Sempronii, Galli, et Senogalli, Anconam, Cosam, Ducatum Perusii, Urbenetam, et Tudertum, Castrum, Sinianum, Ducatum Spoletanum, Theanum, Calabriam, Ducatum Neapolim, Ducatum Beneventi, Selernum, Sorenti insulam, Cardinam insulam, Ancia insulam, Territorium Cutisan, Territorium prænestinum, Terram Silandis, Terram Clusium, Terram fundan, Terram Vegetan, Terram Claudianan, Terram Camisinam, Terram Fabinensem, Terram Siram, Terram portuensem, cum insula Archis, Terram Ostiensem cum maritimis, Civitatem Aquinensem, Civitatem Lamentum, et Sufforariam, Civitatem Falisenam, Fidenam, Feretrum, Cliternam, Neapolim, Galiopolim, with divers other more, which Constantine the emperor gave unto me, not that they were not mine before he did give them; for in that I took them of him, I took them not in gift (as is before mentioned) but as a restitution; and that I rendered them again to Otho, I did it not for any duty to him, but only for peace sake. What should I speak here of my daily revenues, of my first-fruits, annats, palls, indulgences, bulls, confessionals, indults and rescripts, testaments, dispensations, privileges, elections, prebends, religious houses, and such-like, which come to no small mass of money! Insomuch, that for one pall to the archbishop of Mentz, which was wont to be given for ten thousand florins, now it is grown to twenty-seven thousand florins, which I received of Jacobus the archbishop, not long before Basil council: besides the fruits of other bishoprics in Germany, coming to the number of fifty, whereby what vantage cometh unto my coffers, it may partly be conjectured. But what should I speak of Germany, when the whole world is my diocese, as my canonists do say, and all men are bound to believe, except they will imagine, as the Manichees do, two beginnings, which is false and heretical; for Moses saith, In the beginning God made heaven and earth, and not in

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the beginnings. Wherefore as I begun, so I conclude, commanding, declaring, and pronouncing, to stand upon necessity of salvation, for every human creature to be subject to me.

137. Martin Luther — Introduction



Portrait of Martin Luther

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Here beginneth the Reformation of the church of Christ, in the time of Martin Luther.



Although it cannot be sufficiently expressed with tongue or pen of man, into what miserable ruin and desolation the church of Christ was brought in those latter days; yet partly by the reading of these stories afore past, some intelligence may be given to them which have judgment to mark, or eyes to see, in what blindness and darkness the world was drowned, during the space of these four hundred years heretofore and more. By the viewing and considering of which times and histories, thou mayest understand, gentle reader, how the religion of Christ, which only consisteth in spirit and verity, was wholly turned into outward observations, ceremonies, and idolatry. So many saints we had, so many gods; so many monasteries, so many pilgrimages; as many churches, as many relics forged and feigned we had again, so many relics, so many lying miracles we believed. Instead of the only living Lord, we worshipped dead stocks and stones: in place of Christ immortal, we adored mortal bread: instead of his blood, we worshipped the blood of ducks. How the people were led, so that the priests were fed, no care was taken. Instead of God's word, man's word was set up: instead of Christ's Testament, the pope's testament, that is, the canon law: instead of Paul, the Master of Sentences took place, and almost full possession. The law of God was little read, the use and end thereof was less known; and as the end of the law was unknown, so the difference between the gospel and the law was not understood, the benefit of Christ not considered, the effect of faith not expended: through the ignorance whereof it cannot be told what infinite errors, sects, and religions crept into the church, overwhelming the world as with a flood of ignorance and seduction. And no marvel; for where the foundation is not well laid, what building can stand and prosper? The foundation of all our Christianity is only this: The promise of God in the blood of Christ his Son, giving and promising life unto all that believe in him: giving (saith the Scripture) unto us, and not bargaining or indenting with us: and that freely (saith the Scripture) for Christ's sake; and not conditionally for our merit's sake.

Furthermore, freely (saith the Scripture) by grace, that the promise might be firm and sure; and not by the works that we do, which always are doubtful. By grace (saith the Scripture) through promise to all and upon all that believe; and not by the law, upon them that do deserve. For if it come by deserving, then is it not of grace: if it be not of grace, then is it not of promise, and contrariwise, if it be of grace and promise, then is it not of works, saith St. Paul. Upon this foundation of God's free promise and grace first builded the patriarchs, kings, and prophets: upon this same foundation also Christ the Lord builded his church: upon the which foundation the apostles likewise builded the church apostolical or catholical.

This apostolical and catholic foundation so long as the church did retain, so long it continued sincere and sound: which endured a long season after the apostles' time. But after, in process of years, through wealth and negligence crept into the church, so soon as this foundation began to be lost, came in new builders, which would build upon a new foundation a new church more glorious, which we call now the Church of Rome; who, being not contented with the old foundation, and the Head-cornerstone, which the Lord by his word had laid, in place thereof they laid the groundwork upon the condition and strength of the law and works. Although it is not to be denied, but that the doctrine of God's holy law, and of good works according to the same, is a thing most necessary to be learned, and followed of all men; yet is it not that foundation whereupon our salvation consisteth: neither is that foundation able to bear up the weight of the

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kingdom of heaven, but is rather the thing which is builded upon the foundation; which foundation is Jesus Christ, according as we are taught of St. Paul, saying, "No man can lay any other foundation beside that which is laid, Christ Jesus," &c.

But this ancient foundation, with the old ancient church of Christ, as I said, hath been now of long time forsaken; and instead thereof, a new church with a new foundation hath been erected and framed, not upon God's promise, and his free grace in Christ Jesus, nor upon free justification by faith, but upon merits and deserts of men's working. And hereof have they planted all these their new devices, so infinite, that they cannot well be numbered; as masses-trecenaries, dirges, obsequies, matins, and hours-singing-service, vigils, midnight-rising, bare-foot-going, fish-tasting, Lent-fast, ember-fast, stations, rogations, jubilees, advocacy of saints, praying to images, pilgrimage-walking, works of supererogation, application of merits, orders, rules, sects of religion, vows of chastity, wilful poverty, pardons, relations, indulgencies, penance, and satisfaction, with auricular confession, founding of abbeys, building of chapels, giving to churches: and who is able to recite all their laborious buildings, falsely framed upon a wrong ground; and all for ignorance of the true foundation, which is the free justification by faith in Christ Jesus the Son of God.

Moreover to note, that as this new-found Church of Rome was thus deformed in doctrine, so no less was it corrupted in order of life and deep hypocrisy, doing all things only under pretences and dissembled titles. So, under the pretence of Peter's chair, they exercised a majesty above emperors and kings. Under the visor of their vowed chastity, reigned adultery; under the yoke of professed poverty, they possessed the goods of the temporality; under the title of being dead unto the world, they not only reigned in the world, but also ruled the world; under the colour of the keys of heaven to hang under their girdle, they brought all the states of the world under their girdle, and crept not only into the purses of men, but also into their consciences. They heard their confessions; they knew their secrets; they dispensed as they were disposed, and loosed what them listed. And finally, when they had brought the whole world under their subjections, yet did their pride neither cease to ascend, neither could their avarice be ever satisfied. And if the example of Cardinal Wolsey and other cardinals and popes cannot satisfy thee, I beseech thee, gentle reader! turn over the aforesaid book of "the Ploughman's Tale" in Chaucer, above-mentioned, where thou shalt understand much more of their demeanour than I have here described.

In these so blind and miserable corrupt days of darkness and ignorance, thou seest, good reader! I doubt not, how necessary it was, and high time, that reformation of the church should come, which now most happily and graciously began to work, through the merciful and no less needful providence of Almighty God; who, although he suffered his church to wander and start aside, through the seduction of pride and prosperity a long time, yet at length it pleased his goodness to respect his people, and to reduce his church into the pristine foundation and frame again, from whence it was piteously decayed. Whereof I have now consequently to treat; intending by the grace of Christ to declare how, and by what means this reformation of the church first began, and how it proceeded, increasing by little and little unto this perfection which now we see, and more I trust shall see.

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And herein we have first to behold the admirable work of God's wisdom. For as the first decay and ruin of the church before began of rude ignorance, and lack of knowledge in teachers; so, to restore the church again by doctrine and learning, it pleased God to open to man the art of printing, the time whereof was shortly after the burning of Huss and Jerome. Printing being opened, incontinently ministered unto the church the instruments and tools of learning and knowledge; which were good books and authors which before lay hid and unknown. The science of printing being found, immediately followed the grace of God; which stirred up good wits aptly to conceive the light of knowledge and of judgment: by which light darkness began to be espied, and ignorance to be detected; truth from error, religion from superstition, to be discerned, as is above more largely discoursed, where was touched the invention of printing.

Furthermore, after these wits stirred up of God, other more, increasing daily more and more in science, in tongues, and perfection of knowledge; who now were able not only to discern in matters of judgment, but also were so armed and furnished with the help of good letters, that they did encounter also with the adversary, sustaining the cause and defence of learning against barbarity; of verity against error; of true religion against superstition. In number of whom, against many other here unnamed, were Picus, and Franciscus Mirandula, Laurentius Valla, Franciscus Petrarcha, Doctor de Wesalia, Revelinus, Grocinus, Doctor Colet, Rhenamus, Erasmus, &c. And here began the first push and assault to be given against the ignorant and barbarous faction of the pope's pretended church; who, after that, by their learned writings and laborious travail, they had opened a window of light unto the world, and had made, as it were, a way more ready for others to come after; immediately, according to God's gracious appointment, followed Martin Luther, with other after him; by whose ministry it pleased the Lord to work a more full reformation of his church, as by their acts and proceedings hereafter shall follow (Christ willing) more amply to be declared.

And now coming to the time and story of Martin Luther, whom the Lord did ordain and appoint to be the principal organ and minister under him, to reform religion; to subvert the see of the pope; first, before we enter into the tractation hereof, it shall not be impertinent to the purpose, to infer such prophecies and forewarnings as were sent before of God, by divers and sundry good men, long before the time of Luther, which foretold and prophesied of this reformation of the church to come.

Prophecies going before Martin Luther.

And first to begin with the prophecy of John Huss and Jerome, it is both notable, and also before mentioned, what the said John Huss, at the time of his burning, prophesied unto his enemies, saying: That after "a hundred years come and gone, they should give account to God and to him." Where is to be noted, that counting from the year 1415, (in the which year John Huss was burned,) or from the year 1416, (when Jerome did suffer,) unto the year 1516, (when Martin Luther began first to write,) we shall find the number of a hundred years expired.

Likewise to this may be adjoined the prophetic vision or dream, which chanced to the said John Huss, lying in the dungeon of the Friars in Constance, a little before he was burned. His dream, as he himself reporteth it in his epistles writing to Master John Clum, and as I have

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also before recorded the same, so will I now repeat the same again, in like effect of words as he wrote it himself in Latin, the effect of which Latin is this:

"I pray you expound to me the dream which I had this night. I saw that in my church at Bethlehem (whereof I was parson) they desired and laboured to abolish all the images of Christ, and did abolish them. I, the next day following, rose up, and saw many other painters, who painted both the same, and many more images, and more fair, which I was glad to behold. Whereupon the painters, with the great multitude of the people, said, Now let the bishops and priests come, and put us out these images if they can. Which thing done, much people rejoiced in Bethlehem, and I with them. And rising up, I felt myself to laugh."

This dream Master John of Clum first expounded. Then he, in the next epistle after, expounded it himself to this effect:

"The commandment of God standing, that we must observe no dreams, yet, notwithstanding, I trust that the life of Christ was painted in Bethlehem by me, through his word, in the hearts of men; the which preaching they went about in Bethlehem to destroy, first, in commanding that no preaching should be, neither in the church of Bethlehem, nor in the chapels thereby: secondly, that the church of Bethlehem should be thrown down to the ground. The same life of Christ shall be painted up again by more preachers much better than I, and after a much more better sort, so that a great number of people shall rejoice thereat; all such as love the life of Christ: and also I shall rejoice myself, at what time I shall awake, that is, when I shall rise again from the dead."

Also in his forty-eighth epistle he seemeth to have a like propheticall meaning, where he saith; that he trusted that those things, which he spake then within the house, should afterwards be preached above on the house-top, &c.

And because we are here in hand with the prophecies of John Huss, it is not to be omitted what he writeth in a certain treatise, *De Sacerdotum et Monachorum carnalium abominatione*, thus prophesying of the reformation of the church.

"The church," he saith, "cannot be reduced to his former dignity, and reformed, before all things first be made new (the truth whereof appeareth by the temple of Solomon); as well the clergy and priests, as also the people and laity. Or else, except all such as now be addicted to avarice, from the least to the most, be first converted and renewed, as well the people as the clerks and priests, things cannot be reformed. Albeit, as my mind now giveth me, I believe rather the first, that is, that then shall rise a new people, formed after the new man, which is created after God. Of the which people, new clerks and priests shall come forth and be taken, who all shall hate covetousness and glory of this life, labouring to a heavenly conversation. Notwithstanding, all these things shall be done and wrought in continuance and order of time, dispensed of God for the same purpose. And this God doth, and will do, of his own goodness and mercy, and for the riches of his patience and sufferance, giving time and space of repentance to them that have long lain in their sins, to amend and flee from the face of the Lord's fury, until at length all shall suffer together, and until both the carnal people, and priests, and clerks, in

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process and order of time, shall fall away and be consumed, as is the cloth consumed and eaten of the moth," &c.

With this prophecy of John Huss above-mentioned, speaking of the hundred years, accordeth also the testimony of Jerome, his fellow martyr, in these words: "And I cite you all to answer before the most high and just Judge, after a hundred years."

This Jerome was burnt, A.D. 1416; and Luther began to write, A.D. 1516, which was just a hundred years, according to the right account of Jerome's prophecy.

Philip Melancthon, in his Apology, testifieth of one John Hilton, a monk in Thuringia, who, for speaking against certain abuses of the place and order where he lived, was cast into prison. At length being weak and feeble through imprisonment, he sent for the warden of the convent, desiring and beseeching him to have some respect of his woeful state and pitiful case. The warden rebuking and accusing him for what he had done and spoken; he answered again and said, That he had spoken nothing which might be prejudicial or hurtful to their monkery, or against their religion: but there should come one, (and assigned the year 1516,) who should utterly subvert all monkery, and they should never be able to resist him, &c.

Long it were to induce here all prophecies that be read in histories: certain I mind briefly to touch and pass over. And first to omit the revelations of Briget, (whereunto I do not much attribute,) who, prophesying of the destruction of Rome, Book iv. cap. 17, saith:

"Rome shall be scourged and purged with three things — with sword, fire, and the plough. Resembling, moreover, the said Church of Rome to a plant removed out of the old place into a new: also to a body condemned by a judge to have the skin flayed off; the blood to be drawn from the flesh; the flesh to be cut out in pieces; and the bones thereof to be broken; and all the marrow to be squeezed out from the same; so that no part thereof remain whole and perfect," &c.

But to these speculations of Briget I give no great respect, as neither I do to the predictions of Katharine de Senis.

And yet, notwithstanding, Antoninus, writing of the same Katharine in his third part, reciteth her words thus (prophesying of the reformation of the church) to Friar Reymund, her ghostly father:

"By these tribulations," saith she "God, after a secret manner unknown to man, shall purge his holy church; and after those things shall follow such a reformation of the holy church of God, and such a renovation of the holy pastors, that only the cogitation and remembrance thereof maketh my spirit to rejoice in the Lord. And, as I have oftentimes told you heretofore, the spouse, which is now all deformed and ragged, shall be adorned and decked with most rich and precious ouches and brooches; and all the faithful shall be glad and rejoiced to see themselves so beautified with so holy pastors. Yea, and also the infidels, then allured by the sweet savour of Christ, shall return to the catholic fold, and be converted to the true Bishop and Shepherd of their souls. Give thanks therefore to God; for after this storm he will give a great calm." &c.

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Of the authority of this prophetess I have not to affirm or judge, but rather to hear what the catholic judges will say of this their own saint and prophet. For if they do not credit her spirit of prophecy, why then do they authorize her for a pure saint among the sisters of dear St. Dominic? If they warrant her prophecy, let them say then, When was this glorious reformation of the church ever true, or like to be true, if it be not true now, in this marvellous alteration of the church in these our latter days? or when was there any such conversion of Christian people in all countries ever heard of, since the apostles' time, as hath been since the preaching of Martin Luther?

Of Hieronimus Savonarola I wrote before, showing that he prophesied, that one should pass over the Alps, like to Cyrus, who should subvert and destroy all Italy: which may well be applied to God's word, and the gospel of Christ, spreading now abroad since Luther's time.

Theodoric, bishop of Croatia, lived near about the time when Huss and Jerome were martyred; who, in the end of his prophetical verses, which are extant in print, declareth,

"That the see of Rome, which is so horribly polluted with simony and avarice, shall fall, and no more oppress men with tyranny, as it hath done, and that it shall be subverted by its own subjects; and that the church and true piety shall flourish again more than ever it did before."

Noviomagus testifieth, that he, A.D. 1620, heard Ostendorpius, a canon of Daventer, say, that when he was a young man, Doctor Weselus, a Friesian, which was then an old man, told him, that he should live to see this new school divinity of Scotus, Aquinas, and Bonaventure, to be utterly forsaken and exploded of all true Christians.

In a book of Charles Boville, mention is made of a certain vision which one Nicholas, a hermit of Helvetia, had; in which vision he saw the pope's head crowned with three swords proceeding from his face, and three swords coming towards it. This vision is also printed in the books of Martin Luther, with his preface before it.

Nicholas Medler, being of late superintendent of Brunswick, affirmed and testified,

"That he heard and knew a certain priest in his country, which told the priests there, that they laid aside Paul under their desks and pews; but the time would come, when Paul should come abroad, and drive them under the desks and dark stalls, where they should not appear," &c.

Matthius Flaccius, in the end of his book entitled, *De Testibus Veritatis*, speaketh of one Michael Stifelius:

This Michael, being an old man, told him, that he heard the priests and monks say many times, by old prophecies, that a violent reformation must needs come against them: and also that the said Michael heard Conrad Stifelius his father many times declare the same: who also, for the great hatred he bare against this filthy sect of monks and priests, told to one Peter Pirer, a friend and neighbour of his, that he should live and see the day; and therefore desired him, that when the day came, besides those priests which he should kill for himself, he would kill one priest more for his sake.

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This Stifelius thought, belike, that this reformation should be wrought by outward violence, and force of sword; but he was therein deceived; although the adversary useth all forcible means, and violent tyranny, yet the proceeding of the gospel always beginneth with peace and quietness.

In the table of Amersham men I signified a little before, how one Haggard of London, speaking of this reformation to come, declared, that the priests should make battle, and have the upper hand a while, but shortly they should be vanquished and overthrown for ever.

In the time of Pope Alexander the Sixth, and about A.D. 1500, as is before specified, the high angel which stood on the top of the pope's church and castle of St. Angelo, was thrown down with a terrible thunder into the river Tiber: whereby might seem to be declared the ruin and fall of the popedom.

To this may be adjoined, which in certain chronicles, and in John Bale, is recorded; which saith, that in the year of our Lord 1516, (which was the same year when Martin Luther began,) Pope Leo the Tenth did create one and thirty cardinals: in the which year and day of their creation, there fell a tempest of thunder and lightning in Rome, which so struck the church where the cardinals were made, that it removed the little child Jesus out of the lap of his mother, and the keys out of St. Peter's hand: which thing many then did interpret to signify and foreshow the subversion and alteration of the see of Rome.

Hitherto pertaineth also a strange portent and a prodigious token from heaven, A.D. 1505, in the which year, under the reign of Maximilian the emperor, there appeared in Germany, upon the vestures of men, as well of priests as laymen; upon women's garments also, and upon their rocks as they were spinning, divers prints and tokens of the nails, of the sponge, of the spear, of the Lord's coat, and of bloody crosses, &c.: all which were seen upon their caps and gowns, as is most certainly testified and recorded by divers which both did see, and also did write upon the same. Of whom first was Maximilian the emperor, who both had and showed the same to Franciscus Mirandula, who wrote thereupon a book in Latin metre called Staurosticon.

Of this also writeth John Carion, Functius, Philip Melancthon, Flaccius, with divers other more. These marks and tokens, as they were very strange, so they were diversely expounded of many; some thinking that they portended affliction and persecution of the church to draw near; some, that God by that token did admonish them, or foreshowed unto them the true doctrine of their justification, which only is to be sought in the cross and passion of Christ, and in no other thing. This I marvel, that Christianus Masseus, and others of that profession, do leave it out. Belike they saw something in it that made not to their liking. For, whether it signifieth persecution to come upon the Germans, they cannot be evil that suffer and bear the cross with Christ: or whether it signifieth the true doctrine of Christ coming to the Germans, it cannot otherwise be, but that the doctrine of the bishop of Rome must needs be wrong, which is contrary to this which God hath stirred up in Germany.

By these and such-like prophecies, it is evident to understand, the time not to be far off, when God, of his determinate providence, was disposed to reform and to restore his church. And not only by those prophecies the same might well appear, but also, and much rather, by the hearts

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of the people at that time; whose minds were so incensed and inflamed with hatred against the pomp and pride of Rome, both through all nations, and especially the people of Germany, that it was easy to perceive the time was near at hand, when the pride of popish prelacy would have a fall. Such disdain there was, such contempt and derision began to rise on every side then, against the pope and the court of Rome, that it might soon appear, by the hearts of the people, that God was not disposed to have it long stand.

For neither were their detestable doings so secret, that men did not see them, neither did any man behold them, having any sparkle of godliness, that could abide them. And thereupon grew these proverbs to their derision, in every country, as in Germany it hath been a proverb amongst them.

"What is this, to see the world now round about,
That for these shaveling priests no man that once may rout?"

"As soon as a clerk is shorn into his order, by and by the devil entereth into him."

"In the name of God, beginneth all evil;" alluding to the pope's bulls, which commonly so begin.

"Item, When bulls come from Rome, bind well your purses."

"The nearer Rome, the farther from Christ."

"Item, He that goeth once to Rome, seeth a wicked man:

"He that goeth twice, learneth to know him:

"He that goeth thrice, bringeth him home with him."

"Item, The court of Rome never regardeth the sheep without the wool."

"Once were wooden chalices, and golden priests: "Now we have golden chalices, and wooden priests."

"Once Christian men had blind churches, and light hearts:

"Now they have blind hearts, and light churches."

"Item, Many are worshipped for saints in heaven, whose souls be burning in hell."

In France, Gallus Senonensis, writeth four hundred years ago, that amongst them it was an old saying, "That Satan was let loose at Rome to destroy the whole church."

Thomas Becket himself, in his time, writing to the college of cardinals, denieth it not but to be a common word both through town and city, "That there is no right in Rome."

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To these may be adjoined also the A, B, C, which we find in the margin of a certain old register to be attributed to William Thorpe, whose story we have comprehended before.

"Awake, ye ghostly persons, awake, awake,
Both priest, pope, bishop, and cardinal!
Consider wisely, what ways ye take,
Dangerously being like to have a fall.
Every where the mischief of you all,
Far and near, breaketh out very fast;
God will needs be revenged at the last.
How long have ye the world captived,
In sore bondage of men's traditions?
Kings and emperors ye have deprived,
Lewdly usurping their chief possessions:
Much misery ye make in all regions.
Now your frauds be almost at their latter cast,
Of God sore to be revenged at the last.
Poor people to oppress ye have no shame,
Quaking for fear of your double tyranny.
Rightful justice ye have put out of frame,
Seeking the lust of your god, the belly.
Therefore I dare you boldly certify,
Very little though you be thereof aghast,
Yet God will be revenged at the last."

By these and such-like sayings, which may be collected innumerable, it may soon be seen what hearts and judgments the people had in those days of the Romish clergy; which thing, no doubt, was of God as a secret prophecy, that shortly religion should be restored; according as it came to pass about this present time, when Dr. Martin Luther first began to write; after Picus Mirandula, and Laurentius Valla, and last of all Erasmus of Rotterdam, had somewhat broken the way before, and had shaken the monks' houses. But Luther gave the stroke, and plucked down the foundation, and all by opening one vein, long hid before, wherein lieth the touchstone of all truth and doctrine, as the only principal origin of our salvation, which is, our free justifying by faith only, in Christ the Son of God. The laborious travails, and the whole process, and the constant preachings of this worthy man, because they are sufficiently declared in the history of John Sleiden, I shall the less need to stay long thereupon; but only to run over some principal matters of his life and acts, as they are briefly collected by Philip

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Martin Luther's Birth-Place

Martin Luther, after he was grown in years, being born at Eisleben in Saxony, A.D. 1483, was set to the university, first of Magdeburg, then of Erfurt. In this university of Erfurt, there was a certain aged man in the convent of the Augustines (who is thought to be Weselus above mentioned) with whom Luther, being then of the same order, a friar Augustine, had conference upon divers things, especially touching the article of remission of sins; the which article the said aged father opened unto Luther after this sort: declaring, that we must not generally believe only forgiveness of sins to be, or to belong to Peter, to Paul, to David, or such good men alone; but that God's express commandment is, that every man should particularly believe his sins to be forgiven him in Christ: and further said, that this interpretation was confirmed by the testimony of Bernard, and showed him the place, in the sermon of the Annunciation, where it is thus set forth: "But add thou that thou believest this, that by him thy sins are forgiven thee. This is the

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testimony that the Holy Ghost giveth thee in thy heart, saying, Thy sins are forgiven thee. For this is the opinion of the apostle, that man is freely justified by faith."

By these words Luther was not only strengthened, but was also instructed of the full meaning of St. Paul, who repeateth so many times this sentence, "We are justified by faith." And having read the expositions of many upon this place, he then perceived, as well by the purpose of the old man, as by the comfort he received in his spirit, the vanity of those interpretations, which he had read before of the schoolmen. And so, reading by little and little, with conferring the sayings and examples of the prophets and apostles, and continual invocation of God, and excitation of faith by force of prayer, he perceived that doctrine most evidently. Then began he to read St. Augustine's books, where he found many comfortable sentences: among other, in the exposition of the Psalms, and specially in the book of the "Spirit and Letter," which confirmed this doctrine of faith and consolation in his heart not a little. And yet he laid not aside the sententiaries, as Gabriel and Cameracensis. Also he read the books of Ockham, whose subtlety he preferred above Thomas Aquinas and Scotus. He read also and revolved Gerson: but above all the rest, he perused all over St. Augustines works with attentive cogitation. And thus continued he his study at Erfurt the space of four years in the convent of the Augustines.

About this time one Staupitz, a famous man, who, ministering his help to further the erection of a university in Wittenberg, and endeavouring to have schools of divinity founded in this new university; when he had considered the spirit and towardness of Luther, recalled him from Erfurt, to place him in Wittenberg, A.D. 1508, and of his age twenty-six. There his towardness appeared in the ordinary exercise, both of his disputations in the schools, and preaching in churches; where many wise and learned men attentively heard Luther, especially Dr. Mellarstad.

This Mellarstad would oftentimes say, that Luther was of such a marvellous spirit, and so ingenious, that he gave apparent signification; that he would introduce a more compendious, easy, and familiar manner of teaching, and alter and abolish the order that then was used.

There first he expounded the logic and philosophy of Aristotle, and in the mean while intermitted no whit his study in theology. Three years after he went to Rome, about certain contentions of the monks: and returning the same year, he was graded doctor, at the expense of the elector Frederic, duke of Saxony, according to the solemn manner of schools: for he had heard him preach; well understood the quietness of his spirit; diligently considered the vehemency of his words; and had in singular admiration those profound matters which in his sermons he ripely and exactly explained. This degree Staupitz, against his will, enforced upon him; saying merrily unto him, that God had many things to bring to pass in his church by him. And though these words were spoken merrily, yet it came so to pass anon after; as many predictions or presages prove true before a change.

After this, he began to expound the Epistle to the Romans, and, subsequently, the Psalms: where he showed the difference betwixt the law and the gospel. He also confounded the error that reigned then in schools and sermons, teaching that men may merit remission of sins by their proper works, and that they be just before God by outward discipline; as the Pharisees taught. Luther diligently reduced the minds of men to the Son of God; and as John Baptist demonstrated

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the Lamb of God who took away the sins of the world; even so Luther, shining in the church as a bright star after a long cloudy and obscure say, expressly showed, that sins are freely remitted for the love of the Son of God, and that we ought faithfully to embrace this bountiful gift.

These happy beginnings of so good matters, got him great authority, considering his life was correspondent to his profession, the consideration whereof allured to him marvellously the hearts of his auditors, and also many notable personages.

All this while Luther yet altered nothing in the ceremonies, but precisely observed his rule among his fellows. He meddled in no doubtful opinions, but taught this only doctrine, as most principal of all others to all men, opening and declaring the doctrine of repentance, of remission of sins, of faith, of true comfort in times of adversity. Every man received good taste of this sweet doctrine, and the learned conceived high pleasure to behold Jesus Christ, the prophets and apostles, to come forth into light out of darkness; whereby they began to understand the difference betwixt the law and the gospel; betwixt the promises of the law, and the promise of the gospel; betwixt spiritual justice, and civil things; which certainly could not have been found in Thomas Aquinas, Scotus, nor such-like school-clerks.

It happened, moreover, about this time, that many were provoked, by Erasmus's learned works, to study the Greek and Latin tongues; who perceiving a more gentle and ready order of teaching than before, began to have in contempt the monks' barbarous and sophistical doctrine; and especially such as were of a liberal nature and good disposition. Luther began to study the Greek and Hebrew tongue, to this end, that after he had learned the phrase and property of the tongues, and drawn the doctrine from the very fountains, he might give more sound judgment.

As Luther was thus occupied in Germany, which was A.D. 1516, Leo the Tenth of that name, succeeding after Julius the Second, was pope of Rome, who, under pretence of war against the Turk, sent a jubilee with his pardons abroad through all Christian realms and dominions, whereby he gathered together innumerable riches and treasure; the gatherers and collectors whereof persuaded the people, that whosoever would give ten shillings, should at his pleasure deliver one soul from the pains of purgatory. For this they held as a general rule, that God would do whatsoever they would have him, according to the saying, Whatsoever you shall loose upon earth, the same shall be loosed in heaven; but if it were but one jot less than ten shillings, they preached that it would profit them nothing. This filthy kind of the pope's merchandise, as it spread through all quarters of Christian regions, so it came also to Germany, through the means of a certain Dominic friar named Tetzel, who most impudently caused the pope's indulgences or pardons to be carried and sold about the country. Whereupon Luther, much moved with the blasphemous sermons of this shameless friar, and having his heart earnestly bent with ardent desire to maintain true religion, published certain propositions concerning indulgences, which are to be read in the first tome of his works, and set them openly on the temple that joineth to the castle of Wittenberg, the morrow after the feast of All Saints, A.D. 1517.

This beggarly friar, hoping to obtain the pope's blessing, assembled certain monks, and sophistical divines of his convent, and forthwith commanded them to write something against Luther. And while he would not himself seem to be dumb, he began not only to inveigh in his sermons, but to thunder against Luther; crying, "Luther is a heretic, and worthy to be persecuted

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with fire." And besides this, he burned openly Luther's propositions, and the sermon which he wrote of indulgences. This rage and furious fury of this friar, enforced Luther to treat more amply of the cause, and to maintain his matter.

And thus rose the beginnings of this controversy; wherein Luther, neither suspecting nor dreaming of any change that might happen in the ceremonies, did not utterly reject the indulgences, but required a moderation in them: and therefore they falsely accuse him, which blaze, that he began with plausible matter, whereby he might get praise, to the end that in process of time he might change the state of the commonweal, and purchase authority either for himself or other.

And certes, he was not suborned or stirred up by them of the court, (as the Duke of Brunswick wrote,) insomuch that the Duke Frederic was sorely offended that such competition and controversy should arise, having regard to the sequel thereof.

And as this good Duke Frederic was one, of all the princes of our time, that loved best quietness and common tranquillity, neither was avaricious, but willingly bent to refer all his counsels to the common utility of all the world, (as it is easy to be conjectured divers ways,) so he neither encouraged nor supported Luther, but often represented semblance of heaviness and sorrow which he bare in his heart, fearing greater dissensions. But being a wise prince, and following the counsel of God's rule, and well deliberating thereupon, he thought with himself, that the glory of God was to be preferred above all things: neither was he ignorant what blasphemy it was, horribly condemned of God, obstinately to repugn the truth. Wherefore he did as a godly prince should do, he obeyed God, committing himself to his holy grace and omnipotent protection. And although Maximilian the emperor, Charles, king of Spain, and Pope Julius, had given commandment to the said Duke Frederic, that he should inhibit Luther from all place and liberty of preaching; yet the duke, considering with himself the preaching and writing of Luther, and weighing diligently the testimonies and places of the Scripture by him alleged, would not withstand the thing which he judged sincere. And yet neither did he this trusting to his own judgment, but was very anxious and inquisitive to hear the judgment of others, which were both aged and learned; in the number of whom was Erasmus, whom the duke desired to declare to him his opinion touching the matter of Martin Luther; saying and protesting, that he would rather the ground should open and swallow him, than he would bear with any opinions which he knew to be contrary to manifest truth; and therefore he desired him to declare his judgment in the matter to him freely and friendly.

Erasmus, thus being entreated of the duke, began thus jestingly and merrily to answer the dukes request, saying, that in Luther were two great faults; first, that he would touch the bellies of monks; the second, that he would touch the pope's crown; which two matters in no case are to be dealt withal. Then, opening his mind plainly to the duke, thus he said, that Luther did well in detecting errors, and that reformation was to be wished, and very necessary in the church: and added moreover, that the effect of his doctrine was true; but only that he wished in him a more temperate moderation and manner of writing and handling. Whereupon Duke Frederic shortly after wrote to Luther, seriously exhorting him to temper the vehemency of his style. This was at the city of Cologne, shortly after the coronation of the new emperor, where also Huttenus,

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Aloisius, Marlianus, Ludovicus Vives, Halonius, with other learned men, were assembled together, waiting upon the emperor.

Furthermore, the same Erasmus, the next year following that, wrote up to the archbishop of Mentz a certain epistle touching the cause of Luther; in which epistle thus he signifieth to the bishop:

"That many things were in the books of Luther condemned of monks and divines for heretical, which in the books of Bernard and Austin are read for sound and godly. That the world is burdened with men's institutions, with school doctrines and opinions, and with the tyranny of Begging Friars; which friars, when they are but the pope's servants and underlings, yet they have so grown in power and multitude, that they are now terrible, both to the pope himself, and to all princes; who, so long as the pope maketh with them, so long they make him more than a God; but if he make any thing against their purpose or commodity, then they weigh his authority no more than a dream or fantasy. Once it was counted a heresy when a man repugned against the gospel, or articles of the faith. Now he that dissenteth from Thomas Aquinas is a heretic: whatsoever doth not like them, whatsoever they understand not, that is heresy. To speak Greek is heresy, or to speak more finely than they do, that is with them heresy."

And thus much by the way concerning the judgment of Erasmus.

Review of Luther's conduct and writings.

It is also apparent, that Luther promised the Cardinal Cajetan to keep silence, provided also his adversaries would do the like. Whereby we may gather, that at that time he determined not to stir any new debates, but rather coveted the common quietness, and that he was provoked by little and little to other matters, through the provoking of unlearned writers.

Then followed disputations of the difference betwixt Divine and human law; also of the horrible profanation of the supper of our Lord, in selling and applying the same for other purposes. Here he was forced to express the cause of the sacrifice, and to declare the use of the sacraments.

Now the godly and faithful Christians, closed in monasteries, understanding that images ought to be eschewed, began to abandon that wretched thralldom, in which they were detained. Now Luther, the plainer to express the doctrine of repentance, of remission of sins, of faith, and of indulgences, added also to these matters, the difference of Divine and human laws, the doctrine of the use of our Lord's supper, of baptism, and of vows; and these were his principal conflicts. As touching the question of the Roman bishop's power, Eckius was the author thereof; and for no other respect, than to inflame the fiery wrath of the pope and princes against Luther. The symbol of the apostles, also of Nice and Athanasius; he conserved in their integrity.

Further, he sufficiently declareth in divers of his works what innovation is to be required in the ceremonies and traditions of men; and wherefore they ought to be altered. And what form of doctrine and administration of the sacraments he required and approved, is apparent by the confession which the elector, John, duke of Saxony, and Prince Philip, landgrave of Hesse,

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presented to the Emperor Charles the Fifth, A.D. 1530, in the assembly at Augsburg. It is manifest also by the ceremonies of the church in this city, and the doctrine that is preached in our church, the sum whereof is fully comprised in this confession. I allege this, that the godly may consider not only what errors he hath corrected and reproved, but also they may understand that he comprehended also the whole doctrine necessary for the church; he hath set the ceremonies in their purity, and given examples to the faithful to reform the churches, and it is necessary for posterity to know what Luther hath approved.

I will not here rehearse, who were the first that published both parts of the supper of our Lord, who first omitted private masses, and where first the monasteries were abandoned: for Luther disputed very little of these before the assembly which was made in the town of Worms, A.D. 1521: he changed not the ceremonies, but in his absence Carolstadt and others altered them. Then Luther returning, (after Carolstadt had devised and done certain things rather to breed muttering than otherwise,) manifested by evident testimonies, published abroad touching his opinion, what he approved, and what he disliked.

We know that politic men evermore detested all changes: and we must confess, there ensueth some evil upon dissensions, and yet it is our duty evermore in the church, to advance God's ordinance above human constitutions. The eternal Father pronounced this voice of his Son: This is my well beloved Son, hear him! And he menaced eternal wrath to all blasphemers, that is, such as endeavour to abolish the manifest verity. And therefore Luther did as behoved a Christian faithfully to do, considering he was an instructor of the church of God. It was his office, I say, to reprehend pernicious errors, which the rabble of epicures most impudently heaped one upon another, and it was expedient his auditors dissented not from his opinion, since he taught purely. Wherefore, if alteration be hateful, and many perils grow of dissension, as we certainly see many, whereof we be right sorry, they are partly in fault that spread abroad these errors, and partly they that with devilish disdain presently maintain them. I do not recite this to defend Luther and his auditors, but also that the faithful may consider now, and in time to come, what is the governance of the true church of God, and what it hath always been: how God hath gathered to himself one eternal church, by the voice of the gospel, of this lump of sin, and filthy heap of human corruption; among whom the gospel shineth as a spark in the dark. As in the time of the Pharisees, Zachary, Elizabeth, Mary, and many others, revered and observed the true doctrine; so have many gone before us, who purely invoked God, some understanding more clearly than others the doctrine of the gospel. Such a one was the old man of whom I wrote, that oftentime comforted Luther, when his astonysings assailed him; and after a sort declared unto him the doctrine of the faith. And that God may preserve henceforth the light of his gospel, shining in many, let us pray with fervent affection, as Isaiah prayeth for his hearers: Seal the law in my disciples. Further, this advertisement sheweth plainly that coloured superstitions are not permanent, but abolished by God: and since this is the cause of changes, we ought diligently to endeavour, that errors be neither taught, nor preached in the church.

But I return to Luther. Even as at the beginning he treated of this matter, without any particular affection, so, though he was of a fiery nature, and subject to wrath, yet he always remembered his office, and prohibited wars to be attempted, and distinguished wisely offices wherein was any difference; as the bishop, to feed the flock of God; and the magistrates, by authority of the sword committed unto them, to repress the people subject unto them. Wherefore

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when Satan contendeth by slanders to dissipate the church of God, and contumeliously to rage against him, and delighteth to do evil, and rejoiceth to behold us wallow in the puddle of error and blindness, smiling at our destruction; he laboureth all he can to inflame and stir up mischievous instruments and seditious spirits to sow sedition; as Monetarius and his like. Luther repelled boldly these rages, and not only adorned, but also ratified, the dignity and bands of politic order and civil government. Therefore, when I consider in my mind how many worthy men have been in the church, that in this erred, and were abused; I believe assuredly that Luther's heart was not only governed by human diligence, but with a heavenly light; considering how constantly he abode within the limits of his office.

Luther held not only in contempt the seditious doctors of that time, as Monetarius and the Anabaptists; but especially these horned bishops of Rome, who, arrogantly and impudently, by their devised decrees, affirmed, that St. Peter had not the charge alone to teach the gospel, but also to govern commonweals, and exercise civil jurisdiction. Moreover, he exhorted every man to render unto God that which appertained unto God, and to Cæsar that which belonged unto Cæsar; and said, that all should serve God with true repentance, knowledge, and maintaining of his true doctrine, invocation, and works, wrought with a pure conscience: and as touching civil policy, that every one should obey the magistrates under whom he liveth, in all civil duties and reverences, for God's sake. And such a one was Luther. He gave unto God what belonged unto God: he taught God; he invoked God; and had other virtues necessary for a man that pleaseth God. Further, in politic conversation he constantly avoided all seditious counsels. I judge these virtues to be such excellent ornaments, that greater and more divine cannot be required in this mortal life. And albeit that the virtue of this man is worthy of commendation, and the rather for that he used the gifts of God in all reverence; yet our duty is to render condign thanks unto God, that by him he hath given us the light of the gospel, and to conserve and enlarge the remembrance of his doctrine. I weigh little the slander of the epicures and hypocrites, who scoff at and condemn the manifest truths; but I stay wholly hereupon, that the universal church hath consented perpetually to this very doctrine, which is preached in our church, whereunto we must frame our life and devotion conformably. And I believe that this is the doctrine whereof the Son of God speaketh, If any love me, he will keep my commandments, and my Father will love him, and we will come to him, and plant our dwelling with him. I speak of the sum of the doctrine, as it is understood and explained in our churches, by the faithful and learned ministers. For albeit that some one oftentimes expoundeth the same more aptly and elegantly than some other; yet, as touching the effect, the learned and faithful do agree in all points.

Then weighing and perpending with myself long time, the doctrine that hath been of all times, it seemeth unto me, that since the apostles there have been four notable alterations after the first purity of the gospel. Origen had his time; albeit there were some of a sound and sacred opinion, as Methodius, who reproveth certain suspected doctrines of Origen, that he converted the gospel into philosophy in the hearts of many; that is to say, he advanced this persuasion, that the moral discipline deserveth remission of sins, and that this is that justice, whereof is said, The just shall live by faith. That age lost almost the whole difference of the law and the gospel, and forgot the words of the apostles; for they understood not the natural signification of these words: Letter, Spirit, Justice, Faith. Now when the propriety of words was lost, which he notes of the very things, it was necessary that other things should be contrived.

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Out of this seed sprang the error of Pelagius, which wandered largely abroad: and therefore, albeit the apostles had given unto the church a pure doctrine, as clear and wholesome fountains, yet Origen intermixed the same with some corruption in that part. Then, to correct the errors of that time, or at least some part of them, God raised up St. Austin, who purged in some part the fountains; and I doubt not, if he were judge of dissensions at this day, but he would speak for us, and defend our cause. Certainly, as concerning free remission, justification by faith, the use of the sacraments and indifferent things, he consenteth wholly with us. And, albeit that in some places he expoundeth more eloquently and aptly what he will say than in others, yet if in reading any do carry with them a godly spirit and quick understanding, all evil judgment ceaseth; they shall soon perceive that he is of our opinion. And whereas our adversaries sometimes do cite sentences selected out of his books against us, and with clamour provoke us to the ancient fathers, they do it not for any affection they bear unto the truth or antiquity, but maliciously to cloak them with the authority of the ancient fathers, which antiquity never knew of any of these horned beasts and dumb idols, as we have known in these days. Nevertheless it is certain, there were seeds of superstition in the time of the fathers and ancient doctors; and therefore St. Austin ordained something of vows, although he wrote not thereof so strangely as others: for the best sometimes shall be spotted with the blemish of such follies as reign in their age. For as naturally we love our country, so fondly we favour the present fashions, wherein we be trained and educated. And very well alluded Euripides to this effect:

"What customs we in tender youth
By nature's lore receive;
The same we love and like always,
And loath our lust to leave."

But would to God, that such as vaunt they follow St. Austin, would always represent one like opinion and mind, as St. Austin: certainly they would not so clip his sentences, to serve their purposes. The light restored by St. Austin's works hath much profited posterity; for Prosper, Maximus, Hugo, and some other like writers, that governed studies to St. Bernard's time, have for the most part imitated the rule of St. Austin. And this, while the regiment and riches of the bishops still increased: and thereof ensued a monstrous regiment; profane and ignorant men governed the church, among whom, certain were instructed in sciences and practices of the Roman court, and some others exercised in pleadings.

Then the orders of Dominican and Franciscan friars began; who, beholding the excess and riches of the bishops, and contemning their ungodly manners, determined to live in more modest order, or, as I might say, to enclose them in the prisons of discipline: but first ignorance increased the superstitions. Then after, when they considered men's minds wholly addicted to the study of the civil laws, (for pleading at Rome advanced many to great authority, and enriched them,) they endeavoured to revoke men to the study of divinity. but they missed of their purpose, and their counsel failed them. Albert, and such like, that were given to Aristotle's doctrine, began to convert the doctrine of the church into profane philosophy.

The fourth age not only corrupted the fountains of the gospel, but also gave out poison, that is to say, opinions manifestly approving all idolatries. Thomas Aquinas, Scotus, and their like, have brought in so many labyrinths and false opinions, that the godly and sound sort of divines have always desired a more plain and purer kind of doctrine: neither can we deny without

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great impudency but it was expedient to alter this kind of doctrine, when it is manifest that such as employed their whole age in this manner of teaching, understood not a great part of the sophisms in their disputations. Further, it is plainly idolatry confirmed, when they teach the application of sacrifice by work wrought; when they allow the invocation of saints; when they deny that sins be freely remitted by faith; when of ceremonies they make a slaughter of consciences. Finally, there are many other horrible and pernicious devices, that when I think on them, Lord! how I tremble and quake for fear.

Now to return, and to treat something orderly of the acts and conflicts of Luther with his adversaries. After that Tetzel, the aforesaid friar, with his fellow monks and friarly fellows, had cried out with open mouth against Luther, in maintaining the pope's indulgences; and that Luther again, in defence of his cause, had set up propositions against the open abuses of the same, marvel it was to see how soon these propositions were sparkled abroad in sundry and far places, and how greedily they were caught up in the hands of divers both far and near. And thus the contention of this matter increasing between them, Luther was compelled to write thereof more largely and fully than otherwise he thought; which was A.D. 1517.

Yet all this while Luther never thought of any alteration to come of any ceremony, much less such a reformation of doctrine and ceremonies as afterwards did follow; but only hearing that he was accused to the bishop of Rome, he did write humbly unto him: in the beginning of which writing he declareth the inordinate outrage of those his pardon-mongers, who so excessively did pill and poll the simple people, to the great slander of the church, and shame to his Holiness. And so proceeding, in the end of the said his writing thus he submitteth himself:

"Wherefore, most holy father, I offer myself prostrate under the feet of your Holiness, with all that I am, and that I have. Save me, kill me, call me, recall me, approve me, reprove me, as you shall please. Your voice, the voice of Christ in you speaking, I will acknowledge. If I have deserved death, I shall be contented to die: for the earth is the Lord's, and all the fulness thereof, who is to be blessed for ever. Amen."

This was A.D. 1518.

After that Martin Luther, provoked thus by Tetzel, had declared his mind in writing lowly and humbly, and had set up certain propositions to be disputed; not long after, among other monks and friars steppeth up one Silvester de Priero, a Dominic friar, who first began to publish abroad a certain impudent and railing dialogue against him. Unto whom Luther answered again, first alleging the place of the apostle in 1 Thess. v., that we must prove all things. Also the place in Gal. ii., that if an angel from heaven do bring any other gospel than that we have received, he ought to be accursed. Item, he alleged the place of Austin unto Jerome, where the said Austin saith, That he was wont to give this honour only to the books of canonical Scripture, that whosoever were the writers thereof, he believeth them verily not to have erred. But as touching all other men's writings, were they never so holy men, or learned, he doth not believe them therefore, because they so say; but in that respect as they do agree with the canonical Scripture, which cannot err. Item, he alleged the place of the canon law; wherein he proved, that these pardon-sellers, in their setting forth of the pope's indulgences, ought to go no further by the law, than is enjoined them within the letters of their commission. And in the latter part of his answer,

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thus Luther writeth to the reader, "Let opinions remain opinions, so they be not yokes to the Christians. Let us not make men's opinions equal with the articles of faith, and to the decrees of Christ and Paul." "Moreover, I am ashamed," quoth he, "to hear the common saying of these divine school-doctors, who, holding one thing in schools, and thinking otherwise in their own judgment, thus are wont secretly among themselves, and with their privy friends talking together, to say, 'Thus we do hold, and thus would we say being in the schools; but yet (be it spoken here amongst us) it cannot be so proved by the Holy Scriptures,'" &c.

Next after this Silvester, stepped forth Eckius, and impugned the conclusions of Luther. Against whom encountered Dr. Andreas Bedenstein, archdeacon of Wittenberg, making his apology in defence of Luther.

Then was Martin Luther cited, the seventh of August, by one Hierome, bishop of Ascalon, to appear at Rome. About which time Thomas Cajetan, cardinal, the pope's legate, was then lieger at the city of Augsburg, who before had been sent down in commission, with certain mandates from Pope Leo, unto that city. The university of Wittenberg, understanding of Luther's citation, eftsoons directed up their letters with their public seal to the pope, in Luther's behalf. Also another letter they sent to Carolus Miltitius, the pope's chamberlain, being a German born. Furthermore, good Frederic ceased not for his part to solicit the matter with his letters and earnest suit with Cardinal Cajetan, that the cause of Luther might be freed from Rome, and removed to Augsburg, in the hearing of the cardinal. Cajetan, at the suit of the duke, wrote unto the pope; from whom he received this answer again, the three and twentieth of the aforesaid month of August.

"That he had cited Luther to appear personally before him at Rome, by Hierome, bishop of Ascalon, auditor of the chamber; which bishop diligently had done what was commanded him: but Luther, abusing and contemning the gentleness offered, did refuse not only to come, but also became more bold and stubborn, continuing, or rather increasing, in his former heresy, as by his writings did appear. Wherefore he would, that the cardinal should cite and call up the said Luther to appear at the city of Augsburg before him; adjoining withal, the aid of the princes of Germany, and of the emperor, if need required; so that when the said Luther should appear, he should lay hand upon him, and commit him to safe custody; and after, he should be brought up to Rome. And if he perceived him to come to any knowledge or amendment of his fault, he should release him and restore him to the church again; or else he should be interdicted, with all other his adherents, abettors, and maintainers, of whatsoever state or condition they were, whether they were dukes, marquises, earls, barons, &c. Against all which persons and degrees, he willed him to extend the same curse and malediction (only the person of the emperor excepted); interdicting, by the censure of the church, all such lands, lordships, towns, tenements, and villages, as should minister any harbour to the said Luther, and were not obedient unto the see of Rome. Contrariwise, to all such as showed themselves obedient, he should promise full remission of all their sins.



likewise the pope directeth other letters also at the same time to Duke Frederic, complaining, with many grievous words, against Luther. The cardinal, thus being charged with injunctions from Rome, according to his commission, sendeth with all speed for Luther to appear at Augsburg before him.

About the beginning of October, Martin Luther, yielding his obedience to the Church of Rome, came to Augsburg at the cardinal's sending, (at the charges of the noble prince elector, and also with his letters of commendation,) where he remained three days before he came to his speech; for so it was provided by his friends, that he should not enter talk with the cardinal before a sufficient warrant or safe-conduct was obtained of the Emperor Maximilian. Which being obtained, eftsoons he entered, offering himself to the speech of the cardinal, and was there received of the cardinal very gently; who, according to the pope's commandment, propounded unto Martin Luther three things, or, as Sleiden saith, but two: to wit,

- I. That he should repent and revoke his errors.
- II. That he should promise, from that time forward, to refrain from the same.
- III. That he should refrain from all things that might by any means trouble the church.

When Martin Luther required to be informed wherein he had erred, the legate brought forth the Extravagant of Clement, which beginneth, Unigenitus, &c., because that he, contrary to that canon, had held and taught in his fifty-eighth proposition, that the merits of Christ are not the treasure of indulgences or pardons. Secondly, the cardinal, contrary to the seventh proposition of Luther, affirmed, that faith is not necessary to him that receiveth the sacrament.

Furthermore, another day, in the presence of four of the emperor's council, having there a notary and witnesses present, Luther protested for himself, and personally, in this manner following:

"Imprimis, I Martin Luther, a Friar Augustine, protest, that I do reverence and follow the Church of Rome in all my sayings and doings, present, past, and to come; and if any thing hath been, or shall be, said by me to the contrary, I count it, and will that it be counted and taken, as though it had never been spoken.

"But because the cardinal hath required, at the commandment of the pope, three things of me to be observed: First, That I should return again to the knowledge of myself: Secondly, That I should beware of falling into the same again hereafter: Thirdly, That I should promise to abstain from all things which might disquiet the church of God: I protest here this day, that whatsoever I have said, seemeth unto me to be sound, true, and catholic: yet for the further proof thereof, I do offer myself personally, either here or elsewhere, publicly to give a reason of my sayings. And if this please not the legate, I am ready also in writing to answer his objections, if he have any against me; and touching these things, to hear the sentence and judgment of the university of the empire, Basil, Friburg, and Louvain."

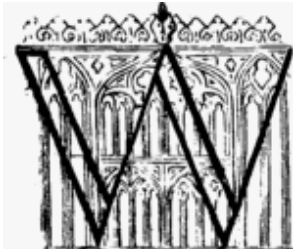
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Hereto when they had received an answer in writing, they departed.

After this, Luther by and by prepareth an answer to the legate, teaching, that the merits of Christ are not committed unto men: That the pope's voice is to be heard when he speaketh agreeable to the Scriptures: That the pope may err: That he ought to be reprehended. [Acts xv.] Moreover he showed, that in the matter of faith, not only the general council, but also every faithful Christian, is above the pope, if he lean to better authority and reason: That the Extravagant containeth untruths: That it is an infallible verity, that none is just: That it is necessary, for him that cometh to the receiving of the sacrament, to believe: That faith in the absolution and remission of sins, is necessary: That he ought not, nor might not, decline from the verity of the Scripture; That he sought nothing but the light of the truth, &c.

But the cardinal would hear no Scriptures; he disputed without Scriptures; devised glosses and expositions of his own head; and by distinctions, (wherewith the divinity of the Thomists is full,) like a very Proteus, he avoided all things. After this, Luther, being commanded to come no more into the presence of the legate except he would recant, notwithstanding abode there still, and would not depart. Then the cardinal sent for Johannes Staupitz, vicar of the Augustines, and moved him earnestly to bring Luther to recant of his own accord. Luther tarried the next day also, and nothing was said unto him. The third day, moreover, he tarried, and delivered up his mind in writing:

First, Luther thanked the cardinal for his courtesy and great kindness, which he perceived by the words of Staupitz toward him; and therefore was the more ready to gratify him in whatsoever kind of office he could do him service: confessing moreover, that where he had been somewhat sharp and eager against the pope's dignity, that was not so much of his own mind, as it was to be ascribed to the importunity of certain which gave him occasion. Notwithstanding, as he acknowledged his excess therein, so he was ready to show more moderation in that behalf hereafter, and also promised to make amends for the same unto the bishop; and that in the pulpit, if he pleased. And as touching the matter of pardons, he promised also to proceed no further in any mention thereof, so that his adversaries likewise were bound to keep silence. But whereas he was pressed to retract his sentence before defended, forasmuch as he had said nothing but with a good conscience, and which was agreeable to the firm testimonies of the Scripture, therefore he humbly desired the determination thereof to be referred to the bishop of Rome; for nothing could be more grateful to him, than to hear the voice of the church speaking, &c.



Who doth not see by this so humble and honest submission of Luther, but that if the bishop of Rome would have been answered with any reason, or contented with sufficient mean, he had never been touched any further of Luther? But the secret purpose of God had a further work herein to do; for the time now was come, when God thought good that pride should have a fall. Thus while the immeasurable desire of that bishop sought more than enough, (like to Æsop's dog coveting both to have the flesh and the shadow,) not only he missed what he gaped for, but also lost that which he had. But to the purpose of our matter again: this writing Luther delivered to the cardinal, the third day after he was commanded out of his sight; which letter or writing the cardinal did little regard. When Luther saw that he would

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give no answer nor countenance to the letter; yet, notwithstanding, he remained, after that, the fourth day, and nothing was answered. The fifth day likewise was passed with like silence, and nothing done. At length, by the counsel of his friends, and especially because the cardinal had said before, that he had a commandment to imprison Luther and John Staupitz the vicar; after that he had made and set up his appeal where it might be seen and read, he departed; thinking that he had showed such dangerous obedience long enough. Luther, a beholder and a doer of these things, recordeth the same, and sheweth the cause why he submitted himself to the Church of Rome: declaring also, that even those things which are most truly spoken, yet ought to be maintained and defended with humility and fear. Some things he suppressed and concealeth, which he supposeth the reader to understand, not without grief and sorrow. At length he protesteth, that he reverenceth and followeth the Church of Rome in all things, and that he setteth himself only against those, who, under the name of the Church of Rome, go about to set forth and commend Babylon unto us.

Thus you have heard how that Luther, being rejected from the speech and sight of Cajetan the cardinal, after six days' waiting, departed by the advice of his friends, and returned unto Wittenberg; leaving a letter in writing to be given to the cardinal, wherein he declared sufficiently: first his obedience in his coming; the reasons of his doctrine; his submission reasonable to the see of Rome; his long waiting after he was repelled from the cardinal's speech; the charges of the duke; and finally, the cause of his departing. Besides this letter to the cardinal, he left also an appellation to the bishop of Rome, from the cardinal, which he caused to be affixed before his departure.

After that Luther was thus departed and returned again into his country, Cajetan writeth to Duke Frederic a sharp and a biting letter, in which, first he signifieth unto him his gentle entertainment and good will showed to reduce Luther from his error. Secondly, he complaineth of the sudden departing of him, and of Staupitz. Thirdly, he declareth the pernicious danger of Luther's doctrine against the Church of Rome. Fourthly, he exhorteth the duke, that as he tendereth his own honour and safety, and regardeth the favour of the high bishop, he will send him up to Rome, or expel him out of his dominions, forasmuch as such a pestilence breeding, as that was, could not, neither ought by any means long so to be suffered.

To this letter of the cardinal the duke answereth again at large, purging both Luther and himself; Luther, in that he, following his conscience, grounded upon the word of God, would not revoke that for an error, which could be proved no error. And himself he excuseth thus: that where it is required of him to banish him his country, or to send him up to Rome, it would be little honesty for him so to do, and less conscience, unless he knew just cause why he should do so; which, if the cardinal would or could declare unto him, there should lack nothing in him which were the part of a Christian prince to do. And therefore he desired him to be a mean unto the bishop of Rome, that innocency and truth be not oppressed before the crime or error be lawfully convicted.

This done, the duke sendeth the letter of the cardinal unto Martin Luther, who answered again to the prince; showing first how he came obediently unto Cajetan with the emperor's warrant, and what talk there was between them: how Cajetan pressed him, against his conscience and manifest truth, to revoke his errors. First, that the merits of Christ's passion were not the

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treasure of the pope's pardons: secondly, that faith was necessary in receiving the sacraments. Albeit in the first he was content to yield to the cardinal; in the second, because it touched a great part of our salvation, he could not with a safe conscience relent, but desired to be taught by the Scripture, or at least, that the matter might be brought into open disputation in some free place of Germany, where the truth might be discussed and judged of learned men. The cardinal, not pleased with this, in great anger cast out many menacing words, neither would admit him any more to his presence or speech; whereas he yet, notwithstanding, persisting in his obedience to the Church of Rome, gave attendance, waiting upon the cardinal's pleasure a sufficient time.

At last when no answer would come, after he had waited the space of five or six days to his great detriment and greater danger, by the persuasion of his friends he departed whereat if the cardinal were displeased, he had the more cause to blame himself. "And now, whereas the cardinal threateneth me," saith he, "not to let the action fall, but that the process thereof shall be pursued at Rome, unless I either come and present myself, or else be banished your dominions; I am not so much grieved for mine own cause, as that you should sustain for my matter any danger or peril. And therefore, seeing there is no place nor country which can keep me from the malice of mine adversaries, I am willing to depart hence, and to forsake my country, whithersoever it shall please the Lord to lead me; thanking God who hath counted me worthy to suffer thus much for the glory of Christ's name."

Here, no doubt, was the cause of Luther in great danger; being now brought to this strait, that both Luther was ready to fly the country, and the duke again was as much afraid to keep him, had not the marvellous providence of God, who had this matter in guiding, here provided a remedy where the power of man did fail, by stirring up the whole university of Wittenberg; who, seeing the cause of truth thus to decline, with a full and general consent addressed their letters unto the prince, in defence of Luther and of his cause; making their humble suit unto him, that he, of his princely honour, would not suffer innocency, and the simplicity of truth so clear as is the Scripture, to be foiled and oppressed by mere violence of certain malignant flatterers about the pope; but that the error first may be showed and convicted, before the party be pronounced guilty.

By the occasion of these letters, the duke began more seriously in his mind to consider the cause of Luther, and to read his works, and also to hearken to his sermons: whereby, through God's holy working, he grew to knowledge and strength; perceiving in Luther's quarrel more than he did before. This was about the beginning of December, A.D. 1518.

As this passed on, Pope Leo, playing the lion at Rome, in the mean time, in the month of November, (to establish his seat against this defection which he feared to come,) had sent forth new indulgences into Germany, and all quarters abroad, with a new edict, wherein he declared this to be the catholic doctrine of the holy mother Church of Rome, prince of all other churches, that bishops of Rome, who are successors of Peter, and vicars of Christ, have this power and authority given to release and dispense, also to grant indulgences, available both for the living and for the dead lying in the pains of purgatory: and this doctrine he charged to be received of all faithful Christian men, under pain of the great curse, and utter separation from all holy church. This popish decree and indulgence, as a new merchandise or ale-stake to get money, being set up in all quarters of Christendom for the holy father's advantage, came also to be received in

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Germany about the month of December. Luther, in the mean time, hearing how they were about in Rome to proceed and pronounce against him, provided a certain appellation conceived in due form of law, wherein he appealeth from the pope to the general council.

When Pope Leo perceived, that neither his pardons would prosper to his mind, nor that Luther could be brought to Rome; to essay how to come to his purpose by crafty allurements, he sent his chamberlain, Carolus Miltitius, above mentioned, (who was a German,) into Saxony, to Duke Frederic, with a golden rose, after the usual ceremony accustomed every year to be presented to him; with secret letters also to certain nobleman of the duke's council, to solicit the pope's cause, and to remove the duke's mind, if it might be, from Luther. But before Miltitius approached into Germany, Maximilian the emperor deceased in the month of January, A.D. 1519. At that time two there were who stood for the election; to wit, Francis, the French king, and Charles, king of Spain, who was also duke of Austria, and duke of Burgundy. To make the matter short, through the means of Frederic, prince elector, (who, having the offer of the preferment, refused the same,) the election fell to Charles, called Charles the Fifth, surnamed Prudence: which was about the end of August.

In the month of June before, there was a public disputation ordained at Leipsic, which is a city in Misnia, under the dominion of George, duke of Saxony, uncle to Duke Frederic. This disputation first began through the occasion of John Eckius, a friar, and Andreas Carolostadt, doctor of Wittenberg. This Eckius had impugned certain propositions or conclusions of Martin Luther, which he had written the year before touching the pope's pardons. Against him Carolostadt wrote in defence of Luther. Eckius again, to answer Carolostadt, set forth an apology, which apology Carolostadt confuted by writing. Upon this began the disputation, with safe-conduct granted by Duke George to all and singular persons that would resort to the same. To this disputation came also Martin Luther, with Philip Melancthon, who, not past a year before, was newly come to Wittenberg; Luther not thinking then to dispute in any matter, because of his appellation above mentioned, but only to hear what there was said and done.

First, before the entry into the disputation it was agreed, that the acts should be penned by notaries, and after to be divulged abroad. But Eckius afterwards went back from that, pretending that the penning of the notaries would be a hinderance and a stay unto them, whereby the heat of them in their reasoning should the more languish, and their vehemency abate. But Carolostadt without notaries would not dispute. The sum of their disputations was reduced to certain conclusions; amongst which the Greeks call *αυθαιρετον* [Greek: *aythaireton*]: that is, "Whether a man have of himself any election or purpose to do that is good: or, (to use the terms of the school,) "Whether a man of congruence may deserve grace, doing that which in him doth lie?" Herein when the question was to be discussed, what the will of man may do of itself without grace, they, through heat of contention, (as the manner is,) fell into other by-matters and ambages little or nothing appertaining to that which Carolostadt proposed. Eckius affirmed, that the pure strength to do good is not in man's will, but is given of God to man, to take interest and increase of man again, which first he seemed to deny. Then, being asked of Carolostadt, whether the whole and full good work that is in man proceedeth of God; to this he answered, "the whole good work, but not wholly:" granting, that the will is moved of God; but to consent, to be in man's power. Against this reasoning Carolostadt alleged certain places of Austin, and especially of St. Paul, who saith, that God worketh in us both to will and to perform. And this sentence of

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Carolstadt seemed to overcome. Eckius, for his assertion, inferred certain extracts out of Bernard, which seemed little to the purpose. And thus was a whole week lost about this contentious and sophistical altercation between Eckius and Carolstadt.



The debate at Leipsic

Luther (as was said) came, not thinking at all to dispute; but, having free liberty granted by the duke, and under the pope's authority, was provoked, and forced against his will, to dispute with Eckius. The matter of their controversy was about the authority of the bishop of Rome. Here is first to be admonished, that Luther before had set forth in writing this doctrine: That they that do attribute the pre-eminency to the Church of Rome, have no foundation for them, but out of the pope's decrees, set forth not much past four hundred years heretofore; which decrees he affirmed

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to be contrary to all ancient histories, above a thousand years past; contrary also to the Holy Scriptures, and unto the Nicene council.

Against this assertion Eckius set up a contrary conclusion; saying, that those who hold that the supremacy and pre-eminency of the Church of Rome above all other churches was not before the time of Pope Silvester the First, do err, forasmuch as they that succeeded in the see and faith of Peter, were always received for the successors of Peter, and vicars of Christ on earth.

This being the last of all the other themes of Eckius, yet thought he chiefly to begin with this against Luther, to bring him into more displeasure with the bishop of Rome; wherein Luther himself much refused to dispute, alleging that matter to be more odious than necessary for that present time, and that also, for the bishop of Rome's sake, he had much rather keep silence in the same. Whereunto, if he must needs be urged, he would the fault should be understood of all men to be where it was; namely, in his adversaries who provoked him thereunto, and not in himself. Eckius again, clearing himself, translateth all the fault unto Luther, who first, in his treatise *De Indulgentiis Papæ* defended, that before Pope Silvester's time the Church of Rome had no place of majority or pre-eminence above other churches: and also before, the Cardinal Cajetan affirmed, that Pope Pelagius wrested many places of the Scripture out of their sense, unto his own affection and purpose: "Wherefore the fault hereof," said he, "to him rather is to be imputed, who ministered the first occasion."

Thus Luther being egged and constrained to dispute, whether he would or no, the question began to be propounded touching the supremacy of the bishop of Rome; which supremacy Eckius did contend to be founded and grounded upon God's law. Martin Luther, on the other side, denied not the supremacy of the bishop of Rome above other churches, nor denied the same, moreover, to be universal over all churches; but only he affirmed it not to be instituted by God's law. Upon this question the disputation did continue the space of five days; during all which season, Eckius very dishonestly and uncourteously demeaned himself, studying by all means how to bring his adversary into the hatred of the auditors, and into danger of the pope. The reasons of Eckius were these: "Forasmuch as the church, being a civil body, cannot be without a head, therefore, as it standeth with God's law that other civil regiments should not be destitute of their head, so is it by God's law requisite, that the pope should be the head of the universal church of Christ." To this Martin Luther answered, that he confesseth and granteth the church not to be headless, so long as Christ is alive, who is the only Head of the church; neither doth the church require any other head beside him, forasmuch as it is a spiritual kingdom, not earthly: and he alleged for him the place of Colossians i. Eckius again produceth certain places out of Jerome and Cyprian, which made very little to prove the primacy of the pope to hold by God's law. As touching the testimony of Bernard, neither was the authority of that author of any great force in this case, nor was the place alleged so greatly to the purpose.

Then came he to the place of St. Matthew, chap. xvi., Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock will I build my church, &c. To this was answered, that this was a confession of faith, and that Peter there represented' the person of the whole universal church; as Austin doth expound it. Also that Christ in that place meaneth himself to be the Rock, as is manifest to collect, both by his words, and the order of the sentence, and many other conjectures. Likewise to the place of St. John, Feed my sheep; which words Eckius alleged properly and peculiarly to be spoken to Peter

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alone. Martin answered, that after these words spoken, equal authority was given to all the apostles, where Christ saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whose sins so-ever ye remit, they are remitted, &c. "By these words," saith he, "Christ, assigning to them their office, doth teach what it is to feed; and what he ought to be, that feedeth."

After this, Eckius came to the authority of the council of Constance, alleging this amongst other articles: That it standeth upon necessity of our salvation, to believe the bishop of Rome to be supreme head of the church; alleging moreover, that in the same council it was debated and discussed, that the general council could not err. Whereunto Martin Luther again did answer discreetly, saying, that all the articles which John Huss did hold in that council, were not condemned for heretical; with much other matter more. Again, of what authority that council of Constance is to be esteemed, that he left to other men's judgments. "This is most certain," said he, "that no council hath such authority to make new articles of faith." Here Martin Luther began to be cried out of by Eckius and his complices, for diminishing the authority of general councils: although indeed he meant nothing less, but ever laboured to confirm the authority of the same, yet was he called heretic and schismatic, and one of the Bohemians' faction, with many other terms besides of reproachful contumely. Eckius then granted the authority of the apostles to be equal; and yet not to follow thereby, the authority of all bishops therefore to be equal; "for between apostleship and ministry," said he, "there is great difference."

To conclude, Eckius in no case could abide, that any creature should decline from any word or sentence of the pope's decrees, or the constitutions of the forefathers. To this again Luther answered, grounding himself upon the place in Galatians ii., where St. Paul, speaking of the principal apostles, saith, And of them which seemed to be great, what they were before, it maketh no matter to me; for God accepteth no man's person. Nevertheless they that were of some reputation did avail nothing at all, &c. Eckius to this said, that as touching the authority of the apostles, they were all chosen of Christ, but were ordained bishops by St. Peter. And whereas Luther brought in the constitution of the decree, which saith, Yea, let not the bishop of Rome be called universal bishop, &c. To this Eckius answered in this sort: that the bishop of Rome ought not to be called universal bishop; yet he may be called (saith he) bishop of the universal church. And thus much touching the question of the pope's supremacy.

From this matter they entered next to purgatory, wherein Eckius kept no order; for when they should have disputed what power the pope hath in purgatory, Eckius turned the scope of the question, and proved that there is purgatory; and alleged for him the place of Maccabees. Luther, leaning upon the judgment of Jerome, affirmed the book of Maccabees not to be canonical. Eckius again replied, the book of Maccabees to be of no less authority than the Gospels. Also he alleged the place, 1 Cor. iii., He shall be saved, yet so as it were by fire. Moreover, he inferred the place of Matthew v., Agree thou with thine adversary while thou art in the way with him, lest he commit thee to prison; from whence thou shalt not escape till thou hast paid the uttermost farthing, &c. To this he added also the place of the Psalms, We have passed through the fire and water, &c. How these places be wrested to purgatory, let the reader discern and judge.

Then was inferred the question of indulgences, whereof Eckius seemed to make but a toy, and a matter of nothing, and so passed it over.

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At last they came to the question of penance; touching which matter, the reasons of Eckius digressed much from the purpose, which went about to prove, that there be some manner of pains of satisfaction: which thing Luther did never deny. But that for every particular offence such particular penance is exacted of God's justice upon the repentant sinner, as is in man's power to remit or release, as pleaseth him; such penance neither Luther, nor any other true Christian, did admit.

And thus have ye the chief effect of this disputation between Luther and Eckius at Leipsic, which was in the month of July, A.D. 1519.

About the beginning of the same year, Ulderic Zuinglius came first to Zurich, and there began to teach; who, in the sixteenth article in his book of articles, recorded, that Luther and he, both at one time, one not knowing nor hearing of another, began to write against the pope's pardons and indulgences. Albeit, if the time be rightly counted, I suppose we shall find that Luther began a year or two before Zuinglius. Notwithstanding, this doth Sleidan testify, that in this present year, when Sampson, a Franciscan, came with the pope's pardons to Zurich, Ulderic Zuinglius did withstand him, and declared his chaffer and pardons to be but a vain seducing of the people to inveigle away their money.

The next year ensuing, which was 1520, the friars and doctors of Louvain, and also of Cologne, condemned the books of Luther as heretical; against whom Luther again effectually defended himself, and charged them with obstinate violence and malicious impiety. After this, within few days flashed out from Rome the thunderbolt of Pope Leo against the said Luther, notwithstanding he so humbly and obediently before had revered both the person of the pope, and recognised the authority of his see, and also had dedicated unto him the book entitled Of Christian Liberty; in which book these two points principally he discusseth and proveth:

"I. That a Christian man is free, and lord of all things, and subject to none.

"II. That a Christian man is a diligent underling and servant of all men, and to every man subject."

Moreover, in the same year he set out a defence of all his articles, which the pope's bull had before condemned.

Another book also he wrote, to the nobility of Germany, in the which book he impugneeth and shaketh the three principal walls of the papists: the first whereof is this:

"I. Whereas the papists say, that no temporal or profane magistrate hath any power upon the spirituality, but they have power over the other.

"II. Where any place of Scripture, being in controversy, is to be decided, they say, No man may expound the Scripture, or be judge thereof, but only the pope.

"III. When any council is brought against them, they say, that no man hath authority to call a council, but only the pope."

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Moreover, in the aforesaid book divers other matters he handleth and discourseth: That the pope can stop no free council; also what things ought to be handled in councils; that the pride of the pope is not to be suffered; what money goeth out of Germany yearly to the pope, amounting to the sum of three millions of florins. The true meaning of this verse he expoundeth: *Tu supplex ora, to protege, toque labora*; wherein the three estates, with their offices and duties, are described; to wit, the minister, the magistrate, and the subjects. Furthermore, in the said book he proveth and discusseth, that the emperor is not under the pope; but contrariwise, that the donation of Constantine is not true, but forged: that priests may have wives: that the voices of the people ought not to be separate from the election of ecclesiastical persons: that interdicting and suspending of matrimony at certain times is brought in by avarice: what is the right use of excommunication: that there ought to be fewer holidays: that liberty ought not to be restrained in meats: that wilful poverty and begging ought to be abolished: what damage and inconvenience have grown by the council of Constance; and what misfortunes Sigismund the emperor sustained, for not keeping faith and promise with John Huss and Jerome: that heretics should be convinced not by fire and faggot, but by evidence of Scripture, and God's word: how schools and universities ought to be reformed: what is to be said and judged of the pope's decretals: that the first teaching of children ought to begin with the gospel: Item, he writeth in the same book against excessive apparel among the Germans: also against their excess in spices, &c.

In this year, moreover, followed, not long after, the coronation of the new emperor Charles the Fifth, which was in the month of October, at Aix-la-Chapelle. After which coronation, being solemnized about the month of November, Pope Leo sent again to Duke Frederic, two cardinals his legates, of whom the one was Hierome Aleander, who, after a few words of high commendation first premised to the duke touching his noble progeny, and other his famous virtues, they made two requests unto him in the pope's name: first, that he would cause all books of Luther to be burned; secondly, that he would either see the said Luther there to be executed, or else would make him sure, and send him up to Rome, unto the pope's presence.

These two requests seemed very strange unto the duke; who, answering again to the cardinals, said, that he, being long absent from thence about other public affairs, could not tell what there was done, neither did he communicate with the doings of Luther. Notwithstanding this, he heard that Eckius was a great perturber not only of Luther, but of other learned and good men of his university. As for himself, he was always ready to do his duty; first, in sending Luther to Cajetan the cardinal at the city of Augsburg; and afterwards, at the pope's commandment, would have sent him away out of his dominion, had not Meltitius, the pope's own chamberlain, given contrary counsel to retain him still in his own country, fearing lest that in other countries he might do more harm, where he was less known: and so now was as ready to do his duty, wheresoever right and equity did so require. But forasmuch as in this cause he seeth much hatred and violence showed on the one part, and no error yet convicted on the other part, but that it had rather the approbation of divers well learned and sound men of judgment; and forasmuch as also the cause of Luther was not yet heard before the emperor, therefore he desired the said legates to be a mean to the pope's Holiness, that certain learned persons of gravity and upright judgment might be assigned to have the hearing and determination of this matter, and that his error first might be known, before he were made a heretic, or his books burned: which being done, when he should see his error by manifest and sound testimonies of Scripture reprov'd, Luther should find no favour at his hands. Otherwise he trusted that the pope's Holiness would exact no such thing

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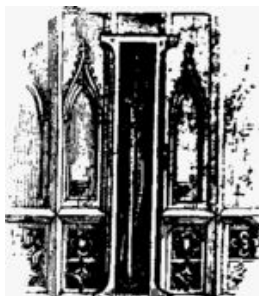
of him, which he might not with equity, and honour of his place and estate, reasonably perform, &c.

Then the cardinals (declaring to the duke again, that they could no otherwise do, but according to the form of their prescript commission they must proceed) took the books of Luther, and shortly after set fire upon them, and openly burnt them. Luther, hearing this, in like manner called all the multitude of students and learned men in Wittenberg, and there, taking the pope's decrees, and the bull lately sent down against him, openly and solemnly, accompanied with a great number of people following him, set them likewise on fire, and burnt them; which was the tenth of December, A.D. 1520.

139. The Diet of Worms.

A little before these things thus passed between the pope and Martin Luther, the emperor had commanded and ordained a sitting or assembly of the states of all the empire to be holden at the city of Worms, against the sixth day of January next ensuing; in the which assembly, through the means of Duke Frederic, the emperor gave forth, that he would have the cause of Luther there brought before him; and so it was. For at what time the assembly was commenced in the city of Worms, the day and month aforesaid, which was the sixth of January; afterwards, upon the sixth of March following, the emperor, through the instigation of Duke Frederic, directed his letters unto Luther; signifying, that forasmuch as he had set abroad certain books, he therefore, by the advice of his peers and princes about him, had ordained to have the cause brought before him in his own hearing; and therefore he granted him licence to come, and return home again. And that he might safely and quietly so do, and be thereof assured, he promised unto him, by public faith and credit, in the name of the whole empire, his passport and safe-conduct; as by the instrument which he sent unto him, he might more fully be certified. Wherefore, without all doubt or distrust, he willed him eftsoons to make his repair unto him, and to be there present the twenty-first day after the receipt thereof: and because he should not misdoubt any fraud or injury herein, he assured to him his warrant and promise.

Martin Luther being thus provided for his safe-conduct by the emperor, after he had been first accursed at Rome upon Maundy Thursday by the pope's censure, shortly after Easter speedeth his journey toward the emperor at Worms, where the said Luther, appearing before the emperor and all the states of Germany, how constantly he stuck to the truth, and defended himself, and answered his adversaries, and what adversaries he had, here followeth in full history, with the acts and doings which there happened; according as in our former edition partly was before described.



In the year of our salvation 1521, about seventeen days after Easter, Martin Luther entered into Worms, being sent for by the Emperor Charles the Fifth, who, the first year of his empire, made an assembly of princes in the aforesaid city. And whereas Martin Luther had published three years before, certain propositions to be disputed in the town of Wittenberg, in Saxony, against the tyranny of the pope, (which, notwithstanding, were torn to pieces, condemned, and burned by the papists, and yet by no manifest Scriptures, nor probable reason, convinced,) the matter began to grow to a tumult and uproar; and yet Luther maintained all this while openly his cause against the clergy. Whereupon it seemed good to certain, that Luther should be called; assigning unto him a herald-at-arms, with a letter of safe-conduct by the emperor and princes. Being sent for, he came, and was brought to the knights of the Rhodes' place, where he was lodged, well entertained, and visited of many earls, barons, knights of the order, gentlemen, priests, and the commonalty, who frequented his lodging till night.

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To conclude, he came, contrary to the expectation of many, as well adversaries as others. For albeit he was sent for by the emperor's messenger, and had letters of safe-conduct; yet for that a few days before his access, his books were condemned by public proclamation, it was much doubted of by many that he would not come: and the rather, for that his friends deliberated together in a village nigh hand, called Oppenheim (where Luther was first advertised of these occurrents); and many persuaded him not to adventure himself to such a present danger, considering how these beginnings answered not to the faith of promise made. Who, when he had heard their whole persuasion and advice, he answered in this wise: "As touching me, since I am sent for, I am resolved and certainly determined to enter Worms, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ; yea, although I knew there were as many devils to resist me, as there are tiles to cover the houses in Worms."

The fourth day after his repair, a gentleman named Ulrick, of Pappenheim, lieutenant-general of the men-at-arms of the empire, was commanded by the emperor before dinner to repair to Luther, and to enjoin him at four o'clock in the afternoon to appear before the imperial Majesty, the princes electors, dukes, and other estates of the empire, to understand the cause of his sending for; whereunto he willingly agreed, as his duty was. And after four o'clock, Ulrick of Pappenheim, and Caspar Sturm, the emperor's herald, (who conducted Martin Luther from Wittenberg to Worms,) came for Luther, and accompanied him through the garden of the knights of the Rhodes' place, to the earl Palatine's palace; and, lest the people should molest him, that thronged in, he was led by secret stairs to the place where he was appointed to have audience. Yet many, who perceived the pretence, violently rushed in, and were resisted, albeit in vain: many ascended the galleries, because they desired to behold Luther.

Thus standing before the emperor, the electors, dukes, earls, and all the estates of empire assembled there, he was first advertised by Ulrick of Pappenheim to keep silence, until such time as he was required to speak. Then John Eckius above mentioned, who then was the bishop of Treves' general official, with a loud and intelligible voice, first in Latin, then in Dutch, according to the emperor's commandment, said and proponed this sentence in manner as ensueth, or like in effect:

"Martin Luther! the sacred and invincible imperial Majesty hath enjoined, by the consent of all the estates of the holy empire, that thou shouldest be appealed before the throne of his Majesty, to the end I might demand of thee these two points.

"First, Whether thou confess these books here, [for he showed a heap of Luther's books written in the Latin and Dutch tongues,] and which are in all places dispersed, entitled with thy name, be thine, and thou dost affirm them to be thine, or not?

"Secondly, Whether thou wilt recant and revoke them, and all that is contained in them, or rather meanest to stand to that thou hast written?"

Then, before Luther prepared to answer, Master Jerome Scurffe, a lawyer at Wittenberg, required that the titles of the books should be read. Forthwith the aforesaid Eckius named certain of the books, and those principally which were imprinted at Basil; among which he nominated

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his Commentaries upon the Psalter, his book of Good Works, his Commentary upon the Lord's Prayer, and divers other which were not contentious.

After this Luther answered thus in Latin and in Dutch:

"Two things are proponed unto me by the imperial Majesty: First, whether I will avouch for mine all those books that bear my name. Secondly, whether I will maintain or revoke any thing that hitherto I have devised and published: whereunto I will answer as briefly as I can.

"In the first, I can do none other than recognise those books to be mine which lastly were named, and certainly I will never recant any clause thereof. In the second, to declare whether I will wholly defend, or call back any thing comprised in them: forasmuch as there be questions of faith, and the salvation of the soul, (and this concerneth the word of God, which is the greatest and most excellent matter that can be in heaven or earth, and the which we ought duly evermore to reverence,) this might be accounted in me a rashness of judgment, and even a most dangerous attempt, if I would pronounce any thing before I were better advised; considering I might recite something less than the matter importeth, and more than the truth requireth, if I did not premeditate that which I would speak. The which two things well considered, doth set before mine eyes this sentence of our Lord Jesus Christ, wherein it is said, Whosoever shall deny me before men, I will deny him before my Father. I require then for this cause, and humbly beseech the imperial Majesty to grant me, liberty and leisure to deliberate; so that I may satisfy the interrogation made unto me, without prejudice of the word of God, and peril of mine own soul."

Whereupon the princes began to deliberate. This done, Eckius, the prolocutor, pronounced what was their resolution, saying,

"Albeit, Master Luther! thou hast sufficiently understood by the emperor's commandment the cause of thy appearance here, and therefore dost not deserve to have any further respite given thee to determine; yet the emperor's Majesty, of his mere clemency, granteth thee one day to meditate for thine answer, so that to-morrow, at this instant hour, thou shalt repair to exhibit thine opinion, not in writing, but to pronounce the same with lively voice."

This done, Luther was led to his lodging by the herald. But herein I may not be oblivious, that in the way going to the emperor, and when he was in the assembly of princes, he was exhorted by others to be courageous, and manly to demean himself, and not to fear them that kill the body, but not the soul; but rather to dread Him, that is able to send both body and soul to everlasting fire.

Furthermore, he was encouraged with this sentence; When thou art before kings, think not what thou shalt speak, for it shall be given thee in that hour, Matt. x.

The next day, after four o'clock, the herald came and brought Luther from his lodging to the emperor's court, where he abode till six o'clock, for that the princes were occupied in grave consultations; abiding there, and being environed with a great number of people, and almost smothered for the press that was there. Then after, when the princes were set, and Luther entered, Eckius, the official, began to speak in this manner:

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"Yesterday, at this hour, the emperor's Majesty assigned thee to be here, Master Luther! for that thou didst affirm those books that we named yesterday to be thine. Further, to the interrogation by us made, whether thou wouldest approve all that is contained in them, or abolish and make void any part thereof, thou didst require time of deliberation, which was granted, and is now expired; albeit thou oughtest not to have opportunity granted to deliberate, considering it was not unknown to thee wherefore we cited thee. And as concerning the matter of faith, every man ought to be so prepared, that at all times, whensoever he shall be required, he may give certain and constant reason thereof; and thou especially, being counted a man of such learning, and so long time exercised in theology. Then go to; answer even now to the emperor's demand, whose bounty thou hast proved in giving thee leisure to deliberate. Wilt thou now maintain all thy books which thou hast acknowledged, or revoke any part of them, and submit thyself?"

The official made this interrogation in Latin and in Dutch. Martin Luther answered in Latin and in Dutch in this wise, modestly and lowly, and yet not without some stoutness of stomach, and Christian constancy; so that his adversaries would gladly have had his courage more humbled and abased, but yet more earnestly desired his recantation; whereof they were in some good hope, when they heard him desire respite of time to make his answer.

His answer was this:

"Most magnificent emperor, and you most noble princes, and my most gentle lords! I appear before you here at this hour prescribed unto me yesterday, yielding the obedience that I owe; humbly beseeching, for God's mercy, your most renowned Majesty, and your Graces and Honours, that ye will minister to me this courtesy, to attend this cause benignly, which is the cause (as I trust) of justice and verity; and if by ignorance I have not given unto every one of you your just titles, or if I have not observed the ceremonies and countenances of the court, offending against them; it may please you to pardon me of your benignities, as one that only hath frequented cloisters, and not courtly civilities. And first, as touching myself, I can affirm or promise no other thing but only this: that I have taught hitherto, in simplicity of mind, that which I have thought to tend to God's glory, and to the salvation of men's souls.

"Now, as concerning the two articles objected by your most excellent Majesty, Whether I would acknowledge those books which were named, and be published in my name; or whether I would maintain and not revoke them: I have given resolute answer to the first, in the which I persist, and shall persevere for evermore, that these books be mine, and published by me in my name; unless it hath since happened, by some fraudulent misdealing of mine enemies, there be any thing foisted into them, or corruptly corrected. For I will acknowledge nothing but that I have written, and that which I have written I will not deny.

"Now to answer to the second article; I beseech your most excellent Majesty, and your Graces, to vouchsafe to give ear. All my books are not of one sort: there be some in which I have so simply and soundly declared and opened the religion of Christian faith, and of good works, that my very enemies are compelled to confess them to be profitable and worthy to be read of all Christians. And truly the pope's bull (how cruel and tyrannous soever it be) judgeth certain of my books inculpable; albeit the same, with severe sentence, thundereth against me, and with monstrous cruelty condemneth my books: which books if I should revoke, I might worthily be

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thought to neglect and transgress the office of a true Christian, and to be one alone that repugneth the public confession of all people. There is another sort of my books which containeth invectives against the papacy, and others of the pope's retinue, as have, with their pestiferous doctrine, and pernicious examples, corrupted the whole state of our Christianity; neither can any deny or dissemble this, (whereunto universal experience and common complaint of all bear witness,) that the consciences of all faithful men be most miserably entrapped, vexed, and cruelly tormented by the pope's laws and doctrines of men; also that the goods and substance of Christian people are devoured, especially in this noble and famous country of Germany; and yet, without order, and in most detestable manner, are suffered still to be devoured without all measure, by incredible tyranny; notwithstanding that they themselves have ordained to the contrary in their own proper laws, as in the 9th and 25th distinctions, and in the 1st and 2nd questions; where they themselves have decreed, that all such laws of popes which be repugnant to the doctrines of the gospel, and the opinions of the ancient fathers, are to be judged erroneous, and reprov'd. If then I shall revoke these, I can do none other but add more force to their tyranny, and open not only windows, but wide gates to their impiety, which is like to extend more wide, and more licentious, than ever it durst heretofore. And by the testimony of this my retraction, their insolent kingdom shall be made more licentious, and less subject to punishment, intolerable to the common people, and also more confirmed and established; especially if this be bruited, that I, Luther, have done this by the authority of your most excellent Majesty, and the sacred Roman empire. O Lord! what a cover or shadow shall I be then, to cloak their naughtiness and tyranny. The rest, or third sort of my books, are such as I have written against certain private and singular persons; to wit, against such as with tooth and nail labour to maintain the Romish tyranny, and to deface the true doctrine and religion which I have taught and professed, As touching these, I plainly confess, I have been more vehement than my religion and profession required. For I make myself no saint, and I dispute not of my life, but of the doctrine of Christ. And these I cannot without prejudice call back. For by this recantation it will come to pass, that tyranny and impiety shall reign, supported by my means; and so shall they exercise cruelty against God's people more violently and ragingly than before. Nevertheless, for that I am a man, and not God, I can none otherwise enterprise to defend my books, than did my very Lord Jesus Christ defend his doctrine; who, being examined of his learning before Annas, and having received a buffet of the minister, said, If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil, John xviii. If the Lord, who was perfect and could not err, refused not to have testimony given against his doctrine, yea, of a most vile servant, how much the more then I, that am but vile corruption, and can of myself do nothing but err, ought earnestly to see and require if any will bear witness against my doctrine. Therefore I require, for God's mercy, your most excellent Majesty, your Graces and right honourable Lordships, or whatsoever he be of high or low degree, here to lay in his testimony, to convict my errors, and confute me by the Scriptures, either out of the prophets, or the apostles; and I will be most ready, if I be so instructed, to revoke any manner of error; yea, and will be the first that shall consume mine own books and burn them.

"I suppose hereby it may appear, that I have perpended and well weighed before the perils and dangers, the divisions and dissensions, which have arisen throughout the whole world by reason of my doctrine, whereof I was vehemently and sharply yesterday admonished: concerning which divisions of men's minds what other men do judge I know not; as touching myself, I conceive no greater delectation in any thing, than when I behold discords and dissensions stirred up for the word of God; for such is the course and proceeding of the gospel:

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Jesus Christ saith, I came not to send peace but a sword; I came to set a man at variance with his father, Matt. x.

"And further, we must think, that our God is marvellous and terrible in his counsels; lest perhaps that which we endeavour with earnest study to achieve and bring to pass, (if we begin first with condemning of his word,) the same rebound again to a huge sea of evil; and lest the new reign of this young and bounteous Prince Charles, (in whom, next after God, we all conceive singular hope,) be lamentably, unfortunately, and miserably begun. I could exemplify this with authorities of the Scriptures more effectually, as by Pharaoh, the king of Babylon, and the kings of Israel, who then most obscured the bright sun of their glory, and procured their own ruin, when by sage counsels they attempted to pacify and establish their governments and realms, and not by God's counsels; for it is he that entrappeth the wily in their wiliness, and subverteth mountains before they be aware. Wherefore it is good, and God's work, to dread the Lord.

"I speak not this, supposing that such politic and prudent heads have need of my doctrine and admonition, but because I would not omit to profit my country, and offer my duty or service, that may tend to the advancement of the same. And thus I humbly commend me to your most excellent Majesty, and your honourable Lordships; beseeching you that I may not incur your displeasures, neither be contemned of you, through the pursuit of my adversaries. I have spoken."

These words pronounced, then Eckius, the emperor's prolocutor, with a stern countenance, began and said, that Luther had not answered to any purpose; neither it behoved him to call in question things in time past, concluded and defined by general councils; and therefore they required of him a plain and direct answer, whether he would revoke or no? — Then Luther said:

"Considering your sovereign Majesty, and your Honours, require a plain answer; this I say and profess as resolutely as I may, without doubting or sophistication, that if I be not convinced by testimonies of the Scriptures, and by probable reasons, (for I believe not the pope, neither his general councils, which have erred many times, and have been contrary to themselves,) my conscience is so bound and captived in these Scriptures and word of God which I have alleged, that I will not, nor may not, revoke any manner of thing; considering it is not godly or lawful to do any thing against conscience, Hereupon I stand and rest: I have not what else to say. God have mercy upon me!"

The princes consulted together upon this answer given by Luther; and when they had diligently examined the same, the prolocutor began to repel him thus:

"Martin, thou hast more immodestly answered than beseemed thy person, and also little to the purpose. Thou dividest thy books into three sorts, in such order as all that thou hast said maketh nothing to the interrogation proponed: and therefore, if thou hadst revoked those wherein the greatest part of thine errors is contained, the emperor's Majesty, and the noble clemency of others, would have suffered the rest that be sound, to sustain no injury. But thou dost revive, and bringest to light again, all that the general council of Constance hath condemned, the which was assembled of all the nation of Germany, and now dost require to be convinced with Scriptures;

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wherein thou errest greatly. For what availeth it to renew disputation of things so long time past condemned by the church and councils, unless it should be necessary to give a reason to every man of every thing that is concluded? Now were it so, that this should be permitted to every one that gainstandeth the determination of the church and councils, that he may once get this advantage, to be convinced by the Scriptures, we shall have nothing certain and established in Christendom. And this is the cause wherefore the emperor's Majesty requireth of thee a simple answer, either negative or affirmative, whether thou mindest to defend all thy works as Christian, or no?"

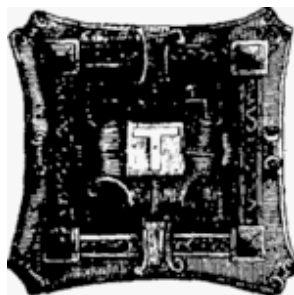
Then Luther, turning to the emperor and the nobles, besought them not to force or compel him to yield against his conscience, confirmed with the Holy Scriptures, without manifest arguments alleged to the contrary by his adversaries.

"I have declared and rendered," said he, "mine answer simply and directly, neither have I any more to say, unless mine adversaries, with true and sufficient probations grounded upon the Scripture, can reduce and resolve my mind, and refel mine errors which they lay to my charge. I am tied, as I said, by the Scriptures; neither may I, or can, with a safe conscience assent unto them. For, as touching general councils, with whose authority only they press me, I am able to prove, that they have both erred, and have defined many times things contrary to themselves. And therefore the authority of them," he said, "not to be sufficient, for the which he should call back those things, the verity whereof standeth so firm and manifest in the Holy Scripture, that neither of him it ought to be required, neither could he so do without impiety."

Whereunto the official again answered, denying that any man could prove the councils to have erred. But Luther alleged that he could, and promised to prove it; and now night approaching, the lords rose and departed. And after Luther had taken his leave of the emperor, divers Spaniards scorned and scoffed the good man in the way going toward his lodging, hallooing and whooping after him a long while.

Upon the Friday following, when the princes electors, dukes, and other estates were assembled, the emperor sent to the whole body of the council a certain letter, containing in effect as followeth:

"Our predecessors, who were truly Christian princes, were obedient to the Romish Church, which Martin Luther presently impugneth. And therefore, inasmuch as he is not determined to call back his errors in any one point, we cannot, without great infamy and stain of honour, degenerate from the examples of our elders, but will maintain the ancient faith, and give aid to the see of Rome. And further, we be resolved to pursue Martin Luther and his adherents, by excommunications, and other means that may be devised, to extinguish his doctrine. Nevertheless we will not violate our faith, which we have promised him, but mean to give order for safe return to the place whence he came."



he princes electors, dukes, and other estates of the empire, sat and consulted upon this sentence, on Friday all the afternoon, and Saturday the whole day, so that Luther yet had no answer of the emperor.

During this time, divers princes, earls, barons, knights of the order, gentlemen, priests, monks, with other the laity and common sort, visited him. All these were present at all hours in the emperor's court, and could not be satisfied with the sight of him. Also there were bills set up, some against Luther, and some, as it seemed, with him. Notwithstanding many supposed, and especially such as well conceived the matter, that this was subtilly done by his enemies, that thereby occasion might be offered to infringe the safe-conduct given him; the which the Roman ambassadors with all diligence endeavoured to bring to pass.

The Monday following, before supper, the archbishop of Treves advertised Luther, that on Wednesday next he should appear before him, at nine o'clock before dinner, and assigned him the place. On St. George's day, a certain chaplain of the archbishop of Treves, about supper-time, came to Luther by the commandment of the bishop, signifying, that at that hour and place prescribed, he must, the morrow after, have access to his master.

The morrow after St. George's day, Luther, obeying the archbishop's commandment, entered his palace, being accompanied thither with his said chaplain, and one of the emperor's heralds, and such as came in his company out of Saxony to Worms, with other his chief friends.

Whereat Dr. Vœus, the marquis of Baden's chaplain, began to declare and protest, in the presence of the archbishop of Treves, Joachim, marquis of Brandenburg, George, duke of Saxony, the bishops of Augsburg and Brandenburg, the earl George, John Bock of Strasburg, Verdeheymer and Peutiger, doctors,

That Luther was not called to be conferred with, or to disputation, but only that the princes had procured licence of the emperor's Majesty, through Christian charity, to have liberty granted unto them to exhort Luther benignly and brotherly. — He said further, that albeit the councils had ordained divers things, yet they had not determined contrary matters. And albeit they had greatly erred, yet their authority was not therefore abased; or at the least, not so erred, that it was lawful for every man to impugn their opinions; inferring moreover many things of Zaccheus and the centurion, also of the traditions, and of constitutions, and of ceremonies ordained of men: affirming that all these were established to repress vices, according to the quality of times; and that the church could not be destitute of human constitutions. It is true, said he, that by the fruits the tree may be known; yet of these laws and decrees of men, many good fruits have proceeded; and St. Martin, St. Nicholas, and many other saints have been present at the councils.

Moreover, that Luther's book would breed a great tumult and incredible troubles; and that he abused the common sort with his book of Christian Liberty, encouraging them to shake off their yoke, and to confirm in them a disobedience: that the world now was at another stay, than when the believers were all of one heart and soul, and therefore it was requisite and behoveful to have laws. It was to be considered, said he, albeit he had written many good things, and no doubt of a good mind, as De triplice Justitia, and other matters, yet how the devil now, by crafty means,

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goeth about to bring to pass, that all his works for ever should be condemned. For by these books which he wrote last, men, said he, would judge and esteem him, as the tree is known, not by the blossom, but by the fruit.

Here he added something of the noon devil, and of the spirit coming in the dark, and of the flying arrow. All his oration was exhortatory, full of rhetorical places of honesty, of utility of laws, of the dangers of conscience, and of the common and particular wealth; repeating oft this sentence in the proem, middle, and epilogue of his oration: That this admonition was given him of a singular good will, and great clemency. In the shutting up of his oration he added menacings, saying, that if he would abide in his purposed intent, the emperor would proceed further, and banish him from the empire; persuading him deliberately to ponder, and to advise these and other things. Martin Luther answered:

"Most noble princes, and my most gracious lords! I render most humble thanks for your benignities and singular good wills, whence proceedeth this admonition; for I know myself to be so base, as by no means I can deserve to be admonished of so mighty estates." Then he frankly pronounced that he had not reprov'd all councils, but only the council of Constance; and for this principal cause, for that the same had condemn'd the word of God, which appeared in the condemnation of this article propon'd by John Huss: "The church of Christ is the communion of the predestinate." "It is evident," said he, "that the council of Constance abolished this article, and consequently the article of our faith: I believe the holy church universal." And said, that he was ready to spend life and blood, so he were not compelled to revoke the manifest word of God; for in defence thereof we ought rather to obey God than men: and that in this he could not avoid the scandal or offence of faith; for there be two manner of offences, to wit, of charity, and of faith. The slander of charity consisteth in manners and in life: the offences of faith or doctrine rest in the word of God: and as touching this last, he could escape it no manner of ways; for it lay not in his power to make Christ not to be a stone of offence. If Christ's sheep were fed with pure pasture of the gospel; if the faith of Christ were sincerely preached, and if there were good ecclesiastical magistrates, who duly would execute their office; we should not need, said he, to charge the church with men's traditions. Further, that he knew well we ought to obey the magistrates and higher powers, how unjustly and perversely soever they lived: we ought also to be obedient to their laws and judgment: all which he had taught, said he, in all his works; adding further, that he was ready to obey them in all points, so that they enforced him not to deny the word of God.

These words finished, Luther was bade to stand aside, and the princes consulted what answer they might give him. This done, they called him into a parlour, where the aforesaid Doctor Vœus repeated his former matters, admonishing Luther to submit his writings to the emperor, and to the princes' judgment. Luther answered humbly and modestly,

That he could not, neither would, permit that men should say he would shun the judgment of the emperor, princes, and superior powers of the empire. So far was it off that he would refuse to stand their trial, that he was contented to suffer his writings to be discussed, considered, and judged of the simplest, so that it were done with the authority of the word of God, and the Holy Scripture: and that the word of God made so much for him, and was so manifest unto him, that he could not give place, unless they could confound his doctrine by the word of God. This

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lesson, said he, he learned of St. Augustine, who writeth, that he gave this honour only to those books which are called canonical; that he believed the same only to be true. As touching other doctors, albeit in holiness and excellency of learning they passed, yet he would not credit them further than they agreed with the touchstone of God's word. Further, said he, St. Paul giveth us a lesson, writing to the Thessalonians: Prove all things, follow that is good. And to the Galatians: Though an angel should descend from heaven, if he preach any other doctrine, let him be accursed, and therefore not to be believed!

Finally, he meekly besought them not to urge his conscience, captived in the bands of the word of God and Holy Scripture, to deny the same excellent word. And thus he commended his cause and himself to them, and especially to the emperor's Majesty, requiring their favour, that he might not be compelled to do any thing in this matter against his conscience: in all other causes he would submit himself, with all kind of obedience and due subjection.

As Luther had thus ended his talk, Joachim, elector, marquis of Brandenburg, demanded if his meaning was this, that he would not yield, unless he were convinced by the Scripture?" Yea, truly, right noble lord!" quoth Luther, "or else by ancient and evident reasons." And so the assembly brake, and the princes repaired to the emperor's court.

After their departure the archbishop of Treves, accompanied with a few his familiars, namely, John Eckius his official, and Cochleus, commanded Luther to repair into his parlour. With Luther was Jerome Scurffe, and Nicholas Ambsdorff, for his assistants. Then the official began to frame an argument, like a sophist and canonist, defending the pope's cause; that for the most part at all times Holy Scriptures have engendered errors, as the error of Helvidius the heretic, out of that place in the gospel, where is expressed, Joseph knew not his wife till she was delivered of her first child. Further, he went about to overthrow this proposition: that the catholic church is the communion of saints.

Martin Luther and Jerome Scurffe reprov'd (but modestly) these follies, and other vain and ridiculous matters, which Eckius brought forth, as things not serving to the purpose. Sometime Cochleus would come in with his five eggs, and laboured to persuade Luther to desist from his purpose, and utterly to refrain thenceforth to write or teach; and so they departed.

About evening the archbishop of Treves advertised Luther by Ambsdorff, that the emperor's promise made unto him was prolonged two days, and in the mean season he would confer with him the next day, and for that cause he would send Peutingger, and the doctor of Baden, (which was Vœus,) the morrow after to him; and he himself would also talk with him.

The Friday after, which was St. Mark's day, Peutingger, and the doctor of Baden, travailed in the forenoon to persuade Luther simply and absolutely to submit the judgment of his writings to the emperor and empire. He answered, he would do it, and submit any thing they would have him, so they grounded with authority of Holy Scripture; otherwise he would not consent to do any thing: for God said by his prophet, (saith he,) Trust ye not in princes, nor in the children of men, in whom there is no health. Also, Cursed be he that trusteth in man. And seeing that they did urge him more vehemently, he answered, "We ought to yield no more to the judgment of men, than the word of God doth suffer." So they departed, and prayed him to advise for better

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answer; and said, they would return after dinner. And after dinner they returned, exhorting him as before, but in vain. They prayed him, that at least he would submit his writing to the judgment of the next general council. Luther agreed thereunto, but with this condition, that they themselves should present the articles collected out of his books to be submitted to the council, in such sort, as, notwithstanding the sentence awarded by the council, should be authorized by the Scripture, and confirmed with the testimonies of the same.

They then, leaving Luther, departed, and reported to the archbishop of Treves, that he had promised to submit his writings in certain articles to the next council, and in the mean space he would keep silence; which Luther never thought: who neither with admonitions, nor yet menaces, could be induced to deny or submit his books to the judgments of men, (he had so fortified his cause with clear and manifest authorities of the Scripture,) until they could prove by sacred Scripture and apparent reasons to the contrary.

It chanced then by the special grace of God, that the archbishop of Treves sent for Luther, thinking presently to hear him. And when he perceived otherwise than Peutingier and the doctor of Baden had told him, he said that he would for no good, but that he had heard himself speak; for else he was even now going to the emperor, to declare what the doctors had reported.

Then the archbishop entreated Luther, and conferred with him very gently, first removing such as were present, as well of the one side as of the other. In this conference Luther concealed nothing from the archbishop; affirming, that it was dangerous to submit a matter of so great importance to them, who, after they had called him under safe-conduct, attempting him with new commandments, had condemned his opinion and approved the pope's bull.

Moreover the archbishop, bidding a friend of his draw nigh, required Luther to declare what remedy might be ministered to help this. Luther answered, that there was no better remedy than such as Gamaliel alleged in the fifth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, as witnesseth St. Luke, saying, If this counsel, or this work, proceed of men, it shall come to nought; but if it be of God, ye cannot destroy it. And so he desired that the emperor might be advertised to write the same to the pope, that he knew certainly, if this his enterprise proceeded not of God, it would be abolished within three, yea, within two years.

The archbishop inquired of him what he would do, if certain articles were taken out of his books, to be submitted to the general council. Luther answered, "So that they be not those which the council of Constance condemned." The archbishop said, "I fear they will be the very same; but what then?" Luther replied, "I will not, nor I cannot, hold my peace of such, for I am sure by their decrees the word of God was condemned; therefore I will rather lose head and life, than abandon the manifest word of my Lord God."

Then the archbishop, seeing Luther would in no wise give over the word of God to the judgment of men, gently bade Luther farewell; who at that instant prayed the archbishop to entreat the emperor's Majesty to grant him gracious leave to depart. He answered, he would take order for him, and speedily advertise him of the emperor's pleasure.

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Within a small while after, John Eckius, the archbishop's official, in the presence of the emperor's secretary, who had been Maximilian's chancellor, said unto Luther in his lodging, by the commandment of the emperor: that since he had been admonished diversely of the imperial Majesty, the electors, princes, and estates of the empire, and that, notwithstanding, he would not return to unity and concord, there remained that the emperor, as advocate of the catholic faith, should proceed further: and it was the emperor's ordinance, that he should in twenty-one days return boldly under safe-conduct, and be safely guarded to the place whence he came; so that in the mean while he stirred no commotion among the people in his journey, either in conference, or by preaching.

Luther, hearing this, answered very modestly and Christianly, "Even as it hath pleased God, so is it come to pass; the name of the Lord be blessed! "He said further, he thanked most humbly the emperor's Majesty, and all the princes and estates of the empire, that they had given to him benign and gracious audience, and granted safe-conduct to come and return. Finally, he said, he desired none other of them, than a reformation according to the sacred word of God, and consonancy of Holy Scriptures, which effectually in his heart he desired: otherwise he was pressed to suffer all chances for the imperial Majesty, as life, and death, goods, fame, and reproach; reserving nothing to himself, but the only word of God, which he would constantly confess to the latter end; humbly recommending him to the emperor's Majesty, and to all the princes and other estates of the sacred empire.

The morrow after, which was the six and twentieth day of April, after he had taken his leave of such as supported him, and other, his benevolent friends that oftentimes visited him, and had broken his fast, at ten of the clock he departed from Worms, accompanied with such as repaired thither with him; having space of time limited unto him, as is said, for one and twenty days, and no more. The emperor's herald, Casper Sturm, followed and overtook him at Oppenheim, being commanded by the emperor to conduct him safely home.

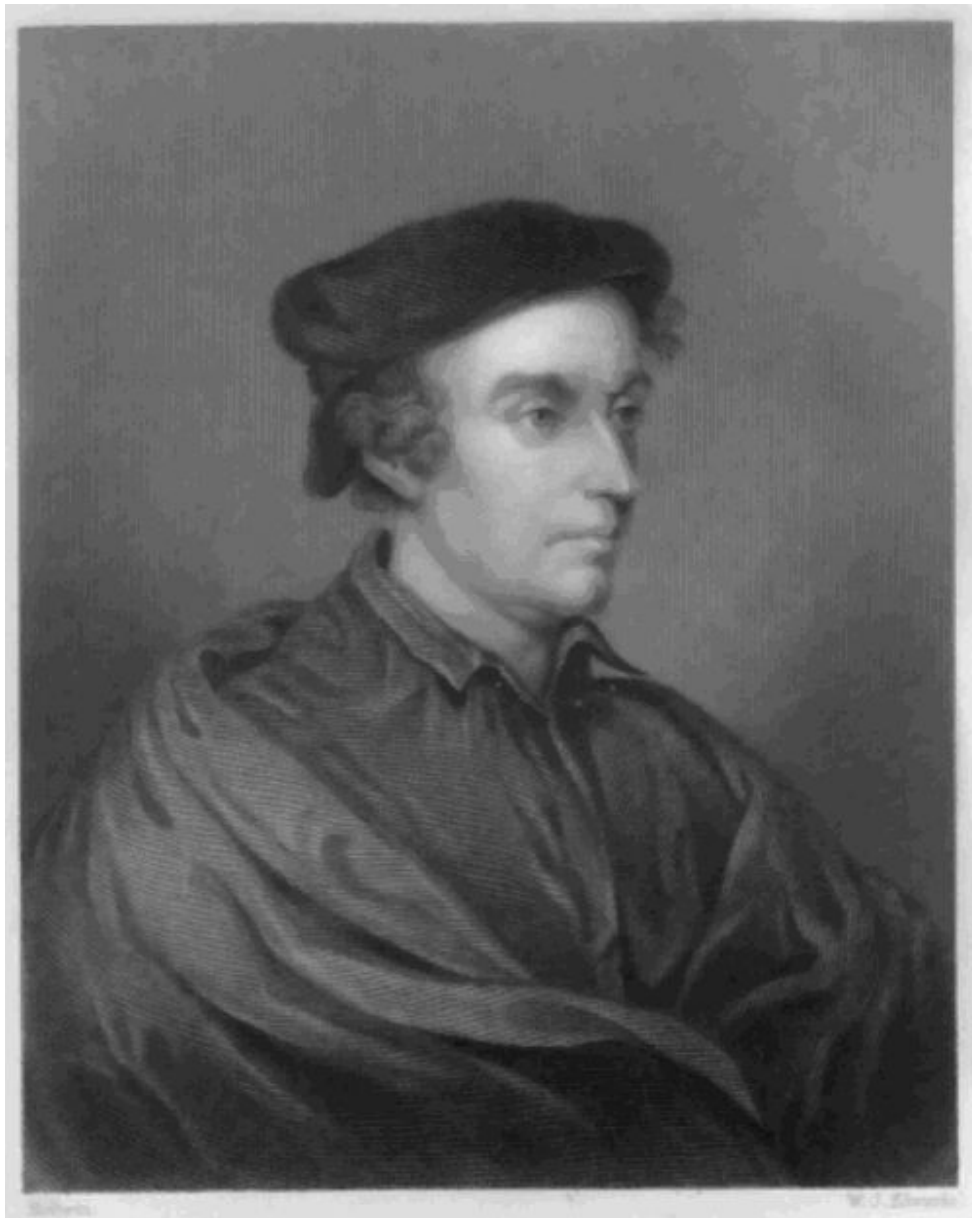
The usual prayer of Martin Luther.

"Confirm, O God! in us that thou hast wrought, and perfect the work that thou hast begun in us, to thy glory: so be it."

Martin Luther, thus being dismissed of the emperor, according to the promise of his safe-conduct made, as you have heard, departed from Worms toward his country, the six and twentieth of April, accompanied with the emperor's herald, and the rest of his company, having only one and twenty days to him granted for his return, and no more. In the which mean space of his return he writeth to the emperor, and to other nobles of the empire, repeating briefly to them the whole action and order of things there done, desiring of them their lawful good will and favour; which, as he hath always stood in need of, so now he most earnestly craveth, especially in this, that his cause, which is not his, but the cause of the whole church universal, may be heard with indifferency and equity, and may be decided by the rule and authority of Holy Scripture: signifying moreover, that whensoever they shall please to send for him, he shall be ready at their commandment, at any time or place, upon their promise of safety, to appear, &c.

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During the time of these doings, the doctors and schoolmen of Paris were not behind with their parts, but, to show their cunning, condemned the books of Luther, extracting out of the same, especially out of the book *De Captivitate Babylonica*, certain articles as touching the sacraments, laws, and decrees of the church, equality of works, vows, contrition, absolution, satisfaction, purgatory, freewill, privileges of holy church, councils, punishment of heretics, philosophy, school-divinity, with other more. Unto whom Philip Melancthon maketh answer, and also Luther himself, albeit pleasantly and jestingly.



Portrait of Philip Melancthon

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It was not long after this, but Charles, the new emperor, to purchase favour with the pope, (because he was not yet confirmed in his empire,) provideth and directeth out a solemn writ of outlawry against Luther, and all them that take his part; commanding the said Luther, wheresoever he might be gotten, to be apprehended, and his books burned. By which decree, proclaimed against Luther, the emperor procured no small thank with the pope; insomuch that the pope, ceasing to take part with the French king, joined himself wholly to the emperor. In the mean time Duke Frederic, to give some place for the time to the emperor's proclamation, conveyed Luther a little out of sight secretly, by the help of certain noblemen whom he well knew to be faithful and trusty unto him in that behalf. There Luther, being close and out of company, wrote divers epistles, and certain books also, unto his friends; among which he dedicated one to his company of Augustine friars, entitled, *De abroganda Missa*: which friars the same time being encouraged by him, began first to lay down their private masses. Duke Frederic, fearing lest that would breed some great stir or tumult, caused the censure and judgment of the whole university of Wittenberg to be asked in the matter; committing the doing thereof to four; Justus Jonas, Philip Melancthon, Nicholas Ambsdorff, Johannes Dulcius.

The minds of the whole university being searched, it was showed to the duke, that he should do well and godly, by the whole advice of the learned there, to command the use of the mass to be abrogated through his dominion: and though it could not be done without tumult, yet that was no let why the course of true doctrine should be stayed for the multitude, which commonly overcometh the better part; neither ought such disturbance to be imputed to the doctrine taught, but to the adversaries, which willingly and wickedly kick against the truth, whereof Christ also giveth us forewarning before. For fear of such tumults therefore, we ought not to surcease from that which we know is to be done, but constantly must go forward in defence of God's truth, howsoever the world doth esteem us, or rage against it. Thus showed they their judgment to Duke Frederic.

It happened moreover about the same year and time, that King Henry also, pretending an occasion to impugn the book *De Captivitate Babylonica*, wrote against Luther. In which book, first, he reproveth Luther's opinion about the pope's pardons; secondly, he defended the supremacy of the bishop of Rome; thirdly, he laboureth to refel all his doctrine of the sacraments of the church.

This book, albeit it carried the king's name in the title, yet it was another that ministered the motion, another that framed the style. But whosoever had the labour of this book, the king had the thank and also the reward; for consequently upon the same, the bishop of Rome gave to the said King Henry, for the style against Luther, the style and title of "Defender of the Christian Faith;" and to his successors for ever.

Shortly after this, within the compass of the same year, Pope Leo, after he had warred against the Frenchmen, and had gotten from them, through the emperor's aid, the cities of Parma, Placentia, and Milan, &c., he, sitting at supper, and rejoicing at three great gifts that God had bestowed upon him: first, that he, being banished out of his country, was restored to Florence again with glory; secondly, that he had deserved to be called apostolic; thirdly, that he had driven the Frenchmen out of Italy: after he had spoken these words, he was stricken with a sudden fever, and died shortly after, being of the age of forty-seven years; albeit some suspect that he

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died of poison. Successor to whom was Pope Adrian the Sixth, schoolmaster some time to Charles the emperor, who lived not much above one year and a half in his papacy; during whose small time these three especial things were incident: a great pestilence in Rome, wherein above a hundred thousand people were consumed; the loss of Rhodes by the Turk; and thirdly, the capital war which the said Pope Adrian, with the emperor, and the Venetians, and the king of England, did hold against Francis the French king. This Pope Adrian was a German born, brought up at Louvain, and as in learning he exceeded the common sort of popes, so in moderation of life and manners he seemed not altogether so intemperate as some other popes have been: and yet, like a right pope, nothing degenerating from his see, he was a mortal enemy against Martin Luther and his partakers. In his time, shortly after the council of Worms was broken up, another meeting or assembly was appointed by the emperor at Nuremberg, of the princes, nobles, and states of Germany, A.D. 1522.

140. Assembly at Nuremberg

Unto this assembly the said Adrian sent his letters in manner of a brief, with an instruction also unto his legate Cheregatus, to inform him how to proceed, and what causes to allege against Luther, before the princes there assembled. His letter, with the instruction sent, because they are so hypocritically shadowed over with a fair show and colour of painted zeal and religion, and beareth resemblance of great truth and care of the church, able to deceive the outward ears of them which are not inwardly in true religion instructed: I thought therefore to give to the reader a sight thereof, to the intent that by the experience of them he may learn hereafter, in cases like, to be prudent and circumspect in not believing over-rashly the smooth talk or pretended persuasions of men, especially in church matters, unless they carry with them the simplicity of plain truth; going not upon terms, but grounded upon the word and revealed will of God, with particular demonstrations, proving that by the Scripture which they pretend to persuade. First, the letter of this pope, conceived and directed against Luther, proceedeth in this effect:

"Right honourable brethren, and dear children, greeting and apostolic benediction. After that we were first promoted (through God's divine providence) to the office of the see apostolic, he which hath so advanced us is our witness, how we, both day and night revolving in our minds, did cogitate nothing more than how to satisfy the parts of a good pastor, in attending to the health and cure of the flock, both universally and singularly committed unto us: so that there is no one particular sheep through the whole universal flock so infected, so sick, or so far gone astray, whom our desire is not to recover, to seek out, and to reduce into the Lord's fold again. And chiefly, from the first beginning of our pastoral function, our care hath always been, as well by our messengers, as our daily letters, how to reclaim the minds of Christian princes from these intestine wars and dissensions among themselves to peace and concord; or at least, if they would needs fight, that they would convert their strength and armour against the common enemies of our faith. And to declare this not only in word, but rather in deed, God doth know with what charges and expenses we have burdened ourselves, to extend our subsidy and relief to the soldiers of Rhodes for defence of themselves, and of the Christian faith, against the Turkish tyranny, by whom they were besieged.

"And now, to bend our care from these foreign matters, and to consider our inward troubles at home, we hear, to the great grief of our heart, that Martin Luther, a new raiser-up of old and damnable heresies, first after the fatherly advertisements of the see apostolic; then after the sentence also of condemnation awarded against him, and that by the assent and consent of the best learned, and of sundry universities also; and lastly, after the imperial decree of our well-beloved son Charles, elect emperor of the Romans, and catholic king of Spain, being divulged through the whole nation of Germany; yet hath neither been by order restrained, nor of himself hath refrained from his madness begun, but daily more and more, forgetting and contemning all Christian charity and godliness, ceaseth not to disturb and replenish the world with new books, fraught full of errors, heresies, contumelies, and sedition, (whether upon his own head, or by the help of other,) and to infect the country of Germany, and other regions about, with this

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pestilence; and endeavoureth still to corrupt simple souls and manners of men, with the poison of his pestiferous tongue. And (which is worst of all) hath for his favourers and supporters, not of the vulgar sort only, but also divers personages of the nobility; insomuch that they have begun also to invade the goods of priests (which perhaps is the chief ground of this stir begun) contrary to their obedience which they owe to ecclesiastical and temporal persons, and now also at last have grown unto civil war and dissension among themselves. Which thing how unfortunately it falleth out now, at this present season, especially amongst us Christians, you may soon repute with yourselves, and consider. For although the apostle hath told us before, That heresies must needs be, that they which be tried may be made manifest, &c., yet was there never time either so convenient to raise up heresies, or so necessary for the repressing thereof when any such are raised, as now: For whereas the devil, the perpetual enemy of mankind, roaring in the shape of a lion, by the power of the Turks doth continually invade the flock of Christ; how can we then resist the violent invasions of him oppressing us without, so long as we nourish at home the same devil, under the colour of a wily dragon, sowing such heresies, discords, and seditious among ourselves? And albeit it were in our power easily to vanquish these foreign adversaries, yet were that but labour lost, serving to no profit, to subdue our enemies without, and at home with heresies and schisms to be divided.

"We remember, before the time of our papacy, when we were in Spain, many things we heard then of Luther, and of his perverse doctrine; which rumours and tidings, although of themselves they were grievous to be heard, yet more grievous they were for this, because they proceeded out of that country, where we ourself, after the flesh, took our first beginning. But yet this comfort we had, supposing that either for the iniquity, or else for the foolishness thereof being so manifest, this doctrine would not long hold; reputing thus with ourself, that such pestiferous plants, translated from other countries into Germany, would never grow up to any proof in that ground, which was ever wont to be a weeder out of all heresies and infidelity. But now, since this evil tree (whether by God's judgment correcting the sins of the people, or by the negligence of such as first should have resisted such beginnings) hath so enlarged, and spread his branches so far; you therefore, both princes and people of Germany, must this consider and provide, lest you, which, at the first springing up of this evil, might peradventure be excused, as no doers thereof, now, through this your over-much sufferance, might be found inexcusable, and seem to consent to that which you do not resist.

"Here we omit and pass over, what enormity, and more than enormity, that is, that such a great and so devout a nation should by one friar (who, relinquishing the catholic faith and Christian religion, which he before professed, playeth the apostate, and hath lied to God) be now seduced from that way, which first Christ our Redeemer and his blessed apostles have opened unto us; which so many martyrs, so many holy fathers, so many great, learned men, and also your own fore-elders, and old ancestors, have always hitherto walked in; as though only Luther had all wit and cunning; as though he only now first had received the Holy Ghost (as the heretic Montanus used to boast of himself); or as though the church (from which Christ our Saviour promised himself never to depart) hath erred hitherto always in dark shadows of ignorance and perdition, till now it should be illuminate with new resplendent beams of Luther. All which things there is no doubt but to such as have judgment will seem ridiculous, but yet may be pernicious to simple and ignorant minds; and to other, which being weary of all good order, do gape still for new changes, may breed matter and occasion of such mischiefs, as partly

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yourselves have experience already. And therefore do you not consider, O princes and people of Germany! that these be but prefaces and preambles to those evils and mischiefs which Luther, with the sect of his Lutherans, do intend and purpose hereafter? Do you not see plainly, and perceive with your eyes, that this defending of the verity of the Gospel, first begun by the Lutherans to be pretended, is now manifest to be but an invention to spoil your goods, which they have long intended? or do you think that these sons of iniquity do tend to any other thing, than under the name of liberty to supplant obedience, and so to open a general licence to every man to do what him listeth? And suppose you that they will any thing regard your commandments, or esteem your laws, which so contemptuously vilipend the holy canons and decrees of the fathers, yea, and the most holy councils also, (to whose authority the emperor's laws have always given room and place,) and not only vilipend them, but also, with a diabolical audacity, have not feared to rend them in pieces, and set them on a lighted fire? They which refuse to render due obedience to priests, to bishops, yea, to the high bishop of all, and which daily before your own faces make their booties of church goods, and of things consecrated to God; think ye that they will refrain their sacrilegious hands from the spoil of laymen's goods? yea, that they will not pluck from you whatsoever they can rap or reave? Finally, to conclude, how can you hope that they will more spare you, or hold their murdering hands from your throats, which have been so bold to vex, to kill, to slay the Lord's anointed, which are not to be touched? Nay, think you not contrary, but this miserable calamity will at length redound upon your goods, your houses, wives, children, dominions, possessions, and these your temples which you hallow and reverence; except you provide some speedy remedy against the same.

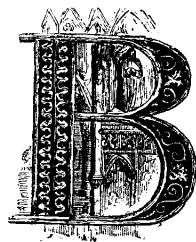
"Wherefore we exhort your fraternities, nobilities, and devotions of all and singular in the Lord, and beseech you for Christian charity and religion, (for which religion your forefathers oftentimes have given their blood to uphold and increase the same,) and notwithstanding require you also, in virtue of that obedience which all Christians owe to God, and blessed St. Peter, and to his vicar here in earth, that setting aside all other quarrels and dissensions among yourselves, you confer your helping hands every man to quench this public fire, and endeavour and study, the best way ye can, how to reduce the said Martin Luther, and all other favourers of these tumults and errors, to better conformity and trade both of life and faith. And if they which be infected shall refuse to hear your admonitions, yet provide that the other part, which yet remaineth sound, by the same contagion be not corrupted. He, to whom all secrets of men are open, doth know how we, both for our nature, and also for our pastoral office, whereto we are called, are much more prone to remit, than to revenge. But when this pestiferous canker cannot with supple and gentle medicines be cured, more sharp salves must be proved, and fiery searings. The putrefied members must be cut off from the body, lest the sound parts also be infected. So God did cast down into hell the schismatical brethren, Dathan and Abiram; and him that would not obey the authority of the priest, God commanded to be punished with death. So Peter, prince of the apostles, denounced sudden death to Ananias and Sapphira, who lied unto God. So the old and godly emperors commanded Jovinian and Priscillian, as heretics, to be beheaded. So St. Jerome wished Vigilant, as a heretic, to be given to the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit might be saved in the day of the Lord. So also did our predecessors in the council of Constance condemn to death John Huss and his fellow Jerome, which now appeareth to revive again in Luther. The worthy acts and examples of which forefathers, if you in these doings (seeing otherwise ye cannot) shall imitate, we do not doubt but God's merciful clemency shall eftsoons relieve his church; which, being now sore vexed of infidels, hath her eyes chiefly and principally

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directed upon you, as being the most puissant and most populous nation that we have in Christendom.

"Wherefore, upon the blessing of Almighty God, and of blessed St. Peter, which here we send unto you, take courage unto you, as well against the false dragon, as the strong lion, that both these, that is, as well the inward heresies, as the foreign enemies, by you being overcome, you may purchase to your honours an immortal victory, both here and in the world to come. This we give you to understand, that whatsoever the Lord hath given us to aid you withal, either in money or authority, we will not fail to support you herein, yea, and to bestow our life also in this holy quarrel, and for the health of our sheep to us committed. Other things as touching the matter of Luther, we have committed to this Cheregatus our legate, whom we have directed purposely for the same unto your assembly, whom we wish you to credit, as being our trusty legate.

"Given at St. Peter's at Rome, under the ring of the fisher, the 25th day of November, A.D. 1522, in the first year of our pontificate."



y this letter above prefixed, thou hast, gentle reader! to note and understand, what either wily persuasions or strength of authority could devise against Luther, here not to have lacked. If plausible terms, or glozing sentences, or outward facing and bracing, could have served, where no ground of Scripture is brought, this might seem apparently a pithy epistle. But if a man should require the particulars or the specialties of this doctrine which he here reprehendeth, to be examined and tried by God's word, there is no substance in it, but only words of office, which may seem well to serve for waste paper. And yet I thought to exhibit the said letter unto thee, to the intent that the more thou seest man's strength with all his policy bent against Luther, the more thou mayest consider the almighty power of God, in defending the cause of this poor man against so mighty enemies.

Now hear further what instructions the said Pope Adrian sent to his legate Cheregatus, how and by what reasons to move and inflame the princes of Germany to the destruction of Luther and his cause, and yet was not able to bring it to pass.

Instructions given by Pope Adrian to Cheregatus his legate, touching his proceedings in the diet of Nuremberg, how and by what persuasions to incense the princes against Luther.

"Imprimis, you shall declare to them the great grief of our heart for the prospering of Luther's sect, to see the innumerable souls, redeemed with Christ's blood, and committed to our pastoral government, to be turned away from the true faith and religion into perdition by this occasion; and that especially in the nation of Germany, being our native country, which hath been ever heretofore, till these few years past, most faithful and devout in religion; and therefore our desire to be the greater that this pestilence should be stopped betimes, lest the same happen to that country of Germany, which happened of late to Bohemia. And as for our part, there shall be no lack to help forward what we may; as likewise we desire them to endeavour themselves to the uttermost of their power, whom these causes ought to move, which here we direct unto you to be declared unto them.

"First, the honour of God, which, before all other things, ought to be preferred, whose honour by these heresies is greatly defaced, and his worship not only diminished, but rather

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wholly corrupted. Also the charity toward our neighbour, by which charity every man is bound to reduce his neighbour out of error; otherwise God will require at their hands all such as by their negligence do perish.

"The second cause to move them against Luther, is the infamy of their nations; which, being counted beforetime always most Christian, now by these sectaries of Luther, is evil spoken of in all other quarters.

"The third cause is the respect of their own honour, which notoriously will be distained, if they which most excel in nobility and authority among the Germans, shall not bend all their power to expel these heresies: first, for that they shall appear to be degenerate from their progenitors, who, being present at the condemnation of John Huss and of other heretics, are said, some of them, with their own hands to have led John Huss to the fire. Secondly, for that they, or the greater part of them, approving with their authority the imperial edict set forth of late in condemnation of Martin Luther, now, except they shall follow the execution of the same, shall be noted inconstant, or may be thought to favour the same; seeing it is manifest, that they may easily exterminate him if they were disposed.

"The fourth cause is the injury wrought by Luther to them, their parents, and progenitors, forasmuch as their fathers, progenitors, and themselves also, have always holden the same faith which the catholic Church of Rome hath appointed; contrary to which faith Luther, with his sectaries, now doth hold, saying, that many things are not to be believed which their aforesaid ancestors have holden to be of faith. It is manifest, therefore, that they be condemned of Luther for infidels and heretics; and so consequently, by Luther's doctrine, all their fore-elders and progenitors which have deceased in this our faith, be in hell; for error in faith importeth damnation.

"The fifth cause to move them is, that they should well advise and consider the end whereunto all these Lutherans do tend; which is, that under the shadow of evangelical liberty, they may abolish all superiority and power. For although, at the first beginning, they pretended only to annul and repress our power ecclesiastical, as being falsely and tyrannously usurped against the gospel; yet, forasmuch as liberty is all their foundation and pretence, (by the which liberty, the secular power and magistrates cannot bind men by any commandments, be they never so just or so reasonable, to obey them under pain of mortal sin,) it is manifest that their scope is to enfeeble and infringe, as much or more, the secular state also, although covertly they pretend to salve it; to the end, that when the secular princes shall believe this their working not to be directed against them, but only against the usurped domination of the church and churchmen, then the laity, (which commonly hath been always against men of the church,) holding with them, shall suffer the churchmen to be devoured; which done, no doubt but, they will afterward practise the like upon the secular princes and potentates, which now they attempt against our ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

"The sixth clause to move and persuade them against Luther is this, for them to consider the fruits which follow of that sect; as slanders, offences, disturbance, robberies, murders, seditions, dissensions, which this sect hath, and daily doth stir up through whole Germany: also blasphemies, slanderous words, scoffings, jests, and bitter taunts, which are ever in their mouths;

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against which, unless that they shall find a present remedy, it is to be feared lest the desolation of God's wrath will fall upon Germany, being so divided; or rather upon the princes of Germany, who, having the sword given of God into their hands for the suppression of malefactors, suffer such enormities among their subjects. Cursed is he, (saith the prophet,) which doth the work of the Lord negligently, and holdeth back his sword from the blood of wicked doers, Jer. xxviii.

"The seventh reason is, that the princes should consider how Luther useth the same way of seducing the people of Christ, as hath the venomous viper Mahomet practised in deceiving so many thousands of souls, in permitting to them the liberty of those things which flesh desireth, and afterward in exempting them from such things as be more sharp in the law; but that Luther a little more temperately handleth the matter, whereby he may deceive more effectually; for Mahomet giveth licence to have many wives, and to divorce and marry others at their pleasure. This Luther, to draw unto him the favour of nuns, monks, and priests, such as be lascivious in flesh, preacheth that vows of perpetual continency be unlawful, and much less to be obligatory; and therefore permitteth unto them that they may marry; forgetting, by the way, what the apostle writeth of young widows, saying, That when they wax wanton against Christ, then will they marry; having condemnation, because they have made void their first faith, 1 Tim. v. 12.

"These and other such-like reasons being opened and laid before them, you shall then in our name exhort the aforesaid princes, prelates, and people, to awake and employ their diligence how to gainstand, first, the injury of these Lutherans toward God, and toward his holy religion; secondly, their villany toward the whole nation of the Germans and their princes, and especially the shameful contumely towards their fathers and elders, whom in effect they condemn to hell. In consideration whereof you shall call upon them to remember themselves, and to proceed effectually to the execution of the apostolical sentence, and of the emperor's edict; giving pardon to them that will amend and acknowledge their fault: the other, who obstinately persist in their error, punishing with the rod of strict severity, according to the decrees of the canons and laws of the church; that, by their example, such as stand may remain in faith, and they which are fallen may be reduced.

"And if any shall object again, that Luther was condemned by the apostolic see before he was heard, and that his cause ought first to have been heard and adjudged before he was convicted, you shall answer, that those things which pertain to faith are to be believed for their own authority, and not to be proved. 'Take away,' saith Ambrose, 'arguments where faith is sought: there the fishers, not the philosophers, must be trusted.' Truth it is, and we grant no less but that lawful defence and hearing ought not to be denied in such cases, where question is of the fact, whether it were done or not; as whether he spake, preached, wrote, or not. But where the matter is of God's law, or in cause of the sacraments, there must we always stand to the authority of holy fathers, and of the church. Now all things almost, wherein Luther dissenteth from other, are reprov'd before by divers councils; neither ought those things to be called into question, which have been defined before by general councils, and the universal church; but ought to be received by faith: for else he doth injury to the synod of the church, who so bringeth again into controversy things once rightly discussed and settled. Otherwise what certainty can there be amongst men, or what end shall there be of contending and disputing, if it shall be lawful for every lewd and presumptuous person to decline from the things which have been received and ratified by the consent, not of one, nor of a few, but of so many ages, so many wise heads, and of

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the catholic church, which God never permitteth to err in matters unto faith appertaining? And how can it otherwise be chosen, but that all must be full of disturbance, offences, and confusion, unless the things which have been once, yea, many times, by ripe judgment constituted, be observed of all men as inviolable? Wherefore, seeing Luther and his fellows do condemn the councils of holy fathers, do burn the holy canons, do confound all things at their pleasure, and do disquiet the whole world, what remaineth, but that they are to be rejected and exploded, as enemies and perturbors of public peace?

"Further, this you shall say unto them, that we confess ourselves, and deny not, but that God suffereth this persecution to be inflicted upon his church for the sins of men, especially of priests and prelates of the clergy. For certain it is, that the hand of the Lord is not shortened, that he cannot save; but our sins have divided between God and us; and therefore he hideth his face from us that he will not hear us. The Scripture testifieth, that the sins of the people do issue out from the sins of the priests. 'And therefore,' saith Chrysostom, 'Christ, going about to cure the sick city of Jerusalem, first entered into the temple, to correct the sins of the priests, like a good physician, which first beginneth to cure the disease from the very root.' We know that in this holy see there have been many abominable things of long time wrought and practised; as abuses in matters spiritual, and also excesses in life and manners, and all things turned clean contrary. And no marvel if the sickness, first beginning at the head, that is, at the high bishops, have descended afterwards to inferior prelates. All we (that is, prelates of the church) have declined every one after his own way; neither hath there been one that hath done good, no not one. Wherefore need it is, that all we give glory to God, and that we humble our souls to him, considering every one of us from whence he hath fallen; and that every one do judge himself, before he be judged of God in the rod of his fury. For the redress whereof you shall insinuate unto them, and promise in our behalf, that in us shall be lacking no diligence of a better reformation, first beginning with our own court: that like as, this contagion first from thence descended into all the inferior parts, so reformation and amendment of all that is amiss, from the same place again, shall take his beginning; whereunto they shall find us so much the more ready, for that we see the whole world so desirous of the same. We ourselves, as you know, never sought this dignity, but rather coveted, if we otherwise might, to lead a private life, and in a quiet state to serve God; and also would utterly have refused the same, had not the fear of God, and the manner of our election, and misdoubting of some schism to follow after, have urged us to take it. And thus took we the burden upon us, not for any ambition of dignity, or to enrich our friends and kinsfolks, but only to be obedient to the will of God, and for reformation of the catholic church, and for relief of the poor, and especially for the advancement of learning and learned men, with such other things more as appertaineth to the charge of a good bishop and lawful heir of St. Peter. And though all errors, corruptions, and abuses be not straight-ways amended by us, men ought not thereat to marvel. The sore is great, and far grown, and is not single, but of manifold maladies together compacted; and therefore to the curing thereof we must proceed by little and little, first beginning to cure the greater and the most dangerous, lest, while we intend to amend all, we destroy all. 'All sudden mutations,' saith Aristotle, 'in a commonwealth, are perilous;' and, He that wringeth too hard, straineth out blood, Prov. xxx.

"And whereas in your last letters you wrote, that the princes complain, how this see hath been, and is, prejudicial to their ordinances and agreements, hereunto you shall thus answer: that such excesses, which have been done before our time, ought not to be imputed to us, who always

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have misliked these derogations; and therefore bid them so assure themselves, that though they had required no such matter, we of our own accord would have refrained the same; partly for that it is good, right, and reason, that every one have that which is due unto him; and partly also that the said noble nation of Germany shall have by us no hinderance, but furtherance rather, so much as in us shall lie to do for them.

"And as touching the processes which they desired to have removed away *a rota*, and to be referred down to the parties, you shall signify unto them, that we will gratify them herein as much as honestly we may. But because our auditors are now presently absent from the city, by reason of the plague, we cannot be informed as yet touching the quality of those processes. As soon as they shall return, (which we hope will be shortly,) we shall do in the princes' favour what reasonably we may.

"Further: whereas we understand, that there be many fresh, flourishing wits in Germany, and many well-learned men, which are not seen unto, but be rejected and unlooked to, while in the mean time, through the apostolical provisions, dignities and promotions are bestowed upon tapsters and dancers, and unfit persons; we will, therefore, that you inquire out what those learned men are, and what be their names, to the intent that when any such vacation of benefices in Germany doth fall, we, of our voluntary motion, may provide for them accordingly. For why? we consider how much it is against God's glory, and against the health and the edification of souls, that benefices and dignities of the church have now so long time been bestowed upon unworthy and unable persons.

"As touching the subsidy for the Hungarians, we send no other information to you, but that which we gave you at your departure; save only that we will you to extend your diligence therein, as we also will do the like, in soliciting the matter with the princes and cities of Italy, that every one may help after his ability."

These popish suggestions and instructions of the pope himself against Luther, I thought, Christian reader! to set before thine eyes, to the intent thou mayst see here (as in a pattern, and go no farther) all the crimes, objections, exclamations, suspicions, accusations, slanders, offenses, contumelies, rebukes, untruths, cavillations, railings, whatsoever they have devised, or can devise, invent, articulate, denounce, infer, or surmise, against Luther and his teaching. They cry, Heresy, heresy! but they prove no heresy. They cry, Councils, councils! and yet none transgresseth councils more than themselves. If councils go always with Scripture, then Luther goeth with them; if councils do jar sometimes from the Scripture, what heresy is in Luther in standing with Scripture against those councils? And yet neither hath he hitherto spoken against any councils, save only the council of Constance. They inflame kings and princes against Luther, and yet they have no cause wherefore. They accuse him for teaching liberty. If they mean the liberty of the flesh, they accuse him falsely; if they mean the liberty of the spirit, they teach wickedly which teach contrary: and yet when they have all said, none live so licentiously as themselves. They pretend the zeal of the church, but under that church lieth their own private welfare and belly-cheer. They charge Luther with disobedience, and none are so disobedient to magistrates and civil laws as they. They lay to his charge oppression and spoiling of laymen's goods; and who spoileth the laymen's livings so much as the pope? For probation hereof, let the pope's accounts be cast, what he raketh out of every Christian realm. Briefly, turn only the names

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of the persons, and instead of Luther's name, place the name of the pope, and the effect of this letter above prefixed shall agree upon, none more aptly than upon the pope himself and his own sectaries.

Now to proceed further in the process of this aforesaid matter, let us see what the princes again for their parts answer to these aforesaid suggestions and instructions of Pope Adrian, sent unto them in the diet of Nuremberg, in the cause of Luther: the answer of whom here followeth underwritten:

"The noble and renowned prince Lord Ferdinand, lieutenant to the emperor's Majesty, with other reverend peers in Christ, and mighty princes electors, and other states and orders of this present assembly of the Roman empire in Nuremberg convented, have gratefully received, and diligently perused, the letters sent in form of a brief, with the instructions also of the most holy father in Christ and lord, Lord Adrian, the high bishop of the holy and universal Church of Rome, presented unto them in the cause of Luther's faction. By the which aforesaid letters and writings, first, whereas they understand his Holiness to have been born, and to have had his native origin and parentage out of this noble nation of Germany, they do not a little rejoice. Of whose egregious virtues and ornaments, both of mind and body, they have heard great fame and commendation, even from his tender years: by reason whereof they are so much the more joyous of his advancement and preferment, by such consent of election, to the high top of the apostolical dignity, and yield to God most hearty thanks for the same: praying also, from the bottom of their hearts, for his excellent clemency, and perpetual glory of his name, and for health of souls, and purity of the universal church, that God will give his Holiness long continuance of felicity: having no misdoubt but that by such a full and consenting election of such a pastor of the universal catholic church, great profit and commodity will ensue. Which thing to hope and look for, his Holiness openeth to them an evident declaration in his own letters, testifying and protesting what a care it is to him both day and night, how to discharge his pastoral function, in studying for the health of the flock to him committed; and especially in converting the minds of Christian princes from war to peace. Declaring moreover what subsidy and relief his Holiness hath sent to the soldiers of Rhodes, &c. All which things they, perpending with themselves, conceive exceeding hope and comfort in their minds, thus reputed and trusting that this concord of Christian princes will be a great help and stay to the better quieting of things now out of frame; without which neither the state of the commonwealth nor of Christian religion can be rightly redressed, and much less the tyranny of the barbarous Turks repressed.

"Wherefore the excellent prince, lord lieutenant to the emperor's Majesty, with the other princes electors, and orders of this present assembly, most heartily do pray, that his Holiness will persist in this his purpose and diligence, as he hath virtuously begun, leaving no stone unremoved, how the disagreeing hearts of Christian princes may be reduced to quiet and peace or if that will not be, yet at least some truce and intermission of domestical dissensions may be obtained for the necessity of the time now present, whereby all Christians may join their powers together, with the help of God, to go against the Turk, and to deliver the people of Christ from his barbarous tyranny and bondage; whereunto both the noble prince lord lieutenant, and other princes of Germany, will put to their helping hands, to the best of their ability.

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"And whereas by the letters of his Holiness, with his instruction also exhibited unto them by his legate, they understand that his Holiness is afflicted with great sorrow for the prospering of Luther's sect, whereby innumerable souls committed to his charge are in danger of perdition, and therefore his Holiness vehemently desireth some speedy remedy against the same to be provided, with an explication of certain necessary reasons and causes, whereby to move the German princes thereunto; and that they will tender the execution of the apostolic sentence, and also of the emperor's edict set forth touching the suppressing of Luther: To these the lord lieutenant, and other princes and states, do answer, that it is to them no less grief and sorrow than to his Holiness; and also do lament as much for these impieties and perils of souls, and inconveniences which grow in the religion of Christ, either by the sect of Luther, or any otherwise. Further, what help or counsel shall lie in them for the extirpating of errors, and decay of souls' health, what their moderation can do, they are willing and ready to perform; considering how they stand bound and subject, as well to the pope's Holiness, as also to the emperor's Majesty. But why the sentence of the apostolic see, and the emperor's edict against Luther, hath not been put in execution hitherto, there have been (said they) causes great and urgent, which have led them thereto: as first, in weighing and considering with themselves, that great evils and inconveniences would thereupon ensue. For the greatest part of the people of Germany have always had this persuasion, and now, by reading of Luther's books, are more therein confirmed, that great grievances and inconveniences have come to this nation of Germany by the court of Rome: and therefore, if they should have proceeded with any rigour in executing the pope's sentence, and the emperor's edict, the multitude would conceive and suspect in their minds, this to be done for subverting the verity of the gospel, and for supporting and confirming the former abuses and grievances, whereupon great wars and tumults, no doubt, would have ensued: which thing unto the princes and states there hath been well perceived by many arguments; for the avoiding whereof, they thought to use more gentle remedies, serving more opportunely for the time.

"Again, whereas the reverend lord legate (said they) in the name of the pope's Holiness, hath been instructed, to declare unto them, that God suffereth this persecution to rise in the church for the sins of men, and that his Holiness doth promise therefore to begin the reformation with his own court, that as the corruption first sprang from thence to the inferior parts, so the redress of all again should first begin with the same. Also, whereas his Holiness, of a good and fatherly heart, doth testify in his letters, that he himself did always mislike that the court of Rome should intermeddle so much, and derogate from the concordats of the princes, and that his Holiness doth fully purpose in that behalf, during his papacy, never to practise the like, but so to endeavour, that every one, and especially the nation of the Germans, may have their proper due and right, granting especially to the said nation his peculiar favour: who seeth not by these premises, but that this most holy bishop omitteth nothing which a good father, or a devout pastor, may or ought to do to his sheep? or who will not be moved hereby to a loving reverence, and to amendment of his defaults, namely, seeing his Holiness so intendeth to accomplish the same in deed, which in word he promiseth, according as he hath begun?

"And thus undoubtedly both the noble lord lieutenant, and all other princes and states of the empire, well hope that he will, and pray most heartily that he may do, to the glory of our eternal God, to the health of souls, and to the tranquillity of the public state. For unless such abuses and grievances, with certain other articles also, which the secular princes (assigned

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purposely for the same) shall draw out in writing, shall be faithfully reformed, there is no true peace and concord between the ecclesiastical and secular estates, nor any true extirpation of this tumult and errors in Germany, that can be hoped. For partly by long wars, partly by reason of other grievances and hinderances, this nation of Germany hath been so wasted and consumed in money, that scarcely it is able to sustain itself in private affairs, and necessary upholding of justice within itself; much less then to minister aid and succour to the kingdom of Hungary, and to the Croatians, against the Turk. And whereas all the states of the sacred Roman empire do not doubt, but the pope's Holiness doth right well understand how the German princes did grant and condescend for the money of annats to be levied to the see of Rome for term of certain years, upon condition that the said money should be converted to maintain war against the Turkish infidels, and for defence of the catholic faith: and whereas the term of these years is now expired longsince, when the said annats should be gathered, and yet that money hath not been so bestowed to that use, whereto it was first granted; therefore if any such necessity should now come, that any public helps or contributions against the Turk should be demanded of the German people, they would answer again, Why is not that money of annats, reserved many years before to that-use, now to be bestowed and applied? and so would they refuse to receive any more such burdens for that cause to be laid upon them.

"Wherefore the said lord lieutenant, and other princes and degrees of the empire, make earnest petition, that the pope's Holiness will with a fatherly consideration expend the premises, and surcease hereafter to require such annats, which are accustomed after the death of bishops and other prelates, or ecclesiastical persons, to be paid to the court of Rome, and suffer them to remain to the chamber of the empire, whereby justice and peace may be more commodiously administered, the tranquillity of the public state of Germany maintained; and also, by the same, due helps may be ordained and disposed to other Christian potentates in Germany, against the Turk, which otherwise without the same is not to be hoped for.

"Item, Whereas the pope's Holiness desireth to be informed, what way were best to take in resisting these errors of the Lutherans: to this the lord lieutenant, with other princes and nobles, do answer, that whatsoever help or counsel they can devise, with willing hearts they will be ready thereunto. Seeing therefore the state, as well ecclesiastical as temporal, is far out of frame, and have so much corrupted their ways; and seeing not only of Luther's part, and of his sect, but also by divers other occasions besides, so many errors, abuses, and corruptions have crept in; much requisite and necessary it is, that some effectual remedy be provided, as well for redress of the church, as also for repressing the Turk's tyranny. Now what more present or effectual remedy can be had, the lord lieutenant, with other estates and princes, do not see, than this, that the pope's Holiness, by the consent of the emperor's Majesty, do summon a free Christian council in some convenient place of Germany, as at Strasburg, or at Mentz, or at Cologne, or at Metz; and that with as much speed as conveniently may be, so that the congregating of the said council be not deferred above one year in the which council it may be lawful for every person that there shall have interest, either temporal or ecclesiastical, freely to speak and consult, to the glory of God, and health of souls, and the public wealth of Christendom, without impeachment or restraint; whatsoever oath or other bond to the contrary notwithstanding; yea, and it shall be every good man's part there to speak, not only freely, but to speak that which is true, to the purpose, and to edifying, and not to pleasing or flattering, but simply and uprightly to declare his judgment, without all fraud or guile. And as touching by what

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ways these errors and tumults of the German people may best be stayed and pacified in the mean time, until the council be set, the aforesaid lord lieutenant, with the other princes, thereupon have consulted and deliberated; that forasmuch as Luther, and certain of his fellows, be within the territory and dominion of the noble Duke Frederic, the said lord lieutenant and other states of the empire shall so labour the matter with the aforesaid prince, duke of Saxony, that Luther and his followers shall not write, set forth, or print any thing during the said mean space; neither do they doubt but that the said noble prince of Saxony, for his Christian piety, and obedience to the Roman empire, as becometh a prince of such excellent virtue, will effectually condescend to the same.

"Item, The said lord lieutenant and princes shall labour so with the preachers of Germany, that they shall not in their sermons teach or blow into the people's ears such matter, whereby the multitude may be moved to rebellion or uproar, or be induced into error; and that they shall preach and teach nothing but the true, pure, sincere, and holy gospel, and approved Scripture, godly, mildly, and Christianly, according to the doctrine and exposition of the Scripture; being approved and received of Christ's church, abstaining from all such things which are better unknown than learned of the people, and which to be subtilly searched, or deeply discussed, it is not expedient. Also, that they shall move no contention of disputation among the vulgar sort; but whatsoever hangeth in controversy, the same they shall reserve to the determination of the council to come.

"Item, The archbishops, bishops, and other prelates within their dioceses, shall assign godly and learned men, having good judgment in the Scripture, which shall diligently and faithfully attend upon such preachers and if they shall perceive the said preachers either to have erred, or to have uttered any thing inconveniently, they shall godly, mildly, and modestly advertise and inform them thereof, in such sort as no man shall justly complain the truth of the gospel to be impeached. But if the preachers, continuing still in their stubbornness, shall refuse to be admonished, and will not desist from their lewdness, then shall they be restrained and punished by the ordinaries of the place, with punishment for the same convenient.

Furthermore, the said princes and nobles shall provide and undertake, so much as shall be possible, that, from henceforth, during the aforesaid time, no new book shall be imprinted, especially none of these famous libels, neither shall they privily or apertly be sold. Also, order shall be taken amongst all potentates, that if any shall set out, sell, or imprint any new work, it shall first be seen and perused of certain godly, learned, and discreet men appointed for the same; so that if it be not admitted and approved by them, it shall not be permitted to be published in print, or to come abroad. Thus, by these means, they hope well, that the tumults, errors, and offences among the people shall cease; especially if the pope's Holiness himself shall begin with an orderly and due reformation, in the aforesaid grievances above mentioned, and will procure such a free and Christian council as hath been said; and so shall the people be well contented and satisfied. Or if the tumult shall not so fully be calmed as they desire, yet the greater part thus will be quieted; for all such as be honest and good men, no doubt, will be in great expectation of that general council, so shortly, and now ready at hand, to come. Finally, as concerning priests which contract matrimony, and religious men leaving their cloisters, whereof intimation was also made by the apostolical legate, the aforesaid princes do consider, that forasmuch as in the civil law there is no penalty for them ordained, they shall be referred to the canonical constitutions, to be

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punished thereafter accordingly; that is, by the loss of their benefices and privileges, or other condign censures: and that the said ordinaries shall in no case be stopped or inhibited by the secular powers, from the correction of such: but that they shall add their help and favour to the maintenance of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and shall direct out their public edicts and precepts, that none shall impeach or prohibit the said ordinaries in their ecclesiastical castigation, upon such transgressors to be administered.

"To conclude; the redoubled prince, lord lieutenant, and other princes, estates, and orders of the public empire, vehemently and most heartily do pray and beseech, that the pope's Holiness, and the reverend lord his legate, will accept and take all the premises to be no otherwise spoken and meant, than of a good, free, sincere, and a Christian mind: neither is there any thing that all the aforesaid princes, estates, and nobles, do more wish and desire, than the furtherance and prosperous estate of the holy catholic Church of Rome, and of his Holiness; to whose wishes, desires, and obedience, they offer and commend themselves most ready and obsequious, as faithful children."

Thus hast thou, loving reader! the full discourse both of the pope's letter, and of his legate's instructions, with the answer also of the states of Germany to the said letter and instructions to them exhibited in the diet of Nuremberg: in the which diet what was concluded, and what order and consultation was taken, first touching the grievances of Germany, which they exhibited to the pope, then concerning a general council to be called in Germany, also for printing, and preaching, and for priests' marriage, hath been likewise declared, &c.

The occasion of this matter, moved against priests' marriage, came first by the ministers of Strasburg, which about this time began to take wives, and therefore were cited by the bishop of Strasburg to appear before him at a certain day, as violators of the laws of holy church, the holy fathers, the bishops of Rome, and of the emperor's Majesty, to the prejudice both of their own order of priesthood, and majesty of Almighty God: but they referred their cause to the hearing of the magistrates of the same city; who, being suitors for them unto the bishops, laboured to have the matter either released, or at least to be delayed for a time.

Long it were to recite all the circumstances following upon this diet or assembly of Nuremberg, how their decree was received of some, of some neglected, of divers diversely wrested and expounded. Luther, writing his letters upon the same decree to the princes, thus made his exposition of the meaning thereof: that whereas the preachers were commanded to preach the pure gospel, after the doctrine of the church received, he expounded the meaning thereof to be, not after the doctrine of Thomas Aquinas, or Scotus, or such other late school writers, but after the doctrine of Hilary, Cyprian, and Austin, and other ancient doctors; and yet the doctrine of the said ancestors no further to be received, but as they should agree with the Scripture.

Secondly, as concerning new books not to be sold nor printed, he expounded the meaning thereof to extend no further, but that the text of the Bible and books of the Holy Scripture might be printed notwithstanding, and published to all men.

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And as for the prohibition of priests' marriage, he writeth to the princes, and desireth them to bear with the weakness of men; declaring that branch of their decree to be very hard, which though it standeth with the pope's law, yet it accordeth not with the gospel, neither conduceth to good manners, nor to honesty of life, &c.

Furthermore, Whereas in the same session of Nuremberg, mention was made before of certain grievances collected to the number of a hundred, and exhibited to the bishop of Rome, it were tedious likewise to insert them all; yet to give some taste of a few I judge it not unprofitable, to the intent that the world may see and judge, not only what abuses and corruptions, most monstrous and incredible, lay hid under the glorious title of the holy Church of Rome, but also may understand, with what hypocrisy and impudence the pope taketh upon him so grievously to complain upon Master Luther and others; when in all the universal church of Christ, there is none so much to be blamed all manner of ways, as he himself, according as by these heinous complaints of the German princes, here following, against the pope's intolerable oppressions and grievances, may right well appear. Which grievances being collected by the princes of Germany at Nuremberg, to the number of a hundred, I wish might be fully and at large set forth to the studious reader, whereby might appear the subtle sleights and intolerable frauds of that pretended church. But forasmuch as it were too long to comprehend the whole, I have thought good to exhibit some part thereof for example, as giving only a certain taste, whereby thou mayst more easily conceive what to think and esteem of all the residue, which both to me would be tedious to write, and perhaps more grievous to thee to hear.

Certain grievances or oppressions of Germany, against the court of Rome, collected and exhibited by the princes, at the council of Nuremberg, to the number of a hundred, whereof certain specialties here follow.

Forbidding of marriage in divers degrees, not forbidden by God's law.

Forbidding of meats, not forbidden by God's law. Of times of marriage restrained, and afterwards released for money.

Complaint for selling remission of sins for money.

But especially the burden and grievance of the pope's indulgences and pardons be most importable; when the bishops of Rome, under pretence of building some church in Rome, or to war against the Turk, do make out their indulgences with their bulls; persuading and promising to the simple people strange and wonderful benefits of remission a poena et culpa, that is, from all their sins and punishment due for the same, and that not in this life only, but also after this life, to them that be dead, burning in the fire of purgatory. Through the hope and occasion thereof, true piety is almost extinct in all Germany, while every evil-disposed person promiseth to himself, for a little money, licence and impunity to do what him listeth: whereupon followeth fornication, incest, adultery, perjury, homicide, robbing and spoiling, rapine, usury, with a whole flood of all mischiefs, &c.

Complaint against the immunities of clergymen.

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Complaint of excommunication being abused in Church of Rome.

Complaint that the church is burdened with a number of holidays, which ought to be diminished.

The suspending and hallowing of church-yards complained of, gainful to the pope, and chargeable to the people.

Complaint against officials, and other ecclesiastical judges.

How the ecclesiastical judges do annex certain special causes, being lay matters, unto their own jurisdiction, and will by no means release the same, except for money.

The gain that riseth to the clergy by false slanders and rumours.

Complaint against spiritual judges taking secular causes from the civil magistrates, for gain of money.

Complaint against ecclesiastical judges inter-meddling with cases of the secular court, but will not suffer their cases once to be touched of the other.

Complaint against certain misorders of cathedral churches, for using double punishment for one offence against the law.

Complaint of officials for maintaining unlawful usury.

Complaint of officials permitting unlawful cohabiting with another, when the husband or wife is long absent.

Complaint of canons in cathedral churches, which have their bishop sworn unto them before he be chosen.

Complaints against incorporations or impropriations, and other pilling of the people by churchmen.

Buying and selling of burials complained of.

Chaste and continent priests compelled to pay tribute for concubines.

Also in many places the bishops and their officials do not only suffer priests to have concubines, so that they pay certain sums of money, but also compel continent and chaste priests, which live without concubines, to pay tribute for concubines, affirming that the bishop hath need of money: which being paid, it shall be lawful for them either to live chaste, or keep concubines. How wicked a thing this is, every man doth well understand and know.

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these, with many other burdens and grievances more, to the number of a hundred, the secular states of Germany delivered to the pope's legate; having (as they said) many more and more grievous grievances besides these, which had likewise much need of redress: but because they would not exceed the limits of reasonable brevity, they would content themselves (they said) with these aforesaid hundred, reserving the rest to a more apt and more convenient opportunity; stedfastly trusting and hoping, that when those hundred grievances already by them declared, should be abolished, the other would also decay and fall with them. Of the which aforesaid grievances and complaints here is moreover to be noted, that a great part was offered up before to the emperor at the council of Worms; but because no redress thereof did follow, therefore the secular states of Germany thought good to exhibit the same now again, with divers more annexed thereunto, to Cheregatus, the pope's legate in this present assembly of Nuremberg, desiring him to present the same to Pope Adrian. This was about A.D. 1523; which being done, the assembly at Nuremberg brake up for a time, and was prorogued to the next year following.

In this mean time Pope Adrian died. After him succeeded Pope Clement the Seventh, who, the next year following, which was A.D. 1524, sent down his legate, Cardinal Campeius, unto the council of the German princes assembled again at Nuremberg, about the month of March, with letters also to Duke Frederic, full of many fair petitions and sharp complaints, &c. But as touching the grievances above-mentioned, no word nor message at all was sent, neither by Campeius, nor by any other. Thus, where any thing was to be complained of against Luther, either for suppression of the liberty of the gospel, or for upholding of the pope's dignity, the pope was ever ready with all diligence to call upon the princes; but where any redress was to be required for the public weal of Christian people, or touching the necessary reformation of the church, herein the pope neither giveth ear nor answer.

141. Luther after the Diet of Worms; His Teachings and Death.

And thus, having discoursed such matters occurrent between the pope and princes of Germany at the synod of Nuremberg, let us now proceed, returning again to the story of Luther, of whom ye heard before, how he was kept secret and solitary for a time, by the advice and conveyance of certain nobles in Saxony, because of the emperor's edict above-mentioned. In the mean time, while Luther had thus absented himself out of Wittenberg, Andreas Carolostadt, proceeding more roughly and eagerly in causes of religion, had stirred up the people to throw down images in the temples, besides other things more. For the which cause Luther, returning again into the city, greatly misliked the order of their doings, and reproved the rashness of Carolostadt, declaring that their proceedings herein were not orderly, but that pictures and images ought first to be thrown out of the hearts and consciences of men; and that the people ought first to be taught that they are to be saved before God, and please him only by faith; and that images serve to no purpose: this done, and the people well instructed, there was no danger in images, but they would fall of their own accord. Not that he repugned to the contrary, (he said,) as though he would maintain images to stand or to be suffered, but that this ought to be done by the magistrate; and not by force, upon every private man's head, without order and authority.

Furthermore, Luther, writing of Carolostadt, affirmeth, that he also joined with the sentence of them which began then to spread about certain parts of Saxony, saying, that they were taught of God that all wickedness being utterly suppressed, and all the wicked doers slain, a new full perfection of all things must be set up, and the innocent only to enjoy all things, &c.

The cause why Luther so stood against that violent throwing down of images, and against Carolostadt, seemeth partly to arise of this, by reason that Pope Adrian, in his letters sent to the princes and states of Germany, doth grievously complain and charge the sect of Luther for sedition and tumults, and rebellion against magistrates, as subverters and destroyers of all order and obedience, as appeareth by the words of the pope's letter before expressed; therefore Martin Luther, to stop the mouth of such slanderers, and to prevent such sinister suspicions, was enforced to take this way as he did; that is, to proceed as much as he might by order and authority.

Wherein are to be noted by the way two special points touching the doctrine and doings of Martin Luther, especially for all such who in these our days now, abusing the name and authority of Luther, think themselves to be good Lutherans, if they suffer images still to remain in temples, and admit such things in the church, which themselves do wish to be away. The first is, the manner how and after what sort Luther did suffer such images to stand; for although he assented not, that the vulgar and private multitude tumultuously by violence should rap them down; yet that is no argument now for the magistrate to let them stand. And though he allowed not the ministers to stir up the people by forcible means to promote religion; yet that argueth not those magistrates to be good Lutherans, which may and should remove them, and will not.

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The second point to be noted is, to consider the cause why that Luther did so stand with standing of images; which cause was time, and not his own judgment; for albeit in judgment he wished them away, yet time so served not thereunto then, as it serveth now: for then the doctrine of Luther, first beginning to spring, and being but in the blade, was not yet known whereto it tended, nor to what it would grow, but rather was suspected to tend to disobedience and sedition; and therefore the pope, hearing of the doings of Carolstadt in Wittenberg, and of other like, took his ground thereby to charge the sect of Luther with sedition, uproars, and dissolute liberty of life. And this was the cause why Luther (compelled then by necessity of time to save his doctrine from slander of sedition and tumult being laid to him by the pope, as ye have heard) was so much offended with Carolstadt and others, for their violence used against images, For otherwise, had it not been for the pope's accusations, there is no doubt but Luther would have been as well contented with abolishing of images, and other monuments of popery, as he was at the same time contented to write to the Friars Augustine for abrogating of private masses. And therefore as Luther in this doing is to be excused, the circumstances considered, so the like excuse, perhaps, will not serve the over-much curious imitation of certain Lutherans in this present age now; which, considering only the fact of Luther, do not mark the purpose of Luther, neither do expend the circumstances and time of his doings; being not much unlike to the ridiculous imitators of King Alexander the Great, which thought it not sufficient to follow him in his virtues, but they would also counterfeit him in his stooping, and all other gestures besides. But to these living now in the church, in another age than Luther did, it may seem, after my mind, sufficient to follow the same way after Luther, or to walk with Luther to the kingdom of Christ, though they jump not also in every footstep of of his, and keep even the same pace and turnings in all points as he did.

[Footnote: A Roman Catholic bishop, Dr. Milner, in his Letters to a Prebendary, (seventh edition, London, 1825, pp. 113-118,) has favoured us with a series of the coarsest expressions which can be selected from the writings of Luther, to deduce from them, that Luther's morality was prostrated, that his sentiments were depraved, and that his motives and actions were the result of pride, bigotry, and ambition. Dr. Milner closes his observations with these words, "There are other passages in great numbers, too indecent to admit of being translated at all; indeed I almost blush to soil my paper with transcribing some of them into my notes below, in the original Latin." This learned doctor of the popish church shrinks, with wonted modesty, from his own translation of Luther's addresses to his royal antagonist Henry the Eighth; but how would his delicacy have been offended had he heard Mr. John Clark, the king's orator, before the Consistory of Leo the Tenth, (in presenting his master's book to that spiritual head of the church,) break out into such epithets as these which follow; unless, indeed, they were deemed excusable, as spoken of "an execrable, venomous, and pernicious heretic." [See page 1 of Henry the Eighth's own book, entitled, *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum*. Faithfully translated, &c., by T. W., gent., London, 1688.] The orator denounces Luther as "this furious monster," with "his stings and poisons, whereby he intends to infect the whole world." Or again, "What so hot and inflamed force of speaking can be invented sufficient to declare the crime of that most filthy villain?" [see page 2.] Or, in reading forward, how would his ear have been jarred with the expressions, "idol and vain phantom," "a mad dog, to be dealt with drawn swords," and "a viper's madness!" How startling to hear three times repeated from the mouth of the most holy father Pope Leo, the title of "terrible monster;" or to hear him, the head of a church that professes to be no persecutor of protestants, (because she persecutes all heretics alike,) speak in definite terms of

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"driving away from our Lord's flock the wolves; and cutting off, with the material sword, the rotten members that infect the mystical body of Christ:" [see the pope's bull to King Henry.] And, lastly, how would the tender feelings of Dr. Milner have been wounded had he read King Henry's own words, in his "Address to the Reader," animadverting upon Luther as "one risen up, who, by the instigation of the devil, under pretext of charity, stimulated with anger and hatred, spues out the poison of vipers against the church! "Again, how inconsistent with the meekness of Christianity, for the Defender of the Faith to speak thus of Luther: "Oh, that detestable trumpeter of pride, calumnies, and schisms! what an infernal wolf, &c., what a great member of the devil is he! &c. Every Christian mind must deeply regret the coarse and vulgar expressions used by the orator, the pope, the king, and Luther, in common with other writers of that age: that such should have been the expressions of Luther is deeply to be lamented, as the life and conversation of Christians should be characteristic of the religion which they profess: at the same time it will be perceived, that Luther was the more readily betrayed into errors of this kind in consequence of the bold and uncompromising character of his mind, a quality as much to be admired by every protestant, as it was dreaded by the papists: they could not refute his arguments, founded upon scripture; they dared not injure his person, beloved and esteemed by the people. That the tender mercies of the Romish Church would not have spared Luther, unless secured from danger by a more powerful arm, we may gather from John Clark's oration to the pope, on presenting to the pontiff King Henry's book; who, speaking of the poisoning of Socrates, adds these words respecting Luther: "Could this destroyer of the Christian religion expect any better from true Christians, for his extreme wickedness against God?" And again, King Henry the Eighth, in his Address to the Reader, speaking of Luther's repentance, adds, If Luther refuses this, it will shortly come to pass, if Christian princes do their duty, that their errors, and himself, if he perseveres therein, may be burned in the fire."

Whatever may have been the errors of Luther, they teach us this truth; that weak and unstable must be that proud and boasting church, which shook from its base to its summit, as Luther divulged and propagated his Scriptural, and alas, in those days, "strange" doctrines. The success which crowned the labours of this "puny brother," (as King Henry calls him in the last sentence of his book,) we must ascribe to the honour of God and the glory of his grace, who hath "chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise, and the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty; and who hath chosen base things of the world, and things which are despised, yea, and things which are not, to bring to nought things that are, that no flesh should glory in his presence." — Seeley's Edition of Fox, vol. iv. p. 317.]

And contrariwise, of the other sort, much less are they to be commended, which running as much on the contrary string, are so precise, that because of one small blemish, or for a little stooping of Luther in the sacrament, therefore they give clean over the reading of Luther, and fall almost into utter contempt of his books: whereby is declared, not so much the niceness and curiousness of these our days, as the hinderance that cometh thereby to the church is greatly to be lamented. For albeit the church of Christ (praised be the Lord) is not unprovided of sufficient plenty of worthy and learned writers, able to instruct in 'matters of doctrine; yet in the chief points of our consolation, where the glory of Christ, and the power of his passion, and strength of faith, are to be opened to our conscience; and where the soul, wrestling for death and life, standeth in need of serious consolation, the same may be said of Martin Luther, among all this other variety of writers, that St. Cyprian was wont to say of Tertullian, "Give me my master."

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And albeit that Luther went a little awry, and dissented from Zuinglius, in this one matter of the sacrament; yet in all other states of doctrine they did accord, as appeared in the synod holden at Marburg, by Prince Philip, landgrave of Hesse, which was A.D. 1529, where both Luther and Zuinglius were present, and, conferring together, agreed in these articles:

"1. On the Unity and Trinity of God. 2. In the incarnation of the Word. 3. In the passion and, resurrection of Christ, 4. In the article of original sin. 5. In the article of faith in Christ Jesus. 6. That this faith cometh not of merits, but by the gift of God. 7. That this faith is our righteousness. 8. Touching the extern word. 9. Likewise they agreed in the articles of baptism. 10. Of good works. 11. Of confession. 12. Of magistrates. 13. Of men's traditions. 14. Of baptism of infants. 15. Lastly, concerning the doctrine of the Lord's supper; this they did believe, and hold: first, that both kinds thereof are to be ministered to the people, according to Christ's institution; and that the mass is no such work for the which a man may obtain grace both for the quick and the dead. Item, that the sacrament (which they call of the altar) is a true sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord. Item, that the spiritual manducation of his body and blood is necessary for every Christian man. And furthermore, that the use of the sacrament tendeth to the same effect as doth the word, given and ordained of Almighty God, that thereby infirm consciences may be stirred to belief by the Holy Ghost," &c.

In all these sums of doctrine above recited, Luther and Zuinglius did consent and agree; neither were their opinions so different in the matter of the Lord's supper, but that in the principal points they accorded. For if the question be asked of them both, What is the material substance of the sacrament, which our outward senses do behold and feel? they will both confess bread, and not the accidents only of bread. Further, if the question be asked, Whether Christ be there present? they will both confess his true presence to be there; only in the manner of presence they differ. Again, ask, Whether the material substance laid before our eyes in the sacrament is to be worshipped? they will both deny it, and judge it idolatry. And likewise for transubstantiation, and the sacrifice of the mass, they both do abhor, and do deny the same: as also that the communion to be in both kinds administered, they do both assent and grant.

Only their difference is in this, concerning the sense and meaning of the words of Christ, "This is my body," &c., which words Luther expoundeth to be taken nakedly and simply as the letter standeth, without trope or figure; and therefore holdeth the body and blood of Christ truly to be in the bread and wine, and so also to be received with the mouth. Uldricus Zuinglius, with Johannes Œcolampadius, and other more, do interpret these words otherwise; as to be taken not literally, but to have a spiritual meaning, and to be expounded by a trope or figure, so that the sense of these words, "This is my body," is thus to be expounded: "This signifieth my body and blood." With Luther consented the Saxons; with the side of Zuinglius went the Helvetians. And as time did grow, so the division of these opinions increased in sides, and spread in farther realms and countries: the one part being called, of Luther, Lutherans; the other having the name of Sacramentaries. Notwithstanding, in this one unity of opinion both the Lutherans and Sacramentaries do accord and agree, that the bread and wine therepresent are not transubstantiated into the body and blood of Christ, (as it is said,) but are a true sacrament of the body and blood.

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But hereof sufficient, touching this division between the Lutherans and the Zuinglians. In which division, if there have been any defect in Martin Luther, yet is that no cause why either the papists may greatly triumph, or why the protestants should despise Luther: for neither is the doctrine of Luther touching the sacrament so gross, that it maketh much with the papists; nor yet so discrepant from us, that therefore he ought to be exploded. And though a full reconciliation of this difference cannot well be made, (as some have gone about to do,) yet let us give to Luther a moderate interpretation; and if we will not make things better, yet let us not make them worse than they be, and let us hear, if not with the manner, yet at least with the time of his teaching; and finally, let it not be noted in us, that we should seem to differ in charity more (as Bucer said) than we do in doctrine. But of this more hereafter, (Christ willing,) when we come to the history of John Frith.

They which write the lives of saints use to describe and to extol their holy life and godly virtues, and also to set forth such miracles as be wrought in them by God; whereof there lacketh no plenty in Martin Luther, but rather time lacketh to us, and opportunity to tarry upon them, having such haste to other things. Otherwise what a miracle might this seem to be, for one man, and a poor friar, creeping out of a blind cloister, to be set up against the pope, the universal bishop, and God's mighty vicar on earth; to withstand all his cardinals, yea, and to sustain the malice and hatred almost of the whole world being set against him; and to work that against the said pope, cardinals, and Church of Rome, which no king nor emperor could ever do, yea, durst never attempt, nor all the learned men before him could ever compass: which miraculous work of God, I account nothing inferior to the miracle of David overthrowing great Goliath. Wherefore if miracles do make a saint, (after the pope's definition,) what lacketh in Martin Luther, but age and time only, to make him a saint? who, standing openly against the pope, cardinals, and prelates of the church, in number so many, in power so terrible, in practice so crafty, having emperors and all the kings of the earth against him; who, teaching and preaching Christ the space of nine and twenty years, could, without touch of all his enemies, so quietly, in his own country where he was born, die and sleep in peace. In which Martin Luther, first to stand against the pope was a great miracle; to prevail against the pope, a greater; so to die untouched, may seem greatest of all, espepecially having so many enemies as he had. Again, neither is it any thing less miraculous, to consider what manifold dangers he escaped besides: as when a certain Jew was appointed to come to destroy him by poison, yet was it so by the will of God, that Luther had warning thereof before, and the face of the Jew sent to him by picture, whereby he knew him, and avoided the peril.

Another time, as he was sitting in a certain place upon his stool, a great stone there was in the vault over his head where he did sit; which being staid miraculously so long as he was sitting, as soon as he was up, immediately fell upon the place where he sat, able to have crushed him all in pieces, if it had lighted upon him.

And what should I speak of his prayers, which were so ardent unto Christ, that (as Melancthon writeth) they which stood under his window where he stood praying, might see his tears falling and dropping down. Again, with such power he prayed, that he (as himself confesseth) had obtained of the Lord, that so long as he lived, the pope should not prevail in his country; after his death (said he) let them pray who could.

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And as touching the marvellous works of the Lord, wrought here by men, if it be true which is credibly reported by the learned, what miracle can be more miraculous, than that which is declared of a young man about Wittenberg, who, being kept bare and needy by his father, was tempted by way of sorcery to bargain with the devil, or a familiar, as they call him; to yield himself body and soul into the devil's power, upon condition to have his wish satisfied with money. So that upon the same an obligation was made by the young man, written with his own blood, and given to the devil. This case you see how horrible it was, and how damnable. Now hear what followed. Upon the sudden wealth and alteration of this young man, the matter first being noted, began afterwards more and more to be suspected, and at length, after long and great admiration, was brought unto Martin Luther to be examined. The young man, whether for shame or fear, long denied to confess, and would disclose nothing; yet God so wrought, being stronger than the devil, that he uttered unto Luther the whole substance of the case, as well touching the money, as the obligation. Luther understanding the matter, and pitying the lamentable state of the man, willed the whole congregation to pray, and he himself ceased not with his prayers to labour; so that the devil was compelled at the last to throw in his obligation at the window, and bade him take it again unto him: which narration, if it be so true, as certainly it is of him reported, I see not the contrary, but that this may well seem comparable with the greatest miracle, in Christ's church, that was since the apostles' time.

Furthermore, as he was mighty in his prayers, so in his sermons God gave him such a grace, that when he preached, they which heard him thought every one his own temptation severally to be noted and touched. Whereof, when signification was given unto him by his friends, and he demanded how that could be: "Mine own manifold temptations," said he, "and experiences are the cause thereof." For this thou must understand, good reader! that Luther from his tender years was much beaten and exercised with spiritual conflicts, as Melancthon in describing of his life doth testify. Also Hieronymus Wellerus, scholar and disciple of the said Martin Luther, recordeth, that he oftentimes heard Luther his master thus report of himself, that he had been assaulted and vexed with all kinds of temptations, saving only one, which was with covetousness; with this vice he was never, said he, in all his life troubled, nor once tempted.

And hitherto concerning the life of Martin Luther, who, living to the year of his age sixty-three, he continued writing and preaching about twenty-nine years. As touching the order of his death, the words of Melancthon be these:

An intimation given by Philip Melancthon to his auditory at Wittenberg, of the decease of Martin Luther, A.D. 1546.

To the scholars assembled to hear the lecture of the Epistle to the Romans, Philip Melancthon recited publicly this that followeth, at nine of the clock before noon; advertising he gave this information, by the counsel of other lords, for that the auditors, understanding the express truth, (forasmuch as the lords knew certainly, fame would blow slanderous blasts every where of the death of Luther,) should not credit flying tales and false reports.

"My friends, ye know that we have enterprised to expound grammatically the Epistle to the Romans, in which is contained the true doctrine of the Son of God, which our Lord, by his singular grace, hath revealed unto us at this present by the reverend father, and our dearly

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beloved master, Martin Luther. Notwithstanding we have received heavy news, which has so augmented my dolour, that I am in doubt if I may continue henceforth in scholastical profession, and exercise of teaching. The cause wherefore I commemorate this thing is, for that I am so advised by other lords, that ye may understand the true sequel of things, lest yourselves blaze abroad vain tales of this fatal chance, or give credit to other fables, which commonly are accustomed to be spread every where.

"Wednesday last past, and the seventeenth of February, Doctor Martin Luther sickened a little before supper of his accustomed malady, to wit, of the oppression of humours in the orifice or opening of the stomach, whereof I remember I have seen him oft diseased in this place. This sickness took him after supper, with the which he vehemently contending, required secess into a by-chamber, and there he rested on his bed two hours, all which time his pains increased; and as Dr. Jonas was lying in his chamber, Luther awaked, and prayed him to rise, and to call up Ambrose, his children's schoolmaster, to make fire in another chamber; into the which when he was newly entered, Albert, earl of Manseld, with his wife, and divers others, (whose names for haste in these letters were not expressed,) at that instant came into his chamber. Finally, feeling his fatal hour to approach, before nine of the clock in the morning, on the eighteenth of February, he commended himself to God with this devout prayer:

"My heavenly Father, eternal and merciful God! thou hast manifested unto me thy dear Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, I have taught him, I have known him; I love him as my life, my health, and my redemption; whom the wicked have persecuted, maligned, and with injury afflicted. Draw my soul to thee.'

"After this he said as ensueth, thrice:

"I commend my spirit into thy hands, thou hast redeemed me, O God of truth! God so loved the world, that he gave his only Son, that all those that believe in him should have life everlasting,' John iii.

"Having repeated oftentimes his prayers, he was called to God, unto whom so faithfully he commended his spirit; to enjoy, no doubt, the blessed society of the patriarchs, prophets, and apostles in the kingdom of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Let us now love the memory of this man, and the doctrine that he hath taught; let us learn to be modest and meek; let us consider the wretched calamities and marvellous changes, that shall follow this mishap and doleful chance. I beseech thee, O Son of God! crucified for us, and resuscitate Emmanuel, govern, conserve, and defend thy church."

A prayer after the manner of Luther.

"Let us render thanks unto God, the eternal Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath pleased, by the ministry of this godly Luther, to purify the evangelical fountains from papistical infection, and restore sincere doctrine to the church: which thing we remembering, ought to join our lamentable petitions, with zealous affection beseeching God to confirm what he hath begun in us, for his holy name's sake. This is thy voice and promise, O living and just God, eternal Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Creator of all things, and of the church! I will have compassion

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on you, for my name's sake. I will do it for myself, yea, even for myself, that I be not blasphemed. I beseech thee with ardent affection, that for thy glory, and the glory of thy Son Jesus Christ, thou wilt collect unto thyself in the voice of thy gospel, among us, one perpetual church, and that, for the dear love of thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ, our Mediator and Intercessor, thou wilt govern us by thy Holy Ghost; that we unfeignedly may call upon thee, and serve thee justly. Rule also the studies of thy doctrine, govern and conserve the policies and discipline of the same, which be the nurses of thy church and schools. And since thou hast created mankind to acknowledge and to invoke thee, and that for this respect thou hast revealed thyself by many clear testimonies, permit not this small number and selected flock (that profess thy sacred word) to be defaced and overcome. And the rather, for that thy Son Jesus Christ, ready to fight against death, hath prayed in this manner for us; Father, sanctify them in verity, thy word is verity. Our prayers we join with the prayer of this our holy Priest, making our petition with Him, that thy doctrine may shine among men, and that we may be directed by the same."

We heard Luther evermore pray in this wise, and so praying, his innocent ghost peaceably was separated from the earthly corpse when he had lived almost sixty-three years.

Such as succeeded, have divers monuments of his doctrine and godliness. He wrote certain learned works, wherein he comprised a wholesome and necessary doctrine for men, informing the sincere minds to repentance, and to declare the fruits of the same, the use of the sacraments, the difference betwixt the gospel and philosophy, the dignity of politic order; and, finally, the principal articles of doctrine profitable to the church. He composed certain works to reprove, wherein he refuteth divers pernicious errors. He also devised books of interpretation, in which he wrote many narrations and expositions of the prophets and apostles, and in this kind, his very enemies confess, he excelleth all others whose works are imprinted and published abroad. Then, all Christians and godly minds! conceive what praise he deserved; but certainly his exposition of the Old and New Testament, in utility and labour, is equivalent to all his works; for in the same is so much perspicuity, that it may serve instead of a commentary, though it be read in the German tongue. And yet this is not a naked exposition, but it containeth very learned annotations and arguments on every part; which both set forth the sum of heavenly doctrine, and instruct the reader in the sacred phrase and manner of speaking in the Scriptures, that the godly minds may receive firm testimonies of the doctrine, out of the very fountains. His mind was not to keep us occupied in his works; but to guide our spirits to the very springs. His will was, we should hear God speak, and that by his word true faith and invocation might be kindled in our minds, that God might be sincerely honoured and adored, and that many might be made inheritors of everlasting life.

It behoveth us thankfully to accept his good will and great labours, and to imitate the same as our patron, and by him to learn to adorn the church, according to our power. For we must refer all our life, enterprises, and deliberations, to two principal ends: First, to illustrate the glory of God; Secondly, to profit the church. As touching the first, St. Paul saith, Do all things to the glory of God. And of the second, it is said in Psalm xxii., Pray that Jerusalem may prosper. And there followeth a singular promise added in this versicle: Such as love the church, shall prosper and have good success. Let these heavenly commandments and divine instructions allure all men to learn the true doctrine of the church, to love the faithful ministers of the gospel and the

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true teachers; and to employ their whole study and diligence to augment the true doctrine, and maintain concord and unity in the true church.

Frederic, prince elector, died long before Luther, A.D. 1525, leaving no issue behind him, for that he lived a single life, and was never married: wherefore after him succeeded John Frederic, duke of Saxony.

142. Cardinal Campeius' Mission

Mention was made a little before of the ministers of Strasburg, who, because of their marriage, were in trouble, and cited by the bishop to appear before him, and there to be judged, without the precinct of the city of Strasburg; whereas there had been a contrary order taken before between the bishop and the city, that the bishop should execute no judgment upon any, but under some of the magistrates of the said city of Strasburg. Whereupon the senate and the citizens, taking into their hands the cause of these married ministers, in defence of their own right and liberties, wrote, as is said, to their bishop of Strasburg, and caused the judgment thereof a while to be stayed; by reason whereof the matter was brought at length before Cardinal Campeius, legate, sent by Pope Clement to the assembly of Nuremberg, A.D. 1524.

The chief doer in this matter was one Thomas Murner, a Franciscan friar, who had commenced a grievous complaint against the senate and city of Strasburg, before the aforesaid Cardinal Campeius. Wherefore the senate, to purge themselves, sent their ambassadors, thus clearing their cause, and answering to their accusation, that they neither had been nor would be any let to the bishop, but had signified to him before, by their letters, that whatsoever he could lay against those married priests, consonant to the law of God, they would be no stay, but rather a furtherance unto him to proceed in his action. But the senate herein was not a little grieved that the bishop, contrary to the order and compact which was taken between him and them, did call the said ministers out of the liberties of their city; for so it was between them agreed, that no ecclesiastical person should be adjudged but under some judge of their own city. But now, contrary to their said agreement, the bishop called those ministers out of their liberties; and so the ministers, claiming the right and privilege of the city, were condemned, their cause being neither heard nor known. And now if the senate should show themselves any thing more sharp or rigorous unto those ministers, claiming the right of the city, the people, no doubt, would not take it well, but haply would rise up in some commotion against them in the quarrel and defence of their franchises and liberties.

And where it is objected, that they receive priests and men of the clergy into the freedom and protection of their city: to this they answered, that they did nothing herein, but that which was correspondent to the ancient usage and manner of the city before; and moreover, that it was the bishop's own request and desire made unto them so to do.

To this the cardinal again, advising well the letters of the bishop, and the whole order of the matter which was sent unto him, declared, that he right well understood by the letters sent, that the ministers indeed (as the ambassadors said) were called out from the freedom and liberties of the city, and yet no order of law was broken therein; forasmuch as the bishop (said he) had there no less power and authority, than if he were his own vicar delegate; and therefore he desired them, that they would assist the bishop in punishing the aforesaid ministers, &c.

After much other talk and reasoning on both parts, wherein the ambassadors argued in defence of their freedom, that the judgment should not be transferred out of the city: among other

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communication, they inferred moreover, and declared, how in the city of Strasburg were many, yea, the most part of the clergy, who lived viciously and wickedly with their women, whom they kept in their houses, to the great offence of the people, shame to Christ's church, and pernicious example of others; and yet the bishop would never once stir to see any punishing or correction thereof. Wherefore, if the senate (said the ambassadors) should permit the bishop to extend his cruelty and extremity against these married ministers, for not observing the bishop of Rome's law, and leave the other notorious offenders, who break the law of God, to escape unpunished, doubtless it would redound to their great danger and peril, not only before God, but also among the commons of their city, ready to rise upon them.

To this Campeius answered, What composition or bargain was betwixt the bishop and them, he knew not, but surely the act of the one was manifest, and needed no great trial in law of proving and confessing; and therefore they were sequestered and abandoned from the communion of the church, ipso facto. As for the other sort of them, who keep women, although, said he, it be not well done, yet doth it not excuse the enormity of their marriage. Neither was he ignorant, but that it was the manner of the bishops of Germany, for money, to wink at priests' lemans; and the same also was evil done indeed. And further, that the time should come when they shall be called to an account for the same; but yet, nevertheless, it is not sufferable that priests therefore should have wives. And if comparison should be made, said he, much greater offence it were, a priest to have a wife, than to have and keep at home many paramours. His reason was this; For they that keep them, said he, as it is naughty which they do, so do they acknowledge their sin: the others persuade themselves that they do well, and so continue still without repentance, or conscience of their fact. All men, said he, cannot be chaste, as John the Baptist was; yet can it not be proved by any example, to be lawful for priests, professing chastity, to leave their single life, and to marry: no, not the Greeks themselves, who in rites be differing from us, do give this liberty to their own priests to marry: wherefore he prayed them to give their aid to the bishop in this behalf.

Whereunto the ambassadors replied again, saying, that if he would first punish the one class of offenders, then might the senate assist him the better in correcting the other; but the cardinal was still instant upon them, that first they should assist their bishop, and then if the bishop would not punish the other crime, he would come thither himself and see it punished accordingly.

This Cardinal Campeius, how he was sent by Pope Clement the Sixth, to the second assembly or diet of Nuremberg, A.D. 1524, and what was there done by the said cardinal, is before signified. After this council of Nuremberg, immediately followed another sitting at Ratisbon, where were present Ferdinand, Campeius, the cardinal of Saltsburg, the two dukes of Bavaria, the bishops of Trent and Ratisbon; also the legates of the bishops, Bamberg, Spire, Strasburg, Augsburg, Constance, Basil, Friburg, Passau, and Brixen. By whom in the said assembly it was thus concluded:

Summary of popish decrees made at the council of Ratisbon.

That forasmuch as the emperor, at the request of Pope Leo, had condemned, by his public edict set forth at Worms, the doctrine of Luther for erroneous and wicked; and also it was agreed

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upon in both the assemblies at Nuremberg, that the said edict should be obeyed by all men; they likewise, at the request of Cardinal Campeius, do will and command the aforesaid edict to be observed through all their confines and precincts: that the gospel, and all other Holy Scriptures, should be taught in churches according to the interpretation of the ancient forefathers: that all they who revive any old heresies before condemned, or teach any new thing contumelious, either against Christ, his blessed mother, and holy saints, or which may breed any occasion of sedition, are to be punished according to the tenor of the edict aforesaid: That none be admitted to preach without the licence of his ordinary: That they who be already admitted, shall be examined how and what they preach: That the laws which Campeius is about to set forth for reformation of manners, shall be observed: That in the sacraments, in the mass, and all other things, there shall be no innovation, but all things to stand as in fore-time they did: That all they who approach to the Lord's supper without confession and absolution, or do eat flesh on days forbidden, or who do run out of their order; also priests, deacons, and sub-deacons, that be married, shall be punished: That nothing shall be printed without consent of the magistrate: That no book of Luther or of any Lutheran shall be printed or sold: That they of their jurisdiction, who study in the university of Wittenberg, shall every one repair home within three months after the publishing hereof, or else turn to some other place free from the infection of Luther, under pain of confiscating all their goods, and losing their inheritance: That no benefice, nor other office of teaching, be given to any student of that university. Item, That certain inquisitors, fit for the same, be appointed to inquire and examine the premises. Item, Lest it may be said that this faction of Luther taketh its origin from the corrupt life of priests, the said Campeius, with other his assistants in the said convocation of Ratisbon, chargeth and commandeth, that priests live honestly, go in decent apparel, play not the merchants, haunt not the taverns, be not covetous, nor take money for their ministration; such as keep concubines to be removed; the number also of holy days to be diminished,

These things would Campeius have enacted in a full council, and with the consents of all the empire: but when he could not bring that to pass, by reason that the minds of divers were gone from the pope, he was fain to get the same ratified in this particular conventicle, with the assents of these bishops above rehearsed.

143. The Reformation in Switzerland.

These things thus hitherto discoursed, which fully may be seen in the Commentaries of John Sleiden, it remaineth next after the story of Martin Luther, somewhat to adjoin likewise touching the history of Zuinglius, and of the Helvetians. But before I come to the explication of this story, it shall not be inconvenient, first to give some little touch of the towns, called pages, of these Helvetians, and of their league and confederation first begun amongst them.

The history of the Helvetians, or Switzers, how they first recovered their liberty, and afterwards were joined in league together.

The Helvetians, whom otherwise we call Switzers, are divided principally into thirteen pages. The names of whom are Tigurini, Bernates, Lucernates, Urani, Suicenses, Untervaldii, Tugiani, Glareanti, Basilienses, Solodurii, Friburgii, Scafusiani, Apecelenses. Furthermore, to these be added seven other pages, albeit not with such a full bond as the other be conjoined together; which be these: Rheti, Lepontii, Seduni, Veragri, Sangalli, Mullusiani, Rotulenses. Of these thirteen confederate pages above recited, these three were the first, to wit, Urania, Suicenses, and Sylvanii, or (as some call them) Untervaldii, which joined themselves together.

If credit should be given to old narrations, these three pages or valleys first suffered great servitude and thralldom under cruel rulers or governors; insomuch that the governor of Sylvania required of one of the inhabitants a yoke of his oxen; which when the townsmen denied to give him, the ruler sent his servant by force to take his oxen from him. This when the servant was about to do, cometh the poor man's son, and cutting off one of his fingers, and upon the same avoided. The governor, hearing this, taketh the poor man and putteth out his eyes.

At another time in the said Sylvania, as the good man of the house was absent abroad, the governor who had then the rule of the town, entering into the house, commanded the wife to prepare for him a bath, and made other proposals to her; whereunto she being unwilling, deferred the bath as long as she might, till the return of her husband. To whom then she, making her complaint, so moved his mind, that he, with his axe or hatchet which he had in his hand, flew upon the adulterous ruler and slew him.

Another example of like violence is reported of the ruler of Suicia and Sylvania, who, surprised with the like pride and disdain against the poor underlings, caused his cap to be hung up upon a pole, charging and commanding by his servant, all that passed by to do obeisance to the cap; which when one named William Tell refused to do, the tyrant caused his son to be tied, with an apple set upon his head, and the father with a cross-bow, or a like instrument, to shoot at the apple. After long refusing, when the woeful father could not otherwise choose, by force constrained, but must level at the apple; as God would, he missed the child, and struck the mark. Thus Tell, being thus compelled by the tyrant to shoot at his son, had brought with him two shafts; thinking that if he had struck the child with one, the other he would have let drive at the tyrant: which being understood, he was apprehended and led to the ruler's house; but by the way escaping out of the boat between Urania and Brun, and passing through the mountains with as

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much speed as he might, he lay in the way secretly as the ruler should pass, where he discharged his arrow at the tyrant and slew him, A.D. 1307.



William Tell

And thus were these cruel governors utterly expelled out of these three valleys or pages aforesaid; and after that, such order was taken by the emperor Henry the Seventh, and also by the emperor Ludovicus, duke of Bavaria, that henceforth no judge should be set over them, but only of their own company, and town dwellers.

It followed after this, A.D. 1315, that great contention and war fell between Frederic, duke of Austria, and Ludovic, duke of Bavaria, striving and fighting the space of eight years together about the empire. With Ludovic held the three pages aforesaid; who had divers conflicts with Leopold, brother to the aforesaid Frederic, duke of Austria, fighting in his brother's quarrel. As Leopold had reared a mighty army of twenty thousand footmen and horsemen, and was come to Egree, so to pass over the mountains to subdue the pages; he began to take advice of his council, by what way or passage best he might direct his journey towards the Switzers. Whereupon as they were busy in consulting, there stood a fool by, named Kune de Stocken, who hearing their advice, thought also to shoot his bolt withal, and told them, that their counsel did not like him: "For all you," quoth he, "consult how we should enter into yonder country; but none of you giveth any counsel how to come out again after we be entered." And in conclusion, as the fool said, so they found it true. For when Leopold with his host had entered into the straits

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and valleys between the rocks and mountains, the Switzers, with their neighbours of Urania and Sylvania, lying in privy wait, had them at such advantage; and with tumbling down stones from the rocks, and sudden coming upon their backs in blind lanes, did so encumber them, that neither they had convenient standing to fight, nor room almost to fly away; by reason whereof a great part of Leopold's army there, being enclosed about the place called Morgayten, lost their lives, and many in the flight were slain. Leopold, with them that remained, retired and escaped to Turgoia. This battle was fought A.D. 1315, the sixteenth of November.

After this, the burghers of these three villages, being continually vexed by Frederic, duke of Austria, for that they would not knowledge him for emperor, assembled themselves in the town of Urania, A.D. 1316; and there entered a mutual league and bond of perpetual society and conjunction, joining and swearing themselves, as in one body of a commonwealth and public administration together. After that came to them the Lucernates; then the Tugiani; after them the Tigurines; next to them followed the Bernates; the last almost of all were the Basilians: then followed after, the other seven pages above recited.

And thus have ye the names, the freedom, and confederation of these Switzers, or cantons, or pages of Helvetia, with the occasions and circumstances thereof, briefly expressed. Now to the purpose of our story intended, which is to declare the success of Christ's gospel and true religion received among the Helvetians; also touching the life and doctrine of Zuinglius, and order of his death, as here ensueth.

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The acts and life of Uldricus Zuinglius; and of receiving the gospel in Switzerland.



Zurich

In the tractation of Luther's story, mention was made before of Uldricus Zuinglius, who first abiding at Glarus, in a place called then our Lord's Hermitage, from thence removed to Zurich about A.D. 1519, and there began to teach, dwelling in the minster, among the canons or priests of that close; using with them the same rites and ceremonies during the space of two or three years, where he continued reading and explaining the Scriptures unto the people with great travail, and no less dexterity. And because Pope Leo the same year had renewed his pardons again through all countries, (as is above declared,) Zuinglius zealously withstood the same, detecting the abuses thereof by the Scriptures, and of other corruptions reigning then in the church; and so continued by the space of two years and more, till at length Hugo bishop of Constance (to whose jurisdiction Zurich then also did belong) hearing thereof, wrote his letter to the senate of the said city of Zurich, complaining grievously of Zuinglius; who also wrote another letter to the college of canons, where Zuinglius was the same time dwelling, complaining likewise of such new teachers who troubled the church; and exhorted them earnestly to beware, and to take diligent heed to themselves. And forasmuch as both the pope and the emperor's Majesty had condemned all such new doctrine by their decrees and edicts, he willed them

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therefore to admit no such new innovations of doctrine, without the common consent of them to whom the same did appertain. Zuinglius hearing thereof, referreth his cause to the judgment and hearing of the senate, not refusing to render to them an account of his faith. And forasmuch as the bishop's letter was read openly in the college, Zuinglius directeth another letter to the bishop again, declaring the said letter proceeded not from the bishop, not that he was ignorant who were the authors thereof; desiring him not to follow their sinister counsels, for that truth, said he, is a thing invincible, and cannot be resisted. After the same tenor certain others of the city likewise wrote unto the bishop, desiring him that he would attempt nothing that should be prejudicial to the liberty and free course of the gospel; requiring moreover, that he would bear no longer the filthy and infamous lives of priests, but that he would permit them to have their lawful wives, &c. This was A.D. 1522.

Besides this, Zuinglius wrote also another letter to the whole nation of the Helvetians, monishing them in no case to hinder the passage of sincere doctrine, nor to infer any molestation to priests that were married: for as for the vow and coaction of their single life, it came, saith he, of the devil, and a devilish thing it is. And therefore whereas the said Helvetians had such a right and custom in their towns and pages, that when they received any new priest into their churches, they used to premonish him before to take his concubine, lest he should attempt any misuse with their wives and daughters; he exhorted them that they would no less grant unto them to take their wives in honest matrimony, than to live with unmarried women against the precept of God.

Thus as Zuinglius continued certain years labouring in the word of the Lord, offence began to rise at this new doctrine, and divers stepped up, namely, the Dominic Friars, on the contrary side, to preach and inveigh against him. But he, keeping himself ever within the Scriptures, protested that he would make good by the word of God that which he had taught. Upon this, the magistrates and senate of Zurich sent forth their commandment to all priests and ministers within their dominion, to repair to the city of Zurich, against the twenty-ninth of January next ensuing, (this was A.D. 1523,) there every one to speak freely, and to be heard quietly, touching these controversies of religion, what could be said; directing also their letters to the bishop of Constance, that he would either make his repair thither himself, or else to send his deputy. When the day appointed came, the bishop's vicegerent, which was John Faber, was also present. The council first declaring the cause of this their frequency and assembly, (which was for the dissension newly risen about matters of religion,) required that if any there had to object or infer against the doctrine of Zuinglius, he should freely and quietly utter and declare his mind.

Zuinglius had disposed his matter before, and contrived all his doctrine in a certain order of places, to the number of sixty-seven articles; which articles he had published also abroad before, to the end that they which were disposed, might resort thither the better prepared to the disputation. When the consul had finished that which he would say, and had exhorted others to begin, Faber, first entering the matter, began to declare the cause of his sending thither, and afterwards would persuade, that this was no place convenient, nor time fit, for discussing of such matters by disputation, but rather that the cognition and tractation thereof belonged to a general council, which, he said, was already appointed, and now near at hand. Notwithstanding Zuinglius still continued urging and requiring him, that if he had there any thing to say or to dispute, he would openly and freely utter his mind. To this he answered again, that he would confute his doctrine by writing. This done, with a few other words on both sides had to and fro, when no

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man would appear there to offer any disputation, the assembly brake, and was discharged; whereupon the senate of Zurich incontinent caused to be proclaimed through all their dominion and territory, that the traditions of men should be displaced and abandoned, and the gospel of Christ purely taught out of the Old and New Testament. A.D. 1523.

When the gospel thus began to take place, and to flourish in Zurich and certain other places of Helvetia, in the following year, (A.D. 1524,) another assembly of the Helvetians was convened at Lucerne, where this decree was made on the contrary part:

Constitutions decreed in the assembly of Lucerne.

"That no man should deride or condemn the word of God, which had been taught now above a thousand and four hundred years heretofore: nor the mass to be scorned, wherein the body of Christ is consecrated, to the honour of God, and to the comfort both of the quick and the dead.

"That they which are able to receive the Lord's body at Easter, shall confess their sins in Lent to the priests, and do all other things, as the use and manner of the church requireth.

"That the rites and customs of holy church be kept.

"That every one obey his own proper pastor and curate, and receive the sacraments of him, after the manner of holy church, and pay him his yearly duties.

"That honour be given to priests.

"Item, to abstain from flesh-eating on fasting-days, and in Lent to abstain from eggs and cheese.

"That no opinion of Luther be taught privily or apertly, contrary to the received determination of holy church; and that in taverns and at table no mention be made of Luther, or any new doctrine.

"That images and pictures of saints in every place be kept inviolate.

"That priests and ministers of the church be not compelled to render account of their doctrine, but only to the magistrate.

"That due aid and supportation be provided for them, if any commotion do happen.

"That no person deride the relics of the Holy Spirit, or of our Lady, or of St. Anthony.

"Finally, That all the laws and decrees set forth by the bishop of Constance, be observed.

"These constitutions whosoever shall transgress, let them be presented to the magistrate, and overseers to be set over them that shall so transgress."

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After these things concluded thus at Lucerne, the cantons of Helvetia together directed their public letter to the Tigurines, or men of Zurich, to this effect:—

"Wherein they do much lament and complain of this new-broached doctrine which had set all mentogether by the ears, through the occasion of certain rash and newfangled heads, which had greatly disturbed both the state of the church and of the commonwealth, and have scattered the seeds of discord, where beforetime all things were well in quiet. And although this sore (said they) ought to have been looked to betimes, so that they should not have suffered the glory of Almighty God, and of the blessed Virgin, and other saints, so to be dishonoured, but rather should have bestowed their goods and lives to maintain the same; yet, notwithstanding, they required them now to look upon the matter, which otherwise would bring to them destruction both of body and soul: as for example, they might see the doctrine of Luther, what fruit it brought. The rude and vulgar people now (said they) could not be holden in, but would burst forth to all licence and rebellion, as hath appeared by sufficient proofs of late; the like is to be feared also among themselves, and all by the occasion of Zuinglius, and of Leo Juda, which so took upon them to expound the word of God after their own interpretation, opening thereby whole doors and windows to discord and dissension. Albeit of their doctrine they were not certain what they did teach; yet what inconvenience followed upon their doctrine, they had too much experience. For now all fasting was laid down, and all days were alike to eat both flesh and eggs, as well one as another. Priests and religious persons, both men and women, brake their vows, ran out of their order, and fell to marrying; God's service was decayed, singing in the church left, and prayer ceased; priests grew in contempt, religious men were thrust out of their cloisters; confession and penance were neglected, so that men would not stick to presume to receive at the holy altar, without any confession made to the priest before. The holy mass was derided and scorned; our blessed Lady and other saints blasphemed; images plucked down and broken in pieces, neither was there any honour given to the sacraments. To make short, men now were grown unto such a licence and liberty, that scarcely the holy host could be safe within the priest's hands, &c.

"The disorder of all which things, as it is of no small importance, so it was to them so grievous and lamentable, that they thought it their part to suffer the same no longer. Neither was this the first time (they said) of this their complaining, when in their former assembly they sent unto them before the like admonition, writing to them by certain of the clergy, and craving their aid in the same; which seeing it is so, they did now again earnestly call upon them touching the premises, desiring them to surcease from such doings, and to take a better way, continuing in the religion of their old ancestors, which were before them. And if there were any such thing, wherein they were grieved and offended against the bishop of Rome, the cardinals, bishops, or other prelates, either for their ambition in heaping, exchanging, and selling the dignities of the church, or for their oppression in pilling men's purses with their indulgences, or else for their usurped jurisdiction and power, which they extend too far, and corruptly apply to matters external and political, which only ought to serve in such cases as be spiritual; if these and such other abuses were the causes, wherewith they were so grievously offended, they promised that, for the correction and reformation thereof, they would also themselves join their diligence and good will thereto; forasmuch as themselves also did not a little mislike therewith, and therefore would confer their counsels together with them, how and by what way such grievances might best be removed."

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To this effect were the letters of the Helvetians, written to the senate and citizens of Zurich. Whereunto the Tigurines made their answer again on the 21st of March, the same year, in manner as followeth

"First, declaring how their ministers had laboured and travailed among them, teaching and preaching the word of God unto them the space now of five years; whose doctrine at the first seemed to them very strange and novel, because they never heard the same before. But. after that they understood and perceived the scope of that doctrine only to tend to this; to set forth Christ Jesus unto us, to be the pillar and refuge of all our salvation, which gave his life and blood for our redemption, and which only delivereth us also, sinful misers, from eternal death, and is the only Advocate of mankind before God; they could no otherwise do, but with ardent affection receive so wholesome and joyful a message.

"The holy apostles and faithful Christians, after they had received the gospel of Christ, did not fall out by and by in debate and variance, but lovingly agreed and consented together: and so they trusted (said they) that they should do, if they would likewise receive the word of God, setting aside men's doctrines and traditions dissonant from the same. Whatsoever Luther or any other man doth teach, whether it be right or wrong, it is not for the names of the persons, why the doctrine which they teach should be either evil or well judged upon, but only for that it agreeth or disagreeeth from the rule of God's word: for that were but to go by affection, and were prejudicial to the authority of the word of God, which ought to rule man, and not to be measured by man. And if Christ only be worshipped, and men taught solely to repose their confidence in him, yet neither doth the blessed Virgin, nor any saint else, receive any injury thereby; who, being here on earth, received their salvation only by the name of him.

"And whereas they charge their ministers with wresting the Scripture after their own interpretation, God had stirred up such light now in the hearts of men, that the most part of their city have the Bible in their hand, and diligently peruse the same; so that their preachers cannot so wind the Scriptures awry, but they shall quickly be perceived. Wherefore there is no danger why they should fear any sects or factions in them; but rather such sects are to be objected to those, who, for their gain and dignity, wrest the word of God after their own affections and appetites. And whereas they, and others, have accused them of error, yet was there never man that could prove any error in them, although divers bishops of Constance, of Basil, of Coire, with divers universities besides; also they themselves have been sundry times desired so to do; yet to this present day neither they nor ever any others so did; neither were they, nor any of all the aforesaid bishops, at their last assembly, being requested to come, so gentle to repair unto them, save only the Schashusians and Sangallians. In which aforesaid assembly of theirs, all such as were then present, considering thoroughly the whole case of the matter, condescended together with them. And if the bishops haply will object again, and say, that the word of God ought not so to be handled of the vulgar people; they answered the same not to stand with equity and reason. For albeit it did belong to the bishops' office, to provide that the sheep should not go astray, and most convenient it were, that by them they should be reduced into the way again; yet because they will not see to their charge, but leave it undone, referring all things to the fathers and to councils; therefore right and reason it is, that they themselves should hear and learn, not what man doth determine, but what Christ himself doth command in his Scripture. Neither have their ministers given any occasion of this division; but rather it is to be imputed to such, which for their own

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private lucre and preferments, contrary to the word of the Lord, do seduce the people into error; and grievously offending God, do provoke him to plague them with manifold calamities; who, if they would renounce the greediness of their own gain, and would follow the pure doctrine of his word, seeking not the will of man, but what is the will of God, no doubt but they should soon fall to agreement.

"As for the eating of flesh and eggs, although it be free to all men, and forbidden to none by Christ; yet they have set forth a law to restrain rash intemperance, and uncharitable offense of other.

"And as touching matrimony, God is himself the author thereof, who hath left it free for all men. Also Paul willeth a minister of the church to be the husband of one wife. And seeing that bishops for money permit their priests to have concubines, which is contrary both to God's law and to good example; why then might not they as well obey God in permitting lawful matrimony which he hath ordained, as they to resist God in forbidding the same? The like is to be said also of women vowing chastity; of whom this they judge and suppose, that such kind of vows and coacted chastity, are not available nor allowed before God: and seeing that chastity is not all men's gift, better it were to marry, (after their judgments,) than filthily to live in single life.

"As for monasteries, and other houses of canons, they were first given for relief only of the poor and needy; whereas now they which inhabit them are wealthy, and able to live of their own patrimony, in such sort as many times some one of them hath so much, as might well suffice a great number; wherefore it seemeth to them not inconvenient, that those goods should be converted again to the use of the poor. Yet, nevertheless, they have used herein such moderation, that they have permitted the inhabitants of those monasteries to enjoy the possession of their goods, during the term of their natural life, lest any should have cause of just complaint.

"Ornaments of churches serve nothing to God's service; but this is well agreeing to the will and service of God, that the poor should be succoured. So Christ commanded the young man in the gospel, that was rich, not to hang up his riches in the temple, but to sell them, and distribute them to the needy.

"The order of priesthood they do not contemn. Such priests as will truly discharge their duty, and teach soundly, they do magnify. As for the other rabble, which serve to no public commodity, but rather damnify the commonwealth, if the number of them were diminished by little and little, and their livings put to better use, they doubted not but it were a service well done to God. Now whether the singing and prayers of such priests be available before God, it may be doubted, forasmuch as many of them understand not what they say, or sing, but only for hire of wages do the same.

"As for secret confession, wherein men do detect their sins in the priest's ear, of what virtue this confession is to be esteemed, they leave it in suspense. But that confession whereby repenting sinners do fly to Christ our only Intercessor, they account not only to be profitable, but also necessary to all troubled consciences. As for satisfaction, which priests do use, they reckon

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it but a practice to get money, and the same to be not only erroneous, but also full of impiety. True penance and satisfaction is, for a man to amend his life.

"The orders of monkery came only by the invention of man, and not by the institution of God.

"And as touching the sacraments, such as be of the Lord's institution, them they do not despise, but receive with all reverence; neither do suffer the same to be despised of any person, nor to be abused otherwise than becometh, but to be used rightly, according to the prescript rule of God's word. And so with the like reverence they use the sacrament of the Lord's supper, according as the word prescribeth, not (as many do use it) to make of it an oblation and a sacrifice.

"And if the messengers sent to them of the clergy, in their letters mentioned, can justly charge them with any hinderance, or any error, they will be ready either to purge themselves, or to satisfy the offence. And if they cannot, then reason would, that those messengers of the clergy should hereafter look better to their own doings, and to their doctrine, and to cease from such untrue slanders and contumelies.

"Finally, Whereas they understand by their letters how desirous they are to have the pope's oppressions, and exactions, and usurped power abolished, they are right glad thereof and joyful, supposing that the same can by no means be brought to pass, except the word of God only and simply be received: for otherwise, so long as men's laws and constitutions shall stand in force, there will be no place nor hope of reformation. For, by the preaching of God's word, their estimation and dignity must needs decay, and that they well perceive; and therefore, by all means do provide how to stop the course of the word: and because they see themselves too weak to bring their purpose about, they fly to the aid of kings and princes. For the necessary remedy whereof, if they shall think good to join their consent, there shall nothing be lacking in their behalf, what they are able either in counsel or goods to do in the matter: declaring moreover, that this should have been seen to long before. Which being so, they prayed and desired them to accept in good part, and diligently to expound, that which they did write. As for their own part, they required nothing else more than peace, both between them and all men; neither was it ever their intent to stir any thing that should be prejudicial against their league and band agreed upon between them. But in this cause, which concerneth their eternal salvation, they can do no otherwise but as they have done, unless their error by learning might be proved and declared unto them. Wherefore, as they did before, so now they desire again, that if they think this their doctrine to be repugnant to the Holy Scripture, they will gently show and teach them their error; and that, before the end of the month of May next ensuing: for so long they will abide waiting for an answer, as well from them, as from the bishop of Constance, and also from the university of Basil."

And thus much containeth the answer of the Tigurines unto the letter of their other colleagues of Helvetia.

In the mean time, as this passed on, and the month of May, above-mentioned, was now come, the bishop of Constance, with the advice of his council about him, did answer the

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Tigurines, as he was requested of them to do, in a certain book, first written, and afterward printed; wherein he declareth what images and pictures those were, which the profane Jews and Gentiles in the old time did adore, and what images these be which the church hath from time to time received and admitted; and what difference there is between those idols of the Jews and Gentiles, and these images of the Christians. The conclusion hereof was this; that whereas the Scripture speaketh against images, and willeth them not to be suffered, that is to be understood of such images and idols, as the Jews and idolatrous Gentiles did use; yet nevertheless such images and pictures which the church had received, are to be used and retained.

From this he entereth next into the discourse of the mass, where he proveth, by divers and sundry testimonies, both of the pope's canons and councils, the mass to be a sacrifice and oblation.

This book being thus compiled and written, he sent it unto the senate of Zurich, about the beginning of June, willing and exhorting them by no manner of means to suffer their images, or the mass, to be abrogated; and shortly after he published the said book in print, and sent it to the priests and canons of the minster of Zurich, requiring them to follow the custom of the church received, and not to suffer themselves to be persuaded otherwise by any man.

The senate again, answering to the bishop's book, about the middle of August, did write unto him, first, declaring that they had read over and over again his book with all diligence: the which book, forasmuch as the bishop had divulged abroad in print, they were therefore right glad, because the whole world thereby might judge between them the better. After this, they explained unto him the judgment and doctrine of their ministers and preachers: and finally, by the authority and testimonies of the Scripture, convinced his opinion, and proved the doctrine of his book to be false. But before they sent their answer to him, about the thirteenth of June, they commanded all the images, as well within the city as through their dominion, to be taken down and burned quietly, and without any tumult. A few months after, an order was taken in the said city of Zurich, between the canons of the church and city, for disposing the lands and possessions of the college.

It would grow to a long discourse, to comprehend all things by order of circumstance, that happened among the Helvetians upon this new alteration of religion; but, briefly to contract, and to run over the chief specialties of the matter, here is first to be noted, that of the Helvetians which were confederate together in the thirteen pages, chiefly, six there were, which most disdained and maligned this religion of the Tigurines: to wit, the Lucernates, the Urani, the Suitenses, the Untervaldii, the Tugiani, and the Friburgenses; these in no case could be reconciled. The rest showed themselves more favourable. But the other, which were their enemies, conceived great grudge, and raised many slanderous reports and false rumours against them, and laid divers things to their charge: as, first, for refusing to join their consent to the public league of the other pages with Francis the French king; then for dissenting from them in religion; and thirdly, for refusing to stand to the popish decree made the year before at Ratisbon, by Ferdinand, and other bishops above-mentioned.

They laid moreover to their accusation, for aiding the Vualsutenses their neighbours, against Ferdinand their prince; which was false. Also for joining league secretly with other cities,

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without their knowledge; which was likewise false. Item, That they should intend some secret conspiracy against them, and invade them with war; which was as untrue as the rest. Many other quarrels besides they pretended against the Tigurines, which were all false and cavilling slanders: as that they should teach and preach, that Mary the mother of Christ had more sons; and that James the younger, the apostle, did die for us, and not Christ himself. Against these and such other untruths being mere matters of cavillation and slander, the Tigurines did fully and amply purge and acquit themselves by writing, and did expostulate vehemently with them, not only for these false and wrongful suspicions, of their parts undeserved, but also for other manifold injuries received and borne at their hands, among which other wrongs and injuries, this was one: that the burghmaster of Zurich had apprehended a certain preacher, named John Oxline, and led him home as prisoner unto his house; being taken within the precinct and limits of the city of Zurich, contrary to law and order.

Finally, after much discoursing, wherein they in a long letter declared their diligence and fidelity at all times, in keeping their league, and maintaining the liberty and dignity of their country; as touching the cause of religion, if that were all the matter of their offence, they offered themselves willing to hear, and more glad to amend, if any could prove any error in them by the Scripture. Otherwise, if none so could or would prove wherein they did err by the word of God, they could not, they said, alter any thing in the state of that religion wherein their consciences were already staid by the word of God and settled, whatsoever peril or danger should happen to them for the same.

Although here was no cause why these pages or cantons, which were so confederate together in the league of peace, should disagree amongst themselves; yet herein may we see the course and trade of the world, that when difference of religion beginneth a little to break the knot of amity, by and by how friends be turned to foes; what suspicions do rise; what quarrels and grudges do follow; how nothing there liketh men, but every thing is taken to the worst part: small motes are made mountains; virtues made vices, and one vice made a thousand; and all for lack only of a little good will betwixt party and party. For as love and charity commonly among men, either covereth or seeth not the faults of their friends, so hatred and disdain, taking all things to blame, can find nothing in their foes that they can like. And thus did it happen between these good men of Zurich, and these other Switzers above-named.

These letters of the Tigurines to the other cantons, were written upon the occasion of their apprehending the preacher, John Oxline, above-named, on the fourth of January, 1525; and in the month of April next following, the magistrates and senate of the said city of Zurich commanded the mass, with all his ceremonies and apurtenances thereto belonging, to be put down, as well within the city, as without, throughout all their jurisdiction; and instead thereof was placed the Lord's supper, the reading of the prophets, prayer, and preaching. Also a law was made against whoredom and adultery, and judges ordained to hear the causes of matrimony, A.D. 1525.

All this while the gospel was not as yet received in any other page of Helvetia, but only in Zurich. Wherefore the other twelve pages, or towns, appointed among themselves concerning a meeting or a disputation to be had at Baden: where were present, among other divines, John Faber, Eckius, and Murner, above-mentioned. The bishops also of Lucerne, Basil, Coire, and Lausanne, sent thither their legates. The conclusions there propounded were these: That the true

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body and blood of Christ is in the sacrament: that the mass is a sacrifice for the quick and dead: that the blessed Virgin, and other saints, are to be invoked as mediators and intercessors: that images ought not to be abolished: that there is a purgatory.

Which conclusions or assertions Eckius took upon him stoutly to defend. Against him reasoned Ecolampadius, (who was then chief preacher at Basil,) with certain other more. Zuinglius at that time was not there present, but by writing confuted the doctrine of Eckius: declaring withal the causes of his absence; which were for that he durst not, for fear of his life, commit himself unto the hands of the Lucernates, the Urani, the Suitenses, the Untervaldii, and the Tugiani, his enemies: and that he refused not to dispute, but the place only of the disputation; excusing moreover that he was not permitted of the senate to come: nevertheless, if they would assign the place of disputation either at Zurich, or at Berne, or at Sangallum, thither he would not refuse to come. Briefly, the conclusion of the disputation was this, that all should remain in that religion which hitherto they had kept, and should follow the authority of the council, neither should admit any other new doctrine within their dominions, &c. This was in the month of June, the said year above-mentioned.



Berne

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As the time proceeded, and dissension about religion increased, it followed the next year, A.D. 1527, in the month of December, that the senate and people of Berne, (whose power among all the Switzers chiefly excelleth,) considering how neither they could have the acts of the disputation of Baden communicated unto them, and that the variance about religion still more and more increased, assigned another disputation within their own city, and sending forth writings thereof, called unto the same all the bishops bordering near about them, as the bishops of Constance, Basil, Sion, Lausanne; warning them both to come themselves, and to bring their divines with them; or else to lose all such possessions which they had lying within the bounds of their precinct. After this they appointed out certain ecclesiastical persons of their jurisdiction to dispute; prescribing and determining the whole disputation to be decided only by the authority of the Old and New Testament. To all that would come thither, they granted safe-conduct. Also they appointed, that all things there should be done modestly, without injury and brawling words; and that every one should have leave to speak his mind freely, and with such deliberation, that every man's saying might be received by the notary, and penned: with this proviso made before, that whatsoever there should be agreed upon, the same should be ratified, and observed through all their dominions. And to the intent men might come thither better prepared before, they propounded in public writing ten conclusions in the said disputation to be defended of their ministers by the Scriptures; which ministers were, Franciscus Colbus and Bertholdus Hallerus. The themes or conclusions were these:

"I. That the true church, whereof Christ is the head, riseth out of God's word, and persisteth in the same, and heareth the voice of no other.

"II. That the same church maketh no laws without the word of God.

"III. That traditions, ordained in the name of the church, do not bind but so far forth as they be consonant to God's word.

"IV. That Christ only hath made satisfaction for the sins of the world: and therefore if any man say, that there is any other way of salvation, or mean to put away sin, the same denieth Christ.

"V. That the body and blood of Christ cannot be received really and corporally, by the testimony of the Scripture.

"VI. That the use of the mass, wherein Christ is present and offered up to his heavenly Father for the quick and the dead, is against the Scripture, and contumelious to the sacrifice which Christ made for us.

"VII. That Christ only is to be invocated, as the Mediator and Advocate of mankind to God the Father.

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"VIII. That there is no place to be found by the Holy Scripture, wherein souls are purged after this life: and therefore all those prayers and ceremonies, yearly dirges and obits, which are bestowed upon the dead, also lamps, tapers, and such other things, profit nothing at all.

"IX. That to set up any picture or image to be worshipped, is repugnant to the Holy Scripture; and therefore, if any such be erected in churches for that intent, the same ought to be taken down.

"X. That matrimony is prohibited to no state or order of men, but, for eschewing of fornication, generally is commanded, and permitted to all men by the word of God. And forasmuch as all fornicators are excluded, by the testimony of Scripture, from the communion of the church, therefore this unchaste and filthy single life of priests, is most of all inconvenient for the order of priesthood."

When the senate and people of Berne had sent abroad their letters with these themes and conclusions to all the Helvetians, exhorting them both to send their learned men, and to suffer all others to pass safely through their countries; the Lucernates, Uranites, Switzers, Untervaldians, Tugians, Glareans, Soloturnians, and they of Friburg, answered again by contrary letters, exhorting and requiring them in any case to desist from their purposed enterprise; putting them in remembrance of their league and composition made, and also of the disputation of Baden above-mentioned, of which disputation they were themselves (they said) the first beginners and authors. Saying moreover, that it was not lawful for any nation or province to alter the state of religion, but the same to belong to a general council: wherefore they desired them that they would not attempt any such wicked act, but continue in the religion which their parents and elders had observed. And in fine, thus in the end of their letters they concluded, that they would neither send, nor suffer any of their learned men to come, nor yet grant safe-conduct to any others to pass through their country. To this and such-like effect tended the letters of these Switzers above-named.

All which notwithstanding, the lords of Berne, proceeding in their intended purpose, upon the day prescribed, (which was the seventh of January,) began their disputation. Of all the bishops before signified, which were assigned to come, there was not one present. Nevertheless the cities of Basil, Zurich, and Schaffhausen, and Appenzel, St. Gallen, Mulhausen, with the neighbours of Rhetia; also they of Strasburg, Ulm, Augsburg, Lindau, Constance, and Isny, sent thither their ambassadors.

The doctors above-mentioned of the city of Berne, began the disputation; whereat the same time were present Zuinglius, Ecolampadius, Bucer, Capito, Blaurer, with others more, all which defended the affirmative of the conclusions propounded. On the contrary side, of them which were the opponents, the chieftain was Conrad Treger, a friar Augustine; who, to prove his assertion, when he was driven to shift out of the Scripture to seek help of other doctors, and the moderators of the disputation would not permit the same, (being contrary to the order before appointed,) he departed out of the place, and would dispute no more.

The disputation endured nineteen days; in the end whereof it was agreed, by the assent of the most part, that the conclusions there disputed, were consonant to the truth of God's word, and

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should be ratified not only in the city of Berne, but also proclaimed by the magistrates in sundry other cities near adjoining: furthermore, that masses, altars, and images, in all places, should be abolished.

At the city of Constance, certain things began to be altered a little before; where also, among other things, laws were made against fornication and adultery, and all suspect or dishonest company; whereat the canons (as they are called) of the church, taking great grief and displeasure, departed the city. In the said city was then teacher, Ambrose Blaurer, a learned man, and born of a noble stock, who had been a monk a little before, professed in the monastery of Alperspake, in the duchy of Wittenberg, belonging to the dominion of Ferdinand. Which Blaurer, by reading of Luther's works, and having a good wit, had changed, a little before, his religion, and also his coat, returning again home to his friends; and when his abbot would have had him again, and wrote earnestly to the senate of Constance for him, he declared the whole case of the matter in writing; propounding withal certain conditions, whereupon he was content (as he said) to return. But the conditions were such, that the abbot was rather willing and contented that he should remain still at Constance; and so he did.

After this disputation thus concluded at Berne, (as hath been said,) the images and altars, with ceremonies and masses, were abolished at Constance.

They of Geneva also, for their parts, were not behind, following likewise the example of the city of Berne, in extirpating images and ceremonies; by reason whereof the bishop and clergy there left, and departed the city in no small anger.

The Bernates, after they had redressed with them the state of religion, they renounced the league made before with the French king; refusing and forsaking his war stipend, whereby they were bound at his call to feed his wars; following therein the example of the Tigurines, which before had done the like, and were contented only with their yearly pension that the king payeth to every page of the Helvetians, to keep peace.

The day and year when this reformation from popery to true Christianity with them began, they caused on a pillar to be engraven with golden letters, for a perpetual memory to all posterity to come. This was A.D. 1528.

After that the rumour of this disputation and alteration of Berne was noised in other cities and places abroad, first the ministers of Strasburg, encouraged by this occasion, began likewise to affirm and teach, that the mass was wicked, and a great blasphemy against God's holy name, and therefore was to be abrogated; and instead thereof the right use of the Lord's supper to be restored again; which unless they could prove by the manifest testimonies of the Scriptures to be true, they would refuse no manner of punishment. On the contrary part, the bishop of Rome's clergy did hold and maintain, that the mass was good and holy; whereupon kindled great contention on both sides: which when the senate and magistrates of the city would have brought to a disputation, and could not because the priests would not condescend to any reasoning; therefore, seeing they so accused the other, and yet would come to no trial of their cause, the said magistrates commanded them to silence.

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The bishop, in the mean while, ceased not with his letters and messengers daily to call upon the senate, desiring the senate to persevere in the ancient religion of their elders, and to give no ear to those new teachers; declaring what danger and peril it would bring upon them. The senate again desired him, as they had done oftentimes before, that such things as appertained to the true honour and worship of God might be set forward, and all other things which tended to the contrary might be removed and taken away; for that properly belonged to his office to see to. But the bishop, still driving them off with delays, pretended to call an assembly for the same, appointing also day and place for the hearing and discussing of those controversies; where, indeed, nothing was performed at all; but with his letters he did often solicit them to surcease their enterprise, sometimes by way of entreating, sometimes with menacing words terrifying them: and at last, seeing he could nothing by that way prevail, he turned his suit to the assembly of the empire, which was then at Spires collected, entreating them to set in a foot, and to help what they could with their authority.

They, ready to satisfy the bishop's request, sent a solemn embassy to the senate and citizens of Strasburg, about December in the year above-said, with this request:

"Requiring them not to put down the mass; for neither it was (said they) in the power of the emperor, nor of any other estate; to alter the ancient religion received from their forefathers, but either by a general, or by a provincial, council; which council if they be supposed to be far off, at least that they would take a pause till the next sitting of the empire, which should be with speed; where their requests being propounded and heard, they should have such reasonable answer, as should not miscontent them. For it was (said they) against all law and reason, for a private magistrate to infringe and dissolve those things, which by general consent of the whole world have been agreed upon; and therefore good reason required, that they should obtain so much at their hands; for else if they should obstinately proceed in this their attempt, so with force and violence to work as they began, it might fortune the emperor, their supreme magistrate under God, and also Ferdinand his deputy, would not take it well, and so should be compelled to seek such remedy therein, as they would be sorry to use. Wherefore their request was, and advice also, that they should weigh the matter diligently with themselves and follow good counsel; who, in so doing, should not only glad the emperor, but also work that which should redound chiefly to their own commendation and safety."



esides the messengers thus sent from the council of Spires, the bishop also of Hildesheim had been with them a little before, exhorting them in the emperor's name, after like manner. Neither did the bishop of Strasburg also cease with his messengers and letters daily to labour his friends there, and especially such of the senators as he had to him bound by any fealty, or otherwise by any gifts of friendship; that, so much as in them did lie, they should uphold the mass, and gainstand the contrary proceeding of the others.

The senate of Strasburg, in the mean time, seeing the matter did so long hang in controversy, the space now of two years, and the preachers daily and instantly calling upon them for a reformation, and suit also being made to them of the citizens, assembled their great and full council, to the number of three hundred, (as in great matters of importance they are accustomed to do,) and there with themselves debated the case; declaring on the one side, if they abolished

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the mass, what danger they should incur by the emperor; on the other side, if they did not, how much they should offend God: and therefore, giving them respite to consult, at the next meeting required them to declare their advice and sentence in the matter. When the day came that every man should say his mind, it so fell out, that the voices and judgments of them which went against the mass, prevailed: whereupon immediately a decree was made, on the twentieth of February, A.D. 1529, that the mass should be suspended and laid down, till the time that the adversary part could prove by good Scripture, the mass to be a service available and acceptable before God.

This decree being established by the consent of the whole city, the senate eftsoons commanded the same to be proclaimed, and to take full place and effect, as well within the city, as also without, so far as their limits and dominion did extend; and afterwards, by letters, certified their bishop touching the doing thereof. Who bearing these news, as heavy to his heart as lead, did signify to them again, how he received their letters, and how he understood by them the effect and sum of their doings: all which he was enforced to digest with such patience as he could, though they went sore against his stomach, seeing for the present time he could no otherwise choose: hereafter would serve (he said); he would see thereunto, according as his charge and office should require.

Thus how the mass was overthrown in Zurich, in Berne, in Geneva, and in Strasburg, you have heard. Now what followed in Basil remaineth likewise to understand. In this city of Basil was Ecolampadius, a preacher, (as is above signified,) by whose diligent labour and travail the gospel began there to take such root, that great dissension there also arose among the citizens about religion, and especially about the mass: whereupon the senate of Basil appointed, that after an open disputation it should be determined by voices, what was to be done therein. This notwithstanding, the papists, still continuing in their former purpose, began more stoutly to inveigh against the other part; and because they were so suffered by the magistrate without punishment, it was therefore doubted by the commons, that they had some privy maintainers among the senators: whereupon certain of the citizens were appointed, in the name of the whole commons, to sue to the senators, and to put them in remembrance of their promise. Whose suit and request was this: that those senators which were the aiders and supporters of the papists, might be displaced, for that it did as well tend to the contempt of their former decree made, as also to the public disturbance of the city. But when this could not be obtained of the senate, the commons, on the eighth day of February, in the year abovesaid, assembled themselves in the Grey Friars' church, and there, considering with themselves upon the matter, repaired again with their suit unto the senate, but not in such humble wise as before; and therewithal gathered themselves in the public places of the city, to fortify the same; albeit as yet without armour. The same evening, the senate sent them word, that, at their request they granted, that those senators, although remaining still in office, yet should not sit in the council at what time any matter of religion should come in talk.

By this answer the commons, gathering that the whole state was ruled by a few, took thereat grief and displeasure, protesting openly, that they would take counsel by themselves hereafter, what they had to do, not only in cases of religion, but also in other matters of civil government; and forthwith took them to armour, keeping the towers and gates, and other convenient places of the city, with watch and ward, in as forcible wise as if the enemy had been at hand.

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The next day the senate, requiring respite to deliberate, was contented to commit the matter to them, whom the commons before had sent as suitors unto them; which offer the citizens did not refuse, but with this condition, that those senators who were guilty, should in the mean season follow their plea as private persons, upon their own private costs and charges; and that the others, who defended the public cause for the behoof of their posterity, should be maintained by the public charges of the city. This the senate was glad to grant, with some other like matters of lighter weight, to appease their rage.

It happened the very same day, that certain of the citizens, (such as were appointed to go about the city for the viewing of things,) came into the high church, where one of them thrusting at a certain image with his staff, eftsoons it fell down and brake; by the occasion whereof, other images also, in like sort, were served after the same devotion. But when the priests came running to them, which seemed to be greatly offended therewith, they, because they would not pass their commission, staid their hands and departed.

It followed upon this, that when word hereof was brought to the citizens which stood in the marketplace, and the matter being made worse unto them than it was, they incontinently discharged out three hundred armed men, to rescue their fellows in the church, supposing them to be in danger: who, coming to the church, and not finding their fellows there, and all things quiet, save only a few images broken down, they likewise, lest they should have lost all their labour, threw down all the other idols and images which they found there standing; and so passing through all churches in the city, did there also the like. And when certain of the senate came forth to appease the tumult, the citizens said, "That which you have stood about these three years, consulting and advising whether it were best to be done or not, that shall we despatch in one hour, that from henceforth never more contention shall grow between us for images." And so the senate permitted them free leave, without any more resistance; and twelve senators were displaced from their order, albeit without note of reproach or dishonesty. Also a decree the same time was made, that as well within the city of Basil, as without, throughout all their jurisdiction, the mass, with all idols, should be abandoned: and further, that in all such matters and cases as concerned the glory of God, and the affairs of the public wealth, besides the number of the other senators, two hundred of the burghers or citizens should be appointed out of every ward in the city to sit with them in council. These decrees being established, after they had kept watch and ward about the city three days and three nights, every one returned again to his house quiet and joyful, without any blood or stroke given, or anger wreaked, but only upon the images.

On the third day, which was Ash Wednesday, (as the pope's ceremonial church doth call it,) all the wooden images were distributed among the poor of the city, to serve them for firewood. But when they could not well agree in dividing the prey, but fell to brawling among themselves, it was agreed that the said images should be burnt altogether; so that in nine great heaps all the stocks and idols there the same day were burnt to ashes before the great church door. And thus by God's ordinance it came to pass, that the same day wherein the pope's priests are wont to show forth all their mourning, and do mark men's foreheads with ashes, in remembrance that they be but ashes, was to the whole city festival and joyful, for turning their images to ashes; and so is observed and celebrated every year still, unto this present day, with all mirth, plays, and pastimes, in remembrance of the same ashes; which day may there be called a right Ash Wednesday of God's own making. The men of Zurich, of Berne, of Soleure, hearing

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what business was at Basil, sent their ambassadors to be a mean between them; but before the ambassadors came, all was ceased and at quiet.

All this mean space the emperor and the French king were together occupied in wars and strife; which as it turned to the great damage and detriment of the French king, who, in the said wars, was taken prisoner by the emperor, so it happened commodious and opportune for the success of the gospel: for else it is to be thought that these Helvetians and other Germans should not have had that leisure and rest to reform religion, and to link themselves in league together, as they did. But thus Almighty God, of his secret wisdom, disposeth times and occasions to serve his will and purpose in all things; albeit Ferdinand the emperor's brother, and deputy in Germany, remitted no time nor diligence to do what he could in resisting the proceedings of the protestants, as appeared both by the decree set forth at Ratisbon, and also at Spires; in the which council of Spires, Ferdinand, at the same time, which was A.D. 1529, had decreed against the protestants in effect as followeth:

"First, That the edict of the emperor made at Worms, should stand in force through all Germany till the time of the general council which should shortly follow. Also, that they which already had altered their religion, and now could not revoke the same again for fear of sedition, should stay themselves, and attempt no more innovations hereafter, till the time of the general council.

"Item, That the doctrine of them which hold the Lord's supper otherwise than the church doth teach, should not be received, nor the mass should be altered: and there, where the doctrine of religion was altered, there should be no impediment to the contrary, but that they which were disposed to come to mass, might safely therein use their devotion. Against Anabaptists likewise; and that all ministers of the church should be enjoined to use no other interpretation of the Holy Scripture, but according to the exposition of the church doctors: other matters that were disputable not be touched. Moreover, that all persons and states should keep peace, so that for religion, neither the one part should infer molestation to the other, nor receive any confederates under their protection and safeguard; all which decrees they which should transgress, to be outlawed and exiled."

Unto this sitting at Spires, first, the ambassadors of Strasburg were not admitted, but repelled by Ferdinand, because they had rejected the mass; and therefore the said city of Strasburg denied to pay any contribution against the Turk, except they, with other Germans, might be likewise admitted into their councils. The other princes which were received and not repelled, as the duke of Saxony, and George of Brandenburg, Ernest and Francis, earls of Lunenburg, and the landgrave Anhaltius, did utterly gainstand the decree, and showed their cause, in a large protestation written, why they so did: which done, all such cities as subscribed and consented to the said protestation of the princes, eftsoons conjoined themselves in a common league with them, whereupon they had their name called therefore protestants. The names of the cities were these: Argentina or Strasburg, Nuremberg, Ulm, Constance, Reutlingen, Windsheim, Memmingen, Lindau, Kempton, Hailbrun, Isny, Weisseburg, Nordlingen, St. Gallen.

Furthermore, as touching the Helvetians, (from whence we have somewhat digressed,) how the cities of Berne and Zurich had consented and joined together in reformation of the true

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religion, ye heard before. Wherefore the other pages in Helvetia, which were of the contrary profession, in like manner confederated themselves in league with Ferdinand: the number and names of which pages especially were five; to wit, the Lucernates, the Urani, the Suitcases, the Untervaldii, and the Tugiani, which was in the year abovesaid; to the intent, that they, conjoining their power together, might overrun the religion of Christ, and the professors of the same: who also, for hatred and despite, hanged up the arms of the aforesaid cities of Zurich and Berne upon the gallows, besides many other injuries and grievances which they wrought against them; for the which cause the said cities of Berne and Zurich raised their power, intending to set upon the aforesaid Switzers, as upon their capital enemies. But as they were in the field, ready to encounter one army against the other, through the means of the city of Strasburg, and other intercessors, they were parted for that time, and so returned.

As touching the council of Augsburg, which followed the next year after the assembly of Spires, A.D. 1530, how the princes and protestants of Germany in the same council exhibited their confession, and what labour was sought to confute it, and how constantly Duke Frederic persisted in defence of his conscience against the threatening words and replications of the emperor; also in what danger the said princes had been in, had not the landgrave privily by night slipped out of the city; pertaineth not to this place presently to discourse.

To return therefore unto Zuinglius and the Helvetians, of whom we have here presently to treat, you heard before how the tumult and commotion between the two cities of Zurich and Berne, and the other five cities of the cantons, was pacified by the means of intercession; which peace so continued the space of two years. After that, the old wound waxing raw again, began to burst out and gather to a head; which was by reason of certain injuries, and opprobrious words and contumelies, which the reformed cities had received of the other; wherefore the Tigurines and the Bernates, stopping all passages and straits, would permit no corn nor victual to pass unto them. This was A.D. 1531. And when great trouble was like to be thereby, the French king, with certain other townships of Switzerland, as the Glarians, Friburgians, Soloturnians, and other coming between them, laboured to set them at agreement, drawing out certain conditions of peace between them; which conditions were these: That all contumelies and injuries past should be forgotten: that hereafter neither part should molest the other: that they which were banished for religion, should again be restored: that the five pages might remain without disturbance in their religion, so that none should be restrained amongst them from the reading of the Old and New Testament: that no kind of disquietness should be procured against them of Berne and Zurich: and that either part should confer mutual helps together, one to succour the other as in times past. But the five pagemen would not observe these covenants made, neither would their malicious hearts be brought to any conformity. Wherefore the Bernates and Tigurines, showing and declaring first their cause in public writing, to purge and excuse the necessity of their war, being pressed with so many wrongs, and in manner constrained to take the sword in hand, did, as before, beset the highways and passages, that no furniture, or victual, or other forage, could come to the other pages; by reason whereof, when they of the five towns began to be pinched with want and penury, they armed themselves secretly, and set forward in warlike array towards the borders of Zurich, where then was lying a garrison of the Zurich men, to the number of a thousand and more; whereupon word was sent incontinent to the city of Zurich, to succour their men with speed. But their enemies approached so fast, that they could hardly come to rescue them; for when they were come to the top of the hill, whereby they must needs pass, they saw

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their fellows being in great distress in the valley under them. Whereupon they, encouraging themselves, made down the hill with more haste than order, who might go fastest; but the nature of the hill was such, that there could but one go down at once: by reason whereof, forasmuch as they could not keep their ranks to join altogether, it followed that they, being but few in number, were discomfited and overmatched of the multitude; which was on the eleventh of October in the year aforesaid. Among the number of them that were slain, was also Uldricus Zuinglius, the blessed servant and saint of God. Also the abbot of Capella, and Commendator Kunacensis, with thirteen other learned and worthy men, were slain; being, as is thought, falsely betrayed, and brought into the hands of their enemies.

As touching the cause which moved Zuinglius to go out with his citizens to the war, it is sufficiently declared and excused, both by John Sleidan and especially by Ecolampadius, in his epistle, where first is to be understood, that it is an old received manner among the Zurich men, that when they go forth in warfare, the chief minister of the church goeth with them. Zuinglius also of himself, being (saith Sleidan) a man of a stout and bold courage, considering if he should remain at home when war should be attempted against his citizens, and if he, who in his sermons did so encourage others, should now faint so cowardly, and tarry behind at home when time of danger came, what shame and disdain might worthily rise to him thereby, thought not to refuse to take such part as his brethren did.

Ecolampadius moreover addeth, that he went not out as a captain of the field, but as a good citizen with his citizens, and a good shepherd ready to die with his flock. "And which of them all," saith he, "that most cry out against Zuinglius, can show any such noble heart in him, to do the like?" Again, neither did he go out of his own accord, but rather desired not to go; foreseeing belike what danger thereof would ensue. But the senate, being importune upon him, would have no nay, urging and enforcing him most instantly to go: among whom were thought to have been some false betrayers, saying and objecting to him, that he was a dastard if he refused to accompany his brethren as well in time of danger as in peace. Moreover the said Zuinglius, among other secular arts, had also some skill in such matters of warfare. When he was slain, great cruelty was shown upon his dead corpse; such was their hatred toward him, that their malice could not be satisfied, unless also they should burn his body being dead.

The report goeth, that after his body was cut first in four pieces, and then consumed with fire, three days after his death his friends came to see whether any part of him was remaining, where they found his heart in the ashes whole and unburned; in much like manner as was the heart of Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, which in the ashes also was found and taken up unconsumed, as by credible information is testified.

Furthermore, such was then the rage of these five pages against the aforesaid abbot of Capella, that they took him, being slain, and putting out both his eyes, clothed him in a monk's cowl, and so set him in the pulpit to preach, railing and jesting upon him in a most spiteful manner. Uldricus Zuinglius was, when he died, of the age of forty-four years; younger than Martin Luther by four years.

The Bernates, who were purposed the same time to achieve war against the Untervaldians, bordering near unto them, when they heard of this discomfiture of the Tigurines,

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to comfort them again, desired them to be of good cheer and courage, promising that they would not fail, but come and revenge their quarrel. Again, when the Tigurines had assembled their power together, which was the eighth day after the battle, and had received aid from the Schaffhausen, Mulhausen, St. Gallen, and from Basil, (the Bernates at this time were nothing hasty,) out of the whole number they chose out certain ensigns, which setting forth in the night, lay in the hill beside Menzig, intending when the moon was up, to take the town of Zug, lying near at hand, upon the sudden: which when their enemies had perceived, which were encamped not far from them, with all speed and most secret manner came upon them being at rest, the twenty-fourth of October, and to put them in more fear, made a wonderful clamorous outcry. So it fell out in conclusion, that many on both parties were slain; and albeit the five pagemen had the upper hand, yet would they of Zurich nothing relent in their religion. At the last, through mediation, a peace was concluded, and thus the matter agreed, that the Tigurines, Bernates, and Basilians, should forsake the league which they had lately made with the city of Strasburg and the landgrave: likewise that the five pagemen should give over their league and composition made with Ferdinand: and hereof obligations were made and sealed in the latter end of November.

(Ecolampadius, the preacher of the city of Strasburg above recorded, hearing of the death of Zuinglius his dear friend, took thereat inward grief and sorrow, insomuch that it is thought to have increased his disease; and so he also departed this life, the same year and month of November above-mentioned, being of the age of forty-nine years, older than Martin Luther by one year. Although this Ecolampadius then died, yet his learned and famous Commentaries upon the Prophets, with other worthy works which he left behind him, still live and shall never die.

The next year following, which was A.D. 1532, in the month of August, died also the worthy and memorable prince, John Frederic, duke of Saxony, who, for testimony of Christ and his gospel, sustained such trials, so many brunts, and so vehement conflicts with the emperor, and that especially at the council assembled at Augsburg; that unless the almighty hand of the Lord had sustained him, it had not been possible for him or any prince to have endured so constant and unmovable against so many persuasions and assaults, as he did to the end. After him succeeded John Frederic his son, &c.

And thus have ye the history of Zuinglius, and of the church of Switzerland, with their proceedings and troubles, from the first beginning of their reformation of religion, set forth and described. Whereunto we will add one certain epistle of the said Zuinglius, taken out of his other epistles, and so therewith close up his story; which epistle I thought here to record, especially for that in the same, among other matters, profitably is expounded the true meaning of the apostle, writing to the Corinthians concerning how to judge the Lord's body, to the intent that the simple thereby may the better be informed. The words of his letter be these, as follow:

"Unto your questions propounded to me in your former letters, well-beloved brother! I have sent you here mine answer. First, I am also in the same mind with you, that the Lord's supper is a very thanksgiving; for so the apostle himself meaneth, saying, Ye shall show forth the Lord's death: where the word of showing forth, signifieth as much as praising or thanksgiving. Wherefore seeing it is a Eucharist, or a thanksgiving, in my judgment no other thing ought to be

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obtruded on men's consciences, but only with due reverence to give thanks. Nevertheless, this is not to be neglected, that every man do prove and examine himself; for so we ought to search and ask our own consciences, what faith we have in Christ Jesus? which if it be sound and sincere, we may approach without stay to this thanksgiving. For he that hath no faith, and yet feigneth or pretendeth to have, eateth his own judgment; for he lieth to the Holy Ghost. And whereas you suppose, that Paul in this place doth not reprove them which sit at the table eating of meats offered to idols, I dissent from you therein. For Paul, a little before, writeth vehemently against those arrogant persons, which bragging upon their knowledge, thought they might lawfully eat of such meats offered to idols, sitting and eating at the Lord's table: You cannot, saith he, be partakers both of the Lord's table, and the table of devils, &c. Wherefore St. Paul's meaning is, that every one should try and examine himself what faith he hath. Whereupon it followeth, that he which hath a right faith, must have no part nor fellowship with those things which be given to idols: for he is now a member of another body, that is, of Christ; so that he cannot join himself now to be one body with idolaters. And therefore those be they which do not judge or discern the Lord's body, that make no difference between the church of Christ and the church of idolaters. For they which sit at the Lord's table, eating of idol meats, do make no difference at all between the Lord's supper and the supper of the devils: which be they whom Paul saith not to judge the body of our Lord, that is, which make no discrepance, nor give any more regard to Christ's church, than to the church of devils. Whereas if we would judge ourselves; that is, if we would thoroughly search and examine our own consciences as we should, in coming to the table of the Lord, we, finding any faith in us, would: never go the table, or make thereof the feast, of devils: wherefore your judgment 'herein is not amiss in expounding the word of judging in St. Paul, to signify as much a considering, perpending, and inquiring.

"To your second question I answer, that Jesus took bread, and brake, &c. Also he took the cup, &c. These words declare the action of one which properly doth a thing; and not the hospitality of one which inviteth another to eat.

"Touching your third question, out of the 6th chapter of John, Doth this offend you? herein I do fully agree with you.

"As for this word 'Ostren,' which is your fourth question, I understand thereby the time of the great feast or solemnity, which we keep in remembrance of the great deliverance of God's people from the thralldom of Satan; before, from the thralldom of Pharaoh: neither is it greatly material with what word we express the thing, so the thing itself be one, and the analogy and constancy of the Scripture be kept; for both the Scripture calleth Christ the Lamb, and St. Paul calleth him our Easter or Passover. Now your word, 'Wanderfest,' well pleaseth me, for the Passover, or Pæsah.

"To your fifth interrogation, of Christ's descending into hell; I suppose this particle was inserted into the Creed by the sentence of the fathers, to declare how the fathers were redeemed by the death of Christ, which died in the faith. For Christ led away captivity, wherewith they were holden, with him up into heaven: so that his going down into hell be not so understood as circumscriptively, which is, when a thing is present by circumscription of any one place; but by power, which is by the operation of his Spirit, which is not comprehended in any certainty of place, but without prescription of certain place is diffused every where: so that the article of

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Christ's descending into hell importeth as much as that his death redeemed them which were in hell. Whereunto St. Peter also seemeth to have respect, where he saith, The gospel also was preached to them which were dead; that is, that they also did feel the good tidings of the gospel, their redemption by the Son of God: and that they which rose again with Christ in the Spirit, be now with him in heaven, who nevertheless in flesh shall be judged, what time the Son of God and of man shall come to judge both the quick and the dead. Return to the places of Peter, the one in his First Epistle, the other in the latter; and so be you contented with this present answer rashed up in haste. Fare ye heartily well; and comfort my William, the good aged father, by the grace of God which is in you. Commend me to John Eggenberge.

"From Zurich, September 1, A.D. 1527."

From the first beginning of this whole book and history hitherto, good reader! thou hast heard of many, and sundry troubles, and much business in the church of Christ, concerning the reformation of divers abuses and great errors crept into the same, namely in the Church of Rome; as appeareth by the doings of them, in divers and sundry places, whereof mention hath been made heretofore in this said history. For what godly man hath there been, within the space of these five hundred years, either virtuously disposed, or excellently learned, which hath not disproved the misordered doings and corrupt examples of the see and bishop of Rome from time to time, unto the coming of this Luther? wherein this appeareth to me, and may also appear no less to all godly disposed men to be noted, not without great admiration, that seeing this aforesaid Romish bishop hath had great enemies and gainsayers continually from time to time, both speaking and working, preaching and writing against him, yet, notwithstanding, never any could prevail before the coming of this man. The cause whereof, although it be secretly known unto God, and unknown unto men, yet so far as men by conjectures may suppose, it may thus not unlikely be thought, that whereas other men before him, speaking against the pomp, pride, whoredom, and avarice of the bishop of Rome, charged him only, or most specially, with examples and manners of life; Luther went further with him, charging him not with life, but with his learning; not with his doings, but with his doctrine; not picking at the rind, but plucking up the root; not seeking the man, but shaking his seat; yea, and charging him with plain heresy, as prejudicial and resisting plainly against the blood of Christ, contrary to the true sense and direct understanding of the sacred testament of God's holy word. For whereas the foundation of our faith, grounded upon the Holy Scripture, teacheth and leadeth us to be justified only by the worthiness of Christ, and the only price of his blood; the pope, proceeding with a contrary doctrine, teacheth us otherwise to seek our salvation, not by Christ alone, but by the way of men's meriting and deserving by works: whereupon rose divers sorts of orders and religious sects among men, some professing one thing, and some another, and every man seeking his own righteousness, but few seeking the righteousness of him, which is set up of God to be our righteousness, redemption, and justification.

Martin Luther therefore, urging and reducing things to the foundation and touchstone of the Scripture, opened the eyes of many who before were drowned in darkness: whereupon it cannot be expressed what joy, comfort, and consolation came to the hearts of men, some lying in darkness and ignorance, some wallowing in sin, some being in despair, some macerating themselves by works, and some presuming upon their own righteousness, to behold that glorious benefit of the great liberty and free justification set up in Christ Jesus. And briefly to speak, the more glorious the benefit of this doctrine appeared to the world after long ignorance, the greater

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persecution followed upon the same. And where the elect of God took most occasion of comfort and of salvation, thereof the adversaries took most matter of vexation and disturbance, as commonly we see the true word of God to bring with it ever dissension and perturbation; and therefore truly it was said of Christ, that he came not to send peace on earth, but the sword. And this was the cause why that after the doctrine and preaching of Luther, so great troubles and persecutions followed in all quarters of the world; whereby rose great disquietness amongst the prelates, and many laws and decrees were made to overthrow the same, by cruel handling of many good and Christian men. Thus, while authority, armed with laws and rigour, did strive against simple verity, lamentable it was to hear how many poor men were troubled, and went to wrack: some tossed from place to place, some exiled out of the land for fear, some caused to abjure, some driven to caves in woods, some racked with torment, and some pursued to death with faggot and fire. Of whom we have now (Christ willing) in this history following to treat; first beginning with certain that suffered in Germany, and then to return to our own stories and martyrs here in England.

144. Henry Voes and John Esch

Friars Augustine, burnt at Brussels, A.D. 1523.



IN the year of our Lord 1523, two young men were burnt at Brussels, the one named Henry Voes, being of the age of twenty-four years, and the other John Esch; who before had been of the order of the Augustine Friars. They were degraded the first day of July, and spoiled of their friars' weed, at the suit of Egmondanus the pope's inquisitor, and the divines of Louvain; for that they would not retract and deny their doctrine of the gospel, which the papists call Lutheranism. Their examiners were Hochestratus and other, who demanded of them, what they did believe?

They said, the books of the Old Testament and the New, wherein were contained the articles of the Creed. Then were they asked, whether they believed the decrees of the councils, and of the fathers? They said, such as were agreeing to the Scripture they believed. After this they proceeded further, asking, whether they thought it any deadly sin to transgress the decrees of the fathers, and of the bishop of Rome? That (said they) is to be attributed only to the precepts, of God, to bind the conscience of man, or to loose it. Wherein when they constantly persisted and would not turn, they were condemned and judged to be burned. Then they began to give thanks to God their heavenly Father, which had delivered them through his great goodness from the false and abominable priesthood, and made them priests of his holy order, receiving them unto him as a sacrifice of sweet odour. Then there was a bill written, which was delivered unto them to read openly before the people, to declare what faith and doctrine they held. The greatest error that they were accused of was, that men ought to trust only in God, forasmuch as men are liars, and deceitful in all their words and deeds, and therefore there ought no trust or affiance to be put in them.

As they were led unto the place of execution, which was the first of July, they went joyfully and merrily, making continual protestation that they died for the glory of God, and the doctrine of the gospel, as true Christians, believing and following the holy church of the Son of God; saying also, that it was the day which they had long desired. After they were come to the place where they should be burned, and were despoiled of their garments, they tarried a great space in their shirts; and joyfully embraced the stake that they should be bound to, patiently and joyfully enduring whatsoever was done unto them; praising God with *Te Deum laudamus*, and singing psalms, and rehearsing the Creed, in testimony of their faith. A certain doctor, beholding their jollity and mirth, said unto Henry, that he should take heed so foolishly to glorify himself. To whom he answered, "God forbid that I should glory in any thing, but only in the cross of my Lord Jesus Christ." Another counselled him to have God before his eyes: unto whom he answered, "I trust that I carry him truly in my heart." One of them, seeing that fire was kindled at his feet, said, "Methinks ye do strew roses under my feet." Finally the smoke and the flame, mounting up to their faces, choked them.

Henry being demanded, amongst other things, whether Luther had seduced him or no: "Yea," said he, "even as Christ seduced his apostles." He said also, that it was contrary to God's

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law, that the clergy should be exempted from the power and jurisdiction of the magistrate ordained of God; for such as were ordained in office by the bishops, have no power but only to preach the word of God, and to feed their flock therewithal. After their death, their monastery was dissolved at Antwerp; the president whereof, by the papists called Jacob the Lutheran, after divers and sundry troubles and afflictions, was forced to recant at Brussels; but afterwards, his mind being renewed by the Holy Ghost, embracing that again which before he had renounced, he fled unto Luther.

145. Henry Sutphen, Monk, a Martyr, at Dithmarsch.

The next year after the burning of those two Christian martyrs at Brussels, above-mentioned, with like tyranny also was martyred and burned without all order of judgment or just condemnation, about the city of Dithmarsch, on the borders of Germany, one Henry Sutphen, monk, A.D. 1524, of whom mention is partly touched in the commentaries of John Sleiden, lib. iv.; but his history is more amply described by Luther, by Paulus Eberus in his calendar, by Ludovicus, by Rabus Crispinus, and others. This Sutphen had been before with Martin Luther, and afterward coming to Antwerp, was from thence excluded for the gospel, and so came to Bremen, not to the intent there to preach, but for that he was minded to go to Wittenberg, being driven from Antwerp, as is above said; who, being at Bremen, was there required, by certain godly citizens of Bremen, to make one or two brief exhortations upon the gospel; whereunto, through the earnest love and zeal that was in him, he was easily allured and persuaded. He made his first sermon unto the people the Sunday before St. Martin's day. When the people heard him preach the word of God so sincerely, they desired him again the second time, and were so in love with his doctrine, that the whole parish required him to tarry amongst them to preach the gospel; which thing, for fear of danger, for a time he refused. When the religious rout had understanding hereof, specially the canons, monks, and priests, they went about with all endeavour to oppress him, and thrust both him, and also the gospel of Christ, out of the city; for that was their chief seeking: whereupon they went unto the senate, desiring that such a heretic might be banished the town, which, in his doctrine, preached against the catholic church. Upon the complaint of the canons, the senate sent for the wardens and head men of the parish where Henry had preached, who being come together, the senate declared unto them the complaint of the canons and all the other religious men. Whereunto the citizens of Bremen, taking their preacher's part, answered, that they knew none other, but that they had hired a learned and honest man to preach unto them, which should teach them sincerely and truly the word of God. Notwithstanding, if the chapter-house or any other man could bring testimonial or witness, that the preacher had taught any thing which either savoured of heresy, or were repugnant to the word of God, they were ready (they said) with the chapterhouse to persecute him; for God forbid that they should maintain a heretic. But if, contrariwise, the canons of the chapter-house, and the other religious men, will not declare and show that the preacher, whom they had hired, had taught any error or heresy, but were set only of malice, by violence to drive him away, they might not (said they) by any means suffer the same. Whereupon they desired the senate, with all humble obedience, that they would not require it of them, but grant them equity and justice, saying, that they were minded to assist their preacher always, and to plead his cause.

This answer the senate commanded to be declared to the chapter-house. When the religious sort understood that they could prevail little or nothing with their words, bursting out in a fury, they began to threaten, and therewithal went straight unto the archbishop to certify him how that the citizens of Bremen were become heretics, and would no longer obey their religious sort, with many other like things in their complaint, so that it was to be feared, lest the whole city shortly should be seduced.

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When the bishop heard tell of these things, straightways he sent two which were of his council, unto Bremen, requiring that Henry should be sent unto him without delay. When they were demanded why they would have him sent, they answered, because he preached against the holy church. Being again demanded in what points or articles, they had nothing to say. One of these counsellors was the bishop's suffragan, a naughty, pernicious hypocrite, which sought all means possible to carry away the said Henry captive. Finally, they received this answer of the senators; That forasmuch as the preacher, being hired by the churchwardens, had not hitherto been convicted for a heretic, and that no man had declared any erroneous or heretical article that he had taught, they said they could by no means obtain of the citizens that he should be carried away: wherefore they earnestly desired the bishop, that he would speedily send his learned men unto Bremen to dispute with him; and if he were convinced, they promised that without any delay he should be justly punished and sent away: if not, they would in no wise let him depart. Whereunto the suffragan answered with a great protestation, requiring that he might be delivered into his hands, for the quietness of the whole country; taking God to his witness, that in this behalf he sought for nothing else, but only the commodity of his country. But for all this they could prevail nothing; for the senate continued still in their former mind. Whereupon the suffragan, being moved with anger, departed from Bremen, and would not confirm their children.

When he came unto the bishop, he declared the answer of, the senate, and what he had heard and learned of the priests and monks there. Afterwards, when daily news came that the preacher did still more and more preach, and teach more heinous matter against the religious rout, they attempted another way, suborning great men to admonish the citizens of Bremen into what jeopardy their commonwealth might fall by means of their preacher, preaching contrary to the decree of the pope and emperor. Besides that, they said that he was the prisoner of the Lady Margaret; for which cause they had gotten letters of the Lady Margaret, requiring to have her prisoner sent unto her again.

All these crafts and subtleties did nothing at all prevail, for the senate of Bremen answered all things without blame. When the bishop saw this his enterprise also frustrated, he attempted another way, whereby he had certain hope, that both Sutphen, and also the word of God with him, should be wholly oppressed; whereupon they decreed a provincial council, not to be holden at Bremen, as it was accustomed, but at Buxtehade, which place they thought most meet for their purpose. To this council were called all the prelates and learned men of the diocese, to determine what was to be believed, and whereto to trust. Also to the said council was Henry called, notwithstanding that they had already decreed to proceed against him, as against a manifest heretic, albeit he was not yet convicted, nor had pleaded his cause before them. Wherefore the rulers of the city, together with the commonalty, detained him at home, foreseeing and suspecting the malice of the council.

Then the said Henry gathered a sum of his doctrine into a few articles, and sent it with his letters unto the archbishop; excusing his innocency, offering himself to be ready, if he were convicted of any error by the testimony of the Holy Scripture, to recant the same; notwithstanding, earnestly requiring that his errors might be convicted by the Holy Scriptures, by the testimony whereof he had hitherto approved his doctrine, and doubted not hereafter to confirm the same: but this took no place amongst those anointed prelates.

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What the determination of their judgment was, it may hereupon well be gathered, in that shortly after they set up upon the church porch the bull of Pope Leo the Tenth, and the decree of the emperor, made at Worms: whereupon Henry contemning their madness, proceeded daily in preaching the gospel, adding always this protestation, that he was ready willingly to give account touching his faith and doctrine to every man that would require the same. In the mean time the holy catholics could not be idle, but sent their chaplains unto every sermon, to trap him in his words: but God, whose footpaths are in the midst of the floods, would have his marvellous power to be seen in them, for he converted many of them; insomuch that the greater part of those that were sent to hearken, did openly witness his doctrine to be God's truth, against which no man could contend, and such as in all their lives before they had not heard: persuading them likewise, that they, forsaking all impiety, should follow the word of God, and believe the same, if they would be saved. But the chief priests, canons, and monks, were so obdurate and blinded with Pharaoh, that they became the worse for these admonitions. When God saw the time convenient that Henry should confirm the verity that he had preached, he sent him among the cruel murderers appointed for that slaughter, by this occasion as followeth:

It happened A.D. 1524, that this Henry was sent for by letters, by Nicholas Boyes, parish priest, and other faithful Christians of the parish of Meldorf, which is a town in Dithmarsch, to preach the gospel unto them, and deliver them out of the bondage of antichrist, which in that place had full dominion. These letters being received upon St. Katharine's even, calling together six brethren, honest citizens, he opened the matter unto them, how that he was sent for by them of Dithmarsch, to preach the gospel; adding moreover, that he was not only a debtor unto them, but to all others who required his aid: wherefore he thought good to go unto Dithmarsch, to see what God would work by him. Requiring also that they would help him with their advice, by what means he might best take his journey, that no man should know of it, that thereby he might not be letted or stopped; which thing without doubt had come to pass, if his purpose had been known to the people. Unto whom the citizens answered, desiring him that he would not depart for a time, forasmuch as the gospel had not yet taken so deep root in the people, but was as yet weak, and especially in the villages thereabout; and that the persecution was very great: willing him also to have respect unto this, that he was by them called to the office of preaching; and if they of Dithmarsch desired a preacher, he should send some other in his place, for he had before perceived the disposition and untrustiness of them of Dithmarsch: besides that, it was not in their power to give him free liberty to depart, without the consent of the whole commonalty.

Whereunto Henry made answer in this manner: That albeit he could not deny but that he was sent for by them, yet now there were many godly and learned men at Bremen, whose labour they might use in his absence, in preaching of the gospel. Besides that the papists were for the most part vanquished and overthrown, and their folly known, even unto women and children: adding thereunto that he had now preached the gospel by the space of two years at Bremen, and that they of Dithmarsch lived without a pastor even in the midst of the wolves; wherefore he could not with a safe conscience deny their request. And whereas they alleged that they could not license him without the consent of the whole congregation, that (said he) was but of small effect; forasmuch as he would not utterly forsake them, but determined only to remain with them of Dithmarsch for a month or two, to lay a foundation, and then to return again; desiring them that after his departure they would declare unto the congregation how he was sent for by them of Dithmarsch, to whom he could not say nay: willing them also to excuse his sudden departure, for that he was forced to depart secretly, because of his adversaries privily lying in wait in every

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place for him; thinking that he should scarcely avoid them that had always gone about to bring him to his death. Finally, they should promise to the congregation in his name, that when he had performed his enterprise, he would straight return again. They, being persuaded with these words, consented unto him, stedfastly hoping that they of Dithmarsch should be converted unto the true faith; which people above all others have always been most given to idolatry.

Having prepared all things toward his setting forth, on the twenty-second of October he took his journey, and came to Meldorf, whither he was sent for; where he was joyfully received by the parish priest and others, as soon as he was come thither. Albeit he had not yet preached, the devil with his members by and by began to fret and fume for anger. Above all others, one Augustine Tornborch, prior of the Black Friars, began to fume, who went out of hand unto Master John Swicken his companion, and commissary to the official of Hamburg, to take counsel what was to be done, lest they should lose their kingdom. Finally, it was decreed by them above all things to withstand the beginnings, that he should not have licence to preach; for if by any means it happened that he preached, and the people should hear him, it was to be feared that the wickedness and craft of the priests and monks should be opened; which being made manifest, they knew plainly that it would be but a folly to resist, remembering what had happened lately before in Bremen. This determination had, the prior, the next day early in the morning, (for he had not slept well all night for cares,) went with great speed unto Heyde, to speak with the eight and forty presidents of the country; unto whom with great complaints he showed how that a seditious fellow, a monk, was come from Bremen, which would seduce all the people of Dithmarsch, as he had done the Bremers. There were, moreover, that did assist this prior, Master Gunter, chancellor of that country, and Peter Hanne, both enemies unto the gospel. These stoutly assisted the prior, persuading the other forty-six, being simple and unlearned men, that they should obtain great favour and good will of the bishop of Bremen, if they would put this heretic monk to death. When these poor and unlearned men heard these words, they decreed that this monk should be put to death, neither heard nor seen, much less convicted.

Furthermore, this prior obtained letters from the forty-eight presidents unto the parish priest, commanding him under great penalty that he should put the monk out of his house, and command him to depart without preaching. With these letters he came speedily unto Meldorf, and delivered the letters over night unto the parish priest; trusting that by their threatenings and commandment, the said Henry should be feared from preaching, diligently watching whether he did preach or not.

Wen Nicholas Boyes, the parish priest, had read over the letters, he marvelled not a little at that proud commandment, for that it had not been heard of before, that the forty-eight presidents should meddle with ecclesiastical matters, and that it had been of long time used, that the ruling thereof should be in the hands of the parish priest; and long time before, it was decreed by the whole province, and customably used, that in every church the parish priest should have free liberty to receive or put out the preacher. These letters the parish priest delivered unto Henry; which when he had diligently looked over, he answered, that forasmuch as he was come, being sent for by the whole congregation, to preach the gospel of Christ, he would satisfy that vocation, because he saw it would be acceptable unto the whole congregation, and that he ought rather to obey the word of God, than man. Also, that if it pleased God that he should lose his life in Dithmarsch, there was as near a way to heaven, as in any other place; for that he doubted

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nothing at all, that once he must suffer for the gospel's sake. Upon this courage and boldness, the next day Henry went up into the pulpit, and made a sermon, expounding the place of Paul, which is in Romans i., God is my witness; and the gospel of the day. After the sermon was done, the whole congregation being called together, the prior delivered the letters that were sent by the forty-eight presidents, the tenor whereof was this: That they of Meldorf should be fined with a fine of a thousand guilders if they suffered the monk to preach; and commanded moreover, that they should send ambassadors unto Heyde with full power and authority. When they heard these letters read, they were much moved, because they were so charged contrary to the custom of the country; forasmuch as every parish priest hath always had authority, according to his discretion, to choose or put away the preacher. Briefly, they all determined with one voice, to keep Henry for their preacher, and to defend him; for when they had heard the sermon, they were greatly offended with the prior.

After dinner Henry preached again, expounding the place of St. Paul, Rom. xv., We ought which are strong, &c. The next day the citizens of Meldorf sent their messengers unto Heyde, offering to answer in all causes before all men, for their preacher, whom they had received. Besides that, the messengers declared what Christian and godly sermons they heard him preach. The parish priest also wrote letters by the said legates unto the forty-eight rulers, wherein he excused himself, that it was never his mind, nor the intent of the said Henry, to move sedition, but only sincerely to preach the word of God; and offered himself ready to answer for the said Henry to all men, whensoever he should be called; most earnestly desiring them not to give credit unto the monks, which being blinded with hatred and avarice, had fully determined to oppress the truth: saying, moreover, that it was against all reason, that a man should be condemned before the truth be tried out and his cause declared; and if, after due inquisition had, he should be convicted, then he should suffer condign punishment. This submission, with the public testimonial, was nothing esteemed or regarded, neither was there any answer given thereunto, but every man repined and murmured thereat. Last of all, one Peter Dethleves, one of the seigniors, answered, that albeit there were divers dissensions in every place about the Christian faith, and that they, as men ignorant, could not redress the same, yet this their sentence should be holden and ratified; which was, that the judgment of determining this dissension should be reserved to the next council, which, by the report of master chancellor, was now in hand to be called and gathered. Also, until all discord and dissension should be appeased, whatsoever was received and believed by their neighbours, he promised in the name of the rest, that they would willingly receive and believe the same. So that if the word of God hath not hitherto been clearly and sincerely preached (as they said) unto the people, and that there be now some which can teach and preach the same more sincerely; it is not their mind or intent to withstand, or resist their good doings, but that the presidents would wish this one thing diligently to be taken heed of, that there be no occasion given by any man to move sedition: and in the mean time he commanded all men quietly to give over all matters until Easter next, and by that time it should be made evident, what should be received, and what left undone. With this answer they were all very well contented; and the messengers returned again to Meldorf with great joy and gladness, declaring to the whole congregation what answer was made, conceiving a sure hope that the matter would shortly come to pass.

Upon St. Nicholas' day, this Henry preached twice; first, upon the Gospel, A certain nobleman, &c., Luke xix.; secondly, upon this text, There are many made priests, &c., Heb. vii.,

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with such a spirit and grace, that all men had him in admiration, praying God most earnestly, that they might long have such a preacher. Upon the day of the conception of our Lady, he also made two sermons upon Matthew i., expounding the book of the generation; wherein he rehearsed the promises made by God unto our forefathers, and under what faith our fathers that then were had lived; adding also, that all respect of works being set apart, we must be justified by the same faith. All these things were spoken with such boldness of spirit, that all men greatly marvelled at him, giving thanks to God for his great mercy, that had sent them such a preacher: desiring him, moreover, that he would tarry with them all Christmas to preach; for they feared lest he should be sent for to some other place.

In the mean space, the prior and Master John Schink were not idle; for when the prior perceived that his malicious enterprise took no good success, he joined unto him a companion, William, a doctor of the Jacobins, and so went up to Laudanum to the monks Franciscan, and Minors, for help and counsel. For those kinds of friars above all others are best instructed by their hypocrisy, to deceive the poor and simple people. These friars straightway sent for certain of the rulers, which had all the rule and authority, and especially Peter Hanne, Peter Swine, and Nicholas Roden; unto whom they declared, after their accustomed manner, with great complaints, what a heretic monk had preached, and how he had obtained the favour almost of all the simple people; which if they did not so speedily provide for, and withstand the beginnings, and put the heretic to death, it would come to pass, that shortly the honour of our Lady, and all saints, together with the two abbeys, should utterly come to ruin and decay.

When these simple and ignorant men heard these words, they were greatly moved: whereunto Peter Swine answered thus, That they had before written unto the parish priest and to Henry what was best to be done; notwithstanding, if they thought good, they would write again. "No," said the prior, "this matter must be attempted another way: for if you write unto the heretic, he will by and by answer you again. And it is to be feared, lest the contagion of his heresy do also infect you, being unlearned men; for if you give him leave to speak, and to answer, there is no hope that you shall overcome him." Wherefore they finally determined to take this Henry by night, and burn him before the people should know it, or he come to his defence to answer. This device pleased all men, but especially the Franciscan friars. Peter Hanne, the prior's chief friend, willing to get the chief praise and thanks of this matter, by the help of Master Gunter, did associate unto him certain other rulers of the towns near adjoining, whose names are here not to be hidden, because they so much affected praise and glory. The names of the presidents were these, Peter Hanne, Peter Swine's son, Hennicke Lundane, John Holneus, Laurence Hanneman, Nicholas Wollingbourg, Ambrose and John Brenthusius, Marquadus Kremmerus, Henstedanus Ludecus, John Wislinge, and Peter Grosse, president of Hemingsted. All these presidents, and all others that were of counsel to this pretence, assembled together in the parish of the new church, in the house of Master Gunter, where also the chancellor was consulting together with them how they might burn the said Henry, secretly coming upon him without any judgment or sentence. They concluded the next day after the conception of our Lady, to meet at Henning, which is five miles from Meldorf, with a great band of husbandmen. This determination thus made, they laid scouts in every place, that there should no news of their pretended mischiefs come unto Meldorf; commanding that as soon as it began to wax dark, they should all gather together. There assembled above five hundred men of the country, unto whom was declared the cause of their assembly, and also they were instructed what was to be done; for

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before, no man knew the cause of the assembly, but only the presidents. When the husbandmen understood it, they would have returned back again, refusing to do such a detestable and horrible deed. The presidents, with most bitter threats, kept them in obedience; and to the intent they should be the more courageous, they gave them three barrels of Hamburg beer to drink.

About midnight they came in armour to Meldorf. The Jacobins and monks prepared torches for them, that Henry should not slip away suddenly in the dark. They had also with them a false betrayer, named Hennegus, by whose treason they had perfect knowledge of all things. With great violence they burst into the house of the parish priest, breaking and spoiling all things, as the manner of that drunken people is. If they found either gold or silver, they took it away. When they had spoiled all things, they violently fell upon the parish priest, and with great noise cried out, "Kill the thief," "Kill the thief." Some of them took him by the hair of the head, and pulled him out into the dirt, forcing him to go with them as prisoner: other some cried out, saying, That the parish priest was not to be meddled withal, for they had no commission to take him. After they had satisfied their lust upon the parish priest, with great rage and fury they ran upon Henry, and drawing him naked out of his bed, bound his hands hard behind him: whom being so bound, they drew to and fro so long, that Peter Hanne, which otherwise was unmerciful and a cruel persecutor of the word of God, willed them that they should let him alone; for that without doubt he would follow of his own mind. Then they committed the guiding of him to John Balco, who rather drew him by violence than led him. When he was brought to Hemingsted, they asked of him how and for what intent he came to Dithmarsch? unto whom he gently declared the whole cause of his coming: but they all in a rage cried, "Away with him, away with him! for if we hear him talk any longer, it is to be feared that he will make us also heretics." Then he, being marvellously weary and faint, required to be set on horseback, for his feet were all cut and hurt with the ice, because he was led all night barefoot. When they heard him say so, they mocked and laughed at him, saying, "Must we hire a horse for a heretic? he shall go afoot whether he will or no." Because it was night they carried him naked to Heyde. Afterwards they brought him to a certain man's house named Calden, and bound him there with chains in the stocks. The master of the house, seeing the cruel deed, taking compassion upon Henry, would not suffer it to be done: wherefore he was carried away to a priest's house, the official's servant of Hamburg, and shut up in a cupboard, and was kept by the rude people, which all the night mocked and scorned him. Amongst all other, there came unto him Simon Altennan, and Christian, parish priest of the new church, both alike ignorant and wicked persecutors of the word of God, demanding of him why he had forsaken his holy habit? unto whom he friendly answered by the Scriptures; but those ignorant persons understood nothing that he said. Master Gunter also came unto him, inquiring whether he had rather to be sent to the bishop of Bremen, or receive his punishment in Dithmarsch? unto whom Henry answered, "If I have preached any thing contrary to God's word, or done any wicked act, it is in their hands to punish me therefor." Gunter answered, "Hark! I pray you, good friends, hark! he desireth to suffer in Dithmarsch." The common people all the night continued in immoderate drinking and swilling.

In the morning, about eight o'clock, they gathered together in the market-place to consult what they should do; where the rustical people, boiling with drink, cried out, "Burn him, burn him! to the fire with the heretic! Without doubt, if we do it, we shall this day obtain great glory and praise, both of God and man; for the longer he liveth, the more he will seduce with his

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heresy." What need many words? sure he was to die; for they had condemned this good Henry without any judgment, (his cause not being heard,) to be burned. At last they commanded the crier to proclaim, that every man that was at the taking of him, should be ready in armour to bring him forth to the fire. Amongst all other the friars Franciscan were present, encouraging the drunken, rude people, saying, "Now you go the right way to work." Then they bound the said Henry, hands, feet, and neck, and with great noise brought him forth to the fire. As he passed by, a certain woman, standing in her door, beholding that pitiful sight, wept abundantly; unto whom Henry turning himself, said, "I pray you weep not for me." When he came to the fire, for very weakness he sat down upon the ground. By and by there was present one of the presidents named May, which was evidently known to be corrupted and bribed with money to this purpose: he condemned the said Henry to be burned, pronouncing this sentence upon him:

"Forasmuch as this thief hath wickedly preached against the worship of our blessed Lady, by the commandment and sufferance of our reverend father in Christ, the bishop of Bremen, and my lord, I condemn him here to be burned and consumed with fire." Unto whom Henry answered, "I have done no such thing:" and, lifting up his eyes towards the heaven, he said, "O Lord! forgive them, for they offend ignorantly, not knowing what they do: thy name, O Almighty God! is holy."

In the mean time, a certain woman, the wife of one Junger, sister of Peter Hanne, offered herself to suffer a thousand stripes, and to give them much money, so that they would pacify the matter, and keep him in prison, until he might plead his matter before the whole convocation of the country. When they heard these words, they waxed more mad, and threw the woman down under foot, and trod upon her, and beat the said Henry unmercifully. One of the rustical sort struck him behind on the head with a sharp dagger. John Holmes of the new church struck him with a mace. Others thrust him in the back, and in the arms. And this was not done once or twice, but as often as he began to speak. Master Gunter cried out, encouraging them, saying, "Go to boldly, good fellows! truly God is present with us."

After this, he brought a Franciscan friar unto Henry, that he should be confessed; whom Henry demanded in this manner: "Brother! when have I done you injury, either by word or deed, or when did I ever provoke you to anger?" "Never," said the friar. "What should I then confess unto you," said he, "that you think you might forgive me?" The friar, being moved at these words, departed. The fire, as often as it was kindled, would not burn. Notwithstanding they satisfied their minds upon him, striking and pricking him with all kind of weapons. The said Henry standing in the mean time in his shirt before all this rude people, at the last, they, having gotten a great ladder, bound him hard thereunto, and cast him into the fire. And when he began to pray, and to repeat his Creed, one struck him upon the face with his fist, saying, "Thou shalt first be burnt, and afterward pray and prate as much as thou wilt." Then another, treading upon his breast, bound his neck so hard to a step of the ladder, that the blood gushed out of his mouth and nose. This was done to strangle him withal, for they saw that for all his sore wounds he would not die.

After he was bound to the ladder, he was set upright. Then one, running unto him, set his halbert for the ladder to lean against (for those countrymen use no common hangman, but every man exerciseth the office without difference); but the ladder slipping away from the point of the

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halberty, caused that the halbert struck him through the body. Then they cast this good man, ladder and all, upon the wood, which, tumbling down, lighted upon one side. Then John Holmes ran unto him, and struck him with a mace upon the breast, till he was dead and stirred no more. Afterwards they roasted him upon the coals; for the wood, as often as it was set on fire, would not burn out. And thus this godly preacher finished his martyrdom; which was A.D. 1524.

About the same time many other godly persons, and such as feared God, for the testimony of the gospel, were thrown into the river Rhine, and into other rivers, where their bodies afterwards were found and taken up. Also in the said town of Dithmarsch another faithful saint of God, named John, suffered the like martyrdom. Thus these two blessed and constant martyrs, as two shining lights set up of God, in testimony of his truth, offered up the sacrifice of their confession sealed with their blood, in a sweet odour unto God.

At the town of Halle likewise, another preacher, named Master George, for ministering in both kinds, was martyred and slain of a like sort of cut-throats, set up by monks and friars to murder him, near to the town called Haschenburg.

At Prague also, in Bohemia, another, for changing his monkery into matrimony, did suffer in the like manner.

Furthermore, in the same year 1524, and the twenty-second of October, the town of Miltenberg in Germany was taken and ransacked, and divers of the inhabitants there slain, and many imprisoned, for maintaining and keeping with them Carolstadt to be their preacher.

In the same catalogue of holy martyrs likewise is to be placed Gasper Tamber. Also another called George, a scrivener, which both were burned at Vienna in Austria.

146. The Lamentable Martyrdom of John Clerk, of Melden, In France.

[Note: in Seeley's Edition this martyr is called John Clerk of Meaux]

[Transcriber's Note: Melden is the current name of the diocese which includes the town of Meaux]

Melden is a city in France, ten miles distant from Paris, where John Clerk first was apprehended and taken, A.D. 1523, for setting up upon the church door a certain bill against the pope's pardons lately sent thither from Rome, in which bill he named the pope to be antichrist; for the which his punishment was this, that three several days he should be whipped, and afterwards have a mark imprinted on his forehead, as a note of infamy. His mother, being a Christian woman, although her husband was an adversary, when she beheld her son thus piteously scourged, and ignominiously deformed in the face, constantly and boldly did encourage her son, crying with a loud voice, "Blessed be Christ! and welcome be his prints and marks!"

After this execution and punishment sustained, the said John departed that town, and went to Rosia in Bray, and from thence removed to Metz in Lorraine, where he remained a certain space, applying his vocation, being a wool-carder by his occupation; where he, the day before that the people of that city should go out to the suburbs, to worship certain blind idols near by, (after an old use and custom amongst them received,) being inflamed with the zeal of God, went out of the city to the place where the images were, and brake them all down in pieces. The next morrow after, when the canons, priests, and monks, keeping their old custom, had brought with them the people out of the city to the place of idolatry, to worship as they were wont, they found all their blocks and stocks almighty, lie broken upon the ground; at the sight whereof they, being mightily offended in their minds, set all the city on agog, to search out the author thereof, who was not hard to be found; forasmuch as this aforesaid Clerk, besides that he was noted of them to be a man much addicted that way, he was also seen somewhat late in the evening before to come from the same place into the city. Wherefore he, being suspected and examined upon the same, at first confessed the fact, rendering also the cause which moved him so to do. The people hearing this, and being not yet acquainted with that kind of doctrine, were moved marvellously against him, crying out upon him in a great rage. Thus his cause being informed to the judges, wherein he defended the pure doctrine of the Son of God, he was condemned, and led to the place of execution, where he sustained extreme torments. For first his hand was cut off from his right arm, then his nose with sharp pinchers was violently plucked from his face; after that both his arms and his paps were likewise plucked and drawn with the same instrument. To all them that stood looking upon, it was a horror to behold, the grievous and doleful sight of his pains: again, to behold his patience, or rather the grace of God giving him the gift so to suffer, it was a wonder. Thus quietly and constantly he endured in his torments, pronouncing, or in a manner singing, the verses of Psalm cxv.; Their images be silver and gold, the work only of man's hand, &c. The residue of his life that remained in his rent body, was committed to the fire, and therewith consumed; which was about A.D. 1524.

147. John Castellane.

The year next ensuing, which was 1525, Master John Castellane, born at Tournay, a doctor of divinity, after that he was called unto the knowledge of God, and became a true preacher of his word, and had preached in France, in a place called Bar le Duc, also at Vittery in Partoise, at Chalons in Champagne, and in the town of Vike, which is the chamber and episcopal seat of the bishop of Metz in Lorraine, after he had laid some foundation of the doctrine of the gospel in the town of Metz, in returning from thence he was taken prisoner by the cardinal of Lorraine's servants, by whom he was carried from Gorze to the castle of Nommeni. Whereupon the citizens of Metz took no little displeasure and grievance; who being grievously offended to have their preacher so to be apprehended and imprisoned, within short space after took certain of the cardinal's subjects, and kept them prisoners so long, until the abbot of St. Anthony, in Viennois, called Theodore de Chaumont, vicar-general, as well in causes spiritual as temporal, (through the jurisdiction both of the cardinal and bishopric of Metz, Toulouse, and Verdun,) being furnished with a letter and commission from the see of Rome, came to the said town of Metz; and after divers declarations made to the provost, and the other justices and counsellors of the city, he so wrought and brought to pass, that immediately the said subjects of the cardinal were set at liberty. But John Castellane was kept still prisoner in the castle of Nommeni, and was most cruelly handled from the fourth of May until the twelfth of January; during all which time, he persevered constant in the doctrine of the Son of God. Whereupon he was carried from Nommeni to the town and castle of Vike, always persevering constantly in the profession of the same doctrine, so that they did proceed unto the sentence of his degradation, that he might be delivered over unto the secular power, according to the custom and manner. And forasmuch as the form and manner of the sentence and process of degrading is notable, and hath been reported unto us word for word, we have thought good here to annex the same, to declare the horrible blasphemies joined with gross and brutish subtlety, in those high mysteries which the enemies of the truth do use in their process against the children of God; whereby every man, even the most ignorant, may evidently perceive the horrible blindness that these unshamefaced catholics are blinded withal.

The sentence of the degradation.

"Concerning the process inquisitory, formed and given in form of accusation against thee, John Castellane, priest, and religious man of the friars Eremites, of the order of St. Austin; understanding likewise thy confession, which thou hast made of thine own good will, maintaining false and erroneous doctrine; and marking also, besides this, the godly admonitions and charitable exhortations which we made unto thee in the town of Metz, which thou, like unto the serpent Aspis, hast refused, and given no ear unto: also considering thine answers made and reiterated unto interrogatories, by means of thine oath, in the which devilishly thou hast hidden and kept back not only the truth, but also, following the example of Cain, hast denied to confess thy sins and mischievous offence: and finally, hearing the great number of witnesses sworn and examined against thee, their persons and depositions diligently considered, and all other things worthy of consideration being justly examined, the reverend Master Nicholas Savin, doctor of

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divinity, and inquisitor of the faith, assistant unto us, hath entered process against thee, and given full information thereof; this our purpose and intent being also communicated unto divers masters and doctors both of the civil and canon laws, here present, which have subscribed and signed thereunto, whereby it appeareth, that thou, John Castellane, hast oftentimes, and in divers places, openly and manifestly spread abroad and taught many erroneous propositions, full of the heresy of Luther, contrary and against the catholic faith, and the verity of the gospel, and the holy apostolic see; and so accursedly looked back and turned thy face, that thou art found to be a liar before Almighty God: It is ordained by the sacred rules of the canon law, that such as through the sharp darts of their venomous tongue do pervert the Scriptures, and go about with all their power to corrupt and infect the souls of the faithful, should be punished and corrected with most sharp correction, to the end that others should be afraid to attempt the like, and apply themselves the better to the study of Christian concord, through the example set before their eyes, as well of severity, as of clemency. For these causes, and others rising upon the said process, by the apostolic authority, and also the authority of our said reverend lord the cardinal, which we do use in this our sentence definitive, which we, sitting in our judgment-seat, declare in these writings, having God only before our eyes, and surely considering, that what measure we do meet unto others, the same shall be measured to us again: we pronounce and declare sententially and definitively, thee, John Castellane, being here present before us, and judge thee, because of thy deserts, to be excommunicated, with the most great excommunication, and therewithal to be culpable of treason against the Divine Majesty, and a mortal enemy of the catholic faith, and verity of the gospel; also to be a manifest heretic, and a follower and partaker of the execrable cruelty of Martin Luther, a stirrer up of old heresies already condemned. And therefore, as thou oughtest to be deposed and deprived of all priestly honour and dignity, of all thy orders, of thy shaving and religious habit, also of thy ecclesiastical benefices, if thou hast any, and from all privilege of clergy: so we here presently do depose, deprive, and separate thee, as a rotten member, from the communion and company of all the faithful: and being so deprived, we judge that thou oughtest to be actually degraded. That done, we leave thee unto the secular powers, committing the degradation and actual execution of this our sentence unto the reverend lord and bishop here present, with the authority and commandment aforesaid."

This sentence being thus ended, with their catholic sermon also, the said bishop of Nicopolis, sitting in his pontificalibus in the judgment-seat, being suffragan of Metz, with the clergy, nobles, and people about him, proceeded to the degrading (as they call it) of the said Master John Castellane. Thus the said Master John Castellane, being prepared and made ready to his degradation by the officers of the said bishop, was apparelled in his priestly attire, and afterwards brought forth of the chapel by the priests which were thereunto appointed, with all his priestly ornaments upon him; and holding his hands together, he kneeled down before the bishop. Then the officers gave him the chalice in his hands, with wine and water, the patine, and the host; all which things the said bishop which degraded him, took from him, saying, "We take away from thee, or command to be taken away from thee, all power to offer sacrifice unto God, and to say mass, as well for the quick as the dead." Moreover, the bishop scraped the nails of both his hands with a piece of glass, saying, "By this scraping we take away from thee all power to sacrifice, to consecrate, and to bless, which thou hast received by the anointing of thy hands." Then he took from him the chesille, saying, "By good right we do despoil thee of this priestly ornament, which signifieth charity; for certainly thou hast forsaken the same, and all innocency." Then taking away the stole, he said, "Thou hast villanously rejected and despised the sign of our

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Lord, which is represented by this stole: wherefore we take it away from thee, and make thee unable to exercise and use the office of priesthood, and all other things appertaining to priesthood."

The degradation of the order of priesthood being thus ended, they proceeded to the order of deacon. Then the ministers gave him the book of the Gospels, which the bishop took away, saying, "We take away from thee all power to read the Gospels in the church of God, for it appertaineth only to such as are worthy." After this he spoiled him of the dalmatic, which is the vesture that the deacons use, saying, "We deprive thee of this Levitical order; forasmuch as thou hast not fulfilled thy ministry and office." After this the bishop took away the stole from behind his back, saying, "We justly take away from thee the white stole which thou hadst received undefiledly; which also thou oughtest to have borne in the presence of our Lord: and to the end that the people dedicated unto the name of Christ may take by thee example, we prohibit thee any more to exercise or use the office of deaconship." Then they proceeded to the degrading of subdeaconship, and taking away from him the book of the Epistles, and his subdeacon's vesture, deposed him from reading of the Epistles in the church of God. And so orderly proceeding unto all the other orders, degraded him from the order of Benet and Collet, from the order of exorcist, from the lectorship, and last of all, from the office of door-keeper, taking from him the keys, and commanding him hereafter not to open or shut the revestry, nor to ring any more bells in the church. That done, the bishop went forward to degrade him from his first shaving, and taking away his surplice, said unto him, "By the authority of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and by our authority, we take from thee all clerkly habit, and despoil thee of all ornament of religion: also we depose and degrade thee of all order, benefit, and privilege of the clergy, and as one unworthy of that profession, we commit thee to the servitude and ignominy of the secular state." Then the bishop took the shears, and began to clip his head, saying in this manner: "We cast thee out as an unthankful child of the Lord's heritage, whereunto thou wast called, and take away from thy head the crown, which is the royal sign of priesthood, through thine own wickedness and malice. The bishop also added these words: "That which thou hast sung with thy mouth, thou hast not believed with thy heart, nor accomplished in work; wherefore we take from thee the office of singing in the church of God."

The degrading thus ended, the procurator fiscal of the court and city of Metz, required of the notary an instrument or copy of the degrading. Then the ministers of the bishop turned him out of his clerkly habit, and put upon him the apparel of a secular man. That done, forasmuch as he which is degraded, according to the institution of Pope Innocent the Third, ought to be delivered unto the secular court, the bishop that degraded him proceeded no further, but said in this manner: "We pronounce that the secular court shall receive thee into their charge, being thus degraded of all clerkly honour and privilege."

This done, the bishop, after a certain manner, entreated the secular judge for him, saying, "My lord judge! we pray you as heartily as we can, for the love of God, and the contemplation of tender pity and mercy, and for the respect of our prayers, that you will not in any point do any thing that shall be hurtful to this miserable man, or tending to his death, or maiming of his body." These things thus done, the secular judge of the town of Vike, confirming the aforesaid sentence, condemned the said Master John Castellane to be burned quick; which death he suffered the twelfth of January, A.D. 1525, with such a constancy, that not only a great company of ignorant

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people were thereby drawn to the knowledge of the verity, but also a great number which had already some taste thereof, were greatly confirmed by that his constant and valiant death.

148. Martyrs in Germany.

It would fill another volume to comprehend the acts and stories of all them which in other countries, at the rising of the gospel, suffered for the same. But praised be the Lord, every region almost hath its own history-writer, which sufficiently hath discharged that part of duty, as every one in matters of his own country is best acquainted: wherefore I shall the less need to overstrain my travail, or to overcharge this volume therewith; only it shall suffice me to collect three or four histories, recorded by Ecolampadius and the rest, to bring it into a brief story, and so return to occupy myself with our own domestical matters here done at home.

"In the year of our Lord 1525, there was a certain good and godly minister, who had committed something in the commotion there raised by the rustical clowns of the country, which, they said that knew him, was but of small importance. He, because he had offended his prince before, not with any fact or crime, but with some word something sharply spoken, was therefore condemned to be hanged.

"After sentence was given, there was a gentleman of a cruel heart sent with a certain troop of men to apprehend the said priest, and to hang him; who, coming into his house, saluted him friendly, pretending as though their coming had been to make good cheer: for he was a good housekeeper, and the gentlemen of the country thereabouts used oftentimes to resort unto his house familiarly. This priest made ready for them in a short space a very sumptuous banquet, whereof they did eat and drink very cheerfully. After dinner was ended, and that the priest was yet at the table, thinking no hurt, the gentleman said to his servants, 'Take you this priest, our host, and hang him, and that without delay; for he hath well deserved to be hanged for the great offence he hath committed against his prince.' The servants were marvellously astonished with his words, and abhorring to do the deed, said unto their master, 'God forbid that we should commit anysuch crime, to hang a man that hath treated us so gently; for the meat, which he hath given us, is yet in our stomachs undigested. It were a wicked act for a nobleman to render so great evil for a good turn, but especially to murder an innocent.' Briefly, the servants sought no other occasion, but only to give him way to flee, that they might also avoid the execution of that wicked purpose.

"As the gentleman and his servants were thus contending, the priest said unto them, I beseech you show no such cruelty upon me; rather lead me away captive unto my prince, where I may purge myself. I am falsely accused, and I trust to pacify his anger which he hath conceived against me. At least remember the hospitality which I have ever showed to you, and all noblemen at all times resorting to my house.' But principally speaking to the gentleman, he advertised him of the perpetual sting which would follow upon an evil conscience; protesting that he had faithfully and truly taught them the doctrine of the gospel, and that it was the principal cause why he had such evil will: which long time before he had foreseen would come to pass, forasmuch as he had oftentimes in the pulpit reproved sharply and openly the horrible vices of the gentlemen, which maintained their people in their vicious living; and they themselves were given unto blasphemy and drunkenness, whereas they should show example of faith, true religion, and

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soberness; but they had oftentimes resisted him, saying, That it was not his part to reprove them, forasmuch as they were his lords, and might put him to death if they would: that all things which they did were allowable, and that no man ought to gainsay it: also that he went about some things in his sermons, that would come to an ill end.

"This good man, whatsoever he could say, could not make his matter seem good; for the gentleman continued in his wicked enterprise, and pricked forth his servants still to accomplish their purpose (for it was resolved by the prince, that he should be put to death); and, turning himself unto the priest, he said, that he could gain nothing by preaching in such sort, but that he should fully determine himself to die, for the prince had given express commandment to hang him, whose favour he would not lose for to save his life. At the last, the servants, after great sorrow and lamentation, bound their host, and hanged him upon a beam in his own house, the gentleman standing by and looking on. This good man, seeing no remedy, spake no other words but only, 'Jesus, have mercy upon me; Jesus, save me.'

"This is the truth of this most cruel act, which a Turk would scarcely have committed against his mortal enemy. Now let every man judge with himself, which of them have the greatest advantage, either they which commit the cruelty against the good, or the good men which do suffer the same unjustly. The first sort have a continual gnawing in their conscience, and the others obtain an immortal crown."

The history of the death of a certain minister, named Master Peter Spengler, which was drowned.

"In a certain village named Schlat, in the country of Brisgois, there was a vigilant minister, a man very well learned in the Scriptures, of a good name, for that he lived a godly and a blameless life, having long time faithfully done his office and duty; being also courteous and gentle, and well-beloved of men, but specially of the bishop of Constance, with whom he was in great authority; peaceable and quiet with all men that he had to do withal. He quieted discords and contentions with a marvellous prudence, exhorting all men to mutual charity and love. In all assemblies wheresoever he came, he greatly commended honest life and amendment of manners. When the purity of the gospel began to shine abroad, he began to read with great affection the Holy Scriptures, which long time before he had read, but without any understanding. When he had recovered a little judgment, and came to more understanding by continual reading, being also further grown in age, he began to consider with himself, in how great darkness and errors the whole order of priests had been a long time drowned. 'O good God,' said he, 'who would have thought it, that so many learned and holy men have wandered out of the right way, and could have so long time been wrapped in so great errors, or that the Holy Scripture could have been so deformed with such horrible abuses.' For he never well understood before (he said) that the gospel was the verity of God, in that order wherein it is written, seeing it containeth so much touching the cross, persecution, and ignominious death; and yet the priests lived in great prosperity, and no man durst maintain any quarrel against them without great danger. He also saw that the hour was come that the gospel should be displayed, that persecution was at hand, that the enemies of the truth began now to rage, that the wicked and proud lifted up their heads on high, and feared not to enterprise and take in hand all kind of mischief and wickedness against the faithful; that the bishops, which ought by their virtue and power to defend the word, were

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more barbarous and cruel than any tyrants had been before. He, thus considering the present state of the world, put all doubt from his heart, and saw presently before his eyes, that Jesus Christ had taught the truth; seeing so many bodies of the faithful were daily so tormented, beaten, exiled, banished, drowned, and burned. For who can report the great torments which the innocent have endured these years past, even by those who call themselves Christians; and for no other cause, but only for the true confession of Jesus Christ? This good pastor, (considering with himself the laws and doctrine of the Church of Rome to swerve from the truth of Christ, especially in restraining marriage,) to the end that he would not defile himself with fornication, married a maid of his, such a one as feared God; by whom afterwards he had many fair children.

"About this time the people of the country had raised a great commotion, who in their rage went to monasteries and priests' houses, as if they had taken in hand some pilgrimage, and spared nothing that they could find to eat. That which they could not eat, they either cast under foot, or carried it away with them. One company of this rustical sort lodged themselves in the house of this good priest; for they made no difference between the good and the bad. These roisters took from him all that they could find, leaving nothing behind them, insomuch that they took away the very hose from his legs, for all that he could do: albeit that he gently entreated them, showing them that it was theft and a hanging matter that they did, yet they continued still in their madness like beasts.

"As they were departing out of the house, the good priest could not refrain himself from weeping, saying unto them, 'I tell you before, these your inordinate doings will redound to some great mischief to yourselves; for what madness is this? What meaneth this rage and tumult, wherein you keep no order or equity, neither have any respect between friend and foe? Who thus stirreth you up? What counsel do you follow, or to what end do you this? Like thieves you spoil whatsoever you can lay hands upon. And think you not but these things which you now rob, ravin, and steal, you shall be compelled hereafter to restore again to your great detriment? What sedition did ever come to good end? You pretend the gospel, and have no peace of the gospel either in your mouths or in your hearts. These excesses,' saith he, 'ye never learned of me, which ever have taught you the true word of God. This your gospel,' saith he, 'is rather the gospel of the devil, than of God, which vexeth all the world with violence and wrong, spoiling and robbing without regard. The true gospel of Jesus Christ teacheth you to do good unto all men, to avoid dissensions and perjury. This I say unto you, that in these your doings you offend God, and provoke his just vengeance to plague you, which will never suffer these evils to escape unpunished. You find written in the gospel, That which thou wouldest not should be done to thee, do not to others. You offend also all the nobility, and your lawful magistrates, whom you are sworn and bound unto. It is no small matter, I tell you, to raise up sedition, to stir up others, and to disturb the state of the commonwealth: and when this tumult shall be ceased, what then shall your noblemen do? Shall they not rifle you as fast, and of your goods make themselves rich? and then shall one of you betray another.' These, with such other words, he stood preaching unto them, almost naked; but all this would not prevail with those men, who, after all these gentle admonitions and fair words, departed out of his house, giving him foul language, and calling him old dotard.' Amongst all others, one more wicked than the residue said unto him in this manner: 'O master curate! we have been long deceived by your selling of masses, by fearing us with purgatory, by your dirges and trentals; and so have we been spoiled; wherefore we do

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nothing, now, but require again the money which you robbed us of.' And so mocking and scorning him they departed.

"After that this sedition of the peasants was partly appeased, their armour being laid away, and they taken unto grace; after that also divers of the principals of that conspiracy were taken here and there in the villages, and executed; this good pastor, fearing no such thing, for the true and sincere preaching of the gospel, whereat many took great indignation, was taken in the night by certain soldiers, which bound him hand and foot with a great rope, before his wife and children, and so set him upon a horse, and led him away to Friburg. What grievous sighs, tears, sorrow, and lamentation were there! it would have moved any heart, were it as hard as a flint, to a doleful compassion; especially to see the barbarous and despiteful rebukes, taunts, and extreme cruelty showed by these proud popish soldiers against the innocent priest. Such beastly tyrants the world is never without: such godly ministers we have had but a few.

"The people, hearing this pitiful noise and lamentation in the night, came running out, not the men, but only the women, whom the soldiers willed to go home again, and that their men should come forth and keep the town; but their men durst not appear. Then from Friburg shortly after they conveyed him to Ensisheim.

"After they had long kept this man in prison, and that he had endured most terrible torments in all parts of his body, they judged him to death. If you will know the cause what they had to lay to his charge, it was only this, that he had married a wife secretly in his own house, with a few witnesses. Other crimes they had none to object against him; neither that he was a seditious and wicked man, or that he had committed any other offence, albeit they had gathered divers wicked persons out of sundry places, to pick out of his sermons the order and manner of his behaviour. When he was led unto the place of execution, he answered gently and quietly unto all them that came to comfort him. But there were divers monks and priests, which troubled him very sorely with their foolish babbling, as he was striving in his spirit against the horror of death, and making his prayer unto Almighty God; seeking nothing else but to turn him away from his hearty and earnest contemplation. But he desired them that they would hold their peace, saying that he had already confessed his sins unto the Lord Jesus, nothing at all doubting but that he had received absolution and forgiveness of them all. 'And I,' said he, 'shall this day be an acceptable sacrifice unto my Saviour Jesus Christ, for I have done no such thing wherefore I am now condemned, which might displease my Lord God, who, in this behalf, hath given me a good and quiet conscience. Now therefore let them which thirst for innocent blood, and shed the same, diligently advise themselves what they do, and that they offend even Him, unto whom it pertaineth truly to judge the hearts of men; for it is said, Vengeance is mine, and I will punish.' And forasmuch as he was a very lean man, he added this moreover, saying, 'It is all one; for shortly I must have forsaken this skin, which already scarcely hangeth to my bones. I know well that I am a mortal, and a corruptible worm, and have nothing in me but corruption. I have long time desired my latter day, and have made my request that I might be delivered out of this mortal body, to be joined with my Saviour Christ. I have deserved, through my manifold sins committed against my Saviour Christ, my cross; and my Saviour Christ hath borne the cross, and hath died upon the cross; and for my part I will not glory in any other thing but only in the cross of Jesus Christ.'



Peter Spengler Executed by Drowning

"There were present by certain naughty persons which could not endure to hear this godly exhortation, but made a sign unto the hangman to cast him down into the river. After he was thrown down, he moved by a certain space in the water, in such sort that the river whereinto he was cast was red with blood. This was a certain sign and token that innocent blood was that day shed. They which were there present, beholding that which had happened, were greatly amazed and astonied, considering with themselves what the staining of the water with the blood should signify. Every man returned home pensive and sad, marvelling at the cruel deed that was done that day: notwithstanding, no man durst open his mouth to speak one word, because that all things were exercised with such cruelty. This was done in the town of Ensisheim, A.D. 1525.

"These things I did understand by one which did behold them with his eyes. The Lord of his great grace be merciful unto us, and forgive us our sins!"

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Such was the wickedness then of those days, and yet is still, that whosoever was perceived to favour the gospel, or any thing to dislike the doctrine of the pope's church, he was hated and despised of the rulers, lawyers, and all other papists through the whole country about; but especially of priests, monks, and friars. And though the life of the gospellers were never so sound and upright, yet such was the hatred and malice of the pope's friends against them, that they never ceased to seek all occasions, and devise matters how to bring them to death.

It so happened a little before this present time, that there was a commotion of the rude and rustical people of the country rising in armour inordinately against their rulers, to the great disturbance of the whole country of Germany, and no less to their own destruction; of whom were slain above twenty thousand. At length, when this rebellion was appeased, and all things quiet, such as were the pope's friends, to work their malice against the gospel, took occasion thereby not long after to accuse and entangle such as they knew to be gospellers and protestants. And although the said gospellers were never so inculpable and clear from all rebellion, yet that sufficed not; for causes were made, false witnesses brought, corrupt judges suborned, to condemn the innocent; and many were put to death, their cause neither being heard nor known. By reason whereof a great number of good and innocent Christians were miserably brought to their end and martyrdom; in the number of whom was this poor man also, whose story by Ecolampadius is thus described:

"There was," saith he, "a certain man of the country, which in my judgment was a good man, and lover of justice, and a mortal enemy of all the cruel exactions of the gentlemen which oppressed the poor people. This man, after the tumult and commotion of the country was appeased, was grievously vexed and tormented because he had cried 'alarm,' when a great number of horsemen ranged about the country to seek out those which had been the authors of that sedition. This poor man was taken by policy, and so upholden with fair promises, that they made him confess whatsoever they required. He, thinking that they would not have put him to death, was cast into prison, where he was long time detained, and well cherished, to take away all suspicion from him. But, after he had tarried a long time in prison, they put him to the pinbank, laying divers and many grievous offences to his charge, where they kept him hanging in the truss of the cord the space of six hours, hanging a great stone fastened at his feet.

"The sweat that dropped from his body for very pain and anguish, was almost blood. In this distress he cried out pitifully, but all that could not once move the tormentors' hearts. When all the power and strength in his body began to fail him, with great violence they let him fall down. There this poor man lay even as a stock, not moving any part or member of his body, but a little drawing his breath, which was a token that there was some life in him. Here the tormentors were in great doubt what to do with the man, (whom they sought by all means to destroy,) in what place they might put him, that he should not die of that torment.

"Amongst them there was one who brought vinegar and rose water; and rubbing him therewithal, they did somewhat recover him. After they had caused him to eat and drink such as they provided for him, they let him down into a deep dungeon, where he could see neither sun nor moon. All this was done to the intent to put him to more torment, when he had somewhat recovered his strength again. There they let him continue eighteen days, after which time they brought him again to examination, propounding certain articles unto him, which he constantly

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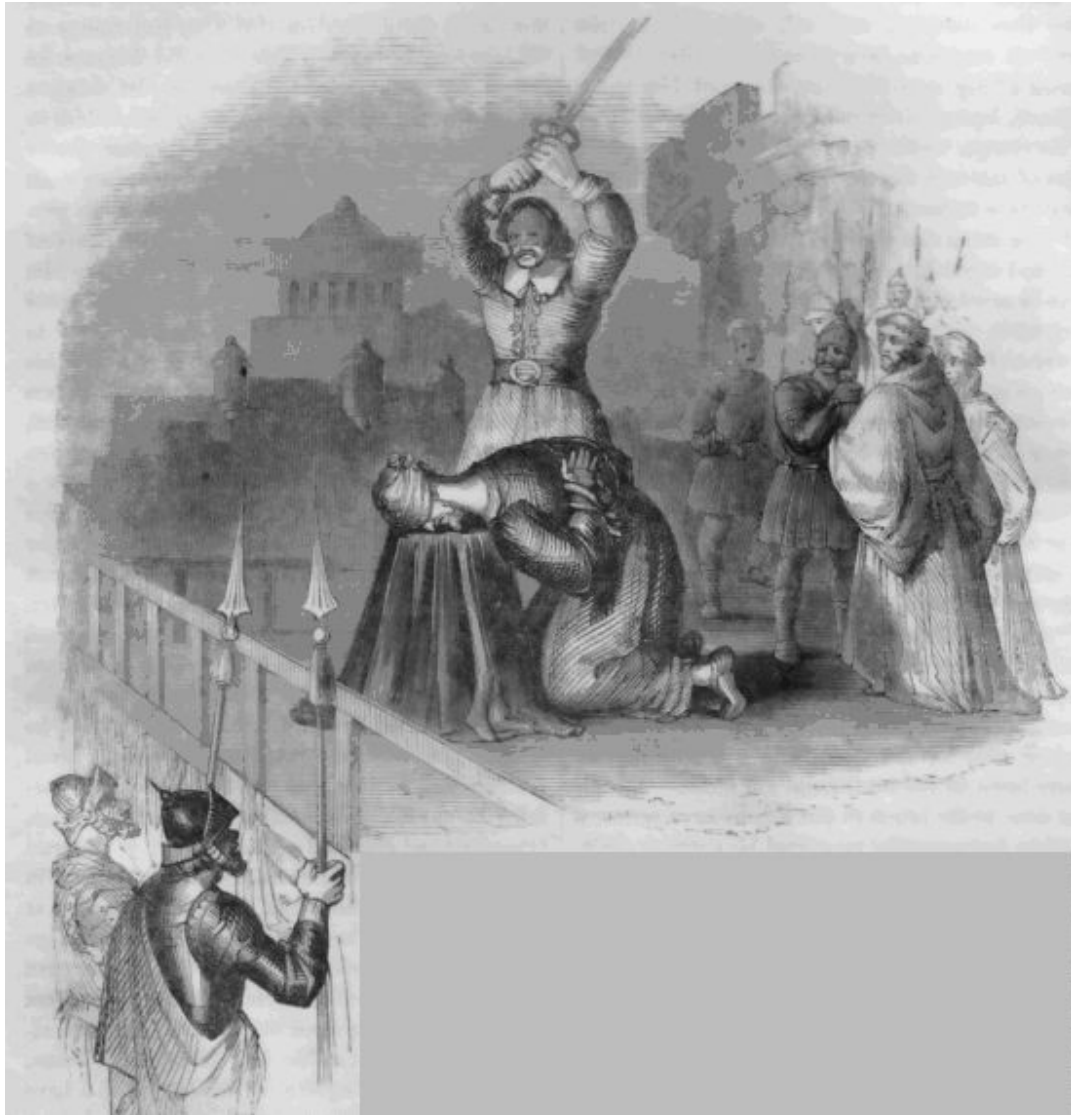
denied. They devised divers and sundry kinds of torments, to the intent they might, even of force, extort something of this poor man, which might seem worthy of death; yet for all that they were fain to depart without their purpose. The twentieth day after, these tyrants hired a hangman, (a man sure worthy of his office,) which left no kind of cruelty unpractised; yet did he miss of his purpose also, and was constrained to leave his cruelty, and to pronounce even with his own mouth, that the man was innocent, in that he had so constantly endured so many horrible and grievous torments. Yet these tyrants came again the fourth time, and suborned two witnesses against him; thus concluding, that he was worthy of death, because he had cried 'alarm' after the truce was taken, and would have moved a new sedition. The day was appointed when he should suffer, and they brought unto him the hangman and a friar into the prison.

"In the mean time this poor man thought with himself, that they would have showed him the like cruelty as they had done the night before. They called him out of the dungeon where they had let him down, certifying him that they had things to tell him for his profit. This they did because he should not die in prison. Then they let down a cord and a staff, but they could not persuade him to sit thereupon, saying, that he would rather choose to die there, than he would endure any more such cruel torments; notwithstanding, if they would promise him not to put him any more to the truss of the cord, nor to put him to death, but to bring him before just judges, on that condition he would come out; although he had fully determined never to have removed from thence, but to have ended his life in that dungeon. There were present certain councillors which promised to perform his request, and thereupon he was taken out of the dungeon. As soon as he saw the friar, he cried out with a loud voice, saying, 'O miserable and wretched man that I am! now am I betrayed and deceived; for my latter hour is at hand. I see well the dream which I have dreamed this night will come to effect, for they do handle me tyrannously, and condemn me not being heard.' The friar brake him off from his purpose, and pulling a wooden cross out of his sleeve, presented it unto him, declaring that he must be quiet, because that they had already given sentence against him, and that he should gain nothing by so much talk. 'Poor man,' said the friar, thou hast had good and gentle judges; at the least thou shalt go to God; therefore confess thy sins in my ear, and after thou hast received absolution at my hands, doubt not but this day thou shalt go straight to the kingdom of heaven.' The poor man answered, 'Thou wicked friar! get thee away from me, for I have long since bewailed my sins and offences, and that before the face of my Lord Jesus, who hath already forgiven me all that which I have committed against his majesty; wherefore I have no need of thy absolution, which thou thyself dost not understand. This is most certain, that long time since thou shouldst have amended thine own wicked and hypocritical life. I know well enough what thou art; thou playest the ape with me, but thou hast a subtle and a crafty heart, which hath deceived much simple people. If thou hast any comfort or consolation out of the gospel to comfort me withal, let me have it; if not, get thee away from me with thy portues.'

"The friar was so confused and amazed with these words, that he knew not what to do or say. The hangman, being wiser than the friar, bade him read unto the poor man something of the passion, wherein the poor man would take great pleasure. This foolish friar had no other consolation to comfort him withal, but to hold the crucifix of wood before him, saying, 'Behold thy Saviour which died for thee; look upon him, and thou shalt be comforted.' Then said the poor man, 'I have another Saviour, this is none of my Saviour; get thee away from me, thou naughty person! with thy marmoset of wood; my Saviour dwelleth in heaven, in whom I trust that he will

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not deliver my soul to eternal death.' The friar crossed himself, showing the semblance of a man that was very sorry and aggrieved, thinking with himself that this poor man was fallen into desperation. Then he was led forth into the market-place, where, according to the custom, openly before all the people, his confession was read with a loud voice; which contained no other thing, but only that the man had been a seditious person, and that in the time of truce he had cried, 'Alarm,' even in the night, when all men were at rest.



A Good Man Beheaded

"When he was come to the place where he should suffer, being compassed in with glaves and halberts hired for the purpose, after he had said the Lord's prayer, the hangman bade him

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kneel down; but he refused so to do, declaring that he had yet something more to say before the people, thinking that he should not be denied to speak in that place, as he was before the wicked judges. 'Those,' said he, 'Which know me, shall be sufficient good witnesses on my behalf, that from my youth upward I have always lived in good name, fame, and honesty, being never before accused for any offence, sedition, or perjury. In an evil time have I happened into these cursed days, when all ways both of God and man are turned topsy turvy. I was adherent to the tumult and sedition of the men of the country, as many others were, which dwelt thereabout. But what then? are there not also many gentlemen which followed the peasants' army, and many strong towns. which went also with them? I was not the author of any sedition, which always I have mortally hated. I never gave counsel unto any man to move any broil or tumult in any place. We asked counsel of our gentlemen what we should do, when the bands of the peasants were assembled in the fields; but they gave us neither counsel nor comfort. And to speak of myself, I did never understand or know what the articles were that were published, neither was there ever any man that told me wherefore they were published; neither did I know wherefore the bands of the countrymen were risen, neither wherefore every man moved his neighbour to put on armour. Wherefore then have ye taken me as a seditious man, and made me to endure so great torments?' He continued a long time declaring his innocency; but, notwithstanding all his excuses and defences, the hangman drew his sword, and, at the commandment of the judge, struck off his head, as he had made an end of his prayers. His tongue moved a long time after in his head, by means of the force of the words which he had before spoken.

Thus this good man of the country ended his days, against whom the false judges could find no crime or offence to object, albeit they had diligently sought by witnesses to have information of all his life and living. The Lord grant his Spirit to all those which suffer for his name.

Wolfgangus Schuch, a German, burned in Lorraine.



WOLFGANGUS Schuch, coming to a certain town in Lorraine, bearing the name of St. Hippolyte, and being received in the said town to be their pastor, laboured by all means how to extirpate out of the hearts of the people, idolatry and superstition. Which, through the grace of Christ working with him, he in short time had brought prosperously to pass according to his desire; insomuch that the observation of Lent, images, and all idols, with the abomination also of the mass, in the same town was utterly abolished: so reformatable God made the hearts of the people there, and such affection had they to their minister, It was not long but the rumour thereof came to the hearing of Duke Anthony, prince of Lorraine, (under whose dominion they were,) through the swift report of the adversaries, falsely belying these Hippolytanes to the duke; as though they, in relinquishing the doctrine and faction of the pope, went about to reject and shake off all authority and power of princes, and all superior governors. By the means of which sinister report they incensed the prince to such displeasure and indignation, that he threatened to subvert and utterly to destroy the town with sword and fire. Wolfgangus, having word of this, wrote unto the duke his epistle in most humble and obedient wise, in defence both of his ministry, of his doctrine which he taught, and of the whole cause of the gospel.

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In which epistle, first, he excused the people to be innocent and blameless, and rather those slanderous reporters were worthy to be blamed, and also punished, for their false rumours and forged slanders raised up against them. After that, he opened and explained the cause and state of the gospel, and of our salvation, consisting only in the free grace of God, through faith in Christ his Son; comparing also the same doctrine of the gospel with the confused doctrine of the Church of Rome. That done, thirdly, he proceeded to our obedience, honour, and worship, which first we owe to God and to Christ, next under him to princes here and potentates, whom God hath placed in his room, and endued with authority here in earth; unto whom they offered themselves now and at all times pressed and most ready to obey, with all service and duty, &c.

But with this epistle Wolfgangus did nothing prevail, either for that it was intercepted by the way, or else for that the false accusations and wicked tongues of the adversary part took more effect to win credit with the duke, than could the simple defence of verity. Whereupon Wolfgangus, when he saw no other remedy, rather than the town should come into any danger for his cause, the good man, of his own accord, came to the city of Nancy, (which is the head town of Lorraine,) there to render a confession of his doctrine, and also to deliver the town of St. Hippolyte out of peril, drawing all the danger upon himself.

As soon as he was come thither, incontinent hands were laid upon him, and he laid fast in a strait and stinking prison, where he was sharply and bitterly handled under the custody of the churlish and cruel keepers. All this notwithstanding, Wolfgangus, continuing in that prison the space of a whole year, yet would not be moved from his constancy, neither with the straitness of the prison, nor with the hardness of his keepers, nor yet with the compassion of his wife and children, of which he had about six or seven. Then was he had to the house of the Grey Friars, to profess there his faith; where he both wittily and learnedly confuted all them that stood against him.

There was a friar named Bonaventure, provincial of that order, of face, body, and belly monstrous, but much more gross in blind ignorance; and a man utterly rude, a contemner of all civility and honesty; who, being long confessor to the duke, and of great authority in Lorraine, as he was an enemy to virtue and learning, so was he ever persuading the duke to banish out of the court and country of Lorraine all learned men; neither could he abide any person which seemed to know more than his elders knew before. The sum of all his divinity was this, to be sufficient to salvation only to know the Pater-noster and Ave Maria. And thus was the duke brought up and trained, and in nothing else, as the duke himself oftentimes in talk with his familiars would confess. This Bonaventure, being chief judge and moderator where Wolfgangus disputed or was examined, had nothing else in his mouth, but "Thou heretic! "" Judas! "Beelzebub!" &c. Wolfgangus, bearing patiently those private injuries which pertained to himself, proceeded mightily in his disputation by the Scriptures, confuting, or rather confounding his adversaries; who being not otherwise able to make their party good, yet for very shame, because they would not seem to do nothing, took his Bible with his notes in the margin into their monastery, and burned it. At the last disputation Duke Anthony himself was said to be there, altering his apparel because he would not be known; who, albeit he understood not the speech of Wolfgangus speaking in Latin, yet perceiving him to be bold and constant in his doctrine, departing from the disputation, gave sentence that he should be burned, because he denied the church, and

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sacrament of the mass. Whereupon it followed shortly after that Wolfgangus was condemned to be burned, who, hearing the sentence of his condemnation, began to sing the 122nd Psalm.

As he was led to the place of execution, passing by the house of the Grey Friars, Bonaventure the great Cyclops, sitting at the door, cried out to him, "Thou heretic! do thy reverence here to God, and to our Lady, and to his holy saints;" showing to him the idols standing at the friar's gate: to whom Wolfgangus answered again, "Thou hypocrite! thou painted wall! the Lord shall destroy thee, and bring all thy false dissimulation unto light." When they were come to the place of his martyrdom, first his books before him were thrown into the fire. Then they asked him, whether he would have his pain minished or shortened? to whom he said, "No," bidding them to do their will; "for," said he, "as God hath been with me hitherto, so trust now he will not leave me when I shall have most need of him;" concluding his words thus, that they should put the sentence in execution: and so beginning to sing the one and fiftieth Psalm, he entered into the place heaped up with faggots and wood, continuing in his Psalm, and singing till the smoke and the flame took from him both voice and life.

The singular virtue, constancy, and learning of this blessed man, as it refreshed and greatly edified the hearts of many good men, so it astonished as much the minds of his adversaries, and wrought to their confusion. For shortly after his death, the commendator of St. Anthony of Vienna, who sat as spiritual judge over him, and gave sentence of his condemnation, fell suddenly down and died. Also his fellow, who was abbot of Clarilocus, and suffragan to the bishop of Metz, suddenly, at the coming of the duchess of Denmark into the city of Nancy, stricken with sudden fear at the crack of guns, fell down and died, as they which were present and saw it have made faithful relation of the same. A.D. 1525.

John Huglein, martyr, burned at Merseburg.

Of John Huglein, priest, mention is made in the Commentaries of John Sleidan; in lib. vi., who, the next year following, A.D. 1526, was burned at Merseburg, by the bishop of Constance, for that he did not hold with the bishop of Rome's doctrine in all points.

Moreover, besides other matters in this year occurrent, here is also a memorandum to be made to all posterity, that in this present year 1526, unto John Frederic, son and heir to the prince and elector of Saxony, was promised the Lady Katharine, the emperor's younger sister, in marriage, and writings made of the same. But when the alteration of religion was sent by God's providence into Saxony, they swerved from their covenants; and Hawnart, which was then the emperor's ambassador in Germany, said plainly that there was no promise to be kept with heretics: wherein they seemed to follow well the footsteps of the council of Constance, as before you have partly heard in the story of John Huss, and of the emperor Sigismund.

George Carpenter of Emerich, martyr, burned in the town of Munich, in Bavaria.

The eighth day of February, in the year of our salvation 1527, there happened a rare and marvellous example and spectacle in the town of Munich in Bavaria, which was this: A certain man, named George Carpenter, of Emerich, was there burnt. When he was taken out of the prison called Falken-Tower, and led before the council, divers friars and monks followed him, to

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instruct and teach him; whom he willed to tarry at home, and not to follow him. When he came before the council, his offences were read, contained in four articles.

I. That he did not believe that a priest could forgive a man's sins.

II. That he did not believe that a man could call God out of heaven.

III. That he did not believe that God was in the bread which the priest hangeth over the altar, but that it was the bread of the Lord.

IV. That he did not believe that the very element of the water itself, in baptism, doth give grace.

Which four articles he utterly refused to recant. Then came unto him a certain schoolmaster of St. Peter, in the town of Munich, saying, "My friend George! dost thou not fear the death and punishment which thou must suffer? If thou wert let go, wouldst thou return to thy wife and children?" Whereunto he answered, "If I were set at liberty, whither should I rather go, than to my wife and well-beloved children?" Then said the schoolmaster, "Revoke your former sentence and opinion, and you shall be set at liberty." Whereunto George answered: "My wife and my children are so dearly beloved unto me, that they cannot be bought from me for all the riches and possessions of the duke of Bavaria; but, for the love of my Lord God, I will willingly forsake them." When he was led to the place of execution, the schoolmaster spake unto him again in the midst of the market-place, saying, "Good George! believe in the sacrament of the altar; do not affirm it to be only a sign." Whereunto he answered, "I believe this sacrament to be a sign of the body of Jesus Christ offered upon the cross for us." Then said the schoolmaster, moreover, "What dost thou mean, that thou dost so little esteem baptism, knowing that Jesus Christ suffered himself to be baptized in Jordan?" Whereunto he answered, and showed what was the true use of baptism; and what was the end why Christ was baptized in Jordan; and how necessary it was that Christ should die and suffer upon the cross, wherein only standeth our salvation. "The same Christ," said he, "I will confess this day before the whole world; for he is my Saviour, and in him do I believe."

After this came unto him one Master Conrad Scheter, the vicar of the cathedral church of our Lady in Munich, a preacher, saying, "George! if thou wilt not believe the sacrament, yet put all thy trust in God, and say, I trust my cause to be good and true; but if I should err, truly I would be sorry and repent:" whereunto George Carpenter answered, "God suffer me not to err, I beseech him." Then said the schoolmaster unto him, "Do not put the matter on that hazard, but choose unto you some good Christian brother, Master Conrad, or some other, unto whom thou mayest reveal thy heart; not to confess thyself, but to take some godly counsel of him." Whereunto he answered, "Nay, not so, for it would be too long." Then Master Conrad began the Lord's prayer: "Our Father which art in heaven;" whereunto Carpenter answered, "Truly thou art our Father, and no other, this day I trust to be with thee." Then Master Conrad went forward with the prayer, saying, "Hallowed be thy name." Carpenter answered, "O my God, how little is thy name hallowed in this world!" Then said Master Conrad, "Thy kingdom come." Carpenter answered, "Let thy kingdom come this day unto me, that I also may come unto thy kingdom." Then said Conrad, "Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven." Carpenter answered, "For this

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cause, O Father! am I now here, that thy will might be fulfilled and not mine." Then said Conrad, "Give us this day our daily bread." Carpenter answered, "The only living bread Jesus Christ, shall be my food." Then said Conrad, "And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us." Carpenter answered, "With a willing mind do I forgive all men, both my friends and adversaries." Then said Master Conrad, "And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from all evil." Whereunto Carpenter answered, "O my Lord! without doubt thou shalt deliver me; for upon thee only have I laid all my hope." Then he began to rehearse the Belief, saying, "I believe in God the Father Almighty." Carpenter answered, "O my God! in thee alone do I trust; in thee only is all my confidence, and upon no other creature; albeit they have gone about to force me otherwise." In this manner he answered to every word; which his answers, if they should be described at length, would be too long.

This prayer ended, the schoolmaster said unto him, "Dost thou believe so truly and constantly in thy Lord and God with thy heart, as thou dost cheerfully seem to confess him with thy mouth?" Hereunto he answered; "It were a very hard matter for me, if that I, which am here ready to suffer death, should not believe that with my heart, which I openly profess with my mouth: for I knew before that I must suffer persecution, if I would cleave unto Christ, who saith, Where thy heart is, there also is thy treasure, Luke xii.; and whatsoever thing a man doth fix in his heart to love above God, that he maketh his idol." Then said Master Conrad unto him, "George! dost thou think it necessary after thy death, that any man should pray for thee, or say mass for thee?" He answered, "So long as the soul is joined to the body, pray God for me, that he will give me grace and patience, with all humility, to suffer the pains of death with a true Christian faith; but when the soul is separate from the body, then have I no more need of your prayers."

When the hangman should bind him to the ladder, he preached much unto the people. Then he was desired by certain Christian brethren, that as soon as he was cast into the fire, he should give some sign or token what his faith or belief was. To whom he answered, "This shall be my sign and token; that so long as I can open my mouth, I will not cease to call upon the name of Jesus."

Behold, good reader! what an incredible constancy was in this godly man, such as lightly hath not been seen in any man before. His face and countenance never changed colour, but cheerfully he went unto the fire. "In the midst," saith he, "of the town this day will I confess my God before the whole world." When he was laid upon the ladder, and the hangman put a bag of gunpowder about his neck, he said, "Let it so be, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost!" And when the two hangmen lifted him up upon the ladder, smiling, he bade a certain Christian farewell, requiring forgiveness of him. That done, the hangman thrust him into the fire. He with a loud voice cried out, "Jesus! Jesus!" Then the hangman turned him over; and he again for a certain space cried, "Jesus! Jesus!" and so joyfully yielded up his spirit.

Leonard Keyser, martyr, burned at Schardingham.

Here also is not to be passed over the marvellous constancy of Master Leonard Keyser, of the country of Bavaria, who was burned for the gospel. This Keyser was of the town of Rawbe, four miles from Passau, of a famous house. This man, being at his study in Wittenberg, was sent

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for by his brethren, which certified him, that if ever he would see his father alive, he should come with speed; which thing he did. He was scarcely come thither when, by the commandment of the bishop of Passau, he was taken by his mother and his brethren. The articles which he was accused of, for which also he was most cruelly put to death, and shed his blood for the testimony of the truth, were these:

That faith only justifieth.

That works are the fruits of faith.

That the mass is no sacrifice or oblation.

Item, For confession, satisfaction, the vow of chastity, purgatory, difference of days, for affirming only two sacraments, and invocation of saints.

He also maintained three kinds of confession.

The first to be of faith, which is always necessary.

The second of charity, which serveth when any man hath offended his neighbour, to whom he ought to reconcile himself again, as a man may see by that which is written in Matt. xviii.

The third, which is not to be despised, is to ask counsel of the ancient ministers of the church.

And forasmuch as all this was contrary to the bull of Pope Leo, and the emperor's decree made at Worms, sentence was given against him, that he should be degraded, and put into the hands of the secular power. The persecutors who sat in judgment upon him, were the bishop of Passau; the suffragans of Ratisbon and Passau; also Dr. Eckius, being guarded about with armed men. His brethren and kinsfolks made great intercession to have his judgment deferred and put off, that the matter might be more exactly known. Also John Frederic, duke of Saxony, and the earls of Schauenburg and Shunartzen, wrote to the bishop for him, but could not prevail. After the sentence was given, he was carried by a company of harnessed men out of the city again, to Schardingham, the thirteenth of August; where Christopher Frenkinger, the civil judge, receiving him, had letters sent him from Duke William of Bavaria, that forthwith, tarrying for no other judgment, he should be burned alive. Whereupon the good and blessed martyr, early in the morning, being rounded and shaven, and clothed in a short gown, and a black cap set upon his head, all cut and jagged, so was delivered unto the officer. As he was led out of the town to the place where he should suffer, he boldly and hardily spake in the Almain tongue, turning his head first on the one side, and then on the other, saying, "O Lord Jesus! remain with me, sustain and help me, and give me force and power."

Then the wood was made ready to be set on fire, and he began to cry with a loud voice, "O Jesus! I am thine, have mercy upon me, and save me; "and therewithal he felt the fire begin sharply under his feet, his hands, and about his head. And because the fire was not great enough,

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the hangman plucked the body, half burnt, with a long hook, from underneath the wood. Then he made a great hole in the body, through which he thrust a stake, and cast him again into the fire, and so made an end of burning. This was the blessed end of that good man, who suffered for the testimony of the truth, on the sixth of August, A.D. 1527.

Wendelmuta, widow, martyr, at the Hague.

In Holland also the same year, 1527, was martyred and burned a good and virtuous widow, named Wendelmuta, a daughter of Nicholas of Munchenstein. This widow, receiving to her heart the brightness of God's grace by the appearing of the gospel, was therefore apprehended and committed to custody in the castle of Werden; and shortly after from thence was brought to Hague, the fifteenth day of November, there to appear at the general sessions of that country; where was present Hochstratus, lord president of the said country, who also sat upon her the seventeenth day of the aforesaid month. Divers monks were appointed there to talk with her, to the end they might convince her, and win her to recant; but she, constantly persisting in that truth wherein she was planted, would not be removed. Many also of her kindred, and other honest women, were suffered to persuade with her; among whom there was a certain noble matron, who loved and favoured dearly the said widow being in prison. This matron coming and communing with her, in her talk said, "My Wendelmuta! why dost thou not keep silence, and think secretly in thine heart these things which thou believest, that thou mayest prolong here thy days and life? To whom she answered again: "Ah," said she, "you know not what you say. It is written, With the heart we believe to righteousness, with the tongue we confess to salvation," &c., Rom. x. And thus she, remaining firm and stedfast in her belief and confession, on the twentieth day of November was condemned, by sentence given as against a heretic, to be burned to ashes, and her goods to be confiscated; she taking the sentence of her condemnation mildly and quietly.

After she came to the place where she should be executed, and a monk there had brought out a blind cross, willing her many times to kiss and worship her God; "I worship," said she, "no wooden god, but only that God which is in heaven:" and so, with a merry and joyful countenance, she went to the stake, desiring the executioner to see the stake to be fast, that it fall not. Then taking the powder, and laying it to her breast, she gave her neck willingly to be bound, with an ardent prayer commending herself into the hands of God. When the time came that she should be strangled, modestly she closed her eyes, and bowed down her head, as one that would take a sleep: which done, the fire then was put to the wood, and she, being strangled, was burned afterwards to ashes; instead of this life, to get the immortal crown in heaven. A.D. 1527.

Peter Flisteden and Adolphus Clarebach, put to death at Cologne.

In the number of these German martyrs, are also to be comprehended Peter Flisteden and Adolphus Clarebach; two men of singular learning, and having ripe knowledge of God's holy word. Which two, A.D. 1529, (for that they did dissent from the papists in divers points, and especially touching the supper of the Lord, and other the pope's traditions and ceremonies,) after they had endured imprisonment a year and a half, by the commandment of the archbishop and senate, were to put to death and burned in Cologne, not without the great grief and lamentation of many good Christians; all the fault being put upon certain divines, which at that time preached, that the punishment and death of certain wicked persons should pacify the wrath of

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God, which then plagued Germany grievously with a new and strange kind of disease: for at that season the sweating sickness did mortally rage and reign throughout all Germany.

A preface to the table following.

If thou well remember in reading this book of stories, loving reader! it was before mentioned and declared how in the year of grace 1501, certain prodigious marks and prints of the Lord's passion, as the crown, cross, nails, scourges, and spear, were seen in Germany upon the garments of men and women. Which miraculous ostent, passing the ordinary course of natural causes, as it was sent of God, no doubt, to foreshow the great and terrible persecution, which afterwards fell in the country of Germany, and other regions besides, for the testimony of Christ; so, if the number and names of all those good men and women, which suffered in the same persecution, with their acts and doings, should be gathered and compiled together, it would ask a long time, and a large volume. Notwithstanding, partly to satisfy the history which we have in hand, partly also to avoid tedious prolixity, I thought briefly to contract the discourse thereof, drawing, as in a compendious table, the names of the persecutors, and of the martyrs who suffered, and the causes thereof, in as much shortness as I may; referring the full tractation of their lives and doings to those writers of their own country, where they are to be read more at large. And to keep an order in the same table, as much as in such a confused heap of matters I may, according to the order and distinction of the countries in which these blessed saints of Christ did suffer; I have so divided the order of the table in such sort, as first to begin with them that suffered in Germany, then in France, also in Spain, with other foreign countries more; showing only the names, with the principal matters of them; referring the rest to the further explication of their own story-writers, from whence they be collected: the which table being finished, my purpose is, Christ willing, to return to the full history of our own matters, and of the martyrs who suffered here in England.

A table of the names and causes of such martyrs as gave their lives for the testimony of the gospel, in Germany, France, Spain, Italy, and other foreign countries, since Luther's time: in which table are contained the persecutors, the martyrs, and the causes of their martyrdom.

The martyrs of Germany.



F divers who suffered in Germany for the witness of the gospel, partly some rehearsal is made before, as of Voës and Esch, of Sutphen, John Castellane, Peter Spengler, with a certain godly minister, and another simple man of the country, mentioned in Ecolampadius: also of them in Dithmarsch and Prague, of M. George of Halle, Gasper, Tambert, George of Vienna, Wolfgangus Schuch, John Huglius, George Carpenter, Leonard Keyser, Wendelmute, Peter Flisteden, Adolphus Clarebach, and others. The residue follow in order of this table here to be showed.

Persecutors: Charles the emperor; also two servants of a butcher, who did apprehend one Nicholas at Antwerp, A.D. 1524.
Nicholas of Antwerp, a martyr.

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Persecutors: Margaret, daughter of Maximilian, princess of Holland; also M. Montane, M. Rosemund, and M. Anchusanus, inquisitors; also M. Jodocus Lovering, vicar of Mechlen, A.D. 1524.

Johannes Pistorius, a learned man of Holland, and partly of kin to Erasmus of Rotterdam, a martyr.

Persecutor: Sebastian Braitestein, abbot. In Suevia, A.D. 1525.
Matthias Weibell, schoolmaster, a martyr.

Persecutors: certain noblemen, after the commotion of the countrymen in Germany, A.D. 1525.
A certain godly priest, a martyr.

Persecutor: the name of the persecutor appears not in the story.
George Scherter, a martyr, at Radstadt, by Saltsburg, A.D. 1528.

Persecutor: Balthasar, official.
Henry Fleming at Dornick, 1535, a martyr.

Persecutor: a popish priest, and a wicked murderer.
A good priest dwelling not far from Basil, 1539, a martyr.

Persecutors: Charles, the emperor's procurator; Dr. Enchusanus, inquisitor; and Latomus.
Twenty-eight Christian men and women of Louvain, A.D. 1543, martyrs.

Persecutor: the name of the persecutor appeareth not in the story.
Master Perseval, a martyr at Louvain, A.D. 1544.

Persecutor: Dorsardus, a potentate in that country, and a great persecutor.
Justus Imsberg, a martyr at Brussels, A.D. 1544.

Persecutor: the parson of Brussels.
Giles Tilleman, a martyr at Brussels, A.D. 1544.

Great persecution in Gaunt, and other parts of Flanders, by the friars and priests thereof.

As Charles the emperor did lie in Gaunt, the friars and doctors there obtained, that the edict made against the Lutherans, might be read openly twice a year. This being obtained, great persecution followed, so that there was no city nor town in all Flanders, wherein some either were not expelled, or beheaded, or condemned to perpetual prison, or had not their goods confiscated: neither was there any respect of age or sex. At Gaunt especially, many there were of the head men, which for religion sake were burned.

Afterwards, the emperor coming to Brussels, there was terrible slaughter and persecution of God's people, namely, in Brabant, Hennegow, and Artois; the horror and cruelty whereof is almost incredible: insomuch that at one time as good as two hundred men and women together were brought out of the country about into the city, of whom some were drowned, some buried

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quick, some privily made away, others sent to perpetual prison: whereby all the prisons and towers thereabout were replenished with prisoners and captives, and the hands of the hangman tired with slaying and killing; to the great sorrow of all them which knew the gospel, being now compelled either to deny the same, or to confirm it with their blood. The story hereof is at large set forth by Francis Encenas, a notable learned man, who also himself was prisoner the same time at Brussels: whose book, written in Latin, I myself have seen and read, remaining in the hands of John Oporine at Basil.

Persecutors: The Franciscan Friars of Gaunt.
Martin Hœurbloek, fishmonger at Gaunt, a martyr, A.D. 1545.

This Martin ever, almost to his later age, was a man much given to all wickedness and fleshly life, so long as he continued a follower of the pope's superstition and idolatry. Afterward, (as God hath always his calling,) through the occasion of a sermon of his parish priest, beginning to taste some workings of grace and repentance of his former life, went out of Gaunt for the space of three months, seeking the company of godly Christians, such as he heard to use the reading of the Scriptures: by whom he being more groundedly instructed, returned again to the city of Gaunt, where all his neighbours first began to marvel at the sudden change of this man. The Franciscans, which knew him before so beneficial unto them, now seeing him so altered from their ways and superstition, and seeing him to visit the captives in prison, to comfort them in persecution, and to confirm them in the word of God which went to the fire, conspired against him: whereby he was detected and laid in bands.

After that, with sharp and grievous torments they would have constrained him to utter other of the same religion. To whom thus he answered: that if they could prove by the Scripture, that his detecting and accusing of his brethren, whom they would afflict with the like torments, were not against the second table of God's law, then he would not refuse to prefer the honour of God before the safeguard of his brethren. Then the friars examined him in the sacrament, asking him why he was so earnest to have it in both kinds, "seeing," said they, "it is but a naked sacrament, as you say?" To whom he answered, that the elements thereof were naked, but the sacrament was not naked, forasmuch as the said elements of bread and wine, being received after the institution of Christ, do now make a sacrament and a mystical representation of the Lord's body, communicating himself with our souls. And as touching the receiving in both kinds, because it is the institution of the Lord, "Who is he," said Martin, "that dare alter the same?" Then was he brought before the council of Flanders. The causes laid against him were the sacrament, purgatory, and praying for the dead; for the which he was condemned and burned at Gaunt, in Verle-place, all his goods being confiscated. As he stood at the stake, a Franciscan friar said to him, "Martin, unless thou dost turn, thou shalt go from this fire to everlasting fire." "It is not in you," said Martin again, "to judge." For this the friars afterwards were so hated, that many bills and rhymes were set forth in divers places against them.

Persecutors: The council of Flanders.
Nicholas Vanpole, and John de Bruck and his wife; martyrs at Gaunt, A.D. 1545.

Persecutors: The same council.
Ursula, and Maria, virgins of noble stock, martyrs at Delden, A.D. 1545.

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Delden is a town in Lower Germany, three miles from Deventer, where these two virgins of noble parentage were burned; who, after diligently frequenting of churches and sermons, being instructed in the word of the Lord, defended, that seeing the benefit of our salvation cometh only by our faith in Christ, all the other merchandise of the pope, which he useth to sell to the people for money, was needless. First, Maria, being the younger, was put to the fire; where she prayed ardently for her enemies, commending her soul to God; at whose constancy the judges did greatly marvel.

Then they exhorted Ursula to turn, or if she would not, at least that she should require to be beheaded. To whom she said, that she was guilty of no error, nor defended any thing but which was consonant to the Scripture, in which she trusted to persevere unto the end. And as touching the kind of punishment, she said, she feared not the fire, but rather would follow the example of her dear sister that went before. This was marvellous, that the executioners could in no wise consume their bodies with fire, but left them whole, lying upon the ground white; which certain good Christians privily took up in the night, and buried. Thus God many times showeth his power in the midst of tribulations.

Persecutors: The parson of St. Katharine's; Dr. Tapert; and William Clericken, ruler of Mechelen.

Andreas Thiessen, and Katharine his wife; also Nicholas Thiessen, and Francis Thiessen, their sons, martyrs at Mechelen, A.D. 1545.

Andrew Thiessen, citizen of Mechelen, of his wife Katharine had three sons and a daughter, whom he instructed diligently in the doctrine of the gospel, and despised the doings of popery: wherefore being hated and persecuted of the friars and priests there, he went into England and there died. Francis and Nicholas, his two sons, went to Germany to study; and returning again to their mother, and sister, and younger brother, by diligent instruction brought them to the right knowledge of God's gospel. Which being not unknown to the parson there of St. Katharine's, he called to them Drs. Rupert and Tapert, and other masters and friars, who taking counsel together with William Clericken, the head magistrate of the town of Mechelen, agreed that the mother, with her four children, should be sent to prison, separated one from another; where great labour was employed to reclaim them home unto their church, that is, from light to darkness again. The two younger, to wit, the daughter with the younger brother, being not yet settled either in years or doctrine, something inclined to them, and were delivered. The mother, which would not consent, was condemned to perpetual prison. The other two, Francis and Nicholas, standing firmly to their confession, defended that the catholic church was not the Church of Rome; that the sacrament was to be administered in both kinds; that auricular confession was to no purpose; that invocation of saints was to be left; that there was no purgatory. The friars they called hypocrites, and contemned their threatenings. The magistrates, after disputations, fell to torments, to know of them who was their master, and what fellows they had. Their Master, they said, was Christ, who bare his cross before. Fellows, they said, they had innumerable, dispersed in all places. At last they were brought to the judges: their articles were read, and they condemned to be burned. Coming to the place of execution, as they began to exhort the people, gags, or balls of wood, were thrust into their mouths, which they, through vehemency in speaking, thrust out again, desiring for the Lord's sake that they might have leave to speak. And so, singing with a loud voice, Credo in unum Deum, &c., they went, and were

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fastened to the stake, praying for their persecutors; and exhorting the one the other, they did abide the fire patiently. The one feeling the flame to come to his beard, "Ah!" said he, "what a small pain is this, to be compared to the glory to come?" Thus the patient martyrs, committing their spirits to the hands of God, to the great admiration of the lookers on, through constancy achieved the crown of martyrdom.

Persecutors: The names of their accusers appear not in the authors.
Marion, wife of Adrian Taylor, martyr at Dornick, A.D. 1545.

In the same persecution against Bruley and his company in Dornick, was apprehended also one Adrian, and Marion his wife. The cause of their trouble, as also of the others, was the emperor's decree made in the council of Worms against the Lutherans mentioned before. Adrian, not so strong as a man, for fear gave back from the truth, and was but only beheaded. The wife, stronger than a woman, did withstand their threats, and abide the uttermost; and being enclosed in an iron grate, formed in shape of a pasty, was laid in the earth and buried quick, after the usual punishment of that country for women. When the adversaries first told her that her husband had relented, she believed them not; and therefore, as she went to her death, passing by the tower where he was, she called to him to take her leave; but he was gone before.

Persecutors: The magistrates of Dornick or Tournay.
Master Peter Bruley, preacher, a martyr, at Dornick, A.D. 1545.

Master Peter Bruley was preacher in the French church at Strasburg, who at the earnest request of faithful brethren came down to visit the lower countries about Artois and Dornick, in Flanders; where he most diligently preached the word of God unto the people in houses, the doors standing open. Whereupon, when the magistrates of Dornick had shut the gates of the town, and had made search for him three days, he was privily let down the wall in the night by a basket: and as he was let down to the ditch ready to take his way, one of them that let him down, leaning over the wall to bid him farewell, caused unawares a stone to slip out of the wall, which falling upon him, brake his leg, by reason whereof he was heard of the watchman complaining of his wound, and so was taken, giving thanks to God, by whose providence he was there staid to serve the Lord in that place. So long as he remained in prison, he ceased not to supply the part of a diligent preacher, teaching, and confirming all them that came to him in the word of grace. Being in prison, he wrote his own confession and examination, and sent it to the brethren. He wrote also another epistle unto them that were in persecution; another also to all the faithful; also another letter to his wife, the same day that he was burned. He remained in prison four months. His sentence was given by the emperor's commissioners at Brussels, that he should be burned to ashes, and his ashes thrown into the river. Although the priests and friars made the fire but small, to multiply his pain, yet he the more cheerfully and constantly took his martyrdom, and suffered it. The letters of Duke Frederic, and of the landgrave, came to entreat for him; but he was burned a little before the letters came.

Persecutor: The senate of Dornick, and Doctor Hasarde, a Grey Friar.
Peter Miocius, a silk-weaver, and one Bergiban, martyrs, at Dornick, A.D. 1545.

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Persecutor: A certain prince in Germany, about Hungary, or the parts of Pannonia.
A priest of Germany, a martyr.

Persecutors: Alphonsus Diazius, a Spaniard; Petrus Malvenda, the pope's prolocutor at Ratisbon, a Spaniard; the emperor's confessor, a Black Friar, a Spaniard; also Marquina.
John Diazius, Spaniard, a martyr, killed by his own brother at Neoberg, in Germany, A.D. 1546.

Persecutor: A bishop in Hungary.
A godly priest in Hungary, a martyr.

Persecutor: Charles, the emperor.
John Frederic of Saxony, elector, A.D. 1547, martyr.

Persecutor: Charles the emperor, and Mary his sister.
The landgrave of Hesse, A.D. 1547, martyr.

Persecutor: Charles the emperor.
Herman, archbishop of Cologne, martyr, A.D. 1547.

With these holy martyrs above recited may also be numbered Herman, archbishop of Cologne, who, a little before the emperor had war against the protestants, had reformed his church from certain papistical superstitions, using therein the aid and advice of Martin Bucer. Wherefore Charles the emperor sent word to Cologne, that he should be deposed; which he patiently did suffer. In his room was set Adolphus, earl of Scauenburg.

Persecutor: The president or mayor of Dornick.
Master Nicholas Frenchman; also Marion, wife of Augustine, a barber, martyrs, A.D. 1549.

Master Nicholas and Barbara his wife; also Augustine, a barber, and Marion his wife, born about Hennegow, after they had been at Geneva a space, came into Germany, thinking that way to pass over into England. By the way, coming to Hennegow, Augustine desired Master Nicholas, because he was learned, to come to Bergis to visit and comfort certain brethren there: which he willingly did. From thence, passing by Dornick (or Tournay) they held on their journey toward England. But in the way Augustine and his wife, being known, were detected to the lieutenant of Dornick, who, in all speedy haste following after them, overtook them four miles beyond Dornick. Augustine (how I cannot tell) escaped that time out of their hands, and could not be found. The soldiers then, laying hands upon Nicholas and the two women, brought them back again unto Dornick. In returning by the way, when Master Nicholas at the table gave thanks, as the manner is of the faithful, the wicked ruler, scorning them, and swearing like a tyrant, said, "Now let us see, thou lewd heretic, whether thy God can deliver thee out of my hand." To whom Nicholas, answering again modestly, asked, What had Christ ever offended him, that he with his blasphemous swearing did so tear him in pieces? desiring him, that if he had any thing against Christ, rather he would wreak his anger upon his poor body, and let the Lord alone. Thus they, being bound hands and feet, were brought to Bergis, and there laid in the dungeon. Then Duke Ariscote, accompanied with a great number of priests and Franciscan friars, and with a doctor, which was their warden, came to talk with them. Nicholas, standing in the

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midst of them, being asked what he was, and whither he would; answered them perfectly to all their questions: and moreover, so confounded the friars, that they went away ashamed, saying, that he had a devil, and crying, "To the fire with him, Lutheran!"

As they continued looking still for the day of their execution, it came to the rulers' minds to ask of Nicholas in what house he was lodged, when he came to Bergis? Nicholas said, He had never been there before; and therefore, being a stranger, he could not tell the name of the house. When Nicholas would confess nothing, Duke Ariscotus came to Barbara, the wife of Nicholas, to know where they were lodged at Bergis, promising many fair words of delivery, if she would tell. She being a weak and timorous woman, uttered all; by the occasion whereof great persecution followed, and many were apprehended. Where this is to be noted, that shortly even upon the same, the son of the said Duke Ariscotus was slain, and buried the same day when Augustine was burned. To be short, Nicholas shortly after was brought before the judges, and there condemned to be burned to ashes; at which sentence-giving, Nicholas blessed the Lord, who had courted him worthy to be a witness in the cause of his dear and well-beloved Son. Going to the place of execution he was commanded to speak nothing unto the people, or else he should have a ball of wood thrust into his mouth. Being at the stake, and seeing a great multitude about him, forgetting his silence promised, he cried with a loud voice: "O Charles, Charles! how long shall thy heart be hardened?" And with that one of the soldiers gave him a blow. Then said Nicholas again; "Ah miserable people! thou art not worthy, to whom the word of God should be preached." And thus he spake as they were binding him to the stake. The friars came out with their old song, crying, that he had a devil; to whom Nicholas spake the verse of the Psalm, Depart from me, all ye wicked! for the Lord hath heard the voice of my weeping. And thus this holy martyr, patiently taking his death, commended up his spirit unto God in the midst of the fire.

Marion, wife of Augustine, above mentioned, a martyr, at Bergis in Hennegow, A.D. 1549.

After the martyrdom of this Master Nicholas, Marion, the wife of Augustine, was called for, with whom they had much talk about the manner and state of Geneva, asking her how the sacraments were administered there, and whether she had celebrated there the Lord's supper? To whom she answered, that the sacraments there were celebrated after the Lord's institution, of the which she was no celebrator, but a partaker. The sentence of her condemnation was this, that she should be interred quick. When she was let down to the grave, kneeling upon her knees, she desired the Lord to help her; and before she should be thrown down, she desired her face might be covered with a napkin or some linen cloth; which being so covered, and the earth thrown upon her face and body, the hangman stamped upon her with his feet till her breath was past.

Persecutors: The watchmen or soldiers of Bellimont.

Augustine, the husband of Marion, martyred at Bellimont, in Hennegow, A.D. 1549.

Ye heard before how Augustine escaped before, at the taking of Nicholas and the two women. After this he gave himself to sell spices, and other pedlary ware, from place to place; who, at length, coming to the town of Bellimont in Hennegow, there was known and detected to the magistrate; whereof he, having some intelligence before, left his ware and ran away. And seeing, moreover, the house beset about with harnessed men where he was hosted, he began to

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be more afraid, and hid himself in a bush; for he was very timorous, and a weak-spirited man. But the hour being come which the Lord had appointed for him, it happened that certain standing upon the town wall, which might well see him go into the thicket or bush, gave knowledge thereof to the soldiers, which followed him to the bush, and took him. Being taken, he was had to Bergis, the head town of Hennegow, where being examined, valiantly standing to the defence of his doctrine, answered his adversaries with great boldness.

Wherein here is to be noted and marvelled to see the work of the Lord, how this man, being before of nature so timorous, now was so strengthened with God's grace, that he nothing feared the force of all his enemies. Among others came to him the warden of the Grey Friars, with a long oration, persuading him to relent, or else he should be damned in hell-fire perpetually. To whom Augustine answering again, said, "Prove that which you said by the authority of God's word, that a man may believe you: you say much, but you prove nothing, rather like a doctor of lies than of truth," &c. At last, he being there condemned to be burned at Bellimont, was brought to the inn where he should take horse, where was a certain gentleman, a stranger, who, drinking to him in a cup of wine, desired him to have pity upon himself; and if he would not favour his life, yet that he would favour his own soul. To whom said Augustine, after he had thanked him for his good will, "What care I have," said he, "of my soul, you may see by this, that I had rather give my body to be burned, than to do that thing that were against my conscience." When he was come to the town of Bellimont, where he should be burned, the same day there was a great burial of the son of Duke Ariscotus, which was slain a little before (as is before touched); by the occasion whereof many nobles and gentlemen were there present, who, hearing of this Augustine, came to him and talked with him. When the day came of his martyrdom, the people, being offended at his constancy, cried out to have him drawn at a horse's tail, to the place of burning; but the Lord would not suffer that. In fine, being tied to the stake, and fire set unto him, heartily he prayed unto the Lord, and so in the fire patiently departed.

A certain woman of Augsburg who narrowly escaped martyrdom there; A.D. 1550.

Two virgins, in the diocese of Bamberg, martyrs, A.D. 1551.

In the diocese of Bamberg, two maids were led out to slaughter, which they sustained with patient hearts and cheerful countenances. They had garlands of straw put on their beads; whereupon the one comforted the other, going to their martyrdom: "Seeing Christ," said she, "for us bare a crown of thorns, why should we stick to bear a crown of straw? no doubt but the Lord will render to us again better than crowns of gold." Some said that they were Anabaptists; and it might be (saith Melancthon) that they had some fond opinion admired withal; yet they did hold (saith he) the foundation of the articles of our faith, and they died blessedly, in a good conscience, and knowledge of the Son of God. Few do live without errors. Flatter not yourselves, thinking yourselves so clear that you cannot err.

Persecutors: James Hesselius, chamberlain of Gaunt, and the friars there.

Hostius, otherwise called George, martyred at Gaunt, A.D. 1555.

This Hostius, born at Gaunt, was cunning in graving in armour and in steel. He first was in the French church here in England, during the reign of King Edward. After the coming of Queen Mary, he went to Norden, in Friesland, with his wife and children. From thence, having

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business, he came to Gaunt, where (after a certain space that he had there continued, instructing divers of his friends) he heard that there was a Black Friar, who used to preach good doctrine to the people: wherefore he, being desirous to hear, came to his sermon; where the friar, contrary to his expectation, preached in defence of transubstantiation. At the hearing of which his heart was so full, that he had much ado to refrain, while the sermon was finished. As soon as the friar was come down, he burst out and charged him with false doctrine, persuading the people, as well as he could be heard, by the Scriptures, that the bread was but a sacrament only of the Lord's body. The friar, not willing to hear him, made signs unto him to depart; also the throng of the people was such, that it carried him out of the doors. He had not gone far, but Hesselius the chamberlain overtook him and carried him to prison. Then were doctors and other friars, as Pistorius, and Bunderius, brought to reason with him of the sacrament, of invocations of saints, and purgatory. He ever stood to the trial only of the Scripture, which they refused. Then was it agreed that he should declare his mind in writing, which he did. He wrote also to his wife at Emden, comforting her, and requiring her to take care of Samuel and Sarah his children. When he was condemned, he was commanded not to speak to the people. Hesselius the officer made great haste to have him despatched; wherefore he, mildly like a lamb, praying for his enemies, gave himself to be bound, patiently taking what they would do against him: whom first they strangled, and then consumed his body, being dead, with fire. And thus was the martyrdom of Hostius.

John Frisius, abbot in Bavaria, A.D. 1554.

Persecutors: The bailiff of Hennegow; the governor of the town and castle of Dornick; Peter Deventiere, lieutenant of the said bailiff; Philip de Cordis, chief councillor in criminal causes; Nicholas Chambree; Peter Rechelier; James de Clerke; Nicholas of Fernague; Master Hermes, of Wingles, one of the council for the said bailiwick.
Bertrand le Blas, martyred at Dornick, A.D. 1555.

The story of Bertrand is lamentable, his torments incredible, the tyranny showed unto him horrible, the constancy of the martyr admirable. This Bertrand, being a silk-weaver, went to Wesel, for the cause of religion, who being desirous to draw his wife and children from Dornick to Wesel, came thrice from thence to persuade with her to go with him thither. When she in no wise could be entreated, he, remaining a few days at home, set his house in order, and desired his wife and his brother to pray that God would establish him in his enterprise that he went about. That done, he went upon Christmas day to the high church of Dornick, where he took the cake out of the priest's hand, as he would have lifted it over his head at mass, and stamped it under his feet, saying that he did it to show the glory of that god, and what little power he hath: with other words more to the people, to persuade them that the cake or fragment of bread, was not Jesus their Saviour. At the sight hereof the people, being struck with a marvellous damp, stood all amazed. At length such a stir thereupon followed, that Bertrand could hardly escape with life.

It was not long but the noise of this was carried to the bailiff of Hennegow, and governor of the castle of Dornick, who lay sick the same time of the gout at Biesme; who, like a madman, cried out, that ever God would or could be so patient, to suffer that contumely, so to be trodden under the foot by such a miser: adding, moreover, that he would revenge his cause in such sort, as it should be an example for ever to all posterity; and forthwith the furious tyrant commanded himself to be carried to the castle of Dornick. Bertrand being brought before him, was asked

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whether he repented of his fact, or whether he would so do, if it were to be done again? Who answered, that if it were a hundred times to be done, he would do it; and if he had a hundred lives, he would give them in that quarrel. Then was he thrice put to the pinbank, and tormented most miserably, to utter his setters-on, which he would never do. Then proceeded they to the sentence, more like tyrants than Christian men; by the tenor of which sentence, this was his punishment:

First, he was drawn from the castle of Dornick to the market-place, having a ball of iron put in his mouth. Then he was set upon a stage, where his right hand, wherewith he took the host, was crushed and pressed between two hot irons, with sharp iron edges fiery red, till the form and fashion of his hand was misshapen. In like manner they brought other like irons for his right foot, made fire-hot, whereunto of his own accord he put his foot, to suffer as his hand had done before, with marvellous constancy and firmness of mind. That done, they took the ball of iron out of his mouth, and cut off his tongue, who, notwithstanding, with continual crying, ceased not to call upon God; whereby the hearts of the people were greatly moved: whereupon the tormentors thrust the iron ball into his mouth again. From thence they brought him down to the lower stage, he going to the same no less cheerfully and quietly, than if no part of his body had been hurt. There his legs and his hands were bound behind him with an iron chain going about his body, and so he was let down flat upon the fire; whom the aforesaid governor, there standing by and looking on, caused to be let up again, and so down and up again, till at last the whole body was spent to ashes, which he commanded to be cast into the river. When this was done, the chapel where this mass-god was so treated was locked up, and the board whereupon the priest stood was burnt; the marble stone whereupon the host did light, was broken in pieces. And, finally, forasmuch as the said Bertrand had received his doctrine at Wesel, commandment was there given, that no person out of that country should go to Wesel, or there occupy, under incurring the danger of the emperor's placard.

Two hundred ministers of Bohemia, A.D. 1555.

The same year two hundred ministers and preachers of the gospel were banished out of Bohemia, for preaching against the superstition of the bishop of Rome, and extolling the glory of Christ.

The preachers of Locrane.

Locrane is a place between the Alps, yet subject to the Helvetians. When these also had received the gospel, and the five pages of the Helvetians, above-mentioned, were not well-pleased therewith, but would have them punished, and great contention was among the Helvetians about the same, it was concluded at length, that the ministers should be exiled; whom the Tigurines did receive.

Francis Warlut, and Alexander Dayken, martyred at Dornick, A.D. 1562.

Persecutor: The earl of Lalaine.

Gillot Viver, James Faber his father-in-law, Michael Faber, son of James; also Anna, wife of Gillot, and daughter of James Faber, martyred at Valence.

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These, in the cause of the gospel, suffered at Valence.

James Faber, being an old man, said, that although he could not answer or satisfy them in reasoning, yet he would constantly abide in the truth of the gospel.

Anna his daughter, being with child, was respited. After she was delivered, she followed her husband and father in the like martyrdom!

Michella Caignoucle, martyred at Valence, A.D. 1550.
Godfride Hamelle, martyred at Dornick, A.D. 1552.

Besides these Germans above specified, a great number there was, both in the higher and lower countries of Germany, which were secretly drowned, or buried, or otherwise in prison made away; whose names, although they be not known to us, yet they are registered in the book of life. Furthermore, in the Dutch book of Adrian, divers other be numbered in the catalogue of these German martyrs, which likewise suffered in divers places of the lower country. The names of certain whereof be these.

At Bergis, or Berg, in Hennegow, were burnt, A.D. 1555, John Malo, Damian Witrock, Weldrew Calier; buried quick, John Porceau. At Aste suffered also one Julian, A.D. 1541, and Adrian Lopphen, A.D. 1555: at Brussels, A.D. 1559, one Bawdwine beheaded: another called Gilleken Tielman burnt, A.D. 1551.

Add moreover to the same catalogue of Dutch martyrs, burnt and consumed in the lower countries under the emperor's dominion, the names of these following. W. Swolle, burnt at Mechelen, A.D. 1529; Nicholas Paul, beheaded at Gaunt; Robert Orgvier, and Joan his wife, with. Baudicon and Martin Orgvier, their children, who suffered at Lisle, A.D. 1556; M. Nicholas, burnt at Mons; John Fosseau at Mons; Cornelius Volcart at Bruges, A.D. 1553; Hubert the printer, and Philip Joyner, at Bruges, A.D. 1553; a woman buried with thorns under her; Peter le Roux at Bruges, A.D. 1552. At Mechlen suffered Francis and Nicholas Thiis, two brethren, A.D. 1555. At Antwerp were burnt Adrian a painter, and Henry a tailor, A.D. 1555; also Cornelius Halewine, locksmith, and Herman Janson, the same year. Master John Champ, schoolmaster, A.D. 1557; with a number of other besides, who in the said book are to be seen and read.

A.D. 1525, we read also in the French history, of a certain monk, who, because he forsook his abominable order, and was married, was burned at Prague.

A preacher poisoned at Erfurt, by the priests of that place.

149. Martyrs in France – I.

And here ceasing with these persecutions in Germany, we will now, Christ willing, proceed further to the French martyrs, comprehending in a like table the names and causes of such as in that kingdom suffered for the word of God, and cause of righteousness, as in this brief summary consequently hereunder ensueth.

Another table, of those who suffered in France, for the like witness of the gospel.

The French martyrs.

James Pavane, schoolmaster, at Paris, A.D. 1525.
Persecuted by Dr. Martial of Paris.

This James, first being taken by the bishop of Melden, or Meaux, was compelled to recant by Dr. Martial. Afterwards returning again to his confession, he was burned at Paris, A.D. 1525.

Denis de Rieux, at Melden, or Meaux, A.D. 1528.

This Denis was one of them who were first burned at Melden, for saying, that the mass is a plain denial of the death and passion of Christ. He was always wont to have in his mouth the words of Christ; He that denieth me before men, him will I deny before my Father; and to muse upon the same earnestly. He was burnt with a slow fire, and did abide much torment.

Johannes Cadurcus, bachelor of the civil law, A.D. 1533.

This John, first for making a sermon or exhortation to his countrymen of Limosin, in France, upon Allhallow's-day, and afterwards, sitting at a feast where it was propounded that every one should bring forth some sentence; for that he brought forth this, Christ reign in our hearts; and did prosecute the same by the Scriptures in much length of words; was thereupon accused, taken, and degraded, and after burned. At his degradation, one of the Black Friars of Paris preached, taking for his theme the words of St. Paul, 1 Tim. iv., The Spirit speaketh, that in the latter days, men shall depart from the faith, giving heed to lying spirits and doctrine of error, &c.; and in handling that place, either he could not or would not proceed further in the text, Cadurcus cried out to him to proceed, and read further. The friar stood dumb, and could not speak a word. Then Cadurcus, taking the text, did prosecute the same as followeth: Teaching false doctrine in hypocrisy, having their conscience marked with a hot iron, forbidding to marry, and to eat meats, created of God to be eaten with thanksgiving, &c.

Bartholomew Myler, a lame cripple; John Burges, merchant, the receiver of Nantz; Henry Poille of Couberon; Cantella, a schoolmistress; and Steven de la Forge, merchant, A.D. 1533.
Persecuted by the promoters of Paris.

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These five here specified, for certain bills cast abroad and set up, sounding against the abomination of the mass, and other superstitious absurdities of the pope, were, condemned and burned in the city of Paris. Henry of Couberon had his tongue bored through, and with an iron wire tied fast to one of his cheeks; who likewise with the others was burned as is aforesaid.

Alexander Canus, priest; otherwise called Laurence Cruces, at Paris, A.D. 1534.

For the sincere doctrine and confession of Christ's true religion, he was burned at Paris, having but a small fire, and did abide much torment.

John Pointer, a surgeon, at Paris, A.D. 1533. Persecuted by the Grey Friars in Paris, and by Dr. Clerke, a Sorbonist.

Peter Gaudet, knight sometime of Rhodes, A.D. 1533. Persecuted by a certain knight of Rhodes, uncle to this Peter.

Quoquillard, martyr, A.D. 1534.

At Bezancon, in the country of Burgundy, this Quoquillard was burned for the confession and testimony of Christ's gospel.

Nicholas, a scrivener, John de Poix, and Stephen Burlet, martyrs, A.D. 1534.

Mary Becandella, at Fontaine, A.D. 1534. Persecuted by a Grey Friar in the city of Rochelle.

This Mary, being virtuously instructed of her master, where she lived; and being afterwards at a sermon where a friar preached, after the sermon found fault with his doctrine, and refuted the same by the Scriptures; whereat he disdainingly, procured her to be burned at Fontaine.

John Cornon, a martyr, A.D. 1535.

Martin Gonin, in Dauphine, A.D. 1536. Persecuted by George Borel, a tailor; by the procurator of the city of Grenoble in France, and by the inquisitor.

This Martin, being taken for a spy, in the borders of France towards the Alps, was committed to prison. In his going out, his jailer espied about him letters of Farellus, and of Peter Viret: wherefore, being examined by the king's procurator, and by the inquisitor, touching his faith, after he had rendered a sufficient reason thereof, he was cast into the river and drowned.

Claudius Painter, a goldsmith, martyr, at Paris, 1540. Persecuted by his kinsfolks and friends, and by Morinus, an officer.

Claudius, going about to convert his friends and kinsfolks to his doctrine, was by them committed to Morinus, a chief captain, who condemned him to be burned: but the high parliament of Paris, correcting that sentence, added moreover, that he should have his tongue cut out before, and so be burned.

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Stephen Brune, a husbandman, at Rutiers, A.D. 1540. Persecuted by Gasper Augerius, the bishop's renter; and by Domicellus, Franciscan and inquisitor.

Stephen Brune, after his confession given of his faith, was adjudged to be burned; which punishment he took so constantly, that it was to them a wonder. His adversaries commanded after his death to be cried, that none should make any more mention of him, under pain of heresy.

Pantaleon addeth moreover, that at the place of his burning, called Planuoll, the wind rose and blew the fire so from him, as he stood exhorting the people, that he there continued the space of an hour, in a manner not harmed, or scarcely touched with any flame; so that, all the wood being wasted away, they were compelled to begin the fire again with new faggots, and vessels of oil, and such other matter; and yet neither could he with all this be burned, but stood safe. Then the hangman took a staff, and let drive at his head: to whom the holy martyr, being yet alive, said, "When I am judged to the fire, do ye beat me with staves like a dog?" With that the hangman with his pike thrust him through the belly and the entrails, and so threw him down into the fire, and burned his body to ashes, throwing away his ashes afterward with the wind.

Constantinus, a citizen of Rouen, martyred with three others, A.D. 1542.

These four, for defence of the gospel being condemned to be burned, were put in a dung-cart; who, thereat rejoicing, said, that they were reputed here as excrements of this world, but yet their death was a sweet odour unto God.

John du Becke, priest, martyred, A.D. 1543.

Aymond de Lavoy, at Bourdeaux, A.D. 1543, persecuted by the parish priest of the town of St. Faith in Anjou, and by other priests of the same country; also by Master Riveracus and his servant.

This Aymond preached the gospel at St. Faith's in Anjou, where he was accused by the parish priest there, and by other priests more, to have taught false doctrine, to the great decay of their gains. Whereupon, when the magistrates of Bourdeaux had given commandment, and had sent out their apparitor to apprehend him, he, having intelligence thereof, was willed by his friends to fly and shift for himself; but he would not, saying, that he had rather never have been born, than so to do. It was the office of a good shepherd (he said) not to fly in time of peril, but rather to abide the danger, lest the flock be scattered: or else lest peradventure, in so doing, he should leave some scruple upon their minds, thus to think, that he had fed them with dreams and fables, contrary to the word of God. Wherefore, beseeching them to move him no more therein, he told them, that he feared not to yield up both body and soul in the quarrel of that truth which he had taught; saying, with St. Paul, that he was ready not only to be bound for the testimony of Christ, in the city of Bourdeaux, but also to die, Acts xxvi.

To contract the long story hereof to a brief narration, the sumner came, and was in the city three days, during which time Aymond preached three sermons. The people, in defence of their preacher, flew upon the sumner, to deliver him out of his hands; but Aymond desired them

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not to stop his martyrdom: seeing it was the will of God that he should suffer for him, he would not (he said) resist. Then the consuls suffered the sumner, and so Aymond was carried to Bourdeaux, where many witnesses, the most part being priests, came in against him, with M. Riverack also, and his servant; which Riverack had said oftentimes before, that it should cost him a thousand crowns, but he would burn him. Many exceptions he made against his false witnesses, but that would not be taken. All their accusation was only for denying purgatory.

About nine months he remained in prison with great misery, bewailing exceedingly his former life, albeit there was no man that could charge him outwardly with any crime. Then came down letters, whereupon the judges began to proceed to his condemnation, and he had greater fetters put upon him; which he took for a token of his death shortly to follow. After that, he was examined with torments. One of the head presidents came to him, and shaking him by the beard, bade him tell what fellows he had of his religion. To whom he answered, saying, that he had no other fellows but such as knew and did the will of God his Father, whether they were nobles, merchants, or husbandmen, or of what degree soever they were. In these torments he endured two or three hours, being but of a weak body, with these words comforting himself: "This body," said he, "once must die, but the spirit shall live: the kingdom of God abideth for ever." In the time of his tormenting, he swooned. Afterwards, coming to himself again, he said, "O Lord! Lord! why hast thou forsaken me?" To whom the president, "Nay, wicked Lutheran," said he, "thou hast forsaken God." Then said Aymond, "Alas, good masters! why do you thus miserably torment me? O Lord! I beseech thee, forgive them; they know not what they do." "See," said the president, "this caitiff, how he prayeth for us." Nevertheless so constant was he in his pains, that they could not force him to utter one man's name: saying unto them, that he thought to have found more mercy with men; wherefore he prayed God that he might find mercy with him.

On the next Saturday following, sentence of condemnation was given against him. Then certain friars were appointed to hear his confession, whom he refused, choosing to him one of his own order, the parish priest of St. Christopher's, bidding the friars depart from him, for he would confess his sins to the Lord. "Do you not see," said he, "how I am troubled enough with men; will ye yet trouble me more? Others have had my body, will ye also take from me my soul? Away from me, I pray you!" At last, when he could not be suffered to have the parish priest, he then took a certain Carmelite, bidding the rest to depart; with whom he, having long talk, at last did convert him to the truth. Shortly after that came unto him the judges, Cassegnes and Longa, with other counsellors more; unto whom the said Aymond began to preach and declare his mind touching the Lord's supper. But Longa, interrupting him, demanded of him thus:

A judge. "First declare unto us your mind, what you think of purgatory?"

The martyr. "In Scripture all these are one: to purge, to cleanse, and to wash: whereof we read in Isaiah, in the Epistles of St. Paul, Heb. ix., and St. Peter, 1 Pet. i.; He hath washed you in his blood. Ye are redeemed, not with gold, but with the blood of Christ, &c. And how often do we read, in the Epistles of St. Paul, that we are cleansed by the blood of Christ from our sins," &c.

Judge. "These epistles are known to every child."

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The martyr. "To every child? Nay, I fear you have scarcely read them yourself."

A friar. "Master Aymond, with one word you may satisfy them, if you will say that there is a place where the souls are purged after this life."

The martyr. "That I leave for you to say, if you please. What! would ye have me damn mine own soul, and to say that which I know not?"

Judge. "Dost not thou think, that when thou art dead, thou shalt go to purgatory? and he that dieth in venial sin, that he shall pass straight into paradise?"

The martyr. "Such trust I have in my God, that the same day when I shall die, I shall enter into paradise."

Another judge. "Where is paradise?"

The martyr. "There, where the majesty and glory of God is."

Judge. "The canons do make mention of purgatory; and you, in your sermons, have used always much to pray for the poor."

The martyr. "I have preached the word of God, and not the canons."

Judge. "Dost thou believe in the church?"

The martyr. "I believe, as the church regenerated by the blood of Christ, and founded in his word, hath appointed."

Judge. "What church is that?"

The martyr. "The church is a Greek word, signifying as much as a congregation or assembly: and so I say, that whensoever the faithful do congregate together, to the honour of God, and the amplifying of Christian religion, the Holy Ghost is verily with them."

Judge. "By this it should follow, that there be many churches; and where any rustical clowns do assemble together, there must be a church."

The martyr. "It is no absurd thing to say that there be many churches or congregations amongst the Christians: and so speaketh St. Paul, To all the churches which are in Galatia, &c. And yet all these congregations make but one church."

Judge. "The church wherein thou believest, is it not the same church which our creed doth call the holy church?"

The martyr. "I believe the same."

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Judge. "And who should be the head of that church?"

The martyr. "Jesus Christ."

Judge. "And not the pope?"

The martyr. "No."

Judge. "And what is he then?"

The martyr. "A minister, if he be a good man, as other bishops be of whom St. Paul thus writeth, 1 Cor. iv., Let a man so esteem of us, as ministers and dispensers of the secrets of God," &c.

Judge. "What then, dost thou not believe the pope?"

The martyr. "I know not what he is."

Judge. "Dost thou not believe that he is the successor of Peter?"

The martyr. "If he be like to Peter, and be grounded with Peter upon the true rock of Christ Jesus, so I believe his works and ordinances to be good."

Then the judges, leaving him with the friars, departed from him, counting him as a damned creature. Notwithstanding, Aymond, putting his trust in God, was full of comfort, saying with St. Paul, Who shall separate me from the love of God? shall the sword, hunger, or nakedness? No, nothing shall pluck me from him: but rather have I pity of you, said he, and so they departed. Not long after he was brought to the place of execution, singing by the way Psalm cxiv., *In exitu Israel de Aegypto*, &c.; and as he passed by the place where he before had been imprisoned, he called to his prison-fellows, exhorting them to put their confidence in the Lord, and told them that he had spoken for them, and declared their miseries unto the president. He thanked moreover the keeper, and desired him to be good to his poor prisoners. And so, taking his leave of them, and desiring them to pray for him; also giving thanks to the mistress-keeper for her gentleness showed to him, he proceeded forward toward his execution. As he came against the church of St. Andrew, they willed him to ask mercy of God, and of blessed St. Mary, and of St. Justice. "I ask mercy," said he, "of God and his justice, but the Virgin, blessed St. Mary, I never offended, nor did that thing for which I should ask her mercy." From thence he passed forward to the church of St. Legia, preaching still as he went. Then spake one of the soldiers to the driver or carter, willing him to drive apace, "for here is preaching," said he, "enough." To whom said Aymond, "He that is of God, heareth the words of God," &c. In passing by a certain image of our Lady, great offence was taken against him, because he always called upon Christ Jesus only, and made no mention of her: whereupon he lifted up his voice to God, praying that he would never suffer him to invoke any other, saving him alone. Coming to the place where he should suffer, he was tumbled out of the cart upon the ground, testifying to the magistrates and to the people standing by, that he died for the gospel of Jesus Christ, and for his word. More he would have spoken, but he could not be suffered, by the tumultuous vexing of the

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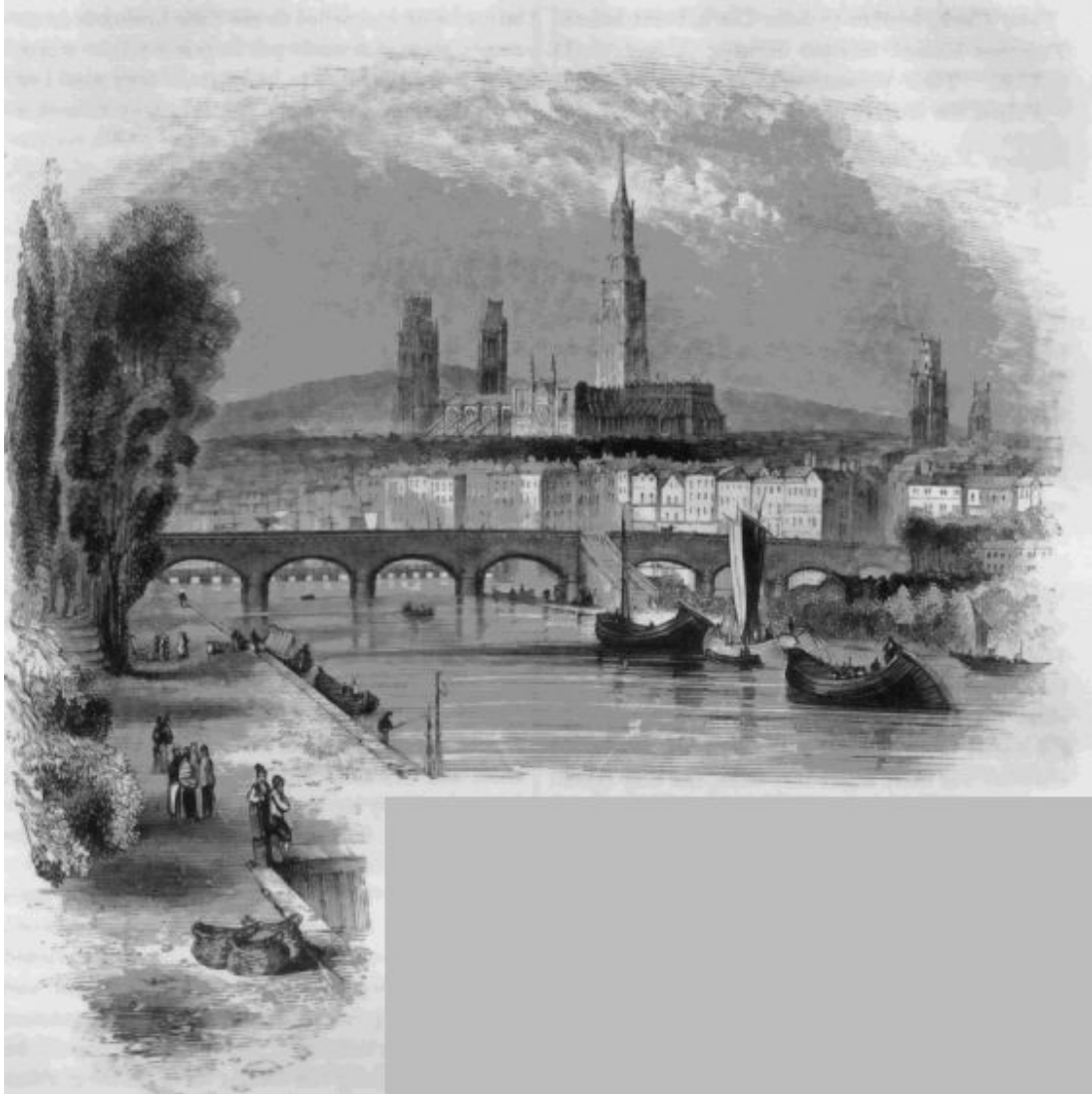
officers, crying, "Despatch him, despatch him, let him not speak." Then he, speaking a few words softly in the ear of a little Carmelite whom he had converted, was bid to step up to the stage; where the people beginning to give a little audience, thus he said, "O Lord, make haste to help me! tarry not! do not despise the work of thy hands! And you, my brethren! that be students and scholars, I exhort you to study and learn the gospel: for the word of God abideth for ever. Labour to know the will of God; and fear not them that kill the body, but have no power upon your souls." And after that, "My flesh," said he, "repugneth marvellously against the Spirit; but shortly I shall cast it away. My good masters! I beseech ye pray for me. O Lord my God! into thy hands I commend my soul." As he was oft repeating the same, the hangman took and haled him upon the steps in such sort, that he strangled him. And thus that blessed saint gave up his life; whose body afterward was with fire consumed.

Francis Bribard, martyred A.D. 1544.

Francis Bribard was said to be the secretary of the cardinal of Ballaie; who being also for the gospel condemned, after his tongue was cut off, did with like constancy sustain the sharpness of burning.

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William Husson, an apothecary at Rouen, was persecuted by the high court of Rouen, by a widow, keeping a victualling-house in the suburbs of Rouen, and by a Carmelite Friar, A.D. 1544.



Rouen

William Husson, apothecary, coming from Blois to Rouen, was lodged with a certain widow in the suburbs of the city, who asking her, at what time the council or parliament did rise; she said, at ten o'clock. About which time and hour he went to the palace, and there scattered certain hooks concerning Christian doctrine, and the abuse of men's traditions; whereat the council was so moved, that they commanded all the gates of the city to be locked, and diligent search to be made in all inns and hostelries, to find out the author. Then the widow told of the

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party who was there, and asked of the rising of the council; and shortly upon the same he took his horse and rode away. Then were posts set out through all quarters, so that the said William was taken by the way riding to Dieppe, and brought again to Rouen; who, being there examined, declared his faith boldly, and how he came of purpose to disperse those books in Rouen, and went to do the like at Dieppe.

The week ensuing he was condemned to be burnt alive. After the sentence given he was brought in a cart, accompanied with a doctor, a Carmelite Friar, before the great church, who, putting a torch into his hand, required him to do homage to the image of our Lady, which because he refused to do, his tongue was cut out. The friar then making a sermon, when he spake any thing of the mercies of God, the said William hearkened to him; but when he spake of the merits of saints, and other dreams, he turned away his head. The friar looking upon the countenance of Husson, lift up his hand to heaven, saying with great exclamation, that he was damned, and was possessed with a devil. When the friar had ceased his sermon, this godly Husson had his hands and feet bound behind his back, and with a pulley was lifted up into the air; and when the fire was kindled, he was let down into the flame, where the blessed martyr with a smiling and cheerful countenance looked up to heaven, never moving nor stirring till he let down his head, and gave up his spirit. All the people there present were not a little astonished thereat, and were in divers opinions; some saying that he had a devil, others maintained the contrary, saying, If he had a devil, he should have fallen into despair.

This Carmelite Friar above said, was called Delanda, who afterwards was converted, and preached the gospel.

James Cobard, a schoolmaster, and many others taken at the same time, A.D. 1545. Their persecutors were three popish priests, and the duke of Lorraine.

This James, schoolmaster, in the city of St. Michael in the dukedom of Barren in Lorraine, disputed, with three priests, that the sacrament of baptism and of the supper did not avail, unless they were received with faith: which was as much as to say, as that the mass did profit neither the quick nor dead. For the which, and also for his confession, which he, being in prison, sent of his own accord by his mother unto the judge, he was burned, and most quietly suffered.

Peter Clerk, brother to John Clerk, burnt before.

Fourteen blessed martyrs burnt at Meaux, A.D. 1546. Their persecutors were the Franciscan Friars, the doctors of Sorbon, and others.

Stephen Mangine, James Bouchbeck, John Brisebar, Henry Hutinote, Thomas Honorate, John Boudovine, John Flesch, Peter and John Picquere, John Mathestone, Philip Little, Michael Caillow, Francis Clerk, and Couberon, a weaver.

These fourteen dwelt at Meaux, a city in France, ten miles from Paris, where William Briconete, being bishop there, did much good, brought to them the light of the gospel, and reformed the church. Who straitly being examined for the same, relented; but yet these with many others remained constant, who, after the burning of James Pavane before-mentioned, and

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seeing superstition to grow more and more, began to congregate in Mangine's house, and to set up a church to themselves, after the example of the French church in Strasburg. For their minister they chose Peter Clerk. First they, beginning with twenty or thirty, did grow in short time to three or four hundred: whereupon the matter being known to the senate of Paris, the chamber was beset where they were, and they taken; of whom sixty-two men and women were bound and brought to Paris, singing psalms; especially the seventy-ninth Psalm. To these it was chiefly objected, that they, being laymen, would minister the sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord. Of these sixty-two, fourteen chiefly did stand fast, which were condemned, and racked to confess more of their fellows: but they uttered none. The rest were scourged and banished the country. These fourteen were sent to sundry monasteries to be converted; but that would not be. Then they, being sent in a cart to Meaux to be burned, by the way, three miles from Paris, a certain weaver called Couberon by chance meeting them, cried to them aloud, bidding them to be of good cheer, and to cleave fast unto the Lord; who also was taken, and bound with them in the cart. Coming to the place of execution, which was before Mangine's house, it was told them, that they which would be confessed should not have their tongues cut out; the others should: of whom seven there were, who, to save their tongues, confessed; the other seven would not. Of the first was Stephen Mangine, who, having his tongue first cut, notwithstanding spake so that he might be understood, saying thrice, "The Lord's name be blessed!" As they were burning, the people sung psalms. The priests seeing that, would also sing their songs: *O salutaris hostia*, and *Salve Regina*, till the sacrifice of these holy martyrs was finished. Their wives being compelled to see their husbands in torments, were afterwards put in prison; from whence they being promised to be let go, if they would say that their husbands were damned, they refused so to say.

Peter Chapot, at Paris, A.D. 1546, apprehended by John Andre, bookseller, promoter; and examined by three Sorbonist doctors, M. Nicholas Clerici, doctor of divinity, John Picard, and Nicholas Maillard.

Peter Chapot first was a corrector to a printer in Paris. After he had been at Geneva, to do good to the church of Christ, like a good man he came with books of Holy Scripture into France, and dispersed them abroad unto the faithful. Which great zeal of his caused him to be apprehended by John Andre, which was the common promoter to Lisset the president, and to the Sorbonists.

This good Chapot being taken and brought before the commissaries, rendered promptly an account of his faith; unto whom he exhibited a supplication, or writing, wherein he learnedly informed the judges to do their office uprightly. Then were three doctors of Sorbon assigned, Nicholas. Clerici, John Picard, and Nicholas Maillard, to dispute with him; who when they could find no advantage, but rather shame at his hands, they waxed angry with the judges for letting them dispute with heretics.

This done, the judges consulting together upon his condemnation, could not agree; so that Chapot, as it seemed, might have escaped, had not a wicked person, the reporter of the process, sought and wrought his condemnation; which condemnation was at length concluded thus: that he should be burned quick, only the cutting off of his tongue was pardoned. The doctor appointed to be at his execution was Maillard, with whom he was greatly encumbered; for this friar called upon him still not to speak to the people; but he desired him that he might pray. Then

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he bade him pray to our Lady, and confess her to be his advocate. He confessed that she was a blessed virgin, and recited the Lord's prayer and the creed, and was about to speak of the mass, but Maillard would not let him, making haste to his execution, and said, unless he would say Ave Maria, he should be burnt quick. Then Chapot prayed, "O Jesus, Son of David! have mercy upon me." Maillard then bade him say, "Jesus Maria!" and so he should be strangled. Chapot again excused, that he was so weak that he could not speak. "Say," said Maillard, "Jesus Maria! or else thou shalt be burned quick." As Chapot was thus striving with the friar, suddenly, as it happened, Jesus Maria! escaped out of his mouth, but he, by and by, repressing himself, "O God!" said he, "what have I done? pardon me, O Lord! to thee only have I sinned." Then Maillard commanded the cord to be plucked about his neck to strangle him; notwithstanding yet he felt something the fire. After all things done, Maillard, all full of anger, went to the council house, called *La Chambre Ardente*, declaring what an uproar there had almost happened amongst the people; saying that he would complain upon the judges for suffering those heretics to have their tongues. Whereupon immediately a decree was made, that all who were to be burned, unless they recanted at the fire, should have their tongues cut off. Which law diligently afterwards was observed.

Saintinus Nivet, at Paris, A.D. 1546. Persecuted by M. Peter Liset, president of the council of Paris.

After the burning of those fourteen, whose names are described before, this Saintinus (who was a lame cripple) with his wife removed out of Meaux to Montbelliard, where when he had continued a while in safe liberty of religion, and saw himself there to do no good, but to be a burden to the church, cast in his mind to return home to Meaux again, and so did. Where at last, as he was selling certain small wares in the fair, he was there known and apprehended: whereof when information was given, he, being examined, at once confessed all, and more than they were willing to hear. In the time of this inquisition, as they were examining him of certain points of religion, and asked him whether he would stand to what he said, or not? he gave this answer, worthy to be registered in all men's hearts, saying, "And I ask you again, lord judges! dare you be so bold as to deny, what is so plain and manifest by the open words of the Scripture?" So little regard had he to save his own life, that he desired the judges both at Meaux, and at Paris, for God's sake, that they would rather take care of their own lives and souls, and to consider how much innocent blood they spilled daily, in fighting against Christ Jesus and his gospel.

At last, being brought to Paris, through the means of M. Peter Liset, a great persecutor, for that they of Meaux should take by him no encouragement, there he was detained, and suffered his martyrdom; where no kind of cruelty was lacking, which the innocent martyrs of Christ Jesus were wont to be put unto.

Stephen Polliot, martyred at Paris, A.D. 1546.

Stephen Polliot, coming out of Normandy (where he was born) unto Meaux, tarried not there long, but was compelled to fly, and went to a town called La Fere, where he was apprehended and brought to Paris, and there cast into a foul and dark prison, in which he was kept in bands and fetters a long space, where he saw almost no light. At length, being called for before the senate, and his sentence given to have his tongue cut out, and to be burned alive, his satchel of books hanging about his neck: "O Lord," said he, "is the world in blindness and

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darkness still?" for he thought, being in prison so long, that the world had been altered from its old darkness to better knowledge. At last the worthy martyr of Jesus Christ, having his books about his neck, was put into the fire, where he, with much patience, ended this transitory life.

John English. A.D. 1547.

He was executed and burned at Sens in Burgundy, being condemned by the high court of Paris for confessing the true word of God.

Michael Michelote, a tailor. A.D. 1547.

This tailor, being apprehended for the gospel's sake, was judged first, if he would turn, to be beheaded; and if he would not turn, then to be burned alive. Who being asked, whether of these two he would choose? he answered, that he trusted that He who had given him grace not to deny the truth, would also give him patience to abide the fire. He was burned at Warden by Tournay.

Leonard de Prato. A.D. 1547.

This Leonard, going from Dijon to Bar, a town in Burgundy, with two false brethren, and talking with them about religion, was betrayed of them, and afterwards burned.

Seven martyrs burned at Langres: John Taffington, and Joan his wife; Simon Mareschal, and Joan his wife; William Michaut; James Boulerau; James Bretany. A.D. 1547.

All these seven, being of the city of Langres, for the word and truth of Jesus Christ were committed to the fire, wherein they died with much strength and comfort but especially Joan, which was Simon's wife, being reserved to the last place, because she was the youngest, confirmed her husband and all the others with words of singular consolation; declaring to her husband, that they should the same day be married to the Lord Jesus, to live with him for ever.

Four martyrs burned at Paris: Michael Mareschal, John Camus, Great John Camus, and John Serarphin. A.D. 1547.

These also, the same year, and about the same time, for the like confession of Christ's gospel were condemned by the senate of Paris, and in the same city also with the like cruelty were burned.

Octovian Blondel, a merchant of precious stones at Paris, A.D. 1548, betrayed by his host, at Lyons; and by Gabriel of Saconnex, presenteur.

This Octovian, as he was a great occupier in all fairs and countries of France, and well known both in court and elsewhere, so was he a singular honest man of great integrity, and also a favourer of God's word; who, being at his host's house at Lyons, rebuked the filthy talk, and superstitious behaviour, which there he heard and saw. Wherefore the host, bearing to him a

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grudge, chanced to have certain talk with Gabriel of Saconnex, presenteur, concerning the riches, and a sumptuous collar set with rich jewels, of this Octovian.

Thus these two, consulting together, did suborn a certain person to borrow of him a certain sum of crowns, which because Octovian refused to lend, the other caused him to be apprehended for heresy, thinking thereby to make attachment of his goods: but such order was taken by Blondel's friends, that they were frustrated of their purpose. Then Blondel, being examined of his faith, gave a plain and full confession of that doctrine, which he had learned; for the which he was committed to prison, where he did much good to the prisoners there. For some that were in debt, he paid their creditors and loosed them out. To some he gave meat, to others, raiment. At length, through the importune persuasions of his parents and friends, he gave over and changed his confession. Notwithstanding the presenteur, not leaving him so, appealed him up to the high court of Paris. There Octovian being asked again touching his faith, which of his two confessions he would stick to, he, being before admonished of his fall, and of the offence given thereby to the faithful, said he would live and die in his first confession, which he defended to be consonant to the verity of God's word. Which done, he was condemned to be burned, and so haste was made to his execution, lest his friends in the court might come between, and save his life.

Hubert Cheriet, alias Burre, a young man, a tailor, at Dijon, A.D. 1549.

Hubert, being a young man of the age of nineteen years, was burned for the gospel at Dijon; who, neither by any terrors of death, nor allurements of his parents, could be otherwise persuaded, but constantly to remain in the truth unto death.

Master Florent Venote, priest, martyred at Paris, A.D. 1549. Persecuted by Peter Liset, president of the council of Paris, and other Sorbonists.

This Florent remained in prison in Paris four years and nine hours. During which time there was no torment which he did not abide and overcome. Among all other kinds of torments, he was put in a narrow prison or break, so strait, that he could neither stand nor lie, which they call the hose or boot, *ad Nectar Hippocratis*; because it is strait beneath, and wider above, like to the instrument wherewith apothecaries are wont to make their hypocras. In this he remained seven weeks, where, the tormentors affirm, that no thief or murderer could ever endure fifteen days, but was in danger of life or madness.

At last, when there was a great show in Paris at the king's coming into the city, and divers other martyrs in sundry places of the city were put to death, he, having his tongue cut off, was brought to see the execution of them all; and last of all, in the Place of Maulbert, was put into the fire, and burned, the 9th of July at afternoon.

Ann Audebert, an apothecary's wife and widow, martyred at Orleans, A.D. 1549.

She, going to Geneva, was taken and brought to Paris, and by the council there adjudged to be burned at Orleans. When the rope was put about her, she called it her wedding-girdle wherewith she should be married to Christ; and as she should be burned upon a Saturday, upon

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Michaelmas-even; "Upon a Saturday," said she, "I was first married, and upon a Saturday I shall be married again." And seeing the dung-cart brought, wherein she should be carried, she rejoiced thereat, showing such constancy in her martyrdom as made all the beholders to marvel.

A poor godly tailor of Paris, dwelling in the street of St. Anthony at Paris, A.D. 1549. Persecuted by Henry the Second, the French king; apprehended by an officer of the king's house; examined by Peter Castellane, bishop of Macon.

Amongst many other godly martyrs that suffered in France, the story of this poor tailor is not the least nor worst to be remembered. His name is not yet sought out in the French stories for lack of diligence in those writers; more is the pity. The story is this: Not long after the coronation of Henry the Second, the French king, at whose coming into Paris divers good martyrs were there brought out, and burned for a spectacle, as is abovesaid, a certain poor tailor, who then dwelt not far from the king's palace, in the street bearing the name of St. Anthony, was apprehended by a certain officer in the king's house, for that upon a certain holy day he followed his occupation, and did work for his living. Before he was had to prison, the officer asked him, why he did labour and work, giving no observation to the holy day?

To whom he answered, that he was a poor man, living only upon his labour; and as for the day, he knew no other but only the Sunday, wherein he might not lawfully work for the necessity of his living. Then the officer began to ask of him many questions; whereunto the poor tailor did so answer, that eftsoons he was clapped in prison. After that, the officer, coming into the court to show what good service he had done for the holy church, declared to certain estates, how he had taken a Lutheran working upon a holy day; showing that he had such answers of him, that he commanded him to prison. When the rumour hereof was noised in the king's chamber, through the motion of those who were about the king, the poor man was sent for to appear, that the king might have the hearing of him.

Hereupon the king's chamber being voided, save only a few of the chiefest peers remaining about the king, the simple tailor was brought. The king, sitting in his chair, commanded Peter Castellane, bishop of Macon, (a man very fit for such inquisitions,) to question with him. The tailor, being entered, and nothing appalled at the king's majesty, after his reverence done unto the prince, gave thanks to God, that he had so greatly dignified him being such a wretch, as to bring him where he might testify his truth before such a mighty prince. Then Castellane, entering talk, began to reason with him touching the greatest and chiefest matter of religion; whereunto the tailor without fear, or any halting in his speech, with present audacity, wit, and memory, so answered for the sincere doctrine and simple truth of God's gospel, as was both convenient to the purpose, and also to his questions aptly and fitly correspondent.

Notwithstanding, the nobles there present, with cruel taunts and rebukes, did what they could to dash him out of countenance. Yet all this terrified not him, but with boldness of heart, and free liberty of speech, he defended his cause, or rather the cause of Christ the Lord, neither flattering with their persons, nor fearing their threats; which was to them all a singular admiration, to behold that simple poor artificer to stand so firm and bold, answering before a king, to those questions propounded against him. Whereat when the king seemed to muse with himself, as one somewhat amazed, and which might soon have been induced, at that present, to

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further knowledge, the egregious bishop and other courtiers, seeing the king in such a muse, said, he was an obstinate and stubborn person, confirmed in his own opinion, and therefore was not to be marvelled at, but to be sent to the judges, and to be punished. And therefore, lest he should trouble the ears of the said Henry the king, he was commanded again to the hands of the officer, that his cause might be informed: and so, within few days after, he was condemned, by the high steward of the king's house, to be burned alive. And lest any deep consideration of that excellent fortitude of the poor man might further, peradventure, pierce the king's mind, the cardinals and bishops were ever in the king's ear, telling him, that these Lutherans were nothing else but such as carry vain smoke in their mouths, which being put to the fire, would soon vanish. Wherefore the king was appointed himself to be present at his execution, which was sharp and cruel, before the church of Mary the Virgin; where it pleased God to give such strength and courage to his servant, in suffering his martyrdom, that the beholding thereof did more astonish the king than all the other did before.

Claudius Thierry, at Orleans, A.D. 1549.

The same year, and for the same doctrine of the gospel, one Claudius also was burned at the said town of Orleans, being apprehended by the way coming from Geneva to his country.

Leonard Galimard, at Paris, A.D. 1549.

This Leonard, for the confession likewise of Christ and his gospel, was taken and brought to Paris, and there, by the sentence of the council, was judged to be burnt the same time that Florent Venote, above-mentioned, did suffer at Paris.

Macæus Moreou, martyred at Troyes, A.D. 1549.

He was burned at Troyes in Champagne, (a town in France,) remaining constant to the end in the gospel, for the which he was apprehended.

Johan Godeau, and Gabriel Berandine, A.D. 1550.

These two were of the church of Geneva. Afterward, for their friendly admonishing a certain priest, which in his sermon had abused the name of God, they were taken at Chambéry. Godeau standing to his confession, was burned. Gabriel, though he began a little to shrink for fear of the torments, yet being confirmed by the constant death of Godeau, recovered again, and standing likewise to his confession, first had his tongue cut out; who, notwithstanding, through God's might, did speak so as he might be understood. Whereupon the hangman, being accused for not cutting off his tongue rightly, said that he could not stop him of his speech. And so these two, after they had confirmed many in God's truth, gave their life for Christ's gospel.

Thomas Sanpaulinus, at Paris, A.D. 1551. His persecutors were John Andreas, promoter; Peter Liset, president of the council of Paris; Maillard and others, Sorbonists; also one Aubertus, a councillor.

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This Thomas, a young man of the age of eighteen years, coming from Geneva to Paris, rebuked there a man for swearing; for the which cause he, being suspected for a Lutheran, was followed and watched whither he went, and was taken and brought before the council of Paris, and put in prison, where he was racked and miserably tormented; to the intent he should either change his opinion, or confess other of his profession. His torments and rackings were so sore, through the setting on of Maillard and other Sorbonists, that the sight thereof made Aubert, one of the council, a cruel and vehement enemy against the gospel, to turn his back and weep. The young man, when he had made the tormentors weary with racking, and yet would utter none, at last was had to Maulbert Place in Paris to be burned; where he, being in the fire, was plucked up again upon the gibbet, and asked whether he would turn? to whom he said, that he was in his way towards God, and therefore desired them to let him go. Thus this glorious martyr, remaining inexpugnable, glorified the Lord with constant confession of his truth.

Maurice Secenate, in Provence, A.D. 1551.

He, first having interrogations put to him by the lieutenant of that place, made his answers thereunto, so as no great advantage could be taken thereof. But he being greatly compuncted and troubled in his conscience for dissembling with the truth, and called afterward before the lord chief judge, he answered so directly, that he was condemned for the same, and burned in Provence.

John Putte, or de Puteo, surnamed Medicus, at Uzez, in Provence, A.D. 1551.
Accused by a citizen of Uzez.

This Medicus, being a carpenter and unlettered, had a controversy about a certain pit with a citizen of the town of Uzez, where he dwelt. He, to cast this Medicus, in the law, from the pit, accused him of heresy, bringing for his witnesses those labourers whom Medicus had hired to work in his vineyard; wherefore he, being examined of the sacrament of the Lord's supper, was condemned and burned at Uzez, in Provence.

Claudius Monerius, at Lyons, A.D. 1551.

His persecutors were, the governor of Lyons, and the official of the archdeacon of Lyons.

This man, being well instructed in the knowledge of God's word, for the which he was also driven from Avernia, came to Lyons, and there taught children. Hearing of the lord president's coming to the city, went to give warning to a certain familiar friend of his, and so conducted him out of the town. In returning again to comfort the man's wife and children, he was taken in his house; and so he, confessing that which he knew to be true, and standing to that which he confessed, after much affliction in prisons and dungeons, was condemned and burned at Lyons. He was noted to be so gentle and mild of conditions, and constant withal, and also learned, that certain of the judges could not forbear weeping at his death.

The said Monerius, being in prison, wrote certain letters, but one especially very comfortable to all the faithful, which, the Lord willing, in the end of these histories shall be inserted. He wrote also the questions and interrogatories of the official, with his answers likewise to the same; which summarily we have contracted, as followeth

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The official. "What believe you of the sacrament? is the body of Christ in the bread, or no?" *The martyr.* "I worship Jesus Christ in heaven, sitting at the right hand of God the Father." *Official.* "What say you by purgatory?"

The martyr. "Forasmuch as there is no place of mercy after this life, therefore no need there is of any purgation; but necessary it is that we be purged before we pass hence."

Official. "Of the pope what think you?"

The martyr. "I say he is a bishop as other bishops are, if he be a true follower of St. Peter."

Official. "What say you of vows?"

The martyr. "No man can vow to God so much, but the law requireth much more than he can vow."

Official. "Are not saints to be invocated?"

The martyr. "They cannot pray without faith, and therefore it is in vain to call upon them. And again, God hath appointed his angels about us, to minister in our necessities."

Official. "Is it not good to salute the blessed Virgin with Ave Maria?"

The martyr. "When she was on this earth she had then need of the angel's greeting; for then she had need of salvation, as well as others: but now she is so blessed, that no more blessing can be wished unto her."

Official. "Are not images to be had?"

The martyr. "For that the nature of man is so prone to idolatry, ever occupied and fixed in those things which lie before his eyes, rather than upon those which are not seen; images therefore are not to be set before Christians. You know nothing is to be adored, but that which is not seen with eyes, that is, God alone, which is a Spirit, and him we must worship only in spirit and truth."

Official. "What say you by the canonical or ordinary hours for prayer?"

The martyr. "To hours and times, prayer ought not to be tied: but whensoever God's Spirit doth move us, or when any necessity driveth us, then ought we to pray."

Then the official asked, what he thought of holy oil, salt, with such other like? to whom the martyr answered, that all these things were a mere Maranismus, that is, savoured of the law of Maranorum, and of the superstition of the Jews.

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Renate Poyet, at Saumur, in France, A.D. 1552.

Renate Poyet, the son of William Poyet, which was chancellor of France, for the true and sincere profession of the word of God, constantly suffered martyrdom, and was burned in the city of Saumur, A.D. 1552.

John Joyer, and his servant, a young man, at Toulouse, A.D. 1552.

These two coming from Geneva to the country with certain books, were apprehended by the way, and at length had to Toulouse, where the master was first condemned. The servant being young, was not so prompt to answer them, but sent them to his master, saying that he should answer them. When they were brought to the stake, the young man, first going up, began to weep. The master, fearing lest he would give over, ran to him, and he was comforted, and they began to sing. As they were in the fire, the master, standing upright to the stake, shifted the fire from him to his servant, being more careful for him than for himself; and when he saw him dead, he bowed down into the flame, and so expired.

Hugh Gravier, a schoolmaster and minister, of Cortillon, in the country of Neufchatel, at Berg, A.D. 1552.

At Berg, in Bresse, a day's journey from Lyons, this Gravier was burned. He coming from Geneva to Neufchatel, there was elected to be minister. But first, he going to see his wife's friends at Macon, there, as he was coming away out of the town, was taken upon the bridge, with all his company; and in the end, he, willing for the women and therest of the company to lay the fault on him for bringing them out, was sentenced to be burned, notwithstanding that the lords of Bern sent their heralds to save his life, and also that the official declared him to be an honest man, and to hold nothing but agreeing to the Scriptures.

Martial Alba, Peter Scribe, Bernard Seguine, Charles Faber, Peter Navihere, at Lyons, A.D. 1553.

Their persecutors were: Tignatius, the governor or deputy of Lyons; Buatherius, official to the archbishop of Lyons; Cleprierius, chamberlain; three Orders of Friars; Judge Melierus; Dr. Cunuban, a Grey Friar; Judge Vilard; Primatius, the official; Cortrierius, a judge.

These five students, after they had remained in the university of Lausanne a certain time, consulted amongst themselves, being all Frenchmen, to return home every one to his country, to the intent they might instruct their parents and other their friends in such knowledge as the Lord had given them. So, taking their journey from Lausanne, first they came to Geneva, where they remained awhile. From thence they went to Lyons, where they, sitting at the table of one that met them by the way, and desired them home to his house, were apprehended and led to prison, where they continued a whole year; that is, from the first of May to the sixteenth of the same month again. As they were learned and well exercised in the Scriptures, so every one of them exhibited severally a learned confession of his faith; and with great dexterity, through the power of the Lord's Spirit, they confounded the friars with whom they disputed; especially Peter Scribe or Scrivener, and Seguine.

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They were examined sundrily of the sacrament of the Lord's body, of purgatory, of confession and invocation, of free-will, and of the supremacy, &c. Although they proved their cause by good Scripture, and refuted their adversaries in reasoning, yet right being overcome by might, sentence was given, and they burned in the said town of Lyons. Being set upon the cart, they began to sing psalms. As they passed by the market-place, one of them with a loud voice saluted the people with the words of the last chapter to the Hebrews: The God of peace, which brought again from death the great Pastor of the sheep in the blood of the eternal testament, &c. Coming to the place, first the two youngest, one after another, went up upon the heap of wood to the stake, and there were fastened, and so after them the rest. Martial Alba, being the eldest, was the last; who likewise being stripped of his clothes, and brought to the stake, desired this petition of the governor, which was that he might go about his fellows tied at the stake, and kiss them: which being granted, he went and kissed every one, saying, "Farewell, my brother." Likewise the other four, following the same example, bade each one, "Farewell, my brother." With that, fire was commanded to be put unto them. The hangman had tied a rope about all their necks, thinking first to strangle them; but their faces being smeared with fat and brimstone, the rope was burnt before they were strangled. So the blessed martyrs, in the midst of the fire, spake one to another to be of good cheer, and so departed.

Their examinations briefly touched.

The friar. "Thou sayest, friend! in thy confession, that the pope is not supreme head of the church; I will prove contrary. The pope is successor of St. Peter: ergo, he is supreme head of the church."

The martyr. "I deny first your antecedent."

Friar. "The pope sitteth in the place of St. Peter: ergo, he is the successor of St. Peter."

The martyr. "I will grant neither of both: first, because that he which succeedeth in the room of Peter, ought to preach and teach as Peter did; which thing the pope doth not. Secondly, although he did so preach as Peter did, he might well follow the example of Peter, yet should he not therefore be the head of the church, but a member only of the same. The head of men and angels, whom God hath appointed, is Christ alone, saith St. Paul, Eph. i."

Friar. "Although Christ be the head of the whole church militant and triumphant, yet his vicar here on earth is left to supply his room."

The martyr. "Not so, for the power of his Divinity being so great, to fill all things, he needeth no vicar or deputy to supply his absence."

Friar. "I will prove, that although Christ be King both of heaven and earth, yet he hath here on earth many vicars under him, to govern his people."

The martyr. "It is one thing to rule in the civil state, another thing to rule spiritually. For in civil regiment we have kings and princes ordained of God by the Scriptures, for the observation of public society: in the spiritual regiment and kingdom of the church it is not so."

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Another friar. "Thou sayest St. Peter is not the head of the church; I will prove he is. Our Lord said to Peter, Thou shalt be called Cephas; which Cephas is as much as to say in Latin, caput: ergo, Peter is head of the church."

The martyr. "Where find you that interpretation? St. John, in his first chapter, doth expound it otherwise: Thou shalt be called Cephas, that is as much (saith he) as petrus, or stone."

Then the judge Vilard, calling for a New Testament, turned to the place, and found it to be so; whereupon the friar was utterly dashed, and stood mute.

Friar. "Thou sayest in thy confession, that a man hath no free-will; I will prove it. It is written in the Gospel, Luke x., how a man going from Jerusalem to Jericho fell among thieves, and was spoiled, maimed, and left half dead, &c. Thomas Aquinas expoundeth this parable to mean free-will, which, he saith, is maimed; yet not so, but that some power remaineth in man to work."

The martyr. "This interpretation I do refuse and deny."

Friar. "What! thinkest thou thyself better learned than St. Thomas?"

The martyr. "I do arrogate no such learning unto myself. But this I say, this parable is not so to be expounded, but is set forth for example of the Lord, to commend to us charity towards our neighbour, how one should help another."

Friar. "Thou sayest in thy confession, that we are justified only by faith, I will prove that we are justified by works. By our works we do merit: ergo, by works we are justified."

The martyr. "I deny the antecedent."

Friar. "St. Paul, in the last chapter of Hebrews, saith, Forget not to do good, and to distribute unto others: for by such oblations God is merited. We merit God by our works: ergo, we are justified by our works."

The martyr. "The words of St. Paul in that place be otherwise, and are thus to be translated: With such sacrifices God is delighted, or is well pleased."

Vilard, the judge, turned to the book, and found the place even to be so as the prisoner said. Here the friars were marvellously appalled and troubled in their minds: of whom one asked then, What he thought of confession? To whom the martyr answered, that confession only is to be made to God, and that those places which they allege for auricular confession, out of St. James and other, are to be expounded of brotherly reconciliation between one another, and not of confession in the priest's ear. And here again the friars stood, having nothing to say against it.

A Black Friar. "Dost thou not believe the body of Christ to be locally and corporally in the sacrament? I will prove the same. Jesus Christ taking bread, said, This is my body: ergo, it is truly his body."

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The martyr. "The verb est is not to be taken here substantively in its own proper signification, as showing the nature of a thing in substance, as in philosophy it is wont to be taken; but as noting the property of a thing signified, after the manner and phrase of the Scripture; where one thing is wont to be called by the name of another, so as the sign is called by the name of the thing signified, &c. So is circumcision called by the name of the covenant, and yet is not the covenant; so the lamb hath the name of the passover, yet is not the same; in which two sacraments of the old law, ye see the verb est to be taken, not as showing the substance of being, but the property of being in the thing that is spoken of. And so likewise in the sacrament of the new law."

Friar. "The sacraments of the old law and of the new do differ greatly; for these give grace, so did not the other."

The martyr. "Neither the sacraments of the old, nor of the new law, do give grace, but show Him unto us, which giveth grace indeed. The minister giveth the sacraments, but Jesus Christ giveth grace by the operation of the Holy Ghost: of whom it is said, This is he which baptizeth with the Holy Ghost," &c.

Friar. "The fathers of the Old Testament, were they not partakers of the same grace and promises with us?" John ii.

The martyr. "Yes, for St. Paul saith, that the fathers of the Old Testament did eat the same spiritual meat, and did drink of the same spiritual drink with us."

Friar. "Jesus Christ saith, John vi., Your fathers did eat manna in the desert, and are dead: ergo, they were not partakers of the same grace with us in the New Testament."

The martyr. "Christ here speaketh of them which did not eat that manna with faith, which was a type and figure of that Bread of Life that came from heaven; and not of them which did eat the same with faith, as Moses, Aaron, Joshua, Caleb, and such others; who, under the shadows of the Old Testament, did look for Christ to come. For so it is written of Abraham, that he saw the day of Christ, and rejoiced; — not seeing it with his bodily eyes, but with the eyes of his faith."

Here the doltish doctor was at a stay, having nothing to say, but "Hear, friend; be not so hot, nor so hasty, tarry a while, tarry a while." At length, after his tarrying, this came out.

Friar. "I will prove that they of the Old Testament were not partakers of the same grace with us. The law (saith St. Paul) worketh anger; and they that are under the law, are under malediction: ergo, they of the old law and testament were not partakers of the same grace with us."

The martyr. "St. Paul here proveth, that no man by the law can be justified, but that all men are under the anger and curse of God thereby, forasmuch as no man performeth that which in the law is comprehended; and therefore, we have need every man to run to Christ, to be saved by faith, seeing no man can be saved by the law. For whosoever trusteth to the law, hoping to find justification thereby, and not by Christ only, the same remaineth still under malediction: not

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because the law is cursed, or the times thereof under curse, but because of the weakness of our nature, which is not able to perform the law."

Friar. "St. Paul, Rom. vii., declareth in the Old Testament to be nothing but anger and threatenings, and in the New Testament to be grace and mercy, in these words where he saith, Wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death? The grace of God, by Jesus Christ."

The martyr. "St. Paul in this place neither meaneth nor speaketh of the difference of times between the Old and the New Testament, but of the conflict between the flesh and the spirit; so that whereas the flesh is ever rebelling against the spirit, yet the spiritual man notwithstanding, through the faith of Christ, hath the victory. Furthermore, the true translation of that place hath not gratis Dei, but gratias ago Deo, per Jesum Christum," &c.

Primacius, the official, seeing the friar almost here at a point, set in, and said, "Thou lewd heretic, dost thou deny the blessed sacrament?"

The martyr. "No, sir, but I embrace and reverence the sacrament, so as it was instituted by the Lord, and left by his apostles."

Official. "Thou deniest the body of Christ to be in the sacrament, and thou tallest the sacrament bread."

The martyr. "The Scripture teacheth us to seek the body of Christ in heaven, and not on earth; where we read, Col. iii., If ye be risen with Christ, seek not for the things which are upon the earth; but for the things which are in heaven, where Christ is sitting at the right hand of God, &c. And whereas I affirm the sacrament not to be the body, but bread, speaking of bread remaining in its own substance, herein I do no other but as St. Paul doth, which doth call it bread likewise, four or five times together," 1 Cor. xi.

Friar. "Jesus Christ said, that he was the bread of life."

Official. "Thou naughty heretic! Jesus Christ said that he was a vine, and a door, &c., where he is to be expounded to speak figuratively; but the words of the sacrament are not so to be expounded."

The martyr. "Those testimonies which you allege, make more for me than for you."

Official. "What sayest thou, lewd heretic! is the bread of the Lord's supper, and the bread that we eat at home, all one, and is there no difference between them?"

The martyr. "In nature and substance there is no difference: in quality and in use there is much difference. For the bread of the Lord's table, though it be of the same nature and substance with the bread that we eat at home, yet when it is applied to be a sacrament, it taketh another quality, and is set before us to seal the promise of our spiritual and eternal life."

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And this was the effect of their examinations.

Petrus Bergerius, at Lyons, A.D. 1553.

About the same time when these five students above specified were apprehended, this Bergerius also was taken at Lyons, and with them examined, and made also the like confession with them together, and shortly after them suffered the same martyrdom. He had been before an occupier or merchant of wines. He had wife and children at Geneva, to whom he wrote sweet and comfortable letters. In the dungeon with him was a certain thief and malefactor, which had lain there the space of seven or eight months. This thief, for pain and torment cried out of God, and cursed his parents that begat him, being almost eaten up with lice, miserably handled, and fed with such bread as dogs and horses had refused to eat: so it pleased the goodness of Almighty God, that through the teaching and prayers of this Bergerius, he was brought to repentance of himself, and knowledge of God; learning much comfort and patience by the word of the gospel preached unto him. Touching his conversion, he wrote a sweet letter to those five students above mentioned, wherein he praiseth God for them, and specially for this Bergerius; declaring also in the same letter, that the next day after that he had taken hold of the gospel, and framed himself to patience, according to the same, his lice, which he could pluck out before no less than twenty at once, betwixt his fingers, now were so gone from him that he had not one. Furthermore, so the alms of good men were extended towards him, that he was fed with white bread, and that which was very good: such is the goodness of the Lord toward them that love and seek his truth. The name of this convert was John Chambone.

Stephen and Dionysius Peloquine, brethren, at Ville Franche, near Lyons, A.D. 1553.

Stephen Peloquine, brother to this Dionysius, was taken about two or three years before, with Ann Audebert above mentioned, and also martyred for the testimony of the gospel at the same time, with a small fire. After whom followed Dionysius Peloquine, in the same steps of martyrdom, who was his brother. This Dionysius had been sometime a monk, and changing his weed, took a wife, with whom he lived a certain space at Geneva in godly order and modesty of life. Coming afterward to Ville Franche, six miles from Lyons, from thence he was had to Lyons, where he remained in prison ten months. From thence he was reversed to Ville Franche, where he was condemned, degraded, and burned. The articles whereupon he was condemned, were for the mass, the sacrament, auricular confession, purgatory, the Virgin Mary, and the pope's supremacy. He suffered on the eleventh of September, A.D. 1553. In his martyrdom, such patience and fortitude God gave, that when he was half burned, yet he never ceased holding up his hands to heaven, and calling upon the Lord; to the great admiration of them that looked on.

Ludovicus Marsace, and Michael Gerard, his cousin; also Stephen Gravot, carpenter: at Lyons, A.D. 1553. Their persecutors were, the king's lieutenant at Lyons; the official; and the friars.

At Lyons the same year these three also were apprehended and sacrificed. Ludovicus had been of the order of the Demi-lances, which served the king in his wars: afterwards coming to Geneva, he was trained up in the knowledge and doctrine of the Lord. Upon divers articles he was examined, as the invocation of saints, and of the Virgin Mary; free-will, merits and good works, auricular confession, fasting, and the Lord's supper. In his second examination, they

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inquired of him, and also of the other two, touching vows, the sacraments, the mass, and the vicar of Christ; in all which articles, because his and their judgment dissented from the doctrine of the pope's church, they were condemned. The answers of Marsace to the articles, are to be seen at large in the Book of the French Martyrs, set out by John Crispine.

The lieutenant, among other blasphemies, had these words: "Of the four evangelists, but two were pure, Matthew and John; the other two, Mark and Luke, were but gatherers out of the others. The Epistles of St. Paul, but that the doctors of the church had authorized them, he would otherwise esteem them no better than the fables of Æsop."

Item, The said lieutenant said to M. Cope's maid, speaking somewhat of the law, "Cursed be the God of that law."

When the sentence of condemnation was given against these three, they were so glad thereof, that they went out praising God, and singing psalms. This troubled the judges sore, to see them so little to esteem their death: insomuch that the lieutenant caused them to be made to hold their peace; saying, "Shall these vile abjects so vaunt themselves against the whole state of the realm?" Then as Marsace was going into a corner by, to pray, one of the soldiers would not suffer him: to whom he said, "That little time which we have, will you not give us to pray?" With that the soldier, being astonished, went his way.

As they should be brought out of prison to the stake, the hangman tied a rope about the necks of the other two. Marsace seeing himself to be spared because of his order and degree, called by the way to the lieutenant, that he might also have one of the precious chains about his neck, in honour of his Lord; which being granted, so were these three blessed martyrs committed to the fire, where they, with meek patience, yielded up their lives to the hands of the Lord, in testimony of his gospel.

Mattheus Dimonetus, merchant, at Lyons, A.D. 1553. The persecutors were the lieutenant of Lyons, Primacius and Buatherius, officials, and Orus, an inquisitor.

This merchant first lived a vicious and detestable life, full of much corruption and filthiness. He was also a secret enemy and searcher-out of good men, when and where they convented together; who, being called, notwithstanding, by the grace of God, to the knowledge and favour of his word, shortly after was taken by the lieutenant, and Buatherius the official, in his own house at Lyons; and so, after a little examination, was sent to prison. Being examined by the inquisitor and the officials, he refused to yield any answer to them, knowing no authority they had upon him, but only to the lieutenant. His answers were, that he believed all that the holy universal church of Christ did truly believe, and all the articles of the creed. To the article of the holy catholic church, being bid to add also "Romanam," that is, the Church of Rome, that he refused. Advocates he knew none, but Christ alone. Purgatory he knew none, but the cross and passion of the Lamb, which purgeth the sins of all the world. True confession, he said, ought to be made not to the priest once a year, but every day to God and to such whom we have offended. The eating of the flesh and blood of Christ he took to be spiritual: and the sacrament of the flesh and blood of Christ to be eaten with the mouth, and that sacrament to be bread and wine under the name and signification of the body and blood of Christ; the mass not to be instituted of Christ,

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being a thing contrary to his word and will. For the head of the church, he knew none, but only Christ. Being in prison, he had great conflicts with the infirmity of his own flesh, but especially with the temptation of his parents, brethren, and kinsfolks, and the sorrow of his mother: nevertheless the Lord so assisted him, that he endured to the end. At his burning he spake much to the people, and was heard with great attention. He suffered on the fifteenth of July, A.D. 1553.

William Neel, an Austin Friar, at Evreux in France, A.D. 1553. His persecutors were Legoux, the Dean Ilieriensis; and M. Simon Vigor, the penitentiary of Evreux.

Henry Pantaleon, and likewise Crispine and Adrian, make mention also of one William Neel, a friar Augustine, who suffered in much like sort the same year, and was burned at Evreux in France. The occasion of his trouble rose first, for the rebuking of the vicious demeanour of the priests there, and of the dean, named Legoux: for the which the dean caused him to be sent to Evreux, to the prison of the bishop. The story of this William Neel, with his answers to their articles objected, is to be read more at large in the ninth book of Pantaleon, and others.

Simon Laloe, at Dijon, A.D. 1553. His persecutor was the bailiff or steward of the city of Dijon.

Simon Laloe, a spectacle-maker, coming from Geneva into France for certain business, was laid hand of by the bailiff of Dijon. Three things were demanded of him: first, where he dwelt? secondly, what was his faith? thirdly, what fellows he knew of his religion? His dwelling (he said) was at Geneva. His religion was such as was then used at Geneva. As for his fellows (he said) he knew none, but only them of the same city of Geneva, where his dwelling was. When they could get of him no other answer but this with all their racking and torments, they proceeded to his sentence, and pursued the execution of the same, which was on the twenty-first of November, A.D. 1553. The executioner, who was named James Silvester, seeing the great faith and constancy of that heavenly martyr, was so compuncted with repentance, and fell in such despair of himself, that they had much ado, with all the promises of the gospel, to recover any comfort in him. At last, through the mercy of Christ, he was comforted, and converted; and so he, with all his family, removed to the church at Geneva.

Nicholas Nayle, at Paris, A.D. 1553.

This Nicholas, a shoemaker, coming to Paris with certain fardels of books, was there apprehended; who, stoutly persisting in confessing the truth, was tried with sundry torments, to utter what fellows he had besides of his profession, so cruelly, that his body was dissolved almost one joint from another; but so constant he was in his silence, that he would express none. As they brought him to the stake, first they put a gag or piece of wood in his mouth, which they bound with cords to the hinder part of his head so hard, that his mouth on both sides gushed out with blood, and disfigured his face monstrously. By the way they passed by an hospital, where they willed him to worship the picture of St. Mary standing at the gate: but he turned his back as well as he could, and would not. For this the blind people were so grieved, that they would have fallen upon him. After he was brought to the fire, they so smeared his body with fat and brimstone, that at the first taking of the fire, all his skin was parched, and the inward parts not touched. With that the cords burst which were about his mouth, whereby his voice was heard in the midst of the flame, praising the Lord; and so the blessed martyr departed.

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Peter Serre, near Toulouse, A.D. 1553. His persecutors were a woman of Toulouse; the official of the bishop of Toulouse; and the inquisitor and chancellor of the bishop of Cozeran.

Peter Serre was first a priest; then changing his religion, he went to Geneva, and learned the shoemakers' craft, and so lived. Afterwards, upon a singular love, he came to his brother at Toulouse, to the intent to do him good. His brother had a wife, which was not well pleased with his religion and coming. She, in secret counsel, told another woman, one of her neighbours, of this. What doth she, but goeth to the official, and maketh him privy to all. The official thinking to foreslack no time, taking counsel with his fellows, laid hands upon this Peter, and brought him before the inquisitor; to whom he made such a declaration of his faith, that he seemed to reduce the inquisitor to some feeling of conscience, and began to instruct him in the principles of true religion. Notwithstanding, all this helped not, but that he was condemned by the said chancellor to be degraded, and committed to the secular judge. The judge inquiring of what occupation he was, he said, that of late he was a shoemaker: whereby the judge, understanding that he had been of some other faculty before, required what it was. He said he had been of another faculty before, but he was ashamed to utter it, or to remember it, being the worst and vilest science of all others in the whole world besides. The judge and the people, supposing that he had been some thief or cutpurse, inquired to know what it was; but he for shame and sorrow stopped his mouth, and would not declare it. At last, through their importunate clamour, he was constrained to declare the truth, and said, that he had been a priest! The judge thereupon was so moved, that he condemned him; first, enjoining him in his condemnation, to ask the king forgiveness, he then judged him to have his tongue cut out, and so to be burned. From this sentence, he appealed to the parliament of Toulouse: not for that he thought thereby to save his life, but because he was enjoined to ask the king's forgiveness, whom he had never offended; also because he was judged to have his tongue cut off, wherewith he would praise his God. Notwithstanding, by the sentence of that parliament, he was likewise condemned to be burned; only he was pardoned for asking forgiveness of the king, and the cutting off of his tongue, so that he would say nothing against their religion.

As he went to burning, he passed by the college of St. Martial, where he was bid to honour the picture of the Virgin standing at the gate; which because he refused, the judge commanded his tongue to be cut off: and so being put to the fire, he stood so quiet, looking up to heaven all the time of his burning, as though he had felt nothing; bringing such admiration to the people, that one of the parliament said, that way was not the best, to bring the Lutherans to the fire, for that would do more hurt than good.

Stephen King, and Petrus Denocheus, at Chartres, A.D. 1553. Persecuted by the governor of Marches.

Stephen King, after he had been at Strasburg a while, returned again into his country, dwelling in a town bearing the name of St. George, not far from Chaustors; where he served in the place of a notary, and had under him a clerk named Peter Denoche, who also had been at Geneva, and was there zealous in instructing the ignorant, and rebuking blasphemous swearers, and other offenders. These two were not long together but they were both suspected of Lutheranism, and so apprehended by the governor of the Marches, or the marshal, and so were carried to Chartres, where, after their constant confession, upon their examination made, they

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were enclosed in prison, and there sustained long and tedious endurance; during which mean time, Stephen King made many worthy songs and sonnets in the praise of the Lord, whereby to recreate his spirit in that doleful captivity. At length, when, after long persuasions and fair promises of the bishop and of others, they could not be revoked from the doctrine of their confession, they were condemned. From that condemnation they appealed to the court of Paris, but the council there, confirming their former sentence, returned them again to Chartres, from whence they came, where they were both executed with cruel punishment of fire.

Antonius Magnus, or Magnæus, at Paris, A.D. 1554. Persecuted by the priests of Bruges.

Antonius Magnus was sent by the five who were in prison at Lyons, above-mentioned, and by others also that were in captivity at Paris, to Geneva, to commend them to their prayers unto God for them; who, after certain business there despatched, returned again into France, and there, within three hours of his coming, was betrayed and taken by certain priests at Bruges, and there delivered by the said priests unto the official. After a few days the king's justices took him from the official, and sent him to Paris, where, after great rebukes and torments he suffered in the prison, and firmly persisting in the profession of the truth, by their capital sentence was adjudged to have his tongue cut out, and so was burned at Maulbert Place in Paris.

William Alençon, bookseller; also a certain shear-man, at Montpelliers, A.D. 1454. Betrayed by false brethren.

This Alençon did much good in the provinces of France by carrying books. Coming to Montpelliers, he was there circumvented by false brethren, detected and laid in prison. In his faith he was firm and constant to the end of his martyrdom, being burned the seventh of January, 1554.

There was the same time at Montpelliers a certain shearman or clothworker, who had been long in durance for religion, but at length, for fear and infirmity, he revolted; to whom it was enjoined by the judges to make public recantation, and to be present also at the burning of Alençon aforesaid: at the beholding of whose death and constancy, it pleased God to strike into this man such boldness, that he desired the judges, that he might burn with this Alençon, or else be brought again into prison, saying, that he would make no other recantation, but so. Wherefore, within three days after he was likewise condemned to the fire, and burned in the town aforesaid.

Paris Panier, a lawyer, at Dol, A.D. 1554.

At Dol was beheaded a good and godly lawyer, Lamed Paris Panier, for constant standing to the gospel of Christ, A.D. 1554.

Peter du Val, shoemaker, at Nismes, A.D. 1554.

At Nismes in Dauphine, Peter du Val sustained sore and grievous rackings and torments; wherewith his body being broken, dissolved, and maimed, yet he, notwithstanding, manfully abiding all their extremity, would name and utter none. Then was he had to the fire, and there consumed, A.D. 1554.

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Johannes Filieul, or Filiolus, carpenter; and Julianus le Ville, point-maker, at Sanserre, A.D. 1554. Their persecutors were Giles le Hers, lieutenant for the marshal of St. Andrew, and inquisitor for the province of Bourbon; and also John Bergeronius, another inquisitor or counsellor.

These two blessed and constant martyrs, as they were going toward Geneva, with one of their sons and a daughter, were apprehended by Giles le Pers; who, in the way overtaking them, and most wickedly and Judasly pretending great favour to them, and to their religion, which he (as he said) supposed them to be of, with these and many other fair words circumvented and allured them to confess, what was their faith? whither they went with their children? and also that their wives were at Geneva? When they had declared this, the wretched traitor gave a sign to his horsemen, and so were these simple saints of Christ entrapped and brought to the castle of Nivern. Being in prison, they were examined of many things, whereunto they answered uprightly, according to their faith.

First, touching the sacrament, they affirmed the transubstantiation of the bishop of Rome to be against the article of the Creed, which saith that Christ is gone up to heaven, and there sitteth at the right hand of God: and therefore the bread and the wine must needs remain in their properties; bearing, notwithstanding, a sacrament, or a holy sign, of the body and blood of the Lord. For like as by bread and wine the heart of man is comforted, so the body of Christ crucified, and his blood shed, spiritually hath the like operation in the souls of the believers.

For the mass, they said it was a thing most superstitious, and mere idolatry; and if we put any part of salvation therein, (they said,) it was utterly a robbing of the passion of Christ the Son of God, and that it was not once to be named out of a Christian mouth. Also, that those who say that Peter either was pope, or author of the said mass, are far deceived. And as for turning bread into the body of Christ by the words of consecration, it was an error (they said) more of madmen, than any of sadmen: forasmuch as God is neither subject to men, nor to the tongues or exorcisms of men. Purgatory they denied to be any, save only the blood of Jesus Christ.

Furthermore, as they would not bereave the saints of God of their due honour, so neither the saints themselves (said they) will be contented to rob God of his honour only due to him.

As touching confession, their opinion was, that the wounds and causes of conscience belong to no man, but only to God.

After these answers given and written, they were sent to the monastery of St. Peter, there to be disputed with. That done, the matter came to be debated among the judges, what was to be done with them. Some would their goods to be taken by inventory, and them to be banished. But Bergeronius at last caused to be determined, that they should be burned, and first to hear mass. From that court they appealed to the court of Paris; but the matter there was nothing amended, where behold the judgment of God. In the mean time, while they were at Paris, the wretched persecutor, Giles le Pers, was suddenly struck mad and died in a frenzy; which made many men to wonder, and especially the martyrs to be more constant.

At last, the decree of the sentence was read against them.

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- I. For speaking against the sacrament: which they denied.
- II. For speaking against baptism: which also they denied.
- III. For speaking contumely against the saints: which they in like manner denied.

After this, the officer, to cause them to recant, threatened them with torments, which they sustained very extreme, the space from after dinner till three of the clock. When all that would not turn them, he sent to them a friar Dominic, a man captious and sophistical, to press them in disputation: but as he could do no hurt unto them, so could they do no good upon him. When the time of their execution did approach, the officer aforesaid put into their hands, being tied, a wooden cross, which they took with their teeth, and flung away: for which, the officer commanded both their tongues to be cut off. Herein appeared another marvellous work of the Lord: for nevertheless that their tongues were taken from them, to the intent they should not speak, yet God gave them utterance, their tongues being cut out, to speak at their death, saying, "We bid sin, the flesh, the world, and the devil, farewell for ever, with whom we shall never have to do hereafter." Divers other words they spake besides, which the people did hear and note. At last, when the tormentor came to smear them with brimstone and gunpowder, "Go to," said Filiolus, "salt on, salt on the stinking and rotten flesh." Finally, as the flame came bursting up to their faces, they, persisting constant in the fire, gave up their lives, and finished their martyrdoms.

Dionysius Vayre, at Rouen, A.D. 1554. Persecuted by William Langlois, under-sheriff, and John Langlois, the king's procurator.

In the same year suffered, at Rouen, Denis Vayre, who, first leaving his popish priesthood, went to Geneva, where he learned the art of bookbinding, and brought many times books into France. After that, in the reign of King Edward the Sixth, he came to Jersey, and there was minister, and preached. After the death of King Edward, the time not serving him to tarry, thinking to return again to Geneva, he came into Normandy with his books, into a town called Feueillet; where he, going out to hire a cart, William Langlois, with John Langlois his brother, came in and stayed his books, and him also who had the custody of them. Denis, albeit he might have escaped, yet hearing the keeper of his books to be in trouble, came, and presenting himself, was committed; the other was delivered. First, after two months and a half imprisonment, he was charged to be a spy, because he came out of England. Then from that prison he was removed to the bishop's prison, and then to Rouen; where sentence was given, that he should be burned alive, and thrice lifted up and let down again into the fire. After the sentence given, they threatened him with many terrible torments, unless he would disclose such as he knew of that side. To whom he answered, that the sounder part of all France, and of the senate, was of that religion: notwithstanding, he would utter no man's name unto them. And as for their torments, he said, he cared not; for if he were killed with racking, then he should not feel the burning of the fire. When they saw him so little to care for their torments, they left that, and proceeded to his burning: and first, they put a cross in his hands, which he would not hold. Then because he, coming by the image of the Virgin Mary, would not adore the same, they cried, "Cut out his tongue:" and so they cast him into the fire, where he should be thrice taken up; but the flame went so high, that the hangman, being not able to come near him, cried to the people standing by to help, and so did

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the officers with their staves lay upon the people, to help their tormentors, but never a man would stir. And this was the end and martyrdom of that blessed Denis.

150. Martyrs in France – II.

There was a rich merchant of Paris, who said in jest to the friars of St. Francis, "You wear a rope about your bodies, because St. Francis once should have been hanged, and the pope redeemed him upon this condition, that all his life after he should wear a rope." Upon this the Franciscan Friars of Paris caused him to be apprehended and laid in prison, and so judgment passed upon him that he should be hanged: but he, to save his life, was contented to recant; and so did. The friars, hearing of his recantation, commended him, saying, if he continued so, he should be saved; and so calling upon the officers, caused them to make haste to the gallows, to hang him up while he was yet in a good way, said they, lest he fall again. And so was this merchant, notwithstanding his recantation, hanged for jesting against the friars.

To this merchant may also be adjoined the brother of Tamer, who, when he had before professed the truth of the gospel, and afterwards by the counsel and instruction of his brother was removed from the same, fell in desperation and such sorrow of mind, that he hanged himself.

Thomas Galbergne, a coverlet-maker, at Tournay, A.D. 1554.

This Thomas had copied out certain spiritual songs out of a book in Geneva, which he brought with him to Tournay, and lent the same to one of his fellows. This book being espied, he was called for by the justice, and examined of the book, which, he said, contained nothing but that was agreeing to the Scripture; and that he would stand by.

Then he was had to the castle, and after nineteen days was brought to the town-house, and there adjudged to the fire; whereunto he went cheerfully, singing psalms. As he was in the flame, the warden of the friars stood crying, "Turn, Thomas! Thomas! yet it is time, remember him that came at the last hour." To whom he cried out of the flame with a loud voice, "And I trust to be one of that sort;" and so calling upon the name of the Lord, gave up his spirit.

Add also to this, one Nicholas Paul, beheaded at Gaunt. These two should have been placed among the Dutch martyrs in the table before.

Richard Feurus, a goldsmith, at Lyons, A.D. 1554. Persecuted by the latrunculator, or under-marshal or examiner of Dauphine; also by the lieutenant, and his attorney, and a scribe, with divers others.

Feurus, a goldsmith, born at Rouen, first being in England, and in London, there received the taste and knowledge of God's word, as in his own epistle he recordeth. Then he went to Geneva, where he remained nine or ten years; and from thence returning to Lyons, there he was apprehended and condemned. Upon this he appealed to the high court of Paris, through the motion of his friends; where, in the way, as he was led to Paris, he was met by certain whom he knew not, and by them taken from his keepers, and so set at liberty; which was A.D. 1551.

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After that, continuing at Geneva about the space of three years, he came upon business to the province of Dauphine, and there, as he found fault with the grace said in Latin, he was detected, and taken in his inn at night, by the under-marshal, or him which had the examination of malefactors. The next day he was sent to the justice, from him to the bishop; who ridding their hands of him, then was he brought to the lieutenant, who sent his advocate with a notary to him in the prison, to examine him of his faith. The whole process of his examinations, with his adversaries and the friars, in his story described, is long; the principal contents come to this effect:

Inquisitor. "Dost thou believe the Church of Rome?"

The martyr. "No, I do believe the catholic and universal church."

Inquisitor. "What catholic church is that?"

The martyr. "The congregation or communion of Christians."

Inquisitor. "What congregation is that, or of whom doth it consist?"

The martyr. "It consisteth in the number of God's elect, whom God hath chosen to be the members of his Son Jesus Christ, of whom he is also the head."

Inquisitor. "Where is the congregation, or how is it known?"

The martyr. "It is dispersed through the universal world, in divers regions, and is known by the spiritual direction wherewith it is governed, that is to say, both by the word of God, and by the right institution of Christ's sacraments."

Inquisitor. "Do you think the church that is at Geneva, Lausanne, Berne, and such other places, to be a more true church than the holy Church of Rome?"

The martyr. "Yea, verily, for these have the notes of the true church."

Inquisitor. "What difference then make you between those churches and the Church of Rome?"

The martyr. "Much; for the Church of Rome is governed only with traditions of men, but those are ruled only by the word of God."

Inquisitor. "Where learned you this doctrine first?"

The martyr. "In England; at London."

Inquisitor. "How long have you been at Geneva?"

The martyr. "About nine or ten years."

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Inquisitor. "Dost thou not believe the Virgin Mary to be a mediatrix and advocate to God for sinners?"

The martyr. "I believe, as in the word of God is testified, that Jesus Christ is the only mediator and advocate for all sinners: albeit the Virgin Mary be a blessed woman, yet the office of an advocate belongeth not unto her."

Inquisitor. "The saints that be in paradise, have they no power to pray for us?"

The martyr. "No; but I judge them to be blessed, and to be contented with the grace and glory which they have; that is, that they be counted the members of the Son of God."

Inquisitor. "And what then judge you of them who follow the religion of the Church of Rome? think you them to be Christians?"

The martyr. "No, for that Church is not governed with the Spirit of God, but rather fighteth against the same."

Inquisitor. "Do you then esteem all them who separate themselves from the Church of Rome to be Christians?"

The martyr. "I have not to answer for others, but only for myself. Every man, saith St. Paul, shall bear his own burden."

And thus the advocate, when he had asked him whether he would put his hand to that he had said, and had obtained the same, departed to dinner.

At the next examination was brought unto him a Franciscan Friar, who, first entering with him touching the words that he spake in his inn, asked him, why grace might not be said in Latin?" Because," said he, "by the word of God, Christians are commanded to pray with heart and with spirit, and with that tongue which is most understood, and serveth best to the edification of the hearers."

Then the friar, bringeth forth his Benedicite, Agimus tibi gratias, &c., Laus Deo, Pax, vivis, Requies defunctis, &c., began thus to reason:

Friar. "God understandeth all tongues, and the Church of Rome hath prescribed this form of praying, receiving the same from the ancient church and the fathers, who used then to pray in Latin. And if any tongue be to be observed in prayer, one more than another, why is it not as good to pray in the Latin tongue, as to pray in the French?"

The martyr. "My meaning is not to exclude any kind of language from prayer, whether it be Latin, Greek, Hebrew, or any other, so that the same be understood, and may edify the hearers."

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Friar. "When Christ entered the city of Jerusalem, the people cried, lauding him with Hosanna filio David; and yet understood they not what they said, as Jerome writeth."

The martyr. "It may be that Jerome so writeth, how they understood not the prophetic meaning, or the accomplishment of these words upon Christ's coming: but that they understood the phrase of that speech or language which they spake, speaking in their own language, Jerome doth not deny."

Then the friar, declaring that he was no fit person to expound the Scriptures being in the Latin tongue, inferred the authorities of councils and doctors, and testimonies of men; which seemed to move the officer not a little, who, then charging him with many things, as with words spoken in contempt of the Virgin Mary and of the saints, also with rebellion against princes and kings, came at last to the matter of the sacrament, and demanded thus:

Inquisitor. "Dost thou believe the holy host which the priest doth consecrate at the mass or no?"

The martyr. "I believe neither the host, nor any such consecration."

Inquisitor. "Why? dost thou not believe the holy sacrament of the altar, ordained of Christ Jesus himself?"

The martyr. "Touching the sacrament of the Lord's supper, I believe that whensoever we use the same according to the representation of St. Paul, we are refreshed spiritually with the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the true spiritual meat and drink of our souls."

The friar then inferred the words of St. John's Gospel, saying, My flesh is meat indeed, &c., and said, that the doctors of the church had decided that matter already, and had approved the mass to be a holy memorial of the death and passion of our Lord Jesus Christ.

The martyr. "The sacrament of the supper I believe to be ordained of the Lord for a memorial of his death, and for a stirring up of our thanksgiving to him; in which sacrament we have nothing to offer up to him, but do receive with all thanksgiving the benefits offered of God to us most abundantly in Christ Jesus his Son."

And thus the advocate with the friar, bidding the notary to write the words that he had spoken, departed; who after eight days, being accompanied by the said Franciscan, and other friars more of the Dominics, sent for the said Richard Feurus again to his house, and thus began to inquire:

Inquisitor. "Dost thou believe any purgatory?"

The martyr. "I believe that Christ with his precious blood hath made an end of all purgatory, and purgation of our sins."

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Inquisitor. "And dost thou think then that there is no place after this life, where souls of men departed remain till they have made satisfaction for their sins?"

The martyr. "No; but I acknowledge one satisfaction once made for the sins of all men, by the blood and sacrifice of Jesus Christ our Lord, which is the propitiation and purgation for the sins of the whole world."

Friar. "In Matthew xviii., Christ, speaking, by way of a parable or similitude, of a certain cruel servant, who, because he would not forgive his fellow servant, was cast into prison, saith, That he shall not come out from thence till he hath paid the uttermost farthing: by which similitude is signified unto us a certain middle place, which is left for satisfaction to be made after this life for sins."

The martyr. "First, the satisfaction for our sins by the death of Christ is plain and evident in the Scriptures; as in these places: Come to me, all you that labour and be burdened, and I will refresh you. I am the door, he that entereth by me, shall be saved. I am the way, verity, and life. Blessed be they that die in the Lord, for they rest from their labours. Also to the thief who hanged with the Lord, it was said, This day thou shalt be with me in paradise, &c. Secondly, as touching this similitude, it hath no other demonstration but to admonish us of our duty, in showing charity, and forgiving one another; which unless we do, there is no mercy to be looked for at the hands of God."

Friar. "If this be true that you say, then it should follow that there is neither purgatory nor any limbus, which were against our Christian faith and our Creed, which saith, He descended into hell," &c.

Deputy. "Dost thou not believe there is a Limbus?"

The martyr. "Neither do I believe there is any such place, nor doth the Scripture make any mention thereof."

Friar. "Where were the old fathers then, before the death of Christ?"

The martyr. "In life, I say, eternal, which they looked for, being promised before to Adam, Abraham, and the patriarchs, in the seed to come."

Deputy. "What, dost thou believe that the pope hath any power?"

The martyr. "Yea verily."

Deputy. "Dost thou believe that the pope, as the vicar of Jesus Christ, can here bind and loose?"

The martyr. "That I do not believe."

Deputy. "How then dost thou understand the power of the pope?"

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The martyr. "I understand the power of the pope so as St. Paul declareth, 2 Thess., saying, that because the world refused to receive the love of the truth unto salvation, therefore God hath given to Satan, and to his ministers, power of illusions and errors, that men should believe lies, and set up to themselves pastors and teachers such as they deserve."

Friar. "Christ gave to St. Peter power to bind and loose, whose successor, and vicar of Christ, is the pope, for the government of the church, that it might have one head in the world, as it hath in heaven. And though the pastors do not live according to the word which they preach, yet their doctrine is not therefore to be refused, as Christ teacheth in the twenty-third of Matthew."

The martyr. "If the pope and his adherents would preach the word purely and sincerely, admixing no other inventions of their own, nor obtruding laws of their own devising, I would then embrace their doctrine, howsoever their lives were to the contrary: according as Christ doth tell us of the scribes and Pharisees, admonishing us to follow their doctrine, and not their lives. But there is great difference, whether they that take the governance of the church do sit in Moses's chair, which is the seat of truth, or else do sit in the chair of abomination, spoken of by Daniel, and also by St. Paul, where he saith, that the man of perdition shall sit in the temple of God, vaunting himself insolently above all that is called God."

"And as touching the keys of binding and loosing, given to Peter, Christ therein assigned to Peter and other apostles the office of preaching the word of the gospel, which they did also well observe, in preaching nothing else but only the word; in the which word is all the power contained of binding and loosing. Neither is it to be granted, the church to have two heads, one in heaven, another in earth; the head whereof is but one, which is Jesus Christ, whom the Father hath appointed to be head alone both in heaven and earth, as St. Paul in many places of his Epistles doth teach."

Friar. "You have no understanding how to expound the Scriptures, but the old doctors have expounded the Scriptures, and holy councils, whose judgments are to be followed. But what say you to auricular confession?"

The martyr. "I know no other confession but that which is to be made to God, and reconciliation towards our neighbour, which Christ and his apostles have commended to us."

Friar. "Have you not read in the gospel, how Christ doth bid us to confess to the priest, where he commanded the leper, being made whole, to show himself to the priest?"

The martyr. "The true church of the Lord Jesus Christ never observed this strange kind of confession, to carry our sins to the priest's ear. And though the Church of Rome hath intruded this manner of confessing, it followeth not thereby that it is to be received. And as touching the leper whom the Lord sent to the priest, he was not sent therefore to whisper his sins in the priest's ear, but only for a testimony of his health received according to the law."

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"Of the other confession which is to be made to God, we have both the examples and testimonies of the prophet David full in the Psalms, where he saith, that he confessed his sins unto the Lord, and received forgiveness of the same."

After this, the friar, proceeding further to make comparison between the Church of Rome and the Church of Geneva, would prove that the pope hath power to set laws in the church without any express word of God: for so it is written, said he, that there were many other things besides, which are not written in this book. Also, where Christ promiseth to his disciples, to send unto them the Holy Ghost, which should induce them into all truth. Moreover, such decrees and ordinances as are in the church, were decided, said he, and appointed by the doctors of the church and by all the councils, directed, no doubt, by the Holy Ghost. Furthermore he inferred, that the Church also of Geneva had their ordinances and constitutions made without any word of God. And for example, he brought forth the order of the Psalms and service publicly observed and appointed upon Wednesday, in the Church of Geneva, as though that day were holier than another.

To this the martyr answered again, declaring that the ordinance of those public prayers and psalms on Wednesday in the Church of Geneva, was not to bind conscience, or for any superstitious observation, or for any necessity which either should bind the conscience, or could not be altered at their arbitrement; but only for an order or commodity for public resort, to hear the word of God, according as ancient kings and temporal magistrates have used in old time to do, in congregating the people together; not to put any holiness in the day, or to bind the conscience to any observation, (as the pope maketh his laws,) but only for order's sake, serving unto commodity.

And as touching that any thing should be left for doctors and councils to be decided, without the express word of God, that is not so; for that all things be expressed and prescribed by the word, whatsoever is necessary either for government of the church, or for the salvation of men; so that there is no need for doctors of the church, or councils, to decide any thing more than is decided already.

Paul saith, that he durst utter nothing but what the Lord had wrought by him. St. John, speaking of the doctrine of Christ Jesus, willet us to receive no man, unless he bring with him the same doctrine. St. Paul warneth the Galatians, not to believe an angel from heaven, bringing another doctrine than that which they had already received. Christ, calling himself the good shepherd, noteth them to be his sheep which hear his voice, and not the voice of others. And St. Peter admonishing the pastors of the church, forewarns them to teach only the word of God, without any seeking of lordship or dominion over the flock. From this moderation how far the form of the pope's church doth differ, the tyranny which they use doth well declare.

Friar. "In the old church priests and ministers of the church were wont to assemble together for deciding of such things as pertained to the government and direction of the church; whereas in Geneva no such thing is used, as I can prove by this your own testament here in my hands, that you the better may understand what was then the true use and manner of the church."

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The martyr. "What was the true order and manner that the apostles did institute in the church of Christ, I would gladly hear, and also would desire you to consider the same; and when you have well considered it, yet shall you find the institution and regiment of the Church of Geneva, not to be without the public counsel and advisement of the magistrates, elders and ministers of that church, with such care and diligence as Paul and Silas took in ordering the church of Thessalonica, Berea, &c., wherein nothing was done without the authority of God's word, as appeareth in the 17th chapter of the Acts. As likewise also in stablishing the church of Antioch, when the apostles were together in council for the same, there was no other law nor doctrine followed, but only the word of God, as may appear by the words of the council, *Quid tentatis Deum, jugum imponere?* &c. And albeit the ministers of the Church of Rome, and the pope, were not called to the institution of the aforesaid Church of Geneva, yet it followeth not therefore, that there was no lawful order observed, either in establishing that church or any other."

Friar. "You were first baptized in the church of the pope, were ye not?"

The martyr. "I grant I was, but yet that nothing hindereth the grace of God; but he may renovate and call to further knowledge whom he pleaseth."

A councillor. "I would wish you not to stick to your own wisdom and opinion. You see the churches in Germany, how they dissent one from another; so that if you should not submit your judgment to the authority of the general councils, every day you shall have a new Christianity."

The martyr. "To mine own wisdom I do not stick, nor ever will, but only to that wisdom which is in Christ Jesus, although the world doth account it foolishness. And where ye say, that the churches of Germany dissent among themselves one from another; that is not so, for they accord in one agreement altogether, touching the foundation and principal grounds of Christian faith. Neither is there any such fear that every day should rise up a new Christianity, unless the church be balanced with authority of the councils, as you pretend. For so we read in the prophet David, in Psalm xxxiii., and in other places of Scripture more, that the councils of the nations and people shall be overthrown and subverted by the Lord, &c. Wherefore the best is, that we follow the counsel of God and his word, and prefer the authority thereof before all other counsels and judgments of men. And thus doing, I for my part had rather dwell and settle myself in this little Christianity, be it ever so small, than in that populous papality, be it ever so great in multitude."

And thus was this godly Feurus commanded again by the deputy to the bishop's prison, and from thence shortly after removed to Lyons, not by the open and beaten way, but by secret and privy journeys, lest perhaps he should be taken from them again, as he was before.

After he was come to Lyons, he was brought before Tignatius the judge, and a doctor of Sorbonne, called Furnosus, who questioned with him touching sundry articles of religion. But in conclusion, when they neither with arguments could convict him, nor with promises allure him, nor with threatening terrors stir him, either to betray the truth which he knew, or to bewray those whom he knew not, which took him away before from his keepers, they proceeded at last to the

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sentence, condemning him first to have his tongue cut out, and then to be burned. All which he received willingly and quietly for righteousness' sake, thus finishing his martyrdom, on the seventh of July, A.D. 1554.

Nicholas du Chense, at Gry, near Besancon, A.D. 1554. Persecuted by an inquisitor monk.

The cause and occasion why this Nicholas came in trouble was, for that he, going from Lausanne, (where he abode for his conscience,) to fetch his sister, and her husband, and certain other of his friends; as he went from Besancon, toward the town of Gry, did not do homage to a certain cross in the way; where a certain monk, who was an inquisitor, overtook him, and thereby suspected him. He was guided by the same monk, craftily dissembling his religion, to a lodging in Gry; where the justice of the place coming in incontinent took him. Nicholas seeing how he was by the monk, his conductor, betrayed; "O false traitor!" said he, "Hast thou thus betrayed me?" Then after examination he was condemned. Being carried to the place of martyrdom, by the way he was promised, that if he would kneel down and hear a mass, he should be let go as a passenger. But Nicholas, armed with perseverance, said, he would rather die than commit such an act; who calling upon the name of the Lord, took his death patiently.

John Bertrand, a forester, or keeper of the forest of Marchenoir, at Blois, A.D. 1556. Persecutors: The seigniors or lords of Estnay and Ciguongnes, dwelling by the town of Marchenoir; and Denis Barbes, councillor of Blois.

For the religion and gospel of Christ this John was apprehended by these persecutors here specified, and led bound to Blois, where he was examined by Denis the councillor, of divers points: as, whether he had spoken at any time against God, against the church, and the he-saints and the she-saints of paradise? whereunto he said, No. Item, Whether at any time he had called the mass abominable? which he granted, for that he, finding no mass in all the Scripture, was commanded by St. Paul, that if an angel from heaven would bring any other gospel besides that which was already received, he should account it accursed. After his condemnation they would have him to be confessed, and presented to him a cross to kiss: but he bade the friars with their cross depart; "That is not the cross," said he, "that I must carry." Entering into the cart before the multitude, he gave thanks to God, that he was not there for murder, theft, or blasphemy, but only for the quarrel of our Saviour. Being tied to the post, he sang Psalm xxv. Of age he was young, his countenance was exceeding cheerful and amiable, his eyes looked up to heaven. "O the happy journey," said he, seeing the place where he should suffer, "and the fair place that is prepared for me! "When the fire was kindled about him, "O Lord," cried he, "give thy hand to thy servant; I commend my soul unto thee; "and so meekly yielded up his spirit: whose patient and joyful constancy so astonied the people, that of long time before nothing did seem to them so admirable.

Peter Rousseau, A.D. 1556. Persecuted by his own brother-in-law.

Peter Rousseau, coming from Geneva and Lausanne to his country, partly to communicate with certain of his acquaintance in the word of God, partly for other certain affairs, because he required his inheritance of his brother-in-law, was by him betrayed. Then, being constant in his confession which he offered up, he was put to the rack three times, which he

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suffered constantly with great torments. Afterward he had his tongue cut off, and a ball of iron put in his mouth. He was drawn upon a hurdle, all broken and maimed, to the fire, where he was lifted up into the air and let down three times; and when he was half burned, the ball fell from his mouth, and he with a loud voice called on the name of God, saying, "Jesus Christ, assist me." And so this blessed martyr gave up his life to God.

Arnold Moniere, and John de Cazes, at Bourdeaux, A.D. 1556. The name of his persecutor was Anthony de Lescure, the king's attorney.

After that Arnold Moniere was taken and examined of the justice, and so was laid in prison, John de Cazes, resorting to the same town of Bourdeaux, and hearing of him, and being admonished moreover, that if he went to him he should be impeached of heresy, notwithstanding went to comfort him, and so was also imprisoned. After many examinations, sentence was given upon them to be burned. When the time came of their martyrdom, they were drawn through the dirt upon a hurdle to the place, accompanied by a number of bills, glives, gunners, and trumpeters. Moreover, albeit there was no such cause, (they being two simple poor men,) yet the magistrates commanded (upon what occasion I know not) all the gates of the city to be shut, and guarded with keepers. When the blessed martyrs were brought and bound to the post, which was before the palace, they, much rejoicing that they were made worthy to suffer for Christ, made confession of their faith, and many earnest exhortations unto the people. But, to stop the hearing of these saints, the trumpeters were commanded to sound, who, during all the time of their suffering, never ceased. The hangman, preparing himself first to strangle Cazes, chanced to fall down from the top of the post to the pavement, and brake his head in such sort as the blood followed in great quantity. Notwithstanding, recovering himself, he went to Moniere, and him he strangled, who patiently rendered up his life. Cazes, who was the stronger of them both, being set on fire before the hangman came, suffered the extremity of the fire with great pains, but greater patience; for as his legs were almost half burnt, yet he endured, crying, "My God! my Father!" and so gave up his life.

And further, to note the work of God that followed when these two mild and martyred saints were almost consumed in the fire to ashes, suddenly, without matter or cause, such a fear fell upon them at the execution, that the justices and the people, notwithstanding that they had the gates locked to them, and were defended with all manner of weapons about them, not knowing wherefore, took them to their legs, in such haste fleeing away, that they overran one another. The prior of St. Anthony's fell down, so that a great number went over him. The judge Pontacke on his mule, with his red robe, fleeing as the other did, was overthrown with the press in the street called Poteuin, in such sort that he was fain to be carried to Pichon's house, a widow, and there cried within, "Hide me; save my life; I am dead! I see even the like matter as at the last commotion! My friends! hide my mule, that no man see her nor know her." Briefly, such was the fear which came upon them, that every man shut up their houses. After the fear was past, every man asked what the matter was, but none could tell, neither could the enemies of God's truth perceive, who was he that put them so to flight and fear, without any semblance of any adversary about them. This story is testified, and to be found both in the volume of the French martyrs, printed by John Crispine, lib. vi., also in the book of Dutch martyrs, written by Adrian.

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Bartholomew Hector, at Turin, A.D. 1556. Persecuted by a gentleman called Perriere; by M. Bartholomew Eme, president; and by M. Augustine d'Eglise, councillor.

First, this Hector was a traveller about the country, and a seller of books, having his wife and children at Geneva. As he came into the vale of Angrogne, in Piedmont, to get his living with selling of books, he was taken by a certain gentleman, and there arrested and sent to Turin, then examined, and at last condemned. Being condemned, he was threatened, that if he spake any thing to the people, his tongue should be cut off; nevertheless he ceased nothing to speak. After his prayers made, wherein he prayed for the judges, that God would forgive them, and open their eyes, he was offered his pardon at the stake, if he would convert; which he refused. Then he prepared himself to his death, which he took patiently: whereat many of the people wept, saying, "Why doth this man die, who speaketh of nothing but God?"



Martyrs Burned at the Stake

Philip Cene, and James his fellow, at Dijon, A.D. 1557.

This Philip Cene was an apothecary at Geneva. He was taken at Dijon, and there imprisoned, and in the same town of Dijon he, with one James his companion, was burned. As this Philip went to his death singing psalms, the friar, standing by, stopped his mouth with his hand. The most part of the people wept bitterly, saying, "Be of good courage, brethren! be not afraid of this death;" which when one of the adversary part heard, he said to one of the

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magistrates, "Do you not see how almost the half part of the people is of their side, and doth comfort them?"

Archambant Seraphon, and M. Nicholas du Rousseau, at Dijon, A.D. 1557.

These two were in prison together with Philip and James above-mentioned, at Dijon. Archambant, going about with a packet of pedlary ware to get his living, and coming towards his wife, heard of certain prisoners at Dijon, to whom he wrote, to comfort them with his letters. The next day after, he was searched at Aussone, and letters of certain scholars of Paris found about him. Then he was brought to Dijon, where he, with the other, called M. Nicholas du Rousseau, constantly suffered.

The same Archambant had been also condemned three years before at Toul, and as he was led to Bourdeaux, he escaped.

Philbert Hamlin, at Bourdeaux, A.D. 1557. Persecuted by the king's attorney of Saintes Ville.

Philbert Hamlin first was a priest: he then went to Geneva, where he exercised printing, and sent books abroad. After that he was made minister at the town of Allenart, in Saintonge, in which and in other places more he did much good in edifying the people. At last he was apprehended at Saintes Ville, and with him his host, a priest, whom he had instructed in the gospel; and after confession made of his faith, he, with the said priest, was carried to Bourdeaux before the president. As he was in prison on a Sunday, a priest came in with all his furniture to say mass in the prison; whom Philbert, seeing to be revested, came and plucked his garments from his back with such zeal and vehemency, that the mass garments, with the chalice and candlesticks, fell down and were broken; saying, "Is it not enough for you to blaspheme God in churches, but you must also pollute the prison with your idolatry?" The jailer, hearing of this, in his fury laid upon him with his staff, and also complained of him; whereby he was removed to the common prison, and laid in a low pit, laden with great irons, so that his legs were swollen withal; and there continued eight days. A little before, perceiving the priest his host to decline from the truth, he did what he could to confirm him in the same: but when he knew he had flatly renounced Christ and his word, he said unto him, "O unhappy and more than miserable! is it possible for you to be so foolish, as for saving of a few days which you have to live by the course of nature, so to start away, and to deny the truth? Know you therefore, that although you have, by your foolishness, avoided the corporal fire, yet your life shall be never the longer; for you shall die before me, and God shall not give you the grace that it shall be for his cause, and you shall be an example to all apostates." He had no sooner ended his talk, but the priest, going out of prison, was slain by two gentlemen which had a quarrel to him: whereof when Master Philbert had heard, he affirmed that he knew of no such thing before, but spake as it pleased God to guide his tongue. Whereupon immediately he made an exhortation of the providence of God, which by the occasion hereof moved the hearts of many, and converted them unto God.

At last the aforesaid Philbert, after his condemnation, was had to the place of his martyrdom before the palace; and as he was exhorting the people, to the intent his words should not be heard, the trumpets blew without ceasing. And so, being fastened to the post, this holy

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martyr, praying and exhorting the people, was strangled, and his body with fire consumed on Palm-Sunday eve.

Nicholas Sartorius, at Aost, by Piedmont, A.D. 1557. His persecutors were Ripet, a secretary; Anthony Eschaux, bailiff; and the king's procurator.

Nicholas Sartorius, of the age of six and twenty years, born in Piedmont, came to the parts of Chambery in Lent, where a certain warden of the friars in the town of Aost had preached on Good Friday, upon the passion. The report of which sermon being recited to this Sartorius, by one that heard him, Sartorius reprehended the error and blasphemies thereof, which were against the Holy Scriptures. Shortly after, the party that told him went to a secretary, named Ripet, who covertly came to entrap Nicholas, demanding him of the friar's sermon: "And did not our preacher," said he, "preach well?" "No," said Nicholas, "but he lied falsely." Ripet, entering further with him, demanded, "And do you not believe the body of the Lord to be in the host?" to whom Nicholas then answered again, "That is against our Creed, which saith, that he ascended up and sitteth," &c. Incontinently Ripet went to the friar and his companions, to cause him to be apprehended. The friends of Nicholas, perceiving the danger, willed him to avoid and save himself, and also accompanied him out of the town about the space of three leagues. Then was great pursuit made after him to all quarters, who at length was taken at the town of St. Remy, at the foot of the mountain of Great St. Bernard, where he was examined before Anthony Eschaux, bailiff of the town, and other justices, before whom he answered with great boldness for his faith. Then they brought him to the rack, and when the serjeant refused to draw the cord, the bailiff himself, and the receiver, with a canon, did rack him with their own hands. Notwithstanding that the lords of Berne wrote for him to the town of Aost, requiring to have their own subject delivered unto them, they hastened the execution, and pronounced sentence that he should be burned; which sentence he received with such constancy, that neither the king's receiver, nor all the other enemies, could divert him from the truth of the gospel, which he manfully maintained while any spirit remained in his body.

George Tardif, with one of Tours, an embroiderer; also Nicholas, a shoemaker, of Jenvile, at Tours, A.D. 1558.

The printer of the story of the French martyrs, named Crispine, among others maketh also memorial of George Tardif, an embroiderer of Tours, and of Nicholas of Jenvile, declaring that all these three were together in prison, and afterwards were dissevered, to suffer in sundry places one from the other; of whom, first, George Tardif was executed in Sens.

The embroiderer of Tours, as he was coming with five or six others out of a wood, being at prayer, was taken, and thereupon examined. Before he should be examined, he desired the judges that he might pray; which being granted, after his prayer made, wherein he prayed for the judges, for the king, and all estates, and for the necessity of all Christ's saints, he answered for himself with such grace and modesty, that the hearts of many were broken, unto the shedding of tears; seeking (as it seemed) nothing else but his deliverance. Notwithstanding he at last was sent unto Tours, and there was crowned with martyrdom.

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The third, who was Nicholas, being but young of years, and newly come from Geneva to his country, for certain money, by means of a lady there dwelling, was caused to be apprehended. When he was condemned and set in a cart, his father, coming with a staff, would have beaten him, but the officers not suffering it, would have struck the old man. The son, crying to the officers, desired them to let his father alone, saying, that his father had power over him to do with him what he would. And going to the place where he should suffer, having a ball of iron put in his mouth, he was brought at length to the fire, in the town of Jenvile, where he patiently took his death and martyrdom, A.D. 1558.

The Congregation of Paris persecuted, to the number of three or four hundred, A.D. 1558; by the priests of the college of Plessis; the doctors of Sorbonne; Dr. Demochares; Cenalis, bishop of Auranches; Martin, the king's attorney; the cardinal of Lorraine; Maillard; and lastly, Henry the Second, the French king.

In 1558, the fourth of September, a company of the faithful, to the number of three or four hundred, were together convented at Paris, in a certain house having before it the college of Plessis, in the street of St. James, and behind it the college of Sorbonne, who there assembled in the beginning of the night, to the intent to communicate together the Lord's supper: but incontinently that was discovered by certain priests of Plessis, who, gathering together such as were of that faction, came to beset the house, and made an outcry, that the watch might come and take them; so that in short time almost all the city of Paris was up in armour, thinking some conspiracy to have been in the city; who then following the noise, and perceiving that they were Lutherans, a great part of them were in extreme rage, furiously seeking to have their blood, and therefore stopped the streets and lanes with carts, and made fires to see that none should escape. The faithful, albeit God had given them leisure to finish their administration and prayers with such quietness as they never had better, seeing the suddenness of the thing, were struck with great fear; who then, being exhorted by the governors of the congregation, fell to prayer. That done, through the counsel of some who knew the cowardly hearts of the multitude, this order was taken, that the men who had weapons should adventure through the press. Only the women and children remained in the house, and a few men with them who were less bold than the others, to the number of six or seven score. Where appeared the admirable power of God in them that went out with weapons, who, notwithstanding that the lanes and passages were stopped, and the fires made, did all escape save only one, who was beaten down with stones, and so destroyed. Certain that remained in the house with the women, afterwards leaped into gardens, where they were stayed till the magistrates came. The women, who were all gentlewomen, or of great wealth, only six or seven excepted, seeing no other hope, and perceiving the fury of the people, went up to the windows, crying, "Mercy!" and showing their innocent intent, required ordinary justice. Thus as they were enclosed about six or seven hours, at last came Martin the king's attorney, with force of commissaries and serjeants, who, with much ado appeasing the outrage of the people, entered into the house; where he, viewing the women and children, and the other furniture there being prepared for that congregation, perceived testimonies sufficient of their innocency, insomuch that in considering thereof, for pity of heart his eyes could not refrain from tears. Notwithstanding, proceeding in his office, he had them all to prison within the little castle. I omit here the furious usage of the people by the way, how despitefully they plucked and haled the women, tore their garments, thrust off their hoods from their heads, and disfigured their faces with dust and dirt. Neither were they better treated in prison than they were in the streets; for all

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the villains and thieves there were let out of their holes and stinking caves, and the poor Christians placed in their room.

Besides these manifold wrongs and oppressions done to these poor innocents, followed then (which was worst of all) the cruel and slanderous reports of the friars and priests, who, in their railing-sermons, and other talk, cried out on the Lutherans, persuading the people most falsely, that they assembled together to make a banquet in the night, and there, putting out the candles, they intended to commit most filthy abominations: adding moreover, (to make the lie more likely,) that certain nuns also and monks were with them. Also that they should conspire against the king, and other like heinous crimes, whatsoever their malice could invent for defacing of the gospel. With such-like malicious misreports and slanders, Satan went about to extinguish the ancient church of Christ in the primitive time, accusing the innocent Christians then of incest, conspiracy, killing of infants, putting out of candles, and filthy whoredom, &c. These sinister rumours and cursed defamations were no sooner given out, but they were as soon received, and spread far, not only to them of the vulgar sort, but also among the estates of the court, and even to the king's ears. The cardinal of Lorraine the same time bare a great sway in the court, who then procured a certain judge of the castle to come in, declaring to the king, that he found there lying on the floor of the aforesaid house divers couches and pallets, which they intended to use for evil purposes; also much other furniture and preparation appointed for a sumptuous feast or banquet: wherewith the king was mightily inflamed against them, neither was there any one person that durst contrary it.

Here the enemies began highly to triumph, thinking verily that the gospel, with all the friends thereof, was overthrown for ever. On the other side, no less perplexity and lamentation were among the brethren, sorrowing not so much for themselves, as for the imprisonment of their fellows. Albeit they lost not their courage so altogether, but, as well as they could, they exhorted one another, considering the great favour and providence of God, in delivering them so wonderfully out of the danger. Some comfort they took unto them, consulting together in this order, that first they should humble themselves to God in their own private families: secondly, to stop the running bruits of their holy assemblies, they should write apologies, one to the king, another to the people: thirdly, that letters of consolation should be written and sent to their brethren in prison.

The first apology was written to the king, and conveyed so secretly into his chamber, that it was found and read openly in the hearing of the king and all his nobles: wherein the Christians learnedly and discreetly both cleared themselves of those reports, and showed the malice of their enemies, especially of Satan, who ever, from the beginning of the church, hath gone, and still doth go, about to overrun the right way of the Lord. Declaring further, by manifold examples and continual experience, even from the primitive time, how the nature of the church hath ever been to suffer vexations, and slanderous reports and infamation by the malignant adversaries, &c. And lastly, coming to the king, they craved that their cause might not be condemned, before it had had indifferent hearing, &c.

Nevertheless, this apology to the king served to little purpose; forasmuch as the adversaries incontinently denied all that was written to the king, making him to believe, that all were but excuses pretended; neither was there any person that durst reply again. But the other

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apology, to the people, did inestimable good, in satisfying the rumours, and defending the true cause of the gospel. Whereupon certain doctors of Sorbonne began to write both against the apology and the persons, of whom one was called Demochares, who, taking for his foundation, without any proof, that they were all heretics, cried out for justice, with bills, glaves, fire, and sword.

Another Sorbonist, more bloody than the first, not only exclaimed against them for putting out the candles in their detestable concourses and assemblies, but also accused them as men who maintained that there was no God, and denied the Divinity and humanity of Christ, the immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the flesh; and briefly, all the articles of true religion. And thus he charged them without any proof, moving both the king and people, without any form of law, to destroy and cut them in pieces, &c.

The third that wrote against them was Cenalis, bishop of Avranches, who debated the same matter, but with less vehemency than the others, defending impudently, that their assemblies were to maintain whoredom; complaining of the judges because they were no sharper with them, saying, that their softness was the cause why the number of them so much increased. Among other points of his book this one thing he disputeth marvellous pleasantly, touching the signs and marks of the true church; first, presupposing this one thing, which is true, that the true church hath its signs, by the which it may be known from the false church: and thereupon (making no mention at all either of preaching, or ministration of sacraments) thus he inferreth: that their church, which was the catholic church, had bells by which their assemblies be ordinarily called together; and the other church, which is of the Lutherans, hath claps of harquebusses and pistolets for signs, whereby they (as it is commonly bruited) are wont to congregate together. Upon this supposal, as upon a sure foundation, he grounding his matter, he vaunted and triumphed as one having gotten a great conquest, and made a long antithesis or comparison, by which he would prove that bells were the mark of the true church. "The bells," said he, "do sound; the harquebusses do crack or thunder. The bells do give a sweet tune and melodious; the signs of the Lutherans make a foul noise and terrible. The bells do open heaven; the others do open hell. Bells chase away clouds and thunder; the others engender clouds, and counterfeit thunder;" with many other properties more, which he brought out to prove that the Church of Rome is the true church, because it hath those bells.

Mark, good reader! the profound reasons and arguments which these great doctors had, either to defend their own church, or to impugn the apologies of the Christians.

Briefly, to finish the residue of this story: as the faithful Christians were thus occupied in writing their apologies, and in comforting their brethren in prison with their letters, the adversaries again with their faction were not idle, but sought all means possible to hasten forward the execution, giving diligent attendance about the prison and other open places, to satisfy their uncharitable desire with the death of those whose religion they hated.

Finally, the seventeenth day of September, commission was directed out by the king, and certain presidents and councillors appointed to oversee the expedition of the matter. Whereupon divers of the poor afflicted gospellers were brought forth to their judgment and martyrdom, as anon, Christ willing, you shall hear.

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Henry Pantaleon, partly touching this persecution of the Parisians, referreth the time thereof to A.D. 1557, which the French chronicles do assign to the year 1558; and addeth moreover, that the Germans being at the same time in a certain colloquy at Worms, divers learned men resorted thither from Geneva and other quarters, desiring of the princes and protestants there, that they, by their ambassadors sent to the French king, would become suitors unto him for the innocent prisoners, who, for the cause abovesaid, were detained in bands at Paris. By the means of their intercession, (saith he,) and especially for that the French king was then at war, as God provided, with Philip king of Spain, a great part of the captives were rescued and delivered; albeit certain of the said number were executed before the coming of the German ambassadors, the names and martyrdom of whom hereunder do ensue.

Nicholas Clinet, at Paris, A.D. 1558. Persecuted by certain priests of the college of Plessis; and by Dr. Maillard, Sorbonist.

Of this godly company thus brought to judgment and to martyrdom, the first was Nicholas Clinet, of the age of sixty years, who first being a schoolmaster to youth at Saintonge, where he was born, was there pursued, and had his image burned. From thence he came to Paris, where, for his godly conversation, he was made one of the elders or governors of the church. For his age he was suspected of the judges to be a minister, and therefore was set to dispute against the chieftest of the Sorbonists, and especially Maillard, whom he did so confute both in the Scriptures, and also in their own Sorbonical divinity, (wherein he had been well exercised and expert,) in the presence of the lieutenant-civil, that the said lieutenant confessed that he never heard a man better learned, and of more intelligence.

Taurin Gravelle, a lawyer, at Paris, A.D. 1558.

Persecuted by Dr. Maillard, a Sorbonist.

Taurin Gravelle first was a student of the law at Toulouse: after that he was made an advocate in the court of Paris: lastly, for his godliness, he was ordained an elder to the said congregation, with Clinet above mentioned. This Taurin, having in his hands the keeping of a certain house of one M. Barthomier, his kinsman, and seeing the congregation destitute of a room, received them into the said house. And when he perceived the house to be compassed with enemies, albeit he might have escaped with the rest, yet he would not, but did abide the adventure, to the intent he would answer for the fact, in receiving the said assembly into the house. The constancy of this man was invincible, in sustaining his conflicts with the Sorbonists. With Dr. Maillard, especially, he was of old acquaintance, whom he did know so well, even from his youth upwards, that whensoever the said doctor would open his mouth to speak against the saints for their nightly assemblies, he again did reproach him with such filthy acts, &c., that neither they who heard could abide it, neither yet could he deny it, being so notorious that almost all the children in the streets did know it; and yet that Sorbonical doctor shamed not to impeach good men of immorality, for their godly assemblies in the night; whose life was as far from all chastity, as were their holy assemblies clear from all impurity. In fine, these two godly elders, in cruel pains of the fire, finished their martyrdom.

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Philippe de Luns, a gentlewoman, at Paris, A.D. 1558. Persecuted by the lieutenant-civil; Dr. Maillard, Sorbonist; Mosnier, lieutenant; evil neighbours; Bertrand, lord-keeper of the seal, and cardinal of Sens; and the marquis of Trane.

Next unto these abovesaid, was brought out Mme. Philippe, gentlewoman, of the age of twenty-three years. She came first from the parts of Gascony with her husband, who was lord of Graveron, unto Paris, there to join herself to the church of God, where her husband also had been a senior or elder; who, in the month of May before, was taken with an ague, and deceased, leaving this Philippe a widow, who nevertheless ceased not to serve the Lord in his church, and also in the house was taken with the said company. Many conflicts she had with the judges and the Sorbonists, especially Maillard; but she always sent him away with the same reproach as the others did before, and bade him, "Avaunt wretch!" saying she would not answer one word to such a villain. To the judges her answer was this: that she had learned the faith which she confessed in the word of God, and in the same would live and die. And being demanded whether the body of Christ was in the sacrament: "How is that possible," said she, "to be the body of Christ, to whom all power is given, and which is exalted above all heavens, when we see the mice and rats, apes and monkeys, play with it, and tear it in pieces?" Her petition to them was, that seeing they had taken her sister from her, yet they would let her have a Bible or Testament to comfort herself. Her wicked neighbours, although they could touch her conversation with no part of dishonesty, yet many things they laid to her charge, as that there was much singing of psalms in her house, and that twice or thrice an infinite number of persons were seen to come out of her house. Also when her husband was dying, no priest was called for; neither was it known where he was buried; neither did they ever hear any word of their infant to be baptized, for it was baptized in the church of the Lord. Among her other neighbours that came against her, two there were dwelling at St. Germain in the suburbs; between whom, incontinent, arose a strife, wherein one of them struck the other with a knife. The death of this gentlewoman was the more hastened of the lord-keeper of the seal, Bertrand, cardinal of Sens, and his son-in-law, the marquis of Trane, for to have the confiscation of her goods.

These three holy martyrs above recited, were condemned on the twenty-seventh of September, by the process of the commissioners and the lieutenant-civil: and then being put in a chapel together, certain doctors were sent to them, but their valiant constancy remained unmovable. After that they were had out of their prison, and sent every one in a dung-cart to the place of punishment. Clinet ever cried by the way, protesting, that he said or maintained nothing but the verity of God. And being asked of a doctor, whether he would believe St. Austin, touching certain matters? he said, "Yea;" and that he had said nothing but what he would prove by his authority.

The gentlewoman, seeing a priest come to confess her, said, that she had confessed unto God, and had received of him remission: other absolution she found none in Scripture. And when certain councillors did urge her to take in her hands the wooden cross, according to the custom of them that go to their death, alleging how Christ commanded every one to bear his cross, she answered, "My lords!" said she, "you make me in very deed to bear my cross, condemning me unjustly, and putting me to death in the quarrel of my Lord Jesus Christ, who willeth us to bear our cross, but no such cross as you speak of."

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Gravelle looked with a smiling countenance, and showed a cheerful colour, declaring how little he passed for his condemnation; and being asked of his friends to what death he was condemned, "I see well," said he, "that I am condemned to death, but to what death or torment I regard not." And coming from the chapel, when he perceived they went about to cut out his tongue, unless he would return, he said, that was not so contained in the arrest, and therefore he was unwilling to grant unto it; but afterward, perceiving the same so to be agreed by the court, he offered his tongue willingly to be cut, and incontinent spake plainly these words: "I pray you pray to God for me."

The gentlewoman also, being required to give her tongue, did likewise, with these words: "Seeing I do not stick to give my body, shall I stick to give my tongue? No, no." And so these three, having their tongues cut out, were brought to Maulbert Place. The constancy of Gravelle was admirable, casting up his sighs and groanings to heaven, declaring thereby his ardent affection by praying to God. Clinet was somewhat more sad than the other, by reason of the feebleness of nature and his age. But the gentlewoman yet surmounted all the rest in constancy, which neither changed countenance nor colour, being of an excellent beauty.

After the death of her husband, she used to go in mourning weed, after the manner of the country; but the same day, going to her burning, she put on her French hood, and decked herself in her best array, as going to a new marriage, the same day to be joined to her spouse Jesus Christ. And thus these three, with singular constancy, were burned: Gravelle and Clinet were burned alive; Philippe, the gentlewoman, was strangled, after she had a little tasted the flame with her feet and visage; and so she ended her martyrdom.

Nicholas Cene and Peter Gabart, at Paris, A.D. 1558. Their persecutors: the lieutenant, Dr. Maillard, councillors, and friars.

Of the same company was also Nicholas Cene, a physician, brother to Philip Cene above mentioned, and martyred at Dijon, and Peter Gabart; which two, about five or six days after the other three before, were brought forth to their death, on the second of October.

Nicholas Cene was but newly come to Paris the same day, when he was advertised of the assembly which then was congregated in the street of St. James; and (as he desired nothing more than to hear the word of God) came thither even as he was, booted, and was also with them apprehended, sustaining the cause of God's holy gospel unto death.

The other was Peter Gabart, a solicitor of processes, about the age of thirty years, whose constancy did much comfort the prisoners. He was put among a great number of scholars in the little castle, whom when he heard to pass the time in talking of philosophy, "No, no," said he, "let us forget these worldly matters, and learn how to sustain the heavenly cause of our God, which lies here in defence of the kingdom of Jesus Christ our Saviour." And so he began to instruct them how to answer to every point of Christian doctrine, as well as if he had done no other thing in all his life, but only studied divinity; and yet was he but very simply learned. Then was he sent from them apart to another prison, full of filthy stench and vermin; where, notwithstanding, he ceased not to sing psalms, that the others might well hear him. He had a nephew in prison by, being but a child, of whom he asked what he had said to the judges? He

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said, that he was constrained to do reverence to a crucifix, painted. "O thou naughty boy!" said he, "have not I taught thee the commandments of God? Knowest thou not how it is written, Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image," &c. And so began to expound to him the commandments; whereunto he gave good attention.

In their examinations, many questions were propounded by the doctors and friars, touching matters both of religion, and also to know of them what gentlemen and gentlewomen were there present at the ministration of the sacrament: whereunto they answered in such sort, as was both sufficient for defence of their own cause, and also to save their other brethren from blame, saying that they would live and die in what they had said and maintained.

When the time of their execution was come, they perceived that the judges had intended, that if they would relent, they should be strangled; if not, they should burn alive, and their tongues be cut from them: which torments being content to suffer for our Saviour Jesus Christ, offered their tongues willingly to the hangman to be cut. Gabart began a little to sigh, for that he might no more praise the Lord with his tongue; whom then Cene did comfort. Then were they drawn out of prison in the dung-cart to the suburbs of St. Germain; whom the people in rage and madness followed with cruel injuries and blasphemies, as though they would have done the execution themselves upon them, maugre the hangmen. The cruelty of their death was such as hath not lightly, been seen; for they were holden long in the air over a small fire, and their lower parts burnt off, before the higher parts were much harmed with the fire. Nevertheless these blessed saints ceased not in all these torments to turn up their eyes to heaven, and to show forth infinite testimonies of their faith and constancy.

In the same fire many Testaments and Bibles at the same time also were burnt.

Upon the sight of this cruelty, the friends of the other prisoners who remained behind, fearing the tyranny of these judges, presented certain causes of refusal against the said judges, requiring other commissioners to be placed. But the king, being hereof advertised by his solicitor, sent out his letters patent, commanding the said causes of refusal to be frustrated, and willed the former judges to proceed, all other lets and obstacles to the contrary notwithstanding: and that the presidents should have power to choose to them other councillors, according to their own arbitrement, to supply the place of such as were absent; amongst whom also the said solicitor was received, instead of the king's procurator, to pursue the process. By these letters patent it was decreed, that these stubborn Sacramentaries (as they were called) should be judged accordingly, save only that they should not proceed to the execution, before the king were advertised. These letters aforesaid stirred up the fire of this persecution not a little, for that the judges at this refusal took great indignation, and were mightily offended for that reproach. Notwithstanding so it pleased God, that a young man, a German, called Albert Hartung, born in the country of Brandenburg, and godson to Albert, marquis of Brandenburg, by the king's commandment was delivered, through the importunate suit of the said marquis.

Frederic Danville, and Francis Rebezies, at Paris, A.D. 1558. Persecutors: two presidents, twenty-five councillors, the lieutenant-civil, doctors, friars, Sorbonists, Benedict, Jacobin, Demochares, and Maillard.

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Mention was made above of certain young scholars and students who were in the little castle with Peter Gabart. Of the which number of scholars were these two, Frederic Danville and Francis Rebezies, neither of them being past twenty years of age. How valiantly they behaved themselves in those tender years, sustaining the quarrel of our Lord Jesus Christ, what confession they made, what conflicts they had, disputing with the doctors of Sorbonne, their own letters left in writing do make record; the effect whereof briefly to touch is this: and first touching Frederic Danville.

The lieutenant-civil, who before was half suspected, but now, thinking to prove himself a right catholic, and to recover his estimation again, came to him, beginning with these words of Scripture, "Whosoever denieth me before men, him will I deny before my Father," &c.: that done, he asked him what he thought of the sacrament. To whom Frederic answered, that if he should think Christ Jesus to be between the priest's hands after the sacramental words, (as they call them,) then should he believe a thing contrary to the Holy Scripture, and to the Creed, which saith that he sitteth on the right hand of the Father: also to the testimony of the angels, who spake both of the ascending of Christ, and of his coming down again. After this he questioned with him touching invocation of saints, purgatory, &c., whereunto he answered so that he rather did astonish the enemies, than satisfy them.

Furthermore, on the twelfth of September, the said Frederic again was brought before Benedict Jacobin, and his companion, a Sorbonist, called Nos-ter Magister; who thus began to argue with him.

The doctor. "What think you to be the true church, the church of the protestants, or the church of Paris?"

The martyr. "I recognise that to be the true church where the gospel is truly preached, and the sacraments rightly administered, so as they be left by Jesus Christ and his apostles."

Doctor. "And is the church, think you, of Geneva such a one as you speak of?"

The martyr. "I so judge it to be."

Doctor. "And what if I do prove the contrary, will you believe me?"

The martyr. "Yea, if you will prove it by the Scripture."

Doctor. "Or will you believe St. Austin and other holy doctors innumerable?"

The martyr. "Yea, so they dissent not from the Scripture and the word of God."

Doctor. "By the authority of St. Austin the church is there where is the succession of bishops; whereunto I frame this argument: There is the church, where is the perpetual succession of bishops: in the church of Paris is such succession of bishops: ergo, the church of Paris is the true church."

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The martyr. "To your major I answer, that if St. Austin mean the succession of such as are true bishops indeed, who truly preach the gospel, and rightly administer the sacraments, such bishops I suppose to be at Geneva, where the gospel is truly preached, and the sacraments duly administered, and not in the church of Paris. But otherwise, if St. Austin mean the succession of false bishops, such as neither preach nor minister according to God's word, so is the same in no wise to be granted."

Doctor. "Calvin is there by his own thrusting in, and only by the choosing of the people."

The martyr. "And that soundeth more for him to be of God's divine election, forasmuch as by him the gospel of God is preached truly, and from this no man shall bring me."

After this disputation, the ninth of the same month came against him another doctor with two Sorbonists, who bringing forth a scroll out of his bosom, pretended that a certain scholar, coming from Geneva, made his confession, wherein was contained, that in receiving of the bread and wine, the body and blood of Christ is received really. Whereupon they demanded of him, whether he would receive the same confession.

The martyr. "Whatsoever I have said unto you, that will I hold. And as touching this word *really*, I know right well, that they of Geneva do not take it for any carnal presence, as you do; but their meaning is, to exclude thereby only a vain imagination."

Doctor. "I marvel much that you so refuse the word *really*, and use only *spiritually*, seeing that Calvin himself doth use the same word *really*."

The martyr. "Calvin meaneth thereby no other thing but as we do."

Doctor. "What say you of confession auricular?"

The martyr. "The same that I said before to Monsieur Lieutenant, that is, that I take it for a plantation, not planted by God in his word."

Doctor. "The Almaines, in their confession which they sent to our king to be approved, have these words: We do not reject auricular confession; for it is a gospel secret and privy. And also Melancthon, in his Book of Common Places, doth call it *Evangelium Secretum*."

Another time the said Frederic was called again before the lords, the twentieth of the said month, where they did nothing but demand of him certain questions, as where he was born, and whether he had heard in his country at Oleron, that M. Gerard, the bishop there, did sing mass. "Yea," said he. "And why do not you also," said they, "receive the same?" He answered, "Because he did it, to retain and keep his bishopric." The martyr, for lack of paper, could proceed herein no further.

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The examinations of the aforesaid Francis Rebezies.

Rebezies had three sundry examinations: the first with the lieutenant-civil; the second with the presidents and the councillors; the third with the friars. First, the lieutenant, inquiring of his name, country, and parents, asked whether he was at the communion, whether he received with them the bread and wine, and whether he was a servitor to M. Nicholas Cene, senior of the congregation? Whereunto he said, "Yea." Also whether he was a distributor of the tokens, whereby they were let in that came? That he denied.

Then he was brought into the council chamber, before two presidents, and twenty-five councillors; who, after other questions about his country and parents, demanded whether he was taken with them in the house? He answered, Yea. What he had to do there? To hear the word of God, and to receive with them. Who brought him thither? Himself. Whom there he knew? No man. How he durst, or would enter, knowing no person there? Truth it was, (said he,) that he knew there two or three. Who were they? M. Gravelle, Clinet, and John Sansot, feigning that name of himself. Whether he knew the preacher? That he denied. Whether he allowed the act there done to be good? Yea. Whether he did not better like to resort unto their beautified temples, to hear mass, or whether he did not take the mass to be a holy thing, and ordained of God? He answered again contrary, believing that it was a great blasphemy against God, and a service set up of the devil. Whether he did not acknowledge purgatory? Yea, that purgatory, which is the death and passion of Christ, which taketh away the sins of the whole world. The death of Christ is the principal thing, (said they,) but thou must also believe another. Alas, (said he,) can we never content ourselves with the simplicity of the gospel, but man always will be putting to something of his own brain: in so many places of the Scripture we see the blood of Jesus Christ to be sufficient, as John i., Apocalypse v., Hebrews ix., Isaiah xliii., where the Lord himself saith, that it is he, who, for his own sake, putteth away our iniquities, &c. As St. Paul also saith, that God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself, &c. And on the contrary, when they objected the words of the parable, Thou shalt not come out till thou hast paid the last farthing: to this he answered, that the words of that parable had no such relation, but to matters civil; and this word "until" meaneth there, as much as never.

After that he was charged there by one, for reading the books of Calvin, Bucer, and Bullinger. The president asked, if he were not afraid to be burned as were the others before, and to bring his parents into such dishonour? He answered, that he knew well, that all who would live godly in Christ Jesus should suffer persecution; and that to him either to live or to die were advantage in the Lord. And as touching his parents, Christ himself (said he) doth premonish, that whosoever loveth father or mother more than him, is not worthy to be his, &c. "Jesus Maria!" said the president, "what youth are these now-a-days, who cast themselves so headlong into the fire! "And so was he commanded away.

Thirdly, He was brought before Benet, master of the doctors of Sorbonne, and another called Jacobin, on the fourteenth of October; where he chancing to speak of the Lord, the doctor began thus to object as followeth:

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The doctor. "See how you, and all such as are of your company, simply name the Lord, without putting to the pronoun, our. So may the devils well call the Lord, and tremble before his face."

The martyr. "The devils call the Lord in such sort as the Pharisees did, when they brought the adulteress before him, and called him master; yet neither attended they to his doctrine, nor intended to be his disciples: whose case I trust is nothing like to ours, which know, and confess (as we speak) him to be the true Lord with all our heart, so as true Christians ought to do."

Doctor. "I know well you hold the church to be, where the word is truly preached, and the sacraments are sincerely administered, according as they are left by Christ and his apostles."

The martyr. "That do I believe, and in that will I live and die."

Doctor. "Do you not believe that whosoever is without that church, cannot obtain remission of his sins?"

The martyr. "Whosoever doth separate himself from that church, to make either sect, part, or division, cannot obtain, as you say."

Doctor. "Now let us consider two churches, the one wherein the word is rightly preached, and the two sacraments are administered accordingly as they be left unto us: the other, wherein the word and sacraments be used contrarily. Which of these two ought we to believe?"

The martyr. "The first."

Doctor. "Well said. Next is now to speak of the gifts given to the said church: as the power of the keys, and confession for remission of sins after we be confessed to a priest. Also we must believe the seven sacraments in the same church truly administered, as they be here in the churches of Paris, where the sacrament of the altar is ministered, and the gospel is truly preached."

The martyr. "Sir, now you begin to halt. As for my part, I do not receive in the church more than two sacraments, which be instituted in the same for the whole commonalty of Christians. And as concerning the power of the keys, and your confession, I believe, that for the remission of our sins, we ought to go to none other but only to God, as we read in 1 John i., If we confess our sins, God is faithful and just to pardon our offences, and he will purge us from all our iniquities, &c. Also in the prophet David, in the nineteenth and thirty-second Psalms: I have opened my sin unto thee," &c.

Doctor. "Should I not believe that Christ, in the time of his apostles, gave to them power to remit sins?"

The martyr. "The power that Christ gave to his apostles, if it be well considered, is nothing disagreeing to my saying: and therefore I began to say (which I here confess) that the Lord gave to his apostles to preach the word, and so to remit sins by the same word."

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Doctor. "Do you then deny auricular confession?"

The martyr. "Yea, verily I do."

Doctor. "Ought we to pray to saints?"

The martyr. "I believe no."

Doctor. "Tell me what I shall ask, Jesus Christ being here upon the earth? Was he not then as well sufficient to hear the whole world, and to be intercessor for all, as he is now?"

The martyr. "Yes."

Doctor. "But we find that when he was here on earth, his apostles made intercession for the people: and why may they not do the same as well now also?"

The martyr. "So long as they were in the world, they exercised their ministry, and prayed one for another, as needing human succours together; but now, they being in paradise, all the prayer that they make, is this: that they wish that they who be yet on earth, may attain to their felicity; but to obtain any thing at the Father's hand, we must have recourse only to his Son."

Doctor. "If one man have such charge to pray for another, may not he then be called an intercessor?"

The martyr. "I grant."

Doctor. "Well then, you say there is but one intercessor: whereupon I infer, that I, being bound to pray for another, need not now to go to Jesus Christ to have him an intercessor, but to God alone, setting Jesus Christ apart; and so ought we verily to believe."

The martyr. "You understand not, sir, that if God do not behold us in the face of his own well-beloved Son, then shall we never be able to stand in his sight: for if he shall look upon us, he can see nothing but sin; and if the heavens be not pure in his eyes, what shall be thought then of man, so abominable and unprofitable, who drinketh iniquity like water, as Job doth say?"

Then the other friar, seeing his fellow to have nothing to answer to this, inferred as followeth.

Doctor. "Nay, my friend! as touching the great mercy of God, let that stand; and now to speak of ourselves, this we know, that God is not displeased with them which have their recourse unto his saints."

The martyr. "Sir, we must not do after our own wills, but according to that which God willeth and commandeth: For this is the trust that we have in him, that if we demand any thing after his will, he will hear us."

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Doctor. "As no man cometh to the presence of an earthly king, or prince, without means made by some about him; so, or rather much more, to the heavenly King above," &c.

The martyr. "To this earthly example, I will answer with another heavenly example of the prodigal son, who sought no other means to obtain his Father's grace, but came to the Father himself."

Then they came to speak of adoration, which the said Rebezies disproved by the Scripture, Acts x. xiii. xiv.; Apocalypse xix. xxii: Hebrews x. xii.: where is to be noted, that where the martyr alleged the twelfth chapter to the Hebrews; the doctors answered, that it was in the eleventh chapter, when the place indeed is neither in the eleventh, nor in the twelfth, but in the fourteenth chapter of the Acts. So well seen were these doctors in their divinity.

Doctor. "Touching the mass, what say you? believe you not that when the priest hath consecrated the host, our Lord is there as well, and in as ample sort, as he was, hanging upon the cross?"

The martyr. "No, verily; but I believe that Jesus Christ is sitting at the right hand of his Father; as appeareth by Hebrews x., 1 Cor. xv., Colossians iii. And therefore (to make short with you) I hold your mass for none other, but for a false and counterfeited service, set up by Satan, and retained by his ministers, by the which you do annihilate the precious blood of Christ, and his oblation once made of his own body; and you know right well that the same is sufficient, and ought not to be reiterated."

Doctor. "You deceive yourselves in the word reiteration, for we do not reiterate it so as you think; as by example I will show. You see me now in this religious garment; but if I should put upon me a soldier's weed, then should I be disguised, and yet for all that I should remain the same still within my doublet, that I was before in my friar's weed. So is it with the sacrifice: we confess and grant, that *naturaliter*, that is, naturally, he was once offered in sacrifice; and also in sitting, *naturaliter*, that is, naturally, at the right hand of his Father; but *supernaturaliter*, *et subscriptive*, that is, supernaturally, we sacrifice the same without reiteration. *Supernaturaliter* we sacrifice him; but that sacrifice is only disguised, to understand that he is contained under that curtain and whiteness which you see."

The martyr. "Sir, this I say, that such a disguised sacrifice is a diabolical sacrifice; and this you may take for a resolution."

Doctor. "And how is your belief touching the holy supper?"

The martyr. "That if it be ministered unto me by the minister, in such usage as it hath been left of Christ and his apostles; preaching also the word purely withal; I believe that, in receiving the material bread and wine, I receive with lively faith the body and blood of Jesus Christ spiritually."

Doctor. "Say corporally."

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The martyr. "No, sir, for his words be spirit and life; and let this content you."

Doctor. "What say you, Is it lawful for a priest to marry?"

The martyr. "I believe it to be lawful for him, in such sort as the apostle saith, Whosoever hath not the gift of continency, let him marry; for it is better to marry than to burn. And if this do not content you, further you may read what he writeth of bishops and elders, 1 Tim. iii. and Tit. i."

And thus these doctors, affirming that he denied priesthood, gave him leave to depart, saying, "God have mercy on you!" "So be it," said he.

After this, about the twenty-second of October, the said Rebezies and Frederic Danville, were brought up to a chamber in the castle, to be racked, to the intent they should utter the rest of the congregation; in which chamber they found three councillors, who thus began with them: "Lift up thy hand. Thou shalt swear by the passion of Jesus Christ, whose image here thou seest" (showing him a great marmoset there painted on paper); whereunto Rebezies answered, "Monsieur, I swear to you by the passion of Christ, which is written in my heart." "Why dost not thou swear to us," said the councilors, "as we say unto thee?" "Because," said he, "it is a great blasphemy against the Lord." Then the councillors read their depositions, and, first beginning with Rebezies, said: "Wilt thou not tell us the truth, what companions thou knowest to be of this assembly?" Rebezies named, as he did before, Gravel, Clinet, (which were already burnt,) and John Sansot. To whom they said, that the court had ordained, that if he would give no other answer but so, he should be put to the torture or rack; and so he was commanded to be stripped to his shirt, having a cross put in his hand, and being bid to commend himself to God and the Virgin Mary. But he neither would receive the cross, nor commend himself to the Virgin Mary, saying, that God was able enough to guard him, and to save him out of the lion's mouth: and so, being drawn and stretched in the air, he began to cry, "Come, Lord! and show thy strength, that man do not prevail," &c. But they cried, "Tell truth, Francis! and thou shalt be let down."

Nevertheless he continued still in his invocation and prayer to the Lord, so that they could have no other word but that. And after they had thus long tormented him, the councillors said, "Wilt thou say nothing else?" "I have nothing else," said he, "to say." And so they commanded him to be loosed, and be put by the fire-side. Who, being loosed, said to them, "Do you handle thus the poor servants of God?" And the like was done to Frederic Danville also, his companion, (who at the same time was also very sick,) of whom they could have no other answer but as of the other. So mightily did God assist and strengthen his servants, as ever he did any else, as by their own letters and confession it doth appear.

These constant and true martyrs of Christ, after they had returned from the torture unto their fellow prisoners, ceased not to thank and praise the Lord for his assistance. Frederic did sigh oftentimes, and being asked of his fellows, why he so did? he said, it was not for the evil that he had suffered, but for the evils that he knew they should suffer afterward. "Notwithstanding," said he, "be strong, brethren! and be not afraid, assuring yourselves of the aid of God, who hath succoured us, and also will comfort you." Rebezies with the rack was so drawn and stretched, that one of his shoulders was higher than the other, and his neck drawn on the one

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side, so that he could not move himself: and therefore desiring his brethren to lay him upon his bed, there he wrote his confession, which hitherto we have followed. When the night came they rejoiced together, and comforted themselves with meditation of the life to come, and contempt of this world, singing psalms together till it was day. Rebezies cried twice or thrice together, "Away from me, Satan!" Frederic, being in bed with him, asked why he cried, and whether Satan would stop him of his course? Rebezies said, that Satan set before him his parents; "but by the grace of God," said he, "he shall do nothing against me."

The day next following they were brought once or twice before the councillors, and required to show what fellows they had more of the said assembly: which when they would not declare, the sentence was read against them, that they should be brought in a dung-cart to Maulbert Place, and there, having a ball in their mouths, be tied each one to his post, and afterwards be strangled; and so be turned into ashes.

Afterwards came the friars and doctors, Demochares, Maillard, and others, to confess them, and offering to them a cross to kiss, which they refused. Then Demochares by force made Rebezies to kiss it whether he would or no, crying to them moreover, that they should believe in the sacrament. "What," said Frederic, "will ye have us to pluck Christ Jesus out from the right hand of the Father?" Demochares said, that so many of their opinion had suffered death before, and yet none of them all ever did any miracles, as the apostles and other holy martyrs did. Frederic asked them, if they required any miracle?" No," said they; and so stood mute, save only that Demochares prayed them to consider well what they had said unto them. Maillard also added, that he would gage his soul to be damned, but it was true. Frederic answered, that he knew it was contrary.

At last, being brought to the place of execution, a cross again was offered them, which they refused. Then a priest standing by, bade them believe in the Virgin Mary. "Let God," saith they, "reign alone." The people standing by, "Ali mischievous Lutheran!" said they. "Nay, a true Christian I am," said he. When they were tied to their stakes, after their prayers made, when they were bid to be despatched, one of them comforting the other, said, "Be strong, my brother! be strong Satan, away from us!" As they were thus exhorting, one standing by said, "These Lutherans do call upon Satan." One John Morel, (who afterwards died a martyr,) then standing by at liberty, answered, "I pray you let us hear," said he, "what they say, and we shall hear them invoke the name of God." Whereupon the people listened better unto them, to hearken, as well as they could, what they said: they crying still as much as their mouths being stopped could utter, "Assist us, O Lord." And so they, rendering up their spirits to the hands of the Lord, did consummate their valiant martyrdom.

After the martyrdom of these two abovesaid, the intention of the judges was to despatch the rest one after another in like sort, and had procured already process against twelve or thirteen ready to be judged. But a certain gentlewoman, then prisoner amongst them, had presented causes of exceptions or refusals against them, whereby the cruel rage of the enemies was stayed to the month of July following. In the mean time, as this persecution was spread into other countries, first the faithful cantons of the Switzers perceiving these good men to be afflicted for the same doctrine which they preached in their churches, sent their ambassadors to the king to make supplication for them. The same time also came letters from the county palatine, elector,

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tending to the same end, to solicit the king for them. The king, standing the same time in great need of the Germans for his wars, was contented at least that they should proceed more gently with them; and so the fire for that time ceased. Most of them were sent to abbeys, where they were kept at the charge of the priors, to be constrained to be present at the service of idolatry, especially the young scholars; of whom some shrunk back; others, being more loosely kept, escaped away. The most part were brought before the official to make their confession, and to receive absolution ordinary. Divers made their confession ambiguous and doubtful, &c.

Rena Seau and John Almarick, at Paris. A.D. 1558.

These two young men were also of the company above specified, and were in prison, where they sustained such cruelty, being almost racked to death, that Almarick could not go when he was called to the court to be judged. And being upon the rack, he rebuked their cruelty, and spake so freely, as though he had felt no grief; and as they said, who came to visit him, he testified unto them, that he felt no dolour so long as he was upon it. Both these died in prison, continuing still firm and constant in the pure confession of Christ's church.

John Bordel, Matthew Vermeil, Peter Bourdon, Andrew de Fou, in the country of Brasil, A.D. 1558. Persecuted by Villegaignon, a French captain.

Mention is made in the French story of one Villegaignon, lieutenant for the French king, who made a voyage into the land of Brasil with certain French ships, and took an island nearly to the same adjoining, and made therein a fortress. After they had been there a while, Villegaignon (for lack of victuals, as he pretended) sent certain of them away in a ship to the river Plata, towards the pole antarctic, a thousand miles off. In this ship were these four here mentioned; who, forsaking their ship by occasion of tempest, were carried back again, and so came to the land of Brasil, and afterwards to their own countrymen. Villegaignon, being much grieved thereat, first charged them with departing without his leave. Moreover, being terrified in his mind with false suspicion and vain dreams, fearing and dreaming lest they had been sent as privy spies by the Brasilians, because they came from them, and had been friendly entertained of them; he began to devise how he might put them to death under some colour of treason: but the cause was religion. For albeit sometime he had been a professor of the gospel, yet afterwards, growing to some dignity, he fell to be an apostate, and cruel persecutor of his fellows. But when no proof or conjecture probable could be found to serve his cruel purpose, he, knowing them to be earnest protestants, drew out certain articles of religion for them to answer, and so entrapping them upon their confession, he laid them in irons and in prison, and secretly with one executioner and his page, he took one after another, beginning with John Bordel, and first brought him to the top of a rock, and there being half strangled, without any judgment threw him into the sea; and after the like manner, ordered also the rest. Of whom three were thus cruelly murdered and drowned; to wit, John Bordel, Matthew Vermeil, and Peter Bourdon. The fourth, who was Andrew de Fou, he caused by manifold allurements somewhat to incline to his sayings, and so he escaped the danger; not without great offence taken of a great part of the Frenchmen in that country.

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Geneva

Geffery Varagle, at Turin, in Piedmont, A.D. 1558. Persecuted by the king's lieutenant.

In the same year, 1558, suffered also Geffery Varagle, preacher in the valley of Angrogne, at the town of Turin, in Piedmont, who first was a monk, and said mass the space of seven and twenty years. Afterwards, returning from Buske toward Angrogne to preach, as he had used before to do, sent by the ministers of Geneva, and other faithful brethren, was apprehended in the town of Bruges, and brought before the king's lieutenant; where he was questioned with, touching divers articles of religion: as of justification, works of supererogation, free-will, predestination, confession, satisfaction, indulgences, images, purgatory, the pope, &c. Whereunto he answered again in writing, with such learning and reason, alleging against the pope's own distinctions, that, as the story reporteth, the court of Turin, marvelling at his learning, condemned him more for reproach of shame, than upon true opinion grounded on judgment. When he was brought to the place of execution, the people which stood by and heard him speak, declared openly, that they saw no cause why he should die. A certain old companion of his, a priest, calling him by his name, "Master Geffery," desired him to convert from his opinions: to whom he patiently answered again, desiring him, that he would convert from his condition. And

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thus after he had made his prayer unto God, and had forgiven his executioner, and all his enemies, he was first strangled, and then burned. In the aforesaid story, relation is made moreover, concerning the said Geffery, that at the time of his burning a dove was seen, as was credibly reported of many, flying and fluttering divers times about the fire; testifying, as was thought, the innocency of this holy martyr of the Lord. But the story addeth, that upon such things we must not stay: and so concludeth he the martyrdom of this blessed man.

Benet Romaine, a mercer or haberdasher, at Draguignan in Provence, A.D. 1558. Persecuted by Lanteaume Blanc; De Lauris, councillor and son-in-law to Miniers, lord of Opede, the cruel persecutor; Anthony Revest, the lieutenant; Barbosi, judge-ordinary of Draguignan; Joachim Partavier, the king's advocate; Caval and Cavalieri, consuls; the official; Gasper Siguire, officer in Draguignan; and also a friar observant.

The lamentable story of Benet Romaine is described at large among other French martyrs, by John Crispine, printer: the brief recital whereof here followeth. This Benet, having wife and children at Geneva, to get his living used to go about the country with certain mercenary ware, having cunning also, amongst other things, how to dress corals. As he was coming toward Marseilles, and passed by the town of Draguignan, he happened upon one of the like faculty, named Lanteaume Blanc, who, being desirous to have of his corals, and could not agree for the price, also knowing that he was one of Geneva, went to a councillor of the court of Aix; being then at Draguignan, whose name was De Lauris, son-in-law to Miniers, lord of Opede, the great persecutor against Merindol, &c. This De Lauris, consulting together with the aforesaid Blanc, and pretending to buy certain of his coral which he saw to be very fair, and knowing also that he had to the worth of three hundred crowns, incontinent after his departing from him, he sent to the officer of the town to attach the said Benet, as one being the greatest Lutheran in the world. Thus when he was arrested for the king's prisoner, Blanc and his fellows, which, sought nothing but only the prey, were ready to seize on his goods; and likewise of the other two men whom he hired to bear his merchandise. Then were these three poor men separated asunder, and Romaine examined before the consuls, and the king's advocate, and other councillors, where he kept his Easter? whether he received at the same Easter? whether he was confessed before, and fasted the Lent. Also he was bid to say his Pater Noster, the Creed, and Ave Maria; which two first he did, but refused to say Ave Maria. Then was he asked for worshipping of saints, women-saints and men-saints, and when he heard mass? He said, he would worship none but God alone: mass he heard none these four years, nor ever would. Whereupon he was committed to a stinking and loathsome place, with iron chains upon his legs. De Lauris thus having his will upon the poor man, sent for the lieutenant, named Anthony Revest, told him what he had done, and willed him to see the prisoner. The lieutenant, being angry, that he did so usurp upon his office, denied to go with him to the prisoner, excusing the filthy savour of the place. Notwithstanding, the same day the lieutenant with another went to the prison, and caused the said Romaine to come before him, of whom he inquired many things, of his dwelling, of his name and age, his wife and children, of his faculty, and the cause of his coming; also of his religion, and all such points thereto belonging. Unto whom he answered again simply and truly in all respects, as lay in his conscience; and thereunto, being required, (because he could not write,) he put to his mark. After this confession being thrice made, and his answer taken, certain faithful brethen of that place found means to come to him, and counselled him, that seeing he had sufficiently already made confession of his faith, he would seek means to

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escape out from his enemies, which sought nothing but his death; and showed unto him what he should say unto the lieutenant. But he refused so to do, being willing there to render account of his faith, and contented to die for the same.

The fame of his constancy being known in the town, judge Barbosi, a man blind and ignorant, and no less deformed, came to see him, and asked, "What, do they believe," said he, "in any God in Geneva?" Romaine looking upon him, "What art thou," said he, "that so wretchedly dost blaspheme?" "I am," said he, "the judge-ordinary of this place." "And who hath put thee," said Romaine, "such a gross and deformed person, in such an office? Thinkest thou that we be infidels, and no Christians? And if the devils themselves do confess a God, suppose you that they of Geneva do deny their God? No! no! we believe in God, we invoke his name, and repose all our trust in him," &c. Barbosi took such grief with this, departing from Romaine, that he ceased not to pursue him to death.

The lieutenant then being urged, and much called upon, and also threatened by this Barbosi and other, prepared to proceed in judgment against him, taking to him such judges and advocates as the order there required. There was at the same time an Observant Friar, who had there preached all the Lent. He, being very eager and diligent to have the poor Christian burned, and seeing the judges intentive about the business, to set the matter forward, said, that he would go and say mass of the Holy Ghost, to illuminate their intents to have the said Romaine condemned and burned alive at a little fire. Moreover, he procured Caval and Cavalieri, the consuls, to threaten the lieutenant, that they would complain of him to the high court of parliament, if he would not after that sort condemn him to be burnt. In the mean time the faithful Christians of the said town, fearing lest by his racking danger might happen to the brethren, sent to Romaine again in the prison certain instructions and means how he might be aided, such as should not be against God: but when the lieutenant came, the poor man forgot his instructions; so simple he was, and ignorant of the subtleties of this world.

When the time came that the judges were set, and the process should be read, Barbosi, with other whom the friar had procured, had agreed before, that he should be fired alive, and put to the rack, to disclose his fellows, and also gagged, that he might not speak and infect the residue. On the other part, one there was of the advocates, (albeit a man wholly superstitious,) seeing the rage of the others, gave contrary advice, saying, that he should be sent home again, for that he was a town-dweller of Geneva, neither had taught there any kind of doctrine, nor brought any books, or had they any informations against him; and that which he had spoken, was a thing constrained by his oath, forced by the justice. And as touching his opinion, it was no other but as other young men did follow, which were either of the one part, or of the other; and therefore that here remained no more, but only the lieutenant to give his verdict, &c. Thus much being spoken, and also because the lieutenant was before suspected, and the time of dinner drew near, they arose for that time, deferring the matter to another season. The Friar Observant in this mean while was not idle, inciting still the consuls and the people, who, at the ringing of a bell being assembled together with the official and the priests in a great rout, came crying to the lieutenant to burn the heretic, or else they would fire him, and all his family; and in semblable wise did the same to the other judges and advocates: the official moreover added, that if it were not better seen unto than so, the Lutherans would take such courage, and so shut up their church doors, that no man should enter in. Then, because the lieutenant would not take to him other judges after

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their minds, in all post-haste the people contributed together, that at their own charge the matter should be pursued at the parliament of Aix, and so compelled the lieutenant to bring the process unto judgment, every man crying, "To the fire, to the fire, that he may be burned!!"

The lieutenant, being not able otherwise to appease the people, promised to bring the matter to the high court of Aix, and so he did. They, hearing the information of the cause, commanded the lieutenant and the other judges to deal no further therein, but to send up the process and the prisoner unto them. This went greatly against the minds of them of Draguignan, which would fain have had him condemned there. Whereupon Barbosi was sent out to the parliament of Aix, where he so practised and laboured the matter, that the cause was sent down again to the lieutenant, and he enjoined to take unto him such ancient advocates, as their old order required, and to certify them again within eight days. And so Romaine, by the sentence of those old judges, was condemned to be burned alive, if he turned not; if he did, then to be strangled, and before the execution, to be put upon the rack, to the intent he should disclose the rest of his company; from the which sentence Romaine then appealed, saying that he was no heretic. Whereupon he was carried unto Aix, singing the Commandments as he passed by the town of Draguignan: which when the king's advocate did see, looking out of his window, he said unto him, that he was one of them that concluded his death, but desired God to forgive him; Romaine answered again, and said, "God will judge us all in the last day of judgment." After he was come to Aix, he was brought before the councillors, before whom he remained no less constant and firm than before. Then was a fumish friar sent, who, being three hours with him, and could not remove him, came out to the lords, and said that he was damned: by reason whereof, the sentence given before his condemnation was confirmed, and he sent back again from whence he came.

At this return again from Aix, the consuls of Draguignan sent abroad by parishes unto the curates, that they should signify unto their parishioners the day of his death, to the end that they should come; also caused to be cried through the town by the sound of a trumpet, that all good Christians should bring wood to the great market-place, to burn the Lutheran. The day being come, which was Saturday, the sixteenth of May, the poor servant of God was first brought to the rack or torture, where, at his first entry, were brought before him the cords, irons, and weights, to terrify him. Then, said they, he must utter his complices, and renounce his religion, or else he should be burned alive. He answered with a constant heart, that he had no other accomplices nor companions, neither would he hold any other faith but that which Jesus Christ did preach by his apostles. Then was he demanded of his fellows taken with him, whether they did hold the faith of Rome, or whether he did ever communicate with them, or did know them in the town, or in the province to be of his faith? He said, No. Item, What he had to do in that town? He said, To sell his coral. Item, Who gave him counsel to appeal? God, he said, by his Spirit.

Upon this he was put upon the gin or rack, where he, being torn most outrageously, ceased not still to cry unto God, that he would have pity on him for the love of Jesus Christ his Son. Then was he commanded to call to the Virgin Mary, but that he would not. Whereupon his torture was renewed afresh, in such cruel sort, that they thought they had left him for dead; for which they sent him to the barbers, and finding that he could endure no longer, were afraid lest he had been past, and hastened to bring him to the fire. So, after they had essayed him by priests and friars as much as they could, to make him revolt, they helped the hangman to bear him, all

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broken and dismembered as he was, unto the heap of wood, where they tied him to a chain of iron which was let down upon the faggots. Romaine, seeing himself to be alone lying upon the wood, began to pray to God; whereat the friars being moved, ran to him again to cause him to say Ave Maria: which when he would not do, they were so furious, that they plucked and tore his beard. In all these anguishes the meek saint of God had recourse still to God in his prayers, beseeching him to give him patience. Then left they him lying as dead; but so soon as they descended down from the wood, he began to pray to God again in such sort as one would have thought that he had felt no hurt. Then another great friar, supposing to do more with him than the rest, came up to the wood unto him, to admonish him. Romaine thought at first that he had been a faithful Christian, by his gentle speech; but afterwards when he urged him to pray to the Virgin Mary, he desired him to depart, and let him alone in peace. As soon as he was departed, Romaine lifted up his head and his eyes on high, praying God to assist him in his great temptation. Then a certain father, a warden, to bring the people in more hatred, cried out and said, "He blasphemeth! he blasphemeth! he speaketh against the blessed Virgin Mary!" Whereat Barbosi cried, "Stop his mouth, let him be gagged!" The people cried, "To the fire! let him be burned!" Then the hangman set fire to the straw and little sticks that were about, which incontinent were set on fire. Romaine still remained hanging in the air till he died. When all his nether parts were burnt well near, he was seen to lift up his head to heaven, moving his lips, without any cry: and so this blessed saint rendered his spirit to God!

Of this assembly there were divers judgments and sundry bruits. Some said, that if good men had been about him, it had gone better with him; and that those priests and monks which were about him, were whoremasters and infamous.

Others said, that he had wrong, and that a hundred of that company there were, who more deserved death than he, especially among those who condemned him. Other went away marvelling, and disputing of his death and doctrine. And thus was the course finished of this valiant and thrice blessed martyr-and servant of the Lord Jesus the Son of God.

Francis Civaux, at Dijon, A.D. 1558. Persecuted by the convent of the Jacobin Friars at Dijon, and a priest of that place.

This Francis Civaux was secretary to the French ambassador here in England in Queen Mary's time, who afterwards, being desirous to hear the word of God, went to Geneva. Also he was placed to be secretary to the senate or council of Geneva; where he continued about the space of a year. Having then certain business, he came to Dijon.

There was the same time a priest that preached at Dijon such doctrine, that the said Francis, being worthily offended thereat, came friendly unto the priest, and reasoned with him touching his doctrine, showing by the Scriptures how and where he had erred. The priest excused himself, that he was not so well instructed to dispute, but he would bring him the next day to a certain learned man, whom he knew there in the town, and desired the said Francis to go with him to breakfast, where he would be glad to hear them two in conference together. Whereunto when Francis had consented, the priest incontinent went to the Jacobin Friars, where the matter was thus contrived, that at the breakfast time Francis there unawares should be apprehended.

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When the next day came, the priest brought Francis, according to his appointment, to a Jacobin Friar, who, pretending much fair friendship unto him, as one glad and desirous of his company, besought him to take a breakfast with him the next morrow, and there they would enter conference together. With this also Francis was content, and to prepare himself the better to that conflict, sat up almost all the night writing with his fellow. The next morrow, as Francis with his fellow were preparing themselves toward the breakfast, the Jacobin in the mean time went to the justice of the town, to admonish him to be ready at the time and place appointed. Thus, as the Jacobin was standing at the justice's door, the companion of Francis, seeing the friar there stand, began to mistrust with himself, and told Francis, willing him to beware of the friar. Moreover, the same night Francis had in his dream, that the said friar should commit him to the justice. But he, either not caring for his dreams, or else not much caring for the danger, committed himself to the hands of God, and went. As they were together disputing in the convent of the Jacobins, Francis, thus betrayed of the priest, was apprehended by the officers, carried to prison, and within seven days after, being Saturday before the nativity of our Lord, was brought to the place of execution, where first he was strangled, and then burned. And as touching the fellow and companion of this Francis above mentioned, he was also apprehended with him, and put in prison; but because he was but a young novice, and yet not fully confirmed, he recanted, and was delivered.

Peter Arondeau, at Paris, A.D. 1559. His persecutors were the priests of Rochelle, Manroy a priest, the lieutenant of Rochelle, the cardinal of Lorraine, and two presidents, to wit, Magister and St. Andre.

The town of Rochelle, as it is a place of great commodity because of the sea, so was it not inferior to other good towns in France, for nourishing and supporting the holy assemblies of the Lord. Unto the which town, about A.D. 1559, resorted one Peter Arondeau, a man of base condition, with a little packet of mercery ware there to sell: who there, being known to join himself to the church and congregation of the faithful, was demanded of certain ministers of antichrist, whether he would go to hear mass or no? He said, that he had been there too oft to his great grief; and that since the time that the Lord had taken the veil from his eyes, he knew the mass to be abominable, forged in the shop of the enemy of all mankind. They to whom he thus answered were priests; amongst whom was one named Manroy, who, taking the others there present for witnesses, brought him straight to the lieutenant. The deposition being taken, and information made, it was decreed incontinent, that his body should be attached. And although by one of his friends he was admonished to save himself, and to avoid the danger, yet he ceased not to put himself into his enemy's hands; and so was led prisoner. As he was in prison, many of the faithful came to comfort him, but rather he was able to comfort not only them which came to comfort him, but also the others who were there prisoners with him. The priests left no diligence unsought to stir up the lieutenant, which was of himself too much inflamed in such matters.

Arondeau, after many interrogations, and threatening words, and also fair promises of his pardon, still continued one man. Then the lieutenant seeing his constancy, condemned him to death. Arondeau, praising God for his grace given, did not a little rejoice that he might suffer in that quarrel, and in token of rejoicing, did sing a psalm, being fully resolved to accept the said condemnation, without any appeal. But his friends, not pleased with his resolution, came to him; and so persuaded with him not to give his life so good cheaply over to his enemies' hands, that he

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was turned from that, and made his appeal. The appeal being entered, the lieutenant, seeking to gratify the adversaries of the gospel, and especially the cardinal of Lorraine, secretly, by the backside of the town, and out of the highway, conveyed the poor prisoner unto Paris; who, being brought unto Paris by privy journeys, as is said, was put into prison, committed to the custody of two presidents, to wit, Magister, and St. Andre; by the means of whom the sentence of the lieutenant was confirmed, and also put in execution the fifteenth day of November, in the year abovesaid; on the which day the said Arondeau was burned quick at the place called St. John, in Greve, at Paris. The constancy heroical which God gave him, and wherein he endured victorious unto death, was a mirror or glass of patience unto M. Anne du Bourge, councillor in the parliament of Paris, and to divers others then prisoners; and was to them a preparation toward the like death, which shortly after they suffered.

Not long after the happy end of this blessed martyr, the aforementioned Manroy, which was the principal accuser and party against him, was struck with a disease called apoplexia, and thereupon suddenly died.

By this, and many other such-like examples, the mighty judgment of God most evidently may appear; who, albeit commonly he doth use to begin his judgment with his own household in this world, yet neither do his adversaries themselves always escape the terrible hand of his justice.

Also the lord lieutenant which was his condemner tarried not long after the priest, but he was arrested personally to appear before the king's council, through the procurement of a certain gentleman of Poland, called Anthony de l'Eglise, against whom the said lieutenant had given false and wrong judgment before; by reason whereof the aforesaid gentleman so instantly did pursue him before the lords of the council, that all the extortions and pollings of the lieutenant were there openly discovered, and so he condemned to pay to the gentleman a thousand French crowns of the sum, within fourteen days, upon pain of double as much. Also he was deposed of his office, and there declared unworthy to exercise any royal office hereafter for ever, with infamy and shame perpetual.

Thomas Moutard, at Valenciennes, A.D. 1559.
Persecuted by a priest of that town.

In the town of Valenciennes, not far from France, in the same year, which was 1559, in the month of October, suffered Thomas Moutard; who, first being converted from a disordered life to the knowledge of the gospel, is to us a spectacle of God's great gracious mercy toward his elected Christians. This Moutard was attached for certain words spoken to a priest, saying thus: That his god of the host was nothing but an abomination, which abused the people of God. These words were taken first as spoken in drunkenness; but the next day after, when the same words were repeated to him again, to know whether he would abide by the words there uttered, or no, he said, "Yea; for it is an abuse," said he, "to seek Jesus Christ any otherwhere than in heaven, sitting at the glory and right hand of God his Father: and in this he was ready to live and die." His process being made, he was condemned to be burned quick. But, as he was carried from the town-house to the place of punishment, it was never seen a man with such constancy to be so assured in heart, and so to rejoice at that great honour which God had called him unto. The

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hangman hasted as much as was possible, to bind him, and despatch him. The martyr, in the midst of the flaming fire, lifting up his eyes unto heaven, cried to the Lord that he would have mercy on his soul; and so in great integrity of faith and perseverance, he gave up his life to God.

This Dutch story should have gone before with the Dutch martyrs; but seeing Valenciennes is not far distant from France, it is not much out of order to adjoin the same with the French martyrs; who, at length, shall be joined altogether in the kingdom of Christ: which day the Lord send shortly. Amen!

Thus have we (through the assistance of the Lord) deduced the table of the French, and also of the Dutch martyrs, unto the time and reign of Queen Elizabeth, that is, to the year 1560. Since the which time divers also have suffered both in France and in the lower country of Germany; whose story shall be declared (the Lord willing) more at large, when we come to the time of Queen Elizabeth. In the mean season, it shall suffice for this present to insert their names only, which here do follow.

The residue of the French martyrs.

Anne du Bourge, councillor of Paris; Andrew Coffier, John Isabeau, John Indet, martyrs, of Paris; Geffery Guerien, John Morel, John Barbeville, Peter Chevet, Malin Marie, Margarite Rich, Adrian Daussi, Giles le Court, Philip Parmentier, Marin Rosseau, Peter Milot, John Berfoy: besides the tumult of Amboise, and the persecution of Vassy; also Austin Marlorat, and Master Mutonis.

The residue of the Dutch martyrs.

James de Lo, of the isle of Flanders; John de Buissons, at Antwerp; Peter Petit, John Denys, Guymon Guilmein, Simeon Herme, of the Isle of Flanders: John de Lannoy, at Tournay; Andrew Michel, a Mind man, at Tournay; Francis Varlut, at Tournay; Alexander Dayken, of Bramcastle; William Cornu, in Hainault; Anthony Caron, of Cambray; Renaudine de Francville. Certain suffered at Tournay: Michel Robilert, of Arras; Nicaise de le Totnbe; Roger du Mont.

To the catalogue of French martyrs above rehearsed, the story of Merindol and Cabriers, with the lamentable handling of them, is also to be annexed. But because the tractation thereof is prolix, and cannot well be contracted into a short discourse, therefore we have deferred the same to a more convenient room, after the table here following next of the Spanish and Italian martyrs, where better opportunity shall be given to prosecute more at full that tragical persecution, the Lord so permitting.

151. Martyrs in Spain



A Martyr Hung over a Fire

A table of such martyrs, as, for the cause of religion, suffered in Spain

Franciscus San Romanus, at Burgos, in Spain. Persecuted by certain Spanish merchants in Antwerp, and also by the friars of that city.

In the year 1540 this Francis was sent by certain Spanish merchants of Antwerp, to Bremen, to take up money due, to be paid by certain merchants there; where he, being at a sermon, hearing Master Jacobus (prior some time of the Austin Friars of Antwerp) preach, was so touched and drawn, through the marvellous working of God's Spirit, at the hearing thereof, albeit having no perfect understanding of the Dutch tongue, that not only he understood all that was there said, but also coming to the preacher, and accompanying him home, (all his other worldly business set apart,) there recited the whole contents of his sermon, every thing (as they said, which heard the said minister of Bremen preach) in perfect form and order as he had preached. After this little taste, and happy beginning, he proceeded further, searching and conferring with learned men, that in short space he was grown in great towardness and ripe knowledge in the word of life. The minister, marvelling at the sudden mutation of the man, and also seeing the vehemency of his zeal joined withal, began to exhort him how to temper himself

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with circumspection and discretion, still more and more instructing him in the word and knowledge of the gospel, which he so greedily did receive, as one that could never be satisfied; and so remained he with the minister three days together, committing his worldly business, and the message that he was sent for, unto his fellow which came with him. Thus being inflamed with another desire, he ceased to seek for temporal trifles, seeking rather for such French or Dutch books as he could get to read; and again, read the same so diligently, that partly by the reading thereof, partly by Master Jacobus, and also by Master Maccabeus, (which was there the same time,) he was able in a short time to judge in the chief articles of our religion; insomuch that he took upon him to write letters unto his countrymen the merchants of Antwerp. In the which letters first he gave thanks to God for the knowledge of his holy word which he had received: secondly, he bewailed the great cruelty and gross blindness of his countrymen; desiring God to open their eyes and ears, to see and understand the word of their salvation: thirdly, he promised shortly to come to them at Antwerp, to confer with them touching the grace of God, which he had received: fourthly, declareth to them his purpose in going also to Spain, intending there likewise to impart to his parents, and other friends at Burgos, the wholesome doctrine which the Lord had bestowed upon him.

Beside this, he addressed other letters also to Charles the emperor, opening to him the calamities and miserable state of Christ's church; desiring him to tender the quietness thereof: especially that he would reform the miserable corruption of the church of Spain, &c. Over and besides all this, he wrote there a catechism, and divers other treatises, in the Spanish tongue. And all this he did in one month's space.

In the mean time the Spanish merchants of Antwerp, understanding by his letters, both his change of religion, and also his purpose of coming to Antwerp, sent him letters again, pretending outwardly a fair countenance of much good will, but secretly practising his destruction; for at the day appointed of his coming, certain friars were set ready to receive him, who took him coming down from his horse, rifled his books, and had him into a merchant's house near hand, where they examined him; with whom he again disputed mightily: and when they found him not agreeing to their faith, they bound him hand and foot, crying out upon him, and calling him Lutheran; and burnt his books before his face, threatening to burn him also. At this disputation within the house, divers Spaniards were present, which made the friars more bold. Being demanded to show of what faith and religion he was; "My faith," said he, "is to confess and preach Christ Jesus only, and him crucified, which is the true faith of the universal church of Christ through the whole world; but this faith and doctrine you have corrupted, taking another abominable kind of life, and by your impiety have brought the most part of the world into blindness most miserable." And to explain his faith to them more expressly, he recited all the articles of the Creed.

This done, then the friars asked, whether he believed the bishop of Rome to be Christ's vicar, and head of the church, having all the treasures of the church in his own power, and being able to bind and loose? also to make new articles, and abolish the old, at his own will and arbitrement? Hereunto Francis answered again, that he believed none of all this, but contrary did affirm that the pope was antichrist, born of the devil, being the enemy of Jesus Christ, transferring to himself God's honour; and who, moreover, being incited by the devil, turned all things upside down, and corrupted the sincerity of Christ's religion, partly by his false pretences

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beguiling, partly by his extreme cruelty destroying, the poor flock of Christ, &c. With the like boldness he uttered his mind likewise against the mass and purgatory. The friars could suffer him meanly well to speak, till he came to the pope, and began to speak against his dignity, and their profit; then could they abide no longer, but thundered against him words full of cruelty and terror. As they were burning his books, and began also to cast the New Testament into the fire, Francis, seeing that, began to thunder out against them again. The Spaniards then, supposing him not to be in his right senses, conveyed him into a tower six miles distant from Antwerp, where he was detained in a deep cave or dungeon, with much misery, the space of eight months; in which time of his imprisonment many grave and discreet persons came to visit him, exhorting him that he would change his opinion, and speak more modestly. Francis answered again, that he maintained no opinion erroneous or heretical; and if he seemed to be somewhat vehement with the friars, that was not to be ascribed to him, so much as to their own importunity; hereafter he would frame himself more temperately. Hereupon the Spaniards, thinking him better come to himself, discharged him out of prison, which was about the time when the emperor was in his council at Ratisbon, A.D. 1541.

San Romanus, being thus freed out of prison, came to Antwerp, where he remained about twenty days. From thence he went to Louvain, unto a certain friend of his, named Francis Dryander, (who also afterwards died a martyr,) with whom he had much conference about divers matters of religion; who gave him counsel not to alter the state of his vocation, being called to be a merchant, which state he might exercise with a good conscience, and do much good. And as touching religion, his counsel was, that he should say or do nothing for favour of men, whereby the glory of God should be diminished; but so that he required notwithstanding in the same, a sound and right judgment, conformed to the rule of God's word, lest it might chance to him as it doth to many, who, being carried with an inconsiderate zeal, leave their vocations, and while they think to do good, and to edify, destroy and do harm, and cast themselves needlessly into danger.

"It is God," said he, "that hath the care of his church, and will stir up faithful ministers for the same; neither doth he care for such which rashly intrude themselves into that function without any calling."

This advertisement of Dryander Francis did willingly accept, promising hereafter to moderate himself more considerately. But this promise was shortly broken, as you shall hear; for, passing from Dryander he went to Ratisbon, and there, having time and opportunity convenient to speak to the emperor, he stepped boldly unto him, beseeching him to deliver his country and subjects of Spain from false religion, and to restore again the sincerity of Christ's doctrine, declaring and protesting, that the princes and protestants of Germany were in the truer part, and that the religion of Spain, being drowned in ignorance and blindness, was greatly dissonant from the true and perfect word of God; with many other words pertaining to the same effect. The emperor all this while gave him gentle hearing, signifying that he would consider upon the matter, and so do therein as he trusted should be for the best. This quiet answer of the emperor ministered to him no little encouragement of better hope; and albeit he might perceive there in the city many examples to the contrary, yet all that discouraged not him, but he went the second, and also the third, time unto the emperor, who quietly again so answered him as before. And yet this our Francis, not satisfied in his mind, sought with a greater ardency the fourth time to speak

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to the emperor; but he was repulsed by certain of the Spaniards about the emperor, who, incontinent, without all further hearing or advising in the cause, would have thrown him headlong into the river Danube, had not the emperor staid them, and willed him to be judged by the laws of the empire. By this commandment of the emperor he was reserved and detained with other malefactors in bonds, till the emperor took his voyage into Africa. Then Francis, with other captives following the court, after the emperor was come into Spain, was there delivered to the inquisitors; by whom he was laid in a dark prison under the ground. Oft and many times he was called for to examination, where he suffered great injuries and contumelies, but ever remained in his conscience firm and unmovable. The articles whereupon he stood, and for which he was condemned were these:

That life and salvation in the sight of God, come to no man by his own strength, works, or merits, but only by the free mercy of God, in the blood and sacrifice of his Son our Mediator.

That the sacrifice of the mass, which the papists do account available, *ex opere operato*, for the remission of sin both to the quick and the dead, is horrible blasphemy.

That auricular confession with the numbering up of sins, also that satisfaction, purgatory, pardons, invocation of saints, and worshipping of images, be mere blasphemy against the living God.

Item, That the blood of Christ is profaned and injured in the same aforesaid.

After the inquisitors perceived that by no means he could be reclaimed from his assertions, they proceeded at last to the sentence, condemning him to be burned for a heretic. Many other malefactors were brought also with him to the place of execution, but all they were pardoned and dismissed: he only for the gospel, being odious to the whole world, was taken and burned. As he was led to the place of suffering, they put upon him a mitre of paper, painted full of devils, after the Spanish guise.

Furthermore, as he was brought out of the city gate to be burned, there stood a wooden cross by the way, whereunto Francis was required to do homage; which he refused, answering, that the manner of Christians is not to worship wood, and he was, said he, a Christian. Hereupon arose great clamour among the vulgar people, for that he denied to worship the wooden cross. But this was turned incontinent into a miracle. Such was the blind rudeness of that people, that they did impute this to the divine virtue, as given to the cross from heaven, for that it would not suffer itself to be worshipped of a heretic: and immediately, for the opinion of that great miracle, the multitude with their swords did hew it in pieces, every man thinking himself happy who might carry away some chip or fragment of the said cross.

When he was come to the place where he should suffer, the friars were busy about him to have him recant, but he continued ever firm. As he was laid upon the heap of wood, and the fire kindled about him, he began a little, at the feeling of the fire, to lift up his head toward heaven; which when the inquisitors perceived, hoping that he would recant his doctrine, they caused him to be taken from the fire. But when they perceived nothing less in him, the adversaries, being

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frustrate of their expectation, willed him to be thrown in again; and so was he immediately despatched.

After that the martyrdom of this blessed man was thus consummate, the inquisitors proclaimed openly, that he was damned in hell, and that none should pray for him; yea, and that all were heretics, whosoever doubted of his damnation. Nevertheless certain of the emperor's soldiers gathered of his ashes; also the English ambassador procured a portion of his bones to be brought unto him, knowing right well that he died a martyr. Yet this could not be so secretly done, but it came to the ears of the inquisitors, and of the emperor; wherefore the soldiers, going in great danger of life, were committed to prison. Neither did the ambassador himself escape clear from the danger of the pope's scourge; for he was upon the same sequestered from the court, and commanded to be absent for a space. And thus much concerning the notable martyrdom of this blessed San Romanus.

Rochus, at St. Lucar in Spain, A.D. 1545. Persecuted by an inquisitor.

Rochus was born in Brabant, his father dwelling in Antwerp. By his science he was a carver or graver of images; who, as soon as he began first to taste the gospel, fell from making such images as use to serve for idolatry in temples, and occupied himself in making seals, save only that he kept standing on his stall an image of the Virgin Mary artificially graven, for a sign of his occupation. It happened unhappily, that a certain inquisitor passing by in the street, and beholding the carved image, asked of Rochus what was the price thereof? which when Rochus had set, (not willing belike to sell it,) the inquisitor bade him scarce half the money. The other answered again, that he could not so live of that bargain. But still the inquisitor urged him to take his offer; to whom Rochus again: "It shall be yours," said he, "if you give me that which my labour and charges stand me in, but of that price I cannot afford it: yea, I had rather break it in pieces." "Yea," said the inquisitor, "break it? let me see thee." Rochus with that took up a chisel, and dashed it upon the face of the image, wherewith the nose, or some other part of the face, was blemished. The inquisitor, seeing that, cried out that he was mad, and commanded Rochus forthwith to prison: to whom Rochus cried again, that he might do in his own works what he listed; and if the workmanship of the image were not after his fantasy, what was that to them? But all this could not help Rochus, but within three days after, sentence was given upon him, that he should be burned, and so was he committed to the executioners. As Rochus was entering the place there to be burned, he cried with a loud voice, asking among the multitude which there stood by, if any man of Flanders were there? It was answered, Yea; and also that there were two ships already fraught, and appointed to sail to Flanders. Then said he, "I would desire some of them to signify to my father dwelling in Antwerp, that I was burned here in this city, and for this cause which you all have heard." And thus, after his prayers made to God, this good man, being wrongfully condemned, after his godly life made this blessed end, A.D. 1545.

And lest this so rare and strange example of cruelty should seem to lack credit, in the fifth book of the History of Pantaleon there is recorded, that a certain Spaniard, coming to Antwerp, made diligent inquisition there amongst the image-makers, to find out the parents of this Rochus, and signified to them what had happened toward their son, as hath been by his said parents and friends declared; insomuch that it is also testified, that his father, at the hearing of the said message, for sorrow thereof, died shortly after.

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Furthermore, besides these above-recited, and also before their time, I hear and understand by faithful relation, that divers other have been in the said country of Spain, whose hearts God had marvellously illuminated, and stirred up, both before, and also since, the coming in of the inquisition, to stand in defence of his gospel, and who were also persecuted for the same, and are said to have died in prison; albeit their names as yet are unknown, for the stories of that country be not yet come to light, but, I trust, shortly shall, as partly some intelligence I have thereof. In the mean time we will come now to the inquisition of Spain, speaking something of the ceremonial pomp and also of the barbarous abuse and cruelty of the same.

The execrable inquisition of Spain.



Martyrs Tortured by the Inquisition

The cruel and barbarous inquisition of Spain first began by King Ferdinand and Isabella his wife, and was instituted against the Jews, which after their baptism, maintained again their own ceremonies: but now it is practised against them that be never so little suspected to favour the verity of the Lord. The Spaniards, and especially the great divines there, do hold that this holy and sacred inquisition cannot err, and that the holy fathers, the inquisitors, cannot be deceived.

Three sorts of men most principally be in danger of these inquisitors: they that they be greatly rich, for the spoil of their goods: they that be learned, because they will not have their

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misdealings and secret abuses to be spied and detected: they that begin to increase in honour and dignity, lest they, being in authority, should work them some shame or dishonour.

The abuse of this inquisition is most execrable. If any word shall pass out of the mouth of any, which may be taken in evil part; yea, though no word be spoken, yet if they bear any grudge or evil will against the party, incontinent they command him to be taken, and put in a horrible prison, and then find out crimes against him at leisure, and in the mean time no man living is so hardy as once to open his mouth for him. If the father speak one word for his child, he is also taken and cast into prison as a favourer of heretics: neither is it permitted to any person to go in to the prisoner; but there he is alone, in such a place where he cannot see so much as the ground where he is; and is not suffered either to read or write, but there endureth in darkness palpable, in horrors infinite, in fear miserable, wrestling with the assaults of death.

By this it may be esteemed what trouble and sorrow, what pensive sighs and cogitations they sustain, which are not thoroughly instructed in holy doctrine. Add, moreover, to these distresses and horrors of the prison, the injuries, threats, whippings, and scourgings, irons, tortures, and racks which they endure. Sometimes also they are brought out, and showed forth in some higher place to the people, as a spectacle of rebuke and infamy. And thus are they detained there, some many years, and murdered by long torments, and whole days together treated much more cruelly, out of all comparison, than if they were in the hangman's hands to be slain at once. During all this time, what is done in the process no person knoweth, but only the holy fathers and the tormentors, which are sworn to execute the torments. All is done in secret, and (as great mysteries) pass not the hands of these holy ones. And after all these torments so many years endured in the prison, if any man shall be saved, it must be by guessing; for all the proceedings of the court of that execrable inquisition are open to no man, but all is done in hugger-mugger and in close corners, by ambages, by covert ways, and secret counsels. The accuser is secret, the crime secret, the witness secret, whatsoever is done is secret, neither is the poor prisoner ever advertised of any thing. If he can guess who accused him, whereof and wherefore, he may be pardoned peradventure of his life: but this is very seldom, and yet he shall not incontinent be set at liberty before he hath long time endured infinite torments; and this is called their penitence, and so is he let go: and yet not so but that he is enjoined before he pass the inquisitor's hands, that he shall wear a garment of yellow colours for a note of public infamy to him and his whole race. And if he cannot guess right, showing to the inquisitors by whom he was accused, whereof and wherefore, (as is before touched,) incontinent the horrible sentence of condemnation is pronounced against him, that he shall be burned for an obstinate heretic. And so yet the sentence is not executed by and by, but after that he hath endured imprisonment in some heinous prison.

And thus have ye heard the form of the Spanish inquisition. By the vigour and rigour of this inquisition many good true servants of Jesus Christ have been brought to death, especially in these latter years, since the royal and peaceable reign of this our Queen Elizabeth; the names and stories of whom partly we will here recite, according as we have faithful records of such as have come to our hands by writing. The others which be not yet come to our knowledge, we will defer till further intelligence and opportunity, by the Lord's aid and leave, shall serve hereafter.



Martyrs Paraded at Valladolid

IN the year 1559, May. 21, in the town of Valladolid, where commonly the council of the inquisition is wont to be kept, the inquisitors had brought together many prisoners both of high and low estate, to the number of thirty; also the coffin of a certain noble woman, with her picture lying upon it, which had been dead long before, there to receive judgment and sentence. To the hearing of this sentence, they had ordained in the said town three mighty theatres or stages. Upon the first was placed Dame Jane, sister to King Philip, and chief regent of his realms; also Prince Charles, King Philip's son, with other princes and states of Spain. Upon the other scaffold mounted the archbishop of Seville, prince of the synagogue of the inquisitors, with the council of the inquisition; also other bishops of the land, and the king's council with them.

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After that the princes and other spiritual judges and councillors were thus set in their places, with a great guard of archers and halberdiers, and harnessed soldiers, with four heralds-at-arms also giving their attendance to the same, and the earl of Buendia bearing the naked sword, all the market-place where the stages were being environed with an infinite multitude of all sorts of the world there standing, and gazing out of windows and houses to hear and see the sentences and judgments of this inquisition: then, after all, were brought forth, as a spectacle and triumph, the poor servants and witnesses of Jesus Christ, to the number, as is aforesaid, of thirty, clothed with their Sanbenito, as the Spaniards do call it, which is a manner of vesture of yellow cloth, coming both before them and behind them, spangled with red crosses, and having burning cierges in their hands; also before them was borne a crucifix covered with black linen cloth, in token of mourning. Moreover they which were to receive the sentence of death, had mitres of paper upon their heads, which the Spaniards call coracas. Thus they being produced, were placed in their order, one under another, according as they were esteemed culpable; so that first of all stood up Doctor Cacalla, an Austin Friar, a man notable and singular in knowledge of divinity, preacher sometime to Charles the Fifth, emperor both in higher and lower Germany.

These things thus disposed, then followed a sermon made by a Dominic friar, which endured about an hour. After the sermon finished, the procurator-general, with the archbishop, went to the stage where the princes and nobles stood, to minister a solemn oath unto them upon the crucifix painted in the mass-book; the tenor of which oath was this:

"Your Majesties shall swear, that you will favour the holy inquisition, and also give your consent unto the same; and not only that you shall by no manner of way hinder and impeach the same, but also you shall employ the uttermost of your help and endeavour, hereafter, to see all them to be executed, which shall swerve from the Church of Rome, and adjoin themselves to the sect of the Lutheran heretics, without all respect of any person or persons, of what estate, degree, quality, or condition soever they be."

And thus much for the first article of the oath; the second was this that followeth

Item, "Your Majesties shall swear, that you shall constrain all your subjects to submit themselves to the Church of Rome, and to have in reverence all the laws and commandments of the same; and also to give your aid against all them, whosoever shall hold of the heresy of the Lutherans, or take any part with them."

In this sort and manner, when all the princes and states, every one in their degree, had received their oath, then the archbishop, lifting up his hand, gave them his benediction, saying, "God bless your Highnesses, and give you long life! "This solemn pageant thus finished, at last the poor captives and prisoners were called out, the procurator-fiscal, or the pope's great collector, first beginning with Dr. Cacalla, and so proceeding to the others in order, as hereafter, in the table which followeth, with their names and their judgments, is described:

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1. Dr. Cacalla, a Friar Augustine.

The persecutors of Dr. Cacalla and the twenty-seven that follow, were these: The pope's great collector, or procurator-fiscal; the archbishop of Seville, the bishop of Valencia, the bishop of Orense, and lastly, the inquisitors of Spain.

Before the pope's great proctor, or collector-fiscal, first was called forth Doctor Austin Cacalla. This doctor was a friar of Austin's order, and priest of the town of Valladolid, and preacher sometime to the Emperor Charles the Fifth, a man well accounted of for his learning; who for that he was thought to be as the standard-bearer of the gospellers, (whom they call Lutherans,) and preacher and doctor unto them; therefore, he being first called for, was brought from his stage nearer to the procurator-fiscal, there to hear the sentence of his condemnation; which was, that he should be degraded, and presently burned, and all his goods confiscated to the profit and advancement of justice.

2. Francis de Bivero, priest of Valladolid, and brother to the aforesaid Cacalla.

The second prisoner, and next to Doctor Cacalla that was called, was Francis de Bivero his brother, priest also of Valladolid, who received likewise the same sentence of condemnation. And to the intent he should not speak any thing to the prejudice, or against the abuse, of the sacred inquisition, as he before had done both within and without the prison with much boldness; and also because he was much favoured of the people; to the end therefore that no commotion should come by his speaking, his mouth was so stopped and shut up, that he could not speak one word.

3. Dame Blanche de Bivero.

The third was Dame Blanche, sister to the other two aforesaid, against whom also was pronounced the like sentence, as upon her brethren before.

4. John de Bivero.

The fourth was John de Bivero, brother to the same kindred, who was also judged a heretic, and condemned to perpetual prison, and to bear his Sanbenito all his life long; which is an habiliment of dishonour.

5. Dame Constance de Bivero, sister to the same aforesaid.

Dame Constance de Bivero, was the fifth sister to the others before specified, and widow of Ferdinando Ortis, dwelling sometime at Valladolid, who was also condemned, with the like sentence with her brethren, to be burned.

6. The coffin with the dead corpse of Dame Leonore de Bivero, the mother of these aforesaid.

The sixth thunderbolt of condemnation was thundered out against a poor coffin, with the dead corpse of Dame Leonore de Bivero, mother to these above-named, being herself the sixth,

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and being already dead long before at Valladolid. Above her coffin was her picture laid, which was also condemned with her dead corpse to be burned for a heretic; and yet I never heard of any opinion that this picture did hold, either with or against the Church of Rome. This good mother, while she lived, was a worthy maintainer of Christ's gospel, with great integrity of life; and retained divers assemblies of the saints in her house for the preaching of the word of God. In fine, her corpse and image also, being brought before the fiscal, was condemned likewise (as the mother with her seven children in the Book of Maccabees) to be burned for a Lutheran heretic, and all her goods to be seized to the behoof of the superior powers, and also her house utterly to be razed and cast down to the ground; and for a memorial of the same, a marble stone was appointed there to be set up in the house, whereon the said cause of her burning should be engraved.

7. Master Aflonse Perez, priest of Valencia.

In the seventh place was condemned Master Aflonse Perez; priest of Valencia, first to be degraded, and afterwards to be burned as a heretic, and all his goods likewise confiscated, and seized, to the behoof of the superiority.

When these seven aforesaid had received their sentence, then the bishop of Valencia, in his pontificalibus, caused Doctor Cacalla, Francis his brother, and Aflonse Perez, to be apparelled and re-vested in priestly vesture. Which done, he took from them first the chalice out of their hands, and so all their other trinkets in order, according to their accustomed solemnity. And thus they, being degraded, and all their priestly unctions taken from their fingers, also their lips and their crowns rased, so were their yellow habits of Sanbenito put over their shoulders again, with their mitres also of paper upon their heads. This done, Doctor Cacalla began to speak, praying the princes and the lords to give him audience: but that not being granted to him, he was rudely repulsed, and returned again to his standing. Only thus much he protested clearly and openly, that his faith, for which he was so handled, was not heretical, but consonant to the pure word of God; for the which also he was pressed and ready to suffer death as a true Christian, and not as a heretic: besides many other worthy sentences of great consolation, which he there uttered in the mean space, while the judges were busy in their sentences against the residue of the martyrs.

8. Don Peter Sarmiento, knight of the order of Alcanta.
9. Dame Mencia, wife of the said Don Peter.
10. Don Lovis de Roxas, son and heir of the marquis de Poza.
11. Dame Anne Henriques.
12. Christopher Dell Campo.
13. Christopher de Padilla.
14. Anthony de Huezuello.
15. Katharine Romain.
16. Frances Errem.
17. Katharine Ortega.
18. Isabell Strada.
19. Jane Valesques.
20. A smith.

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21. A Jew.
22. Dame Jane de Silva.
23. Leonore de Lisueros, wife of Huezuello.
24. Marina de Sajavedra.
25. Daniel Quadra.
26. Dame Mary de Royas.
27. Anthony Dominick.
28. Anthony Basor, an Englishman.

After these sentences had been thus pronounced, they which were condemned to be burned, with the coffin of the dead lady and her picture upon the same, were committed to the secular magistrate and to their executioners, which were commanded to do their endeavour. Then were they all incontinent taken, and every one set upon an ass, their faces turned backward, and led with a great garrison of armed soldiers unto the place of punishment, which was without the gate of the town, called Del Campo.

When they were come to the place, there were fourteen stakes set up of equal distance one from another, whereunto every one severally being fastened according to the fashion of Spain, they were all first strangled, and then burned and turned to ashes, save only Anthony Huezuello, who, forasmuch as he had, both within and without the prison, vehemently detested the pope's spiritually, therefore he was burned alive, and his mouth stopped from speaking. And thus these faithful Christians, for the verity and pure word of God, were led to death as sheep to the shambles; who not only most Christianly did comfort one another, but also did so exhort all them there present, that all men marvelled greatly, both to hear their singular constancy, and to see their quiet and peaceable end.

It is reported that, besides these aforesaid, there remained yet behind thirty-seven other prisoners, at the said town of Valladolid, reserved to another tragedy and spectacle of that bloody inquisition.

Furthermore, whereas the story of the said inquisition, being set out in the French tongue, doth reckon the number of the martyrs above-mentioned to be thirty, and yet, in particular declaration of them, doth name no more but eight and twenty; here is therefore to be noted, that either this number lacked two of thirty, or else that two of the said company were returned back without judgment into the prison again.

And thus much for this present, touching the proceeding of the church of Spain in their inquisition against the Lutherans; that is, against the true and faithful servants of Jesus Christ. Albeit there be other countries also, besides Spain, subject unto the same inquisition, as Naples and Sicily; in which kingdom of Sicily, I hear it credibly reported, that every third year are brought forth to judgment and execution a certain number, after the like sort, of Christian martyrs; sometimes twelve, sometimes six; sometimes more, and sometimes less. Among whom there was one, much about the same year above-mentioned, A.D. 1559, who, coming from Geneva to Sicily, upon zeal to do good, was at last laid hands on and being condemned the same time to the fire, as he should take his death, was offered there of the hangman to be strangled, having the cord ready about his neck; but he, notwithstanding, refused the same, and said that he

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would feel the fire. And so endured he, singing with all his might unto the Lord, till he was bereaved both of speech and life, in the midst of the flame: such was the admirable constancy and fortitude of that valiant soldier of Christ, as is witnessed to me by him, which, being there present the same time, did both then see that which he doth testify, and also doth now testify what he then saw.

152. Martyrs in Italy

Now it remaineth further, according to my promise, in like order of a compendious table, to comprehend also such martyrs as suffered for the verity and true testimony of the gospel, in the places and countries of Italy; which table consequently here next ensueth.

A table of such martyrs as suffered for the testimony of the gospel in Italy.

N. Encenas, otherwise called Dryander, martyred at Rome, A.D. 1546. Persecuted by certain popish Spaniards at Rome.

This Encenas, or Dryander, a Spaniard, born at Burgos, was brother to Franciscus Encenas, the learned man so oft before mentioned; and was also the teacher or instructor in knowledge of religion to Diazius, the godly martyr above recorded. He was sent of his superstitious parents, being young, unto Rome; who there, after long continuance, growing up in age and knowledge, but especially being instructed by the Lord in the truth of his word, after he was known to dislike the pope's doctrine, and the impure doings at Rome, was apprehended and taken of certain of his own countrymen, and some of his own household friends at Rome, at the same time when he was preparing to take his journey to his brother Francis Encenas, in Germany. Thus he, being betrayed and taken by his own countrymen, was brought before the cardinals, and there committed straight to prison. Afterwards he was brought forth to give testimony of his doctrine, which, in the presence of the cardinals, and in the face of all the pope's retinue, he boldly and constantly defended; so that not only the cardinals, but especially the Spaniards, being therewith offended, cried out upon him that he should be burned. The cardinals first, before the sentence of death should be given, came to him, offering, if he would take it, (after the manner of the Spaniards,) the badge of reconciliation, which hath the name of Sanbenit's cloth, made in form of a mantle, going both before him and behind him, with signs of the red cross. But Encenas, still constant in the profession of truth, denied to receive any other condition or badge, but only the badge of the Lord, which was to seal the doctrine of his religion with the testimony of his blood. At last the matter was brought to that issue, that the faithful servant and witness of Christ was judged and condemned to the fire; where he, in the sight of the cardinals, and in the face of the apostolic see pretended, gave up his life for the testimony of the gospel.

And forasmuch as mention hath been made both in this story, and many others before, of Franciscus Encenas, his brother, here is not to be pretermitted, how the said Franciscus, being a man of notable learning as ever was any in Spain, being in the emperor's court at Brussels, offered unto the emperor Charles the Fifth the New Testament of Christ, translated into Spanish. For the which he was cast into prison, where he remained in sorrowful captivity and calamity the space of fifteen months, looking for nothing more than present death. At last, through the marvellous providence of Almighty God, on the first of February, A.D. 1545, at eight o'clock after supper, he found the doors of the prison standing open, and he secretly was moved in his mind to take the occasion offered, and to shift for himself; and so, issuing out of the prison, without any hasty pace, but going as leisurely as he could, he escaped from thence, and went straight to Germany.

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Faninus, at Ferrara, A.D. 1550. Persecuted by Pope Julius the Third.

Faninus, born in Faventia, a town in Italy, through the reading of godly books translated into the Italian tongue, (having no perfect skill in the Latin,) was converted from great blindness, to the wholesome knowledge of Christ and of his word; wherein he took such a sweetness, and so grew up in the meditation of the same, that he was able in short time to instruct others. Neither was there any diligence lacking in him to communicate that abroad which he had received of the Lord: being so in his mind persuaded, that a man, receiving by the Spirit of God the knowledge and illumination of his verity, ought in no case to hide the same in silence, as a candle under a bushel. And therefore, being occupied diligently in that behalf, albeit he used not publicly to preach, but by private conference to teach, he was at length by the pope's clients espied, apprehended, and committed to prison. Albeit he remained not long in prison, for by the earnest persuasions and prayers of his wife, his children and other friends, he was so overcome, that he gave over, and so was dismissed shortly out of prison. After this, it was not long but he fell into horrible perturbation of mind; insomuch that unless the great mercy of God had kept him up, he had fallen into utter desperation, for slipping from the truth, and preferring the love of his friends and kindred before the service of Jesus Christ, whom he so earnestly before had professed. This wound went so deep into his heart, that he could in no case be quieted, before he had fully fixed and determined in his mind, to adventure his life more faithfully in the service of the Lord.

Whereupon, he being thus inflamed with zeal of spirit, he went about all the country of Romania, publicly preaching the pure doctrine of the gospel, not without great fruit and effect in places as he went. As he was thus labouring, it so fell out that he was apprehended again, A.D. 1547, in a place called Bagnacavallo, where also he was condemned to be burned; but he said his hour was not yet come, and the same to be but the beginning of his doctrine. And so it was; for shortly after he was removed unto Ferrara, where he was detained two years. At last the inquisitors of the pope's heresies condemned him to death, A.D. 1549; and yet his time being not come, he remained after that to the month of September, A.D. 1550. In the mean time many faithful and good men came to visit him, for which the pope commanded him to be enclosed in straiter custody; wherein he suffered great torments the space of eighteen months, and yet had suffered greater, if the Dominic Friars might have got him into their house, as they went about. Thus Faninus, removed from prison to prison, many times changed his place, but never altered his constancy.

At length he was brought into a prison, where were divers great lords, captains, and noble personages there committed, for stirring up commotions and factions, (as the country of Italy is full of such,) who at first, hearing him speak, began to set him at nought, and to deride him, supposing that it was but a melancholy humour that troubled his brain. Whereupon, such as seemed more sage amongst them, began to exhort him to leave his opinion, and to live with men as other men do, and not to vex his mind, but to suspend his judgment till the matter were decided in the general council. To whom Faninus again, first giving them thanks for their friendly good wills wherewith they seemed to respect his well-doing, modestly and quietly declared unto them, how the doctrine which he professed was no humour or opinion of man's brain, but the pure verity of God, founded in his word, and revealed to men in the gospel of Jesus Christ, and especially now in these days restored; which verity he had fully determined in his mind never to deny, to believe the lying fantasies of men. And as in his soul, which was

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redeemed by the blood of the Son of God, he was free from all bondage; so likewise as touching councils, he looked for no other sentence or authority, he said, but that only which he knew to be declared to us by Christ Jesus in his, gospel, which he both preached with his word, and confirmed with his blood, &c. With these and such other words, he so moved their minds, that they were clean altered unto a new kind of life, having him now in admiration, whom they had before in derision, and accounted him for a holy person: to whom he proceeded still to preach the word of grace, declaring and confessing himself to be a miserable sinner; but by the faith of the Lord Jesus, and through the grace only of him, he was fully persuaded and well assured his sins were forgiven: like as all their sins also should be remitted to them through their faith in Christ only, they believing his gospel.

There were others also besides these, who, having used before a more delicate kind of life, could not well away with the sharpness and the hardness of the prison. These also received such comfort by the said Faninus, that not only they were quietly contented, but also rejoiced in this their captivity, by the occasion whereof they had received and learned a better liberty than ever they knew before.

When the imprisonment of this Faninus was known to his parents and kinsfolk, his wife and sister came to him with weeping persuasions, to move him to consider and care for his poor family; to whom he answered again, that his Lord and Master had commanded him, not to deny Him for looking to his family; and that it was enough for them that he had once, for their sakes, fallen into that cowardliness which they knew. Wherefore he desired them to depart in peace, and solicit him no more therein, for his end, he said, he knew to draw near: and so he commended them unto the Lord.

About the same time died Pope Paul the Third, and after him succeeded Julius the Third, which then sent letters and commandment that Faninus should be executed; whereof when one of the magistrates' officers brought him word the next day, he rejoiced thereat, and gave the messenger thanks, and began to preach a long sermon to them that were about him, of the felicity and beatitude of the life to come. Then the messenger exhorted him that, in case he would change his opinion, he should save both this life, and enjoy that to come. Another asked him in what case he should leave his little children and his wife, or what stay should they be at, he so leaving them: wherefore he desired him to have respect both to himself and to them. Faninus answered, that he had left them with an overseer, which would see unto them sufficiently: and being asked who he was? "The Lord Jesus Christ," said he, "a faithful keeper, and a conserver of all that is committed to him." After that the messenger was thus departed from Faninus, all full of tears and sorrow, the next day following he was removed into the common prison, and delivered to the secular magistrate. Who in all ways, his words, his gestures, and his countenance, declared such constancy of faith, such modesty of manners and tranquillity of mind, that they that before were extreme against him, thinking him rather to have a devil, began now favourably to hearken to him, and to commend him. With such grace and sweetness he talked, ever speaking of the word of God, that divers of the magistrates' wives, in hearing him, could not abstain from weeping. The executioner also wept himself. One of the public scribes then came to him, and said, that if he would relent from his opinion, the pope's pleasure was, that he should be saved: but that he refused. This was marvellous, that he, having but small skill in the Latin, yet recited so many and sundry places of the Scripture without book, and that so truly and promptly, as

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though he had studied nothing else. One, seeing him so jocund and merry going to his death, asked, why he was so merry at his death, seeing Christ himself sweat blood and water before his passion? "Christ," said he, "sustained in his body all the sorrows, and conflicts with hell and death, due unto us; by whose suffering we are delivered from sorrow and fear of them all." Finally, early in the morning he was brought forth where he should suffer, who, after his prayers most earnestly made unto the Lord, meekly and patiently gave himself to the stake, where, with a cord drawn about his neck, he was secretly strangled of the hangman, in the city of Ferrara, three hours before day, to the intent the people should not see him, nor hear him speak: and after, about dinner-time, his body in the same place was burned. At the burning thereof such a fragrant and odoriferous scent came to all them there present, and so struck their senses, that the sweetness thereof seemed to refresh them no less than his words would have done, if they had heard him speak.

The custom is of that city, that the bones and ashes which be left, should be carried out of the city; but neither the magistrate, nor the bishop, nor his great vicar or chancellor, nor any divine else, would take any charge thereof, every man transferring that burden from themselves, to him which was the cause of his death. Whereby it may appear, what secret judgment and estimation all they had of that good and blessed man. At last, the people took his burned bones, with the cinders, and carried them out of the street of the city.

Dominicus de Basana, at Placentia, A.D. 1550.

The same year that the aforesaid Faninus suffered in Ferrara, Dominicus also suffered in the city of Placentia. This Dominicus was a citizen in Basana, and followed the wars of Charles the emperor in Germany, where he received the first taste of Christ's gospel, wherein he increased more and more by conferring and reasoning with learned men, so that in a short time he was able to instruct many; and so did, working and travelling in the church, till at length, in the year 1550, he, coming to the city of Naples, there preached the word, and from thence proceeding to Placentia, preached there likewise unto the people, of true confession, of purgatory, and of pardons. Furthermore, the next day he treated of true faith and of good works, how far they are necessary to salvation, promising moreover the next day to speak of antichrist, and to paint him out in his colours. When the hour came that he should begin his sermon, the magistrate of the city commanded him to come down from the chair in the market-place, and deliver himself to the officers. Dominicus was willing and ready to obey the commandment, saying, that he did much marvel that the devil could suffer him so long in that kind of exercise. From thence he was led to the bishop's chancellor, and asked whether he was a priest, and how he was placed in that function? He answered, that he was no priest of the pope, but of Jesus Christ, by whom he was lawfully called to that office. Then was he demanded, whether he would renounce his doctrine? He answered, that he maintained no doctrine of his own, but only the doctrine of Christ, which also he was ready to seal with his blood, and also gave hearty thanks to God, which so accepted him, as worthy to glorify his name with his martyrdom. Upon this he was committed to a filthy and stinking prison, where after he had remained a few months, he was exhorted divers times to revoke, otherwise he should suffer; but still he remained constant in his doctrine: whereupon when the time came assigned for his punishment, he was brought to the market-place, where he preached, and there was hanged; who, most heartily praying for his enemies, so finished his days in this miserable, wretched world.

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Galeazius Trecius, at the city called Laus Pompeia, in Italy, A.D. 1551. Accused by the bishop of St. Angelo and his priests.

St. Angelo is a certain fortress or castle in Italy, within Lombardy, not far from the city called Laus Pompeia, belonging also to the same diocese. In this fort of St. Angelo was a house of Augustine Friars, unto whom used much to resort a certain friar of the same order, dwelling at Pavia, named Mainard, a man well expert in the study of Scripture, and of a godly conversation. By this Mainard, divers not only of the friars, but also of other townsmen, were reduced to the love and knowledge of God's word, and to the detestation of the pope's abuses. Among whom was also this Galeazius, a gentleman of good calling, and wealthy in worldly substance, and very beneficial to the poor, who, first by conference with the friars, and also with his brother-in-law, began to conceive some light in God's truth, and afterwards was confirmed more thoroughly by Cœlius Secundus Curio, who, then being driven by persecution, came from Pavia to the said place of St. Angelo. In process of time, as this Galeazius increased in judgment and zeal, in setting forward the wholesome word of God's grace, as a light shining in darkness, could not so lie hid, but at last, A.D. 1551, certain were sent from the forenamed city of Laus Pompeia to lay hands upon him, who brought him to the bishop's palace; where he was kept in bands, having under him only a pad of straw. Although his wife sent unto him a good featherbed with sheets to lie in, yet the bishop's chaplains and officers kept it from him, dividing the prey among themselves.

When the time came that he should be examined, he was thrice brought before the commissioners, where he rendered reasons and causes of his faith, answering to their interrogatories with such evidence of Scripture, and constancy of mind, that he was an admiration to them that heard him. Albeit not long after, through the importunate persuasions of his kinsfolk and friends, the other cold gospellers, laying many considerations before his eyes, he was brought at length to assent to certain points of the pope's doctrine. But yet the mercy of God, which began with him, so left him not, but brought him again to such repentance, and bewailing of his fact, that he became afterwards (according to the example of Peter, and St. Cyprian, and others) double-wise more valiant in defence of Christ's quarrel; neither did he ever desire anything more than occasion to be offered to recover again by confession, that he had lost before by denial; affirming, that he never felt more joy of heart than at the time of his examinations, where he stood thrice to the constant confession of the truth; and contrary, that he never tasted more sorrow in all his life, than when he slipped afterwards from the same by dissimulation: declaring, moreover, to his brethren, that death was much more sweet unto him, with testimony of the verity, than life with the least denial of truth, and loss of a good conscience. Thus Galeazius, mourning for his fall in prison, after he heard of his friends that nothing was yet so far past, but that he might recover himself again, and that his infirmity was not prejudicial, but rather a furtherance, to God's glory, and admonition to himself to stand more strongly hereafter, took thereby exceeding comfort; and when they would have left with him a book of the New Testament for his comfort, he refused it, saying, that he had in his heart whatsoever Christ there spake to his disciples: also what happened both to Christ and himself, and to his apostles, for confessing the word of truth.

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Furthermore, so comfortable was he after that, that they who talked with him continued all the day without meat or drink, and would also have tarried all the night following, if they might have been suffered.

As Galeazius thus continued in the prison, looking for some occasion to recover himself again from his fall, it followed in short time that the inquisitors and priests repaired to him again in the prison, supposing that he would confirm now that which before he had granted to them; and required him so to do. Galeazius, denying all that he had granted to them before, returned again to the defence of his former doctrine with much more boldness of spirit, confessing Christ, as he did before, and detesting images, affirming and proving that God only is to be worshipped, and that in spirit and verity: also to be no more mediators but Christ alone, and that he only and sufficiently, by his suffering, hath taken away the sins of the whole world; and that all they which depart hence in this faith, are ascertained of everlasting life; they which do not, are under everlasting damnation; with such other like matter, which was repugnant utterly to the pope's proceedings. With this confession made, as his mind was greatly refreshed, so the adversaries went away as much appalled; who, at last, perceiving that he in no case could be revoked, caused him to be committed to the secular judge to be burned.

Thus Galeazius, early in the morning being brought out of prison to the market-place, there was left standing bound to the stake till noon, as a gazing-stock for all men to look upon. In the which mean time many came about him, exhorting him to recant, and not so to cast away his life, whereas with ten words speaking he might save it. And if he cared not for his life, nor for his country where he should live, nor for his goods and possessions, which should be confiscated, yet he should somewhat respect his wife whom he loved so well, and his young children; at least he should consider his own soul. This counsel gave they, which more esteemed the commodities of this present life, than any true soul's health in the life to come. But to conclude, nothing could stir the settled mind of this valiant martyr; wherefore fire was commanded at last to be put to the dry wood about him, wherewith he was shortly consumed, without any noise or crying, saving only these words heard in the middle of the flame, "Lord Jesu! "This was A.D. 1551, November 24.

Touching the story of this blessed martyr, this by the way is to be given for a memorandum, that a little before this Galeazius should be burned, there was a controversy between the mayor of the city, and the bishop's clergy, for the expenses of the wood that should go to his burning. He, hearing thereof, sent word to both the parties to agree, for he himself, of his own goods, would see the cost of that matter discharged.

Another note, moreover, here is to be added, that while Galeazius was in captivity, certain of the papists, perceiving that Galeazius had great goods and possessions, practised with his wife, under colour to release her husband, that she should lay out a sum of money to be sent to the wife of the chief lord of Milan, called Ferrarus Gonzaga, to the end that she should treat both with her husband, and with the senate, for Galeazius's life; which money when they had thus juggled unto their hands, Galeazius notwithstanding was burned; and so was the silly woman robbed and defeated, both of her husband, and also of her money.

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D. Johannes Mollius, a Grey Friar; also a certain weaver of Perugia; at Rome, A.D. 1553. Persecuted by the following parties: Cornelius, a professor of Bologna; Cardinal Campeius, and Cardinal del Campo: also by Bonaventure, a general; six cardinals, and Pope Julius the Third.

Johannes Mollius Montilcinus, being but twelve years old, with his brother Augustine, was set of his parents in the house of the Grey Friars, where he in short time, having a fresh wit, far excelled his fellows in all tongues and liberal sciences. So growing up to the age of eighteen, he was ordained priest, and sang his first mass. After that he was sent to Ferrara to study, where he so profited in the space of six years, that he was assigned, by Vigerius, general of that order, to be doctor, and then reader in divinity; who then, with his sophistry, opposed himself as an utter enemy against the gospel. From thence he went to Breschia, and the next year following to Milan, where he read or professed openly. Again, from thence he was taken by Franciscus Sfortia, and brought to the university of Pavia, there openly to profess philosophy, where he remained four years. After that he was called to the university of Bologna, by Laurentius Spatha, general of that order, where he was occupied in reading the books of Aristotle De Anima. In the mean time God wrought in his soul such light of his word, and of true religion, that he, waxing weary of professing philosophy, began secretly to expound the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans to a few; which being known, his auditors increased so fast, that he was compelled to read openly in the temple. Where, as the number of his audience daily augmented, so the eager fervency of their minds so mightily increased withal, that every man almost came with his pen and ink to write, and great diligence was bestowed how to come betimes to take up the first places, where they might best hear; which was about A.D. 1538. There was the same time, at Bologna, one Cornelius, an arrogant babbler, who, envying the doings of Johannes, took upon him, at the request of Cardinal Campeius, to expound the said Epistle of St. Paul, confuting and disproving the explanation of the said Johannes, and extolling the pope with all his traditions. Contrary, Johannes extolled and commended only Christ and his merits to the people. But the purpose of Cornelius came to small effect. For the auditors which first came unto him, began by little to fall from him; and the concourse of the other man's auditors more and more increased.

Which when Cornelius perceived, he persuaded Campeius, that unless he provided that man to be despatched, the estimation of the Church of Rome would thereby greatly decay. But when they could not openly bring their purpose about, secretly this way was devised, that Cornelius and Johannes should come to open disputation; which disputation endured till three o'clock after midnight. At length, when neither party could agree, Johannes was bid to return home to his house, who, as he was come down the lower steps where the place was straitest, so that his friends could not come to rescue him, (although by drawing their swords they declared their good wills,) was there taken and laid fast in prison. When the day came, such tumult and stir was in the whole city, that Cornelius was driven to hide himself; also Campeius the cardinal, and the bishop there, were both contemned of the students. The next day the bishop of Bologna sent his chancellor to Johannes in the prison, to signify unto him, that either he must recant, or else burn. But he, being of a bold and cheerful spirit, would in no wise be brought to recant. This one thing grieved him, that he should be condemned, his cause being not heard.

In the mean season, Laurentius Spatha, above-mentioned, being general of that order, in most speedy wise posted up to Rome, and there so practised with the cardinal St. Crucis, the proctor in the court of Rome for the Grey Friars, that the pope wrote down his letters to

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Campeius, that he should deliver the said John out of prison; so that he, notwithstanding, within three months after, should personally appear at Rome. Thus, the thirtieth day of his imprisonment, he was delivered: who, but for the coming of the pope's letters, had been burned within three days after. Moreover, with the said Mollius, Cornelius also was cited to make his appearance likewise at Rome, and there was detained in prison by the cardinal St. Crucis, till his cause should be decided. The friends of Mollius gave him counsel not to go to Rome, and offered him money to go to Germany; but he would not, saying, that the gospel must also be preached at Rome. After he was come to Rome, and appeared before Pope Paul the Third, humbly he desired, that the cause, being so weighty, might come in public hearing; but that could not be obtained. Then was he commanded to write his mind in articles, and to bring his proofs; which he diligently performed, treating of original sin, justification by faith, freewill, purgatory, and other such like; proving the said articles by the authority of the Scripture, and of ancient fathers; and so exhibited the same to the bishop of Rome. Upon this, certain cardinals and bishops were assigned to have the cause in hearing; who disputed with him three days, and could not refel what he had proved. At last answer was made unto him thus: That it was truth which he affirmed, nevertheless the same was not meet for this present time; for that it could not be taught or published without the detriment of the apostolic see; wherefore he should abstain hereafter from the Epistles of St. Paul, and so return again safe to Bologna, and there profess philosophy. Thus as he was returned to Bologna, and all men there were desirous to know of his case, how he sped at Rome, openly in the pulpit he declared all things in order as they were done, and gave God thanks.

Herewith Campeius, being more offended than before, obtained of the pope, that the general of the order should remove the said John Mollius from Bologna, and place him some other where. So Mollius from thence was sent to Naples, and there was appointed reader and preacher in the monastery of St. Laurence. But Peter, the viceroy there, not abiding his doctrine, so nearly sought his death, that he had much ado to escape with life; and so, departing from thence, he went wandering into Italy, from place to place, preaching Christ wheresoever he came. Not long after this, when Cardinal Campeius was dead, he was called again unto Bologna, by a good abbot named De Grassis, A.D. 1543, where he renewed again the reading of St. Paul's Epistles after a secret sort, as he did before; but that could not be long undiscovered. Whereupon, by means of Cardinal de Capo, and by Bonaventure the general, he was apprehended the second time, and brought to Faventia, and laid there in a filthy and stinking prison, where he continued four years, no man having leave once to come to him. During which time of his endurance, he wrote a commentary upon the books of Moses; but that labour, by the malignity of the adversaries, was suppressed. At length, through the intercession of the Earl Petilianus, and of the aforesaid good abbot De Grassis, he was again delivered, and sent to Ravenna, where he made his abode a few months with the abbot of St. Vitalem, and there again taught the gospel of Christ as before; and whensoever he spake of the name of Jesus, his eyes dropped tears, for he was fraught with a mighty fervency of God's Holy Spirit.

In process of time, when this abbot was dead, his sureties began to be weary of their bond, and so was he again now the third time reduced into prison by the pope's legates. There were then four men of great authority, who, being stirred up of God, had pity upon him, and bailed him out of prison; of whom, one of the said sureties took the said Mollius home, to instruct his children in the doctrine of religion and good letters. Furthermore, at the fame of this

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man, such a concourse of people came to see him, that the adversaries began to consult with themselves to kill him, lest his doctrine should disperse further abroad, to the detriment of the Church of Rome: whereupon commandment was sent to the pope's legate to lay hands upon him, and to send him up fast bound to Rome, where again, now the fourth time, he was imprisoned in the castle of Rome, and there continued eighteen months, being greatly assaulted, sometimes with flattering promises, sometimes with terrible threats, to give over his opinion: but his building could not be shaken, for it was grounded upon a sure rock. Thus Dr. Mollius, being constant in the defence of Christ's gospel, was brought, with certain other men, (which were also apprehended for religion,) into the temple of St. Mary, called De Minerva, on the fifth day of September, A.D. 1553; either there to revoke, or to be burned. There sat upon them six cardinals in high seats, besides the judge, before whom preached a Dominic Friar, which, cruelly inveighing against the poor prisoners, incensed the cardinals, with all the vehemency he might, to their condemnation. The poor men stood holding a burning taper in their hands, of whom some for fear of death revolted: but this Doctor Mollius, with a weaver of Perugia, remained constant. Then Mollius began an earnest sermon in the Italian tongue, wherein he confirmed the articles of the faith by the sacred Scriptures, declaring also that the pope was not the successor of Peter, but antichrist, and that his sectaries do figure the whore of Babylon. Moreover, he cited them up to the tribunal seat of Christ, and threw away the burning taper from him: whereupon they, being replenished with anger, condemned him with the weaver to the fire, and commanded them to be had away. So were they carried incontinent to the camp or field, called Florianum, where they remained cheerful and constant. First, the weaver was hanged. Mollius then, willing the hangman to execute his office likewise upon him, began to exhort the people to beware of idolatry, and to have no other saviours but Christ alone; for he only is the mediator between God and man. And so was he also hanged, commending his soul to God, and afterwards laid in the fire and burned. The people having divers judgments upon him, some said he died a heretic, some said he was a good man.

Two monks of the house of St. Austin in Rome, A.D. 1554; having being impeached by the senate of Milan.

Furthermore, in the same city of Rome, and about the same time, in the monastery of St. Austin, were found two monks in their cells, with their tongues and their heads cut off, only for rebuking the immoderate and outrageous excess of the cardinals, as witnesseth Manlius. Such was the cruelty then of the malignant adversaries.

Francis Gamba, at Como. Persecuted in the diocese, and by the senate of Milan, A.D. 1554.

Francis Gamba, born in the city of Breschia, in Lombardy, after he had received the knowledge of the gospel, went to Geneva, to confer about certain necessary affairs with them that were wise and learned in that church, which was about the time when the Lord's supper there was administered at Pentecost; who there also at the same time did communicate with them. Afterwards, on his return home, as he was passing over the lake of Como, he was taken and brought to Como, and there committed to ward. During the time of which imprisonment, divers and sundry, as well nobles as others, with doctors also, especially priests and monks, resorted unto him, labouring by all manner of means, and most fair promises, to reduce him from his opinions, which seemed to some but fantasies coming of some humour. To some they seemed

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uncatholic or heretical. But he, constantly disputing with them by the manifest Scriptures, declared the opinions which he defended, not to be any vain speculations or imaginary fantasies of man's doting brain, but the pure verity of God, and the evident doctrine of Jesus Christ, expressed in his word, necessary for all men to believe, and also to maintain unto death: and therefore for his part, rather than he would be found false to Christ and his word, he was there ready, not to deny, but to stand to, Christ's gospel, to the effusion of his blood.

Thus when he could in no wise be reclaimed from the doctrine of truth, letters came from the senate of Milan, that he should be executed with death; which execution, as they of Como were about to prepare, in the mean while came other letters from Geneva, written by the emperor's ambassador, and other nobles of Milan, by the which his death was delayed for a time, till at length other letters were sent again from the senate of Milan, requiring execution of the sentence. Nevertheless, through intercession of his friends, one week's respite more was granted him, to prove whether he might be won again to the pope's church; that is to say, lost from God. Thus he, being mightily and long assailed both by friends, and by enemies terrified, yet by no persuasions would be expugned, but gave thanks to God, that he was made worthy to suffer the rebukes of this world, and cruel death, for the testimony of his Son; and so went he cheerfully unto his death. Then came certain Franciscan Friars to him to hear his confession, which he refused. Also they brought in their hands a cross for him to behold, to keep him from desperation at the feeling of the fire; but his mind, he said, was so replenished with joy and comfort in Christ, that he needed neither their cross nor them. After this, as he was declaring many comfortable things to the people, of the fruition of those heavenly joys above which God hath prepared for his, because he should speak no more to the people, his tongue was bored through; and so immediately being tied to the stake, there he was strangled till he was dead; every man there giving testimony, who saw his constancy, that he died a good man.

Pomponius Algerius, at Rome. Persecuted by Pope Paul the Fourth, and the magistrates of Venice, A.D. 1555.

Pomponius Algerius, born in Capua, a young man of great learning, was student in the university of Padua, where he, not being able to conceal and keep close the verity of Christ's gospel, which he learned by the heavenly teaching of God's grace, ceased not, both by doctrine and example of life, to inform as many as he could in the same doctrine, and to bring them to Christ. For the which he was accused of heresy to Pope Paul the Fourth, who, sending immediately to the magistrates of Venice, caused him to be apprehended at Padua, and carried to Venice, where he was long detained in prison and bonds, till at last the pope commanded the magistrates there to send him up bound unto Rome, which the Venetians eftsoons accomplished. After he was brought to Rome, manifold persuasions and allurements were essayed to remove the virtuous and blessed young man from his sentence: but when no worldly persuasions could prevail against the operation of God's Spirit in him, then was he adjudged to be burned alive; which death most constantly he sustained, to the great admiration of all that beheld him.

Being in prison at Venice, he wrote an epistle to the afflicted saints; which for the notable sweetness and most wonderful consolation contained in the same, in showing forth the mighty operation of God's holy power working in his afflicted saints that suffer for his sake, I have thought good and expedient to communicate, as a principal monument amongst all other martyrs'

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letters, not only with the other letters which shall be inserted hereafter (the Lord willing) in the end of the book, but also in this present place to be read, to the intent that both they which be, or shall be hereafter, in affliction, may take consolation; and also they that yet follow the trade of this present world, in comparing the joys and commodities thereof with these joys here expressed, may learn and consider with themselves, what difference there is between them both, and thereby may learn to dispose themselves in such sort, as may be to their edification, and perpetual felicity of their souls. The copy of the letter, first written in Latin, we have translated into English, the tenor whereof here ensueth:

A comfortable letter of Pomponius Algerius an Italian.

"To his most dearly beloved brethren and fellow servants in Christ, which are departed out of Babylon into Mount Sion; grace, peace, and health, from God our Father, by Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour!

"To mitigate your sorrow which you take for me, I cannot but impart unto you some portion of my delectations and joys, which I feel and find, to the intent you with me may rejoice and sing before the Lord, giving thanks unto him. I shall utter that which no man will believe when I shall declare it. I have found a nest of honey and honey-comb in the entrails of a lion. Who will ever believe that I shall say? or what man will ever think in the deep dark dungeon to find a paradise of pleasure? in the place of sorrow and death, to dwell in tranquillity and hope of life? in a cave infernal, to be found joy of soul? and where other men do weep, there to be rejoicing? where others do shake and tremble, there strength and boldness to be plenty? Who will ever think, or who will believe this? in such a woeful state, such delectation? in a place so desolate, such society of good men? in strait bands and cold irons, such rest to be had? All these things the sweet hand of the Lord, my sweet brethren! doth minister unto me. Behold, he that that was once far from me, now is present with me; whom once scarce I could feel, now I see more apparently; whom once I saw afar off, now I behold near at hand; whom once I hungered for, the same now approacheth and reacheth his hand unto me. He doth comfort me, and heapeth me up with gladness; he driveth away all bitterness; he ministereth strength and courage; he healeth me, refresheth, advanceth, and comforteth me. Oh how good is the Lord, who suffereth not his servants to be tempted above their strength! Oh how easy and sweet is his yoke! Is there any like unto the Highest, who receiveth the afflicted, healeth the wounded, and nourisheth them? Is there any like unto him? Learn, ye well-beloved! how amiable the Lord is, how meek and merciful he is, which visiteth his servants in temptations, neither disdaineth he to keep company with us in such vile and stinking caves. Will the blind and incredulous world, think you, believe this? or rather will it not say thus: No, thou wilt never be able to abide long the burning heat, the cold snow, and the pinching hardness of that place, the manifold miseries, and other grievances innumerable. The rebukes and frowning faces of men, how wilt thou suffer? Post thou not consider and revolve in thy mind thy pleasant country, the riches of the world, thy kinsfolk, the delicate pleasures and honours of this life? dost thou forget the solace of thy sciences, and the fruit of all thy labours? Wilt thou thus lose all thy labours which thou hast hitherto sustained? so many nights watched? thy painful travails, and all thy laudable enterprises, wherein thou hast been exercised continually even from thy childhood? Finally, fearest thou not death, which hangeth over thee, and that for no crime committed? Oh what a fool art thou, which for one word speaking mayst salve all this, and wilt not! What a rude and unmannerly thing is this, not to be

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entreated at the instant petitions and desires of such, so many and so mighty, so just, so virtuous, so prudent and gracious senators, and such noble personages, &c.

"But now to answer: Let this blind world hearken to this again, What heat can there be more burning, than that fire which is prepared for thee hereafter? and likewise what snow can be more cold than thy heart which is in darkness, and hath no light? What thing is more hard, and sharp, or crooked, than this present life which here we lead? what thing more odious and hateful than this world here present? And let these worldly men here answer me, What country can we have more sweet than the heavenly country above? what treasures more rich or precious than everlasting life? And who be our kinsmen, but they which hear the word of God? Where be greater riches, or dignities more honourable, than in heaven? And as touching the sciences, let this foolish world consider, be they not ordained to learn to know God, whom unless we do know, all our labours, our night watchings, our studies, and all our enterprises serve to no use or purpose; all is but lost labour.

"Furthermore, let the miserable worldly man answer me, What remedy or safe refuge can there be unto him, if he lack God, who is the life and medicine of all men? and how can he be said to fly from death, when he himself is already dead in sin? If Christ be the way, verity, and life, how can there be any life then without Christ? The sultry heat of the prison to me is coldness; the cold winter to me is a fresh spring-time in the Lord. He that feareth not to be burned in the fire, how will he fear the heat of weather? or what careth he for the pinching frost, who burneth with the love of the Lord? The place is sharp and tedious to them that be guilty, but to the innocent and guiltless it is mellifluous. Here droppeth the delectable dew; here floweth the pleasant nectar; here runneth the sweet milk; here is plenty of all good things. And although the place itself be desert and barren, yet to me it seemeth a large walk, and a valley of pleasure; here to me is the better and more noble part of the world. Let the miserable worldling say and confess, if there be any plot, pasture, or meadow so delightful to the mind of man, as here. Here I see kings, princes, cities, and people; here I see wars, where some be overthrown, some be victors, some thrust down, some lifted up. Here is the Mount Sion; here I am already in heaven itself; here standeth first Christ Jesus in the front. About him stand the old fathers, prophets, and evangelists, and apostles, and all the servants of God: of whom some do embrace and cherish me, some exhort me, some open the sacraments unto me, some comfort me, other some singing about me. And how then shall I be thought to be alone, among so many, and such as these be? the beholding of whom to me is both solace and example: for here I see some crucified, some slain, some stoned, some cut asunder and some quartered, some roasted, some broiled, some put in hot cauldrons, some having their eyes bored through, some their tongues cut out, some their skin plucked over their heads, some their hands and feet chopped off, some put in kilns and furnaces, some cast down headlong and given to the beasts and fowls of the air to feed upon: it would ask a long time if I should recite all.

"To be short, divers I see with divers and sundry torments excruciate; yet, notwithstanding, all living, and all safe. One plaster, one salve, cureth all their wounds: which also gives to them strength and life, so that I sustain all these transitory anguishes and small afflictions with a quiet mind, having a greater hope laid up in heaven. Neither do I fear mine adversaries which here persecute me and oppress me; for He that dwelleth in the heaven shall laugh them to scorn, and the Lord shall deride them. I fear not thousands of people which

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compass me about. The Lord my God shall deliver me, my hope, my supporter, my comforter, who exalteth my head. He shall smite all them that stand up against me without cause, and shall dash the teeth and jaws of sinners asunder; for he only is all blessedness and majesty. The rebukes for Christ's cause make us jocund; for so it is written, If ye be rebuked and scorned for the name of Christ, happy be you; for the glory and Spirit of God resteth upon you, 1 Pet. iv. Be you therefore certified, that our rebukes which are laid upon us, redound to the shame and harm of the rebukers. In this world there is no mansion firm to me; and therefore I travel up to the New Jerusalem which is in heaven, and which offereth itself unto me without paying any fine or income. Behold, I have entered already on my journey, where my house standeth for me prepared, and where I shall have riches, kinsfolks, delights, honours never failing. As for these earthly things here present, they are transitory shadows, vanishing vapours, and ruinous walls. Briefly, all is but very vanity of vanities, where hope and the substance of eternity to come are wanting; which the merciful goodness of the Lord hath given as companions to accompany me, and to comfort me: and now do the same begin to work and to bring forth fruits in me. I have travailed hitherto, laboured and sweat early and late, watching day and night, and now my travails begin to come to effect. Days and hours have I bestowed upon my studies. Behold, the true countenance of God is sealed upon me; the Lord hath given mirth in my heart; and therefore in the same will I lay me down in peace and rest, Psal. iv. And who then shall dare to blame this our age consumed, or say that our years be cut off? What man can now cavil that these our labours are lost, which have followed and found out the Lord and Maker of this world, and which have changed death for life? My portion is the Lord, saith my soul, and therefore I will seek and wait for him. Now then, if to die in the Lord be not to die, but to live most joyfully, where is this wretched worldly rebel, which blameth us of folly, for giving away our lives to death? Oh how delectable is this death to me, to taste the Lord's cup, which is an assured pledge of true salvation! for so hath the Lord himself forewarned us, saying, The same that they have done to me, they will also do unto you. Wherefore let the doltish world, with its blind worldlings, (who in the bright sunshine yet go stumbling in darkness, being as blind as beetles,) cease thus unwisely to carp against us for our rash suffering, as they count it: to whom thus we answer again with the holy apostle, Neither tribulation, nor anguish, nor hunger, nor nakedness, nor jeopardy, nor persecution, nor sword, shall be able ever to separate us from the love of Christ. We are slain all the day long; we are made like sheep ordained to the shambles, Rom. viii. Thus do we resemble Christ our Head, who said, that the disciple cannot be above his master, nor the servant above his lord. The same Lord hath also commanded that every one shall take up his cross and follow him, Luke ix. Rejoice, rejoice, my dear brethren and fellow servants! and be of good comfort, when ye fall into sundry temptations. Let your patience be perfect on all parts; for so is it foreshowed us before, and is written, that they that shall kill you, shall think to do God good service. Therefore afflictions and death be as tokens and sacraments of our election and life to come. Let us then be glad and sing to the Lord, when we, being clear from all just accusation, are persecuted and given to death: for better it is, that we in doing well do suffer, if it so be the will of the Lord, than doing evil, 1 Pet. iii. We have for our example Christ and the prophets, who spake in the name of the Lord, whom the children of iniquity did quell and murder; and now we bless and magnify them that then suffered. Let us be glad and joyous in our innocency and uprightness. The Lord shall reward them that persecute us; let us refer all revengement to him.

"I am accused of foolishness, for that I do not shrink from the true doctrine and knowledge of God, and do not rid myself out of these troubles, when with one word I may. Oh

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the blindness of man! who seeth not the sun shining, neither remembereth the Lord's words. Consider therefore what he saith, You are the light of the world. A city builded on the hill cannot be hid; neither do men light a candle, and put it under a bushel, but upon a candlestick, that it may shine, and give light to them in the house. And in another place he saith, You shall be led before kings and rulers; fear ye not them that kill the body, but him which killeth both body and soul. Whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I also confess before my Father which is in heaven; and he that denieth me before men, him will I also deny before my heavenly Father. Wherefore seeing the words of the Lord be so plain, how, or by what authority, will this wise counsellor then approve this his counsel which he doth give? God forbid that I should relinquish the commandments of God, and follow the counsels of men; for it is written, Blessed is the man that hath not gone in the ways of sinners, and hath not stood in the counsel of the ungodly, and hath not set in the chair of pestilence, Psalm i. God forbid that I should deny Christ, where I ought to confess him. I will not set more by my life, than by my soul; neither will I exchange the life to come for this world here present. Oh how foolishly speaketh he which argueth me of foolishness!

"Neither do I take it to be a thing so uncomely, or unseemly for me, not to obey in this matter the requests of those so honourable, just, prudent, virtuous, and noble senators, whose desires (he saith) were enough to command me: for so are we taught of the apostles, that we ought to obey God before men. After that we have served and done our duty first unto God, then are we bound next to obey the potentates of this world; whom I wish to be perfect before the Lord. They are honourable; but yet are they to be made more perfect in the Lord: they are just; but yet Christ, the seat of justice, is lacking in them: they are wise; but where is in them the beginning of wisdom, that is, the fear of the Lord? they are called virtuous; but yet I wish them more absolute in Christian charity: they are good and gracious; but yet I miss in them the foundation of goodness, which is the Lord God, in whom dwelleth all goodness and grace: they are honourable; yet have they not received the Lord of glory, which is our Saviour, most honourable and glorious. Understand, ye kings, and learn, you that judge the earth. Serve the Lord in fear, and rejoice in him with trembling. Harken to doctrine, and get knowledge, lest you fall into God's displeasure, and so perish out of the way of righteousness. What fret you, what fume you, O Gentiles? O you people! why cast you in your brains the cogitations of vanity? You kings of the earth, and you princes, why conspire you so together against Christ, and against his Holy One? Psalm ii. How long will you seek after lies, and hate the truth? Turn you to the Lord, and harden not your hearts: for this you must needs confess, that they that persecute the Lord's servants, do persecute the Lord himself: for so he saith himself, Whatsoever men shall do to you, I will count it to be done not as unto you, but to myself.

"And now let this carnal, politic counsellor and disputer of this world tell, wherein have they to blame me, if in my examinations I have not answered so after their mind and affection as they required of me? seeing it is not ourselves that speak, but the Lord that speaketh in us, as he himself doth forewitness, saying, When ye shall be brought before rulers and magistrates, it is not you yourselves that speak, but the Spirit of my Father that shall be in you, Matt. x. Wherefore if the Lord be true and faithful of his word, as it is most certain, then is there no blame in me: for he gave the words that I did speak; and who was I, that could resist his will? If any shall reprehend the things that I said, let him then quarrel with the Lord, whom it pleased to work so in me. And if the Lord be not to be blamed, neither am I herein to be accused, who did that I

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purposed not, and that I forethought not of. The things which there I did utter and express, if they were otherwise than well, let them show it, and then will I say, that they were my words, and not the Lord's. But if they were good and approved, and such as cannot justly be accused, then must it needs be granted, spite of their teeth, that they proceeded of the Lord; and then who be they that shall accuse me? a people of prudence? or who shall condemn me? just judges? And though they so do, yet, nevertheless, the word shall not be frustrated, neither shall the gospel be foolish, or therefore decay; but rather the kingdom of God shall the more prosper and flourish unto the Israelites, and shall pass the sooner unto the elect of Christ Jesus: and they who shall so do, shall prove the grievous judgment of God; neither shall they escape without punishment, that be persecutors and murderers of the just. My well-beloved! lift up your eyes, and consider the counsels of God. He showed unto us of late an image of his plague, which was to our correction: and if we shall not receive him, he will draw out his sword, and strike with sword, pestilence, and famine, the nation that shall rise against Christ.

"These have I written to your comfort. Dear brethren! pray for me. I kiss in my heart, with a holy kiss, my good masters, Sylvius, Pergula, Justus; also Fidel Rocke, and him that beareth the name of Lelia, whom I know, although being absent. Item, the governor of the university, Syndicus, and all others whose names be written in the hook of life. Farewell, all my fellow servants of God! fare ye well in the Lord, and pray for me continually.

"From the delectable orchard of Leonine prison, the twelfth of the calends of August, A.D. 1555."

It is written of one Thebrotus, that when he had read the book of Plato, De Immortalitate Animæ, he was so moved and persuaded therewith, that he cast himself down headlong from a high wall, to be rid out of this present life. If those heathen philosophers, having no word of God, nor promise of any resurrection and life to come, could so soon be persuaded, by reading the works of Plato, to condemn this world and life here present; how much more is it to be required in Christians, instructed with so many evidences and promises of God's most perfect word, that they should learn to cast off the carnal desires and affections of this miserable peregrination; and that for a double respect, not only in seeing, reading, and understanding so many examples of the miseries of this wicked world; but also much more in considering and pondering the heavenly joys and consolations of the other world, remaining for us hereafter to come; for a more full evidence whereof, I thought good to give out this present letter of Algerius above prefixed, for a taste of the same, and a lively testimony for all true Christians to read and consider. Now let us proceed further (the Lord willing) in our table of Italian martyrs.

Johannes Aloysius, at Rome, and Jacobus Bovellus at Messina. Persecuted by Pope Pius the Fourth, A.D. 1559.

Of Johannes Aloysius we find mention made in a letter of Simon Florellus; which Aloysius was sent down from Geneva to the parts of Calabria, there to be their minister; who afterwards was sent for up to Rome, and there suffered.

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Jacobus Bovellus was likewise sent from Geneva to the said parts of Calabria, with Aloysius; who also, being sent for up to Rome, was sent down to the city of Messina, and there was martyred, A.D. 1559.

Divers that suffered in the kingdom of Naples, A.D. 1560.



Naples

After Pope Julius the Third, came Marcellus the Second. After him succeeded Pope Paul the Fourth. This Paul being dead, followed Pope Pius the Fourth, who, being advanced to that room, began hot persecution in all the territories of the Church of Rome, against them which were suspected for Lutherans; whereupon ensued great trouble and persecution in the kingdom of Naples, in such cruel sort, that many noble men, with their wives and others, are reported there to be slain.

Eighty-eight martyrs in one day, with one butcherly knife, slain like sheep.



Martyrs Slain with a Knife

Sixteen hundred others also, condemned at Calabria, A.D. 1560.

In Calabria, likewise, the same time, suffered a blessed number of Christ's well-beloved saints, both old and young, put together in one house, to the number of eighty-eight persons; all which, one after another, were taken out of the house, and so being laid upon the butcher's stall, like the sheep in the shambles, with one bloody knife were all killed in order: a spectacle most tragical for all posterity to remember, and almost incredible to believe. Wherefore, for the more credit of the matter, lest we should seem either light of credit, to believe that is not true, or rashly to commit to pen things without due proof and authority, we have here annexed a piece of an epistle written by Master Simon Florellus, preacher of God's word at the city of Clavenna, among the Rhetians, unto a certain friend of his named Gulielmus Gratalorus, an Italian, and doctor of physic in the university of Basil. Which Gratalorus translated the same into the Latin tongue, and it is to be found in the 11th book of Pantaleon, p. 337, the English whereof is this as followeth:

The end of a certain letter of Simon Florellus, written in Italian, concerning a lamentable slaughter of eighty-eight Christian saints in the parts of Calabria.

"As concerning news I have nothing to write, but only that I send you a copy of certain letters, imprinted either at Rome or at Venice, concerning the martyrdom or persecution in two several towns of Calabria, eight Italian miles from the borders of Cosenza, the one called St. Sixtus, within two miles of Montalto, under the seigniory of the duke of Montalto; the other

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called Guardia, situate upon the sea-coast, and twelve miles from St. Sixtus: which two towns are utterly destroyed, and eight hundred of the inhabitants there, or, as some write from the city of Rome, no less than a full thousand. He that wrote the letter, was servant to Ascanius Carracciolus. The country and people there, I well know to have taken the first original of their good doctrine and honest life from the Waldenses; for before my departure from Geneva, at their request, I sent them two schoolmasters, and two preachers. The last year the two preachers were martyred; the one at Rome, named Johannes Aloysius Pascalis, a citizen of Cunio; the other at Messina, named James Bovell; both of Piedmont. This year the residue of that godly fellowship were martyred in the same place. I trust this good seed sown in Italy, will bring forth good and plentiful fruit."

Now followeth the copy of the letter sent from Montalto, a town in Calabria, eight miles distant from Cosenza, bearing date the eleventh of June, 1560. The writer of this letter, as ye may perceive, was one of them that call themselves catholics, and followers of the pope. The words of the letter be these, as here follow.

Here followeth the copy of a letter sent from Montalto in Calabria, by a Romanist, to a certain friend of his in Rome, containing news of the persecution of Christ's people in Calabria, by the new pope, Pius the Fourth, A.D. 1550.

"Hitherto, most noble lord! have I certified you, what here daily hath been done about these heretics. Now cometh next to signify unto your Lordship the horrible judgment begun this present day, being the eleventh of June, to be executed very early in the morning against the Lutherans; which when I think upon, I verily quake and tremble. And truly the manner of their putting to death was to be compared to the slaughter of calves and sheep; for they, being all thrust up in one house together, as in a sheep-fold, the executioner cometh in, and amongst them taketh one, and blindfoldeth him with a muffler about his eyes, and so leadeth him forth to a larger place near adjoining, where he commandeth him to kneel down; which being so done, he cutteth his throat, and leaving him half dead, and taking his butcher's knife and muffler all of gore-blood, (which the Italians call benda,) cometh again to the rest, and so leading one after another, he despatched them all, which were to the number of eighty-eight. This spectacle to behold how doleful and horrible it was, I leave to your Lordship's judgment; for to write of it, I myself cannot but weep: neither was there any of the beholders there present, which seeing one to die, could abide to behold the death of another. But certes so humbly and patiently they went to death, as is almost incredible to believe. Some of them, as they were in dying, affirmed, that they believed even as we do: notwithstanding the most part of them died in the same their obstinate opinions. All the aged persons went to death more cheerfully; the younger were more timorous. I tremble and shake even to remember how the executioner held his bloody knife between his teeth, with the bloody muffler in his hand, and his arms all in gore-blood up to the elbows, going to the fold, and taking every one of them, one after another, by the hand, and so despatching them all no otherwise than doth a butcher kill his calves and sheep.

"It is moreover appointed (and the carts be come already) that all those so put to death should be quartered, and so be conveyed in the carts to the hithermost parts of Calabria, where they will be hanged upon poles in the highways and other places, even to the confines of the same country. Unless the pope's Holiness and the lord viceroy of Naples shall give in

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commandment to the lord marquis of Buccianus, governor of the said province, to stay his hand, and go no further, he will proceed with the rack and torture, examining all other, and so increase the number in such sort, that he will nigh despatch them all.

"This day it is also determined, that a hundred of the more ancient women should appear to be examined and racked, and after to be put to death, that the mixture may be perfect, for so many men so many women: and thus have you what I can say of this justice. Now is it about two o'clock in the afternoon: shortly we shall hear what some of them said when they went to execution. There be certain of them so obstinate, that they will not look upon the crucifix, nor be confessed to the priest; and they shall be burned alive.

"The heretics that be apprehended and condemned, are to the number of sixteen hundred, but as yet no more but these aforesaid eighty-eight are already executed. This people have their original of the valley named Angrogne, near to Subaudia, and in Calabria are called Ultramontani. In the kingdom of Naples there are four other places of the same people, of whom whether they live well or no, as yet we know not; for they are but simple people, ignorant, without learning, wood-gatherers, and husbandmen: but as I hear, much devout and religious, giving themselves to die for religion's sake.

"From Montalto, the eleventh of June."

And thus much writeth this Romanist.

Here moreover is to be noted, that the aforesaid Marquis Buccianus above specified, had a son or brother, unto whom the said new pope (Pius the Fourth, belike) is reported to have promised a cardinalship at Rome, if all the Lutherans were extirpated and rooted out in that province. And like enough that the same was the cause of his butcherly persecution and effusion of Christian blood, in the said country of Calabria, beyond Naples, in Italy.

Besides these godly Italian martyrs in this table above contained, many others also have suffered in the same country of Italy, of whom some before have been specified, some peradventure omitted. But many more there be, whose names we know not; whereof as soon as knowledge may be given unto us, we purpose, God willing, to impart the same, loving reader! unto thee.

153. The Waldensian Martyrs in Provence

Now in the mean time it followeth, (according to my promise made before,) next after this lamentable slaughter of Calabria, here to insert also the tragical persecution and horrible murder of the faithful flock of Christ, inhabiting in Merindol in France, and in the towns adjacent near unto the same, in the time of Francis the First, the French king. The furious cruelty of this miserable persecution, although it cannot be set forth too much at large, yet because we will not weary too much the reader with the full length thereof, we have so contracted the same, especially the principal effect thereof we have comprehended in such sort, that as we on the one part have avoided prolixity, so on the other, we have omitted nothing which might seem unworthy to be forgotten. The story here followeth.

A notable history of the persecution and destruction of the people of Merindol and Cabriers, in the country of Provence:

Where not a few persons, but whole villages and townships, with the most part of all the aforesaid country, both men, women, and children, were put to all kinds of cruelty, and suffered martyrdom for the profession of the gospel.

They that write of the beginning of this people, say, that about two hundred years ago, A.D. 1360, they came out of the country of Piedmont to inhabit in Provence, in certain villages destroyed by wars, and other desert places: wherein they used such labour and diligence, that they had abundance of corn, wine, oils, honey, almonds, with other fruits and commodities of the earth, and much cattle. Before they came thither, Merindol was a barren desert, and not inhabited: but these good people, (in whom God always had reserved some little seed of piety,) being dispersed and separated from the society of men, were compelled to dwell with beasts in that waste and wild desert, which, notwithstanding, through the blessing of God, and their great labour and travail, became exceeding fruitful. Notwithstanding, the world in the mean time so detested and abhorred them, and with all shameful rebukes and contumelies railed against them in such despiteful manner, that it seemed they were not worthy that the earth should bear them: for they of a long continuance and custom had refused the bishop of Rome's authority, and observed ever a more perfect kind of doctrine than others, delivered unto them from the father to the son, ever since the year of our Lord 1200.

For this cause they were often accused and complained of to the king, as contemners and despisers of the magistrates, and rebels: wherefore they were called by divers names, according to the countries and places where they dwelt. For in the country about Lyons, they were called the Poor People of Lyons; in the borders of Sarmatia, and Livonia, and other countries towards the north, they were called Lollards; in Flanders and Artois, Turrelupines, of a desert where wolves did haunt. In Dauphine, with great despite, they were called Chagnards, because they lived in places open to the sun, and without house or harbour. But most commonly they were called Waldois, of Waldo, who first instructed them in the word of God; which name continued until the name of Lutherans came up, which above all others was most hated and abhorred.

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Notwithstanding, in all these most spiteful contumelies and slanders, the people dwelling at the foot of the Alps, and also in Merindol and Cabriers, and the quarters thereabouts, always lived so godly, so uprightly, and so justly, that in all their life and conversation there appeared to be in them a great fear of God. That little light of true knowledge which God had given them, they laboured by all means to kindle and increase daily more and more, sparing no charges, whether it were to procure books of the Holy Scriptures, or to instruct such as were of the best and most towardly wits in learning and godliness; or else to send them into other countries, yea, even to the farthest parts of the earth, where they had heard that any light of the gospel began to shine.

For in the year 1530, understanding that the gospel was preached in certain towns of Germany and Switzerland, they sent thither two learned men, that is, Georgius Maurellus, born in Dauphine, a godly preacher of their own, and whom they had of their charges brought up in learning, and Petrus Latomus, a Burgundian, to confer with the wise and learned ministers of the churches there in the doctrine of the gospel, and to know the whole form and manner which those churches used in the service and worshipping of God: and particularly to have their advice also upon certain points which they were not resolved in. These two, after great conference had with the chiefest in the church of God, namely with Ecolampadius at Basil; at Strasburg, with Bucer and Capito; and at Berne, with Bartholdus Hallerus, as they were returning through Burgundy homeward, Petrus Latomus was taken at Dijon, and cast into prison; Maurellus escaped, and returned alone to Merindol, with the books and letters which he brought with him from the churches of Germany; and declared to his brethren all the points of his commission, and opened unto them how many and great errors they were in, into the which their old ministers, whom they call Barbes, (that is to say, uncles,) had brought them, leading them from the right way of true religion.

When the people heard this, they were moved with such a zeal to have their churches reformed, that they sent for the most ancient brethren, and the chiefest in knowledge and experience of all Calabria and Apulia, to consult with them touching the reformation of the church. This matter was so handled, that it stirred up the bishops, priests, and monks, in all Provence, with great rage against them. Amongst others, there was one cruel wretch called John de Roma, a monk, who, obtaining a commission to examine those that were suspected to be of the Waldois or Lutheran profession, forthwith ceased not to afflict the faithful with all kinds of cruelty that he could devise or imagine. Amongst other most horrible torments, this was one which he most delighted in, and most commonly practised; he filled boots with boiling grease, and put them upon their legs, tying them backward to a form, with their legs hanging down over a small fire; and so he examined them. Thus he tormented very many, and in the end most cruelly put them to death.

The first whom he thus tormented, were Michelottus Serra and W. Melius, with a number more. Wherefore Francis the French king, being informed of the strange and outrageous cruelty of this hellish monk, sent letters to the court of parliament of Provence, that forthwith he should be apprehended, and by form of process, and order of law, he should be condemned, and advertisement sent unto him with all speed of his condemnation. The monk, being advertised hereof by his friends, conveyed himself to Avignon, where he thought to enjoy the spoilings, which he, like a notorious thief, had gotten by fraud and extortion from the poor Christians: but

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shortly after, he which had so shamefully spoiled others, was spoiled of all together, by his own household servants; whereupon shortly after he fell sick of a most horrible disease, strange and unknown to any physician. So extreme were the pains and torments wherewith he was continually vexed in all his body, that no ointment, no fomentation, nor any thing else, could ease him one minute of an hour: neither was there any man that could tarry near about him, nor yet would any one of his own friends come near to him, so great was the stench that came from him. For the which cause he was carried from the Jacobins to an hospital, there to be kept; but the stench and infection so increased, that no man there durst come near him: no, nor he himself was able to abide the horrible stench that issued from his body, full of ulcers and sores, and swarming with vermin, and so rotten, that the flesh fell away from the bones by piecemeal.

While he was in these torments and anguish, he cried out oftentimes in great rage, "Oh! who will deliver me? who will kill and rid me out of these intolerable pains, which I know I suffer for the evils and oppressions that I have done to the poor men?" And he himself went about divers times to destroy himself, but he had not the power. In these horrible torments and anguish, and fearful despair, this blasphemer and most cruel homicide most miserably ended his unhappy days and cursed life, as a spectacle to all persecutors, receiving a just reward of his cruelty by the just judgment of God. When he was dead, there was no man that would come near him to bury him; but a young novice, newly come to his order, instead of a more honourable sepulture, caught hold with a hook upon his stinking carrion, and drew him into a hole hard by, which was made for him.

After the death of this cruel monster, the bishop of Aix, by his official Perionet, continued the persecution, and put a great multitude of them in prison, of whom some by force of torments revolted from the truth; the others which continued constant, after he had condemned them of heresy, were put into the hands of the judge ordinary, who at that time was one Meiranus, a notable cruel persecutor, who, without any form of process or order of law, such as the official had pronounced to be heretics, he put to death with most cruel torments; but shortly after he received a just reward of his cruelty in like manner.

After the death of the good president Cusinetus, the lord of Revest, being chief president of the parliament of Aix, put many of the faithful to death; who afterwards, being put out of his office, returned to his house of Revest, where he was stricken with such a horrible sickness, that, for the fury and madness which he was in, his wife, or any that were about him, durst not come near him; and so he, dying in his fury and rage, was justly plagued for his unmerciful and cruel dealing.

After him succeeded Bartholomew Chassanee, likewise a pestilent persecutor, whom God at length struck with a fearful and sudden death. In the time of this tyrant, those of Merindol, in the persons of ten, were cited personally to appear before the king's attorney. But they, hearing that the court had determined to burn them without any further process or order of law, durst not appear at the day appointed. For which cause the court awarded a cruel sentence against Merindol, and condemned all the inhabitants to be burned, both men and women, sparing none, no, not the little children and infants; the town to be razed, and their houses beaten down to the ground; also the trees to be cut down, as well olive-trees as all others, and nothing to be left, to the intent it should never be inhabited again, but remain as a desert or wilderness.

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This bloody arrest or decree seemed so strange and wonderful, that in every place throughout all Provence there was great reasoning and disputation concerning the same, especially among the advocates, and men of learning and understanding; insomuch that many durst boldly and openly say, that they greatly marvelled how that court of parliament could be so mad, or so bewitched, to give out such an arrest, so manifestly injurious and unjust, and contrary to all right and reason, yea, to all sense of humanity; also contrary to the solemn oath which all such as are received to office in courts of parliament, are accustomed to make; that is to say, to judge justly and uprightly, according to the law of God, and the just ordinances and laws of the realm, so that God thereby might be honoured, and every man's right regarded, without respect of persons.

Some of the advocates or lawyers, defending the said arrest to be just and right, said, that in the case of Lutheranism, the judges are not bound to observe either right or reason, law or ordinance; and that the judges cannot fail or do amiss, whatsoever judgment they do give, so that it tend to the ruin and extirpation of all such as are suspected to be Lutherans.

To this the other lawyers and learned men answered, that upon their sayings it would ensue, that the judges should now altogether follow the same manner and form, in proceeding against the Christians accused to be Lutherans, which the gospel witnesseth that the priests, scribes, and Pharisees, in pursuing and persecuting, and finally condemning, our Lord Jesus Christ.

By these and such other like talks, the said arrest was published throughout the country, and there was no assembly or banquet where it was not disputed or talked of: and namely, within twelve days after the arrest was given out, there was a great banquet in the town of Aix; at which banquet were present M. Bartholomew Chassanee, president, and many other councillors and other noble personages and men of authority. There was also the archbishop of Arles, and the bishop of Aix, with divers ladies and gentlewomen, amongst whom was one which was commonly reported to be the bishop of Aix's concubine. They were scarce well sat at the table, but she began thus to talk: "My lord president! will you not execute the arrest which is given out of late against the Lutherans of Merindol?" The president answered nothing, feigning that he heard her not. Then a certain gentleman asked of her, what arrest that was? She recited it in manner and form as it was given out, forgetting nothing, as if she had a long time studied to commit the same to memory: whereunto they that were at the banquet gave diligent ear, without any word speaking, until she had ended her tale.

Then the lord of Alenc, a man fearing God, and of great understanding, said unto her, "Gentlewoman! you have learned this tale either of some that would have it so, or else it is given out by some parliament of women." Then the lord of Senas, an ancient councillor, said unto him; "No, no, my lord of Alenc! it is no tale which you have heard this gentlewoman tell; for it is an arrest given out by a whole senate: and you ought not thus to speak, except you would call the court of Provence a parliament of women." Then the lord of Alenc began to excuse himself, with protestation that he would not speak any thing to blemish the authority of that sovereign court; notwithstanding, he could not believe all that which the said gentlewoman had told, that is to say, that all the inhabitants of Merindol were condemned to die by the arrest of the said court of parliament of Provence, and especially the women, and little children and infants; and the town

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to be razed for the fault of ten or twelve persons, which did not appear before the said court at the day appointed. And the Lord Beauvieu also answered, that he believed not the said court to have given out any such arrest; for that (said he) were a thing most unreasonable, and such as the very Turks, and the most tyrants in the world, would judge to be a thing most detestable: and said further, that he had known a long time many of Merindol, who seemed unto him to be men of great honesty: and my lord president (said he) can certify us well what is done in this matter, for we ought not to give credit unto women's tales. Then the gentlewoman who had rehearsed the arrest, stayed not to hear the president's answer, but suddenly looking upon the bishop of Aix, said, "I should greatly have marvelled, if there had been none in all this company who would defend these wicked men." And lifting up her eyes to heaven, in a great womanly chafe and fume, she said, "Would to God that all the Lutherans who are in Provence, yea, and in all France, had horns growing on their foreheads; then we should see a goodly many of horns!" To whom the Lord Beauvieu suddenly answered, saying, "Would to God all priests' harlots should chatter like pies!" Then said the gentlewoman, "Ah, my Lord Beauvieu! you ought not so to speak against our holy mother the church, for that there was never dog that barked against the crucifix, but he waxed mad;" whereat the bishop of Aix laughed, and clapping the gentlewoman on the shoulder, said, "By my holy orders, my minion! well said; I con you thank. She hath talked well unto you, my Lord Beauvieu! remember well the lesson which she hath given you." Here the Lord Beauvieu, being wholly moved with anger, said, "I care neither for her school nor yours, for it would be long before a man should learn of either of you either any honesty or honour. For if I should say, that the most part of the bishops and priests are abominable adulterers, blind idolaters, deceivers, thieves, seducers, I should not speak against the holy church, but against a heap and flock of wolves, dogs, and filthy swine. In speaking these things I would think a man not to be mad at all, except he be mad for speaking of the truth."

Then the archbishop in a great fury answered, "My Lord Beauvieu! you speak very evil, and you must give account, when time and place serve, of this your talk, which you have here uttered against the churchmen." "I would," said the Lord Beauvieu, "that it were to do even this present day, and I would bind myself to prove more abuses and naughtiness in priests than I have yet spoken." Then said the president Chassanee, "My Lord Beauvieu! let us leave off this talk, and live as our fathers have done, and maintain their honour." Then said he in great anger, "I am no priest's son, to maintain their wickedness and abuse:" and afterward he said, "I am well content to honour all true pastors of the church, and will not blame them that show good example in their doctrine and living; but I demand of you, my Lord of Arles! and you, my Lord of Aix! when our Lord Christ Jesus called the priests, deceiving hypocrites, blind seducers, robbers, and thieves, did he them any outrage or wrong?" And they answered, "No; for the most part of them were such men." Then said the Lord Beauvieu, "Even so it is with the bishops and priests whom I have spoken of, for they are such kind of men, or rather worse: and I so abhor their filthy and abominable life, that I dare not speak the one half of that which I know; and therefore in speaking the truth, to cool the babbling of a harlot, I do them no injury."

The Monsieur de Senas, an ancient councillor, said, "Let us leave off this contentious talk, for we are here assembled and come together to make good cheer." And afterwards he said, "M. de Beauvieu! for the love and amity which I do bear unto you, I will advertise you of three things, which, if you will do, you shall find great ease therein. The first is, that you, neither by word nor deed, aid or assist those which you hear to be Lutherans. Secondly, that you do not

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intermeddle openly to reprove ladies and gentlewomen for their pastime and pleasures. Thirdly, that you do never speak against the life and living of priests, how wicked soever it be, according to this saying, Do not touch mine anointed."

To whom M. de Beauvieu answered, "As touching the first point, I know no Lutherans, neither what is meant by this word Lutheranism, except you do call them Lutherans, who profess the doctrine of the gospel; neither yet will I ever allow any arrest which shall be given out to death against men, whose cause hath not been heard, especially against women and young infants: and I am assured, that there is no court of parliament in all France, which will approve or allow any such arrest. And whereas you say, that I should not meddle to reprove ladies and gentlewomen, if I knew any kinswoman of mine, which would abandon herself unto a priest or clerk, yea, albeit he were a cardinal or bishop, I would not do her so much honour as to rebuke her for it, but at least I would cut off her nose. And as touching priests, as I am contented not to meddle with their business, so likewise I will not that they meddle with mine hereafter, or come from henceforth within mine house; for as many as I shall find or take there, I will set their crowns so near their shoulders, that they shall need no more to wear any hoods about their necks." The like also said the president Chassanee.

Then the bishop of Aix's sweetheart, which had begun the quarrel, said, "I shall not be in quiet, except I speak yet one word more unto M. de Beauvieu." "Do you think," said she unto him, "that all the cardinals, bishops, abbots, priests, and all those holy religious men, which go oftentimes to gentlemen's houses, and haunt the castles and palaces of princes and noblemen, that they go thither to commit wickedness? Also you must not think evil of all those ladies and gentlewomen that go to bishops' houses of devotion, and to reveal those whom they know to be Lutherans, as it was commanded in the pulpit upon pain of excommunication. If so be you will maintain those words, I will not cease to accuse you of crime, and also of treason both to God and man; for here be those in this company, who shall make you give an account thereof." She had not so soon ended her talk, but M. Beauvieu said unto her, "Avaunt, O Herodias! thou filthy and impudent harlot! is it thy part to open thy mouth to talk in this company? Dost thou well understand and know what treason to God and man meaneth? Is it not sufficient for thee to be as thou art, but thou must solicit others to shed innocent blood?" With these words the gentlewoman was somewhat amazed. All men thought that this talk had been at an end, and every man began to invent some merry communication, that the former matter should be no more talked of.

At the last the gentlewoman, advising herself, and thinking that she was too much injured, to be said that she went about to shed the innocent blood, she brake off all their talk, and with a loud voice said, "Monsieur Beauvieu! if I were a man, as I am a woman, I would offer you the combat, to prove that I am no such manner of woman as you say I am, that I desire to shed innocent blood. Do you call the blood of these wicked men of Merindol, innocent blood? True it is, that I desire and offer with my whole power, that these naughty packs of Merindol, and such-like as they are, should be slain and destroyed, from the greatest even unto the least. And for to see the beginning of this work, I have employed all my credit, and all my friends, and do not spare neither body nor goods to work the ruin and destruction of these people, and to rase out and to deface their memory from amongst men. Do you then, Monsieur Beauvieu! call the slaughter of these Lutherans, the effusion of innocent blood? And say you what you will, I will

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not refrain for no man living, to go either by day or by night unto the houses of bishops, in all honesty and honour, for the devotion which I bear unto our holy mother the church, and also I will receive into my house all religious men, to consult and devise the means how to put these Lutherans to death." But as Monsieur Beauvieu took no more regard unto her talk, so likewise all that were at the table dispraised her, and were weary of her prating.

Then there was a certain young gentleman, which, merrily jesting, said unto her, "Gentlewoman! it must needs be that these poor people, unto whom you do wish this cruel death, have done you some great displeasure." Then said she, "I may well take an oath, that I never knew one of these wretched people, neither (that I wot of) ever saw any of them; and I had rather to meet ten devils than one of those naughty knaves, for their opinions are so detestable, that happy and blessed are they which never heard tell of them. And I was not then well advised at what time by curiosity, I, seeing the bishop of Aix so much troubled and angry that he could not eat nor drink, did desire him and constrain him to tell me the cause thereof. Then he, perceiving that I would not be well contented if he should not tell me, declared unto me some part of the cause, that is to say, that there were certain heretics, who spake against our holy mother the church, and among other errors they maintained, yea, to death, that all bishops, priests, and pastors, ought to be married, or else they should be basely handled: and hearing this I was marvellously offended, and ever since I did hate them to the death. And also it was enjoined unto me by penance, that I should endeavour with all my power to put these heretics to death." After these frivolous talks, there was great trouble and debate amongst them, and many threatenings, which were too long here to describe.

Then the president Chassanee and the councillors parted aside, and the gentlemen went on the other part. The archbishop of Arles, the bishop of Aix, and divers abbots, priors, and others, assembled themselves together, to consult how this arrest might be executed with all speed, intending to raise a new persecution, greater than that of John, the Jacobin monk of Rome: "for otherwise," said they, "our state and honour is like to decay; we shall be reproved, contemned, and derided of all men. And if none should thus vaunt and set themselves against us but these peasants, and such like, it were but a small matter; but many doctors of divinity and men of the religious order, divers senators and advocates, many wise and well learned men, also a great part of the nobility, (if we may so say,) and that of great renown, yea, even of the chiefest peers in all Europe, begin to contemn and despise us, counting us to be no true pastors of the church; so that except we see to this mischief, and provide for remedy betimes, it is greatly to be feared, lest not only we shall be compelled to forsake our dignities, possessions, and livings, which we now wealthily enjoy; but also the church, being spoiled of her pastors and guides, shall hereafter come to miserable ruin, and utter desolation. This matter therefore now requireth great diligence and circumspection, and that with all celerity."

Then the archbishop of Arles, not forgetting his Spanish subtleties and policies, gave his advice as followeth:

"Against the nobility we must, said he, take heed that we attempt nothing rashly, but rather we must seek all the means we can how to please them; for they are our shield, our fortress, and defence. And albeit we know that many of them do both speak and think evil of us, and that they are of these new gospellers, yet may we not reprove them, or exasperate them, in

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any case; but seeing they are too much bent against us already, we must rather seek how to win them, and to make them our friends again by gifts and presents: and by this policy we shall live in safety under their protection. But if we enterprise any thing against them, sure we are to gain nothing thereby, as we are by experience already sufficiently taught."

The bishop of Aix then answered,—

"It is well said, but I can show you a good remedy for this disease; we must go about with all our endeavour, and power, and policy, and all the friends we can make, sparing no charges, but spending goods, wealth, and treasure, to make such a slaughter of the Merindolians and rustical peasants, that none shall be so bold hereafter, whatsoever they be, yea, although they be of the blood royal, once to open their mouths against us, or the ecclesiastical state. And to bring this matter to pass, we have no better way than to withdraw ourselves to Avignon, in the which city we shall find many bishops, abbots, and other famous men, which will with us employ their whole endeavour to maintain and uphold the majesty of our holy mother the church."

This counsel was well liked of them all. Whereupon the said archbishop of Arles, and the bishop of Aix, went with all speed to Avignon, there to assemble out of hand the bishops and other men of authority and credit, to treat of this matter. In this pestilent conspiracy, the bishop of Aix, a stout champion, and a great defender of the traditions of men, taking upon him to be the chief orator, began in a manner as followeth:

"O ye fathers and brethren! ye are not ignorant that a great tempest is raised up against the little bark of Christ Jesus, now in great danger and ready to perish. The storm cometh from the north, whereof all these troubles proceed. The seas rage, the waters rush in on every side, the winds blow and beat upon our house, and we, without speedy remedy, are like to sustain shipwreck and loss of all together. For oblations cease, pilgrimage and devotion waxeth cold, charity is clean gone, our estimation and authority is debased, our jurisdiction decayed, and the ordinances of the church despised. And wherefore are we set and ordained over nations and kingdoms, but to root out and destroy, to subvert and overthrow, whatsoever is against our holy mother the church? Wherefore let us now awake, let us stand stoutly in the right of our own possession, that we may root out from the memory of men for ever the whole rout of the wicked Lutherans: those foxes (I say) which destroy the vineyard of the Lord; those great whales which go about to drown the little bark of the Son of God. We have already well begun, and have procured a terrible arrest against these cursed heretics of Merindol: now then resteth no more, but only the same to be put in execution. Let us therefore employ our whole endeavour, that nothing happen which may let or hinder that we have so happily begun; and let us take good heed that our gold and silver do not witness against us at the day of judgment, if we refuse to bestow the same, that we may make so good a sacrifice unto God. And for my part I offer to wage and furnish of my own costs and charges, a hundred men well horsed, with all other furniture to them belonging; and that so long, until the utter destruction and subversion of these wretched and cursed caitiffs be fully performed and finished."

This oration pleased the whole multitude, saving one doctor of divinity, a friar Jacobin, named Bassinet, who then answered again with this oration.

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"This is a weighty matter," said he, "and of great importance; we must therefore proceed wisely, and in the fear of God, and beware that we do nothing rashly. For if we seek the death and destruction of these poor and miserable people wrongfully, when the king and the nobility shall hear of such a horrible slaughter, we shall be in great danger lest they do to us, as we read in the Scriptures was done to the priests of Baal. For my part I must say, and unfeignedly confess, that I have too rashly and lightly signed many processes against those which have been accused of heretical doctrine: but now I do protest before God, which seeth and knoweth the hearts of men, that seeing the lamentable end and effect of mine assignments, I have had no quietness in my conscience, considering that the secular judges, at the report of the judgment and sentence given by me and other doctors my companions, have condemned all those unto most cruel death, whom we have judged to be heretics. And the cause why in conscience I am thus disquieted, is this; that now of late, since I have given myself more diligently to the reading and contemplation of the Holy Scriptures, I have perceived that the most part of those articles, which they that are called Lutherans do maintain, are so conformable and agreeing to the Scriptures, that for my part I can no longer gainsay them, except I should even wilfully and maliciously resist and strive against the holy ordinances of God. Albeit, hitherto, to maintain the honour of our holy mother the church, and of our holy father the pope, and of our order, I have consented to the opinions and doings of other doctors, as well through ignorance, as also because I would not seem to attempt any thing against the will and pleasure of the prelates and vicars general: but now it seemeth unto me, that we ought not any more to proceed in this matter, as we have done in time past. It shall besufficient to punish them with fines, or to banish them which shall speak too intemperately or rashly against the constitutions of the church, and of the pope; and such as shall be manifestly convicted by the Holy Scriptures to be blasphemous or obstinate heretics, to be condemned to death according to the enormity of their crimes or errors, or else to perpetual prison. And this my advice and counsel I desire you to take in good part."

With this counsel of Bassinet all the company were offended, but especially the bishop of Aix, who, lifting up his voice above all the rest, said thus unto him; "O thou man of little faith! whereof art thou in doubt? dost thou repent thee of that thou hast well done? Thou hast told here a tale, that smelleth of faggots and brimstone. Is there any difference, thinkest thou, between heresies and blasphemies spoken and maintained against the Holy Scriptures, and opinions holden against our holy mother the church, and contrary to our holy father the pope, a most undoubted and true god on earth? Art thou a master in Israel, and knowest not these things?" Then said the bishop of Arles, "Could any man treat better of the little bark of Christ Jesus, than my lord of Aix hath done?"

Then stood up Bassinet again, and made this oration:

"It is true that my lord, the bishop of Aix, hath very well set out the manners and state of the clergy, and hath aptly reprov'd the vices and heresies of this present time: and therefore, so soon as mention was made of the ship of Christ Jesus, it came into my mind first of all, of the high bishop of Jerusalem, the priests, the doctors of the law, the scribes and Pharisees, which sometime had the governance of this ship, being ordained pastors in the church of God: but when they forsook the law of God, and served him with men's inventions and traditions, he destroyed those hypocrites in his great indignation; and having compassion and pity upon the people which were like sheep without a shepherd, he sent diligent fishers to fish for men, faithful workmen

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into his harvest, and labourers into his vineyard, which shall all bring forth true fruits in their season. Secondly, considering the purpose and intent of the reverend lord bishop of Aix, I called to mind the saying of the apostle, 1 Tim. iv., that in the latter day some shall fall away from the faith, following after deceitful spirits, and the doctrine of devils. And the apostle giveth a mark whereby a man shall know them. Likewise our Lord Jesus Christ saith, Matt. vii., that the false prophets shall come clothed in sheep-skins, but inwardly they are ravening wolves, and by their fruits they shall be known. By these two, and divers such other places, it is easy to understand, who are they that go about to drown this little bark of Christ. Are they not those which fill the same with filthy and unclean things, with mire and dirt, with puddle and stinking water? are they not those which have forsaken Jesus Christ, the fountain of living water, and have digged unto themselves pits or cisterns which will hold no water? Truly even those they are, who vaunt themselves to be the salt of earth, and yet have no savour at all; which call themselves pastors, and yet are much less than true pastors, for they minister not unto the sheep the true pasture and feeding, neither divide and distribute the true bread of the word of life. And (if I may be hold to speak it) would it not be at this present as great a wonder to hear a bishop preach, as to see an ass fly? Are not they accursed of God, who glory and vaunt themselves to have the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and neither enter in themselves, nor suffer them that would enter, to come in? They may be known right well by their fruits; for they have forsaken faith, judgment, and mercy; and there is no honest, clean, or undefiled thing in them but their habit, their rochet, and their surplice, and such other. Outwardly they are exceeding neat and trim, but within they are full of all abomination, rapine, gluttony, filthy lust, and all manner of uncleanness; they are like painted sepulchres, which outwardly appear beautiful and fair, but within are full of filth and corruption. A man shall know (I say) these ravening wolves by their fruits, which devour the quick and the dead under pretence of long prayer. And forasmuch as I am enforced to give place to the truth, and that you call me a master in Israel, I will not be afraid to prove by the Holy Scriptures, that your great pilot and patron the pope, and the bishops the mariners, and such others, which impudently forsake the ship of Christ Jesus, to embark themselves in pinnaces and brigandines, are pirates and robbers of the sea, false prophets, deceivers, and not true pastors of the church of Jesus Christ."

When Doctor Bassinet had thus freely and boldly uttered his mind, the whole multitude began to gather about him, and spitefully railed at him; but the bishop of Aix, above others, raging and crying out as he had been mad, "Get thee out," said he, from amongst us, thou wicked apostate! thou art not worthy to be in this company. We have burned daily a great many which have not so well deserved it as thou hast. We may now perceive, that there is none more stedfast and fervent in the faith than the doctors of the canon law; and therefore it were necessary to be decreed in the next general council, that none should have to do in matters of religion but they alone: for these knaves, and beggarly monks and friars, will bring all to nought." Then the other doctors of the same order boldly reproved the bishop of Aix for the injury he had done unto them. After this there arose a great dissension amongst them, insomuch that there was nothing at that time determined. After dinner all these reverend prelates assembled together again, but they suffered neither friar nor monk to be amongst them, except he were an abbot. In this assembly they made a general composition, confirmed with an oath, that every man should endeavour himself that the said arrest of Merindol should be executed with all expedition, every man offering to furnish out men of war, according to his ability. The charge thereof was given to the bishop of Aix, and to the president of the canons, to solicit the matter, and to persuade by all

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means possible the presidents and councillors of the said court of parliament, without fear or doubt, to execute the said arrest with drums, ensigns displayed, artillery, and all kind of furniture of war.

This conspiracy being concluded and determined, the bishop of Aix departed incontinent from Avignon, to go unto Aix, to perform the charge which was given to him. Notwithstanding they desired him to be, the next day after the council was holden, at a banquet which should be made at the house of the bishop of Rieux. To this banquet such as were known to be the fairest and most beautiful, women in all Avignon, were called, to refresh and solace these good prelates, after the great pains and travail which they had taken for our holy mother the church. After they had dined, they fell to dancing, playing at dice, and such other pastimes as are commonly wont to be frequented at the banquets and feasts of these holy prelates. After this they walked abroad to solace themselves, and to pass the time till supper.

As they passed through the streets, every one leading his minion upon his arm, they saw a man which sold base images and pictures, with filthy rhymes and ballads annexed to the same, to move and stir up the people to whoredom and knavery. All these goodly pictures were bought up by the bishops, which were as many as a mule could well carry; and if there were any obscure sentence, or hard to understand in those rhymes or ballads, the same these learned prelates did readily expound, and laughed pleasantly thereat. In the same place, as they walked along, there was a bookseller, which had set out to sale certain Bibles in French and Latin, with divers other books; which when the prelates beheld, they were greatly moved thereat, and said unto him, "Darest thou be so hardy to set out such merchandise to sell here in this town? dost thou not know that such books are forbidden?" The bookseller answered, "Is not the Holy Bible as good as these goodly pictures, which you have bought for these gentlewomen?" He had scarce spoken these words, but the bishop of Aix said, "I renounce my part of paradise, if this fellow be not a Lutheran!" "Let him be taken," said he, "and examined what he is." And incontinently the bookseller was taken and carried unto prison, and spitefully handled; for a company of knaves and ruffians, which waited upon the prelates, began to cry out, "A Lutheran! a Lutheran! "" To the fire with him! to the fire with him! "And one gave him a blow with his fist, another pulled him by the hair, and others by the beard, in such sort that the poor man was all imbrued with blood before he came to prison.

The morrow after he was brought before the judges in the presence of the bishops, where he was examined in this form as followeth: "Hast thou not set forth to sale the Bible and the New Testament in French?" The prisoner answered that he had so done. And being demanded, whether he understood or knew not, that it was forbidden throughout all Christendom to print or sell the Bible in any other language than in Latin? he answered, that he knew the contrary, and that he had sold many Bibles in the French tongue, with the emperor's privilege, and many others printed at Lyons; also New Testaments imprinted by the king's privilege. Furthermore, he said, that he knew no nation throughout all Christendom, which had not the Holy Scriptures in their vulgar tongue: and afterwards, with a bold courage, thus he spake unto them:

"O you inhabitants of Avignon! are you alone in all Christendom those men who despise and abhor the Testament of the heavenly Father? Will ye forbid and hide that which Jesus Christ hath commanded to be revealed and published? Do you not know that our Lord Jesus Christ gave

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power unto his apostles to speak all manner of tongues, to this end, that his holy gospel should be taught unto all creatures in every language? And why do you not forbid those books and pictures, which are full of filthiness and abomination to move and stir up the people to crimes and to uncleanness, and to provoke God's vengeance and great indignation upon you all? What greater blasphemy can there be, than to forbid God's most holy books, which he ordained to instruct the ignorant, and to reduce and bring again into the way such as are gone astray? What cruelty is this, to take away from the poor silly souls their nourishment and sustenance? But, my lords! you shall give a heavy account, which callsweet sour, and sour sweet, who maintain abominable and detestable books and pictures, and reject that which is holy."

Then the bishop of Aix and the other bishops began to rage, and gnash their teeth against this poor prisoner. "What need you," said they, "any more examination? let him be sent straight unto the fire, without any more words." But the judge Laberius and certain others were not of that mind, neither found they sufficient cause why to put him to death; but went about to have him put to his fine, and to make him confess and acknowledge the bishop of Aix, and others his companions, to be the true pastors of the church. But the bookseller answered, that he could do it with a good conscience, forasmuch as he did see before his eyes, that these bishops maintained filthy books, and abominable pictures, rejecting and refusing the holy books of God; and therefore he judged them rather to be the priests of Bacchus and Venus, than the true pastors of the church of Christ. Whereupon he was immediately condemned to be burned, and the sentence was executed the very same day; and for a sign or token of the cause of his condemnation, he carried two Bibles hanging about his neck, the one before, and the other behind him: but this poor man had also the word of God in his heart, and in his mouth, and ceased not continually by the way, until that he came to the place of execution, to exhort and monish the people to read the Holy Scriptures; insomuch that divers were thereby moved to seek after the truth. The prelates, seeing a great dissension among the people of Avignon, and that many murmured and grudged against them for the death of this good man, and also for the dishonour which they had done unto the holy Testament of God, minding to put the people in fear, they proceeded the next day to make a proclamation by the sound of a trumpet throughout the whole town and country of Venice, that all such as had any books in the French tongue, treating upon the Holy Scriptures, should bring them forth, and deliver them into the hands of the commissioners appointed for that purpose: contrariwise they which had any such books found about them, should be put to death.

Then, after these prelates had taken advice to raise great persecution in Venice, the bishop of Aix returned to prosecute the execution of the arrest against Merindol, travailing earnestly with the president Chassanee to that effect; declaring unto him the good-will of the prelates of Avignon and Provence, and the great affection they bare both to him and his, with many fair promises if he would put the arrest in execution. The president answered him, that it was no small matter to put the arrest of Merindol in execution; also that the said arrest was given out more to keep the Lutherans in fear, which were in great numbers in Provence, than to execute it in effect, as it was contained in the said arrest. Moreover, he said, that the arrest of Merindol was not definitive, and that the laws and statutes of the realm did not permit the execution thereof without further process. Then said the bishop, "If there be either law or statute which doth hinder or let you, we carry in our sleeves to dispense therewithal." The president answered, "It were a great sin to shed the innocent blood." Then said the bishop, "The blood of them of Merindol be upon us, and upon our successors." Then said the president, I am very well assured,

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that if the arrest of Merindol be put in execution, the king will not be well pleased to have such destruction made of his subjects." Then said the bishop, "Although the king at first do think it evil done, we will so bring it to pass, that within a short space he shall think it well done: for we have the cardinals on our side, and especially the most reverend cardinal of Tournon, the which will take upon him the defence of our cause; and we can do him no greater pleasure, than utterly to root out these Lutherans: so that if we have any need of his counsel or aid, we shall be well assured of him. And is not he the principal, the most excellent and prudent adversary of these Lutherans, that is in all Christendom?"

By this and such other like talk the bishop of Aix persuaded the president and councillors of the court of parliament, to put the said arrest in execution, and by this means, through the authority of the said court, the drum was sounded through all Provence, the captains were prepared with their ensigns displayed, and a great number of footmen and horsemen began to set forward, and marched out of the town of Aix in order of battle, well horsed and furnished, against Merindol, to execute the arrest. The inhabitants of Merindol, being advertised hereof, and seeing nothing but present death to be at hand, with great lamentation commended themselves and their cause unto God by prayer, making themselves ready to be murdered and slain, as sheep led unto the butchery.

Whilst they were in this grievous distress, piteously mourning and lamenting together, the father with the son, the daughter with the mother, the wife with the husband, suddenly there was news brought unto them, that the army was retired, and no man knew at that time how, or by what means; notwithstanding afterwards it was known, that the lord of Alenc, a wise man, and learned in the Scriptures, and in the civil law, being moved with great zeal and love of justice, declared unto the president Chassanee, that he ought not so to proceed against the inhabitants of Merindol by way of force of arms, contrary to all form and order of justice, without judgment or condemnation, or without making any difference between the guilty and the not guilty. And furthermore he said:

"I desire you, my lord president! call to remembrance the counsel which you have written in your book entitled *Catalogus Gloriæ Mundi*, in which book you have treated and brought forth the processes which were holden against the rats, by the officers of the court and jurisdiction of the bishop of Autun. For as it happened, there was almost throughout all the bailiwick of Laussois such a great number of rats, that they destroyed and devoured all the corn of the country; whereupon they took counsel to send unto the bishop of Autun's official, to have the rats excommunicated. Whereupon it was ordained and decreed by the said official, after he had heard the plaintiff of the procurator-fiscal, that before he would proceed to excommunication, they should have admonition and warning according to the order of justice. For this cause it was ordained, that by the sound of a trumpet, and open proclamation made throughout all the streets of the town of Autun, the rats should be cited to appear within three days; and if they did not appear, then to proceed against them. The three days were passed, and the procurator came into the court against the rats, and for lack of appearance obtained default, by virtue whereof he required that they would proceed to the excommunication; whereupon it was judicially acknowledged that the said rats, being absent, should have their advocate appointed them to hear their defence, forasmuch as the question was for the whole destruction and banishing of the said rats. And you, my lord president! being at that time the king's advocate at Autun, were then

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chosen to be the advocate to defend the rats; and having taken the charge upon you in pleading the matter, it was by you there declared, that the citation was of no effect, for certain causes and reasons by you there alleged. Then was it decreed that the said rats should be once again cited throughout the parishes where they were. Then after the citations were duly served, the procurator came again into the court as before; and there it was alleged by you, my lord president! how that the term of appearance given unto the rats was too short, and that there were so many cats in every town and village which they should pass through, that they had just cause to be absent.

"Wherefore, my lord president! you ought not so lightly to proceed against these poor men, but you ought to look upon the Holy Scriptures, and there you shall find how you ought to proceed in this matter. And you, my lord! have alleged many places of the Scripture concerning the same, as appeareth more at large in your said book; and by this plea of a matter which seemeth to be but of small importance, you have obtained great fame and honour, for the upright declaration of the manner and form how judges ought gravely to proceed in criminal causes. Then, my lord president! you which have taught others, will you not also learn by your own books? the which will manifestly condemn you, if you proceed any further to the destruction of these poor men of Merindol: for are they not Christian men, and ought you not as well to minister right and justice unto them, as you have done to the rats?"

By these and such-like demonstrations, the president was persuaded, and immediately called back his commission which he had given out, and caused the army to retire, which was already come near unto Merindol, even within a mile and a half.

Then the Merindolians, understanding that the army was retired, gave thanks unto God, comforting one another, with admonition and exhortation always to have the fear of God before their eyes, to be obedient unto his holy commandments, subject to his most holy will, and every man to submit himself unto his providence; patiently attending and looking for the hope of the blessed, that is to say, the true life and the everlasting riches, having always before their eyes, for example, our Lord Jesus Christ, the very Son of God, who hath entered into his glory by many tribulations. Thus the Merindolians prepared themselves to endure and abide all the afflictions that it should please God to lay upon them; and such was their answer to all those that either pitied, or else sought their destruction: whereupon the bruit and noise was so great, as well of the arrest, as of the enterprise of the execution, and also of the patience and constancy of the Merindolians, that it was not hidden or kept secret from King Francis the First, a king of noble courage and great judgment; who gave commandment unto the noble and virtuous lord, M. de Langeay, which then was his lieutenant in Turin, a city in Piedmont, that he should diligently inquire and search out the truth of all this matter. Whereupon the said M. de Langeay sent unto Provence two men of fame and estimation, giving them in charge to bring unto him the copy of the arrest, and diligently to inquire out all that followed and ensued thereupon; and likewise to make diligent inquisition of the life and manners of the said Merindolians and others, which were persecuted in the country of Provence.

These deputies brought the copy of the arrest, and of all that happened thereupon, unto the said M. de Langeay, declaring unto him the great injuries, pollings, extortions, exactions, tyrannies, and cruelties, which the judges, as well secular as ecclesiastical, used against them of

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Merindol, and others. As touching the behaviour and disposition of those which were persecuted, they reported, that the most part of the men of Provence affirmed them to be men given to great labour and travail; and that about two hundred years past (as it is reported) they came out of the country of Piedmont to dwell in Provence, and took to tillage, and to inhabit many hamlets and villages destroyed by the wars, and other desert and waste places; which they had so well occupied, that now there was great store of wines, oils, honey, and cattle, wherewith strangers were greatly relieved and holpen. Besides that, before they came into the country to dwell, the place of Merindol was taxed but at four crowns, which before the last destruction paid yearly unto the lord, for taxes and tallages, above three hundred and fifty crowns, beside other charges.

The like was also reported of Lormarin, and divers other places of Provence; whereas there was nothing but robbery before they came to inhabit there, so that none could pass that way but in great danger. Moreover, they of the country of Provence affirmed, that the inhabitants of Merindol, and the others that were persecuted, were peaceable and quiet people, beloved of all their neighbours, men of good behaviour, constant in keeping of their promise, and paying of their debts without traversing or pleading of the law: that they were also charitable men, giving alms, relieving the poor, and suffered none amongst them to lack, or be in necessity. Also they gave alms to strangers, and to the poor passengers, harbouring, nourishing, and helping them in all their necessities, according to their power. Moreover, that they were known by this, throughout all the country of Provence, that they would not swear, or name the devil, nor easily be brought to take an oath, except it were in judgment, or making some solemn covenant. They were also known by this, that they could never be moved nor provoked to talk of any dishonest matters; but in what company soever they came, where they heard any wanton talk, swearing, or blasphemy, to the dishonour of God, they straightway departed out of that company. Also they said, that they never saw them go unto their business, but first they made their prayers. The said people of Provence furthermore affirmed, that when they came to any fairs or markets, or came to their cities by any occasion, they never in a manner were seen in their churches; and if they were; when they prayed they turned away their faces from the images, and neither offered candles to them, nor kissed their feet; neither would they worship the relics of saints, nor once look upon them. And moreover, if they passed by any cross or image of the crucifix, or any other saint by the way, as they went, they would do no reverence unto them. Also the priests did testify, that they never caused them to say any masses, neither dirges, neither yet *De profundis*, neither would they take any holy water; and if it were carried home unto their houses, they would not say once, "God a' mercy!" yea, they seemed utterly to abhor it. To go on pilgrimage, to make vows to saints, to buy pardons or remission of sins with money, yea, though it might be gotten for a halfpenny, they thought it not lawful. Likewise when it thundered or lightened, they would not cross themselves, but casting up their eyes unto heaven, fetched deep sighs. Some of them would kneel down and pray, without blessing themselves with the sign of the cross, or taking of holy water. Also they were never seen to offer, or cast into the bason, any thing for the maintenance of lights, brotherhoods, churches, or to give any offering either for the quick or the dead. But if any were in affliction or poverty, those they relieved gladly, and thought nothing too much.

This was the whole tenor of the report made unto Monsieur de Langeay, touching the life and behaviour of the inhabitants of Merindol, and the other who were persecuted; also as touching the arrest, and that which ensued thereupon. Of all those things the said Monsieur de

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Langeay, according to the charge that was given him, advertised the king, who, understanding these things, as a good prince, moved with mercy and pity, sent letters of grace and pardon, not only for those which were condemned for lack of appearance, but also for all the rest of the country of Provence, which were accused and suspected in like case; expressly charging and commanding the said parliament, that they should not hereafter proceed so rigorously as they had done before, against this people; but if there were any that could be found or proved, by sufficient information, to have swerved from the Christian religion, that then he should have good demonstration made unto him by the word of God, both out of the Old and New Testament: and so, as well by the gentleness, as by the rigour of the same, he should be reduced again unto the church of Christ. Declaring also, that the king's pleasure was, that all such as should be convicted of heresy in manner aforesaid, should abjure; forbidding also all manner of persons, of what estate or condition soever they were, to attempt any thing against them of Merindol, or others that were persecuted, by any other manner of means, or to molest or trouble them in person or goods: revoking and disannulling all manner of sentences and condemnations of what judges soever they were, and commanding to set at liberty all prisoners which either were accused or suspected of Lutheranism.

By virtue of these letters they were now permitted to declare their cause, and to say what they could in defence thereof; whereupon they made a Confession of their faith, the effect whereof you shall see in the end of the story. This Confession was presented first to the court of parliament; and afterwards being declared more at large, with articles also annexed thereunto, it was delivered to the bishop of Cavaillon, who required the same. Also to Cardinal Sadolet, bishop of Carpentras, with the like articles, and also a supplication to this effect:

That the inhabitants of Cabriers, in the country of Venice, most humbly desired the cardinal, that he would vouchsafe to receive and read the Confession and declaration of their faith and doctrine, in the which they, and also their fathers before them, had been of a long time instructed and taught, which they were persuaded to be agreeable to the doctrine contained in the Old and New Testament. And because he was learned in the Holy Scriptures, they desired him that he would mark such articles as he thought to be against the Scriptures; and if he should make it to appear unto them, that there was any thing contrary to the same, they would not only submit themselves to abjuration, but also to suffer such punishment as should be adjudged unto them, even to the loss, not only of all that they had, but also of their lives. And moreover, if there were any judge in all the country of Venice, which, by good and sufficient information, should be able to charge them that they had holden any erroneous doctrine, or maintained any other religion than was contained in the articles of their Confession, they desired him that he would communicate the same unto them; and with all obedience they offered themselves to whatsoever should be thought just and reasonable.

Upon this request Cardinal Sadolet answered by his letters written by his secretary, and signed with his own hand, the tenor whereof here ensueth:

"I have seen your request, and have read the articles of your Confession, wherein there is much matter contained; and do not understand that you are accused for any other doctrine, but for the very same which you have confessed. It is most true, that many have reported divers things of you worthy of reproof, which, after diligent inquiry made, we have found to be nothing

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else but false reports and slanders. As touching the rest of your articles, it seemeth unto me, that there are many words therein which might well be changed without prejudice unto your Confession: and likewise it seemeth to me, that it is not necessary that you should speak so manifestly against the pastors of the church. For my part, I desire your welfare, and would be sorry that you should be so spoiled or destroyed, as they do pretend. And to the end you shall the better understand my amity and friendship towards you, shortly I will be at my house by Cabriers, whither ye may resort unto me either in greater or smaller numbers, as you will, and return safely without any hurt or damage; and there I will advertise you of all things that I think meet for your profit and health."

About this time, which was A.D. 1542, the vice-legate of Avignon assembled a great number of men of war, at the suit of the bishop of Cavaillon, to destroy Cabriers. When the army was come within a mile of Cabriers, the Cardinal Sadolet went with speed unto the vice-legate, and showed him the request of the inhabitants of Cabriers, with the articles of their Confession, and the offers that they made; so that for that present the army retired, without any hurt or damage done unto the inhabitants of Cabriers. After this, the Cardinal Sadolet went unto Rome; but before his departure he sent for divers of Cabriers, and certain farmers of his own, whom he knew to be of the number of those which were called Lutherans, and told them that he would have them in remembrance as soon as he came unto Rome, and communicate their articles and Confession unto the cardinals, trusting to find a mean to have some good reformation, that God should be thereby glorified, and all Christendom brought to unity and concord; at least, nothing at all doubting but that the foulest abuses should be corrected and amended: advertising them in the mean time to be wise and circumspect, to watch and pray, for that they had many enemies. With this oration of Cardinal Sadolet, they of Cabriers were greatly comforted, trusting that at the suit of Cardinal Sadolet they should have answer of their Confession: but at his return, they understood that he found all things so corrupt at Rome, that there was no hope of any reformation there to be had, but rather mortal war against all such as would not live according to the ordinances of the Church of Rome. Likewise said the treasurer of Carpentras, who albeit he paid out money to furnish soldiers that were hired for the destruction of Cabriers, notwithstanding he did aid them secretly all that he might. Howbeit he could not do it so secretly, but that it came to the knowledge of the legate; whereupon he was constrained to withdraw himself.

On the other part, the bishops of Aix and Cavaillon pursued still the execution of the arrest of Merindol. Then it was ordained by the court of parliament, that, according to the king's letters, John Durand, councillor of the court of parliament, with a secretary, and the bishop of Cavaillon, with a doctor of divinity, should go unto Merindol, and there declare unto the inhabitants the errors and heresies which they knew to be contained in their Confession, and make them apparent by good and sufficient information; and having so convicted them by the word of God, they should make them to renounce and abjure the said heresies: and if the Merindolians did refuse to abjure, then they should make relation thereof, that the court might appoint how they should further proceed. After this decree was made, the bishop of Cavaillon would not tarry until the time which was appointed by the court for the execution of this matter; but he himself, with a doctor of divinity, came to Merindol, to make them to abjure. Unto whom the Merindolians answered, that he enterprised against the authority of parliament, and that it was against his commission so to do. Notwithstanding he was very earnest with them that they

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should abjure, and promised them, if they would so do, to take them under his wings and protection, even as the hen doth her chickens, and that they should be no more robbed or spoiled. Then they required that he would declare unto them what they should abjure. The bishop answered, that the matter needed no disputation, and that he required but only a general abjuration of all errors, which would be no damage or prejudice to them; for he himself would not stick to make the like abjuration. The Merindolians answered him again, that they would do nothing contrary to the decree and ordinance of the court, or the king's letters, wherein he commanded that first the errors should be declared unto them, whereof they were accused: wherefore they were resolved to understand what those errors and heresies were, that being informed thereof by the word of God, they might satisfy the king's letters; otherwise it were but hypocrisy and dissimulation to do as he required them. And if he could make it so appear unto them by good and sufficient information, that they had holden any errors and heresies, or should be convicted thereupon by the word of God, they would willingly abjure; or if in their Confession there were any word contrary to the Scriptures, they would revoke the same. Contrariwise, if it were not made manifest unto them, that they had holden any heresies, but that they had always lived according to the doctrine of the gospel, and that their Confession was grounded upon the same, then they ought by no means to move or constrain them to abjure any errors which they held not; and that it were plainly against all equity and justice so to do.

Then the bishop of Cavaillon was marvellously angry, and would hear no word spoken of any demonstration to be made by the word of God, but, in a fury, cursed, and gave him to the devil that first invented that means. Then the doctor of divinity, whom the bishop brought thither, demanded what articles they were that were presented by the inhabitants of Merindol, for the bishop of Cavaillon had not yet showed them unto him. Then the bishop of Cavaillon delivered the doctor the Confession, which, after he had read, the bishop of Cavaillon said, "What! will you any more witness or declaration? this is full of heresy." Then they of Merindol demanded, "In what point?" whereupon the bishop knew not what to answer. Then the doctor demanded to have time to look upon the articles of the Confession, and to consider whether they were against the Scriptures or no. Thus the bishop departed, being very sore agrieved that he could not bring his purpose to pass.

After eight days the bishop sent for this doctor, to understand how he might order himself to make their heresies appear which were in the said Confession: whereunto the doctor answered, that he was never so much abashed; for when he had beholden the articles of the Confession, and the authorities of the Scriptures that were there alleged for the confirmation thereof, he had found that those articles were wholly agreeable and according to the Holy Scriptures; and that he had not learned so much in the Scriptures all the days of his life, as he had in those eight days, in looking upon those articles, and the authorities therein alleged.

Shortly after the bishop of Cavaillon came unto Merindol, and calling before him the children both great and small, gave them money, and commanded them with fair words to learn the Pater-noster and the Creed in Latin. The most part of them answered, that they knew the Pater-noster and the Creed already in Latin, but they could give no reason of that which they spake, but only in the vulgar tongue. The bishop answered, that it was not necessary that they should be so cunning, but that it was sufficient that they knew it in Latin; and that it was not requisite for their salvation, to understand or to expound the articles of their faith; for there were

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many bishops, curates, yea, and doctors of divinity, whom it would trouble to expound the Paternoster and the Creed. Here the bailiff of Merindol, named Andrew Maynard, asked, to what purpose it would serve to say the Pater-noster and the Creed, and not to understand the same? for in so doing they should but mock and deride God. Then said the bishop unto him, "Do you understand what is signified by these words, I believe in God?" The bailiff answered, "I should think myself very miserable, if I did not understand it: "and then he began orderly to give an account of his faith. Then said the bishop, "I would not have thought there had been such great doctors in Merindol." The bailiff answered, "The least of the inhabitants of Merindol can do it yet more readily than I; but I pray you, question with one or two of these young children, that you may understand whether they be well taught or no." But the bishop either knew not how to question with them, or at least he would not.

Then one, named Pieron Roy, said, "Sir! one of these children may question with another, if you think it so good; "and the bishop was contented. Then one of the children began to question with his fellows with such grace and gravity, as if he had been a schoolmaster; and the children one after another answered so unto the purpose, that it was marvellous to hear: for it was done in the presence of many, among whom there were four religious men, that came lately out of Paris, of whom one said unto the bishop, "I must needs confess that I have often been at the common schools of Sarbonne in Paris, where I have heard the disputations of the divines; but yet I never learned so much as I have done by hearing these young children." Then said William Armant, "Did you never read that which is written in Matthew xi., where it is said, O Father! Lord of heaven and earth! I render thanks unto thee, that thou hast bidden these things from the sage and wise men of the world, and hast revealed them unto young infants: but behold, O Father! such was thy good will and pleasure." Then every man marvelled at the ready and witty answers of the children of Merindol.

When the bishop saw he could not thus prevail, he tried another way, and went about, by fair and flattering words, to bring his purpose to pass. Wherefore, causing the strangers to go apart, he said that he now perceived they were not so evil as many thought them to be: notwithstanding, for the contentation of them which were their persecutors, it was necessary that they should make some small abjuration, which only the bailiff, with two officers, might make generally in his presence, in the name of all the rest, without any notary to record the same in writing; and in so doing they should be loved and favoured of all men, and even of those who now persecuted them: and that they should sustain no infamy thereby, for there should be no report thereof made, but only to the pope, and to the high court of parliament of Provence: and also if any man, in time to come, would turn the same to their reproach, or allege it against them to their hurt or damage, they might utterly deny it, and say they made no abjuration at all, because there were no records made thereof, or witnesses to prove the same. For this purpose he desired them to talk together, to the end there might be an end made in this matter without any further business.

The bailiff, and the two officers, with divers other ancients of the town, answered, that they were fully resolved not to consent to any abjuration, howsoever it were to be done; except (that which was always their exception) they could make it appear unto them by the word of God, that they had holden or maintained any heresy; marvelling much that he would go about to persuade them to lie to God and to the world. And albeit that all men by nature are liars, yet they

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had learned by the word of God, that they ought diligently to take heed of lying in any matter, were it never so small. Also, that they ought diligently to take heed that their children did not accustom to use themselves to lie, and therefore punished them very sharply, when they took them with any lie, even as if they had committed any robbery; for the devil is a liar, and the father of lies. Here the bishop rose up in great anger and indignation, and so departed.

Within a while after, the bishop of Aix solicited Master John Durand, councillor of the court of the parliament of Provence, to execute the commission which was given him; that is, to go unto the place of Merindol, together with the secretary of the said court, and there, in the presence of the bishop of Cavaillon, accompanied with a doctor of divinity, to declare the errors and heresies which the bishops pretended the inhabitants of Merindol to be infected and entangled withal; and, according to their duty, to make it appear by the word of God; and so, being convicted, to make them abjure and renounce the said heresies. Whereupon the said councillor Durand certified the day that he would be present at Merindol, to the end and purpose that none of the inhabitants should be absent.

At the day appointed, the said councillor Durand, the bishop of Cavaillon, a doctor of divinity, and a secretary, came unto Merindol, where were also present divers gentlemen, and men of understanding of all sorts, to see this commission executed. Then they of Merindol were advertised that they should not appear all at once, but that they should keep themselves apart, and appear as they should be called, in such order and number as should be appointed unto them. After that Durand, the bishop of Cavaillon, the doctor of divinity, and the secretary, were set in place where justice was accustomed to be kept, there were called forth Andrew Maynard, the bailiff of Merindol; Jenon Romaine, and Micheline Maynard, syndics; John Cabrie, and John Palenc, ancients of Merindol; and John Bruneral, under-bailiff. After they had presented themselves with all due reverence, the councillor Durand spake thus unto them:

"You are not ignorant, that by the arrest given out by the high court of Provence, you were all condemned to be burned, both men, women, and children; your houses also to be beaten down, and your town to be razed and made desolate, &c., as is more largely contained in the said arrest. Notwithstanding, it hath pleased the king, our most gracious prince, to send his letters unto the said court, commanding that the said arrest should not so vigorously proceed against you: but if it could by sufficient information be proved, that you, or any of you, had swerved from the true religion, demonstration should be made thereof unto you by the word of God, whereby you might be reduced again to the flock of Christ. Wherefore it was determined in the said court of parliament, that the bishop of Cavaillon, with a doctor of divinity, should in my presence declare unto you the errors and heresies wherewith they say you are infected; and after good demonstration made by the word of God, you should publicly and solemnly renounce and abjure the said heresies; and in so doing, should obtain the grace and pardon contained in the king's letters: wherefore show yourselves this day, that you be obedient unto God, the king, and the magistrates."

When he had thus spoken, "What answer you," said he, "to that which I have propounded?"

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Then Andrew Maynard, the bailiff, desired that they would grant them an advocate to answer according to the instructions which they would give him, forasmuch as they were men unlearned, and knew not how to answer as in such a case was requisite. The councillor answered, that he would hear their answer neither by advocate nor by writing, but would hear them answer in their own persons: notwithstanding, he would give them leave to go apart, and talk together, but not to ask any counsel, but only among themselves; and then to answer one after another. Upon this determination, the bailiff and the two syndics, with other two ancient men, talked together awhile, and determined that the two syndics should speak first, and after them the bailiff, then the two ancient men; every man according as God should give him grace and by and by they presented themselves; whereat the councillor Durand was greatly abashed, to see that they had decreed and determined so speedily. Then Michelin Maynard began to answer, desiring the councillor and the bishop, with the other assistants, to pardon him, if that he answered over rudely, having regard that they were poor, rude, and ignorant men. His answer here followeth.

"We are greatly bound to give God thanks, that besides his other benefits bestowed upon us, he hath now delivered us from these great assaults, and that it hath pleased him to touch the heart of our noble king, that our cause might be treated with justice, and not by violence. In like manner are we also bound to pray for our noble king, which following the example of Samuel and Daniel, hath not disdained to look upon the cause of his poor subjects. Also we render thanks unto the lords of the parliament, in that it hath pleased them to minister justice according to the king's commandment. Finally, we thank you, my lord Durand, commissioner in this present cause, that it hath pleased you, in so few words, to declare unto us the manner and order how we ought to proceed. And for my part, I greatly desire to understand and know the heresies and errors whereof I am accused; and where they shall make it appear unto me that I have holden any errors or heresies, I am contented to amend the same, as it shall be ordained and provided by you."

After him answered Jenon Romaine, the other syndic, a very ancient father, approving all that which his fellow before had said, giving God thanks that in his time, even in his latter days, he had seen and heard such good news, that the cause of religion should be decided and debated by the Holy Scriptures, and that he had often heard ancient men say, that they could never obtain of the judges, in all their persecution, to have their cause debated in such sort.

Then Andrew Maynard the bailiff answered, saying, that God had given to these two syndics the grace to answer so well, that it was not necessary for him to say or add any more thereunto; notwithstanding, it seemed good that their answers were put in writing, which was not done by the secretary, who had done nothing else but mock and jeer at all that had been said: wherefore he required the commissioner to look unto the matter.

Then the commissioner was very angry, and sharply rebuked his secretary, commanding him to sit nearer and to write their answers word for word; and be himself, with a singular memory, repeated their answers, and oftentimes asked if it were not so. The said answers being thus put in writing, the commissioner asked the bailiff if he had any more to answer, saying, that he had done him great pleasure to show him his secretary's fault, willing him to speak boldly, what he thought good for the defence of their cause. Then the bailiff said, "Forasmuch as it hath pleased you to give me audience and liberty to speak my mind freely, I say moreover, that it

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seemeth unto me, that there is no due form of process in this judgment; for there is no party here that doth accuse us. If we had an accuser present, which, according to the rule of the Scripture, either should prove by good demonstration out of the Old and New Testament that whereof we are accused, or, if he were not able, should suffer punishment due unto such as are heretics, I think he would be as greatly troubled to maintain his accusations, as we to answer unto the same."

After the bailiff had made this answer, John Palenc, one of the ancients of Merindol, said, that he approved all that had been said by the syndics, and that he was able to say no more than had been said by them before. The commissioner said unto him: "You are, I see, a very ancient man, and you have not lived so long, but that you have something to answer for your part in defence of your cause." And the said Palenc answered, "Seeing it is your pleasure that I should say something, it seemeth unto me impossible that (say what we can) we should have either victory or advantage; for our judges be our enemies."

Then John Bruneral, under-bailiff of Merindol, answered thus:

"That he would very fain know the authority of the councillor Durand, commissioner in this cause, forasmuch as the said councillor had given them to understand, that he had authority of the high court to make them abjure their errors, which should be found by good and sufficient information, and to give them (so doing) the pardon contained in the king's letters, and quit them of all punishment and condemnation. But the said commissioner did not give them to understand, that if they could not be found, by good and sufficient information, that they were in error, he had any power or authority to quit and absolve them of the said sentence and condemnation: wherefore it seemed that it should be more advantage for the said Merindolians, if it should appear that they were heretics, than to be found to live according to the doctrine of the gospel. For this cause he required, that it would please the said commissioner to make declaration thereof; concluding, that if it did not appear, by good and sufficient information against them, that they had swerved from the faith, or if there were no accuser that would come forth against them, they ought to be fully absolved, without being any more troubled, either in body or goods."

These things were thus in debating from seven of the clock in the morning until eleven. Then the commissioners dismissed them till after dinner. At one o'clock in the afternoon, they were called for again, and demanded whether they would say any thing else touching that which was propounded in the morning by the said commissioner. They answered, "No." Then said the commissioner, "What do you conclude for your defence?" the two syndics answered, "We conclude, that it would please you to declare unto us the errors and heresies whereof we are accused." Then the commissioner asked the bishop of Cavaillon, what informations he had against them. The bishop spake unto him in his ear, and would not answer aloud. This talk in the ear continued almost half an hour, that the commissioner and all others that stood thereby were weary thereof. In the end, the commissioner said unto them, that the bishop of Cavaillon had told him, that it was not needful to make it apparent by information, for such was the common report. Hereunto they answered, that they required the causes and reasons alleged by the bishop of Cavaillon against them should be put in writing. The bishop was earnest to the contrary, and would have nothing that either he said or alleged to be put in writing. Then John Bruneral required the commissioner that at least he would put in writing, that the bishop would speak

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nothing against them that they could understand; and that he would not speak before the commissioner but only in his ear. The bishop, on the contrary part, insisted that he would not be named in the process. There was great disputation upon this matter, and continued long.

Then the commissioner asked the Merindolians if they had the articles of their Confession, which they had presented to the high court of parliament. Then they required that their Confession might be read, that by the reading thereof, they might understand whether it were the doctrine which they held, and the Confession which they had presented, or no. Then the Confession was read publicly before them, which they did allow and acknowledge to be theirs. This done, the commissioner asked the doctor, if he did find in the said Confession any heretical opinions, whereof he could make demonstration by the word of God, either out of the Old or New Testament. Then spake the doctor in Latin a good while. After he had made an end, Andrew Maynard, the bailiff, desired the commissioner, according as he had propounded, to make the errors and heresies that they were accused of apparent unto them by good information, or at the least to mark those articles of their Confession which the bishop and the doctor pretended to be heretical; requiring him also to put in register the refusal as well of the bishop as of the doctor, of whom the one spake in his ear, and the other in Latin, so that they of Merindol could not understand one word. Then the commissioner promised them to put in writing all that should make for their cause. And moreover he said, that it was not needful to call the rest of the Merindolians, if there were no more to be said to them, than had been said to those which were already called. And this is the sum of all that was done in the afternoon.

Many which came thither to hear these disputations, supposing they should have heard some goodly demonstrations, were greatly abashed to see the bishop and the doctor so confounded; which thing afterwards turned to the great benefit of many, for hereby they were moved to require copies of the Confession of their faith, by means whereof they were converted and embraced the truth; and especially three doctors, who went about divers times to dissuade the Merindolians from their faith, whose ministry God afterwards used in the preaching of his gospel. One of them was Dr. Combaudi, prior of St. Maximin, afterwards a preacher in the territory of the lords of Berne: another was Dr. Somati, who was also a preacher in the bailiwick of Tournon: the other was Dr. Heraudi, pastor and minister in the county of Neufchatel.

After this, the inhabitants of Merindol were in rest and quietness for a space, insomuch that every man feared to go about to trouble them, seeing those who persecuted them did receive nothing but shame and confusion; as it did manifestly appear, not only by the sudden death of the president Chassanee, but also of many others of the chiefest councillors of the parliament of Provence; whose horrible end terrified many, but especially the strange and fearful example of that bloody tyrant John de Roma, set out as a spectacle to all persecutors; whereof we have spoken before.

Thus the Lord, repressing the rage of the adversaries for a time, stayed the violence and execution of that cruel sentence or arrest given out by the parliament of Provence against the Merindolians, until John Minerius, an exceeding bloody tyrant, began a new persecution. This Minerius, being lord of Opède near to Merindol, first began to vex the poor Christians by pilling and polling, by oppression and extortion, getting from them what he could to enlarge his seigniorship or lordship, which before was very base. For this cause he put five or six of his own

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tenants into a cistern under the ground, and closing it up, there he kept them till they died for hunger, pretending that they were Lutherans and Waldois, to have their goods and possessions. By this and such other practices, this wretch was advanced in short space to great wealth and dignity; and so at length became not only the chief president of the high court of parliament, but also the king's lieutenant-general in the country of Provence, in the absence of the Lord Grignan, then being at the council of Worms in Germany. Now therefore, seeing no opportunity to be lacking to accomplish his devilish enterprise, he employed all his power, riches, and authority, not only to confirm and to revive that cruel arrest given out before by the court of parliament, but also, as a right minister of Satan, he exceedingly increased the cruelty thereof, which was already so great, that it seemed there could nothing more be added thereunto. And to bring this mischief to pass, he forged a most impudent lie, giving the king to understand, that they of Merindol and all the country near about, to the number of twelve or fifteen thousand, were in the field in armour, with their ensigns displayed, intending to take the town of Marseilles, and make it one of the cantons of the Switzers. And to stay this enterprise, he said it was necessary to execute the arrest *manu militari*: and by this means he obtained the king's letters patent, through the help of the cardinal of Tournon, commanding the sentence to be executed against the Merindolians, notwithstanding that the king had before revoked the said sentence, and given strait commandment that it should in no wise be executed; as is before mentioned.

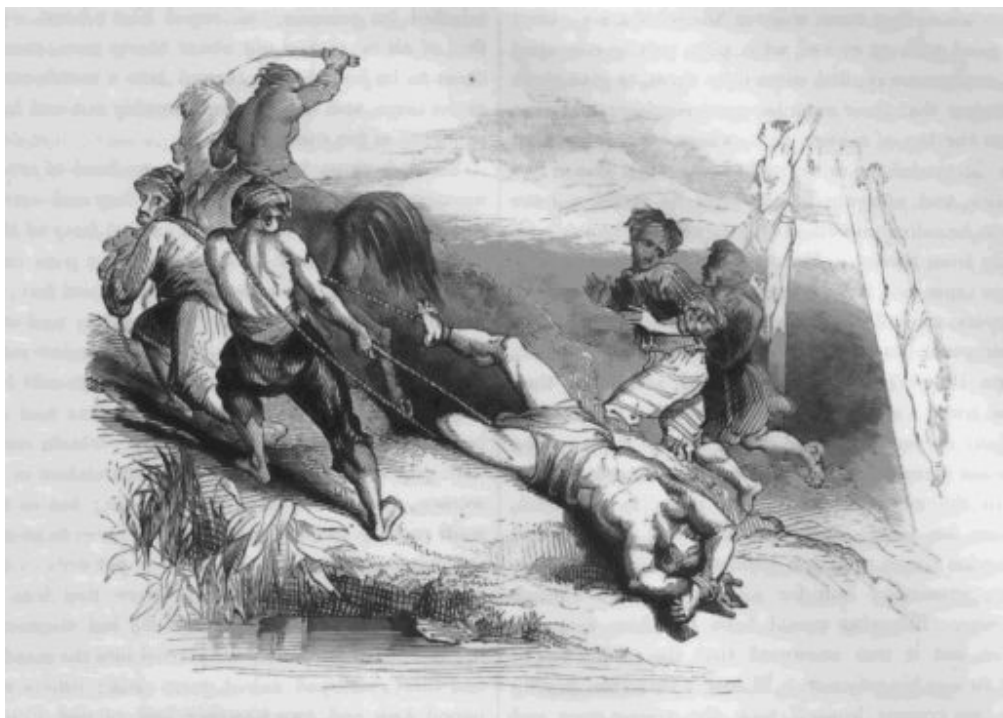
After this he gathered all the king's army, which was then in Provence ready to go against the Englishmen, and took up all besides, that were able to bear armour, in the chieftest towns of Provence, and joined them with the army which the pope's legate had levied for that purpose in Avignon, and all the country of Venice, and employed the same to the destruction of Merindol, Cabriers, and other towns and villages to the number of two and twenty, giving commission to his soldiers to spoil, ransack, burn, and to destroy all together, and to kill man, woman, and child without all mercy, sparing none: no otherwise than the infidels and cruel Turks have dealt with the Christians, as before in the story of the Turks you may read. For as the papists and Turks are alike in their religion; so are the said papists like, or rather exceed them, in all kinds of cruelty that can be devised. But this arch-tyrant, before he came to Merindol, ransacked and burnt certain towns, namely, La Roche, St. Stephens, Ville Laure, Lormarin, La Motte, Cabriers, St. Martin, Pipin, and other places more, notwithstanding that the arrest extended but only to Merindol, where the most of the poor inhabitants were slain and murdered without any resistance; women and maidens ravished; women with child, and little infants born and to be born, were also most cruelly murdered; the paps of many women cut off, who gave suck to their children, which looking for suck at their mother's breast, being dead before, died also for hunger. There was never such cruelty and tyranny seen before.

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Martyrs Dragged to the gallows

The Merindolians, seeing all on a flaming fire round about them, left their houses, and fled into the woods, and remained that night at the village Sanfales, and thereabouts, in wonderful fear and perplexity; for the bishop of Cavaillon, deputy to the bishop of Rome's legate, had appointed certain captains to go and slay them. The next day they went a little further, hiding themselves in woods, for there was danger on every side; and Minerius had commanded, under pain of death, that no man should aid them by any means, but that they should be slain without pity or mercy, wheresoever they were found. The same proclamation was of force also in the bishop of Rome's dominions thereby; and it was said, that the bishops of that country did find a great part of the army. Wherefore they went a tedious and painful journey, carrying their children upon their shoulders, and in their arms, and in their swaddling-clothes; and many of them also being great with child, were constrained so to do. And when they were come to the place appointed, thither were already resorted a great number which had lost their goods, and saved themselves by flight.



A Martyr Dragged and Whipped

Not long after it was showed them how that Minerius was coming with all his power to give the charge upon them. This was in the evening, and because they should go through rough and cumbersome places, and hard to pass by, they all thought it most expedient for their safeguard, to leave behind them all the women and children, with a few others, and among them also certain ministers of the church: the residue were appointed to go to the town of Muzi. And this did they, upon hope that the enemy would show mercy to the multitude of women and children being destitute of all succour. No tongue can express what sorrow, what tears, what sighing, what lamentation there was at that woeful departing, when they were compelled to be thus separated asunder, the husband from his dear wife, the father from his sweet babes and tender infants, the one never like to see the other again alive. Notwithstanding, after the ministers had ended their ordinary sermons, with evening prayers and exhortations, the men departed that night, to avoid a greater inconvenience.

When they had gone all the night long, and had passed over the great hill of Libron, they might see many villages and farms set on fire. Minerius, in the mean time, had divided his army into two parts, marching himself with the one towards the town of Merindol; and having knowledge by espial whither the Merindolians were fled, he sendeth the other part to set upon them, and to show their accustomed cruelty upon them. Yet before they came to the place where they were, some of Minerius' army, either of good will, or moved with pity, privily conveyed themselves away, and came unto them, to give them warning that their enemies were coming: and one, from the top of a high rock, where he thought that the Merindolians were underneath, cast down two stones, and afterwards, although he could not see them, he called unto them that

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they should immediately fly from thence. But the enemies suddenly came upon them, and finding them all assembled together at prayers, spoiled them of all that they had, pulling off their garments from their backs: some they abused, some they whipped and scourged, and some they sold away like cattle, practising what cruelty and villany soever they could devise against them. The women were in number about five hundred.

In the mean time Minerus came to Merindol, where he found none but a young man named Maurice Blanc, who had yielded himself unto a soldier, promising him for his ransom two French crowns. Minerus would have had him away by force, but it was answered that the soldier ought not to lose his prisoner. Minerus therefore, paying the two crowns himself, took the young man, and caused him to be tied unto an olive-tree, and shot through with harquebusses, and most cruelly martyred. Many gentlemen which accompanied Minerus against their wills, seeing this cruel spectacle, were moved with great compassion, and could not forbear tears; for albeit this young man was not yet very well instructed, neither had before dwelt at Merindol, yet in all his torments, having always his eyes lifted up to heaven, with a loud voice he ceased not still to call upon God; and the last words that he spake were these: "Lord God! these men take away my life full of misery, but thou wilt give unto me life everlasting by thy Son Jesus Christ, to whom be glory." So was Merindol, without any resistance, valiantly taken, ransacked, burned, razed, and laid even with the ground. And albeit there was no man to resist, yet this valiant captain of Opede, armed from top to toe, trembled for fear, and was seen to change his colour very much.

When he had destroyed Merindol, he laid siege to Cabriers, and battered it with his ordnance; but when he could not win it by force, he, with the lord of the town, and Poulin his chief captain, persuaded with the inhabitants to open their gates, solemnly promising, that if they would so do, they would lay down their armour, and also that their cause should be heard in judgment with all equity and justice, and no violence or injury should be showed against them. Upon this they opened their gates, and let in Minerus, with his captains, and all his army. But the tyrant, when he was once entered, falsified his promise, and raged like a beast. For first of all he picked out about thirty men, causing them to be bound, and carried into a meadow near to the town, and there to be miserably cut and hewn in pieces of his soldiers.

Then, because he would leave no kind of cruelty unattempted, he also exercised his fury and outrage upon the poor silly women, and caused forty of them to be taken, of whom divers were great with child, and put them into a barn full of straw and hay, and caused it to be set on fire at four corners; and when the silly women, running to the great window where the hay is wont to be cast into the barn, would have leaped out, they were kept in with pikes and halberds. Then there was a soldier, which, moved with pity at the crying out and lamentation of the women, opened a door to let them out; but as they were coming out, the tyrant caused them to be slain and cut in pieces, and the children yet unborn they trod under their feet. Many were fled into the wine-cellar of the castle, and many hid themselves in caves, whereof some were carried into the meadow, and there, stripped naked, were slain: others were bound two and two together, and carried into the hall of the castle, where they were slain by the captains, rejoicing in their bloody butchery and horrible slaughter.

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That done, this tyrant, more cruel than ever was Herod, commanded Captain John de Gay, with a band of ruffians, to go into the church (where was a great number of women, children, and young infants) to kill all that he found there; which the captain refused at first to do, saying, that were a cruelty unused among men of war: whereat Minerius being displeased, charged him, upon pain of rebellion, and disobedience to the king, to do as he commanded him. The captain, fearing what might ensue, entered with his men, and destroyed them all, sparing neither young nor old.

In this mean while certain soldiers went to ransack the houses for the spoil, where they found many poor men that had there hidden themselves in cellars, and other privy places, flying upon them, and crying out, "Kill! kill!" The other soldiers that were without the town, killed all that they could meet with. The number of those that were so unmercifully murdered, was about a thousand persons, men, women, and children. The infants that escaped their fury, were baptized again of their enemies.

In token of this jolly victory, the pope's officers caused a pillar to be erected in the said place of Cabriers, on the which was engraven the year and the day of the taking and sacking of this town, by John Minerius, lord of Opede, and chief president of the parliament of Provence; for a memorial for ever of that barbarous cruelty, the like whereof was never yet heard of. Whereupon we, with all our posterity, have to understand what be the reasons and arguments wherewith the antichrist of Rome is wont to uphold the impious seat of his abomination; who now is come to such excess and profundity of all kinds of iniquity, that all justice, equity, and verity being set aside, he seeketh the defence of his cause by no other thing than only by force and violence, terror and oppression, and shedding of blood.

In this mean while the inhabitants of Merindol, and other places thereabout, were among the mountains and rocks, in great necessity of victuals, and much affliction; who had procured certain men who were in some favour and authority with Minerius, to make request for them unto him, that they might depart safely whither it should please God to lead them, with their wives and children, although they had no more but their shirts to cover them. Whereunto Minerius made this answer: "I know what I have to do; not one of them shall escape my hands; I will send them to dwell in hell among the devils."

After this there was a power sent unto Costua, which likewise they overcame, and committed there great slaughter. Many of the inhabitants fled away, and ran into an orchard, where the soldiers vilely ill-used the women and maidens; and when they had kept them there enclosed a day and a night, they handled them so cruelly, that some of the women with child, and maidens, died shortly after. It were impossible to comprehend all the lamentable and sorrowful examples of this cruel persecution against the Merindolians, and their fellows, insomuch that no kind of cruel tyranny was unpractised; for they which escaped by woods, and went wandering by mountains, were taken and set in galleys, or else were slain outright.

Many which did hide themselves in rocks and dark caves, some were famished with hunger, some were smothered with fire and smoke put unto them: all which may more fully be understood by the records of the court, and by the pleas between them and their adversaries in the high consistory of the court of Paris, where, all the doors being set open, and in the public

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hearing of the people, the cause of this trouble and persecution was shortly after solemnly debated between two great lawyers; the one called Aubrius, which accused Minerius the president, committed to prison; and the other called Robert, the defendant who was against him. The cause why this matter of Merindol was brought in plea and judgment to be decided by the law was this:

Henry the Second, the French king, who newly succeeded Francis his father above-mentioned, considering how this cruel and infamous persecution against his own subjects and people was greatly disliked of other princes, and also objected both against him and his father as a note of shameful tyranny, by the emperor himself, Charles the Fifth, and that in the public council of all the states in Germany, for so murdering and spoiling his own natural subjects, without all reason and mercy; he therefore, to the intent to purge and clear himself thereof, caused the said matter to be brought into the court, and there to be decided by order of justice, A.D. 1547.

Which cause, after it was pleaded to and fro in public audience, no less than fifty times, and yet in the end could not be determined, so it brake off and was passed over; and at length Minerius, being loosed out of prison, was restored to his liberty and possessions again, upon this condition and promise made unto the cardinal, Charles of Lorraine, that he should banish and expel these new Christians (terming so the true professors of the gospel) out of all Provence.

Thus Minerius, being restored, returned again into Provence, where he began again to attempt greater tyranny than before. Neither did his raging fury cease to proceed, before the just judgment of God, lighting upon him, brought him by a horrible disease unto the torments of death, which he most justly had deserved. For he, being struck with a strange kind of bleeding in manner of a bloody flux, and not being able to obtain other relief, thus by little and little his entrails within him rotted: and when no remedy could be found for this terrible disease, and his entrails now began to be eaten of worms, a certain famous surgeon, named La Motte, which dwelt at Arles, a man no less godly than expert in his science, was called for, who, after he had cured him of this difficulty of relieving himself, and therefore was in great estimation with him, before he would proceed further to search the other parts of his putrefied body, and to search out the inward cause of his malady, he desired that they which were present in the chamber with Minerius, would depart a little aside. Which being done, he began to exhort Minerius with earnest words, saying, how the time now required that he should ask forgiveness of God by Christ, for his enormous crimes and cruelty, in shedding so much innocent blood; and declaring the same to be the cause of this so strange profusion of blood coming from him.

These words being heard, so pierced the impure conscience of this miserable wretch, that he was therewith troubled more than with the agony of his disease; insomuch that he cried out to lay hand upon the surgeon as a heretic. La Motte hearing this, eftsoons conveyed himself out of sight, and returned again to Arles. Notwithstanding it was not long but he was sent for again, being entreated by his friends, and promised most firmly, that his coming should be without any peril or danger: and so, with much ado, he returned again to Minerius, what time all now was past remedy. And so Minerius, raging and casting out most horrible and blaspheming words, and feeling a fire which burnt him from the navel upwards, with extreme stench of the lower parts, finished his wretched life. Whereby we have notoriously to understand, that God, through his

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mighty arm, at length confoundeth such persecutors of his innocent and faithful servants, and bringeth them to nought; to whom be praise and glory for ever!

Moreover, besides this justice of God showed upon Minerius, here also is not to be forgotten which followed likewise upon certain of the others who were the chief doers in this persecution under Minerius aforesaid; namely, Louis de Vaine, brother-in-law to the said president, and also the brother and the son-in-law to Peter Durant, master-butcher in the town of Aix; the which three did slay one another, upon a certain strife that fell among them. And upon the same day the judge of Aix, who accompanied Minerius in the same persecution, as he returned homeward, going over the river of Durance, was drowned.

Notes upon the history of Merindol, above recited.

Thus hast thou heard, loving reader! the terrible troubles and slaughters committed by the bishops and cardinals, against these faithful men of Merindol, which, for the heinous tyranny, and example of the fact most unmerciful, may be comparable with any of the first persecutions in the primitive church, done either by Decius, or Dioclesian.

Now, touching the said story and people of Merindol, briefly by the way is to be noted, that this was not the first time that these men of this country were vexed; neither was it of late years that the doctrine and profession of them began. For (as by the course of time, and by ancient records, it may appear) these inhabitants of Provence, and other coasts bordering about the confines of France and Piedmont, had their continuance of ancient time, and received their doctrine first from the Waldenses, or Albigenses, which were (as some say) about A.D. 1170; or (as others do reckon) about A.D. 1216; whereof thou hast, gentle reader! sufficiently to understand, reading before.

These Waldenses, otherwise called Pauperes de Lugduno, beginning of one Peter Waldo, citizen of Lyons, as is before showed, by violence of persecution being driven out of Lyons, were dispersed abroad in divers countries, of whom some fled to Marseilles, some to Germany, some to Sarmatia, Livonia, Bohemia, Calabria, and Apulia. Divers strayed to the countries of France, especially about Provence and Piedmont, of whom came these Merindolians above-mentioned, and the Angrognians, with others, of whom now it followeth likewise (God willing) to discourse. They which were in the country of Toulouse, of the place where they frequented, where called Albii, or Albigenses. Against the which Albigenses, Friar Dominic was a great doer, labouring and preaching against them ten years together, and caused many of them to be burned; for the which he was highly accepted and rewarded in the apostolical court, and at length, by Pope Honorius the Third, was made patriarch of the black guard of the Dominic Friars.

These Albigenses, against the pope of Rome, had set up to themselves a bishop of their own, named Bartholomæus, remaining about the coasts of Croatia and Dalmatia, as appeareth by a letter of one of the pope's cardinals above specified. For the which cause the see of Rome took great indignation against the said Albigenses, and caused all their faithful catholics, and the obedientaries to their church, to rise up in armour, and to take the sign of the holy cross upon them, to fight against them, A.D. 1206; by reason whereof great multitudes of them were

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pitifully murdered, not only of them about Toulouse and Avignon in France, (as is afore to be seen,) but also in all quarters miserable slaughters and burnings of them long continued, from the reign of Frederic the Second, emperor, almost to this present time, through the instigation of the Roman popes.

Paulus Æmilius, the French chronicler, in his sixth book, writing of these *Pauperes de Lugduno*, and *Humiliati*, and dividing these two orders from the *Albigenses*, reporteth that the two former orders were rejected of Pope Lucius the Third, and in their place other two orders were approved, to wit, the order of the Dominic Friars, and of the Franciscans: which seemeth not to be true, forasmuch as this Pope Lucius was twenty years before Innocent the Third; and yet not in the time of Pope Innocent was the order of the Dominic Friars approved, but in the time of Pope Honorius the Third, who was forty years after Pope Lucius. Again, Bernard of Luttenberg, in his *Catalogus Hæreticorum*, affirmeth, that these *Pauperes de Lugduno*, or *Waldenses*, began first A.D. 1218; which if it be true, then must the other report of Æmilius be false, writing that the sect of *Pauperes de Lugduno*, to be refused by Pope Lucius the Third, who was long before this, A.D. 1181.

Amongst other authors who write of those *Waldenses*, John Sleidan, treating of their continuance and doctrine, thus writeth of them. "There be," saith he, "in the French province, a people called *Waldois*. These, of an ancient trade and custom among them, do not acknowledge the bishop of Rome, and ever have used a manner of doctrine somewhat more pure than the rest; but especially since the coming of Luther, they have increased in more knowledge and perfection of judgment: wherefore they have been oftentimes complained of to the king, as though they contemned the magistrate, and would move rebellion, with other such matter falsely surmised against them, more of despite and malice, than of any just cause of truth. There be of them certain towns and villages, among which *Merindol* is one. Against these *Merindolians* sentence was given five years past, at *Aix*, being the high tribunal-seat or judgment-place of *Provence*, that all should be destroyed without respect of age or person, in such sort as that the houses being plucked down, the village should be made plain, even with the ground; the trees also should be cut down, and the place altogether made desolate and desert. Albeit, though it were thus pronounced, yet was it not then put in execution, by the means of certain that persuaded the king to the contrary, namely, one *William Belay*, who was at the same time the king's lieutenant in *Piedmont*. But at the last, on the twelfth of April, A.D. 1545, *John Minierius*, president of the council of *Aix*, calling the senate, read the king's letters, commanding them to execute the sentence given," &c.

Moreover, concerning the Confession and the doctrine of the said *Merindolians*, received of ancient time from their forefathers the *Waldenses*, thus it followeth in the said book and place of John Sleidan.

"At last," saith Sleidan, (after he had described what great cruelty was showed against them,) "when the report hereof was bruited in Germany, it offended the minds of many; and indeed the *Switzers*, who were then of a contrary religion to the pope, entreated the king that he would show mercy to such as were fled."

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Whereunto the said King Francis made answer in this wise; pretending that he had just cause to do as he did: inferring moreover, that they ought not to be careful what he did within his dominions, or how he punished his offenders, more than he was about their affairs, &c. Thus hard was the king against them, notwithstanding (saith Sleidan) that he, the year before, had received from the said his subjects of Merindol, a Confession of their faith and doctrine.

"The articles whereof were, that they, according to the Christian faith, confessed first, God the Father, Creator of all things: the Son, the only Mediator and Advocate of mankind: the Holy Spirit, the Comfortor and Instructor of all truth.

"They confessed also the church, which they acknowledged to be the fellowship of God's elect, whereof Jesus Christ is Head. The ministers also of the church they did allow, wishing that such which did not their duty should be removed.

"And as touching magistrates, they granted likewise the same to be ordained of God to defend the good, and to punish the transgressors. And how they owe to him, not love only, but also tribute and custom, and no man herein to be excepted, even by the example of Christ, who paid tribute himself, &c.

"Likewise of baptism, they confessed the same to be a visible and an outward sign, that representeth to us the renewing of the spirit, and mortification of the members.

"Furthermore, as touching the Lord's supper, they said and confessed the same to be a thanksgiving, and a memorial of the benefit received through Christ.

"Matrimony they affirmed to be holy; and instituted of God, and to be inhibited to no man.

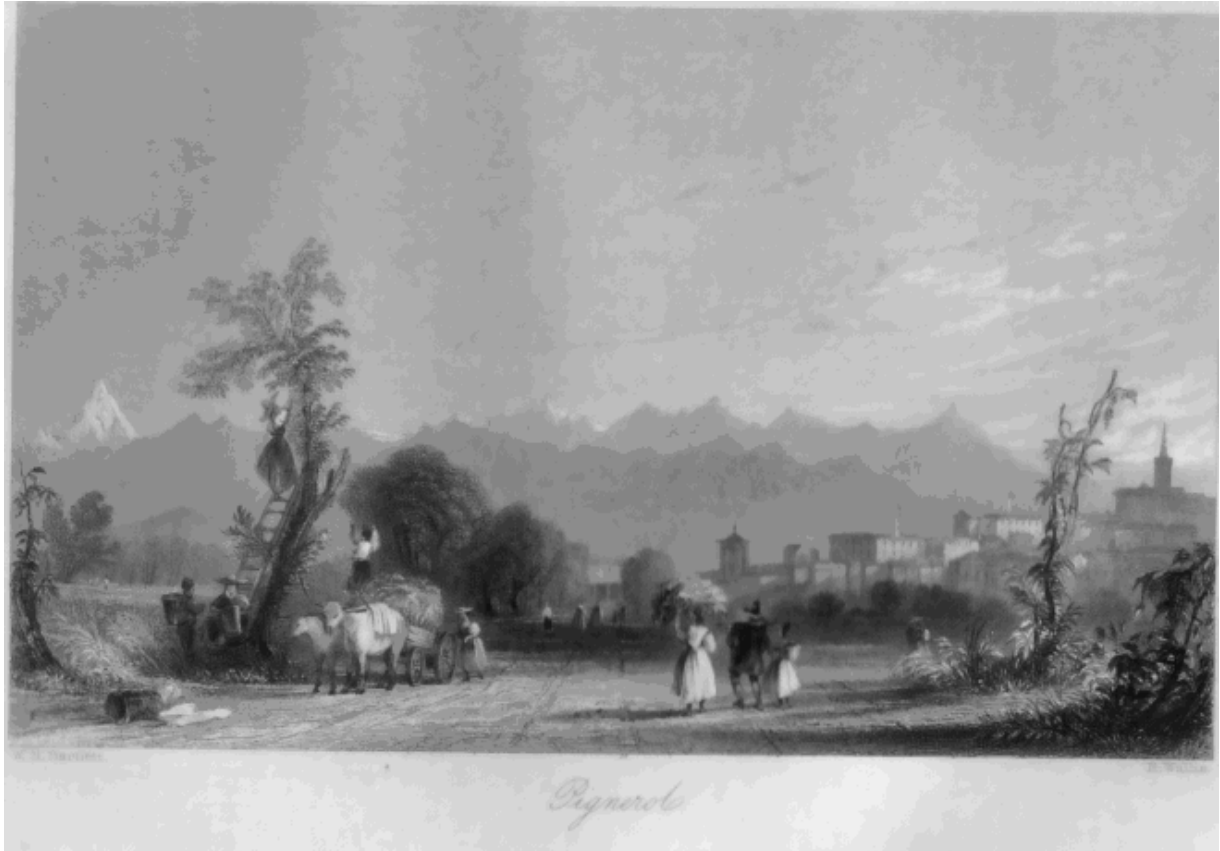
"That good works are to be observed and exercised of all men, as Holy Scripture teacheth.

"That false doctrine, which leadeth men away from the true worship of God, ought to be eschewed.

"Briefly and finally, the order and rule of their faith they confessed to be the Old and New Testament; protesting that they believed all such things as are contained in the Apostoles Creed: desiring moreover the king to give credit to this their declaration of their faith; so that whatsoever was informed to him to the contrary, was not true, and that they would well prove, if they might be heard."

And thus much concerning the doctrine and confession of the Merindolians out of Sleidan, and also concerning their descent and offspring from the Waldenses.

154. The Waldensians of Piedmont



Pignerol

The history of the persecutions and wars against the people called Waldenses or Waldois, in the valleys of Angrogne, Lucerne, St. Martin, Perouse, and others, in the country of Piedmont, from A.D. 1555, to A.D. 1561.

The martyrs of the valley of Angrogne, the martyrs of the valley of Lucerne, the martyrs of St. Martin, the martyrs of Perouse, and others. Persecuted by the parliament of Turin; the president of St. Julian; Jacomel, a monk and inquisitor; Monsieur de la Trinity; the gentlemen of the valleys; Charles Truchet, Boniface Truchet; the collateral of Corbis; the collateral de Ecclesia; the duke of Savoy; monks of Pignerol; and by many others more, enemies of God, and ministers of Satan.

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We proceed now further in the persecution of these Waldois, or Waldenses: you have heard hitherto, first how they, dividing themselves into divers countries, some fled to Provence and to Toulouse, of whom sufficient hath been said. Some went to Piedmont, and the valley of Angrogne, of whom it followeth now to treat, God willing.

Thus these good men, by long persecution, being driven from place to place, were grievously in all places afflicted, but yet could never be utterly destroyed, nor yet compelled to yield to the superstitious and false religion of the Church of Rome: but ever abstained from their corruption and idolatry, as much as was possible, and gave themselves to the word of God, as a rule both truly to serve him, and to direct their lives accordingly.

They had many books of the Old and New Testament translated into their language. Their ministers instructed them secretly, to avoid the fury of their enemies which could not abide the light; albeit they did not instruct them with such purity as was requisite. They lived in great simplicity, and with the sweat of their brows. They were quiet and peaceable among their neighbours, abstaining from blasphemy, and from profaning of the name of God by oaths, and such other impiety; from lewd games, dancing, filthy songs, and other vices and dissolute life, and conformed their life wholly to the rule of God's word. Their principal care was always, that God might be rightly served, and his word truly preached; insomuch that in our time, when it pleased God to set forth the light of his gospel more clearly, they never spared any thing to establish the true and pure ministry of the word of God and his sacraments. Which was the cause that Satan with his ministers did so persecute them of late more cruelly than ever he did before, as manifestly appeareth by the bloody and horrible persecutions which have been, not only in Provence, against those of Merindol and Cabriers, also against them of Prague and Calabria, (as the histories afore written do sufficiently declare,) but also against them in the country of Piedmont, remaining in the valley of Angrogne, and of Lucerne, and also in the valley of St. Martin and Perouse, in the said country of Piedmont. Which people of a long time were persecuted by the papists, and especially within these few years they have been vexed in such sort, and so diversely, that it seemeth almost incredible: and yet hath God always miraculously delivered them, as hereafter shall ensue.

Albeit the people of Angrogne had before this time certain to preach the word of God, and minister the sacraments unto them privately; yet in the year of our Lord 1555, in the beginning of the month of August, the gospel was openly preached in Angrogne. The ministers and the people intended at first to keep themselves still as secret as they might; but there was such concourse of people from all parts, that they were compelled to preach openly abroad. For this cause they built them a church in the midst of Angrogne, where assemblies were made, and sermons preached. It happened about that time, that one John Martin, of Briqueras, a mile from Angrogne, which vaunted every where that he would slit the minister's nose of Angrogne, was assaulted by a wolf which bit off his nose, so that he died thereof mad. This was commonly known to all the towns thereabout.

At this season the French king held these aforesaid valleys, and they were under the jurisdiction of the parliament of Turin. In the end of the December following, news was brought, that it was ordained by the said parliament, that certain horsemen and footmen should be sent to spoil and destroy Angrogne. Whereupon some which pretended great friendship to this people,

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counselled them not to go forward with their enterprise, but to forbear for a while, and to wait for better opportunity. But they, notwithstanding, calling upon God, determined with one accord constantly to persist in their religion, and in hope and silence to abide the good pleasure of God: so that this enterprise against Angrogne was soon dashed. The same time they began also openly to preach in Lucerne.

In the month of March, A.D. 1556, the ministers of the valley of St. Martin preached openly. At that time certain gentlemen of the valley of St. Martin took a good man named Bartholomew, a bookbinder, prisoner, as he passed by the said valley, the which was sent by and by to Turin; and there, with a marvellous constancy, after he had made a good confession of his faith, he suffered death; insomuch that divers of the parliament were astonished and appalled at his constancy. Yet they of the said parliament, being sore incensed against the Waldois, sent one, named the president of St. Julian, associating unto him one called De Ecclesia and others, for to hinder their enterprise. These coming first to the valley of Perouse, where as yet no preachers were, but they were accustomed to resort to the sermons of Angrogne, very much troubled and feared the poor people there.

From thence they went to the valley of St. Martin, and remained there a good while, tormenting the poor people, and threatening their utter ruin and destruction. After that they came to Lucerne, troubling and vexing the people there in like manner. From thence they went to Angrogne, accompanied by many gentlemen, and a great rabble of priests of the said country: but by the way, the president inquired for one dwelling at St. Jean, near to Angrogne, and examined him, whether he had not baptized his child at Angrogne, and wherefore he had so done? The poor simple man answered, that he had baptized his child at Angrogne, because baptism was there administered according to the institution of Christ. Then the president, in a great rage, commanded him in the king's name to baptize his child again, or else he should be burnt. The poor man desired the president that he might be suffered to make his prayer to God, before he should make answer thereunto: which after he had done in the hall, before all the company there present, he required the president that he would write, and sign the same with his own hand, that he would discharge him before God, of the danger of that offence, if he should baptize his child again, and that he would take the peril upon him and his. The president, hearing this, was so confounded, that he spake not one word a good while after. Then said he, in a great fury, "Away, thou villain! out of my sight;" and after that he was never called any more.

After they were come to Angrogne, the president, having visited the two temples, caused a monk to preach in the one, the people being there assembled; who pretended nothing else, but only to exhort them to return to the obedience of the see of Rome. The monk, with the president, and all his retinue, kneeled down twice, and called upon the Virgin Mary; but the ministers and all the people stood still, and would not kneel, making no sign or token of reverence. As soon as the monk had ended his sermon, the people requested instantly, that their minister might also be suffered to preach, affirming that the said monk had spoken many things which were not according to the word of God: but the president would not grant their request. After that, the said president admonished them, in the name of the king and the parliament of Turin, that they should return to the obedience of the pope, upon pain of loss of goods and life, and utter destruction of their town. And withal he recited unto them the piteous discomfiture of their brethren and friends, which had been done before in Merindol and Cabriers, and other places in the country of

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Provence. The ministers and the people answered, that they were determined to live according to the word of God, and that they would obey the king and all their superiors in all things, so that God were not thereby displeased and furthermore, if it were showed unto them by the word of God, that they erred in any point of religion, they were ready to receive correction, and to be reformed. This talk endured about six hours together, even until night. In the end, the president said there should be a disputation appointed for those matters, whereunto the people gladly agreed; but, after that, there was no more mention made thereof.

Here he remained fourteen days, daily practising new devices to vex and torment them with new proclamations, now calling to him the syndics and head officers, now severally, and now altogether, that so, for fear, he might make them to relent: causing also assemblies to be made in every parish by such as he appointed, thinking thereby to divide the people. Notwithstanding, he nothing prevailed with all that he could do; but still they continued constant: insomuch that they, with one accord, presented a brief confession of their faith, with an answer to certain interrogatories made by the president, in which they confessed as followeth

"That the religion wherein both they and their elders had been long instructed and brought up, was the same which is contained both in the Old and New Testament, which is also briefly comprised in the twelve articles of the Christian belief.

"Also, that they acknowledged the sacraments instituted by Christ, whereby he distributeth abundantly his graces and great benefits, his heavenly riches and treasures, to all those which receive the same with a true and lively faith.

"Furthermore, that they received the creeds of the four general councils; that is to say, of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon; and also the creed of Athanasius, wherein the mystery of the Christian faith and religion is plainly and largely set out.

"Item, The ten commandments expressed in Exodus xx., and Deuteronomy v., in which the rule of a godly and holy life, and also the true service which God requireth of us, is briefly comprised: and therefore, following this article, they suffered not by any means, said they, any gross iniquities to reign among them; as unlawful swearing, perjury, blasphemy, cursing, slandering, dissension, deceit, wrong dealing, usury, gluttony, drunkenness, whoredom, theft, murder, sorcery, witchcraft, or such like; but wholly endeavoured themselves to live in the fear of God, and according to his holy will.

"Moreover they acknowledged the superior powers, as princes and magistrates, to be ordained of God; and that whosoever resisteth the same, resisteth the ordinance of God; and therefore humbly submitted themselves to their superiors with all obedience, so that they commanded nothing against God.

"Finally, they protested, that they would in no point be stubborn, but if that their forefathers or they had erred in any one jot concerning the true religion, the same being proved by the word of God, they would willingly yield and be reformed."

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The interrogatories were concerning the mass, auricular confession, baptism, marriage, and burials, according to the institution of the Church of Rome.

"To the first they answered, that they received the Lord's supper, as it was by him instituted, and celebrated by his apostles; but as touching the mass, except the same might be proved by the word of God, they would not receive it.

"To the second, touching auricular confession, they said, that for their part they confessed themselves daily unto God, acknowledging themselves before him to be miserable sinners, desiring of him pardon and forgiveness of their sins, as Christ instructed his, in the prayer which he taught them; Lord! forgive us our sins. And as St. John saith; If we confess our sins to God, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness. And according to that which God himself saith by his prophet; O Israel! if thou return, return unto me. And again, O Israel! it is I, it is I which forgiveth thee thy sins. So that, seeing they ought to return to God alone, and it is he only who forgiveth sins, therefore they were bound to confess themselves to God only, and to no other. Also it appeareth, that David, in his Psalms, and the prophets, and other faithful servants of God, have confessed themselves both generally and particularly unto God alone: yet, if the contrary might be proved by the word of God, they would (said they) with all humbleness receive the same.

"Thirdly, As touching baptism, they acknowledged and received that holy institution of Christ, and administered the same with all simplicity, as he ordained it in his holy gospel, without any changing, adding, or diminishing in any point; and that all this they did in their mother tongue, according to the rule of St. Paul, who willeth that in the church every thing be done in the mother tongue, for the edification of our neighbour: but as for their conjurations, oiling, and salting, except the same might be proved by the sacred Scripture, they would not receive them.

"Fourthly, As touching burials they answered, that they knew there is a difference between the bodies of the true Christians and the infidels, forasmuch as the first are the members of Jesus Christ, temples of the Holy Ghost, and partakers of the glorious resurrection of the dead; and therefore they accustomed to follow their dead to the grave reverently, with a sufficient company, and exhortation out of the word of God; as well to comfort the parents and friends of the dead, as also to admonish all men diligently to prepare themselves to die. But as for the using of candles or lights, prayers for the dead, and ringing of bells, except the same might be proved to be necessary by the word of God, and that God is not offended therewith, they would not receive them.

"Fifthly, As touching obedience to men's traditions, they received and allowed all those ordinances which (as St. Paul saith) serve for order, decency, and reverence of the ministry. But as for other ceremonies which have been brought into the church of God, either as a part of his divine service, either to merit remission of sins, or else to bind men's consciences, because they are repugnant to the word of God, they could by no means receive them.

"And whereas the commissioners affirmed the said traditions to have been ordained by councils: first they answered, that the greatest part of them were not ordained by councils:

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secondly, that councils were not to be preferred above the word of God, which saith, If any man, yea, or an angel from heaven, should preach unto you otherwise than that which hath been received of the Lord Jesus, let him be accursed. And therefore (said they) if councils have ordained any thing dissenting from the word of God, they would not receive it.

"Finally they said, that the councils had made divers notable decrees concerning the election of bishops and ministers of the church; concerning ecclesiastical discipline, as well of the clergy as of the people; also concerning the distribution of the goods and possessions of the church; and further, that all pastors who were either whoremongers, drunkards, or offensive in any case, should be put from their office. Moreover, that whosoever should be present at the mass of a priest which was a whoremonger, should be excommunicated: and many other such things, which were not in any point observed. And that they omitted to speak of many other things which were ordained by divers councils, very superstitious, and contrary to the holy commandments of God, as they would be ready to prove (said they) if they should have occasion and opportunity thereunto.

"Wherefore they required the commissioners, that a disputation might be had (as by the said president was pretended) publicly, and in their presence; and then, if it might be proved by the word of God, that they erred either in doctrine, or in conversation and manner of living, they were content with all humbleness to be corrected and reformed, as they had before said: beseeching them to consider also that their religion had been observed and kept from their ancestors, until their time, many hundred years together: and yet, for their parts, being convicted by the infallible word of God, they would not obstinately stand to the defence thereof: saying moreover, that they, together with the said lords deputies, confessed all one God, one Saviour, one Holy Ghost, one law, one baptism, one hope in heaven; and in sum, they affirmed that their faith and religion were firmly founded and grounded upon the pure word of God: wherefore it is said, that blessed are they which hear the same, and keep it.

"To be short, seeing it is permitted to the Turks, Saracens, and Jews, (which are mortal enemies to our Saviour Christ,) to dwell peaceably in the fairest cities of Christendom; by good reason they should be suffered to live in the desolate mountains and valleys, having their whole religion founded upon the holy gospel, and worshipping the Lord Jesus; and therefore they most humbly besought them to have pity and compassion upon them, and to suffer them to live quietly in their deserts; protesting that they and theirs would live in all fear and reverence of God, with all due subjection and obedience to their lord and prince, and to his lieutenants and officers."

The president, and the rest of the commissioners, perceiving that they laboured in vain, returned to Turin with the notes of their proceedings; the which immediately were sent unto the king's court, and there the matter remained one year before there was any answer made thereunto. During that time the Waldois lived in great quietness, as God of his infinite goodness is wont to give some comfort and refreshing to his poor servants, after long troubles and afflictions. The number of the faithful so augmented, that throughout the valleys God's word was purely preached, and his sacraments duly administered, and no mass was sung in Angrogne, nor in divers other places. The year after, the president of St. Julian, with his associates, returned to Pignerol, and sent for thither the chief rulers of Angrogne, and of the valley of Lucerne, that is, for six of Angrogne, and for two of every parish besides, and showed unto them, how that the

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last year they had presented their Confession, the which, by a decree made by the parliament of Turin, was sent to the king's court, and there diligently examined by learned men, and condemned as heretical. Therefore the king willed and commanded them to return to the obedience of the Church of Rome, upon pain of loss both of goods and life: enjoining them, moreover, to give him a direct answer within three days.

From thence he went to Lucerne, and caused the householders, with great threatenings, to assemble-themselves before certain by him appointed: but they, with one assent, persisted in their former Confession; and lest they should seem stubborn in the defence of any erroneous doctrine, they desired that their Confession might be sent to all the universities of Christendom, and if the same in any part by the word of God were disproved, it should be immediately amended: but contrariwise, if that were not done, then they to be no more disquieted.

The president, not contented with this, the next morning sent for six out of Angrogne, by him named, and for two out of every other parish, the which he and the gentlemen of the country threatened very sore, and warned twelve of the chief of Angrogne, and certain of the other parishes, to appear personally at the parliament of Turin, and to bring before the judges of the said parliament their ministers and schoolmasters, thinking, if they were once banished the country, that then their enterprise might soon be brought to an end. To this it was answered, that they could not, nor ought to obey such a commandment.

A little while after proclamation was made in every place, that no man should receive any preacher coming from Geneva, but only such as were appointed by the archbishop of Turin, and others his officers, upon pain of confiscation of their goods, and loss of their lives; and that every one should observe the ceremonies, rites, and religion, used in the Church of Rome. Furthermore, that if any of the aforesaid preachers of Geneva came into those quarters, they should immediately be apprehended, and by no means their abode there by any one to be concealed, upon the pain aforesaid. And furthermore, the names of those which should disclose any one of them should be kept secret; and also, for their accusation, they should have the third part of the goods confiscated, with a full pardon, if that the said accusers were any of those which privily did keep or maintain the said ministers; and that they, and all others which would return to their mother the church, might freely and safely come and recant before the said commissioners.

At the same season the princes of Germany, and certain of the Switzers, sent unto the French king, desiring him to have pity on the aforesaid churches; and from that time, until three years after, the people of the aforesaid valleys were not molested by any of the king's officers, but yet they were sore vexed by the monks of Pignerol, and the gentlemen of the valley of St. Martin.

About that time a minister of Angrogne, named Geffrey Varialla, born in Piedmont, a virtuous and learned man, and fearing God, went to visit certain churches in those quarters where he was born, and coming homeward, was taken at Berga, and from thence led to Turin, where, after he had made a good confession of his faith, to the confirmation of many, and to the terror of his adversaries, he most constantly suffered.

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A few days after, a minister of the valley of Lucerne, returning to Geneva, was taken prisoner at Susa, and soon after sent to Turin, and with an invincible constancy made his confession before those of the parliament, and in the end was condemned to be burnt. The hangman, at the time of execution, feigned himself to be sick, and so conveyed himself away; and so likewise another served them, being appointed by the aforesaid court to execute the poor minister. It is credibly reported that the hangman who executed certain Germans a little before, would by no means do this execution: whereupon the minister was sent to prison again, where, after long and painful endurance, seeing the prison door open, he escaped, and returned to his cure.

Now four years being past, in such manner as we have hitherto touched in this story, in the year following, which was A.D. 1559, there was a peace concluded between the French king and the king of Spain; whereupon the country of Piedmont (certain towns excepted) was restored to the duke of Savoy, under whose regiment the aforesaid churches, and all other faithful people in Piedmont, continued in great quietness, and were not molested; and the duke himself was content to suffer them to live in their religion, knowing that he had no subjects more faithful and obedient than they were. But Satan, hating all quietness, by his ministers stirred the duke against the said churches of Piedmont, his own natural subjects. For the pope and the cardinals, seeing the good inclination of the duke towards this people, incensed him to do that, which otherwise he would not. The pope's legate also, which then followed the court, and other that favoured the Church of Rome, laboured by all means to persuade the duke that he ought to banish the said Waldois, which maintained not the pope's religion; alleging, that he could not suffer such a people to dwell within his dominion, without prejudice and dishonour to the apostolic see; also that they were a rebellious people against the holy ordinances and decrees of their holy mother the church; and briefly, that he might no longer suffer the said people, being so disobedient and stubborn against the holy father, if he would indeed show himself a loving and obedient son.

Such devilish instigations were the cause of these horrible and furious persecutions, wherewith this poor people of the valleys, and the country of Piedmont, was so long vexed. And because they foresaw the great calamities which they were like to suffer, to find some remedy for the same, (if it were possible,) all the said churches of Piedmont, with one common consent, wrote to the duke, declaring in effect, that the only cause why they were so hated, and for the which he was by their enemies so sore incensed against them, was their religion, which was no new or light opinion, but that wherein they and their ancestors had long continued, being wholly grounded upon the infallible word of God, contained in the Old and New Testament. Notwithstanding, if it might be proved, by the same word, that they held any false or erroneous doctrine, they would submit themselves to be reformed with all obedience.

But it is not certain whether this advertisement was delivered unto the duke or no; for it was said that he would not hear of that religion. But, howsoever it was, in the month of March following, there was a great persecution raised against the poor Christians which were at Carignano; amongst whom there were certain godly persons taken, and burnt within four days after; that is to say, one named Mathurine, and his wife, and John de Carignano, dwelling in the valley of Lucerne, taken prisoner as he went to the market at Pignerol. The woman died with great constancy. The good man, John de Carignano, had been in prison divers times before for religion, and was always delivered by God's singular grace and providence. But seeing himself

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taken this last time, incontinent he said, he knew that God had now called him. Both by the way he went, and in prison, and also at his death, he showed an invincible constancy and marvellous virtue, as well by the pure confession which he made touching the doctrine of salvation, as also in suffering with patience the horrible torments which he endured, both in prison, and also at his death. Many at that time fled away: others, being afraid of that great cruelty, and fearing also man more than God, looking rather to the earth than to heaven, consented to return to the obedience of the Church of Rome.

Within a few days after, these churches of the said Waldois, that is to say, Le Laughi, Meronne, Meane, and Susa, were wonderfully assaulted. To recite all the outrage, cruelty, and villany that was there committed, it were too long: for brevity's sake we will recite only certain of the principal and best known. The churches of Meane and Susa suffered great affliction. Their minister was taken amongst others. Many fled away, and their houses and goods were ransacked and spoiled. The minister was a good and faithful servant of God, and endued with excellent gifts and graces, who, in the end, was put to most shameful and cruel death. The great patience which he showed in the midst of the fire, greatly astonished the adversaries. Likewise the churches of Laughi and Meronne were marvellously tormented and afflicted; for some were taken and sent to the galleys, other some consented and yielded to the adversaries, and a great number of them fled away. It is certainly known, that those who yielded to the adversaries, were more cruelly handled than the others which continued constant in the truth; whereby God declareth how greatly he detesteth all such as play the apostate, and shrink from the truth.

But for the better understanding of the beginning of this horrible persecution against the Waldois, here note, that first of all proclamations were made in every place, that none should resort to the sermons of the Lutherans, but should live after the custom of the Church of Rome; upon pain of forfeiture of their goods, and to be condemned to the galleys for ever, or lose their lives. Three of the most cruel persons that could be found, were appointed to execute this commission. The first was one Thomas Jacomel, a monk, and inquisitor of the Romish faith; a man worthy for such an office, for he was an apostate, and had renounced the known truth, and persecuted mortally and maliciously the poor Christians, against his own conscience, and of set purpose, as his books do sufficiently witness. He was also a whoremonger, and given over to all other villanies and filthy living; in the grossest vices he surpassed all his fellows. Briefly, he was nothing else but a mis-shapened monster both against God and nature. Moreover, he so afflicted and tormented the poor captives of the said Waldois, by spoiling, robbery, and extortion, that he deserved not only to be hanged, but to be broken upon the wheel a hundred times, and to suffer as many cruel deaths, if it were possible; so great, so many, and so horrible, were the crimes that he had committed.

The second was the collateral Corbis, who, in the examination of the prisoners, was very rigorous and cruel; for he only demanded of them whether they would go to the mass, or be burnt within three days? and in very deed executed his sayings. But it is certainly reported, that he, seeing the constancy and hearing the confession of the poor martyrs, feeling remorse, and being tormented in conscience, protested that he would never meddle any more.

The third was the provost de la Justice, a cruel and crafty wretch, accustomed to apprehend the poor Christians either by night, or early in the morning, or in the highway going to

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the market, and was commonly lodged in the valley of Lucerne, or thereabouts. Thus the poor people were always as the silly sheep in the wolf's jaws, or as the sheep which are led unto the slaughter-house.

At that season one named Charles de Comptes, of the valley of Lucerne, and one of the lords of Angrogne, wrote to the said commissioners, to use some lenity towards them of the valley of Lucerne; by reason whereof they were a while more gently treated than the rest. At that season the monks of Pignerol, and their associates, tormented grievously the churches near about them. They took the poor Christians as they passed by the way, and kept them prisoners within their abbey; and having assembled a company of ruffians, they sent them to spoil those of the said churches, and to take prisoners men, women, and children; and some they so tormented, that they were compelled to swear to return to the mass; some also they sent to the galleys, and others they burnt cruelly. They which escaped were afterwards so sick, that they seemed to have been poisoned. The same year there were two great earthquakes in Piedmont, and also many great tempests and horrible thunders.

The gentlemen of the valley of St. Martin treated their tenants very cruelly, threatening them, and commanding them to return unto the mass; also spoiling them of their goods, imprisoning them, and vexing them by all the means they could. But above all the others there were two especially, that is to say, Charles Truchet, and Boniface his brother, who, on the second of April, before day, with a company of ruffians, spoiled a village of their own subjects, named Riuclaret; which as soon as the inhabitants of the said village perceived, they fled into the mountain covered with snow, naked and without victuals, and there remained until the third night after. In the morning, certain of his retinue took a minister of the said valley prisoner, which was come out of Calabria, and was going to visit the poor people of Riuclaret, and led him prisoner to the abbey, where, soon after, he was burnt, with one other of the valley of St. Martin.

The third night after, they of Pragela, having pity upon the poor people of Riuclaret, sent about four hundred to discomfit the company of the Truchets, and to restore those who were fled to their houses. They were furiously assaulted by the shot of their enemies, who, notwithstanding, in the end were put to flight, and but one of the four hundred hurt.

About the year before, the said Truchet, being accompanied with a company of ruffians, arrested prisoner the minister of Riuclaret as he was at his sermon. But the people were so moved by his outrageous dealing, and especially the women, that they had almost strangled the said Truchet; and the rest of them were so canvassed that they had no list to come there again any more. By reason whereof he so vexed them by processes, that they were compelled to agree with him, and to pay him sixteen hundred crowns.

Soon after, the lords of the said valley took another minister of the same valley, as he was going to preach in a parish a mile from his house; but the people perceiving that, speedily pursued him and took him. The enemies, seeing that they were not able to lead him away, wounded him so sore, that they left him for dead; whereupon, they so persecuted the poor people, that they were almost destroyed.

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Here is not to be forgotten, that the same night, in which the company of Truchet was discomfited was so stormy and terrible, and the gentlemen of that country were so terrified, that they thought they should have been all destroyed; wherefore they used more gentleness towards the people than before, except Charles Truchet and his brother, the which went to the duke, and made grievous complaints against the Waldois, not only for that which was done and past, but also persuaded the duke, that they went about to build three fortresses in the mountains, and also intended to maintain certain garrisons of strangers, charging them further with divers other crimes, of the which they were in no point guilty. The duke, being moved by these false surmises, gave in charge to the said accusers, that the fortress of the valley of St. Martin, which about twenty years before was razed by the Frenchmen, should be built again, and that therein should be placed a perpetual garrison, and that the people should make so plain and wide the rugged ways, that horsemen might easily pass: with divers such other things. And all this to be done at the costs and charges of those that would not submit themselves to the obedience of the Roman church.

This commission being sealed, the gentlemen caused the fortress to be built again, and put there in a garrison, and proclaimed the commission. The poor people being thereat amazed, withstood the commissioners, and sent certain to the duke; and immediately after the commissioners returned to the duke's court, being at Nice, to inflame his anger more against them. But God soon prevented this mischief; for the Truchets, being at Nice, went to sea with divers noblemen, and immediately they were taken prisoners by the Turks, put into the galleys, sore beaten with ropes, and so cruelly handled, that it was commonly reported that they were dead: and long time after, denying their nobility, they were sent home, having paid four hundred crowns for their ransom. Some say, that the duke himself was almost taken; but it is sure that he fell sick soon after. In the month of April nextfollowing, the lord of Ranconis was present at a sermon, in a place near unto Angrogne. The sermon being ended, he talked with the ministers; and having discoursed as well of the duke's sickness, as also of his clemency and gentleness, he declared to them, that the persecution proceeded not of him, and that he meant not that the commission should have been so rigorously executed. After that he demanded of them, what way they thought best to appease the duke's wrath. They answered, that the people ought not to be moved to seek by any means how to please and appease the duke which might displease God; but the best way they knew, was the same wherewith the ancient servants of God used to appease the pagan princes and emperors, in the time of the great persecutions of the church; that is to say, to give out and present unto them in writing the confession of their faith, and defence of the religion which they professed; trusting that, forasmuch as the fury of divers profane and ethnic emperors and princes hath been heretofore appeased by such means, the duke, being endued with such singular virtues as they said he was, would also be pacified by the like means. And for that cause the poor people had before sent a supplication, with a confession of their faith, unto the duke, but they were not certain whether he had received it or no; wherefore they desired him to present the same unto the said duke himself: whereunto he agreed, and promised so to do. Hereupon they sent three supplications, one to the duke, the second to the duchess, and the third to the duke's council; wherein they briefly declared what their religion was, and the points thereof, which they and their ancestors had of a long time observed, being wholly grounded upon the pure word of God; and if by the same word it should be proved that they were in error, they would not be obstinate, but gladly be reformed, and embrace the truth. After this the persecution seemed to be somewhat assuaged for a little while.

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In the end of June next following, the lord of Ranconis and the lord of Trinity, came to Angrogne, there to qualify (as they said) the sore persecution, and caused the chief rulers and ministers to assemble together, propounding divers points of religion concerning doctrine, the calling of ministers, the mass, and obedience towards princes and rulers: and, furthermore, declared unto them, that their confession was sent unto Rome by the duke, and daily they looked for an answer. To all these points the ministers answered. After this they demanded of the chief rulers, whether if the duke would cause mass to be sung in their parishes, they would withstand the same or no? They answered simply, that they would not. Then they demanded of them, whether if the duke would appoint them preachers, they would receive them? They answered, that if they preached the word of God purely, they would hear them. Thirdly, Whether they were content that in the mean time their ministers should cease? and if they that should be sent preached not the word of God sincerely, then their ministers to preach again: if they would agree to this, they were promised that the persecution should cease, and that the prisoners should be restored again. To this question, after they had conferred with the people, they answered, that they could by no means suffer that their ministers should forbear preaching.

The two lords, not contented with this answer, commanded in the duke's name, that all the ministers who were strangers, should, out of hand, be banished the country; saying, that the duke would not suffer them to dwell within his dominion, for that they were his enemies: demanding also, whether they would foster and maintain the prince's enemies within his own land, against his own decree and express commandment? To this, answer was made by the chief rulers, that they could by no means banish them, unless they were before convicted of some heresy or other crime: for their part they had always found them to be men of pure and sound doctrine, and also of godly life and conversation.



The Minister of St. Germain Taken by Night

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This done, immediately proclamations were made, and the persecution began on every side to be more furious than it was before. Amongst others, the monks of Pignerol at that time were most cruel; for they sent out a company of hired ruffians, which daily spoiled and ransacked houses, and all that they could lay hands on; and took men, women, and children, and led them captives to the abbey, where they were most spitefully afflicted and tormented. At the same time they sent also a band of the said ruffians by night to the house of the minister of St. Germain, in the valley of Perouse; being led thither by a traitor that knew the house, and had used to haunt thither secretly, who knocking at the door, the minister, knowing his voice, came forth immediately, and perceiving himself to be betrayed, fled: but he was soon taken and sore wounded, and yet, notwithstanding, they pricked him behind with their halberds to make him hasten his pace. At that time also many they slew, many they hurt, and many also they brought to the abbey, and there kept them in prison, and cruelly handled them. The good minister endured sore imprisonment, and after that a most terrible kind of death, with a wonderful constancy; for they roasted him by a small fire; and when half his body was burnt, he confessed and called upon the Lord Jesus with a loud voice.

The inquisitor Jacomel, with his monks, and the collateral Corbis amongst others, showed one practice of most barbarous cruelty against this poor man; who, when he should be burnt, caused two poor women of St. Germain (whom they kept in prison) to carry faggots to the fire, and to speak these words unto their pastor: "Take this, thou wicked heretic! in recompense of thy naughty doctrine, which thou hast taught us." To whom the good minister answered; "Ah, good women! I have taught you well, but you have learned ill." To be brief, they so afflicted and tormented those poor people of St. Germain, and the places thereabout, that after they were spoiled of their goods and driven from their houses, they were compelled to flee into the mountain to save their lives. So great was the spoil of these poor people, that many which before had been men of much wealth, and with their riches had ministered great succour and comfort to others, were now brought to such misery, that they were compelled to crave succour and relief of others.

Now, forasmuch as the said monks, with their troops of ruffians, (who were counted to be in number about three hundred,) made such spoil and havoc in all the country, that no man could there live in safety, it was demanded of the ministers, whether it was lawful to defend themselves against the insolence and furious rage of the said ruffians? The ministers answered, that it was lawful, warning them in any case, to take heed of bloodshed. This question being once solved, they of the valley of Lucerne and of Angrogne sent certain men to them of St. Germain to aid them against the supporters of these monks.

In the month of June, the harvest being then in Piedmont, divers of the Waldois were gone into the country to reap and to make provision for corn, for very little groweth upon their mountains, who were all taken prisoners at sundry times and places, not one knowing of another; but yet God so wrought, that they all escaped out of prison, as it were by a miracle: whereat the adversaries were marvellously astonished. At the same time there were certain others also, who had sustained long imprisonment, looking for nothing else but death; and yet they, after a wonderful sort, by God's merciful providence, were likewise delivered.



The Monks defeated by the Angrognians

In the month of July, they of Angrogne, being in a morning at harvest upon the hillside of St. Germain, perceived a company of soldiers spoiling them of St. Germain; and doubting lest they should go to Angrogne, they made an outcry. Then the people of Angrogne assembled together upon the mountain, and some ran to St. Germain over the hill, and some by the valley. They that went by the valley met with the spoilers coming from St. Germain, loaden with spoil which they had gotten, and being but fifty, set upon the others, amounting to the number of one hundred and twenty men well appointed, and gave them soon the overthrow. The passage over the bridge being stopped, the enemies were fain to take the river Cluson, where divers were sore

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hurt, many were drowned, and some escaped very hardly; and such a slaughter was made of them, that the river was dyed with the blood of them that were wounded and slain but none of the Angrognians were once hurt. If the said river had been as great as it was wont commonly to be, there had not one man escaped alive. The noise of the harquebusses was great, and within less than one hour's space, there were three or four hundred of the Waldois gathered together upon the river; and at the same time they had purposed to fetch away their prisoners who were in the abbey, but they would not do it without the counsel of their ministers, and so deferred the matter until the next day: but their ministers counselled them not to enterprise any such thing, but to refrain themselves, and so they did. Albeit they doubted not, but if they had gone incontinent after that discomfiture unto the abbey, they might have found all open and easily have entered; for the monks were so sore afraid, that they fled suddenly to Pignerol, to save their relics and images, which they carried thither. The rest of the country about were wonderfully afraid, and rang the bells everywhere.

The next day following, the commander of St. Anthony de Fossan came to Angrogne, accompanied with divers gentlemen, saying, that he was sent by the duke: and having assembled the chief rulers and ministers of Angrogne, and of the valley of Lucerne, after he had declared unto them the cause of his coming, he read their supplication directed to the duke, which contained their confession, demanding of them, if it were the same which they had sent to the duke? They answered, Yea. Then he entered into a disputation of the mass, in a great heat, deriving the same from the Hebrew word *מסח* which signified (as he supposed) consecration, and showed that this word *Missa* might be found in ancient writers. [Note: In the primitive Western Church, the minister, previous to celebrating the eucharist, dismissed the congregation by these words, *Missa est*, that is, The audience is dismissed; and from this the rite that immediately followed was called *Mzssa*, whence *Missal* and *Mass*. It has no connexion whatever with the Hebrew.] The ministers answered, that he ill applied the Hebrew word; and further, that they disputed not of the word *Miss a*, but of that which is signified by the same, which he ought first to prove by the word of God. Briefly, that he could not prove, either by the word of God, or the ancient fathers, their private mass, their sacrifice expiatory or propitiatory, their transubstantiation, their adoration, their application of the same for the quick and the dead, and such other matters which are principal parts of the said mass. The commander, having here nothing to reply, fell into a marvellous choler, railing and raging as if he had been stark mad, and told them that he was not come to dispute, but to banish their ministers, and to place others in their rooms, by the duke's commandment; which he could not, unless their ministers were first driven out of the country.

From thence he went to the abbey of Pignerol, where he and Jacomel caused a number of the poor inhabitants of Campiglion, and of Fenil, which be of the valley of Lucerne, to be taken prisoners, spoiling them of their goods, driving away their cattle, and forcing them to swear and forswear; and in the end ransomed them for great sums of money. About that time a gentleman of Campiglion agreed with those who were fled, for thirty crowns to be paid unto him out of hand, that he would warrant them from any further vexation or trouble, so that they remained quiet at home. But when he had received the money, he caused the commander of Fossan with his men to come by night to his house, and then sent for the poor men, thinking traitorously to have delivered them into the hands of their mortal enemy, following therein the decree of the council of Constance, which is, that no promise is to be kept with heretics. But God, knowing

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how to succour his in their necessity, prevented this danger; for one of them had intelligence of the commander's coming, and so they all fled. Thereupon they wrote to the lord of Ranconis, declaring unto him the proceedings of the commander, and that he neither would nor could show or prove any thing by the word of God, as he had promised, but threatened them with great wrongs and injuries, and would not suffer their ministers to reply, or say any thing for the defence of their cause: and therefore they desired him to signify the same to the duke's Grace, to the end that he should not be offended, if they persisted still in their religion, seeing it was not proved unto them, by any reason taken out of the Scripture, that they erred.

After this, there were many commandments and injunctions given out through all the country, to banish these poor Waldois, with the doctrine of the gospel, if it were possible, out of the mountains and valleys of Piedmont: but the poor people still desired, that, according to that which they so often before protested by word and writing, they might be suffered to serve God purely, according to the rule prescribed in his word; simply obeying their Lord and prince always, and in all things. Notwithstanding they were still vexed and tormented with all the cruelty that could be devised, as partly it is already declared; but much more you shall perceive by that which followeth.

In the end of the October next following, the rumour went that an army was levying to destroy them; and in very deed there were certain bands levied, ready to march at an hour's warning. Furthermore, those malefactors which heretofore were fled or banished for any offence or crime committed, were called home again, and pardoned of all together, so that they would take them to their weapons, and go to destroy the Waldois. The ministers and chief rulers of the valleys of Lucerne and Angrogne thereupon assembled together oftentimes, to take advice what, in such an extremity, were best to do. In the end they determined, that for certain days following there should be kept a general fast, and the Sunday after, a communion. Also that they should not defend themselves by force of arms, but that every one should withdraw himself into the high mountains, and every one to carry away such goods as he was able to bear; and if their enemies pursued them thither, then to take such advice and counsel as it pleased God to give them. This article of not defending themselves, seemed very strange to the people, being driven to such an extremity, and the cause being so just: but yet every one began to carry their goods and victuals into the mountains; and for the space of eight days all the ways were filled with comers and goers to the mountains, like unto ants in summer which provide for winter. All this did they in this great perplexity and danger, with a wonderful courage and cheerfulness, praising God, and singing psalms, and every one comforting another. Briefly, they went with such joy and alacrity, that you should not have seen any who grudged to leave their houses, and fair possessions, but were wholly determined patiently to abide the good pleasure of God, and also to die if he had so appointed.

A few days after, certain other ministers, hearing what they of Angrogne and Lucerne had concluded, wrote unto them, that this resolution seemed very strange to some, that they ought not to defend themselves against the violence of their enemies, alleging many reasons, that in such extremity and necessity it was lawful for them so to do, especially the quarrel being so just; that is, for the defence of true religion, and for the preservation of their own lives, and the lives of their wives and children; knowing that it was the pope and his ministers who were the cause of all these troubles and cruel wars, and not the duke, who was stirred up thereunto only by their

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instigations: wherefore they might well and with good conscience withstand such furious and outrageous violence. For the proof hereof they also alleged certain examples.

During this season the lord of Angrogne, named Charles de Comptes, of Lucerne, laboured earnestly, by all means possible, to cause them of Angrogne to condescend to the duke's pleasure, and solicited them to send away their ministers, promising that he would cause a mass to be sung at Angrogne, and that the people should not be compelled to be present thereat; hoping that by that means the duke's wrath would be appeased. The chief of Angrogne thereupon were assembled and made this answer: that if the duke would permit them to choose other ministers, they were content to send away their foreign ministers and strangers; but as touching the mass, his Highness might well cause it to be sung in their parishes, but they, for their part, could not with safe consciences be present at the same, nor yet to give their consent unto it.

On the twenty-second of October the said lord of Angrogne went from Lucerne to Mondovi, where he was then governor for the duke, and sent for the chief rulers of Angrogne at several times, declaring unto them the great perils and dangers wherewith they were environed, the army being already at hand; yet promising them, if they would submit themselves unto him, he would send immediately to stay the army. They of Angrogne answered, that they all determined to stand to that which they, two days before in their assembly, had put in writing. With this answer he seemed at that time to be content. The next day the rumour was, that they of Angrogne had submitted themselves to the duke. On the morrow which was Sunday, you should have seen nothing but weeping and mourning in Angrogne. The sermon being ended, the rulers were called before the ministers and the people, who affirmed, that they wholly cleaved unto their former writing; and they sent secretly to the notary for the copy of that which was passed in the council-house at their last assembly before the lord de Comptes, in which was comprised, that Angrogne had wholly submitted herself to the good pleasure of the duke. The people, hearing that, were sore astonished, and protested rather to die than obey the same. And thereupon it was agreed, that at that very instant, (albeit it were very late,) certain should be sent to the lord of Angrogne to signify unto him, that the determination of the council was falsified, and that it might please him the next morning to come to Angrogne, to hear the voices of the people; not only of the men, but also of the women and children. But he himself went not thither, having intelligence of the uproar, but sent thither the judge of that place. Then that which had been falsified was duly corrected; the judge laying all the blame upon the notary.

During this time the adversaries cried out through all the country of Piedmont, "To the fire with them!" "To the fire with them!" The Thursday after, Angrogne, by proclamations and writings set up in every place, was exposed to fire and sword. On Friday after, being the second of November, the army approached to the borders of the valley of Lucerne, and certain horsemen came to a place called St. Jean, a little beneath Angrogne. Then the people retired into the mountains. Certain of St. Jean, perceiving that the horsemen not only spoiled their goods, but also took their fellows prisoners, set upon them. It is not certain what number of the enemies were there slain; but suddenly they retired to Bubbiana, where their camp then was, and not one of them of St. Jean were slain or hurt. It happened at the same time, that two of the aforesaid horsemen, being sore amazed, galloped before the rest towards the army, being ready to march towards Angrogne, crying, "They come! They come!" at whose cry the whole army were so

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astonished, that every man fled his way, and they were all so scattered, that the captains that day were not able to bring them in order again, and yet no creature followed them.

On the Saturday, in the morning, the army mustered in the meadow-ground of St. Jean, near to Angrogne. They of Angrogne had sent certain to keep the passages, and stop the army that they should not enter, if it were possible. In the mean season the people retired to the meadow of Tour, and little thought of the coming of the army so soon, or that they would have made such a sudden assault: for they were yet carrying of victuals and other stuff, so that few of them kept the passages. Now they which kept the straits, perceiving that their enemies prepared themselves to fight, fell down upon their knees, and made their prayers unto God, that it would please him to take pity upon them, and not to look upon their sins, but to the cause which they maintained; to turn the hearts of their enemies, and so to work, that there might be no effusion of blood; and if it were his will to take them, with their wives and infants, out of this world, that he would then mercifully receive them into his kingdom. In this sort most fervent prayers were made by all those that kept the passages, with exhortation that they should altogether cry unto God, and crave his succour and assistance in this great distress. All this the lord of Trinity and the army did well perceive.

Their prayers thus ended, suddenly they perceived their enemies coming towards them through the vines, to win the top of the mountain of Angrogne. In the mean time the prior of St. Jean, and Jacomel, were within the temple of Angrogne, and communed with the rulers touching an agreement. These were sent thither by the lord of Trinity to keep the people occupied. To be short, the combat began in divers places, and endured for a long space in the passages of Angrogne. The poor Waldois, being but few in number, and some of them having but slings and cross-bows, were sore pressed with the multitude of their enemies. At length they retired to the top of the mountain, where they defended themselves until night.

When they had found a place where they might withstand their enemies still pursuing them, they turned themselves, and slew divers of them, and hurt many. When the evening came, the enemies rested, and were about to encamp themselves, there to sup and lodge all night; which thing when the Angrognians perceived, they fell to prayer, desiring God to assist and succour them, but the enemies flouted them and laughed them to scorn. Then the poor people devised to send a drum into a little valley hard by; and as they were making their prayers unto God, and the drum sounded in the valley, the lord of Trinity caused his soldiers, which were about to encamp themselves, to remove thence; which was a great advantage unto the poor people, which now were sore wearied with travail, all wet with sweating, and very thirsty; and in great peril, if God had not given them some little breathing-time. Many of the enemies that day were slain, and many hurt, of the which very few escaped; insomuch that they reported that the shot was poisoned, which this poor simple people never used to do in all these wars. Of the Angrognians that day there were but three slain, and one hurt, which afterwards was well healed again. This combat gave great courage to the Waldois, and sore astonished the adversaries. The same time the army retiring, burnt many houses, and made great spoil as they went, destroying also the wines which were in the presses.

The said lord of Trinity with his army encamped in a village beyond Tour, in the valley of Lucerne, at the foot of the hill, between Angrogne and the other towns of the valley of

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Lucerne, which professed the gospel. They of the said village were always sore against the Waldois, and haters of true religion, and were glad of this outrage and violence done against the professors thereof: but they had their just plague; for they were all destroyed. After this the said lord of Trinity caused the fortress to be built again, which the Frenchmen had razed, and placed there a garrison, and after sent another to the fort of Villars, which is of the valley of Lucerne; and another he sent to the fortress of Perouse, and a fourth garrison he placed in the castle of St. Martin. They of Angrogne, (seeing themselves to be now, as it were, in a sea of troubles,) after they had recommended themselves unto God by prayer, and committed their cause unto him, sent to them of Perouse, St. Martin, and of Pragela, for aid and succour; which sent them all the help they were able.

The next day following there came letters to Angrogne from the lord of Trinity, the effect whereof was this:

"That he was sorry for that which was done the day before, and that he came not thither to make war against them, but only to view if it were a place convenient to build a fort therein to serve the duke. Furthermore, that his soldiers, seeing the people assembled, as it were to defy them, upon that occasion only were stirred up to give assault, and to set upon them. Also that he was sorry that such spoil was made of their goods, and such hurt done by fire. But if they would show themselves obedient to the duke, he had good hope that all should be well, and trusted that some good agreement should be made."

The Angrognians answered:

"That they were marvellously aggrieved to be so assaulted, spoiled, and tormented, by the subjects of their liege and natural prince; and as they had oftentimes before offered themselves to be more faithful and obedient to their sovereign prince the duke, than any of all the subjects besides, so yet they still offered the same obedience. Also they most humbly besought him, not to think it strange if they, being constrained by such extreme necessity, defended themselves. Finally, as touching their religion, they affirmed, that it was the pure word of God, even as it was preached by the prophets and apostles, and the same which their predecessors had observed for certain hundred years past. Moreover, that the cause was not concerning the goods of the world, but the honour and glory of God, the salvation or destruction of the souls both of them and theirs: and therefore it were much better for them to die all together, than to forsake their religion. And yet, if it might be proved unto them by good demonstration out of the word of God, (not by force of arms, by blood and fire,) that they were in error, they would then yield themselves with all obedience; most humbly beseeching him, and all other the lords of the country of Piedmont, be their intercessors and advocates to the duke in this-behalf."

Upon Monday, being the fourth of November, the lord of Trinity sent his army to Villars, and Tailleret. The lesser company ascended towards Villars. The people, seeing their enemies approaching, after they had called upon God with fervent prayer, strongly defended themselves, and slew many: many also were hurt, and the rest fled. The other company ascended towards Tailleret. And although they of that place were but few in number, and that part of the army the greater, yet, making their prayers unto God, and commending their cause unto him, they defended themselves likewise valiantly.

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In the mean season they of Villars, being imboldened by their late victory, came to assist their neighbours, and being assembled together, they courageously pursued their enemies, and put them to flight. In this pursuit it chanced (which here is not to be forgotten) that this poor people, by an ambush of their enemies which came another way, were suddenly enclosed on every side, and like to be destroyed; but yet they all escaped, and not one of them was slain, only three were hurt, which were soon cured again. On the enemy's side there were so many slain, that they were laid together by whole cart-loads. This was the reward of those which were so desirous to shed innocent blood. The same day the inhabitants of Sanson, near to Roccapiata, assembled in great numbers together, and went to a rich man's house of Roccapiata, and spoiled all that he had. Certain of Roccapiata, in number not past seventeen, understanding this, set upon them, and soon put them to flight, took away their drum, and forced them to leave their booty behind them.

After that the lord of Trinity had received the letters of the Angrognians, he sent unto them his secretary, named Christoper Gastaut, (which said himself, that he favoured the verity of the gospel,) accompanied with a gentleman of the said valley, whose charge was to cause the chief rulers to send certain to commune with the said lord of Trinity, saying, that he had good tidings to declare unto them; and moreover, that he would deliver them a safe-conduct to come and go. Whereupon they sent four unto him, whom he treated very courteously, and rehearsed unto them, how the duke, at his departure from the court, told him, that although the pope, the princes, and the cities of Italy, yea, his own council, were fully resolved, that of necessity they of the said religion should be destroyed, yet, notwithstanding, God otherwise put it in his mind, and that he had taken counsel of God what he should do in this matter; that is, that he would use them gently. Furthermore, he declared unto them, that the duchess bare them good affection, and favoured them very much, and that she had commended their cause unto the duke, persuading with him to have regard to that poor people; and that their religion was ancient and old; with many such other things. Moreover, they had (said he) great friends in the duke's court, not doubting but if they would send certain to the court with a supplication, they should obtain more than they themselves would require; and he, for his part, would employ himself in their affairs to the uttermost of his power: and so he promised that he would retire himself with his army. This he seemed to speak unfeignedly. The people, desiring but to live peaceably in their religion, and under the obedience of their prince, were content to follow his counsel.

About this season they of Angrogne perceived that a part of the army ascended the hill of Tailleret, (which is the half way between Angrogne and those of the valley of Lucerne,) and the other party had already gotten a way which led to the meadow of Tour, by the which they of Angrogne might easily have been enclosed. Therefore they sent certain immediately to keep the way, who soon after encountered with their enemies and obtained the victory, pursuing and chasing them to their camp, not without great loss of their men. The number of their enemies slain, was not known; for their custom was immediately to carry away those which were slain. Not one of Angrogne perished that day, nor yet was hurt. But it was feared that this combat would have hindered the agreement; but the lord of Trinity could well dissemble this matter, and excused that day's journey, putting the fault upon them of Tailleret, whom he charged to have slain certain of his men in the highway, and, amongst others, his barber.

On Saturday following, being the ninth of November, the said lord of Trinity sent again for them of Angrogne, to consult with them touching the agreement, using the like

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communication as before; and added thereunto, that in token of true obedience they should carry their armour into two of the houses of the chief rulers, not fearing but it should be safe; for it should remain in their own keeping, and, if need were, they should receive it again. Also, that he on a Sunday (which was the next day) would cause a mass to be sung within the temple of St. Laurence, in Angrogne, accompanied with a very few; and thereby the duke's wrath would be assuaged.

The next morning he went into the temple, (whereat they were sore grieved, albeit they could not withstand him,) his army marching before him; and having caused a mass to be sung, he desired to see the meadow of Tour, so much spoken of, that thereof he might make a true report unto the duke; and thither the rulers, with a great troop of his own men, went: the residue of his company remained behind, who spoiled certain houses, and seized the armour which they had delivered up before; but they found no great store, for the people had taken away the greatest part thereof. The said lord being entered into the meadow of Tour, the people began to make a commotion; whereof he, having intelligence, returned immediately. All that day he showed himself very courteous to all whom he met.

The people in this mean time perceived themselves to be in great danger, and were so moved at the sight of the army, the spoil of the soldiers, the taking away of their armour; but especially because the said lord of Trinity had viewed the meadow of Tour, foreseeing his traitorous meaning and purpose. A few days after, the said lord of Trinity sent his secretary, Gastaut, to Angrogne, to talk with them concerning the agreement, and to make a full resolution thereof; which was read in the assembly by the secretary. The sum whereof was this: that the people of Angrogne submitted themselves to render all honour and reverence to God, according to his holy word, and all due obedience to the duke their sovereign prince, to whom they should send certain men to demand pardon of him, concerning their bearing armour in their extreme necessity, and humbly to beseech him that he would suffer them to live peaceably in their religion, which was according to the word of God, not compelling them to do any thing against their conscience; as it appeareth more amply in the supplication, which, after this, the Angrognians made, and caused to be read before the secretary in the open assembly, and which here ensueth.

"To the most excellent and worthy prince, the duke of Savoy, &c., our sovereign lord and natural prince.

"Most noble and renowned prince! we have sent certain of our men unto your Highness, to give testimony of our humble, hearty, and unfeigned obedience unto the same, and with all submission desire pardon, touching the bearing of armour by certain of our people in their extreme necessity, and for all other our trespasses, for the which your sovereign Grace might conceive any offence against us.

"Secondly, To desire in most humble wise your said Highness, in the name of our Lord Jesus, that it would please the same, to suffer us to live with freedom of conscience in our religion, which also is the religion of our ancestors, observed for certain hundred years past: and we are persuaded, that it is the pure gospel of our Lord Jesus, the only verity, the word of life and salvation, which we profess. Also, that it may please your most gracious clemency not to take in

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ill part, if we, fearing to offend and displease God, cannot consent upon certain traditions and ordinances of the Church of Rome; and herein to have pity upon our poor souls, and the souls of our children, to the end that your Highness be not in any wise charged in the just judgment of God for the same, where all men must appear to answer for their doings.

"On our part, we protest that we will seek nothing but to be the true servants of God, to serve him according to his holy word; and also to be true and loyal subjects to your Highness, and more obedient than any other, being always ready to give our goods, our bodies, our lives, and the lives of our children, for your noble Grace, as also our religion teacheth us to do: only we desire that our souls may be left at liberty, to serve God according to his holy word.

"And we, your poor humble subjects, shall most heartily pray our God and Father for the good and long prosperity of your Highness, for the most virtuous lady your wife, and for the noble house of Savoy."

To this supplication they of St. Jean, of Roccapiata, of St. Barthelemi, and of Perouse, with those of the valley of Lucerne, did agree. For it was concluded, that the agreement made should extend to all the confederates of the same religion. Whiles they were treating of this agreement, the lord of Trinity vexed cruelly them of Tailleret, under this pretence, because they had not presented themselves to treat of this agreement. He tormented them after this sort: first he commanded that all their armour should be brought before him, and then they, on their knees, should ask him pardon, because they came not to treat of the agreement with the rest; which notwithstanding the most part of them did. Then he commanded them to attend upon him, to enrol all the names of those which would be of the aforesaid agreement.

Whereupon, the next morning, the chief of the householders went to the village named Bouvets, the place appointed thereunto, and when they had heard a sermon, and called upon God, they began to write their names. The enrolling of their names not being fully ended, word was brought that the soldiers had gotten the top of the mountain, and taken all the passages; whereof they of Tailleret were sore amazed, and ran with all speed to defend their wives and children. Some they saved; the most part, with their goods, were in their enemies' hands already. At this time, with sacking, spoiling, and burning, they did much mischief.

After this the lord of Trinity sent word to them which were fled, that if they would return, he would receive them to mercy. The poor people for the most part, trusting on his promise, returned to Bouvets, and yet the next morning the soldiers came thither to apprehend them and their ministers, and beset the place on every side. Such as were swift of foot, and could shift best, escaped, but very hardly: the rest were all hurt or taken, and yet they all escaped by a marvellous means; for it happened that there was an old man which could not run fast, to whom one of the soldiers came with a naked sword in his hand to have slain him. The old man, seeing the imminent danger, caught the soldier by the legs, overthrew him, and drew him by the heels down the hill.

The soldier cried out, "Help! help! this villain will kill me." His fellows, hearing him cry, made haste to rescue him; but in the mean time the old man escaped. The rest, seeing what the old man had done, took heart of grace, and albeit their armour and weapons were taken from

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them, yet with stones and slings they so beat and discomfited their enemies, that for that present time they carried no prisoners away.

The day following, the soldiers, returning to the said Tailleret, robbed, spoiled, and carried away all that they could find, and so continued three days together; which was very easy for them to do, because the poor men, fearing lest they should be charged with violating the agreement, made no resistance, but retired towards Villars.

The fourth day the said lord of Trinity, to torment the poor Taillerets yet more cruelly, sent his army again, before day, to the mountain, and into the same place, and because the people of the said village were retired toward Villars, and scattered about the borders thereof in the high mountains, the soldiers, not yet satisfied with spoiling and sacking the rest that they found in the said Tailleret, ranging about the confines thereof, ravened and made havoc on every side of whatsoever they could lay hands on, taking prisoners both men and women, which were laden with carriage.

The poor prisoners were cruelly handled. Amongst other there was one, whose ear a soldier of Mondovis, in a raging fury, bit clean off, with these words, "I will carry," said he, "the flesh of these wicked heretics with me into my country." They of Villars also complained of the great cruelty that was showed unto them, during the time of the agreement.

The which when the lord of Trinity understood, to make a show that he was offended therewith, he came to his soldiers, which were so weary that they could scarcely go, (not with fighting, but because they were so heavily laden with the spoil, that they were not able to carry it,) and pretending to be in great choler, some he beat; and some things also of a small value he caused to be restored, but all the rest was kept back and carried away. The same day, two women, the mother and the daughter, were found in a cave in the mountain, wounded to death by the soldiers, and died immediately after. So likewise a blind man, a hundred years of age, which was fled into a cave with his son's daughter, being eighteen years old, who fed him, was slain by the enemies; and as they would have ill-used the maiden, she escaped from them, and fell from the top of the mountain, and died.

At that time also a great company of women of Tailleret and Villars were taken as they fled, with their goods, and brought to the camp, and sent away empty. There was at the same time a certain soldier, which promised the lord of Trinity to find out the minister of Tailleret, and to deliver him into his own hands. And to bring his purpose to pass, he never ceased until he had found him; and after that he pursued him a long time. But as he was pursuing and chasing him, certain, at unawares coming out of the mountain, rescued the poor minister, and killed the soldier with stones.

But this especially is to be noted, that during these troubles divers of the papists had sent their daughters into the mountains unto the Waldois to be kept, fearing lest they should have been ill-used by the soldiers, being wholly given over as to all cruelty and ravin, so to all villany and abomination; by whom they were before threatened to be so abused.

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All this being done, the said lord of Trinity caused the head-officers and chiefest of the people to assemble together, and declared unto them, that the maintaining of the army was a great charge unto the duke, and it was meet that they should bear the one half of the charges. For this cause he demanded of them twenty thousand crowns; but, by the means of the secretary Gastaut, who was promised a hundred crowns for his wine, (that is to say, for a bribe,) four thousand of those twenty were abated, so that they granted unto him sixteen thousand, of the which sum the duke released the one half. Then the lord of Trinity pressed this poor people to deliver the eight thousand out of hand, to pay the soldiers their wages, as he said, and so to withdraw his army. The year before, corn was exceeding dear, for a sack was commonly sold for six crowns, yea, and some for eight crowns; and also they had very little corn growing upon their mountains: wherefore they were now very bare of money. But they, being in this perplexity, and desiring nothing more than to live in peace and quietness, went about to sell their cattle to pay this money: but the lord of Trinity had given out a commandment, that none should buy any cattle of the Waldois without his licence. Then licence was given out to certain to buy great store of cattle, and that for a small price: and the common bruit was, that he had part of the gain. When this money was paid, yet the army notwithstanding retired not.

After this the lord of Trinity commanded the Waldois to surrender up all their armour, to furnish the duke's forts, otherwise he threatened to send his soldiers among them, and indeed he constrained many so to do. Then he demanded, moreover, the eight thousand crowns, which the duke had remitted, and constrained them to promise the payment thereof. After that he commanded that the ministers should be sent away, until the matter were determined before the duke; otherwise he would send his soldiers to dislodge them out of hand: whereupon, with one common assent and accord, they determined that their ministers should withdraw themselves for a space, until the army were retired; which was not done without marvellous sighs, lamentation, and tears. At that season there fell such abundance of snow, that the like had not been seen of a long time before; so that the people were constrained to make a way, with great travail and pain, through the top of the mountain of St. Martin, for their ministers to pass. Now thought the lord of Trinity so to have enclosed them (he keeping the plain, and the mountains being covered so thick with snow) that by no means they should have escaped his hands. But the people caused them to pass the top of the mountain, and at their departure there flocked out of every quarter great multitudes to the village of Bobi, and came together in a secret place there, called Le Puis, not without great grief and sorrow; for they found them altogether in tears and mourning, that their ministers should be so taken from them, and they now left as lambs amongst wolves.



The Protestant Church at Bobi

The army was advertised that the ministers were assembled together, and incontinent a great troop of harquebussiers were at hand, which sought them even to the very top of the mountain, insomuch that if they had remained there but one hour longer, they had been all taken. From that time, for certain days after, they did nothing but range about in all places, seeking for the ministers; and there was no house, chamber, cave, nor secret corner, into the which they did not enter, under pretence to seek for the ministers. There was neither chest, nor any thing else so strong, but they brake it open, saying that the ministers were hidden therein, and by that means they took, spoiled, and carried away whatsoever they would.

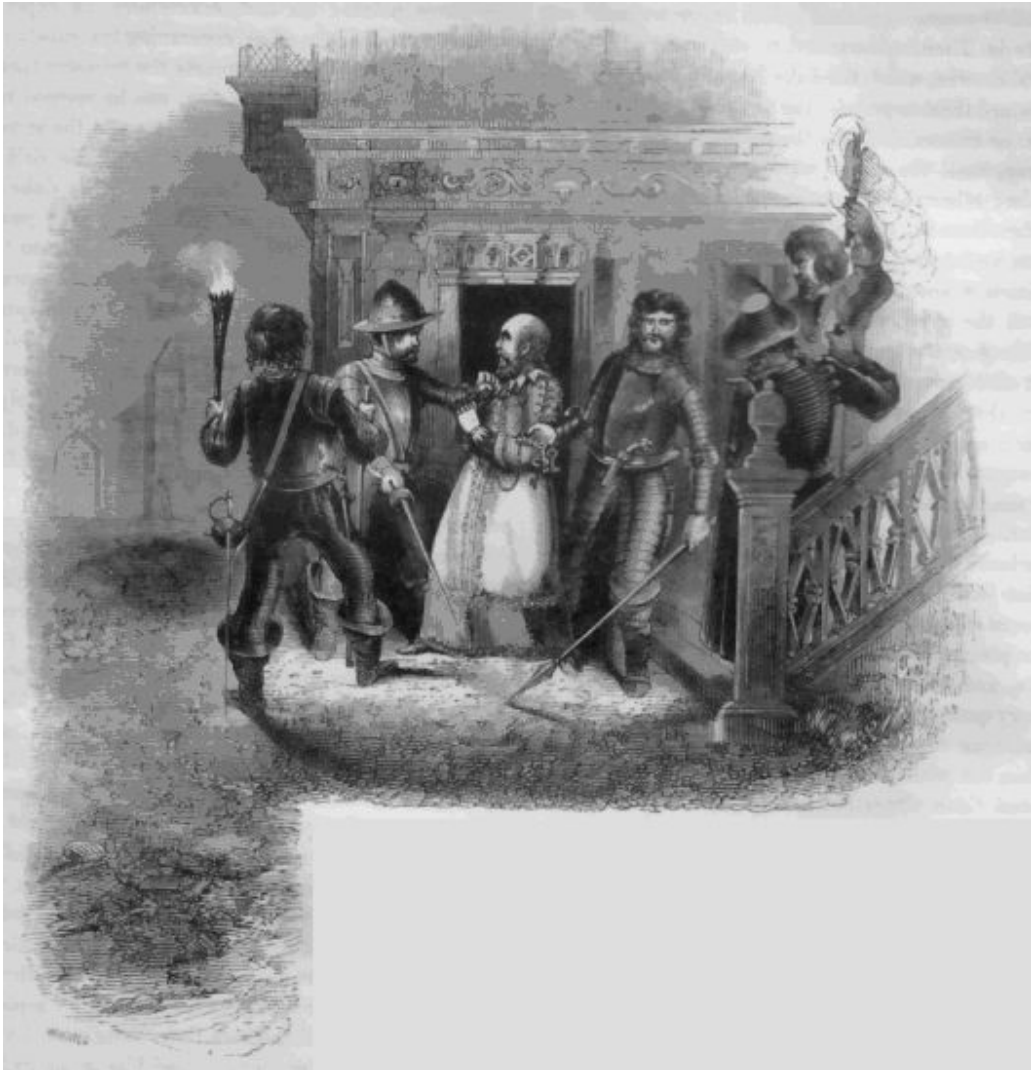
The lord of Trinity promised oftentimes, that although it were forbidden to all the ministers to preach, yet the minister of Angrogne should be excepted; and, furthermore, sent the said minister word, that if he would demand any thing of the duke, it should be granted him: whereupon the said minister made this request, that the poor people might live peaceably in their religion. A while after, he sent for the same minister to confer with him privately upon certain points of religion. The minister went unto him, having thereto the consent of the people. The lord of Trinity propounded unto him three points: the first, concerning the supremacy of the pope; the

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other, concerning transubstantiation. Of the which two points the minister then immediately declared his opinion, and he seemed to agree thereunto, and required him to put the same in writing. The last (which was his whole drift) was to persuade the minister to go to the duke's court, and there he to defend the cause of the people, alleging certain reasons to persuade him so to do: whereunto the minister answered, that he was bound to God and his church, and if it seemed convenient to the ministers and people that he should go, he would be content to do the same; and thereof he promised to send him answer immediately, with the which answer he seemed to be contented.

Shortly after, the aforesaid lord, not tarrying for an answer, sent his army to the temple of St. Laurence, in Angrogne, pretending to sing a mass there, and suddenly the soldiers besieged the minister's house. The minister, being warned thereof, essayed to escape. The soldiers attempted nothing by force, but used gentle persuasions to the contrary, for there were not yet many of them. But the minister pushed on further, and the soldiers followed him half a mile, but fearing the people, durst go no further. The minister withdrew himself into the rocks upon the mountain, accompanied with five others. The army was by and by at his heels, and sought a good while in the houses and cottages on every side, cruelly handling the people whom they took, to make them confess where their minister was; spoiling their houses, taking some prisoners, and beating other some: but yet they could not learn of them where their minister was. At the length they espied him among the rocks, where they thought to have enclosed him; and so they pursued him in the rocks all covered with snow, until it was night, and could not take him. Then they returned and spoiled his house, and diligently searched out all his books and writings, and carried them to the lord of Trinity in a sack, who caused them to be all burned in his presence, supposing (as it well appeared) that the letters which he had sent to Angrogne, touching the agreement, should be with the rest burnt: for he did not the like in the other ministers' houses. That day they spoiled forty houses in Angrogne, broke their mills, and carried away all the corn and meal that they found.

About midnight the soldiers returned with torchlight to the minister's house to seek him, and searched every corner. The next morning commandment was given to the rulers of Angrogne, that within twenty-four hours they should deliver their minister, or else Angrogne should be put to the fire and sword. The rulers answered, that they could not so do, for they knew not where he was, and the soldiers had chased him over the mountain. After certain days, when the soldiers had burned houses, spoiled the people, broken their mills, and done what mischief they could, the army retired. Notwithstanding the lord of Trinity left garrisons in the aforementioned fortresses, but all at the cost and charges of the Waldois; the which garrisons, not contented with their wages, spoiled continually. Upon a night five soldiers went with torches to a rich man's house of Angrogne, and spoiled the same. The good man of the house hardly escaped with life by the top of the house; for there were twelve pellets shot off at him, whereof one touched his face, and struck his hat from his head, without any further hurt.



Soldiers Raiding a House by Night

The rulers of Angrogne, which were gone to the fortress to carry thither victuals and money, were by the soldiers retained, and, in despite of them and the people, caused a mass to be sung before them, and forced them to be present at it; and because they would not kneel down to it, they were beaten almost to death. The one of them was sent again for more money; the other, with great peril of his life, leaped over the walls, and though pursued to Angrogne, escaped.

Certain days after, a certain company of soldiers came into the midst of Angrogne, as though they would have passed through, and called for meat and drink. The poor men brought that they had unto them in a close court. When they had eaten and drunken, they caused the women to leave, and then bound fourteen of those who had brought them victuals, by two and two together, and led them away. Their wives and children perceiving this, so fiercely pursued them with stones, that they were fain to let go ten of their prisoners for haste, and had much ado to save themselves. The other four they led away to the fortress, of the which two were

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ransomed: the other two were hanged up by the feet and the hands; and having tormented them almost to death, they released them for a great sum of money. Of these one died the next night; the other lay sick without hope of life a long time after, and his flesh fell from his hands and his feet, and thereof he became lame; and after that his fingers fell off also.

In like manner did the other garrisons treat the villages adjoining unto them.

The garrison of Tour and that of Villars, being assembled together at night, went to Tailleret, to the place called Bouvets, and breaking in at the windows and tops of the houses, breaking open the doors, sacking and spoiling all that they could lay hands on, took also fourteen prisoners, and bound them two and two together by the arms, and so led them to the fortress of Tour; but two which were escaped, whilst the soldiers were taking others, set upon them which led the prisoners, and so valiantly assaulted and beat them with stones, that they forced them to let go twelve of the prisoners, who, tumbling and rolling themselves down the mountain, having their hands bound behind their backs, and fastened two and two together by the arms, were contented rather so to die, than to be carried to the fortress; and yet in the end they escaped. The other two which were led to the fortress, were cruelly tormented, and in the end the captain strangled with his own hands one of them, who young, and but a child: the other, who was about was very threescore years of age, whose name was Odul Gemet, suffered also a strange and cruel death.

The poor Waldois were yet in great captivity and distress, but especially because they had not the preaching of God's word amongst them, as they were wont to have; [Note: Beza, Sleiden, Drelincourt, Basnage, Jurien, all concur that the Waldenses preserved the true faith, and were the remains of the primitive church] and therefore, taking to them a good courage, they determined to begin preaching again, albeit secretly, for two principal causes: the one, for fear of moving the duke, and hindering the voyage of their messengers, having yet some hope of good success; the other, that no occasion might be given to the soldiers of further trouble and outrage; for that was it which they especially desired. Also they of Angrogne were fully determined, as soon as their messengers were returned from the duke, to preach openly, what news soever they brought, were they good or evil; and furthermore, not to be contributaries to the finding of the garrison, neither yet to suffer the same to enter into Angrogne.

The messengers which were sent to the duke, being at Vercelli, were there detained six weeks, and all that while were cruelly handled by the popish doctors, and were constrained by force and violence to promise to return to the mass. Furthermore, they would have constrained them to promise the same in the behalf of the rest, but they would not. After they were presented to the duke, the secretary Gastaut took the supplication of the Waldois out of the messengers' hands, and delivered another. After they had presented themselves to the duke, and asked pardon for bearing of armour, they were constrained also to crave pardon of the pope's legate; which at the beginning they would in no case do. Now when these messengers were returned, bringing this woeful news, and the people understood that there was a new commandment given out, that they should return to the mass; also that popish preachers were appointed, and ready to come unto them, and they commanded to go to fetch them and entertain them accordingly; there was wonderful lamentation, weeping, and mourning, for this great calamity.

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Hereupon, they of the valley of Lucerne and of Bobi, being assembled together, by one assent sent two ministers, with certain others of the people, to the churches of Pragela, (which be in the country of Dauphine,) to signify unto them the piteous state of the poor churches of the valleys of Piedmont, to have their counsel and advice how to prevent the great dangers at hand, if it were possible. For this cause they all fell to prayer, and after they had long called upon God, desiring his grace, and the spirit of discretion and counsel, well to consider of those weighty and urgent affairs wherewith they were oppressed; in the end it was concluded, that all the people dwelling in the said valleys and mountains of Piedmont, and those of Dauphine, should join in a league together. Whereupon they all promised, by God's grace and assistance, to maintain the pure preaching of the gospel, and the administration of holy sacraments; the one to aid and assist the other; and to render all obedience to their superiors, so far as they were commanded by the word of God. Moreover, that it should be lawful for none of the said valleys to promise or conclude any thing touching the estate of religion, without the consent of the rest of the valleys. And for more sure confirmation of the said league, certain of the ministers and elders of the churches of Dauphine were sent to the valley of Lucerne, to understand if they would give their consent hereunto, and ratify the same.

These messengers, the ministers and others of Dauphine, being arrived in the evening at the village of Bobi, and the people being there assembled, word was brought that the next day every householder should appear in the council-house, to know whether they would return to the mass or no: and they that would receive the mass, should quietly enjoy their houses; and they that would not, should be delivered to the justices, and condemned to be burned, or sent to the galleys. Wherefore the people were brought to this extremity, either to die or flee, or else to renounce God. To flee seemed to them best, if the great snow had not hindered them; wherefore seeing themselves in such distress, they most gladly consented to the league. After this they exhorted one another, saying, "Forasmuch as we shall be all called for to-morrow, to renounce and forsake our God, and revolt again to idolatry, let us now make solemn protestation, that we will utterly forsake the false religion of the pope, and that we will live and die in the maintenance and confession of God's holy word. Let us all go to-morrow into the temple, to hear the word of God, and after let us cast down to the ground all the idols and altars." To this every man agreed, saying, "Let us so do; yea, and that very same hour in which they have appointed us to be at the council-housel "

The next day after, they assembled themselves in the church of Bobi, and as soon as they came into the temple, without any further delay, they beat down the images, and cast down the altars. After the sermon they went to Villars to do the like there. By the way they encountered with a band of soldiers, who were going to spoil a village named Le Val Guichard, and to take the poor inhabitants prisoners. The soldiers, seeing them so ill appointed, mocked them, and discharged their hand-guns upon them, thinking at the first brunt to have put them to flight: but they valiantly defended themselves, and with stones chased them even to the fortress. When they came to Villars, they beat down their images and altars, and afterwards besieged the fortress, and demanded the prisoners which were there detained.

The same day, the judge of Lucerne, called Podesta, went to the council-house, to enrol the names of those who would return to the mass; but seeing what was done, he was sore afraid, and desired the people to suffer him to return quietly; which they willingly granted unto him.

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Divers gentlemen also of the valley came thither with the judge, to make their poor tenants to forsake God; but seeing the tumult, they were fain to flee into the castle, where they and the garrison were besieged ten days together, not without great danger of their lives. The second day of the siege, the captain of Tour went with a company of soldiers, thinking to raise the siege; but they were, by those that kept the passages, either slain or discomfited. As much was done the third day. The fourth day he returned with three bands, and with the garrison of Tour, which caused a furious combat, wherein many of the enemies were slain, and a great number hurt; and yet of those that besieged the fort, there was not one man hurt.

In the time of this siege they attempted divers means to take the said fortress, but without ordnance it was impossible so to do; wherefore they were now past all hope of winning it. Moreover, the lord of Trinity, returning with his army, was come to the valley of Lucerne, and the next day after might easily have raised the siege. Wherefore when the garrison (not knowing that the lord of Trinity was so near) desired that they might depart with bag and baggage, they granted their request. In this siege half of the soldiers were slain, and many were hurt, as well with harquebusses as with stones. During this siege, the soldiers for lack of water were constrained to make their bread with wine, which tormented their stomachs, and caused great diseases. Here is not to be forgotten, that the soldiers, who a while before did so cruelly persecute the poor ministers, seeking by all means possible to destroy them, were now fain to pray them to save their lives, and to promise them that they should have no hurt, and also to conduct them safely into a sure place: neither would they depart until they had promised them so to do; which the ministers did promise, and also perform very willingly. Then the soldiers, seeing themselves much beholden to the ministers so gently dealing with them, gave them great thanks, and promised them in recompence thereof all the pleasure that they could show them. The same night the fortress was razed.

On the second of February, the lord of Trinity encamped at Lucerne, and placed a garrison in the priory of St. Jean, a village of the Waldois between Lucerne . and Angrogne. The next day, in the morning, the said lord of Trinity sent word unto them of Angrogne, that if they would not take part with the rest, they should be gently handled. All the week before, they were solicited by him to consent to the same, but they would give no answer. The same day they of Angrogne, and the rest of the valleys, fully agreed and determined to defend their religion by force, and that the one should aid the other, and no agreement to be made by any one without the consent of the rest. About noon the lord of Trinity marched with his army by St. Jean, to enter into the borders of Angrogne by a place called La Sonneillette, where they had fought before. The people had made certain bulwarks of earth and stone not past three feet high, where they defended themselves valiantly against their enemies, who assailed them divers ways. When the enemies were so weary that they could fight no longer, they put fresh soldiers into their places; so that the combat endured until night, and all that day the army could not enter into the borders of Angrogne. Many of the enemies were slain, and a great number hurt; and but two of Angrogne slain, of whom one was slain by his own folly, because he was too greedy upon the spoil. The army, being now well beaten and tired, rested a while, to make themselves stronger for a further mischief.

The Friday following, which was the seventh of February, at the break of the day, the army marched towards Angrogne by five several places. The people of Angrogne were not yet

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assembled, and none there were to resist, but only a few who kept the watch; who, seeing their enemies coming upon them in so many places, and perceiving that they went about to enclose them, after they had valiantly fought for a space, recoiled by little and little to a high place called La Casse, where the combat was renewed with greater fierceness than before. But the lord of Trinity, seeing the loss of his men, and above all, that one of great credit and authority in the duke's court was wounded to death, blew a retreat, and descended to Angrogne, (the people being fled to the meadow of Tour,) and there spoiled and burnt all the wines, victuals, and the rest of the goods that he could find; so that in a short space he had burned about a thousand houses of Angrogne.

And here is not to be forgotten, that they oftentimes set fire upon the two temples of Angrogne, where the word of God was preached, but they could never burn them. So did they also to the minister's house, which notwithstanding remained whole, the houses round about being all consumed with fire. This day none of Angrogne were slain or hurt, saving only one that was hurt in his thigh.

There were in all Angrogne but two, that were enemies to the word of God, who that same day were slain by the soldiers, not in the combat, but for their riches which they had about them, as they were running away. One of them was a very covetous wretch, and had great store of gold and silver, and would spend nothing, either to help himself, or succour others, no, not his poor parents. All this was spoiled by the soldiers, with a hundred or two hundred crowns besides, which he had about him. Besides these two, there was not one of Angrogne slain that day. All the rest of the people retired to the meadow of Tour, the situation whereof we will here declare, for the better understanding of that which followeth.

Tour is a little valley upon the borders of Angrogne, environed about with mountains, two miles in length, but very narrow. On both sides, and in the midst thereof, there be about two hundred small houses and cottages; also meadows, pastures for cattle, ground for tillage, trees, and goodly fountains. On the south side and the north the mountains are so high, that no man can that way approach unto the said valley. On the other coasts a man may enter by seven or eight ways. This place is not more than two miles from Angrogne; the way thither is very narrow, and ill to pass by, because of the hills which be on both sides. There is also a river hard by, but very small; but the banks thereof be very high in many places. The people had carried thither very few victuals, partly because the way was so ill, and also through the sudden return of the army.

In the mean time, the lord of Trinity, after he had now twice assaulted Angrogne, sent certain to burn Rosa, and to discover the ways which led to the valley of Lucerne; but the soldiers were driven back four days together by those who kept the passages: whereupon he sent his whole army, whom they valiantly withstood from the morning till night. Then they of Lucerne sent new aid. During this combat, an ambushment of soldiers descended from the top of the mountain, by a place so hard to pass by, that no man would have suspected it. The poor people, seeing themselves so environed by their enemies, saved themselves, some running through the midst of their enemies, and other some into the rocks.

The enemies, being entered into Rosa, consumed all with fire and sword. The residue of the people fled by the secret way leading to the valley of Lucerne, and wandered all that night

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upon the mountains full of snow, loaden with their stuff, carrying their little infants in their arms, and leading the others by the hands, with great pain and travail. When they of the valley saw them, they ran unto them, praising God for their deliverance, for they thought they had been all slain. Albeit this poor people were here in such great extremity, yet they were joyful, and comforted themselves, without any lamentation or mourning, except the little poor infants which cried out for cold.

A few days after, the lord of Trinity entered into the valley of Lucerne by three several ways; that is to say, by Rosa, by the plain, and by the sides of Tailleret. They which kept the passages, at first resisted their enemies valiantly, but perceiving that they were assailed on every side, they retired to Villars, and there defended themselves awhile: but because they saw that their enemies had already passed the plain, and gotten above Villars towards Bobi, they gave over, and left Villars, and fled into the mountains. The soldiers, being entered, burned houses, and slew all that they could find. The poor people which were fled into the mountains, seeing the village on fire, praised God, and gave him thanks, who had made them worthy to suffer for his name and for his cause; and also they were glad to see the village on fire, lest their enemies should encamp there themselves. Then the soldiers, in great rage, mounted the hills on every side, pursuing the poor people in great fury; but a few of them, after they had ardently called upon God, took courage, and beat back their enemies to Villars. This done, the army retired.

Few days after, the meadow of Tour was assaulted by three several ways on the east side. The combat endured a long season, where divers of the enemies were hurt, and many slain; but none of this poor people were slain that day, only two were hurt, which were soon healed again. But to declare the conflicts, assaults, skirmishes, and alarms, which were at Angrogne and other places thereabouts, it were too long: for brevity's sake it shall be sufficient to touch the most principal, and those which are most worthy of memory.

On Saturday, which was the fourteenth day of February, the people which were in the uppermost part of the meadow of Tour, perceived that a company of soldiers had ascended up the hill to Angrogne, and were burning the rest of the houses there. They doubted that it was a policy of their enemies to draw them thither, and in the mean time to set on them behind, and so to win the meadow of Tour from them. Therefore they sent only six harquebussiers against those soldiers, who, having the higher ground, and not being espied of their enemies, discharged their guns all together; whereupon incontinent the soldiers fled, albeit no man pursued them. Whether they fled of policy, or for fear, it was not known.

Shortly after, they of the ward of the meadow of Tour, which were in the watch on the top of the mountain, (because every morning a sermon was made there, whereunto the people resorted, and they might see afar off round about them,) espied a troop of soldiers marching on that side of the hill which is between the east and the north, and soon after that, discovered another company, which marched on the north side towards the said troop. The first were ascended an hour before the other, and fought on the top of the mountain called Melese, but they were soon discomfited; and because they could not run fast by means of the deep snow, and difficulty of the ways, in fleeing they fell often down upon the ground. Whilst they that pursued them were earnest in the chase, and had taken from them their drum, behold there came certain unto them, crying out that the other troop was entered into the meadow of Tour, by means

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whereof they gave over the chase; or else not one of their enemies had escaped, as they which were there reported for a truth. Not one of Angrogne was slain or hurt.

The other troop, which came by the north side, took a high hill in the top of the mountain, the which seemed to be almost inaccessible, by reason of the snow and ice which was there. The chieftest of this company were Ludovic of Monteil, (which had been before master of the camp in the king's wars,) and Charles Truchet. When they were come to the top of the hill, they caused seven soldiers to go down the hill, and to view the way, and to see whether the troop might descend that way or no. These seven went down almost to the houses. They sent also others to occupy the rest of the high places which were near to the foot of the hill and the rocks. In the mean time the ministers, and the people which were in the midst of the valley of the meadow, saw all this, and were much discouraged therewith: wherefore they fell to prayer, and called upon God ardently, not without great sighs, lamentation, and tears, even until night.

The seven spies which came down to discover the ways, cried unto their Captain Truchet, "Come down! come down!" "Seignior Charles! this day Angrogne shall be taken." The others cried to them again, "Ascend! ascend, and return! or else you shall be slain every one of you!" Immediately issued out five against these spies, and took certain, and chased the rest. The first of the five who set upon them, cast two of them down upon the ground with a fork of fire. Soon after, eight of Angrogne issued out against the whole troop. Which was wonderful to see them go with such courage and boldness, to assail such a multitude, and it seemed that they should have been all destroyed and hewn in pieces. The first of the eight went a good way before the others, to discover the enemies, and carried a great staff, which they call a rancon, and is somewhat bigger than a halberd: the others followed by two and two together, with harquebusses. These eight went from rock to rock, from hill to hill, about the mountain, and chased their enemies valiantly. Then came twelve others, the which, joining with the rest, fought with a wonderful courage, and made great slaughter of their enemies. Soon after there came from the valley of Lucerne a hundred harquebussiers, with one of their ministers, according to their manner, who were wont to send out a minister withal, as well for prayer and exhortation, as to keep the people in order, that they exceeded not measure, as it came to pass that day.

At the length they saw them also coming, who returned from the discomfiture of the former troop, making a great noise, and having a drum sounding before them which they had taken from their enemies; who joined with them of the valley of Lucerne, and having made their earnest prayer unto God, immediately they came to succour the others that now were encountering valiantly with their enemies. Then the enemies, seeing such a company marching against them with such courage and boldness, after the others had once called upon God, their hearts were so taken from them, that suddenly they fled, and as soon as the others began to pray, they began also to flee; but because they could not well save themselves by running away, they turned back twice, and fought, and some in the mean time fled.

He that carried the rancon, and discovered the enemies, was but a very young and a simple man, and was esteemed to be one that could do nothing but (as they say in their language) handle *la sappe*, that is to say, a hatchet, and kept cattle; and yet he, with those that followed, so discomfited the enemies, that it was wonderful to behold. He brake his great rancon with laying load upon them; and after that he brake also four of their own swords in pursuing them. There

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was a boy of eighteen years of age, and of small stature, who alone slew the lord of Monteil, master of the camp (as is said) to the king; wherewith the enemies were marvellously astonished and discouraged. Another simple man, who, a man would have thought, durst not once have looked Charles Truchet in the face, (because he was a very big man, strong and puissant, and one of the chiefest captains of the whole army,) threw down the said Truchet with the stroke of a stone. Then a young man leaped upon him, and slew him with his own sword, which was four fingers broad, and cleft his head in pieces.

This Truchet was one of the principal authors of this war, and one of the chiefest enemies of true religion, and of the poor Waldois, that could then be found. It was said also, that he vaunted and promised before to the said lord of Trinity, that he would deliver into his hands the meadow of Tour: but God soon brought his proud brag to nought; and for his spoiling, pilling, and polling of the poor people, he lay spoiled and naked like a beast in the wild mountain of Angrogne. Two of the chiefest among them offered to pay a great sum of crowns for their ransom, but they could not be heard. They were pursued more than a mile, and were so discomfited, that they fled without any resistance; and if the night had not let them, they had pursued them further.

The minister, when he saw the great effusion of blood, and the enemies to flee, cried to the people, saying that it was enough, and exhorted them to give thanks unto God. They which heard him, obeyed, and fell to prayer; but they that were further off, and heard him not, chased their enemies till dark night, insomuch that if the rest had done the like, very few of their enemies had escaped. That day they spoiled their enemies of a great part of their armour and munition. So God restored in this combat, and in others, to the poor Waldois, the armour which the lord of Trinity had taken from them before. Thanks were given to God in every place; and every man cried, "Who is he that seeth not that God fighteth for us?" This victory gave great courage to the poor Waldois, and greatly astonished the enemies.

On the eighteenth of February, the lord of Trinity, not satisfied with burning and destroying the greatest part of Villars, returned to burn all the little villages round about, which pertain to the same, and especially to pursue the poor people, who were fled up into the mountains; and dividing his army into three parts, he entered by three several ways above mentioned. The two first companies joined together between Villars and Bobi, having a great company of horsemen. From thence they went to seek the people which were in the mountain of Combe, by such a way as they did not suspect, and where there were no warders to defend the place. Notwithstanding, the warders which were next, seeing their enemies ascending that way, speedily ran before them; and calling upon God for his aid and succour, they set themselves against their enemies: and albeit they were but thirty in number, yet they valiantly beat them back twice, coming out of their bulwarks, that is to say, certain houses which at that time served them for that purpose, albeit they were not made for that use. Many of the enemies were slain at those two combats, and not one of the other side. The lord of Trinity, seeing his men so fiercely driven back, sent out the greatest part of his army, which were esteemed to be fifteen hundred men. There came also about a hundred to succour the warders. The combat was very cruel and fierce. At length the poor people were assaulted so vehemently, that they were fain to forsake their bulwarks, losing two of their men. Then the enemies thought all to be theirs, and blew their trumpets, triumphing that they had put the people to flight. But the people, retiring not past a

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stone's cast, took courage, and crying all together to the Lord for succour, they turned themselves to the face of their enemies, and with great force and power they hurled stones at them with their slings.

After this the enemies rested themselves awhile, and by and by after they gave a furious assault; but yet they were again mightily resisted. Yet once again the enemies rested, and in the mean time the people fell to prayer, calling upon God all together, with their faces lifted up towards heaven; which frayed the enemies more than any thing else. After this, they gave yet another great assault, but God by the hands of a few drove them back. Yea, God here showed his great power, even in the little children also, who, fervently calling upon God, threw stones at their enemies, and gave courage also unto the men. So did also the women, and the vulgar sort; that is to say, those who were meet for no feats of war, remaining upon the mountain, and beholding these furious combats, kneeling upon the ground, and having their faces lifted up towards heaven, with tears and groanings they cried, "Lord, help us!" who heard their prayers.

After that these three assaults were given, there came one unto them crying, "Be of good courage God hath sent those of Angrogne to succour us." He meant, that they of Angrogne were fighting for them in another place, that is to say, towards Tailleret, where the third part of the army was. The people perceiving that they of Angrogne were come to that place to succour them, began to cry, "Blessed be God, who hath sent us succour: they of Angrogne be here to succour us!" The enemies hearing this, were astonished, and suddenly blew a retreat, and retired into the plain.

That troop that were gone towards Tailleret, divided themselves into three companies. The first marched by the side of the mountain, burning many houses, and joined with the main army. The second company, which was of seven score, marched higher, thinking to take the people at unawares; but they were by seven men strongly resisted and driven back. The third company attained the top of the mountain, thinking to enclose the people; but as God would, they of Angrogne, who came to succour them, encountered with them, and with great force put them to flight.

They of Villars, of whom mention is made before, after they had refreshed themselves with a little bread and wine, (for the most part of them had eaten nothing all that day,) chased their enemies till it was almost night, so fiercely, that the master of the camp was fain to send to the lord of Trinity (who was at Tour) for succour, or else all would have been lost; which he did; and immediately he rode with all speed to Lucerne to save himself, hearing the alarm which was given at St. Jean by those of Angrogne, and fearing lest the way should have been stopped. The army retired with great difficulty, (notwithstanding the new aid which was sent them,) and with great loss of their men. One of their captains confessed since, that if they had been pursued any further, they had fled all that night long. Since that time they never returned again into the valley of Lucerne.

On Monday, being the seventeenth of March next following, the lord of Trinity, to be revenged on those of the meadow of Tour, assembled all the force that he could make with the gentlemen of the country; insomuch, that whereas before his army was commonly but four thousand, it was now between six and seven thousand: and secretly, in the night season, he

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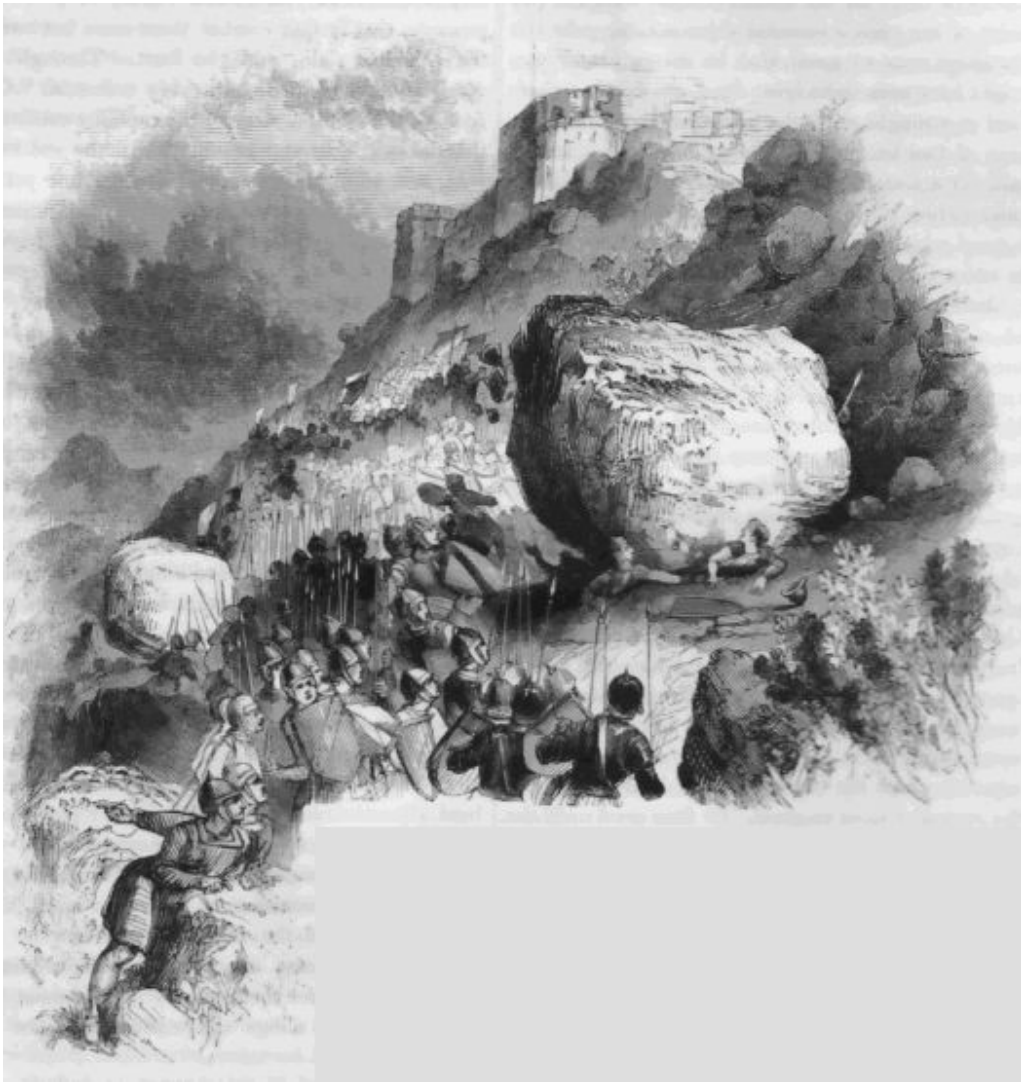
encamped with part of his army in the midst of Angrogne, from whence the poor inhabitants were fled before. The next morning, after the sermon and prayers were ended, they perceived the other part of the army to be encamped at the foot of the mountain of Angrogne on the east side. Soon after they perceived how both parts of the army coasted the hill's side, the one towards the other, being such a multitude, so glittering in their harness, and marching in such array, that the poor people at first were astonished thereat. Notwithstanding, the assembly fell down upon their knees three or four times, crying, "Help us, O Lord!" beseeching him to have regard to the glory of his holy name, to stay the effusion of blood, if it were his good pleasure, and to turn the hearts of their enemies to the truth of his holy gospel. These two parts of the army joined together near to the bulwarks of the meadow of Tour, and gave the assault in three several places. One of the bands mounted secretly by the rocks, thinking to have enclosed the people in their bulwarks. But as soon as they that kept the bulwark below had espied them, they forsook the place, and marched straight towards them; and as they marched, they met with the aid which was sent unto them, very luckily, from the valley of Lucerne, and coming as it were from heaven; who joining together, soon discomfited their enemies with stones and harquebusses. They pursued them fiercely into the rocks, and vexed them wonderfully, because the rocks are so steep that no man can ascend or descend without great pain and difficulty. The captain of this band was named Bastian, of Vergilia, a man very expert in the affairs of war. At his going out of his lodging, he threatened that he would do great and terrible things that day. His hostess hearing that, said unto him, "Monsieur! if our religion be better than theirs, you shall have the victory; but if theirs be better than ours, you shall not prevail." Shortly after the captain was brought again into his inn, so wounded and so feeble, that he was not likely to live. Then said his hostess unto him, "Monsieur! it is now well seen, that their religion is better than ours."

There was also another band that kept the top of the hill, to assault the bulwarks from thence. The middlemost bulwark was then assaulted, in which were very few to defend the same; who, seeing the number of their enemies, retired back, leaving therein five only to defend it. There was a huge rock not far from the aforesaid bulwark, behind the same a great number of the enemies were hid; and anon there issued out two ensigns, assuring themselves to win the bulwark; but immediately one of their ensign-bearers was wounded to death, whereupon many recoiled back; the other set up his ensign upon the bulwark. They that were within, had neither halberd, nor any other long weapon, but only one pike, and the same without any iron; which one of the five took, and threw down the ensign, and manfully beat back the scalers, and threw them down to the ground. Divers of the enemies were entered into the bulwark by a door below, and slew one of the five who kept the middle part of the bulwark. The other four looked to be destroyed out of hand. Then one of the four chased away those who had entered below with stones; and the other three, leaving their hand-guns, defended themselves likewise with great stones: and perceiving the band which was on the rocks to flee, they took courage, and withstood their enemies valiantly, till their companions were returned from the chase.

In the mean time, the bulwark which was upon the side of the mountain was furiously assailed by the one half of the army. Those that were within, suffered their enemies to approach near to the bulwark, without any gunshot or other defence; whereat the enemies much marvelled: but when they were even at hand, they fell upon them, some with throwing of stones, some with rolling down mighty stones, and some with harquebusses. There was a huge stone rolled down, which passed throughout the whole army, and slew divers. The soldiers at that time

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had won a little cottage near to the said bulwark, which did much hurt to the poor men; but among them one devised to roll down a great huge stone against the cottage, which so shook it, and amazed the soldiers, that they thought they had been all destroyed; and incontinent they fled, and never would enter into it again.



The Waldois roll a huge stone on their enemies

Then the soldiers made certain fences of wood, five feet long, three feet broad, and of the thickness of three boards; but they were so sore vexed with the shot of the harquebusses, that they were fain to lay all those fences aside. The miners also made others of earth for the soldiers. But all these policies of the enemies availed them nothing; for the slaughter was so great, that in divers places you might have seen three lying dead, one upon another. God so wrought with the

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poor Christians, that the shot of two harquebusses slew four men. It was said for a certainty, that the shot of a harquebuss came so near the lord of Trinity's head, that it brake a wand which he bare in his hand, and made him to retire sixscore paces backward; and seeing his soldiers in such great numbers murdered and wounded on every side, he wept bitterly. Then he retired the rest of his army. That day he thought assuredly to have entered into the meadow of Tour. Moreover, he was determined, if that day's journey had not succeeded, to encamp thereby, and the next morning very early to renew the assault. Many gentlemen and others came thither to see the discomfiture of the poor Waldois; and likewise those of the plain looked for nothing but to hear the piteous ruin and desolation of this poor people. But God disposed it otherwise, for the lord of Trinity had much ado to save himself and his; and seeing the mischiefs which they intended to do unto others, were fallen now upon their own heads, they were wonderfully astonished. They of the plain also, when they saw the number of the dead bodies and the wounded to be so great, (for from noon until the evening they ceased not to carry them away,) were likewise exceedingly dismayed. Albeit they carried not all away; for there were many that lay near to the bulwarks, whom the people covered with winding-sheets the next morning. The soldiers themselves confessed to them of Tour, that if they had pursued them, they had been all slain, they were so tired, and clean out of heart.

Many marvelled why the people did not follow the army, but especially the soldiers, seeing the great discomfiture which they had done, and that they had gotten such advantage of them already: but this was done for two causes; the one was, because they had already determined not to follow the army being once retired, to avoid the effusion of blood, meaning only to defend themselves; the other cause was, for that they were weary, and had spent all their munition: for many of them had shot off about thirty times, and none of them under twenty, spending great store both of pellets and hail shot. The rest of the army retired, crying with a loud voice, "God fighteth for them, and we do them wrong! "

The next day one of the principal captains of the army surrendered his charge to the lord of Trinity, saying unto him, that he would never fight against this people any more; and upon that he departed. It is a marvellous thing, and worthy of perpetual memory, that in that combat there were but two of the Waldois slain, and two hurt. Through the whole country of Piedmont, every man said, "God fighteth for them." One of the captains confessed, that he had been at many fierce assaults and combats, and sundry battles well fought, but yet he never saw soldiers so faint-hearted and amazed; yea, the soldiers themselves told him, they were so astonished that they could not strike. Moreover, they said, that this people never shot but they hurt or killed some of the soldiers. Some others said, that the ministers by their prayers conjured and bewitched them, that they could not fight. And indeed wonderful is it, and marvellous are the judgments of God, that notwithstanding so many combats and conflicts, so great assaults and adventures, so much and such terrible shot, continually made against this poor people, yet all in a manner came to no effect, so mightily God's holy power wrought for his people: insomuch that for all the said combats, skirmishes, and so many conflicts of all the Angrognians, there were but nine only that miscarried, and the whole number of those that were slain were but only fourteen persons. Here also is to be noted, not without great admiration, how few there were, and those also but poor silly shepherds and neat-herds, to encounter with such a mighty power of so strong and brave soldiers coming against them with weapons and armour, being so well furnished and appointed with munition, as they were in all points accordingly; and the other on the contrary

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side being unarmed, and unprovided of all habiliment of war, having for their defence for the most part nothing else but slings and stones, and a few harquebusses.

On the ninth of March there was a hot skirmish at Angrogne; for three companies of soldiers went to Angrogne, to burn and spoil all that remained, and to destroy the wines which were hidden in the ground. Where, amongst themselves, they mocked and flouted the poor people, saying, "These Lutheran Waldois are valiant fellows behind their bulwarks; but if they had been in the plain field, they had been well canvassed." After this it chanced that thirty of the Waldois went and assailed these aforesaid companies in the plain field. They fought a long season, and that so near, that some of them fought hand to hand. In this conflict one of those of Angrogne, wrestled with a captain of the enemies, strong and mighty, and cast him down upon the ground. Many of the soldiers were slain, and many hurt; but of the Angrognians there was but one slain, and another hurt a little, who notwithstanding gave not over to fight manfully. Then the soldiers, seeing the loss of their men, retired suddenly.

After that, the lord of Trinity sent two gentlemen of the valley of Lucerne to them of Angrogne, to feel them if they would come to any agreement. To whom answer was given, that they would stand to their first answer. From that time he sent very often to treat of the agreement; but what his meaning was, it might well appear; for when the poor people hoped for some agreement, they were most furiously assaulted. Upon this, there was a day assigned in the valley of Lucerne, to confer touching the agreement with certain men pertaining to the lord of Ranconis, and the safe-conduct was promised and granted.

The night before the ministers and rulers of Angrogne should take their journey, they perceived a company of soldiers going up a hill by which they of Angrogne should pass, and hid them in houses on the way-side, thinking to take at unawares them of Angrogne that were sent to treat of the agreement. But they, having intelligence of this conspiracy, watched and warded. It was an easy matter, as divers thought, that night to have taken the lord of Trinity, and to have spoiled his whole camp; but they of Angrogne and Lucerne would not execute this enterprise, lest thereby they should offend God, and pass the bounds of their vocation, taking upon them no more but to defend themselves.

At that time a pitiful case happened in the meadow of Tour. The lord of Ranconis, seeming to be sorry for this war, sent into the meadow of Tour an honest man of Briqueras, named Francis of Gilles, to take advice what means were best to further the agreement; who, having consulted with the ministers and rulers, returned homeward that day according to his master's commandment, and having sent back one who conducted him, was murdered soon after, at the foot of Angrogne, by two of Angrogne, who otherwise seemed to be honest, and of good parentage. Soon after, one of the two, who had committed this fact, entered into the meadow of Tour and was immediately apprehended and bound. He confessed the fact without any further delay. Immediately the other also was taken.

The Waldois were marvellously troubled and aggrieved with this fact, and wrote to the lord of Ranconis, declaring unto him the whole circumstance of the fact, and that they had the offenders in ward, and that if it would please him to send certain to examine the matter, they, for their part, would so execute justice in the punishment of them, that their innocency to all men

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should appear. The lord of Ranconis wrote unto them that they should deliver unto him the offenders, and that he would do such justice upon them as the case required. To this they of Angrogne answered, that upon three conditions they should be delivered according to his request: first, that the prisoners should be compelled to do nothing against their consciences; and as touching religion, nothing should be spoken unto them, but out of the word of God: secondly, that speedy and sharp justice should be executed upon them; and that hereafter this should be no prejudice to the liberties and privileges of the people of Angrogne: the third, that the execution of them should be upon the borders of Angrogne, for an example to all others. This being accorded with one assent, (yea, without contradiction of their parents,) they sent them prisoners, accompanied with sixty gunners, to the confines of Lucerne, and there delivered them into the hands of the lord of Ranconis. This redounded to the great commendation of them of Angrogne.

After this the lord of Trinity, having left certain garrisons about Angrogne, and the valley of Lucerne, went to Prouse near to the valley of St. Martin, to succour the garrison there, being in great danger, and there remained a month. During which time, they of Angrogne, and the valley of Lucerne, lived in more quietness than before; but yet they were much afflicted, by reason of the scarcity of victuals which sore pressed them, and namely those of the meadow of Tour, for they were spoiled of their victuals. This poor people lived on milk and herbs, having very little bread: but afterwards, when they were even like to be famished, God of his goodness sent them better succour, both of corn and bread, than they had before. The enemies thought to have taken the meadow of Tour by famine; for they took away the victuals that were to be had in all places round about. Every household was suffered to have no more than should sustain them that day, and that also was very little; to the end that they should not succour this poor people.

After that, the lord of Trinity, being returned from Prouse to Lucerne, sent certain to treat of an agreement, and required to commune with some of the people. Then they began to consult and devise, by all means, how they might come to some good agreement. But on Monday, being the seventeenth of April, by break of day, he sent certain bands of Spaniards, which he had there, with the garrison of Tour, to the mountain of Tailleret, by the way which leadeth to the meadow of Tour, on the south side: they murdered men, women, and children of Tailleret, whom they found in their beds. Then they marched on along upon the mountain, towards the meadow of Tour. Anon after, the people perceived two other companies of soldiers, marching by Angrogne by two several ways, to assault the meadow of Tour. In the morning, as soon as they rose, they blew their horns, for they saw the Spaniards already entered. When they had made their prayers, every man ran to meet the enemies; some on the east side, and the others on the south. They which first resisted the Spaniards (who were already past the bulwarks) were in the beginning but twelve gunners, and a few others, whom they caused to go up to the hill, and roll down great stones. These twelve, having found a fit place for their purpose to stay the Spaniards, began to shoot off their harquebusses at them. The Spaniards, seeing themselves so sore assaulted both above and beneath, and the place so narrow and so strait, recoiled back, and retired as fast as they could by the same way by which they came. If they had tarried a little longer, they had been enclosed between the two mountains; which place was so strait, that they could not have escaped. The people chased them unto their camp, which was at Tour. As they fled, they found often some forts, where they did resist for a little while, but they were always beaten out. In this combat, God gave victory to the poor Waldois, with great slaughter of the Spaniards, where also very many of them were sore hurt and wounded.

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The said lord of Trinity sent unto the Spaniards, that they should not faint and give over, but stick to it like men, and he would shortly send them succour: but they would not. Those of the valley of Lucerne, hearing of this conflict, came in the mean time to help their neighbours. Amongst others, there was one slain in that battle, for whom the lord of Trinity much lamented, saying, that he would rather have lost a whole band than that man. The other two companies which marched by Angrogne, perceiving the Spaniards to be so beaten and put to flight, and seeing also those of the meadow of Tour coming to encounter with them, retired in haste. Upon that the lord of Trinity went to Cavors, three miles from Lucerne, being in a great perplexity; and as he was about to send succour to the Spaniards, he heard the sound of a drum above Lucerne, and suspected that there was an army of the Waldois coming against him. Upon this divers of the soldiers fled away by the plain, crying that all was lost. It was certainly reported, that if the Waldois had pursued the army, as they might easily have done, the camp had that day been chased out of Lucerne. The poor people lacked no courage so to do; for albeit they had neither eaten nor drunk all the day before, and had sore travailed and fought, yet they said, that if they had but a little refreshed themselves with a morsel of bread, and a glass of wine, they durst take upon them to enter into the camp of their enemies.

Within a few days after, they of Angrogne were advertised by the lord of Trinity's letters, that he fully determined to cut down their trees and vines, and destroy their corn being on the ground; and furthermore, that two forts should be built at Angrogne. The day was assigned, and horsemen appointed, with all speed to execute this mischievous enterprise. The poor people thought that they should be assailed as sore as ever they were, and fight as hard as ever they did before. But God prevented this cruel attempt; for the night before this should be executed, the lord of Trinity received certain letters from the duke, which stayed this enterprise. They of the meadow of Tour being advertised that the lord of Trinity did now intend to send ordnance to beat down the bulwarks which were made of stones, they made a bulwark of earth, which was in compass about five hundred paces, which they might easily see from Lucerne. They of the meadow of Tour told the lord of Trinity's men, that if they brought any artillery, they should not so soon carry it away again; and shortly the ordnance was sent back again.

About this season, the chief rulers and ministers of the Waldois, requested earnestly the lord of Ranconis to present a supplication which they had made to the duchess of Savoy: for they had intelligence, that she was sore offended that her subjects were so cruelly handled. In this supplication they declared the equity of their cause, protesting all due obedience to the duke their sovereign lord, and if it might be proved by the pure word of God that they held any error, they would, with all humble submission, receive correction, and be reformed, humbly beseeching her Grace to appease the displeasure which the duke had conceived against them, by the untrue surmises of their adversaries; and if there were any thing wherein they had offended him, they most humbly craved his gracious pardon.

About this time the lord of Trinity, by sickness, was in great danger of his life. Soon after the supplication was delivered, the duchess sent an answer to the Waldois, by the said lord of Ranconis. The effect thereof was, that she had obtained of the duke's Grace all that they demanded in their supplication, upon such conditions as the said lord of Ranconis would propound unto them. But when they understood that the said conditions were very rigorous, they

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sent another supplication unto the duchess, wherein they humbly besought her Grace to be a mean that the said conditions and articles might be moderated; which articles here follow.

"First, That they should banish their ministers.

"Secondly, That they should receive the mass, and other ceremonies of the Romish Church.

"Thirdly, That they should pay a ransom to the soldiers for certain of their men which they had taken.

"Fourthly, That they should assemble and preach no more as they were wont to do.

"Fifthly, That the duke would make fortresses at his pleasure, in all that country: with other like things."

The supplication of the Waldois to the duchess of Savoy.

The people made humble request in this their last supplication, "that it would please the said duchess to give the duke her husband to understand, how that these conditions were strange and rigorous. And as for their parts, although they had good trial of their ministers, that they were good men and fearing God, of sound doctrine, of good life, and honest conversation; yet nevertheless they were contented so to do, if he would give leave to some of them to remain: requesting this, that it might be permitted unto them to choose some other good ministers in their places, before they departed, lest that their churches should remain without pastors.

"Concerning the mass, and other ceremonies of the Church of Rome, if the duke should cause them to be ministered in their parishes, they neither would nor could withstand the same, and for their part, they would do no injury or violence to those that should minister them, or be present thereat: notwithstanding they besought him, that they might not be constrained to be present themselves at the ministration thereof, nor to pay any thing to the maintenance of the same, or else to yield either favour or consent thereunto.

"As touching the ransom which was demanded of them for their prisoners, considering the extreme poverty that they were in, and the great calamities and damages which they had suffered, it was to them a thing impossible. Yea, if his Highness were truly informed what loss they had sustained, by burning, spoiling, and sacking of their houses and goods, without all mercy or pity, he would not only not require of them any such thing, but, as a gracious and merciful prince, he would succour and support them, that they might be able to maintain their poor families, whom they nourished (as they were bound to do) to the service of God, and of their said lord and prince: and therefore they desired that it might please him, that their poor brethren remaining in captivity and prison, and such as were sent to the galleys for the profession of their religion, might speedily be delivered and set at liberty.

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"As for their assemblies and preachings, they were contented that they should be kept only amongst themselves, in their accustomed places, and in other valleys aforesaid, where any assembly of the faithful should be, which were desirous to hear the preaching of the gospel.

"Touching the fortresses, forasmuch as by those which were already made they had suffered great molestations and troubles, as well concerning their goods, as also their religion, they were assured, that if he should build up new forts, they should never be able to abide the troubles, miseries, and calamities, that would follow thereupon: and therefore they most humbly desired the said duchess to be so good and gracious unto them, as to obtain of the duke that he would accept their persons in the stead of forts; and that, seeing those places were by nature and of themselves strong and well fortified, it might please their said lord the duke to receive them into his protection and safeguard; and by the grace and assistance of God they would serve him themselves for such walls and forts, that he should not need to build any other. And because many of those which dwelt near about them had robbed and spoiled them, not only of their household goods and such other things, but also driven away their cattle, that it might please him to give them leave to recover the said goods by way of justice, and to buy again that which the soldiers had sold, and that for the same price for the which it was sold.

"Briefly, they also besought their said lord, that it might please him to be so gracious unto them, as to grant them a confirmation of all their franchises, immunities, and privileges, as well general as particular, given unto them as well by him as by his predecessors; and likewise of those, who, as well as their ancestors, had bought of their lords, and to receive them, as his most humble and obedient subjects, into his protection and safeguard.

"And because in time past, instead of good and speedy justice, all iniquity was committed by those that had the administration of justice in their valleys; and forasmuch as their purses were emptied and punished rather than the malefactors'; that it might please him to give order that such justice might be done amongst them, whereby the wicked might be punished with all severity, and the innocent defended and maintained in their right.

"Finally, forasmuch as divers of this poor people (being astonished at the coming of the army, and fearing lest they should not only be spoiled of all their goods, but also they with their wives and children be utterly destroyed) made promise, against their consciences, to live according to the traditions of the Church of Rome; they were marvellously troubled and tormented in spirit, and did nothing but languish in that distress. Wherefore they humbly besought the said duchess to take pity upon them, and to obtain that they might not be compelled to do any thing against their conscience; and moreover, that it might please the duke to permit them to live in liberty and freedom of conscience: also, that all their poor brethren, banished for the cause of religion, might return home to their houses; and that all confiscations and penalties made against them, might be abolished. And for their part, they promised to give all due reverence and honour to God and his holy word, and to be true and faithful subjects unto their lord and prince; yea, more than any other." Underneath the said supplication there was written:

"Your faithful and humble subjects, the poor afflicted of the valleys of Lucerne, Angrogne, St. Martin, and Perouse, and, generally, all the people of the Waldois, who inhabit the country of Piedmont."

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After that this supplication was viewed and read of the said duchess, she so persuaded with the duke, that answer was made with these conditions, declared in these articles following:

"That there shall shortly be made letters patent by the duke's Highness, by the which it may appear that he hath forgiven and pardoned them of the valleys of Angrogne, Bobi, Villars, Valquichard, Roras, Tailleret, La Rua de Bonet, (bordering upon Tour,) St. Martin, Perouse, Roccapiata, St. Barthilimi, and all such as have aided them; of all such faults as they have committed, as well in bearing armour against his Highness, as against the lords and certain other gentlemen whom he retained and kept in his protection and safeguard.

"That it shall be lawful for them of Angrogne, Bobi, Villars, Valquichard, Roras, members of the valley of Lucerne, and for them of Rodoret, Marcele, Maneille, and Salsa, (members of the valley of St. Martin,) to have their congregations, sermons, and other ministries of their religion in places accustomed.

"That it shall be lawful for them of Villars (members of the valley of Lucerne) to have the same, but that only until the time that his Highness doth build a fort in the same place. But whilst the said fort is in building, it shall not be lawful to have their preachings and assemblies within the said precinct of the place, but it shall be lawful for them to build a place for that purpose near at hand, where they shall think good, on that side towards Bobi. Nevertheless it shall be permitted to their ministers to come within the precinct aforesaid, to visit the sick, and exercise other things necessary to their religion, so that they preach not, nor make any assembly there.

"It shall also be permitted to them of Tailleret, and La Rua de Bonet, bordering upon Tour, to have their sermons and assemblies in places accustomed, so that they enter not for that purpose into the rest of the confines of Tour.

"That it shall not be lawful for the said members of the valleys of Lucerne and St. Martin, to come to the rest of their borders, nor to any of his Highness's dominions; nor to have their preachings, assemblies, or disputations, out of their own borders, having liberty to have them therein. And if they be examined of their faith, it shall be lawful for them to answer without danger of punishment in body or goods.

"The like shall be lawful for them of the parish of Perouse, which at this present are fled because of the said religion, and were wont to have their assemblies and preachings, and other ministries according to their religion, at the place called Le Puis; so that they come not to other places and borders of the said parish.

"It shall be permitted to them of the parish of Pinachia, of the valley of Perouse, who at this present be fled because of the said religion, and were wont to go to sermons and assemblies, and other ministries of that religion, to have the like, only at the place called Le Grandoubion.

"It shall be permitted to them of the parish of St. Germain, of the valley of Perouse, and to them of Roccapiata, who at this present are fled because of the said religion, and continue in the same, to have one only minister, who may the one day preach at St. Germain, at the place called l'Adormilleux, and the other day at Roccapiata, at the place called Vandini only.

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"It shall be permitted to all them of the towns and villages of the said valleys, who at this present are fled, and continue in the said religion, notwithstanding any promise or abjuration made before this war against the said religion, to repair and return to their houses with their households, and to live according to the same, going and coming to the sermons and assemblies which shall be made by their ministers in the places above specified, so that they obey that which is above said.

"And because many of the said towns and villages dwell out of the precinct of the preaching, having need to be visited, and of other things according to their said religion, their ministers, which dwell within the precinct, shall be suffered, without prejudice, to visit and duly aid them of such ministries as shall be necessary for them, so that they make no sermons nor assemblies.

"By especial grace it shall be permitted to all them of the valley of Meane, and them of St. Barthilimi, neighbours to Roccapiata, and who are fled and continue in the said religion, peaceably to enjoy the grace and liberties granted in the next article before, so that they observe all which they before promise to observe.

"The goods already seized as forfeited, shall be restored to all the inhabitants of the said valleys, and to all that are fled and continue in the said religion, as well them of the said valleys, as to those of Roccapiata, St. Barthilimi, and of Meane; so that they be not seized for any other cause than for the said religion, and for the war present and lately passed.

"It shall be lawful for them aforesaid to recover by way of justice, of their neighbours, their movable goods and cattle, so it be not of soldiers; and that which hath been sold, they shall also recover by way of justice, so that they restore the price for which it hath been sold. Their neighbours shall have the like against them.

"All their franchises, freedoms, and privileges, as well general as particular, granted as well by his Highness's predecessors, as by himself, and obtained of other inferior lords, whereof they shall make proof by public writing, shall be confirmed unto them.

"The said valleys shall be provided for, to have good justice ministered unto them, whereby they may know they are kept in safeguard by his Highness, as well as all his other subjects.

"The inhabitants of the said valleys shall make a roll of all the names and surnames of all them of the said valleys, which are fled for religion, as well such as have abjured as others, to the end they may be restored and maintained in their goods and households, and enjoy such grace and benefits as their prince and lord hath bestowed on them.

"And inasmuch as it is known to every man, that the prince may build fortresses in his country, where it shall please him, without contradiction, nevertheless, to take all suspicion out of the minds of the aforesaid Waldois, it is declared, that if at any time hereafter his Highness shall make a fort at Villars, the inhabitants of the said place shall not be constrained to bear the charges, but only as they shall think good lovingly to aid their prince: which fort being builded,

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(by God's aid,) a governor and captain shall therein be appointed, who shall attempt nothing but the service of his Highness, without offence of the inhabitants, either in their goods or consciences.

"It shall be lawful for them, before the discharging of their ministers, such as it shall please his Highness to have discharged, to choose and call others in their steads; so that they choose not M. Martin de Pragela, nor change from one place to another of the said valleys any of them which be discharged.

"The mass, and other service after the usage of Rome, shall be kept in all the parishes of the said valleys, where the sermons, assemblies, and other ministries of their religion are made; but none shall be compelled to be present thereat, nor to minister aid or favour to such as shall use that service.

"All the expenses and charges borne by his Highness in this war, shall be forgiven and released to them for ever; also the eight thousand crowns wherein the inhabitants of the said valleys were behind, as part of sixteen thousand crowns which they had promised in the war passed; and his Highness will command that the writings for that cause made shall be annulled and cancelled.

"All the prisoners shall be rendered and restored, which shall be found to be in the hands of the soldiers, paying ransom reasonable, according to their goods, as they shall be seized; and those that shall be adjudged to be wrongfully taken, shall be released without ransom.

"Likewise all they of the said valleys, which for religion, and not for other causes, are detained in the galleys, shall be released without ransom.

"Finally, it shall be lawful for all them of the said valleys, them of Meane, Roccapiata, and St. Barthilimi, of what degree, estate, or condition soever they be, (except ministers,) to accompany and dwell and to be in daily conversation, with the rest of their Highness's subjects; and to tarry, go, and come in all places of his Highness's country; to sell and buy, and use all trades of merchandise, in all places in his Highness's country, (as before is said,) so that they preach not, nor make any assemblies or disputations, as we have before said: and that these which be of the limits dwell not out of of them; and they which be of the towns and villages of the said valleys, dwell not out of them, nor of their borders: and in so doing they shall not be molested by any means, and shall not be offended nor troubled in body or goods, but shall remain under the protection and safeguard of his Highness.

"Furthermore, his Highness shall set order to stay all troubles, inconveniences, secret conspiracies of wicked persons, after such sort that they shall remain quietly in their religion. For observation whereof, George Monastier, one of the elders of Angrogne; Constantion Dialestini, otherwise called Rembaldo, one of the elders of Villars; Pirrone Arduino, sent from the commonalty of Bobi; Michael Raymundet, sent from the commonalty of Tailleret, and of La Rua de Bovet, bordering upon Tour; John Malenote, sent from certain persons of St. Jean; Peter Paschall, sent from the commonalty of the valley of St. Martin; Thomas Roman of St. German, sent from the commonalty of the same place, and of all the valley of Perouse, promise for them

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and their commonalties severally, that the contents of these conclusions aforesaid shall be inviolately kept; and for breach thereof do submit themselves to such punishment as shall please his Highness; promising likewise to cause the chief of the families of the commonalties to allow and confirm the said promise.

"The honourable lord of Ranconis doth promise, that the Duke's highness shall confirm and allow the aforesaid conclusions to them, both generally and particularly, at the intercession and special favour of the noble lady the princess.

"In testimony hereof, the aforesaid lord of Ranconis hath confirmed these present conclusions with his own hand; and the ministers have likewise subscribed, in the name of all the said valleys; and they that can write, in the names of all their commonalties.

"At Cavor, the fifth day of June, 1561.
Philip of Savoy.
Francis Valla, minister of Villars.
Claudius Bergius, minister of Tailleret.
Georgius Monasterius.
Michael Raymundet."

This accord being thus made and passed, by means of the duchess of Savoy, the poor Waldois have been in quiet until this present; and God, of his infinite goodness, have delivered them out of so many troubles and conflicts, hath set them at liberty to serve him purely, and with quietness of conscience.

Wherefore there is none at this present (except he be altogether blind or senseless) but seeth and well perceiveth, that God would make it known by experience to these poor Waldois, and all other faithful people, that all things turn to the best to them which love and fear him: for by all these afflictions which they suffered, (as is before rehearsed,) this good heavenly Father hath brought them to repentance and amendment of life; he hath effectuously taught them to have recourse to his fatherly mercy, and to embrace Jesus Christ for their only Saviour and Redeemer.

Furthermore, he hath taught them to tame the desires and lusts of the flesh, to withdraw their hearts from the world, and lift them up to heaven and to be always in a readiness to come to him, as unto their most loving and pitiful Father. To be short, he hath sent them to the school of his children, to the end they should profit in patience and hope; to make them to mourn, weep, and cry unto him. And above all, he hath made them so often to prove his succours at time of need, to see them before their eyes, to feel and touch them with their hands (as a man would say) after such sort, that they have had good occasion, and the faithful with them, never to distrust so good a Father, and so careful for the health of his children; but to assure themselves they shall never be confounded what thing soever happen.

And yet to see this more manifestly, and that every man may take profit thereof, it shall be good to understand what this poor people did, whilst they were in these combats and conflicts. As soon as they saw the army of their enemies approach, they cried all together for aid and

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succour to the Lord; and before they began to defend themselves, they fell to prayer, and in fighting lifted up their hearts, and sighed to the Lord. As long as the enemies were at rest, every one of these poor people on their knees called upon God. When the combat was ended, they gave him thanks for the comfort and succour which they had felt. In the mean time, the rest of the people, with their ministers, made their hearty prayer unto God, with sighs and tears, and that from the morning until the evening. When night was come, they assembled again together: they that had fought, rehearsed the wonderful aid and succour which God had sent them, and so all together rendered thanks unto him for his fatherly goodness. Always he changed their sorrow into joy. In the morning trouble and affliction appeared before them, with great terror on all sides; but by the evening they were delivered, and had great cause of rejoicing and comfort.

This poor people had two terrible enemies, war and famine, which kept them under in such sort, that a man would have thought they had been utterly lost and destroyed: but God, of his endless mercy, delivered them from such dangers, and restored them to their houses, where they remained afterwards in peace and quietness; and all they that had declared themselves to be their open enemies, were brought to confusion, as well those who sought to get their goods, as those who only desired to shed their blood; for proof whereof, the only example of two gentlemen of the valley of Lucerne shall suffice. These not only moved cruel war against their poor tenants and others, but most shamefully spoiled them, and took intolerable fines of all those that disobeyed their edicts to keep a good conscience.

Besides this, they went about to seize all their goods as forfeited, waiting to have the whole forfeiture thereof themselves. And for this cause they did not only incense the duke with false reports, and with grievous complaints and accusations against these poor Waldois, but also pursued the same so long, and with such charges, that they were fain to sell their inheritance, in hope to bring their purpose to pass, and to enjoy that goodly prey, which they thought could not escape their hands. But in the end, for their reward, they got nothing but shame and confusion.

And as for the monks and priests, who by such means thought to advance themselves, and to bring their trumpery into estimation, they have lost the little rule which they had over that people, and are confounded, and their religion brought to disdain. Thus God beateth down those who exalt themselves above measure, and maketh his adversaries to fall into the pits which they themselves have made. Let us pray unto him therefore, that it would please him likewise to stretch out his puissant arm at this day to maintain his poor church now afflicted, and to confound all the devices of Satan and his members, to the advancement of his glory and kingdom.

The conclusion of the story of Merindol and Cabriers.

And thus hast thou, Christian reader! for thy erudition and comfort, the story and doings discoursed concerning these two countries, both of Provence and also of Piedmont, the one being subject to the dominion of France, the other belonging to the duke of Savoy; in which two aforesaid regions and countries, how long the gospel of Christ hath continued, (even from the time of the first Waldenses,) the history itself declareth.

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Furthermore, what injuries and wrongs have been done against them for the gospel's sake, what rigour and cruelty hath been showed of the adversary part; again, for their part, what patience in their suffering, what constancy in their doctrine, what truth in their words, and simplicity in their deeds, what obedience towards their magistrates, and faith towards God, they have used; and finally, how miraculously and mightily God hath fought for his people, and confounded the enemies, the said history may give thee full knowledge and experience.

Wherein this thou hast moreover, for thy more learning, to note and consider with thyself, besides many other memorable things in this story contained, how unwilling this people were at first, and what remorse of conscience they had for their obedience towards their magistrates, to lift up any hand or finger for their own defence. And therefore many of them being slain and cruelly murdered, as willingly offering their throats without any resistance to the cruel hands of their enemies, the rest were compelled to flee into the mountains, being spoiled of house, victual, and weapon, only to save their poor lives with fleeing (which otherwise they would not with resisting) into rocks and caves, thinking there rather to perish by famine, than to use that defence for themselves, which nature giveth to every brute beast to help itself, as it may, against violence and injury. Yet these poor Waldois, refusing all resistance, and laying down their own weapons, for obedience' sake, yea, not lifting up their own hands to defend their own heads, only used the poor shift of fleeing from their enemies, till at length the rage of those bloody persecutors, satisfied with no blood, nor contented with any reason, ceased not still most furiously to infest them, yea, to take also the mountains from them, who had taken from them their houses before; neither yet permitting them to live with the wild beasts in the desert, who could not live in their towns at home; till at length, by extreme necessity, the providence of God so working with them, they were compelled to turn their faces, and to take those weapons which the ground gave into their hands. And with these stones so marvellously the God of hosts wrought for his people, that they beat, vanquished, and overthrew their adversaries; they confounded their pride, they abated their malice, and at last stayed the intolerable rage of their persecution. So mercifully and victoriously the Lord God Omnipotent fought with his people, or rather for his people, (they but turning almost their faces to their enemies,) no otherwise than he fought in times past with Joshua against the heathen, with the Israelites against the Philistines, with the Maccabees against Antiochus and the Syrians.

This history, carrying with it a true narration of things done in the said country of Piedmont, and written as it seemeth by certain of the ministers who were at the doing thereof, with the like faith and simplicity we have collected, partly out of the Italian, and partly out of the French tongue; for in both languages it is written although; in the French tongue it is much more largely discoursed, which book most principally herein we have followed.

Now that we have finished these foreign histories, concerning such matters as have been passed in other realms and nations of Germany, Italy, Spain, France, and Savoy; consequently it remaineth, after this digression, to return and reduce our story again to our own country matters here done and passed at home, after that first we shall have added one foreign story more concerning the martyrdom of a Christian Jew, who suffered about these years in Constantinople, among the Turks, in this wise as followeth:

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The story of a Christian Jew martyred by the Turks at Constantinople, A.D. 1528.

To these foreign martyrs aforesaid we will adjoin the history of a certain Jew, who, A.D. 1528, dwelling in the city of Constantinople, and there receiving the sacrament of baptism, was converted, and became a good Christian. When the Turks understood hereof, they were vehemently exasperated against him, that he, forsaking his Jewishness, should be regenerated to the faith of Christ: and fearing lest his conversion should be a detriment to their Mahometical law, they sought means how to put him to death, which in a short time after they accomplished; and, for the greater infamy to be done to the man, they cast his dead corpse into the streets, commanding that no man should be so hardy as to bury the same.

Wherein the marvellous glory and power of Christ appeared; for the dead corpse, lying so by the space of nine days in the midst of the streets, retained so its native colour, and was so fresh, without any kind of filthiness or corruption, and also not without a certain pleasant and delectable scent or odour, as if it had been lately slain, or rather not slain at all, which when the Turks beheld, they were thereat marvellously astonished; and being greatly afraid, they themselves took it up, and carried it to a place near, without the town, and buried it.

The conclusion.

Having thus comprehended the troubles and persecutions of such godly saints, and blessed martyrs, which have suffered in other foreign nations above mentioned, here now ending with them, and beginning the eighth book, we are (God willing) to return again to our own matters, and to prosecute such acts and records, as to our own country of England do appertain; in the process whereof; among many other things, may appear the marvellous work of God's power and mercy, in suppressing and banishing out of this realm the long-usurped supremacy of the pope; also in subverting and overthrowing the houses of monks and friars, with divers other matters appertaining to the reformation of Christ's true church and religion. All which things, as they have been long wished and greatly groaned for in times past by many godly learned men, so much more ought we now to rejoice and give God thanks, seeing these days of reformation which God hath given us. If John Huss, or good Jerome of Prague, or John Wickliff before them both, or William Brute, Thorpe, Swinderby, or the Lord Cobham; if Zisca with all the company of the Bohemians; if the Earl Reimond, with all the Toulousians; if the Waldois, or the Albigenses, with infinite others, had either been in these our times now, or else had seen then this ruin of the pope, and revealing of antichrist, which the Lord now hath dispensed unto us, what joy and triumph would they have made! Wherefore now, beholding that thing which they so long time have wished for, let us not think the benefit to be small, but render therefore most humble thanks to the Lord our God, who by his mighty power, and the brightness of his word, hath revealed this great enemy of his so manifestly to the eyes of all man, who before was hid in the church so colourably, that almost few Christians could espy him. For who would ever have judged or suspected in his mind, that the bishop of Rome (commonly received, and believed, almost of all men, to be the vicar and vicegerent of Christ here in earth) to be antichrist, and the great adversary of God, whom St. Paul so expressly prophesieth of, in these latter days to be

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revealed by the brightness of the Lord's coming, as all men now, for the most part, may see it is come to pass? Wherefore to the Lord, and Father of lights, who revealeth all things in his due time, be praise and glory for ever. Amen.

155. Pope Leo's Bull against Luther, and Luther's Answer

Now, as you have heard the presumptuous and arrogant sentence of Pope Clement, wherein he taketh upon him, contrary to the ordinance of God in his Levitical law, (as is before showed,) and contrary to the best learned judgments of Christendom, to command and compel the king, against his conscience, to retain in matrimony his brother's wife; here followeth in like order to be inferred, according to my promise, another like wicked, blasphemous, and slanderous bull of Pope Leo against Martin Luther, with the just appellation also of the said Martin Luther from the pope to a general council: wherein may appear to all men, the lying spirit of the pope, both in teaching most heretical doctrine, derogating from the blood of Christ, and also falsely depraving and perverting the sound doctrine of Luther, falsely and untruly charging him with heresy, when he is the greater heretic himself. For what heretic would ever say that the Church of Rome was consecrated and sanctified by the blood of Peter, but only the pope? or who would call this heresy, to refer all our salvation and sanctification only and totally to the blood of the Son of God, unless he were a heretic of all heretics himself?

After the like dealing we read of wicked King Ahab, who, being only the disturber of Israel himself, crieth out upon Elias for troubling Israel. So here, in semblable wise, Pope Leo, with what heaps of tragical words and exclamations doth he fume and rage against the true servant of God, poor Luther, for disturbing the church of God, when it is the pope only and his father's house that troubleth, and long hath troubled, the true church of the Lord; as by his doings all the world may see enough and too much. In the mean time read, I beseech thee, with judgment, this impudent and false slanderous bull of the pope, with the appeal also of Luther again from the said pope; a copy whereof, because it be rare to be gotten, and hath not been hitherto commonly seen, being before omitted, I thought to commit here to history, as I had it out of certain registers; the manner and tenor whereof is this as followeth.

A copy of the bull of Pope Leo the Tenth, no less slanderous than barbarous, against Martin Luther and his doctrine: with the answer of Luther joined to the same.

"Leo, bishop, servant of the servants of God, for a perpetual memory. Rise up, O Lord! and judge thy cause; remember the rebukes wherewith we are scorned all the day long of foolish rebukers. Incline thine ear unto our prayers; for foxes are risen up, seeking to destroy thy vineyard, the winepress whereof thou only hast trodden; and, ascending up to thy Father, didst commit the charge and regiment thereof unto Peter, as chief head and thy vicar, and his successors. The wild boar out of the wood seeketh to exterminate and root up thy vineyard. Rise up, Peter! and for this thy pastoral charge committed to thee from above, attend to the cause of the holy church of Rome, the mother of all churches and of our faith, which thou, by the commandment of God, didst consecrate with thine own blood; against which (as thou hast foretold us) false liars have risen up, bringing in sects of perdition, to their own speedy destruction; whose tongue is like fire, full of unquietness, and replenished with deadly poison;

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who, having a wicked zeal, and nourishing contentions in their hearts, do brag and lie against the verity.

"Rise up, Paul! also, we pray thee, who hast illuminated the same church with thy doctrine and like martyrdom. For now is sprung up a new Porphyry, who, as the said Porphyry then unjustly did slander the holy apostles, so, semblably, doth this man now slander, revile, rebuke, bite, and bark against the holy bishops our predecessors, not in beseeching them, but in rebuking them. And where he distrusteth his cause, there he falleth to opprobrious checks and rebukes, after the wonted use of heretics, whose uttermost refuge is this, (as Jerome saith,) that when they see their cause go to wreck, then, like serpents, they cast out the venom with their tongue; and when they see themselves near to be overcome, they fall to railing. For though heresies (as thou sayest) must needs be, for the exercise of the faithful, yet, lest these heresies should further increase, and these foxes gather strength against us, it is needful that, by thy means and help, they be suppressed and extinguished at the beginning.

"Finally, let all the whole universal church of God's saints and doctors rise up, whose true expounding of Holy Scripture being rejected, certain persons whose hearts the father of lies hath blinded, and wise in their own conceits, (as the manner of heretics is,) do expound the Scriptures otherwise than the Holy Ghost doth require, following only their own sense of ambition and vain-glory; yea, rather do wrest and adulterate the Scriptures. So that, as Jerome saith, now they make it not the gospel of Christ, but of man, or, which is worse, of the devil. Let all the holy church, I say, rise up, and with the blessed apostles together make intercession to Almighty God, that the errors of all schismatics being rooted and stocked up, his holy church may be conserved in peace and unity. For of late, (which for sorrow we cannot express,) by credible information and also by public fame it hath come to our ears, yea, we have seen, also, and read with our eyes, divers and sundry errors, of which some have been condemned by councils and constitutions of our predecessors, containing expressly the heresies of the Greeks and of the Bohemians; some again respectively, either heretical, or false, or slanderous, or offensive to good ears, or, such as may seduce simple minds, newly to be raised up, by certain false pretended gospellers; who, by curious pride, seeking worldly glory against the doctrine of the apostles, would be more wise than becometh them; whose babbling, (as St. Jerome calleth it,) without authority of the Scriptures, would find no credit unless they should seem to confirm their false doctrine even with testimonies of the Scripture, but yet falsely interpreted. Which worketh us so much the more grief, for that those heresies be sprung up in the noble nation of the Germans, unto which nation we, with our predecessors, have always borne special favour and affection. For after the empire was first translated by the Church of Rome, from the Greeks unto the Germans, the said our predecessors and we, have always had them as special abettors and defenders of this our church, and they have always showed themselves as most earnest suppressors of heresies: as witness whereof remain yet those laudable constitutions of German emperors, set forth and confirmed by our predecessors, for the liberty of the church, and for expulsing heretics out of all Germany; and that under grievous penalty and loss of all their goods and lands; which constitutions, if they were observed this present day, both we and they should now be free from this disturbance.

"Furthermore, the heresy of the Hussites, Wicklevists, and of Jerome of Prague, being condemned and punished in the council of Constance, doth witness the same: moreover doth witness the same, so much blood of the Germans, spilt fighting against the Bohemians. To

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conclude, the same also is confirmed and witnessed by the learned and true confutation, reprobation, and condemnation, set forth by the universities of Cologne and Louvain in Germany, against the aforesaid errors. Many other witnesses also we might allege, whom here (lest we should seem to write a story) we pretermit.

"Wherefore we, for the charge of our pastoral office committed unto us, can no longer forbear or wink at the pestiferous poison of these aforesaid errors; of the which errors we thought here good to recite certain, the tenor of which is this as followeth

"It is an old heresy to say, that the sacraments of the new law do give grace to them which have in themselves no let to the contrary.'

'To deny that sin remaineth in a child after his baptism, is to tread down Paul and Christ under foot.'

'The origin of sin, although no actual sin do follow after, doth stay the soul, leaving the body, from the entrance into heaven.'

'Unperfect charity of a man departing must needs bring with it great fear, which of itself is enough to deserve the pain of purgatory, and stoppeth the entrance into the kingdom of heaven.'

'To say that penance standeth of three parts, to wit, contrition, confession, satisfaction, is not founded in Holy Scriptures, nor in ancient, holy, and Christian doctors.'

'Contrition, which a man stirreth up in himself, by discussing, remembering, and detesting his sins, in revolving his former years in bitterness of soul, and in pondering the weight, number, and filthiness of his sins, the losing of eternal bliss, and getting of eternal damnation: this contrition maketh a man a hypocrite, and a great sinner.'

'It is an old proverb, and to be preferred before the doctrine of all that have written hitherto of contrition: from henceforth to transgress no more. The chiefest and the best penance is a new life.'

'Neither presume to confess thy venial sins, nor yet all thy mortal sins; for it is impossible to remember all the mortal sins that thou hast committed, and therefore, in the primitive church, they confessed the mortal sins which only were manifest.'

'While we seek to number all our sins sincerely unto the priest, we mean nothing else herein, but that we will leave nothing to the mercy of God to be forgiven.'

'In confession no man hath his sins forgiven, except he believe, when the priest forgiveth, the same to be remitted: yea, otherwise, his sin remaineth unforgiven, unless he believe the same to be forgiven. For else remission of the priest, and giving of grace, doth not suffice, except belief come on his part that is remitted.'

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'Think not thy sin to be assoiled for the worthiness of thy contrition, but for the word of Christ, Whatsoever thou loosest, &c. When thou art absolved of the priest, trust confidently upon these words, and believe firmly thyself to be absolved, and then art thou truly remitted.'

'Admit the party that is confessed were not contrite, (which is impossible,) or that the priest pronounced the words of loosing not in earnest, but in jest; yet, if the party believe that he is absolved, he is truly absolved indeed.'

'In the sacrament of penance and absolution, the pope or bishop doth no more than any inferior priest can do: yea, and where a priest is not to be had, there every Christian man, yea, or Christian woman, standeth in as good stead.'

'None ought to say to the priest, that he is contrite; neither ought the priest to ask any such matter.'

'It is a great error of them who come to the holy housel trusting upon this, that they are confessed, that their conscience grudgeth them in no deadly sin, that they have said their prayers, and done such other preparatives before; all those do eat and drink to their own judgment: but, if they believe there to obtain God's grace, this faith maketh them pure and worthy.'

'It were good that the church should determine in a general council, laymen to communicate under both kinds; and the Bohemians so doing be therein neither heretics nor schismatics.'

'The treasures out of which the pope doth grant his indulgences, are not the merits of Christ, nor of his saints.'

'Indulgences and pardons be a devout seducing of the faithful, and hinderance to good works, and are in the number of them which be things lawful, but not expedient.'

'Pardons and indulgences, to them which have them, avail not to remission of the punishment due before God for actual sins committed.'

'They which think that indulgences are wholesome and conducive to the fruit of the Spirit, are deceived.'

'Indulgences are only necessary for public transgressions, and are only granted to them that are obstinate and impatient.'

'Indulgences and pardons are unprofitable to six sorts of persons: first, to them that be dead, or lie in dying: secondly, to them that be weak and infirm: thirdly, to such as have lawful impediments: fourthly, to them that have not offended: fifthly, to such as have offended, but not publicly: sixthly, to those that amend and do well.'

'Excommunications be only outward punishments, and do not deprive a man of the public spiritual prayers of the church.'

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'Christians are to be taught rather to love excommunication, than to dread it.'



he bishop of Rome, successor of Peter, is not the vicar of Christ, ordained by Christ in St. Peter, to have authority over all the churches in the world.'

'The words of Christ to Peter, Whatsoever thou loosest, &c., extend no further but only to those things which be bound of Peter himself.'

'It is not in the hands either of the church or of the pope, to make articles of the faith, yea, or laws either of manners or good works.'

'Albeit the pope, with a great part of the church, teaching so or so, did not err therein, yet is it no sin nor heresy for a man to hold contrary to them; namely, in such things which are not necessary to salvation, so long as it is not otherwise condemned or approved by a general council.'

'We have a way made plain unto us to infringe the authority of councils, and freely to gainstand their doings, and to judge upon their decrees, and boldly to speak our knowledge, whatsoever we judge to be true, whether the same be approved or reproved by any general council.'

'Some of the articles of John Huss, condemned in the council of Constance, are Christian, most true and evangelical, which the universal church cannot condemn.'

'In every good work, the just man sinneth.'

'Every good work of ours, when it is best done, it is a venial sin.'

'To burn heretics, is against the will of the Spirit.'

'To fight against the Turks, is to repugn against God, visiting our iniquities by them.'

'Free-will, after sin, is a title and name only of a thing; and while man doth that which lieth in him, he sinneth deadly.'

'Purgatory cannot be proved out of Holy Scripture which is canonical.'

'Souls in purgatory be not certain of their safety, at least not all; neither is it proved by reasons or by Scriptures, that they be utterly out of the state to deserve or increase charity.'

'Souls in purgatory do sin without intermission, so long as they seek rest, and dread punishment.'

'The souls being delivered out of purgatory by the prayers of the living, be less blessed than if they had satisfied for themselves.'

'Ecclesiastical prelates, and worldly princes, should not do amiss, if they would scour away all the bags of Begging Friars.'

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"All which errors there is no man in his right wits but he knoweth the same, in their several respects, how pestilent they be, how pernicious, how much they seduce godly and simple minds; and finally, how much they be against all charity, and against the reverence of the holy Church of Rome, the mother of all the faithful and mistress of the faith itself, and against the sinews and strength of ecclesiastical discipline, which is obedience, the fountain and well-spring of all virtues, and without which every man is to be convinced easily to be an infidel.

"We, therefore, desiring to proceed in the premises more earnestly, as behoveth in things of most importance, and meaning to cut off the course of this pestiferous and cankered disease, lest it should spread itself further in the Lord's field, like hurtful brambles or briars; and using upon the said errors, and every of them, diligent trial, debating, strait examination, ripe deliberation; and further, weighing and thoroughly sifting all and every of the same together, with our reverend brethren the cardinals of the Church of Rome, the priors of the orders regular, or ministers general; also with divers other professors and masters of divinity, and of both laws, and those the best learned: do find the aforesaid errors or articles respectively, as is aforesaid, not to be catholic, nor to be taught as catholic, but to be against the doctrine or tradition of the catholic church, and against the true interpretation of Holy Scripture, received by the same; to whose authority Augustine thought we ought so much to lean, that he would not (as he said) have believed the gospel, if the authority of the church had not thereunto moved him.

"For by these errors, or at least by some of them, it followeth consequently, that the same church, which is guided by the Holy Ghost, now doth, and ever hath erred: which is utterly against that which Christ at the time of his ascension, (as we read in the holy Gospel of Matthew,) promised to his disciples, saying, I am with you until the end of the world, &c.; and also against the determination of the holy fathers, against the express ordinances or canons of councils and head bishops, whom not to obey, hath always been the cause and nurse of all heresies and schisms, as Cyprian doth witness.

"Wherefore, by the counsel and assent of the said our reverend brethren, upon due consideration of all and singular the premises, by the authority of Almighty God, and of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, and our own, we do condemn, reprove, and utterly reject, all and singular the articles or errors aforesaid respectively, as some to be heretic, some to be slanderous, some to be offensive to godly ears, or else seducing simple minds, and repugnant to the catholic truth; and, by the tenor hereof, we here decree and declare, that they ought of all Christian people, both men and women, to be taken as damned, reprov'd, and rejected. And therefore, forbidding here, under pain of the greater curse and excommunication, losing of their dignities, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal, and to be deprived and made incapable of all regular orders and privileges, given and granted by the see apostolic, of what condition soever they be; also of losing their liberties to hold general schools, to read and profess any science and faculty; of losing also their tenures and feoffments, and of inability for ever to recover the same again, or any other; moreover, under pain of secluding from Christian burial, yea, and of treason also, and incurring such pains and punishments expressed in the law, as are due for all heretics and abettors of the same: we charge and command all and singular Christian people, both men and women, as well of the laity as of the clergy, both secular and also regular, of what order soever they be; and, briefly, all other persons, of what degree or condition soever they be, or in what dignity soever they are placed, either ecclesiastical or temporal: as first, the cardinals of the holy

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Church of Rome, patriarchs, primates, archbishops, bishops, with the prelates and heads of the churches patriarchal, metropolitan, or other cathedral, collegiate, and other small and inferior churches; also all clerks and other persons ecclesiastical, as abbots, priors, or ministers, general or particular, brethren or religious men, exempt and not exempt: also universities of schools, and all others, as well secular priests, as regular and religious persons of all orders, yea of the Begging Friars also: Item, kings, electors of the imperial crown, princes, dukes, marquises, barons, captains, conductors and servitors, and all officers, judges, notaries, whether they be ecclesiastical or secular; commonalties, universities, dominions, cities, castles, lordships, and places, with the inhabitants of the same: and, finally, all other persons whatsoever, ecclesiastical or regular, dispersed in whatever places through the whole universal world, or who shall be hereafter dispersed, but especially in high Almany, that they shall not presume, publicly or privately, under any manner of pretence or colour, colourably or expressly, or how else soever, to hold, maintain, defend, preach, or favour, the aforesaid errors or any of them, or any such perverse doctrine.

"Over and besides, forasmuch as the aforesaid errors, and many others, are contained in the books or writings of the aforesaid Martin Luther, therefore we condemn, reprove, and utterly reject, and hold for utterly condemned, reprov'd, and rejected, the aforesaid books, and all the writings of the said Martin, with his preachings, in what tongue soever they are found, wherein the said errors, or any of them, are contained; willing and commanding, under the virtue of holy obedience and incurring the penalties aforesaid, to all and singular Christian people, both men and women above rehearsed, that they presume not by any manner of ways, directly or indirectly, colourably or expressly, privily or apertly, either in their houses, or in other public or private places, to read, hold, preach, print, publish, or defend, either by themselves or by others; but, straight-ways after the publishing hereof, they do burn, or cause to be burned, the said errors, by their ordinaries diligently being searched out, and solemnly presented in the sight of the whole clergy and the people, under all and singular the penalties aforesaid.

"Now, as touching the said Martin, O good Lord, what have we left undone? what have we left unattempted? what fatherly charity have we not showed, whereby to have reduced him from these errors? For, after that we did cite him, thinking to proceed with him more favourably, we invited and exhorted him as well by divers tractations had with our legate, as by our own letters, that he would relinquish the aforesaid errors, or else, having safe-conduct offered to him, with money necessary for his journey, to come to us without any fear or dread, which perfect charity ought to cast out; and so, after the example of our Saviour and his apostle St. Paul, he would speak, not in corners and in secret, but openly to our face. Which if he had done, of truth we think no less but that, reforming himself, he would have recognised his errors, neither should have found so many faults in the court of Rome, which he, being seduced with the rumours of malicious people more than he ought, doth so much reprehend: where we would have taught him to see more clearly than the light day, that the holy fathers of Rome, our predecessors, (whom he, without all modesty, most injuriously doth rail upon,) did never err in their canons and constitutions, which he so much depraveth. For, as saith the prophet, Neither is there resin nor physician lacking in Gilead. But he hath always showed himself disobedient, and refused at our citation to appear; and yet to this present day, continuing still in his stubborn mind and heart indurate, hath remained more than a year under our curse; yea, and moreover, adding mischief to mischief, (which is worst of all,) he, hearing of this our citation, burst out into a presumptuous

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appellation from us, unto the next general council, against the constitution both of Pope Pius the Second and Pope Julius the Second, our predecessors, which so decreed, that all they which so did appeal, should be punished as heretics.

"In vain, also, he seeketh refuge to the general council, who profeseth himself not greatly to regard such councils. So that now we might lawfully proceed against him, as against one notoriously suspected of his faith, yea, a very heretic indeed, without any further citation or delay, to the condemnation of him, as of a heretic, and to the severity of all and singular pains and censures afore written. Yet we, notwithstanding, by the counsel of our brethren aforesaid, following the clemency of Almighty God, who willeth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should convert and live, and forgetting all injuries heretofore done unto us and to the see apostolic, have thought good to use all favourable means towards him that we might; and so to work (as much as in us lieth) that he, by this way of mansuetude, might be brought to reformation; so that he, forsaking his former errors, might be received as the lost child, and return home again into the lap of his mother the church.

"Wherefore, in most hearty wise we exhort and beseech the said Martin and all his adherents, receivers, and abettors, by the bowels of the mercy of our God, and by the sprinkling of the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, in whom and by whom is made the redemption of mankind, and the edification of holy mother church, that they will cease to disturb the peace, unity, and verity of the said church, for which our Saviour so instantly prayed to his Father; and that they will abstain from such pernicious errors aforesaid; who, in so doing, shall find with us, (if they shall obey, or shall certify us by lawful witnesses to have obeyed effectually herein,) the affection of fatherly charity, and a full fountain opened of all mercy and clemency: willing and charging the said Martin, notwithstanding, from henceforth, that he utterly desist in the mean time from all preaching and office of preaching. Or else, if the love of justice and virtue shall not restrain the said Martin from sin, neither the hope of our pardon shall reduce and bring him to repentance, to the intent that the terror of punishment and of discipline may bridle him, we require and admonish the said Martin and his adherents, abettors, favourers, and receivers, by the tenor hereof, in the virtue of holy obedience, and under incurring all the penalties aforesaid, strictly charging and commanding that within forty days (whereof twenty we assign for the first, ten for the second, and the other ten for the third and peremptory term) immediately following after the setting up of these present letters, the said Martin, his abettors, favourers, adherents, and receivers aforesaid, do surcease from the aforesaid errors, and from the preaching, publishing, maintaining, and defending of the same; also from setting out of book or scriptures upon the said errors, or any of them; and, furthermore, that they burn, or cause to be burned, all and singular such books and scriptures as contain the aforesaid errors, or any of them, by any manner of way. Also, that the said Martin do utterly revoke those errors and assertions, and so to certify us of the revoking thereof by public testimony, in due form of law, signed by the hands of two prelates, to be sent unto us within the term of other like forty days, or else to be brought by him unto us, if he himself will come, (which would please us much rather,) with a full safe-conduct above mentioned, which from henceforth we are content to offer unto him, to the intent that no scruple of doubt, touching his true obedience, should hereafter remain.

Contrariwise, if the said Martin, (which God defend,) his abettors, favourers, adherents, and maintainers aforesaid, shall otherwise do, or shall not fulfil, to every effect and purpose, all

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and singular the premises within the term aforesaid, we then, following the doctrine of the apostles, which teacheth us to avoid an heretical person after the first and second correction, as well now as before, and as well before as now – declaring, by our authority, the said Martin, his abettors, favourers, adherents, maintainers, and receivers, as withered branches not remaining in Christ, but teaching and preaching contrary doctrine, repugnant to the catholic faith, slanderous and damnable, to the great offence of God's majesty, to the detriment and slander of the universal church and catholic faith, and despising the keys of the church, to be, and to have been, notorious and obstinate heretics,— do condemn the same for such by the tenor hereof, willing and commanding them to be holden and taken for such by all Christian people aforesaid.

"Over and besides, we forbid, under the incurring of all and singular the penalties afore expressed in so doing, that no man presume by any manner of way, directly or indirectly, secretly or expressly, privily or apertly, to read, hold, preach, praise, print, publish, or defend, either by themselves or by any other, the said books and writings; not only those wherein the errors aforesaid are contained, but also all others, whatsoever have been or shall be set forth, written, or made by the said Martin, vehemently suspected as a pernicious enemy of the catholic faith, to the intent that his memory may utterly be rooted out from the fellowship of all Christian people; or rather, with fire to consume them, as is before declared.

"We admonish, moreover, all and singular Christ's faithful people, under the said pain of the great curse, to avoid, or cause to be avoided, so much as in them doth lie, the aforesaid heretics not obedient to our commandments, and to have no fellowship, nor any conversation or communion, with them, or with any of them, neither to minister to them things necessary.

"And moreover, to the more confusion of the said Martin, with his abettors, adherents, and retainers aforesaid, thus being declared and condemned as heretics after the expiring of the term aforesaid, we command all and singular Christ's faithful people, both men and women, as patriarchs, archbishops, prelates of churches (either patriarchal, metropolitan, and other cathedral, collegiate, and other inferior churches); to deans and chapters, and other ecclesiastical persons secular, and of all other orders, even of the Begging Friars also (especially of that congregation, where the said Martin is professed, or hath his abode); also to regulars exempt, and not exempt: Item, to all and singular princes, (what dignity or calling soever, either ecclesiastical or temporal, they be of,) to kings, princes, electors, dukes, marquises, earls, barons, captains, conductors, servitors, commonalties, universities, dominions, cities, lands, castles, and places, or the citizens and inhabitants thereof: and briefly, to all and singular others aforesaid, through the universal world dispersed, especially in Almany, that they and every of them, under all and singular penalties aforesaid, do personally apprehend the said Martin, his abettors, adherents, receivers, and favourers, and retain them being apprehended, at our instance, and send them unto us (who, in so doing, for their good work shall receive of us and the see apostolic condign reward and recompence); or, at least, that they utterly drive them, and every one of them, out of their metropolitan, cathedral, collegiate, and other churches, houses, monasteries, convents, cities, dominions, universities, commonalties, castles, lands, and places respectively, as well the clergymen, as the regulars and laymen, all and singular aforesaid.

"These cities, dominions, lands, castles, villages, commonalties, holds, towns, and places, wheresoever they be situate respectively; metropolitan, cathedral, collegiate, and other churches;

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monasteries also, priories, convents, and religious and devout places, or what order soever (as is aforesaid) unto which it shall chance the said Martin to come; so long as he or they shall there remain, and three days after their departing from thence, we here give over to the ecclesiastical interdiction.

"And that the premises may be known to all men, we command moreover to all patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, prelates of the patriarchal, metropolitan, and other cathedral and collegiate churches; to deans and chapters, and other persons ecclesiastical, and of what order else soever aforesaid; to regular brethren, religious monks, exempt and not exempt as aforesaid, wheresoever they dwell, and especially within Almany, that they and every of them, under like censures and pains, do publicly denounce, and cause and command to be denounced by others, the said Martin, with all and singular his aforesaid adherents, which shall not obey our commandments and monitions, within the term aforesaid, upon every Sunday, and other festival days, within their churches, when the greatest concourse of people shall resort to divine service, to be declared and condemned for heretics; and that all Christ's faithful people shall avoid them under the said censures and penalties as be afore expressed; and that they do set up these presents, or cause to be set up, or the transcript of them made under the form hereafter ensuing, in their churches, monasteries, houses, convents, and other places, there openly to be seen and read.

"Item, We do excommunicate and curse all and singular persons, of whatsoever state, degree, condition, pre-eminence, dignity, or excellency they be, who shall procure, or cause to be procured, by themselves or others, privily or apertly, directly or indirectly, secretly or expressly, whereby these presents, or the copies transcribed, or the examples of them cannot be read, set up, and published in their lands and dominions, &c.

"Let no man therefore be so bold to dare to infringe, or with rash presumption to contrary, this writing of our damnation, reprobation, rejection, decree, declaration, inhibition, will, commandment, exhortation, beseeching, request, admonition, assignation, grant, condemnation, subjection, excommunication, and curse. And if any person and persons dare presume to attempt the same, let him know and be sure, that he shall incur the indignation of Almighty God, and his blessed apostles Peter and Paul.

"Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, A. D. 1520, the seventeenth of the calends of July, and of our popedom the eighth year."

Although it was somewhat long before this bull aforesaid of Pope Leo, being sent and dispersed through all other places abroad, could come to the hands of Luther, yet as soon as he, by means of his friends, might get a sight thereof, he shaped an answer again to the same, in such sort as, I am sure, the pope himself will say that this bull was never so baited, and so well-favouredly shaken in all his days; as by the handling of the matter, and reading of his answer, may evidently appear. The contents and copy of which answer I thought here, next under the said bull, immediately to exhibit to the Christian reader, that whoso is disposed to confer the one with the other, having them both at hand, may judge the better of the whole matter and cause, and also may see the true image of the pope, out of his painted vizor, appear in his own perfect colours. The answer now to the bull here followeth:

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"Martin Luther to the Christian reader, wisheth the grace of Christ to eternal salvation. I heard a fame afar off, Christian reader, that a certain bull was past out against me, and sent almost over all the world before it came to me, against whom it was specially directed, and to whom it most chiefly appertained. For what cause I cannot tell, except, peradventure, it was for that the said bull, like unto a night-crow, and as a bird of darkness hatched in the night, durst not fly in the day, nor abide to come in my sight. Notwithstanding the said night-fowl, after long time, by help of friends, was caught at length, and brought unto me in his own likeness to behold. 'Which causeth me yet to be uncertain what to think, whether my papists do daily and jest with me, in setting out such famous libels without any name. against me; or whether in truth and earnest they play the mad-men so against me at Rome, or no. For first, neither do I see here the style, (as it is called,) nor the process of the court of Rome observed. And again, (which maketh me more to doubt,) herein be brought and condemned such articles, which it is plain and manifest to be most Christian: whereby it seemeth to me most like, that the said monster was hatched by John Eckius, a man wholly compacted, and framed altogether, of lies, dissimulations, errors, and heresies.

"The said suspicion this also partly confirmeth, for that I hear it so bruited abroad, that the said Eckius is thought and said to be the apostle of such a goodly bull. And not unlike, when none could be more meet apostle for such an apostleship than he. And indeed I heard no less long since, than that a bull was in working against me at Rome, partly by the workmanship of Eckius; which, because (as the style and composition thereof declareth) it displeased the good and learned men there, was therefore deferred, and should have been suppressed.

"But, whatsoever the matter be, it seemeth to me not unlike, wheresoever this apostle Eckius beareth rule, there to be the kingdom of antichrist, and all kind of madness there to reign. In the mean time I will so deal, that I will not seem to believe Pope Leo the Tenth, with his learned cardinals, to be the authors of this furious madness; which I do, not so much for the honour of the see of Rome, as because I will not be puffed up too much with pride, and seem to myself as one worthy to suffer such, so great, and so glorious things for the verity of God. For if it were so indeed, that the bishop of Rome did so furiously rage against me, who were then so happy before God as Luther, to be condemned for so manifest a truth of such a proud prelate? wherein what were more to be wished for by me, than that I should never be absolved, reconciled, nor have any part with that so doltish and unlearned, wicked and furious antichrist? Happy were that day, happy were that death, and to be received with all joy and thankfulness to God, if it might be my hap at any time – in such a cause as this is, to be apprehended and to suffer death. But give the honour of this cause unto others, and let this matter find its martyr worthy for the same: I, for my sins, am not worthy to come to that honour.

"Let other men, therefore, think of these Romanists what they list; thus I think, that whosoever was the author of this bull, he is a very antichrist; and against antichrist these things I write, to redeem the verity of Christ, so much as in me lieth, which he laboured to extinguish. And first, that he shall obtain no part of his will in any thing against me, here I protest before God and our Lord Jesus Christ, and his holy angels, and all the world, that I dissent with all my heart from the condemnation of this bull, which bull I also do curse and execrate, as an enemy, a church-robber, and blasphemy against Christ the Son of God, cur Lord, Amen.

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"Furthermore, I hold, defend, and embrace with the full trust of my spirit, those articles in the said bull condemned and excommunicated; and I affirm, that the same ought to be holden by all faithful Christians, under pain of eternal malediction; and that they are to be counted for antichrists, whosoever have consented to the said bull, whom I also, together with the spirit of all them which purely know the truth, do utterly detest, and shun them, according to the precept of our Lord Jesu Christ, Amen. And let this stand for my revocation, O thou bull, which art the very daughter of all vain bubbles.

"This my confession and protestation made, (for witness whereof I take all them that shall read these presents,) before I proceed to defend and declare these aforesaid articles, I will first begin with certain arguments for the confutation of the said bull; whereof the first I will take of the blind ignorance of this blockish antichrist. For the apostle Peter so commandeth, that we should be ready to render a reason of that faith and hope which is in us; and the apostle Paul willeth a bishop to be mighty to exhort in sound doctrine, and to refute the gainsayers. And these things be they, which, now three years ago, I have desired and looked for out of Rome, or from them that take part with Rome: which things, also, we do read to be observed most diligently amongst the ancient fathers, whensoever they condemned heresy: neither do we read that the apostles did ever decree any thing in their councils, but they first alleged the Holy Scripture. So I also, when I waited that they would answer me with grapes, and inform me with true testimonies of the Scripture, behold they bring to me sour and wild grapes, condemning me with nothing else but bare words; whereas I have fortified my matter with plain Scriptures.

"I say unto thee, O thou most unlearned antichrist, hast thou joined such brain-sick rashness together with such barbarous ignorance, that thou wilt presume to think all men to be turned into stocks and blocks, and to think that thou, with thy bare and naked words only, canst triumph against the invincible force and power of God's holy word? hast thou learned this manner of condemning the magistralities of Cologne and of Louvain?

"If this be the manner of the church to damn errors, only to say, 'I like it not,' 'I deny it,' 'I will not,' what fool, what patch, what ass, what block, cannot condemn after this manner? Is not thy whorish face ashamed, in the public sight of the church to dare once to set the trifling vanities of thy naked and bare words only against the thunderbolts of God's eternal word? O impudent condemnation and right seemly for antichrist! who hath not one jot or tittle to bring against such evident Scriptures inferred against him, but only with one word cometh and saith, 'I condemn thee.' And why then do we not believe the Turk? why do we not admit the Jews? why do we not honour the heretics, (who also condemn our writings as well as he,) if it be enough only to condemn? unless we do not therefore peradventure give place unto them, because they condemn us not utterly without some Scriptures and reasons. But these men, after a new-found fashion, utterly, without all Scriptures or reason, do condemn us. What then shall I think to be the cause, why they proceeded against me with their bull condemnatory, so vain, so ridiculous, so trifling, but only their mere blockishness, whereby they, seeing my allegations to be true, and not able to abide, nor yet to confute the same, thought to terrify me with their vain rattling of their rotten parchment. But I tell thee, antichrist, that Luther, being accustomed to war, will not be terrified with these vain bulls, and hath learned to put a difference between a piece of paper and the omnipotent word of God.

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"Of the like ignorance proceedeth this also, that they, against their own conscience, durst not particularly digest all and singular the articles in their orders; for they feared lest they should note him for a heretic, whom they were not able perhaps to convince either to be erroneous or offensive, and therefore they have found out this adverb respective: and after the numbering of the articles, then come they, and say that some be respectively heretical, some erroneous, and some offensive; which is as much to say, that we suppose them to be heretical, some erroneous, and some slanderous: but we cannot tell which, what manner, and how great they are. O dastardly ignorance, how slippery and cowardly art thou! how art thou afraid of the light! how dost thou turn and return into all things, lest thou shouldst be taken, like a Proteus! And yet, for all that, thou shalt not so escape; yea, in thy wiliness thou shalt the rather be overtaken and subverted.

"Come out therefore, O thou ass-headed antichrist! show forth thy wisdom, and dispose thy matters in order. Tell us, if thou canst, what sayest thou or meanest thou, when thou sayest this article is heretical, this is erroneous, this is offensive. For it becometh such a worshipful condemner to know what he condemneth; and too shameful it is to condemn an article for heretical, and yet cannot name the same: neither will I be answered here with 'respectively,' but I look to be taught simply and plainly; for I am one of Ocham's faction, which condemn these respectives, and love to have all things simple and absolute.

"Thou seest therefore, good reader, the ignorant dotage of this antichrist; how craftily, and yet grossly, he thinketh to walk in a net under his adverb 'respectively,' who not only doth not teach the truth, and the cause of his condemning, but neither also dare prove any error, nor show forth what it is that he condemneth; and yet must he needs condemn. Is not this, trow you, a proper kind of damning, to damn, and cannot tell what he damneth? Is not this a fine manner of elocution, passing all rhetoric, to speak, and yet not to know what he speaketh? What purgations might we wish sufficient to purge the doltish brains of these bull-bragging bedlamites? with such blindness and doltishness are all these adversaries of God's truth worthy to be plagued.

"But I know whereupon all this grief riseth. The origin thereof is this: Eckius, mine old adversary, remembering how he was put to shame enough at Leipsic, when he, rousing himself upon his stage, and frothing at his mouth like a boar, with a furious voice called me three hundred times 'heretic,' for the articles of Huss, and yet afterwards was not able to prove the same, whereas the sentence condemnatory of the council of Constance, alleged of me otherwise than Eckius looked for, noted there no certain article for heretical; and also the same condemnation, much like to this of ours, with the like foolishness called some of Huss's articles heretical, some erroneous, and some offensive; and Eckius, hearing this, being confounded in himself for his impudent rashness, perceiving that he had called me heretic falsely and untruly, he thought then to heal this wound again at Rome, and there to establish his false and impudent lying. But the lying sophister shall not prevail, by the help, I trust, of Christ; for I ask and require you still, that they absolutely and not respectively, distinctly and not confusedly, simply and not dissemblingly, plainly and not obscurely, particularly and not in general, do show what is, and what is not, heretical. But when will they so do? When Christ and Belial, or when light and darkness, shall agree together.

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"And what shall I do then in the mean time? First, I will condemn these dastardly dotipoles and unlearned papists and apostles of antichrist. And I will scorn them as Elias did, and say, If Baal be God, let him answer. Peradventure he is drunk, or busy in his journey: cry out higher, for he is a god, and peradventure sleepeth. For what other thing do these bull-bragging asses deserve else, which condemn that they know not, and confess all their own ignorance?

"Secondly, I will not be troubled nor disquieted for the matter, neither am I to be counted heretic, erroneous, or offensive, so long as I shall not be proved and plainly convicted with simple and manifest words in what article I am so judged. Neither do I here charge my papists, these blockheads, that I will put them to their proofs, but only that they will show me at least my error; that is, that they will show me, if they know what it is that they themselves do prattle of, or have any feeling of their own doings. For so long as they assign me no heretical article, I am at free liberty to deny what article soever they lay unto me to be heretical, and say it is catholic.

"Again, what a rudeness is it in this wicked and doltish antichrist, worthy to be laughed at, whereas these dromedaries do distinguish heretical articles from those that be erroneous, and the erroneous from offensive, and those again from slanderous? By the which subtile distinction of those gross-headed dolts this we do gather, that that article which is erroneous is not heretical; and if it be not heretical, what doth it then appertain to these ecclesiastical condemners, who ought to condemn those things only which be heretical? For that which is not heretical, is catholic; as Christ himself saith, He that is not against us is with us. Yea, I would wish that these jolly sophisters would show me in all the church an article that is erroneous and not heretical: for if it be erroneous, it differeth nothing from heretical, but only in stiffness of defending. For all things be equally either true or false, although affection, in some one thing which is true or false, may be greater or less. Ye see therefore again, how these men, for all their bragging bulls, are not able to produce me one article which is erroneous and not heretical; and yet, like wise brain-sick men, they will needs babble they know not themselves what, condemning that which they find erroneous and not heretical, which cannot stand either in matter or in words; so that such as are the articles, such is the condemnation.

"The like wisdom also they show in affirming that to be scandalous, which is neither heretical nor erroneous. That article I would fain see either in my books, or in the words and works of any writer else from the beginning of the world to the latter end. What made my papists then to excogitate these so prodigious monsters, but only their monstrous fury and madness? unless, peradventure, they mean those articles to be as scandalous as commonly all true and catholic articles are wont to be. For what is more scandalous than verity? Yea, only truth and verity is scandalous to all proud and senseless persons, as it is said of Christ: We preach, saith St. Paul, Christ crucified; a stumbling-stone to the Jews, and to the Gentiles foolishness; and, He is set to be the fall and rising up of many in Israel. Wherefore, whereas my papists do distinguish scandalous articles from heretical and erroneous, and forasmuch as that which is not heretical or erroneous must needs be catholic and true; it followeth thereof; that these scandalous articles be understood and condemned by them for such as be very catholic and sound. O worthy condemnations, and meet for the papists!

"Mark here, good reader, the impiety of these blind buzzards; whither they roll themselves; how they deride and mock themselves; how easily they are taken in their own

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words; how fond and foolish they are in their studies, not only in not proving any error or slander in these articles, but also in going about only to express them; how they cast out things impossible, and most foolishly repugnant to themselves. Where is then, thou most presumptuous and shameless bull, thy doltish respective now become? whither respectedst thou? Verily into the bottomless pit of impiety, and thine own brutish stolidity.

"The like, also, is to be said touching the articles offensive, which must be neither slanderous, nor erroneous, nor heretical, seeing they are made distinct by such great rabbins. Who will not now marvel at the deep and profound wisdom of these papists, who could find out that to be offensive in the church, which is neither false, nor heretical, nor slanderous, but true, sound, catholic, and edifying, and yet must that also be condemned? And who would not now desire and covet to be condemned, also, by such hair-brained idiots, who, by their own condemning, do utter themselves to approve things damnable, and to condemn things justifiable; that is, who openly show themselves, to their own great ignominy and shame, to be more senseless than stocks, rocks, or blocks? Go ye now, therefore, O ye impious and brainless papists, and if ye will needs write, show yourselves more sober: for this bull, it appeared, was either spewed out in your night feasts, among drabs and harlots, or else huddled up in the canicular days, or mad midsummer moon: for never were there any dizards that would show themselves so mad.

"Let us now return this dirt of antichrist, and cast it in his own teeth, and of his own words let us judge him and condemn him, that hereafter he may learn to take better heed, and to be better advised in his lying. For, as the proverb saith, A liar had need to have a good memory. If some articles be offensive, and others heretical, and thou condemnest him which is no heretic, and consequently a true catholic, although he be six hundred times offensive, doth not thy shameless mouth then condemn thyself, not only of heresy, but of extreme impiety, blasphemy, and treason against God's holy truth, showing thyself to be the man indeed who is the adversary, and is extolled above all that is called God, or is worshipped? Art not thou, then, the man of sin, the son of perdition, that denieth God his Redeemer, and taketh away the love of truth, to establish the setting forth of his error, for men to believe iniquity; as Paul foretold? for if the article be not heretical, it cannot be offensive or slanderous, but only to such heretics as antichrist is, and satanists of all piety. See therefore how his shameless and most foolish bull, while it condemneth in me one thing to be heretical, and another offensive, doth manifestly declare the authors thereof to be true heretics, and the enemies of God indeed. So that now it may appear that there is no knowledge nor counsel against the Lord, seeing blind impiety is thus caught in the words of his own mouth: so truly it is said, that he that casteth up a stone on high, it falleth down again upon his own pate.

"And (which is chiefest of all) by this their wicked contradiction it cometh to pass, that the cogitations of their own hearts be revealed, and that they themselves chiefly do utter and disclose their own wickedness which they covet most to conceal, that all men may see how ready they are to condemn all verity even at once. For when they affirm such articles to be heretical, which neither they can, nor know, nor yet dare show or name to be heretical, what have we thereby to understand, but that they are adversaries of Christ from the bottom of their hearts, and ready to impugn all truth? And yet, notwithstanding, with their damnable hypocrisy, they pretend themselves to be condemners of heresies! Learn, learn, ye beetle-headed asses with your

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blustering bulls, learn, I say, what it is, Christ to be a sign of contradiction, and a stone of offence. How soon and easily are all your inward impiety and your ignominy disclosed with the same covert of words, wherewith in vain you went about to cloak the same! Thus then have we here proved by this first and manifest argument, that the aforesaid bull proceedeth from none other than very antichrist himself, the chiefest adversary of God and of all godliness. And now let either Eckius, or the pope, acknowledge if he dare, and then consider what opinion we ought to have of him, or what name to give him; in whom all cursed names, as in one heap, do concur together and agree, as impiety, blasphemy, ignorance, foolishness, hypocrisy, lying, yea, briefly, Satan himself with his antichrist.

"Neither doth this impiety any thing less appear in that also which I will now say. For this worshipful bull decreeth in plain and most impudent words, that those books also of mine ought to be burned, in which are no errors contained, to the end that the memory of me may be utterly rooted out.

"Canst thou, O Christian reader, now doubt that the great dragon of hell himself speaketh in this bull? It is an old proverb, 'that the ass singeth therefore evil-favouredly, because he taketh his note too high.' So this bull, in like manner, should have piped more tuneably, if he had not set out his blasphemous throat so open against heaven, so impudently and devilishly condemning also the manifest and evident truth. For hitherto Satan, whensoever he oppressed the truth, did it under the colour of truth. But this man of sin, the adversary that is extolled above God, without all colour, not privily, but apertly, and that in the open church of God, without all shame taketh upon him to condemn, and commandeth to be burned, the sincere verity of Christ, known and allowed both of him and of all others. What more could be done amongst the Turks? What place is this worthy of, I pray thee, but the deep dungeon of hell? And are ye not afraid, ye antichrists! with your brutish bulls, lest stories and trees should sweat with blood, at the most horrible sight of this your execrable impiety and blasphemy?

"Where art thou now, good Emperor Charles? Where are ye, Christian kings and princes? Ye have given your names to Christ in baptism, and can ye now abide these infernal voices of such an antichrist? Where be ye bishops? where be ye doctors? where be all ye that confess Christ? Can ye hold your peace at these horrible and prodigious monsters of the papists? O miserable church of God! which art made now so great a scorn, and a very mocking-stock of Satan! O miserable are all they which live in these times! The wrath of God is finally come upon the papists, enemies to the cross of Christ and verity of God, resisting all men, and forbidding the truth of Christ to be taught and preached; as St. Paul said of the Jews. Admit, I pray you, that I were such a one indeed, as that cursed and malicious bull doth make me to be, a heretic, erroneous, schismatical, offensive, scandalous, in certain of my books; yet why should the other books of mine be condemned that are catholic, Christian, true, edifying, and peaceable? Where have these wretched papists learned this religion, that, for the person's cause being evil, they should damn and burn the holy and sound verity of God? Can ye not destroy men, but you must also destroy the truth? Will ye pluck up the good wheat also with the cockle? Will ye also scatter the corn away together with the chaff? And why then receive ye Origen in his catholic books, and do not utterly reject him altogether? Yea, why suffer ye wicked Aristotle, (in whom is nothing taught but errors,) and do not at least in some part condemn him? Why burn ye not and set on fire the wicked, barbarous, unlearned, and heretical decretals of the pope? Why do ye not

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all this, I say? but only for that ye are set in this holy place for no other cause, but only to be the abomination spoken of in Daniel, which should put down truth and set up lies, and the operation of error: for this thing, and no other, becometh the seat of antichrist.

"Wherefore this I say to thee, Pope Leo the Tenth, and to you, lords cardinals, and all others whosoever, in any part or doing in that court of Rome, and this I speak boldly unto your faces, if this bull hath come out in your name, and by your knowledge, and if ye will so acknowledge it for your own, then will I likewise use my power, by the which I am made in my baptism the son of God, and coheir with Christ, being founded upon a sure rock, which neither feareth the gates of hell, nor heaven, nor earth – and say, admonish, and exhort you in the Lord, that you will reform yourselves, and take a better way, and refrain hereafter from those diabolical blasphemies, and too much exceeding presumptuous impieties. And this I allege, that unless ye so do, know for certain that I, with all them that worship Christ, do account your seat, possessed and oppressed of Satan himself, to be the damned seat of antichrist, which we not only do not obey, and will not be subject nor congregate unto, but also do detest and abhor the same, as the principal and chiefest enemy of Christ; being ready, in this our sentence and profession, not only to suffer gladly your fond foolish censures, but also do pray you heartily, that you will never assoil us again, nor ever number us in your fellowship: and moreover, to fulfil your bloody tyranny, we do willingly offer ourselves to die for the same. And, according to the power and might that the Spirit of Christ and the efficacy of our faith can do in these our writings, if ye shall still so persist in your fury, we condemn you; and, together with this bull, and all the decretals, we give you to Satan, to the destruction of the flesh, that your spirit in the day of the Lord may be delivered, in the name which you persecute, of Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen!

"For our Lord Jesus Christ yet liveth and reigneth, (in whom I do nothing doubt,) who, I firmly trust, will shortly come and slay with the spirit of his mouth, and destroy with the brightness of his coming, this man of sin, and son of perdition; forasmuch as I cannot deny, if the pope be the author and doer of these misshapen and monstrous doings, but he is the true, final, most wicked, and famous antichrist, that subverteth the whole world by the operation of his delusions; as we see it in all places fulfilled and accomplished.

"But whither doth the burning zeal of charity carry me? neither am I as yet fully persuaded this to be the pope's bull, but to proceed from his wicked apostle Eckius, who, with his fathers, furiously gaping at me like a gulf, would swallow me clean up, singing with the wicked thus, Let us swallow him up quick and whole like hell, and like one descending down into the pit. For little careth this furious mad-brain how the verity of God be extinguished, (yea, he would count that for a lucre,) so he might fill his malicious desire with the blood of his brother. Oh miserable state of the church at this time, worthy to be bewailed with tears of blood! But who heareth our groanings? or who comforteth our weepings? The fury of the Lord seemeth to be inexorable against us.

"Over and besides, what a ridiculous toy or pretty figment have they invented, whereby belike to sport themselves with some merry matter amongst their earnest business, writing, that besides other great friendship which they have showed unto me, they have also offered to support me with money, and to bear my charges with their liberality, in my journey to Rome. Will ye see what a charity is newly come upon the city of Rome, which, after it hath pillaged and

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polled the whole world of their money, and hath consumed and wasted the same by intolerable tyranny, now cometh, and to me only offereth money? But this impudent lie, I know with whose hammer it was coined: Cajetan the cardinal, a man born and formed to lie for the whetstone, after his worshipful legation despatched in Germany, coming home to Rome, there forged and feigned that he promised me money; whereas he, being at Augsburg, was there in such miserable penury, and so pinching in his house, that it was thought he would have famished his family. But thus it becometh the bull to be a thing of nought, void of all truth and wit.

"And so these great judges and condemners, after all this, have yet authority to command us to believe them to say truth, when they do nothing but lie; and that they are good catholics, when they be stark heretics; and that they are true Christians, when they play the very antichrist: and all by the virtue of this universal Whatsoever thing thou bindest, &c., so that where nothing is excepted, they think they may do all things. Who not only do lie most loudly and manifestly, but also (which passeth all impudency) do vaunt and commend their liberality before the people, to bring me more in hatred, making men falsely to believe that they offered friendship and money unto me: whereas these tyrants of Rome, if they had had any truth, goodness, or godliness in them, should have taken some better heed in their doing and speaking, so that no adversary might conceive any suspicion of evil against them. But now, if there were no other matter else to bring this bull out of credit, only this gross and foolish lie were sufficient to declare, how light, vain, and false this bull is. What! would Rome, think ye, offer money to me? And how then cometh this, which I know to be most certain, that out of the bank (as they call it) two or three hundred crowns were assigned in Germany to be disposed and given to ruffians and catchpoles, to murder Luther? For these be the reasons and arguments whereby now fighteth, reigneth, and triumpheth the holy apostolic see, the mistress of faith, and mother of all churches, which long since should have been proved to be the very seat of antichrist, and manifold ways heretical, if she had fought with the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God; whereof she herself is nothing ignorant. And therefore, because she would not be brought to that issue, thus she fareth, and taketh on like as she were mad, in the church of Christ; confounding and consuming all things, with wars, murders, bloodshed, death, and destruction; and yet, for all this, they must needs be counted most holy fathers in God, vicars of Christ, and pastors of his flock!

"But go to (that I may also dally with them a while); let them yet send me the money they spake of – for as touching their promise and safe-conduct, (because I will not overcharge them,) that I gladly resign to them again, seeing I have no great need thereof, so that the money may come to my hands. But here I must require so much as may suffice me, to wit, that I may be furnished with fifty thousand footmen, and ten thousand horsemen, to conduct me safe to Rome; and so, for any other promise of safe-conduct I will not trouble them. And this I require because of the danger that is in Rome, that devoureth up her inhabitants; neither keepeth, nor ever did keep, promise with any; where these most holy fathers do slay their beloved children in the charity of God, and brethren destroy their brethren, to do service to Christ, as their manner is, and the style of Rome. In the mean time, I will keep myself free and safe from the citation of the most reverend bull. O ye miserable varlets! which are so confounded with the truth, and with your own conscience, that neither ye can lie handsomely, neither dare ye speak the truth; and yet neither can ye so keep yourselves quiet: to your perpetual ignominy and confusion.

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"Furthermore, here in this bull is brought in a strange fashion of style not heard of before. For whereas Augustine hath said, that he would not believe the gospel except he had been moved by the authority of the church, now cometh in this goodly bull, and maketh this catholic church to be a few reverend cardinals his brethren, and priors of regular orders, masters of divinity, and doctors of the law, out of whose counsel the said bull boasteth herself to be born and brought forth; blessed babe, forsooth, of such a universal church! O happy travail, no doubt, of this catholic church, never seen nor heard of before, and such as Augustine, the valiant impugner of sects, if he did see it, would not doubt to call it the synagogue of the devil! See, therefore, the madness of these papists: The universal church is a few cardinals, priors, and doctors, scarcely perhaps twenty persons in all; when, also, it is possible enough, that never a one of them all is the member of one chapel or altar. And whereas the church is the communion of saints, as we say in the Creed, out of this communion of saints, that is, out of this universal church, all they then must needs be excluded, whosoever be not in the number of these twenty persons: and so, whatsoever these holy men do think or judge, by and by the universal church must needs hold and believe the same, albeit they be liars, heretics, and antichrists, thinking and judging nothing but that which is abominable.

"Would there ever any man think such doltishness and madness to be in Rome! Are there any brains in these men's heads, think ye, or hearts in their bodies? Augustine speaketh of the church dispersed through the whole world, confessing the gospel with one consent; neither would God, that any book else should be received with such consent of the whole world as the Holy Scripture, (as the said Augustine, in his Confessions, affirmeth,) lest, by the receiving of other books, schisms may take occasion to rise; according as the wicked see of Rome hath long sought by her decrees, and hath, for a great part, brought the same to pass already. But yet the universal church did never agree thereto; for in the east, west, and south there have been Christians, who, being content only with the gospel, have not regarded how Rome hath gone about of a particular church to make herself a universal church, and accuseth other churches as schismatical; whereas she hath cut off herself from the universal church, and striveth in vain to draw the whole universal church to her, being the mother and fountain of all schisms, and all by the means of this tyranny.

"Let no man, therefore, ever think that this true catholic church aforesaid will believe or maintain those things which this detestable bull here prattleth, when neither that which is the very true Church of Rome indeed doth herself so think, nor taketh that by and by to be catholic, whatsoever is known to proceed from the Church of Rome: for, as I said, there is no book which shall be called catholic hereafter, as neither it hath been heretofore, besides only the Holy Scripture. For the Church of Rome, it may suffice to glory herself to be a little parcel or piece of the universal church; and so let her vex herself only with her own decrees. Neither let any man think this to be the bull of the catholic church, but rather to proceed out of the court of Rome. For such wisdom and religion may well beseem that seat of Satan, which seeketh to be counted for the whole universal church, and obtrudeth her foolish and wicked bulls most arrogantly and vainly on the whole world, instead of sincere catholic doctrine. Whose pride and presumption hath grown so far, that she, trusting upon her own power, without all learning and holiness of life, taketh upon her to prescribe laws to all men, of all their doings and sayings; as though, for dominion only and loftiness of spirit, she were to be counted the house and church of Christ: whereas, by this means, Satan also, (the prince of the world,) or the Turk, might be counted the

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church of Christ. Again, neither can the monarchies of the Gentiles abide mighty princes to reign over them without wisdom and goodness. Furthermore, in the church the spiritual man only judgeth all things, and is judged of no man; and not the pope alone, or the court of Rome, unless they be spiritual.

"But against all this their rash presumption I boldly set the invincible champion of the church, St. Paul, who saith, If any thing be revealed to another that sitteth by, let the first man hold his peace. Here have ye plainly, that the pope, or any other elder, whatsoever he be, ought to keep silence, if any thing be revealed to another that is inferior in the church. I, therefore, upon his authority, condemning the presumptuous proceeding of this swelling bull, do confidently take upon me to defend the articles, caring nothing for the bare condemnation of any person, yea, of the pope himself, with his whole church, unless he shall inform me by the Scriptures. Whereof the first article is this:

"I. 'It is an heretical sentence, and also common, to say, that sacraments of the new law do give grace to them that have no obstacle in themselves to the contrary.'

Answer.— I acknowledge this article to be mine, and I ask of you, good masters respectivists, which make these articles respectively, some to be heretical, some erroneous, some slanderous, &c., whither respected this article, I pray you? to heresy, to error, to slander and offence? Or else whither respected you in condemning the same? To the Holy Scripture? to the holy fathers? to faith? to the church? To which of these, I beseech you, tell me? Neither do I here put you to the labour of proving, but only require you to show your judgment, what you think, that I may know wherein I say amiss. Will you that I should tell you, you babish infants and noddies, whither this article respecteth? I will. This article hath two respects; whereof the one respecteth the papists, the condemners hereof, amongst whom it respecteth some to be mules, some to be horses, which have no understanding, and to be void of all sense; and yet, notwithstanding, they will needs condemn all things. Another respect it hath to the Holy Scripture, which saith, Whatsoever is not of faith, is sin. Whereupon consequently it followeth, that the sacraments of the new law can give no grace to the unbelievers, (forasmuch as the sin of infidelity is the greatest obstacle,) but only to the believers: for only faith putteth no obstacle. All other things be obstacles, although they put not the same obstacles which the sophisters understand, meaning only of the actual purpose of external sin. I confess therefore this article not only to be mine, but also to be the article of the catholic and Christian verity; and the bull which condemneth the same, to be twice heretical, impious and blasphemous, with all them which follow the same, who, little regarding the sin of incredulity, foolishly and madly do hold, that the obstacle is taken away, if a man cease from sinning, although the unbeliever can think no good thing. But these things I have discussed more at large in my books, and will more discuss, if those prating Romanists dare at any time prove their opinion, and confute mine.

"II. 'To deny that sin remaineth in a child after his baptism, is as much as to tread down Christ and Paul together under foot.'

Answer.— I would also require of them to show the cause why this article is condemned, if they were not so blinded in their fantastical respects that they are not able to perceive why they would have this article condemned: and yet I cannot tell whether it be heretical or erroneous; and

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no marvel when the condemners themselves cannot tell me. I hold, therefore, this article by the apostle, I myself in my mind do serve the law of God, and in my flesh the law of sin. Here the apostle confesseth plainly of himself, that in his flesh he serveth sin. And also, Christ is made to us of God our righteousness, our wisdom, sanctification, and redemption. And how then doth he sanctify them that be sanctified already, unless it be as the Apocalypse saith, He that is holy let him be holy still. To be sanctified, is as much as to be purged from sin: but what have these our respectivists to do with the apostle Paul, seeing they are the whole universal church, by whose authority Paul either standeth or falleth, being but a member only, and a part of the church? The Lord rebuke thee, Satan, and these thy Satanical papists!

"III. 'The original root of sin, although no actual sin do follow, stoppeth the soul departing out of the body from entrance into heaven.'

"Answer.— As touching this matter, I never defined any thing hitherto, but largely and probably I have disputed hereof; neither yet to this day am I fully certain what is done with such a soul. But our papists, more blind than buzzards, when they are nothing able to perceive what cause this article hath worthy to be condemned, yet dare they take upon them to pronounce that, which the whole universal church is ignorant of: I yet, notwithstanding, contemning this foolish and fond condemnation aforesaid, do hold this article probably to be true. For, seeing this original root, which I spake of, is truly sin, as I have proved, and seeing that sin letteth a man from entering into heaven; as it is written, No polluted thing shall enter; I suppose, therefore, that original sin withholdeth a man from entering into heaven: neither do I any thing at all esteem the fantastical dreams of them, whereby they, extenuating original sin, do call it openly the pain of sin, and imperfections; plain against the manifest Scriptures, which call it sin, and teach the same to be cured by grace, which is the medicine of true, and not of feigned, sin.

"IV. 'The imperfect charity of a man departing, necessarily carrieth with it great fear, which of itself is enough to make the pain of purgatory, and letteth the entrance into the kingdom of heaven.'

"Answer.— This followeth of the other going before, which, in like manner, I did not determinately affirm, although very probably I do yet hold the same, asking, before, a dispensation after mine own arbitrement, even in defiance of the bull, which is not able to bring forth any other probation but this: 'We are the highest powers in the church, yea, we are the church itself: ergo, we are the best learned, most holiest, full of the Holy Ghost, which cannot err, although we stink like a filthy puddle to the whole world, polluted with all kinds of sins, and drowned in ignorance.' But all these reasons prevail nothing with me: peradventure they may with them which fear lest, if my sentence should prevail, then purgatory should be taken out of the pope's hands; and then priests and religious men, having lost their gainful offices of vexing (of releasing, I would have said) the dead, should be pinched by the bellies and brought to penury. It was time, therefore, for their greedy avarice here to awake and look about, and not to suffer their frivolous opinions, but yet very gainful, to be overcome with truth, and so to be overthrown.

"V. 'Whereas they say penance standeth of three parts, to wit contrition, confession, and satisfaction, it is not founded in Holy Scripture, nor in ancient, holy, and Christian doctors.'

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"Answer.— This article, in what respect it is condemned, I do right well perceive; for the respect thereof is to greedy covetousness, and therefore I know that the probation thereof hath the like respect, which is this: If this article were true, then men would give nothing for satisfaction and indulgences, neither should we have any more wherewith to vex them with confessions, cases reserved, restricted, or amplified for our gain: and so should we become beggars, and God's service should be minished in vigils and masses: but it is wicked that God's service should be minished; therefore, Luther is a heretic. This consequence holds from the bull to the papists, and contrariwise.

"I beseech thee, by the Lord Jesus, whatsoever grave and learned reader shall read these things, that thou wilt pardon this my levity, and, as it may seem, my childishness. For thou seest how I have to do with such men as be twice children, and yet do brag themselves to be peers and principal pillars of all men. I assure you, I know it most certainly to be true, that there be many and great governors of the people, which this so ridiculous and foolish reason above recited hath moved to the condemnation of my books. Unless I perceived (with tears I speak it) the anger of God sharp and fierce against us, in bringing us under subjection of such effeminate children, and such dregs of the earth, and vile refuse of all other people of the whole world, it would make me to burst for very grief and sorrow.

"My sentence is, and hath been, this: That the satisfaction, which the keys are able to dispense withal, standeth not by the law of God: for, if it did, then could it not be dispensed withal by the keys. If these bull-founders do charge me with any other thing besides in this article, they do nothing else but as they are wont to do: for what matter or marvel is it, if antichrist do lie?

"VI. Contrition which is gotten by examining, remembering, and detesting our sins, whereby a man calleth to mind his years past in the bitterness of his soul, in pondering the greatness, the multitude, and filthiness of his sins, the losing of eternal bliss, and the purchasing of eternal damnation: this contrition maketh a hypocrite, yea, rather a man to be more a sinner.'

"Answer.— O the incredible blindness and brutishness of these Romish bulls! This article is truly mine, and very Christian; which I will not suffer to be wrested from me, for all the popes and papists in the world. For this I meant by that doctrine, that repentance is of no force, unless it be done in faith and charity; which thing they also would teach themselves, but that they do neither know nor teach, either what faith or charity is. And therefore, in condemning my doctrine, they condemn also their own, foolishly repugning against themselves in their own contradiction. I say, therefore, that he that teacheth repentance in such wise and manner that he hath not a greater regard to the promised mercy of God and faith in the same, than to this afflicting and vexing of the mind, he teacheth the repentance of Judas Iscariot; he is pestilent, a devil to men's souls, and tormentor of consciences. Read the books of these sophisters, where they write of repentance, and thou shalt see there no mention made either of promise or faith: for these lively parts of repentance they clean omit, and only do vex men with these dead contritions. But hereof we will hereafter treat more at large.

"But what should I here stand upon every article, seeing my books be abroad, wherein I have given a reason of all sufficiently, and more would have done, if mine adversaries also had

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brought to light theirs? For what foolishness is this, that they think to answer me with this one saying, That they count all my sayings as damned? whereas I did write to this end only, that they should acknowledge their errors wherewith they have so long bewitched the people of God. Neither did I look that I should be condemned, who, understanding and knowing the same right well, have justified those things, which they have condemned before, with sufficient authority both of Scripture and reason: neither looked I that they should tell me what they thought (for I knew all that well enough); but that which I sought of them, was, to know whether they thought right therein or not. Here looked I to be taught; and, behold, none of them all durst once put forth his head. Wherefore I see these asses nothing to understand either the things that I say, or yet themselves; but they be such blind buzzards, that they perceive not what it is that I seek in my books: for they dream that I have such an opinion of them, as though they had the truth of their side, when there is nothing that I less think to be true. For I, foreseeing that they had condemned all these things before, came forth, and showed myself as one not to be condemned, but as already condemned by them, to accuse their condemnation to be wicked, heretical, and blasphemous; and so openly to denounce them as heretics and erroneous, unless they showed some better reason and ground of their doings and doctrine; whereas they, on the other side, like foolish minstrels harping all on one string, have nothing else in their mouths, but we condemn that we have condemned proving, after a new kind of logic, the same thing by itself. O most idiot huddipeaks, and blockish condemners! Where is the saying of Peter, Be always ready to render an account of that faith and hope which is in you?

"Wherefore, seeing these ignorant papists, being thus confounded, do so flee away from the face of the manifest verity, that they dare not once open their mouths in defence of themselves or of their cause, and have blasted out with much ado this timorous bull of theirs; I, being comforted with the flight of these mine adversaries, do account this their dastardly damnation, instead of a full justification of my cause; and so rebound again their own damnation upon their own heads. For how could they more condemn themselves, than while they (fearing to be found themselves culpable of heresy, if they should be driven to give account of their doctrine) do flee to this miserable and desperate refuge, willingly to shut their eyes, and stop their ears, and to say 'I will not, I damn thee; I hear thee not, I allow thee not?' If I should have played any such mad part, how would they (I pray you) have triumphed against me? This dastardly fear declareth what cowards they are.

"Wherefore, not to burden the reader with any tedious prolixity of matter in prosecuting every article, I here protest in these presents, that I confess all these things here condemned by this miserable bull, for pure, clear, and catholic doctrine, whereof I have sufficiently given account in my books which be extant abroad.

"Furthermore, I will also that the said my books, being extant abroad, shall be taken as a public accusation against these wicked sophisters and seducers of the people of God; so that unless they shall give an account of their doctrine, and shall convict me with good ground of Scripture, I do here, as much as in me lieth, denounce them as guilty of errors, heresy, and sacrilege; admonishing, desiring, and in the Lord exhorting, all them that truly confess Christ, that they will beware and take heed of their pestiferous doctrine; and not to doubt, but that the true antichrist reigneth by them in the world amongst us.

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"And if any shall condemn this my brotherly admonition, let him know that I am pure and clean from his blood, and excused from the last judgment of Christ: for I have left nothing undone, which Christian charity did bind me to do.

"Finally, if there be no other way whereby I may resist these babbling and trifling condemners, the uttermost and last which I have I will give and bestow in the quarrel; that is, this life and blood of mine. For better it were for me a thousand times to be slain, than to revoke one syllable of these articles, which they have condemned. And now, as they do curse and excommunicate me for their damnable heresy, so I again likewise do curse and excommunicate them for the holy verity of God. Christ, who is the Judge of all, judge and determine this matter between us, whether of these two excommunications, his or mine, shall stand and prevail before him! Amen."

[Note: The following remarks of Thomas Carlyle on the character of Luther are extremely apposite:

"It is curious to reflect what might have been the issue, had Roman popery happened to pass this Luther by; to go on in its great wasteful orbit, and not come athwart his little path, and force him to assault it! Conceivable enough, that in this case he might have held his peace about the abuses of Rome; left providence and God on high to deal with them! A modest, quiet man; not prompt he to attack irreverently persons in authority. His clear task, as I say, was to do his own duty; to walk wisely in this world of confused wickedness, and save his soul alive. But the Roman high priesthood did come athwart him; afar off at Wittenberg he, Luther, could not get live in honesty for it; he remonstrated, resisted, came to extremity, was struck at, and struck again, and so it came to wager of battle between them! This is worth attending to in Luther's history. Perhaps no man of so humble, peaceable a disposition, ever filled the world with contention. We cannot but see that he would have loved privacy, quiet diligence in the shade; that it was against his will he ever became a notoriety. Notoriety, what would that do for him? The goal of his march through this world was the Infinite Heaven; an indubitable goal for him. In a few years he should either have attained that, or lost it for ever! We will say nothing at all, I think, of that sorrowfullest of theories, of its being some mean shopkeeper grudge, of the Augustine monk against the Dominican, that first kindled the wrath of Luther, and produced the Protestant Reformation. We will say to the people who maintain it, if indeed any such exist now, Get first into the sphere of thought by which it is so much as possible to judge of Luther, or of any man like Luther, otherwise than distractedly; we may then begin arguing with you.

"The monk Tetzel, sent out carelessly in the way of trade, by Leo the Tenth,— who merely wanted to raise a little money, and for the rest seems to have been a pagan rather than a Christian, so far as he was any thing — arrived at Wittenberg and drove his scandalous trade there. Luther's flock bought indulgences; in the confessional of his church, people pleaded to him that they had already got their sins pardoned. Luther, if he would not be found wanting at his own post, a false sluggard and coward at the very centre of the little space of ground that was his own and no other man's, had to step forth against indulgences, and declare aloud that they were a futility and sorrowful mockery, that no man's sins could be pardoned by them. It was the beginning of the whole Reformation. We know how it went forward from this public challenge of Tetzel, on the last day of October, 1517, through remonstrance, and argument;— spreading ever wider, rising ever higher; till it became unquenchable, and enveloped all the world. Luther's heart's desire was to have this grief and other griefs amended; his thought was still far from introducing separation in the church, or revolting against the pope, father of Christendom. The elegant pagan pope cared little about this monk and his doctrines; wished, however, to have done with the noise of him. In the space of some three years, having tried various softer measures, he thought good to end it by fire. He

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dooms the monk's writings to be burnt by the hangman, and his body to be sent bound to Rome – probably for a similar purpose. It was the way they had ended with Huss, with Jerome, the century before. A short argument, fire. Poor Huss: he came to that Constance council, with all imaginable promises and safe-conducts; an earnest, not rebellious, kind of man: 'three feet wide, six feet high, seven feet long;' burnt the true voice out of this world; choked it in smoke and fire. That was not well done!

"I, for one, pardon Luther for now altogether revolting against the pope. The elegant pagan, by this fire-decree of his, had kindled into noble, just wrath the bravest heart then living in this world. The bravest, if also one of the humblest, peaceablest, it was now kindled. 'These words of mine, words of truth and soberness, aiming faithfully, as human inability would allow, to promote God's truth on earth, and save men's souls, you, God's viceregent on earth, answer them by the hangman and fire! You will burn me and them, for answer to the God's message they strove to bring you! You are not God's viceregent; you are another's, I think! I take your bull as an emparchmented lie, and burn it. You will do what you see good next: this is what I do.'— It was on the tenth of December, 1520, three years after the beginning of the business, that Luther with a great concourse of people took this indignant step of burning the pope's fire-decree in the market place of Wittenberg. Wittenberg looked on 'with shoutings.' The whole world was looking on. The pope should not have provoked that 'shout!' It was the shout of the awakening of nations. The quiet German heart, modest, patient of much, had at length got more than it could bear. Formulism, pagan popism, and other falsehood and corrupt semblance, had ruled long enough; and here once more was a man who durst tell all men, that God's world stood not on semblances but on realities; that life was a truth and not a lie!"

– Carlyle's Hero Worship, p. 212-216.]

In storying the life of Luther, it was declared before, how the said Luther in the beginning, being rejected first by the Cardinal Cajetan, appealed from the cardinal unto the pope. When that would not serve, neither could any tolerable submission of Luther to the pope be received, but that the pope with his cardinals, contrary to all equity and conscience, would needs proceed against him, and against the express truth of God's word, thinking by mere authority to bear down the verity as he had used before to do: Luther, following the justness of his cause, was then compelled to appeal from the pope to the next general council, and so did, as before you may read; which was two years before the pope's bull against Luther came out. The tenor of this appellation, before omitted, I thought here to exhibit; whereby the reader, considering the great change of religion and state of the church which since hath ensued, may also perceive the true original cause and occasion how it first began; by what order and degrees it after increased; what humility and submission, first on Luther's part were showed; and, again, what insolency, wrong, and violence, of the pope's part, were declared. And further, whereas Pope Leo, in his bull above prefixed, seemeth to pretend certain conditions of favour, charity, and money offered to Luther in the beginning, how false and vain that is, by this present appeal may appear.

The tenor and form of the appeal of Martin Luther from Pope Leo to the next general council.

"That forasmuch as the liberty of appealing is provided for a remedy to relieve the oppressed from injury and violence of the superior, it was therefore lawful for Martin Luther so to do; especially being manifold ways injured and molested by the see of Rome, and other the pope's confederates, as he, in the said appeal, declareth. For at first, whereas he, modestly disputing of the errors and abuses of the pope's pardons, did somewhat withstand the impudent raving and blasphemies of them that came about with the pope's pardons, to poll and rob the people, he was therefore openly railed upon and defamed by them in their public sermons to be a

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heretic, and, consequently upon the same, accused to Pope Leo for a heretic, by Marius the pope's proctor and others.

"Then was obtained of the pope a commission to cite up the said Luther to appear at Rome before the cardinals, by Hieronymus, and Sylvester Prieras, his mortal enemies, whereas he could by no way appear without manifest danger of his life, both by the way, and also in the city of Rome.

"For the consideration whereof, Duke John Frederic, prince elector, and the landgrave, entreated for him to have his cause indifferently to be heard, and to be committed to two parties that were equal, and not partial: yet, notwithstanding the earnest suit of these princes, the contrary labour of the cardinals, which were his capital adversaries, so prevailed at Rome, that the cause of Luther was still detained in their own hands; and, contrary to all indifferency, was committed to the hearing of the pope's legate then in Germany, called Cardinalis Sancti Sixti; who, being no less enemy against Luther than the others, and notwithstanding that Luther obediently appeared at his call, and with humble protestation submitted himself to be answered by the Scriptures; and referred himself to the judgment of the see of Rome, and of four universities, to wit, Basil, Friburg, Louvain, and Paris; yet, contrary to all equity, showing forth no Scripture nor reason, rejecting his gentle protestation, submission, and honest offer, with all other his requests and suits, he would needs forthwith have him to revoke his errors, threatening and menacing him most cruelly, and commanded him no more to come in his sight.

"Whereupon Luther, being thus proudly rejected of the cardinal, made his appeal from the said cardinal to Pope Leo, being better informed.

"This appellation also being contemned of the pope, who would neither come to any agreement, nor take any reasonable condition, nor show Luther his errors by the Scripture, nor yet refer the matter by learning to be decided, but would needs perforce proceed against him by mere authority and oppression at Rome, Luther then, seeing there was no other refuge or remedy for his own defence, and seeing, moreover, the truth of God's word to lie under foot, by might and authority oppressed, so that none durst almost confess the same, and that the poor flock was so nursled in errors and vain opinions, to the seduction of their souls; for these, and other such causes, he, being necessarily thereunto compelled, commenced this appeal from the pope misinformed, to the next general council that should be, calling for the help of the public notary, and testimony also of sufficient witnesses, requisite in that behalf accordingly."

END OF VOLUME 5

**THE ACTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE
CHRISTIAN CHURCH**

by

JOHN FOXE

Commonly known as

FOXES' BOOK OF MARTYRS

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VOLUME 6



Portrait of Henry VIII.

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156. Introduction to the Reign of Henry VIII.



S touching the civil state and administration of the commonwealth, and likewise of the state of the church, under the reign of King Henry the Seventh, how he entered first in possession of the crown; how the two houses of York and Lancaster were in him conjoined, through marriage with Elizabeth the eldest daughter to King Edward the Fourth, by the prudent counsel of John Morton, then bishop of Ely, after archbishop of Canterbury, and cardinal; how long the said king reigned, and what persecution was in his time for lack of search and knowledge of God's word, both in the diocese of Lincoln under Bishop Smith, (who was erecter of the house of Brazen-nose in Oxford,) as also in the diocese of Coventry, and other places more; and further, what punishment and alteration God commonly sendeth upon cities and realms public for neglecting the safety of his flock; sufficiently in the former book hath been already specified; wherein many things more amply might have been added, incident in the reign of this prince, which we have for brevity pretermitted. For he that studieth to comprehend in story all things, which the common course and use of life may offer to the writer, may sooner find matter to occupy himself, than to profit other. Otherwise I might have inferred mention of the seditious tumult of Perkin Warbeck, with his retinue, A.D. 1494. Also of Blackheath field by the blacksmith, A.D. 1496. I might also have recited the glorious commendation of George Lily in his Latin Chronicle, testifying of King Henry the Seventh, how he sent three solemn orators to Pope Julius the Second to yield his obedience to the see of Rome, A.D. 1506. And likewise how Pope Alexander the Ninth, Pius the Third, and Julius the Second, sent to the said King Henry the Seventh, three sundry famous ambassadors with three swords, and three caps of maintenance, electing and admitting him to be the chief defender of the faith. The commendation of which fact, how glorious it is in the eyes of George Lily and Fabian, that I leave to them. This I suppose, that when King Henry sent to Pope Julius three orators with obedience, if he had sent him three thousand arquebusiers to furnish his field against the French king fighting at Ravenna, he had pleased Pope Julius much better. If George Lily had been disposed to illustrate his story with notes, this had been more worthy the noting, how Louis the Twelfth, French king, calling his parliament, moved this question against Pope Julius; Whether a pope might invade any prince by warlike force, without cause; and whether the prince might withdraw his obedience from that pope, or not? And it was concluded in the same parliament with the king, against the pope. Also it was concluded the same time, (which was in the reign of this King Henry the Seventh,) that the Pragmatical Sanction should be received in full force and effect, through all the realm of France.

And forasmuch as we are fallen into the mention of George Lily, this in him is to be found not unworthy noting, how, after the burning of Thomas Norice, above mentioned, at the city of Norwich, the same year followed such a fire in Norwich, that the whole city, well near, was therewith consumed. Like as also after the burning of the aforesaid good father in Smithfield, the same year (which was 1500) we read in the chronicle of Fabian, a great plague to fall upon the city of London, to the great destruction of the inhabitants thereof. Where again is to

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be noted, (as is aforesaid,) that according to the state of the church, the disposition of the commonwealth commonly is guided, either to be with adversity afflicted, or else in prosperity to flourish. But after these notes of King Henry the Seventh, now to the story of King Henry the Eighth.

This King Henry the Seventh finishing his course in the year abovesaid, which was 1509, had by Elizabeth his wife abovenamed, four men children, and of women children as many. Of whom three only survived; to wit, Prince Henry, Lady Margaret, and Lady Mary. Of whom King Henry the Eighth after his father succeeded. Lady Margaret was married to James the Fourth, king of Scots. Lady Mary was affianced to Charles, king of Castile.

Not long before the death of King Henry, Prince Arthur, his eldest son, had espoused Lady Katharine, daughter to Ferdinand, being of the age of fifteen years, and she about the age of seventeen; and shortly after his marriage, within five months, departed at Ludlow, and was buried at Worcester. After whose decease the succession of the crown fell next to King Henry the Eighth, being of the age of eighteen years, entered his reign the year of our Lord 1509, and shortly after married with the aforesaid Katharine, his late brother Prince Arthur's wife, to the end that her dowry, being great, should not be transported out of the land. In the which his marriage, being more politic than Scripture-like, he was dispensed with by Pope Julius, at the request of Ferdinand her father. The reign of this king continued with great nobleness and fame the space of thirty-eight years. During whose time and reign, great alteration of things, as well to the civil state of the realm, as especially to the state ecclesiastical, and matters of the church appertaining. For by him was exiled and abolished out of the realm, the usurped power of the bishop of Rome, idolatry and superstition somewhat repressed, images and pilgrimages defaced, abbeys and monasteries pulled down, sects of religion rooted out, Scriptures reduced to the knowledge of the vulgar tongue, and the state of the church and religion redressed. Concerning all which things, in the process of these volumes here following, we will endeavour (Christ willing) particularly and in order to discourse; after that first we shall comprehend a few matters, which within the beginning of his reign are to be noted and collected. Where, leaving off to write of Empson and Dudley, who in the time of King Henry the Seventh, being great doers in executing the penal laws over the people at that time, and purchasing thereby more malice than lands, with that which they had gotten, were shortly after the entering of this king beheaded, the one a knight, the other an esquire; leaving also to intermeddle with his wars, triumphs, and other temporal affairs, we mean in these volumes principally to bestow our travail in declaration of matters concerning most chiefly the state of the church and of religion, as well in this Church of England, as also of the whole Church of Rome.

157. Dispute about the Immaculate Conception.

Wherein first cometh to our hands a turbulent tragedy, and a fierce contention, which long before had troubled the church, and now this present year, 1509, was renewed afresh between two certain orders of Begging Friars, to wit, the Dominic Friars and the Franciscans, about the conception of the Virgin Mary, the mother of Christ.

The Franciscans were they which did hold of St. Francis, and followed the rule of his testament, commonly called Grey Friars, or Minorites. Their opinion was this; that the Virgin Mary, prevented by the grace of the Holy Ghost, was so sanctified, that she was never subject one moment in her conception to original sin. The Dominic Friars were they which, holding of Dominic, were commonly called Black Friars, or Preaching Friars. Their opinion was, that the Virgin Mary was conceived as all other children of Adam be; so that this privilege only belongeth to Christ, to be conceived without original sin: notwithstanding, the said blessed Virgin was sanctified in her mother's womb, and purged from her original sin, so as was John Baptist, Jeremiah, or any other privileged person. This frivolous question kindling and gendering between these two sects of friars, burst out in such a flame of parts and sides-taking, that it occupied the heads and wits, schools and universities, almost through the whole church, some holding one part with Scotus, some the other part with Thomas Aquinas. The Minorites, holding with Scotus their master, disputed and concluded, that she was conceived without all spot or note of original sin, and thereupon caused the feast and service of the Conception of St. Mary the Virgin to be celebrated and solemnized in the church. Contrary, the Dominic Friars, taking side with Aquinas, preached that it was heresy to affirm that the blessed Virgin was conceived without the guilt of original sin; and that they which did celebrate the feast of her Conception, or said any masses thereof, did sin grievously and mortally.

In the mean time, as this fantasy waxed hot in the church, the one side preaching against the other, came Pope Sixtus the Fourth, A.D. 1476, who, joining side with the Minorites, or Franciscans, first sent forth his decree by authority apostolic, willing, ordaining, and commanding all men to solemnize this new-found feast of the Conception in holy church for evermore; offering to all men and women, which, devoutly frequenting the church, would hear mass and service from the first even-song of the said feast, to the octaves of the same, as many days of pardon, as Pope Urban the Fourth, and Pope Martin the Fifth, did grant for hearing the service of Corpus Christi day, &c. And this decree was given and dated at Rome, A.D. 1476.

Moreover, the same pope, to the intent that the devotion of the people might be the more encouraged to the celebration of this conception, added a clause more to the Ave Maria, granting great indulgence and release of sins to all such as would invoke the blessed Virgin with the same addition, saying thus; "Hail Mary! full of grace, the Lord is with thee; blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb, Jesus Christ; and blessed is Anna thy mother, of whom thy virgin's flesh hath proceeded without blot of original sin. Amen."

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Wherein thou mayest note, gentle reader, for thy learning three things: First, how the pope turneth that improperly into a prayer, which properly was sent of God for a message or tidings. Secondly, how the pope addeth to the words of the Scripture, contrary to the express precept of the Lord. Thirdly, how the pope exempteth Mary, the blessed Virgin, not only from the seed of Abraham and Adam, but also from the condition of a mortal creature. For if there be in her no original sin, then she beareth not the image of Adam, neither doth she descend of that seed, of whose seed evil proceedeth upon all men and women to condemnation, as St. Paul doth teach, Rom. v. Wherefore, if she descend of that seed, then the infection of original evil must necessarily proceed unto her. If she descend not thereof, then cometh she not of the seed of Abraham, nor of the seed of David, &c. Again, seeing that death is the effect and stipend of sin, by the doctrine of St. Paul, Rom. vi., then had her flesh injury by the law (as Christ himself had) to suffer the malediction and punishment of death, and so should never have died, if original sin had no place in her, &c. But to return unto our story: This constitution of the pope being set forth for the conception of the blessed Virgin, which was A.D. 1476, it was not long after, but the said Pope Sixtus, perceiving that the Dominic Friars with their accomplices would not conform themselves hereunto, directed forth by the authority apostolic a bull in effect as followeth:

"Whereas the holy Church of Rome hath ordained a special and proper service for the public solemnizing of the feast of the Conception of the blessed Virgin Mary; certain orders of the Black Friars in their public sermons to the people in divers places, have not ceased hitherto to preach, and yet daily do, that all they which hold or affirm the said glorious Virgin to have been conceived without original sin, be heretics; and they which celebrate the service of the said her conception, or do hear the sermons of them which do so affirm, do sin grievously; also not contented herewith, do write and set forth books moreover, maintaining their assertions, to the great offence and ruin of godly minds. We, therefore, to prevent and withstand such presumptuous and perverse assertions, which have risen, and more hereafter may arise, by such opinions and preachings aforesaid, in the minds of the faithful; by the authority apostolical, do condemn and reprove the same, and by the motion, knowledge, and authority aforesaid, decree and ordain, that the preachers of God's word, and all other persons, of what state, degree, order, or condition soever they be, which shall presume to dare affirm or preach to the people these aforesaid opinions and assertions to be true, or shall read, hold, or maintain any such books for true, having before intelligence hereof, shall incur thereby the sentence of excommunication; from which they shall not be absolved otherwise than by the bishop of Rome, except only in the time of death."

This bull, being dated A.D. 1483, gave no little heart and encouragement to the Grey Friars Franciscans, which defended the pure conception of the holy Virgin against the Black Dominic Friars, with their confederates, holding the contrary side. By the vigour of which bull, the Grey order had got such a conquest of the black guard of the Dominics, that the said Dominics were compelled at length, for a perpetual memorial of the triumph, both to give to the glorious Virgin, every night, an anthem in praise of her conception, and also to subscribe unto their doctrine; in which doctrine these, with divers other points, be contained:

"1. That blessed Mary the Virgin suffered the griefs and adversities in this life, not for any necessity inflicted for punishment of original sin, but only because she would conform herself to the imitation of Christ.

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"2. That the said Virgin, as she was not obliged to any punishment due for sin, as neither was Christ her Son, so she had no need of remission of sins; but instead thereof, had the Divine preservation of God's help, keeping her from all sin; which grace only she needed, and also had it.

"3. Item, That where the body of the Virgin Mary was subject to death, and died; this is to be understood to come, not for any penalty due for sin, but either for imitation and conformity unto Christ, or else for the natural constitution of her body being elemental, as were the bodies of our first parents; who, if they had not tasted of the forbidden fruit, should have been preserved from death, not by nature, but by grace and strength of other fruits and meats in Paradise; which meats, because Mary had not, but did eat our common meats, therefore she died, and not for any necessity of original sin.

"4. The universal proposition of St. Paul, which saith, that the Scripture hath concluded all men under sin, is to be understood thus, as speaking of all them which be not exempted by the special privilege of God, as is the blessed Virgin Mary.

"5. If justification be taken for reconciliation of him that was unrighteous before, and now is made righteous; then the blessed Virgin is to be taken, not for justified by Christ, but just from her beginning, by preservation.

"6. If a Saviour be taken for him which saveth men fallen into perdition and condemnation, so is not Christ the Saviour of Mary, but is her Saviour only in this respect, for sustaining her from not falling into condemnation, &c.

"7. Neither did the Virgin Mary give thanks to God, nor ought so to do, for expiation of her sins, but for her conservation from case of sinning.

"8. Neither did she pray to God at any time for remission of her sins, but only for remission of other men's sins she prayed many times, and counted their sins for hers.

"9. If the blessed Virgin had deceased before the passion of her Son, God would have reposed her soul not in the place among the patriarchs, or among the just, but in the same most pleasant place of Paradise, where Adam and Eve were before they transgressed."

These were the doting dreams and fantasies of the Franciscans, and of other papists, commonly then holden in the schools, written in their books, preached in their sermons, taught in churches, and set forth in pictures. So that the people were taught nothing else almost in the pulpits all this while, but how the Virgin Mary was conceived immaculate and holy, without original sin, and how they ought to call to her for help, whom they with special terms do call, "the way of mercy, the mother of grace, the lover of piety, the comforter of mankind, the continual intercessor for the salvation of the faithful, and an advocate to the King, her Son, which never ceaseth," &c. And although the greatest number of the school doctors were of the contrary faction, as Peter Lombard, Thomas Aquinas, Bernard, Bonaventure, and other, yet these new papists shifted off their objections with frivolous distinctions and blind evasions, as thus:

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"Peter Lombard," they said, "is not received nor holden in the schools, as touching this article, but is rejected."

Bernard, although he seemeth to deny the conception of the blessed Virgin to be void of original sin, saying that she could not be holy when she was not, and lived not; to this they answer, "That albeit she was not yet in essence, yet she was holy in her conception, and before conception in the Divine prescience of God, which had chosen and pre-elected her before the worlds, to be the mother of the Lord."

Again, where Bernard doth argue, that she was not without original sin conceived, because she was not conceived by the Holy Ghost, to this they answer, "That the Holy Ghost may work two ways in conception; either without company of man, and so was Christ only conceived; or else with company and help of man, and thus was the blessed Virgin conceived."

"Bonaventure," say they, "was a holy father, but he spake then after the custom and manner of his time, when the solemnity and purity of this conception was not yet decreed nor received by the public consent and authority of the church; now seeing the authority of the Church of Rome hath established the same, it ought not to be contraried, nor can, without dangerous disobedience. In all men's actions, diligent respect of time must be had. That which bindeth not at one time, afterward the same by law being ratified, may bind at another."

Finally, for the number and multitude on the contrary side, thus they answer for themselves, as we now in these our days likewise in defence of the truth may well answer against the pope, and all his popish friars, turning their own weapons against themselves: "Multitude," say they, "ought not to move us. Victory consisteth not in number and heaps, but in fortitude and hearts of soldiers; yea, rather fortitude and stomach cometh from heaven, and not of man. Judas Maccabeus with a little handful overthrew the great army of Antioch. Strong Samson with a poor ass's bone slew a thousand Philistines. David had no more but a silly sling, and a few stones, and with these struck down terrible Goliath the giant," &c.

With these and such other like reasons the Grey Franciscans avoided their adversaries, defending the conception of the Virgin Mary to be unblemished, and pure from all contagion of original sin. Contrariwise, the black guard of the Dominic Friars, for their parts were not all mute, but laid lustily from them again, having great authorities, and also the Scripture on their side. But yet the other having the see apostolical with them, had the better hand, and in fine, gat the victory triumphantly over the other, to the high exaltation of their order. For Pope Sixtus, (as I said,) by the authority apostolical, after he had decreed the conception day of the Virgin perpetually to be sanctified, and also with his terrible bull had condemned for heretics all them which withstood the same; the Dominic Friars, with authority oppressed, were driven to two inconveniences; the one was, to keep silence; the other was, to give place to their adversaries the Franciscans. Albeit, where the mouth durst not speak, yet the heart would work; and though the tongue were tied, yet their good will was ready by all means possible to maintain their quarrel and their estimation.

Whereupon it happened the same year of our Lord, 1509, after this dissension between the Dominic Friars and the Franciscans, that certain of the Dominics thinking by subtle sleight to

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work in the people's heads that which they durst not achieve with open preaching, devised a certain image of the Virgin, so artificially wrought, that the friars by privy gins made it to stir, and to make gestures, to lament, to complain, to weep, to groan, and to give answers to them that asked; insomuch that the people therewith were brought in a marvellous persuasion, till at length the fraud being espied, the friars were taken, condemned, and burned at Berne, the year above mentioned.

In the story of John Stumsius, this story aforesaid doth partly appear; but in the registers and records of the city of Berne, the order and circumstance thereof is more fully expressed and set forth both in metre and prose, and is thus declared:

In the city of Berne there were certain Dominic Friars, to the number chiefly of four principal doers and chieftains of that order, who had inveigled a certain simple, poor friar, who had newly planted himself in the cloister: whom the aforesaid friars had so infatuated with sundry superstitions, and feigned apparitions of St. Mary, St. Barbara, and St. Katharine, and with their enchantments, and imprinting moreover in him the wounds of St. Francis, that he believed plainly, that the Virgin Mary had appeared to him, and had offered to him a red host consecrated, with the blood also of Christ miraculous; which blessed Virgin also had sent him to the senators of Berne, with instructions, declaring unto them, from the mouth of the Virgin, that she was conceived in sin, and that the Franciscan Friars were not to be credited nor suffered in the city, which were not yet reformed from that erroneous opinion of her conception. He added moreover, that they should resort to a certain image there of the Virgin Mary, (which image the friars by engines had made to sweat,) and should do their worship, and make their oblations to the same, &c.

This feigned device was not so soon forged by the friars, but it was as soon believed of the people; so that a great while the red-coloured host was taken undoubtedly for the true body and blood of Christ, and certain coloured drops thereof sent abroad to divers noble personages and states for a great relic, and that not without great recompence. Thus the deceived people in great number came flocking to the image, and to the red host, and coloured blood, with manifold gifts and oblations. In brief, the Dominic Friars so had wrought the matter, and had so swept all the fat to their own beards, from the order of the Franciscans, that all the alms came to their box. The Franciscans seeing their estimation to decay, and their kitchen to wax cold, and their paunches to be pinched, not able to abide that contumely, and being not ignorant or unacquainted with such counterfeited doings, for as the proverb saith, "It is ill halting before a cripple," eftsoons espied their crafty juggling, and detected their fraudulent miracles. Whereupon the four chief captains abovenamed were apprehended, and put to the fire, of whom the provincial of that order was one.

And thus much touching the beginning and end of this tumultuous and popish tragedy; wherein evidently it may appear to the reader, how neither these turbulent friars could agree among themselves, and yet in what frivolous trifles they wrangled together. But to let these ridiculous friars pass, with their trifling fantasies, most worthy to be derided of all wise men; in the mean time this is to be lamented, to behold the miserable times of the church, in which the devil kept the minds of Christ's people so attentive and occupied in such friarly toys, that nothing else almost was taught or heard in the church, but only the commendation and exaltation of the

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Virgin Mary. But of our justification by faith, of grace and the promises of God in Christ, of the strength of the law, of the horror of sin, of difference between the law and the gospel, of the true liberty of conscience, &c., no mention or very little was heard. Wherefore in this so blind time of darkness, it was much needful and requisite, that the Lord of his mercy should look upon his church, and send down his gracious reformation; which also he did. For shortly upon the same, through the gracious excitation of God, came Martin Luther; of whom the order of story now requireth that we should and will treat, (Christ willing,) after the story of Richard Hunne, and a few other things premised, for the better opening of the story to follow.

158. Londoners Forced to Recant, 1510-1527

Mention was made sufficiently before of the doings of Pope Julius, and of his warlike affairs, for the which he was condemned, and not unjustly, in the council of Tours in France, A.D. 1510, and yet all this could not assuage the furious affection of this pope, but the same year he invaded the city of Modena and Mirandola in Italy, and took them by force of war. Which Pope Julius not long after, in the year of our Lord 1512, refusing peace offered by Maximilian the emperor, was encountered by Louis the French king, about Ravenna, upon Easter day; where he was vanquished, and had of his army slain to the number of sixteen thousand. And the year next following, A.D. 1513, this apostolical warrior, which had resigned his keys unto the river of Tiber before, made an end together both of his fighting and living, after he had reigned and fought ten years. After whom succeeded next in the see of Rome Pope Leo the Tenth, about the compass of which time great mutations and stirs began to work, as well in states temporal, as especially in the state of the church.

Pope Leo the Tenth, in Rome, A.D. 1513, reigned nine years.

Charles the Fifth, emperor in Germany, A.D. 1519, reigned thirty-nine years.

Francis, king of France, A.D. 1515, reigned thirty-two years.

Henry the Eighth, king of England, A.D. 1509, reigned thirty-eight years.

James the Fifth, king of Scotland, A.D. 1514, reigned twenty-nine years.

In the time of which pope, emperor, and kings of England and of France, great alterations, troubles, and turns of religion were wrought in the church, by the mighty operation of God's hand, in Italy, France, Germany, England, and all Europe, such as have not been seen, although much groaned for, many hundred years before; as in further discourse of this history (Christ willing) shall more manifestly appear.

But before we come to these alterations, taking the time as it lieth before us, we will first speak of Richard Hun, and certain other godly-minded persons here in England, afflicted for the word of Christ's gospel in great multitude, as they be found and taken out of the registers of Fitzjames, bishop of London, by the faithful help and industry of R. Carket, citizen of London.

The history of divers good men and women, persecuted for religion in the city and diocese of the bishop of London, briefly extracted out of the registers of Richard Fitzjames.

Amongst and beside the great number of the faithful martyrs and professors of Christ, that constantly in the strength of the Holy Ghost gave their lives for the testimony of his truth, I find recorded in the register of London, between the years of our Lord 1509 and 1527, the names of divers other persons both men and women; who, in the fulness of that dark and misty time of ignorance, had also some portion of God's good Spirit, which induced them to the knowledge of his truth and gospel, and were diversly troubled, persecuted, and imprisoned for the same; notwithstanding, by the proud, cruel, and bloody rage of the catholic seat, and through the weakness and frailty of their own nature, (not then fully strengthened in God,) it was again in

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them, for the time, suppressed and kept under, as appeareth by their several abjurations made before Richard Fitzjames, then bishop of London, (in his time a most cruel persecutor of Christ's church,) or else before his vicar-general deputed for the same. And forasmuch as many of the adversaries of God's truth have of late days disdainfully and braggingly cried out, and made demands in their public assemblies, and yet do, asking where this our church and religion was within these fifty or sixty years, I have thought it not altogether vain, somewhat to stop such lying crakers, both by mentioning their names, and likewise opening some of the chief and principal matters, for which they were so unmercifully afflicted and molested, thereby to give to understand, as well the continuance and consent of the true church of Christ in that age, touching the chief points of our faith, though not in like perfection of knowledge and constancy in all; as also by the way, something to touch what fond and frivolous matters the ignorant prelates shamed not in that time of blindness to object against the poor and simple people, accounting them as heinous and great offences, yea, such as deserved death of both body and soul. But lest I should seem too prolix and tedious herein, I will now briefly proceed with the story, and first begin with their names, which are these:

A.D. 1510.

Joan Baker.

William Pottier.

John Forge.

Thomas Goodred

Thomas Walker, alias Talbot

Thomas Forge.

Alice Forge.

John Forge, their son.

William Couper.

John Calverton.

John Woodrofe.

A.D. 1511.

Richard Woolman.

Roger Hilliar.

Alice Couper.

Thomas Austy.

Joan Austy.

Thomas Graunt.

John Garter.

Christopher Ravins.

Dionyse Ravins

Thomas Vincent

Lewis John.

Joan John.

A.D. 1512.

John Webb, alias Baker.

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A.D. 1517.

John Houshold.

Robert Rascal.

A.D. 1518.

Elizabeth Stanford.

George Browne.

John Wikes.

John Southake.

Richard Butler.

John Samme.

A.D. 1521.

William King.

Robert Durdant.

Henry Woolman.

Edmund Spilman.

A.D. 1523.

John Higges, alias Noke, alias Johnson.

A.D. 1526.

Henry Chambers.

John Higgins.

A.D. 1527.

Thomas Egleston.

The particular examination of all these here abovenamed, here followeth.

To these were divers and sundry particular articles, (besides the common and general sort accustomedly used in such cases,) privately objected, even such as they were then accused of, either by their curate, or other their neighbours. And because I think it somewhat superfluous to make any large recital of all and every part of their several process, I mind, therefore, briefly only to touch so many of their articles as may be sufficient to induce the Christian reader to judge the sooner of the rest, being (I assure you) of no greater importance than these that follow: except that sometime they were charged most slanderously with horrible and blasphemous lies against the majesty and truth of God, which, as they utterly denied, so do I now for this present keep secret in silence, as well for brevity's sake, as also somewhat to colour and hide the shameless practices of that lying generation. But to our purpose.

The chiefest objection against Joan Baker was, that she would not only herself not reverence the crucifix, but had also persuaded a friend of hers lying at the point of death, not to put any trust or confidence in the crucifix, but in God which is in heaven, who only worketh all the miracles that be done, and not the dead images, that be but stocks and stones: and therefore she was sorry that ever she had gone so often on pilgrimage to St. Saviour and other idols. Also,

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that she did hold opinion, that the pope had no power to give pardons, and that the Lady Young (who was not long before that time burned) died a true martyr of God; and therefore she wished of God, that she herself might do no worse than the said Lady Young had done.

Unto William Pottier, besides divers other false and slanderous articles, (as that he should deny the benefit and effect of Christ's passion,) it was also alleged that he should affirm, that there were six Gods. The first three was the holy Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. The fourth was a priest's concubine being kept in his chamber. The fifth was the devil. And the sixth, that thing that a man setteth his mind most upon.

"The first part of this article he utterly denied, confessing most firmly and truly the blessed Trinity to be only one God in one unity of Deity: as to the other three be answered, that a priest delighting in his concubine, made her as his god. Likewise a wicked person persisting in his sin without repentance, made the devil his god. And lastly he granted, that he once hearing of certain men, which by the singing and chattering of birds would seek to know what things were to come, either to themselves or others, said that those men esteemed their birds as gods: and otherwise he spake not."

Amongst the manifold and several articles objected against Thomas Goodred, Thomas Walker, Thomas Forge, Alice Forge his wife, John Forge their son, John Calverton, John Woodrofe, Richard Woolman, and Roger Hilliar, (as that they should speak against pilgrimages, praying unto saints, and such like,) this principally was propounded, that they all denied the carnal and corporal presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar; and further, had concealed and consented unto their teachers and instructors of that doctrine, and had not, according unto the laws of the church, accused and presented them unto the bishop or his ordinary. Also great and heinous displeasure was conceived against Richard Woolman, for that he termed the church of Paul's, a house of thieves; affirming that the priests and other ecclesiastical persons there, were not liberal givers unto the poor, (as they ought,) but rather takers away from them, what they could get.

Likewise as Thomas Austy, Joan Austy his wife, Thomas Graunt, John Garters, Christopher Ravins, Dionyse Ravins his sister, Thomas Vincent, Lewis John, Joan John his wife, and John Webb, were of one fellowship and profession of faith with divers of the last before recited; so were they also almost apprehended about one time, and chiefly burdened with one opinion of the sacrament. Which declareth evidently, that notwithstanding the dark ignorance of those corrupted times, yet God did ever in mercy open the eyes of some, to behold the manifest truth, even in those things whereof the papists make now greatest vaunt and brag of longest continuance. Furthermore, many of them were charged to have spoken against pilgrimages, and to have read and used certain English books, impugning the faith of the Romish Church; as the Four Evangelists, Wickliff's Wicket, a book of the Ten Commandments of Almighty God, the Revelation of St. John, the Epistles of Paul and James, with other like, which those holy ones could never abide; and good cause why: for as darkness could never agree with light, no more can ignorance, the maintainer of that kingdom, with the true knowledge of Christ and his gospel.

It was further particularly objected against Joan John, the wife of Lewis John, that (besides the premises) she learned and maintained that God commanded no holy-days to be kept,

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but only the sabbath day; and therefore she would keep none but it, nor no fasting days; affirming, that to fast from sin was the true fast. Moreover, that she had despised the pope, his pardons, and pilgrimages; insomuch that when any poor body asked his alms of her in the worship of the Lady of Walsingham, she would straight answer in contempt of the pilgrimage, The Lady of Walsingham help thee. And if she gave any thing unto him, she would then say, Take this in the worship of our Lady in heaven, and let the other go. Which declareth for lack of better instruction and knowledge, she yet ignorantly attributed too much honour to the true saints of God departed; though otherwise she did abhor the idolatrous worshipping of the dead images. By which example, as also by many others, (for shortness sake, at this present omitted,) I have just occasion to condemn the wilful subtlety of those, that in this bright shining light of God's truth would yet, under colour of godly remembrance, still maintain the having of images in the church, craftily excusing their idolatrous kneeling and praying unto them, by affirming, that they never worshipped the dead images, but the things that the images did represent. But if that were their only doctrine and cause of having of them, why then would their predecessors so cruelly compel these poor simple people, thus openly in their recantations, to abjure and revoke their speaking against the gross adoration of the outward images only, and not against the thing represented? Which many of them, (as appeareth partly by this example,) in their ignorant simplicity, confessed might be worshipped. Howbeit, God be thanked, (who ever in his mercy continue it,) their colourable and hypocritical excuses cannot now take such place in the hearts of the elect of God, as they have done heretofore, especially seeing the word of God doth so manifestly forbid as well the worshipping of them, as also the making or having of them, for order of religion.

It was alleged against William Cowper and Alice Cowper his wife, that they had spoken against pilgrimages, and worshipping of images; but chiefly the woman, who having her child on a time hurt by falling into a pit or ditch, and earnestly persuaded by some of her ignorant neighbours, to go on pilgrimage to St. Laurence for help for her child, said, that neither St. Laurence nor any other saint could help her child, and therefore none ought to go on pilgrimage to any image made with man's hand, but only unto Almighty God; for pilgrimages were nothing worth, saving to make the priests rich.

Unto John Houshold, Robert Rascal, and Elizabeth Stamford, as well the article against the sacrament of the altar was objected, as also that they had spoken against praying to saints, and had despised the authority of the bishop of Rome, and others of his clergy. But especially John Houshold was charged to have called them antichrists and fornicators, and the pope himself a strong strumpet, and a common scandal unto the world, who with his pardons had drowned in blindness all Christian realms, and that for money.

Also among divers other ordinary articles propounded against George Brown, these were counted very heinous and heretical: First, that he had said, that he knew no cause why the cross should be worshipped, seeing that the same was a hurt and pain unto our Saviour Christ in the time of his passion, and not any ease or pleasure; alleging for example, that if he had had a friend hanged or drowned, he would ever after have loved that gallows, or water, by the which his friend died, rather worse for that than better. Another objection was, that he had erroneously, obstinately, and maliciously said, for so are their words, that the church was too rich. This matter, I may tell you, touched somewhat the quick, and therefore no marvel though they

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counted it erroneous and malicious; for take away their gain, and farewell their religion. They also charged him to have refused holy water to be cast about his chamber, and likewise to have spoken against priests, with other vain matters.

The greatest matter wherewith they burdened John Wikes, was, that he had often and of long time kept company with divers persons suspected of heresies, as they termed them, and had received them into his house, and there did suffer and hear them, sundry times, read erroneous and heretical books, contrary to the faith of the Romish Church, and did also himself consent unto their doctrine; and had many times secretly conveyed them from the taking of such as were appointed to apprehend them.

Like as the greatest number of those before mentioned, so were also John Southake, Richard Butler, John Sam, William King; Robert Durdant, and Henry Woolman, especially charged with speaking words against the real presence of Christ's body in the sacrament of the altar, and also against images, and the rest of the seven sacraments. Howbeit, they burdened the last five persons with the reading of certain English heretical books, accounting most blasphemously the Gospel of Jesus Christ, written by the four evangelists, to be of that number, as appeareth evidently by the eighth article objected by Thomas Bennet, doctor of law, chancellor and vicar general, unto Richard Fitzjames, then bishop of London, against the said Richard Butler. The very words of which article, for a more declaration of truth, I have thought good here to insert; which are these: "Also we object to you, that divers times, and especially upon a certain night, about the space of three years last past, in Robert Durdant's house of Iver Court near unto Stanes, you erroneously and damnably read in a great book of heresy of the said Robert Durdant's, all that same night, certain chapters of the evangelists in English, containing in them divers erroneous and damnable opinions and conclusions of heresy, in the presence of the said Robert Durdant, John Butler, Robert Carder, Jenkin Butler, William King, and divers other suspect persons of heresy then being present, and hearing your said erroneous lectures and opinions." To the same effect and purpose tended the tenor of some of the articles propounded against the other four. Whereby, as also by others like before specified, we may easily judge what reverence they, which yet will be counted the true and only church of Christ, did bear to the word and Gospel of Christ, who shamed not to blaspheme the same with most horrible titles of erroneous and damnable opinions, and conclusions of heresy. But why should we marvel thereat, seeing the Holy Ghost in sundry places of the Scripture doth declare, that in the latter days there should come such proud and cursed speakers, which shall speak lies through hypocrisy, and have their consciences marked with a hot iron? Let us therefore now thank our heavenly Father for revealing them unto us; and let us also pray him, that of his free mercies in his Son Christ Jesus, he would, if it be to his glory, either turn and mollify all such hearts, or else, for the peace and quietness of his church, he would in his righteous judgment take them from us.

About this time Richard Fitzjames ended his life. After whose death, Cutbert Tunstall (afterwards bishop of Durham) succeeded in the see and bishopric of London; who soon upon his first entry into the room, minding to follow rightly the footsteps of his predecessor, caused Edmund Spilman, priest, Henry Chambers, John Higgins, and Thomas Eglestone, to be apprehended, and so to be examined upon sundry like articles, as before are expressed; and in the end, either for fear of his cruelty, and his rigour of death, or else through hope of his flattering promises, (such was their weakness,) he compelled them to abjure and renounce their true

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professed faith touching the holy sacrament of Christ's body and blood, which was, that Christ's corporal body was not in the sacrament, but in heaven, and that the sacrament was a figure of his body, and not the body itself.

Moreover, about the same time there were certain articles objected against John Higges, alias Noke, alias Johnson, by the said bishop's vicar-general. Amongst which were these: First, that he had affirmed, that it was as lawful for a temporal man to have two wives at once, as for a priest to have two benefices. Also, that he had in his custody a book of the Four Evangelists in English, and did often read therein; and that he favoured the doctrines and opinions of Martin Luther, openly pronouncing that Luther had more learning in his little finger than all the doctors in England in their whole bodies; and that all the priests in the church were blind, and had led the people the wrong way. Likewise it was alleged against him, that he had denied purgatory, and had said, that while he were alive he would do as much for himself as he could, for after his death he thought that prayer and alms-deeds could little help him.

These and such-like matters were they, wherewith these poor and simple men and women were chiefly charged, and as heinous heretics excommunicated, imprisoned, and at last compelled to recant; and some of them, in utter shame and reproach, (besides the ordinary bearing of faggots before the cross in procession, or else at a sermon,) were enjoined for penance, (as they termed it,) as well to appear once every year before their ordinary, as also to wear the sign of a faggot painted upon their sleeves, or other part of their outward garment, and that during all their lives, or so often and long as it pleased their ordinary to appoint. By which long, rigorous, and open punishing of them, they meant (as it should seem) utterly to terrify and keep back all others from the true knowledge of Jesus Christ and his gospel. But the Lord be evermore praised, what effect their wicked purposes therein have taken, these our most lightsome days of God's glorious gospel do most joyfully declare.

There were also troubled besides these, certain others more simple and ignorant; who having but a very small smack or taste of the truth, did yet at the first (as it may seem) gladly consent unto the same; but being apprehended, they quickly again yielded, and therefore had only assigned them for their penance, the bearing of a little candle before the cross, without any further open abjuring or recanting. Amongst which I find two especially; the one a woman, called Ellen Heyer, to whom it was objected, that she had neither confessed herself unto the priest, nor yet received the sacrament of the altar, by the space of four years, and notwithstanding had yearly eaten flesh at Easter, and after, as well as others that had received the same, contrary to the usual manner and conversation of all other Christian people.

The other was a man, named Robert Berkeway, who (besides most wicked blasphemies against God, which he utterly denied) was charged to have spoken heinous words against the pope's holy and blessed martyr Thomas Becket, calling him covetous and a thief, for that he wrought by crafts and imaginations.

Thus have I (as briefly as I could) summarily collected the principal articles objected against these weak, infirm, and earthy vessels. Not minding hereby to excuse or condemn them, in these their fearful falls and dangerous defections; but leaving them unto the unmeasurable rich mercies of the Lord; I thought only to make manifest the insatiable bloody cruelty of the pope's

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kingdom, against the gospel and true church of Christ; nothing mitigating their envious rage, no not against the very simple idiots, and that sometimes in most frivolous and irreligious cases. But now leaving to say any further herein, I will (by God's grace) go forward with other somewhat more serious matters.

159. William Sweeting and John Brewster.

In searching and perusing of the Register, for the collection of the names and articles before recited, I find that within the compass of the same years there were also some others, who after they had once showed themselves as frail and inconstant as the rest, (being either therewith pricked in conscience, or otherwise zealously overcome with the manifest truth of God's most sacred word,) became yet again as earnest professors of Christ as ever they were before, and for the same profession were the second time apprehended, examined, condemned, and in the end were most cruelly burned. Of the which number were William Sweeting and John Brewster, who were both burned together in Smithfield, the eighteenth day of October, A.D. 1511. The chiefest case of religion alleged against them in their articles, was their faith concerning the sacrament of Christ's body and blood. Which, because it differed from the absurd, gross, and Capernaïtical opinion of the new schoolmen, was counted as most heinous heresy. There were other things besides objected against them; as the reading of certain forbidden books, and accompanying with such persons as were suspected of heresy. But one great and heinous offence counted amongst the rest, was their putting and leaving off the painted faggots, which they were at the first abjuring enjoined to wear as badges during their lives, or so long as it should please their ordinary to appoint, and not to leave them off, upon pain of relapse, until they were dispensed withal for the same. The breach of this injunction was esteemed to be of no small weight, and yet, the matter well and thoroughly considered, it seemeth by their confessions, they were both thereunto by necessity enforced. For the one, named Sweeting, being for fear of the bishop's cruelty constrained to wander the countries to get his poor living, came at length unto Colchester, where by the parson of the parish of Mary Magdalene, he was provoked to be the holy-water clerk, and in that consideration had that infamous badge first taken away from him. The other (which was Brewster) left off his at the commandment of the comptroller of the earl of Oxford's house; who hiring the poor man to labour in the earl's household business, would not suffer him, working there, to wear that counterfeit cognizance any longer: so that (as I said) necessity of living seemeth to compel both of them at the first to break that injunction; and therefore, if charity had borne as great sway in the hearts of the pope's clergy as did cruelty, this trifle would not have been so heinously taken, as to be brought against them for an article and cause of condemnation to death. But where tyranny once taketh place, as well all godly love, as also all human reason and duties, are quite forgotten. Well, to be short, what for the causes before recited, as also for that they had once already abjured, and yet (as they term it) fell again into relapse, they were both (as you have heard) in the end burned together in Smithfield; although the same parties (as the Register recordeth) did again before their death fearfully forsake their former revived constancy, and submitting themselves unto the discipline of the Romish Church, craved absolution from their excommunication. Howbeit, because many of the Register's notes and records in such cases may rightly be doubted of, and so called into question, I refer the certain knowledge hereof unto the Lord, (who is the trier of all truths,) and the external judgment unto the godly and discreet reader; not forgetting yet by the way, (if that the report should be true,) upon so just an occasion, to charge that catholic clergy and their wicked laws, with a more shameless tyranny and uncharitable cruelty than before. For if they nothing stay their bloody malice towards such as so willingly submit themselves unto their mercies, what favour may the

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faithful and constant professors of Christ look for at their hands? I might here also ask of them, how they follow the pitiful and loving admonition (or rather precept) of our Saviour Christ, (whose true and only church they so stoutly brag to be,) who in the 17th chapter of St. Luke saith, Though thy brother sin against thee seven times in a day, and seven times in a day turn to thee, saying, It repenteth me, thou shalt forgive him. But what go I about to allure them unto the following of the rule and counsel of him, unto whose word and gospel they seem most open and utter enemies? Wherefore, not purposing to stay any longer thereupon, but leaving them unto the righteous revengement of the Lord; let us now hereunto adjoin the story of one John Browne, a good martyr of the Lord, burnt at Ashford, about this fourth year of King Henry the Eighth, whose story hereunder followeth.

The occasion of the first trouble of this John Browne was by a priest, sitting in a Gravesend barge. John Browne being the same time in the barge, came and sat hard by him; whereupon after certain communication, the priest asked him, "Dost thou know," said he, "who I am; thou sittest too near me, thou sittest on my clothes?" "No, sir," said he, "I know not what you are." "I tell thee I am a priest." "What, sir, are ye a parson, or vicar, or a lady's chaplain?" "No," quoth he again, "I am a soul priest, I sing for a soul," saith he. "Do you so, sir," quoth the other, "that is well done. I pray you, sir," quoth he, "where find you the soul when you go to mass?" "I cannot tell thee," said the priest. "I pray you where do you leave it, sir, when the mass is done?" "I cannot tell thee," said the priest. "Neither can you tell where you find it when you go to mass, nor where you leave it when the mass is done, how can you then have the soul," said he. "Go thy ways," said the priest, "thou art a heretic, and I will be even with thee." So at the landing, the priest taking with him Walter More and William More, two gentlemen, brethren, rode straightways to the Archbishop Warham, whereupon the said John Browne within three days after, his wife being churched the same day, and he bringing in a mess of pottage to the board to his guests, was sent for, and his feet bound under his own horse, and so brought up to Canterbury, neither his wife nor he, nor any of his, knowing whither he went, nor whither he should. And there continuing from Low-Sunday till the Friday before Whitsunday, his wife not, knowing all this while where he was; he was set in the stocks over night, and on the morrow went to death, and was burned at Ashford, A.D. 1517. The same night as he was in the stocks at Ashford, where he and his wife dwelt, his wife then hearing of him, came and sat by him all the night before he should be burned; to whom he declaring the whole story how he was handled, showed and told, how that he could not set his feet to the ground, for they were burned to the bones, and told her how by the two bishops, Warham; and Fisher, his feet were heated upon the hot coals, and burnt to the bones, "to make me," said he, "to deny my Lord, which I will never do; for if I should deny my Lord in this world, he would hereafter deny me. I pray thee," said he, "therefore, good Elizabeth, continue as thou hast begun, and bring up thy children virtuously and in the fear of God:" and so the next day, on Whitsunday even, this godly martyr was burned. Standing at the stake, this prayer he made, holding up his hands,

"O Lord, I yield me to thy grace,
Grant me mercy for my trespass,
Let never the fiend my soul chase.
Lord, I will bow, and thou shalt beat,
Let never my soul come in hell heat.

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Into thy hands I commend my spirit,
thou hast redeemed me, O Lord of truth."

And so he ended.

At the fire, one Chilton, the baily arrant, bade cast in Browne's children also; for they would spring, said he, of his ashes.

This blessed martyr John Browne had borne a faggot seven years before in the days of King Henry the Seventh.

160. Richard Hun

As it is the property of Satan ever to malice the prosperous estate of the saints of God, and true professors of Christ; so ceaseth he not continually to stir up his wicked members to the effectual accomplishing of that which his envious nature so greedily desireth; if not always openly by colour of tyrannical laws, yet, at the leastwise, by some subtle practice of secret murder; which thing doth most plainly appear not only in a great number of the blessed martyrs of Christ's church, mentioned in this book, but also, and especially, in the discourse of this lamentable history that now I have in hand, concerning the secret and cruel murdering of Richard Hun, whose story here consequently ensueth, excerpted and collected partly out of the registers of London, partly out of a bill exhibited and denounced in the parliament house.

There was in the year of our Lord 1514, one Richard Hun, merchant tailor, dwelling within the city of London, and freeman of the same, who was esteemed during his life, and worthily reputed and taken, not only for a man of true dealing and good substance, but also for a good catholic man. This Richard Hun had a child at nurse in Middlesex in the parish of St. Mary Matsilon, which died; by the occasion whereof, one Thomas Driffield, clerk, being parson of the said parish, sued the said Richard Hun in the spiritual court for a bearing sheet, which the said Thomas Driffield claimed, unjustly, to have of the said Hun, for a mortuary for Stephen Hun, son of the said Richard Hun; which Stephen, being at nurse in the said parish, died being of the age of five weeks, and not above. Hun answered him again, that forasmuch as the child had no property in the sheet, he therefore neither would pay it, nor the other ought to have it. Whereupon the priest, moved with a covetous desire, and loth to lose his pretended right, cited him to appear in the spiritual court, there to answer the matter. Whereupon the said Richard Hunne, being troubled in the spiritual court, was forced to seek counsel of the learned in the law of this land, and pursued a writ of præmunire against the said Thomas Driffield, and other, his aiders, counsellors, proctors, and adherents, as by the process thereof is yet to be seen; which when the rest of the priestly order heard of, greatly disdaining that any layman should so boldly enterprise such a matter against any of them; and fearing also that if they should now suffer this priest to be condemned at the suit of Hun, there would be thereby ever after a liberty opened unto all others of the laity to do the like with the rest of the clergy in such-like cases; they straightways, both to stop this matter, and also to be revenged of him, for that he had already done, sought all means they possibly could how to entrap and bring him within the danger of their own cruel laws; and thereupon making secret and diligent inquisition, and seeking all corners they could against him, at length they found a means how to accuse him of heresy, unto Richard Fitzjames, then bishop of London, and so did; who (desirous to satisfy the revenging and bloody affection of his chaplains) caused him thereupon to be apprehended and committed unto prison within the Lollard's Tower at Paul's, so that none of his friends might be suffered to come to him. This Richard Hun being clapped in the Lollard's Tower, shortly after, at the earnest instigation of one Doctor Horsey the bishop's chancellor, (a man more ready to prefer the clergy's cruel tyranny than the truth of Christ's gospel,) was brought before the bishop at his manor of Fulham, the second day of December, in the year before-mentioned; where within his chapel he examined him upon these articles following, collected against him by the said Horsey and his accomplices.

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"First, That he had read, taught, preached, published, and obstinately defended, against the laws of Almighty God; that tithes, or paying of tithes, was never ordained to be due, saving only by the covetousness of priests.

"2. Item, That he had read, taught, preached, published, and obstinately defended; that bishops and priests be the scribes and Pharisees that did crucify Christ, and damned him to death.

"3. Item, That he had read, taught, preached, &c., that bishops and priests be teachers and preachers, but no doers, neither fulfillers of the law of God; but catching, ravening, and all things taking, and nothing ministering, neither giving.

"4. Item, Where and when one Joan Baker was detected and abjured of many great heresies, (as it appeareth by her abjuration,) the said Richard Hun, said, published, taught, preached, and obstinately took upon him, saying, that he would defend her and her opinions, if it cost him five hundred marks.

"5. Item, Afterwards (where and when the said Joan Baker, after her abjuration, was enjoined open penance according to her demerits) the said Richard Hun said, published, taught, and obstinately did defend her, saying, The bishop of London and his officers have done open wrong to the said Joan Baker, in punishing her for heresy; for her sayings and opinions be according to the laws of God; wherefore the bishop and his officers are more worthy to be punished for heresy than she is.

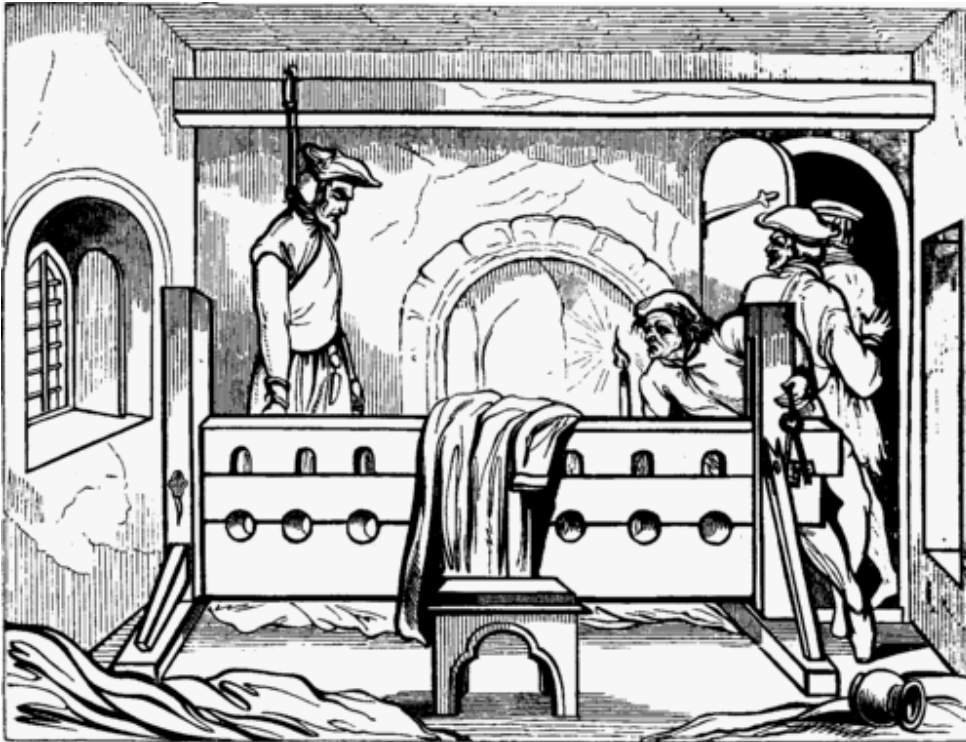
"6. Item, That the said Richard Hun hath in his keeping divers English books, prohibited and damned by the law; as the Apocalypse in English, Epistles and Gospels in English, Wickliffe's damnable works, and other books, containing infinite errors, in the which he hath been long time accustomed to read, teach, and study daily."

Particular answer unto these several objections, in the Register, I find none, saving that next under them, there is written in his name with a contrary hand these words following: "As touching these articles, I have not spoken them as they be here laid: howbeit, unadvisedly I have spoken words somewhat sounding to the same; for the which I am sorry, and ask God mercy, and submit me unto my lord's charitable and favourable correction." Which they affirm to be written with Hun's own hand: but how likely to truth that is, let the discreet wisdom of the reader indifferently judge by the whole sequel of this process. And further, if it were his own act, what occasion then had they so cruelly to murder him as they did? seeing he had already so willingly confessed his fault, and submitted himself unto the charitable and favourable correction of the bishop, (for the which even by their own law, in cases of most heinous heresy, he ought to be again received and pardoned,) except perhaps they will account horrible murder to be but the bishop's favourable correction. Again, it seemeth they had very few credible witnesses to prove certainly that this was his answer and hand-writing; for the Register, or some other for him (appointed to record the same) hath certified it, as of hearsay from others, and not of his own proper sight and knowledge, as the words noted in the margin of the book, adjoining to the aforesaid answer, plainly do declare, which are these, *Hoc fuit scriptum manu propria Richardi Hunne, ut dicitur*. Now if he had had any sure ground to stablish this certificate, I doubt not but he would (instead of *ut dicitur*) have registered the names of the assistants at the time of his

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examination, (which he confesseth to be many,) as generally they do in all their acts, especially in cases of heresy, as they term it. But how scrupulous those good fellows that spared not so shamelessly to murder him, would be to make a lie of him that was already dead, let (as I said) the indifferent judgment of the godly wise discern.

This examination ended, the bishop sent him back again the same day, unto the Lollard's Tower; and then by the appointment of Doctor Horsey, his chancellor, he was colourably committed from the custody of Charles Joseph, the sumner, unto John Spalding, the bell-ringer, a man by whose simpleness in wit (though otherwise wicked) the subtle chancellor thought to bring his devilish pretended homicide the easier to pass; which most cruelly he did by his ministers suborned, within two nights then next following accomplish; as is plainly proved hereafter by the diligent inquiry and final verdict of the coroner of London, and his inquest, made by order of the laws in that behalf limited. But when this usual practice of the papists was once accomplished, there wanted then no secret shifts nor worldly wiles for the crafty colouring of this mischief; and therefore, the next morning after they had in the night committed this murder, John Spalding (I doubt not but by the counsel of his master chancellor) got himself out of the way, into the city, and leaving the keys of the prison with one of his fellows, willed him to deliver them unto the sumner's boy, which accustomedly did use to carry Hun his meat, and other necessities that he needed; thinking that the boy, first finding the prisoner dead, and hanged in such sort as they left him, they might (by his relation) be thought free from any suspicion of this matter. Which thing happened in the beginning almost as they wished. For the boy, the same morning (being the fourth day of December) having the keys delivered him, accompanied with two other of the bishop's sumners, went about ten of the clock into the prison, to serve the prisoner, as he was wont to do; and when they came up, they found him hanged with his face towards the wall. Whereupon they (astonished at this sight) gave knowledge thereof immediately unto the chancellor, being then in the church, and watching, I suppose, of purpose, for such news; who forthwith got unto him certain of his colleagues, and went with them into the prison, to see that which his own wicked conscience knew full well before, as was afterwards plainly proved, although then he made a fair face to the contrary, blazing abroad among the people, by their officers and servants, that Hun had desperately hanged himself. Howbeit, the people having good experience as well of the honest life and godly conversation of the man, as also of the devilish malice of his adversaries the priests, judged rather that by their procurement he was secretly murdered. Whereof arose great contention; for the bishop of London on the 'one side, taking his clergy's part, affirmed stoutly that Hun had hanged himself. The citizens again on the other side, vehemently suspecting some secret murder, caused the coroner of London (according to law) to choose an inquest, and to take good view of the dead body, and so to try out the truth of the matter. Whereby the bishop and his chaplains were then driven to the extremity of shifts; and therefore minding by some subtle show of justice, to stop the mouths of the people, they determined that in the mean while, as the inquest was occupied about their charge, the bishop should, for his part, proceed ex officio, in case of heresy, against the dead person; supposing (most like) that if the party were once condemned of heresy, the inquest durst not then but find him guilty of his own death, and so clearly acquit them from all the former suspicion of privy murder. This determination of theirs they did immediately put in practice, in order as followeth.



Richard Hun Found Hanged in the Lollard's Tower

First, besides the articles before mentioned, (which they affirm were objected against him in his lifetime,) Doctor Hed did now also after his death, collect certain others out of the prologue of his English Bible, remaining then in the bishop's hands; which he diligently perused, not to learn any good thing therein, but to get thereout such matter, as he thought might best serve their cursed purpose, as appeareth by the tenor of the articles, which are these:

"1. First, The said book damneth all holy canons, calling them ceremonies and statutes of sinful men and uncunning; and calleth the pope Sathanas and antichrist.

"2. Item, It damneth the pope's pardons, saying, they be but leasings.

"3. Item, The said book of Hun saith, that kings and lords, called Christian in name, and heathen in conditions, defile the sanctuary of God, bringing clerks full of covetousness, heresy, and malice, to stop God's law that it cannot be known, kept, and freely preached.

"4. Item, The said book saith, that lords and prelates pursue full cruelly them that would teach truly and freely the law of God; and cherish them that preach sinful men's traditions and statutes, by the which he meaneth the holy canons of Christ's church.

"5. Item, That poor men and idiots have the truth of the Holy Scriptures, more than a thousand prelates and religious men, and clerks of the school.

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"6. Item, That Christian kings and lords set idols in God's house, and excite the people to idolatry.

"7. Item, That princes, lords, and prelates, so doing, be worse than Herod that pursued Christ, and worse than Jews and heathen men that crucified Christ.

"8. Item, That every man swearing by our Lady, or any other saint or creature, giveth more honour to the saints, than to the holy Trinity; and so he saith they be idolaters.

"9. Item, He saith, that saints ought not to be honoured.

"10. Item, He damneth adoration, prayer, kneeling, and offering to images, which he calleth stocks and stones.

"11. Item, He saith, that the very body of the Lord is not contained in the sacrament of the altar, but that men, receiving it, shall thereby keep in mind, that Christ's flesh was wounded and crucified for us.

"12. Item, He damneth the university of Oxford, with all degrees and faculties in it, as art civil, canon, and divinity, saying, that they let the true way to come to the knowledge of the laws of God and Holy Scripture.

"13. Item, He defendeth the translation of the Bible and Holy Scripture into the English tongue, which is prohibited by the laws of our mother holy church."

These articles thus collected, as also the others before specified, they caused for a more show of their pretended justice and innocence, to be openly read the next Sunday following by the preacher at Paul's Cross, with this protestation made before.

"Masters and friends, for certain causes and considerations, I have in commandment to rehearse, show, and publish here unto you, the articles of heresy, upon which Richard Hun was detected and examined; and also other great articles and damnable points and opinions of heresy contained in some of his books, be come to light and knowledge, here ready to be showed."

And therewith he read the articles openly unto the people, concluding with these words:

"And, masters, if there be any man desirous to see the specialty of these articles, or doubt whether they be contained in this book or not, for satisfying of his mind, let him come to my lord of London, and he shall see it with good will. Moreover, here I counsel and admonish, that if there be any persons, that of their simpleness have been familiar and acquainted with the said Richard Hun in these articles, or have heard him read upon this book, or any other sounding to heresy, or have any like books themselves, let them come unto my lord of London betwixt this and Candlemas next, and acknowledge their fault, and they shall be charitably treated and dealt withal, so that both their goods and honesty shall be saved; and if they will not come of their own offer, but abide the process of the law, then at their own peril be it, if the rigour of the law be executed against them."

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After which open publication and admonition, the bishop at sundry times examined divers of his priests, and other lay persons, upon the contents of both these articles. Among which examiners, there was a man servant and a maid of the said Hun's, who, although they had of long time dwelt with him, were not able to charge him with any great thing worthy reprehension; no, not in such points as the bishop chiefly objected against him. But yet the priests (through whose procurement this mischief was first begun) spared no whit stoutly and maliciously to accuse him, some in the contents of the first articles, and some in the second. Wherefore, having now (as they thought) sufficient matter against him, they purposed speedily to proceed to his condemnation. And because they would seem to do all things formally, and by prescript order, they first drew out certain short and summary rules, by the which the bishop should be directed in this solemn session; which are these:

"First, Let the bishop sit in his tribunal seat, in our Lady's chapel.

"Secondly, Let him recite the cause of his coming, and take notaries to him, to enact that shall be there done.

"Thirdly, Let him declare, how, upon Sunday last, at Paul's Cross, he caused to be published a general monition, or denunciation, that all abettors and maintainers of Richard Hun, should come in, as by this day, and submit themselves; and let him signify withal, how certain have come in, and have appeared already.

"Fourthly, Let him protest and say, that if there remain any yet behind which have not appeared according to the former monition and denunciation; yet if they will come, and appear, and submit themselves, they shall be heard and received with grace and favour.

"Fifthly, Let the bishop, or some other at his appointment, recite the articles objected against Richard Hun; in the time of his life; and then the other articles likewise, which were out of his great book of the Bible extracted.

"Sixthly, Let the answers and confessions of the said Richard Hun summarily be recited, with the attestations made to the same articles. Also let his books be exhibited, and then Thomas Brook his servant be called for.

"Seventhly, Let it be openly cried at the choir door, that if there be any which will defend the articles, opinions, books, or the memory of the said Richard Hun, let them come and appear, and they shall be heard, as the law in that behalf shall require.

"Eighthly, Let it be openly cried, as in manner before, for such as be receivers, favourers, defenders, or believers of the said Richard Hun, that all such do appear and submit themselves to the bishop, or else he intendeth to proceed to the excommunication of them in general, according to the exigence of the law in that behalf.

"Ninthly, Then the bishop speaking to the standers by, and to them which sat with him upon the bench, of the clergy, demanding of them, what their judgment and opinion is touching

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the premises, and whether they think it convenient and agreeable for him to proceed to the sentence against the said Richard Hun, in this part to be awarded.

"Tenthly, After their consent and counsel given, let the bishop read out the sentence.

"Finally, After the sentence read, let the bishop appoint the publication and denunciation of the aforesaid sentence to be read at Paul's Cross or elsewhere, as to him shall seem expedient, with a citation likewise generally against all them that be receivers, favourers, and believers of the said Hun, to give to understand why he ought not further to proceed against them," &c.

Now according to the tenor of these prescripts and rules, the bishop of London, accompanied with the bishops of Durham and Lincoln, sat in judgment the 16th day of December, then next following, within the place by the same appointed; adjoining also unto them as witnesses of their proceedings, six public notaries, his own register, and about twenty-five doctors, abbots, priors, and priests of name, with a great rabble of their common anointed catholics. Where, after a solemn proclamation made, that if there were any that would defend the opinions and books of Richard Hun, they should presently appear and be heard according to law, he commanded all the articles and objections against Hun openly to be read before the assembly; and then, perceiving that none durst appear in his defence, by the advice of his assistants, he pronounced the sentence definitive against the dead carcass, condemning it of heresy, and therewith committed the same unto the secular power, to be by them burned accordingly. Which ridiculous decree was as fondly accomplished in Smithfield the 20th day of the same month of December, (being full sixteen days after they had thus horribly murdered him,) to the great grief and disdain of all the people.

Notwithstanding, after all this tragical and cruel handling of the dead body, with their fair and colourable show of justice, yet the inquest no whit stayed their diligent searching out of the true cause and means of his death. Insomuch that when they had been divers times called both before the king's privy council, (his Majesty himself being sometime present,) and also before the chief judges and justices of this realm, and that the matter being by them thoroughly examined, and perceived to be much bolstered and borne withal by the clergy, was again wholly remitted unto their determination and ending; they found by good proof and sufficient evidence, that Doctor Horsey, the chancellor, Charles Joseph, the sumner, and John Spalding, the bell-ringer, had privily and maliciously committed this murder, and therefore indicted them all three as wilful murderers. Howbeit, through the earnest suit of the bishop of London unto Cardinal Wolsey, (as appeareth by his letters hereafter mentioned,) means was found, that at the next sessions of gaol delivery, the king's attorney pronounced the indictment against Doctor Horsey to be false and untrue; and him not to be guilty of the murder. Who being then thereby delivered in body, having yet in himself a guilty conscience, gat him unto Exeter, and durst never after for shame come again unto London. But now, that the truth of all this matter may seem more manifest and plain unto all men's eyes, here shall follow word by word the whole inquiry and verdict of the inquest, exhibited by them unto the coroner of London, so given up and signed with his own hand.

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The verdict of the inquest.

"The fifth and the sixth day of December, in the sixth yeere of the reigne of our soueraigne lord King Henry the Eighth, William Barnewell crowner of London, the day and yeere abovesaid, within the ward of Castelbainard of London assembled a quest, whose names afterward doe appeare, and hath sworne them truly to enquire of the death of one Richard Hun, which lately was found dead in the Lollards Tower within Pauls church of London: whereupon all we of the inquest together went vp into the said Tower, where we found the body of the said Hun hanging vpon a staple of iron in a girdle of silke, with faire countenance, his head faire kemmed, and his bonet right sitting vpon his head, with his eyne and mouth faire closed, without any staring, gaping, or frowning, also without any driueling or spurning in any place of his body: whereupon by one assent all we agreed to take downe the dead body of the said Hun, and as soon as we began to heaue the body, it was loose; whereby, by good aduisement we perceiued that the girdle had no knot about the staple, but it was double cast, and the linkes of an iron chaine which did hang on the same staple, were laid vpon the same girdle whereby hee did hang: also the knot of the girdle that went about his necke, stood vnder his left eare, which caused his head to leane towards his right shoulder. Notwithstanding there came out of his nostrels two small streames of blood, to the quantity of foure drops. Saue onely these foure drops of blood, the face, lips, chinne, doublet, coller, and shirt of the said Hun, was cleane from any blood. Also we find that the skinne both of his necke and throte beneath the girdle of silke, was fret and faled away, with that thing which the murtherers had broken his necke withall. Also the hands of the said Hun were wrung in the wrists; whereby we perceiued that his hands had bin bound.

Moreouer, we find that within the said prison was no meane whereby a man might hang himselfe, but onely a stoole, which stoole stood vpon a bolster of a bed, so tickle, that any man or beast might not touch it so little, but it was ready to fall. Whereby we perceiued that it was not possible that Hun might hang himselfe, the stoole so standing. Also all the girdle from the staple to his necke, as well as the part which went about his neck, was too little for his head to come out thereat. Also it was not possible that the soft silken girdle should breake his necke or skin beneath the girdle. Also we find in a corner somewhat beyond the place where he did hang, a great parcell of blood. Also we find vpon the left side of Hunnes iacket from the brest downeward, two great streames of blood. Also within the flap of the left side of his iacket, we find a great cluster of blood, and the iacket folden downe thereupon; which thing the said Hun could neuer fold nor doe after he was hanged. Whereby it appeareth plainly to vs all, that the necke of Hun was broken, and the great plenty of blood was shed before he was hanged. Wherefore all we find by God and all our consciences; that Richard Hunne was murdered. Also we acquit the said Richard Hun of his own death.

"Also there was an end of a wax candle, which as Iohn Belringer saith, hee left in the prison burning with Hunne that same Sunday at night that Hun was murdered; which waxe candle we found sticking vpon the stockes faire put out, about seuen or eight foote from the place where Hunne was hanged; which candle after our opinion was neuer put out by him, for many likelihoods which we haue perceiued. Also at the going vp of master chancellor into the Lollard's Tower, we haue good prooffe that there lay on the stockes a gowne either of murrey or crimosin in graine furred with shankes; whose gowne it was wee could neuer proue, neither who bare it away. All we find, that Master William Horsey, chancellour to my lord of London, hath had at

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his commandement both the rule and guiding of the said prisoner. Moreouer, all wee find that the said Master Horsey, chancellor, hath put Charles Ioseph out of his office, as the said Charles hath confessed, because he would not deale and vse the said prisoner so cruelly, and do to him as the chancellor would haue had him to doe. Notwithstanding, the deliuerance of the keyes to the chancellour by Charles on the Saturday at night before Hunnes death, and Charles riding out of the towne on that Sunday in the morning ensuing, was but a conuention made betwixt Charles and the chancellour for to colour the murther. For the same Sunday that Charles rode forth, he came againe to the towne at night, and killed Richard Hunne, as in the depositions of Iulian Littell, Thomas Chicheley, Thomas Simonds, and Peter Turner doth appeare.

"After colouring of the murther betwixt Charles and the chancellour conspired, the chancellour called to him one Iohn Spalding, belringer of Pauls, and deliuered to the same belringer the keyes of the Lollards Tower, giving to the said belringer a great charge, saying: I charge thee to keepe Hun more straitely then hee hath beene kept, and let him have but one meale a day. Moreouer I charge thee, let no body come to him without any licence, neither to bring him shirt, cappe, kirchiefe, or any other thing, but that I see it before it come to him. Also before Hunne was carried to Fulham, the chancellor commanded to bee put vpon Huns necke a great collar of iron with a great chaine, which is too heauie for any man or beast to weare, and long to endure.

"Moreouer, it is wel proued, that before Huns death, the said chancellor came vp into the said Lollard's Tower, and kneeled downe before Hun, holding vp his hands to him, praying him of forgiuenes of all that he had done to him, and must doe to him. And on Sunday following the chancellor commanded the penitensarie of Pauls to goe vp to him and say a gospel, and make for him holy water and holy bread, and giue it to him; which so did; and also the chancellor commanded that Hunne should haue his dinner. And the same dinner time Charles boy was shut in prison with Hun, which was neuer so before: and after dinner when the belringer let out the boy, the belringer said to the same boy; Come no more hither with meat for him, vntill to morrow at noone; for my master chancellor hath commanded that he should haue but one meale a day: and the same night following Richard Hun was murdered: which murther could not haue beene done without consent and licence of the chancellor, and also by the witting and knowledge of Iohn Spalding belringer: for there could no man come into the prison, but by the keies being in Iohn belringers keeping. Also as by my lord of Londons booke doth appeare, Iohn belringer is a poore innocent man. Wherefore all wee doe perceiue that this murther could not bee done, but by the commandement of the chancellor, and by the witting and knowing of John belringer.

"Charles Ioseph within the Tower of London of his own free will and vnconstrained said, that master chancellor deuised and wrote with his own hand, all such heresies as were laid to Huns charge, record Iohn God, Iohn True, Iohn Pasmere, Richard Gibson, with many other. Also Charles Ioseph saith, that when Richard Hun was slaine, Iohn belringer bare vp the staire into Lollards Tower a waxe candle, hauing the keies of the dores hanging on his arme, and I Charles went next to him, and master chancellor came vp last: and when all we came vp, wee found Hun lying on his bed, and then master chancellor said; Lay hands on the theefe, and so all wee murdered him: and then I Charles put the girdle about Huns necke, and then Iohn belringer and I Charles did heaue vp Hun, and master chancellor pulled the girdle ouer the staple, and so Hunne was hanged."

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The copy of Richard Fitzjames's letter, then bishop of London, sent to Cardinal Wolsey.

"I beseech your good lordship to stand so good lord vnto my poor chancellor now in warde, and indighted by an vntrue quest, for the death of Richard Hun, vpon the onely accusation of Charles Ioseph, made by paine and durance; that by your intercession, it may please the kings grace to haue the matter duely and sufficiently examined by indifferent persons of his discreet councell, in the presence of the parties, ere there be any more done in the cause, and that vpon the innocencie of my said chancellor declared, it may further please the kings grace to award a plackard vnto his attorney to confesse the said enditement to be vntrue, when the time shall require it: for assured am I, if my chancellor be tried by any twelue men in London, they be so malitiouslie set *In fauorem hereticæ prauitatis*, that they will cast and condemne any clerke, though he were as innocent as Abel. *Quare si potes beate pater adiuua infirmitates nostras, tibi in perpetuum deuincti erimus*. Ouer this in most humble wise I beseech you, that I may have the kings gracious fauour, whom I neuer offended willingly, and that by your good meanes I might speake with his grace and you, and I with all mine, shall pray for your prosperous estate long to continue.

Your most humble Oratour R. L."

Lastly, now remaineth to infer the sentence of the questmen, which followeth in like sort to be seen and expended, after I have first declared the words of the bishop spoken in the parliament house.

The words that the bishop of London spake before the lords in the parliament house.

"Memorandum, That the bishop of London said in the parliament house, that there was a bill brought to the parliament, to make the jury that was charged upon the death of Hun, true men; and said, and took upon his conscience, that they were false, perjured caitiffs; and said furthermore to all the lords, there then being; For the love of God look upon this matter; for if you do not, I dare not keep mine house for heretics: and said, that the said Richard Hun hanged himself, and that it was his own deed, and no man's else. And furthermore said, that there came a man to his house, whose wife was appeached of heresy, to speak with him, and he said that he had no mind to speak with the same man; which man spake and reported to the servants of the same bishop, that if his wife would not hold still her opinions, he would cut her throat with his own hands, with other words."

The sentence of the inquest, subscribed by the coroner.

The inquisition intended and taken at the city of London in the parish of St. Gregory, in the ward of Bainard Castle, in London, the sixth day of December, in the sixth year of the reign of King Henry the Eighth, before Thomas Barnewell, coroner of our sovereign lord the king, within the city of London, aforesaid, also before James Yarford and John Munday, sheriffs of the said city, upon the sight of the body of Richard Hun, late of London, tailor, which was found hanged in the Lollard's Tower; and by the oath and proof of lawful men of the same ward, and of other three wards next adjoining, as it ought to be, after the custom of the city aforesaid, to inquire how, and in what manner wise, the said Richard Hun came unto his death; and upon the oath of John Bernard, Thomas Stert, William Warren, Henry Abraham, John Aborow, John

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Turner, Robert Allen, William Marler, John Burton, James Page, Thomas Pickhill, William Burton, Robert Bridgewater, Thomas Busted, Gilbert Howell, Richard Gibson, Christopher Crafton, John God, Richard Holt, John Palmere, Edmund Hudson, John Arunsell, Richard Cooper, John Tim: the which said upon their oaths, that where the said Richard Hun, by the commandment of Richard, bishop of London, was imprisoned and brought to hold in a prison of the said bishop's, called Lollard's Tower, lying in the cathedral church of St. Paul, in London, in the parish of St. Gregory, in the ward of Bainard Castle aforesaid, William Horsey of London, clerk, otherwise called William Heresy, chancellor to Richard, bishop of London, and one Charles Joseph, late of London, sumner, and John Spalding of London, otherwise called John Bellringer, feloniously, as felons to our lord the king, with force and arms, against the peace of our sovereign lord the king, and dignity of his crown, the fourth day of December, the sixth year of the reign of our sovereign lord aforesaid, of their great malice, at the parish of St. Gregory aforesaid, upon the said Richard Hun made a fray, and the same Richard Hun feloniously strangled and smothered, and also the neck they did break of the said Richard Hun, and there feloniously slew him, and murdered him.

After that the twenty-four had given up their verdict sealed and signed with the coroner's seal, the cause was then brought into the parliament house, where the truth was laid so plain before all men's faces, and the fact so notorious, that immediately certain of the bloody murderers were committed to prison, and should, no doubt, have suffered that they deserved, had not the cardinal, by his authority, practised for his catholic children, at the suit of the bishop of London. Whereupon the chancellor, by the king's pardon and secret shifting, rather than by God's pardon and his deserving, escaped, and went, as is said, to Exeter, &c. Nevertheless, though justice took no place, where favour did save, yet, because the innocent cause of Hun should take no wrong, the parliament became suitors unto the king's Majesty, that whereas the goods of the said Hun were confiscated into the king's hands, that it would please his Grace to make restitution of all the said goods unto the children of the said Hun; upon which motion, the king, of his gracious disposition, did not only give all the aforesaid goods unto the aforesaid children, under his broad seal, yet to be seen, but also did send out his warrants to those that were the cruel murderers, commanding them, upon his high displeasure, to redeliver all the said goods, and make restitution for the death of the said Richard Hun; all which goods came to the sum of 1500 pounds sterling, besides his plate and other jewels.

The tenor of the king's letter in the behalf of Richard Hun.

"Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well: Whereas by the complaint to us made, as well as also in our high court of parliament, on the behalf and part of Roger Whapplot of our city of London, draper, and Margaret his wife, late the daughter of Richard Hun: And whereas you were indicted by our laws, of and for the death of the said Richard Hun, the said murder cruelly committed by you, like as by our records more at large plainly it doth appear, about the fifth day of December, in the sixth year of our reign; the same we abhor; nevertheless, we, of our especial grace, certain science, and mere motion, pardoned you upon certain considerations us moving: for the intent that the goods of the said Richard Hun, the administration of them were committed to the said Roger Whapplot, we then supposed and intended your amendment, and restitution to be made by you to the infants the children of the said Richard Hun, as well for his death, as for his goods, embezzled, wasted, and consumed by your tyranny, and cruel act so committed, the

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same being of no little value; and as hitherto ye have made no recompence, according to our laws, as might stand with equity, justice, right, and good conscience, and for this cause due satisfaction ought to be made by our laws. Wherefore, we will and exhort, and otherwise charge and command you, by the tenor of this our especial letters, that ye satisfy and recompense the said Roger Whapplot, and the said Margaret his wife, according to our laws in this cause, as it may stand with right and good conscience, else otherwise at your further peril, so that they shall have no cause to return unto us, for their further remedy eftsoons in this behalf, as ye, in the same, tender to avoid our high displeasure; otherwise, that ye, upon the sight hereof, to set all excuses apart, and to repair unto our presence, at which your hither coming you shall be further advertised of our mind.

From our manor," &c.

Defence of Richard Hun against Sir Thomas More and Alen Cope.

I doubt not but by these premises thou hast (Christian reader) sufficiently to understand the whole discourse and story of Richard Hun from top to toe. First, how he came in trouble for denying the bearing sheet of this young infant departed; then how he was forced, for succour of himself, to sue a præmunire; and thereupon what conspiracy of the clergy was wrought against him, what snares were laid, what fetches were practised, and articles devised, to snarl him in the trap of heresy, and so to imprison him. Furthermore, being in prison, how he was secretly murdered; after his murder, hanged; after his hanging, condemned; after his condemnation, burned; and after his burning, lastly, how his death was inquired by the coroner, and cleared by acquittal of the inquest. Moreover, how the cause was brought into the parliament, and by the parliament the king's precept obtained for restitution of his goods. The debating of which tragical and tumultuous story, with all the branches and particular evidences of the same, taken out as well of the public acts, as of the bishop's registers, and special records, remaining in the custody of Dunstan Whapplot, the son of the daughter of the said Richard Hun, there to be seen, I thought here to unwrap and discover, so much the more, for three special purposes.

First, as is requisite, for testimony and witness of the truth falsely slandered, of innocence wrongfully condemned, and of the party cruelly oppressed.

The second cause moveth me, for Sir Thomas More's Dialogues, wherein he dallieth out the matter, thinking to jest poor simple truth out of countenance.

The third cause which constraineth me, be the Dialogues of Alen Cope; which two, the one in English, the other in Latin, railing and barking against Richard Hun, do doublewise charge him, both to be a heretic, and also a desperate homicide of himself. Which, as it is false in the one, so it is to be found as untrue in the other, if simple truth, which hath few friends, and many times cometh in crafty handling, might freely come in indifferent hearing. Wherefore, as I have hitherto described the order and manner of his handling, with the circumstances thereof, in plain and naked narration of story, simply laid out before all men's faces; so something here to intermit in the defence, as well of his oppressed cause as also in discharge of myself, I will now compendiously answer to both these aforesaid adversaries, stopping, as it were, with one bush two gaps, and the mouths also, if I can, of them both together. And first, against Sir Thomas More, albeit in degree worshipful, in place superior, in wit and learning singular, (if his judgment

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in Christ's matters had been correspondent to the same,) otherwise being a man with many worthy ornaments beautified, yet, being but a man, and one man, I lay and object against the person of him, the persons and censures of twenty-four questmen, the deposition of so many jurors, the judgment of the coroner, the approbation of the parliament, and lastly, the king's bill assigned for restitution of his goods, with his own broad seal confirmed, &c. And thus much to the person and credit of Sir Thomas More.

Now as touching his reasons: whereas he coming in with a flim-flam of a horse-mill, or a mill-horse, (in his own terms I speak,) thinketh it probation good enough, because he could not see him taken by the sleeve which murdered Hun: against these reasons unreasonable of his, I allege all the evidences and demonstrations of the history above prefixed to be considered, and of all indifferent men to be poised.

First, how he was found hanging, with his countenance fair, with his beard and head fair combed, his bonnet set right upon his head, with his eyes and his mouth fair closed, without any drivelling or spurning. His body being taken down, was found loose, (which by hanging could not be,) his neck broken, and the skin thereof, beneath the throat where the girdle went, fret and faled away; his girdle notwithstanding being of silk, and so double cast about the staple, that the space of the girdle between the staple and his neck, with the residue also which went about his neck, was not sufficient for his head to come out at. His hands moreover wrung in his wrists, his face, lips, chin, doublet, and shirt collar unstained with any blood: when notwithstanding, in a manner somewhat beyond the place where he did hang, a great quantity of blood was found. Also, whereas the staple whereon he hanged was so that he could not climb thereto without some mean, there was a stool set up upon the bolster of a bed, so tickle, that with the first touch in the world it was ready to fall. And how was it possible that Hun might hang himself upon that staple, the stool so standing? Besides the confession moreover of Charles Joseph's own mouth to Julian Litten, of Robert Johnson, John Spalding the bell-ringer, Peter Turner, and others. All which testimonies and declarations being so clear and undeniable, may suffice (I trust) any indifferent man to see where the truth of this case doth stand: unless Master More, being a gentleman of Utopia, peradventure, after some strange guise of that country, useth to carry his eyes not in his head but in his affection, not seeing but where he liketh, nor believing but what he listeth.

Finally, where Sir Thomas More, speaking of himself, so concludeth, that he hearing in the matter, what well might be said, yet could not find contrary, but Hun to be guilty of his own death; so, in as many words to answer him again, I perusing and searching in the story of Richard Hun, what may well be searched, cannot but marvel with myself, either with what darkness the eyes of Master More be closed, not to see what is so plain; or else with what conscience he would dissemble, that which shame cannot deny. And thus by the way to the Dialogues of Sir Thomas More.

Thirdly, touching the Dialogues of Alen Cope, which had rather the bishop's chancellor and officers to be accounted among thieves and murderers, than Hun to be numbered among the martyrs; I have herein not much to say, because himself saith but little; and if he had said less, unless his ground were better, it had made as little matter. But forasmuch as he saying not much, sendeth us to seek more in More; so with like brevity again I may send him to William Tindall, to shape him an answer. Yet, notwithstanding, lest Cope, in saying something, should think

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Hun's innocent cause to lack some friends, which will not or dare not adventure in defence of truth, somewhat I will answer in this behalf.

And first, touching this murder of Hun, not to be his own wilful act, but the deed of others; besides the demonstrations above premised to Sir Thomas More, now to Master Cope, if I had no other evidences but only these two, I would require no more; that is, his cap found so straight standing upon his head, and the stool so tottering under his feet. For how is it, I will not say, like, but how is it possible for a man to hang himself in a silken girdle double cast about a staple, in such shortness, that neither the space of the knot could well compass his head about, and yet having his cap so straight set upon his head, as his was?

Again, how is it possible, or can it be imagined, for him to hang himself, climbing up by a stool which had no stay for him to stand upon, but stood so tickle, that if he had touched the same never so little, it must needs have fallen?

But Cope, being something more provident in this matter, seemeth to exceed not altogether so far as doth Master More. For he understanding the case to be ambiguous and doubtful, so leave it in suspense, neither determining that Hun did hang himself, and yet not admitting that he died a martyr, no more than they which are quelled by thieves and murderers in highway-sides. Well, be it so as Cope doth argue, that they which die by the hands of felons and murderers in thievish ways, be no martyrs; yet, notwithstanding, this his own similitude, comparing the bishop's chancellor and officers to thieves and murderers, doth grant at least that Hun died a true man, although no martyr. Now if the cause be it, and not the pain, that maketh a martyr, in pondering the cause why Hun was slain, we shall find it not altogether like to the cause of them which perish by thieves and robbers. For such commonly because of their goods, and for some worldly gain to be sought by their death, are made away, and being true men, may peradventure have the reward, although not the name, of martyrs: whereas this man's death, being wrought neither for money, nor any such temporal lucre to redound to his oppressors, as it hath another cause, so may it have another name, and deserve to be called by the name of martyrdom. Like as Abel being slain by wicked Cain, albeit he had no opinion of religion articulate against him, but of spite only and of malice was made away, yet, notwithstanding, is justly numbered among the martyrs; so what let to the contrary, but that Hun also with him may be reckoned in the same society, seeing the cause wherefore they both did suffer proceedeth together out of one fountain? And what, moreover, if a man should call Naboth (who for holding his right inheritance was slain) a martyr, what great injury should he do either to the name or cause of the person, worthy to be carped at? Against Thomas Becket, ye know, Master Cope, no special article of faith was laid, wherefore he died. And why then do you bestow upon him so devoutly the title of a martyr, for withholding that from the king which by the law of God and of the realm did belong unto him; and cannot suffer Hun to be titled for a martyr, dying in his own right by the hands of spiritual thieves and homicides, as you yourself do term them? But what do I strain my travail any further, to prove Hun a martyr, when Cope's own confession doth import no less, though I said nothing? For what if I should take no more but his own very words, and say that he was known to be a heretic, as Cope doth affirm; what could I say more, seeing he died for their heresy, to prove him to die a martyr? For to die a heretic with the papists, what is it else (to say truth) but to die with God a martyr?

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But howsoever it pleaseth either Sir Thomas More to jest, or Alen Cope to scold out the matter, and to style Richard Hun for a known and desperate heretic; yet to all true, godly disposed men, Hun may well be known to be a godly and virtuous person; no heretic, but faithful and sound; save that only he seemed rather half a papist; at least no full protestant, for that he resorted daily to mass, and also had his beads in prison with him, after the catholic manner; albeit he was somewhat inclined (as may appear) toward the gospel. And if the name of a martyr be thought too good for him, yet I trust Master Cope will stand so good master to him, to let him at least to be a martyr's fellow. But what now if I go further with Master Cope, and name Richard Hun not only for a martyr, but also commend him for a double martyr? Certes, as I suppose, in so saying I should affirm nothing less than truth, nor any thing more than truly may be said, and justly proved. But to give and grant this contention unto the adversary, which notwithstanding might be easily proved; let us see now the proofs of Master Cope, how he argueth that Richard Hun is no martyr; "because," saith he, "true men being killed in highways by thieves and murderers, are not therefore to be counted martyrs," &c. And was there nothing else in the cause of Hun, but as in true men killed by thieves and murderers? They that are killed by thieves and murderers, are killed for some prey, or money about them. And what prey or profit was in the death of Hun, let us see, to redound to them which oppressed him? If it were the mortuary or the bearing cloth, that was a small thing, and not worthy his death. If it were the præmunire, the danger thereof pertained to the priest, and not to them. If they feared lest the example thereof once begun, should afterward redound to the prejudice of the whole church, then was the cause of his death not private, but public, tending to the whole Church and clergy of Rome; and so is his death not altogether like to the death of them, which for private respects are killed of thieves and murderers.

But he was a heretic, saith Cope. By the same reason that Cope taketh him for a heretic, I take him the more to be accepted for a martyr. For by that way which they call heresy, the living God is served by no way better. And if he were a heretic, why then did they not proceed against him as a heretic while he was alive? When they had him at Fulham before them, if they had been sure to entrap him in that snare, why did they not take their advantage, when they might with least jeopardy? why did they not proceed and condemn him for a heretic? why made they such haste to prevent his death before? why did they not tarry the sentence of the law, having the law in their own hands? But belike they perceived that he could not be proved a heretic while he lived; and therefore thought it best to make him away privily, and to stop the præmunire, and afterward to stop the pursuit of his death, by making him a heretic; and therefore were articles devised by the chancellor (as is proved by witness of Charles Joseph and another, above) against him, and he condemned for a heretic, and his favourers also, whosoever durst stir to take his part, and so thereupon was committed to the secular power, and burned. Wherein they did him double wrong; first, in that they burned him for a heretic, having before submitted himself to their favourable correction, as it appeareth yet in the bishop's registers by his own hand, as it is there pretended; which was against their own laws. Again, if he had not submitted himself at that time, yet did they him wrong to burn him, before they knew and heard him speak (as Tindall saith) whether he would recant or no. And yet admit that he was condemned and burned for a heretic, yet to be killed and burned of them for a heretic, that taketh not from him the name of a martyr, but rather giveth him to be a double martyr. But Cope yet proceeding in his hot choler against Richard Hun, after he hath made him first no martyr, and then a heretic, thirdly, he now maketh him also a murderer of himself, and saith, that no other man was any part of his death, but only

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his own hands, and that either for indignation and anger, or for desperation, or for some cause, he knoweth not what. And in his Epilogue, to make it probable, he allegeth the example of one, but nameless, who in Queen Mary's time in like sort went about to hang himself, had he not been taken in the manner, and rescued.

Furthermore, as touching the chancellor, he argueth that there was no cause why he should attempt any such violence against him, both for his age, for his dignity, for his learning, and for the greatness of his own peril, which might ensue thereof. Who if he had maligned the man, and had been so disposed to work his destruction, had means otherwise without danger to bring that about, having him within his danger convict and fast tied for heresy. Whereunto I answer, that to all this matter sufficient hath been answered by the story itself of his death, above specified. Whereby the manner of his death, by circumstances of his handling, and hanging, by his neck broke, by his body loose, by his skin fretted, by his wrists wrung, by his girdle in such shortness double cast about the staple, by his cap right upon his head, by his hair combed, by his eyes closed, by the cake of blood found in the floor, by his shirt collar, doublet, jacket, and other outward parts of his garments without drop of blood unspotted, by the stool so standing upon the bolster, by the chancellor's murrey gown found the day after upon the stocks, the wax candle fair put out; furthermore, by the verdict of the inquest, by the attestation of the witnesses sworn, by the coroner's judgment, by the assent of the parliament, by the king's letters assigned, and broad seal for restitution of his goods; and finally, by the confession of the parties themselves which murdered him, &c.: and yet thinketh Cope to make men such fools, having their five wits, to ween yet that Hun did hang himself, after so many demonstrations and evidences to the contrary, as in every part of this story may appear. And though it were, as it was unlike, and hard for a man to believe, that Doctor Horsey, a man of such age, dignity, and learning, would so much forget himself, to attempt such a villany, yet so great is the devil sometimes with man (where God permitteth) that he worketh greater things than this, and more incredible. For who would have thought it like that Cain would ever have killed Abel his own natural brother? which was more than a bishop's chancellor to kill a citizen: yet so he did. And where Cope pretendeth the causes of anger and desperation whereby Hun did hang himself; how is it like, or who did ever hear, a man being in such extremity of desperation, to stand first trimming himself, and combing his head, before he go to hang himself? No less credit is also to be given to that which followeth in the same Cope, where he saith, that Richard Hun being in prison, was convicted of heresy. By the which word, convicted, if he mean that Hun was proved a heretic, that is false; for that he, being at Fulham, examined upon certain articles, both denied the articles to be true, as they were objected; and also if they were true, yet he submitted himself to their favourable correction, and therefore, not standing obstinately in the same, could not be proved a heretic. And if by this term, convicted, he mean that he was by sentence cast; so was Hun never cast by any sentence for a heretic, so long as he lived, but after his death, when he could nothing answer for himself. And because this untruth should not go without his fellow, see how he huddlith up one false narration in the neck of another; affirming, moreover, that Hun was cast into prison before he entered his suit of præmunire against the priest. Which is utterly false and untrue, both disagreeing to other stories, and also refuted by the words of Sir Thomas More, his own author, who reporteth that Hun, (in suing his præmunire against the priest,) being set upon a glory of victory, made his boast among his friends, that he trusted to have the matter long spoken of, and to be called Hun's case. Whereby it appeareth, that Hun was not then in prison, clapped up for heresy, but was

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abroad seeking counsel among the lawyers, and boasting among his friends, as writeth More, lib. iii. Dial.

After this heap of untruths above passed, add yet further another copy of Cope's false dealing; who, seeking all corners, and every where, how to pick matter against my former history, chargeth me with arrogancy, as though I took so highly upon me to undo and derogate the king's acts and judgments in the acquittal of Doctor Horsey. If it so pleased the king to acquit Doctor Horsey, by his gracious pardon, I am not against it, neither do I deny but the king so did; neither do I say, nor ever did, but the king of his supereminent prerogative may so do: and wherein then do I unrip or loose the king's acts here done and concluded? But if the question be this, whether Doctor Horsey, with his colleagues, did kill Richard Hun or no, then do I say, that the pardon of the king doth not take away the verity of the crime committed, but removeth away the penalty of the law deserved; and so if the life of them was saved by way of pardon, (as Master More himself seemeth not to deny,) then was it not through their innocency claiming justice that they escaped, but through petition standing in need of mercy. For what needeth pardon, where justice absolveth? yea, who sueth pardon, but in so doing must yield himself guilty? for pardon never cometh lightly either with God or man, except the crime be first confessed. Wherefore, if they escaped by justice, as Cope pretendeth, how then doth Master More say, they were saved by pardon? and if they escaped by pardon, how then doth Cope say, they were not guilty? And be it admitted, that the sentence of the king's attorney in the king's name did absolve them as unguilty, according as the king was then informed by the cardinal and suit of friends; yet, afterward the king, being better informed by the parliament, and the truth better known, detested and abhorred their fact, and yet continued his pardon unto them, as by the king's own acts and his broad seal appeareth, yet remaining in records to be seen.

And as touching my former histories set forth in Latin and in English, which spake first of the foreman of the inquest, then of the king's attorney, to be laboured with some gifts or money; as Cope hath yet proved no untruth in my saying, so less can he find any repugnance or disagreeing in the same. For he that speaketh of bribing, first of one person, and then afterward of another, where both might be bribed together, is not contrary (I think) to himself, but rather doth comprehend that in the one book, which he before leaveth out in the other, and yet no great repugnance either in the one or in the other, seeing that which is said may be verified in both, as it is no other like but in this matter it was. For, how is it otherwise like or possible, but that there must needs be found some privy packing in this matter, seeing after such evidence found and brought in by the coroner's inquest and jury of twenty-four chosen persons, after so many marks and tokens of the murder so clear and demonstrable, and laid forth so plain to the eyes of all the world, that no man could deny, or not see the same; yet, through the handling of the aforesaid attorney, and of the foreman of the inquest, the murderers were borne out, and confessed to be no murderers? If such bolstering out of matters and partiality were then such a rare case in the realm of England in the time of Cardinal Wolsey, who then under the king and in the king's name did what he list, then let it seem untrue in my former stories, that I have written. And yet the words of my story which Cope carpeth at so much, be not mine, but the words of Edward Hall, his own author. Wherefore, if his disposition be so set, that he must needs be a censurer of other men's writings, let him expostulate with Hall, and not with me.

161. London Martyrs, 1509-1518

But I trouble the reader too much in this matter of Richard Hun, being of itself so clear, that no indifferent judge can doubt thereof. As for wranglers and quarrellers, they will never be satisfied. Wherefore, to return again to the purpose of our story intermitted; in the table above, containing the names of them which about this time of Richard Hun were forced to deny and abjure their professed opinions, mention was made of Elizabeth Stamford, John Houshold, and other more, abjuring about the year of our Lord, 1517. Whose vexation and weakness, although it be pitiful to behold, yet to consider the confession of their doctrine in those ancient days, it is not unprofitable. Wherein we have to see the same form of knowledge and doctrine then taught and planted in the hearts of our fore-elders, which is now publicly received, as well touching the Lord's sacrament of his body, as also other specialties of sincerity. And although they lacked then public authority to maintain the open preaching and teaching of the gospel, which the Lord's merciful grace hath given us now, yet in secret knowledge and understanding they seemed then little or nothing inferior to these our times of public reformation; as may appear by this confession of Elizabeth Stamford hereunder written; which only may suffice for example to understand what ripe knowledge of God's word was then abroad, although not in churches publicly preached, for danger of the bishops, yet in secret wise taught and received of divers.

In number of whom was this Elizabeth Stamford, who being brought and examined before Fitzjames, bishop of London, A.D. 1517, confessed that she was taught by one Thomas Beele, sometime dwelling at Henley, these words, eleven years before: "That Christ feedeth and fast nourisheth his church with his own precious body, that is, the bread of life coming down from heaven; this is the worthy word that is worthily received, and joined unto man for to be in one body with him. Sooth it is that they be both one, they may not be parted: this is the wisely deeming of the holy sacrament Christ's own body: this is not received by chewing of teeth, but by bearing of ears, and understanding with your soul, and wisely working thereafter. Therefore saith St. Paul, I fear me amongst us, brethren, that many of us be feeble and sick; therefore I counsel us brethren to rise and watch, that the great day of doom come not suddenly upon us, as the thief doth upon the merchant." Also the said Thomas taught and showed her, that the sacrament of the altar was not the very body of Christ, but very bread; and that the sacrament was the very body of Christ, put upon the cross, after a divine or mystical manner. And moreover, that the said Thomas Beele did many times and oft teach her this aforesaid lesson, that she should confess her sins to God, and that the pope's pardons and indulgences were nought worth, and profited not; and that worshipping of images and pilgrimages are not to be done.

John Stilman, martyr.

It would ask a long tractation and tedious, to recite in order the great multitude and number of good men and women, besides these above rehearsed, which in those days recanted and abjured about the beginning of King Henry's reign and before: among whom yet, notwithstanding, some there were whom the Lord reduced again, and made strong in the profession of his truth, and constant unto death; of which number one was John Stilman by

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name, who about the twenty-fourth day of September, in the year of our Lord, 1518, was apprehended and brought before Richard Fitzjames, then bishop of London, at his manor of Fulham, and by him was there examined and charged, that notwithstanding his former recantation, oath, and abjuration made about eleven years then past, before Edmund, then bishop of Salisbury, as well for speaking against the worshipping, praying, and offering unto images, as also for denying the carnal and corporal presence in the sacrament of Christ's memorial; yet, since that time he had fallen into the same opinions again, and so into the danger of relapse; and further, had highly commended and praised John Wickliff, affirming that he was a saint in heaven, and that his book called The Wicket was good and holy. Soon after his examination he was sent from thence unto the Lollard's Tower at London, and the twenty-second day of October then next ensuing, was brought openly into the consistory at Paul's, and was there judicially examined by Thomas Hed, the bishop's vicar-general, upon the contents of these articles following:

"1. First I object unto you, that you have confessed before my lord of London, and me, Doctor Hed his vicar-general, that about twenty years past, one Stephen Moone, of the diocese of Winchester, with whom you abode six or seven years after, did teach you to believe that the going on pilgrimage and worshipping of images, as the Lady of Walsingham and others, were not to be used. And also that afterwards one Richard Smart, who was burned at Salisbury about fourteen or fifteen years past, did read unto you Wickliff's Wicket, and likewise instructed you to believe that the sacrament of the altar was not the body of Christ: all which things you have erroneously believed.

"2. Item, You have divers times read the said book called Wickliffe's Wicket, and one other book of the ten commandments, which the said Richard Smart did give you, and at the time of your first apprehension, you did hide them in an old oak, and did not reveal them unto the bishop of Salisbury, before whom you were abjured of heresy about eleven years since; where you promised by oath upon the evangelists, ever after to believe and hold as the Christian faith taught and preached, and never to offend again in the said heresies, or any other, upon pain of relapse. And further, you there promised to perform all such penance as the said bishop of Salisbury did enjoin you; who then enjoined you, upon the like pain, not to depart his diocese, without his special licence.

"3. Item, It is evident that you be relapsed, as well by your own confession, as also by your deeds, in that about two years after your abjuration you went into the said place where you had hidden your books; and then taking them away with you, you departed the aforesaid diocese, without the licence of the bishop, and brought them with you to London, where now being attached and taken with them upon great suspicion of heresy, you are brought unto the bishop of London. By reason of which your demeanour, you have showed both your impenitent and dissembled conversation both your errors, and also your unfaithful abjuration, and disobedience unto the authority of our mother holy church, in that you performed not the penance, in which behalf you be voluntarily perjured and also relapsed, in that you departed the same diocese without licence.

"4. Item, You be not only (as before is said) impenitent, disobedient, voluntarily perjured, and relapsed, by this your aforesaid heretical demeanour, but also, since your last attachment

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upon suspicion of heresy, you have maliciously spoken erroneous and damnable words, affirming before my lord of London, your ordinary, and me, judicially sitting at Fulham, that you were sorry that ever you did abjure your said opinions, and had not suffered then manfully for them: for they were, and be, good and true; and therefore you will now abide by them, to die for it. And furthermore, you have spoken against our holy father the pope and his authority, damnably saying, that he is antichrist, and not the true successor of Peter, or Christ's vicar on earth: and that his pardons and indulgences which he granteth in the sacrament of penance, are naught, and that you will none of them: and likewise that the college of cardinals be limbs of the said antichrist, and that all other inferior prelates and priests are the synagogue of Satan. And moreover you said, that the doctors of the church have subverted the truth of Holy Scripture, expounding it after their own minds; and therefore their works be naught, and they in hell; but that Wickliff is a saint in heaven, and the book called his Wicket is good, for therein he sheweth the truth. Also you did wish that there were twenty thousand of your opinion against us Scribes and Pharisees, to see what you would do for the defence of your faith. All which heresies you did afterwards erroneously affirm before the archbishop of Canterbury, and then said, that you would abide by them to die for it, notwithstanding his earnest persuasions to the contrary; and therefore for these premises you be evidently relapsed, and ought to be committed unto the secular power."

After these articles thus propounded, and his constant persevering in the truth perceived, Doctor Hed, vicar-general, the twenty-fifth day of October, by his sentence definitive, did condemn him a relapsed heretic, and so delivered him the same present day unto the sheriffs of London, to be openly burned in Smithfield.

Thomas Man, martyr.

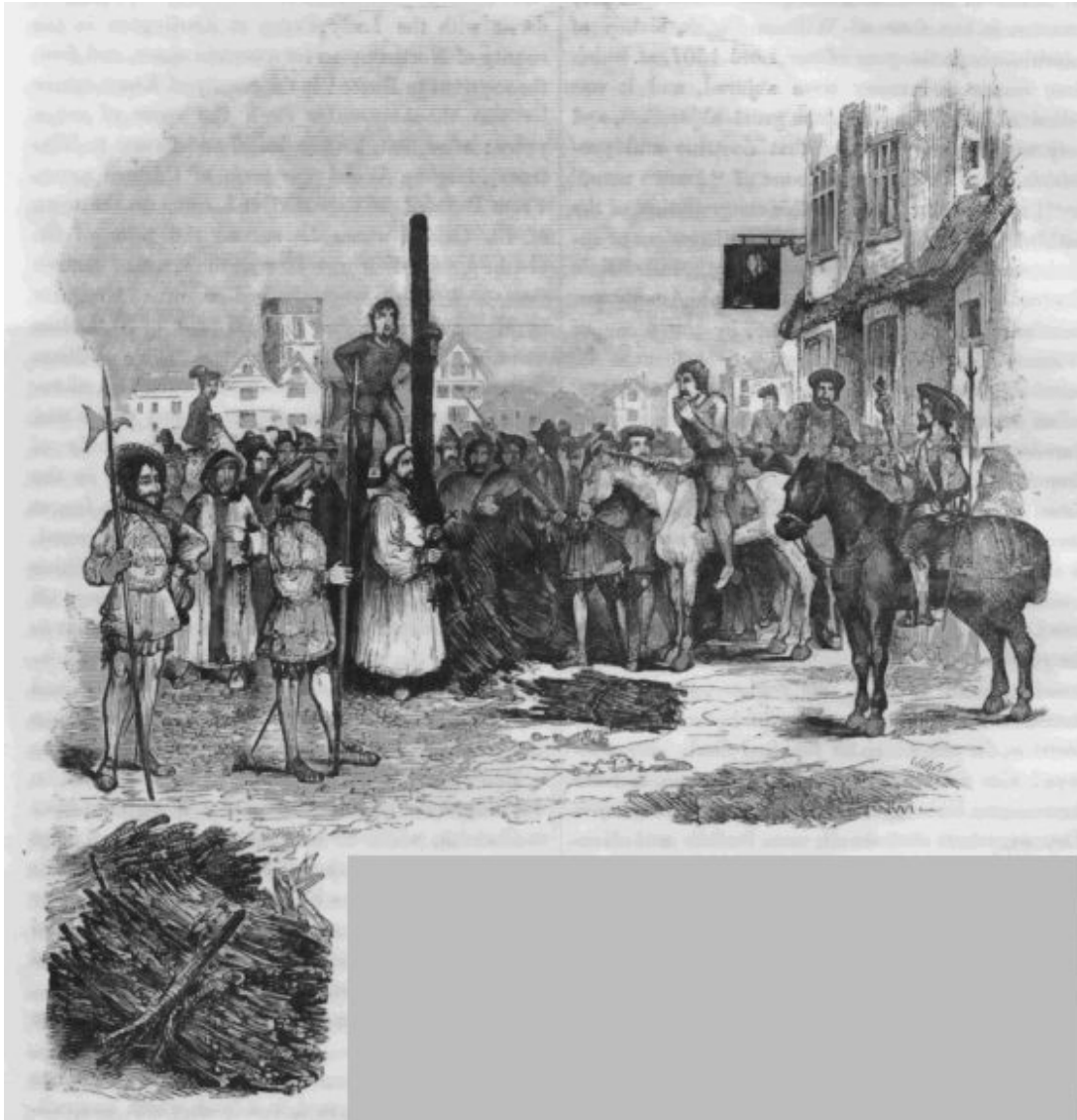
Next to John Stilman above mentioned, followeth in this order of blessed martyrs, the persecution and condemnation of Thomas Man; who, the twenty-ninth day of March, in the year of our Lord 1518, was burned in Smithfield. This Thomas Man had likewise been apprehended for the profession of Christ's gospel about six years before, the fourteenth day of August, A.D. 1511, and being at that time brought before Doctor Smith, bishop of Lincoln, was by him examined upon divers and sundry articles.

The fifteenth day of February, Doctor Hed, the chancellor, again judicially sitting in the consistory at Paul's, commanded Thomas Man to be brought before him, and there causing the articles objected against him by the bishop of Lincoln, with his order of abjuration and penance, and also his own articles last propounded, to be first read, he called forth a third witness to be sworn and examined upon the same. But because he would seem to do all things by order of justice, and nothing against law, he therefore appointed unto the said Thomas Man certain doctors and advocates of the Arches, as his counsellors to plead in his behalf. Which was even like as if the lamb should be committed to the defence and protection of the wolf, or the hare to the hound. For what good help could he look for at their hands, which were both most wicked haters and abhorers of his Christian profession, and also stout upholders and maintainers of that antichristian law, by the which he was for the same condemned? And that full well appeared by the good advice and profitable counsel which they gave him against his next examinations. For as well upon the twentieth and also the twenty-third days of the same month of February, in their several sessions, he, seeing his own negations to their objections to take no place against their

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sworn witnesses, had no other thing to allege for himself, but that through his twenty weeks of hard imprisonment under the bishop of Lincoln, he was forced to recant and abjure; which was a poor shift of counsel, God knoweth; and yet Dr. Raynes, being one of his chief assigned advocates, instead of advice, could by his subtle questioning then make him to confess, that certain talk, whereof one of the witnesses had accused him, was spoken about five years before past; which because it was since his recantation, was rather an accusation of himself, than an excusing; and therefore it is easy to judge with how favourable and uprightful hearts they took upon them to be his advocates and defenders. The chancellor likewise charged him upon the same twenty-third day, that since his last imprisonment he had said unto Robert Clunie the bishop's sumner, and his keeper, that as far forth as he could see or perceive for his part in this his matter, the laws of the church were grounded upon Pilate and Caiaphas. Which objection he granting to be true, the chancellor did for that time dismiss the court, until the first day of March next following. Upon which day, minding to make quick despatch, he in few words asked Man, what matter he had to allege for himself, why he should not then, considering the premises, be pronounced a relapsed heretic, and receive such punishment by the secular power, as to such was due by order of law? But he having no other allegations than before which might take place with them, was finally condemned as a heretic. And notwithstanding that, as the register noteth, but how truly God only knoweth, he did again forsake his former renewed profession of Christ's gospel, and yielded himself unto the bishop of Rome, requiring to be absolved from his curse of excommunication, and contented to do such penance as they should enjoin him; he was yet, the twenty-ninth day of March, delivered by Doctor Hed unto the sheriff of London, to be then presently burned, with this protestation made before, that he might not consent to the death of any, and therefore he desired the sheriff that he would receive this person as relapsed and condemned, and yet to punish him otherwise than by rigorous rigor. The words to be marked in their sentence be these: We desire in the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, that the punishment and execution of due severity of thee, and against thee in this part, may so be moderate, that there be no rigorous rigor, nor yet no dissolute mansuetude, but to the health and wealth of thy soul, &c. Wherein these catholic churchmen do well declare, according to the words of Thomas Man before expressed, that the laws of their church be grounded upon Pilate and Caiaphas; for like as Caiaphas with his court of Pharisees cried against Christ unto Pilate, It is not lawful for us to put any man to death; but if thou let him go, thou art not Cæsar's friend: even so they, first condemning the saints of God to death, and then delivering them unto the secular magistrate, to be thereupon executed, would yet cover their malignant hearts with the cloak of hypocritical holiness and unwillingness to shed blood. But God be thanked, which bringeth all things to light in his due time, and uncovereth hypocrisy at last, that she may be seen and known in her right colours.

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Thomas Man Brought to Execution

Thus Thomas Man, the manly martyr of Jesus Christ, being condemned by the unjust sentence of Hed the chancellor, was delivered to the sheriff of London, sitting on horseback, in Paternoster Row, before the bishop's door, A.D. 1518, protesting to the said sheriff that he had no power to put him to death; and therefore desired the sheriff to take him as a relapse and condemned, to see him punished, *et tamen citra mortem*, that is, without death, as the words stand in the register. The sheriff, receiving neither articles to be read at his burning, nor any indentures of that his delivery, immediately carried him to Smithfield, and there the same day in the forenoon caused him to be put into God's angel, according to the words of the said Thomas Man before, saying, that if he were taken again of the pilled knave priests, as he called them, he wist well he should go to the holy angel, and then be an angel in heaven.

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In the deposition of one Thomas Risby, weaver, of Stratford Langthorn, against the forenamed martyr, Thomas Man, it appeareth by the registers, that he had been in divers places and countries in England, and had instructed very many, as at Amersham, at London, at Billericay, at Chelmsford, at Stratford Langthorn, at Uxbridge, at Burnham, at Henley upon Thames, in Suffolk and Norfolk, at Newbury, and divers places more; where he himself testifieth, that as he went westward, he found a great company of well-disposed persons, being of the same judgment, touching the sacrament of the Lord's supper, that he was of, and especially at Newbury, where was, as he confessed, a glorious and sweet society of faithful favourers, who had continued the space of fifteen years together, till at last by a certain lewd person, whom they trusted and made of their counsel, they were betrayed, and then many of them, to the number of six or seven score, were abjured, and three or four of them burnt. From thence he came then, as he confessed, to the forest of Windsor, where he, hearing of the brethren which were at Amersham, removed thither, where he found a godly and a great company, which had continued in that doctrine and teaching twenty-three years, which was from this present time seventy years ago. And this congregation of Buckinghamshire men remained till the time of John Longham, bishop of Lincoln, whereof we shall, Christ willing, hear more anon. Against these faithful Christians of Amersham, was great trouble and persecution in the time of William Smith, bishop of Lincoln, about the year of our Lord 1507, at which time divers and many were abjured, and it was called *abjuratio magna*, the great abjuration, and they which were noted of that doctrine and profession, were called by the name of "known men," or "just-fast men," &c. In this congregation of the faithful brethren, were four principal readers or instructors. Whereof one was Tilsworth, called then Doctor Tilsworth, who was burnt at Amersham, mentioned in our history before, by the name of William Tilseley, whom I suppose rather to be called Tilseworth. Another was Thomas Chase, called amongst them Doctor Chase, whom we declared before to be murdered and hanged in the bishop of Lincoln's prison at Wooburn, called Little Ease. The third was this Thomas Man, called also Doctor Man, burned, as is here mentioned, in Smithfield, A.D. 1518, who, as by his own confession, and no less also by his travail, appeareth, was God's champion, and suffered much trouble by the priests for the cause and law of God. He confesseth himself in the same register, that he had turned seven hundred people to his religion and doctrine, for the which he thanked God. He conveyed also five couples of men and women from Amersham, Uxbridge, Burnham, and Henley upon Thames, where they dwelt, unto Suffolk and Norfolk, that they might be brought, as he then termed it, out of the devil's mouth. The fourth was Robert Cosin, named likewise among them, Doctor Cosin.

Robert Cosin, martyr.

This Robert Cosin seemeth to be the same, which in the former part of our history is before mentioned, being called by the name of Father Robert, and was burnt in Buckingham. Of this Robert Cosin I find in the registers of Lincoln, that he, with Thomas Man, had instructed and persuaded one Joan Norman, about Amersham, not to go on pilgrimage, nor to worship any images of saints. Also when she had vowed a piece of silver to a saint for the health of her child, they dissuaded her from the same, and that she needed not to confess her unto a priest, but to be sufficient to lift up her hands to heaven. Moreover, they were charged by the bishop, for teaching the said Joan, that she might as well drink upon the Sunday before mass, as any other day, &c. And thus you see the doctrine of these good men, for the which they were in those days abjured and condemned to death.

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William Sweeting, alias Clerke, martyr.

William Sweeting, otherwise named Clerke, first dwelt with the Lady Percy at Darlington in the county of Northampton for a certain space, and from thence went to Boxted in the county of Essex, where he was the holy-water clerk the space of seven years; after that, he was bailiff and farmer to Mistress Margery Wood the term of thirteen years. From Boxsted he departed and came to the town of St. Osithe, where he served the prior of St. Osithe's, named George Laund, the space of sixteen years and more; where he had so turned the prior by his persuasions, that the said prior of St. Osithe was afterward compelled to abjure. This William Sweeting coming up to London with the aforesaid prior, for suspicion of heresy was committed to the Lollard's Tower, under the custody of Charles Joseph, and there, being abjured in the church of St. Paul, was constrained to bear a faggot at Paul's Cross, and at Colchester; and afterward, to wear a faggot upon his coat all his life. Which he did two years together upon his left sleeve, till at length the parson of Colchester required him to help him in the service of the church, and so plucked the badge from his sleeve, and there he remained two years, being the holy-water clerk. From thence afterward he departed, and travelling abroad, came to Rederiffe in the diocese of Winchester, where he was holy-water clerk the space of a year; then went to Chelsith, where he was their neatherd, and kept the town beasts. In the which town, upon St. Ann's day in the morning, as he went forth with his beasts to the field, the good man was apprehended and brought before the bishop, and his chamber searched for books. This was A.D. 1511.

The crimes whereupon he was examined were these:

"First, For having much conference with one William Man of Boxsted, in a book which was called Matthew.

"Item, That he had familiarity, and frequented much the company of James Brewster, who had been before abjured.

"Item, That when his wife would go on pilgrimage, he asked of her, what good she should receive by her going on pilgrimage: adding moreover, that, as he supposed, it was to no purpose nor profit, but rather it were better for her to keep at home, and to attend to her business.

"Item, That he had learned and received of William Man, that the sacrament of the priests' altar was not the present very body, but bread in substance, received in memorial of Christ.

"Item, That he had propounded and affirmed the same doctrine to James Brewster.

"Item, Because he had reprehended his wife for worshipping the images in the church, and for setting up candles before them."

And thus have you all the causes and crimes laid against this William Sweeting, wherefore he was condemned. Who then being asked what cause he had, why he should not be judged for relapse, said, he had nothing else, but only that he committed himself to the mercy of Almighty God.

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James Brewster, martyr.

With William Sweeting also the same time was examined and condemned James Brewster, of the parish of St. Nicholas in Colchester. This James Brewster was a carpenter, dwelling ten years in the town of Colchester, who being unlettered, could neither read nor write, and was apprehended upon the day of St. James, in one Walker's house in St. Clement's parish.

About six years before, which was A.D. 1505, he had been abjured by William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, the see of London being then vacant; and after other penance done at Colchester, was enjoined to wear a faggot upon his upper garment during his life. Which badge he did bear upon his left shoulder near the space of two years, till the comptroller of the earl of Oxford plucked it away, because he was labouring in the works of the earl.

The crimes whereupon he was examined, and which he confessed, were these: "First, that he had been five times with William Sweeting in the fields keeping beasts, hearing him read many good things out of a certain book. At which reading also were present at one time, Woodroffe or Woodbinde, a net-maker, with his wife; also a brother-in-law of William Sweeting; and another time Thomas Good-red, who heard likewise the said William Sweeting read.

"Item, Because he used the company and conference of Henry Hert, carpenter, of Westminster, and wrought with him in his science at Westminster.

"Item, For having a certain little book of Scripture in English, of an old writing almost worn for age, whose name is not there expressed.

"Item, Because he hearing upon a time one Master Bardfield of Colchester thus say, that he that will not worship the Maozim in heart and thought shall die in fight; he asked afterward of William Man, what that word Maozim should mean; who told him that it signified as much as the mass god, to wit, the sacrament of the altar.

"Item, That he had much conference with Henry Hert against oblations and images, and that it was better bestowed money which was given to the poor, than that that was offered in pilgrimage.

"Item, For that he had communication and conference with Roger Heliar, and one Walker, a thicker of St. Clement's, concerning divers such matters of pilgrimage, offering to images, worshipping of saints, and the sacrament of the altar.

"Item, When Thomas Goodred, William Sweeting, and he, in the fields keeping beasts, were talking together of the sacrament of the Lord's body and like matters, this James Brewster should thus say: Now the Son of the living God help us. Unto whom William Sweeting again should answer, Now Almighty God so do."

And thus have you the causes likewise and crimes laid against James Brewster, upon which he with William Sweeting was together examined and condemned. Then being asked, as

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the Romish manner is, whether he had any cause why he should not be adjudged for relapse, he, trusting to find favour and grace in submitting himself, said, that he submitted him to the mercy of Almighty God, and to the favourable goodness of him his judge. And likewise did William Sweeting submit himself; trusting belike that they should find some favour and relief in this humble subjecting themselves unto their goodness.

But note here the unmerciful and unchristian dealing of these catholic fathers, who upon their submission were contented to give out a solemn commission, the tenor whereof was to release and pardon them from the sentence of the excommunication, whereunto they had incurred: but immediately after upon the same, the bishop, all this notwithstanding, pronounced upon them the sentence of death and condemnation. Whereupon they were both delivered to the secular power, and both together burnt in Smithfield at one fire, the 18th day of October, A.D. 1511.

Christopher Shoomaker, martyr.

To these blessed saints before past, we will also adjoin Christopher Shoomaker; of whom this I find briefly in the register of Sir John Longland; that the said Christopher Shoomaker, a parishioner of Great Missenden, came to the house of John Stay, and after other matters of talk, read to him out of a little book, the words which Christ spake to his disciples. And thus coming to his house about four times, at every time he read something out of the same book unto him; teaching him not to be deceived in the priest's celebration at mass, and declaring that it was not the same very present body of Christ, as the priests did fantasy; but in substance bread, bearing the remembrance of Christ.

And taught him moreover, that pilgrimage, worshipping and setting up candles to saints, were all unprofitable. And thus the said John Say being taught by this Christopher, and also confirmed by John Okenden and Robert Pope, was brought to the knowledge of the same doctrine. Thus much briefly I find in that register concerning Christopher Shoomaker, declaring further that he was burned at Newbury about this time, which was A.D. 1518. And thus much out of the registers of London.

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The execution of Christopher Schoomaker

162. Persecution in Lincoln

In turning over the registers and records of Lincoln likewise, and coming to the year of our Lord 1520, and 1521, I find, that as the light of the gospel began more to appear, and the number of the professors to grow, so the vehemency of persecution and stir of the bishops began also to increase. Whereupon ensued great perturbation and grievous affliction in divers and sundry quarters of this realm, especially about Buckinghamshire, and Amersham, Uxbridge, Henley, Newbury, in the diocese of London, in Essex, Colchester, Suffolk and Norfolk, and other parts more. And this was before the name of Luther was heard of in these countries among the people. Wherefore they are much beguiled and misinformed, which condemn this kind of doctrine now received of novelty, asking where was this church and religion forty years ago, before Luther's time? To whom it may be answered, that this religion and form of doctrine was planted by the apostles, and taught by true bishops, afterward decayed, and now reformed again; although it was not received nor admitted of the pope's clergy before Luther's time, neither yet is, yet it was received of other, in whose hearts it pleased the Lord secretly to work, and that of a great number, which both professed and suffered for the same, as in the former times of this history may appear. And if they think this doctrine be so new, that it was not heard of before Luther's time, how then came such great persecution before Luther's time here in England? If these were of the same profession which they were of, then was their cruelty unreasonable, so to persecute their own catholic fraternity. And if they were otherwise, how then is this doctrine of the gospel so new, or the professors thereof so late start up, as they pretend them to be? But this cometh only of ignorance, and for not knowing or considering well the times and antiquities of the church which have been before us; which if they did, they should see and say, that the Church of England hath not lacked great multitudes, which tasted and followed the sweetness of God's holy word almost in as ample manner, for the number of well-disposed hearts, as now. Although public authority then lacked to maintain the open preaching of the gospel, yet the secret multitude of true professors was not much unequal; certes, the fervent zeal of those Christian days seemed much superior to these our days and times; as manifestly may appear by their sitting up all night in reading and hearing, also by their expenses and charges in buying of books in English; of whom some gave five marks, some more, some less, for a book. Some gave a load of hay for a few chapters of St. James, or of St. Paul, in English. In which rarity of books, and want of teachers, this one thing I greatly marvel and muse at, to note in the registers and to consider how the word of truth, notwithstanding, did multiply so exceedingly, as it did amongst them. Wherein is to be seen, no doubt, the marvellous working of God's mighty power. For so I find and observe in considering the registers, how one neighbour resorting and conferring with another, eftsoons, with a few words of their first or second talk, did win and turn their minds to that wherein they desired to persuade them, touching the truth of God's word and his sacraments. To see their travails, their earnest seeking, their burning zeal, their readings, their watchings, their sweet assemblies, their love and concord, their godly living, their faithful marrying with the faithful, may make us now in these our days of free profession to blush for shame.

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Four principal points they stood in against the Church of Rome, in pilgrimage, adoration of saints, in reading Scripture books in English, and in the carnal presence of Christ's body in the sacrament.

After the great abjuration aforesaid, which was under William Smith, bishop of Lincoln, they were noted and termed among themselves by the name of "known men," or "just-fast men," as now they are called by the name of Protestants.

As they were simple, and yet not uncircumspect in their doings, so the crafty serpent, being more wily than they, by fraudulent subtlety did so circumvent them, that they caused the wife to detect the husband, the husband the wife; the father the daughter, the daughter the father; the brother to disclose the brother, and neighbour the neighbour. Neither were there any assemblies nor readings kept, but both the persons and also the books were known; neither was any word so closely spoken, nor article mentioned, but it was discovered. So subtly and sleightly these catholic prelates did use their inquisitions and examinations, that nothing was done or said among these "known men," fifteen or twenty years before, so covertly, but it was brought at length to their intelligence. Such captious interrogatories, so many articles and suspicions they had, such espials and privy scouts they sent abroad, such authority and credit they had with the king, and in the king's name; such diligence they showed in that behalf, so violently and impudently they abused the book of the peaceable evangelists, wresting men's consciences upon their oath, swearing them upon the same to detect themselves, their fathers and mothers, and other of their kindred, with their friends and neighbours, and that to death. All which things in the further process of the table ensuing, (Christ willing,) which we have collected out of some part of the registers of Lincoln, shall appear.

For the better declaration whereof, first here is to be premonished by the way, touching the see of Lincoln, that after William Smith, succeeded John Longland. This William Smith, although he was somewhat eager and sharp against the poor simple flock of Christ's servants, under whom some were burned, many abjured, a great number molested, as partly hath been before declared; yet was he nothing so bloody and cruel as was the said Longland, who afterward succeeded in that diocese. For so I find of him, that in the time of the great abjuration and troublesome affliction of Buckinghamshire men, wherein many were abjured, and certain burned; yet divers he sent quietly home without punishment and penance, bidding them go home, and live as good Christian men should do. And many who were enjoined penance before, he did release. This Smith died about the year of our Lord 1515, by whom was builded, as is aforesaid, the college of Brazen-nose in Oxford.

Not long after him followed John Longland, a fierce and cruel vexes of the faithful poor servants of Christ; who, to renew again the old sparkles of persecution, which were not yet utterly quenched, first began with one or two of those which had been abjured, whom he thought to be most notorious, causing them by force of their oath, to detect and bewray, not only their own opinions touching points of religion, but also to discover all others of their affinity, which were either suspected or abjured before. And them likewise he put to their oath, most violently constraining them to utter and confess both themselves, and whom else soever they knew: by reason whereof, an incredible multitude of men, women, and maidens, were brought forth to examination, and straitly handled. And such as were found in relapse, were burned.

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The rest were so burdened with superstitious and idolatrous penance and injunctions, that either through grief of conscience they shortly died, or else with shame they lived.

Captious interrogatories ministered commonly by the bishop of Lincoln, against these examiners here following.

The interrogatories or articles which Longland, bishop of Lincoln, used most commonly to minister to these examiners or "known men," in number were nine, and are these as followeth:

"1. First, Whether they or any of them did know, that certain of the parish of Amersham had been convented before William Smith, late bishop of Lincoln, for heresy?

"2. Item, Whether they knew that they, so convented before the said bishop, did err in the sacrament of the altar, or in any other sacrament of the church: and if they did, in what sacraments, and in which of them? Also whether they knew that the said parties so convented did confess their errors, and receive penance for the same?

"3. Item, Whether they, or any of them, were of the society of those so convented for heresy: and if they were, what fellowship they had with them, and with whom?

"4. Item, Whether they, or any of them, were ever conversant with such a one (naming the person whom they knew suspected, as with Thurstan Littlepage)? And if they were, what conversation they had with him, how long, and when: and whether they knew the said person to have been suspected of heresy?

"5. Item, Whether they, or any of them, were ever conversant with him; or with him (naming some other person whom they suspected, as Alexander Mastall)? and if they were, how, and how long? and whether they knew the said person to be suspected of heresy?

"6. Item, Whether they, or any of them, had been beforetime detected of heresy, to the office of the aforesaid William, bishop of Lincoln: and if they were, by what person or persons they were detected? or else, whether they only were called by the aforesaid William, bishop, for heresy?

"7. Item, Whether he or they be noted and holden for heretics; or be reputed and defamed to be of the sect of those who were convented for heresy? and whether he or they be named for a 'known man' amongst them?

"8. Item, Whether he or they have been ever at any readings of such as have been so convented for heresy?

"9. Item, Whether he or they were ever in any secret communication or conventicle with them? whom or which of them he knew to be named and reputed for a 'known man,' or holding against the sacrament of the altar, or other sacraments and articles of faith? and if they knew any such, to declare where and when, and what they were, and who were present the same time."

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These articles and interrogatories thus declared, now followeth to be shown a certain brief sum compendiously collected out of the registers of John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, of the names first of those who by oath were constrained against their wills to detect and accuse others. Secondly, The persons that were accused. Thirdly, The crimes to them objected.

And first; forasmuch as the bishop perceived that Roger Bennet, William Chedwell, Edmund Dormer, Thomas Harding, Robert Andrew, with such others, were men especially noted to be of that side, therefore, to work his purpose the better, he began with them; producing the same as witnesses, to detect first Robert Bartlet of Amersham, and Richard his brother; understanding that these aforenamed witnesses, because they had been abjured before, durst now do no other, upon pain of relapse, but needs confess whatsoever was put unto them. And therefore, because Robert Bartlet and Richard his brother, being called before the bishop, and sworn upon their oath, would confess nothing against themselves; the bishop, to convict them by witnesses, went first to William Chedwell, lying sore sick in his bed, causing him upon the evangelists to swear, whether he knew the aforesaid Robert and Richard Bartlet to be "known men." Which being done, the bishop then called before him Robert Andrew, Roger Bennet, John Hill, Edmund Dormer, John Milsent, Thomas Bernard, Thomas Littlepage, John Dosset, (all Amersham men,) who, being abjured before, as is said, durst no otherwise do but confess upon their oath that Robert and Richard Bartlet were "known men." And yet the bishop, not contented with this, caused also their two wives, to wit, Margaret the wife of Robert Bartlet, and Isabel the wife of Richard Bartlet, to depose and give witness against their own natural husbands. Albeit Isabel Bartlet, being somewhat more temperate of her tongue, refused utterly to confess any thing of her husband, and denied her husband's words to be true; till at last, she, being convicted of perjury, was constrained to utter the truth. And first, as touching those who, being brought to abjuration, were put to their penance; long it were to recite the names of all. Certain I thought to recite here in a catalogue: first reciting the persons; afterwards the rigorous penance to them enjoined.

The names of those who were abjured in the diocese of Lincoln, A.D. 1521.

William Colins.
John Colins.
Joan Colins.
Robert Colins.
John Hacker.
John Brabant the father.
John Brabant his son.
John Brabant the younger son.
John Edmonds.
Edward Pope.
Henry Phip.
John Steventon.
Joan Steventon.
Robert Bartlet.
Thomas Clerke.
John Clerke.

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Richard Bartlet.
William Phip.
John Phip.
Thomas Couper.
William Littlepage.
John Littlepage.
Joan Littlepage.
John Say.
John Frier.
Richard Vulford.
Thomas Tredway
William Gudgame.
Roger Heron.
Francis Funge.
Robert Pope.
Roger Dods.
John Harris.
Robert Bruges.
John Stampe.
Joan Stampe.
Richard White.
Benet Ward.
John Baker.
Agnes Wellis.
Marian Morden.
Isabel Morwin.
John Butler.
John Butler the younger.
Richard Carder.
Richard Bernard.
Joan Bernard.
John Grace.
John French.
John Edings.

The towns, villages, and countries where these aforesaid persons did inhabit, are named chiefly to be these.

Amersham.
Chesham.
Hichenden.
Missenden the Great.
Missenden the Less.
East-hundred.
West-hundred.
Asthall.

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Beaconsfield.
Denham.
Ginge.
Betterton.
Charney.
Stanlake.
Claufield.
Walton.
Marlow.
Dorney.
Iver.
Burton.
Uxbridge.
Woburn.
Henley.
Wycombe.
West-Wycombe.
Newbury.
Burford.
Witney.
Hungerford.
Upton.
Windsor.
London.
Coleman-street in London.
Cheapside in London.
Shoreditch by London.
St. Giles in London.
Essex.
Suffolk.
Norfolk.
Norwich.

The books and opinions which these were charged withal, and for which they were abjured, partly are before expressed, partly here follow, in a brief summary to be seen.

A brief summary of their opinions

The opinions of many of these persons were, That he or she never believed in the sacrament of the altar, nor ever would; and that it was not as men did take it.

For that he was known of his neighbours to be a good fellow, meaning, that he was a "known man."

For saying, that he would give forty pence on condition that such a one knew as much as he did know.

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Some, for saying that they of Amersham, who had been abjured before by Bishop Smith, were good men, and perfect Christians, and simple folk who could not answer for themselves, and therefore were oppressed by power of the bishop.

Some, for hiding others in their barns.

Some, for reading the Scriptures, or treatises of Scripture, in English: some, for hearing the same read.

Some, for defending, some for marrying with, them that had been abjured.

Some, for saying that matrimony was not a sacrament.

Some, for saying that worshipping of images was mawmetry; some, for calling images carpenters' chips; some, for calling them stocks and stones; some, for calling them dead things.

Some, for saying that money spent upon pilgrimage, served but to maintain thieves and harlots. Some, for calling the image in the rood-loft, "Block-almighty."

Others, for saying that nothing graven with man's hand was to be worshipped.

Some, for calling them fools who came from Master John Shorne in pilgrimage.

Another, for calling his vicar a poll-shorn priest. Another, for calling a certain blind chapel, being in ruin, an old fair milk-house.

Another, for saying that he threshed God Almighty out of the straw.

Another, for saying that alms should not be given before they did sweat in a man's hand.

Some, for saying that those who die, pass straight either to heaven or hell.

Isabel Bartlet was brought before the bishop and abjured, for lamenting her husband, when the bishop's man came for him; and saying, that he was an undone man, and she a dead woman.

For saying, that Christ, departing from his disciples into heaven, said that once he was in sinners' hands, and would come there no more.

Robert Rave, hearing a certain bell in an uplandish steeple, said, "Lo, yonder is a fair bell, an it were to hang about any cow's neck in this town;" and therefore, as for other such-like matters more, he was brought *coram nobis*!

Item, For receiving the sacrament at Easter, and doubting whether it was the very body of Christ, and not confessing their doubt to their ghostly father.

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Some, for saying that the pope had no authority to give pardon, or to release man's soul from sin, and so from pain; and that it was nothing but blinding of the people, and to get their money.

The penance to these parties enjoined by this John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, was almost uniform, and all after one condition; save only that they were severally committed and divided into several and divers monasteries, there to be kept and found of alms all their life, except they were otherwise dispensed with by the bishop. As for example, I have here adjoined the bishop's letter for one of the said number, sent to the abbey of Ensham, there to be kept in perpetual penance; by which one, an estimation may be taken of the rest, who were bestowed likewise sundrily into sundry abbeys, as to Osney, to Frideswide, to Abingdon, to Thame, to Bicester, to Dorchester, to Netley, to Ashridge, and divers more. The copy of the bishop's letter, sent to the abbot of Ensham, here followeth underwritten.

Copy of the bishop's letter to the abbot of Ensham.

"My loving brother, I recommend me heartily unto you: And whereas I have, according to the law, put this bearer R. T. to perpetual penance within your monastery of Ensham, there to live as a penitent, and not otherwise; I pray you, and nevertheless according unto the law command you, to receive him, and see ye order him there according to his injunctions, which he will show you, if ye require the same. As for his lodging, he will bring it with him; and for his meat and drink, he may have such as you give of your alms. And if he can so order himself by his labour within your house in your business, whereby he may deserve his meat and drink; so may you order him as ye see convenient to his deserts, so that he pass not the precinct of your monastery. And thus fare you heartily well: From my place," &c.

As touching the residue of the penance and punishment inflicted on these men, they do little or nothing disagree, but had one order in them all; the manner and form whereof in the said bishop's register do proceed in condition as followeth:

Penance enjoined under pain of relapse, by John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, the 19th day of December, A.D. 1521.

"*In primis*, That every one of them shall, upon a market-day, such as shall be limited unto them, in the market-time, go thrice about the market at Burford, and then to stand up upon the highest greece of the cross there, a quarter of an hour, with a faggot of wood every one of them upon his shoulder, and every one of them once to bear a faggot of wood upon their shoulders, before their procession upon a Sunday, which shall be limited unto them at Burford, from the choir-door going out, to the choir-door going in; and all the high mass time, to hold the same faggot upon their shoulders, kneeling upon the greece before the high altar there; and every of them to do likewise in their own parish church, upon such a Sunday as shall be limited unto them: and once to bear a faggot at a general procession at Uxbridge, when they shall be assigned thereto; and once to bear a faggot at the burning of a heretic, when they shall be admonished thereto.

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"Also every one Of them to fast, bread and ale only, every Friday during their life; and every even of Corpus Christi, every one of them to fast bread and water during their life, unless sickness unfeigned let the same.

"Also, to be said by them every Sunday, and every Friday, during their life, once our Ladysalter; and if they forget it one day, to say as much another day for the same.

"Also neither they, nor any of them, shall hide their mark upon their cheek, neither with hat, cap, hood, kerchief, napkin, or none otherwise; nor shall suffer their beards to grow past fourteen days; nor ever haunt again together with any suspected person or persons, unless it be in the open market, fair, church, or common inn or alehouse, where other people may see their conversation.

"And all these injunctions they and every of them to fulfil with their penance, and every part of the same, under pain of relapse."

And thus have you the names, with the causes and the penance, of those who were at this present time abjured. By this word "abjured" is meant, that they were constrained by their oath, swearing upon the evangelists, and subscribing with their hand, and a cross to the same, that they did utterly and voluntarily renounce, detest, and forsake, and never should hold hereafter these or any other like opinions, contrary to the determination of the holy mother Church of Rome: And further, that they should detect unto their ordinary, whomsoever they should see or suspect hereafter to teach, hold, or maintain the same.

The names of them that were condemned for relapse, and committed unto the secular power.

Among these aforementioned persons who thus submitted themselves, and were put to penance, certain there were, who, because they had been abjured before, as is above-mentioned, under Bishop Smith, were now condemned for relapse, and had sentence read against them, and so were committed to the secular arm to be burned: whose names here follow: Thomas Bernard, James Morden, Robert Rave, and John Scrivener, martyrs.

Of these mention is made before, both touching their abjuration, and also their martyrdom; unto whom we may adjoin, Joan Norman, and Thomas Holmes.

This Thomas Holmes, albeit he had disclosed and detected many of his brethren, as in the table above is expressed; thinking thereby to please the bishop, and to save himself, and was thought to be a feed man of the bishop for the same: yet, notwithstanding, in the said bishop's register appeareth the sentence of relapse and condemnation, written and drawn out against him; and most likely he was also adjudged and executed with the others.

As touching the burning of John Scrivener, here is to be noted, that his children were compelled to set fire unto their father; in like manner as Joan Clerke also, daughter of William Tylsworth, was constrained to give fire to the burning of her own natural father, as is above specified.

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The example of which cruelty, as it is contrary both to God and nature, so it hath not been seen or heard of in the memory of the heathen.

Where moreover is to be noted, that at the burning of this John Scrivener, one Thomas Dorman, mentioned before, was present, and bare a faggot, at Amersham; whose abjuration was afterwards laid against him, at what time he should depose for recovery of certain lands from the school of Berkhamstead. This Thomas Dorman (as I am credibly informed of certain about Amersham) was then uncle to this our Dorman, and found him to school at Berkhamstead, under Master Reeve; who now so uncharitably abuseth his pen in writing against the contrary doctrine, and raileth so fiercely against the blood of Christ's slain servants, miscalling them to be a dunghill of stinking martyrs.

Well, howsoever the savour of these good martyrs do scent in the nose of Master Dorman, I doubt not but they give a better odour and sweeter smell in the presence of the Lord: *Pretiosa enim in conspectu Domini mors sanctorum ejus*; Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints. And therefore, howsoever it shall please Master Dorman with reproachful language to misterm the good martyrs of Christ, or rather Christ in his martyrs; his unseemly usage (more cart-like than clerk-like) is not greatly to be weighed. For, as the danger of his blasphemy hurteth not them that are gone, so the contumely and reproach thereof as well comprehendeth his own kindred, friends, and country, as any others else; and especially redoundeth to himself, and woundeth his own soul, and none else, unto the great provoking of God's wrath against him, unless he be blessed with better grace, by time to repent.

163. Scholars and Poets

Doctor John Colet, dean of St. Paul's.

Much about this time, or not past two years before, died Dr. John Colet, to whose sermons these "known men," about Buckinghamshire, had a great mind to resort. After he came from Italy and Paris, he first began to read the Epistles of St. Paul openly in Oxford, instead of Scotus and Thomas. From thence he was called by the king, and made dean of Paul's; where he accustomed much to preach, not without a great auditory, as well of the king's court, as of the citizens and others. His diet was frugal, his life upright; in discipline he was severe, insomuch that his canons, because of their straiter rule, complained that they were made like monks. The honest and honourable state of matrimony he ever preferred before the unchaste singleness of priests. At his dinner commonly was read either some chapter of St. Paul, or of Solomon's Proverbs. He never used to sup. And although the blindness of that time carried him away after the common error of popery, yet in ripeness of judgment he seemed something to incline from the vulgar trade of that age. The religious order of monks and friars he fantasied not; as neither he could greatly favour the barbarous divinity of the school-doctors, as of Scotus, but least of all of Thomas Aquinas: insomuch that when Erasmus, speaking in the praise of Thomas Aquinas, did commend him, that he had read many old authors, and had written many new works, as *Catena Aurea*, and such like, to prove and to know his judgment: Colet, first supposing that Erasmus had spoken in jest, but after supposing that he meant good faith, bursteth out in great vehemency, saying, "What tell you me," quoth he, "of the commendation of that man, who, except he had been of an arrogant and presumptuous spirit, would not define and discuss all things so boldly and rashly; and also, except he had been rather worldly-minded than heavenly, would never have so polluted Christ's whole doctrine with man's profane doctrine, in such sort as he hath done?"

The bishop of London at that time was Fitzjames, of age no less than eighty; who, (bearing long grudge and displeasure against Colet,) with other two bishops taking his part, like to himself, entered action of complaint against Colet to the archbishop of Canterbury, being then William Warham. The matter of his complaint was divided into three articles: the first was for speaking against worshipping of images. The second was about hospitality, for that he, treating upon the place of the gospel, "Feed, feed, feed;" when he had expounded the two first, for feeding with example of life, and with doctrine; in the third, which the schoolmen do expound for feeding with hospitality, he left out the outward feeding of the belly, and applied it another way. The third crime wherewith they charged him, was for speaking against such as used to preach only by bosom sermons, declaring nothing else to the people, but as they bring in their prayers with them; which, because the bishop of London used then much to do for his age, he took it as spoken against him, and therefore bare him this displeasure. The archbishop, more wisely weighing the matter, and being well acquainted with Colet, so took his part against his accusers, that he at that time was rid out of trouble.

William Tyndall, in his book answering Master More, addeth moreover, and testifieth, that the bishop of London would have made the said Colet, dean of Paul's, a heretic, for translating the *Paternoster* into English, had not the bishop of Canterbury holpen the dean.

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But yet the malice of Fitzjames the bishop so ceased not; who, being thus repulsed by the archbishop, practised by another train how to accuse him unto the king. The occasion thus fell. It happened the same time, that the king was in preparation of war against France; whereupon the bishop with his coadjutors, taking occasion upon certain words of Colet, wherein he seemed to prefer peace before any kind of war, were it never so just; accused him therefore in their sermons, and also before the king.

Furthermore it so befell at the same time, that upon Good Friday Dr. Colet, preaching before the king, entreated of the victory of Christ, exhorting all Christians to fight under the standard of Christ, against the devil; adding, moreover, what a hard thing it was to fight under Christ's banner, and that all they which upon private hatred or ambition took weapon against their enemy, (one Christian to slay another,) such did not fight under the banner of Christ, but rather of Satan: and therefore concluding his matter, he exhorted that Christian men, in their wars, would follow Christ their prince and captain, in fighting against their enemies, rather than the examples of Julius or Alexander, &c. The king, hearing Colet thus speak, and fearing lest by his words the hearts of his soldiers might be withdrawn from his wars which he had then in hand, took him aside and talked with him in secret conference, in his garden walking. Bishop Fitzjames, Bricot, and Standish, who were his enemies, thought now none other, but that Colet must needs be committed to the Tower; and waited for his coming out. But the king, with great gentleness entertaining Dr. Colet, and bidding him familiarly to put on his cap, in long courteous talk had with him in the garden, much commended him for his learning and integrity of life; agreeing with him in all points, but that only he required him (for that the rude soldiers should not rashly mistake that which he had said) more plainly to explain his words and mind in that behalf; which after he did. And so, after long communication and great promises, the king dismissed Colet with these words, saying: "Let every man have his doctor as him liketh, this shall be my doctor;" and so departed. Whereby none of his adversaries durst ever trouble him after that time.

Among many other memorable acts left behind him, he erected the worthy foundation of the school of Paul's, (I pray God the fruits of the school may answer the foundation,) for the cherishing up of youth in good letters, providing a sufficient stipend as well for the master, as for the usher; whom he willed rather to be appointed out of the number of married men, than of single priests with their suspected chastity. The first moderator of this school was William Lily, a man no less notable for his learning, than was Colet for his foundation. This Colet died the year of our Lord 1519.

Not long before the death of this Colet and Lily, lived William Grocine and William Latimer, both Englishmen also, and famously learned. This Grocine, as he began to read in his open lecture, in the church of St. Paul, the book of Dionysius Areopagita, commonly called *Hierarchia Ecclesiastica*, (for the reading of the Holy Scriptures in Paul's was not in use,) in the first entry of his preface cried out with great vehemency against them, whosoever they were, who either denied or stood in doubt of the authority of that book: in the number of whom he noted Laurence Valla, and divers others of the like approved judgment and learning. But afterwards the same Grocine, when he had continued a few weeks in his reading thereof, and did consider further in him, he utterly altered and recanted his former sentence, protesting openly,

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that the afore-named book, to his judgment, was never written by that author whom we read in the Acts of the Apostles to be called Dionysius Areopagita.

The tractation of these two couples above rehearsed, do occasion me to adjoin also the remembrance of another couple of like learned men: the names of whom, not unworthy to be remembered, were Thomas Linacre, and Richard Pace; which two followed much upon the time of Colet and William Lily. But of Richard Pace, who was dean next after the aforesaid John Colet, more convenient place shall serve us hereafter to speak, coming to the story of Cardinal Wolsey.

Geoffrey Chaucer and John Gower

Moreover, to these two I thought it not out of season, to couple also some mention of Geoffrey Chaucer and John Gower; which, although being much discrepant from these in course of years, yet may seem not unworthy to be matched with these forenamed persons, in commendation of their study and learning. Albeit concerning the full certainty of the time and death of these two, we cannot find; yet it appeareth in the prologue of Gower's work, entitled *Confessio Amantis*, that he finished it in the sixteenth year of King Richard the Second. And in the end of the eighth book of his said treatise, he declareth that he was both sick and old when he wrote it; whereby it may appear that he lived not long after. Notwithstanding, by certain verses of the said Master Gower, placed in the latter end of Chaucer's works both in Latin and English, it may seem that he was alive at the beginning of the reign of King Henry the Fourth, and also by a book which he wrote to the same King Henry. By his sepulture within the chapel of the church of St. Mary Overy's, which was then a monastery, where he and his wife lie buried, it appeareth by his chain and his garland of laurel, that he was both a knight, and flourishing then in poetry; in the which place of his sepulture were made in his grave-stone three books: the first bearing the title, *Speculum Meditantis*; the second, *Vox Clamantis*; the third, *Confessio Amantis*. Besides these, divers chronicles and other works more he compiled.

Likewise, as touching the time of Chaucer, by his own words in the end of his first book of *Troilus and Cressida*, it is manifest that he and Gower were both of one time, although it seemeth that Gower was a great deal his ancient; both notably learned, as the barbarous rudeness of that time did give; both great friends together, and both in like kind of study together occupied; so endeavouring themselves, and employing their time, that they, excelling many others in study and exercise of good letters, did pass forth their lives here right worshipfully and godly, to the worthy fame and commendation of their name. Chaucer's works be all printed in one volume, and therefore known to all men.

This I marvel, to see the idle life of the priests and clergymen of that time, seeing these lay-persons showed themselves in these kinds of liberal studies so industrious and fruitfully occupied. But much more I marvel to consider this, how that the bishops, condemning and abolishing all manner of English books and treatises which might bring the people to any light of knowledge, did yet authorize the works of Chaucer to remain still and to be occupied; who, no doubt, saw into religion as much almost as even we do now, and uttereth in his works no less, and seemeth to be a right Wicklevian, or else there was never any. And that all his works almost, if they be thoroughly advised, will testify (albeit it be done in mirth, and covertly); and especially

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the latter end of his third book of the Testament of Love, for there purely he toucheth the highest matter, that is, the communion. Wherein, except a man be altogether blind, he may espy him at the full: although in the same book, (as in all others he useth to do,) under shadows covertly, as under a visor, he suborneth truth in such sort, as both privily she may profit the godly-minded, and yet not be espied of the crafty adversary. And therefore the bishops, belike, taking his works but for jests and toys, in condemning other books, yet permitted his books to be read.

So it pleased God to blind then the eyes of them, for the more commodity of his people, to the intent that through the reading of his treatises, some fruit might redound thereof to his church; as no doubt it did to many. As also I am partly informed, of certain who knew the parties, who to them reported, that by reading of Chaucer's works they were brought to the true knowledge of religion. And not unlike to be true: for, to omit other parts of his volume, whereof some are more fabulous than other, what tale can be more plainly told than the Tale of the Ploughman? or what finger can point out more directly the pope with his prelates to be antichrist, than doth the poor pelican reasoning against the greedy griffon? Under which hypotyposis, or poesy, who is so blind that seeth not by the pelican, the doctrine of Christ and of the Lollards to be defended against the Church of Rome? or who is so impudent that can deny that to be true which the pelican there affirmeth, in describing the presumptuous pride of that pretended church? Again, what egg can be more like, or fig, unto another, than the words, properties, and conditions of that ravening griffon resembleth the true image, that is, the nature and qualities, of that which we call the Church of Rome, in every point and degree? And therefore no great marvel if that narration was exempted out of the copies of Chaucer's works; which notwithstanding now is restored again, and is extant for every man to read that is disposed. This Geoffrey Chaucer, being born, as is thought, in Oxfordshire, and dwelling in Woodstock, lieth buried in the church of the minster of St. Peter at Westminster, in an aisle on the south side of the said church, not far from the door leading to the cloister; and upon his grave-stone first were written these two old verses:

Galfridus Chaucer Vates, et fama Poësis
Maternæ, hac sacra sum tumulatus humo.

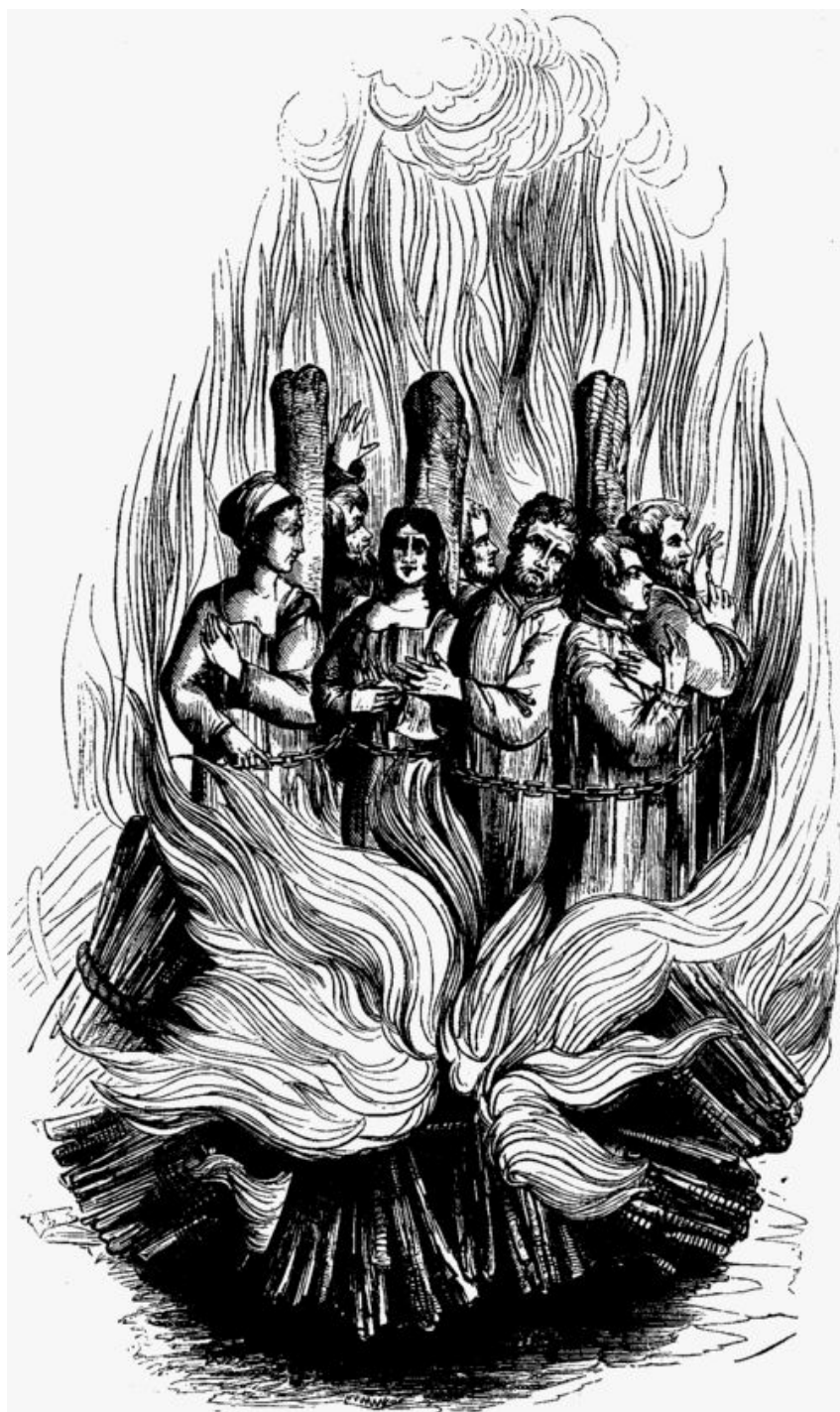
Afterwards, about A.D. 1556, one Master Brickham, bestowing more cost upon his tomb, did add thereunto these verses following:

Qui fuit Anglorum Vates ter maximus olim,
Galfridus Chaucer conditur hoc tumulo.
Annum si quæras Domini, si tempora mortis,
Ecce notæ subsunt, quæ tibi cuncta notent.
25 Octob. Anno 1400.

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**THE EIGHTH BOOK,
PERTAINING TO THE LAST THREE HUNDRED YEARS FROM
THE LOOSING OUT OF SATAN.
CONTINUING THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH MATTERS
APPERTAINING TO BOTH STATES, AS WELL
ECCLESIASTICAL, AS CIVIL AND TEMPORAL.**

164. The History of Seven Godly Martyrs Burnt at Coventry.



The Seven Martyrs

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Mistress Smith, widow; Robert Hatchets, a shoemaker; Archer, a shoemaker; Hawkins, a shoemaker; Thomas Bond, a shoemaker; Wrigsham, a glover; Landsdale, a hosier, at Coventry, A.D. 1519. Their persecutors: Simon Mourton, the bishop's sumner; also the bishop of Coventry, and Friar Stafford, warden.

THE principal cause of the apprehension of these persons, was for teaching their children and family the Lord's Prayer and Ten Commandments in English, for which they were, upon Ash Wednesday, taken and put in prison, some in places underground, some in chambers and other places about, till Friday following.

Then they were sent to a monastery called Mackstock Abbey, six miles from Coventry; during which time their children were sent for to the Grey Friars in Coventry, before the warden of the said friars, called Friar Stafford; who straitly examining them of their belief, and what heresies their fathers had taught them, charged them, upon pain of suffering such death as their fathers should, in no wise to meddle any more with the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and Commandments in English.

Which done, upon Palm Sunday the fathers of these children were brought back again to Coventry, and there, the week next before Easter, (because most of them had borne faggots in the same city before,) were condemned for relapse to be burned.

Only Mistress Smith was dismissed for that present, and sent away. And because it was in the evening, being somewhat dark, as she should go home, the aforesaid Simon Mourton, the sumner, offered himself to go home with her. Now as he was leading her by the arm, and heard the rattling of a scroll within her sleeve; "Yea," said he, "what have ye here?" And so took it from her, and espied that it was the Lord's Prayer, the Articles of the Faith, and the Ten Commandments in English. Which when the wretched sumner understood; "Ah sirrah!" said he, "come, as good now as another time:" and so brought her back again to the bishop, where she was immediately condemned, and so burned with the six men before named, the fourth of April, in a place thereby, called The Little Park, A.D. 1519.

Robert Silkeb, at Coventry, A.D. 1521.

In the same number of these Coventry men above rehearsed was also Robert Silkeb, who, at the apprehension of these, as is above recited, fled away, and for that time escaped. But about two years after he was taken again, and brought to the said city of Coventry, where he was also burned the morrow after he came thither, which was about the thirteenth day of January, A.D. 1521.

Thus, when these were despatched, immediately the sheriffs went to their houses, and took all their goods and cattle to their own use, not leaving their wives and children any parcel thereof, to help themselves withal. And forasmuch as the people began to grudge somewhat at the cruelty showed, and at the unjust death of these innocent martyrs, the bishop, with his officers and priests, caused it to be noised abroad by their tenants, servants, and farmers, that

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they were not burned for having the Lord's Prayer and the Commandments in English, but because they did eat flesh on Fridays and other fasting days; which neither could be proved either before their death or after, nor yet was any such matter greatly objected to them in their examinations. The witnesses of this history be yet alive, which both saw them and knew them; of whom one is by name Mother Hall, dwelling now in Bagington, two miles from Coventry: by whom also this is testified of them, that they, above all other in Coventry, pretended most show of worship and devotion at the holding up of the sacrament; whether to colour the matter, or no, it is not known. This is certain, that in godliness of life they differed from all the rest of the city; neither in their occupying would they use any oath, nor could abide it in them that occupied with them.

165. Patrick Hamilton

Patrick Hamilton, at St. Andrews in Scotland, A.D. 1527. His persecutors were, James Be-ton, archbishop of St. Andrews; Master Hugh Spens, dean of divinity in the university of St. Andrew; Master John Weddel, rector of the university; James Simpson, official; Thomas Ramsay, canon, and dean of the abbey of St. Andrew; Allane Meldrum, canon; John Greson, principal of the Black Friars; John Dillidaff, warden of the Grey Friars; Martin Balbur, lawyer; John Spens, lawyer; Alexander Yong, bachelor of divinity, canon; John Annand, canon; Friar Alexander Campbel, prior of the Black Friars, &c.

Patrick Hamilton, a Scotchman born of high and noble stock, and of the king's blood, young, and of flourishing age, and excellent towardness, of twenty-three years, called abbot of Ferme, first coming out of his country with three companions to seek godly learning, went to the university of Marburg in Germany, which university was then newly erected by Philip, landgrave of Hess, where he, using conference and familiarity with learned men, especially with Francis Lambert, so profited in knowledge and mature judgment in matters of religion, that he, through the incitation of the said Lambert, was the first in all that university of Marburg which publicly did set up conclusions there, to be disputed of, concerning faith and works; arguing also no less learnedly than fervently upon the same. What those propositions and conclusions were, partly in his treatise hereafter following, called Patrick's Places, may appear.

Thus the ingenious wit of this learned Patrick, increasing daily more and more in knowledge, and inflamed with godliness, at length began to revolve with himself touching his return into his country, being desirous to impart unto his countrymen some fruit of the understanding which he had received abroad. Whereupon, persisting in his godly purpose, he took one of the three whom he brought out of Scotland, and so returned home without any longer delay; where he, not sustaining the miserable ignorance and blindness of that people, after he had valiantly taught and preached the truth, and refelled their abuses, was first accused of heresy, and afterwards, constantly and stoutly sustaining the quarrel of God's gospel against the high priest and archbishop of St. Andrews, named James Be-ton, was cited to appear before him and his college of priests, the first day of March, A.D. 1527. But he, being not only forward in knowledge, but also ardent in spirit, not tarrying for the hour appointed, prevented the time, and came very early in the morning, before he was looked for; and there mightily disputing against them, when he could not by the Scriptures he convicted, by force he was oppressed. And so the sentence of condemnation being given against him, the same day after dinner, in all the hot haste, he was had away to the fire, and there burned (the king being yet but a child): which thing made the bishops more bold. And thus was this noble Hamelton, the blessed servant of God, without all just cause, made away by cruel adversaries, yet not without great fruit to the church of Christ; for the grave testimony of his blood left the verity and truth of God more fixed and confirmed in the hearts of many, than ever could after be plucked away: insomuch that divers afterwards, standing in his quarrel, sustained also the like martyrdom, as hereafter (Christ willing) shall appear, as place and time shall require.

In the mean season we think good to express here his articles, and order of his process, as we received them from Scotland, out of the registers.

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The articles and opinions objected against Master Patrick Hamilton, by James Beton, archbishop of St. Andrews.

"That man hath no free-will.
"That there is no purgatory.
"That the holy patriarchs were in heaven before Christ's passion.
"That the pope hath no power to loose and bind; neither any pope had that power after St. Peter.
"That the pope is antichrist, and that every priest hath the power that the pope hath.
"That Master Patrick Hamilton was a bishop.
"That it is not necessary to obtain any bulls from any bishop.
"That the vow of the pope's religion is a vow of wickedness.
"That the pope's laws be of no strength.
"That all Christians, worthy to be called Christians, do know that they be in the state of grace.
"That none be saved, but they are before predestinate.
"Whosoever is in deadly sin, is unfaithful.
"That God is the cause of sin, in this sense, that is, that he withdraweth his grace from men, whereby they sin.
"That it is devilish doctrine, to enjoin to any sinner actual penance for sin.
"That the said Master Patrick himself doubteth whether all children, departing incontinent after their baptism, are saved or condemned.
"That auricular confession is not necessary to salvation."

These articles above written were given in, and laid against Master Hamilton, and inserted in their registers, for the which also he was condemned, by them that hated him, to death. But other learned men, which communed and reasoned with him, do testify, that these articles following were the very articles, for which he suffered.

"I. Man hath no free-will.
"II. A man is only justified by faith in Christ.
"III. A man, so long as he liveth, is not without sin.
"IV. He is not worthy to be called a Christian, who believeth not that he is in grace.
"V. A good man doth good works: good works do not make a good man.
"VI. An evil man bringeth forth evil works; evil works, being faithfully repented, do not make an evil man.
"VII. Faith, hope, and charity be so linked together, that one of them cannot be without another in one man, in this life."

And as touching the other articles whereupon the doctors gave their judgments, as divers do report, he was not accused of them before the bishop; albeit in private disputation he affirmed and defended the most of them. Here followeth the sentence pronounced against him.

"*Christi nomine invocato*: We, James, by the mercy of God, archbishop of St. Andrews, primate of Scotland, with the counsel, decree, and authority of the most reverend fathers in God, and lords, abbots, doctors of theology, professors of the Holy Scripture, and masters of the

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university, assisting us for the time, sitting in judgment within our metropolitan church of St. Andrew, in the cause of heretical pravity, against Master Patrick Hamilton, abbot or pensionary of Ferme, being summoned to appear before us, to answer to certain articles affirmed, taught, and preached by him, and so appearing before us, and accused, the merits of the cause being ripely weighed, discussed, and understood by faithful inquisition made in Lent last past: we have found the same Master Patrick many ways infamed with heresy, disputing, holding, and maintaining divers heresies of Martin Luther, and his followers, repugnant to our faith, and which is already condemned by general councils, and most famous universities. And he being under the same infamy, we decreeing before him to be summoned and accused upon the premises, he, of evil mind, (as may be presumed,) passed to other parts forth of the realm, suspected and noted of heresy. And being lately returned, not being admitted, but of his own head, without licence or privilege, hath presumed to preach wicked heresy.

"We have found also, that he hath affirmed, published, and taught divers opinions of Luther, and wicked heresies, after that he was summoned to appear before us, and our council: That man hath no free-will: that man is in sin so long as he liveth: that children, incontinent after their baptism, are sinners: all Christians that be worthy to be called Christians, do know that they are in grace: that no man is justified by works, but by faith only: good works make not a good man, but a good man doth make good works: that faith, hope, and charity are so knit, that he that hath the one, hath the rest, and he that wanteth the one of them, wanteth the rest, &c., with divers other heresies and detestable opinions; and hath persisted so obstinate in the same, that by no counsel nor persuasion he may be drawn therefrom to the way of our right faith.

"All these premises being considered, we, having God and the integrity of our faith before our eyes, and following the counsel and advice of the professors of the Holy Scripture, men of laws, and other assisting us for the time, do pronounce, determine, and declare the said Master Patrick Hamilton, for his affirming, confessing, and maintaining of the aforesaid heresies, and his pertinacity, (they being condemned already by the church, general councils, and most famous universities,) to be a heretic, and to have an evil opinion of the faith; and therefore to be condemned and punished, like as we condemn and define him to be punished, by this our sentence definitive; depriving, and sentencing him to be deprived, of all dignities, honours, orders, offices, and benefices of the church; and therefore do judge and pronounce him to be delivered over to the secular power, to be punished, and his goods to be confiscated.

"This our sentence definitive was given and read at our metropolitan church of St. Andrew, the last day of the month of February, A.D. 1527, being present the most reverend fathers in Christ, and lords, Gawand, bishop of Glasgow; George, bishop of Dunkeld; John, bishop of Brechin; William, bishop of Dunblane; Patrick, prior of St. Andrews; David, abbot of Abirbrothoke; George, abbot of Dunfermline; Alexander, abbot of Caunbuskineth; Henry, abbot of Lendors; John, prior of Peterweme; the dean and subdean of Glasgow; Master Hugh Spens, Thomas Ramsay, Allane Meldrum, &c.

"In the presence of the clergy and the people," &c.

After the condemnation and martyrdom of this true saint of God were despatched by the bishops and doctors of Scotland, the rulers and doctors of the university of Louvain, hearing thereof, received such joy and consolation at the shedding of that innocent blood, that for the

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abundance of heart they could not stay their pen to utter condign thanks; applauding and triumphing, in their letters sent to the aforesaid bishop of St. Andrews and doctors of Scotland, at the worthy and famous deservings of their achieved enterprise in that behalf: as by the tenor of their said letter may appear, which here followeth:

"Your excellent virtue, most honourable bishop, hath so deserved, that albeit we be far distant both by sea and land, without conjunction of familiarity, yet we desire with all our hearts to thank you for your worthy deed, by whose works that true faith, which not long ago was tainted with heresy, not only remaineth unhurt, but also is more confirmed. For as our dear friend Master Alexander Galoway, canon of Aberdeen, hath showed us the presumption of the wicked heretic, Patrick Hamilton, which is expressed in this your example, in that you have cut off, when there was no hope of amendment, &c.

"The which thing, as it is thought commendable to us, so the manner of the proceeding was no less pleasant, that the matter was performed by so great consent of so many states, as of the clergy, nobility, and vulgar people; not rashly, but most prudently, the order of law being in all points observed. We have seen the sentence which ye pronounced, and always do approve the same, not doubting but that the articles which be inserted are erroneous: so that whosoever will defend for a truth any one of the same, with pertinacity, should be esteemed an enemy to the faith, and an adversary to the Holy Scripture. And albeit one or two of them appear to be without error, to them that will consider only the bare words; as for example, "Good works make not a good man, but a good man worketh good works;" yet there is no doubt but they contain a Lutheran sense, which in a manner they signify; to wit, that works done after faith and justification, make not a man the better, nor are worthy of any reward before God. Believe not that this example shall have place only among you, for there shall be those among extern nations who shall imitate the same, &c.

"Certainly ye have given us great courage, so that now we acknowledge your university, which was founded according to the example of our university of Louvain, to be equal to ours, or else above; and would God occasion were offered of testifying our minds toward you. In the mean time, let us labour with one consent, that the ravening wolves may be expelled from the sheepfold of Christ, while we have time. Let us study to preach to the people more learnedly hereafter, and more wisely. Let us have inquisitors and espies of books, containing that doctrine, especially that are brought in from far countries, whether by apostate monks, or by merchants, the most suspected kind of men in these days. It is said that since Scotland first embraced the Christian faith, it was never defiled with any heresy. Persevere therefore, being moved thereunto by the example of England, your next neighbour, which in this most troublous time is not changed, partly by the working of the bishops, among the which Roffensis hath showed himself an evangelical Phœnix, and partly of the king, declaring himself to be another Matthias of the new law, pretermittting nothing that may defend the law of his realm; the which if your most renowned king of Scotland will follow, he shall purchase to himself eternal glory. Further, as touching the condign commendation due for your part, most reverend bishop! in this behalf, it shall not be the least of your praise, that these heresies have been extinct some time in Scotland, you being primate of Scotland, and principal author thereof: albeit that they also which have assisted you, are not to be defrauded of their deserved praise; as the reverend bishop of Glasgow, of whose erudition we have here given us partly to understand, and also the reverend bishop of

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Aberdeen, a stout defender of the faith, together with the rest of the prelates, abbots, priors, and professors of Holy Scripture. Let your reverend fatherhood take this little testificate of our duty towards you in good part, whom we wish long and happily well to fare in Christ.

"From Louvain, the year 1528, April 21st.

"By the masters and professors of Theology in the university of Louvain."

In the epistle of the Louvanian doctors, I shall not need, gentle reader! to note unto thee, what a pernicious thing in a commonwealth is blind ignorance, when it falleth into cruel hearts; which may well be compared to a sword, put into the hands of one that is both blind and mad. For as the blind man, having no sense to see and judge, knoweth not whom he striketh; so the madman, being cruel and furious, hath no compassion in sparing any. Whereupon it happeneth many times with these men, as it did with the blind furious Pharisees, that as they, having the sword of authority in their hands, instead of malefactors and false prophets, slew the true prophets of God, and at last crucified the King of glory; so these, catholic Louvanians, and followers of their Messias of Rome, take in their hands the sword of jurisdiction; who, neither seeing what to spare, nor caring whom they smite, under the style and pretence of heretics, murder and blaspheme, without mercy, the true preachers of the gospel, and the holy anointed of the Lord.

But to return to the matter again of Master Hamilton; here is moreover to be observed, as a note worthy of memory, that in the year of our Lord 1564, in the which year this present history was collected in Scotland, there were certain faithful men of credit then alive, who, being present the same time when Master Patrick Hamilton was in the fire, heard him to cite and appeal the Black Friar called Campbel, that accused him, to appear before the high God, as general Judge of all men, to answer to the innocency of his death, and whether his accusation was just or not, between that and a certain day of the next month, which he there named. Moreover, by the same witness it is testified, that the said friar died immediately before the said day came, without remorse of conscience that he had persecuted the innocent; by the example whereof divers of the people the same time much mused, and firmly believed the doctrine of the aforesaid Master Hamilton to be good and just.

166. Master Patrick's Places

Hereunto I thought good to adjoin a certain godly and profitable treatise of the said Master Patrick Hamilton, written first by him in Latin, and afterwards translated by John Frith into English; which he names "Patrick's Places;" not unprofitable, in my mind, to be seen and read of all men, for the pure and comfortable doctrine contained in the same, as not only by the treatise itself may appear, but also by the preface of the said John Frith, prefixed before, which also I thought not inconvenient to insert with the same, as here followeth:

John Frith unto the Christian reader.

"Blessed be God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who in these last days and perilous times hath stirred up in all countries witnesses unto his Son, to testify the truth unto the unfaithful, to save at least some from the snares of antichrist, which lead to perdition, as ye may here perceive by that excellent and well learned young man, Patrick Hamilton, born in Scotland of a noble progeny: who, to testify the truth, sought all means, and took upon him priesthood, (even as Paul circumcised Timothy, to win the weak Jews,) that he might be admitted to preach the pure word of God. Notwithstanding, as soon as the chamberlain and other bishops of Scotland had perceived that the light began to shine, which disclosed their falsehood that they conveyed in darkness, they laid hands on him, and because he would not deny his Saviour Christ at their instance, they burnt him to ashes. Nevertheless God of his bounteous mercy (to publish to the whole world what a man these monsters have murdered) hath reserved a little treatise, made by this Patrick, which, if ye list, ye may call Patrick's Places; for it treateth exactly of certain commonplaces, which known, ye have the pith of all divinity. This treatise I have turned into the English tongue, to the profit of my nation: to whom I beseech God to give light, that they may espy the deceitful paths of perdition, and return to the right way, which leadeth to life everlasting, Amen."

The doctrine of the law.

"The law is a doctrine that biddeth good, and forbiddeth evil, as the commandments do specify here following:

- I. Thou shalt worship but one God.
- II. Thou shalt make thee no image to worship it.
- III. Thou shalt not swear by his name in vain.
- IV. Hold the sabbath day holy.
- V. Honour thy father and thy mother.
- VI. Thou shalt not kill.
- VII. Thou shalt not commit adultery.
- VIII. Thou shalt not steal.
- IX. Thou shalt not bear false witness.
- X. Thou shalt not desire aught that belongeth to thy neighbour.

"All these commandments are briefly comprised in these two, Matt. xxii. 37, Love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy mind: this is the first, and

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great commandment. The second is like unto this, that is, Love thy neighbour as thyself. On these two commandments hangeth all the law and the prophets."

Certain general propositions proved by the Scripture.

The First Proposition.

"He that loveth God loveth his neighbour.

"This proposition is proved, 1 John iv. 20, If a man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar. He that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?"

The Second Proposition.

"He that loveth his neighbour as himself, keepeth all the commandments of God.

"This proposition is proved: Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, even so do to them: for this is the law and the prophets. He that loveth his neighbour, fulfilleth the law. Thou shalt not commit adultery: thou shalt not kill: thou shalt not steal: thou shalt not bear false witness: thou shalt not desire. And if there be any other commandment, all are comprehended in this saying, Love thy neighbour as thyself. All the law is fulfilled in one word, that is, Love thy neighbour as thyself."

ARGUMENT.

"He that loveth his neighbour, keepeth all the commandments of God.

"He that loveth God, loveth his neighbour.

"Ergo, he that loveth God, keepeth all the commandments of God."

The Third Proposition.

"He that hath faith, loveth God.

"My Father loveth you, because you love me, and I believe that I come of God."

ARGUMENT.

"He that keepeth the commandments of God, hath the love of God.

"He that hath faith, keepeth the commandments of God.

"Ergo, he that hath faith, loveth God."

The Fourth Proposition.

"He that keepeth one commandment of God, keepeth them all.

"This proposition is confirmed: It is impossible for a man without faith to please God; that is, to keep any one of God's commandments, as he should do. Then whosoever keepeth any one commandment hath faith."

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ARGUMENT.

"He that hath faith keepeth all the commandments of God.
"He that keepeth any one commandment of God, hath faith.
"Ergo, he that keepeth one commandment keepeth them all.

The Fifth Proposition.

"He that keepeth not all the commandments of God, keepeth not one of them."

ARGUMENT.

"He that keepeth one commandment of God, keepeth all.
"Ergo, he that keepeth not all the commandments of God, keepeth not one of them."

The Sixth Proposition.

"It is not in our power to keep any one of the commandments of God."

ARGUMENT.

"It is impossible to keep any of the commandments of God, without grace.
"It is not in our power to have grace.
"Ergo, it is not in our power to keep any of the commandments of God.
"And even so may you reason concerning the Holy Ghost and faith, forasmuch as neither without them we are able to keep any of the commandments of God, neither yet be they in our power to have: It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth."

The Seventh Proposition.

"The law was given us to show our sin.
"By the law cometh the knowledge of sin. I knew not what sin meant, but through the law; for I had not known what lust had meant, except the law had said, Thou shalt not lust. Without the law sin was dead, that is, it moved me not, neither wist I that it was sin, which notwithstanding was sin, and forbidden by the law."

The Eighth Proposition.

"The law biddeth us do that thing which is impossible for us."

ARGUMENT.

"The keeping of the commandments is to us impossible.
"The law commandeth to us the keeping of the commandments.
"Ergo, the law commandeth unto us that is impossible.
"*Objection.* But thou wilt say, Wherefore doth God bid us do what is impossible for us?

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"*Answer.* I answer, To make thee know that thou art but evil, and that there is no remedy to save thee in thine own hand: and that thou mayest seek remedy at some other; for the law doth nothing else but command thee."

The doctrine of the gospel.

"The gospel is as much as to say, in our tongue, good tidings; like as these be hereunder following, and such others, Luke ii. 10.

"Christ is the Saviour of the world, John iv. 42.

"Christ is the Saviour, Luke ii. 11.

"Christ died for us, Rom. v. 6.

"Christ died for our sins, Rom. iv. 25.

"Christ bought us with his blood, 1 Pet. i. 19.

"Christ washed us with his blood, Rev. i. 5.

"Christ offered himself for us, Gal. i. 4.

"Christ bare our sins on his back, Isa. liii. 6.

"Christ came into this world to save sinners, 1 Tim. i. 15.

"Christ came into this world to take away our sins, 1 John iii. 5.

"Christ was the price that was given for us and our sins, 1 Tim. ii. 6.

"Christ was made debtor for us, Rom. viii. 12.

"Christ hath paid our debt, for he died for us, Col. ii. 14.

"Christ made satisfaction for us and our sins, 1 Cor. vii. 23.

"Christ is our righteousness, 1 Cor. i. 30.

"Christ is our sanctification, 1 Cor. i. 30.

"Christ is our redemption, 1 Cor. i. 30.

"Christ is our peace, Eph. ii. 14.

"Christ hath pacified the Father of heaven for us, Rom. v. 1.

"Christ is ours and all his, 1 Cor. iii. 23.

"Christ hath delivered us from the law, from the devil, and from hell, Col. ii. 14-17.

"The Father of heaven hath forgiven us our sins, for Christ's sake, 1 John i. 9.

"(Or any such other, like to the same, which declare unto us the mercy of God.) "

The nature and office of the law and of the gospel.

"The law showeth us our sin, Rom. iii. 9-20.

"The gospel showeth us remedy for it, John i. 29.

"The law showeth us our condemnation, Rom. vii. 23, 24.

"The gospel showeth us our redemption, Eph. i.

"The law is the word of ire, Rom. iv. 15.

"The gospel is the word of grace, Acts xx. 24.

"The law is the word of despair, Deut. xxvii. 15-26.

"The gospel is the word of comfort, Luke ii. 10.

"The law is the word of unrest, Rom. vii. 24.

"The gospel is the word of peace, Eph. vi. 15."

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A disputation between the law and the gospel; where is shown the difference or contrariety between them both.

"The law saith, Pay thy debt.

"The gospel saith, Christ hath paid it.

"The law saith, Thou art a sinner; despair, and thou shalt be damned.

"The gospel saith, Thy sins are forgiven thee, be of good comfort, thou shalt be saved!

"The law saith, Make amends for thy sins.

"The gospel saith, Christ hath made it for thee. "The law saith, The Father of heaven is angry with thee.

The gospel saith, Christ hath pacified him with his blood.

"The law saith, Where is thy righteousness, goodness, and satisfaction?

"The gospel saith, Christ is thy righteousness, thy goodness, thy satisfaction.

"The law saith, Thou art bound and obliged to me, to the devil, and to hell.

"The gospel saith, Christ hath delivered thee from them all."

The doctrine of faith.

"Faith is to believe God, like as Abraham believed God, and it was imputed unto him for righteousness.

"To believe God, is to believe his word, and to account it true, that he saith.

"He that believeth not God's word, believeth not God himself.

"He that believeth not God's word, he counteth him false and a liar, and believeth not that he may and will fulfil his word; and so he denieth both the might of God, and God himself."

The Ninth Proposition.

"Faith is the gift of God."

ARGUMENT.

"Every good thing is the gift of God. "Faith is good.

"Ergo, faith is the gift of God.

The Tenth Proposition.

"Faith is not in our power."

ARGUMENT.

"The gift of God is not in our power.

"Faith is the gift of God.

"Ergo, faith is not in our power."

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The Eleventh Proposition.

"He that lacketh faith, cannot please God.

"Without faith it is impossible to please God; all that cometh not of faith is sin; for without faith can no man please God."

INDUCTION.

"He that lacketh faith, trusteth not God: he that trusteth not God, trusteth not his word: he that trusteth not his word, holdeth him false and a liar: he that holdeth him false and a liar, believeth not that he may do that he promiseth, and so denieth he that he is God.

"Ergo, he that lacketh faith cannot please God.

"If it were possible for any man to do all the good deeds that ever were done either by men or angels, yet being in this case, it is impossible for him to please God."

The Twelfth Proposition.

"All that is done in faith, pleaseth God.

"Right is the word of God, and all his works in faith.

"Lord, thine eyes look to faith: that is as much as to say, Lord, thou delightest in faith."

The Thirteenth Proposition.

"He that hath faith is just and good."

ARGUMENT.

"He that is a good tree, bringing forth good fruit, is just and good.

"He that hath faith, is a good tree bringing forth good fruit.

"Ergo, he that hath faith, is just and good."

The Fourteenth Proposition.

"He that hath faith, and believeth God, cannot displease him."

INDUCTION.

"He that hath faith, believeth God; he that believeth God, believeth his word; he that believeth his word, wotteth well that he is true and faithful, and may not lie, knowing that he both may, and will, fulfil his word.

"Ergo, he that hath faith cannot displease God, neither can any man do a greater honour to God, than to count him true."

OBJECTION.

"Thou wilt then say, that theft, murder, adultery, and all vices, please God."

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ANSWER.

"Nay verily, for they cannot be done in faith; for a good tree beareth good fruit."

The Fifteenth Proposition.

"Faith is a certainty or assuredness.

"Faith is a sure confidence of things which are hoped for, and certainty of things which are not seen.

"The same Spirit certifieth our spirit, that we are the children of God. Moreover, he that hath faith, wotteth well that God will fulfil his word: whereby it appeareth, that faith is a certainty or assuredness.

A man is justified by faith.

"Abraham believed God, and it was imputed unto him for righteousness.

"We suppose therefore, that a man is justified by faith, without the deeds of the law.

"He that worketh not, but believeth on him that justifieth the wicked, his faith is counted to him for righteousness.

"The just man liveth by his faith.

"We wot that a man is not justified by the deeds of the law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ; and we believe in Jesus Christ, that we may be justified by the faith of Christ, and not by the deeds of the law."

What is the faith of Christ?

"The faith of Christ is to believe in him; that is, to believe his word, and believe that he will help thee in all thy need, and deliver thee from all evil.

"Thou wilt ask me, What word? I answer, The gospel.

"He that believeth in Christ shall be saved, Mark xvi. 16.

"He that believeth the Son hath everlasting life, John iii. 15.

"Verily I say unto you, He that believeth in me, hath everlasting life, John vi. 47.

"This I write unto you, that believe on the name of the Son of God, that ye may know that ye have eternal life, 1 John v. 13.

"Thomas! because thou hast seen me, thou hast believed: blessed are they which have not seen, and yet have believed, John xx. 29.

"To him gave all the prophets witness, that through his name whosoever believeth in him shall receive remission of their sins, Acts x. 43.

"What must I do to be saved? The apostles answered, Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved, Acts xvi. 30, 31.

"If thou dost acknowledge with thy mouth that Jesus is the Lord, and believe with thine heart that God raised him from death, thou shalt be safe, Rom. x. 9.

"He that believeth not in Christ shall be condemned. He that believeth not the Son shall never see life, but the ire of God bideth upon him, John iii. 36.

"The Holy Ghost shall reprove the world of sin, because they believe not in me, John xvi. 9.

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"They that believe in Jesus Christ are the sons of God. Ye are all the sons of God, because ye believe in Jesus Christ, 1 John iii.

"He that believeth that Christ is the Son of God, is safe, John iii. 30.

"Peter said, Thou art Christ the Son of the living God! Jesus answered and said unto him, Happy art thou, Simon, the son of Jonas, for flesh and blood hath not opened to thee that, but my Father that is in heaven, Matt. xvi. 16, 17.

"We have believed, and know that thou art Christ the Son of the living God.

"I believe that thou art Christ the Son of God, which should come into the world, John xi. 27. "These things are written, that ye might believe that Jesus is Christ the Son of God, and that ye, in believing, might have life through his name, John xx. 31.

"I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, Acts viii. 37."

The Sixteenth Proposition.

"He that believeth the gospel, believeth God."

ARGUMENT.

"He that believeth God's word, believeth God. "The gospel is God's word.

"Ergo, he that believeth the gospel, believeth God.

"To believe the gospel is this: that Christ is the Saviour of the world, John vi. 29.

"Christ is our Saviour, Luke ii. 11.

"Christ bought us with his blood, Heb. xiii. 20; 1 Pet. i. 19; Rev. v. 9.

"Christ washed us with his blood, Rev. i. 5. "Christ offered himself for us, Heb. ix. 25.

"Christ bare our sins on his own back, &c., 1 Pet. ii. 24."

The Seventeenth Proposition.

"He that believeth not the gospel believeth not God."

ARGUMENT.

"He that believeth not God's word, believeth not God himself.

"The gospel is God's word.

"Ergo, he that believeth not the gospel, believeth not God himself; and consequently, he that believeth not those things above written, and such others, believeth not God."

The Eighteenth Proposition.

"He that believeth the gospel, shall be safe.

"Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel unto every creature: he that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved; but he that believeth not, shall be condemned, Mark xvi."

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A comparison between Faith and Incredulity.

"Faith is the root of all good: incredulity is the root of all evil.
"Faith maketh God and man good friends: incredulity maketh them foes.
"Faith bringeth God and man together: incredulity sundereth them.
"All that faith doth, pleaseth God: all that incredulity doth, displeaseth God.
"Faith only maketh a man good and righteous: incredulity only maketh him unjust and evil.
"Faith maketh a man a member of Christ: incredulity maketh him a member of the devil.
"Faith maketh a man the inheritor of heaven: incredulity maketh him inheritor of hell.
"Faith maketh a man the servant of God: incredulity maketh him the servant of the devil.
"Faith showeth us God to be a sweet Father: incredulity showeth him a terrible Judge.
"Faith holdeth stiff by the word of God: incredulity wavereth here and there.
"Faith counteth and holdeth God to be true: incredulity holdeth him false and a liar.
"Faith knoweth God: incredulity knoweth him not.
"Faith loveth both God and his neighbour: incredulity loveth neither of them.
"Faith only saveth us: incredulity only condemneth us.
"Faith extolleth God and his deeds: incredulity extolleth herself and her own deeds."

Of hope.

"Hope is a trusty looking after the thing that is promised us to come, as we hope after the everlasting joy, which Christ hath promised unto all that believe in him."
We should put our hope and trust in God alone, and in no other thing.
"It is better to trust in God and not in man, Psal. cxviii. 8.
"He that trusteth in his own heart is a fool, Prov. xxviii. 26.
"It is good to trust in God, and not in princes, Psal. cxviii. 9.
"They shall be like unto the images which they make, and all that trust in them, Psal. cxv. 8.
"He that trusteth in his own heart is a fool, Prov. xxviii. 26.
"Cursed be the man that trusteth in man, Jer. xvii. 5.
"Bid the rich men of this world, that they trust not in their unstable riches; but that they trust in the living God, I Tim. vi. 17.
"It is hard for them that trust in money, to enter into the kingdom of heaven.
"Moreover we should trust in him only, that may help us: God only may help us, therefore we should trust in him only.
"Well are they that trust in God, and woe to them that trust not in him.
"Well is that man that trusteth in God, for God shall be his trust.
"They shall rejoice that trust in thee; they shall ever be glad, and thou wilt defend them."

Of charity.

"Charity is the love of thy neighbour. The rule of charity is this: Do as thou wouldst be done to: for Christ holdeth all alike, the rich, the poor, the friend and the foe, the thankful and unthankful, the kinsman and stranger."

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A comparison between faith, hope, and charity.

"Faith cometh of the word of God; hope cometh of faith; and charity springeth of them both.

"Faith believeth the word; hope trusteth after that which is promised by the word; charity doth good unto her neighbour, through the love that she hath to God, and gladness that is within herself.

"Faith looketh to God and his word; hope looketh unto his gift and reward; charity looketh on her neighbour's profit.

"Faith receiveth God; hope receiveth his reward; charity loveth her neighbour with a glad heart, and that without any respect of reward. "Faith pertaineth to God only; hope to his reward; and charity to her neighbour."

The doctrine of works.

No manner of works make us righteous.

"We believe that a man shall be justified without works, Rom. iii.

"No man is justified by the deeds of the law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ; and we believe in Jesus Christ, that we may be justified by the faith of Christ, and not by the deeds of the law; for if righteousness come by the law, then died Christ in vain, Gal. ii.

"That no man is justified by the law is manifest; for a righteous man liveth by his faith, but the law is not of faith, Acts xvii.

"Moreover, since Christ the Maker of heaven and earth, and all that is therein, behoved to die for us, we are compelled to grant that we were so far drowned and sunken in sin, that neither our deeds, nor all the treasures that ever God made or might make, could have holpen us out of them: therefore no deeds or works may make us righteous."

No works make us unrighteous.

"If any evil works make us unrighteous, then the contrary works should make us righteous. But it is proved that no works can make us righteous: therefore no works make us unrighteous."

Works make us neither good nor evil.

"It is proved that works neither make us righteous nor unrighteous: therefore no works make us either good or evil. For righteous and good are one thing, and unrighteous and evil likewise one.

"Good works make not a good man, nor evil works an evil man: but a good man bringeth forth good works, and an evil man evil works.

"Good fruit maketh not the tree good, nor evil fruit the tree evil: but a good tree beareth good fruit, and an evil tree evil fruit.

"A good man cannot do evil works, nor an evil man good works: for a good tree cannot bear evil fruit, nor an evil tree good fruit.

A man is good ere he do good works, and evil ere he do evil works: for the tree is good

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ere it bear good fruit, and evil ere it bear evil fruit."

Every man, and the works of man, are either good or evil.

"Every tree, and the fruits thereof, are either good or evil. Either make ye the tree good, and the fruit good also, or else make the tree evil, and the fruit of it likewise evil, Matt. xii. 23.

"A good man is known by his works: for a good man doth good works, and an evil man evil works. Ye shall know them by their fruit; for a good tree beareth good fruit, and an evil tree evil fruit. A man is likened to the tree, and his works to the fruit of the tree.

"Beware of the false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves: ye shall know them by their fruits, Matt. vii. 15.

None of our works either save us or condemn us.

"If works make us neither righteous nor unrighteous, then thou wilt say, it maketh no matter what we do. I answer, If thou do evil, it is a sure argument that thou art evil, and wantest faith. If thou do good, it is an argument that thou art good, and hast faith; for a good tree beareth good fruit, and an evil tree evil. Yet good fruit makes not the tree good, nor evil fruit the tree evil; so that man is good ere he do good deeds, and evil ere he do evil deeds."

The man is the tree, his works are the fruit.

"Faith, maketh the good tree, and incredulity the evil tree: such a tree, such fruit; such a man, such works. For all things that are done in faith, please God, and are good works; and all that are done without faith, displease God, and are evil works.

"Whosoever believeth or thinketh to be saved by his works, denieth that Christ is his Saviour, that Christ died for him, and that all things pertain to Christ. For how is he thy Saviour, if thou mightest save thyself by thy works? or whereto should he die for thee, if any works might have saved thee?

"What is this to say, Christ died for thee? Verily, that thou shouldst have died perpetually; and Christ, to deliver thee from death, died for thee, and changed thy perpetual death into his own death; for thou madest the fault, and he suffered the pain; and that, for the love he had to thee before thou wast born, when thou hadst done neither good nor evil.

"Now, seeing he hath paid thy debt, thou needest not, neither canst thou, pay it; but shouldst be damned if his blood were not. But since he was punished for thee, thou shalt not be punished.

"Finally, He hath delivered thee from thy condemnation and all evil, and desireth nought of thee, but that thou wilt acknowledge what he hath done for thee, and bear it in mind; and that thou wouldst help others for his sake, both in word and deed, even as he hath holpen thee for nought, and without reward.

"Oh how ready would we be to help others, if we knew his goodness and gentleness towards us; he is a good and a gentle Lord, for he doth all for nought. Let us, I beseech you therefore, follow his footsteps, whom all the world ought to praise and worship. Amen! "

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

He that thinketh to be saved by his works calleth himself Christ:

"For he calleth himself the Saviour; which pertaineth to Christ only.

"What is a Saviour, but he that saveth? and he saith, I saved myself; which is as much to say as, I am Christ; for Christ only is the Saviour of the world."

We should do no good works for the intent to get the inheritance of heaven, or remission of sin:

"For whosoever believeth to get the inheritance of heaven, or remission of sin, through works, he believeth not to get the same for Christ's sake; and they that believe not that their sins are forgiven them, and that they shall be saved, for Christ's sake, they believe not the gospel: for the gospel saith, You shall be saved for Christ's sake; your sins are forgiven for Christ's sake.

"He that believeth not the gospel, believeth not God. So it followeth, that those who believe to be saved by their works, or to get remission of their sins by their own deeds, believe not God, but account him as a liar, and so utterly deny him to be God.

OBJECTION.

"Thou wilt say, Shall we then do no good deeds?"

ANSWER.

"I say not so, but I say we should do no good works to the intent to get the inheritance of heaven, or remission of sin. For if we believe to get the inheritance of heaven through good works, then we believe not to get it through the promise of God: or if we think to get remission of our sins by our deeds, then we believe not that they are forgiven us, and so we count God a liar. For God saith, Thou shalt have the inheritance of heaven for my Son's sake; thy sins are forgiven thee for my Son's sake: and you say it is not so, But I will win it through my works.

"Thus you see I condemn not good deeds, but I condemn the false trust in any works; for all the works wherein a man putteth any confidence, are therewith poisoned, and become evil. Wherefore thou must do good works, but beware thou do them not to deserve any good through them; for if thou do, thou receivest the good not as the gifts of God, but as a debt to thee, and makest thyself fellow with God, because thou wilt take nothing of him for nought. And what needeth he any thing of thine, who giveth all things, and is not the poorer? Therefore do nothing to him, but take of him, for he is a gentle Lord; and with a gladder will giveth us all that we need, than we can take it of him: if then we want aught, let us blame ourselves.

"Press not therefore to the inheritance of heaven through presumption of thy good works; for if thou do, thou countest thyself holy, and equal to God, because thou wilt take nothing of him for nought; and so shalt thou fall as Lucifer fell for his pride."

FINIS.

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Certain brief notes or declarations upon the aforesaid Places of Master Patrick.

"This little treatise of Master Patrick's Places, albeit in quantity it be short, yet in effect it comprehendeth matter able to fill large volumes, declaring to us the true doctrine of the law, of the gospel, of faith, and of works, with the nature and properties, and also the difference of the same: which difference is thus to be understood: that in the cause of salvation, and in the office of justifying, these are to be removed and separated asunder, the law from the gospel, and faith from works: otherwise, in the person that is justified, and also in order of doctrine, they ought commonly to go necessarily together.

"Therefore, wheresoever any question or doubt riseth of salvation, or our justifying before God, there the law and all good works must be utterly excluded and stand apart, that grace may appear free, the promise simple, and that faith may stand alone; which faith alone, without law or works, worketh to every man particularly, his salvation, through mere promise, and the free grace of God. This word particularly, I add, for the particular certifying of every man's heart, privately and peculiarly, that believeth in Christ. For as the body of Christ is the cause efficient of the redemption of the whole world in general; so is faith the instrumental cause, by which every man applieth the said body of Christ particularly to his own salvation. So that in the action and office of justification, both law and works here be utterly secluded and exempted, as things having nothing to do in this behalf. The reason is this, for seeing that all our redemption universally springeth only from the body of the Son of God crucified, then is there nothing that can stand us in stead, but that only wherewith this body of Christ is apprehended. Now, forasmuch as neither the law nor works, but faith only, is the thing which apprehendeth the body and death of Christ, therefore faith only is that matter which justifieth every soul before God, through the strength of that object which it doth apprehend. For the object only of our faith is the body of Christ, like as the brazen serpent was the object only of the eyes of the Israelites' looking, and not of their hands working: by the strength of which object, through the promise of God, immediately proceeded health to the beholders. So the body of Christ, being the object of our faith, striketh righteousness to our souls, not through working, but believing only.

"Thus you see how faith, being the only eye of our soul, standeth alone with her object in case of justifying; but yet, nevertheless, in the body she standeth not alone: for besides the eye, there be also hands to work, feet to walk, ears to hear, and other members more, every one convenient for the service of the body, and yet there is none of them all that can see, but only the eye. So in a Christian man's life, and in order of doctrine, there is the law, there is repentance, there is hope, charity, and deeds of charity; all which, in life and in doctrine, are joined, and necessarily do concur together: and yet, in the action of justifying, there is nothing else in man, that hath any part or place, but only faith apprehending the object, which is the body of Christ Jesus for us crucified, in whom consisteth all the worthiness and fulness of our salvation, by faith; that is, by our apprehending and receiving of him: according as it is written in John i. 12, "Whosoever received him, he gave them power to be made the sons of God, even all such as believed in his name," &c. Also in Isa. liii. 11, "This just servant of mine, in the knowledge of him shall justify many, &c."

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

ARGUMENT.

"Apprehending and receiving of Christ only maketh us justified before God.

"Christ only is apprehended and received by faith.

"Ergo, faith only maketh us justified before God."

ARGUMENT.

"Justification cometh only by apprehending and receiving of Christ.

"The law and works do nothing pertain to the apprehending of Christ.

"Ergo, the law and works pertain nothing to justification."

ARGUMENT.

"Nothing which is unjust of itself, can justify us before God, or help any thing to our justifying.

"Every work we do, is unjust before God.

"Ergo, no work that we do, can justify us before God, or help any thing to our justifying."

ARGUMENT.

"If works could any thing further our justification, then should our works something profit us before God.

"No works, do the best we can, do profit us before God.

"Ergo, no works that we do, can any thing further our justification."

ARGUMENT.

"All that we can do with God, is only by Christ.

"Our works and merits be not Christ, neither any part of him.

"Ergo, our works and merits can do nothing with God."

ARGUMENT.

"That which is the cause of condemnation, cannot be the cause of justification." The law is the cause of condemnation.

"Ergo, it is not the cause of justification."

A CONSEQUENT.

"We are quit and delivered from the law.

"Ergo, we are not quit and delivered by the law.

"Forasmuch therefore as the truth of the Scripture, in express words, hath thus included our salvation in faith only, we are enforced necessarily to exclude all other causes and means in our justification, and to make this difference between the law and the gospel, between faith and works; affirming, with Scripture and the word of God, that the law condemneth us, our works do

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not avail us, and that faith in Christ only justifieth us. And this difference and distinction ought diligently to be learned and retained of all Christians; especially in conflict of conscience between the law and the gospel, faith and works, grace and merits, promise and condition, God's free election and man's free-will: so that the light of the free grace of God in our salvation may appear to all consciences, to the immortal glory of God's holy name. Amen."

The order and difference of places.

"The gospel and the law; Faith and works;

"Grace and merits; Promise and condition;

"God's free election and man's free-will."

"The difference and repugnance of these aforesaid Places being well noted and expended, it shall give no small light to every faithful Christian, both to understand the Scriptures, to judge in cases of conscience, and to reconcile such places in the Old and New Testament as else may seem to repugn; according to the rule of St. Augustine, saying, Make distinction of times, and thou shalt reconcile the Scriptures, &c. Contrariwise, where men be not perfectly in these places instructed to discern between the law and the gospel, between faith and works, &c., so long they can never rightly establish their minds in the free promises of God's grace, but walk confusedly, without order, in all matters of religion; example whereof we have too much in the Romish Church, who, confounding these places together without distinction, following no method, hath perverted the true order of Christian doctrine, and hath obscured the sweet comfort and benefit of the gospel of Christ, not knowing what the true use of the law, nor of the gospel, meaneth."

In the doctrine of the law three things to be noted.

"In the law, therefore, three things are to be considered. First, what is the true rigour and strength of the law, which is, to require full and perfect obedience of the whole man, not only to restrain his outward actions, but also his inward motions and inclinations of will and affection, from the appetite of sin: and therefore saith St. Paul, The law is spiritual, but I am carnal, &c. Whereupon riseth this proposition, That it is not in our nature and power to fulfil the law. Item, the law commandeth that which is to us impossible, &c.

"The second thing to be noted in the doctrine of the law, is, to consider the time and place of the law, what they be, and how far they extend. For, as the surging seas have their banks and bars to keep them in, so the law hath its times and limits, which it ought not to pass. If Christ had not come and suffered, the time and dominion of the law had been everlasting: but now, seeing Christ hath come, and hath died in his righteous flesh, the power of the law against our sinful flesh doth cease. For the end of the law is Christ; that is, the death of Christ's body is the death of the law to all that believe in him: so that whosoever repent of their sins, and flee to the death and passion of Christ, the condemnation and time of the law to them is expired. Wherefore this is to be understood as a perpetual rule in the Scripture, that the law with all his sentences and judgments, wheresoever they are written, either in the Old Testament or in the New, do ever include a privy exception of repentance and belief in Christ, to the which always it giveth place, having there his end; and can proceed no further: according as St. Paul doth say, The law is our schoolmaster until Christ, that we might be justified by faith.

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"Moreover, as the law hath his time how long to reign, so also it hath his proper place, where to reign. By the reign of the law here is meant the condemnation of the law: for as the time of the law ceaseth, when the faith of Christ, in a true repenting heart, beginneth, so hath the law no place in such as be good and faithful; that is, in sinners repenting and amending, but only in them which be evil and wicked. Evil men here I call such, which, walking in sinful flesh, are not yet driven by earnest repentance to flee to Christ for succour. And therefore saith St. Paul, To the just man there is no law set, but to the unjust and disobedient, &c. By the just man here is meant, not he which never had disease, but he who, knowing his disease, seeketh out the physician; and, being cured, keepeth himself in health, as much as he may, from any more surfeits. Notwithstanding he shall never so keep himself, but that his health (that is, his new obedience) shall always remain frail and imperfect, and shall continually need the physician. Where, by the way, these three things are to be noted: first, the sickness itself; secondly, the knowing of the sickness; thirdly, the physician. The sickness is sin: the knowing of the sickness is repentance, which the law worketh: the physician is Christ. And therefore, although in remission of our sins repentance is joined with faith, yet it is not the dignity or worthiness of repentance, that causeth remission of sins, but only the worthiness of Christ, whom faith only apprehendeth: no more than the feeling of the disease is the cause of health, but only the physician. For else, when a man is cast and condemned by the law, it is not repentance that can save or deserve life, but if his pardon come, then is it the grace of the prince, and not his repentance, that saveth.

"The third point to be considered in the doctrine of the law, is this: that we mark well the end and purpose why the law is given; which is, not to bring us to salvation, nor to work God's favour, nor to make us good; but rather to declare and convict our wickedness, and to make us feel the danger thereof, to this end and purpose, that we, seeing our condemnation, and being in ourselves confounded, may be driven thereby to have our refuge in Christ the Son of God, and to submit ourselves to him, in whom only is to be found our remedy, and in none other. And this end of the law ought discreetly to be pondered by all Christians: otherwise, they that consider not this end and purpose of the law, fall into manifold errors and inconveniences. First, they pervert all order of doctrine: secondly, they seek that in the law which the law cannot give: thirdly, they are not able to comfort themselves, nor other: fourthly, they keep men's souls in an uncertain doubt and dubitation of their salvation: fifthly, they obscure the light of God's grace: sixthly, they are unkind to God's benefits: seventhly, they are injurious to Christ's passion, and enemies to his cross: eighthly, they stop Christian liberty: ninthly, they bereave the church, the spouse of Christ, of her due comfort, as taking away the sun out of the world: tenthly, in all their doings they shoot to a wrong mark; for where Christ only is set up to be apprehended by our faith, and so freely to justify us, they, leaving this justification by faith, set up other marks, partly of the law, partly of their own devising, for men to shoot at. And here cometh in the manifest and manifold absurdities of the bishop of Rome's doctrine, which here (the Lord willing) we will rehearse, as in a catalogue here following:

"I. They erroneously conceive opinion of salvation in the law, which only is to be sought in the faith of Christ, and in no other.

"II. They erroneously do seek God's favour by works of the law; not knowing that the law, in this our corrupt nature, worketh only the anger of God.

"III. They err also in this, that where the office of the law is diverse from, and contrary to, the gospel, they, without any difference, confound the one with the other, making the gospel to

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be a law, and Christ to be a Moses.

"IV. They err in dividing the law unskilfully into three parts; into the law natural, the law moral, and the law evangelical.

"V. They err again in dividing the law evangelical into precepts and counsels, making the precepts to serve for all men, the counsels only to serve for them that be perfect.

"VI. The chief substance of all their teaching and preaching resteth upon the works of the law, as may appear by their religion, which wholly consisteth in men's merits, traditions, laws, canons, decrees, and ceremonies.

"VII. In the doctrines of salvation, remission, and justification, either they admix the law equally with the gospel, or else, clean secluding the gospel, they teach and preach the law, so that little mention is made of the faith of Christ, or none at all.

"VIII. They err in thinking that the law of God requireth nothing in us under pain of damnation, but only our obedience in external actions: as for the inward affections and concupiscence, they esteem but light matters.

"IX. They, not knowing the true nature and strength of the law, do erroneously imagine that it is in man's power to fulfil it.

"X. They err in thinking not only to be in man's power to keep the law of God, but also to perform more perfect works than be in God's law commanded; and these they call the works of perfection. And hereof rise the works of supererogation, of satisfaction, of congruity and condignity, to store up the treasure-house of the pope's church, to be sold out to the people for money.

"XI. They err in saying, that the state monastical is more perfect for keeping the counsels of the gospel, than other states be in keeping the law of the gospel.

"XII. The counsels of the gospel they call the vows of their religious men, as profound humility, perfect chastity, and wilful poverty.

"XIII. They err abominably, in equalling their laws and constitutions with God's law; and in saying, that man's law bindeth, under pain of damnation, no less than God's law.

"XIV. They err sinfully, in publishing the transgressors of their laws more sharply than the transgressors of the law of God; as appeareth by their inquisitions, and their canon law, &c.

"XV. Finally, they err most horribly in this, that where the free promise of God ascribeth our salvation only to our faith in Christ, excluding works; they, contrary, ascribe salvation only, or principally, to works and merits, excluding faith: whereupon ariseth the application of the sacrifice of the mass, ex opere operato, for the quick and dead, application of the merits of Christ's passion in bulls, application of the merits of all religious orders, and such other more, above specified more at large in the former part of this history."

Here follow three cautions to be observed and avoided in the true understanding of the law.

"The first caution: that we, through the misunderstanding of the Scriptures, do not take the law for the gospel, nor the gospel for the law; but skilfully discern and distinct the voice of the one from the voice of the other. Many there be, which reading the book of the New Testament, do take and understand whatsoever they see contained in the said book, to be only and merely the voice of the gospel. And contrariwise, whatsoever is contained in the compass of the Old Testament; that is, within the law, stories, psalms, and prophets, to be only and merely the word and voice of the law. Wherein many are deceived; for the preaching of the law and of the gospel are mixed together in both the Testaments, as well the Old as the New; neither is the

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order of these two doctrines to be distinguished by books and leaves, but by the diversity of God's Spirit speaking unto us. For sometimes in the Old Testament God doth comfort, as he comforted Adam, with the voice of the gospel: sometimes also in the New Testament he doth threaten and terrify, as when Christ threatened the Pharisees. In some places again, Moses and the prophets play the evangelists; insomuch that Jerome doubteth Whether he should call Isaiah a prophet or an evangelist. In some places likewise Christ and the apostles supply the part of Moses; and as Christ himself, until his death, was under the law, (which law he came not to break, but to fulfil,) so his sermons made to the Jews, run all, for the most part, upon the perfect doctrine and works of the law, showing and teaching what we ought to do by the right law of justice, and what danger ensueth in not performing the same: all which places, though they be contained in the book of the New Testament, yet are they to be referred to the doctrine of the law, ever having in them included a privy exception of repentance and faith in Christ Jesus. As for example, where Christ thus preacheth, Blessed be they that be pure of heart, for they shall see God. Again, Except ye be made like these children, ye shall not enter, &c. Item, But he that doth the will of my Father, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, &c. Item, the parable of the unkind servant, justly cast into prison for not forgiving his fellow, &c. The casting of the rich glutton into hell, &c. Item, He that denieth me here before men, I will deny him before my Father, &c.: with such other places of like condition. All these, I say, pertaining to the doctrine of the law, do ever include in them a secret exception of earnest repentance, and faith in Christ's precious blood. For else, Peter denied, and yet repented. Many publicans and sinners were unkind, unmerciful, and hard-hearted to their fellow servants; and yet many of them repented, and by faith were saved, &c. The grace of Christ Jesus work in us earnest repentance, and faith in him unfeigned. Amen!

"Briefly, to know when the law speaketh, and when the gospel speaketh, and to discern the voice of the one from the voice of the other, this may serve for a note, that when there is any moral work commanded to be done, either for eschewing of punishment, or upon promise of any reward temporal or eternal, or else when any promise is made with condition of any work commanded in the law, there is to be understood the voice of the law. Contrary, where the promise of life and salvation is offered unto us freely, without all our merits, and simply, without any condition annexed of any law, either natural, ceremonial, or moral; all those places, whether they be read in the Old Testament or in the New, are to be referred to the voice and doctrine of the gospel. And this promise of God, freely made to us by the merits of Jesus Christ, so long before prophesied to us in the Old Testament, and afterwards exhibited in the New Testament, and now requiring nothing but our faith in the Son of God, is called properly the voice of the gospel, and differeth from the voice of the law in this, that it hath no condition adjoined of our meriting, but only respecteth the merits of Christ the Son of God; by whose faith only we are promised of God to be saved and justified: according as we read in Rom. iii., The righteousness of God cometh by faith of Jesus Christ, in all, and upon all, that do believe, &c.

"The second caution or danger to be avoided is, that we now, knowing how to discern rightly between the law and the gospel, and having intelligence not to mistake the one for the other, must take heed again that we break not the order between these two, taking and applying the law where the gospel is to be applied, either to ourselves or towards others. For albeit the law and the gospel many times are to be joined together in order of doctrine, yet case may fall sometimes, that the law must be utterly sequestered from the gospel: as when any person or

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persons do feel themselves, with the majesty of the law and judgment of God, so terrified and oppressed, and with the burden of their sins overweighed and thrown down into utter discomfort, and almost even to the pit of hell; as happeneth many times to soft and timorous consciences of God's good servants. When such mortified hearts do hear, either in preaching or in reading, any such example or place of the Scripture which pertaineth to the law, let them think the same nothing to belong to them, no more than a mourning weed belongeth to a marriage feast: and therefore, removing utterly out of their minds all cogitation of the law, of fear, of judgment, and condemnation, let them only set before their eyes the gospel, the sweet comforts of God's promise, free forgiveness of sins in Christ, grace, redemption, liberty, rejoicing, psalms, thanks, singing, and a paradise of spiritual jocundity, and nothing else; thinking thus with themselves, that the law hath done his office in them already, and now must needs give place to his better, that is, must needs give room to Christ the Son of God, who is the Lord and Master, the fulfiller, and also the finisher of the law; for the end of the law is Christ.

"The third danger to be avoided is, that we do not use or apply, on the contrary side, the gospel instead of the law. For as the other before was even as much as to put on a mourning gown in the feast of a marriage, so is this but even to cast pearls before swine; wherein is a great abuse among many. For commonly it is seen, that these worldly epicures and secure Mammonists, to whom the doctrine of the law doth properly appertain, do receive and apply to themselves most principally the sweet promises of the gospel: and, contrariwise, the other contrite and bruised hearts, to whom belong only the joyful tidings of the gospel, and not the law, for the most part receive and retain to themselves the terrible voice and sentences of the law. Whereby it cometh to pass, that many do rejoice where they should mourn; and on the other side, many do fear and mourn where they need not: wherefore, to conclude, in private use of life, let every person discreetly discern between the law and the gospel, and aptly apply to himself that which he seeth convenient.

"And again, in public order of doctrine, let every discreet preacher put a difference between the broken heart of the mourning sinner, and the unrepentant worldling, and so conjoin both the law with the gospel, and the gospel with the law, that in throwing down the wicked, ever he spare the weak-hearted; and again, so spare the weak, that he do not encourage the ungodly."

And thus much concerning the conjunction and difference between the law and the gospel, upon the occasion of Mr. Patrick's Places.

167 Martyrs in Scotland and England, 1525-32.

Henry Forest, martyred at St. Andrews, in Scotland. Persecuted by James Beton, archbishop of St. Andrews; and by Friar Walter Laing, betrayer of the confession of this Henry Forest.

Within few years after the martyrdom of Master Patrick Hamilton, one Henry Forest, a young man born in Linlithgow, who, a little before, had received the orders of Benet and Collet, (as they term them,) affirmed and said, that Master Patrick Hamilton died a martyr, and that his articles were true. For the which he was apprehended and put in prison, by James Beton, archbishop of St. Andrew's, who, shortly after, caused a certain friar, named Walter Laing, to hear his confession; to whom when Henry Forest in secret confession had declared his conscience, how he thought Master Patrick to be a good man, and wrongfully to be put to death, and that his articles were true, and not heretical, the friar came and uttered to the bishop the confession that he had heard, which before was not thoroughly known. Whereupon it followed, that his confession being brought as sufficient probation against him, he was therefore convented before the council of the clergy and doctors, and there concluded to be a heretic, equal in iniquity with Master Patrick Hamilton, and there decreed to be given to the secular judges, to suffer death.

When the day came for his death, and that he should first be degraded, and was brought before the clergy in a green place, being between the castle of St. Andrew and another place called Monymaill; as soon as he entered in at the door, and saw the faces of the clergy, perceiving whereunto they tended, he cried with a loud voice, saying, "Fie on falsehood! Fie on false friars, revealers of confession! After this day let no man ever trust any false friars, contemners of God's word, and deceivers of men!" And so they proceeding to degrade him of his small orders of Benet and Collet, he said with a loud voice, "Take from me not only your own orders, but also your own baptism!" meaning thereby whatsoever is besides that which Christ himself instituted, whereof there is a great rabblement in baptism. Then, after his degradation, they condemned him as a heretic equal with Master Patrick aforesaid. And so he suffered death for his faithful testimony of the truth of Christ and of his gospel, at the north church-stile of the abbey church of St. Andrew, to the intent that all the people of Forfar might see the fire, and so might he the more feared from falling into the like doctrine which they term by the name of heresy.

James Hamilton, brother to Master Patrick; Katharine Hamilton; a woman of Leith; David Straton, and Master Norman Gurley: the two last burned. Persecuted by James Hay, bishop of Ross, commissioner of King James the Fifth; by Beton, archbishop of St. Andrews; and by Master John Spens, lawyer.

Within a year after the martyrdom of Henry Forest, or thereabout, was called James Hamilton, of Linlithgow; his sister Katharine Hamilton, the spouse of the captain of Dunbar; also another honest woman of Leith; David Straton, of the house of Lawristone; and Master Norman Gurley. These were called to the abbey church of Holyrood House in Edinburgh, by James Hay, bishop of Ross, commissioner to James Beton, archbishop, in presence of King James the Fifth

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of that name; who, upon the day of their accusation, was altogether clad in red apparel. James Hamilton was accused as one that maintained the opinion of Master Patrick his brother; to whom the king gave counsel to depart, and not to appear: for in case he appeared, he could not help him; because the bishops had persuaded him that the cause of heresy did in no wise appertain unto him. And so Hamilton fled, and was condemned as a heretic, and also his goods and lands confiscated and disposed unto others.

Katharine Hamilton, his sister, appeared upon the scaffold, and being accused of a horrible heresy, to wit, that her own works could not save her, she granted the same; and after a long reasoning between her and Master John Spens, the lawyer, she concluded in this manner, "Work here, work there; what kind of working is all this? I know perfectly, that no kind of works can save me, but only the works of Christ my Lord and Saviour." The king, hearing these words, turned him about and laughed, and called her unto him, and caused her to recant, because she was his aunt; and she escaped.

The woman of Leith was detected hereof, that when the midwife, in time of her labour, bade her say, "Our Lady help me!" she cried, "Christ help me, Christ help me, in whose help I trust!" She also was caused to recant, and so escaped without confiscation of her goods, because she was married.

Master Norman Gurley, for that he said there was no such thing as purgatory, and that the pope was not a bishop but antichrist, and had no jurisdiction in Scotland.

Also David Straton, for that he said there was no purgatory, but the passion of Christ, and the tribulations of this world. And because, when Master Robert Lawson, vicar of Eglesgrig, asked his tithe-fish of him, he did cast them to him out of the boat, so that some of them fell into the sea; therefore he accused him, as one that should have said, that no tithes should be paid. These two, because, after great solicitation made by the king, they refused to abjure and recant, were therefore condemned by the bishop of Ross as heretics, and were burned upon the green side, between Leith and Edinburgh, to the intent that the inhabitants of Fife, seeing the fire, might be struck with terror and fear, not to fall into the like.

And thus much touching those martyrs of Scotland that suffered under James Beton, archbishop of St. Andrews; after whom succeeded David Be-ton, in the same archbishopric, under whom divers others were also martyred; as hereafter (God willing) in their order shall appear.

Thomas Harding, an aged father, dwelling at Chesham in Buckinghamshire, burned A.D. 1532. Persecuted by John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, and by Rowland, vicar of Great Wycombe, the bishop's chaplain.

Thomas Harding, dwelling at Chesham, in the county of Buckingham, with Alice his wife, was first abjured by William Smith, bishop of Lincoln, A.D. 1506, with divers other more, which, the same time, for speaking against idolatry and superstition, were taken, and compelled, some to bear faggots, some were burnt in the cheeks with hot irons, some condemned to perpetual prison, some thrust into monasteries, and spoiled clean of all their goods, some

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compelled to make pilgrimage to the great block, otherwise called our Lady of Lincoln, some to Walsingham, some to St. Romuld of Buckingham, some to the rood of Wendover, some to St. John Shorne, &c.: of whom mention is made in the table before.

Of this Thomas Harding much rehearsal hath been made before. First, this Thomas Harding, with Alice his wife, being abjured and enjoined penance, with divers other more, by William Smith, bishop of Lincoln; afterwards by the said bishop was released again, A.D. 1515, of all such penance as was enjoined him and his wife at their abjuration, except these three articles following; and were discharged of their badges or signs of their faggots, &c. Only this penance following the bishop continued *sub pœna relapsus*.

"First, That neither of them, during their life, should dwell out of the parish of Amersham.

"Item, That both of them, during their lives, should fast bread and ale every Corpus Christi even.

"Item, That both of them should, during their lives, upon Corpus Christi day, every year go on pilgrimage to Ashridge, and there make their offerings, as other people did; but not to do penance. Also they were licensed by the said bishop to do their pilgrimage at Ashridge on Corpus Christi even, or Corpus Christi day, or some other, upon any cause reasonable."

This penance, being to them enjoined, A.D. 1515, they observed till the year 1522, save that in the last year only the aforesaid Alice, his wife, omitted her pilgrimage, going to Ashridge upon Corpus Christi day. Also the said Thomas Harding, being put to his oath to detect others, because he, contrary to his oath, dissembled, and did not disclose them, was therefore enjoined, in penance for his perjury, to bear upon his right sleeve, both before and behind, a badge or patch of green cloth, or silk, embroidered like a faggot, during his whole life, unless he should be otherwise dispensed withal. And thus continued he from the year 1522, until the year 1532.

At last the said Harding, in the year abovesaid, (1532,) about the Easter holidays, when the other people went to the church to commit their wonted idolatry, took his way into the woods, there solitarily to worship the true living God, in spirit and in truth; where, as he was occupied in a book of English prayers, leaning or sitting upon a stile by the wood's side, it chanced that one did espy him where he was, and came in great haste to the officers of the town, declaring, that he had seen Harding in the woods looking on a book: whereupon immediately a rude rabble of them, like mad men, ran desperately to his house to search for books, and in searching went so nigh, that under the boards of his floor they found certain English books of Holy Scripture. Whereupon this godly father, with his books, was brought before John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, then lying at Woburn; who, with his chaplains, calling Father Harding to examination, began to reason with him, proceeding rather with checks and rebukes, than with any sound arguments. Thomas Harding, seeing their folly and rude behaviour, gave them but few words, but fixing his trust and care in the Lord, did let them say what they would. Thus at last they sent him to the bishop's prison, called Little-ease, where he did lie with hunger and pain enough for a certain space, till at length the bishop, sitting in his tribunal-seat like a potestate, condemned him for relapse to be burned to ashes, committing the charge and oversight of his

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martyrdom to Rowland Messenger, vicar of Great Wycombe. This Rowland, at the day appointed, with a rabble of others like to himself, brought Father Harding to Chesham again; where, the next day after his return, the said Rowland made a sermon in Chesham church, causing Thomas Harding to stand before him all the preaching time; which sermon was nothing else, but the maintaining of the jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome, and the state of his apostolical see, with the idolatry, fantasies, and traditions belonging unto the same. When the sermon was ended, Rowland took him up to the high altar, and asked, whether he believed that in the bread, after the consecration, there remained any other substance than the substance of Christ's natural body, born of the Virgin Mary? To this Thomas Harding answered, "The articles of our belief do teach us, that our Saviour Christ was born of the Virgin Mary, and that he suffered death under Pilate, and rose from death the third day; that he then ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God, in the glory of his Father."

Then was he brought into a man's house in the town, where he remained all night in prayer and godly meditations. So the next morning came the aforesaid Rowland again, about ten o'clock, with a company of bills and staves, to lead this godly father to his burning; whom a great number both of men and women did follow, of whom many bewailed his death, and contrary, the wicked rejoiced thereat. He was brought forth, having thrust into his hands a little cross of wood, but no idol upon it. Then he was chained unto the stake, and desiring the people to pray for him, and forgiving all his enemies and persecutors, he commended his spirit to God, and took his death most patiently and quietly, lifting up his hands to heaven, saying, "Jesus, receive my spirit."

When they had set fire on him, there was one that threw a billet at him, and dashed out his brains: for what purpose he so did, it is not known, but, as it was supposed, that he might have forty days of pardon, as the proclamation was made at the burning of William Tylsworth, above mentioned; where proclamation was made the same time, that whosoever did bring a faggot or a stake to the burning of a heretic, should have forty days of pardon: whereby many ignorant people caused many of their children to bear billets and faggots to their burning.

In fine, when the sacrifice and burnt-offering of this godly martyr was finished, and he burnt to ashes, in the dell, going to Botley, at the north end of the town of Chesham, Rowland, their ruler of the roast, commanding silence, and thinking to send the people away with an *Ita, missa est*, with a loud voice said to the people these words, not advising belike what his tongue did speak: "Good people! when ye come home, do not say that you have been at the burning of a heretic, but of a good true Christian man:" and so they departed to dinner, Rowland, with the rabble of other priests, much rejoicing at the burning of this good man. After dinner they went to church to even-song, because it was Corpus Christi even, where they fell to singing and chanting, with ringing, and piping of the organs. Well was he that could reach the highest note, so much did they rejoice at this good man's burning. He should have been burned on the Ascension even, but the matter was deferred unto the even of Corpus Christi, because they would honour their "bready Messias" with a bloody sacrifice. Thus Thomas Harding was consumed to ashes, he being of the age of sixty years and above.

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I find in the records of Lincoln, about the same time, and in the same county of Buckinghamshire, in which the aforesaid Thomas Harding did suffer, that divers others, for the like doctrine, were molested and troubled, whose names with their causes hereunder follow:

Mistress Alice Dolly, accused by Elizabeth Wighthill, her own servant, and by Dr. London.

Elizabeth Wighthill, being brought before Dr. London in the parsonage at Staunton Harecourt, and there put to her oath, deposed against Mistress Alice Dolly, her mistress, that the said Mistress Dolly, speaking of John Hacker, of Coleman Street, in London, water-bearer, said, that he was very expert in the Gospels, and all other things belonging to divine service, and could express and declare them, and the Pater-noster in English, as well as any priest, and it would do one good to hear him; saying moreover, that she would in no case that this were known, for hurting the poor man: commanding moreover the said Elizabeth, that she should tell no man hereof; affirming at that same time, that the aforesaid Hacker could tell by divers prophecies, what should happen in the realm.

Over and besides, the aforesaid Elizabeth deposed, that the said Mistress Dolly, her mistress, showed unto her, that she had a book which held against pilgrimages; and after that, she caused Sir John Booth, parson of Britwel, to read upon a book which he called *Legenda Aurea*; and one saint's life he read, which did speak against pilgrimages. And after that was read, her mistress said unto her, "Lo, daughter! now ye may hear, as I told you, what this book speaketh against pilgrimages."

Furthermore, it was deposed against Mistress Dolly, by the said Elizabeth, that she, being at Sir William Barenten's place, and seeing there in the closet images new gilded, said to the said Elizabeth, "Look, here be my Lady Barenten's gods:" to whom the said Elizabeth answered again, that they were set for remembrance of good saints. Then said she, "If I were in a house where no images were, I could remember to pray unto saints as well as if I did see the images." "Nay," said the other, "images do provoke devotion." Then said her mistress, "Ye should not worship that thing that hath ears and cannot hear, and hath eyes and cannot see, and hath mouth and cannot speak, and hath hands and cannot feel."

Item, The said Mistress Dolly was reported by the said party to have a book containing the twelve articles of the Creed, covered with boards and red covering. Also another black book, which she set most price by, which book she kept ever in her chamber, or in her coffer, with divers other books. And this was about A.D. 1520.

Note here, good reader! in this time, which was above forty-six years ago, what good matter here was, to accuse and molest good women.

Roger Hachman, accused at North Stoke, in Oxfordshire, A.D. 1525. Persecuted by William Smith of North Stoke, in Oxfordshire; and by Thomas Ferrar.

Against this Roger Hachman it was laid, by depositions brought in, that he, sitting at the church aisle at North Stoke, said these words, "I will never look to be saved for no good deed that ever I did, neither for any that ever I will do, without I may have my salvation by petition, as

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an outlaw shall have his pardon of the king;" and said, that if he might not have his salvation so, he thought he should be lost.

Robert West, priest of St. Andrew Undershaft, accused at London, A.D. 1529. Persecuted by Dr. Wharton, chancellor to Tonstal, bishop of London.

Against this Robert West, priest, it was objected, that he had commended Martin Luther, and thought that he had done well in many things, as in having a wife and children, &c.

Item, For saying, that whereas the doctors of the church have commanded priests to say matins and even-song, they had no authority so to do: for which he was abjured, and was enjoined penance.

John Ryburn, accused at Roshborough, A. D, 1530. Persecuted by Doctor Morgan.

It was testified against John Ryburn, by his sister Elizabeth Ryburn, being put to her oath, that she, coming to him upon the Assumption even, found him at supper with butter and eggs, and being bid to sit down and eat with him, she answered, that it was no convenient time then to eat; to whom he said again, that God never made such fastingdays; "but you," quoth he, "are so far in limbo patrum, that you can never turn again." And in further communication, when she said that she would go on pilgrimage to the holy cross at Wendover, he said again, that she did wrong, "for there is never a step," said he, "that you set in going on pilgrimage, but you go to the devil: and you go to the church to worship what the priest doth hold above his head, which is but bread; and if you cast it to the mouse it will eat it:" and further he said, that he would never believe that the priest hath power to make his Lord.

Item, It was testified by another sister, named Alice Ryburn, that she, being with her brother in a close called Brimmer's Close, beard him say these words, "That a time shall come when no elevation shall be made." Whereunto she answering again asked, "And what service shall we have then?"

He said, "That service that we have now." Furthermore, the said John Ryburn was accused upon these words, for saying that the service of the church was nought, because it was not in English: "For," said he, "if we had our Pater-noster in English, we would say it nine times against once now."

Note here, out of the records of the register, that in this examination of John Ryburn, first his two sisters, then his own wife, and at last his own father, were called before John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, and compelled by oath to depose against him.

John Eaton, and Cecily his wife, accused at Roshborough, A.D. 1530. Persecuted by John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, and by Richard Ryburn.

John Eaton, and Cecily his wife, of the parish of Speen, were detected by Richard Ryburn, that they were marked of certain in the parish on the Sunday then last past, in the sacring time, to hold down their heads, and that they would not look upon the sacrament.

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Item, In the feast of exaltation of the holy cross, when the bells did ring solemnly, between matins and high mass, for saying, in a butcher's house, "What a clamping of bells is here!"

Item, The said John Ryburn was detected by Richard his father, for saying these words, "The priests do wrong, for they should say their service in English, that every man may know it."

Item, For these words speaking to one of his sisters, "The sacrament of the altar is not as they take it to be: but if it be as I trust, we shall see none of them holden up, one of these days, over the priest's head."

Item, For saying that the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ hath made satisfaction for all ill deeds that were done, or should be done; and therefore it was no need to go on pilgrimage. It was also laid to his charge, and confessed by himself, that he had the Gospels of Jesus in English, and that he was present in the house of John Taylor, when one John Simons read to them a lecture out of the Gospel, of the passion of Christ, the space of two hours.

Item, For saying that images were but idols, and it was idolatry to pray to them.

For saying moreover, that at sacring time he kneeled down, but he had no devotion, nor believed in the sacrament.

Item, That the pope's authority and pardon cannot help man's soul, and it was but cast away money that is given for pardon; for if we ask pardon of our Lord Jesus Christ, he will give us pardon every day.

Thomas Lound, priest, who had been with Luther two years, being afterwards cast into the Fleet at London, was a great instructor of this John Ryburn.

John Simonds accused.

It was laid against John Simonds, for saying that men do walk all day in purgatory in this world, and when they depart out of this world, there are but two ways, either to hell or to heaven.

Item, He said, that priests should have wives.

It was reported by the confession of the said John Simonds, that he had converted to his doctrine eight priests, and had holpen two or three friars out of their orders.

William Wingrave, Thomas Hawks of Hichenden, Robert Hawes of West Wycombe, John Taylor, John Hawks, Thomas Hern of Cobshil, Nicholas Field, Richard Dean, Thomas Clerk the younger, William Hawks of Chesham; accused, A.D. 1530. Persecuted by John Longland, bishop of Lincoln.

These persons with others were examined, excommunicated, and abjured, for being together in John Taylor's house at Hichenden, and there hearing Nicholas Field, of London, read

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a parcel of Scripture in English unto them, who there expounded to them many things: that they that went on pilgrimage were accursed: that it booteth not to pray to images, for they were but stocks made of wood, and could not help a man: that God Almighty biddeth us work as well one day as another, saving the Sunday; for six days he wrought, and the seventh day he rested: that they needed not to fast so many fasting days, except the ember days; for he was beyond the sea in Almany, and there they used not so to fast, nor to make such holy days.

Item, That offerings do no good, for they have them that have no need thereof. And when it was answered again by one, that they maintained God's service; "Nay," said Nicholas, "it maintain great houses, as abbeys and others."

Item, That men should say their Pater-noster and Ave Maria in English, with the Creed; and declared the same in English.

Item, That the sacrament of the altar was not, as it was pretended, the flesh, blood, and bone of Christ; but a sacrament, that is, a typical signification of his holy body.

To William Wingrave moreover it was objected, that he should say, that there was no purgatory: and if there were any purgatory, and every mass that is said should deliver a soul out of purgatory, there should be never a soul there; for there be more masses said in a day, than there be bodies buried in a month.

Simon Wisdom, of Burford. Persecuted by John Longland, bishop of Lincoln.

Simon Wisdom, of Burford, was charged in judgment, for having three books in English; one was the Gospels in English, another was the Psalter, the third was the Sum of the Holy Scripture in English.

James Algar, or Ayger, accused, A.D. 1530. Persecuted by Dr. Prin, commissary to the bishop of Lincoln.

It was articulated and objected to James Algar, first, that he, speaking to a certain doctor of divinity, named Aglonby, said, that every true Christian man, living after the laws of God, and observing his commandments, is a priest as well as he, &c.

Item, That he said that he would not his executors to deal any penny for his soul after his death, for he would do it with his own hands while he was alive; and that his conscience gave him, that the soul, as soon as it departeth out of the body, goeth straight either to heaven or to hell.

Item, When Dr. Aglonby aforesaid had alleged to him the place in St. Matthew, chap. xvi., Thou art Peter, &c., he answered him again with that which followeth in the Gospel after, Get thee after me, Satan, &c.

Item, The said James, hearing of a certain church to be robbed, said openly, it made no great matter, for the church had enough already.

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John French, of Long Witham. Persecuted there, A.D. 1530.

Against John French likewise these three articles were objected.

First, that he believed not the body of Christ, flesh, blood, and bone, to be in the sacrament. Secondly, That he was not confessed to any priest of long time. Thirdly, That priests had not power to absolve from sins, &c.: for which he likewise, with the others, was troubled, and at length compelled also with them to kneel down, and to ask a blessing of his holy catholic father and mother of Rome.

For what stand I here numbering the sand? for if all the register books were sought, it would be an infinite thing to recite all them which through all the other dioceses of the realm in these days, before and since, were troubled and pursued for these and such-like matters. But these I thought for example's sake here to specify, that it might appear what doctrine it is, and long hath been in the church, for the which the prelates and clergy of Rome have judged men heretics, and so wrongfully have molested poor simple Christians.

Now, passing from the abjurations of those poor men, we will something speak (God willing) of the life and doings of the contrary part, who were their persecutors, and chief rulers then of the church; to the intent that by those rulers it may better be discerned and judged, what manner of church that was, which then so persecuted the true doctrine of Christ, and members of his church.

168. Thomas Wolsey

A brief discourse concerning the story and life of Thomas Wolsey, late cardinal of York, by way of digression; wherein is to be seen and noted the express image of the proud, vain glorious Church of Rome, how, far it differeth from the true church of Christ Jesus.

Although it be not greatly pertinent unto this our history, nor greatly requisite, in these so weighty matters, treating of Christ's holy martyrs, to discourse much of Thomas Wolsey, cardinal of York; notwithstanding, forasmuch as there be many, which, being carried away with a wrong opinion and estimation of that false glittering Church of Rome, do think that holiness to be in it, which indeed is not: to the intent, therefore, that the vain pomp and pride of that ambitious church, so far differing from all pure Christianity and godliness, more notoriously may appear to all men, and partly also to refresh the reader with some variety of matter, I thought compendiously to express the ridiculous and pompous qualities and demeanour of this aforesaid Thomas Wolsey, cardinal and legate of Rome, in whom alone the image and life of all other such-like followers and professors of the same church, may be seen and observed. For like as the Lacedemonians, in times past, were accustomed to show and demonstrate drunken men unto their children, to behold and look upon, that through the foulness of that vice they might inflame them the more to the study and desire of sobriety; even so it shall not be hurtful sometimes to set forth the examples which are not honest, that others might thereby gather the instructions of better and more upright dealing.

Wherefore thou shalt note here, good reader! in this history, with all judgment, the great difference of life and Christian conversation between this church and the other true humble martyrs and servants of God, whom they have and do yet persecute. And first, to begin with the first meeting and coming in of this cardinal, and his fellow cardinal, Campeius, to England; it was about the time when Pope Leo, intending to make war against the Turks, sent three legates together from Rome, whereof one went into Germany, another into France; Laurentius Campeius was appointed to come into England. When he was come to Calais, and that the cardinal of York had understanding thereof, he sent certain bishops and doctors, with as much speed as he could, to meet the legate, and to show him, that if he would have his embassy take effect, he should send in post to Rome, to have the said cardinal of York made legate, and to be joined with him in commission: which thing he much affected, misdoubting lest his authority thereby might perhaps be diminished through the coming of the legate, and therefore required to be joined with him in like degree of the embassy. Campeius, being a man light of belief, and suspecting no such matter, gave credit unto his words, and sent unto Rome with such speed, that within thirty days after, the bull was brought to Calais, wherein they were both equally joined in commission; during which time the cardinal of York sent to the legate at Calais, red cloth to clothe his servants withal, which at their coming to Calais were but meanly apparelled.

When all things were ready, Campeius passed the seas and landed at Dover, and so kept on his journey toward London. At every good town as they passed, he was received with procession, accompanied with all the lords and gentlemen of Kent. And when he came to Blackheath, there met him the duke of Norfolk, with a great number of prelates, knights, and

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gentlemen, all richly apparelled; and in the way he was brought into a rich tent of cloth of gold, where he shifted himself into a cardinal's robe, furred with ermines; and so took his mule, riding toward London. Now mark the great humility in this church of the pope, and compare the same with the other church of the martyrs, and see which of them is more gospel-like.

This Campeius had eight mules of his own, laden with divers fardels and other preparation. The cardinal of York, thinking them not sufficient for his state, the night before he came to London, sent him twelve mules more, (with empty coffers,) covered with red, to furnish his carriage withal. The next day these twenty mules were led through the city, as though they had been laden with treasures, apparel, and other necessities, to the great admiration of all men, that they should receive a legate as it were a god, with such and so great treasure and riches; for so the common people doth always judge and esteem the majesty of the clergy, by no other thing than by their outward shows and pomp. But in the midst of this great admiration, there happened a ridiculous spectacle, to the great derision of their pride and ambition: for as the mules passed through Cheapside, and the people were pressing about them to behold and gaze, (as the manner is,) it happened that one of the mules, breaking his collar that he was led in, ran upon the other mules, whereby it happened, that they, so running together, and their girths being loosed, overthrew divers of their burdens; and so there appeared the cardinal's gay treasure, not without great laughter and scorn of many, especially of boys and girls, whereof some gathered up pieces of meat, some, pieces of bread and roasted eggs; some found horseshoes and old boots, with such other baggage, crying out, "Behold! here is my lord cardinal's treasure." The muleteers, being therewithal greatly ashamed, gathered together their treasure again as well as they could, and went forward.

About three o'clock at afternoon, July the twenty-ninth, the cardinal himself was brought through the city, with great pomp and solemnity, unto Paul's church, where, when he had blessed all men with the bishop's blessing, as the manner is, he was guided forth unto the cardinal of York's house, where he was received by the said cardinal; and by him on the next day, being Sunday, was conducted unto the king, to fulfil his embassy against the Turk, which might have destroyed all Hungary in the meantime, whiles they were studying with what solemnity to furnish out their embassy.

When the cardinal of York was thus a legate, he set up a court, and called it the court of the legate, and proved testaments, and heard causes, to the great hinderance of all the bishops of the realm. He visited bishops, and all the clergy, exempt and not exempt; and under colour of reformation, he got much treasure, and nothing was reformed, but came to more mischief; for, by example of his pride, priests and all spiritual persons waxed so proud, that they wore velvet and silk, both in gowns, jackets, doublets, and shoes; kept open lechery; and so highly bore themselves, by reason of his authorities and faculties, that no man durst once reprove any thing in them, for fear to be called heretic, and then they would make him smoke, or bear a faggot; and the cardinal himself was so elated that he thought himself equal with the king; and when he had said mass, he made dukes and earls to serve him of wine, with assay taken, and to hold the bason at the lavatories.

Furthermore, as he was sent ambassador to the emperor at Brussels, he had over with him the great seal of England; and was served with his servitors kneeling on their knees; and many

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noblemen of England waiting upon him, to the great admiration of all the Germans that beheld it: such was his monstrous pomp and pride.

This glorious cardinal, in his tragical doings, did exceed so far all measure of a good subject, that he became more like a prince than a priest; for although the king bare the sword, yet he bare the stroke, making (in a manner) the whole realm to bend at his beck, and to dance after his pipe. Such practices and fetches he had, that when he had well stored his own coffers, first he fetched the greatest part of the king's treasure out of the realm, in twelve great barrels full of gold and silver, to serve the pope's wars; and as his avaricious mind was never satisfied in getting, so his restless head was so busy, ruffling in public matters, that he never ceased before he had set both England, France, Flanders, Spain, and Italy, together by the ears.

Thus this legate, well following the steps of his master the pope, and both of them well declaring the nature of their religion, under the pretence of the church, practised great hypocrisy; and under the authority of the king he used great extortion, with excessive taxes and loans, and valuation of every man's substance, so pilling the commons and merchants, that every man complained, but no redress was had. Neither yet were the churchmen altogether free from the pill-axe and poll-axe, from the pilling and polling, I mean, of this cardinal, who, under his power legantine, gave by preventions all benefices belonging to spiritual persons; by which, hard it is to say, whether he purchased to himself more riches than hatred of the spirituality. So far his licence stretched, that he had power to suppress divers abbeys, priories, and monasteries; and so did, taking from them all their goods, movables and unmovables, except it were a little pension, left only to the heads of certain houses. By the said power legantine he kept also general visitations through the realm, sending Doctor John Alein, his chaplain, riding in his gown of velvet, and with a great train, to visit all religious houses; whereat the Friars Observant much grudged, and would in no wise condescend thereunto: wherefore they were openly accursed at Paul's Cross, by Friar Forest, one of the same order; so that the cardinal at length prevailed both against them and all others. Against whom great disdain rose among the people, perceiving how, by visitations, making of abbots, probates of testaments, granting of faculties, licences, and other pollings in his courts legantine, he had made his treasure equal with the king's, and yet every year he sent great sums to Rome. And this was their daily talk against the cardinal.

Besides many other matters and grievances which stirred the hearts of the commons against the cardinal, this was one which much pinched them, for that the said cardinal had sent out certain strait commissions in the king's name, that every man should pay the sixth part of his goods. Whereupon there followed great muttering amongst the commons; in such sort that it had almost grown to some riotous commotion or tumult, especially in the parts of Suffolk, had not the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, with wisdom and gentleness, stepped in and appeased the same.

Another thing that rubbed the stomachs of many, or rather which moved them to laugh at the cardinal, was this; to see his insolent presumption, so highly to take upon him, as the king's chief councillor, to set a reformation in the order of the king's household, making and establishing new ordinances in the same. He likewise made new officers in the house of the duke of Richmond, which was then newly begun. In like manner he ordained a council, and established another household for the Lady Mary, then being princess; so that all things were

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done by his consent, and by none other. All this, with much more, took he upon him, making the king believe, that all should be to his honour, and that he needed not to take any pains; insomuch that the charge of all things was committed unto him: whereat many men smiled, to see his great folly and presumption.

At this time, the cardinal gave the king the lease of the manor of Hampton Court, which he had of the lord of St. John's, and on which he had done great cost. Therefore the king again, of his gentle nature, licensed him to lie in his manor of Richmond; and so he lay there certain times. But when the common people, and especially such as were King Henry the Seventh's servants, saw the cardinal keep house in the royal manor of Richmond, which King Henry the Seventh so much esteemed, it was a marvel to hear how they grudged, saying, "See, a butcher's dog lies in the manor of Richmond!" These, with many other opprobrious words, were spoken against the cardinal, whose pride was so high, that he regarded nothing yet was he hated of all men.

And now, to express some part of the ruffling practices and busy intermeddlings of this cardinal in princes' wars, first, here is to be noted, that after long wars between England and France, 1524, (in the which wars King Henry, taking the emperor's part against Francis, the French king, had engaged with his money the duke of Bourbon, and a great part of the emperor's army, to invade and disturb certain parts of France,) it happened that the French king, coming with his army towards Milan at the siege of Pavia, was there taken by the duke of Bourbon, and the viceroy of Naples, and so led prisoner into Spain.

Where note by the way, that all this while the cardinal held with the emperor, hoping by him to be made pope; but when that would not be, he went clean from the emperor to the French king, as, the Lord willing, you shall hear.



Meeting of Henry and Francis

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After this victory gotten, and the French king being taken prisoner, who remained in custody about a year and a half; at length, through great labour and solicitation, as well of others as especially of the cardinal and King Henry, an order was taken, and conditions propounded, between the French king and the emperor; among which other divers conditions, it was agreed, that they should resist the Turks, and oppress the Lutherans; and so was the king set at liberty, leaving behind him his two eldest sons for pledges. But shortly after he revoked his oath, being absolved by the bishop of Rome, and said that he was forced to swear, or else he should never have been delivered. This was A.D. 1526.

169. The Sack of Rome

Pope Clement the Seventh, seeing the French king restored to liberty, and misdoubting the puissance and domination of the emperor in Italy, so near under his nose, absolved the French king from his oath; also joined together a confederacy of Venetians and other princes against the emperor, bearing great hatred against all them that any thing favoured the emperor's part, especially the family of Columna in Rome, which family was then imperial; and therefore, to show his hatred against them, he said to Pompey, cardinal of the same family, in threatening words, that he would take away his cardinal's hat: to whom it was answered again by the cardinal, that if he so did, he would put on a helmet to overthrow the pope's triple crown: whereby it may appear here by the way, what holiness and virtue lieth in the pope and cardinals of that catholic see of Rome.

Thus the false pope, under the lying title of holiness, was the father of much mischief and of great wars, which after ensued; for the duke of Bourbon, and others of the emperor's captains, having intelligence of the pope's purpose and confederacy, gathered their army together, and after much bloodshed and fighting about Milan, Hawd, and Cremona, at length they approached and bent their siege against Rome, and after three sharp assaults, obtained the city, with the whole spoil thereof: where also they besieged the aforesaid pope with his cardinals, in the mount of Adrian, and took him prisoner, A.D. 1527. As touching the cause of the besieging of Rome, now ye have heard: for the manner of taking of Rome, and of the pope, the order thereof is thus described in Hall and others.



he emperor's army, departing from Florence to the city of Sienna, where they lost their ordnance, took counsel there to go to Rome, and so much they travelled by night and day, commonly passing forty miles day and night, (their good will was such,) that the sixth day of May, with banners displayed, they came before the city of Rome, being Saturday the same day; and on Sunday the Romans made bulwarks, ramparts, and other defences, and laid ordnance on the walls, and shot at them without fiercely.

The duke of Bourbon determined that it was not best to lie still without, and be slain with ordnance, considering that they were all naked people, and without great ordnance; wherefore he determined to take the chance, and to give the assault, and so manfully they approached the walls between the Burgo Novo and old Rome. But the Romans valiantly defended them with hand-guns, pikes, stones, and other weapons, so that the enemies were fain to retreat. Then the Romans were glad, and set many fair banners on their towers and bulwarks, and made great shouts; which the duke of Bourbon seeing, cried, "To a new assault." Then the drumflades blew, and every man with a ladder mounted; and, at the first encounter, the Romans put them a little back again, which the duke of Bourbon perceiving, cried "God and the emperor!" Then every man manfully set on. There was a sore fight, many an arrow shot, and many a man felled; but at last the emperor's men got the wall: and between every assault fell a mist, so that they within could not see what part they without would assail; which was profitable to the emperor's party. At the three assaults were slain three hundred Switzers of the pope's guard. In this last assault

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was the duke of Bourbon struck in the thigh with a hand-gun, of the which he shortly after died in a chapel of St. Sist, whither his soldiers had brought him; and this chance notwithstanding, the army entered into Rome, and took the pope's palace, and set up the emperor's arms.

The same day that these three assaults were made, Pope Clement passed little on the emperor's army; for he had accursed them on the Saturday before, and in his curse he called the Almain Lutherans; and the Spaniards, Murreins, or Moors: and when he was hearing of mass, suddenly the Almain entered into the church, and slew his guard and divers other. He, seeing that, fled in all haste by a privy way to the castle of St. Angelo; and all they that followed him that way, and could not enter, were slain, and if he in that fury had been taken, he had been slain. The cardinals and other prelates fled to the castle of St. Angelo, over the bridge, where many of the common people were overpressed and trodden down, and as they gave way to the cardinals and other estates that passed towards the castle for succour.

The cardinal of Senes, of Sesarine, of Todi, of Jacobace, and of the Valle, tarried so long, that they could not get to the castle for the multitude of the people; wherefore they were compelled to take another house, called the palace of St. George, where they kept themselves for awhile as secretly as they might. You must understand, that through the city of Rome runneth a famous river called Tiber, and on the one side of the river standeth the castle of St. Angelo, or the borough of St. Angelo; and the other side is called Burgo Novo, or the New Borough. This bridge is called the bridge of Sixtus, which lieth directly before the castle. At the end of this bridge was a wonderful strong bulwark, well ordnanced and well manned. The emperor's men, seeing that they could do nothing to the pope, nor to that part of the city, but by the bridge, determined to assault the bulwark: and so, as men without fear, came on the bridge, and the Romans so well defended them, that they slew almost four thousand men. Seeing this, the prince of Orange, and the marquis of Gnasto, with all speed gave assault, and notwithstanding that the Romans shot great ordnance, hand-guns, quarels, and all that might be shot; yet the imperial persons never shrank, but manfully entered the bulwark, and slew and threw down out of the loops all the Romans that they found, and after razed the bulwark to the ground. The pope was in the castle of St. Angelo, and beheld this fight; and with him were four-and-twenty cardinals, of which one, called the cardinal *Sanctorum Quatuor*, or the cardinal of Pouch, was slain, and with him were one thousand prelates and priests, five hundred gentlemen, and five hundred soldiers: wherefore immediately the captains determined to lay siege to the castle of St. Angelo, lest they within might issue out, and turn them to damage; wherefore suddenly a siege was planted round about the castle. In the mean season, the soldiers fell to spoil. Never was Rome so pillaged, either by the Goths or Vandals: for the soldiers were not content with the spoil of the citizens, but they robbed the churches, brake up the houses of close religious persons, and overthrew the cloisters, and spoiled virgins, and maltreated married women. Men were tormented if they had not to give to every new asker or demander: some were strangled, some were punished by dreadful mutilation, to cause them to confess their treasure. This woodness continued a great while, and some men might think that when they had gotten so much, then they would cease and be quiet, but that was not so, for they played continually at dice, some five hundred, some a thousand ducats at a cast; and he that came to play laden with plate, went away almost naked, and then fell to rifling again. Many of the citizens, which could not patiently suffer that vexation, drowned themselves in the Tiber. The soldiers daily, that lay at the siege, made jests of the pope. Sometimes they had one riding like the pope, with a base woman behind him; sometimes he

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blessed, and sometimes he cursed, and sometimes they would with one voice call him antichrist: and they went about to undermine the castle, and to have thrown it down on his head; but the water that environeth the castle disappointed their purpose.

In this season the duke of Urbino, with fifteen thousand men, came to aid the pope; but hearing that Rome was taken, he tarried forty miles from Rome, till he heard other word. The marquis of Saluzzo, and Sir Frederic de Bodso, with fifteen thousand footmen, and a thousand horsemen, were at Viturbo the tenth day of May, where they, hearing that the city of Rome was taken, also tarried. The cardinal of Colume came with an army of Neapolitans to help the emperor's men, but when he saw the cruelty of the soldiers, he did little to help them, but he hated them much.

The bishop of Rome was thus besieged till the eighth of the ides of July; at which day he yielded himself for necessity, and penury of all things in the castle: and then he was restored to give graces, and grant bulls as he did before; but he tarried still in the castle of St. Angelo, and had a great number of Almaines and Spaniards to keep him; but the Spaniards bare most rule in the castle, for no man entered nor came out of the castle but by them. When the month of July came, corn began to fail in Rome, and the pestilence began to wax strong; wherefore the great army removed to a place called Narvia, forty miles from Rome, leaving behind them such as kept the bishop of Rome.

When they were departed, the Spaniards never were contented till they had gotten the Almaines out of the castle of St. Angelo, and so they had the whole custody of the pope. And thus much for the sacking of Rome.

170. Thomas Wolsey (Contd.)

When the cardinal here in England heard how his father of Rome was taken prisoner, he began to stir coals, and hearing of his captivity, he laboured with the king all that he might, to stir him up to fight with the said pope against the emperor, and to be a defender of the church; which if he would do, the cardinal persuaded him that he should receive great reward at God's hand. To whom the king answered again, and said in this manner: "My lord! I more lament this evil chance, than my tongue can tell; but where you say I am the defender of the faith, I assure you that this war between the emperor and the pope, is not for the faith, but for temporal possessions and dominions. And now, since Pope Clement is taken by men of war, what should I do? My person nor my people cannot rescue him; but if my treasure may help him, take that which seemeth to you most convenient."

Thus the cardinal, when he could -not obtain at the king's hands what he would, in stirring him up to mortal war, made out of the king's treasure twelve-score thousand pounds, which he carried over the sea with him. After this, the cardinal sent his commission as legate, to all the bishops, commanding fastings and solemn processions to be had, wherein they did sing the Litany after this sort, *Sancta Maria! ora pro Clemente papa: Sancte Petre, ora pro Clemente papa*; and so forth all the Litany.

This cardinal, passing the seas with the aforesaid sums of money, departed out of Calais, accompanied with Cuthbert Tonsal, bishop of London, the lord Sandes, the king's chamberlain, the earl of Derby, Sir Henry Guildford, and Sir Thomas More, with many other knights and squires, to the number of twelve hundred horse; having in his carriage fourscore waggons, and threescore mules and sumpter horses.

It were long to discourse in this place the manifold abuses and treasons which he practised when he came to the French court at Amiens, converting the great sums of money, which before you heard he had obtained of the king for the relief and ransom of Pope Clement, (which at that time was prisoner in the emperor's army,) and bestowing the same in the hiring of soldiers, and furnishing out the French king's army; appointing also certain English captains, in the king of England's name, to go against the emperor, to rescue the pope; all which army was paid with the king of England's money.

Besides that, he privily, by his letters, caused Clarence king at arms, to join with the French herald, and openly to defy the emperor; whereby there began great displeasure to arise between the emperor and the king, but that the emperor, of his politic nature, would take no occasion of displeasure against the king of England.

Now again he uttered another of his practices; for, upon the said defiance, the cardinal, surmising and whispering in the king's ear that the emperor had evil treated and imprisoned the king's ambassadors in Spain, caused Hugo de Mendoza, the emperor's ambassador in England, to be attached, and put in safe keeping, and his house with all his goods to be seized; which so remained, until that manifest letters came of the gentle entreaty of the king's ambassadors in

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Spain; and then was again set at liberty. When the ambassador complained hereof to the cardinal, he laid all the fault upon Clarence; saying also, that Clarence had defied the emperor without the king's knowledge, at the request of the herald of France: wherefore at his return he should lose his head at Calais. Whereof Clarence, being advertised by the captain of Bayonne, in his return took shipping at Boulogne, and so privily came into England; and by means of certain of his friends of the king's privy-chamber, he was brought into the king's presence, before the cardinal knew of it; where he showed unto the king the cardinal's letters of commission, and declared the whole order and circumstance of their gentle entreaty. When the king heard the whole circumstance thereof, and had a while mused thereupon, he said, "O Lord Jesus! he that I trusted most, told me all these things contrary. Well, Clarence! I will no more be so light of credence hereafter; for now I see well, that I have been made believe the thing that was never done:" and from that time forward the king never put any more confidence or trust in the cardinal.

The cause why the cardinal should hear the emperor all this malice and grudge, after some writers, it appeareth to be this: At what time as Pope Clement was taken prisoner, (as is before said,) the cardinal wrote unto the emperor, that he should make him pope. But when he had received an answer that pleased him not, he waxed furious mad, and sought all means to displease the emperor, writing very sharply unto him many menacing letters, that if he would not make him pope, he would make such a ruffling betwixt Christian princes, as was not this hundred years before, to make the emperor repent; yea, though it should cost the whole realm of England.

Whereunto the emperor made answer in a little book, imprinted both in Spanish and Dutch, answering unto many menacings of the cardinal, and divers of his articles; but especially to that his ruffling threat, wherein he menaced him, that if he would not make him pope, he would set such a ruffling betwixt Christian princes as was not this hundred years, though it should cost the whole realm of England: whereunto the emperor, answering again, biddeth him look well about him, lest through his doings and attempts he might bring the matter in that case, that it should cost him the realm of England indeed.

You have heard before, how that when Pope Clement was prisoner in the emperor's army, the cardinal required the king, because he did bear the title of Defender of the Faith, that he would rescue the pope; also what the king's answer was thereunto, and what sums of money he had obtained of the king. Now, because you shall not also be ignorant, by what means, and upon what occasion, this title of Defender of the Faith was given unto the king, we think it good somewhat to say in this place. When Martin Luther had uttered the abomination of the pope and his clergy, and divers books were come into England, our cardinal here, thinking to find a remedy for that, sent immediately unto Rome for this title of Defender of the Faith: which afterwards the vicar of Croydon preached, that the king's Grace would not lose it for all London and twenty miles about it. Neither is it marvel, for it cost more than London and forty miles about it, considering the great sums which you have heard the cardinal obtained of the king for the pope's relief, besides the effusion of much innocent blood.

When this glorious title was come from Rome, the cardinal brought it unto the king's Grace at Greenwich; and though that the king had it already, and had read it, yet against the morning were all the lords and gentlemen that could in so short space be gathered, sent for, to

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come and receive it with honour. In the morning the cardinal gat him through the backside, unto the Friars Observant, and part of the gentlemen went round about, and welcomed him from Rome; part met him half way, and some at the court gate. The king himself met him in the hall, and brought him up into a great chamber, where was a seat prepared on high for the king and the cardinal to sit on, while the bull was read; which pomp all men of wisdom and understanding laughed to scorn.

This done, the king went to his chapel to hear mass, accompanied by many nobles of his realm, and ambassadors of sundry princes. The cardinal being revested to sing mass, the earl of Essex brought the bason of water, the duke of Suffolk gave the assay, and the duke of Norfolk held the towel; andso he proceeded to mass. When mass was done, the bull was again published, the trumpets blew, the shawms and sackbuts played in honour of the king's new style. Then the king went to dinner, in the midst whereof the king of heralds and his company began the largess, crying, "Henricus, Dei Gratia, Rex Angliæ et Franciæ Defensor Fidei, et Dominus Hiberniæ." Thus were all things ended with great solemnity.

Not much unlike to this was the receiving of the cardinal's hat; which when a ruffian had brought unto him to Westminster under his cloak, he clothed the messenger in rich array, and sent him back again to Dover; appointing the bishop of Canterbury to meet him, and then another company of the lords and gentlemen, I wot not how often before it came to Westminster; where it was set upon a cupboard, and tapers round about it, so that the greatest duke in the land must make courtesy thereunto, and to his empty seat, he being away.

And forasmuch as we are in hand with the acts and doings of Cardinal Wolsey, among many other things which of purpose we overpass, this is not to be exempted out of memory, touching his uncourteous, or rather churlish, handling of Richard Pacy, dean of St. Paul's. This Pacy, being the king's secretary for the Latin tongue, was of such ripeness of wit, of learning, and eloquence, also in foreign languages so expert, that for the one he was thought most meet to succeed after John Colet, in the deanery of Paul's; beside which he was also preferred to the deanery of Exeter. For the other he was sent in the king's affairs ambassador to Venice; which function there he so discharged, that it is hard to say whether he procured more commendation or admiration among the Venetians, both for dexterity of his wit, and especially for the singular promptness in the Italian tongue, wherein he seemed nothing inferior, neither to Peter Vanne here in England, the king's secretary for the Italian tongue, nor yet to any other, which were the best in that tongue in all Venice. For opinion and fame of learning, he was so notoriously accepted, not only here in England with Linacre, Grocine, More, and other, but also known and reported abroad in such sort, that in all the great heap of Erasmus's Epistles, he wrote almost to none so many, as he wrote to this Richard Pacy.

As the said Pacy was resident ambassador at Venice, the king, having war the same time with Francis the French king (as is afore rehearsed) through the conducting of the duke of Bourbon, whom he then charged with his expenses, sent commandment to Pacy to give attendance to the duke of Bourbon, concerning the receipt of that money, and other necessities and exploits to that expedition appertaining. In the mean while, as the French king with his army, and the duke of Bourbon, were approaching in the battle together, near about the city of Pavia, it so happened (some think through the crafty packing of the cardinal) that the king's money was

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not so ready as it was looked for: by reason whereof the duke of Bourbon, perceiving his soldiers about to shrink from him to the French king for lack of payment, called to him the ambassador, complaining unto him, how the king of England had deceived him, and broken promise with him, to his great dishonour and utter undoing, &c. Pacy then, being sure of the king's will, and suspecting the crafty fetch of the cardinal, desired the duke not to take discomfort, nor any diffidence of the king's assured promise, excusing the delay of the money as well as he could, by interception, or other causes by the way of incident, rather than for any lack of fidelity on the king's behalf: adding, moreover, that if it would please him happily to proceed, as he had courageously begun, he should not stay for the king's money. So sure he was of the king's mind therein, that he would supply the lack of that payment upon his own credit, among his friends at Venice: and so did; whereupon the soldiers being sufficiently satisfied with payment of their wages, proceeded forth with the duke unto the battle. In the which battle the aforesaid French king, the same time, before the city of Pavia, was taken prisoner, as is before declared. Which being eftsoons known to the king of England, Pacy had both condign thanks for his faithful service, and also his money repaid again with the uttermost, as he well deserved. But as the laud, and the renowned praise, of men for their worthy prowesses, commonly in this world never go unaccompanied with some privy canker of envy and disdain following after, so the singular industry of Pacy, as it won much commendation with many, so it could not avoid the secret sting of some serpents. For the conceived hatred of this cardinal so kindled against him, that he never ceased, till first he brought him out of the king's favour, and at last also out of his perfect wits.

The occasion how he fell beside himself was this, for that the cardinal, after the death of Pope Adrian, hoping no less but that he should have been advanced unto the papacy, and yet missing thereof, he supposed with himself the fault chiefly to rest in Pacy's negligence, by whose great wit and learning, and earnest means and suit, he thought easily he might have achieved and compassed the triple crown. Wherefore, he, seeing it otherwise come to pass, and inflamed against Pacy for the same, wrought such ways and means, that by the space almost of two years, Pacy, continuing at Venice, had neither writing from the king, nor his council, what he should do; nor yet any manner of allowance for his diet, although he wrote and sent letters for the same to England very often: for the cardinal had altogether incensed the king against him. Whereupon the said Pacy took such an inward thought and conceit, that his wits began to fail him; he being notwithstanding in such favour among the senators of Venice, that neither for gold nor silver he could there have lacked. By some it is reported that the Venetian legate here in England, coming to the cardinal, required if he would command any thing to the English ambassador at Venice? To whom he should answer again in high words, saying, *Paceus deceptit regem*. Which words coming to Pacy's ears, so deeply pierced his stomach, that he fell quite beside himself. I heard it moreover of another thus testified, who had a brother at the same time dwelling with Pacy: that the cardinal, about the returning of Pacy from Venice, sent him a letter so powdered, (with what spices I cannot tell,) that at the reading thereof Pacy, then being in the fields, fell suddenly in such a mighty running for the space of two miles, that his servants had much ado to take him, and bring him home.

This piteous case of Pacy was not a little lamented by the whole senate and chief learned men in Venice; insomuch that the king was not only certified thereof by Thomas Lupset, (who then was chief man about Pacy, and his secretary for that embassy,) but also the said senate of Venice wrote in such sharp and vehement wise unto their ambassador, then being in England,

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that he should signify unto the king, touching Pacy's case, that thereby the king, knowing the truth, and the whole circumstance of the matter, was not a little sorrowful therefore. Whereupon Pacy was forthwith sent for home, and when he came to England, he was commanded by the king to be specially well tended, and to lack no keeping: insomuch that within a small process of time he was pretty well come again to his wits, and began to study the Hebrew tongue with Wakefield; so that (the cardinal then being absent) such ways were found by his friends, that he was brought to the king, lying then at Richmond, where he and the king secretly communed together by the space of two hours and more, not without great rejoicing to the king, as it was perceived, to see him so well amended, and returned to himself again; giving likewise strait charge and commandment, that he should lack nothing. The cardinal being then not present, when he heard of this, fearing lest he had disclosed somewhat to the king, which he would not have known, and doubting that the king should cast his favour again unto Pacy, began within a while after to quarrel, and pick matters, and to lay certain things to Pacy's charge; whereas he rather should have cleared himself of those things which Pacy laid unto him before the king, which was contrary to all good form and order of justice. For where the king had willed the cardinal to purge himself of those things which Pacy had rightly charged him withal, he, sitting in judgment, with the duke of Norfolk, and other states of the realm, not as a defendant, but as a judge in his own cause, so bare out himself and weighed down Pacy, that Pacy was commanded to the Tower of London as prisoner, where he continued by the space of two years, or thereabouts, and afterwards, by the king's commandment, was discharged. But he, being there prisoner, was therewith so deadly wounded and stricken, that he fell worse from his wits than ever he was before, being in such a frenzy or lunacy, that to his dying day he never came perfectly to himself again. Notwithstanding this in him was no perpetual frenzy, but came by fits; and when the fit was past, he could look on his book, and reason and talk handsomely, but that now and then he showed his disease. And thus much between the cardinal and Pacy.

By this story of Pacy, and also by other passages above mentioned, ye may partly conceive how greedy this cardinal was to be made pope. Touching which matter here by the way something to treat, first is to be understood, that forasmuch as Pacy either would not, or could not, serve the cardinal's purpose herein, he thought to accomplish his desire by other means, and namely by Stephen Gardiner, who was then shortly after sent ambassador to Rome by the king and the cardinal, in the time of Pope Clement the Seventh; and that for two special causes, one was about the divorcement, the other for promoting the cardinal to be pope. As touching the divorcement we will speak (the Lord willing) hereafter. In the mean time, as concerning the advancement of the cardinal, great labour was made, as in letters may appear, sent from the cardinal to the said Stephen Gardiner; in which letters he did solicit the said Gardiner, by all means, to pursue the suit, willing him to stick for no cost, so far as six or seven thousand pounds would stretch; for more, he said, he would not give for the triple crown. Mark here, Christian reader! what a holy catholic church this is, which rather may be called a bourse, or mart of merchants, than any true form of a church.

Many both of his, and also the king's letters, I could here insert; but, for growing of the volume, I let them pass. One, for example's sake, sent by the cardinal to Gardiner, shall at this time suffice concerning this matter. The copy of the cardinal's ambitious letter here in form followeth:

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"Master Stephen, albeit ye shall be sufficiently, with your colleagues, by such instructions as be given to Monsieur Vincent, informed of the king's mind and mine, concerning my advancement unto the dignity papal, not doubting but that for the singular devotion which you bear towards the king and his affairs, both general and particular, and perfect love which ye have towards me, ye will omit nothing that may be excogitated to serve and conduce to that purpose; yet I thought convenient, for the more fervent expression of my mind in that behalf, to write unto you (as to the person whom I do most entirely trust, and by whom this thing shall be most pithily set forth) these few words following of mine own hand.

"I doubt not but ye do profoundly consider, as well the state wherein the church and all Christendom doth stand now presently, as also the state of this realm, and of the king's secret matter; which if it should be brought to pass by any other means than by the authority of the church, I account this prince and realm utterly undone. Wherefore it is expedient to have such a one to be pope and common father of all princes, as may, can, and will, give remedy to the premises. And albeit I account myself much unable, and that it shall be now incommodious in this mine old age to be the said common father; yet when all things be well pondered, &c., the qualities of all the cardinals well considered, there shall be none found that can and will set remedy in the aforesaid things, but only the cardinal of York, whose good will and zeal is not to you of all men unknown. And were it not for the re-integration of the state of the church and see apostolic to the pristine dignity, and for the conducing of peace amongst Christian princes, and especially to relieve this prince and realm from the calamities that the same be now in, all the riches or honour of the world should not cause me to accept the said dignity, although the same with all commodities were offered unto me.

"Nevertheless, conforming myself to the necessity of the time, and the will and pleasure of these two princes, I am content to appone all my wit and study, and to set forth all means and ways, for the attaining of the said dignity: for the achieving and attaining whereof, forasmuch as thereupon dependeth the health and wealth, not only of these two princes and their realms, but of all Christendom, nothing is to be omitted that may conduce to the said end and purpose. Wherefore, Master Stephen, since you be so plainly advertised of my mind and intent, I shall pray you to exert your utmost energies to bring the matter to an issue, sparing neither expense, nor promises, nor toils. Suit your conduct to men's minds and tempers, as they may be inclined, whether in public or private affairs. You and your colleagues have hereby unlimited power, and whatever you do, be assured it will gratify the king and me. We intrust all, in one word, to your faith and genius. I have only to pray that God may prosper all your exertions. Farewell.

"Ex ædibus meis Westmonast. vii. Febr.

Tuæ salutis et amplitudinis cupidissimus,

T. Ebor."

In the so great labours, pursuits, and travails of the king and of the cardinal, thou hast for thine instruction, loving reader, to note and learn, how man purposeth one thing, and how God disposeth another. For the king's purpose was to have the cardinal and legate of York placed in the see papal, thinking by that means, if this cardinal had been pope, the cause of his divorce more easily might be compassed, which, otherwise, he thought impossible to contrive. But God omnipotent, who only is director of all affairs, brought it otherwise to pass, not as the king devised, but after his own wisdom; so that both the divorcement was concluded, and yet neither

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Cardinal Wolsey made pope, nor yet Pope Clement was dead. Yea, so he ruled the matter, that notwithstanding Pope Clement was alive, yet both the divorce proceeded, and also the pope's authority was thereby utterly extinct and abolished out of this realm of England, to the singular admiration of God's wondrous works, and perpetual praise to his merciful goodness: of which divorcement, and suppressing of the pope's authority, we have likewise to make declaration; but first, as we have begun with the cardinal of York, so we will make an end of him. That done, we will (God willing) address ourselves to other matters of more importance.

As the ambassadors were thus travailing in Rome to promote the cardinal to be pope, although the pope was not yet dead, in the mean time the cardinal played the popish persecutor here at home. For first, he sitting in his pontificalibus in the cathedral church of Paul's, under his cloth of estate of rich cloth of gold, caused Friar Barnes, an Augustin Friar, to bear a faggot, for certain points which he called heresy. Also he caused at the same time two merchants of the Stilyard likewise to bear faggots for eating flesh on a Friday; at the which time the bishop of Rochester made a sermon in reproof of Martin Luther, who had before written against the power of the bishop of Rome. This bishop in his sermon spake so much of the honour of the pope and his cardinals, and of their dignity and pre-eminence, that he forgot to speak of the gospel which he took in hand to declare; which was about A.D. 1526.

After this, the said cardinal likewise, A.D. 1528, and in the month of November, sitting at Westminster as legate, called before him the whole clergy, and there promised that all abusions of the church should be amended; but there nothing else was done, save only he caused to be abjured, Arthur Bilney, Geffery Lome, and Garret, for speaking against the pope's authority, and his pompous pride: of whom more shall be said (the Lord assisting us) hereafter. And this was A.D. 1528.

The year next following, which was A.D. 1529, began the question of the king's marriage to be revived; whereupon Cardinal Campeius was sent again into England from Rome, for the hearing and debating of the matter; who then, with Cardinal Wolsey, consulting with the king, although at first he seemed with his fellow cardinal to incline unto the king's disposition, yet afterwards, perceiving the sequel of the case, whether it tended so far as peradventure might be the occasion of a blot to the court of Rome, and might shake perhaps the chair of the pope's omnipotent authority, as well in other cases like, if this one case were thoroughly decided by learning and truth of God's word: he therefore, slipping his neck out of the collar, craftily shifted himself out of the realm before the day came appointed for determination, leaving his subtle fellow behind him, to weigh with the king in the mean time, while the matter might be brought up to the court of Rome. The king, thus seeing himself disappointed, foiled with false promises, and craftily doubled withal by the cardinals, and at last, after so many delays and long expectation, nothing to be concluded, was sore aggrieved in his mind with them, but especially with Cardinal Wolsey, whom he had before so highly exalted, and promoted to so many great dignities, as to the archbishopric of York, the bishopric of Winchester, of Durham, the abbey of St. Alban's; besides the chancellorship of England, and many other high rooms and preferments in the realm; which caused him clearly to cast him out of his favour, so that after that time he never came more to the king's presence.

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Then followed first a council of the nobles, called the first of October; during the which council all the lords and other the king's council, agreeing together, resorted to Windsor to the king, and there informed the king, that all things which he had done almost, by his power legantine, were in the case of præmunire, and provision; and that the cardinal had forfeited all his lands, tenements, goods, and chattels to the king: wherefore the king, willing to order him according to the order of his laws, caused his attorney, Christopher Hales, to sue out a writ of præmunire against him, in the which he licensed him to make an attorney.

And further, the seventeenth of November, he sent the two dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk to his place at Westminster, to fetch away the great seal of England; which he was loth to deliver, if there had been any remedy; but in conclusion, he delivered it to the two dukes, which delivered the same to Dr. Taylor, master of the rolls, to carry it to the king; which he so did the next day.



Cardinal Wolsey and the Dukes

Besides this, the king sent Sir William Fitzwilliams, knight of the garter, and treasurer of his house, and Dr. Stephen Gardiner, newly made secretary, to see that no goods should be embezzled out of his house; and further ordained, that the cardinal should remove to Esher beside Kingston, there to tarry the king's pleasure, and to have all things delivered to him which were necessary for him, but not after his old pompous and superfluous fashion; for all his goods were seized to the king's use. When the seal was thus taken from the cardinal, the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, with many earls, bishops, and barons, came unto the Star Chamber, the nineteenth day of October; where the duke of Norfolk declared, that the king's Highness, for diverse and sundry offences, had taken from him his great seal, and deposed him from all offices;

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and lest men might complain for lack of justice, he had appointed him and the duke of Suffolk, with the assent of the other lords, to sit in the Star Chamber, to hear and determine causes indifferently; and that of all things the king's pleasure and commandment was, that they should keep their hands close from any rewards-taking, or maintenance: and so that week they sat in the Star Chamber, and determined causes.

A few days after, in the same month, the cardinal removed out of his house called York Place, with one Cross, say[ing] that he would he had never borne more; meaning that by his cross which he bare as legate, which degree-taking was his confusion, as you see openly; and so he took his barge, and went to Putney by water, and there took his horse and rode to Esher, where he remained till Lent after.

During which time, he, being called on for an answer in the King's Bench to the *præmunire*, for giving benefices by prevention, in disturbance of men's inheritance, and divers other open causes in the *præmunire*, according to the king's licence, constituted John Scute and Edmond Jenny, apprentices of the law, his attorneys, which, by his own warrant, signed with his hand, confessed all things concerning the said suit; for they were too open to be cloaked or hidden: and so judgment was given, that he should forfeit all his lands, tenements, goods, and chattels, and should be out of the king's protection: but for all that, the king sent him a sufficient protection, and of his gentleness left to him the bishoprics of York and Winchester, and gave to him plate and stuff convenient for his degree; and the bishopric of Durham he gave to Dr. Tonsal, bishop of London, and the abbey of St. Alban's he gave to the prior of Norwich: and to London he promoted Dr. John Stokesley, then ambassador to the universities for the marriage, as you heard before. For all this kindness showed to the cardinal, yet still he maligned against the king, as you shall hereafter perceive: but first we will proceed in the course of these matters, as they passed in order.

The next year following, which was A.D. 1530, in the month of November, was summoned a general parliament, to be holden at Westminster. In the which year, about the twenty-third day of October, the king came to his manor of Greenwich, and there much consulted with his council, for a meet man to be his chancellor, so that in no wise he were a man of the spirituality; and so, after long debate, the king resolved upon Sir Thomas More, knight, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, a man well learned in the tongues, and also in the common law; whose wit was fine, and full of imaginations; by reason whereof he was a little too much given to mocking, more than became the person of Master More. And then on the Sunday, the twenty-fourth day of the same month, the king made him his chancellor, and delivered him the great seal; which lord chancellor, the next morrow after, was led into the chancery by the two dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and there sworn, and then the mace was borne before him.

Of this fall of the cardinal, and of the placing of Sir Thomas More in the chancellorship, Erasmus, in an epistle to John Vergera, thus writeth:

"The cardinal of York hath so offended the king's mind, that he, being turned out of his goods and all his dignities, is committed, not to prison, but to a certain lordship of his, with thirty servants or keepers to give attendance upon him. Many and sundry complaints are commenced against him, so that he is not like to escape with his life. Such is the dalliance of fortune, of a

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schoolmaster to be made a king: for so he reigned, more like a king than the king himself. He was dreaded of all men; he was loved but of a few, almost of none. A little before he was apprehended, he caused Richard Pacy to be cast into the Tower: also he threatened my lord archbishop of Canterbury. Solomon saith, that before the fall of man his spirit shall be elevated. The archbishop of Canterbury was called or restored to be chosen lord chancellor, which is the chiefest office in all that realm; but he excused himself by his age, as being not able to wield such a function: wherefore the said office was bestowed upon Thomas More, no less to the rejoicing of many, than the other was displaced from it. These news my servant brought me out of England," &c.

You heard before how a council of the nobles was appointed by the king in the month of October, to assemble in the Star Chamber, about the cardinal's matter; and also how a parliament was summoned to begin in the month of November, in the year following, A.D. 1530. At the beginning of which parliament, after that Master More, the new chancellor, had finished his oration, the commons were commanded to choose them a speaker, who was Thomas Audley, esquire, and attorney of the duchy of Lancaster. Thus the parliament, being begun the sixth day of the aforesaid month of November, at Westminster, where the king with all the lords were set in the parliament chamber, the commons, after they had presented their speaker, assembling in the nether house, began to commune of their griefs, wherewith the spirituality had before-time grievously oppressed them, contrary both to all right, and to the law of the realm; and especially were sore moved with these six great causes:

Grievances objected against the clergy of England.

I. The first, for the excessive fines which the ordinaries took for probates of testaments, insomuch that Sir Henry Guildford, knight of the garter, and comptroller of the king's house, declared in the open parliament, of his fidelity, that he and others being executors to Sir William Compton, knight, paid for the probate of his will, to the cardinal and the archbishop of Canterbury, a thousand marks sterling. After this declaration, were showed so many extortions done by ordinaries for probates of wills, that it were too much to rehearse.

II. The second cause was, the great polling and extreme exaction which the spiritual men used, in taking of corpses, presents, or mortuaries: for the children of the dead should all die for hunger and go a-begging, rather than they would of charity give to them the silly cow which the dead man owed, if he had but only one: such was the charity of them!

III. The third cause was, that priests, being surveyors, stewards, and officers, to bishops, abbots, and other spiritual heads, had and occupied farms, granges, and grazing, in every country, so that the poor husbandmen could have nothing but of them; and yet, for that, they should pay dearly.

IV. The fourth cause was, that the abbots, priors, and spiritual men, kept tan-houses, and bought and sold wool, cloth, and all manner of merchandise, as other temporal merchants did.

V. The fifth cause was, because the spiritual persons, promoted to great benefices, and having their livings of their flock, were lying in the courts of lords' houses, and took all of their

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parishioners, and nothing spent on them at all: so that for lack of residence, both the poor of the parish lacked refreshing, and universally all the parishioners lacked preaching and true instructions of God's word, to the great peril of their souls.

VI. The sixth cause was, because one priest, being little learned, had ten or twelve benefices, and was resident on none, and many well-learned scholars in the university, who were able to preach and teach, had neither benefice nor exhibition.

These things before this time might in no wise be touched, nor yet talked of by any man, except he would be made a heretic, or lose all that he had: for the bishops were chancellors, and had all the rule about the king, so that no man durst once presume to attempt any thing contrary to their profit or commodity.

But now, when God had illuminated the eyes of the king, and the time so served that men more boldly durst express with voice, such grudges as they had long conceived in their heart against the clergy, the burgesses of the parliament appointed certain of the commons' house, men learned in the law, to draw one bill of the probates of testaments; another for mortuaries; and the third for non-residence, pluralities, and taking farms by spiritual men.

And first, to the bill of mortuaries being drawn, and being also passed the commons' house, and sent up to the higher, the spiritual lords showed a fair face, saying, that assuredly priests and curates took more than they should, and therefore it were well done to take some reasonable order. Thus they spake, because it touched them but little.

After this, within two days, was sent up the second bill, concerning probates of testaments; which bill, because it touched their profit somewhat near, both the archbishop of Canterbury, and all other bishops in general, began to frown and grunt, insomuch that Doctor John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, standing up in the parliament chamber, openly protested, that such bills were sent up from the commons' house, tending to no other thing, but to the destruction of the church; which church being down, the glory then of the whole kingdom (said he) must needs fall: desiring therefore the lords, for God's sake, to take example by the kingdom of Bohemia. For as it was then with the people there, so now what say the commons here, but "Down with the church:" And all this (said he) seemeth to be only for lack of faith. When these words were reported to the commons of the lower house, (what the bishop had said, in noting all their doings to be for lack of faith,) they took the matter grievously, so to be esteemed of the bishop for no better than heretics; understanding, moreover, how that he, by those slanderous words, went about to persuade the lords temporal against them, and so to overthrow the two bills by them passed before, as ye have heard.

Whereupon, after long debate, it was at length agreed by the said commons, that Thomas Audley, their speaker, with thirty of the chief of that house, should be sent to the king, being then in his palace at Westminster, before called York Place; where they eloquently declared, what a dishonour to the king and the realm it was, to say that those who were elected for the wisest men of all the shires, cities, and boroughs, within the realm of England, should be declared in so noble and open presence, to lack faith, which was equivalent to say that they were infidels, and no Christians; as ill as Turks or Saracens: so that what pain or study soever they took for the

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commonwealth, or what acts or laws soever they made or established, should be taken as laws made by paynims and heathen people, and not worthy to be kept by Christian men: wherefore they most humbly besought the king's Highness to call the said bishop before him, and to cause him to speak more discreetly of such a number as were in the commons' house.

The king, not being well contented with the saying of the bishop, yet gently answered the speaker, and sent them away; and immediately sent for the archbishop of Canterbury, and six other bishops, and Rochester also, signifying unto them the grudge of the commons. The bishop of Rochester, excusing himself, answered, that he, in so saying, meant only the doings of the Bohemians to be for lack of faith, and not the doings of them that were in the commons' house: which saying was confirmed by the bishops there present, who had him in great reputation. And so by that only saying the king accepted his excuse, and therefore sent word to the commons, by Sir William Fitzwilliams, knight, treasurer of his household: which blind excuse pleased the commons nothing at all.

After this, divers assemblies were kept between certain of the lords, and certain of the commons, for the bills of the probates of testaments, and mortuaries. The temporality laid to the spirituality their own laws and constitutions; and the spirituality sore defended them by prescription and usage: to whom it was thus answered by a gentleman of Gray's Inn; "The usage hath ever been of thieves, to rob on Shooter's Hill: ergo, is it lawful?" With this answer the spiritual men were sore offended, because their doings were called robberies; but the temporal men stood still by their sayings, insomuch that the said gentleman said to the archbishop of Canterbury, that both the exaction of probates of testaments, and the taking of mortuaries, as they were used, were open robbery and theft. After long disputation, the temporal lords began to lean to the commons; but, for all that, the bills remained unconcluded awhile.

It followeth shortly after in the parliament, that a bill was assented to by the lords of the higher house, and sent down to the commons in the lower house, and by them also with much labour agreed unto, of whom the most part were the king's servants. In that bill it was required and concluded, that the king should be released of all such loan of money which he had borrowed of his subjects in the fifteenth year of his reign. The passing of this bill went sore against the stomachs of the poor commons; for many rested upon it, counting and passing it over, one to another, for good debt, as if it had been ready money in their purses. Wherefore the king, to gratify them again, granted to them a general pardon of all offences, only certain great offences and debts excepted. Also he aided them for the redress of their griefs against the spirituality, and caused two new bills to be made indifferently, both for the probates of the testaments, and mortuaries; which bills were so reasonable, that the spiritual lords assented to them all, though they were sore against their minds: and especially the probates of testaments sore displeased the bishops, and the mortuaries sore displeased the parsons and vicars.

After these acts thus agreed, the commons made another act for pluralities of benefices, non-residence, buying and selling, and taking of farms by spiritual persons; which act so displeased the spirituality, that the priests railed on the commons of the lower house, and called them heretics and schismatics: for which divers priests were punished.

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This act was sore debated above, in the parliament chamber, and the lords spiritual would in no wise consent. Wherefore the king, perceiving the grudge of his commons, caused eight lords and eight of his commons to meet in the Star Chamber at an afternoon, and there was sore debating of the cause, insomuch that the temporal lords of the upper house, who were there, took part with the commons against the spiritual lords, and by force of reason caused them to assent to the bill, with a little qualifying; which bill the next day was wholly agreed to in the lords' house, to the great rejoicing of the lay-people, and to the great displeasure of the spiritual persons.

During the time of the said parliament, there was brought down to the commons the book of articles which the lords had put up to the king against the cardinal. The chief articles were these.

"I. First, That he, without the king's assent, had procured to be legate, by reason whereof he took away the right of all bishops and spiritual persons.

"II. In all writings that he wrote to Rome, or to any other prince, he wrote, I and my king; as who would say, that the king were his servant.

"III. That he slandered the Church of England to the court of Rome: for his suggestion to be legate, was to reform the Church of England, which (as he wrote) was *facta in reprobum sensum*.

"IV. He, without the king's assent, carried the king's great seal with him into Flanders, when he was sent ambassador to the emperor.

"V. Without the king's consent, he sent commission to Sir Gregory de Cassalis, knight, to conclude a league between the king and the duke of Ferrara.

"VI. That he, having a French disorder, presumed to come and breathe on the king.

"VII. That he caused the cardinal's hat to be put on the king's coin.

"VIII. That he had sent innumerable substance to Rome, for the obtaining of his dignities, to the great impoverishment of the realm: with many other things which are touched more at large in chronicles."

These articles, with many more, being read in the commons' house, were confessed by the cardinal, and signed with his hand. Also there was showed another writing, sealed with his seal, by the which he gave to the king all his movables and unmovables.

You have heard hitherto declared, how the cardinal was attainted in the præmunire, and how he was put out of the office of the chancellor, and lay at Esher: which was A.D. 1530. The next year after, in the Lent season, the king, by the advice of his council, licensed him to go into his diocese of York, and gave him commandment to keep him in his diocese, and not to return southward, without the king's special licence in writing.

So he made great provision to go northward, and apparelled his servants newly, and bought many costly things for his household. But divers of his servants at this time departed from him to the king's service, and in especial Thomas Cromwel, one of his chief council, and chief doer for him in the suppression of abbeys. After all things necessary for his journey were prepared, he took his journey northward, till he came to Southwell, which was in his diocese, and there he continued that year, ever grudging at his fall, as you shall hear hereafter but the lands which he had given to his colleges in Oxford and Ipswich, were now come to the king's hands,

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by his attainder in the præmunire; and yet the king, of his gentleness, and for favour that he bare to good learning, erected again the college in Oxford; and where it was named the Cardinal's College, he called it the King's College; and endowed it with fair possessions, and ordained new statutes and ordinances; and for because the college of Ipswich was thought to be nothing profitable, therefore he left that dissolved.



Notwithstanding that the cardinal of York was thus attainted in the præmunire, (as is above mentioned,) yet the king, being good unto him, had granted him the bishoprics of York and Winchester, with great plenty of substance, and had licensed him to lie in his diocese of York, where he so continued the space of a year. But after, in the year following, which was 1531, he, being in his diocese, wrote to the court of Rome, and to divers other princes, letters in reproach of the king, and, as much as in him lay, he stirred them up to revenge his cause against the king and his realm: insomuch that divers opprobrious words against the king were spoken to Doctor Edward Keerne, the king's orator at Rome; and it was said to him, that, for the cardinal's sake, the king should have the worse speed in the suit of his matrimony. The cardinal, also, would speak fair to the people, to win their hearts, and declared ever that he was unjustly and

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untruly ordered; which fair speaking made many men believe that he said true: and to gentlemen he gave great gifts to allure them unto him. And to be had in more reputation among the people, he determined to be installed or enthronised at York with all the pomp that might be; and caused a throne to be erected in the cathedral church, in such a height and fashion, as was never seen; and sent to all the lords, abbots, priors, knights, esquires, and gentlemen of his diocese, to be at his manor of Cawood on the sixth of November, and so to bring him to York with all manner of pomp and solemnity.



Cardinal Wolsey in Procession

The king, which knew his doings and privy conveyance, all this year dissembled the matter, to see what he would do at length, till that he (seeing his proud heart so highly exalted, that he would be so triumphantly enstalled, without making the king privy, yea, and in a manner in disdain of the king) thought it not meet nor convenient to suffer him any longer to continue in his malicious and proud purposes and attempts: wherefore he directed his letters to the earl of Northumberland, willing him with all diligence to arrest the cardinal, and to deliver him to the earl of Shrewsbury, great steward of the king's household. When the earl had seen the letters, he with a convenient number came to the manor of Cawood on the fourth of November; and when he was brought to the cardinal in his chamber, he said to him, "My lord! I pray you take patience, for here I arrest you." "Arrest me?" said the cardinal. "Yea," said the earl, "I have a commandment so to do." "You have no such power," said the cardinal, "for I am both a cardinal, and a legate *de latere*, and a peer of the college of Rome, and ought not to be arrested by any temporal power; for I am not subject to that power: wherefore if you arrest me, I will withstand it." "Well," said the earl, "here is the king's commission, (which he showed him,) and therefore I charge you to obey." The cardinal somewhat remembered himself, and said, "Well, my lord! I

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am content to obey; but although that I, by negligence, fell into the punishment of the *præmunire*, and lost by the law all my lands and goods, yet my person was in the king's protection, and I was pardoned that offence; wherefore I marvel why I now should be arrested, and specially considering that I am a member of the see apostolic, on whom no temporal man ought to lay violent hands. Well, I see the king lacketh good counsel." "Well," said the earl, "when I was sworn warden of the Marshes, you yourself told me that I might with my staff arrest all men under the degree of a king; and now I am stronger, for I have a commission so to do, which you have seen." The cardinal at length obeyed; and was kept in a privy chamber, and his goods seized, and his officers discharged; and his physician, called Doctor Augustine, was likewise arrested, and brought to the Tower by Sir Walter Welsh, one of the king's chamber. On the sixth of November he was conveyed from Cawood to Sheffield Castle, and there delivered to the earl of Shrewsbury's keeping, till the king's pleasure were known. Of this attachment was much communing among the common people, whereof many were glad; for he was not in the favour of the commonalty.

When the cardinal was thus arrested, the king sent Sir William Kingston, knight, captain of the guard, and constable of the Tower of London, with certain yeomen of the guard, to Sheffield, to fetch the cardinal to the Tower. When the cardinal saw the captain of the guard, he was sore astonished, and shortly became sick; for then he perceived some great trouble towards him, and for that cause, men said, that he willingly took so much quantity of a strong purgation, that his nature was not able to bear it. Also the matter that came from him was so black, that the staining thereof could not be gotten out of his blankets by any means. But Sir William Kingston comforted him, and by easy journeys brought him to the abbey of Leicester on the twenty-seventh of November; where, for very feebleness of nature, caused by purgations and vomits, he died the second night following, and in the same abbey lieth buried.

It is testified by one, yet being alive, in whose arms the said cardinal died, that his body, being dead, was black as pitch; also was so heavy, that six could scarce bear it. Furthermore, it did so stink above the ground, that they were constrained to hasten the burial thereof in the night season, before it was day. At the which burial, such a tempest with such a stench there arose, that all the torches went out; and so he was thrown into the tomb, and there was laid.

By the ambitious pride and excessive worldly wealth of this one cardinal, all men may easily understand and judge what the state and condition of all the rest of the same order (whom we call spiritual men) was in those days, as well in all other places of Christendom, as especially here in England, where the princely possessions and great pride of the clergy did not only far pass and exceed the common measure and order of subjects, but also surmounted over kings and princes, and all other estates, as may well appear by his doings and order of his story, above described.

Amongst other acts of the aforesaid cardinal, this is not to be forgotten, that he founded a new college in Oxford, for the furniture whereof he had gathered together all the best learned he could hear of, amongst which number were these: Clarke, Tyndale, Sommer, Frith, and Taverner, with other more. Which, holding an assembly together in the college, were accounted to be heretics, (as they called them,) and thereupon were cast into a prison of the college, where salt-fish lay, through the stink whereof the most part of them were infected; and the said Clarke,

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being a tender young man, and the most singular in learning amongst them all, died in the same prison; and other in other places in the town also, of the same infection deceased.

171. Mummuth and Hitten

And thus, having detained the reader enough, or rather too much, with this vain-glorious cardinal, now we will reduce our story again to other more fruitful matter, and, as the order of time requireth, first beginning with Master Humphrey Mummuth, a virtuous and a good alderman of London, who in the time of the said cardinal was troubled, as in the story here followeth.

The trouble of Humphrey Mummuth, alderman of London.

Master Humphrey Mummuth was a right godly and sincere alderman of London, who, in the days of Cardinal Wolsey, was troubled and put in the Tower, for the gospel of Christ, and for maintaining them that favoured the same.

Stokesley, then bishop of London, ministered articles unto him, to the number of four and twenty: as for adhering to Luther and his opinions; for having and reading heretical books and treatises; for giving exhibition to William Tyndale, Roy, and such other; for helping them over the sea to Luther; for ministering privy help to translate, as well the Testament, as other books into English; for eating flesh in Lent; for affirming faith only to justify; for derogating from men's constitutions; for not praying to saints, not allowing pilgrimage, auricular confession, the pope's pardons: briefly, for being an advancer of all Martin Luther's opinions, &c.

He, being of these articles examined, and cast into the Tower, at last was compelled to make his suit or purgation, writing to the aforesaid cardinal, then lord chancellor, and the whole council, out of the Tower; in the contents whereof he answered to the criminous accusation of them which charged him with certain books received from beyond the sea; also for his acquaintance with Master Tyndale. Whereupon he said, that he denied not but that, four years then past, he had heard the said Tyndale preach two or three sermons at St. Dunstan's in the West; and afterward, meeting with the said Tyndale, had certain communication with him concerning his living; who then told him that he had none at all, but trusted to be in the bishop of London's service: for then he laboured to be his chaplain. But, being refused of the bishop, so came again to the said Mummuth, this examine, and besought him to help him: who the same time took him into his house for half a year; where the said Tyndale lived (as he said) like a good priest, studying both night and day. He would eat but sodden meat by his good will, nor drink but small single beer. He was never seen in that house to wear linen about him, all the space of his being there. Whereupon the said Mummuth had the better liking of him, so that he promised him ten pounds (as he then said) for his father's and mother's souls, and all Christian souls; which money afterwards he sent him over to Hamburg, according to his promise. And yet not to him alone he gave this exhibition, but to divers others more likewise, which were no heretics: as to Dr. Royston, the bishop of London's chaplain, he exhibited forty or fifty pounds; to Dr. Wodiall, provincial of the Friars Augustine, as much or more; to Dr. Watson, the king's chaplain; also to

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other scholars, and divers priests: besides other charges bestowed upon religious houses, as upon the nunnery of Denny, above fifty pounds sterling bestowed, &c.

And as touching his books, as *Enchiridion*, the *Pater-noster*, *De Libertate Christiana*, an English Testament: of whom, some William Tyndale left with him; some he sent unto him; some were brought into his house, by whom he could not tell: these books (he said) did lie open in his house, the space of two years together, he suspecting no harm to be in them. And moreover the same books being desired of sundry persons, as of the abbess of Denny, a friar of Greenwich, the father confessor of Sion, he let them have them, and yet he never heard friar, priest, or lay-man, find any fault with the said books. Likewise to Doctor Watson, to Doctor Stockhouse, and to Master Martin, parson of Totingbecke, he committed the perusing of the books of *Pater-noster*, and *De Libertate Christiana*, which found no great fault with them; but only in the book *De Libertate Christiana*, they said, there were things somewhat hard, except the reader were wise.

Thus he, excusing himself, and moreover complaining of the loss of his credit by his imprisonment in the Tower, and of the detriments of his occupying, who was wont yearly to ship over five hundred cloths to strangers, and set many clothiers awork in Suffolk, and in other places, of whom he bought all their cloths, which almost were now all undone; by this reason at length was set at liberty, being forced to abjure, and after was made knight by the king, and sheriff of London.

Of this Humphrey Mummuth we read of a notable example of Christian patience, in the sermons of Master Latimer, which the said Latimer heard in Cambridge from Master George Stafford, reader of the divinity lecture in that university; who, expounding the place of St. Paul to the Romans, that we shall overcome our enemy with well doing, and so heap hot coals upon his head, &c., brought in an example, saying, that he knew in London a great rich merchant (meaning this Humphrey Mummuth) which had a very poor neighbour; yet for all his poverty, he loved him very well, and lent him money at his need, and let him come to his table whensoever he would. It was even at that time when Doctor Colet was in trouble, and should have been burned, if God had not turned the king's heart to the contrary. Now the rich man began to be a Scripture-man; he began to smell the gospel. The poor man was a papist still.

It chanced on a time, when the rich man talked of the gospel, sitting at his table, where he reproved popery, and such kind of things; the poor man, being there present, took a great displeasure against the rich man, insomuch that he would come no more to his house: he would borrow no more money of him, as he was wont to do before times, yea, and conceived such hatred and malice against him, that he went and accused him before the bishops. Now the rich man, not knowing of any such displeasure, offered many times to talk with him, and to set him at quiet. It would not be. The poor man had such a stomach, that he would not vouchsafe to speak with him. If he met the rich man in the street, he would go out of his way. One time it happened that he met him so in a narrow street, that he could not avoid but come near him: yet for all that, this poor man (I say) had such a stomach against the rich man, that he was minded to go forward, and not to speak with him. The rich man, perceiving that, caught him by the hand, and asked him, saying, "Neighbour! what is come into your heart to take such displeasure with me? What have I done against you? Tell me, and I will be ready at all times to make you amends."

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Finally, he spake so gently, so charitably, so lovingly and friendly, that it wrought so in the poor man's heart, that by and by he fell down upon his knees, and asked him forgiveness. The rich man forgave him, and so took him again to his favour, and they loved as well as ever they did afore.

Thomas Hitten, at Maidstone, A.D. 1530. Persecuted by William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, and by Fisher, bishop of Rochester.

Touching the memorial of Thomas Hitten remaineth nothing in writing, but only his name; save that William Tyndale, in his Apology against More, and also in another book, entitled The Practice of Prelates, doth once or twice make mention of him, by way of digression. He was (saith he) a preacher at Maidstone, whom the bishop of Canterbury, William Warham, and Fisher, bishop of Rochester, after they had long kept and tormented him in prison, with sundry torments, and that notwithstanding he continued constant; at the last they burned him at Maidstone, for the constant and manifest testimony of Jesus Christ, and of his free grace and salvation, A.D. 1530.

172. Thomas Bilney

Thomas Bilney, and Thomas Arthur, who abjured at Norwich. Persecuted by Cardinal Wolsey; Nixe, bishop of Norwich; the friars of Ipswich; Friar Bird; Friar Hodgkins; Doctor Stokes; Sir Thomas More; Friar Brusierd; Friar John Huggen, provincial of the Dominics; Friar Jeffrey Julles; Friar Jugworth; Master William Jecket, gentleman; William Nelson; and by Thomas Williams, A.D. 1531.

In the story above passed of Cardinal Wolsey, mention was made of certain whom the said cardinal caused to abjure, as Bilney, Jeffrey Lome, Garret, Barnes, and such others, of whom we have now (the Lord directing us) specially to treat. This Thomas Bilney was brought up in the university of Cambridge, even from a child profiting in all kind of liberal sciences, even unto the profession of both laws. But at the last, having gotten a better schoolmaster, even the Holy Spirit of Christ, who endued his heart, by secret inspiration, with the knowledge of better and more wholesome things, he came at thelast unto this point, that, forsaking the knowledge of man's laws, he converted his study to those things which tended more unto godliness than gainfulness.

Finally, as he himself was greatly inflamed with the love of true religion and godliness, even so again was in his heart an incredible desire to allure many unto the same, desiring nothing more, than that he might stir up and encourage any to the love of Christ, and sincere religion. Neither were his labours vain; for he converted many of his fellows unto the knowledge of the gospel, amongst which number were Thomas Arthur, and Master Hugh Latimer; which Latimer at that time was cross-keeper at Cambridge, bringing it forth upon procession days. At last, Bilney, forsaking the university, went into many places, teaching and preaching, being associated with Arthur, which accompanied him from the university. The authority of Thomas Wolsey, cardinal of York, of whom ye have heard before, at that time was great in England, but his pomp and pride much greater; which did evidently declare unto all wise men the manifest vanity, not only of his life, but also of all the bishops and clergy: whereupon Bilney, with other good men, marvelling at the incredible insolency of the clergy, which they could now no longer suffer or abide, began to shake and reprove this excessive pomp of the clergy, and also to pluck at the authority of the bishop of Rome.

Then it was time for the cardinal to awake, and speedily to look about his business; neither lacked he in this point any craft or subtlety of a serpent, for he understood well enough, upon how slender a foundation their ambitious dignity was grounded, neither was he ignorant that their Luciferous and proud kingdom could not long continue against the manifest word of God; especially if the light of the gospel should once open the eyes of men. For otherwise he did not greatly fear the power and displeasure of kings and princes. Only this he feared, the voice of Christ in his gospel; lest it should disclose and detect their hypocrisy and deceits, and force them to come into an order of godly discipline: wherefore he thought good speedily, in time, to withstand these beginnings; whereupon he caused the said Bilney and Arthur to be apprehended and cast into prison, as before you have heard.

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After this, on the twenty-seventh day of November, 1527, the said cardinal, accompanied with a great number of bishops, as the archbishop of Canterbury, Cuthbert of London, John of Rochester, Nicholas of Ely, John of Exeter, John of Lincoln, John of Bath and Wells, Harry of St. Asaph, with many others, both divines and lawyers, came into the chapter-house of Westminster, where the said Master Thomas Bilney, and Thomas Arthur, were brought before them; and the said cardinal there inquired of Master Bilney, whether he had, privately or publicly, preached or taught to the people the opinions of Luther or any others condemned by the church, contrary to the determination of the church: whereunto Bilney answered, that wittingly he had not preached or taught any of Luther's opinions, or any others contrary to the catholic church. Then the cardinal asked him, whether he had not once made an oath before, that he should not preach, rehearse, or defend any of Luther's opinions, but should impugn the same every where? He answered that he had made such an oath; but not lawfully. Which interrogatories so ministered, and answers made, the cardinal caused him to swear, to answer plainly to the articles and errors preached and set forth by him, as well in the city and diocese of London, as in the diocese of Norwich and other places, and that he should do it without any craft, qualifying, or leaving out any part of the truth.

After he was thus sworn and examined, the said cardinal proceeded to the examination of Master Thomas Arthur there present, causing him to take the like oath that Master Bilney did. Which done, he asked him whether he had not once told Sir Thomas More, knight, that in the sacrament of the altar was not the very body of Christ? Which interrogatory he denied. Then the cardinal gave him time to deliberate till noon, and to bring in his answer in writing. After noon the same day, what time the examination of the aforesaid Thomas Arthur was ended, the cardinal and bishops, by their authority *ex officio*, did call in for witnesses before Master Bilney, certain men; namely, John Huggen, chief provincial of the Friars Preachers throughout all England, Jeffrey Julles, and Richard Jugworth, professors of divinity of the same order. Also William Jecket, gentleman, William Nelson, and Thomas William, which were sworn that, all favour, hate, love, or reward set apart, they should, without concealing any falsehood, or omitting any truth, speak their minds, upon the articles laid against him, or preached by him, as well within the diocese of London, as the diocese of Norwich: and because he was otherwise occupied about the affairs of the realm, he committed the hearing of the matter to the bishop of London, and to other bishops there present, or to three of them, to proceed against all men, as well spiritual as temporal, as also against schedules, writings, and books, set forth and translated by Martin Luther, lately condemned by Pope Leo the Tenth, and by all manner of probable means to inquire and root out their errors and opinions; and all such as were found culpable, to compel them to abjuration according to the law, or if the matter so required, to deliver them unto the secular power, and to give them full power and authority to determine upon them.

The twenty-seventh day of November, in the year aforesaid, the bishop of London, with the bishops of Ely and Rochester, came unto the bishop of Norwich's house, where likewise, *ex officio*, they did swear certain witnesses against Master Thomas Arthur, in like sort as they had done before against Master Thomas Bilney, and so proceeded to the examination of Master Arthur: which being ended upon certain interrogatories, the bishop of London warned him, by virtue of his oath, that he should not reveal his examinations, nor his answers, nor any part or parcel thereof.

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The second day of December, the bishops assembled again in the same place, and swore more witnesses against Master Bilney: that done, they called for Master Arthur, unto whose charge they laid these articles following:

I. That he exhorted the people, in his prayers, to pray especially for those that now be in prison. — Which article he denied.

II. That he said, "Though men be restrained to preach now-a-days, (which is against God's laws,) yet I may preach; first, by the authority of my lord cardinal; for I have his licence: secondly, by the authority of the university: thirdly, by the pope: fourthly, by the authority of God, by which authority every man may preach, and there is neither bishop nor ordinary, nor yet the pope, that may make any law to hinder any man to preach the gospel." — This article he confessed that he spake.

III. When he spake of laws, he brought a similitude of crosses, set up against the walls of London, that men should not offend there. "When there was but one cross, or a few more, men did reverence them, and offended not there; but when there was in every corner a cross set, then men of necessity were compelled to offend upon the crosses. So, in like manner, when there was but a few holy and devout laws in the church, then men were afraid to offend them. Afterwards they made many laws for their advantage; and such as were pecuniary, those they do observe; and such as are not pecuniary, those they call palea, and regard them not: and so now-a-days there are so many laws, that whether a man do ill or well, he shall be taken in the law." — He confessed that he spake the very same, or the like words.

IV. He said, "Good people! if I should suffer persecution for the preaching of the gospel of God, yet there are seven thousand more that would preach the gospel of God as I do now. Therefore, good people! good people! (which words he often rehearsed, as it were lamenting,) think not that if these tyrants and persecutors put a man to death, the preaching of the gospel therefore is to be forsaken." — This article he confessed that he spake in like words and sense, saving that he made no mention of tyrants.

V. That every man, yea, every layman, is a priest. — He confessed that he spake such words, declaring in his sermon, that every Christian man is a priest, offering up the sacrifice of prayer; and if they did murmur against the order of the priesthood, they murmur against themselves.

VI. That men should pray to no saints in heaven, but only to God; and they should use no other mediator for them, but Christ Jesus our Redeemer only. — This article he denied.

VII. He preached that they should worship no images of saints, which were nothing but stocks and stones. — This he also denied.

VIII. He did preach upon Whit Sunday last, within the university of Cambridge, such or like words and sentences: that a bachelor of divinity, admitted of the university, or any other person having or knowing the gospel of God, should go forth and preach in every place, and let

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for no man, of what estate or degree soever he were: and if any bishop did accurse them for so doing, their curses should turn to the harm of themselves. — He confessed this.

Which answers thus made and acknowledged, the said Master Arthur did revoke and condemn the said articles against him administered, and submitted himself to the punishment and judgment of the church .

The third of December, the bishop of London, with the other bishops assembling in the place aforesaid, after that Bilney had denied utterly to return to the Church of Rome, the bishop of London, in discharge of his conscience, (as he said,) lest he should hide any thing that had come to his hands, he did really exhibit unto the notaries, in the presence of the said Master Bilney, certain letters, to wit, five letters or epistles, with one schedule in one of the epistles, containing his articles and answers folded therein, and another epistle folded in manner of a book, with six leaves; which, all and every one, he commanded to be written out and registered, and the originals to be delivered to him again.

This was done in the presence of Master Bilney, desiring a copy of them, and he bound the notaries with an oath, for the safe keeping of the copies, and true registering of the same: which articles and answers, with three of the same epistles, with certain depositions deposed by the aforesaid witnesses, here follow truly drawn; partly out of his own handwriting, and partly out of the register:

I. Whether they did believe with their hearts, that the assertions of Luther, which are impugned by the bishop of Rochester, were justly and godly condemned; and that Luther, with his adherents, was a wicked and detestable heretic?

II. Whether they did believe that the general councils and ecclesiastical constitutions, once received, and not abrogated again, ought to be observed of all men, even for conscience' sake, and not only for fear?

III. Whether they did believe that the pope's laws were profitable and necessary to the preferment of godliness, not repugnant to the Holy Scriptures, neither by any means to be abrogated, but to be revered by all men?

IV. Whether they did believe that the catholic church may err in the faith or no? and whether they think that catholic church to be a sensible church, which may be demonstrated and pointed out as it were with a finger; or that it is only a spiritual church, intelligible and known only unto God?

V. Whether they think that the images of saints are Christianly set in the churches, and ought to be worshipped of all true Christians?

VI. Whether that a man may believe, without hurt to his faith, or note of heresy, the souls of Peter and Paul, and of our Lady, either to be, or not to be, in heaven; and that there is yet no judgment given upon the souls departed?

VII. Whether that a man may believe, without spot of heresy, that our Lady remained not always a virgin?

VIII. Whether holy-days and fasting-days, ordained and received by the church, may be broken by any private man, at his will and pleasure, without sin or obstinacy?

IX. Whether we are bound to be obedient unto prelates, bishops, and kings, by God's commandment, as we are unto our parents?

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- X. Whether they believe that the church doth well and godly in praying to the saints?
- XI. Whether they think that Christ only ought to be prayed unto, and that it is no heresy, if any man affirm that saints should not be prayed unto?
- XII. Whether they do think all true Christians to be by like right priests, and all those to have received the keys of binding and loosing at the hands of Christ, which have obtained the Spirit of God, and only such, whether they be laymen or priests?
- XIII. Whether they believe with their hearts, that faith may be without works and charity?
- XIV. Whether they believe that it is more agreeable to the faith, that the people should pray in their own tongue, than in a learned unknown tongue; and whether they commend the prayer in a strange tongue or no?
- XV. Whether they would have the masses and Gospels openly to be read in churches in the vulgar tongue, rather than in the Latin tongue?
- XVI. Whether they commend that children should only be taught the Lord's Prayer, and not the Salutation of the Virgin, or Creed?
- XVII. Whether they do think the wooden beads, which the common people do use, worthy to be denied or not?
- XVIII. Whether they do think the whole Scripture ought to be translated into English, or that it should be more profitable for the people, than as it is now read?
- XIX. Whether they would have the organs, and all manner of songs, to be put out of the church of God?
- XX. Whether they do think that it pertaineth to the bishops to punish any man with bonds or imprisonment, or that they have any temporal power and authority?
- XXI. Whether they think that constitution to be godly, that no man should preach in another man's diocese without letters of commendation and licence obtained of the bishop?
- XXII. Whether they think the vows of religious men, and private religion, to be constituted and ordained by the Spirit of God; neither by any means to be repugnant to a free and perfect Christian life?
- XXIII. Whether they believe that we should pray for the dead, or believe that there is a purgatory; or that we are bound by the necessity of faith, to believe neither of them: but that it is free without sin, either to believe it, or not to believe it?
- XXIV. Whether they believe that moral philosophy and natural, do prevail any thing for the better understanding of the Scriptures, and for the exposition and defence of the truth?
- XXV. Whether they think that the pope's indulgences and pardons are rather to be rejected than received?
- XXVI. Whether it be contrary to the doctrine of Christ and his apostles, that Christians should by any means contend in the law, to seek any manner of restitution?
- XXVII. Whether they believe all things pertaining to salvation and damnation to come of necessity, and nothing to be in our own wills?
- XXVIII. Whether they believe God to be the author of all evil, as well of the fault, as of the punishment?
- XXIX. Whether they think mass only to be profitable to him which saith it, and whether every man may alter or leave out the rite and order of the mass without hurt of faith?
- XXX. Whether they believe that there can be any moral virtues without the grace of Christian living; or that the virtues which Aristotle hath set out, are rather feigned?
- XXXI. Whether they think it heresy to teach the people, that it is free to give tithes unto priests, or to any other poor man?

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XXXII. Whether they do think it more Christian-like to take away the images out of the churches, or to permit them to adorn them and honour them?

XXXIII. Whether they think it the part of a Christian man, that preachers should exhort men to pilgrimage, or to the worshipping of relics?

XXXIV. Whether that thou, Thomas Bilney being cited upon heresy to appear before my lord cardinal, and, before the day of thy appearance, not having made thy purgation upon those points that thou wast cited, hast preached openly in divers churches of the city and diocese of London, without sufficient licence from the bishop or any other?

Concerning the answers unto these articles, gentle reader! forasmuch as in the most part of them, Bilney with Arthur seemed to consent and agree, (although not fully and directly, but by way and manner of qualifying,) yet because he did not expressly deny them, it shall not be needful here to recite them all, save only such, wherein he seemed to dissent from them.

Bilney's answers to the interrogatories aforesaid.

To the first and second articles he answered affirmatively. To the third he said, "I believe that many of the pope's laws are profitable and necessary, and do prevail unto godliness, neither in any point are repugnant unto the Scriptures, nor by any means are to be abrogate, but of all men to be observed and revered. But touching all those laws, I cannot determine: for as for such as I have not read, I trust notwithstanding they are good also; and as for those that I have read, I did never read them to the end and purpose to reprove them, but, according to my power, to learn and understand them. And as touching the multitude of laws, St. Augustine in his time did much complain; and Gerson also, who marvelled that we could by any means live in safety amongst so many snares of constitutions, when our forefathers, being pure before their fall, could not observe one only precept."

To the fourth article he said, that "the catholic church can by no means err in faith, for it is the whole congregation of the elect, and so known only unto God, which knoweth who are his: otherwise no man should be ascertained of another man's salvation, or of his own, but only through faith and hope. For it is written, No man knoweth whether he be worthy of hatred or love. It is also sensible, and may be demonstrate so far forth as it is sufficient to establish us in all things that are to be believed and done: for I may truly say of the general council being congregate in the Holy Ghost, Behold here the catholic church; denominating the whole, by the most worthy part."

To the fifth article he answered affirmatively.

To the sixth article he answered, that he did not believe that they are in heaven; being so taught by the Scriptures, and holy fathers of the church.

To the seventh article he said, that it is not to be thought contrary.

To the eighth article, whether a man may not observe the feasts and fasts of the church prescribed; he thought that there is no man but he ought to observe them.

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To the ninth article he said, that we are likewise bound, as unto parents.

To the fourteenth article he answered thus: "The fourteenth chapter of St. Paul, in his First Epistle to the Corinthians, moveth me to believe, that it is best that the people should have the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed in English, so that the devotion might the more be furthered by the understanding thereof; and also that thereby they might be the more prompt and expert in the articles of their faith, of the which, it is to be feared, a great number are ignorant. Surely I have heard many say, that they never heard speak of the resurrection of the body: and being certified thereof, but they became much more apt and ready unto goodness, and more fearful to do evil."

To the fifteenth article he said, he would "wish that the Gospels and Epistles should be read in English; For I would (saith Paul) rather have five words, &c., that the church might be edified, &c.; and Chrysostom exhorteth his hearers to look upon books, that they might the better commit unto memory those things which they had heard; and St. Bede did translate St. John's Gospel into English."

Touching the eighteenth article, for the translation of the Scripture into English, concerning the whole, he did partly doubt; notwithstanding he wished that the Gospels and Epistles of the day might be read in English, that the people might be made the more apt to hear sermons. But here some will say, there might also be danger for error: whereunto he answered, "But good and vigilant pastors might easily help that matter, by adding the plain interpretation of the fathers in the margins in English, upon the dark and obscure places, which would put away all doubts. Oh how great profit of souls should the vigilant pastors get thereby! Which contrariwise, through their slothfulness, bring great ruin and decay."

To the five-and-twentieth article, as touching pardons, he said, that "as they be used, and have too long been, it were better that they should be restrained, than that they should be any longer used as they have been, to the injury of Christ's passion."

Touching the six-and-twentieth article he said, that "it is not against the doctrine of Christ and his apostles to contend in the law, so it be done with charity, if St. Augustine, and the reverend father Marcus Marulus, did not err, which granted that liberty to the weak Christians: albeit the true Christians ought to give ear unto St. Paul's saying, Why do ye not rather suffer injury? and to Christ himself, which saith, He that would contend with thee in the law, and take away thy coat, give him thy cloak also."

Touching the eight-and-twentieth, he answered, that "God is the author of the punishment only, but not of the offence, as Basil the Great teacheth in his sermon upon these words of the prophet, *Non est malum in civitate quod non fecit Dominus*. And St. Augustine in another place, as I remember, prayeth, that he be not led into that temptation, that he should believe God to be the author of sin and wickedness."

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Here ensueth a brief summary or collection of certain depositions, deposed by the several witnesses aforenamed, upon certain interrogatories ministered unto them for the inquiry of Master Bilney's doctrine and preaching.

First it was deposed, that in his sermon in Christ's church in Ipswich, he should preach and say, "Our Saviour Christ is our Mediator between us and the Father: what should we need then to seek any saint for remedy? Wherefore, it is great injury to the blood of Christ, to make such petitions, and blasphemeth our Saviour.

"That man is so imperfect of himself, that he can in no wise merit by his own deeds."

Also, that "the coming of Christ was long prophesied before, and desired by the prophets: but John Baptist, being more than a prophet, did not only prophesy, but with his finger showed him, saying, Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world. Then, if this were the very Lamb, which John did demonstrate, which taketh away the sins of the world, what injury is it to our Saviour Christ, that to be buried in St. Francis' cowl should remit four parts of penance! What is then left to our Saviour Christ, which taketh away the sins of the world? This I will justify to be a great blasphemy to the blood of Christ."

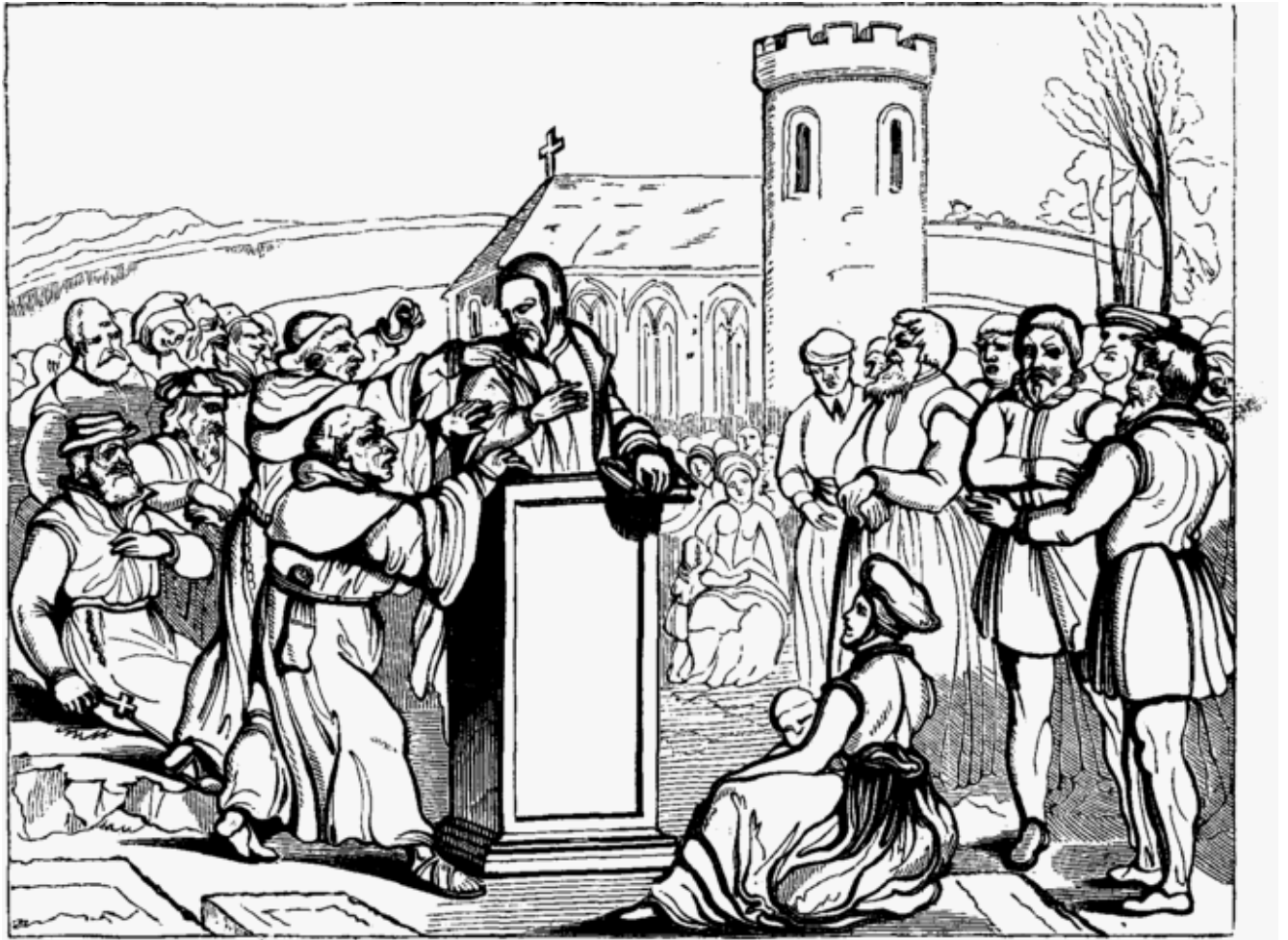
Also, that "it was a great folly to go on pilgrimage, and that preachers, in times past, have been antichrists; and now it hath pleased God somewhat to show forth their falsehood and errors."

Also, that "the miracles done at Walsingham, at Canterbury, and there, in Ipswich, were done by the devil, through the sufferance of God, to blind the poor people: and that the pope hath not the keys that Peter had, except he follow Peter in his living."

Moreover, it was deposed against him, that he was notoriously suspected as a heretic, and twice pulled out of the pulpit in the diocese of Norwich.

Also it was deposed against him, that he should, in the parish church of Wilsdon, exhort the people to put away their gods of silver and gold, and leave their offerings unto them; for that such things as they offered have been known oftentimes afterward to have been given to the vilest of women. Also that Jews and Saracens would have become Christian men long ago, had it not been for the idolatry of Christian men, in offering of candles, wax, and money, to stocks and stones.

Over and besides these cavilling matters articulated and deposed against him, here follow certain other articles whereupon he was detected, gathered out of his sermon which he preached in the parish church of St. Magnus, in Whitsun week, A.D. 1527.



Bilney pulled out of the pulpit

First he said, "Pray you only to God, and to no saints," rehearsing the Litany; and when he cameto *Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis*, that is, Holy Mary pray for us, he said, "Stay there."

He said, that "Christian men ought to worship God only, and no saints."

He said, that "Christian people should set up no light before the images of saints: for saints in heaven need no light, and the images have no eyes to see."

He said, "As Hezekiah destroyed the brazen serpent that Moses made by the commandment of God; even so should kings and princes now-a-days destroy and burn the images of saints set up in churches.

"These five hundred years there hath been no good pope, and in all the times past, we can find but fifty: for they have neither preached, nor lived well, or conformably to their dignity; wherefore, till now, they have borne the keys of simony. Against them, good people! we must preach and teach unto you, for we cannot come to them; it is great pity they have sore slandered the blood of Christ.

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"The people have used foolishly of late pilgrimages, which for them had been better they had been at home.

"Many have made certain vows, which be not possible for them to fulfil, and those nothing meritorious.

"The preachers before this have been antichrists, and now it hath pleased our Saviour Christ to show their false errors, and to teach another way and manner of the holy gospel of Christ, to the comfort of your souls.

"I trust that there shall and will come other besides me, which shall show and preach to you the same faith and manner of living that I do show and preach to you, which is the very true gospel of our Saviour Christ, and the mind of the holy fathers, whereby you shall be brought from their errors, wherein you have been long seduced; for before this there have been many that have slandered you, and the gospel of our Saviour Christ."

These and many other such-like depositions were deposed against him by the deponents and witnesses before sworn, which wholly to recite would be too long and tedious; wherefore these shall suffice at this time, being the principal matters, and in manner the effect of all the rest. But now, before we return again to the order of his examination, we think it good here to infer a certain dialogue, containing a communication between a friar named John Brusierd, and Master Thomas Bilney, which we have thought meet for this place, because it was done in Ipswich, and also about the time of these examinations: the copy whereof we have written with the friar's own hand in Latin, the translation whereof in English here ensueth.

Brusierd. "Although you have blasphemed most perniciously the immaculate flock of Christ with certain blasphemies of yours, yet, being moved partly with your gentle petitions, partly pitying your case and towardly disposition, I am come hither to talk with you secretly, before the rumour be disclosed, upon the consideration of the threefold errors which I see in you. First, for that when you began to shoot the dart of your pestiferous error more vehemently than you ought, against the breast of the ignorant multitude, you seemed to pour upon the ground the precious blood of Christ, as with a certain vehement violence, out of the miserable vessel of your heart. Whereas you said that none of the saints do make intercession for us, nor obtain for us any thing, you have perilously blasphemed the efficacy of the whole church, consecrated with the precious blood of Christ. Which thing you are not able to deny, especially seeing the same so incessantly doth knock at the gates of heaven, through the continual intercession of the saints, according as in the sevenfold Litany manifestly appeareth to be seen."

Bilney. "I marvel at you, and doubtless cannot marvel enough, but that the strong and vain custom of superstitious men, thinking themselves not to be heard but in much babbling, doth put an end to my admiration: for our heavenly Father knoweth what we have need of before we ask. Also it is written, There is one mediator of God and men, the man Christ Jesus. If then there be but one mediator of God and men, the man Christ Jesus, where is our blessed Lady? where are then St. Peter and other saints?"

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Brusierd. "I suppose that no man is ignorant but that the divines of the primitive church have all affirmed to be one mediator between God and man. Neither could any at that time praise or pray to the saints, when as yet they, living in the calamities of this body, and wrestling with the contrary winds of this world, were not yet come to the port of rest whereunto they were travelling. Paul, I grant, did rightly affirm to be but one mediator of God and man, what time as yet there was no saint canonized, or put into the calendar. But now, seeing the church doth know, and doth certainly believe, through the undoubted revelations of God, that the blessed Virgin and other saints are placed in the bosom of Abraham, she, therefore, like a good mother, hath taught, and that most diligently, us her children, to praise the omnipotent Jesus in his saints; and also to offer up by the same saints our petitions unto God. Thereof it is the psalmist. saith, Praise ye the Lord in his saints. Rightly also do we say and affirm, that saints may pray for us. One man may pray for another; ergo, much more may saints who do enjoy the fruition of his High Majesty. For so it is written, God is my witness, whom I serve in my spirit, in the gospel of his Son, that without ceasing I remember you in my prayers always for you, &c."

Bilney. "I marvel, doubtless, that you, a man learned, are not yet delivered out of the confused dungeon of heresy, through the help of the holy gospel; especially seeing that in the same gospel it is written, Verily, verily, I say unto you, whatsoever you ask the Father in my name he will give it unto you: he saith not, Whatsoever ye ask the Father in the name of St. Peter, St. Paul, or other saints; but in my name. Let us ask therefore help in the name of him, which is able to obtain for us of his Father whatsoever we ask, lest with all the clergy, did pray for corporal infirmity, it appeareth manifestly that we ought to worship the saints, and also to give honour in a manner to their images: further also, to pray to Almighty God and all saints for corporal infirmity, that we may be delivered from the same, so that they may say the like for us, which is said in the Gospel, Send them away, because they cry after us. And although there be infinite places inexpugnable to be alleged out of the Holy Scripture, wherewith we might easily resist this your error, yet standing herewith content, as sufficient at this present, we will proceed now to your second pestiferous error, wherein you, like an ingrate child, go about to tear out the bowels of your mother. For in that you say and affirm, blasphemously, the bishop of Rome to be the very antichrist, and that his privilege have no force against the gates of hell; in so saying, what do you, but, like a most unkind and unnatural child, spoil your loving mother of all her treasures, and wound her, being spoiled; and being wounded, pluck out her bowels most miserably upon the earth? But forasmuch as there is nothing so absurd, or so heretical, but shall be received by some itching ears, I would therefore now hear you declare, how he sitteth in the temple of God as God, being exalted and worshipped above all that is named God; or how that he sheweth himself as Lord, in power and signs and wonders deceitful."

Bilney. "Although incredulity doth not suffer you, notwithstanding your learning, to understand these things, yet I will go about something to help your incredulity herein, through the help of the Lord: beseeching you that, setting all superstition apart, you will understand those things that are above. Do ye know the table of the ten commandments?"

Brusierd. "According as the catholic doctors do expound them, I know them meanly; but how you do expound them I cannot tell."

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Bilney. "And do you know also the constitutions of men, which are devised only by the dreams of men; whereunto men are so straitly bound, that, under pain of death, they are compelled to observe them?"

Brusierd. "I know certain sanctions of the holy fathers; but such as you speak of, to be devised by men's dreams, I know none."

Bilney. "Now then let us set and compare these two together, and so shall you easily understand the bishop of Rome, whom they call the pope, to sit in the temple of God as God, and to be extolled above all that is named God. It is written, The temple of Lord is holy, which is you. Therefore the conscience of man is the temple of the Holy Ghost; in peradventure hereafter, in the end of the world, at the strait judgment, we shall hear, Hitherto in my name ye have asked nothing."

Brusierd. "Where ye marvel (with what mind, I cannot tell) that I, being a learned man, (as you say,) am not delivered yet from the confused dungeon of heresy, through the help of the gospel; much more do you, that are far better learned than I, cause me to marvel at your foolish admiration. Neither can I choose but laugh at you, as one being rapt to the third heaven of such high mysteries, and yet see not those things which be done here, in the lower parts of terrene philosophy: for what a ridiculous thing is it, for a man to look so long upon the sun, that he can see nothing else but the sun, nor cannot tell whither to turn him? Moreover, what student is there in all Cambridge, be he never so young, that knoweth not that the argument of authority, brought out negatively, hath no force?"

Bilney. "So as the Pharisees took Christ, you take my words, much otherwise than I meant."

Brusierd. "Your words, which wander far from the scope of Scripture, I do not like. What is in your meaning, and lieth inwardly in your mind, I cannot tell."

Bilney. "Such as invoke the help either of Christ, or of any other saint, for any corporal infirmity, to be delivered from the same, may be well resembled to delicate patients, who, being under the hand of physicians, and having medicines ministered against their diseases, not abiding the pain thereof, rap all asunder: wherefore I say, no man ought to implore the help of God, or of any saint, for corporal infirmity."

Brusierd. "O most pernicious and perilous heresy of all that ever I heard! Thus you, fleeing the smoke, fall into the fire and avoiding the danger of Scylla, you run upon Charybdis. O heart of man, wrapped in palpable darkness! I wish, Master Bilney, that you would but once search and fetch out the first origin of these Rogation days: for so we read in the church story, that they were first ordained by Pope Gregory, with fasting, prayers, and holy processions, against the pestilence, by the infection of the air, then reigning among the people; at what time, the people then going in the procession, a certain image like to our blessed Lady, painted by the hands of St. Luke the evangelist, did go before them; about the which image, in honour of the Virgin, angels did sing this anthem: 'O queen of heaven, be glad!' to which anthem the pope also adjoined this, 'Pray to the Lord for us.' Wherefore, seeing the angels did worship the image of the

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glorious Virgin Mary, in the honour of her; and seeing moreover the holy father, Pope Gregory, which temple I will prove the pope to sit as God, and to be exalted above all that is called God. For whoso contemneth the decalogue, or the table of the commandments of God, there is but a small punishment for him; neither is that punishment to death: but contrariwise, he that shall condemn or violate the constitutions, which you call the sanctions of men, is counted by all men's judgment guilty of death. What is this, but for the high bishop of Rome to sit and reign in the temple of God, (that is, in man's conscience,) as God?"

Brusierd. "Although this exposition seemeth unworthy for Christian ears, yet I would hear you further, how he showeth himself in signs and wonders deceitful."

Bilney. "These wonders, which they call miracles, be wrought daily in the church, not by the power of God, as many think; but by the illusion of Satan rather, who, as the Scripture witnesseth, hath been loose now abroad five hundred years, according as it is written in the book of the Apocalypse, After a thousand years Satan shall be let loose, &c. Neither are they to be called miracles of true Christian men, but illusions rather, whereby to delude men's minds; to make them put their faith in our Lady, and in other saints, and not in God alone, to whom be honour and glory for ever."

Brusierd. "But that I believe and know that God and all his saints will take everlasting revenge-meet upon thee, I would surely, with these nails of mine, be thy death, for this horrible and enormous injury against the precious blood of Christ. God saith, I will not the death of a sinner, but rather that he convert and live. And thou blasphemest him, as though he should lay privy snares of death for us secretly, that we should not espy them; which if it were true, we might well say with Hugh de Saint Victore in this manner: If it be an error, it is by thee, O God, that we are deceived; for these be confirmed with such signs and wonders, which cannot be done but by thee. But I am assured it is untrue and heretical, and therefore I will leave this matter, and will talk with you concerning the merits of saints; for once I remember, in a certain sermon of yours, you said, that no saint, though his suffering were never so great, and his life most pure, deserved any thing for us with God, either by his death or life: which is contrary to St. Augustine."

Bilney. "Christ saith one thing, St. Augustine another: whether of these two shall we believe? for Christ, willing to deliver us out of this dark dungeon of ignorance, gave forth a certain parable of ten virgins, of which five were fools, and five were wise. By the five foolish virgins, wanting the oil of good works, he meant all us sinners: by the wise virgins, he meant the company of all holy saints. Now let us hear what the five wise virgins answered to the five foolish, craving oil of them; No, say they, lest peradventure we have not sufficient for us and for you. Get you rather to them that sell, and buy of them to serve your turn. Wherefore, if they had not oil sufficient for themselves, and also for the others, where then be the merits of saints wherewith they can deserve both for themselves and for us, certes I cannot see."

Brusierd. "You wrest the Scriptures from the right understanding to a reprobate sense, that I am scarce able to hold mine eyes from tears, hearing with mine ears these words of you. Fare ye well!"

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The submission of Master Thomas Bilney.

The fourth day of December, the bishop of London, with the other bishops, his assistants, assembled again in the chapter-house of Westminster; whither also Master Bilney was brought, and was exhorted and admonished to abjure and recant; who answered, that he would stand to his conscience. Then the bishop of London, with other bishops, did publish the depositions of the witnesses, with his articles and answers, commanding that they should be read. That done, the bishop exhorted him again to deliberate with himself, whether he would return to the church, and renounce his opinions, or no; and bade him to depart into a void place, and there to deliberate with himself. Which done, the bishop asked him again if he would return? who answered, Let justice and judgment be done in the name of the Lord. And being divers times admonished to abjure, he would make no other answer, but *Fiat justitia, &c.*, and, This is the day God made; let us rejoice and be glad in it. Then the bishop, after deliberation, putting off his cap, said, *In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, Amen: Exurgat Deus et dissipentur inimici ejus.* And making a cross on his forehead and his breast, by the counsel of the other bishops he gave sentence against Master Bilney, being there present, in this manner: "I, by the consent and counsel of my brethren here present, do pronounce thee, Thomas Bilney, who hast been accused of divers articles, to be convicted of heresy; and for the rest of the sentence we take deliberation till to-morrow."

The fifth day of December, the bishops assembled there again, before whom Bilney was brought; whom the bishop asked, if he would yet return to the unity of the church, and revoke his heresies which he had preached. Whereupon Bilney answered that he would not be a slander to the gospel, trusting that he was not separate from the church; and that if the multitude of witnesses might be credited, he might have thirty men of honest life on his part, against one to the contrary brought in against him. Which witnesses, the bishop said, came too late; for after publication they could not be received by the law. Then Bilney alleging the story of Susan and Daniel, the bishop of London still exhorted him to return to the unity of the church, and to abjure his heresies, and permitted him to go into some secret place, there to consult with his friends, till one o'clock in the afternoon of the same day.

At afternoon, the bishop of London again asked him whether he would return to the church, and acknowledge his heresies. Bilney answered, that he trusted he was not separate from the church; and required time and place to bring in witnesses: which was refused. Then the bishop once again required of him, whether he would return to the catholic church: whereunto he answered, that if they could teach and prove sufficiently, that he was convicted, he would yield and submit himself: and he desired again to have time and space to bring in again his refused witnesses; and other answer he would give none.

Then the bishop put Master Bilney aside, and took counsel with his fellows; and afterwards calling in Master Bilney, asked him again, whether he would abjure? But he would make no other answer than before. Then the bishop, with the consent of the rest, did decree and determine, that it was not lawful to hear a petition which was against the law: and inquiring again, whether he would abjure, he answered plainly, No; and desired to have time to consult with his friends, in whom his trust was. And being once again asked whether he would return, and instantly desired thereunto, or else the sentence must be read, he required the bishop to give

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him licence to deliberate with himself until the next morrow, whether he might abjure the heresies wherewith he was defamed or no. The bishop granted him that he should have a little time to deliberate with Master Dancaster; but Bilney required space till the next morrow, to consult with Master Farmer and Master Dancaster, but the bishop would not grant him his request, for fear lest he should appeal. But at last the bishop, inclining unto him, granted him two nights' respite to deliberate; that is to say, till Saturday at nine o'clock in the forenoon: and then to give a plain determinate answer, what he would do in the premises.

The seventh day of December, in the year and place aforesaid, the bishop of London with the other bishops being assembled, Bilney also personally appeared; whom the bishop of London asked, whether he would now return to the unity of the church, and revoke the errors and heresies whereof he stood accused, detected, and convicted. Who answered, that now he was persuaded by Master Dancaster and others his friends, he would submit himself, trusting that they would deal gently with him, both in his abjuration and penance. Then he desired that he might read his abjuration; which the bishop granted. When he had read the same secretly by himself, and was returned, being demanded what he would do in the premises, he answered, that he would abjure and submit himself; and there openly read his abjuration, and subscribed, and delivered it to the bishop, which then did absolve him, and, for his penance, enjoined him, that he should abide in a prison appointed by the cardinal, till he were by him released: and, moreover, the next day he should go before the procession, in the cathedral church of St. Paul, bareheaded, with a faggot on his shoulder; and should stand before the preacher at Paul's Cross all the sermon time.

Here, forasmuch as mention is made before of five letters or epistles, which this good man wrote to Cuthbert Tonsal, bishop of London, and by the said bishop delivered unto the registrars, we thought good to insert certain thereof, such as could come to our hands: the copy of which letters, as they were written by him in Latin, because they are in the former edition to be seen and read in the same Latin wherein he wrote them, it shall suffice in this book to express the same only in English. Concerning the first epistle, which containeth the whole story of his conversion, and seemeth more effectual in the Latin than in the English; we have exhibited it in the second edition, and therefore here have only made mention of the same briefly. The same in English is as followeth

"To the reverend father in Christ, Cuthbert, bishop of London, Thomas Bilney wisheth health in Christ, with all submission due unto such a prelate:

"In this behalf, most reverend father in Christ, I think myself most happy that it is my chance to be called to examination before your Reverence, for that you are of such wisdom and learning, of such integrity of life, which all men do confess to be in you, that even yourself cannot choose, (if you do not too lightly esteem God's gifts in you,) as often as you shall remember the great things which God hath done unto you, but straightways secretly in your heart, to his high praise, say, He that is mighty hath done great things unto me, and holy is his name. I rejoyce that I have now happened upon such a judge, and with all my heart give thanks unto God, who ruleth all things.

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"And albeit (God is my witness) I know not myself guilty of any error in my sermons, neither of any heresy or sedition, which divers do slander me of, seeking rather their own lucre and advantage than the health of souls: notwithstanding I do exceedingly rejoice, that it is so foreseen by God's divine providence, that I should be brought before the tribunal seat of Tonsal, who knoweth as well as any other, that there will never be wanting a Jannes and a Jambres, who will resist the truth; that there shall never be lacking some Elymas, who will go about to subvert the straight ways of the Lord; and finally, that some Demetriuses, Pithonises, Balaams, Nicolaitans, Cains, and Ishmaels, will be always at hand, which will greedily hunt and seek after that which pertaineth unto themselves, and not that which pertaineth to Jesus Christ. How can it then be, that they can suffer Christ to be truly and sincerely preached? for if the people begin wholly in every place once to put their confidence in Christ, which was for them crucified, then straight-ways that which they have hitherto embraced instead of Christ, shall utterly decay in the hearts of the faithful.

"Then they shall understand that Christ is not in this place, or in that place, but the kingdom of God to be in themselves. Then shall they plainly see, that the Father is not to be worshipped, neither in the mount of Samaria, nor at Jerusalem, but in all places, in spirit and in truth: which thing if it come once to pass, the beasts of the field will think all their gain and lucre lost. In whom the saying of Ezekiel is fulfilled: My sheep are dispersed because they had no shepherd, and are devoured of the beast of the field, and strayed abroad: my flock hath erred and wandered in every mountain, and upon every high hill, and is dispersed throughout all the earth; and there is no man which hath sought to gather them together; no, there was no man which once sought after them. But if any man would seek to reduce those which were gone astray, into the fold of Christ, that is, the unity of faith, by and by there rise up certain against him, which are named pastors, but indeed are wolves; which seek no other thing of their flock, but the milk, wool, and flesh, leaving both their own souls, and the souls of their flock, unto the devil.

"These men, I say, rise up like unto Demetrius, crying out, This heretic dissuadeth and seduceth much people every where, saying, that they are not gods which are made with hands. These are they, these I say, most reverend father! are they, which, under the pretence of persecuting heretics, follow their own licentious lives; enemies unto the cross of Christ, which can suffer and bear any thing rather than the sincere preaching of Christ crucified for our sins. These are they unto whom Christ threateneth eternal damnation, where he saith, Woe be unto you, scribes, Pharisees, and hypocrites! which shut up the kingdom of heaven before men, and you yourselves enter not in, neither suffer those which would enter, to come in. These are they that have come in another way to the charge of souls, as it appeareth; For if any man, saith Christ, come in by me, he shall be saved; and shall come in, and go out, and find pasture. These men do not find pasture, for they never teach and draw others after them, that they should enter by Christ, which alone is the door whereby we must come unto the Father; but set before the people another way, persuading them to come unto God through good works, oftentimes speaking nothing at all of Christ, thereby seeking rather their own gain and lucre, than the salvation of souls: in this point being worse than those which upon Christ (being the foundation) do build wood, hay, and straw. These men confess that they know Christ, but by their deeds they deny him.

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"These are those physicians upon whom that woman that was twelve years vexed with the bloody flux had consumed all that she had, and felt no help, but was still worse and worse, until such time as she came at last unto Christ; and after she had once touched the hem of his vesture, through faith she was so healed, that by and by she felt the same in her body. O mighty power of the most Highest! which I also, miserable sinner, have often tasted and felt, which, before I could come unto Christ, had even likewise spent all that I had upon those ignorant physicians, that is to say, unlearned hearers of confession; so that there was but small force of strength left in me, (which of nature was but weak,) small store of money, and very little wit or understanding: for they appointed me fastings, watchings, buying of pardons, and masses; in all which things (as I now understand) they sought rather their own gain, than the salvation of my sick and languishing soul.

"But at the last I heard speak of Jesus, even then when the New Testament was first set forth by Erasmus; which understanding to be eloquently done by him, and being allured rather by the Latin than for the word of God, (for at that time I knew not what it meant,) I bought it even by the providence of God, as I do now well understand and perceive: and at the first reading (as I well remember) I chanced upon this sentence of St. Paul, (O most sweet and comfortable sentence to my soul!) in 1 Tim. i. 15, It is a true saying, and worthy of all men to be embraced, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners; of whom I am the chief and principal. This one sentence, through God's instruction and inward working, which I did not then perceive, did so exhilarate my heart, being before wounded with the guilt of my sins, and being almost in despair, that immediately I felt a marvellous comfort and quietness, insomuch that my bruised bones leaped for joy.

"After this, the Scripture began to be more pleasant unto me than the honey or the honeycomb; wherein I learned, that all my travails, all my fasting and watching, all the redemption of masses and pardons, being done without trust in Christ, who only saveth his people from their sins; these, I say, I learned to be nothing else but even (as St. Augustine saith) a hasty and swift running out of the right way; or else much like to the vesture made of fig leaves, wherewithal Adam and Eve went about in vain to cover themselves, and could never before obtain quietness and rest, until they believed in the promise of God, that Christ, the seed of the woman, should tread upon the serpent's head: neither could I be relieved or eased of the sharp stings and bitings of my sins, before I was taught of God that lesson which Christ speaketh of in John iii.: Even as Moses exalted the serpent in the desert, so shall the Son of man be exalted, that all which believe on him should not perish, but have life everlasting.

"As soon as (according to the measure of grace given unto me of God) I began to taste and savour of this heavenly lesson, which no man can teach but only God, who revealed the same unto Peter, I desired the Lord to increase my faith; and at last I desired nothing more, than that I, being so comforted by him, might be strengthened by his Holy Spirit and grace from above, that I might teach the wicked his ways, which are mercy and truth; and that the wicked might be converted unto him by me, which sometime was also wicked; which thing, whilst with all my power I did endeavour before my lord cardinal and your fatherhood, Christ was blasphemed in me, (and this is my only comfort in these my afflictions,) whom with my whole power I do teach and set forth, being made for us by God his Father, our wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption, and finally our satisfaction; who was made sin for us, (that is to

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say, a sacrifice for sin,) that we, through him, should be made the righteousness of God; who became accursed for us, to redeem us from the curse of the law; who also came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance. The righteous, I say, who falsely judge and think themselves so to be, (for all men have sinned, and lack the glory of God, whereby he freely forgiveth sins unto all believers, through the redemption which is in Christ Jesus,) because that all mankind was grievously wounded in him who fell amongst thieves, between Jerusalem and Jericho. And therefore, with all my whole power, I teach, that all men should first acknowledge their sins, and condemn them, and afterwards hunger and thirst for that righteousness whereof St. Paul speaketh, The righteousness of God, by faith in Jesus Christ, is upon all them which believe in him; for there is no difference: all have sinned, and lack the glory of God, and are justified freely through his grace, by the redemption which is in Jesus Christ: the which whosoever doth hunger or thirst for, without doubt they shall at length be so satisfied, that they shall not hunger and thirst for ever.

"But, forasmuch as this hunger and thirst was wont to be quenched with the fulness of man's righteousness, which is wrought through the faith of our own elect and chosen works; as pilgrimages, buying of pardons, offering of candles, elect and chosen fasts, and oftentimes superstitious; and finally all kind of voluntary devotions, (as they call them,) against which God's word speaketh plainly in Dent. iv. 2, saying, Thou shalt not do that which seemeth good unto thyself; but that which I command thee for to do, that do thou, neither adding to, neither diminishing any thing from it. Therefore, I say, oftentimes I have spoken of those works, not condemning them, (as I take God to be my witness,) but reprovng their abuse; making the lawful use of them manifest even unto children; exhorting all men not so to cleave unto them, that they, being satisfied therewith, should loathe or wax weary of Christ, as many do: in whom I bid your fatherhood most prosperously well to fare.

"And this is the whole sum. If you will appoint me to dilate more at large the things here touched, I will not refuse to do it, so that you will grant me time (for to do it out of hand I am not able for the weakness of my body); being ready always, if I have erred in any thing, to be better instructed."

Another letter of Master Thomas Bilney, to Cuthbert Tonsal, bishop of London.

"Albeit I do not remember, reverend father in Christ! whether I have either spoken or written that the gospel hath not been sincerely preached now of long time, which your Lordship seemeth to have gathered, either by some Momus and sinister hearers of my sermons, who (like Malchus, having their right ear cut off) only bring their left ear to sermons; or else by some words or writings of mine, which have rashly passed me, rather than upon any evil intent; yet, forasmuch as in this behalf your Reverence doth command me, and that of a good mind I trust, (for how can I think in Tonsal any craft or doubleness to dwell?) I will briefly declare unto you what I have learned of God, through Christ, in the Scriptures; and how that the doctors, even of great fame and renown, have not taught the same of late in their sermons; referring, or rather submitting, all things unto your fatherly judgment, which is more quick and sharp than that it can by any means be blinded; and so sincere, that it will not in any point seek slander or discord. Therefore I do confess, that I have often been afraid that Christ hath not been purely preached now a long time: for who hath been now, a long season, offended through him? Who hath now

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these many years suffered any persecution for the gospel's sake? Where is the sword which he came to send upon the earth? And finally, where are the rest of the sincere and uncorrupt fruits of the gospel? which, because we have not a long time seen, is it not to be feared, that the tree which bringeth forth those fruits hath now a long time been wanting in our region or country? Much less is it to be believed, that it hath been nourished amongst us. Have we not seen all things quiet and peaceable a long time? But what saith the church? My grief most bitter is turned to peace, &c. But the malignant church saith, Peace, peace; and there is no peace, but only that whereof it is written, When the mighty armed man keepeth his gates, he possesseth all things in quiet; but when he seeth that he shall be vanquished of a stronger than he himself is, he spoileth and destroyeth all things.

"What now-a-days beginneth again to be attempted, I dare not say. God grant us grace that we do not refuse and reject (if it be Christ) him that cometh unto us, lest that we do feel that terrible judgment against us: Because, saith he, they have not received the love of truth, that they might be saved; therefore God will send upon them the blindness of error, that they shall give credit unto lies. O terrible sentence, (which God knoweth whether a great number have not already incurred,) That all they might be judged which have not given credit unto the truth, but consented unto iniquity. The time shall come, saith he, when that they will not suffer the true doctrine to be preached."

"And what shall we then say of that learning, which hath now so long time reigned and triumphed, so that no man hath once opened his mouth against it? shall we think it sound doctrine? Truly iniquity did never more abound, nor charity was ever so cold. And what should we say to be the cause thereof? Hath the cause been for lack of preaching against the vices of men, and exhorting to charity? That cannot be, for many learned and great clerks sufficiently can witness to the contrary. And yet, all these notwithstanding, we see the life and manners of men do greatly degenerate from true Christianity, and seem to cry out indeed, that it is fulfilled in us, which God in times past threatened by his prophet Amos, saying, Behold, the day shall come, saith the Lord, that I will send hunger upon the earth: not hunger of bread, neither thirst of water, but of hearing the word of God. And the people shall be moved from sea to sea, and from the west unto the east; and shall run about seeking for the word of God, but shall not find it. In those days the fair virgins and young men shall perish for thirst, &c.

"But now, to pass over many things whereby I am moved to fear that the word of God hath not been purely preached, this is not the least argument, that they which come, and are sent, and endeavour themselves to preach Christ truly, are evil spoken of for his name, which is the rock of offence, and stumbling-block unto them which stumble upon his word, and do not believe on him on whom they are builded.

"But you will ask, Who are those men, and what is their doctrine? Truly, I say, whosoever entereth in by the door, Christ, into the sheepfold: which thing all such men shall do, as seek nothing else but the glory of God, and salvation of souls. Of all such it may be truly said, that whom the Lord sendeth, he speaketh the word of God. And why so? Because he representeth the angel of the church of Philadelphia, unto whom St. John writeth, saying, This saith he which is holy and true; which hath the keys of David; which openeth and no man shutteth; shutteth and no man openeth. Behold, saith he, (speaking in the name of Christ, which is the door and door-

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keeper,) I have set before thee an open door, that is to say, of the Scriptures, opening thy senses, that thou shouldest understand the Scriptures; and that, because thou hast entered in by me which am the door: For whosoever entereth in by me, which am the door, shall be saved; ye shall go in and come out, and find pasture: for the door-keeper openeth the door unto him, and the sheep hear his voice. But contrariwise, they which have not entered in by the door, but have climbed in some other way, by ambition, avarice, or desire of rule, they shall even in a moment go down into hell, except they repent. And by them is the saying of Jeremy verified; All beauty is gone away from the daughter of Zion, because her princes are become like rams, not finding pasture. And why so? because like thieves and robbers they have climbed another way, not being called nor sent.

"And what marvel is it if they do not preach, when they are not sent, but run for lucre; seeking their own glory, and not the glory of God, and salvation of souls? And this is the root of all mischief in the church, that they are not sent inwardly of God; for without this inward calling it helpeth nothing, before God, to be a hundred times elect, and consecrate by a thousand bulls, either by pope, king, or emperor. God beholdeth the heart, whose judgments are according to truth, howsoever we deceive the judgment of men for a time; which also at the last shall see their abomination. This, I say, is the original of all mischief in the church, that we thrust in ourselves into the charge of souls, whose salvation and the glory of God (which is, to enter in by the door) we do not thirst nor seek for, but altogether our own lucre and profit.

"Hereupon it cometh, that we know not how to preach Christ purely; For how should they preach Christ, saith the apostle, except they be sent? for otherwise many thieves and robbers do preach him, but with their lips only, for their heart is far from him: neither yet do we suffer those which do know how to preach, but persecute them, and go about to oppress the Scriptures now springing, under the pretence of godliness; fearing, as I suppose, lest the Romans should come and take our place. Ah! thou wicked enemy Herod! why art thou afraid Christ should come? He taketh not away mortal and earthly kingdoms, which giveth heavenly kingdoms. O blindness! O our great blindness! yea, more than that of Egypt; of which if there be any that would admonish the people, by and by saith Pharaoh, Moses and Aaron! why do ye cause the people to cease from their labours? and truly called their labours. Get you to your burdens. Lay more work upon them, and cause them to do it, that they hearken not unto lies. Thus the people was dispersed throughout all the land of Egypt, to gather up chaff; I say, to gather up chaff. Who shall grant unto us, that God shall say, I have looked down, and beholden the affliction of my people which is in Egypt, and have heard their sighs, and am come down to deliver them? But whither hath this zeal carried me? whether after knowledge or not, I dare not say: it appertaineth to you, reverend father! to judge thereupon.

"Now you do look that I should show unto you at large, (as you write,) how that they ought sincerely to preach, to the better edifying hereafter of your flock. Here, I confess, I was afraid that you had spoken in some derision, until that I well perceived that you had written it with your own hand.

Then again I began to doubt, for what intent Tonsal should require that of Bilney: an old soldier, of a young beginner; the chief pastor of London, of a poor silly sheep. But for what intent soever you did it, I trust it was of a good mind; and albeit that I am weak of body, yet,

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through the grace of Christ given unto me, I will attempt this matter, although it do far pass my power: under the which burden if I be oppressed, yet I will not deceive you, for that I have promised nothing but a prompt and ready will to do that which you have commanded.

"As touching that pertaineth to preaching of the gospel, I would to God you would give me leave privately to talk with you, that I might speak freely that which I have learned in the Holy Scriptures for the consolation of my conscience; which if you will so do, I trust you shall not repent you. All things shall be submitted unto your judgment; who (except I be utterly deceived) will not break the reed that is bruised, and put out the flax that is smoking; but rather, if I shall be found in any error, (as indeed I am a man,) you, as spiritual, shall restore me through the spirit of gentleness, considering yourself, lest that you also be tempted: for every bishop, which is taken from among men, is ordained for men, not violently to assault those which are ignorant, and do err; for he himself is compassed in with infirmity, that he, being not void of evils, should learn to have compassion upon other miserable people.

"I desire you that you will remember me tomorrow, that by your aid I may be brought before the tribunal seat of my lord cardinal; before whom I had rather stand, than before any of his deputies.

Yours, THOMAS BILNEY."

A letter of Master Bilney, to Tonsal, bishop of London, fruitful and necessary for all ministers to read.

"Most reverend father! salutations in Christ. You have required me to write unto you at large, wherein men have not preached as they ought, and how they should have preached better. This is a burden too heavy for my strength, under the which if I shall faint, it belongeth to you, which have laid this burden upon my shoulders, to ease me thereof. As touching the first part, they have not preached as they ought, which, leaving the word of God, have taught their own traditions; of the which sort there are not a few, as it is very evident, in that they do report those which preach the word of God sincerely, to teach new doctrine. This is also no small testimony thereof, that in all England you shall scarce find one or two that are mighty in the Scriptures; and what marvel is it, if all godly things do seem new unto them unto whom the gospel is new and strange, being nursed in men's traditions now a long time? Would to God these things were not true which I utter unto you! but alas, they are too true.

"They have also preached evil, which either have wrested the Scriptures themselves, or have rashly gathered them out of old rotten papers, being wrested by others: and how should it be but that they should wrest them, or else how should they judge them, being falsely interpreted by others, when they have not once read over the Bible orderly? Of this sort there is truly a very great number, from which number many great rabbins or masters shall hardly excuse themselves; whom the people have hitherto revered instead of gods. And these are they that now serve their bellies, seeking their own glory, and not the true glory of God, which might be set forth even by Balaam's ass; much less then ought we to condemn such abjects, which preach the word of God. We have, saith St. Paul, this treasure in briclike vessels, that the glory of the power might be of God, and not of us. God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; and the weak things God hath chosen to confound the mighty; and vile things of the world, and

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despised, hath he chosen, and things that are not, to bring to nought things that are, that no flesh should glory in his sight. But now all men in a manner will be wise, and therefore they are ashamed of the simple gospel; they are ashamed truly to say with Paul, and to perform it indeed, I brethren, when I came unto you, did not come with excellency of words, or of wisdom, preaching the testimony of Christ; for I esteemed not myself to know any thing amongst you, but only Jesus Christ, and him crucified. O voice of a true evangelist! But now we are ashamed of this foolish preaching, by the which it hath pleased God to save all those that believe in him; and being puffed up with our own fleshly mind, we choose rather proudly to walk in those things which we have not seen, preaching fables and lies, and not the law of God, which is undefiled, converting souls.

"But how should they teach the law of God, which they have not once read in the books, much less learned at the mouth of God? But in a pastor and a bishop this is required: Thou, son of man! saith God, lay up in thy heart all my words which I do speak unto thee, &c.: and shortly after he saith, Thou, son of man! I have ordained and given thee a watchman unto the house of Israel. I have given thee, saith he; not coming in by ambition, nor thrusting in thyself, nor climbing in another way, but I gave thee when thou lookedst not for it, that thou shouldst attend thereupon, and give warning from the top of the watch-tower, if any enemies should approach. I have given thee unto the house of Israel, and not the house of Israel unto thee, that thou shouldst acknowledge thyself to be the servant of the sheep, and not their lord; for I have not given the sheep for the shepherd, but the shepherd for the sheep. He that sitteth down, is greater than he that doth minister and serve unto him: which thing was well known of him who truly said, We are your servants for Christ's cause.

"But for what purpose have I given thee unto the house of Israel? — that thou shouldst only minister the sacraments? consecrate wood, stones, and churchyards? (This, I take God to witness, with great sighs and groans I write unto you, pouring out before you the grief of my heart.) No, truly. What then? First followeth the office of the bishop, Thou shalt hear the word out of my mouth. This is but a short lesson, but such as all the world cannot comprehend, without they be inwardly taught of God.

"And what else meaneth this, Out of my mouth thou shalt hear the word, but that thou shalt be taught of God? Therefore as many as are not taught of God, although they be ever so well exercised in the Scriptures by man's help, yet are they not watchmen given by God; and much less they that do not understand and know the Scriptures. And therefore such as these be, lest they should keep silence, and say nothing, are always harping upon the traditions and doctrines of men, that is, lies: for he that speaketh of himself, speaketh lies. Of these it is written, They would be doctors of the law, not understanding what they speak, neither of whom they speak. Such of necessity they must all be, who speak that with their mouth, which they do not believe, because they are not inwardly taught of God, neither are persuaded in their hearts that it is true: and therefore they are to be accounted as sheep, although they boast themselves to be shepherds. But contrariwise, touching the true and learned pastors given by God, it may be truly said, We speak that which we know, and that which we have seen (even with the infallible eyes of our faith) we do witness: and these are neither deceived, neither do deceive. Moreover, the deceivers proceed to worse and worse, erring themselves, and bringing others also to error; and because they are of the world, the world doth willingly hear them. They are of the world, saith

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St. John, and therefore they speak those things which are of the world, and the world giveth ear unto them.

"Behold, reverend father! this is the touchstone of our daily preaching. Hath not the world given ear unto them now a long time with great pleasure and delight? But the flesh could never suffer the preaching of the cross, nor yet the wisdom of the flesh, which is an enemy unto God, neither is subject unto his law, nor can be. And why then are they accused to be heretics and schismatics, who will not seek to please men, but only to their edifying? being mindful of that place of Scripture, God hath dispersed the bones of them which please men, saying unto them, Speak unto us pleasant things. But now, letting these matters pass, we will come unto the second point, wherein you ask how a man should preach better? Forsooth, if we had heard Him of whom the Father spake, saying, This is my dearly beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased, hear him; who also, speaking of himself, said, It was meet that Christ should suffer, and rise again the third day from death, and that in his name repentance and remission of sins should be preached unto all people. What other thing is that, than the same which the other evangelists do write, Go ye into the whole world, and preach the gospel unto every creature: he that believeth and is baptized shall be saved? What can be more pleasant, sweet, or acceptable unto afflicted consciences, being almost in despair, than these most joyful tidings?

"But here, whether Christ have been a long time heard, I know not, for that I have not heard all the preachers of England, and if I had heard them, yet till it was within this year or two, I could not sufficiently judge of them. But this I dare be bold to affirm, that as many as I have heard of late preach, (I speak even of the most famous,) they have preached such repentance, that if I had heard such preachers of repentance in times past, I should utterly have been in despair. And to speak of one of those famous men, (not uttering his name,) after he had sharply inveighed against vice, (wherein he pleased every godly man, forasmuch as it could not be sufficiently cried out upon,) he concluded, "Behold," said he, "thou hast lien rotten in thine own lusts, by the space of these sixty years, even as a beast in his own dung, and wilt thou presume in one year to go forward toward heaven, and that in thine age, as much as thou wentest backward from heaven toward hell in sixty years?" Is not this, think you, a goodly argument? Is this the preaching of repentance in the name of Jesus? or rather to tread down Christ with antichrist's doctrine? For what other thing did he speak in effect, than that Christ died in vain for thee? He will not be thy Jesus or Saviour; thou must make satisfaction for thyself, or else thou shalt perish eternally! Then doth St. John lie, who saith, Behold the Lamb of God! which taketh away the sins of the world; and in another place, His blood hath cleansed us from all our sins; and again, He is the propitiation for the sins of the whole world: besides an infinite number of other places. What other thing is this, than that which was spoken by the Holy Ghost, by the mouth of Peter, saying, There shall be false teachers that shall deny the Lord Jesus, who hath redeemed them? And what followeth upon such doctrine of devils, speaking lies through hypocrisy? A conscience despairing, and without all hope, and so given over unto all wicked lusts, according to the saying of St. Paul, After that they be come to this point, that they sorrow no more, they give themselves over unto wantonness, to commit all kind of filthiness, even with a greedy desire. For seeing that it is impossible for them to make satisfaction to God, either they murmur against God, or else they do not believe him to be so cruel, as they do preach and declare him to be.

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"The want of paper will not suffer me to write any more, and I had rather to speak it in private talk unto yourself; whereunto if you would admit me, I trust you shall not repent you thereof: and unto me (Christ I take to my witness) it would be a great comfort, in whom I wish you, with all your flock, heartily well to fare.

"Your prisoner, and humble beadman unto God for you,
THOMAS BILNEY."

Thus have you the letters, the abjuration, and the articles of Thomas Bilney. After this abjuration, made about A.D. 1529, the said Bilney took such repentance and sorrow, that he was near the point of utter despair, as by the words of Master Latimer is credibly testified; whose words for my better discharge, I thought here to annex, written in his seventh sermon preached before King Edward, which be these: "I knew a man myself, Bilney, little Bilney, that blessed martyr of God, who, what time he had borne his faggot, and was come again to Cambridge, had such conflicts within himself, (beholding this image of death,) that his friends were afraid to let him be alone. They were fain to be with him day and night, and comfort him as they could, but no comforts would serve. And as for the comfortable places of Scripture, to bring them unto him, it was as though a man should run him through the heart with a sword. Yet for all this he was revived, and took his death patiently, and died well against the tyrannical see of Rome."

Again, the said Master Latimer, speaking of Bilney in another of his sermons preached in Lincolnshire, hath these words following: "That same Master Bilney, which was burnt here in England for God's word's sake, was induced and persuaded by his friends to bear a faggot at the time when the cardinal was aloft, and bare the swinge. Now when the same Bilney came to Cambridge again, a whole year after, he was in such anguish and agony, that nothing did him good, neither eating nor drinking, nor even any other communication of God's word; for he thought that all the whole Scriptures were against him, and sounded to his condemnation: so that I many a time communed with him (for I was familiarly acquainted with him); but all things whatsoever any man could allege to his comfort, seemed to him to make against him. Yet for all that afterwards he came again. God endued him with such strength and perfectness of faith, that he not only confessed his faith in the gospel of our Saviour Jesus Christ, but also suffered his body to be burned for that same gospel's sake, which we now preach in England," &c.

Furthermore, in the first sermon of the said Master Latimer before the duchess of Suffolk, he, yet speaking more of Bilney, inferreth as followeth "Here I have," said he, "occasion to tell you a story which happened at Cambridge. Master Bilney, or rather Saint Bilney, that suffered death for God's word's sake, the same Bilney was the instrument whereby God called me to knowledge. For I may thank him, next to God, for that knowledge that I have in the word of God; for I was as obstinate a papist as any was in England, insomuch that when I should he made bachelor of divinity, my whole oration went against Master Philip Melancthon, and against his opinions. Bilney heard me at that time, and perceived that I was zealous without knowledge, and came to me afterwards in my study, and desired me, for God's sake, to hear his confession. I did so, and to say the truth, by his confession I learned more than afore in many years. So from that time forward I began to smell the word of God, and forsake the school-doctors, and such fooleries," &c. And much more he hath of the same matter, which ye may see hereafter in the life of Master Latimer.

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By this it appeareth how vehemently this good man was pierced with sorrow and remorse for his abjuration, the space almost of two years; that is, from the year 1529 to the year 1531. It followed then that he, by God's grace and good counsel, came at length to some quiet of conscience, being fully resolved to give over his life for the confession of that truth which before he had renounced. And thus, being fully determined in his mind, and setting his time, he took his leave in Trinity Hall, at ten o'clock at night, of certain of his friends, and said, that he would go to Jerusalem; alluding belike to the words and example of Christ in the Gospel, going up to Jerusalem, what time he was appointed to suffer his passion. And so Bilney, meaning to give over his life for the testimony of Christ's gospel, told his friends that he would go up to Jerusalem, and so would see them no more; and immediately departed to Norfolk, and there preached first privily in households, to confirm the brethren and sisters, and also to confirm the anchoress, whom he had converted to Christ. Then preached he openly in the fields, confessing his fact, and preaching publicly the doctrine which he before had abjured, to be the very truth, and willed all men to beware by him, and never to trust to their fleshly friends, in causes of religion. And so, setting forward on his journey toward the celestial Jerusalem, he departed from thence to the anchoress in Norwich, and there gave her a New Testament of Tyndale's translation, and the Obedience of a Christian Man; whereupon he was apprehended and carried to prison, there to remain till the blind bishop Nie sent up for a writ to burn him.

In the mean season, the friars and religious men, with the residue of their doctors and civil canon, resorted to him, busily labouring to persuade him not to die in those opinions, saying, he should be damned body and soul if he so continued; among whom, first, were sent to him of the bishop, Dr. Call, minister (as they call him) or provincial of the Grey Friars; and Dr. Stokes, an Augustine friar, who lay with him in prison in disputation, till the writ came that he should be burned. Dr. Call, by the word of God, through the means of Bilney's doctrine and good life, whereof he had good experience, was somewhat reclaimed to the gospel's side. Dr. Stokes remained obdurate, and doth yet to this day; whose heart also the Lord (if it be his will) reform, and open the eyes of his old age, that he may forsake the former blindness of his youth. Another great doer against him was one Friar Bird with one eye, provincial of the White Friars. This Bird was a suffragan in Coventry, and afterwards bishop of Chester, and was he that brought apples to Bonner, mentioned in the story of Hawkes. Another was a Black Friar, called Hodgkins, who, after being under the archbishop of Canterbury, married, and afterwards, in Queen Mary's time, put away his wife. These four orders of friars were sent (as is said) to bait Bilney; who, notwithstanding, as he had planted himself upon the firm rock of God's word, was at a point; and so continued unto The end.

But here now cometh in Sir Thomas More, trumping in our way with his painted card, and would needs take up this Thomas Bilney from us, and make him a convert after his sect. Thus these coated cards, though they could not by plain Scriptures convince him, being alive; yet now, after his death, by false play they will make him theirs, whether he will or no. This Sir Thomas More, in his railing preface before his book against Tyndale, doth challenge Bilney to his catholic church, and saith, that not only at the fire, but many days before, both in words and writing, he revoked, abhorred, and detested his heresies before holden. And how is this proved? By three or four mighty arguments, as big as mill-posts, fetched out of Utopia, from whence thou must know, reader, can come no fictions, but all fine poetry.

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First, he saith, that certain Norwich men, writing to London, and denying that Bilney did recant, afterwards, being thereupon examined, were compelled to grant, that he, at his examination, read a bill; but what it was they could not tell, for they stood not so near to hear him. And albeit they stood not so near, yet some of them perceived certain things there spoken, whereby they thought that he did revoke. Some again added to those things spoken certain additions of their own, to excuse him from recantation.

First, to answer hereunto, and to try out this matter somewhat roundly with Master More, let us see with what conveyance he proceedeth in this narration. "At his first examination," saith he, "he waxed stiff in his opinions, but yet God was so good a Lord unto him, that he was fully converted to the true catholic faith," &c. And when might this goodly conversion begin?" Many days," quoth he, "before his burning." Here is no certain day assigned, but many days left at large, that he might have the larger room to walk invisible. Well then, but how many days these could be, I would fain learn of Master More, when he was not many days in their hands; no longer than they could send up to London for a writ to burn him. Belike then shortly after his apprehension, at the first coming of the friars unto him, by and by he revolted. A strange matter, that he, which two years before had lain in such a burning hell of despair for his first abjuration, and could find no other comfort but only in returning to the same doctrine again which before he had denied, utterly resigning himself over to death, and taking his leave of his friends, and setting his face with Christ purposely to go to Jerusalem, voluntarily there to fall into the hands of the scribes and Pharisees for that doctrine's sake, should now so soon, even at the first brunt, give over to the contrary doctrine again. It is not likely. "God was so good a Lord unto him," saith Master More. That God was a good Lord unto him, very true it is: but that God did so turn him indeed, to be a member of that Romish Church, that hath not Master More yet sufficiently proved. To affirm without proof or demonstration in matters of story, it is not sufficient. But what hath been done indeed, that must be proved by good evidence, and special demonstration of witnesses, that we may certainly know it so to be.

It followeth moreover in Master More: "And there lacked not some," saith he, "that were sorry for it." No doubt but if our Bilney had so relented, some would have been very sorry therefore. But what one man in all this sum, in all Norwich, was sorry, that Master More must specify unto us before we believe him; so well are we acquainted with his poetical fictions. But how else should this narration of Master More seem to run with probability, if it were not watered with such additions? He addeth moreover, and saith, "And some wrote out of Norwich to London, that he had not revoked his heresies at all, but still did abide in them." This soundeth rather to come more near to a truth; and here is a knack of Simon's art, to interlard a tale of untruth with some parcel of truth now and then among it, that some things being found true, may win credit to the rest which is utterly false. And why then be not the letters of these Norwich men believed, for the not recanting of Bilney?" Because," saith he, "afterward they, being called to examination, it was there proved plainly to their faces, that Bilney revoked." By whom was it proved?" By those," saith he, "which at his execution stood by, and heard him read his revocation himself," &c. What men were these? or what were their names? or what was any one man's name in all the city of Norwich, that heard Bilney recant? There Master More will give us leave to seek them out if we can, for he can name us none. Well, and why could not the other part hear Bilney read his revocation as well as these?" Because," saith More, "he read so softly that they could not hear him."

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Well, all this admitted, that Bilney read his revocation so softly that some could hear, some could not hear him, then this would be known, what was the cause why Bilney read his revocation so softly; which must needs be either for lack of good will to read, or good voice to utter. If good will were absent in reading that revocation, then it appeareth that he recanted against his own mind and conscience: if it were by imbecility of voice and utterance, then how followeth it, Master More! in this your narration, where you say, that the said persons which could not hear him read the bill, yet, notwithstanding could hear him rehearse certain other things spoken by him the same time in the fire, whereby they could not but perceive well, that he revoked his errors, &c. Ah Master More! for all your powder of experience, do ye think to cast such a mist before men's eyes, that we cannot see how you juggle with truth, and take you tardy in your own narration? unless peradventure you will excuse yourself, *per licentiam poeticam*, after the privilege of poets and painters.

Now if this vein of yours, which so extremely raileth and fareth against the poor martyrs and servants of Christ, be so copious, that you dare take in hand any false matter to prove, and to make men believe, that Bilney died a papist, yet the manner of handling hereof would have required some more artificial conveyance; that men, although they see the matter to be false, yet might commend the workmanship of the handler, which (to say the truth) neither hanged with itself, nor beareth any semblance of any truth. But because Master More is gone and dead, I will cease any further to insult upon him, lest I may seem to incur the same vice of his. Yet forasmuch as his books be not yet dead, but remain alive to the hurt of many, having therefore to do, not with him, but with his book-disciples, this would I know, how hangeth his gear together? Bilney was heard, and yet not heard; he spake softly, and yet not softly! Some said he did recant; some said he did not recant. Over and besides, how will this be answered, that forasmuch as the said Bilney (as he saith) revoked many days before his burning, and the same was known to him at London, then how chanced the same could not be as well known to them of Norwich? who (as his own story affirmeth) knew nothing thereof before the day of his execution; then, seeing a certain bill in his hand, which some said was a bill of his revocation, some other heard it not. All this would be made plain, especially in such a matter as this is, which he knew himself peradventure to be false: at least, he knew would be doubted, suspected, and coutrared of a great multitude.

I pass now to his second reason, where he reporteth that the said Bilney, forthwith upon his judgment and degradation, kneeled down in the presence of all the people, and asked of the chancellor absolution from the sentence of excommunication; holding him well content with his death, which he confessed himself to have deserved, &c.

As touching the patient receiving of his death, I do well assent, although I do not think that he had deserved any such for his doctrine. And as for his kneeling down in the presence of the people, upon his judgment and degradation, as I do not deny that he might so do, so I suppose again the cause of his kneeling not to be unto the chancellor, to ask absolution from his excommunication. And if he were assoiled from his excommunication, yet doth it not thereupon follow that he recanted, no more than before, when he came to Master Latimer in his study, humbly to be confessed and assoiled from his sins, as the blindness of that time then led him. But whether he kneeled down, and was assoiled or no, neither was I there to see him, nor yet Master More himself; and therefore, with the like authority as he affirmeth, I may deny the same, unless

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he brought better demonstration for his assertion than he doth, having no more for himself, but only his own, aūrōs l'qn. And yet nevertheless, admit he did so, being a man of a timorous conscience, of a humble spirit, and not fully resolved touching that matter of the church, yet it followeth not thereby, (as is said,) that he revoked his other articles and doctrine by him before professed.

The like answer may also be shaped to his third reason, where he saith, that certain days after his judgment, he made great labour that he might receive the blessed body of Christ in form of bread, which the chancellor, after a great sticking awhile, at length did grant, perceiving his devotion thereto, &c. Whereunto I answer as before, that it is not impossible, but that Bilney might both hear mass, and desire to receive the sacrament: for in that matter it may be that he was not resolved otherwise than common custom then led both him and many others. Neither do I find in all the articles objected against Bilney, that ever he was charged with any such opinion, concerning either the mass or the sacrament; which maketh me think that he was yet ignorant, and also devout as others then were.

Also fourthly, be it admitted, as Master More saith, that in receiving of the sacrament, he, holding up his hands, should say the collect, *Domine Jesu Christe*: and coming to these words, *Ecclesiæ tuæ pacem et concordiam*, he knocked upon his breast, divers times repeating the same words, &c.: all this being granted to Master More, yet it argueth no necessary alteration of his former doctrine, which he preached and taught before. And yet if I listen here to stand dallying with Master More, in the state inficial, and deny what he affirmeth, how will he make good that which he saith? He saith, that Bilney, kneeling before the chancellor, desired absolution: then, coming to mass fully devoutly, required to receive the body of Christ in form of bread, repeating divers times the words of the collect, *Domine Jesu Christe*, &c. By what argument proveth he all this to be so? Master More in his preface before the book against

Tyndale so saith: ergo it is certain. If Master More had never made fictions in his writings beside, or had never broken the head of verity in so many places of his books as I could show him, then might this argument go for somewhat. But here I ask, Was this Master More present at the judgment of Bilney? No. Or else, what registers had he for his direction? None. Or else, by what witnesses will he avouch this to be certain? Go and seek these witnesses, good reader! where thou canst find them; for Master More nameth none. Only because Master More so saith, *that* is sufficient! Well, give this to Master More: although he hath cracked his credit so often, and may almost be bankrupt, yet let his word go for payment at this time, and let us imagine all to be oracles that he saith; yet nevertheless here must needs remain a scruple: for what will Master More, or (because he is gone) what will his disciples say to this; that if Bilney was before assoiled upon his judgment, (as they pretend,) how was he then afterwards degraded? what assoiling is this, to be forgiven first, and then to be punished after? Again, if he were (as they surmise) converted so fully to the catholic faith, and also assoiled, why then did the chancellor stick so greatly for a while, to housel him with the body of Christ in form of bread? I am sure that if Christ had been here himself in form of his own flesh, he would nothing have stuck to receive him, being so converted at the first. To be short: If Bilney was so graciously reduced to the holy mother the Catholic Church, repenting his errors, and detesting his heresies, and now being in no purgatory, but being a very saint in heaven, as ye say he is, why then did ye burn him

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whom ye yourselves knew should be a saint? Thus if ye burn both God's enemies and God's saints too, what cruel men are you!

But here you will allege perhaps your law of relapse, by the which the first fall is pardonable, but the second fall into heresy is in no case pardonable; for so standeth your law, I grant. But how this law standeth with the true church of Christ, and with his word, now let us reason. For this being a law not of politic or civil government, (where such laws be expedient for public necessity,) but only being a mere law ecclesiastical, what a cruel mother church is this, that will not and cannot forgive her children, rising and repenting the second fault or error committed, but needs must burn their bodies, that their souls may be saved from the painful passion of purgatory, whom nevertheless they know forthwith shall be blessed in heaven! If God do save them, why do you burn them? If God do pardon them, why do you condemn them? And if this be the law of your church, according to your doctrine, to burn them at the second time, though they be amended; how then doth this church agree with the word of Christ, and the nature of his true spouse, which only seeketh repentance and amendment of sinners? which once being had, she gladly openeth her bosom, and motherly receiveth them whensoever they return. Wherefore, if Bilney did return to your church, (as ye did say,) then was your church a cruel mother, and unnatural, which would not open her bosom unto him, but thrust him into the fire, when he had repented.

Furthermore, how will you defend this law by the word of God, who, in express words, teaching all bishops and pastors, by the example of Christ the great bishop of our souls, (being compassed about with temptations, that he might have the more compassion of them that be infirm,) exhorteth all other spiritual persons by the like example, saying, For every bishop which is taken from among men, is ordained for men in things pertaining to God, to offer gifts and sacrifice for sins, that he may be merciful to the ignorant, and to such as err; forasmuch as he himself is compassed about with infirmity, &c. Besides which scripture, add also, that some doctors of the canon law, if they be well scanned, will not deny, but that they which be fallen in relapse, whether it be *vere*, or *ficte*, yet if they earnestly return from their errors before the sentence be given, they may be sent to perpetual prison to some monastery, &c. Wherefore, if Bilney did so earnestly retract and detest his former opinions, so many days (as More saith) before his suffering, then needed not he to suffer that death as he did, but might have been sent to perpetual prison.

Thus, although I need not to stand longer upon this matter, being so plain, and having said enough, yet (briefly to repeat that which before hath been said) this I say again: first, if Thomas Bilney was assoiled from excommunication, and after that heard his mass so devoutly, and at the end of the mass was confessed, and consequently after confession was houseled, and lastly, asked mercy for contemning of the church, as Master More doth bear us in hand, (to see now how this tale hangeth together,) why then did the chancellor stick so greatly to give him the sacrament of the altar, whom he himself had assoiled, and received to the sacrament of penance before; which is plain against the canon law? Again, the said Thomas Bilney, if he were now received to the mother church by the sacraments of penance and of the altar, why then was he afterward degraded, and cut from the church, since the canon permitteth no degradation, but to them only which be incorrigible? Furthermore, the said Bilney, if he, being converted so many days before (as More pretendeth) to the Catholic faith, was now no heretic, how then did the

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sentence pronounce him for a heretic? or finally, how could they, or why would they, burn him being a Catholic, especially since the canon law would bear with him, to be judged rather to perpetual prison in some monastery, as is afore touched, if they had pleased?

Wherefore, in three words to answer to Master More: first, All this tale of his may be doubted, because of the matter not hanging together: secondly, It may also well be denied, for the insufficiency of probation and testimony: thirdly, If all this were granted, yet neither hath Master More any great advantage against Bilney, to prove him to have recanted; nor yet Master Cope against me, which, by the authority of Master More, seeketh to bear me down, and disprove my former story. For be it granted that Bilney, at his death, did hold with the mass, with confession, and with the authority of the Romish Church, being a humble-spirited man, and yet no further brought; yet all this notwithstanding proveth not that he recanted. Forasmuch as he never held nor taught any thing before against the premises, therefore he could not recant that which he never did hold.

For the better demonstration hereof I will recite out of the registers some part of his teaching and preaching, as was objected against him by one Richard Neal, priest; who, amongst other witnesses, deposed against him for preaching in the town of Wilsdon, these words following:

"Put away your golden gods, your silver gods, your stony gods, and leave your offerings, and lift up your hearts to the sacrament of the altar." Also the said Master Bilney said in his sermon, "I know certain things have been offered in such places, which have been afterwards given to abandoned women; and I call them abandoned women, that be naught of their living," &c.

Item, By another witness, named William Cade, it was deposed against him, thus to preach, "Jews and Saracens would have become Christian men long ago, had not idolatry of Christian men been, by offering of candles, wax, or money to the stocks and stones of images, set and standing in the churches," &c.

Item, By the said deponent against Bilney: that "the priests take away the offerings, and hang them about their women's necks: and after that, they take them again from the women if they please them not, and hang them upon the images; and is not that a great relic, when it is hanged there again?"

Item, By the said deponent it was testified against Bilney: that "going on pilgrimage is naught, and that no man should use it, for it were better not, and rather to tarry at home, and give somewhat in alms, and offer your hearts, wills, and minds, to the sacrament, and leave your idolatry to saints."

Item, By William Nelms of Wilsdon, that Bilney should preach, "They gild their gods, and bear them about, and men say they do speak; and if they do speak, it is the devil that speaketh in them, and not God," &c.

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Item, By Thomas Daly of Wilsdon, that Bilney thus preached: "You come hither on pilgrimage to stocks and stones. You do naught; keep you at home, and worship the sacrament at home," &c.

Item, By friar John Huggen, that Bilney thus preached at Ipswich: "The coming of our Saviour Christ was long desired, and by divers and many prophets prophesied, that he should come. But John the Baptist, more than a prophet, did not only prophesy, but with his finger showed, Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world! Then if this were the very Lamb, which John did demonstrate and show, which taketh away the sins of the world, what injury is this bull of the bishop of Rome to our Saviour Jesus Christ, that to be buried in the cowl of St. Francis should or may remit four parts of the penance! What is left to our Saviour Jesus Christ which taketh away the sins of the world? This will I justify to be a great blasphemy against the blood of Christ," &c.

Item, By another friar, Julles, that Bilney thus preached: "I trust there shall and will come others beside me, the which shall show and preach to you the same faith and manner of living that I do, which is the very true gospel of our Saviour, whereby you shall be brought from your errors, wherein you have been so long seduced: for before this, there have been many that have slandered you and the gospel of our Saviour Christ; of whom speaketh our Saviour Christ, Matt. xviii."

Add moreover to these the testimony of Richard Seman, that Bilney in Ipswich should preach these words: "Our Saviour Christ is our Mediator between us and the Father: what then should we need to seek for remedy to any saint inferior to Christ? Wherefore to make such petition to any, but to our Saviour Christ, trusting thereby to have remedy, doth great injury to the blood of Christ, and deformeth our Saviour Christ; like as if a man should take and strike off the head, and set it under the foot, and to set the foot above.

Thus much, being partly touched before, I thought here to insinuate again out of the registers, touching the opinions of Thomas Bilney; whereby may appear the whole sum of his preaching and doctrine to proceed chiefly against idolatry, invocation of saints, vain worship of images, false trust to men's merits, and such other gross points of religion, as seemed prejudicial and derogatory to the blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ. As touching the mass, and sacrament of the altar, as he never varied from himself, so he never differed therein from the most gross catholics. And as concerning his opinion of the Church of Rome, how blind it was at that time, may sufficiently appear by his own hand in Latin, which I have to show, as followeth: "*Credo plerasque leges pontificias utiles esse, necessarias, et ad pietatem quoque plurimum promoventes, nec sacris Scripturis repugnantes, imo ab omnibus plurimum observandas, &c. De omnibus non possum pronunciare, utpote quas non legi, et quas legi, nunquam in hoc legi, ut reprehenderem, sed ut discerem intelligere, ac pro virili facere, et docere. De multiplicitate legum questus est suo tempore St. Augustinus, et item Gearsonus, qui miratur quomodo non post lapsum inter tot laqueos constitutionum tuti esse possimus, quum primi parentes adhuc puri, et ante lapsum, et unicum præceptum non observarint,*" &c. Moreover, concerning the authority of the keys, thus he writeth, answering to his twelfth article, "*Soli sacerdotes, ordinati rite per pontifices, habent claves, quarum virtute ligant et solvunt (clave non errante) quod et facere eos*

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non dubito, quamlibet sint peccatores. Nam sacramentorum efficaciam non minuit, nedum tollit ministrorum indignitas, quamdiu ab Ecclesia tolerantur," &c.

By these words of Bilney, written by him in Latin, although it may be thought how ignorant and gross he was, after the rudeness of those days, yet by the same, notwithstanding, it may appear, how falsely he is noted and slandered by Master More, and Cope my friend, to have recanted the articles, which he did never hold or maintain otherwise in all his life. And therefore, (as I said,) though it be granted to Master More, or in his absence to my friend Cope, that Bilney was assoiled, was confessed, and houseled before his burning, yet all this argueth not that he recanted.

Now that I have sufficiently, I trust, put off the reasons of Master More and others, whereby they pretend falsely to face us out, that Bilney the second time again recanted at his death, it remaineth, on the other part, that I likewise do infer my probations, whereby I have to argue and convince, that Bilney did not the second time recant, as he is untruly slandered. And first, I will begin even with the words and testimony of Master More's own mouth, who, being lord chancellor, when message was sent to him for a writ of discharge to burn Bilney, spake in this wise to the messengers that came, "Go your ways," saith he, "and burn him first; and then afterwards come to me for a bill of my hand." Which words may give us evidence enough, that Bilney was not thought then to have recanted, for then the lord chancellor would not have been so greedy and hasty, no doubt, to have him despatched. And how standeth this with Master More's words now, which beareth us in hand, that he recanted many days before his burning?

The like evidence we may also take by the verdict of the bishop himself that burned him, whose words were these, (after he had burned him, and then heard tell of Doctor Shaxton,) "Christ's mother!" said he, (that was his oath,) "I fear I have burnt Abel and let Cain go," &c.; as who would say, "I had thought before, that I had punished Cain, and let Abel go; but now I fear I have burnt Abel, and let Cain escape." Hereby it is plain to understand what the bishop's judgment of Bilney, before his burning; that is, that he was a Cain, and the other an Abel: but after the burning of Bilney, the bishop hearing now of Shaxton, turneth his judgment, and correcteth himself, swearing now the contrary; that is, lest he had burned Abel, and let Cain go.

Furthermore, where the bishop feared, in burning Bilney, that he had burned Abel, what doth this fear of the bishop import, but a doubting of his mind uncertain? for who feareth that whereof he is sure? Wherefore the case is plain, that Bilney at his burning did not recant, as More reporteth. For then the bishop, knowing Bilney to die a catholic convert, and a true member of the church, would not have feared, nor doubted, but would have constantly affirmed Bilney to have died a true Abel indeed. And to conclude this matter, if Bilney died an Abel, then the bishop, by his own confession, must needs prove himself to be a Cain, which slew him. What more clear probation could we bring, if there were a thousand, or what need we any other, having this alone?

Now, for testimony and witness of this matter to be produced, forasmuch as Master More allegeth none to prove that Bilney at his death did recant, I will assay what testimony I have on the contrary side, to avouch and prove that Bilney did not recant.

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And forasmuch as Bilney was a Cambridge man, and the first framer of that university in the knowledge of Christ, and was burned at Norwich, being not very far distant from Cambridge; there is no doubt but that amongst so many friends as he had in that university, some went thither to hear and see him. Of these one was Thomas Allen, then fellow of Pembroke-hall, who, returning the same time from Bilney's burning, declared to Doctor Turner, dean of Wells, being yet alive, (a man whose authority neither is to be neglected, nor credit to be distrusted,) that the said Bilney took his death most patiently, and suffered most constantly, without any recantation for the doctrine which he before had professed.

In the city of Norwich, Necton and many others be now departed, who were then present at the burning of Bilney: nevertheless some be yet alive, whose witnesses, if need were, I could fetch with a little labour, and will (God willing) as time shall require. In the mean time, at the writing hereof there was one Thomas Russel, a right honest occupier, and a citizen of Norwich, who likewise, being there present on horseback at the execution of this godly man, beholding all things that were done, did neither hear him recant any word, nor yet heard of his recantation.

I could also add hereunto the testimony of another, being brother to the archbishop of Canterbury, named Master Baker, a man yet alive, who, being the same time present at the examination of Bilney, both heard him and saw him, when a certain friar called him heretic; whereunto Bilney, replying again, made answer, "If I be a heretic," said he, "then are you an antichrist, who of late have buried a certain gentlewoman with you, in St. Francis's cowl, assuring her to have salvation thereby." Which fact, although the friar the same time did deny, yet this cannot be denied but Bilney spake these words, whereby he may easily be judged to be far from the mind of any recantation; according as by the said gentleman it is also testified, that after that, he never heard of any recantation that Bilney either meant or made.

If I should recite all that here might be brought, I might sooner lack room in my book to contain them, than names enough to fill up a grand jury. But what need I to spend time about witness, when one Master Latimer may stand for a thousand, one martyr to bear witness to another? And though my friend Cope, pressing me with the authority of Master More, saith, that he will believe him before me; yet I trust he will not refuse to credit this so ancient a seignior, Father Latimer, being both in Bilney's time, and also by Bilney converted, and familiarly with him acquainted; who being the same time at Cambridge, I suppose would inquire as much, and could know more of this matter than Master More.

Touching the testimonial of which Latimer I have noted before, how he, in three sundry places of his sermons, hath testified of "good Bilney," of "thatblessed Bilney," of "Saint Bilney;" how he died patiently, "against the tyrannical see of Rome," &c. And in another sermon also, how the said Bilney "suffered his body to be burned for the gospel's sake," &c. Item, in another place, how "the said Bilney suffered death for God's word's sake."

I may be thought perhaps of some to have stayed too long about the discourse of this matter; but the caused that moved, and half constrained, me thereunto, was Sir Thomas More, sometime lord chancellor of England, and now a great arch-pillar of all our English papists; a man otherwise of a pregnant wit, full of pleasant conceits; also for his learning above the common sort of his estate: esteemed industrious no less in his studies, than well exercised in his

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pen; who, if he had kept himself in his own shop, and applied the faculty, being a layman, whereunto he was called, and had not overreached himself to prove masteries in such matters wherein he had little skill, less experience, and which pertained not to his profession, he had deserved not only much more commendation, but also longer life.

But forasmuch as he, not contented with his own vocation, hath, with Uzzah, reached out his unmeet hand to meddle with God's ark-matters, wherein he had little cunning; and while he thinketh to help religion, destroyeth religion, and is an utter enemy to Christ, and to his spiritual doctrine, and his poor afflicted church: to the intent therefore that he, being taken for a special ringleader and a chief stay in the pope's church, might the better be known what he is, and that the ignorant and simple may see what little credit is to be given unto him, as well in his other false facing out of matters, as namely in this present history of Bilney's recantation, I have diligently searched out and procured the true certificate of Master Bilney's burning, with all the circumstances and points thereto belonging, testified not by somesays and by hearsays, (as Master More useth,) but truly witnessed, and faithfully recorded, by one, who, as in place and degree he surmounteth the estate of Master More, (though he were lord chancellor,) so being also both a spiritual person, and there present the same time, coming for the same purpose the day before to see his burning, was a present beholder of things there done, αυτοπτης και μαρτυς [Greek:autoptes kai martys] of his martyrdom, whose credit I am sure will counterpoise with the credit of Master More. The order of which martyrdom was this as followeth:

Thomas Bilney, after his examination and condemnation before Dr. Pelles, doctor of law, and chancellor, first was degraded by suffragan Underwood, according to the custom of their popish manner, by the assistance of all the friars and doctors of the same suit. Which done, he was immediately committed to the lay power, and to the two sheriffs of the city, of whom Thomas Necton was one. This Thomas Necton was Bilney's special good friend, and sorry to accept him to such execution as followed; but such was the tyranny of that time, and dread of the chancellor and friars, that he could no otherwise do, but needs must receive him: who notwithstanding, as he could not bear in his conscience himself to be present at his death, so, for the time that he was in custody, he caused him to be more friendly looked unto, and more wholesomely kept concerning his diet, than he was before.

After this, the Friday following, at night, which was before the day of his execution, being St. Magnus' day, and on Saturday, the said Bilney had divers of his friends resorting unto him in the Guildhall, where he was kept. Amongst whom, one of the said friends, finding him eating of an ale-brew with such a cheerful heart and quiet mind as he did, said, that he was glad to see him at that time, so shortly before his heavy and painful departure, so heartily to refresh himself. Whereunto he answered, "O," said he, "I follow the example of the husbandmen of the country, who, having a ruinous house to dwell in, yet bestow cost as long as they may, to hold it up. And so do I now with this ruinous house of my body, and with God's creatures, in thanks to him, refresh the same as ye see." Then, sitting with his said friends in godly talk to their edification, some put him in mind, that though the fire, which he should suffer the next day, should be of great heat unto his body, yet the comfort of God's Spirit should cool it to his everlasting refreshing. At this word the said Thomas Bilney, putting his hand toward the flame of the candle burning before them, (as also he did divers times besides,) and feeling the heat thereof, "O," (said he,) "I feel by experience, and have known it long by philosophy, that fire, by

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God's ordinance, is naturally hot: but yet I am persuaded by God's holy word, and by the experience of some, spoken of in the same, that in the flame they felt no heat, and in the fire they felt no consumption: and I constantly believe, that howsoever the stubble of this my body shall be wasted by it, yet my soul and spirit shall be purged thereby; a pain for the time, whereon notwithstanding followeth joy unspeakable." And here he much treated of this place of Scripture, "Fear not, for I have redeemed thee, and called thee by thy name; thou art mine own. When thou goest through the water I will be with thee, and the strong floods shall not overflow thee. When thou walkest in the fire, it shall not burn thee, and the flame shall not kindle upon thee, for I am the Lord thy God, the Holy One of Israel." This he did most comfortably treat of, as well in respect of himself, as applying it to the particular use of his friends there present; of whom some took such sweet fruit therein, that they caused the whole said sentence to be fairly written in tables, and some in their books; the comfort whereof, in divers of them, was never taken from them to their dying day.

The Saturday next following, when the officers of execution (as the manner is) with their glaves and halberts were ready to receive him, and to lead him to the place of execution without the city gate, called Bishop's Gate, in a low valley, commonly called The Lollards' Pit, under St. Leonard's hill, environed about with great hills, (which place was chosen for the people's quiet, sitting to see the execution,) at the coming forth of the said Thomas Bilney out of the prison-door, one of his friends came to him, and with few words, as he durst, spake to him, and prayed him in God's behalf to be constant, and to take his death as patiently as he could. Whereunto the said Bilney answered, with a quiet and mild countenance, "Ye see when the mariner is entered his ship to sail on the troublous sea, how he for a while is tossed in the billows of the same, but yet, in hope that he shall once come to the quiet haven, be beareth in better comfort the perils which he feeleth: so am I now toward this sailing; and whatsoever storms I shall feel, yet shortly after shall my ship be in the haven, as I doubt not thereof, by the grace of God, desiring you to help me with your prayers to the same effect."

And so he, going forth in the streets, giving much alms by the way by the hands of one of his friends, and accompanied by one Dr. Warner, doctor of divinity, and parson of Winterton, whom he did choose, as his old acquaintance, to be with him for his ghostly comfort, came at the last to the place of execution, and descended down from the hill to the same, apparelled in a layman's gown, with his sleeves hanging down and his arms out, his hair being piteously mangled at his degradation (a little single body in person, but always of a good upright countenance,) and drew near to the stake prepared; and somewhat tarrying the preparation of the fire, he desired that he might speak some words to the people, and there standing, thus he said: "Good people! I am come hither to die, and born I was to live under that condition, naturally to die again; and that ye may testify that I depart out of this present life as a true Christian man, in a right belief towards Almighty God, I will rehearse unto you in a fast faith the articles of my creed." And then he began to rehearse them in order, as they be in the common Creed, with oft elevating his eyes and hands to Almighty God; and at the article of Christ's incarnation, having a little meditation in himself, and coming to the word "crucified," he humbly bowed himself, and made great reverence; and then proceeding in the articles, and coming to these words, "I believe the catholic church," there he paused, and spake these words: "Good people! I must here confess to have offended the church, in preaching once against the prohibition of the same, at a poor cure belonging to Trinity-hall, in Cambridge, where I was fellow; earnestly entreated thereunto by the

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curate and other good people of the parish, showing that they had no sermon there of long time before: and so in my conscience moved, I did make a poor collation unto them, and thereby ran into the disobedience of certain authority in the church, by whom I was prohibited; howbeit I trust at the general day, charity, that moved me to this act, shall bear me out at the judgment-seat of God:" and so he proceeded on, without any manner of words of recantation, or charging any man for procuring him to his death.

This once done, he put off his gown, and went to the stake, and kneeling upon a little ledge coming out of the stake, whereon he should afterward stand to be better seen, he made his private prayer with such earnest elevation of his eyes and hands to heaven, and in so good and quiet behaviour, that he seemed not much to consider the terror of his death; and ended at last his private prayers with the Psalm, beginning, Hear my prayer, O Lord! consider my desire. And the next verse he repeated in deep meditation thrice: And enter not into judgment with thy servant, for in thy sight shall no man living be justified: and so finishing that Psalm, he ended his private prayers.

After that, he turned himself to the officers, asking them if they were ready, and they answered, Yea. Whereupon he put off his jacket and doublet, and stood in his hose and shirt, and went unto the stake, standing upon that ledge, and the chain was cast about him; and standing thereon, the said Dr. Warner came to him to bid him farewell, who spake but few words for weeping: upon whom the said Thomas Bilney did most gently smile, and inclined his body to speak to him a few words of thanks; and the last were these, "O Master Doctor! Feed your flock, feed your flock; that when the Lord cometh, he may find you so doing." And, "Farewell, good Master Doctor! and pray for me;" and so Warner departed without any answer, sobbing and weeping. And while Bilney thus stood upon the ledge at the stake, certain friars, doctors, and priors of their houses, being there present, (as they were uncharitably and maliciously present at his examination and degradation, &c.,) came to him and said, "O Master Bilney, the people be persuaded that we be the causers of your death, and that we have procured the same, and thereupon it is likely that they will withdraw their charitable alms from us all, except you declare your charity towards us, and discharge us of the matter:" whereupon the said Thomas Bilney spake with a loud voice to the people and said, "I pray you, good people! be never the worse to these men for my sake, as though they should be the authors of my death; it was not they:" and so he ended.

Then the officers put reeds and faggots about his body, and set fire on the reeds, which made a very great flame, which sparkled and deformed the visor of his face; he holding up his hands, and knocking upon his breast, crying sometimes "Jesus!" sometimes, *Credo!* which flame was blown away from him by the violence of the wind, which was that day, and two or three days before, notably great; in which it was said, that the fields were marvellously plagued by the loss of corn; and so, for a little pause, he stood without flame, the flame departing and recoursing thrice ere the wood took strength to be the sharper to consume him; and then he gave up the ghost, and his body, being withered, bowed downward upon the chain. Then one of the officers, with his halberd, smote out the staple in the stake behind him, and suffered his body to fall into the bottom of the fire, laying wood upon it; and so he was consumed.

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Thus have ye, good readers! the true history and martyrdom of this good man; that is, of blessed Saint Bilney, (as Master Latimer doth call him,) without any recantation, testified and ratified by the authority abovesaid: • by which authority and party being there present and yet alive, it is furthermore constantly affirmed, that Bilney not only did never recant, but also that he never had any such bill, or scrip, or scroll, in his hand to read, either softly or apertly, as Master More would bear us down. Wherefore, even as ye see Master More deal in this, so ye may trust him in the residue of his other tales, if ye will.

Master Stafford, of Cambridge.

As the death of this godly Bilney did much good in Norfolk, where he was burned; so his diligent travail, in teaching and exhorting other, and example of life correspondent to his doctrine, left no small fruit behind him in Cambridge, being a great means of framing that university, and drawing divers unto Christ. By reason of whom, and partly also of another, called Master Stafford, the word of God began there most luckily to spread, and many toward wits to flourish; in the company of whom was Master Latimer, Dr. Barnes, Dr. Thistell of Pembroke-hall, Master Fooke of Benet-college, and Master Soude of the same college, Dr. Warner above-mentioned, with divers others more. This Master Stafford was then the public reader of the divinity lecture in that university; who, as he was an earnest professor of Christ's gospel, so was he as diligent a follower of that which he professed, as by this example here following may appear.

For as the plague was then sore in Cambridge, and amongst other a certain priest, called Sir Henry Conjurer, lay sore sick of the said plague, Master Stafford, hearing thereof, and seeing the horrible danger that his soul was in, was so moved in conscience to help the dangerous case of the priest, that he, neglecting his own bodily death, to recover the other from eternal damnation, came unto him, exhorted, and so laboured him, that he would not leave him before he had converted him, and saw his conjuring books burned before his face. Which being done, Master Stafford went home, and immediately sickened, and, shortly after, most Christianly deceased.

Concerning which Master Stafford, this moreover is to be noted, how that Master Latimer, being yet a fervent and a zealous papist, standing in the schools when Master Stafford read, bade the scholars not to hear him; and also, preaching against him, exhorted the people not to believe him: and yet the said Latimer confessed himself, that he gave thanks to God, that he asked him forgiveness before he departed. And thus much by the way of good Master Stafford, who, for his constant and godly adventure in such a cause, may seem not unworthy to go with blessed Bilney, in the fellowship of holy and blessed martyrs.

173. Books Banned by the Papists.

Before the time of Master Bilney, and the fall of the cardinal, I should have placed the story of Simon Fish, with the book called The Supplication of Beggars; declaring how, and by what means, it came to the king's hand, and what effect thereof followed after, in the reformation, of many things, especially of the clergy. But the missing of a few years in this matter breaketh no great square in our story, though that be now entered here, which should have come in six years before. The manner and circumstance of the matter is this:

After that the light of the gospel, working mightily in Germany, began to spread its beams here also in England, great stir and alteration followed in the hearts of many; so that coloured hypocrisy, and false doctrine, and painted holiness, began to be espied more and more by the reading of God's word. The authority of the bishop of Rome, and the glory of his cardinals, were not so high, but such as had fresh wits, sparkled with God's grace, began to espy Christ from antichrist; that is, true sincerity from counterfeit religion: in the number of whom was the said Master Simon Fish, a gentleman of Gray's Inn. It happened the first year that this gentleman came to London to dwell, which was about A.D. 1525, that there was a certain play or interlude made by one Master Roo, of the same inn, gentleman, in which play partly was matter against the Cardinal Wolsey; and when none durst take upon them to play that part which touched the said cardinal, this aforesaid Master Fish took upon him to do it. Thereupon great displeasure ensued against him upon the cardinal's part, insomuch as he, being pursued by the said cardinal the same night that this tragedy was played, was compelled by force to void his own house, and so fled over the sea to Tyndale: upon occasion whereof, the next year following, this book was made (being about the year 1527); and so, not long after, in the year, as I suppose, 1528, was sent over to the Lady Ann Bullen, who then lay at a place not far from the court. Which book her brother seeing in her hand, took it and read it, and gave it her again, willing her earnestly to give it to the king, which thing she so did. This was (as I gather) about A.D. 1528.

The king, after he had received the book, demanded of her who made it: whereunto she answered and said, a certain subject of his, one Fish, who was fled out of the realm for fear of the cardinal. After the king had kept the book in his bosom three or four days, as is credibly reported, such knowledge was given by the king's servants to the wife of the said Simon Fish, that she might boldly send for her husband without all peril or danger: whereupon she, thereby being encouraged, came first and made suit to the king for the safe return of her husband; who, understanding whose wife she was, showed a marvellous gentle and cheerful countenance towards her, asking where her husband was. She answered, "If it like your Grace, not far off." "Then," saith he, "fetch him, and he shall come and go safe, without peril, and no man shall do him harm:" saying moreover, that he had much wrong that he was from her so long; who had been absent now the space of two years and a half. In the which mean time the cardinal was deposed, as is afore showed, and Master More set in his place of the chancellorship.

Thus Fish's wife, being imboldened by the king's words, went immediately to her husband, (being lately come over, and lying privily within a mile of the court,) and brought him to the king; which appeareth to be about A.D. 1530. When the king saw him, and understood he

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was the author of the book, he came and embraced him with loving countenance. Who after long talk for the space of three or four hours, as they were riding together in hunting, the king at length dismissed him, and bade him take home his wife, for she had taken great pains for him; who answered the king again, and said, he durst not so do, for fear of Sir Thomas More, then chancellor, and Stokesley, then bishop of London. This seemeth to be about A.D. 1530.

The king, taking the signet off his finger, willed him to have him recommended to the lord chancellor, charging him not to be so hardy as to work him any harm. Master Fish, receiving the king's signet, went and declared his message to the lord chancellor, who took it as sufficient for his own discharge, but he asked him, if he had any thing for the discharge of his wife? For she, a little before, had by chance displeased the friars, for not suffering them to say their gospels in Latin in her house, as they did in others, unless they would say them in English. Whereupon the lord chancellor, though he had discharged the man, yet not leaving his grudge towards the wife, the next morning sent his man for her to appear before him; who, had it not been for her young daughter, which then lay sick of the plague, had been like to come to much trouble. Of the which plague, her husband (the said Master Fish) deceasing within half a year, she afterwards married one Master James Bainham, Sir Alexander Bainham's son, a worshipful knight of Gloucestershire; the which aforesaid Master James Bainham not long after was burned, as incontinently after, in the process of this story, shall appear.

And thus much concerning Simon Fish, the author of the Book of Beggars, who also translated a book, called The Sum of the Scripture, out of the Dutch.

Now cometh another note of one Edmund Moddis, the king's footman, touching the same matter.

This Master Moddis, being with the king in talk of religion, and of the new books that were come from beyond the seas, said, if it might please his Grace to pardon him, and such as he would bring to his Grace, he should see such a book as it was a marvel to hear of. The king demanded what they were. He said, "Two of your merchants, George Elyot and George Robinson." The king appointed a time to speak with them. When they came before his presence in a privy closet, he demanded what they had to say, or to show him. One of them said, that there was a book come to their hands, which they had there to show his Grace. When he saw it, he demanded if any of them could read it. "Yea," said George Elyot, "if it please your Grace to hear it." "I thought so," said the king, "for if need were thou canst say it without book."

The whole book being read out, the king made a long pause, and then said, "If a man should pull down an old stone wall, and begin at the lower part, the upper part thereof might chance to fall upon his head." And then he took the book, and put it into his desk, and commanded them, upon their allegiance, that they should not tell to any man that he had seen the book, &c.

Against this Book of the Beggars, being written in the time of the cardinal, another contrary book or supplication was devised and written shortly upon the same, by one Sir Thomas More, knight, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, under the name and title of The poor silly Souls pulling out of Purgatory. In the which book, after the said Master More, the writer thereof,

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had first divided the whole world into four parts, that is, into heaven, hell, middle earth, and purgatory; then he maketh the dead men's souls, by a rhetorical prosopopœia, to speak out of purgatory pin-fold, sometimes lamentably complaining of, sometimes pleasantly dallying and scoffing at, the author of the Beggars' Book; sometimes scolding and railing at him, calling him fool, witless, frantic, an ass, a goose, a mad dog, a heretic, and all that naught is. And no marvel, if these simple souls of purgatory seem so fumish and testy; for heat (ye know) is testy, and soon inflameth choler. But yet these purgatory souls must take good heed how they call a man a fool and heretic so often; for if the sentence of the gospel doth pronounce them guilty of hell-fire, who say, "Fool!" it may be doubted, lest those poor, simple, melancholy souls of purgatory, calling this man fool so oft as they have done, do bring themselves thereby out of purgatory-fire to the fire of hell, by that just sentence of the Gospel; so that neither the five wounds of St. Francis, nor all the merits of St. Dominic, nor yet of all the friars, can release those poor wretches! But yet, forasmuch as I do not, nor cannot think, that those departed souls either would so far overshoot themselves, if they were in purgatory, or else that there is any such fourth place of purgatory at all, (unless it be in Master More's Utopia,) as Master More's poetical vein doth imagine, I cease therefore to burden the souls departed, and lay all the wit on Master More, the author and contriver of this poetical book, for not keeping *decorum personae*, as a perfect poet should have done. They that give precepts of art, do note this, in all poetical fictions, as a special observation, to foresee and express what is convenient for every person, according to his degree and condition, to speak and utter. Wherefore if it be true that Master More saith, in the sequel of his book, that grace and charity increase in them that lie in the pains of purgatory, then is it not agreeable that such souls, lying so long in purgatory, should so soon forget their charity, and fall a railing in their supplication so fumishly, both against this man, with such opprobrious and unsuiting terms, and also against John Badby, Richard Hovedon, John Goose, Lord Cobham, and other martyrs of the Lord, burned for his word: also against Luther, William Tyndale, Richard Hun, and other more, falsely belying the doctrine by them taught and defended; which it is not like that such charitable souls of purgatory would ever do, neither were it convenient for them in that case; which indeed, though their doctrine were false, should redound to the more increase of their pain. Again, where the bishop of Rochester defineth the angels to be ministers to purgatory-souls, some will think, peradventure, Master More to have missed some part of his decorum, in making the evil spirit of the author and the devil to be messenger, between middle-earth and purgatory, in bringing tidings to the prisoned souls, both of the book, and of the name of the maker.

Now, as touching the manner how this devil came into purgatory, laughing, grinning, and gnashing his teeth, in sooth it maketh me to laugh, to see the merry antics of Master More. Belike then this was some merry devil, or else had eaten with his teeth some nasturcium before; which, coming into purgatory, to show the name of this man, could not tell his tale without laughing. "But this was," saith he, "an enmious and an envious laughing, joined with grinning and gnashing of teeth." And immediately upon the same, was contrived this scoffing and railing supplication of the puling souls of purgatory, as he himself doth term them. So then, here was enmying, envying, laughing, grinning, gnashing of teeth, puling, scoffing, railing, and begging; and all together to make a very black *sanctus* in purgatory. Indeed we read in Scripture, that there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth in hell, where the souls and bodies of men shall be tormented. But who would ever have thought before, that the evil angel of this man that made the Book of Beggars, being a spiritual and no corporal substance, hath teeth to gnash, and a mouth to

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grin?, But where then stood Master More, I marvel, all this mean while, to see the devil laugh with his mouth so wide, that the souls of purgatory might see all his teeth? Belike this was in Utopia, where Master More's purgatory is founded; but because Master More is hence departed, I leave him with his merry antics. And as touching his book of purgatory, which he hath left behind, because John Frith hath learnedly and effectuously overthrown the same, I will therefore refer the reader to him, while I repair again (the Lord willing) to the history.

After the clergy of England, and especially the cardinal, understood these books of The Beggars' Supplication aforesaid, to be strewed abroad in the streets of London, and also before the king, the said cardinal caused not only his servants diligently to attend to gather them up, that they should not come into the king's hands, but also, when he understood that the king had received one or two of them, he came unto the king's Majesty, saying, "If it shall please your Grace, here are divers seditious persons which have scattered abroad books containing manifest errors and heresies;" desiring his Grace to beware of them. Whereupon the king, putting his hand in his bosom, took out one of the books, and delivered it unto the cardinal. Then the cardinal, together with his bishops, consulted how they might provide a speedy remedy for this mischief, and thereupon determined to give out a commission to forbid the reading of all English books, and namely, this Book of the Beggars, and the New Testament of Tyndale's translation; which was done out of hand by Cuthbert Tonstal, bishop of London, who sent out his prohibition unto his archdeacons with all speed, for the forbidding of that book and divers others; the tenor of which prohibition here followeth

"Cuthbert, by the permission of God, bishop of London, unto our well-beloved in Christ, the archdeacon of London, or to his official, health, grace, benediction. By the duty of our pastoral office, we are bound diligently, with all our power, to foresee, provide for, root out, and put away, all those things, which seem to tend to the peril and danger of our subjects, and specially to the destruction of their souls. Wherefore we, having understanding, by the report of divers credible persons, and also by the evident appearance of the matter, that many children of iniquity, maintainers of Luther's sect, blinded through extreme wickedness, wandering from the way of truth and the catholic faith, craftily have translated the New Testament into our English tongue, intermeddling therewith many heretical articles, and erroneous opinions, pernicious and offensive, seducing the simple people; attempting, by their wicked and perverse interpretations, to profanate the majesty of the Scripture, which hitherto hath remained undefiled, and craftily to abuse the most holy word of God, and the true sense of the same, of the which translation there are many books imprinted, some with glosses, and some without, containing in the English tongue that pestiferous and most pernicious poison dispersed throughout all our diocese of London in great number; which truly, without it be speedily foreseen, without doubt will contaminate and infect the flock committed unto us, with most deadly poison and heresy; to the grievous peril and danger of the souls committed to our charge, and the offence of God's divine Majesty. Wherefore, we, Cuthbert, the bishop aforesaid, grievously sorrowing for the premises, willing to withstand the craft and subtlety of the ancient enemy and his ministers, who seek the destruction of our flock, and with a diligent care to take heed unto the flock committed to my charge, desiring to provide speedy remedies for the premises, do charge you jointly and severally, and by virtue of your obedience straitly enjoin and command you, that by our authority you warn, or cause to be warned, all and singular, as well exempt as not exempt, dwelling within your archdeaconries, that within thirty days' space, whereof ten days shall be for the first, ten for

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the second, and ten for the third and peremptory term, under pain of excommunication, and incurring the suspicion of heresy, they do bring in, and really deliver unto our vicar-general, all and singular such books as contain the translation of the New Testament in the English tongue; and that you do certify us, or our said commissary, within two months after the day of the date of these presents, duly, personally, or by your letters, together with these presents, under your seals, what you have done in the premises, under pain of contempt.

"Given under our seal, the three and twentieth of October, in the fifth year of our consecration, anno 1526."

The like commission, in like manner and form, was sent to the other three archdeacons of Middlesex, Essex, and Colchester, for the execution of the same matter, under the bishop's seal.

The names of the books that were forbidden at this time, together with the New Testament.

The Supplication of Beggars; the Revelation of Antichrist, of Luther; the New Testament of Tyndale; the Wicked Mammon; the Obedience of a Christian Man; an Introduction to Paul's Epistle to the Romans; a Dialogue betwixt the Father and the Son; Christian Economics; The Union of Dissenters; Pious Prayers.; The Babylonish Captivity; John Huss on Hosea; Zwingli on the Anabaptists; On the Education of Children; Brentius on the Government of a State; Luther on the Galatians; On Christian Liberty; Luther's Exposition upon the Lord's Prayer.

Besides these books here before-mentioned, within a short time after there were a great number more of other books in like manner prohibited by the king's proclamation; but yet by the bishop's procurement, A.D. 1529.

The New Testament, in the catalogue above recited, began first to be translated by William Tyndale, and so came forth in print about A.D. 1529, wherewith Cuthbert Tunstall, bishop of London, with Sir Thomas More, being sore aggrieved, devised how to destroy that false, erroneous translation, as he called it. It happened that one Augustine Packington, a mercer, was then at Antwerp, where the bishop was. This man favoured Tyndale, but showed the contrary unto the bishop. The bishop, being desirous to bring his purpose to pass, communed how that he would gladly buy the New Testaments. Packington hearing him say so, said, "My lord! I can do more in this matter than most merchants that be here, if it be your pleasure; for I know the Dutchmen and strangers that have bought them of Tyndale, and have them here to sell; so that if it be your Lordship's pleasure, I must disburse money to pay for them, or else I cannot have them: and so I will assure you to have every book of them that is printed and unsold." The bishop, thinking he had God by the toe, said, "Do your diligence, gentle Master Packington! get them for me, and I will pay whatsoever they cost; for I intend to burn and destroy them all at Paul's Cross." This Augustine Packington went unto William Tyndale, and declared the whole matter, and so, upon compact made between them, the bishop of London had the books, Packington had the thanks, and Tyndale had the money. After this, Tyndale corrected the New Testaments again, and caused them to be newly imprinted, so that they came thick and threefold over into England. When the bishop perceived that, he sent for Packington, and said to him, "How cometh this, that there are so many New Testaments abroad? you promised me that you would buy them all." Then answered Packington, "Surely, I bought all that were to be had: but I perceive they have printed more since. I see it will never be better so long as they have letters

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and stamps: wherefore you were best to buy the stamps too, and so you shall be sure:" at which answer the bishop smiled, and so the matter ended.

In short space after, it fortuned that George Constantine was apprehended by Sir Thomas More, which was then chancellor of England, suspected of certain heresies during the time that he was in the custody of Master More, After divers communications, amongst other things, Master More asked of him, saying, "Constantine! I would have thee be plain with me in one thing that I will ask; and I promise thee, I will show thee favour in all other things, whereof thou art accused. There is beyond the sea, Tyndale, Joye, and a great many of you: I know they cannot live without help. There are some that help and succour them with money; and thou, being one of them, hadst thy part thereof, and therefore knowest from whence it came. I pray thee, tell me, who be they that help them thus?" "My lord," quoth Constantine, "I will tell you truly: it is the bishop of London that hath holpen us, for he hath bestowed among us a great deal of money upon New Testaments to burn them; and that hath been, and yet is, our only succour and comfort." "Now, by my troth," quoth More, "I think even the same; for so much I told the bishop before he went about it."

Of this George Constantine, moreover, it is reported by Sir Thomas More, that he, being taken and in hold, seemed well content to renounce his former doctrine; and not only to disclose certain other of his fellows, but also studied and devised, how these books, which he himself, and other of his fellows, had brought and shipped, might come to the bishop's hands to be burned, and showed to the aforesaid Sir Thomas More, chancellor, the ship-man's name that had them, and the marks of the fardels, by which the books afterwards were taken and burned. Besides this, he is reported also to have disclosed divers of his companions, of whom some were abjured after, some had abjured before; as Richard Necton, who was committed to Newgate upon the same, and is thought there to have died in prison, or else he had not escaped their hands, but should have suffered burning, if the report of Master More be to be credited.

Notwithstanding the same Constantine afterwards, by the help of some of his friends, escaped out of prison over the seas, and after that, in the time of King Edward, was one of them that troubled the good bishop of St. David's, which after, in Queen Mary's time, was burned. But of Constantine enough.

Mention was made, how the bishops had procured of the king a proclamation to be set forth A.D. 1529, for the abolishing of divers books afore-named, and also for the withstanding of all such as taught or preached any thing against the dignity and ordinances of the Church of Rome. Upon this proclamation ensued great persecution and trouble against the poor innocent flock of Christ.

The books which in this proclamation generally are restrained and forbidden, be afterwards in theregister, more specially named by the bishops; whereof the most part were in Latin, as are above recited, and some were in English, as these and others, partly also above expressed:

A Disputation between the Father and the Son; a Book of the old God and new; Godly Prayers; the Christian state of Matrimony; the burying of the Mass; the Sum of the Scripture;

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Mattens and Even-song, Seven Psalms, and other heavenly Psalms, with the Commendations, in English; an Exposition upon the seventh Chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians; the chapters of Moses called Genesis; the chapters of Moses called Deuteronomy; the Matrimony of Tyndale; David's. Psalter in English; the Practice of Prelates; Hortulus animæ, in English; A.B.C. against the Clergy; the Examination of William Thorpe, &c.

Although these books, with all other of the like sort, by the virtue of this proclamation were inhibited to all Englishmen to use or to read; yet licence was granted before to Sir Thomas More, by Tonsal, bishop of London, A.D. 1527, that he, notwithstanding, might have and peruse them; with a letter also sent to him from the said bishop, or rather by the advice of other bishops, desiring him, that he would show his cunning, and play the pretty man, like a Demosthenes, in expugning the doctrine of these books and opinions: who, albeit he was no great divine, yet because he saw some towardness in him by his book of Utopia, and other fine poetry of his, therefore he thought him a meet man for their purpose, to withstand the proceedings of the gospel, either in making some appearance of reason against it, or at least to outface it, and dash it out of countenance. Wherein there lacked on his part neither good will nor labour to serve the bishop's turn, so far forth as all his rhetoric could reach; filling up with fineness of wit, and scoffing terms, where true knowledge and judgment of Scripture did fail; as by his works and writings against Bilney, Tyndale, Frith, Fish, Barnes, Luther, &c., may soon be discerned, if the reasons and manner of his handling be well weighed, and rightly examined with the touchstone of the Scriptures. But now to fall into our story again.

Upon this fierce and terrible proclamation aforesaid, thus devised and set out in the king's name, A.D. 1529, the bishops, which were the procurers hereof, had that now which they would have; neither did there lack on their part any study unapplied, any stone unremoved, any corner unsearched, for the diligent execution of the same: whereupon ensued a grievous persecution, and slaughter of the faithful; of whom the first that went to rack was Thomas Bilney, of whom sufficiently afore hath been said; and the next was Richard Bayfield, as in the story shall shortly follow.

174. Richard Bayfield, Martyr.

Following the order of years and of times, as the course of our history requireth, next after the consummation of Thomas Bilney, we have to treat of the martyrdom of Richard Bayfield, which in the month of November, the same year, which was A.D. 1531, was burned in Smithfield.

This Richard Bayfield, sometime a monk of Bury, was converted by Dr. Barnes, and two godly men of London, brickmakers, Master Maxwell and Master Stacey, wardens of their company, who were grafted in the doctrine of Jesus Christ, and through their godly conversation of life, converted many men and women, both in London and in the country; and once a year, of their own cost, went about to visit the brethren and sisters scattered abroad. Dr. Barnes, at that time, much resorted to the abbey of Bury, where Bayfield was, to one Dr. Ruffam; who had been at Louvaine together students. At that time it happened that this Bayfield the monk was chamberlain of the house, to provide lodging for the strangers, and to see them well entertained; who delighted much in Dr. Barnes's talk, and in the other laymen's talk afore rehearsed; and at last, Dr. Barnes gave him a New Testament in Latin, and the other two gave him Tyndale's Testament in English, with a book called *The Wicked Mammon*, and *The Obedience of a Christian Man*: wherein he prospered so mightily in two years' space, that he was cast into the prison of his house, there sore whipped, with a gag in his mouth, and then stocked; and so continued in the same torment three quarters of a year before Dr. Barnes could get him out; which he brought to pass by the means of Dr. Ruffam aforesaid, and so he was committed to Dr. Barnes, to go to Cambridge with him. By that time he had been there a good while, he tasted so well of good letters, that he never returned home again to his abbey, but went to London, to Maxwell and Stacy, and they kept him secretly a while, and so conveyed him beyond the sea; Dr. Barnes being then in the Fleet for God's word. This Bayfield mightily prospered in the knowledge of God, and was beneficial to Master Tyndale, and Master Frith; for he brought substance with him, and was their own hand, and sold all their works, and the works of the Germans, both in France and in England; and at last, coming to London, to Master Smith's house, in Bucklersbury, there he was betrayed, and dogged from that house to his bookbinder's in Mark Lane, and there taken, and carried to Lollards' Tower, and from thence to the coal-house; by reason that one Parson Patmore, parson of Much Haddam in Essex, then lying in Lollards' Tower, was, in the doctrine and in the kingdom of Christ, there confirmed by him. This Parson Patmore, after long trouble, was abjured and condemned by the bishops to perpetual prison, and delivered afterwards by the king's pardon, as more appeareth in the sequel of his story among abjurers, &c. He was taken because he married his priest in those days. He had always corn in plenty, and when the markets were very dear, he would send plenty of his corn thither, to pluck down the prices thereof.

This Richard Bayfield, being in the coal-house, was worse handled than he was before in the Lollards' Tower; for there he was tied both by the neck, middle, and legs, standing upright by the walls, divers times manacled, to accuse others that had bought his books. But he accused none, but stood to his religion and confession of his faith, unto the very end, and was, in the consistory of Paul's, thrice put to his trial, whether he would abjure or no? He said he would

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dispute for his faith, and so did to their great shame; Stokesley then being his judge, with the assistance of Winchester, and other bishops, wherof here followeth now the circumstance in order to be seen.

The articles laid to Richard Bayfield, by the aforesaid bishops, A.D. 1531, Nov. 10, were these:

"I. That he had been many years a monk professed, of the order of St. Beet, of St. Edmund's Bury, in the diocese of Norwich.

"II. That he was a priest, and had ministered, and continued in the same order the space of nine or ten years.

"III. That since the feast of Easter last, he, being beyond the sea, brought and procured to have divers and many books and treatises of sundry sorts, as well of Martin Luther's own works, as of divers other of his damnable sect, and of Ecolampadius the great heretic, and divers other heretics, both in Latin and English; the names of which books were contained in a little bill written with his own hand.

"IV. That in the year of our Lord 1528, he was detected and accused to Cuthbert, then bishop of London, for affirming and holding certain articles contrary to the holy church, and especially that all laud and praise should be given to God alone, and not to saints or creatures.

"V. That every priest might preach the word of God by the authority of the gospel, and not to run to the pope or cardinals for licence; as it appeared (said they) by his confession before the said bishop.

"VI. That he judicially abjured the said articles before the said bishop, and did renounce and forswear them, and all other articles contrary to the determination of holy church, promising that from thenceforth he would not fall into any of them, nor any other errors.

"VII. That he made a solemn oath upon a book, and the holy evangelists, to fulfil such penance as should be enjoined him by the said bishop.

"VIII. After his abjuration it was enjoined to him for penance, that he should go before the cross in procession, in the parish church of St. Botolph's at Billingsgate, and to bear a faggot of wood upon his shoulder.

"IX. It was enjoined him in penance, that he should provide a habit, requisite and meet for his order and profession, as shortly as he might; and that he should come or go no where without such a habit: the which he had not fulfilled.

"X. That it was likewise enjoined him in penance, that, sometime before the feast of the Ascension then next ensuing his abjuration, he should go home unto the monastery of Bury, and there remain, according to the vow of his profession: which he had not fulfilled.

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"XI. That he was appointed by the said bishop of London to appear before the said bishop, the twenty-fifth of April next after his abjuration, to receive the residue of his penance; and after his abjuration, he fled beyond the sea, and appeared not.

"XII. That the twentieth day of June next following his abjuration, he did appear before the said bishop Tonsal, in the chapel of the bishop of Norwich's place, and there it was newly enjoined him in part of penance, that he should provide him a habit convenient for his order and profession, within eight days then next following: which he had not done.

"XIII. That it was there again enjoined him, that he should depart from the city, diocese, and jurisdiction of London; and no more to come within it, without the special licence of the bishop of London, or his successor for the time being: which he had not fulfilled."

The answer of Richard Bayfield to the articles prefixed.

To the first article he confessed, that he was professed a monk in the monastery aforesaid, A.D. 1514. To the second article he answered, that he was a priest, and took orders, A.D. 1518. To the third article he confessed the bill and schedule to be written with his hand, which is annexed thereunto, and that he brought over the said books and works a year and a half past, and a great number of every sort.

Being further demanded for what intent he brought them into the realm; he answered, "To the intent that the gospel of Christ might be set forward, and God the more glorified in this realm amongst Christian people;" and that he had sold and dispersed many of those books before named, to sundry persons within this realm, and to divers of the diocese of London. Being further demanded, whether Martin Luther were condemned as a heretic by the pope; he answered, that he heard say, that Martin Luther, with all his sect and adherents, were, and are, condemned as heretics by the pope. And being demanded, whether Zuinglius was of Luther's sect; he answered, that he never spake with him. Being asked whether Zuinglius was a catholic; he answered, that he could not tell. Being inquired whether the books contained in the schedules did contain any errors in them; he said, he could not tell, neither could he judge. Also he confessed, that the common fame hath been within these two or three years, that Ecolampadius and Zuinglius be heretics; also that such as lean to Martin Luther be heretics. Also he confessed, that being beyond the sea, he heard say, before he brought into this realm the books contained in the said bills, that the king had by proclamation prohibited, that no man should bring into this realm any of Martin Luther's books or of his sect: which confession thus ended, the bishop appointed him to appear the next day.

Saturday, being the eleventh of November, Richard Bayfield appeared, and acknowledged the answers he made in the session the day before. This thing done, the official objected the fourth article unto him: whereunto he answered, that he could not tell whether there be any heresies in them; for he had read no heresies in them. And being demanded, whether he had read any of those books; he answered, that he had read the greater part of them here and there, but not throughout. He was demanded, whether he believed the aforementioned books to be good, and of the true faith? He answered, that he judged they were good, and of the true faith. Being inquired, what books he read in the realm? he said, that he had read the New Testament in

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Latin, and other books mentioned in the bills; but he read none translated: notwithstanding he did confess that he had read a book called Thorp's, in the presence and audience of others, and also a book of John Frith's purgatory, which he had read to himself alone, as he said; and also had read to himself a book called The Practice of Prelates; and also said, that he had read a book called The Parable of the Wicked Mammon, but in the presence and hearing of others which he knew not. Also he confessed that he had read The Obedience of a Christian Man, and The Sum of Scripture, among company, and also The Dialogue betwixt the Ploughman and the Gentleman, among company, as he thought; also he had read a piece of the answer of Tyndale made to Sir Thomas More; likewise he had read the Dialogue of Frith, to himself: he had read also the prologues of the five books of Moses, contained in the long schedule, and in company, as he thought.

All which books he had read in manner aforesaid within these two years last past, and as for the New Testament in English, he read it before he had these books specified in the schedule before rehearsed.

To the third article, as touching Zuinglius and others, he supposed that they held the same doctrine that Luther did; but that he thought them to vary in some points.

The sixteenth day of November, Richard Bayfield appeared again before the bishop; who inquired of him, of what sect Zuinglius was. He said, he thought that he held with Luther in some points, &c.

Also he confessed, that first he brought books of the sorts abovenamed into this realm, about Midsummer was a twelvemonth, and landed them at Colchester; and afterwards brought part of them to this city; and some he dispersed and sold in this city. The second time that he brought books was about All-Hallowtide was a twelvemonth, and landed them at St. Catharine's; which books the lord chancellor took from him. Also that at Easter last was the third time that he brought over the books now showed unto him, and contained in these two bills, and landed with them in Norfolk, and from thence brought them to the city of London in a mail.

To the fifth, sixth, and seventh articles, he answered and confessed them to be true.

To the eighth he answered, that it was enjoined him as is contained in the article; the which injunction he fulfilled.

To the ninth he answered, that he did not remember it.

To the tenth he answered, that it was enjoined him that he should go to the abbey of Bury, and there continue; the which, he said, he did three times; but he did not wear his monk's cowl, as he was enjoined.

The eleventh article he confessed.

For the twelfth article, "That he did not wear his monk's habit according to the abjuration;" he referred himself to the acts, whether he were so enjoined or no.

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To the thirteenth article he said, that he did not remember the contents thereof, but referred himself to the acts. Notwithstanding he confessed that he had no licence of the bishop of London to come to the city or diocese of London, nor to make any abode there.

The sentence given against Richard Bayfield in a case of relapse.

"In the name of God, Amen. We, John, by the sufferance of God, bishop of London, in a case of inquisition of heresy, and relapse of the same, first begun before Master Richard Foxford, doctor of both laws, our official, now depending before us undecided, against thee, Richard Bayfield, priest and monk, professed to the order and rule of St. Benedict, in the monastery of St. Edmund's Bury, in the diocese of Norwich, and by means of the causes within written under our jurisdiction, and with all favour rightly and lawfully proceeding, with all favour possible, the merits and circumstances of the cause of this inquisition heard, weighed, understood, and fully discussed by us, the said bishop, reserving unto ourselves that which by law ought to be reserved; have thought good to proceed in this manner, to the pronouncing of our definitive sentence.

"Forasmuch as by the acts enacted, inquired, propounded, and alleged, and by thee judicially confessed, we do find that thou hast abjured certain, errors and heresies, and damnable opinions by thee confessed, as well particularly as generally, before our reverend fellow and brother, then thy ordinary, according to the form and order of the church: and that one Martin Luther, together with his adherents and complices, receivers and favourers, whatsoever they be, was condemned as a heretic by the authority of Pope Leo the Tenth, of most happy memory, and by the authority of the apostolic see, and the books, and all writings, schedules, and sermons of the said Master Luther, his adherents and complices, whether they be found in Latin, or in any other languages imprinted or translated, for the manifold heresies and errors, and damnable opinions that are in them, are condemned, reprov'd, and utterly rejected; and inhibition made, by the authority of the said see, to all faithful Christians, under the pain of excommunication, and other punishments in that behalf to be incurred by the law, that no man by any means presume to read, teach, hear, imprint, or publish, or by any means do defend, directly or indirectly, secretly or openly, in their houses, or in any other public or private places, any such manner of writings, books, errors, or articles, as are contained more at large in the apostolic letters, drawn out in form of a public instrument; whereunto, and to the contents thereof, we refer ourselves as far as is expedient, and no otherwise. And forasmuch as we do perceive that thou didst understand the premises, and yet these things notwithstanding, after thy abjuration made, (as is aforesaid,) thou hast brought in, divers and sundry times, many books of the said Martin Luther, and his adherents and complices, and of other heretics, the names, titles, and authors of which books here follow, and are these: Martin Luther, Of the Abrogating of the private Mass; the Declarations of Martin Luther upon the Epistles of St. Peter; Luther upon the Epistles of St. Paul and St. Jude; Luther upon Monastical Vows; Luther's Commentary upon the Epistle of St. Paul to the Galatians; Johannes Œcolampadius, upon the exposition of these words, This is my Body; the Annotations of Œcolampadius upon the Epistles of St. Paul unto the Romans; Œcolampadius's Commentary upon the three last Prophets, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi; the Sermons of Œcolampadius upon the Catholic Epistles of John; a Book of Annotations upon Genesis, gathered by Huldricus Zuinglius; the Commentaries of Pomeran, upon four Chapters of the First Epistle to the Corinthians; Annotations of Pomeran upon Deuteronomy and Samuel;

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Pomeran upon the Psalms; the Commentaries of Francis Lambert of Avignon, upon the Gospel of St. Luke; A Congest of all matters of Divinity, by Francis Lambert; the Commentaries of Francis Lambert upon the Prophet Joel; also the Commentaries of Francis Lambert upon the Prophets Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, and Hosea; a new Gloss of Philip Melancthon upon the Proverbs of Solomon; the Commentaries of Philip Melancthon upon the Epistle of St. Paul to the Colossians; the Annotations of Philip Melancthon upon the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans, and upon the Epistle to the Colossians; Solomon's Sentences, translated according to the Hebrew, by Philip Melancthon; most wholesome Annotations upon the Gospel of St. Mark, by Christopher Hegendorphinus; the Commentaries of John Brentius upon Job; the Commentary of John Brentius upon the Ecclesiastes of Solomon; Homilies of Brentius upon the Gospel of St. John; the Annotations of Andrew Althomarus and Brentius upon the Epistle of St. James; the Commentaries of Bucer upon Zephaniah; Bucer upon the four Evangelists; the Process Consistorial of the Martyrdom of John Huss; a Brief Commendatory of Martin Luther, unto Otho Brunfelsius, as touching the Life, Doctrine, and Martyrdom of John Huss; Felinus upon the Psalter; his Exposition upon Isaiah; his Exposition upon Jeremiah; Capito upon Hosea; Capito upon Habakkuk; the Union of Dissentients; the Pandect of Otho; the Catalogue of famous Men; an Answer of Tyndale unto Sir Thomas More; a Disputation of Purgatory, made by John Frith in English; a Prologue to the Fifth Book of Moses, called Deuteronomy; the First Book of Moses, called Genesis; a Prologue to the Third Book of Moses, called Leviticus; a Prologue to the Fourth Book of Moses, called Numbers; a Prologue to the Second Book of Moses, called Exodus; the Practice of Prelates; the New Testament in English, with an Introduction to the Romans; the Parable of the Wicked Mammon; the Obedience of a Christian Man; A.B.C. of Thorpe's; the Sum of Scripture; the Primer in English; the Psalter in English; a Dialogue betwixt the Gentleman and the Ploughman.

"Of all which kind of books, both in Latin and English, translated, set forth, and imprinted, containing not only Lutheran heresies, but also the damnable heresies of other heretics condemned, forasmuch as thou hast brought over, from the parties beyond the sea, a great number into this realm of England, and specially to our city and diocese of London, and hast procured them to be brought and conveyed over; also hast kept by thee and studied those books, and hast published and read them unto divers men, and many of those books also hast dispersed and given unto divers persons dwelling within our city and diocese of London, and hast confessed and affirmed before our official, that those books of Martin Luther and other heretics his complices and adherents, and all the contents in them, are good and agreeable to the true faith; saying thus, That they are good, and of the true faith; 'and by this means and pretence hast commended and praised Martin Luther, his adherents and complices, and hast favoured and believed their errors, heresies, and opinions: Therefore we, John, the bishop aforesaid, first calling upon the name of Christ, and setting God only before our eyes; by the counsel and consent of the divines and lawyers with whom in this behalf we have conferred, do declare and decree thee, the aforesaid Richard Bayfield, otherwise called Somersam, for the contempt of thy abjuration, as a favourer of the aforesaid Martin Luther, his adherents, complices, favourers, and other condemned heretics, and for commending and studying, reading, having, retaining, publishing, selling, giving, and dispersing the books and writings, as well of the said Martin Luther, his adherents and disciples, as of other heretics before named; and also for crediting and maintaining the errors, heresies, and damnable opinions contained in the said books and writings, worthily to be and have been a heretic; and that thou, by the pretence of the premises, art fallen

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again most damnably into heresy; and we pronounce that thou art and hast been a relapsed heretic, and hast incurred, and oughtest to incur, the pain and punishment of relapse: and we so decree and declare, and also condemn thee thereunto; and that by the pretence of the premises, thou hast even by the law incurred the sentence of the greater excommunication: and thereby we pronounce and declare thee to have been and to be excommunicate, and clearly discharge, exonerate, and degrade thee from all privilege and prerogative of the ecclesiastical orders, and also deprive thee of all ecclesiastical office and benefice: also we pronounce and declare thee, by this our sentence or decree, the which we here promulgate and declare in these writings, that thou art actually to be degraded, deposed, and deprived, as followeth:

"In the name of God, Amen. We, John, by the permission of God, bishop of London, rightfully and lawfully proceeding in this behalf, do dismiss thee, Richard Bayfield, alias Somersam, being pronounced by us a relapsed heretic, and degraded by us from all ecclesiastical privilege, out of the ecclesiastical court, pronouncing that the secular power here present should receive thee under their jurisdiction; earnestly requiring and desiring, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, that the execution of this worthy punishment, to be done upon thee and against thee, in this behalf, may be so moderated, that there be neither overmuch cruelty, neither too much favourable gentleness; but that it may be to the health and salvation of thy soul, and to the extirpation, fear, terror, and conversion of all other heretics, unto the unity of the catholic faith. This our final decree, by this our sentence definitive, we have caused to be published in form aforesaid."

On Monday, the twentieth of November, 1531, in the choir of the cathedral church of St. Paul, before the said John, bishop of London, judicially sitting, being assisted by John, abbot of Westminster; Robert, abbot of Waltham; and Nicholas, prior of Christ's Church, in London; these honourable lords being also present; Henry, earl of Essex; Richard Gray, brother to the marquis of Somerset; John Lambert, mayor of London; Richard Gresham, and Edward Altam, sheriffs (the which mayor and sheriffs were required to be there present by the bishop of London's letters hereafter written, and by virtue of a statute of King Henry the Fourth, king of England); also in the presence of divers canons, the chancellor, official, and the archdeacon of London, with the bishops' chaplains, and a great number both of the clergy and laity; Matthew Grefton, the registrar, being also there present: Master Richard Bayfield, alias Somersam, was brought forth by Thomas Turner the apparitor, his keeper, in whose presence the transumpt of the apostolic bull of Pope Leo the Tenth, upon the condemnation of Martin Luther and his adherents, was brought forth and showed, sealed with the seal of Thomas Wolsey, late legate de Latere, and subscribed with the sign and name of Master Robert Tunnes, public notary; and also the decree upon the condemnation of certain books brought in by him, sealed with the seals of the archbishop of Canterbury, and subscribed by three notaries.

Then the bishop of London repeated in effect before him his abjuration which he had before made, and other his demerits committed and done, besides his abjuration; and the said Bayfield said, that he was not culpable in the articles that were objected against him; and desired that the heresies contained in the books which he brought over, might be declared in open audience. Then the bishop, after certain talk had with the said Bayfield, as touching the desert of his cause, asked him whether he could show any cause why he should not be delivered over unto the secular power, and be pronounced as a relapse, and suffer punishment as a relapse. The said

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Bayfield declared or propounded no cause, but said that he brought over those books for lack of money, and not to sow any heresies. And incontinent the said Bayfield, with a vehement spirit, (as it appeared,) said unto the bishop of London, "The life of you of the spirituality is so evil, that ye be heretics; and ye do not only live evil, but do maintain evil living, and also do let, that what true living is, may not be known;" and said that their living is against Christ's gospel, and that their belief was never taken of Christ's church. Then the said bishop, after long deliberation had, forasmuch as the said Richard Bayfield, he said, could show no cause why he should not be declared a relapse, read the decree and sentence against him; by the which, amongst other things, he condemned him as a heretic, and pronounced him to be punished with the punishment due unto such as fall again into heresy; and by his words did degrade him, and also declared that he should be actually degraded, as is more at large contained in the long sentence.

The aforesaid sentence being so read by the bishop of London, he proceeded immediately to the actual and solemn degrading of the said Richard Bayfield, alias Somersam, and there solemnly and actually degraded him before the people; the which thing being done, he dismissed him by the sentence aforesaid from the ecclesiastical court: whereupon the secular power, being there present, received him into their jurisdiction, without any writ in that behalf obtained, but only by virtue of the bishop's letters, by the statute of King Henry the Fourth, in that behalf provided and directed unto them under the bishop's seal. The tenor of which letters hereafter follow.

"John, by the permission of God, bishop of London, unto our dearly beloved in Christ, the right honourable lord mayor of the city of London, and the sheriffs of the same, health, grace, and benediction. Whereas we have already, by our vicar-general, proceeded in a certain cause of heresy, and relapse into the same, against one Richard Bayfield, alias Somersam, and intend upon Monday next, being the twentieth day of this present month of November, to give a sentence definitive against the said Richard Bayfield, alias Somersam, and to leave and deliver him over unto the secular power; we require you, the lord mayor and sheriffs aforesaid, the king's Majesty's vicegerents, even in the bowels of Jesu Christ, that according to the form and effect of the statute of our most noble and famous prince in Christ our Lord the lord Henry the Fourth, by the grace of God, late king of England, you will be personally present in the choir of the cathedral church of St. Paul, with your favourable aid and assistance in this behalf, the day that the sentence shall be given, and to receive the said Richard Bayfield, alias Somersam, after his sentence so given, to discharge us and our officers; and to do further, according to the tenor and effect of the said statute, as far as shall be required of you, according to the canonical sanctions, and the laudable custom of the famous kingdom of England, in this behalf accustomed. In witness whereof we have set our seal unto this present.

"Dated the 19th day of November, anno 1531, and in the first year of our consecration."

On Monday, the 20th day of November, in the year aforesaid, in the choir of the cathedral church of St. Paul, the bishop of London calling unto him John, abbot of Westminster; Robert, abbot of Waltham; Nicholas, prior of Christ's Church of the city of London; Master John Cox, auditor and vicar-general to the archbishop of Canterbury; Peter Ligham, official of the court of Canterbury; Thomas Baghe, chancellor of the church of St. Paul's; William Cliefe, archdeacon of London; John Intent, canon residentiary of the same; William Briton, Robert Birch, and Hugh Aprice, doctors of both laws, in the presence of us, Matthew Grefton, registrar; Anthony Hussie,

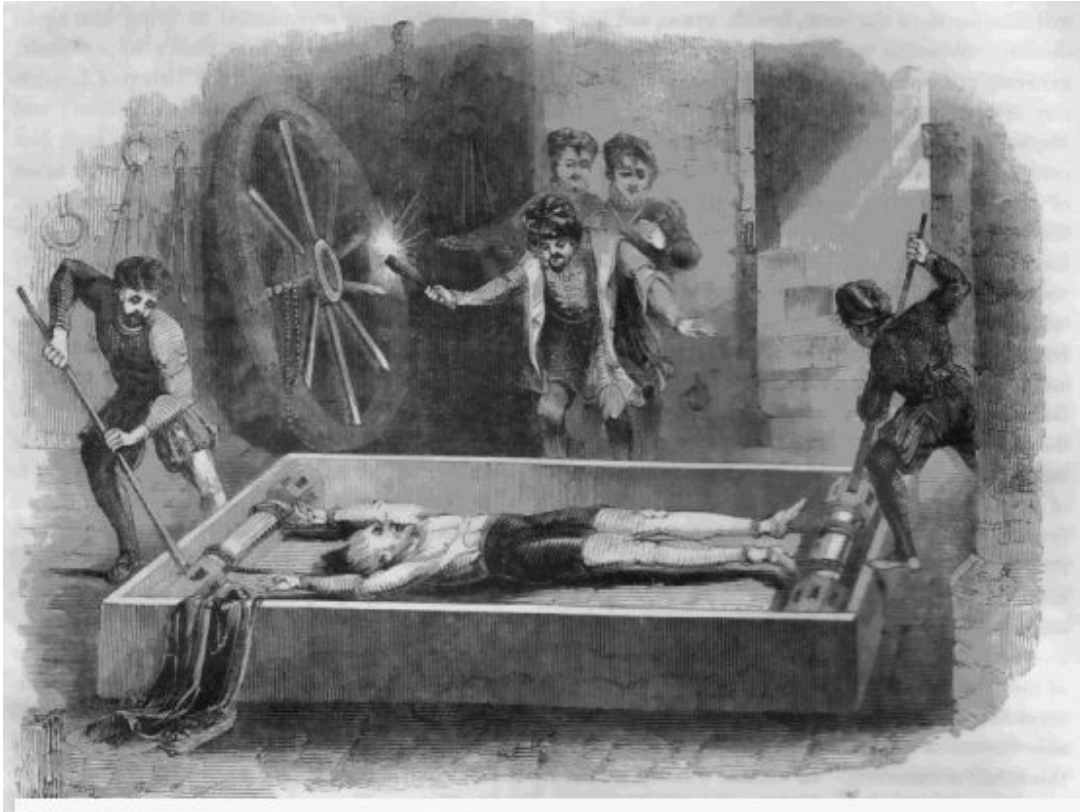
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Richard Martine, and Thomas Shadwell, public notaries and scribes appointed in this behalf; briefly rehearsed the answers of the same Bayfield in effect, and his abjuration, and other his demerits by him done besides his abjuration: which religious persons, and other ecclesiastical men abovesaid, thought it good, and agreed, that the said bishop should proceed against him in this case of relapse, and should pronounce and give forth the sentence against him in case aforesaid.

And so he was delivered to the sheriffs to carry to Newgate, being commanded to bring him again upon Monday following into Paul's upper choir, there to give attendance upon the bishop of London with the residue, till they had done with him; and by and by the sheriffs were commanded to have him into the vestry, and then to bring him forth again in antichrist's apparel, to be degraded before them. When the bishop had degraded him, kneeling upon the highest step of the altar, he took his crosier-staff, and smote him on the breast, that he threw him down backwards, and brake his head, that he swooned; and when he came to himself again, he thanked God that he was delivered from the malignant church of antichrist, and that he was come into the true sincere church of Jesus Christ, militant here in earth. "And I trust anon," said he, "to be in heaven with Jesus Christ, and the church triumphant for ever." And so was he led forth through the choir to Newgate, and there rested about an hour in prayer, and so went to the fire in his apparel manfully and joyfully, and there, for lack of a speedy fire, was two quarters of an hour alive. And when the left arm was on fire and burned, he rubbed it with his right hand, and it fell from his body, and he continued in prayer to the end without moving.

Sir Thomas More, after he had brought this good man to his end, ceased not to rave after his death in his ashes, to pry and spy out what sparks he could find of reproach and contumely, whereby to rase out all good memory of his name and fame. In searching whereof he hath found out two things to lay against him: the one is, that this Bayfield went about to assure himself of two wives at once, one in Brabant, another in England: the second, that after his taking, all the while that he was not in utter despair of his pardon, he was content to forswear his doctrine, and letted not to disclose his brethren. For the answer whereof, although there were no more to be said, yet this were enough to say, that Master More thus said of him; a man so blinded in the zeal of popery, so deadly set against the one side, and so partially affectionate unto the other, that in them whom he favoureth he can see nothing but all fair roses and sweet virtue; in the other which he hateth, there is never a thing can please his fantasy, but all is as black as pitch, vice, abomination, heresy, and folly, whatsoever they do, or intend to do. But as touching the defence of this Bayfield, as also of other more, I will defer the defence of them to a several apology by itself, hereafter, God willing, to be adjoined.

175. John Tewkesbury, Leatherseller, of London, Martyr.



A Victim on the Rack

JOHN Tewkesbury was converted by the reading of Tyndale's Testament, and The Wicked Mammon. He had the Bible written. In all points of religion he openly did dispute in the bishop's chapel in his palace. In the doctrine of justification and all other articles of his faith he was very expert and prompt in his answers, in such sort that Tonstal, and all his learned men were ashamed that a leatherseller should so dispute with them, with such power of the Scriptures and heavenly wisdom, that they were not able to resist him.

This disputation continued a se'nnight.

The process of whose examinations, articles, and answers, here follow, as they are out of the bishop's register extracted.

"On Wednesday, the twenty-first day of April, A.D. 1529, John Tewkesbury was brought into the consistory at London, before Cuthbert, bishop of London, and his assistants, Henry, bishop of St. Asaph, and John, abbot of Westminster; unto whom the bishop of London declared,

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that he had at divers times exhorted him to recant the errors and heresies which he held and defended, even as he did then again exhort him not to trust too much to his own wit and learning, but unto the doctrine of the holy mother the church: who made answer that in his judgment he did not err from the doctrine of the holy mother the church. And at the last, being examined upon errors, which, they said, were in the said book called *The Wicked Mammon*, he answered thus: 'Take ye the book and read it over, and I think in my conscience, ye shall find no fault in it.' And being asked by the said bishop, whether he would rather give credit to his book, or to the gospel, he answered that the gospel is, and ever hath been, true. And moreover, being particularly examined what he thought of this article, 'That the Jews of good intent and zeal slew Christ,' he answered, 'Look ye the book through, before and after, as it lieth, and ye shall find a better tale in it than ye make of it;' and further thought, that whosoever translated the New Testament, and made the book, meaning *The Wicked Mammon*, he did it of good zeal, and by the Spirit of God.

"Also being further asked by the said bishop of London, whether he would stand to the contents of his book, he answered, 'Look ye the book before and after, and I will be content to stand unto it.' Then being examined, whether that all good works must be done without respect of any thing, he answered, that a man should do good works for the love of God only, and for no hope of any reward higher or lower in heaven; for if he should, it were presumption. Also being demanded, whether that Christ, with all his works, did not deserve heaven, he answered and said, that it was plain enough. Which things being done, the bishop said further to John Tewkesbury thus: 'I tell thee, before God and those which are here present, in examination of my conscience, that the articles above named, and many others contained in the same book, are false, heretical, and condemned by the holy church: how thinkest thou?' And further, the said bishop of London said unto him again, 'I tell thee, before God and those which are here present,' &c.; and so asked him again, what he thought of those articles. And after many exhortations, he commanded him to answer determinately under pain of the law, saying further unto him, that if he refused to answer, he must declare him an open and obstinate heretic, according to the order of the law. These things so done, the bishop asked John Tewkesbury again, whether the said book, called *The Wicked Mammon*, were good?

"To which interrogatory he answereth, that he thinketh in his conscience there is nothing in the book but that which is true. And to this article objected, that is, that faith only justifieth without works, he answereth, that it is well said. Whereunto the bishop inferred again, that the articles before objected, with divers others contained in the book called *The Wicked Mammon*, were false, erroneous, damnable, and heretical, and reprov'd and condemned by the church: and, before God, and all those that were present, for the discharge of his conscience, he had often, and very gently, exhorted the said John Tewkesbury, that he would revoke and renounce his errors: otherwise if he did intend to persevere in them, he must declare him a heretic; which he would be very sorry to do. These things thus done, the bishop oftentimes offered him, that he should choose what spiritual or temporal man he would, to be his counsellor; and gave him time, as before, to deliberate with himself until the next sitting."

"Also in the same month of April, in the year of our Lord aforesaid, the bishop of London, Cuthbert Tonsal, sitting in the consistory, with Nicholas of Ely, John of Lincoln, and John of Bath and Wells, &c., this John Tewkesbury was brought before them. After certain articles being repeated unto him, the bishop of London brought before him a certain book, called

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The Wicked Mammon, asking him whether the book was of the same impression and making as were his books that he had sold to others? who answered and said, it was the same. Whereupon the bishop of London asking him again, whether the book contained the same error or no? who answered again, saying, I pray God, that the condemnation of the gospel and translation of the Testament, be not to your shame, and that you be not in peril for it: for the condemnation of it and of the others is all one. Further he said, that he had studied the Holy Scripture by the space of these seventeen years, and as he may see the spots of his face through the glass, so in reading the New Testament he knoweth the faults of his soul. Further, he was examined upon certain points and articles, extracted out of the said book of The Wicked Mammon, as followeth

"First, That antichrist is not an outward thing, that is to say, a man that should suddenly appear with wonders, as your forefathers talked of him; but antichrist is a spiritual thing. — Whereunto he answered and said, that he findeth no fault in it.

"Again, it was demanded of him touching the article whether faith only justifieth a man? — To this he said, that if he should look to deserve heaven by works, he should do wickedly; for works follow faith, and Christ redeemed us all with the merits of his passion.

"That the devil holdeth our hearts so hard, that it is impossible for us to consent unto God's law. — To that he answered, that he findeth no fault in it.

"That the law of God suffereth no merits, neither any man to be justified in the sight of God. — To that he answered, that it is plain enough, considering what the law is; and he saith, that he findeth no ill in it.

"That the law of God requireth of us things impossible. — To that he answered, that the law of God doth command, that thou shalt love God above all things, and thy neighbour as thyself, which never man could do; and in that he doth find no fault in his conscience.

"That as the good tree bringeth forth fruit, so there is no law to him that believeth and is justified through faith. — To that he answered and said, he findeth no ill in it.

"All good works must be done without respect of any thing, or any profit to be had thereof. — To that he answered, 'It is truth.'

"Christ with all his works did not deserve heaven. — To that he answered, that the text is true as it lieth, and findeth no fault in it.

"Peter and Paul, and saints that be dead, are not our friends, but their friends whom they did help when they were alive. — To that he said, he findeth no ill in it.

"Alms deserve no reward of God. — To that he answered, that the text of the book is true.

"The devil is not cast out by merits of fasting or prayer. — To that he answered, thinking it good enough.

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"We cannot love except we see some benefit and kindness. As long as we live under the law of God only, where we see but sin and damnation, and the wrath of God upon us, yea, where we were damned before we were born, we cannot love God, and cannot but hate him as a tyrant, unrighteous and unjust; and flee from him, as did Cain. — To that he answered, and thinketh it good and plain enough.

"We are damned by nature, as a toad is a toad by nature, and a serpent is a serpent by nature. — To that he answered, that it is true, as it is in the book.

"Item, As concerning the article of fasting. — To that he answered and said, 'The book declareth itself.'

"Every one man is a lord of whatsoever another man hath. — To that he answered; 'What law can be better than that? for it is plainly meant there.'

"Love in Christ putteth no difference betwixt one and another. — To that he answered and said, 'It is plain enough of itself.'

"As concerning the preaching of the word of God, and washing of dishes, there is no difference as concerning salvation, and as touching the pleasing of God. — To that he answered, saying, 'It is a plain text, and as for pleasing God, it is all one.'

"That the Jews of good intent and zeal put Christ to death. To that he answered, that it is true, and the text is plain enough.

"The sects of St. Francis, and St. Dominic, and others, be damnable. — To that he answered and said, 'St. Paul repugneth against them.'

These articles being so objected, and answer made unto them by John Tewkesbury, the said bishop of London asked him whether he would continue in his heresies and errors above rehearsed, or renounce and forsake them? who answered thus: "I pray you reform yourself, and if there be any error in the book, let it be reformed; I think the book is good enough."

Further, the bishop exhorted him to recant his errors. To this the said John Tewkesbury answered as is above written; to wit, "I pray you reform yourself, and if there be any error in the book, let it be reformed; I think it is good enough." This thing being done, the bishop appointed him to determine better with himself against the morrow, in the presence of Master John Cox, vicar-general to the archbishop of Canterbury, Master Galfride Warton, Rowland Philips, William Philow, and Robert Ridley, professors of divinity.

On the thirteenth day of April, in the year of our Lord abovesaid, in the chapel within the palace of London, before Cuthbert, bishop of London, with his assistants, Nicholas, bishop of Ely, &c., Tewkesbury again appeared, and was examined upon the articles drawn out of the book called The Wicked Mammon, as followeth:

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First, "Christ is thine, and all his deeds be thy deeds; Christ is in thee, and thou so knit to him inseparably, that neither canst thou be damned, except Christ be damned with thee; neither canst thou be saved, except Christ be saved with thee." — To this he answered, that he found no fault in it.

Item, "We desire one another to pray for us. That done, we must put our neighbour in remembrance of his duty, and that he trust not in his holiness." — To this he answered, "Take ye it as ye will; I will take it well enough."

Item, "Now seest thou what alms meaneth, and wherefore it serveth. He that seeketh with his alms more than to be merciful, to be a neighbour, to succour his brother's need, to do his duty to his brother, to give his brother that he owed him; the same is blind, and seeth not Christ's blood." Here he answereth, that he findeth no fault throughout all the book, but that all the book is good, and it hath given him great comfort and light to his conscience.

Item, "That ye do do nothing to please God, but that he commanded." — To that he answereth, and thinketh it good, by his troth.

Item, "So God is honoured on all sides, in that we count him righteous in all his laws and ordinances: and to worship him otherwise than so, it is idolatry." — To that he answered, that it pleaseth him well.

The examination of these articles being done, the bishop of London did exhort the said John Tewkesbury to recant his errors abovesaid; and after some other communication had by the bishop with him, the said bishop did exhort him again to recant his errors, and appointed him to determine with himself against the next session what he would do.

In the next session he submitted himself, and abjured his opinions, and was enjoined penance, as followeth: which was the eighth of May.

Imprimis, That he should keep well his abjuration, under pain of relapse.

Secondly, That the next Sunday following, in Paul's church, in the open procession, he should carry a faggot, and stand at Paul's Cross with the same.

That the Wednesday following, he should carry the same faggot about Newgate Market and Cheap-side.

That on Friday after, he should take the same faggot again at St. Peter's church in Cornhill, and carry it about the market of Leadenhall.

That he should have two signs of faggots embroidered, one on his left sleeve, and the other on his right sleeve; which he should wear all his lifetime, unless he were otherwise dispensed withal.

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That on Whitsunday-eve he should enter into the monastery of St. Bartholomew, in Smithfield, and there to abide; and not come out unless he were released by the bishop of London.

That he should not depart out of the city or diocese of London, without the special licence of the bishop or his successors.



John Tewkesbury carrying a faggot

The which penance he entered into the eighth day of May, A.D. 1529. And thus much concerning his first examination, which was in the year 1529, at what time he was enforced through infirmity, as is before expressed, to retract and abjure his doctrine. Notwithstanding, the same John Tewkesbury, afterward confirmed by the grace of God, and moved by the example of Bayfield aforesaid, that was burned in Smithfield, did return, and constantly abide in the

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testimony of the truth, and suffered for the same; who, recovering more grace and better strength at the hand of the Lord, two years after being apprehended again, was brought before Sir Thomas More, and the bishop of London; where certain articles were objected to him, the chief whereof we intend briefly to recite; for the matter is prolix.

"Imprimis, That he confessed that he was baptized, and intended to keep the catholic faith.

"Secondly, That he affirmeth, that the abjuration oath and subscription that he made before Cuthbert, late bishop of London, was done by compulsion.

"Thirdly, That he had the books of the Obedience of a Christian Man, and of The Wicked Mammon, in his custody, and hath read them since his abjuration.

"Fourthly, That he affirmeth that he suffered the two faggots that were embroidered on his sleeve, to be taken from him, for that he deserved not to wear them.

"Fifthly, He saith, that faith only justifieth, which lacketh not charity.

"Sixthly, He saith, that Christ is a sufficient Mediator for us, and therefore no prayer is to be made unto saints. Whereupon they laid unto him this verse of the anthem: 'Hail Queen our advocate,' &c.; to which he answered, that he knew none other advocate but Christ alone.

"Seventhly, He affirmeth that there is no purgatory after this life, but that Christ our Saviour is a sufficient purgation for us.

"Eighthly, He affirmeth, that the souls of the faithful, departing this life, rest with Christ.

"Ninthly, He affirmeth, that a priest, by receiving of orders, receiveth more grace, if his faith be increased; or else not.

"Tenthly, and last of all, he believeth that the sacrament of the flesh and blood of Christ is not the very body of Christ, in flesh and blood, as it was born of the Virgin Mary.

"Whereupon the bishop's chancellor asked the said Tewkesbury, if he could show any cause why he should not be taken for a heretic, falling into his heresy again, and receive the punishment of a heretic. Whereunto he answered that he had wrong before, and if he be condemned now, he reckoneth that he hath wrong again."

Then the chancellor caused the articles to be read openly, with the answers unto the same; the which the said Tewkesbury confessed; and thereupon the bishop pronounced sentence against him, and delivered him unto the sheriffs of Loudon for the time being, who were Richard Gresham and Edward Altam, who burned him in Smithfield upon St. Thomas's eve, being the twentieth of December, in the year aforesaid; the tenor of whose sentence, pronounced against him by the bishop, doth here ensue, word for word.

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"In the name of God, Amen. The deservings and circumstances of a certain cause of heretical pravity, and falling again thereunto by thee John Tewkesbury, of the parish of St. Michael's in the Quern, of the city of London, and of our jurisdiction, appearing before us sitting in judgment, being heard, seen, and understood, and fully discussed by us John, by the sufferance of God, bishop of London; because we do find by inquisitions, manifestly enough, that thou didst abjure freely and voluntarily before Cuthbert, late bishop of London, thy ordinary, divers and sundry heresies, errors, and damnable opinions, contrary to the determination of our mother holy church, as well special as general, and that since and beside the aforesaid abjuration thou art again fallen into the same damnable heresies, opinions, and errors, (which is greatly to be lamented,) and the same dost hold, affirm, and believe: we therefore, John, the bishop aforesaid, the name of God first being called upon, and the same only God set before our eyes; and with the counsel of learned men assisting us in this behalf, (with whom in this cause we have communicated of our definitive sentence and final decree, in this behalf to be done,) do intend to proceed and do proceed in this manner. Because, as it is aforesaid, we do find thee, the aforesaid John Tewkesbury, of our jurisdiction, to be a contemner of the first abjuration; and moreover, before and after the aforesaid first errors and other damnable opinions, to have fallen, and to be a heretic fallen, and to have incurred the pain of such fallen heretics: we do pronounce, determine, declare, and condemn thee of the premises, to have incurred the guilt of the great excommunication; and do pronounce thee to be excommunicated; and also do declare thee, the said Tewkesbury, so damnably fallen again into heresy, to be in the secular power and in their judgment (as the holy canons have decreed); and here we do leave thee to the aforesaid secular power, and to their judgment; beseeching them earnestly, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, that such severe punishment and execution as in this behalf is to be done against thee, may be so moderated, that no rigorous rigour be used, but to the health and salvation of thy soul, and to the terror, fear, and rooting out of heretics, and their conversion to the catholic faith and unity, by this our final decree which we declare by these our writings."

This aforesaid sentence definitive against John Tewkesbury was read and pronounced by the bishop of London, the sixteenth day of the month of December, in the year aforesaid, in the house of Sir Thomas More, high chancellor of England, in the parish of Chelsea. After this sentence, the sheriffs received the aforesaid Tewkesbury into their custody, and carried him away with them, and afterwards burned him in Smithfield, as is aforesaid; having no writ of the king for their warrant.

176. John Randall and Edward Freese.

Now also it cometh into my remembrance to speak of another, one John Randall my kinsman, who, through the privy malice of divers, had not a far unlike tragical end and death to that of Richard Hun, before mentioned.

This John Randall being a young scholar in Christ's college, in Cambridge, about the year of our Lord 1531, had one Wyer for his tutor, unto whom, for the love of the Scriptures and sincere religion, he began not only to be suspected but also to be hated. And as this was unknown unto any man, so it is uncertain, whether he were afterwards hanged up by him or no; because as yet it is not come to light. But the matter happened in this sort: the young man, being studious and scarcely twenty-one years old, was long lacking among his companions; at last, after four days, through the stench of the corpse, his study door being broken open, he was found hanged with his own girdle within the study, in such sort and manner that he had his face looking upon his Bible, and his finger pointing to a place of Scripture, where predestination was treated of. Surely this matter lacked no singular and exquisite policy and craft of some old naughty and wicked man, whosoever he was that did the deed, that it should seem that the poor young man through fear of predestination was driven to despair; that other young men being feared through that example should be kept back from the study of the Scriptures as a thing most perilous. And albeit this brief history do not pertain to these times, yet I thought it by no means to be omitted, both for the profitable memory of the thing, as also for the similitude of the story that it seemeth not to be so fit in another place.

The apprehension of one Edward Freese, a painter.

Edward Freese was born in York, and was apprentice to a painter in the same city; and by the reason of working for his master in Bearsy abbey, or by some such occasion, was known unto the abbot of the same house; for he was a boy of a pregnant wit, and the abbot favoured him so much, that he bought his years of his master, and would have made him a monk. And the lad not liking that kind of living, and not knowing how to get out, because he was a novice, ran away after a long space, and came to Colchester, in Essex, and remaining there according to his former vocation, was married, and lived like an honest man. After he had been there a good time, he was hired to paint certain cloths for the new inn, in Colchester, which is in the middle of the market-place; and in the upper border of the cloths, he wrote certain sentences of the Scripture; and by that he was plainly known to be one of them that they call heretics.

And on a time, he being at his work in the same inn, they of the town, when they had seen his work, went about to take him; and he, having some inkling thereof, thought to shift for himself, but yet was taken forcibly in the yard of the same inn; and after this he was brought to London, and so to Fulham, to the bishop's house, where he was cruelly imprisoned, with certain others of Essex, that is to wit, one Johnson and his wife; Wylie, and his wife and son; and Father Bate, of Rowshedge. They were fed with fine manchet made of saw-dust, or at least a great part thereof; and were so straitly kept, that their wives and their friends could not come to them. After the painter had been there a long space, by much suit he was removed to Lollard's Tower. His

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wife, in the time of the suit, while he was yet at Fulham, being desirous to see her husband, and pressing to come in at the gate, being then great with child, the porter lifted up his foot and struck her on the body, that at length she died of the same; but the child was destroyed immediately. After that, they were all stocked for a long time, and then they were let loose into their prisons again. Some had horselocks on their legs, and some other irons. This painter would ever be writing on the walls with chalk or a coal, and in one place he wrote, "Doctor Dodipall would make me believe the moon were made of green cheese." And because he would be writing many things, he was manacled by the wrists so long that the flesh of his arms was grown higher than his irons. By means of his manacles he could not comb his head, and he remained so long manacled, that his hair was folded together.

After the death of his wife, his brother sued to the king for him, and after a long suit he was brought out into the consistory at Paul's, and (as his brother did report) they kept him three days without meat before he came to his answer. Then, what by the long imprisonment and much evil handling, and for lack of sustenance, the man was in that case, that he could say nothing, but look and gaze upon the people like a wild man; and if they asked him a question, he could say nothing but "My lord is a good man." And thus, when they had spoiled his body, and destroyed his wits, they sent him back again to Bearsy abbey; but he came away from thence, and would not tarry amongst them: albeit he never came to his perfect mind, to his dying day. His brother, of whom I before spake, whose name was Valentine Freese, and his wife, gave their lives at one stake in York, for the testimony of Jesus Christ.

Also the wife of the said Father Bate, while he was at Fulham, made many supplications to the king without redress, and at the last she delivered one into his own hands, and he read it himself, whereupon she was appointed to go to Chancery-lane, to one whose name (as is thought) was Master Selyard; and at last she got a letter of the said Selyard to the bishop; and when she had it, she thought all her suit well bestowed, hoping that some good should come to her husband thereby. And because the wicked officers in those days were crafty, and desirous of his blood, as some others had proved their practice, some of her friends would needs see the contents of her letter, and not suffer her to deliver it to the bishop: and as they thought, so they found indeed; for it was after this manner: — After commendations had, &c., Look, what you can gather against Father Bate, send me word by your trusty friend, Sir William Saxie, that I may certify the king's Majesty," &c. Thus the poor woman, when she thought her suit had been done, was in less hope of her husband's life than before. But within short space it pleased God to deliver him; for he got out in a dark night, and so he was caught no more, but died within a short time after.

In this year also, as we do understand by divers notes of old registers and otherwise, Friar Roy was burned in Portugal; but what his examination, or articles, or order of his death was, we can have no understanding: but what his doctrine was, it may be easily judged by the testimonies which he left here in England.

In the beginning of this year which we are now about, through the complaint of the clergy made to the king, the translation of the New Testament, with a great number of other books, were forbidden. For the bishops coming into the Star Chamber the twenty-fifth day of May, and communing with the king's counsel, after many pretences and long debating, alleged that the

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translations of Tyndale and Joye were not truly translated; and moreover, that in them were prologues and prefaces that smelled of heresy, and railed against the bishops: wherefore all such books were prohibited, and commandment given by the king to the bishops, that they, calling to them the best learned men of the universities, should cause a new translation to be made, so that the people might not be ignorant in the law of God. Notwithstanding this commandment, the bishops did nothing at all to the setting forth of any new translation, which caused the people much to study Tyndale's translation, by reason whereof many things came to light, as ye shall hereafter hear.

This year also, in the month of May, the bishop of London caused all the New Testaments of Tyndale's translation, and many other books which he had bought, to be brought unto Paul's Church-yard, and there openly to be burned.

177. James Bainham, Lawyer, and Martyr.

James Bainham, gentleman, son to one Master Bainham, a knight of Gloucestershire, being virtuously brought up by his parents in the studies of good letters, had knowledge both of the Latin and the Greek tongue. After that he gave himself to the study of the law, being a man of virtuous disposition, and godly conversation, mightily addicted to prayer, an earnest reader of Scriptures, a great maintainer of the godly, a visitor of the prisoners, liberal to scholars, very merciful to his clients, using equity and justice to the poor, very diligent in giving counsel to all the needy, widows, fatherless, and afflicted, without money or reward; briefly, a singular example to all lawyers.

This Master Bainham, as is above noted, married the wife of Simon Fish aforesaid, for the which he was the more suspected, and at last was accused to Sir Thomas More, chancellor of England, and arrested with a serjeant-at-arms, and carried out of the Middle Temple to the chancellor's house at Chelsea, where he continued in free prison awhile, till the time that Sir Thomas More saw he could not prevail in perverting him to his sect. Then he cast him into prison in his own house, and whipping him at the tree in his garden, called the tree of Troth, and after sent him to the Tower to be racked; and so he was, Sir Thomas More being present himself, till in a manner he had lamed him, because he would not accuse the gentlemen of the Temple of his acquaintance, nor would show where his books lay; and because his wife denied them to be at his house, she was sent to the Fleet, and their goods confiscated.

After they had thus practised against him what they could by tortures and torments, then was he brought before John Stokesley, bishop of London, the fifteenth day of December, A.D. 1531, in the said town of Chelsea, and there examined upon these articles and interrogatories ensuing.

I. Whether he believed there were any purgatory of souls hence departed? — Whereunto he made answer as followeth: "If we walk in light, even as he is in light, we have society together with him, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son hath cleansed us from all sin. If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us. If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just, and will forgive us our sins, and will purge us from all our iniquities.

II. Whether that the saints hence departed are to be honoured and prayed unto, to pray for us? — To this he answered on this wise: "My little children, I write this unto you, that you sin not. If any man do sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the just, and he is the propitiation for our sins, and not only for our sins, but also for the sins of the whole world." And further, upon occasion of these words, Let all the saints of God pray for us; being demanded what he meant by these words, All the saints, he answered, that he meant by them, those that were alive, as St. Paul did by the Corinthians, and not those that be dead: for he prayed not to them, he said, because he thought that they which be dead cannot pray for him. Item, when the whole church is gathered together, they used to pray one for another, or desire one to pray for another, with one heart; and that the will of the Lord may be fulfilled, and not ours: "and I pray,"

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said he, "as our Saviour Christ prayed at his last hour: Father, take this cup from me if it be possible; yet thy will be fulfilled."

III. He was demanded whether he thought that any souls departed were yet in heaven or no? — To this he answered and said, that he believed that they be there as it pleased God to have them, that is to say, in the faith of Abraham; and that herein he would commit himself to the church.

IV. It was demanded of him, whether he thought it necessary to salvation, for a man to confess his sins to a priest? — Whereunto his answer was this: that it was lawful for one to confess and acknowledge his sins to another: as for any other confession, he knew none. And further he said, that if he came to a sermon, or any where else, where the word of God is preached, and there took repentance for his sin, he believed his sins forthwith to be forgiven of God, and that he needed not to go to any confession.

V. That he should say and affirm, that the truth of the Holy Scripture hath been hid, and appeared not these eight hundred years, neither was known before now. — To this he said, that he meant no otherwise, but that the truth of Holy Scripture was never, these eight hundred years past, so plainly and expressly declared unto the people, as it hath been within these six years.

VI. He was demanded further, for what cause Holy Scripture hath been better declared within these six years, than it hath been these eight hundred years before? — Whereunto he answered, To say plainly, he knew no man to have preached the word of God sincerely and purely, and after the vein of Scripture, except Master Crome and Master Latimer. And he said, moreover, that the New Testament now translated into English, doth preach and teach the word of God, and that before that time men did preach but only that folks should believe as the church did believe; and then if the church erred, men should err too. Howbeit the church of Christ, said he, cannot err: and that there were two churches, that is, the church of Christ militant, and the church of antichrist; and that this church of antichrist may and doth err; but the church of Christ doth not.

VII. Whether he knew any person that lived in the true faith of Christ, since the apostles' time? — He said he knew Bayfield, and thought that he died in the true faith of Christ.

VIII. He was asked what he thought of purgatory and of vows? — He answered, if any such thing had been moved to St. Paul of purgatory after this life, he thought St. Paul would have condemned it for a heresy. And when he heard Master Crome preach and say, that he thought there was a purgatory after this life, he thought in his mind that the said Master Crome lied, and spake against his conscience; and that there were a hundred more who thought the same as he did: saying moreover, that he had seen the confession of Master Crome in print, God wot, a very foolish thing, as he judged.

And as concerning vows, he granted that there were lawful vows, as Ananias vowed, for it was in his own power, whether he would have sold his possession or not, and therefore he did offend. But vows of chastity, and all godliness, is given of God by his abundant grace, the which no man of himself can keep, but it must be given him of God. And therefore, a monk, friar, or

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nun, that hath vowed the vows of religion, if they think after their vows made, that they cannot keep their promises that they made at baptism, they may go forth and marry, so that they keep, after their marriage, the promise that they made at baptism. And finally he concluded, that he thought there were no other vows, but only the vow of baptism.

IX. He was demanded, whether Luther, being a friar, and taking a nun out of religion, and afterwards marrying her, did well or no, and what he thought therein? — He answered, That he thought nothing. And when they asked him, whether it was lechery or no? he made answer he could not say so.

As concerning the sacrament of anointing, being willed to say his mind, he answered and said. "It was but a ceremony, neither did he wot what a man should be the better for such anointing and anointing. The best was, that some good prayers, he saw, were said thereat.

Likewise touching the sacrament of baptism, his words were these: "That as many as repent, and do on them Christ, shall be saved; that is, as many as die concerning sin, shall live by faith with Christ. Therefore it is not we that live after that, but Christ in us. And so, whether we live or die, we are God's by adoption, and not by the water only, but by water and faith: that is, by keeping the promise made. For ye are kept by grace and faith, saith St. Paul, and that not of yourselves, for it is the gift of God."

He was asked moreover of matrimony, whether it was a sacrament or not, and whether it conferreth grace; being commanded in the old law, and not yet taken away? — His answer was, that matrimony is an order or law, that the church of Christ hath made and ordained, by the which men may take to them women, and not sin.

Lastly, for his books of Scripture, and for his judgment of Tyndale, because he was urged to confess the truth, he said, that he had the New Testament translated into the English tongue by Tyndale within this month, and thought he offended not God in using and keeping the same, notwithstanding that he knew the king's proclamation to the contrary, and that it was prohibited in the name of the church, at Paul's Cross; but, for all that, he thought the word of God had not forbid it. Confessing moreover, that he had in his keeping within this month these books; the Wicked Mammon, the Obedience of a Christian Man, the Practice of Prelates, the Answer of Tyndale to Thomas More's Dialogue, the book of Frith against Purgatory; the Epistle of George Gee, alias George Clerk: adding furthermore, that in all these books he never saw any errors; and if there were any such in them, then, if they were corrected, it were good that the people had the said books. And as concerning the New Testament in English, he thought it utterly good, and that the people should have it as it is. Neither did he ever know (said he) that Tyndale was a naughty fellow.

Also to these answers he subscribed his name. This examination, as is said, was the fifteenth of December. The next day following, namely, the sixteenth of December, the said James Bainham appeared again before the bishop of London, in the aforesaid place of Sir Thomas More at Chelsea; where, after the guise and form of their proceedings, first his former articles with his answers were again repeated, and his hand brought forth. This done, they asked him whether he would persist in that which he had said, or else would return to the catholic

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church, from whence he was fallen, and to which he might be yet received, as they said: adding, moreover, many fair, enticing, and alluring words, that he would reconcile himself, saying, the time was yet that he might be received; the bosom of his mother was open for him: otherwise, if he would continue stubborn, there was no remedy. Now was the time either to save, or else utterly to cast himself away. Which of these ways he would take, the case present now required a present answer, for else the sentence definitive was there ready to be read, &c.

To conclude long matter in few words, Bainham, wavering in a doubtful perplexity, between life on the one hand and death on the other, at length giving over to the adversaries, gave answer unto them, that he was contented to submit himself in those things wherein he had offended, excusing that he was deceived by ignorance.

Then the bishop, requiring him to say his mind plainly of his answers above declared, demanded what he thought thereof, whether they were true or no. To this Bainham said, that it was too high for him to judge. And then asked of the bishop, whether there was any purgatory, he answered and said, he could not believe that there was any purgatory after this life. Upon other articles being examined and demanded, he granted as followeth:

"That he could not judge whether Bayfield died in the true faith of Christ or no: that a man making a vow, cannot break it without deadly sin: that a priest, promising to live chaste, may not marry a wife: that he thinketh the apostles to be in heaven: that Luther did naught, in marrying a nun: that a child is the better for confirmation: that it is an offence to God, if any man keep books prohibited by the church, the pope, the bishop, or the king: and he said, that he pondered those points more now than he did before."

Upon these answers, the bishop, thinking to keep him in safe custody to further trial, committed him to one of the compters.

The time thus passing on, which bringeth all things to their end, in the month of February next following, A.D. 1532, the aforesaid James Bainham was called for again to the bishop's consistory, before his vicar-general and other his assistants; to whom Foxford, the bishop's chancellor, recited again his articles and answers above mentioned; protesting, that he intended not to receive him to the unity of the holy mother church, unless he knew the said Bainham to be returned again purely and unfeignedly to the catholic faith, and to submit himself penitently to the judgment of the church. To whom Bainham spake to this effect, saying, that he hath and doth believe the holy church, and holdeth the faith of the holy mother, the catholic church.

Wherefore the chancellor, offering to him a bill of his abjuration, after the form of the pope's church conceived, required him to read it; who was contented, and read to the clause of the abjuration containing these words: "I voluntarily, as a true penitent person returned from my heresies, utterly abjure" — And there he stayed and would read no further, saying, that he knew not the articles contained in his abjuration to be heresy, therefore he could not see why he should refuse them. This done, the chancellor proceeded to the reading of the sentence definitive, coming to this place of the sentence, "the doctrine of the determination of the church," &c., and there paused, saying, he would reserve the rest till he saw his time: whom then Bainham desired to be good unto him, affirming that he did acknowledge that there was a purgatory; that the souls

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of the apostles were in heaven, &c. Then began he again to read the sentence, but Bainham again desired him to be good unto him; whereupon he ceased the sentence, and said that he would accept this his confession for that time, as sufficient.

So Bainham, for that present, was returned to his prison again; who then, the fifth day after, which was the eighth of February, appeared, as before, in the consistory; whom the aforesaid chancellor, repeating again his articles and answers, asked if he would abjure and submit himself. Who answered that he would submit himself, and as a good Christian man should. Again, the chancellor the second time asked if he would abjure. "I will," said he, "forsake all my articles, and will meddle no more with them;" and so being commanded to lay his hands upon the book, read his abjuration openly. After the reading whereof, he burst out into these words, saying, that because there were many words in the said abjuration which he thought obscure and difficile, he protested that by his oath he intended not to go from such defence, which he might have had before his oath. Which done, the chancellor asked him why he made that protestation. Bainham said, for fear lest any man of ill will do accuse me hereafter. Then the chancellor, taking the definitive sentence in his hand, posing himself (as appeared) to read the same, "Well, Master Bainham," said he, "take your oath, and kiss the book; or else I will do mine office against you:" and so immediately he took the book in his hand and kissed it, and subscribed the same with his hand.

Which done, the chancellor, receiving the abjuration at his hand, put him to his fine, first to pay twenty pounds to the king. After that, he enjoined him penance, to go before the cross in procession at Paul's, and to stand before the preacher during the sermon at Paul's Cross, with a faggot upon his shoulder, the next Sunday; and so to return with the sumner to the prison again, there to abide the bishop's determination: and so, the seventeenth day of February, he was released and dismissed home; where he had scarce continued a month, but he bewailed his fact and abjuration; and was never quiet in mind and conscience until the time he had uttered his fall to all his acquaintance, and asked God and all the world forgiveness, before the congregation in those days, in a warehouse in Bow-lane. And immediately, the next Sunday after, he came to St. Austin's, with the New Testament in his hand in English, and the Obedience of a Christian Man in his bosom, and stood up there before the people in his pew, there declaring openly, with weeping tears, that he had denied God; and prayed all the people to forgive him, and to beware of his weakness, and not to do as he did: "for," said he, "if I should not return again unto the truth, (having the New Testament in his hand,) this word of God would damn me both body and soul at the day of judgment." And there he prayed every body rather to die by and by, than to do as he did: for he would not feel such a hell again as he did feel, for all the world's good. Besides this, he wrote also certain letters to the bishop, to his brother, and to others; so that shortly after he was apprehended, and so committed to the Tower of London.

The process against James Bainham in case of relapse.

The nineteenth day of April, 1532, Master Richard Foxford, vicar-general to the bishop of London, accompanied by certain divines, and Matthew Grafton the registrar, sitting judicially, James Bainham was brought before him by the lieutenant of the Tower; before whom the vicar-general rehearsed the articles contained in his abjuration before made, and showed him a bound book, which the said Bainham acknowledged to be his own writing, saying, that it was good.

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Then he showed him more of a certain letter sent unto the bishop of London, the which also he acknowledged to be his; objecting also to the said Bainham, that he had made and read the abjuration which he had before recited: showing him moreover certain letters which he had written unto his brother, the which he confessed to be his own writing; saying moreover, that though he wrote it, yet there is one thing in the same that is naught, if it be as my lord chancellor saith. Then he asked of Bainham, how he understood this which followeth, which was in his letters: "Yet could they not see nor know him for God, when indeed he was both God and man; yea, he was three persons in one, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost." And Bainham said it was naught. Which things thus done, there was further objected unto him these words, that he had as leave pray to Joan his wife, as to our Lady. The which article Bainham denied. The said Bainham, amongst other talk, as touching the sacrament of the altar, said, "Christ's body is not chewed with teeth, but received by faith." Further it was objected against him, that notwithstanding his abjuration, he had said, that the sacrament of the altar was but a mystical or memorial body. The which article Bainham denied. It was further laid unto him, that he should say that St. Thomas of Canterbury was a thief, and a murderer, and a devil in hell: whereunto he answered thus: that St. Thomas of Canterbury was a murderer; and if he did not repent him of his murder, he was rather a devil in hell, than a saint in heaven.

The twentieth day of April, in the year aforesaid, the said James Bainham was brought before the vicar-general, in the church of All Saints, of Barking, where he ministered these interrogatories unto him:

First, That since the feast of Easter last past, he had said, affirmed, and believed, that the sacrament of the altar was but a mystical body of Christ; and afterwards he said, it was but a memorial. Which article Bainham denied. Then the vicar-general declared unto him, that our holy mother the catholic church determineth and teacheth in this manner: that in the sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration, there remaineth no bread. The official asked Bainham, whether he did so believe or not? To this Bainham answered, saying, that St. Paul calleth it bread, rehearsing these words, As oft as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do show forth the Lord's death: and in that point he saith as St. Paul saith, and believeth as the church believeth. And being demanded twice afterwards, what he thought therein, he would give no other answer.

Item, That since the feast of Easter aforesaid, he had affirmed and believed, that every man that would take upon him to preach the gospel of Christ clearly, had as much power as the pope. To this article he answered thus: "He that preacheth the word of God purely, whatsoever he be, and liveth thereafter, he hath the key that bindeth and looseth both in heaven and earth; which key is the same Scripture that is preached: and the pope hath no other power to bind and to loose, but by the key of the Scripture.

Item, That he affirmed that St. Thomas of Canterbury was a thief and a murderer, and in hell. — To this he answered as before.

Item, That he said, that he had as leave pray to Joan his wife, as to our Lady. This he denied as before.

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Item, That he affirmed and believed, that Christ himself was but a man. — This article he also denied.

The premises thus passed, the vicar-general received Francis Realms, John Edwards, Ralph Hilton, John Ridley, Francis Driland, and Ralph Noble, as witnesses to be sworn upon the articles aforesaid, and to speak the truth before the face of the said James Bainham, in the presence of Master John Nayler, vicar of Barking; Master John Rode, bachelor of divinity; William Smith, Richard Grivel, Thomas Wimple, and Richard Gill.

The twenty-sixth day of April, in the year aforesaid, before Master John Foxford, vicar-general of the bishop of London, in the presence of Matthew Grefton, registrar; and Nicholas Wilson and William Philley, professors of divinity; John Oliver, William Middleton, and Hugh Aprice, doctors of the law: Master Richard Gresham, sheriff of London, and a great company of others: James Bainham, was brought forth by the lieutenant of the Tower, in whose presence the vicar-general rehearsed the merits of the cause of inquisition of heresy against him, and proceeded to the reading of the abjuration. And when the judge read this article following, contained in the abjuration: "Item, That I have said, that I will not determine whether any souls departed be yet in heaven or no, but I believe that they be there as it pleaseth God to have them; that is to say, in the faith of Abraham; and I wot not whether the souls of the apostles or any others be in heaven or no:" to this James answered, "That I did abjure, and if that had not been, I would not have abjured at all."

After all the articles were read contained in the abjuration, and certain talk had as touching the sacrament of baptism, the said James Bainham spake these words: "If a Turk, a Jew, or a Saracen, do trust in God, and keep his law, he is a good Christian man." Then the official showed unto him the letters which he sent unto his brother, written with his own hand, and asked him what he thought as touching this clause following: "Yet could they not see and know him for God, when indeed he was both God and man, yea, he was three persons in one, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Whereunto Bainham said that it was naught, and that he did it by ignorance, and did not oversee his letters. Then Master Nicholas Wilson, among other talk, as touching the sacrament of the altar, declared unto him that the church did believe the very body of Christ to be in the sacrament of the altar. Bainham answered, "The bread is not Jesus Christ, for Christ's body is not chewed with teeth, therefore it is but bread." Being further demanded whether in the sacrament of the altar is the very body of Christ, God and man in flesh and blood; after divers doubtful answers, Bainham answered thus: "He is there very God and man, in form of bread."

This done, the official declared unto him the depositions of the witnesses which were come in against him; and objected unto him that a little before Easter, he had abjured all heresies, as well particularly as generally. Then the said vicar-general, after he had taken deliberation and advice with the learned his assistants, did proceed to the reading of the definitive sentence against him, and also published the same in writing; whereby, amongst other things, besides his abjuration, he pronounced and condemned him as a relapsed heretic, damnably fallen into sundry heresies, and so to be left unto the secular power; that is to say, to one of the sheriffs being there present. After the pronouncing of this sentence, Master Nicholas Wilson counselled and admonished the said James, that he would conform himself unto the church; to whom he

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answered, that he trusted that he is the very child of God: "which ye blind asses," said he, "do not perceive." And last of all, departing from his judgment, he spake these words: "Master Wilson, nor you, my lord chancellor, shall not prove by Scripture, that there is any purgatory."

Then the sentence of condemnation was given against him, the which here to repeat word for word is not necessary, forasmuch as the tenor thereof is all one with that which passed before in the story of Bayfield, alias Somersam. Here also should ensue the letter of the bishop of London, directed unto the mayor and sheriffs of the same city, for the receiving of him into their power, and the putting of him to death, the tenor whereof is also of like effect to that before written in the story of Bayfield. After this sentence given, James Bainham was delivered into the hands of Sir Richard Gresham, sheriff, then being present, who caused him by his officers to be carried unto Newgate, and the said James Bainham was burned in Smithfield the last day of April, in the year aforesaid, at three of the clock at afternoon.

This Master Bainham, during his imprisonment, was very cruelly handled; for almost the space of a fortnight, he lay in the bishop's coal-house in the stocks, with irons upon his legs. Then he was carried to the lord chancellor's, and there chained to a post two nights: then he was carried to Fulham, where he was cruelly handled by the space of a week; then to the Tower, where he lay a fortnight, scourged with whips, to make him revoke his opinions. From thence he was carried to Barking; then to Chelsea, and there condemned; and so to Newgate to be burned.



James Bainham at the stake

At whose burning, here is notoriously to be observed, that as he was at the stake, in the midst of the flaming fire, which fire had half consumed his arms and legs, he spake these words:

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"O ye papists behold, ye look for miracles, and here now you may see a miracle; for in this fire I feel no more pain, than if I were in a bed of down: but it is to me as a bed of roses." These words spake he in the midst of the flaming fire, when his legs and arms, as I said, were half consumed.

178. John Bent and Others.

John Bent, martyr.

At the writing hereof, came to our hands a certain notice of one John Bent, who about this present time, or not long before, being a tailor, and dwelling in a village called Urchevant, was burned in the town of Devizes, in the county of Wiltshire, for denying the sacrament of the altar, as they term it.

One Trapnel, martyr.

Also much about the same time, was one Trapnel burned in a town called Bradford, within the same county.

The history of three men hanged for the burning of the rood of Dover-court; collected out of a letter of Robert Gardner, who was one of the doers of the same.

In the same year of our Lord 1532, there was an idol named the Rood of Dover-court, whereunto was much and great resort of people: for at that time there was a great rumour blown abroad amongst the ignorant sort, that the power of the idol of Dovercourt was so great, that no man had power to shut the church door where he stood; and therefore they let the church door, both night and day, continually stand open, for the more credit unto their blind rumour. Which once being conceived in the heads of the vulgar sort, seemed a great marvel unto many men; but to many again, whom God had blessed with his Spirit, it was greatly suspected, specially unto these, whose names here follow: as Robert King of Dedham, Robert Debnam of Eastbergholt, Nicholas Marsh of Dedham, and Robert Gardner of Dedham, whose consciences were sore burdened to see the honour and power of the Almighty living God so to be blasphemed by such an idol. Wherefore they were moved by the Spirit of God, to travel out of Dedham in a wondrous goodly night, both hard frost and fair moonshine, although the night before, and the night after, were exceeding foul and rainy. It was from the town of Dedham, to the place where the filthy Rood stood, ten miles. Notwithstanding, they were so willing in that their enterprise, that they went these ten miles without pain, and found the church door open, according to the blind talk of the ignorant people: for there durst no unfaithful body shut it. Which happened well for their purpose, for they found the idol, which had as much power to keep the door shut, as to keep it open; and for proof thereof, they took the idol from his shrine, and carried him a quarter of a mile from the place where he stood, without any resistance of the said idol. Whereupon they struck fire with a flint-stone, and suddenly set him on fire, who burned out so brim, that he lighted them homeward one good mile of the ten.

This done, there went a great talk abroad that they should have great riches in that place: but it was very untrue; for it was not their thought or enterprise, as they themselves afterward confessed, for there was nothing taken away but his coat, his shoes, and the tapers. The tapers did help to burn him, the shoes they had again, and the coat one Sir Thomas Rose did burn; but they had neither penny, halfpenny, gold, groat, nor jewel.

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Notwithstanding, three of them were afterwards indicted of felony, and hanged in chains within half a year after, or thereabout. Robert King was hanged in Dedham at Burchet; Robert Debnam was hanged at Cataway-Causey; Nicholas Marsh was hanged at Dover-court: which three persons, through the Spirit of God, at their death, did more edify the people in godly learning, than all the sermons that had been preached there a long time before.

The fourth man of this company, named Robert Gardner, escaped their hands and fled; albeit he was cruelly sought for to have had the like death. But the living Lord preserved him; to whom be all honour and glory, world without end!

The same year, and the year before, there were many images cast down and destroyed in many places: as the image of the crucifix in the highway by Coggeshall, the image of St. Petronal in the church of Great Horksleigh, the image of St. Christopher by Sudbury, and another image of St. Petronal in a chapel of Ipswich.

Also John Seward of Dedham overthrew a cross in Stoke park, and took two images out of a chapel in the same park, and cast them into the water.

179. John Frith and Andrew Hewet.

The story, examination, death, and martyrdom of John Frith.



AMONGST all other chances lamentable, there hath been none a great time which seemed unto me more grievous, than the lamentable death and cruel handling of John Frith, so learned and excellent a young man; which had so profited in all kind of learning and knowledge, that scarcely there was his equal amongst all his companions; and besides, withal, had such a godliness of life joined with his doctrine, that it was hard to judge in whether of them he was more commendable, being greatly praiseworthy in them both: but as touching his doctrine, by the grace of Christ we will speak hereafter.

Of the great godliness which was in him, this may serve for experiment sufficient, for that notwithstanding his other manifold and singular gifts and ornaments of the mind, in him most pregnant, wherewithal he might have opened an easy way unto honour and dignity, notwithstanding he chose rather wholly to consecrate himself unto the church of Christ, excellently showing forth, and practising in himself, the precept so highly commended of the philosophers, touching the life of man: which life, they say, is given unto us in such sort, that how much the better the man is, so much the less he should live unto himself, but unto other, serving for the common utility; and that we should think a great part of our birth to be due unto our parents, a greater part unto our country, and the greatest part of all to be bestowed upon the church, if we will be counted good men. First of all he began his study at Cambridge; in whom nature had planted, being but a child, marvellous instinctions and love unto learning, whereunto he was addicted. He had also a wonderful promptness of wit, and a ready capacity to receive and understand any thing, insomuch that he seemed not to be sent unto learning, but also born for the same purpose. Neither was there any diligence wanting in him, equal unto that towardness, or worthy of his disposition; whereby it came to pass, that he was not only a lover of learning, but also became an exquisite learned man; in the which exercise when he had diligently laboured certain years, not without great profit both of Latin and Greek, at the last he fell into knowledge and acquaintance with William Tyndale, through whose instructions he first received into his heart the seed of the gospel and sincere godliness.

At that time Thomas Wolsey, cardinal of York, prepared to build a college in Oxford, marvellously sumptuous, which had the name and title of Frideswide, but now named Christ's-church, not so much (as it is thought) for the love and zeal that he bare unto learning, as for an ambitious desire of glory and renown, and to leave a perpetual name unto posterity. But that building, he being cut off by the stroke of death, (for he was sent for unto the king, accused of certain crimes, and in the way, by immoderate purgations, killed himself,) was left partly begun, partly half ended and imperfect, and nothing else save only the kitchen was fully finished. Whereupon Rodulph Gualter, a learned man, being then in Oxford, and beholding the college, said these words in Latin: *Egregium opus, cardinalis iste instituit collegium, et absolvit popinam.* How large and ample those buildings should have been, what sumptuous cost should have been bestowed upon the same, may easily be perceived by that which is already builded, as the

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kitchen, the hall, and certain chambers, where there is such curious graving and workmanship of stone-cutters, that all things on every side did glister for the excellency of the workmanship, for the fineness of the matter, with the gilt antics and embossings; insomuch that if all the rest had been finished to that determinate end as it was begun, it might well have excelled not only all colleges of students, but also palaces of princes. This ambitious cardinal gathered together into that college whatsoever excellent thing there was in the whole realm, either vestments, vessels, or other ornaments, beside provision of all kind of precious things. Besides that, he also appointed unto that company all such men as were found to excel in any kind of learning and knowledge; whose names to recite all in order would be too long. The chief of them which were called from Cambridge were these: Master Clerk, master of arts, of thirty-four years of age; Master Frier, afterwards doctor of physic, and after that a strong papist; Master Sumner, master of arts; Master Harman, master of arts, afterwards fellow of Eton college, and after that a papist; Master Bettes, master of arts, a good man and zealous, and so remained; Master Cox, master of arts, who conveyed himself away toward the north, and after was schoolmaster of Eton, and then chaplain to Doctor Goodrich, bishop of Ely, and by him preferred to King Henry, and, of late, bishop of Ely; John Frith, bachelor of arts; Bayly, bachelor of arts; Goodman, who being sick in the prison with the others, was had out, and died in the town; Drumme, who afterwards fell away and forsook the truth; Thomas Lawney, chaplain of the house, prisoner with John Frith.

To these join also Taverner of Boston, the good musician, besides many other called also out of other places, most picked young men, of grave judgment and sharp wits; who, conferring together upon the abuses of religion, being at that time crept into the church, were therefore accused of heresy unto the cardinal, and cast into a prison, within a deep cave under the ground of the same college, where their salt-fish was laid; so that, through the filthy stench thereof, they were all infected, and certain of them, taking their death in the same prison, shortly upon the same being taken out of the prison into their chambers, there deceased.

The troublers and examiners of these good men, were these: Dr. London; Dr. Higdon, dean of the said college; and Dr. Cottesford, commissary.

Master Clerk, Master Sumner, and Sir Bayly, eating nothing but salt-fish from February to the midst of August, died all three together within the compass of one week.

Master Bettes, a witty man, having no books found in his chamber, through entreaty and surety got out of prison, and so remaining a space in the college, at last slipped away to Cambridge, and afterwards was chaplain to Queen Anne, and in great favour with her.

Taverner, although he was accused and suspected for hiding of Clerk's books under the boards in his school, yet the cardinal, for his music, excused him, saying that he was but a musician: and so he escaped.

After the death of these men, John Frith with others, by the cardinal's letter, which sent word that he would not have them so straitly handled, were dismissed out of prison, upon condition not to pass above ten miles out of Oxford; which Frith, after hearing of the examination of Dalaber and Garret, which bare then faggots, went over the sea, and after two

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years he came over for exhibition of the prior of Reading, (as is thought,) and had the prior over with him.

Being at Reading, it happened that he was there taken for a vagabond, and brought to examination; where the simple man, which could not craftily enough colour himself, was set in the stocks. After he had sitten a long time, and was almost pined with hunger, and would not, for all that, declare what he was, at the last he desired that the schoolmaster of the town might be brought to him, who at that time was one Leonard Cox, a man very well learned. As soon as he came unto him, Frith, by and by, began in the Latin tongue to bewail his captivity.

The schoolmaster, by and by, being overcome with his eloquence, did not only take pity and compassion upon him, but also began to love and embrace such an excellent wit and disposition unlooked for, especially in such a state and misery. Afterwards, conferring more together upon many things, as touching the universities, schools, and tongues, they fell from the Latin into the Greek, wherein Frith did so inflame the love of that schoolmaster towards him, that he brought him into a marvellous admiration, especially when the schoolmaster heard him so promptly by heart rehearse Homer's verses out of his first book of the Iliad; whereupon the schoolmaster went with all speed unto the magistrates, grievously complaining of the injury which they did show unto so excellent and innocent a young man.

Thus Frith, through the help of the schoolmaster, was freely dismissed out of the stocks, and set at liberty without punishment. Albeit this his safety continued not long, through the great hatred and deadly pursuit of Sir Thomas More, who, at that time being chancellor of England, persecuted him both by land and sea, besetting all the ways and havens, yea, and promising great rewards, if any man could bring him any news or tidings of him.

Thus Frith, being on every part beset with troubles, not knowing which way to turn, seeketh for some place to hide him in. Thus fleeting from one place to another, and often changing both his garments and place, yet could he be in safety in no place; no, not long amongst his friends; so that at the last, being traitorously taken, (as ye shall after hear,) he was sent unto the Tower of London, where he had many conflicts with the bishops, but especially in writing with Sir Thomas More.

What dexterity of wit was in him, and excellency of doctrine, it may appear not only by his books which he wrote of the sacrament, but also in them which he entitled Of Purgatory. In the which quarrel he withstood the violence of three most obstinate enemies; that is to say, of Rochester, More, and Rastal, whereof the one by the help of the doctors, the other by wresting of the Scripture, and the third by the help of natural philosophy, had conspired against him. But he, as a Hercules, fighting not against two only, but even with them all three at once, did so overthrow and confound them, that he converted Rastal to his part.

Besides all these commendations of this young man, there was also in him a friendly and prudent moderation in uttering of the truth, joined with a learned godliness; which virtue hath always so much prevailed in the church of Christ, that, without it, all other good gifts of knowledge, be they ever so great, cannot greatly profit, but oftentimes do very much hurt. And would God that all things, in all places, were so free from all kinds of dissension, there were no

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mention made amongst Christians of Zuinglians and Lutherans, when neither Zuinglius nor Luther died for us; but that we might be all one in Christ. Neither do I think that any thing more grievous could happen unto these worthy men, than their names so to be abused to sects and factions, which so greatly withstood and strove against all factions. Neither do I here discourse which part came nearest unto the truth, neither so rashly intermeddle in this matter, that I will detract any thing from either part, but rather wish of God I might join either part unto the other.

But now, forasmuch as we treat of the story of John Frith, I cannot choose, but must needs earnestly and heartily embrace the prudent and godly moderation which was in that man, who, maintaining this quarrel of the sacrament of the Lord's supper, no less godly than learnedly, (and so as no man in a manner had done it more learnedly and pithily,) yet he did it so moderately, without any contention, that he would never seem to strive against the papists, except he had been driven to it even of necessity. In all other matters; where necessity did not move him to contend, he was ready to grant all things for quietness' sake, as his most modest reason and answers did declare. For when More, disputing in a certain place upon the sacrament, laid against him the authority of Doctor Barnes, for the presence of the body and blood in the sacrament, he answered unto More and his companions, that he would promise under this condition, that if the sentence of Luther and Barnes might be holden as ratified, he would never speak more words of it: for in that point they did both agree with him, that the sacrament was not to be worshipped; and that idolatry being taken away, he was content to permit every man to judge of the sacrament, as God should put into their hearts: for then there remained no more poison, that any man ought or might be afraid of. Wherefore, if they did agree in that which was the chief point of the sacrament, they should easily accord and agree in the rest.

Thus much he wrote, in the treatise entitled The Exile, of Barnes against More; which words of this most meek martyr of Christ, if they would take place in the seditious divisions and factions of these our days, with great ease and little labour men might be brought to a unity in this controversy; and much more concord and love should be in the church, and much less offence given abroad than there is.

But to our story again of John Frith. After he had now sufficiently contended in his writings with More, Rochester, and Rastal, More's son-in-law, he was at last carried to Lambeth, first before the bishop of Canterbury, and afterward unto Croydon, before the bishop of Winchester, to plead his cause. Last of all, he was called before the bishops, in a common assembly at London, where he constantly defended himself, if he might have been heard.

The order of his judgment, with the manner of his examination and the articles which were objected against him, are comprised and set forth by himself in a letter written and sent unto his friends, whilst he was prisoner in the Tower.

A letter of John Frith to his friends, concerning his troubles; wherein, after he had first with a brief preface saluted them, entering then into the matter, thus he writeth:-

"I doubt not, dear brethren, but that it doth some deal vex you, to see the one part have all the words, and freely to speak what they list, and the others to be put to silence, and not be heard indifferently.

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But refer your matters unto God, who shortly shall judge after another fashion. In the mean time I have written unto you, as briefly as I may, what articles were objected against me, and what were the principal points of my condemnation, that ye might understand the matter certainly.

"The whole matter of this my examination was comprehended in two special articles, that is to say, Of Purgatory, and Of the Substance of the Sacrament.

"And first of all, as touching purgatory, they inquired of me whether I did believe there was any place to purge the spots and filth of the soul after this life? But I said, that I thought there was no such place: for man (said I) doth consist and is made of two parts, that is to say, of the body and the soul, whereof the one is purged here in this world, by the cross of Christ, which he layeth upon every child that he receiveth; as affliction, worldly oppression, persecution, imprisonment, &c. The last of all, the reward of sin, which is death, is laid upon us: but the soul is purged with the word of God, which we receive through faith, to the salvation both of body and soul. Now if ye can show me a third part of a man besides the body and the soul, I will also grant unto you the third place, which ye do call purgatory. But because ye cannot do this, I must also of necessity deny unto you the bishop of Rome's purgatory. Nevertheless I count neither part a necessary article of our faith, to be believed under pain of damnation, whether there be such a purgatory or no?

"Secondly, They examined me touching the sacrament of the altar, whether it was the body of Christ or no?

"I answered, that I thought it was both Christ's body, and also our body, as St. Paul teacheth us in 1 Cor. x.16. For in that it is made one bread of many corns, it is called our body, which, being divers and many members, are associate and gathered together into one fellowship or body. Likewise of the wine, which is gathered of many clusters of grapes, and is made into one liquor. But the same bread again, in that it is broken, is the body Christ; declaring his body to be broken and delivered unto death, to redeem us from our iniquities.

"Furthermore, in that the sacrament is distributed, it is Christ's body, signifying that as verily as the sacrament is distributed unto us, so verily are Christ's body and the fruit of his passion distributed unto all faithful people.

"In that it is received, it is Christ's body, signifying that as verily as the outward man receiveth the sacrament with his teeth and mouth, so verily doth the inward man, through faith, receive Christ's body and the fruit of his passion, and is as sure of it as of the bread which he eateth.

"Well (said they) dost thou not think that his very natural body, flesh, blood, and bone, is really contained under the sacrament, and there present without all figure or similitude? No, (said I,) I do not so think: notwithstanding I would not that any should count, that I make my saying (which is the negative) any article of faith. For even as I say, that you ought not to make any necessary article of the faith of your part, (which is the affirmative,) so I say again, that we make no necessary article of the faith of our part, but leave it indifferent for all men to judge therein, as

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God shall open their hearts, and no side to condemn or despise the other, but to nourish in all things brotherly love; and one to bear another's infirmity.

"After this they alleged the place of St. Augustine, where he saith, 'He was carried in his own hands.'

"Whereunto I answered, that St. Augustine was a plain interpreter of himself; for he hath in another place, 'He was carried on as it were in his own hands:' which is a phrase of speech not of one that doth simply affirm, but only of one expressing a thing by a similitude. And albeit that St. Augustine had not thus expounded himself, yet he, writing unto Boniface, doth plainly admonish all men, that the sacraments do represent and signify those things whereof they are sacraments, and many times even of the similitudes of the things themselves they do take their names. And therefore, according to this rule it may be said, he was borne in his own hands, when he bare in his hands the sacrament of his body and blood.

"Then they alleged a place of Chrysostom, which, at the first blush, may seem to make much for them, who, in a certain Homily upon the supper, writeth thus: 'Dost thou see bread and wine? Do they depart from thee into the draught, as other meats do? No, God forbid; for as in wax, when it cometh to the fire, nothing of the substance remaineth or abideth; so likewise think that the mysteries are consumed by the substance of the body,' &c.

"These words I expounded by the words of the same doctor, who, in another Homily, saith on this manner; 'The inward eyes,' saith he, 'as soon as they see the bread, they flee over all creatures, and do not think of the bread that is baked by the baker, but of the bread of everlasting life, which is signified by the mystical bread.' Now confer these places together, and you shall perceive that the last expoundeth the first plainly. For he saith, Dost thou see the bread and wine? I answer by the second, Nay. For the inward eyes, as soon as they see the bread, do pass over all creatures, and do not any longer think upon the bread, but upon him which is signified by the bread. And after this manner he seeth it, and again he seeth it not: for as he seeth it with his outward and carnal eyes, so with his inward eyes he seeth it not; that is to say, regardeth not the bread, or thinketh not upon it, but is otherwise occupied. Even as when we play or do any thing else negligently, we commonly are wont to say, we see not what we do; not that indeed we do not see that which we go about, but because our mind is fixed on some other thing, and doth not attend unto that which the eyes do see.

"In like manner may it be answered unto that which followeth; 'Do they avoid from thee,' saith he, 'into the draught as other meats do?' I will not so say, for other meats, passing through the bowels, after they have of themselves given nourishment unto the body, be voided into the draught: but this is a spiritual meat, which is received by faith, and nourisheth both body and soul unto everlasting life, neither is it at any time avoided as other meats are.

"And as before I said that the external eyes do behold the bread, which the inward eyes, being otherwise occupied, do not behold or think upon, even so our outward man doth digest the bread, and void it into the draught; but the inward man doth neither regard nor think upon it, but thinketh upon the thing itself that is signified by that bread. And therefore Chrysostom, a little before the words which they alleged, saith, 'Lift up your minds and hearts:' whereby he

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admonisheth us to look upon and consider those heavenly things which are represented and signified by the bread and wine, and not to mark the bread and wine itself.

"Here they said, that was not Chrysostom's mind; but that by this example he declared that there remained no bread nor wine. I answered, that was false: for the example that he taketh tendeth to no other purpose, but to call away our spiritual eyes from the beholding of visible things, and to transport them another way, as if the things that are seen were of no force. Therefore he draweth away our mind from the consideration of these things, and fixeth it upon him which is signified unto us by the same. The very words which follow, sufficiently declare this to be the true meaning of the author, where he commandeth us to consider all things with our inward eyes; that is to say, spiritually.

"But whether Chrysostom's words do tend either to this or that sense, yet do they indifferently make on our part against our adversaries, which way so-ever we do understand them. For if he thought that the bread and wine do remain, we have no further to travel: but if he meant contrariwise, that they do not remain, but that the natures of the bread and wine are altered, then are the bread and wine falsely named sacraments and mysteries, which can be said in no place to be in the nature of things: for that which is in no place, how can it be a sacrament, or supply the room of a mystery? Finally, if he speak only of the outward forms and shapes, (as we call them,) it is most certain that they do continually remain, and that they by the substance of the body are not consumed in any place: wherefore it must necessarily follow the words of Chrysostom to be understood in such sense as I have declared.

"Here peradventure many would marvel, that forasmuch as the matter touching the substance of the sacrament is separate from the articles of faith, and bindeth no man of necessity either unto salvation or damnation, whether he believe it or not, but rather may be left indifferently unto all men, freely to judge either on the one part or on the other, according to his own mind, so that neither part do condemn or despise the other, but that all love and charity be still holden and kept in this dissension of opinions; what then is the cause, why I would therefore so willingly suffer death? The cause why I die is this: for that I cannot agree with the divines and other head prelates, that it should be necessarily determined to be an article of faith, and that we should believe, under pain of damnation, the substance of the bread and wine to be changed into the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, the form and shape only not being changed. Which thing if it were most true, (as they shall never be able to prove it by any authority of the Scripture or doctors,) yet shall they not so bring to pass, that that doctrine, were it ever so true, should be holden for a necessary article of faith. For there are many things, both in the Scriptures and other places, which we are not bound of necessity to believe as an article of faith. So it is true, that I was a prisoner and in bonds when I wrote these things, and yet, for all that, I will not hold it as an article of faith, but that you may, without danger of damnation, either believe it, or think the contrary.

"But as touching the cause why I cannot affirm the doctrine of transubstantiation, divers reasons do lead me thereunto: first, for that I do plainly see it to be false and vain, and not to be grounded upon any reason, either of the Scriptures, or of approved doctors. Secondly, for that by my example I would not be an author unto Christians to admit any thing as a matter of faith, more than the necessary points of their creed, wherein the whole sum of our salvation doth

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consist, especially such things, the belief whereof have no certain argument of authority or reason. I added moreover, that their church (as they call it) hath no such power and authority, that it either ought or may bind us, under the peril of our souls, to the believing of any such articles. Thirdly, because I will not, for the favour of our divines or priests, be prejudicial in this point unto so many nations, of Germans, Helvetians, and others, which, altogether rejecting the transubstantiation of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, are all of the same opinion as I am, as well those that take Luther's part, as those that hold with Œcolampadius. Which things standing in this case, I suppose there is no man of any upright conscience, which will not allow the reason of my death, which I am put unto for this only cause, that I do not think transubstantiation, although it were true indeed, to be established for an article of faith."

And thus much hitherto as touching the articles and whole disputation of John Frith, which was done with all moderation and uprightness. But when no reason would prevail against the force and cruelty of these furious foes, on the twentieth day of June, A.D. 1533, he was brought before the bishops of London, Winchester, and Lincoln, who, sitting in St. Paul's, on Friday the twentieth day of June, ministered certain interrogatories upon the sacrament of the supper, and purgatory, Unto the said Frith, as is above declared; to the which when he had answered, and showed his mind in form and effect, as by his own words above doth appear, he afterwards subscribed to his answers with his own hand, in these words: "I, Frith, thus do think; and as I think, so have I said, written, taught, and affirmed, and in my books have published."

But when Frith by no means could be persuaded to recant these articles aforesaid, neither be brought to believe that the sacrament is an article of faith, but said, *Fiat judicium et justitia*; he was condemned by the bishop of London to be burned, and sentence given against him.

This sentence read, the bishop of London directed his letter to Sir Stephen Peacock, mayor of London, and the sheriffs of the same city, for the receiving of the aforesaid John Frith into their charge; who, being so delivered over unto them the fourth day of July, in the year aforesaid, was by them carried into Smithfield to be burned. And when he was tied unto the stake, there it sufficiently appeared with what constancy and courage he suffered death; for when the faggots and fire were put unto him, he willingly embraced the same; thereby declaring with what uprightness of mind he suffered his death for Christ's sake, and the true doctrine, whereof that day he gave, with his blood, a perfect and firm testimony. The wind made his death somewhat the longer, which bare away the flame from him unto his fellow that was tied to his back: but he had established his mind with such patience, God giving him strength, that even as though he had felt no pain in that long torment, he seemed rather to rejoice for his fellow than to be careful for himself.

This truly is the power and strength of Christ, striving and vanquishing in his saints; who sanctify us together with them, and direct us in all things to the glory of his holy name! Amen.

The day before the burning of these worthy men of God, the bishop of London certified King Henry the Eighth of his worthy, yea, rather wolfish, proceeding against these men.



Frith and Hewet at the stake

Andrew Hewet burned with Master Frith.

Andrew Hewet, born in Feversham, in the county of Kent, a young man of the age of four and twenty years, was apprentice with one Master Warren, a tailor in Watling Street. And as it happened that he went upon a holyday into Fleet Street, towards St. Dunstan's, he met with one William Holt, which was foreman with the king's tailor, at that present called Master Malte; and being suspected by the same Holt, which was a dissembling wretch, to be one that favoured the gospel, after a little talk had with him, he went into an honest house about Fleet Bridge, which was a bookseller's house. Then Holt, thinking he had found good occasion to show forth some fruit of his wickedness, sent for certain officers, and searched the house, and finding the said Andrew, apprehended him, and carried him to the bishop's house, where he was cast into irons; and being there a good space, by the means of a certain honest man, he had a file conveyed unto him, wherewith he filed off his irons, and when he spied his time, he got out of the gate. But being a man unskilful to hide himself, for lack of good acquaintance, he went into Smithfield, and there met with one Withers, which was a hypocrite, as Holt was. Which Withers, understanding how he had escaped, and that he knew not whither to go, pretending a fair countenance unto him, willed him to go with him, promising that he should be provided for; and so kept him in the country where he had to do, from Low Sunday till Whitsuntide, and then

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brought him to London, to the house of one John Chapman in Hosier Lane beside Smithfield, and there left him by the space of two days.

Then he came to the said Chapman's house again, and brought Holt with him. And when they met with the said Andrew, they seemed as though they meant to do him very much good; and Holt, for his part, said that if he should bring any man in trouble, (as the voice was that he had done the said Andrew,) it were pity but that the earth should open and swallow him up: insomuch that they would needs sup there that night, and prepared meat of their own charges. At night they came, and brought certain guests with them, because they would have the matter to seem as though it had come out by others. When they had supped, they went their way, and Holt took out of his purse two groats, and gave them to the said Andrew, and embraced him in his arms. As they were gone out, there came in one John Tibauld, which was banished from his own house by an injunction, for he had been four times in prison for Christ's cause. And within an hour after that Holt and Withers were gone, the bishop's chancellor, and one called Sergeant Weaver, came, and brought with them the watch, and searched the house, where they found the said John Chapman and the before-named Andrew, and John Tibauld, whom they bound with ropes which Sergeant Weaver had brought with him, and so carried them to the bishop's house: but Andrew Hewet they sent unto the Lollard's Tower, and kept Chapman and Tibauld asunder, watched by two priests' servants. The next day Bishop Stokesley came from Fulham, and after they were examined with a few threatening words, Chapman was committed to the stocks, with this threat, that he should tell another tale, or else he should sit there till his heels did drop off, &c.: and Tibauld was shut up in a close chamber; but, by God's provision, he was well delivered out of prison, albeit he could not enjoy his house and land because of the bishop's injunction, but was fain to sell all that he had in Essex; for the tenor of his injunction was, that he should not come within seven miles of his own house. And the aforesaid Chapman, after five weeks' imprisonment, (whereof three weeks he sat in the stocks,) by much suit made unto the lord chancellor, which at that time was Lord Audley, after many threatenings, was delivered: but the said Andrew Hewet, after long and cruel imprisonment, was condemned to death, and burned with John Frith. The examination of Hewet here followeth.

On the twentieth day of the month of April, Andrew Hewet was brought before the chancellor of the bishop of London, where was objected against him, that he believed the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration, to be but a signification of the body of Christ, and that the host consecrated was not the very body of Christ. Now, forasmuch as this article seemed heinous unto them, they would do nothing in it without the consent of learned counsel: whereupon the bishop of London, associated with the bishops of Lincoln and Winchester, called him again before them; where, it being demanded of him what he thought as touching the sacrament of the last supper; he answered, "Even as John Frith doth." Then said one of the bishops unto him, "Dost thou not believe that it is really the body of Christ, born of the Virgin Mary?"

"So," saith he, "do not I believe." "Why not?" said the bishop. "Because," said he, "Christ commanded me not to give credit rashly unto all men, who say, Behold, here is Christ, and there is Christ; for many false prophets shall rise up, saith the Lord."

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Then certain of the bishops smiled at him; and Stokesley, the bishop of London, said, "Why, Frith is a heretic, and already judged to be burned; and except thou revoke thine opinion, thou shalt be burned also with him." "Truly," saith he, "I am content therewithal." Then the bishop asked him if he would forsake his opinions; whereunto he answered, that he would do as Frith did: whereupon he was sent unto the prison to Frith, and afterwards they were carried together to the fire. The bishops used many persuasions to allure this good man from the truth, to follow them; but he, manfully persisting in the truth, would not recant. Wherefore on the fourth day of July, in the afternoon, he was carried into Smithfield with Frith, and there burned.

When they were at the stake, one Doctor Cook, a parson in London, openly admonished all the people, that they should in no wise pray for them, no more than they would do for a dog; at which words Frith, smiling, desired the Lord to forgive him. These his words did not a little move the people unto anger, and not without good cause. Thus these two blessed martyrs committed their souls into the hands of God.

180. Thomas Benet

The history of the persecution and death of Thomas Benet, burned in Exeter: collected and testified by John Dowel, alias Hoker.

This Thomas Benet was born in Cambridge, and, by order of degree, of the university there made master of arts, and, as some think, was also a priest; a man doubtless very well learned, and of a godly disposition, being of the acquaintance and familiarity of Thomas Bilney, the famous and glorious martyr of Christ. This man, the more he did grow and increase in the knowledge of God and his holy word, the more he did mislike and abhor the corrupt state of religion then used; and therefore, thinking his own country to be no safe place for him to remain in, and being desirous to live in more freedom of conscience, he did forsake the university, and went into Devonshire, A.D. 1524, and first dwelled in a market-town, named Torrington, both town and country being to him altogether unknown, as he was also unknown to all men there; where, for the better maintenance of himself and his wife, he did practise to teach young children, and kept a school for the same purpose. But that town not serving his expectation, after his abode one year there, he came to the city of Exeter; and there, hiring a house in a street called the Butcher Row, did exercise the teaching of children, and by that means sustained his wife and family. He was of a quiet behaviour, of a godly conversation, and of a very courteous nature, humble to all men, and offensive to nobody. His greatest delight was to be at all sermons and preachings, whereof he was a diligent and attentive hearer. The time which he had to spare from teaching, he gave wholly to his private study in the Scriptures, having no dealings nor conferences with any body, saving with such as he could learn and understand to be favourers of the gospel, and zealous of God's true religion: of such he would be inquisitive, and most desirous to join himself unto them. And therefore, understanding that one William Strowd, esquire, of Newnbam, in the county of Devonshire, was committed to the bishop's prison in Exeter, upon suspicion of heresy, although he were never before acquainted with him, yet did he send his letters of comfort and consolation unto him; wherein, to avoid all suspicion which might be conceived of him, he did disclose himself, and utter what he was, and the causes of his being in the country, writing among other things these words: "Because I would not be a whoremonger, or an unclean person, therefore I married a wife, with whom I have hidden myself in Devonshire, from the tyranny of the antichristians, these six years."

But, as every tree and herb hath its due time to bring forth its fruit, so did it appear by this man. For he, daily seeing the glory of God to be so blasphemed, idolatrous religion so embraced and maintained, and that most false usurped power of the bishop of Rome so extolled, was so grieved in conscience, and troubled in spirit, that he could not be quiet till he did utter his mind therein. Wherefore, dealing privately with certain of his friends, he did plainly open and disclose how blasphemously and abominably God was dishonoured, his word contemned, and his people, whom he so dearly bought, were, by blind guides, carried headlong to everlasting damnation: and therefore he could no longer endure, but must needs, and would, utter their abominations; and for his own part, for the testimony of his conscience, and for the defence of God's true religion, would yield himself most patiently (as near as God would give him grace) to die and to shed his blood therein; alleging that his death should be more profitable to the church of God,

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and for the edifying of his people, than his life should be. To whose persuasions when his friends had yielded, they promised to pray to God for him, that he might be strong in the cause, and continue a faithful soldier to the end: which done, he gave order for the bestowing of such books as he had, and very shortly after, in the month of October, he wrote his mind in certain scrolls of paper, which, in secret manner, he set upon the doors of the cathedral church of the city; in which was written, "The pope is antichrist; and we ought to worship God only, and no saints."

These bills were found, there was no small ado, and no little search made for the inquiry of the heretic that should set up these bills: and the mayor and his officers were not so busy to make searches to find this heretic, but the bishop and all his doctors were as hot as coals, and enkindled as though they had been stung with a sort of wasps. Wherefore, to keep the people in their former blindness, order was taken that the doctors should in haste up to the pulpit every day, and confute this heresy. Nevertheless this Thomas Benet, keeping his own doings in secret, went the Sunday following to the cathedral church to the sermon, and by chance sat down by two men, who were the busiest in all the city in seeking and searching for this heretic; and they, beholding this Benet, said the one to the other, "Surely this fellow, by all likelihood, is the heretic that hath set up the bills, and it were good to examine him." Nevertheless, when they had well beheld him, and saw the quiet and sober behaviour of the man, his attentiveness to the preacher, his godliness in the church, being always occupied in his book, which was a Testament in the Latin tongue, they were astonished, and had no power to speak unto him, but departed, and left him reading in his book. As touching this point of Benet's behaviour in the church, I find the reports of some others a little to vary, and yet not much contrary one to the other. For in receiving the letters and writings of a certain minister, who at the same time was present at the doing hereof in Exeter, thus I find moreover added, concerning the behaviour of this Thomas Benet in the church:

At that time, saith he, as I remember, Dr. Moreman, Crispin, Caseley, with such others, bare the swinge there. Besides these, were also preachers there, one Dr. Bascavild, an unlearned doctor, God knoweth: and one Dr. David, as well learned as he, both Grey Friars, and Doctor I-know-not-who, a Black Friar, not much inferior unto them. Moreover, there was one bachelor of divinity, a Grey Friar named Gregory Basset, more learned indeed than they all, but as blind and superstitious as he which was most; which Gregory, not long before, was revolted from the way of righteousness, to the way of Belial: for in Bristol, saith the author, he lay in prison long, and was almost famished, for having a book of Martin Luther, called his Questions, which he a long time privily had studied, and for the teaching of youth a certain catechism. To he short, the brains of the canons and priests, the officers and commons of that city, were very earnestly busied, how, or by what means, such an enormous heretic, who had pricked up those bills, might be espied and known: but it was long first. At last, the priests found out a toy to curse him, whatsoever he were, with a book, bell, and candle; which curse at that day seemed most fearful and terrible. The manner of the curse was after this sort:

One of the priests, apparelled all in white, ascended up into the pulpit. The other rabblement, with certain of the two orders of friars, and certain superstitious monks of St. Nicholas' house standing round about, and the cross (as the custom was) being holden up with holy candles of wax fixed to the same, he began his sermon with this theme of Joshua, There is blasphemy in the army; and so made a long protestation, but not so long as tedious and

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superstitious: and so concluded that that foul and abominable heretic who had put up such blasphemous bills, was, for that his blasphemy, damnably accursed; and besought God, our Lady, St. Peter, patron of that church, with all the holy company of martyrs, confessors, and virgins, that it might be known what heretic had put up such blasphemous bills, that God's people might avoid the vengeance.

The manner of the cursing of the said Benet was marvellous to behold, forasmuch as at that time there were few or none, unless a shearman or two, whose houses, I well remember, were searched for bills at that time, and for books, that knew any thing of God's matters, or how God doth bless their curses in such cases. Then said the prelate thus:

The pope's curse, with book, bell, and candle.

"By the authority of God the Father Almighty, and of the blessed Virgin Mary, of Saint Peter and Paul, and of the holy saints, we excommunicate, we utterly curse and ban, commit and deliver to the devil of hell, him or her, whatsoever he or she be, that have, — in spite of God and of St. Peter, whose church this is, in spite of all holy saints, and in spite of our most holy father the pope, God's vicar here in earth, and in spite of the reverend father in God, John, our diocesan, and the worshipful canons, masters, and priests, and clerks, who serve God daily in this cathedral church, — fixed up with wax such cursed and heretical bills, full of blasphemy, upon the doors of this and other holy churches within this city. Excommunicated plainly be he, or she, or they, plenarily, and delivered over to the devil, as perpetual malefactors and schismatics. Accursed may they be, and given body and soul to the devil. Cursed be they, he or she, in cities and towns, in fields, in ways, in paths, in houses, out of houses, and in all other places, standing, lying, or rising, walking, running, waking, sleeping, eating, drinking, and whatsoever thing they do besides. We separate them, him, or her, from the threshold, and from all the good prayers, of the church; from the participation of the holy mass; from all sacraments, chapels, and altars; from holy bread and holy water; from all the merits of God's priests and religious men, and from all their cloisters; from all their pardons, privileges, grants, and immunities, which all the holy fathers, popes of Rome, have granted to them; and we give them over utterly to the power of the fiend: and let us quench their souls, if they be dead, this night in the pains of hell-fire, as this candle is now quenched and put out (and with that he put out one of the candles): and let us pray to God, if they be alive, that their eyes may be put out, as this candle light is (so he put out the other candle); and let us pray to God and to our Lady, and to St. Peter and Paul, and all holy saints, that all the senses of their bodies may fail them, and that they may have no feeling, as now the light of this candle is gone, (and so he put out the third candle,) except they, he, or she, come openly now and confess their blasphemy, and by repentance, as much as in them shall lie, make satisfaction unto God, our Lady, St. Peter, and the worshipful company of this cathedral church: and as this holy cross-staff now falleth down, so may they, except they repent."

[Note: "So far is this horrible curse from being obsolete, that there are several yet snore instinct with cursing in the Pontificale Romanum; a book in the possession of every Romish bishop and priest, and embodying the formulas according to which they bless and curse at this day. Popery accommodates itself to circumstances, but never changes.]

Now this fond foolish fantasy and mockery being done and played, which was to a Christian heart a thing ridiculous; Benet could no longer forbear, but fell to great laughter, and

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within himself, and for a great space could not cease; by which thing the poor man was espied. For those that were next to him, wondering at that great curse, and believing that it could not but light on one or other, asked good Benet, for what cause he should so laugh. "My friends," said he, "who can forbear, seeing such merry conceits and interludes played by the priests?" Straightway a noise was made, Here is the heretic! here is the heretic! hold him fast, hold him fast! With that there was a great confusion of voices, and much clapping of hands, and yet they were uncertain whether he were the heretic or no. Some say, that upon the same he was taken and apprehended. Others report, that his enemies, being uncertain of him, departed, and so he went home to his house; where he, being not able to digest the lies there preached, renewed his former bills, and caused his boy, early in the morning following, to set the said bills upon the gates of the churchyard. As the boy was setting one of the said bills upon a gate, called The little Stile, it chanced that one W. S., going to the cathedral church to hear a mass, called Barton's Mass, which was then daily said about five o'clock in the morning, found the boy at the gate, and asking him whose boy he was, did charge him to be the heretic that had set up the bills upon the gates: wherefore, pulling down the bill, he brought the same, together with the boy, before the mayor of the city; and thereupon Benet, being known and taken, was violently committed to ward.

On the morrow began both the canons and the heads of the city joined with them, to fall to examination; with whom, for that day, he had not much communication, but confessed and said to them, "It was even I that put up those bills; and if it were to do, I would yet do it again; for in them I have written nothing but that is very truth." "Couldst not thou," said they, "as well have declared thy mind by mouth, as by putting up bills of blasphemy?" "No," said he, "I put up the bills, that many should read and hear what abominable blasphemers ye are, and that they might the better know your antichrist, the pope, to be that boar out of the wood, which destroyeth and throweth down the hedges of God's church; for if I had been heard to speak but one word, I should have been clapped fast in prison, and the matter of God hidden. But now I trust more of your blasphemous doings will thereby be opened and come to light; for God will so have it, and no longer will suffer you."

The next day after, he was sent unto the bishop, who first committed him to prison, called The Bishop's Prison, where he was kept in stocks and strong irons, with as much favour as a dog should find. Then the bishop, associating unto him one Dr. Brewer, his chancellor, and other of his lewd clergy and friars, began to examine him and burden him, that, contrary to the catholic faith, he denied praying to saints, and also denied the supremacy of the pope. Whereunto he answered in such sober manner, and so learnedly proved and defended his assertions, that he did not only confound and put to silence his adversaries, but also brought them in great admiration of him; the most part having pity and compassion on him. The friars took great pains with him to persuade him from his erroneous opinions, to recant and acknowledge his fault, touching the bills; but they did but dig after day; for God had appointed him to be a blessed witness of his holy name, and to be at defiance with all their false persuasions.

To declare here with what cruelty the officers searched his house for bills and books, how cruelly and shamefully they handled his wife, charging her with divers enormities, it were too long to write. But she, like a good woman, took all things patiently that they did unto her; like as in other things she was contented to bear the cross with him, as to fare hardly with him at home,

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and to live with coarse meat and drink, that they might be the more able somewhat to help the poor, as they did to the uttermost of their power.

Amongst all other priests and friars, Gregory Basset was most busy with him. This Gregory Basset, as is partly touched before, was learned, and had a pleasant tongue, and not long before was fallen from the truth, for the which he was imprisoned in Bristol a long time; at whose examination was ordained a great pan of fire, where his holy brethren (as the report went abroad) menaced him to burn his hands off: whereupon he there before them recanted, and became afterwards a mortal enemy to the truth all his life. This Gregory, as it is said, was fervent with the poor man, to please the canons of that church, and marvellously tormented his brains, how to turn him from his opinions; yea, and he was so diligent and fervent with him, that he would not depart the prison, but lay there night and day, who notwithstanding lost his labour; for good Benet was at a point not to deny Christ before men. So Gregory, as well as the other holy fathers, lost his spurs, insomuch that he said in open audience, that there never was so obstinate a heretic.

The matter between Gregory Basset and Thomas Benet.

The principal point between Basset and Benet was touching the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, whom in his bills he named antichrist, the thief, the mercenary, and the murderer of Christ's flock: and these disputations lasted about eight days, where, at sundry times, repaired to him both the Black and Grey Friars, with priests and monks of that city. They that had some learning persuaded him to believe the church, and showed by what tokens she is known. The others unlearned railed, and said that the devil tempted him, and spat upon him, calling him heretic; who prayed God to give them a better mind, and to forgive them: "For," said he, "I will rather die, than worship such a beast, the very whore of Babylon, and a false usurper, as manifestly doth appear by his doings." They asked, What he did, that he had not power and authority to do, being God's vicar? "He doth," quoth he, "sell the sacraments of the church for money, he selleth remissions of sins daily for money, and so do you likewise: for there is no day but ye say divers masses for souls in feigned purgatory: yea, and ye spare not to make lying sermons to the people, to maintain your false traditions and foul gains. The whole world doth begin now to note your doings, to your utter confusion and shame." "The shame," said they, "shall be to thee, and such as thou art, thou foul heretic! Wilt thou allow nothing done in holy church? what a perverse heretic art thou!" "I am," said he, "no heretic, but a Christian man, I thank Christ; and with all my heart will allow all things done and used in the church to the glory of God, and edifying of my soul: but I see nothing in your church, but what maintaineth the devil." "What is our church?" said they. "It is not my church," quoth Benet, "God give me grace to be of a better church, for verily your church is the plain church of antichrist, the malignant church, the second church, a den of thieves, and an awmbry of poison, and as far wide from the true, universal, and apostolic church, as heaven is distant from the earth."

"Dost not thou think," said they, "that we pertain to the universal church?" "Yes," quoth he, "but as dead members, unto whom the church is not beneficial; for your works are the devices of man, and your church a weak foundation: for ye say and preach that the pope's word is equal with God's word in every degree." "Why," said they, "did not Christ say to Peter, To thee I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven?" "He said that," quoth he, "to all, as well as to

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Peter; and Peter had no more authority given to him than they, or else the churches planted in every kingdom by their preaching are no churches. Doth not St. Paul say, Upon the foundations of the apostles and prophets? Therefore I say plainly, that the church that is built upon a man, is the devil's church or congregation, and not God's. And as every church this day is appointed to be ruled by a bishop or pastor, ordained by the word of God in preaching and administration of the sacraments under the prince the supreme governor under God, so, to say that all the churches with their princes and governors be subject unto one bishop, is detestable heresy; and the pope, your god, challenging this power to himself, is the greatest schismatic that ever was in the church, and the most foul whore; of whom John, in the Revelation, speaketh."

"O thou blind and unlearned fool!" said they, "is not the confession and consent of all the world, as we confess and consent — That the pope's Holiness is the supreme head and vicar of Christ?" "That is," said Benet, "because they are blinded and know not the Scriptures: but if God would of his mercy open the eyes of princes to know their office, his false supremacy would soon decay." "We think," said they, "thou art so malicious, that thou wilt confess no church." "Look!" said he, "where they are that confess the true name of Jesus Christ; and where only Christ is the Head, and under him the prince of the realm, to order all bishops, ministers, and preachers, and to see them do their duties in setting forth the only glory of God by preaching the word of God; and where it is preached that Christ is our only Advocate, Mediator, and Patron before God his Father, making intercession for us; and where the true faith and confidence in Christ's death and passion, and his only merits and deservings are extolled, and our own depressed; where the sacrament is duly, without superstition or idolatry, administered in remembrance of his blessed passion and only sacrifice upon the cross once for all, and where no superstition reigneth: — of that church will I be! "

"Doth not the pope," said they, "confess the true gospel? do not we all the same?" "Yes," said he, "but ye deny the fruits thereof in every point. Ye build upon the sands, not upon the rock." "And wilt thou not believe indeed," said they, "that the pope is God's vicar?" "No," said he, "indeed." "And why?" said they. "Because," quoth he, "he usurpeth a power not given to him by Christ, no more than to other apostles; and also because, by force of that usurped supremacy, he doth blind the whole world, and doth contrary to all that ever Christ ordained or commanded." "What," said they, "if he do all things after God's ordinance and commandment: should he then be his vicar?" "Then," said he, "would I believe him to be a good bishop at Rome over his own diocese, and to have no further power. And if it pleased God, I would every bishop did this in his diocese: then should we live a peaceable life in the church of Christ, and there should be no such seditious therein. If every bishop would seek no further power than over his own diocese, it were a goodly thing. Now, because all are subject to one, all must do and consent to all wickedness as he doth, or be none of his. This is the cause of great superstition in every kingdom. And what bishop soever he be that preacheth the gospel, and maintaineth the truth, is a true bishop of the church." "And doth not," said they, "our holy father the pope maintain the gospel?" "Yea," said he, "I think he doth read it, and peradventure believe it, and so do you also: but neither he nor you do fix the anchor of your salvation therein. Besides that, ye bear such a good will to it, that ye keep it close, that no man may read it but yourselves. And when you preach, God knoweth how you handle it; insomuch, that the people of Christ know no gospel well-near, but the pope's gospel; and so the blind lead the blind, and both fall into the pit. In the true gospel of Christ, confidence is none; but only in your popish traditions and fantastical inventions."

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Then said a Black Friar unto him, (God knoweth, a blockhead,) "Do we not preach the gospel daily?" "Yes," said he, "but what preaching of the gospel is that, when therewith ye extol superstitious things, and make us believe that we have redemption through pardons and bulls of Rome, and by the merits of your orders ye make many brethren and sisters; ye take yearly money of them, ye bury them in your coats, and in shrift ye beguile them; yea, and do a thousand superstitious things more: a man may be weary to speak of them." "I see," said the friar, "that thou art a damned wretch; I will have no more talk with thee."

Then stepped to him a Grey Friar, a doctor, (God knoweth of small intelligence,) and laid before him great and many dangers. "I take God to record," said Benet, "my life is not dear to me; I am content to depart from it, for I am weary of it, seeing your detestable doings, to the utter destruction of God's flock; and, for my part, I can no longer forbear; I had rather, by death, (which I know is not far off,) depart this life, that I may no longer be partaker of your detestable idolatries and superstitions, or be subject unto antichrist, your pope." "Our pope," said the friar, "is the vicar of God, and our ways are the ways of God." "I pray you," said Benet, "depart from me, and tell not me of your ways. He is only my way, who saith, I am the way, the truth, and the life. In his way will I walk, his doings shall be my example; not your's, nor your false pope's. His truth will I embrace; not the lies and falsehood of you and your pope. His everlasting life will I seek, the true reward of all faithful people. Away from me, I pray you. Vex my soul no longer; ye shall not prevail. There is no good example in you, no truth in you, no life to be hoped for at your hands. Ye are all more vain than vanity itself. If I should hear and follow you this day, everlasting death should hang over me, a just reward for all them that love the life of this world. Away from me: your company liketh me not."

Thus a whole week, night and day, was Benet plied by these and such other hypocrites. It were an infinite matter to declare all things done and said to him in the time of his imprisonment; and the hate of the people that time, by means of ignorance, was hot against him: notwithstanding they could never move his patience; he answered to every matter soberly, and that, more by the aid of God's Spirit, than by any worldly study. I think he was at the least fifty years old. Being in prison, his wife provided sustenance for him; and when she lamented, he comforted her, and gave her many good and godly exhortations, and prayed her to move him nothing to apply unto his adversaries.

Thus when these godly canons and priests, with the monks and friars, had done what they could, and perceived that he would by no means relent, then they, proceeding unto judgment, drew out their bloody sentence against him, condemning him, as the manner is, to be burned. Which being done, and the writ which they had procured being brought from London, they delivered him on the fifteenth of January, 1531, unto Sir Thomas Denis, knight, sheriff of Devonshire, to be burned. The mild martyr, rejoicing that his end was approaching so near, as the sheep before the shearer, yielded himself with all humbleness to abide and suffer the cross of persecution. And being brought to his execution, in a place called Livery-dole, without Exeter, he made his most humble confession and prayer unto Almighty God, and requested all the people to do the like for him; whom he exhorted with such gravity and sobriety, and with such a pithy oration, to seek the true honouring of God, and the true knowledge of him; as also to leave the devices, fantasies, and imaginations of man's inventions, that all the hearers and beholders of him were astonied and in great admiration; insomuch that the most part of the people, as also the

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scribe who wrote the sentence of condemnation against him, did pronounce and confess that he was God's servant, and a good man.

Nevertheless two esquires, namely, Thomas Carew and John Barnehouse, standing at the stake by him, first with fair promises and goodly words, but at length through rough threatenings, willed him to revoke his errors, and to call to our Lady and the saints, and to say, I pray holy Mary, and all the saints of God, &c. To whom, with all meekness, he answered, saying, "No, no; it is God only upon whose name we must call; and we have no other advocate unto him, but only Jesus Christ, who died for us, and now sitteth at the right hand of his Father, to be an advocate for us; and by him must we offer and make our prayers to God, if we will have them to take place and to be heard." With which answer the aforesaid Barnehouse was so enkindled, that he took a furze-bush upon a pike, and having set it on fire, he thrust it unto his face, saying, "Ah! whoreson heretic! pray to our Lady, and say, Holy Mary, pray for us, or, by God's wounds, I will make thee do it." To whom the said Thomas Benet, with a humble and a meek spirit, most patiently answered, "Alas, sir! trouble me not. And holding up his hands, he said, "Father, forgive them." Whereupon the gentlemen caused the wood and furzes to be set on fire, and therewith this godly man lifted up his eyes and hands to heaven, saying, "O Lord, receive my spirit." And so, continuing in his prayers, did never stir nor strive, but most patiently abode the cruelty of the fire, until his life was ended. For this the Lord God be praised, and send us his grace and blessing, that at the latter day we may with him enjoy the bliss and joy provided and prepared for the elect children of God.

This Benet was burned in a jerkin of neat's leather; at whose burning, such was the devilish rage of the blind people, that well was he or she that could catch a stick or furze to cast into the fire.

181. Persons Abjured in London

Hitherto we have run over, good reader, the names and the acts and doings of them, which have sustained death, and the torment of burning, for Christ's cause, through the rigorous proclamation above specified, set out, as is said, in the name of King Henry, but indeed procured by the bishops. Which proclamation was so straitly looked upon, and executed so to the uttermost in every point, by the said popish prelates, that no good man that breathed, whereof Esdras speaketh, could peep out with his head ever so little, but he was caught by the back, and brought either to the fire, as were these above mentioned; or else compelled to abjure. Whereof there was a great multitude, as well men as women; whose names, if they were sought out through all registers in England, no doubt it would make too long a discourse. Nevertheless, omitting the rest, it shall content us at this present, briefly, as in a short table, to insinuate the names, with the special articles, of such as, in the diocese of London, under Bishop Stokesley, were molested and vexed, and, at the last, compelled to abjure, as here may appear.

A table of certain persons, abjured within the diocese of London, under Bishop Stokesley, with the articles alleged against them.

Jeffery Lome, A.D. 1528.

Imprimis, for having and dispersing sundry books of Martin Luther's, as also for translating into the English tongue certain chapters of the work of Luther, De Bonis Operibus: as also, certain chapters of a certain book called Piæ Predicationes, wherein divers works of Luther be comprehended.

Item, For affirming and believing that faith only, without good works, will bring a man to heaven.

Item, That men be not bound to observe the constitutions made by the church.

Item, That we should pray to God only, and to no saints.

Item, That Christian men ought to worship God only, and no saints.

Item, That pilgrimages be not profitable for man's soul, and should not be used.

Item, That we should not offer to images in the church, nor set any lights before them.

Item, That no man is bound to keep any manner of fasting days, instituted at the church.

Item, That pardons granted by the pope or the bishop do not profit a man.

For these articles Jeffery Lome was abjured before the bishops of London, Bath, and Lincoln; no mention being made of any penance enjoined him.

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Sigar Nicholson, stationer, of Cambridge, A.D. 1528.

His articles were like; and moreover for having in his house certain books of Luther, and other prohibited, and not presenting them to the ordinary. The handling of this man was too, too cruel, if the report be true, that he should be hanged up in such a manner as well suffereth not to be named.

John Raimund, a Dutchman, A.D. 1528.

For causing fifteen hundred of Tyndale's New Testaments to be printed at Antwerp, and for bringing five hundred into England.

Paul Luther, Grey Friar, and warden of the house at Ware, A.D. 1529.

His articles were for preaching and saying that it is pity that there be so many images suffered in so many places, where indiscreet and unlearned people be; for they make their prayers and oblations so entirely and heartily before the image, that they believe it to be the very self saint in heaven.

Item, That if he knew his father and mother were in heaven, he would count them as good as St. Peter and Paul, but for the pain they suffered for Christ's sake.

Item, That there is no need to go on pilgrimage.

Item, That if a man were at the point of drowning, or any other danger, he should call only upon God, and no saint; for saints in heaven cannot help us, neither know any more what men do here in this world, than a man in the north country knoweth what is done in the south country.

Roger Whaplod, merchant tailor, sent, by one Thomas Norfolk, unto Dr. Goderidge, this bill following, to be read at his sermon in the Spital. A.D. 1529.

"If there be any well-disposed person willing to do any cost upon the reparation of the conduit in Fleet Street, let him or them resort unto the administrators of the goods and chattels of one Richard Hun, late merchant tailor of London, which died intestate, or else to me, and they shall have toward the same six pounds thirteen shillings and four-pence, and a better penny, of the goods of the said Richard Hun; upon whose soul, and all Christian souls, Jesus have mercy!"

For the which bill, both Whaplod and Norfolk were brought and troubled before the bishop; and also Dr. Goderidge, which took a groat for reading the said bill, was suspended for a time from saying mass, and also was forced to revoke the same at Paul's Cross; reading this bill as followeth.

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The revocation of Dr. William Goderidge, read at Paul's Cross.

"Masters! so it is, that where in my late sermon at St. Mary Spital, the Tuesday in Easter-week last past, I did pray specially for the soul of Richard Hun, late of London, merchant tailor, a heretic, by the laws of holy church justly condemned: by reason whereof I greatly offended God and his church, and the laws of the same, for which I have submitted me to my ordinary, and done penance there-for: forasmuch as, peradventure, the audience that was there offended by my said words, might take any occasion thereby to think that I did favour the said heretic, or any other, I desire you, at the instance of Almighty God, to forgive me, and not so to think of me, for I did it unadvisedly. Therefore, here before God and you, I declare myself that I have not favoured him or any other heretic, nor hereafter intend to do, but at all times shall defend the Catholic faith of holy church, according to my profession, to the best of my power.

Robert West, priest, A.D. 1529.

Abjured for books and opinions contrary to the proclamation.

Nicholas White of Rye, A.D. 1529.

His articles: — For speaking against the priests' saying of matins; against praying for them that be dead; against praying to God for small trifles, as for the cow calving, the hen hatching, &c.: for speaking against the relic of St. Peter's finger; against oblations to images; against vowing of pilgrimage; against priesthood; against holy bread and holy water, &c.

Richard Kitchen, priest, A.D. 1529.

His articles: — That pardons granted by the pope are naught, and that men should put no trust in them, but only in the passion of Christ: that he, being led by the words of the gospel, in Matt. vii., concerning the broad and narrow way, and also by the epistle of the mass, beginning, Vir fortissimus Judas, had erred in the way of the pope, and thought, that there were but two ways, and no purgatory: that men ought to worship no images, nor set up lights before them: that pilgrimage doth nothing avail: that the gospel was not truly preached for the space of three hundred years past, &c.

William Wegen, priest at St. Mary Hill, A.D. 1529.

His articles: — That he was not bound to say his matins nor other service, but to sing with the choir till they came to prime; and then, saying no more service, thought he might well go to mass: that he had said mass oftentimes, and had not said his matins and his divine service before: that he had gone to mass without confession made to a priest: that it was sufficient for a man, being in deadly sin, to ask only God mercy for his sin, without further confession made to a priest: that he held against pilgrimages, and called images, stocks, stones, and witches.

Item, That he being sick, went to the Rood of St. Margaret Patens; and said before him twenty Pater-nosters; and when he saw himself never the better, then he said, "A foul evil take him, and all other images."

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Item, That if a man keep a good tongue in his head, he fasteth well.

Item, For commending Luther to be a good man, for preaching twice a day, &c.

Item, For saying that the mass was but a ceremony, and made to the intent that men should pray only.

Item, For saying, that if a man had a pair of beads or a book in his hand at the church, and were not disposed to pray, it was naught, &c.

William Hale, holy water clerk of Tolenham, A.D. 1529.

His articles: — That offering of money and candles to images did not avail, since we are justified by the blood of Christ.

Item, For speaking against worshipping of saints, and against the pope's pardons. For saying, that since the sacraments that the priest doth minister be as good as they which the pope doth minister, he did not see but the priest hath as good authority as the pope.

Item, That a man should confess himself to God only, and not to a priest, &c.

William Blomfield, monk of Bury.

Abjured for the like causes.

John Tyndale, A.D. 1530.

For sending five marks to his brother William Tyndale beyond the sea, and for receiving and keeping with him certain letters from his brother.

William Worsley, priest and hermit, A.D. 1530.

His articles: — Forpreaching at Halestede, having the curate's licence, but not the bishop's.

Item, For preaching these words, "No man riding on pilgrimage, having under him a soft saddle, and an easy horse, should have any merit thereby, but the horse and the saddle," &c.

Item, For saying that hearing of matins and mass is not the thing that shall save a man's soul, but only to hear the word of God.

John Stacy, tiler, A.D. 1530.

His articles were against purgatory, which, he said, to be but a device of the priests to get money: against fasting days by man's prescription, and choice of meats: against superfluous holy days: Item, against pilgrimage, &c.

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Lawrence Maxwell, tailor, A.D. 1530.

His articles: — That the sacrament of the altar was not the very body of Christ in flesh and blood; but that he received him by the word of God, and in remembrance of Christ's passion.

Item, That the order of priesthood is no sacrament: that there is no purgatory, &c.

Thomas Curson, monk of Eastacre, in Norfolk, A.D. 1530.

His articles were these: — For going out of the monastery, and changing his weed, and letting his crown to grow; working abroad for his living, making copes and vestments. Also for having the New Testament of Tyndale's translation, and another book containing certain books of the Old Testament, translated into English, by certain whom the papists call Lutherans.

Thomas Cornewell or Austy, A.D. 1530.

His articles: — It was objected, that he, being enjoined afore, by Richard Fitzjames, bishop of London, for his penance to wear a faggot embroidered upon his sleeve under pain of relapse, he kept not the same; and therefore he was condemned to perpetual custody in the house of St. Bartholomew, from whence afterwards he escaped and fled away.

Thomas Philip, A.D. 1530.

Thomas Philip was delivered by Sir Thomas More, to Bishop Stokesley by indenture. Besides other articles of purgatory, images, the sacrament of the altar, holy-days, keeping of books, and such like, it was objected unto him, that he, being searched in the Tower, had found about him Tracy's Testament; and in his chamber in the Tower was found cheese and butter in Lent-time. Also, that he had a letter delivered unto him going to the Tower. Which letter, with the Testament also of Tracy, because they are both worthy to be seen, we mind (God willing) to annex also unto the story of this Thomas Philip. As he was oftentimes examined before Master More and the bishop, he always stood to his denial, neither could there any thing be proved clearly against him, but only Tracy's Testament, and his butter in Lent. One Stacy first bare witness against him, but after, in the court, openly he protested that he did it for fear. The bishop then willing him to submit himself, and to swear never to hold any opinion contrary to the determination of holy church, he said "he would:" and when the form of his abjuration was given him to read, he read it: but the bishop, not content with that, would have him to read it openly. But that he would not; and said, He would appeal to the king as supreme head of the church, and so did. Still the bishop called upon him to abjure. He answered, That he would be obedient as a Christian man should, and that he would swear never to hold any heresy during his life, nor to favour any heretics.

But the bishop, not yet content, would have him to read the abjuration after the form of the church conceived, as it was given him. He answered again, that he would forswear all heresies, and that he would maintain no heresies, nor favour any heretics. The bishop with this would not be answered, but needs would drive him to the abjuration formed after the pope's church: to whom he said, If it were the same abjuration that he read, he would not read it, but

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stand to his appeal made to the king, the supreme head of the church under God. Again the bishop asked him, if he would abjure or not. "Except," said he, "you will show me the cause why I should abjure, I will not say yea nor nay to it, but will stand to my appeal;" and he required the bishop to obey the same. Then the bishop, reading openly the bill of excommunication against him, denounced him for *contumax*, and an excommunicated person, charging all men to have no company, and nothing to do with him. After this excommunication, what became of him, whether he was holpen by his appeal, or whether he was burned, or whether he died in the Tower, or whether he abjured, I find no mention made in the registers.

A letter directed to Thomas Philip in the name of the brethren, and given him by the way going to the Tower.

"The favour of him that is able to keep you that you fall not, and to confess your name in the kingdom of glory, and to give you strength by his Spirit to confess him before all his adversaries, be with you ever. Amen.

"Sir, the brethren think that there be divers false brethren craftily crept in among them, to seek out their freedom in the Lord, that they may accuse them to the Lord's adversaries, as they suppose they have done you. Wherefore, if so it be, that the Spirit of God move you thereunto, they, as counsellors, desire you above all things to be stedfast in the Lord's verity, without fear; for he shall and will be your help, according to his promise, so that they shall not minish the least hair of your head without his will; unto the which will, submit yourself and rejoice: for the Lord knoweth how to deliver the godly out of temptation, and how to reserve the unjust unto the day of judgment, to be punished: and therefore cast all your care on him, for he careth for you. And in that you suffer as a Christian man, be not ashamed, but rather glorify God on that behalf; Looking upon Christ the author and finisher of our faith, which, for the joy that was set before him, abode the cross and despised the shame. Notwithstanding, though we suffer the wrong after the example of our Master Christ, yet we be not bound to suffer the wrong cause, for Christ himself suffered it not, but reproveth him that smote him wrongfully. And so likewise saith St. Paul also. So that we must not suffer the wrong, but boldly reprove them that sit as righteous judges, and do contrary to righteousness. Therefore, according both to God's law and man's, ye be not bound to make answer in any cause, till your accusers come before you; which if you require, and thereon do stick, the false brethren shall be known, to the great comfort of those that now stand in doubt whom they may trust; and also it shall be a mean that they shall not craftily, by questions, take you in snares. And that you may this do lawfully, in Acts xx. it is written, It is not the manner of the Romans to deliver any man that he should perish, before that he which is accused have his accusers before him, and have licence to answer for himself, as pertaining to the crime whereof he is accused. And also Christ willeth that in the mouth of two or three witnesses all things shall stand. And in 1 Tim. v. 19, it is written, Against a senior receive none accusation, but under two or three witnesses. A senior, in this place, is any man that hath a house to govern. And also their own law is agreeable to this. Wherefore, seeing it is agreeable to the word of God, that in accusations such witnesses should be, you may with good conscience require it. And thus the God of grace, which hath called you unto his eternal glory by Christ Jesus, shall his own self, after a little affliction, make you perfect; shall settle, strengthen, and stablish you, that to him may be glory and praise for ever. Amen."

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Thus ye have heard the letter delivered to Thomas Philip. Now followeth the testament of William Tracy.

A little before this time, William Tracy, a worshipful esquire in Gloucestershire, and then dwelling at Toddington, made, in his will, that he would have no funeral pomp at his burying, neither passed he upon mass; and he further said, that he trusted in God only, and hoped by him to be saved, and not by any saint. This gentleman died, and his son, as executor, brought the will to the bishop of Canterbury to prove: which he showed to the convocation, and there most cruelly they judged that he should be taken out of the ground, and be burned as a heretic, A.D. 1532. This commission was sent to Dr. Parker, chancellor of the diocese of Worcester, to execute their wicked sentence; which accomplished the same. The king, hearing his subject to be taken out of the ground and burned, without his knowledge or order of his law, sent for the chancellor, and laid high offence to his charge; who excused himself by the archbishop of Canterbury which was lately dead; but in conclusion it cost him three hundred pounds to have his pardon.

The will and testament of this gentleman, thus condemned by the clergy, was as hereunder followeth:

"In the name of God, Amen. I, William Tracy of Toddington in the county of Gloucester, esquire, make my testament and last will as hereafter followeth: First, and before all other things, I commit myself to God and to his mercy, believing, without any doubt or mistrust, that by his grace, and the merits of Jesus Christ, and by the virtue of his passion and of his resurrection, I have and shall have remission of all my sins, and resurrection of body and soul, according as it is written, I believe that my Redeemer liveth, and that in the last day I shall rise out of the earth, and in my flesh shall see my Saviour: this my hope is laid up in my bosom.

And touching the wealth of my soul, the faith that I have taken and rehearsed is sufficient, (as I suppose,) without any other man's works or merits. My ground and belief is, that there is but one God and one Mediator between God and man, which is Jesus Christ; so that I accept none in heaven or in earth to be mediator between me and God, but only Jesus Christ: all others to be but as petitioners in receiving of grace, but none able to give influence of grace: and therefore will I bestow no part of my goods for that intent that any man should say or do to help my soul; for therein I trust only to the promises of Christ: He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, and he that believeth not shall be damned.

"As touching the burying of my body, it availeth me not whatsoever be done thereto; for St. Augustine saith, concerning the respect due to the dead, that the funeral pomps are rather the solace of them that live, than the wealth and comfort of them that are dead: and therefore I remit it only to the discretion of mine executors.

"As touching the distribution of my temporal goods, my purpose is, by the grace of God, to bestow them to be accepted as the fruits of faith; so that I do not suppose that my merit shall be by the good bestowing of them, but my merit is the faith of Jesus Christ only, by whom such works are good, according to the words of our Lord, I was hungry, and thou gavest me to eat, &c. And it followeth, That ye have done to the least of my brethren, ye have done it to me, &c. And ever we should consider that true saying, that a good work maketh not a good man, but a

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good man maketh a good work; for faith maketh a man both good and righteous: for a righteous man liveth by faith, and whatsoever springeth not of faith is sin, &c.

"And all my temporal goods that I have not given or delivered, or not given by writing of mine own hand, bearing the date of this present writing, I do leave and give to Margaret my wife, and Richard my son, whom I make mine executors. Witness hereof mine own hand the tenth of October, in the twenty-second year of the reign of King Henry the Eighth."

This is the true copy of his will, for which, (as you heard before,) after he was almost two years dead, they took him up and burned him.

The table continued.

John Perlman, skinner, A.D. 1531.

His articles were much like unto the others before; adding, moreover, that all the preachers then at Paul's Cross preached nothing but lies and flatterings, and that there was never a true preacher but one; naming Edward Crome.

Robert Goldstone, glazier, A.D. 1531.

His articles: — That men should pray to God only, and to no saints: that pilgrimage is not profitable: that men should give no worship to images. Item, for saying, that if he had as much power as any cardinal had, he would destroy all the images that were in all the churches in England.

Lawrence Staple, serving-man, A.D. 1531.

His articles: — For having the Testament in English, the five books of Moses, the Practice of Prelates, the Sum of Scripture, the A.B.C.

Item, About the burning of Bainham, for saying, "I would I were with Bainham, seeing that every man hath forsaken him, that I might drink with him, and he might pray for me."

Item, That he moved Henry Tomson to learn to read the New Testament, calling it The Blood of Christ.

Item, In Lent past, when he had no fish, he did eat eggs, butter, and cheese. Also, about six weeks before Master Bilney was attached, the said Bilney delivered to him at Greenwich four New Testaments of Tyndale's translation, which he had in his sleeve, and a budget besides of books, which budget he, shortly after riding to Cambridge, delivered unto Bilney, &c.

Item, On Fridays he used to eat eggs, and thought that it was no great offence before God, &c.

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Henry Tomson, tailor, A.D. 1531.

His articles: — That which the priest lifteth over his head at the sacring-time, is not the very body of Christ, nor is it God; but a thing that God hath ordained to be done.

This poor Tomson, although at the first he submitted himself to the bishop, yet they with sentence condemned him to perpetual prison.

Jasper Wetzell, of Cologne, A.D. 1531.

His articles: — That he cared not for going to the church to hear mass, for he could say mass as well as the priest: That he would not pray to our Lady, for she could do us no good.

Item, Being asked if he would go hear mass, he said, he had as lieve go to the gallows, where the thieves were hanged.

Item, Being at St. Margaret Patens, and there holding his arms across, he said unto the people, that he could make as good a knave as he is, for he is made but of wood, &c.

Robert Man, serving-man, A.D. 1531.

His articles: — There is no purgatory: That the pope hath no more power to grant pardon than another simple priest: That God gave no more authority to St. Peter than to another priest: That the pope was a knave, and his priests knaves all, for suffering his pardons to go abroad to deceive the people: That St. Thomas of Canterbury is no saint: That St. Peter was never pope of Rome.

Item, He used commonly to ask of priests where he came, whether a man were accursed, if he handled a chalice, or no? If the priest would say, Yea: then would he reply again thus; "If a man have a sheep-skin on his hands," meaning a pair of gloves, "he may handle it." The priests saying, Yea. "Well then," quoth he, "ye will make me believe, that God put more virtue in a sheep-skin, than he did in a Christian man's hand, for whom he died."

Henry Feldon, A.D. 1531.

His trouble was for having these books in English: A proper Dialogue between a Gentleman and a Husbandman, The Sum of Scripture, The Prologue of Mark, a written book containing the Pater Noster, Ave Maria, and the Creed, in English; The Ten Commandments, and The Sixteen Conditions of Charity.

Robert Cooper, priest, A: D. 1531.

His article was only this: — For saying that the blessing with a shoe-sole, is as good as the bishop's blessing, &c.

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Thomas Roe, A.D. 1531.

His articles were, for speaking against auricular confession and priestly penance, and against the preaching of the doctors.

William Wallam, A.D. 1531.

His opinion: That the sacrament of the altar is not the body of Christ in flesh and blood; and that there is a God, but not that God in flesh and blood, in the form of bread.

Grace Palmer, A.D. 1531.

Witness was brought against her by her neighbours, John Rouse, Agnes his wife, John Pole, of St. Osithe's, for saying, "Ye use to bear palms on Palm-Sunday: it skilleth not whether you bear any or not, it is but a thing used, and need not."

Also, " Ye use to go on pilgrimage to our Lady of Grace, of Walsingham and other places: ye were better tarry at home, and give money to succour me and my children, and other of my poor neighbours, than to go thither; for there you shall find but a piece of timber painted: there is neither God nor Lady.

Item, For repenting that she did ever light candles before images.

Item. That the sacrament of the altar is not the body of Christ; it is but bread, which the priest there sheweth for a token or remembrance of Christ's body.

Philip Brasier, of Bosted, A.D. 1531.

His articles: — That the sacrament holden up between the priest's hands is not the body of Christ, but bread, and is done for a signification: That confession to a priest needeth not: That images be but stocks and stones: That pilgrimage is vain: Also for saying, that when there is any miracle done, the priests do anoint the images, and make men believe that the images do sweat in labouring for them; and with the offerings the priests find their harlots.

John Fairstede, of Colchester, A.D. 1531.

His articles: — For words spoken against pilgrimage and images. Also for saying these words, "That the day should come that men should say, Cursed be they that make these false gods" (meaning images).

George Bull, of Much Hadham, draper, A.D. 1531.

His articles: — That there be three confessions; one principal to God; another to his neighbour whom he had offended; and the third to a priest; and that without the two first confessions, to God and to his neighbour, a man could not be saved. The third confession to a priest, is necessary for counsel to such as be ignorant and unlearned, to learn how to make their

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confession with a contrite heart unto God, and how to hope for forgiveness; and also in what manner they should ask forgiveness of their neighbour whom they have offended, &c. Item, For saying that Luther was a good man. Item, That he reported, through the credence and report of Master Patmore, parson of Hadham, that where Wickliff's bones were burnt, sprang up a well or well-spring.

John Haymond, millwright, A.D. 1531.

His articles: — For speaking and holding against pilgrimage and images, and against prescribed fasting days.

That priests and religious men, notwithstanding their vows made, may lawfully forsake their vows and marry.

Item, For having books of Luther and Tyndale.

Robert Lambe, a harper, A.D. 1531.

His article: — For that he, standing accursed two years together, and not fearing the censures of the pope's church, went about with a song in commendation of Martin Luther.

John Hewes, draper, A.D. 1531.

His articles: — For speaking against purgatory, and Thomas Becket.

Item, At the town of Farnham, he, seeing Edward Frensham kneeling in the street to a cross carried before a corse, asked, To whom he kneeled? He said, To his Maker. "Thou art a fool," said he, "it is not thy Maker; it is but a piece of copper or wood," &c.

Item, For these words, "Masters! ye use to go on pilgrimage; it were better first that ye look upon your poor neighbours, who lack succour," &c.

Also for saying, that he heard the vicar of Croydon thus preach openly, That there was much immorality kept up by going on pilgrimage to Wilsdon or Mouswell, &c.

Thomas Patmore, draper, A.D. 1531.

This Patmore was brother to Master Patmore, parson of Hadham, who was imprisoned in the Lollards' Tower for marrying a priest, and in the same prison continued three years.

This Patmore was accused by divers witnesses, upon these articles:

That he had as lieve pray to yonder hunter (pointing to a man painted there in a stained cloth) for a piece of flesh, as pray to stocks that stand in walls (meaning images).

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Item, That men should not pray to saints, but to God only: "For why should we pray to saints?" said he, "they are but blocks and stocks."

Item, That the truth of Scripture hath been kept from us a long time, and hath not appeared till now.

Item, Coming by a tree wherein stood an image, he took away the wax which hanged there offered.

Item, That he regarded not the place whether it was hallowed or no, where he should be buried after he was dead.

Also in talk with the curate of St. Peter's, he defended that priests might marry.

This Patmore had long hold with the bishop of London. First, he would not swear, *Infamia non præcedente*. Then he would appeal to the king: but all would not serve. He was so wrapt in the bishop's nets, that he could not get out: but at last he was forced to abjure, and was fined to the king a hundred pounds.

Note in the communication between this Patmore and the priest of St. Peter's, that whereas the priest objected against him (as is in the register) that priests have lived unmarried and without wives these fifteen hundred years in the church; he, and all other such priests, therein say falsely, and deceive the people, as by story is proved in these volumes, that priests here in England had wives by law within these five hundred years and less.

Simon Smith, master of arts, of Gunwell-hall, Cambridge, and Joan Bennore his wife, A.D. 1531.

This Simon Smith, and Bennore his wife, were the parties whom Master Patmore, parson of Hadham, above mentioned, did marry, and was condemned for the same to perpetual prison. For the which marriage, both the said Simon, and Bennore his wife, were called to examination before the bishop, and he caused to make the whole discourse of all his doings, how and where he married; then, after his marriage, how long he tarried; whether he went beyond sea; where he was, and with whom; after his return whither he resorted; how he lived; what mercery-ware he occupied; what fairs he frequented; where he left his wife; how he carried her over, and brought her home again, and how she was found, &c. All this they made him confess, and put it in their register. And though they could fasten no other crime of heresy upon him, but only his marriage, yet, calling both him and her (being great with child) to examination, they caused them both to abjure and suffer penance.

Thomas Patmore, parson of Hadham, A.D. 1530.

This Thomas Patmore, being learned and godly, was preferred to the parsonage of Hadham, in Hertfordshire, by Richard Fitz-James, bishop of London, and there continued instructing and teaching his flock during the time of the said Fitz-James, and also of Tonsal his successor, by the space of sixteen years or more; behaving himself in life and conversation without any public blame or reproach; until John Stokesley was preferred unto the said bishopric,

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who, not very long after his installing, either for malice not greatly liking of the said Patmore, or else desirous to prefer some other unto the benefice, (as it is supposed and alleged by his brethren in sundry supplications exhibited unto the king, as also unto Queen Anne, then marchioness of Pembroke,) caused him to be attached and brought before him; and then, keeping him prisoner in his own palace, a certain time afterwards committed him to Lollard's Tower, where he kept him most extremely above two years, without fire or candle, or any other relief, but such as his friends sent him; not suffering any of them, notwithstanding, to come unto him, no, not in his sickness. Howbeit sundry times in the mean while he called him judicially either before himself, or else his vicar-general Foxford, that great persecutor, charging him with these sundry articles, viz. first, whether he had been at Wittenberg; secondly, and had seen or talked with Luther; thirdly, or with any Englishman, abiding there; fourthly, who went with him or attended upon him thither; fifthly, also what books he bought there, either Latin or English; sixthly, and whether he had read or studied any works of Luther, Ecolampadius, Pomerane, or Melancthon.

Besides these, he ministered also other articles unto him, touching the marriage of Master Simon Smith (before mentioned) with one Joan Bennore, charging him that he both knew of and also consented unto their marriage, the one being a priest and his curate, and the other his maid-servant; and that he had persuaded his maid-servant to marry with his said curate, alleging unto her, that though it were not lawful in England for priests to marry, yet it was, in other countries beyond seas. And that after their said marriage, he (knowing the same) did yet suffer the said Smith to minister in his cure all Easter-time, and fifteen days after; and that at their departure out of England, he supped with them at the Bell in New Fish Street; and again, at their return into England, did meet them at the said Bell, and there lent unto the said Smith a priest's gown.

He objected, moreover, against him in the said articles, that he had affirmed at Cambridge, first, that he did not set a bottle of hay by the pope's or bishop's curse; secondly, and that God bindeth us to impossible things, that he may save us only by his mercy; also thirdly, that though young children he baptized, yet they cannot be saved except they have faith; fourthly and lastly, that it was against God's law to burn heretics.

Unto these articles, after long imprisonment and great threats of the bishop and his vicar, he at last answered, making first his appeal unto the king, wherein he showed, that forasmuch as the bishop had most unjustly, and contrary to all due order of law, and the equity thereof, proceeded against him, as well in falsely defaming him with the crime of heresy, without having any just proof or public defamation thereof; as also, contrary to all justice, keeping him in most strait prison so long time (both to the great danger of his life, by grievous sickness taken thereby, as especially to his no small grief, that through his absence, his flock, whereof he had charge, were not fed with the word of God and his sacraments as he would); and then, to minister unto him such articles, mingled with interrogatories, as neither touched any heresy nor transgression of any law, but rather showing a mind to pick quarrels against him and other innocent people; he therefore, for the causes alleged, was compelled, and did, appeal from him and all his officers unto the king's Majesty, whom, under God, he had for his most just and lawful refuge, and defender against all injuries. From which appeal although he minded not at any time to depart, yet because he would not show himself obstinate against the bishop, being his ordinary, (although he had most just cause to suspect his unjust proceeding against him,) he was

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nevertheless content to exhibit unto him this his answer: First, that howsoever the bishop was privately informed, yet because he was not publicly defamed among good and grave men, according to law, he was not, by the law, bound to answer to any of those articles.

And as touching the first six articles, (as whether he was at Wittenberg, and spake with Luther, or any other, or bought or read any of their books, &c.) because none of those things were forbidden him by any law, neither was he publicly accused of them, (for that it was permitted to many good men to have them,) he was not bound to answer, neither was he to be examined of them. But as touching the marriage of Master Simon Smith with Joan Bennore, he granted that he knew thereof by the declaration of Master Smith; but, that he gave his maid counsel thereunto, he utterly denied. And as concerning the contracting of the marriage between them, he thought it not at all against God's law, who at the first creation made marriage lawful for all men: neither thought he it unlawful for him, after their marriage, either to keep him as his curate, or else to lend or give him any thing needful (wherein he said he showed more charity than the bishop, who had taken all things from them); and therefore he desired to have it proved by the Scriptures, that priests' marriages were not lawful.

Against whom, Foxford, the bishop's vicar, often alleged general councils, and determinations of the church, but no Scriptures, still urging him to abjure his articles; which Patmore long time refused, and sticking a great while to his former answers, at last was threatened by Foxford, to have the definitive sentence read against him. Whereupon he answered, that he believed the holy church as a Christian man ought to do; and because it passed his capacity, he desired to be instructed, and if the Scriptures did teach it, he would believe it; for he knew not the contrary by the Scriptures, but that a priest might marry a wife; howbeit, by the laws of the church, he thought that a priest might not marry. But the chancellor still so urged him to show whether a priest might marry without offence to God, that at length he granted that priests might not marry without offence to God, because the church had forbidden it, and therefore a priest could not marry without deadly sin.

Now as touching the four last articles, he denied that he spake them as they were put against him; but he granted that he might perhaps jestingly say, That a bottle of hay were more profitable to him than the pope's curse, which he thought true. Also to the second, he affirmed that God had set before us, by his precepts and commandments, the way to righteousness, which way was not in man's power to go and keep; therefore Paul saith, Gal. iii. 19, that the law was ordained by angels in the hand of a mediator; but yet, to fulfil it, it was in the hand, that is, power, of the Mediator. That none that shall be saved shall account their salvation unto their own deeds, or thank their own justice in observing the law; for it was in no man's power to observe it: but shall give all thanks to the mercies and goodness of God; according to the psalm, Praise the Lord, all ye nations; and according to the saying of Paul, that he that glorieth may glory in the Lord; who hath sent his Son to do for us that which it was not in our own power to do. For if it had been in our power to fulfil the law, Christ had been sent to us without cause, to do for us that thing which we ourselves could have done, that is to say, fulfil the law. As for the third, he spake not, for he did never know that any may be baptized without faith; which faith, inasmuch as it is the gift of God, why may it not be given to infants? To the last he said, that if he spake it, he meant it not of those that St. Bernard called heretics, (with more adulterers, thieves, murderers, and other open sinners, who blaspheme God by their mouths, calling good evil, and evil good,

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making light darkness, and darkness light,) but he meant it of such as men call heretics, according to the testimony of St. Paul, Acts xxiv. 14, I live after the way, saith he, that men call heresy, whom Christ doth foretell that ye shall burn and persecute to death.

After these answers thus made, the bishop, with his persecuting Foxford, dealt so hardly with this good man, partly by strait imprisonment, and partly by threats to proceed against him, that in the end he was fain, through human infirmity, to submit himself, and was abjured and condemned to perpetual prison; with loss, both of his benefice, as also of all his goods. Howbeit one of his brethren afterwards made such suit unto the king, (by means of the queen,) that after three years' imprisonment, he was both released out of prison, and also obtained of the king a commission unto the Lord Audley, being then lord chancellor, and to Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, and to Cromwell, then secretary, with others, to inquire of the injurious and unjust dealings of the bishop and his chancellor against the said Patmore, notwithstanding his appeal unto the king; and to determine thereof according to true equity and justice, and to restore the said Patmore again unto his said benefice. But what was the end and issue of this commission, we find not as yet.

John Row, book-binder, a Frenchman, A.D. 1531.

This man, for binding, buying, and dispersing of books inhibited, was enjoined, besides other penance, to go to Smithfield with his books tied about him, and to cast them into the fire, and there to abide till they were all burned to ashes.

Christopher, a Dutchman of Antwerp, A.D. 1531.

This man, for selling certain New Testaments in English, to John Row aforesaid, was put in prison at Westminster, and there died.

W. Nelson, priest, A.D. 1531.

His crime was, for having and buying of Periman certain books of Luther, Tyndale, Thorp, &c., and for reading and perusing the same, contrary to the king's proclamation, for which he was abjured. He was priest at Leith.

Thomas Eve, weaver, A.D. 1531.

His articles: — That the sacrament of the altar is but a memory of Christ's passion. That men were fools to go on pilgrimage, or to set any candle before images. Item, It is as good to set up staves before the sepulchre, as to set up tapers of wax. That priests might have wives.

Robert Hudson of St. Sepulchre's, A.D. 1531.

His article: — On Childermas-day (saith the register) he offered in Paul's church at offering-time, to the child bishop (called St. Nicholas) a dog for devotion, (as he said,) and meant no hurt; for he thought to have offered a halfpenny, or else the dog, and thought the dog to be

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better than a halfpenny, and the dog should raise some profit to the child; and said moreover, that it was the tenth dog, &c.

Edward Hewet, serving-man, A.D. 1531.

His crime: — That after the king's proclamation, he had and read the New Testament in English; also the book of John Frith against purgatory, &c.

Walter Kiry, servant, A.D. 1531.

His article: — That he, after the king's proclamation, had and used these books; The Testament in English, The Sum of Scripture, a Primer and Psalter in English, hidden in his bed-straw at Worcester.

Michael Lobley, A.D. 1531.

His articles: — That he, being at Antwerp, bought certain books inhibited, as The Revelation of Antichrist, The Obedience of a Christian Man, The Wicked Mammon, Frith against Purgatory. Item, For speaking against images and purgatory. Item, For saying, that Bilney was a good man, and died a good man, because of a bill that one did send from Norwich, that specified that he took his death so patiently, and did not forsake to die with a good will.

A boy of Colchester, A.D. 1531.

A boy of Colchester, or Norfolk, brought to Richard Bayfield a budget of books, about four days before the said Bayfield was taken; for which the lad was taken, and laid in the Compter by Master More, chancellor, and there died.

William Smith, tailor, A.D. 1531.

His articles: — That he lodged oftentimes in his house Richard Bayfield, and other good men: that he received his books into his house, and used much reading in the New Testament: he had also the Testament of William Tracy: he believed that there was no purgatory.

William Lincoln, prentice, A.D. 1532.

His articles: — For having and receiving books from beyond the sea, of Tyndale, Frith, Thorp, and others. Item, He doubted, whether there were any purgatory; whether it were well done to set up candles to saints, to go on pilgrimage, &c.

John Mel, of Boxted, A.D. 1532.

His heresy was this: — For having and reading the New Testament in English, the Psalter in English, and the book called A B C.

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John Medwel, servant to Master Carket, scrivener.

This Medwel lay in prison twenty-four weeks, till he was almost lame. His heresies was these: — That he doubted whether there was any purgatory. He would not trust in pardons, but rather in the promises of Christ. He doubted whether the merits of any but only of Christ did help him. He doubted whether pilgrimages, and setting up of candles to images, were meritorious or not. He thought he should not put his trust in any saint. Item, he had in his custody, the New Testament in English, the Examination of Thorp, The Wicked Mammon, a book of Matrimony.

Christopher Fulman, servant to a goldsmith, A.D. 1532.

This young man was attached, for receiving certain books at Antwerp of George Constantine, and transporting them over into England, and selling them to sundry persons, being books prohibited by the proclamation. Item, He thought then those books to have been good, and that he had been in error in times past.

Margaret Bowgas, A.D. 1532.

Her heresies were these: — Being asked if she would go on pilgrimage. she said, " I believe in God, and he can do me more good than our Lady, or any other saint; and as for them, they shall come to me, if they will," &c. Then Richard Sharpies, parson of Milend, by Colchester, asked her if she said her Ave Maria. "I say," said she, "Hail Mary, but I will say no further." Then said he, if she left not those opinions, she would bear a faggot. "If I do, better, then, I shall," said she; adding moreover, "that she would not go from that, to die there-for:" to whom the priest answered and said, She would be burned. Hereunto Margaret, again replying, asked the priest, "Who made martyrs?" "Tyrants," quoth the priest, "make martyrs, for they put martyrs to death." "So they shall, or mar, me," quoth Margaret. At length. with much ado, and great persuation, she gave over to Foxford, the chancellor, and submitted herself.

John Tyrel, an Irishman, of Billerica, tailor.

His articles were these: — That the sacrament of the altar was not the body of Christ, but only a cake of bread. Furthermore, the occasion being asked, how he fell into that heresy, he answered and said, that about three weeks before Midsummer last past, he heard Master Hugh Latimer preach at St. Mary, Abchurch, that men should leave going on pilgrimage abroad, and do their pilgrimage to their poor neighbours. Also the said Master Latimer in his sermon did set at little the sacrament of the altar.

William Lancaster, tailor, A.D. 1532.

The case laid to this man was, that he had in his keeping the book of Wickliff's Wicket. Item, That he believed the sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration, not to be the body of Christ really, &c. Item, Upon the day of Assumption, he said, that if it were not for the speech of the people, he would not receive the sacrament of the altar.

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Robert Topley, friar, A.D. 1532.

His articles: — He being a Friar Augustine of Clare, forsook his habit, and going in a secular man's weed ten years, married a wife, called Margaret Nixon, having by her a child; and afterwards, being brought before the bishop, he was by him abjured, and condemned to be imprisoned in his former monastery; but at last he escaped out, and returned to his wife again.

Thomas Topley, Augustine Friar, at Stoke-clare.

By the occasion of this Robert Topley aforesaid, place is offered to speak something likewise of Thomas Topley, his brother belike, and also a friar of the same order and house of Stoke-clare. This Thomas Topley had been converted before by one Richard Foxe, priest of Bumstead, and Miles Coverdale, insomuch that he, being induced, partly by them, partly by reading certain books, cast off both his order and habit, and went like a secular priest. Whereupon he was espied, and brought to Cuthbert, bishop of London, A.D. 1528, before whom he made this confession as followeth:

"All Christian men, beware of consenting to Erasmus's Fables, for by consenting to them, they have caused me to shrink in my faith, that I promised to God at my christening by my witnesses. First, as touching these Fables, I read in Colloquium, by the instruction of Sir Richard Foxe, of certain pilgrims, which, as the book doth say, made a vow to go to St. James, and as they went, one of them died, and he desired his fellows to salute St. James in his name; and another died homeward, and he desired that they would salute his wife and his children; and the third died at Florence, and his fellow said, he supposed that he was in heaven, and yet he said that he was a great liar. Thus I mused of these opinions so greatly, that my mind was almost withdrawn from devotion to saints. Notwithstanding, I consented that the divine service of them was very good, and is; though I have not had such sweetness in it as I should have had, because of such fables, and also because of other foolish pastimes; as dancing, tennis, and such other, which I think have been great occasions that the goodness of God hath been void in me, and vice in strength.

Moreover, it fortuneth thus, about half a year ago, that the said Sir Richard went forth, and desired me to serve his cure for him; and as I was in his chamber, I found a certain book called Wickliff's Wicket, whereby I felt in my conscience a great wavering for the time that I did read upon it, and afterwards, also, when I remembered it, it wounded my conscience very sore. Nevertheless, I consented not to it, until I had heard him preach, and that was upon St. Anthony's day. Yet my mind was still much troubled with the said book, (which did make the sacrament of Christ's body, in form of bread, but a remembrance of Christ's passion,) till I heard Sir Miles Coverdale preach, and then my mind was sore withdrawn from that blessed sacrament, insomuch that I took it then but for the remembrance of Christ's body. Thus I have wretchedly wrapped my soul with sin, for because I have not been stedfast in that holy order that God hath called me unto by baptism, neither in the holy order that God and St. Augustine have called me to by my religion," &c.

Furthermore, he said and confessed, that in the Lent last past, as he was walking in the field at Bumstead, with Sir Miles Coverdale, late friar of the same order, going in the habit of a

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secular priest, which had preached the fourth Sunday in Lent at Bumstead, they did commune together of Erasmus's works, and also upon confession. The which Sir Miles said, and did hold, that it was sufficient for a man to be contrite for his sins betwixt God and his conscience, without confession made to a priest; which opinion this respondent thought to be true, and did affirm and hold the same at that time. Also he saith, that at the said sermon, made by the said Sir Miles Coverdale at Bumstead, he heard him preach against worshipping of images in the church, saying and preaching, that men in no wise should honour or worship them; which likewise he thought to be true, because he had no learning to defend it.

William Gardiner, Augustine Friar, of Clare.

With this Topley I may also join William Gardiner, one of the same order and house of Clare, who likewise, by the motion of the said Richard Foxe, curate of Bumstead, and by showing him certain books to read, was brought likewise to the like learning and judgment, and was for the same abjured by Cuthbert, bishop, the same year, 1528.

Richard Johnson, of Boxted, and Alice his wife.

This Richard and his wife were favourers of God's word, and had been troubled for the same of long time. They came from Salisbury to Boxted by reason of persecution, where they continued a good space. At length, by resort of good men, they began to be suspected, and especially for a book of Wickliff's Wicket, which was in their house, they were convented before Stokesley, bishop of London, and there abjured.

So great was the trouble of those times, that it would overcharge any story to recite the names of all them which during those bitter days, before the coming in of Queen Anne, either were driven out of the realm, or were cast out from their goods and houses, or brought to open shame by abjuration. Such decrees and injunctions then were set forth by the bishops, such laws and proclamations were provided, such watch and narrow search was used, such ways were taken by force of oath to make one detect another so subtilly, that scarcely any good man could or did escape their hands, but either his name was known, or else his person was taken. Yet, nevertheless, so mightily the power of God's gospel did work in the hearts of good men, that the number of them did nothing lessen for all this violence or policy of the adversaries, but rather increased, in such sort as our story also almost suffereth not to recite the particular names of all and singular such as then groaned under the same cross of affliction and persecution of those days; of which number were these:

Arthur and Gefferey Lome.

John Tibauld, his mother, his wife, his two sons, and his two daughters.

Edmund Tibauld, and his wife.

Henry Butcher, and his wife.

William Butcher, and his wife.

George Preston, and his wife.

Joan Smith, widow; also her sons Robert and Richard, and her daughters Margaret and Elizabeth.

Robert Hempstead, and his wife.

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Thomas Hempstead, and his wife.

John Hempstead, their son.

Robert Faire.

William Chatwals.

Joan Smith, widow, otherwise called Agnes, widow; also her sons John, Thomas, and Christopher, and her daughters Joan and Alice. John Wigen.

Nicholas Holden's wife.

Alice Shipwright.

Henry Brown.

John Craneford.

All these were of the town of Bumstead, who being detected by Sir Richard Foxe, their curate, and partly by Tibauld, were brought up to the bishop of London, and all put together in one house, to the number of thirty-five, to be examined and abjured by the said bishop.

Moreover, in other towns about Suffolk and Essex, others also were detected, as in the town of Byrbrook, these following:

Isabel Choote, widow; also her sons John, William, Christopher, and Robert; her daughter Margaret, and Katharine her maid.

Thomas Choote, and his wife.

Harvie, and his wife.

Thomas, his son.

Agnes, his daughter.

Bateman, and his wife.

John Smith, and his wife.

Thomas Butcher, and his wife.

Robert Catlin, a spoon-maker.

Christmas, and his wife.

William Bechwith, his wife and his two sons. John Pickas, and his wife.

William Pickas, his brother.

Girling, his wife and his daughter.

Matthew's wife.

Johnson, his wife and his son.

Thomas Hills.

Roger Tanner.

Christopher Raven, and his wife.

John Chapman, his servant.

Richard Chapman, his servant, and brother to John Chapman.

Christopher remaineth yet alive, and hath been of a long time a great harbourer of many good men and women that were in trouble and distress, and received them to his house, as Thomas Bate, Simon Smith, the priest's wife, Roger Tanner, with a number more, which ye may see and read in our first edition.

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Touching this Richard Chapman, this, by the way, is to be noted, that as he was in his coat and shirt enjoined, bare-head, bare-foot, and bare-leg, to go before the procession, and to kneel upon the cold steps in the church all the sermon time, a little lad, seeing him kneel upon the cold stone with his bare knees, and having pity on him, came to him, and having nothing else to give him, brought him his cap to kneel upon; for which the boy was immediately taken into the vestry, and there unmercifully beaten, for his mercy showed to the poor penitent.

Beside these, divers others were about London, Colchester, and other places also, partakers of the same cross and affliction for the like cause of the gospel, in which number come in these which hereafter follow.

Peter Fenne, priest. Robert Best.
John Turke.
William Raylond of Colchester.
Henry Raylond, his son.
Marion Matthew, or Westden.
Dorothy Long.
Thomas Parker.
M. Forman, bachelor of divinity, parson of Honey Lane.
Robert Necton.
Katharine Swane.
Mark Cowbridge of Colchester.
Widow Denby.
Robert Hedil of Colchester.
Robert Wigge, William Bull, and George Cooper, of London.
John Toy, of St. Faith's, London.
Richard Foster of London.
Sebastian Harris, curate of Kensington.
Alice Gardener, John Tomson, and John Bradley and his wife, of Colchester.
John Hubert, of Esdonland, and his wife.
William Butcher, whose father's grandfather was burned for the same religion.
Abraham Water of Colchester.

All these in this table contained, were troubled and abjured, A.D. 1527, and A.D. 1528.

John Wily the elder.
Katharine Wily, his wife.
John Wily, son of John Wily the elder. Christian Wily, his wife.
William Wily, another son.
Margaret Wily, his wife.
Lucy Wily, and Agnes Wily, two young girls.

These eight persons were accused A.D. 1532, for eating pottage and flesh-meat, five years before, upon St. James's even.

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Also another time, upon St. Peter's even, as Katharine Wily did lie in childbed, the other wives, with the two girls, were found eating all together of a broth made with the fore-part of a rack of mutton.

Item, The aforesaid John Wily the elder had a primer in English in his house, and other books.

Also he had a young daughter of ten years old, which could render by heart the most part of the twenty-fourth chapter of St. Matthew. Also could rehearse without book, The Disputation between the Clerk and the Friar.

Item, The said John Wily had in his house a treatise of William Thorp, and Sir John Oldcastle.

A note of Richard Bayfield above mentioned.

Mention was made before of Richard Bayfield, monk of Bury, who in these perilous days, amongst other good saints of God, suffered death, as ye have heard; but how, and by whom he was detected, hath not been showed; which now, as in searching out of registers we have found, so we thought good here to adjoin the same, with the words and confession of the same Edmund Peerson, which detected him in manner as followeth:

The accusation of Edmund Peerson against Richard Bayfield.

"The thirteenth day of September, at four o'clock in the afternoon, A.D. 1527, Sir Richard Bayfield said, that my lord of London's commissary was a plain Pharisee; wherefore he would speak with him, and by his wholesome doctrine, he trusted in God, he should make him a perfect Christian man, and me also, for I was a Pharisee as yet, he said.

"Also he said that he cared not even if the commissary and the chancellor both heard him; for the chancellor, he said, was also a Pharisee, and he trusted to make him a Christian man.

"Also he said he was entreated by his friends, and, in a manner, constrained to abide in the city against his will, to make the chancellor, and many more, perfect Christian men; for as yet many were Pharisees, and knew not the perfect declaration of the Scripture.

"Also he said that Master Arthur and Bilney were, and be, more pure and more perfect in their living to God, than was, or is, the commissary, the chancellor, my lord of London, or my lord cardinal.

"Also he said that if Arthur and Bilney suffer death in the quarrels and opinions that they be in or hold, they shall be martyrs before God in heaven.

"Also he said, After Arthur and Bilney were put cruelly to death, yet should there be hundreds of men that should preach the same that they have preached.

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"Also he said that he would favour Arthur and Bilney, he knew their living to be so good; for they did wear no shirts of linen cloth, but shirts of hair, and ever were fasting, praying, or doing some other good deeds. And as for one of them, whatsoever he have of money in his purse, he will distribute it, for the love of God, to poor people.

"Also he said that no man should give laud or praise, in any manner of wise, to any creature, or to any saint in heaven, but only to God; To God alone be all honour and glory.

"Also he said, 'Ah, good Sir Edmund! ye be far from the knowledge and understanding of the Scripture, for as yet ye be a Pharisee, with many others of your company: but I trust in God, I shall make you, and many other more, good and perfect Christian men, ere I depart from the city; for I purpose to read a common lecture every day at St. Foster's church, which lecture shall be to the edifying of your souls that be false Pharisees.'

"Also he said that Bilney preached nothing at Wilsdon, but what was true.

"Also he said that Bilney preached true at Wilsdon, if he said that our Lady's crown of Wilsdon, her rings and beads that were offered to her, were bestowed amongst harlots, by the ministers of Christ's church; 'for that I have seen myself,' he said, 'here in London, and that will I abide by.'

"Also he said, He did not fear to commune and argue in Arthur's and Bilney's opinions and articles, even if it were with my lord cardinal.

"Also he said that he would hold Arthur's and Bilney's opinions and articles, and abide by them, that they were true opinions, to suffer death therefor; 'I know them,' said he, 'for such noble and excellent men in learning.'

"Also he said, If he were before my lord cardinal, he would not let to speak to him, and to tell him, that he hath done naughtily in imprisoning Arthur and Bilney, who were better disposed in their livings to God, than my lord cardinal, or my lord of London, as holy as they make themselves.

"Also he said, My lord cardinal is no perfect nor good man to God, for he keepeth not the commandments of God; for Christ (he said) never taught him to follow riches, nor to seek for promotions or dignities of this world, nor did Christ ever teach him to wear shoes of silver and gilt, set with pearl and precious stones; nor bad Christ ever two crosses of silver, two axes, or a pillar of silver and gilt.

"Also he said that every priest might preach the gospel without licence of the pope, my lord cardinal, my lord of London, or any other man; and that he would abide by: and thus he verified it, as it is written, Mark xvi., Christ commanded every priest to go forth throughout all the world, and preach the word of God by the authority of this gospel; and not to run to the pope, nor to any other man, for licence: and that he would abide by, he said.

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"Also he said, 'Well, Sir Edmund! say you what you will, and every man, and my lord cardinal also, and yet will I say, and abide by it, my lord cardinal doth punish Arthur and Bilney unjustly, for there be no truer Christian men in all the world living, than they two be; and that punishment that my lord cardinal doth to them, he doth it by might and power, as one who would say, This may I do, and this will I do: who shall say nay? but he doth it of no justice.'

"Also about the fourteenth day of October last past, at three o'clock at afternoon, Sir Richard Bayfield came to St. Edmund's in Lombard Street, where he found me, Sir Edmund Peerson, Sir James Smith, and Sir Miles Garnet, standing at the uttermost gate of the parsonage; and Sir Edmund said to Sir Richard Bayfield, 'How many Christian men have ye made, since ye came to the city?' Quoth Sir Richard Bayfield, 'I came even now to make thee a Christian man, and these two other gentlemen with thee; for well I know ye be all three Pharisees as yet.'

"Also he said to Sir Edmund, that Arthur and Bilney were better Christian men than he was, or any of them that did punish Arthur and Bilney.

"By me, EDMUND PEERSON."

182. King Henry's Breach with Rome

And thus we have, as in a gross sum, compiled together the names and causes, though not of all, yet of a great, and too great, a number of good men and good women, which in those sorrowful days (from the year of our Lord 1527, to this present year 1533, that is, till the coming in of Queen Anne) were manifold ways vexed and persecuted under the tyranny of the bishop of Rome. Where again we have to note, that from this present year of our Lord 1533, during the time of the said Queen Anne, we read of no great persecution, nor any abjuration to have been in the church of England, save only that the registers of London make mention of certain Dutchmen counted for Anabaptists, of whom ten were put to death in sundry places of the realm, A.D. 1535; other ten repented and were saved. Where note again, that two also of the said company, albeit the definitive sentence was read, yet notwithstanding were pardoned by the king; which was contrary to the pope's law.

Now to proceed forth in our matter; After that the bishops and heads of the clergy had thus a long time taken their pleasure, exercising their cruel authority against the poor wasted flock of the Lord, and began, furthermore, to stretch forth their rigour and austerity, to attach and molest also other great persons of the temporality; so it fell, that in the beginning of the next or second year following, which was A.D. 1534, a parliament was called by the king about the fifteenth day of January: in which parliament, the commons, renewing their old griefs, complained of the cruelty of the prelates and ordinaries, for calling men before them *ex officio*. For such was then the usage of the ordinaries and their officials, that they would send for men, and lay accusations to them of heresy, only declaring to them that they were accused; and would minister articles to them, but no accuser should be brought forth: whereby the commons were grievously annoyed and oppressed; for the Aparty so cited must either abjure or do worse: for purgation he might none make.

As these matters were long debating in the commons' house, at last it was agreed that the temporal men should put their griefs in writing, and deliver them to the king. Whereupon, on the eighteenth day of March, the common speaker, accompanied with certain knights and burgesses of the commons' house, came to the king's presence, and there declared how the temporal men of his realm were sore aggrieved with the cruel demeanour of the prelates and ordinaries, which touched their bodies and goods so nearly, that they of necessity were enforced to make their humble suit, by their speaker, unto his Grace, to take such order and redress in the case, as to his high wisdom might seem most convenient, &c.

Unto this request of the commons, although the king at that time gave no present grant, but suspended them with a delay, yet notwithstanding, this sufficiently declared the grudging minds of the temporal men against the spiritually, lacking nothing but God's helping hand to work in the king's heart for reformation of such things, which they all did see to be out of frame. Neither did the Lord's divine providence fail in time of need, but eftsoons ministered a ready remedy in time expedient. He saw the pride and cruelty of the spiritual clergy grown to such a height as was intolerable. He saw again, and heard the groaning hearts, the bitter afflictions, of his oppressed flock; his truth decayed, his religion profaned, the glory of his Son defaced, his

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church lamentably wasted. Wherefore it was high time for his high majesty to look upon the matter (as he did indeed) by a strange and wondrous means, which was through the king's divorcement from Lady Katharine, dowager, and marrying with Lady Anne Bullen, in this present year; which was the first occasion and beginning of all this public reformation which hath followed since, in this church of England, and to this present day, according as ye shall hear.

The marriage between King Henry and Queen Anne Bullen; and Queen Katharine divorced.



N the first entry of this king's reign ye heard before, how, after the death of Prince Arthur, the Lady Katharine, princess dowager, and wife to Prince Arthur, by the consent both of her father and his, and also by the advice of the nobles of this realm, to the end her dowry might remain still within the realm, was espoused, after the decease of her husband, to his next brother, which was this King Henry.

Thus then, after the declaration of these things gone before, next cometh to our hands (by the order and process of the time we are now about) to treat of the marvellous and most gracious work of the holy providence of God, beginning now to work, at this present time, here in England, that which neither durst be attempted before by any prince within this realm, nor yet could ever be hoped for by any subject; concerning the abolishing and overthrow of the pope's supremacy here in the English church: who through the false pretended title of his usurped authority, and through the vain fear of his keys, and cursed cursings and excommunications, did so deeply sit in the consciences of men; did keep all princes and kings so under him; briefly, did so plant himself in all churches, taking such deep root in the hearts of all Christian people so long time, that it seemed not only hard, but also impossible, for man's power to abolish the same. But that which passeth man's strength, God here beginneth to take in hand, to supplant the old tyranny, and subtle supremacy of the Romish bishop. The occasion hereof began thus, (through the secret providence of God,) by a certain unlawful marriage between King Henry the Eighth, and the Lady Katharine, his brother's wife; which marriage, being found unlawful, and so concluded by all universities, not to be dispensed withal by any man, at length brought forth a verity long hid before; that is, that the pope was not what he was accounted to be; and, again, that he presumptuously took more upon him than he was able to dispense withal.

These little beginnings being once called into question, gave great light to men, and ministered withal great occasion to seek further: insomuch that at length the pope was espied, both to usurp that which he could not claim, and to claim that which he ought not to usurp. As touching the first doubt of this unlawful marriage, whether it came of the king himself, or of the cardinal, or of the Spaniards, as the chronicles themselves do not fully express, so I cannot assuredly affirm. This is certain, that it was not without the singular providence of God, (whereby to bring greater things to pass,) that the king's conscience herein seemed to be so troubled, according as the words of his own oration, had unto his commons, do declare; whose oration hereafter followeth, to give testimony of the same.

This marriage seemed very strange and hard, for one brother to marry the wife of another. But what can be in this earth so hard or difficult, wherewith the pope, the omnipotent vicar of

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Christ, cannot by favour dispense, if it please him? The pope which then ruled at Rome, was Pope Julius the Second, by whose dispensation, this marriage, which neither sense of nature would admit, nor God's law would bear, was concluded, approved, and ratified; and so continued as lawful, without any doubt or scruple, the space of nearly twenty years, till about the time that a certain doubt began first to be moved by the Spaniards themselves, of the emperor's council, A.D. 1523; at what time Charles the emperor, being here in England, promised to marry the Lady Mary, daughter to the king of England; with which promise the Spaniards themselves were not well contented, objecting this, among many other causes, that the said Lady Mary was begotten of the king of England by his brother's wife.

Whereupon the emperor, forsaking that marriage, did couple himself with Lady Isabel, daughter to King Emanuel of Portugal. This marriage was done A.D. 1526. After this marriage of the emperor, the next year following, King Henry, being disappointed thus of the emperor, entered talk, or rather was laboured to by the French ambassadors, for the said Lady Mary to be married to the French king's son, duke of Orleans; upon the talk whereof, after long debating, at length the matter was put off by a certain doubt of the president of Paris, casting the like objection as the Spaniards had done before; which was, Whether the marriage between the king, and the mother of this Lady Mary, which had been his brother's wife before, were good or no? And so the marriage, twice unluckily attempted, in like sort brake off again, and was rejected, which happened A.D. 1527.

The king, upon the occasion hereof casting many things in his mind, began to consider the cause more deeply, first, with himself, after, with certain of his nearest council; wherein two things there were which chiefly pricked his mind, whereof the one touched his conscience, the other concerned the state of his realm. For if that marriage with his brother's wife stood unlawful by the law of God, then neither was his conscience clear in retaining the mother, nor yet the state of the realm firm by succession of the daughter. It happened the same time that the cardinal, which was then nearest about the king, had fallen out with the emperor, for not helping him to the papacy, as ye before have heard; for which cause he helped to set the matter forward by all the practice he might. Thus the king, perplexed in his conscience, and careful for the commonwealth, and partly also incited by the cardinal, could not so rest; but inquired further to feel what the word of God, and learning, would say unto it. Neither was the case so hard, after it began once to come in public question, but that by the word of God, and the judgments of the best learned clerks, and also by the censure of the chief universities of all Christendom, to the number of ten and more, it was soon discussed to be unlawful.

All these censures, books, and writings, of so many doctors, clerks, and universities, sent from all quarters of Christendom to the king, albeit they might suffice to have fully resolved, and did indeed resolve, the king's conscience touching this scruple of his marriage; yet would he not straightway use that advantage which learning did give him, unless he had withal the assent as well of the pope, as also the emperor; wherein he perceived no little difficulty. For the pope, he thought, seeing the marriage was authorized before by the dispensation of his predecessor, would hardly turn his keys about to undo that which the pope before him had locked; and much less would he suffer those keys to be foiled, or to come in any doubt; which was like to come, if that marriage were proved undispensable by God's word, which his predecessor, through his plenary power, had licensed before. Again, the emperor, he thought, would be no less hard for his part,

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on the other side, forasmuch as the said Lady Katharine was the emperor's near aunt, and a Spaniard born. Yet, nevertheless, his purpose was to prove and feel what they both would say unto it; and therefore he sent Stephen Gardiner to Rome, to weigh with Pope Clement. To the emperor was sent Sir Nicholas Harvey, knight, ambassador in the court of Gaunt. First, Pope Clement, not weighing belike the full importance and sequel of the matter, sent Cardinal Campeius (as is said) into England, joined with the cardinal of York.

At the coming of these legates, the king, first opening unto them the grief of his conscience, seemed with great reasons and persuasions sufficiently to have drawn the good will of those two legates to his side; who also, of their own accord, pretended no less but to show a willing inclination to further the king's cause. But yet the mouths of the common people, and in especial of women, and such others as favoured the queen, and talked their pleasure, were not stopped. Wherefore, to satisfy the blind surmises and foolish communication of these also, who, seeing the coming of the cardinals, cast out such lewd words, as that the king would, "for his own pleasure," have another wife, with like unbecoming talk; he therefore, willing that all men should know the truth of his proceedings, caused all his nobility, judges, and counsellors, with divers other persons, to resort to his palace of Bridewell, the eighth day of November, A.D. 1529, where, openly speaking in his great chamber, he had these words in effect, as followeth:

The king's oration to his subjects.

"Our trusty and well-beloved subjects, both you of the nobility, and you of the meaner sort: it is not unknown unto you, how that we, both by God's provision, and true and lawful inheritance, have reigned over this realm of England almost the term of twenty years; during which time, we have so ordered us (thanked be God!) that no outward enemy hath oppressed you, nor taken any thing from us, nor have we invaded any realm, but we have had victory and honour, so that we think that neither you, nor any of your predecessors, ever lived more quietly, more wealthily, or in more estimation, under any of our noble progenitors. But when we remember our mortality, and that we must die, then we think that all our doings in our lifetime are clearly defaced, and worthy of no memory, if we leave you in trouble at the time of our death; for if our true heir be not known at the time of our death, see what mischief and trouble shall succeed to you, and to your children. The experience thereof some of you have seen after the death of our noble grandfather, King Edward the Fourth; and some have heard what mischief and manslaughter continued in this realm between the houses of York and Lancaster, by which dissension this realm was like to have been clearly destroyed.

"And although it hath pleased Almighty God to send us a fair daughter of a noble woman, and of me begotten, to our great comfort and joy; yet it hath been told us, by divers great clerks, that neither she is our lawful daughter, nor her mother our lawful wife, but that we live together abominably and detestably in open adultery; insomuch that when our ambassador was last in France, and motion was made that the duke of Orleans should marry our said daughter, one of the chief counsellors to the French king said, It were well done, to know whether she be the king of England's lawful daughter or not; for well known it is, that he begot her on his brother's wife, which is directly against God's law and his precept. Think you, my lords, that these words touch not my body and soul? Think you that these doings do not daily and hourly trouble my conscience, and vex my spirits? Yes, we doubt not but if it were your cause, every man would

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seek remedy, when the peril of your soul and the loss of your inheritance is openly laid unto you. For this only cause I protest before God, and on the word of a prince, I have asked counsel of the greatest clerks in Christendom; and for this cause I have sent for this legate, as a man indifferent, only to know the truth, and so to settle my conscience, and for none other cause, as God can judge. And as touching the queen, if it be adjudged by the law of God that she is my lawful wife, there was never thing more pleasant, or more acceptable to me in my life, both for the discharge and clearing of my conscience, and also for the good qualities and conditions which I know to be in her. For I assure you all, that beside her noble parentage of which she is descended, (as you well know,) she is a woman of most gentleness, of most humility and buxomness, yea, and in all good qualities appertaining to nobility, she is without comparison, as I, these twenty years almost, have had the true experiment; so that if I were to marry again, if the marriage might be good, I would surely choose her above all other women. But if it be determined by judgment, that our marriage was against God's law, and clearly void, then shall I not only sorrow the departing from so good a lady and loving a companion, but much more lament and bewail my unfortunate chance, that I have so long lived in adultery, to God's great displeasure, and have no true heir of my body to inherit this realm. These be the sores that vex my mind, these be the pangs that trouble my conscience, and for these griefs I seek a remedy. Therefore I require you all, as our trust and confidence is in you, to declare to our subjects our mind and intent, according to our true meaning; and desire them to pray with us that the very truth may be known, for the discharge of our conscience, and saving of our soul: and for the declaration hereof I have assembled you together, and now you may depart."

Shortly after this oration of the king, wherewith he stirred the hearts of a number, then the two legates, being requested of the king, for discharge of his conscience, to judge and determine upon the cause, went to the queen lying then in the palace of Bridewell, and declared to her, how they were deputed judges indifferent, between the king and her, to hear and determine, whether the marriage between them stood with God's law or not.

When she understood the cause of their coming, being thereat something astonished at the first, after a little pausing with herself, thus she began, answering for herself.

"Alas, my lords, (said she,) is it now a question whether I be the king's lawful wife or no, when I have been married to him almost twenty years, and in the mean season question was never made before? Divers prelates yet being alive, and lords also, and privy councillors with the king at that time, then adjudged our marriage lawful and honest; and now to say it is detestable and abominable, I think it great marvel: and, in especial, when I consider what a wise prince the king's father was, and also the love and natural affection that King Ferdinand, my father, bare unto me, I think in myself, that neither of our fathers were so uncircumspect, so unwise, and of so small imagination, but they foresaw what might follow of our marriage; and in especial, the king, my father, sent to the court of Rome, and there, after long suit, with great cost and charge, obtained a licence and dispensation, that I, being the one brother's wife, and peradventure carnally known, might, without scruple of conscience, marry with the other brother lawfully, which licence, under lead, I have yet to show: which things make me to say, and surely believe, that our marriage was both lawful, good, and godly.

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"But of this trouble I may only thank you, my lord cardinal of York. For because I have wondered at your high pride and vain glory, and abhorred your voluptuous life and abominable lechery, and little regarded your presumptuous power and tyranny, therefore, of malice you have kindled this fire, and set this matter abroad; and, in especial, for the great malice that you bear to my nephew the emperor, whom I perfectly know you hate worse than a scorpion, because he would not satisfy your ambition, and make you pope by force: and therefore you have said more than once, that you would trouble him and his friends; and you have kept him true promise; for all his wars and vexations he may only thank you. And as for me, his poor aunt and kinswoman, what trouble you have put me to, by this new-found doubt, God knoweth; to whom I commit my cause, according to the truth."

The cardinal of York excused himself, saying, That he was not the beginner nor the mover of the doubt, and that it was sore against his will that ever the marriage should come in question; but he said that by his superior, the bishop of Rome, he was deputed as a judge to hear the cause; which he swore on his profession to hear indifferently. But whatsoever was said, she believed him not; and so the legates took their leave of her, and departed.

These words were spoken in French, and written by Cardinal Campeius's secretary, who was present; and afterwards, by Edward Hall, translated into English.

By these premises it is sufficient to judge and understand what the whole occasion was, that brought this marriage first into doubt, so that there needeth not any further declaration in words upon this matter. But this one thing will I say, if I might be bold to speak what I think: other men may think what they list. This I suppose, that the stay of this marriage was taken in good time, and not without the singular favour of God's providence. For if that one child, coming of this aforesaid marriage, did so greatly endanger this whole realm of England to be entangled with the Spanish nation, that if God's mighty hand had not been betwixt, God only knoweth what misery might have ensued; what peril then should thereby have followed, if, in the continuance of this marriage, more issue had sprung thereof!

But to return again to our matter concerning the whole process and discourse of this divorcement, briefly to comprehend in few words, that which might be collected out of many; after this answer was given of the queen, and her appeal made to the pope, the king, to try out the matter by Scriptures and by learning, sent first to the pope, then to most part of all universities, to have it decided to the uttermost.

In the next year ensuing, A.D. 1530, at the Black Friars' of London was prepared a solemn place for the two legates: who, coming with their crosses, pillars, axes, and all other Romish ceremonies accordingly, were set in two chairs covered with cloth of gold, and cushions of the same. When all things were ready, then the king and the queen were ascited by Dr. Sampson to appear before the said legates the twenty-eighth day of May; where (the commission of the cardinals first being read, wherein it was appointed by the court of Rome, that they should be the hearers and judges in the cause between them both) the king was called by name, who appeared by two proctors. Then the queen was called, who being accompanied with four bishops, and others of her council, and a great company of ladies, came personally herself before the legates; who there, after her obeisance, with a sad gravity of countenance, having not many

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words with them, appealed from the legates, as judges not competent, to the court of Rome, and so departed. Notwithstanding this appeal, the cardinals sat weekly, and every day arguments on both sides were brought, but nothing definitively was determined.

As the time passed on, in the month of June, the king being desirous to see an end of the controversy, came to the court, and the queen came also, where he, standing under his cloth of estate, uttered these or like words, which can best declare his own mind, and which here I thought to notify, that they who have not the chronicles present, may here read his mind, and the better understand the matter.

The king's oration to the legates.

"My lords, legates of the see apostolic, who be deputed judges in this great and weighty matter, I most heartily beseech you to ponder my mind and intent, which only is to have a final end for the discharge of my conscience. For every good Christian man knoweth what pain and what unquietness he suffereth, which have his conscience grieved. For I assure you, on my honour, that this matter hath so vexed my mind, and troubled my spirits, that I can scanty study any thing which should be profitable for my realm and people: and for to have a quietness in body and soul is my desire and request, and not for any grudge that I bear to her that I have married; for I dare say, that for her womanhood, wisdom, nobility, and gentleness, never prince had such another: and therefore, if I would willingly change, I were not wise. Wherefore my suit is to you, my lords, at this time, to have a speedy end, according to right, for the quietness of my mind and conscience only, and for no other cause, as God knoweth."

When the king had thus said, the queen departed without saying any thing. The queen again, on the other part, (who had before appealed to the pope,) assisted with her councillors and doctors, who were four bishops, that is, Warham of Canterbury, West of Ely, Fisher of Rochester, Standish of St. Asaph, with other learned men whom the king had licensed her to choose, was called to know whether she would abide by her appeal, or answer there before the legates. Her proctor answered, that she would abide by her appeal. That notwithstanding, the councillors on both sides every day almost met, and debated this matter substantially, so that at last the divines were all of one opinion that the marriage was against the law of God, if she were carnally known by the first brother, which thing she clearly denied. But to that was answered, that Prince Arthur, her husband, confessed the act done, by certain words spoken; which, being recorded in other chronicles, I had rather should there be read, than by me here uttered. Furthermore, at the time of the death of Prince Arthur, she thought and judged that she was with child, and for that cause the king was deferred from the title and creation of the prince of Wales almost half a year: which thing could not have been judged, if she had not been carnally known.

Also she herself caused a bull to be purchased, in which were these words, "peradventure carnally known;" which words were not in the first bull granted by July, at her second marriage to the king. Which second bull, with that clause, was only purchased to dispense with the second matrimony, although there were carnal copulation before: which bull needed not to have been purchased, if there had been no carnal copulation, for then the first bull had been sufficient.

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Moreover, for the more clear evidence of this matter, that Prince Arthur had carnal knowledge of the said Lady Katharine his wife, it appeareth in a certain book of records which we have to show touching this marriage, that the same time when Prince Arthur was first married with this Lady Katharine, daughter to King Ferdinand, certain ambassadors of Ferdinand's council were then sent hither into England for the said purpose, to see and to testify concerning the full consummation of the said matrimonial conjunction; which councillors here resident, being solemnly sworn, not only did affirm to both their parents, that the matrimony was consummated by that act, but also did send over into Spain, to her father, such demonstrations of their mutual conjunction as here I will not name, sparing the reverence of chaste ears. Which demonstrations otherwise, in those records being named and testified, do sufficiently put the matter out of all doubt and question.

Besides that, in the same records appeareth that both he and she not only were of such years as were meet and able to explete the consummation hereof, but also they were and did lie together both here and in Wales, by the space of three quarters of a year.

Thus, when the divines on her side were beaten from the ground, then they fell to persuasions of natural reasons, how this should not be undone for three causes. One was, because, if it should be broken, the only child of the king should be a bastard, which were a great mischief to the realm. Secondly, the separation should be cause of great unkindness between her kindred and this realm. And the third cause was, that the continuance of so long space had made the marriage honest. These persuasions, with many others, were set forth by the queen's council, and in especial by the bishop of Rochester, which stood stiff in her cause. But yet God's precept was not answered; wherefore they left that ground, and fell to pleading, that the court of Rome had dispensed with that marriage. To this some lawyers said, that no earthly person is able to dispense with the positive law of God.

When the legates heard the opinions of the divines, and saw whereunto the end of this question would tend, forasmuch as men began so to dispute of the authority of the court of Rome, and especially because the cardinal of York perceived the king to cast favour to the Lady Anne, whom he knew to be a Lutheran, they thought best to wind themselves out of that brake betimes; and so Cardinal Campeius, dissembling the matter, conveyed himself home to Rome again, as is partly above touched. The king, seeing himself thus to be deferred and deluded by the cardinals, took it to no little grief; whereupon the fall of the cardinal of York followed not long after.

This was A.D. 1530. Shortly after it happened, the same year, that the king by his ambassadors was advertised, that the emperor and the pope were both together at Bologna. Wherefore he directed Sir Thomas Bullen, lately created earl of Wiltshire, and Dr. Stokesley, afterwards bishop of London, and Dr. Lee, afterwards bishop of York, with his message to the pope's court, where also the emperor was. Pope Clement, understanding the king's case and request, and fearing what might follow after, if learning and Scripture here should take place against the authority of their dispensations; and moreover doubting the emperor's displeasure, bare himself strange off from the matter, answering the ambassadors with this delay, that he presently would not define in the case, but would hear the full matter disputed when he came to Rome, and according to right he would do justice.

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Although the king owed no such service to the pope, to stand to his arbitrement either in this case, or in any other, having both the Scripture to lead him, and his law in his own hands to warrant him, yet, for quietness' sake, and for that he would not rashly break order, (which rather was a disorder indeed,) he bare so long as conveniently he might. At length, after long delays and much dissembling, when he saw no hope of redress, he began somewhat to quicken and to look about him, what was best both for his own conscience, and the establishment of his realm to do.

No man here doubteth, but that all this was wrought not by man's device, but by the secret purpose of the Lord himself, to bring to pass further things, as afterwards followed, which his divine providence was disposed to work. For else, as touching the king's intent and purpose, he never meant nor minded any such thing as to seek the ruin of the pope, but rather sought all means contrary, how both to establish the see of Rome, and also to obtain the good will of the same see and court of Rome, if it might have been gotten. And therefore, intending to sue his divorce from Rome, at the first beginning, his device was, by Stephen Gardiner, his ambassador at Rome, to exalt the cardinal of York, as is before showed, to be made pope and universal bishop, to the end that he, ruling that apostolic see, the matter of his unlawful marriage, which so troubled his conscience, might come to a quiet conclusion, without any further rumour of the world: which purpose of his, if it had taken effect as he had devised it, and the English cardinal had once been made pope, no doubt but the authority of that see had never been exterminated out of England. But God, being more merciful unto us, took a better way than so; for both without and contrary to the king's expectation, he so brought to pass, that neither the cardinal of York was pope, (which should have been an infinite cost to the king,) and yet nevertheless the king sped for his purpose too, and that much better than he looked for. For he was rid, by lawful divorcement, not only from that unlawful marriage which clogged his conscience, but also from the miserable yoke of the pope's usurped dominion, which clogged the whole realm; and all at one time.

Thus God's holy providence ruling the matter, as I said, when the king could get no favourable grant of the pope touching his cause, being so good and honest, he was forced to take the redress of his right into his own hands, and seeing this Gordian knot would not be loosed at Rome, he was driven against his will, as God would, to play the noble Alexander himself, and with the sword of his princely authority knapped the knot at one stroke clean asunder, loosing, as it were, with one solution infinite questions. For where the doctors and canonists had long disputed, and yet could never thoroughly discuss the largeness and fulness of the pope's two swords, both temporal and spiritual; the king, with one sword, did so cut off both his swords, that he despatched them both clean out of England, as ye shall see more anon. But first the king, like a prudent prince, before he would come to the head of the sore, thought best to pare away such rank flesh and putrefied places as were about it; and therefore, following his own proverb, like as one going about to cast down an old rotten wall, will not begin with the foundation first, but with the stones that lie at the top, so he, to prepare his way better unto the pope, first began with the cardinal, casting him, by the law of *præmunire*, out of his goods and possessions: and so at length, by poisoning himself, he procured his own death; which was A.D. 1530.

This done, shortly after, about the year 1532, the king, to provide betimes against mischiefs that might come from Rome, gave forth eftsoons this proclamation, touching the

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abolishing of the pope, and establishing of the king's supremacy; the tenor whereof here followeth:

"The king's Highness straitly chargeth and commandeth, that no manner of person, what estate, degree, or condition soever he or they be of, do purchase, or attempt to purchase, from the court of Rome, or elsewhere, or use and put in execution, divulge or publish any thing heretofore, within this year past purchased, or to be purchased hereafter, containing matter prejudicial to the high authority, jurisdiction, and prerogative royal of this his said realm, or to the let, hinderance, or impeachment of his Grace's noble and virtuous intended purposes in the premises, upon pain of incurring his Highness's indignation, and imprisonment and further punishment of their bodies for their so doing, at his Grace's pleasure, to the dreadful example of all others."

It chanced about the same time, or a little before, that the king, taking more heart unto him, partly encouraged by the treatise afore mentioned, called "The Supplication of Beggars," which he had diligently read and perused, and partly provoked by the pride and stoutness of the clergy, brake off with the cardinal, caused him to be attainted in the præmunire, and afterwards also to be apprehended.

After this was done, the king, then proceeding further, caused the rest of the spiritual lords to be called by process into the king's bench to make their appearance, forasmuch as the whole clergy of England, in supporting and maintaining the power legantine of the cardinal, by the reason thereof were all entangled likewise in the præmunire, and therefore were called into the king's bench to answer. But before the day of their appearance, the prelates together in their convocation concluded among themselves a humble submission in writing, and offered the king for a subsidy or contribution, that he would be their good lord, and release them of their præmunire by act of parliament, first to be gathered in the province of Canterbury a hundred thousand pounds; and in the province of York, eighteen thousand eight hundred and forty pounds and ten pence: the which offer with much labour was accepted, and their pardon promised. In this submission the clergy called the king supreme head of the church of England, which thing they never confessed before; whereupon many things followed, as after (God willing) ye shall hear.

But first, forasmuch as we are in hand now with the matter, we will borrow by the way a few words of the reader, to speak of this clergy-money, of one hundred and eighteen thousand eight hundred and forty pounds and ten pence, to be levied to the king, as is above touched. For the levying of which sum an order was taken among the prelates, that every bishop in his diocese should call before him all the priests, parsons, and vicars, among whom Dr. Stokesley, bishop of London, a man then counted to be of some wit and learning, but of little discretion and humanity, (which caused him to be out of the favour of the common people,) called before him all the priests within the city of London, whether they were curates or stipendiaries, the first day of September, being Friday, in the chapter-house of St. Paul; at which day the priests appeared, and the bishop's policy was to have only six or eight priests together, and by persuasions to have caused them to grant some portion towards the payment of the aforesaid hundred thousand pounds. But the number of the priests was so great, (for they were six hundred at least, and with them came many temporal men to hear the matter,) that the bishop was disappointed of his

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purpose; for when the bishop's officers called in certain priests by name into the chapter-house, with that a great number entered, for they put aside the bishop's officers that kept the door.

After this the officers got the door shut again. Then the priests without said, "We will not be kept without, and our fellows be within: we know not what the bishop will do with them." The temporal men, being present, comforted and encouraged the priests to enter, so that by force they opened the door, and one struck the bishop's officer over the face, and entered the chapter-house, and many temporal men with them; and long it was ere any silence could be made. At last, when they were appeased, the bishop stood up and said, "Brethren! I marvel not a little why you be so heady, and know not what shall be said to you; therefore I pray you to keep silence, and to hear me patiently. My friends all, you know well that we be men frail of condition, and no angels; and by frailty and lack of wisdom we have misdemeaned ourselves towards the king, our sovereign lord, and his laws, so that all we of the clergy were in the *præmunire*; by reason whereof, all our promotions, lands, goods, and chattels, were to him forfeit, and our bodies ready to be imprisoned: yet his Grace, moved with pity and compassion, demanded of us what we could say, why he should not extend his laws upon us. Then the fathers of the clergy humbly besought his Grace of mercy: to whom he answered, that he was ever inclined to mercy. Then, for all our great offences we had little penance; for where he might, by the rigour of his law, have taken all our livelihood, goods, and chattels, he was contented with one hundred thousand pounds, to be paid in five years. And although this sum be more than we may easily bear, yet by the rigour of his laws we should have borne the whole burden. Wherefore, my brethren! I charitably exhort you to bear your parts of your livelihood and salary, toward the payment of this sum granted."

Then it was shortly said to the bishop,

"My Lord! twenty nobles a year is but bare living for a priest; for now victuals and every thing are so dear, that poverty in a manner enforceth us to say nay. Besides that, my Lord, we never offended in the *præmunire*; for we never meddled with the cardinal's faculties: let the bishops and abbots who have offended pay."

Then the bishop's officers gave to the priests high words, which caused them to be the more obstinate. Also divers temporal men who were present comforted the priests, and bade them agree to no payment. In this rumour divers of the bishop's servants were buffeted and stricken, so that the bishop began to be afraid, and with fair words appeased the noise; and for all things which were done or said there he pardoned them, and gave to them his blessing, and prayed them to depart in charity. Then they departed, thinking to hear no more of the matter, but they were deceived; for the bishop went to Sir Thomas More, then being lord chancellor, (who greatly favoured the bishop and the clergy,) and to him made a grievous complaint, and declared the fact very grievously. Whereupon commandment was sent to Sir Thomas Pargitor, mayor of the city, to attach certain priests and temporal men: and so fifteen priests and five temporal men were arrested; of the which some were sent to the Tower, some to the Fleet and other prisons, where they remained long after.

This being done A.D. 1532, it followeth moreover the same year, that divers preachings were in the realm, one contrary to another, concerning the king's marriage; and in especial one

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Thomas Abel, clerk, which was the queen's chaplain, to please her withal, both preached, and also wrote a book, in defence of the said marriage; whereby divers simple men were persuaded. Wherefore the king caused to be compiled and reduced into a book the determination of the universities, with the judgments of great clerks; which book being printed and set abroad, did again satisfy all indifferent and reasonable persons, which were not too much wedded to their wills.

Mention was made a little before, of a parliament begun the fifteenth day of January, A.D. 1533, in the which parliament the commons had put up a supplication, complaining of the strait dealing of the clergy in their proceeding ex officio. This complaint, although at first it seemed not to be greatly tendered of the king, yet in prorogation of the parliament the time so wrought withal, that the king, having more clear understanding of the abuses and enormities of the clergy, and, in especial, of the corrupt authority of the see of Rome, provided certain acts against the same.

"First, as concerning the laws, decrees, ordinances, and constitutions made and established by the pretended authority of the bishops of Rome, to the advancement of their worldly glory, that whoso did or spake any thing either against their usurped power, or against the said laws, decrees, or constitutions of theirs, not approved nor grounded upon Holy Scripture, or else being repugnant to the king's prerogative royal, should therefore stand in no danger, nor be impeachable of heresy. And likewise touching such constitutions, ordinances, and canons provincial or synodal, which were made in this realm in the convocation of bishops, being either prejudicial to the king's prerogative, or not ratified before by the king's assent, or being otherwise onerous to the king and his subjects, or in any wise repugnant to the laws and statutes of this realm, they were committed to the examination and judgment of thirty-two persons chosen by the king out of the higher and lower house, to be determined either to stand in strength, or to be abrogated at their discretions: and further, that all the clergy of this realm, submitting themselves to the king, should and did promise never hereafter to presume to assemble in their convocations without the king's writ, or to enact or execute such constitutions without his royal assent, &c.

Further, in the same parliament was enacted and decreed, that in causes and matters happening in contention, no person should appeal, provoke, or sue, out of the king's dominions to the court of Rome, under pain of provisors, provision, or præmunire.

Item, In the same parliament was defined and concluded, that all exportation of annates and first-fruits of archbishoprics and bishoprics out of this realm to the see of Rome, for any bulls, breves, or palls, or expedition of any such thing, should utterly cease.

Also, for the investing of archbishops, bishops, or other of any ecclesiastical dignity, such order in the said parliament was taken, that the king should send a licence under the great seal, with a letter missive, to the prior and convent, or to the dean and chapter of those cathedral churches where the see was vacant, by the virtue of which licence or letters missive, they, within twelve days, should choose the said person nominated by the king, and no other; and that election to stand effectual to all intents: which election being done, then the party elect to make first his oath and fealty to the king, if it were a bishop that was elect; then the king, by his letters patent, to signify the said election to the archbishop of that province, and two other bishops, or

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else to four bishops within this realm to be assigned to that office, without any other suing, procuring, or obtaining any bulls, breves, or other things from the see of Rome.

Moreover, against all other whatsoever intolerable exactions and great sums of money used to be paid out of this realm to the bishop of Rome, in pensions, censures, Peter-pence, procurations, fruits, suits for provisions, and expeditions of bulls for archbishops and bishops, for delegacies and rescripts in causes of contentions and appeals, jurisdictions legative; also for dispensations, licences, faculties, grants, relaxations, writs called *perinde valere*, rehabilitations, abolitions, canonizations, and other infinite sorts of bulls, breves, and instruments of sundry natures, the number whereof were tedious particularly to be recited: in the said parliament it was ordained, that all such uncharitable usurpations, exactions, pensions, censures, portions, and Peter-pence, wont to be paid to the see of Rome, should utterly surcease, and never more to be levied; so that the king, with his honourable council, should have power and authority from time to time, for the ordering, redress, and reformation of all manner of indulgences, privileges, &c., within this realm.

Where is to be noted by the way, as touching these Peter-pence aforesaid, that the same were first brought in and imposed by King Ina, about A.D. 720; which Ina, king of the West Saxons, caused through all his dominion, in every house having a chimney, a penny to be collected and paid to the bishop of Rome in the name of St. Peter; and thereof were they called Peter-pence. The same likewise did Offa, king of Mercians, after him, about A.D. 794. And these Peter-pence ever since, or for the most part, have used of a long custom to be gathered and summoned by the pope's collectors here in England, from the time of Ina aforesaid, to this present parliament, A.D. 1533.

Finally, by the authority of the parliament it was consulted and considered concerning the legality of the lawful succession unto the crown, in ratifying and enabling the heirs of the king's body, and Queen Anne. In the which parliament, moreover, the degrees of marriage plainly and clearly were explained and set forth, such as be expressly prohibited by God's laws, as in this table may appear.

A table of degrees prohibited, by Gods law, to marry.

The son not to marry the mother, nor step-mother.
The brother not to marry the sister.
The father not to marry his son's daughter, nor his daughter's daughter.
The son not to marry his father's daughter, gotten by his step-mother.
The son not to marry his aunt, being either his father's or his mother's sister.
The son not to marry his uncle's wife.
The father not to marry his son's wife.
The brother not to marry his brother's wife.
No man to marry his wife's daughter.
No man to marry his wife's son's daughter.
No man to marry his wife's daughter's daughter.
No man to marry his wife's sister.
All these degrees be prohibited by the Scripture.

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All these things thus being defined and determined in this aforesaid parliament, and it also being in the same parliament concluded, that no man, of what estate, degree, or condition soever, hath any power to dispense with God's laws; it was therefore, by the authority aforesaid, agreeing with the authority of God's word, assented that the marriage aforesaid solemnized between the king and the Lady Katharine, being before wife to Prince Arthur the king's brother, and carnally known by him, (as is above proved,) should be absolutely deemed and adjudged to be unlawful and against the law of God, and also reputed and taken to be of no value or effect; and that the separation thereof by Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, should stand good and effectual to all intents; and also that the lawful matrimony between the king and the Lady Anne his wife, should be established, approved, and ratified for good and consonant to the laws of Almighty God. And further, also, for the establishing of this king's lawful succession, it was fully by the said parliament adjudged, that the inheritance of the crown should remain to the heirs of their two bodies, that is, of the king, and Queen Anne his wife.

During the time of this parliament, before the marriage of Queen Anne, there was one Temse in the commons house, who moved the commons to sue to the king to take the queen again into his company; declaring certain great mischiefs like to ensue thereof, as in bastardizing the Lady Mary, the king's only child, and divers other inconveniences. This being reported to the king's ears, he sent immediately to Sir Thomas Audley, speaker then of the parliament, expressing unto him, amongst other matters, that he marvelled much why one of the parliament did so openly speak of the absence of the queen from him; which matter was not to be determined there, for it touched (said he) his soul; and he wished the matrimony were good, for then had he never been so vexed in conscience. But the doctors of universities (said he) have determined the marriage to be void, and detestable before God; which grudge of conscience (he said) caused him to abstain from her company, and no foolish or wanton appetite. "For I am," said he, "forty-one years old, at which age the lust of man is not so quick as it is in youth. And, saving in Spain and Portugal, it hath not been seen, that one man hath married two sisters, the one being carnally known before: but the brother to marry the brother's wife, was so abhorred amongst all nations, that I never heard that any Christian so did, but myself. Wherefore you see my conscience troubled, and so I pray you report." And so the speaker, departing, declared to the commons the king's saying.

It was touched, a little before, how that the pope had lost great part of his authority and jurisdiction in this realm of England; now it followeth to infer, how, and by what occasion, his whole power and authority began utterly to be abolished, by the reason and occasion of the most virtuous and noble lady, Anne Bullen, who was not as yet married to the king, howbeit in great favour: by whose godly means and most virtuous counsel the king's mind was daily inclined better and better. Insomuch that, not long after, the king, belike perceiving the minds of the clergy not much favouring his cause, sent for the speaker again, and twelve of the commons house, having with him eight lords, and said to them, "Well-beloved subjects! we had thought the clergy of our realm had been our subjects wholly, but now we have well perceived that they be but half our subjects, yea, and scarce our subjects. For all the prelates at their consecration make an oath to the pope, clean contrary to the oath that they make unto us, so that they seem to be his subjects, and not ours." And so the king, delivering to them the copy of both the oaths, required them to invent some order that he might not thus be deluded of his spiritual subjects.

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The speaker thus departed, and caused the oaths to be read in the commons house, the very tenor whereof here ensueth.

The oath of the clergy to the pope.

"I, John, bishop or abbot of A., from this hour forward shall be faithful and obedient to St. Peter, and to the holy Church of Rome, and to my lord the pope and his successors canonically entering. I shall not be of counsel or consent, that they shall lose either life or member, or shall be taken or suffer any violence, or any wrong by any means. Their counsel to me credited by them, their messengers or letters, I shall not willingly discover to any person. The papacy of Rome, the rulers of the holy fathers, and regalities of St. Peter, I shall help and retain, and defend against all men. The legate of the see apostolic, going and coming, I shall honourably entreat. The rights, honours, privileges, and authorities of the Church of Rome, and of the pope and his successors, I shall cause to be conserved, defended, augmented, and promoted; I shall not be in counsel, treaty, or any act, in which any thing shall be imagined against him or the Church of Rome, their rights, estates, honours, or powers: and if I know any such to be moved or compassed, I shall resist it to my power; and as soon as I can, I shall advertise him, or such as may give him knowledge. The rules of the holy fathers, the decrees, ordinances, sentences, dispositions, reservations, provisions, and commandments apostolic, to my power I shall keep, and cause to be kept of others. Heretics, schismatics, and rebels to our holy father and his successors, I shall resist and persecute to my power; I shall come to the synod when I am called, except I be letted by a canonical impediment. The lights of the apostles I shall visit personally, or by my deputy. I shall not alienate or sell my possessions without the pope's council. So God me help, and the holy evangelists."

This oath of the clergymen, which they were wont to make to the bishop of Rome, (now Pope Quondam,) was abolished and made void by statute, and a new oath ministered and confirmed for the same, wherein they acknowledged the king to be the supreme head, under Christ, in this Church of England, as by tenor thereof may appear hereunder ensuing.

The oath of the clergy to the king.

"I, John B., of A., utterly renounce, and clearly forsake, all such clauses, words, sentences, and grants, which I have or shall have hereafter of the pope's Holiness, of and for the bishopric of A., that in any wise have been, are, or hereafter may be, hurtful or prejudicial to your Highness, your heirs, successors, dignity, privilege, or estate royal: and also I do swear that I shall be faithful and true, and faith and truth I shall bear, to you my sovereign lord, and to your heirs, kings of the same, of life and limb, and earthly worship above all creatures, to live and die with you and yours against all people: and diligently I shall be attendant to all your needs and business, after my wit and power: and your counsel I shall keep and hold, acknowledging myself to hold my bishopric of you only, beseeching you of restitution of the temporalities of the same; promising (as before) that I shall be a faithful, true, and obedient subject unto your said Highness, heirs, and successors, during my life: and the services and other things due to your Highness, for the restitution of the temporalities of the same bishopric, I shall truly do, and obediently perform. So God me help, and all saints."

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These oaths thus being recited and opened to the people, were the occasion that the pope lost all his interest and jurisdiction here in England within a short while after. Upon the occasion and reason whereof, the matter falling out more and more against the pope, Sir Thomas More, of whom mention is made before, being a great maintainer of the pope, and a heavy troubler of Christ's people, and now not liking well of this oath, by God's good work was enforced to resign up his chancellorship, and to deliver up the great seal of England into the king's hands. After whom succeeded Sir Thomas Audley, keeper of the great seal, a man in eloquence and gifts of tongue no less incomparable, than also for his godly-disposed mind; and for his favourable inclination to Christ's religion, worthy of much commendation.

These things being done in the parliament, the king, within short time after, proceeded to the marriage of the aforesaid Lady Anne Bullen, mother to our most noble queen now, who, without all controversy, was a special comforter and aider of all the professors of Christ's gospel, as well of the learned as the unlearned; her life being also directed according to the same, as her weekly alms did manifestly declare; who, besides the ordinary of a hundred crowns, and other apparel that she gave weekly, a year before she was crowned, both to men and women, gave also wonderfully much privy alms to widows and other poor householders, continually, till she was apprehended; and she ever gave three or four pounds at a time to the poor people, to buy them kine withal, and sent her sub-almoner to the towns about where she lay, that the parishioners should make a bill of all the poor householders in their parish; and some towns received seven, eight, or ten pounds to buy kine withal, according as the number of the poor in the towns were. She also maintained many learned men at Cambridge. Likewise did the earl of Wiltshire, her father, and the Lord Rochford, her brother, and by them these men were brought in favour with the king; of whom some are yet alive, and can testify the same; would to God that they were now as great professors of the gospel of Christ, as then they appeared to be; who were Dr. Heath and Dr. Thirlby; with whom was joined the Lord Paget, who, at that present, was an earnest protestant, and gave unto one Raynold West, Luther's books, and other books of the Germans, as Francis. Lambert. De Sectis; and at that time he read Melancthon's Rhetoric openly in Trinity-hall, in Cambridge, and was with his Master Gardiner, a maintainer of Dr. Barnes, and all the protestants that were then in Cambridge, and helped many religious persons out of their cowls.

It hath been reported unto us by divers credible persons which were about this queen, and daily acquainted with her doings, concerning her liberal and bountiful distribution to the poor, how her Grace carried ever about her a certain little purse, out of the which she was wont daily to scatter abroad some alms to the needy, thinking no day well spent wherein some man had not fared the better by some benefit at her hands. And this I write by the relation of certain noble personages which were the chief and principal of her waiting maids about her, specially the duchess of Richmond by name.

Also concerning the order of her ladies and gentlewomen about her, one that was her silk woman, a gentlewoman not now alive, but of great credit, and also of fame for her worthy doings, did credibly report, that in all her time she never saw better order among the ladies and gentlewomen of the court, than was in this good queen's days, who kept her maids and such as were about her so occupied in sewing and working of shirts and smocks for the poor, that neither was there seen any idleness then among them, nor any leisure to follow such pastimes as daily are seen now-a-days to reign in princes' courts.

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Thus the king, been divorced from the lady dowager, his brother's wife, married this gracious lady, making a prosperous and happy change for us, being divorced from the aforesaid princess, and also from the pope, both at one time. Notwithstanding, as good and godly purposes are never without some incommmodity or trouble following, so it happened in this divorcement, that the said princess, procuring from Rome the pope's curse, caused both the king and the realm to be interdicted, whereof more is hereafter to be spoken.

In the mean time, Queen Anne, shortly after her marriage, being great with child, the next year following, which was 1533, after the first divorcement publicly proclaimed, was crowned with high solemnity at Westminster; and not long, after her coronation, the seventh day of September, she was brought to bed, and delivered of a fair lady; for whose good deliverance Te Deum was sung in all places, and great preparation made for the christening.

The mayor and his brethren, with forty of the chief citizens, were commanded to be present, with all the nobles and gentlemen. The king's palace, and all the walls between that and the Friars, were hanged with arras, as was the Friars' church. Also the font was of silver, and stood in the midst of the church, three steps high, which was covered with a fine cloth, and divers gentlemen, with aprons and towels about their necks, gave attendance about it. Over the font hung a fair canopy of crimson satin, fringed with gold. About it was a rail covered with say. Between the quire and the body of the church was a close place with a pan of fire to make the child ready in. These things thus ordered, the child was brought into the hall, and then every man set forward. First the citizens, two and two: then, the gentlemen, esquires, and chaplains: next after followed the aldermen, and the mayor alone. Next the mayor followed the king's council: then the king's chapel: then barons, bishops, and earls. Then came the earl of Essex, bearing the covered basons, gilt. After him the marquis of Exeter, with the taper of virgin-wax. Next him the marquis of Dorset, bearing the salt. Behind him the Lady Mary of Norfolk, bearing the chrism, which was very rich of pearl and stone. The old duchess of Norfolk bare the child in a mantle of purple velvet, with a long train furred with ermine. The duke of Norfolk, with his marshal-rod, went on the right hand of the said duchess, and the duke of Suffolk on the left hand. Before them went the officers of arms. The countess of Kent bare the long train of the child's mantle. Between the countess and the child went the earl of Wiltshire on the right hand, and the earl of Derby on the left hand, supporting the said train. In the midst, over the child, was borne a canopy by the Lord Rochford, the Lord Hussey, the Lord William Howard, and the Lord Thomas Howard the elder. In this order they came unto the church door, where the bishop of London met it, with divers abbots and bishops, and began the observances of the sacrament. The archbishop of Canterbury was godfather, and the old duchess of Norfolk, and the old marchioness of Dorset, widows, were godmothers, and the child was named Elizabeth.

After all things were done at the church door, the child was brought to the font, and christened. This done, Garter, the chief king-at-arms, cried aloud, "God, of his infinite goodness, send prosperous life and long, to the high and mighty princess of England, ELIZABETH." Then the trumpets blew, and the child was brought up to the altar, and immediately confirmed by the archbishop, the marchioness of Exeter being godmother. Then the archbishop of Canterbury gave the princess a standing cup of gold. The duchess of Norfolk gave her a standing cup of gold, fretted with pearl. The marchioness of Dorset gave three gilt bowls, pounced, with a cover. The marchioness of Exeter, three standing bowls, gilt, and graven, with a cover. And so, after a

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solemn banquet, ended with hypocras, wafers, and such like, in great plenty, they returned in like order again unto the court with the princess; and so departed

At the marriage of this noble lady, as there was no small joy unto all good and godly men, and no less hope of prosperous success to God's true religion, so in like manner, on the contrary part, the papists wanted not their malicious and secret attempts, as by the false hypocrisy and feigned holiness of a false feigned hypocrite, this year being espied and found out, may sufficiently appear what their devilish devices and purposes were. For certain monks, friars, and other evil-disposed persons, of a devilish intent, had put into the heads of many of the king's subjects, that they had a revelation of God and his saints, that he was highly displeased with King Henry for the divorcement of the Lady Katharine; and surmised, among other things, that God had revealed to a nun, named Elizabeth Barton, whom they called The holy maid of Kent, that in case the king proceeded in the said divorce, he should not be king of this realm one month after, and in the reputation of God, not one day nor hour. This Elizabeth Barton, by false dissimulation, practised and showed to the people marvellous alteration of her visage and other parts of her body, as if she had been rapt, or in a trance; and in those feigned trances, by false hypocrisy, (as though she had been inspired of God,) she spake many words in rebuking of sin, and reproving the gospel, which she called heresy; and among them uttered divers things to the great reproach of the king and queen, and to the establishing of idolatry, pilgrimage, and the derogation of God's glory: which her naughtiness being espied out by the great labour and diligence of the archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Cromwell, and Master Hugh Latimer, she was condemned and put to death, with certain of her affinity and counsel, in the month of April, A.D. 1533. The names of which conspirators with her were these: Edward Bocking, monk, of Canterbury; Richard Master, parson, of Aldington; John Dering, monk, of Canterbury; Hugh Rich, friar, warden of the Grey Friars, of Canterbury; Richard Risby; Henry Gold, bachelor of divinity, and parson of Aldermay; Fisher, bishop of Rochester; John Adeson, priest, his chaplain; Thomas Laurence, the bishop's registrar, of Canterbury; Edward Thwaits; Thomas Abel: of which persons, the said Elizabeth Barton, Henry Gold, Richard Master, Edward Bocking, John Dering, Hugh Rich, Richard Risby, were attainted of treason by act of parliament, and put to execution.

The residue, as Fisher bishop of Rochester, Thomas Gold, Thomas Laurence, Edward Thwaits, John Adeson, Thomas Abel, being convicted and attainted of misprision, were condemned to prison, and forfeited their goods and possessions to the king.

Edward Hall, a writer of our English stories, making mention of this Elizabeth Barton aforesaid, adjoineth next in his book the narration of one Pavier, or Pavy, a notorious enemy, no doubt, to God's truth. This Pavier, being the town-clerk of the city of London, was a man (saith he) that in no case could abide to hear that the gospel should be in English: insomuch that the said Hall himself heard him once say unto him, and to others by swearing a great oath, that if he thought the king's Highness would set forth the Scripture in English, and let it be read of the people by his authority, rather than he would so long live, he would cut his own throat. But he broke promise, saith Hall; for he did not cut his throat with a knife, but with a halter did hang himself. Of what mind and intent he so did, God judge. My information further addeth this, touching the said Pavier or Pavy, that he was a bitter enemy, very busy at the burning of Richard Bainham above mentioned; who, hearing the said Bainham at the stake speaking against

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purgatory and transubstantiation, "Set fire," said he, "to this heretic, and burn him." And as the train of gunpowder came toward the martyr, he lifted up his eyes and hands to heaven, saying to Pavier, "God forgive thee, and show thee more mercy than thou dost to me. The Lord forgive Sir Thomas More, and pray for me, all good people;" and so continued he praying, till the fire took his bowels and his head, &c.

After Bainham's martyrdom, the next year following, this Pavier, the town-clerk of the city, went and bought ropes. Which done, he went up to a high garret in his house to pray, as he was wont to do, to a rood which he had there, before which he bitterly wept: and as his own maid; coming up, found him so doing, he bade her take the rusty sword, and go make it clean, and trouble him no more and immediately he tied up the rope, and hung himself. The maid's heart still throbbed, and so came up, and found him but newly hanged. Then, having no power to help him, she ran crying to the church to her mistress to fetch her home. His servants and clerks he had sent out before to Finsbury, and to Master Edney, serjeant to the lord mayor, dwelling over Bishop's-gate, to tarry for him at Finsbury-court till he came: but he had despatched himself before, so that they might long look for him before he could come. This was A.D. 1533.

To this story of Pavier may also be added the like terrible example of Doctor Foxford, chancellor to the bishop of London, a cruel persecutor, and a common butcher of the good saints of God; who was the condemner of all those afore named, who were put to death, troubled, or abjured under Bishop Stokesley, through all the diocese of London. This Foxford died about this present year and time; of whose terrible end it was then certainly reported and affirmed, by such as were of right good credit, unto certain persons, of whom some be yet alive, that he died suddenly sitting in his chair, his belly being burst, and his entrails falling out before him.

About the same time died William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury; in whose room succeeded Thomas Cranmer, which was the king's chaplain, and a great disputer against the unlawful marriage of the Lady Katharine, princess dowager; being then so called by act of parliament.

Ye heard before, how the parliament had enacted that no person, after a certain day, should appeal to Rome for any cause: notwithstanding which act, the queen, now called princess dowager, had appealed to the court of Rome before that act made; so that it was doubted whether that appeal was good or not. This question was well handled in the parliament house, but much better in the convocation house; and yet in both houses it was alleged, yea, and by books showed, that in the councils of Chalcedon, Africa, Toledo, and divers other famous councils in the primitive church, yea, in the time of St. Augustine, it was affirmed, declared, and determined, that a cause arising in one province, should be determined in the same, and that neither the patriarch of Constantinople should meddle in causes moved into the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Antioch, nor any bishop should intermeddle within another's province or country. Which things were so clerkly opened, and so cunningly set forth to all intents, that every man that had wit, and was determined to follow the truth, and not wilfully wedded to his own mind, might plainly see, that all appeals made to Rome were clearly void, and of none effect: which doctrines and counsels were showed to the Lady Katharine, princess dowager; but she (as women love to lose no dignity) ever continued in her old song, trusting more to the pope's partiality, than to the determination of Christ's verity.

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Whereupon the archbishop of Canterbury, Cranmer above named, accompanied with the bishops of London, Winchester, Bath, Lincoln, and divers other great clerks in a great number, rode to Dunstable, which is six miles from Ampthill, where the princess dowager lay and there, by a doctor, called Dr. Lee, she was ascited to appear before the said archbishop, in cause of matrimony, in the said town of Dunstable. And at the day of appearance she would not appear, but made default, and so was called peremptorily, every day, fifteen days together; and at last, for lack of appearance, and for contumacy, by the assent of all the learned men there being present, she was divorced from the king, and their marriage declared to be void and of none effect; which sentence given, the archbishop and all the others returned back again.

Here note, that although this divorce following after the new marriage needed not at all to be made, the first marriage being no marriage at all before God, yet, to satisfy the voice of the people, more than for any necessity, the king was contented, through the persuasions of some, so to do. For else, as touching God and conscience, what great need was there of any divorce, where before God no marriage was to be accounted, but rather an incestuous and detestable adultery, as the act of parliament doth term it? But to our matter again.

After the dissolution of this first marriage made between the king and the lady princess dowager, she nevertheless, bearing a stout mind, would not yet relent, neither to the determination of the universities, nor to the censure of the clergy, nor of the whole realm; but, following the counsel rather of a few Spaniards, to molest the king and the realm by suit and means made to the pope, procured certain writings, first of monition and aggravation, then of excommunication and interdiction, to be sent down from Rome, wherein the pope had interdicted both the king and the whole realm. But the pope's curser being not the hardiest man, belike, that ever showed his head, thought it much more sure for him to discharge his popish carriage without the king's reach; and so, keeping himself aloof off, (like a pretty man,) set up his writings in the town of Dunkirk in Flanders: in which town first, upon the north door of the church was set up a monition, that the king of England should surcease the suit of divorce; which John Butler, clerk, then commissary of Calais, by commandment, took down in the night.

After that, before Whitsun-week, there was set up in the same place an excommunication, aggravation, reagravation, and interdiction; for which also the said Butler, by commandment, was sent to Dunkirk, to take it down. And because the council of Calais would be certified of his diligence therein, they sent a servant of the Lord Lisle, then deputy of Calais, whose name was Cranvel; and upon Wednesday in Whitsun-week, at seven o'clock in the morning, he took it down whole, and brought it with him, and delivered the same to the lord deputy aforesaid: which was about the year 1533.

This being known and certified unto the king, he was motioned by his council, that such as were about her, and moved her thereunto, should be put from her. And therefore the duke of Suffolk was sent to Bugden, beside Huntingdon, where the said Lady Katharine lay; who, perceiving her stomach to continue froward still, in answering him with high words, and suddenly so in a fury to part from him into her privy chamber, and shut the door, brake up the order of her court, and discharged a great sort of her household servants; and yet left her a convenient number to serve her like a princess. They that remained still, were sworn to serve her as princess only, and not as queen; of whom some said, they were once sworn to serve her as

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queen, and otherwise would not serve; and so were dismissed. The others who were sworn to serve her as princess, she utterly refused for her servants, and so she remained with the fewer, living after this about the space of two years.

And thus much hast thou, good reader, touching the king's divorcement; by occasion whereof it pleased God so to work, through his secret and unsearchable wisdom, that the pope, who so long had played rex in England, lost his whole jurisdiction and supremacy.

The abolishing of the pope out of England.



THESE things thus finished and despatched concerning the marriage of Queen Anne, and divorce of Lady Katharine, dowager, next followeth the year 1534; in the which was assembled the high court of parliament again, after many prorogations, upon the third day of February; wherein was made an act of succession, for the more surety of the crown, to the which every person being of lawful age should be sworn. During this parliament time, every Sunday preached at Paul's Cross a bishop, which declared the pope not to be head of the church.

After this, commissions were sent over all England, to take the oath of all men and women to the act of succession; at which few repined, except Pr. John Fisher, bishop of Rochester; Sir Thomas More, late lord chancellor; and Dr. Nicholas Wilson, parson of St. Thomas the Apostle's in London. Wherefore these three persons, after long exhortation to them made by the bishop of Canterbury at Lambeth, refusing to be sworn, were sent to the Tower, where they remained, and were oftentimes motioned to be sworn. But the bishop and Sir Thomas More excused them by their writings, in which they said that they had written before that the said Lady Katharine was queen, and therefore could not well go from that which they had written. Likewise the doctor excused, that he in preaching had called her queen, and therefore now could not well unsay it again. Howbeit, at length, he was well contented to dissemble the matter, and so escaped: but the other two stood against all the realm in their opinion.

From the month of March this parliament furthermore was prorogued to the third day of November abovesaid; at what time, amongst divers other statutes, most graciously, and by the blessed will of God it was enacted, that the pope, and all his college of cardinals, with his pardons and indulgences, which so long had clogged this realm of England, to the miserable slaughter of so many good men, and which never could be removed away before, were now abolished, eradicated, and exploded out of this land, and sent home again to their own country of Rome, from whence they came. God be everlastingly praised therefore, Amen!

183. Papal Documents Relating To King Henry's Divorce.

In the mean season, amongst other omissions here overpast, forasmuch as a certain instrument of the pope's sentence definitive against King Henry's first divorce with Lady Katharine, dowager, hath of late come to our hands, containing matter neither impertinent nor unmeet to be committed to history, I thought here presently to place the same, to the intent that the reader, seeing the arrogant and impudent presumption of the pope in the said sentence, going about by force and authority so to constrain and compel kings and princes against their wills, and against right and Scripture, to apply to his imperious purpose, may the better understand thereby, what was the true cause and ground why the king first began to take stomach against the pope, and to send him clean packing out of this realm. But before I shall produce this aforesaid sentence definitive of the pope, to make the matter more plain to the reader, it shall not be amiss, first, to decipher and rip up the original of such occasions as shall induce the reader to the better understanding of this falling out between the king and the pope.

For so I find by the letters of Dr. Stephen Gardiner, written to Cardinal Wolsey from Rome, (at what time he and Foxe were sent ambassadors by the king to Pope Clement the Seventh, about the expedition of the kings divorce, A. D. 1532,) that the said Pope Clement, with the counsel of the Cardinal Sanctorum Quatuor and other cardinals, at first was well willing, and very inclinable, to the accomplishment and satisfaction of the king's desire in that behalf, and that for divers respects.

As first, for the great benefits received, and the singular devotion of the king toward the see apostolic, in taking war for the church's cause: in surceasing war at the pope's desire; and, especially, in procuring the pope's deliverance, whereby the pope then thought himself with his whole see much obliged to the king, in all respects, to pass by his authority whatsoever reasonably might be granted in gratifying the king's so ample merits and deserts.

Secondly, for the evident reasons and substantial arguments in the king's book contained, which seemed well to satisfy the pope's liking, and to remove away all scruples.

Thirdly, for the good opinion and confidence that the pope had in the excellent wisdom, profound learning, and mature judgment of the king, which the pope (as he said in formal words) would sooner lean unto, than unto any other learned man's mind or sentence, so that the king's reasons, he said, must needs be of great efficacy and strength of themselves to order and direct this matter.

The fourth cause moving the pope to favour the king's request, was, for the quiet and tranquillity of his conscience, which, otherwise, in that unlawful marriage with his brother's wife, could not be settled.

The fifth cause was, for the consideration of the perils and dangers, which otherwise might happen to the realm, by the pretended titles of the king of Scots, and others, without any heir male to establish the king's succession: for the avoiding of which perils, and also for the other causes above rehearsed, the pope showed himself at that time propense and forward to promote and set forward the king's desired purpose in that behalf.

And thus much touching this by-matter I thought here to suggest and repeat to the reader, albeit the same is also sufficiently expressed before: to the end that the studious reader,

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pondering these first proceedings of the pope, and comparing them with this sentence definitive which under followeth, may the better understand what inconstant levity, what false dealing, what crafty packing, and what contrariety in itself, are in this pope's holy see of Rome, as by this case of the pope may well appear; who, in short time after all this, was so clean altered from what he was, that whereas before, he pretended to esteem so gratefully the king's travail, and benefits exhibited to the see apostolic, in his defence against the emperor and the Spaniards, now he joineth utterly with the Cæsarians against the king. And whereas before, he so greatly magnified the king's profound learning and mature judgment, esteeming his mind and sentence above all other learned men, to be as a judge sufficient in the direction of this case; now, turning head to the tail, he utterly refuseth to bring the matter *in judicium orbis*, but will needs detain it at home.

Again, where before he pretended a tender provision for the state of this realm, now he setteth all other realms against it; and finally, whereas he before seemed to respect the quiet and tranquillity of the king's conscience, now he goeth about to command and compel the king, against his will and conscience, to do clean contrary to that which he himself before in his judgment had allowed, thinking to have the king at his beck, and to do and undo what he listed and commanded; as by the tenor and true copy of this his sentence definitive ye may understand; which, as it came newly to our hands, I thought here to exhibit unto the world, that all men might see what just cause the king had (being so presumptuously provoked by the pope) to shake off his proud authority, and utterly to exile him out of his realm. Mark, I pray thee, the manner of the pope's proud sentence, how presumptuously it proceedeth.

The effect of this sentence is as much as to mean, "that Pope Clement the Seventh, with the consent of his other brethren, the cardinals assembled together in this consistory, sitting there in the throne of justice, calling upon the name of Christ, and having God only before his eyes, doth pronounce, define, and declare – in the cause and causes between his dear daughter, Katharine, queen of England, appealing to the see apostolic, and his beloved son, Henry the Eighth, king of England, concerning the validity and invalidity of the matrimony heretofore contracted between them, and yet depending in the consistory court of the said Pope Clement – that the said matrimony always hath stood, and still doth stand, firm and canonical; and that the issue proceeding, or which shall proceed, of the same, standeth, and shall stand, lawful and legitimate; and that the aforesaid Henry, king of England, is and shall be bound and obstruct to the matrimonial society and cohabitation with the said Lady Katharine, his lawful wife and queen, to hold and maintain her with such love and princely honour, as becometh a loving husband, and his kingly honour, to do."

Also, "that the said Henry king of England, if he shall refuse so to perform and accomplish all and singular the premises, in all effectual manner, is to be condemned and compelled thereunto by all remedies of the law, and enforced, according as we do condemn, compel, and enforce him so to do; providing, all molestations and refusals whatsoever, made by the said King Henry against the said Queen Katharine, upon the invalidity of the said marriage, to have been and be judged unlawful and unjust; and the said king, from henceforth for ever to hold his peace, and not to be heard in any court hereafter to speak, touching the invalidity of the said matrimony: like as we also do here will and charge him to hold his peace, and do put him to perpetual silence herein; willing, moreover, and adjudging the said King Henry to be condemned, and presently here do condemn him, in the expenses, on the said Queen Katharine's behalf, here in our court expended and employing in traversing the aforesaid cause, the valuation

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of which expenses we reserve to ourselves to be limited and taxed, as we shall judge meet hereafter.

We do so pronounce,

"At Rome, in our apostolical palace, publicly in our consistory the twenty-third of March, 1534.

Blosius."

184. Arguments against the Pope's Supremacy

The book of Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, "De vera Obedientia."

You have heard before of Stephen Gardiner, of Lee, of Tonsal, and of Stokesley, how of their voluntary mind they made their profession unto the king, every one severally taking and accepting a corporal oath, utterly and for ever to renounce and reject the usurped superiority of the bishop of Rome. Now, for a further testimony and declaration of their judgments and opinions which then they were of, following the force both of truth and of time then present, ye shall hear, over and besides their oaths, what the aforesaid bishops in their own books, prologues, and sermons, do write, and publish abroad in print, touching the said cause of the pope's supremacy.

And first, God willing, to begin with Stephen Gardiner's book, "De vera Obedientia," we will briefly note out a few of his own words, wherein, with great Scripture proofs and good deliberation, he not only confuteth the pope's usurped authority, but also proveth the marriage between the king and Queen Katharine, his brother's wife, not to be good nor lawful, in these words:

"Of the which moral precepts in the old law, to speak of some, (for to rehearse all it needs not,) the Levitical precepts touching forbidden and incestuous marriages, as far as they concern chaste and pure wedlock, wherein the original of man's increase consisteth, are always to be reputed of such sort, that although they were first given to the Jews, yet because they appertain to the law of nature, and expound the same more plainly to us, therefore they belong as well to all manner of people of the whole world for evermore. In which doubtless both the voice of nature and God's commandment agreeing in one, have forbidden that which is contrary and diverse from the one and from the other. And amongst these, since there is commandment that a man shall not marry his brother's wife, what could the king's excellent Majesty do, otherwise than he did, by the whole consent of the people, and judgment of his church; that is, to be divorced from unlawful marriage, and use lawful and permitted copulation? and obeying (as meet it was) conformably unto the commandment, cast off her, whom neither law nor right permitted him to retain, and take him to chaste and lawful marriage? Wherein although the sentence of God's word (whereunto all things ought to stoop) might have sufficed, yet his Majesty was content to have the assisting consents of the most notable grave men, and the censures of the most famous universities of the whole world; and all to the intent that men should see he did both what he might do, and ought to do, uprightly; seeing the best learned and most worthy men have subscribed unto it; showing therein such obedience as God's word requireth of every good and godly man; so it may be said, that both he obeyed God, and obeyed him truly: of which obedience, forasmuch as I am purposed to speak, I could not pass this thing over with silence, whereof occasion so commodiously was offered me to speak."

Moreover, the said Gardiner, in the before-named book "De vera Obedientia," what constancy he pretendeth, what arguments he inferreth, how earnestly and pithily he disputeth on

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the king's side, against the usurped state of the bishop of Rome's authority, by the words of his book it may appear: whereof a brief collection here followeth.

Reasons of Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, against the pope's supremacy.

In the process of his aforesaid book, he, alleging the old distinction of the papists, wherein they give to the prince the regiment of things temporal, and to the church that of things spiritual, comparing the one to the greater light, the other to the lesser light, he confuteth and derideth the same distinction, declaring the sword of the church to extend no further than to teaching and excommunication, and referreth all preeminence to the sword of the prince; alleging for this the second Psalm: And now, you kings, be wise, and be learned, ye that judge the earth, &c.

Also the example of Solomon, who, being a king according to his father's appointment, ordained the offices of the priests in their ministries, and Levites in their order, that they might give thanks, and minister before the priests, after the order of every day, and porters in their divisions, gate by gate. And speaking more of the said Solomon, he saith, "For so commanded the man of God; neither did the priests nor Levites omit anything of all that he had commanded," &c.

Beside this, he allegeth also the example of King Hezekiah. He allegeth moreover the example and fact of Justinian, which made laws touching the faith, bishops, clerks, heretics, and such others.

Aaron (saith he) obeyed Moses: Solomon gave sentence upon Abiathar the high priest.

Alexander the king, in the Maccabees, writeth thus to Jonathan: Now we have made thee this day the high priest of thy people, &c. So did Demetrius to Simon.

Then, coming to the words of Christ spoken to Peter, Thou art Peter, &c., upon which words the pope pretendeth to build all his authority: to this he answereth, that if Christ, by those words, had limited to Peter any such special state or pre-eminency above all princes, then were it not true that is written, Jesus began to teach and to do; forasmuch as the words of Christ should then be contrary to his own facts and example, who, in all his life, never either usurped to himself any such domination above princes, (showing himself rather subject unto princes,) nor yet did ever permit in his apostles any such example of ambition to be seen; but rather rebuked them for seeking any manner of priority amongst them.

And where he reasoneth of the king's style and title, being called king of England and of France, defender of the faith, lord of Ireland, and supreme head in earth of the Church of England immediately under Christ, &c., thus he addeth his mind and censure, saying, that he seeth no cause in this title, why any man should be offended, that the king is called head of the Church of England, rather than of the realm of England; and addeth his reason thereunto, saying, "If the prince and king of England be the head of his kingdom, that is, of all Englishmen that be his subjects, is there any cause why the same English subjects should not be subject to the same

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head likewise in this respect, because they are Christians; that is to say, for the title of godliness? as though that God, who is the cause of all obedience, should now be the cause of rebellion?"

At length thus he concludeth with an exclamation saying, "To say," saith he, "that a king is the head of the kingdom, and not of the church, what an absurd and a foolish saying is this!"

And further, adding further for example the subjection of the servant and wife: "If the servant, saith he, "be subject to his master, or wife to her husband, being infidels, doth their conversion afterwards, or the name of Christians, make them less subjects than they were before? As religion therefore doth not alter the authority of the master over the servant, nor of the husband over the wife; no more," saith he, "doth it between the prince and subject.

"Paul, making no exception or distinction of subjection, save only of that which belonged to God, willet all men to obey their princes; and what princes? Those princes which bear the sword. And although we are bound by the Scripture to obey our bishops and spiritual pastors of the church, yet that obedience diminisheth nothing the chief and head authority that ought to be given to the prince, no more than the obedience of the servant to his master, or of the wife to her husband, exempteth them from subjection due to their superior powers."

And herewithal he inferreth a principle of the law: "Divers jurisdictions," saith he, "proceeding from one person, do not mar nor hinder themselves, but rather do confirm and fortify one another."

Again, whereas the bishop of Rome, under the name of Peter, doth appropriate to himself the highest place in the church, for that he is the successor of Peter; thereunto he answereth in one word, but in that one word he answereth enough, and to the full: "I would," saith he, "he were; for so in very deed he might well exceed and pass all kings and princes, if not in pre-eminency of dignity, yet in admiration and excellency of virtue: in which kind of superiority the Lord Christ would his apostles and ministers to go before all kings and emperors in the whole world."

After this, in prosecuting the argument of Peter's confession, he argueth thus, and saith, that as flesh and blood did not reveal to Peter that confession, so neither was that prerogative given to the flesh and blood of Peter, but to the better part, that is, to the spirit of Peter; which is to mean in respect of the spiritual confession of Peter, and not in respect of any carnal place or person, &c.

Item, If the scholar ought not to be above the master, how then could either Peter take that upon him, which Christ his Master so constantly did refuse; or how can the bishop of Rome now claim that by succession, whereof no example is to be found either in the head, or his predecessor before him? for so we read in Eusebius, both of Peter, James, and John, that they did arrogate no such primacy unto them, but were content that James, surnamed Justus, should be the bishop of the apostles.

And as for the name and signification of the word primacy, if it be taken for the nomination, or the first place given, so he granteth that Peter had the preferment of the first name

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and place in the order of the apostles, But it followeth not, that with this primacy he had also a kingdom given. And though he were bid of the Lord to confirm his brethren, yet was he not bid to exercise an empery upon his brethren: for so were they not his brethren, but his subjects.

That Peter was first or chief in the number of those who confessed Christ, it is not to be denied; for first he confessed, first he taught the Jews, first he stood in defence of the verity, and was the first and chief prolocutor among them. But yet that maketh not, that he should therefore arrogate a general primacy and rule over all other states and authorities of the world; no more than Apelles, because he is noted the first and chief of all painters, therefore ought to bear rule over all painters: or because the university of Paris is nominated for the first and chief of other universities, shall therefore the French king, and all other princes in their public administration, wherein they are set of God, become subjects and underlings to that university?

Thus, after many other reasons and persuasions contained in said book De Obedientia, (for I do but superficially skim over the top only of his probations and arguments,) finally, in the end of his probation, he concludeth the whole sum of his mind in this effect; first, denying that the bishop of Rome had ever any such extern jurisdiction assigned to him absolutely from God, to reign over kings and princes: for the peroration whereof he hath alleged sufficiently, as he saith, the examples and doings of Christ himself, which ought to be to us all a sufficient document.

As concerning the term of "primacy," albeit it be used sometimes by the fathers, yet the matter, being well considered and rightly expounded, maketh nothing for the large dominion of the bishop of Rome, which now he doth usurp.

Also as for the prerogatives granted unto Peter, by the which prerogatives our Saviour would crown his own gifts given unto him, crowning not the flesh and blood of Peter, but the marvellous testimony of his confession, all this maketh nothing for the pope's purpose.

Likewise as concerning the local succession of Peter, the pope hath nothing thereby to claim. If he will be successor of Peter, he must succeed him in faith, doctrine, and conditions, and in so doing, he neither will seek, nor yet shall need to seek, for honour, but shall be honoured of all good men, according as a good man should be; and that much more than he, being a good man, would require.

And thus Stephen Winchester, taking his leave, and bidding the pope farewell, endeth with a friendly exhortation, willing him to be wise and circumspect, and not to strive stubbornly against the truth. "The light of the gospel," saith he, "so spreadeth his beams in all men's eyes, that the works of the gospel be known, the mysteries of Christ's doctrine are opened; both learned and unlearned, men and women, being Englishmen born, do see and perceive, that they have nothing to do with Rome, or with the bishop of Rome, but that every prince, in his own dominion, is to be taken and accepted as a vicar of God, and vicegerent of Christ in his own bounds." And therefore, seeing this order is taken of God, and one in the church should bear the office of teaching, another should bear the office of ruling, (which office is only limited to princes,) he exhorteth him to consider the truth, and to follow the same, wherein consisteth our true and special obedience, &c.

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To this book of Stephen Winchester, *De Obedientia*, we will adjoin, for good fellowship, the Preface also of Edmund Bonner, archdeacon then of Leicester, prefixed before the same; to the intent that the reader, seeing the judgments of these men as they were then, and again the sudden mutation afterwards of the said parties to the contrary opinion, may learn thereby what vain-glory and pomp of this world can work in the frail nature of man, where God's grace lacketh to sustain. The Preface of Bonner, before the said book of Winchester, *De Obedientia*, proceedeth thus in effect, as followeth:

"Forasmuch as some there be, no doubt, (as the judgments of men be always variable,) which think the controversy which is between the king's royal Majesty and the bishop of Rome consisteth in this point, for that his Majesty hath taken the most excellent and most virtuous Lady Anne to wife, which in very deed is far otherwise, and nothing so: to the intent, therefore, that all true hearty favourers of the gospel of Christ, who hate not, but love the truth, may the more fully understand the chief point of the controversy, and because they shall not be ignorant what is the whole voice and resolute determination of the best and greatest learned bishops, with all the nobles and commons of England, not only in that cause of matrimony, but also in defending the doctrine of the gospel; here shall be published the oration of the bishop of Winchester, (a man excellently learned in all kinds of learning,) entitled, *De Vera Obedientia* that is, Concerning True Obedience. But as touching this bishop's worthy praises, there shall be nothing spoken of me at this time, not only because they are infinite, but because they are far better known to all Christendom, than becometh me here to make rehearsal.

And as for the oration itself, (which as it is most learned, so is it most elegant,) to what purpose should I make any words of it, seeing it praiseth itself enough, and seeing good wine needeth no tavern-bush to utter it? But yet in this oration, whosoever thou art, most gentle reader! thou shalt, besides other matters, see it notably and learnedly, handled, of what importance, and how invincible, the power and excellency of God's truth is, which as it may now and then be pressed of the enemies, so it cannot possibly be oppressed and darkened after such' sort, but it sheweth itself again at length more glorious and more welcome. Thou shalt see also touching obedience, that it is subject to truth, and what is to be judged true obedience. Besides this, of men's traditions, which for the most part he most repugnant against the truth of God's law. And there, by the way, he speaketh of the king's said Highness's marriage, which, by the ripe judgment, authority, and privilege of the most and principal universities of the world, and then with the consent of the whole church of England, he contracted with the most excellent and most noble lady, Queen Anne. After that, touching the king's Majesty's title, as pertaining to the supreme head of the church of England. Last of all, of the false pretended supremacy, of the bishop of Rome in the realm of England most justly abrogated: and how all other bishops, being fellow-like to him in their function, yea, and in some points above him within their own provinces, were beforetime bound to the king by their oath.

"But be thou most surely persuaded of this, good reader! that the bishop of Rome, if there were no cause else but only this marriage, would easily content himself, especially having some good morsel or other given him to chew upon. But when he seeth so mighty a king, being a right virtuous and a great learned prince, so sincerely and so heartily favour the gospel of Christ, and perceiveth the yearly and great prey, (yea, so large a prey, that it came to as much almost as all the king's revenues,) snapped out of his hands, and that he can no longer exercise his tyranny in

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the king's Majesty's realm, (alas, heretofore too cruel and bitter,) nor make laws, as he hath done many, to the contumely and reproach of the majesty of God, which is evident that he hath done in time past, under the title of the catholic church, and the authority of Peter and Paul, (when notwithstanding he was a very ravening wolf, dressed in sheep's clothing, calling himself the servant of servants,) to the great damage of the Christian commonwealth — here, here began all the mischief; hereof rose these discords, these deadly malices, and so great and terrible bustling: for if it were not thus, could any man believe that this Jupiter of Olympus (who falsely hath arrogated unto himself an absolute power without controlment) would have wrought so diligently, by all means possible, to stir up all other kings and princes so traitorously against this so good and godly, and so true a gospel-like prince, as he hath done? Neither let it move thee, gentle reader! that Winchester did not before now apply to this opinion: for he himself, in this oration, sheweth the cause why he did it not. And if he had said never a word, yet thou knowest well what a witty part it is for a man to suspend his judgment, and not to be too rash in giving of sentence. It is an old-said saw; "Mary Magdalene profited us less in her quick belief that Christ was risen, than Thomas that was longer in doubt." A man may rightly call him Fabius, that with his advised taking of leisure restored the matter. Albeit I speak not this as though Winchester had not bolted out this matter secretly with himself beforehand (for he without doubt tried it out long ago); but that, running fair and softly, he would first, with his painful study, pluck the matter out of the dark, (although of itself it was clear enough, but by reason of sundry opinions it was lapped up in darkness,) and then did he debate it wittily to and fro; and so, at last, after long and great deliberation had in the matter, because there is no better counsellor than leisure and time, he would resolutely, with his learned and consummate judgment, confirm it.

"Thou shouldst, gentle reader, esteem his censure and authority to be of more weighty credence, inasmuch as the matter was not rashly, and at all adventures, but with judgment (as thou seest) and with wisdom examined and discussed. And this is no new example, to be against the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, seeing that not only this man, but many men oftentimes, yea, and right great learned men afore now, have done the same even in writing; whereby they both painted him out in his right colours, and made his sleights, falsehood, frauds, and deceitful wiles, openly known to the world. Therefore, if thou at any time heretofore have doubted either of true obedience, or of the king's Majesty's marriage or title, or else of the bishop of Rome's false pretended supremacy, as, if thou hadst a good smelling nose, and a sound judgment, I think thou didst not; yet, having read this oration, (which, if thou favour the truth, and hate the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and his Satanical, fraudulent falsehood, shall doubtless wonderfully content thee,) forsake thine error, and acknowledge the truth now freely offered thee at length, considering with thyself, that it is better late so to do, than never to repent.

"Fare thou heartily well, most gentle reader; and not only love this most valiant king of England and of France, who undoubtedly was by the providence of God born to defend the gospel, but also honour him and serve him most obediently. As for this Winchester, who was long ago, without doubt, reputed among the greatest learned men, give him thy good word, with highest commendation."

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The end of Bishop Bonner's prologue.

What man reading and advising this book of Winchester, *De Vera Obedientia*, with Bonner's Preface before the same, would ever have thought any alteration could so work in man's heart, to make these men thus to turn the cat in the pan, as they say, and to start so suddenly from the truth so manifestly known, so pithily proved, so vehemently defended, and (as it seemed) so faithfully subscribed? If they dissembled all this that they wrote, subscribed, and swore unto, what perjury most execrable was it before God and man! If they meant good faith, and spake then as they thought, what pestilent blindness is this so suddenly fallen upon them, to make that false now, which was true before; or that to be now true, which before was false! Thus to say and unsay, and then to say again, to do and undo, and, as a man would say, to play fast or loose with truth; truly a man may say is not the doing of a man which is in any case to be trusted, whatsoever he doth or saith. But here a man may see what man is of himself, when God's good humble Spirit lacketh to be his guide.

Furthermore, to add unto them the judgment also and arguments of Tonsal, bishop of Durham, let us see how he agreeth with them, or rather much exceedeth them, in his sermon made before King Henry upon Palm Sunday, remaining yet in print; in the which sermon, disputing against the wrongful supremacy of the bishop of Rome, he proveth by manifest grounds most effectuously, both out of the Scripture, ancient doctors, and of councils; not only that the bishop of Rome hath no such authority by the word of God committed to him, as he doth challenge; but also, in requiring and challenging the same, he reproveth and condemneth him with great zeal and ardent spirit, to be a proud Lucifer; disobedient to the ordinary powers of God set over him; contrary to Christ and Peter: and finally, in raising up war against us for the same, he therefore rebuketh and defieth him, as a most detestable sower of discord, and a murderer of Christian men.

Notes on Tonsal's sermon against the pope's supremacy.

First, by the Scripture, he reasoneth thus, and proveth, that all good men ought to obey the authorities and governors of the world, as emperors, kings, and princes of all sorts, what name soever the said supreme powers do bear or use for their countries in which they be; for so St. Peter doth plainly teach us, saying, Be ye subject to every human creature for God's cause, whether it be king, as chief head, or dukes or governors, &c. So that St. Peter, in; his Epistle, commandeth all worldly princes in their office to be obeyed as the ministers of God, by all Christian men: and according unto the same, St. Paul saith, Let every living man be subject to the high powers: for the high powers be of God, and whosoever resisteth the high powers, resisteth the ordinance of God, and purchaseth thereby to himself damnation.

And in the same place of Tonsal it followeth: And lest men should forget their duty of obedience to their princes, it is thrice repeated, that they be the ministers of God, whose place in their governance they represent: so that unto them all men must obey, apostles, patriarchs, primates, archbishops, bishops, priests, and all of the clergy, &c. "And therefore," saith he, "the bishop of Rome oweth to his sovereign and superior like subjection by the word of God, taught unto us by Peter and Paul, as other bishops do to their princes, under whom they be."

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Also, another express commandment we have of Christ, who, upon the occasion of his disciples striving for superiority, discusseth the matter, saying on this wise, The kings of the people and nations have dominion over them, and those that have power over them be called gracious lords; but so it shall not be amongst you: but whosoever amongst you is the greater, shall be as the younger; and whosoever amongst you shall be chief, shall be as a servant and a minister, &c.

And again, Christ speaking to Pilate of his kingdom, declareth that his kingdom is not of this world, and "therefore," saith Tonsal, "those that go about to make of Christ's spiritual kingdom a worldly kingdom, do fall into the error of some heretics, that look that Christ, after the day of judgment, shall reign with all his saints here in the earth carnally in Jerusalem; as the Jews do believe that Messias is yet to come, and when he shall come, he shall reign worldly in Jerusalem."

By these and such other places it may well appear, that Christ, neither before his incarnation, (as Tonsal saith,) nor after his incarnation, did ever alter the authority of worldly kings and princes, but by his own word commanded them still to be obeyed of their subjects, as they had been in the ancient time before, &c. And for example of the same, he allegeth first the example of Christ himself, who, being asked of the Jews, whether they should give tribute to Cæsar, or no, he bade them give to Cæsar those things that be his, and to God those things that be his; signifying, that tribute was due to Cæsar, and that their souls were due to God.

Also in the seventeenth of Matthew, it appeareth that Christ bade Peter pay tribute for him and his disciples, when it was demanded of him. And why? Because he would not change the order of obeisance to worldly princes due by their subjects, &c.

Another example of Christ he citeth out of John vi., where, after Christ had fed five thousand and more, with a few loaves, and fewer fishes, and that the Jews would have taken him, and made him their king, he fled from them, and would not consent unto them: "For the kingdom," saith he, "that he came to set in earth, was not a worldly and temporal kingdom, but a heavenly and spiritual kingdom;" that is, to reign spiritually, by grace and faith, in the hearts of all Christian and faithful people, of what degree or of what nation soever they be, and to turn all people and nations which at his coming were carnal and lived after the lusts of the flesh, to be spiritual, and to live after the lusts of the Spirit, that Christ, with his Father of heaven, might reign in the hearts of all men, &c.

And here, in these examples of Christ's humility, further is to be noted, how Christ the Son of God did submit himself not only to the rulers and powers of this world, but also dejected himself, and in a manner became servant to his own apostles: so far off was he from all ambitious and pompous seeking of worldly honour. For so it appeared in him, not only by washing the feet of his apostles, but also the same time, a little before his passion, when the apostles fell at contention among themselves, who among them should be superior, he, setting before them the example of his own subjection, asketh this question: Who is superior; he that sitteth at the table, or he that serveth at the table? Is not he superior that sitteth? but I am amongst you as he that ministereth and serveth, &c.

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The like examples Tonal also inferreth of Peter's humility. For where we read in the Acts, how the centurion, a nobleman of great age, did prostrate himself upon the ground at the feet of Peter; then Peter, not suffering that, eftsoons took him up, and bade him rise, saying, I am also a man as thou art.

So likewise did the angel, to whom when John would have fallen down to have adored him who showed him those visions, the angel said unto him, See thou do not so; for I am the servant of God, as thou art, &c.

Again, in the aforesaid Peter, what an example of reverent humility is to be seen in this, that notwithstanding he, with other apostles, had his commission to go over all the world, yet nevertheless he, being at Joppa, and sent for by Cornelius, durst not go unto him without the vision of a sheet let down from heaven; by which vision he was admonished not to refuse the Gentiles: or else he knew in himself no such primacy over all people and places given unto him, nor any such commission so large above the others, &c.

Furthermore, the said Peter, being rebuked of Paul his fellow brother, took no scorn thereof, but was content, submitting himself to due correction.

But here, saith Tonal, steppeth in the bishop of Rome, and saith that Peter had authority given him above all the residue of the apostles, and allegeth the words of Christ spoken to him, Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church, and will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, shall be bound in heaven. "This said Christ," saith the pope, "and St. Peter is buried at Rome, whose successor I am, and ought to rule the church, as Peter did, and to be porter of heaven gates, as Peter was," &c. "And Christ said also to Peter, after his resurrection, Feed my sheep; which he spake to him only, so that thereby he had authority over all that be of Christ's flock; and I, as his successor, have the same. And therefore whoso will not obey me, king or prince, I will curse him, and deprive him of his kingdom or seigniory: for all power is given to me that Christ hath, and I am his vicar-general, as Peter was here in earth over all, and none but I, as Christ is in heaven."

This ambitious and pompous objection (saith Tonal) of the pope and his adherents, hath of late years much troubled the world, and made dissension, debate, and open war in all parts of Christendom, and all by a wrong interpretation of the Scripture; who, if he would take those places after the right sense of them, as both the apostles themselves taught us, and all the ancient best learned interpreters do expound them, the matter were soon at a point. But otherwise, since they pervert the Scriptures, and preach another gospel in that point to us, than ever the apostles preached, we have therein a general rule to follow: That though an angel came from heaven, and would tell us such new exposition of those places as are now made, to turn the words which were spoken for spiritual authority of preaching the word of God, and ministering of the sacraments, to a worldly authority, we ought to reject him: as St. Paul willeth us in Galatians i.

To open therefore the true sense of the Scripture in the places aforesaid, and first to begin with Matthew xvi., here is to be observed, that the question being put in general of Christ to all his apostles, what they thought or judged of him, Peter, answering for them all, (as he was always ready to answer,) said, Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God. To whom Jesus

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answered again, Blessed be thou, Simon the son of Jonah, for flesh and blood hath not revealed this unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven: and I say unto thee, thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. That is to say, Upon this rock of thy confession of me to be the Son of God, I will build my church; for this faith containeth the whole summary of our faith and salvation, as it is written in Rom. x.: The word of faith that we do preach is at hand, in thy mouth and in thy heart. For if thou confess with thy mouth our Lord Jesus Christ, and with thy heart do believe that God raised him from death to life, thou shalt be saved, &c. And this confession being first uttered by the mouth of Peter, upon the same confession of his, and not upon the person of Peter, Christ buildeth his church, as Chrysostom expoundeth that place in the twenty-sixth sermon, of the feast of Pentecost, saying, Not upon the person of Peter, but upon the faith, Christ hath builded his church. And what is the faith? This: Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God. What is to say, Upon this rock? That is, Upon this confession of Peter, &c. And with this saying of Chrysostom all ancient expositors, (saith Tonstal,) treating of that place, do agree; for if we should expound that place, that the church is build-ed upon the person of Peter, we should put another foundation of the church than Christ; which is directly against St. Paul, saying, No man may put any other foundation, but that which is put already, which is Christ Jesus, &c.

And because Peter was the first of all the apostles that confessed this, That Christ is the Son of God, by the which faith all men must be saved; thereof cometh the primacy; that is, the first place or standing of Peter in the number of all the apostles.

And as Peter was the first of them that confessed Christ to be the Son of God, so was he most ardent in his faith, most bold and hardy in Christ, as appeared by his coming out of the ship in the great tempest: and also most vehement in his Master's cause, as appeared by drawing out his sword: and afterwards the Lord's resurrection is declared in the Acts, where the Jews, withstanding the apostles preaching the faith of Christ, Peter, as most ardent in faith, was ever most ready to defend the faith against the impugnors thereof, speaking for them all unto the people, &c.; and therefore hath these honourable names given him by the ancient interpreters, that sometimes he is called the mouth of the apostles; the chief of the apostles; sometimes the prince of the apostles, sometimes the president of the whole church, and sometimes hath the name of primacy or priority attributed unto him. And yet that the said Peter, notwithstanding these honourable names given to him, should not have a rule, or a judicial power, above all the other apostles, it is plain by St. Paul and many others.

First, St. Paul plainly declareth the same, saying, that as the apostleship of the circumcision, that is, of the Jews, was given by Christ to Peter; so, was the apostleship of the Gentiles given to me among the Gentiles. Hereby it appeareth that Paul knew no primacy of Peter concerning people and places, but among the Jews. And thereof St. Ambrose, expounding that place, saith thus, The primacy of the Jews was given chiefly to Peter, albeit James and John were joined with him; as the primacy of the Gentiles was given to Paul, albeit Barnabas was joined with him: so that Peter had no rule over all.

Also in Acts x., when Peter was sent for to Cornelius, a Gentile, he durst not go to him without a special vision given him from heaven by the Lord.

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Item, That all the apostles had like dignity and authority, it appeareth by St. Paul, where he saith, Now ye are not strangers, nor foreigners, but ye be citizens with the saints, and of the household of Almighty God, builded, saith he, upon the foundations of the apostles and the prophets, Christ being the corner-stone; upon whom every edifice being builded, groweth up to an holy temple in our Lord, &c. Here he saith that they be builded not upon the foundation of Peter only, but upon the foundation of the apostles: so that all they be in the foundation set upon Christ the very rock, whereupon standeth the whole church.

In the Apocalypse also, the new city, and the heavenly Jerusalem of Almighty God, is described by the Holy Ghost, not with one foundation only of Peter, but with twelve foundations, after the number of the apostles.

St. Cyprian giveth record likewise to the same, that the apostles had equal power and dignity given to them by Christ; and because all should preach one thing, therefore the beginning thereof first came by one, which was Peter, who confessed for them all, that Christ was the Son of the living God. Saying further, that in the church there is one office of all the bishops, whereof every man hath a part allowed wholly unto him. Now, if the bishop of Rome may meddle over all, where he will, then every man hath not wholly his part, for the bishop of Rome may also meddle in his part jointly with him; so that now he hath it not wholly: which is against Cyprian.

St. Augustine likewise, expounding the Gospel of John, in the fiftieth Treatise, speaketh there of the keys of Peter, which he saith were given of Christ to Peter, not for himself alone, but for the whole church.

Cyril, expounding the last chapter of John, and there speaking of the words of Christ spoken unto Peter, Feed my sheep, &c., thus understandeth the same: That because Peter had thrice denied Christ, whereby he thought himself he had lost his apostleship, Christ, to comfort him again, and to restore him to his office that he had lost, asked him thrice whether he loved him; and so restored him again to his office, which else he durst not have presumed unto; saying unto him, Feed my sheep, &c.; with which exposition the ancient holy expositors of that place do likewise agree. So that by these words of feeding Christ's sheep, the bishop of Rome can take no advantage to maintain his universal pastoralty over all Christian dominions.

Again, whereas the bishop of Rome saith that Peter, by these words of Christ spoken to him, hath a pre-eminency above the others, St. Paul proveth the contrary, where he, speaking to the bishops assembled at Miletus, saith to them, Take heed to yourselves, and to all your flock, in which the Holy Ghost hath put you to govern, &c.

And Peter himself likewise saith, Ye that be priests, feed the flock of God among you, &c. So that by these scriptures conferred together, it may appear, that neither Matthew xvi., nor John xxi., do prove that Peter had power, authority, or dignity given him of Christ over all the others, that they should be under him. And yet, notwithstanding his primacy, in that he, first of all the apostles, confessed Christ to be the Son of the living God, (with which confession all the other apostles did consent, and also preached the same,) standeth still; which confession first by Peter made, all others that will be saved must follow also, and be taught to confess the same. And thus the bishop of Rome's power over all, which he would prove by those places wrongfully

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alleged for his purpose, utterly quaieth, and is not proved. And thus much for the Scriptures and doctors.

Now, further proceeding in this matter, the said Tonsal cometh to councils, and examples of the primitive church, as followeth:

Faustinus, legate to the bishop of Rome, in the sixth council of Carthage, alleged that the bishop of Rome ought to have the ordering of all great matters, in all places, by his supreme authority, bringing no Scripture for him (for at that time no Scripture was thought to make for it); but alleged for him, and that untruly, that the first council of Nice made for his purpose. After this, when the book was brought forth, and no such article found in it, but the contrary, yet the council at that time sent to Constantinople, Alexandria, and Antioch, where the patriarchal sees were, to have the true copy of the council of Nice, which was sent unto them. And another copy also was sent from Rome, whither also they sent for the same purpose.

After that the copy was brought to them, and no such article found in it, but in the fifth chapter thereof the contrary, that all causes ecclesiastical should either be determined with the diocese, or else, if any were aggrieved, then to appeal to the council provincial, and there the matter to take full end, so that for no such causes men should go out of their provinces; the whole council of Carthage wrote to Celestine, at that time being bishop of Rome, that since the council of Nice had no such article in it, as was untruly alleged by Faustinus, but the contrary, they desired him to abstain hereafter to make any more such demand; denouncing unto him, that they would not suffer any cause, great or small, to be brought by appeal out of their country; and thereupon made a law, that no man should appeal out of the country of Africa, upon pain to be denounced accursed. Wherewith the bishop of Rome ever after held him content, and made no more business with them, seeing he had nought to say for himself to the contrary. And at this council St. Augustine was present, and subscribed his hand. Read more hereof before.

It was determined also, in the sixth article of the said council of Nice, that in the Orient the bishop of Antioch should be chief; in Egypt the bishop of Alexandria; about Rome the bishop of Rome; and likewise in other countries the metropolitans should have their pre-eminence: so that the bishop of Rome never had meddling in those countries. And in the next article following, the bishop of Jerusalem (which city before had been destroyed, and almost desolate) was restored to his old prerogative, to be the chief in Palestine and in the country of Jewry.

By this ye see how the patriarch of Rome, during all this time of the primitive church, had no such primacy pre-eminent above other patriarchs, much less over kings and emperors, as may appear by Agatho, bishop of Rome, long after that, in whose time was the sixth council general; which Agatho, after his election, sent to the emperor, then being at Constantinople, to have his election allowed, before he would be consecrated, after the old custom at the time used.

In like sort, another bishop of Rome, called Vitalianus, did the same, as it is written in the decrees; distinct. 63. Cap. Agatho. The like did St. Ambrose and St. Gregory before them, as it is written in the chapter *Cum longe*, in the same Distinction, During all this time the bishops of Rome followed well the doctrine of St. Peter and St. Paul, left unto them, to be subjects, and to obey their princes.

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Thus, after that Bishop Tonsal, playing the earnest Lutheran, both by Scriptures and ancient doctors, also by examples sufficient of the primitive church, hath proved and declared, how the bishops of Rome ought to submit themselves to the higher powers whom God hath appointed every creature in this world to obey; now let us likewise see how the said Bishop Tonsal describeth unto us the bi- shop of Rome's disobedience intolerable, his pride incomparable, and his malignant malice most execrable.

And first, speaking of the disobedience of Adam and Eve, then of the pride of Nebuchadnezzar, and of Lucifer, at length he compareth the bishops of Rome to them all; who first, for disobedience, refuse to obey God's commandment, and, contrary to his word, will be above their governors, in refusing to obey them.

Secondly, Besides this rebellious disobedience in these bishops of Rome, not sufferable, their pride moreover so far exceedeth all measure, that they will have their princes, to whom they owe subjection, prostrate upon the ground, to adore them by godly honour upon the earth; and to kiss their feet, as if they were God, whereas they be but wretched men; and yet they look that their princes should do it unto them, and also that all other Christian men, owing them no subjection, should do the same.

And who be these, I pray you, that men may know them? Surely (saith he) the bishops of Rome be those whom I do mean, who, following the pride of Lucifer their father, make themselves fellows to God, and do exalt their seat above the stars of God and do ascend above the clouds, and will be like to Almighty God. By stars of God be meant the angels of heaven; for as stars do show unto us in part the light of heaven, so do angels, sent unto men, show the heavenly light of the grace of God to those to whom they be sent. And the clouds signified in the Old Testament the prophets, and in the New do signify the apostles and preachers of the word of God; for as the clouds do conceive and gather in the sky moisture, which they after pour down upon the ground, to make it thereby more fruitful, so the prophets in the Old Testament, and the apostles and preachers in the New, do pour into our ears the moisture of their heavenly doctrine of the word of God, to make therewith, by grace, our souls, being sear and dry, to bring forth fruit of the Spirit. Thus do all ancient expositors, and amongst them St. Augustine, interpret to be meant in Scripture stars and clouds, in the exposition of Psalm cxlvii.

But St. John the evangelist writeth in the nineteenth chapter of the Apocalypse, and in the twenty-second also, that when he would have fallen down at the angel's foot, that did show him those visions there written, to have adored him with godly worship, the angel said unto him, See thou do not so, for I am the servant of God, as thou art: give adoration and godly worship to God, and not to me. Here it appeareth that the bishops of Rome, suffering all men prostrate before them to kiss their feet, (yea, the same princes, to whom they owe subjection,) do climb up above the stars and angels too, offering their feet to be kissed, with shoes and all. For so I saw myself, being present four and thirty years ago, when Julius, then bishop of Rome, stood on his feet, and one of his chamberlains held up his skirt, because it stood not (as he thought) with his dignity that he should do it himself, that his shoe might appear, whilst a nobleman of great age did prostrate himself upon the ground, and kissed his shoe; which he stately suffered to be done, as of duty. Where methinks I saw Cornelius the centurion, captain of the Italian band, spoken of in Acts x., submitting himself to Peter, and much honouring him; but I saw not Peter there to take

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him up, and to bid him rise, saying, I am a man as thou art, as St. Peter did say to Cornelius: so that the bishops of Rome, admitting such adoration due unto God, do climb above the heavenly clouds; that is to say, above the apostles sent into the world by Christ, to water the earthly and carnal hearts of men, by their heavenly doctrine of the word of God.

Thus Bishop Tonsal, having described the passing pride of the pope, surmounting like Lucifer above bishops, apostles, angels, and stars of heaven, proceeding then further to the latter end of his sermon, cometh to speak of his rage and malice most furious and pestilent, in that he, being justly put from his kingdom here to wreak his spiteful malice, stirreth up war against us, and bloweth the horn of mischief in giving our land for a spoil and prey to all, whosoever, at his setting on, will come and invade us. But let us hear his own words, preaching to the king and all Englishmen, touching both the pope's malice, and the treason of Cardinal Pole.

"Now," saith he, "because he can no longer in this realm wrongfully use his usurped power in all things, as he was wont to do, and suck out of this realm, by avarice insatiable; innumerable sums of money yearly, to the great exhausting of the same; he therefore, moved and replete with furious ire and pestilent malice, goeth about to stir all Christian nations that will give ears to his devilish enchantments, to move war against this realm of England, giving it in prey to all those that by his instigation will invade it."

And here, expounding these aforesaid words, "To give in prey," he declareth what great mischief they contain, and willeth every true Englishman well to mark the same.

"First, to make this realm," saith he, "a prey to all adventurers, all spoilers, all sycophants, all forlorn hopes, all cormorants, all raveners of the world, that will invade this realm, is to say, Thou possessor of any lands of this realm, of what degree soever thou be, from the highest to the lowest, shalt be slain and destroyed, and thy lands taken from thee by those that will have all for themselves; and thou mayst be sure to be slain, for they will not suffer thee, nor any of thy progeny, to live to make any claim afterwards, or to be revenged; for that were their unsurety. Thy wife shall be abused before thy face; thy daughter likewise deflowered before thee; thy children slain before thine eyes; thy house spoiled; thy cattle driven away, and sold before thy visage; thy plate, thy money, by force taken from thee; all thy goods, wherein thou hast any delight, or hast gathered for thy children, ravened, broken, and distributed in thy presence, that every ravener may have his share. Thou merchant art sure to be slain, for thou hast either money or ware, or both, which they search for. Thou bishop or priest, whatsoever thou be, shalt never escape, because thou wouldst not take the bishop of Rome's part, and rebel against God and thy prince, as he doth. If thou shalt flee and escape for a season, whatsoever thou be, thou shalt see and hear of so much misery and abomination, that thou shalt judge them happy that be dead before; for sure it is thou shalt not finally escape: for, to take the whole realm in prey, is to kill the whole people, and to take the place for themselves, as they will do if they can,

"And the bishop of Rome now of late, to set forth his pestilent malice the more, hath allured to his purpose a subject of this realm, Reginald Pole, coming of a noble blood, and thereby the more arrant traitor, to go about from prince to prince, and from country to country, to stir them to war against this realm, and to destroy the same, being his native country; whose pestilent purpose, the princes that he breaketh it unto have in much abomination, both for that the

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bishop of Rome (who, being a bishop, should procure peace) is a stirrer of war, and because this most arrant and unkind traitor is his minister to so devilish a purpose, to destroy the country that he was born in; which any heathen man would abhor to do."

And so continuing in his discourse against Cardinal Pole and the bishop of Rome, for stirring the people to war and mischief, he further saith, and saith truly, thus:

"For these many years past, little war hath been in these parts of Christendom, but the bishop of Rome either hath been a stirrer of it, or a nourisher of it, and seldom any compounder of it, unless it were for his ambition or profit. Wherefore since, as St. Paul saith, that God is not the God of dissension, but of peace, who commandeth, by his word, peace alway to be kept, we are sure that all those that go about to break peace between realms, and to bring them to war, are the children of the devil, what holy names soever they may pretend to cloak their pestilent malice withal; which cloaking under hypocrisy is double devilishness, and of Christ most detested, because under his blessed name they do play the devil's part."

And in the latter end of his sermon, concluding with Ezekiel xxxix., where the prophet speaketh against Gog and Magog going about to destroy the people of God, and prophesieth against them, that the people of God shall vanquish and overthrow them on the mountains of Israel, that none of them shall escape, but their carcasses shall there be devoured of kites and crows, and birds of the air; so likewise saith he of these our enemies, wishing, that if they shall persist in their pestilent malice to make invasion into this realm, then their great captain Gog (the bishop of Rome he meaneth) may come with them, to drink with them of the same cup which he maliciously goeth about to prepare for us, that the people of God might after live quietly in peace.

We have heard hitherto the oaths, censures, and judgments of certain particular bishops, of York, of Winchester, of London, of Durham, and also of Edmund Bonner, archdeacon then of Leicester, against the pope's unlawful usurpation. Now, for the more fortification of the matter, and satisfying of the reader, it shall not be much out of purpose, besides the consent and approbation of these aforesaid, to infer also the public and general agreement of the whole clergy of England, as in a total sum together, confirmed and ratified in their own public book, made and set forth by them about the same time, called then The Bishops' Book; in the which book, although many things were very slender and imperfect, yet, as touching this cause of the bishop of Rome's regality, we will hear (God willing) what their whole opinion and provincial determination did conclude, according as by their own words in the same book is to be seen word for word, as followeth, subscribed also with their own names; the catalogue of whom, under their own confession, shall appear:

"We think it convenient, that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach the people committed unto their spiritual charge, that whereas certain men do imagine and affirm, that Christ should give unto the bishop of Rome power and authority, not only to be head and governor of all priests and bishops in Christ's church, but also to have and occupy the whole monarchy of the world in his hands, and that he may thereby lawfully depose kings and princes from their realms, dominions, and seignories, and so transfer and give the same to such persons as him liketh, that is utterly false and untrue; for Christ never gave unto St. Peter, or unto any of

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the apostles or their successors, any such authority. And the apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, do teach and command, that all Christian people, as well priests and bishops, as others, should be obedient and subject unto the princes and potentates of the world, although they were infidels.

"And as for the bishop of Rome, it was many hundred years after Christ, before he could acquire or get any primacy or governance above any other bishops, out of his province in Italy; since which time he hath ever usurped more and more. And though some part of his power was given to him by the consent of the emperors, kings, and princes, and by the consent also of the clergy in general councils assembled; yet surely he attained the most part thereof by marvellous subtlety and craft, and especially by colluding with great kings and princes, sometimes training them into his devotion by pretence and colour of holiness and sanctimony, and sometimes constraining them by force and tyranny. Whereby the said bishops of Rome aspired and rose at length unto such greatness in strength and authority, that they presumed and took upon them to be heads, and to put laws by their own authority, not only unto all other bishops within Christendom, but also unto the emperors, kings, and other the princes and lords of the world; and that, under the pretence of the authority committed unto them by the gospel. Wherein the said bishops of Rome do not only abuse and pervert the true sense and meaning of Christ's word, but they do also clean contrary to the use and custom of the primitive church; and so do manifestly violate, as well the holy canons made in the church immediately after the time of the apostles, and also in the decrees and constitutions made in that behalf by the holy fathers of the catholic church, assembled in the first general councils. And finally, they do transgress their own profession, made in their creation. For all the bishops of Rome always, when they be consecrated and made bishops of that see, do make a solemn profession and vow, that they shall inviolably observe and keep all the ordinances made in the eight first general councils; among which it is specially provided and enacted, that all causes shall be finished and determined within the province where the same began, and that by the bishops of the same province; and divers other such canons were then made and confirmed by the said councils, to repress and take away out of the church all such primacy and jurisdiction over kings and bishops, as the bishops of Rome pretend now to have over the same. And we find that divers good fathers, bishops of Rome, did greatly reprove, yea, and abhor (as a thing clean contrary to the gospel, and the decrees of the church) that any bishop of Rome, or elsewhere, should presume, usurp, or take upon him, the title and name of universal bishop, or of the head of all priests, or of the highest priest, or any such-like title. For confirmation whereof, it is out of all doubt, that there is no mention made, either in Scripture, or in the writings of any authentical doctor or author of the church, being within the time of the apostles themselves, or between the bishops themselves, that they were all equal in power, order, authority and jurisdiction. And in that there is now, and since the time of the apostles, any such diversity or difference amongst the bishops, it was devised by the ancient fathers of the primitive church, for the conservation of good order and the unity of the catholic church; and that either by the consent and authority, or else at least by the permission and sufferance, of the princes and civil powers for the time ruling."

This doctrine was subscribed and allowed by the witness and testimony of these bishops and other learned men, whose names hereunder follow, as appeareth in The Bishops' Book before named.

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Thomas Cantuariensis.
Edovardus Eboracensis.
Johannes Londinensis.
Cuthbertus Dunelmensis.
Stephanus Wintoniensis.
Robertus Carliolensis.
Johannes Exoniensis.
Johannes Lincolnensis.
Johannes Barthoniensis.
Rolandus Coventr. et Lichfield.
Thomas Eliensis.
Nicolaus Sarum.
Johannes Bangor.
Edovardus Herefordiensis.
Hugo Wigorniensis.
Johannes Roffensis.
Richardus Cicestrensis.
Gulielmus Norwicensis.
Gulielmus Menevensis.
Robertus Assavensis.
Robertus Landavensis.

Richardus Wolman, Archidiacon Sudbur.
Gulielmus Knight Archidiacon Richmond.
Johan. Bel, Archidiacon Glocester.
Edmundus Bonner, Archidiacon Leicester.
Gulielmus Skippe, Archidiacon Dorset.
Nicolaus Heth, Archidiacon Staff
Cuthbertus Marshal, Archidiacon Nottingham.
Richardus Curren, Archidiacon Oxon.

Gulielmus Cliffe.
Galfridus Dounes.
Robertus Oking.
Radulphus Bradford.
Richardus Smith.
Simon Matthew.
Johannes Prin.
Gulielmus Buckmaster.
Gulielmus May.
Nicolaus Wotton.
Richardus Cox.
Johannes Edmunds.
Thomas Robertson.
Johannes Baker.
Thomas Barret.

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Johannes Hase.

Johannes Tyson.

These were doctors of divinity, and of both laws.

185. Fools and Traitors who Clung to the Pope

Judge now thyself, loving reader, by these things heretofore confessed, alleged, allowed, proved, and confirmed, by pen set forth, by words defended, and by oath subscribed by these bishops and doctors, if either Martin Luther himself, or any Lutheran else, could or did ever say more against the proud usurpation of the bishop of Rome, than these men have done. If they dissembled otherwise than they meant, who could ever dissemble so deeply, speaking so pithily? If they meant as they spake, who could ever turn head to tail so suddenly and so shortly as these men did? But because these things we write for edification of others, rather than for commendation of them, let us mark therefore their reasons, and let the persons go.

Concerning the argument of which epistle, here is first to be understood, that about this time, or not much after, Cardinal Pole, brother to the Lord Montague, was attainted of high treason, and fled away unto Rome, where, within a short time after, he was made cardinal of St. Mary Cosmeden; of whom more is to be spoken hereafter, the Lord so permitting, when we come to the time of Queen Mary. In the mean time, he remaining at Rome, there was directed unto him a certain epistle exhortatory by Stokesley, bishop of London, and Tonsal, bishop of Durham, persuading him to relinquish and abandon the supremacy of the pope, and to conform himself to the religion of his king.

When all other the king's subjects, and the learned of the realm, had taken and accepted the oath of the king's supremacy, only Fisher, the bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More, refused (as is afore said) to be sworn; who therefore, falling into the danger of the law, were committed to the Tower, and executed for the same, A.D. 1535. This John Fisher aforesaid had written before against Ecolampadius, whose book is yet extant, and afterwards against Luther.

Also, amongst other his acts, he had been a great enemy and persecutor of John Frith, the godly and learned martyr of Jesus Christ, whom he and Sir Thomas More caused to be burned a year and a half before: and, shortly after, the said Fisher, to his confusion, was charged with Elizabeth Barton, (called the holy maid of Kent,) and found guilty by act of parliament, as is above recorded. For his learning and other virtues of life this bishop was well reputed and reported of by many, and also much lamented by some. But whatsoever his learning was, pity it was that he, being endued with that knowledge, should be so far drowned in such superstition; more pity that he was so obstinate in his ignorance; but most pity of all, that he so abused the learning he had, to such cruelty as he did. But this commonly we see come to pass, as the Lord saith, that whoso striketh with the sword shall perish with the sword, and they that stain their hands with blood, seldom do bring their bodies dry to the grave; as commonly appeareth by the end of bloody tyrants, and especially such as be persecutors of Christ's poor members; in the number of whom were this bishop and Sir Thomas More, by whom good John Frith, Tewkesbury, Thomas Hitten, Bayfield, with divers other good saints of God, were brought to their death. It was said that the pope, to recompense Bishop Fisher for his faithful service, had elected him cardinal, and sent him a cardinal's hat as far as Calais; but the head that it should stand upon, was as high as London bridge ere ever the pope's hat could come to him. Thus Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More, who a little before had put John Frith to death for heresy

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against the pope, were themselves executed and beheaded for treason against the king, the one the twenty-second of June, the other the sixth of July, A.D. 1535.

Of Sir Thomas More something hath been touched before, who was also counted a man both witty and learned: but whatsoever he was besides, a bitter persecutor he was of good men, and a wretched enemy against the truth of the gospel, as by his books left behind him may appear; wherein most slanderously and contumeliously he writeth against Luther, Zuinglius, Tyndale, Frith, Barnes, Bayfield, Bainham, Tewkesbury; falsely belying their articles and doctrine, as (God granting me life) I have sufficient matter to prove against him.

Briefly, as he was a sore persecutor of them that stood in defence of the gospel, so again, on the other side, such a blind devotion he bare to the pope-holy see of Rome, and so wilfully stood in the pope's quarrel against his own prince, that he would not give over till he had brought the scaffold of the Tower-hill, with the axe and all, upon his own neck.

Edward Hall in his Chronicle, writing of the death and manners of this Sir Thomas More, seems to stand in doubt whether to call him a foolish wise man, or a wise foolish man: for, as by nature he was endued with a great wit, so the same again was so mingled (saith he) with taunting and mocking, that it seemed to them that best knew him, that he thought nothing to be well spoken, except he had ministered some mock in the Communication; insomuch as, at his coming to the Tower, one of the officers demanding his upper garment for his fee, meaning his gown, he answered that he should have it, and took him his cap, saying it was the uppermost garment that he had. Likewise, even going to his death, at the Tower gate, a poor woman called unto him, and besought him to declare that he had certain evidences of hers in the time that he was in office, (which, after he was apprehended, she could not come by,) and that he would entreat that she might have them again, or else she was undone. He answered, "Good woman, have patience a little while, for the king is so good unto me, that even within this half hour he will discharge me of all businesses, and help thee himself." Also, when he went up the stair of the scaffold, he desired one of the sheriff's officers to give him his hand to help him up, and said, "When I come down again, let me shift for myself as well as I can." Also the hangman kneeled down to him, asking him forgiveness of his death, as the manner is; to whom he answered, "I forgive thee; but I promise thee that thou shalt never have honesty of the striking off my head, my neck is so short." Also, even when he should lay down his head on the block, he, having a great grey beard, stroked out his beard, and said to the hangman, "I pray you let me lay my beard over the block, lest you should cut it;" thus with a mock he ended his life.

There is no doubt but that the pope's Holiness hath hallowed and dignified those two persons long since for catholic martyrs: neither is it to be doubted, but after a hundred years expired, they shall be also shrined and porthosed, dying as they did in the quarrel of the Church of Rome, that is, in taking the bishop of Rome's part against their own ordinary and natural prince. Whereunto (because the matter asketh a long discourse, and a peculiar tractation) I have not in this place much to contend with Cope, my friend. This briefly for a memorandum may suffice; that if the causes of true martyrdom ought to be pondered, and not to be numbered, and if the end of martyrs is to be weighed by judgment, and not by affection; then the cause and quarrel of these men standing as it doth, and being tried by God's word, perhaps in the pope's kingdom

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they may go for martyrs, in whose cause they died; but certes in Christ's kingdom their cause will not stand, howsoever they stand themselves.

The like also is to be said of the three monks of the Charter-house, Exmew, Middlemore, and Neudigate, who the same year, in the month of June, were likewise attached and arraigned at Westminster, for speaking certain traitorous words against the king's crown and dignity; for which they were hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn: whom also, because Cope, my good friend, doth repute and accept in the number of holy catholic martyrs, here would be asked of him a question: What martyrs be they, who, standing before the judge, deny their own words and sayings, and plead not guilty, so as these Carthusians did? Whereby it appeareth, that they would neither have stood nor have died in that cause, as they did, if they might otherwise have escaped by denying. Wherefore, if my friend Cope had been so well advised in setting out his martyrs as God might have made him, he would first have seen the true records, and been sure of the ground of such matters, whereupon he so confidently pronounceth, and so censoriously controlleth others.

In the same cause and quarrel of treason also, the same year, a little before these aforesaid, in the month of May, were executed with the like punishment, John Houghton, prior of the charter-house in London; Robert Laurence, prior of the charter-house of Belvail; Austin Webster, prior of the charter-house of Exham.

Besides and with these priors suffered likewise at the same time, two other priests, one called Reginald, brother of Sion, the other named John Haile, vicar of Thistleworth. Divers other Charter-house monks also of London were then put in prison, to the number of nine or ten, and in the same prison died; for whom we will, the Lord willing, reserve another place, hereafter to treat of them more at large.

In the mean time, forasmuch as the aforesaid Cope, in his doughty dialogues, speaking of these nine worthies, doth commend them so highly, and especially the three priors above recited, here by the way I would desire Master Cope simply and directly to answer me to a thing or two that I would put to him; and first of this John Houghton, that angelical prior of the Charter-house, his old companion and acquaintance, of whom he thus writeth: *Atqui cum Johannem illum Houghtonum cogito, non tam hominem quam angelum in humana forma intueri mihi videor, cujus eminentes virtutes, divinas dotes, et heroicam animi magnitudinem, nemo unquam poterit satin pro dignitate explicare, &c.* By these his own words it must needs be confessed, that the author of these dialogues, whosoever he was, had well seen and considered the form and personable stature, proportion, and shape, of his excellent body, with such admiration of his personage, that, "as he saith, as oft as I call the said John Houghton to mind, it seemeth to me even as though I saw an angel in the shape and form of a man: whose eminent virtues, moreover, whose divine gifts and heroical greatness of mind, no man," saith he, "may sufficiently express." And how old was this Master Cope then, would I know, when he saw and discerned all this? for, as I understand, Master Cope, being yet at this present scarce come to the age of forty years, he could not then be above nine years old (the other suffering A.D. 1535); in the which age, in my mind, Master Cope had small discretion to judge either of any such angelical proportion of this man's personage, or of his divine qualities and heroical celsitude of his mind; and yet he remembereth him in his dialogues: which thing, among many other probabilities, maketh me

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vehemently to suspect that these dialogues, printed in Antwerp, A.D. 1566, were brought over by Master Cope there to be printed, but were penned and framed by another PseudoCopus, whatsoever, or in what fleet soever, he was, unless my marks do greatly fail me. But as the case is of no great weight, so I let it pass, returning to other matters of greater importance.

Shortly after the overthrow of the pope, consequently began by little and little to follow the ruin of abbeyes and religious houses in England, in a right order and method by God's divine providence. For neither could the fall of monasteries have followed after, unless that suppression of the pope had gone before; neither could any true reformation of the church have been attempted, unless the subversion of those superstitious houses had been joined withal.

Whereupon, the same year, in the month of October, the king, having then Thomas Cromwell of his council, sent Dr. Lee to visit the abbeyes, priories, and nunneries in all England, and to set at liberty all such religious persons as desired to be free, and all others that were under the age of four and twenty years; providing withal, that such monks, canons, and friars as were dismissed, should have given them by the abbot or prior, instead of their habit, a secular priest's gown, and forty shillings of money, and likewise the nuns to have such apparel as secular women did then commonly use, and be suffered to go where they would; at which time also, from the said abbeyes and monasteries were taken their chief jewels and relics.

When the king had thus established his supremacy, and all things were well quieted within the realm, he, like a wise prince, and having wise counsel about him, forecasting with himself what foreign dangers might fall unto him by other countries about, which were all as yet in subjection to the bishop of Rome, save only a few German princes, and misdoubting the malice of the pope, to provide therefore betimes for perils that might ensue, thought good to keep in, by all means possible, with other princes.

And first, to entertain the favour of the French king, who had been sick a little before, and now was lately recovered to health, in signification of public joy and friendship, the king commanded a solemn and famous procession to be ordained through the city of London, with the waits, and children of the grammar schools, with the masters and ushers in their array: then followed the orders of the friars and canons, and the priors with their pomp of copes, crosses, candlesticks, and vergers before them. After these followed the next pageant of clerks and priests of London, all in copes likewise. Then the monks of Westminster and other abbeyes, with their glorious gardeviance of crosses, candlesticks, and vergers before them, in like sort. Last of all came the choir of St. Paul's, with their residentiaries; the bishop of London and the abbots following after in their pontificalibus. After these courses of the clergy went the companies of the city, with the lord mayor and aldermen in their best apparel, after their degrees. And lest it might be thought this procession of the church of London to make but a small or beggarly show, the furniture of the gay copes there worn, was counted to the number of seven hundred and fourteen. Moreover, to fill up the joy of this procession, and for the more high service to Almighty God, besides the singing choirs, and chanting of the priests, there lacked no minstrels withal, to pipe at the processions. Briefly, here lacked nothing else but only the ordnance to shoot off also. But because that is used in the processions at Rome, therefore, for difference' sake, the same is reserved only for the pope's own processions, and for none other, in the month of October.

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This grand procession was appointed for a triumph or a thanksgiving for the late recovery of the French king's health, as is afore said.

Over and besides this, the king, to nourish and retain amity with kings and princes, (lest the pope, being exiled now out of England, should incite them to war against him,) directed sundry ambassadors and messengers with letters and instructions. To the emperor was sent Sir Francis Wyat, to the French king Sir Thomas Bryan, and Dr. Edward Foxe, who was also sent to the princes of Germany; to the Scottish king was sent Sir Ralph Sadler, gentleman of the king's privy-chamber.

In Scotland at the same time were cast abroad divers railing ballets and slanderous rhymes against the king of England, for casting off the lady dowager, and for abolishing the pope; for which cause the aforesaid Sir Ralph Sadler, being sent into Scotland with lessons and instructions how to address himself accordingly, after he had obtained access unto the king, and audience to be heard, first declareth the affectuous and hearty commendations from the king's Majesty, his Grace's uncle, and withal delivered his letters of credence: which done, after a few words of courtly entertainment, as occasion served him to speak, the said Sir Ralph Sadler, obtaining audience, thus began in the king his master's behalf to declare, as followeth

"Whereas there is nothing, after the glory of Almighty God, in this world so much to be tendered by kings, princes, or any honest persons, or so highly to be regarded and defended, as their honour, estimation, good fame, and name, which whosoever neglecteth is to be esteemed unnatural; and unless a man labour to avoid and extinguish the false reports, slanders, and defamations made of him by malicious persons, he may well be suspected in conscience to condemn himself; the king your uncle, considering the same, and hearing of sundry ballets, criminations, and infamous libels made and untruly forged and devised in Scotland against his Grace, by your Grace's subjects, not only upon trust to find with your Grace such natural affection, friendship, and amity, as the nearness of blood between uncle and nephew, necessitude of reverence, proximity both of kin and dominions together doth require; but also upon assurance that your Grace and wisdom will consider how these slanders and defamations, although they were but against a private person, whatsoever he were, most commonly redound and are imputed to the whole degree and estate; as the defamation of kings toucheth kings, and so of other degrees and dignities: doth send at this time to your Grace, his nephew, (others he might have sent more worthy; but me at this time, for lack of a better, hath he sent,) to desire, pray, and require your Grace, according as the nearness of blood, connexion of estate, and other things before expressed, of right and justice do require beseeching your Grace gently to weigh and balance, and well to ponder, the malice of these the said slanderers, and to call in again all the said defamatory ballets, libels, and other writings, punishing the authors and setters-forth thereof according to their demerits. And furthermore, to cause open proclamations to be made through your realm, that none of the inhabitants there shall, in any manner of wise, so misuse himself hereafter, upon such great pain and punishment as to your Grace and your council shall be thought convenient for the transgression thereof: so that others, by their correction, and by the fearful example of the penalty, may beware how to commit the like offence in time coming.

"The example of such slanders is very pernicious to all kings; for, by such slanders of other princes, the slanderers take boldness so to deal afterwards with their own king, as they have

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done with others; and the next step from such slanderous words is to attempt deeds, and so to fall to sedition; of the importance and danger whereof no man is ignorant.

"Wherefore your Grace, at the contemplation of your dear uncle, in tendering his proceedings, shall do well to follow therein the loving steps of his good brother and ally, the French king, who hath already at Rouen, and sundry places else, caused certain slanderous preachers to be sore punished; and further directed commissions through his realm for repressing the same. As also other princes shall be ready (his Majesty trusteth) to do the like in their dominions, if like occasion shall be given to require the same of them. In which so doing, your Gracemay be assured, in this your gentle dealing in that part, to win your uncle's most sincere and kind heart, to the increase of your amity and alliance, which as to you shall be most honourable, so shall it be no less profitable unto him.

"And thus to conclude with the first part of my narration, concerning the slanderous and defamatory libels, lest I should seem with prolixity of matter more than needs to abuse your Grace's silence, I will now descend to the other point of that which I have to utter unto your Grace, as touching the pope's nuncio, or messenger; of whose late arrival the king's Majesty, your uncle, having partly intelligence, but not certainly knowing the special cause of his coming from Rome, and yet fearing, by the common bruit and talk of your subjects, what his errand should be (that is, to practise some annoyance, by his pretended censures against the king's Majesty, your uncle); he therefore, premonishing your Grace before, as fearing the worst, most justly maketh his complaint thereof unto your Grace, his nephew, requiring you, that forasmuch as the aforesaid bruits and reports are slanderous to his Majesty, and seeing that neither the emperor, nor the French king, nor any other princes, have consented thereto, or understood thereof, the king's Majesty, therefore, your uncle, willing to stop those bruits and talks, desireth and most heartily prayeth your Grace, at his instant request, to vouchsafe to consider and weigh,

"First, The supremacy of princes, by the Holy Scripture granted unto him and other princes in earth, under Christ, upon their churches.

"Secondly, To weigh what the gospel and God's word calleth a church.

"Also what superstitions, idolatries, and blind abuses have crept into all realms, to the high displeasure of Almighty God, by reason thereof. "Fourthly, What is to be understood by the true censure or excommunication of the church, and how no such can be in the power of the bishop of Rome, or of any other man, against his Majesty, or any other prince; having so just ground to avoid from the root, and to abolish that execrable authority, which the bishop of Rome hath usurped, and doth usurp, upon all princes, to their great detriment and damage.

"As touching the consideration of which four points, although the king's Majesty, your uncle, doubteth not your Grace to be furnished and provided with sufficient knowledge, rightly to discern and judge upon the same; yet, if it shall so please your Grace further to know your uncle's mind touching the said points, I assure your Highness, in the behalf of your aforesaid uncle, his Majesty, that he will not stick to send unto you such learned, wise, and discreet men, as shall amply inform you thereof, and of such other things as your Grace, having once a smack thereof, shall think most worthy for a prince to know.

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"His request therefore to your Highness is, that you will consider of what moment and importance it shall be unto your Grace, (having the Scots your subjects so evil instructed in the premises,) for you to assent and agree to any such censure, and so, by such example, to give such an upper-hand over yourself and other princes, to that usurper of Rome, as is very like hereafter to happen in other places of Christendom, wheresoever the true declaration of the truth and word of God shall have free course, to scourge them, unless they will adore, worship, and kiss the feet of that corrupt holiness, which desireth nothing else but pride, and the universal thrall of Christendom under Rome's yokes.

"But because the censures of that nuncio be not yet opened, but lie secret and uncertain under muttering, I shall cease further to proceed therein, till further occasion shall minister to me more certain matter to say and to judge. In the mean time, forasmuch as it is most certainly come to the intelligence of the king's Majesty, that the abbot of Arbroath should be chosen of late and elected to be a cardinal in this your realm of Scotland, his Majesty therefore, for the good love and hearty good will he beareth unto your Grace, as the uncle is bound unto the nephew, knowing that you as yet perceive not so well the hypocrisy and deceitful guile and malice of the Romans and their practices, as he himself doth, by his long experience; could not but, hearing thereof, advertise your Grace, that his advice is, you should not suffer any of your subjects to take upon him that red hat of pride, whereby he shall incontinently, the same being received, (unless he be of a contrary nature to any man that ever was yet of that sort,) not only be in manner discharged of his obedience, and become the bishop of Rome's true liege man; but also shall presume of his cardinalship to be your fellow, and to have the rule as well as you. Then should the bishop of Rome creep into your own very bosom, know all your secrets, and at last, unless you will be yoked and serve their pleasure in all points, your Grace is like to smart for it. The thing perchance, in the beginning, shall seem to your Grace very honourable and pleasant; but wisdom would, to beware of the tail, which is very black and bitter.

"His Majesty's father, and grandfather to your Grace, had a cardinal whereof he was weary, and never admitted others after his decease, knowing the importable pride of them. In like manner also his Highness, by the experience of one, hath utterly determined to avoid all the sort: so well his Grace hath known and experienced their mischief, yoke, and thralldom, that thereby is laid upon princes. By reason whereof, as his Highness is the more able by his own experience to inform your Grace, so of good will and mere propensity of heart, caused partly by nature and kin, partly by conjunction and vicinity of dominions adjoining so near together, he is no less ready to forewarn your Grace before, wishing that God will so work in your princely heart and noble stomach, that his Majesty's monition and friendly warning, as it proceedeth from a sincere affection and tender care of his part unto his nephew, so it may prevail and take place in your mind, that your Grace, wisely weighing with yourself, what supreme right princes have, and ought to have, over their churches and lands where they govern, and what little cause the bishop of Rome hath thereto, to proceed by unjust censures against them; your Grace may therein not only stand to the just defence of your dear uncle, but also may endeavour to follow his steps therein, and to take his counsel, which, he doubteth not, but shall redound, not only to your Grace's honour, to the benefit, weal, and profit of your realm and subjects; but, especially, to the glory of Almighty God, and advancement of his true religion.

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"And thus have I expounded unto your Grace the sum of my errand and message from the king's Majesty, your uncle, who, as he would be glad to be advertised, by answer, of your Grace's purpose, mind, and intention in this behalf, so, for my part, according to my charge and duty, I shall be prepared and ready, with all diligence, to give mine attendance upon your pleasure for the same accordingly."

The king, considering the present state of his marriage, which was not yet well digested nor accepted in the courts of other princes, and also having intelligence of the strait amity intended by the marriages between the emperor and the French king, and also of the pope's inclination to pleasure the emperor; and further understanding of the order and meaning of the French king's council, not greatly favouring his purposes, sent therefore into France, for his ambassador, Edward Foxe, doctor of divinity, his chaplain and counsellor, with instructions and admonitions how to frame and attemper himself in those the king's affairs.

Furthermore, for the establishing of the king's succession to the imperial crown of this realm, for the suppression of the pope, and uniting the title of supremacy unto the king's crown, what order was therein taken, and what penalty was set upon the same, may appear by the act of parliament set forth A.D. 1534, in these words following:

"If any person or persons, after the first of February next, do maliciously imagine, invent, practise, or attempt to deprive the king of the dignity, title, or name of his royal estate, &c., that then every such person and persons so offending in any of the premises, their aiders, counsellors, consenters, and abettors, being thereof lawfully convicted, according to the laws and customs of this realm, shall be reputed, accepted, and adjudged traitors; and that every such offence in any the premises committed or done after the said first day of February, shall be reputed, accepted, and adjudged high treason; and the offenders therein, their aiders, consenters, counsellors, and abettors, being lawfully convicted of any such offence, shall have and suffer such pains of death and other penalties, as are limited and accustomed in cases of high treason."

Upon this and such other acts concluded in those parliaments, what stomach the pope took, what stir he kept, and what practices he wrought with Cardinal Pole, to stir up other nations to war against us; what difficulty also there was with the emperor, with the French king, and with the king of Scots, about the matter; and what labour was used on the king's part, to reconcile the princes for his own indemnity, to keep him from their wars and invasions, and especially to obtain the pope's approbation, and to avoid his censures of excommunication; and finally, what despiteful injuries and open wrongs the pope wrought against him, upon the which pope the king had bestowed so much money and great treasures before, all this, likewise, by the premises may appear.

Wherefore, to end now with these, and to go forward in our story, as the order and computation of years do give, we have now consequently to enter into the story of the good martyr of God, William Tyndale, being this present year falsely betrayed and put to death; which William Tyndale, as he was a special organ of the Lord appointed, and as God's mattock to shake the inward roots and foundation of the pope's proud prelacy; so the great prince of darkness, with his impious imps, having a special malice against him, left no way unsought how craftily to

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entrap him, and falsely to betray him, maliciously to spill his life, as by the process of his story here following may appear.

186 William Tyndale

The life and story of this true servant and martyr of God, who, for his notable pains and travail, may well be called the apostle of England in this our later age.



WILLIAM Tyndale, the faithful minister and constant martyr of Christ, was born about the borders of Wales, and brought up from a child in the university of Oxford, where he, by long continuance, grew up, and increased as well in the knowledge of tongues, and other liberal arts, as especially in the knowledge of the Scriptures, whereunto his mind was singularly addicted; insomuch that he, lying then in Magdalen hall, read privily to certain students and fellows of Magdalen college, some parcel of divinity; instructing them in the knowledge and truth of the Scriptures. His manners also and conversation being correspondent to the same, were such, that all they that knew him, reputed and esteemed him to be a man of most virtuous disposition, and of life unspotted.

Thus he, in the university of Oxford, increasing more and more in learning, and proceeding in degrees of the schools, spying his time, removed from thence to the university of Cambridge, where after he had likewise made his abode a certain space, being now further ripened in the knowledge of God's word, leaving that university also, he resorted to one Master Welch, a knight of Gloucestershire, and was there schoolmaster to his children, and in good favour with his master. This gentleman, as he kept a good ordinary commonly at his table, there resorted to him many times sundry abbots, deans, archdeacons, with divers other doctors, and great beneficed men; who there, together with Master Tyndale sitting at the same table, did use many times to enter into conversation, and talk of learned men, as of Luther and of Erasmus; also of divers other controversies and questions upon the Scripture.

Then Master Tyndale, as he was learned and well practised in God's matters, so he spared not to show unto them simply and plainly his judgment in matters, as he thought; and when they at any time did vary from Tyndale in opinions and judgment, he would show them in the book, and lay plainly before them the open and manifest places of the Scriptures, to confute their errors, and confirm his sayings. And thus continued they for a certain season, reasoning and contending together divers and sundry times, till at length they waxed weary, and bare a secret grudge in their hearts against him.

Not long after this, it happened that certain of these great doctors had invited Master Welch and his wife to a banquet; where they had talk at will and pleasure, uttering their blindness and ignorance without any resistance or gainsaying. Then Master Welch and his wife, coming home, and calling for Master Tyndale, began to reason with him about those matters whereof the priests had talked before at their banquet. Master Tyndale, answering by the Scriptures, maintained the truth, and reprov'd their false opinions. Then said the lady Welch, a

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stout and a wise woman, (as Tyndale reporteth,) "Well," said she, there was such a doctor which may dispend a hundred pounds, and another two hundred pounds, and another three hundred pounds: and what! were it reason, think you, that we should believe you before them?" Master Tyndale gave her no answer at that time, and also after that, (because he saw it would not avail,) he talked but little in those matters. At that time he was about the translation of a book called *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*, which, being translated, he delivered to his master and lady; who, after they had read and well perused the same, the doctorly prelates were no more so often called to the house, neither had they the cheer and countenance when they came, as before they had: which thing they marking, and well perceiving, and supposing no less but it came by the means of Master Tyndale, refrained themselves, and at last utterly withdrew, and came no more there.

As this grew on, the priests of the country, clustering together, began to grudge and storm against Tyndale, railing against him in alehouses and other places; of whom Tyndale himself, in his prologue before the First Book of Moses, thus testifieth in his own words, and reporteth that he suffereth much in that country by a sort of unlearned priests, being full rude and ignorant, (saith he,) God knoweth: "which have seen no more Latin, than that only which they read in their portueses and missals, (which yet many of them can scarcely read,) except it be Albertus, *De Secretis Mulierum*, in which yet, though they be never so sorrily learned, they pore day and night, and make notes therein, and all to teach the midwives, as they say; and also another called Lindwood, a book of constitutions to gather tithes, mortuaries, offerings, customs, and other pillage, which they call not theirs, but God's part, the duty of holy church, to discharge their consciences withal. For they are bound that they shall not diminish, but increase all things unto the uttermost of their powers, which pertain to holy church." Thus these blind and rude priests, flocking together to the alehouse, (for that was their preaching place,) raged and railed against him, affirming that his sayings were heresy; adding moreover unto his sayings, of their own heads, more than ever he spake, and so accused him secretly to the chancellor, and others of the bishop's officers.

It followed not long after this, that there was a sitting of the bishop's chancellor appointed, and warning was given to the priests to appear, amongst whom Master Tyndale was also warned to be there. And whether he had any misdoubt by their threatenings, or knowledge given him that they would lay some things to his charge, it is uncertain; but certain this is, (as he himself declared,) that he doubted their privy accusations; so that he by the way, in going thitherwards, cried in his mind heartily to God, to give him strength fast to stand in the truth of his word.

Then when the time came for his appearance before the chancellor, he threatened him grievously, reviling and rating him as though he had been a dog, and laid to his charge many things whereof no accuser yet could be brought forth, (as commonly their manner is, not to bring forth the accuser,) notwithstanding that the priests of the country the same time were there present. And thus Master Tyndale, after those examinations, escaping out of their hands, departed home, and returned to his master again.

There dwelt not far off a certain doctor, that had been an old chancellor before to a bishop, who had been of old familiar acquaintance with Master Tyndale, and also favoured him well; unto whom Master Tyndale went and opened his mind upon divers questions of the

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Scripture: for to him he durst be bold to disclose his heart. Unto whom the doctor said, "Do you not know that the pope is very antichrist, whom the Scripture speaketh of? But beware what you say; for if you shall be perceived to be of that opinion, it will cost you your life:" and said moreover, "I have been an officer of his; but I have given it up, and defy him and all his works." It was not long after, but Master Tyndale happened to be in the company of a certain divine, recounted for a learned man, and, in communing and disputing with him, he drave him to that issue, that the said great doctor burst out into these blasphemous words, and said, "We were better to be without God's laws than the pope's." Master Tyndale, hearing this, full of godly zeal, and not bearing that blasphemous saying, replied again, and said, "I defy the pope, and all his laws;" and further added, that if God spared him life, ere many years he would cause a boy that driveth the plough to know more of the Scripture than he did. After this, the grudge of the priests increasing still more and more against Tyndale, they never ceased barking and rating at him, and laid many things sorely to his charge, saying that he was a heretic in sophistry, a heretic in logic, a heretic in divinity; and said moreover to him, that he bare himself bold of the gentlemen there in that country; but notwithstanding, shortly he should be otherwise talked withal. To whom Master Tyndale, answering again, thus said, that he was contented they should bring him into any country in all England, giving him ten pounds a year to live with, and binding him to no more but to teach children, and to preach.

To be short, Master Tyndale, being so molested and vexed in the country by the priests, was constrained to leave that country, and to seek another place; and so coming to Master Welch, he desired him of his good will, that he might depart from him, saying on this wise to him: "Sir, I perceive that I shall not be suffered to tarry long here in this country, neither shall you be able, though you would, to keep me out of the hands of the spirituality; and also what displeasure might grow thereby to you by keeping me, God knoweth; for the which I should be right sorry." So that in fine, Master Tyndale, with the good will of his master, departed, and eftsoons came up to London, and there preached awhile, according as he had done in the country before, and especially about the town of Bristol, and also in the said town, in the common place called St. Austin's Green.

At length, he bethinking himself of Cuthbert Tonsal, then bishop of London, and especially for the great commendation of Erasmus, who, in his annotations, so extolled him for his learning, Tyndale thus cast with himself, that if he might attain unto his service, he were a happy man. And so coming to Sir Henry Guildford, the king's comptroller, and bringing with him an oration of Isocrates, which he had then translated out of Greek into English, he desired him to speak to the said bishop of London for him; which he also did; and willed him moreover to write an epistle to the bishop, and to go himself with him. Which he did likewise, and delivered his epistle to a servant of his, named William Hebilthwait, a man of his old acquaintance. But God, who secretly disposeth the course of things, saw that was not the best for Tyndale's purpose, nor for the profit of his church, and therefore gave him to find little favour in the bishop's sight; the answer of whom was this: That his house was full; he had more than he could well find: and advised him to seek in London abroad, where, he said, he could lack no service, &c. And so remained he in London the space almost of a year, beholding and marking with himself the course of the world, and especially the demeanour of the preachers, how they boasted themselves, and set up their authority and kingdom; beholding also the pomp of the prelates, with other things more, which greatly misliked him; insomuch that he understood, not

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only that there was no room in the bishop's house for him to translate the New Testament, but also that there was no place to do it in all England. And therefore, finding no place for his purpose within the realm, and having some aid and provision, by God's providence, ministered unto him by Humphrey Mummuth, above recited, (as you may see before,) and certain other good men, he took his leave of the realm, and departed into Germany, where the good man, being inflamed with a tender care and zeal of his country, refused no travail nor diligence, how, by all means possible, to reduce his brethren and countrymen of England to the same taste and understanding of God's holy word and verity, which the Lord had endued him withal.

Whereupon, he considering in his mind, and partly also conferring with John Frith, Tyndale thought with himself no way more to conduce thereunto, than if the Scripture were turned into the vulgar speech, that the poor people might also read and see the simple plain word of God. For first, he, wisely casting in his mind, perceived by experience, how that it was not possible to establish the lay people in any truth, except the Scriptures were so plainly laid before their eyes in their mother tongue, that they might see the process, order, and meaning of the text; for else, whatsoever truth should be taught them, these enemies of the truth would quench it again, either with apparent reasons of sophistry, and traditions of their own making, founded without all ground of Scripture; or else juggling with the text, expounding it in such a sense as it were impossible to gather of the text, if the right process, order, and meaning thereof were seen.

Again, right well he perceived and considered this only, or most chiefly, to be the cause of all mischief in the church, that the Scriptures of God were hidden from the people's eyes; for so long the abominable doings and idolatries maintained by the Pharisaical clergy could not be espied; and therefore all their labour was with might and main to keep it down, so that either it should not be read at all, or if it were, they would darken the right sense with the mist of their sophistry, and so entangle those who rebuked or despised their abominations, with arguments of philosophy, and with worldly similitudes, and apparent reasons of natural wisdom; and, with wresting the Scripture unto their own purpose, contrary unto the process, order, and meaning of the text, would so delude them in descanting upon it with allegories, and amaze them, expounding it in many senses laid before the unlearned lay people, that though thou felt in thy heart, and wert sure that all were false that they said, yet couldst thou not solve their subtle riddles.

For these and such other considerations this good man was moved (and no doubt stirred up of God) to translate the Scripture into his mother tongue, for the public utility and profit of the simple vulgar people of his country; first setting in hand with the New Testament, which he first translated about A.D. 1527. After that, he took in hand to translate the Old Testament, finishing the five books of Moses, with sundry most learned and godly prologues prefixed before every one, most worthy to be read and read again by all good Christians, as the like also he did upon the New Testament. He wrote also divers other works under sundry titles, amongst which is that most worthy monument of his, entitled, "The Obedience of a Christian Man," wherein, with singular dexterity, he instructeth all men in the office and duty of Christian obedience; with divers other treatises, as "The Wicked Mammon," "The Practice of Prelates;" with expositions upon certain parts of the Scripture, and other books also, answering to Sir Thomas More and other adversaries of the truth, no less delectable, than also most fruitful to be read; which partly before being unknown unto many, partly also being almost abolished and worn out by time, the printer hereof, good reader, for conserving and restoring such singular treasures, hath collected

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and set forth in print the same in one general volume, all and whole together, as also the works of John Frith, Barnes, and others, as are to be seen, most special and profitable for thy reading.

These books of William Tyndale being compiled, published, and sent over into England, it cannot be spoken what a door of light they opened to the eyes of the whole English nation, which before were many years shut up in darkness.

At his first departing out of the realm he took his journey into the further parts of Germany, as into Saxony, where he had conference with Luther and other learned men in those quarters; where after that he had continued a certain season, he came down from thence into the Netherlands, and had his most abiding in the town of Antwerp, until the time of his apprehension; whereof more shall be said (God willing) hereafter.

Amongst his other books which he compiled, one work he made also for the declaration of the sacrament (as it was then called) of the altar; which he kept by him, considering how the people were not as yet fully persuaded in other matters tending to superstitious ceremonies and gross idolatry. Wherefore he thought as yet time was not come to put forth that work, but rather that it should hinder the people from other instructions, supposing that it would seem to them odious to hear any such thing spoken or set forth at that time, sounding against their great goddess Diana, that is, against their mass, being had every where in great estimation, as was the goddess Diana amongst the Ephesians, whom they thought to come from heaven. Wherefore Master Tyndale, being a man both prudent in his doings, and no less zealous in the setting forth of God's holy truth after such sort as it might take most effect with the people, did forbear the putting forth of that work, not doubting but, by God's merciful grace, a time should come to have that abomination openly declared, as it is at this present day: the Lord Almighty be always praised therefore. Amen!

These godly books of Tyndale, and especially the New Testament of his translation, after that they began to come into men's hands, and to spread abroad, as they wrought great and singular profit to the godly, so the ungodly (envying and disdaining that the people should be any thing wiser than they, and again, fearing lest, by the shining beams of truth, their false hypocrisy and works of darkness should be discerned) began to stir with no small ado; like as at the birth of Christ, Herod was troubled, and all Jerusalem with him. But especially Satan, the prince of darkness, maligning the happy course and success of the gospel, set to his might also, how to impeach and hinder the blessed travails of that man; as by this, and also by sundry other ways, may appear. For at what time Tyndale had translated the Fifth Book of Moses, called Deuteronomy, minding to print the same at Hamburg, he sailed thitherward; where by the way, upon the coast of Holland, he suffered shipwreck, by which he lost all his books, writings, and copies, and so was compelled to begin all again anew, to his hinderance, and doubling of his labours. Thus, having lost by that ship, both money, his copies, and his time, he came in another ship to Hamburg, where, at his appointment, Master Coverdale tarried for him, and helped him in the translating of the whole five books of Moses, from Easter till December, in the house of a worshipful widow, Mistress Margaret Van Emmerson, A.D. 1529; a great sweating sickness being at the same time in the town. So, having despatched his business at Hamburg, he returned afterwards to Antwerp again.

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Thus, as Satan is, and ever hath been, an enemy to all godly endeavours, and chiefly to the promoting and furtherance of God's word, as by this and many other experiments may be seen, so his ministers and members, following the like quality of their master, be not altogether idle for their parts; as also by the pope's chaplains and God's enemies, and by their cruel handling of the said Master Tyndale at the same time, both here in England and in Flanders, may well appear.

When God's will was, that the New Testament in the common tongue should come abroad, Tyndale, the translator thereof, added to the latter end a certain epistle, wherein he desired them that were learned, to amend, if ought were found amiss. Wherefore if there had been any such default deserving correction, it had been the part of courtesy and gentleness, for men of knowledge and judgment to have showed their learning therein, and to have redressed what was to be amended. But the spiritual fathers then of the clergy, being not willing to have that book to prosper, cried out upon it, bearing men in hand that there were a thousand heresies in it, and that it was not to be corrected, but utterly to be suppressed. Some said it was not possible to translate the Scriptures into English; some, that it was not lawful for the lay people to have it in their mother-tongue; some, that it would make them all heretics. And to the intent to induce the temporal rulers also unto their purpose, they made more matter, and said that it would make the people to rebel and rise against the king. All this Tyndale himself, in his own prologue before the First Book of Moses, declareth; and addeth further, showing what great pains were taken in examining that translation, and comparing it with their own imaginations and terms, that with less labour, he supposeth, they might have translated themselves a great part of the Bible: showing moreover, that they scanned and examined every tittle and point in the said translation, in such sort, and so narrowly, that there was not one *i* therein, but if it lacked a prick over its head, they did note it, and numbered it unto the ignorant people for a heresy. So great were then the froward devices of the English clergy, (who should have been the guides of light unto the people,) to drive the people from the text and knowledge of the Scripture, which neither they would translate themselves, nor yet abide it to be translated of others; to the intent (as Tyndale saith) that the world being kept still in darkness, they might sit in the consciences of the people through vain superstition and false doctrine, to satisfy their lusts, their ambition, and insatiable covetousness, and to exalt their own honour above king and emperor, yea, and above God himself.

The bishops and prelates of the realm, thus (as ye have heard) incensed and inflamed in their minds, although having no cause, against the Old and New Testament of the Lord newly translated by Tyndale, and conspiring together with all their heads and counsels, how to repeal the same, never rested before they had brought the king at last to their consent; by reason whereof, a proclamation in all haste was devised and set forth under public authority, but no just reason showed, that the Testament of Tyndale's translation, with other works besides, both of his, and of other writers, were inhibited and abandoned, as ye heard before: which was about A.D. 1527. And yet not contented herewith, they proceeded further, how to entangle him in their nets, and to bereave him of his life; which how they brought to pass, now it remaineth to be declared.

In the registers of London it appeareth manifest, how that the bishops and Sir Thomas More having any poor man under *coram*, that is, to be examined before them, namely, such as had been at Antwerp, most studiously would search and examine all things belonging to Tyndale,

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where and with whom he hosted, whereabouts stood the house, what was his stature, in what apparel he went, what resort he had, &c.: all which things when they had diligently learned, (as may appear by the examination of Simon Smith and others,) then began they to work their feats, as you shall hear by the relation of his own host.

William Tyndale, being in the town of Antwerp, had been lodged about one whole year in the house of Thomas Pointz an Englishman, who kept there a house of English merchants; about which time came thither one out of England, whose name was Henry Philips, his father being customer of Poole, a comely fellow, like as he had been a gentleman, having a servant with him: but wherefore he came, or for what purpose he was sent thither, no man could tell.

Master Tyndale divers times was desired forth to dinner and supper amongst merchants; by the means whereof this Henry Philips became acquainted with him, so that within short space Master Tyndale had a great confidence in him, and brought him to his lodging, to the house of Thomas Pointz; and had him also once or twice with him to dinner and supper, and further entered such friendship with him, that through his procurement he lay in the same house of the said Pointz; to whom he showed moreover his books, and other secrets of his study, so little did Tyndale then mistrust this traitor.

But Pointz, having no great confidence in the fellow, asked Master Tyndale how he came acquainted with this Philips. Master Tyndale answered, that he was an honest man, handsomely learned, and very conformable. Then Pointz, perceiving that he bare such favour to him, said no more, thinking that he was brought acquainted with him by some friend of his. The said Philips, being in the town three or four days, upon a time desired Pointz to walk with him forth of the town to show him the commodities thereof, and in walking together without the town, had communication of divers things, and some of the king's affairs; by the which talk Pointz as yet suspected nothing, but after, by the sequel of the matter, he perceived more what he intended. In the mean time this he well perceived, that he bare no great favour either to the setting forth of any good thing, or to the proceedings of the king of England. But after, when the time was past, Pointz perceived this to be his mind, to feel if he could perceive by him, whether he might break with him in the matter, for lucre of money, to help him to his purpose; for he perceived before that he was monied, and would that Pointz should think no less: but by whom it was unknown. For he had desired Pointz before, to help him to divers things; and such things as he named he required might be of the best, "for," said he, "I have money enough;" but of this talk came nothing but that men should think he had some things to do; for nothing else followed of his talk. So it was to be suspected, that Philips was in doubt to move this matter for his purpose, to any of the rulers or officers of the town of Antwerp, for doubt it should come to the knowledge of some Englishmen, and by the means thereof Master Tyndale should have had warning.

So Philips went from Antwerp to the court of Brussels, which is from thence twenty-four English miles, the king having there no ambassador; for at that time the king of England and the emperor were at a controversy for the question betwixt the king and the Lady Katharine, which was aunt to the emperor; and the discord grew so much, that it was doubted lest there should have been war between the emperor and the king; so that Philips, as a traitor both against God and the king, was there the better retained, as also other traitors more besides him; who, after he had betrayed Master Tyndale into their bands, showed himself likewise against the king's own

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person, and there set forth things against the king. To make short, the said Philips did so much there, that he procured to bring from thence with him to Antwerp, that procurer-general, which is the emperor's attorney, with certain other officers, as after followeth; which was not done with small charges and expenses, from whomsoever it came.

Within a while after, Pointz sitting at his door, Philips's man came unto him, and asked whether Master Tyndale were there, and said, his master would come to him; and so departed: but whether his master, Philips, were in the town or not, it was not known; but at that time Pointz heard no more, either of the master or of the man. Within three or four days after, Pointz went forth to the town of Barrois, being eighteen English miles from Antwerp, where he had business to do for the space of a month or six weeks; and in the time of his absence Henry Philips came again to Antwerp, to the house of Pointz, and coming in, spake with his wife, asking her for Master Tyndale, and whether he would dine there with him; saying, "What good meat shall we have?" She answered, "Such as the market will give." Then went he forth again (as it is thought) to provide, and set the officers which he brought with him from Brussels, in the street, and about the door. Then about noon he came again, and went to Master Tyndale, and desired him to lend him forty shillings; "for," said he, "I lost my purse this morning, coming over at the passage between this and Mechlin." So Master Tyndale took him forty shillings, the which was easy to be had of him, if he had it; for in the wily subtleties of this world he was simple and inexpert.

Then said Philips, "Master Tyndale! you shall be my guest here this day." "No," said Master Tyndale, "I go forth this day to dinner, and you shall go with me, and be my guest, where you shall be welcome." So when it was dinner-time, Master Tyndale went forth with Philips, and at the going forth of Pointz's house, was a long narrow entry, so that two could not go in a front. Master Tyndale would have put Philips before him but, Philips would in no wise, but put Master Tyndale before, for that he pretended to show great humanity. So Master Tyndale, being a man of no great stature, went before, and Philips, a tall, comely person, followed behind him; who had set officers on either side of the door upon two seats, which, being there, might see who came in the entry; and coming through the same entry, Philips pointed with his finger over Master Tyndale's head down to him, that the officers who sat at the door might see that it was he whom they should take, as the officers that took Master Tyndale afterwards told Pointz, and said to Pointz, when they had laid him in prison, that they pitied to see his simplicity when they took him. Then they took him, and brought him to the emperor's attorney, or procuror-general, where he dined. Then came the procuror-general to the house of Pointz, and sent away all that was there of Master Tyndale's, as well his books as other things; and from thence Tyndale was had to the castle of Filford, eighteen English miles from Antwerp, and there he remained until he was put to death.

Then incontinent, by the help of English merchants, were letters sent, in favour of Tyndale, to the court of Brussels. Also, not long after, letters were directed out of England to the council at Brussels, and sent to the merchant-adventurers, to Antwerp, commanding them to see that with speed they should be delivered. Then such of the chief of the merchants as were there at that time, being called together, required the said Pointz to take in hand the delivery of those letters, with letters also from them, in favour of Master Tyndale, to the lord of Barrois and others; which lord of Barrois (as it was told Pointz by the way) at that time was departed from Brussels, as the chief conductor of the eldest daughter of the king of Denmark, to be married to

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the palsgrave, whose mother was sister to the emperor, she being chief princess of Denmark. Pointz, after he heard of his departure, did ride after the next way, and overtook him at Achon, where he delivered to him his letters; the which when he had received and read, he made no direct answer, but somewhat objecting, said, There were of their countrymen that were burned in England not long before (as indeed there were Anabaptists burned in Smithfield); and so Pointz said to him, "Howbeit," said he, "whatsoever the crime was, if his Lordship or any other nobleman had written, requiring to have had them, he thought they should not have been denied." "Well," said he, "I have no leisure to write, for the princess is ready to ride." Then said Pointz, "If it shall please your Lordship, I will attend upon you unto the next baiting-place;" which was at Maestricht. "If you so do," said the lord, "I will advise myself by the way what to write." So Pointz followed him from Achon to Maestricht, the which are fifteen English miles asunder; and there he received letters of him, one to the council there, another to the company of the merchant-adventurers, and another also to the Lord Cromwell in England.

So Pointz rode from thence to Brussels, and then and there delivered to the council the letters out of England, with the lord of Barrois's letters also, and received eftsoons answer into England of the same by letters which he brought to Antwerp to the English merchants, who required him to go with them into England. And he, very desirous to have Master Tyndale out of prison, let not to take pains, with loss of time in his own business and occupying, and diligently followed with the said letters, which he there delivered to the council, and was commanded by them to tarry until he had other letters, with which he was not despatched thence in a month after. At length, the letters being delivered him, he returned again, and delivered them to the emperor's council at Brussels, and there tarried for answer of the same.

When the said Pointz had tarried three or four days, it was told him by one that belonged to the Chancery, that Master Tyndale should have been delivered to him according to the tenor of the letters; but Philips, being there, followed the suit against Master Tyndale, and hearing that he should be delivered to Pointz, and doubting lest he should be put from his purpose, he knew no other remedy but to accuse Pointz, saying, that he was a dweller in the town of Antwerp, and there had been a succourer of Tyndale, and was one of the same opinion; and that all this was only his own labour and suit, to have Master Tyndale at liberty, and no man's else.

Thus, upon his information and accusation, Pointz was attached by the procuror-general, the emperor's attorney, and delivered to the keeping of two serjeants-at-arms; and the same evening was sent to him one of the chancery, with the procuror-general, who ministered unto him an oath, that he should truly make answer to all such things as should be inquired of him, thinking they would have had no other examinations of him but of his message. The next day likewise they came again, and had him in examination, and so five or six days one after another, upon not so few as a hundred articles, as well of the king's affairs, as of the message concerning Tyndale, of his aiders, and of his religion; out of which examinations, the procuror-general drew twenty-three or twenty-four articles, and declared the same against the said Pointz, the copy whereof he delivered to him to make answer thereunto, and permitted him to have an advocate and proctor, that is, a doctor and proctor in the law; and order was taken, that eight days after he should deliver unto them his answer, and from eight days to eight days, to proceed till the process were ended. Also that he should send no messenger to Antwerp where his house was, being twenty-four English miles from Brussels, where he was prisoner, nor to any other place,

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but by the post of the town of Brussels; nor to send any letters, nor any to be delivered to him, but written in Dutch; and the procurer-general, who was party against him, to read them, to peruse and examine them thoroughly, (contrary to all right and equity,) before they were sent or delivered: neither might any be suffered to speak or talk with Pointz in any other tongue or language, except only in the Dutch tongue; so that his keepers, who were Dutchmen, might understand what the contents of the letters or talk should be: saving that at one time the provincial of the White Friars came to dinner where Pointz was prisoner, and brought with him a young novice, being an Englishman, whom the provincial, after dinner, of his own accord, did bid to talk with the said Pointz; and so with him he was licensed to talk. The purpose and great policy therein was easy to be perceived. Between Pointz and the novice was much pretty talk, as of Sir Thomas More, and of the bishop of Rochester, and of their putting to death; whose death he seemed greatly to lament, especially dying in such a quarrel, worthy (as he said) to be accounted for martyrs; with other noble doctrine, and deep learning in divinity, meet to feed swine withal: such blindness then in those days reigned amongst them.

The eighth day, the commissioners that were appointed came to the house where Pointz was kept, to have had his answer in writing: he, making no great haste in proceeding, answereth them with a dilatory manner, saying, he was there a prisoner, and might not go abroad, so that, although he had appointed and named who were to be a council with him, they came not to him, nor could he go to them; nor could any come to give counsel in this matter, but such as were licensed and named by them. Then they gave him a day, to make answer against the next eighth day. And Pointz drew out his own mind, answering to the whole declaration generally; which, at the next coming, he delivered them: but that answer they would not take, saying, he must answer to every article particularly; and so they took order, that he should make it ready against the next coming. Thus he trifled them off, from Allhallow-tide until Christmas even, with dilatory matters, from one eighth day to another eighth day. And upon Christmas even, in the morning, they came to him to have had an answer, which was not made, nor had any counsel come to him in all that time: howbeit, they would delay the time no longer, but said they, "Bring in your answer this day, or else ye shall be put from it;" so he perceived, that if it were not brought in that night, he should have been condemned without answer. So then, with much ado, he got the advocate to help him in ordering of his answer; but it was long ere he came, so that it was past eight o'clock of Christmas even before his answers were delivered to the procurer-general. And then afterwards, as the time served, at the days appointed, it went forth with replication duplic, with other answers each to other, in writing what they could, in answering to the emperor's ordinances. And at such times as the commissioners came to Pointz, that traitor Philips accompanied them to the door, in following the process against him, as he also did against Master Tyndale, as they who had Pointz in keeping showed him.

The process being ended, as the order is there, either party delivered up to the commissioners a bag, with his process in writing, and took an inventory of every parcel of writing that was within the bag. So it rested in their hands; but, upon sentence, Pointz required, in the time of process, that he might put in surety, and so to be at liberty. This they granted him at the first time, but, afterwards, they denied to take surety for his body. Then he sent a post from the town of Brussels to Antwerp to the English merchants, thinking they would not let him have stuck for lack of their help, in putting in sureties for him, considering the cause, with the circumstance, especially since they brought him into this trouble themselves; although it does not

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appear that they made him any promise for his charges and pains taken, as Pointz reported of them they really did.

But, to pass over this, and to make the matter short: if the aforesaid merchants, such as were of the town of Antwerp, had, at the time, been surety for him, then the matter had been altered from a criminal to a civil case: but when Pointz had delivered to them his answer, they demanded of him, for his charges, money, or sureties. The charges were much, to reckon for the two officers' meat, and drink, and wages, beside his own charges; so that it was about five shillings every day. For all the while he was prisoner, he was not in a common prison, but in the keeping of two officers in one of their houses. So they demanded sureties to be brought within eight days for the charges, but then they denied him to take surety for his body, to make answer at liberty. Pointz, considering that they altered in their purposes, as well in other things as in that; and perceiving, by other things, (as also it was told in secret,) that it would have cost him his life if he had tarried, yet Pointz granted them to put in sureties, requiring of them to have a messenger to send; not because he reckoned to have any, but to make a delay, otherwise they would have sent him to a stronger prison. But Pointz delayed them, thinking, if he could, to make escape; yet he did make a good face, as though he reckoned to have been in no danger; which if he had not done, it was very unlikely he should have escaped with his life out of their hands. And at the eighth day the commissioners came again to Pointz, and there received both their bags with the process, one from the procuror-general, and one from Pointz, delivering either of them an inventory of such pieces of writing as were delivered in the bags, and demanded sureties of Pointz, according to the order they took when they were last with him. Pointz alleged that he had divers times required those who had him in keeping to get him a messenger, as he also had done, but made no great haste to have any; for he reckoned it should be a sufficient delay, whereby he might have another day. And with much alleging the impossibility of his being able to get a messenger to send forth, at the last, they put him apart, and agreed to give him a day eight days after, and called him in again, and commanded the officer to get him a messenger, as they did. And so Pointz sent him with letters to the English merchants, who at that time were at Barrois. Howbeit, he reckoned to get away before the return again of the messenger, for he perceived his tarrying there should have been his death. And therefore, to put in a venture to get away, that so he might save himself, (for, if he had been taken, it would have been but death, for he had been prisoner there in their hands at that time about twelve or thirteen weeks,) he tarried not the coming again of the messenger, but, in a night, by some means he conveyed himself off, and so, by God's help, at the opening of the town gate in the morning, he got away. And when it was perceived that he was gone, there was horse sent out after him, but, because he well knew the country, he escaped and came into England. But what more trouble followeth to Pointz after the same, it serveth not for this place to rehearse. Master Tyndale, still remaining in prison, was proffered an advocate and a procuror; for in any crime there, it shall be permitted to counsel to make answer in the law; but he refused to have any, saying, he would make answer for himself, and did: but, it is to be thought, his answer will not be put forth. Notwithstanding, he had so preached to them there who had him in charge, and such as were there conversant with him in the castle, that they reported of him, that if he were not a good Christian man, they knew not whom they might take to be one.

At last, after much reasoning, when no reason would serve, although he deserved no death, he was condemned by virtue of the emperor's decree, made in the assembly at Augsburgh,

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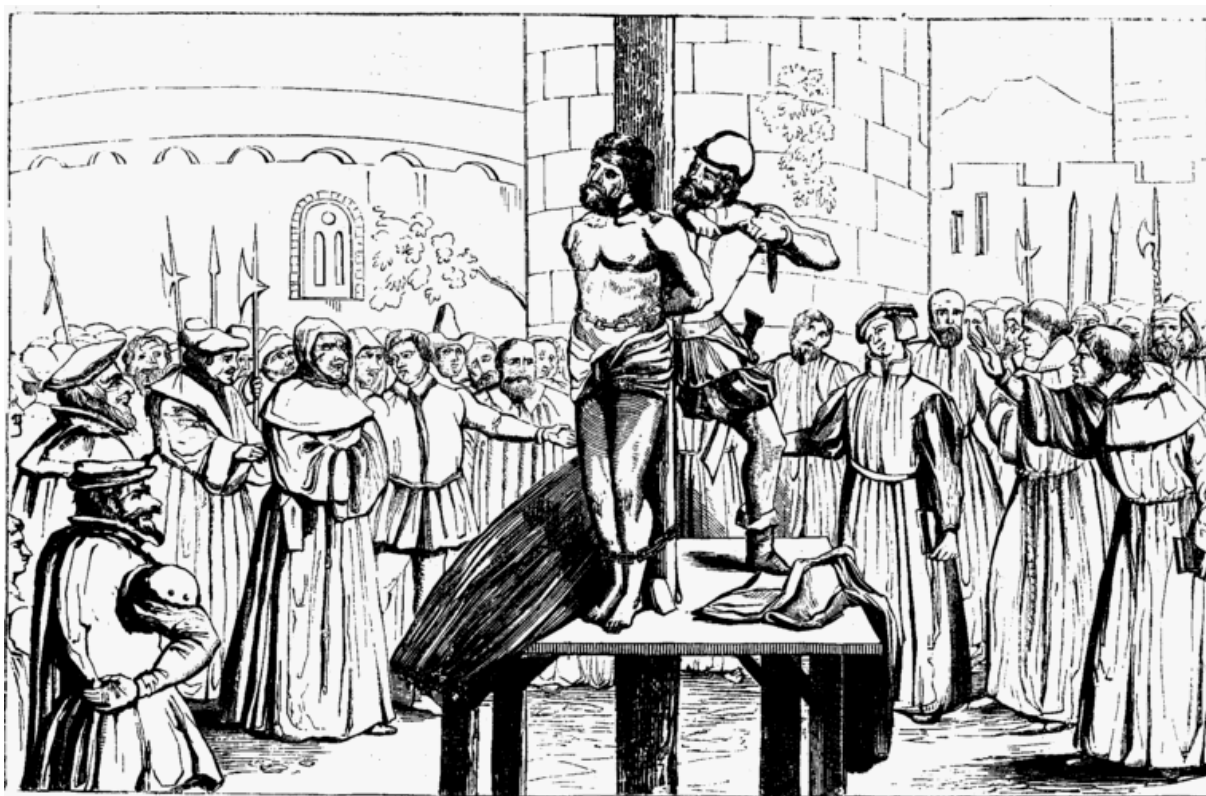
(as is before signified,) and, upon the same, brought forth to the place of execution, was there tied to the stake, and then strangled first by the hangman, and afterwards with fire consumed in the morning, at the town of Filford, A.D. 1536; crying thus at the stake with a fervent zeal and a loud voice, "Lord! open the king of England's eyes."

Such was the power of his doctrine, and the sincerity of his life, that during the time of his imprisonment, (which endured a year and a half,) it is said, he converted his keeper, the keeper's daughter, and others of his household. Also the rest that were with Tyndale conversant in the castle, reported of him that if he were not a good Christian man, they could not tell whom to trust.

The procurator-general, the emperor's attorney, being there, left this testimony of him, that he was "a learned, a good, and a godly man."

The same morning in which he was had to the fire, he delivered a letter to the keeper of the castle, which the keeper himself brought to the house of the aforesaid Pointz in Antwerp, shortly after; which letter, with his examinations and other his disputations, I would might have come to our hands; all which I understand did remain, and yet perhaps do, in the hands of the keeper's daughter. For so it is of him reported, that as he was in the castle prisoner, there was much writing, and great disputation to and fro, between him and them of the university of Louvain, (which was not past nine or ten miles from the place where he was prisoner,) in such sort, that they all had enough to do, and more than they could well wield, to answer the authorities and testimonies of the Scripture, whereupon he most pithily grounded his doctrine.

That traitor, worse than Judas to man's judgment, (only not comparing this to the case of Christ, and that the Scripture hath already judged Judas,) was otherwise in the act — doing not so good; for Judas, after he had betrayed his Master and Friend, was sorry, acknowledged and confessed his fact openly, declared his Master to be the very Truth, and despising the money that he had received for doing the act, brought it again and cast it before them. This traitor Philips, contrariwise, not lamenting, but rejoicing in what he had done, not declaring the honest goodness and truth of his friend, but applying, in all that he could devise, to declare him to be false and seditious, and not despising the money that he had received, not bringing it again, but procuring and receiving more, wherewith to follow the suit against that innocent blood to the death; which case of things endured about one whole year and a half, in which he lost no time, but all that time followed Pointz with most diligent attendance to and fro, and from Louvain to Brussels, and to Filford, with process to have sentence against him. And having there no other thing to do, he applied himself to nothing else; which was not done with small expenses and charges, from whomsoever it came. And, as I hare heard say there in that country, Master Tyndale found them in the university of Louvain with enough to do.



Tyndale at the stake

And yet, in all that while, if they had not taken to help them an ordinance of the emperor's making, (which ordinance was made by the advice and counsel of the pope's soldiers, for the upholding of his kingdom, and also joined with his own laws,) they knew not else how to have brought him to his death by their disputing with him in the Scriptures; for he was permitted to dispute, in answering to them, by writing. And that traitor Philips was not satisfied with that, but he knew that he should have money enough, as himself before had said to Pointz. But, as when Judas did run away with the bag when he went to betray Christ, with which he went his way, the other apostles thought he had gone to have bought things necessary, (although he went to appoint with the Jews for the taking of his Master, Christ,) so, in like manner, this traitor Philips, the same morning that he brought his treachery to purpose, with bringing Master Tyndale into the hands of God's enemies, took money of him under a colour of borrowing, and put it into his bag, and then incontinent went his ways therewith, and came with his company of soldiers, who laid hands upon him as before, and led him away. And about one whole year and a half after, he was put to death at Filford, with fire; and, albeit this Philips rejoiced awhile, after that he had done it, yet the saying so goeth, that he not long time after enjoyed the price of innocent blood, but was consumed at last with lice.

The worthy virtues and doings of this blessed martyr, who, for his painful travails and singular zeal to his country, may be called, in these our days, an apostle of England, it were long to recite. Among many others, this, because it seemeth to me worthy of remembrance, I thought

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not in silence to overpass, which hath unto me credibly been testified by certain grave merchants, and some of them also such as were present the same time at the fact, and men yet alive the story whereof is this: There was at Antwerp on a time, amongst a company of merchants as they were at supper, a certain juggler, which through his diabolical enchantments of art magical, would fetch all kind of viands and wine from any place they would, and set them upon the table incontinent before them, with many other suchlike things. The fame of this juggler being much talked of, it chanced that as Master Tyndale heard of it, he desired certain of the merchants, that he might also be present at supper, to see him play his parts. To be brief, the supper was appointed, and the merchants, with Tyndale, were there present. Then the juggler, being required to play his feats, and to show his cunning, after his wonted boldness began to utter all that he could do, but all was in vain. At last, with his labour, sweating, and toiling, when he- saw that nothing would go forward, but that all his enchantments were void, he was compelled openly to confess, that there was some man present at supper, which disturbed and letted all his doings. So that a man, even in the martyrs of these our days, cannot lack the miracles of true faith, if miracles were now to be desired.

As concerning the works and books of Tyndale, which extend to a great number, thou vast told before, loving reader! how the printer hereof mindeth, by the Lord's leave, to collect them all in one volume together, and put them out in print. Wherefore it shall not greatly at this time be needful to make any several rehearsal of them. And as touching his translation of the New Testament, because his enemies did so much carp at it, pretending it to be so full of heresies; to answer therefore to their slanderous tongues and lying lips, thou shalt hear and understand what faithful dealing and sincere conscience he used in the same, by the testimony and allegation of his own words, written in his epistle to John Frith, as followeth: "I call God to record against the day we shall appear before our Lord Jesus, to give our reckoning of our doings, that I never altered one syllable of God's word against my conscience, nor would do this day, if all that is in earth, whether it be honour, pleasure, or riches, might be given me," &c.

And as ye have heard Tyndale's own words, thus protesting for himself, now let us hear likewise the faithful testimony of John Frith, for Tyndale his dear companion and brother, thus declaring in his answer to Master More, as followeth:

The testimony of John Frith, in his book of the sacrament, concerning William Tyndale.

"And Tyndale I trust liveth, well content with such a poor apostle's life as God gave his Son Christ, and his faithful ministers in this world, who is not sure of so many mites, as ye be yearly of pounds, although I am sure that for his learning and judgment in Scripture, he were more worthy to be promoted than all the bishops in England. I received a letter from him, which was written since Christmas, wherein, among other matters, he writeth this: I call God to record against the day we shall appear before our Lord Jesus, to give a reckoning of our doings, that I never altered one syllable of God's word against my conscience, no would do this day, if all that is in earth, whether it be honour, pleasure, or riches, might be given me. Moreover, I take God to witness to my conscience, that I desire of God to myself in this world, no more than that, without which I cannot keep his laws,' &c. Judge, Christian reader, whether these words be not spoken of a faithful, clear, innocent heart. And as for his behaviour, it is such that I am sure no man can reprove him of any sin, howbeit no man is innocent before God, who beholdeth the heart."

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Thus much out of Frith. And thus, being about to conclude and finish with the life and story of William Tyndale, it shall be requisite now that the reader do hear something likewise of his supplications made to the king and nobles of the realm, as they are yet extant in his works to be seen, and worthy in all ages to be marked, the tenor whereof tendeth to this effect as followeth.

Tyndale's supplication to the king, nobles, and subjects of England.

"I beseech the king's most noble Grace, well to consider all the ways by which the cardinal, and our holy bishops, have led him since he was first king; and to see whereunto all the pride, pomp, and vain boast of the cardinal is come, and how God hath resisted him and our prelates in all their wiles. We, having nothing to do at all, have meddled yet with all matters, and have spent for our prelates causes more than all Christendom, even unto the utter beggaring of ourselves; and have gotten nothing but rebuke and hate among all nations, and a mock and a scorn of them whom we have most holpen. For the Frenchmen (as the saying is) of late days made a play, or a disguising, at Paris, in which the emperor danced with the pope and the French king, and wearied them; the king of England sitting on a high bench, and looking on. And when it was asked why he danced not, it was answered, that he sat there but to pay the minstrels their wages: as one who should say, we paid for all men's dancing. We monied the emperor openly, and gave the French king double and treble secretly, and to the pope also. Yea, and though Ferdinand had money sent openly to blind the world withal, yet the saying is, through all Dutchland, that we sent money to the king of Poland, &c.

"Furthermore, I beseech his Grace also to have mercy on his own soul, and not to suffer Christ and his holy Testament to be persecuted under his name any longer, that the sword of the wrath of God may be put up again, which, for that cause, no doubt, is most chiefly drawn.

"Thirdly, my petition is to his Grace, to have compassion on his poor subjects, that the realm utterly perish not with the wicked counsel of our pestilent prelates. For if his Grace, who is but a man, should die, the lords and commons not knowing who hath most right to enjoy the crown, the realm could not but stand in great danger.

"My fourth suit and exhortation is to all the lords temporal of the realm, that they come and fall before the king's Grace, and humbly desire his Majesty to suffer it to be tried, who of right ought to succeed: and if he or she fail, who next, and who third. And let it be proclaimed openly; and let all the lords temporal be sworn thereto, and all the knights, and squires, and gentlemen, and the commons above eighteen years old, that there be no strife for the succession. If they try it by the sword, I promise them, I see no other likelihood, but it will cost the realm of England, &c.

"Further, of all the subjects of England this I crave — that they repent; for the cause of evil rulers is the sin of the subjects, as testifieth the Scripture. And the cause of false preachers is, that the people have no love unto the truth, saith Paul, in 1 Thess. ii. We be all sinners a hundred times greater than all that we suffer. Let us, therefore, each forgive others, remembering, the greater sinners the more welcome, if we repent; according to the similitude of the riotous son. For Christ died for sinners, and is their Saviour, and his blood is their treasure, to pay for their

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sins. He is that fatted calf which is slain to make them good cheer withal, if they will repent and come to their Father again; and his merits are the goodly raiment to cover the naked deformities of their sins.

"Finally, if the persecution of the king's Grace, and other temporal persons, conspiring with the spiritually, be of ignorance, I doubt not but that their eyes shall be opened shortly, and they shall see and repent, and God shall show them mercy. But if it be of a set malice against the truth, and of a grounded hate against the law of God, by the reason of a full consent they have to sin, and to walk in their old ways of ignorance, whereunto, being now past all repentance, they have utterly yielded themselves, to follow with full lust, without bridle or snaffle, (which is the sin against the Holy Ghost,) then ye shall see, even shortly, that God shall turn the point of the sword wherewith they now shed Christ's blood, homeward, to shed their own again, after all the examples of the Bible."

These things thus discoursed, pertaining to the story and doings of Tyndale, finally it remaineth to infer certain of his private letters and epistles, whereof, among divers others which have not come to our hands, two special he wrote to John Frith, one properly, under his own name, another under the name of Jacob; but, in very deed, it was written and delivered to John Frith, being prisoner then in the Tower, as ye shall further understand by the sequel hereafter. The copy and tenor of the epistles here followeth.

A letter sent from William Tyndale unto Master Frith, being in the Tower.

"The grace and peace of God our Father, and of Jesus Christ our Lord, be with you, Amen. Dearly beloved brother John! I have heard say, how the hypocrites, now that they have overcome that great business which letted them, or at the least way have brought it to a stay, they return to their old nature again. The will of God be fulfilled, and that which he hath ordained to be, ere the world was made, that come, and his glory reign over all!

"Dearly beloved! however the matter be, commit yourself wholly and only unto your most loving Father, and most kind Lord. Fear not men that threat, nor trust men that speak fair; but trust him that is true of promise, and able to make his word good. Your cause is Christ's gospel, a light that must be fed with the blood of faith. The lamp must be dressed and snuffed daily, and that oil poured in every evening and morning, that the light go not out. Though we be sinners, yet is the cause right. If when we be buffeted for well doing, we suffer patiently and endure, that is acceptable to God; for to that end we are called. For Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example, that we should follow his steps, who did no sin. Hereby have we perceived love, that he had lain down his life for us; therefore we ought also to lay down our lives for the brethren. Rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven. For we suffer with him, that we may also be glorified with him; who shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious body; according to the working whereby he is able even to subject all things unto him.

"Dearly beloved! be of good courage, and comfort your soul with the hope of this high reward, and bear the image of Christ in your mortal body, that it may, at his coming, be made like to his, immortal; and follow the example of all your other dear brethren, which choose to

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suffer in hope of a better resurrection. Keep your conscience pure and undefiled, and say against that, nothing. Stick at necessary things, and remember the blasphemies of the enemies of Christ, saying, they find none but that will abjure, rather than suffer the extremity. Moreover, the death of them that come again after they have once denied, though it be accepted with God, and all that believe, yet it is not glorious: for the hypocrites say, 'He must needs die; denying helpeth not. But, might it have holpen, they would have denied five hundred times; but seeing it would not help them, therefore, of pure pride and mere malice together, they spake with their mouths what their conscience knoweth false.' If you give yourself, cast yourself, yield yourself, commit yourself, wholly and only to your loving Father; then shall his power be in you, and make you strong; and that so strong that you shall feel no pain, which should be to another present death: and his Spirit shall speak in you, and teach you what to answer, according to his promise. He shall set out his truth by you wonderfully, and work for you above all that your heart can imagine: yea, and you are not yet dead, though the hypocrites all, with all that they can make, have sworn your death. *Una salus victis nullam sperare salutem*; to look for no man's help, bringeth the help of God to them that seem to be overcome in the eyes of the hypocrites: yea, it shall make God to carry you through thick and thin for his truth's sake, in spite of all the enemies of his truth. There falleth not a hair, till his hour be come; and when his hour is come, necessity carrieth us hence, though we be not willing. But if we be willing, then have we a reward and thank.

"Fear not the threatening therefore, neither be overcome of sweet words, with which twain the hypocrites shall assail you; neither let the persuasions of worldly wisdom bear rule in your heart; no, though they be your friends that counsel you. Let Bilney be a warning to you; let not their visor beguile your eyes. Let not your body faint. He that endureth to the end shall be saved. If the pain be above your strength, remember, Whatsoever ye shall ask in my name, I will give it you. And pray to your Father in that name, and he shall ease your pain, or shorten it. The Lord of peace, of hope, and of faith, be with you, Amen.

WILLIAM TYNDALE.

"Two have suffered in Antwerp, *In die sanctæ crucis*, unto the great glory of the gospel; four at Risele in Flanders, and at Lucca hath there one at the least suffered; and all the same day. At Rouen in France they persecute, and at Paris are five doctors taken for the gospel. See, you are not alone; be cheerful, and remember that among the hard-hearted in England, there is a number reserved by grace; for whose sakes, if need be, you must be ready to suffer. Sir, if you may write, how short soever it be, forget it not, that we may know how it goeth with you, for our heart's ease. The Lord be yet again with you with all his plenteousness, and fill you that you flow over, Amen.

"If, when you have read this, you may send it to Adrian, do, I pray you, that he may know how that our heart is with you.

"George Joy at Candlemas, being at Barrois, printed two leaves of Genesis in a great form, and sent one copy to the king, and another to the new queen, with a letter to N., to deliver them; and to purchase licence, that he might so go through all the Bible. Out of this is sprung the noise of the new Bible; and out of that is the great seeking for English books at all printers and bookbinders in Antwerp, and for an English priest, that should print.

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"This chanced the ninth day of May.

"Sir, your wife is well content with the will of God, and would not, for her sake, have the glory of God hindered.

WILLIAM TYNDALE."

Another notable and worthy letter of Master William Tyndale, sent to the said John Frith, under the name of Jacob.

"The grace of our Saviour Jesus, his patience, meekness, humbleness, circumspection, and wisdom, be with your heart, Amen.

"Dearly beloved brother Jacob, mine heart's desire in our Saviour Jesus, is, that you arm yourself with patience, and be cold, sober, wise, and circumspect, and that you keep you aloof by the ground, avoiding high questions, that pass the common capacity. But expound the law truly, and open the veil of Moses to condemn all flesh; and prove all men sinners, and all deeds under the law, before mercy have taken away the condemnation thereof, to be sin and damnable; and then, as a faithful minister, set abroad the mercy of our Lord Jesus, and let the wounded consciences drink of the water of him. And then shall your preaching be with power, and not as the doctrine of the hypocrites; and the Spirit of God shall work with you, and all consciences shall bear record unto you, and feel that it is so. And all the doctrine that casteth a mist on those two, to shadow and hide them, (I mean the law of God, and mercy of Christ,) that resist you with all your power. Sacraments without signification refuse. If they put significations to them, receive them, if you see it may help, though it be not necessary.

"Of the presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, meddle as little as you can, that there appear no division among us. Barnes will be hot against you. The Saxons be sore on the affirmative: whether constant or obstinate, I commit it to God. Philip Melancthon is said to be with the French king. There be in Antwerp that say, they saw him come into Paris with a hundred and fifty horses, and that they spake with him. If the Frenchmen receive the word of God, he will plant the affirmative in them. George Joy would have put forth a treatise of the matter, but I have stopped him as yet: what he will do if he get money, I wot not. I believe he would make many reasons little serving to the purpose. My mind is that nothing be put forth till we hear how you shall have sped. I would have the right use preached, and the presence to be an indifferent thing, till the matter might be reasoned in peace, at leisure, of both parties. If you be required, show the phrases of the Scripture, and let them talk what they will: for as to believe that God is every where, hurteth no man that worshippeth him no where but within in the heart, in spirit, and verity; even so, to believe that the body of Christ is every where, (though it cannot be proved,) hurteth no man that worshippeth him no where save in the faith of his gospel. You perceive my mind: howbeit if God show you otherwise, it is free for you to do as he moveth you.

"I guessed long ago, that God would send a dazing into the head of the spirituality, to catch themselves in their own subtlety, and I trust it is come to pass. And now methinketh I smell a counsel to be taken, little for their profits in time to come. But you must understand, that it is not of a pure heart, and for love of the truth, but to avenge themselves, and to eat the whore's flesh, and to suck the marrow of her bones. Wherefore cleave fast to the rock of the help of God,

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and commit the end of all things to him: and if God shall call you, that you may then use the wisdom of the worldly, as far as you perceive the glory of God may come thereof, refuse it not; and ever among thrust in, that the Scripture may be in the mother tongue, and learning set up in the universities. But if aught be required contrary to the glory of God, and his Christ, then stand fast, and commit yourself to God, and be not overcome of men's persuasions; which haply shall say, We see no other way to bring in the truth. "Brother Jacob, beloved in my heart! there liveth not in whom I have so good hope and trust, and in whom my heart rejoiceth, and my soul comforteth herself, as in you; not the thousandth part so much for your learning, and what other gifts else you have, as because you will creep a low by the ground, and walk in those things that the conscience may feel, and not in the imaginations of the brain; in fear, and not in boldness; in open necessary things, and not to pronounce or define of hid secrets, or things that neither help nor hinder, whether it be so or no; in unity, and not in seditious opinions: insomuch that if you be sure you know, yet in things that may abide leisure, you will defer, or say, (till others agree with you,) 'Methinks the text requireth this sense or understanding.' Yea, and if you be sure that your part be good, and another hold the contrary, yet if it be a thing that maketh no matter, you will laugh and let it pass, and refer the thing to other men, and stick you stiffly and stubbornly in earnest and necessary things. And I trust you be persuaded even so of me: for I call God to record against the day we shall appear before our Lord Jesus, to give a reckoning of our doings, that I never altered one syllable of God's word against my conscience, nor would this day, if all that is in the earth, whether it be pleasure, honour, or riches, might be given me. Moreover, I take God to record to my conscience, that I desire of God, to myself in this world, no more than that, without which I cannot keep his laws.

"Finally, if there were in me any gift that could help at hand, and aid you if need required, I promise you I would not be far off, and commit the end to God. My soul is not faint, though my body be weary. But God hath made me evil-favoured in this world, and without grace in the sight of men, speechless and rude, dull and slow-witted: your part shall be to supply what lacketh in me; remembering that as lowliness of heart shall make you high with God, even so meekness of words shall make you sink into the hearts of men. Nature giveth age authority, but meekness is the glory of youth, and giveth them honour. Abundance of love maketh me exceed in babbling.

"Sir, as concerning purgatory and many other things, if you be demanded, you may say, if you err, the spirituality hath so led you, and that they have taught you to believe as you do. For they preached you all such things out of God's word, and alleged a thousand texts, by reason of which texts you believed as they taught you; but now you find them liars, and that the texts mean no such things, and therefore you can believe them no longer; but are as you were before they taught you, and believe no such thing: howbeit you are ready to believe, if they have any other way to prove it; for without proof you cannot believe them, when you have found them with so many lies, &c. If you perceive wherein we may help, either in being still, or doing somewhat, let us have word, and I will do mine uttermost.

"My lord of London hath a servant called John Tisen, with a red beard, and a black-reddish head, and who was once my scholar: he was seen in Antwerp, but came not among the Englishmen. Whether he is gone an ambassador secret, I wot not.

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"The mighty God of Jacob be with you, to supplant his enemies, and give you the favour of Joseph: and the wisdom and the spirit of Stephen be with your heart, and with your mouth, and teach your lips what they shall say, and how to answer to all things. He is our God, if we despair in ourselves, and trust in him: and his is the glory. Amen.

"I hope our redemption is nigh.

WILLIAM TYNDALE."

This letter was written A.D. 1533, in the month of January: which letter, although it do pretend the name of Jacob, yet understand, good reader, that it was written in very deed to John Frith, as is above told thee. For the more proof and evidence hereof, read Frith's book of the sacrament, and there thou shalt find a certain place of this epistle repeated word for word, beginning thus; "I call God to record, against the day we shall appear before our Lord Jesus to give a reckoning of our doing, that I never altered one syllable of God's word against my conscience," &c.; which epistle John Frith himself witnesseth that he received from Tyndale, as in his testimony appeareth.

187. The Death of the Lady Katharine, Princess Dowager, and that of Queen Anne.



THE same year in which William Tyndale was burned, which was A.D. 1536, in the beginning of the year, first died Lady Katharine, princess dowager, in the month of January. After whom, the same year also, in the month of May next following, followeth the death also of Queen Anne, who had now been married to the king the space of three years. In certain records thus we find, that the king, being in his jousts at Greenwich, suddenly with a few persons departed to Westminster, and, the next day after, Queen Anne, his wife, was had to the Tower, with the Lord Rochford her brother, and certain other, and, the nineteenth day after, was beheaded. The words of this worthy and Christian lady at her death were these:

"Good Christian people! I am come hither to die, for according to the law, and by the law, I am judged to death; and therefore I will speak nothing against it. I am come hither to accuse no man, nor to speak any thing of that whereof I am accused and condemned to die; but I pray God save the king, and send him long to reign over you, for a gentler or a more merciful prince was there never; and to me he was ever a good, a gentle, and a sovereign lord. And if any person will meddle of my cause, I require them to judge the best. And thus I take my leave of the world, and of you all, and I heartily desire you all to pray for me. O Lord, have mercy on me! To God I commend my soul."

And so she kneeled down, saying, "To Christ I commend my soul:" "Jesu, receive my soul." Repeating the same divers times, till at length the stroke was given, and her head was stricken off. And this was the end of that godly lady and queen. Godly I call her, for sundry respects, whatsoever the cause was, or quarrel objected against her. First, her last words spoken at her death declared no less her sincere faith and trust in Christ, than did her quiet modesty utter forth the goodness of the cause and matter, whatsoever it was. Besides that to such as wisely can judge upon cases occurrent, this also may seem to give a great clearing unto her, that the king, the third day after, was married in his whites unto another. Certain this was, that for the rare and singular gifts of her mind, so well instructed, and given toward God, with such a fervent desire unto the truth and setting forth of sincere religion, joined with like gentleness, modesty, and pity toward all men, there have not many such queens before her borne the crown of England. Principally this one commendation she left behind her, that during her life, the religion of Christ most happily flourished, and had a right prosperous course.

Many things might be written more of the manifold virtues, and the quiet moderation of her mild nature, how lowly she would bear, not only to be admonished, but also of her own accord would require her chaplains plainly and freely to tell whatsoever they saw in her amiss. Also, how bountiful she was to the poor, passing not only the common example of other queens, but also the revenues almost of her estate; insomuch that the alms which she gave in three quarters of a year, in distribution, is summed to the number of fourteen or fifteen thousand

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pounds; besides the great piece of money which her grace intended to impart into four sundry quarters of the realm, as for a stock there to be employed to the behoof of poor artificers and occupiers. Again, what a zealous defender she was of Christ's gospel all the world doth know, and her acts do and will declare to the world's end. Amongst which other her acts this is one, that she placed Master Hugh Latimer in the bishopric of Worcester, and also preferred Dr. Shaxton to his bishopric, being then accounted a good man. Furthermore, what a true faith she bare unto the Lord, this one example may stand for many: for that when King Henry was with her at Woodstock, and there, being afraid of an old blind prophecy, for the which neither he nor other kings before him durst hunt in the said park of Woodstock, nor enter into the town of Oxford, at last, through the Christian and faithful counsel of that queen, he was so armed against all infidelity, that both, he hunted in the aforesaid park, and also entered into the town of Oxford, and had no harm. But because, touching the memorable virtue of this worthy queen, partly we have said something before, partly because more also is promised to be declared of her virtuous life (the Lord so permitting) by other who then were about her, I will cease in this matter further to proceed.

This I cannot but marvel at, why the parliament holden this year, that is, the twenty-eighth year of the king, (which parliament three years before had established and confirmed this marriage as most lawful,) should now so suddenly, and contrary to their own doings, repeal and disable the said marriage again as unlawful, being so lawfully before contracted. But more I marvel, why the said parliament, after the illegitimation of the marriage enacted, not contented with that, should further proceed, and charge her with such carnal desires of her body as to misuse herself with her own natural brother, the Lord Rochford, and other; being so contrary to all nature, that no natural man will believe it.

But in this act of parliament did lie, no doubt, some great mystery, which here I will not stand to discuss, but only that it may be suspected some secret practising of the papists here not to be lacking, considering what a mighty stop she was to their purposes and proceedings, and on the contrary side, what a strong bulwark she was for the maintenance of Christ's gospel, and sincere religion, which they then in no case could abide. By reason whereof it may be easily considered, that this Christian and devout Deborah could lack no enemies amongst such a number of Philistines, both within the realm, and without.

Again, neither is it unlike, but that Stephen Winchester, being then abroad in embassy, was not altogether asleep; the suspicion whereof may be the more conjectural, for that Edmund Bonner, archdeacon of Leicester, and then ambassador in France, succeeding after Stephen Winchester, did manifestly detect him of plain papistry, as in the sequel of their stories, when we come to the time, more amply (the Lord granting) shall be expressed.

And as touching the king's mind and assent, although at that time, through crafty setters-on, he seemed to be sore bent both against that queen, and to the disheriting of his own daughter; yet unto that former will of the king so set against her then, I will oppose again the last will of the king, wherein, expressly and by name, he did accept, and by plain ratification did allow, the succession of his marriage to stand good and lawful.

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Furthermore, to all other sinister judgments and opinions, whatsoever can be conceived of man against that virtuous queen, I object and oppose again (as instead of answer) the evident demonstration of God's favour, in maintaining, preserving, and advancing the offspring of her body, the Lady ELIZABETH, now queen, whom the Lord hath so marvellously conserved from so manifold dangers, so royally hath exalted, so happily hath blessed with such virtuous patience, and with such a quiet reign hitherto, that neither the reign of her brother Edward, nor of her sister Mary, to hers is to be compared; whether we consider the number of years of their reigns, or the peaceableness of their state. In whose royal and flourishing regiment we have to behold, not so much the natural disposition of her mother's qualities, as the secret judgment of God in preserving and magnifying the fruit and offspring of that godly queen.

And finally, as for the blasphemous mouth both of Cardinal Pole, and of Paulus Jovius, that popish cardinal, who, measuring belike other women by his courtesans of Rome, so impudently abuseth his pen in lying and railing against this noble queen: to answer again in defence of her cause to that Italian, I object and oppose the consent and judgment of so many noble protestants and princes of Germany, who, being in league before with King Henry, and minding no less but to have made him the head of their confederation, afterwards, hearing of the death of this queen, utterly brake from him, and refused him only for the same cause.

But all this seemeth (as is said) to be the drift of the wily papists, who, seeing the pope to be repulsed out of England, by the means chiefly of this queen, and fearing always the succession of this marriage in time to come, thought by sinister practice to prevent that peril before, whispering in the king's ears what possibly they could, to make that matrimony unlawful; and all for the disheriting of that succession.

Again, Stephen Gardiner, (who was a secret worker against that marriage, and a perpetual enemy against Lady Elizabeth,) being then abroad with the French king, and the great master of France, ceased not, in his letters, still to put the king in fear, that the foreign princes and powers of the world, with the pope, would never be reconciled to the king, neither should he be ever in any perfect security, unless he undid again such acts before passed, for the ratification of that succession: which thing when they had now brought to pass after their own desire, (that both now the queen was beheaded, and Elizabeth the king's daughter disherited,) they thought all things to be sure for ever. But yet God's providence still went beyond them, and deceived them; for incontinently after the suffering of Queen Anne, the king, within three days after, married, Lady Jane Seymour, of whom came King Edward, as great an enemy to God's enemy the pope, as ever his father was, and greater too.

188. King Henry Refuses the Pope's Summons to Mantua

In the mean time, as these troublous tumults were in doing in England, Paul the Third, bishop of Rome, for his part was not behind, to help forward for his own advantage; who, seeing his usurped kingdom and seat to be darkened in the countries of Germany, and also in England, thought it high time to bestir him; and therefore, to provide some remedy against further dangers, appointed a general council at Mantua in Italy, requiring all kings and princes either personally to be there, or else to send their ambassadors under fair pretences, as to suppress heresies, and to restore the church, and to war against the Turk, &c. This bull was subscribed with the hands of twenty-six cardinals, and set up in divers great cities, that it might be known and published to the whole world; unto the which bull first the protestants of Germany do answer, declaring sufficient causes why they refused to resort to that council, being indicted at Mantua, in the pope's own country. Whose declaration, with their causes grave and effectual, being set forth in print, and in the English tongue, although they were worthy here to be inserted, yet for brevity, and more speed in our story, I will pretermitt the same, and only take the oration or answer of our king here; wherein he likewise rendereth reasons and causes most reasonable, why he refuseth to come or to send, at the pope's call, to this council indicted at Mantua: whose oration or protestation, because it containeth matter of some weight and great experience, I thought good here to express as followeth:

"Seeing that the bishop of Rome calleth learned men from all parts, conducting them by great rewards, making as many of them cardinals as he thinketh most meet, and most ready to defend frauds and untruths; we could not but with much anxiety cast with ourselves, what so great a preparance of wits should mean. As chance was, we guessed even as it followed. We have been so long acquainted with Romanish subtleties and popish deceits, that we well and easily judged the bishop of Rome to intend an assembly of his adherents, and men sworn to think all his lusts to be laws: we were not deceived. Paul, the bishop of Rome, hath called a council, to which he knew well either few or none of the Christian princes could come. Both the time that he indicted it, and also the place where he appointed it to be, might assure him of this. But whither wander not these popish bulls? whither go they not astray? What king is not cited and summoned by a proud minister and servant of kings, to come to bolster up errors, frauds, deceits, and untruths, and to set forth this feigned general council? For who will not think that Paul, the bishop of Rome, goeth sooner about to make men believe that he pretendeth a general council, than that he desire one indeed? No! who can less desire it, than they that do despair of their cause, except they be judges, and give sentence themselves against their adversaries? We, which very sore against our will at any time leave off the procurement of the realm and common weal, need neither to come ourselves, nor yet to send our procurators thither; no, nor yet to make our excuse for either of both. For who can accuse us, that we come not at his call, who hath no authority to call us?

"But for a season let us (as a sort of blindlings do) grant that he may call us, and that he hath authority so to do, yet, we pray you, may not all men see, what availeth it to come to this council, where ye shall have no place, except ye be known both willing to oppress truth, and also ready to confirm and stablsh errors? Do not all men perceive, as well as we, with what integrity,

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fidelity, and religion, these men go about to discuss matters in controversy, that take them in hand in so troublesome a time as this is? Is it not plain what fruit the common weal of Christendom may look for there, whereas Mantua is chosen the place to keep this council at? Is there any prince not being of Italy, yea, is there of Italy any prince, or other dissenting from the pope, that dareth come to this assembly, and to this place? If there come none that dare speak for trodden truth, none that will venture his life, is it marvel if (the bishop of Rome being judge, no man repining, no man gainsaying) the defenders of the papacy obtain that popish authority, now quailing and almost fallen, be set up again?

"Is this the way to help things inflicted? to redress troubled religion? to lift up oppressed truth? Shall men this way know, whether the Roman bishops (which, in very deed, are, if ye look upon either their doctrine or life, far under other bishops) ought to be made their fellows, that is, to be pastors in their own diocese, and so to use no further power; or else, whether they may make laws, not only unto other bishops, but also to kings and emperors? Oh boldness! meet to be beaten down with force, and not to be convinced with arguments! Can either Paul that now lordeth, or any of his, earnestly go about (if they alone, or at least without any adversary, be thus in a corner assembled together) to heal the sicknesses, to take away the errors, to pluck down the abuses that now are crept into the church, and there to be bolstered up by such councils as now is like to be at Mantua?

"It is very like that these, which prowl for nothing but profit, will right gladly pull down all such things as their forefathers made, only for the increase of money. Whereas their forefathers, when their honour, power, and primacy were called into question, would either in despite of God's law maintain their dignity, or, to say better, their intolerable pride, is it like that these will not tread in their steps, and make naughty new canons, whereby they may defend old evil decrees? Howbeit, what need we to care either what they have done, or what they intend to do hereafter, forasmuch as England hath taken her leave of popish crafts for ever, never to be deluded with them hereafter? Roman bishops have nothing to do with English people. The one doth not traffic with the other; at least, though they will have to do with us, yet we will none of their merchandise, none of their stuff. We will receive them of our council no more. We have sought our hurt, and bought our loss, a great while too long. Surely their decrees, either touching things set up or put down, shall have none other place with us than all bishops' decrees have; that is, if we like them, we admit them; if we do not, we refuse them. But lest, peradventure, men shall think us to follow our senses too much, and that we, moved by small or no just causes, forsake the authority, censures, decrees, and popish councils, we thought it best here to show our mind to the whole world.

"Wherefore we protest, before God and all men, that we embrace, profess, and will ever so do, the right and holy doctrine of Christ. All the articles of his faith, no jot omitted, be all so dear unto us, that we would much sooner stand in jeopardy of our realm, than to see any point of Christ's religion in jeopardy with us. We protest that we never went from the unity of this faith, neither that we will depart an inch from it. No, we will much sooner lose our lives, than any article of our belief shall decay in England. We, which in all this cause seek nothing but the glory of God, the profit and quietness of the world, protest that we can suffer deceivers no longer. We never refused to come to a general council; no, we promise all our labour, study, and fidelity, to the setting up of trodden truth, and troubled religion, in their place again, and to do all that shall

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lie in us, to finish such controversies as have a great while too long vexed Christendom. Only we will all Christian men to be admonished, that we can suffer no longer that they be esteemed willing to take away errors, which indeed, by all the ways their wits will serve them, go about this alone, that no man, under pain of death, may speak against any error or abuse.

"We would have a council; we desire it, yea, and crave nothing so oft of God, as that we may have one. But yet we will that it be such as Christian men ought to have; that is, frank and free, where every man without fear may say his mind. We desire that it be a holy council, where every man may go about to set up godliness, and not apply all their study to the oppressing of truth. We will it be general, that is to say, kept at such time, and in such place, that every man who seeketh the glory of God may be present, and there frankly utter his mind: for then it shall seem general, either when no man that dissenteth from the bishop of Rome is compelled to be from it; or when they that be present are not letted by any just terror, to say boldly what they truly think: for who would not gladly come to such a council, except it be the pope, his cardinals, and popish bishops? On the other side, who is so foolish, where the chief point that is to be handled in this council is the pope's own cause, power, and primacy, to grant that the pope should reign, should be judge, should be president of this council? If he, which indeed can never think himself able to defend his cause before any other judge, be evermore made his own judge, and so controversies not decided, but errors set up, what can be devised in the commonwealth of Christendom more hurtful to the truth, than general councils?

"And here to touch somewhat their impudent arrogancy: By what law, power, or honest title take they upon them to call kings, to summon princes to appear, where their bulls command them? In time past all councils were appointed by the authority, consent, and commandment of the emperor, kings, and princes: why now taketh the bishop of Rome this upon him? Some will say, 'It is more likely that bishops will more tender the cause of religion, gladlier have errors taken away, than emperors, kings, or princes.' The world hath good experience of them, and every man seeth how faithfully they have handled religious matters. Is there any man that doth not see how virtuously Paul now goeth about by this occasion to set up his tyranny again? Is it not like that he that chooseth such a time as this is to keep a council, much intendeth the redress of things that now are amiss? that he seeketh the restoring of religion, who now calleth to a council the emperor and the French king, two princes of great power, so bent to wars, that neither they, nor any other Christian prince, can, in a manner, do any thing but look for the end of this long war? Go to, go to, bishop of Rome I Occasion long wished for offereth herself unto you: take her! she openeth a window for your frauds to creep in at. Call your cardinals, your own creatures, show them that this is a jolly time to deceive princes in.

"O fools! O wicked men! May we not justly so call you? Are ye not fools, who, being long suspected, not only by princes, but by all Christian people, in a manner, that in no case you could be brought to a general council, plainly show the whole world, that by these your conciliables, your butter-mutter in corners, you take away all hope of a lawful, catholic, and general council? Are you not wicked, which so hate truth, that except she be utterly banished, ye will never cease to vex her? The living God is alive, neither can truth, his darling, be being alive, be called to so great shame, contumely, and injury; or, if it may be called to all these, yet can it come to none of them. Who is he that grievously lamenteth not men to be of such shameful boldness, to show apertly that they be enemies unto Christ himself? on the other side, who will

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not be glad to see such men as foolish as they be wicked? The world is not now in a light suspicion, as it hath been hitherto, that you will no reformation of errors; but every man seeth before his eyes your deceits, your wicked minds, your immortal hatred that ye bear against the truth. Every man seeth how many miserable tragedies your pretence of a unity and concord hath brought into Christendom. They see your fair face of peace hath served sedition, and troubled almost all Christian realms. They see ye never oppugn religion more than when ye will seem most to defend it. They be sorry to see that great wits a long season have spent their whole strength in defence of deceits: reason, to put his whole power to the promoting of pride and ungodliness; virtue to serve vice; holiness to be slave to hypocrisy; prudence to subtlety; justice to tyranny. They be glad that Scripture now fighteth for itself, and not against itself. They be glad that God is not compelled to be against God; Christ against Christ. They be glad that subtlety hath done no more hurt to religion in time past, than now constancy doth good to truth. They see the marks that ye have shot at, in all your councils past, to be lucre, money, gains. They see you sought your profit, yea, though it were joined with the slaughter of truth. They see ye would ever that sooner injury should be done to the gospel, than that your authority, that is to say, arrogant impudency, should in any point be diminished.

"And, we pray you, what may Paul the bishop of Rome seem now to go about, who, seeing all princes occupied in great affairs, would steal (as he calleth it) a general council? what other thing, than hereby to have some excuse to refuse a general council hereafter, when time and place much better for the handling of matters of religion shall be given unto the princes of Christendom? He will think he may then do as princes now do. He will think it lawful not to come then, because princes now come not. We pray God that we ever brawl not one with another for religion: and whereas dissension is amongst us, we yet for our parts do say, that we, as much as men may, defend the better part, and be in the right way. We pray God that the world may enjoy peace and tranquillity, and that then we may have both time and place to settle religion: for except princes first agree, and so (war laid aside) seek peace, he loseth his labour that seeketh a general council. If the bishop of Rome may keep his council while they thus be together, will not there be made many pretty decrees? If they, which would come if they had leisure, be absent, and we, which though we safely might come, will not lose any part of our right; trow you, in all our absence, that the bishop of Rome will not handle his profit and primacy well?

"Paul! how can any of ours not refuse to come to Mantua, through so many perils, a city so far set from England, so nigh your friends, kinsmen, and adherents? Is he not unworthy of life, who, when he may tarry at home, will pass through so many jeopardies of life? Can he who cometh to Cremona, a city not far from Mantua, be safe if he be taken not to be the bishop of Rome's friend, that is, (as the common sort of deceived people do interpret,) a heretic? And if there come to Mantua such a number as would furnish a general council, may not Mantua seem too little to receive so many guests? Put these two together: all the way from England to Mantua is full of just perils, and yet if ye escape all those, the very place where the council is kept is more to be suspected than all the way. Do ye not know all civil laws to compel no man to come to any place, where he shall be in jeopardy of his life all the way? We have no safe-conduct to pass and return by the dominions of other princes. And if we had a safe-conduct, yet should not we be charged with rashness, that where just terror might have dissuaded us from such a journey, we committed ourselves to such perils? Surely he, who, the time being as it is, things standing as they do, will go from England to Mantua, may be careless, if he lack wit: sure of his arrival, or

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return from thence, he cannot be; for who doth not know how oft the bishops of Rome have played false parts with them that in such matters have trusted to their safe-conducts? How oft have they caused, by their perfidy, such men to be slain, as they have promised by their faith before, that they should both come safe, and go safe? These be no news, that popes are false, that popes keep no promise either with God or man; that popes, contrary to their oaths, do defile their cruel hands with honest men's blood. But we tarry too long in things that as well touch all men as us.

"We will, these now laid apart, turn our oration unto such things, as privately touch both us, King Henry the Eighth, and all Englishmen. Is it unknown to any man, what mind Paul the bishop of Rome beareth to us King Henry the Eighth, to us his nobility, to us his Grace's bishops, and to us all his Grace's subjects, for the pulling down of his usurped power, and proud primacy? for expelling of his usurped jurisdiction, and for delivering of our realm from his grievous bondage and pollage? Who seeth not him even inflamed with hatred against us, and the flames to be much greater than he can now keep them in? He is an open enemy, he dissembleth no longer, provoking all men, by all the means that he can, to endamage us and our country. These three years he hath been occupied in no one thing so much, as how he might stir up the commons of England, now corrupting some with money, some with dignities. We let pass what letters he hath written to Christian princes: with how great fervent study he hath exhorted them to set upon us. The good vicar of Christ, by his doing, sheweth how he understandeth the words of Christ. He thinketh he playeth Christ's part well, when he may say, as Christ did, I come not to make peace in earth, but to send swords about; and not such swords as Christ would his to be armed withal, but such as cruel man-quellers abuse in the slaughter of their neighbours. We marvel little though they vex other princes oft, seeing they recompense our favour showed to them with contumelies, our benefits with injuries.

"We will not rehearse here how many our benefits bestowed upon Roman bishops be lost. God be with such ingrate carles, unworthy to be numbered amongst men: certes such, that a man may well doubt whether God or man hath better cause to hate them. But that we have learned to owe good will even to them that immortally hate us, what could we wish them so evil, but they have deserved much worse? We wish them this hurt alone, that God send them a better mind. God be thanked, we have made all their seditious intents sooner to show their great malice towards us, then to do us much hurt; yea, they have well taught us, ever. more to take good heed to our enemies. Undoubtedly it were good going to Mantua, and to leave their whelps amongst the lambs of our flock. When we be weary of our wealth, we will even do then, as they would have us now do. No, no! as long as we shall see his heart so good towards us, we trust upon his warning we shall well provide to withstand his cruel malice. No, let him now spend his deceits, when they can hurt none but such as would deceive, and are deceived.

"They have, by sundry ways, made us privy, how much we be bound to them. It went nigh their hearts, to see the judgment of Julius, of Clement the Seventh, of Paul the Third, nothing to be regarded with us. They be afraid, if we should sustain no hurt because we justly rejected their primacy, that other princes would begin to do likewise, and to shake off their shoulders the heavy burdens that they so long have borne against Scriptures, all right, and reason. They be sorry to see the way stopped, that now their tyranny, avarice, and pride, can have no passage unto England, which was wont to walk, to triumph, to toss, to trouble all men. They can

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scarce suffer privileges, that is to say, licence to spoil our citizens, given them by our forefathers, and brought in by errorful custom, to be taken from them. They think it unlawful that we require things lawful of them that will be under no laws. They think we do them wrong, because we will not suffer them to do us wrong any longer. They see their merchandise to be banished, to be forbidden. They see that we will buy no longer chalk for cheese. They see they have lost a fair fleece, vengeably sorry that they can despatch no more pardons, dispensations, totquots, with the rest of their baggage and trumpery. England is no more a babe. There is no man here, but now he knoweth that they do foolishly, who give gold for lead, more weight of that than they receive of this. They pass not, though Peter and Paul's faces be graven in the lead, to make fools fain. No, we be sorry that they should abuse holy saints' visages, to the beguiling of the world.

"Surely, except God take away our right wits, not only his authority shall be driven out for ever, but his name also shortly shall be forgotten in England. We will from henceforth ask counsel of him and his, when we lust to be deceived, when we covet to be in error; when we desire to offend God, truth, and honesty. If a man may guess the whole work by the foundation, where deceits begin the work, can any other than deceits be builded upon this foundation? What can you look for in this Mantuan council, other than the oppression of truth and true religion? If there be any thing well done, think, as every man doth, bishops of Rome to be accustomed to do a few things well, that many evils may the better be taken at their hands. They, when they lust, can yield some part of their right. They are content that some of their decrees, some of their errors and abuses, be reprehended: but they are never more to be feared, than when they show themselves most gentle; for if they grant a few, they ask many; if they leave a little, they will be sure of a great deal. Scarce a man may know how to handle himself, that he take no hurt at their hands, yea, when they bless him; which seldom do good, but for an intent to do evil. Certainly, come whoso will to these shops of deceits, to these fairs of frauds, we will lose no part of our right in coming at his call, who ought to be called, and not to call. We will neither come at Mantua, nor send thither for this matter," &c.

And so the king, proceeding in the said his protestation, declareth moreover, how the pope, after he had summoned his council first to be kept at Mantua, the twenty-third day of May, A.D. 1537, shortly after directed out another bull, to prorogue the same council to the month of November; pretending, for his excuse, that the duke of Mantua would not suffer him to keep any council there, unless he maintained a number of warriors for defence of the town. And therefore, in his latter bull, he prorogueth this assembly, commanding patriarchs, archbishops, abbots, and others of the spirituality, by virtue of obedience, and under pain of cursing, to be present; but sheweth no place at all where he would be, nor whither they should come. And in very deed no great matter though no place were named; for as good a council no where to be called, as where it could not be; and as well no place served him that intended no council, as all places. And to say truth, much better no place to be named, than to name such as he purposed not to come to; for so should he break no promise, which maketh none.

189. Rebellions in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire

A little before the death of Queen Anne, there was a parliament at Westminster, wherein were given to the king, by consent of the abbots, all such houses of religion as were under three hundred marks; which was a shrewd prognosticate of the ruin of greater houses, which indeed followed shortly after, as was and might easily be perceived before of many, who then said, that the low bushes and brambles were cut down before, but great oaks would follow after.

Although the proceeding of these things did not well like the minds of the pope's friends in England, yet, notwithstanding, they began again to take some breath of comfort, when they saw the aforesaid Queen Anne despatched. Nevertheless they were frustrated of their purpose (as is afore showed) and that double wise. For first, after they had their wills of Queen Anne, the Lord raised up another queen, not greatly for their purpose, with her son King Edward; and also for that the Lord Cromwell, the same time, began to grow in authority, who, like a mighty pillar set up in the church of Christ, was enough, alone, to confound and overthrow all the malignant devices of the adversaries, so long as God gave him in life here to continue; whose story hereafter followeth more at large.

Shortly after this aforesaid marriage of the king with this queen Jane Seymour above mentioned, in the month of June, during the continuation of the parliament, by the consent of the clergy holding then a solemn convocation in the church of St. Paul, a book was set forth containing certain articles of religion necessary to be taught to the people; wherein they treated specially but of three sacraments, baptism, penance, and the Lord's supper; where also divers other things were published concerning the alteration of certain points of religion, as that certain holidays were forbidden, and many abbeyes began to be suppressed. For this cause the rude multitude of Lincolnshire, fearing the utter subversion of their old religion, wherein they had been so long nursed, did rise up in a great commotion, to the number well near of twenty thousand, having for their captain a monk, called Doctor Makerel, calling himself then Captain Cobler; but these rebels, being repressed by the king's power, and desiring pardon, soon brake up their assembly. For they, hearing of the royal army of the king coming against them, with his own person there present, and fearing what would follow of this, first the noblemen and gentlemen, which before favoured them, began to withdraw themselves, so that they were destitute of captains; and at last they, in writing, made certain petitions to the king, protesting that they never intended hurt towards his royal person. These petitions the king received, and made this answer again to them as followeth

The king's answer to the rebels in Lincolnshire.

"First, we begin to make answer to the fourth and sixth articles, because upon them dependeth much of the rest. Concerning choosing of councillors, I never have read, heard, or known, that princes, councillors, and prelates, should be appointed by rude and ignorant common people, nor that they were persons meet, or of ability, to discern and choose meet and sufficient councillors for a prince. How presumptuous then are ye, the rude commons of one shire, and that one the most base of the whole realm, and of the least experience, to find fault with your prince,

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for the electing of his councillors and prelates, and to take upon you, contrary to God's law and man's laws, to rule your princes, whom you are bound, by all law, to obey and serve with both your lives, lands, and goods, and for no worldly cause to withstand.

"As for the suppression of religious houses and monasteries, we will that ye and all our subjects should well know, that this is granted us by all the nobles spiritual and temporal of this realm, and by all the commons in the same, by act of parliament; and not set forth by any councillor or councillors upon their mere will and fantasy, as you full falsely would persuade our realm to believe.

"And where ye allege that the service of God is much diminished, the truth thereof is contrary; for there be no houses suppressed where God was well served, but where most vice, mischief, and abomination of living was used; and that doth well appear by their own confessions, subscribed with their own hands, in the time of their visitations, and yet we suffered a great many of them (more than we needed by the act) to stand; wherein if they amend not their living, we fear we have more to answer for, than the suppression of all the rest. And as for the hospitality for the relief of the poor, we wonder ye be not ashamed to affirm that they have been a great relief of poor people, when a great many, or the most part, have not past four or five religious persons in them, and divers but one, which spent the substance of the goods of their houses in nourishing of vice, and abominable living. Now what unkindness and unnaturality may we impute to you, and all our subjects that be of that mind, which had rather that such an unthrift sort of vicious persons should enjoy the possessions, profits, and emoluments, which grow of the said houses, to the maintenance of their unthrifty life, than we, your natural prince, sovereign lord, and king, which do and have spent more of our own in your defences, than six times they be worth?

"As touching the Act of Uses, we marvel what madness is in your brain, or upon what ground ye would take authority upon you, to cause us to break those laws and statutes, which, by all the noble knights and gentlemen of this realm, (whom the same chiefly toucheth,) have been granted and assented to, seeing in no manner of things it toucheth you, the base commons of our realm.

"Also, the grounds of all those uses were false, and never admitted by law, but usurped upon the prince, contrary to all equity and justice, as it hath been openly both disputed and declared by all the well learned men in the realm of England, in Westminster Hall: whereby ye may well perceive how mad and unreasonable your demands be, both in that, and in the rest; and how unmeet it is for us, and dishonourable, to grant or assent unto, and less meet and decent for you, in such a rebellious sort, to demand the same of your prince.

"As touching the Fifteenth which you demand of us to be released, think ye that we be so faint-hearted, that perforce ye of one shire (were ye a great many more) could compel us with your insurrections, and such rebellious demeanour, to remit the same? or think you that any man will or may take you to be true subjects, that first make and show a loving grant, and then perforce would compel your sovereign lord and king to release the same, the time of payment whereof is not yet come? Yea, and seeing the same will not countervail the tenth penny of the charges which we have, and daily do sustain, for your tuition and safeguard, make you sure that

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by your occasions of these ingratitude, unnaturalness, and unkindness to us now administered, ye give us cause (which have always been as much dedicated to your wealth, as ever was king) not so much to set our study for the setting forward of the same, seeing how unkindly and untruly ye deal now with us, without any cause or occasion: and doubt ye not, though you have no grace nor naturalness in you to consider your duty of allegiance to your king and sovereign lord, the rest of our realm, we doubt not, hath; and we and they shall so look on this cause, that we trust it shall be to your confusion, if, according to your former letters, you submit not yourselves.

"As touching the first-fruits, we let you to wit, it is a thing granted us by act of parliament also, for the supportation of part of the great and excessive charges, which we support and bear for the maintenance of your wealths and other our subjects: and we have known also that ye our commons have much complained also in times past, that the most part of our goods, lands, and possessions of the realm, were in the spiritual men's hands; and yet, bearing us in hand that ye be as loving subjects to us as' may be, ye cannot find in your hearts that your prince and sovereign lord should have any part thereof, (and yet it is nothing prejudicial unto you our commons,) but do rebel and unlawfully rise against your prince, contrary to the duty of allegiance and God's commandment. Sirs! remember your follies and traitorous demeanours, and shame not your native country of England, nor offend any more so grievously your undoubted king and natural prince, which always hath showed himself most loving unto you; and remember your duty of allegiance, and that ye are bound to obey us your king, both by God's commandment and the law of nature.

"Wherefore we charge you eftsoons, upon the aforesaid bonds and pains, that you withdraw yourselves to your own houses every man, and no more to assemble contrary to our laws and your allegiances, and to cause the provokers of you to this mischief, to be delivered to our lieutenant's hands or ours, and you yourselves to submit you to such condign punishment as we and our nobles shall think you worthy of: for doubt you not else, that we and our nobles neither can nor will suffer this injury at your hands unrevenge, if ye give not to us place of sovereignty, and show yourselves as bounden and obedient subjects, and no more to intermeddle yourselves from henceforth with the weighty affairs of the realm, the direction whereof only appertaineth to us your king, and such noblemen and councillors as we list to elect and choose to have the ordering of the same.

"And thus we pray unto Almighty God, to give you grace to do your duties, to use yourselves towards us like true and faithful subjects, so as we may have cause to order you thereafter; and rather obediently to consent amongst you to deliver into the hands of our lieutenant a hundred persons, to be ordered according to their demerits, at our will and pleasure, than, by your obstinacy and wilfulness, to put yourselves, your wives, children, lands, goods, and chattels, besides the indignation of God, in the utter adventure of total destruction, and utter ruin, by force and violence of the sword."

After the Lincolnshire men had received this the king's answer aforesaid, made to their petitions, each mistrusting the other, who should be noted to be the greatest meddler, even very suddenly they began to shrink, and out of hand they were all divided, and every man at home in

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his own house in peace: but the captains of these rebels escaped not all clear, but were afterwards apprehended, and had as they deserved.

After this, immediately, within six days upon the same, followed a new insurrection. in Yorkshire for the same causes, through the instigation and lying tales of seditious persons, especially monks and priests; making them believe, that their silver chalices, crosses, jewels, and other ornaments, should be taken out of their churches; and that no man should be married, or eat any good meat in his house, but should give tribute there-for to the king: but their especial malice was against Cromwell and certain other counsellors.

The number of these rebels was nearly forty thousand, having for their badges the five wounds, with the sign of the sacrament, and "Jesus" written in the midst.

This their devilish rebellion they termed by the name of a Holy Pilgrimage; but they served a wrong and a naughty saint. They had also in the field their streamers and banners, whereupon was painted Christ hanging upon the cross on the one side, and a chalice, with a painted cake in it, on the other side, with other such ensigns of like hypocrisy and feigned sanctity, pretending thereby to fight for the faith and the right of holy church.

As soon as the king was certified of this new seditious insurrection, he sent with all speed against them, the duke of Norfolk, the duke of Suffolk, the marquis of Exeter, the earl of Shrewsbury, and others, with a great army, forthwith to encounter with the rebels.

These noble captains and councillors, thus well furnished with habiliment of war, approaching towards the rebels, and understanding both their number, and how they were full bent to battle, first with policy went about to essay and practise how to appease all without bloodshedding; but the northern men, stoutly and sturdily standing to their wicked cause and wretched enterprise, would in no case relent from their attempts: which when the nobles perceived, and saw no other way to pacify their furious minds, utterly set on mischief, they determined upon a battle. The place was appointed, the day assigned, and the hour set; but see the wondrous work of God's gracious providence! The night before the day of battle came, (as testifieth Edward Hall,) fell a small rain, nothing to speak of, but yet, as it were by a great miracle of God, the water which was but a very small ford, and that men in a manner, the day before, might have gone dry-shod over, suddenly rose of such a height, deepness, and breadth, that the like no man that there did inhabit could tell they ever saw before; so that that day, even when the hour of battle should come, it was impossible for the one army to come at the other.

After this, that the appointment made between both of the armies (being thus disappointed, as it is to be thought, only by God, who extended his great mercy, and had compassion on the great number of innocent persons that in that deadly slaughter had like to have been murdered) could take no place; then, by the great wisdom and policy of the said captains, a communication was had, and a pardon of the king's Majesty obtained for all the captains and chief doers of this insurrection; and they were promised that, for such things as they found them aggrieved withal, they should gently be heard, and their reasonable petitions granted; and that their articles should be presented to the king, that by his Highness's authority, and the wisdom of his council, all things should be brought to good order and conclusion: and with this

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order every man quietly departed, and those who before were bent as hot as fire to fight, being Jetted thereof by God, went now peaceably to their houses, and were as cold as water.

In the time of this ruffle in Yorkshire, and the king lying the same time at Windsor, there was a butcher dwelling within five miles of the said town of Windsor, who caused a priest to preach that all they that took part with the Yorkshire men, whom he called God's people, did fight in God's quarrel; for which both he and the priest were apprehended and executed.

Divers other priests also, with others about the same time, committing, in like sort, treason against the king, suffered the like execution. Such a business had the king then to rid the realm from the servitude of the Romish yokes.

But God's hand did still work withal, in upholding his gospel and trodden truth against all seditious stirs, commotions, rebellions, and whatsoever was to the contrary; as both by the stories before pass ed, and by such also as hereafter follow, may notoriously appear.

The next year after this, which was A.D. 1537, after the great execution had been done upon certain rebellious priests, and a few other laymen, with certain noble persons also and gentlemen, amongst whom were the Lord Darcy, the Lord Hussy, Sir Robert Constable, Sir Thomas Percy, Sir Francis Bygot, Sir Stephen Hamilton, Sir John Bulmer and his wife, William Lomeley, Nicholas Tempest, with the abbots of Jervaux and of Rivaulx, &c.

19. Edmund Bonner

In the month of October, the same year following, was born Prince Edward; shortly after whose birth, Queen Jane, his mother, the second day after, died in childbed, and left the king again a widower, who so continued the space of two years together.

Here, by the way, is to be understood, that during all this season, since the time that the king of England had rejected the pope out of the realm, both the emperor, the French king, and the king of Scots, with other foreign potentates, (which were yet in subjection under the pope,) bare him no great good favour inwardly, whatsoever outwardly they pretended. Neither was here lacking privy setters-on, nor secret working among themselves how to compass ungracious mischiefs, if God, by contrary occasions, had not stopped their intended devices. For first the pope had sent Cardinal Pole to the French king, to stir him to war against the realm of England.

Secondly, whereas the French king, by treaty of perpetual peace, was bound yearly to pay to the king of England, at the first days of May and November, about ninety-five thousand crowns of the sun, and odd money, and over that ten thousand crowns at the said two terms, for recompence of salt-due, as the treaties thereof did purport, that pension remained now unpaid four years and more.

Furthermore, the emperor and the French king, both, retained Grancetor, a traitorous rebel against the king, and condemned by act of parliament, with certain other traitors more, and yet would not deliver him unto the king at his earnest suit and request.

The French king also, digressing from his promise and treaty, made alliance with Clement, the bishop of Rome, in marrying the dauphin to his niece, called Katharine de Medicis.

The said French king moreover, contrary to his contract made, married his daughter to the king of Scots: all which events were prejudicial; and put the king, no doubt, in some fear and perplexity (though otherwise a stout and valiant prince) to see the pope, the emperor; the French king, and the king of Scots, so bent against him.

And yet, all this notwithstanding, the Lord still defended the justness of his cause against them all. For although the French king was so set on by the pope, and so linked in marriage with the Scots, and lacked nothing now but only occasion to invade the realm of England, yet notwithstanding he, hearing now of the birth of Prince Edward, the king's son by Queen Jane, and understanding also, by the death of the said Queen Jane, that the king was a widower, and perceiving, moreover, talk to be that the king would join in marriage with the Germans, began to wax more calm and cold, and to give much more gentle words, and to demean himself more courteously, labouring to marry the Queen of Navarre, his sister, to the king.

The ambassadors resident then in France for the king, were Stephen Gardiner, with Dr. Thirleby, &c.; which Stephen Gardiner, what he wrought secretly for the pope's devotion, I have not expressly to charge him. Whether he so did, or what he did, the Lord knoweth all! But this is

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certain, that when Dr. Bonner, archdeacon then of Leicester, was sent into France by the king, (through the means of the Lord Cromwell;) to succeed Stephen Gardiner in embassy, which was about A.D. 1538, he found such dealing in the said bishop of Winchester as was not greatly to be trusted: besides the unkind parts of the said bishop against the aforesaid Bonner, coming then from the king and Lord Cromwell, as were not to be liked.

Long it is to recite from the beginning, and few men peradventure would believe, the brawling matters, the privy complaints, the contentious quarrels and bitter dissensions, between these two; and especially what spiteful contumelies Dr. Bonner received at the hands of Winchester. For understand, good reader! that this Dr. Bonner all this while renamed yet, as he seemed, a good man, and was a great furtherer of the king's proceedings, and a favourer of Luther's doctrine, and was advanced only by the Lord Cromwell, whose promotions are here to rehearse: first, he was archdeacon of Leicester, parson of Blaydon, of Dereham, Chiswick, and Cheryburton; then he was made bishop of Hereford, and, at last, preferred to be bishop of London: the chief of which preferments and dignities were conferred unto him only by the means and favour of the Lord Cromwell, who was then his chief and only patron and setter-up; as the said Bonner himself, in all his letters, doth manifestly protest and declare; the copies of which his letters I could here produce and exhibit, but for prolonging my story with superfluous matter. Yet that the world and all posterity may see how the coming up of Dr. Bonner was only by the gospel, (howsoever he was afterwards unkind unto the gospel,) this one letter of his, which I will here infer, written to the Lord Cromwell out of France, may stand for a perpetual testimony, the tenor whereof here ensueth:

"My very singular especial good Lord, as one most bounden, I most humbly commend me unto your honourable good Lordship. And whereas in times past it hath liked the same, without any my deserts or merits, even only of your singular exceeding goodness, to bestow a great deal of love, benevolence, and good affection, upon me so poor a man, and of so small qualities, expressing indeed sundry ways the good effects thereof to my great preferment, I was very much bound thereby unto your honourable good Lordship, and thought it always my duty, (as indeed it was,) both to bear my true heart again unto your Lordship, and also, remembering such kindness, to do unto the same all such service and pleasure as might, then lie in my small power to do.

"But where, of your infinite and inestimable goodness, it hath further liked you of late, first to advance me unto the office of legation from such a prince as my sovereign lord is, unto the emperor and French king; and next after, to procure and obtain mine advancement to so honourable a promotion as the bishopric of Hereford, I must here acknowledge the exceeding greatness of your Lordship's benefit, with mine own imbecility to recompense it.

"Surely, my good Lord, I neither am, neither shall be able to requite this your Lordship's most special kindness and bountiful goodness at any time, unless I should use that civil remedy called in law 'acceptilation,' which great debtors especially are accustomed to procure at the hands of their creditors; whereby yet nevertheless your goodness, the only doer thereof, should rather be increased, than my duty towards the same thereby diminished. And *cessio bonorum* (the only extreme refuge and help of poor debtors, devised also in civil) might somewhat help

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herein, saying that it is not possible that I should come *ad tam pinguem fortunam*, (whereupon that remedy is grounded,) whereby I may recompense and requite this debt worthily.

"So that in conclusion there resteth this; that unless your Lordship's self do loose me, as you have bound me, I shall (and that full gladly) remain continually your most bounded beadsman. And, sir, I most humbly beseech your good Lordship, in the honour of God, seeing this thing is begun and advanced only by your goodness and means, you will, to the intent the act may be wholly your own, stretch out your goodness, not suffering the rest to be perfected otherwise than by your own hands; wherein, as I must and shall acknowledge myself to be exceedingly beholden unto your good Lordship, so shall I the same more esteem and set by, during my life, having so attained it by your only goodness: and verily, if your good Lordship be not better to me herein than I can (unless it be of your own goodness) desire you, I know not how I shall be able to overcome the great charges annexed to this promotion. For though my promotions afore were right, honest, and good, yea, and such as one of far better qualities than I was, or am of, ought therewith to have been contented; yet, considering that divers of them, that is to wit, Leicester, Blaydon, Dereham, Chiswick, and Cheryburton, the first-fruits, tenths, and charges borne, I have not received clearly one penny, I am now never a whit the more able to bear the great charges of this.

"I shall therefore herein, and in all things else pertaining hereunto, seeing your Lordship is so great a patron, and will needs bind me for ever to be your own, (as indeed I will,) refer altogether unto your goodness, beseeching you to take the order and disposition of all into your hands. I cannot tell whether the late bishop standeth bounden for the first-fruits, tenths, or other duties which by statute may be demanded of his successor; but I fear it greatly, and beseech your Lordship that I may be holpen therein. My charges now here enforce me the more to speak and trouble your good Lordship, which at the beginning are not a few, and yet not ended. Of my fidelity to your good, I have, of five hundred crowns, remaining forty, bestowed upon horses, mules, mulets, raiment, and other necessities, standing debtor to Master Thirleby nevertheless, and also to Master Dr. Heynes, for one hundred marks, or fast upon, to them both. And besides this, such is my chance now at the beginning, divers of my servants have fallen sick, being in great peril and danger, putting me to no little charges.

"Over and besides these displeasures coming unto me by not having their service, and others to keep them, and also wanting mine other servants in England, which, though I have sent for them, yet neither they, neither my horses or stuff, are come, I must and do take patience, trusting it will mend.

"Upon the closing up of this letter, and depeach of this bearer, God willing, I will pack up my gear, and to-morrow betimes follow the French king, who yesterday departed from Shambour, and maketh haste toward Paris. And thus our blessed Lord long and well preserve your good lordship in health.

"At Blois, the second of September, in the evening.

"Scribbled by the weary hand of him that is bounden to be, and is indeed, your Lordship's beadsman, and at commandment,

EDMUND BONNER."

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Divers other letters besides this, of Dr. Bonner, remain in writing, unto the like effect and purport, which here also I might add for a further demonstration hereof; but this one, instead of many, may suffice. Now to our purpose again, which is to declare how this Dr. Bonner, in the time of his first springing up, showed himself a good man, and a fast friend to the gospel of Christ and to the king's proceedings; and contrariwise, how Stephen Gardiner did halt then both with God and with the king: also what unkindness and contumelies the said Bonner received at Gardiner's hands; what rancour and heart-burning was between them; and what complaints the one moved against the other, remain, consequently, by their writings and records, to be opened. For the more evident demonstration whereof, they that have the letters of the said Dr. Bonner, written from France to the king and the Lord Cromwell, may right well perceive. And first, to note what a gospeller he was: in his letter from Rouen, he, speaking of his trusty companion, and bearer of his letters, (who was belike Dr. Heynes,) he giveth this report both of him and of himself; saying, "If this bearer had been so much desirous to please the emperor, and follow his religion, as he was studious to serve truly your Grace, and to advance the truth, he had not wanted," &c. And again: "And besides that, he hath not wanted the evil report of naughty fellows, naming him a Lutheran, wherein, for company, I was joined, such was their goodness," &c. Again, in another letter written to the Lord Cromwell, these words he hath, speaking of his companion Dr. Heynes: "Especially for that the said Dr. Heynes, by his upright dealing herein, and professing the truth, neither got thanks nor reward, but was blazed abroad by honest folks to be a Lutheran. The less he pleaseth in Spain, the better argument it is, that his intent was to serve none but the king's Highness and the truth," &c.

And furthermore, in another minute, writing to the Lord Cromwell of Stephen Winchester, and of his churlishness toward him, thus he saith: "And there found I, in Master Dr. Thirleby, much kindness, and in the bishop of Winchester as little," &c. And in the same letter it followeth: "And if I had received any entertainment of the bishop of Winchester, I would likewise have sent you word. I thank God I need not, for I had nothing of him," &c.

Also in another letter, the said Bonner, writing to the Lord Cromwell concerning one Barnaby and himself, what cold welcome they both had at the hands of Winchester, used these words following: "And, my good Lord, I beseech you to continue your good favour to this honest poor man Barnaby, who is body and soul assuredly your own, and as well beloved of the bishop of Winchester as I am: and of my troth I suppose and believe verily, one of the chief grudges the bishop hath against him, is because your Lordship, of your charitable goodness, doth love and favour him.

Another letter of Dr. Bonner to the Lord Cromwell, complaining of Winchester, and also declaring how he was promoted by the said Lord Cromwell, to the bishopric of Hereford.

"My very singular especial good Lord, according to my most bounden duty, I recommend me right humbly unto your good Lordship, advertising the same, that the twenty-ninth of the last month, about four of the clock at afternoon, there arrived here Barnaby with your Lordship's letters, dated at Eutrecht the twenty-fourth of the same: and thinking that, at his said arrival, the bishop of Winchester, Master Thirleby, and I, had been all lodged together, whereas in very deed we had several lodgings, he went straight to the bishop of Winchester's lodging. (Master Thirleby and I being then walking in the fields,) and the bishop incontinently inquired of him,

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not how the king's Grace did, as was his duty, but, (as Barnaby told me,) inquired of him where he left the king's Grace at his coming away: whether he had brought any letters for him: whether Master Brian and Master Wallop were in the court at his departing: and finally, what news were in England. To the which questions, when Barnaby had made answer, saying that he left the king's Grace at Berlin, and that Master Brian and Master Wallop were in the court at his departing; and withal, that he had no letters from them, nor any other to him; and finally, for the news that the king's Highness had given me the bishopric of Hereford; the bishop (as Barnaby reporteth, and I doubt not but he saith truly) cast down his head, making a plaice-mouth with his lip, and afterwards lifting up his eyes and hands, (as cursing the day and hour it chanced,) seemed so evil contented therewith, that he would neither bid Barnaby drink, or tarry supper, nor yet further commune with him, but turning from him, called one Master Medow, and showed him of the same tidings, taking it (as it appeared) very heavily; semblably as he doeth every thing that is or may be for my preferment. And when Barnaby perceived that I was not there, and that also this comfortable countenance and good cheer were made unto him, he went thence and searched for me, who then was walking with Master Thirleby, as is before; and was by chance communing with him of the bishop of Winchester, giving him advertisement that he should not be abused by the said bishop, whom, I said, made him, not for any hearty love, I thought, he bare unto him, but either in despite of me, to whom he thought it should be greatly displeasing; either else under colour thereof, and by familiarity, for to grope him, and to serve his own crafty purposes by him.

"And soon after the departure of Master Thirleby from me, who then went to the bishop to supper, I returned towards my lodging, and by the way met with Barnaby, whose salutation was after that sort, that it caused me to wonder at it, especially I having no expectation or hope of such thing as he rehearsed unto me. And surely, my good Lord, I would not believe him in the thing he told, till I perceived the same by the superscription of your Lordship's letter, which he afterwards delivered unto me: declaring withal (to my great comfort) the prosperous estate of the king's Highness, and of your good Lordship. Which known, I besought Almighty God to grant the long continuance thereof, and also, as was my duty, did give most humble thanks to the king's Highness, and to your said good Lordship. And hereupon, keeping your Lordship's letters still in my hands unbroken, I went incontinently to the lodging of Master Thirleby, which was in my way, to communicate these my news and great good fortune with him; and not finding him there, I read over your Lordship's letters, sending the same afterwards to Master Thirleby; and perceiving, by Barnaby, that he had other letters for me, which he told me he must deliver unto me secretly, I went to mine own lodging with him, and there receiving them accordingly, did read them over, both that, your Lordship's second letter sent to me, and also the other sent to Master Wyat, &c.

Your Lordship's most bounden beadsman, And always at commandment,
EDMUND BONNER."

When the king, by the advice of the Lord Cromwell, and others of his council, had appointed Dr. Edmund Bonner to return from the emperor, and to be resident in France, in the place of Winchester and of Dr. Thirleby, he sent his letters to the said bishop of Winchester, and to Master Thirleby, showing his pleasure unto them in that behalf, with this clause in the same letters contained in express words as followeth:

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"And whereas the said Master Bonner wanteth furniture of stuff and plate meet for that office, our pleasure is that you, Master Thirleby, shall deliver unto him by indenture, all the plate you have of ours in your custody, and that you, my Lord of Winchester, shall furnish him with all such other stuff, as shall be necessary for him; wherein as you shall do unto us pleasure, so we shall be content at your return, to satisfy you for the same," &c.

The bishop of Winchester receiving these letters of the king, and being loth to come into England, (whatsoever the matter was,) also hearing that Dr. Bonner should succeed him, his disdainful nature did stomach him exceedingly. But because there was no other remedy but that the king's commandment must be done, first he sendeth the king's letter, with his also, to the emperor's court, unto Master Bonner, and to Dr. Heynes, willing them in all haste to repair to Lyons within two days. Beside these letters of Winchester, Dr. Thirleby adjoined his letters also, with like quickness, to the said Dr. Heynes and to Bonner, the contents whereof here follow:

"With my hearty commendations, and the desire of your company, and now so much rather that I shall thereby have a great benefit, viz. the deliverance from trouble to ease, from a strange country to mine own, from the waiting upon him that forceth as little for me, as I am acquainted with him, to the service of him whose prosperity and love I account as my life; these shall be to pray you to make no less speed hither, than you would make to a good feast when that you be hungry. Master Bonner shall know many things, but when you come I shall tell you more, so that you haste you. Come, I pray you; I would fain be at home. I saw not my master these four months. When you, Master Bonner, shall come to Lyons, it shall be good to go to Bonvise; he is a good money-maker: in faith I can write no more, but bid you come heartily, hastily, I would have written, and the sooner the better welcome to Lyons, where this was given the last of July.

By him that hath loved you well,
And now will love you better,
If you haste you hither,
THOMAS THIRLEBY."

At the receipt of these letters, Dr. Bonner and Dr. Heynes did put themselves in a readiness to repair incontinent unto Lyons, thinking there to have found Winchester and Thirleby, according to the purport of their letters. But Winchester and Thirleby, not abiding their coming, made haste away from Lyons to La Barella, where Bonner, riding in post after Winchester, overtook him. With whom what entertainment and talk he had, and what accusations he laid to his charge, and what brawling words passed between them, and what great misliking Bonner had of him for special causes here in this brabbling matter or brawling dialogue, under following, may appear; which, for thy recreation, and the further understanding of Winchester's qualities, I wish thee, loving reader! to peruse and consider.

But first, here is to be noted, that the king and the Lord Cromwell, at what time they had appointed Dr. Edmund Bonner to be resident ambassador in France, required in their letters, that he should advertise them by writing, what he did mislike in the doings and behaviour of certain persons whom they did note then unto him. Whereupon the said Dr. Bonner sendeth this declaration of Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, as followeth:

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"First, I mislike in the bishop of Winchester, that when any man is sent in the king's affairs, and by his Highness's commandment, the bishop, unless he be the only and chief inventor of the matter and setter-forth of the person, he will not only use many cavillations, but also use great strangeness in countenance and cheer to the person that is sent: over and besides, as small comfort and counsel as may be in the matter; rather dissuading and discouraging the person earnestly to set forward his message, than imboldening and comforting him, as is his duty, with help and counsel to adventure and do his best therein. The experience whereof I have had myself with him, as well at Rouen, the first time I was sent to Rome, commanded by the king's Highness to come by him, and at Marseilles, the time of the intimation of the king's protestation, provocation, and appeal; as also lately, going to Nice, touching the general council, and the authority of the bishop of Rome; and finally, now last of all, at my return from Spain, where neither my diligence in coming to him, and using him in the beginning with all the reverence I could, neither the king's letters written unto him in my favour, nor yet other thing could mollify his hard heart and cankered malicious stomach, but that he would spitefully speak, and unkindly do; as indeed he did, to his great shame and my dishonesty, as followeth:

"When riding in post I came to La Barella, a post on this side Lyons, the seventh day of August, he being in bed there, I tarried till he, rising up and making himself ready, came at last out to me, standing and tarrying for him in a second chamber; and at his coming thither, he said, 'What, Master Bonner! good morrow! Ah sir, ye be welcome;' and herewithal he put out his hand, and I, kissing mine, took him by it, and incontinently after he said, 'Come on, let us go and walk awhile into the fields;' and withal drew towards the door, preparing him to walk. To whom I said, I would wait upon him. His going to the fields, (as appeared afterwards,) was not so much to walk, as to have a place where he might speak loud, and triumph alone against me, calling in his words again, if he spake any amiss; or utterly deny them, if that made for his purpose. And by chance, rather than by good wisdom, afore I went forth, I asked for Master Thirleby, and desired I might see him and speak with him. The bishop that perceiving, and, withal, that I stuck upon it, he commanded one of his servants to call Master Thirleby; but yet, afore his coming, the bishop could not be idle, but said this to me: 'Master Bonner! your servant was yesterday with me, and as I told him, I will tell you: In good faith you can have nothing of me.' 'Nothing, my Lord!' quoth I, merrily speaking, marry, God forbid! that is a heavy word, and much uncomfortable to him that wanteth all things, and trusteth much upon your goodness that hath a great deal.' 'In faith,' quoth he, 'ye shall have nothing of me: marry, ye shall have of Master Thirleby, his carriage, mules, his bed, and divers other things, that he may spare; and which he hath kept for you.' 'Well, my Lord!' quoth I, 'if I shall have nothing of you, I must make as good shift as I can for myself otherwise, and provide it where I may get it.'

"And here the bishop, because I would not give him thanks for that thing which was not worthy thanks, and that also I would not show myself greatly contented and pleased, though I received nothing at his hands, he began somewhat to kindle, and asked what I wanted. I told him again, that I wanted all things saving money and good will to serve the king's Highness. 'Tell me one thing,' quoth he, 'that you want.' 'One thing,' quoth I, 'marry, amongst many things that I want, I want napery.' 'That shall ye not need,' quoth he, 'here in this country:' and here he began to tell a long tale, that none used that, but Master Wallop and he, in the beginning: which is not true generally. And from this he began to go, descending by his negatives: 'My mulets,' said he, 'ye cannot have, for if ye should, I must needs provide others for them again: my mulet-cloths ye

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cannot have, because mine arms are on them, not meet for you to bear: my raiment, (I being bishop,) that is not meet for you.' And so proceeding forth in the rest, nothing had he for me, and nothing should I have.

"And here came Master Thirleby, who welcomed me very gently, and after an honest sort: to whom the bishop rehearseth again his negatives, and maketh a long discourse, bringing in conclusion, for all that he could do, that nothing I should have of him and this rehearsed he still on end I am sure above a dozen times, and that with a pilot's voice; so that all his company, standing more than three or four pair of butt lengths off, heard him.

"When I saw that he would make no end, but ever rehearsed one thing still, I said to him, 'My Lord! I beseech you, seeing I shall have nothing of you, but of Master doctor here, let me give him thanks that deserveth it, and trouble you therein no more: but leaving communication therein, let me desire and pray you, that we may commune of the king's matters; and that I may have therein knowledge, as well of the state thereof, as also of your counsel in that behalf.'

"The bishop was so hot and warm in his own matters, that he would not hear, but needs would return again, and show why that I could have nothing of him. 'My Lord!' quoth I, 'here is still on end one tale, which methinketh, seeing that I understand it, ye need not so oft repeat it, especially seeing that it cometh always to this conclusion, that I shall have nothing of you.' 'Ye lie,' quoth he, 'I said not so.' 'I report me,' quoth I, 'to Master Thirleby here present, whom I shall desire to bear record of your sad and discreet honest behaviour with me.' 'I say you lie,' quoth he. 'My Lord!' quoth I, 'I thank you.' 'I do not say,' quoth he, 'that ye *shall* have nothing of me; but I say you *can* have nothing of me. And though the one here comprehendeth the other, yet there is a great diversity between these two manners of speaking: I can spare nothing unto you, and therefore ye shall have nothing; and though I can spare you, yet you shall have nothing; — for in the one is an honesty in the speaker, which would, if he could, do pleasure; and in the other there lacketh that honesty.

"'My Lord!' quoth I, 'to examine whether I shall have nothing, because ye can spare nothing: or shall have nothing, though ye have plenty, because ye will I shall have nothing, it shall not much help me in my journey. Wherefore, seeing ye bide upon this, that I shall have nothing, I will thank you for nothing, and provide otherwise for myself.' 'Dirt in your teeth!' quoth he, 'and provide as ye will.' 'Bishop-like spoken, by my faith,' quoth I, 'and well it becometh you to speak thus to me.' 'Yea marry! doth it become me,' quoth he: and repeating, the words again, said with a sharp accent, 'Have nothing of me? Dirt in your teeth!' 'Well, my Lord!' quoth I, this needeth not, saving that ye have a full stomach, and your wit abroad, willingly hereby to ease your stomach against me.' 'Yes, marry,' quoth he, 'it needeth for me, though it needeth not for you; for I intend,' quoth he, 'I would ye should know it, to justify myself to the king in all things.' 'If ye do so,' quoth I, 'ye shall do the better.' 'Nay,' quoth he, 'I do it, and will do it.' 'Well,' quoth I, 'ye are the more to be commended, if ye so can do.' 'Yes,' quoth he, 'I can do it.'

"'Now, by my troth,' quoth I, 'seeing the king's Highness hath written so tenderly for me unto you, as appeareth by his Highness's letters that his Grace hath done, me thinketh, ye having so great plenty of all things, and I so great need thereof, coming post, as I do, ye go about as evil

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to justify yourself to the king, as any one that I have seen. And I wish, my Lord,' quoth I, 'I would have reckoned, that coming as I do come, I should have been both better welcome, and better treated of you, than now I am, even and it had been for no other respect, than because I am an Englishman.'

"I shall tell you,' quoth he, 'for the king's sake, ye may look to have: but for your own sake, ye get nothing.' 'Well,' quoth I, 'then having nothing, I will give no thanks at all; and having any thing, I shall give thanks to the king, and none to you.' 'I tell you,' quoth he, 'ye get nothing:' 'and I tell you again,' quoth I, 'that I will thank you for nothing.' And here the flesh of his cheek began to swell and tremble, and he looked upon me as he would have run me through; and I came and stood even by him, and said, 'Trow you, my Lord!' quoth I, 'that I fear your great looks? Nay, faith! do I not. Ye had need to get another stomach to whet upon than mine, and a better whetstone than any ye have; for, I assure you, you shall not whet me to your purpose: and if ye knew how little I do set by this unloving and indiscreet behaviour of yours, ye would not use it upon me. And I shall tell you,' quoth I, 'if I were not bridled, and had not other respects both to the king's Highness, my sovereign lord, and also unto others that may command me, I would have told you, ere this time, my mind after another sort.' 'Tell me?' quoth he, 'dirt in your teeth!' 'Well, my Lord!' quoth I, 'ye would, I perceive by you, and by your words, provoke me to speak as indiscreetly and bedlamly, as ye do: but surely ye shall not, howsoever ye shall speak. But this will I tell you, I shall show you how I am handled of you.' 'Marry, spare not,' quoth he. 'Well, my Lord!' quoth I, 'you have here full well played the part of a bishop, and it is great joy of you, that with this your furious anger and choler, ye can make all the company here about you to be ashamed of you, as I am sure they are. And for my part, if ye yourself be not ashamed, or, coming to yourself, (for now your anger is such that you hear not yourself,) be not displeased, I shall be ashamed, and pity this your doing without wisdom; and the oftener you use this manner, the more shall it be to your dishonesty.'

"'Lo!' quoth he, 'how fondly he speaketh, as who saith, I were all in the blame. Will you not hear,' quoth he, 'this wise man?' 'My Lord!' quoth I, 'I would you could hear with indifferent ears, and see with indifferent eyes, yourself. Ye have made a brabbling here for nothing, and would that I should give you thanks for that thing which Master Thirleby hath done for me.' 'I look for no thanks of you,' quoth he; and said withal, looking spitefully, that he knew me well enough; and that he was not deceived in me. 'Well!' quoth I, 'and methinks I know you well enough too; wherefore, as ye say you are not deceived in me, so I trust I will not be deceived by you. But I pray you, sir,' quoth I, 'because ye say ye know me well enough, and that ye be not deceived in me, How do you know me? for honest and true, or otherwise? If you do, say it, and I shall make answer.'

"I could not drive him to answer hereunto; so that I suppose, either of his own naughty nature he hath made me an image after his own fantasy, or else believed the report of such in conditions as he is himself, who, in malice, I suppose, and disdain, may be compared to the devil in hell, not giving place to him in pride at all. In communication he repeated oft the provision of the thousand crowns. I told him they went in my diets, and that it would be a good while afore they were come out. And further I said, that seeing they had been simpliciter given to me, I would never thank him for them, but the king's Highness; and I said, that if they were twenty thousand, he should break so many sleeps, afore he should have any part thereof, entreating me

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as he did. 'Well,' quoth he, 'you have them.' 'That is truth,' quoth I, 'and nothing thankful to you.' 'Why then,' quoth he, 'seeing you have here divers things of Master Thirleby's, and all other things are *parabilia pecunia*, which you have, ye may make thereby good provision for yourself.' 'That is truth,' quoth I; 'and that can I and will do, though ye tell me not, seeing I have nothing of you, and afore this had provided at Lyons for all things necessary, if ye without necessity had not made that great haste to depart thence, enforcing me thereby to follow you. And yet,' quoth I, 'one thing may I tell you: ye are very desirous I should be provided well for, as appeareth in that you have taken away at Lyons one horse that Francis had provided for me, and also your servant Mace, having a horse to sell, and knowing my need, by your consent hath sold his horse to a stranger, rather than he would sell him to me. So that nothing suffering me to have of you, and taking away that provision which I make, and go about to make, you well declare how heartily you desire I should be provided for.' 'In faith,' quoth he, 'choose you, ye may provide and you will; and seeing your journey hither from Lyons is vain, you may thither return again, and make there provision for yourself.' 'I thought,' quoth he, 'departing from Lyons, to have made easy journeys, and to have followed the court till you had come, and now come you, squirting in post, and trouble all.' 'I came forth in post,' quoth I, 'by the commandment of the king my master, and had liberty to return at pleasure by his Grace's letters; and seeing that I had no horses for the journey, methought better to ride in post than go afoot.' 'Well,' quoth he, 'I will not depart hence this twelvemonth, except ye be otherwise provided.' 'Provided?' quoth I, 'I must tarry till I may be provided for horses, if ye speak of that provision: and seeing that this riding in post grieveth you, it causeth me to think you are loth to depart, and angry that I shall succeed you. I have here already two gowns and a velvet jacket, so that you shall not be letted an hour by me.'

"'I tell you,' quoth he, 'ye shall otherwise provide, or else I will not depart. For I tell you,' quoth he, 'though you care not for the king's honour, but wretchedly do live with ten shillings a-day, as ye did in yonder parts, you and your companion, I must and will consider the king's honour.' 'And I tell you again,' quoth I, 'I will and do consider the king's honour as much as ye at any time will do, and as sorry will be, that it should be touched by any negligence or default in me: yea, and I say more to you,' quoth I, 'though ye may spend far above me, I shall not stick, if any thing be to bespent for the king's honour, to spend as liberally as you, so long as either I have it, or can get it to spend. And whosoever informed you of the wretchedness and spending scarcely of my companion and me in the parts where we have been, made a false lie, and ye show your wisdom full well in so lightly believing and rehearsing such a tale.' 'I cannot tell,' quoth he, 'but this was openly rehearsed by Master Brian's servants at my table.' 'Yea, was it?' quoth I. 'Yea, marry was it,' quoth he. 'Now, by my troth,' quoth I, 'then was the fare that was bestowed upon them very well cast away: for, of my fidelity, that week that Master Brian and his servants were with us at Villa Franca, it cost my companion and me five and twenty pounds in the charges of the housel' 'This, they say,' quoth he. 'Yea,' quoth I, 'and therein they lie.'

"And here I showed him, that being well settled at Nice, and having made there good and honest provision, to our no little charges, Master Wyat would not rest till he had gotten us to Villa Franca, where, even upon the first words of Master Heynes, he was right well content to take of us twenty shillings by the day; which was not during ten days: whereas, at his coming to us to Nice, himself and all his servants, and then tarrying with us two days, we took not one penny of him. And moreover, at the departing of Master Wyat from Villa Franca, in post, into England, we found ourselves, our servants, all Master Wyat's servants, to the number of sixteen,

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all his acquaintance, which, dinner and supper, continually came to us; sometimes twelve, sometimes ten, and, when they were least, six or eight; and for this we had not one penny of Master Wyat. And yet at our coming from Barcelona, where we tarried about eight days, we gave to Master Wyat twenty-eight livres, and to his servants five livres, besides forty shillings that privately I gave to some, being of gentle fashion, out of mine own purse: so that I told him, it was neither Master Wyat, nor Mason, that found us and our servants, but we paid for the finding of them: and here it chanced to us to have all the charge, and other men to have all the thanks.

"The bishop when he heard this was amazed, and stood still, finally saying, 'By my troth,' quoth he, 'I tell you as it was told me, and Master doctor here can tell whether it was so or no. Yea, and I will tell you more,' quoth he, 'they said that Master Heynes would have been more liberal a great deal, if you had not been.' 'Now, by my troth,' quoth I, 'I shall therein make Master Heynes himself judge thereof, who can best tell what communication hath been between him and me therein.'

"Thinking that this communication had driven the other matters out of the bishop's wild head, I held my peace and by and by was he in hand again with them, as hot as ever he was. 'My Lord!' quoth I, 'I desired ere while your Lordship to make an end of this communication, wherein the longer ye talk, the more ye make me believe that you would, (where ye have spoken undiscreetly, yea, and unkindly, not regarding the king's letters,) with multitude of words, and great countenance, I should think ye had not done amiss. But surely you lose your labour, for ye shall never make me think that ye are desirous to do me pleasure, neither for mine own sake, nor for the king's: for if your words be well weighed, I have as much of you indeed for mine own sake, as I have for the king's sake; that is, nothing at all.'

"Here both of us were talking together; but I held on still, and ever enforced him to this: 'My Lord!' quoth I, 'this is the thing that I shall only desire of you; that whereas the king's Grace hath here, in the French court, divers affairs, (as I take it,) ye would therein instruct me in the state thereof, and give me your best counsel and advice: and this I protest unto you, that if ye this will do, I will attentively hear you and if ye will not, I shall with pain hear you in your other things, but I will make no answer at all.'

"For all this the bishop ended not; but in conclusion, when he saw that he could by no means induce me to answer, he returned homewards, and I brought him unto his lodging and chamber.

"It being dinner time, and all things provided, and standing afore him, and he turning his back from me into a window — I, at his turning towards me again, put off my bonnet, and said, 'God be with you, my Lord!' He gave no answer to me at all, nor countenance, but suffered me to go. Whereupon, returning to my lodging, which was in Master Thirleby's chamber, I caused my dinner to be provided; and when it was almost ready, the bishop's steward, called Myrrel, came for me, (whether sent from the bishop or not, I cannot tell,) and I told him my dinner was provided for, and withal, that my Lord, his master, had given me such a breakfast, that I needed no dinner nor supper; and so the steward, drinking with me, returned again, and I went to dinner at Master Thirleby's lodging, and after dinner I went to the bishop's lodging, who, at my coming,

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very gently put off his bonnet, and so we walked together quietly awhile; and shortly after, the bishop began after this manner: 'Master Bonner! to-day we communed of provision for you, and because ye shall lay no blame upon me, I will tell you what I will do for you: I will provide and make ready for you mules, mulets, horses, servants, money; yea, and all things that shall be necessary.'

"'My Lord!' quoth I, 'here is a large offer, and a great kindness come upon you; I marvel,' quoth I, 'that I could hear nothing of this to-day in the morning.' 'I tell you,' quoth he, 'this will I do; for know you, that I will consider the king's honour and pleasure, and doubt not but the king will pay me again.' 'My Lord!' quoth I, 'I have sent my servant already to Lyons, to make provision for me, and I have sent others abroad here into the town and country, to do the same: ye shall never need to trouble yourself herewith.' 'I will,' quoth he, 'you shall not say, another day, that ye could not be provided for.' 'My Lord!' quoth I, 'let me have instructions in the king's matters, and as for other things, I shall not ask of you, because this day ye made me so plain answer.'

"After much communication I departed from him lovingly, telling him that I would be at Ferrara that night, where he intended to be lodged. And so the bishop, bidding me farewell, took soon after his horse, riding to Ferrara to bed; and by the way I overtook him, and passing by, doing my duty to him and his company, I came to Ferrara, lodging at the post-house, and even as the bishop came into the town, stood at the post-house door; to whom the bishop said, 'We shall see you soon, Master Bonner!' 'Yea, my Lord!' quoth I, thinking that thereby he had desired me to supper, and at supper-time I went to his lodging, having others to eat my supper at home; and glad he appeared to be that I was come, making merry communication all supper while, but nothing at all yet speaking to me, or giving any thing to me, saving, at the doming of the fruit, he gave me a pear, I trow, because I should remember mine own country. After supper, he walked, taking Master Thirleby with him, and I walked with an Italian, being ambassador for the Count Mirandula; and after a good space we returned, and bade the bishop good night.

"I did not after that night dine or sup with the bishop, till he came to Bourges in Berry, where, upon the depeach of Francis, and closing up of our letters sent to the king's Highness, the supper was so provided, and set upon the board; and the bishop in washing, standing so between me and the door that I could not get out; and there would he needs that I should wash with him and sup. And I suppose, all the way from Barella to Blois, he talked not above four times with me, and at every time, saving at Moulines, (where he by mouth told me somewhat of the king's affairs here in France,) and at Varron, (when he, answering to my request in writing, delivered me his book of his own hand for mine instructions, the copy whereof is now sent herewithal,) there was quick communication between us. His talking by the way was with Master Thirleby, who, I think, knoweth a great deal of his doing, and will, if he be the man I take him for, tell it plainly to your Lordship. I myself was out of credence with the bishop, not being applicable to his manners and desires.

"And surely, as Master Thirleby told me at his first coming to Lyons, and then speaking with the bishop, the bishop seemed to be so well content to return, and so glad of his coming to succeed him, that his flesh in his face began all to tremble, and yet would the bishop make men believe, that he would gladly come home: which thing, believe it who will, I will never believe;

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for ever he was looking for letters out of England, from Master Wallop and Master Brian, whom he taketh for his great friends. And Master Wyat himself reckoned, that the bishop should have come into Spain, or else my lord of Durham; so that the bishop of Winchester ever coveted to protract the time, desiring yet withal to have some shadow to excuse and hide himself; as tarrying at Barella, he made excuse by my not coming to Lyons: and coming to Varennes, and there, hearing by the ambassadors of the Venetians a flying tale of the going of the French king towards Bayonne, to meet the emperor, by and by he said, 'Lo! where is Master Diligence now? If he were now here, (as then I was that night,) we would to the court and present him, and take our leave.' But when I in the morning was up afore him, and ready to horse, he was nothing hasty. No; coming to Moulines afore him, and there tarrying for him, the French king lying at Schavenna, three small leagues off, he made not half the speed and haste that he pretended.

"I mislike in the bishop of Winchester, that he cannot be content that any, joined in commission with him, should keep house, but to be at his table. Wherein either he searcheth thereby a vain glory and pride to himself, with some dishonour to the king, as who saith, there was among all the king's ambassadors but one able to maintain a table, and that were he; or else he doth the same for an evil intent and purpose, to bring them thereby into his danger, that they shall say and do as liketh him alone; which, I suppose verily, hath been his intent.

"I mislike in the said bishop, that where he, for his own pomp and glory, hath a great number of servants in their velvets and silks, with their chains about their necks, and keepeth a costly table with excessive fare, and exceeding expenses many other ways, he doth say, and is not ashamed to report, that he is so commanded to do by the king's Grace; and that is his answer commonly, when his friends tell him of his great charges; and so, under colour of the king's commandment and honour, he hideth his pride, which is here disdained.

"I mislike in the said bishop, that he, having private hatred against a man, will rather satisfy his own stomach and affection, hindering and neglecting the king's affairs, than, relenting in any part of his sturdy and stubborn will, give familiar and hearty counsel (whereby the king's Highness's matters and business may be advanced and set forth) to him that he taketh for his adversary.

"I mislike in the said bishop, that he ever continually, here in this court of France, made incomparably more of the emperor's, king of Portugal's, Venetians', and duke of Ferrara's ambassadors, than of any Frenchmen in the court, which, with his pride, caused them to disdain him, and to think that he favoured not the French king, but was imperial.

"I mislike in the bishop, that there is so great familiarity and acquaintance, yea, and much mutual confidence, between the said bishop and M., as naughty a fellow, and as very a papist, as any that I know, where he dare express it. The bishop, in his letters to Master Wyat, ever sendeth special commendations to Mason, and yet refuseth to send any to Master Heynes and me, being with Master Wyat, as we perceived by the said letters. And Mason maketh such foundation of the bishop, that he thinketh there is none such; and he told me at Villa Franca, that the bishop, upon a time, when he had fallen out with Germain, so trusted him, that weeping and sobbing he came unto him, desiring and praying him that he would speak with Germain, and reconcile him, so that no words were spoken of it: and what the matter was, he would not tell me; that young fellow

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Germain knoweth all. And Preston, who is servant to the bishop of Winchester, showed me one night in my chamber at Blois, after supper, that Germain is ever busy in showing the king's letters to strangers, and that he himself hath given him warning thereof. This thing Preston told me the night before that the bishop departed hence, and when I would have had more of him therein, he, considering how the bishop and I stood, kept him more close, and would say no further."

In this declaration of Dr. Edmund Bonner, above prefixed, sent to the Lord Cromwell, divers things we have to note: First, as touching Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester; here we have a plain demonstration of his vile nature and pestilent pride, joined with malice and disdain intolerable: whereof worthily complaineth Dr. Bonner aforesaid, showing six special causes, why and wherefore he misliketh that person, according as he was willed before, by the king's commandment, so to do.

Secondly, In the said Stephen Winchester, this we have also to note and understand, that as he here declareth a secret inclination from the truth (which he defended before in his book *De Obedientia*) to papistry, joining part and side with such as were known papists; so he seemeth likewise to bear a like secret grudge against the Lord Cromwell, and all such whomsoever he favoured.

Thirdly, As concerning the before-named Dr. Edmund Bonner, the author of this declaration, here is to be seen and noted, that he, all this while, appeared a good man, and a diligent friend to the truth; and that he was favoured of the Lord Cromwell for the same.

Fourthly, That the said Dr. Bonner was not only favoured of the Lord Cromwell, but also by him was advanced first to the office of legation, then to the bishopric of Hereford, and lastly to the bishopric of London; whom the said Dr. Bonner, in his letters, agnizeth, and confesseth to be his only patron, and singular Mecænas.

Which being so, we have in this said Dr. Bonner greatly to marvel, what should be the cause that he, seeing all his setting-up, making, and preferring, came only by the gospel, and by them of the gospel's side, he, being then so hated of Stephen Gardiner, and such as he was; being also at that time such a furtherer and defender of the gospel, (as appeareth both by his preface before Gardiner's book *De Obedientia*. and by his writings to the Lord Cromwell; also by helping forward the printed bibles at Paris,) could ever be a man so ungrateful and unkind afterwards, to join part with the said Stephen Gardiner against the gospel, (without the which gospel he had never come to be bishop, either of Hereford, or yet of London,) and now to abuse the same bishopric of London, to persecute that so vehemently which before so openly he defended? Wherein the same may well be said to him in this case, that he himself was reported once to say to the French king in the cause of Grancetor; to wit, that he had done therein against God, against his honour, against justice, against honesty, against friendship, against his own promise and his oath so often made, against his own doctrine and judgment which then he professed, against all truth, against the treaties and leagues between him and his setters-up, and against all together; and, to conclude, against the salvation of his own soul, which would God he would have mercy upon, although he had showed want of mercy unto others!

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But to refer this to the book of His accounts, who shall judge one day all things uprightly, let us proceed further in the continuation of this Dr. Bonner's legation; who, being now ambassador in the court of France, as ye have heard, had given him in commission from the king to treat with the French king for sundry points, as for the printing of the New Testament in English, and the Bible at Paris; also for slanderous preachers, and malicious speakers against the king; for goods of merchants taken and spoiled; for the king's pension to be paid; for the matters of the duke of Suffolk; for certain prisoners in France. Item, For Grancetor the traitor, and certain other rebels, to be sent into England, &c. Touching all which affairs, the said Dr. Bonner did employ his diligence and travail to the good satisfaction and contentment of the king's mind, and discharge of his duty in such sort as no default could be found in him; save only that the French king, one time, took displeasure with him, for that the said Bonner, being now made bishop of Hereford, and bearing himself somewhat more seriously and boldly before the king, in the cause of Grancetor the traitor, (wherein he was willed, by the advertisement of the king's pleasure, to wade more deeply and instantly,) used these words to the French king, (as the French king himself did afterwards report them,) saying, that he had done, in deliverance of that aforesaid Grancetor, being an Englishman, against God, against his honour, against justice, against reason, against honesty, against friendship, against all law, against the treaties and leagues between him and his brother the king of England; yea, and against all together, &c. These words of Bishop Bonner, although he denieth to have spoken them in that form and quality, yet; howsoever they were spoken, did stir up the stomach of the French king to conceive high displeasure against him, insomuch that he, answering the lord ambassador again, bade him write these three things unto his master:

First, Among other things, that his ambassador was a great fool.

Secondarily, That he caused to be done better justice there in his realm in one hour, than they did in England in a whole year.

Thirdly, That if it were not for the love of his master, he should have a hundred strokes with a halbert, &c.

And furthermore, the said French king beside this, sending a special messenger with his letters to the king of England, willed him to revoke and call this ambassador home, and to send him another. The cause why the French king took these words of Bishop Bonner so to stomach, (as the lord chancellor said,) was this: For that the kings of France, standing chiefly, and in manner only, upon their honour, can suffer that in no case to be touched. Otherwise, in those words (if they had been well taken) was not so much blame, perchance, as boldness, being spoken somewhat vehemently in his master's behalf. But this one thing seemeth to me much blameworthy, both in this bishop, and many others, that they, in earthly matters, and to please terrene kings, will put forth themselves to such a boldness and forwardness; and in Christ's cause, the King of all kings, whose cause they should only attend upon and tender, they are so remiss, cold, and cowardly.

To these letters of the French king, the king of England sent answer again by other letters, in which he revoked and called home again Bishop Bonner, giving unto him, about the same time, the bishopric of London; and sent in supply of his place Sir John Wallop, a great friend to

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Stephen Gardiner: which was in February, about the beginning of the year of our Lord 1540. Here now followeth the oath of Bonner to the king, when he was made bishop of London.

The oath of Dr. Edmund Bonner, when he was made bishop of London, against the pope of Rome.

"Ye shall never consent nor agree that the bishop of Rome shall practise, exercise, or have any manner of authority, jurisdiction, or power within this realm, or any other the king's dominion; but that you shalt resist the same at all times, to the uttermost of your power: and that from henceforth ye shall accept, repute, and take the king's Majesty to be the only supreme head in earth of the Church of England; and that to your cunning, wit, and uttermost of your power, without guile, fraud, or other undue mean, ye shall observe, keep, maintain, and defend, the whole effects and contents of all and singular acts and statutes made, and to be made, within this realm, in derogation, extirpation, and extinguishment of the bishop of Rome, and his authority; and all other acts and statutes made, and to be made, in reformation and corroboration of the king's power of supreme head in the earth of the Church of England. And this ye shall do against all manner of persons, of what estate, dignity, degree, or condition they be; and in no wise do, or attempt, or to your power suffer to be done or attempted, directly or indirectly, any thing or things, privily or apertly, to the let, hinderance, damage, or derogation thereof, or of any part thereof, by any manner of means, or for any manner of pretence. And in case any oath be made, or hath been made, by you to any person or persons in maintenance or favour of the bishop of Rome, or his authority, jurisdiction, or power, ye repute the same as vain and annihilated. So help you God, &c.

"In fidem præmissorum ego Edmundus Bonner, electus et confirmatus Londinensis episcopus, huic præsentī chartæ subscripsi."

191. Ecclesiastical Matters, A.D. 1538.

It will be judged, that I have lingered, peradventure, too much in these outward affairs of princes and ambassadors: wherefore, leaving these by-matters pertaining to the civil state awhile, I mind (the Lord willing) to put my story in order again, of such occurrences as belong unto the church, first showing such injunctions and articles as were devised and set forth by the king, for the behoof of his subjects. Wherein, first, is to be understood, that the king, when he had taken the title of supremacy from the bishop of Rome, and had translated the same to himself, and was now a full prince in his own realm, although he well perceived, by the wisdom and advice of the Lord Cromwell and other of his council, that the corrupt state of the church had need of reformation in many things; yet because he saw how stubborn and untoward the hearts of many papists were, to be brought from their old persuasions and customs, and what business he had with them only about the matter of the pope's title, he durst not by and by reform all at once, (which notwithstanding had been to be wished,) but leading them fairly and softly, as he might, proceeded by little and little, to bring greater purposes to perfection (which he no doubt would have done, if the Lord Cromwell had lived); and therefore first he began with a little book of articles, (partly above touched;) bearing this title: "Articles devised by the king's Highness, to stable Christian quietness and unity among the people," &c.

Articles devised by the king.

In the contents of which book, first he set forth the articles of our Christian creed, which are necessarily and expressly to be believed by all men. Then, with the king's preface going before, followeth the declaration of three sacraments; to wit, of baptism, of penance, and of the sacrament of the altar; in the tractation whereof, he altereth nothing from the old trade received heretofore from the Church of Rome.

"Further then, proceeding to the order and cause of our justification, he declareth, that the only mercy and grace of the Father, promised freely unto us for his Son's sake Jesus Christ, and the merits of his passion and blood, be the only sufficient and worthy causes of our justification; yet good works, with inward contrition, hope, and charity, and all other spiritual graces and motions, be necessarily required, and must needs concur also in remission of our sins; that is, our justification: and afterwards, we, being justified, must also have good works of charity, and obedience towards God, in the observing and fulfilling outwardly of his laws and commandments, &c.

"As touching images, he willeth all bishops and preachers to teach the people in such sort as they may know how they may use them safely in churches, and not abuse them to idolatry, as thus: that they be representers of virtue and good example, and also, by occasion, may be stirrers of men's minds, and make them to remember themselves, and to lament their sins; and so far he permitteth them to stand in churches. But otherwise, for avoiding of idolatry, he chargeth all bishops and preachers diligently to instruct the people, that they commit no idolatry unto them, in censuring of them, in kneeling and offering to them, with other like worshippings, which ought not to be done, but only to God.

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"And likewise for honouring of saints, the bishops and preachers be commanded to inform the people, how saints, hence departed, ought to be revered and honoured, and how not: that is, that they are to be praised and honoured as the elect servants of Christ, or rather Christ to be praised in them for their excellent virtues planted in them, and for their good example left us, teaching us to live in virtue and in goodness, and not to fear to die for Christ, as they did. And also as advancers of our prayers in that they may; but yet no confidence, nor any such honour to be given unto them, which is only due to God; and so forth: charging the said spiritual persons to teach their flock, that all grace, and remission of sins, and salvation, can no otherwise be obtained but of God only, by the mediation of our Saviour Christ, who only is a sufficient Mediator for our sins: that all grace and remission of sin must proceed only by the mediation of Christ and no other.

"From that he cometh further to speak of rites and ceremonies in Christ's church; as in having vestments used in God's service, sprinkling of holy water, giving of holy bread, bearing of candles on Candlemas-day, taking of ashes, bearing of palms, creeping to the cross, setting up the sepulchre, hallowing of the font, with other like customs, rites, and ceremonies; all which old rites and customs the aforesaid book doth not by and by repeal, but so far admitteth them for good and laudable, as they put men in remembrance of spiritual things: but so that the people withal must be instructed, how the said ceremonies contain in them no such power to remit sin, but that to be referred unto God only, by whom only our sins be forgiven us.

"And so, concluding with purgatory, he maketh an end of those articles, thus saying thereof, that because the book of Maccabees alloweth praying for souls departed, he therefore disproveth not that so laudable a custom, so long continued in the church. But because there is no certain place named, nor kind of pains expressed in Scripture, he therefore thinketh necessary such abuses clearly to be put away, which under the name of purgatory have been advanced; as to make men believe, that by the bishop of Rome's pardons, or by masses said at *Scala Caeli*, or other where, in any place, or before any image, souls might clearly be delivered out of purgatory, and from the pains thereof, to be sent straight to heaven; and such other like abuses," &c.

And these were the contents of that book of articles, devised and passed, by the king's authority, a little before the stir of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire; wherein, although there were many and great imperfections and untruths not to be permitted in any true reformed church, yet notwithstanding, the king and his council, to bear with the weaklings which were newly weaned from their mother's milk of Rome, thought it might serve somewhat for the time, instead of a little beginning, till better come.

And so consequently, not long after these articles thus set forward, certain other injunctions were also given out about the same year 1536, whereby a number of holy-days were abrogated; and especially such as fell in the harvest time, the keeping of which redounded greatly to the hinderance of gathering in their corn, hay, fruit, and other such-like necessary commodities; the copy and tenor of which injunctions I have also hereunto annexed, as under followeth:

"Forasmuch as the number of holy-days is so excessively grown, and yet daily more and more, by men's devotion, yea, rather superstition, was like further to increase, that the same was,

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and should be, not only prejudicial to the common weal, by reason that it is occasion as well of much sloth and idleness, the very nurse of thieves, vagabonds, and of divers other unthriftiness and inconvenience, as of decay of good mysteries and arts profitable and necessary for the commonwealth, and loss of man's food, (many times being clean destroyed through the superstitious observance of the said holy-days, in not taking the opportunity of good and serene weather offered upon the same in time of harvest,) but also pernicious to the souls of many men, which being enticed by the licentious vacation and liberty of those holy-days, do upon the same commonly use and practise more excess, riot, and superfluity, than upon any other days. And since the sabbath day was used and ordained but for man's use, and therefore ought to give place to the necessity and behoof of the same, whensoever that shall occur, much rather than any other holy-day instituted by man; it is therefore by the king's Highness's authority, as supreme head in earth of the Church of England, with the common assent and consent of the prelates and clergy of this his realm, in convocation lawfully assembled and congregated, amongst other things, decreed, ordained, and established:

"First, That the feast of dedication of churches shall, in all places throughout this realm, be celebrated and kept on the first Sunday of the month of October, for ever, and upon none other day.

"Item, That the feast of the patron of every church within this realm, called commonly the Church Holy-day, shall not from henceforth be kept and observed as a holy-day, as heretofore hath been used; but that it shall be lawful to all and singular persons . resident or dwelling within this realm, to go to their work, occupation, or mystery; and the same truly to exercise and occupy upon the said feast, as upon any other work-day, except the said feast of Church Holy-day be such as must be else universally observed and kept as a holy-day by this ordinance following.

"Also, that all those feasts or holy-days which shall happen to fall or occur either in the harvest-time, which is to be counted from the first day of July unto the twenty-ninth .day of September, or else in the term time at Westminster, shall not be kept or observed from henceforth as holy-days; but that it may be lawful for every man to go to his work or occupation upon the same, as upon any other work-day, except always the feasts of the Apostles, or of the Blessed Virgin, and of St. George, and also such feasts as wherein the king's Highness's judges at Westminster do not use to sit in judgment; all which shall be kept holy and solemnly of every man, as in time past hath been accustomed. Provided always, that it may be lawful unto all priests and clerks, as well secular as regular, in the aforesaid holy-days now abrogated, to sing or say their accustomed service for those holy-days, in their churches;: so as they do not the same solemnly, nor do ring to the same, after the manner used in highholy-days, nor do command or indict the same to be kept or observed as holy-days.

"Finally, That the feasts of the Nativity of our Lord, of Easter-day, of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, and of St. Michael the Archangel, shall be from henceforth counted, accepted, and taken for the four general offering days.

"And for further declaration of the premises, be it known that Easter term beginneth always the eighteenth day after Easter-day, reckoning Easter-day for one, and endeth the Monday next following the Ascension-day.

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"Trinity term beginneth always the Wednesday next after the Octaves of Trinity Sunday, and endeth the eleventh or twelfth day of July.

"Michaelmas term beginneth the ninth or tenth day of October, and endeth the twenty-eighth or twenty-ninth day of November.

"Hilary term beginneth the twenty-third or twenty-fourth day of January, and endeth the twelfth or thirteenth day of February.

"In Easter term, upon the Ascension-day; in Trinity term, upon the Nativity of St. John Baptist; in Michaelmas term, upon Allhallows-day; in Hilary term, upon Candlemas-day, the king's judges at Westminster do not use to sit in judgment, nor upon any Sunday."

After these articles and injunctions thus given out by the king and his council, then followed moreover, as time served, other injunctions besides, concerning images, relics, and blind miracles, and for abrogating of pilgrimages, devised by superstition, and maintained for lucre's sake; also for the Pater-noster, Creed, and God's commandments, and the Bible to be had in English, with divers other points more, necessary for religion.

By these articles and injunctions coming forth one after another, for the necessary instruction of the people, it may appear how well the king deserved then the title of his supreme government, given to him over the Church of England; by which title, and authority he did more good for the redressing and advancing of Christ's church and religion here in England in these three years, than the pope, the great vicar of Christ, with all his bishops and prelates, had done the space of three hundred years before. Such a vigilant care was then in the king and in his council, how by all ways and means to redress religion, to reform errors, to correct corrupt customs, to help ignorance, and to reduce the misleading of Christ's flock, drowned in blind popery, superstition, customs, and idolatry, to some better form of more perfect reformation: whereunto he provided not only these articles, precepts, and injunctions above specified, to inform the rude people, but also procured the bishops to help forward, in the same cause of decayed doctrine, with their diligent preaching and teaching of the people; according as ye heard before, how that in the year 1534, during the whole time of parliament, there was appointed every Sunday a bishop to preach at Paul's Cross, against the supremacy of the bishop of Rome.

Amongst which bishops, John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, the king's confessor, and a great persecutor of the poor flock of Christ, (as is before sufficiently recorded,) made a sermon before the king, upon Good Friday, this present year 1538, at Greenwich, seriously and effectuously preaching, on the king's behalf, against the usurped supremacy of the bishop of Rome; the contents of whose sermon wholly to express, were here too long and tedious.

You heard before, by the king's injunctions above expressed, and directed out, A.D. 1538, how all such images and pictures which were abused with pilgrimage or offerings of any idolatry, were abolished; by virtue of which injunctions, divers idols, and especially the most notable stocks of idolatry, were taken down the same year, 1538, as the images of Walsingham, Ipswich, Worcester, the Lady of Wilsdon, Thomas Becket, with many more; having engines to make their eyes to open and roll about, and other parts of their body to stir, and many other false

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jugglings, as the blood of Hayles, and such like, wherewith the simple people a long time had been deceived: all which were espied out, and destroyed.

Among divers other of these foul idols, there went also, in the same reckoning, a certain old idolatrous image in Wales, named Darvell Gatheren; which, in the month of May, in the year above mentioned, was brought up to London, and burned in Smithfield; with which idol also was burned at the same time, and hanged for treason, Friar Forrest, of whom some mention was partly touched before, in the story of Cardinal Wolsey.

192. Friar Forrest.

Forasmuch as the number of years doth lead us thereunto, we will somewhat touch and speak of Friar Forrest; although he be unworthy of a place, and not to be numbered in this catalogue. .

This Forrest was an Observant Friar, and had secretly, in confessions, declared to many of the king's subjects, that the king was not supreme head; and being thereof accused and apprehended, he was examined how he could say that the king was not supreme head of the church, when he himself had sworn to the contrary? He answered, "that he took his oath with his outward man, but his inward man never consented thereunto." And being further accused of divers damnable articles, and thereupon convicted, he gladly submitted himself to abide the punishment of the church. Upon this his submission having more liberty than before he had, to talk with whom he would, he became as far from his submission as ever he was; and when his abjuration was sent him to read, he utterly refused it, and obstinately persevered in his errors: wherefore he was justly condemned, and after hanged in Smithfield in chains, upon a gallows quick, by the middle and arm-holes, and fire was made under him, and so was he consumed and burned to death.

In the place of execution, there was a scaffold prepared for the king's .most honourable council, and the nobles of the realm, to sit upon, to grant him pardon, if he had any spark of repentance in him. There was also a pulpit prepared, where the right reverend father, Hugh Latimer, bishop of Worcester, declared his errors, and manifestly confuted them by the Scriptures, with many godly exhortations to move him to repentance; but he was so froward, that he neither would hear, nor speak. A little before, the aforesaid image, called Darvell Gatheren, coming out of Wales, was brought to the gallows, and there also with the aforesaid friar, as is said, was set on fire; which the Welchmen much worshipped, and had a prophecy amongst them, that this image should set a whole forest on fire: which prophecy took effect; for he set this Friar Forrest on fire, and consumed him to nothing. The friar, when he saw the fire come, and that present death was at hand, caught hold upon the ladder, and would not let it go, but so impatiently took his death, as never any man that put his trust in God, at any time so ungodly or unquietly ended his life.

In the months of October and November the same year, shortly after the overthrow of these images and pilgrimages, followed also the ruin of the abbeyes and religious houses, which, by the special motion of the Lord Cromwell, (or rather and principally, by the singular blessing of Almighty God,) were suppressed, being given a little before by act of parliament into the king's hand; whereupon not only the houses were razed, but their possessions also disparkled among the nobility, in such sort as all friars, monks, canons, nuns, and other sects of religion, were then so rooted out of this realm from the very foundation, that there seemeth, by God's grace, no possibility hereafter left, for the generation of those strange weeds to grow here any more, according to the true verdict of our Lord and Saviour Christ in his gospel, saying, Every plantation, being not planted of my Father, shall be plucked up by the roots, &c.

193. John Lambert

The history of the worthy martyr of God, John Lambert, otherwise named Nicholson, with his troubles, examinations, and answers, as well before Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, and other bishops, as also before King Henry the Eighth, by whom at length he was condemned to death, and burned in Smithfield, in A.D. 1538.



IMMEDIATELY upon the ruin and destruction of the monasteries, the same year, and in the month of November, followed the trouble and condemnation of John Lambert, the faithful servant of Jesus Christ, and martyr of blessed memory. This Lambert, being born and brought up in Norfolk, was first converted by Bilney, and studied in the university of Cambridge; where after that he had sufficiently profited both in Latin and Greek, and had translated out of both tongues sundry things into the English tongue, being forced at last by violence of the time, he departed from thence to the parts beyond the seas, to Tyndale and Frith, and there remained the space of a year and more, being preacher and chaplain to the English House at

Antwerp, till he was disturbed by Sir Thomas More, and, by the accusation of one Barlow, was carried from Antwerp to London; where he was brought to examination first at Lambeth, then at the bishop's house at Otford, before Warham, the archbishop of Canterbury, and other adversaries; having five and forty articles ministered against him, whereunto he rendered answer again by writing: the which answers, forasmuch as they contain great learning, and may give some light to the better understanding of the common causes of religion now in controversy, I thought here to exemplify the same, as they came right happily to our hands. The copy both of the articles, and also of his answers, here in order followeth.

"Imprimis, Whether thou wast suspected or infamed of heresy?

"II. Whether ever thou hadst any of Luther's books, and namely, since they were condemned? and how long thou didst keep them, and whether thou hast spent any study on them?

"III. Whether thou wast constituted priest, and in what diocese, and of what bishop?

"IV. Whether it be lawful for a priest to marry a wife, and whether a priest in some case be bound by the law of God to marry a wife?

"V. Whether thou believest that whatsoever is done of man, whether it be good or ill, cometh of necessity?

"VI. Whether the sacrament of the altar be a sacrament necessary unto salvation? and whether after the consecration of the bread and wine done by the priest, as by the minister of God, there is the very body and blood of Christ, in likeness of bread and wine?

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"VII. Item, What opinion thou holdest touching the sacrament of baptism? whether thou dost believe that it is a sacrament of the church, and a necessary sacrament unto salvation, and that a priest may baptize; and that the order of baptizing ordained by the church, is necessary and wholesome?

"VIII. Item, Whether thou believest that matrimony be a sacrament of the church necessary to be observed in the church, and that the order appointed by the church for the solemnizing thereof is allowable and to be holden?

"IX. Item, Whether thou dost believe orders to be a sacrament of the church, and that saying of mass, ordained by the church, is to be observed of priests? whether it be deadly sin or not, if it be omitted or contemned; and whether the order of priesthood were invented by man's imagination, or ordained by God?

"X. Item, Whether penance be a sacrament of the church, and necessary unto salvation; and whether auricular confession is to be made unto the priest, or is necessary unto salvation? and whether thou believest that a Christian is bound, besides contrition of heart, having the free use of an apt or free priest, under necessity of salvation, to be confessed unto a priest, and not unto any layman, be he ever so good and devout; and whether thou believest that a priest, in cases permitted to him, may absolve a sinner (being contrite and confessed) from his sins, and enjoin him wholesome penance?"

"XI. Item, Whether thou dost believe and hold, that the sacrament of confirmation and extreme unction be sacraments of the church, and whether that they do profit the souls of them that receive them? and whether thou believest the aforesaid seven sacraments to give grace unto them that do duly receive them?

"XII. Whether all things necessary unto salvation are put in Holy Scripture, and whether things only there put be sufficient? and whether some things upon necessity of salvation are to be believed and observed, which are not expressed in Scripture?

"XIII. Whether thou believest that purgatory is, and whether that souls departed be therein tormented and purged?

"XIV. Whether holy martyrs, apostles, and confessors departed from this world, ought to be honoured and called upon, and prayed unto?

"XV. Whether the saints in heaven, as mediators, pray for us?

"XVI. Whether thou believest that oblations and pilgrimages may be devoutly and meritoriously done to the sepulchres and relics of saints?

"XVII. Whether the fast in Lent, and others appointed by the canon law, and received in common usage of Christian people, (unless necessity otherwise requireth,) are to be observed?

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"XVIII. Whether it be laudable and profitable, that worshipful images be set in churches for the remembrance of Christ and his saints?

"XIX. Whether thou believest that prayers of men living, do profit souls departed, and being in purgatory?

"XX. Whether men may merit and deserve, both by their fastings and also by their other deeds of devotion?

"XXI. Whether thou dost believe that men, prohibited of bishops to preach, as suspected of heresy, ought to cease from preaching and teaching, until they have purged themselves of suspicion before a higher judge?

"XXII. Whether thou believest that it is lawful for all priests freely to preach the word of God, or no?

"XXIII. Whether thou believest that it is lawful for laymen of both kinds, that is to wit, both men and women, to sacrifice and preach the word of God?

"XXIV. Whether excommunication, denounced by the pope against all heretics, doth oblige and bind them before God?

"XXV. Whether every priest is bound to say daily his matins and even-song, according as it is ordained by the church; or whether he may leave them unsaid without offence or deadly sin?

"XXVI. Whether thou believest that the heads or rulers, by necessity of salvation, are bound to give unto the people Holy Scripture in their mother-language?

"XXVII. Whether is it lawful for the rulers, for some cause, upon their reasonable advisement, to ordain that the Scripture should not be delivered unto the people in the vulgar language?

"XXVIII. Whether thou believest that consecrations, hallowings, and blessings used in the church, are to be praised?

"XXIX. Whether thou believest that the pope may make laws and statutes, to hind all Christian men to the observance of the same, under pain of deadly sin, so that such laws and statutes be not contrary to the law of God?

"XXX. Whether thou believest that the pope and other prelates, and their deputies in spiritual things, have power to excommunicate priests and lay-people, that are inobedient and sturdy, from entering into the church, and so suspend or let them from administration of the sacraments of the same?

"XXXI. Whether faith only, without good works, may suffice unto a man fallen into sin after his baptism, for his salvation and justifying?

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"XXXII. Whether a priest, marrying a wife, and that without the dispensation of the pope, and begetting also children of her without slander-giving, do sin deadly?

"XXXIII. Item, Whether a Latin priest, after he hath taken the order of priesthood, being sore troubled and stirred with pricking of lust and lechery, and therefore marrying a wife for remedy of the same, do sin deadly?

"XXXIV. Item, Whether thou dost ever pray for John Wickliff, John Huss, or Jerome of Prague, condemned of heresy in the council of Constance, or for any of them, since they died? or whether thou hast done openly or secretly any deeds of charity for them, affirming them to be in bliss, and saved?

"XXXV. Item, Whether thou hast accounted them, or any of them, to be saints, and worshipped them as saints?

"XXXVI. Item, Whether thou dost believe, hold, and affirm, that every general council, and the council of Constance also, doth represent the universal congregation or church?

"XXXVII. Item, Whether thou dost believe the same things which the council of Constance, representing the universal church, hath approved and doth approve, for the maintenance of faith, and soul's health, and that the same is to be approved and holden of all Christians?

"XXXVIII. Whether the condemnations of John Wickliff, John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, done upon their persons, books, and documents, by the whole general council of Constance, were duly and rightly done, and so, for such, by every catholic person they are to be holden?

"XXXIX. Whether thou believest that John Wickliff of England, John Huss of Bohemia, and Jerome of Prague, were heretics, and for heretics to be named, and their books and doctrines to have been, and now be, perverse; for the which books, and pertinacy of their persons, they are condemned by the holy council of Constance for heretics?

"XL. Item, Whether thou believest or affirmest, that it is not lawful in any case to swear?

"XLI. Whether thou believest that it is lawful, at the commandment of a judge, to make an oath to say the truth, or any other oath in case convenient, and that also for purgation of infamy?

"XLII. Item, Whether a Christian person, despising the receipt of the sacraments of confirmation, extreme unction, or solemnizing of matrimony, doth sin deadly?

"XLIII. Item, Whether thou believest that St. Peter, as Christ's vicar, hath power upon earth to bind and loose?

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"XLIV. Item, Whether the pope, ordinarily chosen for a time, his proper name being expressed, be the successor of St. Peter?

"XLV. Item, Whether thou hast ever promised at any time, by an oath, or made any confederacy or league with any person or persons, that you would always hold and defend certain conclusions or articles, seeming to you and your accomplices right and consonant unto the faith; and that you certify us touching the order and tenor of the said opinions and conclusions, and of the names and surnames of them that were your adherents, and promised to be adherent unto you in this behalf?"

The answers of John Lambert to the forty-five articles.

"Unto your first demand, wherein you do ask whether I was suspected of or infamed of heresy, I answer, that I am not certain what all persons at all seasons have deemed or suspected of me; peradventure some better, some worse; like as the opinion of the people was never one, but thought diversely of all the famous prophets, and of the apostles, yea, and of Christ himself: as appeareth in St. John, how, when he came into Jerusalem in the feast called Scenopegia, anon there arose upon him a great noise, some saying that he was a very good man; others said nay, and called him a seducer, because he led the people from the right ways of Moses's law into error. Seeing therefore that all men could not say well by Christ, which is the author of verity and truth, yea, the very truth itself, and likewise of his best servants; what should I need to regard if at some time some person, for a like cause, should suspect of me amiss, and evil report of me? seeing moreover, it is said in the Gospel, Woe be to you, when all men speak well of you; for so did their fathers to the false prophets. If therefore at any season such infamy was put upon me, I am glad that I have so little regarded the same, that now I have forgotten it. And though I did remember any such, yet were I more than twice a fool to show you thereof; for it is written in your own law, No man is bound to bewray himself. But this I insure you: I was never so charged with suspicion or infamy of crime, that I was therefore at any time convented and reprov'd before any judge before that I was troubled for these causes, for which I was at the first put into your hands: and of them, seeing you could not prove me faulty, I wonder why you would never yet pronounce me quit and innocent, according as I have even lowly desired of you, and required full instantly the same. But letting those things pass, you have imagined new matters to charge me with, wherein I think certainly, that you could no more have proved me culpable, than you did in the first; that is to wit, no whit culpable in either, had it not been that by long imprisonment you forced me to tell what I thought in them, which I have and will freely do; and that, indifferently considered, I suppose shall not deserve any sore punishment, unless you will beard the truth, whereunto I hope it shall not disagree.

"To your second demand, where you do inquire whether I had ever any of Luther's books, and namely, since they were condemned, and how long I kept them, and whether ever I have spent any study in them; I say that indeed I have had of them, and that both before they were condemned and also since; but I neither will nor can tell you how long I kept them. But truth it is, that I have studied upon them, and I thank God that ever I so did; for by them hath God showed unto me, and also to a huge multitude of others, such light as the deceivable darkness of them (I beseech God to amend it) that name themselves, but amiss, to be the holy church, cannot abide. And that appeareth evidently, for they dare not stand to any trial. He coveteth above all

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things, as all his adversaries do well know, that all his writings, and the writings of all his adversaries, might be translated into all languages, to the intent that all people might see and know what is said of every part; whereby men should the better judge what the truth is. And in this methinketh he requireth nothing but equity; for the law would have no man condemned, nor justified, until his cause were beard and known.

"But the contrary part, I mean our over-rich prelacy, who are so drowned in voluptuous living that they cannot attend to study God's Scripture, nor preach the same, which should be the principal part of their office, abhor this fashion (albeit it is right indifferent and full of equity) no less than they do abhor death. And no marvel, for doubtless, if it so could be obtained that the writings of all parties might be openly seen and conferred, we should soon see their sleightly dealing, and facing doctrine, with all other cloaked abuson, lightly overthrown, as appeareth well in Almain: for there be the books of every party seen openly, and translated into the vulgar language, that all people may see and read upon them; and so, upon the sight of the books, they lightly follow the true light of God's word, refusing the horror of darkness and false doctrine, whereby, before, they have been seduced from the right teaching and way showed in the Bible. And this is done, not by a hundred, nor by a thousand; but generally by whole cities and countries, both high and low; few or none excepted.

"But our prelates, seeing this, and that their dealing should, if this light were set up, soon be detected and discovered, have sent out commandments, that if any person should adventure to keep any such books, they shall, for so doing, be excommunicated from God, and all his saints, and cursed as black as pitch, whether the books be in Latin, English, French, Dutch, or any other tongue; as indeed men, seeing the fruit contained in them, have set them forth in all languages. But this ought not Christian men to think any novelty; for so did their forefathers, the prelates in Christ's time and afterwards, to the apostles; yea, and if it were well tried, I think it should soon be found out, that they have so dealt ever since unto this day. For when Christ went about preaching, the scribes and Pharisees, who were bishops then and prelates, gave a general commandment, that whosoever confessed him to be Christ should be accursed, and put out of the synagogue, that we call the church; and so they were.

"Look in the Acts of the Apostles, and you shall find how they were in like manner served; yea, look in the Old Testament, and you shall find (as I remember) how they procured of one that was a temporal ruler at that season, to have the prophecy of Jeremy (for he of all others is most vehement against the dissimulation of priests) to be burned. Why then should we eschew them, or their works, (unless we knew a better cause why,) whom our prelates reject and cast away, seeing they render no reasonable cause of their enterprise? but, presuming of their power, without any due authority, that I can find, granted unto them so to do, will, because they so command, so have all done? according to the tyrannical saying, as I trow, of Sardanapalus, *Sic solo, sic jubeo; stat pro ratione voluntas*; that is to say, So will I, so do I command; and let my will for reason stand.

But I would to God that such knew what spirit they have in them; for if they had indeed the spirit which they claim and pretend to have, I mean the Spirit of Christ, I dare say it should soon alter them from such haughty language and doting, and cause them to turn a new leaf; for that Spirit is full of softness and lenity, lowliness and humility, patience and temperancy; void of

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all wilfulness and tyranny: yea, it should cause them not to prevent, but easily to follow, the counsel and doctrine of Christ's apostles and holy saints, that be their interpreters. As St. Paul, which writing unto the Thessalonians, would have them all to prove all things, and to retain or bold that only which is good; refraining from all that hath semblance of evil. And St. John would have Christian people to try the spirit of them that should speak; whether they were of God or no. Also, writing in another Epistle unto a noble woman, and unto her children, he saith, If any person shall come unto you, bringing with them the doctrine that is not of Christ, receive him not into your house, nor make him any cheer. So that in this he would have women to know the doctrine of Christ, and to love that, refusing to give credence unto foreign teaching; not favouring the same.

"In the First Epistle also to the Corinthians, St. Paul, writing in general to all the inhabitants of that city, saith, Brethren, be ye not children in wit and understanding; but as concerning maliciousness, be you children. In wit I would have you perfect. And why? Verily for no other cause, but that we should (as he writeth unto the Hebrews) have discretion to judge the good from ill, and the ill from the good, and so to be like men differing from beasts, according unto the saying of the prophet, See that ye be not like unto a horse or a mule, which lack understanding. And we should pray with him in another Psalm, O Lord! teach me the way that I should walk in, for I lift up my soul unto thee.

"St. Chrysostom, according unto this, in a certain book of his Commentaries upon Matthew, (the book is called, *Opus Imperfectum*,) writeth after this fashion, as near as my remembrance doth serve, and certain I am that I shall not misreport him, and in that I will be tried whensoever it shall please you to bring the book. 'The priests that were Pharisees in the time,' saith he, 'of Christ, made an ordinance, that whosoever should acknowledge Jesus to be Christ, should be accursed and excommunicated. If then the Pharisees or priests that now do occupy their rooms should make a like ordinance, because they would not have Christ's doctrine to be professed for hindering of their lucre, should we therefore give in all points credence unto them, and leave off to seek after the knowledge of Christ's doctrine? Nay truly. Why,' quoth he, 'shall we not be excused herein by ignorance, seeing we be forefended by the rulers to have knowledge?' He answereth, 'No verily; for if,' saith he, 'when thou desirest to buy cloth, thou wilt not be content to see one merchant's ware, but go from the first to the second, from the second to the third, and so further, to know where is the best cloth, and best cheap, thou, using such careful diligence for a temporal profit, art well worthy great reproach, that wilt be more remiss and negligent for thy soul's health. Seek therefore about from one doctor or teacher unto another, that thou mayst know who doth most duly and truly teach Christ, and him follow according to the saying of the apostle, Prove all, and hold the good; and as it is said in the Gospel, that thou mayst know who be true or lawful changers or coiners, and who be not.

"He also addeth another similitude or parable. 'When thou goest,' quoth he, 'a journey, not knowing perfectly the way, thou wilt, lest thou shouldst fail of the right way, inquire of one man, and after of another; and if thou shouldst chance to go somewhat wide, yet thou wilt not so leave off thy journey undone, but make inquisition again to come where thou wouldst rest. So likewise,' saith he, 'ought we to seek about intently for the wealth of our soul, who are the right key-bearers, and who not;' meaning there by the key-bearers, Christ's apostles, and the bearers of his testimony or message. Which saving, although it were written of no authentical

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author, (howbeit it is written even of him whom I showed you in the said work,) but uttered of one that were in little estimation, every indifferent person having wit and reason would answer, I doubt not, that it is full true.

"The same author also, in an epistle which you shall find in a work called Psegmata Chrysostomi, showeth, as I remember, how certain men deemed ill of him, because he did study Origen's works, who before was condemned for a heretic: but he maketh an apology to the same, showing, that Christian men ought not to be reprehended for so doing; in which apology he bringeth for his defence the saying of Paul above rehearsed, Prove all things, &c. Likewise did St. Jerome, I wot not well in what place of his works, but you shall find it in a Treatise called Unio Dissidentium, where he treateth De mandatis Hominum. When it was objected against him that he retained by him the works of Eusebius and of Origen, studying upon them, he bringeth for him, that it was so lawful, the said place of the apostle,, making therewith an assent, worthy to be greatly noted.

"The same is also reported in the book called Ecclesiastica Historia, or else Historia Tripartita, I wot not now precisely whether. So that these and other authorities of the Scripture, and semblable ensamples of holy interpreters, shall prove, that I and other may safely (no good law inhibiting, unless constitutions pharisaical) read and search the works not only of Luther, but also of all others, be they ever so ill or good; namely, seeing I am a priest: whom the bishop of Norwich ought not to have admitted into orders, unless he had seen me to have had judgment to discern good from ill; neither ought any of you to give orders to any such, in whom ye do not find like ability to judge the light from darkness, and the truth from falsehood: and therefore, if for this you would punish me, I cannot see but you shall condemn yourselves, judging rather of sensual pleasure than of equity, which, in men of your order, were a great shame, and much uncomely.

"Unto your third demand, wherein you do ask whether I was constituted a priest, and in what diocese, and by what bishop; I say that I was made a priest in Norwich, and by the bishop's suffragan of the same diocese.

"Unto the fourth, wherein you do demand whether it be lawful for a priest to marry a wife, and whether a priest in some case be bound by the law of God to marry a wife I say that it is lawful, yea and necessary, for all men that have not given to them of God the gift of chastity, to marry a wife; and that show both Christ and St. Paul. In Matthew xix., Christ, speaking unto the Pharisees that came to tempt him, in the conclusion, saith in this wise, 'Whosoever shall forsake his wife, except it be for fornication, and marrieth another, committeth adultery; and whosoever marrieth her so forsaken, committeth adultery.'

"With that say his disciples, 'If thus the case stand betwixt a man and his wife, it shall be hurtful, and not expedient to contract matrimony.' He made answer, 'Every man cannot away with that saying, but they unto whom it is given of God;' meaning, that every man could not abide single or unmarried, but such unto whom was given of God a special grace so to continue. And if, with your better advice, I might herein be somewhat bold, I would suppose that whereas he doth say, *Non omnes sunt capaces hujus dicti*, (Every man cannot away with that saying,) this word *non omnes* ought to be here taken as it is in many other places of Scripture; as where, in the

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Psalm, it is said, *Non justificabitur in conspectu tuo omnis vivens*, it is meant that no person living shall be justified before God. And in the Epistle to the Galatians, and to the Romans, where it is said, By the works of the law no flesh shall be justified in his sight, it is meant thereby *nulla caro*: so that, *non omnis*, after the rule of equipollence, should be taken for as much as *nullus*, and then the sense should be thus, *Nulli sunt capaces hujus dicti nisi hi quibus datum sit*. No man can be *capax* of this saying, or can so pass his life without marriage, except those who have it given them, by a singular grace of God, to live chaste.

Then he proceeded further, saying, There be eunuchs that so were born from the mother's womb; and there be some eunuchs that have been so made by men; and there be eunuchs that have so made themselves, for love of the kingdom of heaven. In conclusion he saith, Who, that receiveth this saying, (thinking that it should be inexpedient for him to marry, and that he may live chaste through the gift given him of God,) let him take it and so live. So he leaveth singleness of life to all men's election, without any compelling them thereto.

"Hereunto assenteth St. Paul: when that by many reasons he had persuaded the Corinthians to single life, finally he concludeth thus, This, quoth he, say I unto you, willing that which should be for your profit, but not to bring you in bondage. And a little before, I would, quoth he, that all men were even as myself am. But every one hath a several gift of God, one one wise, another otherwise: showing thereby, that unto some it is given of God to live continently, and to others to engender and procreate children, and therefore his will cannot come to effect. Which thing you may easily perceive in this, that after he had showed forth his good wish and desire, saying, I would that all men were even as I am, he putteth a conjunction adversative, that declareth an obstacle or stop, saying, But every man hath his proper gift of God. Upon this he proceedeth further, whereby you may apertly see, that he would have all men, none except, to marry, wanting the gift of continency. This, quoth he, I say to the unmarried and widows; expedient it were for them to remain as I do: but if they cannot live continent, let them contract marriage; for better is it to marry than to burn. This proveth well, that all priests, wanting continency of heart, had need to marry for to avoid burning lust, unless they be inobedient to the mind of Christ that spake in Paul, in observing the traditions of men. In the beginning of the same chapter also he saith, It is good that a man should not deal with a woman: notwithstanding, for avoiding fornication, quoth he, let every man have his wife, and every woman have her husband. He saith here, every man and every woman; and not some man or some woman. He excepteth neither priest nor nun, but every one, both man and woman, is bound, for avoiding of burning and fornication, to marry, not having the gift given of chastity.

"The same also confirmeth your own law, where it is written thus, 'If any man do hold that a priest, being married, in that respect that he is married, ought not to minister in his function, be he accursed.' And, 'If any man shall find fault with matrimony, and detest a faithful and devout woman lying with her husband, and think her culpable, as one that could not therefore enter into the kingdom of God, be he accursed.' And every where else such-like are to be seen.

"Moreover, in *Historia Tripartita* it is written, that a noble martyr of Christ called Paphnutius, in the Nicene council, when all other bishops were purposed to have enacted there, that priests should live unmarried, this holy man resisted them so mightily both with reasons, and

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also with authority of Scripture, that then their purpose altered, and their first device could not pass. And one authority I remember was this, which he borrowed of Paul in the Second Epistle to Timothy: Your device, quoth he, may have a semblance of holiness, but indeed, it shall be the destruction and undoing of the same.

"Moreover, in one of the principal histories of France, called *Les Illustrations de Galles*, whosoever please may there read it as it standeth, within six leaves afore the end of the same; how the author with deep sorrow lamenteth the ordinance that first decreed priests to live unmarried, showing, and that amply, the miseries that have ensued in France thereby, imputing it unto Calixtus the pope, of whom he maketh a doleful mention in metre, whereof the first I yet remember, and it is thus: 'O holy Calixtus! all the world hateth thee;' which followeth in writing, to all that lust to behold therein. But what need I to make longer treatise hereof, forasmuch as you do daily both hear and see, what foul abomination ariseth in every corner, of this piteous law, made of men that would presume to be wiser than God; thinking (as we ever do) that either he would not, or else for lack of wisdom he could not, show us a sufficient law or way, to direct our life and conversation to come to the joy and resting-place by him promised, and so by us longed and looked for; whereby both we be far unreasonable in so deeming of him after our unwise wit, and he much dishonoured. The which I beseech him to help. Amen.

"Unto the fifth, where ye do ask, whether I believe that whatsoever is done of man, whether it be good or ill, cometh of necessity; that is (as you construe) to wit, whether man hath free-will, so that he may deserve joy or pain I say (as I said at the beginning) that unto the first part of your riddle, I neither can nor will give any definitive answer, forasmuch as it surmounteth my capacity; trusting that God shall send hereafter others that shall be of better learning and wit than I, for to indite it. As concerning the second part, where you do interpret; that is to say, whether man hath free-will or no, so that he may deserve joy or pain: as for our deserving specially of joy, I think it very slender or none, even when we do the very commandments and law of God. And that I am taught by our Saviour in St. Luke, where he saith thus, Which of you, quoth he, having a servant that hath eared your land, or fed your beasts, will say unto him, when he cometh home out of the field, Go thy way quickly, and sit down to thy meat; and rather will not say unto him, Make ready my supper; serving me thereat till I have made an end thereof, and afterwards take thyself meat and drink? Think you that he is bound to thank his servant which thus shall do his commandment? I trow, saith he, nay. Even so you, saith he, when you have done all things to you commanded, say yet you be unprofitable servants, and have done that which you were bound to do.

"In which words you may clearly see, that he would not have us greatly esteem our merits, when we have done that is commanded by God, but rather, reckon ourselves to be but servants unprofitable to God, forasmuch as he hath no need of our well-doing for his own advancement, but only that he loveth to see us do well for our own behoof; and moreover, that when we have done his bidding, we ought not so to magnify, either ourself, or our own free will, but laud him with a meek heart, through whose benefit we have done, (if at any time we do it) his liking and pleasure; not regarding our merit, but his grace and benefit, whereby only is done all that in any wise is to him acceptable. And thus, if we ought not to attend our merits in doing the commandment of God, much less should we look for merit for observing of our own inventions

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or traditions of men, unto which there is no benefit in all Scripture (which Paul calleth the word of truth and of faith) promised.

"But here may be objected against me, that the reward is promised in many places to them that do observe the precepts of God. That I affirm to be very sooth. Notwithstanding such reward shall never be attained of us, except by the grace and benefit of Him who worketh all things in all creatures. And this affirmeth well St. Augustine, with St. Ambrose, Fulgentius, and others, as you may see everywhere in their works, and especially in the treatise called 'Unio Dissidentium,' wherein Jerome treateth 'De Gratia et Meritis.' And of St. Augustine I remember two or three right notable sentences, concerning the same. One is in the ninth book of his Confessions, in this form; 'Woe be to the life of men, be they ever so holy, if Thou shalt examine them, setting thy mercy aside. Because thou dost not exactly examine the faults of men, therefore we have a vehement hope and trust to find some place of mercy with thee. And whosoever recounteth unto thee his merits, what other thing doth he recount but thy benefits? O would to God all men would see and know themselves, and that he who glorieth, would glory in the Lord.' Again, in the first book, he saith thus unto God: 'Doth any man give what he oweth not unto thee, that thou shouldest be in his debt? and hath any man aught that is not thine? Thou renderest debt, and yet owest to no man. Thou forgivest debts, and yet lovest nothing.' And therefore his usual prayer was this: 'Lord give that thou commandest, and command what thou wilt.'

"Also in the book called Manuale Augustini, or De Contemplatione Christi, he saith in this wise, 'All my hope is in the Lord's death. His death is my merit, my refuge, my health, and my resurrection. My merit is the mercy of the Lord. I am not without merit, so long as the Lord of mercy shall continue; and if the mercies of the Lord be great and rich, then am I also great and rich in merits.'

"And to conclude, they be Christ's own merits and good works, (as saith St. Ambrose well-nigh every where,) that he worketh in us, which he doth reward and crown; and not ours, if one should look narrowly upon the thing, and speak properly. Howbeit, they yet nevertheless are ours by him, forasmuch as his merciful bounty imputeth his goods to be ours; so that in this, I wot not how others do mean, which lust to sell their merits unto their neighbours, who haply have scarcely enough for themselves: but I do wholly deem and believe, according as the Scriptures, with these holy doctors and such other, do teach, wishing that men ever, for good doing, should not so much (as the common people do) regard their merit Or reward, for that is not the thing that engendereth the love of God in us, but rather maketh men to honour God in a servile fashion, and for the love of themselves, in doing works for love of reward, or for dread of pain, more than because it so pleaseth God, and liketh him: whereas, if we regarded first, yea and altogether, that it is our duty to do well, (which is the keeping of his commandments,) and that so we should content his pleasure, reward should undoubtedly ensue good deeds, although we minded no whit the same, as heat followeth evermore the fire unseparate therefrom. And thus, we should serve God with hearty love as children, and not for meed or dread, as unloving thralls and servants.

"Concerning free-will, I mean altogether as doth St. Augustine, that of ourselves we have no liberty nor ability to do the will of God, but are subject unto sin and thralls of the same, 'shut up and sold under sin,' as witness both Isaiah and also Paul but, by the grace of God, we are rid

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and set at liberty, according to the portion that every man hath taken of the same, some more, some less.

"Whereas, in your sixth demand, you do inquire whether the sacrament of the altar be a sacrament necessary unto salvation, and whether after the consecration of the bread and wine done by the priest, as by the minister of God, there is the very body and blood of Christ in likeness of bread and wine, I neither can nor will answer one word otherwise than I have told since I was delivered into your hands. Neither would I have answered one whit thereunto, knowing so much at the first as now I do, till you had brought forth some that would have accused me to have trespassed in the same; which I am certain you cannot do, bringing any that is honest and credible.

"As concerning the other six sacraments, I make you that same answer that I have done to the sacrament of the altar, and no other; that is, I will say nothing until some men appear to accuse me in the same, unless I know a more reasonable cause than I have yet heard, why I so ought to do. But as touching the form and fashion, I shall answer willingly so far forth as my rudeness will serve. I hold well that such as be duly elected ministers in the church, ought to baptize, except necessity require otherwise; and that the form used in the church is, in mine opinion, not uncommendable. Nevertheless it should edify much more, if it were uttered in the vulgar language, and cause people, in the baptism of children, more effectuously to thank God for his institution, and the high benefit thereby represented.

"In like condition do I also deem of ministration in all the others, that it should be expedient to have them ministered openly in the vulgar language, for the edifying of the people. As concerning the form used in matrimony, I like it right well, and think it commendable, saving in all countries lightly Judas hath set in his foot over far, and taketh in hand to sell his Master, accompanied with Simon Magus, saying, 'What will you give me, if I deliver unto you Christ?' This is the saying of all them that require, without any lawful authority, in some places twelvecence, in some sixpence, in some more, in some less, but in every place lightly some money, when a couple should be married: and this they call 'the church's right.' Moreover, that they will not suffer marriage to be solemnized at all times of the year, I think it standeth not with Christ's rule, but rather is against the same; and that they will not suffer the bans upon all holy-days to be proclaimed, unless a dispensation for money be purchased there-for. All this God forbiddeth. Finally, like as no money ought to be given for this, no more should any be taken for any other. But the contrary is seen, which is great pity; yea, even at the receiving of the sacrament of the altar, priests every where use to claim somewhat, and in some parts of the west country, no less than twopence, of every poll.

"As touching priesthood in the primitive church, when virtue bare (as ancient doctors do deem, and Scripture, in mine opinion, recordeth the same) most room, there were no more officers in the church of God, than bishops and deacons; that is to say; ministers: as witnesseth, besides Scripture fully apertly, Jerome, in his Commentaries upon the Epistles of Paul, where he saith, that those whom we call priests, were all one and none other but bishops; and the bishops none other but priests; men ancient both in age and learning, so near as they could be chosen. Neither were they instituted and chosen, as they be now-a-days, with small regard by a bishop or his officer, only opposing them if they can construe a collect; but they were chosen not only by

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the bishop, but also with the consent of the people among whom they should have their living, as sheweth St. Cyprian; and the people (as he saith) ought to have power to choose priests that be men of good learning, of good and honest report. But, alack for pity! such elections are now banished, and new fashions brought in; which if we should confer with the form of the election showed of Christ by his apostle Paul, we should find no small diversity, but all turned upside down. To conclude, I say, the order or state of priests and deacons was ordained by God; but subdeacons and conjurers, otherwise called Exorcistæ and Accolitæ, which we call Benet and Collet, were instituted by the invention of men. And this you may find in the law, Dist. 21, and in other places where it is written, 'Subdeaconship, in the time of the apostles, was no holy order.'

"As touching ear-confession, I say that the common fashion now used, was never ordained by Christ's law, that is, written in the Bible; neither can you prove by any authority of the same, that we ought to confess all our offences particularly, with the circumstances of all and of every such, to any man. Again, for the maintenance of this which I have said, you shall know that Chrysostom standeth stiffly with me, in his Commentaries upon the Epistle to the Hebrews; in a homily also that he maketh upon the Psalm Miserere; and moreover in a sermon that he maketh, De Pœnitentia, besides many other treatises, wherein he continueth ever one, testifying in semblable wise.

"In like manner doth one of your principal doctors, writing upon your canon law, named Panormitane, testify that it is made by the law of man, and not of God, in cap. *Omnis utriusque sexus*. In the book also called Historia Tripartita, you shall find how it was first instituted, (as I remember,) and afterwards undone again, because of a huge villany committed with a woman by a minister of the church, through confession.

"Also it is mentioned in the end of the first Distinction De Pœnitenti, how the Greek church, whom I think you do not note to be heretics, will not yet hitherto allow it. There are also many reasons brought forth, both to prove that confession made to a priest should not be necessary, and also that confession made unto God should suffice, concluding in this wise, *Quibus autoritatibus, &c.* I could bring forth others that be yet living, men of surmounting and excellent literature, who exactly, by many and mighty both authorities and reasons, do show and confirm this my saying to be just: but I keep silence, and will not name them, lest I should bring them into hatred. Notwithstanding, I never said, nor will say, but that men feeling themselves aggrieved in conscience with some great temptation, had need to go unto such whom they know and trust to be of stedfast credence, and to have good skill in the law of God, opening their grief unto them, to the intent they may know, through counsel, some ease and remedy thereof.

"But in this I mean not that they ought to go unto their curate, or to any other priest, whose credence they deem not at all trusty, or their counsel not sage, but to any other, whatsoever he be, whom they know most sufficient in properties above-shewed, when their curate doth lack them. And this thing is most behoveable, when men, needing counsel, be so void of knowledge in Christ's law, that they cannot find therein remedy themselves. For the doctrine of Christ, if it were well known, containeth remedies for all infirmities and maladies of the mind, so that men, by spiritual knowledge, might ease themselves.

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"To the other part of your question, where you do ask whether a priest, in cases unto him limited, may loose a sinner confessed and contrite for his sin, enjoining him wholesome penance; I say that only Christ looseth a sinner who is contrite, by his word and promise,, and the priest doth nothing but show and declare the word: neither doth declaration or ministry of the priest any whit avail for to loose any person, unless he that should be loosed give credence unto the word ministered and showed by the priest, which word or promise of Christ is called the word of reconciliation or atonement making betwixt God and man. And this testified St. Paul, in the Corinthians, where he saith in this wise, God hath reconciled us unto him through Jesus Christ.

See how it is God that looseth us from sin, who is to make reconciliation or atonement betwixt us and him, and that through Christ, whom he caused to die for the same purpose. And he, quoth St. Paul, hath ordained us ministers of the said atonement. See how Christ's apostles called not themselves the authors of binding and loosing, but ministers; For he, that is to wit, God, reconciled the world unto him, forgiving their sins (where you may know what reconciling is); and hath committed, saith Paul, unto us, to be messengers of the same word, or tidings of atonement or reconciling.

"Also, that the power whereby men are loosed from sin is not the priest's power, you may know by the vulgar saying, which is right true; yea, and with leisure, I doubt not but that I can show the same in the Decrees, which is thus, 'Only God forgiveth and pardoneth us of our sins.' And this was preached at Paul's Cross the Sunday next after the Epiphany last, the bishop of London sitting by; the preacher speaking after this form, treating of this text, 'Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world.' In that, 'said the preacher, 'testimony is given of Christ to be a lamb, it is showed that he was an innocent man. But in that it is said, that he taketh away the sins of the world, is showed that he was God;' alleging there, for the confirmation of this part of his purpose, the vulgar saying above said by me, *Solus Deus remittit peccata*. And the same proposition, or another equal with the same, useth St. Chrysostom, in a homily that is made upon this text of St. Matthew, His name shall be called Jesus; for he shall save his people from their sins. Also St. Chrysostom, in *Opus Imperfectum*, upon this text, Woe be unto you, scribes and Pharisees! because ye shut up the kingdom of heaven before men, &c. As near as my remembrance doth serve me, or else in some other place, but in the book, (as I suppose,) he affirmeth that the keys of heaven are the word and doctrine of God. This witnesseth moreover St. Gregory, I trow, in his book called *Pastoralia*, or else it is an epistle that he writeth to the bishop of Constantinople, in these words: 'The key of loosing is the word of the corrector, who, rebuking, doth disclose the fault, which many times he knoweth not, that committeth the same.'

"St. Ambrose, agreeing to the same, saith, 'The word of God forgiveth sin.' But shall we then say that God's ministers do not bind and loose? I say, No, not as the authors of so doing; but they do loose and bind in like manner as it is said of Paul in the Acts of the Apostles, where our Saviour spake unto him in this manner; I shall, said our Saviour, deliver thee from the people and nations unto whom I send thee, that thou shouldest open their eyes, that they may be converted from darkness to light. Here Paul is said to open the eyes of men's hearts, albeit to speak properly, it is God that so doth; and therefore David prayeth unto him, Open mine eyes, O Lord. And in like manner it is spoken of John Baptist, that he should go before Christ in the spirit and power of Elias, and turn the hearts of the fathers to their children, and the unbelievers to the

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wisdom of the righteous: albeit to turn men's hearts, and to work in them, belongeth to God; but so use we to speak metonymice. As, if your Lordship had defined to me to be excommunicated, and thereupon should send a commandment to the parson of Knoll, to declare the same, the people would say, that the parson of Knoll, proclaiming your commandment, had accursed me; but yet doth he not properly curse me, but you rather, when he, in pronouncing the same, doth your act and commandment, rather than his own.

"Touching cases limited to priests and ministers, for loosing from sin, or binding in the same, I do know no such things showed in Scripture, which is the perfect way of our life: neither can any man, I suppose, show by authority thereof, that one should have more or less limited him than another. And if you can or will thereby teach it me, I shall thank you for your doing, and pray God to requite you.

"Concerning enjoining of penance, I know of none that men need to admit, nor you to put or enjoin the same, except it be renovation of living in casting apart old vice, and taking them unto new virtue, which every true penitent intendeth, or ought to intend, verily by the grace and assistance of our Saviour Christ, to show and perform.

"Unto the eleventh article I say, that grace is given unto them that duly receive the sacraments of Christ and his church; but whether by them or no, that I cannot define; for God sendeth his grace where he pleaseth, either with them, or without them, and when he pleaseth: so that it is at his arbitrement, how and when. Moreover, many a lewd person receiveth the sacraments, who is destitute of grace, to his confusion. So that I cannot affirm that the sacraments give grace; yet, in due receipt of the sacraments, I suppose and think, that God giveth unto them grace that so take them, as he doth unto all good, even without them also.

"Whereas in your twelfth article you do ask, whether all things necessary unto salvation are put in Holy Scripture, and whether things only there put be sufficient, and whether some things, upon necessity of salvation, are to be believed and observed, which are not expressed in Scripture: this is the question, as great learned men have showed me, whom I do count my friends, since the time I appeared at your Lordship's assignment before Master doctor Lesse, and Master Melling, with other, in your chapel of Lambeth, when these questions were first propounded: this, I say, is the question, which, as they told me, is the head and whole content of all others objected against me. Yea, this is both the helm and stern of all together, and that which they contended right sorely to impugn: but love of the truth (wherewith in this point I reckoned me well fenced) would not suffer me to apply and yield to their will, thinking 'that the truth ought to be preferred before all friendship and amity; 'and also, If thy right hand offend, it ought to be cut off, and cast away.

"But touching an answer unto this question, I suppose verily, that if I had St. Cyril's works by me, I should not need to show any other answer in this, than he hath showed beforetime, writing upon this saying of St. John, There are many things more which Jesus did. Notwithstanding, forasmuch as every man at all seasons cannot have what he would, and therefore must make other shift, such as he may, I say, that I suppose the first part of your question to be very true, and therefore to be affirmed, that is to wit, that all things needful for man's salvation be mentioned and showed in Holy Scripture, and that the things only there put be

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sufficient for the regiment of spiritual living, and man's soul's health. And in this shall you find both the ancient doctors standing with me; and moreover, the suffrage of holy writ, whose authority is of most sovereign and infallible stedfastness.

"Look what St. Jerome saith upon this verse, The Lord shall rehearse it, when he writeth up the people. St. Ambrose also, in a treatise, *De Paradiso*, doth show likewise, where he bringeth this text of Paul, written in 2 Cor. xi., I am afraid lest it may, by some means, be brought to pass, that as the serpent deceived Eve through wiliness, so your minds may be corrupted from the simple verity that is in Christ. And also in his Commentaries upon the Epistle to the Colossians, upon this text, In Christ Jesus is all treasure of wisdom; and in divers other places of the same work.

St. Chrysostom also, in his Commentaries upon Paul, declaring this saying, 'The whole Scripture given by inspiration of God,' &c. And in his book called *Opus Imperfectum*, I wot not precisely upon what text, but there you shall find, that he would have a true preacher of God's law not swerving therefrom, neither on the right hand, neither on the left, but keeping thereafter, according to the teaching of Solomon: for he that should thereunto add or withdraw, should enterprise, as saith St. Chrysostom, to be wiser than God. These, or else such like words, doth he say. I will be deemed by the book brought forth, because my remembrance cannot retain perfectly all such things.

"St. Cyprian maintaineth well the same in an epistle that he writeth, *Ad Cecilium Fratrem*, which I would to God were in English, that all men might learn the devout goodness in it contained. In the same he teacheth clearly, how we ought to hear Christ only, and his learning, not regarding or attending to the traditions of men; like as he doth also in many other places. And this agreeth well with Scripture, which is called the word of salvation; the administration of righteousness; the word of truth, yea, and the truth itself; the rod of direction; our spiritual food; the spiritual sword that we ought to fight with against all temptations and assaults of our ghostly enemies; the seed of God; the kingdom of heaven, and the keys of the same; the power of God; the light of the world, which whoso followeth shall not be overcome with darkness; the law of God; his wisdom and testament. Of which words, and such like, every one will give matter of substantial argument, that we, following the same doctrine only, shall have sufficient safe-conduct to come unto the inheritance promised, albeit none other ways or means were annexed with the same. And certain I am, that in this blessed doctrine of Christ is taught how we ought to do truth and mercy, which is all that we need to do, as testifieth the Psalm, in these words, All the ways of the Lord are mercy and truth. And again, the prophet, willing us to do as he did, saith in this manner, I have cleaved to thy testimonies, O Lord; confound me not. In like manner the said whole Psalm warneth us; yea, all the Scripture biddeth us stick fast, to the steady and true word of God, saying, that he is true, and all his ways are truth; but all men are vain and liars. For that is the sure foundation which cannot fail them that ground thereupon, as reporteth Christ: Every one, saith he, that heareth my words, and doth them, is like to a wise man that buildeth upon a sure foundation. And there ought to be none other foundation to Christian men, but only the undoubted truth of Jesus to build our faith upon, and direct our living thereafter, as sheweth St. Paul, saying, Other foundation can no man lay, than that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ. And likewise in, the Epistle unto the Ephesians, where he saith, Now ye are no more strangers and foreigners, but citizens with the, saints, and of the household of God. And in the same

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Epistle, St. Paul, dilating of Christ's beneficence, sheweth how that he ordained in the church divers officers, to the edifying of Christian people, that he calleth Christ's body, until all we may come unto the unity of faith; which cometh by following of one doctrine, which is Christ's, whereby we may grow to be perfect men; and that we should not be here like to children, carried about with every wind of doctrine, by deceit and wiliness of men that study to deceive us.

"In like form doth he warn us, in the Epistle to the Hebrews, that we should not be carried about as the wind, with divers and strange doctrines, but continue in that which ever continueth like and all one, agreeable for all men in all parts, and that at all times; not being changeable, as men's constitutions be, whereof look what one doth counsel or ordain to be of effect, another annuls the same, according as men's minds do always alter, and are full unsteady. Neither do such pertain unto all men; for the Greeks, with others, (whom neither the pope, nor any of his people, will yet deny to be of Christ's church,) will in no condition admit such, neither for men to live after them, nor to believe them as pertaining to their faith. But they allow well the doctrine that persevereth every one, and is immutable, as sheweth St. Paul, saying, Jesus Christ yesterday and to-day is all one, and so ever shall be. He is white bread, without any sour leaven of Pharisaeal traditions; verity without guile; light without any darkness; the very straight way that hath neither hook nor crook. From this ought we not to turn, neither upon one hand nor the other, unless we will go from him that is our felicity and anchor of safety.

"But should I more treat of this, except I would recite all Scripture, which in every part is full of admonitions, exhorting and warning us to cleave fast unto this way, which is the doctrine of the gospel, which God, I beseech him, grant us all both to know and love, taking heed that in no wise we be seduced therefrom by laws and doctrines of men. Look also into Colossians ii., and into the Epistles to Timothy and Titus. So that I conclude that in Holy Scripture is contained sufficiently enough of doctrine for the regiment and salvation of our souls; and because learned men do call this the head article laid against me, I would that all men should well note it, and record my saying therein hereafter, whatsoever shall betide of me; for the truth is so indeed, that hereupon hangeth the sum of all. Therefore I shall recite it once again. I say, that in Holy Scripture the doctrine there only contained, is sufficient for the salvation of Christian men's souls: God give us grace that we may know it, to build our faith stedfastly upon the same, in working thereafter

"As touching the latter part of your question, I say that there are many things both to be observed, and to be believed, that are not expressed in Scripture; as the civil laws of princes and commonalties, ordained for civil regiment of the body, and all other, so that they be not hurtful to faith or charity, but helpful to the same: I reckon that we ought to keep them, not only for fear of punishment, but also for conscience' sake, although such ordinances be not expressly and particularly in Scripture expressed; for they are generally therein contained and spoken of.

"Moreover, if you mean by this word 'expressed,' that which in Scripture is clearly showed out, and appeareth evidently to every reader or hearer that hath but a mean understanding, so do I affirm that there are some things which a man ought to believe, although they be not by him expressly understood: as I have ever believed that the Virgin Mary was, and is, a perpetual virgin, and that the same might be gathered by the Scripture. But if, by this word 'expressed,' you mean comprehended or contained, (as methinks the mind of him that wrote the

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demand should he,) so that he meaneth by this question thus: whether any thing ought to be observed and believed, which is not contained in Scripture, and that, upon necessity of salvation; then I say, that there is nothing either to be observed, or to be believed upon necessity of salvation, which is not contained in Scripture and mentioned in the same either generally or specially. Yet do I not deny but other things are to be believed, as I believed that Dr. Warham was archbishop of Canterbury, ere ever I saw your Lordship; and I believe that I knew verily who was my father and mother, albeit I had no intelligence when they begot me; and such like: and yet in such points, although a man have not a steady belief, he may be saved.

"To the thirteenth article, where you do ask, whether I believe that purgatory is, and whether that souls departed be therein tormented and purged? I say that there is a purgatory in this world, and that doth the Scripture, and also do the holy doctors, call the fire of tribulation, through which all Christians shall pass, as testifieth St. Paul to Timothy, whose testimony is full notable and true, albeit that few do know it, and fewer, peradventure, will believe it. Mark you the words, good people! and know, that they be his, and not mine. They be thus, All that will live godly in Jesus Christ, shall suffer persecution. In this purgatory do I now reckon myself to stand; God send me well to persevere unto his honour! Of this speaketh also St. Peter in these words, which pertain to the instruction of all Christian people: Ye, quoth he, are preserved through the power of God, by faith, unto salvation, which is, prepared to be revealed in the last time; wherein ye now rejoyce, though for a season (if need require) ye are sundry ways afflicted and tormented; that the trial of your faith, being much more precious than gold that perisheth, though it be tried with fire, might be found unto laud, glory, and honour, at the appearing of Jesu Christ, &c. Other purgatory know I none, that you can prove by Scripture, unless it be by one place of the same, which, well examined, I trow, shall make but little against me, for the maintenance of any other than I have showed.

"But whatsoever be brought against me, I trust that holy doctors shall, by their interpretation, sustain the part which I do take upon me, making answer for me sufficient; so that you shall say, it is no new thing which I have or shall speak. Yet, that you should see even now somewhat written of ancient doctors concerning the same, I shall show you what I have read in St. Augustine; first, in a sermon that he maketh *De Ebrietate*, in this wise, saying, 'Brethren! let no man deceive himself, for there be two places, and the third is not known. He that with Christ hath not deserved to reign, shall without doubt perish with the devil.' In another also that he maketh, it is said thus: 'Know you, that when the soul is departed from the body, it is incontinent, for its good deeds, put in paradise, or else thrown headlong into the dungeon of hell for its sins. Choose ye now which ye list, and purpose, while ye be here in this life, either to joy perpetually with the saints, or else to be tormented without end among wicked sinners.' Thus saith holy Augustine.

"To make an end, I hope surely, that by the aid of our Saviour, I shall come to heaven, and reign with Christ, ere that I shall feel any purgatory beside that I have and shall sustain in this life. And he that believeth not stedfastly any other to be, shall yet be saved as well (and God wotteth whether better or no, but I think no whit less) as such as teach the people, or suffer them to be taught, that in going from this station to that, from one altar to another, they shall cause souls to be delivered: yea, and as well as such as say, that a man, being buried in a Grey Friar's frock, shall so have remission of the third part of his sins, (as is granted in a bull unto the said

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religion,) and such like. For St. Augustine shall make with me in his book called *Enchiridion*, after he hath confuted the opinion of some that in the church of Christ, living in mischief, ungraciously, taking thereof no repentance, did yet falsely deem that they should be saved through the cleansing of purgatory, where he concludeth thus: 'Such a thing after this life to be,' saith he, 'is not incredible; but whether it be so or no, a doubt may be thereof moved, or a question demanded.' The same words doth he again recite in a book called *Quæstiones ad Dulcium*, or *Dulcitium*, I wot not 'whether it is called, and there he treateth of the same more copiously; and would I might see the place once again.

"To this agreeth St. Paul, writing thus to the Corinthians, For we must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, that every man may receive the things which are done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or evil. And again, where he writeth unto the Hebrews, I trow it be said in this wise: Remember them that are in bonds, even as though you were bound with them; be mindful of them which are in affliction, as if ye were also afflicted in the body.

"To the fourteenth article, where you ask whether holy martyrs, apostles, and confessors, departed from this world, ought to be honoured, called upon, and prayed unto? I answer, as touching the honouring of them, with the very words of St. Augustine, in his book *De Vera Religione*, in his last leaf, where he saith thus 'Non sit nobis religio cultus hominum mortuorum: quia si pie vixerunt, non sic habentur, ut tales quærant honores, sed ilium a nobis coli volunt, quo illuminante lætantur meriti sui nos esse consortes; honorandi stant ergo propter imitationem non adorandi propter religionem. Si autem male vixerunt, ubicunque sunt, non sunt colendi.' Again, a little after the same, he saith, 'Nam id ipsum actum est temporali dispensatione ad salutem nostram, ut naturam humanam ipsa Dei virtus, et Dei sapientia incommutabilis, et consubstantialis Patri et coæternus suscipere dignaretur, per quam nos doceret, id esse homini colendum, quod ab omni creatura intellectuali et rationali colendum est: hoc est, ipsos optimos angelos, et excellentissima Dei ministeria velle credamus, ut unum cum ipsis colamus Deum, cujus contemplatione beati sunt; neque enim et nos videndo angelum beati sumus, sed videndo veritatem, qua ipsos etiam diligimus angelos et his congratulamur.

"Nec invidemus quod ea paratiores, vel nullis molestiis interpedientibus perfruuntur, sed magis eos diligimus, quoniam et nos tale aliquid operate a communi Domino jussi sumus. Quare honoramus eos charitate, non servitute; nec eis templa construimus. Nolunt enim se sic honorari a nobis, quia nos ipsi cum boni sumus, templa summi Dei esse noverunt. Recte itaque scribitur, hominem ab angelo prohibitum ne se adoraret, sed unum Deum, sub quo ille esset et conservus.'

"Thus saith St. Augustine, handling the same matter a little after more at large.

"The contents of this unto you I expound, that know no Latin; for I covet that all persons should know both my thought in this and all manner of doing, to the intent that of all persons I would have true report and testimony, whatsoever shall betide me. St. Augustine, in these words, would have that we should worship no men departed, be they ever so good and holy, (for they seek no such honour,) but would have us to worship God alone; no, nor yet any angel, nor honour the same, but only in imitation of them, following their good acts in our living, as they followed our most merciful God while they were alive; not building churches in the name or

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honour of them, for they would have no such honour done unto them: it is to them no pleasure, but contrariwise. No, the angels will not that we should build any churches in reverence of them; but would that with them we should honour the original Maker and Performer of all. They refuse all honour, saving that which is called *honor charitatis*, which is nothing else but to be loved. Thus saith St. Augustine, Which love we shall testify in following their good acts, by helping the poor or helpless with alms and mercy, and dealing truly in word and deed, according to our state and calling, both towards God and man; which is no light matter to them that do consider the thing well. But whosoever shall truly and duly follow that trade, shall feel it, I dare say, as the burden of Christ's cross was unto him, right weighty and grievous when he bare it to Calvary; saving that we need not fear, for he hath promised to be with us in tribulation, to rid us from the same. For the prophet David saith, When a just person beginneth to fall, he shall not be borne flat down to be broken, for the Lord shall put his hand under him to rear him up again. And in the Gospel he biddeth, Come you unto me, all that do travail and are sore charged, and I shall comfort or refresh you. Take my yoke upon you, learning of me that am soft and meek-minded, and you shall find ease thereby in your souls, for my yoke is easy, and my burthen light. See you here how he is ever ready to support them that for truth shall sustain the chargeable and sore vexations put upon them by the world, which cannot endure the truth to prevail, and the untruth to be disclosed.

"As touching invocation, that is, to wit, calling upon them, we have in Scripture, how we should call upon Almighty God in all necessities or tribulations. As in the Psalms every where; as in this, Call upon me in time of your tribulation, and I shall deliver you. Mark how he saith here, Call upon me, appointing neither St. Thomas, nor Master John Shorn. Also in another place, The Lord is nigh unto them that call upon him, that call upon him truly; and with that he showeth who calleth truly upon him, saying thus: He shall do the will or desire of them that reverence him, and shall hear graciously their prayer, and make them safe; for the Lord loveth all that love him, and all sinners shall be destroyed. And thus used the holy prophets, patriarchs, apostles, and other good faithful people in old time, in all tribulation and anguish, to resort unto the head fountain, which is of grace infinite, as is showed in other places in this wise: In my trouble I called upon the Lord, saith David, and he heard me graciously. When I was troubled, I cried unto the Lord, and he mercifully heard me. Also, I lift mine eyes unto the mountains. But from whence shall help come unto me? Mine help, quoth he, shall come from the Lord, that made both heaven and earth. I read the first of these verses in form of interrogation, following St. Augustine, who, as I remember, interpreteth it in this wise. If I recite not authorities in all places in the most perfect form, I would pray you somewhat to pardon me, for you know that I lack books, and have not them lying by me. Notwithstanding, I am certain, I shall not decline much from him. The hills toward which David did lift up his eyes, were saints and holy men, by whom when he could not have his mind satisfied, he turned another way, saying, From whence shall help come unto me? Anon, remembering himself better, he sued unto God himself, of whom incontinent he obtained the accomplishment of his wish, and so witnessed the same for our instruction, saying, Mine help is of the Lord, or cometh from the Lord, which made heaven and earth. This interpretation, as near as I remember, is after the mind of St. Augustine; and I suppose verily, that it is not contrary unto the mind of God, nor disagreeing with the sequel of Scripture. Also, in this wise it is reported in the New Testament, by authority deduced out of the Old, where it is written, Every one that calleth upon the name of the Lord shall be saved. And mark how, *cum energia*, it is said, upon the name of the Lord; without any sending us either to

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St. Christopher, (though he be painted ever so stout,) or to St. Patrick's purgatory in Ireland, or to St. James in Galicia, in the year of grace, or yet to any other saint or place; but he would have us that we should call upon Almighty God, and upon his name, for the love that he beareth to Christ, who is alway our advocate before our Father, to purchase mercy for our sins; and not for our sins only, quoth St. John, (who is the writer of this saying and testimony,) but also for the sins of all the world. St. Augustine upon the same, noteth that St. John, in that place, saith, We have an advocate, and that Christ is advocate for him, like as he is for all others, to purchase mercy for him, like as he doth for all others that shall be saved; and that St. John will not be known for our advocate, but that Christ should be taken for advocate of all. St. Bede (as I remember) upon the same, maketh as much for this purpose as doth St. Augustine, or well more; so that by course of Scripture we are taught to resort for all aid and relief (as I have said) unto the head-spring and fountain of all comfort and mercy, as St. Paul calleth him, the Father of mercies and of all comfort, who is ready to comfort us in all tribulation: which, as the Psalm reporteth, healeth all our infirmities, and taketh mercy upon all our iniquities. For he is sweet, as is said in another place, and gentle, and many mercies are laid up for all those that call upon him. Yet he sheweth us no where, I trow, of benefits that we shall purchase by praying unto saints departed; and if any person can or will vouchsafe to teach me that, by some authority of Scripture, I would think myself highly beholden to him, whatsoever he were, either great or small, young or old: but I ween it cannot be. I have made truly long search, yet could I never find any such substantial teaching; howbeit, I offer myself ever to learn, and know that my rude wit, foolish youth, inexpert experience, and feeble discretion, had need of good instruction as much as any other. Howbeit I see (thanked be God) that sometimes he sheweth some sparkle of light and wisdom to children, hiding the same from others that are reputed of higher prudence; so that the world thereby many times is brought into admiration, seeing such facts done by God before their face, and laugh thereat sometimes with indignation, as the Pharisees did at the blind man whom Christ had restored to sight, where they said to him, Thou, caitiff! wast born blind for thy sins, and wilt thou teach us, that are a great multitude of high officers of the temple, and doctors to teach the law? As who would say, It becometh thee full ill. Yet we ought not to marvel greatly at such doing, forasmuch as St. Paul, in his First Epistle to the Corinthians, sheweth of the like practice done in his time, and that he writeth for the instruction of all ages after ensuing; so that it pertaineth (like as the Holy Scripture doth) as well to our time, as it did to that it was first written in. The doctrine of Christ's cross, that is, to wit, of the New Testament, is to them that perish, folly, saith he; but to us that obtain thereby salvation, meaning thereby to such as believe, it is the might or power of God; for it is written, saith he, by the prophet Isaiah, that God aforetime said, he would destroy the wisdom of the wise, and the understanding or learning of the learned would he throw away and despise.

"This prophecy alleged, Paul thought to be authority sufficient to dissuade the Corinthians from the foolish affiance, vain-glory, or opinion, that they had in men, whom they peradventure over-highly esteemed for their offices or solemn titles. So that he proceedeth forth in the same: Where are ye now, quoth he, the worldly wise, the scribes, that is to say, doctors, and such other like officers: Hath not God showed the wisdom of the world to be foolish and unsavoury? For after that by the wisdom of God, which is showed in Scripture, I suppose, the world hath not studied to know God, by wisdom it hath pleased God now to save them that believe through the foolishness of preaching.' He calleth the word of God 'foolish preaching,' not because it was foolish, for afore he called it godly wisdom, but he spake after the opinion of

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them that set a little or nought thereby, esteeming it as Æsop's cock did the precious stone, and as swine do pearls.

"After long process in the same matter, he concluded thus: 'Brethren,' saith he, 'you see your calling, how that not many wise men after the flesh are called to the belief of the gospel, nor many mighty men, nor many of noble parentage; but those that be fools after the estimation of the world, hath God chosen to confound the wise,' &c.

"Therefore I say, as I said afore, that, thanks be to God, albeit I am, as I showed before, void of such great prudency as others be well endued with, yet I see partly how their great reasons be not very substantial, whereby they contend by the treaty of reason, when authority faileth them, to show that we ought to pray to saints departed, to be mediators for us to Christ. And amongst other, this is one that they lean much upon, bringing it forth so usually, that common people well nigh altogether harp upon the same; some favouring it, other, contrariwise, esteeming it of no value.

The reason is this: If, when one should desire to come to the speech of our sovereign, to obtain some boon of him, need it were, first to purchase the favour of his chamberlains, or some other like officers, to bring him to the king's presence, for else he may watch long in vain, until he be full cold ere that he shall speak with his Grace, and much less is he like to obtain his petition. In like wise it fareth (as they say) betwixt God and us; of whom, if we would purchase any benefit, we must first break it unto the saints departed, making them our friends to go betwixt God and us, as mediators and intercessors. But such, (with their leave I would speak it,) I think, are deceived, in that they resemble God and the king together. For though the king be a full gracious prince, (as I hear by common report he is,) yet is he not in graciousness to be conferred with God; and though he were as gracious as might be, yet hath he not the knowledge that is in God, for God knew of all things before the beginning of the world, and is every where, to see not only our outward dealing, but also all secret thoughts of all men's hearts; so that he needeth no mediators to inform him of our desires, as the king doth need. And he is full of infinite mercy, that I may as lightly, or as soon, obtain of him that which is for my behoof, as I should win by praying holy saints to be intercessors to him for me.

"Therefore, passing such apparent reasons, I take me to the ensample of antiquity, I mean of the patriarchs, prophets, and the apostles, and the authority of Scripture, which teach that we need not to fear, but may boldly resort unto Christ himself and his holy Father, forasmuch as he biddeth us, in these words and others like, so to do, saying, Come unto me, all ye that travail, are vexed, and sore charged; and I will refresh and ease you. Mark how he biddeth us to resort unto himself, and that without fear. For he and his Father, which are all one, giveth abundantly of all goodness unto all men, and upbraideth nobody for his unworthiness. But if we intend to obtain of Him, we must, all doubtfulness (as I said before) put apart, with a sure confidence of his mercy, ask of him what we would have; so that I leave unto others what they list to do, praying Jesus, that we all may lust for that which is most pleasing to him.

"But I think, concerning-myself, that according to Christ's own commandment I may, without any doubt casting, resort in all encumbrances, to seek ease thereof, even unto himself and to his blessed Father. Therefore he biddeth us, when we should pray, to say after this

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fashion, 'Our Father which art in heaven,' &c. For there is no creature, nor creatures, that ever were or be, that have more, or so much, either of might, whereby cometh ability to give help; or of mercy and tenderness, which should make them willing in proportion agreeable with ability; nor of knowledge, that should teach to minister both the other, as is our Lord God, who not only is almighty, all-merciful, and all-wise, but also infinite in all these glorious properties; so that undoubtedly he can, will, and best knoweth how, to relieve and succour us in all necessity and anguish. To whom be honour without end for ever, Amen.

"One thing yet I will show you in this case, of which thing I was once advertised by a great learned man, who (as I suppose) is now living. I will not name him, lest I should perhaps cause any displeasure to be conceived against him through my relation. The thing was this: 'I will,' quoth he, 'pray unto saints; but that shall be when I think, that God either cannot or will not give me my petition. But that (as I showed in the Convocation house) shall never be, I hope. And therefore it is to me needless to seek any further about, standing in such trust and belief as, I hope, I have found upon God's sure promise.'

"To the fifteenth article, where you do demand whether the saints in heaven, as mediators, pray for us, I say, that I believe saints in heaven do pray for us; for I suppose they know that all men generally living upon earth, be wrapped in manifold miseries, like as they also were, their souls being imprisoned within their bodies, being mortal. Albeit I think they know not what particular miseries men upon earth be entangled and clogged with, as sheweth Augustine, or else some other (as I think rather) under his name, in a certain work, saying in this wise: that souls departed neither feel, nor know of any particular miseries sustained by men living in this world, whereby they should need to take either patience, or else compassion after their decease. Yet, forasmuch as they know in general, that all men living are clad with frailty, and that their charity is not minished after they be hence departed, but increased; therefore I believe verily, that they do pray for us as petitioners; but not as mediators, so far forth as I can see. For Scripture useth to speak but of one Mediator, which I think signifieth a maker of peace or atonement betwixt God the Father and man. Record I take of Paul, who, in the Epistle to Timothy, saith, There is one God, and one mediator, or peacemaker, betwixt God and man, the man called Christ Jesus, which gave himself for the redemption of all.

"Thus, I say, I believe saints in heaven do pray for us as petitioners, but not as mediators. Yea, all the saints, I ween, do pray, and long that the day of judgment may soon come, according to the saying of St. Paul, The fervent desire of the creature waiteth when the sons of God shall be revealed. And again, Every creature groaneth with us, and travaileth in pain together unto this present; which shall be for the accomplishment of glory, both to them and all others elect of God to be his children, and co-inheritors with Christ.

"In the sixteenth article, where you demand, whether I believe that oblations and pilgrimages may be devoutly and meritoriously done to the sepulchres and relics of saints, I say, that what they may be, I cannot perfectly tell; for God can so work, that unto those whom he hath chosen to be inheritors with him, all things shall turn to a good conclusion, as saith St. Paul to the Romans, in this wise: Unto those that love God, all things shall well succeed, and work together for their furtherance in goodness: of whom it is written in the Psalm, Blessed is that nation that hath the Lord for their God, the people whom he hath chosen to be his inheritors; yea, their evil

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deeds shall not hurt them, but come well to pass for the increase of virtue. For as it is said in the Gospel. To whom less is forgiven, he loveth less. And again, it hurted not Onesimus, that he ran away from his master Philemon, but God wrought, that by occasion thereof he met with Paul, which converted him to the faith of the gospel, who before was without belief. Therefore, whether they may be done meritoriously or no, I will not define; God wotteth. But this I say, that God did never institute any such thing in the New Testament, which is the verity and rule of all Christian people to follow and believe: yea, that only is of perfect surety, and none other, but as it is agreeable to, and hath ground of the same. And like as we have no certain doctrine instituted by Christ, or his disciples, teaching us thus for to do; no more is there any merit appointed by him therefore, as I showed before, where I told my mind of our merits.

"Moreover, where ye put *pie*, which I call 'devoutly,' very true devotion (that is called in Latin, *pietas*) is that which hath annexed therewith divine promises for this present life, and for that which is to come, as witnesseth Paul, which is nothing else but the observation of Christ's law, that, in the Psalm, for the pureness thereof, is called, silver fined often and many times through the fire. It hath no chaff in it, as have men's traditions; but is pure and clean wheat, as showeth Jeremy, writing in this wise, What is the chaff to the wheat? Therefore behold, I will come against the prophets, saith the Lord, that steal my word every one from his neighbour, and deceive my people in their lies and in their errors. And this devotion is that which St. James calleth the pure religion of Christ, saying, Pure and immaculate religion before God the Father is, to visit fatherless children and widows in their vexation; whereby he meaneth all needy people that are succourless and helpless, with our counsel and other alms, according to our ability, whensoever we see them in need and distress.

"The other part of this religion showed by St. James, is, That a man should keep himself clean from the world; and that do they which be not so affectionate unto any thing therein, but that they have the things of the world, or occupy the same by true dealing, so that they can find in their heart to depart from them, when God shall please, or charity so requireth.

"Thus doing, we shall follow the exhortation of blessed Paul, which, writing to the Corinthians, saith thus, Brethren, the time is short: this remaineth, that they which have wives, should be as they had them not; and those that weep, should be as they wept not; and those that buy, as if they were without possession; and they that occupy this world, as though they occupied it not: for the fashion of this world passeth away. And this meaneth none other thing, but that we should neither love nor dread any worldly thing passing measure, or inordinately, but God above all things, and all other things in him or for him; and he that thus doth, fulfilleth the commandment of Christ spoken to the rich man in the Gospel, where he saith, Go and sell that ever thou hast, and come, follow me. For he hath sold away all that ever he had, that surely intendeth for the love of Christ, to help the poor with all that he may. The will is accepted for the deed, as is commonly said. And this saying both of James, and also of the evangelist, I think verily belongeth to all Christian men that they should perform it, none except, neither lay man nor woman, (as we use to say,) but to them, as well as to any whom we call religious.

"As concerning the relics and tombs of saints, I have said to your Lordship before, what I do think of the milk of our Lady, the blood which they say is at Hayles, Norwich, and other places, with such others, whereof I trust you do know what ought to be done. And I beseech God

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you may do therein as your office doth require, so showing example to other prelates to follow your Lordship in good doing, as is comely for a primate to do; remembering always, as Paul saith, the time is short, and therefore it were good to set to hand in time.

"Finally, holy Moses, when he died, would be so buried that no man should know which was his grave, as it is witnessed in the book of Deuteronomy; and that (as the expositors testify) was, because the Jews, who were prone to new-fangled worshipping, should not fall into idolatry, worshipping him as God, for the great and manifold miracles that were wrought by him while he was alive.

"To conclude, I say, it is no point of my belief, to think that oblations and pilgrimages at saints' graves and relics, are meritorious works, nor yet that there is any devotion in so doing. That is godly which is instituted by Scripture. If you think contrary, I would desire to know, for mine instruction, what part of Scripture should make therefore against me.

"In the seventeenth article, where you do ask, whether the fast in Lent, and others appointed by the common law, and received in common usage of Christian people, (unless necessity otherwise requireth,) are to be observed, I say that, in mine opinion, they are to be observed, and fasting discreetly done is commendable, for so shall a man avoid sloth, and be the more ready to serve God, and also his neighbours, and thereby tame the rebellion of carnal concupiscence, according to the saying of the poet, 'Without wine and good fare, lust waxeth cold.' And as St. Jerome, 'The body inflamed with wine, bursteth out into lust.'

"Yet shall not the breaking of these fasts make a man to do deadly sin, except in his mind be some other malicious affection therewith annexed, as rashness of mind, despite, or such-like; forasmuch as no positive law of man, made without foundation of Scripture, may bind any person, so that in breaking of such, he shall therefore sin deadly. And of this sort made by man, are the fast of Lent and other days ordained in your laws without authority of Scripture, which willeth us to fast perpetually, eating and drinking but when need requireth (not for any voluptuousness, as many, that recount themselves great fasters, I fear have done); yea, and that sparely, foreseeing always that our stomachs be never cloyed with drunkenness or surfeiting (as is commanded by our Saviour in Luke); but contrariwise, after the fashion rather of a certain prince that is mentioned, I trow, in Valerius Maximus, that never rose from his meal's meat with a full stomach, but rather somewhat empty, or hungry; which, as the story testifieth, caused him to live so wonderfully a long season, that a man could scarcely think it possible for one's life to be so prolonged, had not such a notable author reported it.

"And, to tell the truth, I suppose the prelates should better have persuaded the people to pure fasting by instant preaching of the word of God, and fatherly exhortations, than by ordaining of so sore a multitude of laws and constitutions; for the nature of man is well described by Horace, saying, 'Look, what is forbid, that we most desire, and always covet the things that be denied us.' And in another proverb, 'The rope, by overmuch straining, bursteth asunder.' According to this said a good old father in Cambridge. I remember his saying well yet: he was an old doctor of divinity. When a legate came into England at a time, and he, with certain bishops, had ordained, that the dedication of all churches through England (as I remember) should be kept holy and solemnized upon one day, and priests should have their gowns made close before, with

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such other like ordinances, he resisted, not condescending to have them put in execution, when his diocesan required him; declaring how this multitude of laws pleased him not; for we had enough and abundantly before. Adding this reason, 'Adam, being in Paradise, had but one law to observe, and yet he brake it: What other thing then shall this multitude do,' quoth he, 'but multiply transgression? for when a faggot is bound over strait, the bond must break.'

"God therefore, I beseech him, send us of the sweet dew of his heavenly doctrine, to moisten and supple the earthly ground of our hearts, that we may grow like fashioned unto him; putting apart our old Adam, with all his dissimulation and painted show, that is much caused by human laws and constitutions; and do upon us Christ, that is the very truth, and the way directing men to the same, Amen.

"Unto the eighteenth article, where you ask, whether it be laudable and profitable that worshipful images be set in churches for the remembrance of Christ and his saints, I say, that I know of no images that ought to be worshipped, specially made by the hand of men: for the Psalm saith, Confusion or shame be upon them that worship and make obeisance unto carved images, and that glory in their pictures. Moreover St. Augustine, in his book *De Vera Religione*, saith thus: 'Let us not have devotion in worshipping the works of men.' Or else thus: 'Let us not be bound to worship the works of men; for the workmen are more excellent than the things which they make, whom notwithstanding we ought not to worship.' Lactantius also maketh strongly with the same: I cannot without book recite his saying, for he teacheth largely of the same matter. Origen also, writing against Celsus, I trow, will likewise testify; where, as I remember, he concludeth, saying, that he would have no goldsmiths nor gravers in a commonalty; for they do but little profit or none thereto. And St. Gregory, that was chief, either inventor that images should be set in churches, or else maintainer thereof, would not, as I have read, (I trow, it is in an epistle which he writeth to Servus,) have them worshipped.

"And as concerning the exciting of men's memory, I would suppose that if Christ's doctrine were so showed and opened, that people might clearly understand it, (and that is the principal office of prelates and curates to do, by diligent teaching thereof,) I think verily we should have little need of any other images than that which should, by wholesome doctrine, be showed unto us by word of mouth and writing: 'Nothing is so effectual, to exercise the remembrance of disciples, as the lively voice of good teachers;' as it is testified both by common report, and also by the sentence of learned men.

"So that I suppose, if this lively doctrine of God had aforetime been apertly and diligently opened unto the people, as curates ought to have done, we should have such profit thereby, that we should not need to contend for setting up, or taking down, of other dumb stocks, and lifeless stones, carved or made by men; and if prelates would begin to set up Christ's word, which, alas for pity! is not looked upon, (but rather trodden down and despised so that many are not ashamed to say, 'I will have no more learning in Christ's law than my predecessors, for they that magnify it must be sore punished, and taken for heretics,' with such other grievous words,) if this doctrine were yet set up in churches, I say, and truly opened, that all men might have their judgment thereby reformed and made clear, I think we should not greatly need the profit that cometh by images made of men, to excite our remembrance to live Christianly.

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"For that word which came from the breast of Christ himself, and was written of others that wrote and spake by the suggestion of his Spirit, the Holy Ghost, sheweth full perfectly his blessed will, which is the true and certain image of his mind and device. If this, therefore, were diligently inculcated, I think we should be transformed anew, according to the mind of Paul, who, writing to the Colossians, saith thus: 'See that you lie not one to another, after that now you have put off the old man with his works, and have put upon you the new man, which is transformed and renovated after the knowledge and image of Him that made us.' Yea, thus should we all be taught of God, as is said in John; and all should know God, both small and great, according to the promise recited in the Hebrews: yea, thus should we be restored to goodness, that we should have the image of God carved in our hearts full expressly. For every man is transformed into the fashion of virtuous things, that he is accustomed to read and hear. And, therefore, it were a great grace, if we might have the word of God diligently and often spoken and sung unto us in such wise that the people might understand it. Yea, then it should come to pass, that craftsmen should sing spiritual psalms sitting at their works, and the husbandman at his plough, as wisheth St. Jerome.

"Yea, this holy image of Christ, I mean his blessed doctrine, doth appoint us also to consider the works made by the hands of God, such as no man can make like, whereby, as saith St. Paul, writing to the Romans, The invisible power and divinity of God is known and seen by the creation of the world, of such as will consider his works that are therein by him made. Look in the Psalms, Praise ye the Lord from heaven. The heavens declare the glory of God, with others. And these two images, God's works and his doctrine, have, ere any images made by men were set up in churches, well and sufficiently instructed the primitive church: and should yet instruct us well, if they were well considered, so that we should not need so sorely to contend for setting up of others made by men.

Whereby I have perceived much harm to arise, and no great profit; nor the Scripture maketh not for them, but rather contrary; as concerning which matter, I would your Lordship would please to read the Epistle of Baruch once again, writing of the same matter.

"Unto the nineteenth article, where you ask, whether I believe that prayers of men living, do profit souls departed and being in purgatory, I made answer in the thirteenth article.

"Unto the twentieth, where you do ask, whether men merit and deserve both by their fasting, and also by other deeds of devotion, I have showed what I do think thereof, in the fifth demand.

"In the one and twentieth, where you do ask, whether I do believe that men, prohibited by bishops to preach, as suspected of heresy, ought to cease from preaching and teaching until they have purged themselves of suspicion, before a higher judge? I say that men may be wrongfully suspected of heresy, either because they never thought to believe such errors as men, by false suspicion, do deem them to favour; or else, when men, as well of high estate as of low, by sinister judgment may think that to be error, which is the very truth. And of this speaketh Isaiah, Woe be to them, quoth he, that call the light darkness, and the darkness light; the truth falsehood, and the falsehood truth. As the bishops and the priests, with their orator Tertullus, called Paul, saying thus, before a judge called Felix, unto whose court they brought him to be condemned to

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death: We have, quoth they, gotten here a pestilent fellow, a sower of sedition or discord among all the Jews of the world, and a bringer-up of the sect of the Nazarenes; which was also minded to have polluted our temple, &c. This is to call, by perverse judgment, truth falsehood. And thus did their predecessors speak of the prophets, yea, and of Christ himself, calling him a seducer and preacher of heresy: which is written for our instruction. And men being thus suspected, (as I would none were,) ought in no wise, therefore, to cease either from preaching, or teaching.

"Ensample of this we have in the Acts of the Apostles, where it is showed that when Peter and John had done a miracle upon a man that had been lame from his nativity, (whom by the power of Christ they healed, and caused to go where he pleased,) the people, hearing of this, came running about Peter and John. Peter, seeing this, did exhort the people in a sermon, that they should not think him and his fellow St. John to have done this wonderful thing by their own power or holiness, but by the virtue of Christ, whom they and their head rulers had slain.

While they were thus speaking with the people, there came upon them the priests and officers of the temple, accompanied with the Sadducees, being sore displeased that they should enterprise to teach the people, and preach that men should arise from death by the name of Christ, whom they had caused to be crucified; and therewith they laid hands upon them, and put them in ward until next day. The next day they sent for the apostles before them, demanding by what power, and in whose name, they did this miracle? Peter made answer, If you, quoth he, that are head-rulers over the people, lust by examination to know by what means we did it, we would you should all know, that we did it through the name of Christ Jesus of Nazareth, whom you did crucify: but God did cause him to arise again. In the virtue of his name doth this man, that afore was lame, now stand afore you here both whole and sound. For Christ is that head corner-stone, whom you cast away, which should have builded the people's faith upon him, neither is there any salvation without him.

"These great men, seeing that Peter spake so freely, and that he, with his fellow John, were simple men, without any pompous apparel, or great guard of servants, being like idiots and men unlearned, wondered thereat. At last they did command them to depart out of their council-house, while they should commune more largely of the matter. Afterwards they called the apostles before them again, commanding them that they should no more preach, nor teach in the name of Jesus. But the apostles answered, saying, I beseech you, judge better. Ought we to obey you more than God, or no? for certainly we must needs testify of those things which we have both heard and seen. Then the head priests, threatening them sore, did give them strait charge not to break their precept; and so did let them go, not knowing any cause why they might punish them; for they feared lest the people would have taken part with the apostles, for the people gave glory unto God for the miracle showed by them.

"Notwithstanding all these great threats, Peter wrought miracles still amongst the people, doing them to know that glory therefore ought to be given to Jesus, by whose power and name they were done; wherewith the hearts of the people melted for joy, so that they followed after the apostles whithersoever they went.

"The primate of the priests, hearing of this, and all that were about him, replete with indignation, laid hands upon the apostles, putting them in the common prison. But the angel of

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God, in the night, opened the prison-doors, and brought them out, saying, Go you into the temple, and stand there preaching unto the people all the words of life; that is to say, Christ's doctrine: and so they did early in the morning. Then came forth the chief priest, and they whom he used to have about him, and called a council, in which were all the priests of Israel, or ancients of Israel. So they sent unto the prison-house to have the apostles brought forth before them. When their servants came to the prison-house, and found the apostles gone thence, they returned to their masters, saying, We found the prison fast shut round about in every part, and the keepers watching at the doors without, full diligently. But when we had opened the prison, we could find nobody within.

"Then, as the high priests and officers of the temple heard this, they were in a great perplexity, doubting what would thereof come. Then came one unto them and showed them, saying, Behold, the men that ye put in prison are standing in the temple, preaching unto the people. Then went they thither, and brought the, apostles with them without any violence; but they were afraid lest the people would have beaten them down with stones.

"Then they caused the apostles to be brought into their council-house, the high priest beginning his proposition against the apostles in his form: Have we not straitly commanded you, said he, that you should not preach in the name of Christ? and see, you have filled all Jerusalem with your doctrine. Will you bring this man's blood upon us, that we should unrighteously have caused him to suffer death? Then answered Peter and the other apostles, saying, We ought to obey God more than any man. The God of our fathers hath raised Jesu from death, whom you did slay, hanging on a tree. Him notwithstanding hath God raised, and by his power advanced to be our King and Saviour: by whom shall be given to all Israel, that will take repentance, forgiveness of sin.

"These great rulers hearing this, their hearts were therewith cloven asunder, and they consulted together to slay the apostles. But one good man among their multitude advised them otherwise, whose advice they did approve. Then they called the apostles again before them, causing them to be scourged, and charged them no more to preach in the name of Jesus; and so did let them depart.

"Then went they away out of the council, rejoicing that God had made them worthy to suffer such rebukes for his name's sake. But yet they never ceased to teach and preach of Jesus Christ every day in the temple, and in all houses that they came into. This is written in the fourth, fifth, and sixth of the Acts of the Apostles, and for our instruction, doubt you not: for such practice is showed in all ages. So that hereby you may see, when men be wrongfully suspected or infamed of heresy, and so prohibited by bishops to preach the word of God, that they ought for no man's commandment to leave or stop, though they do never purge themselves before them: for such will admit no just purgation many times, but judge in their own causes, and that as they lust, which methinketh not at all comely. Therefore in the old law, the priests and other judges do sit together, hearing of matters that were in controversy.

"Yet this I think reasonable, that a man justly and not causelessly suspected, and namely if he be so found faulty of heresy, ought to cease from preaching, after he is inhibited, until he have made his purgation before some judge. But, in my rude opinion, it were necessary and

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convenient that our heads should not be over ready of suspicion, and so inhibiting men approved from preaching, especially in this session, when the poople do suspect them to do it more for love of themselves, and maintaining of their private lucre or honour, than to do it for love of God, or maintenance of his honour.

"In the two and twentieth article, where you demand whether I believe that it is lawful for all priests freely to preach the word of God or no, and that in all places, at all seasons, and to all persons to whom they shall please, although they be not sent: I say, that priests are called in Scripture by two distinct words, that is to wit, *presbyteri*, and *sacerdotes*. The first is to say, ancient men, seniors, or elders, and by that word or vocable are the secular judges, or such-like head officers, sometimes also signified; as we read in Daniel, that they were so called which defamed and wrongfully accused Susanna: that this is seldom, and nothing so customable as for those to be called *presbyteri*, who are set to be prelates in the church, to guide the same by the word of God and his blessed doctrine, that is the rod of direction, and the foundation of Christ's faith. And priests thus called *presbyteri*, in the primitive church, (what time there were but few traditions and ordinances to let us from the strait trade or institution made by Christ and his apostles,) were the very same and none other but bishops; as I showed you in the first part of mine answer, by the authority of St. Jerome.

"Paul, also, recordeth the same right evidently in the First to Titus; in this form: I left thee Titus, quoth blessed Paul, behind me in Crete, that thou shouldest set in due order such things as lack, or be not else perfectly framed; and that thou shouldest set priests in every town, like as I did appoint thee, if any be without reproach or blameless, the husband of one wife, having faithful children, not given to riot, or that be not unruly. For so ought a bishop to be, &c. These are not my words, but St. Paul's in the Epistle to Titus. Where you may see that a priest, called presbyter, should be the same that we call a bishop, whom he requireth a little after, to be able, by wholesome doctrine of God's Scripture, to exhort the good to follow the same doctrine; and if any shall speak against it, to reprove them thereby. And mark ye how he would have a bishop (otherwise called an ancient man or a priest) to make exhortation by Holy Scripture, and thereby to reprove them that shall speak against the truth, and not to condemn them by might or authority only, or else by traditions of men made in general councils. And as many as are in this wise priests. who are commonly called *presbyteri*, (otherwise bishops,) such as in the church are set to take cure of souls, and to be spiritual pastors, ought to preach freely the word of God in all places and times convenient, and to whomsoever it shall please them, if they suppose and see that their preaching should edify and profit.

"And whereas you add this particule, 'though they were not sent;' I say, that all such are chosen to be preachers, and therefore sent. For of this speaking St. Gregory in his Pastorals, in this wise: 'Whosoever taketh priesthood upon him, taketh also upon him the office of preaching.' Yea, your law reporteth in like manner, Distinction 43, where it is thus said, 'A priest ought to be honest, that he may show honesty both in words and conditions.' Wherefore it is said in the Canticles, The cheeks of the spouse, that is, to wit, of preachers, are to be compared to a turtle dove. Where is moreover added, he must also have the gift of teaching, because (as saith St. Jerome) innocent conversation, without speech or preaching, how much it is available by example-giving, so much doth it hurt again by silence-keeping: for wolves must be driven away by barking of dogs, and by the shepherd's staff, which (as the Gloss showeth) signifieth

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preaching, and sharp words of the priest. And this I understand of such as should be priests elect both by God and men, in God's church; whose office is to preach.

"And though many of them who now do minister in the church, and are elected by bishops, otherwise than after the manner of Christ's institution, and the form of the primitive church, neither do nor can preach; yet ought not the multitude of such to be laid for an authority against me or others, that are compelled to show the truth and right ordinances of the apostles, that were used aforetime in the primitive church: God bring it in again! Neither ought we, for the negligence of bishops, who have chosen such an ignorant multitude, whereby the principal duty of priests is grown out of knowledge, when we do show you thereof, to be so enforced by a book-oath, and therefore noted as heretics, imprisoned and burned.

"Other be called priests in the New Testament, by this word *sacerdotes*, that is to say, I think, sacrificers. And thus as Christ was called king and priest, so be all Christian men in the New Testament (as is testified, Apoc. i.) by Christ made kings and priests. The words in the Apocalypse be thus: To Jesu Christ, which hath loved us, and washed us from our sins through his blood, and made us kings and priests unto God, even his Father, unto him be glory and rule for ever and ever. Amen. Thus saith St. John, speaking of all Christian people. In like manner it is said, by St. Peter, where he writeth unto all Christian men, You, quoth he, be a chosen generation, a regal priesthood, an holy people. St. Bede, expounding the same, (as my remembrance doth serve,) shall testify plainly with me. And St. Augustine, I wot well, in divers places recordeth that all Christian men be so called, *regale sacerdotium*; and likewise doth Faber, in his Commentaries upon the same place. Whosoever looketh upon the treatise called Unio Dissidentium, shall find a multitude of ancient fathers' sayings, declaring the same.

"But this may yet seem a strange thing and a new, that all persons should be called priests, and that, in Scripture, which cannot lie. Truth it is indeed, it may seem strange to divers, as it did to me and many other, when we read it first, because we never read or heard of the same before; and so did Christ's doctrine (and his apostles') seem new to his audience, when he himself preached. Albeit he yet proved his doings and sayings by authority of the law and prophets, as is showed in Romans i., where Paul reporteth, that he was chosen apart, to be a minister of the gospel that was promised before by the prophets. And our Saviour testifieth the same in St. John, saying to the Jews, Think you not, quoth he, that I shall accuse you before my Father. There is one to accuse you, which is Moses, in whom ye do trust. But if you believed Moses, you should certainly believe me, for he writeth of me, &c. Likewise a little above, he biddeth them search the Scriptures, for they make report of him.

"But although these sayings do seem new, for lack that we have not had old familiarity with Scripture, and usage in reading the same, (God amend and help it, when it shall please him I) yet truly so standeth it written as I have said, and so it is interpreted by the doctors above named; and so was it preached of a certain doctor also of divinity in London, the second day of Advent last past, in this sentence. I wot not whether these were the self words or no: 'The church,' quoth the doctor, 'is nothing else but the congregation of faithful people: and you all,' quoth he to the people, 'are of the church, as well as I, or any others, if you be of God. And likewise we and all men are priests, but yet are not all alike ordained ministers,' said he, 'for to consecrate the body of Christ in the church.' Thus said the preacher; whom, when I see

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opportunity, I dare be bold to name. And these, I say, ought not all to preach openly in general conventions or assemblies, neither can they, but they rather should come to learn: yet privately are they bound, for instruction of their servants, children, kinsfolk, and such-like, to speak what should be for the destruction of vice, and for the increase or upholding of virtue, whensoever time and place so behoveth; as showeth St. Paul, saying in this wise: You that are fathers, provoke not your children to wrath or anger; but bring them up in the doctrine and discipline of the Lord.

"In the three and twentieth article, where you do ask, whether I believe that it is lawful for lay people of both kinds (that is to wit, both men and women) to sacrifice and preach the word of God: I say, that it is meet for none, in mine opinion, to preach openly the word of God, except they be chosen and elected to the same, either by God or solemnly by men, or else by both; and therefore St. Paul calleth himself, in all his epistles, an apostle of God, that is to wit, a messenger of God. And to the Galatians he writeth thus, Paul an apostle; not sent of men, nor by man, but by Jesus Christ. Also to the Romans, How shall men preach truly, quoth he, except they be sent?

"Notwithstanding, I say this, both by supportation of God's law, and also of laws written in the Decrees, that in time of great necessity lay people may preach; and that of both kinds, both men and women; as you may see in the Epistle to the Corinthians, where he saith that it is a shame for a woman to speak in a multitude or congregation. Yet in another place he saith that every woman praying or prophesying, having nothing upon her head, doth dishonour her head.

"To this accordeth the prophecy of Joel, recited in the Acts, where, in the person of God, it is said thus, I shall pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh, and both your sons and your daughters shall prophesy. Thus did Anna the prophetess, daughter of Phanuel, give praise unto Christ in the temple, and spake of him to all men of Jerusalem, that looked after the redemption of Israel.

"This also doth the Virgin Mary yet speak unto us in the Scripture, by the song which she made, that is daily recited in the church, called Magnificat. Yea, Stephen also, being no priest; but a deacon, made a wonderful good sermon. This also willeth your Decrees, Dist. 9, De Consecratione, where it is thus said: 'A woman, although she is learned and holy, may not presume to teach men in the congregation, nor baptize, except necessity requireth.' So that, where need is, I shall add this, but not without the mind of him that wrote the law, like as a woman may baptize, so may she teach the word of God, or preach, as is declared more plainly, Cap. 16. Quest. 1. et in Glossa. 11. Cap. Adjicimus. Dist. 18. And I beseech God, that, for lack of true and well learned officers, such necessity do not now come upon us, that such shall need to take upon them to preach.

"There is a learned man, which, in a dialogue that he maketh betwixt a rude abbot and a gentlewoman having skill in learning, jesteth, but with pretty earnest, (as his manner is;) and giveth a watch-word touching somewhat my purpose. It is in the end of the dialogue. The gentlewoman answering the abbot, for that he had partly checked her because she was quick in utterance of learning, 'Sir,' quoth she, 'if you continue therein so dull as you have done, and daily do, the world perceiving it, (as they begin fast to grow quick in sight,) it is to be feared lest they will set you beside the saddle, and put us in your room.'

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"As concerning sacrifice-doing, (so do I understand by the word which you do use, *libare*, not knowing else what it should mean,) I say that it is lawful for all men and women to do sacrifice, of what sort soever they be: but I mean not by sacrifice-doing, to say mass as priests used to do, thereunto appointed; but like as Christian people be *sacerdotes*, that is to say, sacrificers, as is showed before, so ought they to offer, and do offer, spiritual sacrifices, as writeth St. Paul to the Romans, saying, I beseech you, brethren, for the love of God's mercy, that you will give your body a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God, being a reasonable worshipping. In that he saith our body should be a sacrifice, he would have it slain: for that was the manner, that all beasts that were wont to be sacrificed should be first slain. But he joineth therewith, living; saying, Give your body to be a living. sacrifice. So that he would we should continue to live in this body to God's pleasure, but fleeing the evil lusts and appetites thereof, and so shall our worshipping be reasonable, if we do not give unto our reason overmuch of the bridle whereby it may run at riot, in following fleshly concupiscence, and wicked vanity or arrogancy: as when men will take in hand to devise by their own wit, a more godly way of living than is instituted by Christ, (which is the wisdom of his heavenly Father,) saying that his is not sufficient enough for us to follow; of whom it is said by the prophet Isaiah in these words: This people approach near unto me, and honour me with their lips, but their heart is far from me: but they do worship me in vain, teaching doctrines that are laws or precepts of men.

"Then Paul proceedeth, showing of this Christian sacrifice, saying, And apply not yourselves unto the fashion of this world, but be you transformed, by renovation of your mind; that you may know what is the will of God, what is good, acceptable, and rightful before him. See how he would have us do this sacrifice, and mortify our lusts, in refusing the corrupt fashion and behaviour of the world, altering our minds by a new way, by knowing the will of God, and following after the same.

"Another manner of sacrifice which he requireth is, that we should alway offer unto God the sacrifice of praise, that is, to wit, the fruits of our lips, that Hosea calleth *vitulos labiorum*, giving laud unto his name; and that we should not forget to do good, and to be beneficial to our neighbours: For in such sacrifice, saith he, God hath delight.

"Thus I say that by plain suffrage of your law in the Decrees, and also of Scripture, lay persons, in necessity and in time of need, may lawfully preach or show the word of God, and also do sacrifice: but I think, except great need require, they ought not so to do.

"Thus have you herein my mind, which if it be not firm and substantial, I will yet reform it when any better is showed; as I will also do in all other things; for I am not in this yet fully certified. Albeit methinketh the decrees do pass evidently with me.

"In the twenty-fourth article, where you do ask, whether excommunication, denounced by the pope against all heretics, do oblige and bind them before God: I say, that it bindeth them before God, if it be lawfully denounced, that is, if they be in very deed, as they be named; and if he denounceth them so to be, not of his own proper head or affection only, but with the consent of others gathered with him in Christ's name, for the behoof of Christ's church: for so used St. Paul, when he did excommunicate the man of Corinth, which had full horribly defiled his mother-in-law, as appeareth in 1 Cor. v.

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"And the same form declareth the Gospel, in these words: If thy brother hath trespassed against thee, go and reprove him betwixt thee and him alone. If he will hear thee, thou hast so won thy brother. If he will not hear thee, take one or two with thee, that in the report of two or three, every thing may be assured. If he will not hear them, show it unto the congregation. If he will not follow the mind of the congregation, let him be unto thee as a paynim, or a notable sinner. For verily I say unto you, whatsoever you shall bind upon earth, shall be bound in heaven. So that such excommunication ought to be done (as methinketh) by the congregation assembled together with their pastor, whose advice they ought principally to esteem and follow, if it be virtuous and godly.

"And thus is it convenient to be done: for the pope is made of flesh, as well as other men; and therefore he may sometimes judge awry, cursing the blessed, and blessing the cursed. And likewise many other prelates, judging the Christian to be heretics, and heretics Christian: of whom it is also written in the prophecy of Ezekiel, They slew the souls of them that should not die, and gave life to the souls that should not live; as did the Pharisees when they did cast Christ out of the vineyard, which signifieth the church; and as our Saviour prophesied, saying unto his disciples, There shall be, quoth he, some that shall excommunicate you: yea, and the time shall come, that whosoever shall slay you, shall think to do honour to God. And this shall they do unto you, because they do neither know my Father nor me. These words be written in the Gospel of John; whereby you see, that for lack of knowledge of God, which is taught and seen by the light of Scripture, Christ prophesied how lewd men should lewdly excommunicate the good, yea, and slay his true servants, thinking, through such facts, to please God, and to do him good service.

"Wherefore send, O Lord! I beseech thee, the knowledge of thee to be dilated upon earth, (which Hosea bewaileth sore, seeing it absent,) whereby men's judgments may be rectified; and so do accordingly to the leading of the same!

"In the twenty-fifth article, where you do ask, whether every priest is bound to say daily his matins and even-song, according as it is ordained by the church, or whether he may leave them unsaid, without offence or deadly sin. I say that prayer in Scripture is much commended, and many great and immeasurable benefits are showed to ensue thereupon, that men should the more lustily give themselves thereto. With prayer doth St. Paul bid us to fight in divers places, continuing in the same against our ghostly enemies. A figure of this is read in Exodus, when the Israelites fought in battle against a nation of infidels: I trow their captain was called Amalek. Moses stood upon a mountain to behold what should be the conclusion, and lifting up his hands, prayed that it might well succeed with the Israelites: but in long holding them up, at last his fervour began to grow cold and faint, and his hands sagged downwards. And ever as his hands grew heavy, (which signifieth that his affection in praying abated and waxed cold,) the infidels prevailed; but as he kept them heaved upward, (whereby was meant intente prayer of a devout mind,) he purchased victory to the Israelites. Aaron and Hur, which indited the law to the people, and were thereof the interpreters, stood with Moses; who always, as they did see his arms to faint, did uphold them, so that finally the victory came unto Israel.

"By 'Moses' is signified, as show great clerks, devotion; by 'Aaron and Hur,' the knowledge of God's doctrine: which two things (devotion, I mean, and knowledge) all men had need to have present with them: for devotion doth elevate the mind to God, but knowledge doth

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sustain or uphold the same, that it may with courage continue, not falling down; but so alway doth it incense and kindle it, that it mounteth up into the presence of our heavenly Father; where they savour together far more sweetly than any fumigation either of juniper, incense, or whatsoever else, be they ever so pleasant, do savour in any man's nose.

"Therefore St. Paul, seeing how necessary the knot of these two, devotion and knowledge of God's will, was (which is showed in Scripture, as teacheth St. Cyprian in these words: 'The will of God,' saith he, 'is that which Christ hath taught and wrought'): Paul, I say, seeing this, wished to be excommunicated and separated from God, for to have the Jews come to the knowledge of Christ's church, which is the only right way to salvation; for whom he prayed right studiously, as appeareth a little after, saying, I bear them record, that they have a zeal and devotion to God, but not according to the knowledge of Christ's doctrine, &c. Where you may clearly see how the Jews (as St. Paul, which is no liar, recordeth here) had a zeal and devotion to God, but they lacked knowledge therewith. 'Moses' was amongst them, but 'Aaron' was away; whose absence pained Paul so sore, that he, ravished with exceeding charity, wished no small harm unto himself, upon condition that the multitude of them might be holpen, and have better judgment, even to be separated from God. It must needs be then greatly hurtful, albeit men have devotion, to be without the knowledge of God and his law, signified by 'Aaron.'

"St. Paul also, before that he came to knowledge, had such-like devotion himself, as he reporteth in these words: All the Jews, quoth he, have known my living, that I have led since I entered into man's age, (which time, as I remember, is accounted from the sixteenth or eighteenth year of a man's life; in Latin he calleth it *adolescencia*;) which, from the beginning thereof, was, saith he, at Jerusalem, among mine own nation, that did know me afore also from the beginning, if they would say the truth, and that I lived after the most strait order or sect of our religion, being a Pharisee. And I, quoth Paul a little after, thought to do many things in fighting against the name of Jesus Christ, yea, and did also, being at Jerusalem; and I thrust many saints or holy men into prison, having power given me thereto of the high priests; and, when they should be put to death, I gave sentence: and I, quoth he, was commonly in all synagogues, punish, ing them, and compelling them to blaspheme (as men are fain now-a-days, when the bishops make them to abjure and to deny the truth of the gospel); yea, moreover did I, quoth Paul, rage against them, pursuing after them into strange lands.

"See what zeal Paul had to God before he was instructed in the doctrine of Christ. He thought to have pleased God highly in persecuting his servants, of whom one was St. Stephen. He was then sore blinded, through ignorance, and wanted the assistance of 'Aaron:' but anon, as Christ, which is the true Aaron, had appeared unto him, asking him, and saying, in a lamentable form, O Saul! Saul! why dost thou persecute me, in troubling and striking my servants, the members of mine own body? of whom it is said, He that smiteth you, shall smite the tender ball of mine eye: his heart fell, I dare say, as low as his body, that is, even down to the earth, repenting himself full sore, being ready to amend and follow after a new way; as appeareth by his answer, where he saith, O Lord! what wilt thou have me to do? As though one would say, Now I see all that I thought to have done before of good intention, and good purpose or devotion, hath deceived me. I find it otherwise. That which I esteemed good, in very deed is and was naught. Teach me therefore, good Lord! quoth he, a better way, and amend my judgment, that, mine own will or intention forsaken, I may now follow thine to please thee, and to do thy will.

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And so, as he came to Ananias, by the assignment of Christ, the thick filthiness of his old wayward judgment fell away, as appeareth by the dross or rubbish that came from his eyes, even like scales, as the Scripture maketh relation, and he put upon him a new judgment, which is directed after the straight rule of the gospel: whereby you may see that men's devotion may oft beguile and seduce them, except knowledge do assist the same, for to sustain and direct it; which, knit together, shall much strengthen men in all trouble and temptations. So that it is much expedient for all men, as nigh as they may, to have prayer annexed with knowledge: and that showeth full notably Erasmus, in the second passage of *Enchiridion*, where he testifieth but of easy liking that he hath, in saying of matins, yea, rather contrariwise he showeth disliking; and so he doth also in his exposition of the first Psalm, *Beatus vir*, where the text maketh agreeably for the same. It is written in this wise: Blessed is the man that hath not gone after the counsel of the wicked, and hath not stood in the way of sinners, nor sat in the chair of pestilence; but hath his will in the law of God, and shall muse or be occupied in it both day and night.

"See how the prophet (which, I doubt not but he knew as perfectly that will and pleasure of God, as ever did any pope or general council, or whatsoever they were besides, that ordained long service to be said of priests) testifieth them to be blessed, that study and are exercised in the law of God both day and night; . that is, to wit, always. A great promise put of God to such blessed exercise, which we may call right devotion, or true godliness. For Paul, defining godliness, saith thus: Godliness is profitable unto all things; for that hath annexed thereto promises of this life present, and of the life to come.

"But no such promise is made of God, I am certain, to them that say daily matins; neither are we certain by the word of God, that we shall therefore be blessed of him, no more than we are certain, that for saying over the fifteen *Aves*, every day once through a whole year, we shall apertly see our Lady to aid us before our death, as it is testified in the scripture of the Primer, but not by scripture of the Bible; or that we shall have a like benefit for saying of her Psalter upon the ten beads that come from the crossed friars, or upon the five beads hallowed at the Charter-house, or for fasting 'the Lady's fast,' as men call it; nor for fasting on the Wednesday, as is showed by a book that is allowed to be printed and read of all men that lust; for it is neither the New Testament nor the Old.

"They are condemned, you wot well (and I perhaps shall have a little less favour because I tell the truth freely, for such things are called offensive). But would God, that all persons, so thinking, would remember what answer Christ made unto his disciples, when 'they came to him, and warned him to beware, saying, 'You know that the Pharisees are offended, hearing such words spoken. I will leave out Christ's answer, lest I should be thought over free and plain in tarrying or uttering of abusions, and speak no further.

"A like demand, with answer thereunto annexed, shall you find in Luke, where Christ would not refrain to speak any deal more easily. Therefore I beseech them that deem me (God wotteth whether righteously or no) slanderously, to revise the said places, and then counsel me to do what shall be most expedient to follow, if their charity will so require. Yet would I that all people should know that I do not reprove that saying of the fifteen *Ooes*, which (so far forth as my remembrance doth serve is a very good prayer, or such-like prayers; nor would I that any person should think me to disallow any secret fastings; for such, not only present with you, but

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even from hence absent, have I commended in earnest speaking, and so intend to do, by the assistance of God's grace. Nevertheless such vain promises I do abhor, as be with them annexed, with the upholders of the same: for such do cause vain confidence in the people, withdrawing and seducing them from the right belief of the gospel, (which Christian men ought only to build their faith upon,) unto new inventions of vanity. St. Paul calleth such, old women's tales, where he writeth unto Timothy, bidding him to beware of them, and to throw them away.

"The prophet David, likewise, doth accord thereunto, saying, Blessed is the man that hath in the name of God his affiance or hope; and hath not looked back to vanities and false dotages or madness. And this I say again, that the matins-saying hath no more promise of God made to the sayers, than hath the other above named; for they were instituted by the fantasy or mind of men, and not by the rule of Scripture. Neither do I think that the priests who will truly follow the rule of God written in the Bible, ought so to be charged or encumbered with saying of them, that they thereby should be hindered from the study of that, which to know, belongeth principally both to their own soul's salvation, and also to the discharge of their duty, and which God most highly of priests doth require, (I mean the study of his gospel,) whereby they themselves should be spiritually nourished, and thereafter should feed Christ's flock, the congregation of his people, according to the saying of our Saviour: I am the door, quoth he; whosoever shall come in by me, shall both come in and go out, and find good pasture or feeding that is to say, whosoever shall enter to be a pastor or minister in Christ's church' or congregation by Christ, shall both enter into contemplation of God's glory, declared abundantly in Scripture, and after go forth and show the same abroad to others, for their wealth and edifying.

"To this accordeth what is written in Luke, where our Saviour speaketh to all his church signified in the person of St. Peter. Peter! quoth he, I have prayed that thy faith should not fail; and thou, being converted, go then about to confirm thy brethren. So that he would have Peter established first in the faith of his sure doctrine, and then to go forth as he did, to teach others to be grounded in the same likewise. And thus ought all priests to be called *presbyteri*, which will be ministers in the church; for so biddeth St. Peter, saying thus: I beseech the priests, quoth he, that are among you, I myself being a priest and a witness-bearer of Christ's afflictions, and also a partaker of the glory which shall be revealed; see that you with all diligence do feed the flock of Christ, taking care of the same, not as enforced thereto, but willingly, not desiring filthy lucre, but with a loving mind; neither as men exercising dominion over the children or inheritors of God, but so that you be patterns, or ensample-givers to the flock, 1 Pet. v. See how he requireth of priests, that they should spend all their diligence to feed Christ's flock, and to show good ensample of living, making no mention of long matins-saying, which then was not mentioned nor spoken of.

According to this, it is written in your Decrees after this form: Ignorance, saith the law, mark it well I beseech you all, is the mother of all errors; which ought to be eschewed especially of priests, who, among the people of God, have taken upon them the office of preaching. Priests are commanded to read the Holy Scriptures, as saith Paul the apostle to Timothy: Give heed to reading, exhortation, and teaching; and continue always in the same. Let priests therefore know Holy Scripture, and let all their labour be in preaching and teaching, and let them edify all men both in knowledge of faith, and in discipline of good works. These be the words of the law in the Decrees, dist. 38; wherefore you see how the law lamenteth ignorance in all persons; for it is the

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original of all errors. God send us therefore the knowledge of his true' gospel! It biddeth that ignorance should be utterly eschewed, and principally by priests, whose labour and diligence should all be bestowed in reading of Scripture, and preaching the same; bringing in for the same purpose the saying of the apostle, which willeth it in like manner.

"Moreover, it requireth that priests should give all their study to edify others in faith and virtuous living; whereof I do gather both by the saying of the prophet, that willeth us to be studious in the law of God day and night; and by the saying of the apostle, who would have Timothy to be occupied ever in reading and teaching; and by the report of your own law, which likewise saith, that a priest ought to bestow all his labour in reading and preaching: so that a priest, set thus truly to study, that he may establish himself in the faith of Christ's doctrine, intending afterwards to help others with true preaching of the same, or doing other like deeds of charity assigned in the law of God, shall not offend deadly, if, so spending his time, he omitteth to say matins, which is an ordinance of men.

"Nevertheless, concerning the huge multitude of such as be now made priests by negligent admission of bishops, and their own presumption, that labour to be made priests before they be any clerks, and, ere ever they know what is the very office of a priest, do not fear to take upon them, if they may attain thereto, to be curates, they reck not of how many, so they may get a good lump of money, never minding, after that, the study of Scripture, after they are come to *Dominus vobiscum*: for such I do think long matins to be needful, to restrain them from other enormities that they should else run into; of which you may be weary to see the experience thereof daily arising. Yea, and if such would be content to admit it, I would every one matin were as long to them as five, except they could bestow their time better.

In the six and twentieth article, where you do ask, whether I believe that the heads or rulers, by necessity of salvation, are bound to give unto the people Holy Scripture in their mother language: I say that I think they are bound to see that the people may truly know Holy Scripture, and I do not know how that may be done so well, as by giving it to them truly translated in the mother tongue, that they may have it by them at all times, to pass the time godly, whensoever they have leisure thereto, like as they have in France under the French king's privilege, and also the privilege of the emperor; and so do I know that they have had it these fifty-four years in France at least, and it was translated at the request of a king called, I trow, Louis, as appeareth by the privilege put in the beginning of the book.

"In like manner have they it in Flanders, printed with the privilege of the emperor: in Almain also, and Italy, and I suppose through all the nations of Christendom. Likewise hath it been in England, as you may find it in the English story called Polychronicon. There it is showed, how when the Saxons did inhabit the land the king at that time, who was a Saxon, did himself translate the Psalter into the language that then was generall used. Yea, I have seen a book at Crowland Abbey, which is kept there for a relic; the book is called St. Guthlake's Psalter; and I ween verily it is a copy of the same that the king did translate, for it is neither English, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, nor Dutch, but somewhat sounding to our English; and, as I have perceived since the time I was last there, being at Antwerp, the Saxon tongue doth sound likewise after ours, and it is to ours partly agreeable. In the same story of Polychronicon is also showed, how that St. Bede did translate the Gospel of St. John into English, and the author of the

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same book promised that he would translate into English all the Bible; yea and perhaps he did so, but (I wot not how it cometh to pass) all such things be kept away; they may not come to light: for there are some walking privily in darkness, that will not have their doings known. It is no lie that is spoken in the Gospel of John, All that do naughtily, hate the light, and will not have their doings known. And therefore they keep down the light strongly; for that opened and generally known, all wrongful conveyance should anon be disclosed and reprov'd, yea, and all men should see anon, whether those that hold against unrighteousness, being there-for sometimes horribly infamed and slandered, named heretics and schismatics, were indeed as they be called, or no.

"Yea moreover, I did once see a book of the New Testament, which was not unwritten by my estimation this hundred years, and in my mind right well translated after the example of that which is read in the church in Latin. But he that showed it me said, he durst not be known to have it by him, for many had been punished aforetime for keeping of such, and were convicted therefore of heresy.

"Moreover I was at Paul's Cross, when the New Testament, imprinted of late beyond the sea, was first forefended; and truly my heart lamented greatly to hear a great man preaching against it, who showed forth certain things that he noted for hideous errors to be in it, that I, yea, and not only I, but likewise did many others, think verily to be none. But, (alack for pity!) malice cannot say well. God help us all, and amend it.

"So that to conclude, I think verily it were profitable and expedient, that the Holy Scriptures were delivered, by authority of the head-rulers, unto the people, truly translated in the vulgar tongue, in like manner as it is in all other countries. And whereas you add, whether they be bound by necessity of salvation to deliver it to the people: I will not so narrowly touch that point now; but I say, that they are bound by right and equity to cause it to be delivered unto the people in the vulgar tongue, for their edifying, and the consolation which the people, by God's grace, should gather thereof; which now it is like they want, and are destitute of.

"In the twenty-seventh article, where you do demand, whether it be lawful for the rulers, for some cause, upon their reasonable advisement, to ordain that the Scripture should not be delivered unto the people in the vulgar language: all men may here see, that whosoever devised these questions, thought not contrary (whatsoever they will yet say) but that it is good for the people to have the Scripture in the vulgar tongue, and that they thought that I, so saying, could not be well reprov'd; and therefore are laid out all these additions, as it were to snare and trap me in: Whether the heads be bound, and that by necessity of salvation, to deliver it to the people: and whether, for opportunity of time, they may ordain to restrain it for some cause, and by some reasonable advisement of them taken: But without cause you spread the net before the eyes of the birds or fowls. I show you plainly, that notwithstanding all these things, in mine opinion it was not well done to inhibit it, and worse, that the bishops have not since amended it, if so be they could, that the people might have it to use and occupy virtuously.

"And here I will add one reason: The Scripture is the spiritual food and sustenance of man's soul. This is showed to be true in many places of Scripture; like as other corporal meat is food of the body. Then if he be an unkind father, that keepeth bodily meat away the space of a week or a month from his children; it should seem that our bishops be no gentle pastors or

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fathers, that keep away the food of men's souls from them (specially when others do offer the same) both months, years, and ages; neither do I see any opportunity of time, or reasonable advisement, that should cause it to be withdrawn and taken away; but the contrary rather, for it is reason, convenient and needful for men, to eat their meat ever when they are right hungry; and blessed are they that hunger and thirst after the word of God, which teacheth to know him and to do his pleasure at all times; for that we do crave every day in our Pater-noster, saying, Give us, Lord, our heavenly bread.

"In the twenty-eighth article, where you do ask, whether I believe that consecrations, hallowings, and blessings used in the church are to be praised? I say that I know not of all, and therefore I will not dispraise them; neither can I therefore overmuch speak of them all, seeing I know them not: such as are the hallowing of bells, the hallowing of pilgrims when they should go to Rome, the hallowing of beads, and such-like. But those which I am advised of, and do remember, be in mine opinion good; such as is this: when the priest hath consecrated holy bread, he saith, 'Lord, bless this creature of bread, as thou didst bless the five loaves in the desert, that all persons tasting thereof may receive health,' &c.: which I would every man might say in English, when he should go to meat, I like it so well.

"Also this is a right good one, that is said over him that shall read the gospel: 'The Lord be in your heart, and in your mind and mouth, to pronounce and show forth his blessed gospel;' which is also spoken over a preacher taking benediction when he shall go into a pulpit. All such good things I like very well, and think them commendable, wishing therefore that all people might know what they mean, that they with rejoicing of heart might pray joyfully with us, and delight in all goodness; which should be, if they were uttered in English, according to the mind of St. Paul, where he wisheth, rather to speak five words in the church heartily with understanding, whereby others might have instruction, than ten thousand words in a tongue unknown: yea, to say truth, (and truth it is indeed that I shall say,) a good thing, the further and the more largely or apertly it is known, the further the virtue thereof spreadeth, and rooteth in men's hearts and remembrance. God send therefore the blind to see, and the ignorant to have knowledge of all good things!

"Thus I conclude, that consecrations, hallowings, and blessings used in the church (so far forth as I remember and know) be commendable. Of others I can give no sentence, wishing, even as I trust men shall once see it come to pass, that all good things may be sung and spoken in our vulgar tongue.

"In the twenty-ninth article, where you do ask, whether I believe that the pope may make laws and statutes to bind all Christian men to the observance of the same, under the pain of deadly sin, so that such laws and statutes be not contrary to the law of God: I say, that if that be true which is written in the Decrees, that is to wit, that laws be never confirmed, until they be approved by common manners of them that shall use them, then cannot the pope's laws bind all Christian men; for the Greeks and the Bohemians will (as you do know full well) never admit them, but do refuse them utterly, so that I do not find that his laws may bind all Christian men.

"Finally, I cannot see that he hath authority to make laws, binding men to the observance of them under pain of deadly sin, more than hath the king, or the emperor. And, to say sooth, I

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say, (as have said before,) I think verily that the church was more full of virtue before the decrees or decretals were made, (which is not very long ago, but in the time of Constantine, if that be true which is reported in the Decrees,) than it hath been since. God repair it, and restore it again to the ancient purity and perfection!

"In the thirtieth article, where you do ask, whether I believe that the pope and other prelates, and their deputies in spiritual things, have power to excommunicate priests and lay people, that are inobedient and sturdy, from entering into the church, and to suspend or let them from ministration of the sacraments of the same: I think that the pope and other prelates have power to excommunicate both priests and laymen, such as be rebellious against the ordinance of God, and disobedient to his law: for such are sundered from God, before the prelates do give sentence, by reason of their sin and contumacy, according as it is said in Isaiah by Almighty God: Your sins, quoth he, do make division betwixt you and me. And the prelates, by right judgment, should pronounce of sinners as they do find them, and that is to pronounce such to be excommunicated of God, and unworthy to minister any sacraments, or to be conversant with Christian folk, that will not amend. For thus biddeth Paul, If any amongst you, called a brother, shall be a whoremonger, a covetous person, or a worshipper of images or idols, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner, see that with such you eat no meat. Such ought to be put out of the church, and not be suffered to come within it.

"I am not certain that prelates have any such power: and though they had, I doubt whether charity would permit them to show it forth and execute it without singular discretion. For in churches ought the word of God to be declared and preached, through which the sturdy, coming thither and hearing it, might soon be smitten with compunction and repentance, and thereupon come to amendment. This confirmeth well a law made in the council of Carthage, which is this: 'A bishop ought to prohibit no person to come into the church, and to hear the word of God, whether he be Gentile, or Jew, or heretic, until the mass time of them that are called Catechumeni.'

"Moreover, where you speak of prelates' deputies, I think such be but little behovable to Christ's flock. It were necessary and right, that as the prelates themselves will have the revenues, tithes, and oblations of their benefices, they themselves should labour and teach diligently the word of God therefore, and not to shift the labour from one unto another till all be left (pity it is!) undone. Such doth St. John call thieves and murderers, although they make ever so goodly a worldly show outward, and bear a stout port.

"This I say, that the pope and other prelates have power to excommunicate rebels against God's ordinances, and to suspend them from receiving or ministering the sacrament: but I am not sure, that they have power to forefend them from out of churches, especially when God's word is there preached, unless the sinners be so sore desperate that they scorn the same. And I would that every prelate, receiving his living of benefices, should himself work in the same, especially in true preaching of Christ's doctrine, without winding his own neck out of the yoke, and charging therewith others, called deputies or vicars, curates, and such-like. For God would have every man to get his living by the sweat of his own face; that is to say, by his labour, according to his estate and calling. And like as every workman is worthy his meat, so contrariwise, they that labour not, unless they be let by impotency, are worthy to have no meat, and much less to take of

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those, to whom they do no service, fifty or forty pounds a year, for waiting after none other thing than the moon shining in the water. The canon law maketh clearly with the same. Look in the Decrees, and you shall find plainly as I say.

"In the thirty-first article, where you ask, whether faith only, without good works, may suffice unto a man fallen into sin after his baptism, for his salvation and justifying? I say, that it is the usage of Scripture to say, faith only doth justify, and work salvation, before a man do any other good works; and that is showed by many authorities, both of Scripture and, also of many holy fathers, in a treatise called *Unio Dissidentium*, which I would to Christ, as it is in French, and other languages, we had it truly translated into English. And truly I do think in this matter, (like as is here showed by many authorities of holy fathers,) that a man fallen into sin after baptism, shall be saved through faith, and have forgiveness by Christ's passion, although he doth no more good deeds thereafter: as when a man, having short life, lacketh leisure to exercise other deeds of mercy. Notwithstanding, true faith is of such virtue and nature, that when opportunity cometh, it cannot but work plenteously deeds of charity, which are a testimony and witness-bearer of man's true faith. This declareth St. Augustine upon John; I trove it is where he expoundeth this text: If ye love me, keep my commandments: where, within a little after, he speaketh in this wise: 'Good works make not a just or a righteous man; but a man once justified, doeth good works.'

"In the thirty-second article, where you ask, whether a priest marrying a wife, and that without the dispensation of the pope, begetting also children of her without slander-giving, do sin deadly; I say, that he doth not so much offend as those which in Wales, (as I have heard say,) and also in many parts beyond the sea, or rather in all places, do give openly, for money, dispensations to priests to take concubines: neither doth he offend so much as the purchasers of such dispensations; for they, on every hand, do clearly commit fornication and adultery, utterly forbidden by God's law; and the priest, of whom speaketh your demand, offendeth but man's law, if he do that. For in the Decrees it is written; I ween it be in a gloss, and certainly I wot not whether it be in the text or no, I can lightly turn to it having a book: the sentence is thus: A priest doing fornication, ought to be punished more than one who hath married a wife. Finally, I think such a priest as before is named in your demand, sinneth not deadly.

"In the thirty-third article, where you ask, whether a Latin priest, after he hath taken the order of priesthood, being sore and oft troubled and stirred with prickings of lust or lechery, and therefore marrying a wife for a remedy of the same, do sin deadly: I say, that a Latin priest and a Greek priest are all one before God, if they follow both one rule of Christ, left to us in Holy Scripture; neither doth Christ put any such difference, but the one hath by that rule the same liberty as another, and no more nor less; for there is the same God in Greece that is here, and hath left one way for us to live after, both here and there. And, therefore, I cannot see by his law, but that a Latin priest may marry, as well as they do. And if the Greeks should not follow Christ's law in believing the same, and living thereafter, you would call them heretics. But that will not the pope have done. Wherefore, seeing they do let priests marry, affirming it may so be done by the law of God, and yet are not reputed heretics, why should other men, that say the same, be called heretics, or be therefore burned? Therefore, following the law of God, I make the same answer of a Latin priest, that I made before of all priests: that a priest, not having the gift of chastity, is bound to marry, for avoiding fornication.

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"In the thirty-fourth article, where you ask, whether I ever prayed for John Wickliffe, John Huss, and for Jerome of Prague, condemned of heresy in the council of Constance, or for any one of them, since they died, and whether I have openly or secretly done any deeds of charity for them, affirming them to be in bliss and saved: I say, that I never prayed for any of them, so far forth as I can remember: and though I had, it followeth not, that in so doing I should be a heretic. For you wot well, that there is a mighty great country, called Bohemia, which yet doth follow (as men say) that same doctrine, which John Huss and Jerome of Prague taught their ancestors, whom (as I trow) neither the pope nor you do account heretics and infidels.

"In the thirty-fifth article, where you ask, whether I have recounted and said them or any of them to be saints, and worshipped them as saints: I say that in such secret and hid things which I do not perfectly know, I follow the counsel of St. Paul, which biddeth that we should not judge over soon, but abide (unless the things which we should pass upon be the more evident) until the coming of the Lord, who shall illumine, and show forth clearly, things that now lie hid in darkness. Therefore hitherto have I neither judged with them, nor against them, but have resigned such sentence to the knowledge and determination of God, whose judgment I wot is infallible.

"And whereas you say, they were condemned of heresy in the council of Constance: if so the council did right, God shall allow it, I doubt not; and that shall suffice to have commendation of him: so that it is not need to ask of me whether the acts of the same are commendable or no; neither can I give any direct answer thereto; for I do not verily know them. And though I did, yet am not I verily persuaded that I, because the council hath condemned them, must therefore believe them to be damned. For a council, as I ween, may sometimes slip beside the right truth: but what that council did in condemning them, I cannot precisely say; God wotteth. Yea, and that one singular person may judge more rightly, than a great multitude assembled in a council, appeareth by God's law, and by the law of man. Experience hereof may you see by the council that is spoken of in the Gospel, where it is showed, that after our Saviour had restored Lazarus to life, the bishops and Pharisees then were gathered together in a council, saying, What shall we do? Truth it is that this man Jesus doth many miracles, and if we suffer him thus, all the world will believe him; whereupon the Romans will come, and put us out of Jerusalem, our dwelling-place, and destroy our nation. At which time Caiaphas did arise, showing forth his sentence, which the whole council did admit.

"In like wise is showed in the Acts, where, in a council of bishops and priests assembled to know what punishment should be done unto Christ's apostles, because they preached in the name of Christ, contrary to the precept of them, (for they before had commanded the apostles no more to speak in Christ's name,) there, among a shrewd multitude of them gathered together, did arise a certain man, called Gamaliel; (a pitiful thing verily, to see but one good man in such a great convocation or council of priests, that should he the lights of virtue to all the people;) which Gamaliel was a doctor of the law, and had in good reputation among the people: much like he was, as seemed to me, to Dr. Colet, sometime dean of Paul's in London, while he lived. I may come no nearer, to name some other of our time, lest I should be thought offensive. This Gamaliel did bid the apostles go aside for a while out of the council, or convocation-house; and so he spake unto the other priests or bishops in the council thus: You men of Israel, quoth he, take heed to yourselves what ye shall do unto these men the apostles: for afore this time hath

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risen one called Theudas, and afterwards another named Judas of Galilee, which have turned the people after them, and in conclusion they perished, and all they that followed after them vanished away. And now, quoth he, I say unto you, refrain from hurting these men the apostles, and let them alone, or suffer them. For if this enterprise and work that they have made be of men, undoubtedly it shall perish, and be fore-done: but if, quoth he, it be of God, you cannot foredo it. And this I tell you, said Gamaliel, lest you should be found to strive and fight against God.

"Unto this sentence of Gamaliel, did all the others of the convocation or parliament agree; and so they called in the apostles of Christ before them, causing them to be scourged, and charging them, no more afterwards to preach of Christ's name; and so did let them depart. This was undoubtedly done in the time of our Saviour and of his apostles, and caused to be written for our comfort and learning; for the Holy Ghost knew before, that like practice should come in the latter time of the world, which we are in. Whereby you may clearly see, that councils do not always discern with Christ, but sometimes they may do against him. And therefore said David, I did not sit with the assembly or council of vain doers, or liars, and I will not go in amongst them that work iniquity: for I have hated the convocation of them that are malicious or maligners, and amongst the wicked will not I sit: but I will wash my hands among innocents, &c. Also in another psalm he writeth thus; The Lord doth destroy or annihilate the counsels of the Gentiles; he reproveth the counsels of the people and of rulers. But the counsel or device of the Lord endureth ever; and the purpose of his mind abideth unto the world of worlds. For that purpose doth St. Peter, in the Acts of the Apostles, allege this verse out of the psalm, Why did the Gentiles rage, and the people imagine vain things, &c. Like unto this it is written, in Isaiah i. Also you may see in the councils of the Pharisees above showed, that one singular person may sometimes perceive a thing more than a generality or a multitude: for Gamaliel only did see better what was behoveable, than could all the others there congregated.

"Agreeable unto this we find in the Decrees, where it is written that the council of Nice, willing to correct or amend the life of men of the church, ordained laws, called canons or rules. And as they treated upon such ordinances, some thought it expedient to bring in a law that bishops, priests, deacons, and subdeacons, should not lie with their wives whom they had married before they were consecrated into the order. With that arose Paphnutius, a confessor of Christ, and gainsayed it, testifying that marriage was an honourable thing; saying also, that it is chastity for a man to lie with his own proper wife. And so he persuaded the council, that they should constitute no such law; affirming, that it was a sore matter that they were minded to do, which should be either to the priests, or else to their wives, an occasion of fornication: and this was Paphnutius's reason. The words of the canon proceed thus: 'This declared Paphnutius, he never being married, nor having experience of marriage; and the council commended his sentence, making no statute in this matter, but put it to every man's free-will and liberty, without any enforcement or necessity.' These words stand, as I have recited them unto you, written in the Decrees, albeit they are somewhat otherwise rehearsed in *Historia Tripartita*, as I have showed before in the fourth article. Upon this, that Paphnutius did thus resist and prevail against all the other council, doth the Gloss note in the same law, that one singular person may gainsay or speak against a universal generality, having a reasonable cause on his side. Suffrage also of the same have we in Abbot Panormitane, where he saith thus: 'I would,' quoth he, 'rather believe one lay person, bringing for him authority of Scripture, than a universal council, that ordaineth or defineth a thing without Scripture.'

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"Finally, I say, that I never accounted them either saints or devils, but resigned the judgment thereof to God; neither have I in earnest reported them the one, or the other; neither have done unto them particular worship, so far forth as I can remember.

"In the thirty-sixth article, where you do ask, whether I believe, hold, and affirm that every general council, and the council of Constance also, do represent the universal congregation or church: I say, that what such councils do represent I cannot certainly tell, and therefore believe neither yea nor nay; neither can I therefore make any affirmation, *pro* or *contra*, with this demand or against it: and no marvel; for I know of no Scripture to certify me of the same, nor yet any sufficient reason. And methinketh this, (under correction I speak,) that councils might represent (albeit I know not whether they do or no) the universal church, not being yet the same as I wot well they neither are nor were. For the church I do take to be all those that God hath chosen or predestinated to be inheritors of eternal bliss and salvation, whether they be temporal or spiritual, king or subject, bishop or deacon, father or child, Grecian or Roman. And this church spreadeth through the universal world, where any do call for help truly upon the name of Christ; and there do they ever most grow and assemble commonly, where his blessed word is purely and openly preached and declared: for that is the relief of man's soul, whereunto all men, loving their soul's health, lust to resort and seek (as all things do naturally seek after that which should nourish and prolong their life); for in it is showed that righteousness, which whosoever doth thirst after, and is an hungered for, shall come into the kingdom of heaven. Of this the proverb in the Gospel (although it be applied to the judgment of God when he shall appear in the general doom) may well be verified, Whosoever is a dead carrion, thither will soon be assembled eagles. That is to wit, whosoever is declared, by the course of Scripture, the benefits and commodities granted to us by Christ's death, thither will men seek and fly, to know how they may enjoy and attain them; which I beseech him to grant us. Amen.

"In the thirty-seventh article, where you do ask, whether I believe that the same thing which the council of Constance, representing the universal church, hath approved, and doth approve, for the maintenance of faith and soul's health, is to be approved and holden of all Christian people; and that which the same council hath condemned, and doth condemn, to be contrary to faith and good manners, ought of the same Christian people to be believed and affirmed for a thing condemned: I say that whatsoever the same council or any other hath approved, being approbation or allowance worthy, is of all Christian people to be likewise approved, holden, and allowed. And again, whatsoever the same or any other hath condemned, being reproof and condemnation worthy, because it is hurtful to faith or good living, I say that the same ought of all Christian people to be condemned and reproof. But this surmounteth my knowledge, to discern in what wise their judgment passed; whether with right or unright; because I did never look upon their acts, neither do I greatly covet for to do wherefore I refer the determination to them that have better advised their doings, and thereby have some more skill in them than I.

"In the thirty-eighth you demand, whether the condemnations of John Wickliff, John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, done upon their persons, books, and documents, by the holy general council of Constance, were duly and rightfully done, and so for such, of every catholic person, whether they are to be holden and surely to be affirmed: I answer, that it passeth my knowledge, and I cannot tell; thinking surely, that though I am ignorant of the same, so that I cannot discuss

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the thing determinately, yet my Christendom shall be therefore nevertheless; and that I and all Christian men may well suspend our sentence, being thereof ignorant, affirming neither the one nor the other, neither yea nor nay.

"In the thirty-ninth you ask, whether I believe, hold, and affirm, that John Wickliff of England, John Huss of Bohemia, and Jerome of Prague, were heretics, and for heretics to be named, and their books and doctrines to have been, and now be, perverse; for the which books, and pertinacity of their persons, they are condemned by the holy council of Constance for heretics: I say that I know not determinately whether they be heretics or no, nor whether their books be erroneous or no, nor whether they ought to be called heretics or no.

"In the fortieth article, where you ask whether I believe and affirm, that it is not lawful in any case to swear: I say, that I neither so do believe, nor affirm, nor ever did.

"In the forty-first, where you ask, whether I believe that it is lawful, at the commandment of a judge, to make an oath to say the truth, or any other oath in a case convenient, and that also for purgation of infamy: I answer, that I never said the contrary, but that I think and have thought it lawful to give an oath before a judge, to say the truth, if the judge so require, and that by request lawful and convenient. As when a thing is in controversy betwixt two persons, and thereupon they sue unto a judge for sentence; when the judge can none otherwise bolt out the truth, he may require an oath. As when the two women who contended before Solomon to avoid the crime of murder, which the one had committed in oppressing her child to death, and would have put the same upon the other, if Solomon could not by his wisdom otherwise have investigated the truth, he might, I suppose, for to come by the more certain information of the thing, have caused one of them, or both, seeing it expedient for him, to swear; wherein the woman had been bound to obey him; but judges had need to be spare in requiring of oaths; for in customable, or oft juries, creepeth in always, betwixt times, some perjury, as sheweth Chrysostom in words semblable to these: and things precious, through oft haunt or occupying, lose their estimation; and so reverent oaths, unadvisedly required for every trifle, usually do cause men to regard little for making of them, yea, and I fear, to break them.

"Therefore in Almain, they have made of late (as I have heard say by credible persons, who have come from thence) many notable ordinances for the commonwealth within a while, and amongst others this is one: If a man be set for to enter plea against another in any town, the peers thereof before whom all actions are used to be debated, hearing such a plea entered, shall call the parties privately together, before they come into an open court. And the matter examined, they shall exhort them to let the plea cease without further process, showing them the great damage, both godly and worldly, coming of waging the law, and the great ease and commodity that is in agreement and concord.: which exhortation they use to show with so great gravity and fatherly love, (such wonders are wrought where the gospel hath free passage,) that very few will commence plea. And though any plea be commenced, through such sage admonition it falleth lightly to sequestration and arbitrement of neighbours, who do set the suitors at unity, ere the matter do come to discussion in open court.

"Notwithstanding, if some be so waywardly minded, (as in a multitude all are not one man's children, and therefore unlike of intent,) that they will needs proceed and follow the law,

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they shall be heard to speak their matters in open court, and taught how the matter is most like to succeed, and counselled with new exhortation to stop their process. If they will not be persuaded, and then the judges, seeing the matter so ambiguous that they cannot give perfect sentence therein, except, by virtue of an oath made by one of the parties, they be first better certified; then will they show the same before the suitors, declaring what a chargeful thing it is to give a solemn oath for love of winning some worldly profit: and how, unless such as shall make it be the better aware to eschew the same, they shall, beside an evil example given to a multitude, work themselves, haply, shame, or dishonesty.

"Upon this, they shall give respite until a certain day appointed; so that in the mean while the suitors may take deliberation thereof, what is best to be done. If after this they will not thus rest, at the day appointed shall they come forth into a common place, and the great bell of the city he caused to be rung, whereby the people shall be warned, what they are about to do: and the people assembled, the judges shall, in full chargeable and lamentable wise, charge the parties, under virtue of their oath, to make true relation of what shall be demanded. So that by reason of soberly and fatherly exhortations made by the judges or peers of the town, and persuasion of neighbours, and for avoiding of God's displeasure and shame of men, there is little suit in courts; and if at any time any be made, they be lightly stopped; so that jury and swearing be well excluded, and need not much to be required.

"This I have showed, because it pitieth me to hear and see the contrary used in some of our nation, and such also as name themselves spiritual men, and should be head ministers of the church; who, incontinent as any man cometh before them, anon they call for a book, and do move him to swear, without any longer respite; yea, and they will charge him by virtue of the contents in the Evangely, to make true relation of all that shall demand him, he not knowing what they will demand, neither whether it be lawful to show them the truth of their demands, or no: for such things there be that are not lawful to be showed. As if I were accused of fornication, and none could be found in me; or if they should require me to swear to bewray any other that I have known to offend in that vice, I suppose it were expedient to hold me still, and not to follow their will: for it should be contrary to charity, if I should so assent to bewray them that I need not, and to whom, perhaps, though I have known them to offend, yet, trusting to their amendment, I have promised before to keep their fault secret without any disclosing of the same. Yea, moreover, if such judges sometimes, not knowing by any due proof that such as have to do before them are culpable, will enforce them, by an oath, to detect themselves, in opening before them their hearts; in this so doing, I cannot see that men need to condescend to their requests. For it is in the law (but I wot not certainly the place) thus: 'No man is bound to bewray himself.' Also in another place of the law it is written, 'No man should suffer punishment of men for his thought.' To this agreeth the common proverb, that is thus 'Thoughts be free, and need to pay no toll.' So that, to conclude, I think it lawful, at the command-merit of a judge, to make an oath to say the truth, especially if a judge requireth an oath duly, and in lawful wise; or to make an oath in any other case convenient; and that also for purgation of infamy, when any infamy is lawfully laid against a man.

"In the forty-second, where you ask, whether a Christian person, despising the receipt of the sacraments of confirmation, extreme unction, or solemnizing of matrimony, doth sin deadly;

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I say the like of the receipt of them, as I have said before of the self-same things, and none otherwise.

"In the forty-third, where you ask, whether I believe that St. Peter was Christ's vicar, having power on earth to bind and loose: I say, that I do not perceive clearly what you mean by this term vicar; for Christ never called Peter nor any other so, in Scripture. If you mean thereby that, after the departing hence of Christ, when he was risen from death in his immortal body, and so hied into heaven, where he remaineth sitting upon the right hand of his Father, that he so being away from hence, St. Peter occupied his room: then, I say, it is not untrue that Peter, in a manner, (which I shall show hereunder,) was his vicar: and like as Peter was his vicar, even so were Paul and the other apostles, and the one no less than the others, if it be true that St. Cyprian doth write, which is also consenting to Scripture. He saith thus: that Christ spake unto Peter, saying; I say, quoth our Saviour, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock of stone shall I build my congregation, and the gates of hell shall not overcome it. To thee will I give the keys of heaven, and what things thou shalt bind upon earth, the same shall be bound also in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose upon earth, shall be loosed also in heaven. And to him, after his resurrection, doth Christ say, Feed my sheep.

"And albeit that he gave equal power unto all his apostles after his resurrection, and saith, Like as my Father sent me, do I also send you. Take you the Holy Ghost. If you shall retain to any man his sins, they shall be retained. If you shall remit to any man his sins, to him they shall be remitted. Nevertheless, because he would declare unity, he ordained, by his authority, the original of the same unity beginning of one. The other apostles were the same that Peter was, endued with equal partaking both of honour, and authority or power; but the beginning cometh of one, that the congregation should be showed to be one. Those are the words of St. Cyprian, in a treatise that is called, *De Simplicitate Prælatorum*; wherein you may see that Christ made all the apostles of equal honour and like authority. Notwithstanding, because he would testify the unity of his church or congregation, he spake, as it were, only unto Peter, when he said, Feed my sheep; and, I shall give thee, Peter, the keys of heaven. But in so saying, though the words seem spoken to Peter only, yet they were spoken unto him, in that he sustained the general person of all the church, being, as it were, a common speaker for the same. So that in speaking to him, Christ spake unto all other the apostles, unto whom also he gave all the same authority that he gave unto Peter; as you may see both in these words of Cyprian, and also the same is clearly showed out of St. Augustine in divers places; but no where more plainly in a few words, than in a treatise called *De Agone Christiano*.

"To this accordeth well that which was written by Paul. Of those apostles, quoth Paul, which seemed to be of authority, I was not taught; (what they were in time past it skilleth me nothing; God regardeth not the exterior appearance of man;) nevertheless, they which appeared to be of price, showed me no learning, nor gave me any counsel. But contrary, when they had seen that the gospel of uncircumcision was committed unto me, like as the evangely of circumcision was unto Peter, (for He that was mighty in Peter concerning the apostleship toward the Jews, was mighty also in me toward the Gentiles,) therefore, when James, Peter, and John, which appeared to be as pillars, knew the grace given me, they gave unto me and Barnabas their right hands in sign of fellowship, to be their partners, so that we should exercise the office of apostles among the Gentiles, as they did among the Jews. Wherein you may clearly see, that Paul

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took no instruction of those who seemed to be in high authority, and that Peter, James, and John, who were noted principals, took Paul and Barnabas to be their mates and fellows; which they would not have done, as I suppose, if they had known that God had granted unto them a prerogative singular, to excel Paul, and to be his sovereign. But, according to the prerogative of God granted, they might have safely showed it, and enjoyed the same; like as they did rejoice in other benefits granted to them of God, to be ministers in his church for the edifying of the same; and as St. John calleth himself the disciple loved of his master Jesus, and testifieth, how that unto him, Christ, hanging upon the cross, did commit his blessed mother.

"Moreover, if these three apostles, James, Peter, and John, should by humility have left out to make mention of their prerogative, when they took Paul and Barnabas into their fellowship, yet it is to be thought that Paul, who never useth any inordinate arrogancy, writing the words above said for the magnifying of his own privilege and authority given him of God, would not have suppressed and passed over their primacy unspoken of, with whom he maketh here comparison: for then it might be thought he were envious, to pick away authority from others to himself unlawful; which cannot so be. Moreover he saith a little after the words before rehearsed, that he reproveth St. Peter, even before his face. Whereupon St. Jerome, expounding the same Epistle, saith, (as I remember,) that Paul would not have been bold so to do, except he had known himself equal to Peter.

"In the words also of Paul above written this might be noted, as serving to my purpose, that Peter had no pre-eminence or primacy above the others, for James is named before him; which Paul would not have done, I think, knowing Peter to be James's superior. Therefore he, making no such variety in order, put James before, saying, And James, Peter, and John, that appeared the principals, quoth he, gave unto me, and to Barnabas, their right hands in sign of fellowship. Yet, notwithstanding, Paul loved good order, I suppose, as well as any that now are, who contend so sore for superior rooms and pre-eminency, claiming to be the apostles' successors. I would it were so much for the commonwealth of Christian people, as it is suspected that they do it for vain-glory and worldly lucre. According to this you shall find in Acts xi., where is showed that after Peter, by instinct of the Holy Ghost, had gone unto one of the Gentiles, called Cornelius, a petty captain, having the governance of a hundred men, teaching him the ways and doctrine of Christ, and baptizing him and others with him assembled, being, like as he before was, pagans; the apostles, and other Christian brethren that were in Jewry, hearing thereof, when Peter came to Jerusalem, they which held upon circumcision made none obeisance unto him, (albeit I think verily he had more holiness than ever had any pope,) as the emperor is fain to do to the pope at his coronation, falling down to kiss the pope's feet, or to hold the pope's stirrup while he mounteth upon his horse's back; according to the form of law written, I am not certain, whether in the Decrees, or else the Decretals, or in both rather, (for such ordinances are inviolable, and worthy to be principally recorded,) but they reasoned sore, and disputed both against St. Peter, and also his doings, saying, You have gone amongst them that you ought not have had to do with, nor to have meddled among them that are men unclean, because they are uncircumcised; yea, and what is more, you have eaten and drunk with them. Peter, mildly and coldly, made answer again, rehearsing all the manner of his doing in order, showing that he was so instructed to do, by mighty and clear revelations of God, and not by his own fantasy and pleasure. Which answer being heard, the others that before had made sore objections against him, (which were both of the apostles, and other Christian brethren,) were

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content, holding their peace without any more complaining, and gave glory therefore to God, saying, Then God hath granted also unto the Gentiles to take repentance, and so to come to eternal life.

Wherein you may see, that the other apostles were as bold with Peter, as before is showed of Paul, to dispute against him; neither were they therefore by Peter reprov'd of inobedience. He did not allege any pre-eminency or authority to rebuke them for their complaining: as one would say, Why should you that are my sheep control me, that am the head of the church and your pastor, or Christ's general vicar, having both jurisdiction temporal and spiritual? with such other like: but showed them it was the will of God that he had done, going to the Gentiles to tell them of eternal life, which God pleased to give to them, as well as to the Jews; in token whereof the Holy Ghost did sensibly come among them, and so were they baptized.

"Thus may you see, that if Peter were the vicar of Christ, even so likewise were Paul and all the other apostles. And I do not think contrary but that Peter, and all other of the apostles, were Christ's vicars, if you mean by this word 'vicar,' a deputy, or such like, for to preach his evangely, (which is an office of all others most sovereign,) to minister sacraments, and to do other such divine service in God's church. And thus were they worthy to be called (as the Scripture nameth them) Christ's true apostles, bishops, priests, legates, or any such like; which authority was given them by Christ after his resurrection, when he said unto them these words, Peace be amongst you. Like as my Father hath sent me, so do I send you. Take you the Holy Ghost: whose sins soever you shall forgive, are forgiven them: and whose sins you shall retain, they are retained. And the same authority did they receive, when Christ spake unto all the church, after the mind of St. Augustine and others, in Peter, saying, Peter, feed my sheep.

"In the forty-fourth article, where you ask, whether I believe, that the pope ordainately chosen for a time (his proper name being expressed) be the successor of Peter: I say, that it seemeth to me a thing of no great value, whether a man believe so or no; I cannot see that it should be numbered amongst the articles of our faith: notwithstanding I will show my rude thought in it, which is this:

"The pope may succeed in St. Peter's stead or office, and do the same, duly and diligently feeding Christ's flock, and showing virtuous example of living to the same: and, so doing, he may and ought to be thought and named a true successor of St. Peter. And thus is your Lordship St. Peter's successor, performing the conditions aforesaid, with other like properties requisite to your order and duty; yea, and as many others as do truly their duty, and duly the office of a bishop: and otherwise may not the pope be called the successor of Peter, because he is entered into St. Peter's office, not regarding to do what is requisite for the same, nor following the trace of virtue; but the contrary. And then he is wrongfully named, if at any time such be, which is not impossible. For what should men call those Peter's successors, that play the pageants, and follow with the conditions of Caiaphas, Simon Magus, or Judas? Such verily, if any be, cannot rightly claim to be Peter's successors, no more than the night may claim to be successor of the day; for Peter was never so minded, nor taught them so. Yea, they ought rather to be called Peter's adversaries, forasmuch as they do not his will which is showed by his own acts and writing, but work against the same. Of such may be said, 'They are not all saints' children that occupy the room of saints, but they are their children that exercise their works.' Yea, of such may be said

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that which is written of St. Jerome: 'All bishops,' quoth he, 'are not bishops. Mark you well Peter, but mark also Judas: behold Stephen, but behold Nicholas. Ecclesiastical dignity maketh not a Christian man. Cornelius the centurion, being yet a pagan, was made clean through the benefit of the Holy Ghost: contrariwise, Daniel, being a child, condemneth priests, or ancient men.' 'It is no easy thing,' saith he, 'to stand in the room of Peter and Paul, and to keep the seat of them now reigning with Christ: for unsavoury salt is nought worth else, but to be thrown out of the doors, and trodden down of hogs.' This saith St. Jerome. Whereunto agreeth well St. Augustine: 'Every one,' quoth he, 'that saith unto you, *Pax vobis*, ought not to be heard, or to be believed as a dove. Crows be fed of dead carrion; and so is not a dove, but she liveth by the fruits of the earth: her living is pure, innocent, and hurtless. Whereby you may see, that ill bishops are no bishops, and that they that follow not saints in virtuous living, are not the successors of saints, but unsavoury salt; that is, neither of the church, nor shall come into heaven, to reign there with Peter and Paul, but be thrown out with great contempt: for God knoweth a dove from a crow, and an innocent liver from a devourer of carrion; but such as declare and show good deeds, as the saints did, be their children and successors, and shall with them reign in heaven.

"So that, to conclude, I say, that the pope, ordinately chosen, is the successor of St. Peter, following St. Peter's godly living. And else, except he study to do diligently, that he may be so called worthily, it shall be but a vain name: for rather may he else be reputed an image of a pope, or of a bishop, according as such be called of the prophet, O idol shepherds!

"In the five and fortieth article, where you ask, whether ever I have promised at any time by my oath, or made any confederacy or league with any person or persons, that I would always hold and defend certain conclusions or articles seeming to me and to my complices right and consonant unto the faith; and will that I should certify you of the course and form of the said opinions and conclusions by row, and of the names and surnames of them that were to me adherent, and promised to be adherent in this behalf: I say, that I do not remember that ever I made pact or confederacy with any person or persons, nor made any promise by oath, that I would always hold and defend any conclusions or articles, seeming to me and others right and consonant to the faith, unless it hath chanced me to say in this form: That I would never, with the aid of God, forsake, nor decline from, the truth, neither for fear, nor yet for love of man or men.'

"Thus I have, perhaps, said in some time, or some place, because I have indeed so intended, and do intend, God's grace assisting me. But I cannot yet tell you, whether I have so said or no, or to what persons, or at what time, either in what place; neither do I reckon me to have any complices, but such as do love me, and I them, for God, and in God: and those do I reckon all them that are or will be truly Christian, in calling upon Christ's name. And concerning opinions or conclusions, I can tell you of none others than I have showed; the sum whereof I reckon and think utterly to be concluded in two propositions, which both are written in the New Testament.

"The first is in the Acts of Apostles, in this wise: Christ is the head corner-stone of our faith, whereupon it should be set and grounded, neither is salvation in any other: for there is none other name under heaven given amongst men, wherein we may be saved. This is one of the propositions, wherein is engrossed or comprehended my saying, which St. Paul doth thus otherwise explicate; Christ is made of God our wisdom, our righteousness, our pureness, our

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satisfaction, and our redemption. And in another place: There is none other foundation that any man may put, except that which is already put, that is, Christ Jesus.

"The other proposition is written by the prophet Isaiah, and recited by our Saviour, in the Evangely of Matthew, in these words: Men do worship me in vain, teaching doctrines and precepts, or laws human. Of this writeth Paul very largely in divers places, and every where well nigh: amongst others, in the second chapter of Colossians, where he warneth the Colossians to take heed that no man do spoil them, or to steal them away by philosophy or vain deception, according to the constitutions of men, and ordinances of this world.

"Thus I do certify you of all the opinions and conclusions which I intend or have intended to sustain, being contained in the two propositions above written. Others hold I none, but such as are mentioned in the Creed, both that which is sung at mass, and also in the other Creed that all people say every day.

"Finally, in that you require to know of the names and surnames, in order of them particularly, that be to me adherents, or that have promised me to be adherent in this part: I say, that I know of none particular that I remember, without I should note unto you a great multitude, which you may know and hear of, I suppose, through all regions and realms of Christendom, that do think in like wise as I have showed. I ween the multitude mounteth nigh unto the one half of Christendom; and more should do likewise, by a great sort, within a while, I doubt not, but that our ghostly enemy laboureth amain to have the knowledge of the truth suppressed, and letteth that it cannot come abroad to be seen. I say therefore again, I know of no particular adherents, nor of any that have so promised me to be. in these matters: and though I did, I would not (except I knew that charity so required, which I do not find yet hitherto) detect or bewray any one of them, for any man's pleasure: for I am bound to obey God above men: who be with us, and grant the truth to be known! Amen."

These answers of John Lambert to the five and forty articles above expressed, were directed and delivered to Dr. Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, as it appeareth, about A.D. 1532, at which time the said Lambert was in custody in the archbishop's house at Otford, being there destitute of all help and furniture of books, as by his own words is to be gathered. But, so the providence of God wrought for Lambert, that within short space after, A.D. 1533, the said Archbishop Warham died; whereby it seemeth that Lambert, for that time, was delivered. In this mean while Dr. Cranmer was sent over in embassage, with the earl of Wiltshire, Dr. Stokesley, Dr. Kern, Dr. Benet, and other learned men, to the bishop of Rome lying then at Bologna, to dispute the matter of the king's marriage openly, first in the court of Rome, then in the court of the emperor; where, after sundry promises, and appointments made, yet, when the time came, no man there appeared to dispute with them, in these two propositions: first, that no man, jure Divine, could or ought to marry his brother's wife: secondly, that the bishop of Rome by no means ought to dispense to the contrary. But of this more copiously we will treat, (the Lord's grace permitting,) in the sequel of our story, coming to Dr. Cranmer's life.

After the death of William Warham, succeeded in that see the said Dr. Cranmer. Lambert, in the mean season, being delivered, partly by the death of this archbishop, partly by the coming in of Queen Anne, returned unto London, and there exercised himself about the Stocks, in

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teaching children both in the Greek and Latin tongue. And forasmuch as priests, in those days, could not be permitted to have wives, he left his priesthood, and applied himself to the function of teaching, intending shortly after also to be free of the Grocers, and to be married. But God, who disposeth all men's purposes after the secret pleasure of his own will, did both intercept his marriage, and also his freedom, and married him to his Son Christ Jesus, (as now consequently followeth to be declared,) bringing him into the freedom of his spiritual kingdom, to reign with him.

And thus much, briefly, touching the first education and bringing up of John Lambert; hereafter it followeth more at large to discourse and declare the whole process and order of his doings and disputations, with the order and manner of his death and condemnation. This death and punishment of his happened in this year; being so much the more lamentable, in that it was first occasioned, and afterwards brought to pass, by no others than by such, whom, for the common society of the profession of the gospel, it had been more meet to have been authors of his safeguard, rather than the causers of his destruction. But this is the accustomed craft and malice of that ancient serpent, which intermeddleth himself in all congregations, envying all men's felicity and welfare, rejoicing in nothing but in the death and blood of innocents; seeking occasions of sedition, not only amongst the wicked, but the good also; stirring brethren oftentimes to contention amongst themselves; and that so craftily, that his policies can never be perceived until the mischief be done. I would to God that as this is a common complaint to all countries, so this our region of England, amongst others, were free from it, and not more infected herewith than the rest. Where now, in a manner, shall a man find more slaughter of the commons, subversion of the nobles, burning of good men, and most cruel contentions, which are never, in a manner, ended but with bloodshed? that mischievous disturber of human concord and quietness doth so incessantly rage!

But as I am here forced to speak against my will, so would to God that, even with my own contumely and hatred, I might engrave more meekness in the hearts of our men; which, notwithstanding, I doubt not but will shortly come to pass, by the most prosperous success of learning, which daily flourisheth more and more in England: and as it is to be hoped, foreign examples, and greater experience of things, will bring a more civility to this, which is already obtained by learning. But, because we will not pass our bounds too far, we will return again to the matter as touching John Lambert, intending to make declaration of his cause even from the first beginning, so far forth as we could attain unto the knowledge thereof.

So soon as the dark clouds of ignorance were driven away, and that the brightness of the gospel began to shine in England, there was at the same time, although not of the number of those who sustained the first assaults of the adversaries, the aforementioned John Lambert; who, partly for the cruelty of the time, and partly for the desire of learning, which he was always inclined unto, departed into foreign lands, being but a young man, where he understood that learning did most flourish. From thence, after a few years, he returned again, hoping that the time had been amended, for that, by the means of Queen Anne and Cromwell, and the abolishing of the pope, all things seemed more prosperous and quiet in England; and began to set his mind to the setting forth of the gospel.

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Thus then, after that John Lambert now had continued in this vocation of teaching, with great commendation, and no less commodity to the youth, it happened this present year (1538) he was present at a sermon in St. Peter's church at London. He that preached was named Dr. Taylor, a man in those days not far disagreeing from the gospel, and who afterwards, in the time of King Edward, was made bishop of Lincoln, and, at last, in the time of Queen Mary, was deprived from the same; and so ended his life among the confessors of Jesus Christ.

When the sermon was done, Lambert, having gotten opportunity, went gently unto the preacher to talk with him, and uttered divers arguments wherein he desired to be satisfied. All the whole matter or controversy was concerning the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ. Taylor, excusing himself at that present for other business, willed him to write his mind, and to come again at more leisure. Lambert was contented, and so departed; who, within a while after, when he had written his mind, came again unto him. The sum of his arguments were ten, which he comprehended in writing, proving the truth of the cause, partly by the Scriptures, and partly by good reason and by the doctors: the which arguments, although they came not all unto our hands, yet such men as were present at those affairs, reported them to be of great force and authority; and of a few, which were borne away in memory, the first reason was this, gathered upon Christ's words, where it is said in the Gospel, This cup is the new testament.

"And if," saith he, "these words do not change either the cup, or the wine, corporally into the new testament, by like reason it is not agreeable that the words spoken of the bread, should turn the bread corporally into the body of Christ."

Another reason was this: "That it is not agreeable to a natural body to be in two places or more at one time: wherefore it must follow of necessity, that either Christ had not a natural body, or else, truly, according to the common nature of a body, it cannot be present in two places at once, and much less in many, that is to say, in heaven and in earth; on the right hand of his Father, and in the sacrament.

"Moreover, a natural body cannot be without its form and shape, conditions and accidents; like as the accidents and conditions also cannot be without their subject or substance. Then, forasmuch as in the sacrament there is no quality, quantity, or condition of the body of Christ, and finally no appearance at all of flesh; who doth not plainly perceive, that there is no transubstantiated body of his in the sacrament? And, to reason by the contrary, all the proper conditions, signs, and accidents, whatsoever they be, pertaining to bread, we do see to be present in the sacrament, which cannot be there without the subject; therefore we must of necessity confess the bread to be there."

He added also many other allegations out of the doctors. But to be short, this Taylor the preacher, whom I spake of before, willing and desiring, as is supposed, of a good mind to satisfy Lambert in this matter, amongst others whom he took to counsel, he also conferred with Dr. Barnes; which Barnes, although he did otherwise favour the gospel, and was an earnest preacher, notwithstanding seemed not greatly to favour this cause; fearing, peradventure, that it would breed among the people some let or hinderance to the preaching of the gospel, (which was now in a good forwardness,) if such sacramentaries should be suffered. He persuaded Taylor, by and by, to put up the matter to Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury. And hereby we may see

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it truly verified, which William Tyndale before, writing to John Frith, did note in Dr. Barnes, saying, "That Dr. Barnes will be hot against you," &c.

Upon these originals Lambert's quarrel first began, and was brought unto this point, that, through the sinister doings of many, it began of a private talk to be a public and common matter: for he was sent for by the archbishop, and brought into the open court, and forced to defend his cause openly. For the archbishop had not yet favoured the doctrine of the sacrament, whereof afterwards he was an earnest professor. In that disputation, it is said that Lambert did appeal from the bishops to the king's Majesty. But howsoever the matter was, the rumour of that disputation was, by and by, spread throughout the whole court.

I told you before, how that King Henry for two years past, showing the part of a hard husband, had beheaded Queen Anne his wife; which deed did not only greatly displease the German princes, (who for that only cause had broken off the league with him, A.D. 1536,) but also many other good men in England. Moreover, how that, within a while after, abbeyes began to be subverted, and all their goods to be confiscated and given abroad: for which causes, but especially for the late abolishing of the bishop of Rome, the commons had conceived a very evil opinion of him, insomuch that the seditious sort rebelled against him.

At that time Stephen Gardiner, then bishop of Winchester, was in authority amongst the king's councillors, who, as he was of a cruel nature, so was he no less of a subtle and crafty wit, ever gaping for some occasion how to let and hinder the gospel: albeit a long time he was not so greatly esteemed with the king, that he could much prevail to achieve his conceived purpose. But, at length, upon this matter advising himself, he thought he had apt occasion and opportunity to accomplish his desire: neither did he foreslack the occasion ministered, but went straight unto the king, privily admonishing him, and with fair flattering words giving him most pernicious counsel, declaring how great hatred and suspicion was raised upon him in almost all places; first, for abolishing the bishop of Rome's authority; then for subversion of the monasteries; and also for that the divorce of Queen Katharine was yet fresh in men's minds; and now the time served, if he would take it, easily to remedy all these matters, and pacify the minds of them that were displeased and offended with him, if only in this matter of John Lambert he would manifest unto the people how stoutly he would resist heretics; and by this new rumour he would bring to pass, not only to extinguish all other former rumours, and as it were with one nail to drive out another, but also should discharge himself of all suspicion, in that he now began to be reported to be a favourer of new sects and opinions.

The king, giving ear more willingly than prudently or godlily to this siren, immediately received the wicked counsel of the bishop, and by and by sent out a general commission, commanding all the nobles and bishops of this realm to come with all speed to London, to assist the king against heretics and heresies, which commission the king himself would sit in judgment upon.

These preparations made, a day was set for Lambert, where a great assembly of the nobles was gathered from all parts of the realm, not without much wonder and expectation in this so strange a case. All the seats and places were full of men round about the scaffold.

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By and by the godly servant of Christ, John Lambert, was brought from the prison with a guard of armed men, (even as a lamb to fight with many lions,) and placed right over against where the king's royal seat was, so that now they tarried but for the king's coming to that place.

At last the king himself did come as judge of that great controversy, with a great guard, clothed all in white, as covering, by that colour and dissembling, severity of all bloody judgment. On his right hand sat the bishops, and behind them the famous lawyers, clothed all in purple, according to the manner. On the left hand sat the peers of the realm, justices, and other nobles in their order; behind whom sat the gentlemen of the king's privy chamber. And this was the manner and form of the judgment, which, albeit it was terrible enough of itself to abash any innocent, yet the king's look, his cruel countenance, and his brows bent unto severity, did not a little augment this terror; plainly declaring a mind full of indignation far unworthy such a prince, especially in such a matter, and against so humble and obedient a subject.

When the king was set in his throne, he beheld Lambert with a stern countenance; and then, turning himself unto his counsellors, he called forth Dr. Day, bishop of Chichester, commanding him to declare unto the people the causes of this present assembly and judgment. The whole effect of his oration tended in a manner to this point:

"That the king in this session would have all states, degrees, bishops, and all others to be admonished, of his will and pleasure, that no man should conceive any sinister opinion of him, that now, the authority and name of the bishop of Rome being utterly abolished, he would also extinguish all religion, or give liberty unto heretics to perturb and trouble the churches of England, without punishment, whereof he is the head. And moreover, that they should not think that they were assembled at that present, to make any disputation upon the heretical doctrine; but only for this purpose, that by the industry of him and other bishops, the heresies of this man here present, (meaning Lambert,) and the heresies of all such like, should be refuted or openly condemned in the presence of them all."

When he had made an end of his oration, the king, standing up upon his feet, leaning upon a cushion of white cloth of tissue, turning himself toward Lambert with his brows bent, as it were threatening some grievous thing to him, said these words: "Ho! good fellow; what is thy name?" Then the humble lamb of Christ, humbly kneeling down upon his knee, said, "My name is John Nicholson, although of many I be called Lambert." "What," said the king, "have you two names? I would not trust you, having two names, although you were my brother."

Lambert. "O most noble prince! your bishops forced me of necessity to change my name." And after divers prefaces and much talk had in this manner, the king commanded him to go unto the matter, and to declare his mind and opinion, what he thought as touching the sacrament of the altar.

Then Lambert, beginning to speak for himself, gave God thanks, who had so inclined the heart of the king, that he himself would not disdain to hear and understand the controversies of religion: for that it happeneth oftentimes, through the cruelty of the bishops, that many good and innocent men, in many places, are privily murdered and put to death, without the king's knowledge. But now, forasmuch as that high and eternal King of kings, in whose hands are the

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hearts of all princes, hath inspired and stirred up the king's mind, that he himself will be present to understand the causes of his subjects, specially whom God of his divine goodness hath so abundantly endued with so great gifts of judgment and knowledge, he doth not mistrust but that God will bring some great thing to pass through him, to the setting forth of the glory of his name.

Then the king, with an angry voice, interrupting his oration: "I came not hither," said he, "to hear mine own praises thus painted out in my presence; but briefly go to the matter, without any more circumstance." Thus he spake in Latin. But Lambert, being abashed at the king's angry words, contrary to all men's expectation, stayed a while, considering whither he might turn himself in these great straits and extremities. But the king, being hasty, with anger and vehemency said, "Why standest thou still? Answer as touching the sacrament of the altar, whether dost thou say, that it is the body of Christ, or wilt deny it?" And with that word the king lifted up his cap.

Lambert. "I answer, with St. Augustine, that it is the body of Christ, after a certain manner." The king. "Answer me neither out of St. Augustine, nor by the authority of any other; but tell me plainly, whether thou sayest it is the body of Christ, or no." These words the king spake again in Latin.

Lambert. "Then I deny it to be the body of Christ."

The king. "Mark well! for now thou shalt be condemned even by Christ's own words, Hoc est corpus meum."

Then he commanded Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, to refute his assertion; who, first making a short preface unto the hearers, began his disputation with Lambert very modestly, saying, "Brother Lambert! let this matter be handled between us indifferently, that if I do convince this your argument to be false by the Scriptures, you will willingly refuse the same; but if you shall prove it true by the manifest testimonies of the Scripture, I do promise, I will willingly embrace the same."

The argument was this, taken out of that place of the Acts of the Apostles, where Christ appeared unto St. Paul by the way: disputing out of that place, that is not disagreeable to the word of God, that the body of Christ may be in two places at once, which being in heaven was seen of St. Paul the same time upon earth; and if it may be in two places, why, by the like reason, may it not be in many places?

In this manner the archbishop began to refute the second argument of Lambert, which, as we have before said, was written and delivered by the said Lambert unto the preacher; for the king had first disputed against his first reason.

Lambert answered unto this argument, saying, that the minor was not thereby proved, that Christ's body was dispersed in two places or more, but remained rather still in one place, as touching the manner of his body. For the Scripture doth not say that Christ, being upon earth, did speak unto Paul; but that suddenly a light from heaven did shine round about him, and he, falling to the ground, heard a voice, saying unto him, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? I am Jesus

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whom thou persecutest, &c. Here this place doth nothing let, but that Christ, sitting in heaven, might speak unto Paul, and be heard upon earth: for they that were with Paul verily heard the voice, but did see no body.

The archbishop, on the contrary part, said, "Paul himself doth witness that Christ did appear unto him in the same vision."

But Lambert again said, that Christ did witness in the same place, that he would again appear unto him, and deliver him out of the hands of the Gentiles: notwithstanding, we read in no place that Christ did corporally appear unto him.

Thus when they had contended about the conversion of St. Paul, and Lambert so answering for himself that the king seemed greatly to be moved therewith, and the bishop himself that disputed to be entangled, and all the audience amazed, then the bishop of Winchester, who was appointed the sixth place of the disputation, fearing lest the argument would be taken out of his mouth, or rather being drowned with malice against the poor man, without the king's commandment, observing no order, before the archbishop had made an end, unshamefacedly kneeling down to take in hand the disputation, alleged a place out of 1 Corinthians ix., where St. Paul saith, Have I not seen Jesus? And again in the fifteenth chapter: He appeared unto Cephas, and afterwards unto James, then to all the apostles; but, last of all, he appeared unto me, as one born out of due time.

Hereunto Lambert answered, he did nothing doubt but that Christ was seen, and did appear; but he did deny that he was in two or in divers places, according to the manner of his body.

Then Winchester again, abusing the authority of Paul, repeated the place out of 2 Cor. v., And if so be we have known Christ after the flesh, now, henceforth, know we him so no more, &c.

Lambert answered, that this knowledge is not to be understood according to the sense of the body, and that it so appeared sufficiently by St. Paul, who; speaking of his own revelation, saith thus I know one, whether in the body, or without the body, God knoweth, who was rapt into the third heaven; and I know not whether in the body or without, God knoweth: whereby, even by the testimony of St. Paul, a man shall easily gather, that in this revelation he was taken up in spirit into the heavens, and did see those things; rather than that Christ came down corporally from heaven, to show them unto him: especially for that it was said by the angel, that even as he ascended into heaven, so he should come again. And St. Peter saith, whom it behoveth to dwell in the heavens. And moreover, appointing the measure of time, he addeth, even until all things be restored, &c. Here again, Lambert, being taunted and rebuked, could not be suffered to prosecute his purpose.

After the bishop of Winchester had done, Tonsal, bishop of Durham, took his course, and after a long preface, wherein he spake much of God's omnipotency, at the last he came to this point, saying, that if Christ could perform that which he spake, touching the converting of his body into bread, without doubt he would speak nothing but what he would perform.

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Lambert answered, that there was no evident place of Scripture, wherein Christ doth at any time say, that he would change the bread into his body: and moreover that there is no necessity why he should do so. But this is a figurative speech, every where used in Scripture, when the name and appellation of the thing signified is attributed unto the sign; by which figure of speech, circumcision is called the covenant, the lamb the passover; besides six hundred such other. Now it remaineth to be marked, whether we shall judge all these, after the words pronounced, to be straightway changed into another nature.

Then again began they to rage afresh against Lambert, so that if he could not be overcome with arguments, he should be vanquished with rebukes and taunts. What should he do? He might well hold his peace like a lamb, but bite or bark again he could not.

Next orderly stepped forth the valiant champion Stokesley, bishop of London, who afterwards, lying at the point of death, rejoiced, boasting that in his lifetime he had burned fifty heretics. This man, amongst the residue, intending to fight for his belly, with a long protestation promised to prove, that it was not only a work of a divine miracle, but also that it did nothing abhor nature. "For it is nothing dissonant from nature, the substances of like things," saith he, "to be oftentimes changed one into another, so that nevertheless the accidents do remain; albeit the substance itself, and the matter subject, be changed." Then he declared it by the example of water boiling so long upon the fire, until all the substance thereof be evaporated. "Now," saith he, "it is the doctrine of the philosophers, that a substance cannot be changed but into a substance: wherefore we do affirm the substance of the water to pass into the substance of the air; notwithstanding the quality of the water, which is moistness, remaineth after the substance is changed; for the air is moist even as the water is."

When this argument was heard, the bishops greatly rejoiced, and suddenly their countenance changed, as it were assuring themselves of a certain triumph and victory by this philosophical transmutation of elements, and like as it had been of more force than Chrisippus's argument, which passed all manner of solution.

Lambert's answer was long looked for here of all men; who, as soon as he had obtained silence, and liberty to speak, first of all denied the bishop's assumpt, that the moisture of the water did remain after the substance was altered. "For albeit," saith he, "that we do grant, with the philosophers, the air to be naturally moist; notwithstanding it hath one proper and a diverse degree of moisture, and the water another. Wherefore, when the water is converted into the air, there remaineth moisture, as you do say; but that is not the moisture of water, but the proper and natural moisture of the air. Whereupon there is another doctrine amongst the philosophers, as a perpetual rule, that it can by no means be, that the qualities and accidents in natural things should remain in their own proper nature, without their proper subject."

Then again the king and the bishops raged against Lambert, insomuch that he was not only forced to silence, but also might have been driven into a rage, if his ears had not been acquainted with such taunts before. After this the other bishops, every one in his order, as they were appointed, supplied their places of disputation.

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There were appointed ten in number, for the performing of this tragedy; for his ten arguments, which (as before we have declared) were delivered unto Taylor the preacher. It were too long in this place to repeat the reasons and arguments of every bishop; and no less superfluous were it so to do, especially forasmuch as they were all but common reasons, and nothing forcible, and such as by the long use of disputation have been beaten, and had little in them either worthy the hearer or the reader.

Lambert, in the mean time, being compassed in with so many and great perplexities, vexed on the one side with checks and taunts, and pressed on the other side with the authority and threats of the personages; and partly being amazed with the majesty of the place in the presence of the king, and especially being wearied with long standing, which continued no less than five hours, from twelve of the clock, until five at night; being brought in despair, that he should nothing profit in this purpose, and seeing no hope at all in speaking, was at this point, that he chose rather to hold his peace. Hereby it came to pass, that those bishops which last of all disputed with him, spake what they listed without interruption, save only that Lambert now and then would allege somewhat out of St. Augustine for the defence of his cause; in which author he seemed to be very prompt and ready. But, for the most part, (as I said,) being overcome with weariness and other griefs, he held his peace; defending himself rather with silence, than with arguments, which, he saw, would nothing at all prevail.

At the last, when the day was passed, and that torches began to be lighted, the king, minding to brake up this pretended disputation, said unto Lambert in this wise: "What sagest thou now," said he, "after all these great labours which thou hast taken upon thee, and all the reasons and instructions of these learned men? art thou not yet satisfied? Wilt thou live or die? what sayest thou? thou hast yet free choice."

Lambert answered, "I yield and submit myself wholly unto the will of your Majesty." Then said the king, "Commit thyself unto the hands of God, and not unto mine."

Lambert. "I commend my soul unto the hands of God, but my body I wholly yield and submit unto your clemency." Then said the king, "If you do commit yourself unto my judgment, you must die, for I will not be a patron unto heretics." And, by and by, turning himself unto Cromwell, he said, "Cromwell! read the sentence of condemnation against him." This Cromwell was at that time the chief friend of the gospellers. And here it is much to be marvelled at, to see how unfortunately it came to pass in this matter, that through the pestiferous and crafty counsel of this one bishop of Winchester, Satan (which oftentimes doth raise up one brother to the destruction of another) did here perform the condemnation of this Lambert by no other ministers than gospellers themselves, Taylor, Barnes, Cranmer, and Cromwell; who, afterwards, in a manner, all suffered the like for the gospel's sake; of whom (God willing) we will speak more hereafter.

This, undoubtedly, was the malicious and crafty subtlety of the bishop of Winchester, which desired rather that the sentence might be read by Cromwell, than by any other; so that if he refused to do it, he should likewise have incurred the like danger. But, to be short, Cromwell, at the king's commandment, taking the schedule of condemnation in hand, read the same; wherein was contained the burning of heretics, which either spake or wrote any thing, or had any

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books by them, repugnant or disagreeing from their papistical church and tradition touching the sacrament of the altar: also a decree that the same should be set upon the church porches, and be read four times every year in every church throughout the realm, whereby the worshipping of the bread should be the more firmly fixed in the hearts of the people. And in this manner was the condemnation of John Lambert; wherein great pity it was, and much to be lamented, to see the king's Highness that day so to oppose, and set his power and strength so fiercely and vehemently, in assisting so many proud and furious adversaries against that one poor silly soul, to be devoured, whom his Majesty, with more honour, might rather have aided and supported, being so on every side oppressed and compassed about without help or refuge, among so many wolves and vultures; especially in such a cause, tending to no derogation to him nor his realm, but rather to the necessary reformation of sincere truth and doctrine decayed. For therein, especially, consisteth the honour of princes, to pity the miserable, to relieve the oppressed, to rescue the wrongs of the poor, and to tender and respect the weaker part, especially where right and truth stand with him: which if the king had done that day, it had been, in my mind, not so much for the comfort of that poor persecuted creature, as it would have redounded to the immortal renown of his princely estate to all posterity.

But how much more commendable for thee, O King Henry! (if that I may a little talk with thee, wheresoever thou art,) if thou hadst aided and holpen the poor little sheep, being in so great perils and dangers, requiring thy aid and help against so many vultures and leopards; and hadst granted him thy authority, to use the same for his safeguard, rather than unto the others, to abuse it unto slaughter. For they, even of themselves, were cruel enough, that thou shouldst not have needed to have given thy sword of authority unto those mad-men, whose force and violence if you had that day broken, believe me! you should have committed a worthy spectacle unto all men, and have done a most commendable and praiseworthy thing for yourself. For what hath that poor man Lambert offended against you, who never so much as once willed you evil, neither could resist against you!

But, peradventure, you thought him to be a heretic! At the least his reasons and allegations should have been moderately heard; which if they had seemed more sound, you should have given place unto the truth; if not, notwithstanding, he should have been convinced, either with the like or more strong arguments, and have been reclaimed by all manner of means again into the way; for an error is not overcome with violence, but with truth. Truly it was not meet that you should have refused him, who so obediently yielded and submitted himself unto you. But, O King Henry! I know you did not follow your own nature therein, but the pernicious counsels of the bishop of Winchester: notwithstanding, your wisdom should not have been ignorant of this, (which all other kings also ought to consider, who, at this present, through the wicked insinuations of the bishops and cardinals, do so rage against the simple servants of Christ,) that the time shall once come, when ye shall give account for all the offences which you have either committed by your own fault, or by the counsel or advice of others, what shall then happen, if these miserable heretics, which you here in this world do so afflict and torment, shall come with Christ, and his apostles and martyrs, to judge the twelve tribes of Israel, sitting upon their seats? if they, with like severity, shall execute their power upon you; what then, I say, shall become of you? With what face will ye behold their majesty, who here in this world have showed no countenances of pity upon them? With what heart will ye implore their mercy, who so unmercifully rejected and cast them off, when they fled unto your pity and mercy? Wherefore,

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if that the ears of princes be so prompt and ready to hearken unto the counsels of others, being void of counsel themselves, why do they not rather set apart these flatterers, backbiters, and greedy blood-suckers, and hearken unto the wholesome counsel of the prophetic king? who, crying out in the Psalms, sayeth, "Now, ye kings, understand, and ye which judge the earth, be wise and learned, serve the Lord in fear, and rejoice in him with trembling. Embrace his Son, lest that ye err and perish from the just way; for, when his wrath shall suddenly kindle, blessed are all they which trust in him."

But thus was John Lambert, in this bloody session, by the king judged and condemned to death; whose judgment now remaineth with the Lord against that day, when before the tribunal seat of that great Judge both princes and subjects shall stand and appear, not to judge, but to be judged, according as they have done and deserved.

And thus much, hitherto, of Lambert's articles, answers, disputations, and his condemnation also. Now to proceed further to the story of his death.



Lambert burned at the stake

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Upon the day that was appointed for this holy martyr of God to suffer, he was brought out of the prison at eight o'clock in the morning unto the house of the Lord Cromwell, and so carried into his inward chamber, where, it is reported of many, that Cromwell desired of him forgiveness for what he had done. There, at the last, Lambert, being admonished that the hour of his death was at hand, was greatly comforted and cheered; and, being brought out of the chamber into the hall, he saluted the gentlemen, and sat down to breakfast with them, showing no manner of sadness or fear. When the breakfast was ended, he was carried straightway to the place of execution, where he should offer himself unto the Lord, a sacrifice of sweet savour, who is blessed in his saints, for ever and ever. Amen.

As touching the terrible manner and fashion of the burning of this blessed martyr, here is to be noted, that of all others which have been burned and offered up at Smithfield, there was yet none so cruelly and piteously handled as he. For, after that his legs were consumed and burned up to the stumps, and that the wretched tormentors and enemies of God had withdrawn the lire from him, so that but a small fire and coals were left under him, then two that stood on each side of him, with their halberts pitched him upon their pikes, as far as the chain would reach, after the manner and form that is described in the picture adjoined. Then he, lifting up such hands as he had, and his fingers' ends flaming with fire, cried unto the people in these words, "None but Christ, None but Christ;" and so, being let down again from their halberts, fell into the fire, and there ended his life.

Thus ye have heard by what craft and subtlety this good man was entrapped, and with what cruelty he was oppressed; so that now remaineth nothing but only his punishment and death, which the drunken rage of the bishops thought should not be long protracted.

During the time that he was in the archbishop's ward at Lambeth, which was a little before his disputation before the king, he wrote an excellent confession or defence of his cause to King Henry, wherein, first mollifying the king's mind and ears with a modest and sober preface, he declared how he had a double hope of solace laid up, the one in the most high and mighty Prince of princes, God; the other next unto God, in his Majesty, which should represent the office and ministry of that most high Prince in governing here upon earth. After that, proceeding in gentle words, he declared the cause which moved him to that which he had done. And, albeit he was not ignorant how odious this doctrine would be unto the people, yet, notwithstanding, because he was not also ignorant how desirous the king's mind was to search out the truth, he thought no time unmeet to perform his duty, especially forasmuch as he would not utter those things unto the ignorant multitude, for avoiding of offence; but only unto the prince himself, unto whom he might safely declare his mind.

After this preface made, he, entering into the book, confirmed his doctrine touching the sacrament by divers testimonies of the Scriptures by the which Scriptures he proved the body of Christ, whether it riseth, or ascendeth, or sitteth, or be conversant here, to be always in one place.

Then, gathering together the minds of the ancient doctors, he did prove and declare, by sufficient demonstration, the sacrament to be a mystical matter: albeit he so ruled himself, in such temperance and moderation, that he did not deny but that the holy sacrament was the very natural body of our Saviour, and the wine his natural blood: and that, moreover, his natural body

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and blood were in those mysteries; but after a certain manner, as all the ancient doctors in a manner do interpret it.

After this protestation thus made, he inferreth the sentence of his confession, as here followeth.

A treatise by John Lambert upon the sacrament; addressed to the king.

"Christ is so ascended bodily into heaven, and his holy manhood thither so assumpt, where it doth sit upon the right hand of the Father, (that is to say, is with the Father there remanent and resident in glory,) that, by the infallible promise of God, it shall not, or cannot, from thence return before the general doom, which shall be in the end of the world. And as he is no more corporally in the world, so can I not see how he can be corporally in the sacrament, or his holy supper. And yet, notwithstanding, do I acknowledge and confess, that the holy sacrament of Christ's body and blood is the very body and blood in a certain manner, which shall be showed hereafter, with your Grace's favour and permission, according to the words of our Saviour, instituting the same holy sacrament, and saying, This is my body, which is given for you: and again, This is my blood which is of the new testament, which is shed for many, for the remission of sins.

"But now, for approving of the first part, that Christ is so bodily ascended into heaven, and his holy manhood so thither assumpt, &c., that by the infallible promise of God he shall not, or cannot, any more from thence bodily return before the general doom, I shall for this allege first the Scriptures, following the authorities of old holy doctors, with one consent testifying with me. Besides this, I need not to tell, that the same is no other thing but that we have taught to us in these three articles of our Creed, 'He ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty; from thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.' For Christ did ascend bodily; the Godhead, which is infinite, uncircumscribable, replenishing both heaven and earth, being immutable, and unmovable, so that properly it can neither ascend nor descend."

Scriptures affirming the same.

"The Scriptures which I promised to allege for the confirmation of my said sentence, be these: He was lifted up into heaven in their sight, and a cloud received him from their eyes. And when they were looking up into heaven, they saw two men, &c. Here it is evidently showed, that Christ departed and ascended in a visible and circumscribed body. That this departing was visible and in a visible body, these words do testify: And when they were looking up; Why stand you here looking up into heaven? and, Even as ye have seen him, &c. That, secondly, it was in body, I have before proved: and moreover the Deity is not seen, but is invisible, as appeareth thus; To God only invisible, &c.; and, He dwelleth in the inaccessible light which no man seeth, nor may see, &c.: therefore the manhood and natural body was assumpt, or did ascend. That, thirdly, it was in a circumscribed body, appeareth manifestly in this: first, that his ascension and bodily departing caused them to look up and, secondly, that he was lifted up; that is to wit, from beneath or, from below: and, thirdly, that a cloud received him; whereas no cloud nor clouds can receive or embrace the Deity, &c.

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"I am fain to leave out other evident arguments for the same purpose, lest I should be over prolix and tedious. It doth there also follow, in like form, how the angels made answer to the disciples, saying, Ye men of Galilee! why stand ye gazing into heaven? This Jesus, which is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come again, as you have seen him going up into heaven. Here we see again, that Jesus is assumpt, or taken away into heaven. And then it must be from out of the world, according to that we read, I went forth from the Father, and I came into the world: I leave the world again, and I go unto the Father. That is, not else but as he came from the Father of heaven into this world, in that he was incarnate and made man, (for his Godhead was never absent, either from heaven, or yet from earth,) even so should his manhood leave the world again, to go to heaven. Moreover, in that it is said, So shall he come, is plainly testified, that he is away, and now corporally absent.

"Finally, it is showed, further, after what manner he shall come again, by these words, Even as you have seen him going up into heaven; which is not else but as you did visibly see him ascend or go away to heaven, a cloud embracing him, and taking him from among you; even so shall you visibly see him to come again in the clouds, as we read in Matthew, You shall see the Son of man to come in the clouds of heaven: and again, And they shall see the Son of man. Such other texts have we full many, declaring my sentence to be catholic and true; of which I here shall briefly note some places, and pass over them, knowing that a little rehearsal is sufficient to your noble wisdom. The places be, Mark xvi.; Luke xxiv.; John xiii., xiv., xvi., and xvii.; Rom. viii.; Ephes. i. and ii.; and 2 Cor. vi.; Heb. viii., ix., x., and xii.; and 1 Thess. iv.; and 1 Pet. ii.; which all do testify, that Christ hath bodily forsaken the world, and, departing from it unto his Father, ascended into heaven; sitting still upon the right hand of the Father, above all dominion, power, and principality; where he is present Advocate and Intercessor before his Father; and that he shall so bodily come again, like as he was seen to depart from hence.

"Nothing can better, or more clearly, testify and declare, what is contained in the sacrament of Christ's holy body and blood, than do the words of Scripture, whereby it was instituted. Mark doth agree with Matthew, so that in a manner he reciteth his very words. And no marvel it is; for, as the doctors do say, The Gospel of Mark is a very epitome or abridgement of Matthew. I shall therefore write the relations of them, touching the institution of this sacrament, together. The relation or testimony of Matthew is this: As they were eating, Jesus took bread; and when he had given thanks, he brake and gave to his disciples, and said, Take, eat; this is my body. And taking the cup, and giving thanks, he gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of this; for this is my blood of the new testament, which is shed for many, for the remission of sins. And I say unto you, I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine, until that day, that I drink it new with you in the kingdom of my Father.

"The testimony or relation of Mark, is this: And as they did eat, Jesus took the bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it to them, and said, Take, eat; this is my body. And he took the cup, and when he had given thanks, he gave it to them, and they all drank of it, and he said unto them, This is my blood of the new testament, which is shed for many. Verily, I say unto you, I will drink no more of the fruit of the vine, unto that day that I drink it new in the kingdom of God. Luke, being the companion of Paul, as appeareth in the Acts, and 2 Tim. iv., doth so next agree with him in making relation of this supper, and holy institution of the sacrament. His relation or report is this: When he had taken bread, and given thanks, he brake it,

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and gave to them, saying, This is my body, which is given for you; do this in remembrance of me. Likewise also, after supper, he took the cup, saying, This cup is the new testament in my blood, which is shed for you.

"Paul's testimony doth follow next, agreeably to Luke, and it is thus: For I have received of the Lord that which I also have delivered to you; that our Lord Jesus Christ, in the same night in which he was betrayed, took bread; and when he had given thanks he brake it, and said, Take, eat; this is my body which is broken for you: this do ye in remembrance of me. After the same manner he also took the cup when he had supped, saying, This cup is the new testament in my blood: this do, as oft as ye drink it, in the remembrance of me; for as often as ye shall eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye shall show the Lord's death till he come. By these testimonies shall I declare my sentence to your Grace, which I conceive of the holy sacrament of Christ's blessed body and blood, and in all points of difficulty shall I annex the very interpretation of the old holy doctors and fathers, to show that I do not ground any thing upon myself. Thereafter shall I add certain arguments, which, I trust, shall clearly prove and justify my sentence to be true, catholic, and according both with God and his laws, and also with the mind of holy doctors.

"My sentence is this: That Christ ascended into heaven, and so hath forsaken the world, and thereshall abide, sitting on the right hand of his Father, without returning hither again, until the general doom; at which time he shall come from thence, to judge the dead and the living. This all do I believe done in his natural body, which he took of the blessed Virgin Mary his mother, in which he also suffered passion for our safety and redemption upon a cross; who died for us, and was buried: in which he also did rise again to life immortal. That Christ is thus ascended in his manhood and natural body, and so assumpt into heaven, we may soon prove; forasmuch as the Godhead of him is never out of heaven, but ever replenishing both heaven and earth, and all that is besides, being infinite and interminable or uncircumscribable, so that it cannot properly either ascend or descend, being without all alterations, and immutable or unmovable. So that now his natural body, being assumpt from among us, and departed out of the world, the same can no more return from thence unto the end of the world. For as Peter witnesseth, Whom the heavens must contain, until the time that all things be restored which God had spoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets since the world began. And the same doth the article of our Creed teach us, which is, From thence [i. e. from heaven] shall he come, to judge the quick and the dead;' which time Paul calleth the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ.

"Seeing then this natural body of our Saviour, that was born of his mother Mary being a virgin, is all whole assumpt into heaven, and departed out of this world, and, so as saith St. Peter, He must remain in heaven until the end of the world, which he calleth, the time when all things must be restored; this, I say, seen and believed according to our Creed and the Scriptures, I cannot perceive how the natural body of him can, contrariwise, be in the world, and so in the sacrament. And yet, notwithstanding, is this true, that the holy sacrament is Christ's body and blood, as after shall be declared."

Doctors affirming the same.

"But first, for the establishing of my former purpose, that the natural body of our Saviour is so absent from this world, and ascended into heaven, that it can be here no more present until

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the general doom; I would beseech your Grace to consider the mind and sentence of the old holy doctors in this purpose or matter, how agreeably they testify with that which is before showed. Amongst whom we have first St. Augustine, writing thus to Dardanus.

"Therefore as concerning the Word, Christ is the Creator, all things are made by him. But as touching man, Christ is a creature made of the seed of David, according to the flesh, and ordained according to the similitude of men. Also, because man consisteth of two things, the soul and the flesh, in that he had a soul, he was pensive and sorrowful unto death; in that he had flesh, he suffered death. Neither when we call the Son of God Christ, we do separate his manhood; nor, when we call the same Christ the Son of man, we do separate his Godhead from him. In that he was man, he was conversant upon the earth (and not in heaven, where he now is) when he said, No man ascendeth up into heaven, but he which descended from heaven, the Son of man, which is in heaven: although in that respect that he was the Son of God, he was in heaven; and in that he was the Son of man, he was yet in the earth, and as yet was not ascended into heaven. Likewise, in that respect that he is the Son of God, he is the Lord of glory; and in that he is the Son of man, he was crucified: and yet, notwithstanding, the apostle saith, And if they had known the Lord of glory, they would never have crucified him. And by this, both the Son of man was in heaven; and the Son of God, in that he was man, was crucified upon earth. Therefore, as he might well be called the Lord of glory, being crucified, when as yet that suffering did only pertain unto the flesh; so it might well be said, This day thou shalt be with me in paradise, when, according to the humility of his manhood in his flesh, he lay in the grave; and according to his soul, he was in the bottom of hell that same day. According to his divine immutability, he never departed from paradise, because, by his Godhead, he is always every where. Doubt you not, therefore, that there is Christ Jesus according to his manhood, from whence he shall come. Remember it well, and keep faithfully thy Christian confession; for he rose from the dead, he ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father: neither will he come from any other place than from thence, to judge the quick and the dead. And he shall come, as the voice of the angel beareth witness, as he was seen to go into heaven; that is to say, in the selfsame form and substance of flesh, whereunto, undoubtedly, he gave immortality, but he did not take away the nature thereof: according to this form of his flesh, he is not to be thought to be everywhere. And we must take heed that we do not affirm the Divinity of his manhood, that we thereby take away the truth of his body: for it is not a good consequent, that that thing which is in God should so be in every place as God. For the Scripture saith very truly of us, that in Him we live, move and have our being: and yet, notwithstanding, we are not in every place as he is; but that man is otherwise in God, because God is otherwise in man, by a certain proper and singular manner of being; for God and man is one person, and only Jesus Christ is both. In that he is God, he is in every place; but in that he is man, he is in heaven."

"By these words of holy Augustine, your Grace may evidently see, that he testifieth and teacheth the blessed body or flesh of Christ to be no where else than in heaven. For to it being assumpt or ascended into heaven, God, as he saith, hath given immortality, but not taken away nature: so that by the nature of that holy flesh or body, it must occupy one place. Wherefore it followeth, 'According to this form,' that is to wit, of his flesh, 'Christ is not to be thought to be in every place;' for if Christ should, in his humanity, be every where diffused or spread abroad, so should his bodily nature, or natural body, be taken from him. And therefore he saith, 'For we must beware that we do not so affirm the divinity of man, that we do take away the humanity of

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his body.' But in that he is God, so is he every where, according to my words before written; and in that he is man, so is he in heaven. And, therefore, it is said, For God and man is one person, and only Jesus Christ is both. He, in that he is every where, is God: but in that he is man, he is in heaven.

"And yet do we read, agreeably to the same matter, more largely in the same epistle, by these words: 'Thou shalt not doubt Christ our Lord, the only Son of God, equal with his Father; and the same being the Son of man, whereby the Father is greater, is present every where as God, and is in one and the same temple of God as God, and also in some place of heaven, as concerning the true shape of body.'

"Thus find we clearly, that for the measure of his very body he must be in one place, and that in heaven, as concerning his manhood; and yet every where present in that he is the eternal Son of God, and equal to his Father. Like testimony doth he give in the thirtieth treatise that he maketh upon the Evangely of John. These be his words there written: Until the world be at an end, the Lord is above, but here is the truth of the Lord also; for the body of our Lord in which he rose must be in one place, but his truth is abroad in every place. The first parcel, that is, Until the world's end, is so put, that it may join to the sentence going before, or else to these words following, The Lord is above, &c.; and so should well accord to my sentence before showed, which is, The Lord is so bodily ascended, that in his natural body he cannot again return from heaven until the general doom.

"But howsoever the said clause or parcel be applied, it shall not greatly skill, for my sentence notwithstanding remaineth full stedfast; insomuch as the Scripture doth mention but two advents or comings of Christ, of which the first is performed in his blessed incarnation, and the second is the coming at the general doom. And furthermore, in this article of our Creed, 'From thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead,' is not only showed wherefore he shall come again, but also when he shall come again; so that in the mean while, as the other article of our Creed witnesseth, 'He sitteth at the right hand of God his Father,' which is nothing else than to say, he remaineth in glory with the Father. Furthermore, even as I have before rehearsed the aforesaid authority of Augustine, so have I read in his Quinquagenes, upon a psalm, of which I cannot now precisely note or name the number. And the same words doth he also write in the epistle to St. Jerome; so that we may know he had good liking in it, that he so commonly doth use it as his usual proverb, or by-word.

"In the same is also testified, that his blessed body can be but in one place, so that it being now, according to the Scripture and article of our belief or Creed, in heaven, it cannot be in earth; and much less can it be in so innumerable places of the earth, as we may perceive that the sacrament is. Thus, although the body of our Saviour must be in one place, as he writeth agreeably to the saying of Peter, Whom the heavens must receive until the time of the restitution of all things; yet, as the words following make mention, But his verity is scattered every where. This verity of Christ, or of his body, I do take to be what he in other places doth call the virtue of the sacrament. As in the twenty-fifth treatise upon John we find thus written: 'The sacrament is one thing, and the virtue of the sacrament is another thing.' And again, 'If any man eat of him, he dieth not; but he meaneth of him that doth appertain to the virtue of the sacrament, and not of him that pertaineth to the visible sacrament.' And to declare what is the virtue of the sacrament,

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'which I count to be the truth of the Lord or of his body,' he saith, 'He who eateth inwardly in spirit, not outwardly; he that eateth in heart, and not he who cheweth with teeth.'

"So that finally, this 'truth of the Lord or his body,' which is dispersed every where abroad, is the spiritual profit, fruit, and comfort, that is opened to be received every where of all men, by faith in the verity of the Lord, that is to wit, in the very and true promise or testament made to us in the Lord's body that was crucified and suffered death for us, and rose again, ascending immortal into heaven, where he sitteth, that is, abideth, on the right hand of his Father, from thence not to return until the general doom or judgment. This bodily absence of our Saviour is likewise clearly showed in the fiftieth treatise that he maketh upon John, where he doth expound this text, Ye have the poor always with you, but ye shall not always have me with you, to my purpose, that thereby I count and hold mine opinion to be rather catholic, than theirs that hold the contrary. Finally, the same doth he confirm in his sermons of the second and third Feries of Easter; and in so many places besides, as here cannot be recited, the number of them is so passing great.

"With him consenteth full plainly Fulgentius, in his second book to Thrasimundus, writing in this wise: "'One and the same man, being local in that he is man, who is God Almighty of the Father. One and the same, according to human substance, being absent from heaven when he was in the earth, and leaving the earth when he ascended up into heaven; but, according to his Divine and almighty substance, neither departing from heaven when he descended from heaven, neither leaving the earth when he ascended into heaven. The which may well be known by the undoubtful saying of our Lord himself; which, that he might the better show his humanity occupying a place, said unto his disciples, I ascend up unto my Father and your Father, unto my God and your God. Also when he had said of Lazarus, Lazarus is dead, he adjoined, saying, And I am glad for your sakes, that you may believe, because I was not there. But, showing the greatness of his Divinity, he said to his Disciples, Behold, I am with you unto the end of the world. For how did he ascend into heaven, but because he is local and true man? and how is he present to his faithful, but because he is Almighty and true God?' &c.

"In this manner doth Fulgentius proceed forth, speaking much full agreeably to my sentence, which is now over-long here to write. But what can be said more plainly in so few words making for me?

"First he saith, that Christ being a man, is, as concerning his manhood, local, that is to say, contained in one place. And to express that more clearly, he addeth to it, saying, 'He is one and the same, according to his human substance; absent from heaven when he was in earth, and leaving the earth when he ascended into heaven;' whereas he hath a contrary antithesis for the godly nature, to show forth the first point the more effectually. The antithesis is thus: 'But according to his Divine and incomparable substance, neither leaving heaven when he descended from heaven, neither forsaking the earth when he ascended into heaven.' Whereby that is also confirmed which I said: Christ did descend and ascend, as touching his humanity, but not in his Deity, which is immutable and unmovable; as we may perceive by that he here doth call it 'almighty substance.' Furthermore, to show that Christ (as touching his human and natural body) is local, and in one place, he allegeth, and that right justly, two texts of Scripture: the first is, I ascend to my Father, &c.; and the second is of Lazarus, I am glad for your sakes, &c.

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"Finally, he maketh this demand: 'But how did he ascend into heaven, but because he is a local and very man?' whereby we may see, that by this sentence Christ could not ascend, except he had been local, that is, contained in one place, and so very man. And that is according to St. Augustine, writing as is above showed: 'And he shall so come (as the angel witnesseth) even as you have seen him go up into heaven; that is to say, in the same form and substance of his flesh. According to this form he is not spread abroad in every place: for we must beware that we do not so esteem his Divinity, that we thereby do take away the verity of his body. So that they both do testify, and that very plainly, that Christ could not have ascended, except he had been local, that is to wit, contained in one place, and very man; and that if he were not local, he could not be a man. Wherefore St. Augustine saith further, to Dardanus, 'Take away locality, or occupying of place from bodies, and they shall be no where: and because they shall be no where, they shall have no being at all.'

"We, therefore, coveting to find Christ or his natural body, should seek for him in heaven, where his natural manhood is sitting on the right hand of his Father. So willeth us St. Ambrose, in the tenth book which he writeth upon Luke, speaking of Christ's humanity assumpt, in this wise: 'Therefore we ought not to seek thee upon the earth, nor in the earth, neither according to the flesh, if we will find thee: for now, according to the flesh, we do not know Christ. Furthermore, Stephen did not seek thee upon the earth, when that he did see thee standing on the right hand of God the Father: but Mary, which sought thee upon the earth, could not touch thee. Stephen touched thee, because he sought thee in heaven: Stephen amongst the Jews saw thee being absent,' &c.

"Thus we must seek for the natural body of Christ, not upon the earth, but in heaven, if we will not be deceived. And that doth he more largely show in the same treatise, speaking thus of the verity of Christ's body: 'How could it come to pass that the body could not rest in the sepulchre, in which the tokens of the wounds and scars did appear, which the Lord himself did offer to be touched (in which doing he did not only establish the faith, but also augmented devotion)? Because he would rather carry up into heaven the wounds received for us, and would not put them away, that he might present to God the Father the price of our liberty: such a one the Father doth place at his right hand, embracing the triumph and victory of our salvation,' &c.

"Gregory also, in a homily of Pentecost, saith agreeably to the others, in these words: 'When was it that he did not tarry with them, which, ascending up into heaven, promiseth, saying, Behold, I am here with you continually until the end of the world? But the Word Incarnate tarrieth, and also goeth away. It departeth in body, and tarrieth in Divinity. And therefore he saith, that he tarried with them: even he which was ever present with them by his invisible power, and now departed by his corporal vision.' In like wise doth he testify in the homily of Easter-day.

"With these doth Bede accord in a homily of Easter, in which he declareth this text, A little while, and ye shall not see me: and again, a little while, and ye shall see me: and also in a homily of the Vigil of Pentecost. And who can otherwise say or think, knowing the Scripture and our belief, but that the natural body of Christ is so assumpt into heaven all whole, that it must there abide without returning, until the general judgment? Notwithstanding, seeing this is the chief point whereupon I seek to establish my sentence in this matter of the holy sacrament, that

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Christ's holy and natural body is so assumpt into heaven, that there it must remain all whole without returning until the general doom, I will yet, with the permission of your Grace, add one or two arguments deduced out of the Scriptures, to declare further my sentence to be faithful and catholic."

Arguments out of Scripture.

"First, as Christ was enclosed, and so borne about, in the womb of his mother, being a virgin undefiled, and afterwards was born into this world, and put in a manger, and so he, growing in age, did abide in divers places, but in one after another, some time in Galilee, some time in Samaria, some time in Jewry, some time beyond and some time on this side of Jordan, and consequently he was crucified at Jerusalem, there being enclosed and buried in a grave, from whence he did arise, so that the angels testified of him, He is risen, and is not here; and as at the time appointed, after his resurrection, he was assumpt, or lifted up into heaven from the top of the mount of Olivet, in the sight of his disciples, a cloud compassing him about; even so shall he come from the same celestial place corporally, as they did see him to depart out of the one place corporally, according to the testimony of the angels. So that in this we may undoubtedly find that Christ, as touching his manhood, cannot be corporally in many and divers places at once; and so to be corporally in his natural body in heaven, and also in the earth; and that it is, moreover, in so many parts of the world, as men have affirmed.

"Neither doth the Scripture require that we should spoil Christ of the property of man's nature, which is, to be in one place, whom the same Scripture doth perpetually witness and teach to be man, and so to confound the condition of his bodily nature with the nature divine. Paul doth teach, that Christ, in his manhood, was made in all points like unto his brethren, sin excepted: how then can his body be in more places at once, unlike unto the natural property of the bodies of us his brethren? But here do some witty philosophers, yea, rather sophisters than divines, bring in, to the annulling of Christ's humanity, a similitude of man's soul, which, being one, is yet so all whole in all our whole body, that it is said to be all whole in every part of the body. But such should remember, that it is no convenient similitude which is made of things different and diverse in nature, such as be the soul and body of man, to prove them to have like properties. This is as if they would prove Christ's body to be of one nature and property with his soul, and that things naturally corporal were not most diverse from creatures naturally spiritual.

"Furthermore, if so it might be, that the body or flesh of Christ were merely spiritual, and full like unto the substance of angels, yet it could not in this wise follow, that his body could be every where, or in divers places at once. Wherefore such subtleties are to be omitted, and the trade of Scripture should well like us, by which the old doctors do define that the body of Jesus, exalted or assumpt into heaven, must be local, circumscribed, and in one place, notwithstanding that the verity, spiritual grace, and fruit that cometh of it, is diffused and spread abroad in all places, or every where. How could Christ corporally depart out of this world, and leave the earth, if he in the kinds of bread and wine be not only corporally contained and received, but also there reserved, kept, and enclosed? What other thing else do these words testify, But Jesus knowing that his hour was come, that he should pass out of this world to his Father, &c.; and in like form, And it came to pass that as he blessed them, he departed from them, and was carried up into

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heaven? what do they signify, if Christ went not verily out of this world, his natural body being surely assumpt into heaven?

"They do therefore undoubtedly declare that Christ, being very God and very man, did verily depart out of this world in his natural body, his humanity being assumpt into heaven, where he remaineth sitting in glory with the Father: whereas yet his Deity did not leave the world, nor depart out from the earth. Paul doth say, that of two things he wist not which he might rather choose, that is to wit, to abide in the flesh, for preaching the gospel; or else to be dissolved from the flesh, seeing that to abide with Christ is much and far better. By which Paul doth manifestly prove, that they be not presently with Christ, who yet do abide mortal in the flesh. Yet they be with Christ in such wise as the Scripture doth say, that the believing be the temple of Christ; and as Paul doth say, Do you not know yourselves that Jesus Christ is in you? in which sense he also promised to be with us unto the end of the world. Christ, therefore, must be otherwise in that place in which the apostle desired to be with him, being dissolved, and departed from his body, than he doth abide either in the supper, or else in any other places of the churches. He therefore doth undoubtedly mean heaven, which is the paradise of perfect bliss and glory; where Christ, being a victor, triumpher, and conqueror over death, sin, and hell, and over all creatures, doth reign and remain corporally. Thus do I trust that your Grace doth see my sentence, so far forth, to be right catholic, Christian, and faithful; according to Holy Scripture, to holy fathers, and the articles of our Christian belief. Which sentence is this: Christ's natural body is so assumpt into heaven, where it sitteth or remaineth in glory of the Father, that it can no more come from thence, that is to wit, return from heaven, until the end of the world: and therefore cannot the same natural body naturally be here in the world, or in the sacrament, for then should it be departed or gone out of the world, and yet be still remaining in the world. It should then be both to come, and already come; which is a contradiction, and variant from the nature of his manhood."

The second part of this matter.

"Now my sentence in the second part of this matter is this (if so be your Grace shall please to know it, as I, your poor and unworthy, but full true subject, would with all submission and instance beseech you to know it): I grant the holy sacrament to be the very and natural body of our Saviour, and his very natural blood, and that the natural body and blood of our Saviour is in the sacrament after a certain wise, as after shall appear: for so do the words of the supper testify, Take, eat; this is my body which is given for you: and again, Drink ye all of this; this is my blood which is of the new testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins. Of which words, seeing on them depend a great trial and proof of this matter, and that for the interpretation of them is, and hath been, all the controversy of this matter, I, therefore, shall show the interpretation that holy doctors have made of them, that, as to me seemeth, be full worthy of credit.

"First, We find in the second book of Tertullian, which he writeth against Marcion, 'Christ did not reprove the bread, because it doth represent his body.' This Marcion, against whom Tertullian doth thus write, did erroneously reprove all creatures as evil. Which thing Tertullian doth improve by the sacrament, saying as is above written, 'Christ did not reprove the bread, which representeth his body.' As who would say, If Christ had judged the bread evil, then

would he not have left it for a sign or sacrament to represent his blessed body. Agreeably to the same doth he also say in the fourth book made against the said Marcion in these words 'Christ made the same bread, which he took and distributed to his disciples, his body, saying, This is my body; that is to say, the figure of my body. But it could not have been a figure, unless it were the body of a very true thing indeed. Furthermore, a void thing, which is a fantasy, could not receive a figure or a form.' This Marcion had an erroneous opinion, that Christ had no natural body, but a body fantastical; which error or heresy, this famous doctor Tertullian doth improve by the holy sacrament, saying, as before is written, that the sacrament is a figure of Christ's body: ergo, Christ had a very and true body; for a thing which is vain and fantastical can receive no figure. So that in both places we may clearly perceive his interpretation of these words, This is my body: which interpretation is not new, but authentic, or full ancient, like as is the writer. And this interpretation do I the rather allow, because none of the older doctors which followed him did ever reprove him there-for, but rather have followed it; as appeareth by holy Augustine. In the preface upon the third Psalm, doth the said Augustine highly commend the wonderful sufferance of Christ, which so long did suffer and forbear Judas, as if he had been a good and an honest man: whereas, notwithstanding, he did know his traitorous thoughts, when he received him to the feast or supper in which he did commend and deliver to his disciples the figure of his body and blood. The words of Augustine be these: 'In the history of the New Testament, the patience of our Lord was so great, and so to be marvelled at, because he suffered Judas so long as a good man, when he knew his thoughts when he received him to the feast in which he did commend and deliver the figure of his body and blood to his disciples.'

"The same holy doctor also, writing against Adamantius, saith thus: 'For the Lord did not doubt to say, This is my body, when he gave a sign of his body.' And for a further declaration, in the same chapter, he saith, 'For so the blood is the soul, as the rock was Christ.' Notwithstanding he doth not say, that the rock did *signify* Christ: but he doth say, that the rock *was* Christ.

"Expressly doth Augustine here call the sign of Christ's body, his body; plainly interpreting these words, This is my body, as both he and Tertullian did before.

"Moreover, he taketh these three sentences, This is my body, The soul is the blood, and Christ was the stone, to be of one phrase, and to be like speeches, or to be expounded after one fashion. And this text, The rock was Christ, doth he commonly thus expound, 'The rock did signify Christ;' as appeareth, lib. xviii. De Civitate Dei, cap. 48. Also in the Book of Questions upon Genesis, and in the Book of Questions upon Leviticus, handling John xviii.; and in his sermon of the Annunciation of our Lady.

"In like manner also St. Jerome expoundeth it in the small Scholies, written upon 1 Cor. i., and all other writers with one consent, so far as I can read; and so doth the text require it to be expounded. For Christ was not a natural stone, as all men may well perceive, and yet was he the very true stone figuratively, as Lyra saith, 'The thing which signifieth, is wont to be called by the name of the thing which it doth signify.' And so is the stone signifying Christ, called Christ, which thereby is signified. And as he doth approve this text, The stone was Christ, likewise doth he expound The blood is the soul, with which he doth knit this text, This is my body, to be figuratively expounded, as they be. According to this doth the holy doctor write, 'Unless a man do eat my flesh, he shall not see eternal life. They understood that very foolishly, and conceived

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the same carnally; and thought that our Lord would cut away lumps or pieces of his body, and give to them. And they said, This is a hard saying. But they were hard of belief, and not the saying hard. For if they had not been hard, but meek, they would have said to themselves, He speaketh not this without a cause, but because there is some hid sacrament or mystery therein. They should have aboden with him, easy of belief, and not hard; and then should they have learned of him that which other learned, that tarried after they were gone away.'

"In this may we see, that our Saviour willeth his precious flesh to be eaten. But for the manner of eating, there is, and hath been, much controversy. The Jews of Capernaum were offended with Christ when he said, he would have his flesh eaten, and, except a man should eat his flesh, he could not come to life eternal. They supposed grossly, and understood him (if a man might so plainly speak it) butcherly, that he would cut out lumps and pieces out of his body, as the butcher doth out of dead beasts, and so give it them to eat of, as Augustine doth here say. And upon this gross, or (as holy Augustine doth here call it) foolish and fleshly understanding, they were offended, and said to him, This a sore or hard saying. They did shoot forth their bolt and unwise saying over soon, and were offended before they had cause. They took that for hard and sore, which should have been passing pleasant and profitable to them, if they would have heard the thing declared throughly to the end.

"And even so now, that which in this matter may appear at the first blush a sore, strange, and intolerable sentence, forasmuch as we have not heard of it before, but the contrary hath of a long time been beaten into our heads, and persuaded to our minds, yet, by deliberation and indifferent hearing, and abiding a trial of that which at the first may appear sore and intolerable, shall (I trust) be found a sweet truth, to such specially as your Grace is, loving to hear and to know all truth. But the Capernautes were hard, as here saith Augustine, and not the word. For if they had not been hard, but soft and patient to hear, they would have said in themselves, Christ saith not this without a cause, and there is some hidden mystery therein: and so, by patient tarriance, they should have known the truth, that they could not attain to for perverse hastiness or haste, which is a great stop and let of true judgment. But the disciples tarried patiently to hear further, and so did they know this speech of Christ to be the words of life, that to the other, over readily departing from Christ, were words of death; for they took them literally and grossly: and the letter (as Paul saith) slayeth.

"But, to show what the disciples remaining with Christ did learn, St. Augustine doth consequently show, by the words of the Gospel, saying thus: 'But he instructed them, and said unto them, The spirit is that which giveth life, the flesh profiteth nothing. The words that I have spoken unto you are spirit and life. Understand you that which I have spoken, spiritually. You shall not eat this body which you see, neither shall you drink that same blood which they shall shed forth which shall crucify me. I have set forth to you a certain sacrament or mystery, which, being spiritually understood, shall give you life. And although it be requisite that this be celebrated visibly, yet it ought to be understood invisibly.' In this do we see, that both Christ and Augustine would have Christ's words to be understood spiritually, and not carnally; figuratively, and not literally: and therefore doth he say, You shall not eat this body which you see, neither shall you drink that same blood which they shall shed forth that shall crucify me. And what else is this, but that Christ would his body to be eaten, and his blood to be drunken? But he would not his body to be carnally eaten, which was materially seen of them to whom he spake; nor his

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material or natural blood to be carnally drunken, which his crucifiers should cause to issue from his natural body crucified, as saith Augustine: but he ordained and willed his body and blood to be spiritually eaten and drunken, in faith and belief that his body was crucified for us, and that his blood was shed for remission of our sins.

"This eating and drinking is nothing but such true faith and belief as is showed. Wherefore, as Christ saith, He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath life everlasting, even so doth he say, He that believeth in me hath life everlasting. And St. Augustine, agreeable to the same, treating upon John, doth say, Why dost thou prepare thy teeth and belly? believe, and thou hast eaten. I do know that Christ ordaineth his sacrament to be received and eaten, which is in a certain wise called his body, as after shall be more largely opened: but the same doth not feed the mind of men, except it be taken spiritually, and not corporally. It is good to establish the heart with grace, and not with meat.

"And St. Augustine, assenting to the same, doth say in a sermon that he maketh upon these words in the Gospel of St. Luke, Lord, teach us to pray: He said bread, but supersubstantial bread. This is not the bread which goeth into the body; but that bread which doth satisfy the substance of our soul.' Our souls therefore, into whom nothing corporal can corporally enter, do not carnally receive the body and blood of our Saviour, neither did he ordain his blessed body and blood so to be eaten and drunken; although our souls cannot live except they be spiritually fed with the blessed body and blood of him, spiritually eating and drinking them, in taking also at times convenient the blessed sacrament, which is truly called his body and blood. Not that it is so really, but as is showed by the interpretation both of Tertullian and Augustine, because it is a sign or figure of Christ's body and blood. And the signs or sacraments do commonly, as saith St. Augustine, both *Ad Bonifacium*, and in his work *De Civitate Dei*, take their denomination of the things by them represented and signified.

"But forasmuch as some will object that Augustine, in the words before rehearsed, doth not speak of eating the sacrament; for the text of the Scripture, upon the which he doth ground, is not spoken by eating the sacrament, which text is this, Unless a man may eat my flesh, &c.; I answer, that true it is, he began of spiritual eating, and thereto serveth the text recited. Nevertheless, he meaneth that Christ is not ordained to be eaten either without the sacrament or in the sacrament, but spiritually of the faithful; as more evidently doth appear by these words there following: 'I have commended unto you a sacrament, which, being understood of you spiritually, shall quicken you. Although it were necessary that the same should be celebrated visibly, yet notwithstanding it ought to be understood invisibly.'

"Here doth he show that he meaneth of eating, not without the sacrament only, but also in the sacrament, and therefore he doth not only say, 'I have commended unto you a certain sacrament,' &c.; but he addeth moreover, 'Although it is requisite the same to be celebrated visibly.' How, therefore, can the eating of Christ and the sacrament thereof be visibly celebrated, but in the Maundy, or in his supper; which is celebrated visibly in visible things of bread and wine, which cannot quicken or relieve us and our souls, except they be understood and so received spiritually?

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"Furthermore, as concerning the exposition of these words of the supper, This is my body, &c., St. Augustine, writing to Boniface, saith thus:

"We use oftentimes this manner of phrase, that when Easter doth approach, we name the day that cometh after, or the next day after that, the Passion of the Lord, whereas he, notwithstanding, had suffered before that many years; neither that passion was done but once for all. So truly do we say, upon the Lord's day, This day the Lord hath risen: whereas so many years are passed since he rose. Wherefore no man is so fond, that he will reprove us as liars for this manner of speaking, because we call these days according to the similitude of those in which these things were done: so that it is called the same day which is not the same, but which, by course of time of the year coming about, is like unto it; and also because that thing is said to be done that day, through the celebration of the sacrament, which was not done that day, but long before that time. Was not Christ once offered up in himself? and yet, notwithstanding, he is not only offered up in the sacrament in the solemn feasts of Easter, but every day mystically for the people. Neither doth he make a lie, which being demanded, answereth, that Christ is offered up: for, if the sacraments had not a certain similitude of those things whereof they are sacraments, then should they be no sacraments at all. By reason of this similitude or likeness, sacraments oftentimes do receive the names of the selfsame things whereof they are sacraments.

"Therefore as, after a certain manner, the sacrament of Christ's body is the body of Christ, and the sacrament of Christ's blood is the blood of Christ; even likewise, the sacrament of faith is faith: for to believe, is none other thing than to have faith. And by this it is answered, that the very infants have faith, because of the sacrament of faith, and convert themselves unto God, because of the sacrament of conversion: for the very answer itself doth appertain unto the celebration of the sacrament. As the apostle speaketh of baptism; for he saith, We are buried by baptism into death. He did not say, We have signified a burying, but he plainly saith, We are buried. Therefore he named the sacrament of so weighty a matter or thing by no other name, but by the very name of the thing itself.'

"Nothing can be more plainly spoken, or more agreeable to the natural understanding of the texts of the supper, and to the exposition before showed of Tertullian and of himself. For seeing that Christ is bodily in heaven, and so absent from the earth, it is needful to know how the holy sacrament, which he doth call his body and blood, should be his body and blood.

"This holy doctor Augustine, therefore, doth this matter manifestly and sincerely declare by other like speeches; and first by common speeches, and secondly by speeches of Scripture. The first common speech is, 'We do,' saith he, 'use often to say, that when Easter doth approach or draw nigh, tomorrow, or the next day, is the Lord's passion: whereas he did suffer before many years past, and that passion was never but once done.'

"The second common speech is, 'And of that Sunday we say, that this day the Lord did rise from death; whereas so many years be yet past since the time he arose.' Wherefore to conclude, he saith, 'No man is so foolish, that he will reprove us for so saying, or to say that we have lied, because we do call these days after the similitude of those in which these things were done. So that it is called the same day, not for that it is the selfsame, but by revolution of time

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like unto it. And the resurrection is said to be done in the same day, through the celebrating of the sacrament of that which is not done that day, but long time before past.'

"The third speech, 'Was not Christ offered up once for all in his own person? yet is he nevertheless offered in the sacrament mystically for the people, not only every year at the feast of Easter, but also every day: neither doth he lie, which, when he is demanded, shall answer, that he is offered up or sacrificed. For if the sacraments had not a certain similitude of those things of which they be sacraments, then should they be no sacraments at all: by reason of which similitude they do for the most part receive the denomination or name of those things signified. And, therefore, after a certain manner, the sacrament of Christ's body is the body of Christ, and the sacrament of Christ's blood is the blood of Christ, and so also be the sacraments of faith called faith.' This doth he yet prove by another example of speech, which is this: It is none other thing to believe, than to have faith. And therefore, when answer is made that the infants have faith, who indeed have it not in full working, it is answered that such have faith for the sacrament of faith, and that they do convert themselves unto faith for the sacrament of conversion. For the very answer itself doth pertain to the celebration of the sacrament, &c. Thus doth it sufficiently appear, that as we use truly to call that Good Friday, or the day of Christ's passion, which is not indeed the day of Christ's passion, but only a memorial thereof once done for ever; and as we use to call the next Easter-day, the day of Christ's resurrection, not because that Christ in the same day shall arise, but only for a memorial of his resurrection once done for ever, and that of long time past; and as Christ, being offered up once for all in his own proper person, is yet said to be offered up not only every year at Easter, but also every day in the celebration of the sacrament, because his oblation, once for ever made, is thereby represented: even so, saith Augustine, is the sacrament of Christ's body the body of Christ, and the sacrament of Christ's blood the blood of Christ, in a certain wise or fashion. Not that the sacrament is his natural body or blood indeed, but that it is a memorial or representation thereof, as the days before showed be of his very and natural body crucified for us, and of his precious blood shed for the remission of our sins. And thus be the holy signs or sacraments truly called by the names of the very things in them signified. But why so? for they, saith Augustine, have a certain similitude of those things whereof they be signs or sacraments; for else they should be no sacraments at all: and therefore do they commonly, and for the most part, receive the denomination of the things whereof they be sacraments.

"So that we may manifestly perceive that he calleth not the sacrament of Christ's body and blood the very body and blood of Christ, but as he said before. But yet he saith, in a certain manner or wise. Not that the sacrament absolutely and plainly is his natural body and blood; for this is a false argument of sophistry, which they call *Secundum quid ad simpliciter*; that is to say, that the sacrament of Christ's body is in a certain wise the body of Christ: *ergo*, it is also plainly and expressly the natural body of Christ. For such another reason might this be also: Christ is after a certain manner a lion, a lamb, and a door: *ergo*, Christ is a natural lion, and a lamb, or a material door. But the sacrament of Christ's body and blood is therefore called his body and blood, because it is thereof a memorial, sign, sacrament, token, and representation, spent once for our redemption: which thing is further expounded by another speech that he doth here consequently allege of baptism: *Sicut de ipso baptismo apostolus dicit*, &c. 'The apostle,' quoth Augustine, 'saith not, We have signified burying, but he saith utterly, We be buried with Christ. For else should all false Christians be buried with Christ from sin, who yet do live in all sin.' And

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therefore saith Augustine immediately thereupon, He called therefore the sacrament of so great a thing, by none other name than of the thing itself.'

"Thus, O most gracious and godly prince! do I confess and acknowledge, that the bread of the sacrament is truly Christ's body, and the wine to be truly his blood, according to the words of the institution of the same sacrament: but in a certain wise, that is to wit, figuratively, sacramentally, or significatively, according to the exposition of the doctors before recited, and hereafter following. And to this exposition of the old doctors am I enforced both by the articles of my creed, and also by the circumstances of the said Scripture, as after shall more largely appear. But by the same can I not find the natural body of our Saviour to be there naturally, but rather absent both from the sacrament, and from all the world, collocate and remaining in heaven, where he, by promise, must abide corporally, unto the end of the world.

"The same holy doctor, writing against one Faustus, saith in like manner, 'If we do prefer with great admiration the Maccabees, because they would not once touch the meats which Christian men now lawfully use to eat of, for that it was not lawful for that time, being then propheticall, that is, in the time of the Old Testament; how much rather now ought a Christian to be more ready to suffer all things for the baptism of Christ, and for the sacrament of thanksgiving, and for the sign of Christ, seeing that those of the Old Testament were the promises of the things to be complete and fulfilled, and these sacraments in the New Testament are the tokens of things complete and finished?' In this do I note, that according to the expositions before showed, he calleth the sacrament of baptism, and the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, otherwise properly named Eucharistia, *signum Christi*, that is, a sign of Christ; and that, in the singular number, forasmuch as they both do signify well-nigh one thing. In both them is testified the death of our Saviour. And moreover, he called them *indicia rerum completarum*; that is to wit, the tokens or benefits that we shall receive by the belief of Christ for us crucified. And then he doth usually call both the sacraments, *signum Christi*, in the singular number. And as the same St. Augustine in his fiftieth treatise upon the Gospel of St. John teacheth, where he saith thus: 'If thou be good, if thou pertain to the body of Christ, (which this word Petrus doth signify,) then hast thou Christ both here present, and in time to come: here present through faith; here present by the figure and sign of Christ; here present by the sacrament of baptism; here present by the meat and drink of the altar, ' &c."

More there was that John Lambert wrote to the king, but thus much only came to our hands.

END OF VOLUME 6

**THE ACTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE
CHRISTIAN CHURCH**

by

JOHN FOXE

Commonly known as

FOXES' BOOK OF MARTYRS

Volume 7

The Reign Of Henry VIII – Part II.

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Henry VIII. Trampling the Pope Underfoot

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194. Other Martyrs, 1538

The death of Robert Packington.

Among other acts and matters passed and done this present year, which is of the Lord 1538, here is not to be silenced the unworthy and lamentable death of Robert Packington, mercer of London, wrought and caused by the enemies of God's word, and of all good proceedings. The story is this: The said Robert Packington, being a man of sub. stance, yet not so rich as discreet and honest, and dwelling in Cheapside, used every day at five o'clock, winter and summer, to go to prayers at a church then called St. Thomas of Acres, but now named Mercer's Chapel. And one morning amongst all others, being a great misty morning, such as hath seldom been seen, even as he was crossing the street from his house to the church, he was suddenly murdered with a gun, which of the neighbours was plainly heard; and, by a great number of labourers standing at Soper-lane end, he was both seen to go forth of his house, and the clap of the gun was heard, but the deed-doer was a great while un-espied and unknown. Although many in the mean time were suspected, yet none could be found faulty therein, the murderer so covertly was conveyed, till at length, by the confession of Dr. Vincent, dean of Paul's, on his death-bed, it was known, and by him confessed, that he himself was the author thereof, by hiring an Italian, for sixty crowns or thereabouts, to do the feat. For the testimonywhereof, and also for the repentant words of the said Intent, the names both of them that heard him confess it, and of them that heard the witnesses report it, remain yet in memory, to be produced, if need required.

The cause why he was so little favoured by the clergy, was this: for that he was known to be a man of great courage, and one that could both speak, and also would be heard: for at the same time he was one of the burgesses of the parliament for the city of London, and had talked somewhat against the covetousness and cruelty of the clergy; wherefore he was had in contempt with them, and was thought also to have some talk with the king; for which he was the more had in disdain with them, and murdered by the said Dr. Intent for his labour, as hath been above declared.

And thus much of Robert Packington, who was the brother of Austin Packington above mentioned, who deceived Bishop Tonsal, in buying the new translated Testament of Tyndale: whose piteous murder, although it was privy and sudden, yet hath it so pleased the Lord not to keep it in darkness, but to bring it at length to light.

The burning of one Collins at London.

Neither is here to be omitted the burning of one Collins, some time a lawyer and a gentleman, which suffered the fire this year also in Smithfield, A.D. 1538; whom although I do not here recite as in the number of God's professed martyrs, yet neither do I think him to be clean sequestered from the company of the Lord's saved flock and family, notwithstanding that the bishop of Rome's church did condemn and burn him for a heretic; but rather do recount him therefore as one belonging to the holy company of saints. At leastwise this case of him and of his end may be thought to be such as may well reprove and condemn their cruelty and madness, in

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burning so, without all discretion, this man, being mad, and distract of his perfect wits, as he then was, by this occasion as here followeth:



Collins burned at the stake

This gentleman had a wife of exceeding beauty and comeliness, but, notwithstanding, of so light behaviour and unchaste conditions, (nothing correspondent to the grace of her beauty,) that she, forsaking her husband, which loved her entirely, betook herself unto another paramour; which thing when he understood, he took it very grievously and heavily, more than reason would. At the last, being overcome with exceeding dolour and heaviness, he fell mad, being at that time a student of the law in London. When he was thus ravished of his wits, by chance he came into a church where a priest was saying mass, and was come to the place where they use to hold up and show the sacrament.

Collins, being beside his wits, seeing the priest holding up the host over his head, and showing it to the people, he, in like manner counterfeiting the priest, took up a little dog by the legs, and held him over his head, showing him unto the people. And for this he was, by and by, brought to examination, and condemned to the fire, and was burned, and the dog with him, the same year in which John Lambert was burned, A.D. 1538.

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The burning of Cowbridge at Oxford, A.D. 1538.

With this aforesaid Collins may also be adjoined the burning of Cowbridge, who likewise, being mad and beside his right senses, was, either the same, or the next year following, condemned by Longland, bishop of Lincoln, and committed to the fire by him to be burned at Oxford.

The fruitful seed of the gospel at this time had taken such root in England, that now it began manifestly to spring and show itself in all places, and in all sorts of people, as it may appear in this good man Cowbridge; who, coming of a good stock and family, whose ancestors, even from Wickliff's time hitherto, had been always favourers of the gospel, and addicted to the setting forth thereof in the English tongue, was born at Colchester, his father's name being William Cowbridge, a wealthy man, and head bailiff of Colchester, and of great estimation.

This man, at his decease, left unto his son great substance and possessions, which he afterwards abandoning and distributing unto his sisters and kindred, he himself went about the countries, sometimes seeking after learned men, and sometimes, according to his ability, instructing the ignorant. Thus he continued a certain space, until such time as he came to a town in Berkshire, named Wantage, where, after he had by a long season exercised the office of a priest, in teaching and administering of the sacraments, but being no priest indeed, and had converted many unto the truth, he was at last apprehended and taken, as suspected of heresy, and carried to a place beside Wickham, to the bishop of Lincoln, to be examined; by whom he was sent to Oxford, and there cast into the prison called Bocardo.

At that time Dr. Smith and Dr. Cotes governed the divinity schools, who, together with other divines and doctors, seemed not in this point to show the duty which the most meek apostle requireth in divines toward such as are fallen into any error, or lack instruction or learning. For, admit that he did not understand or see so much in the doctrine and controversies of divinity as the learned divines did, yet Paul, writing unto the Romans, and in others places also, saith, that the weak are to be received into the faith, and not to the determination of disputations; but the imbecility of the weak is to be borne by them that are stronger, &c. And in another place, we understand the spirit of lenity and gentleness to be requisite in such as are spiritual, who shall have to do with the weak flock of Christ. But, alas! it is a sorrowful thing to see how far these divines are separate from the rule of the apostolic meekness, who, after they had this poor man fast entangled in their prison of Bocardo with famine and hunger, brought this poor servant of Christ unto that point, that, through the long consumption and lack of sleep, his natural strength being consumed, he lost his wits and reason; whereby (as it is the manner of mad-men) he uttered many unseemly and indiscreet words: whereupon the divines spread rumours abroad that there was a heretic at Oxford, who could abide to hear the name of Jesu, but not the name of Christ, to be named; and therefore that he ought to be burned: and so thereupon condemned him. That done, they sent the articles, whereupon he was condemned, up to London, unto the lord chancellor, at that time being the Lord Audley, requiring of him a writ to put him to execution; of which articles we could only attain to knowledge and understanding but of two, which were these:

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"First, That in the second article of the Creed, he would not have it *Et in Jesum Christum*, &c., but *Et in Jesum Jesum*, &c. The second, That every poor priest, be he ever so poor or needy, being of a good conversation, hath as great power and authority in the church of God and ministration of the sacraments, as the pope or any other bishops.

What all his opinions and articles were, wherewith he was charged, it needeth not here to rehearse; for as he was then a man mad, and destitute of sense and reason, so his words and sayings could not be sound. Yea rather, what wise man would ever collect articles against him, which said he could not tell what? And if his articles were so horrible and mad as Cope in his Dialogues doth declare them, then was he, in my judgment, a man more fit to be sent to Bedlam, than to be had to the fire in Smithfield to be burned. For what reason is it to require reason of a creature mad or unreasonable, or to make heresy of the words of a senseless man, not knowing what he affirmed?

But this is the manner and property of this holy mother church of Rome, that whatsoever cometh in their hands and inquisition, to the fire it must. There is no other way; neither pity that will move, nor excuse that will serve, nor age that they will spare, nor any respect almost that they consider, as by these two miserable examples, both of Collins and Cowbridge, it may appear; who rather should have been pitied, and all ways convenient sought how to reduce the silly wretches into their right minds again; according as the true pastors of Israel be commanded, by the Spirit of God, to seek again the things that be lost, and to bind up the things that be broken, &c., and not so extremely to burst the things that be bruised before.

But, to end with this matter of Cowbridge, whatsoever his madness was before, or howsoever erroneous his articles were, (which, for the fond fantasies of them, I do not express,) yet, as touching his end, this is certain, that, when the day appointed was come, this meek lamb of Christ was brought forth unto the slaughter with a great band of armed men; and, being made fast in the midst of the fire, (contrary to their expectation,) oftentimes calling upon the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, with great meekness and quietness he yielded his spirit into the hands of the Lord.

Putteden and Leiton, martyrs.

About the same time and year, or not much before, when John Lambert suffered at London, there was one Puttedew also condemned to the fire, about the parts of Suffolk; who, coming into the church, and merrily telling the priest, that after he had drunk up all the wine alone, he afterwards blessed the hungry people with the empty chalice, was for the same immediately apprehended, and shortly after burned, leaving to us an experiment, *Quam parum sit tutum ludere cum sanctis*, as the old saying was then; but rather, as we may see now, *Quam male tutum sit ludere cum impiis*.

The great and almost infinite number of most holy martyrs, the variety of matter, and the great celerity used in writing this story, is such, that we cannot use such exact diligence in perusing them all, or have so perfect memory in keeping the order of years, but that, sometimes, we shall somewhat the more swerve or go astray; whereby it hath happened that this man William Leiton, as it were lying hidden among a great multitude of others, had almost escaped

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our hands; whom, notwithstanding that we have somewhat passed his time, yet do we not think meet to omit, or leave out of this catalogue or history.

This William Leiton was a monk of Eye in the county of Suffolk, and was burned at Norwich, for speaking against a certain idol which was accustomed to be carried about in the processions at Eye; and also for holding that the sacramental supper ought to be administered in both kinds; about the year and time aforesaid.

The burning of N. Peke, martyr, at Ipswich.

In the burning of another Suffolk man, named N. Peke, dwelling some time at Earlstonham, and burned at Ipswich somewhat before the burning of these aforesaid, thus I find it recorded and testified; that when he, being fast bound to a stake, and furze set on fire round about him, was so scorched that he was as black as soot, one Dr. Redyng, there standing before him, with Dr. Heyre and Dr. Springwell, having a long white wand in his hand, did knock him upon the right shoulder, and said, "Peke! recant, and believe that the sacrament of the altar is the very body of Christ, flesh, blood, and bone, after that the priest hath spoken the words of consecration over it; and here have I in my hand to absolve thee for thy misbelief that hath been in thee;" having a scroll of paper in his hand. When he had spoken these words, Peke answered, and said, "I defy it, and thee also;" and with a great violence he spit from him very blood, which came by reason that his veins brake in his body for extreme anguish. And when the said Peke had so spoken, then Dr. Redyng said, "To as many as shall cast a stick to the burning of this heretic, is granted forty days of pardon by my lord bishop of Norwich."

Then Baron Curson, Sir John Audley, knight, with many others of estimation, being there present, did rise from their seats, and with their swords did cut down boughs, and throw them into the fire, and so did all the multitude of the people. Witness John Ramsey and others, who did see this act.

195. King Henry's Decree Against Imported Books

In the year last before this, which was A.D. 1537, it was declared how Pope Paul the Third indicted a general council, to be holden at Mantua: whereunto the king of England, amongst other princes, being called, refused either to come or to send at the pope's call, and for defence of himself directed out a public apology or protestation, rendering just and sufficient matter why he neither would, nor was bound to obey, the pope's commandment; which protestation is before to be read. This council, appointed to begin the twenty-third day of May, the year aforesaid, was then stopped by the duke of Mantua, pretending that he would suffer no council there, unless the pope would fortify the city with a sufficient army, &c.; for which cause the pope prorogued the said council, to be celebrated in the month of November following, appointing at the first no certain place. At length he named and determined the city of Vincenza, (lying within the dominion of the Venetians,) to be the place for the council. Whereunto when the king, the year next following, (which is this present year of our Lord 1538,) was requested by the emperor and other states, to resort either himself, or to send, he, again refusing, (as he did before,) sent a protestation, in way of defence and answer for himself, to the emperor or other Christian princes.

As the Lord, of his goodness, had raised up Thomas Cromwell to be a friend and patron to the gospel, so, on the contrary side, Satan (who is adversary and enemy to all good things) had his organ also, which was Stephen Gardiner, by all wiles and subtle means to impeach and put back the same; who, after he had brought his purpose to pass in burning good John Lambert, (as ye have heard,) proceeding still in his crafts and wiles, and thinking, under the names of heresies, sects, Anabaptists, and Sacramentaries, to exterminate all good books and faithful professors of God's word out of England, so wrought with the king, that the next year following, which was A.D. 1539, he gave out these injunctions, the copy and contents whereof I thought here also not to be pretermitted, and are these:

"First, That none, without special licence of the king, transport or bring from outward parts into England, any manner of English books, either yet sell, give, utter, or publish any such, upon pain of forfeiting all their goods and chattels, and their bodies to be imprisoned so long as it shall please the king's Majesty.

"Item, That none shall print, or bring over, any English books with annotations or prologues, unless such books before be examined by the king's privy council, or others appointed by his Highness; and yet not to be put thereto these words, *cum privilegio regali*, without adding, *ad imprimendum solum*: neither yet to imprint it, without the king's privilege be printed therewith in the English tongue, that all men may read it. Neither shall they print any translated book, without the plain name of the translator be in it; or else the printer to be made the translator, and to suffer the fine and punishment thereof, at the king's pleasure.

"Item, That none of the occupation of printing shall, within the realm, print, utter, sell, or cause to be published, any English book of Scripture, unless the same be first viewed, examined, and admitted by the king's Highness, or one of his privy council, or one bishop within the realm, whose name shall therein be expressed, upon pain of the king's most high displeasure, the loss of their goods and chattels, and imprisonment so long as it shall please the king.

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"Item, Those that be in any errors, as Sacramentaries, Anabaptists, or any others, that sell books having such opinions in them, being once known, both the books and such persons shall be detected and disclosed immediately unto the king's Majesty, or one of his privy council; to the intent to have it punished, without favour, even with the extremity of the law.

"Item, That none of the king's subjects shall reason, dispute, or argue upon the sacrament of the altar, upon pain of losing their lives, goods, and chattels, without all favour, only those excepted that be learned in divinity: they to have their liberty in their schools and appointed places accustomed for such matters.

"Item, That the holy bread and holy water, procession, kneeling and creeping on Good Friday to the cross, and Easter-day, setting up of lights before the Corpus Christi, bearing of candles on Candlemas-day, purification of women delivered of child, offering of chrisms, keeping of the four offering-days, paying their tithes, and such-like ceremonies, must be observed and kept till it shall please the king to change or abrogate any of them."

This article was made for that the people were not quieted and contented (many of them) with the ceremonies then used.

"Finally, All those priests that be married, and openly known to have their wives, or that hereafter do intend to marry, shall be deprived of all spiritual promotion, and from doing any duty of a priest, and shall have no manner of office, dignity, cure, privilege, profit, or commodity in any thing appertaining to the clergy, but from thenceforth shall be taken, had, and reputed as lay persons, to all purposes and intents: and those that shall, after this proclamation, marry, shall run in his Grace's indignation, and suffer punishment and imprisonment at his Grace's will and pleasure.

"Item, He chargeth all archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, deacons, provosts, parsons, vicars, curates, and other ministers, and every of them, in their own persons, within their cures, diligently to preach, teach, open, and set forth to the people, the glory of God and truth of his word; and also, considering the abuses and superstitions that have crept into the hearts and stomachs of many by reason of their fond ceremonies, he chargeth them, upon pain of imprisonment at his Grace's pleasure, not only to preach and teach the word of God accordingly, but also sincerely and purely, declaring the difference between things commanded by God, and the rites and ceremonies in their church then used, lest the people thereby might grow into further superstition.

"Item, Forasmuch as it appeareth now clearly, that Thomas Becket, some time archbishop of Canterbury, stubbornly withstanding the wholesome laws established against the enormities of the clergy, by the king's Highness's noble progenitor, King Henry the Second, for the commonwealth, rest, and tranquillity of this realm, of his froward mind fled the realm into France, and to the bishop of Rome, maintainer of those enormities, to procure the abrogation of the said laws (whereby arose much trouble in this said realm); and that his death, which they untruly called martyrdom, happened upon a rescue by him made; and that (as it is written) he gave opprobrious words to the gentlemen which then counselled him to leave his stubbornness, and to avoid the commotion of the people, risen up for that rescue, and he not only called the one

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of them 'bawd,' but also took Tracy by the bosom, and violently shook him, and plucked him in such manner that he had almost overthrown him to the pavement of the church, so that upon this fray, one of their company, perceiving the same, struck him, and so in the throng Becket was slain: and further, that his canonization was made only by the bishop of Rome, because he had been both a champion to maintain his usurped authority, and a bearer of the iniquity of the clergy:

"For these, and for other great and urgent causes long to recite, the king's Majesty, by the advice of his council, hath thought expedient to declare to his loving subjects, that notwithstanding the said canonization, there appeareth nothing in his life and exterior conversation whereby he should be called a saint, but rather esteemed to have been a rebel and traitor to his prince.

"Therefore his Grace straitly chargeth and commandeth, that from henceforth the said Thomas Becket shall not be esteemed, named, reputed, and called a saint, but Bishop Becket; and that his images and pictures through the whole realm shall be plucked down, and avoided out of all churches, chapels, and other places; and that from henceforth the days used to be festival in his name, shall not be observed, nor the service, office, antiphons, collects, and prayers in his name read, but rased and put out of all the books; and that all their festival-days, already abrogated, shall be in no wise solemnized, but his Grace's ordinances and injunctions thereupon observed; to the intent his Grace's loving subjects shall be no longer blindly led and abused to commit idolatry, as they have done in times past: upon pain of his Majesty's indignation, and imprisonment at his Grace's pleasure.

"Finally, his Grace straitly chargeth and commandeth, that his subjects do keep and observe all and singular his injunctions made by his Majesty, upon the pain therein contained."

Here followeth how religion began to go backward.

196. The Variable Changes and Mutations of Religion in King Henry's Days.



O many which be yet alive, and can testify these things, it is not unknown, how variable the state of religion stood in these days; how hardly and with what difficulty it came forth; what chances and changes it suffered. Even as the king was ruled and gave ear sometimes to one, sometimes to another, so one while it went forward, at another season as much backward again, and sometimes clean altered and changed for a season, according as they could prevail, who were about the king. So long as Queen Anne lived, the gospel had indifferent success.

After that she, by sinister instigation of some about the king, was made away, the course of the gospel began again to decline, but that the Lord then stirred up the Lord Cromwell opportunely to help in that behalf; who, no doubt, did much avail, for the increase of God's true religion, and much more had brought to perfection, if the pestilent adversaries, maligning the prosperous glory of the gospel, by contrary practising had not craftily undermined him, and supplanted his virtuous proceedings. By means of which adversaries it came to pass, after the taking away of the said Cromwell, that the state of religion more and more decayed during all the residue of the reign of King Henry.

Among these adversaries above mentioned, the chief captain was Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester; who, with his confederates and adherents, disdaining at the state of the Lord Cromwell, and at the late marriage of the Lady Anne of Cleves (who, in the beginning of the year of our Lord 1540, was married to the king); as also grieved partly at the dissolution of the monasteries, and fearing the growing of the gospel, sought all occasions how to interrupt these happy beginnings, and to train the king to their own purpose. Now what occasion this wily Winchester found out to work upon, ye shall hear in order as followeth:

It happened the same time, that the Lord Cromwell, for the better establishing of sincere religion in this realm, devised a marriage for the king, to be concluded between him and the Lady Anne of Cleves, whose other sister was already married unto the duke of Saxony. By this marriage it was supposed that a perpetual league, amity, and alliance, should be nourished between this realm and the princes of Germany; and so thereby godly religion might be made more strong on both parts against the bishop of Rome and his tyrannical religion. But the devil, ever envying the prosperity of the gospel, laid a stumbling-block in that clear way for the king to stumble at. For, when the parents of the noble lady were communed withal for the furtherance of the said marriage, among others of her friends whose good will was required, the duke of Saxony, her brother-in-law, misliked the marriage, partly for that he would have had her bestowed upon some prince of Germany more nigh unto her sister, and partly for other causes which he thought reasonable. Whereupon it followed that the slackness of the duke in that behalf being espied, crafty Winchester, taking good hold-fast thereon, so alienated the king's mind from the amity that seemed now to begin and grow between the duke and the king, that by the occasion thereof he brought the king at length clean out of credit with that religion and doctrine, which the duke had then maintained many years before.

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This wily Winchester, with his crafty fetches, partly upon this occasion aforesaid, and partly also by other pestilent persuasions creeping into the king's ears, ceased not to seek all means how to work his feat, and to overthrow religion, first bringing him in hatred with the German princes, then putting him in fear of the emperor, of the French king, of the pope, of the king of Scots, and other foreign powers to rise against him; but especially of civil tumults and commotion here within this realm, which above all things he most dreaded, by reason of innovation of religion, and dissolving of abbeys, and for abolishing of rites and other customs of the church, sticking so fast in the minds of the people, that it was to be feared lest their hearts were or would be shortly stirred up against him, unless some speedy remedy were to the contrary provided: declaring, moreover, what a dangerous matter in a commonwealth it is, to attempt new alterations of any thing, but especially of religion. Which being so, he exhorted the king, for his own safeguard, and public quiet and tranquillity of his realm, to see betimes how and by what policy these so manifold mischiefs might be prevented. Against which no other way or shift could be better devised, than if he would show himself sharp and severe against these new sectaries, Anabaptists and Sacramentaries (as they called them); and would also set forth such articles, confirming the ancient and catholic faith, as whereby he might recover again his credence with Christian princes, and whereby all the world besides might see and judge him to be a right and perfect catholic. By these, and such-like crafty suggestions, the king, being too much seduced and abused, began to withdraw his defence from the reformation of true religion, supposing thereby to procure to himself more safety both in his own realm, and also to avoid such dangers which otherwise might happen by other princes; especially seeing of late he had refused to come to the general council at Vincenza, being thereto invited both by the emperor, and other foreign potentates, as ye have heard before, And therefore, although he had rejected the pope out of this realm, yet because he would declare himself, nevertheless, to be a good catholic son of the mother church, and a withstander of new innovations and heresies, (as the blind opinion of the world then did esteem them,) first he stretched out his hand to the condemning and burning of Lambert; then, afterwards, he gave out those injunctions above prefixed; and now, further to increase this opinion with all men, in the year next following, which was A.D. 1540, through the device and practice of certain of the pope's factors about him, he summoned a solemn parliament to be holden at Westminster the 28th day of April, of all the states and burgesses of the realm; also a synod or convocation of all the archbishops, bishops, and other learned of the clergy of this realm, to be in like manner assembled.

The Act of the Six Articles.

In which parliament, synod, or convocation, certain articles, matters, and questions, touching religion, were decreed by certain prelates, to the number especially of six, commonly called The Six Articles, (or, The Whip with Six Strings,) to be had and received among the king's subjects, on pretence of unity. But what unity thereof followed, the groaning hearts of a great number, and also the cruel death of divers, both in the days of King Henry, and; of Queen Mary, can so well declare as I pray God never the like be felt hereafter.

The doctrine of these wicked articles in the bloody Act contained, although it be worthy of no memory amongst Christian men, but rather deserveth to be buried in perpetual oblivion, yet, for that the office of history compelleth us thereunto, for the more light of posterity to come, faithfully and truly to comprise things done in the church, as well one as another, this shall be:

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briefly to recapitulate the sum and effect of the aforesaid six articles, in order as they were given out, and hereunder do follow.

The first Article.

The first article in this present parliament accorded and agreed upon, was this: "That in the most blessed sacrament of the altar, by the strength and efficacy of Christ's mighty word, (it being spoken by the priest,) is present really, under the form of bread and wine, the natural body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, conceived of the Virgin Mary; and that after the consecration there remaineth no substance of bread or wine, or any other substance, but the substance of Christ, God and man."

The second Article.

"That the communion in both kinds is not necessary *ad salutem*, by the law of God, to all persons: and that it is to be believed, and not doubted of, but that in the flesh, under form of bread, is the very blood, and with the blood, under form of wine, is the very flesh, as well apart, as they were both together."

The third Article.

"That priests, after the order of priesthood received as before, may not marry by the law of God."

The fourth Article.

"That vows of chastity or widowhood, by man or woman made to God advisedly, ought to be observed by the law of God; and that it exempteth them from other liberties of Christian people, which, without that, they might enjoy."

The fifth Article.

"That it is meet and necessary, that private masses be continued and admitted in this English church and congregation; as whereby good Christian people, ordering themselves accordingly, do receive both godly and goodly consolations and benefits and it is agreeable also to God's law."

The sixth Article.

"That auricular confession is expedient and necessary to be retained and continued, used and frequented, in the church of God."

After these articles were thus concluded and consented upon, the prelates of the realm, craftily perceiving that such a foul and violent Act could not take place or prevail unless strait and bloody penalties were set upon them, they caused, through their accustomed practice, to be

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ordained and enacted by the king and the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in the said parliament, as followeth:

The penalty upon the first Article.

"That if any person or persons, within this realm of England, or any other the king's dominions, after the twelfth day of July next coming, by word, writing, imprinting, ciphering, or any otherwise, should publish, preach, teach, say, affirm, declare, dispute, argue, or hold any opinion, that in the blessed sacrament of the altar, under form of bread and wine, (after the consecration thereof,) there is not present really the natural body and blood of our Saviour, Jesus Christ, conceived of the Virgin Mary, or that after the said consecration there remaineth any substance of bread or wine, or any other substance but the substance of Christ, God and man; or, after the time above said, publish, preach, teach, say, affirm, declare, dispute, argue, or hold opinion, that in the flesh, under the form of bread, is not the very blood of Christ, or that with the blood of Christ, under the form of wine, is not the very flesh of Christ, as well apart, as though they were both together; or by any of the means above said, or otherwise, preach, teach, declare, or affirm the said sacrament to be of other substance than is above said, or by any mean contemn, deprave, or despise the said blessed sacrament: that then, every such person so offending, their aiders, comforters, counsellors, consenters, and abettors therein, (being thereof convicted in form under written, by the authority above said,) should be deemed and adjudged heretics, and every such offence should be adjudged manifest heresy; and that every such offender and offenders should therefore have and suffer judgment, execution, pain and pains of death by way of burning, without any abjuration, benefit of the clergy, or sanctuary, to be therefore permitted, had, allowed, admitted, or suffered; and also should therefore forfeit and lose to the king's Highness, his heirs and successors, all his or their honours, manors, castles, lands, tenements, rents, reversions, services, possessions, and all other his or their hereditaments, goods and chattels, farms and freeholds, whatsoever they were, which any such offender or offenders should have, at the time of any such offence or offences, committed or done, or at any time after, as in any cases of high treason."

The penalties upon the last five Articles.

And as touching the other five articles following, the penalties devised for them were these: "That every such person or persons which do preach, teach, obstinately affirm, uphold, maintain, or defend, after the twelfth day of July the said year, any thing contrary to the same: or if any, being in orders, or after a vow advisedly made, did marry, or make marriage, or contract matrimony, in so doing should be adjudged as felons, and lose both life, and forfeit goods, as in case of felony, without any benefit of the clergy, or privilege of the church or of the sanctuary, &c.

"Item, That every such person or persons, which after the day aforesaid, by word, writing, printing, ciphering, or otherwise, did publish, declare, or hold opinion contrary to the five articles above expressed, being for any such offence duly convicted or attainted: for the first time, besides the forfeit of all his goods and chattels, and possessions whatsoever, should suffer imprisonment of his body at the king's pleasure: and for the second time, being accused, presented, and thereof convicted, should suffer as in case aforesaid of felony.

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"Item, If any within order of priesthood, before the time of the said parliament, had married or contracted matrimony, or vowed widowhood, the said matrimony should stand utterly void and be dissolved.

"Item, That the same danger that belonged to priests marrying their wives, should also redound to the women married unto the priests.

"Furthermore, for the more effectual execution of the premises, it was enacted by the said parliament, that full authority of inquisition of all such heresies, felonies, and contempts, should be committed and directed down into every shire, to certain persons specially thereunto appointed; of which persons three at least, (provided always the archbishop, or bishop, or his chancellor, or his commissary, be one,) should sit four times at least in the year having full power to take information and accusation, by the depositions of any two lawful persons at the least, as well as by the oaths of twelve men, to examine and inquire of all and singular the heresies, felonies, and contempts above remembered; having also as ample power to make process against every person or persons indicted, presented, or accused before them; also to hear and determine the aforesaid heresies, felonies, contempts, and other offences, as well as if the matter had been presented before the justices of peace in their sessions. And also, that the said justices in their sessions, and every steward or under-steward, or his deputy, in their law-days, should have power, by the oaths of twelve lawful men, to inquire, likewise, of all and singular the heresies, felonies, contempts, and other offences, and to hear and determine the same, to all effects of this present Act, &c.

Provided withal, that no person or persons thereupon accused, indicted, or presented, should be admitted to challenge any that should be empannelled for the trial of any matter or cause, other than for malice or envy; which challenge should forthwith be tried in like manner, as in cases of felony, &c.

"Provided, moreover, that every person that should be named commissioner in this inquisition, should first take a corporal oath, the tenor of which oath here ensueth.

The oath of the commissioners.

"Ye shall swear, that ye, to your cunning, wit, and power, shall truly and indifferently execute the authority to you given by the king's commission, made for correction of heretics and other offenders mentioned in the same commission, without any favour, affection, corruption, dread, or malice, to be borne to any person or persons, as God you help, and all saints."

And thus much briefly collected out of the Act and originals, which more largely are to be seen in the statute, anno 31, reg. Hen. VIII., concerning the six articles, which otherwise, for the bloody cruelty thereof, are called The Whip with Six Strings, set forth after the death of Queen Anne, and of good John Lambert, devised by the cruelty of the bishops, but especially of the bishop of Winchester, and at length also subscribed by King Henry. But herein, as in many other parts more, the crafty policy of that bishop appeared, who, like a lurking serpent, most slyly watching his time, if he had not taken the king coming out upon a sudden, there where it was, (I spare here to report as I heard,) it was thought and affirmed by certain which then were

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pertaining to the king, that Winchester had not obtained the matter so easily to be subscribed as he did.

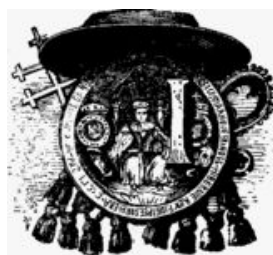
These six articles above specified, although they contained manifest errors, heresies, and absurdities against all Scripture and learning, (as all men having any judgment in God's word may plainly understand,) yet such was the miserable adversity of that time, and the power of darkness, that the simple cause of truth and of religion was utterly left desolate, and forsaken of all friends. For every man seeing the king's mind so fully addicted, upon politic respects, to have these articles pass forward, few or none in all that parliament would appear, which either could perceive what was to be defended, or thirst defend what they understood to be true, save only Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, who then, being married, (as is supposed,) like a constant patron of God's cause, took upon him the earnest defence of the truth, oppressed in the parliament; three days together disputing against those six wicked articles; bringing forth such allegations and authorities, as might easily have helped the cause; who, in the said disputation, behaved himself with such humble modesty, and with such obedience in words towards his prince, protesting the cause not to be his, but the cause of Almighty God, that neither his enterprise was misliked of the king; and again, his reasons and allegations were so strong, that they could not well be refuted. Wherefore the king, (who ever bare special favour unto him,) well liking his zealous defence, only willed him to depart out of the parliament-house into the council-chamber, for a time, (for safeguard of his conscience,) till the Act should pass and be granted; which he, notwithstanding, with humble protestation, refused to do.

After the parliament was finished, and that matter concluded, the king, considering the constant zeal of the archbishop in defence of his cause, and partly also weighing the many authorities and reasons whereby he had substantially confirmed the same, sent the Lord Cromwell, (who, within few days after, was apprehended,) the two dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and all the lords of the parliament, to dine with him at Lambeth; where they signified unto him, that it was the king's pleasure, that they all should, in his Highness's behalf, cherish, comfort, and animate him, as one that for his travail in that parliament had declared himself both greatly learned, and also a man discreet and wise; and therefore they willed him not to be discouraged in any thing that was passed in that parliament contrary to his allegations.

He most humbly thanked, first, the king's Highness, for his singular good affection towards him, and them for all their pains; adding moreover, that he so hoped in God, that hereafter his allegations and authorities should take place to the glory of God, and commodity of the realm: which allegations and authorities of his, I wish were extant among us, to be seen and read. No doubt but they would stand, in time to come, in great good stead, for the overthrow of the wicked and pernicious articles aforesaid.

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Allegations against the Six Articles.



N the mean while, forasmuch as the said heretical articles are not so lightly to be passed over, whereby the rude and ignorant multitude hereafter may be deceived in the false and erroneous doctrine of them any more, as they have been in times pift, for lack of right instruction and experience of the ancient state and course of times in our fore-elders' days; I thought therefore, (the Lord thereunto assisting,) so much as antiquity of stories may help to the restoring again of truth and doctrine decayed, to annex hereunto some allegations out of ancient records, which may give some light to the convincing of these new-fangled articles and heresies above touched.

And first, as touching the article of transubstantiation, wherein this parliament doth enact that the sacrament of the altar is the very natural body of Christ, the selfsame which was born of the Virgin Mary; and that in such sort as there remaineth no substance of bread and wine, after the priest's consecration; but only the body and blood of Christ, under the outward forms of bread and wine First, here is to be noted, that this monstrous article of theirs; in that form of words as it standeth, was never obruded, received, or holden either in the Greek church, or in the Latin church, universally for a catholic, that is, for a general, opinion or article of doctrine, before the time of the Lateran council at Rome, under Pope Innocent the Third, A.D. 1216.

And forasmuch as it hath been a common persuasion amongst the most sort of people, that this article, in the form of words as here it standeth, is, and hath been ever since Christ's time, a true catholic and general doctrine, commonly received and taught in the church, being approved by the Scriptures and doctors, and consent of all ages unto this present time; to the intent therefore that the contrary may appear, and the people may see how far they have herein been beguiled, we will here (Christ willing) make a little stay in our story, and examine this foresaid article by true antiquity and course of histories, to try whether it be a doctrine old or new.

Now therefore, for the better discussing of the matter, let us first orderly and distinctly advise the words of the article; the contents of which article consist in two parts or members. In the first whereof is noted to us a presence of a thing which there was not before: in the second, is noted a privation or absence of a thing which there before was present.

The presence is noted by these words of the article, where it is said that in the blessed sacrament, by the words pronounced, are present the natural body and blood of our Saviour under the forms of bread and wine: so that in these words, both the sacrament and the natural body are imported necessarily to be present. For else, how can the natural body of Christ be present in the sacrament under the forms of bread and wine, if the sacrament there were not present itself? or how can a thing be said to be in that which is not there? Wherefore by these words both the sacrament, and also the body, must necessarily have their being and presence, the one being in the other. And this presence both of the sacrament and of the body, being rightly taken, may right well stand together; the sacrament to the outward eyes and mouth of man, the body of Christ to the inward eyes of faith, and mouth of the soul. And therefore touching these prepositions in this article, "in" and "under," if question be asked, In what is the body of Christ? it

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may well be answered, In the sacrament, to the eyes of our faith; like as the outward sacrament is also present to the outward eyes of the body. Again, if the question be asked, Under what is the body of Christ? it may be well answered, Under the forms of bread and wine, so as the doctors did take the forms to mean the outward elements and natures of the sacrament, and not the accidents.

And thus, to the first part of the article, being well expounded, we do assent and confess the same to have been the true catholic opinion, approved by the ancient doctors and consent of all times, even from the first institution of this sacrament.

But as concerning the second member or part of the article, which taketh away all presence and substance of bread from the sacrament; to that we say, that first it standeth not with their own article: secondly, that it standeth not with the doctrine of Scripture: thirdly, that it standeth not with antiquity, but is merely a late invention.

And first, that it agreeth not with their own article, it is manifest. For whereas in the former part of their article they say, that the natural body of Christ is present in the blessed sacrament under the forms of bread and wine, how can the natural body of Christ be present in the sacrament, if there remain no sacrament? or how can any sacrament of the body remain, if there remain no substance of bread, which should make the sacrament? for how can the body of Christ be in that thing, which is not? or how can the sacrament of the body have any being, where the substance of bread hath no being? For first, that the body itself cannot be the sacrament of the body, is evident of itself.

Secondly, that the accidents of bread, without the substance of bread, cannot be any sacrament of Christ's body, certain it is, and demonstrable by this argument.

Argumentum à definitione.

"A sacrament is, that which beareth a similitude of that thing whereof it is a sacrament.

"Accidents bear no similitude of that thing which is there signified.

"Ergo, Accidents can in no wise be a sacrament."

Wherefore, upon this argument being thus concluded, upon the same this also must needs follow. "In the sacrament of the Lord's body, the thing that representeth must needs bear a similitude of the thing represented.

"The substance of bread in the sacrament, is only that which beareth the similitude of Christ's body. "Ergo, The substance of bread must needs be in the sacrament."

And therefore, by this demonstration it is apparent that these two parts in the article aforesaid are evil couched together, whereof the one must needs destroy the other. For if the first part of the article be true, that the natural body of Christ is present in the sacrament, under the forms of bread and wine, and seeing the sacrament wherein the body of Christ is present must

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needs be the substance of bread, and not the accidents only of bread, as is above proved, then the substance of bread cannot be evacuated from the sacrament; and so the second member of the article must needs be false.

Or, if the second part be true, that there is no substance of bread remaining, and seeing there is nothing else to make the sacrament of the natural body of Christ, but only the substance of bread, forasmuch as the accidents of bread can make no sacrament of Christ's body, as is above showed; then, taking away the substance of bread, the first part of the article must needs be false, which saith, that the natural body of Christ is present in the sacrament; forasmuch as the substance of bread being evacuated, there remaineth no sacrament, wherein the body of Christ should be present. Secondly, that it disagreeeth from the whole order and course of the Scriptures, it is sufficiently explained before in the treatise of John Lambert upon the sacrament, as also in other sundry places in these volumes besides. Thirdly, that the said article of transubstantiation is no ancient or authentic doctrine in the church publicly received; but rather is a novelty lately invented, reaching not much above the age of three or four hundred years, or at most above the time of Lanfranc, A.D. 1070, it remains now to be proved.

Wherein first may be joined this issue: that this monstrous paradox of transubstantiation was never induced or received publicly in the church, before the time of the Lateran council, under Pope Innocent the Third, A.D. 1216; or at most before the time of Lanfranc, the Italian, archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 1070.

In which time of Lanfranc, I deny not but that this question of transubstantiation began to come in controversy, and was reasoned upon amongst certain learned of the clergy. But that this article of transubstantiation was publicly determined or prescribed in the church, for a general law or catholic doctrine, of all men necessarily to be believed, before the time of the aforesaid Innocent the Third, it may be doubted, and also, by histories of time, proved to be false.

And though our adversaries seem to allege out of the old doctors certain speeches and phrases, which they wrest and wring to their purposes; wherein they say, "that the bread is called, is believed, and is, the body of Christ;" "that of bread is made the body of Christ;" "and "that the bread is changed, altered, or converted to the body of Christ, or is made to be his body;" "that the creatures be converted into the substance of the body and blood of Christ;" "that the bread and wine do pass into the Divine substance;" with such other like sentences; and bear themselves brag upon the same, as though this doctrine of transubstantiation stood upon the consent of the whole universal church, of all ages and times, of nations and people, and that the judgment of the church was never other than this: and yet, if the old doctors' sayings be well weighed, and the discourse of times by this history well examined, it will be found that this prodigious opinion of transubstantiation hath no such ground of consent and antiquity as they imagine; nor yet that any heresy or treason was made of denying transubstantiation before the time of Innocent the Third, or, at the furthest, of Lanfranc, as is aforesaid, about which time Satan, the old dragon, was prophesied by the Apocalypse, to be let loose, to seduce the world.

For probation whereof, first I will begin with the time of Tertullian and of Augustine; which both do teach the sacrament to be a figure, a sign, a memorial, and a representation of the Lord's body, and knew no such transubstantiation; and yet were no traitors nor heretics.

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Neither was St. Ambrose any heretic or traitor, where he writeth these words, *Ut sint quæ erant, nec in aliud convertantur*, &c.; which words Lanfranc could not answer unto any other wise, but by denying them to be the words of Ambrose. Gelasius was bishop of Rome, and lived about five hundred years after Christ, and speaketh of a transmutation of the bread and wine into the Divine nature; but there, expounding himself, he declareth what he meaneth by that mutation, so that he expressly sheweth the elements of bread and wine, notwithstanding, to remain still in their proper nature, with other words more, very plain to the same effect: unto the which words Contarenus in the assembly of Ratisbon could not well answer, but stood astonished.

Theodoret likewise, speaking of the visible symbols, hath these words: "After the sanctification they remain in their former substance, figure, and form."

Ireneus, where he saith that "the bread broken, and the cup mixed, after the vocation of God, cease to be common bread any more, but are the Eucharist of the body and blood of Christ:" and, explicating his words more plainly, addeth, moreover, that "the Eucharist consisteth in two things, one being earthly, which is bread and wine; the other heavenly, which is the body and blood of Christ," &c.: he declareth, in these words, both his own opinion plainly, and also teacheth us what was then the doctrine of his time.

Hesichius also, who was five hundred years after Christ, where he speaketh of the said mystery, to be both flesh and bread; declaring thereby two substances to be in the sacrament. By the which we have to understand that transubstantiation, in his age, was not crept into the church; and yet neither heresy, nor treason, therefore, was ever laid to his charge for so saying.

Emissene, comparing a man converted unto Christ by regeneration, unto the holy mysteries converted into the body and blood of our Lord, expresseth plainly, that outwardly nothing is changed, and that all the change is inward, &c.; wherein, no doubt, he spake against this article, and yet no man, in all that age, did accuse him therefore to be either heretic or traitor.

Here might be added the words of Fulgentius, "This cup is the new testament; that is, this cup which I deliver unto you, signifieth the new testament."

Bede also, who lived about the year 730, writing upon the twenty-first Psalm, hath these words: "Poor men, to wit, despisers of the world, shall eat indeed really, if it be referred unto the sacraments, and shall be filled eternally; because they shall understand in bread and in wine, being visibly set before them, a thing invisible, to wit, the true body and true blood of the Lord, which are true meat and true drink, wherewith not the belly is filled, but the mind is nourished."

And thus, in these words of Bede, likewise, is to be understood, that no transubstantiation as yet in his time was received in the church of England.

Long it were to stand upon all particulars. Briefly to conclude; the further the church hath been from these our latter days, the purer it was in all respects, and especially touching this barbarous article of transubstantiation. We will now draw more near our own time, coming to the age of Bertram and of Haymo, who were about the year of our Lord 810, under Charlemagne.

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By whose writing it is evident, that the church was infected as yet with no such fantasy of transubstantiation, neither did any almost dream of taking away the substance of bread from the sacrament. For although Haymo, Remigius, Rabanus, and others who lived in that age, do attribute to the sacrament, that honourable name and reverence (as we also do) of the Lord's body and blood, yet they exclude not from thence all substance of meal and bread, and leave the bare accidents, as our new-come Catholics do, as by the words of Haymo doth appear. Where he, following the words of Bede, sheweth also the cause, why it is so called by the name of the Lord's body? "Because," saith he, "bread confirmeth the heart of man, therefore it is called conveniently the body of Christ; and because wine worketh blood in the flesh of man, therefore it is referred to the blood of Christ." What can be more effectually spoken to prove the substance of bread there to remain? for take away the substance of bread and wine, what is in the accidents left, that can confirm man's heart, or engender blood in the flesh? And therefore, seeing there must needs something remain, that must be referred to Christ's body and blood in that sacrament, it either must be the substance of bread and wine, or else it can be no sacrament. And furthermore, speaking of the visible things which are sanctified, how and whereunto they be converted, he saith, that by the Holy Ghost they passed to a sacrament of the Lord's body.

And likewise the same Haymo, in another place, speaking of the fruits of the earth, that is, of corn and wine, declareth how our Saviour, making of them "an apt mystery," converteth them to "a sacrament of his body and blood," &c.

Bertram likewise, as he lived in the same age, so in like sort he showed his opinion therein, to the like effect as Haymo did. For, as Haymo, writing in these words, declareth, "The sacrament is one thing, and the virtue of the sacrament is another thing; for the sacrament is received with the mouth, but with the virtue of the sacrament the inward man is satisfied."

So after like manner, Bertram, according to the same, thus writeth: "The bread, which by the ministry of the priest is made the body of Christ, doth import one thing outwardly to the senses of man, and another thing it speaketh to the minds of the faithful. Outwardly, it is bread, the same it was before; the same form is pretended, the colour appeareth, the same taste remaineth: but inwardly, there is another matter far more precious and more excellent, because it is heavenly, which is the body of Christ that is seen, not with the outward eyes of the flesh, but with the sight of a faithful mind," &c.

We will now proceed to the testimony of Rabanus Maurus, bishop of Mentz, and scholar some time to Alcuinus, an Englishman; who, living also in the same age with Haymo and Bertram, (which was eight hundred years after Christ,) giveth the like testimony of this doctrine in his Book of Institutions; where he, asking the question why the Lord would give the mysteries of his body and blood then under such things as might be kept and reserved whole with great honour, thus he answereth again: "The Lord," saith he, "would rather that the sacraments of his body and blood should be received with the mouth of the faithful, and made to be their food, that by the visible action the invisible effect might be showed. For, like as material meat outwardly nourisheth and quickeneth the body, so also the word of God inwardly nourisheth and strengtheneth the soul: for man liveth not only by bread, but by every word proceeding from the mouth of God." And after followeth, "For this bread and drink signifieth the eternal society of the Head and of the members together." And again: "For the sacraments are one thing, and the

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virtue of the sacrament is another thing. The sacrament is received with the mouth; with the virtue of the sacrament the inward man is nourished; for the sacrament is turned to the nourishment of the body; but, by the virtue of the sacrament, the dignity of eternal life is gotten. Wherefore, like as the same is turned into us when we eat of it, so also are we turned into the body of Christ, when we live obediently and godly," &c.

Who seeth not by these words of this bishop, what form of doctrine was then in the church received concerning this article of the sacrament, such diverse from this our gross opinion of transubstantiation?

With the same Rabanus, also, accordeth another of the like standing and doctrine also, called Christianus Druthmarus, who, writing upon Matthew, "The wine," saith he, "doth cheer and cherish the blood, and, therefore, not inconveniently the blood of Christ is figured thereby: for whatsoever proceedeth from him to us, it cheereth us with true gladness, and increaseth all goodness unto us." And a little before, the said Druthmarus saith, "The Lord gave to his disciples the sacrament of his body to the remission of sins, and keeping of charity; that they, always remembering his doing, might do that in figure, which he should do for them. This is my body, saith he; that is, in sacrament." This Druthmarus lived also in the time of Charlemagne, as witnesseth the abbot of Spanheim.

After Bertram was Johannes Scotus, or else, as some call him, Johannes Erigena; a man well accepted with Charles the Bald, and afterwards with Louis the Stammerer, about A.D. 880. He wrote a book, *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini*, so affirming therein, and teaching, as he knew that Bertram had taught a little before in France. This book the pope caused to be condemned in the synod of Vercelli. Of the life and conversation of this Johannes Scotus, and also of his death, read before.

In the year of our Lord 950, lived Odo, archbishop of Canterbury, in whose time, it appeareth, by the Romish Catholics' own confession, that many priests then affirmed, that the bread and wine, after consecration, did remain in their former substance, and that the said mysteries were only a figure of the body and blood of Christ, as we find it witnessed by Osberne himself, who did write the lives of Odo, Dunstan, and Elphege, at the bidding of Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, as reporteth Edmerus, Anselm's chaplain. The words of Osberne be these: "About this time," saith Osberne, writing in the days of Lanfranc, "certain of the clergy, being seduced by wicked error, did hold and maintain that bread and wine, which are set upon the altar, after the consecration do remain in their former substance, and are but only a figure of the body and blood of Christ," &c. And no doubt but at that time the common opinion of most of the clergy was so, that the sacrament was the body and blood of Christ, and that the substance of bread and wine, notwithstanding, were not transubstantiated, as the Romish Catholics do now teach. But this is the guise of these men, that in their writings and stories still they diminish the better number, whereby their faction may seem ever to be the bigger; and therefore to extenuate the common opinion then received in the church, he inferreth mention of certain of the clergy, &c.

And as he faileth in the number of these clergymen which then held against transubstantiation, so he upholdeth the same with as lying a miracle; which miracle he feigned to

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be wrought the same time, for the conversion of the said clergymen, by the blood dropping out of the host at mass, as Odo was breaking the host over the chalice. At the sight whereof, first, Odo himself (saith he) wept for joy; seeing his petition accomplished which he so earnestly prayed for.

Secondarily, "All those clergymen," saith he, "which before believed not this transubstantiation, by and by were converted, and blessed the archbishop that ever he was born; desiring him to pray again, that the blood might return to his former shape; and straight: it was done." And this was the miracle; which seemeth as true as that which William of Malmesbury writeth of the said Odo, how, by his prayers, he caused a sword to come flying from heaven into King Ethelstan's scabbard, when he had lost his own, as he would fight against Analanus; or else, as that miracle where the said Odo is said to cover and defend the church of Canterbury, that no drop of rain could touch it, so long as the roof thereof was in making.

In the which so miraculous a miracle, many things are to be marvelled. First, I marvel that at this great miracle of the archbishop in his cathedral church, amongst so many singing men, we read of no Te Deum there to be sung after the doing thereof.

Secondly, I marvel that those priests and clerks which then denied transubstantiation, were suffered to be so near the archbishop at his mass, and that they were not committed rather to ward like heretics and traitors, if this article of transubstantiation had been then such a catholic doctrine, and so publicly received in the church, as they say it was.

Thirdly, I marvel, seeing the time of miracles is expired, we, having the Scriptures to guide us, why the archbishop would seek to miracles and apparitions to convert men, rather than to the law and prophets, according as we are commanded: especially having no such examples of all the old doctors, which, in confutation of so many erroneous opinions, yet never sought to such miracles, or blind means.

Fourthly, I marvel much at the discrepance in telling this tale, between Osberne and the others, which since have written Legends of Odo. For whereas Osberne, speaking of certain priests, nameth no place, but leaveth the matter at large; and speaketh absolutely, certain priests; all other, who have since written the Legends of Odo, do tell this tale against certain priests of Canterbury; adding to the words of Osberne, certain priests of Canterbury. But to convict the falsehood of them all, as well of Osberne as of the rest, there is a legend of the life of Odo, and of Oswald together, more ancient than this of Osberne, written (as it may seem) in the time of Elfric, archbishop of Canterbury, and Elphege, then bishop of Winchester, wherein mention is made indeed of this miracle, but after another sort than this of Osberne, and to another purpose than to dissuade certain priests, infected with that error, from the opinion before declared: which is only brought to show the holiness of Odo, as commonly the manner of legends is to do: so that in this old legend it is thus reported, that when this miracle was done, Odo disclosed the matter not to many priests of England that were in that error, as Osberne would, "but called unto him a certain faithful servant who was near about him, and showed unto him the miracle secretly;" whereupon the priest (saith the legend) much rejoiced at the holiness of Odo, and desired him to make his prayer to Almighty God, that the body might return again to the former shape, &c. Out

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of this old lying legend Osberne, and other likewise that followed him, seemeth to have taken this tale, so that out of the error of one (as the manner is) springeth the error of a number more.

But this much more I marvel, why this miracle is not storied in Henry Huntingdon, which professedly writeth of such miracles, nor in Roger Hoveden, and such others; but only in such blind legends, which commonly have no substance of verity, nor certainty of time or writer, to know when and by whom they were written, and for the most part are stuffed with lying visions and prodigious fables.

Finally, if this miraculous fiction of Osberne were true, that for the converting of priests of England which would not believe transubstantiation, this blood did drop out of the host, (of which blood peradventure came the blood of Hayles,) and by the sight thereof, the priests eftsoon were all converted, (as Osberne pretendeth,) how then came it to pass, that after the time of Odo, in the days of Elfric, which was after him archbishop of Canterbury, the third from Dunstan, and fourth from Odo, not only the priests of England, but also the archbishop himself, were not yet brought to the belief of this transubstantiation, but taught the very same doctrine of the sacrament then, which we do now: as most clearly appeareth both by the epistles and homilies of the aforesaid archbishop Elfric, which hereunder, for the more evidence (Christ willing) we will annex.

This Elfric, as saith Capgrave, in the life of Oswald, bishop of Worcester, was first abbot of St. Alban's, and after made archbishop of Canterbury, about A.D. 996, in the time of King Etheldred, and of Wulfine, bishop of Sherbourne. Elfric, also, (as witnesseth William of Malmesbury, in the life of Adelmus,) was abbot of Malmesbury. Furthermore, the said William of Malmesbury, writing of Elfric, archbishop of Canterbury, saith, that he was before bishop of Wells, and afterwards bishop of Canterbury. So, that Elfric was archbishop of Canterbury, it is out of all ambiguity. But whether Elfric, who was abbot, (of whom we do here speak,) were the same archbishop or not, by this diversity of Capgrave and Malmesbury, it may be doubtful. But whether he were or no, to this our present purpose is not greatly material, forasmuch as although they were divers persons, yet were they both in one age, and lived in one time together.

Furthermore, the same Elfric, of whom now we speak, of what calling soever he was, yet, notwithstanding, he was of such estimation and good liking in those days amongst the most learned, that for his learning, authority, and eloquence, his writings were accepted and authorized among the canons and constitutions of the church in that time, as hereby may appear. For whereas the bishops and priests, before the coming of William the Conqueror, had collected together a certain book of canons and ordinances to govern the clergy, gathered out of general and particular councils, out of the book of Gildas, out of the penitential books of Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, out of the writings of Egbert, archbishop of York, out of the epistles of Alcuinus, as also out of the writings of the old fathers of the primitive church, &c.; among the same canons and constitutions be placed these two epistles of the said Elfric hereunder following, whereof the one was sent to Wulfine, bishop of Sherbourne, the other to Wulfstane, archbishop of York; as yet are to be seen in two books belonging to the library of the church of Worcester, the one written in the old Saxons' tongue, entitled *Beppeost dinothe*, the other for the most part in Latin, with this title, *Admonitio Spiritualis Doctrinæ*: which book of Saxon canons

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and constitutions, sometime belonging to Wulfstane, bishop of Worcester, was given by him, as for a great jewel, to the church of Worcester, as by the same book appeareth.

Moreover, besides this book of Worcester above-touched, there is yet extant also another like book of canons, belonging to the church of Exeter, wherein the same two epistles of Elfric be contained in the old Saxon tongue, and also in Latin, and prescribed yearly to be read to the clerks and priests of that church; which book, in like manner, was given to the church of Exeter, by Leofric, the first and most famous bishop of that see.

Of this Elfric, further, is to be understood, that he translated two books of fourscore sermons out of Latin into the Saxon speech, used then orderly to be read in churches on Sundays, and other festival days of the year.

Of his epistles especially we read of four which he wrote, one to the monks of Eynesbury, De consuetudine Monachorum: another to Wulfstane, archbishop of York, wherein is touched the matter of the sacrament: the third he wrote against priests' marriage, to one Sygeferth, with whom there was a certain anchorite abiding, who defended the marriage of priests, affirming it to be lawful. The fourth he wrote to Wulfsine, bishop of Sherbourne, touching the matter of the sacrament; in the which epistle, he, taking occasion by a certain abuse in his time, which was, that priests, on Easter-day, filled their housel-box for sick persons, and so kept it for the space of a whole year, till Easter came again, writeth upon that occasion in these words:

"Men shall reserve more carefully that holy housel, and not reserve it too long, but hallow other of new, for sick men, always within a week or a fortnight, that it be not so much as hoary: for so holy is the housel which to-day is hallowed, as that which on Easter-day was hallowed. That housel is Christ's body not bodily, but ghostly: not the body which he suffered in, but the body of which he spake, when he blessed bread and wine, to housel, the night before his suffering, and said, by the blessed bread, This is my body: and, again by the holy wine, This is my blood which is shed for many in forgiveness of sins. Understand now that the Lord, who could turn that bread, before his suffering, to his body, and that wine, to his blood ghostly, that the selfsame Lord blesseth daily, through the priest's hands, bread and wine, to his ghostly body and to his ghostly blood."

After this epistle of Elfric above prefixed, written to Wulfsine, bishop of Sherbourne, concerning the sacramental bread, how it is not Christ's body *lichamlice*, that is, "bodily," or, as we term it now, "really; "and also how the same ought not to be over long kept in the pix; here followeth further another epistle of the said Elfric, written to Wulfstane, archbishop of York, both reprehending the said abuse above touched, and also containing matter more at large, against the bodily presence in the sacramental bread. The copy of his epistle, in our English, here followeth:

"Some priests fill their box for housel on Easter-day, and to reserve it a whole year for sick men, as though that housel were more holy than any other. But they do unadvisedly, because it waxeth hoary or altogether rotten, by keeping it so long space: and thus are they become guilty, as the book witnesseth to us. If any do keep the housel so long, or lose it, or mice or other beasts do eat it, see what the penitential book saith by this: 'So holy is altogether that housel

which is hallowed to-day, as that which is hallowed on Easter-day.' Wherefore I beseech you to keep the holy body of Christ with more advisement, for sick men, from Sunday to Sunday, in a very clean box; or at the most not to keep it above a fortnight, and then eat it, laying other in the place. We have an example hereof in Moses' books, as God himself hath commanded in Moses' law, how the priests should set, every Saturday, twelve loaves, all new baked, upon the tabernacle, which were called *Panes propositionis*: and those should stand there, in God's tabernacle, till the next Saturday; and then did the priests themselves eat them, and set others in the place."

"Some priests will not eat the housel which they do hallow. But we will now declare unto you how the book speaketh by them: 'The priest that doth say mass, and dare not eat the housel, his conscience accusing him, is accursed.' It is less danger to receive the housel, than to hallow it. He that doth twice hallow one host to housel, is like unto those heretics, who do christen twice one child. Christ himself blessed housel before his suffering: he blessed the bread and brake it, thus speaking to his apostles, Eat this bread; it is my body. And again, he blessed one chalice with wine, and thus also spake unto them, Drink ye all of this; this is mine own blood of the new testament, which is shed for many for the forgiveness of sins. The Lord which hallowed housel before his suffering, and saith that the bread was his own body, and that the wine was truly his blood, halloweth daily, by the hands of the priest, bread to his body and wine to his blood, in ghostly mystery, as we read in books. And yet, notwithstanding, that lively bread is not bodily so; nor the self-same body that Christ suffered in; nor is that holy wine the Saviour's blood which was shed for us in bodily thing, but in ghostly understanding. Both be truly, that bread is his body, and that wine also is his blood; as was the heavenly bread which we call manna, that fed forty years God's people; and the clear water, which did then run from the stone in the wilderness, was truly his blood, as St. Paul wrote in one of his Epistles, All our fathers did eat in the wilderness the same ghostly meat, and drink the same ghostly drink: they drank of that ghostly stone, and that stone was Christ. The apostle hath said, as you have heard, that they all did eat the same ghostly meat, and they all did drink the same ghostly drink. And he saith not bodily, but ghostly. And Christ was not yet born, nor his blood shed, when the people of Israel did eat that meat and drank of that stone. And the stone was not bodily Christ, though he so said. It was the same mystery in the old law, and they did ghostly signify that ghostly housel of our Saviour's body, which we consecrate now."

Besides these epistles above prefixed of Elfric to Wulfsine and Wulfstane, which fight directly against transubstantiation, mention was touched also before of certain sermons, to the number of fourscore, translated by the said Elfric out of Latin into the Saxon, that is, into our English tongue, as ye partly have heard before. Of the which fourscore sermons, twenty-four were chiefly selected to be read, instead of homilies or treatises, unto the people; in such order as the first twelve sermons or treatises, treating of general matters, were appointed to be read at pleasure, and at the discretion of the minister. The other twelve sermons were prescribed of proper feasts, whereof this testimony remaineth in the same book yet to be seen, both in the Saxon tongue, and also in the preface of the latter twelve sermons.

Furthermore, as touching these fourscore sermons aforesaid, which Elfric translated into English, here is to be understood, that among the said sermons, used then orderly to be recited by the people, there was one appointed to be read *In Die Sancto Paschæ*, that is, upon Easter-day;

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which sermon, being translated by the said Elfric, we have here exhibited both in Saxon speech and English, to the intent that the Christian and indifferent reader, perusing the same, may judge thereby how the fantastical doctrine of transubstantiation, in those days of Elfric, and before his time, was not yet received or known in the church of England; forasmuch as the said sermon, being in Latin before, doth leave unto us an evident declaration, what was the common opinion of the sacrament in the church received, before Elfric did ever set hand to translate the same out of the Latin.

And though the Latin copies and exemplars of these aforesaid sermons are not remaining in our libraries, let that be no marvel to thee, loving reader! but understand thereby the crafty packing of the pope's clergy, who, in the time of Lanfranc and Pope Innocent, studying by all means how to prefer and further this their new-come doctrine of transubstantiation, did abolish and rase out of libraries and churches all such books which made to the contrary. And therefore, because Lanfranc, and other Italian priests here in England, understood not the Saxon books as they did the Latin, (all that which they understood they made away,) the Saxon books, because they knew them not, they let remain: and this is the cause why our Saxon copies are now to be found: which to be true by three reasons conjectural it may be probably supposed.

First, for that these Saxon sermons, being translated out of the Latin, (as ye have heard by the words of Elfric already proved,) we see only the Saxon books reserved: of the Latin none do appear.

Secondly, there is yet remaining one certain piece or fragment of an epistle of Elfric in the library of Worcester; wherein, so much as maketh against the matter of transubstantiation, we found in the middle of the said Latin epistle utterly rased out, so that no letter nor piece of a letter doth there appear. The words cut out were these: "Notwithstanding this sacrifice is not the same body of his wherein he suffered for us, nor the same blood of his which he shed for us: but, spiritually, it is made his body and blood as that manna which rained from heaven, and the water which did flow out of the rock. As Paul,' &c. These words, so rased out, are to be restored again by another Saxon book found in Exeter: by the rasing of which one place, it may easily be conjectured what these practisers have likewise done in the rest.

Thirdly, by one Italian trick of Polydore Virgil in our days, the properties and doings of all other Italian papists of elder time may partly be conjectured: for so I am informed by such as precisely will affirm it to be true, that when Polydore, being licensed by the king to view and search all libraries, had once accomplished his story by the help of such books as he had compiled out of libraries; in the end, when he had taken out what he would, like a true factor for the pope's own tooth, he piled his books together, and set them all on a light fire. For what cause he so did, I cannot certainly pronounce; but whoso considereth well his religion, may shrewdly suspect him: for a probation whereof, this may serve for a sufficient trial; that whereas of all other writers of histories that have been in England, as of Fabian, Lanquet, Rastal, More, Leland, Bale, Hall, and such others, some of their books which they then occupied, yet remain in hands to be seen: only of such books as Polydore used, and which passed his hands, what Englishman is he that hath seen, or can show me one? Whereby it may well be thought the aforesaid information to be true. As also by this one Italian trick of Polydore, may other Italians likewise be suspected, in making away such Latin books within this land, as made not for their purpose.

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But forasmuch as those Latin books be now abolished, and cannot be had, let us return to our tongue again, and see what this Saxon sermon of Elfric's translation doth say for transubstantiation; the copy whereof here ensueth:

"Men beloved! it hath been often said unto you about our Saviour's resurrection, how he, on this present day after his suffering, mightily rose from death. Now will we open unto you, through God's grace, of the holy housel, which ye should now go unto, and instruct your understanding about this mystery, both after the old covenant, and also after the new, that no doubting may trouble you about this lively food.

"The Almighty God bade Moses, his captain in the land of Egypt, to command the people of Israel, to take to every family a lamb of one year old, the night they departed out of the country to the land of promise, and to offer that lamb to God, and after to cut it, and to make the sign of the cross, with the lamb's blood upon the side posts and the upper posts of their door; and afterwards to eat the lamb's flesh roasted, and unleavened bread with wild lettuce.

God saith unto Moses, Eat of the lamb nothing raw, nor sodden in water, but roasted at the fire. Eat the head, the feet, and the inwards, and let nothing of it be left until the morning; if any thing thereof remain, that shall you burn with fire. Eat it in this wise: gird your loins, and do your shoes on your feet; have your staves in your hands; and eat it in haste. The time is the Lord's passover. And there was slain on that night, in every house throughout all Pharaoh's reign, the first-born child: and God's people of Israel were delivered from that sudden death through the lamb's offering, and his blood's marking. Then said God unto Moses, Keep this day in your remembrance, and hold it a great feast in your kindreds, with a perpetual observation; and eat unleavened bread always seven days at this feast.

"After this deed, God led the people of Israel over the Red Sea with dry foot, and drowned therein Pharaoh and all his army, together with their possessions, and fed, afterwards, the Israelites forty years with heavenly food, and gave them water out of the hard rock, until they came to the promised land. Part of this story we have treated of in another place, and part we shall now declare; to wit, that which belongeth to the holy housel. Christian men may not now keep that old law bodily, but it behoveth them to know what it ghostly signifieth. That innocent lamb which the old Israelites did then kill, had signification, after ghostly understanding, of Christ's suffering, who, unguilty, shed his holy blood for our redemption. Hereof sing God's servants at every mass, 'Thou Lamb of God! that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us.'

"Those Israelites were delivered from that sudden death and from Pharaoh's bondage, by the lamb's offering, which signified Christ's suffering; through which we be delivered from everlasting death, and from the devil's cruel reign, if we rightly believe in the true Redeemer of the whole world, Christ the Saviour. That lamb was offered in the evening; and our Saviour suffered in the sixth age of this world. This age of this corruptible world, is reckoned unto the evening. They marked with the lamb's blood, upon the doors and the upper posts, *Thau*, that is, the sign of cross, and so were defended from the angels that killed the Egyptians' first-born child. And we ought to mark our foreheads and our bodies with the token of Christ's rood, that we also may be delivered from destruction, when we shall be marked both on forehead, and also in heart,

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with the blood of our Lord's suffering. Those Israelites did eat the lamb's flesh at their Easter time, when they were delivered; and we receive ghostly Christ's body, and drink his blood, when we receive with true belief that holy housel. That time they kept with them at Easter seven days, with great worship, when they were delivered from Pharaoh, and went from that land. So also Christian men keep Christ's resurrection at the time of Easter these seven days, because through his suffering and rising we be delivered, and be made clean by going to this holy housel, as Christ saith in his Gospel: Verily, verily I say unto you, ye have no life in you except ye eat my flesh, and drink my blood. He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, abideth in me, and I in him, and hath that everlasting life, and I shall raise him up in the last day. I am the lively bread that came down from heaven: not so as your forefathers did eat that heavenly bread in the wilderness, and afterwards died. He that eateth this bread liveth for ever. He blessed bread before his suffering, and divided it to his disciples, thus saying, Eat of this bread; it is my body: and do this in my remembrance. Also he blessed wine in one cup, and said, Drink ye all of this. This is my blood that is shed for many, in forgiveness of sins. The apostles did as Christ commanded; that is, they blessed bread and wine to housel again afterwards in his remembrance. Even so, also, their successors and all priests, by Christ's commandment, do bless bread and wine to housel in his name with the apostolic blessing.

"Now men have often searched and do yet often search, how bread that is gathered of corn, and through fire's heat baked, may be turned to Christ's body; or how wine that is pressed out of many grapes is turned, through one blessing, to the Lord's blood. Now say we to such men, that some things be spoken of Christ by signification, and some be things certain. True this is, and certain, that Christ was born of a maid, and suffered death of his own accord, and was buried, and on this day rose from death. He is said to be bread by signification, and a lamb, and a lion, and a mountain. He is called bread, because he is our life, and angels' life. He is said to be a lamb for his innocency; and a lion for strength, wherewith he overcame the strong devil. But Christ is not so, notwithstanding, after true nature; neither bread, nor a lamb, nor a lion. Why is then the holy housel called Christ's body, or his blood, if it be not truly what it is called? Truly the bread and the wine which in the supper by the priest are hallowed, show one thing without, to human understanding, and another thing within, to believing minds. Without, they be seen bread and wine, both in figure and in taste; and they be truly, after their hallowing, Christ's body and his blood, through ghostly mystery.

"A heathen child is christened, yet he altereth not his shape without, though he be changed within. He is brought to the font-stone sinful, through Adam's disobedience; howbeit he is washed from all sin within, though he hath not changed his shape without. Even so the holy font water, that is called the wellspring of life, is like in shape to other waters, and is subject to corruption; but the Holy Ghost's might cometh to the corruptible water, through the priest's blessing, and it may, after, wash the body and soul from all sin, through ghostly might. Behold, now we see two things in this one creature: after true nature, that water is corruptible moisture; and after ghostly mystery, hath wholesome virtue. So also, if we behold the holy housel after bodily understanding, then we see that it is a creature corruptible and mutable. If we acknowledge therein ghostly might, then understand we that life is therein, and that it giveth immortality to them that eat it with belief. Much is betwixt the invisible might of the holy housel, and the visible shape of proper nature. It is naturally corruptible bread, and corruptible wine, and

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is, by might of God's word, truly Christ's body and blood; not so notwithstanding bodily, but ghostly.

"Much is betwixt the body of Christ which he suffered in, and the body that is hallowed to housel. The body truly, that Christ suffered in, was born of the flesh of Mary, with blood and with bone, with skin and with sinews, in human limbs, with a reasonable soul living; and his ghostly body, which we call the housel, is gathered of many corns, without blood and bone, without limb, without soul, and therefore nothing is to be understood therein bodily, but all is ghostly to be understood. Whatsoever is in that housel, which giveth substance of life, that is of the ghostly might and invisible doing. Therefore is that holy housel called 'a mystery,' because there is one thing in it seen, and another thing understood. That which is there seen, hath bodily shape; and what we do there understand, hath ghostly might. Certainly Christ's body, which suffered death, and rose from death, never dieth henceforth, but is eternal and unpassible. That housel is temporal, not eternal; corruptible and dealed into sundry parts, chewed between the teeth, and sent into the belly; howbeit, nevertheless, after ghostly might, it is all in every part. Many receive that holy body, and yet, notwithstanding, it is so all in every part, after ghostly mystery. Though some chew the less, yet is there no more might, notwithstanding, in the more part, than in the less, because it is whole in all men, after the invisible might. This mystery is a pledge and a figure: Christ's body is truth itself. This pledge we do keep mystically, until that we be come to the truth itself; and then is this pledge ended. Truly it is, so as we before have said, Christ's body and his blood; not bodily, but ghostly.

"But now hear the apostle's word about this mystery. Paul the apostle speaketh of the old Israelites, thus writing in his Epistle to faithful men, All our forefathers were baptized in the cloud, and in the sea; and all they did eat the same ghostly meat, and drank the same ghostly drink. They drank truly of the stone that followed them, and that stone was Christ. Neither was that stone then from which the water ran, bodily Christ; but it signifieth Christ, that calleth thus to all believing and faithful men, Whosoever thirsteth, let him come to me and drink, and from his bowels shall flow lively water. This he said of the Holy Ghost, which they received who believed on him. The apostle Paul saith that the Israelites did eat the same ghostly meat, and drank the same ghostly drink; because that heavenly meat that fed them forty years, and that water which from the stone did flow, had signification of Christ's body and his blood, that now be offered daily in God's church. It was the same which we now offer, not bodily, but ghostly.

"We said unto ye ere while, that Christ hallowed bread and wine to housel before his suffering, and said, This is my body and my blood. Yet he had not then suffered; but so notwithstanding he turned, through invisible might, the bread to his own body, and that wine to his blood, as he before did in the wilderness, before that he was born to be a man; when he turned that heavenly meat to his flesh, and the flowing water from that stone to his own blood. Very many did eat of that heavenly meat in the wilderness, and drank the ghostly drink; and were nevertheless dead, as Christ said. And Christ meant not that death which none can escape, but that everlasting death, which some of that folk deserved for their unbelief. Moses and Aaron, and many others of that people who pleased God, did eat that heavenly bread, and they died not that everlasting death, though they died the common death. They saw that the heavenly meat was visible and corruptible, and they ghostly understood by that visible thing, and ghostly received it. The Saviour saith, He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath everlasting life. And he

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bade them not eat that body wherewith he was enclosed, nor to drink that blood which he shed for us; but he meant with those words, that holy housel which ghostly is his body and his blood, and he that tasteth it with believing heart, hath that eternal life.

"In the old law faithful men offered to God divers sacrifices, that had foresignification of Christ's body, which, for our sins, he himself to his heavenly Father hath since offered to sacrifice. Certainly this housel which we do now hallow at God's altar, is a remembrance of Christ's body, which he offered for us, and of his blood, which he shed for us. So he himself commanded, Do this in my remembrance. Once suffered Christ by himself, but yet, nevertheless, his suffering is daily renewed at this supper, through mystery of the holy housel. Therefore we ought to consider diligently, how that this holy housel is both Christ's body, and the body of all faithful men, after a ghostly mystery. As wise Augustine saith of it, If ye will understand of Christ's body, hear the apostle Paul thus speaking: Ye truly be Christ's body and his members. Now is your mystery set on God's table, and ye receive your mystery, which mystery ye yourselves be. Be that which ye see on the altar, and receive that which ye yourselves be. Again, the apostle Paul saith by it, We many be one bread, and one body. Understand now and rejoice: many be one bread and one body in Christ. He is our Head, and we be his limbs; and the bread is not of one corn, but of many; nor the wine of one grape, but of many. So, also, we all should have one unity in our Lord, as it is written of the faithful army, how that they were in so great a unity, as though all of them were one soul and one heart. Christ hallowed, on his table, the mystery of our peace and of our unity. He that receiveth that mystery of unity, and keepeth not the bond of true peace, receiveth no mystery for himself, but a witness against himself. It is very good for Christian men, that they go often to housel, if they bring with them to the altar unguiltiness and innocency of heart; if they be not oppressed with sin. To an evil man it turneth to no good, but to destruction, if he receive unworthily that holy housel. Holy books command that water be mingled to that wine which shall be for housel, because the water signifieth the people, and the wine Christ's blood; and therefore shall neither the one without the other be offered at the holy mass, that Christ may be with us, and we with Christ; the Head with the limbs, and the limbs with the Head.

"We would before have treated of the lamb which the old Israelites offered at their Easter time, but that we desired first to declare unto you of this mystery, and after, how we should receive it. That signifying-lamb was offered at the Easter. And the apostle Paul saith, in the Epistle of this present day, that Christ is our Easter, who was offered for us, and on this day rose from death. The Israelites did eat the lamb's flesh, as God commanded, with unleavened bread and wild lettuce; so we should receive that holy housel of Christ's body and blood without the leaven of sin and iniquity. As leaven turneth the creatures from their nature; so doth sin, also, change the nature of man from innocency to uncleanness. The apostle hath taught how we should feast, not in the leaven of the evilness, but in the sweet dough of purity and truth. The herb which they should eat with the unleavened bread is called lettuce, and is bitter in taste: so we should with bitterness of unfeigned repentance, purify our mind, if we will eat Christ's body. Those Israelites were not wont to eat raw flesh, and therefore God bade them to eat it neither raw nor sodden in water, but roasted with fire. He shall receive the body of God raw, that shall think without reason, that Christ was only man like unto us, and was not God. And he that will, after man's wisdom, search the mystery of Christ's incarnation, doeth like unto him that doth see the lamb's flesh in water, because that water, in this same place, signifieth man's understanding. But

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we should understand that all the mystery of Christ's humanity was ordered by the power of the Holy Ghost; and then eat we his body roasted with fire, because the Holy Ghost came in fiery likeness to the apostles in divers tongues.

"The Israelites should eat the lamb's head, and the feet, and the purtenance; and nothing thereof must be left over-night. If any thing thereof were left, they did burn that in the fire; and they brake not the bones. After ghostly understanding we do eat the lamb's head, when we take hold of Christ's Divinity in our belief. Again, when we take hold of his humanity with love, then eat we the lamb's feet, because that Christ is the beginning and the end, God before all worlds, and man in the end of this world. What be the lamb's purtenance, but Christ's secret precepts? and these we eat, when we receive with greediness the word of life. There must nothing of the lamb be left unto the morning, because that all God's sayings are to be searched with great carefulness; so that all his precepts may be known in understanding and deed in the night of this present life, before that the last day of the universal resurrection do appear. If we cannot search out thoroughly all the mystery of Christ's incarnation, then ought we to betake the rest unto the might of the Holy Ghost with true humility, and not to search rashly of that deep secretness, above the measure of our understanding. They did eat the lamb's flesh with their loins girded. In the loins is the lust of the body, and he who will receive that housel, shall cover or wrap in that concupiscence, and take with chastity that holy receipt.

They were also shod. What be shoes, but of the hides of dead beasts? We be truly shod, if we match, in our steps and deeds, the life of men departed this life, who pleased God with keeping of his commandments. They had staves in their hands when they did eat. This staff signifieth a carefulness and diligent overseeing; and all they that best know, and ken, should take care of other men, and stay them up with their help. It was enjoined to the eaters, that they should eat the lamb in haste, for God abhorreth slothfulness in his servants, and that he loveth those that seek the joy of everlasting life with quickness and haste of mind. It is written, Prolong not to turn unto God, lest the time pass away through thy slow tarrying. The eaters might not break the lamb's bones. No more might the soldiers, that did hang Christ, break his holy legs, as they did of the two thieves that hanged on either side of him. And the Lord rose from death, sound, without all corruption: and at the last judgment they shall see him, whom they did most cruelly wound on the cross. This time is called in the Hebrew tongue, *pascha*, and in Latin, *transitus*, and in English, a passover, because that on this day the people of Israel passed from the land of Egypt over the Red Sea, from bondage to the land of promise: so also did our Lord at this time depart, as saith John the evangelist, from this world to his heavenly Father. Even so we ought to follow our Head, and to go from the devil to Christ; from this unstable world, to his stable kingdom. Howbeit we should first, in this present life, depart from vice to holy virtue, from evil manners to good manners, if we will, after this our lent life, go to the eternal life; and, after our resurrection, to Christ. He bring us to his everlasting Father, who gave himself to death for our sins! To him be honour and praise of well-doing, world without end. Amen."

And thus, I suppose, it standeth clear and evidently proved by course of all these ages afore recited, from the time of Tertullian and Augustine, unto the days of this Elfric above mentioned, and after him, that this new-come miracle of transubstantiation was not yet crept into the heads of men, nor almost came in any question amongst learned men, nor was admitted for any doctrine in the church, (at least for any general doctrine of all men to be received,) till a

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thousand years complete after Christ, that is, till Satan began to be set at large. For who ever heard in all the primitive church, or ever read in the works of the old ancient doctors, this question once to be asked or disputed, whether any substance of bread and wine remained in the Lord's supper? or what man was ever so doltish to believe any such thing, or ever called heretic for not believing the same, before the time of seduction, that is, before the thousand years aforesaid were expired? Wherefore they that stand so much on the antiquity of this article, as a doctrine which hath ever, since Christ's time, been received in the church, taught by the apostles, believed by all catholics, and confirmed by consent of all ages, of councils, of nations, and people, unto this present day; these, I say, either show themselves very ignorant in histories, and in all state of antiquity, or else most impudently they do abuse the simple credulity of people.

To proceed now further in this discussion of antiquity, it followed that after the time of Elfric aforesaid, this matter of transubstantiation began first to be talked of, and to come in question among a few superstitious monks; so that as blindness and superstition began more and more to increase, so the said gross opinion still more and more, both in number and authority, prevailed, insomuch that about the year of our Lord 1050, the denying of transubstantiation began to be counted heresy.

And in this number first was one Berengarius, a Frenchman and archdeacon of Angers, which, of all Christian men which we read of, was first called and counted a heretic for denying of transubstantiation, and troubled for the same, as ye shall hear.

This Berengarius lived in the time of Pope Leo the Ninth, Victor, and Nicholas the Second, which latter died in the year 1061. Albeit I do find our writers here in some discrepance; for the most of them do hold, that he first recanted under Pope Leo the Ninth, in the council of Vercelli, and afterwards again under Pope Nicholas the Second, about the year 1062, as is to be gathered of Gratian, De Consecrat. dist. 2, "Ego Berengarius," where he saith that Pope Nicholas did send about to bishops and archbishops the copy of his recantation.

Again, by the acts of the council of Rome it there appeareth that the said Berengarius made this his said last recantation under Pope Hildebrand, called Gregory the Seventh. But this difference of times is no great matter to stand upon. The truth of the story is this; that when Berengarius had professed the truth of the sacrament, and had stood in the open confession thereof, according to the ancient verity of the doctrine received in the church before, he was so handled by certain malignant and superstitious monks, that, what by evil entreaty, and what for fear of death, (such is the weak frailty of man,) he began to shrink, and afterwards did indeed recant the truth.

Of these malicious enemies against Berengarius, the chiefest troublers were Lanfranc, abbot of Caen, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury; Guimund, a monk likewise first of the abbey of Leufrede, and afterwards archbishop of Aversa; Algerius also, monk of Corbeny; Fulbert also, monk and bishop; and Hildebrand, some time monk of Cluni, and then archdeacon of Tours, and afterward bishop of Rome.

By these, and such other monks of the like fraternity, the error and heresy of transubstantiation began first to be defended, and parts publicly, in writing, to be taken about that

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matter; of the which sides and parts, the first that began to set up that faction by writing seemeth to be Paschasius, who was a little before Berengarius, about the time of Bertram, and likewise Lanfranc, the first that brought it into England.

On the contrary side again, the first that was openly impugned and troubled for denying transubstantiation, was this Berengarius; with whom Lanfranc, also, was supposed at the first beginning to hold and take part; but afterwards, to clear himself, he stood openly against him in the council, and wrote against him.

It followeth then in the act of the council, when the synod of archbishops, bishops, abbots, and other prelates were together assembled, the greater number (saith the story) did hold that the bread and wine were turned substantially into the body and blood of Christ. Notwithstanding, (saith he,) divers there were in the said council who held the contrary with Berengarius, but at last were driven to give over. Berengarius, among the rest, after he had long stood in the constant defence of the truth, at last relented to their wills, confessing his error, (where none was,) and desired pardon of the council. And this was (as seemeth by William of Malmesbury) his first giving over; who afterwards, returning to himself again after the death of Pope Leo, and pricked with the sting of conscience, was driven again to recognise the truth, which he before had denied.

The pope, (saith Malmesbury,) perceiving this, would not leave him so, but sent into France Hildebrand, his cardinal chaplain, (as meet a mate for such a feat, as was in all Satan's court,) and made him with a wanyand to come again *coram nobis*; who so handled Berengarius, bringing him before the face of the council holden at Tours, that he made him to say, *erravi*, once again: against whom stood up in that council Lanfranc, and Guimund aforesaid, impugning his assertion. And thus standeth the narration of Malmesbury. But, by the acts of council of Rome, appeareth another declaration, which is, that this latter recantation of Berengarius should be at Rome under Hildebrand being then pope, in the year of our Lord 1079, and in the month of February; and that in the same council, holden in the church of Our Saviour, this recantation of *Ego Berengarius* was made, and he enjoined by the said Pope Hildebrand, upon his oath, never hereafter to teach or dispute contrary to that faith of the sacrament there holden, &c.

Again, Henry Bullinger in his book, *De Origine Erroris*, following belike some other author, expresth the order of the aforesaid recantation after this sort, and saith, that in the time of Pope Leo the Ninth, A.D. 1050, there was a Roman council holden at Vercelli; in the which council, Lanfranc being then present, the book of John Scotus was openly read, and there condemned. Also Berengarius was sent for, who, seeing the prejudicial proceeding of that council, refused himself to come, but sent two clerks, which openly there defended his cause and quarrel, and were for the same committed unto prison. Such is the freedom of the pope's general councils, with prisons and violence to defend their verities. Against the doings of this council notwithstanding, the Frenchmen stood stiff, both at Angers and Tours, joining and consenting with Berengarius.

Not long after this died Pope Leo; and after him succeeded Pope Victor, by whom another synod was kept at Florence, where the acts and doings of the aforesaid council of Vercelli were confirmed, and a legate also appointed to be sent to Tours in France. This legate

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was Hildebrand above mentioned, who, calling the clergy of France together in a synod, fell there in hand with the cause of the sacrament. Berengarius, not being ignorant of these Roman councils, so kept himself, that in all his actions he would give none other answer, but that he believed and consented with the faith of the catholic church; and so for that time did frustrate the purpose of the council, rather deluding the pretences of his enemies, than freely confessing the simple truth.

Again, after Victor, came Pope Nicholas the Second, who, congregating another council at Rome, A.D. 1059, sent for Berengarius there to appear, who, being present, argued what he could for the justness of his cause, but all would not serve: in the pope's general councils such a stroke and mastership beareth authority above verity. Berengarius being thus borne down on every side by might and superiority, when no remedy would serve, but he must needs recant again, (for the law of relapse was not yet in season,) he desired to know what other confession of the sacrament the pope would require of him, besides that which he had there confessed. Then Pope Nicholas committed that charge to Humbert, a monk of Lorraine, and, afterwards, a cardinal, that he should draw out in formable words the order of his recantation, after the prescription of Rome, which he should read, and publicly profess before the people; the form of which words is registered in the Decrees. The effect thereof is this:

"That he pretendeth with heart and mouth to profess, that he, acknowledging the true, catholic, and apostolical faith, doth execrate all heresy, namely, that wherewith he hath lately been infamed, as holding that the bread and wine upon the altar, after the consecration of the priest, remain only a sacrament, and are not the very self body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, neither can be handled or broken with the priest's hands, or chewed with the teeth of the faithful, otherwise than only by manner of a sacrament: consenting now to the holy and apostolical Church of Rome, he professeth with mouth and heart to hold the same faith touching the sacrament of the Lord's mass, which the lord pope Nicholas, with his synod here present, doth hold, and commandeth to be holden by his evangelical and apostolical authority; that is, that the bread and wine upon the altar after consecration, are not only a sacrament, but also are the very true and self body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ; and are sensibly felt and broken with hands, and chewed with teeth: swearing by the holy evangelists, that whosoever shall hold or say unto the contrary, he shall hold them perpetually accursed; and if he himself shall hereafter presume to preach or teach against the same, he shall be content to abide the severity and rigour of the canons," &c.

This cowardly recantation of Berengarius, as it offended a great number of the godly sort, so it gave to the contrary part no little triumph, whereby, ever since, they have taken the greater courage to tread down the truth.

It happened shortly after this, that Hildebrand, the pope's grand captain in the behalf of his master, Pope Nicholas, went in warfare against the Normans. This war being finished, shortly after he set upon a new voyage to fight for Pope Alexander, against Cadolus; which victory being also achieved, it was not long but he put the new Pope Alexander beside the cushion, and was made pope himself: so that during the busy stir of these wars, the pope's Holiness had no leisure to attend the debating of this controversy of the sacrament.

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At length, when all was quieted, and Pope Hildebrand now was where he would be, his restless brain could not be unoccupied, but eftsoons summoneth a new council at Rome, in the church of Lateran, to revive again the old disceptation of Berengarius, about the year, as some hold, 1079. Thus Berengarius, being tossed by these monks and Pharisees, was so confounded, and baited on every side, that partly for worldly fear straining him on the one side, partly for shame and grief of conscience, that he had now twice denied the truth, on the other side, the man, (as is of him reported,) after these such turbulent tragedies, forsaking his goods, his studies, learning, and former state of life, became a labourer, and wrought with his hands for his living, all the residue of his life.

The opinion which Berengarius maintained touching the sacrament (as by his own words, in Lanfranc's book, may appear) was this:

"The sacrifice of the church consisteth of two things: the one visible, the other invisible, that is, of the sacrament, and of the thing or matter of the sacrament. Which thing, (which is to mean, the body of Christ,) if it were here present before our eyes, it were a thing visible and to be seen: but being lifted up into heaven, and sitting on the right hand of his Father, to the time of restoring all things, (as St. Peter saith,) it cannot be called down from thence. For the person of Christ consisteth of God and man: the sacrament of the Lord's table consisteth of bread and wine; which, being consecrated, are not changed, but remain in their substances, having a certain resemblance or similitude of those things, whereof they be sacraments," &c.

By these words of Berengarius's doctrine, all indifferent readers may see and judge, that he affirmed nothing but what was agreeable to the Holy Scripture, believing with St. Augustine, and all other ancient elders of the church, that in the holy supper all faithful believers be refreshed spiritually with the body and blood of the Lord, unto everlasting life. Wherefore most impudently they do misreport him, (as they do many others besides,) which falsely lay to his charge, as though his teaching should be, that in the sacred supper of the Lord nothing else were received of the faithful, besides only the bare signs, which are the bread and the wine.

And now that you have seen the doctrine of Berengarius, let us also take a view of the contrary teaching of Lanfranc and his fellows, conferring and comparing together the institution on the one side, with the institution of the other, to mark and consider which of them soundeth nearer to the truth of -the Scriptures. The words of Lanfranc be these: "I believe the earthly substances, which, upon the Lord's table, are divinely sanctified, through the ministration of the priest, to be converted unspeakably, incomprehensibly, and miraculously, by the operation of God's mighty power, into the essence of the Lord's body, the outward forms only of the things themselves, and certain qualities re-served, and that for two respects: the one, lest the sight of the raw and bloody flesh might otherwise make men to abhor from eating thereof; the other, for that they which believe the thing they see not, might have the greater merit for their belief. The conversion of which earthly substances into the essence of the Lord's body notwithstanding, yet is the selfsame body of the Lord in heaven, and there hath its essential being at the right hand of his Father, immortal, inviolate, perfect, undiminished, and uncorrupted; so that truly it may be affirmed, the selfsame body both to be received of us, and yet not the selfsame. The selfsame, I mean, as touching the essence, property, and virtue of his true nature: and yet not the selfsame,

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as touching the forms of bread and wine, and other outward qualities incurring to our outward senses," &c.

And thus have ye the confession of Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury. From this confession of Lanfranc, the opinion and assertion also of Guimund, archbishop of Aversa, doth nothing differ in grossness and impiety, but rather passeth the same, thus affirming and defending: "that the body of Christ is pressed, and torn with teeth, even like as it was felt and touched with the hands of Thomas."

And moreover, the said Guimund, (if his book be not rather counterfeited at Louvain,) in the same place, answering to an objection put out, that it is not lawful for Christ to be torn in pieces with teeth, doubteth not to pronounce, that whether we take tearing for hard biting or soft biting, it is not repugnant nor disagreeing, but that (by the will of God agreeing thereunto) the body of Christ may be touched with hands, bitten with mouth, crushed, yea, and divided in pieces, with hard or soft pressing of the teeth: and that as he was bruised upon the cross, according to the prophet, saying, He was bruised for our iniquities, &c.; so the same body, for the health of the faithful, may devoutly be torn and rent with their teeth, any thing to the contrary notwithstanding, &c. Judge now, all good studious readers, what is to be thought of this kind of doctrine, and how this opinion cohereth with the infallible voice of God's word, saying, in Exodus, And of him ye shall not break a bone, &c.

This rude and misshapen doctrine of these monks concerning transubstantiation, as ye have heard when and by whom it began first to be broached, so, if you would now know by what learning and scriptures they did confirm and establish the same, ye must here think and understand, how their chiefest grounds and substance to persuade the people, were at this time certain miracles by them forged, and published both in their writings and preachings; whereof one was the same above recited of Odo, which Osberne or some other monkish legend invented of him, how he should show unto certain the host, turned into the likeness of flesh and blood, dropping into the chalice, for the conversion of those clerks, who before would not believe it. Another like miracle is also told by the said Osberne of Dunstan, in this order: how the said Dunstan appeared to a certain lame cripple in the night, willing him to resort unto his tomb, to have his limbs again restored; which cripple, according as he was willed, after he had there continued praying for health a long time, and could not obtain, began to return home again after long tarrying, without all hope of recovery. To whom the said Dunstan, appearing again by the way, asked from whence he came; and whither he would. The cripple, answering, declared how he came thither upon hope of health, where he had long tarried; and because he could find no recovery, therefore he now was returning home. To whom then said Dunstan: "I am," saith he, "Dunstan, the fellow servant of all God's servants, and have been occupied with certain necessary business, for which I could not be present there with my children: for Elfric," said he, "otherwise surnamed Bata, hath attempted to disherit my church; but I have so stopped him, that he could not prevail."

Many other fabulous miracles of the like stamp are rife in popish stories, counterfeited and forged under divers and sundry names, some referred to Gregory, some to Paschasius, and to others more, which, to recite all, would fill a whole sea full of lies and fables. Among many, one is thus invented of Paschasius. "There was a priest of Almain," (saith he,) "named Plegildus, who

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did see and handle with his hands visibly the shape of a child upon the altar; and so after he had embraced and kissed it, it returned again to the likeness of bread, as he should come to the receiving thereof." This miracle when it was objected against Berengarius, he, merrily deriding the blind fable, answered in these words: "A godly peace," quoth he, "of a false varlet; that whom he kissed before with his mouth, by and by he goeth about to tear him with his teeth."

Another miracle is reported of a Jew boy, who, upon a time, entering into the church with another, a Christian lad, who was his play-fellow, saw upon the altar a little child broken and torn in pieces, and afterwards, by portions, to be distributed among the people: which sight when the young Jew, coming home, had told unto his father to be true and certain, he was for the same condemned to be burned. Thus he, being enclosed in a house, and the door made fast where he should be burned, he was found and taken out from thence by the Christians, not only alive, but also having not one hair of his head blemished with the flames about him. Who then being of the Christians demanded, how he was so preserved from the burning fire, "There appeared," said he, "to me, a beautiful woman sitting on a chair, whose son the child was, which was before divided and distributed in the church among the people; who reached to me her hand in the burning flame, and with her gown-skirts kept the flame from me, so that I was preserved thereby from perishing." Belike these monks lacked miracles among the Christians, when they were fain to borrow such figments of the Jews, to prove their feigned transubstantiation. And these commonly were then the arguments of these monks, wherewith they persuaded the people to believe their transubstantiation. But to leave these monks' fictions, and to return again to Berengarius, thus Malmesbury of him reporteth, that after he had once or twice recanted, as is aforesaid, yet, notwithstanding, this doctrine of the sacrament still remained in the mind of his hearers. And howsoever the tyranny of the pope did drive him, through fear, to deny his opinion, and wrought him much trouble, yet, notwithstanding, after his death he lacked not his wellwillers; in the number of whom was Hilbert, bishop of Mans.

Although in this time of Berengarius, which was about the year of our Lord 1050, (as ye have heard,) this error of transubstantiation began to grow in force and strength, by the supporting of certain popish monks above rehearsed, as Lanfranc, Guimund, Algerius, Hugo, bishop of Lincoln, Fulbert, (of whom it is said in stories, that our Lady gave him suck, being sick, with her own breasts,) and such others: yet, notwithstanding, all this while the said transubstantiation was decreed for no public law, nor doctrine to be holden by any general consent, either of the Church of Rome, or any other council, before the council of Lateran, under Pope Innocent the Third, who, A.D. 1215, celebrating in the church of Lateran a general council of thirteen hundred bishops, enacted there divers constitutions, as of yearly confession; and the communion to be used by the whole multitude once a year through every parish church. Item, for the recovery of the holy land, with subsidy also to be levied for the same. Item, for the abolishing of the books and writings of Joachim the abbot, and also the opinions of Almaric before mentioned. Notwithstanding that the said Joachim did subscribe with his own hand, that he held the same doctrine which was in the Church of Rome, and also submitted his books to be presented to the see of Rome, there to be corrected or approved, yet was he judged, though not a heretic, yet to be erroneous; and especially in those books which he wrote against Peter the Lombard, called afterwards the Master of Sentences.

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In the said council, besides divers other constitutions and the articles of the Creed there in order repeated, as appeareth, there was also enacted, decreed, and established, the faith and belief of transubstantiation, in these words following:

"There is one universal church of the faithful, without which none can be saved; in which church the selfsame Jesus Christ is both priest and also the sacrifice; whose body and blood are truly contained in the sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, the bread being transubstantiated into the body, and the wine into the blood, by the power and working of God: so that to the accomplishing of this mystery of unity, we might take of his, the same which he hath taken of ours. And this sacrament none can make or consecrate, but he that is a priest lawfully ordained, according to the keys of the church, which Jesus Christ hath left to his apostles, and to their successors," &c.

And thus was the foundation laid for the building of transubstantiation, upon the consent of these aforesaid thirteen hundred bishops, in the year of our Lord above specified, under Pope Innocent, and the doctrine thereof intruded for an article of faith into the church, necessarily to be believed of all men under pain of heresy.

But yet all this while, notwithstanding that the substance of bread and wine was now banished out of the sacrament, and utterly transcorporated into the substance of Christ's very body and blood, yet was not this body elevated over the priest's head, nor adored by the people, till the days of Pope Honorius the Third, succeeding after Innocent, who, by his council, likewise commanded adoration and elevation to be joined with transubstantiation; as one idolatry commonly bringeth forth another.

Again, the said sacrament of the Lord's supper being now consecrated, transubstantiated, elevated, and adored, yet it was not offered up for a sacrifice propitiatory for the quick and the dead, nor for a remedy of the souls in purgatory, nor for a merit *operis operati, sine bono motu utentis*, &c., before that other popes, coming after, added still new additions to the former inventions of their predecessors.

And thus have you the whole order and origin of these idolatrous parts of the mass described by their times and ages, which first began with consecration and the form thereof, which were words of the canon. Then came transubstantiation by Innocent, and afterwards elevation and adoration by Honorius; and, last of all, came the oblation, meritorious and propitiatory, for the quick and the dead in remission of sins, *ex opere operato*; which things being thus constituted by the too much usurped authority of the Church of Rome, shortly after followed persecution, tyranny, and burning among the Christians; first beginning with the Albigenses, and the faithful congregation of Toulouse, near about the time of the said Innocent, as is before remembered.

And thus much for the first article, of transubstantiation, which, as you have heard, was not admitted into the church for any general doctrine of faith, before the year and time above assigned of Pope Innocent the Third: and therefore, if any have been otherwise persuaded, or yet do remain in the same persuasion still of this doctrine, as though it had been of a longer continuance than for the time above expressed, let him understand that by ignorance of histories

he is deceived: and for the more satisfying of his mind, if he credit not me, let him believe the words of one of his own catholic sort, John Duns Scotus I mean, who, in his fourth book, writing of transubstantiation, in what time and by whose authority it was first established, hath these words, which also are before mentioned: "These words of the Scripture might be expounded more easily and more plainly without transubstantiation; but the church did choose this sense, which is harder, being thereto moved, as seemeth, chiefly because men should hold, of the sacraments, the same which the Church of Rome doth hold," &c. And further, in the same place, the said Duns, expounding himself what he meaneth by the Church of Rome, maketh there express mention of the said Innocent the Third, and of this council of Lateran, &c. And furthermore, to the intent that such as be indifferent seekers of the truth may be more amply satisfied in this behalf, that this transubstantiation is of no antiquity, but of a late invention, I will also adjoin to this testimony of John Scotus, the judgment and verdict of Erasmus, where he writeth in these words: "In the sacrament of the communion, the church concluded transubstantiation but of late days. Long before that, it was sufficient to believe the true body of Christ to be present either under bread, or else by some other manner," &c.

The second article: of both kinds.



As touching the second article, which debarreth from the lay-people the one-half of the sacrament, understanding that under one kind both parts are fully contained, forasmuch as the world well knoweth that this article is but young – invented, decreed, and concluded no longer since than at the council of Constance, not two hundred years ago, I shall not need to make any long standing upon that matter; especially for that sufficient hath been said thereof before, in our long discourse of the Bohemians' story.

First, let us see the reasons and objections of the adversaries, in restraining the laity from the one kind of this sacrament. "The use," say they, "hath been of so long continuance in the church:" whereunto we answer, that they have no evident nor authentic example of any ancient custom in the church, which they can produce in that behalf.

Item, where they alleged the place of St. Luke, where Christ was known in breaking of bread, &c.; citing, moreover, many other places of Scripture, wherein mention is made of breaking of bread: to answer thereunto, although we do not utterly repugn, but that some of those places may be understood of the sacrament, yet that being granted, it followeth not therefore, that one part of the sacrament was only ministered to the people without the other, when by the common use of speech, under the naming of one part, the whole action is meant. Neither doth it follow, because that bread was broken among the brethren, therefore the cup was not distributed unto them: for so we find by the words of St. Paul, that the use of the Corinthians was to communicate, not only in breaking of bread, but in participating the cup also: "The cup," saith he, "which we participate," &c.

Also, after the apostles, in the time of Cyprian, of Jerome, of Gelasius, and others successively after them, it is evident that both the kinds were frequented in the church. First Cyprian, in divers places, declareth that the sacrament of the blood was also distributed. "How

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do we," saith he, "provoke them to stand in the confession of Christ, to the shedding of their blood, if we deny unto them the blood of Christ, when they prepare themselves to the conflict?"

The words of Jerome are plain: "Priests," saith he, "which minister the Eucharist, and divide the blood unto the people."

In Historia Tripartita, it was said to the emperor Theodosius, "How will you receive the body of the Lord with such bloody hands, or the cup of his precious blood with that mouth, who have spilled so much innocent blood?"

In the canon of Gelasius, and in the pope's own decrees, these words we read: "We understand that there be some, who, receiving only the portion of the Lord's body, do abstain from the cup of his sacred blood; to whom we enjoin that either they receive the whole sacrament in both kinds, or else that they receive neither; for the dividing of that whole and one sacrament, cannot be done without great sacrilege," &c. So that this decree of Pope Gelasius being contradictory to the council of Constance, it must follow, that either the pope did err, or else the council of Constance must needs be a sacrilegious council; as no doubt it was.

The like testimony also appeareth in the council of Toledo, that the laity did then communicate in both kinds, beside divers other old precedents remaining yet in the churches both of Germany and also of France, declaring likewise the same.

And thus it standeth certain and demonstrable, by manifold probations, how far this new-found custom differeth from all antiquity and prescription of use and time. Again, although the custom thereof were ever so ancient, yet no custom may be of that strength to gainstand or countermand the open and express commandment of God, which saith to all men, Drink ye all of it.

Again, seeing the cup is called the blood of the new testament, who is he that dare or can alter the testament of the Lord, when none may be so hardy to alter the testament of a man, being once approved or ratified?

Further, as concerning those places of Scripture before alleged, Of breaking of bread; whereupon they think themselves so sure that the sacrament was then administered but in one kind: to answer thereunto, first, we say, it may be doubted whether all those places in Scripture are to be referred to the sacrament. Secondly, the same being given unto them, yet can they not infer thereby, because one part is mentioned, that the full sacrament therefore was not ministered. The common manner of the Hebrew phrase is, under breaking of bread, to signify generally the whole feast or supper: as in the prophet Isaiah, these words, Break thy bread to the hungry, do signify as well giving drink, as bread, &c. And thirdly, howsoever those places, concerning the breaking of bread, be taken, yet it maketh little for them, but rather against them. For, if the sacrament were administered among them *in fractione panis*, that is, in breaking of bread, then must they needs grant, that if bread was there broken, ergo there was bread, forasmuch as neither the accidents of bread without bread can be broken, neither can the natural body of Christ be subject to any fraction or breaking by the Scripture, which saith, And ye shall break no bone of him, &c. Wherefore take away the substance of bread, and there can be no

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fraction. And take away fraction, how then do they make a sacrament of this breaking, whereas neither the substance of Christ's body, neither yet the accidents without their substance, can be broken, neither again will they admit any bread there remaining to be broken?. And what then was it, in this their breaking of bread, that they did break, if it were not bread, that is, the substance of bread, which was broken? To conclude: if they say that this fraction of bread was a sacramental breaking of Christ's body, so by the like figure let them say that the being of Christ's natural body in the sacrament is a sacramental being, and we are agreed.

Item, They object further, and say, that the church, upon due consideration, may alter as they see cause, in rites, ceremonies, and sacraments.

Answer: – The institution of this sacrament standeth upon the order, example, and commandment of Christ. This order he took: first, he devided the bread severally from the cup; and afterwards, the cup severally from the bread. Secondly, this he did not for any need on his behalf, but only to give us example how to do the same after him, in remembrance of his death, to the world's end. Thirdly, besides this order taken, and example left, he added also an express commandment, Do this: Drink ye all of this, &c. Against this order, example, and commandment of the gospel, no church, nor council of men, nor angel in heaven, hath any power or authority to change or alter; according as we are warned: If any bring unto you any other gospel beside that ye have received, hold him accursed, &c.

Item, Another objection: And why may not the church (say they) as well alter the form of this sacrament, as the apostles did the form of baptism? where, in the Acts, St. Peter saith, Let every one be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ, &c.

Answer: – This text saith not that the apostles used this form of baptizing, "I baptize thee in the name of Christ," &c.; but they used many times this manner of speech, "to be baptized in the name of Christ," not as expressing thereby the formal words of baptizing, but as meaning this: That they would have them to become members of Christ, and to be baptized as Christians, entering into his baptism, and not only to the baptism of John: and therefore, although the apostles thus spake to the people, yet, notwithstanding, when they baptized any themselves, they used, no doubt, the form of Christ prescribed, and no other.

Item, Among many other objections, they allege certain perils and causes of weight and importance, as spilling, shedding, or shaking the blood out of the cup, or souring, or else sticking upon men's beards, &c.; for the which, they say, it is well provided the half communion to suffice.

Whereunto it is soon answered, that as these causes were no let to Christ, to the apostles, to the Corinthians, and to the brethren of the primitive church, but that in the public assemblies they received all the whole communion, as well in the one part as in the other; so neither be the said causes so important now, to annul and evacuate the necessary commandment of the gospel, if we were as careful to obey the Lord, as we are curious to magnify our own devices, to strain at gnats, to stumble at straws, and to seek knots in rushes, which rather are in our own fantasies growing, than there, where they are sought.

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In summa: Divers other objections and cavillations are in popish books to be found, as in Gabriel, the difference made between the laity and priests; also the distinction used to be made between the priests' communion and the laical communion: where is to be understood, that when priests were bid to use the laical communion, thereby was meant, not receiving under one kind, as laymen do now, but to abstain from consecrating, and only to receive as the laymen then did. Some also allege certain special or particular examples, as of the cup only serving for the bread, or of the bread only sent to certain sick folk for the cup. And here they do infer the story of Sozomenus, touching the woman in whose mouth the sacrament of bread, which she only received without the cup, was turned to a stone, &c. Others allege other private examples likewise of infants, aged men, sick persons, men excommunicated, frantics, and madmen, or men dwelling far off from churches, in mountains or wildernesses, &c. All which private examples neither make any instance against the ancient custom of public congregations frequented from the apostles' time; and much less ought they to derogate from the express and necessary precept of the gospel, which saith to all men without exception, This do ye, and, Drink ye all of it.

The third article: of private masses, trental masses, and dirige masses.

Private masses, trental masses, and dirige masses, as they were never used before the time of Gregory, six hundred years after Christ, so the same do fight directly against our Christian doctrine, as by the definition thereof may well appear. The mass is a work or action of the priest, applied unto men for meriting of grace, *ex opere operato*; in the which action the sacrament is first worshipped, and then offered up for a sacrifice for remission of sins, *a pœna et culpa*, for the quick and the dead. Of this definition, as there is no part but it agreeth with their own teaching, so there is no part thereof which disagreeeth not from the rules of Christian doctrine; especially these, as follow:

I. The first rule is, Sacraments be instituted for some principal end and use, out of which use they are no sacraments: as the sacrament of baptism is a sacrament of regeneration and forgiveness of sins to the person that is baptized; but if it be carried about to be worshipped and showed to others, as meritorious for their remission and regeneration, to them it is no sacrament.

II. No sacrament or ceremony doth profit or conduce but to them only who take and use the same.

III. Only the death of Christ, and the work of his sacrifice upon the cross, is to be applied to every man by faith, for salvation and health of his soul. Besides this work alone, to apply any action or work of priest or any other person, as meritorious of itself, and conducive to salvation, to souls' health, or to remission of sins, it is idolatry, and derogatory to the testament of God, and to the blood of Christ prejudicial.

IV. To make idols of sacraments, and to worship dumb things for the living God, it is idolatry.

V. Every good work, whatsoever it be, that a man doth, profiteth only himself, and cannot be applied to other men, *ex opere operato*, to profit them unto merit or remissions; only the actions of Christ excepted.

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VI. No man can apply to another the sacrifice of Christ's death by any work-doing, but every man must apply it to himself by his own believing.

VII. The sacrifice of Christ's death doth save us freely by itself, and not by the means of any man's working for us.

VIII. The passion of Christ once done, and no more, is a full and a perfect oblation and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world, both original and actual: by the virtue of which passion the wrath of God is pacified towards mankind for ever. Amen.

IX. The passion of Christ once done, is only the object of that faith of ours which justifieth us, and nothing else. And therefore, whosoever setteth up any other object beside that passion once done, for our faith to apprehend and behold the same, teacheth damnable doctrine, and leadeth to idolatry.

Against all these rules private masses directly do repugn. For first, besides that they transgress the order, example, and commandment of Christ, (who divided the bread and cup to them all,) they also bring the sacrament out of the right use whereunto, principally, it was ordained. For whereas the use of that sacrament is principally instituted for a testimonial and remembrance of Christ's death, the private mass transferreth the same to another purpose, either to make of it a gazing idol, or a work of application meritorious, or a sacrifice propitiatory for remission of sins, or a commemoration for souls departed in purgatory: according as it is written in their mass book, *Pro quorum memoria corpus Christi, sumitur; pro quorum memoria sanguis Christi sumitur*, That in remembrance of whom the body and blood of Christ are taken, whereas Christ saith contrary, This do ye in remembrance of me.

Furthermore, the institution of Christ is broken in this, that whereas the communion was given in common, the private mass suffereth the priest alone to eat and drink up all; and when he hath done, to bless the people with the empty cup.

Secondly, whereas sacraments properly profit none but them that use the same, in the private mass the sacrament is received in the behoof not only of him that executeth, but of them also that stand looking on, and of them also which be far off, or dead and in purgatory.

Thirdly, when by the Scripture nothing is to be applied for remission of our sins, but only the death of Christ, cometh in the private mass, as a work meritorious done by the priest; which being applied to others, is available both to him that doth it, and to them for whom it is done.

Fourthly, private masses, and all other masses now used, of the sacrament make an idol; of commemoration make adoration; instead of receiving, make a deceiving; in place of showing forth Christ's death, make new oblations of his death; and of a communion make a single sole supping, &c.

Fifthly, whereas, in this general frailty of man's nature, no man can merit by any worthiness of working for himself, the priest, in his private mass, taketh upon him to merit both for himself, and for many others.

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Sixthly, it standeth against Scripture, that the sacrifice and death of Christ can be applied any otherwise to our benefit and justification, than by faith: wherefore it is false that the action of the mass can apply the benefit of Christ's death unto us, *ex opere operato, sine bono motu utentis vel sacrificantis*.

Seventhly, whereas the benefit of our salvation and justifying standeth by the free gift and grace of God, through our faith in Christ; contrarily, the application of these popish masses stoppeth the freeness of God's grace, and maketh that this benefit must first come through the priest's hands, and his *opus operatum*, unto us.

The eighth contrariety between private mass and God's word is in this; that where the Scripture saith, With one oblation he hath made perfect them that be sanctified for ever: against this rule the private mass proceedeth in a contrary doctrine, making of one oblation a daily oblation, and that which is perfectly done and finished, anew to be done again: and finally, that which was instituted only for eating, and for a remembrance of that oblation of Christ once done, the popish mass maketh an oblation, and a new satisfaction daily to be done for the quick and the dead.

To conclude, these both private and public masses of priests, turn away the object of our faith from the body of Christ sacrificed, to the body of Christ in their masses. And whereas God annexeth no promise of justification, but only to our faith in the body of Christ crucified, they do annex promise of remission *a pœna et culpa*, to the body in their masses sacrificed, by their application; besides divers other horrible and intolerable corruptions which spring of their private and public masses, which here I leave to others at their leisure further to conceive and to consider. Now let us proceed to the other articles following.

The fourth and fifth articles; of vows and priests' marriage.

As we have discoursed before, by stories and order of time, the antiquity of the three former articles above mentioned, to wit, of transubstantiation, of the half communion, and of private masses; so now, coming to the article of vows, and that of priests' marriage, the reader will look, perchance, to be satisfied in this likewise, as in the other before, and to be certified from what continuance of time these vows and unmarried life of priests have continued; wherein, although sufficient hath been said before in the former process of this history, as in the life of Anselm, also of Pope Hildebrand, &c., yet, for the better establishing of the reader's mind against this wicked article of priests' marriage, it shall be no great labour lost, here briefly to recapitulate in the tractation of this matter, either what before hath been said, or what is more to be added. And to the intent that the world may see and judge the said law and decree of priests' single sole life, to be a doctrine of no ancient standing here within this realm, but only since the time of Anselm, I will first allege for me the words of Henry of Huntingdon, here following:

"The same year, at the feast of St. Michael, Anselm, the archbishop of Canterbury, held a synod at London; in the which synod he forefended priests here in England to have wives, which they were not inhibited before to have: which constitution seemed to some persons very pure and chaste. To others again it seemed very dangerous, lest while that men should take upon them

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such chastity, more than they should be able to bear, by that occasion they might haply fall into horrible filthiness, which should redound to the exceeding slander of Christian profession," &c.

Albeit I deny not but before the time also of Anselm, both Odo, and after him Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, and Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, and Oswald, bishop of Worcester, in the days of King Edgar, A.D. 959, as they were all monks themselves, so were they great doers against the marriage of priests, placing monks in churches and colleges, and putting out the married priests, as ye may read before; yet, notwithstanding, neither was that in many churches, and also the priests then married were not constrained to leave their wives, or their rooms, but only at their own choice. For so writeth Malmesbury, "Therefore divers and sundry clerks of many churches, being put to their choice, whether to change their weed, or to part from their places, went their ways," &c. So also Elfric, after them, (of whom mention was made before,) was somewhat busy in setting forward the single life of priests, and Lanfranc likewise. But yet this restraint of priests' lawful marriage was never publicly established for a law here, in the church of England, before the coming of Anselm, in the days of William Rufus and King Henry the First, writing in these words: "Boldly I command, by the authority which I have by my archbishopric, not only within my archbishopric, but also throughout England, that all priests that keep women, shall be deprived of their churches, and all ecclesiastical benefices," &c.; as ye may read more at large before: which was much about the same time when Hildebrand also, at Rome, began to attempt the same matter, as before hath been showed; and also besides him were other popes more, as Pope Innocent the Third, Nicholas the Second, and Calixtus the Second, by whom the act against priests' marriage was brought at length to its full perfection, and so hath continued ever since.

Long it were, and tedious, to recite here all such constitutions of councils provincial and general, namely, of the council of Carthage and of Toledo, which seemed to work something in that behalf against the matrimony of priests.

Again, longer it were to number up the names of all such bishops and priests, which, notwithstanding, have been married since that time in divers countries, as more amply shall be showed (the Lord willing) in the sequel hereof. In the mean season, as touching the age and time of this devilish prohibition for priests to have their wives, this is to be found by credible proofs and conferring of histories, that about the year of our Saviour 1067, at what time Pope Hildebrand began first to occupy the papal chair, this oath began first to be taken of archbishops and bishops, that they should suffer none to enter into the ministry, or into any ecclesiastical function, having a wife; and likewise the clergy to be bound to promise the same.

And this was, as I said, about A.D. 1067, well approved and testified by course of histories: whereby appeareth the prophecy of St. Paul truly to be verified, speaking of these latter times, 1 Tim. iv., where he writeth in these words: The Spirit speaketh plainly, that in the latter times there shall some depart from the faith, hearkening unto spirits of error, and to doctrines of devils, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which the Lord hath created to be taken with thanksgiving, &c.

In this prophecy of St. Paul two things are to be observed; first, the matter which he prophesieth of, that is, the forbidding of marriage, and forbidding of meats, which God generally

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hath left free to all men. The second thing in this prophecy to be noted is, the time when this prophecy shall fall, that is, in the latter times of the world. So that this concurrerth right well with these years of Pope Hildebrand aforesaid, being a thousand years complete after the ascension of our Saviour; so that they may well be called the latter times.

This prophecy of St. Paul, thus standing, as it doth, firm and certain, that is, that forbidding of marriage must happen in the latter times of the world, then must it needs consequently follow thereby, that the married life of priests is more ancient in the church than is the single life; than the law, I mean, commanding the single life of priests: which may soon be proved to be true, by the true count of times, and search of histories.

I. For first, at the council of Nice, A.D. 325, it is notorious that this devilish law of marriage to be restrained, was stopped by Paphnutius.

II. Before this council of Nice, we read of Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, who, about A.D. 193, dissenting from Pope Victor about a certain controversy of Easter-day, allegeth for himself how his progenitors before him, seven together, one after another, succeeded in that see, and he now, the eighth after them, was placed in the same, using this his descent of his parents not only as a defence of his cause, but also as a glory to himself.

III. Pope Syricius, about A.D. 390, wrote to the priests of Spain, about the same matter of putting their wives from them; if his epistle be not counterfeit. These Spanish priests had then with them a bishop of Tarragona, who, answering to Syricius in this behalf, alleged the testimonies of St. Paul, that priests might lawfully retain their wives, &c. To this Syricius replied again (if his writing be not forged) most arrogantly, and no less ignorantly, reproving the priests that were married; and, for the defence of his cause, alleged this sentence of St. Paul, If ye shall live after the flesh, ye shall die, &c. Whereby may appear, not only how they in Spain then had wives, but also how blind these men were in the Scriptures, which showed themselves such and so great adversaries against priests' marriages.

IV. To be short, the further we go, and the nearer to the ancient time of the church, the less ancient we shall find the deprivation of lawful matrimony amongst Christian ministers, beginning, if ye will, with the apostles, their examples and canons, who, although they were not all married, yet divers of them were, and the rest had power and liberty to have and keep their wives, witnessing St. Paul, where he writeth of himself, Have we not power to lead about a sister to wife, as also the other apostles have? Whereby is to be seen, both what he might do, and what the other apostles did. Albeit Clement of Alexandria, who was two hundred years after Christ, denieth not but that Paul was married, being an apostle, as well as Peter and Philip. And as the said apostles, in their doctrine, admonish all men to marry that cannot otherwise do, saying unto every one being in danger of temptation, Let every man have his own wife, lest Satan tempt you, &c., so likewise the same apostles, in their canons, (as in the pope's decrees is cited,) do precisely charge, that no bishop or priest should sequester from him his wife for any matter or pretence of religion, saying, "If any shall teach that a priest, for religion's sake, ought to contemn his own wife, let him be accursed," &c.

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As for the gloss there in the margin, which expoundeth this word "contemning" for exhibiting things necessary for her sustenance, all the world may see that to be a gloss of mere sophistry. And because I have here made mention of Clement of Alexandria, it shall not be to our purpose impertinent, to infer the words of this worthy writer, wherewith he doth defend priests' lawful matrimony against certain vain boasters of virginity in his time: "These glorious braggers do vaunt themselves to be the followers of the Lord, who neither had wife, nor yet possessed any thing here in the world," &c. And it followeth, "To these the Scripture maketh answer, God withstandeth the proud, and giveth grace to the humble. Again, they consider not the cause why the Lord took no wife. First, he had his own peculiar spouse, which is the church. Moreover, neither was he as a common man, that he should stand in such need of a helper after the flesh," &c. And in the same book a little after, alleging against them that abhor matrimony, he inferreth the words of St. Paul, how that in the latter days, some shall fall from the faith, attending to spirits of error, and to doctrine of devils, forbidding to marry, and bidding to abstain from meats, &c. Which place of St. Paul, Clement here applieth not against the Novatians, and them that condemn matrimony in general in all men as naught; but he applieth it only against such as forbid marriage in part, and namely in priests, &c. This Clement wrote after Christ two hundred years, and yet if we come downward to lower times, we shall find both by the council of Gangra three hundred years, and also by the council of Nice four hundred years, after Christ, the same liberty of priests' marriage established and enacted as a thing both good and godly. The words of the council of Gangra be these: "If any do judge that a priest, for his marriage' sake, ought not to minister, and therefore doth abstain from the same, let him be accursed."

Moreover, proceeding yet in times and chronicles of the church, we shall come to the sixth council, called the Synod of Constantinople, almost seven hundred years after Christ; the words of which council be alleged in the Decrees, and be these: "Because, in the order of the Roman canon we know it so to be received, that such as be deacons and priests shall profess themselves to have no more connexion with their wives; we, following the ancient canon of the diligent apostles and constitutions of holy men, enact that such lawful marriage, from henceforth, shall stand in force, in no case dissolving their conjunction with their wives, neither depriving them of their mutual society and familiarity together, in such time as they shall think convenient," &c. Hitherto ye have heard the decree: hear now the penalty in the same decree and distinction contained. "If any man, therefore, shall presume, against the canons of the apostles, to deprive either priest or deacon from the touching and company of his lawful wife, let him be deprived. And likewise this priest and deacon, whosoever, for religion's sake, shall put away his wife, let him be excommunicated," &c. (and the council of Gangra saith: "let him be accursed.") By these words of the council recited, six things are to be noted:

I. First, how this council calleth the marriage of priests lawful, contrary to these six articles, and to a certain late English writer of our country, entitling his book *Against the Unlawful Marriage of Priests*.

II. In that this council so followeth "the canons of the apostles, and constitutions of holy men," we have to understand what the censures both of the apostles, and determination of other holy men, were therein.

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III. If the injunction of this council, agreeing thus with the apostles and holy men, stood with truth, the contrary canon of the Romans, and also of these six English articles, must needs be condemned of error.

IV. By this council appeareth, that so long time, almost seven hundred years after Christ, this prohibition of priests' marriage was not yet entered into the Orient church, but stoutly was holden out.

V. By the Roman canon here mentioned, which began with Gregory, six hundred years after Christ, a little before this council, it cannot be denied but that the Church of Rome began then to dissever, not only from the verity, but also from the unity of all other churches following the apostolic doctrine; albeit the said Roman canon at that time stood not long, but was shortly disannulled by the said Gregory again, by the occasion of infants' heads found in the fish pond; whereof (Christ willing) more shall be spoken hereafter.

VI. Sixthly, here is to be noted and remembered the crafty false packing and fraud of the Romans, who, in the Latin book of Councils, in divers new impressions, have suppressed this canon, because belike it maketh little with their purpose: playing much like with this, as Pope Sosimus, Boniface, and Celestine played with the sixth council at Carthage, who, for their supremacy, would have forged a false canon of Nice, had not the council sent to Constantinople for the true exemplar thereof, and so proved them open liars to their faces. So likewise this canon above mentioned, although it be omitted in some books, yet, being found in the ancient and true written copies, being alleged of Nilus, a Greek bishop of Thessalonica, two hundred years ago; and moreover being found and alleged in the pope's own book of Decrees, dist. 31, must needs convince them of manifest theft and falsehood.

Thus it may stand sufficiently proved, that the deprivation of priests' lawful marriage, all this space, was not entered into the church, neither Greek nor Latin, at least took no full possession, before Pope Hildebrand's time, A.D. 1067, and especially Pope Calixtus' time, A.D. 1119, which were the first open extorters of priest's marriage. Aventine, a faithful writer of his time, writing of the council of Hildebrand, hath these words:

"In those days priests commonly had wives, as other Christian men had, and had children also, as may appear by ancient instruments, and deeds of gift, which were then given to churches, to the clergy, and to religious houses; in which instruments, both the priests and their wives, also, with them, (who there be called *presbyterissæ*.) I find to be alleged for witnesses. It happened, moreover, at the same time, (saith Aventine,) that the emperor had the investing of divers archbishoprics, bishoprics, abbeys, and nunneries, within his dominions; Pope Hildebrand disdaining against both these sorts aforesaid, (that is, both against them that were invested by the emperor, and also against all those priests that had wives,) provided so in his council at Rome, that they who were promoted by the emperor into livings of the church, were counted to come in by simony: the others, who were married priests, were counted for Nicolaitans. Whereupon Pope Hildebrand, writing his letters to the emperor, to dukes, princes, and other great prelates and potentates; namely, to Berthold of Zaringia, to Rodolph of Suevia, to Welfon of Bavaria, to Adelberon, and to their ladies, and to divers others to whom he thought good, also to bishops; namely, to Otto, bishop of Constance, with other priests and lay people, willeth them, in his

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letters, to refuse and to keep no company with those simoniacs and those Nicolaitan priests, (for so were they termed then,) which had either any ecclesiastical living by the emperor, or else who had wives: to avoid their masses; neither to talk, neither to eat or drink with them, nor once to speak to them, or to salute them; but utterly to shun them, as men execrable and wicked, no otherwise than they would eschew the plague or pestilence.

"By reason hereof ensued a mighty schism and affliction among the flock of Christ, such as lightly the like hath not been seen: for the priests went against their bishops, the people against the priests, the laity against the clergy: briefly, all ran together in heaps and in confusion. Men and women, as every one was set upon mischief, wickedness, contention, and avarice, took thereby occasion, upon every light suspicion, to resist their minister, to spoil the goods of the church. The vulgar people contemned the priests which had married wives, despised their religion, and all things that they did; yea, and in many places would purge the place where they had been with holy water, and burned their tithes. Also, such was the mischief of them, that they would take the holy mysteries which those married priests had consecrated, and cast them in the dirt, and tread them under their feet: for so then had Hildebrand taught them, that those were no priests, neither that they were sacraments which they did consecrate. So that by this occasion many false prophets rose, seducing the people from the truth of Christ by forged fables, and false miracles, and feigned glosses, wresting the Scriptures as served best for their own purposes: of whom few there were, that kept any true chastity. Many could make glorious boasts and brags thereof; but the greatest part, under the show and pretence of honesty and pureness of life, committed incest, fornication, adultery, every where almost, and no punishment was for the same," &c.

To this testimony of Aventine above mentioned, we will also adjoin the record of Gebuilerus, a writer of this our latter time, and one also of their own crew, who doth testify, that in the time of the emperor Henry the Fourth, A.D. 1057, the number of twenty-four bishops, both in Germany, Spain, and in France, were married, with the clergy also of their diocese. Of which Spanish bishops we read also in Isidore, who wrote more than six hundred years after Christ, (and the place is also cited in the pope's distinctions,) in his book *De Clericorum Vita*, how they ought either to lead an honest, chaste life, or else to keep themselves within the band of matrimony, &c. Whereby is declared the single life of priests either to be then voluntary, or else their marriage not to be restrained as yet by any law.

Moreover, such Calixtian priests as be nowadays, counting priests' marriage as a new device, and not standing with ancient times, let them look upon the decree of Pope Symmachus, and answer thereof to the Gloss, dist. 81; where it is written, "Let priests be all restrained from the conversation of all women, except it be their mother, sister, or their own wife," &c.

Thus, if either the voice of Scripture might take place with these men which be so rigorous against priests' marriage; or if the examples of the apostles might move them, (whom St. Ambrose witnesseth to have been all married, except only Paul and John,) or else if the multitude of married bishops and priests might prevail with them, here might be rehearsed, that Tertullian was a married priest; as witnesseth Jerome; Spiridion, bishop of Cyprus, had wife and children; Hilary, bishop of Poitiers, was also married; Gregory, bishop of Nissa; Gregory, bishop of Nazianzum; Prosper, bishop of Rheggio; Cheremon, bishop of Nilopolis: all these were married

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bishops. Of Polycrates, and his seven ancestors, bishops and married men, we spake before. Epiphanius, bishop of Constantinople in Justinian's time, was the more commended, because his father and ancestors before him were priests and bishops married. Jerome saith, that in his time, "many priests were then married men."

Pope Damasus reciteth up a great number of bishops of Rome, who were priests' sons; as, Sylverius, A.D. 536; Deodatus, about the year 614; Adrian the Second, about the year 867; Felix the Third, about the year 483; Osius; Agapetus, A.D. 535; Gelasius, A.D. 492; Boniface, A.D. 418; Theodore, (whose father was bishop of Jerusalem,) about the year 642; John the Tenth, A.D. 914 John the Fifteenth, the son of Leo, a priest, about the year 985; Richard, archdeacon of Coventry; Henry, archdeacon of Huntingdon; Volusianus, bishop of Carthage; Thomas. archbishop of York, son of Sampson, bishop of Worcester. And bow many other bishops and priests in other countries, besides these bishops of Rome, might be annexed to this catalogue, if our leisure were such as to make a whole bead-roll of them all!

In the mean time the words of Cardinal Sylvius, afterwards bishop of Rome, are not to be forgotten, which he wrote to a certain friend of his, which, after his orders taken, was disposed to marriage. To whom the aforesaid Sylvius answereth again in these words following: "We believe that you, in so doing, follow no sinister counsel, in that you choose to be married, when otherwise you are not able to live chaste. Albeit this counsel should have come into your head before that you entered into ecclesiastical orders: but we are not all gods, to foresee before what shall happen hereafter. Now, forasmuch as the matter and case standeth so, that you are not able to resist the law, better it is to marry than to burn," &c.

All these premises well considered, it shall suffice, I trust, though no more were said, to prove that this general law and prohibition of priests' marriage, pretended to be so ancient, is of no such great time, nor long continuance of years, as they make it, but rather to be a late devised doctrine, gendered by the monks, and grounded upon no reason, law, or Scripture; but that certain which be repiners against the truth, do rack and wrest a few places out of the doctors, and two or three councils, for their pretended purpose: whose objections and blind cavillations, I, as professing here but to write stories, refer to the further discussion of divines, in whose books this matter is more at large to be sought and searched. In the mean season, so much as appertaineth to the searching of times and antiquity, and to the conservation of such acts and monuments as are behovable for the church, there is a certain epistle learned and ancient, of Volusianus, bishop some time of Carthage, tending to the defence of priests' lawful wedlock, which Æneas Sylvius, in *Descriptione Germaniæ*; also Illyricus in *Catalogo*; and Melancthon, *Lib. de Conjugio*, do father upon Hulderic, bishop of Augsburg, in the time of Pope Nicholas the Second. But as I find it in an old written example, sent by John Bale to Matthew, archbishop of Canterbury, as it is joined in the same book, so it beareth also the same title and name of Volusianus, bishop of Carthage.

As touching the antiquity of the first epistle, it appeareth by the copy which I have seen and received, of the above-named Matthew, archbishop of Canterbury, to be of an old and ancient writing, both by the form of the characters, and by the wearing of the parchment, almost consumed by length of years and time.

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And as concerning the author thereof, the superscription (if it be true) plainly declareth it to be the epistle of Volusianus, bishop of Carthage: albeit, heretofore, it hath commonly been taken and alleged by the name of Hulderic, bishop of Augsburg, and partly appeareth to be so, both by the testimony of Æneas Sylvius, in *Descriptione Germaniæ*, who, in the said treatise, affirmeth that Hulderic, bishop of Augsburg, did constantly resist the pope, abolishing the marriage of priests, &c.: and also by the record of Illyricus, testifying that the said epistle not only remaineth yet to this day in old monuments, but also that he himself did see two exemplars of the same, both pretending the name of the said Hulderic to be the author, notwithstanding this copy I have seen, beareth the title, not of Hulderic, bishop of Augsburg, but of Volusianus, bishop of Carthage in Africa; as ye may see by the words of the preamble, saying, "This is the rescript of Volusianus, bishop of Carthage, unto Pope Nicholas, concerning priests not to be restrained from lawful marriage," &c.

Furthermore, which Pope Nicholas this was, to whom these epistles were written, it is not plainly showed in the same; but that by probable conjecture it may be guessed rather to be Pope Nicholas the Second, forasmuch as in his time priests' marriage began somewhat earnestly to be called in, more than at other times before.

These two epistles, written to Pope Nicholas under the title of Volusianus, give us to understand by the contents thereof, first, that he himself was then a married bishop: secondly, that the liberty of priests' marriage ought not to be restrained by any general law of compulsion, but to be left to every man's free choice, and voluntary devotion: thirdly, the said epistles, being written to Pope Nicholas, (if the title be true,) declare, that this law, prohibiting the lawful matrimony of churchmen, began first in this pope's time generally to be enacted.

And although it be not here expressed which Pope Nicholas this was, yet by the circumstance of time, and especially by the words of Pope Alexander, it may probably be esteemed to be Nicholas the Second, and not Nicholas the First, as some do suppose; amongst whom is Illyricus, and also John Bale, with certain others: from whose judgments, although I am loth to dissent, yet, notwithstanding, modestly and freely to utter herein my opinion, this I suppose, that if the truth of this matter were thoroughly tried, it might, peradventure, be found that they be herein deceived, and all by mistaking a certain place of Gratian: for the better explanation hereof it is to be understood, that amongst the distinctions of Gratian, there is a constitution, the tenor whereof is this, "No man shall hear mass of any priest whom he knoweth undoubtedly to have a concubine, or a woman privily resorting to him," &c.

This decree, forasmuch as Gratian doth allege under the name and title of Pope Nicholas, not naming what Nicholas he was, therefore John Bale, and Illyricus, one following the other, and they both following Volateran, do vouch this constitution upon Nicholas the First. The words of Volateran be these, writing of Nicholas the First; "He determined on many useful measures, such as that none should be present at the sacrifice of a priest who kept a concubine."

In like effect follow also the words of Illyricus aforesaid; and he allegeth, as Volateran doth, the said distinction of Gratian, in alleging whereof they both seem to be deceived, in mistaking belike one Nicholas for another: as may be proved and made good by three or four reasons.

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First, by the words of Pope Alexander the Second, in the next chapter following, who, being the successor of Leo, and of Nicholas the Second, useth the same words in his synod of Mantua, (which Gratian referreth unto Nicholas,) and prosecuteth the same more amply and fully, alleging, moreover, the former constitution of both his predecessors, Popes Leo and Nicholas, who, by all stories, are known to be Leo the Ninth and Nicholas the Second, which both were next before him. The words of Alexander the Second be these; "Beside this, we command that none hear mass from a priest known to be privately married. Hence the holy synod has determined this under pain of excommunication, saying, Whosoever of the priesthood, after the constitution of our predecessors of blessed memory, the most holy Popes Leo and Nicholas, shall openly marry a wife, or if married, shall not leave her," &c., &c. By which words, speaking of Nicholas his predecessor, it is evident to understand this to be Pope Nicholas the Second, which was his next predecessor, and not Pope Nicholas the First, who was about two hundred years before him.

The second reason, I take out of the chapter of Gratian next going before, where he allegeth again the same Nicholas, writing to Otho archbishop; which Otho was then, in the time of this Nicholas the Second, archbishop of Cologne, and was afterwards in the council of Mantua, under Pope Alexander the Second, as witnesseth Johannes Quintius, the lawyer. Whereby it must needs be granted, that this was Nicholas the Second, and not Nicholas the First.

The third conjecture or reason is this, for that Pope Nicholas the First never made any such act or decree, that neither priests that were entangled with a concubine, should sing mass, nor that any should resort to hear the mass of such, &c.; but rather to the contrary. For so we read in the history of Antoninus.

And yet more plainly also afterwards he saith, "Where ye demand concerning the priest that hath a wife, whether ye ought to sustain him, and honour him, or reject him from you: we answer, that albeit they be very much blameworthy; yet ye ought to be followers of God, who maketh his sun to rise both upon the good, and upon the bad. And therefore ye ought not to reject such away from you," &c.

And this Nicholas, Antoninus confesseth plainly to be Nicholas the First; whereby it is not only not unlikely, but also most certain, that Nicholas the First was not the author of this constitution, either to exterminate married priests from their churches, or to excommunicate the people from receiving their communion; much less then from hearing their service.

Fourthly: forasmuch then as it is undoubted that Nicholas the Second, and Alexander the Second, through the instigation of Hildebrand, were the authors of that constitution whereof Gratian speaketh, it remaineth plain by the words of Volusianus, in the latter end of his letter, (wherein he maketh mention both of discharging the priest from singing mass, and the people from hearing,) that the said epistle was written, not to Pope Nicholas the First, but to Pope Nicholas the Second, because both these were decreed against married priests under Nicholas the Second, and Alexander the Second, as is before declared.

And further, lest my judgment herein should seem to stand alone and singular, without some to take my part, I will here produce for me a Parisian doctor, and a famous lawyer,

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Johannes Quintius, above mentioned, who in his book *De Clericorum Moribus* plainly accordeth with mine opinion touching this Nicholas, author of the decree aforesaid, where he writeth in these words; "Pope Nicholas, writing to Otho, archbishop of Cologne, &c. Gloss: There have been, in all, five popes called by the name of Nicholas; of which five, this Nicholas, the writer hereof, must be either the first or second: the one a Roman, in the year 860; the other a Burgundian, in the year 1059, or 1060. The other Nicholases lived after Gratian, who wrote in the year 1151. In my judgment I suppose this to be Nicholas the Second, which, in the third Book of the Laws, called *Pannomia*, tit. *De Lapsis*, is named Nicholas the younger: which Nicholas, also, is author of the next decree that followeth," &c.

Wherefore if any man shall object hereafter, that, because Gratian, in the distinction aforesaid, nameth Pope Nicholas absolutely, without any addition, he is therefore to be taken for Nicholas the First, unto this objection I set here these two lawyers to answer. Unto whose answer this I add also, that the common manner of Gratian lightly in all his distinctions is, that when he speaketh of popes, as of Innocent, Gregory, Leo, Lucius, and such others, very seldom he expresseth the difference of their names: so in the eighteenth distinction, *Presbyteris*, where he bringeth in the decree of Pope Calixtus in like manner, against the matrimony of priests, deacons, and sub-deacons, he addeth thereto no discrepance of his name; and yet all the world knoweth that this was Calixtus the Second, and not Calixtus the First, &c. But whether he were or no, the matter forceth not much. The letters, no doubt, by their title appear to be written by Volusianus. Most certain this is, by whomsoever they were written, fruitful epistles they are, and effectual to the purpose.

But lest we should seem too much to digress from our purpose, let us return to the story and time of Nicholas the Second again, who was about the year, as is said, 1059, a little before Hildebrand was pope. This Hildebrand, albeit he was then but a cardinal, yet was he the whole doer of all things, and concluded what him listed in the church of Rome, and also made popes whom he would, as appeareth both by this Nicholas, and also Pope Alexander, who followed him. So that this dissolution of priests' marriage began somewhat to kindle under this Pope Nicholas, through the pestilent means of Hildebrand, and after him increased more under Pope Alexander, as appeareth by the synod holden at Milan, in the year 1067. But most of all it burst out under the said Hildebrand himself, being pope in the year, as is said, 1076.

Although, as touching this prohibition of priests to be married, I am not ignorant that certain of the contrary faction, in searching out the reach and antiquity of this tradition, for priests to abstain from wives, do refer the same to the time of the second council of Carthage, which was about the time of Pope Syricius, a great enemy to ministers' wives, as appeareth in the eighty-fourth distinction, *Cum in præterito*; yet, notwithstanding, to the same may be answered,

First, That this was no universal or general council, but some particular synod, and, therefore, of no such great forcible authority.

Secondly, The same synod being about the time of Pope Syricius, who was a capital enemy against priests' marriage, may seem to draw some corruption of the time then present.

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Thirdly, Neither is it impossible, but as divers bastard epistles have been falsely fathered upon certain ancient bishops of the primitive church, and divers canons also, as of the council of Nice, have been corrupted by bishops of Rome, so some falsehood, likewise, or forgery, might be used in this second council of Carthage.

Fourthly, Although no false conveyance had been used therein, yet, forasmuch as the said canon of this second council of Carthage doth misreport and falsify the canons of the apostles, in so doing it doth justly diminish its own credit.

Fifthly, Seeing the aforesaid canon of this second council of Carthage tendeth clean contrary to the canons of the apostles, to the council of Gangra, and other councils more, and commandeth that which they do accurse, the authority thereof ought to have no great force, but rather may be rejected.

Sixthly and finally, Though this constitution of the council of Carthage were perfectly sound without all corruption, yet plain and evident it is, by this Volusianus, bishop also of Carthage, that the same constitution took no great hold in the church, forasmuch as we see that both this Volusianus was married, after that, in Carthage himself, and also, besides him, many hundred years after, marriage was a common matter through most churches of Christendom, amongst bishops and priests; as partly before hath been declared, and more may be seen in histories, what great tumults and business was long after that, in Hildebrand's time, and after him also amongst the clergymen, both in Italy, Spain, France, and in all quarters of Christendom, for separating priests from their liberty of marrying.

And again, if this tradition concerning the unmarried life of priests had stood upon such an old foundation from the second council of Carthage, (as they pretend,) what needed then, in the time of Pope Nicholas the Second, Pope Alexander the Second, Pope Gregory the Seventh, and other popes after them, so much labour to be taken, so many laws and decrees to be devised and enacted, for the abolishing of priests' marriage, if the same had been of such a long antiquity as they would make men believe

By these things considered it may appear, that this detraction of priests' marriage, by public law compelling them to single life, was never received for a full law, generally to be observed in the Church of Rome, but only since the beginning of Hildebrand; that is, since these five hundred years. About which time first is to be noted, that under Pope Leo, and this Pope Nicholas, Cranzius and certain German chroniclers do say, that simony and priests' marriage were prohibited. This Pope Leo the Ninth was A.D. 1049.

After him Pope Nicholas (to whom the aforesaid letter of Volusianus seemeth to be written) made this ordinance: "Let no one hear mass by a presbyter who, he knows without doubt, keeps a concubine or woman in secret." And presently, "Whatsoever priest, deacon, or sub-deacon, according to the constitution of Pope Leo our predecessor, concerning the chastity of clerks, shall openly marry a concubine, or shall not put her away being married: in the behalf of Almighty God," &c., "we utterly charge and forbid the same, that he sing no mass, nor read the gospel or epistle at mass, nor execute any Divine service," &c. And this was about A.D. 1059. Although, in this constitution of Pope Nicholas, this word "concubine" may be understood

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for no wife, but so as Gratian understandeth it in the seventeenth canon of the apostles, in these words, "For one besides a man's wife."

Then, after this Pope Nicholas, cometh Pope Alexander, and especially Pope Hildebrand, who do expound this concubine forbidden, for a wife; and such priests as be married, they expound them for Nicolaitanes; for so we read in the synod of Milan, under Pope Alexander the Second: "Those clergy are called Nicolaitanes, who, contrary to the rules of ecclesiastical chastity, mingle with women." And further it followeth in the same synod, "We no less condemn the heresy of the Nicolaitanes; and, in virtue of the same testimony, we promise to separate from the vile company of their wives, not merely priests, but also deacons and sub-deacons, to the utmost of our power."

And moreover it followeth upon the same, "I do accurse all heresies extolling themselves against the holy catholic and apostolic church; but especially and namely, the heresy of simony: and in like manner the abominable heresy of the Nicolaitanes, which impudently barketh, that the ministers of the holy altar may and ought to use wives lawfully, as well as laymen," &c. And thus much concerning the synod of Milan, under Pope Alexander the Second, A.D. 1067.

Next after this Alexander rose up Pope Hildebrand, of all others the chiefest and most principal enemy against priests' marriage. For whereas all other approved canons and councils were contented that any clergyman, having a wife before his entering into his ministry, might enjoy the liberty of his marriage, so that he married not a widow, or a known harlot, or kept a concubine, or were twice married; now cometh in Pope Hildebrand, making priests' marriage to be heresy, and further enacting, that "whatsoever clerk, deacon, or minister had a wife, whatsoever she was, maid or other, either before his orders, or after, should utterly put her from him, or else forsake his ministry," &c.

Although, notwithstanding, the greatest part of ecclesiastical ministers, seeing this strange doctrine and proceedings, (which St. Paul expressly calleth the doctrine of devils,) did what they could to withstand the same: of whom Lambert of Aschaffenburg thus writeth: "Against this decree, the whole number of the clergy did vehemently storm and grudge, crying out upon him as a pernicious heretic, and one that maintained fantastical doctrine: who, forgetting what the Lord saith, All men cannot take this word; he that can take it, let him take it; and also what the apostle saith, Whoso cannot otherwise contain, let him marry; better it is to marry than to burn; yet, notwithstanding, would he bind men to live like angels: who, if he continued as he began, they would (they said) sooner forsake the order of priesthood, than their order of matrimony," &c.

This Hildebrand, all this notwithstanding, yet ceased not still to call upon them, and to send to the bishops every where to execute his commandment with all severity; threatening to lay the apostolical censure upon them, if otherwise they showed not their diligence therein to the uttermost. This was A.D. 1074. Of the same Hildebrand, Radulph also writing, hath these words: "Pope Gregory the Seventh, called Hildebrand, holding a synod, accursed such as committed simony, and removed married priests from saying service; forbidding also the laymen to hear their mass, after a new and strange example; and, as many thought, after an inconsiderate prejudice, against the sentence of holy fathers."

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And thus much for the antiquity of bringing in the single life of priests, which, first springing from the time of Pope Nicholas and Alexander the Second, began first with a custom, and afterwards was brought into a law, chiefly by Pope Hildebrand, and so spread from Italy into other countries, and at length into England also; albeit not without much ado, as ye shall hear, the Lord willing.

In the mean while, as Pope Nicholas and Hildebrand were busy at Rome, so Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, likewise, was doing here in England about the same matter; although he began not altogether so roughly as Pope Hildebrand did, for so it appeared by his council holden at Winchester; where, though he inhibited such as were prebendaries of cathedral churches to have wives, yet did he permit, in his decree, that such priests as dwelt in towns and villages, having wives, should retain them still, and not be compelled to be separate from them; and they that had none, should be inhibited to have: enjoining, moreover, the bishops thus to foresee hereafter, that they presumed not to admit into orders any priests or deacons, unless they should first make a solemn profession to have no wives.

And here, to note by the way of the said Lanfranc, for all his glorious gay show of his monkish virginity and single life, yet he escaped not altogether so unspotted for his part, but that the story of Matthew Paris, writing of Paul of Caen, whom Lanfranc preferred so gladly to be abbot of St. Alban's, thus reporteth of him: "Paul, a monk of Caen, and nephew of the archbishop Lanfranc, yea, as some say further, more near in blood to him than so," &c.

Then, after Lanfranc, came Anselm into the see of Canterbury, who, taking to him a stouter stomach, more fiercely and eagerly laboured this matter, in abrogating utterly the marriage of priests, deacons, sub-deacons, and of the universal clergy; not permitting (as Lanfranc did) priests that had wives in villages and towns to keep them still, but utterly commanding, and that under great pain, not only priests and deacons, but sub-deacons also, (which is against the council of Lateran,) who were already married, to be separated, and that none should be received into orders hereafter, without profession of perpetual chastity.

And yet notwithstanding, for all this great blustering and thundering of this Romish *μισογάμος* [Greek: *misogamos*], the priests, yet still holding their own as well as they could, gave not much place to his unlawful injunction, but kept still their wives almost two hundred years after; refusing and resisting of long time the yoke of that servile bondage, to keep still their freedom from such vowing, professing, and promising, as may well appear by those priests of York, of whom Gerard, archbishop of York, speaketh, writing to Anselm in these words

"I much desire the purity of my clergymen: howbeit, except it be in very few, I find in them the deafness of the serpent, aspis, and the inconstancy of Proteus, that the poet's fable spake of. With their stinging tongues they cast out some-while threats, sometime taunts and rebukes. But this grieveth me less in them that be further off. This grieveth me most of all, that they that be of mine own church, as in mine own bosom, and prebendaries of mine own see, contemn our canons, and argue, like sophistical disputers, against the statutes of our council. The prebendaries who inordinately have been taken into orders heretofore, without making vow or profession, refuse utterly to make any profession to me. And they that be priests or deacons, having married

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before openly wives or concubines, will not be removed, for any reverence, from the altar. And when I call upon any to receive order, stiffly they deny to profess chastity in their ordering," &c.

Thus, for all the rigorous austerity of this Anselm, enforcing his decree made at London against the marriage of priests, yet the same had no great success, either in his lifetime, or after his life. For although sundry priests, during his lifetime, were compelled by his extremity to renounce their wives, yet many denied to obey him.

Divers were contented rather to leave their benefices than their wives. A great number were permitted by King Henry, for money, to enjoy their wives; which was so chargeable unto them, saith Eadmer, in his fourth book, that at length two hundred priests, in their albes and priestly vestments, came barefoot to the king's palace, crying to him for mercy; and especially making their suit to the queen, who, using much compassion towards them, yet durst not make any intercession for them.

Anselm, at this time, was over the sea, making his voyage to the pope; who, hearing hereof, writeth to the king, declaring that such forfeitures appertained nothing to him, but only unto bishops, and in their default, to the archbishops: whereof read more before. So wilful was the blind zeal of this prelate, against all reason, against nature itself, against the example of his fore-elders, against public custom of his own time, against the doctrine of the apostles, the constitution of councils, against all honesty, and all God's forebode, that he, neither at the commiseration of the king, nor at the crying out and public dolour of so many priests, nor yet moved with the letters of Pope Paschal himself, who, putting him in remembrance of so many priests' sons, willed him to consider the necessity of the time, would yet nothing relent from his stubborn purpose unto his latter end: in whom, as many great crimes may justly be noted, so of all others this is most principally in him to be reprehended, for that he, seeing and perceiving what sodomitical fedit and abomination, with other inconveniences, did spring incontinently upon this his diabolical doctrine, yet, for all that, would not give over his pestilent purpose. For so the story recordeth, that when Anselm had established his synodal constitution, in separating priests from their wives, (which was A.D. 1103,) not long after, rumours and complaints were brought to him, of the execrable vice of sodomitry, which then began especially to reign in the clergy, after this inhibition of matrimony. Whereupon Anselm was constrained to call another council at Paul's, within London, to provide for this mischief; in which council this was made: "All them that commit the ungracious sin of sodomitry, and them also that assist them in their wicked purpose, with grievous curse we do condemn, till such time as they shall deserve absolution by penance and confession," &c.

Thus ye have heard what abominable wickedness ensued after priests were debarred from marriage, and what sore punishment was devised, by this maidenly prelate, for extirpating that sinful wickedness; in the abolishing whereof, more wisely he should have removed away the occasion whereof he was the author himself, than by penalty to suppress it; which he could never do.

Now let us hear further, what followed in that worthy council: "It is enacted, that whosoever shall be publicly known to be guilty hereof, if he be a religious person, he shall from henceforth be promoted to no degree of honour, and that degree which he hath already, shall be

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taken from him. If he be a lay person, he shall be deprived of all his freedom within the whole realm of England, and that none under a bishop shall presume to assoil such as have been monks professed, of that trespass. It is also enacted, that every Sunday in the year, and in every parish church in England, this general curse aforesaid shall be published and renewed."

Is not here, trow you, good division of justice, that lawful wedlock of priests can find no grace or pardon, yea, is made now heresy, whereas adultery and horrible sodomitry are washed away with a little confession? And see yet what followeth more. After that this penal curse had now gone abroad, and been published in churches, the monks, perceiving this matter to touch them somewhat near, whispered in Anselm's ear, persuading him that the publication of that act might grow to great danger and inconvenience, in opening the vice which before was not known; in such sort, that in short time after that curse was called in again.

And so cursed sodomitry and adultery passed free without punishment, or word spoken against it; where, contrarily, godly matrimony could find no mercy.

Now, what reasons and arguments this Anselm sucked out of the court of Rome, to prove the matrimony of priests unlawful, were it not for cumbering the reader with tediousness, here would be showed. Briefly, the chief grounds of all his long long disputation in his book entitled, *Offendiculum Sacerdotum*, between the master and scholar, come to this effect.

Argument. Priests of the old law, during the time of their ministration, abstained from their wives:

Ergo, Priests in the time of the gospel, which every day minister at the altar, must never have any wives.

Argument. Moses, when he should sanctify the people, going up to the hill, commanded them to sequester themselves from their wives three days:

Ergo, Priests that must be sanctified to the Lord always, ought to live chastely always without wives. *Argument.* David, before he should eat of the shew-bread, was asked whether he and his company had been without the company of their wives three days:

Ergo, Priests that be continually attending upon the table and sacraments of the Lord, ought never to have company with any such.

Argument. Uzzah, which put his hand to the ark, was slain therefore, as it is thought, because he lay with his wife the night before:

Ergo, Priests whose hands be always occupied about the Lord's service, must be pure from the company of wife, or any woman.

Argument. Nadab and Abihu, which sacrificed with strange fire, were devoured therefore, because they companied with their wives the same night:

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Ergo, Priests and sacrificers must have no wives to company withal.

Argument. The priests of the Gentiles in old time, when they sacrificed to their idols, are said to lie from their wives:

Ergo, Much more the priests that sacrifice to the living God, ought so to do.

Argument. Christ was born of a virgin, Christ lived ever a virgin, and commandeth them that will serve him to follow him:

Ergo, Priests that have wives, are not meet to serve him.

Text. 1 Cor. vii. 2. Let every man have his own wife, for avoiding of fornication.

Exposition. "That is meant and granted of the apostle only to laymen."

Text. 1 Cor. vii. 9. It is better to marry than to burn.

Exposition. "It is a lighter fault to marry one lawful wife, than to be consumed with concupiscence of strange women."

Text. 1 Tim. iii. 2. A bishop ought to be un-reprovable, the husband of one wife, &c.

Exposition. "The apostle here commandeth, that none should presume to be priest, but he who, being a layman before, hath had no more but one wife: and after he be made priest, not to couple himself any more with her, but only to minister to her things necessary for her living," &c.

And finally, after these things thus disputed and alleged, the said Anselm concludeth the matter with this final censure and determination, as followeth: "In that these men (he speaketh of married priests) do put on the holy vestments, or do touch the holy vessels, they do lay violent hands upon Christ. And in that they presume impudently to offer, they do in a manner visibly crucify Christ upon the altar. The ministry of such is read to be a persecution, or rather a crucifying of Christ," &c.

Lo! here, the mighty reasons, and strong-timbered arguments, and the deep divinity, wherewith this Anselm, and all others that draw after his string, go about to impugn the lawfulness of priests' marriage. Because the Israelites, when they should appear before the Lord at Mount Sinai, were commanded to keep from their wives three days; and because the priests of the old law in doing their function, as their turn came about, refrained the company of their wives for that present time; ergo, priests of the new law must at no time have any wives, but live always single, &c.

And why might not Anselm as well argue thus: The people of Israel, approaching to the mount, were commanded in like sort to wash their garments: ergo, priests of the new law, which are occupied every day about the altar, ought every day to wash all their garments.

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Moses, approaching to the presence of the Lord in the bush, was commanded to put off his shoes: ergo, priests of the new law, which are ever approaching to the presence of their God, should never wear shoes.

Of King David and his company, which but once in all their life did eat of the shew-bread, it was demanded by the high priest, whether they had kept them from their wives three days before: ergo, kings and the people of the New Testament, which every year eat the bread of the Lord's board, more precious than ever was that *panis propositionis*, should abide all their life wifeless and unpoused.

But here Anselm should have considered how by these scriptures we are taught not to put away our wives, but wisely to distinguish times, when and how to have them. For, as Solomon teacheth that there is a time for all things, so is there a time to marry, and a time not to marry; a time to resort, a time to withdraw; a time of company, a time of abstinence and prayer, which St. Paul calleth, *προσκαιρον* [Greek: *proskairon*]; and as he speaketh of a time of prayer and abstinence, so he speaketh also of a time of resorting together, and addeth the cause why: Lest Satan, saith he, tempt you for your incontinency.

And thus should Anselm, with Solomon and Paul, have considered the order and distinction of times. Oftentimes in Scripture, that is commanded to some, and at some time, which extendeth not to others; and that which for a time is convenient, is not, by and by, always convenient: neither that which for a time is forbidden in Scripture, is therefore forbidden for ever: neither ought special examples to break general orders: neither again do extraordinary prohibitions make a universal rule.

They were then commanded to sequester themselves from their wives at the coming of the Lord: not that the coming of the Lord did break wedlock, but his commandment did bind obedience; and therefore obeyed they, because they were commanded. And yet were they not commanded to put away their wives, but only to separate themselves for a time; and that not for months and years, but only for three days: which abstinence also was enjoined them, not in the presence, nor at the appearing, of the Lord, but three days before his descending to them on the hill. Whereby it appeareth that the use of their wedlock neither displeased God, being present, nor yet did drive his presence away, when he was come; for he remained there present amongst them, on the hill, forty days notwithstanding.

Furthermore, this time of separation from their wives, as it was expressly commanded to them of God, so was it not long nor tedious, but such as was neither hard for them, nor inconvenient for the time: giving us thereby to understand, how to use separation in wedlock wisely, that is, neither at every time, nor yet too long.

For as they do not well, who never follow the time of St. Paul, called *προσκαιρον* [Greek: *proskairon*], for abstinence and prayer; so do they worse, which fall into that *παρακαιρον* [Greek: *parakairon*], whereof St. Paul again giveth us warning. But worst of all do they, who so separate their wives clean from them, and so abjure all matrimony, that they fall headlong into the devil's pitfall of fornication and all filthy abomination. And therefore the Lord, foreseeing the peril thereof, said unto the people, Be ye ready by the third day, and approach not your wives;

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appointing indeed a separation from their wives; but yet, knowing the infirmity of man, he limiteth the time withal, adding, by the third day, and goeth no further. He saith not, as Anselm said in the council of Winchester, *Jurabunt presbyteri, diaconi, et subdiaconi, uxores suas omnino abjurare, nec ullam deinceps cum iis conversationem habere, sub restrictione censuræ, &c.*

The like order also was taken by the Lord with the priests of the Old Testament, who, although they were enjoined to withdraw themselves from their wives during the times of their priestly service, yet, for avoiding fornication, they were permitted to have their wives notwithstanding. So that both their absenting from their wives served to sanctification, and their resorting again unto them served to avoid adultery and fornication.

But here our priestly prelates will object, that because they be continually conversant about the priestly function, therefore a perpetual sanctification is of them specially required. Whereunto I answer, First, The priestly function of those high priests, sacrificing for the people in the old law, representeth only the function of Christ, the High Priest, sacrificing for the sins of the world, who truly and only performed that pure chastity in his sanctified body, which the law then in those priests prefigured.

Secondly, Speaking now of the priests of the New Testament, (and speaking properly,) the Scripture neither knoweth nor admitteth any priest to sacrifice to God for the sins of man, but only the High King and Priest, Christ Jesus.

Thirdly, Unto that Priest all others be but servants and ministers; of whom some be apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some preachers having the gift of utterance, some interpreters and doctors having the gift of understanding, some deacons serving the Lord's board. The office of all whom chiefly consisteth in ministering the word, next in administering the sacraments.

Fourthly, Forasmuch as in these, principally above all others, pureness and sanctification of life is required, as much as, and more too, than was in the priests of the old law, from whom all fornication, adultery, incest, and uncleanness of life ought most to be banished; therefore, in these especially, above the priests of the old law, matrimony and spousage is most requisite and convenient, whosoever he be, which otherwise cannot contain; according to the apostle, saying, Let every one have his own wife.

Fifthly, Neither is this matrimony in these, any hinderance to their sanctification before God, but rather furthereth and helpeth their sanctification; forasmuch as where matrimony is not, there commonly reigneth adultery, fornication, and all kinds of filthiness; according to the true saying of Bernard, "Take from the church honourable marriage and the bed undefiled, shalt thou not replenish it with concubinaires, with incestuous persons, sodomitical vices, and finally with all kinds of beastly filthiness?"

The truth of which saying lacketh no kind of examples for confirmation, if we list here to ransack the lives of these glorious despisers of matrimony, even from Lanfranc, the first ringleader of this dance here in England, with Paulus, monk of Caen, his nephew, whom

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Matthew Paris misdoubted to be his own son, even to Stephen Gardiner with his gold locks, the author and work-master of these six articles. But to the reasons of Anselm hitherto sufficient; which, of themselves, be so frivolous and gross, that only to recite them is enough to confute the same.

Permitting therefore the rest to the discussing of divines, it shall suffice for our purpose, professing here to write stories, to declare and make manifest, by process of times and histories, that this cruel law, compelling ministers of the church to abjure matrimony, entered not into this land before Lanfranc, A.D. 1076, and Anselm his successor, as both may appear by the multitude of priests' sons lawfully begotten in matrimony, and succeeding in the churches here in England, testified by the epistle of Pope Paschal to Anselm before, and also may appear likewise by the council of Anselm, holden at Winchester, which partly was touched before, and now the full act we have more largely expressed, to be read and seen of all posterity.

And yet this unreasonable statute of Anselm, so diligently defended with sharp censures and penalties, had no such great speed, neither in the lifetime of the said Anselm, nor long after his death; but that divers priests notwithstanding still kept their wives, or after his death they returned to their wives again, through the sufferance of the then famous and learned king, named Henry Beauclerk, who something stayed the importunity of this monkish prelate, and willed the priests should keep both their wives and their churches, as they did before in Lanfranc's days.

Then, after Anselm, followed Radulph, archbishop of Canterbury, in whose time was no great stir against the priests that were married. About the time of this archbishop, King Henry the First called a council at London, where he obtained of the spirituality a grant to have the punishment of married priests (which the spirituality afterwards did much repent); whereby the priests, paying a certain sum to the king, were suffered to retain their wives still, as is above storied.

Next after this Radulph, then succeeded William Corbeil, surnamed De Turbine, who renewed again the constitution of Anselm against married priests, especially by the help of Johannes, priest, and cardinal of Crema, the pope's legate, sent the same time into England, A.D. 1125. Of which cardinal of Crema, because enough hath been before declared, how, after his stout replying, in the council of London, against the married state of priests, exclaiming what a shameful thing it was to rise from a polluted bed, to make Christ's body, the night following he was shamefully taken with a notable whore, &c., as is apparent before.

I will therefore pass over that matter, returning again to William the archbishop, who, with the cardinal legate aforesaid, although he busily occupied himself in reproving the matrimony of priests, insomuch that he would give them no longer respite to put away their wives but from Michaelmas to St. Andrew's day following, yet could he not bring his purpose to pass, but that the priests still continued with their wives by the king's leave, as the Saxon story plainly recordeth in these words: "This William, the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops who were in England, did command, and yet all these decrees and biddings stood not: all held their wives by the king's leave, even so as they before did." So hard was this cause to be won, that the archbishop at length gave it over, and left the controversy wholly unto the king. Whereupon he decreed that the priests should remain with their wives still. And so continued

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they after that, in the time of Theobald after him, of Thomas Becket, Richard Baldwin, Stephen Langton, Richard, Edmund, Boniface, Peckham, and others, during well-near the time, after Anselm, of two hundred years.

And, lest the quarrelling adversaries, being peradventure disposed here to cavil, should object and say that such marriage amongst the spiritual men might be private and secret, but not openly known, nor quietly suffered by any law of this realm: to avoid, therefore, what may be by them objected, I thought it good, and as a thing neither impertinent nor unprofitable to this story, and for the further satisfying of the reader's mind herein, to infer and make known, by good record, not only that the liberty of marriage, amongst spiritual men, hath continued within this realm during the time aforesaid, to wit, two hundred years, or thereabouts, after Anselm; and that not in secret wise, but also openly; and being known, the same to be suffered, and lawfully allowed of, in such sort as both they, their wives, children, and assigns, might inherit and enjoy lands, tenements, and other hereditaments, by way of feoffment, deed of gift, or any other assurance, in such sort, manner, and form, as laymen, their heirs and assigns, at this day lawfully may do: as by divers writings and instruments, showed to us at the writing hereof, by divers men whose names hereafter follow, (some to this day remaining fair sealed, some by antiquity and long keeping much worn, and their seals mouldered and wasted,) is very evident and manifest to be seen.

First, about the year of our Lord 944, the profession of single life, and displacing of marriage, began to come into example here in England by reason of St. Benedict's monks, which then began to increase; and also about the time of King Edgar, especially by the means of Oswald, archbishop of York, Odo and Dunstan, archbishops of Canterbury, and Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester: so that in divers cathedral churches and bishops' sees, monks, with their professed singleness of life, crept in, and married ministers, (who were then called secular priests,) with their wives, out of sundry churches were dispossessed, not from wives, but only from their places: and yet not in all churches, but only in certain, whereof read before.

Not long after that, about the time of Pope Nicholas the Second, A.D. 1059, of Alexander, and Hildebrand, came into the see of Canterbury another monk, called Lanfranc, who also, being a promoter of this professed chastity, made the decree more general, that all prebendaries being married, in any churches, should be displaced; yet the priests in towns and villages should not be compelled to leave their married wives, unless they would.

Last of all followed monkish Anselm, A.D. 1104; by whom was made this law at Winchester aforesaid, that priests, archdeacons, deacons, and subdeacons, which had wives and spiritual living, should be put from them both; and also that none after should be admitted to their orders, but should first profess single life, that is, to live without wives. And thus much concerning priests' marriage forbidden.

The sixth article; touching auricular confession.

Of confession, three kinds we find in the Scriptures expressed and approved. The first is our confession privately or publicly made unto God alone; and this confession is necessary for

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all men at all times. Wherefore St. John speaketh, If we confess our sins, he is faithful to forgive, &c.

The second is the confession which is openly made in the face of the congregation. And this confession, also, hath place when any such thing is committed, whereof riseth a public offence and slander to the church of God; as examples there be of penitentiaries in the primitive church, as Melchisedech and others, &c.

The third kind of confession is that which we make privately to our brother. And this confession is requisite, when either we have injured or by any way damnified our neighbour, whether he be rich or poor; whereof speaketh the Gospel, Go and reconcile thyself first unto thy neighbour, &c. Also St. James, Confess yourselves one to another. Or else this confession may also have place, when any such thing lieth in our conscience, in the opening whereof we stand in need of the counsel and comfort of some faithful brother. But herein must we use discretion in avoiding these points of blind superstition: first, that we put therein no necessity for remission of our sins, but that we use therein our own voluntary discretion, according as we see it expedient for the better satisfying of our troubled mind. The second is, that we be not bound to any enumeration of our sins. The third, that we tie not ourselves to any one person, more than to another, but that we use therein our free choice, who we think can give us the best spiritual counsel in the Lord.

But as there is nothing in the church so good and so ghostly, which, through peevish superstition either hath not, or may not be perverted, so this confession, also, hath not lacked its abuses. First, the secret confession to God alone, as it hath been counted insufficient, so hath it been but lightly esteemed by many. The public confession to the congregation hath been turned to a standing in a sheet, or else hath been bought out for money. Furthermore, the secret breaking of a man's mind to some faithful or spiritual brother, in disclosing his infirmity or temptations, for counsel and godly comfort, hath been turned into auricular confession in a priest's ear, for assoiling of his sins. In which auricular confession, first, of the free liberty of the penitent in uttering his griefs, they have made a mere necessity, and that unto salvation and remission of sins. Secondly, they require withal an enumeration and a full recital of all sins whatsoever, both great and small. Also besides the necessity of this ear-confession, they add thereto a prescription of time, at least once in the year, for all men, whether they repent or no, to be confessed; making, moreover, of the same a sacrament. And lastly, whereas before it stood in the voluntary choice of a man, to open his heart to what spiritual brother he thought best, for an easement of his grief, and for ghostly consolation, they bind him to a priest, (unless some friar come by the way to be his ghostly father,) to whom he must needs confess all, whatsoever he hath done; and though he lack the key of knowledge, and, peradventure, of good discretion, yet none must have power to assoil him, but he, through the authority of his keys.

And this manner of confession, they say, was instituted by Christ and his apostles, and hath been used in the church ever since to this present day: which is a most manifest untruth, and easy by stories to be convinced.

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For Socrates, lib. v. c. 19, and Zozimus, lib. vii. c. 16, in the Book of Ecclesiastical History, do give us plainly to understand, that this auricular confession never came of Christ, but only of men.

Item, In the time of Tertullian, Beatus Rhenanus testifieth, that there was no mention made of this auricular confession: which may well be gathered hereof, for that Tertullian, writing upon repentance, maketh no mention at all thereof.

Item, In the time of Chrysostom, it appeareth there was no such assoiling at the priest's hands, by these words, where he saith, "I require thee not that thou shouldest confess thy sins to thy fellow servant. Tell them unto God, who careth for them."

Item, The said Chrysostom, in another place, writing upon repentance and confession, "Let the examination of thy sins and thy judgment," saith he, "be secret and close without witness; let God only see and hear thy confession," &c.

Item, In the time of Ambrose, the gloss of the pope's own decrees reporteth, that "this institution of penance was not then begun, which now, in our days, is in use."

Item, It is truly said, therefore, of the gloss in another place, where he testifieth that "this institution of penance began rather of some tradition of the universal church, than of any authority of the New Testament, or of the Old," &c.

The like also testifieth Erasmus, writing upon Jerome, in these words, "It appeareth that in the time of Jerome, this secret confession of sins was not yet ordained, which the church afterwards did institute wholesomely, if our priests and laymen would use it rightly. But herein, divines, not considering advisedly what the old doctors do say, are much deceived. That which they say of general and open confession, they wrest, by and by, to this privy and secret kind of confession, which is far diverse, and of another sort," &c.

The like testimony may also be taken of Gratian himself, who, speaking of confession used then in his time, leaveth the matter in doubtful suspense, neither pronouncing on the one side nor on the other, but referreth the matter to the free judgment of the readers, which the Act of these Six Articles here enjoineth as necessary, under pain of death.

Briefly, in few words to search out and notify the very certain time when this article of ear-confession first crept into the church, and what antiquity it hath, in following the judgment of Johannes Scotus and of Antoninus, it may well be supposed that the institution thereof took its first origin by Pope Innocent the Third, in his council of Lateran, A.D. 1215; for so we read in Johannes Scotus: *Præcipua autem specificatio hujus præcepti invenitur in illo capite*, Extrav. de Pœnit. et Remiss. *Omnis utriusque sexes*, &c. And after, in the same article, it followeth, For at the first institution of the church it does not appear that there were distinctive priests. By which words it appeared that there was no institution of any such confession specified before the constitution of Pope Innocent the Third.

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But more plainly the same may appear by the words of Antoninus. "Pope Innocent the Third, in his general council aforesaid, touching the sacraments of confession and the communion, made this constitution, as followeth: 'That every faithful person, both man and woman, after they come to the years of discretion, shall confess all their sins by themselves alone, at least once a year, to their own ordinary priest; and shall endeavour to fulfil, by their own strength, their penance to them enjoined, &c.; or else, who so doth not, shall neither have entrance into the church, being alive, nor, being dead, shall enjoy Christian burial. Wherefore this wholesome constitution we will to be published often in the churches, lest any men, through the blindness of ignorance, may make to themselves a cloak of excuse,'" &c. And thus much hitherto we have alleged, by occasion incident, of these six articles, for some part of confutation of the same, referring the reader, for the rest, to the more exquisite tractation of divines, who professedly write upon those matters.

In the mean time, forasmuch as there is extant in Latin a certain learned epistle of Philip Melancthon, written to King Henry the Eighth, against these six wicked articles above specified, I thought not to defraud the reader of the fruit thereof, for his better understanding and instruction. The tenor and effect of his epistle translated into English thus followeth:

"Most famous and noble prince! there were certain emperors of Rome, as Adrian, Pius, and afterwards the two brethren, Verus and Marcus, which did receive gently the apologies and defences of the Christians; which so prevailed with those moderate princes, that they assuaged their wrath against the Christians, and obtained mitigation of their cruel decrees: even so, forasmuch as there is a decree set forth of late in your realm, against that doctrine which we profess as both godly and necessary for the church, I beseech your most honourable Majesty favourably both to read and consider this our complaint; especially seeing I have not only for our own cause, but much rather for the common safeguard of the church, directed this my writing unto you. For, seeing those heathen princes did both admit and allow the defences of the Christians, how much more is it beseeeming for a king of Christian profession, and such a one as is occupied in the studies of holy histories, to hear the complaints and admonitions of the godly in the church! And so much the more willingly I write unto you, for that you have so favourably heretofore received my letters with a singular declaration of your benevolence towards me. This also giveth me some hope, that you will not unwillingly read these things, forasmuch as I see that the very phrase and manner of writing do plainly declare, not yourself, but only the bishops to be the authors of those articles and decrees there set forth: albeit, through their wily and subtle sophistications, they have induced you (as it happened to many other worthy princes besides you) to condescend and assent unto them; as the rulers persuaded Darius, being otherwise a wise and just prince, to cast Daniel unto the lions.

"It was never unseemly for a good prince to correct and reform cruel and rigorous laws, to have (as it is commonly said) a second view and oversight of things before passed and decreed.

"The wise Athenians made a decree, when the city of Mitylene was recovered, (which before had forsaken them,) that all the citizens there should be slain, and the city utterly destroyed: whereupon there was a ship sent forth with the same commandment to the army. On the next morrow, the matter was brought again before the same judges, and, after better advice

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taken, there was a contrary decree made, that the whole multitude should not be put to the sword, but a few of the chief authors of their rebellion should be punished, and the city saved. There was, therefore, another ship sent forth with a countermand in all haste to overtake and prevent their former ship, as also it happened: neither was that noble city, which then ruled and reigned far and wide, ashamed to alter and reform their former decree. Many such examples there be, the most part whereof I am sure are well known unto you. But in the church especially, princes have many times altered and reformed their decrees, as Nebuchadnezzar and Darius. There was a decree set forth in the name of Ahasuerus, concerning the killing of the Jews; that decree was afterwards called in again. So did Adrian and Antoninus, also, correct and reform their decrees.

"Therefore, although there be a decree set forth in England, which threateneth strange punishments and penalties, disagreeing from the custom of the true church, and swerving from the rules and canons hereof; yet I thought it not unseemly for us to become petitioners unto you, for the mitigation of these your sharp and severe proceedings; the which, when I consider it, grieve my mind, not only for the peril and danger of them that profess the same doctrine that we do, but, also, I do lament for your cause, that they should make you an instrument and a minister of their bloody tyranny and impiety. And partly, also, I lament to see the course of Christian doctrine perverted, superstitious rites confirmed, whoredom and lecherous lusts maintained.

"Besides all this, I hear of divers good men, excelling both in doctrine and virtue, to be there detained in prison, as Latimer, Cromer, Shaxton, and others, to whom I wish strength, patience, and consolation in the Lord. Unto whom, albeit there can nothing happen more luckily or more gloriously, than to give their lives in the confession of the manifest truth and verity; yet would I wish that you should not distain your hands with the blood of such men; neither would I wish such lanthorns of light in your church to be extinguished; neither these spiteful and malicious Pharisees, the enemies of Christ, to have their wills so much fulfilled. Neither again would I wish that you should so much serve the will and desire of that Romish antichrist, which laugheth in his sleeve to see you now to take part with him against us, hoping well, by the help of his bishops, to recover again his former possession, which of late, by your virtues and godly means, he lost. He seeth your bishops, for the time, loyal unto you, and obsequious to obey your will; but, in heart, he seeth them linked unto him, in a perpetual bond of fidelity and obedience. In all these feats and practices the Romish bishops are not to seek. They see what great storms and blasts heretofore they have passed by bearing and suffering: they see that great things be brought to pass in time.

"Many good and learned men in Germany conceived of you great hope, that, by your authority and example, other princes also would be provoked to surcease, likewise, from their unjust cruelty, and better to advise themselves for the reformation of errors crept into the church; trusting that you would be as a guide and captain of that godly purpose and enterprise. But now, seeing these your contrary proceedings, we are utterly discouraged; the indignation of other princes is confirmed; the stubbornness of the wicked is augmented; and old and great errors are thereby established.

"But here your bishops will say again, no doubt, that they defend no errors, but the very truth of God's holy word. And although they be not ignorant that they strive in very deed both

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against the true word of God, and the apostolic church, yet, like crafty sophisters, they can find out fair glosses, pretending a goodly show outwardly, to colour their errors and abuses.

"And this sophistication not only now in England is had in great admiration, and esteemed for great wisdom; neither in Rome only reigneth, where the Cardinals Contarini, Sadolet, and Cardinal Pole, go about to paint out abuses with new colours and goodly glosses; but also in Germany, divers noblemen are likewise corrupted and seduced with the like sophistication: and therefore I nothing marvel that so many there, with you, be deceived with these crafty jugglings. And although you, for your part, lack neither learning nor judgment, yet sometimes we see it so happen, that wise men also be carried away, by fair and colourable persuasions, from the verity. The saying of Simonides is praiseworthy: 'Opinion,' saith he, 'many times perverteth verity.' And many times false opinion hath outwardly a fairer show than simple truth; and especially it so happeneth in cases of religion, where the devil transformeth himself into an angel of light, setting forth, with all colourable and goodly shows, false opinions. How fair seemeth the gloss of Samosatenus, upon the Gospel of St. John, In the beginning was the Word, &c.! and yet is it full of impiety. But I omit foreign examples.

"In these articles of yours, how many things are craftily and deceitfully devised! 'Confession,' saith the article, 'is necessary, and ought to be retained.' And why say they not plainly, that the rehearsing and . numbering up of sins, is necessary by God's word? This the bishops knew well to be very false, and therefore, in the article, they placed their words generally, to blear the eyes of the simple people; that when they hear confession to be necessary, they should thereby think the enumeration of sins to be necessary by God's word.

"The like legerdemain, also, they use in the article of private masses, albeit the beginning of the said article containeth a manifest untruth, where they say that it is necessary to retain private masses. What man in all the primitive church, more than four hundred years after the apostles' time, did ever so say or think, at what time there were no such private masses used? But afterwards, in the process of the article, follow other blind sophistications, to make the people believe that they should receive by them divine consolations and benefits. And why do they not plainly declare what consolations and benefits those be? The bishops here do name no application and merit, for they know that they cannot be defended. Yet they daily, with glossing words, whereby they may wind out and escape, if any should improve their application. And yet, notwithstanding, they would have this their application to be understood and believed of the people. They would have this idolatrous persuasion confirmed, to wit, that this sacrifice doth merit unto others remission *a pœna et culpa*; release of all calamities, and also gain and lucre in common traffic; and, to conclude, whatsoever else the careful heart of man doth desire.

"The like sophistication they use also, where they say that priests' marriage is against the law of God. They are not ignorant what St. Paul saith, A bishop ought to be the husband of one wife: and therefore they know right well that marriage is permitted to priests by the law of God. But, because now they say, they have made a vow, they go craftily to work, and do not say that priests for their vows' sake cannot marry, but plainly give out the article after this sort, that marriage of priests is utterly against the law of God. Again, what impudency and tyranny do they show moreover, when they compel marriages to be dissolved, and command those to be put to death, which will not put away their wives, and renounce their matrimony! whereas the vow of

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priests, if it had any force at all, should extend no further, but only to put them from the ministry, if they would marry. And this, no doubt, is the true meaning of the councils and canons.

"O cursed bishops! O impudent and wicked Winchester! who, under these colourable fetches, thinkest to deceive the eyes of Christ, and the judgments of all the godly in the whole world. These things have I written, that you may understand the crafty sleights, and so judge of the purpose and policy, of these bishops. For if they would simply and heartily search for the truth, they would not use these crafty collusions and deceitful jugglings.

"This sophistication, as it is in all other affairs pernicious and odious, so, above all things, most specially it is to be avoided in matters of religion; wherein it is a heinous impiety to corrupt or pervert the pure word of God. And hereof the devil, which is called Diabolus, specially taketh his name, because he wresteth the word of God out of men's hearts by such false juggling and sophistical cavillations. And why do not these bishops, as well, plainly utter and confess, that they will abide no reformation of doctrine and religion in the church, for that it shall make against their dignity, pomp, and pleasure? Why do not their adherents also, and such as take their part, plainly say that they will retain still the present state of the church, for their own profit, tranquillity, and maintenance? Thus to confess, were true and plain dealing.

"Now, while they pretend, hypocritically, a false zeal and love to the truth and sincere religion, they come in with their blind sophistications, wherewith they cover their errors. For their articles set forth in this act be erroneous, false, and impious, how glorious soever they seem outwardly. Wherefore it were to be wished, that these bishops would remember God's terrible threatening in the prophet Isaiah: Woe to you, saith he, which make wicked laws! What will you do in the day of visitation and calamity to come? &c. Woe unto you that call evil good! &c.

"Now, to come more near to the matter which we have in hand, this cannot be denied, but that long and horrible darkness hath been in the church of Christ. Men's traditions not only have been a yoke to good men's consciences, but also (which is much worse) they have been reputed for God's holy service, to the great disworship of God. There were vows, things bequeathed to churches, diversity of garments, choice of meats, long babbling prayers, pardons, image-worship, manifest idolatry committed to saints, the true worship of God and true good works not known. Briefly, little difference there was betwixt the Christian and heathen religion, as still is yet at Rome to this present day to be seen. The true doctrine of repentance, of remission of sins which cometh by the faith of Christ, of justification, of faith, of the difference between the law and the gospel, of the right use of the sacraments, was hid and unknown. The keys were abused to the maintenance of the pope's usurped tyranny. Ceremonies of men's invention were much preferred before civil obedience and duties done in the commonwealth.

"Unto these errors, moreover, was joined a corrupt life, full of all lecherous and filthy lusts, by reason of the law forbidding priests to marry. Out of this miserable darkness, God something hath begun to deliver his church, through the restoring again of true doctrine. For so we must needs acknowledge, that these so great and long-festered errors have not been disclosed and brought to light by the industry of man; but this light of the gospel is only the gift of God, who now again hath appeared unto the church. For so doth the Holy Ghost prophesy before, how in the latter times the godly should sustain sore and perilous conflicts with antichrist, fore-

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showing that he should come, environed with a mighty and strong army of bishops, hypocrites, and princes; that he should fight against the truth, and slay the godly.

"And that now all these things are so come to pass it is most evident, and cannot be denied. The tyranny of the bishop of Rome hath partly brought errors into the church, partly hath confirmed them, and now maintaineth the same with force and violence, as Daniel well foreshowed; and much we rejoyce to see you divided from him, hoping and trusting well, that the Church of England would now flourish. But your bishops be not divided from the Romish antichrist: his idolatry, errors, and vices they defend and maintain with tooth and nail; for the articles now passed are craftily picked out. They confirm all human traditions, in that they establish solemn vows, single life, and auricular confession. They uphold and advance not only their pride and authority, but all errors withal, in retaining the private mass.

"Thus have they craftily provided that no reformation can take any place, that their dignity and wealth may still be upholden. And this to be the purpose of the bishops, experience itself doth plainly teach us. Now what man will not lament to see the glory of Christ thus to be defaced? for, as I said before, this matter concerneth not only these articles which be there enacted, but all other articles of sound doctrine are likewise overthrown, if such traditions of men shall be reputed as necessary, and to be retained. For why doth Christ say, For they worship me in vain with the precepts of men? or why doth St. Paul so oft detest men's traditions?

It is no light offence to set up new kinds of worshipping and serving of God without his word, or to defend the same: such presumption God doth horribly detest, which will be known in his word only. He will have none other religions invented by man's device; for else all sorts of religions, of all nations, might be approved and allowed. Lean not, saith he, to thine own wisdom. But he sent Christ, and commanded us to hear him, and not the invention of subtle and politic heads, which apply religion to their own lucre and commodity.

"Furthermore, private masses, vows, the single life of priests, numbering up of sins to the priest, with other things more, being but mere ordinances of men, are used for God's true service and worship. For although the supper of the Lord was truly instituted by Christ, yet the private mass is a wicked profanation of the Lord's supper: for in the canon, what a corruption is contained in this, where it is said, that Christ is offered, and that the work itself is a sacrifice, which redeemeth the quick and the dead? These things were never ordained of Christ; yea, manifold ways they are repugnant to the gospel. Christ willeth not himself to be offered up of priests, neither can the work of the offerer, or of the receiver, by any means be a sacrifice. This is manifest idolatry, and overthroweth the true doctrine of faith, and the true use of the sacraments. By faith in Christ we are justified, and not by any work of the priests. And the supper is ordained that the minister should distribute to others, to the intent that they, repenting for their sins, should be admonished firmly to believe the promises of the gospel to pertain unto them. Here is set a plain testimony before us, that we are made the members of Christ, and washed by his blood. And this is the true use of that supper which is ordained in the gospel, and was observed in the primitive church three hundred years and more, from the which we ought not to be removed: for it is plain impiety to transfer the Lord's institution to any other use, as we are taught by the second commandment. Wherefore these private masses, forasmuch as they swerve from the right institution of Christ manifold ways, as by oblation, sacrifice, application, and many other ways

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besides, they are not to be retained, but to be abolished. Flee, saith St. Paul, from all idolatry. In these private masses much idolatry is committed, which we see our bishops now so stoutly to defend; and no marvel for, in the latter times, the Scripture plainly sheweth that great idolatry shall reign in the church of God; as Christ himself also signifieth, saying, When ye shall see the abomination of desolation, which is foretold of the prophet Daniel, standing in the holy place, he that readeth, let him understand. And Daniel saith, And he shall worship the God Mauzzim in his place, and shall adore the God whom his fathers knew not, with gold, silver, and precious stones. Both these places do speak of mass.

"This kind of worship and horrible profanation of the sacrament, God abhorreth: for how many and sundry kinds of manifest impiety are here committed in this one action of the mass! First, it is set forth to sale. Secondly, they that are unworthy are compelled to receive, whether they will or no. Thirdly, it is applied as meritorious and satisfactory for the quick and the dead. Fourthly, many things are promised thereby, as prosperous navigation, remedies against diseases both for man and beast, with other infinite more. These be most manifest and notorious abominations. But besides these, there be others, also, no less to be reprehended, which the simple people do not so plainly see. Such worshipping and serving of God is not to be set up after the fantasy of man.

"Wherefore they do wickedly, when they offer sacrifice to God without his commandment: for when of this work they make a sacrifice, they imagine that private masses are to be done, because God would be worshipped after this sort. And we see that masses are bought with gold and silver, great riches, and sumptuous charges: also that the sacrament is carried about in gold and silver to be worshipped; whereas the sacrament was never ordained for any such purpose. Wherefore, seeing the commandment of God biddeth to flee from idolatry, private masses are not to be maintained. And I marvel that they say that such private masses are necessary to be retained, when it is evident that, in the old time, there were none such. Shall we think that things pertaining to the necessary worship of God, could so long be lacking in the primitive church, three hundred years after the apostles and more? What can be more absurd and against all reason?

"We see these private masses to be defended with great labour and much ado: of some, for fear lest their gain should decay; of some, because they would serve the affection of the vulgar people, (which think to have great succour thereby, and therefore are loth to leave it,) rather than for any just cause or reason to leave them. But, howsoever they do, a most manifest and evident cause there is, why these private masses ought to be abolished. For first, their application undoubtedly is wicked; neither doth the work of the priest merit any grace to any person, but every one is justified by his own faith. Neither again would God have any man to trust upon any ceremony, but only to the benefit of Christ: and most certain it is, that the application of these masses for the dead, is full of great error and impiety.

"But here come in blind glosses (albeit to no purpose) to excuse this application. For universally, among all the people, who is he that thinketh otherwise, but that this work is available for the whole church? yea, the canon of the mass itself declareth no less. And why then do some of these crafty sophisters dally out the matter with their glossing words, denying that they make any application of their masses, when they know full well, that the error of the people

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is confirmed by this their doing; although they themselves do think otherwise? Albeit, how few be there, in very deed, which do otherwise think!

"We ought not to dissemble in God's matters. Let us use them as the Holy Scripture teacheth, and as the ancient custom of the primitive church doth lead us. Why should any man be so presumptuous as to swerve from ancient custom? Why now do they defend the errors of others which have perverted the institution of Christ?

"Now, although some perhaps will pretend and say, that he maketh no application of his masses, yet, notwithstanding, he so dealeth in handling the ceremony privately by himself, that he thinketh this his oblation to be high service done to God, and such as God requireth: which is also erroneous and to be reprov'd. For why? No service or worship pertaining unto God ought to be set up by man's device, without the commandment of God.

"Wherefore, I beseech you, for the glory of Christ, that you will not defend the article of this act concerning these private masses, but that you will suffer the matter to be well examined by virtuous and learned men. All things that we here with us do, we do them by evident and substantial testimony of the primitive church; which testimony I dare be bold to set against the judgments of all that have since followed, such as have corrupted the ancient and old rites, with manifold errors.

"As touching the other articles, they have no need of any long disputation. Vows that be wicked, feigned, and impossible, are not to be kept. There is no doubt but this is the common persuasion of all men touching vows, that all these will-works devised by man, are the true service and worship of God; and so think they, also, which speak most indifferently of them. Others add thereunto more gross errors, saying, that these works bring with them perfection, and merit everlasting life. Now all these opinions the Scripture in many places doth reprove. Christ saith, They worship me in vain with the precepts of men; and Paul saith, that these observations be the doctrine of devils, for they ascribe to the power and strength of man false honour, because they are taken for the service of God: they obscure faith and the true worshipping of God. Item, the said Paul to the Colossians saith, Let no man deceive you by feigned humility, &c. Why make you decrees, &c.? Wherefore these corrupt traditions of men are indeed a wicked and detestable service of God.

"Unto these also are annexed many other corrupt and wicked abuses. The whole order of monkery, what superstition doth it contain! What profanations of masses, invocation of saints, colours and fashions of apparel, choice of meats, superstitious prayers without all measure! of which causes every one were sufficient, why these vows ought to be broken. Besides this, a great part of men are drawn to this kind of life chiefly for the belly's sake, and then, afterwards, they pretend the holiness of their vow and profession.

"Furthermore, this vow of single life is not to all men possible to be kept, as Christ himself saith, All men do not receive this. Such vows, therefore, which without sin cannot be performed, are to be undone: but these things I have discussed sufficiently in other of my works.

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"But this causeth me much to marvel, that this vow of priests, in your English decree, is more strait and hard than is the vow of monks, whereas the canons themselves do bind a priest no further to single life, but only for the time that he remaineth in the ministry. And certainly it made my heart to tremble, when I read this article which so forbiddeth matrimony, and dissolveth the same, being contracted, and appointeth, moreover, the punishment of death for the same. Although there have been divers godly priests, who, in certain places, have been put to death for their marriage, yet hath never man hitherto been so bold as to establish any such law. For every man in a manner well perceived, that all well-disposed and reasonable persons would abhor that cruelty; and also they feared lest posterity would think evil thereof. Who would ever think that in the church of Christ, wherein all lenity toward the godly ought most principally to be showed, such cruelties and tyranny could take place, to set forth bloody laws, to be executed upon the godly for lawful matrimony?

"But they brake their vows,' will the bishops say. First, as I said, that vow ought not to stand, seeing it is turned to a false worship of God, and is impossible to be kept. Again, although it stood in force, yet it should not extend to them that forsake the ministry. Finally, if the bishops, here, would have a care and regard to men's consciences, they should then ordain priests without any such profession or vow-making; as appeareth by the old canons, how that many were admitted to the ministry without professing of any vow; and the same afterwards, when they had married their wives, remained in the ministry, as is testified in the Distinctions.

"Certainly, of what I may here complain, I cannot tell. First, in this article I cannot impute it to ignorance, which they do; for no man is ignorant of the commandment of God, which saith, Let every man have his wife, for avoiding of fornication.

Again, who is so blind but he seeth what a life these unmarried priests do live? The complaints of good men are well known. The filthiness of the wicked is too, too manifest. But, peradventure, your bishops, holding with the sect of epicures, do think God is not offended with filthy lusts: which if they so think, then do we sustain doubtless a hard cause, where such must be judges.

"I am not ignorant that this single life is very fit to set out the glory and bravery of bishops, and colleges of priests, and to maintain their wealth and portly state; and this I suppose to be the cause why some do abhor so much that priests should be married. But, O lamentable state of the church! if laws should be so forced to serve, not the verity and the will of God, but the private gain and commodity of men! They err which think it lawful for them to make laws repugnant to the commandment of God, and to the law of nature, so that they be profitable to attain wealth and riches. And, of truth, from my very heart I do mourn and lament, right noble prince, both for your sake, and also for the cause of Christ's church. You pretend to impugn and gainstand the tyranny of the Romish bishop, and truly do call him antichrist, as indeed he is; and, in the mean time, you defend and maintain those laws of that Romish antichrist, which be the strength and sinews of all his power, as private masses, single life of priests, and other superstitions. You threaten horrible punishments to good men, and to the members of Christ; you violently oppress and bear down the verity of the gospel, beginning to shine in your churches. This is not to abolish antichrist, but to establish him.

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"I beseech you, therefore, for our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye defile not your conscience in defending those articles which your bishops have devised and set forth, touching private masses, auricular confession, vows, single life of priests, and prohibition of the one half of the sacrament. It is no light offence to establish idolatry, errors, cruelty, the filthy lusts of antichrist. If the Roman bishop should now call a council, what other articles chiefly would he devise and publish unto the world, but the very same which your bishops have here enacted?

"Understand and consider, I pray you, the subtle trains and deceits of the devil, who is wont first to set upon, and assail, the chief governors. And as he is the enemy of Christ from the beginning of the world, so his chiefest purpose is, by all crafty and subtle means, to work contumely against Christ, by sparsing abroad wicked opinions, and setting up idolatry; and also in polluting mankind with bloody murders and fleshly lusts: in the working whereof he abuseth the policies and wits of hypocrites, also the power and strength of mighty princes; as stories of all times bear witness, what great kingdoms and empires have set themselves, with all might and main, against the poor church of Christ.

"And yet, notwithstanding, God hath reserved some good princes at all times out of the great multitude of such giants, and hath brought them to his church, to embrace true doctrine, and to defend his true worship; as Abraham taught Abimelech, Joseph the Egyptian kings: and after them came David, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, Josiah, excelling in true godliness. Daniel converted to the knowledge of God the kings of Chaldea and Persia: also Brittany brought forth unto the world the godly prince Constantine. In this number I wish you rather to be, than amongst the enemies of Christ, defiled with idolatry, and spotted with the blood of the godly; of whom God will take punishment, as he doth many times forewarn, and many examples do teach.

"Yet again therefore, I pray and beseech you, for our Lord Jesus Christ, that you will correct and mitigate this decree of the bishops; in doing which you shall advance the glory of Christ, and provide as well for the wealth of your own soul, as for the safeguard of your churches.

"Let the hearty desires of so many godly men through the whole world move you, so earnestly wishing that some good kings would extend their authority to the true reformation of the church of God, to the abolishing of all idolatrous worship, and the furthering of the course of the gospel. Regard also, and consider, I beseech you, those godly persons who are with you in bands for the gospel's sake, being the true members of Christ.

"And if that cruel decree be not altered, the bishops will never cease to rage against the church of Christ, without mercy or pity: for them the devil useth as instruments and ministers of his fury and malice against Christ. These he stirreth up to slay and kill the members of Christ: whose wicked and cruel proceedings, and subtle sophistications, that you will not prefer before our true and most righteous request, all the godly most humbly and heartily do pray and beseech you. Which if they shall obtain, no doubt but God shall recompense to you great rewards for your piety; and your excellent virtue shall be renowned both by pen and voice of all the godly, while the world standeth. For Christ shall judge all them that shall deserve either well or evil of his church: and while letters shall remain, the memorial worthy of such noble deserts shall never die or be forgotten with the posterity to come. And seeing we seek the glory of Christ, and that

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our churches are the churches of Christ, there shall never be wanting such as both shall defend the righteous cause, and magnify, with due commendation, such as have well deserved, and likewise shall condemn the unjust cruelty of the enemies.

"Christ goeth about hungry, thirsty, naked, imprisoned, complaining of the raging fury of the bishops, and of the wrongful oppression and cruelty of divers kings and princes, entreating that the members of his body be not rent in pieces, but that true churches may be defended, and his gospel advanced. This request of Christ to hear, to receive, and to embrace, is the office of a godly king, and service most acceptable unto God."

Treating a little before, of certain old instruments for proof of priests' lawful marriage in times past, I gave a little touch of a certain record taken out of an old martyrology of the church of Canterbury, touching Livingus a priest, and his wife, in the time of Lanfranc: wherein I touched, also, of certain lands and houses restored again by the said Lanfranc to the church of St. Andrew. Now, forasmuch as the perfect note thereof is more fully come to my hands; and partly considering the restoring of the said lands to be to Christ's church in Canterbury, and not to St. Andrew's in Rochester; and, also, for that I have found some other precedents approving the lawful marriage of priests, and legitimation of their children, I thought good, for the more full satisfying of the reader, to enter the same, as followeth:

A note out of an old martyrology of Canterbury.

"After the death of William king of England, the said Lanfranc restored again to Christ's church in Canterbury all the lands which from ancient memory unto these latter days have been taken away from the right of the said church. The names of which lands be these: in Kent, Reculver, Sandwich, Richborow, Wootton, the abbey of Lyming, with the lands and customs unto the same monastery belonging, Saltwood, &c., (Stoke and Denentum, because they belonged of old time to the church of St. Andrew, them he restored to the same church,) in Surrey, Mortlake; the abbey of St. Mary in London, with the lands and houses which Livingus, priest, and his wife, had in London. All these Lanfranc restored again for the health of his own soul, freely, and without money," &c.

A note, for the legitimation of priest's children.

"Note, that in the nineteenth year of this king, in an assize at Warwick, before Sir Guy Fairfax, and Sir John Vavasour, it was found, by verdict, that the father of the tenant had taken the order of deacon, and after married a wife, and had issue; the tenant died, and the issue of the tenant did enter. Upon whom the plaintiff did enter, as next heir collateral to the father of the tenant; Upon whom he did re-enter, &c.; and, for difficulty, the justices did adjourn the assize. And it was debated in the exchequer chamber: 'If the tenant shall be a bastard,' &c. And here, by advice, it was adjudged that he shall not be a bastard, &c. Frowick, chief justice, said to me, in the nineteenth year of Henry the Seventh, in the Common Pleas, that he was of counsel in this matter, and that it was adjudged as before; which Vavasour did grant. And Frowick said, that if a priest marry a wife, and hath issue and dieth, his issue shall inherit; for that the espousals be not void, but voidable. Vavasour: If a man take a nun to wife, this espousal is void."

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Note, that in the latter impression of Henry the Seventh's Years of the Law, this word "priest," in this case aforesaid, in some books is left out; whether of purpose or by negligence, I leave it to the reader to judge.

Concerning these six articles passed in this Act aforesaid, in the twenty-first year of this King Henry the Eighth, sufficiently hitherto hath been declared; first, what these articles were: secondly, by whom, and from whom chiefly they proceeded: thirdly, how erroneous, pernicious, repugnant, and contrarious to true doctrine, Christian religion, and the word of God, to nature also itself, all reason and honesty, and finally to the ancient laws, customs, and examples of our fore-elders, during the days of a thousand years after Christ, they were. Fourthly, ye have heard also what unreasonable and extreme penalty was set upon the same, that a man may deem these laws to be written not with the ink of Stephen Gardiner, but with the blood of a dragon, or rather the claws of the devil; the breach whereof was made no less than treason and felony, and no less punishment assigned thereto than death.

Besides all this, the words of the Act were so curious and subtle, that no man could speak, write, or cipher against them, without present danger; yea, scarcely a man might speak any word of Christ and his religion, but he was in peril of these six articles. Over and besides, the papists began so finely to interpret the Act, that they spared not to indict men for abusing their countenance and behaviour in the church: so great was the power of darkness in those days. And thus much concerning this Act.

Besides these six articles in this aforesaid Act concluded, there was also another constitution annexed withal, not without the advice (as may seem) of the Lord Cromwell, which was this: that priests and ministers of the church, seeing now they would needs themselves be bound from all matrimony, should therefore, by law, be likewise bound to such honesty and continency of life, that carnally they should use and accustom no manner of woman, married or single, by way of advowtry, or fornication; the breach whereof for the first time, was to forfeit goods, and to suffer imprisonment at the king's pleasure: and for the second time, being duly convicted, it was made felony, as the others were.

In this constitution, if the Lord Cromwell, and other good men of the parliament, might have had their will, there is no doubt but the first crime of these concubinary priests, as well as the second, had had the same penalty as the other six articles had, and should have been punished with death. But Stephen Gardiner, with his fellow bishops, who then ruled all the roost, so boasted this extraordinary article with their accustomed shifts, that if they were taken and duly convicted for their not *catès*, nor *cautè*, at first time it was but forfeit of goods. Also, for the second conviction or attainder they so provided that, the next year following, that punishment and pain of death, by act of parliament was clean wiped away and repealed. And why so? "Because," saith the statute, "that punishment by pain of death is very sore, and much extreme; therefore it pleaseth the king, with the assent of the lords, that that clause above written, concerning felony, and pains of death, and other penalties and forfeitures, for and upon the first and second conviction or attainder of any priest or woman for any such offences aforesaid, shall be from henceforth void, and of none effect," &c. So that by this statute it was provided, for all such votaries as lived in whoredom and adultery, for the first offence to lose his goods, and all

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his spiritual promotions, except one; for the second, to forfeit all that he had to the king; for the third conviction, to sustain continual imprisonment.

In these ungodly proceedings of the pope's catholic clergy, two things we have to note.

First, The horrible impiety of their doctrine, directly fighting against the express authority of God and his word, forasmuch as that which God permitteth, they restrain; that which he bids they forbid. Let a man have, saith he; Let him not have, say they; taking exceptions against the word of the Lord. That which he calleth honourable and undefiled, they call heresy; that which he commandeth and instituteth, they punish with pains of death. Not only the priests that marry, but them also that say or cipher that a priest may marry, at the first they kill as felons; neither can any *miserere* take place for chaste and lawful wedlock; whereas, contrariwise, a spiritual man may thrice defile his neighbour's wife, or thrice his brother's daughter, and no felony at all be laid to his charge. What is this in plain words to say, but that it is less sin thrice to commit advoutry, than once to marry?

The second to be noted is, how these painted hypocrites do bewray their false dissembled dealings unawares, with whom a man might thus reason Tell us, you priests and votaries! which so precisely flee the state of matrimony, intend you to live chaste, and are you able so to do without wives? Do you keep yourselves chaste and honest without them, and without burning, or not? If you be not able, why then marry you not? why take you not the remedy appointed of God? why make you those vows, which you cannot perform? or why do you not break them being made, falling thereby in danger of breaking God's commandment, for keeping your own? If you be able, and so do intend, to continue an honest and a continent conversation without wives, then shall I ask of you according as Dr. Turner gravely and truly layeth to your charge: "Why do you so carefully provide a remedy by your laws beforehand, for a mischief to come, which you may avoid if you list? unless either ye listed not to stand, though you might; or else saw your own infirmity, that you could not, though ye would: and therefore, fearing your own weak fragility, you provide wisely for yourselves aforehand, that, where others shall suffer pains of death at the first for well doing, you may fall thrice in abominable adultery, and yet, by the law, have your lives pardoned."

And here cometh out your own hypocrisy, by yourselves bewrayed; for whereas you all confess, that you are able to live chaste if ye will, without wives, this moderation of the law, provided before against your adulterous incontinency, plainly declareth that either ye purpose willingly to fall, or, at least, ye fear and stand in doubt not to be able to stand. And why then do you so confidently take such vows upon you, standing in such doubt and fear for the performance thereof?

And be it to you admitted, that all do not fall, but that some keep their vow, though some viciously run to other men's wives and daughters: then herein again ask I you, seeing these vicious whore-hunters and adulterous persons among you do live viciously, (as you cannot not deny,) and may do otherwise, if they list, as you confess: what punishment then are they worthy to have, which may live continent, and will not, neither yet will take the remedy provided by God, but refuse it? Which being so, then what iniquity is this in you, or, rather, impiety inexcusable against God and man, to procure a moderation of laws for such, and to show such

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compassion and clemency to these so heinous adulterers, whore-hunters, and beastly fornicators, that, if they adulterate other men's wives never so oft, yet there is no death for them; and to show no compassion at all, nor to find out any moderation for such, but at the very first to kill them as felons and heretics, which honestly do marry in the fear of God, or once say, that a priest may marry? How can ye here be excused, O you children of iniquity? What reason is in your doing, or what truth in your doctrine, or what fear of God in your hearts? You that neither are able to avoid burning and pollution without wedlock, nor yet will receive that remedy that the Lord hath given you, how will you stand in his face, when he shall reveal your operations and cogitations to your perpetual confusion, unless by time ye convert and repent? And thus, being ashamed of your execrable doings, I cease to defile my pen any further in this so stinking matter of yours, leaving you to the Lord.

It was declared before, that what time these six articles were in hand in the parliament house, Cranmer, then being archbishop of Canterbury only, withstood the same, disputing three days against them; whose reasons and arguments I wish were extant and remaining. After these articles were thus passed and concluded, the king, who always bare especial favour unto Cranmer, perceiving him to be not a little discomforted therewith, sent all the lords of the parliament, and with them the Lord Cromwell, to dine with him at Lambeth (as is before declared); and, within few days also upon the same, required that he would give a note of all his doings and reasonings in the said parliament: which the said Cranmer eftsoons accomplished accordingly, drawing out his reasons and allegations; the copy whereof, being fair written out by his secretary, was sent and delivered unto the king, and there remained.

Now, after these things thus discussed, as touching the six wicked articles, it followeth next, in returning to the order of our story again, to declare those things which, after the setting out of these articles, ensued, which otherwise for the wicked cruelty thereof, are called The Whip with Six Strings, set forth after the death of Queen Anne and of good John Lambert, devised by the cruelty of the bishops, but specially by the bishop of Winchester, and at length also subscribed by King Henry. But therein, as in many other things, the crafty policy of Winchester appeared, who if he had not watched his time, and taken the king, coming out where it did, it is thought he had not got the matter so easily to be subscribed. We come now to the time and story of the Lord Cromwell, a man whose worthy fame and deeds are worthy to live renowned in perpetual memory.

197. Thomas Cromwell

The history concerning the life, acts, and death of the famous and worthy councillor, Lord Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex.



HOMAS Cromwell although born of a simple parentage, and house obscure, through the singular excellency of wisdom, and dexterity of wit wrought in him by God, coupled with like industry of mind, and deserts of life, rose to high preferment and authority; insomuch that by steps and stairs of office and honour, he ascended at length to that, that not only he was made earl of Essex, but also most secret and dear councillor to King Henry, and vicegerent unto his person; which office hath not commonly been supplied, at least not so fruitfully discharged within this realm.

First, as touching his birth, he was born at Putney or thereabouts, being a smith's son, whose mother married afterwards to a shearman. In the simple estate and rude beginnings of this man, as of divers others before him, we may see and learn, that the excellency of noble virtues and heroical prowesses which advance to fame and honour, stand not only upon birth and blood, as privileges only entailed and appropriate to noble houses; but are disposed indifferently, and proceed of the gift of God, who raiseth up the poor abject many times out of the dunghill, and matcheth him in throne with peers and princes.

As touching the order and manner of his coming up, it would be superfluous to discourse what may be said at large; only, by way of story, it may suffice to give a touch of certain particulars, and so to proceed. Although the humble condition and poverty of this man was at the beginning (as it is to many others) a great let and hinderance for virtue to show herself; yet, such was the activity and forward ripeness of nature in him, so pregnant in wit, and so ready he was, in judgment discreet, in tongue eloquent, in service faithful, in stomach courageous, in his pen active, that being conversant in the sight of men, he could not be long unespied, nor yet unprovided of favour and help of friends to set him forward in place and office; neither was any place or office put unto him, whereunto he was not apt and fit. Nothing was so hard which with wit and industry he could not compass: neither was his capacity so good, but his memory was as great in retaining whatsoever he had attained. This well appeared in canning the text of the whole New Testament of Erasmus' translation without book, in his journey going and coming from Rome, whereof ye shall hear anon.

Thus, in his growing years, as he shot up in age and ripeness, a great delight came in his mind to stray into foreign countries, to see the world abroad, and to learn experience; whereby he learned such tongues and languages as might better serve for his use hereafter.

And thus, passing over his youth, being at Antwerp he was there retained of the English merchants to be their clerk or secretary, or in some such-like condition placed, pertaining to their affairs.

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It happened, the same time, that the town of Boston thought good to send up to Rome, for renewing of their two pardons, one called the greater pardon, the other the lesser pardon. Which thing although it should stand them in great expenses of money, (for the pope's merchandise is always dear ware,) yet, notwithstanding, such sweetness they had felt thereof, and such gain to come to their town by that Romish merchandise, (as all superstition is commonly gainful,) that they, like good catholic merchants, and the pope's good customers, thought to spare for no cost, to have their leases again of their pardons renewed, whatsoever they paid for the fine. And yet was all this good religion then, such was the lamentable blindness of that time.

This then being so determined and decreed among my countrymen of Boston, to have their pardons' needs repaired and renewed from Rome, one Geffery Chambers, and another companion, were sent for the messengers, with writings and money no small quantity, well furnished, and with all other things appointed, necessary for so chargeable and costly exploit. Chambers, coming in his journey to Antwerp, and misdoubting himself to be too weak for the compassing of such a weighty piece of work, conferred and persuaded with Thomas Cromwell to associate him in that legacy, and to assist him in the contriving thereof. Cromwell, although perceiving the enterprise to be of no small difficulty, to traverse the pope's court, for the unreasonable expenses amongst those greedy cormorants, yet, having some skill of the Italian tongue, and as yet not grounded in judgment of religion in those his youthful day was at length obtained and content to give the adventure, and so took his journey towards Rome. Cromwell, loth to spend much time, and more loth to spend his money; and again, perceiving that the pope's greedy humour must needs be served with some present or other, (for without rewards there is no doing at Rome,) began to cast with himself, what thing best to devise, wherein he might best serve the pope's devotion.

At length, having knowledge how that the pope's holy tooth greatly delighted in newfangled strange delicacies, and dainty dishes, it came into his mind to prepare certain fine dishes of jelly, after the best fashion, made after our country manner here in England; which, to them of Rome, was not known nor seen before.

This done, Cromwell, observing his time accordingly, as the pope was newly come from hunting into his pavilion, he, with his companions, approached with his English presents, brought in with "a three man's song" (as we call it) in the English tongue, and all after the English fashion. The pope, suddenly marvelling at the strangeness of the song, and understanding that they were Englishmen, and that they came not empty-handed, willed them to be called in. Cromwell there, showing his obedience, and offering his jolly junkets, "such as kings and princes only," said he, "in the realm of England use to feed upon," desired the same to be accepted in benevolent part, which he and his companions, as poor suitors unto his Holiness, had there brought and presented, as novelties meet for his recreation, &c.

Pope Julius, seeing the strangeness of the dishes, commanded by and by his cardinal to take the assay; who, in tasting thereof, liked it so well, and so likewise the pope after him, that, knowing of them what their suits were, and requiring them to make known the making of that meat, he, incontinent, without any more ado, stamped both their pardons, as well the greater as the lesser.

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And thus were the jolly pardons of the town of Boston obtained, as you have heard, for the maintenance of their decayed port. The copy of these pardons, (which I have in my hands,) briefly comprehended, cometh to this effect:

"That all the brethren and sisters of the Guild of our Lady in St. Botolph's church at Boston, should have free licence to choose for their confessor or ghostly father whom they would, either secular priest or religious person, to assoil them plenarily from all. their sins, except only in cases reserved to the pope.

"Also, should have licence to carry about with them an altar-stone, whereby they might have a priest to say them mass, or other divine service, where they would, without prejudice of any other church or chapel, though it were also before day, yea, and at three o'clock after midnight in the summer time.

"Furthermore, that all such brethren and sisters of the said guild, which should resort to the chapel of our Lady in St. Botolph's church, at the feast of Easter, Whitsuntide, Corpus Christi, the Nativity, or the Assumption of our Lady, or in the octaves of them, the feast of St. Michael, and the first Sunday in Lent, should have pardon no less than if they themselves personally had visited the stations of Rome.

"Provided that every such person, man or woman, entering into the same guild, at his first entrance should give to the finding of seven priests, twelve choristers, and thirteen beadsmen, and to the lights of the same brotherhood and a grammar school, six shillings and eight pence; and for every year after, twelve pence.

"And these premises, being before granted by Pope Innocent and Pope Julius the Second, this Pope Clement also confirmed; granting moreover, that whatsoever brother or sister of the same guild, through poverty, sickness, or any other let, could not resort personally to the said chapel, notwithstanding, he should be dispensed withal, as well for that, as for all other vows, irregularities, censures canonical whatsoever; only the vow of going the stations of Rome, and going to St. James of Compostella, excepted, &c.

"He also granted unto them power to receive full remission, from the penalty and crime, once in their life, or in the hour of death.

"Item, that having their altar-stone, they might have mass said in any place, though it were unhallowed. Also in the time of interdict, to have mass or any sacrament ministered; and also, being departed, that they might be buried in Christian burial, notwithstanding the interdict.

"Extending, moreover, his grant, that all such brethren and sisters, in resorting to the aforesaid chapel of our Lady upon the Nativity, or upon the Assumption of our Lady, giving supportation to the aforesaid chapel, at every such festival day should have full remission of all their sins. Or if they, for any impediment, could not be present at the chapel aforesaid, yet, if they came unto their own parish church, and there said one Pater-noster, and Ave Maria, they should enjoy the same remission above specified; or whosoever came every Friday to the same

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chapel, should have as much remission, as if he went to the chapel of Our Lady called *Scala Cæli*.

"Furthermore, that whatsoever Christian people, of what estate or condition soever, either spiritual or temporal, would aid and support the chamberlains or substitutes of the aforesaid guild, should have five hundred years of pardon.

"Item, To all brothers and sisters of the same guild was granted free liberty to eat in time of Lent, or other fasting days, eggs, milk, butter, cheese, and also flesh, by the counsel of their ghostly father and physician, without any scruple of conscience.

"Item, That all partakers of the same guild, and being supporters thereof, which, once a quarter, or every Friday or Saturday, either in the said chapel in St. Botolph's church, or any other chapel, of their devotion, shall say a Pater-noster, Ave Maria, and Creed, or shall say, or cause to be said, masses for souls departed in pains of purgatory, shall not only have the full remission due to them which visit the chapel of *Scala Cæli*, or of St. John Lateran, but also, the souls in purgatory shall enjoy full remission, and be released of all their pains.

"Item, That all the souls departed of the brothers and sisters of the said guild, also the souls of their fathers and mothers, shall be partakers of all the prayers, suffrages, almoses, fastings, masses, and matins, pilgrimages, and all other good deeds of all the holy church militant for ever," &c.

These indulgencies, pardons, grants, and relaxations, were given and granted by Pope Nicholas the Fifth, Pope Pius the Second, Pope Sixtus the Fourth, and Pope Julius the Second, of which Pope Julius it seemeth that Cromwell obtained this pardon aforesaid about the year of our Lord 1510: which pardon again afterwards, through the request of King Henry, A.D. 1526, was confirmed by Pope Clement the Seventh. And thus much concerning the pardons of Boston, renewed by means of Thomas Cromwell, of Pope Julius the Second.

All this while it appeareth that Cromwell had yet no sound taste nor judgment of religion, but was wild and youthful, without sense or regard of God and his word, as he himself was wont oftentimes to declare unto Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury; showing what a ruffian he was in his young days, and how he was in the wars of the duke of Bourbon at the siege of Rome; also what a great doer he was with Geffery Chambers in publishing and setting forth the pardons of Boston every where in churches as he went; and so continued, till, at length, by learning without book the text of the New Testament of Erasmus's translation, in his going and coming from Rome, (as is aforesaid,) he began to be touched, and called to better understanding.

In this mean time Thomas Wolsey, cardinal of York, began to bear a great port in England, and almost to rule all under the king, or rather with the king; so that the freshest wits, and of best towardness, most commonly sought unto him; among whom was also Thomas Cromwell to his service advanced, where he continued a certain space of years, growing up in office and authority, till at length he was preferred to be solicitor to the cardinal.

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There were also, about the same time, or not much different, in the household of the said cardinal, Thomas More, afterward knight and chancellor of England, and Stephen Gardiner, afterwards bishop of Winchester and of the king's council. All these three were brought up in one household, and all of one standing almost together: whose ages as they were not greatly discrepant, nor their wits much unequal; so neither were their fortune and advancements greatly diverse, albeit their dispositions and studies were most contrary. And though, peradventure, in More and in Gardiner, there was more art of the letters, and skill of learning, yet, notwithstanding, there was in this man a more heavenly light of mind, and more prompt and perfect judgment, eloquence equal, and, as may be supposed in this man, more pregnant, and, finally, in him was wrought a more heroical and princely disposition, born to greater affairs in the commonwealth, and to the singular help of many.

It happened that in this mean season, as Cromwell was placed in this office to be solicitor to the cardinal, the said cardinal had then in hand the building of certain of the colleges, namely, his college in Oxford, called then Frideswide's, now Christ's Church. By reason whereof, certain small monasteries and priors, in divers places of the realm, were, by the said cardinal, suppressed, and the lands seised to the cardinal's hands; the doing whereof was committed to the charge of Thomas Cromwell: in the expedition whereof he showed himself very forward and industrious, in such sort as in the handling thereof he procured to himself much grudge with divers of the superstitious sort, and with some also of noble calling about the king. And thus was Cromwell first set to work by the cardinal, to suppress religious houses: which was about the year of our Lord 1525.

As this passed on, it was not long but the cardinal, who had gotten up so high, began to come down as fast, first from the chancellorship (in which room was placed Sir Thomas More, as is before said); then he fell into a præmunire; so that his household being dissolved, Thomas Cromwell, amongst others, laboured also to be retained into the king's service.

There was at the same time one Sir Christopher Hales, knight, master of the rolls, who, notwithstanding, was then a mighty papist; yet bare he such favour and good liking to Cromwell, that he commended him to the king, as a man most fit for his purpose, having then to do against the pope. But here before is to be understood, that Cromwell had greatly been complained of and defamed, by certain of authority about the king, for his rude manner and homely dealing, in defacing the monks' houses, and in handling of their altars, &c. Wherefore the king, hearing of the name of Cromwell, began to detest the mention of him; neither lacked there some standers-by, who, with reviling words, ceased not to increase and inflame the king's hatred against him: what their names were it shall not need here to recite. Among others, there present at the same hearing, was the Lord Russell, earl of Bedford; whose life Cromwell before had preserved at Bologna, through politic conveyance, at what time the said earl, coming secretly in the king's affairs, was there espied, and therefore being in great danger to be taken, through the means and policy of Cromwell escaped.

This Lord Russell therefore, not forgetting the old benefits past, and with like gratuity willing again to requite what he had received, in a vehement boldness stood forth, to take upon him the defence of Thomas Cromwell, uttering before the king many commendable words in the behalf of him, and declaring withal how, by his singular device and policy, he had done for him

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at Bologna, being there in the king's affairs in extreme peril. And forasmuch as now his Majesty had to do with the pope, his great enemy, there was (he thought) in all England none so apt for the king's purpose, who could say or do more in that matter, than could Thomas Cromwell: and partly gave the king to understand wherein. The king hearing this, and specially marking the latter end of his talk, was contented and willing to talk with him, to hear and know what he could say.

This was not so privily done, but Cromwell had knowledge, incontinent, that the king would talk with him, and whereupon; and therefore, providing beforehand for the matter, he had in a readiness the copy of the bishops' oath, which they use commonly to make to the pope at their consecration: and so being called for, he was brought to the king in his garden at Westminster; which was about the year of our Lord 1530.

Cromwell, after most loyal obeisance, doing his duty to the king, according as he was demanded, made his declaration in all points; this especially making manifest unto his Highness: how his princely authority was abused within his own realm by the pope and his clergy, who, being sworn unto him, were afterwards dispensed from the same, and sworn anew unto the pope; so that he was but as half a king, and they but half his subjects in his own land: which (said he) was derogatory to his crown, and utterly prejudicial to the common laws of his realm. Declaring, thereupon, how his Majesty might accumulate to himself great riches, as much as all the clergy in his realm were worth, if it so pleased him to take the occasion now offered. The king, giving good ear to this, and liking right well his advice, required if he could avouch that which he spake. All this he could (he said) avouch to be certain so well, as that he had the copy of their own oath to the pope there present to show; and that no less, also, he could manifestly prove, if his Highness would give him leave: and therewith showed the bishops' oath unto the king.

The king, following the vein of his counsel, took his ring off his finger, and first, admitting him into his service, sent him therewith to the convocation-house, among the bishops. Cromwell, coming with the king's signet boldly into the clergy-house, and there placing himself among the bishops, (William Warham being then archbishop,) began to make his oration, declaring unto them the authority of a king, and the office of subjects, and especially the obedience of bishops and churchmen under public laws, necessarily provided for the profit and quiet of the commonwealth. Which laws, notwithstanding, they had all transgressed, and highly offended in derogation of the king's royal estate, falling in the law of præmunire, in that not only they had consented to the power legative of the cardinal; but also, in that they had all sworn to the pope, contrary to the fealty of their sovereign lord the king; and therefore had forfeited to the king all their goods, chattels, lands, possessions, and whatsoever livings they had. The bishops, hearing this, were not a little amazed, and first began to excuse and deny the fact. But after that Cromwell had showed them the very copy of their oath made to the pope at their consecration, and the matter was so plain that they could not deny it, they began to shrink and to fall to entreaty, desiring respite to pause upon the matter. Notwithstanding, the end thereof so fell out, that to be quit of that præmunire by act of parliament, it cost them to the king, for both the provinces, Canterbury and York, no less than one hundred and eighteen thousand eight hundred and forty pounds; which was about the year of our Lord 1530, whereof before you may read more at large.

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After this, A.D. 1531, Sir Thomas Cromwell, growing in great favour with the king, was made knight, and master of the king's jewel-house, and shortly after was admitted also into the king's council, which was about the coming in of Queen Anne Bullen. Furthermore, within three years after the same, A.D. 1534, he was made master of the rolls, Dr. Taylor being discharged.

Thus Cromwell, springing up in favour and honour, after this, in the year 1537, a little before the birth of King Edward, was made knight of the garter, and not long after was advanced to the earldom of Essex, and made great chamberlain of England: over and besides all which honours, he was constituted also vicegerent to the king, representing his person; which office, although it standeth well by the law, yet seldom hath there been seen any besides this Cromwell alone, either to have sustained it, or else to have so furnished the same with counsel and wisdom, as Cromwell did. And thus much hitherto, concerning the steps and degrees of the Lord Cromwell, rising up to dignity and high estate.

Now somewhat would be said, likewise, of the noble acts, the memorable examples, and the worthy virtues, not drowned by ease of honour in him, but increased rather, and quickened by advancement of authority and place, to work more abundantly in the commonwealth: among the which his worthy acts and other manifold virtues, in this one chiefly, above all others, riseth his commendation, for his singular zeal and laborious travail bestowed in restoring the true church of Christ, and subverting the synagogue of antichrist: the abbeyes, I mean, and religious houses of friars and monks. For so it pleased Almighty God, by means of the said Lord Cromwell, to induce the king to suppress first the chantries, then the friars' houses and small monasteries, till at length, all the abbeyes in England, both great and less, were utterly overthrown and plucked up by the roots. This act and enterprise of his, as it may give a precedent of singular zeal to all realms christened, which no prince yet to this day scarce dare follow; so, to this realm of England, it wrought such benefit and commodity, as the fruit thereof yet remaineth, and will remain still in the realm of England, though we seem little to feel it. Rudely and simply I speak what I suppose, without prejudice of others who can infer any better reason. In the mean time my reason is this, that if God had not raised up this Cromwell as he did, to be the instrument of rooting out these abbeyes and cells of strange religion, what other men see I know not for my part, I never yet saw in this realm any such Cromwell since Cromwell's time, whose heart and courage might not sooner have been subverted with the money and bribes of abbots, than he to have subverted any abbey in all England.

Of how great laud and praise this man was worthy, and what courage and stoutness was in him, it may hereby evidently appear unto all men, that he alone, through the singular dexterity of his wit and counsel, brought to pass that which, even unto this day, no prince or king, throughout all Europe, dare or can bring to pass. For whereas Britannia alone, of all other nations, is and hath been, of her own proper nature, most superstitious; this Cromwell, being born of a common or base stock, through a divine method or policy of wit and reason received, suffered, deluded, brake off, and repressed, all the policies, trains, malice, and hatred, of friars, monks, religious men, and priests, of which sort there was a great rabble in England. Their houses he subverted throughout all the realm. Afterwards he brought the bishops and archbishops, and the bishop of Winchester himself, although he was the king's chief counsellor, to an order; frustrating and preventing all his enterprises and complaints by a marvellous providence, but, especially, in those things which did tend to the ruin and decay of good men,

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and such as favoured the gospel; unto whom Cromwell was always as a shield, against the pestiferous enterprises of Winchester.

Briefly, there was continual emulation and mortal dissension between them two, such as Flaccius writeth happened between the wolves and the lambs: for both of them being greatly in the king's favour, the one being much more feared, the other was much better beloved. Either of them excelling in dexterity of wit, howbeit the virtues in the one far exceeded the other; for whereas the bishop of Winchester seemed such a man, to be born for no other purpose but only for the destruction of the good, this man, contrariwise, the Divine Providence had appointed as a remedy to help and preserve many, and to withstand the fury of the bishops; even like as we do see the same ground which bringeth forth most pestiferous poison, the same again also doth bring forth most wholesome and healthful remedies.

It were too long and tedious a declaration here to declare, how many good men, through this man's help and defence, have been relieved and delivered out of danger; of whom a great number after his fall, being deprived of their patron, (as it were,) did shortly after perish: there are many of them, however, yet alive at this present day, who are witnesses of these things which we report, and greater things also than these. In this manner the Omnipotent God hath always accustomed, in all commonwealths, to moderate adversity with prosperity, and things hurtful with others more wholesome and healthful; whereby it happeneth, that as oftentimes good and fortunate planets are joined with the hurtful and noisome, they do either utterly dissipate their mad furies, or at least somewhat keep them back; whereby, if they be not utterly prohibited, yet they do less hurt than otherwise they would: which thing, if it were to be conferred with the histories of our old fathers, Jehu, the sharp punisher of superstitious idolatry in the sacred commonwealth, was not much unlike this man. Likewise, in profane commonwealths, Camillus, and Cicero, who, through his singular prudence, joined with eloquence, withstood and put off the wicked enterprises of Catiline. Albeit that the terror conceived upon the conspiracy of Catiline, was not so noisome unto the commonwealth of Rome, as the bloody and insatiable cruelty and slaughter of these our bishops, conspiracies which do every where vex and trouble the Christian commonwealth: for, albeit that Catiline, through his wicked enterprise, went about the death of all good men, and the destruction of the commonwealth, yet did he rather put it in fear, than wound the commonwealth. But all the life and doings of these men are nothing else but a conspiracy, according to the prophecy of Isaiah; so that they do seem twice worse than any Catiline: for whatsoever he went about, by any privy pretence of his mind, that these men do perform openly: neither was it to be doubted but that he, albeit he were ever so cruel or fierce of nature, yet if he had had the upper hand, he would at once have made an end of murdering and killing. But these men, although they daily, in every place, kill Christ in his holy members, yet they never appoint or ordain any end or measure of their slaughter: which kind of men, (albeit there be nothing in a manner by nature more cruel,) besides their natural cruelty, they are endued with craft and subtlety, which is far worse, not being so hurtful by the one, as detestable for the other: for an open enemy, be he ever so mighty or fierce, yet if he cannot be vanquished, he may be taken heed of. And it happeneth oftentimes that violence, which is foreseen, may easily, or with like violence, be repulsed; or at least the wound that is received by another man's violence, is less grievous than that which cometh by fraud or deceit. But these men do not kill with armour and weapon, but, going a privier way to work, yet do the same: being so much the more to be blamed, forasmuch as they themselves, being the authors of the murder, do so put off the matter

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from themselves to others, as though they were free from all suspicion of cruelty. But here a man may the more perceive the inveterate subtleties of the old serpent, besides that, the more to provoke cruelty, there are added most plausible and honest titles, whereby the better all mercy and pity might be excluded; and also that they, even in their greatest tyranny, when they have committed or done any thing most cruel or horrible, yet they might deserve praise of the common people, as for a most holy work, done *ex officio*, as they call it. So, under the name of Christ, they daily persecute Christ, and under the pretence and cloak of peace, they kill more than any murderers; and, while they do take upon them the name and title of the church, they do violently invade the church of Christ.

In foreign wars it happeneth oftentimes that truces are taken; and where towns are yielded, the mercy of the conqueror spareth many; kindred and age hath his respect, and many are set at liberty either by entreaties or ransom. But these do so much exceed all measure of nature, humanity, and reason; they are so addicted to their pleasures, dignity, and ease, that they have no consideration or regard of any life, estate, or condition. The cruel times of Queen Mary, and of the bishops, did of late sufficiently declare the same, when nature would in a manner set forth unto all men in this realm, as it were by a perfect example, what extreme cruelty, joined with superstition, may do in any realm; so that if all empires should be governed or ruled after that example, it were better that there were no society of commonwealths; yea, it were better for men to wander in the wilderness, and to lead a rude and savage life amongst the wild beasts. For upon what wild beast, upon what libard, wolf, or panther, were it not better for a man to fall, than upon such bishops? if at least the bishops of other nations were like unto our Bonner. They boast themselves, upon the name of Christ, to be Christians; neither do I deny them that title. But why, in their manners and living, doth there no spark of his nature appear, whose denomination they bear? In all their titles and profession, they pretend nothing else but peace: and whereupon happen so many complaints, so many suspicions, so great hatred and prodicion? so many articles, censures, condemnation, and peremptory sentences, in so quiet and peaceable a people?

They object also often, unto us the catholic church, that they are the true spouse, and the only dove of Christ. I hear them well, but that meek dove of Christ is without any gall, bile, or claws; that is to say, lacketh all kind of wrath, suspicion, prodicion, and tyranny. Where, then, is the simplicity of that dove, whereupon hath happened so great bloodshed and slaughter in the meek spouse of the Lord? Who ever heard tell, that a dove did kill or devour either kites or hawks? But, if they think they do Christ so great and acceptable service through this their raging slaughter, surely they must show us another manner of Christ, than him whom the evangelists describe unto us, whom the apostles show forth in their writings.

But they cry out and say, as "They are heretics!" "they are worthy to die!" Let them bring forth one article out of the Apostles' Creed which these heretics do deny. They do, indeed, deny the blessed body of Christ to be in the sacrament naturally; but again, they confess him to be in heaven, and there do reverence and worship him. Why have the apostles, then, left out that article of their creed, if it be so necessary as they teach it to be? Albeit they do not, by and by, take away Christ out of the sacrament, who confess the bread to be in the sacrament. And again, it is no contumely unto Christ, if a man do rather judge him to be worshipped in the heaven, than in the sacrament: for he who denieth the emperor to be at Brussels, doth not derogate any thing from the emperor's authority, as I think, but only contendeth upon the place. What grievous

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cause or quarrel is this, then, that should move and stir up the peaceable mind of this simple dove, to such rage and fury, that, notwithstanding the great slaughter of Christians which hath been already made, they can yet find no beginning to show favour, or make any end of their murder!

But, go to, let us feign with ourselves (which thing, notwithstanding, I would that all men should think it spoken by me, not to the reproof or contumely of any man: for here I declare no man's name, neither show any man's person; but only set it forth for an example): let us, as I say, freely think and feign, that Satan dwelleth upon earth amongst men, and leadeth a manly life. Thou sayest, "It cannot be by nature;" but yet it may so be supposed. Now I will ask of some of these papists, (but of such a one as is of an equal judgment,) or of the bishop of Rome himself, that he would clearly and distinctly answer me, by what means he doth think that he would rule and order his life: whether he would not, first, direct all his doings, according to his insatiable ambition, violently to get unto himself the dominion of the whole world; placing himself in the highest degree and dignity; distributing all other promotions according to his own will; he himself being subject unto no power, but exalting himself, if he might, even as high as God. Would he not convert all men's goods and substance, by what means soever he may lay hold of it, upon most extreme riot and filthy pleasure? Moreover, would he not foresee to lead a life wholly in idleness, without all sorrow, care, or trouble?

Furthermore, I do not think him so holy, that in this delicate life he would also live chaste; neither yet that he will be troubled with the care or charge of a wife, but rather choose a middle or mean way, which, through wanton lust, hath more delectation, less charge, but no true holiness in it at all. Then, he, who from the beginning hath been a murderer and liar, and the father thereof, retaineth so the same nature still, that he rejoiceth in nothing more than in the continual slaughter and destruction of men: neither is it to be doubted but that, when he cannot be suffered openly to rage, he will, by all crafty means and ways, at last satisfy his cruel mind. And what way would Satan himself, if he were present, gentle reader! (if I may by your licence speak the truth,) find more crafty or subtle than the bishop of Rome hath now found; who, under the person and vicarage of the most meek and gentle Christ, under the beautiful shadow of the church and peace, doth practise his extreme cruelty and madness, mixing and confounding all things with blood? And, albeit that daily, with greater outrage, he exerciseth the same throughout all Christendom, yet the Christian princes and noble counsellors are so blind and void of judgment, that they do not see what difference is between Christ and antichrist, light and darkness, truth and falsehood. They do little regard it, and nothing at all seek to help it: so that either we may seem to be fallen on Isaiah's times, or those days to have come upon us. The just man, saith he, perisheth, and there is no man that taketh any care for him. This great rage and tempest of cruelty, required a public reformation of all good princes. Now, forasmuch as their power and authority do sleep in such necessary and weighty matters, by whom it were convenient the Christian commonwealth should be restored, I may not prognosticate that which my mind doth foreshow unto me. This only I do wish, that God do not bring that to pass by the Turk, which Christian princes ought to have done.

But now, to return to our Christian Camillus, being such a one as if the courts of princes had but a few such counsellors, the Christian commonwealths would, at this day, be in a far better estate. This Cromwell (as I have said) was but of a base stock, but of such virtue as, not

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without sorrow, we may wish for, even in the most noble families now-a-days. He was first brought up in the cardinal's court, where he did bear several offices, wherein he showed such tokens and likelihood of excellent wit and fidelity, that, in short space, he seemed more meet for the king than for the cardinal.

But here I must of necessity answer the complaint of certain of our countrymen: for so I hear of many, that the subversion of these monasteries is to be reprehended, as evil and wicked. The buildings, say they, might have been converted into schools and houses of learning: the goods and possessions might have been bestowed to much better and more godly use of the poor, and maintaining of hospitality. Neither do I deny but that these things are well and godly spoken of them, and could willingly embrace their opinion with my whole heart, if I did not consider herein a more secret and deeper meaning of God's holy providence, than at the first blush, peradventure, to all men doth appear.



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And first, to omit the wicked and execrable life of these religious orders, full of all feditie, and found out by the king's visitors, and in their registers also recorded, so horrible to be heard, so incredible to be believed, so stinking before the face of God and man, that no marvel it is, if God's vengeance from heaven, provoked, would not suffer any stone or monument of these abominable houses to be unplucked up. But, as I said, letting these things pass under chaste silence, which for very shame will abhor any story to disclose, let us now come to the first institution of these orders and houses of monkery, and consider how, and to what end, they were first instituted and erected here among the Saxons at the first foundation of them, about the year 666.

In the former part of this history, declaration was made, first by whom and at what time these monkish houses here in England among the Saxons (flowing no doubt out of the order of St. Benedict, and brought in by Augustine) began first to be founded: as by Augustine the monk, Furseus, Maidulph, Aldune, Ceadda, King Ulfer, Oswy, Elfrida, King Oswy's daughter, Kineburga, Hilda, Botolph, Edeldrida, King Oswald, Edgar, Erkenwald, bishop of London, Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, Oskitell, archbishop of York, Oswald, bishop of Worcester, Leswine, bishop of Dorchester, Dunstan, and divers others.

The end and final cause why they were builded, appeareth in stories to be, for the remission of sins and redemption of sinners, for the relief of souls, for the love of heaven, for the salvation and repose of the spirits of our fathers, mothers, sisters, brothers, and all our benefactors, and in honour of the glorious Virgin; as may appear in ancient histories, in old charters and donations unto religious houses, and in the chronicle of Ingulphus; as also all other stories be full of the same.

So King Athelstan, for killing his brother Edwin, builded two monasteries, Middleton and Michaelney, for his soul: which doctrine and institution, forasmuch as it tendeth and soundeth directly against the foundation of Christian religion, against the testament of God, the gospel of Jesus Christ, the freedom of our redemption and free justification by faith, it is then to be condemned as execrable or horrible, as evil worse than the life of the persons; and not only worthy to be suppressed to the foundation, but to be marvelled at rather, that God would suffer it to stand so long. Albeit God's mighty vengeance and scourge hath not ceased from time to time to work against such impious foundations, from the time of their first setting up. For besides the invasions of the Danes, (which may seem to be stirred up of God especially for the subversion of abbeyes,) let old histories be searched, what monastery almost in all this realm was either left by the Danes, or re-edified again after the Danes, but by some notorious casualty of fire, sent by God's hand, it hath been burned up?

First, the monastery of Canterbury, called the house of St. Gregory, was burned A.D. 1145, and afterwards again burned A.D. 1174..

The abbey of Crowland was also twice burnt. The abbey of Peterborough was twice set on fire, A.D. 1070.

The abbey of St. Mary's in York burned, with the hospital also.

The abbey of Norwich burned.

The abbey of St. Edmund's Bury burned and destroyed.

The abbey of Worcester.

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The abbey of Gloucester was also burned. The abbey of Chichester burned.
The abbey of Glastonbury burned.
The abbey of St. Mary in Southwark burned.
The church of the abbey of Beverley burned.
The steeple of the abbey of Evesham burned.

These, with many other monasteries more, God brought down to the ground, so that few or none of all the monistical foundations in all England, either before the conquest, escaped the hands of the Danes and Scots, or else after the conquest, escaped destruction of fire, and that not without just cause deserved; for, as the trade of their lives was too, too wretched and bestial, so the profession of their doctrine was intolerable, fraught with all superstition, full of much idolatry, and utterly contrary to the grace of the gospel and doctrine of Christ.

Furthermore, the more these abbeys multiplied, and the longer they continued, in time the more corruption still they drew unto them. And albeit we read the names of monks to have continued from the old ancient time, yet, notwithstanding, the monks of those days were not like the monks of our time, nor their houses then like to our abbeys now. So we read of the monks of Bangor before the coming of Augustine: but those monks got their living with toil and labour of their hands, and had no other lands or lordships to live upon. Again, neither were they as ministers then, but as laymen, according as Jerome describeth the monks of his time, saying, "A monk's office is not to preach, but to mourn;" and again he saith, "The state of a monk is one thing, and the state of a priest is another;" "Priests feed the flock of Christ;" "I am fed," &c.

Also in the story of Ingulph, abbot of Crowland, thus I find: "Being installed in the abbey of Crowland, A.D. 1076, I found there to the number of sixty-two monks: of which monks, four of them were lay-brethren, besides the monks of other monasteries who were also professed to our chapter," &c.

The like matter also appeareth in the fourth canon of the council of Chalcedon, where it is provided, That monks may not mix themselves up with ecclesiastical affairs; and Leo, epist. 62, forbids monks and laymen, especially if they glory in the name of science, to be admitted to the office of teaching and preaching. Whereof read more before.

Thus it appeareth, about or before the time of Jerome, that monks in the first persecutions of the primitive church were laymen, and companies of Christians associating themselves together, either for fear of persecution, or for eschewing the company of heathen Gentiles. Afterwards, in continuance of time, when the Gentiles began to be called to Christianity, the monks, yet keeping their name, and growing in superstition, would not join with other Christians, but kept still their brotherhoods, dividing themselves from other Christians, and professing a kind of life strange and diverse from the common trade. Upon this diversity of life and profession, followed also like diversity of garments and attire differing from their other brethren. After this, moreover, came in the rule of St. Benedict, enjoining to them a prescribed form of going, of wearing, of watching, sleeping, rising, praying; of silence, sole life, and diet, and all things almost differing from the vulgar sort of common Christians.

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Whereby men, seeing their austerity, began to have them in great admiration. And thus, growing up in opinion of holiness, of laymen and labourers they came at length to be clergymen, and greatest doers of all others in Christ's religion; insomuch that at last there was none reputed almost for a religious man or perfect Christian, unless he were a monk: neither almost was any advanced to any dignity of the church, but either he was a monk, or afterwards he put on a monk's weed. According as in the stories of this realm is to be seen, how in the time of Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, of Oswald, bishop of Worcester, and of Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, Pope John the Thirteenth, writing to King Edgar, willed him, in his letters, to see in his cathedral churches none to be promoted to be bishops, but such as were of the monastical religion; and willed him, moreover, to exclude the secular prebendaries at Winchester, and to place in monks; and that none of the secular clerks there should be chosen bishop, but either be taken out of the same convent of that church, or of some other abbey.

So was also King Henry the Second commanded to do in the house of Waltham, where the secular canons were removed out, and regular canons intruded. The same did Bishop Oswald with the church of Worcester; likewise in their sees did Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, Oskitell, archbishop of York, Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, (who in stories is reported to be *multorum fundator monasteriorum*,) Leofwine also, bishop of Dorchester; with other bishops more, about the time and reign of King Edgar. Odo, archbishop of Canterbury before Dunstan, after his election, A.D. 941, refused to take that dignity upon him, before he had received the habit of a monk in the abbey of Fleury in France, "because," as the story telleth, (if it be true,) "all the archbishops of Canterbury before him had been monks," &c. In like manner Baldwin also, A.D. 1184, after he was elected archbishop of Canterbury, took upon him the Cistercian habit in Ford Abbey: and so Reginald, his next successor after him, also took the habit of a monkish order, &c.

As concerning therefore the origin of monks, ye have heard how first they began of laymen only, leading a straiter life from the society of other persons; who, then following the rule of St. Benedict, were called Regulars, and Votaries; and yet all this while had nothing to do with any ecclesiastical ministry, till the time of Pope Boniface the Fourth, A.D. 607; who then made a decree, that monks might use the office of preaching, of christening, of hearing confessions, and assoiling men of their sins; differing from priests only in this, that they were called *Regulares*, and priests were called *Seculares*; the monks were votaries: the priests had free liberty to have wives, till the time of Lanfranc and Anselm, as is before said. Albeit, Athanasius, in his epistle *Ad Dracontium*, witnesseth also, that he knew monks in the old time, and bishops, who were married and had children. Furthermore, as ignorance and superstition with time increased, so the number and swarm of monks still more and more multiplied, in such sort as not only they thrust out secular priests from their houses, but also out of them were made popes, cardinals, archbishops, and bishops, to govern churches; of which number began Augustine, the first archbishop of the see of Canterbury, and the most part of all other archbishops after him, until the time of the conquest, and after.

All this while the friars were not yet come: neither the discipline of St. Dominic, nor the testament of St. Francis, nor the order of the Augustine brothers, nor of the Carmelites, was yet heard of; which, last of all, came in with their pageants, and played their part likewise, A.D. 1240, being much more full of hypocrisy, blindness, idolatry, and superstition, than were the

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monks. So that, what with monks on the one side, and with the friars on the other side, while all things were ruled by the rules of St. Benedict, by the canons of the pope, by the doctrine of St. Dominic, and by the testament of St. Francis, Christ's testament was trodden under foot, the rule of God's word neglected, true Christian religion defaced, faith forgotten, the right way of salvation abolished, sound doctrine oppressed, Christ's servants persecuted, and the people's souls uncomforted; yea, and the true church of Christ almost clean extirpated, had not Almighty God (who cannot forget his promise) provided remedy in time, in raising up this Cromwell his servant, and other like champions, to cut up from the root the houses of them, that, otherwise, would utterly have rooted up the house of the Lord, and had subverted a great part already.

Wherefore, whosoever findeth himself aggrieved with Cromwell's doings, in suppressing these monasteries of monks and friars, let him wisely consider with himself, first, the doctrine, laws, and traditions of these men, which he shall find rebelling to the religion of Christ, pernicious to our salvation, derogatory to Christ's glory, full of much blasphemy and damnable idolatry. Secondly, let him likewise well advise the horrible and execrable lives of these cloisterers, or at least search out the rolls and registers of matters found out by inquisition in King Henry the Eighth's days, against them; which here is not to be spoken of, unless we will speak as Matthew Paris speaketh of the court of Rome, "whose filthy stench," saith he, "did breathe up a most pestiferous fume, even unto the clouds of heaven," &c.

All which things well considered, what marvel is it then, if God, of his just judgment, did set up the aforesaid Lord Cromwell to destroy these sinful houses, whom their own corruptions could suffer no longer to stand? And as touching the dissipation of their lands and possessions to the hands of such as they were bestowed upon, if it so pleased the king, in bestowing those abbey-lands upon his nobles and gentlemen, either to restore them again unto them from whence they came, or else to gratify his nobility by that means, of policy, not to mislike his doings, what is that to Cromwell?" But they might," say you, "have been much better employed to other more fruitful uses."

Briefly to answer thereunto: what may be done presently in a commonwealth, it is not enough to say; but what may also follow must be considered. If this throwing down of abbeyes had happened in such free and reformed cities and countries as are amongst the Germans, where the state, governed and directed by laws, rather than by rulers, remaineth always alike and immutable, who doubteth but such houses there standing still, the possessions might well be transposed to such uses above said, without any fear or peril? But, in such realms and kingdoms as this, where laws and parliaments be not always one, but are subject to the disposition of the prince, neither is it certain always what princes may come; therefore the surest way to send monkery and popery packing out of this realm, is to do with their houses and possessions as King Henry here did, through the motion and counsel of Cromwell. For else, who seeth not in Queen Mary's time, if either the houses of monks had stood, or their lands had been otherwise disposed than into the hands of such as they were, how many of them had been restored and replenished again with monks and friars, in as ample wise as ever they were? And if dukes, barons, and the nobility, scarce were able to retain the lands and possessions of abbeyes distributed to them by King Henry, from the devotion of Queen Mary seeking to build again the walls of Jericho, what then should the meaner sort have done, let other men conjecture. Wherefore it is not unlikely but that God's heavenly providence did well foresee and dispose these things before by this man, in

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working the destruction of these abbeys; whereupon, as often as he sent out any men to suppress any monastery, he used most commonly to send them with this charge: that they should throw down those houses even to the foundation. Which words, although they may seem, percase, to some, to be cruelly spoken by him; yet, contrariwise, do I suppose the doing thereof not to be without God's special providence and secret guiding. Or else we might, peradventure, have had such swarms of friars and monks possessed in their nests again before this day in England, in so great a number, that ten Cromwells, afterwards, scarcely should have sufficed to have unhoused them. Wherefore, if the plantation, which the Lord God never planted, be plucked up by the roots, let God alone with his working, and let the monasteries go.

Furthermore, as touching the godly use of the poor, schools, and stipends of preachers, (for unto these three, diligent respect is to be had in every commonwealth,) there are other means provided, which, as they are alike honest, so are they also much more sure, so that the ancient godliness do not slack in the nobility. And if the nobility, in times past, have been so liberal in bestowing so great costs and charges upon things wherein there is no godliness, how uncomely would it be, for the true gospellers to be more niggardly in preferring true godliness and the study of the gospel!

Now that you have seen what this *malleus monachorum* hath done in defacing the synagogue of the pope, let us see how the same Cromwell again did travail, in setting up Christ's church and congregation.

After that the bishop of Rome's power and authority were banished out of England, the bishops of his sect never ceased to seek all occasion how, either to restore his head again, being broken and wounded, or at least to keep upright those things which yet remained; wherein although their labours were not altogether frustrated, yet had they brought much more to pass, if Cromwell (as a mighty wall and defence of the church) had not resisted continually their enterprises.

It happened that after the abolishing of the pope, certain tumults began to rise about religion; whereupon it seemed good unto King Henry, to appoint an assembly of learned men and bishops, who should soberly and modestly treat and determine those things which pertained unto religion. Briefly, at the king's pleasure, all the learned men, but especially the bishops, assembled, to whom this matter seemed chiefly to belong. Cromwell thought also to be present himself with the bishops, and, by chance, meeting with Alexander Alesius by the way, a Scottish man, brought him with him to the Convocation-house, where all the bishops were assembled together. This was in the year 1537. The bishops and prelates attending upon the coming of Cromwell, as he was come in, rose up and did obeisance unto him as to their vicar-general, and he again saluted every one in their degree, and sat down in the highest place at the table, according to his degree and office; and, after him, every bishop in his order, and doctors. First, over against him, sat the archbishop of Canterbury; then the archbishop of York, the bishops of London, Lincoln, Salisbury, Bath, Ely, Hereford, Chichester, Norwich, Rochester, and Worcester, &c. There Cromwell, in the name of the king, (whose most dear and secret counsellor at that present he was, and lord privy seal, and vicar-general of the realm,) spake these words in manner following:

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"Right reverend fathers in Christ! The king's Majesty giveth you high thanks that ye have so diligently, without any excuse, assembled hither according to his commandment. And ye be not ignorant that ye be called hither to determine certain controversies, which at this time be moved concerning the Christian religion and faith, not only in this realm, but also in all nations through the world. For the king studieth day and night to set a quietness in the church; and he cannot rest until all such controversies be fully debated and ended, through the determination of you, and of his whole parliament. For, although his special desire is to set a stay for the unlearned people, whose consciences are in doubt what they may believe; and he himself, by his excellent learning, knoweth these controversies well enough, yet he will suffer no common alteration, but by the consent of you and his whole parliament: by which thing ye may perceive both his high wisdom, and also his great love toward you. And he desireth you, for Christ's sake, that all malice, obstinacy, and carnal respect set apart, ye will friendly and lovingly dispute among yourselves of the controversies moved in the church; and that you will conclude all things by the word of God, without all brawling or scolding: neither will his Majesty suffer the Scripture to be wrested and defaced by any glosses, any papistical laws, or by any authority of doctors and councils; and much less will he admit any articles or doctrine not contained in the Scripture, but approved only by continuance of time and old custom, and by unwritten verities, as ye were wont to do. Ye know well enough, that ye be bound to show this service to Christ and to his church; and yet, notwithstanding, his Majesty will give you high thanks, if ye will set and conclude a godly and a perfect unity: whereunto this is the only way and mean, if ye will determine all things by the Scripture, as God commandeth you in Deuteronomy; which thing his Majesty exhorteth and desireth you to do."

When Cromwell had ended this his oration, the bishops rose up altogether, giving thanks unto the king's Majesty, not only for his great zeal toward the church of Christ, but also for his most godly exhortation, worthy so Christian a prince.

Immediately they rose up to disputation, where Stokesley, bishop of London, first of all, being the most earnest champion and maintainer of the Romish decrees, (whom Cromwell a little before had checked by name, for defending unwritten verities,) endeavoured himself, with all his labour and industry, out of the old school glosses, to maintain the seven sacraments of the church: the archbishop of York, and the bishops of Lincoln, Bath, Chichester, and) Norwich, also favoured his part and sect. On the contrary part were the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Salisbury, Ely, Hereford, Worcester, with many others.

After much communication had on either part, and when they had long contended about the testimonies of the doctors, which, as it seemed unto them, dissented and disagreed among themselves, the archbishop of Canterbury at last spake, and said thus unto them:

"It beseemeth not men of learning and gravity to make such babbling and brawling about bare words, so that we agree in the very substance and effect of the matter. For to brawl about words, is the property of sophisters, and such as mean deceit and subtlety, who delight in the debate and dissension of the world, and in the miserable state of the church; and not of them that should seek the glory of Christ, and should study for the unity and quietness of the church. There be weighty controversies now moved and put forth, not of ceremonies and light things, but of the true understanding, and of the right difference of the law and of the gospel; of the manner and

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way how sins be forgiven; of comforting doubtful and wavering consciences, by what means they may be certified that they please God, seeing they feel the strength of the law accusing them of sin; of the true use of the sacraments, whether the outward work of them doth justify man, or whether we receive our justification by faith. Item, which be the good works, and the true service and honour which please God; and whether the choice of meats, the difference of garments, the vows of monks and priests, and other traditions, which have no word of God to confirm them; whether these, I say, be right good works, and such as make a perfect Christian man, or no? Item, whether vain service and false honouring of God, and man's traditions, do bind men's consciences, or no? Finally, whether the ceremony of confirmation, of orders, and of annoying, and such other, (which cannot be proved to be instituted of Christ, nor have any word in them to certify us of remission of sins,) ought to be called sacraments, and to be compared with baptism and the supper of the Lord, or no?

"These be no light matters, but even the principal points of our Christian religion: wherefore we contend not about words and trifles, but about high and earnest matters. Christ saith, Blessed be the peacemakers, for they shall be called the sons of God. And Paul, writing unto Timothy, commanded bishops to avoid brawling and contention about words, which be profitable to nothing, but unto the subversion and destruction of the hearers; and admonisheth him especially, that he should resist with the Scriptures, when any man disputeth with him of the faith: and he addeth a cause, whereas he saith, Doing this thou shalt preserve both thyself, and also them which hear thee. Now, if ye will follow these counsellors, Christ and Paul, all contention and brawling about words must be set apart, and ye must establish a godly and a perfect unity and concord out of the Scripture. Wherefore, in this disputation, we must first agree of the number of the sacraments, and what a sacrament doth signify in the Holy Scripture; and when we call baptism and the supper of the Lord, sacraments of the gospel, what we mean thereby. I know right well that St. Ambrose, and other authors, call the washing of the disciples' feet, and other things, sacraments; which I am sure you yourselves would not suffer to be numbered among the other sacraments."

When he had ended his oration, Cromwell commanded Alesius, which stood by, (whom he perceived to give attentive ear to that which was spoken,) to show his mind and opinion, declaring to the bishops before, that he was the king's scholar; and therefore desired them to be contented to hear him indifferently.

Alesius, after he had first done his duty unto the Lord Cromwell, and to the prelates of the church, said in this wise:

"Right honourable and noble lord, and you most reverend fathers and prelates of the church! although I come unprepared unto this disputation, yet, trusting in the aid of Christ, who promiseth to give both mouth and wisdom unto us when we be required of our faith, I will utter my sentence and judgment of this disputation. And I think that my lord archbishop hath given you a profitable exhortation, that ye should first agree of the signification of a sacrament, whether ye will call a sacrament a ceremony instituted by Christ in the gospel, to signify a special or a singular virtue of the gospel and of godliness, (as Paul nameth remission of sins to be,) or whether ye mean every ceremony generally, which may be a token or a signification of a holy thing, to be a sacrament? For after this latter signification, I will not stick to grant you that

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there be seven sacraments, and more too, if ye will. But yet Paul seemeth to describe a sacrament after the just signification, where he saith, that circumcision is a token and a seal of the righteousness of faith. This definition of one particular sacrament must be understood to appertain unto all sacraments generally: for the Jews had but one sacrament only, as all the scholastical writers do grant. And he describeth baptism after the same manner, in the Ephesians, where he saith, that Christ doth sanctify the church; that into say, all that be baptized, through the bath of water, in the word of life. For here, also, he addeth the word and promise of God unto the ceremony. And Christ, also, requireth faith where he saith, Whosoever believeth and is baptized, shall be saved.

"And St. Augustine describeth a sacrament thus: 'The word of God, coming unto the element, maketh the sacrament.' And, in another place, he saith, 'A sacrament is a thing wherein the power of God, under the form of visible things, doth work secretly salvation.' And the Master of the Sentences doth describe a sacrament no otherwise: 'A sacrament,' saith he, 'is an invisible grace, and hath a visible form: and by this invisible grace I mean,' saith he, 'remission of sins.' Finally, St. Thomas denieth that any man hath authority to institute a sacrament. Now, if ye agree unto this definition of a sacrament, it is an easy thing to judge of the number of those sacraments which have the manifest word of God, and be instituted by Christ, to signify unto us the remission of our sins.

"St. Augustine saith, that there be but two such sacraments; his words be these, First, I would have thee to understand the sum and effect of this disputation, which is this: That our Lord Jesus Christ (as he himself saith in the gospel) hath laden us but with a light and easy yoke or burden. Wherefore he hath knit together the fellowship of this new people with sacraments, very few in number, very easy to be kept, and very excellent in signification; which be baptism, and the supper of the Lord, and such others, if there be any more commanded in the Holy Scripture; those except, which were burdens for the servitude of the people in the old law, for the hardness of their hearts,' &c. And again, in the third book of The Learning of a Christian Man, he saith, 'The Scripture hath taught us but few signs, as be the sacrament of baptism, and the solemn celebration and remembrance of the body and blood of the Lord.'"

Then the bishop of London, which could scarcely refrain himself all this while, and now could forbear no longer, brake out in this manner: "First of all," saith he, "where you allege that all the sacraments which are in the church, instituted by Christ himself, have either some manifest ground in the Scriptures, or ought to show forth some signification of remission of sins, it is false, and not to be allowed."

Then said Alesius, that he would prove it, not only by manifest authorities of Scripture, but also by evident testimonies of ancient doctors and school-writers.

But the bishop of Hereford, (which was then lately returned out of Germany, where he had been ambassador for the king to the protestants,) being moved with the bishop of London's frowardness, turning himself first to Alexander Alesius, willed him not to contend with the bishop in such manner, by the testimonies of doctors and schoolmen, forasmuch as they do not all agree in like matters, neither are they stedfast among themselves in all points, but do vary, and in many points are utterly repugnant. "Wherefore, if this disputation shall be decided by their

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minds and verdicts, there shall be nothing established, neither shall appear any way of agreement to follow. Furthermore, we be commanded by the king, that these controversies should be determined only by the rule and judgment of the Scripture." This he spake unto Alesius. Then, turning himself unto the bishops, he likewise admonished them, with a grave and sharp oration, which we thought not good to omit in this place.

"Think ye not that we can by any sophistical subtleties steal out of the world again the light which every man doth see. Christ hath so lightened the world at this time, that the light of the gospel hath put to flight all misty darkness; and it will shortly have the higher hand of all clouds, though we resist in vain ever so much. The lay people do now know the Holy Scripture better than many of us; and the Germans have made the text of the Bible so plain and easy, by the Hebrew and Greek tongues, that now many things may be better understood without any glosses at all, than by all the commentaries of the doctors. And, moreover, they have so opened these controversies by their writings, that women and children may wonder at the blindness and falsehood that have been hitherto. Wherefore ye must consider earnestly what ye will determine of these controversies, that ye make not yourselves to be mocked and laughed to scorn of all the world, and that ye bring them not to have this opinion of you, to think evermore hereafter, that ye have neither one spark of learning, nor yet of godliness in you. And thus shall ye lose all your estimation and authority with them, that before took you for learned men, and profitable members unto the commonwealth of Christendom. For that which you do hope upon, that there was never heresy in the church so great, but that process of time, with the power and authority of the pope, hath quenched it, is nothing to the purpose. But ye must turn your opinion, and think this surely, that there is nothing so feeble and weak, so that it be true, but it shall find place, and be able to stand against a falsehood.

"Truth is the daughter of time, and time is the mother of truth; and whatsoever is besieged of truth, cannot long continue; and upon whose side truth doth stand, that ought not to be thought transitory, or that it will ever fall. All things consist not in painted eloquence, and strength or authority: for the truth is of so great power, strength, and efficacy, that it can neither be defended with words, nor be overcome with any strength, but after she hath hidden herself long, at length she putteth up her head and appeareth, as it is written in Esdras A king is strong; wine is strong; yet women be more strong: but truth excelleth all."

To this effect, in a manner, and much more, did he speak and utter in that convocation, both copiously and discreetly; through whose oration Alesius, being encouraged, proceeded to urge the bishop further with this argument.

The argument in form.

"Sacraments be seals ascertaining us of God's good will.

"Without the word there is no certainty of God's good will.

"Ergo, Without the word there be no sacraments.

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"The first part of this reason is St. Paul's own saying, in the fourth to the Romans, where he saith, that circumcision is a token and a seal of the righteousness of faith: ergo, it requireth faith to certify man's heart of the will of God. But the word of God is the foundation of faith, as St. Paul witnesseth, Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing cometh by the word of God: for the mind must be taught and instructed to the will of God by the word, like as the eye is taught and instructed by the outward ceremony. And so Paul, by that saying, confuteth this opinion, that the sacraments should make men righteous and just before God for the very outward work, without faith of them that receive them.

"And after this manner doth Paul speak unto the Ephesians: that Christ doth sanctify his church, through the bath of water, in the word of life. And forasmuch as he joineth the word unto the ceremony, and declareth the virtue and power of the word of God, that it bringeth with it life, he doth manifestly teach that the word of God is a principal thing, and even as it were the very substance and body of the sacrament; and the outward ceremony to be in very deed nothing else but a token of that lively inflammation, which we receive through faith in the word and promise. St. Paul also, in ministering the sacrament of the Lord's supper, doth manifestly add the words of Christ: He took bread, saith he, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and said, Take ye this, and eat ye this, for it is my body. Item, Do ye this in my remembrance. Besides this, he teacheth evidently that only Christ, and none but he, had power to institute a sacrament; and that neither have the apostles, nor hath the church, any authority to alter, or to add any thing unto his ordinance, whereas he saith, For I received of the Lord, that which I delivered unto you, &c. To what purpose should he go about to move the people to believe him, and to win their hearts with this protestation, if it had been lawful for him to have made any sacraments, or to have altered the form and manner of ministering the sacrament, as some men both wickedly and shamefully do affirm, that the apostles did alter the form of baptism."

When he had spoken thus much, the bishop of London did interrupt him, and said thus:

"Let us grant that the sacraments may be gathered out of the word of God, yet are ye far deceived if ye think that there is none other word of God, but that which every souter and cobbler doth read in his mother tongue. And if ye think that nothing pertaineth unto the Christian faith, but that only which is written in the Bible, then err ye plainly with the Lutherans: for St. John saith, that Jesus did many things which be not written; and St. Paul commandeth the Thessalonians to observe and keep certain unwritten traditions and ceremonies. Moreover he himself did preach not the Scripture only, but even also the traditions of the elders. Finally, we have received many things of the doctors and councils of by-times, which, although they be not written in the Bible, yet forasmuch as the old doctors of the church do make mention of them, we ought to grant that we received them of the apostles, and that they be of like authority with the Scripture; and, finally, that they may worthily be called, the word of God unwritten."

Now when the right noble Lord Cromwell, the archbishop, with the other bishops, who did defend the pure doctrine of the gospel, heard this, they smiled a little one upon another, forasmuch as they saw him flee, even in the very beginning of the disputation, unto his old rusty sophistry and unwritten verities. Then Alesius would have proceeded further with the bishop, to have confuted this blasphemous lie, but the Lord Cromwell bade him be content, for the time began to go away, and it was twelve o'clock; and thus he made an end with his protestation:

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"Right reverend master bishop, you deny that our Christian faith and religion doth lean only upon the word of God, which is written in the Bible: which thing if I can prove and declare, then you will grant me, that there be no sacraments but those that have the anifest word of God to confirm them."

Unto this he d consent, and then immediately that assembly was dissolved for that day. The next day, when the bishops were set again, the archbishop of Canterbury, sending his archdeacon, commanded Alesius to abstain from disputation: whereupon he wrote his mind, and delivered it to Cromwell, who afterward showed the same unto the bishops. Thus, through the industry of Cromwell, the colloquies were brought to this end, that albeit religion could not wholly be reformed, yet at that time there was some reformation had throughout all England.

How desirous and studious this good Cromwell was, in the cause of Christ's religion, examples need not to be brought. His whole life was nothing else but a continual care and travail how to advance and further the right knowledge of the gospel, and reform the house of God: as by so many proclamations above specified, by his means set forth, may well appear, wherein first he caused the people to be instructed in the Lord's Prayer and Creed in English. Then he procured the Scripture also to be read and set forth in the same language, for every Englishman to understand. After that, to rescue the vulgar people from damnable idolatry, he caused certain of the more gross pilgrimages to be destroyed. And further, for the more commodity of the poor sort, who get their living with their daily labour and work of their hands, he provided that divers idle holidays were diminished. Item, He procured for them liberty to eat eggs and white meat in Lent. Furthermore, it was by him also provided, for the better instruction of the people, that beneficed men should be resident in their cures and parishes, there to teach, and to keep hospitality, with many other things else, most fruitfully redressed for the reformation of religion and behoof of Christ's church: as by the proclamations, injunctions, and necessary articles of Christian doctrine above specified, set forth in the king's name, by his means, may more abundantly appear.

Now, to adjoin withal his private benefits, in helping divers good men and women at sundry times out of troubles and great distresses, it would require a long discourse. Briefly, his whole life was full of such examples, being a man to that intent ordained of God (as his deeds well proved) to do many men good, and especially such as were in danger of persecution for religion's sake. Amongst other infinite stories, one or two examples shall suffice for a testimony of his worthy doings; and first, how he helped a poor woman with child, out of great trouble, longing for a piece of meat in time of Lent.



N the year of our Lord 1538, Sir William Forman being mayor of the city of London, three weeks before Easter, the wife of one Thomas Frebarn, dwelling in Paternoster Row, being with child, longed after a morsel of a pig, and told her mind unto a maid dwelling in Abchurch Lane, desiring her, if it were possible, to help her unto a piece. The maid, perceiving her earnest desire, showed unto her husband what his wife had said unto her, telling him that it might chance to cost her her life, and the child's too, which she went withal, if she had it not. Upon this, Thomas Frebarn, her husband, spake to a butter-wife which he knew, that dwelled at Hornsey, named goodwife Fisher, to help him to a

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pig for his wife, for she was with child, and longed sore to eat of a pig: unto whom the said goodwife Fisher promised, that she would bring him one the Friday following; and so she did, being ready dressed and scalded before. But when she had delivered him the pig, she craftily conveyed one of the pig's feet, and carried it unto Dr. Cox's, at that time being dean of Canterbury, dwelling in Ivy Lane, who, at the time of his dinner, before certain guests which he had bidden, showed this pig's foot, declaring who had the body thereof. And after that they had talked their pleasure, and dinner was done, one of his guests, (being landlord unto Frebarn aforesaid, called Master Garter, and by his office, king at arms,) sent his man unto the said Frebarn, demanding if there were nobody sick in his house: unto whom he answered, that they were all in good health, he gave God thanks. Then said he again, It was told his master, that somebody was sick, or else they would not eat flesh in Lent: unto whom Frebarn made answer, that his wife was with child, and longed for a piece of a pig, and if he could get some for her, he would. Then departed his landlord's man home again.

And, shortly after, his landlord sent for him. But before that he had sent for him, he had sent for the bishop of London's sumner, whose name was Holland, and when this Frebarn was come, he demanded of him if he had not a pig in his house; which he denied not. Then commanded Master Garter the said sumner called Holland, to take him, and go home to his house, and to take the pig, and carry both him, and the pig, unto Dr. Stokesley his master, being then bishop of London: and so he did. Then the bishop, being in his chamber with divers other of the clergy, called this Frebarn before him, and had him in examination for this pig; laying also unto his charge, that he had eaten in his house, that Lent, powdered beef, and calves' heads. Unto whom Frebarn answered, "My Lord, if the heads were eaten in my house, in whose houses were the bodies eaten? also, if there be either man or woman that can prove, that either I, or any in my house, hath done as your Lordship saith, let me suffer death there-for." "You speak," said he, "against pilgrimages, and will not take holy bread, or holy water, nor yet go on procession on Palm Sunday; thou art no Christian man." "My Lord," said Frebarn, "I trust I am a true Christian man, and have done nothing either against God's law or my prince's."

In the time of this his examination, which was during the space of two hours, divers came unto the bishop; some to have their children confirmed, and some for other causes: unto whom as they came, having the pig before him covered, he would lift up the cloth and show it them, saying, "How think you of such a fellow as this is? Is not this good meat, I pray you, to be eaten in this blessed time of Lent; yea, and also powdered beef and calves' heads too, besides this!"

After this, the bishop called his sumner unto him, and commanded him to go and carry this Thomas Frebarn, and the pig, openly through the streets into the Old Bailey, unto Sir Roger Cholmley: for the bishop said, he had nothing to do to punish him, for that belonged unto the civil magistrates. And so was Frebarn carried, with the pig before him, to Sir Roger Cholmley's house in the Old Bailey; and he being not at home at that time, Frebarn was brought likewise back again unto the bishop's place with the pig, and there lay in the porter's lodge till it was nine o'clock at night. Then the bishop sent him unto the Compter in the Poultry, by the sumner and other of his servants.

The next day, being Saturday, he was brought before the mayor of London and his brethren, unto Guildhall; but, before his coming, they had the pig delivered unto them by the

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bishop's officer. Then the mayor and the bench laid unto his charge, (as they were informed from the bishop,) that he had eaten powdered beef and calves' heads in his house the same Lent: but no man was able to come in that would justify it, neither could any thing be found, save only the pig, which (as is before said) was for the preservation of his wife's life, and that she went withal. Notwithstanding the mayor of London said, that the Monday next following he should stand on the pillory in Cheapside, with the one half of the pig on the one shoulder, and the other half on the other.

Then spake the wife of the said Frebarn unto the mayor and the bench, desiring that she might stand there, and not he; for it was the long of her, and not of him. After this they took a satin list, and tied it fast about the pig's neck, and made Frebarn to carry it, hanging on his shoulder, until he came unto the Compter of the Poultry, from whence he came.

After this was done, the wife of this prisoner took with her an honest woman, the wife of one Michael Lobley, who was well acquainted with divers in the Lord Cromwell's house, unto whom the said woman resorted for some help for this prisoner, desiring them to speak unto their lord and master for his deliverance out of trouble.

It happened that the same time came in Dr. Barnes and Master Barlow, who, understanding the matter by Lobley's wife, went up to the Lord Cromwell, and certified him thereof; who, upon their request, sent for the mayor of the city of London: but what was said unto the lord mayor is unknown, saving that in the afternoon of the same day the wife of the person aforesaid resorted again unto the lord mayor, suing to get her husband delivered out of prison, declaring how that she had two small children, and had nothing to help her and them, but only her husband, who laboured for their livings. Unto whom the mayor answered, "What come ye to me? You are taken up by the king's council. I supposed, that you had come to desire me that your husband should not stand upon the pillory in Cheapside on Monday next, with the one half of the pig on his one shoulder and the other half on the other." Also the mayor said unto her, that he could not deliver him, without the consent of the rest of his brethren the aldermen: wherefore he bade her, the next day following, which was the sabbath day, to resort unto Paul's, to St. Dunstan's chapel, and when he had spoken with his brethren, he would then tell her more. Other answer could she not get at that time; wherefore she went unto Master Wilkinson, then being sheriff of London, desiring him to be good unto her, and that she might have her poor husband out of prison. Unto whom Master Wilkinson answered, "O woman, Christ hath laid a piece of his cross upon thy neck, to prove whether thou wilt help him to bear it or no:" saying, moreover, unto her, that if the lord mayor had sent him to his Compter, as he sent him to his brother's, he should not of tarried there an hour: and so commanded her to come the next day unto him to dinner, and he would do the best for her he could. So the next day came, and this woman resorted again to Master Wilkinson's according as he bade her, who also had bidden divers guests, unto whom he spake in her behalf. But as they were set at dinner, and she also sitting at the table, when she saw the hot fish come in, she fell down in a swoon, so that for the space of two hours they could keep no life in her. Wherefore they sent her home to her house in Paternoster-row, and then they sent for the midwife, supposing that she would have been delivered incontinent of her child that she went with, (but after that she came somewhat again to herself,) where she lay sick, and kept her bed the space of fifteen weeks after; being not able to help herself, but as she was helped of others, during the time of fifteen weeks.

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Now, to show further what became of this pig, whereof we have spoken so much, it was carried into Finsbury field by the bishop of London's sumner, at his master's commandment, and there buried. The Monday following, being the fourth day after that this prisoner aforesaid was apprehended, the mayor of London, with the residue of his brethren, being at Guildhall, sent for the prisoner aforesaid, and demanded sureties of him for his forthcoming, whatsoever hereafter should or might be laid unto his charge: but for lack of such sureties as they required, upon his own bond, which was a recognisance of twenty pounds, he was delivered out of their hands. But, shortly after he was delivered out of this his trouble, Master Garter, of whom we have spoken before, being his landlord, warned him out of his house, so that in four years after he could not get another, but was constrained to be with other good folks, to his great hinderance and undoing.

Hard it were, and almost out of number, to rehearse the names and stories of all them that felt the gentle help of this good man in some case or other. Where might be remembered the notable deliverance of one Gray, a smith of Bishop's Stortford, who, being accused for denying the sacrament of the altar to be our Saviour, was sent up for the same to London, and there should have been condemned to be burned, but that, by the means of the Lord Cromwell, he was sent home again and delivered. One other example, though it be somewhat long, with the circumstances and all, I will declare: how he helped the secretary that then was to Dr. Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, which secretary is yet alive, and can bear present record of the same.

How the Lord Cromwell helped Cranmer's secretary.

Mention was made before, how King Henry, in the twenty-first year of his reign, caused the Six Articles to pass, much against the mind, and contrary to the consent, of The archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, who had disputed three days against the same, in the parliament-house, with great reasons and authorities. Which articles, after they were granted and passed by the parliament, the king, for the singular favour which he ever bare to Cranmer, and reverence to his learning, being desirous to know what he had said and objected in the parliament against these articles, or what could be alleged by learning against the same, required a note of the archbishop of his doings, what he had said and opposed in the parliament touching that matter. And this word was sent to him from the king by Cromwell and other lords of the parliament, whom the king then sent to dine with him at Lambeth, somewhat to comfort again his grieved mind and troubled spirits, as hath been above recited.

Whereupon, when this dinner was finished, the next day after, the archbishop, collecting both his arguments, authorities of Scripture, and doctors together, caused his secretary to write a fair book thereof for the king, after this order. First, the Scriptures were alleged; then the doctors; thirdly, followed the arguments deduced from those authorities. This book was written in his secretary's chamber; where, in a by-chamber, lay the archbishop's almoner. When this book was fair written, and while the secretary was gone to deliver the same unto the archbishop his master, who was (as it then chanced) ridden to Croydon, returning back to his chamber, he found the door shut, and the key carried away to London by the almoner.

At this season also chanced the father of the said secretary to come to the city, by whose occasion it so fell out, that he must needs go to London. The book he could not lay in his

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chamber, neither durst he commit it to any other person to keep, being straitly charged, in any condition, by the archbishop his master, to be circumspect thereof; so that he determined to go to his father, and to keep the book about him. And so thrusting the book under his girdle, he went over unto Westminster bridge with a sculler, where he entered into a wherry that went to London, wherein were four of the guard, who meant to land at Paul's wharf, and to pass by the king's Highness, who then was in his barge, with a great number of barges and boats about him, then baiting of bears in the water, over against the bank.

These aforesaid yeoman of the guard, when they came against the king's barge, they durst not pass by towards Paul's wharf, lest they should be espied, and therefore entreated the secretary to go with them to the bear baiting, and they would find the means, being of the guard, to make room, and to see all the pastime. The secretary, perceiving no other remedy, assented thereto. When the wherry came nigh the multitude of the boats, they, with poleaxes, got the wherry so far, that being compassed with many other wherries and boats, there was no refuge if the bear should break loose and come upon them; as in very deed, within one Paternoster, the bear brake loose, and came into the boat where the yeoman of the guard were, and the said secretary. The guard forsook the wherry, and went into another barge, one or two of them leaping short, and so fell into the water. The bear and the dogs so shook the wherry wherein the secretary was, that the boat, being full of water, sunk to the ground; and being also, as it chanced, an ebbing tide, he there sat in the end of the wherry up to the middle in water; to whom came the bear and all the dogs. The bear, seeking as it were aid and succour of him, came back with his hinder parts upon him, and so rushing upon him, the book was loosed from his girdle, and fell into the Thames, out of his reach.

The flying of the people after that the bear was loose, from one boat to another, was so cumbersome, that divers persons were thrown into the Thames; the king commanding certain men that could swim to strip themselves naked, and to help to save them that were in danger. This pastime so displeased the king, that he bade "away, away with the bear, and let us all go hence!"

The secretary, perceiving his book to fleet away in the Thames, called to the bearward to take up the book. When the bearward had the book in his custody, being an arrant papist, far from the religion of his mistress, (for he was the Lady Elizabeth's bearward, now the queen's Majesty,) ere the secretary could come to land, he had delivered the book to a priest of his own affinity in religion, standing on the bank, who, reading in the book, and perceiving that it was a manifest refutation of the Six Articles, made much ado, and told the bearward, that whosoever claimed the book should surely be hanged. Anon the secretary came to the bearward for his book. "What," quoth the bearward, "dare you challenge this book? Whose servant are you?" "I am servant to one of the council," said the secretary, "and my lord of Canterbury is my master." "Yea marry," quoth the bearward, "I thought as much: you be like, I trust," quoth the bearward, "to be both hanged for this book." "Well," said he, "it is not so evil as you take it, and, I warrant you, my Lord will avouch the book to the king's Majesty. But I pray you let me have my book, and I will give you a crown to drink." "If you will give me five hundred crowns, you shall not have it," quoth the bearward.

With that the secretary departed from him, and understanding the malicious frowardness of the bearward, he learned that Blage, the grocer in Cheapside, might do much with the

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bearward, to whom the secretary brake this matter, requiring him to send for the bearward to supper, and he would pay for the whole charge therin; and besides that, rather than he would forego his book after this sort, the bearward should have twenty shillings to drink. The supper was prepared; the bearward was sent for and came. After supper the matter was treated of, and twenty shillings offered for the book. But do what could be done, neither friendship, acquaintance, nor yet reward of money, could obtain the book out of his hands, but that the same should be delivered unto some of the council that would not so slightly look on so weighty a matter, as to have it redeemed for a supper, or a piece of money. The honest man, Master Blage, with many good reasons, would have persuaded him not to be stiff in his own conceit, declaring that in the end he should nothing at all prevail of his purpose, but he laughed to scorn; getting neither penny nor praise for his travail. He, hearing that, rushed suddenly out of the doors from his friend Master Blage, without any manner of thanksgiving for his supper, more like a bearward, than like an honest man. When the secretary saw the matter so extremely to be used against him, he then thought it expedient to fall from any further practising of entreaty with the bearward, as with him that seemed rather to be a bear himself, than the master of the beast; determining the next morning to make the Lord Cromwell privy of the chance that happened.

So, on the next day, as the Lord Cromwell went to the court, the secretary declared the whole matter unto him, and how he had offered him twenty shillings for the finding thereof. "Where is the fellow?" quoth the Lord Cromwell. "I suppose," said the secretary, "that he is now in the court, attending to deliver the book unto some of the council" "Well," said the Lord Cromwell, "it maketh no matter; go with me thither, and I shall get you your book again." When the Lord Cromwell came into the hall of the court, there stood the bearward, with the book in his hand, waiting to have delivered the same unto Sir Anthony Brown, or unto the bishop of Winchester, as it was reported. To whom the Lord Cromwell said, "Come hither, fellow! what book hast thou there in thy hand?" and with that snatched the book out of his hand, and looking in the book, he said, "I know this hand well enough. This is your hand," said he to the secretary. "But where hadst thou this book?" quoth the Lord Cromwell to the bearward. "This gentleman lost it two days ago in the Thames," said the bearward. "Dost thou know whose servant he is?" said the Lord Cromwell. "He saith," quoth the bearward, "that he is my Lord of Canterbury's servant." "Why then didst thou not deliver to him the book, when he required it?" said the Lord Cromwell. "Who made thee so bold, as to detain and withhold any book or writing from a councillor's servant, especially being his secretary? It is more meet for thee to meddle with thy bears, than with such writing; and were it not for thy mistress' sake, I would set thee fast by the feet, to teach such malapert knaves to meddle with councillors' matters. Had not money been well bestowed upon such a good fellow as this is? that knoweth not a councillor's man from a cobbler's man! "And with those words the Lord Cromwell went up into the king's chamber of presence, and the archbishop's secretary with him, where he found, in the chamber, the lord of Canterbury. To whom he said, "My lord! I have found here good stuff for you, (showing to him the paper book that he had in his hand,) ready to bring both you, and this good fellow your man, to the halter; namely, if the knave bearward, now in the hall, might have well compassed it." At these words the archbishop smiled, and said, "He that lost the book is like to have the worst bargain, for besides that he was well washed in the Thames, he must write the book fair again:" and, at these words, the Lord Cromwell cast the book unto the secretary, saying, "I pray thee, Morice! go in hand therewith, by-and-by, with all expedition, for it must serve a turn." "Surely, my Lord, it somewhat rejoiceth me," quoth the Lord Cromwell, "that the varlet might have had

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of your man twenty shillings for the book, and now I have discharged the matter with never a penny, and shaken him well up for his over-much malapertness. I know the fellow well enough," quoth he, "there is not a ranker papist within this realm than he is, most unworthy to be a servant unto so noble a princess." And so, after humble thanks given to the Lord Cromwell, the said Morice departed with his book, which, when he again had fair written it, was delivered to the king's Majesty by the said Lord Cromwell, within four days after.

The Lord Cromwell not forgetting his old friends and benefactors.



It is commonly seen, that men advanced once from base degree to ample dignities, do rise also, with fortune, into such insolency and exaltation of mind, that not only they forget themselves, what they were, and from whence they came, but also cast out of remembrance all their old friends and former acquaintance, which have been to them before beneficial. From which sort of men how far the courteous condition of this Christian earl did differ, by divers examples it may appear; as by a certain poor woman keeping some time a victualling-house about Hounslow, to whom the said Lord Cromwell remained in debt for certain old reckonings, to the sum of forty shillings. It happened that the Lord Cromwell, with Cranmer archbishop of Canterbury, riding through Cheapside towards the court, in turning his eye over the way, and there espying this poor woman, brought now in need and misery, eftsoons caused her to be called unto him; who, being come, after certain questions, asked of her (if she were not such a woman, and dwelling in such a place); at last, he demanded if he were not behind for a certain payment of money between him and her. To whom, with reverent obeisance, she confessed that he owed her money for a certain old reckoning, which was yet unpaid; whereof she stood now in great necessity, but never durst call upon him, nor could come at him, to require her right. Then the Lord Cromwell, sending the poor woman home to his house, and one of his servants withal, that the porter should let her in, after his return from the court not only discharged the debt which he owed, but also gave her a yearly pension of four pounds, and a livery every year while she lived.

The like courtesy the said Lord Cromwell showed also to a certain Italian, who, in the city of Florence, had showed him much kindness in succouring and relieving his necessity, as in this story following may appear; which story, set forth and compiled in the Italian tongue by Bandello, and imprinted at Lucca, by Busdrago, A. D. 1554, I thought here to insert, with the whole order and circumstance thereof, as it is reported.

"Not many years past," saith the author, "there was in Florence a merchant, whose name was Francis, descended from the noble and ancient family of the Frescobalds. This gentleman was naturally endued with a noble and liberal mind, unto whom, also, through prosperous success and fortunate luck in his affairs and doings, much abundance of riches increased, so that he grew in great wealth, having his coffers replenished with many heaps of much treasure. According to the custom of merchants, he used his trade into many countries, but chiefly into England, where long time he lived, sojourning in London, keeping house to his great commendation and praise.

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"It happened that Francis Frescobald, being in Florence, there appeared before him a poor young man, asking his alms for God's sake. Frescobald, as he earnestly beheld this ragged stripling, who was not so disguised in his tattered attire, but that his countenance gave signification of much towardness and virtue in him, with conformity of manners agreeing to the same, being moved with pity, demanded of what country he was, and where he was born. 'I am, sir,' quoth he, 'of England, and my name is Thomas Cromwell. My father is a poor man, and by his occupation a cloth-shearer. I am strayed from my country, and am now come into Italy, with the camp of Frenchmen that were overthrown at Garigliano, where I was the page to a footman, carrying after him his pike and burganet.' Frescobald, partly considering the present state of this young man, and partly for the love he bare to the English nation, of whom he had received, in times past, sundry pleasures, received him into his house, and with such courtesy entertained his guest, that at his departure, when he was in mind to return to his country, he provided such necessaries as he in any way needed. He gave him both horse and new apparel, and sixteen ducats of gold in his purse, to bring him into his country. Cromwell, rendering his hearty thanks, took leave of his host, and returned into England. This Cromwell was a man of noble courage, and heroical spirit, given to enterprise great matters, very liberal, and a grave councillor, &c. But to our purpose. At what time Cromwell was so highly favoured of his prince, and advanced to such dignity as is aforesaid, Francis Frescobald (as it many times happeneth to merchants) was, by many misfortunes and great losses, cast back, and become very poor. For, according to conscience and equity, he paid whatsoever was due to any others from himself; but such debts as were owing unto him, he could by no means obtain: yet, calling further to remembrance that in England, by certain merchants, there was due to him the sum of fifteen thousand ducats, he so purposed with himself, that if he could recover that money, he would well content himself, and no longer deal in his trade of merchants, but quietly pass over the rest of his days.

"All things prepared for his journey, he, setting forward towards England, at last arrived at London, having utterly forgotten what courtesy long before he had showed to Cromwell; which is the property always of a good nature, for a man to forget what benefits he hath showed to others, but to keep in mind continually what he hath received of others. Frescobald, thus being now arrived at London, and there travelling earnestly about his business, it chanced him, by the way, to meet with this nobleman, as he was riding towards the court; whom, as soon as the said Lord Cromwell had espied, and had earnestly beheld, he bethought with himself that he should be the man of Florence, at whose hands, in times past, he had received so gentle entertainment: and thereupon suddenly alighting, (to the great admiration of those that were with him,) in his arms he gently embraced the stranger, and with a broken voice, scarce able to refrain tears, he demanded if he were not Francis Frescobald the Florentine. 'Yea, sir,' he answered, and your humble servant.' 'My servant?' quoth Cromwell. 'No, as you have not been my servant in times past, so will I not now account you otherwise than my great and especial friend; assuring you that I have just reason to be sorry, That you, knowing what I am, (or, at least, what I should be,) will not let me understand of your arriving in this land; which, known unto me, truly I should have paid part of that debt, which I confess to owe you: but, thanked be God! I have yet time. Well, sir, in conclusion, you are heartily welcome: but, having now weighty affairs in my princes cause, you must hold me excused, that I can no longer tarry with you. Therefore, at this time I take my leave, desiring you, with the faithful mind of a friend, that you forget not this day to come to my house to dinner.' And then, remounting his horse, he passed to the court.

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"Frescobald, greatly marvelling with himself who this lord should be, at last, after some pause his remembrance better called home, he knew him to be the same, whom long before (as you have heard) he had relieved in Florence; and thereat he not a little joyed, especially considering how that, by his means, he should the better recover his due.

"The hour of dinner drawing near, he repaired to the house of this honourable councillor, where, walking a while in his base court, he attended his coming. The lord shortly returned from the court, and no sooner dismounted, but he again embraced this gentleman with so friendly a countenance, that both the lord admiral, and all the other noblemen of the court, being then in his company, did not a little marvel thereat. Which thing when the Lord Cromwell perceived, he said, turning towards them, and holding Frescobald fast by the band, 'Do ye not marvel, my Lords,' quoth he, 'that I seem so glad of this man? This is he by whose means I have achieved the degree of this my present calling: and because ye shall not be ignorant of his courtesy when I greatly needed, I shall tell it you.' And so there declared he unto them every thing in order, according as before hath been recited unto you. His tale finished, holding him still by the hand, he entered his house; and coming into the chamber where his dinner was prepared, he sat him down to the table, placing his best-welcomed guest next unto him.

"The dinner ended, and the lords departed, he would know what occasion had brought Frescobald to London. Francis, in few words, opened his cause, truly telling, that from great wealth he was fallen into poverty, and that his only portion to maintain the rest of his life, was fifteen thousand ducats which were owing him in England, and two thousand in Spain. Whereunto the Lord Cromwell, answering again, said, Touching the things, Master Frescobald! that be already past, although it cannot now be undone by man's power, nor by policy called again, which hath happened unto you by the unstable condition and mutability of this world, altering to and fro; yet is not your sorrow so peculiar to yourself alone, but that, by the bond of mutual love, I must also bewail with you this your state and condition: which state and condition of yours, though it may work in you matter of just heaviness, yet, notwithstanding, to the intent you may receive, in this your heavy distress, some consolation for your old courtesy, showed to me in times past, the like courtesy now requireth of me again, that I, likewise, should repay some portion of that debt wherein I stand bound unto you; according as the part of a thankful man bindeth me to do, in requiting your benefits on my part heretofore received. And this further I avouch on the word of a true friend, that during this life and state of mine, I will never fail to do for you, wherein my authority may prevail to supply your lack and necessity: and so let these few words suffice to give you knowledge of my friendly meaning. But let me delay the time no longer.

"Then, taking him by the hand, he led him into his chamber, whence, after that every man by his commandment was departed, he locked fast the door. Then, opening a coffer full heaped with treasure, he first took out sixteen ducats, and, delivering them to Frescobald, he said; Lo here, my friend! is your money which you lent me at my departure from Florence, and here are other ten which you bestowed on my apparel, with ten more that you disbursed for the horse I rode away on. But, considering you are a merchant, it seemeth to me not honest to return your money without some consideration for the long detaining of it. Take you, therefore, these four bags, and in every one of them are four hundred ducats: these you shall receive and enjoy from the hands of your assured friend.'

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"Frescobald, although from great wealth he was brought to a low ebb, and almost an utter decay, yet, expressing the virtue of a modest mind, after gentle thanks given to the Lord Cromwell for his exceeding kindness showed, courteously would have refused that which was offered, had not the other enforced him against his will to receive it. This done, he caused Frescobald to give him a note of the names of all his debtors, and the sum that from every one of them was owing him. This schedule he delivered to one of his servants, unto whom he gave charge diligently to search out such men whose names were therein contained, if they were within any part of the realm; and then straitly to charge them to make payment of those sums within fifteen days, or else to abide the hazard of his displeasure. The servant so well performed his master's commandment, that in very short time they made payment of the whole sum; and if it had liked Frescobald so to have demanded, they should have answered to the uttermost, such commodity as the use of his money in so many years would have given him profit: but he, contented with his principal, would demand no further; by which means he got both hearty love and great estimation, and the more, for that he was so dear to the Lord Cromwell, and so highly esteemed of him.

And during all this time, Frescobald continually lodged in the house of the Lord Cromwell, who ever gave him such entertainment as he had right well deserved, and oftentimes moved him to abide here in England, offering him the loan of threescore thousand ducats for the space of four years, if he would continue, and make his bank in London. But Frescobald, who desired to return into his country, and there quietly to continue the rest of his life, with the great favour of the Lord Cromwell, after many thanks for his high and noble entertainment, departed towards his desired home, where, richly arriving, he gave himself quietly to live. But this wealth he small time enjoyed, for in the first year of his return he died."

So plentiful was the life of this man in such fruits, full of singular gratitude and courtesy, that to rehearse all it would require too long a tractation. Yet one example amongst many others I may not overpass, whereby we may evidently consider, or rather marvel at, the lowly mind of such a person in so high a state and place of honour. For as he, coming with others of the lords of the council and commissioners, to the house of Shene, about the examination of certain monks, which there denied the king's supremacy, after the examination done was there sitting at dinner, it chanced him to spy afar off a certain poor man, who there served to sweep their cells and cloisters, and to ring the bells: whom when the Lord Cromwell had well advised, he sent for the poor man to come unto him, and, before all the table, most lovingly and friendly called him by his name, took him by the hand, and asked how he did, with many other good words; and turning therewith to the lords, "My lords!" quoth he, "see you this poor man? This man's father hath been a great friend to me in my necessity, and hath given me many a meal's meat." Then said he unto the poor man, "Come unto me, and I will provide for thee, and thou shalt not lack so long as I live." Such as were there present, and saw and heard the same, being alive at the second edition hereof, report it to be true.

In this worthy and noble person, besides divers other eminent virtues, three things especially are to be considered, to wit, flourishing authority, excelling wisdom, and fervent zeal to Christ and to his gospel. First, as touching his fervent zeal in setting forward the sincerity of Christian faith, sufficient is to be seen before by the injunctions, proclamations, and articles

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above specified, that more cannot almost be wished in a nobleman, and scarce the like hath been seen in any.

Secondly, with his wisdom and policy no less singular, joined with his Christian zeal, he brought great things to pass, as well on this side the sea, as in the other parts beyond. But especially his working was to nourish peace abroad with foreign realms, as may be well, by the king's letters and instructions, sent by this means to his ambassadors resident both with the emperor, the French king, and the king of Scots, and also with the pope, may well appear; in all whose courts, such watch and espial he had, that nothing there was done, nor pretended, whereof he before had not intelligence. Neither was there any spark of mischief kindling ever so little against the king and the realm, which he, by wit and policy, did not quench and keep down; and where policy would not serve to obtain peace, yet by money he bought it out; so that during all the time of Cromwell's prosperity, the king never had war with any foreign nation: notwithstanding, tha both the pope, the emperor, and the kings of France and Scotland, were mightily bent and incensed against him.

Thus, as the prudent policy of this man was ever circumspect abroad, to stay the realm from foreign wars; so his authority was no less occupied in keeping good order and rule at home: first, in hampering the popish prelates, and disappointing their subtle devices; secondly, in bridling and keeping other unruly subjects under subjection and discipline of the laws; whereby as he was a succour and refuge to all godly persons, so was he a terror to the evildoers; so that not the presence of him only, but also the hearing of the coming of Cromwell, brake many frays, and much evil rule, as well appeared by a certain notorious fray or riot, appointed to be fought by a company of ruffians in the street of London called Paternoster Row; where carts were set on both sides, prepared on purpose to enclose them, that none might break in to part them. It happened that as this desperate skirmish should begin, the Lord Cromwell, coming the same time from the court through Paul's Church-yard, and entering into Cheap, had intelligence of the great fray toward, and because of the carts he could not come at them, but was forced to go about the Little Conduit, and so came upon them through Pannier Alley. Thus, as the conflict began to wax hot, and the people were standing by in great expectation to see them fight, suddenly, at the noise of the Lord Cromwell's coming, the camp brake up, and the ruffians fled, neither could the carts keep in those so courageous campers, but well was he that first could be gone. And so ceased this tumultuous outrage, without any other parting; only through the authority of the Lord Cromwell's name.

One example more of the like affinity cometh here in mind, which ought not to be omitted, concerning a certain servingman of the like ruffianly order; who, thinking to dis sever himself from the common usage of all other men in strange newfangledness of fashions by himself, (as many there be whom nothing doth please which is daily seen and received,) used to go with his hair hanging about his ears down unto his shoulders, after a strange monstrous manner,. (counterfeiting belike the wild Irishmen, or else Crimissus, the Trojan, whom Virgil speaketh of,) as one weary of his own English fashion; or else as one who, ashamed to be seen like a man, would rather go like a woman; or like to one of the Gorgon sisters; but most of all like to himself; that is, like to a ruffian, that could not tell how to go.

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As this ruffian, ruffling thus with his locks, was walking in the streets, as chance was, who should meet him but the Lord Cromwell! who, beholding the deform and unseemly manner of his disguised going, full of much vanity and hurtful example, called the man, to question with him whose servant he was: which being declared, then was it demanded whether his master or any of his fellows so to go with such hair about their shoulders as he did, or no: which when he denied, and was not able to yield any reason for refuge of that his monstrous disguising, at length he fell to this excuse, that he had made a vow. To this the Lord Cromwell answered again, that forasmuch as he had made himself a votary, he would not force him to break his vow, but until his vow should be expired, he should lie the mean time in prison: and so sent him immediately to the Marshalsea, where he endured; till at length this Intonsus Cato, being persuaded by his master to cut his hair, by suit and petition of friends, he was brought again to the Lord Cromwell, with his head polled according to the accustomed sort of his other fellows; and so was dismissed.

Hereunto also pertaineth the example of Friar Bartley, who, wearing still his friar's cowl after the suppression of religious houses, Cromwell, coming through Paul's Church-yard, and espying him in Rheines's shop, "Yea," said he, "will not that cowl of yours he left off yet? And if I hear, by one o'clock, that this apparel be not changed, thou shalt be hanged immediately, for example to all others." And so, putting his cowl away, he durst never wear it after.

If the same Lord Cromwell, who could not abide this servingman so disfigured in his hair, were now in these our days alive, with the same authority which then he had, and saw these new-fangled fashions of attire, used here amongst us both of men and women, I suppose verily, that neither these monstrous ruffs, nor these prodigious hose, and prodigal, or rather hyperbolical, barbarous breeches, (which seem rather like barrels than breeches,) would have any place in England. In which no measurable excess of vesture this I have to marvel: First, how these servingmen, which commonly have nothing else but their wages, and that so slender and bare, can maintain such slops, so huge and so sumptuous, which commonly stand them in more than their three years' wages do come unto. Secondly, I marvel that their masters and lords (who shall yield to God account of their servants' doings) do not search and try out their servants' walks, how they come by these expenses wherewith to uphold this bravery, seeing their stipendiary wages, and all revenues else they have, will not extend thereunto. Thirdly, this most of all is to be marvelled, that magistrates, who have in their hands the ordering and guiding of good laws, do not provide more severely for the needful reformation of these enormities. But here we may well see, and truly this may say, "that England once had a Cromwell."

Long it were to recite what innumerable fits this worthy councillor, by his prudent policy, his grave authority, and perfect zeal, wrought and brought to pass in the public realm, and especially in the church of England; what good orders he established, what wickedness and vices he suppressed, what corruptions he reformed, what abuses he brought to light; what crafty jugglings, what idolatrous deceptions, and superstitious illusions, he detected and abolished out of the church. What posterity will ever think the church of the pope, pretending such religion, to have been so wicked, so long to abuse the people's eyes with an old rotten stock, called the Rood of Grace, wherein a man should stand enclosed, with a hundred wires within the rood, to make the image goggle with the eyes, to nod with his head, to hang the lip, to move and shake his jaws, according as the value was of the gift which was offered? If it were a small piece of silver, the image would hang a frowning lip; if it were a piece of gold, then should his jaws go merrily.

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Thus miserably were the people of Christ abused, their souls seduced, their senses beguiled, and their purses spoiled, till this idolatrous forgery, at last, by Cromwell's means, was disclosed, and the image, with all his engines, showed openly at Paul's Cross, and there torn in pieces by the people. The like was done by the blood of Hayles, which, in like manner, by Cromwell was brought to Paul's Cross, and there proved to be the blood of a duck. Who would have judged, but that the maid of Kent had been a holy woman, and a prophetess inspired, had not Cromwell and Cranmer tried her at Paul's Cross, to be a strong and lewd impostor. What should I speak of Darvel Gartheren, of the rood of Chester, of Thomas Becket, of our Lady of Walsingham, with an infinite multitude more of the like affinity? all which stocks and blocks of cursed idolatry, Cromwell, stirred up by the providence of God, removed them out of the people's way, that they might walk more safely in the sincere service of Almighty God.

While the Lord Cromwell was thus blessedly occupied in profiting the commonwealth, and in purging the church of Christ, it happened to him, as commonly it doth to all good men, that where any excellency of virtue appeareth, there envy creepeth in; and where true piety seeketh most after Christ, there some persecution followeth withal.

Thus, I say, as he was labouring in the commonwealth, and doing good to the poor afflicted saints, helping them out of trouble, the malice of his enemies so wrought, continually hung for matter against him, that they never ceased, till in the end, false trains and crafty surmises, they brought him out of the king's favour.

The chief and principal enemy against him was Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, who, ever disdainful and envying the state and felicity of the Lord Cromwell, and now taking his occasion by the marriage of Lady Anne of Cleves, being a stranger and foreigner, put in the king's ears what a perfect thing it were for the quiet of the realm, and establishment of the king's succession, to have an English queen, and prince that were mere English; so that, in conclusion, the king's affection, the more it was diminished from the late married Anne of Cleves, the less favour he bare unto Cromwell. Besides this Gardiner, there lacked not other back friends also, and ill-willers in the court about the king, which little made for Cromwell, both for his religion which they maligned, and for other private grudges also, incident by the way.



ver and beside which, it is, moreover, supposed, that some part of displeasure might arise against him by reason of a certain talk which happened a little before at Lambeth; at what time the king, after the making of the Six Articles, sent the said Lord Cromwell his vicegerent, with the two dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, with all the lords of the parliament, to Lambeth, to dine with the archbishop, (who mightily had disputed and alleged in the parliament against the said articles,) to cheer and comfort his daunted spirits again.

There the said Cromwell, with the other noble lords, sitting with the archbishop at his table in talk, as every lord brought forth his sentence in commendation of Cranmer, to signify what good will both the king and they bare unto him; among the rest, one of the company, entering into a comparison between the said Thomas Cranmer and Thomas Wolsey, late cardinal of York, declared that Cranmer, in his judgment, was much to be preferred for his mild and

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gentle nature, whereas the cardinal was a stubborn and a churlish prelate, and one that could never abide any noble man. "And that," said he "know you well enough, my Lord Cromwell! for he was your master," &c.: At these words the Lord Cromwell, being somewhat touched to hear the cardinal's service so cast in his teeth, inferred again, saying, that he could not deny but he was servant some time to Cardinal Wolsey, neither did repent the same; for he received of him both fee, meat, and drink, and other commodities: but yet he was never so far in love with him, as to have waited upon him to Rome, if he had been chosen pope, as he understood that he would have done, if the case had so fallen out. Which when the other had denied to be true, Cromwell still persisted, affirming the same, and showing, moreover, what number of florins he should have received, to be his admiral, and to have safely conducted him to Rome, in case he had been elected bishop of Rome. The party, not a little moved with these words, told him, he lied. The other again affirmed it to be true. Upon this, great and high words rose between them; which contention, although it was, through entreaty of the archbishop and other nobles, somewhat pacified for the time, yet it might be, that some fitter root of grudge remained behind, which afterwards grew unto him to some displeasure. And this was A. D. 1539, in the month of July.

After this, the next year following, which was 1540, in the month of April, was holden a parliament; which, after divers prorogations, was continued till the month of July. On the tenth of June in the said year, the Lord Cromwell, being in the council-chamber, was suddenly apprehended, and committed to the Tower of London: whereat as many good men, who knew nothing but truth by him, did lament and prayed heartily for him, so more there were, on the contrary side, that rejoiced, especially of the religious sort, and of the clergy, such as had been in some dignity before in the church, and now, by his means, were put from it. For indeed such was his nature, that in all his doings he could not abide any kind of popery, or of false religion creeping under hypocrisy; and less could he abide the ambitious pride of popish prelacy, which, professing all humility, was so elated in pride, that kings could not rule in their own realms for them. These snuffing prelates as he could never abide, so they again hated him as much, which was the cause of shortening his days, and of bringing him to his end; so that on the seventeenth day of the month aforesaid, he was attainted by parliament.

In that attainder, divers and sundry crimes, surmises, objections, and accusations, were brought against him: but chiefly, and above all others, he was charged and accused of heresy, for that he was a supporter of them whom they recounted for heretics; as Barnes, Clark, and many others, whom, by his authority, and letters written to sheriffs and justices in divers shires, he had rescued, and discharged out prison. Also that he did divulgate and disperse abroad among the king's subjects great numbers of books, containing (as they said) manifest matter of much heresy, diffidence, and misbelief. Item, that he caused to be translated into our English tongue, books comprising matter expressly against the sacrament of the altar; and that after the translation thereof, he commended and maintained the same for good and Christian doctrine. Over and besides all this, they brought in certain witnesses, (what they were, the attainder expresseth not,) which most especially pressed (or rather oppressed) him with heinous words spoken against the king in the church of St. Peter the Poor, in the month of March, in the thirtieth year of the king's reign; which words if they be true, as the attainder doth purport, three things I have here much to marvel at. First, if his adversaries had so sure hold and matter against him, then what should move them to make such hasty speed, in all post haste to have him despatched and rid out of the

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way, and in no case could abide him to come to his purgation? which if he might have done, it is not otherwise to be thought, but he would easily have cleared himself thereof.

Secondly, this I marvel, that if the words had been so heinous against the king as his enemies did pretend, why then did those witnesses who heard those words in St. Peter's church in the thirtieth year of the king's reign, conceal the said words of such treason so long, the space almost of two years, and now uttered the same in the two-and-thirtieth year of the king's reign, in the month of July.

Thirdly, here is again to be marvelled, if the king had known or believed these words to be true, and that Cromwell had been indeed such a traitor to his person, why then did the king, so shortly after, lament his death, wishing to have his Cromwell alive again? What prince will wish the life of him whom he suspecteth undoubtedly to be a traitor to his life and person? Whereby it may appear what judgment the king had of Cromwell in himself, howsoever the parliament, by sinister information, was otherwise incensed to judge upon him.

Such malicious makebates about princes and parliaments never lacked in commonwealths. By such King Athelstan was incensed to kill his brother Edwin. So was King Edward the Second deposed. So likewise, when King Richard the Second was once brought into the Tower, what crimes and accusations were laid against him in the parliament! So was Humphrey, the good duke of Gloucester the king's uncle, by Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, and others, in the parliament holden at Bury, arrested as a traitor, and falsely made away. What great treason was in the words of him, who, dwelling in Cheapside, at the sign of the Crown, said merrily to his son, that if he lived, he would make him heir to the crown? and yet was he therefore attainted and judged for a traitor. In the time of King Henry the Eighth how was that parliament incensed, wherein both Queen Anne was falsely condemned, and Queen Elizabeth her daughter as falsely disherited? To omit here the attainder of the duke of Buckingham, wrought by the cardinal of York; of the Lord Cobham likewise, and Sir Roger Acton: if the cause of the Lord Henry, late earl of Surrey, were well tried out, peradventure no such heinous purpose of any treason should be found therein, as then was made. Who incensed the late duke of Somerset to behead his own brother, but such makebates as these? and afterwards, when the said duke himself was attainted for a traitor, and condemned for a felon, a briber, and extortioner, how was the parliament then incensed? Adam Damlip received of Cardinal Pole at Rome but a silly crown in way of alms, and there-for, by means of Stephen Gardiner, was attainted for a traitor. George Egles did but read sometimes in woods, and by the said Gardiner was also condemned, and suffered as a traitor. Not that I here speak or mean against the high courts of parliaments of this our realm, necessarily assembled for the commonwealth, to whom I always attribute their due reverence and authority. But, as it happeneth sometimes in general councils, which, though they be ever so general, yet notwithstanding sometimes they may and do err in weighty matters of religion; so, likewise, they that say that princes and parliaments may be misinformed sometimes, by some sinister heads, in matters civil and politic, do not therein derogate or impair the high estate of parliaments, but rather give wholesome admonition to princes and parliament men, to be more circumspect and vigilant what counsel they shall admit, and what witnesses they do credit. For private affection, which commonly beareth a great stroke in all societies and doings of men, creepeth sometimes into such general councils, and into prince's courts also, either too much amplifying things that be but small, making mountains of molehills, or else too much extenuating things that be of

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themselves great and weighty, according as it is truly said by the poet Juvenal, "As a man is friended, so is his matter ended;" and "Where the hedge is low, a man may lightly make large leaps;" or rather, to speak after the French phrase, "He that is disposed to have his dog killed, first maketh men believe that he is mad." And thus much having declared touching the matter of his accusation, the rest I refer to the high parliament of that Mighty King, who shall one day bring all things to perfect light.

In the mean season, howsoever the cause of the Lord Cromwell standeth true or false, this is certain, that Stephen Gardiner lacked not a head, nor yet assisters, which cunningly could fetch this matter about, and watch their time, when the king, being disposed to marry another wife, which was the Lady Katharine Howard, immediately after the beheading of the Lord Cromwell, did repudiate Lady Anne of Cleves, which otherwise it is to be thought, during the life of Cromwell could not so well be brought to pass.

But these things being now done and past, let us pass them over, and return again from whence we digressed, that is, to the Lord Cromwell, being now attainted and committed to the Tower; who, so long as he went with full sail of fortune, how moderately and how temperately he did ever bear himself in his estate, before hath been declared. So now the said Lord Cromwell, always one man, by the contrary wind of adversity being overblown, received the same with no less constancy and patience of a Christian heart; neither yet was he so unprovided of counsel and forecast, but that he did foresee this tempest long before it fell, and also prepared for the same; for two years before, smelling the conspiracy of his adversaries, and fearing what might happen, he called unto him his servants, and there, showing unto them in what a slippery state he stood, and also perceiving some stormy weather already to gather, required them to look diligently to their order and doings, lest, through their default, any occasion might rise against him. And furthermore, before the time of his apprehension, such order he took for his servants, that many of them, especially the younger brethren, which had little else to take unto, had honestly left for them in their friends' hands to relieve them; whatsoever should him befall.

Briefly, such a loving and kind master he was to his servants, that he provided aforehand almost for them all; insomuch, that he gave to twelve children, which were his musicians, twenty pounds a piece, and so committed them to their friends, of whom some yet remain alive, who both enjoyed the same, and also gave record of this to be true.

Furthermore, being in the Tower a prisoner, how quietly he bare it, how valiantly he behaved himself, how gravely and discreetly he answered and entertained the commissioners sent unto him, it is worthy noting. Whatsoever articles and interrogatories they propounded, they could put nothing unto him, either concerning matters ecclesiastical or temporal, wherein he was not more ripened, and more furnished in every condition, than they themselves.

Amongst the rest of those commissioners who came unto him, one there was, whom the Lord Cromwell desired to carry for him a letter to the king; which when he refused, saying that he would carry no letter to the king from a traitor, then the Lord Cromwell desired him at least to do from him a message to the king. To that the other was contented, and granted, so that it were not against his allegiance. Then the Lord Cromwell, taking witness of the other lords, what he had promised, "You shall commend me," said he, "to the king, and tell him, by that he hath so

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well tried and thoroughly proved you as I have done, he shall find you as false a man as ever came about him."

Besides this, he wrote also a letter from the Tower to the king, whereof when none durst take the carriage upon him, Sir Ralph Sadler (whom he also had preferred to the king before, being ever trusty and faithful unto him) went unto the king to understand his pleasure, whether he would permit him to bring the letter or not; which when the king had granted, the said Master Sadler, as he was required, presented the letter unto the king, which he commanded thrice to be read unto him, insomuch that the king seemed to be moved therewith.

At last, three years after all this was done, Cromwell being circumvented with the malicious craft and policy of divers, that, by occasion of mention made touching the king's divorce with the Lady Anne of Cleves, he had said these words, "That he wished his dagger in him that had dissolved or broken that marriage;" hereupon it was objected against him by Thomas, duke of Norfolk, and others, that it was spoken against the king, who, at that time being in love with Katharine Howard, was the chief cause and author of that divorce. Whereupon divers of the nobles conspiring against him, some for hatred, and some for religion's sake, he was cast into the Tower of London; where, as it happened, (as it were by a certain fatal destiny,) that whereas he, a little before, had made a law, that whosoever was cast into the Tower, should be put to death without examination, he himself suffered by the same law. It is said, (which also I do easily credit,) that he made this violent law, not so much for any cruelty or tyranny, as only for a certain secret purpose, to have entangled the bishop of Winchester, who, albeit he was, without doubt, the most violent adversary of Christ and his religion, notwithstanding, God, peradventure, would not have his religion set forth by any wicked cruelty, or otherwise than was meet and convenient.

Notwithstanding, by reason of the act of parliament before passed, the worthy and noble Lord Cromwell, oppressed by his enemies, and condemned in the Tower, and not coming to his answer, on the twenty-eighth day of July, A. D. 1540, was brought to the scaffold on Tower-bill, where he said these words following:

"I am come hither to die, and not to purge myself, as some think, peradventure, that I will: for if I should so do, I were a very wretch and a miser. I am, by the law, condemned to die, and thank my Lord God that hath appointed me this death for mine offence. For since the time that I have had years of discretion, I have lived a sinner, and offended my Lord God; for the which I ask him heartily forgiveness. And it is not unknown to many of you, that I have been a great travailler in this world, and being but of a base degree, was called to high estate; and since the time I came thereunto I have offended my prince, for the which I ask him heartily forgiveness, and beseech you all to pray to God with me, that He will forgive me. O Father, forgive me! O Son, forgive me! O Holy Ghost, forgive me! O three persons in one God, forgive me! And now I pray you that be here, to bear me record, I die in the catholic faith, not doubting in any article of my faith, no, nor doubting in any sacrament of the church. Many have slandered me, and reported that I have been a bearer of such as have maintained evil opinions; which is untrue: but I confess, that like as God, by his Holy Spirit, doth instruct us in the truth, so the devil is ready to seduce us; and I have been seduced. But bear me witness, that I die in the catholic faith of the holy church. And I heartily desire you to pray for the king's Grace, that he

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may long live with you in health and prosperity; and that after him, his son, Prince Edward, that goodly imp, may long reign over you. And once again I desire you to pray for me, that so long as life remaineth in this flesh, I waver nothing in my faith."

And so making his prayer, which was long, but not so long as both godly and learned, kneeling on his knees he spake these words, the effect whereof here followeth.

A prayer that the Lord Cromwell said at the hour of his death.

"O Lord Jesu! which art the only health of all men living, and the everlasting life of them which die in thee, I, wretched sinner, do submit myself wholly unto thy most blessed will; and being sure that the thing cannot perish which is committed unto thy mercy, willingly now I leave this frail and wicked flesh, in sure hope that thou wilt, in better wise, restore it to me again at the last day, in the resurrection of the just. I beseech thee, most merciful Lord Jesu Christ! that thou wilt, by thy grace, make strong my soul against all temptations, and defend me with the buckler of thy mercy against all the assaults of the devil. I see and acknowledge that there is in myself no hope of salvation, but all my confidence, hope, and trust, is in, thy most merciful goodness. I have no merits nor good works which I may allege before thee. Of sins and evil works, alas! I see a great heap; but yet, through thy mercy, I trust to be in the number of them to whom thou wilt not impute their sins; but wilt take and accept me for righteous and just, and to be the inheritor of everlasting life. Thou, merciful Lord! wast born for my sake; thou didst suffer both hunger and thirst for my sake; thou didst teach, pray, and fast for my sake; all thy holy actions and works thou wroughtest for my sake; thou sufferedst most grievous pains and torments for my sake: finally, thou gavest thy most precious body and thy blood to be shed on the cross for my sake. Now, most merciful Saviour! let all these things profit me, that thou freely hast done for me, which hast given thyself also for me. Let thy blood cleanse and wash away the spots and foulness of my sins. Let thy righteousness hide and cover my unrighteousness. Let the merits of thy passion and blood-shedding be satisfaction for my sins. Give me, Lord! thy grace, that the faith of my salvation in thy blood waver not in me, but may ever be firm and constant: that the hope of thy mercy and life everlasting never decay in me: that love wax not cold in me; and finally, that the weakness of my flesh be not overcome with the fear of death. Grant me, merciful Saviour! that when death hath shut up the eyes of my body, yet the eyes of my soul may still behold and look upon thee; and when death hath taken away the use of my tongue, yet my heart may cry and say unto thee, Lord! into thy hands I commend my soul; Lord Jesu I receive my spirit. Amen."

And thus his prayer made, after he had godly and lovingly exhorted them that were about him on the scaffold, he quietly committed his soul into the hands of God; and so patiently suffered the stroke of the axe, by a ragged and butcherly miser, which very ungoodly performed the office.

This valiant soldier and captain of Christ, the aforesaid Lord Cromwell, as he was most studious of himself in a flagrant zeal to set forward the truth of the gospel, seeking all means and ways to beat down false religion and to advance the true, so he always retained unto him and had about him such as could be found helpers and furtherers of the same; in the number of whom were sundry and divers fresh and quick wits, pertaining to his family; by whose industry and

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ingenious labours, divers and excellent ballads and books were contrived and set abroad, concerning the suppression of the pope and all popish idolatry. Amongst which, omitting a great sort that we might here bring in, yet this small treatise here following, called The Fantassie of Idolatrie, we thought not to pass over, containing in it, as in a brief sum, the great mass of idolatrous pilgrimages; for the posterity hereafter 'to understan , what then was used in England.

A Booke entitled the Fantassie of Idolatrie.

All Christen people
Beyng under the steeple
Of Jesu Christes faith!
Marke and drawe nere,
And ye shall here
What the Holy Scripture sayth.

First, I wyll begyn
Your hartes to wyn
With nother fable nor lye;
But with God's testament,
As is moste expedient,
Concerning idolatrie:

Wherin we myght se
Great authoritie,
Sauyng it were to long
For to rehearse,
Nowe, verse by verse,
In this same lytle song.

But I shall shewe,
In wordes fewe,
The summe of the whole effecte,
To them of good mynde,
That be wylling to fynde
The trade of idolatrous sect.

Fyrst, we will gather,
Of our heavenly Father,
Among his commaundmentes, ten;
Written as no fables,
But as in Moyse's tables,
To be kept of all Christen men.

Where that he sayth,
To the chyldren of fayth,
'I am your God and Kyng;
Other gods haue ye none,
But me alone,
To love aboue all thing.'

Idols and images
Haue none in usage,
(Of what mettel so euer they be,)
Graued or carued;
My wyle be obserued,
Or els can ye not loue me.'

'Then I, a jealous God,
Wyll scourge with my rod;
I may not forbear my hand:
And specially
For idolatry.
My power who can withstand!'

The prophetes all,
In generall,
Of idols, as ye may se,
Put us from doubte,
And set them out,
In their colours, as they ought to be.

Saynt Paule also,
With many saintes mo,
Against idols, with al their myght,
Perceiuing suche swarmes,
Did blase their armes,
And brought them out to lyght.

This should suffice
All those that be wyse;
But we, of a stoubourne mynde,
Be so harde harted,
Wyll not be conuerted,
But rather styll be blynde.

Ronnyng hyther and thyther,
We cannot tell whither,
In offryng candels and pence
To stones and stockes,
And to olde rotten blockes,
That came, we know not from whence.

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To Walsyngham/*See note*/ a gaddyng,
To Cantorbury a maddyng,
As men distraught of mynde;
With fewe clothes on our backes,
But an image of waxe,
For the lame and for the blynde.

To Hampton, to Ipswyche,
To Harforth, to Shordyche,
With many mo places of pryce;
As, to our Lady of Worcester,
And the weet rode of Chester,
With the blessed Lady of Penryce.

To Leymster, to Kyngstone,
To Yorke, to Donyngton,
To Redying, to the chyld of grace;
To Wynsore, to Waltam,
To Ely, to Caultam,
Bare foted and bare legged apace.

To Saynt Earth, a right,
Where, in the dark nyght
Many juglyng casts hath be done;
To Saynt Augers rotten bones
That ran away for the nones;
To the crosse that groweth at Chaldon.

To the good Holy Ghoste,
That paynted poste,
Abyding at Basyngstoke;
Whiche doth as muche good
As a god made of wood,
And, yet, he beareth a great stroke.

To the holy blond of Hayles,
With your fyngers and nayles,
All that we may scratche and wyne;
Yet it woulde not be seen,
Except you were shryven,
And clene from all deadly synne.

There, were we flocked
Lowted and mocked;
For, now, it is known to be
But the blond of a ducke,
That long did sucke
The thurifte, from euery degre.

To Pomfret, to Wylsdon,
To Saynt Anne of Bucston,
To Saynt Mighels Mount also;
But, to reken all,
My wyttes be too small,
For, God knoweth, there be many mo!

To Saynt Syth for my purse;
Saynt Loye sane my horse;
For my teth to Saynt Apolyne
To Saynt Job for the poxe;
Saynt Luke save myne oxe;
Saynt Anthony save my swyne!

To Maister John Shorne,
That blessed man borne;
For the ague to hym we apply,
Whiche juggleth with a bote
I beshrowe his herte rote
That wyle truste him, and it be I!

Suche was our truste,
Suche was our luste,
Upon creature to call and crye;
As men did please,
For every disease,
To haue a god peculiarly.

Blessed Saynt Sauour,
For his noughty behauour,
That dwelt not far from the stewes;
For causyng infidelitie,
Hath lost his dignitie
Of him we shall heare more newes.

The swete rode of Rambisbery,
Twenty myle from Maumbysbery,
Was oft times put in feare;
And now, at the laste,
He hath a brydling caste,
And is become, I wote not wheare.

Yet, hath it been saide,
His virtue so wayde,
That sixteen oxen and mo,
Were not able to carry
This rode from Rambisbery,
Though he toke seuen horses also:

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Whiche is a great lye,
For, the truth to trye
His virtue is not worth a bean;
For one man toke hym downe,
From his churche and towne
Thre men conueyed him cleane.

Thus ran we about
To seke idols out,
Wandryng farre and nere;
Thynkyng the power
Of our blessed. Sauour
In other places more then there.

But now some may ronne,
And, when they haue done,
Their idols they shall not finde;
They haue had such checkes,
That hath broke their neckes:
Holde fast that be left behynde!

For the rode of grace
Hath lost his place,
And is rubbed on the gall;
For false deuotion
Hath lost his promotion,
And is broken in peces small.

He was made to jogle,
His eyes would gogle,
He wold bend his browes and frowne;
With his head he wold nod
Like a proper young god,
His shaftes would go up and downe.

The saying was:
That this rode of grace
And our Lady of Walsyngham,
Should haue bene married,
Sauing they taried
To spie a tyme howe and whan.

For some time in the nyght,
If the peeple say ryght,
As two lovers eche others loue to procure,
They did mete very oft:
Whereby it was thought,
That Lady and he had bene sure.

Now the rode is dead,
And can not her wed,
Death gaue him so sore a stroke,
That it cost him his lyfe,
And lost hym his wyfe,
The ryche of all Northfolke.

But if he hadde lyued,
She had provided,
With suche goodes as she wan,
(Though he neuer had worked
But like an idoll lurked,)
To finde hym lyke an honest man.

And the rode had a gyfte
To make great shyfte,
With his bowget under his cote;
To haue gotten their lyuing,
Euen with false iugling,
Though she had neuer erved grote.

Also Delver Gathaerne,
As (saieth the Welchman)
Brought outlawes out of hell,
Is come with spere and shelde,
In harneys to burne in Smythfielde;
For in Wales he may not dwell.

Then Forest the fryer
That obstynate lyer,
That wyllingly is dead;
In his contumacy,
The gospell dyd deny,
And the kyng to be supreme head.

At Saynt Marget Patens,
The rode is gone thens,
And stoele away by nyght;
With his tabernacle and crosse,
With all that there was,
And is gone away quyghte.

Yet haue we thought,
That these idols haue wrought
Myrales, in many a place,
Upon age and youth;
When, in very truth,
They were done by the devils grace.

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For the cursed deuyll,
The mayster of euyl,
To get us under his winges,
Hath such a condition,
By God's permission,
To worke right wonderful thinges.

For when they bored holes
In the roodes' back of poles,
Which, as some men saye, dyd speake,
Then lay he still as a stocke,
Receyued there many a knocke,
And did not ones crie 'creake.'

Yet offer what ye wolde,
Were it otes, sylver, or golde
Pyn, poynt, brooche, or rynge,
The church were as then,
Such charitable men,
That they would refuse nothyng.

But now may we see,
What gods they be,
Euen puppets, maumats and elfes:
Throw them downe thryse,
They can not aryse,
Not onse, to helpe them seines.

Thus were we poore soules
Begyled with idolles,
With fayned myracles and lyes,
By the deuyll and his docters,
The pope and his procters
That, with such, haue blend our eyes.

For they were the souldiers
Of those idols and wonders,
In euery abbey and towne,
Like a syght of false deacons:
Wherefore all men rekyns,
For suche juglyng, 'they shall downe.'

For it was great reuth,
To se age and yeuth
To be blynde after this facion;
But, thanke we our Lorde,
That them hath abhorde,
And had upon us compassion!

Besydes these stockes and stones,
Haue we not had, of late, traytors bones,
Thus their trumpery to maintain?
Whiche is a token, verely,
They go about most earnestly
To bryng in superstition again!

With dyvers other trickes,
Whiche sore in mens' consciences stickes:
But to Christ let us all pray!
To plucke it up, by the hard rote,
(Seeing there is none other bote,)
And utterly to banyshe it away.

And now, to make an end:
Lorde! we beseche Thee to sende
Us, peace and tranquillitie;
And, that of thy mere mercy and grace,
Within short tyme and space,
To illumine us with thy sincere veritie!

Note: "The image of our Lady at Walsingham was so famous in former times that even foreigners came on pilgrimage to visit it. Erasmus has given us a description of the chapel or shrine in which it was contained, and which appears to have been a distinct building from the priory church. Henry the Third went thither in his twenty-sixth year. Edward the First in his ninth and twenty-fifth years. Edward the Second in his ninth year. Edward the Third in his thirty-fifth year. John de Mountford, earl of Bretagne, came over to visit it in the thirty-fifth of Edward the Third. David Bruce, king of Scotland, in the thirty-eighth year of Edward the Third. Henry the Sixth went there in 1455. Henry the Seventh ordered an image of silver, gilt, to be set up before it, in his will; and Henry the Eighth and his first queen made more than one visit to it. Sir Henry Spelman says, that when he was a youth, the tradition was that Henry the Eighth had walked barefoot from the town of Barsham to the chapel of our Lady, and presented her with a necklace of great value. This famous image, however, upon the change of belief, was taken from

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Walsingham to Chelsea, near London, and there burnt, the thirtieth year of Henry the Eighth."
See Dugdale, vol. vi. p. 71, Lond. 1825.—FOX'S MARTYRS. SEELEY

198. The English Bible.

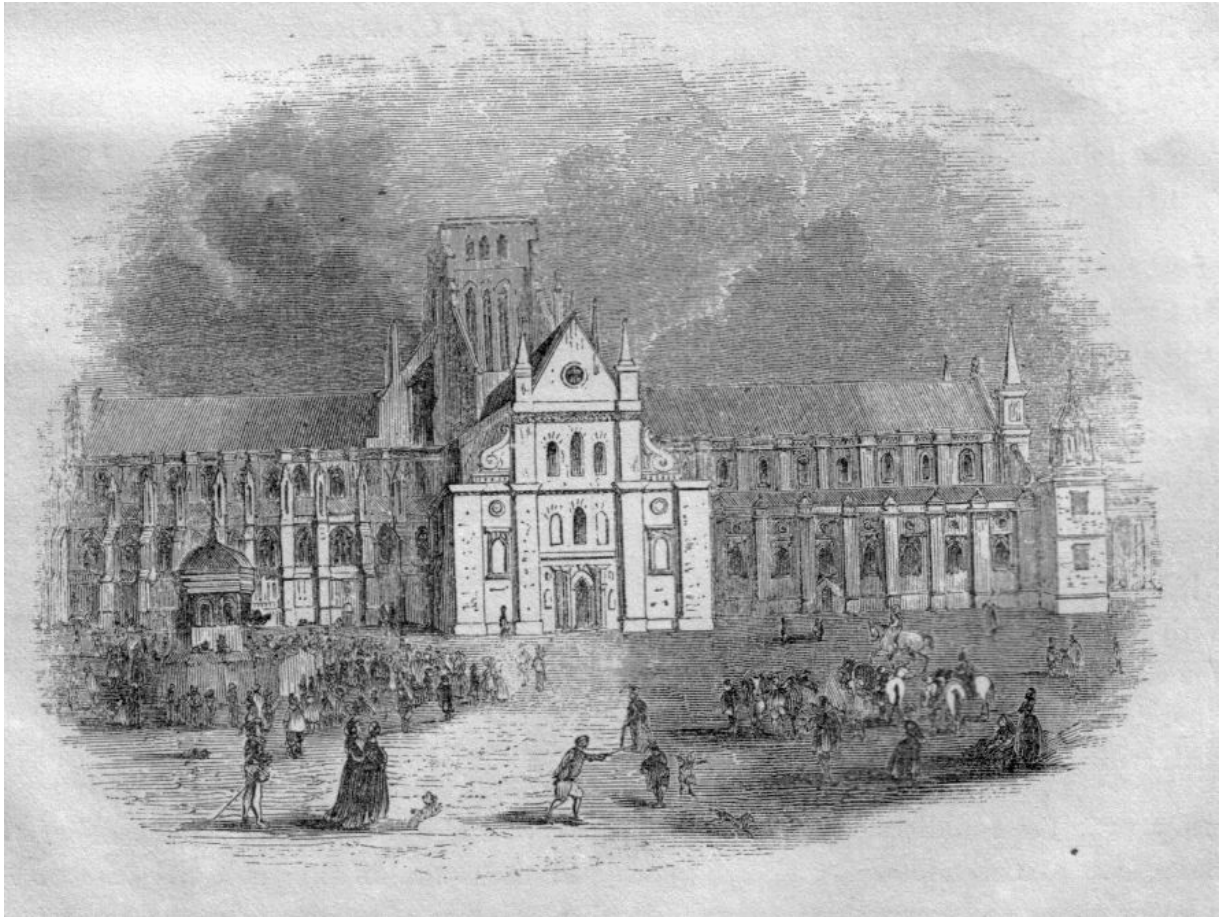
Of the Bible in English, printed in the large volume; and of Edmund Bonner, preferred to the bishopric of London by means of the Lord Cromwell.



ABOUT the time and year when Edmund Bonner, bishop of Hereford, and ambassador resident in France, began first to be nominated and preferred, by means of the Lord Cromwell, to the bishopric of London, which was A.D. 1540, it happened that the said Thomas Lord Cromwell, earl of Essex, procured of the king of England his gracious letters to the French king, to permit and license a subject of his to imprint the Bible in English within the university of Paris; because paper was there more meet and apt to be had for the doing thereof, than in the realm of England, and also that there were more store of good workmen for the ready despatch of the same. And in like manner, at the same time the said king wrote unto his ambassador, who then was Edmund Bonner, bishop of Hereford, lying in Paris, that he should aid and assist the doers thereof in all their reasonable suits: the which bishop, outwardly, showed great friendship to the merchants that were the imprinters of the same; and, moreover, did divers and sundry times call and command the said persons to be in a manner daily at his table, both dinner and supper; and so much rejoiced in the workmanship of the said Bible, that he himself would visit the imprinter's house, where the same Bibles were printed, and also would take part of such dinners as the Englishmen there had, and that to his cost, which, as it seemed, he little weighed. And further, the said Bonner was so fervent, that he caused the said Englishmen to put in print a New Testament in English and Latin, and himself took a great many of them, and paid for them, and gave them to his friends. And it chanced in the mean time, while the said Bible was in printing, that King Henry the Eighth preferred the said Bonner from the bishopric of Hereford, to be bishop of London; at which time the said Bonner, according to the statute law of England, took his oath to the king, acknowledging his supremacy, and called one of the aforesaid Englishmen that printed the Bible, whom he then loved, although afterwards, upon the change of the world, he did hate him as much, whose name was Richard Grafton; to whom the said Bonner said, when he took his oath, "Master Grafton, so it is, that the king's most excellent Majesty hath, by his gracious gift, presented me to the bishopric of London; for the which I am sorry, for, if it would have pleased his Grace, I could have been well content to have kept mine old bishopric of Hereford." Then said Grafton, "I am right glad to hear of it, and so I am sure will be a great number of the city of London; for though they yet know you not, yet they have heard so much goodness of you from hence, as no doubt they will heartily rejoice of your placing." Then said Bonner, "I pray God I may do what may content them. And to tell you, Master Grafton, before God, (for that was commonly his oath,) the greatest fault that ever I found in Stokesley was, for vexing and troubling of poor men, as Loblely the bookbinder, and others, for having the Scripture in English; and, God willing, he did not so much hinder it, but I will as much further it; and I will have of your Bibles set up in the church of Paul's, at least in sundry places six of them; and I will pay you honestly for them, and give hearty thanks." Which words he then spake in the hearing of divers credible persons, as Edmund Stile, grocer, and others. "But now, Master Grafton, at this time I have specially called you to be a witness with me, that upon this translation of bishops' sees, I must, according to the statute, take an oath unto the king's Majesty, acknowledging his supremacy, which, before God, I take with my heart, and

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so think him to be; and beseech Almighty God to save him, and long to prosper his Grace" "Hold the book, sirrah! and read you the oath," said he to one of his chaplains; and he laid his hand on the book, and so he took his oath: and after this he showed great friendship to the said Grafton, and to his partner Edward Whitchurch; but especially to Miles Coverdale, who was the corrector of the great Bible.



Hereford Cathedral

Now after that the aforesaid letters were delivered, the French king gave very good words, and was well contented to permit the doing thereof; and so the printer went forward, and printed forth the book, even to the last part; and then was the quarrel picked with the printer, and he was sent for to the inquisitors of the faith, and there charged with certain articles of heresy. Then were sent for the Englishmen that were at the cost and charge thereof, and also such as had the correction of the same, which was Miles Coverdale: but having some warning what would follow, the said Englishmen posted away as fast as they could, to save themselves, leaving behind them all their Bibles, which were to the number of two thousand five hundred, (called the Bible of the great Volume,) and never recovered any of them, saving that the lieutenant-criminal,

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having them delivered unto him to burn in a place of Paris, (like Smithfield,) called Maulbert Place, was somewhat moved with covetousness, and sold four great dry-fats of them to a haberdasher, to lap caps in, and those were bought again; but the rest were burned, to the great and importunate loss of those that bare the charge of them. But notwithstanding the said loss, after they had recovered some part of the aforesaid books, and were comforted and encouraged by the Lord Cromwell, the said Englishmen went again to Paris, and there got the presses, letters, and servants of the aforesaid printer, and brought them to London; and there they became printers themselves, (which before they never intended,) and printed out the said Bible in London, and, after that, printed sundry impressions of them: but yet not without great trouble and loss, for the hatred of the bishops, namely, Stephen Gardiner and his fellows, who mightily did stomach and malign the printing thereof.

Here, by the way, for the more direction to the story, thou hast, loving reader, to note and understand, that in those days there were two sundry Bibles in English, printed and set forth, bearing divers titles, and printed in divers places: the first was called Thomas Matthewe's Bible, printed at Hamburgh, about A.D. 1537; the corrector of which print was then John Rogers, of whom ye shall hear more, Christ willing, hereafter. The printers were Richard Grafton, and Whitchurch. In the translation of this Bible, the greatest doer was indeed William Tyndale, who, with the help of Miles Coverdale, had translated all the books thereof, except only the Apocrypha, and certain notes in the margin, which were added after. But, because the said William Tyndale, in the mean time, was apprehended, before this Bible was fully perfected, it was thought good to them that had the doing thereof, to change the name of William Tyndale, because that name then was odious, and to father it by a strange name of Thomas Matthewe; John Rogers, at the same time, being corrector to the print, who had then translated the residue of the Apocrypha, and added also certain notes thereto in the margin: and thereof came it to be called Thomas Matthewe's Bible. Which Bible of Thomas Matthewe, after it was imprinted and presented to the Lord Cromwell, and to the Lord Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, who liked very well of it, the said Cromwell presented it to the king, and obtained that the same might freely pass to be read of his subjects with his Grace's licence: so that there was printed upon the same book, one line in red letters, with these words, "Set forth with the king's most gracious licence."

The setting forth of this book did not a little offend the clergy, namely, the bishops aforesaid, both for the prologues, and, especially, because in the same book was one special table collected of the common places in the Bible, and the Scriptures for the approbation of the same; and chiefly about the supper of the Lord, and marriage of priests, and the mass, which there was said not to be found in the Scripture.

Furthermore, after the restraint of this aforesaid Bible of Thomas Matthewe, another Bible began to be printed at Paris, A.D. 1540; which was called the Bible of the large Volume. The printers thereof were the aforesaid Richard Grafton, and Whitchurch, who bare the charges. A great helper thereto, was the Lord Cromwell. The chiefest overseer was Miles Coverdale, who, taking the translation of Tyndale, conferred the same with the Hebrew, and amended many things.

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The king's brief, for setting up the Bible of the Greater Volume in English.

"Henry, by the grace of God, king of England and of France, defender of the faith, lord of Ireland, and, in earth, supreme head of the church of England; to the reverend father in Christ, Edmund, bishop of London, or, in his absence, to his vicar-general, health.

"We command you, that immediately upon the receipt of these presents, in every cathedral, collegiate, and other parish churches and chapels, you cause, on our behalf, to be solemnly published and read, a certain decree made by us, by the advice of our council, which we have sent you by the bringer, imprinted in certain schedules annexed to this brief: charging you moreover, that immediately upon the publishing of the said decree so by you made, you cause the said decree to be set up upon every church door through your diocese, that it may more largely appear unto our subjects and liege people; and that with all diligence you perform the same, as you will answer us for the contrary.

"Witness myself, at Westminster, the seventh day of May, in the thirty-second year of our reign."

In this Bible, although the former notes of Thomas Mathewe were omitted, yet sundry marks and hands were annexed on the sides, which meant that in those places should he made certain notes, wherewith also the clergy were offended, though the notes were not made.

After this the bishops, bringing their purpose to pass, brought the Lord Cromwell out of favour, and shortly to his death; and, not long after, great complaint was made to the king of the translation of the Bible, and of the preface of the same; and then was the sale of the Bible commanded to be stayed, the bishops promising to amend and correct it, but never performing the same. Then Grafton was called, and first charged with the printing of Mathewe's Bible, but he, being fearful of trouble, made excuses for himself in all things. Then was he examined of the great Bible, and what notes he was purposed to make: to which he answered, that he knew none. For his purpose was, to have retained learned men to have made the notes; but when he perceived the king's Majesty and his clergy not willing to have any, he proceeded no further. But for all these excuses, Grafton was sent to the Fleet, and there remained six weeks, and before he came out, was bound, in three hundred pounds, that he should neither sell, nor imprint, nor cause to be imprinted, any more Bibles, until the king and the clergy should agree upon a translation. And thus was the Bible from that time stayed, during the reign of King Henry the Eighth.

But yet one thing more is to be noted, that after the imprinters had lost their Bibles, they continued suitors to Bonner, as is aforesaid, to be a mean to obtain of the French king their books again: but so long they continued suitors, and Bonner ever fed them with fair words, promising them much, but did nothing for them, till, at last, Bonner was discharged of his ambassade, and returned home, where he was right joyfully welcomed home by the Lord Cromwell, who loved him dearly, and had a marvellous good opinion of him. , And so long as Cromwell remained in authority, so long was Bonner at his beck, and friend to his friends, and enemy to his enemies; as namely, at that time to Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, who never favoured Cromwell, and therefore Bonner could not favour him, but he and Winchester were the greatest enemies that might be. But, so soon as Cromwell fell, immediately Bonner and Winchester pretended to be the

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greatest men that lived; and no good word could Bonner speak of Cromwell, but the lewdest, vilest, and bitterest that he could speak, calling him the rankest heretic that ever lived. And then, such as the said Bonner knew to be in good favour with Cromwell, he could never abide their sight: insomuch that the next day after that Cromwell was apprehended, the above-named Grafton, who before had been very familiar with Bonner, met with the said Bonner suddenly, and said unto him, that he was sorry to hear of the news that then were abroad. "What are they?" said he. "Of the apprehension of the Lord Cromwell," said Grafton. "Are ye sorry for that?" said he. "It had been good that he had been despatched long ago." With that Grafton looked upon him, and knew not what to say, but came no more to Bonner. Howbeit afterwards, the said Grafton, being charged for the imprinting of a ballad made in favour of Cromwell, was called before the council, where Bonner was present; and there Bonner charged him with the words that he spake to him of Cromwell, and told out a great long tale. But the Lord Audley, who then was lord chancellor, right discreetly and honourably cut off the matter, and entered into other talk.

199. The History of Robert Barnes, Thomas Garret, and William Jerome, Divines.

Like as in foreign battles the chief point of victory consisteth in the safety of the general or captain, even so when the valiant standard-bearer and stay of the church of England, Thomas Cromwell I mean, was made away, pity it is to behold what miserable slaughter of good men and good women ensued thereupon, whereof we have now (Christ willing) to entreat. For Winchester, having now gotten his full purpose, and free swing to exercise his cruelty, wonder it was to see that Calydonian wild boar, or, as the Scripture speaketh, that extraordinary wild beast, what troubles he raised in the Lord's vineyard. And lest, by delays, he might lose the occasion presently offered, he straightways made his first assaults upon Robert Barnes, Thomas Garret, and William Jerome, whom, in the very same month, within two days after Cromwell's death, he caused to be put to execution; whose histories severally to comprehend, first of all we will somewhat speak of Barnes, doctor of divinity, whose particular story here followeth.

This Barnes, after he came from the university of Louvain, went to Cambridge, where he was made prior and master of the house of the Augustines. At that time the knowledge of good letters was scarcely entered into the university, all things being full of rudeness and barbarity, saving in very few, which were privy and secret: whereupon Barnes, having some feeling of better learning and authors, began in his house to read Terence, Plautus, and Cicero; so that what with his industry, pains, and labour, and with the help of Thomas Parnell, his scholar, whom he brought from Louvain with him, reading *copia verborum et rerum*, he caused the house shortly to flourish with good letters, and made a great part of the house learned, (who before were drowned in barbarous rudeness,) as Master Cambridge, Master Field, Master Coleman, Master Burley, Master Coverdale, with divers others of the university, that sojourned there for learning's sake. After these foundations laid, then did he read openly in the house Paul's Epistles, and put by Duns and Dorbel; and yet he was a questionary himself: and only because he would have Christ there taught, and his holy word, he turned their unsavoury problems and fruitless disputations to other better matter of the Holy Scripture; and thereby, in short space, he made divers good divines. The same order of disputation which he kept in his house, he observed likewise in the university abroad, when he should dispute with any man in the common schools. And the first man that answered Dr. Barnes in the Scriptures, was Master Stafford, for his form to be bachelor of divinity, which disputation was marvellous in the sight of the great blind doctors, and joyful to the godly-spirited.

Thus Barnes, what with his reading, disputation, and preaching, became famous and mighty in the Scriptures, preaching ever against bishops and hypocrites; and yet did not see his inward and outward idolatry, which he both taught and maintained, till that good Master Bilney with others (as is aforesaid, in the life of Master Bilney) converted him wholly unto Christ.

The first sermon that ever he preached of this truth, was the Sunday before Christmas day, at St. Edward's church, belonging to Trinity Hall in Cambridge, by the Peas Market, whose theme was the epistle of the same Sunday, Rejoice in the Lord; and so postilled the whole epistle, following the Scripture and Luther's Postil: and for that sermon he was immediately

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accused of heresy by two fellows of the King's Hall. Then the godly learned in Christ both of Pembroke Hall, St. John's, Peter House, Queen's College, the King's College, Gunwell Hall, and Benet College, showed themselves, and flocked together in open sight, both in the schools, and at open sermons at St. Mary's, and at the Augustines, and at other disputations; and then they conferred continually together.

The house that they resorted most commonly unto, was the White Horse, which, for despite of them, to bring God's word into contempt, was called Germany. This house especially was chosen because many of them of St. John's, the King's College, and the Queen's College, came in on the back side. At this time much trouble began to ensue. The adversaries of Dr. Barnes accused him, in the Regent House, before the vice-chancellor, where his articles were presented with him and received, he promising to make answer at the next convocation and so it was done. Then Dr. Nottoris, a rank enemy to Christ, moved Dr. Barnes to recant; but he refused so to do: which appeareth in his book that he made to King Henry the Eighth in English, confuting the judgment of Cardinal Wolsey, and the residue of the bishops papistical, and so, for the time, Barnes stood stedfast. And this tragedy continued in Cambridge, one preaching against another, in trying out of God's truth, until within six days of Shrovetide. Then, suddenly, was sent down to Cambridge a serjeant-at-arms, called Master Gibson, dwelling in St. Thomas Apostle's in London, who suddenly arrested Dr. Barnes openly in the convocation-house, to make all others afraid; and privily they had determined to make search for Luther's books, and all the Germans' works suddenly.

But good Dr. Farman, of the Queen's College, sent word incontinently thereof, to the chambers of those that were suspected, who were in number thirty persons. But, God be praised! they were conveyed away by that time that the serjeant-at-arms, the vice-chancellor, and the proctors, were at every man's chamber, going directly to the place where the books lay (whereby it was perceived that there were some privy spies amongst that small company); and that night they studied together, and give him his answer, which answer he carried with him to London the next morning, which was the Tuesday before Shrove Sunday, and came on the Wednesday to London, and lay at Master Parnell's house by the stocks.

In the morning he was carried by the serjeant-at-arms to Cardinal Wolsey, to Westminster, waiting there all day, and could not speak with him till night. Then, by reason of Dr. Gardiner, secretary to the cardinal, (of whose familiar acquaintance he had been before,) and Master Foxe, master of the Wards, he spake the same night with the cardinal in his chamber of estate, kneeling on his knees. Then said the cardinal to them, "Is this Dr. Barnes, your man that is accused of heresy?" "Yea, and please your Grace; and we trust you shall find him reformable, for he is both well learned and wise." "What! Master Doctor," said the cardinal; "had you not a sufficient scope in the Scriptures to teach the people, but that my golden shoes, my pole-axes, my pillars, my golden cushions, my crosses, did so sore offend you, that you must make us *ridiculum caput* amongst the people? We were jollily that day laughed to scorn. Verily it was a sermon more fit to be preached on a stage, than in a pulpit; for at the last you said, I wear a pair of red gloves, (I should say bloody gloves, quoth you,) that I should not be cold in the midst of my ceremonies." And Barnes answered, "I spake nothing but the truth out of the Scriptures, according to my conscience, and according to the old doctors."

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And then did Barnes deliver him six sheets of paper written, to confirm and corroborate his sayings. The cardinal received them smiling on him, and saying, "We perceive then that you intend to stand to your articles, and to show your learning." "Yea," said Barnes, "that I do intend, by God's grace, with your Lordship's favour."

The cardinal answered, "Such as you are do bear us and the catholic church little favour. I will ask you a question: Whether do you think it more necessary that I should have all this royalty, because I represent the king's Majesty's person in all the high courts of this realm, to the terror and keeping down of all rebellious treasons, traitors, all the wicked and corrupt members of this commonwealth; or to be as simple as you would have us? to sell all these aforesaid things, and to give it to the poor, who shortly will cast it against the walls? and to pull away this majesty of a princely dignity, which is a terror to all the wicked, and to follow your counsel in this behalf?" He answered, "I think it necessary to be sold and given to the poor. For this is not comely for your calling, nor is the king's Majesty maintained by your pomp and poleaxes; but by God who saith, "Kings and their majesties reign and stand by me."

Then answered he, "Lo, Master Doctors! here is the learned wise man, that you told me of." Then they kneeled do and said, "We desire your Grace to be good unto him, for he will be reformable."

Then said he, "Stand you up! for your sakes, and the university, we will be good unto him."

How say you, Master Doctor; do you not know that I am *Legatus de latere*, and that I am able to dispense in all matters concerning religion within this realm, as much as the pope may? "He said, "I know it to be so."

"Will you then be ruled by us, and we will do all things for your honesty, and for the honesty of the university." He answered, "I thank your Grace for your good will; I will stick to the Holy Scripture, and to God's book, according to the simple talent that God hath lent me." "Well," said he, "thou shalt have thy learning tried to the uttermost, and thou shalt have the law."

Then Dr. Barnes required him that he might have justice with equity; and forthwith he should have gone to the Tower, but that Gardiner and Foxe became his sureties that night: and so he came home to Master Parnell's house again, and that night fell to writing again and slept not; Master Coverdale, Master Goodwin, and Master Field, being his writers. And in the morning he came to York Place, to Gardiner and Foxe, and by and by he was committed to the serjeant-at-arms, to bring him into the chapter-house at Westminster, before the bishops, and the abbot of Westminster, called Islip.

The same time when Dr. Barnes should appear before the cardinal, there were five Still-yard men to be examined for Luther's books and Lollardy; but, after they spied Barnes, they set the others aside, and asked the serjeant-at-arms what was his errand. He said, he had brought one Dr. Barnes to be examined of heresy: and presented both his articles and his accusers. Then immediately, after a little talk, they swore him, and laid his articles to him; who, like as he answered the cardinal before, so said he unto them. And then he offered the book of his

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probations unto them; who asked him whether he had another for himself, and he said, "Yea," showing it unto them: who then took it from him, and said they would have no leisure to dispute with him at that present, for other affairs of the king's Majesty, which they had to do; and therefore bade him stand aside. Then they called the Still-yard men again, one by one, and when they were examined, they called forth the Master of the Fleet, and they were committed all to the Fleet. Then they called Dr. Barnes again, and asked him whether he would subscribe to his articles or no; and he subscribed willingly: and then they committed him, and young Master Parnell, to the Fleet also, with the others. There they remained till Saturday in the morning, and the warden of the Fleet was commanded that no man should speak with him.

On the Saturday he came again before them into the chapter-house, and there, with the Still-yard men, remained till five o'clock at night; and after long disputations, threatenings, and scornings, about five o'clock at night they called him, to know whether he would abjure or burn. He was then in a great agony, and thought rather to burn than to abjure. But then was he sent again to have the counsel of Gardiner and Foxe, and they persuaded him rather to abjure than to burn, because (they said) he should do more in time to come; and with divers other persuasions, that were mighty in the sight of reason and foolish flesh. Upon that, kneeling upon his knees, he consented to abjure, and the abjuration put in his hand, he abjured as it was there written, and then he subscribed with his own hand; and yet they would scarcely receive him into the bosom of the church, as they termed it. Then they put him to an oath, and charged him to execute, do, and fulfil, all that they commanded him: and he promised so to do.

Then they commanded the warden of the Fleet to carry him and his fellows to the place from whence he came, and to be kept in close prison, and in the morning to provide five faggots, for Dr. Barnes and the four Still-yard men. The fifth Still-yard man was commanded to have a taper of five pounds weight to be provided for him, to offer to the rood of Northen, in Paul's; and all these things to be ready by eight o'clock in the morning; and that he, with all that he could make, with bills and glaves, and the knight-marshal, with all his tipstaves that he could make, should bring them to Paul's, and conduct them home again. In the morning they were all ready, by their hour appointed, in Paul's church, the church being so full that no man could get in. The cardinal had a scaffold made on the top of the stairs for himself, with six-and-thirty abbots, mitred priors, and bishops, and he, in his whole pomp, mitred, (which Barnes spake against,) sat there enthronised, his chaplains and spiritual doctors in gowns of damask and satin, and he himself in purple; even like a bloody antichrist. And there was a new pulpit erected on the top of the stairs also, for the bishop of Rochester to preach against Luther and Dr. Barnes; and great baskets full of books standing before them, within the rails, which were commanded, after the great fire was made before the rood of Northen, there to be burned; and these heretics, after the sermon, to go thrice about the fire, and to cast in their faggots. Now, while the sermon was a doing, Dr. Barnes and the Still-yard men were commanded to kneel down, and ask forgiveness of God, of the catholic church and of the cardinal's Grace: and, after that, he was commanded, at the end of the sermon, to declare, that he was more charitably handled than he deserved, or was worthy; his heresies were so horrible and so detestable. And once again he kneeled down on his knees, desiring of the people forgiveness and to pray for him. And so the cardinal departed under a canopy, with all his mitred men with him, till he came to the second gate of Paul's; and then he took his mule, and the mitred men came back again. Then these poor men, being commanded to come down from the stage, (whereon the sweepers use to stand when they sweep the church,) the

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bishops sat them down again, and commanded the knight-marshal and the warden of the Fleet, with their company, to carry them about the fire. And so were they brought to the bishops, and there, for absolution, kneeled down; where Rochester stood up and declared unto the people, how many days of pardon and forgiveness of sins they had, for being at that sermon; and there did he assoil Dr. Barnes with the others, and showed the people that they were received into the church again.

This done, the warden of the Fleet, and the knight-marshal, were commanded to have them to the Fleet again, and charged that they should have the liberty of the Fleet, as other prisoners had, and that their friends might resort unto them; and there to remain till the lord cardinal's pleasure was known.

After Barnes there, in the Fleet, had continued the space of half a year, at length being delivered, was committed to be free prisoner at the Austin Friars in London. When those caterpillars and bloody beasts had there undermined him, they complained again to their lord cardinal; whereupon he was removed to the Austin Friars of Northampton, there to be burned. Yet he himself understanding nothing thereof, but supposing still that he should there remain, and continue in free prison; at last one Master Horne, who had brought him up, and was his special friend, having intelligence of the writ which should shortly be sent down to burn him, gave him counsel to feign himself to be desperate; and that he should write a letter to the cardinal, and leave it on his table where he lay, and a paper by, to declare whither he was gone to drown himself; and to leave his clothes in the same place; and another letter to be left there, to the mayor of the town, to search for him in the water, because he had a letter written in parchment about his neck, closed in wax, for the cardinal, which should teach all men to beware by him.

Upon this, they were seven days in searching for him, but he was conveyed to London in a poor man's apparel; and so tarried not there, but took shipping, and went by long seas to Antwerp, and so to Luther; and there fell to study till he had made an answer to all the bishops of the realm, and had made a book entitled, *Acta Romanorum Pontificum*, and another book with a supplication to King Henry. Immediately it was told the cardinal, that he was drowned, and he said, *Perit memoria ejus cum sonitu*; but this did light upon himself shortly after, who wretchedly died at Leicester.

In the mean season Dr. Barnes was made strong in Christ, and got favour both with the learned in Christ, and with foreign princes in Germany, and was great with Luther, Melancthon, Pomeran, Justus Jonas, Hegendorphinus, and Æpinus, and with the duke of Saxony, and with the king of Denmark; which king of Denmark, in the time of More and Stokesley, sent him, with the Lubecks, as an ambassador to King Henry the Eighth. He lay with the Lubecks' chancellor, at the Still-yard.

Sir Thomas More, then chancellor, would fain have entrapped him, but the king would not let him, for Cromwell was his great friend. And ere he went, the Lubecks and he disputed with the bishops of this realm in defence of the truth; and so he departed again, without restraint, with the Lubecks. After his going again to Wittenberg, to the duke of Saxony, and to Luther, he remained there, to set forward his works in print that he had begun; from whence he returned

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again in the beginning of the reign of Queen Anne, as others did, and continued a faithful preacher in this city, being all her time well entertained and promoted. After that, he was sent ambassador by King Henry the Eighth to the duke of Cleves, for the marriage of the Lady Anne of Cleves, between the king and her, and well accepted in the ambassade, and in all his doings, until the time that Stephen Gardiner came out of France: but, after he came, neither religion prospered, nor the queen's Majesty, nor Cromwell, nor the preachers; who, after the marriage of the Lady Anne of Cleves, never ceased until he had grafted the marriage on another stock, by the occasion whereof he began his bloody broil.

For not long after, Dr. Barnes, with his brethren, were apprehended and carried before the king's Majesty to Hampton Court, and there he was examined; where the king's Majesty, seeking the means of his safety, to bring Winchester and him agreed, at Winchester's request granted him leave to go home with the bishop, to confer with him: and so he did. But, as it happened, they not agreeing, Gardiner and his co-partners sought, by all subtle means, how to entangle and to entrap them in further danger, which not long after was brought to pass; for, by certain complaints made to the king of them, they were enjoined to preach three sermons the next Easter following, at the Spittal; at the which sermons, besides other reporters which were thither sent, Stephen Gardiner also was there present, sitting with the mayor, either to bear record of their recantation, or else, as the Pharisees came to Christ, to trip them in their talk, if he had spoken any thing awry. When these three had thus preached their sermons, among whom Barnes preaching the first sermon, and seeing Stephen Gardiner there present, humbly desired him, in the face of all the audience, if he forgave him, to hold up his hand; and the said Gardiner thereupon held up his finger. Yet notwithstanding, shortly after, by means of the said reporters, they were sent for to Hampton Court; who from thence were carried to the Tower, by Sir John Gostwike. From thence they never came out till they came to their death, as, Christ willing, shall more hereafter appear.

Then the protestants went again beyond the seas; the priests were divorced from their wives; certain bishops were deposed from their bishoprics; and other good men denied Christ and bare faggots at Paul's Cross. Then immediately, without judgment, they were put to death, as it is manifest; but the death was in such form, that a papist and a protestant were laid upon one hurdle, to be drawn to Smithfield. This was Winchester's device, to colour his own tyranny, and to make the people doubtful what faith they should trust to.

At his death, Dr. Barnes gave great commendations to the king's Majesty, that he should fear God, and maintain religion, and keep marriage undefiled most honourably; and then declared his faith and his articles. Then they prayed together, and Barnes said to Master Priest, being sheriff, "Know ye wherefore I die, seeing I was never examined nor called to any judgment?" He answered, He knew nothing, but thus we are commanded. Then he took Master Sheriff by the hand, and said, "Bear me witness, and my brother, that we die christianly and charitably; and I pray you and all the people to pray for us: and if the dead may pray for the quick, we will pray for you." And so he, and the rest, forgave their enemies, and kissed one another, and stood hand in hand at the stake, praying continually until the fire came: and so rested in Christ Jesus.

And thus, hitherto, concerning the history of Barnes. Now let us, likewise, consider the story and doings of Thomas Garret.

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

"About the year of our Lord 1526, Master Garret, curate in Honey Lane, in London, came unto Oxford, and brought with him sundry books in Latin, treating of the Scripture, with the first part of *Unio Dissidentium*, and Tyndale's first translation of the New Testament in English; which books he sold to divers scholars in Oxford, whose names, for his accountable memory, belike, he wrote in a small book of accounts.

"After he had been there awhile, and had despatched those books, news came from London that he was searched for through all London, to be apprehended and taken as a heretic, and to be imprisoned for selling of those heretical books, (as they termed them,) because they spake against the usurped authority and erroneous doctrine of the bishop of Rome, and his no less impure and filthy synagogue. For it was not unknown to Cardinal Wolsey, and to the bishop of London, and to others of that ungodly generation, that Master Garret had a great number of those heretical books, as the world then accounted them; and that he was gone to Oxford, to make sale of them there, to such as he knew to be the lovers of the gospel. Wherefore they determined to make forthwith a privy search through all Oxford, to apprehend and imprison him, and to burn all and every his aforesaid books, and him too if they could: so burning hot was the charity of these holy fathers. But yet at that time, one of the aforesaid proctors, called Master Cole, of Magdalene College, who afterwards was cross-bearer unto Cardinal Wolsey, was well acquainted with Master Garret; and, therefore, he gave secret warning unto a friend or two of Master Garret's, of this privy search; and willed, therefore, that he should forthwith, as secretly as he could, depart out of Oxford: for if he were taken in the same search, no remedy but he should be forthwith sent up unto the cardinal, and so he should be committed unto the Tower.

"The Christmas before that time, I, Anthony Dalaber, then scholar of Alban's Hall, who had books of Master Garret, had been in my country in Dorsetshire, at Stalbridge, where I had a brother parson of that parish, who was very desirous to have a curate out of Oxford, and willed me, in any wise, to get him one there, if I could. This just occasion offered, it was thought good among the brethren, (for so did we not only call one another, but were indeed one to another,) that Master Garret, changing his name, should be sent forth with my letters into Dorsetshire to my brother, to serve him there for a time, until he might secretly convey himself from thence some whither over the sea. According hereunto I wrote my letters in all haste possible unto my brother, for Master Garret to be his curate, but not declaring what he was indeed; for my brother was a rank papist, and afterwards was the most mortal enemy that ever I had, for the gospel's sake.

"So the Wednesday, in the morning, before Shrovetide, Master Garret departed out of Oxford towards Dorsetshire, with my letters for his new service. How far he went, and by what occasion he so soon returned, I know not. But, the Friday next, in the night time, he came again to Radley's house, where he lay before, and so, after midnight, in the privy search which was then made for him, he was apprehended and taken there in his bed by the two proctors; and, on the Saturday, in the morning, was delivered unto one Dr. Cottisford, master of Lincoln College, then being commissary of the university, who kept him as prisoner in his own chamber. There was great joy and rejoicing among all the papists for his apprehension, and especially with Dr. London, warden of the New College, and Dr. Higdon, dean of Frideswide's, two arch-papists, who immediately sent their letters, in post-haste, unto the cardinal, to inform him of the apprehension of this notable heretic; for the which their doing, they were well assured to have

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great thanks. But of all this sudden hurly-burly was I utterly ignorant, so that I knew neither of Master Garret's so sudden return, neither that he was so taken; for after I had sent him out of Oxford with my letters, as before is said, the same week having taken a chamber in Gloucester College, for the purpose of studying the civil law, because the scholars in Alban's Hall were all sophisters, I removed all such poor stuff as I had, from thence unto Gloucester College; and there was I much busied in setting up in order, my bed, my books, and such things else as I had, so that I had no leisure to go forth any where those two days, Friday and Saturday. And having set up all my things handsomely in order the same day before noon, I determined to spend that whole afternoon, until even-song time, at Frideswide College, at my book in mine own study; and so shut my chamber door unto me, and my study door also, and took into my hand to read Francis Lambert, upon the Gospel of St. Luke, which book only I had then within there; all my other books written on the Scripture, of which I had a great number, as of Erasmus, of Luther, of Ecolampadius, &c., I had yet left in my chamber at Alban's Hall, where I had made a very secret place to keep them safe in, because it was so dangerous to have any such books. And so, as I was diligently reading in the said book of Lambert upon Luke, suddenly one knocked at my chamber door very hard, which made me astonished, and yet I sat still, and would not speak; then he knocked again more hard, and yet I held my peace; and straightway he knocked yet again more fiercely, and then I thought this: peradventure it is somebody that hath need of me; and therefore I thought myself bound to do as I would be done unto: and so, laying my book aside, I came to the door, and opened it, and there was Master Garret as a man amazed, (whom I thought then to have been with my brother,) and one with him.

"As soon as he saw me, he said he was undone, for he was taken. Thus he spake unadvisedly, in the presence of a young man that came with him. When the young man was departed, I asked him what he was, and what acquaintance he had with him. He said, he knew him not; but he had been to seek a monk of his acquaintance in that college, who was not in his chamber; and thereupon desired his servant (not knowing my chamber, for that I was newly removed thither) to bring him to me; and so forth declared how he was returned and taken that night in the privy search, as ye have heard; and that now, when the commissary and all his company were gone to even-song, and had locked him alone in his chamber, he, hearing nobody stirring in the college, put back the bar of the lock with his finger, and so came straight unto Gloucester College, to speak with that monk, if he had been within, who had also bought books of him.

"Then said I unto him, 'Alas, Master Garret! by this your uncircumspect coming unto me, and speaking so before this young man, you have disclosed yourself, and utterly undone me.' I asked him, why he went not unto my brother, with my letters accordingly. He said, after that he was gone a day's journey and a half, he was so fearful, that his heart would no other but that he must needs return again unto Oxford; and so he came again on Friday at night, and then was taken as ye heard before: But now, with deep sighs and plenty of tears, he prayed me to help to convey him away; and so he cast off his hood and his gown, wherein he came unto me, and desired me to give him a coat with sleeves, if I had any; and told me that he would go into Wales, and thence convey himself into Germany, if he might. Then I put on him a sleeved coat of mine. He would also have had another manner of cap of me, but I had none but priest-like, such as his own was.

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"Then kneeled we both down together upon our knees, and lifting up our hearts and hands to God, our heavenly Father, desired him, with plenty of tears, so to conduct and prosper him in his journey, that he might well escape the danger of all his enemies, to the glory of his holy name, if his good pleasure and will were. And then we embraced, and kissed the one the other, the tears so abundantly flowing out from both our eyes, that we all be-wet both our faces, and scarcely for sorrow could we speak one to another: and so he departed from me, appareled in my coat, being committed unto the tuition of our almighty and merciful Father.

"When he was gone down the stairs from my chamber, I straightways did shut my chamber door, and went into my study, and taking the New Testament in my hands, kneeled down on my knees, and with many a deep sigh and salt tear, I did, with much deliberation, read over the tenth chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel; and when I had so done, with fervent prayer I did commit unto God that our dearly beloved brother Garret, earnestly beseeching him, in and for Jesus Christ's sake, his only begotten Son our Lord, that he would vouchsafe not only safely to conduct and keep our said dear brother from the hands of all his enemies; but also, that he would endue his tender and lately born little flock in Oxford with heavenly strength, by his Holy Spirit, that they might be well able thereby valiantly to withstand, to his glory, all their fierce enemies; and also might quietly, to their own salvation, with all godly patience bear Christ's heavy cross, which I now saw was presently to be laid on their young and weak backs, unable to bear so huge a burden, without the great help of his Holy Spirit.

"This done, I laid aside my book safe, folded up Master Garret's gown and hood, and laid them in my press among mine apparel; and so, having put on my short gown, shut up my study and chamber doors, and went toward Frideswide's to speak with that worthy martyr of God, Master Clark, and others, and to declare unto them what had happened that afternoon. But of purpose I went by St. Mary's church, to go first unto Corpus Christi College, to speak with Diet and Udal, my faithful brethren and fellows in the Lord there. But by chance I met by the way with a brother of ours, one Master Eden, fellow of Magdalene College, who, as soon as he saw me, came with a pitiful countenance unto me, saying, that we were all undone, for Master Garret was returned again to Oxford, taken the last night in the privy search, and was in prison with the commissary. I said, it was not so. He said, it was so. I told him, it could not be so, for I was sure he was gone. He answered me and said, 'I know he was gone with your letters, but he came again yesterday in the even, and was taken in his bed at Radley's, this night, in the privy search; for,' quoth he, 'I heard our proctor, Master Cole, say and declare the same this day in our college, to divers of the house: But I told him again, that I was well assured he was now gone, for I spake with him later than either the proctor or the commissary did and then I declared the whole matter unto him, how and when he came unto me, and how he went his way, willing him to declare the same unto our other brethren, whom he should meet withal, and to give God hearty thanks for this his wonderful deliverance, and to pray him, also, that he would grant him safely to pass away from all his enemies. And I told him that I was going unto Master Clark of Frideswide's, to declare unto him this matter; for I knew and thought verily, that he, and divers others there, were in great sorrow for this matter. Then I went straight to Frideswide's, and evensong was begun, and the dean and the other canons were there in their grey amices; they were almost at Magnificat before I came thither. I stood at the choir door and heard Master Taverner play, and others of the chapel there sing, with and among whom I myself was wont to sing also; but now my singing and music were turned into sighing and musing.

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"As I thus and there stood, in cometh Dr. Cottisford, the commissary, as fast as ever he could go, bare-headed, as pale as ashes (I knew his grief well enough); and to the dean he goeth into the choir, where he was sitting in his stall, and talked with him very sorrowfully: what, I know not; but whereof, I might and did well and truly guess. I went aside from the choir door, to see and hear more. The commissary and dean came out of the choir wonderfully troubled, as it seemed. About the middle of the church met them Dr. London, puffing, blustering, and blowing, like a hungry and greedy lion seeking his prey. They talked together awhile, but the commissary was much blamed for keeping his prisoners so negligently, insomuch that he wept for sorrow. And it was known abroad that Master Garret was escaped, and gone out of the commissary's chamber at even-song time; but whither, no man could tell.

"These doctors departed, and sent abroad their servants and spies every where. Master Clark, about the middle of the compline, came forth of the choir: I followed him to his chamber, and declared what had happened that afternoon, of Master Garret's escape. He was glad, for he knew of his fore-taking. Then he sent for one Master Sumner, and for Master Bets, fellows and canons there. In the mean while he gave me a very godly exhortation, praying God to give me, and all the rest of our brethren, *Prudentiam serpentinam et simplicitatem columbinam*; for we should have shortly much need thereof, as he verily thought. When Master Sumner and Master Bets were come unto him, he caused me to declare again the whole matter to them two; and they were very glad that Master Garret was so delivered, trusting that he should escape all his enemies. Then, desiring them to tell unto our other brethren what had happened, (for there were divers other in that college,) I went to Corpus Christi College, to comfort our brethren there, being in like heaviness. When I came to Corpus Christi College I found together, in Sir Diet's chamber, tarrying and looking for me, Fitzjames, Diet, and Udal. They knew all the matter before by Master Eden, whom I had sent unto Fitzjames; but yet I declared the matter unto them again. And so I tarried there, and supped with them in that chamber, where they had provided meat and drink for us, before my coming: at which supper we were not very merry, considering our state and peril at hand. When we had ended our supper and committed our whole cause, with fervent sighs and hearty prayers, unto God our heavenly Father, Fitzjames would needs have me to lie that night with him, in my old lodging at Alban's Hall; and so I did. But small rest, and little sleep, took we both there that night.

On the Sunday, in the morning, I was up and ready by five o'clock; and as soon as I could get out at Alban's Hall door, I went straight towards Gloucester College to my chamber. It had rained that morning a good shower, and with my going I had all besprinkled my hose and shoes with mire. And when I was come unto Gloucester College, which was about six o'clock, I found the gates fast shut; whereat I did much marvel, for they were wont to be opened daily long before that time. Then did I walk up and down by the wall there a whole hour before the gates were opened. In the mean while, my musing head being full of forecasting cares, and my sorrowful heart flowing with doleful sighs, I fully determined in my conscience before God, that if I should chance to be taken and be examined, I would accuse no man, nor declare any thing further than I did already perceive was manifestly known before. And so, when the gate was opened, thinking to shift myself, and to put on a longer gown, I went in towards my chamber, and, going up the stairs, would have opened my door, but I could not in a long season do it; whereby I perceived that my lock had been meddled withal, and therewith was somewhat altered: yet, at last, with much ado, I opened the lock and went in. When I came in, I saw my bed all tossed and tumbled,

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my clothes in my press thrown down, and my study-door open; whereat I was much amazed, and thought verily that some search was made there that night for Master Garret, and that it was known of his being with me, by the monk's man that brought him to my chamber.

Now was there lying in the next chamber unto me a monk, who, as soon as he had heard me in the chamber, came to me, and told how Master Garret was sought for in my chamber that night, and what ado there was made by the commissary, and the two proctors, with bills and swords thrust through my bed-straw, and how every corner of my chamber was searched for Master Garret and albeit his gown and his hood lay there in my press with my clothes, yet they perceived them not. Then he told me he was commanded to bring me, as soon as I came in, unto the prior of the students, named Anthony Dunstan, a monk of Westminster. This so troubled me, that I forgot to make clean my hose and shoes, and to shift me into another gown; and therefore so all be-dirted as I was, and in my short gown, I went with him to the said prior's chamber, where I found the said prior standing, and looking for my coming. He asked me where I had been that night. I told him I lay at Alban's Hall, with my old bed-fellow Fitzjames; but he would not believe me. He asked me, if Master Garret were with me yesterday. I told him, Yea. Then he would know where he was, and wherefore he came unto me. I told him, I knew not where he was, except he were at Woodstock. For so (said I) he had showed me that he would go thither, because one of the keepers there, his friend, had promised him a piece of venison to make merry withal the Shrovetide; and that he would have borrowed a hat and a pair of high shoes of me, but I had none indeed to lend him. This tale I thought meetest, though it were nothing so. Then had he spied on my finger a big ring of silver, very well double gilt, with two letters A.D. engraved in it for my name: I suppose he thought it to be gold. He required to see it. I took it unto him. When he had it in his hand, he said it was his ring, for therein was his name: an A, for Anthony, and a D, for Dunstan. When I heard him so say, I wished in my heart to be as well delivered from and out of his company, as I was assured to be delivered from my ring for ever.

"Then he called for pen, ink, and paper, and commanded me to write when and how Garret came unto me, and where he was become. I had scarcely written three words, but the chief beadle, with two or three of the commissary's men, were come unto Master Prior, requiring him straightways to bring us away unto Lincoln College, to the commissary, and to Dr. London: whither when I was brought into the chapel, there I found Dr. Cottisford, commissary; Dr. Higdon, then dean of the cardinal's college; and Dr. London, warden of the New College, standing together at the altar in the chapel. When I was brought unto them, after salutations given and taken between them, they called for chairs and sat down, and called for me to come to them. And first they asked what my name was. I told them that my name was Anthony Dalaber. Then they also asked me how long I had been student in the university, and I told them almost three years. And they asked me what I studied I told them that I had read sophistry and logic in Alban's Hall, and now was removed unto Gloucester College, to study the civil law, which the aforesaid prior of the students affirmed to be true. Then they asked me whether I knew Master Garret, and how long I had known him. I told them I knew him well, and had known him almost a twelvemonth. They asked me, when he was with me. I told them yesterday at afternoon.

"Now by this time, while they had me in this talk, one came unto them who was sent for, with pen, ink, and paper; I trow it was the clerk of the university. As soon as he was come, there was a board and trestles, with a form for him to sit on, set between the doctors and me, and a

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great mass book laid before me; and I was commanded to lay my right hand on it, and to swear that I should truly answer unto such articles and interrogatories as I should be by them examined upon. I made danger of it a while at first, but afterwards, being persuaded by them, partly by fair words, and partly by great threats, I promised to do as they would have me; but in my heart meant nothing so to do. So I laid my hand on the book, and one of them gave me my oath, and, that done, commanded me to kiss the book. Then made they great courtesy between them, who should examine me, and minister interrogatories unto me. At the last, the rankest papistical Pharisee of them all, Dr. London, took upon him to do it.

"Then he asked me again, by my oath, where Master Garret was, and whither I had conveyed him. I told him, I had not conveyed him, nor yet wist where he was, nor whither he was gone, except he were gone to Woodstock, (as I had before said,) as he showed me he would. Then he asked me again, when he came to me, how he came to me, what and how long he talked with me, and whither he went from me. I told him he came to me about evensong time; and that one brought him unto my chamber door, whom I knew not; and that he told me he would go to Woodstock for some venison to make merry withal this Shrovetide; and that he would have borrowed a hat, and a pair of high shoes of me, but I had none such to lend him; and then he straight went his way from me, but whither I know not. All these my sayings the scribe wrote in a paper book.

"Then they earnestly required me to tell them whither I had conveyed him, for surely, they said, I brought him going some whither this morning; for that they might well perceive, by my foul shoes and dirty hosen, that I had travelled with him the most part of this night. I answered plainly, that I lay at Alban's Hall, with Sir Fitzjames, and that I had good witness thereof there. They asked me where I was at even-song. I told them, at Frideswide's, and that I saw first Master Commissary, and then Master Doctor London, come thither at that time unto Master Dean of Frideswide's; and that I saw them talking together in the church there. Dr. London and the dean threatened me, that if I would not tell the truth, where I had done him, or whither he was gone, I should surely be sent to the Tower of London, and there be racked, and put into Little-ease. But Master Commissary prayed me, with gentle words, to tell him where he was, that he might have him again, and he would be my very great friend, and deliver me out of trouble straightway. I told him I could not tell where he was, nor whither he was become. Thus they did occupy and toss me almost two hours in the chapel, sometimes with threatenings and foul words, and then with fair words and fair promises flattering me. Then was he that brought Master Garret unto my chamber brought before me, and caused to declare what Master Garret said unto me, at his coming to my chamber: but I said plainly, I heard him say no such thing; for I thought my nay to be as good as his yea, seeing it was to rid and deliver my godly brother out of trouble and peril of his life.

"At last, when they could get nothing of me whereby to hurt or accuse any man, or to know any thing of the which they sought, they all three together brought me up a long stairs into a great chamber over Master Commissary's chamber, wherein stood a great pair of very high stocks. Then Master Commissary asked me for my purse and girdle, took away my money and my knives, and then they put both my legs into the stocks, and so locked me fast in them; in which I sat, my feet being almost as high as my head; and so departed they, (I think to their abominable mass,) locking fast the chamber door, and leaving me alone.

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"When they all were gone, then came unto my remembrance the worthy forewarning and godly declaration of that most constant martyr of God, Master John Clark, my father in Christ, who, well nigh two years before that, when I did earnestly desire him to grant me to be his scholar, and that I might go with him continually when and wheresoever he should teach or preach, (the which he did daily,) said unto me much after this sort, 'Dalaber! you desire you wot not what, and that which you are, I fear me, unable to take upon you: for though now my preaching be sweet and pleasant unto you, because there is yet no persecution laid on you for it, yet the time will come, and that peradventure shortly, if ye continue to live godly therein, that God will lay on you the cross of persecution, to try you withal, whether you can, as pure gold, abide the fire, or, as stubble and dross, be consumed therewith. For the Holy Ghost plainly affirmeth by St. Paul, *Quod mines qui pie volunt vivere in Christo Jesu, persecutionem patientur*. Yea, you shall be called and judged a heretic; you shall be abhorred of the world; your own friends and kinsfolk will forsake you, and also hate you; and you shall be cast into prison; and no man shall dare to help or comfort you; and you shall be accused and brought before the bishops, to your reproach and shame, to the great sorrow of all your faithful friends and kinsfolk. Then will ye wish ye had never known this doctrine; then will ye curse Clark, and wish that ye had never known him, because he hath brought you to all these troubles. Therefore, rather than that you should do this, leave off from meddling with this doctrine, and desire not to be, and continue, in my company.'

"At which his words I was so grieved, that I fell down on my knees at his feet, and with abundance of tears and sighs, even from the very bottom of my heart I earnestly besought him, that for the tender mercy of God, showed to us in our Lord Jesus Christ, he would not refuse me, but receive me into his company, as I had desired; saying that I trusted verily, that he which had begun this in me, would not forsake me, but give me grace to continue therein unto the end. When he heard me say so, he came to me, took me up in his arms, and kissed me, the tears trickling down from his eyes, and said unto me, 'The Lord Almighty grant you so to do, and from henceforth for ever take me for your father, and I will take you for my son in Christ.' Now were there at that time in Oxford divers graduates and scholars of sundry colleges and halls, whom God had called to the knowledge of his holy word, which all resorted unto Master Clark's disputations and lectures in divinity at all times as they might; and when they might not come conveniently, I was, by Master Clark, appointed to resort to every one of them weekly, and to know what doubts they had in any place of the Scripture; that by me, from him, they might have the true understanding of the same; which exercise did me much good and profit, to the understanding of the Holy Scriptures, which I most desired.

"This aforesaid forewarning and godly declaration (I say) of this most godly martyr of God Master Clark, coming to my remembrance, caused me, with deep sighs, to cry unto God from my heart, to assist me with his Holy Spirit, that I might be able patiently and quietly to bear and suffer whatsoever it should please him, of his fatherly love, to lay on me, to his glory, and the comfort of my dearly beloved brethren, whom I thought now to be in great fear and anguish, lest I would be an accuser of them all: for unto me they all were well known, and all their doings in that matter. But, God be blessed! I was fully bent never to accuse any of them, whatsoever should happen to me. Before dinner Master Cottisford came up to me, and requested me earnestly to tell him where Master Garret was, and, if I would so do, he promised me straightways to deliver me out of prison. But I told him I could not tell where he was: no more

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indeed I could. Then he departed to dinner, asking me if I would eat any meat: I told him, 'Yea, right gladly.' He said he would send me some. When he was gone, his servants asked me divers questions, which I do not now remember, and some of them spake me fair, and some threatened me, calling me heretic; and so departed, locking the door fast upon me."

Thus far Anthony Dalaber hath prosecuted this story, who, before the finishing, departed, A.D. 1562, in the diocese of Salisbury; the residue whereof, as we could gather it out of ancient and credible persons, so have we added here unto the same.

After this, Garret was apprehended and taken by Master Cole the proctor, or his men going westward, at a place called Hinxsey, a little beyond Oxford, and so, being brought back again, was committed to ward: that done, he was convented before the commissary, Dr. London, and Dr. Higdon, dean of Frideswide's, (now called Christ's College,) into St. Mary's church, where they, sitting in judgment, convicted him according to their law as a heretic, (as they said,) and afterwards compelled him to carry a faggot in open procession from St. Mary's church to Frideswide's, and Dalaber likewise with him; Garret having his red hood on his shoulders, like a master of arts. After that, they were sent to Osney, there to be kept in prison till further order was taken.

There were suspected, besides, a great number to be infected with heresy, as they called it, for having such books of God's truth as Garret sold unto them; as Master Clark, who died in his chamber, and could not be suffered to receive the communion, being in prison, and saying these words, *Crede, et manducasti*; Master Sumner, Master Bets, Taverner the musician, Radley, with others of Frideswide College; of Corpus Christi College, as Udal and Diet; with others of Magdalene College; one Eden, with others of Gloucester College; and two black monks, one of St. Augustine's of Canterbury, named Langport, the other of St. Edmund's Bury, monk, named John Salisbury; two white monks of Bernard College; two canons of St. Mary's College, one of them named Robert Ferrar, afterwards bishop of St. David's, and burned in Queen Mary's time. These two canons, because they had no place in the university with the others, went on the contrary side of the procession bareheaded, and a beadle before them, to be known from the others. Divers others there were, whose names I cannot remember, who were forced and constrained to forsake their colleges, and sought their friends. Against the procession time there was a great fire made upon the top of Carfax, whereinto all such as were in the said procession, either convicted or suspected of heresy, were commanded, in token of repentance and renouncing of their errors, every man to cast a book into the fire, as they passed by.

After this, Master Garret, flying from place to place, escaped their tyranny, until this present time that he was again apprehended, and burned with Dr. Barnes; with whom also William Jerome, some time vicar of Stepney, was likewise drawn into Smithfield, and there, together with them, constantly endured martyrdom in the fire. Now let us also add to these the story of Jerome.

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The life and story of William Jerome, vicar of Stepney, and martyr of Christ.



THE third companion which suffered with Barnes and Garret, was William Jerome, vicar of Stepney. This Jerome, being a diligent preacher of God's word, for the comfort and edification of the people, had preached divers and sundry sermons; wherein, to the intent to plant in the consciences of men the sincere truth of Christian religion, he laboured as much as time then served, to extirpate and weed out the roots of men's traditions, doctrines, dreams, and fantasies. In so doing it could not otherwise be but he must needs provoke much hatred against him amongst the adversaries of Christ's gospel.

It so happened, that the said Jerome, preaching at Paul's on the fourth Sunday in Lent last past, made there a sermon, wherein he recited and mentioned of Hagar and Sarah, declaring what these two signified: in process whereof he showed further how that Sarah and her child Isaac, and all they that were Isaac's, and born of the free woman Sarah, were freely justified: contrary, they that were born of Hagar, the bondwoman, were bound and under the law, and cannot be freely justified. In these words what was here spoken, but that which St. Paul himself uttereth and expoundeth in his Epistle to the Galatians, or what could here be gathered of any reasonable or indifferent hearer, but consonant to sound doctrine, and the vein of the gospel? Now see what rancour and malice, armed with crafty and subtle sophistry, can do. This sermon finished, it was not long but he was charged and convented before the king at Westminster, and there accused for erroneous doctrine.

Percase thou wilt muse, gentle reader! what erroneous doctrine here could be picked out. Note therefore, for thy learning; and he that listeth to study how to play the sycophant, let him here take example. The knot found in this rush was this: for that he preached erroneously at Paul's Cross, teaching the people that all that were born of Sarah were freely justified, speaking there absolutely, without any condition either of baptism, or of penance, &c. Who here doubteth, but if St. Paul himself had been at Paul's Cross, and had preached the same words to the Englishmen, which he wrote to the Galatians in this behalf, ipso facto, he had been apprehended for a heretic, for preaching against the sacrament of baptism and repentance?



Jerome Preaching

Furthermore it was objected against him touching matter against magistrates, and laws by them made. Whereunto he answered again and affirmed, (as he had before preached,) that no magistrate of himself could make any law or laws, private or otherwise, to bind the inferior people, unless it were by the power, authority, and commandment of his or their princes to him or them given, but only the prince. And moreover, to confirm the same he added, saying, that if the prince make laws consenting to God's laws, we are bound to obey them. And if he make laws repugnant to the laws of God, and be an evil and wicked prince, yet are we bound humbly to suffer him, and not violently to resist or grudge against him.

Also concerning his sermons, one Dr. Wilson entered into disputation with him, and defended, that good works justified before God, and were necessary and available to salvation. To whom Jerome answered again, that all works, whatsoever they were, were nothing worth, nor

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any part of salvation of themselves, but only referred to the mercy and love of God, which mercy and love of God direct the workers thereof; and yet it is at his mercy and goodness to accept them: which, to be true, Dr. Wilson neither could, nor did, deny.

And thus much concerning the several stories of these three good men. Now let us see the order of their martyrdom, joining them all together; what was the cause of their condemnation; and what were their protestations and words at their suffering.

Ye heard before, how Barnes, Jerome, and Garret, were caused to preach at Easter at the Spittal; the occasion whereof, as I find it reported by Stephen Gardiner writing against George Joye, I thought good here to discourse more at large.

Stephen Gardiner, hearing that the said Barnes, Jerome, and Garret should preach the Lent following, A.D. 1540, at Paul's Cross, to stop the course of their doctrine, sent his chaplain to the bishop of London, the Saturday before the first Sunday in Lent, to have a place for him to preach at Paul's; which to him was granted, and time appointed that he should preach the Sunday following, which should be on the morrow; which Sunday was appointed before for Barnes to occupy that room. Gardiner therefore, determining to declare the gospel of that Sunday containing the devil's three temptations, began amongst other things to note the abase of Scripture amongst some, as the devil abused it to Christ; and so, alluding to the temptation of the devil, wherein he alleged the Scripture against Christ, to cast himself downward, and that he should take no hurt, he inferred thereupon, saying:

"Now-a-days," quoth he, "the devil tempteth the world, and biddeth them to cast themselves backward. There is no 'forward' in the new teaching, but all backward. Now the devil teacheth, come back from fasting, come back from praying, come back from confession, come back from weeping for thy sins; and all is backward, insomuch that men must now learn to say their Pater-noster backward. For where we said, Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors; now it is, As thou forgavest our debts, so I will forgive my debtors; and so God must forgive first; and all, I say, is turned backward," &c.

Amongst other things, moreover, Gardiner noted "the devil's craft and shift in deceiving man; who, envying his felicity, and therefore coveting to have man idle, and void of good works, and to be led in that idleness with a vain hope to live merrily at his pleasure here, and yet to have heaven at the last, hath, for that purpose, procured out pardons from Rome, wherein heaven was sold for a little money; and to retail that merchandise, the devil used friars for his ministers. Now they be gone, with all their trumpery; but the devil is not yet gone, &c. And now that the devil perceiveth that it can no longer be borne to buy and sell heaven by the friars, he hath excogitated to offer heaven, without works for it, so freely, that men shall not need for heaven to work at all, whatsoever opportunity they have to work: marry! if they will have any higher place in heaven, God will leave no work unrewarded; but as to be in heaven needs no works at all, but only belief, only, only, and nothing else," &c.

This sermon of Stephen Gardiner finished, Dr. Barnes, who was put off from that Sunday, had his day appointed, which was the third Sunday next following, to make his sermon; who, taking the same text of the gospel which Gardiner had done before, was, on the contrary

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side, no less vehement in setting forward the true doctrine of Christian religion, than Winchester had been before in plucking men backward from truth to lies, from sincerity to hypocrisy, from religion to superstition, from Christ to antichrist. In the process of which sermon he proceeding, and calling out Stephen Gardiner by name to answer him, alluding in a pleasant allegory to a cock-fight; terming the said Gardiner to be a fighting cock, and himself to be another: but the garden cock (he said) lacketh good spurs: objecting moreover to the said Gardiner, and opposing him in his grammar rules; thus saying, that if he had answered him in the schools, so as he had there preached at the Cross, he would have given him six stripes: declaring furthermore what evil herbs this Gardiner had set in the garden of God's Scripture, &c.

Finally, with this sermon Gardiner was so tickled in the spleen, that he immediately went to the king to complain, showing how he, being a bishop and prelate of the realm, was handled and reviled at Paul's Cross.

Hereupon the king, giving too much ear to Gardiner's grief, was earnestly incensed against Barnes, and with many high words rebuked his doings in his privy closet; having with him the earl of Southampton, who was the Lord Wriothesley, and the master of the horse, who was Anthony Brown; also Dr. Cox, and Dr. Robinson. Unto whom when Barnes had submitted himself, "Nay," said the king, "yield thee not to me; I am a mortal man;" and therewith rising up and turning to the sacrament, and putting off his bonnet, said, "Yonder is the Master of us all, the author of truth: yield in truth to him, and that truth will I defend; and otherwise yield thee not unto me." Much ado there was, and great matter laid against Barnes. In conclusion this order was taken, that Barnes should go apart with Winchester, to confer and commune together of their doctrine, certain witnesses being thereunto appointed, to be as indifferent hearers, of whom one was Dr. Cox, the other was Dr. Robinson, with two others also to them assigned, who should be reporters to the king of the disputation; at the first entry of which talk, Gardiner, forgiving him (as he saith) all that was past, offered him the choice, whether he would answer or oppose; which was the Friday after that Barnes had preached.

The question between them propounded, by Gardiner's narration, was this: "Whether a man could do any thing good or acceptable before the grace of justification, or not?" This question arose upon a certain contention which had been between them before: for Barnes had affirmed, that albeit God requireth of us to forgive our neighbour, to obtain forgiveness of him; yet, he said, that God must forgive us first, before we forgive our neighbour; for else, to forgive our neighbour were sin, by the text which saith: All that is not of faith, is of sin, &c. Thus the matter being propounded, Gardiner, to prove the contrary, came forward with his arguments two or three: to the which arguments (saith Gardiner) Barnes could not answer, but desired to be spared that night, and the next morning he would answer his arguments. In the morning, Gardiner with the hearers being again assembled, Dr. Barnes, according to the appointment, was present, who then went about to assail his arguments. To his solutions Gardiner again replied: and thus continued they in this altercation by the space of two hours. In the end of this cock-fight, Winchester thus concludeth this glorious tale, and croweth up the triumph; declaring how Barnes besought him to have pity on him, to forgive him, and to take him to be his scholar: whom then the said Winchester (as he himself confesseth) receiving, not as his scholar, but as his companion, offered to him a portion out of his living, to the sum of forty pounds a year, which if it be true, (as Stephen Gardiner himself reporteth,) why then doth this glorious cockatrice crow

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so much against Barnes afterwards, and cast him in the teeth, bearing all the world in hand that Barnes was his scholar? whereas he himself here refuseth Barnes to be his scholar, but receiveth him as his companion, fellow-like: but to the story.

This done, the king being advertised of the conclusion of this matter between Barnes and Winchester, was content that Barnes should repair to the bishop's house at London the Monday following: which he did, with a certain other companion joined unto him. Who he was, Winchester there doth not express, only he saith that it was neither Jerome nor Garret. In this next meeting between Barnes and the bishop, upon the aforesaid Monday, the said bishop studying to instruct Barnes, uttered to him certain articles or conclusions, to the number of ten, the effect whereof here followeth.

Winchester's articles against Barnes.

"I. The effect of Christ's passion hath a condition. The fulfilling of the condition diminisheth nothing the effect of Christ's passion.

"II. They that will enjoy the effect of Christ's passion must fulfil the condition.

"III. The fulfilling of the condition requireth first knowledge of the condition; which knowledge we have by faith.

"IV. Faith cometh of God, and this faith is a good gift; it is good and profitable to me; it is profitable to me to do well, and to exercise this faith: ergo, by the gift of God, I may do well before I am justified.

"V. Therefore I may do well by the gift of God before I am justified, towards the attainment of justification.

"VI. There is ever as much charity towards God as faith: and as faith increaseth, so doth charity increase.

"VII. To the attainment of justification are required faith and charity.

"VIII. Every thing is to be called freely done, whereof the beginning is free and set at liberty, without any cause of provocation.

"IX. Faith must be to me the assurance of the promises of God made in Christ, (if I fulfil the condition,) and love must accomplish the condition: whereupon followeth the attainment of the promise according to God's truth.

"X. A man being in deadly sin, may have grace to do the works of penance, whereby he may attain to his justification."

These articles, forasmuch as they be sufficiently answered and replied unto by George Joye, in his joinder and rejoinder against Winchester, I shall not need to cumber this work with

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any new ado therewith, but only refer the reader to the books aforesaid, where he may see matter enough to answer to these popish articles.

I told you before, how the king was contented that Barnes should resort to the house of the bishop of Winchester, to be trained and directed by the bishop: which Barnes then hearing the talk of the people, and having also conference with certain learned men, within two days after his coming to the bishop's house, waxed weary thereof, and so coming to the bishop signified unto him, that if he would take him as one that came to confer, he would come still, but else he would come no more; and so clean gave over the bishop.

This being known unto the king, through sinister complaints of popish sycophants, Barnes again was sent for, and convented before the king; who, being grievously incensed against him, enjoined both him, Jerome, and Garret, at the solemn Easter sermons at St. Mary Spittal, openly in writing to revoke the doctrine which they before had taught; at which sermon Stephen Gardiner also himself was present, to hear their recantation..

First Dr. Barnes, according to his promise made to the king, solemnly and formally began to make his recantation; which done, he, with much circumstance and obtestation, called upon the bishop, (as is above touched,) and, asking of him forgiveness, required him, in token of a grant, to hold up his hand, to the intent that he there openly declaring his charity before the world, the bishop also would declare his charity in like manner. Which when the bishop at first refused to do as he was required, Barnes again called for it, desiring him to show his charity, and to hold up his hand; which when he had done with much ado, wagging his finger a little, then Barnes, entering into his sermon, after his prayer made, beginneth the process of a matter, preaching contrary to that which before he had recanted; insomuch that the mayor, when the sermon was finished, sitting with the bishop of Winchester, asked him whether he should from the pulpit send him to ward, to be forthcoming for that his bold preaching, contrary to his recantation. The like also did Jerome, and Garret after him.

The king had before appointed certain to make report of the sermons. Besides them, there was one, who, writing to a friend of his in the court, in the favour of these preachers, declared how gaily they had all handled the matter, both to satisfy the recantation, and also in the same sermons to utter out the truth, that it might spread without let of the world. Wherefore, partly by these reporters, and partly by the negligent looking to this letter, which came to the Lord Cromwell's hands, saith Gardiner, Barnes with his other fellows, were apprehended, and committed to the Tower. Stephen Gardiner, in his aforesaid book against George Joye, would needs clear himself, that he was no party to nor cause of their casting into the Tower; and giveth this reason for him, for that he had then no access, nor had after, so long as Cromwell's time lasted, to the king's secret counsel: yet, notwithstanding, the said Gardiner cannot persuade us to the contrary, but that his privy complaining to the king, and his secret whisperings in his friend's ears, and his other workings by his factors about the king, was a great sparkle to set their faggots afire.

Thus then Barnes, Jerome, and Garret, being committed to the Tower after Easter, there remained till the thirtieth day of July, which was two days after the death of the Lord Cromwell. Then ensued process against them, by the king's council in the parliament, to the which process

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Gardiner confesseth himself that he was privy, amongst the rest. Whereupon all those three good saints of God, the thirtieth day of July, not coming to any answer, nor yet knowing any cause of their condemnation, without any public hearing were brought together from the Tower to Smithfield, where they, preparing themselves to the fire, had there at the stake divers and sundry exhortations: among whom Dr. Barnes first began with this protestation following:

"I am come hither to be burned as a heretic, and you shall hear my belief, whereby you shall perceive what erroneous opinions I hold. God I take to record, I never (to my knowledge) taught any erroneous doctrine, but only those things which Scripture led me unto; and that in my sermons I never maintained any error, neither moved nor gave occasion of any insurrection, although I have been slandered to preach that our Lady was but a saffron-bag, which I utterly protest before God that I never meant, nor preached it; but all my study and diligence hath been utterly to confound and confute all men of that doctrine, as are the Anabaptists, which deny that our Saviour Christ did take any flesh of the blessed Virgin Mary; which sects I detest and abhor. And in this place there have been burned some of them, whom I never favoured nor maintained; but with all diligence evermore did I study to set forth the glory of God, the obedience to our sovereign lord the king, and the true and sincere religion of Christ: and now hearken to my faith.

"I believe in the holy and blessed Trinity, three Persons and one God, that created and made all the world: and that this blessed Trinity, sent down the second person, Jesu Christ, into the womb of the most blessed and purest Virgin Mary. And here, bear me record, that I do utterly condemn that abominable and detestable opinion of the Anabaptists, which say that Christ took no flesh of the Virgin. For I believe, that without man's will or power he was conceived by the Holy Ghost, and took flesh of her, and that he suffered hunger, thirst, cold, and other passions of our body, sin excepted, according to the saying of St. Peter, He was made in all things like to his brethren, except sin. And I believe that this his death and passion was the sufficient ransom for the sin of all the world. And I believe that through his death he overcame sin, death, and hell; and that there is none other satisfaction unto the Father, but this his death and passion only; and that no work of man did deserve any thing of God, but only his passion, as touching our justification: for I know the best work that ever I did is impure and imperfect." [And with this he cast abroad his hands, and desired God to forgive him his trespasses.] For although perchance," said he, "you know nothing by me, yet do I confess, that my thoughts and cogitations be innumerable: wherefore I beseech thee, O Lord! not to enter into judgment with me, according to the saying of the prophet David, Enter not into judgment with thy servant, O Lord: and in another place, Lord, if thou straitly mark our iniquities, who is able to abide thy judgment? Wherefore I trust in no good work that ever I did, but only in the death of Christ. I do not doubt but through him to inherit the kingdom of heaven. Take me not here that I speak against good works, for they are to be done; and verily they that do them not, shall never come into the kingdom of God. We must do them, because they are commanded us of God, to show and set forth our profession, not to deserve or merit; for that is only the death of Christ.

"I believe that there is a holy church, and a company of all them that do profess Christ; and that all that have suffered for and confessed his name be saints; and that all they do praise and laud God in heaven, more than I or any man's tongue can express: and that always I have spoken reverently, and praised them as much as Scripture willed me to do. And that our Lady, I

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say, was a virgin immaculate and undefiled, and that she is the most pure virgin that ever God created, and a vessel elect of God, of whom Christ should be born."

Then said Master Sheriff, "You have said well of her before." And, being afraid that Master Sheriff had been or should be aggrieved with any thing that he should say, he said,

"Master Sheriff, if I speak any thing that you will me not, do no more but beckon me with your hand, and I will straightway hold my peace; for I will not be disobedient in any thing, but will obey."

Then there was one that asked him his opinion of praying to saints. Then said he,

"Now of saints you shall hear my opinion. I have said before somewhat that I think of them: how that I believe they are in heaven with God, and that they are worthy of all the honour that Scripture willeth them to have. But, I say, throughout all Scripture we are not commanded to pray to any saints. Therefore I neither can nor will preach to you that saints ought to be prayed unto; for then should I preach unto you a doctrine of mine own head. Notwithstanding, whether they pray for us or no, that I refer to God. And if saints do pray for us, then I trust to pray for you within this half hour, Master Sheriff, and for every Christian man living in the faith of Christ, and dying in the same as a saint. Wherefore, if the dead may pray for the quick, I will surely pray for you."

"Well, have you any thing more to say?" Then spake he to Master Sheriff, and said, "Have ye any articles against me for the which I am condemned?" And the sheriff answered, "No." Then said he, "Is there here any man else that knoweth wherefore I die, or that by my preaching hath taken any error? Let them now speak, and I will make them answer." And no man answered. Then said he,

"Well! I am condemned by the law to die, and as I understand by an act of parliament; but wherefore, I cannot tell, but belike for heresy, for we are like to burn. But they that have been the occasion of it, I pray God forgive them, as I would be forgiven myself. And Dr. Stephen, bishop of Winchester that now is, if he have sought or wrought this my death either by word or deed, I pray God forgive him, as heartily, as freely, as charitably, and without feigning, as ever Christ forgave them that put him to death. And if any of the council, or any others, have sought or wrought it through malice or ignorance, I pray God forgive their ignorance, and illuminate their eyes that they may see, and ask mercy for it. I beseech you all, to pray for the king's Grace, as I have done ever since I was in prison, and do now, that God may give him prosperity, and that he may long reign among you; and after him that godly Prince Edward may so reign, that he may finish those things that his father hath begun. I have been reported a preacher of sedition and disobedience unto the king's Majesty; but here I say to you, that you are all bound by the commandment of God to obey your prince with all humility, and with all your heart, yea, not so much as in a look to show yourselves disobedient unto him; and that not only for fear of the sword, but also for conscience' sake before God. Yea, and I say further, if the king should command you any thing against God's law, if it be in your power to resist him, yet may you not do it."

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Then spake he to the sheriff and said,

"Master Sheriff, I require you, on God's behalf, to have me commended unto the king's Grace, and to show him that I require of his Grace these five requests: first, that whereas his Grace hath received into his hands all the goods and substance of the abbeys:" – Then the sheriff desired him to stop there. He answered, "Master Sheriff! I warrant you I will speak no harm; for I know it is well done that all such superstition be clean taken away, and the king's Grace hath well done in taking it away. But his Grace is made a whole king, and obeyed in his whole realm as a king, (which neither his father nor grandfather, neither his ancestors that reigned before him, ever had,) and that, through the preaching of us, and such other wretches as we are, who always have applied our whole studies, and given ourselves for the setting forth of the same; and this is now our reward. Well! it maketh no matter. Now he reigneth among you; I pray God long he may live and reign among you! Would to God it might please his Grace to bestow the said goods, or some of them, to the comfort of his poor subjects, who surely have great need of them.

"The second that I desire his Grace is, that he will see that matrimony be had in more reverence than it is; and that men, for every light cause invented, cast not off their wives, and live in adultery and fornication; and that those that be not married should not abominably live in whoredom, following the filthy lusts of the flesh.

"The third, that the abominable swearers may be punished and straitly looked upon; for the vengeance of God will come on them for their mischievous oaths."

Then desired he Master Pope to have him commended to Master Edgar, and to desire him, for the dear blood of Jesus Christ, that he would leave that abominable swearing which he used; for surely except he did forsake it, he would come to some mischievous end.

"The fourth request, that his Grace would set forth Christ's true religion, and seeing he hath begun, go forward, and make an end; for many things have been done, but much more is to do. And that it would please his Grace to look on God's word himself, for that it hath been obscured with many traditions invented of our own brains. Now," said he, "how many petitions have I spoken of?" And the people said, "Four." "Well," said he, "even these four be sufficient, which I desire you, that the king's Grace may be certified of; and say, that I most humbly desire him to look earnestly upon them; and that his Grace take heed that he be not deceived with false preachers and teachers, and evil counsel; for Christ saith, that such false prophets shall come in lambs' skins."

Then desired he all men to forgive him, and if he had said any evil at any time unadvisedly, whereby he had offended any man, or given any occasion of evil, that they would forgive it him, and amend that evil they took of him; and to bear him witness that he detested and abhorred all evil opinions and doctrines against the word of God, and that he died in the faith of Jesu Christ, by whom he doubted not but to be saved. And with those words he desired them all to pray for him, and then he turned him about, and put off his clothes, making him ready to the fire, patiently there to take his death, yielding his soul unto the hands of Almighty God.

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The like confession made also Jerome and Garret, professing in like manner their belief, reciting all the articles of the Christian faith, briefly declaring their minds upon every article, as the time would suffer; whereby the people might understand that there was no cause nor error in their faith, wherefore justly they ought to be condemned: protesting moreover, that they denied nothing that was either in the Old or New Testament, set forth by their sovereign lord the king, whom they prayed the Lord long to continue amongst them, with his most dear son Prince Edward: which done, Jerome added this exhortation in few words following:

"I say unto you, good brethren! that God hath bought us all with no small price, neither with gold nor silver, nor other such things of small value, but with his most precious blood. Be not unthankful therefore to him again, but do as much as to Christian men belongeth, to fulfil his commandments, that is, Love your brethren. Love hurteth no man, love fulfilleth all things. If God hath sent thee plenty, help thy neighbour that hath need. Give him good counsel. If he lack, consider if thou wert in necessity, thou wouldst gladly be refreshed. And again, bear your cross with Christ. Consider what reproof, slander, and reproach he suffered of his enemies, and how patiently he suffered all things. Consider that all that Christ did was of his mere goodness, and not of our deserving. For if we could merit our own salvation, Christ would not have died for us. But for Adam's breaking of God's precepts we had been all lost, if Christ had not redeemed us again. And like as Adam broke the precepts, and was driven out of Paradise, so we, if we break God's commandments, shall have damnation, if we do not repent and ask mercy. Now, therefore, let all Christians put no trust nor confidence in their works, but in the blood of Christ, to whom I commit my soul to guide, beseeching you all to pray to God for me, and for my brethren here present with me, that our souls, leaving these wretched carcasses, may constantly depart in the true faith of Christ."

In much like sort Garret also, protesting and exhorting the people, after his confession made, ended his protestation in manner as followeth:

"I also detest, abhor, and refuse, all heresies and errors, and if, either by negligence or ignorance, I have taught or maintained any, I am sorry for it, and ask God mercy. Or if I have been too vehement or rash in preaching, whereby any person hath taken any offence, error, or evil opinion, I desire of him, and all other persons whom I have any way offended, forgiveness. Notwithstanding, to my remembrance I never preached wittingly or willingly any thing against God's holy word, or contrary to the true faith, to the maintenance of errors, heresies, or vicious living, but have always, for my little learning and wit, set forth the honour of God, and the right obedience to his laws, and also the king's accordingly: and if I could have done better, I would. Wherefore, Lord! if I have taken in hand to do that thing which I could not perfectly perform, I desire of thee pardon for my bold presumption. And I pray God send, the king's Grace good and godly counsel, to his glory, to the king's honour, and the increase of virtue in this his realm. And thus now I yield up my soul unto Almighty God. trusting and believing that he, of his infinite mercy, for his promise made in the blood of his Son, our most merciful Saviour Jesu Christ. will take it, and pardon me of all my sins, whereby I have most grievously. from my youth, offended his Majesty: wherefore I ask him mercy, desiring you all to pray with me and for me, that I may patiently suffer this pain, and die stedfastly in true faith, perfect hope, and charity."



Illustration – Barnes, Garret and Jerome at the Stake

And so, after their prayer made, wherein most effectually they desired the Lord Jesus to be their comfort and consolation in this their affliction, and to establish them with perfect faith, constancy, and patience through the Holy Ghost, they, taking themselves by the hands, and kissing one another, quietly and humbly offered themselves to the hands of the tormentors; and so took their death both Christianly and constantly, with such patience as might well testify the goodness of their cause, and quiet of their conscience.

Wherein is to be noted how mightily the Lord worketh with his grace and fortitude in the hearts of his servants, especially in such as causeless suffer, with a guiltless conscience, for religion's sake, above others who suffer otherwise for their deserts. For whereas they which suffer as malefactors, commonly are wont to go heavy and pensive to their death; so the others, with heavenly alacrity and cheerfulness, do abide whatsoever it pleaseth the Lord to lay upon them: example whereof we have right well to note, not only in these three godly martyrs above mentioned, but also in the Lord Cromwell, who suffered but two days before, the same no less may appear; who, although he was brought to his death, attainted and condemned by the parliament, yet what a guiltless conscience he bare to his death, his Christian patience well declared; who, first calling for his breakfast, and cheerfully eating the same, and, after that, passing out of his prison down the hill within the Tower, and meeting there by the way the Lord Hungerford, going likewise to his execution, (who, for other matter, here not to be spoken of, was there also imprisoned,) and perceiving him to be all heavy and doleful, with cheerful countenance and comfortable words, asking why he was so heavy, he willed him to pluck up his heart, and to be of good comfort; "for," said he, "there is no cause for you to fear; for if you repent, and be heartily sorry for that you have done, there is for you mercy enough with the Lord,

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who, for Christ's sake, will forgive you; and therefore be not dismayed. And though the breakfast which we are going to be sharp, yet, trusting to the mercy of the Lord, we shall have a joyful dinner." And so went they together to the place of execution, and took their death patiently, July 28th, 1540.

200. Papists, Executed the same time with Barnes, Jerome, and Garret.

The same time and day, and in the same place, where and when these three above mentioned did suffer, three others also were executed, though not for the same cause, but rather the contrary, for denying the king's supremacy; whose names were Powel, Fetherstone, and Abel: the which spectacle so happening upon one day, in two so contrary parts or factions, brought the people into a marvellous admiration and doubt of their religion, which part to follow and take; as might so well happen amongst ignorant and simple people, seeing two contrary parts so to suffer, the one for popery, the other against popery, both at one time. Insomuch that a certain stranger being there present the same time, and seeing three on the one side and three on the other side to suffer, said in these words, *Deus bone! quomodo hic vivunt gentes? Me suspenduntur papistæ, illic comburuntur antipapistæ.* But to remove and take away all doubt hereafter from posterity, whereby they shall the less marvel how this so happened, here is to be understood how the cause thereof did rise and proceed; which happened by reason of a certain division and discord among the king's council, who were so divided among themselves in equal parts, that the one half seemed to hold with the one religion, the other half with the contrary; the names of whom, although it were not necessary to express, yet being compelled for the setting forth of the truth of the story, we have thought good here to annex, as the certainty thereof came to our hands.

PROTESTANTS.

Canterbury
 Russel, Treasurer.
 Suffolk,
 Paget,
 Viscount Bewchamp,
 Sadler,
 Viscount Lisle
 Audeley.

PAPISTS.

Winchester,
 William Paulet,
 Durham,
 John Baker,
 Norfolk,
 Richard, Chancellor of the Augmentation.
 Southampton,

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Anthony Brown,
Wingfield, Vice-chancellor.

This division and separation of the council amongst themselves, caused both these parts above mentioned, the one for one religion, the other for another, to suffer together. For, as the one part of the council called for the execution of Barnes, Garret, and Jerome; so the other part, likewise, called for the execution of the law upon Powel, Fetherstone, and Abel; which six, being condemned and drawn to the place of execution, two upon a hurdle, one being a papist, the other a protestant, thus, after a strange manner, were brought into Smithfield, where all the said six together, for contrary doctrine, suffered death; three, by the fire, for the gospel; the other three, by hanging, drawing, and quartering, for popery.

Alan Cope, in his worshipful Dialogues, making mention of these three aforesaid, Powel, Fetherstone, and Abel, amongst others who died in King Henry's days in the like popish quarrel, that is, for the like treason against their prince, (being in all to the number of twenty-four,) extolleth them not only in words, but with miracles also, up to the height of heaven, among the crowned martyrs and saints of God. To the which Cope, because in this haste of story I have no leisure at this present to give attendance, I shall wait attendance (the Lord willing), another time, to join in this issue with him more at leisure. In the mean time, it shall suffice at this present to recite the names only of those twenty-four rebels, whom he, of his popish devotion, so dignified with the pretended title of martyrs: the names of thirteen of which monkish rebels be these here following:

John Houghton,
John Stone,
Robert Laurence,
John Traverse,
Augustine Webster,
William Horne,
Reginald of Sion,
Powell,
John Haile,
Fetherstone,
John Rochester,
Abel
Jacobus Wannere,

Besides these there were other nine Carthusian monks which died in the prison of Newgate; to which number if you add Master More and the bishop of Rochester, the *summa totalis* cometh to twenty-four, whom the said Cope unjustly crowned for martyrs. But of these more shall be said (the Lord willing) hereafter.

201. Further Persecution Arising from the Six Articles.

Thus, having discoursed the order of the six articles, with other matter likewise following in the next parliament, concerning the condemnation of the Lord Cromwell, of Dr. Barnes, and his fellows, let us now (proceeding further in this history) consider what great disturbance and vexations ensued after the setting forth of the said articles, through the whole realm of England, especially among the godly sort: wherein first were to be mentioned the strait and severe commissions sent forth by the king's authority, to the bishops, chancellors, officials, justices, mayors, and bailiffs in every shire, and other commissioners by name in the same commissions expressed; and, amongst others, especially to Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, to the mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen of the same, to inquire diligently after all heretical books, and to burn them. Also to inquire after all such persons whatsoever, culpable or suspected of such felonies, heresies, contempts, or transgressions, or speaking any words contrary to the aforesaid act, set forth, of the six articles. The tenor of the said commissions being sufficiently expressed in ancient records, and in the bishops' registers, and also partly touched before, therefore, for tediousness I here omit: only showing forth the commission directed to Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, to take the oath of the mayor of London, and of others, for the execution of the commission aforesaid; the tenor whereof here followeth:

"Henry the Eighth, by the grace of God, king of England and of France, defender of the faith, lord of Ireland, and in earth supreme head of the church of England, unto the reverend father in Christ, Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, and to his well-beloved the bishop's chancellor, health. Know we that we have given you, jointly and severally, power and authority to receive the oaths of William Roche, mayor of London; John Allen, knight; Ralph Warren, knight; Richard Gresham, knight; Roger Cholmley, knight, serjeant-at-law; John Gresham; Michael Dormer, archdeacon of London, the bishop's commissary and official; Robert Chidley, Guy Crayford, Edward Hall, Robert Broke, and John Morgan, and every of them, our commissioners for heresies, and other offences done within our city of London and diocese of the same, according to the tenor of a certain schedule hereunto annexed. And therefore the command you that you receive the oaths aforesaid; and when you have received them, to certify us into our chancery, under your seals, returning this our writ.

"Teste me ipso at Westminster the twenty-ninth of January, in the thirty-second year of our reign."

What the oath was of these commissioners whereunto they were bound, read before.

A note how Bonner sat in the Guildhall in commission for the six articles: also of the condemning of Mekins.

Upon this commission given unto Edmund Bonner, he, coming to the Guildhall, with other commissioners, to sit upon the statute of the six articles, began eftsoons to put in execution his authority after a rigorous sort, as ye shall hear. And first, he charged certain juries to take their oath upon the statute aforesaid, who, being sworn, had a day appointed to give their verdict: at which day they indicted sundry persons, which, shortly after, were apprehended and brought

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to ward; who, after a while remaining there, were, by the king and his council, discharged at the Star-chamber, without any further punishment.

Not long after this, Sir William Roche being mayor, Bonner with other commissioners sat at the Guildhall aforesaid, before whom there were a certain number of citizens warned to appear; and after the commission read, the said parties were called to the book, and when five or six were sworn, one of the said persons, being called to the book, Bonner seemed to mislike, and said, "Stay awhile, my masters," quoth he; "I would you should consider this matter well that we have in hand, which concerneth the glory of God, the honour of the king, and the wealth of the realm; and if there be any here among you that doth not consider the same, it were better that he were hence than here." Then communed the commissioners with Bonner about that man, so that at length he was called to the book and sworn, not altogether with his good will.

When the two juries were sworn, Bonner taketh upon him to give the charge unto the juries, and began with a tale of Anacharsis, by which example he admonished the juries to spare no persons, of what degree soever they were. And at the end of his charge, he brought forth to the bar a boy, whose name was Mekins, declaring how grievously he had offended by speaking certain words against the state, and of the death of Dr. Barnes; and produced into the said court two witnesses, which were there sworn in the face of the court. So a day was assigned upon which the juries aforesaid should give up their verdict; at which day both the commissioners, and the said juries, met at Guildhall aforesaid. Then the clerk of the peace called on the juries by their names, and when their appearance was taken, Bonner bade them put in their presentments. Then said the foreman of that jury, whose name was William Robins; "My Lord," with a low courtesy, "we have found nothing;" at which words he fared as one in an agony, and said, "Nothing? have ye found nothing? what nothing? By the faith I owe to God," quoth he to the foreman, "I would trust you upon your obligation; but by your oath I will trust you nothing." Then said some of the commissioners; "My Lord, give them a longer day." "No," quoth he, "in London they ever find nothing. I pray you, what say you to Mekins?" "My Lord," quoth the foreman, "we can say nothing to him, for we find the witnesses to disagree. One affirmeth that he should say the sacrament was nothing but a ceremony; and the other, nothing but a signification." "Why," quoth Bonner, "did he not say that Barnes died holy?" Then pausing awhile, he bade call the other jury. "Put in your verdict," quoth he. "My Lord," said one, "we have found nothing." "Jesus!" quoth he, "is not this a strange case?"

Then spake one of the same jury, whose name was Ralph Foxley, and said, "My Lord, when you gave us charge, we desired to have the parsons and curates of every parish to give us instructions; and it was denied us." Then stood up the recorder, and said, it was true indeed that he had spoken; and therewithal said, "This last year were charged two juries, which did many things naughtily and foolishly, and did as much as in them lay to make an uproar among the king's people; and therefore it was thought not meet that they should give information to you." "Nay, nay," quoth Bonner, "this was the cause: If the parson or curate should give information according to his knowledge, then what will they say? I must tell my confession to a knave-priest, and he shall go by-and-by and open it." "What!" said my lord mayor, "there is no man, I trow, that will say so?" "Yes, by my troth," quoth Bonner, "knave-priest, knave-priest." Then said my lord mayor, somewhat smiling, "There be some of them slippery fellows; and as men find them, so will they oftentimes report." Bonner, not well contented with those words, said to the jury, "My

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masters, what say you to Mekins?" They answered, "The witnesses do not agree, therefore we do not allow them." "Why," quoth Bonner, "this court hath allowed them." Then said one of the jury to the recorder, "Is it sufficient for our discharge, if this court do allow them?" "Yea," said the recorder, "it is sufficient;" and said, "Go you aside together awhile, and bring in your verdict." After the jury had talked together a little while, they returned to the bar again with their indictment, which at Bonner's hand was friendly received; so both they and the other jury were discharged, and bidden take their ease. Thus ended the court for that day. Shortly after they sat for life and death. Mekins being brought to the bar, and the indictment read, Bonner said to him, "Mekins, confess the truth, and submit thyself unto the king's law, that thy death may be an example to all others."

This Richard Mekins, being a child that passed not the age of fifteen years, (as Hall reporteth,) as he had heard some other folks talk, so chanced he to speak against the sacrament of the altar; which coming to Bonner's ears, he never left him (as afore doth plainly appear) before he had brought him to the fire. During the time of his imprisonment, neither his poor father nor mother, for fear, durst aid him with any relief; whereby he there endured in great misery. At what time he was brought unto the stake, he was taught to speak much good of the bishop of London, and of the great charity he showed to him, and to defy and detest all heretics and heresies, but especially Dr. Barnes, unto whom he imputed the learning of that heresy, which was the cause of his death. The poor lad would, for safeguard of his life, have gladly said that the twelve apostles had taught it him; such was his childish innocency and fear. But for this deed many spake and said, "It was great shame for the bishop, whose part and duty it had been rather to have laboured to save his life, than to procure that terrible execution; seeing that he was such an ignorant soul, that he knew not what the affirming of heresy was."

Richard Spencer, Ramsey, and Hemet, martyrs, who suffered at Salisbury.

About the same time also a certain priest was burned at Salisbury, who, leaving his papistry, had married a wife, and became a player in interludes, with one Ramsey and Hemet, which three were all condemned and burned; against whom, and especially against Spencer, was laid matter concerning the sacrament of the altar. He suffered at Salisbury.

Although this inquisition above mentioned was meant properly and especially concerning the six articles, yet so it fell out, that in short space doubts began to arise, and to be moved by the quest: whether they might inquire as well of all other opinions, articles, and cases of Lollardy, or for speaking against holy bread, holy water, or for favouring the cause of Barnes, of Friar Ward, Sir Thomas Rose, &c.: whereupon great perturbation followed in all parishes almost through London in the year aforesaid, which was 1511, as here ensueth in a brief summary table to be seen.

A brief table of the troubles at London, in the time of the six articles, containing the persons presented, with the cause of their persecution.

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In St. Alban's parish in London.

John Dixe was noted never to be confessed in Lent, nor to receive at Easter, and to be a sacramentary.

Richard Chepeman; for eating flesh in Lent, and for working on holy-days, and not coming to the church.

Mrs. Cicely Marshall; for not bearing her palm, and despising holy bread and holy water.

Michael Hawkes; for not coming to the church, and for receiving young men of the new learning.

Master John Browne; for bearing with Barnes.

Anne, Bedike's wife; for despising our Lady, and not praying to saints.

Andrew Kempe, William Pahren, and Richard Manerd; for disturbing the service of the church, with brabbling of the New Testament.

In the parish of Trinity the Less.

William Wyders denied, two years before, the sacrament to be Christ's body, and said that it was but only a sign.

William Stokesley; for rebuking his wife at the church for taking holy water.

Roger Davy; for speaking against worshipping of saints.

Master Blage; for not coming to his parish church, not confessing, nor receiving.

St. John Baptist in Wallbrook.

William Clinch; for saying, when he seeth a priest preparing to the mass, "Ye shall see a priest now go to masking." Item, For calling the bishop of Winchester, "False flattering knave." Item, For burying his wife without dirge, and causing the Scot of St. Katharine's to preach the next day after the burial.

William Maine; seeing a priest going to mass, said, "Now you shall see one in masking." Item, When he came to the church, with loud reading the English Bible he disturbed the divine service.

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St. Botolph's at Billingsgate.

Herman Johnson, Jerome Akon, Giles Hosteman, Richard Bonfeld, Thomas Cowper, Humphrey Skinner, John Sneudnam, Richard Philips, John Celos: these nine persons were presented, for that they were not confessed in Lent, nor had received at Easter.

St. Nicholas, in the Flesh Shambles.

John Jones, William Wright, Peter Butcher, Roger Butcher: these four were presented for not keeping the divine service in the holy days.

Brisley's wife, for busy reasoning on the new learning, and not keeping the church.

St. Andrew's in Holborn.

Mrs. Castle; for being a meddler, and a reader of the Scripture in the church.

Master Galias, of Bernard's Inn; for withstanding the curate ceasing the altars on Corpus Christi even, and saying openly that he did naught.

Master Pates, of David's Inn, and Master Galias; for vexing the curate in the body of the church, in declaring the king's injunctions and reading the Bishop's Book, so that he had much ado to make an end.

St. Mildred in Bread Street.

William Beckes and his wife; suspected to be sacramentaries, and for not creeping to the cross on Good Friday.

Thomas Langham, William Thomas, Richard Beckes, William Beckes: these four were presented for interrupting the divine service.

Ralph Symonds; for not keeping our Lady's mass, which he was bound to keep.

John Smith, apprentice; for saying that he had rather hear the crying of dogs, than priests singing matins or even-song.

St. Magnus' Parish.

Thomas Bele, John Sturgeon, John Wilshire, Thomas Symon, Ralph Clervis and his wife, James Banaster, Nicholas Barker, John Sterky, Christopher Smith, Thomas Net: these eleven persons of St. Magnus parish were presented and accused for maintaining of certain preachers (as then it was called) of the new learning, as Wisdom, Rose, Friar Ward, and Sir William Smith, alias Wright.

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Nicholas Philip; for maintaining heresies and Scripture books, and for using neither fasting nor prayer.

Richard Bigges; for despising holy bread, putting it in the throat of a bitch, and for not looking up to the elevation.

St. Mary Magdalene in Milk Street.

Mrs. Elizabeth Statham; for maintaining in her house Latimer, Barnes, Garret, Jerome, and divers others.

John Duffet; for marrying a woman which was thought to be a nun.

St. Owen's parish, in Newgate Market.

William Hilliard and Duffet; for maintaining Barnes, Jerome, and Garret, with others.

Grafton and Whitchurch; suspected not to have been confessed.

St. Martin's at the Well with two Buckets.

John Greene, Mother Palmer, Christopher Coots, William Selly, Alexander Frere, William Bredi, John Bush, William Somerton, George Durant, Master David's apprentice: all these being of the parish of St. Martin's at the Well with two Buckets, were presented for contemning the ceremonies of the church: also some for walking in the sacring time with their caps on: some for turning their heads away: some for sitting at their doors when sermons were in the church, &c.

St. Michael's in Wood Street.

Robert Andrew; for receiving heretics into his house, and keeping disputation of heresy there.

John Williamson, Thomas Buge, Thomas Gilbert, W. Hickson, Robert Daniel, Robert Smitton: these other six were suspected to be sacramentaries and rank heretics, and procurers of heretics to preach, and to be followers of their doctrine.

St. Botolph's at Billingsgate.

John Mayler; to be a sacramentary, and a railer against the mass.

Richard Bilby, draper; presented for saying these words, "That Christ is not present in the blessed sacrament."

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St. Giles's Without Cripplegate.

Henry Patinson and Anthony Barber: these two were detected for maintaining their boys to sing a song against the sacrament of the altar: also Patinson came not to confession.

Robert Norman also refused to come to confession, saying, that none of his servants "should be shriven of a knave-priest."

John Humfrey; for speaking against the sacraments and ceremonies of the church.

William Smith and his wife, John Cooke and his wife: these two couple were presented for not coming to service in their parish church, and for saying it was lawful for priests to have wives.

William Gate or Cote, William Aston, John Humfrey, John Cooke: to these four it was laid, for saying, that the mass "was made of pieces and patches." Also for depraving of matins, mass, and even-song.

John Miles and his wife, John Millen, John Robinson, Richard Millar, John Green and his wife, Arnold Chest; all these were put up for railing against the sacraments and ceremonies.

John Crosdall, John Clerke, John Owel: these three labouring men, for not coming to divine service on holy-days, and for labouring on the same.

Thomas Grangier and John Dictier; noted for common singers against the sacraments and ceremonies.

John Sutton and his wife, and John Segar: these three were noted to be despisers of auricular confession.

John Rawlins, John Shiler, William Chalinger, John Edmonds, John Richmond and his wife; for despising holy bread and holy water, and letting divine service.

Margaret Smith; for dressing flesh-meat in Lent.

Thomas Trentham; for reasoning against the sacrament of the altar, and saying that the sacrament was a good thing, but it was not as men took it, very God.

St. Thomas the Apostle.

Robert Granger, William Petingale, William May and his wife, John Henrison and his wife, Robert Welch, John Benglosse, John Pitley, Henry Foster, Robert Causy, William Pinchbeck and his wife: all these thirteen were put up by the inquisition, for giving small reverence at the sacring of the mass.

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St. Benet Finch.

Martyn Bishop's wife: she was presented by her curate, for being not shriven in Lent, nor receiving at Easter: also she did set light by the curate, when he told her thereof.

Robert Plat and his wife: these were great reasoners in Scripture. saying, that they had it of the Spirit: and that confession availeth nothing; and that he, not able to read, would use no beads.

St. Michael at Queenhithe.

Thomas Aduet, John Palmer, and Robert Cooke; the cause laid to these three persons, was for reasoning of the Scripture, and of the sacraments.

The register saith, that they denied all the sacraments: but this popish hyperbole will find little credit, where experience, acquainted with popish practices, sitteth to be the judge.

John Cockes: this man was noted for a great searcher out of new preachers, and maintainer of Barnes's opinions.

John Boultes: for forbidding his wife to use beads.

Thomas Kelde; he refused to take penance and absolution, and did eat flesh upon a Friday before Lent.

St. Mary Woolchurch.

Nicholas Newell. a Frenchman; presented to be a man far gone in the new sect, and that he was a great jester at the saints. and at our Lady.

John Hawkins and his servant, Thomas Chamberlain and his wife, John Curteys, Master Dissel, his wife and his servant: these eight were great reasoners and despisers of ceremonies.

St. Katharine Coleman.

The curate of St. Katharine Coleman: he was noted for calling of suspected persons to his sermons by a beadle, without ringing of any bell: and when he preached, he left his matters doubtful.

Item, for preaching without the commandment of his parson.

Item, for that he was a Scottish friar, driven out of his country for heresy.

Tulle Bustre, his wife and his son-in-law: these were noted for coming seldom to the church, and many times were seen to labour upon the holy-days.

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St. Matthew's Parish.

William Ettis and his wife were noted for maintaining certain preachers; and for causing one Taverner, being a priest, to preach against the king's injunctions.

Merifield, and his son-in-law, Nicholas Russel; the good man of the Saracen's Head in Friday Street; William Callaway, John Gardiner, with three apprentices: against this company presentation was made for gathering together in the evening, and for bringing ill preachers, (that is to say, good preachers,) amongst the people.

Thomas Plummer was presented, for saying that the blessed sacrament was to him that doth take it, so; and to him that doth not, it was not so.

Shoreditch.

Shermons, keeper of the Carpenters' Hall in Christ's parish, was presented for procuring an interlude to be openly played, wherein priests were railed on, and called knaves.

Saint Benet at Paul's Wharf.

Lewes Morall, a servant; also James Ogule and his wife; noted not to have been confessed certain years before.

Saint Margaret in Fish Street.

Thomas Babam; accused not to have been confessed nor houseled in his parish church.

Saint Antholine's.

The parson and curate of St. Antholine's; for not using the ceremonies in making holy water, nor keeping their processions on Saturdays.

Lewis Bromfield; for not taking his housel, and for absenting himself from the church on holy-days.

Saint Mary Hill.

John Sempe and John Goffe; for dispraising a certain anthem of our Lady, beginning Te matrem, &c.; saving that there is heresy in the same.

Gilbert Godfrey; for absenting himself from the church on holy-days.

Saint Mary Magdalene in Old Fish Street.

Thomas Cappes; for saying these words, "That the sacrament of the altar was but a memory and a remembrance of the Lord's death."

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Saint Botolph's at Billingsgate.

John Mailer, grocer; for calling the sacrament of the altar "the baken god," and for saying that the mass was called beyond the sea, "miss," for that all is amiss in it.

Saint Martin's in Ironmonger Lane.

John Hardyman, parson of St. Martin's in Ironmonger Lane; presented for preaching openly that confession is confusion and deformation; and that the butcherly ceremonies of the church were to be abhorred. Also for saying, "What a mischief is this, to esteem the sacraments to be of such virtue! for in so doing they take the glory of God from him:" and for saying, that faith in Christ is sufficient, without any other sacraments, to justify.

Saint Bridget's in Fleet Street.

Christopher Dray, plumber; for saying of the sacrament of the altar, that it was not offered up for remission of sins; and that the body of Christ was not there, but only by representation and signification of the thing.

Saint Andrew's in Holborn.

Robert Ward, shoemaker; presented by three witnesses, for holding against the sacrament of the altar: he died in prison in Bread Street.

Allhallows, Barking.

Nicholas Otes; for not coming to the housel at Easter, he was sent to Newgate.

Herman Peterson and James Gosson; for not coming to shrift and housel at the time of Easter. These were committed to prison in Bread Street.

Saint Olave's in the Old Jewry.

Richard White, haberdasher; for saying, that he did not think that Christ was in the sacrament of the altar within the sepulchre, but in heaven above.

Saint Botolph's Without Aldgate.

Giles Harrison, being in a place without Aldgate, merrily jesting in a certain company of neighbours, where some of them said, "Let us go to mass:" "I say tarry," said he; and so taking a piece of bread in his hands, lifted it up over his head; and likewise taking a cup of wine, and bowing down his head, made therewith a cross over the cup, and so taking the said cup in both his hands, lifted it over his head, saying these words, "Have ye not heard mass now?" For the which he was presented to Bonner, then bishop of London; against whom came these, namely, Thomas Castle, William Greene, Andrew Morice, and John Margetson, as witnesses against him.

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Richard Bostock, priest: for saying that auricular confession hath killed more souls than all the bills, clubs, and halters have done since King Henry was king of England, &c. Also for saying, that the water in the Thames hath as much virtue, as the water that the priests do hallow.

Margaret Ambsworth; for having no reverence to the sacrament at sacring time. Item, for instructing of maids, and being a great doctress.

In Aldermanbury.

John Leicester, Christopher Townesend, Thomas Mabs, Christopher Holybread, W. Raynold, Thomas David Skinner, Thomas Starckey, Martyn Donam, and W. Derby: all these noted and presented for maintaining of Barnes, and such other preachers; and many of their wives, for not taking holy bread, nor going in procession on Sundays.

Lawrence Maxwel, bricklayer; for speaking and reasoning against auricular confession.

Saint Martin's the Great.

John Coygnes, or Livelonde; for holding against the sacrament of the altar, and not receiving at Easter.

Saint Clement's Without Temple Bar.

Gerard Frise; presented by two witnesses, for affirming that a sermon preached, is better than the sacrament of the altar; and that he had rather go to hear a sermon, than to hear a mass.

Saint Katharine's.

Dominick Williams, a Frenchman; for not receiving the sacrament of the altar at Easter. Thomas Lancaster, priest; be lay in the Compter in the Poultry, for compiling and bringing over books prohibited.

Item, Gough, the stationer; troubled for resorting unto him.

Friar Ward; laid in the Compter in Bread Street; for marrying one Elizabeth to his wife, after his vow made of chastity.

Wilcock, a Scottish friar; prisoned in the Fleet, for preaching against confession, holy water, against praying to saints, and for souls departed; against purgatory, and holding that priests might have wives, &c.

John Taylor, doctor in divinity; presented for preaching at St. Bride's in Fleet Street, that it is as profitable to a man to hear mass and see the sacrament, as to kiss Judas's mouth, who kissed Christ our Saviour, &c.

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W. Tolwine, parson of St. Antholine's; presented and examined before Edmund Bonner, for permitting Alexander Seton to preach in his church, having no licence of his ordinary; and also for allowing the sermons of the said Alexander Seton, which he preached against Dr. Smith.

To the said Tolwine, moreover, it was objected, that he used, the space of two years, to make holy water, leaving out the general exorcism, beginning *Exorcise te, &c.*; using these words for the same, *Benedicite, Domine: ab eo sit benedicta, a cujus latere fluxit sanguis et aqua*: adjoining thereto, *commixtio salis et aquæ fiat, in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti*.

The like usage of making holy water was also used in Aldermary church, where Dr. Crome was, and in Honey Lane.

Against this objection thus Tolwine defended himself, saving, that he took occasion so to do by the king's injunctions, which say, that ceremonies should be used, all ignorance and superstition set apart.

In the end this Tolwine was forced to stand at Paul's Cross, to recant his doctrine and doings.

The same time also Robert Wisedom, parish priest of St. Margaret's in Lothbury, and Thomas Becon, were brought to Paul's Cross, to recant and to revoke their doctrine, and to burn their books.

Little Allhallows.

Sir George Parker, priest and parson of St. Pancras, and curate of Little Allhallows, was noted, suspected, and convented before the ordinary, for certain books; especially for having *Unio dissidentium, &c.*

Sir John Burch, priest of St. Botolph's Lane, was complained of by one Master Wilson, for being a busy reasoner in certain opinions which agreed not with the pope's church.

Alexander Seton, a Scottish man, and a worthy preacher, was denounced, detected, and presented, by three priests, of whom one was fellow of Whittington College, called Richard Taylor; another was John Smith; the third was John Huntingdon, who afterwards was converted to the same doctrine himself.

This Seton was chaplain to the duke of Suffolk, and by him was made free denizen. In his sermon preached at St. Antholine's, his adversaries picked against him matter containing fifteen objections, or rather cavillations, which, for example, I thought here to exhibit to the reader, to the intent that men may see, not only what true doctrine Seton then preached, consonant to the Scriptures; but also what wrangling cavillers can do, in depraving what is right, or in wresting what is well meant, or in carping at what they understand not, or in seeking out faults where none are; as by these their sinister cavillations may appear.

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Certain places or articles gathered out of Alexander Seton's sermons by his adversaries.

The sayings and words of Alexander Seton, spoken and preached by him in his sermon, made the thirteenth day of November, at afternoon, in the parish church of St. Antholine's in London: "Paul saith, Of ourselves we can do nothing; I pray thee then where is thy will? Art thou any better than Paul, James, Peter, and all the apostles? Hast thou any more grace than they? Tell me now, if thy will be any thing or nothing: if it be any thing, tell me whether it be to do good or ill? If thou say, to do ill, I will grant thou hast a great deal. If thou say, to do good, I ask whether is more, somewhat or nothing? for Paul said, he could do nothing, and I am sure thou hast no more grace than Paul and his companions."

"Scripture speaketh of three things in man; the first is will, the other two are consent and deed. The first, that is will, God worketh without us, and beside us. The other two he worketh in us, and with us."— And here he alleged St. Augustine, to prove that we can will nothing that is good. Moreover he said, "Thou hast not one jot, no not one tittle, to do any good."

"There is nothing in heaven or earth, creature or other, than can be any mean towards our justification; nor yet can nor may any man satisfy God the Father for our sin, save only Christ, and the shedding of his blood."

"He that preacheth that works do merit, or be any mean to our salvation, or any part of our justification, preacheth a doctrine of the devil."

"If any thing else, save only Christ, be any mean towards our justification, then did not Christ only justify us."

"I say, that neither thy good works, nor any thing that thou canst do, can be one jot or tittle towards thy justification. For if they be, then is not Christ a full justifier; and that I will prove by a familiar example. Be it in case I have two servants: the one is called John, and the other Robert; and I promise to send you such a day twenty pounds by John my servant, and at my day I send you by John my servant nineteen pounds nineteen shillings and eleven pence three farthings, and there lacketh but one farthing, which Robert doth bring thee, and so thou hast thy twenty pounds, every penny and farthing: yet will I ask, if I be true of my promise, or no; and thou mayst say, 'Nay.' And why? Because I promised to send thee that whole twenty pounds by John, and did not, for there lacked a farthing, which Robert brought. Wherefore I say, if thy works do merit or bring one little jot or tittle towards thy justification, then is Christ false of his promise, which said that he would do all together."

"One scripture I will bring you, which they cannot writhe, to prove that Christ only was promised to be our only justifier, our only mean; and that is in the twenty-second of Genesis, where it is written. In thy seed shall all people be blessed; meaning thereby only Christ: and he said not, in thy seeds, nor, in the works of thy seeds. Wherefore, all they that preach that works be any part or mean toward our justification, do make God false of his promise."

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"They that preach that works do merit, do make works the tree, which are but the fruits of justice, wrought by him that is already a just man, which cannot choose but bring forth good fruit."

"I would ask a question, whether he that worketh be a good man, or bad; for he must be one of them. If he be a good man, he cannot choose but bring forth good fruits; if he be an ill man, he can bring forth no fruit but ill fruit; for a good tree cannot bring forth ill fruit."

"He that saith that works do merit any thing towards our salvation, doth make works checkmate with Christ, and plucketh from Christ what is his, and giveth it to works. Some will ask, Wherefore then should I do good works? I answer, Good works are to be done for no cause else, but only for the glory of God, and not that they do merit any thing at all. And he that saith that good works are to be done for no other cause than for the glory of God only, and will have them to merit, or be any mean towards our justification, I say, he lieth, and believe him not."

"He that can show me in any scripture, that works do merit, or be any mean to our justification, for the first scripture I will (without any further judgment) lose both mine ears; for the second, my tongue; and for the third, my neck. For of this I dare say he cannot prove in all the whole Scripture one tittle. Wherefore believe them not."

"Men say that we deny good works, and fasting and prayer. They lie on us: we deny nothing but popish works, and popish fasting, and popish prayer; and he that preacheth that works do merit, or fasting doth merit, or prayer doth merit, doth preach a popish doctrine."

"If you ask me, when we will leave preaching only Christ: even when they do leave to preach that works do merit, and suffer Christ to be a whole satisfier. and only mean to our justification; and, till then, we will not cease, in God's cause, to set forth only Christ, to be a full, and perfect, and only satisfaction."

"If you ask, if good works shall be rewarded, I say, Yea, and with no less than eternal glory; but for no merit that they deserve, for they deserve nothing; but only because God hath promised, not for the merit of the work, but for his promise' sake; and he will not break his promise."

Other articles gathered out of Alexander Seton's sermons.

Touching reconciliation, spoken of by Dr. Smith, preaching in the forenoon at Paul's Cross, Alexander Seton, preaching at afternoon at St. Antholine's, and, reciting his sayings and scriptures, reproved him for alleging this saying, Reconcile yourselves to God; because it is there spoken passively, and not actively; so that there should be no thing in man pertaining to reconciliation, but all in God.

Also, reproving the said Dr. Smith, for that the said doctor said, that man, by his good works, might merit: which saying of Dr. Smith the said Alexander Seton reproved in the pulpit at St. Antholine's, the thirteenth day of November, in the year of our Lord 1541, as naughtily spoken.

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Moreover the said Alexander Seton said, in the same place, that it was a shame that any such preacher should be suffered so openly to preach such erroneous doctrine as to say that works should merit; adducing, When ye shall have done all those things that are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants.

Finally Seton said, "Peradventure ye will say the church hath determined this matter touching works. And I say," quoth he, "that it is *ecclesia malignantium*, so determining any thing against Scripture."

To these pretended objections of his adversaries he made his answer again by writing, first denying many things there presented, taking upon his conscience, that he never spake divers of those words, and again many things that he never meant to such end or purpose; as in the said register may appear. But all this notwithstanding, for all that he could say for himself, the ordinary proceeded in his consistory judgment, ministering to him certain interrogatories (after the popish course) to the number of ten articles. The greatest matter laid against him was for preaching free justification by faith in Christ Jesu; against false confidence in good works; and man's free-will. Also it was laid unto him, for affirming that private masses, dirges, and other prayers, profited not the souls departed: so that in the end, he, with Tolwine aforesaid, was caused to recant at Paul's Cross, A.D. 1541.

Add to these aforesaid, Dr. Taylor, parson of St. Peters in Corn Hill; South, parish priest of Allhallows in Lombard Street; Some, a priest; Giles, the king's beer-brewer, at the Red Lion in St. Katharine's; Thomas Lancaster, priest: all which were imprisoned likewise for the six articles.

To be short, such a number out of all parishes in London, and out of Calais and divers other quarters, were then apprehended, through the said inquisition, that all prisons in London were too little to hold them, insomuch that they were fain to lay them in the halls. At last, by the means of good Lord Audeley, such pardon was obtained of the king, that the said Lord Audeley, then lord chancellor, being content that one should be bound for another, they were all discharged, being bound only to appear in the Star-chamber, the next day after All-Souls, there to answer, if they were called; but neither was there any person called, neither did there any appear.

202. John Porter, Thomas Sommers, and Others

The story of John Porter, cruelly martyred for reading the Bible in Paul's.

In the number of these before-named cometh the remembrance of John Porter, who, in the same year, (A.D. 1541,) for reading the Bible in Paul's church, was cruelly handled, and that unto death, as you shall hear. It was declared in this history above, how Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, in the days of the Lord Cromwell, being then ambassador at Paris, was a great doer in setting forward the printing of the Bible in the great volume; promising moreover, that he would, for his part, have six of those Bibles set up in the church of St. Paul in London; which, also, at his coming home, he no less performed, according to the king's proclamation set forth for the same, whereof read before.



he Bibles thus standing in Paul's by the commandment of the king, and the appointment of Bonner the bishop, many well-disposed people used much to resort to the hearing thereof, especially when they could get any that had an audible voice to read unto them, misdoubting therein no danger toward them; and no more there was, so long as the days of Cromwell lasted. After he was gone, it happened amongst divers and sundry godly-disposed persons, who frequented there the reading of the aforesaid Bible, that one John Porter used sometimes to be occupied in that godly exercise, to the edifying as well of himself, as of others. This Porter was a fresh young man, and of a big stature; who, by diligent reading of the Scripture, and by hearing of such sermons as then were preached by them that were the setters-forth of God's truth, became very expert. The Bible then being set up, by Bonner's commandment, upon divers pillars in Paul's church, fixed unto the same with chains for all men to read in them that would, great multitudes would resort thither to hear this Porter, because he could read well, and had an audible voice. Bonner and his chaplains, being grieved withal, (and the world beginning then to frown upon the gospellers,) sent for the said Porter, and rebuked him very sharply for his reading. But Porter answered him that he trusted he had done nothing contrary to the law, neither contrary to his advertisements, which he had fixed in print over every Bible.

Bonner then laid unto his charge that he had made expositions upon the text, and gathered great multitudes about him to make tumults. He answered, he trusted that should not be proved by him. But, in fine, Bonner sent him to Newgate, where he was miserably fettered in irons, both legs and arms, with a collar of iron about his neck fastened to the wall in the dungeon; being there so cruelly handled, that he was compelled to send for a kinsman of his, whose name is also Porter, a man yet alive, and can testify that it is true, and dwelleth yet without Newgate. He, seeing his kinsman in this miserable case, entreated Jewet, then keeper of Newgate, that he might be released out of those cruel irons; and so, through friendship and money, had him up among other prisoners, which lay there for felony and murder; where Porter, being amongst them, hearing and seeing their wickedness and blasphemy, exhorted them to amendment of life, and gave unto them such instructions as he had learned of the Scriptures; for which his so doing he

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was complained on, and so carried down, and laid in the lower dungeon of all, oppressed with bolts and irons, where, within six or eight days after, he was found dead.

It is signified to us, by credible information, that the same night before he was found dead, they that dwelt near to the same place of the prison where Porter lay, did hear him piteously to groan, and make a lamentable noise, where some suppose that he was put in certain strait irons which be there in the house, called, "the devil on the neck;" being after a horrible sort devised; straining and wrenching the neck of a man with his legs together, in such sort as the more he stirreth in it, the straiter it presseth him; so that within three or four hours it breaketh and crusheth a man's back and body in pieces: in which devilish torment, whether John Porter was slain or no, it is not certain. But howsoever it was, this is known, that he was found dead (as is aforesaid) in the dungeon, with such groaning and piteous noise heard the night before the said dungeon, as is declared.

A note of one Thomas Sommers, imprisoned for the gospel.

Amongst these Londoners thus troubled by the clergy, we will add also, (though a little out of place,) another note of a merchant, called Thomas Sommers, who died in the Tower of London, for confessing of the gospel; which Thomas, being a very honest merchant and wealthy, was sent for by the lord cardinal, and committed to the Tower, for that he had Luther's books (as they termed them); and after great suit made for him to the said cardinal, his judgment was, that he should ride from the Tower into Cheapside, carrying a new book in his hand, and with books hanging round about him, with three or four other merchants after the same order; which was done. And when Master Sommers should be set on a collier's nag, as the rest of his fellow prisoners were, a friend of his, called Master Copland, brought him a very good gelding, fair dressed with bridle and saddle; and when the bishop's officers came to dress him with books, as they had trimmed the others, and would have made holes in his garment, to have thrust the strings of the books therein; "Nay," said Sommers, "I have always loved to go handsomely in my apparel: "and taking the books and opening them, he bound them together by the strings, and cast them about his neck (the leaves being all open) like a collar; and being on horseback, rode foremost through the streets, till they came about the Standard in Cheap-side, where a great fire was made to burn their books in, and a pillory set up there for four persons, in token that they had deserved it.

In the mean time, by the way as they should come, it was appointed that one should go before them with a basin, at the noise whereof Master Sommer's horse, being a lofty gelding and fierce, was in such a rage, that he who rung the basin, being afraid of himself, was fain to go alone a great space before that any horseman followed after. At length, when they came to the fire, every of them having a book in his hand, they were commanded to cast their books into the fire. But when Master Sommers saw that his New Testament should be burned, he threw it over the fire, which was seen by some of God's enemies, and brought to him again, commanding him to cast it into the fire, which he would not do, but cast it through the fire; which thing was done three times; but at last a stander-by took it up, and saved it from burning. But not long after, the said Master Sommers was again cast into the Tower by the cardinal, through the cruelty of the bishops and their adherents, who, soon after, died in the said prison for the testimony of his faith.



Illustration – An evil monk and a holy martyr

What trouble and vexation happened amongst the godly brethren in London for the six articles, hitherto we have discoursed: albeit neither have I comprehended all which were molested through all the parishes of London, nor again did this rigorous inquisition so cease within the precincts of this city only, but also extended further to Salisbury, Norfolk, Lincoln, and through all other shires and quarters of the realm; so that where any popish prelate most bare stroke, there persecution most increased. The bishop of Lincoln, the same time, was John Longland, and Dr. Draycot, his chancellor; of whose rigorous doings ye have heard enough and too much before. His ready diligence in all popish quarrels, as it never lacked before, so now, in

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the execution of these six articles, it was not far behind: in whose diocese divers good men and women, especially about Buckingham and Amersham, and quarters thereabouts, were grievously disquieted, appearing yet in the register; as for instance:

Elenore Godfrey, of Great Marlow,

For laughing and speaking certain words against one Thomas Collard, who, like a pope-holy hypocrite, in the church of Marlow, used at mass-time to crouch behind the children; and when the priest crossed his head with the saucer, (as she termed it,) he would cross his head likewise. And for these words she was convented before the bishop, and miserably vexed.

William Hart, of Great Brickhill,

For saying these words: "Thinkest thou that God Almighty will abide over a knave priest's head?"

Christopher Erles, of Risborough,

Because he did no reverence unto the sacrament, coming to the church: and for looking upon his book at the time of elevation; and that he would not come to see the elevation, &c. Item, as he was working upon a piece of fustian on a holy-day, and being asked why he kept not the holy-day, he answered that that was no work, and that it was better to do that, than to sit at the alehouse drinking drunk.

William Fastendich, of Woburn,

For speaking certain words against the sacrament of the altar, and because he believed not that it was the very body of Christ.

William Garland, of West Wycombe.

William Garland, talking of extreme unction, said that those things were godly signs, but there were but two sacraments, &c.

William Web, of the same parish,

Because he set the image of a headless bear in the tabernacle of St. Roke.

About the same time John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, burned two upon one day, the one named Thomas Bernard, and the other James Morton; the one for teaching the Lord's Prayer in English, and the other for keeping the Epistle of St. James translated into English.

In Oxford also the same time, or much thereabout, recanted one Master Barber, master of arts of that university, a man excellently learned; who, being called up to Lambeth before the archbishop, Thomas Cranmer, was in his examination so stout in the cause of the sacrament, and so learnedly defended himself therein, that (as it is credibly affirmed of them that yet be alive,

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and were present thereat) neither Cranmer himself nor all they could well answer to his allegations brought out of Augustine; wherein he was so prompt and ripe of himself, that the archbishop, with the residue of his company, were brought in great admiration of him. Notwithstanding, by compulsion of the time, and danger of the six articles, at last he relented, and, returning again to Oxford, was there caused to recant. After which the good man long prospered not, but wore away.

203. False Alarm at Oxford

A merry and pleasant narration, touching a false fearful imagination of fire, raised among the doctors and masters of Orford, in St. Mary's church, at the recantation of Master Malary, master of arts of Cambridge.



ITHERTO, gentle reader, we have remembered a great number of lamentable and bloody tragedies of such as have been slain through extreme cruelty: now I will here set before thee again a merry and comical spectacle, whereat thou mayest now laugh and refresh thyself, which, forasmuch as it did necessarily accord with our present enterprise, I have not thought it good to pass it over with silence. For God hath oftentimes, by divers manifest means, deluded the craft and subtlety of the bishops and their vain hypocrisy; as, for example, in Joan of Mentz, who, being a woman, and secretly concealing her sex, ruled the bishopric of Rome; but, by being delivered of a child before her time, even in the midst of open procession, she defiled that see, that the note or blot thereof will never be wiped out again. Besides that, how great reproach and derision, even of children, was in that pompous and ridiculous ambassade of Thomas Wolsey and Lawrence the cardinal, whereof we have before spoken. And now again the Divine wisdom deluded the cruel toils of the bishops; for this recantation of Master Barber aforesaid, in the university of Oxford, bringeth me in remembrance of another recantation likewise, happening not long before in the said university, which I thought here not to overpass.

There was one Master Malary, master of arts of Cambridge, scholar of Christ's College, who, for the like opinions to those above rehearsed, holden contrary to the catholic determination of holy mother church of Rome, that is, for the right truth of Christ's gospel, was convented before the bishops, and, in the end, sent to Oxford, there openly to recant, and to bear his faggot, to the terror of the students of that university. The time and place were appointed, that he should be brought solemnly into St. Mary's church upon a Sunday; where a great number of the head doctors and divines, and others of the university, were together assembled, besides a great multitude of citizens and town-dwellers, which came to behold the sight. Furthermore, because that solemnity should not pass without some effectual sermon for the holding up of the mother church of Rome, Dr. Smith, reader then of the divinity lecture, was appointed to make the sermon at this recantation. Briefly, at the preaching of this sermon there was assembled a mighty audience of all sorts and degrees, as well of students as others. Few almost were absent which loved to hear or see any news; insomuch that there was no place almost in the whole church, which was not fully replenished with concourse and throng of people.

All things being thus prepared and set in readiness, cometh forth poor Malary with his faggot upon his shoulder. Not long after, also, proceedeth the doctor into the pulpit, to make his sermon, the purpose and argument whereof was wholly upon the sacrament; the which doctor, for the more confirmation and credit to his words, had provided the holy catholic cake, and the sacrament of the altar, there to hang by a string before him in the pulpit. Thus the doctor, with his god-almighty, entering his godly sermon, had scarce proceeded into the midst thereof, the people

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giving great silence with all reverence unto his doctrine, but suddenly was heard into the church the voice of one crying in the street, "Fire, fire!" The party who thus cried first in the street was called Heuster. This Heuster coming from Allhallows parish saw the chimney on fire, and so passing through the street by St. Mary's church, cried "Fire, fire!" as the fashion is; meaning no hurt.

This sound of fire being heard in the church, first of them that stood outermost next to the church door, so increased and went from one to another, that at length it came unto the ears of the doctors, and at last to the preacher himself; who, as soon as they heard the matter, being amazed with sudden fear, and marvelling what the matter should mean, began to look up into the top of the church, and to behold the walls. The residue seeing them look up, looked up also. Then began they, in the midst of the audience, to cry out with a loud voice, "Fire, fire!" "Where?" saith one; "Where?" saith another. "In the church!" saith one. The mention of the church was scarcely pronounced, when, as in one moment, there was a common cry amongst them, The church is on fire! the church is set on fire by heretics!" &c. And, albeit no man did see any fire at all, yet, forasmuch as all men cried out so, every man thought it true that they heard. Then was there such fear, concourse, and tumult of people, through the whole church, that it cannot be declared in words as it was indeed.

And as in a great fire, (where fire is indeed,) we see many times how one little spark giveth matter of a mighty flame, setting whole stacks and piles a-burning; so here, upon a small occasion of one man's word, kindled first a general cry, then a strong opinion, running in every man's head within the church, thinking the church to be on fire, where no fire was at all. Thus it pleased Almighty God to delude these deluders; that is, that these great doctors and wise men of the schools, who think themselves so wise in God's matters as though they could not err, should see, by their own senses and judgments, how blinded and infatuated they were, in these so small matters and sensible trifles.

Thus this strong imagination of fire being fixed in their heads, as nothing could remove them to think contrary but that the church was on fire, so every thing that they saw or heard increased this suspicion in them, to make it seem most true, which was indeed most false. The first and chiefest occasion that augmented this suspicion, was the heretic there bearing his faggot, which gave them to imagine that all other heretics had conspired with him, to set the church on fire.

After this, through the rage of the people, and running to and fro, the dust was so raised, that it showed as it had been the smoke of fire; which thing, together with the outcry of the people, made all men so afraid, that, leaving the sermon, they began all together to run away. But such was the press of the multitude, running in heaps together, that the more they laboured, the less they could get out. For, while they ran all headlong unto the doors, every man striving to get out first, they thrust one another in such sort, and stuck so fast, that neither they that were without could get into the church again, neither they that were within could get out by any means. So then, one door being stopped, they ran to another little wicket on the north side, toward the college called Brasennose, thinking so to pass out. But there again was the like or greater throng. So the people, clustering and thronging together, it put many in danger, and brought many unto their end, by bruising of their bones or sides. There was yet another door

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towards the west, which albeit it was shut and seldom opened, yet now ran they to it with such sway, that the great bar of iron (which is incredible to be spoken) being pulled out and broken by force of men's hands, the door, notwithstanding, could not be opened for the press or multitude of people.

At last, when they were there also past all hope to get out, then they were all exceedingly amazed, and ran up and down, crying out upon the heretics who had conspired their death. The more they ran about and cried out, the more smoke and dust rose in the church, even as though all things had now been on a flaming fire. I think there was never such a tumultuous hurly-burly rising so of nothing beard of before, nor so great a fear where was no cause to fear, nor peril at all: so that if Democritus, the merry philosopher, sitting in the top of the church, and seeing all things in such safety as they were, had looked down upon the multitude, and beholden so great a number, some howling and weeping, running up and down, and playing the mad-men, now hither, now thither, as being tossed to and fro with waves or tempests; trembling and quaking, raging and fuming, without any manifest cause; especially if he had seen those great rabbins, the doctors, laden with so many badges or cognisances of wisdom, so foolishly and ridiculously seeking holes and corners to hide themselves in; gasping, breathing, and sweating, and for very horror being almost beside themselves; I think he would have satisfied himself with this one laughter for all his life-time; or else rather would have laughed his heart out of his belly, whilst one said, that he plainly heard the noise of the fire, another affirmed, that he saw it with his eyes, and another swore that he felt the molten lead dropping down upon his head and shoulders. Such is the force of imagination, when it is once grafted in men's hearts through fear. In all the whole company, there was none that behaved himself more modestly than the heretic that was there to do penance; who, casting his faggot off from his shoulders upon a monk's head that stood by, kept himself quiet, minding to take such part as the others did.

All the others, being careful for themselves, never made an end of running up and down and crying out. None cried out more earnestly than the doctor that preached, (who was, as I said, Dr. Smith,) who, in manner first of all, cried out in the pulpit, saying, "These are the trains and subtleties of the heretics against me: Lord have mercy upon me! Lord have mercy upon me!" But might not God, as it had been (to speak with Job) out of a whirlwind, have answered again unto this preacher thus: "Thou dost now implore my mercy, but thou thyself showest no mercy unto thy fellows and brethren! How doth thy flesh tremble now at the mention of fire! But you think it a sport to burn other simple innocents, neither do ye any thing at all regard it. If burning and to suffer a torment of fire seem so grievous a matter unto you, then you should also have the like consideration in other men's perils and dangers, when you do burn your fellows and brethren! Or, if you think it but a light and trifling matter in them, go to now, do you also, with like courage, contemn, and, with like patience, suffer now, the same torments yourselves. And if so be I should now suffer you, with the whole church, to be burned to ashes, what other thing should I do unto you, than you do daily unto your fellows and brethren? Wherefore, since you so little esteem the death of others, be now content that other men should also little regard the death of you." With this, I say, or with some other like answer, if that either God, or human charity, in the common sense of nature would expostulate with them, yea, if there had been a fire indeed, (as they were more feared than hurt,) who would have doubted, but that it had happened unto them according to their deserts? But now, worthy it is the noting, how the vain fear and folly of those Catholics either were deluded, or how their cruelty was reprov'd, whereby they, being better

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taught by their own example, might hereafter learn what it is to put other poor men to the fire, which they themselves here so much abhorred.

But, to return again to the description of this pageant, wherein (as I said before) there was no danger at all, yet were they all in such fear, as if present death had been over their heads. In all this great maze and garboil, there was nothing more feared than the melting of the lead, which many affirmed that they felt dropping upon their bodies. Now in this sudden terror and fear, which took from them all reason and counsel out of their minds, to behold what practices and sundry shifts every man made for himself, it would make not only Democritus and Heraclitus also to laugh, but rather a horse well near to break his halter. But none used themselves more ridiculously, than such as seemed greatest wise men, saving that in one or two, peradventure, somewhat more quietness of mind appeared; among whom was one Claymund, president of Corpus Christi College, (whom, for reverence, and learning's sake, I do here name,) and a few other aged persons with him, who, for their age and weakness, durst not thrust themselves into the throng amongst the rest, but kneeled down quietly before the high altar, committing themselves and their lives unto the sacrament. The others, who were younger and stronger, ran up and down through the press, marvelling at the incivility of men, and waxed angry with the unmannerly multitude that would give no room unto the doctors, bachelors, masters, and other graduates and regent-masters. But, as the terror and fear was common unto all men, so was there no difference made of persons or degrees, every man scrambling for himself. The violet cap, or purple gown, did there nothing avail the doctor; neither the master's hood, nor the monk's cowl, was there respected.

Yea, if the king or queen had been there at that present, and in that perplexity, they had been no better than a common man. After they had long striven and assayed all manner of ways, and saw no remedy, neither by force nor authority to prevail, they fell to entreating and offering of rewards; one offering twenty pounds of good money, another his scarlet gown, so that any man would pull him out, though it were by the ears!

Some stood close unto the pillars, thinking themselves safe under the vaults of stone from the dropping of the lead: others, being without money, and unprovided of all shifts, knew not which way to turn them. One, being a president of a certain college, (whose name I need not here to utter,) pulling a board out from the pews, covered his head and shoulders therewith against the scalding lead, which they feared much more than the fall of the church. Now what a laughter would this have adnistered unto Democritus amongst other things, to behold there a certain grand paunch, who, seeing the doors stopped, and every way closed up, thought, by another compendious means, to get out through a glass window, if it might be by any shift? But here the iron grates letted him; notwithstanding his greedy mind would needs attempt, if he could haply bring his purpose to pass. When he had broken the glass, and was come to the space between the grates where he should creep out, first he thrust in his head with the one shoulder, and it went through well enough. Then he laboured to get the other shoulder after; but there was a great labour about that, and long he stuck by the shoulders with much ado; for what doth not importune labour overcome? Thus far forth he was now gotten; but, by what part of his body he did stick fast, I am not certain, neither may I feign, forasmuch as there be yet witnesses who did see these things, who would correct me, if I should so do. Notwithstanding, this is most certain, that he did stick fast between the grates, and could neither get out nor in.

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Thus this good man, being indeed a monk, and having but short hose, by the which way he supposed soonest to escape, by the same he fell into further inconvenience, making of one danger two. For, if the fire or lead had fallen on the outside, those parts which did hang out of the window had been in danger; and, contrariwise, if the flame had raged within the church, all his other parts had lien open to the fire. And as this man did stick fast in the window, so did the rest stick as fast in the doors, that sooner they might have been burned, than they could once stir or move one foot: through the which press, at last, there was a way found, that some, going over their heads, gat out.

Here also happened another pageant in a certain monk (if I be not misadvised) of Gloucester College, whereat Calphurnius might well laugh with an open mouth. So it happened, that there was a young lad in this tumult, who, seeing the doors fast stopped with the press or multitude, and that he had not way to get out, climbed up upon the door; and there, staying upon the top of the door, was forced to tarry still: for, to come down into the church again he durst not for fear of the fire, and to leap down toward the street he could not without danger of falling. When he had tarried there awhile, he advised himself what to do; neither did occasion want to serve his purpose: for, by chance, amongst them that got out over men's heads, he saw a monk, coming towards him, who had a great wide cowl hanging at his back. This the boy thought to be a good occasion for him to escape by. When the monk came near unto him, the boy, who was on the top of the door, came down, and prettily conveyed himself into the monk's cowl; thinking (as it came to pass indeed) that if the monk did escape, he should also get out with him. To be brief, at last the monk gat out over men's heads, with the boy in his cowl, and, for a great while, felt no weight or burden.

At last, when he was somewhat more come to himself, and did shake his shoulders, feeling his cowl heavier than it was accustomed to be, and also hearing the voice of one speaking behind in his cowl, he was more afraid than he was before when he was in the throng, thinking, in very deed, that the evil spirit which had set the church on fire had flien into his cowl. By and by he began to play the exorcist: "In the name of God," said he, "and all saints, I command thee to declare what thou art, that art behind at my back!" To whom the boy answered, "I am Bertram's boy," said he; for that was his name. "But I," said the monk, "adjure thee, in the name of the unseparable Trinity, that thou, wicked spirit! do tell me who thou art, from whence thou earnest, and that thou get thee hence." "I am Bertram's boy," said he, "good master! let me go:" and with that his cowl began, with the weight, to crack upon his shoulders. The monk, when he perceived the matter, took the boy out, and discharged his cowl. The boy took to his legs, and ran away as fast as he could.

Among others, one wiser than the rest ran with the church door key, beating upon the stone walls, thinking therewith to break a hole through to escape out.

In the mean time those that were in the street, looking diligently about them, and perceiving all things to be without fear, marvelled at this sudden outrage, and made signs and tokens to them that were in the church to keep themselves quiet, crying to them that there was no danger.

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But, forasmuch as no word could be heard by reason of the noise that was within the church, those signs made them much more afraid than they were before, interpreting the matter as though all had been on fire without the church; and for the dropping of the lead and falling of other things, they should rather tarry still within the church, and not to venture out. This trouble continued in this manner by the space of certain hours.

The next day, and also all the week following, there was an incredible number of bills set upon the church doors, to inquire for the things that were lost, in such variety and number, as Democritus might here again have had just cause to laugh. "If any man have found a pair of shoes yesterday in St. Mary's church, or knoweth any man that hath found them," &c. Another bill was set up for a gown that was lost. Another entreated to have his cap restored. One lost his purse and girdle, with certain money; another his sword. One inquired for a ring, and one for one thing, another for another. To be short, there were few in this garboil, but that either through negligence lost, or through oblivion left, something behind them.

Thus have you heard a tragical story of a terrible fire, which did no hurt; the description whereof, although it be not so perfectly expressed according to the worthiness of the matter, yet because it was not to be passed with silence, we have superficially set forth some shadow thereof, whereby the wise and discreet may sufficiently consider the rest, if any thing else be lacking in setting forth the full narration thereof. As touching the heretic, because he had not done his sufficient penance there by occasion of this hurly-burly, therefore the next day following he was reclaimed into the church of St. Frideswide, where he supplied the rest that lacked of his plenary penance.

204. The King Divorced from the Lady Anne of Cleves, and Married to the Lady Katharine Howard, his Fifth Wife.

The same year, and in the month following next after the apprehension of the Lord Cromwell, which was August, 1540, the king immediately was divorced from the Lady Anne of Cleves; the cause of which separation being wholly committed to the clergy of the convocation, it was by them defined, concluded, and granted, that the king, being freed from that pretended matrimony, (as they called it,) might marry where he would, and so might she likewise; who, also, consenting to the same divorcement herself, by her own letters, was after that taken no more for queen, but only called Lady Anne of Cleves. Which things thus discussed by the parliament and convocation-house, the king the same month was married to his fifth wife, which was the Lady Katharine Howard, niece to the duke of Norfolk, and daughter to the Lord Edmund Howard, the duke's brother. But this marriage likewise continued not long.

In the same month of August, and the same year, I find, moreover, in some records, besides the four and twenty Charterhouse monks above recited, whom Cope doth sanctify for holy martyrs, for suffering in the pope's devotion, against the king's supremacy, other six which were also brought to Tyburn, and there executed in the like case of rebellion; of whom the first was the prior of Doncaster; the second a monk of the Charterhouse of London, called Giles Horn (some call him William Horn); the third one Thomas Ipsam, a monk of Westminster, who had his monk's garment plucked from his back, being the last monk in King Henry's days that did wear that monkish weed; the fourth one Philpot: the fifth one Carew; the sixth was a friar. See what a difficulty it is to pluck up blind superstition, once rooted in man's heart by a little custom.

Now, as touching the late marriage between the king and the Lady Howard, ye heard how this matrimony endured not long; for, in the year next following, 1542, the said Lady Katharine was accused to the king of incontinent living, not only before her marriage with Francis Dereham. but also of spouse-breach, after her marriage, with Thomas Culpepper. For this both the men aforesaid, by act of parliament were attainted, and executed for high treason; and also the Lady Katharine, late queen, with the Lady Jane Rochford, widow. late wife to George Bullen, Lord Rochford. brother to Queen Anne Bullen, were beheaded for their deserts, within the Tower.

After the death and punishment of this lady, his fifth wife, the king calling to remembrance the words of the Lord Cromwell, and missing now more and more his old counsellor, and partly also smelling somewhat the ways of Winchester, began a little to set his foot again in the cause of religion. And although he ever bare a special favour to Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, (as you shall hear more hereafter, God willing, in the life of Cranmer,) yet now, the more he missed the Lord Cromwell, the more he inclined to the archbishop, and also to the right cause of religion. And therefore, in the same year and in the month of October, after the execution of this queen, the king, understanding some abuses yet to remain unreformed, namely, about pilgrimages and idolatry, and other things besides, to be corrected within his dominions, directed his letters unto the aforesaid archbishop of Canterbury,

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for the speedy redress and reformation of the same; the tenor of which letters hereafter fully ensueth in these words:

"Right reverend father in God, right trusty and well-beloved! We greet you well, letting you to wit, that whereas heretofore, upon the zeal and remembrance which we had to our bounden duty towards Almighty God, perceiving sundry superstitions and abuses to be used and embraced by our people, whereby they grievously offended him and his word, we did not only cause the images and bones of such as they resorted and offered unto, with the ornaments of the same, and all such writings and monuments of feigned miracles, wherewith they were illuded, to be taken away in all places of our realm; but, also, by our injunctions commanded, that no offering or setting up of lights or candles should be suffered in any church, but only to the blessed sacraments of the altar: it is lately come unto our knowledge, that, this our good intent and purpose notwithstanding, the shrines, coverings of shrines, and monument of those things, do yet remain in sundry places of this realm, much to the slander of our doings, and to the great displeasure of Almighty God, the same being means to allure our subjects to their former hypocrisy and superstition; and also that our injunctions be not kept as appertaineth. For the due and speedy reformation whereof, we have thought meet, by these our letters, expressly to will and command you, that incontinent upon the receipt hereof, you shall not only cause due search to be made in the cathedral church for those things; and if any shrine, covering of shrine, table, monument of miracles, or other pilgrimages, do there continue, to cause it to be so taken away as there remain no memory of it; but also, that you shall take order with all the curates, and others having charge within your diocese, to do the semblable, and to see that our injunctions be duly kept as appertaineth, without failing; as we trust you, and as you will answer to the contrary.

"Given under our signet at our town of Hull, the fourth day of October, in the thirty-third year of our reign"

Furthermore, the next year after this ensuing, which was 1543, in the month of February, followed another proclamation, given out by the king's authority, wherein the pope's law, forbidding white meats to be eaten in Lent, was repealed, and the eating of such meats set at liberty, for the behoof of the king's subjects.

205. Four Windsor Martyrs

The trouble and persecution of four Windsor men, Robert Testwood, Henry Filmer, Anthony Peerson, and John Marbeck: persecuted for righteousness' sake, and for the gospel.



COMING now to the story and time of the four Windsor men, troubled and persecuted for the true testimony of God's word, whereof three were martyred and sacrificed in fire, the fourth (which was Marbeck) had his pardon; first, I have to show the original of their troubles in several parts; secondly, the manner and order of their death as they suffered together, which was A. D. 1543; thirdly, to answer partly in purgation of myself, against certain clatterers which have hitherto taken their pleasure in railing against my former edition of Acts and Monuments, for mistaking the name of Marbeck, whom, in one place, I reported to have been burned; albeit, in the end of the story, correcting myself again, I declared him not to have been burned. Wherefore, to stop the brawling mouths of such quarrellers, I thought here to set forth the full narration, both of the said Marbeck and of his fellows, in truth, as I trust none of them shall have just cause to quarrel thereat.

A full narration of the persecution at Windsor.

Persons persecuted at Windsor A. D. 1543:— Robert Testwood. Henry Filmer. Anthony Peerson, John Marbeck, Robert Bennet, Sir Philip Hobby and his wife, Sir Thomas Cardine and his wife, Master Edmund Harman, Master Thomas Weldon; Snowball and his wife, of the king's chamber; and Dr. Haynes, dean of Exeter.

Persecutors:— Master Ely, Simons a lawyer, Dr. London, Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester; Wriothesley, then secretary to the king, and afterwards lord chancellor; Southarne, treasurer of Exeter; Dr. Bruerwood, chancellor of Exeter; Master Knight, Winchester's gentleman; Dr. Oking; Dr. Capon, bishop of Sarum; Sir William Essex, knight; Sir Thomas Bridges, knight; Sir Humfrey Foster, knight; Master Franklin, dean of Windsor: Master Fachel, of Reading; Bucklayer, the king's attorney; Filmer's brother: Hide, a jurate dwelling beside Abingdon: Robert Ocham, a lawyer.

The original of Robert Testwood's trouble.

In the year of our Lord 1543, there was one Robert Testwood, dwelling in the city of London, who for his knowledge in music had so great a name, that the musicians in Windsor College thought him a worthy man to have a room among them. Whereupon they informed Dr. Sampson (being then their dean) of him. But, forasmuch as some of the canons had at that time heard of Testwood, how that he smelled of the new learning, (as they called it,) it would not be consented unto at first. Notwithstanding, with often suit of the aforesaid musicians, made to one Dr. Tate, (who, being half a musician himself, bare a great stroke in such matters,) a room being void, Testwood was sent for to be heard. And being there four or five days among the choir-men, he was so well liked both for his voice and cunning, that he was admitted, and after settled in

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Windsor with his household, and was had in good estimation with the dean and canons a great while. But when they had perceived him, by his often talk at their tables, (for he could not well dissemble his religion,) that he leaned to Luther's sect, they began to dislike him. And so, passing forth among them, it was his chance, one day, to be at dinner with one of the canons, named, Dr. Rawson. At that dinner, among others, was one of King Edward's four chantry priests, named Master Ely, an old bachelor of divinity; which Ely, in his talk at the board, began to rail against laymen, who took upon them to meddle with the Scriptures, and to be better learned (knowing no more but the English tongue) than they that had been students in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge all the days of their lives.

Then Testwood, perceiving he meant that against him, could forbear his railing no longer, but said, "Master Ely, by your patience, I think it to be no hurt for laymen, as I am, to read and to know the Scriptures." "Which of you," quoth Ely, "that be unlearned, knoweth them, or understandeth them? St. Paul saith, If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink; and, in so doing, thou shalt heap coals of fire upon his head. Now, sir," quoth Ely, "what meaneth St Paul by these coals of fire?" "Marry, sir," quoth Testwood, "he meaneth nothing else by them (as I have learned) but burning charity, that, with doing good to our enemies, we should thereby win them "Ah, sirrah," quoth he, "you are an old scholar indeed!"

After this they fell into further communication of the pope, whose supremacy was much spoken of at that time, but not known to be so far in question in the parliament-house as it was. And in their talk Ely demanded of Testwood, whether the pope ought to be head of the church or no? against which Testwood durst not say his full mind, but reasoned within his bounds a great while. But, when they were both well stricken in a heat, Testwood, forgetting himself, chanced to say, that every king, in his own realm and dominion, ought to be the head of the church under Christ: at which words Ely was so chafed, that he rose up from the table in a great fume, calling him heretic, and all that nought was; and so went brawling and chiding away, to the great disquieting of all the company that were there.

Then was Testwood very sorry to see the old man take it so grievously: whereupon, after dinner, he went and sought Master Ely, and found him walking in the body of the church, thinking to have talked with him charitably, and so to have been at one again; but ever as Testwood pressed towards him, the other shunned him, and would not come nigh him, but did spit at him; saying to others that walked by, "Beware of this fellow! for he is the greatest heretic and schismatic that ever came into Windsor."

Now began the matter to brew; for, after that Ely had made his complaint to the dean's deputy, and other of the canons, they were all against Testwood, purposing surely, at the dean's coming home, (if all things had chanced even,) to have put him to his trump. But see the fortune. It was not twelve days after, ere that the king's supremacy passed in the parliament-house. Whereupon the dean, Dr. Sampson, came home suddenly in the night, late, and forthwith sent his verger about to all the canons and ministers of the college, from the highest to the lowest, commanding them to be in the chapter-house by eight of the clock in the morning. Then Ely consulted with the canons over-night, (as late as it was,) and thought on the next day to have put Testwood to a great plunge: "But he that layeth a snare for another man," saith Solomon, "shall be taken in it himself." And so was Ely; for when the dean and every man were come and placed

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in the chapter-house, and that the dean had commended the ministers of the church for their diligence in tending the choir, exhorting them also to continue in the same, he began, contrary to every man's expectation, to inveigh against the bishop of Rome's supremacy and usurped authority, confounding the same, by manifest Scriptures and probable reasons, so earnestly, that it was a wonder to hear; and at length declared openly, that by the whole consent of the parliament-house, the pope's supremacy was utterly abolished out of this realm of England for ever; and so commanded every man there, upon his allegiance, to call him pope no more, but bishop of Rome, and whatsoever he were that would not so do, or did from that day forth maintain or favour his cause by any manner of means. he should not only lose the benefit of that house, but be reputed as an utter enemy to God and to the king. The canons, hearing this, were all stricken in a dump: yet, notwithstanding, Ely's heart was so great, that he would fain have uttered his cankered stomach against Testwood; but the dean (breaking his tale) called him old fool, and took him up so sharply, that he was fain to hold his peace. Then the dean commanded all the pope's pardons which hanged about the church, to be brought into the chapter-house, and cast into the chimney, and burned before all their faces; and so departed.

Another cause of Robert Testwood's trouble.

As it chanced Testwood one day to walk in the church at afternoon, and to behold the pilgrims, especially of Devonshire and Cornwall, how they came in by plumps, with candles and images of wax in their hands, to offer to good King Henry of Windsor, as they called him, it pitied his heart to see such great idolatry committed, and how vainly the people had spent their goods in coming so far to kiss a spur, and to have an old hat set upon their heads; insomuch that he could not refrain, but, seeing a certain company which had done their offering and were standing gazing about the church, he went unto them, and with all gentleness began to exhort them to leave such false worshipping of dumb creatures, and to learn to worship the true living God aright; putting them in remembrance what those things were which they worshipped, and how God many times had plagued his people, for running a whoring to such stocks and stones, and so would plague them and their posterity, if they would not leave it. After this sort he admonished them so long, till at the last his words, as God would, took such place in some of them, that they said, they never would go a pilgrimage more.

Then he went further, and found another sort licking and kissing a white Lady made of alabaster, which image was mortised in a wall behind the high altar, and bordered about with a pretty border, which was made like branches with hanging apples and flowers. And when he saw them so superstitiously use the image, as to wipe their hands upon it, and then to stroke them over their eyes and faces, as though there had been great virtue in touching the picture, he up with his hand, in which he had a key, and smote down a piece of the border about the image, and with the glance of the stroke chanced to break off the image's nose. "Lo! good people," quoth he, "you see what it is; nothing but earth and dust, and cannot help itself; and how then will you have it to help you? For God's sake, brethren, be no more deceived." And so he gat him home to his house, for the rumour was so great, that many came to see the image, how it was defaced. And among all others, came one William Simons, a lawyer, who, seeing the image so bewrayed, and to lack her nose, took the matter grievously, and looking down upon the pavement, he spied the image's nose where it lay, which he took up and put in his purse, saying it should be a dear nose to Testwood one day.

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Now were many offended with Testwood; the canons, for speaking against their profit; the wax. sellers, for hindering their market; and Simons, for the image's nose. And more than that, there were of the canons' men that threatened to kill him. Hereupon Testwood kept his house and durst not come forth, minding to send the whole matter in writing by his wife to Master Cromwell the king's secretary, who was his special friend. The canons, hearing that Testwood would send to Cromwell, sent the verger unto him, to will him to come to the church; who sent them word again, that he was in fear of his life, and therefore would not come. Then sent they two of the eldest petty canons to entreat him, and to assure him that no man should do him harm. He made them a plain answer, that he had no such trust in their promises, but would complain to his friends. Then wist they not what shift to make, for of all men they feared Cromwell; but sent, in post haste, for old Master Ward, a justice of peace, dwelling three or four miles off, who, being come, and hearing the matter, was very loth to meddle in it. But notwithstanding, through their entreaty, he went to Testwood, and had much ado to persuade him; but, at last, he did faithfully promise him by the oath he had made to God and the king, to defend him from all danger and harms, so that Testwood was content to go with him.

And when Master Ward, and Testwood, were come into the church, and were going toward the chapter-house, where the canons abode their coming, one of the canons' men drew his dagger at Testwood, and would have been upon him, but Master Ward with his man resisted, and got Testwood into the chapter-house, causing the serving-man to be called in, and sharply rebuked by their masters, who straitly commanded him, upon pain of losing their service, and further displeasure, not to touch him, nor to give him an evil word. Now Testwood, being alone in the chapter-house with the canons and Master Ward, was gently treated, and the matter so pacified, that Testwood might quietly come and go to the church, and do his duty as he had done before.

Third cause of Robert Testmood's trouble.

Upon a Relic Sunday, (as they named it,) when every minister, after their old custom, should have borne a relic in his hand about a procession, one was brought to Testwood; which relic (as they said) was a rochet of Bishop Becket's. And as the sexton would have put the rochet in Testwood's hands, he pushed it from him, saying, If he did give it to him, he would make sport withal; and so the rochet was given to another. Then came the verger down from the high altar with St. George's dagger in his hand, demanding who lacked a relic. "Marry," quoth Testwood, "give it to Master Hake," who stood next him, "for he is a pretty man of his hands:" and so the dagger was given unto him. Now Testwood perceiving the dagger in Master Hake's hand, and being merrily disposed, (as he was a merry-conceited man,) stepped forth out of his place to Dr. Clifton, standing directly before him in the midst of the choir, with a glorious golden cope upon his back, having the pix in his hand, and said, "Sir! Master Hake hath St. George's dagger. Now, if he had his horse, and St. Martin's cloak, and Master John Shorn's boots, with King Harry's spurs, and his hat, he might ride when he would:" and so stepped into his place again. Whereat the other changed colour, and wist not what to say.

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Fourth cause of Robert Testwood's trouble.

In the days of Master Franklin, who succeeded Dr. Sampson in the deanery of Windsor, there was, on a time, set up at the choir door, a certain foolish printed paper in metre, all to the praise and commendation of our Lady, ascribing unto her our justification, our salvation, our redemption, the forgiveness of sins, &c., to the great derogation of Christ. Which paper, one of the canons, called Master Magnus, (as it was reported,) caused to be set up in despite of Testwood and his sect. When Testwood saw this paper, he plucked it down secretly. The next day after was another set up in the same place. Then Testwood, coming into the church, and seeing another paper set up, and also the dean coming a little way off, made haste to be at the choir door, while the dean staid to take holy water, and reaching up his hand as he went, plucked away the paper with him. The dean, being come to his stall, called Testwood unto him, and said, that he marvelled greatly how he durst be so bold to take down the paper in his presence. Testwood answered again, that he marvelled much more, that his Mastership would suffer such a blasphemous paper to be set up; beseeching him not to be offended with what he had done, for he would stand unto it. So Master Dean being a timorous man, made no more ado with him. After this were no more papers set up, but poor Testwood was eaten and drunken amongst them at every meal; "and a heretic he was, and would roast a faggot for this gear one day."

Now Master Magnus, being sore offended with Testwood for plucking down his papers, to be revenged on him, devised with the dean and the rest of the canons, to send their letters to Dr. Chamber, one of their brethren, and the king's physician, who lay, for the most part, at the court, to see what he would do against Testwood; which letters, being made, were sent with speed. But, whatsoever the cause was, whether he durst not meddle for fear of Cromwell, or what else, I cannot tell, their suit came to none effect. Then wist they not what to do, but determined to let the matter sleep, till St. George's feast, which was not far off.

Now, in the mean time, there chanced a pretty story, between one Robert Philips, gentleman of the king's chapel, and Testwood; which story, though it was but a merry prank of a singing man, yet it grieved his adversary wonderfully. The matter was this: Robert Philips was so notable a singing man, (wherein he gloried,) that wheresoever he came, the best and longest song, with most counter-verses in it, should be set up at his coming. And so, his chance being now to be at Windsor, against his coming to the anthem, a long song was set up, called *Laudate vivi*, in which song there was one counter-verse towards the end, that began on this wise, *O redemptrix et salvatrix*: which verse, of all others, Robert Philips would sing, because he knew that Testwood could not abide that ditty. Now Testwood, knowing his mind well enough, joined with him at the other part; and when he heard Robert Philips begin to fetch his flourish with *O redemptrix et salvatrix*! repeating the same, one in another's neck, Testwood was as quick, on the other side, to answer him again with *non redemptrix, nec salvatrix*! and so, striving there with O and Non who should have the mastery, they made an end of the verse; whereat was good laughing in sleeves of some, but Robert Philips, with others of Testwood's enemies, were sore offended.

Within fourteen days after this, the lords of the garter (as their custom is yearly to do) came to Windsor to keep St. George's feast, at which feast the duke of Norfolk was president; unto whom the dean and canons made a grievous complaint on Testwood: who, being called

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before the duke, he shook him up, and all-to-reviled him, as though he would have sent him to hanging by and by. Yet, nevertheless, Testwood so behaved himself to the duke, that, in the end, he let him go without any further molesting of him, to the great discomfort of the dean and canons.

Here you have heard the causes which moved Testwood's enemies to seek his destruction, and could not attain their purpose, till that wicked Haman, Dr. London, came, as shall be showed in the process following.

The original of Henry Filmer s trouble.

About the year of our Lord 1511, after all the orders of superstitious and begging friars were suppressed and put down, there chanced one Sir Thomas Meister, who had been a friar before, and had changed his friar's coat, (but not his friar's heart,) to be vicar of Windsor. This priest, on a time, made a sermon to his parishioners, in which he declared so many fond and friarish tales, as, that our Lady should hold out her breasts to St. Bernard, and spout her milk into his eyes, with such-like festival tales, that many honest men were offended therewith, and especially this Henry Filmer, then one of the churchwardens; who was so zealous to God's word, that he could not abide to hear the glory of Christ so defaced with superstitious fables. Whereupon he took an honest man or two with him, and went to the priest, with whom he talked so honestly, and so charitably, that in the end the priest gave him hearty thanks, and was content, at his gentle admonition, to reform himself without any more ado, and so departed friendly the one from the other.

Now there was one in the town, called William Simons, a lawyer, (as is aforesaid,) who, hearing that Filmer had been with the priest, and had reproved him for his sermon, took pepper in the nose, and got him to the vicar, and did so animate him in his doings, that he slipped quite away from the promise he had made to Filmer, and followed the mind of Simons; who, meeting with Filmer afterwards, all-to-reviled him, saying, he would bring him before the bishop, to teach him to be so malapert. Then Filmer, hearing the matter renewed, which he had thought had been suppressed, stood against Simons, and said, that the vicar had preached false and unsound doctrine; and so would he say to the bishop, whensoever he came before him. Then Simons slipped not the matter, but went to the mayor, and procured of him and his brethren a letter, signed with their own hands, in the priest's favour as much as could be devised: and so departed himself, with other his friends, to go to the bishop, (whose name was Dr. Capon,) and to take the priest with them; which was a painful journey for the silly poor man, by reason he had a sore leg.

Now Filmer, hearing how Simons went about to put him to a foil, consulted with his friends what was best to do; who concluded to draw out certain notes of the vicar's sermon, and to prepare themselves to be at Salisbury as soon as Simons, or before him, if it might be possible. Thus, both the parties being in a readiness, it chanced them to set forth from Windsor all in one day: but, by reason the priest, being an impotent man, could not endure to ride very fast, Filter and his company got to the town an hour and more before Simons, went to the bishop, and delivered up their bill unto him; which bill, when the bishop had seen and perused well, he gave them great thanks for their pains, saying, it did behove him to look upon it; for the priest had preached heresy, and should be punished.

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Then Filmer declared unto the bishop the form of his talk he had with the priest, and the end thereof; and how the matter, being renewed again by Simons, forced him and his company to trouble his Lordship therewith. "Well," said the bishop, "ye have done like honest men: come to me soon again, and ye shall know more." And so they departed from the bishop to their inn; and, while they were there reposing themselves, Simons, with his company, came to the town, and (not knowing the other to be come) got them up to the bishop in all post haste, taking the priest with them.

The bishop, hearing of more Windsor men, demanded what they were, and being informed how it was the vicar of the town, with others besides, he caused the vicar to be brought in; to whom he said, "Are you the vicar of Windsor?" "Yea, forsooth, my Lord," quoth he. "How chanceth it," quoth the bishop, "that you are complained on? for there have been with me certain honest men of your town, who have delivered up a bill of erroneous doctrine against you: if it be so, I must needs punish you." And opening the bill, he read it unto him. "How say you," quoth the bishop, "is this true, or no?" The vicar could not deny it, but humbly submitted himself to the bishop's correction. Then was his company called in, and when the bishop saw Simons, he knew him well, and said, "Wherefore come you, Master Simons?" "Pleaseth it your Lordship," quoth he, "we are come to speak in our vicar's cause, who is a man of good conversation and honesty, and doth his duty so well in every point, that no man can find fault with him, except a lewd fellow we have in our town, called Filmer, who is so corrupt with heresy, that he is able to poison a whole country. And truly, my Lord, quoth Simons, "there is no man that can preach or teach any thing that is good and godly, but he is ready to control it, and to say it is stark naught. Wherefore we shall beseech your Lordship he may be punished, to the ensample of others, that our vicar may do his duty quietly, as he hath done before this busy fellow troubled him. And, that your Lordship shall the better credit my sayings, I have brought with the these honest men of the town: and besides all that, a testimonial from the mayor and his brethren, to confirm the same:" and so he held out the writing in his hand.

Then said the bishop, "So God help me, Master Simons! ye are greatly to blame, and most worthy to be punished of all men, that will so impudently go about to maintain your priest in his error, who hath preached heresy, and hath confessed it: wherefore I may not, nor will not, see it unpunished. And as for that honest man Filmer, of whom ye have complained, I tell you plainly, he hath in this point showed himself a great deal more honest man than you. But in hope you will no more bear out your vicar in his evil doings, I will remit all things at this time, saving that he shall the next Sunday recant his sermon openly before all his parishioners in Windsor church." And so the bishop called in Filmer and his company, who waited without, and delivered the priest's recantation unto them, with a great charge to see it truly observed in all points. Then Simons took his leave of the bishop, and departed with a flea in his ear, disappointed of his purpose, and sore ashamed of the foil. For this cause Simons could never brook Filmer, but when he met him at any time after, would hold up his finger, (as his manner was, where he owed displeasure,) and say, "I will be even with you one day, trust me!"

The original of Anthony Peerson's trouble.

There was a certain priest, named Anthony Peerson, who frequented much to Windsor about the year of our Lord 1540, and, using the talent that God had given him in preaching, was

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greatly esteemed among the people, who flocked so much to his sermons which he made both in the town and country, that the great priests of the castle, with other papists in the town, especially Simons, were sore offended, insomuch that Simons at the last began to gather of his sermons, and to mark his auditors; whereof ensued the death of divers, and trouble of many honest men. For about a year and more after, a minister of Satan, called Dr. London, warden of New College in Oxford, was admitted one of the prebendaries of Windsor, who, at his first coming to Windsor, began to utter his stomach and to show his affection. For, at his first residence-dinner which he made to the clerks, (which company, for the most part, at that time favoured the gospel,) all his whole talk to two gentlemen, strangers at his board, (till the table was a taking up,) was nothing else but of heretics, and what a desolation they would bring the realm unto, if they might be so suffered. "And by St. Mary, masters!" quoth he to the clerks at last, "I cannot tell, but there goeth a shrewd report abroad of this house." Some made answer, it was undeserved. "I pray God it be," quoth he, "I am but a stranger, and have but small experience amongst you; but I have heard it said before I came hither, that there be some in this house, that will neither have prayer nor fasting."

Then spake Testwood, "By my troth, sir!" quoth he, "I think that was spoken of malice: for prayer, as your Mastership knoweth better than I, is one of the first lessons that Christ taught us." "Yea, marry, sir," quoth he, "but the heretics will have no invocation to saints, which all the old fathers do allow." "What the old fathers do allow," quoth Testwood, "I cannot tell; but Christ doth appoint us to go to his Father, and to ask our petitions of him in Christ's name." "Then you will have no mean between you and God," quoth Dr. London. "Yes, sir," quoth Testwood, "our mean is Christ, as St. Paul saith, There is one Mediator between God and man, even Jesus Christ." "Give us water," quoth Dr. London: which being set on the board, he said grace, and washed; and so falling into other communication with the strangers, the clerks took their leave and departed. When Dr. London had been at Windsor awhile, among his catholic brethren, and learned what Testwood was, and also of Simons, (who showed him our Lady's nose, as he called it,) what sort of heretics were in the town, and about the same, and how they increased daily by reason of a naughty priest, called Anthony Peerson, he was so maliciously bent against them, that he gave himself wholly to the devil, to do mischief. And to bring his wicked purpose about, he conspired with the aforesaid Simons, a meet clerk to serve such a curate, and others of like sort, how they might compass the matter, first to have all the arch-heretics, as they termed them, in Windsor and thereabouts, indicted of heresy, and so to proceed further. They had a good ground to work upon, as they thought, which was the six articles, whereupon they began to build and practise thus. First, they drew out certain notes of Anthony Peerson's sermons, which he had preached against the sacrament of the altar, and their popish mass. That done, they put in Sir William Hobby, with the good lady his wife, Sir Thomas Cardine, Master Edmund Harman, Master Thomas Weldon, with Snowball and his wife, as chief ciders, helpers, and maintainers of Anthony Peerson. Also they noted Dr. Haynes, dean of Exeter, and a prebendary of Windsor, to be a common receiver of all suspected persons. They wrote also the names of all such as commonly haunted Anthony Peerson's sermons, and of all such as had the Testament, and favoured the gospel, or did but smell thereof.

Then had they privy spies to walk up and down the church, to hearken and hear what men said, and to mark who did not reverence the sacrament, at the elevation-time, and to bring his name to Dr. London. And of these spies some were chantry priests; among the which there was

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one notable spy, whose name was called Sir William Bows, such a fleering priest as would be in every corner of the church pattering to himself, with his portues in his hand, to hear and to note the gesture of men towards the sacrament. Thus, when they had gathered as much as they could, and made a perfect book thereof, Dr. London, with two of his catholic brethren more, gave them up to the bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner, with a great complaint against the heretics that were in Windsor, declaring unto him how the town was sore disquieted through their doctrine and evil example: wherefore they besought his Lordship's help, in purging the town and castle of such wicked persons. The bishop, hearing their complaint, and seeing their book, praised their doings, and bade them make friends and go forward, and they should not lack his help. Then they applied the matter with tooth and nail, sparing for no money or pains-taking, as Marbeck saith that he himself heard one of them say, who was a great doer therein, and afterwards sorry for that he had done, that the suit thereof cost him that year, for his part only, a hundred marks, besides the death of three good geldings.

Now Bishop Gardiner, who had conceived a further fetch in his brain than Dr. London had, made Wriothesley and others of the council on his side, and spying a time convenient, went to the king, complaining what a sort of heretics his Grace had in his realm, and how they were not only crept into every corner of his court, but even into his privy chamber; beseeching therefore his Majesty that his laws might be prosecuted. The king, giving credit to the council's words, was content his laws should be executed on such as were offenders. Then had the bishop what he desired, and forthwith procured a commission for a privy search to be had in Windsor for books and letters that Anthony Peerson should send abroad; which commission the king granted to take place in the town of Windsor, but not in the castle.

At this time the canons of Exeter (specially Southarne, treasurer of the church, and Dr. Bruerwood, the chancellor) had accused Dr. Haynes, their dean, to the council, for preaching against holy bread and holy water, and that he should say in one of his sermons (having occasion to speak of matrimony) that marriage and hanging were destiny; upon which they gathered treason against him, because of the king's marriage. The bishop of Winchester (at the same time) had also informed the council of Master Hobby, how he was a hearer of Anthony Peerson, and a great maintainer of heretics: whereupon both he, and Dr. Haynes, were apprehended and sent to the Fleet. But it was not very long after, ere that by the mediation of friends they were both delivered.

Now, as touching the commission for searching for books, Master Ward and Master Fachel, of Reading, were appointed commissioners, who came to Windsor the Thursday before Palm Sunday, A.D. 1543, and began their search about eleven of the clock at night: in which search were apprehended Robert Bennet, Henry Filmer, John Marbeck, and Robert Testwood, for certain books and writings found in their houses against the six articles, who were kept in ward till Monday after, and then fetched up to the council, all save Testwood, with whom the bailiffs of the town were charged, because he lay sore diseased of the gout. The other three, being examined before the council, were committed to prison, Filmer and Bennet to the bishop of London's jail, and Marbeck to the Marshalsea; whose examination is here set out, to declare the great goodness of the council, and the cruelty of the bishop.

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The first examination of John Marbeck before the council. on the Monday after Palm Sunday, A.D. 1543.



Marbeck examined by the council

This Marbeck had begun a great work in English, called *The Concordance of the Bible*; which book, being not half finished, was among his other books taken in the search, and had up to the council. And when he came before them to be examined, the whole work lay before the bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner, at the upper end of the board; who, beholding the poor man awhile, said, "Marbeck, dost thou know wherefore thou art sent for?" "No, my Lord," quoth he. "No!" quoth the bishop; "that is a marvellous thing." "Forsooth, my Lord," quoth he, "unless it be for a certain search made of late in Windsor, I cannot tell wherefore it should be." "Then thou knowest the matter well enough;" quoth the bishop: and, taking up a quire of the Concordance in his hand, he said, "Understandest thou the Latin tongue?" "No, my Lord," quoth he, "but simply." "No!" quoth the bishop; and with that spake Master Wriothesley (then secretary to the king): "He saith, but simply." "I cannot tell," quoth the bishop, "but the book is translated word for word out of the Latin Concordance:" and so began to declare to the rest of the council the nature of a Concordance, and how it was first compiled in Latin, by the great diligence of the learned men for the ease of preachers; concluding with this reason, that if such a book should go

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forth in English, it would destroy the Latin tongue. And so, casting down the quire again, he reached another book, which was the Book of Isaiah the Prophet, and turning to the last chapter, gave the book to Marbeck, and asked him who had written the note in the margin. The other, looking upon it, said, "Forsooth, any Lord, I wrote it." "Read it," quoth the bishop. Then he read it thus, "Heaven is my seat, and the earth is my footstool." "Nay," quoth the bishop, "read it as thou hast written it." "Then shall I read it wrong," quoth he, "for I had written it false." "How hadst thou written it," quoth the bishop. "I had written it," quoth he, "thus, 'Heaven is my seat, and the earth is not my footstool.'" "Yea, marry," quoth the bishop, "that was thy meaning." "No, my Lord," quoth he, "it was but an oversight in writing; for, as your Lordship seeth, this word not is blotted out." At this time came other matters into the council, so that Marbeck was had out to the next chamber. And when he had stood there awhile, one of the council, named Sir Anthony Wingfield, captain of the guard, came forth, and calling for Marbeck, committed him to one Belson of the guard, saying unto him on this wise: "Take this man and have him to the Marshalsea, and tell the keeper that it is the council's pleasure that he shall treat him gently; and if he have any money in his purse, as I think he hath not much, take you it from him, lest the prisoners do take it; and minister it unto him as he shall have need." And so the messenger departed with Marbeck to the Marshalsea, and did his commission most faithfully and truly. both to the keeper and to the prisoner, as he was commanded.

The second examination of Marbeck, before the bishop's gentleman in the Marshalsea.

On the next day, which was Tuesday, by eight of the clock in the morning, there came one of the bishop of Winchester's gentlemen into the Marshalsea, whose man brought after him two great books under his arm, and finding Marbeck walking up and down in the chapel, demanded of the keeper why he was not in irons, "I had no such commandment," quoth he; "for the messenger which brought him yesternight from the council, said it was their pleasure, he should be gently used." "My Lord," quoth the gentleman, "will not be content with you:" and so taking the books of his man, he called for a chamber, up to which he carried the prisoner, and casting the books from him upon a bed, sat him down and said, "Marbeck! my Lord doth favour thee well for certain good qualities that thou hast, and hath sent me hither to admonish thee to beware and take heed lest thou cast away thyself wilfully. If thou wilt be plain, thou shalt do thyself much good; if not, thou shalt do thyself much harm. I assure thee, my Lord lamenteth thy case, forasmuch as he hath always heard good report of thee; wherefore now see to thyself, and play the wise man. Thou art acquainted with a great sort of heretics, as Hobby and Haynes, with others more, and knowest much of their secrets: if thou wilt now open them at my Lord's request, he will procure thy deliverance out of hand, and prefer thee to better living."

"Alas! sir," quoth he, "what secrets do I know? I am but a poor man, and was never worthy to be so conversant either with Master Hobby or Master Haynes, to know any part of their minds." "Well," quoth the gentleman, "make it not so strange, for my Lord doth know well enough in what estimation they had both thee and Anthony Peerson, for your religion." "For Anthony Peerson," quoth he, "I can say nothing, for I never saw him with them in all my life: and as for myself, I cannot deny but that they have always, I thank them, taken me for an honest poor man, and showed me much kindness; but as for their secrets, they were too wise to commit them to any such as I am."

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"Peradventure," quoth the gentleman, "thou fearest to utter any thing of them, because they were thy friends, lest they, hearing thereof, might hereafter withdraw their friendship from thee; which thou needest not to fear, I warrant thee, for they are sure enough, and never like to pleasure thee more, nor any man else."

With that the water stood in Marbeck's eyes. "Why weepest thou?" quoth the gentleman. "Oh, sir," quoth he, "I pray you pardon me: these men have done me good; wherefore I beseech the living God to comfort them as I would be comforted myself."

"Well," quoth the gentleman, "I perceive thou wilt play the fool;" and then he opened one of the books and asked him if he understood any Latin. "But a little, sir;" quoth he. "How is it then," quoth the gentleman, "that thou hast translated thy book out of the Latin Concordance, and yet understandest not the tongue?" "I will tell you," quoth he; "in my youth I learned the principles of my grammar, whereby I have some understanding therein, though it be very small." Then the gentleman began to try him in the Latin Concordance and English Bible which he had brought: and when he had so done, and was satisfied, he called up his man to fetch away the books, and so departed, leaving Marbeck alone in the chamber, the door fast shut unto him.

About two hours after, the gentleman came again, with a sheet of paper folded in his hand, and set him down upon the bed-side, (as before,) and said, "By my troth, Marbeck! my Lord seeth so much wilfulness in thee, that he saith it is pity to do thee good. When wast thou last with Haynes?" "Forsooth," quoth he, "about three weeks ago, I was at dinner with him." "And what talk," quoth the gentleman, "had he at his board?" "I cannot tell now," quoth he. "No!" quoth the gentleman; "thou art not so dull witted, to forget a thing in so short a space." "Yes, sir," quoth he, "such familiar talk as men do use at their boards, is most commonly by the next day forgotten; and so it was with me." "Didst thou never," quoth the gentleman, "talk with him, or with any of thy fellows, of the mass, or of the blessed sacrament?" "No, forsooth," quoth he. "Now, forsooth," quoth the gentleman, "thou liest; for thou hast been seen to talk with Testwood, and others of thy fellows, an hour together in the church, when honest men have walked up and down beside you; and, ever as they have drawn near you, ye have stayed your talk till they have been past you, because they should not hear whereof you talked." "I deny not," quoth he, "but I have talked with Testwood and others of my fellows. I cannot tell how oft; which maketh not that we talked either of the mass or of the sacrament: for men may commune and talk of many matters. that they would not that every man should hear, and yet far from any such thing; therefore it is good to judge the best." "Well!" quoth the gentleman, "thou must be plainer with my Lord than this, or else it will be wrong with thee, and that sooner than thou weenest." "How plain will his Lordship have me to be, sir?" quoth he. "There is nothing that I can do and say with a safe conscience, but I am ready to do it at his Lordship's pleasure." "What tellest thou me," quoth the gentleman, "of thy conscience? Thou mayest, with a safe conscience, utter those that be heretics, and, so doing, thou canst do God and the king no greater service." "If I knew, sir," quoth he, "who were a heretic indeed, it were a thing; but if I should accuse him to be a heretic that is none, what a worm would that be in my conscience so long as I lived! yea, it were a deal better for me to be out of this life, than to live in such torment." "In faith," quoth the gentleman, "thou knowest as well who be heretics of thy fellows at home, and who be none, as I do know this paper to be in my hand. But it maketh no matter, for they shall all be sent for and examined: and thinkest thou that they will not utter and tell of thee all that they can? Yes, I

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warrant thee. And what a foolish dolt art thou, that wilt not utter aforehand what they be, seeing it standeth upon thy deliverance to tell the truth?" "Whatsoever," quoth he, "they shall say of me, let them do it in the name of God: for I will say no more of them, nor of any man else, than I know." "Marry! quoth the gentleman, "if thou wilt do so, my Lord requireth no more. And forasmuch as now, peradventure, thy wits are troubled, so that thou canst not call things even by and by to remembrance, I have brought thee ink and paper, that thou mayest excogitate with thyself, and write such things as shall come to thy mind." "O Lord!" quoth Marbeck, "what will my Lord do? Will his Lordship compel me to accuse men I wot not whereof?" "No," quoth the gentleman, "my Lord compelleth thee not, but gently entreateth thee to say the truth: therefore make no more ado, but write; for my Lord will have it so." And so he laid down the ink and paper, and went his way.

Now was Marbeck so full of heaviness and woe, that he wist not what to do, nor how to set the pen to the book to satisfy the bishop's mind, unless he did accuse men to the wounding of his own soul. And thus, being compassed about with nothing but sorrow and care, he cried out to God in his heart, falling down with weeping tears, and said,

"O most merciful Father of heaven! thou that knowest the secret doings of all men, have mercy upon thy poor prisoner who is destitute of all help and comfort. Assist me, O Lord, with thy special grace, that, to save this frail and vile body, which shall turn to corruption at its time, I may have no power to say or to write any thing that may be to the casting away of my Christian brother; but rather, O Lord, let this vile flesh suffer at thy will and pleasure. Grant this, O most merciful Father, for thy dear Son Jesus Christ's sake."

Then he rose up and began to search his conscience what he might write, and at last framed out these words:

"Whereas your Lordship will have me to write such things as I know of my fellows at home, pleaseth it your Lordship to understand, that I cannot call to remembrance any manner of thing whereby I might justly accuse any one of them, unless it be that the reading of the New Testament, which is common to all men, be an offence: more than this I know not."

Now the gentleman, about his hour appointed, came again, and found Marbeck walking up and down the chamber. "How now," quoth he, "hast thou written nothing?" "Yes, sir;" quoth he, "as much as I know." "Well said," quoth the gentleman; and took up the paper: which, when he had read, he cast it from him in a great fume, swearing by our Lord's body, that he would not for twenty pounds carry it to his lord and master. "Therefore," quoth he, "go to it again, and advise thyself better, or else thou wilt set my Lord against thee, and then art thou utterly undone." "By my troth, sir," quoth Marbeck, "if his Lordship shall keep me here these seven years, I can say no more than I have said." "Then wilt thou repent it," quoth the gentleman: and so putting up his penner and ink-horn, he departed with the paper in his hand.

The third examination of Marbeck before the bishop of Winchester himself, in his own house.

The next day, which was Wednesday, by eight of the clock in the morning, the bishop sent for Marbeck to his house at St. Mary Overy's, and as he was entering into the bishop's hall,

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he saw the bishop himself coming out at a door in the upper end thereof, with a roll in his hand; and going toward the great window, he called the poor man unto him, and said, "Marbeck! wilt thou cast away thyself?" "No, my Lord," quoth he, "I trust." "Yes," quoth the bishop, "thou goest about it, for thou wilt utter nothing. What a devil made thee to meddle with the Scriptures? Thy vocation was another way, wherein thou hast a goodly gift, if thou didst esteem it." "Yes, my Lord," quoth he, "I do esteem it; and have done my part therein, according to that little knowledge that God hath given me." "And why the devil," quoth the bishop, "didst thou not hold thee there?" And with that he flung away from the window out of the hall, the poor man following him from place to place, till he had brought him into a long gallery, and being there, the bishop began on this wise: "Ah, sirrah," quoth he, "the nest of you is broken, I trow." And unfolding his roll, (which was about an ell long,) he said, "Behold, here be your captains, both Hobby and Haynes, with all the whole pack of thy sect about Windsor, and yet wilt thou utter none of them." "Alas, my Lord," quoth he, "how should I accuse them, of whom I know nothing?" "Well," quoth the bishop, "if thou wilt needs cast away thyself, who can let thee? What helpers hadst thou in setting forth thy book?" "Forsooth, my Lord," quoth he. "none." "None!" quoth the bishop; "how can that be? It is not possible that thou shouldst do it without help." "Truly, my Lord," quoth he, "I cannot tell in what part your Lordship doth take it, but, howsoever it be, I will not deny but I did it without the help of any man, save God alone." "Nay," quoth the bishop, "I do not discommend thy diligence, but why shouldst thou meddle with that thing which pertained not to thee?"

And in speaking of these words, one of his chaplains, called Master Meadow, came up, and stayed himself at a window, to whom the bishop said, "Here is a marvellous thing; this fellow hath taken upon him to set out the Concordance in English, which book, when it was set out in Latin, was not done without the help and diligence of a dozen learned men at least, and yet will he bear me in hand, that he hath done it alone. But say what thou wilt," quoth the bishop, "except God himself would come down from heaven and tell me so, I will not believe it." And so, going forth to a window where two great Bibles lay upon a cushion, the one in Latin, and the other in English, he called Marbeck unto him, and pointing his finger to a place in the Latin Bible, said, "Canst thou English this sentence?" "Nay, my Lord," quoth he, "I trow I be not so cunning to give it a perfect English, but I can fetch out the English thereof in the English Bible." "Let's see," quoth the bishop. Then Marbeck, turning the English Bible, found out the place by and by, and read it to the bishop. So he tried him three or four times, till one of his men came up, and told him the priest was ready to go to mass.

And as the bishop was going, said the gentleman who had examined Marbeck in the Marshalsea the day before, "Shall this fellow write nothing while your Lordship is at mass, for he passeth not for it?" "It maketh no matter," quoth the bishop, "for he will tell nothing;" and so went down to hear mass, leaving Marbeck alone in the gallery. The bishop was no sooner down, but the gentleman came up again with ink and paper. "Come, sirrah!" quoth he, "my Lord will have you occupied till mass be done:" persuading him with fair words, that he should be soon despatched out of trouble, if he would use truth and plainness. "Alas, sir!" quoth he, "what will my Lord have me to do? for more than I wrote to his Lordship yesterday, I cannot" "Well, well; go too," quoth the gentleman, "and make speed:" and so went his way. There was no remedy but Marbeck must now write something; wherefore he, calling to God again in his mind, wrote a few words, as nigh as he could frame them, to those he had written the day before. When the bishop

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was come from mass, and had looked on the writing, he pushed it from him, saying, "What shall this do? It hath neither head nor foot." "There is a marvellous sect of them," quoth the bishop to his men, "for the devil cannot make one of them to bewray another." Then was there nothing among the bishop's gentlemen, as they were making him ready to go to the court, but "crucifige" upon the poor man. And when the bishop's white rochet was on him, and all, "Well, Marbeck," quoth he, "I am now going to the court, and had purposed, if I had found thee tractable, to have spoken to the king's Majesty for thee, and to have given thee thy meat, drink, and lodging here in mine house; but, seeing thou art so wilful and so stubborn, thou shalt go to the devil for me."

Then was he carried down by the bishop's men, with many railing words. And, coming through the great chamber, there stood Dr. London, with two more of his fellows, waiting the bishop's coming, and passing by them into the hall, he was there received by his keeper, and carried to prison again. It was not half an hour after, ere that the bishop sent one of his gentleman to the under-keeper, called Stokes, commanding him to put irons upon Marbeck, and to keep him fast shut in a chamber alone; and when he should bring him down to dinner or supper, to see that he spake to no man, and no man to him. And furthermore, that he should suffer no manner of person (not his own wife) to come and see him, or minister any thing unto him. When the porter (who was the cruellest man that might be to all such as were laid in for any matter of religion, and yet, as God would, favourable to this poor man) had received this commandment from the bishop, he clapped irons upon him, and shut him up, giving warning to all the house, that no man should speak or talk to Marbeck, whensoever he was brought down: and so he continued the space of three weeks and more, till his wife was suffered to come unto him.

The suit of Marbeck's wife to the bishop of Winchester.

Marbeck's wife, at the time of her husband's apprehension, had a young child of a quarter old sucking upon her breast; and when her husband was taken from her, and had away to the council, not knowing what should become of him, she left the child and all, and gat her up to London; and hearing her husband to be in the Marshalsea, goeth thither. But when she came there, she could in no wise be suffered to see him, which greatly augmented her sorrow. Then, by counsel of friends, she gat her to the bishop of Winchester, for other help was there none to be had at that time,) making great suit to have his licence to go and see her husband, and to help him with such things as he lacked. "Nay," quoth the bishop, "thy husband is acquainted with all the heretics that be in the realm, both on this side the sea and beyond; and yet will he utter none of them." "Alas, my Lord!" quoth she, "my husband was never beyond the seas, nor any great traveller in the realm, to be so acquainted; therefore, my good Lord, let me go see him." But all her earnest suit from day to day would not help, but still he put her off, harping always upon this string, "Thy husband will utter nothing." At last, she, finding him in the court at St. James, going towards his chamber, was so bold as to take him by the rochet, and say, "Oh. my Lord, these eighteen days I have troubled your Lordship. Now, for the love of God, and as ever ye came of a woman, put me off no longer, but let me go to my husband." And as she was standing with the bishop and his men, in a blind corner going to his chamber, one of the king's servants, called Henry Carrike, and her next neighbour, chanced to be by; and, hearing the talk between the bishop and her, desired his Lordship to be good unto the poor woman, who had her own mother lying bedrid upon her hands, beside five or six children. "I promise you," quoth the bishop, "her husband is a great heretic, and hath read more Scripture than any man in the realm hath done." "I

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cannot tell, my Lord," quoth Carrike, "what he is inwardly, but outwardly he is as honest a quiet neighbour as ever I dwelt by." "He will tell nothing," quoth the bishop: "he knoweth a great sort of false harlots, and will not utter them." "Yes, my Lord," quoth Carrike, "he will tell, I dare say, for he is an honest man." "Well," quoth the bishop, (speaking to the wife,) "thou seemest to be an honest woman, and if thou love thy husband well, go to him, and give him good counsel, to utter such naughty fellows as he knoweth, and I promise thee he shall have what I can do for him; for I do fancy him well for his art, wherein he hath pleased me as well as any man:" and so, stepping into his chamber, said she should have his letter to the keeper. But his mind being changed, he sent out his ring by a gentleman, which gentleman delivered the ring to his man, charging him with the bishop's message. And so his man went with the woman to the water side, and took boat, who never rested railing on her husband all the way, till they came to the prison; which was no small cross unto the poor woman.

And when they were come to the Marshalsea, the messenger showed the bishop's ring to the porter, saying, "Master Stokes! my Lord willeth you by this token, that ye suffer this woman to have recourse to her husband; but he straitly chargeth you, that ye search her both coming and going, lest she bring or carry any letters to or fro, and that she bring nobody unto him, nor any word from any man." "God's blood!" quoth the porter, (who was a foul swearer,) "what will my Lord have me to do? can I let her to bring word from any man? Either let her go to her husband, or let her not go; for I see nothing by him but an honest man." The poor woman, fearing to be repulsed, spake the porter fair, saying, "Good master, be content, for I have found my Lord very good lord unto me. This young man is but the gentleman's servant who brought the ring from my Lord, and I think doth his message a great deal more straiter than my Lord commanded the gentleman, or than the gentleman his master commanded him: but, nevertheless, good master," quoth she, "I shall be contented to strip myself before you both coming and going, so far as any honest woman may do with honesty; for I intend no such thing, but only to comfort and help my husband." Then the messenger said no more, but went his way, leaving the woman there, who, from that time forth, was suffered to come and go at her pleasure.

The fourth examination of Marbeck, before the commissioners in the bishop of London's house.

About three weeks before Whitsunday was Marbeck sent for to the bishop of London's house, where sat in commission Dr. Capon, bishop of Salisbury, Dr. Skip, bishop of Hereford, Dr. Goodrick, bishop of Ely, Dr. Oking, Dr. May, and the bishop of London's scribe, having before them all Marbeck's books. Then said the bishop of Salisbury, "Marbeck! we are here in commission, sent from the king's Majesty, to examine thee of certain things whereof thou must be sworn to answer us faithfully and truly." "I am content, my Lord," quoth he, "to tell you the truth so far as I can:" and so took his oath. Then the bishop of Salisbury laid forth before him his three books of notes, demanding whose hand they were. He answered they were his own hand, and notes which he had gathered out of other men's works six years ago. "For what cause:" quoth the bishop of Salisbury, "didst thou gather them?" "For none other cause, my Lord, but to come by knowledge: for I, being unlearned, and desirous to understand some part of Scripture, thought, by reading of learned men's works, to come the sooner thereby. And where I found any place of Scripture opened and expounded by them, that I noted as ye see, with a letter of his name in the margin, that had set out the work." "So me think," quoth the bishop of Ely, (who had one of the books of notes in his hand all the time of their sitting,) "thou hast read of all sorts of books, both

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good and had, as seemeth by the notes." "So I have, my Lord," quoth he. "And to what purpose?" quoth the bishop of Salisbury. "By my truth," quoth he, "for no other purpose but to see every man's mind." Then the bishop of Salisbury drew out a quire of the Concordance, and laid it before the bishop of Hereford, who, looking upon it awhile, lifted up his eyes to Dr. Oking, standing next him, and said, "This man hath been better occupied than a great sort of our priests:" to the which Oking made no answer.

Then said the bishop of Salisbury, "Whose help hadst thou in setting forth this book?" "Truly, my Lord," quoth he, "no help at all." "How couldst thou," quoth the bishop, "invent such a book, or know what a Concordance meant, without an instructor?" "I will tell your Lordship," quoth he, "what instructor I had to begin it. When Thomas Matthew's Bible came first out in print, I was much desirous to have one of them; and being a poor man, not able to buy one of them, I determined with myself to borrow one amongst my friends, and to write it forth. And when I had written out the five books of Moses in fair great paper, and was entered into the book of Joshua, my friend Master Turner chanced to steal upon me unawares, and seeing me writing out the Bible, asked me what I meant thereby. And when I had told him the cause, 'Tush' quoth he, 'thou goest about a vain and tedious labour. But this were a profitable work for thee, to set out a Concordance in English.' 'A Concordance,' said I, 'what is that?' Then he told me it was a book to find out any word in the whole Bible by the letter, and that there was such a one in Latin already. Then I told him I had no learning to go about such a thing. 'Enough,' quoth he, 'for that matter, for it requireth not so much learning as diligence. And seeing thou art so painful a man, and one that cannot be unoccupied, it were a goodly exercise for thee.' And this, my Lord, is all the instruction that ever I had before or after, of any man." "What is that Turner?" quoth the bishop of Salisbury. "Marry," quoth Dr. May, "an honest learned man, and a bachelor of divinity, and some time a fellow in Magdalene College in Oxford." "How couldst thou," quoth the bishop of Salisbury, "with this instruction, bring it to this order and form, as it is?" "I borrowed a Latin Concordance," quoth he, "and began to practise my wit; and, at last, with great labour and diligence, brought it into this order, as your Lordship doth see." "A good wit with diligence," quoth the bishop of Hereford, "may bring hard things to pass." "It is great pity," quoth the bishop of Ely, "he had not the Latin tongue." "So it is," quoth Dr. May. "Yet cannot I believe," quoth the bishop of Salisbury, "that he hath done any more in this work, than write it out after some other that is learned."

My Lords," quoth Marbeck, "I shall beseech you all to pardon me what I shall say, and to grant my request if it shall seem good unto you." "Say what thou wilt," quoth the bishops. "I do marvel greatly wherefore I should be so much examined for this book, and whether I have committed any offence in doing of it or no? If I have, then were I loth any other to be molested or punished for my fault. Therefore, to clear all men in this matter, this is my request, that ye will try me in the rest of the book that is undone; ye see that I am yet but in the letter L; begin now at M, and take out what word ye will of that letter, and so in every letter following, and give me the words on a piece of paper, and set me in a place alone where it shall please you, with ink and paper, the English Bible, and the Latin Concordance: and if I bring you not these words written in the same order and form that the rest before is, then was it not I that did it, but some other."

"By my troth, Marbeck," quoth the bishop of Ely, "that is honestly spoken, and then shalt thou bring many out of suspicion." "That he shall," quoth they all. Then they bade Dr. Oking

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draw out such words as he thought best, in a piece of paper, and so rose up; and in the mean time fell into other familiar talk with Marbeck, (for the bishops of Ely and Hereford were both acquainted with him afore, and his friends, so far as they durst,) who, perceiving the bishops so pleasantly disposed, besought them to tell him in what danger he stood. "Shall I tell thee, Marbeck?" quoth the bishop of Sarum. "Thou art in better case than any of thy fellows, of whom there be some would give forty pounds to be in no worse case than thou art:" whose sayings the other affirmed. Then came Dr. Oking with the words he had written, and while the bishops were perusing them over, Dr. Oking said to Marbeck, very friendly, on this wise: "Good Master Marbeck, make haste, for the sooner ye have done, the sooner ye shall be delivered." And as the bishops were going away, the bishop of Hereford took Marbeck a little aside, and informed him of a word which Dr. Oking had written false, and also, to comfort him, said, "Fear not; there can no law condemn you for any thing that ye have done; for if ye had written a thousand heresies, so long as they be not your sayings nor your opinions, the law cannot hurt you." And so went they all with the bishop of Sarum to dinner, taking the poor man with them, who dined in the hall, at the steward's board; and besides that, had wine and meat sent down from the bishop's table.

When dinner was done, the bishop of Sarum came down into the hall, commanding ink and paper to be given to Marbeck, and the two books to one of his men to go with him; at whose going he demanded of the bishop, what time his Lordship would appoint him to do it in? "Against to-morrow this time;" quoth the bishop; which was about two of the clock, and so departed.

Marbeck, now being in his prison-chamber, fell to his business. and so applied the thing, that by the next day. when the bishop sent for him again, he had written so much, in the same order and form he had done the rest before, as contained three sheets of paper and more: which when he had delivered to the bishop of Sarum, Dr. Oking standing by, he marvelled and said. "Well, Marbeck, thou hast now put me out of all doubt. I assure thee," quoth he, putting up the paper into his bosom, "the king shall see this ere I be twenty-four hours older." But he dissembled every word, and thought nothing less than so; for afterwards, the matter being come to light, and known to his Grace, what a book the poor man had begun, which the bishops would not suffer him to finish, the king said he was better occupied than they that took it from him. So Marbeck departed from the bishop of Sarum to prison again, and heard no more of his book.

The fifth examination of Marbeck, before Dr. Oking, and Master Knight, secretary to the bishop of Winchester, in St. Mary Overy's church.

Upon Whitsunday following at afternoon, was Marbeck sent for once again to St. Mary Overy's, where he found Dr. Oking, with another gentleman in a gown of damask, with a chain of gold about his neck, (no more in all the church but they two,) sitting together in one of the stalls, their backs towards the church door, looking upon an epistle of Master John Calvin's, which Marbeck had written out; and when they saw the prisoner come, they rose and had him up to a side altar, leaving his keeper in the body of the church alone. Now, as soon as Marbeck saw the face of the gentleman, (whom before he knew not, by reason of his apparel,) he saw it was the same person that first examined him in the Marshalsea, and did also cause him to write in the bishop's gallery, but never knew his name till now he heard Dr. Oking call him Master Knight.

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This Master Knight held forth the paper to Marbeck, and said, "Look upon this, and tell me whose hand it is."

When Marbeck had taken the paper and seen what it was, he confessed it to be all his hand, saving the first leaf and the notes in the margin. "Then I perceive;" quoth Knight, "thou wilt not go from thine own hand." "No, sir," quoth he, "I will deny nothing that I have done." "Thou dost well in that," quoth Knight, "for if thou shouldst, we have testimonies enough besides, to try out thy hand by. But I pray thee tell me, whose hand is the first leaf?" "That I cannot tell you," quoth Marbeck. "Then how camest thou by it?" quoth Knight. "Forsooth I will tell you," quoth he. "There was a priest dwelling with us about five or six years ago, called Marshal, who sent it unto me with the first leaf written; desiring me to write it out with speed, because the copy could not be spared past an hour or twain: and so I wrote it out, and sent him both the copy and it again."

"And how came this hand in the margin," quoth he, "which is a contrary hand to both the others?" "That I will tell you," quoth Marbeck: "When I wrote it out at the first, I made so much haste of it, that I understood not the matter, wherefore I was desirous to see it again, and to read it with more deliberation; and being sent to me the second time, it was thus quoted in the margin, as ye see. And shortly after this, it was his chance to go beyond the seas, (where he lived not long,) by reason whereof the epistle remaineth with me; but whether the first leaf, or the notes in the margin, were his hand, or whose hand else, that I cannot tell." "Tush," quoth Dr. Oking to Master Knight, "he knoweth well enough that the notes be Haynes's own hand." "If you know so much," quoth Marbeck, "ye know more than I do; for I tell you truly, I know it not." "By my faith, Marbeck," quoth Knight, "if thou wilt not tell by fair means, those fingers of thine shall be made to tell." "By my troth, sir," quoth Marbeck, "if ye do tear the whole body in pieces, I trust in God, ye shall never make me accuse any man wrongfully." "If thou be so stubborn," quoth Dr. Oking, "thou wilt die for it." "Die, Master Oking!" quoth he, "wherefore should I die? You told me the last day, before the bishops, that as soon as I had made an end of the piece of Concordance they took from me, I should be delivered: and shall I now die? This is a sudden mutation. You seemed then to be my friend; but I know the cause: ye have read the ballet I made of Moses' chair, and that hath set you against me; but whensoever ye shall put me to death, I doubt not to die God's true man and the king's." "How so?" quoth Knight. "How canst thou die a true man unto the king, when thou hast offended his laws? Is not this epistle, and are not most of the notes thou hast written, directly against the six articles?" "No, sir," quoth Marbeck; "I have not offended the king's laws therein; for since the first time I began with the Concordance, (which is almost six yeas ago, I have been occupied in nothing else: so that both this epistle, and all the notes I have gathered, were written a great while before the six articles came forth, and are clearly remitted by the king's general pardon." "Trust not to that," quoth Knight, "for it will not help thee." "No, I warrant him," quoth Dr. Oking. And so going down to the body of the church, they committed him to his keeper, who had him away to prison again.

The suit of Filmer's wife, to the bishops who sat in commission, for her husband.

In like manner the wife of Filmer, knowing her husband's trouble to be only procured of malice by Simons, his old enemy, made great suit and labour unto the bishops who were commissioners, desiring no more of them, but that it would please their goodness to examine her

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husband before them, and to hear him make his purgation. This was her only request to every of the bishops from day to day, wheresoever she could find them; insomuch that two of the bishops (Ely and Hereford) were very sorry (considering the importunate and reasonable suit of the woman) that it lay not in them to help her. Thus, travelling long up and down from one to another, to have her husband examined, it was her chance at last to find the bishops all three together in the bishop of Ely's palace; unto whom she said, "O good my Lords! for the love of God, let now my poor husband be brought forth before you, while ye be here all together. For truly, my Lords, there can nothing be justly laid against him, but that of malicious envy and spite Simons hath wrought him this trouble. And you, my Lord of Salisbury," quoth the poor woman, "can testify (if it will please your Lordship to say the truth) what malice Simons bare to my husband, when they were both before you at Salisbury, little more than a year ago, for the vicar of Windsor's matter. For, as your Lordship knoweth, when my husband had certified you of the priest's sermon, which you said was plain heresy, then came Simons, (after the priest himself had confessed it,) and would have defended the priest's error before your Lordship, and have had my husband punished. At what time it pleased your Lordship to commend and praise my husband for his honesty, and to rebuke Simons for maintaining the priest in his error; and thereupon commanded the priest to recant his heresy, at his coming home to Windsor. This, my Lord, you know to be true. And now, my Lords," quoth the woman, "it is most certain, that for this cause only did Simons evermore afterwards threaten my husband to be even with him. Therefore, my good Lords, call my husband before you, and hear him speak; and if ye find any other matter against him than this that I have told you, let me suffer death." "Is this so, my Lord?" quoth the bishops of Ely and Hereford. And the other could not deny it. Then they spake Latin to the bishop of Salisbury, and he to them, and so departed. For the matter was so wrought between Dr. London and Simons, that Filmer could never be suffered to come before the commissioners to be examined.

The martyrdom of Peerson, Testwood, and Filmer; with the manner of their condemnations, and how they died.— Also the sparing of Marbeck, after he was sentenced to death.

When the time drew nigh that the king's Majesty (who was newly married to that good and virtuous Lady Katharine Parr) should make his progress abroad, the aforesaid Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, had so compassed his matters, that no man bare so great a swinge about the king as he did: wherewith the gospellers were so quailed, that the best of them all looked every hour to be clapped in the neck; for the saying went abroad, that the bishop had bent his bow to shoot at some of the head deer. But, in the mean time, three or four of the poor rascals were caught, that is to say, Anthony Peerson, Henry Filmer, and John Marbeck, and sent to Windsor by the sheriff's men the Saturday before St. James's day, and laid fast in the town jail: and Testwood, who had kept his bed, was brought out of his house upon crutches, and laid with them. But as for Bennet, which should have been the fifth man, his chance was to be sick of the pestilence, and having a great sore upon him, he was left behind in the bishop of London's jail, whereby he escaped the fire.

Now, these men being brought to Windsor, there was a sessions specially procured to be holden the Thursday after, which was St. Ann's day: against the which sessions (by the counsel of Dr. London and of Simons) were all the farmers, belonging to the college of Windsor, warned to appear; because they could not pick out papists enough in the town, to go upon the jury. The

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judges that day were these: Dr. Capon, bishop of Salisbury; Sir William Essex, knight; Sir Thomas Bridges, knight; Sir Humfrey Foster, knight; Master Franklen, dean of Windsor and Master Fachel of Reading.

When these had taken their places, and the prisoners were brought forth before them, then Robert Ockam, occupying for that day the room of the clerk of the peace, called Anthony Peerson, according to the manner of the court, and read his indictment, which was this:

"First, That he should preach two years before in a place called Wingfield, and there should say, that like as Christ was hanged between two thieves, even so, when the priest is at mass, and hath consecrated and lifted him up over his head, there he hangeth between two thieves, except he preach the word of God truly, as he hath taken upon him to do.

"Also, that he said to the people in the pulpit, 'Ye shall not eat the body of Christ as it did hang upon the cross gnawing it with your teeth, that the blood run about your lip': but you shall eat him this day as ye eat Him to-morrow, the next day, and every day: for it refresheth not the body, but the soul.'

"Also, after he had preached and commended the Scripture, calling it the word of God, he said as followeth: 'This is the word: this is the bread: this is the body of Christ.'

"Also he said that Christ, sitting with his disciples, took bread, and blessed, and brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, Take and eat; this is my body. 'What is this to us, but to take the Scripture of God, and to break it to the people?'"

To this Anthony answered and said, "I will be tried by God and his holy word, and by the true church of Christ, whether this be heresy or no, whereof ye have indicted me this day. So long as I preached the bishop of Rome, and his filthy traditions, I was never troubled; but since I have taken upon me to preach Christ and his gospel, ye have always sought my life. But it maketh no matter, for when you have taken your pleasure of my body, I trust it shall not lie in your powers to hurt my soul." "Thou callest us thieves," quoth the bishop. "I say," quoth Anthony, "ye are not only thieves, but murderers, except ye preach and teach the word of God purely and sincerely to the people; which ye do not, nor ever did; but have allured them to all idolatry, superstition, and hypocrisy, for your own lucre and glory's sake, through the which ye are become rather bite-sheeps than true bishops, biting and devouring the poor sheep of Christ, like ravening wolves, never satisfied with blood; which God will require at your hands one day, doubt it not." Then spake Simons his accuser, standing within the bar, saying, "It is pity this fellow had not been burned long ago, as he deserved." "In faith," quoth Anthony, "if you had as you have deserved, you were more worthy to stand in this place than I. But I trust, in the last day, when we shall both appear before the tribunal seat of Christ, that than it will be known which of us two hath best deserved this place." "Shall I have so long a day?" quoth Simons, holding up his finger: "Nay then, I care not: and so the matter was jested out.

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Robert Testwood.

Then was Testwood called, and his indictment read, which was, that he should say, in the time that the priest was lifting up the sacrament, "What, wilt thou lift him so high? what yet higher? Take heed; let him not fall."

To this Testwood answered, saying, it was but a thing maliciously forged of his enemies to bring him to his death. "Yes," quoth the bishop, "thou hast been seen that when the priest should lift up the sacrament over his head, then wouldst thou look down upon thy book or some other way, because thou wouldst not abide to look upon the blessed sacrament." "I beseech you, my Lord," quoth Testwood, "whereon did *he* look, that marked me so well?" "Marry," quoth Bucklayer, the king's attorney, "he could not be better occupied, than to mark such heretics, that so despised the blessed sacrament."

Henry Filmer.

Then was Filmer called, and his indictment read; that he should say that the sacrament of the altar is nothing else but a similitude and a ceremony; and also, if God be in the sacrament of the altar, I have eaten twenty Gods in my days.

Here you must understand, that these words were gathered of certain communication which should be between Filmer and his brother. The tale went thus:

This Henry Filmer, coming upon a Sunday from Clewer, his parish church, in the company of one or two of his neighbours, chanced, in the way, to meet his brother, (which was a very poor labouring man,) and asked him whither he went. "To the church," said he. "And what to do?" quoth Filmer. "To do," quoth he, "as other men do." "Nay," quoth Filmer, "you go to hear mass, and to see your God." "What if I do so?" quoth he. "If that be God should Filmer say, "I have eaten twenty Gods in my days. Turn again, fool, and go home with me, and I will read thee a chapter out of the Bible, that shall be better than all that thou shalt see or hear there."

This tale was no sooner brought to Dr. London, (by William Simons, Filmer's utter enemy,) but he sent for the poor man home to his house, where he cherished him with meat and money, telling him he should never lack, so long as he lived; that the silly poor man, thinking to have had a daily friend of Dr. London. was content to do and say whatsoever he and Simons would have him say or do against his own brother. And when Dr. London had thus won the poor man, he retained him as one of his household men until the court day was come, and then sent him up to witness this aforesaid tale against his brother. Which tale Filmer denied utterly, saying, that Dr. London, for a little meat and drink's sake, had set him on, and made him say what his pleasure was: "Wherefore, my Lord," quoth Filmer to the bishop, "I beseech your Lordship weigh the matter indifferently, forasmuch as there is no man in all this town, that can or will testify with him, that ever he heard any such talk between him and me; and if he can bring forth any that will witness the same with him, I refuse not to die." But say what he could, it would not prevail.

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Then Filmer, seeing no remedy but that his brother's accusation should take place, he said, "Ah, brother! what cause hast thou to show me this unkindness? I have always been a natural brother unto thee and thine, and helped you all, to my power, from time to time, as thou thyself knowest; and is this a brotherly part, thus to reward me now for my kindness? God forgive it thee, my brother, and give thee grace to repent." Then Filmer, looking over his shoulder, desired some good body to let him see the book of Statutes. His wife, being at the end of the hall, and hearing her husband call for the book of Statutes, ran down to the keeper, and brought up the book, and gave it conveyed to her husband.

The bishop, seeing the book in his hand, start him up from the bench in a great fume, demanding who had given the prisoner that book, commanded it to be taken from him, and to make search who had brought it, swearing by the faith of his body, he should go to prison. Some said it was his wife, some said the keeper. "Like enough, my Lord," quoth Simons, "for he is one of the same sort; and as worthy to be here as the rest, if he were rightly served." But howsoever it was, the truth would not be known, and so the bishop sat him down again.

Then said Filmer, "O my Lord! I am this day judged by a law, and why should I not see the law that I am judged by? The law is, I should have two lawful witnesses, and here is but one, who would not do as he doth, but that he is forced thereunto by the suggestion of mine enemies." "Nay," quoth Bucklayer, the king's attorney, "thine heresy is so heinous, and abhorreth thine own brother so much, that it forceth him to witness against thee, which is more than two other witnesses."

Thus, as you see, was Filmer brought unjustly to his death by the malice of Simons and Dr. London, who had enticed that wretched caitiff his brother, to be their minister to work his confusion. But God, who is a just revenger of all falsehood and wrongs, would not suffer that wretch long to live upon earth, but the next year following, he, being taken up for a labourer to go to Boulogne, had not been there three days, ere that (in exonerating of nature) a gun took him and tore him all to pieces. And so were these words of Solomon fulfilled. "A false witness shall not remain unpunished."

John Marbeck.

Then was Marbeck called, and his indictment read, which was, that he should say, that the holy mass, when the priest doth consecrate the body of our Lord, is polluted, deformed, sinful, and open robbery of the glory of God, from which a Christian heart ought both to abhor and flee. And the elevation of the sacrament is the similitude of setting up of images of the calves, in the temple builded by Jeroboam; and that it is more abomination, than the sacrifices done by the Jews in Jeroboam's temple to those calves. And that certain and sure it is, that Christ himself is made, in the mass, man's laughing-stock.

To this he answered and said, that these words whereof they had indicted him were not his, but the words of a learned man called John Calvin, drawn out of a certain epistle which the said Calvin had made, which epistle he had but only written out, and that, long before the six articles came forth; so that now he was discharged of that offence by the king's general pardon, desiring that he might enjoy the benefit thereof.

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Then were the jury called, which were all farmers belonging to the college of Windsor, whereof few or none had ever seen those men before, upon whose life and death they went. Wherefore the prisoners (counting the farmers as partial) desired to have the townsmen, or such as did know them, and had seen their daily conversations, in the place of the farmers, or else to be equally joined with them; but that would not be, for the matter was otherwise foreseen and determined.

Now, when the jury had taken their oath and all, Bucklayer, the king's attorney, began to speak; and first he alleged many reasons against Anthony Peerson, to prove him a heretic: which when Anthony would have disproved, the bishop said, "Let him alone, sir: he speaketh for the king." And so went Bucklayer forth with his matter, making every man's cause as heinous to the hearers as he could devise. And when he had done, and said what he would, then Sir Humfrey Foster spake to the quest, in favour of Marbeck, on this wise: "Masters!" quoth he, "ye see there is no man here that accuseth or layeth any thing to the charge of this poor man Marbeck, saving he hath written certain thing; of other men's sayings, with his own hand, whereof he is discharged by the king's general pardon: therefore ye ought to have a conscience therein." Then started up Fachel at the lower end of the bench, and said, "What can we tell, whether they were written before the pardon or after? They may as well be written since as afore, for any thing that we know." These words of Fachel (as every man said) were the cause of Marbeck's casting that day.

Then went the jury up to the chamber over the place where the judges sat, and in the mean time went all the knights and gentlemen abroad, saving the bishop, Sir William Essex and Fachel, which three sat still upon the bench till all was done. And when the jury had been together above, in the chamber, about the space of a quarter of an hour, up goeth Simons (of his own brain) unto them, and tarried there a pretty while, and came down again. After that came one of the jury down to the bishop, and talked with him and the other twain a good while, whereby many conjectured that the jury could not agree of Marbeck. But whether it was so or no, it was not long after his going up again, ere that they came down to give their verdict; and being required, according to the form of the law, to say their minds, one called Hide, dwelling beside Abingdon, in a lordship belonging to the college of Windsor, speaking as the mouth of the rest, said, they were all guilty.

Then the judges, beholding the prisoners a good while, (some with watery eyes,) made courtesy who should give judgment. Fachel, requiring the bishop to do it, he said, he might not. The others also, being required, said they would not. Then said Fachel, "It must be done; one must do it; and if no man will, then will I." And so Fachel, being lowest of all the bench, gave judgment. Then Marbeck, being the last upon whom sentence was given, cried unto the bishop, saying, "Ah! my Lord, you told me otherwise when I was before you and the other two bishops. You said then, that I was in better case than any of my fellows, and is your saying come to this? Ah! my Lord, you have deceived me." Then the bishop, casting up his hand, said, "he could not do withal."

Now the prisoners, being condemned and had away, prepared themselves to die on the morrow; comforting one another in the death and passion of their Master, Christ, who had led the way before them, trusting that the same Lord, who had made them worthy to suffer so far for his

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sake, would not now withdraw his strength from them, but give them steadfast faith and power to overcome those fiery torments, and of his free mercy and goodness, (without their deserts,) for his promise' sake, receive their souls. Thus lay they all the night long, (till very dead sleep took them,) calling to God for his aid and strength, and praying for their persecutors, who, of blind zeal and ignorance, had done they wist not what, that God, of his merciful goodness, would forgive them, and turn their hearts to the love and knowledge of his blessed and holy word: yea, such heavenly talk was amongst them that night, that the hearers, watching the prison without, whereof the sheriff himself was one, with divers gentlemen more, were constrained to shed out plenty of tears, as they themselves confessed.

On the next morrow, which was Friday, as the prisoners were all preparing themselves to go to suffer, word was brought them that they should not die that day. The cause was this: the bishop of Sarum, and they among them, had sent a letter by one of the sheriff's gentlemen, called Master Frost, to the bishop of Winchester (the court being then at Okeham) in favour of Marbeck; at the sight of which letter, the bishop straightway went to the king, and obtained his pardon; which being granted, he caused a warrant to be made out of hand for the sheriff's discharge, delivering the same to the messenger, who, with speed, returned with great joy, (for the love he bare to the party,) bringing good news to the town, of Marbeck's pardon; whereat many rejoiced.

Of this pardon were divers conjectures made. Some said, it was by the suit of the good sheriff Sir William Barrington, and Sir Humfrey Foster, with other gentlemen more that favoured Marbeck, to the bishop of Sarum and the other commissioners, that the letter was sent.

Some said again, that it came of the bishop of Sarum and Fachel's first motion, being pricked in conscience for that they had so slenderly cast him away. Other again thought that it was a policy purposed afore, by the bishop of Winchester, of Sarum, and of Dr. London, because they should seem to be merciful. This conjecture rose upon this occasion: There was one Sadock, dwelling in the town, who was great with Dr. London and Simons; and he should say, four days before the sessions began, that the prisoners should be all cast and condemned, but Marbeck should have his pardon.

Others there were, that thought the aforesaid bishops, with Dr. London, had done it for this purpose; that he now, having his life, would rather utter such men as they would have him to do, than to come in like danger again; which conjecture rose upon this: Simons, meeting with Marbeck's wife, said thus unto her: "Your husband may thank God and good friends: my Lord of Winchester is good lord to him, who hath got his pardon. But shall I tell you?" quoth he: "his pardon will be to none effect, except he tell the truth of things to my Lord, and other of the council, when he shall be demanded; for unto that purpose only is he reserved." "Alas, sir," quoth she, "what can he tell?" "Well, woman," quoth Simons, "I tell thee plain; if he do not so, never look to have thy husband out of prison;" and so departed from her.

The like meaning did Master Arch make to Marbeck himself, on the Saturday in the morning that the moo should be burned, when he came to confess them. I have nothing," quoth he, "to say unto you, Marbeck. at this time; but hereafter you must be content to do as shall be enjoined you:" meaning, he should be forced to do some unlawful thing, or else to lie in perpetual

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prison. And this was most likely to have been attempted, if they had proceeded in their purpose; whose intent was to have gone through the whole realm, in like sort as they had begun at Windsor, as the bishop of Sarum confessed openly, and said, that "he trusted, ere Christmas day following, to visit and cleanse a good part thereof." But most commonly God sendeth a shrewd cow short horns, or else many a thousand in England had smarted.

On Saturday in the morning that the prisoners should go to execution, came in to the prison two of the canons of the college, the one called Dr. Blithe, and the other Master Arch, which two were sent to be their confessors: Master Arch asked them, if they would be confessed; and they said, "Yea." Then he demanded if they would receive the sacrament: "Yea," said they, "with all our hearts." "I am glad," quoth Arch, "to hear you say so; but the law is," quoth he, "that it may not be ministered to any that are condemned of heresy. But it is enough for you that ye do desire it." And so he had them up to the hall to hear their confessions, because the prison was full of people. Dr. Blithe took Anthony Peerson to him to confess, and Master Arch the other two. But howsoever the matter went between the doctor and Anthony, he tarried not long with him, but came down again, saying, "he would no more of his doctrine." "Do you call him Dr. Blithe?" quoth Anthony. "He may be called Dr. Blind for his learning, as far as I see." And soon after the other two came down also. Then Anthony, seeing much people in the prison, began to say the Lord's Prayer, whereof he made a marvellous godly declaration, wherein he continued till the officer came to fetch them away, and so made an end. And taking their leave of Marbeck, (their prison-fellow,) they praised God for his deliverance, wishing to him the increase of godliness and virtue; and, last of all, besought him heartily to help them with his prayer unto God, to make them strong in their affliction: and so, kissing him one after another, they departed.

Now, as the prisoners passed through the people in the streets, they desired all the faithful people to pray for them, and to stand fast in the truth of the gospel, and not to be moved at their afflictions, for it was the happiest thing that ever came to them. And ever as Dr. Blithe and Arch (who rode on each side the prisoners) would persuade them to turn to their mother, holy church, "Away," would Anthony cry, "away with your Romish doctrine, and all your trumpery, for we will no more of it!

When Filmer was come to his brother's door, he stayed and called for his brother; but he could not be seen, for Dr. London had kept him out of sight that same day, for the nonce.

And when he had called for him three or four times, and saw he came not, he said, "And will he not come? Then God forgive him and make him a good man." And so going forth they came to the place of execution, where Anthony Peerson, with a cheerful countenance, embraced the post in his arms, and kissing it, said, "Now welcome mine own sweet wife! for this day shall thou and I be married together in the love and peace of God."

And being all three bound to the post, a certain young man of Filmer's acquaintance brought him a pot of drink, asking if he would drink. "Yea," quoth Filmer, "I thank you. And now, my brother," quoth he, "I shall desire you, in the name of the living Lord, to stand fast in the truth of the gospel of Jesus Christ, which you have received." And so, taking the pot at his hand, he asked his brother Anthony, if he would drink. "Yea, brother Filmer, quoth he, "I pledge you in the Lord."



Filmer, Peerson and Testwod burned at the stake

And when he had drunk, he gave the pot to Anthony, and Anthony likewise gave it to Testwood. Of this drinking, their adversaries made a jesting-stock, reporting abroad that they were all drunk, and wist not what they said; when they were none otherwise drunk than as the apostles were, when the people said they were full of new wine, as their deeds declared: for, when Anthony and Testwood had both drunk, and given the pot from them, Filmer, rejoicing in the Lord, said, "Be merry, my brethren, and lift up your hearts unto God; for after this sharp breakfast, I trust we shall have a good dinner in the kingdom of Christ, our Lord and Redeemer." At the which words Testwood, lifting up his hands and eyes to heaven, desired the Lord above to receive his spirit; and Anthony Peerson, pulling the straw unto him, laid a good deal thereof upon the top of his head, saying, "This is God's hat; now am I dressed like a true soldier of Christ, by whose merits only I trust this day to enter into his joy." And so yielded they up their souls to the Father of heaven, in the faith of his dear Son, Jesus Christ, with such humility and stedfastness, that many who saw their patient suffering, confessed that they could have found in their hearts (at that present) to have died with them.

How all their conspiracies were known.

Ye have heard before of one Robert Bennet, how he was at the first apprehended with the other four persons aforesaid, and committed to the bishop of London's prison; and about the time he should have gone to Windsor, he fell sick of the pestilence, by means whereof he remained still in prison.

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This Bennet and Simons (ye shall understand) were the greatest familiars and company keepers that were in all Windsor, and never lightly swerved the one from the other, saving in matters of religion, wherein they could never agree. For Bennet, the one lawyer, was an earnest gospeller, and Simons, the other lawyer, a cankered papist; but in all other worldly matters they cleaved together like burrs.

This Bennet had spoken certain words against their little round god, for which he was as far in as the best, and had suffered death with the others if he had gone to Windsor when they went. And now that the matter was all done and finished, it was determined by the bishop of Salisbury, that Robert Ockam, on the Monday after the men were burned, should go to the bishop of Winchester, with the whole process done at the sessions the Thursday before.

Then Simons, at Bennet's wife's request, procured the bishop of Salisbury's favourable letter to the bishop of Winchester, for Bennet's deliverance, which letter Bennet's wife (forasmuch as her own man was not at home who should have gone with the letter) desired Robert Ockam to deliver to the bishop, and to bring her word again; who said he would. So forth went Ockam toward the bishop of Winchester, with his budget full of writings, to declare and open all things unto him. that were done at Windsor sessions. But all their wicked intents, as God would have it, were soon cut off, and their doings disclosed. For one of the queen's men, named Fulk, who had lain at Windsor all the time of the business, and had got knowledge what a number were privily indicted, and of Ockam 's going to the bishop of Winchester, gat to the court before Ockam, and told Sir Thomas Cardine and others of the privy chamber, how all the matter stood. Whereupon Ockam was laid for, and had by the back as soon as he came to the court, and so kept from the bishop.

On the next morrow, very early, Bennet's wife sent her man to the court after Ockam, to see how he sped with her husband's letter. And when he came there, he found Sir Thomas Cardine, walking with Ockam up and down the green, before the court gate; whereat he marvelled, to see Ockam with him so early, mistrusting the matter: whereupon he kept himself out of sight till they had broken off their communication.

And as soon as he saw Master Cardine gone, (leaving Ockam behind,) he went to Ockam and asked him if he had delivered his master's letter to the bishop. "No," said Ockam, "the king removeth this day to Guildford, and I must go thither, and will deliver it there." "Marry," quoth he, "and I will go with you, to see what answer you shall have, and to carry word to my mistress;" and so they rode to Guildford together; where Bennet's man (being better acquainted in the town than Ockam was) got a lodging for them both in a kinsman's house of his.

That done, he asked Ockam, if he would go and deliver his mistress's letter to the bishop. "Nay," said Ockam, "you shall go and deliver it yourself:" and took him the letter. And as they were going in the street together, and coming by the earl of Bedford's lodging, (then lord privy seal,) Ockam was pulled in by the sleeve, and no more seen of Bennet's man, till he saw him in the Marshalsea. Then went Bennet's man to the bishop's lodging and delivered his letter: and when the bishop had read the contents thereof, he called for the man that brought it. "Come, sirrah!" quoth he, "you can tell me more by mouth than the letter specifieth;" and had him into a little garden. "Now," quoth the bishop, "what say you to me?" "Forsooth, my Lord," quoth he, "I

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have nothing to say unto your Lordship; for I did not bring the letter to the town." "No!" quoth the bishop, "where is he that brought it?" "Forsooth, my Lord," quoth he, "I left him busy at his lodging." "Then he will come," quoth the bishop, "bid him be with me betimes in the morning." "I will," quoth he, "do your Lordship's commandment:" and so he departed home to his lodging. And when his kinsfolks saw him come in, "Alas, cousin," quoth they, "we are all undone!" "Why so?" quoth he, "what is the matter?" "Oh!" said they, "here hath been, since you went, Master Paget the king's secretary, with Sir Thomas Cardine of the privy chamber, and searched all our house for one that should come to the town with Ockam; therefore make shift for yourself as soon as you can." "Is that all the matter?" quoth he, "then content yourselves, for I will never flee one foot, hap what hap will." As they were thus reasoning together, in came the aforesaid searchers again: and when Master Cardine saw Bennet's man, he knew him very well, and said, "Was it thou that came to the town with Ockam?" "Yea, sir," quoth he. "Now who the devil," quoth Master Cardine, "brought thee in company with that false knave?" Then he told them his business, and the cause of his coming; which being known. they were satisfied, and so departed. The next day had Bennet's man a discharge for his master, (procured by certain of the privy chamber,) and so went home.

Now was Ockam all this while at my Lord Privy Seal's, where he was kept secret, till certain of the privy council had perused all his writings; among which they found certain of the privy chamber indicted, with other the king's officers, with their wives; that is to say, Sir Thomas Cardine, Sir Philip Hobby, with both their ladies, Master Edmund Harman, Master Thomas Weldon, with Snowball and his wife. All these they had indicted by the force of the six articles, as aiders, helpers, and maintainers of Anthony Peerson. And besides them, they had indicted of heresy (some for one thing, and some for another) a great number more of the king's true and faithful subjects: whereof the king's Majesty being certified, his Grace, of his special goodness, (without the suit of any man,) gave to the aforesaid gentlemen of his privy chamber, and other his servants, with their wives, his gracious pardon. And as God would have the matter further known unto his Majesty. as he rode one day a-hunting in Guildford park, and saw the sheriff with Sir Humfrey Foster sitting on their horsebacks together, he called them unto him. and asked of them, how his laws were executed at Windsor. Then they, beseeching his Grace of pardon., told him plainly, that in all their lives they never sat on matter under his Grace's authority, that went so much against their consciences as the death of these men did; and up and told his Grace so pitiful a tale of the casting away of these poor men, that the king, turning his horse's head to depart from them, said, "Alas, poor innocents!"

After this the king withdrew his favour from the bishop of Winchester, and being more and more informed of the conspiracy of Dr. London and Simons, he commanded certain of his council to search out the ground thereof. Whereupon Dr. London and Simons were apprehended and brought before the council, and examined upon their oath of allegiance; and for denying their mischievous and traitorous purpose, which was manifestly proved to their faces, they were both perjured, and in fine adjudged, as perjured persons, to wear papers in Windsor; and Ockam to stand upon the pillory, in the town of Newbury where he was born.

The judgment of all these three was to ride about Windsor, Reading, and Newbury, with papers on their heads, and their faces turned to the horse-tails, and so to stand upon the pillory in every of these towns, for false accusation of the aforementioned martyrs, and for perjury.

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And thus much touching the persecution of these good saints of Windsor, according to the copy of their own acts, received and written by John Marbeck, who is yet alive both a present witness, and also was then a party of the said doings, and can testify the truth thereof.

An answer to the cavilling adversaries, touching John Marbeck.

Wherefore against these crooked cavillers, which make so much ado against my former book, because in a certain place I chanced to say that Bennet and Filmer had their pardon, (when indeed it was Bennet and Marbeck,) be it therefore known, protested, denounced, and notified, to all and singular such carpers, wranglers, exclaimers, depravers, with the whole brood of all such whisperers, railers, quarrel-pickers, corner-creepers, fault-finders, and spider-catchers, or by what name else soever they are to be tituled, that here I openly say and affirm, profess, hold, maintain, and write the same as I said and wrote before, in the latter castigations of my book: that is, that John Marbeck was, with the others, condemned, but not burned; cast by the law, but by pardon saved; appointed with the rest to die, and yet not dead; but liveth, God be praised, and yet to this present day singeth merrily, and playeth on the organs, not as a dead man amongst "Foxe's Martyrs," (as it hath pleased some in the court to encounter against me,) but as one witnessed and testified truly in the book of Foxe's Martyrs to be alive. And, therefore, such manner of persons, if the disposition of their nature be such that they must needs find faults, then let them find them where they are, and where those faults, by their finding, may be corrected. But whereas they be corrected already, and found to their hands, and also amended before, let then these legend-liars look on their own legends, and there cry out of lies, where they may find enough; and cease their biting there, where they have no just cause to bark.

And admit that I had not foreseen and corrected this escape before, touching the matter of John Marbeck, but that the place still had remained in the book as it was, (that is, that the said John Marbeck, who is yet alive, had then died and suffered with the other three, the same time at Windsor,) yet, what gentle or courteous reader could have therein any just matter to triumph and insult against me, seeing the judicial acts, the records and registers, yea, and the bishops certificate, and also the writ of execution remaining yet on record, sent to the king, did lead me so to say and think? For what man, writing histories, who cannot be in all places to see all things, but following his records and registers, wherein he seeth the said Marbeck to be judged and condemned with the rest, would otherwise write or think, but that he also was executed and burned in the same company.

But now I correct and reform the same again, and first of all others. I find the fault, and yet I am found fault withal. I correct myself. and yet I am corrected of others. I warn the reader of the truth, and yet am a liar. The book itself sheweth the escape, and biddeth, instead of four, to read three burned; and yet is the book made a legend of lies!

Briefly, where I prevent all occasion of cavilling to the uttermost of my diligence, yet cannot I have that law, which all other books have, that is, to recognise and reform mine own *errata*.

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Wherefore, to conclude: these men, whosoever they are. it' they will be satisfied, I have said enough; if they will not, whatsoever I can say, it will not serve; and so I leave them. I would I could better satisfy them. God himself amend them!

206. Persecution in Calais.

The persecution in Calais. with the martyrdom of George Bucker, otherwise called Adam Damlip, and others.

At what time John Marbeck was in the Marshalsea, which was about the year of our Lord 1543, there was in the said prison with him one George Bucker, named otherwise Adam Damlip, who, having continued in the said prison three or four years, at the last, by the commandment of Winchester, was had to Calais by John Massy, the keeper of the Marshalsea, and there hanged, drawn, and quartered for treason pretended, which was a little before the condemnation of the Windsor men aforesaid, as is, by the letters of the said John Marbeck, to me signified.

Touching which story of Adam Damlip, forasmuch as it includeth matter of much trouble and persecution that happened in Calais, to digest therefore, and comprise the whole narration thereof in order, first I will enter (the Lord willing) the story of Damlip, and so proceed in order to such as, by the said occasion, were afflicted and persecuted in the town of Calais.

PERSONS PERSECUTED IN THE TOWN OF CALAIS:— George Bucker, or else called Adam Damlip; a poor labouring man; W. Stevens; Thomas Lancaster; John Butler, commissary; William Smith, priest; Thomas Brook; Ralph Hare; Jacob, a surgeon; a Fleming; Clement Philpot, servant; Jeffery Loveday; Dodde; Sir Edmund, priest; William Touched, postmaster; Peter Becket; Anthony Pickering, gentleman; Henry Tourney, gentleman; George Darby, priest; John Shepard; William Pellam; William Keverdal; John Whitwood; John Boole; Ho. Cloddet; Coppen de Hane, alias James Cocke; Matthew Hound; William Button, crossbow-maker.

PERSECUTORS:— John Dove, prior of the Grey Friars in Calais; Sir Gregory Button, priest; Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester; Dr. Sampson, bishop of Chichester; Dr. Clerke, bishop of Bath; Dr. Repse, bishop of Norwich; Harvey, commissary in Calais; Lady Honor, wife to Lord Lisle, deputy of Calais; Sir Thomas Palmer, knight; John Rookwood, esquire; Richard Long, soldier of Calais; Francis Hastings, a soldier; Edmund Payton, Robert Poole, and Thomas Boyse; Hugh Counsel, a servant; Sir Ralph Ellerker, knight; Sir John Gage.

In the year of our Lord 1539, the Lord Cromwell being yet alive, there came to Calais one George Bucker, alias Adam Damlip, who had been, in time past, a great papist and chaplain to Fisher, bishop of Rochester: and, after the death of the bishop his master, had travelled through France, Dutchland, and Italy; and, as he went, conferred with learned men concerning matters of controversy in religion, and so proceeding in his journey to Rome, where he thought to have found all godliness and sincere religion, in the end he found there (as he confessed) such blasphemy of God, contempt of Christ's true religion, looseness of life, and abundance of all abominations and filthiness, that it abhorred his heart and conscience any longer there to remain; although he was greatly requested by Cardinal Pole, there to continue, and to read three lectures in the week in his house, for the which he offered him great entertainment, which he refused; and so, returning homeward, having a piece of money given him of the cardinal at his departure, to the value of a French crown, towards his charges, came to Calais, as is aforesaid. Who, as he was there waiting, without the gate, for passage into England, and being there perceived by certain

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Calais men, namely, William Stevens and Thomas Lancaster, through conference of talk, to be a learned man, and also well affected; and moreover how that he, being of late a zealous papist, was now returned to a more perfect knowledge of true religion: was by them heartily entreated to stay at Calais a certain space, and to read and preach there a day or two, therewith to do the people to understand what he had found by his painful travelling to Rome; whereby they, who, through gross ignorance and vain superstition, had not altogether put out of their hearts that antichrist of Rome, that ancient enemy of God and all godly religion, the pope, might the rather detest and abhor his filthy false doctrine, whereof this godly and learned man was a seeing witness. To this request Adam gladly consented, so as he might be licensed by such as were in authority so to do.

Whereupon the said Stephens, at the opening of the gates, brought him unto the Lord Lisle, the king's deputy of the town and marches of Calais, unto whom he declared thoroughly what conference and talk had been between Adam Damlip and him. Which known, the said lord deputy instantly desired the said Damlip to stay there, and to preach three or four days or more at his pleasure, saying, that he should have both his licence and the commissary's also, which then was Sir John Butler, so to do. Where, after he had preached three or four times, he was so well liked, both for his learning, his utterance, and the truth of his doctrine, that not only the soldiers and commoners, but also the lord deputy, and a great part of the council, gave him marvellous great praise and thanks for it; and the said lord deputy offered unto him a chamber in his own house, to dine and sup every meal at his own mess, to have a man or two of his to wait upon him, and to have whatsoever it were that he lacked, if it were to be had for money, yea, and what he would in his purse to buy books or otherwise, so as he would tarry there among them, and preach only so long as it should seem good to himself. Who, refusing his Lordship's great offer, most heartily thanked him for the same, and besought him to be only so good unto him as to appoint him some quiet and honest place in the town, where he might not be disturbed or molested, but have opportunity to give himself to his book, and would daily, once in the forenoon, and again by one o'clock in the afternoon, by the grace of God, preach among them, according unto the talent that God had lent him. At which answer the lord deputy greatly rejoiced, and thereupon sent for the aforesaid William Stevens, whom he earnestly required to receive and lodge the said Damlip in his house, promising, whatsoever he should demand, to see it paid with the most: and, moreover, would send every meal, from his own mess, a dish of the best unto them; and indeed so did, albeit the said Damlip refused that offer, showing his Lordship that thin diet was most convenient for students. Yet could not that restrain him, but that every meal he sent it.

This godly man, by the space of twenty days or more, once every day, at seven of the clock, preached very godly, learnedly, and plainly, the truth of the blessed sacrament of Christ's body and blood, mightily inveighing against all papistry, and confuting the same; but especially those two most pernicious errors or heresies, touching transubstantiation, and the pestilent propitiatory sacrifice of the Romish mass, by true conference of the Scriptures, and applying of the ancient doctors; earnestly therewith oftentimes exhorting the people to return from their popery; declaring how popish he himself had been, and how, by the detestable wickedness that he did see universally in Rome, he was returned so far homeward, and now became an enemy, through God's grace, to all papistry: showing therewith, that if gain or ambition could have moved him to the contrary, he might have been entertained of Cardinal Pole (as you have heard

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before); but, for very conscience' sake, joined with true knowledge, grounded on God's most holy word, he now utterly abhorred all papistry, and willed them most earnestly to do the same.

And thus he continued awhile reading in the chapter-house of the White Friars; but, the place being not big enough, he was desired to read in the pulpit: and so, proceeding in his lectures, (wherein he declared how the world was deceived by the Roman bishops, who had set forth the damnable doctrine of transubstantiation, and the real presence in the sacrament, as is aforesaid,) he came, at length, to speak against the pageant or picture set forth of the resurrection, which was in St. Nicholas's church, declaring the same to be but mere idolatry, and an illusion of the Frenchmen before Calais was English.

Upon which sermon or lecture, there came a commission from the king to the lord deputy, Master Greenfield, Sir John Butler, commissary, the king's mason, and Smith, with others, that they should search whether there were (as was put in writing, and under bull and pardon) three hosts lying upon a marble stone besprinkled with blood; and if they that ever he came into the prison of the Tower, where he first felt the sweetness of God's great mercy towards him, and the certainty of his salvation, through faith in Christ, promised in his holy word; the knowledge whereof he had attained unto by the reading of God's holy word, the English Bible, which, all his life before, he disdained to look upon: for whose godly end many men much rejoiced, and gave God hearty thanks for the same.

This Smith continued in the diligent bestowing of his talent there, till, shortly after, the devil got such hold in the hearts of a number of God's enemies, that he, with divers other godly men, was called over into England, and charred with erroneous opinions worthy of great punishment, as hereafter more at large shall appear.

And forasmuch as we have entered into the story of Calais. and matters which were done in that town, it cometh to remembrance of one Thomas Brook, an alderman of that town, and burgess of the parliament before mentioned, wherein was concluded, the next year after this, A. D. 1540, the Act of Six Articles, as is before said.

After this bill of the six articles had passed the higher house, and was brought to the burgesses of the lower house, the Lord Cromwell gave intelligence, not only that it was the king's Majesty's determinate pleasure to have the bill to pass in sort as it had come down from the Lords, but, also, that if any man should stand against it earnestly, the same should put himself in great danger of his life.

Notwithstanding, this Thomas Brook, with great danger and peril of his life, did repugn and refute the said bill, with divers reasons and good ground of Scripture: insomuch that a message came down, by Sir N. Pollard, from the Lord Cromwell to the said Brook, willing him, as he loved his life, not to speak against the said bill. Notwithstanding, Brook proceeding in his enterprise, the Lord Cromwell meeting him the next time after that, called him unto him, and said, that he never knew man play so desperate a part as to speak against that bill, unless he made a reckoning to be either hanged or burned: "but God," said he, "hath mightily preserved thee; whereof I am glad."

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This fear caused men, much against their consciences, (such is man's frailty,) to establish that act: but yet not in such sort as the bill came down from the Lords. For whereas before, by that first bill sent down, it was only felony for a priest to have, or to take unto him, a wife of his own, (though St. Paul say that marriage is honourable among all men. and willeth that every man, for the avoiding of fornication, should have his own wife; and, rendering as it were a cause thereof, affirmeth, that it is better to marry than to burn,) but no punishment at all was appointed for such shameless whoremongers, incontinent priests, as, contemning holy matrimony, abused themselves both with women married and unmarried: now, upon the said Brook's urging that unless men had better opinion of whoredom than of holy matrimony, (called of St. Paul a bed undefiled,) it was of necessity to be granted, that at least the incontinent life of priests unmarried, should, by that act, have like pain and punishment as those priests, who, not having the gift of continency, therefore entered into the holy yoke of matrimony. Whereupon the greater part of the house so fully agreed to the equal punishment, that unless it had been made felony as well for the one as the other, that act had never passed the house; and, therefore, equal punishment was assigned for either of those deeds in that session, though in the next session or parliament after, there was mitigation or qualification of the punishment for the horrible whoredom of priests; the marriage of priests standing still under the danger and punishment limited in the statute afore.

The said Brook further spoke to this effect:

He required to be certified of them that were learned, how it might be proved by the Scriptures, that God at all commanded laymen to receive the sacrament of his blessed body and blood in one kind, (to wit, in material bread,) to do it in remembrance of him who shed his blood for the remission of their sins, and to show the Lord's death until his coming: if it be so, that in giving this commandment, *Bibite ex hoc omnes*, Drink ye all of this, no layman at all be included, but, contrariwise, this other kind of sacrament, to wit, the cup, or the material wine, be by God forbidden them: "For," said he, "if in that universal proposition, Drink ye all of this, be included every one of that number unto whom Christ, when he took bread in his hand, and gave thanks unto his heavenly Father, did give this commandment, saying, Take ye, eat ye; this is my body; do ye this in remembrance of me: then needs must our clergy grant unto us who be laymen, that either it is lawful for us also, with the priests, to receive the sacrament in both the kinds, (that is to wit, both in bread and the cup or wine,) or else, that we silly laymen are not commanded to receive the sacrament at all; and, consequently, neither thereby to remember him to be our merciful Saviour, who hath died for remission of our sins, nor to show his death until he come, whereby he declared his most tender love towards us." Wherefore, if it might not be granted that it was lawful to receive the blessed sacrament in both kinds, he required some authority of Scripture to be brought for the same; alleging further, that albeit, through gross ignorance, contempt of God's holy word, and the insatiable ambition and covetousness of such men as made merchandise of men's souls, (affirming in effect that Christ died in vain,) that gross and foolish error of transubstantiation hath within this four or five hundred year crept in, and, as a festered canker, now spread itself abroad in all those places where the bishop of Rome hath established his usurped authority: "yet," said Brook, "even unto this day, in all the Greek church that blind error and foolish opinion of transubstantiation hath never been received, and St. Paul himself calleth it bread, after those words which they call the consecration, five times in one chapter: neither hath man," said he, "I think, ever heretofore presumed to affirm, that the bread, after the consecration, should be both the body and blood, and the wine both the blood and body,

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in such sort as either of those kinds divided unto many parts, should, in every of those parts, contain the whole natural body and blood of our Saviour Jesu Christ, as this present act affirmeth. Therefore, before this act do pass, such doubts are to be resolved, whereby many afterwards might incur danger of life, for lack of the plain explication of our meaning of them; as for example: Where this act affirmeth that the wine, after the consecration, is Christ's natural blood and body both, how would our clergy, that the silly unlearned layman should answer, if it were asked him, (as it is like enough to be,) what he believes to be in the chalice, when the priest holds it over his head. For they make an infusion, you know, of water, and that before the consecration; so that there is a mixture of the water and wine. Whether now shall we affirm the thing which before was water, is now by the commixion of the wine, turned with the wine into both the natural blood and body of Christ: or else, will it content them that it be answered thus, That the water remaineth water still?

"Divers such doubts might be put, but, to come to an end: If this bill must needs pass as an act, I most heartily wish that first such places of the Scripture, and allegations of holy fathers, as the bishops and others, the learned of this realm, do recite in confirmation of this doctrine, those they would vouchsafe to communicate unto this house, to the intent that men who be yet of contrary minds, being overcome by their true conference of the Scriptures, and by strength of arguments, might, without grudge of conscience, agree unto that, which, while they be otherwise minded, they cannot without sin grant unto. And finally, whereas by this act we greatly differ from many Christian realms and provinces, all which profess Christ's true religion, and, nevertheless, set not forth these laws at all, (much less with such pains of death,) I heartily beseech God, it may please the king's Majesty, that this whole act, with the conferences of Scriptures, allegation of doctors, and forms of arguments, which our clergy and others, the furtherers of this act, have brought in and affirmed for the establishing of it now for a law, may be truly translated into the Latin tongue; to this intent, that other nations likewise, professing Christ's religion, seeing by those authorities what hath moved this realm to pass this act, either being overcome with our truth, thus lately found out, may be procured to receive the like doctrine, for that they see it sufficiently proved to be sincere and true; or else, seeing us by ignorance to be in error, by refelling or refuting the same as erroneous, may not only reduce us to the truth again, but, also, have cause to judge of this realm, that this act passed not through trust in men's own wits only, without respect had to the Holy Scriptures of God, but, as men that had ignorantly fallen, and not obstinately contemned the Scriptures. So will it come to pass, that, if this act be good, the goodness thereof shall be the more common, and, if it be otherwise, it shall do the less hurt, yea, and continue the less while, when other men, not in thralldom, or fear of this law, shall freely, and out of good conscience, write and show, what opinion they have of it."

Unto these words of the said Brook, no man took upon him to make any direct answer, but yet, first, one Master Hall, a gentleman of Gray's Inn, in acknowledging that he was not able to refel the objections made against the bill, for that he lacked learning thereunto, said as followeth:

"That he would only speak his conscience touching the passing of that bill, which be grounded (he said) upon this: that he had read in chronicles, that some one prince of this realm had, by laws, commanded auricular confession to be used through all his provinces and dominions; another prince, the keeping of this holy day or that. And, to be short, in chronicles

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may be found," said he, "that the most part of ceremonies now used in the church of England, were by princes either first invented, or at leastwise established; and, as we see, the same do, till this day, continue. Whereas, if the subjects receiving the same ceremonies and rites of the church at their princes' order and commandment, had been against God's law, or the princes' commandment to the subjects had not been a sufficient discharge in their consciences before God, for the observing of them, I cannot think but the learned clergy in those days, (for in all ages some of the clergy were well learned,) would have stood therein, and proved to their princes, that it was not lawful to command such things.

"Wherefore, and forasmuch as far the greater part of us laymen are unlearned in the Scriptures and ancient doctors, methinketh it is the bounden duty of us that be subjects, to be obedient and ready to observe all such things touching our religion, according as our prince or sovereign for the time being, specially, with the consent of the bishops and the rest of the clergy, shall, at any time, please to set forth to be observed or believed; which his said commandment, with the clergy's consent, I verily believe shall be a sufficient discharge for us, his loving subjects, before the face of God," said he; "for it is written, Obey your king. Nevertheless, I like right well (so as it stood with the king's Majesty's pleasure) the request that the gentleman made that spake last before, for the quieting of many men's consciences that is, that the learned of this house might see the conferences of Scriptures, and the allegations of the ancient fathers, which the bishops, and the other learned of the clergy, bring in, for the passing of this act, or at leastwise, if that cannot be obtained, that yet this act, with all their allegations, might be printed in the Latin tongue, whereby other nations might see upon what ground we proceed. But, touching mine own conscience, I am sufficiently persuaded, whereupon I have showed such simple reasons as you have heard."

His words ended, Sir William Kingston, knight, comptroller of the king's house, much offended with the said Brook's word stood up and said: "Gentlemen! you there, that spoke last save one, I know not your name, nor indeed am able to dispute with you: but, instead of an argument, I will say thus much unto you: Tell this tale the twelfth day of July next, and I will bring a faggot to help to burn you withal" (on which twelfth day of July, that bloody act should take place). This his eloquent oration ended, he sat him down again, not without that he offended in a manner the whole house, and caused them to say, "It was very unseemly, that a gentleman of the house should so ungodly be used, where it was equally lawful for every man reverently to speak plainly his mind: besides that nothing was spoken by him but the same was reverently uttered, rather to try learning and truth of doctrine, than any wise in contempt or displeasure against the bill." Whereupon the speaker, verifying as much, desired the said Sir William Kingston not to be offended, for that he, Sir William, had done contrary to the order of the House, rather than the other.

But leaving the parliament at Westminster, I will leap to Calais, where the Lord Lisle, the king's deputy there, whom we showed to be the maintainer of Damlip, (albeit he were himself of a most gentle nature, and of a right noble blood, the base son of that noble prince King Edward the Fourth,) being fiercely set on, and incessantly enticed, by the wicked Lady Honor his wife, who was an utter enemy to God's honour, and, in idolatry, hypocrisy, and pride, incomparably evil, she being daily and hourly thereunto incited and provoked by Sir Thomas Palmer, knight, and John Rookwood, esquire, two enemies to God's word, beginning now to flourish at Calais.

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These, I say, with certain other of the council of the said town of Calais, to the number of seven more besides themselves, seeking occasion, or rather a quarrel where no just cause was given, began to write very heinous letters and grievous complaints unto the lords of the privy council, against divers of the town of Calais, affirming that they were horribly infected with heresies and pernicious opinions; as first, the aforesaid Adam Damlip, who, though he were for a time escaped their hands, yet stuck still in their remembrance from time to time, until, at last, the innocent man was cruelly put to death as a traitor, as hereafter shall appear.

Also, besides this Damlip, they complained of Thomas Brook, and Ralph Hare; likewise of Sir John Butler, then commissary; of Sir W. Smith, James Cocke, alias Coppen de Hane, James Barber, and others; and the names of all them they sent over. Of the which persons, first the said Thomas Brook, and Ralph Hare, Coppen de Hane, and James Barber, were apprehended and sent over, and committed to prison in Westminster Gate, and then commanded to appear before the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Winchester, the bishop of Chichester, and ten other appointed by the king's Majesty's commission for the examination of them. And their accusers were sent over with letters from the council there, unto his privy council here, in the furtherance of their malicious suits against those honest men, with certain special letters directed unto the Lord Fitzwilliam, then earl of Southampton, great admiral of England, and to the Lord Sands, lord chamberlain of the household; likewise also to Sir William Kingston, knight, comptroller of the household, and to Dr. Sampson, then bishop of Chichester and others; tending all to one effect, that is to say, the utter destruction of these godly men, if God, after his wonted manner, bad not mightily preserved them, and as it were overshadowed them with the wings of his mercy.

That the same may the better appear, you shall understand, that first Ralph Hare, a man rude, and so unlearned that he could scarce read, yet, through God's grace, was very zealous; and therewith led so godly and temperate a life, as not one of his enemies could accuse or blame the same his sober life and conversation. This Ralph Hare was charged to be one that had spoken against auricular confession, against holy bread and holy water: yea, and beside that, he was one which would not lightly swear an oath, nor use almost any manner of pastime, nor good fellowship, as they term it, but was always in a corner by himself, looking on his book. This poor simple man, being charged by the commissioners that he was a naughty man and erroneous, and that he could not be otherwise, (coming out of a town so infected with pernicious errors and sects, as that was,) was willed by them to take good heed to himself, lest, through obstinacy, he turned his erroneous opinions into plain heresy: for an error defended is heresy.

"My good Lords," said the poor man, "I take God to record, I would not willingly maintain any error or heresy. Wherefore, I beseech you, let my accusers come face to face before me: for, if they charge me with that which I have spoken, I will never deny it. Moreover, if it be truth, I will stand unto it: and otherwise, if it be an error, I will, with all my heart, utterly forsake it: I mean, if it be against Gods holy word. For the Lord is my witness, I seek and daily pray to God, that I may know the truth, and flee from all errors; and I trust the Lord will save me and preserve me from then."

"Aha!" quoth the bishop of Winchester, "do you not hear what he saith, my Lord? I perceive now thou art a naughty fellow." "Alas, my Lord!" said Ralph Hare "what evil said I?"

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"Marry, sir, you said, 'the Lord!' 'the Lord,' and that is a badge of heretics," said Winchester. "What is that, my Lord? for God's sake tell me," said Hare. "Thou art naught, thou art naught," said he. At which words the simple man began to tremble, and seemed much dismayed. Wherewith the above-named Brook, standing by next to the said Hare, said, "My Lord! I beseech your Honour not to conceive evil opinion of the poor man for using this word, 'the Lord.' For, by your Lordship's favour, no man who at any time hath translated the Bible, hath used to English these two Hebrew words. Jehovah and Adonai, and this Greek word Κυριος [Greek: Kyrios], but only thus, 'the Lord.' So that, under your Lordship's correction, it might rather be called the badge of Christians, or pious men, than of heretics. "I pray you, sir, then," said the bishop of Winchester, "why doth Christ teach us to say, Our Father which art in heaven, and not, the Father?" "My Lord, by your favour," said Brook, "he useth there the vocative case, teaching us to invoke God; and joineth thereto this pronoun *noster*; so that this article, the, were not there to be used, neither should it express the full meaning of Christ in those words. But if your Lordship would descend down a little from the Lord's Prayer unto the Ave Maria or Salutation, there it manifestly appeareth, that the angel (in no part falsifying God's message committed to him) saith, ο κυριος μετα σου [Greek: O Kyrios meta son]: which is, truly turned into English, no otherwise but thus: The Lord (and not our Lord, nor thy Lord, nor my Lord) is with thee. Wherefore the poor man is there taught plainly of God, and that by an angel, to say (as he said) the Lord; and, therefore, he is worthy of no blame." At these words the bishop began to be much moved and offended: whereupon Dr. Gwent, dean of the Arches, one of those commissioners, said, "Well, Master Brook! well; you abuse my Lord here very much: it were a matter rather to be disputed of in the schools, than thus to be reasoned of openly here." Whereat the said Brook answered that he was sorry that he had offended my Lord, or any others; but what he had spoken, he spake it of charity, and pity taken on the simple poor man: and therewith he held his peace. But the truth is, that, through the cavillation of Winchester, rose more contention than profit needful about the Lord and our Lord, the papists holding with Winchester, and the other part with the Lord. But now, to return to the said Ralph Hare's examination again, within half an hour after Dr. Gwent had blamed the said Brook, for that he spake in the behalf of Ralph Hare, whilst the said Brook was there present, and standing by, he heard among the names of those that were, by the letters of the council of Calais, charged with pernicious errors and heresies, himself named and called. Some of the commissioners answered, "Yea, yea; but it makes no matter, let him alone till hereafter." At the muttering forth of these words, the said Brook stood forth and said, "I know, and it like your Honours, no Thomas Brook of Calais but myself. Is it your Lordships' pleasures to have any thing with me?" "Nay, Master Brook," answered the commissioners, "we may not meddle with you, and that you know right well: or else, we suppose, you would not have been here now. You consider you are a burgess of the parliament." "Truth it is," said Brook, "that unworthily so I am; but if your Lordships and the rest of the commissioners have any thing wherewith to charge me, I here openly renounce the privilege of that high court, and submit myself to the laws of the realm, to answer to that which may be objected against me."

"Write, scribe!" said Winchester. And straightway the said Brook was commanded not to depart without licence. Furthermore, they commanded him to be had aside, lest he should give any instructions unto Ralph Hare. Then they called again for the said Ralph Hare, and there charged him with many heinous and detestable errors, especially that he was a great reader of the New Testament in English; that he was such a one that in deed neither used to take holy bread,

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holy water, holy ashes, nor holy palm, but spake against them, and against auricular confession also: wherefore, they threatened him, that if he would stand in the defence of these things, and of such others as would evidently be laid and proved against him, it would cost him his life.

These words drew the man yet into a greater agony and fear; which thing Winchester well perceiving. said unto him. "Ralph Hare! Ralph Hare! by my troth I pity thee much. For, in good faith, I think thee to be a good simple man, and of thyself wouldest mean well enough, but that thou hast had shrewd and subtle school-masters, that have seduced thee, good poor simple soul; and therefore I pity thee. And it were indeed pity that thou shouldest be burned, for thou art a good fellow, a tall man, and hast served the king right well in his wars. I have heard thee well commended, and thou art yet able to do the king as good service as ever thou wast; and we all will be a mean to his Grace to be good gracious lord unto thee, if thou wilt take pity of thyself, and leave thy errors. For I dare say for us all that be commissioners, that we would be loth that thou shouldest be cast away: for, alas! poor simple man, we perceive thou hast been seduced, I say, by others. How sayest thou therefore? thou knowest my Lord of Canterbury's Grace here is a good gentle lord, and would be loth thou shouldest be east away. Tell me, canst thou be content to submit thyself unto him, and to stand unto such order as he and we shall take in this matter? how sayest thou, man.? Speak!" The poor man therewith falling upon his knees, and shedding tears, answered, speaking to my Lord's Grace, the archbishop of Canterbury, in this wise: "My good Lord! for Christ's sake be good unto me; and I refer myself unto your Grace's order, to do with me what you please."

Thu archbishop of Canterbury, considering what danger he was ready to fall in, and pitying the same, (though the simplicity of the man was so great that he perceived it not,) said, "Nay, Ralph Hare, stand up and advise thyself well, and commit not thyself to me, for I am but one man, and in commission but as the others are, so that it lieth in me to do nothing. But, if thou do commit thyself unto us all, then thou committest thyself unto the law, and the law is ordained to do every man right." "Go to, Ralph Hare," said Winchester, "submit thyself to my Lord and us: it is best for thee to do so." Whereupon he fell upon his knees again, and said, "My Lords and masters all! I submit myself wholly unto you." And therewith a book was holden him, and an oath given him to be obedient unto them, and to all ecclesiastical laws. And straightway he was enjoined to abjure, and to bear a faggot three several days; and, moreover, the poor man lost his whole living that he had at Calais.

This simple man, hearing his penance, piteously lamented, and earnestly at the first denied to stand thereunto, with piteous exclamation, saying, "O my Lord of Winchester! my Lord of Winchester! have you made me a log, ready to be laid upon the fire whensoever any wicked man falsely, of malice, by provocation of the devil, shall lay any small trifle to my charge? or shall I be thus handled, nothing proved to my face against me? Alas! I have always hated errors and heresies." "Content thyself, Hare, there is now no remedy: thou must either do thy penance, or be burned," said the commissioners. Thus have you heard how Ralph Hare did speed.

Then was Thomas Brook called for, against whom it was objected by some of the council's letters of Calais, that he was a seditious fellow. Among these accusers, besides the rest, was one Richard Long, another Francis Hastings, men at arms, who charged the aforementioned

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Thomas Brook, and one Jeffery Loveday, esquire, for staying and maintaining the aforesaid Adam Damlip at Calais, as who had promised unto him a stipend to preach such heresies and pernicious opinions as afterwards he taught there; and that these two daily gathered many several sums of money for the entertainment of the said Adam. Howbeit the aforesaid Hastings failed in the proof thereof: for Loveday proved that he was, eight days before Damlip's coming to Calais, and during fourteen days continually after he began to preach, abiding at Paris, there occupied about necessary affairs of Charles, duke of Suffolk. And Brook, during the said time, was at London, daily attendant in the parliament house, whereof he had enough to bear witness against that untrue surmise.

After that, came three at once against the said Brook, well armed, as they thought, who had not only consulted together before of the matter, and put it in writing at Calais, besides their conference and talk by the way keeping company from thence hither, but also had obtained from the lord deputy, and others of the council, special letters, as is aforesaid, and, among other, one letter unto the bishop of Chichester, for the earnest and speedy furtherance of the advancement of their accusations against Brook.

The first of these three was a young gentleman lately brought up under the said Brook in the office of customs, whose name was Edmund Payton. The other was one Robert Poole, a man (as it was commonly reported) both base born, and also such a one as, in his youth, for murdering a man with a club, in Bow Lane in London, was fain, by obtaining the king's pardon, to save his neck. The third was one Thomas Boyse, who, showing more honesty than the rest, affirmed not that he himself heard the said Brook speak any thing of that which was objected against him, but justified that which each of the other two had stedfastly affirmed to him, that Brook had spoken unto them those things which, here beneath, he said were objected against him.

The first young man objected against the said Brook, that he should say, that the thing which the priest useth to hold up over his head at mass, is not the natural body of Jesus Christ: for, if that were so, whoso would might have their stomach full of gods, their entrails full of gods; and the that had lately received the sacrament before he went to the sea, might haply cast god up again on shipboard.

And thus much he brought over in writing with him from Calais, and added thereto, as it should seem, to exasperate the commissioners and the rest of the clergy against him, certain other heinous words spoken against bishops and priests: as that the knaves, the bishops and priests, for their own gain and belly's sake, bare this layman so in hand, and would shamefully blear our eyes; which words he never spake; "for it did abhor both his heart and his ears, to hear either so shameful and unreverent words concerning the blessed sacrament, or so arrogant and disdainful words, spoken against the bishops, and other inferior ministers, unto whom God had given authority, though they, for the most part, were very unworthy thereof,)" confessing, nevertheless, that he had secret and private talk with the young man touching the truth of the sacrament, wherein he showed, as reverently as he could speak to the young man, the right use of the same: concluding that, albeit with our mouths we received very material bread and wine, yet, by faith, all Christian men do receive, eat, and drink, to their great comfort and benefit, the very natural body and blood of Christ, which was both born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered death on

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the cross for the remission of their sins: which most holy sacrament whoso cometh unworthily unto, the same was so far from eating of Christ's body and blood, that all such, without hearty repentance, do eat their own damnation. And, to conclude with him, in that private talk he told him, that if the gross and unlearned error of transubstantiation were indeed matter of truth and sincere doctrine, then not only this should follow of it, that every man who would, might have everlasting life, (for they might, when they would, receive the outward sacrament, seen with our eyes, which the priests call Christ's natural body, and whoso eateth Christ's natural body, and drinketh his blood, hath everlasting life, saith Christ,) but also there should great absurdities follow thereby, as when a man happeneth to go to sea, having lately received the sacrament, he should put it overboard, or upon the hatches; and, therefore, exhorted the said Payton to leave that gross error.

The second accuser was Poole, who objected against him, that, about two years past, he himself, dining with the said Brook with fifteen or sixteen other honest men, heard him to say thus at the table: that the thing which the priests use to hold up over their heads, was not the very body and blood of Christ, but a sacrament to put us in remembrance thereof. Unto whose objections the said Brook answered, that a man in mirth might well enough in charity beshrew such a guest as, when he had dined with a man, could, so long after, remember to say him such a grace: and required of Poole, from whence the rest of the guests were. He answered, they were of the town, all. Then inferred he, that he was sure Poole could as well remember some of their names which then were present, as freshly to keep in mind (for so by oath upon a book he had affirmed) every word of the whole matter which he objected; but for that the matter was utterly untrue. Whereupon the said Brook desired their Honours to consider the slenderness of his tale.

To be short, he, with the rest of his fellows, to wit, Ralph Hare, Coppen, and James the barber, were for that time dismissed.

During the time while these four were thus in examination at London, the other two, to wit, Sir William Smith, preacher, and John Butler, by commandment were apprehended in Calais, and bound by surety not to pass the gates of the town of Calais. In the which town, the said John Butler, commissary, was accused by Richard Thorpe and John Ford, soldiers of Calais, saying, that he should say, that if the sacrament of the altar be flesh, blood, and bone, then there is good *aqua vitæ* at John Spicer's. Upon which accusation the said Thorpe and Ford brought for records before the council of Calais, Marraunt, Haynes, John Luckes, Harry Husson, and Harry Trost, all of the district of Oye, beside Calais. Whereupon, shortly after, the said John Butler and Sir William Smith were sent for, and, by one Swallow a pursuivant, which fetched up the others aforesaid, brought into England, unto the house of the said Swallow dwelling by St. James's, where the king's Majesty lay at that time. And the next day, being Thursday, after dinner, Butler and Smith were brought to the Star-chamber before the privy council, where both sedition and heresy were objected against them. And after much talk it was said unto them by the Lord Cromwell, that they should make their purgation by the law. And from thence, by the aforesaid Swallow, they were sent to the Fleet.

The next day, being Friday, after dinner, Butler and Smith were sent for to come to Bath Place, where they were brought into the chapel, there sitting Dr. Clerke, bishop of Bath, and Dr. Sampson, then bishop of Chichester: Dr. Repse, the bishop of Norwich, who was a monk, being

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fast asleep. Then was objected unto Butler, with great reverence, the opprobrious words spoken against the blessed sacrament, rehearsing (as is aforesaid) the articles. Butler required to have them in writing, and so he would make answer in writing; the which they would not grant him: and upon that answer he stood. Then choler gathered in the bishop of Chichester. The story were too long to write, yet part ye shall understand.

Chichester found great fault that Butler made not low courtesy, being stubborn and arrogant, as he said, and, in fine, found fault with his shirt. Then, turning him about, he called to his brother Banester, being present, (that time dwelling in Paternoster Row,) to make answer for the shirt. He said, "I can make answer for the shirt." "No good answer," said Chichester. "Forsooth," said he, "the shirt is mine; I lent it him, because he brought none with him, for he was not permitted to have any servant." "A good answer," said the bishop of Bath. Then Butler made low courtesy, and said, "The shirt is answered" Then Chichester said, "Thou mockest us;" but he said "No." And thus much concerning that time.

Then, after Butler, was Sir William Smith, curate of our Lady's parish in Calais, called before them, and charged in a manner with the same heinous errors and pernicious opinions that were objected against the said Ralph Hare; and thereto was added, that he had spoken and preached against our blessed Lady, against praying to saints, against doing of good works, and many other such-like things: and therewithal one Richard Long, a man-at-arms at Calais, proved against the said Sir William Smith, and the aforesaid Brook, by an oath taken upon a book, that the said Smith and Brook did eat flesh together in Lent, in the said Brook's house. "For a miller's boy," said he, "came into Brook's kitchen, and saw half a lamb lie a roasting at the fire." Whereas the truth is, that the said Sir William Smith, during all the Lent, came never once within the said Brook's house. And it is as true also, that the said Richard Long, upon a displeasure taken with his wife, went shortly after out of his own house, to the jutting end of the haven at Calais, where desperately he drowned himself; not one boy, but many men, women, girls, and boys seeing him miserably taken up again stark dead, all which lamented his pitiful ruin. A terrible example unto all such as are ready to forswear themselves on a book upon malice, or whatsoever other cause it be; a thing in these days over-rife every where, and almost no where regarded as it ought to be. But to return to Sir William Smith; for the heinousness of his errors, equal every whit to Ralph Hare's, and worse, (though there was no matter sufficient in the law to burden him, that could be proved,) yet he must needs (no remedy was there) recant at Calais, openly in the pulpit, and so depart the town and marches. Which recantation he did in such sort, as he in effect denied nothing at all that he had before preached or taught, but yet it satisfied somewhat his adversaries' malicious hearts, in that it bore the name of a recantation, and, therewith, was done according to the commissioners' order, whilst the other heretic, Ralph Hare, stood before him with a faggot on his shoulder: and, also, it seemed unto such of the council of Calais, as had by their letters complained so grievously of the pernicious sects and heresies of that town, that, now, what with the aforesaid Brooks inveighing against the six articles in the parliament-house, and the punishment of these two heretics, they had won their spurs by making such complaints: insomuch as the matters fell out as you hear.

There was also called before them Sir John Butler, then commissary of Calais, whom they would have burned with the maintenance, or, at the least wise, sufferance of the aforesaid Adam Damlip, which preached so long time there, and was not by him punished. Butler, for his

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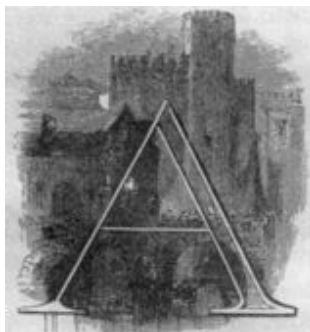
defence, answered, that the lord deputy, and the whole council there, so highly entertained, and so friendly used, the said Damlip, and with their own presence and high commendations outwardly so allowed and commended his doctrine, that it lay not in him to do otherwise than he did; and therefore, humbly besought their Lordships and other the commissioners to be good unto him: at whose hands, after long attendance given, he was discharged, and so returned home again; being also dismissed of his commissaryship.

Now, to declare what order was taken with these aforesaid Calais men, it was appointed that Sir William Smith, priest, Ralph Hare, James Cocke, and James Barber, should be sent to Calais, there to abjure and to do penance; where Sir William Smith was enjoined to make the sermon, Ralph Hare, James Cooke, and James Barber standing with faggots upon their shoulders. The sermon was made in the market of Calais. Which being done, they went with their faggots about the marketplace, the drum and fife going before them; and then, returning to the commissioners with the testimonial of the same, they departed. Albeit, in this recantation, the said William Smith, curate of our Lady's church, handled his sermon after that sort, that, in effect, he denied nothing at all that he had before preached or taught, but yet it satisfied somewhat his adversaries' malicious hearts, in that it bore the name of a recantation, according to the commissioners' order; appointing him thus openly to preach, and so to depart the town and marches.

As touching James Barber aforesaid, forasmuch as his dwelling was not at Calais, but four miles off from the town, it was therefore enjoined him to bear his faggot, not at Calais, but on the Saturday next following to stand in the market there where he dwelt, with his faggot upon his shoulder; and the said Sir William Smith likewise there preached as before.

And thus much concerning the first commission sent over to Calais, to inquire upon the heretics there.

A new commission appointed and sent over to Calais.



AFTER all these things done and past, the grudging minds of the adversaries were not yet satisfied, but still suggested new complaints to the king's ears against the town of Calais, making the king believe that, through new opinions, the town was so divided, that it was in great danger to be overcome of the adversary.

Whereupon, shortly after the week before Easter next following, other new commissioners were sent over by the king to Calais: to wit, the earl of Sussex, lord great chamberlain; the Lord St. John; Sir John Gage, knight; Sir John Baker, knight; Master Layton, clerk of the closet; and Dr. Currin; with special instructions besides, signed by the king's Majesty's own hand. For his Highness had been incensed once again from the council of Calais, that the town was in peril, through dissension and diversity of opinions. Upon their arrival, Dr. Currin preached a notable sermon, exhorting all men to charity, having nothing in his mouth but "charity," "charity." But, as it seemed afterwards, such a burning charity was in him and the rest of the commissioners, that had not God pitied the innocency of men's causes, there had a hundred been burned or hanged shortly after.

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But it happened far otherwise, for, of the number of those accusers, four were, by those commissioners, sent over into England, to wit, Clement Philpot, servant to the Lord Lisle; Sir Edmund, curate of our Lady's church; W. Touched, a post-master; Peter Bequet. Of the which four, Touched and Bequet were sent to their places again; the other two were drawn, hanged, and quartered at London. But contrary, of all them that were accused, there was not one that lost one hair of his head.

After the sermon was done, on the morrow, to wit, on Share-Thursday, all the commissioners solemnly received the sacrament. And, at afternoon, the council were with the commissioners; and after their consultation, tipstaves warned above the number of fourscore, such perverse persons as the like were not in the town or marches, to appear on the morrow at eight of the clock before the council at the Staple inn; who, at their appearance, were commanded upon their allegiance to present all such heretics, schismatics, and seditious persons, as they did know; and in no wise to doubt or dread so to do, for they should have great advantage thereby; yea, they should either have their livings or their goods: and, besides that, they should have great thanks at the king's Majesty's hand, and his honourable council, and what friendship they of the king's council there could show them.

All that Good Friday, even till ten of the clock at night, those wicked and malicious persons occupied their time in answering to sundry and divers questions. These things were not so secretly done, but they were bewrayed and came to honest men's knowledge. Whereupon such fear and distrust assaulted all men, that neighbour distrusted neighbour, the master the servant, the servant the master, the husband the wife, the wife the husband, and almost every one the other, that lamentable it was to see how mournfully men and women went in the streets, hanging down their heads, showing evident tokens of the anguish of their hearts.

Upon Easter Monday, one Hugh Councill, an honest mat., servant to the said Brook, was convent-ed before them, and by the space of fourteen days not suffered to return to his master's house, but was kept in custody; and was many times examined upon articles and interrogatories, in hope to have found worthy matter, either of heresy or treason, against the said Brook; and the same day that Brook was committed to ward, the said Hugh Councill was discharged.

The Wednesday in the Easter week, sundry quests were charged, by their oaths, to make inquisition for all manner of heresies, erroneous opinions, and seditious: as a quest of aldermen, another of men-at-arms. and another of constables and vintners, another of common soldiers, and another of commoners.

And shortly after their presentments, on Good Friday, there were convented before the commissioners, and straight were sent to close prison, Anthony Pickering, gentleman; Harry Tournay, gentleman; Sir George Darby, priest; John Shepherd, William Pellam, William Keverdale, John Whitwood, John Boote, Robert Clodder, Copen de Hane, and Matthew de Hound: upon whom ran sundry bruits. Some said they should be hanged; some said burned; some said hanged, drawn, and quartered; some said nailed to the pillory: so that pitiful it was to see the lamentation that their wives, their children, servants, and friends, made secretly where they durst; for that they found every where words of discomfort, and no where of comfort, but still inquisition was made.

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The aforesaid William Stevens, after his return from London above-mentioned, besides many other articles laid to him for religion, to the number of forty or well nigh, was, by the lord deputy, charged that he had stayed the aforesaid Adam Damlip, hired him to preach, and given him meat, drink, and lodging, coming from the arrant traitor Cardinal Pole, and suborned by him; and that he had received money of him, to the intent he should preach in Calais false and erroneous doctrine, whereby the town, being divided and at contention within itself, might easily be overcome and won by the Frenchmen. Whereunto the said Stevens answered, that whatsoever he had done unto the said Adam Damlip, he had done it at the earnest request and commandment of the said lord deputy. Whereupon, if it had been treason indeed, he must have been more faulty.

Then the said William Stevens was again, the second time, by the said commissioners sent over into England. and clapped in the Tower, and afterwards, to wit, immediately after the said commissioners' repair unto the king's Highness, the said lord deputy was sent for over, and likewise put into the Tower, where he continued a long time. And when the king's Majesty minded to have been gracious unto him, and to have let him come forth, God took him out of this world, whose body resteth in the Tower, and his soul with God, I trust, in heaven: for he died very repentant. But the wicked lady, his wife, immediately upon his apprehension, fell distraught of mind, and so continued many years after. God, for his mercy, if she yet live, give her his grace to repent.

The second Monday after Easter, the aforesaid Brook was convented before the commissioners, and committed to close prison in the mayor's jail, whither no man of his calling was ever committed, unless sentence of death had first been pronounced against him; for otherwise the ordinance of the town was, that his prison should be only another alderman's house, with licence at night to lie at his own house. Then the council of Calais, doubting lest there should not be any sedition or heresy proved against him, did call one George Bradway before them, who occupied the comptroller's office in the Custom-house. This man was kept in close prison, so that neither his wife, then great with child, nor any other of his friends, might repair unto him. Where, after that he had oftentimes been borne in hand, that there were divers concealments come to light that were made by Brook in the office of the Customs, and that the said Bradway should he grievously punished, if he would acknowledge none of them, nor burden the said Brook with some kind of concealment; the poor simple man, hoping thereby to get release of his imprisonment, accused the said Brook, that he had, for a long time, concealed four groats every day for his clerk's wages; and to that accusation they caused the simple man to set his own hand before witnesses.

Hereupon, after a day or two, the said Bradway, grieved in his conscience for the same his most untrue accusation, did, with a knife, enterprise to cut his own throat: but God, of his mercy, so directed his wicked purpose, that the back of his knife was towards his weasand; whereby, though the wound were broad, yet he escaped with life. And as he gave a groan with the sudden pain that he felt, the jailor came up, and bereft him of the knife. But, through the guiltiness of the false accusation, and shame of the world, the man lost his wits, who then, staring and dismayed, was dismissed out of prison, and a long time after went, in piteous case, so dismayed about the street, to the great impoverishing of him, his poor wife, and family.

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This kind of handling of the said Brook made all his friends, but especially his wife, to be greatly afraid of the malice of his enemies: the rather, also, for that all his goods and lands were seized, and his wife thrust into the meanest place of all his house, with her children and family; the keys of all the doors and chests also taken from her. Who, for that she was rigorously treated at Sir Edward Kinglet's hand, comptroller of the town, (an office of no small charge, though he knew not a "B" from a battledore, nor ever a letter of the book,) saying unto her, that if she liked not the room, he would thrust her quite out of the doors: "Well, .sir," said she, "well; the king's slaughterhouse had wrong, when you were made a gentleman." And with all speed she wrote a letter to the Lord Cromwell, therein discoursing how hardly and sore those poor men were handled, that were committed to ward and close prison; and that all men feared, (what through the malice of their papistical enemies, and the great rigour and ignorant zeal of those that were in authority,) they should shortly, for their faith and consciences, being true men, and such as reverently feared God, be put to death; but, chiefly, her husband, who was yet more extremely handled than any other: so that unless his Honour vouchsafed to be a means to the king's Majesty, that they, with their causes, might be sent over into England, they were but dead men. Sundry other letter she wrote to divers friends, to solicit the cause. But when, at noon time, a servant of hers was seen to receive again the same packet of letters, of one to whom before he had taken them to carry them into England, and now, because the passage served not till the afternoon, to carry them back to his mistress, he that so saw them declared so much to the commissioners, at dinner time. Whereupon they gave very strait commandment that the thing should be kept close, and strait wait laid for him, to whom any servant of his should deliver any letter: and that, attaching the same, they should be brought to them. Whereupon one Francis Hall, esquire, a man of great wisdom, godliness, and temperance, hearing what was said, and nothing distrusted of the commissioners, pretended a sudden qualm to come over his stomach, and rising from the table speedily told Mistress Brook what had happened; whereupon, with all speed, she writ as many other letters with like directions, but with far unlike contents. For unto the Lord Cromwell she highly advanced the honours, wisdom, and justice which she knew to abound in the honourable commissioners, doubting only, nevertheless. she said, the maliciousness of her husband's enemies and their untrue accusations, and, therewith, the weakness of her husband's body, greatly subject to sickness when it was best cherished: wherefore, though she assuredly knew her husband should have, at their Honours, true justice and equity, so as she would not wish any other in all England to be commissioners in their places, yet she most humbly besought his Lordship to write his favourable letters unto them, to this end, that in respect of his weakness and infirmity, he might have justice with as much expedition as conveniently might be; and, in the mean time, to let him have somewhat more liberty, and open air: and in the other letters to her friends she wrote like honour of the said commissioners, and also desired them to crave his Lordship's letters to like effect. These letters, closed and delivered as the first were, were straightway seized upon and brought to the commissioners, who immediately sent for her, and, the while opening the letters, and understanding the effect, they were, in their minds, well pleased with her; and, therefore, when she fell on her knees before them, and besought their Honours to be good unto her husband, and to forgive her, in that she had presumed to write in his behalf, which, she said, was but her bounden duty; they, thinking thereby to have comforted her well, bade her never take thought for him, (he was a naughty fellow,) saying, they would themselves bestow her much better, and, the rather, for her father's sake, whom they knew right well to be a man of good service, whom the king favoured well. So she departed from them, and the next day also, at three of the clock at afternoon, she sent one William Manton unto a house

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without the gates, where he kept himself close, till a mariner, appointed for that purpose, called him up at midnight, and, taking him alone into the ship, through God's goodness, set him on land in the morning before day; who, with speed repairing to the Lord Cromwell, made discourse of the whole state of his master and the other honest men.

Whereupon the said Lord Cromwell wrote speedily his letters unto the commissioners, declaring, that the king's Majesty's pleasure and commandment was, that the arrant traitor and heretic Brook, with a dozen or twenty complices, should, with their accusers, be immediately sent over, that here in England they might receive their judgment, and there, at Calais, to the great terror of like offenders hereafter, suffer according to their demerits. Now, by the time that the said commissioners had received these letters, they had made out precepts for eight or nine score honest men more to be cast in prison: but these letters so appalled them, that they stayed, and afterwards sent no more to ward. But, making then as diligent inquisition as was possible, to have found some worthy matter against those before named, whereby there might have been some colour both of the council's grievous complaints, and of the commissioners' rigorous dealing; when no such thing could fall out, because they would be assured that they should not go unpunished, they first banished them the town and marches of Calais with a trumpet blown, under pain of death, for a hundred years and a day, (if that one day had been left out, all had been marred,) and then sent them back to prison: staying them there upon hope that the Lord Cromwell should come into captivity sooner than he did. But, at last, to wit, on May-day, they sent the thirteen prisoners through the market, the said Brook going before with irons on his legs, as the chief captain, the rest following him, two and two, without irons, unto shipboard, and then were they all coupled in irons, two and two together. Where, because they were loth to go under the hatches, Sir John Gage, with a staff, smote some of them cruelly. Whereupon Anthony Pickering said unto him, "Sir, I beseech you yet be as good to us, as ye would be to your horses or dogs; let us have a little air that we be not smothered." Yet that request could not be obtained, but the hatches were put down close, and they guarded and kept with a great company of men; and so, sailing forward, by God's merciful providence, were within four-and-twenty hours at anchor before the Tower of London. But by the way thitherward, upon what occasion it was not known, whilst the hatch stood open for the convenience of one of the prisoners, his fellow-prisoner the while for weariness, lying upon his hack and casting his arm over his face, the kettle, with the hot scalding beef-broth, fell down upon the prisoners, namely, upon the gown-sleeve of Brook and the boots of Tourney, whereby both the fur of the sleeve and the leather of the boot were scorched and crackled, yet neither the face nor the leg, through God's goodness, were hurt; which sight caused their keepers to be amazed, and to say, that surely they were men that God loved, and were wrongfully punished. And when the Lord Cromwell understood they were come, he commanded their irons to be smit off at the Tower wharf, and the prisoners to be brought unto him.

When he saw them, he smiled upon them, stedfastly beholding each of them, and then said, "Sirs! you must take pain for a time; go your way to the Fleet, and submit yourselves prisoners there, and shortly you shall know more." So indeed they did; and that evening he sent them word they should be of good cheer, for, if God sent him life, they should shortly go home with as much honesty as they came with shame.

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Whilst these thirteen persecuted men lay in the Fleet, and William Stevens in the Tower, to wit, the twenty-eighth day of July, A. D. 1541, the aforesaid Lord Cromwell, for treason laid against him, was at Tower-hill beheaded, as is before specified in his story, who made there a very Christian end. Then had the poor Calais men great cause to fear, if they had not altogether depended on the merciful providence of their heavenly Father, whose blessed will they knew directed all things. But He, in the midst of their deep troubles and miseries, so comforted them, that even as their dangers and troubles increased, so likewise did their consolation and joy in him; so far forth that Matthew de Hound, one of these thirteen, who was in trouble only for that he heard Copen de Hane read a chapter of the New Testament, and was as deep in punishment, and in banishment from his wife, children, and country, as the rest, got, in short time, such instruction, that having therewith a soul and conscience fraught full of godly zeal unto God's glory', and the true doctrine of Christ, within a few months after his deliverance out of the Fleet, for inveighing constantly against the wicked honouring of images, and praying to saints departed, he was cruelly, in a most constant faith and patience, burned in Flanders.

Now, therefore, when all hope in man was past, the right honourable Lord Audeley, lord chancellor of England, without further examination, discharged first the said thirteen that were in the Fleet, and at length, two years after, he delivered William Stevens also, by the king's own motion, out of the Tower; saying, at the discharging of those thirteen, "Sirs! pray for the king's Majesty; his pleasure is, that you shall all be presently discharged. And though your livings be taken from you, yet despair not, God will not see you lack. But, for God's sake, sirs, beware how you deal with popish priests; for, so God save my soul! some of them be knaves all. Sirs," said he, "I am commanded by the council to tell you, that you are discharged by virtue of the king's general pardon; but that pardon excepteth and forbiddeth all sacramentaries, and the most part, or all of you, are called sacramentaries: therefore I cannot see how that pardon doth you any pleasure. But pray for the king's Highness, for his Grace's pleasure is, that I should dismiss you; and so I do, and pity you all. Farewell, sirs!"

So, giving God most hearty thanks for his mighty and merciful delivering of them, they departed dismissed as you have heard, being indeed in very poor estate; but not in so miserable estate as all those eight councillors of Calais were, within one year and a half after. For, whereas the other three councillors who seemed more favourable unto them, (to wit, the Lord Gray, Sir George Carew, and Sir Richard Grenville,) who purged the town of those slanders that untruly were raised upon it, were there-for, for a time, in their prince's high displeasure; within that year they were all three in greater favour with his Majesty than ever they were before, and that not without the reward of twenty pounds by year to him and to his heirs, who had least. The other eight councillors, unjustly charging them and the town with sedition and heresy, (that is to say, the Lord Lisle, the Lord Sands, Sir John Wallop, Sir Edward Kingsly, Robert Fowler, esquire, vice-treasurer; Sir Thomas Palmer, knight, called Long Palmer; William Simpson, esquire, under-marshal; and John Rockwood,) were either greatly out of their prince's favour, and in the Tower, or else were prisoners, or else by very desperate deaths, in outward appearance, taken out of this world.

For tediousness, I will rehearse but only the horrible end of the said Rockwood, the chief stirrer-up of all the afflictions afore spoken of; who, even to his last breath, staring and raging, cried, he was utterly damned. And being willed to ask God mercy, who was ready to forgive all

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that asked mercy of him, he brayed and cried out, "All too late, for I have sought maliciously the deaths of a number of the most honest men in the town; and though I so thought them in my heart, yet I did what lay in me to bring them to an evil death: all too late therefore, all too late!" Which same words he answered to one, who, at the departure of the thirteen in irons towards England, said, "Sir! I never saw men of such honesty so sharply corrected, and taking it so patiently and joyfully." Rockwood then, fetching a frisk or two, scoffingly answered, "All too late:" The under-marshal suddenly fell down in the council-chamber, and never spake a word after, nor showed any token of remembrance. The plagues of the others also, as I am credibly informed, were little better.

The second apprehension of Adam Damlip; with his martyrdom.

Concerning Adam Damlip, otherwise called George Bucker, ye heard before declared, how he, being convented before the bishops at Lambeth, and afterwards secretly admonished, and having money given him by his friends to avoid, and not to appear again before the bishops; after he had sent his allegations in writing unto them, departed into the west country, and there continued teaching a school a certain space. about a year or two. After that, the good man was again apprehended by the miserable inquisition of the six articles, and brought up to London, where he was, by Stephen Gardiner, commanded into the Marshalsea, and there lay the space of other two years or thereabouts.

During the imprisonment of this Damlip in the Marshalsea, John Marbeck (as partly ye heard before) was committed also unto the same prison, which was the morrow after Palm Sunday. The manner of that time so required, that at Easter every person must needs come to confession. Whereupon Marbeck, with the rest of the prisoners there, was enforced to come upon Easter-day to Sir George Bucker aforesaid, to be confessed, who was then confessor to the whole house. By this occasion John Marbeck, which had never seen him before, entering into conference with him, perceived what he was, what he had been, what troubles he sustained, how long he had lain there in prison, by whom and wherefore; who declared, moreover, his mind to Marbeck, to the effect as followeth: "And now, because," said he, "I think they have forgotten me, I am fully minded to make my humble suit to the bishop of Winchester, in an epistle, declaring therein mine obedience, humble submission, and earnest desire to come to examination. I know the west: I can but lose my life present, which I had rather do, than here to remain, and not to be suffered to use my talent to God's glory. Wherefore, God willing, I will surely put it in proof."

This Damlip, for his honest and godly behaviour, was beloved of all the whole house, but especially of the keeper himself, whose name was Massy, whom he always called master; and being suffered to go at liberty within the house whither he would, he did much good among the common and rascal sort of prisoners, in rebuking vice and sin, and kept them in such good order and awe, that the keeper thought himself to have a great treasure in him. And no less also Marbeck himself confesseth to have found great comfort by him; for, notwithstanding the strait precept given by the bishop of Winchester, that no man should come to him, nor he to speak with any man, yet the said Adam many times would find the means to come and comfort him.

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Now, when he had made and drawn out his epistle, he delivered the same to his master the keeper, upon Saturday in the morning, which was about the second week before Whitsunday following, desiring him to deliver it at the court, to the bishop of Winchester. The keeper said, he would; and so did. The bishop, what quick speed he made for his despatch I know not, but thus it fell out, as ye shall hear.

The keeper came home at night very late, and when the prisoners (who had tarried supper for his coming) saw him so sad and heavy, they deemed something to be amiss. At last the keeper, casting up his eyes upon Sir George, said, "O George! I can tell thee tidings." "What is that, master?" quoth he. "Upon Monday next thou and I must go to Calais." "To Calais, master? What to do?" "I know not," quoth the keeper: and pulled out of his purse a piece of wax with a little label of parchment hanging out thereat, which seemed to be a precept. And when Sir George saw it, he said, "Well, well, master, now I know what the matter is." "What?" quoth the keeper. "Truly, master, I shall die in Calais" "Nay," quoth the keeper, "I trust it to be not so." "Yes, yes, master; it is most true, and I praise God for his goodness therein." And so the keeper and they went together to supper, with heavy cheer for Sir George, as they there called him; who, notwithstanding, was merry himself. and did eat his meat as well as ever he did in all his life: insomuch that some at the board said unto him, that they marvelled how he could eat his meat so well, knowing he was so near his death. "Ah, masters!" quoth he, "do you think that I have been God's prisoner so long in the Marshalsea, and have not yet learned to die? Yes, yes, and I doubt not but God will strengthen me therein."

At length it came to pass, that by the bishop of Winchester's diligent pursuing of the aforesaid Adam Damlip, (for he was always excellent good at the sucking of innocent blood.) this godly man was gotten again into their hands, that first laid heresy to his charge: for on Monday, early in the morning before day, the keeper with three other of the knight-marshal's servants setting out of London, conveyed the said Adam Damlip to Calais upon the Ascension even, and there committed him to the mayor's prison. Upon which day John Butler, the commissary aforesaid, and Sir Daniel, his curate of St. Peter's, were also committed to the same prison, and commandment given for no man to speak with Butler.

Upon Saturday next was the day of execution for Damlip. The cause which first they laid to Ins charge, was for heresy. But, because by an act of parliament all such offences, done before a certain day, were pardoned, (through which act he could not be burdened with any thing that he had preached or taught before,) yet, for the receiving of the aforesaid French crown of Cardinal Pole, (as you heard before;) he was condemned of treason, and in Calais cruelly put to death; being drawn, hanged, and quartered.

The day before his execution, came unto him one Master Mote, then parson of our Lady's church in Calais, saying, "Your four quarters shall be hanged at four parts of the town." "And where shall my head be?" said Damlip. "Upon the Lantern gate," said Mote. Then Damlip answered, "Then shall I not need to provide for my burial." At his death, Sir Ralph Ellerker, knight, then knight-marshal there, would not suffer the innocent and godly man to declare either his faith, or the cause he died for, but said to the executioner, "Despatch the knave; have done!" For Sir William Mote, appointed there to preach, declared to the people, how he had been a sower of seditious doctrine; and albeit he was for that pardoned by the general pardon, yet he

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was condemned for being a traitor against the king. To the which when Adam Damlip would have replied and purged himself, the aforesaid Sir Ralph Ellerker would not suffer him to speak a word, but commanded him to be had away. And so, most meekly, patiently, and joyfully, the blessed and innocent martyr took his death, Sir Ralph Ellerker saying, that he would not away before he saw the traitor's heart out. But, shortly after, the said Sir Ralph Ellerker, in a skirmish or rout between the Frenchmen and us at Boulogne, was, among others, slain; whose only death sufficed not his enemies, but after they had stripped him stark naked, they shamefully mutilated him, and cut the heart out of his body; and so left him a terrible example to all bloody and merciless men. For no cause was known why they showed such indignation against the said Sir Ralph Ellerker, more than against the rest.

As touching John Butler, and Sir Daniel his curate, imprisoned (as ye heard) the same day with Damlip, upon Sunday next following they were committed to John Massy aforesaid, keeper of the Marshalsea, and his company, and brought to the Marshalsea, where he and his curate continued nine months and more. At last, being sore laid unto by Sir George Gage, Sir John Baker, and Sir Thomas Arundel, knights, but especially by Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, for the retaining of Adam Damlip, yet, by friends soliciting the king's Highness for him, (namely Sir Leonard Musgrave, and his brother Baunster, who were bound for his appearance in a thousand pounds,) he, at length, by great labour and long time, was discharged, and, at last, by licence permitted to return to Calais again.

Furthermore, as touching William Stevens above mentioned, who remained all this while prisoner in the Tower, the same also was condemned with Adam Damlip of treason; which was, for note and crime of popery, in lodging Adam Damlip the traitor, who came from Cardinal Pole, in his house, at the lord deputy's commandment. Notwithstanding, the king afterward, understanding more of the said William Stevens, how innocent he was from that crime, being known to all men to be an earnest and zealous protestant, gave him his pardon, and sent him borne again to Calais; and so, likewise, all the other thirteen above mentioned.

The story of a poor labouring man, and also of one Dodd, a Scotchman, burned in Calais.

By the credible information and writing of the said Calais men, which were then in trouble, it is reported of a certain poor labouring man of Calais, that after the preaching of Adam Damlip, being in a certain company, he said that he would never he-here that a priest could make the Lord's body at his pleasure. Whereupon he was then accused, and also condemned by one Harvey, commissary there; which Harvey, in time of his judgment inveighing against him with opprobrious words, said, that he was a heretic, and should die a vile death. The poor man, (whose name yet I have not certainly learned,) answering for himself again, said that he was no heretic, but was in the faith of Christ: "And whereas thou sagest," said he, "that I shall die a vile death, thou thyself shalt die a viler death, and that shortly." And so it came to pass; for, within half a year after, the said Harvey was hanged, drawn, and quartered, for treason, in the said town of Calais.

After the burning of this poor man, there was also another certain scholar, counted to be a Scotchman, named Dodd, who, coming out of Germany, was there taken with certain German books about him; and, being examined thereupon, and standing constantly to the truth that he had

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learned, was therefore condemned to death, and there burned in the said town of Calais, within the space of a year, or thereabouts, after the other godly martyr above mentioned.

The story of William Crossbowmaker, bearing a billet in Calais.

And, forasmuch as I am presently in hand with matters of Calais, I cannot pass from thence without the memory of another certain honest man of the same township, named William Button, alias Crossbowmaker; although the time of this story is a little more ancient in years: which story is this.

William Crossbowmaker, a soldier of Calais, and the king's servant, being a man (as some natures be) somewhat pleasantly disposed, used, when he met with priests, to demand of them certain merry questions of pastime; as these: Whether, if a man were suddenly taken, and wanted another thing, he might not without offence occupy one of the pope's pardons instead of a broken paper?

Another question was, Whether in the world might better be wanting, dogs or priests? And if it were answered that dogs might rather be spared; to that he would reply again and infer, that if there were no dogs, we could make no more; but if there lacked ignorant priests, we might soon, and too soon, make too many of them.

It happened that in the time of Dr. Darly, parson of our Lady's church in Calais, being commissary there for Archbishop Warham, there came a Black Friar to Calais with the pope's pardons, who, for four pence, would deliver a soul out of purgatory. The friar was full of Romish virtues, for what money came for pardons by day, he bought no land with it at night. This aforesaid William Button, alias Crossbowmaker, coming to the pardoner, and pretending that he would deliver his father and friends' souls, asked, if the holy father the pope could deliver souls out of purgatory? The friar said, "There is no doubt of that." "Why then," quoth Button, "doth not he, of charity, deliver all the souls thereout?" Of which words he was accused to the commissary; who, at his appearing before the said commissary, confessed to have asked such questions. The commissary, being angry thereat, said, "Doubtest thou thereof, thou heretic?" There was standing by a Black Friar named Capel, an Englishman, who said to the commissary, "There be ten thousand of these heretics between Gravelines and Triers." Button answered, "Master friar! of all men you may keep silence; for your coat hath been twice cut off from the faith. The first time your order was enjoined to have your black coat shorter than your white; and, for the second time, your order must go to the furthest part of their church, and there sing an anthem of our Lady." The commissary chafed at these words, calling Button "heretic," with many other opprobrious words. Then said Button to the commissary, "If your holy father the pope may deliver souls out of purgatory, and will not of charity deliver them, then, I would to God the king would make me pope, and I would surely deliver all out without money." At these words the commissary raged, and reviled Button exceedingly, causing him to bear a billet, and procured his wages (which were sixpence a day) to be taken from him. Then went Button to the king's Majesty, declaring all the whole matter to his Grace, who sent him to Calais again, and gave him after that eight-pence a day.

207. Dr. London and the Goldsmith.

A notable example, wherein may appear as well the despite of Dr. London and other papists against the gospellers, as also the fidelity of a matron towards her husband.

Forasmuch as mention was made a little before of Dr. London, we will somewhat more add of him, because the matter seemeth neither impertinent nor unfruitful, to the intent it may more evidently appear, what truth and trust is to be looked for of this cruel kind of papists. This Dr. London was warden of New College in Oxford, where it happened that certain plate was stolen, and conveyed and brought up to London, and sold to a goldsmith, named William Callaway. This Callaway was a man of good and honest name and reputation among his neighbours, but especially earnest and zealous towards the gospel, and a great maintainer thereof. He had, oftentimes before, bought much plate of the same man without any peril or danger: wherefore, he doubted the less of his fidelity.

At last the principal of the theft being taken, and the goldsmith also, that was the buyer, being known, Dr. London, when he understood him to be a favourer of the gospel, (whereof he was an extreme adversary,) began straightways to be in a rage, and to swear great and deep oaths, that he would spare neither labour nor cost, but would bring the goldsmith to the gallows, although it should cost him five hundred pounds. To be short, this good goldsmith was arraigned as accessory, and an action of felony brought against him. He, contrariwise, alleged, that they ought not to proceed against him, the principal being alive. Dr. London, on the contrary part, affirmed that the principal was hanged; which was most false, for he was one of the same college, and was alive, and but lately set at liberty. To be brief, he being found guilty, the judge asked him what he could allege why he should not die? He required to have the privilege of his book according to the ancient custom and manner. But here it was objected against him that he had two wives, and therefore he might not have his book by the law: notwithstanding that, he never had two wives; but, because his wife had two husbands, it was imputed to him for bigamy.

Thus this good goldsmith, being secluded from all hope of life by the crafty spite of his malignant adversaries, his wife, being a woman of proved honesty and good fame, came in before the judges; and, perceiving her former marriage to be hurtful unto her husband, to save her husband's life, she took an oath before the judges that she was never married to more men than to the said goldsmith: and, although she had children by her other husband, and continued divers years with him, yet she swore that she was never married unto him. Thus this woman, by defaming of herself, to her great praise and singular example of love, delivered her innocent husband; thinking it better for her to live with ignominy and reproach, than for her husband to die; less esteeming the loss of her good name, than of his life.

As touching the quality of this fact or perjury, I intermeddle not here to discuss, but leave it at large to the judgment of lawyers to define upon. Truth it is, that perjury neither in man nor woman is to be commended, neither ought it to be defended. But yet, the true heart and faithful love between this man and his wife, counterpoising again as much or more on the other side, the more rare and strange I see it in many couples now-a-days, the more I think it worthy, not only to

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be praised, but also, for example's sake, to be notified. But, in the mean time, what shall we say to these priests and adversaries, who, in such sort violently do press and force the poor sheep of Christ, with peril of their conscience, unto such perjury; and that, in such causes, where no such truth is sought, but innocency oppressed, true religion persecuted, and only their spite and wrath against God's word wreaked.

208. Qualifications of the Act of the Six Articles.

During the time of these six articles aforesaid, which brought many good men unto death, yet so it happened by another contrary act, set forth before for the king's supremacy, (as ye have heard,) that the contrary sect also of the papists was not all in quiet. For, besides the death of More, and the bishop of Rochester, and the other Charterhouse monks, friars, and priests above specified, about this year, also, were condemned and executed by the same law two others, of whom one was a priest of Chelsea, named Lark, who was put to death at London for defending the bishop of Rome's supremacy above the king's authority: the other was Germain Gardiner, (near kinsman to Stephen Gardiner, and yet more near to his secret counsel, as it is supposed,) who, likewise, in practising for the pope against the king's jurisdiction, was taken with the manner, and so brought unto the gibbet.

Upon the detection of this Germain Gardiner, being secretary to Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, his kinsman, it seemed to some, and so was also insinuated unto the king not to be unlike, but that the said Germain neither would, nor durst, ever attempt any such matter of popery, without some setting on or consent of the bishop, he being so near unto him, and to all his secrets, as he was. Whereby the king began somewhat more to smell and misdoubt the doings of the bishop; but yet the more in number, as the others who deposed against bishop so covertly and clearly conveyed his matters, playing under the board, after his wonted fetches, in such sort that (I cannot tell how) he still kept in with the king, to the great inquietation of the public state of the realm, and especially of Christ's church.

In declaring the dreadful law, before set forth, of the six articles, which was A.D. 1540, ye heard what penalty was appointed for the breach of the same, in like case as in treason and felony; so that no remedy of any recantation would serve. This severity was a little mitigated by another parliament, holden afterwards, A.D. 1544, by which parliament it was decreed, that such offenders as were convicted in the said articles for the first time, should be admitted to recant and renounce their opinions. And if the party refused to recant in such form as should be laid unto him by his ordinary, or, after his recantation, if he eftsouns offended again, then, for the second time, he should be admitted to abjure and bear a faggot; which if he deny to do, or else, being abjured, if he the third time offended, then he to sustain punishment according to the law, &c. Although the straitness and rigour of the former act was thus somewhat tempered, as ye see, and reformed by this present parliament, yet, notwithstanding, the venom and poison of the errors and mischief of those articles remained still behind; not removed, but rather confirmed by this parliament aforesaid. By the which parliament, moreover, many things were provided for the advancement of popery, under the colour of religion; so that all manner of books of the Old and New Testament, bearing the name of William Tyndale, or any others, having prologues, or containing any matters, annotations, preambles, words, or sentences, contrary to the six articles, were debarred. In like manner all songs, plays, and interludes, with all other books in English, containing matter of religion tending any way against the said articles, were abolished.

In the which parliament, furthermore, it was provided, that the text of the New Testament, or of the Bible, being prohibited to all women, artificers, prentices, journeymen, servingmen, yeomen, husbandmen, and labourers; yet was permitted, notwithstanding, to

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noblemen, and gentlemen, and gentlewomen, to read and peruse, to their edifying, so that they did it quietly, without arguing, discussing, or expounding upon the Scripture.

Over and besides, whereas before, the offender or defendant might not be suffered to bring in any witnesses to purge and try himself, in this parliament it was permitted to the party detected or complained of, to try his cause by witnesses, as many, or more in number, as the others who deposed against him, &c.

After this parliament, moreover, followed another parliament, A.D. 1545, wherein other qualifications, more special, of the six articles were provided: that whereas before, the cruel statute of the six articles was so strait, that if any of the king's subjects had been complained of by any manner of person, as well being his enemy as otherwise, he should be indicted presently upon the same, without any further examination or knowledge given to the party so accused; and so thereupon to be attached, committed, and in fine to be condemned: it was, therefore, by this parliament provided, that all such presentments and indictments should not be brought before the commissioners, otherwise than by the oaths of twelve men, or more, of honesty and credit, without corruption or malice accordingly.

"Item, That no such indictments or presentments should be taken, but within one year of the offences committed; or else the said indictments to stand void in the law.

"Item, That no person accused upon any such offence against the six articles, should be attached, or committed to ward, before he were thereof indicted, unless by special warrant from the king.

"Item, By the authority of the said parliament, it was considered and enacted, that if any preacher or reader, for any word spoken, supposed to be against the six articles, should be accused, but not within the space of forty days of the said his reading or preaching, then the party accused to be acquitted.

"Item, That the justices or inquirers of such presentments should have full power to alter and reform all panels of inquiry returned before them, in like manner as the justices of peace may do in their sessions, upon any other inquiries.

"Item, That the party so accused or indicted, upon his trial, may have all manner of challenges, (peremptory only excepted,) as other persons arraigned for felony may have, by the laws of this realm."

By these qualifications and moderations of the six articles, it may appear that the king began somewhat to grow out of favour with Stephen Gardiner, and to descry his doings, whereby he was the more forward to incline somewhat in furthering the desolate cause of religion, as may appear both by these premises, and also by other provisions and determinations of the aforesaid parliament, A.D. 1545, wherein it was decreed by act of parliament, that the king should have full power and authority to appoint thirty-two persons; to wit, sixteen of the clergy, and sixteen of the temporality, to peruse, oversee, and examine the canons, constitutions, and ordinances of the canon law, as well provincial as synodal; and so, according to their discretions, to set and

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establish an order of ecclesiastical laws, such as should be thought by the king and them convenient to be received and used within this realm: which statute, as it is most needful for the government of the Church of England, so, would God it had been brought to perfection!

209 John Athy, John Heywood, Kerby, and Roger Clarke

In this year, touching matters of history, we read no great thing worthy of memory, but only of two persons, John Athy and John Heywood. Of which two, we find first John Athy to be indicted by the king's writ for certain words against the sacrament, which words in the indictment are specified to be these: "That he would not believe in the thing which the knave priest made, neither in that which Long's wife selleth; but only in God that is in heaven. And, when it was told him that God, through his word, could make it flesh and blood, he answered, 'So he might, if he would, turn it into a chicken's leg:' meaning the sacrament of the altar."

The same year also followed the recantation of John Heywood; who although he was attached for treason, for denying the king's supremacy, yet, using the clemency of the king, upon his better reformation and amendment, he made an open and solemn recantation in the face of all the people, abandoning and renouncing the pope's usurped supremacy, and confessing the king to be chief supreme head and governor of this Church of England, all foreign authority and jurisdiction being excluded.

In the year aforesaid, 1545, as there was no other thing done in England worthy to be noted, so now the order of story here requireth, by the course of years, next to infer the discourse of the troubles and persecutions which happened in Scotland against Master George Wishart and divers other good men of the same country, about the same year of our Lord 1545, and somewhat before. But, because now we are come to the latter end almost of King Henry's reign, we will make an end (the Lord willing) with a few other English stories paining to that time; and, that finished, then set upon those matters of Scotland, joining them whole together. The tractation whereof thou shalt see, good reader, in the latter end and closing up of this king's reign.

Kerby, and Roger Clarke, of Suffolk, martyrs.



Coming now to the year of our Lord 1546, first passing over the priest, whose name was Saxy, who was hanged in the porter's lodge of Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and that, as it is supposed, not without the consent of the said bishop and the secret conspiracy of that bloody generation; to pass over also one Henry, with his servant, burned at Colchester; I will now proceed to the story of Kerby, and of Roger Clarke of Mendlesham, who were apprehended at Ipswich, A.D. 1546, the Saturday before Gang-Monday, and brought before the Lord Wentworth, with other commissioners appointed there to sit upon their examinations, judgments, and causes. The night before they were arraigned, a bill was set upon the town-house door, (by whom, it was unknown,) and brought the next day unto the Lord Wentworth; who answered, that it was good counsel: which bill, in the latter end, shall appear.

In the mean time Kerby and Roger, being in the jailer's house, named John Bird, an honest and a good man, (who had checks divers times at the bar, that he was more meet to be kept, than to be a keeper,) came in Master Robert Wingfield, son and heir of Humfrey Wingfield,

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knight, with Master Bruess of Wenham; who then, having conference with Kerby, (being then in a several chamber separate from the other,) Master Wingfield said to Kerby, "Remember the fire is hot, take heed of thine enterprise, that thou take no more upon thee than thou shalt be able to perform. The terror is great, the pain will be extreme, and life is sweet. Better it were betimes to stick to mercy, while there is hope of life, than rashly to begin, and then to shrink;" with such like words of persuasion. To whom he answered again, "Ah, Master Wingfield! be at my burning, and you shall say, There standeth a Christian soldier in the fire. For I know that fire and water, sword, and all other things, are in the hands of God, and he will suffer no more to be laid upon us, than he will give us strength to bear." "Ah, Kerby!" said Master Wingfield, "if thou be at that point, I will bid thee farewell; for, I promise thee, I am not so strong that I am able to burn," And so both the gentlemen, saying that they would pray for them, shook hands with them, and so departed.

Now first, touching the behaviour of Kerby and Roger when they came to the judgment-seat, the Lord Wentworth with all the rest of the justices there ready, the commissary also, by virtue of the statute *ex officio*, sitting next to the Lord Wentworth, but one between; Kerby and Roger lifted up their eyes and hands to heaven with great devotion in all men's eyes, making their prayers secretly to God for a space of time, while they might say the Lord's Prayer five or six times. That done, their articles were declared unto them with all circumstances of the law: and then it was demanded and inquired of them, Whether they believed, that after the words spoken by a priest, (as Christ spake them to his apostles,) there were not the very body and blood of Christ, flesh, blood, and bone, as he was born of the Virgin Mary, and no bread after?

Unto the which words they answered and said, No, they did not so believe; but that they did believe the sacrament which Christ Jesus did institute at his last supper, on Maundy Thursday at night, to his disciples, was only to put all men in remembrance of his precious death and blood-shedding for the remission of sins; and that there was neither flesh nor blood to be eaten with the teeth, but bread and wine; and yet more than bread and wine, for that it is consecrated to a holy use. Then, with much persuasions, both with fair means and threats besides, (if it would have served,) were these two poor men hardly laid to; but most at the hands of Foster, an inferior justice, not being learned in such knowledge. But these two continued both faithful and constant, choosing rather to die than to live; and so continued unto the end.

Then sentence was given upon them both, Kerby to be burned in the said town on the next Saturday, and Roger to be burned at Bury the Gang-Monday after. Kerby, when his judgment was given by the Lord Wentworth, with most humble reverence holding up his hands and bowing himself devoutly, he said, "Praised be Almighty God;" and so stood still without any more words.

Then did the Lord Wentworth talk secretly, putting hie head behind another justice that sat between them. The said Roger, perceiving that, said with a loud voice, "Speak out, my Lord! and if you have done any thing contrary to your conscience, ask God mercy; and we, for our parts, do forgive you: and speak not in secret, for ye shall come before a Judge, and then make answer openly, even before Him that shall judge all men;" with other like words.

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The Lord Wentworth, somewhat blushing, and changing his countenance, (through remorse, as it was thought,) said, "I did speak nothing of you, nor have I done any thing unto you, but as the law is." Then were Kerby and Roger sent forth; Kerby to prison there, and Roger to St. Edmund's Bury. One of the two, bursting out with a loud voice, (Roger it is supposed,) thus spake with a vehemency: "Fight," said he, "for your God; for he hath not long to continue."

The next day, which was Saturday, about ten of the clock, Kerby was brought to the market-place, where a stake was ready, wood, broom, and straw, and did off his clothes unto his shirt, having a nightcap upon his head; and so was fastened to the stake with irons, there being in the gallery the Lord Wentworth, with the most part of all the justices of those quarters, where they might see his execution, how every thing should be done, and also might hear what Kerby did say; and a great number of people, about two thousand by estimation. There was also standing in the gallery by the Lord Wentworth, Dr. Rugham, who was before a monk of Bury, and sexton of the house, having on a surplice, and a stole about his neck. Then silence was proclaimed, and the said doctor began to disable himself, as not meet to declare the Holy Scriptures, being unprovided because the time was so short; but that he hoped, in God's assistance, it should come well to pass.

All this while Kerby was trimming with irons and faggots, broom and straw, as one that should be married with new garments, nothing changing cheer nor countenance, but with a most meek spirit glorified God; which was wonderful to behold. Then Master Doctor, at last, entered into the sixth chapter of St. John, who, in handling that matter, so oft as he alleged the Scriptures, and applied them rightly, Kerby told the people that he said true, and bade the people believe him. But, when he did otherwise, he told him again, "You say not true; believe him not, good people." Whereupon, as the voice of the people was, they judged Dr. Rugham a false prophet. So when Master Doctor had ended his collation, he said unto Kerby, "Thou, good man! dost not thou believe that the blessed sacrament of the altar is the very flesh and blood of Christ, and no bread, even as he was born of the Virgin Mary?" Kerby, answering boldly, said, "I do not so believe." "How dost thou believe?" said the doctor. Kerby said, "I do believe that in the sacrament that Jesus Christ instituted at his last supper, on Maundy Thursday, to his disciples, (which ought of us likewise to be done,) is the death and passion, and his blood-shedding for the redemption of the world, to be remembered: and (as I said before) yet bread, and more than bread; for that it is consecrated to a holy use." Then was Master Doctor in his dumps, and spake not one word more to Kerby after.

Then said the under-sheriff to Kerby, "Hast thou any thing more to say?" "Yea, sir," said he, "if you will give me leave." "Say on," said the sheriff.

Then Kerby, taking his nightcap from his head, put it under his arm, as though it should have done him service again; but, remembering himself, he cast it from him, and lifting up his hands, he said the hymn *Te Deum*, and the Belief, with other prayers in the English tongue. The Lord Wentworth, while Kerby was thus doing, did shroud himself behind one of the posts of the gallery, and wept, and so did many others. Then said Kerby, "I have done: you may execute your office, good Master Sheriff." Then fire was set to the wood, and with a loud voice he called unto God, knocking on his breast, and holding up his hands, so long as his remembrance would serve,

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and so ended his life; the people giving shouts, and praising God with great admiration of his constancy, being so simple and unlettered.

On the Gang-Monday, A.D. 1546, about ten of the clock, Roger Clarke of Mendlesham was brought out of prison, and went on foot to the gate, called Southgate, in Bury, and, by the way, the procession met with them; but he went on, and would not bow cap nor knee, but with most vehement words rebuked that idolatry and superstition, the officers being much offended. And without the gate, where was the place of execution, the stake being ready, and the wood lying by, he came, and kneeled down, and said Magnificat, in the English tongue, making as it were a paraphrase upon the same, wherein he declared how that the blessed Virgin Mary, who might as well rejoice in pureness, as any others, yet humbled herself to her Saviour. "And what sayest thou, John Baptist," said he, "the greatest of all men's children? Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world." And thus, with a loud voice, he cried unto the people, while he was in fastening unto the stake, and then the fire was set to him, where he suffered pains unmercifully; for the wood was green, and would not burn; so that he was choked with smoke. And, moreover, being set in a pitch-barrel, with some pitch sticking still by the sides, he was therewith sore pained, till he had got his feet out of the barrel. And, at length, one standing by took a faggot-stick, and striking at the ring of iron about his neck, so pashed him, and struck him belike upon the head, that he shrank down on the one side into the fire; and so was dissolved.

In the beginning of this story of Kerby and Roger, mention was made of a certain bill put upon the Town-house door, and brought the next day to the Lord Wentworth, the words of which bill were these.

The bill set upon the Town-house door in Ipswich.

"Judge rightly, ye sons of men: yet, when ye shall judge, minister your justice with mercy.

"A fearful thing it is to fall into the hands of the living God: be ye learned, therefore, in true knowledge, ye that judge the earth; lest the Lord be angry with you.

"The blood of the righteous shall be required at your hands. What though the veil hanged before Moses' face; yet at Christ's death it fell down.

"The stones will speak, if these should hold their peace: therefore harden not your hearts against the verity.

"For fearfully shall the Lord appear in the day of vengeance to the troubled in conscience. No excuse shall there be of ignorance, but every vat shall stand on his own bottom. Therefore have remorse in your conscience; fear him that may kill both body and soul.

"Beware of innocent blood-shedding; take heed of justice ignorantly ministered; work discreetly as the Scripture doth command: look to it, that ye make not the truth to be forsaken.

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"We beseech God to save our king, King Henry the Eighth, that he be not led into temptation. So be it."

210 King Henry's Acts and Proclamations, 1545-46

This year also it was ordained and decreed, and solemnly given out in proclamation, by the king's name and authority, and his council, that the English procession should be used throughout all England, according as it was set forth by his said council, and none other to be used throughout the whole realm.

About the latter end of this year, 1545, in the month of November, when the king had subdued the Scots, and afterwards, joining together with the emperor, had invaded France, and had got from them the town of Boulogne, he summoned his high court of parliament. In the which was granted unto him, besides other subsidies of money, all colleges, chantries, free chapels, hospitals, fraternities, brotherhoods, guilds, and perpetuities of stipendiary priests, to be disposed of at his will and pleasure. Whereupon, in the month of December following, the king, after the wonted custom, came into the parliament-house to give his royal assent to such acts as were there passed; where, after an eloquent oration made to him by the speaker, he, answering again unto the same, not by the lord chancellor, (as the manner was,) but by himself, uttered forth this oration, word for word, as it is reported and left in story.

In the contents of which oration, first, eloquently and lovingly he declared his grateful heart to his loving subjects for their grants and subventions, offered unto him. In the second part, with no less vehemency he exhorteth them to concord, peace, and unity. Whereunto if he had also joined the third part, that is, as in words he exhorted to unity, so he had begun indeed first himself to take away the occasion of division, disobedience, and disturbance from his subjects; that is, had removed the stumbling-block of the six articles out of the people's way, which set brother against brother, neighbour against neighbour, the superior against the subject, and the wolves to devour the poor flock of Christ: then, had he not only spoken, but also done, like a worthy prince. But of this, more shall be said in the sequel hereof, God willing.

The King's oration in the parliament-house.

"Although my chancellor for the time being hath, before this time, used very eloquently and substantially to make answer to such orations as have been set forth in this high court of parliament, yet is he not so able to open and set forth my mind and meaning, and the secrets of my heart, in so plain and ample manner as I myself am, and can do. Wherefore I, taking upon me to answer your eloquent oration, Master Speaker! say, that whereas you, in the name of our well-beloved commons, have both praised and extolled me for the notable qualities that you have conceived to be in me, I most heartily thank you all that you put me in remembrance of my duty, which is, to endeavour myself to obtain and get such excellent qualities, and necessary virtues, as a prince or governor should or ought to have; of which gifts I recognise myself both bare and barren.

"But for such small qualities as God hath endued me withal, I render to his goodness my most humble thanks, intending, with all my wit and diligence, to get and acquire to me, such notable virtues and princely qualities, as you have alleged to be incorporate in my person.

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"These thanks for your loving admonition and good counsel first remembered, I eftsoons thank you again, that you, considering our great charges, (not for our pleasure, but for your defence; not for our gain, but to our great cost,) which we have lately sustained, as well in defence against our and your enemies, as for the conquest of that fortress, which was to this realm most displeasing and noisome, and shall be, by God's grace, hereafter to our nation most profitable and pleasant, have freely, of your own mind, granted to us a certain subsidy here in an act specified; which, verily, we take in good part, regarding more your kindness than the profit thereof, as he that setteth more by your loving hearts, than by your substance. Besides this hearty kindness, I cannot a little rejoice, when I consider the perfect trust and sure confidence which you have put in me, as men having undoubted hope, and unfeigned belief, in my good doings and just proceedings; for that you, without my desire or request, have committed to mine order and disposition all chantries, colleges, hospitals, and other places specified in a certain act, firmly trusting that I will order them to the glory of God, and the profit of our commonwealth. Surely if I, contrary to your expectation, should suffer the ministers of the church to decay; or learning, which is so great a jewel, to be minished; or poor and miserable people to be unrelieved; you might say that I, being put in so special a trust as I am in this case, were no trusty friend to you, nor charitable man to mine even christened, neither a lover of the public wealth, nor yet one that feared God, to whom account must be rendered of all our doings. Doubt not, I pray you, but your expectation shall be served more godly and goodly than you will wish or desire, as hereafter you shall plainly perceive.

"Now, since I find such kindness on your part towards me, I cannot choose but love and favour you, affirming that no prince in the world more favoured his subjects than I do you, nor any subjects or commons more love and obey their sovereign lord, than I perceive you do me, for whose defence my treasure shall not be hidden, nor, if necessity require, shall my person be unadventured. Yet, although I with you, and you with me, be in this perfect love and concord, this friendly amity cannot continue, except you, my lords temporal, and you, my lords spiritual, and you, my loving subjects, study and take pains to amend one thing, which is surely amiss and far out of order, to the which I most heartily require you; which is, that charity and concord is not among you, but discord and dissension beareth rule in every place. St. Paul saith to the Corinthians, in the thirteenth chapter, Charity is gentle, charity is not envious, charity is not proud, and so forth, in the said chapter. Behold then what love and charity is amongst you, when the one calleth the other heretic, and Anabaptist; and he calleth him again papist, hypocrite, and Pharisee. Be these tokens of charity amongst you? Are these the signs of fraternal love between you? No, no, I assure that this lack of charity amongst yourselves will be the hinderance and assuaging of the fervent love between us, as I said before, except this wound be salved and clearly made whole. I must needs judge the fault and occasion of this discord to be partly by the negligence of you, the fathers and preachers of the spirituality. For if I know a man which liveth in adultery, I must judge him a lecherous and carnal person. If I see a man boast and brag himself, I cannot but deem him a proud man. I see and hear daily, that you of the clergy preach one against another, teach one contrary to another, inveigh one against another, without charity or discretion. Some be too stiff in their old mumpsimus, others be too busy and curious in their new sumpsimus.

"Thus all men almost be in variety and discord, and few or none do preach truly and sincerely the word of God, according as they ought to do. Shall I now judge you charitable

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persons doing this? No, no, I cannot so do. Alas! how can the poor souls live in concord, when you preachers sow amongst them, in your sermons, debate and discord? Of you they look for light, and you bring them to darkness. Amend these crimes, I exhort you, and set forth God's word, both by true preaching and good example-giving; or else I, whom God hath appointed his vicar and high minister here, will see these divisions extinct, and these enormities corrected, according to my very duty; or else I am an unprofitable servant, and an untrue officer.

"Although (as I say) the spiritual men be in some fault, that charity is not kept amongst you, yet you of the temporalty be not clean and unspotted of malice and envy; for you rail on bishops, speak slanderously of priests, and rebuke and taunt preachers, both contrary to good order and Christian fraternity. If you know surely that a bishop or preacher erreth, or teacheth perverse doctrine, come and declare it to some of our council, or to us, to whom is committed by God, the authority to reform and order such causes and behaviours; and be not judges yourselves of your own fantastical opinions and vain expositions, for in such high causes ye may lightly err. And although you be permitted to read Holy Scripture, and to have the word of God in your mother tongue, you must understand that it is licensed you so to do, only to inform your own conscience, and to instruct your children and family; and not to dispute and make Scripture a railing and a taunting-stock against priests and preachers, as many light persons do. I am very sorry to know and hear how unreverently that most precious jewel, the word of God, is disputed, rhymed, sung, and jangled in every alehouse and tavern, contrary to the true meaning and doctrine of the same: and yet I am even as much sorry that the readers of the same follow it, in doing, so faintly and coldly. For of this I am sure, that charity was never so faint amongst you, and virtuous and godly living was never less used, nor was God himself amongst Christians ever less revered, honoured, or served. Therefore (as I said before) be in charity one with another like brother and brother: love, dread, and fear God (to the which I, as your supreme head and sovereign lord, exhort and require you): and then, I doubt not but that that love and league which I spake of in the beginning, shall never be dissolved or broken between us. And as touching the laws which be now made and concluded, I exhort you, the makers, to be as diligent in putting them in execution, as you were in making and furthering the same; or else your labour shall be in vain, and your commonwealth nothing relieved."

Notes upon the aforesaid exhortation.

Princes who exhort to concord and charity do well; but princes who seek out the causes of discord, and reform the same, do much better. The papist and protestant, heretic and Pharisee, the old mumpsimus and the new sumpsimus, be terms of variance and dissension, and be, I grant, symptoms of a sore wound in the commonwealth. But he that will amend this wound must first begin to search out the causes, and to purge the occasion thereof: otherwise, to cure the sore outwardly, which inwardly doth fester and rankle still, it is but vain.

The root and ground of all this grievance riseth hence: from the prelates and clergy of Rome, seeking, as it seemeth, altogether after riches, pomp, and honour of this world; who, to maintain the same under pretence of religion, do in very deed subvert religion. Under that title of the church, they bring into the church manifest errors and absurdities intolerable, who, pretending to be fathers of the church, if they transgressed but in manners and lightness of life, or negligence of government, they might be borne withal, for peace and concord's sake; and here

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modesty, civility, quietness, unity, and charity, might have place amongst modest natures. But now, they obscure the glory of the Son of God, which in no case ought to be suffered; they extinguish the light and grace of the gospel; they clog men's consciences; they set up idolatry, and maintain idols; they bring in false invocation, and restrain lawful matrimony, whereby groweth filthy pollution, adultery, and whoredom in the church unspeakable; they corrupt the sacraments; they wrest the Scripture to worldly purposes; they kill and persecute God's people: briefly, their doctrine is damnable, their laws be impious, their doings are detestable. And yet, after all this, they creep craftily into the hearts of princes, under the title of the church, and colour of concord; making kings and princes believe that all be heretics and schismatics, who will not be subject to their ordinary power. Now Almighty God, who is a jealous God, and not suffering the glory of his Son to be defaced, nor his truth to be trodden under foot, stirreth up again the hearts of his people to understand his truth, and to defend his cause. Whereupon, of these two parts, as two mighty flints thus smiting together, cometh out the sparkle of this division, which can in no wise be quenched, but that one part must needs yield and give over. There is no neutrality, nor mediation of peace, nor exhortation to agreement, that will serve between these two contrary doctrines, but either the pope's errors must give place to God's word, or else the verity of God must give place unto them.

Wherefore, as the good intent, and plausible oration of the king, in this behalf, was to be not discommended, in exhorting his subjects to charity, so had he much more deserved commendation, if he had sought the right way to work charity, and to help innocency amongst his subjects, by taking away the impious law of the six articles, the mother of all division and manslaughter. For what is this to the purpose, to exhort in words ever so much to charity, and indeed to give a knife to the murderer's hand, to run upon his naked brother, which never in conscience can leave his cause, nor yet hath power to defend himself? as by experience here followeth to be seen, what charity ensued after this exhortation of the king to charity, by the racking and burning of good Anne Askew, with three other poor subjects of the king, within half a year after; whereof shortly you shall hear more declared.

When these chantries and colleges thus, by act of parliament, were given into the king's hands as is above remembered, (which was about the month of December, A.D. 1545,) the next Lent following, Dr. Crome, preaching in the Mercer's chapel, among other reasons and persuasions to rouse the people from the vain opinion of purgatory, inferred this (grounding upon the said act of parliament): that if trentals and chantry masses could avail the souls in purgatory, then did the parliament not well in giving away monasteries, colleges, and chantries, which served principally to that purpose. But, if the parliament did well (as no man could deny) in dissolving them, and bestowing the same upon the king, then is it a plain case, that such chantries and private masses do nothing to confer and relieve them in purgatory. This dilemma of Dr. Crome, no doubt, was insoluble. But, notwithstanding, the charitable prelates, for all the king's late exhortation unto charity, were so charitable unto him, that on Easter next they brought him *coram nobis*, where they so handled him, that they made him to recant. And if he had not, they would have dissolved him and his argument in burning fire, so burning hot was their charity, according as they burned Anne Askew and her fellows in the month of July the year following: whose tragical story and cruel handling now, consequently, the Lord willing, you shall hear.

211. Anne Askew

The two examinations of the worthy servant of God, Mistress Anne Askew, daughter of Sir William Askew, knight, of Lincolnshire, martyred in Smithfield for the constant and faithful testimony of the truth.

The first examination before the inquisitors, A.D. 1545.

"To satisfy your expectation, good people," (said she,) "this was my first examination, in the year of Lord 1545, and in the month of March.

"First, Christopher Dare examined me at Sadler's Hall, being one of the quest, and asked, If I did not believe that the sacrament hanging over the altar was the very body of Christ really. Then I demanded this question of him, Wherefore was St. Stephen stoned to death? and he said, he could not tell Then I answered that no more would I assoil his vain question.

"Secondly, he said, that there was a woman who did testify that I should read, how God was not in temples made with hands. Then I showed him chapters vii. and xvii. of the Acts of the Apostles; what Stephen and Paul had said therein. Whereupon he asked me how I took those sentences? I answered, I would not throw pearls amongst swine, for acorns were good enough.

"Thirdly, he asked me, wherefore I said, I had rather to read five lines in the Bible, than to hear five masses in the temple. I confessed that I said no less; not for the dispraise of either of the Epistle or the Gospel, but because the one did greatly edify me, and the other nothing at all. As St. Paul doth witness in 1 Cor. xiv., where he saith, If the trumpet giveth an uncertain sound, who will prepare himself to the battle?

"Fourthly, he laid unto my charge, that I should say, If an ill priest ministered, it was the devil, and not God.

"My answer was, that I never spake any such thing. But this was my saying: that whosoever he were that ministered unto me, his ill conditions could not hurt my faith, but in spirit I received, nevertheless, the body and blood of Christ.

"Fifthly, he asked me what I said concerning confession. I answered him my meaning, which was, as St. James saith, that every man ought to acknowledge his faults to other, and the one to pray for the other.

"Sixthly, he asked me what I said to the king's book: and I answered him that I could say nothing to it, because I never saw it.

"Seventhly, he asked me if I had the Spirit of God in me. I answered, if I had not, I was but a reprobate or castaway.

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"Then he said, he had sent for a priest to examine me, who was there at hand. The priest asked me what I said to the sacrament of the altar, and required much to know my meaning therein. But I desired him again to hold me excused concerning that matter: none other answer would I make him, because I perceived him to be a papist.

"Eighthly, he asked me, if I did not think that private masses did help the souls departed. I said, it was great idolatry to believe more in them, than in the death which Christ died for us.

"Then they had me thence unto my lord mayor, and he examined me, as they had before, and I answered him directly in all things, as I answered the quest before. Besides this, my lord mayor laid one thing to my charge, which was never spoken of me, but by them; and that was, whether a mouse, eating the host, received God or no? This question did I never ask, but indeed they asked it of me, whereunto I made them no answer, but smiled.

"Then the bishop's chancellor rebuked me, and said that I was much to blame for uttering the Scriptures. For St. Paul, he said, forbade women to speak or to talk of the word of God. I answered him that I knew Paul's meaning as well as he, which is, in 1 Cor. xiv., that a woman ought not to speak in the congregation by the way of teaching: and then I asked him how many women he had seen go into the pulpit and preach? He said he never saw any. Then I said, he ought to find no fault in poor women, except they had offended the law.

"Then my lord mayor commanded me to ward. I asked him if sureties would not serve me; and he made me short answer, that he would take none; Then was I had to the Compter, and there remained eleven days, no friend admitted to speak with me. But, in the mean time, there was a priest sent unto me, who said that he was commanded of the bishop to examine me, and to give me good counsel, which he did not. But, first, he asked me for what cause I was put in the Compter; and I told him, I could not tell. Then he said, it was great pity that I should be there without cause, and concluded, that he was very sorry for me.

"Secondly, he said, it was told him that I should deny the sacrament of the altar. And I answered him again, that what I had said, I had said.

"Thirdly, he asked me, if I were content to be shriven. I told him, so that I might have one of these three, that is to say, Dr. Crome, Sir Guillam, or Huntington, I was contented, because I knew them to be men of wisdom. As for you, or any other, I will not dispraise, because I know you not. Then said he, 'I would not have you think but that I, or any other that shall be brought you, shall be as honest as they: for if we were not, you may be sure the king would not suffer us to preach.' Then I answered with the saying of Solomon, By communing with the wise I may learn wisdom, but by talking with a fool I shall take scathe, Prov i. .5.

"Fourthly, he asked, If the host should fall, and a beast did eat it, whether the beast did receive God or no? I answered, 'Seeing that you have taken the pains to ask the question, I desire you also to assoil it yourself: for I will not do it, because I perceive you come to tempt me.' And he said it was against the order of schools, that he who asked the question should answer it. I told him I was but a woman, and knew not the course of schools.

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"Fifthly he asked me, if I intended to receive the sacrament at Easter, or no? I answered, that else I were no Christian woman; and thereat I did rejoyce, that the time was so near at hand. And then he departed thence with many fair words.

"The 23d day of March, my cousin Brittainne came into the Compter unto me, and asked me whether I might be put to bail, or no? Then went he immediately unto my lord mayor, desiring him to be so good unto me, that I might be bailed. My Lord answered him and said, that he would be glad to do the best that in him lay; howbeit he could not bail me, without the consent of a spiritual officer: requiring him to go and speak with the chancellor of London. For, he said, like as he could not commit me to prison without the consent of a spiritual officer, no more could he bail me without the consent of the same.

"So, upon that, he went to the chancellor, requiring of him as he did before of my lord mayor. He answered him, that the matter was so heinous, that he durst not of himself do it, without my Lord of London were made privy thereunto. But, he said, he would speak unto my Lord in it, and bade him repair unto him the next morrow, and he should well know my Lord's pleasure. And upon the morrow after, he came thither, and spake both with the chancellor and with my Lord bishop of London. The bishop declared unto him, that he was very well contented that I should come forth to communication; and appointed me to appear before him the next day after, at three of the clock at afternoon. Moreover he said unto him, that he would there should be at the examination such learned men as I was affectioned to, that they might see, and also make report, that I was handled with no rigour. He answered him, that he knew no man that I had more affection to, than to other. Then said the bishop, 'Yes, as I understand, she is affectioned to Dr. Crome, Sir Guillam Whitehead, and Huntington, that they might hear the matter, for she doth know them to be learned and of a godly judgment.' Also he required my cousin Brittainne, that he should earnestly persuade me to utter even the very bottom of my heart; and he sware by his fidelity, that no man should take any advantage of my words, neither yet would he lay ought to my charge for any thing that I should there speak; but, if I said any manner of thing amiss, he, with others more, would he glad to reform me therein, with most godly counsel.

"On the morrow after, the bishop of London sent for me at one of the clock, his hour being appointed at three; and as I came before him, he said he was very sorry for my trouble, and desired to know my opinions in such matters as were laid against me. He required me also, in any wise, boldly to utter the secrets of my heart, bidding me not to fear in any point, for whatsoever I did say in his house, no man should hurt me for it. I answered, 'Forasmuch as your Lordship appointed three of the clock, and my friends will not come till that hour, I desire you to pardon me of giving answer till they come.' Then said he, that he thought it meet to send for those four men who were aforenamed and appointed. Then I desired him not to put them to pain, for it should not need, because the two gentlemen which were my friends, were able enough to testify what I should say.

"Anon after he went into his gallery with Master Spilman, and willed him in any wise that he should exhort me to utter all that I thought. In the mean while he commanded his archdeacon to commune with me, who said unto me, 'Mistress, wherefore are you accused and thus troubled here before the bishop?' To whom I answered again and said, 'Sir, ask, I pray you, my accusers; for I know not as yet.' Then took he my book out of my hand, and. said, 'Such

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books as this have brought you to the trouble that you are in. Beware,' said he, 'beware, for he that made this book, and was the author thereof, was a heretic, I warrant you, and burned in Smithfield.' And then I asked him, if he were certain and sure that it was true which he had spoken. And he said, he knew well the book was of John Frith's making. Then I asked him if he were not ashamed to judge of the book before he saw it within, or yet knew the truth thereof. I said also, that such unadvised hasty judgment is a token apparent of a very slender wit. Then I opened the book and showed it him. He said he thought it had been another, for he could find no fault therein. Then I desired him no more to be so unadvisedly rash and swift in judgment, till he thoroughly knew the truth: and so he departed from me.

"Immediately after came my cousin Brittainne in with divers others, as Master Hall of Gray's Inn, and such other like. Then my Lord of London persuaded my cousin Brittainne, as he had done oft before, which was, that I should utter the bottom of my heart in any wise. My Lord said after that unto me; that he would I should credit the counsel of such as were my friends and well-willers in this behalf, which was, that I should utter all things that burdened my conscience; for he assured me, that I should not need to stand in doubt to say any thing. For, like as he promised them, (he said,) he promised me, and would perform it; which was, that neither he, nor any man for him, should take me at advantage for any word that I should speak; and therefore he bade me say my mind without fear. I answered him, that I had nought to say, for my conscience (I thanked God) was burdened with nothing.

"Then brought he forth this unsavoury similitude; that if a man had a wound, no wise surgeon would administer help unto it before he had seen it uncovered. 'In like case,' saith he, 'can I give you no good counsel, unless I know wherewith your conscience is burdened.' I answered, that my conscience was clear in all things, and to lay a plaster unto the whole skin, it might appear much folly.

"Then you drive me,' saith he, 'to lay to your charge your own report, which is this: you did. say, 'He that doth receive the sacrament by the hands of an ill priest, or a sinner, receiveth the devil, and not God.' To that I answered, 'I never spake such words: but, as I said before, both to the quest and to my lord mayor, so say I now again, that the wickedness of the priest should not hurt me, but in spirit and faith I received no less than the body and blood of Christ.' Then said the bishop unto me, 'What saying is this, in spirit? I will not take you at that advantage.' Then I answered, 'My Lord, without faith and spirit I cannot receive him worthily.'

"Then he laid unto me, that I should say, that the sacrament remaining in the pix, was but bread. I answered that I never said so; but indeed the quest asked me such a question, whereunto I would not answer, (I said,) till such a time as they had assoiled me this question of mine, Wherefore Stephen was stoned to death? They said they knew not. Then said I again, no more would I tell them what it was.

"Then said my Lord unto me, that I had alleged a certain text of the Scripture. I answered that I alleged none other but St. Paul's own saying to the Athenians, in the seventeenth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, that 'God dwelleth not in temples made with hands.' Then asked he me, what my faith and belief was in that matter? I answered him, 'I believe as the Scripture doth teach me.'

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"Then inquired he of me, 'What if the Scripture doth say, that it is in the body of Christ?' 'I believe,' said I, 'as the Scripture doth teach me.' Then asked he again, 'What if the Scripture doth say, that it is not the body of Christ?' My answer was still, 'I believe as the Scripture informeth me.' And upon this argument he tarried a great while, to have driven me to make him an answer to his mind: howbeit, I would not, but concluded this with him, that I believed therein, and in all other things, as Christ and his holy apostles did leave them.

"Then he asked me, why I had so few words? And I answered, 'God hath given me the gift of knowledge, but not of utterance: and Solomon saith, That a woman of few words is the gift of God,' Prov. ix. 13.

"Thirdly, my Lord laid unto my charge, that I should say that the mass was superstitious, wicked, and no better than idolatry. I answered him, 'No, I said not so. Howbeit I say the quest did ask me whether private mass did relieve souls departed or no? Unto whom then I answered, 'O Lord! what idolatry is this, that we should rather believe in private masses, than in the healthsome death of the dear Son of God?' Then said my Lord again, 'What an answer is that!' 'Though it be but mean,' said I, 'yet it is good enough for the question.'

"Then I told my Lord, that there was a priest which did hear what I said there before my lord mayor and them. 'With that the chancellor answered, 'Who was the same priest?' 'So she spake it in very deed,' saith he, 'before my lord mayor and me.'

"Then were there certain priests, as Dr. Standish and others, which tempted me much to know my mind. And I answered them always thus: 'That I said to my Lord of London, I have said.' Then Dr. Standish desired my Lord to bid me say my mind concerning the same text of St. Paul's learning, that I, being a woman, should interpret the Scriptures; especially where so many wise learned men were.

"Then my Lord of London said, he was informed that one should ask of me, if I would receive the sacrament at Easter, and I made a mock of it.

"Then I desired that mine accuser might come forth; which my Lord would not. But he said again unto me, 'I sent one to give you good counsel, and at the first word you called him papist.' That I denied not, for I perceived he was no less, yet made I him none answer unto it.

"Then he rebuked me, and said that I should report, that there were bent against me threescore priests at Lincoln. 'Indeed,' quoth I, I said so. For my friends told me, if I did come to Lincoln, the priests would assault me, and put me to great trouble, as thereof they had made their boast: and when I heard it, I went thither indeed, not being afraid, because I knew my matter to be good. Moreover I remained there nine days, to see what would be said unto me. And as I was in the minster, reading upon the Bible, they resorted unto me by two and two, by five and by six, minding to have spoken unto me, yet went they their ways again without words speaking.'

"Then my Lord asked if there were not one that did speak unto me. I told him, yes; that there was one of them at last, which did speak to me indeed. And my Lord then asked me what he said? And I told him his words were of small effect, so that I did not now remember them.

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Then said my Lord, 'There are many that read and know the Scripture, and yet follow it not, nor live thereafter.' I said again, 'My Lord! I would wish that all men knew my conversation and living in all points; for I am sure myself this hour, that there are none able to prove any dishonesty by me. If you know that any can do it, I pray you bring them forth.' Then my Lord went away, and said he would entitle somewhat of my meaning, and so he wrote a great circumstance: but what it was, I have not all in my memory; for he would not suffer me to have the copy thereof. Only do I remember this small portion of it:

"'Be it known,' saith he, 'of all men, that I, Anne Askew, do confess this to be my faith and belief, notwithstanding many reports made afore to the contrary. I believe that they which are houseled at the hands of a priest, whether his conversation be good or not, do receive the body and blood of Christ in substance really. Also, I do believe, that after the consecration, whether it be received or reserved, it is no less than the very body and blood of Christ in substance. Finally, I do believe in this and all other sacraments of holy church in all points, according to the old catholic faith of the same. In witness whereof, I, the said Anne, have subscribed my name.'

"There was somewhat more in it, which, because I had not the copy, I cannot now remember. Then he read it to me, and asked if I did agree to it. And I said again, 'I believe so much thereof, as the Holy Scripture doth agree unto: wherefore I desire you, that ye will add that thereunto. Then he answered, that I should not teach him what he should write. With that he went forth into his great chamber and read the same bill before the audience, who inveigled and willed me to set to my hand; saying also, that I had favour showed me. Then said the bishop, I might thank other, and not myself, for the favour that I found at his hand; for he considered, he said, that I had good friends, and also that I came of a worshipful stock.

"Then answered one Christopher, a servant unto Master Denny: 'Rather ought you, my Lord, to have done it in such case for God's sake, than for man's.' Then my Lord sat down, and took me the writing to set thereto my hand, and I wrote after this manner: 'I, Anne Askew, do believe all manner of things contained in the faith of the catholic church.'"

And forasmuch as mention here is made of the writing of Bonner, which this godly woman said before she had not in memory, therefore I thought in this place to infer the same, both with the whole circumstance of Bonner, and with the title thereunto prefixed by the registrar, and also with her own subscription: to the intent the reader, seeing the same subscription neither to agree with the time of the title above prefixed, nor with the subscription after the writing annexed, might the better understand thereby what credit is to be given hereafter to such bishops, and to such registrars. The tenor of Bonner's writing proceedeth thus:

"The true copy of the confession and belief of Anne Askew, otherwise called Anne Kyme, made before the bishop of London, the twentieth day of March, in the year of our Lord God, after the computation of the Church of England, 1545; and subscribed with her own hand in the presence of the said bishop and others whose names hereafter are recited, set forth and published at this present: to the intent the world may see what credence is now to be given unto the same woman, who, in so short a time, hath so damnably altered and changed her opinion and belief; and therefore was rightly, in open court, arraigned and condemned."

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"Be it known to all faithful people, that, as touching the blessed sacrament of the altar, I do firmly and undoubtedly believe, that after the words of consecration be spoken by the priest, according to the common usage of this Church of England, there is present really the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, whether the minister which doth consecrate be a good man or a bad man; and that also, whensoever the said sacrament is received, whether the receiver be a good man or a bad man, he doth receive it really and corporally. And moreover, I do believe that, whether the said sacrament be then received of the minister, or else reserved to be put into the pix, or to be brought to any person that is impotent or sick, yet there is the very body and blood of our said Saviour; so that whether the minister, or the receiver, be good or bad, yea, whether the sacrament be received or reserved, always there is the blessed body of Christ really.

"And this thing, with all other things touching the sacrament and other sacraments of the church, and all things else touching the Christian belief, which are taught and declared in the king's Majesty's book, lately set forth for the erudition of the Christian people, I, Anne Askew, otherwise called Anne Kyme, do truly and perfectly believe; and so here presently confess and acknowledge. And here I do promise, that henceforth I shall never say or do any thing against the premises, or against any of them. -In witness whereof, I, the said Anne, have subscribed my name unto these presents.

"Written the 20th day of March, in the year of our Lord God 1545.

"By me, ANNE ASKEW,
otherwise called ANNE KYME."

"Witnesses: Edmund, bishop of London; John, bishop of Bath; Owen Oglethorp, doctor of divinity; Richard Smith, doctor of divinity; John Rudde, bachelor of divinity; William Pie, bachelor of divinity; John Wimsley, archdeacon of London; John Cook; Robert John; Francis Spilman; Edward Hall; Alexander Brett; Edmund Buts, with divers others more being then present."

Here mayest thou note, gentle reader, in this confession, both in the bishop and his register, a double sleight of false conveyance. For although the confession purporteth the words of the bishop's writing, whereunto she did set her hand, yet by the title prefixed before, mayest thou see that both she was arraigned and condemned before this was registered; and also, that she is falsely reported to have put to her hand, which indeed, by this her own book, appeareth not so to be, but after this manner and condition: "I, Anne Askew, do believe all manner of things contained in the faith of the catholic church, and not otherwise?" It followeth more in the story:

"Then, because I did add unto it 'the catholic church,' he flung into his chamber in a great fury. With that, my cousin Brittainne followed, desiring him, for God's sake, to be good lord unto me. He answered, that I was a woman, and that he was nothing deceived in me. Then my cousin Brittainne desired him to take me as a woman, and not to set my weak woman's wit to his Lordship's great wisdom.

"Then went in unto him Dr. Weston, and said, that the cause why I did write there 'the catholic church,' was, that I understood not the church written afore. So, with much ado, they persuaded my Lord to come out again, and to take my name, with the names of my sureties, which were my cousin Brittainne, and Master Spilman of Gray's Inn.

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"This being done, we thought that I should have been put to bail immediately, according to the order of the law: howbeit he would not suffer it, but committed me from thence to prison again until the next morrow, and then he willed me to appear in the Guildhall, and so I did. Notwithstanding they would not put me to bail there neither, but read the bishop's writing unto me, as before, and so commanded me again to prison. Then were my sureties appointed to come before them on the next morrow, in Paul's church, which did so indeed. Notwithstanding, they would once again have broken off with them, because they would not be bound also for another woman, at their pleasure, whom they knew not, nor yet what matter was laid unto her charge! Notwithstanding at the St, after much ado and reasoning to and fro, they took a bond of them of recognisance for my forth-coming: and thus I was at the last delivered.

"Written by me, ANNE ASKEW."

The latter apprehension and examination of the worthy martyr of God, Mistress Anne Askew, A.D. 1546.

"I do perceive, dear friend in the Lord, that thou art not yet persuaded thoroughly in the truth concerning the Lord's supper, because Christ said unto his apostles, Take, eat, this is my body which is given for you.

"In giving forth the bread as an outward sign or token to be received with the mouth, he minded them in perfect belief to receive that body of his which should die for the people, and to think the death thereof to be the only health and salvation of their souls. The bread and the wine were left us for a sacramental communion, or a mutual participation of the inestimable benefits of his most precious death and blood-shedding, and that we should, in the end thereof, be thankful together for that most necessary grace of our redemption. For, in the closing up thereof he said thus, This do ye in remembrance of me: yea, so oft as ye shall eat it or drink it. Else should we have been forgetful of that we ought to have in daily remembrance, and also have been altogether unthankful for it. Therefore it is meet that in our prayers we call unto God to graft in our foreheads the true meaning of the Holy Ghost concerning this communion. For St. Paul saith, The letter killeth; the Spirit is it only that giveth life. Mark well the sixth chapter of John, where all is applied unto faith: note also the fourth chapter of St. Paul's Second Epistle to the Corinthians, and in the end thereof ye shall find, that The things which are seen are temporal, but they that are not seen are everlasting. Yea, look in Hebrews iii., and ye shall find that Christ as a son (and no servant) ruleth over his house, whose house are we, and not the dead temple, if we hold fast the confidence and rejoicing of that hope to the end. Wherefore, as said the Holy Ghost, To-day if ye shall hear his voice, harden not your hearts, &c."

The sum of my examination before the king's council at Greenwich.

"Your request as concerning my prison-fellows I am not able to satisfy, because I heard not their examinations. But the effect of mine was this: I, being before the council, was asked of Master Kyme. I answered, that my lord chancellor knew already my mind in that matter. They with that answer were not contented, but said it was the king's pleasure that I should open the matter unto them. I answered them plainly, I would not so do; but if it were the king's pleasure to hear me, I would show him the truth. Then they said, it was not meet for the king to be troubled with me. I answered, that Solomon was reckoned the wisest king that ever lived, yet misliked he

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not to hear two poor common women, much more his Grace a simple woman and his faithful subject. So, in conclusion, I made them none other answer in that matter. Then my lord chancellor asked of me my opinion in the sacrament. My answer was this, I believe that so oft as I, in a Christian congregation, do receive the bread in remembrance of Christ's death, and with thanksgiving, according to his holy institution, I receive therewith the fruits, also, of his most glorious passion. The bishop of Winchester bade me make a direct answer: I said, I would not sing a new song of the Lord in a strange land. Then the bishop said, I spake in parables. I answered, it was best for him, 'for if I show the open truth,' quoth I, ye will not accept it' Then he said I was a parrot. I told him again, I was ready to suffer all things at his hands, not only his rebukes, but all that should follow besides, yea, and all that gladly.

"Then had I divers rebukes of the council, because I would not express my mind in all things as they would have me. But they were not in the mean time unanswered for all that, which now to rehearse were too much, for I was with them there about five hours. Then the clerk of the council conveyed me from thence to my Lady Garnish.

"The next day I was brought again before the council. Then would they needs know of me what I said to the sacrament. I answered, that I already had said what I could say. Then, after divers words, they bade me go by. Then came my Lord Lisle, my Lord of Essex, and the bishop of Winchester, requiring me earnestly that I should confess the sacrament to be flesh, blood, and bone. Then said I to my Lord Parre and my Lord Lisle, that it was a great shame for them to counsel contrary to their knowledge. Whereunto, in few words, they did say, that they would gladly all things were well.

"Then the bishop said he would speak with me familiarly. I said, 'So did Judas, when he unfriendly betrayed Christ' Then desired the bishop to speak with me alone. But that I refused. He asked me why. I aid, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every matter should stand, after Christ's and Paul's doctrine.

"Then my lord chancellor began to examine me again of the sacrament. Then I asked him how long he would halt on both sides. Then would he needs know where I found that. I said, in the Scripture. Then he went his way. Then the bishop said I should be burned. I answered, that I had searched all the Scriptures, yet could I never find that either Christ or his apostles put any creature to death. 'Well, well,' said I, 'God will laugh your threatenings to scorn.' Then was I commanded to stand aside. Then came to me Dr. Cox, and Dr. Robinson. In conclusion, we could not agree.

"Then they made me a bill of the sacrament, willing me to set my hand thereunto; but I would not. Then, on the Sunday, I was sore sick, thinking no less than to die: therefore I desired to speak with Master Latimer, but it would not be. Then was I sent to Newgate in my extremity of sickness; for in all my life afore I was never in such pain. Thus the Lord strengthen us in the truth. Pray, pray, pray!"

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The confession of me, Anne Askew, for the time I was in Newgate, concerning my belief.

"I find in the Scripture, that Christ took the bread and gave it to his disciples, saying, Take, eat, this is my body which shall be broken for you; meaning in substance, his own very body, the bread being thereof an only sign or sacrament. For, after like manner of speaking, he said he would break down the temple, and in three days build it up again, signifying his own body by the temple, as St. John declareth it, and not the stony temple itself. So that the bread is but a remembrance of his death, or a sacrament of thanksgiving for it, whereby we are knit unto him by a communion of Christian love; although there be many that cannot perceive the true meaning thereof: for the veil that Moses put over his face before the children of Israel, that they should not see the clearness thereof, I perceive the same veil remaineth to this day. But when God shall take it away, then shall these blind men see. For it is plainly expressed in the history of Bel in the Bible, that, God dwelleth in nothing material. O king, saith Daniel, be not deceived; for God will be in nothing that is made with hands of men. Oh! what stiff-necked people are these, that will always resist the Holy Ghost. But, as their fathers have done, so do they, because they have stony hearts.

"Written by me, Anne Askew, that neither wish death, nor yet fear his might; and as merry as one that is bound towards heaven."

"Truth is laid in prison. The law is turned to wormwood. And there can no right judgment go forth.

"Oh! forgive us all our sins, and receive us graciously. As for the works of our hands, we will no more call upon them; for it is thou, Lord, that art our God. Thou showest ever mercy unto the fatherless.

"Oh! if they would do this, saith the Lord, I should heal their sores, yea, with all my heart would I love them.

"O Ephraim, what have I to do with idols any more? Whoso is wise, shall understand this; and he that is rightly instructed will regard it, for the ways of the Lord are righteous. Such as are godly, will walk in them; and as for the wicked, they will stumble at them.

"Solomon, saith St. Stephen, builded a house for the God of Jacob. Howbeit, the Highest of all dwelleth not in temples made with hands, as saith the prophet, Heaven is my seat, and earth is my footstool. What house will ye build for me, saith the Lord? or what place is it that I shall rest in? Hath not my hand made all things?

"Woman, believe me, saith Christ to the Samaritan, the time is at hand, that ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, worship the Father. Ye worship ye wot not what; but we know what we worship: for salvation cometh of the Jews. But the hour cometh, and is now, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and verity.

"Labour not, saith Christ, for the meat that perisheth, but for that that endureth unto life everlasting, which the Son of man shall give you: for him hath God the Father sealed."

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The sum of the condemnation of me, Anne Askew, at the Guildhall.

"They said to me there, that I was a heretic, and condemned by the law, if I would stand in my opinion. I answered, that I was no heretic, neither yet deserved I any death by the law of God. But, as concerning the faith which I uttered and wrote to the council, I would not, I said, deny it, because I knew it true. Then would they needs know, if I would deny the sacrament to be Christ's body and blood. I said, 'Yea: for the same Son of God that was born of the Virgin Mary, is now glorious in heaven, and will come again from thence at the latter day like as he went up. And as for that ye call your God, it is a piece of bread. For a more proof thereof, (mark it when you list,) let it but lie in the box three months, and it will be mouldy, and so turn to nothing that is good. Whereupon I am persuaded that it cannot be God.'

"After that, they willed me to have a priest; and then I smiled. Then they asked me, if it were not good; I said, I would confess my faults unto God, for I was sure that he would hear with favour. And so we were condemned by a quest."

"My belief which I wrote to the council was this: 'That the sacramental bread was left us to be received with thanksgiving, in remembrance of Christ's death, the only remedy of our soul's recovery; and that thereby we also receive the whole benefits and fruits of his most glorious passion.' Then would they needs know, whether the bread in the box were God or no: I said, 'God is a Spirit, and will be worshipped in spirit and truth.' Then they demanded, 'Will you plainly deny Christ to be in the sacrament?' I answered, that I believe faithfully the eternal Son of God not to dwell there; in witness whereof I recited again the history of Bel, Dan. xix., Acts vii. and xvii., and Matt. xxiv., concluding thus: 'I neither wish death, nor yet fear his might; God have the praise thereof with thanks.'"

My letter sent to the lord chancellor.

"The Lord God, by whom all creatures have their being, bless you with the light of his knowledge. Amen.

"My duty to your Lordship remembered, &c.: It might please you to accept this my bold suit, as the suit of one who, upon due consideration, is moved to the same, and hopeth to obtain. My request to your Lordship, is only that it may please the same to be a mean for me to the king's Majesty, that his Grace may be certified of these few lines which I have written concerning my belief, which when it shall be truly conferred with the hard judgment given me for the same, I think his Grace shall well perceive me to be weighed in an uneven pair of balances. But I remit my matter and cause to Almighty God, who rightly judgeth all secrets. And thus I commend your Lordship to the governance of him, and fellowship of all saints, Amen.

"By your handmaid, Anne Askew."

My faith briefly written to the king's Grace.

"I, Anne Askew, of good memory, although God hath given me the bread of adversity, and the water of trouble, yet not so much as my sins have deserved, desire this to be known unto your Grace, that, forasmuch as I am by the law condemned for an evil doer, here I take heaven

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and earth to record, that I shall die in my innocency: and, according to that I have said first, and will say last, I utterly abhor and detest all heresies. And as concerning the supper of the Lord, I believe so much as Christ hath said therein, which he confirmed with his most blessed blood. I believe also so much as he willed me to follow and believe, and so much as the catholic church of him doth teach: for I will not forsake the commandment of his holy lips. But look, what God hath charged me with his mouth, that have I shut up in my heart. And thus briefly I end, for lack of learning.

The cruel handling and racking of Anne Askew after her condemnation.

"The elect of my examination and handling since my departure from Newgate.

"On Tuesday I was sent from Newgate to the sign of the Crown, where Master Rich, and the bishop of London, with all their power and flattering words, went about to persuade me from God: but I did not esteem their glosing pretences.

"Then came there to me Nicholas Shaxton, and counselled me to recant as he had done. I said to him, that it had been good for him never to have been born; with many other like words.

"Then Master Rich sent me to the Tower, where I remained till three o'clock.

"Then came Rich and one of the council, charging me upon my obedience, to show unto them, if I knew any man or woman of my sect. My answer was, that I knew none. Then they asked me of my Lady of Suffolk, my Lady of Sussex, my Lady of Hertford, my Lady Denny, and my Lady Fitzwilliam. To whom I answered, if I should pronounce any thing against them, that I were not able to prove it. Then said they unto me, that the king was informed that I could name, if I would, a great number of my sect. I answered, that the king was as well deceived in that behalf, as dissembled with in other matters.

"Then commanded they me to show how I was maintained in the Compter, and who willed me to stick to my opinion. I said, that there was no creature that therein did strengthen me: and as for the help that I had in the Compter, it was by means of my maid. For as she went abroad in the streets, she made moan to the prentices, and they, by her, did send me money; but who they were I never knew.

"Then they said that there were divers gentlewomen that gave me money: but I knew not their names. Then they said that there were divers ladies that had sent me money. I answered, that there was a man in a blue coat who delivered me ten shillings, and said that my Lady of Hertford wait me; and another in a violet coat gave me eight shillings, and said my Lady Denny sent it me: whether it were true or no, I cannot tell; for I am not sure who sent it me, but as the maid did say. Then they said, there were of the council that did maintain me: and I said, No.

"Then they did put me on the rack, because I confessed no ladies or gentlewomen to be of my opinion, and thereon they kept me a long time; and because I lay still, and did not cry, my lord chancellor and Master Rich took pains to rack me with their own hands, till I was nigh dead.

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"Then the lieutenant caused me to be loosed from the rack. Incontinently I swooned, and then they recovered me again. After that I sat two long hours reasoning with my lord chancellor upon the bare floor; where he, with many flattering words, persuaded me to leave my opinion. But my Lord God (I thank his everlasting goodness) gave me grace to persevere, and will do, I hope, to the very end.

"Then was I brought to a house, and laid in a bed, with as weary and painful bones as ever had patient Job; I thank my Lord God there-for. Then my lord chancellor sent me word, if I would leave my opinion, I should want nothing: if I would not, I should forthwith to Newgate, and so be burned. I sent him again word, that I would rather die, than break my faith.

"Thus the Lord open the eyes of their blind hearts, that the truth may take place. Farewell, dear friend, and pray, pray, pray!"

Touching the order of her racking in the Tower thus it was; first she was let down into a dungeon, where Sir Anthony Knevet, the lieutenant, commanded his jailor to pinch her with the rack. Which being done as much as he thought sufficient, he went about to take her down, supposing that he had done enough. But Wriothesley, the chancellor, not contented that she was loosed so soon, confessing nothing, commanded the lieutenant to strain her on the rack again: which because he denied to do, tendering the weakness of the woman, he was threatened therefore grievously of the said Wriothesley, saying, that he would signify his disobedience unto the king. And so consequently upon the same, he and Master Rich, throwing off their gowns, would needs play the tormentors themselves; first asking her, if she were with child. To whom she answering again, said, "Ye shall not need to spare for that, but do your wills upon me." And so, quietly and patiently praying unto the Lord, she abode their tyranny, till her bones and joints were almost plucked asunder, in such sort as she was carried away in a chair. When the racking was past, Wriothesley and his fellow took their horse towards the court.

In the mean time, while they were making their way by land, the good lieutenant, eftsoons taking boat, sped him to the court in all haste to speak with the king before the others, and so did; who there making his humble suit to the king, desired his pardon, and showed him the whole matter as it stood, and of the racking of Mistress Askew, and how he was threatened by the lord chancellor, because, at his commandment, not knowing his Highness's pleasure, he refused to rack her; which he, for compassion, could not find in his heart to do, and therefore humbly craved his Highness's pardon. Which when the king had understood, he seemed not very well to like of their so extreme handling of the woman, and also granted to the lieutenant his pardon, willing him to return and see to his charge.

Great expectation was in the mean season among the warders and other officers of the Tower, waiting for his return; whom when they saw come so cheerfully, declaring unto them how he had sped with the king, they were not a little joyous, and gave thanks to God there-for.

Anne Askew's answer unto John Lacels' letter.

"O friend, most dearly beloved in God! I marvel not a little what should move you to judge in me so slender a faith as to fear death, which is the end of all misery. In the Lord I desire

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you not to believe of me such wickedness: for I doubt it not, but God will perform his work in me, like as he hath begun. I understand the council is not a little displeased, that it should be reported abroad that I was racked in the Tower. They say now, that what they did there was but to fear me; whereby I perceive they are ashamed of their uncomely doings, and fear much lest the king's Majesty should have information thereof; wherefore they would no man to noise it. Well! their cruelty God forgive them. "Your heart in Christ Jesus. Farewell and pray."

The purgation or answer of Anne Askew, against the false surmises of her recantation.

"I have read the process which is reported of them that know not the truth, to be my recantation. But, as the Lord liveth, I never meant a thing less than to recant. Notwithstanding this I confess, that in my first troubles I was examined of the bishop of London about the sacrament. Yet had they no grant of my mouth but this: that I believed therein as the word of God did bind me to believe. More had they never of me. Then he made a copy, which is now in print, and required me to set thereinto my hand; but I refused it. Then my two sureties did will me in no wise to stick thereat, for it was no great matter, they said.

"Then with much ado, at the last I wrote thus: 'I, Anne Askew, do believe this, if God's word do agree to the same, and the true catholic church.' Then the bishop, being in great displeasure with me because I made doubts in my writing, commended me to prison, where I was awhile; but afterwards, by means of friends; I came out again. Here is the truth of that matter. And as concerning the thing that ye covet most to know, resort to John vi., and be ruled always thereby. Thus fare ye well, quoth Anne Askew."

The confession of faith which Anne Askew made in Newgate, before she suffered.

"I, Anne Askew, of good memory, although my merciful Father hath given me the bread of adversity, and the water of trouble, yet not so much as my sins have deserved, confess myself here a sinner before the throne of his heavenly Majesty, desiring his forgiveness and mercy. And forasmuch as I am by the law unrighteously condemned for an evil doer concerning opinions, I take the same most merciful God of mine, who hath made both heaven and earth, to record, that I hold no opinions contrary to his most holy word. And I trust in my merciful Lord, who is the giver of all grace, that he will graciously assist me against all evil opinions which are contrary to his blessed verity. For I take him to witness, that I have done, and will, unto my life's end, utterly abhor them to the uttermost of my power.

"But this is the heresy which they report me to hold: that after the priest hath spoken the words of consecration, there remaineth bread still. They both say, and also teach it for a necessary article of faith, that after those words be once spoken, there remaineth no bread, but even the self-same body that hung upon the cross on Good Friday, both flesh, blood, and bone. To this belief of theirs say I, nay. For then were our common creed false, which saith, that he sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty, and from thence shall come to judge the quick and the dead. Lo, this is the heresy that I hold, and for it must suffer the death. But as touching the holy and blessed supper of the Lord, I believe it to be a most necessary remembrance of his glorious sufferings and death. Moreover, I believe as much therein as my eternal and only Redeemer Jesus Christ would I should believe.

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"Finally, I believe all those Scriptures to be true, which he hath confirmed with his most precious blood. Yea, and as St. Paul saith, those Scriptures are sufficient for our learning and salvation, that Christ hath left here with us; so that I believe we need no unwritten verities to rule his church with. Therefore look, what he hath said unto me with his own mouth in his holy gospel, that have I, with God's grace, closed up in my heart, and my full trust is, as David saith, that it shall be a lantern to my footsteps.

"There be some do say, that I deny the eucharist or sacrament of thanksgiving; but those people do untruly report of me. For I both say and believe it, that if it were ordered like as Christ instituted it and left it, a most singular comfort it were unto us all. But as concerning your mass, as it is now used in our days, I do say and believe it to be the most abominable idol that is in the world: for my God will not be eaten with teeth, neither yet dieth he again. And upon these words that I base now spoken, will I suffer death."

A prayer of Anne Askew.

"O Lord! I have more enemies now, than there be hairs on my head: yet, Lord, let them never overcome me with vain words, but light thou, Lord, in my stead; for on thee cast I my care. With all the spite they can imagine, they fall upon me, who am thy poor creature. Yet, sweet Lord, let me not set by them that are against me; for in thee is my whole delight. And, Lord, I heartily desire of thee that thou wilt of thy most merciful goodness forgive them that violence which they do, and have done, unto me. Open also thou their blind hearts, that they may hereafter do that thing in thy sight, which is only acceptable before thee, and to set forth thy verity aright, without all vain fantasies of sinful men. So be it, O Lord, so be it!

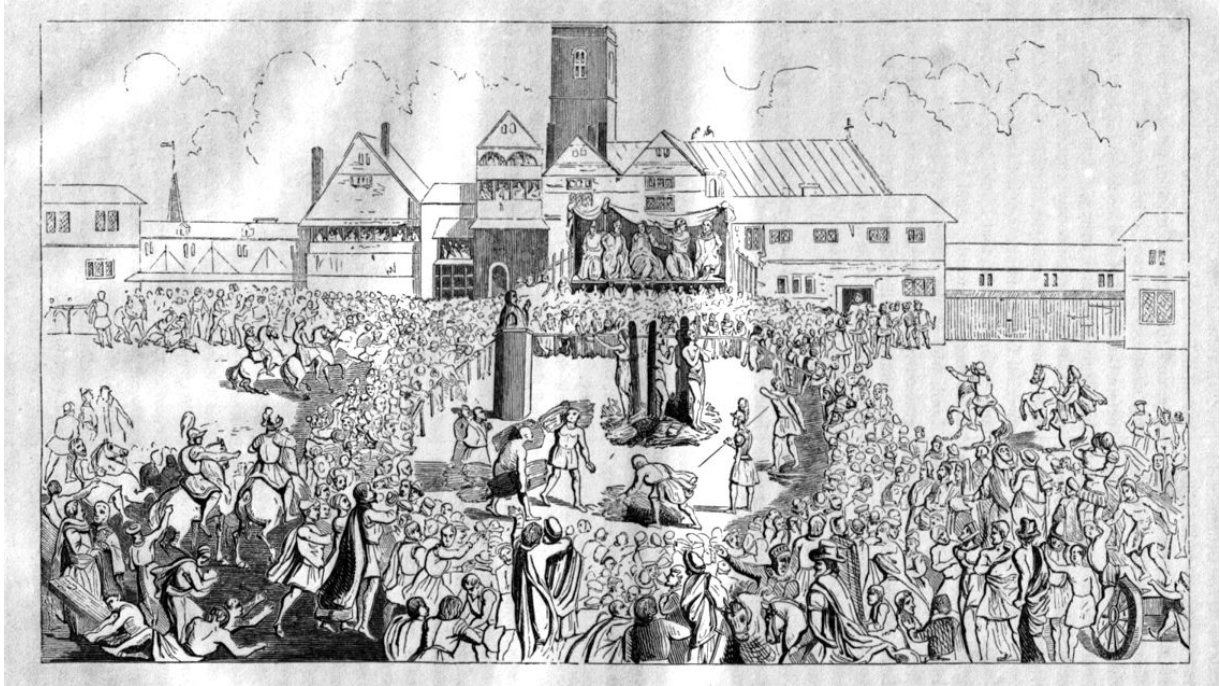
"By me, ANNE ASKEW."

Hitherto we have treated of this good woman: now it remaineth that we touch somewhat as concerning her end and martyrdom. After that she (being born of such stock and kindred that she might have lived in great wealth and prosperity, if she would rather have followed the world than Christ) now had been so tormented, that she could neither live long in so great distress, neither yet by her adversaries be suffered to die in secret, the day of her execution being appointed, she was brought into Smithfield in a chair, because she could not go on her feet, by means of her great torments. When she was brought unto the stake, she was tied by the middle with a chain, that held up her body. When all things were thus prepared to the fire, Dr. Shaxton, who was then appointed to preach, began his sermon. Anne Askew, hearing and answering again unto him, where he said well, confirmed the same; where he said amiss, "There," said she, "he misseth, and speaketh without the book."

The sermon being finished, the martyrs, standing there tied at three several stakes ready to their martyrdom, began their prayers. The multitude and concourse of the people was exceeding; the place where they stood being railed about to keep out the press. Upon the bench under St. Bartholomew's church sat Wriothesley, chancellor of England; the old duke of Norfolk, the old earl of Bedford, the lord mayor, with divers others. Before the fire should be set unto them, one of the bench, hearing that they had gunpowder about them, and being alarmed lest the faggots, by strength of the gunpowder, would come flying about their ears, began to be afraid: but the earl of Bedford, declaring unto him how the gunpowder was not laid under the faggots,

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but only about their bodies, to rid them out of their pain, which having vent, there was no danger to them of the faggots, so diminished that fear.



Anne Askew burned at the stake

Then Wriothesley, lord chancellor, sent to Anne Askew letters, offering to her the king's pardon if she would recant; who, refusing once to look upon them, made this answer again, that she came not thither to deny her Lord and Master. Then were the letters likewise offered unto the others, who, in like manner, following the constancy of the woman, denied not only to receive them, but also to look upon them. Whereupon the lord mayor, commanding fire to be put unto them, cried with a loud voice, *Fiat justitia*.

And thus the good Anne Askew, with these blessed martyrs, being troubled se many manner of ways, and having passed through so many torments, having now ended the long course of her agonies, being compassed in with flames of fire, as a blessed sacrifice unto God, she slept in the Lord A.D. 1546, leaving behind her a singular example of Christian constancy for all men to follow.

212. John Lacels, John Adams, And Nicholas Belenian.

There was, at the same time, also burned together with her, one Nicholas Belenian, priest of Shropshire; John Adams, a tailor; and John Lacels, gentleman of the court and household of King Henry.

It happened well for them, that they died together with Anne Askew: for, albeit that of themselves they were strong and stout men, yet, through the example and exhortation of her, they, being the more boldened, received occasion of greater comfort in that so painful and doleful kind of death; who, beholding her invincible constancy, and also stirred up through her persuasions, did set apart all kind of fear.

Thus they, confirming one another with mutual exhortations, tarried looking for the tormentor and fire, which at the last, flaming round about them, consumed their blessed bodies in happy martyrdom, in the year of our salvation 1546, about the month of June.

There is also a certain letter extant, which the said John Lacels briefly wrote, being in prison, touching the sacrament of Christ's body and blood; wherein he doth both confute the error of them, who, being not contented with the spiritual receiving of the sacrament, will leave no substance of bread therein, and, also, confuteth the sinister interpretation of many thereupon: the tenor of which letter is as hereunder followeth.

The copy of the letter of John Lacels, written out of prison.

"St. Paul, because of sects and dissension among the Corinthians, wrote this Epistle unto them; and, in like case pertaining to my conscience, I do protest my whole heart in the blessed supper of the Lord; wherein I trust in God to bring nothing for me, but I shall be able, with God's holy word, to declare and manifest the same. And herein I take occasion to recite the saying of St. Paul, in the said Epistle, chap. xi., That which I delivered unto you, I received of the Lord. For the Lord Jesus, the same night in which he was betrayed, took bread, gave thanks, and brake it, and said, Take ye, eat ye; this is my body, which is broken for you.

"Here, me seemeth, St. Paul durst not take upon him his Lord and Master's authority. Wherefore, as at God's hand the breaking of the most innocent and immaculate body and blood of Christ is the quietness of all men's consciences, the only remedy of our sins, and the redemption of mankind, which is called in the Scripture the daily offering: so the mass, which is the invention of man, (whose author is the pope of Rome, as it doth appear in Polydore Virgil and many others,) is the unquietness of all Christendom, a blasphemy unto Christ's blood, and (as Daniel calleth it) the abominable desolation, as the Scripture shall hereafter more manifest it. St. Paul was, belike, to learn of the Romans' church, the manner of the consecration, as they call it, with the breathing over the host, and other ceremonies besides, that he durst not take upon him to say, *Hoc est corpus meum*. But this I will admit: it was the Lord Jesus that made the supper; who also did finish it, and made an end of the only act of our salvation, not only here in this world, but with his Father in heaven; as he declareth himself, that he will drink no more of this bitter cup, till he drink it new in his Father's kingdom, where all bitterness shall be taken away.

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"Now, if any man be able to finish the act of our Saviour, in breaking of his body, and shedding of his blood here, and also to finish it with the Father in heaven, then let him say it. But I think that if men will look upon St. Paul's words well, they shall be forced to say, as St. Paul saith, The Lord Jesus said it; and once for all, which only was the fulfiller of it. For these words, *Hoc est corpus meum*, were spoken of his natural presence, (which no man is able to deny,) because the act was finished on the cross, as the story doth plainly manifest it to them that have eyes. Now this bloody sacrifice is made an end of; the supper is finished, forasmuch as Christ hath once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust, to bring us to God, and was killed as pertaining to the flesh, and hath entered in by his own blood once for all, into the holy place, and found eternal redemption.

"Here now followeth the administration of the supper of the Lord, which I will take at Christ's hands after the resurrection, although other men will not be ashamed to bring the wicked counsels of foolish inventions for them. And it came to pass, as Christ sat at meat with them, he took bread, blessed, and brake it, and gave it to them; and their eyes were opened, and knew him, and he vanished out of their sight. And the apostles did know him in breaking of bread.

"Here, also, it seemeth to me the apostles to follow their Master Christ, and to take the right use of the sacrament, and also to teach it to those that were converted to Christ, as mention is made in the Acts of the Apostles, where it is said, They continued in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship, in breaking of bread, and prayer; and they continued daily with one accord in the temple, and brake bread in every house, and did eat there with gladness and singleness of heart, praising God; and had favour with all the people. And St. Paul, following the same doctrine, doth plainly show the duty of the minister, and also of them that shall receive it: As oft as ye shall eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye shall show the Lord's death until he come. Here I do gather, that the minister hath no further power and authority than to preach and pronounce the Lord's death, or else to say, the Lord Jesus said it, which did fulfil it on the cross.

"Furthermore, I do stedfastly believe, that where the bread is broken according to the ordinance of Christ, the blessed and immaculate Lamb is present to the eyes of our faith, and so we eat his flesh, and drink his blood, which is, to dwell with God, and God with us. And in this we are sure we dwell with God, in that he giveth us his Holy Spirit, even as the forefathers, that were before Christ's coming, did presently see the Lord's death, and did eat his body, and drink his blood.

"In this I do differ from the pope's church, that the priests have authority to make Christ's natural presence in the bread, for so doth he more than our Lord and Saviour did; as the example is manifest in Judas, who at Christ's hands received the same wine and bread as the other apostles did. But the pope and his adherents are even they whom Daniel speaketh of, saying, He shall set men to unhallow the sanctuary, and to put down the daily offering, and to set up the abominable desolation. Yea, he, of Rome, shall speak marvellous things against the God of heaven, and God of all gods, wherein he shall prosper so long, till the wrath be fulfilled, for the conclusion is devised already. He shall not regard the God of heaven, nor the God of his fathers, yea, in his place shall he worship the mighty idol, and the god whom his fathers knew not, which is the god Maozim.

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"For lack of time, I leave the commemoration of the blessed supper of the Lord, and the abominable idol the mass, which is it that Daniel meaneth by the god Maozim. Read the second and last chapten of Daniel, and 2 Thess. ii., where they recite the abomination of desolation, which Matthew saith, standeth in the holy place, that is, in the consciences of men. Mark saith, where it ought not to stand, which is a plain denial of all the inventions of men. Farther, Luke saith, the time is at hand. Paul saith, the mystery of iniquity worketh already, yea, and shall continue till the appearance of Christ, which in my judgment is at hand.

"Now for the supper of the Lord, I do protest to take it as reverently as Christ left it, and as his apostles did use it, according to the testimonies of the prophets, the apostles, and our blessed Saviour Christ, which accordingly St. Paul to the Ephesians doth recite.

"Now, with quietness, I commit the whole world to their pastor and herdsman Jesus Christ, the only Saviour and true Messiah, and I commend my sovereign lord and master the king's Majesty, King Henry the Eighth, to God the Father, and to our Lord Jesus Christ: the queen, and my lord the prince, with this whole realm, ever to the innocent and immaculate Lamb, that his blood may wash and purify their hearts and souls from all iniquity and sin, to God's glory, and to the salvation of their souls. I do protest, that the inward part of my heart doth groan for this; and I doubt not but to enter into the holy tabernacle which is above, yea, and there to be with God for ever. Farewell in Christ Jesu.

"John Lacels, late servant to the king, and now I trust to serve the everlasting King, with the testimony of my blood in Smithfield."

213. One Rogers, a Martyr, Burned in Norfolk.

Like as Winchester and other bishops did set on King Henry against Anne Askew and her fellow martyrs, so Dr. Repse, bishop of Norwich, did incite no less the old duke of Norfolk against one Rogers in the county of Norfolk; who, much about the same year and time, was there condemned and suffered martyrdom for the six articles. After which time it was not long, but within a half year, both the king himself and the duke's house decayed: albeit, the duke's house, by God's grace, recovered again afterwards, and he himself converted to more moderation in this kind of dealing.

214. Katherine Parr

The story of Queen Katharine Parr, late queen, and wife to King Henry the Eighth wherein appeareth in what danger she was for the gospel, by means of Stephen Gardiner and others of his conspiracy; and how graciously she was preserved by her kind and loving husband the king.

After these stormy stories above recited, the course and order as well of the time as the matter of the story doth require now somewhat to treat, likewise, touching the troubles and afflictions of the virtuous and excellent lady, Queen Katharine Parr, the last wife to King Henry; the story whereof is this.

About the same time above noted, which was about the year after the king returned from Boulogne, he was informed that Queen Katharine Parr, at that time his wife, was very much given to the reading and study of the Holy Scriptures, and that she, for that purpose, had retained divers well learned and godly persons to instruct her thoroughly in the same; with whom as, at all times convenient, she used to have private conference touching spiritual matters, so also of ordinary; but especially in Lent, every day in the afternoon, for the space of an hour, one of her said chaplains, in her privy chamber, made some collation to her and to her ladies and gentlewomen of her privy chamber, or others that were disposed to hear; in which sermons they oftentimes touched such abuses as in the church then were rife. As these things were not secretly done, so neither were their preachings unknown to the king; whereof, at first, and for a great time, he seemed very well to like. Which made her the more bold (being indeed become very zealous toward the gospel, and the professors thereof) frankly to debate with the king touching religion, and therein flatly to discover herself; oftentimes wishing, exhorting, and persuading the king, that as he had, to the glory of God, and his eternal fame, begun a good and a godly work in banishing that monstrous idol of Rome, so he would thoroughly perfect and finish the same, cleansing and purging his church of England clean from the dregs thereof, wherein as yet remained great superstition.

And albeit the king grew, towards his latter end, very stern and opinionate, so that of few he could be content to be taught, but worst of all to be contended withal by argument; notwithstanding, towards her he refrained his accustomed manner, (unto others in like case used,) as appeared by great respects, either for the reverence of the cause, whereunto of himself he seemed well inclined, if some others could have ceased from seeking to pervert him, or else, for the singular affection which, until a very small time before his death, he always bare unto her. For never handmaid sought with more careful diligence to please her mistress, than she did, with all painful endeavour, apply herself, by all virtuous means, in all things to please his humour.

Moreover, besides the virtues of the mind, she was endued with very rare gifts of nature, as singular beauty, favour, and comely personage, being things wherein the king was greatly delighted: and so enjoyed she the king's favour, to the great likelihood of the setting at large of the gospel within this realm at that time, had not the malicious practice of certain enemies professed against the truth, (which at that time also were very great,) prevented the same, to the utter alienating of the king's mind from religion, and almost to the extreme ruin of the queen and

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certain others with her, if God had not marvellously succoured her in that distress. The conspirers and practisers of her death were Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, Wriothesley, then lord chancellor, and others, as well of the king's privy chamber, as of his privy council. These, seeking (for the furtherance of their ungodly purpose) to revive, stir up, and kindle, evil and pernicious humours in their prince and sovereign lord, to the intent to deprive her of this great favour which then she stood in with the king, (which they not a little feared would turn to the utter ruin of their antichristian sect, if it should continue,) and thereby to stop the passage of the gospel; and consequently, (having taken away her, who was the only patroness of the professors of the truth,) openly, without fear of check or controlment, with fire and sword, after their accustomed manner, to invade the small remainder, as they hoped, of that poor flock, made their wicked entry unto this their mischievous enterprise, after this manner following.

The king's Majesty, as you have heard, misliked to be contended withal in any kind of argument. This humour of his, although not in smaller matters, yet in causes of religion, as occasion served, the queen would not stick, in reverent terms and humble talk, entering with him into discourse, with sound reasons of Scripture now and then to contrary; the which the king was so well accustomed unto in those matters, that at her hands he took all in good part, or, at least, did never show countenance of offence thereat: which did not a little appal her adversaries to hear and see. During which time, perceiving her so thoroughly grounded in the king's favour, they durst not for their lives once open their lips unto the king in any respect to touch her, either in her presence, or behind her back. And so long she continued this her accustomed usage, not only of hearing private sermons, (as is said,) but also of her free conference with the king in matters of religion, without all peril; until, at the last, by reason of his sore leg, (the anguish whereof began more and more to increase,) he waxed sickly, and therewithal froward, and difficult to be pleased.

In the time of this his sickness, he had left his accustomed manner of coming, and visiting the queen, and therefore she, according as she understood him, by such assured intelligence as she had about him, to be disposed to have her company, sometime being sent for, at other times of herself, would come to visit him, either after dinner or after supper, as was most fit for her purpose: at which times she would not fail to use all occasions to move him, according to her manner, zealously to proceed in the reformation of the church. The sharpness of the disease had sharpened the king's accustomed patience, so that he began to show some tokens of misliking; and, contrary unto his manner, upon a day breaking off that matter, he took occasion to enter into other talk, which somewhat amazed the queen, to whom, notwithstanding, in her presence he gave neither evil word nor countenance, but knit up all arguments with gentle words and loving countenance; and after other pleasant talk, she, for that time, took her leave of his Majesty; who, after his manner, bidding her "Farewell, sweet heart!" (for that was his usual term to the queen,) licensed her to depart.

At this visitation chanced the bishop of Winchester aforementioned to be present, as also at the queen's taking her leave, (who very well had printed in his memory the king's sudden interrupting of the queen in her tale, and falling into other matter,) and thought, that if the iron were beaten whilst it was hot, and that the king's humour were holpen, such misliking might follow towards the queen, as might both overthrow her, and all her endeavours; and only awaited some occasion to renew in the king's memory the former misliked argument. His expectation in

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that behalf did nothing fail him; for the king at that time showed himself no less prompt and ready to receive any information, than the bishop was maliciously bent to stir up the king's indignation against her. The king, immediately upon her departure from him, used these or like words: "A good hearing," quoth he, "it is, when women become such clerks; and a thing much to my comfort, to come in mine old days to be taught by my wife."

The bishop, hearing this, seemed to mislike that the queen should so much forget herself as to take upon her to stand in any argument with his Majesty, whom he, to his face, extolled for his rare virtues, and especially, for his learned judgment in matters of religion, above not only princes of that and other ages, but also above doctors professed in divinity; and said that it was an unseemly thing for any of his Majesty's subjects to reason and argue with him so malapertly, and grievous to him, for his part, and other of his Majesty's councillors and servants, to hear the same; and that they all, by proof, knew his wisdom to be such, that it was not needful for any to put him in mind of any such matters: inferring, moreover, how dangerous and perilous a matter it is, and ever hath been, for a prince to suffer such insolent words at his subjects' hands; who, as they take boldness to contrary their sovereign in words, so want they no will, but only power and strength, to overthrow them in deeds.

Besides this, that the religion by the queen so stiffly maintained, did not only disallow and dissolve the policy and politic government of princes, but also taught the people that all things ought to be in common; so that what colour soever they pretended, their opinions were indeed so odious, and for the prince's estate so perilous, that (saving the reverence they bear unto her for his Majesty's sake) they durst be bold to affirm that the greatest subject in this land, speaking those words that she did speak, and defending those arguments that she did defend, had, with indifferent justice, by law deserved death.

Howbeit, for his part, he would not, nor durst he, without good warrant from his Majesty, speak his knowledge in the queen's case, although very apparent reasons made for him, and such as his dutiful affection towards his Majesty, and the zeal and preservation of his estate, would scarce give him leave to conceal, though the uttering thereof might, through her, and her faction, be the utter destruction of him, and of such as indeed did chiefly tender the prince's safety, without his Majesty would take upon him to be their protector, and as it were their buckler: which, if he would do, (as in respect of his own safety he ought not to refuse,) he, with others of his faithful councillors, could, within short time, disclose such treasons cloaked with this cloak of heresy, that his Majesty should easily perceive how perilous a matter it is, to cherish a serpent within his own bosom: howbeit, he would not, for his part, willingly deal in the matter, both for reverent respect aforesaid, and, also, for fear lest the faction was grown already too great, there, with the prince's safety, to discover the same. And therewithal, with heavy countenance, and whispering together with them of that sect there present, he held his peace.

These, and such other kinds of Winchester's flattering phrases, marvellously whetted the king both to anger and displeasure towards the queen, and also to be jealous and mistrustful of his own estate; for the assurance whereof, princes use not to be scrupulous to do any thing. Thus then Winchester, with his flattering words, seeking to frame the king's disposition after his own pleasure, so far crept into the king at that time, and, with doubtful fears he, with other his fellows, so filled the king's mistrustful mind, that before they departed the place, the king (to see,

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belike, what they would do) had given commandment, with warrant to certain of them made for that purpose, to consult together about the drawing of certain articles against the queen, wherein her life might be touched; which the king, by their persuasions, pretended to be fully resolved not to spare, having any rigour or colour of law to countenance the matter. With this commission they departed for that time from the king, resolved to put their pernicious practice to as mischievous an execution.

During the time of deliberation about this matter, they failed not to use all kind of policies and mischievous practices, as well to suborn accusers, as otherwise to betray her, in seeking to understand what books, by law forbidden, she had in her closet. And the better to bring their purpose to pass, because they would not upon the sudden, but by means, deal with her, they thought it best, at first, to begin with some of those ladies, whom they knew to be great with her, and of her blood; the chiefest whereof, as most of estimation, and privy to all her doings, were these: the Lady Herbert, afterwards countess of Pembroke, and sister to the queen, and chief of her privy chamber; the Lady Lane, being of her privy chamber, and also her cousin german; the Lady Tyrwit, of her privy chamber, and, for her virtuous disposition, in very great favour and credit with her.

It was devised that these three above named should, first of all, have been accused and brought to answer unto the six articles; and, upon their apprehension in the court, their closets and coffers should have been searched, that somewhat might have been found whereby the queen might be charged; which, being found, the queen herself, presently, should have been taken, and likewise, by barge, carried by night unto the Tower. This platform thus devised, but yet in the end coming to no effect; the king, by those aforesaid, was forthwith made privy unto the device by Winchester and Wriothesley, and his consent thereunto demanded; who, (belike to prove the bishop's malice, how far it would presume,) like a wise politic prince, was contented dissemblingly to give his consent, and to allow of every circumstance; knowing, notwithstanding, in the end what he would do. And thus the day, the time, and the place of these apprehensions aforesaid, were appointed; which device yet after was changed.

The king at that time lay at Whitehall, and used very seldom, being not well at ease, to stir out of his chamber or privy gallery; and few of his council, but by especial commandment, resorted unto him; these only except, who, by reason of this practice, used, oftener than ordinary, to repair unto him. This purpose so finely was handled, that it grew now within few days* of the time appointed for the execution of the matter, and the poor queen neither knew, nor suspected, any thing at all, and therefore used, after her accustomed manner, when she came to visit the king, still to deal with him touching religion, as before she did.

The king, all this while, gave her leave to utter her mind at the full, without contradiction; not upon any evil mind or misliking (ye must conceive) to bare her speedy despatch, but rather closely dissembling with them, to try out the uttermost of Winchester's fetches. Thus, after her accustomed conference with the king, when she had taken her leave of him, (the time and day of Winchester's final date approaching fast upon,) it chanced that the king, of himself, upon a certain night after her being with him, and her leave taken of him, in misliking her religion, brake the whole practice unto one of his physicians, either Dr. Wendy, or else Owen, but rather Wendy, as is supposed: pretending unto him, as though he intended not any longer to be troubled

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with such a doctress as she was; and also declaring what trouble was in working against her by certain of her enemies, but yet charging him withal, upon peril of his life, not to utter it to any creature living: and thereupon declared unto him the parties above named, with all circumstances, and when and what the final resolution of the matter should be.

The queen all this while, compassed about with enemies and persecutors, perceived nothing of all this, nor what was working against her, and what traps were laid for her by Winchester and his fellows; so closely was the matter conveyed. But, see what the Lord God (who from his eternal throne of wisdom seeth and despatcheth all the inventions of Ahithophel, and comprehendeth the wily, beguily, themselves) did for his poor handmaiden, in rescuing her from the pit of ruin, whereinto she was ready to fall unawares.

For, as the Lord would, so came it to pass, that the bill of articles drawn against the queen, and subscribed with the king's own hand, (although dissemblingly, you must understand,) falling from the bosom of one of the aforesaid councillors, was found and taken up of some godly person, and brought immediately unto the queen; who, reading there articles comprised against her, and perceiving the king's own hand unto the same, for the sudden fear thereof fell incontinent into a great melancholy and agony, bewailing and taking on in such sort as was lamentable to see, as certain of her ladies and gentlewomen, being yet alive, who were then present about her, can testify.

The king, hearing what perplexity she was in, almost to the peril and danger of her life, sent his physicians unto her; who, travailing about her, and seeing what extremity she was in, did what they could for her recovery;. Then Wendy, who knew the cause better than the others, and perceiving, by her words, what the matter was, according to that the king before had told him, for the comforting of her heavy mind, began to break with her in secret manner, touching the said articles devised against her, which he himself (he said) knew right well to be true: although he stood in danger of his life, if ever he were known to utter the same to any living creature. Nevertheless, partly for the safety of her life, and partly for the discharge of his own conscience, having remorse to consent to the shedding of innocent blood, he could not but give her warning of that mischief that hanged over her head; beseeching her most instantly to use, all secrecy in that behalf, and exhorting her somewhat to frame and conform herself unto the king's mind, saying, he did not doubt but, if she would so do, and show her humble submission unto him, she should find him gracious and favourable unto her.

It was not long after this, but the king, hearing of the dangerous state wherein she yet still remained, came unto her himself; unto whom, after that she had uttered her grief, fearing lest his Majesty (she said) had taken displeasure with her, and had utterly forsaken her, he, like a loving husband, with sweet and comfortable words so refreshed and appeased her careful mind, that she, upon the same, began somewhat to recover; and so the king, after he had tarried there about the space of an hour, departed.

After this the queen, remembering with herself the words that Master Wendy had said unto her, devised how, by some good opportunity, she might repair to the king's presence. And so, first commanding her ladies to convey away their books which were against the law, the next night following, after supper, she (waited upon only by the Lady Herbert her sister, and the Lady

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Lane, who carried the candle before her) went unto the king's bed-chamber, whom she found sitting and talking with certain gentlemen of his chamber; whom when the king did behold, very courteously he welcomed her, and, breaking off the talk which, before her coming, he had with the gentlemen aforesaid, began of himself, contrary to his manner before accustomed, to enter into talk of religion, seeming as it were desirous to be resolved by the queen, of certain doubts which he propounded.

The queen, perceiving to what purpose this talk did tend, not being unprovided in what sort to behave herself towards the king, with such answers resolved his questions as the time and opportunity present did require, mildly, and with reverent countenance, answering again after this manner:

"Your Majesty," quoth she, "doth right-well know, neither I myself am ignorant, what great imperfection and weakness by our first creation is allotted unto us women, to be ordained and appointed as privy chamber and subject unto man as our head; from which head all our direction ought to proceed: and that as God made man to his own shape and likeness, whereby he, being endued with more special gifts of perfection, might rather be stirred to the contemplation of heavenly things, and to the earnest endeavour to obey his commandments, even so, also, made he woman of man, of whom and by whom she is to be governed, commanded, and directed; whose womanly weaknesses and natural imperfection ought to be tolerated, aided, and borne withal, so that, by his wisdom, such things as be lacking in her ought to be supplied.

"Since, therefore, that God hath appointed such a natural difference between man and woman, and your Majesty being so excellent in gifts and ornaments of wisdom, and I a silly poor woman, so much inferior in all respects of nature unto you, how then cometh it now to pass that your Majesty, in such diffuse causes of religion, will seem to require my judgment? which when I have uttered and said what I can, yet must I, and will I, refer my judgment in this, and in all other cases, to your Majesty's wisdom, as my only anchor, supreme head and governor here in earth, next under God, to lean unto."

"Not so, by St. Mary," quoth the king; "you are become a doctor, Kate, to instruct us, (as we take it,) and not to be instructed or directed by us."

"If your Majesty take it so," quoth the queen, "then hath your Majesty very much mistaken me, who have ever been of the opinion, to think it very unseemly, and preposterous, for the woman to take upon her the office of an instructor or teacher to her lord and husband; but rather to learn of her husband, and to be taught by him. And whereas I have, with your Majesty's leave, heretofore been bold to hold talk with your Majesty, wherein sometimes in opinions there hath seemed some difference, I have not done it so much to maintain opinion, as I did it rather to minister talk, not only to the end your Majesty might with less grief pass over this painful time of your infirmity, being attentive to our talk, and hoping that your Majesty should reap some ease thereby; but also that I, hearing your Majesty's learned discourse, might receive to myself some profit thereby: wherein, I assure your Majesty, I have not missed any part of my desire in that behalf, always referring myself, in all such matters, unto your Majesty, as by ordinance of nature it is convenient for me to do."

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"And is it even so, sweet heart!" quoth the king, "and tended your arguments to no worse end? Then, perfect friends we are now again, as ever at any time heretofore." And as he sat in his chair, embracing her in his arms, and kissing her, he added this, saying, that it did him more good at that time to hear those words of her own mouth, than if he had heard present news of a hundred thousand pounds in money fallen unto him. And with great signs and tokens of marvellous joy and liking, with promises and assurances never again in any sort more to mistake her, entering into other very pleasant discourses with the queen and lords, and the gentlemen standing by, in the end (being very far in the night) he gave her leave to depart: whom, in her absence, to the standers-by, he gave as singular and as affectuous commendations, as beforetime, to the bishop and the chancellor, (who then were neither of them present,) he seemed to mislike of her.

Now then, God be thanked! the king's mind was clean altered, and he detested in his heart (as afterwards he plainly showed) this tragical practice of those cruel Caiaphases; who, nothing understanding of the king's well-reformed mind and good disposition toward the queen, were busily occupied about thinking and providing for their next day's labour, which was the day determined to have carried the queen to the Tower.

The day and almost the hour appointed being come, the king, being disposed in the afternoon to take the air, (waited upon with two gentlemen only of his bed-chamber,) went into the garden, whither the queen also came, being sent for by the king himself, the three ladies above named alone waiting upon her; with whom the king, at that time, disposed himself to be as pleasant as ever he was in all his life before: when suddenly, in the midst of their mirth, the hour determined being come, in cometh the lord chancellor into the garden with forty of the king's guards at his heels, with purpose indeed to have taken the queen, together with the three ladies aforesaid, whom they had before purposed to apprehend alone, even then unto the Tower. Whom then the king sternly beholding, breaking off with his mirth with the queen, stepping a little aside, called the chancellor unto him; who, upon his knees, spake certain words unto the king, but what they were, (for that they were softly spoken, and the king a pretty good distance from the queen,) it is not well known, but it is most certain that the king's replying unto him, was "Knave!" for his answer; yea, "arrant knave! beast! and fool!" And with that the king commanded him presently to avaunt out of his presence. Which words, although they were uttered somewhat low, yet were they so vehemently whispered out by the king, that the queen did easily, with her ladies aforesaid, overhear them; which had been not a little to her comfort, if she had known at that time the whole cause of his coming, as perfectly as after she knew it. Thus departed the lord chancellor out of the king's presence as he came, with all his train; the whole mould of all his device being utterly broken.

The king, after his departure, immediately returned to the queen; whom she, perceiving to be very much chafed, (albeit, coming towards her, he enforced himself to put on a merry countenance,) with as sweet words as she could utter, she endeavoured to qualify the king's displeasure, with request unto his Majesty in behalf of the lord chancellor, with whom he seemed to be offended; saying, for his excuse, "that albeit she knew not what just cause his Majesty had at that time to be offended with him, yet she thought that ignorance, not will, was the cause of his error," and so besought his Majesty, (if the cause were at very heinous,) at her humble suit, to take it.



King Henry with Queen Katharine and the Lord Chancellor in the garden

"Ah! poor soul," quoth he, "thou little knowest how evil he deserveth this grace at thy hands. Of my word, sweet heart! he hath been towards thee an arrant knave, and so let him go." To this the queen, in charitable manner replying, in few words ended that talk; having also, by God's only blessing, happily, for that time and ever, escaped the dangerous snares of her bloody and cruel enemies for the gospel's sake.

215. Wicked Deeds Of Bishop Gardiner

The pestiferous purpose of this bishop, and of such-like bloody adversaries practising thus against the queen, and proceedings of God's gospel, (as ye have heard,) putteth me in remembrance of another like story of his wicked working in like manner, a little before; but much more pernicious and pestilent to the public church of Jesus Christ, than this was dangerous to the private estate of the queen: which story, likewise, I thought here, as in convenient place, to be adjoined and notified, to be known to all posterity, according as I have it faithfully recorded and storied by him who heard it of the archbishop Cranmer's own mouth declared, in order and form as followeth.

A discourse touching a certain policy used by Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, in staying King Henry the Eighth from redressing of certain abuses of ceremonies in the church; being ambassador beyond the seas: also the communication of King Henry the Eighth, had with the ambassador of France at Hampton Court, concerning the reformation of religion, as well in France as in England, A.D. 1546, in the month of August.



It chanced in the time of King Henry the Eighth, when his Highness did lastly (not many years before his death) conclude a league between the emperor, the French king, and himself, that the bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner by name, was sent in embassy beyond the seas for that purpose; in whose absence the archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, attending upon the king's court, sought occasion somewhat to further the reformation of the corrupt religion, not yet fully restored unto perfection. For, like as the said archbishop was always diligent and forward to prefer and advance the sincere doctrine of the gospel, so was that other bishop a contrary instrument, continually spurning against the same, in whatsoever coast of the world he remained. For, even now, he, being beyond the seas, in the temporal affairs of the realm, forgat not, but found the means, as a most valiant champion of the bishop of Rome, to stop and hinder, as well the good diligence of the said archbishop, as the godly disposition of the king's Majesty in that behalf, which thus chanced:

Whilst the said bishop of Winchester was now remaining beyond the seas about the affairs aforesaid, the king's Majesty and the said archbishop having conference together for the reformation of some superstitions enormities in the church, amongst other things the king determined forthwith to pull down the roods in every church, and to suppress the accustomed ringing on Allhallow-night, with a few such-like vain ceremonies; and therefore, when the said archbishop took his leave of the king to go into Kent, his diocese, his Highness willed him to remember that he should cause two letters to be devised: "By me," quoth the king, "to be signed; the one to be directed unto you, my Lord, and the other unto the archbishop of York, wherein I will command you both, to send forth your precepts unto all other bishops within your provinces, to see those enormities and ceremonies reformed undelayedly, that we have communed of."

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So upon this, the king's pleasure known, when the archbishop of Canterbury was then come into Kent, he caused his secretary to conceive and write these letters according to the king's mind; and, being made in a readiness, sent them to the court to Sir Anthony Denny, for him to get them signed by the king. When Master Denny had moved the king thereunto, the king made this answer:

"I am now otherways resolved, for you shall send my Lord of Canterbury word, that since I spake with him about these matters, I have received letters from my Lord of Winchester, now being on the other side of the sea, about the conclusion of a league between us, the emperor, and the French king, and he writeth plainly unto us, that the league will not prosper nor go forward, if we make any other innovation, change, or alteration, either in religion or ceremonies, than heretofore hath been already commenced and done. Wherefore, my Lord of Canterbury must take patience herein, and forbear until we may espy a more apt and convenient time for that purpose."

Which matter of reformation began to be revived again, at what time the great ambassador from the French king came to the king's Majesty at Hampton Court, not long before his death; where then no gentleman was permitted to wait upon his lord and master, without a velvet coat, and a chain of gold. And, for that entertainment of the ambassador, were builded in the park there three very notable, great, and sumptuous banqueting-houses; at the which it was purposed, that the said ambassador should have been, three sundry nights, very richly banqueted. But, as it chanced, the French king's great affairs were then suddenly such, that this ambassador was sent for home in post-haste, before he had received half the noble entertainment that was prepared for him, so that he had but the fruition of the first banqueting-house.

Now, what prince-like order was there used, in the furniture of the banquet, as well in placing of the noble estates, namely, the king's Majesty, and the French ambassador, with the noble men both of England and France on the one part, and of the queen's Highness and the Lady Anne of Cleves, with other noble women and ladies on the other part, as also touching the great and sumptuous preparation of both costly and fine dishes there out of number spent, it is not our purpose here presently to treat thereof, but only to consider and note the conference and communication had the first night after the said banquet was finished, between the king's Majesty, the said ambassador, and the archbishop of Canterbury, (the king's Highness standing openly in the banqueting-house, in the open face of all the people, and leaning one arm upon the shoulder of the archbishop of Canterbury, and the other arm upon the shoulder of the ambassador,) touching the establishing of godly religion between those two princes in both their realms: as, by the report of the said archbishop unto his secretary, upon occasion of his service to be done in King Edward's visitation, then being registrar in the same visitation, relation was made on that behalf in this sort:

When the said visitation was put in a readiness, before the commissioners should proceed in their voyage, the said archbishop sent for the said registrar, his man, unto Hampton Court, and willed him in any wise to make notes of certain things in the said visitation; whereof he gave unto him instruction: having then further talk with him touching the good effect and success of the said visitation. Upon which occasion the registrar said thus unto his master the archbishop.

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Registrar:—"I do remember, that you, not long ago, caused me to conceive and write letters, which King Henry the Eighth should have signed, and have directed unto your Grace and the archbishop of York, for the reformation of certain enormities in the churches, as taking down of the roods, and forbidding of ringing on Allhallow-night, and such-like vain ceremonies: which letters your Grace sent to the court to be signed by the king's Majesty, but as yet I think that there was never any thing done therein."

"Why," quoth the archbishop again, "never heard you how those letters were suppressed and stopped?" Whereunto the archbishop's servant answering again: "As it was," said he, "my duty to write those letters, so was it not my part to be inquisitive what became thereupon." "Marry:" quoth the archbishop, "my Lord of Winchester then being beyond the seas, about the conclusion of a league between the emperor, the French king, and the king our master, and fearing that some reformation should here pass in the realm touching religion, in his absence, against his appetite, wrote to the king's Majesty, bearing him in hand that the league then towards, would not prosper nor go forwards on his Majesty's behalf, if he made any other innovation or alteration in religion, or in the ceremonies in the church. than was already done; which his advertisement herein caused the king to stay the signing of those letters, as Sir Anthony Denny wrote to me by the king's commandment."

Then said his servant again unto him, "Forasmuch as the king's good intent took no place then, now your Grace may go forward in those matters, the opportunity of the time much better serving thereunto than in King Henry's days."

"Not so," quoth the archbishop. "It was better to attempt such reformation in King Henry the Eighth's days than at this time; the king being in his infancy. For, if the king's father had set forth any thing for the reformation of abuses, who was he that durst gainsay it? Marry! we are now in doubt how men will take the change, or alteration of abuses, in the church; and, therefore, the council hath forborne especially to speak thereof, and of other things which gladly they would have reformed in this visitation, referring all those and such-like matters unto the discretions of the visitors. But, if King Henry the Eighth had lived unto this day with the French king, it had been past my Lord of Winchester's power to have visored the king's Highness, as he did when he was about the same league."

"I am sure you were at Hampton Court," quoth the archbishop, "when the French king's ambassador was entertained there at those solemn banqueting-houses, not long before the king's death; namely, when, after the banquet was done the first night, the king leaning upon the ambassador and upon me: if I should tell what a communication between the king's Highness and the said ambassador was had concerning the establishing of sincere religion then, a man would hardly have believed it: nor had I myself thought the king's Highness had been so forward in those matters as then appeared. I may tell you, it passed the pulling down of roods, and suppressing the ringing of bells. I take it that few in England would have believed, that the king's Majesty and the French king had been at this point, not only, within half a year after, to have changed the mass in both the realms into a communion, (as we now use it,) but also utterly to have extirped and banished the bishop of Rome, and his usurped power, out of both their realms and dominions. Yea, they were so thoroughly and firmly resolved in that behalf, that they meant also to exhort the emperor to do the like in Flanders and other his countries and seigniories; or

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else they would break off from him. And herein the king's Highness willed me," quoth the archbishop, "to pen a form thereof to be sent to the French king, to consider of. But the deep and most secret providence of Almighty God, owing to this realm a sharp scourge for our iniquities, prevented for a time this their most godly device and intent, by taking to his mercy both these princes."

A brief narration of the trouble of Sir George Blage.

Here would also something be said of Sir George Blage, one of the king's privy chamber, who, being falsely accused by Sir Hugh Caverley, knight, and Master Littleton, was sent for by Wriothesley, lord chancellor, the Sunday before Anne Askew suffered, and the next day was carried to Newgate, and from thence to Guildhall, where he was condemned the same day, and appointed to be burned the Wednesday following. The words which his accusers laid unto him were these: "What if a mouse should eat the bread? then, by my consent, they should hang up the mouse:" whereas, indeed, these words he never spake, as to his life's end he protested. But the truth (as he said) was this, that they, craftily to undermine him, walking with him in Paula church after a sermon of Dr. Crome, asked if he were at the sermon. He said, "Yea." "I heard say," saith Master Littleton, "that he said in his sermon, that the mass profiteth neither for the quick, nor for the dead." "No," saith Master Blage. "Wherefore then?" "Belike for a gentleman when he rideth a hunting, to keep his horse from stumbling." And so they departing, immediately after he was apprehended, (as showed,) and condemned to be burned. When this was heard among them of the privy chamber, the king, hearing them whispering together, (which he could never abide,) commanded them to tell him the matter. Whereupon the matter being opened, and suit made to the king, especially by the good earl of Bedford, then lord privy seal, the king, being sore offended with their doings, that they would come so near him, and even into his privy chamber, without his knowledge, sent for Wriothesley, commanding eftsoons to draw out his pardon himself, and so was he set at liberty: who, coming after to the king's presence, "Ah! my pig" (saith the king to him, for so he was wont to call him). "Yea," said he, "if your Majesty had not been better to me than your bishops were, your pig had been roasted ere this time."

But to let this matter of Sir George Blage pass, we will now reduce our story again to Anne Askew and her fellow martyrs, who, the same week, were burned, and could find no pardon.

216. Suppression of Books; Tyndale's Condemned.

Then the catholic fathers, when they had brought this Christian woman, with the residue, as above hath been declared, unto their rest, they, being now in their ruff and triumph, like as the Pharisees, when they had brought Christ to his grave, devised with themselves how to keep him down still, and to overtread truth for ever. Whereupon, consulting with certain of the council, they made out a strait and hard proclamation, authorized by the king's name, for the abolishing of the Scripture, and all such English books as might give any light to the setting forth of God's true word, and the grace of the gospel: the copy and tenor of which proclamation is this, as followeth:

"The king's most excellent Majesty – understanding how, under pretence of expounding and declaring the truth of God's Scripture, divers lewd and evil-disposed persons have taken upon them to utter and sow abroad, by books imprinted in the English tongue, sundry pernicious and detestable errors and heresies, not only contrary to the laws of this realm, but also repugnant to the true sense of God's law and his word, by reason whereof certain men of late, to the destruction of their own bodies and souls, and to the evil example of others, have attempted arrogantly and maliciously to impugn the truth, and therewith trouble the sober, quiet, and godly religion, united and established under the king's Majesty in this his realm; his Highness, minding to foresee the dangers that might ensue of the said books, is enforced to use his general prohibition, commandment, and proclamation, as followeth:

"First, That from henceforth no man, woman, or person, of what estate, condition, or degree soever be or they be, shall, after the last day of August next ensuing, receive, have, take, or keep in his or their possession, the text of the New Testament, of Tyndale's or Coverdale's translation in English, nor any other than is permitted by the act of parliament made in the session of the parliament holden at Westminster in the thirty-fourth and thirty-fifth year of his Majesty's most noble reign; nor, after the said day, shall receive, have, take, or keep in his or their possession, any manner of books printed or written in the English tongue, which be, or shall be, set forth in the names of Frith, Tyndale, Wickliff, Joye, Roy, Basil, Bale, Barnes, Coverdale, Turner, Tracy, or by any of them; or any other book or books containing matter contrary to the said act made in the year thirty-four, or thirty-five; but shall, before the last day of August next coming, deliver the same English book or books, to his master in that household, if he be a servant, or dwell under any other; and the master or ruler of the house, and such others as dwell at large, shall deliver all such books of these sorts aforesaid as they have, or shall come to their hands, delivered as afore or otherwise, to the mayor, bailiff, or chief constable of the town where they dwell, to be by them delivered over openly within forty days next following after the said delivery, to the sheriff of the shire, or to the bishop's chancellor, or commissary of the same diocese; to the intent the said bishop, chancellor, commissary, and sheriff, and every of them, may cause them incontinently to be openly burned: which thing the king's Majesty's pleasure is, that every of them shall see executed in most effectual sort, and of their doings thereof make certificate to the king's Majesty's most honourable council, before the first day of October next coming.

"And, to the intent that no man shall mistrust any danger of such penal statutes as be passed in this behalf, for the keeping of the said books, the king's Majesty is most graciously

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contented, by this proclamation, to pardon that offence to the said time appointed by this proclamation for the delivery of the said books; and commandeth that no bishop, chancellor, commissary, mayor, bailiff, sheriff, or constable, shall be curious to mark who bringeth forth such books, but only order and burn them openly, as is in this proclamation ordered. And if any man, after the last day of August next coming, shall have any of the said books in his keeping, or be proved and convicted, by sufficient witness, before four of the king's most honourable council, to have hidden them, or used them, or any copy of any of them, or any part of them, whereby it should appear that he willingly hath offended the true meaning of this proclamation, the same shall not only suffer imprisonment and punishment of his body at the king's Majesty's will and pleasure, but also shall make such fine and ransom to his Highness for the same, as by his Majesty, or four of his Grace's said council, shall be determined, &c.

"Finally, His Majesty straitly chargeth and commandeth, that no person or persons, of what estate, degree, or condition soever he or they be, from the day of this proclamation, presume to bring any manner of English book, concerning any manner of Christian religion, printed in the parts beyond the seas, into this realm, to sell, give, or distribute any English book, printed in outward parts, or the copy of any such book, or any part thereof, to any person dwelling within this his Grace's realm, or any other his Majesty's dominions, unless the same shall be specially licensed so to do by his Highness's express grant, to be obtained in writing for the same, upon the pains before limited; and therewithal to incur his Majesty's extreme indignation."

Forasmuch as it is, and always hath been, the common guise and practice of the pope's church, to extinguish, condemn, and abolish all good books and wholesome treatises of learned men, under a false pretence of errors and heresies, whereof examples abundantly appear in this history above: now, for the better trial hereof, to see and try the impudent and shameless vanity of these catholic clergymen, in mistaking, falsifying, depraving, blaspheming, and slandering, where they have no cause, against all right and honest dealing, yea, against their own knowledge, conscience, and manifest verity of God's word; I shall therefore desire the attentive reader, before we pass any further, to consider and expend here two things by the way: First, what opinions and articles these men gather out of their books for errors and heresies. Secondly, how wittingly and willingly they wrest, pervert, and misconstrue their sayings and writings in such sense as the writers never spake nor meant; and all, to bring them into hatred of the world, after they have burned their books.

So did they before with John Wickliff, John Huss, and Jerome: so did they with Martin Luther, Tyndale, Frith, Lambert, Barnes, Joye, Roy, Seton; and, briefly, yet do still with all the protestants, either perverting their sayings otherwise than they meant, or noting for heresies such as are manifest principles and grounds of our religion: or else falsely belying them, or untruly mistaking them, either in mangling the places, or adding to their words, as may serve for their most advantage, to bring them out of credit with princes and all the people.

For the more evident probation and experience whereof, thou shalt see here, Christian reader, as in a table laid before thine eyes, the book or catalogue of such errors, blasphemies, and heresies, which the catholic papists in their own registers have extracted out of their books, whom in this, and other proclamations, they have condemned. Whereunto, moreover, we have

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annexed the very places also of the authors, out of which every article is gathered, keeping the same signature of verse and page, which they in their registers do send us unto. So that with little diligence thou mayest now, loving reader, easily perceive, conferring the articles and places together, what truth and fidelity these bloody catholics have used toward the children of God: first, in burning up their bodies; then, in consuming and abolishing their books; and afterwards, in drawing out articles, such as they list themselves, out of their works, to make the people believe what damnable heretics they were, as by these articles hereunder ensuing, collected and contained in their own registers, may well appear. In all which articles, there is not one (speaking of these writers which here they have condemned) but either it is a perfect truth, and a principle of Christian doctrine, or else it is falsely gathered, or perversely recited, or craftily handled, and maliciously mangled; having either something cut from it, or some more added, or else racked out of his right place, or wrested to a wrong meaning, which the place giveth not, or else which some other place following doth better expound and declare. This false and malicious dealing hath always been a common practice amongst God's enemies from the beginning, to falsify, wrest, and deprave all things, whatsoever maketh not to their faction and affection, be it ever so true and just. So began they with Stephen, the first martyr of Jesus Christ, and so have they continued still, and yet do to this present day.

Long it were to recite, but more grievous to behold, what spite and falsehood were used in the articles of the Albigenses, Waldenses, Wickliff, Swinderby, Brute, Thorpe, Armachanus, Sir John Oldcastle, John Huss, the Bohemians, and such others: which thing, if the books and places whence these articles were gathered against them had been suffered to remain, we might more plainly understand. In the mean season, as touching these articles here present, forasmuch as the bishops' own registers have offered them unto us, and do yet remain with the selfsame books from whence they be excerpted, I shall therefore desire thee, friendly reader, first to consider the articles, and lay them with the places which the registers themselves do assign, and then judge thyself, what is to be thought thereof. The articles, gathered out of the aforesaid books, with the bishops' decree prefixed before the same, are as hereunder follow:

A public instrument by the bishops, for the abolishing of the Scripture, and other books, to be read in English.

"In the name of God, Amen. Be it known to all and singular true and faithful people, to whom these present letters testimonial, or this present public and authentic instrument, shall come to be seen, read, heard, or understood, and whom this underwritten shall or may teach, or appertain unto in any manner of wise in time to come; William, by the sufferance of Almighty God, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all the realm of England, sendeth greeting in our Lord God everlasting. We signify unto you all, and let you well to wit and know by these presents, that the king, our sovereign lord, hearing of many books in the English tongue, containing many detestable errors, and damnable opinions, printed in the parts beyond the seas, to be brought into divers towns, and sundry parts of this his realm of England, and sown abroad in the same, to the great decay of our faith catholic, and perilous corruption of his people, unless speedy remedy were briefly provided; his Highness, willing evermore to employ all his study and mind, in the high degree which Almighty God hath called him unto, to the wealth of his subjects, that they might live not only in tranquillity and peace, but also be kept pure and clean of all contagion, and wrong opinions in Christ's religion: considering also, that he, being defender of the faith, would

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be full loth to suffer such evil seed sown amongst his people, and so take root that it might overgrow the corn of the catholic doctrine before sprung in the souls of his subjects: for the repelling of such books, calling unto him of his great goodness and gracious disposition, not only certain of the chief prelates and clerks of his realm, but also of each university a certain number of the chief learned men, proposed such of those books as his Grace had ready to be read unto them, requiring to hear in that behalf their advice and judgment of them: who, both by great diligence and mature deliberation, perusing over the said books, found in them many errors and heresies, both detestable and damnable, being of such sort, that they were like briefly to corrupt a great part of his people (if they might be suffered to remain in their hands any space); gathering also out of them many great errors and pestilent heresies, and noting them in writing, to the intent to show for what cause they reputed the said books damnable; of which hereafter, out of each book gathered, many do ensue: albeit many more there be in the said books, which books totally do swarm full of heresies and detestable opinions."

Heresies and errors collected by the bishops out of the book of Tyndale, named The Wicked Mammon, with the places of the book annexed to the same, out of which every article is collected.

First article. "Faith only justifieth." Fol. 62. This article being a principle of the Scripture, and the ground of our salvation, is plain enough by St. Paul and the whole body of the Scripture; neither can any make this a heresy, but they must make St. Paul a heretic, and show themselves enemies unto the promises of grace, and to the cross of Christ.

II. "The law maketh us to hear God, because we be born under the power of the devil." Fol. 62.

III. "It is impossible for us to consent to the will of God." Fol. 62.

The place of Tyndale from whence these articles be wrested, is in The Wicked Mammon, as followeth: which place I beseech thee indifferently to read, and then to judge.

"In the faith which we have in Christ, and in God's promises, find we mercy, life, favour, and peace. In the law we find death, damnation, and wrath: moreover, the curse and vengeance of God upon us. And it, that is to say the law, is called of Paul, the ministration of death and damnation. (2 Cor. iii.) In the law we are proved to be enemies of God, and that we hate him: for how can we be at peace with God, and love him, seeing we are conceived and born under the power of the devil, and are his possession and kingdom, his captives and bondmen, and led at his will, and he holdeth our hearts, so that it is impossible for us to consent to the will of God: much more is it impossible for a man to fulfil the law by his own strength and power, seeing that we are by birth and nature the heirs of eternal damnation," &c.

IV. "The law requireth impossible things of us." Fol. 62.

Read the place:

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"The law, when it commandeth that thou shalt not lust, giveth thee not power so to do, but damneth thee because thou canst not so do. If thou wilt therefore be at peace with God, and love him, then must thou turn to the promises, and to the gospel, which is called of Paul the ministration of righteousness, and of the Spirit."

V. "The Spirit of God turneth us and our nature, that we do good, as naturally as a tree doth bring forth fruit." Fol. 65.

The place is this:

"The Spirit of God accompanieth faith, and bringeth with her light, wherewith a man beholdeth himself in the law of God, and seeth his miserable bondage and captivity, and humbleth himself, and abhorreth himself. She bringeth God's promises of all good things in Christ. God worketh with his word, and in his word, and as his word is preached, faith rooteth herself in the hearts of the elect. And as faith entereth, and the word of God is believed, the power of God looseth the heart from the captivity and bondage under sin, and knitteth and coupleth him to God, and to the will of God; altereth him and changeth him clean; fashioneth and forgeth him anew; giveth him power to love and to do that which before was impossible for him either to love or do, and turneth him into a new nature; so that he loveth that which before he hated, and hateth that which he before loved, and is clean altered and changed and contrarily disposed, and is knit and coupled fast to God's will, and naturally bringeth forth good works, that is to say, that which God commandeth to do, and not things of his own imagination: and that doth he of his own accord, as a tree bringeth forth fruit of her own accord," &c.

VI. "Works do only declare to thee that thou art justified." Fol. 67.

If Tyndale say that works do only declare our justification, he doth not thereby destroy good works; but only sheweth the right use and office of good works to be nothing to merit our justification, but rather to testify a lively faith, which only justifieth us. The article is plain by the Scripture and St. Paul.

VII. "Christ with all his works did not deserve heaven." Fol. 69.

Read the place:

"All good works must be done freely, with a single eye, without respect of any thing, so that no profit be sought thereby. That commandeth Christ, where he saith, Freely have ye received, freely give again. For look, as Christ with all his works did not deserve heaven, (for that was his already,) but did us service therewith; and neither looked [for], nor sought his own profit, but ours, and the honour of God his Father only: even so we, with all our works, may not seek our own profit, neither in this world nor in heaven; but must and ought freely to work to honour God withal, and without all manner [of] respect seek our neighbour's profit, and do him service," &c.

VIII. "Labouring by good works to come to heaven, thou shamest Christ's blood." Fol. 70. Read the place:

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"If thou wouldest obtain heaven with the merits and deservings of thine own works, so doest thou wrong, yea, and shamest the blood of Christ, and unto thee Christ is dead in vain. Now is the true believer heir of God by Christ's deservings, yea, and in Christ was predestinate and ordained unto eternal life before the world began. And when the gospel is preached unto us, we believe the mercy of God; and, in believing, we receive the Spirit of God, which is the earnest of eternal life; and we are in eternal life already, and feel already in our hearts the sweetness thereof, and are overcome with the kindness of God and Christ, and, therefore, love the will of God, and of love are ready to work freely; and not to obtain that which is given us freely, and whereof we are heirs already."

IX. "Saints in heaven cannot help us thither." Fol. 70.

Whether saints can help us unto heaven, see the Scripture; and mark well the office of the Son of God, our only Saviour and Redeemer, and thou shalt not need to seek any further.

X. "To build a church in the honour of our Lady, or any other saint, is in vain; they cannot help thee, they be not thy friends." Fol. 71. Read the place of Tyndale:

"What, buildest thou churches, foundest abbeys, chantries, and colleges, in the honour of saints, to my Mother, to St. Peter, Paul, and saints that be dead, to make of them thy friends? They need it not, yea, they are not thy friends, [but theirs which lived then when they did, of whom they were holpen.] Thy friends are thy poor [which are now in thy time and live with thee, thy poor] neighbours, which need thy help and succour. Them make thy friends with the unrighteous mammon, that they may testify of thy faith, and that thou mayest know and feel that thy faith is right, and not feigned."

XI. "All flesh is in bondage of sin, and cannot but sin." Fol. 74.

This article is evident enough of itself, confirmed by the Scripture, and needeth no allegations.

XII. "Thou canst not be damned without Christ be damned, nor Christ be saved without thou be saved." Fol. 75, 76.

Read the place:

"A physician serveth but for sick men, and that for such men as feel their sickness, and mourn therefor, and long for health. Christ, likewise, serveth but for such sinners only as feel their sin, and that for such sinners that sorrow and mourn in their hearts for health. Health is the power or strength to fulfil the law, or to keep the commandments: Now, he that longeth for that health, that is to say, for to do the law of God, is blessed in Christ, and hath a promise that his lust shall be fulfilled, and that he shall be made whole: Blessed are they which hunger and thirst for righteousness' sake, (that is, to fulfil the law,) for their lust shall be fulfilled. Matt. v.

"This longing, and the consent of the heart unto the law of God, is the working of the Spirit, which God hath poured into thine heart, in earnest, that thou mightest be sure that God

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will fulfil all his promises that he hath made thee. It is also the seal and mark which God putteth on all men that he chooseth unto everlasting life. So long as thou seest thy sin, and mournest, and consentest to the law, and longest, (though thou be never so weak,) yet the Spirit shall keep thee in all temptations from desperation, and certify thine heart, that God, for his truth, shall deliver thee, and save thee; yea, and by thy good deeds shalt thou be saved – not which thou hast done, but which Christ hath done for thee. For Christ is thine, and all his deeds are thy deeds. Christ is in thee, and thou in him, knit together inseparably; neither canst then be damned; except Christ be damned with thee; neither can Christ be saved, except thou be saved with him."

The like comfortable words he hath afterwards, fol. 82, which are these:

"He that desireth mercy, the same feeletth his own misery and sin, and mourneth in his heart to be delivered, that he might honour God, and God for his truth must hear him, which saith by the mouth of Christ, Blessed are they which hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be satisfied. God, for his truth's sake, must put the righteousness of Christ in him, and wash his unrighteousness away in the blood of Christ. And be the sinner never so weak, so feeble and frail, though he have sinned never so oft and so grievous; yet so long as this lust, desire, and mourning to be delivered, remaineth in him, God seeth not his sins, reckoneth them not, for his truth's sake, and love to Christ. He is not a sinner in the sight of God, that would be no sinner: he that would be delivered, hath his heart loose already: his heart sinneth not, but mourneth, repenteth, and consenteth unto the law and will of God, and justifieth God, that is, beareth record that God which made the law, is righteous and just. And such a heart, trusting in Christ's blood, is accepted for full righteousness, and his weakness, infirmity, and frailty is pardoned, and his sins are not looked upon, until God put more strength in him, and fulfil his desire.

XIII. "The commandments be given us, not to do them, but to know our damnation, and to call for mercy of God." Fol. 76.

Read the place:

"If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments. First remember, that when God commandeth us to do any thing, he doth it not therefore, because that we, of ourselves, are able to do that he commandeth, but that by the law we might see and know our horrible damnation and captivity under sin, and so repent and come unto Christ, and receive mercy," &c.

XIV. "Fasting is only to avoid surfeit, and to tame the body; all other purposes be nought." Fol. 81.

The words of Tyndale be these:

"Fasting is to abstain from surfeiting or overmuch eating, from drunkenness and cares of the world, as thou mayest read in Luke xxi. And the end of fasting, is to tame the body, that the spirit may have a free course unto God, and may quietly talk with God. For overmuch eating and drinking, and care of worldly business, press down the spirit, choke her, and tangle her, that she cannot lift up herself to God. Now he that fasteth for any other intent than to subdue the body, that the spirit may wait on God, and freely exercise herself in the things of God, the same is

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blind, and wotteth not what he doth; erreth, and shooteth at a wrong mark; and his intent and imagination is abominable in the sight of God."

XV. "To bid the poor man pray for me, is only to remember him to do his duty; not that I have any trust in his prayer." Fol. 82.

The words of Tyndale be these:

"When we desire one another to pray for us, that do we to put our neighbour in remembrance of his duty, and not that we trust in his holiness: our trust is in God, in Christ, and in the truth of God's promises. We have also a promise, that when two or three or more agree together in one thing, according to the will of God, God heareth us. Notwithstanding, as God heareth many, so heareth be few, and so heareth he one, if he pray after the will of God, and desire the honour of God."

XVI. "Though thou give me a thousand pounds to pray for thee, I am no more bound now than I was before." Fol. 83.

The words be these:

"If thou give me a thousand pounds to pray for thee, I am no more bound than I was before. Man's imagination can make the commandment of God neither greater nor smaller; neither can to the law of God either add or diminish. God's commandment is as great as himself?"

XVII. "A good deed done, and not of fervent charity, as Christ's was, is sin." Fol. 83.

The words of Tyndale be these:

"Though thou show mercy unto thy neighbour, yet if thou do it not with such burning love as Christ did unto thee, so must thou acknowledge thy sin, and desire mercy in Christ."

XVIII. "Every man is lord of another man's goods." Fol. 83.

The words of Tyndale be these:

"Christ is Lord over all, and every Christian is heir annexed with Christ, and therefore lord of all, and every one lord of whatsoever another hath. If thy brother or neighbour therefore need, and thou have to help him, and yet showest not mercy, but withdrawest thy hands from him, then robbed thou him of his own, and art a thief?"

Read more hereof in the twentieth article following.

XIX. "I am bound to love the Turk with the very bottom of my heart." Fol. 84.

The place of this article is this:

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"I am bound to love the Turk with all my might and power, yea, and above my power, even from the ground of my heart, after the ensample that Christ loved me; neither to spare goods, body, nor life, to win him to Christ. And what can I do more for thee, if thou gavest me all the world? Where I see need, there can I not but pray, if God's Spirit be in me."

XX. "The worst Turk living hath as much right to my goods at his needs, as my household, or mine own self." Fol. 84.

Read and mark well the place in The Wicked Mammon:

"In Christ, we are all of one degree without respect of persons. Notwithstanding, though a Christian man's heart be open to all men, and receiveth all men, yet, because that his ability of goods extendeth not so far, this provision is made, that every man shall care for his own household; as father and mother, and thine elders that have holpen thee; wife, children, and servants. If thou shouldest not care and provide for thine household, then were thou an infidel, seeing thou hast taken on thee so to do; and forasmuch as that is thy part, committed unto thee of the congregation. When thou hast done thy duty to thine household, and yet hast further abundance of the blessing of God, that owest thou to the poor that cannot labour, or would labour and can get no work, and are destitute of friends: to the poor, I mean, which thou knowest; to them of thine own parish. If thy neighbours which thou knowest be served, and thou yet have superfluity, and hearest necessity to be among the brethren a thousand miles off, to them art thou debtor: yea, to the very infidels we be debtors, if they need, so far forth as we maintain them not against Christ, or to blaspheme Christ. Thus is every man that needeth thy help, thy father, mother, sister, and brother in Christ; even as every man that doth the will of the Father, is father, mother, sister, and brother unto Christ.

"Moreover, if any be an infidel and a false Christian, and forsake his household, his wife, children, and such as cannot help themselves, then art thou bound to them, and thou have wherewith, even as much as to thine own household; and they have as good right in thy goods, as thou thyself," &c.

"If the whole world were thine, yet hath every brother his right in thy goods, and is heir with thee, as we are all heirs with Christ."

XXI. "Alms deserve no meed." Fol. 84. The place is this:

"He that seeketh with his alms more than to be merciful, to be a neighbour, to succour his brother's need, to do his duty to his brother, to give his brother that be oweth him, the same is blind, and seeth not what it is to a Christian man, and to have fellowship in Christ's blood."

XXII. "There is no work better than another to please God, to pour water, to wash dishes, to be a souter, or an apostle, all is one; to wash dishes and to preach is all one, as touching the deed to please God." Fol. 85.

The words of Tyndale be these:

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"As pertaining to good works, understand that all works are good which are done within the law of God, in faith and with thanksgiving to God; and understand that thou, in doing them, pleasest God, whatsoever thou doest within the law of God; as when thou pourest water, &c.

"Moreover, put no difference between works, but whatsoever cometh into thy hands, that do, as time, place, and occasion giveth, and as God hath put thee in degree, high or low: for as touching to please God, there is no work better than another. God looketh not first on thy works, as the world doth, as though the beautifulness of the works pleased him, as it doth the world, or as though he had need of them. But God looketh first on the heart; what faith thou had to his words; how thou believest him, and how thou lovest him for his mercy that he hath showed thee. He looketh with what heart thou worked, and not what thou worked; how thou acceptest the degree that he hath put thee in, and not of what degree thou art, whether thou be an apostle or a shoemaker.

"Set this ensample before thine eyes: Thou art a kitchen-page, and wastest thy master's dishes. Another is an apostle, and preacheth the word of God. Of this apostle hark what St. Paul saith, If I preach, (saith he,) I have nought to rejoice in, for necessity is put unto me. As who should say, God hath made me so: woe is unto me if I preach not. If I do it willingly, (saith he,) then have I my reward; that is, then am I sure that God's Spirit is in me, and that I am elect to eternal life. If I do it against my will, an office is committed unto me; that is, if I do it not of love to God, but to get a living thereby, and for a worldly purpose, and had rather otherwise live; then do I that office which God hath put me in, and yet please not God myself, &c.

"Moreover, howsoever he preacheth, he hath not to rejoice in that he preacheth. But and if he preach willingly, with a true heart, and of conscience to God, then hath he his reward; that is, then feeleth he the earnest of eternal life, and the working of the Spirit of God in him. And as he feeleth God's goodness and mercy, so be thou sure he feeleth his own infirmity, weakness, and unworthiness, and mourneth and acknowledgeth his sin, in that the heart will not arise to work with that full lust and love that is in Christ our Lord: and, nevertheless, is he yet at peace with God, through faith and trust in Christ Jesu. For the earnest of the Spirit that worketh in him, testifieth and beareth witness unto his heart, that God hath chosen him, and that his grace shall suffice him, which grace is now not idle in him. In his works putteth he no trust.

"Now thou that ministerest in the kitchen, and art but a kitchen-page, receivest all things of the hand of God, knowest that God hath put thee in that office, submittest thyself to his will, and servest thy master, not as a man, but as Christ himself, with a pure heart, according as Paul teacheth us; putteth thy trust in God, and with him seekest thy reward. Moreover, there is not a good deed done, but thy heart rejoiceth therein; yea, when thou hearest that the word of God is preached by this apostle, and seest the people turn to God, thou consented unto the deed; thy heart breaketh out in joy, springeth and leapeth in thy breast, that God is honoured; and thou, in thine heart, doest the same that the apostle doth, and haply with greater delectation and a more fervent spirit. Now, he that receiveth a prophet in the name of a prophet, shall receive the reward of a prophet (Matt. x.); that is, he that consenteth to the deed of a prophet, and maintaineth it, the same hath the same Spirit, and earnest of everlasting life, which the prophet hath, and is elect as the prophet is.

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"Now if thou compare deed to deed, there is great difference betwixt washing of dishes and preaching the word of God: but, as touching to please God, none at all. For neither that nor this pleaseth, but as far forth as God hath chosen a man; hath put his Spirit in him, and purified his heart, by faith and trust in Christ," &c.

XXIII. "Ceremonies of the church have brought the world from God." Fol. 86.

Read the place of Tyndale:

"Seek the word of God in all things, and without the word of God do nothing, though it appear ever so glorious. Whatsoever is done without the word of God, that count idolatry. The kingdom of heaven is within us. Wonder therefore at no monstrous shape, nor at any outward thing without the word. For the world was never drawn from God, but with an outward show, and glorious appearance and shining of hypocrisy, and of feigned and visored fasting, praying, watching, singing, offering, sacrificing, hallowing of superstitious ceremonies, and monstrous disguising."

XXIV. "Beware of good intents: they are damned of God." Fol. 87.

XXV. "See thou do nothing but that God biddeth thee." Fol. 87.

The words of Tyndale out of which these two articles be gathered are these:

"Beware of thy good intent, good mind, good affection or zeal, as they call it. Peter, of a good mind, and of a good affection or zeal, chid Christ, because he said that he must go to Jerusalem and there be slain. But Christ called him Satan for his labour, (a name that belongeth to the devil,) and said that he perceived not godly things, but worldly.

Of a good intent, and of a fervent affection to Christ, the sons of Zebedee would have had fire to come down from heaven to consume the Samaritans; but Christ rebuked them, saying, that they wist not of what spirit they were; that is, they understood not how that they were altogether worldly and fleshly minded. Peter smote Malchus of a good zeal, but Christ condemned his deed. The very Jews, of a good intent and of a good zeal, slew Christ, and persecuted the apostles, as Paul beareth them record. I bear them record (saith he) that they have a fervent mind to Godward, but not according to knowledge. It is another thing, then, to do of a good mind, and to do of knowledge. Labour for knowledge, that thou mayest know God's will, and what he would have thee to do. "Our mind, intent, and affection or zeal, are blind, and all that we do of them is damned of God; and for that cause hath God made a testament between him and us, wherein is contained both what he would have us to do, and what he would have us to ask of him. See, therefore, that thou do nothing to please God withal but that he commandeth; neither ask any thing of him but that he hath promised thee."

XXVI. "Churches are for preaching only, and not as they be used now." Fol. 87.

This article containeth neither error nor heresy, but is plain enough of itself, to all them that have their minds exercised in the Scriptures of God.

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XXVII. "To worship God otherwise than to believe that he is just and true in his promise, is to make God an idol." Fol. 87.

Read the words of Tyndale with this article.

"God is honoured on all sides, in that we count him righteous in all his laws and ordinances, and also true in all his promises. Other worship of God is none, except we make an idol of him."

XXVIII. "Pharaoh had no power to let the people depart at God's pleasure." Fol. 95.

XXIX. "Our prelates, in sin say they have power." Fol. 95.

Read the place in The Wicked Mammon, out of the which these two articles are gathered.

"Paul saith, if thou confess with thy mouth that Jesus is the Lord, and believe with thine heart that God raised him from death, thou shalt be safe: that is, if thou believe he raised him up again for thy salvation. Many believe that God is rich and almighty, but not unto themselves: and that he will be good to them, and defend them, and be their God. Pharaoh, for pain of the plague, was compelled to confess his sins; but had yet no power to submit himself unto the will of God, and to let the children of Israel go, and to lose so great profit for God's pleasure: as our prelates confess their sins, saying, Though we be never so evil, yet have we the power. And again, The scribes and the Pharisees, say they, sat in Moses' seat: Do as they teach, but not as they do. Thus confess they that they are abominable."

Here follow other heresies and errors, collected by the bishops out of Tyndale's book named The Obedience of a Christian Man, with the places of the book annexed to the same.

First Article.—"Tyndale saith, 'We are bound to make satisfaction to our neighbour, but not to God.'" Fol. 132.

"Satisfaction is a full recompence or amends-making to him whom we have offended, which recompence we are able to make one man to another, and are bound so to do; but to God no man can make any amends or recompence, but only God's own Son Christ Jesus our Saviour: for else, if man could have made satisfaction to God, then had Christ died in vain."

Lo! what heresy or error is in this article?

II. "He saith, that children ought not to marry without the consent of their parents." Fol. 120. The words of Tyndale in The Obedience, be these:

"Let the fathers and mothers mark how they themselves were disposed at all ages, and, by experience of their own infirmities, help their children, and keep them from occasions. Let them provide marriages for them in season, teaching them also to know, that she is not his wife which the son taketh, nor he her husband which the daughter taketh, without the consent and good will of their elders, or them that have authority over them. If their friends will not marry them, then

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are they not to blame, if they marry themselves. Let not the fathers and mothers always take the uttermost of their authority of their children, but, at all times, suffer with them, and bear their weakness, as Christ doth ours."

III. "He saith, that vows are against the ordinance of God." Fol. 109.

They that say that this article is a heresy, let them show where these vows in all the New Testament be ordained of God; especially such vows of single life, and wilful poverty, as by the canon law be obtruded on young priests and novices. St. Paul plainly forefendeth any widows to be admitted under the age of threescore years. Is not here, trow you, a perilous heresy?

IV. "He saith, that a Christian man may not resist a prince being an infidel and an ethnic. This taketh away free-will." Fol. 112.

St. Peter willeth us to be subject to our princes. St. Paul also doth the like; who was also himself subject to the power of Nero; and, although every commandment of Nero against God he did not follow, yet he never made resistance against the authority and state of Nero; as the pope useth to do against the state not only of infidels, but also of Christian princes.

V. "'Whatsoever is done before the Spirit of God cometh and giveth us light, is damnable sin.' This is against moral virtues." Fol. 113.

What heresy Aristotle in his Ethics can find by this article, I cannot tell. Sure I am, that the Word and Spirit of God, well considered, can find none, but rather will pronounce the contrary to be a damnable heresy.

VI. "He reproveth men that make holy saints their advocates to God, and there he saith, that saints were not rewarded in heaven for their holy works." Fol. 114.

The words of Tyndale be these:

"They turn from God's word, and put their trust and confidence in the saint and his merits, and make an advocate, or rather a god, of the saint." * * * "They ascribe heaven unto their imaginations and mad inventions, and receive it not of the liberality of God, by the merits and deserving of Christ."

VII. "God-moved the hearts of the Egyptians to hate the people; likewise he moved kings," &c. Fol. 118.

The words in The Obedience be these:

"In Psalm cvi., thou readest, He destroyed the rivers, and dried up the springs of water, and turned the fruitful land into barrenness, for the wickedness of the inhabitants thereof. When the children of Israel had forgotten God in Egypt, God moved the hearts of the Egyptians to hate them, and to subdue them with craft and wiliness."

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"In 2 Kings ii., God was angry with his people, and moved David to number them, when Joab and the other lords wondered why he would have them numbered; and because they feared lest some evil should follow, dissuaded the king: yet it holped not. God so hardened his heart in his purpose, to have an occasion to slay the wicked people."

VIII. "Paul was of higher authority than Peter." Fol. 125.

The words in "The Obedience" be these:

"I suppose; saith he, (meaning Paul,) that I was not behind the high apostles; meaning in preaching Jesus Christ and his gospel, and in ministering the Spirit. And, in the same chapter, he proveth by the doctrine of Christ, that he was greater than the high apostles: for Christ saith, To be great in the kingdom of God, is to do service, and take pain for other." Upon which rule Paul disputeth, saying, If they be the ministers of Christ, I am more: in labours more abundant, in stripes above measure, in prison more plenteous, in death oft, &c. If Paul preached Christ more than Peter, and suffered more for his congregation, then is he greater than Peter, by the testimony of Christ."

IX. "A priest ought to have a wife for two causes." Fol. 133.

The words of Tyndale be these:

"He must have a wife for two causes; one, that it may thereby be known who is meet for the room; he is unapt for so chargeable an office, which had never household to rule. Another cause is, that chastity is an exceeding seldom gift, and unchastity exceeding perilous for that degree, inasmuch as the people look as well onto the living as unto the preaching, and are hurt at once if the living disagree, and fall from the faith, and believe not the word."

X. "He condemneth auricular confession." Fol. 140.

Of this read above.

XI. "Every man is a priest, and we need no other priest to be a mean for us unto God." Fol. 144.

The words in The Obedience be these:

"There is a word called in Latin, sacerdos, in the Greek, ιερευσ[iereus], in Hebrew, cohan; that is, a minister, an officer, a sacrificer, or priest, as Aaron was a priest, and sacrificed for the people, and was a mediator between God and them; and in the English it should have had some other name than priest: but antichrist hath deceived us with unknown and strange terms to bring us into confusion and superstitious blindness. Of that manner is Christ a priest for ever, and all we are priests through him, and need no more of any such priest to be a mean for us unto God," &c.

XII. "He destroyeth the sacraments of matrimony and orders." Fol. 144.

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As truly as matrimony and orders be sacraments, so truly is this article a heresy.

XIII. "He saith that purgatory is the pope's invention, and, therefore, he may do there whatsoever he will." Fol. 150.

One of the pope's own writers saith thus: "Souls being in purgatory, are under the pope's jurisdiction, and the pope may, if he will, evacuate all purgatory." Furthermore the old fathers make little mention of purgatory; the Greek church never believed the purgatory; St. Augustine doubteth of purgatory; and the Scriptures plainly disprove purgatory. St. John saith, "The blood of Jesus Christ the Son of God purgeth us from all sin;" and the pope saith, "Sin cannot be purged but by the fire of purgatory." Now, whose invention can purgatory be, but only the pope's?

XIX. "Saints be saved not by their merits, but only by the merits of Christ." Fol. 151.

What can be more manifest and plain by the Scriptures, than this? Isaiah saith, "All we have erred, every man in his own ways, and God hath laid upon him all our iniquities," &c.

XV. "He saith, 'No man may be hired to pray.'" Fol. 155.

The words in The Obedience be true, which are these:

"To pray one for another, are we equally bound: and to pray, is a thing that we may always do, whatsoever we have in hand: and that to do, may no man hire another: Christ's blood hath hired us already; "&c.

XVI. "He saith, Why should I trust in Paul's prayer or holiness?' If St. Paul were alive, he would compare himself to St. Paul, and be as good as he." Fol. 159.

The words of Tyndale be these:

"Why, am not I also a false prophet, if I teach thee to trust in Paul, or in his holiness or prayer, or in any thing save in God's word, as Paul did? If Paul were here, and loved me as he loved them of his time, to whom he was a servant to preach Christ, what good could he do for me, or wish me, but preach Christ, and pray to God for me, to open my heart, to give me his Spirit, and to bring me to the full knowledge of Christ? Unto which port or haven when I am once come, I am as safe as Paul, joint-heir with Paul of all the promises of God;" &c

XVII. "He saith, that all that be baptized, become Christ himself." Fol. 163.

With this article confer the words of The Obedience, which be these:

"In Matt. xxv., saith Christ, Inasmuch as ye have done it to one of the least of them my brethren, ye have done it to me: and inasmuch as ye have not done it unto one of the least of these, ye have not done it unto me. Here seest thou that we are Christ's brethren, and even Christ himself, and whatsoever we do one to another, that do we to Christ?" &c.

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XVIII. "He saith, that the children of faith be under no law." Fol. 163.

The words of Tyndale be these:

"I serve thee not because thou art my master or my king, for hope of reward or fear of pain, but for the love of Christ. For the children of faith are under no law, as thou seest in the Epistles to the Romans, to the Galatians, and the First of Timothy, but are free. The Spirit of Christ hath written the lively law of love in their hearts, which driveth them to work of their own accord, freely and willingly, for the great love's sake only which they see in Christ; and, therefore, need they no law to compel them," &c.

XIX. "There is no deed so good, but that the law condemneth it." Fol. 167.

The place in The Obedience is this:

"Thou hast the story of Peter, how he smote Malchus' ear, and how Christ healed it again. There hast thou, in the plain text, great learning, great fruit, and great edifying, which I pass over. Then come I, when I preach of the law and the gospel, and borrow this example, to express the nature of the law and of the gospel, and to paint it unto thee before thine eyes; and of Peter and his sword make I the law, and of Christ the gospel, saying, As Peter's sword cutteth off the ear, so doth the law. The law damneth, the law killeth, and mangleth, the conscience. There is no ear so righteous, that can abide the hearing of the law. There is no deed so good, but that the law damneth it. But Christ (that is to say, the gospel, the promises and testament that God hath made in Christ) healeth the ear and conscience, which the law hath hurt"

XX. "To ask of God more than he hath promised, cometh of a false faith, and is plain idolatry." Fol. 171.

The words of Tyndale are these:

"Look wherein thou canst best keep the commandments; thither get thyself, and there abide," &c. "If we have infirmities that draw us from the laws of God, let us cure them with the remedies that God hath made. If thou burn, marry; for God hath promised thee no chastity, as long as thou mayest use the remedy that he hath ordained; no more than he hath promised to slack thine hunger without meat. Now, to ask of God more than he hath promised, cometh of a false faith, and is plain idolatry," &c.

XXI "Our pains-taking in keeping the commandments, doth nothing but purge the sin that remaineth in the flesh; but to look for any other reward or promotion in heaven, than God hath promised for Christ's sake, is abominable in the sight of God." Fol. 171.

Consider the place in The Obedience, which is this:

"To look for any other reward or promotion in heaven, or in the life to come, than that which God hath promised for Christ's sake, and which Christ hath deserved for us with his pain-taking, is abominable in the sight of God; for Christ only hath purchased the reward. And

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our pain-taking to keep the commandments, doth but purge the sin that remaineth in the flesh, and certify us that we are chosen and sealed with God's Spirit, unto the reward that Christ hath purchased for us."

XXII. "The pope hath no other authority but to preach only." Fol. 173.

Christ said to Peter, "Feed my sheep;" "and thou being converted, confirm thy brethren." And to his apostles he said, "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel," &c. Again, St. Paul saith, that Christ sent him not to baptize, but to preach: to what other office or function he sent the pope, let them judge, which consider the Scriptures.

XXIII. "If thou bind thyself to chastity, to obtain that which Christ purchased for thee, so surely art thou an infidel." Fol. 175.

Read and confer the place of Tyndale, which is this:

"Chastity canst thou not give to God, further than God lendeth it thee. If thou canst not live chaste, thou art bound to marry, or to be damned. Last of all, for what purpose thou bendest thyself, must be seen. If thou do it to obtain thereby that which Christ hath purchased for thee, so art thou an infidel, and hast no part with Christ. If thou wilt see more of this matter, look in Deuteronomy, and there thou shalt find it more largely treated of."

XXIV. "He denieth, rebuketh, and damneth miracles." Fol. 176.

The words in Tyndale's Obedience be these:

"And when they cry Miracles, Miracles, remember that God hath made an everlasting testament with us in Christ's blood; against which we may receive no miracles, no, neither the preaching of Paul himself, if he came again, (by his own teaching to the Galatians,) neither yet by the preaching of the angels of heaven," &c.

"The end of God's miracles is good: the end of these miracles is evil. For the offerings, which are the cause of the miracles, do but minister and maintain vice, sin, and all abomination, and are given to them that have too much, so that for very abundance they foam out their own shame, and corrupt the whole world with the stench of their filthiness." Fol. 159.

XXV. "He saith, that no man should serve God with good intent or zeal; for it is plain idolatry." Fol. 177.

The place is this in The Obedience:

"Remember Saul was cast away of God for ever, for his good intent. God requireth obedience unto his word, and abhorreth all good intents and good seals which are without God's word; for they are nothing else but plain idolatry, and worshipping of false gods."

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Here follow other heresies and errors, collected by the bishops, out of the book called The Revelation of Antichrist, with the places of the book, out of which they were gathered, annexed to the same.

I. "To bind a man perpetually to any vow of religion, is without doubt an error." Fol. 19. The place of the book called The Revelation, whence this article is gathered, is this that followeth; "Which the fathers did neither make nor keep: he meaneth vows, but, with the liberty of the spirit, binding no man perpetually to them. For, if they did, without doubt, they erred according to man's fragility."

II. "To say the constitutions of religion are good, because holy men did ordain them, as Augustine, Benedict, Francis, Dominic, and such others, and to follow such examples of fathers, is to leave the faith." Fol. 19.

The place of the article is this:

"But they object, The statutes and ordinances are good: holy men did make them, as Augustine, Benedict, Bernard, Francis, Dominic, and such others. To this I answer, that is even it that Christ and the apostles did mean, that these works should be like to those things which are taught in the gospel, for that they call counterfeiting of the doctrine, and privily bringing in of sects and heresies, because they take only of the fathers' examples of works, and leave the faith," &c.

III. "All moral divines have a wicked conscience, full of scrupulosity." Fol. 3.

Moral divines be they, whose doctrine and hope of salvation consisteth in moral virtues, rather than in Christian faith, apprehending the free promises of God in Christ. And they that be such, can never be certified in conscience of their salvation, but always be full of fear and scrupulosity. St. Paul, therefore, saith, It is therefore of faith, that it might come by grace, and the promise might be firm and sure to the whole seed.

IV. "Moral virtues, as justice, temperance, strength, chastity, described by natural reason, make a synagogue, and corrupt Christ's faith." Fol. 64.

The place of this article, gathered out of The Revelation, is this:

"So many he (the pope he meaneth) corrupteth, as he hath subdued and led under his laws and empery. And who is he in the world that is not subject under him, except they be infants, or peradventure some simple persons, we reserved by the inscrutable counsel and provision of God? O thou man of sin! O thou son of perdition! O thou abomination! O thou corrupter! O thou author of evil consciences! O thou false master of good consciences! O thou enemy of faith and Christian liberty! Who is able to rehearse, yea, or to comprehend in his mind, the infinite waves of this monstrous king's evils?"

"If he had ordained these his laws in those works of virtues that are commended in the ten precepts, or else in such as the philosophers and natural reason did describe, as are justice,

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strength, temperance, chastity, mildness, truth, goodness, and such others, peradventure they should only have made a synagogue, or else have ordained in the world a certain civil justice; for, through these, faith also should have been corrupted, as it was among the Jews. Howbeit, now he keepeth not himself within these bounds, but runneth at riot, and more at large, raising infinite tempests of mischief, enticing and drawing us to ceremonies, and his own feigned traditions, and bindeth us like asses and ignorant fools, yea, and like stocks unto them," &c.

V. "Christ took away all laws, and maketh us free and at liberty; and most of all be suppresseth all ceremonies." Fol. 63, 65.

The place of this article, gathered out of The Revelation, is this:

"Christ, taking away all laws to make us free and at liberty, did most of all suppress and disannul the ceremonies, which did consist in places, persons, garments, meats, days, and such other; so that their use should be to all men most free and indifferent," &c.

What he meaneth by taking away all laws, he declareth a little before, saying:

"He hath not delivered us from the law, but from the power and violence of the law, which is the very true loosing. But, for all that, he hath not taken away from the powers and officers, their right, sword, and authority to punish the evil: for such pertain not to his kingdom, until they are made spiritual; and then freely and with a glad heart they serve God."

VI. "If the pope would make all the observations of the ceremonies, as Lent, fasting, holy-days, confession, matrimony, mass, matins, and relics, &c., free and indifferent, he should not be antichrist; but now, because he commandeth them in the name of Christ, he utterly corrupteth the church, suppresseth the faith, and advanceth sin?" Fol. 67.

If the pope will infer a necessity of those things which Christ leaveth free and indifferent, then what doth he make himself but antichrist? The article is plain, and is founded upon the doctrine of Christ, and St. Paul.

VII. "To believe in Christ, maketh sure inheritors with Christ." Fol. 1.

VIII. "If a man say, 'Then shall we do no good works?' I answer as Christ did: 'This is the work of God to believe in him whom he hath sent'" Fol. 1.

The place of these two articles, gathered out of The Revelation, is this:

"Who is this light, that we are exhorted to believe in? Truly it is Christ, as St. John doth testify. He was the true light, that lighteneth all men who come into the world. To believe in this light, maketh us the children of light, and the sure inheritors with Jesus Christ. Even now have we cruel adversaries, who set up their bristles, saying, Why! shall we then do no good works? To these we answer, as Christ did to the people, in the sixth of St. John, which asked him what they should do, that they might work the works of God. Jesus answered and said unto them, This is the work of God, that ye believe in him whom he hath sent, And after it followeth, Verily, verily

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I say unto you, he that believeth on me hath everlasting life. To this also consenteth St. John, in his Epistle, saying, These things have I written unto you that believe on the name of the Son of God, that you may surely know, how that you have eternal life.— What is the name of the Son of God? Truly his name is Jesus, that is to say, a Saviour; therefore thou must believe that he is a Saviour.

"But what availeth this? The devils do thus believe and tremble. They know, that he is the Son of God, and said unto him, crying, O Jesu, the Son of God! what have we to do with thee? They know, that he hath redeemed mankind by his passion, and they laboured to let it: for when Pilate was set down to give judgment, his wife sent unto him, saying, Have thou nothing to do with that just man; for I have suffered many things this day in my sleep about him. No doubt she was vexed of the devil, to the intent that she should persuade her husband to give no sentence upon him, so that Satan might the longer have had jurisdiction over mankind. They know, that he hath suppressed sin and death; as it is written, Death is consumed into victory. Death, where is thy sting? Hell, where is thy victory? The sting of death is sin; the strength of sin is the law; but thanks be unto God which hath given us victory through our Lord Jesus Christ: who by sin damned sin in the flesh. For God made him to be sin for us, that is to say, a sacrifice for our sin, (and so is sin taken in many places,) which knew no sin, that we, by his means, should be that righteousness, which before God is allowed. It is not, therefore, sufficient to believe that he is a Saviour and Redeemer; but that he is a Saviour and Redeemer unto thee," &c.

IX. "Numbering of sins maketh a man more a sinner, yea, a blasphemmer of the name of God." Fol. 3.

The place of this article, gathered out of The Revelation, is this:

"Knowledge thyself a sinner, that thou mayest be justified. Not that the numbering of thy sins can make thee righteous, but rather a greater sinner, yea, and a blasphemmer of the holy name of God, as thou mayest see in Cain, which said that his sins were greater than that he might receive forgiveness; and so was a reprobate," &c.

X. "God bindeth us to that which is impossible for us to accomplish." Fol. 3.

The place of this article, gathered out of The Revelation, is this:

"If thou ask of me, why he bindeth us to that which is impossible for us to accomplish, thou shalt have St. Augustine's answer, who saith, in the second book that he wrote to Jerome, that the law was given us, that we might know what to do, and what to eschew; to the intent that when we see ourselves not able to do that which we are bound to do, nor avoid the contrary, we may then know what we shall pray for, and of whom we shall ask this strength, so that we may say unto our Father, Good Father! command whatsoever it pleaseth thee, but give us thy grace to fulfil what thou commandest. And when we perceive that we cannot fulfil his will, yet let us confess that the law is good and holy, and that we are sinners and carnal, sold under sin. But let us not here stick; for now we are at hell-gates, and doubtless should fall into utter desperation, except God did bring us again, showing us his gospel and promise, saying, Fear not, little flock; for it is your Father's pleasure to give you a kingdom," &c.

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XI. "Sin cannot condemn us, for our satisfaction is made in Christ which died for us." Fol. 4.

The place of this article, gathered out of The Revelation, is this:

"Sin hath no power over us, neither can condemn us, for our satisfaction is made in Christ, which died for us that were wicked and naturally the children of wrath. But God, which is rich in mercy, through the great love wherewith he loved us, even when we were dead through sin, hath quickened us with Christ, and with him hath raised us up, and, with him hath made us sit in heavenly places, through Jesus Christ; for to show, in times to come, the exceeding riches of his grace in his kindness towards us through Christ Jesus. For by grace are ye saved, through faith; and that not of yourselves, for it is the gift of God, and cometh not of works, lest any man should boast himself," &c.

XII. "I will show thee an evident argument and reason, that thou mayest know without doubt, who is antichrist. All they that do pursue, are antichrist. The pope, bishops, cardinals, and their adherents do pursue: therefore the pope, bishops, and cardinals, and their adherents, are antichrists. I ween our syllogismus be well made." Fol. 9. The place of this article gathered out of The Revelation, is this:

"I will show thee an evident reason, that thou mayest know without doubting who is the very antichrist: and this argument may be grounded upon their furious persecution, which Paul doth confirm, writing to the Galatians. We, dear brethren, are the children of promise, as Isaac was; not the sons of the bondwoman, as Ishmael. But, as he that was born after the flesh did persecute him that was born after the Spirit, even so it is now. Mark Paul's reason. By Isaac, are signified the elect; and by Ishmael, the reprobate. Isaac did not persecute Ishmael; but, contrary, Ishmael did persecute Isaac. Now let us make our reason:

"All they that do persecute as Ishmael, be reprobates and antichrists.

"But all the popes, cardinals, bishops, and their adherents, do persecute.

"Therefore all the popes, cardinals, bishops, and their adherents, be Ishmael; reprobates and antichrists.

"I ween our syllogismus is well made, and in the first figure."

Read the place, and see how he proveth the parts of this argument more at large.

XIII. "I think verily, that so long as the successors of the apostles were persecuted and martyred, there were good Christian men, and no longer." Fol. 10.

The bishops of Rome in the primitive church, were under persecution the space of well near three hundred years, under the which persecution, as good as thirty of them, and more, died martyrs. Since that time have succeeded two hundred and four popes, which have lived in great

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wealth and abundance, amongst whom if the book of The Revelation think that there be not four to be found good Christian men, I think no less but that he may so think without any heresy.

XIV. "It is impossible that the word of the cross should be without affliction and persecution." Fol. 10.

St. Paul saith, Whosoever will live virtuously in Christ Jesus, shall suffer persecution. And how then can this be truth in Paul, and in this man heresy.

XV. "That the apostles did ever curse any man, truly we cannot read in Scripture: for Christ commanded them to bless those that cursed them." Fol. 11.

Upon what good ground of The Revelation this heresy is wrung out, let the place be conferred, which is written in these words following:

"They are as merciful as the wolf is on his prey. They were ordained to bless men; but they curse as the devil were in them. Paul saith, that he hath power to edify, and not to destroy. But I wot not of whom these bloody beasts have their authority, which do so much rejoice in cursing and destruction. We read how Paul did excommunicate the Corinthian, (and that for a great transgression,) to the intent that he might be ashamed of his iniquity, and desired again the Corinthians to receive him with all charity: but, that the apostles did curse any man, truly we cannot read in Scripture; for Christ commanded them to bless those that cursed them, and to pray for those that persecuted them," &c.

XVI. "By works, superstitions, and ceremonies, we decay from the faith, which alone doth truly justify and make holy." Fol. 15.

Note here, good reader, how perversely and corruptly this article is drawn. For whereas the place of this book, which is written in fol. 15, expressly speaketh of trusting to works, meaning that we should put no confidence in works, but only in faith in Christ Jesus, this article, to make it appear more infamous and heretical, leaveth out the false trust, and speaketh simply as though works should decay faith. Read the place, which is written in these words following:

"Daniel calleth not this word *peschiam*, any manner of sin, but those special and chief sins, which resist and fight against the troth and the faith: as are the trusting in works, superstitions, and ceremonies, by which we decay from the faith," &c.

XVII. "The abusion of the mass with all its solemnities, with vigils, year-minds, foundations, burials, and all the business that is done for the dead, is but a face and a cloak of godliness, and a deceiving of the people; as they were good works rather for the dead than for the quick." Fol. 24.

True godliness consisteth in faith, that is, in the true knowledge of the Son of God, whom he hath sent, and in the observation of God's commandments. All their rites and additions instituted by man, are no part of true godliness. And whoso putteth trust and confidence therein,

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as being things meritorious for the dead, is deceived. Such funerals St. Augustine calleth rather refreshings of the living, than relievings and helps of the dead.

XVIII. "To keep and observe one day to fast, another to abstain; to forbear such a meat upon the fasting day to deserve heaven thereby; is a wicked face and cloak, and against Paul." Fol. 29.

The truth of this article is manifest enough to be void of all error and heresy, unless it be heresy to believe and hold with the Scripture. St. Paul saith, If heaven, and our righteousness, come by the law, then Christ died in vain.

XIX. "The multiplication of holy-days, of feasts of Corpus Christi, of the Visitation of our Lady, &c., is a wicked face and colour; and indeed foolish, unprofitable, and vain." Fol. 30.

This article, likewise, needeth no declaration, containing in it a true and necessary complaint of such superfluous holy-days of the pope's making: which, as they bring with them much occasion of wickedness, idleness, drunkenness, and vanity, and so having also joined unto than opinion of religion, and meritorious devotion and God's service, they gender superstition, and nourish the people in the same.

XX. "Keeping of virginity and chastity of religion is a devilish thing." Fol. 30.

The place, cited in the book of The Revelation of Antichrist, doth sufficiently open itself, speaking and meaning only of those monkish vows, which, by the canonical constitution of the pope, are violently forced upon priests and monks, the coercion whereof St. Paul doth rightly call the doctrine of devils. And here note by the way another trick of a popish caviller: for, where the words of the book speak plainly of the chastity of the religious, he, fraudulently turning it to a universality, saith, "the chastity of the religion," whereby it might seem to the simple reader more odious and heretical. The words of the place be these:

"Keeping of virginity and chastity of the religious seemeth to be a godly and a heavenly thing; but it is a devilish thing: of the which it is spoken in I Tim. iv., Forbidding to many, &c. Whereas, again, our most reverend father maketh that thing necessary, that Christ would have free, whereof Daniel speaketh, He shall not be desirous of women. Here Daniel meaneth, that he shall refuse and abstain from marriage, for a cloak of godliness, and not for love of chastity."

XXI. "Worshipping of relics is a proper thing, and a cloak of advantage against the precept of God, and nothing but the affection of men." Fol. 30, 31.

These be the words in The Revelation:

"This (the worshipping of relics he meaneth) is a proper and most fruitful cloak of advantage. Out of this were invented innumerable pilgrimages, with which the foolish and unlearned people might lose their labour, money, and time; nothing, in the mean season, regarding their houses, wives, and children; contrary to the commandment of God; when they might do much better deeds to their neighbours, which is the precept," &c.

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XXII. "There is but one special office that pertaineth to thine orders, and that is, to preach the word of God." Fol. 36.

Of this matter sufficient hath been said before in the twenty-second article alleged out of the book of The Obedience.

XXIII. "The temple of God is not stones and wood, neither in the time of Paul was there any house which was called The temple of God." Fol. 37.

The place of this article is this:

"Which is an adversary, (the pope he meaneth,) and is exalted above all that is called God, or that is worshipped: so that he shall sit in the temple of God, and show himself as God. Doth he not sit in the temple of God, which saith and profeseth himself to be the master in the whole church? What is the temple of God? Is it stones and wood? Doth not Paul say, The temple of God is holy, which temple are ye? Neither in the time of Paul was there any house, which was called the temple of God, as we now call them. What meaneth this sitting, but reigning, teaching, and judging? Who, since the beginning of the church, durst presume to call himself the master of the whole church, but only the pope?" &c.

XXIV. "He that fasteth no day, that saith no matins, and doth none of the precepts of the pope, sinneth not, if he think that he doth not sin." Fol. 43.

The place in The Revelation is this:

"Because he feareth the consciences under the title and pretence of Christ's name, he maketh of those things which in themselves are no sins, very grievous offences. For he that believeth that he doth sin if he eat flesh on the apostles' even, or say not matins and prime in the morning, or else leave undone any of the pope's precepts, no doubt he sinneth; not because the deed which he doth is sin, but because he believeth it is sin, and because against this foolish belief and conscience he offendeth; of which foolish conscience the pope only is head-author; for another, doing the same deed, thinking that he doth not sin, truly offendeth not. And this is the cause, that the spirit of Paul complaineth that many shall depart from the faith. And for this foolish conscience men's traditions be pernicious and noisome, the snares of souls, hurting the faith and the liberty of the gospel. If it were not for this cause, they should do no hurt. Therefore the devil, through the pope, abuseth these consciences to establish the laws of his tyranny, to suppress the faith and liberty, and to replenish the world with error, sin, and perdition," &c.

XXV. "Christ ordained the sacrament of the altar only to nourish the faith of them that live; but the pope maketh it a good work, and a sacrifice to be applied both to the quick and dead." Fol. 48.

The place is this:

"Satan hated the sacrament, and knew no way how to suppress and disannul it; therefore he found this craft: that the sacrament, which Christ did only ordain to nourish and establish the

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faith of them that live, should be counted for a good work and sacrifice, and bought and sold. And so faith is suppressed, and this wholesome ministry is applied, not to the quick, but unto the dead; that is to say, neither to the quick, nor yet to the dead. Oh this incredible fury of God!" &c.

XXVI. "These signs (he speaketh of miracles and visions, or apparitions) are not to the increase of faith and gospel, for they are rather against the faith and gospel, and they are the operation of Satan, and lying signs." Fol. 49.

The place is as followeth:

"Who is able to number the monstrous marvels only of them that are departed? Good Lord! what a sea of lies hath invaded us, of apparitions, conjurings, and answers of spirits? by which it is brought to pass, that the pope is also made the king of them that are dead, and reigneth in purgatory, to the great profit of his priests, who have all their living, riches, and pomp out of purgatory. Howbeit they should have less, if they did so well teach the faith of them that live, as they do [teach] riddles of them that are dead: neither was there, since the beginning of the world, any work found of so little labour and great advantage. For truly to this purpose were gathered almost the possessions of all princes and rich men; and, through these riches, sprang up all pleasures and idleness, and of idleness came very Babylon and Sodom, &c.

"Neither are these signs to the increase of the faith and gospel (for they are rather against the faith and gospel); but they are done to establish the tyranny of these faces and riddles, and to set up and confirm the trust in works. Among these illusions are those miracles to be reputed, which are showed in visions, pilgrimages, and worshippings of saints, as there are plenty now-a-days, which the pope confirmeth by his bulls, yea, and sometimes doth canonize saints that he knoweth not. Now behold what is the operation of Satan in lying signs," &c.

XXVII. "The people of Christ do nothing because it is commanded, but because it is pleasant and acceptable unto them." Fol. 63.

The words out of which this article is gathered, are these:

"They are the people of Christ, which willingly do hear and follow him, not for any fear of the law, but only enticed and led with a gracious liberty and faithful love; not doing any thing because it is commanded, but because it is pleasant and acceptable unto them, though it were not commanded: for they that would do otherwise, should be counted the people of the law and synagogue," &c.

XXVIII. "In the whole new law is no urgent precept, nor grievous; but only exhortations to observe things necessary for soul's health." Fol. 63.

The place of this article, gathered out of The Revelation, is this:

"A Christian should work nothing by compulsion of the law, but all through the spirit of liberty, as Paul saith: The law is not given to a righteous man. For whatsoever is done by compulsion of the law, is sin, for it is not done with a glad and willing spirit, but with a contrary

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will, and rebelling against the law; and this truly is sin. Therefore, in Corinthians, he calleth the preachers of the New Testament the ministers of the Spirit, and not of the letter, because they teach grace, and not the law. Wherefore in the whole New Testament are there no urgent or grievous precepts, but only exhortations to observe those things which are necessary to our health: neither did Christ and his apostles at any time compel any man. And the Holy Ghost was for that cause called Paracletus, that is to say, an exhorter and comforter," &c.

XXIX. "All things necessary are declared in the New Testament, but no man is compelled, but to do according to his own will. Therefore Christ teacheth, that a rebel should not be killed, but avoided." Fol. 63, 66.

The words in The Revelation are these:

"In the New Testament are all things declared, which we ought to do and leave undone; what reward is ordained for them that do and leave undone; and of whom to seek, find, and obtain help to do and to leave undone. But no man is compelled, but suffered to do according to their own will. Therefore in Matthew, he teacheth that a rebel should not be killed, but avoided, and put out of company like a Gentile," &c.

XXX. "Christ forbade that one place should be taken as holy, and another profane; but would that all places should be indifferent." Fol. 68.

The place is this:

"Christ taketh away the difference of all places; will be worshipped in everyplace. Neither is there in his kingdom one place holy, and another profane, but all places are indifferent; neither canst thou more heartily and better believe, trust, and love God, in the temple, at the altar, in the church-yard, than in thy barn, vineyard, kitchen, or bed. And, to be short, the martyrs of Christ have honoured him in dark dungeons and prisons," &c.

XXXI. "He railleth against all the rites and ceremonies of the mass, as he were mad." Fol. 68.

The place out of which this article is collected, is as followeth:

"If a nun touch the altar-cloth, or corporal, (as they call it,) it is a sin. To touch the chalice is a great transgression. To say mass with an unhallowed chalice, is a grievous offence. To do sacrifice in vestments which are not consecrated, is a heinous crime. It is reputed for a sin, if in ministering any sacrament, the priest doth lack any ornament that pertaineth thereunto. If he call a child, or speak in the words of a canon, it is a sin. He offendeth also that doth stutter or stammer in the words of the canon. He sinneth that toucheth the holy relics of saints. He that toucheth the sacrament of the altar either with hand or finger, though it be for necessity, to pluck it from the roof of his mouth, committeth such villanous iniquity, that they will scrape and shave off the quick flesh from the part which did touch it. I think, at length, they will flay the tongue, the roof of the mouth, the throat, and the belly, because they touch the sacrament. But to hurt thy

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neighbour, or privily to convey away any of his goods, or not to help him in his need, is in a manner counted for no sin, nor yet regarded," &c.

XXXII. "No labour is now-a-days more tedious than saying of mass, matins, &c., which, before God, are nothing but grievous sins." Fol. 70.

XXXIII. "The sins of Manasseh, and other wicked kings, sacrificing their own children, are but light and childish offences to those. The cursed sacrifices of the Gentiles my not be compared to ours; we are seven times worse Gentiles than we were before we knew Christ." Fol. 70.

The words out of which these two articles are gathered, are these:

"They are so oppressed, (those he meaneth who are under the servitude of the pope's laws and decrees,) that they fulfil them only with the outward work; for their wills are clean contrary, as we see by experience in the troublesome business of vigils, masses, and hours, which must be both said and sung: in the which they labour with such weariness, that now-a-days no labour is more tedious. Yet, nevertheless, the cruel exactors of these most hard works compel men to work such things without ceasing, which before God are nothing but grievous sins; although before men they be good works, and counted for the service of God. Here are invented the enticements of the senses through organs, music, and diversity of songs; but these are nothing to the spirit, which rather is extinct through these wanton trifles. Ah, Christ! with what violence, with what power, are they driven headlong to sin, and perish through this abomination.

"It is horrible to look into these cruel whirlpools of consciences, which perish with so great pains and labour. What light offences to these are the sins wherein Manasseh and other wicked kings sinned, by doing sacrifice with their own children and progeny! Truly, the cursed sacrifices of the most rude Gentiles, no not of the Lestrighones, may be compared unto ours. The saying of Christ may be verified in us: seven more wicked spirits make the end worse than the beginning. For I say, that we are worse Gentiles seven times, than we were before we knew Christ," &c.

XXXIV. "It were better to receive neither of the parts of the sacrament of the altar, than the one alone." Fol. 73.

The words be these:

"Plainly I think that the whole is taken away, since I see manifestly the one part gone (for the bread and the wine is but one sacrament); the other is left only for a laughing-stock. For he that in one part offendeth against God, is guilty in at Therefore it were better to receive neither of the parts, than the one alone; for so we might the more surely eschew the transgression of that which Christ did institute," &c.

XXXV. "The law of the pope, that commandeth all men to communicate together upon one day, is a most cruel law, constraining men to their own destruction." Fol. 73.

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The place is this:

"He (the pope he meaneth) setteth a most cruel and deadly snare to tangle the consciences; suffereth not the use of this sacrament to be free; but compelleth all together, on one certain day once in the year, to communicate. Here, I pray thee, Christian brother! how many dost thou think to communicate only by the compulsion of this precept, who truly, in their heart, had rather not communicate? and all these sin, (for they do not communicate in spirit, that is to say, neither in faith nor will, but by the compulsion of this letter and law,) since this bread requireth a hungry, and not a full heart, and much less a disdain and hateful mind. And of all these sins the pope is author, constraining all men, by his most cruel law, to their own destruction; whereas he ought to leave this communion free to every man, and only call and exhort them, and not compel and drive them unto it," &c.

XXXVI. "The Spirit would that nothing should be done, but that which is expressly rehearsed in the Scripture." Fol. 81.

In things appertaining to God's worship and service, true it is that he is not to be worshipped, but only according to that which he hath revealed and expressed unto us in his own word. And this is the meaning of the author, as by his words doth plainly appear.

XXXVII. "St. Thomas Aquinas savoureth nothing of the Spirit of God." Fol. 83.

The doctrine of Thomas Aquinas referreth the greatest, or a very great part of our righteousness to *opus operatum*, and unto merits. The Spirit of God referreth all our righteousness before God, only to our faith in Christ. Now, how these savour together, let any indifferent reader judge.

XXXVIII. "The pope did condemn the truth of the word of God openly at Constance in John Huss, persevering unto this day in the same stubbornness." Fol. 86.

Touching the condemnation of John Huss, and the manner of his handling, and the cause of his death, read his story before; and consider, moreover, his prophecy of the hundred years after him expired, how truly the sequel did follow in Martin Luther, and then judge of his cause, good reader, as the truth of God's word shall lead thee. And thus much concerning these slanderous articles.

Here follow other heresies and errors, collected by the bishops out of the book named The Sum of the Scripture, with the places of the book annexed to the same.

I. First article:—"The water of the font hath no more virtue in it than hath any other water." Fol. I.

II. "The virtue of baptism lieth not in hallowed water, or in other outward thing, but only in faith." Fol. 6.

The place of these two articles gathered out of The Sum of the Scripture, is this:

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"The water of baptism taketh not away our sin; for then were it a precious water, and then it behoved us daily to wash ourselves therein; neither hath the water of the font more virtue in itself, than the water that runneth in the river of Rhine. When Philip baptized the eunuch, the servant of Candace the queen of Ethiopia, there was then no hallowed water, nor candle, nor salt, nor cream, neither white habit; but he baptized him in the first water they came to upon the way. Here mayest thou perceive that the virtue of baptism lieth not in hallowed water, nor in the outward things that we have at the font, but in the faith only, &c. Christ hath healed us (saith St. Paul) by the hath of regeneration, and renovation of the Holy Ghost"

III. "Godfathers and godmothers be bound to help their children that they be put to school, that they may understand the gospel, and the epistles of St. Paul." Fol. 15.

The place of this article, gathered out of the said book, is this:

"The godfathers and godmothers be bound to help the children that they be put to school, to the intent that they may understand the gospel, the joyful message of God, with the epistles of St. Paul. God hath commanded to publish, and to show the gospel, not only to priests, but to every creature: Go ye (saith Christ unto his disciples) into the universal world, and preach the gospel to every creature. For we be all equally bound to know the gospel and the doctrine of the New Testament, &c. And St. Paul, writing to the Corinthians, confesseth that he sendeth his epistles to all the church; that is to say, to all the assembly of Christian men, and to all them that call on the name of Jesus," &c.

IV. "We think, when we believe that God is God, and ken our creed, that we have the faith that a Christian man is bound to have; but so doth the devil believe." Fol. 17.

V. "To believe that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, be one God, is not the principal that we must believe: our faith doth not lie principally in that; for so believeth the devil." Fol. 18.

The place out of the which these two articles are collected, is this:

"We think, when we believe that God is God, and ken our creed, that we have the faith which a Christian is bound to have. The devil believeth also that there is a God, and life everlasting, and a hell, but he is never the better for it; and he trembled always for his faith, as saith St. James, The devils believe, and they tremble. A man might ask, What shall I then believe? Thou shalt believe plainly and undoubtedly, that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, is one only God, &c. But this, likewise, believeth the wicked spirits, and are nothing the better therefor. There is yet another faith which Christ so much requireth of us in the gospel, and whereunto, St. Paul in almost all his epistles so strongly exhorteth us; that is, that we believe the gospel. When-our Lord first began to preach, he said, (as rehearseth St Mark,) Repent and believe the gospel."

Of this faith read before in the first article gathered out of The Wicked Mammon, and in the ninth and tenth of The Revelation of Antichrist.

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VI. "If we believe that God hath promised everlasting life, it is impossible that we should perish." Fol. 20.

Lo here, good reader! another manifest example of the dishonest dealing and false cogging of these men. For where the place of the author speaketh expressly of putting our trust in God and his promises, the article prettily leaveth out our trusting in God's promise, and saith only, if we believe that God hath promised. Read the place, and confer it with the article, and then judge whether there be no difference between trusting in the promise that God hath made of everlasting life, and believing only that God hath made the promise of everlasting life. The place here followeth as it is there written:

"When with a perfect courage we put all our trust in God and in his promises, it is impossible that we should perish, for he hath promised us life everlasting. And forasmuch as he is Almighty, he may well perform that which he hath promised; and in that he is merciful and true, he will perform his promise made unto us, if we can believe it stedfastly, and put all our trust in him."

VII. "If thou canst surely and stedfastly believe in God, he will hold his promise: for he hath bound himself to us, and by his promise he oweth us heaven, in case that we believe him." Fol. 21.

Seeing all our hope standeth only upon the promise of God, what heresy then is in this doctrine, to say that God oweth us heaven by his promise, which is to mean no other but that God cannot break promise? And now judge thou, good reader, whether is more heresy to say, that God oweth us heaven by his promise, as we say; or this, that God oweth us heaven by the condignity and congruity of our works, as the papists say.

VIII. "All Christ's glory is ours." Fol. 27.

IX. "We need not to labour for to be Christ's heirs, and sons of God, and to have heaven; for we have all these things already." Fol. 24.

The words out of the which these two heresies are gathered, be these:

"We be made his heirs, and all his glory is ours, as St. Paul largely declareth. This hath God given us without our deserving, and we need not to labour for all these things, for these we have already," &c.

They which note these articles for heresy, by the same judgment they may make heresy of St. John's Gospel, and of Paul's Epistle, and of all together. St. John saith, The glory which thou gayest me, I have given them, that they may be one, as we also are one. As many as received him, to them gave he power to be the sons of God. St. Paul saith, The same Spirit certifieth our spirit, that we are the sons of God. If we be sons, then are we also heirs, the heirs I mean of God, and heirs annexed with Christ.

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X. "We need not to labour, by our good works, to get everlasting life, for we have it already; we be all justified; we be all the children of God." Fol. 28.

XI. "All that think that good works help or profit any thing to get the gift of salvation, they blaspheme against God, and rob God of his honour." Fol. 28.

XII. "If we be circumcised, that is to say, if we put any trust in works, Christ shall not help us." Fol. 18.

XIII. "We deserve nothing of God.," Fol. 30.

XIV. "We deserve not everlasting life by our good works; for God hath promised it unto us, before that we began to do good." Fol. 40.

XV. "Every Christian man must keep God's commandments by love, and not by hope to get for his service everlasting life." Fol. 42.

XVI. "The Jews kept the commandments, and the law of God; yet they could not come to heaven." Fol. 43.

XVII. "Men, trusting in their good works, are like to the thief on the left side, and are such men as come to the church daily, keep holy-days and fasting-days, and hear masses, and these people be soonest damned; for this is one of the greatest errors in Christendom, to think that thy good works shall help thee to thy salvation." Fol. 47.

If these articles be made heresies, which refer the benefit of our inheritance of life and salvation to God's gift, and not to our labours; to grace, and not to merits; to faith, and not to the law of works; then let us shut up clean the New Testament, and away with God's word, and set up a new divinity of the pope's making; yea, let us leave Christ with his heretical gospel, and, in his stead, set up the bishop of Rome with his Talmud, and become the disciples of his decretals. And, certes, except Christian princes begin betimes to take some zeal of God unto them, and look more seriously upon the matter, the proceedings of these men seem to tend to little better, than to drive us at length from true Christianity, to another kind and form of religion of their own invention, if they have not brought it well near to pass already.

XVIII. "To serve God in a tediousness, or for fear of hell, or for the joys of heaven, is but a shadow of good works, and such service doth not please God." Fol. 41.

The place is this:

"Works done in faith be only pleasant unto God, and worthy to be called good works; for they be the works of the Holy Ghost, that dwelleth in us by this faith. But they that are done by tediousness, and evil will, for fear of hell, or for desire of heaven, be nothing else but shadows of works, making hypocrites. The end of our good works is only to please God, knowing that if we do ever so much, we can never do our duty; for they that for fear of hell, or for the joys of heaven, do serve God, do a constrained service, which God will not have. Such people do not

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serve God, because he is their God and their Father, but to have their reward, and to avoid his punishments; and such people are hired men and waged servants, and are not children. But the children of God serve their Father for love," &c.

XIX. "We must love death, and more desire to die, than to fear death." Fol. 36.

Although our nature be frail, and full of imperfection, so that we do not as we should, yet doing as we ought, and as we are led by the Scriptures to do, we should not dread, but desire rather to die, and be with Christ, as the place itself doth well declare, which is this:

"We must love death, and more desire to die, and to be with God, as did St. Paul, than to fear death. For Jesus Christ died for us, to the intent that we should not fear to die; and he hath slain death, and destroyed the sting of death, as writeth St. Paul, saying, death, where is thy sting? Death is swallowed up in victory! And to the Philippians, Christ is to me life, and death is to me advantage."

XX. "God made us his children and his heirs, while we were his enemies, and before we knew him." Fol. 44.

I marvel what the papists mean in the registers to condemn this article as a heresy, unless their purpose be utterly to impugn and gainstand the Scripture, and the writings of St. Paul, who, in the fifth chapter to the Romans, and other his epistles, importeth even the same doctrine in all respects, declaring, in formal words, that we be made the children and heirs of God, and that we were reconciled unto him when we were his enemies.

XXI. "It were better never to have done good works, and ask mercy there-for, than to do good works, and think that for them God is bound to a man by promise." Fol. 48.

XXII. "We can show no more honour to God, than faith and trust in him." Fol. 48.

The place out of which these two articles be gathered, is this:

"It were better for thee a thousand fold, that thou hadst been a sinner, and never had done good deeds, and to acknowledge thine offences and evil life unto God, asking mercy with a good heart, lamenting thy sins, than to have done good works, and in them to put thy trust, thinking that therefore God were bound to thee. There is nothing which (after the manner of speaking) bindeth God, but firm and stedfast faith and trust in him and his promises, &c.: for we can show unto God no greater honour; than to have faith and trust in him: for whosoever doth that, he confesseth that God is true, good, mighty, and merciful," &c.

XXIII. "Faith without good works, is no little or feeble faith, but it is no faith." Fol. 50.

XXIV. "Every man doth as much as he believeth." Fol. 50.

The place out of the which these two articles be gathered, is this:

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"If thy faith induce thee not to do good works, then hast not thou the right faith, thou doest but only think that thou hast it. For St. James saith, That faith without works is dead in itself. He saith not, that it is little or feeble, but that it is dead; and that which is dead, is not. Therefore, when thou art not moved by faith unto the love of God, and by the love of God unto good works, thou hast no faith, but faith is dead in thee; for the Spirit of God, that by faith cometh into our hearts to stir up love, cannot be idle. Every one doth as much as he believeth, and loveth as much as he hopeth, as writeth St. John: He that hath this hope, that he is the son of God, purifieth himself as he is pure. He saith not, he that purifieth himself hath this hope, for the hope must come before, proceeding from the faith; as it behoveth that the tree must first be good, which must bring forth good fruit."

XXV. "We cannot be without motions of evil desires; but we must mortify them in resisting them." Fol. 52.

They that note this article of heresy, may note themselves rather to be like the Pharisee, who, foolishly flattering himself in the false opinion of his own righteousness, was not subdued to the righteousness which standeth before God by faith; and, therefore, went home to his house less justified than the publican. If the Scriptures condemn the heart of man to be crooked, even from his youth; and also condemn all the righteousness of man to be like a dyed cloth; and if St. Paul could find in his flesh no good thing dwelling, but sheweth a continual resistance between the old man and the new; then must it follow, that these Pharisees, who condemn this article of heresy, either carry no flesh and no old man about them to be resisted; or, verily, say what they will, they cannot choose but be cumbered with evil motions, for the inward man continually to fight against. The place of the author sufficiently defendeth itself, as followeth:

"St. Paul biddeth us mortify all our evil desires and carnal lusts, as uncleanness, covetousness, wrath, blasphemy, detraction, pride, and other like vices. And unto the Romans, he saith, Let not sin reign in your mortal bodies: that is to say, albeit that we cannot live without the motion of such evil desires, yet we shall not suffer them to rule in us, but shall mortify them in resisting them," &c.

XXVI. "All true Christianity lieth in love of our neighbours for God: and not in fasting, keeping of holy-days, watching, praying, and singing, and long prayers, daily and all day long hearing mass, running on pilgrimage," &c. Fol. 52.

The place of this article is this:

"Thou hast always occasion to mortify thine evil desires, to serve thy neighbour, to comfort him, and to help him with word and deed, with counsel and exhortation, and other semblable means. In such love towards our neighbour for the love of God, lieth all the law and the prophets, as saith Christ, yea, and all Christianity; and not in fasting, keeping of holy-days, watching, singing, and long prayers; daily and all day long hearing of masses, setting up of candles, running on pilgrimages, and such other things, which as well the hypocrites, proud people, envious, and subject to all wicked affections, do," &c.

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XXVII. "Many doctors in divinity, and not only common people, believe that it is the part of Christian faith only to believe that Jesus Christ hath lived here on earth." Fol. 53, 54.

The place is this:

"We believe that Jesus Christ hath here lived on earth, and that he hath preached, and that he died for us, and did many other things. When we believe these things after the story, we believe that this is our Christian faith. This not only the simple people believe, but also doctors in divinity, which are taken for wise men. Yea, the devil hath also this faith; as saith St. James, The devils believe, and they tremble. For, as we have said before, the devil believeth that God is God, and that Jesus Christ hath here preached, that he died, was buried, and rose again. This must we also believe, but this is not the faith whereof speaketh the gospel, and St. Paul," &c.

Of this faith, and what it is, read before in the place of the fourth and fifth articles of this book, and of the first article gathered out of The Wicked Mammon, and the ninth and tenth articles of The Revelation of Antichrist.

XXVIII. "He that doth good against his will, he doth evil." Fol. 56.

The place is this:

"All good deeds, which are not done by love and good will, are sin before God, as saith St. Augustine: He that doth good against his will, doth evil; albeit that he doth good: for that which I do against my will, I hate; and when I hate the commandment, I hate also him that hath commanded it," &c.

XXIX. "No man doth more than he is bound to do, and therefore no man may make others partakers of their good works." Fol. 59.

The words be these:

"The prophet Isaiah saith, We are all as an unclean thing, and all our justice is as it were a filthy cloth: and therefore I can never marvel enough, that many of the religious persons would make others partakers of their good works, seeing that Christ saith in the gospel, When ye have done all those things which are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants; we have done but that which was our duty to do. For none can do too much. None doth more than he is bound to do, but only Jesus Christ (which only, as saith St. Peter, never did sin, neither was there deceit found in his mouth) hath done that he was not bound to do; and, as the prophet Isaiah saith, hath taken upon him our infirmities, and borne our sorrows; he was wounded for our offences, and smitten for our wickedness, and by his stripes are we made whole," &c.

XXX. "Christ hath gotten heaven by his passion; but that right hath he no need of, but hath granted it to all them that believe in his promises." Fol. 59.

Read the place:

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"Jesus Christ possesseth the kingdom of heaven by double right: first, because he is the Son of God, and very inheritor of his kingdom: secondly, because he hath gotten it by his passion and death. Of his second right he hath no need, and therefore he giveth it to all them that believe and trust in him and his promises."

XXXI. "If God had promised us heaven for our good works, we should ever be unsure of our salvation." Fol. 59.

XXXII. "Be our sins ever so great, so that it seemeth impossible to us to be saved, yet without any doubt we must believe to be saved." Fol. 59.

The words out of the which these two articles be gathered are these:

"If God had promised heaven unto us because of our works, we should ever then be unsure of our salvation: for we should never know how much, nor how long, we should labour to be saved, and should ever be in fear that we had done too little, and so we should never die joyfully. But God would assure us of heaven by his promise, to the intent we should be certain and sure, for he is the truth, and cannot lie; and also to the intent that we should have trust and hope in him. And, notwithstanding that after the greatness and multitude of our sins, it seem to us a thing impossible, yet always we must believe it without any doubt, because of his sure promise: and whosoever doth this, he may joyfully die, and abide the judgment of God, which, else, were intolerable."

Read more hereof before in the eleventh article taken out of The Wicked Mammon.

XXXIII. "If thou love thy wife because she is thy wife, that is no love before God, but thou shalt love her because she is thy sister in God." Fol. 83.

The words be these:

"Our Saviour Christ hath commanded nothing so straitly, as to love one another; yea, to love our enemies also: then how much more should the man and wife love together! But there be but few that know how to love the one the other as they ought to do. If thou love thy wife only because she is thy wife, and because she serveth and pleaseth thee after the flesh, for beauty, birth, riches, and suchlike, this is no love before God. Of such love speaketh not St. Paul, for such love is among harlots, yea, among brute beasts: but thou shalt love her because she is thy sister in the Christian faith; and because she is inheritor together with thee in the glory of God; and because ye serve together one God; because ye have received together one baptism, &c. Thou shalt also love her for her virtues, as shamefacedness, chastity, and diligence, sadness, patience, temperance, secrecy, obedience, and other godly virtues," &c.

XXXIV. "It is nothing but all incredulity, to run in pilgrimage, and seek God in one certain place, which is alike mighty in all places." Fol. 62.

The matter of this article is evident to all indifferent and learned judgments, to be void of all doubt of heresy.

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XXXV. "Men should see that their children come to church, to hear the sermon." Fol. 89.
The place of this article is this:

"On the festival days thou shalt bring thy children to the church, to hear the sermon; and when thou shalt come home, thou shalt ask them what they have kept in memory of the sermon. Thou shalt teach them the Christian faith. Thou shalt admonish them to live well, and to put all their hope and trust in God, and rather to die, than to do any thing that is against the will of God; and principally, thou shalt learn them the contents of the prayer of our Saviour Christ, called the Pater-noster; that is to say, how they have another Father in heaven, of whom they must look for all goodness, and without whom they can have no good thing; and how that they may seek nothing in all their works, and in all their intents, but the honour of their heavenly Father: and how they must desire that this Father would govern all that they do or desire: and how that they must submit all to his holy will, which cannot be but good, &c. Thou shalt buy them wholesome books, as the holy Gospel, the Epistles of the holy apostles, yea, both the New and the Old Testament, that they may understand and drink of the sweet fountain and waters of life."

XXXVI. "Thou shalt not vex or grieve, by justice or otherwise, the poor that oweth unto thee: for thou mayest not do it without sin." Fol. 97.

The place is this:

"Thou shalt not vex or grieve by justice, &c., as Christ saith, Resist not evil, but whosoever striketh thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other also, &c. St. Paul saith, Render not evil for evil; and, if it be possible, and as much as is in you, live in peace with all men, not revenging yourselves, my well-beloved, but give place to wrath: for it is written, To me be the vengeance, and I will render it, saith the Lord God."

XXXVII. "Some text of canon law suffereth war, but the teaching of Christ forbiddeth all wars. Nevertheless, when a city is besieged, or a country invaded, the lord of the country is bound to put his life in jeopardy for his subjects." Fol. 119.

XXXVIII. "So a lord may use horrible war charitably and Christianly."

As touching war, to be moved or stirred first of our parts against any people or country, upon any rash cause, as ambition, malice, or revenge, the gospel of Christ giveth us no such sword to fight withal. Notwithstanding, for defence of country and subjects, the magistrate, being invaded or provoked by others, may lawfully, and is bound to do his best: as the city of Marburg did well in defending itself against the emperor, &c.

XXXIX. "The gospel maketh all true Christian men servants to all the world." Fol. 79.

He that compiled this article, to make the matter to appear more heinous, craftily leaveth out the latter part which should expound the other, that is, "by the rule of charity;" for that the author addeth withal. By which rule charity, and not of office and duty, every Christian man is bound one to help another; as Christ himself, being Lord of all, yet, of charity, was a servant to every man to do him good.

Read the place of the Sum of the Scripture, in the page as in the article it is assigned.

XL. "The gospel is written for persons of all estates, prince, duke, pope, emperor." Fol. 112.

They which noted this article for a heresy, I suppose could little tell either what God, or what the Scripture, meaneth.

XLI. "When judges have hope that an evildoer will amend, they must be always merciful, as Christ was to the woman taken in advoutry. The temporal law must obey the gospel; and them that we may amend by warning, we shall not correct by justice." Fol. 113.

The purpose of the book whence this article is wrested, being well understood, intendeth not to bind temporal judges and magistrates from due execution of good laws, but putteth both them, and especially spiritual judges, in remembrance, by the example of Christ, to discern who be penitent offenders, and who be otherwise; and where they see evident hope of earnest repentance and amendment, if they be ecclesiastical judges, to spare them; if they be civil magistrates, yet to temper the rigour of the law as much as conveniently they may, with merciful moderation, which the Greeks do call *ἐπιεικεία* [epieikeia].

And thus much hitherto of these heresies and articles collected by the bishops, and inserted in their own registers out of the books above specified. The names of the bishops and collectors were these, Sir Thomas More, lord chancellor; William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury; Tonstall, bishop of London; Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester; Richard Sampson, dean of the chapel; Richard Woolman, master of the requests; John Bell, Dr. Wilson, with a great number more, as in the registers doth appear.

I shall not need, I trust, gentle reader, further here to tarry thee with reciting more places, when these already rehearsed may suffice for a taste and a trial for thee, sufficient to note and consider how falsely, and most slanderously, these catholics have depraved and misreported the books and writings of good men, who might almost gather heresies as well of St. John's Gospel, and St. Paul's Epistles, as out of these places. Thus may we see, what cannot malice do, being set on mischief? or what cannot the spirit of spite and cavilling find out, being inflamed with hatred, and blown with the bellows of ambition and iniquity? And as they have done with these, the like parts they have and do practise still against all others, whosoever, in defence of troth, dare touch ever so little either the pope's crown, or the bellies of his clergy: for these two sores in no case they can abide to be touched.

And hereof only cometh all this crying out, Heresy, Heresy; Blasphemy, Error, and Schism. Although the doctrine be ever so sound and perfect after the Scripture, yet if the writer be not such, in all points, (especially in these two above touched,) as will sing after their tune, and dance after their pipe, he is by and by heretic, by virtue of their inquisition. So did they with the articles of the learned Earl Johannes Picus Mirandula. So did they also with John Reveline or Capnion. So did they also with good John Colet here in England. Also, with the like spirit of lying and cavilling, the catholic faculties of Louvain, Spain, and Paris, condemned the works and writings of Erasmus, and many more. So full they are of censures, articles, suspicions, offences,

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inquisitions. So captious they be in taking, so rash in judging, so slanderous of report, so practised in depraving, misconstruing, and wresting, true meanings into wrong purposes. Briefly, so pregnant they be in finding heresies where none are, that either a man must say nothing, or serve their devotion, or else he shall procure their displeasure, that is, shall be deemed for a heretic. Yea, and though no just cause of any heresy be ministered, yet where they once take disliking, they will not stick sometimes, with false accusations, to press him with matter which be never spake nor thought. If Luther had not stirred against the pope's pardons and authority, he had remained still a white son of the mother catholic church, and all had been well done, whatsoever he did. But, because he adventured to touch once the triple crown, what floods of heresies, blasphemies, and articles were cast out against him, enough to drown a whole world! what lies and forged crimes were invented against him!

Here now cometh Staphylus and furious Suring, with their fraternity, and say, that he learned his divinity of the devil. Then followeth another certain chronographer, who, in his lying story reporteth most falsely, that Luther died of drunkenness. With like malice the said chronographer writeth also of Master Bucer, falsely affirming upon his information, that he should deny at his death Christ our Messias to be come; when not only Dr. Redman, who preached at his burial, but also all Englishmen who knew the name of Bucer, did know it to be contrary.

So was it laid against one Singleton, chaplain some time to Queen Anne Bullen, that he was the murderer of Packington, and afterwards, that he was a stirrer-up of sedition and commotion; who also suffered as a traitor for the same. Whereas, in very deed, the true cause was for nothing else, but for preaching the gospel unto the people; whose purpose was ever so far from stirring sedition, that he never once dreamed of any such matter, as he himself declared and protested to one Richard Lent his scholar, who is yet alive, and can testify the truth hereof. But this is no new practice amongst the Romish bishops; whereof enough hath been said before in the story of Sir John Oldcastle, and Sir Roger Acton, &c.

Another like practice of such malicious slander we find also in one Merial a bricklayer, whose name, with his abjuration, remaineth yet in the registers of the bishop of London.

The story is this, and not unworthy to be remembered. In the year of our Lord 1534, which was about the first beginning of Queen Anne Bullen, at what time purgatory and such trumpery began to grow in contempt, Stokesley, bishop of London, made a sermon in the Shrouds, upon the Sunday before May-day; where he, preaching in the commendation and virtue of masses, declared to the people, that, for a little cost, if they procured masses to be said, wives might deliver their husbands, and husbands their wives, out of the bitter pains of purgatory. At this sermon, besides many others, was Thomas Merial, a zealous favourer of God's word; who, being in the watch on May-even, made relation of these words of the bishop unto the company about him, amongst whom then was one John Twyford, a furious papist, and who had the same time the setting up of the stakes in Smithfield, whereat the good saints of God were burned.

This Twyford, who then kept a tavern, and had an old grudge against the said Merial for striking his boy, hearing these words, allured home to his house certain lewd persons, to the number of ten, whose names were these: Blackwell, Laurence, Wilson, Thomas Clark, John

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Duffield, William Kenningham, Thomas Hosier, Worme, a cutler, Allen Ryse, with another that was the tenth. Besides these he procured also secretly Master Chambers's clerk, whose name was Bright. And when he had craftily overcome them with wine, and made them to report what words he listed, and which they knew not themselves, the clerk by and by received the same in writing. Whereupon this article was gathered against Merial, that he should hold and affirm, that the passion of Christ doth not help them that came after him, but only them that were in limbo before: and also that he should say, that his wife was as good as our Lady. Upon this writing of the notary, he was immediately brought to Bishop Stokesley, and there, by the deposition of these ten false witnesses, wrongfully accused, and also for the same should have been condemned, had not Dr. Barret the same time bid him speak one word (which he knew not) as the sentence was in reading, whereby the condemnation was stayed, and he put to do open penance, and to bear a faggot. Notwithstanding the said Merial swore before the bishop that he never spake nor meant any such word as there was said unto him, but only recited the words of the bishop's sermon, reporting the same in the person of the bishop, and not his own; which also was testified to be true, by the oaths of three others, to wit, William Tompson, Gregory Newman, and William Wit, who, being in the aforesaid watch the same time, did take upon their oath before the bishop, that his words were no other, but as is above declared. These three witnesses, at the second edition hereof, were also living, with the wife of the aforesaid Merial, who would then also be sworn that the same was true: whereas, contrary, the other ten persons be all gone, and none of them all remaining. Of whom, moreover, the most of all the said ten came to a miserable end; whereas the other three who testified the truth with Merial, being living at the second edition hereof, did see the end of all the others. And as for Twyford, which was the executioner of Frith, Bayfield, Bainham, Tewkesbury, Lambert, and other good men, he died rotting above the ground, that none could abide him, and thus came to a wretched end.

Of this malicious and perverse dealing of these men contrary to all truth and honesty, in defaming them for heretics which indeed are none, and with opprobrious railing to slander their cause, which is nothing else but the simple truth of Christ's gospel, whoso listeth to search, further, (if these examples hitherto recited do not suffice,) let him read the story of Merindol and Angrogne. Let him consider the furious bull of Pope Martin, the like slanderous bull also of Pope Leo the Tenth, with the edict of Charles the emperor against Luther. Also let him survey the railing stories of Surius the monk of Cologne; the book of Hosius; of Lindanus; the chronography of Genebarde; the story of Cochleus against the Hussites and the Lutherans, with the preface of Conradus Brunus the lawyer prefixed before the same, wherein he, most falsely and untruly railing against these protestants, whom he calleth heretics, chargeth them to be blasphemers of God, contemners of God and men, church-robbers, cruel, false liars, crafty deceivers, unfaithful, promise-breakers, disturbers of public peace and tranquillity, corrupters and subverters of commonweals, and all else that naught is.

In much like sort was Socrates accused of his countrymen for a corrupter of the youth, whom Plato notwithstanding defendeth. Aristides the just lacked not his unjust accusers. Was it not objected unto St. Paul, that he was a subverter of the law of Moses, and that we might do evil that good might come thereof? How was it laid to the Christian martyrs in the primitive church, for worshipping of an ass's head, and for sacrificing of infants. And, to come more near to these our latter days, you heard likewise how falsely the Christian congregation of the Frenchmen, gathered together in the night at Paris, to celebrate the holy communion, were accused of filthy

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commixion of men and women together, and the king the same time (Henry the Second) was made to believe that beds with pillows and mats were found there on the floor where they lay together; whereupon the same time divers were condemned to the fire, and burned. Finally, what innocency is so pure, or truth so perfect, which can be void of these slanders and criminations, when also our Saviour Christ himself was noted for a wine drinker, and a common haunter of the publicans, &c.

Even so, likewise, it pleaseth our Lord and Saviour Christ to keep and to exercise his church under the like kind of adversaries now reigning in the church, who, under the name of the church, will needs maintain a portly state and kingdom in this world; and because they cannot uphold their cause by plain Scripture and the word of God, they bear it out with facing, railing, and slandering; making princes and the simple people believe, that all be heretics, schismatics, blasphemers, rebels, and subverters of all authority and commonweals, whosoever dare reply with any Scripture against their doings.

It is written of Nero, that when he himself had burned the city of Rome six days and seven nights, he made open proclamations that the innocent Christians had set the city on fire, to stir the people against them, whereby he might burn and destroy them as rebels and traitors.

Not much unlike seemeth the dealing of these religious catholics, who, when they be the true heretics themselves, and have burned and destroyed the church of Christ, make out their exclamations, bulls, briefs, articles, books, censures, letters, and edicts against the poor Lutherans, to make the people believe, that they be the heretics, schismatics, disturbers of the whole world; who, if they could prove them, as they reprove them to be heretics, they were worthy to be heard. But now they cry out upon them heretics, and can prove no heresy; they accuse them of error, and can prove no error. They call them schismatics, and what church since the world stood hath been the mother of so many schisms as the mother church of Rome? They charge them with dissension and rebellion; and what dissension can be greater than to dissent from the Scripture and word of God? or what is so like rebellion, as to rebel against the Son of God, and against the will of his eternal Testament? They are disturbers, they say, of peace and public authority; which is as true, as that the Christians set the city of Rome on fire. What doctrine did ever attribute so much to public authority of magistrates, as do the protestants? or who ever attributed less to magistrates, or deposed more dukes, kings, and emperors, than the papists? He that saith that the bishop of Rome is no more than the bishop of Rome, and ought to wear no crown, is not by and by a rebel against his king and magistrates, but rather a maintainer of their authority; which, indeed, the bishop of Rome cannot abide. Briefly, wilt thou see whether be the greater heretics, the protestants or the papists? Let us try it by a measure, and let this measure be the glory only of the Son of God, which cannot fail. Now judge, I beseech thee, whosoever knowest the doctrine of them both, whether of these two do ascribe more or less to the majesty of Christ Jesus our King and Lord; the protestants, which admit no other head of the church, nor justifier of our souls, nor forgiver of our sins, nor advocate to his Father, but him alone; or else the papists, who can abide none of these articles, but condemn the same for heresy? This being so, (as they themselves will not deny,) now judge, good reader, who hath set the city of Rome on fire – Nero, or the Christians.

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But to return again to the purpose of our former matter, which was to show forth the proclamation of the bishops for the abolishing of English books above rehearsed as being corrupt and full of heresy, which, notwithstanding, we have declared to contain no heresy, but sound and wholesome doctrine, according to the perfect word and scripture of God.

Here now, when the prelates of the pope's side had procured this edict and proclamation aforesaid, for the condemnation of all such English books, printed or unprinted, which made against their advantage, they triumphed not a little, weening they had made a great hand against the gospel's ever rising again, and that they had established their kingdom for ever; as indeed, to all men's thinking, it might seem no less. For who would have thought, after so strait, so precise, and so solemn proclamation, set forth and armed with the king's terrible authority; also after the cruel execution of Anne Askew, Lacels, and the rest: item, after the busy search, moreover, and names-taking of many other, of whom some were chased away, some apprehended and laid up, divers in present peril, and expectation of their attachment, who would have thought it (I say) otherwise possible, but that the gospel must needs have an overthrow, seeing what sure work the papists here had made, in setting up their side, and throwing down the contrary?

But it is no new thing with the Lord, to show his power against man's presumption, that when man counteth himself most sure, then is he furthest off, and when he supposeth to have done all, then is he anew to begin again. So was it in the primitive church before Constantine's time, that when Nero, Domitian, Maxentius, Decius, and other emperors, impugning the gospel and profession of Christ, did not only constitute laws and proclamations against the Christians, but also did engrave the same laws in tables of brass, minding to make all things firm for ever and a day; yet we see how, with a little turning of God's hand, all their puissant devices and brazen laws turned all to wind and dust: so little doth it avail for man to wrestle against the Lord and his proceedings! Howsoever man's building is mortal and ruinous, of brittle brick and mouldering stones, yet that which the Lord taketh in hand to build, neither can time waste, nor man pluck down. What God setteth up, there is neither power nor striving to the contrary. What he intendeth, standeth; what he blesseth, that prevaieth. And yet man's unquiet presumption will not cease still to erect up towers of Babel against the Lord, which, the higher they are builded up, fall with the greater ruin: for what can stand, that standeth not with the Lord? Which thing, as in example of all ages it is to be seen, so, in this late proclamation devised by the bishops, is it in like manner exemplified; the which proclamation, though it was sore and terrible for the time, yet, not long after, by reason of the king's death, (whom the Lord shortly thereupon took to his mercy,) it made at length but a castle come down. So that where the prelates thought to make their jubilee, it turned them to the "threnes" of Jeremy. Such be the admirable workings of the Lord of hosts, whose name be sanctified for ever!

This I do not infer for any other purpose, but only for the works of the Lord to be seen; premonishing thee, good reader, withal, that as touching the king, (who in this proclamation had nothing but the name only,) here is nothing spoken but to his laud and praise; who, of his own nature and disposition, was so inclinable and forward in all things virtuous and commendable, that the like enterprise of redress of religion hath not lightly been seen in any other prince christened: as in abolishing the stout and almost invincible authority of the pope, in suppressing monasteries, in repressing custom of idolatry and pilgrimage, &c.; which enterprises, as never king of England did accomplish (though some began to attempt them) before him, so, yet to this

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day, we see but few in other realms dare follow the same. If princes have always their council about them, that is but a common thing. If sometimes they have evil counsel ministered, that I take to be the fault rather of such as are about them, than of princes themselves. So long as Queen Anne, Thomas Cromwell, Archbishop Cranmer, Master Denny, Doctor Butts, with such like, were about him, and could prevail with him, what organ of Christ's glory did more good in the church than he? as is apparent by such monuments, instruments, and acts set forth by him, in setting up the Bible in the church, in exploding the pope with his vile pardons, in removing divers superstitious ceremonies, bringing into order the inordinate orders of friars and sects, in putting chantry priests to their pensions, in permitting white meat in Lent, in destroying pilgrimage-worship, in abrogating idle and superfluous holy-days, both by act public, and also by private letters sent to Bonner tending to this effect.

A private letter of the king to Bishop Bonner.

"Right reverend father in God, right trusty and well beloved, we greet you well! And whereas, considering the manifold inconveniences which have ensued, and daily do ensue to our subjects, by the great superfluity of holy-days, we have, by the ascents and consents of all you the bishops and other notable personages of the clergy of this our realm, in full congregation and assembly had for that purpose, abrogated and abolished such as be neither canonical, nor meet to be suffered in a commonwealth, for the manifold inconveniences which do ensue of the same, as is rehearsed. And to the intent our determination therein may be duly observed and accomplished, we have thought convenient to command you immediately upon the receipt hereof, to address your commandments, in our name, to all the curates, religious houses, and colleges within your diocese, with a copy of the act made for the abrogation of the holy-days aforesaid, a transumpt whereof ye shall receive herewith; commanding them and every of them, in no wise, either in the church or otherwise, to indict or speak of any of the said days and feasts abolished, whereby the people might take occasion either to murmur at, or to condemn the order taken therein, and to continue in their accustomed idleness, the same notwithstanding; but to pass over the same with such secret silence, as they may have like abrogation by disuse, as they have already by our authority in convocation. And forasmuch as the time of harvest now approacheth, our pleasure is ye shall, with such diligence and dexterity, put this matter in execution, as that it may immediately take place for the benefit of our subjects at this time accordingly, without failing, as ye will answer unto us for the contrary.

"Given under our signet, at our monastery of Chertsey, the eleventh day of August."

Thus, while good counsel was about him, and could be heard, the king did much good. So again, when sinister and wicked counsel, under subtle and crafty pretences, had gotten once the foot in, thrusting truth and verity out of the prince's ears, how much religion and all good things went prosperously forward before, so much, on the contrary side, all revolted backward again. Whereupon proceeded this proclamation above mentioned, concerning the abolishing and burning of English books: which proclamation, bearing the name of the king's Majesty, but being the very deed of the popish bishops, no doubt had done much hurt in the church among the godly sort, bringing them either into great danger, or else keeping them in much blindness, had not the shortness of the king's days stopped the malignant purposes of the aforesaid prelates, causing the king to leave that by death unto the people, which by his life he would not grant. For, within four

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months after, the proclamation coming out in August, he deceased in the beginning of January, in the thirty-eighth year of his reign, A.D. 1547; leaving behind him three children, who succeeded him in his kingdom, King Edward, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth; of whom it remaineth now to prosecute (by the permission and sufferance of Christ our high Lord and Prince) in the process of this history, according as the order of their succession, and acts done by them in the church, shall require; after that, first, I shall have prosecuted certain other matters by the way, according to my promise here to be inserted.

217. Sir John Borthwike

The history touching the persecution in Scotland, with the names and causes of such blessed martyrs, as in that country suffered for the truth, after the time of Patrick Hamelton.

Thus, having finished the time and race of King Henry the Eighth, it remaineth now, according to my promise made before, here to place and adjoin so much as doth come to our hands, touching the persecution of Scotland, and of the blessed martyrs of Christ, which in that country, likewise, suffered for the true religion of Christ, and the testimony of their faith.

To proceed therefore in the history of these Scottish matters, next after the mention of David Stratton and Master Nicholas Gurley, with whom we ended before, the order of time would require next to infer the memory of Sir John Borthwike, knight, commonly called Captain Borthwike; who, being accused of heresy, as the papists call it, and cited there-for A.D. 1540, and not appearing, and escaping out into other countries, was condemned for the same being absent, by the sentence of David Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrew's, and other prelates of Scotland; and all his goods confiscated, and his picture at last burned in the open market-place. Whose story, with his articles objected against him, and his confutations of the same, here ensueth in process under expressed, as followeth.

The act or process, or certain articles against Sir John Borthwike, knight, in Scotland: with the answer and confutation of the said Borthwike; whose preface to the reader here followeth.

"By the help of a certain friend of mine, there came certain articles unto my hand, for the which the Scottish cardinal, and such other like of his sect and affinity, did condemn me as a heretic. And forasmuch as this condemnation should not lack his cloak or defence, they gathered together a great number of witnesses, whereas, besides the bare names of the witnesses, they alleged none other proof at all. Wherefore I thought good to bestow some labour in refelling those articles, which they could not prove, partly that I might take away from all true Christians the occasion of all evil suspicion, as though that I, being vanquished or overthrown by their threatenings, would deny Christ; and, partly, that their errors being thereby made manifest, they should even for very shame repent, or else, hereafter, the less abuse the furor or madness of such witnesses to shed blood. Therefore I will first confirm, by evident testimonies of the Scriptures, those things which in times past I have taught; and afterwards I will refel their vain sophistication, whereby they go about to subvert the truth of God."

The act or process, &c.

"Sir John Borthwike, knight, commonly called Captain Borthwike, being accused, suspected, slandered, and convicted by witnesses, without all doubt of greater estimation than he himself, in the year of our Lord 1540, the twenty-eighth day of May, in the cloister of St. Andrew's, in the presence of the most reverend fathers, Gawine, archbishop of Glasgow, chancellor of Scotland; William, bishop of Aberdeen, Henry, bishop of Candidatia, John, bishop of Brechin, and William, bishop of Dunblane; Andrew of Melrose, George of Dunfermline, John of Paslet, John of Londrose, Robert of Rillos, and William of Rulrose, abbots; Mancolme of

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Quiterne and John of Petinuaim, priors; Master Alexander Balfour, vicar of Ritman, rector of law, official of St. Andrew's; John Winryme, subprior; John Annand and Thomas Cunningham, canons of St. Andrew's; John Thompson of the university of St. Andrew's; and Master John Mairr and Peter Capel, bachelors of divinity and doctors; Martin Balfour, bachelor of divinity, and of the law, and official principal of St. Andrew's; John Tulildaffe, warden of the Friars Minors, and John Patterson of the same convent: and also in the presence of the most noble, mighty, and right worshipful lords, George earl of Huntelo, James earl of Arran, William earl marshall, William earl of Montrose; Malcolm Lord Fleming, chamberlain of Scotland; John Lord Linsey, John Lord Erskine, George Lord Seton, Sir James Hamelton of Finwart, Walter, lord of the knights of St. John, of Forfichen; Master James Foules of Collington, clerk to the king's register; with divers other lords, barons, and honest persons, being called and required together for witnesses, that he did hold, publish, and openly teach, these errors following."

The first article.

"That our most holy father the pope, the vicar of Jesu Christ, hath not, neither can exercise, greater authority over Christians here on earth, than any other bishop or prelate."

Sir John Borthwike's answer.

"These holy ones do magnify their Lord by like title as common thieves and robbers are accustomed to prefer the captains and ringleaders of their robberies and mischiefs, calling them in every place the most honest and good men, whereas likewise it is evident that in the whole world there is no man more given to riot, which more greedily doth seek after all kind of delicateness and wantonness, and finally aboundeth with all kind of vice, as treason, murder, rapine, and all kind of such evils.

"Furthermore, whereas they affirm him to be the vicar of Christ here on earth, it shall be easily convinced, when it shall be made manifest, that he neither hath, nor can exercise, more power or authority over Christians, than any other bishop or prelate. For unto that office of being vicar they refer that great authority the which they do so greatly boast and brag of, which being taken away, the office of vicar doth also fall and decay. But now, to attempt the matter, I will first demand of the maintainers of this pre-eminency and authority, whereupon they will ground the same? I know that they will answer unto me, that Peter had power and authority over the other apostles, and consequently over the universal church, the which power, by succession, is translated unto the bishops of Home. But how unshamefacedly do they lie herein, any may easily perceive who hath but any small spark of judgment in him, when he shall hear the testimonies of the Scriptures, which we will allege to confirm this our opinion. For Peter, in Acts xv., in the council, doth declare what is to be done, and admonisheth us what of necessity we ought to do. And he there did also hear others speak, and did not only give them place to say their minds, but also permit and receive their judgment; and whereas they decreed, he followed and obeyed the same. Is this then to have power over others?

"Furthermore, whereas in his First Epistle he writeth unto bishops and pastors, he doth not command them as a superior or head over them, by power and authority, but maketh them his fellow companions, and gently exhorteth them as is accustomed to be done between equals of

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degree; for these are his words: I beseech and desire the bishops and pastors which are amongst you, forasmuch as I myself am also a bishop, and a witness of the afflictions of Christ, and also a partaker of the glory which shall be revealed, that they do diligently feed the flock of Christ, which is committed unto them. Why then do they so challenge unto them the authority of Peter, which he never acknowledged in himself? Truly, I do not doubt but that if Peter were, here present, he would, with like severity, rebuke their folly and madness, as Moses, in times past, did unto Joshua, which burned with too earnest a zeal towards him.

"I doubt not but that many, in this feigned authority of Peter, do seek out more vain helps to maintain and uphold the tyranny of popes, rather than to make him ruler and governor over all others. For whereas in Acts viii. he is commanded by his fellows to go with John into Samaria, he did not refuse so to do. Insomuch then as the apostles do send him, they declare thereby, that they do not count him as their head and superior; and in that he doth obey them, and taketh upon him the office or ministry committed unto him, he confesseth thereby that he hath a society and fellowship with them, but no rule or empery over them, as he writeth in his Epistle. But if none of these examples were evident or manifest, the only Epistle to the Galatians were sufficient to put us out of all doubt; where St. Paul, almost throughout two whole chapters, doth nothing else but declare and affirm himself to be equal unto Peter, in the honour or dignity of the apostleship. For, first of all, he rehearseth how he went up to Jerusalem unto Peter, not to the intent to profess any homage and subjection unto him, but only to witness, with a common consent and agreement, unto all men the doctrine which they taught; and that Peter did require no such things at his hand, but gave unto him the right side or upper hand of the fellowship, that they might jointly together labour in the vineyard of the Lord. Moreover, that he had no less favour and grace among the Gentiles, than Peter had amongst the Jews; and finally, when Peter did not faithfully execute his office and ministry, he was by him rebuked, and Peter became obedient unto his correction.

"All these things do evidently prove, that there was equality between Paul and Peter, and also that Peter had no more power over the residue of the apostles than he had over Paul: which thing St. Paul even of purpose doth treat of, lest any man should prefer Peter or John before him in the office of apostleship, which were but his companions, and not lords over one another. Whereupon these places of Scripture work this effect, that I cannot acknowledge Peter to be superior or head over other apostles, neither the pope over other bishops: but I acknowledge and confess Christ to be the only Head of the church, the Foundation and High Priest thereof, who, with one only oblation, hath made perfect for evermore all those which are sanctified. And I boldly do affirm and say with St. Gregory, that whosoever calleth himself, or desireth to be named or called, the head or universal priest or bishop, in that his pride he is the fore-rider or predecessor of antichrist; forasmuch as, through his pride, he doth exalt himself above all others.

"Furthermore, whereas they allege, out of the old law, the high priesthood and the supreme judgment which God did institute and ordain at Jerusalem; I answer thereunto, that Christ was that high bishop, unto whom the right and title of priesthood is now transported and referred. Neither is there any man so impudent, which will take upon him to succeed in the place or degree of his honour; forasmuch as this priesthood doth not consist only in learning, but is the propitiation and mercy of God, which Christ hath fulfilled by his death, and in the intercession, by which he doth now entreat for us unto his Father.

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"Whereas also they do allege out of Matt. xvi., Thou art Peter, and upon this rock, &c., if they do think that this was particularly spoken unto Peter, St. Cyprian and St. Augustine shall sufficiently answer them, that Christ did it not for this purpose, to prefer one man above all the residue, but that thereby he might commend and set forth the unity of the church; for so saith St. Cyprian: 'In the person of one man God gave unto them all the keys, that he might thereby signify the unity of them all. For even as Peter was, even the very same were all the residue, being endued with like fellowship of honour and dignity. But it was convenient that it should take its original of one, that the church of God might be manifested to be one only.' St. Augustine's words are these: 'If the mystery of the church were not in Peter, the Lord would not have said unto him, I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven. If this were spoken unto Peter, the church hath them not. If the church have them, then Peter, when he received the keys, did figure the whole church. Again, when they were all demanded and asked, only Peter answered, Thou art Christ. Then was it said unto him, I will give unto thee the keys, as though that he alone had received the power of binding and loosing; for, like as he alone spake that for them all, so he, as it were, bearing the person of that unity, received the same with them all. Therefore, one for them all, because he is united unto them all.'

"Another argument they do gather upon the words which Christ spake unto Peter, Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church: which words are not found to be spoken unto any other of the apostles. This argument shall easily be dissolved, if we do understand and know why Christ did give Peter that name, which otherwise was called Simon. In the first chapter of John, Christ speaketh thus unto him: Thou shalt be called Cephas; which, by interpretation, signifieth Peter: in that point having respect unto the constant confession of Christ, which he had made, like as God changed the name of Abraham, who at first was called Abram, because he should be a father of many nations. Then, even as Abraham took his name of the multitude, which should come forth of his seed, so likewise Peter took his name of the constant confession of Christ, which indeed is the true rock whereupon the church is builded, and not Peter himself; no otherwise than Abraham, which was not the multitude itself, whereof he took his name. Besides this, the church should be stayed, or builded, upon an over-weak foundation, if it should have Peter for the ground or foundation thereof, who, being amazed and overcome with the words of a little wench, did so constantly deny Christ.

"Now, therefore, I think there is no man but that doth understand how these Romish builders do wrest the Scriptures hither and thither, and, like unto the rule or square, do apply them according to their wills, to what end and use they themselves think good.

"Furthermore, in that they do allege, out of John xx., Feed my sheep, it is an over-childish argument; for to feed, is not to bear rule and dominion over the whole church. Besides all this, as Peter had received commandment of the Lord, so doth he exhort all other bishops to feed their flock, in his First Epistle and fifth chapter. Hereby a man may gather by these words of Christ, that either there was no authority given unto Peter more than unto others, or else that Peter did equally communicate that right and authority, which he had received, unto others, and did not reserve It unto himself after his death, to be transported unto the bishops of Rome.

"As for such reasons as they do allege, which are not gathered or taken out of Holy Scriptures, I pass them over, lest I might seem to contend with shadows."

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The second article.

"That indulgences and pardons, granted by our supreme head the pope, are of no force, strength, or effect; but tend only to the abuse of the people, and to the deceiving of their souls."

Sir John Borthwike's answer.

"It shall be evidently declared, that indulgences and pardons are of none effect, after that I have, first of all, taught what they do call indulgences or pardons. They say, they are the treasures of the church, that is to say, the merits of Christ, of the saints, apostles and martyrs, whom they impudently affirm to have performed and merited more at God's hand, at the time of their death, than was necessary or needful for them; and that of the abundance of their merits there did so much superabound, as was not only sufficient for themselves, but also might redound to the help of others. And, because so great a goodness should not be superfluous or in vain, they affirm and teach, that their blood was mixed and joined with the blood of Christ; and of them both, the treasure of the church was compound, and made for the remission and satisfaction of sins. How cunning and notable cooks these are, which can make a confection of so many sundry herbs!

"Furthermore, they do feign the custody and keeping of this treasure to be committed wholly unto the bishop of Rome, in whose power consisteth the dispensation of so great treasures, that either by himself may give or grant, or otherwise give power unto other to give the same. And hereupon rise the plenary indulgences and pardons granted by the pope, for certain years; by cardinals, for a hundred days; by bishops, for forty days. This is the judgment and opinion which they hold of the indulgences. But I pray you, who taught those saints to work or deserve for others, but only Satan, who would utterly have the merits of Christ extinguished and blotted out, which he knoweth to be the only remedy of salvation? For, if the Scripture doth teach us that no man of himself can deserve or work his salvation, how did the saints then work or merit for others? It is manifest that Christ saith, in Luke xvii., When ye have done all that which is commanded you for to do, yet, saith he, ye are unprofitable servants. Besides this, all that which may be deserved or merited in the righteousness of man, is, in Isaiah xxxiv., compared unto the garment menstruous and defiled, to be cast out.

"There are almost infinite places in the Scripture, wherein man's power is so extenuated, and the corruption and frowardness of our nature so made manifest, that even in the best and most perfect works there lacketh not imperfection. Notwithstanding the parable of the ten virgins, written In Matthew xxv., ought to put us out of all controversy and doubt. There Christ describeth two kinds of men, the one kind of holy men, which observe and keep the inward righteousness of the heart as the oil of faith; the other sort is of such as, having no mind of their oil, are answered by them that are wise, No! lest that there be not sufficient for you and for us; but go you rather to them which do sell, and buy for yourselves: in the which place it is manifestly declared how vainly the second sort of men do fly to the patronage of the elect, by whose merits they think to be saved.

"Now let us weigh and consider upon what places of Scripture they build or establish their feigned invention of pardons. They allege the saying of St. Paul to the Colossians, I supply

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or fulfil the afflictions of Christ, which were wanting in my flesh, for his body which is the church. But Paul, in this place, doth not refer that defect or supplement to any work of redemption, expiation, or satisfaction; but to those afflictions, by the which the members of Christ, that is to say, all the faithful, should be afflicted, so long as they live in the flesh: wherefore he saith, that this doth yet remain of the passion of Christ, that those afflictions which once he suffered in his own body, he now daily suffereth in his members. For Christ hath vouchsafed to honour us with this honour, that he doth impute and call our afflictions to be his.

"And whereas St. Paul doth add this word, for the church, he doth not understand thereby for the redemption, reconciliation, satisfaction, or expiation of the church, but for the edifying and the profiting of the same, as in the Second Epistle to Timothy, he saith, that for the elect's sake he suffered all these things, that they might obtain salvation. But, to the intent that no man should think that salvation to depend upon those things which he himself had suffered, he added further, The which is in Christ Jesu.

"As touching the reason, that the blood of the martyrs is not shed in vain, without fruit or profit: and, therefore, ought to be conferred to the common utility and profit of the church; I answer, that the profit and fruit thereof is abundant; to glorify God by their death, to subscribe and bear witness unto the truth by their blood, and, by the contempt of this present life, to witness that they do seek after a better life; by their constancy and stedfastness, to confirm and establish the faith of the church, and subdue and vanquish the enemy."

The third article.

"That the pope is an open user of simony, daily selling the gifts of the spiritualties: and that it is lawful for all bishops to be coupled and joined in matrimony."

Sir John Borthwike's answer.

"This article hath its several parts, for those things which we have spoken or answered unto the article before-written, do sufficiently declare, that the pope is not only a user of simony, but also a notable deceiver, who selleth such kind of merchandise as can in no place help or prevail; forasmuch as his pardons are nothing less than such as he feigneth them to be. Doth he not then show himself a manifest deceiver, when he maketh fairs and markets of them?

"But, to the intent I will not seem in this behalf vainly to labour or travail, I will pass unto the second part, where I do say, that it is not only done against the word of God, but also against equity and justice, to forbid priests to marry, forasmuch as it is not lawful for any man, by any means, to forbid that thing which the Lord hath left at liberty. For St. Paul, in Hebrews xiii., declareth that matrimony is lawful for all men, saying, that marriage, and the undefiled bed [or chamber], is honourable amongst all men. And in 1 Cor. vii., he saith, For avoiding of whoredom, let every man have a wife of his own. But I know what these obstinate and stiffnecked will answer unto me, that the same is spoken and meant of others, and not of priests.

But what will they answer unto me, as touching that which is written in 1 Tim. iii. 1, A bishop ought to be without rebuke, the husband of one wife? and, by and by after, he saith,

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Deacons ought to be the husbands of one wife, the which should rule and govern their children and family uprightly. Unto these Paul affirmeth matrimony to be meet and necessary, let them say what they can to the contrary.

"What could be more vehemently spoken against their wicked tyranny, than that which by the Holy Ghost he declareth in the fourth chapter of the same Epistle, that in the latter days there should come wicked men, which should forbid matrimony? and he calleth them not only deceivers, but also wicked spirits; attending unto the doctrine of wicked spirits. But these men think that they have very well escaped, when they wrest this sentence to those old ancient heretics the Tatianists. 'They,' say these men, 'did only condemn matrimony: we do not condemn it, but only forbid churchmen to marry; unto whom we think matrimony is not convenient.' As though that albeit this prophecy were first of all complete and fulfilled in the Tatianists, that it did not also redound unto them; or as though this their subtle sophistication were worthy to be regarded, that they do not deny or prohibit matrimony, because they do not forbid it unto all men generally! Like as if a tyrant would contend and affirm his law to be good, by the extremity and violence whereof only one part of the city is oppressed.

"But now, let us hear the reasons of the contrary part: 'It behoveth,' say they, 'a priest to differ from the common sort of the people by some notable mark or token.' But read St. Paul, where he describeth the perfect image of a good bishop: did he not reckon and account marriage amongst the other good gifts which he required to be in them? But I know very well how these men interpret Paul: verily, that a bishop ought not to be chosen, which hath married his second wife. But also it appeareth openly by the text, that this interpretation is false, forasmuch as he doth, by and by, declare and show what manner of women the wives of bishops and deacons ought to be. Wherefore St. Paul numbereth matrimony amongst the principal virtues pertaining unto a bishop: and these men do teach it to be an intolerable vice amongst the orders of the church, and not being content with that general reproach or slander, they call it in the canons, 'the uncleanness, polluting, and defiling of the flesh.'

"Now let every man consider with himself out of what shop this stuff is taken. God instituted matrimony: Christ sanctified it with his presence, by turning water into wine; and vouchsafed so to honour it, that he would have it the image or figure of his love and friendship with the church. What can be more famous or notably spoken to the commendation and praise of wedlock? But these unshamefaced faces do call it 'a filthy and unclean thing,' alleging the Levitical priests, which, as often as they came unto the office of ministration, were bound to lie apart from their wives, whereby they, being clean and undefiled, might handle the holy things: and our sacraments, forasmuch as they are much more noble and excellent than theirs, and daily used, it would be a very uncomely thing that they should be handled by married men! As though that the office of the ministry of the gospel were all one with the Levitical priesthood. For they, as figures, did represent Christ, which, being Mediator between God and man, by his singular and absolute purity and cleanness, should reconcile the Father unto us. For forasmuch as on no part sinners could exhibit or show forth any type or form of his sanctity or holiness, yet, to the intent they might shadow him out with certain similitudes or lineaments, they were commanded that whensoever they should come unto the sanctuary or holy place, they should purify themselves above all men's order or fashion: for then did they most near and properly figure Christ, which appeared in the tabernacle as peace-maker, to reconcile the people unto God. This

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image or personage, forasmuch as our ecclesiastical pastors at this day do not take upon them to execute, in vain are they compared unto them. Wherefore the apostle, without all exception, upon a sure and good ground doth pronounce and say, that marriage is honourable amongst all men, and that whoremongers and adulterers do abide the judgment of God.

"Besides all this, the apostles themselves, by their examples, do prove that matrimony is not unworthy of any office or function, be it ever so excellent; for St. Paul himself is witness, that they did not only keep their wives, but also carried them about with them."

The fourth article.

"That all those heresies commonly called the heresies of England, or at the least, the greater or most part of them, are to be now presently understood and known by the Englishmen, to be of themselves good and just, and to be observed of all faithful Christians as most true and conformable unto the law of God; and that he had persuaded many persons to embrace the said heresies."

Sir John Borthwike's answer.

"St. John, in his eleventh chapter, declareth how Caiaphas, high bishop of Jerusalem, did prophesy that Jesus should die for the people; which thing he spake, being utterly ignorant. The like image of blindness we have now presently in our luxurious cardinal of St. Andrews, and his adherents, which accused religion of heresy, which, in the year of our Lord 1540, was had in estimation in England, at which time they proclaimed me an arch-heretic, although they esteem the same religion for most Christian; for what religion at the time was used in England, the like the whole realm of Scotland did embrace: in this point only the Englishmen differed from the Scots, that they had cast off the yoke of antichrist; the others not. Idols were worshipped by both nations; the profaning of the Supper and Baptism was alike unto them both; wicked superstition reigned on both parts, and true worship was deformed and defaced with detestable hypocrisy.

"Truly it is most false which they do affirm and say, that I had subscribed unto such kind of heresies, as though they had been conformable unto the law of God, whereas nothing is more adverse or repugnant thereunto: for even now of late, God of his goodness and mercy had opened my dazzling eyes, and had drawn me out of the filthy slough of idolatry and superstition, in the which, amongst others, I have so long time wallowed and tumbled. Neither is it any less absurd, that they affirm me to have allured many to embrace the same; except peradventure they do understand that I have oftentimes wished that the yoke of antichrist should be shaken and cast off from the necks of the Scots, as it is from the English men; which thing, with sincere and upright heart, and with an earnest mind, I do now also wish and desire."

The fifth article.

"That the Scottish nation and their clergy be altogether blinded; of whom he did also say and affirm, that they had not the true cathOLic faith. And this he did so openly teach and preached also, that his faith was much better and more excellent, than the faith of all the clergy in the realm of Scotland."

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Sir John Borthwike's answer.

"No man will deny that people to be blinded, which neither hear Christ nor his apostles. Such are the people of Scotland; I speak of those unto whom the verity and truth of Christ hath not yet opened or manifested itself. There is no cause, therefore, why they should accuse me of heresy. Furthermore, how far off the nation and the people of Scotland be from the hearing of Christ, (albeit the premises do sufficiently declare,) in that they do. challenge unto the Romish antichrist the authority which Christ and his apostles do declare Christ himself to be endued withal, and that, contrary to the word of God, they forbid priests to marry, I will add something more unto it, whereby the matter may be more evident. Christ calleth himself the door whereby all men ought to enter in: see John x. Contrariwise, the Scots do say and affirm, that we must enter in by the Virgin Mary and St. Peter. Christ, in John iv., saith, The time shall come, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and truth: the Scots build themselves high temples and chapels for idols, in which, even as Israel in times past, they commit fornication. Paul, in his Epistle to the Hebrews, chap. x., saith that Christ, by one only oblation, hath made perfect all those for evermore, which are sanctified: which saying confirmeth also the words of Christ hanging upon the cross, saying, It is finished; signifying that by his death there was a final end set to all sacrifices, which are offered up for sins. But the Scottish churchmen, as they are blasphemers indeed, so do they brag and boast, that they daily offer up Christ for the sins both of the quick and of the dead! God commandeth us that we shall not worship any graven image: the Scots do not only fall down flat before images, but also offer up incense unto them! St. Paul teacheth us that Christ is made our wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption: the Scots, being wise men in their own conceits, prefer and embrace traditions feigned and invented out by man's head, before the law of God; they stablish righteousness in their own works; sanctification in holy water and other external things; redemption in pieces of lead, which they do buy of their great antichrist. Who then will quarrel with me, that I do allege that the people of Scotland are blind, and that my faith, Which doth only behold the word of God, is much better and more excellent than theirs?"

The sixth article.

"Agreeably to the ancient errors of John Wickliff and John Huss, arch-heretics condemned in the council of Constance, he hath affirmed and preached, that the clergy ought not to possess or have any temporal possessions; neither to have any jurisdiction or authority in temporalities, even over their own subjects; but that all these things ought to be taken from them, as it is at this present in England."

Sir John Borthwike's answer.

"The Lord, in the book of Numbers, chap. xviii., said thus unto Aaron, Thou shalt possess nothing in. their land; neither shalt thou have any portion and inheritance amongst them, I am thy portion and inheritance amongst the children of Israel. For unto the sons of Levi I have given all the tithes of Israel, that they should possess them for their ministry which they do execute in the tent of ordinaries. Albeit I do not doubt but that the order of the Levites, and of our clergy, is far different and variable: for the administration of their sacred and holy things, after their death,

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passed unto their posterity as it were by right of inheritance; which happeneth not unto the posterity of our clergy in these days.

"Furthermore, if any heritage be provided or gotten for them, I do not gainsay but that they shall possess it: but still I do affirm, that all temporal jurisdiction should be taken from them. For when twice there rose a contention amongst the disciples, which of them should be thought the greatest, Christ answered, The kings of nations have dominion over them, and such as have power over them are called beneficial: you shall not do so; for he which is greatest amongst you shall be made equal unto the youngest or least; and he which is the prince or ruler amongst you, shall be made equal unto him that doth minister: minding thereby, and willing utterly to debar the ministers of his word from all terrene and civil dominion and empire. For by these points he doth not only declare that the office of a pastor is distinct and divided from the office of a prince and ruler, but that they are in effect so much different and separate, that they cannot agree or join together in one man. Neither is it to be thought that Christ did set or ordain a harder law than he himself before did take upon him: forasmuch as in Luke iii., certain of the company said unto him, Master, command my brother that he divide his inheritance with me: he answered; Man, who made me a judge or divider amongst you? We see therefore that Christ even simply did reject and refuse the office of a judge; the which thing he would not have done, if it had been agreeable unto his office or duty. The like thing also he did in John viii., when he refused to give judgment upon the woman taken in adultery, which was brought before him.

Whereas they do allege that Moses did supply both offices at once, I answer, that it was done by a rare miracle. Furthermore, that it continued but for a time, until things were brought unto a better state. Besides that, there was a certain form and rule prescribed, him of the Lord, when he took upon him the civil governance; and the priesthood he was commanded to resign unto his brother; and that not without good cause, for it is against nature, that one man should suffice both charges: wherefore it was diligently foreseen and provided for in all ages; neither was there any bishop, so long as any true face or show of the church did continue, who once thought to usurp the right and title of the sword. Whereupon, in the time of St. Ambrose this proverb took its original, that emperors did rather wish or desire the office of priesthood, than priests any empire. For it was all men's opinion at that time, that sumptuous palaces did pertain unto emperors, and churches unto priests. St. Bernard, also, writeth many things which are agreeable unto this our opinion; as is this his saying: 'Peter could not give that which he had not, but he gave unto his successors that which he had, that is to say, carefulness over the congregation; for when the Lord and Master saith, that He is not constitute or ordained judge between two, the servant or disciple ought not to take it scornfully if that he may not judge all men.' And, lest that he might seem in that place to speak of the spiritual judgment, he straightway annexeth, 'Therefore,' saith he, 'your power and authority shall be in offence and transgression; not in possessions. For this purpose, and not for the other, have you received the keys of the kingdom of heaven. Why then do you invade other men's bounds or borders?' The rest I pass over for brevity's sake."

The seventh article.

"Falsely, and against the honour, estate, and reverence of the sacred Majesty of the king of Scots, he hath said, holden, and affirmed, that our most noble king of Scots, defender of the

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Christian faith, would appropriate unto himself all the possessions, lands, and rents of the church, given and granted by his predecessors, and also by himself, and convert them unto his own private use. And for this end and purpose, as he hath many times written unto him, so hath he with his whole endeavour persuaded our said noble lord and king thereunto."

Sir John Borthwike's answer.

"It is no marvel though these mad dogs do so bark against me, whom they think to have counselled the king's Majesty, (I would to God I had also thoroughly persuaded him,) that he should take away from these unjust, sacrilegious possessors the riches wherewithal they are fatted and engreased like swine. For this is the nature dogs, that if any man go about to take away the bone out of their mouth, by and by to snatch at him, and tear him with their teeth. It is out of all controversy unto such as have any wit at all, that such were very childish, that is to say, ignorant of all learning and judgment, which did so fat and feed with their possessions these belly-beasts. For who would not judge it more than childish, to bestow the king's victuals or meat upon the bellies of the prophets of Baal and Jezebel? But all they that, at this present, do endure such filthy sinks (I will not call them dens of thieves) with such revenues, they do follow the steps of Jezebel; for what other thing do they, when daily they are bleating and bowing before their images, burning of incense, and falling flat down before their altars, but that which in times past the prophets of Baal did, when they transported the worship of God unto an idol? Wherefore, if Daniel and Elias were spotted with heresy, when they would have destroyed the priests of Baal, I grant that I also must be a heretic.

"But forasmuch as he then did nothing but that which was commanded him of the Lord, who was able to kill the prophets that had allured the people to follow strange gods, he could not truly and justly be accused of heresy: so neither can my adversaries spot me therewithal, except, peradventure, they will condemn in me, that whereas Elias dealt more rigorously with the prophets of Baal, for he cast them into the brook Kedron, I required or desired no more, but that the riches which were wickedly bestowed upon them, and their possessions, might be taken from them."

The eighth article.

"He willed and desired, and oftentimes with his whole heart prayed, that the church of Scotland might come and be brought to the same point and state, and to like ruin, as the church of England was already come unto."

Sir John Borthwike's answer.

"If the church of Israel decayed, when in the time of Zerubbabel, Nehemiah, and other holy men, it was released and set at liberty out of Babylon; I grant also, that it was a ruin unto the Englishmen, to have departed and gone away out of Babylon, the mother of all whoredom; upon whose rotten and filthy paps and breasts they have a long time depended and hanged, being made drunk with the wine of her whoredom and unshamefacedness. They had rather cause to give me thanks, who, with so sincere and good a heart, wished unto them so happy a fall. But these unthankful persons thought it not enough with slander and reproach to tear me asunder, but now

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also, as blind rage and madness have taken away all sincerity and uprightness of mind and judgment, they lie in wait, and snares for my life."

The ninth article.

"He hath openly holden, said and affirmed, preached and taught; that the laws of the church, that is to say, the sacred canons, approved and allowed by the holy catholic and apostolic church, are of no force, strength, or effect; alleging, therefore, and affirming, that they are made and invented contrary to the law of God."

Sir John Borthwike's answer.

"God forbid that I should say, that those things which are approved and allowed by the holy catholic church, should be of no effect or value. For well I know, that the holy apostolic church hath never allowed, ordained, or taught any thing which she hath not learned of the Lord. The apostles are witnesses thereof, Peter and Paul, whereof the one of them dareth not freely utter or speak of any of those things which Christ hath not wrought by himself for the obedience of the Gentiles. The other exhorteth, that if any man speak, he should speak the praises of God. But I condemn those laws which the bishops of Rome have made according to their own will and mind, and which they say are spiritual, pertaining unto the soul, and necessary unto everlasting life; forasmuch as the writings of the apostles do evidently declare, that there was no authority known amongst them to make or ordain any ordinances or laws.

"Furthermore, the Scriptures do manifestly show the same, how oftentimes, even by the Lord's own mouth, this aforesaid authority is taken from the ministers of the church; so that no excuse for them remaineth, but that they be plain rebels against the word of God, how many soever do presume or take upon them to appoint or set any new laws upon the people of God: which thing is more manifest and evident than the light itself, in many places of the Scripture; for in Joshua xxiii., it is written, You shall observe and do all that is written in the law of Moses, neither shall you swerve from that, either to the right hand or to the left hand. But that which is written in Deuteronomy xii., ought to move them somewhat more. Whatsoever I command, saith the Lord, that shall ye observe and do: thereunto you shall add nothing, neither shall you take any thing from it. The like he had said before in chapter iv. of the same book. And again Moses, in chapter xiii. of the same book, doth witness, that he did put forth life and blessing unto Israel, when he gave them that law which he had received of the Lord. How can they then excuse themselves of perjury, who ordain new laws to live by?

"But let us proceed further, and see what authority the priests of Levi's stock had to make laws. I do not deny but that God, in Deut. xvii., ordained, under a great penalty, that the authority of the priests should not be contemned, but had in reverence. But in Malachi ii. he also declareth under what condition they are to be heard, where he saith, He hath made a covenant with Levi, that the law of truth should be in his mouth. And, by and by after, he addeth, The lips of the priest shall keep and maintain wisdom; and the law they shall require at his mouth, who is the messenger of the Lord of hosts. Therefore it is fit and necessary, if a priest will be heard, that he doth show himself the messenger of God, that is to say, that he faithfully report and declare the commandments which he hath received of the Lord. For where Malachi speaketh of hearing of

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them, he putteth this specially, that they do answer according to the law of the Lord. Therefore, like as the Levitical priests did break their covenant made with God, if they did teach any other law than that which they had received of him, so, likewise, these men must either acknowledge themselves to be covenant-breakers, or else they may not bind the consciences of men with any new law.

"Furthermore, what power the prophets had universally, it is very lively described in Ezekiel, chapter xxxiii. Thou son of man, saith the Lord, I have made thee a guide unto the house of Israel: thou shalt hear the word out of mine own mouth, and declare it unto them from me. He then who is commanded to hear of the mouth of the Lord, is he not forbidden to rehearse or speak any thing of himself? for what other thing is it to speak from the Lord, but so to speak that he may boldly affirm and say, that it is not his word, but the word of the Lord, which he speaketh?

"Further, God, by his prophet Jeremy, calleth it chaff, whatsoever doth not proceed from himself. Wherefore none of the prophets have opened their mouths at any time to speak, but being premonished by the word of God. Whereupon it happeneth, that these words are so often pronounced by them, The word of the Lord; the charge or burden of the Lord; the vision of the Lord; thus saith the Lord; the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.

"Now, that we may also confirm that which is before spoken, by the examples of the apostles, that they have taught nothing but that which they have learned of the Lord, the law which Christ prescribed unto them, when he endowed them with the dignity and honour of the apostleship, is somewhat more profoundly to be repeated. In Matthew xxviii. he commandeth them to go forth and teach, not such things as they themselves did rashly invent or devise, but those things which be bad commanded them.

Furthermore, Paul, in 1 Corinthians ii., denieth that he hath any dominion or rule over the faith of the Corinthians, albeit he was ordained by the Lord to be their apostle. If you require and desire a further reason of the moderation of St. Paul, read chap. x. of his Epistle to the Romans, where he teacheth, that faith cometh by hearing. It cometh not by the dreams of the bishop of Rome, or of any other bishop, but only by the word of God.

"Neither ought any man to think it strange, that Christ restrained his apostles by the law, that they should not teach any thing but that which they had learned of the mouth of the Lord: he set the same law upon himself, because it should not be lawful for any man to refuse it. My doctrine, saith Christ, is not mine, but his which sent me; my Father's. He who hath been the only and eternal counsellor of the Father, who also is ordained by the Father the Lord and Master over all, yet, for so much as he hath the office and part of a minister, he doth by his example prescribe unto all ministers, what rule and order they ought to follow in teaching. Wherefore the power of the church is not such, that she may, at her own will and discretion, teach new doctrines, or, as they term it, frame new articles of faith, or establish new laws; but is subject unto the word of the Lord, and as it were included in the same.

"But now let us behold what defence they do bring for their constitutions. The apostles, say they, and the elders of the primitive church, established a decree, besides the commandment

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of Christ, whereby they did command all people to abstain from all things offered unto idols, suffocation, and blood: If that were lawful for them so to do, why is it not lawful for their successors, as often as necessity shall require, to imitate and to follow them in doing the like?

"But I deny that the apostles, in that behalf, did make any new decree or ordinance, forasmuch as Peter, in the same council, pronounceth God to be tempted, if any yoke be laid upon the necks of the disciples. Even he himself doth subvert and overthrow his own sentence, if they consent to lay any yoke upon them. But a yoke is laid upon them, if the apostles, by their own authority, do decree to prohibit the Gentiles not to touch any thing offered unto idols or strangled. But, you will say, they do write that they should abstain from these things. I grant that they do so write: but what doth St. James declare? that the Gentiles which are converted unto God, are not to be troubled and vexed in such extern decrees and outward elements as these be. And the apostle sufficiently declareth that he goeth about nothing less, than to restrain the liberty of the Gentiles, but only to admonish and warn them, how they should moderate and rule themselves among their brethren, lest they should abuse their liberty to the offence of the others.

"They allege furthermore, that which is written in Matthew xxiii., The scribes and Pharisees have sitten in the chair of Moses; therefore, all things whatsoever they command you to observe and keep, the same observe and do; but do you not as they do.

"I answer, the Lord in this place doth inveigh against the manners of the Pharisees, simply instructing his hearers whom before he had taught, that albeit they could perceive or see nothing in their life which they should follow, yet, for all that, they should not refuse to do these things which they did teach by the word: I say, by the word, and not of their own head."

The tenth article.

"Divers and many ways he hath said, holden, and also affirmed, and openly taught, that there is no religion to be observed or kept, but simply to be abolished and destroyed, as it is now in England; and, despising all religion, affirming that it is but an abusion of the people, he hath taught that their habits and ventures are deformed and very monstrous, having in them no manner of utility or holiness; inducing and alluring, as much as in him lay, all the adherents of his opinion, that all religion in the kingdom of Scotland should be subverted and utterly taken away, to the great offence of the catholic church, and the diminishing and detriment of the Christian religion."

Sir John Borthwike's answer.

"The prophet Isaiah, in his fifth chapter, crieth out, saying, Woe be unto you which call evil good, and good evil, darkness light, and light darkness, sour sweet, and sweet sour. And it followeth in the same place in the said prophet, Woe, saith he, to you that be wise and sapient in your own eyes, and prudent in your own estimation. No man can deny but that the cardinal of Scotland and his adherents be under this most heavy and grievous curse, when they do so generally confound the Christian religion and their wicked monkery, that they do entitle them both by one name of holiness. I trust I will make it appear more manifest than the day, that they

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do it by a sacrilegious audacity or boldness, unto such as, setting apart all preposterous affection, will embrace the truth, when she doth manifestly show herself.

"But before I enter into the matter, I will all men to understand, that I do not touch that kind of monkery, which St. Augustine and others do so often make mention of; as in which the monks, being gathered together, utterly contemning and despising the vanities of this world, did lead a most chaste and godly life, living in prayers, reading, and disputations; not puffed up with pride; nor contentious with frowardness, neither full of envy: no man possessed any things of his own; no man was chargeable or burdenous unto others. They wrought with their hands, to get that which might sustain the body, the spirit and mind not let and hindered from God. Whatsoever did superabound more than was necessary for their sustentation, (as, by the restraint of their delicious and delicate fare much did redound of the labours of their hands,) it was with such diligence distributed unto the poor and needy, as it was not with greater diligence gotten by them that did give the same. For they by no means went about to have abundance lying by them, but sought all means possible, that nothing should remain by them more than sufficient. Besides this, no man was forced to any extremity, which he could not bear or suffer, no man had any thing laid upon him which he refused, neither was he condemned of the rest, which confessed himself unable to imitate or follow. They had always in their mind how commendable a thing love and charity was; they remembered that all things are clean to them which are clean: therefore they did not refuse or reject any kinds of meat as polluted or defiled; but all their whole industry and labour was applied to subdue lust and concupiscence, and to retain love amongst brethren. Many of them did drink no wine, yet, notwithstanding, they thought not themselves defiled therewithal: for unto such as were sick and diseased, who could not recover the health of their body without the same, they did most gently permit it. And whereas many foolishly refused the same, they brotherly admonished them to take heed that they became not rather the weaker than the holier, through their vain superstition.

"Hitherto I have repeated that which St. Augustine writeth of the monks of his time, whereby I would, as it were, paint out in a table, what manner of monkery there was in the old time, that all men might understand how great difference there is between that, and the monkery in these our later days. For he would have all extreme compulsion to be taken away in such things as, by the word of God, are left to us at liberty. But, now-a-days, there is nothing more severely and cruelly exacted for they say it is a remediless offence if any do, but ever so little, swerve from their prescript order, in colour or kind of garment, or in any kind of meat, or in any other frivolous or vain ceremony.

"St. Augustine doth straightly affirm, that it is not lawful for monks to live idle upon other men's labour. He plainly denieth that in his time there was any such example of any well-ordered monastery. But our monks do constitute the principal part of holiness in idleness, which they call a contemplative life; wherefore the state or monkery of the old time, and of these our days, is in all points so diverse, that scarce can any thing be more unlike (I will not say, utterly contrary); for our monks, not content with that godliness to the study and desire whereof Christ commandeth all his continually to be attentive, imagine a new kind of godliness, I know not what, by the meditation whereof they are more perfect than all others. But it is a most pestilent error, (which all godly men ought to abhor,) to feign any other rule of perfection, than that

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common rule delivered unto the whole universal church, which we suppose to be sufficiently approved in the refutation of the article before passed.

"Now I also pass over with silence the great blasphemy, whereby they compare their monastical confession unto baptism. I also hold my peace, that they do dissipate and divide the communion of the church, when they do separate themselves from the lawful society and fellowship of the faithful, and claim unto themselves a peculiar ministry and private administration of the sacraments: but, as St. Augustine witnesseth, it was so far off, that the monks, in times past, had any several church or administration of the sacraments from others, that they were a part and portion of the common people, albeit they dwelt asunder.

"But if a man may touch the manner of these our monks, what shall I call the cloisters in these our days, otherwise than brothel-houses, swine styes, and dens of discord. Besides that, I will pass over their fairs and markets, which, in these later days they do make of their relics of martyrs, to build up Sodom again. Wherefore, I conclude that this their kind of life which they claim unto themselves, is utterly wicked and naught, the which is not established or grounded upon any certain calling of God, neither allowed by him; wherefore I may be bold to say that it is unlawful, because their conscience hath nothing whereby to sustain itself before God; and whatsoever is not of faith is sin.

"And furthermore, so long as they do entangle and bind themselves with so many and so perverse and wicked kinds of worshipping as the monkery now-a-days doth contain in it, I may well say that they are not consecrated unto God, but unto the devil. For why? was it lawful for the prophets to say, that the Israelites did offer their children unto wicked spirits, and not unto God, because they did corrupt and violate the true worshipping of God with profane ceremonies – is it not lawful then to speak the like of our monks, who, together with their cowls, have put on a thousand snares of most wicked superstitions? Let every man now weigh and consider with himself, if I have done wickedly to wish such religions as is this our monkery, to be utterly extinguished and rooted out. Moreover, all Christian princes should rightly and truly do their office, if, as in times past Josias pulled down and overthrew the high places which his elders, the kings of Judah, had budded, so they would abolish and drive away this kind of monks."

The eleventh article.

"It is plainly manifest by lawful proofs, that the said John Borthwike had, and presently hath, divers books suspected of heresy, condemned as well by the papal, as also regal and ordinary, authorities, and prohibited by the law: that is to say, especially the New Testament, commonly printed, in English; Ecolampadius, Melancthon; and divers treatises of Erasmus and other condemned heretics; also a book entitled Unio Dissidentium, the which containeth most manifest and great errors and heretical assumptions; and hath read and studied the same as well openly as privately, and hath presented and communicated them unto others; and, also, hath instructed and taught many Christians in the same, to the end and purpose to divert and turn them away from the true Christian and catholic faith."

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Sir John Borthwike's answer.

"O good God! who can suffer so great a blasphemy! with what a filthy cankered stomach do these boorish swine note the New Testament with heresy! Who would not judge it a most venomous tongue, which dare pronounce and utter such contumelious words against the holy gospel of our Saviour Christ? Truly these men (howsoever they do pronounce me an arch-heretic) do fill up the measure of all other heretics, (I will not say blasphemers,) as the Jews, which put Christ to death, did of all other murderers. How then shall these serpents and stock of vipers escape and flee the judgment of everlasting fire? I do not greatly stand or stay, that they do suspect Ecolampadius, Melancthon, or Erasmus, neither am I so mad to plead their cause, who, as they are men of singular learning and eloquence, so do their writings manifestly declare, how falsely and wickedly these sycophants impute this crime and slander of heresy unto them.

The twelfth article.

"It is manifest, that the said John Borthwike was so obstinate in all the aforesaid errors and heresies, and so maintained and taught them, with such an obdurate heart and mind, that he would not by any means be persuaded from them by his friends, and divers other persons which did dearly love and favour him, but chose rather obstinately to persevere in his said errors."

Sir John Borthwike's answer.

"I am willingly contented to be reduced to the catholic faith, but if Satan raise up any storms or tempests against that, those I do something resist. Wherefore they most shamefully lie, which do otherwise jest or talk of me; for I know not by what reason they call them my friends, who so greatly laboured to convert me, neither will more esteem them than the Midianites, which, in times past, called the children of Israel to do sacrifice unto their idols. And furthermore, I desire the most high and mighty God, that he will never suffer me to swerve or turn away from this holy, godly, and Christian obstinacy and stubbornness. The man is blest, that hath set his whole hope and confidence upon the Lord, and hath not regarded or looked upon the proud, or those which follow after lies."

The sentence of condemnation against Sir John Borthwike, knight, by the cardinal, bishops, and abbots in Scotland, A.D. 1540.

"Of all which the premises and many other errors by him holden, spoken, published, affirmed, preached, and taught, the common fame and report is, that the said Sir John Borthwike is holden, reputed, and accounted of very many, as a heretic, and principal heretic, which holdeth evil opinions of the catholic faith.

"Wherefore we, David, by the title of St. Stephen in Mount Celo, prelate and cardinal of the holy Church of Borne, archbishop of St. Andrews, primate of the whole kingdom of Scotland, and born legate of the apostolic see, sitting after the manner of judges in our tribunal seat, the most holy Gospels of God being laid before us, that our judgment might proceed from the face of God, and our eyes might behold and look upon equity and justice; having only God, and the verity and truth of the catholic faith, before our eyes; his holy name being first called

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upon; having, as is before said, hereupon holden a council of wise men, as well divines as lawyers, we pronounce, declare, decree, determine, and give sentence, that the said Sir John Borthwike, called Captain Borthwike, being suspected, infamed, and accused of the errors and heresies before said, and wicked doctrines manifoldly condemned as is aforesaid and by lawful proofs against him in every of the premises had, being convict and lawfully cited and called, not appearing, but as a fugitive, runaway, and absent, even as though he were present, to be a heretic, and is, and hath been, convict as a heretic; and as a convict heretic and heresiarch to be punished and chastened with due punishment, and afterwards to be delivered and left unto the secular power. Moreover, we confiscate and make forfeit, and by these presents declare and decree to be confiscated and made forfeit, all and singular his goods, movables and unmovables, howsoever and by whatsoever title they be gotten, and in what place or part soever they be, and all his offices, whatsoever he hath hitherto had: reserving, notwithstanding, the dowry, and such part and portion of his goods, as by the law, custom, and right of this realm, unto persons confiscate ought to appertain. Also we decree, that the picture of the said John Borthwike, being formed, made, and painted to his likeness, be carried through this our city to our cathedral church, and afterwards to the market-cross of the same city, and there, in token of malediction and curse, and to the terror and example of others, and for a perpetual remembrance of his obstinacy and condemnation, to be burned. Likewise we declare and decree, that notwithstanding, if the Said John Borthwike be hereafter apprehended and taken, he shall suffer such punishment as is due by order of law unto heretics, without any hope of grace or mercy to be obtained in that behalf. Also we plainly admonish and warn, by the tenor of these presents, all and singular faithful Christians, both men and women, of what dignity, state, degree, order, condition, or pre-eminence soever they be, or with whatsoever dignity or honour ecclesiastical or temporal they be honoured withal, that from this day forward they do not receive or harbour the said Sir John Borthwike, commonly called Captain Borthwike, being accused, convict, and declared a heretic and arch-heretic, into their houses, hospitals, castles, cities, towns, villages, or other cottages, whatsoever they be; or by any manner of means admit him thereunto, either by helping him with meat, drink, or victuals, or any other thing, whatsoever it be; they show unto him any manner of humanity, help, comfort, or solace, under the pain and penalty of greater and further excommunication, confiscation, and forfeitures: and if it happen that they be found culpable or faulty in the premises, that they shall be accused therefor as the favourers, receivers, defenders, maintainers, and abettors of heretics, and shall be punished there-for, according to the order of law, and with such pain and punishment as shall be due unto men in such behalf."

218. Thomas Forret And His Followers

And now, to prosecute such others as followed, beginning first in order with Thomas Forret and his fellows: their story is this.

The story of Thomas Forret, priest, and his fellows.

Thomas Forret, priest; Friar John Kelow, Friar Beverage, Duncan Sympton, priest; Robert Foster, a gentleman, with three or four other men of Stirling; martyrs.

Their persecutors: David Beaton, bishop and cardinal of St. Andrews; George Creighton, bishop of Dunkeld.

Not long after the burning of David Stratton and Master Gurlay above-mentioned, in the days of David Beaton, bishop and cardinal of St. Andrews, and George Creighton, bishop of Dunkeld, a canon of St. Colm's Inch, and vicar of Dolor, called Dean Thomas Forret, preached every Sunday to his parishioners out of the epistle or gospel as it fell for the time; which then was a great novelty in Scotland, to see any man preach, except a Black Friar or a Grey Friar: and therefore the friars envied him, and accused him to the bishop of Dunkeld, (in whose diocese he remained,) as a heretic, and one that showed the mysteries of the Scriptures to the vulgar people in English, to make the clergy detestable in the sight of the people. The bishop of Dunkeld, moved by the friars' instigation, called the said Dean Thomas, and said to him, "My joy Dean Thomas, I love you well, and therefore I must give you my counsel, how you shall rule and guide yourself." To whom Thomas said, "I thank your Lordship heartily." Then the bishop began his counsel after this manner:

Bishop.—"My joy Dean Thomas! I am informed that you preach the epistle or gospel every Sunday to your parishioners, and that you take not the cow, nor the uppermost cloth, from your parishioners, which thing is very prejudicial to the churchmen; and therefore, my joy Dean Thomas, I would you took your cow, and your uppermost cloth, as other churchmen do; or else it is too much to preach every Sunday: for in so doing you may make the people think that we should preach likewise. But it is enough for you, when you find any good epistle, or any good gospel, that setteth forth the liberty of the holy church, to preach that, and let the rest be."

The martyr.—Thomas answered, "My Lord, I think that none of my parishioners will complain that I take not the cow, nor the uppermost cloth, but will gladly give me the same, together with any other thing that they have; and I will give and communicate with them any thing that I have; and so, my Lord, we agree right well, and there is no discord among us. And whereas your Lordship saith, It is too much to preach every Sunday, indeed I think it is too little, and also would wish that your Lordship did the like."

Bishop.—"Nay, nay, Dean Thomas," saith my Lord, "let that be, for we are not ordained to preach."

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Martyr.— Then said Thomas, "Whereas your Lordship biddeth me preach when I find any good epistle, or a good gospel, truly, my Lord, I have read the New Testament and the Old, and all the Epistles and Gospels, and among them all I could never find an evil epistle, or an evil gospel: but, if your Lordship will show me the good epistle and the good gospel, and the evil epistle and the evil gospel, then I shall preach the good, and omit the evil."

Bishop.— Then spake my Lord stoutly and said, "I thank God that I never knew what the Old and New Testament was; [and of these words rose a proverb which is common in Scotland, Ye are like the bishop of Dunkeldene, that know neither new nor old law:] therefore, Dean Thomas, I will know nothing but my portuese and my pontifical. Go your way, and let be all these fantasies; for if you persevere in these erroneous opinions, ye will repent it, when you may not mend it."

Martyr.—"I trust my cause be just in the presence of God, and therefore I pass not much what do follow thereupon."

And so my Lord and he departed at that time. And soon after a summons was directed from the cardinal of St. Andrews and the said bishop of Dunkeld, upon the said Dean Thomas Forret, upon two Black Friars, one called Friar John Kelow, and another called Beverage, and upon one priest of Stirling, called Duncan Sympson, and one gentleman, called Robert Foster, in Stirling, with other three or four with them, of the town of Stirling; who, at the day of their appearance after their summoning, were condemned to the death without any place for recantation, because (as was alleged) they were heresiarchs, or chief heretics and teachers of heresies; and, especially, because many of them were at the bridal and marriage of a priest, who was vicar of Tulibothy beside Stirling, and did eat flesh in Lent at the said bridal. And so they were all together burned upon the castle hill at Edinburgh, where they that were first bound to the stake godly and marvellously did comfort them that came behind.

219. Martyrs in St. John's-Town, or Perth

The manner of persecution used by the cardinal of Scotland against certain persons in St. John's-town, or Perth.

Robert Lamb, William Anderson, James Hunter, James Raveleson, James Finlason, lichen Stirke, his wife; martyrs.

Persecutor: David Beaton, bishop and cardinal of St. Andrews.

First, there was a certain act of parliament made in the government of the Lord Hamilton, earl of Arran, and governor of Scotland, giving privilege to all men of the realm of Scotland, to read the Scriptures in their mother tongue and language; secluding nevertheless all reasoning, conference, convocation of people to hear the Scriptures read or expounded. Which liberty of private reading being granted by public proclamation, lacked not its own fruit, so that in sundry parts of Scotland thereby were opened the eyes of the elect of God to see the truth, and abhor the papistical abominations; amongst whom were certain persons in St. John's-town, as after is declared.

At this time there was a sermon made by Friar Spence, in St. John's-town, otherwise called Perth, affirming prayer made to saints to be so necessary, that without it there could be no hope of salvation to man. Which blasphemous doctrine a burges of the said town, called Robert Lamb, could not abide, but accused him, in open audience, of erroneous doctrine, and adjured him, in God's name, to utter the truth. This the friar, being stricken with fear, promised to do; but the trouble, tumult, and stir of the people increased so, that the friar could have no audience, and yet the said Robert, with great danger of his life, escaped the hands of the multitude, namely, of the women, who, contrary to nature, addressed them to extreme cruelty against him.

At this time, A.D. 1543, the enemies of the truth procured John Charterhouse, who favoured the truth, and was provost of the said city and town of Perth, to be deposed from his office by the said governor's authority, and a papist, called Master Alexander Marbeck, to be chosen in his room, that they might bring the more easily their wicked enterprise to an end.

After the deposing of the former provost, and election of the other, in the month of January the year aforesaid, on St. Paul's day, came to St. John's-town, the governor, the cardinal, the earl of Argyle, justice Sir John Campbell of Lundie, knight, and Justice Defort, the Lord Borthwike, the bishops of Dunblane and Orkney, with certain other of the nobility. And although there were many accused for the crime of heresy, (as they term it,) yet these persons only were apprehended upon the said St. Paul's day: Robert Lamb, William Anderson, James Hunter, James Raveleson, James Finlason, and Hellen Stirke, his wife, and were cast that night in the Spay Tower of the said city, the morrow after to abide judgment.

Upon the morrow, when they appeared and were brought forth to judgment in the town, were laid in general to all their charge, the violating of the act of parliament before expressed, and their conference and assemblies in hearing and expounding of Scripture against the tenor of

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the said act. Robert Lamb was accused, in special, for interrupting of the friar in the pulpit; which he not only confessed, but also affirmed constantly, that it was the duty of no man, which understood and knew the truth, to hear the same impugned without contradiction; and therefore sundry who were there present in judgment, who hid the knowledge of the truth, should bear the burden in God's presence, for consenting to the same.

The said Robert also, with William Anderson and James Raveleson, were accused for hanging up the image of St. Francis in a cord, nailing of ram's horns to his head, and a cow's rump to his tail, and for eating of a goose on Allhallow-even.

James Hunter, being a simple man, and without learning, and a flesher by occupation, so that he could be charged with no great knowledge in doctrine, yet, because he often used that suspected company of the rest, he was accused.

The woman Hellen Stirke was accused, for that in her childbed she was not accustomed to call upon the name of the Virgin Mary, being exhorted thereto by her neighbours, but only upon God for Jesus Christ's sake; and because she said, in like manner, that if she herself had been in the time of the Virgin Mary, God might have looked to her humility and base estate, as he did to the Virgin's, in making her the mother of Christ: thereby meaning, that there were no merits in the Virgin, which procured her that honour, to be made the mother of Christ, and to be preferred before other women, but that only God's free mercy exalted her to that estate: which words were counted most execrable in the face of the clergy, and of the whole multitude.

James Raveleson aforesaid, building a house, set upon the round of his fourth stair, the three-crowned diadem of Peter carved out of a tree, which the cardinal took as done in mockage of his cardinal's hat; and this procured no favour to the said James, at their hands.

These aforementioned persons, upon the morrow after St. Paul's day, were condemned and judged to death, and that by an assize, for violating (as was alleged) the act of parliament, in reasoning and conferring upon Scripture, for eating flesh upon days forbidden, for interrupting the holy friar in the pulpit, for dishonouring of images. and for blaspheming of the Virgin Mary, as they alleged.

After sentence given, their hands were bound, and the men cruelly treated: which thing the woman beholding, desired likewise to be bound by the sergeants with her husband for Christ's sake.

There was great intercession made by the town in the mean season for the life of these persons aforementioned, to the governor, who of himself was willing so to have done, that they might have been delivered: but the governor was so subject to the appetite of the cruel priests, that he could not do that which he would. Yea, they menaced to assist his enemies and to depose him, except he assisted their cruelty.

There were certain priests in the city, who did eat and drink before in these honest men's houses, to whom the priests were much bounden. These priests were earnestly desired to entreat

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for their hostess at the cardinals hands: but they altogether refused, desiring rather their death, than preservation. So cruel are these beasts, from the lowest to the highest.

Then after, they were carried by a great band of armed men (for they feared rebellion in the town except they had their men of war) to the place of execution, which was common to all thieves, and that to make their cause appear more odious to the people.

Robert Lamb, at the gallows' foot, made his exhortation to the people, desiring them to fear God, and leave the leaven of papistical abominations, and manifestly there prophesied of the ruin and plague which came upon the cardinal thereafter. So every one comforting another, and assuring themselves that they should sop together in the kingdom of heaven that night, they commended themselves to God, and died constantly in the Lord.

The woman desired earnestly to die with her husband, but she was not suffered; yet, following him to the place of execution, she gave him comfort, exhorting him to perseverance and patience for Christ's sake, and, parting from him with a kiss, said on this manner, "Husband, rejoice, for we have lived together many joyful days; but this day, in which we must die, ought to be most joyful unto us both, because we must have joy for ever; therefore I will not bid you good night, for we shall suddenly meet with joy in the kingdom of heaven." The woman, after that, was taken to a place to be drowned, and albeit she had a child sucking on her breast, yet this moved nothing the unmerciful hearts of the enemies. So, after she had commended her children to the neighbours of the town for God's sake, and the sucking bairn was given to the nurse, she sealed up the truth by her death.

220. George Wisehart

The condemnation of Master George Wisehart, gentleman, who suffered martyrdom for the faith of Christ Jesus at St. Andrew's in Scotland, A.D. 1546, March the first; with the articles objected against him, and his answers to the same.

With most tender affection and unfeigned heart consider, gentle reader, the uncharitable manner of the accusation of Master George Wisehart, made by the bloody enemies of Christ's faith. Note also the articles whereof he was accused, by order digested, and his meek answers so far as he had leave and leisure to speak. Finally, ponder with no dissembling spirit the furious rage and tragical cruelty of the malignant church, in persecuting of this blessed man of God; and, on the contrary, his humble, patient, and most godly answers made to them suddenly without all fear, not having respect to their glorious menacings and boisterous threats, but charitably and without stop answering, not moving his countenance, nor changing his visage, as in his accusation hereafter following manifestly shall appear.

But before I enter into his articles, I thought it not impertinent somewhat to touch concerning the life and conversation of this godly man, according as of late it came to my hands, and certified in writing by a certain scholar of his, some time named Emery Tylney, whose words of testimonial, as he wrote them to me, here follow.

"About the year of our Lord 1543, there was, in the university of Cambridge, one Master George Wisehart, commonly called Master George of Benet's College, who was a man of tall stature, polled-headed, and on the same a round French cap of the best; judged to be of melancholy complexion by his physiognomy, black haired, long bearded, comely of personage, well spoken after his country of Scotland, courteous, lowly, lovely, glad to teach, desirous to learn, and was well travelled; having on him for his habit or clothing, never but a mantle or frieze gown to the shoes, a black millian fustian doublet, and plain black hosen, coarse new canvass for his shirts, and white falling bands and cuffs at his hands. All the which apparel he gave to the poor, some weekly, some monthly, some quarterly, as he liked, saving his French cap, which he kept the whole year of my being with him.

"He was a man modest, temperate, fearing God, hating covetousness; for his charity had never end, night, noon. nor day; he forbore one meal in three, one day in four for the most part, except something to comfort nature. He lay hard upon a puff of straw and coarse new canvass sheets, which, when he changed, he gave away. He had commonly by his bed-side a tub of water, in the which (his people being in bed, the candle put out and all quiet; he used to bathe himself, as I, being very young, being assured, often heard him, and, in one light night, discerned him. He loved me tenderly, and I him, for my age, as effectually. He taught with great modesty and gravity, so that some of his people thought him severe, and would have slain him; but the Lord was his defence. And he, after due correction for their malice, by good exhortation amended them and went his way. Oh that the Lord had left him to me, his poor boy, that he might have finished that he had begun! for in his religion he was as you see here, in the rest of his life, when he went into Scotland with divers of the nobility, that came for a treaty to King Henry the Eighth. His learning was no less sufficient than his desire; always pressed and ready to do good in that he

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was able, both in the house privately, and in the school publicly, professing and reading divers authors.

"If I should declare his love to me and all men; his charity to the poor, in giving, relieving, caring, helping, providing, yea, infinitely studying how to do good unto all, and hurt to none, I should sooner want words, than just cause to commend him.

"All this I testify with my whole heart and truth, of this godly man. He that made all, governeth all, and shall judge all, knoweth that I speak the truth, that the simple may be satisfied, the arrogant confounded, the hypocrite disclosed.

Τελος [GREEK:Telos]

"EMERY TYLNEY."

To the said Master George, being in captivity in the castle of St. Andrews, the dean of the same town was sent by the commandment of the cardinal, and his wicked counsel, and there summoned the said Master George, that he should, upon the morning following, appear before the judge, then and there to give account of his seditious and heretical doctrine. To whom Master George thus answered:

Wisehart.—"What needeth," said he, "my lord cardinal to summon me to answer for my doctrine openly before him, under whose power and dominion I am thus straitly bound with irons? May not my lord compel me to answer of his extort power? or believeth he that I am unprovided to render account of my doctrine? To manifest yourselves what men ye are, it is well done that ye keep your old ceremonies and constitutions made by men."

Upon the next morning, the lord cardinal caused his servants to address themselves in their most warlike array, with jack, knapskal, splent, spear, and axe, more seeming for the war, than for the preaching of the true word of God. And when these armed champions, marching in warlike order, had conveyed the bishops into the abbey church, incontinently they sent for Master George, who was conveyed unto the said church by the captain of the castle, accompanied with a hundred men, addressed in manner aforesaid. Like a lamb led they him to sacrifice. As he entered into the abbey-church door, there was a poor man lying, vexed with great infirmities, asking of his alms, to whom he flung his purse. And when he came before the lord cardinal, by and by the sub-prior of the abbey, called Dean .John Winryme, stood up in the pulpit, and made a sermon to all the congregation there then assembled, taking his matter out of Matthew xiii.

Brief account of the sermon of Dean John Winryme.

The sermon was divided into four principal parts. The first part was a brief and short declaration of the evangelist. The second part, of the interpretation of the good seed. And because he called the word of God the good seed, and heresy the evil seed, he declared what heresy was, and how it should be known; which he defined on this manner: "Heresy is a false opinion defended with pertinacy, clearly repugning the word of God."

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The third part of the sermon was, the cause of heresy within that realm, and all other realms. "The cause of heresy," quoth he, "is the ignorance of them that have the cures of men's souls: to whom it necessarily belongeth to have the true understanding of the word of God, that they may be able to win again the false doctors of heresies, with the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God; and not only to win again, but also to overcome them, as saith Paul: A bishop must be faultless, as it becometh the minister of God, not stubborn, nor angry; no drunkard, no fighter, nor given to filthy lucre, but harbourous; one that loveth goodness; sober-minded, righteous, holy, temperate, and such as cleaveth unto the true word of doctrine; that he may be able to exhort with wholesome learning, and to disprove that which they say against him."

The fourth part of his sermon was, how heresies should be known. "Heresy," quoth he, "be known after this manner: as the goldsmith knoweth the fine gold from the unperfect, by the touchstone, so likewise may we know heresy by the undoubted touchstone; that is, the true, sincere, and undefiled word of God." At last he added, that heretics should be put down in this present life: to which proposition the gospel appeared to repugn, which he treated of. Let them grow unto the harvest. The harvest is the end of the world. Nevertheless, he affirmed that they should be put down by the civil magistrate and law.

And when he ended his sermon, incontinently they caused Master George to ascend into the pulpit, there to hear his accusation and articles. And right against him stood by one of the fed flock, a monster, John Lauder, laden full of cursings written in paper. Of which he took out a roll, both long and also full of cursings, threats, maledictions, and words of devilish spite and malice, saying to the innocent Master George so many cruel and abominable words, and hitting him so spitefully with the pope's thunder, that the ignorant people dreaded lest the earth then would have swallowed him up quick. Notwithstanding Master George stood still with great patience, hearing their sayings, not once moving or changing his countenance.

When that this fed sow had read throughout all his lying menacings, his face running down with sweat, and frothing at the mouth like a boar, he spit at Master George's face, saying, "What answerest thou to these sayings, thou runagate! traitor! thief! which we have duly proved by sufficient witness against thee!" Master George, hearing this, kneeled down upon his knees in the pulpit, making his prayer to God. When he had ended his prayer, sweetly and Christianly he answered to them all in this manner:

Master George Wisehart.—"Many and horrible sayings unto me, a Christian man, many words abominable to hear, ye have spoken here this day, which not only to receive, but also once to think, I thought ever great abomination. Wherefore I pray your discretions quietly to hear me, that ye may know what were my sayings and the manner of my doctrine.

"This my petition, my Lords, I desire to be heard for three causes. The first is, because, through preaching of the word of God, his glory is made manifest. It is reasonable therefore, for the advancing of the glory of God, that ye hear me, teaching truly the pure word of God, without any dissimulation.

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"The second reason is, because that your health springeth of the word of God; for he worketh all things by his word. It were, therefore, an unrighteous thing, if ye should stop your ears from me, teaching truly the word of God.

"The third reason is, because your doctrine uttereth many blasphemous and abominable words, not coming of the inspiration of God, but of the devil, with no less peril than of my life. It is just, therefore, and reasonable, that your discretions should know what my words and doctrine are, and what I have ever taught in my time in this realm, that I perish not unjustly, to the great peril of your souls. Wherefore, both for the glory and honour of God, your own health, and safeguard of my life, I beseech your discretions to hear me; and, in the mean time, I shall recite my doctrine without any colour.

"First and chiefly, since the time I came into this realm I taught nothing but the Ten Commandments of God, the Twelve Articles of the Faith, and the Prayer of the Lord in the mother tongue. Moreover in Dundee, I taught the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans. And I shall show your discretions faithfully, what fashion and manner I used when I taught, without any human dread, so that your discretions give me your ears benevolent and attent[ive]."

Suddenly then, with a high voice cried the accuser, the fed sow, "Thou heretic, runagate, traitor, and thief! it was not lawful for thee to preach. Thou hast taken the power at thine own hand, without any authority of the church. We forethink that thou hast been a preacher too long."

Then all the whole congregation of the prelates, with their complices, said these words; "If we give him licence to preach, he is so crafty, and in the Holy Scriptures so exercised, that he will persuade the people to his opinion, and raise them against us."

Master George, seeing their malicious and wicked intent, appealed from the lord cardinal to the lord governor, as to an indifferent and equal judge. To whom the accuser, John Lauder aforesaid, with hoggish voice answered, "Is not my lord cardinal the second person within this realm, chancellor of Scotland, archbishop of St. Andrews, bishop of Mirepois, commendator of Aberbrothwick, *legatus natus*, *legatus a latere*?" And so, reciting as many titles of his unworthy honours as would have laden a ship, much sooner an ass, "Is not he," quoth John Lauder, "an equal judge apparently unto thee? Whom else desirest thou to be thy judge?"

To whom this humble man, answering, said thus:

Wisehart.—"I refuse not my lord cardinal, but I desire the word of God to be my judge, and the temporal estate, with some of your Lordships mine auditors, because I am here my lord governor's prisoner."

Hereupon the prideful and scornful people that stood by mocked him, saying, "Such man, such judge!" speaking seditious and reproachful words against the governor and other the nobles; meaning them, also, to be heretics. And incontinent, without all delay, they would have given sentence upon Master George, and that without further process, had not certain men there counselled the cardinal to read again the articles, and to hear his answers thereupon, that the people might not complain of his wrongful condemnation.

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And shortly to declare, these were the articles following, with his answers, as far as they would give him leave to speak: for when he intended to mitigate their leasings, and to show the manner of his doctrine, by and by they stopped his mouth with another article.

First article. "Thou false heretic, runagate, traitor, and thief, deceiver of the people! thou despisest the holy church's, and in like case contemnest my lord governor's, authority. And this we know for surety, that when thou preachedst in Dundee, and wast charged by my lord governor's authority to desist, nevertheless thou wouldst not obey, but perseveredst in the same; and therefore the bishop of Brechin cursed thee, and delivered thee into the devil's hands, and gave thee in commandment that thou shouldst preach no more. Yet, notwithstanding, thou didst continue obstinately."

Wisehart.—"My Lords! I have read in the Acts of the Apostles, that it is not lawful to desist from the preaching of the gospel for the threats and menaces of men. Therefore it is written, We shall rather obey God than man. I have also read in Malachi, I shall curse your blessings, and bless your cursings, saith the Lord: believing firmly, that he will turn your cursings into blessings."

II. "Thou, false heretic! didst say, that the priest, standing at the altar, saying mass, was like a fox wagging his tail in July."

Wisehart.—"My Lords! I said not so. These were my sayings: The moving of the body outward, without the inward moving of the heart, is nought else but the playing of an ape, and not the true serving of God. For God is a secret searcher of men's hearts: therefore, who will truly adore and honour God, he must in spirit and verity honour him."

Then the accuser stopped his mouth with another article.

III. "Thou, false heretic! preachedst against the sacraments, saying, that there were not seven sacraments."

Wisehart.—"My Lords! if it be your pleasures, I never taught of the number of the sacraments, whether they were seven or eleven. So many as are instituted by Christ, and are showed to us by the evangely, I profess openly. Except it be the word of God, I dare affirm nothing."

IV. "Thou, false heretic! hast openly taught, that auricular confession is not a blessed sacrament. And thou sayest, that we should only confess us to God and to no priest."

Wisehart.—"My Lords! I say that auricular confession, seeing that it hath no promise of the evangely, therefore it cannot be a sacrament. Of the confession to be made to God, there are many testimonies in Scripture, as when David saith, I thought I would acknowledge mine iniquity against myself unto the Lord, and he forgave the punishment of my sin. Here confession signifieth the secret acknowledging of our sins before God. When I exhorted the people in this manner, I reprov'd no manner of confession. And further St. James saith, Acknowledge your faults one to another, and pray one for another, that you may be healed."

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When he had said these words, the bishops and their complices cried, and grinned with their teeth, saying, "See ye not what colours he hath in his speaking, that he may beguile us and seduce us to his opinion?"

V. "Thou, heretic! didst say openly, that it was necessary to every man to know and understand his baptism, and what it was: contrary to general councils and the estate of the holy church."

Wisehart.—"My Lords! I believe there be none so unwise here, that will make merchandise with a Frenchman, or any other unknown stranger, except he know and understand first the condition or promise made by the Frenchman or stranger. So likewise I would that we understood what thing we promise in the name of the infant unto God in baptism. For this cause I believe ye have confirmation."

Then said Master Blecker, chaplain, that he had the devil within him, and the spirit of error. Then answered him a child, saying, "The devil cannot speak such words as yonder man doth speak."

VI. "Thou heretic, traitor, and thief! thou saidst, that the sacrament of the altar was but a piece of bread baked upon the ashes, and no other thing else; and that all that is there done, is but a superstitious rite, against the commandment of God."

Wisehart.—"O Lord God! so manifest lies and blasphemies the Scripture doth not teach you. As concerning the sacrament of the altar, my Lords! I never taught any thing against the Scripture; which I shall, by God's grace, make manifest this day, I being therefore ready to suffer death.

"The lawful use of the sacrament is most acceptable unto God; but the great abuse of it is very detestable unto him. But what occasion they have to say such words of me, I shall shortly show your Lordships. I once chanced to meet with a Jew, when I was sailing on the water of Rhine. I did inquire of him what was the cause of his pertinacity, that he did not believe that the true Messiah was come, considering that they had seen all the prophecies which were spoken of him to be fulfilled. Moreover, by the prophecies taken away, and the sceptre of Judah, and by many other testimonies of the Scripture, I vanquished him, and proved that Messiah was come, whom they called Jesus of Nazareth. This Jew answered again unto me, When Messiah cometh, he shall restore all things: and he shall not abrogate the law, which was given to our forefathers, as ye do. For why? we see the poor almost perish through hunger amongst you; yet you are not moved with pity toward them: but, amongst us Jews, though we be poor, there are no beggars found.

"Secondly, it is forbidden by the law to feign any kind of imagery of things in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the sea under the earth; but one God only is to be honoured: but your sanctuaries and churches are full of idols.

"Thirdly, a piece of bread baken upon the ashes ye adore and worship, and say that it is your God."

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– I have rehearsed here but the sayings of the Jew, which I never affirmed to be true. Then the bishops shook their heads, and spitted on the earth, and what I meant further in this matter they would not hear."

VII. "Thou, false heretic! didst say, that extreme unction was not a sacrament."

Wisehart.—"My Lords! forsooth, I never taught any thing of extreme unction in my doctrine, whether it were a sacrament or no."

VIII. "Thou, false heretic! saidst, that holy water is not so good as wash, and such like. Thou condemnest conjuring, and saidst, holy church's cursings avail not."

Wisehart.—"My Lords! as for holy water what strength it is of, I taught never in my doctrine. Conjurings, and exorcisms, if they were conformable to the word of God I would commend them; but, insomuch as they are not conformable to the commandment and word of God, I reprove them."

IX. "Thou, false heretic and runagate! hast said, that every layman is a priest, and such like. Thou saidst, that the pope hath no more power than any other man."

Wisehart.—"My Lords! I taught nothing but the word of God. I remember that I have read in some places in St. John and St. Peter, of the which the one saith, He hath made us kings and priests; the other saith, He hath made us a kingly priesthood. Wherefore I have affirmed, that any man, being cunning in the word of God, and the true faith of Jesu Christ, hath his power given him of God, and not by the power or violence of men, but by the virtue of the word of God, the which word is called the power of God, as witnesseth St. Paul evidently enough. And again I say, that any unlearned man, and not exercised in the word of God, nor yet constant in his faith, whatsoever estate or order he be of, I say, he hath no power to bind or loose, seeing he wanteth the instrument, by which he bindeth or looseth; that is to say, the word of God."

After he had said these words, all the bishops laughed, and mocked him. When that he beheld their laughing, "Laugh ye," saith he, "my Lords? Though that these sayings appear scornful, and worthy of derision to your Lordships, nevertheless they are very weighty to me, and of a great value, because they stand not only upon my life, but also the honour and glory of God." In the mean time many godly men, beholding the madness and great cruelty of the bishops, and the invincible patience of Master George, did greatly mourn and lament.

X. "Thou, false heretic! saidst, that a man hath no free-will, but is like to the Stoics, which say, that it is not in man's will to do any thing, but that all concupiscence and desire cometh of God, of whatsoever kind it be."

Wisehart.—"My Lords! I said not so, truly. I say, that as many as believe in Christ firmly, unto them is given liberty, conformably to the saying of St. John, If the Son make you free, then shall ye verily be free. On the contrary, as many as believe not in Christ Jesus, they are bondservants of sin; He that sinneth, is bound to sin."

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XI. "Thou, false heretic! saidst, it is as lawful to eat flesh upon the Friday, as on Sunday."

Wisehart.—"Pleaseth it your Lordships, I have read in the Epistles of St. Paul, that who is clean, unto him all things are clean. On the contrary, to the filthy man all things are unclean. A faithful man, clean and holy, sanctifieth by the word the creature of God: but the creature maketh no man acceptable unto God. So that a creature may not sanctify any impure and unfaithful man: but to the faithful man all things are sanctified by the word of God and prayer."

After these sayings of Master George, then said all the bishops with their complices, "What needeth us any witness against him? hath he not here openly spoken blasphemy?"

XII. "Thou, false heretic! didst say, that we should not pray to saints, but to God only. Say whether thou hast said this, or no; say shortly!"

Wisehart.—"For the weakness and infirmity of the hearers," he said, "without doubt plainly – saints should not be honoured. My Lords," said he, "there are two things worthy of note. The one is certain, the other uncertain. It is found plain and certain in Scripture, that we should worship and honour one God, according to the saying of the first commandment, Thou shalt only worship and honour thy Lord God, with all thy heart. But, as for praying to and honouring of saints, there is great doubt among many, whether they hear, or not, invocation made unto them: therefore I exhorted all men equally in my doctrine, that they should leave the unsure way, and follow that way which was taught us by our Master Christ. He is our only Mediator, and maketh intercession for us to God his Father. He is the door by the which we must enter in. He that entereth not in by this door, but climbeth another way, is a thief and a murderer. He [Christ] is the verity and life. He that goeth out of this way, there is no doubt but he shall fall into the mire; yea verily, is fallen into it already. This is the fashion of my doctrine, the which I have ever followed. Verily, that which I have heard and read in the word of God, I taught openly, and in no corners. And now ye shall witness the same, if your Lordships will hear me. Except it stand by the word of God, I dare not be so bold to affirm any thing."

These sayings he rehearsed divers times.

XIII. "Thou, false heretic! hast preached plainly, saying that there is no purgatory, and that it is a feigned thing, for any man after this life to be punished in purgatory."

Wisehart.—"My Lords! as I have oftentimes said heretofore, without express witness and testimony of the Scripture I dare affirm nothing. I have oft and divers times read over the Bible, and yet such a term found I never, nor yet any place of Scripture applicable thereunto. Therefore I was ashamed ever to teach of that thing which I could not find in the Scripture."

Then said he to Master John Lauder, his accuser, "If you have any testimony of the Scripture, by which you may prove any such place, show it now before this auditory." But this dolt had not a word to say for himself, but was as dumb as a beetle in that matter.

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XIV. "Thou, false heretic! hast taught plainly against the vows of monks, friars, nuns, and priests; saying, that whosoever was bound to do such-like vows, they vowed themselves to the state of damnation. Moreover, that it was lawful for priests to marry wives, and not to live sole."

Wisehart." Of sooth, my Lords, I have read in the evangely, that there are three kinds of chaste men; some are eunuchs from their mothers' womb; some are made such by men; and some have made themselves such for the kingdom of heaven's sake. Verily, I say, these men are blessed by the Scripture of God. But as many as have not the gift of chastity, nor yet for the evangely have overcome the concupiscence of the flesh, and have vowed chastity; ye have experience, although I should hold my peace, to what inconvenience they have vowed themselves."

When he had said these words, they were all dumb, thinking better to have ten concubines, than one wife.

XV. "Thou, false heretic and runagate! sayest, thou wilt not obey our general nor provincial councils."

Wisehart.—"My Lords! what your general councils are, I know not; I was never exercised in them: but to the pure word of God I gave my labours. Read here your general councils, or else give me a book wherein they are contained, that I may read them. If they agree with the word of God, I will not disagree."

Then the ravening wolves turned unto madness and said, "Wherefore do we let him speak any further? Read forth the rest of the articles, and stay not upon them." Among these cruel tigers there was one false hypocrite, a seducer of the people, called John "Grey-fiend" Scot, standing behind John Lauder's back, hastening him to read the rest of the articles, and not to tarry upon his witty and godly answers: "For we may not abide them," quoth he, "no more than the devil may abide the sign of the cross, when it is named."

XVI. "Thou, heretic! sayest, that it is vain to build to the honour of God costly churches, seeing that God remaineth not in the churches made with men's hands, nor yet can God be in so little space as betwixt the priests hands."

Wisehart.—"My Lords! Solomon saith, If that the heaven of heavens cannot comprehend thee, how much less this house that I have builded? And Job consenteth to the same sentence: Seeing that he is higher than the heavens, therefore what canst thou build unto him? He is deeper than hell, then how shalt thou know him? He is longer than the earth, and broader than the sea. So that God cannot be comprehended into one place, because that he is infinite. These sayings notwithstanding, I never said that churches should be destroyed, but, on the contrary, I affirm ever, that churches should be sustained and upholden; that the people should be congregated into them, there to hear of God. And moreover, wheresoever is true preaching of the word of God, and the lawful use of the sacraments, undoubtedly there is God himself; so that both these sayings are true together: God cannot be comprehended in any place; and, Wheresoever two or three are gathered together in his name, there is he present in the midst of them."

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Then said he to his accuser, "If you think any otherwise than I say, show forth your reasons before this auditory." Then he, without all reason being dumb, and not answering one word, proceeded forth in his articles.

XVII. "Thou, false heretic! contemnest fasting, and sayest, Thou shouldst not fast."

Wisehart.—"My Lords! I find that fasting is commended in the Scripture; therefore I were a slanderer of the gospel, if I contemned fasting. And not so only, but I have learned by experience, that fasting is good for the health of the body: but God knoweth who fasteth the true fast."

XVIII. "Thou, false heretic! hast preached openly, saying, that the soul of man shall sleep till the latter day of judgment, and shall not obtain life immortal until that day."

Wisehart.—"God, full of mercy and goodness, forgive them that say such things of me! I wot and know surely by the word of God, that he who hath begun to have the faith of Jesus Christ, and believeth firmly in him, I know surely that the soul of that man shall never sleep, but ever shall live an immortal life: which life from day to day is renewed in grace and augmented: nor yet shall ever perish or have an end, but shall live ever immortal with Christ. To the which life all that believe in him shall come, and rest in eternal glory. Amen."

When the bishops with their complices had accused this innocent man in manner and form aforesaid, incontinently they condemned him to be burned as a heretic, not having respect to his godly answers and true reasons which he alleged, nor yet to their own consciences, thinking verily that they should do to God good sacrifice, conformably to the saying of Christ, They shall excommunicate you: yea, and the time shall come, that he which killeth you, shall think that he hath done to God good service.

The prayer of Master George Wisehart.

"O Immortal God! how long shalt thou suffer the madness and great crudelity of the ungodly to exercise their fury upon thy servants which do further thy word in this world, seeing they desire todo the contrary, that is, to choke and destroy the true doctrine and verity, by the which thou hast showed thyself unto the world, which was all drowned in blindness and misknowledge of thy name. O Lord! we know surely that thy true servants must needs suffer, for thy name's sake, persecution, affliction and troubles in this present life, which is but a shadow, as thou hast showed to us by thy prophets and apostles. But yet we desire thee heartily, that thou conserve, defend, and help thy congregation, which thou host chosen before the beginning of the world, and give them thy grace to hear thy word, and to be thy true servants in this present life."

Then, by and by, they caused the common people to void away, whose desire was always to hear that innocent man to speak. Then the sons of darkness pronounced their sentence definitive, not having respect to the judgment of God. And when all this was done and said, the cardinal caused his warders to pass again with the meek lamb into the castle, until such time as the fire was made ready. When he was come unto the castle, then there came two grey fiends, Friar Scot and his mate, saying, "Sir, ye must make your confession unto us." He answered and

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said, "I will make no confession unto you. Go fetch me yonder man that preached this day, and I will make my confession unto him." Then they sent for the sub-prior of the abbey, who came to him with all diligence. But what he said in this confession, I cannot show.

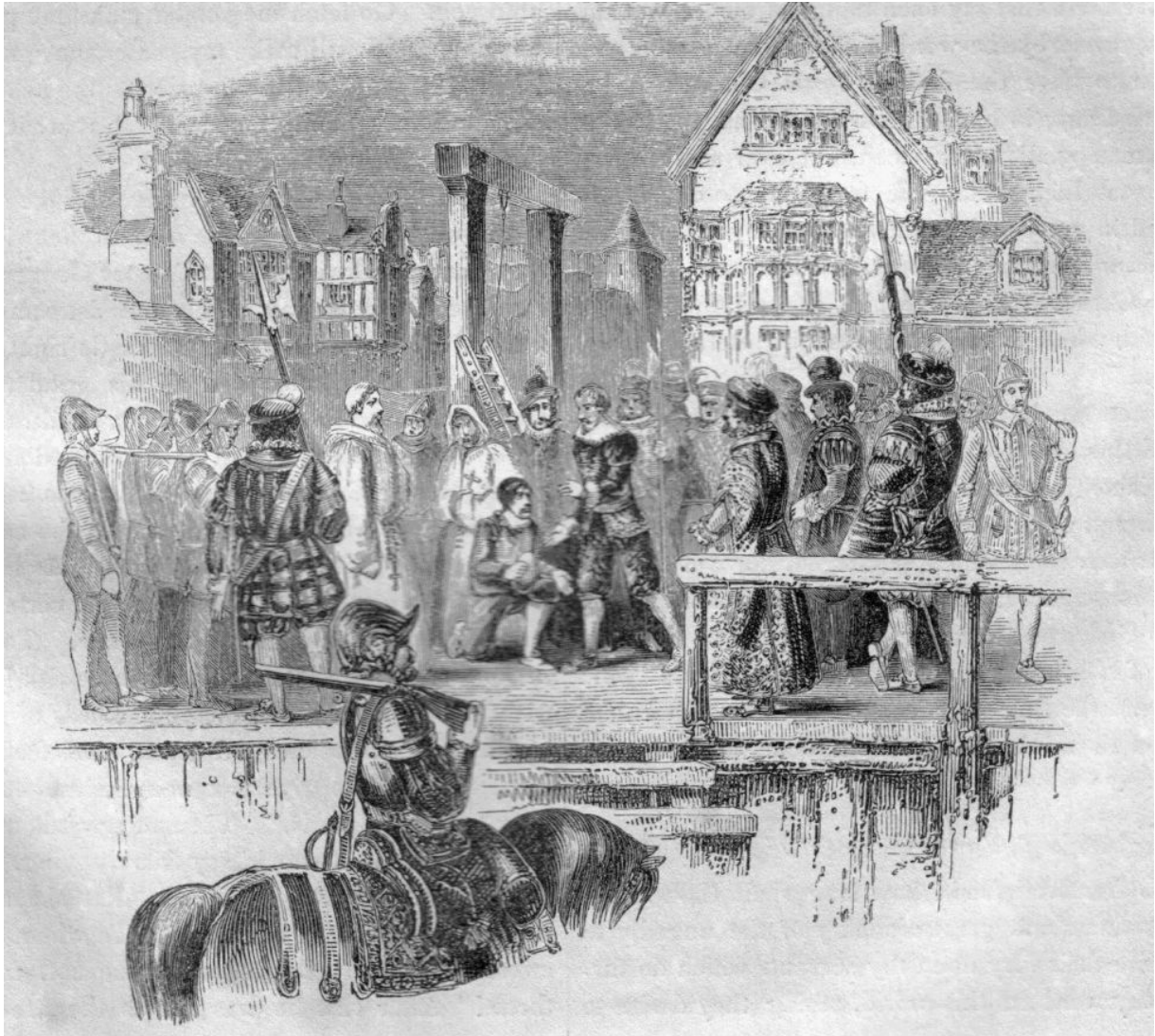
When the fire was made ready, and the gallows, at the west part of the castle near to the priory, the lord cardinal, dreading that Master George should have been taken away by his friends, commanded to bend all the ordnance of the castle right against that part, and commanded all his gunners to be ready and stand beside their guns, until such time as he were burned. All this being done, they bound Master George's hands behind his back, and led him forth with their soldiers from the castle, to the place of their wicked execution. As he came forth of the castle-gate, there met him certain beggars, asking his alms for God's sake. To whom he answered, "I want my hands, wherewith I should give you alms; but the merciful Lord, of his benignity and abundance of grace, that feedeth all men, vouchsafe to give you necessities, both unto your bodies and souls." Then afterwards met him two false fiends, I should say friars, saying, "Master George, pray to our Lady, that she may be mediatrix for you to her Son." To whom he answered meekly, "Cease, tempt me not, my brethren!" After this he was led to the fire with a rope about his neck, and a chain of iron about his middle.

When he came to the fire, he sat down upon his knees, and rose again, and thrice he said these words, "O thou Saviour of the world! have mercy on me. Father of heaven! I commend my spirit into thy holy hands." When he had made this prayer, he turned him to the people, and said these words:

"I beseech you, Christian brethren and sisters! that ye be not offended in the word of God, for the affliction and torments, which ye see already prepared for me: but I exhort you, that you love the word of God, and suffer patiently and with a comfortable heart, for the word's sake, which is your undoubted salvation, and everlasting comfort.

"Moreover, I pray you, show my brethren and sisters, which have heard me oft before, that they cease not, nor leave off the word of God which I taught unto them after the grace given to me, for any persecutions or troubles in this world, which lasteth not; and show unto them, that my doctrine was no old wives' fable, after the constitutions made by men. And if I had taught men's doctrine, I had gotten great thanks by men: but, for the word's sake and true evangely, which was given to me by the grace of God, I suffer this day by men, not sorrowfully, but with a glad heart and mind. For this cause I was sent, that I should suffer this fire, for Christ's sake. Consider and behold my visage, ye shall not see me change my colour. This grim fire I fear not. And so I pray you to do, if that any persecution come unto you for the word's sake; and not to fear them that slay the body, and afterwards have no power to slay the soul. Some have said of me, that I taught, that the soul of man should sleep until the last day. But I know surely, and my faith is such, that my soul shall sup with my Saviour Christ this night, (ere it be six hours,) for whom I suffer this."

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Wisehart at the gallows

Then he prayed for them that accused him, saying:

"I beseech thee, Father of heaven! to forgive them that have of any ignorance, or else have, of any evil mind, forged any lies upon me: I forgive them with all my heart. I beseech Christ to forgive them that have condemned me to death this day ignorantly."

And last of all he said to the people on this manner:

"I beseech you, brethren and sisters, to exhort your prelates to the learning of the word of God, that they at the last may be ashamed to do evil, and learn to do good. And if they will not convert themselves from their wicked error, there shall hastily come upon them the wrath of God, which they shall not eschew;"

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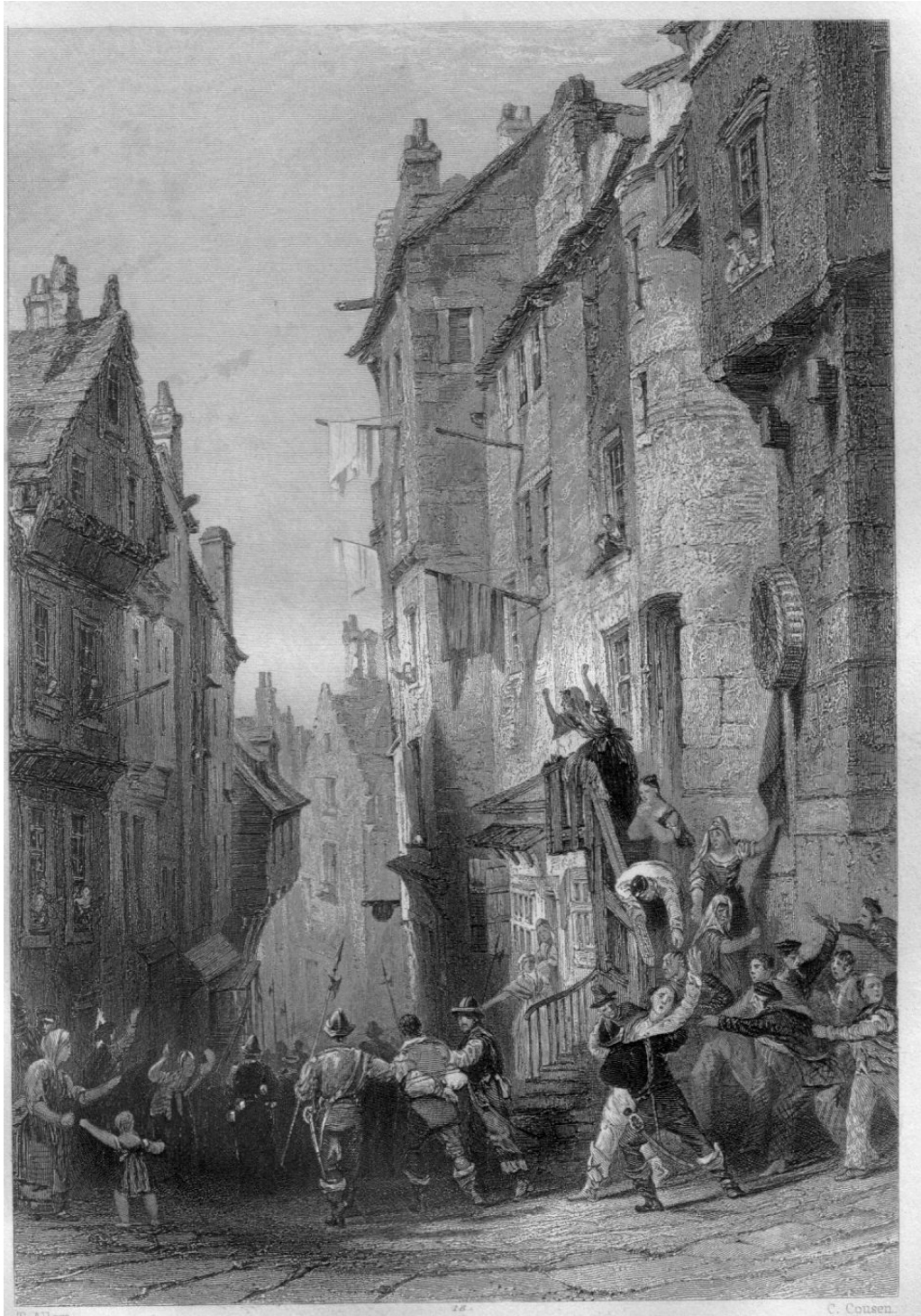
Many faithful words said he in the mean time, taking no heed or care of the cruel torments, which were then prepared for him. And, last of all, the hangman, that was his tormentor, sat down upon his knees, and said, "Sir, I pray you, forgive me, for I am not guilty of your death." To whom he answered, "Come hither to me." When he was come to him, he kissed his cheek, and said, "Lo! here is a token that I forgive thee. My heart, do thine office." And by and by he was put upon the gibbet and hanged, and there burned to powder. When the people beheld the great tormenting, they might not withhold from piteous mourning and complaining of this innocent lamb's slaughter.

A note of the just punishment of God upon the cruel cardinal archbishop of St. Andrews, named David Beaton.

It was not long after the martyrdom of the blessed man of God, Master George Wishart aforesaid, who was put to death by David Beaton, the bloody archbishop and cardinal of Scotland, as is above specified, A.D. 1546, the first day of March, but the said David Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrews, by the just revenge of God's mighty judgment, was slain within his own castle of St. Andrews, by the hands of one Leslie and other gentlemen, who, by the Lord stirred up, brake in suddenly into his castle upon him, and in his bed murdered him the said year, the last day of May, crying out, a Alas! alas! slay me not! I am a priest!" And so, like a butcher he lived, and like a butcher he died, and lay seven months and more unburied, and at last like a carrion was buried in a dunghill, A.D. 1546, the last day of May.

After this David Beaton succeeded John Hamilton, archbishop of St. Andrews, A.D. 1549, who, to the intent that he might in no ways appear inferior to his predecessor, in augmenting the number of the holy martyrs of God, in the next year following called a certain poor man to judgment, whose name was Adam Wallace. The order and manner of whose story here followeth.

221. Adam Wallace



West Bow, Edinburgh

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There was set, upon a scaffold made hard to the chancelary wall of the Black Friars' church in Edinburgh, on seats made thereupon, the lord governor. Above him, at his back, sat Master Gawin Hamilton, dean of Glasgow, representing the metropolitan pastor thereof. Upon a seat on his right hand sat the archbishop of St. Andrews. At his back, and aside somewhat, stood the official of Lothian. Next to the bishop of St. Andrews, the bishop of Dunblane, the bishop of Moray, the abbot of Dunfermline, the abbot of Glenluce, with other churchmen of lower estimation, as the official of St. Andrews, and other doctors of that nest and city; and at the other end of the seat sat Master Uchiltry. On his left hand sat the earl of Argyle, justice, with his deputy Sir John Campbell of Lundie under his feet. Next him the earl of Huntley. Then the earl of Angus, the bishop of Galloway, the prior of St. Andrews, the bishop of Orkney, the Lord Forbes, Dean John Winryme, sub-prior of St. Andrews; and behind the seats stood the whole senate, the clerk of the register, &c.

At the further end of the chancelary wall, in the pulpit, was placed Master John Lauder, parson of Marbotle, accuser, clad in a surplice and red hood, and a great congregation of the whole people, in the body of the church, standing on the ground.

After that, Sir John Ker, prebendary of St. Giles's church, was accused, convicted, and condemned, for the false making and giving forth of a sentence of divorce, (whereby he falsely divorced and parted a man and his lawful wife,) in the name of the dean of Restalrig, and certain other judges appointed by the holy father the pope. He granted the falsehood, and that never any such thing was done indeed, nor yet meant or moved by the aforesaid judges, and was agreed to be banished the realms of Scotland and England for his lifetime, and to lose his right hand, if he were found or apprehended therein after, and in the mean time to leave his benefices for ever, and they to be vacant.

After that was brought in Adam Wallace, a simple poor man in appearance, conveyed by John of Cumnock, servant to the bishop of St. Andrews, and set in the midst of the scaffold, who was commanded to look to the accuser, who asked him what was his name. He answered, "Adam Wallace." The accuser said, that he had another name, which he granted, and said he was commonly called Fean. Then asked he where he was born? "Within two miles of Fayle," said he, "in Kyle." Then said the accuser, "I repent that ever such a poor man as you should put these noble lords to so great encumbrance this day by your vain speaking." "And I must speak," said he, "as God giveth me grace, and I believe I have said no evil to hurt any body." "Would God," said the accuser, "ye had never spoken; but you are brought forth for such horrible crimes of heresy, as never were imagined in this country before, and that shall be sufficiently proved, that ye cannot deny it; and I forethink that it should be heard for hurting of weak consciences. Now I will yea thee no more, and thou shalt hear the points that thou art accused of."

Accuser.—"Adam Wallace, alias Fean: thou art openly delated and accused for preaching, saying, and teaching of the blasphemies and abominable heresies under written. In the first, thou hast said and taught that the bread and wine on the altar, after the words of consecration, are not the body and blood of Jesus Christ."

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He turned to the lord governor, and lords aforesaid, saying thus:

Wallace.—"I never said nor taught any thing but that I found in this book, and writ, (having there a Bible at his belt in French, Dutch, and English,) which is the word of God: and if you will be content that the Lord God and his word be judge to me, and this his holy writ, here it is; and where I have said wrong, I shall take that punishment you shall put to me: for I never said any thing concerning this that I am accused of, but that which I found in this writ."

"What didst thou say?" said the accuser.

Wallace.—"I said that after our Lord Jesus Christ had eaten the paschal lamb in his latter supper with his apostles, and fulfilled the ceremonies of the old law, he instituted a new sacrament in remembrance of his death then to come. He took bread, he blessed, and brake it, and gave it to his disciples, and said, Take ye, eat ye: this is my body which shall be broken and given for you. And likewise the cup he blessed, and bade them drink all thereof, for that was the cup of the New Testament which should be shed for the forgiving of many. How oft ye do this, do it in my remembrance."

Then said the bishop of St. Andrews and the official of Lothian, with the dean of Glasgow, and many other prelates, "We know this well enough." The earl of Huntley said, "Thou answerest not to that which is laid to thee; say either nay or yea thereto."

Wallace.—"If ye will admit God and his word spoken by the mouth of his blessed Son Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour, ye will admit that which I have said: for I have said and taught nothing but what the word, which is the trial and touchstone, saith; which ought to be judge to me, and to all the world."

"Why," quoth the earl of Huntley, "hast thou not a judge good enough? and trowest thou that we know not God and his word? Answer to that is spoken to thee." And then they made the accuser speak the same thing over again. "Thou sayest," quoth the accuser, "and hast taught, that the bread and the wine in the sacrament of the altar, after the words of the consecration, are not the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ."

Wallace.—"I never said more than the writ saith, nor yet more than I have said before. For I know well by St. Paul, when he saith, Whosoever eateth this bread, and drinketh of this cup unworthily, receiveth to himself damnation. And therefore, when I taught, (which was but seldom, and to them only which required and desired me,) I said, that if the sacrament of the altar were truly ministered, and used as the Son of the living God did institute it, where that was done, there was God himself by his divine power, by the which he is over all."

The bishop of Orkney asked him, "Believest thou not," said he, "that the bread and wine in the sacrament of the altar, after the words of the consecration, is the very body of God; flesh, blood, and bone"

Wallace.—"I wot not what that word consecration meaneth. I have not much Latin, but I believe that the Son of God was conceived of the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary, and

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hath a natural body with hands, feet, and other members; and in the same body he walked up and down in the world, preached and taught, he suffered death under Pontius Pilate; was crucified, dead, and buried; and that by his godly power he raised that same body again the third day: and the same body ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father, which shall come again to judge both the quick and the dead.

"And that this body is a natural body with hands and feet, and cannot be in two places at once, he sheweth well himself; for which everlasting thanks be to him that maketh this matter clear. When the woman brake that ointment on him, answering to some of his disciples which grudged thereat, he said, The poor shall you always have with you, but me ye shall not have always: meaning of his natural body. And likewise at his ascension, said he to the same disciples that were fleshly, and would ever have had him remaining with them corporally, It is needful for you that I pass away, for if I pass not away, the Comforter, the Holy Ghost, shall not come to you (meaning that his natural body behoved to be taken away from them): but be stout and be of good cheer, for I am with you unto the world's end.

"And that the eating of his very flesh profited not, may well be known by his words which he spake in John vi., where, after he had said, Except ye eat my flesh and drink my blood, ye shall not have life in you; they murmuring thereat, he reproveth them for their gross and flesh taking of his words, and said, What will ye think when ye see the Son of man ascend to the place that he came from? It is the Spirit that quickened; the flesh profiteth nothing (to be eaten as they took it, and even so take ye it)"

"It is a horrible heresy," said the bishop of Orkney. When Wallace began to speak again, and bade the lord governor judge if he had right by the writ, the accuser cried, *Ad secundam*. *Nunc ad secundam*, answered the archbishop of St. Andrews.

Then was he bidden to hear the accuser, who propounded the second article, and said, "Thou saidst likewise, and openly didst teach, that the mass is very idolatry, and abominable in the sight of God."

Wallace.—"I have read the Bible and the word of God in three tongues, and have understood them so far as God gave me grace, and yet never read I that word mass in it all: but I found," said he, "that the thing that was highest and most in estimation amongst men, and not in the word of God, was idolatry, and abominable in the sight of God. And I say, the mass is holden greatly in estimation, and high amongst men, and is not founded in the word; therefore, I said, it was idolatry, and abominable in the sight of God. But if any man will find it in the Scripture, and prove it by God's word, I will grant mine error, and that I have failed: otherwise not. And in that case I will submit me to all lawful correction and punishment."

Ad tertiam, said the archbishop. Then said the accuser, "Thou hast said and openly taught, that the God which we worship, is but bread sown of corn, growing of the earth, baked of men's hands, and nothing else."

Wallace.—"I worship the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, three persons in one Godhead, which made and fashioned the heaven and earth, and all that is therein, of nought: but I

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know not which God you worship; and if you will show me whom you worship, I will show you what he is, as I can, by my judgment."

"Believest thou not," said the accuser, "that the sacrament of the altar, after the words of the consecration, betwixt the priest's hands, is the very body and blood of the Son of God, and God himself?"

Wallace.—"What the body of God is, and what kind of body he hath, I have showed you, so far as I have found in the Scripture."

Then said the accuser, "Thou hast preached, said, and openly taught, divers and sundry other great errors and abominable heresies against all the seven sacraments, which, for shortness of time, I pretermitt and overpass. Whether dost thou grant thy aforesaid articles that thou art accused of, or no? and thou shalt hear them shortly." And then repeated the accuser the three articles aforesaid shortly over, and asked him whether he granted or denied them?

Wallace answered that which before he had said of his answers, and that he said nothing but agreeing to the holy word as he understood; so God judge him, and his own conscience accuse him: and thereby would he abide unto the time he were better instructed by Scripture, and the contrary proved, even to the death. And he said thus to the lord governor and other lords:

Wallace.—"If you condemn me for holding by God's word, my innocent blood shall be required at your hands, when ye shall be brought before the judgment-seat of Christ, who is mighty to defend my innocent cause; before whom ye shall not deny it, nor yet be able to resist his wrath; to whom I refer the vengeance as it is written, Vengeance is mine, and I will reward."

Then gave they forth sentence, and condemned him by the laws, and so left him to the secular power, in the hands of Sir John Campbell, justice-deputy, who delivered him to the provost of Edinburgh to be burned on the Castle Hill, who incontinent made him to be put in the uppermost house in the town, with irons about his legs and neck, and gave charge to Sir Hugh Terry to keep the key of the said house, an ignorant minister and imp of Satan and of the bishops, who, by direction, sent to the poor man two Grey Friars to instruct him, with whom he would enter into no communing. Soon after that were sent in two Black Friars, an English friar, and another subtle sophister, called Arbuthnot, with the which English friar he would have reasoned and declared his faith by the Scriptures; who answered, he had no commission to enter into disputation with him: and so departed and left him.

Then was sent to him a wordly wise man, and not ungodly in the understanding of the truth, the dean of Restalrig, who gave him Christian consolation, among the which he exhorted him to believe the reality of the sacrament after the consecration. But he would consent to nothing that had not evidence in the Holy Scripture, and so passed over that night in singing, and lauding God, to the ears of divers hearers, having learned the Psalter of David without book, to his consolation: for they had before spoiled him of his Bible, which always, till after he was condemned, was with him, wherever he went. After that Sir Hugh Terry knew that he had certain books to read and comfort his spirit, he came in a rage, and took the same from him, leaving him desolate (to his power) of all consolation, and gave divers ungodly and injurious provocations by

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his devilish venom, to have perverted him, a poor innocent, from the patience and hope he had in Christ his Saviour: but God suffered him not to be moved therewith, as plainly appeared to the hearers and seers for the time.

So all the next morning abode this poor man in irons, and provision was commanded to be made for his burning against the next day; which day the lord governor, and all the principal both spiritual and temporal lords, departed from Edinburgh to their other business.

After they were departed, came the dean of Restalrig to him again, and reasoned with him after his wit; who answered as before, He would say nothing concerning his faith, but as the Scripture testifieth, yea, though an angel came from heaven to persuade him to the same; saying that he confessed himself to have received good consolation of the said dean in other behalf, as becometh a Christian.

Then after came in Sir Hugh Terry again, and examined him after his old manner, and said he would gar devils to come forth of him ere even. To whom he answered, "You should rather be a godly man to give me consolation in my case. 'When I knew you were come, I prayed God I might resist your temptations; which, I thank him, he hath made me able to do: therefore I pray you, let me alone in peace.'" Then he asked of one of the officers that stood by, "Is your fire making ready?" Who told him, it was. He answered, "As it pleaseth God; I am ready soon or late, as it shall please him." And then he spake to one faithful in that company, and bade him commend him to all the faithful, being sure to meet together with them in heaven. From that time, to his forthcoming to the fire, spake no man with him.

At his forthcoming, the provost, with great menacing words, forbade him to speak to any man, or any to him; as belike he had commandment of his superiors. Coming from the town to the Castle Hill, the common people said, "God have mercy upon him." "And on you too," said he. Being beside the fire, he lifted up his eyes to heaven twice or thrice, and said to the people, "Let it not offend you that I suffer death this day for the truth's sake; for the disciple is not greater than his Master." Then was the provost angry that he spake. Then looked he to heaven again, and said, "They will not let me speak." The cord being about his neck, the fire was lighted, and so departed he to God constantly, and with good countenance, to our sights.

222. The Schism that Arose in Scotland for the Pater-Noster

After that Richard Marshall, doctor of divinity, and prior of the Black Friars at Newcastle in England, had declared in his preaching at St. Andrews in Scotland, that the Lord's Prayer (commonly called the Pater-noster) should be done only to God, and not to saints, neither to any other creature; the doctors of the university of St. Andrews, together with the Grey Friars, who had long ago taught the people to pray the Pater-noster to saints, had great indignation that their old doctrine should be repugned, and stirred up a Grey Friar, called Friar Tottis, to preach again to the people, that they should and might pray the Pater-noster to saints; who, finding no part of the Scripture to found his purpose upon, yet came to the pulpit the first of November, being the feast of All-hallows, A.D. 1551, and took the text of the gospel for that day read in their mass, written in Matthew v., containing these words: "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for to them pertaineth the kingdom of heaven."

This feeble foundation being laid, the friar began to reason most impertinently, that the Lord's Prayer might be offered to saints, because every petition thereof appertaineth to them. "For if we meet an old man in the street," said he, "we will say to him, 'Good-day, father!' and therefore much more may we call the saints our fathers; and because we grant also that they be in heaven, we may say to every one of them, Our Father which art in heaven: further, God hath made their names holy, and therefore ought we, as followers of God, to hold their names holy; and so we may say to any of the saints, Our Father which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name. And for the same cause," said the friar, "as they are in the kingdom of heaven, so that kingdom is theirs by possession; and so, praying for the kingdom of heaven, we may say to them, and every one of them, Thy kingdom come. And except their will had been the very will of God, they had never come to that kingdom. And therefore, seeing their will is God's will, we may say with every one of them, Thy will be done."

But when the friar came to the fourth petition, touching our daily bread, he began to be astonished and ashamed, so that he did sweat abundantly, partly because his sophistry began to fail him, (not finding such a colour for that part, as for the other which went before,) and partly because he spake against his own knowledge and conscience: and so he was compelled to confess that it was not in the saints' power to give us our daily bread, but that they should pray to God for us, "that we," said he, "may obtain our daily bread by their intercession:" and so glossed he the rest to the end. Not standing yet content with this detestable doctrine, he affirmed, most blasphemously, that St. Paul's napkin, and St. Peter's shadow, did miracles, and that the virtue of Elijah's cloak divided the waters; attributing nothing to the power of God: with many other errors of the papists, horrible to be heard.

Upon this followed, incontinent, a dangerous schism in the church of Scotland: for not only the clergy, but the whole people were divided among themselves, one defending the truth, and another the papistry; in such sort that there rose a proverb, "To whom say you your Pater-noster?" And although the papists had the upper hand as then, whose words were almost holden for law, (so great was the blindness of that age,) yet God so inspired the hearts of the common people, that so many as could get the understanding of the bare words of the Lord's Prayer in English, (which was then said in Latin,) utterly detested that opinion, holding that it should in no

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wise be said to saints: so that the craftsmen and their servants in their booths, when the friar came, exploded him with shame enough, crying, "Friar Pater-noster!" "Friar Pater-noster!" who at the last being convicted in his own conscience, and ashamed of his former sermon, was compelled to leave the town of St. Andrews.

In the mean time of this bruit, there were two pasquils set on the abbey church, the one in Latin, bearing these words:

"Doctores nostri de collegio
Concludunt idem cum Lucifero,
Quod sancti sunt similes altissimo;
Et se tuuntur gravatorio
De mandato officialis,
Ad instantiam fiscalis
Gaw et Harvey, non varii
In præmissis connotarii."

The other in English, bearing these words:

"Doctors of Theology, of fourscore of years,
And old jolly Lupoys, the bald Grey Friars;
They would be called Rabbi and Magister noster!
And wot not to whom they say their Pater-noster! "

Shortly, the Christians were so hotly offended, and the papists on the other side so proud and wilful, that necessary it was, to eschew greater inconveniences, that the clergy, at least, should be assembled to dispute and conclude the whole matter, that the lay people might be put out of doubt. Which being done, and the university agreed, whosoever had been present might have heard much subtle sophistry; for some of the popish doctors affirmed that it should be said to God formally, and to saints materially. Others, ultimately, and not ultimately. Others said it should be said to God chiefly, and to saints less chiefly. Others, that it should be said to God primarily, and to saints secondarily. Others, that it should be said to God taking it strictly, and to saints taking it largely. Which vain distinctions being heard and considered by the people, they that were simple remained in greater doubtfulness than they were in before; so that a well-aged man, and a servant to the sub-prior of St. Andrews, called the sub-prior's Thome, being demanded to whom he said his Pater-noster, answered, "To God only." Then they asked again, "What should be said to the saints .?" He answered, "Give them Aves and Creeds enough in the devil's name, for that may suffice them well enough, albeit they do spoil God of his right." Others, making their vaunts of the doctors, said, that because Christ (who made the Pater-noster) never came into the isle of Britain, and so understood not the English tongue, therefore it was that the doctors concluded it should be said in Latin.

This perturbation and open slander yet depending, it was thought good to call a provincial council to decide the matter; which being assembled at Edinburgh, the papists, being destitute of reason, defended their parts with lies, alleging that the university of Paris had concluded, that the Lord's Prayer should be said to saints. But, because that could not be proved, and that they could not prevail by reason, they used their will in place of reason, and sometimes despicable and injurious talk: as Friar Scot, being asked of one to whom he should say the Pater-noster, he

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answered, saying, "Say it to the devil, knave." So the council, perceiving they could profit nothing by reasoning, were compelled to pass to voting.

But then, incontinent, they that were called churchmen were found divided and repugnant among themselves: for some bishops, with the doctors and friars, consented that the Pater-noster should be said to saints; but the bishops of St. Andrews, Caithness and Athens, with other learned men, refused utterly to subscribe to the same. Finally, with consent of both the parties, commission was given by the holy church to Dean John Winryme, then sub-prior of St. Andrews, to declare to the people how, and after what manner, they should pray the Lord's Prayer: who, accepting of the commission, declared that it should be said to God; with some other restrictions, which are not necessary to be put in memory. And so, by little and little, the bruit and tumult ceased.

223. Walter Mille.

Among the rest of the martyrs of Scotland, the marvellous constancy of Walter Mille is not to be passed over with silence; out of whose ashes sprang thousands of his opinion and religion in Scotland, who altogether chose rather to die, than to be any longer overtrodden by the tyranny of the aforesaid cruel, ignorant, and brutal bishops, abbots, monks, and friars. And so began the congregation of Scotland, to debate the true religion of Christ against the Frenchmen and papists, who sought always to depress and keep down the same; for it began soon after the martyrdom of Walter Mille, of which the form hereafter followeth.

In the year of our Lord 1558, in the time of Mary duchess of Longueville, queen regent of Scotland, and the said John Hamilton being bishop of St. Andrews, and primate of Scotland, this Walter Mille, (who in his youth had been a papist,) after that he had been in Almain, and had heard the doctrine of the gospel, he returned again into Scotland; and setting aside all papistry and compelled chastity, married a wife; which thing made him unto the bishops of Scotland to be suspected of heresy; and, after long watching of him, he was taken by two popish priests, one called Sir George Strachen, and the other, Sir Hugh Terry, servants to the said bishop for the time, within the town of Dysart in Fife, and brought to St. Andrews and imprisoned in the castle thereof. He, being in prison, the papists earnestly travailed and laboured to have seduced him, and threatened him with death and corporal torments, to the intent they might cause him to recant and forsake the truth. But seeing they could profit nothing thereby, and that he remained still firm and constant, they laboured to persuade him by fair promises, and offered unto him a monk's portion, for all the days of his life, in the abbey of Dunfermling, so that he would deny the things he had taught, and grant that they were heresy; but he, continuing in the truth even unto the end, despised their threatenings and fair promises.

Then assembled together the bishops of St. Andrews, Moray, Brechin, Caithness, &c., the abbots of Dunfermling, Lindores, Balindrinot, with doctors of theology of St. Andrews; as John Grison, Black Friar, and Dean John Winryme, sub-prior of St. Andrews, William Cranston, provost of the old college, with divers others, as sundry friars Black and Grey. These being assembled, and having consulted together, he was taken out of prison, and brought to the metropolitan church, where he was put in a pulpit before the bishops to be accused, April the twentieth. Being brought into the church, and climbing up into the pulpit, they, seeing him so weak and feeble of person, partly by age and travail, and partly by evil treatment, that without help he could not climb up, they were out of hope to have heard him, for weakness of voice. But when he began to speak, he made the church to ring and sound again with so great courage and stoutness, that the Christians which were present were no less rejoiced, than the adversaries were confounded and ashamed. He, being in the pulpit, and on his knees at prayer, Sir Andrew Oliphant, one of the archbishop's priests, commanded him to arise, and to answer to his articles, saying on this manner, "Sir Walter Mille, arise, and answer to the articles; for you hold my Lord here over-long." To whom Walter, after he had finished his prayer, answered, saying, "We ought to obey God more than men: I serve one more mighty, even the Omnipotent Lord. And whereas you call me Sir Walter, call me Walter, and not Sir Walter; I have been over-long one of the pope's knights. Now say what thou hast to say."

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The articles whereof Walter Mille was accused, with his answers.

Oliphant.—"What think you of priests' marriage?"

Mille.—"I hold it a blessed bond; for Christ himself maintained it, and approved the same, and also made it free to all men. But you think it not free to you; ye abhor it, and in the mean time take other men's wives and daughters; and will not keep the band that God hath made. Ye vow chastity, and break the same. St. Paul had rather marry than burn; the which I have done, for God never forbade marriage to any man, of what state or degree soever he were."

Oliphant.—"Thou sayest there be not seven sacraments."

Mille.—"Give me the Lord's supper and baptism, and take you the rest, and part them among you. For if there be seven, why have you omitted one of them, to wit, marriage, and give yourselves to slanderous and ungodly whoredom?"

Oliphant.—"Thou art against the blessed sacrament of the altar, and sayest, that the mass is wrong, and is idolatry."

Mille.—"A lord or a king sendeth and calleth many to a dinner; and when the dinner is in readiness, he causeth to ring the bell, and the men come to the hall, and sit down to be partakers of the dinner; but the Lord, turning his back unto them, eateth all himself, and mocketh them:—so do ye."

Oliphant.—"Thou deniest the sacrament of the altar to be the very body of Christ really in flesh and blood."

Mille.—"The Scripture of God is not to be taken carnally, but spiritually, and standeth in faith only. And as for the mass, it is wrong, for Christ was once offered on the cross for man's trespass, and will never be offered again, for then he ended all sacrifice."

Oliphant.—"Thou deniest the office of a bishop."

Mille.—"I affirm that they whom ye call bishops, do no bishop's works, nor use the office of bishops, as Paul biddeth, writing to Timothy, but live after their own sensual pleasure, and take no care of the flock; nor yet regard they the word of God, but desire to be honoured, and called 'my Lords.'"

Oliphant.—"Thou speakest against pilgrimage, and callest it a pilgrimage to whoredom."

Mille.—"I affirm that and say, that it is not commanded in the Scripture; and that there is no greater whoredom in any place, than at your pilgrimages, except it be in common brothels."

Oliphant.—"Thou preachest secretly and privately in houses, and openly in the fields."

Mille.—"Yea, man, and on the sea also, sailing in a ship."

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Oliphant.—"Wilt thou not recant thy erroneous opinions? And if thou wilt not, I will pronounce sentence against thee."

Mille.—"I am accused of my life; I know I must die once, and therefore, as Christ said to Judas, what thou doest, do quickly. Ye shall know that I will not recant the truth, for I am corn, I am no chaff: I will not be blown away with the wind, nor burst with the flail; but I will abide both."

These things rehearsed they of purpose, with other light trifles, to augment their final accusation; and then Sir Andrew Oliphant pronounced sentence against him, that he should be delivered to the temporal judge, and punished as a heretic; which was, to be burned. Notwithstanding, his boldness and constancy moved so the hearts of many, that the bishop's steward of his regality, provost of the town, called Patrick Lermond, refused to be his temporal judge; to whom it appertained, if the cause had been just: also the bishop's chamberlain, being therewith charged, would in no wise take upon him so ungodly an office. Yea, the whole town was so offended with his unjust condemnation, that the bishop's servants could not get for their money so much as one cord to tie him to the stake, or a tar-barrel to burn him; but were constrained to cut the cords of their master's own pavilion, to serve their turn.

Nevertheless, one servant of the bishop's more ignorant and cruel than the rest, called Alexander Somervaille, enterprising the office of a temporal judge in that part, conveyed him to the fire, where, against all natural reason of man, his boldness and hardness did more and more increase, so that the Spirit of God, working miraculously in him, made it manifest to the people, that his cause and articles were most just, and he innocently put down.

Now when all things were ready for his death, and he conveyed with armed men to the fire, Oliphant bade him pass to the stake. And he said, "Nay! wilt thou put me up with thy hand, and take part of my death? thou shalt see me pass up gladly: for by the law of God I am forbidden to put hands upon myself." Then Oliphant put him up with his hand, and he ascended gladly, saying, I will go to the altar of God; and desired that he might have space to speak to the people, which Oliphant and other of the burners denied, saying, that he had spoken over-much; for the bishops were altogether offended that the matter was so long continued. Then some of the young men committed both the burners, and the bishops their masters, to the devil, saying, that they believed they should lament that day; and desired the said Walter to speak what he pleased.

And so after he made his humble supplication to God on his knees, he arose, and standing upon the coals, said on this wise:

"Dear friends! the cause why I suffer this day is not for any crime laid to my charge, (albeit I be a miserable sinner before God,) but only for the defence of the faith of Jesus Christ, set forth in the New and Old Testament unto us; for which as the faithful martyrs have offered themselves gladly before, being assured, after the death of their bodies, of eternal felicity, so this day I praise God, that he hath called me of his mercy, among the rest of his servants, to seal up his truth with my life: which, as I have received it of him, so willingly I offer it to his glory. Therefore, as you will escape the eternal death, be no more seduced with the lies of priests,

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monks, friars, priors, abbots, bishops, and the rest of the sect of antichrist; but depend only upon Jesus Christ and his mercy, that ye may be delivered from condemnation."

All that while there was great mourning and lamentation of the multitude; for they, perceiving his patience, stoutness and boldness, constancy and hardiness, were not only moved and stirred up, but their hearts also were so inflamed, that he was the last martyr that died in Scotland for the religion. After his prayer, he was hoisted up upon the stake, and being in the fire, he said, "Lord, have mercy on me! Pray, people, while there is time!" and so he constantly departed.

After this, by the just judgment of God, in the same place where Walter Mille was burnt, the images of the great church of the abbey, which passed both in number and costliness, were burned in the time of reformation.

And thus much concerning such matters as happened, and such martyrs as suffered, in the realm of Scotland, for the faith of Jesus Christ, and testimony of his truth.

224. Persecution in Kent.



IN revolving the registers of William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, I find, moreover, besides these above comprehended, in the time and reign of King Henry; the names of divers others, whereof some suffered martyrdom for the like testimony of God's word, and some recanted; which, albeit here they do come a little out of order, and should have been placed before, in the beginning of King Henry's reign, yet, rather than they should utterly be omitted, I thought here to give them a place, though somewhat out of time, yet not altogether, I trust, without fruit unto the reader; being no less worthy to be registered and preserved from oblivion, than others of their fellows before them.

A table of certain true servants of God and martyrs omitted, which were burned in the diocese of Canterbury, under William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury; with the names of their persecutors and accusers, A. D. 1511.

Martyrs:— William Carder, of Tenterden, weaver. Agnes Grebil, of Tenterden, wife of John Grebil the elder, and mother to John and Christopher Grebil, who, with her own husband, accused her to death, being threescore years of age; Robert Harrison, of Halden, of the age of sixty years; John Browne, of Ashford; Edward Walker, of Maidstone, cutler.

Accusers and witnesses:— William Rich, of Benenden; Agnes Ive, of Canterbury; Robert Hills, of Tenterden; Stephen Castelin, of Tenterden; John Grebil, of Tenterden, husband to Agnes Grebil the martyr; Christopher Grebil, the natural son of Agnes Grebil the martyr; John Grebil the younger, the natural son of Agnes Grebil the martyr; William Olbert, of Godmersham; Lawrence Chyterden; Thomas Harwood, of Rolvenden; Joan Harwood, his wife; Philip Harwood; William Baker, of Cranbrook; Edward Walker; Robert Reynold, of Benenden.

Persecutors and judges:— William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury; Dr. Cuthbert Tonsal, doctor of both laws, and chancellor of the archbishop; Dr. Sylvester, lawyer; Dr. Wells; Dr. Clement; Dr. Brown; Dr. John Collet, dean of Paul's; Dr. Wodington.

The articles whereupon these five blessed martyrs were accused and condemned by the aforesaid judges and witnesses were these:

"First, For holding that the sacrament of the altar was not the true and very body of Christ, but only material bread in substance.

"II. That auricular confession was not to be made to a priest.

"III. That no power is given of God to priests, of ministering sacraments, saying mass, or other Divine service, more than to laymen.

"IV. That the solemnization of matrimony is not necessary to salvation of soul, neither was instituted of God; for a sacrament, they meant.

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"V. That the sacrament of extreme unction is not available, nor necessary to soul's health.

"VI. That the images of the cross, of the crucifix, of the blessed Virgin, and other saints, are not to be worshipped; and that those who worship them do commit idolatry.

"VII. That pilgrimages to holy places, and holy relics, be not necessary, nor meritorious to soul's health.

"VIII. That invocation is not to be made to saints, but only to God, and that he only heareth their prayers.

"IX. That holy bread and holy water have no more virtue after their consecration, than before.

"X. That they have believed, taught, and holden all and every of the same damnable opinions before; as they did at that present.

"XI. That whereas they now have confessed their errors, they would not have so done, but only for fear of manifest proofs brought against them, or else but for fear to be convicted by them: they would never have confessed the same of their own accord.

"XII. That they have communed and talked of the said damnable errors heretofore, with divers other persons, and have had books concerning the same."

The order and form of process used against these martyrs aforesaid: and first of William Carder, A. D. 1511.

William Carder, being convented before William Warham, archbishop, and his chancellor Cuthbert Tonsal, Doctors Sylvester, Wells, Clement, Brown, with others more, the notaries being William Potking, and David Cooper, the articles and interrogatories above specified were laid unto him. Which articles he there and then denied, affirming that he never did nor doth hold any such opinions, otherwise than becometh that every Christian man should do, ready to conform himself in all points to their doctrine; and therefore, to clear himself the better against those interrogatories objected against him, he stood in denial of the same. The like also did every of the other four martyrs after him.

All which notwithstanding, the uncharitable archbishop, seeking all advantages against him that he might, and more than right law would give, brought in against him such witnesses as before were abjured, who, he knew, for fear of relapse, durst do none other but disclose whatsoever they knew; to wit, Christopher Grebil, William Rich, Agnes Ive, John Grebil, Robert Hills, and Stephen Castelin: whose depositions being taken, and the said Carder being asked what he could say for himself, he had nothing, he said, to produce against their attestations, but submitted him unto their mercy: saying, moreover, that if he had ever any misbelief of the sacraments of the church, contrary to the common holding of the catholics, he now was sorry and repented him thereof. Which being done, the archbishop, this his submission notwithstanding, and notwithstanding that the register maketh no mention of any relapse, contrary to good law, at

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least contrary to all Christian charity, proceeded to the reading of his blind sentence; and so condemned him, who neither stood stubbornly to that which he did hold, neither yet did hold any thing contrary to the mind of Holy Scripture, to the execution of burning.

Then after him was called forth Agnes Grebil, and examined of the said twelve articles above recited, which she, in like manner, denied, as the other had done before, putting her adversaries to their proof. Then the archbishop, calling for John Grebil her husband, and Christopher and John Grebil her two sons, (who before had been abjured,) caused them, upon their oath, to depose against their own natural mother; and so they did.

First John Grebil the elder, her husband, examined, by virtue of his oath, to say how Agnes, his wife, hath and doth believe of the sacrament of the altar, of going in pilgrimage, offerings and worshipping of saints, images, &c., and how long she hath thus holden, deposed thus:

"That first, about the end of King Edward the Fourth's days, in his house, by the teaching of John Ive, she [Agnes, his wife] was brought to that belief; and so forth from thence daily, until the time of detection, she hath continued.

"And besides that," said he, "when my children Christopher and John, being about seven years of age, were then taught of me in my house the said error of the sacrament of the altar, and by the said Agnes my wife divers times, she was always of one mind in the said misbelief against the sacrament of the altar, that it was not Christ's body, flesh and blood, but only bread." Furthermore, being examined how he knew that she was stedfast in the said error, he said, "that she always without contradiction affirmed this teaching, and said, the said opinion was good, and was well contented that her children aforesaid were of the same opinions against the sacrament of the altar," &c.

The bishop, with his catholic doctors, not yet contented with this, to set the husband against the wife, proceeding further in their catholic zeal, caused her two children, Christopher and John, to be produced, one of the age of two-and-twenty, the other of nineteen, against their own natural mother; who likewise, being pressed with their oath, witnessed and said:

"That the aforesaid Agnes, their mother, held, believed, taught, and defended, that the sacrament of the altar was but bread, and not the very body of Christ's flesh and blood: that baptism was no better in the font, than out of the font: that confirmation was of no effect: that the solemnization of matrimony was no sacrament: that confession to God alone was sufficient: also that going in pilgrimage and worshipping of saints and images was of none effect," &c.

"Item, That their father and the said Agnes their mother, held, taught, and communed of the said errors within their houses divers times, by the space of those three years past, as well on holy-days as working days, affirming and teaching that the said opinions were good and lawful, and to be holden and maintained; and agreement was made amongst them, that none of them should discover or bewray either of these beliefs in any wise.

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"Finally, That they never heard their said father and mother holding or teaching any other opinions, than be the said errors against the sacrament of the altar, and pilgrimages, offerings, worshipping of saints and images, as far as they could remember," &c.

Here hast thou, Christian reader, before thine eyes a horrid spectacle of a singular, yea of a double impiety; first of an unnatural husband, witnessing against his own wife; and of as unnatural children, accusing and witnessing against their own natural mother: which although they had so done, the cause being of itself just and true, (as it was not,) yet had they done more than nature would have led them to do. Now the case being such as which, by God's word, standeth firm, sound, and perfect, what impiety were it for men to accuse a poor innocent in case of heresy, which is no heresy! Now, besides all this, the husband to come in against his own wife, and the children to bring the knife wherewith to cut the throat of their own natural mother that bare them, that nourished them, that brought them up, what is this, but impiety upon impiety, prodigious and horrible for all Christian ears to hear! And yet the greatest impiety of all resteth in these pretended catholics and clergy. men, which were the authors and causers of all this mischief.

The cause why this good woman so stood, as she did, in the denial of these aforesaid articles objected, was this; for that she never thought that her husband and her own children, who only were privy to her religion, would testify against her. Whom notwithstanding after she perceived to come in, and to depose thus against her, denying still (as she did before) that she did ever hold such manner of errors, and being now destitute of all friends and comfort, burst out in these words openly, (as the register reporteth,) "that she repented the time that ever she bare those children of her body." And thus the archbishop with his doctors having now the thing that they sought for, albeit she was ready to deny all errors, and to conform herself to their religion, yet, notwithstanding, they, refusing her readiness and conformity, proceeded to their sentence, and so condemned her to death.

After whose condemnation, next was brought to examination Robert Harrison, whom, in like manner, because he stood in his denial, contrary witnesses against him were produced, to wit, Christopher Grebil, William Rich, William Olbert, Agnes Ive, who, a little before, had been abjured, and therefore were so much the more apt and applicable to serve the bishop's humour, for danger of relapse. After the deposition and conviction of which witnesses, although he submitted himself to repentance and conformity, yet, notwithstanding, it would not be received, but sentence was read, and he condemned with the other two aforesaid to the fire.

And thus these three were condemned and burned, and certificate given up of them together to the king, from Warham the archbishop, upon the same, A. D. 1511, May 2.

Over and besides these three godly martyrs above recited, I find in the aforesaid registers of William Warham, two other like godly martyrs also in the same year, and for the same twelve articles above specified, to be condemned upon the depositions of certain witnesses brought in against them, to wit, Thomas Harwood, Philip Harwood, Stephen Castelin, William Baker, Robert Reynold, John Bampton, Robert Bright, William Rich, &c.; whereupon they were adjudged likewise for heretics to be burned, the year aforesaid, 1511. The names of which two martyrs were John Brown and Edward Walker.

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Moreover, besides these five blessed saints of God, whom they so cruelly by their sentence did condemn to death, we find also, in the same registers of William Warham, a great number of others whom they, for the same doctrine and like articles, caused to be apprehended and put to open recantation; the names of which persons in the catalogue here following be these.

A table containing the names of them that were abjured in the diocese of Canterbury, at the same time, under William Warham, archbishop.

A. D. 1511.— John Grebil the elder; also Christopher Grebil and John Grebil, sons of John Grebil the elder; all of Benenden. William Rich, of Benenden. W. Olbert the elder, of Godmersham. Agnes Ive, and Agnes Chytenden, both of Canterbury. Thomas Manning, of Benenden. Joan Colin; Robert Hills; and Alice Hills, his wife; all of Tenterden. Thomas Harwood, Joan Harwood, his wife, and Philip Harwood, all of Rolvenden. Stephen Castelin, of Tenterden. W. Baker, of Cranbrook; Margaret Baker, his wife. William Olbert the younger, and Robert Reynold, both of Godmersham. Agnes Reynold, of Cranbrook. Thomas Field, of Bexley. Joan Olbert, wife to W. Olbert the elder, of Godmersham. Elizabeth White, of Canterbury. Thomas Church, of Great Chart. Vincent Lynch, of Holden. John Rich, of Wittersham. John Lynch, of Tenterden. Thomas Browne, of Cranbrook. John Frank, of Tenterden. Joyce Bampton, wife of John Baropton, of Berstead. Richard Bampton, of Bexley. Robert Bright, of Maidstone. William Lorkin, of East Farleigh.

A. D. 1512.—John Bannes, of Bexley. John Buckherst, of Staplehurst. Joan Dod, wife of John Dod. John Benet, of Staplehurst; Rebecca Benet, his wife. Joan Lewes, wife of Thomas Lowes of Cranbrook. Julian Hills, wife of Robert Hills, of Tenterden. Robert Franke, of Tenterden.

The articles laid to these abjurers appear in the registers to be the same which before were objected to the other five martyrs aforesaid. Which were for believing and defending,

"First, That the sacrament of the altar was not the very body of Christ, but material bread.

"II. That confession of sins ought not to be made to a priest.

"III. That there is no more power given of God to a priest, than to a layman.

"IV. That the solemnization of matrimony is not necessary for the weal of man's soul.

"V. That the sacrament of extreme unction, called anoiling, is not profitable nor necessary for man's soul.

"VI. That pilgrimages to holy and devout places, be not necessary nor meritorious for man's soul.

"VII. That images of saints, or of the crucifix, or of our Lady, are not to be worshipped.

"VIII. That a man should pray to no saint, but only to God.

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"IX. That holy water, and holy bread, are not better after the benediction made by the priest."

By these articles and abjurations of the before-named persons, thou hast to understand, Christian reader, what doctrine of religion was here stirring in this our realm of England, before the time that the name of Martin Luther was ever heard of here amongst us.

225. Three Divers sorts of Judgments amongst the Papists, against Heretics as they Call Them.

As touching the penance and penalty enjoined to these aforesaid, as also to all other such like, first here is to be noted, that the catholic fathers, in their processes of heretical pravity, have three divers and distinct kinds of judgments and proceedings. For some they judge to be burned, to the intent that others being brought into terror by them, they might therefore more quietly hold up their kingdom, and reign as they list. And thus condemned they these five aforesaid; and notwithstanding they were willing to submit themselves to the bosom of the mother church, yet could they not be received; as by the words of the register, and by the tenor of their sentence above specified, may well appear.

And this sort of persons, thus by them condemned, consisteth either of such as have been before abjured, and have fallen again into relapse; or else such as stand constantly in their doctrine, and refuse to abjure; or else such as they intend to make a terror and example to all others, notwithstanding that they be willing and ready to submit themselves, and yet cannot be received: and of this last sort were these five martyrs last named. So was also John Lambert, who, submitting himself to the king, could not be accepted. So was likewise Richard Mekins the silly lad, and the three women of Guernsey, whose submission would not serve to save their lives; with many others in like case. Against this sort of persons, the process which the papists use is this. First, after they begin once to be suspected by some promoter, they are denounced and cited; then, by virtue of inquisition they are taken and clapped fast in irons in prison; from thence they are brought forth at last to examination, if they be not before killed by famine, cold, or straitness of the prison. Then be articles drawn, or rather wrested, out of their writings or preachings, and they put to their oath, to answer truly to every point and circumstance articulated against them: which articles if they seem to deny, or to salve by true expounding, then are witnesses called in and admitted, what witnesses soever they are, be they never so much infamous; usurers, ribalds, women, yea, and common harlots. Or, if no other witnesses can be found, then is the husband brought in, and forced to swear against the wife, or the wife against the husband, or the children against the natural mother, as in this example of Agnes Grebil. Or, if no such witness at all can be found, then are they strained upon the rack, or by other bitter torments forced to confess their knowledge, and to impeach others. Neither must any be suffered to come to them, what need soever they have; neither must any public or quiet audience be given them to speak for themselves, till at last sentence be read against them, to give up to the secular arm, or to degrade them, if they be priests, and so to burn them.

And yet the malignity of these adversaries doth not here cease; for after the fire hath consumed their bodies, then they fall upon their books, and condemn them, in like manner, to be burned; and no man must be so hardy as to read them, or keep them, under pain of heresy. But before they have abolished these books, first they gather articles out of them, such as they list themselves, and so perversely wrest and wring them after their own purpose, falsely and contrary to the right meaning of the author; as may seem, after their putting down, to be most heretical and execrable. Which being done, and the books then abolished, that no man may confer them with their articles, to espy their falsehood; then they divulge and set abroad those articles, in such

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sort as princes and people may see what heretics they were. And this is the rigour of their process and proceeding against these persons whom thus they purpose to condemn and burn.

To the second order belong that sort of heretics whom these papists do not condemn to death, but assign them unto monasteries, there to continue, and to fast all their life, with bread of sorrow, and water of affliction: and that they should not remove one mile out of the precinct of the said monastery so long as they live, without they were otherwise, by the archbishop himself or his successors, dispensed withal. Albeit many times the said persons were so dispensed withal, that their penance of bread and water was turned for them to go to woolward Wednesdays and Fridays every week, or some other like punishment, &c.

The third kind of heretics were those whom these prelates did not judge to perpetual prison, but only enjoined them penance, either to stand before the preacher, or else to bear a faggot about the market, or in procession, or else to wear the picture of a faggot bordered on their left sleeves, without any cloak or gown upon the same; or else to kneel at the saying of certain masses; or to say so many Pater-nosters, Aves, and Creeds, to such or such a saint; or to go in pilgrimage to such or such a place; or else to bear a faggot to the burning of some heretic; or else to fast certain Fridays bread and water; or, if it were a woman, to wear no smock on Fridays, but to go woolward, &c.

And thus much by the way out of the register of William Warham aforesaid; like as also out of other bishops' registers many more such like matters and examples might be collected, if either leisure would serve me to search, or if the largeness of these volumes would suffer all to be inserted that might be found. Howbeit, amongst many other things omitted, the story and martyrdom of Launcelot and his fellows is not to be forgotten; the story of whom (with their names) is this:

About the year of our Lord 1539, one John a painter, and Giles Germane, were accused of heresy; and while they were in examination at London before the bishop and other judges, by chance there came in one of the king's servants named Launcelot, a very tall man, and of no less godly mind and disposition, than strong and tall of body.

This man, standing by, seemed by his countenance and gesture to favour both the cause, and the poor men his friends; whereupon he, being apprehended, was examined and condemned together with them. And the next day, at five o'clock in the morning, was carried with them into St. Giles in the fields, and there burned; being but a small concourse or company of people at their death.

In the company and fellowship of these blessed saints and martyrs of Christ, which innocently suffered within the time of King Henry's reign, for the testimony of God's word and truth, another good man also cometh to my mind, not to be excluded out of this number, who was with like cruelty oppressed, and was burned in Smithfield about the latter end of the time of Cuthbert Tonstall, bishop of London. His name was called Stile, as is credibly reported unto us by a worthy and ancient knight, named Sir Robert Outred, who was the same time present himself at his burning, and witness of the same. With him there was burned also a book of the Apocalypse, which belike he was wont to read upon. This book when he saw fastened unto the

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stake, to be burned with him, lifting up his voice, "O blessed Apocalypse," said he, "how happy am I, that shall be burned with thee!" And so this good man, and the blessed Apocalypse, were both together in the fire consumed.

And thus, through the gracious supportation of Christ our Lord, we have run over these seven-and-thirty laborious years of King Henry's reign; under whose time and governance, such acts and records, troubles, persecutions, recantations, practices, alterations, and reformations as then happened in the church, we have here discoursed, with such statutes, injunctions, and proclamations, as by him were set forth in causes and matters to the said church appertaining: albeit not comprehending all things so fully as might be, yet pretermittting so few things as we could, of such matters as came to our hands; save only that certain instruments, with a few other occurments somewhat pertaining to the course of this king's history, have past our hands, as the false lying bull of Pope Leo the Tenth, against Martin Luther, with the form also of the said Martin Luther's appeal from the pope unto a general council. All which, with other matters more besides omitted, we have deferred by themselves hereafter to be exhibited and declared in the sequel of this present story, as in his due place shall appear.

226. The Death of King Henry the Eighth



And thus closing up this eighth book with the death of King Henry the Eighth, I will now (the Lord Christ assisting me with his grace) proceed next to the time and reign of King Edward his son, after that first I shall intermit a few words touching the death of the said King Henry his father, and the manner of the same; who, after long languishing, infirmity growing more and more upon him, lay from St. Stephen's day (as is above mentioned) to the latter end of January. His physicians at length perceiving that he would away, and yet not daring to discourage him with death, for fear of the act passed before in parliament, that none should speak any thing of the king's death, (the act being made only for soothsayers, and talkers of prophecies,) moved them that were about the king to put him in remembrance of his mortal state and fatal infirmity; which when the rest were in dread to do, Master Denny, who was specially attendant upon him, boldly coming to the king, told him what case he was in, to man's judgment not like to live; and therefore exhorted him to prepare himself to death, calling himself to remembrance of his former life, and to call upon God in Christ betimes for grace and mercy, as becometh every good Christian man to do.

Although the king was loth to hear any mention of death, yet perceiving the same to rise upon the judgment of the physicians, and feeling his own weakness, he disposed himself more quietly to hearken to the words of his exhortation, and to consider his life past; which although he much accused, "yet," said he, "is the mercy of Christ able to pardon me all my sins, though they were greater than they be." Master Denny, being glad to hear him thus to speak, required to know his pleasure, whether he would have any learned man sent for to confer withal, and to open his mind unto. To whom the king answered again, that if he had any, he would have Dr. Cranmer, who was then lying at Croydon. And therefore Master Denny, asking the king whether he would have him sent for, "I will first," said the king, "take a little sleep; and then, as I feel myself, I will advise upon the matter."

After an hour or two the king, awaking, and feeling feebleness to increase upon him, commanded Dr. Cranmer to be sent for; but before he could come, the king was speechless, and almost senseless. Notwithstanding, perceiving Dr. Cranmer to be come, he, reaching his hand to Dr. Cranmer, did hold him fast, but could utter no word unto him, and scarce was able to make any sign. Then the archbishop, exhorting him to put his trust in Christ, and to call upon his mercy, desired him, though he could not speak, yet to give some token with his eyes or with his hand, that he trusted in the Lord. Then the king, holding him with his hand, did wring his hand in his as hard as he could; and so, shortly after, departed, after he had reigned in this land the term of thirty-seven years and nine months, leaving behind him three children, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth.

Moreover, forasmuch as mention is inserted in this place of the good inclination of King Henry, in his latter days, to the reformation of religion, by the occasion hereof it cometh to mind also, somewhat likewise to add, by way of appendix, touching the talk between the archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, the Duke of Suffolk, and Charles Brandon, as concerning the king's purpose and intent conceived against the bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner, in that he could never allow any reformation in religion in this realm, and especially being offended with this, that men should use in their talk, "the Lord," as well as "our Lord." The said duke said

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unto the said archbishop, "We of the council had him once at a good lift, and should well have despatched him from his authority, - if the king's Majesty our master had stayed himself from admitting him to his presence; as then his Highness was content that we should thoroughly have sifted and tried him. "It was, my Lord," quoth the duke to the archbishop, "at that time when Gardiner's secretary was attached and suffered for defending the pope's authority. For then I, and certain of the council, having conference with the king's Majesty for that matter, his Highness was fully persuaded, that the bishop's secretary, being in such special favour with his master, would never stand so stiff in defence of the bishop of Rome's usurped power and authority without his said master's both advice, knowledge, and persuasion. 'For already, (quoth the king,) he played but a homely part with me, when he was ambassador to the pope concerning my cause of divorce. And therefore, (quoth the king to me,) send for him, my Lord, incontinently; and, by assistance of two or three more of the council, whom you think good, let him be committed to the Tower, to answer to such things as may be objected against him.'

"This communication was in the evening, so that we purposed to have executed the king's pleasure and commandment the next morning. Howbeit our talk was not so secret, but that some of his friends of the privy chamber, (where he had many friends then,) suspecting the matter, sent him word thereof; who incontinently repaired to the king's presence, and finding some matter to minister unto the king, his Highness said to the bishop, 'We do marvel that your secretary hath thus notoriously offended against us and our laws. It is surely thought that you are not all clear in this offence, but that you are of the same opinion with him; and, therefore, my Lord, be plain with me, and let me know if you be that way infected or no. If you will tell me the truth, I will rather pardon the fault; but if you halt or dissemble with me, look for no favour at my hand.'

"With this monition Winchester fell down upon his knees, and besought his Majesty for mercy and pardon, manifestly confessing that he had long time been of that opinion with his said secretary; and there bewailing himself, promised from that day forward to reform his opinion, and become a new man. 'Well, (quoth the king,) this way you have of me that which otherwise you should never have obtained. I am content to remit all things past, and pardon you upon your amendment.'

"The next morning I had word how the matter was handled; whereupon I came to his Highness and said, 'Your Majesty hath prevented our commission, which I and others had from your Grace, concerning my Lord of Winchester's committing to the Tower.' 'Wot you what (quoth the king); he hath confessed himself as guilty in this matter as his man, and hath, with much sorrow and pensiveness, sued for my pardon; and you know what my nature and custom hath been in such matters, evermore to pardon them that will not dissemble, but confess their fault.'

"Thus wilily and politicly Gardiner got himself out of our hands. But, if I had suspected this, I would have had him in the Tower over-night, and have stopped his journey to the court."

"Well," said my Lord of Canterbury, "he was evermore too good for you all."

Moreover, as touching this aforesaid bishop of Winchester, forasmuch as he, in King Edward's time, bragged so much of his old master of famous memory, King Henry the Eighth, to

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the intent that the glorious vanity of this bishop, and of all others like unto him, may appear more notoriously to all men, here is to be noted by the testification as well of Master Denny, as also of Sir Henry Nevil, who were there present witnesses of the matter, whose record was this: that King Henry, before the time of his sickness, taking his horse upon the terrace at Windsor to ride out on hawking, saw standing before him the Lord Wriothesley, lord chancellor, with divers other councillors; and, amongst them, the bishop of Winchester. Whereupon he called the lord chancellor, and said, "Did not I command you he should come no more amongst you?" (meaning the bishop.) Whereupon the lord chancellor answered, that his coming was to bring his Majesty word of a benevolence given unto him by the clergy: whereat the king said, "Ah! let him come hither;" and so he did his message, and the king went straight away.

Item, another time the king, immediately after his repair to London, fell sick, and caused divers times his whole council to come unto him about his will, and other his grave affairs. At that time the bishop also would come up with them into the outer privy chamber, and there remain until the council came from the king, and then go down with them again, to the end (as then was thought) to blind the world withal.

Furthermore, as the king grew more in sickness, he, considering upon his will and testament made before, at his going over to Boulogne, willed the same to be drawn out again, with leaving out and excluding the bishop of Winchester by name from amongst his executors: which being to him no small slight, and a cutting off all their purposes, a way was found, that Sir Anthony Brown, a principal pillar of Winchester's side, pretending unto the king, as though by the negligence of the writer the bishop's name had been left out of the king's will, kneeled down to the king's Majesty, lying in his bed, and said, "My Lord of Winchester, I think, by negligence is left out of your Majesty's will; who hath done your Highness most painful, long, and notable service, and one without whom the rest shall not be able to overcome your great and weighty affairs committed unto them."

"Hold your peace," quoth the king, "I remembered him well enough, and of good purpose have left him out: for surely, if he were in my testament, and one of you, he would cumber you all, and you should never rule him, he is of so troublesome a nature. Marry," quoth the king, "I myself could use him, and rule him to all manner of purposes, as seemed good unto me; but so shall you never do; and therefore talk no more of him to me in this behalf." Sir Anthony Brown, perceiving the king somewhat stiff herein, gave place to the king's words at that time: howbeit, seeking further occasion upon more persuasions put into his head, he took in hand once again to move the king to have the bishop one of his executors. When the king perceived that this instant suit would not cease, "Have you not yet done," quoth the king, "to molest me in this matter? If you will not yet cease to trouble me, by the faith I owe unto God, I will surely despatch thee out of my will also; and therefore let us hear no more of this matter." All this Sir Anthony Denny was heard to report to the archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, by the said archbishop's secretary, who is yet alive, and witness unto the same.

And thus much touching the end of King Henry, who, if he had continued a few months longer, (all those obits and masses, which appear in his will made before he went to Boulogne, notwithstanding,) most certain it is, and to be signified to all posterity, that his full purpose was to have repurged the estate of the church, and to have gone through with the same, so that he

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would not have left one mass in all England. For the more certain intelligence whereof, two things I have to lead me: the one is, the assured report and testimony of Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, hearing the king declare the same out of his own mouth, both to himself and to Monsieur d'Annebault, lord admiral of the French, ambassador, in the month of August, a little before his death, as above may appear more at large. The other cause which leadeth me thereunto is also of equal credit, grounded upon the declaration of the king's own mouth after that time, more near unto his death, unto Bruno, ambassador of John Frederic, duke of Saxony: unto the which ambassador of Saxony the king gave this answer openly, that if the quarrel of the duke of Saxony were nothing else against the emperor, but for religion, he should stand to it strongly, and he would take his part, willing him not to doubt or fear. And so with this answer he dismissed the ambassador unto the duke, openly in the hearing of these four sufficient witnesses, as the Lord Seymour, earl of Hereford, Lord Lisle, then admiral, the earl of Bedford, lord privy seal, the Lord Paget. But the secret working of God's holy providence, who disposeth all things after his own wisdom and purpose, thought it good rather, by taking the king away, to reserve the accomplishment of this reformation of his church to the peaceable time of his son Edward and Elizabeth his daughter, whose hands were yet undefiled with any blood, and life unspotted with any violence or cruelty.

And thus, to finish this book, I thought here to close up King Henry's reign: but because a little vacant space of empty paper remaineth behind needful to be filled up, to employ therefore and to replenish the same with some matter or other, I thought to annex hereunto one story which happened in this King Henry's reign; which albeit it serveth not to the purpose of this our matter now in hand, yet, nevertheless, to supply the room it may stand in some place, either to refresh the travailed mind of the reader, wearied with other stories, or else, to disclose the detestable impiety of these counterfeit sects of monks and friars, who, under the hypocritical visor of pretended religion, have so long seduced and deceived the world. Although the deceitful parts and practices of these fantastical orders be so many, and in all places so notorious, that they are not able to be expressed; yet, amongst many, one you shall hear that chanced in this king's days, in the city of Orleans in France, by the Grey Friars, about A. D. 1534. The story is this:

"The mayor's wife of the city of Orleans provided in her will, to be buried without any pomp or solemnity. For when any departeth there, in some places the bellmen are hired to go about the city, and in places most frequented to assemble the people with the sound of the bell, and there to declare the names and the titles of those parties deceased; also where and when they shall be buried; exhorting the people to pray for them. And when the corpse is carried forth, the most part of the Begging Friars go withal to the church, with many torches and tapers carried before them; and the more pomp and solemnity is used, the more is the concourse of people. But this woman, as I said, would have none of all this gear done for her: wherefore her husband, who loved her well, followed her mind herein, and gave unto these greedy cormorants the friars, who waited for their prey, (in whose church she was buried besides her father and her grandfather,) six crowns for a reward, whereas they gaped for a great deal more. And afterwards, when he cut down a wood, and sold it, the friars, craving to have part thereof freely and without money, he denied them. This took they wonderful grievously, and whereas they loved him not before, they devised now a way to be revenged, saying, that his wife was damned everlastingly.

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"The workers of this tragedy were Colyman and Stephen of Arras, both doctors of divinity; and the first indeed was a conjurer, and had all his trinkets and his furniture concerning such matters in readiness; and they used the matter thus:

"They set a young man who was a novice, above, over the vault of the church, and when they came to mumble up their matins at midnight, after their accustomed manner, he made a wonderful noise and shrieking aloft. Then went this Colyman to crossing and conjuring, but the other above would not speak. Being charged to make a sign to declare if he were a dumb spirit, he rustled and made a noise again, and that was the sign and token.

"When they had laid this foundation, they went to certain of the chiefest in all the city, and such as favoured them most, and told them what a heavy case was chanced; yet did they not utter what it was, but entreated them to take the pains to come to their service at night. When they were come, and the service was begun, he that was aloft made a great noise. Being demanded what he would, and what he was, he signified that he might not speak. Then was he commanded to answer to their interrogatories by signs and tokens. Now there was a hole made for the purpose, whereby, laying to his ear, he might hear and understand what the conjurer said unto them. There was also a table at hand, and when any question was asked, he struck and beat upon the table, so that he might be heard beneath. Then first the conjurer demanded whether he were any of them that had been buried there. After that, reckoning up many of their names in order, whose bodies had been buried there, at the last he named the mayor's wife. Here he made a sign that he was the spirit of that woman. Then he asked whether she were damned, and for what desert or offence: whether it were for covetousness, pride, or lechery, or not doing the works of charity, or else for this new sprung up heresy and Lutheranism. Moreover, what was the cause that he made such a noise, and was so unquiet: whether it were that the body being buried within holy ground should be digged up again, and carried to some other place. To all these things he answered by signs in like case as he was commanded; whereby he affirmed, or denied every thing, striking twice or thrice upon the table.

"When he had thus signified that Luther's heresy was the cause of her damnation, and that her body must be taken up, the friars desired the citizens that were there present, to bear witness of such things as they had seen and heard, and set their hands to it in writing. But they, taking advisement lest they should both offend the mayor, and bring themselves into trouble, refused to subscribe. Notwithstanding, the friars took the pix with the host and the Lord's body, (as they call it,) and all their saints' relics, and carried them to another place, and there they said their masses; which they are wont to do by the pope's law, when a church is suspended and must be hallowed again. And when the bishop's official heard of this, he came thither to understand the matter better, and associating to him certain honest men, he commanded the friar to conjure in his presence; and would have appointed certain to go up to the vault, to see if any spirit did there appear. But Stephen of Arras was sore against it, and exhorted them earnestly that they should not so do, saying, that the spirit ought not to be molested. And albeit the official did earnestly urge them to conjure before him, yet could he not bring them to it. In the mean time the mayor, making his friends privy what he would do, went to the king, and informed him of the whole matter. And because the friars, trusting to their immunities and privileges, refused to come in judgment, the king chose certain out of the court of parliament at Paris, to examine the matter,

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and gave them full authority so to do: whereupon they were carried to Paris, and constrained to make answer; but they would confess nothing.

"Then they were sent again to prison, and kept apart one from another; and the novice was kept in the house of Fremeus, a senator; and being oftentimes examined, he would confess nothing, fearing lest he should afterwards be murdered of them, for slandering their order. But, when the judges promised him that he should have no harm, and should come no more in the friars' hands, he declared to them the whole matter in order; and being brought before the others, he avouched the same. But they, albeit they were convicted, and in manner taken in the deed, yet refused they their judges, and bragged of their privileges: but it was altogether in vain, for they were condemned in open judgment, that they should be carried again to Orleans, and committed to prison, and afterwards brought openly to the cathedral church, and so to the place of punishment where malefactors are executed; and there should make open confession of their wickedness.

"But even at the same time chanced a persecution against the Lutherans, which was the cause that this sentence, albeit it was too gentle for so great offence, was not put in execution. For because the name of the Lutherans was most odious, they feared lest the punishment of these men should not have been so much thought to be due for their offence, as done in reproach of the order; and many thought that whatsoever should be done to them, it would be to the Lutherans a pleasant spectacle, and cause them much to rejoice.

"This order of the Franciscans was esteemed of the common people very holy; so that what time they were carried out of Paris, certain women, moved with pity, followed them unto the gate of the university, with many tears and sighs.

"After they came to Orleans, and were bestowed in several prisons, they began to boast again of their liberties and privileges; and at length, after long imprisonment, they were discharged and set at liberty without any further punishment. Had not these persecutions before mentioned letted the matter, the king had determined, as it was certainly reported, to pluck down their house, and make it even with the ground."

But to leave the memory of this idolatrous generation, not worthy any further to be named, let us occupy the time with some better matter.

Amongst other injunctions and letters of King Henry the Eighth, written and set forth for reformation of religion, he wrote one letter to Thomas Cranmer, for abolishing of images, pilgrimages, shrines, and other monuments of idolatry; which letter being before expressed, we should also have annexed to the same the letter or mandate of Bonner, directed in Latin to Richard Cloney his sumner, appertaining to the due execution thereof: which letter because we have omitted before, the defect thereof I thought here, in this vacant space, to supply. The letter written to Cloney is this:

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Bonner's letter to Clancy, keeper of the Coalhouse: for the abolishing of images.

"Forasmuch as the thirteenth day of this present month, we have received the letters of our sovereign lord, by the grace of God king of England, &c., to us directed, and containing in them the commandment of his Majesty, by us to be executed in tenor of words which here I send unto you. We therefore will and desire, according as our duty bindeth us, to put the same in execution with all diligence possible, according to the effect and tenor hereof, in the king's behalf, and for the fidelity which we have in you assuredly approved, that you, incontinent upon the receipt hereof, do effectually warn all and singular parsons and vicars of this city of London, and of all our diocese, that they, immediately upon the sight and intimation of these present articles and interrogatories hereunder written, do cause diligent and effectual inquisition thereof to be made: to wit,

"Whether there be used and continued any superstition, hypocrisy, or abuse within any their parishes or cures, contrary to any ordinance, injunction, or commandment given and set forth by the king's Majesty, or by his authority.

"Item, Whether they have in their churches, or within their parishes, any shrines, covering of shrines, tables of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, images, and hones, resorted and offered unto, and other monuments and things wherewith the people have been illuded, or any offering or setting up of lights or candles, other than be permitted by the king's Majesty's injunctions; or whether the said injunctions be duly observed and kept in their parishes or cures, or else transgressed and broken; and in what part.

"And further, after the said inquisition thus by them and every of them respectively being made, that you do certify us, or our vicar-general, what is done in the premises, upon the eve of Simon and Jude, or thereabouts, under the peril thereof following.

"Dated the 14th day of October, A. D. 1541, and the second of our translation."

**THE ACTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE
CHRISTIAN CHURCH**

by
JOHN FOXE

Commonly known as
FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

Volume 8

The Reign Of King Edward VII.

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VOLUME 8



Portrait of Edward VI

FOXES' BOOK OF MARTYRS

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**THE NINTH BOOK,
CONTAINING
THE ACTS AND THINGS DONE IN THE REIGN OF KING
EDWARD THE SIXTH.**

226. Character of Edward VI.

NEXT after the death of King Henry, succeeded King Edward his son, being of the age of nine years. He began his reign the twenty-eighth day of January, A. D. 1547; and reigned six years, five months, and nine days; and deceased A. D. 1553, the sixth day of July.

Of the excellent virtues and singular graces of King Edward, wrought in him by the gift of God, although nothing can be said enough to his commendation, yet, because the renowned fame of such a worthy prince shall not utterly pass our story without some grateful remembrance, I thought, in few words, to touch some little portion of his praise, taken out of the great heaps of matter which might be inferred. For to stand upon all that might be said of him, it would be too long; and yet to say nothing, it were too much unkind. If kings and princes, who have wisely and virtuously governed, have found in all ages writers to solemnize and celebrate their acts and memory, such as never knew them, nor were subject unto them, how much then are we Englishmen bound not to forget our duty to King Edward: a prince, although but tender in years, yet for his sage and mature ripeness in wit and all princely ornaments, as I see but few to whom he may not be equal, so, again, I see not many to whom he may not justly be preferred.

And here, to use the example of Plutarch, in comparing kings and rulers, the Latins with the Greeks together, if I should seek with whom to match this noble Edward, I find not with whom to make my match more aptly, than with good Josias: for, as the one began his reign at eight years of his age, so the other began at nine. Neither were their acts and zealous proceedings in God's cause much discrepant: for as mild Josias plucked down the hill altars, cut down the groves, and destroyed all monuments of idolatry in the temple, the like corruptions, dross, and deformities of popish idolatry, (crept into the church of Christ of long time,) this evangelical Josias, King Edward, removed and purged out of the true temple of the Lord. Josias restored the true worship and service of God in Jerusalem, and destroyed the idolatrous priests! King Edward likewise, in England, abolishing idolatrous masses and false invocation, reduced again religion to a right sincerity; and more would have brought to perfection, if life and time had answered to his godly purpose. And though he killed not, as Josias did, the idolatrous sacrificers, yet he put them to silence, and removed them out of their places.

Moreover, in King Josias's days the Holy Scripture and book of God's word was utterly neglected and cast aside, which he most graciously repaired and restored again. And did not King Edward the like, with the selfsame book of God's blessed word, and with other wholesome books of Christian doctrine, which before were decayed and extinguished in his father's days, by sharp laws and severe punishments, here in England? Briefly, in all points and respects, between him and this our godly king no odds are to be found, but only in length of time and reign; who, if he might have reached (by the sufferance of God) to the continuance of Josias's reign, proceeding in those beginnings which in his youth appeared, no doubt but of his acts and doings some great perfection would have ensued to his church and realm. But the manifold iniquities of Englishmen deserved another plague, as after fell amongst us; as in sequel of the story hereafter (God willing) shall be declared.

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In the mean time, to proceed in the excellent virtues of this Christian young Josias, (as we have begun,) although neither do we know, nor will leisure serve us to stand upon a full description of, all his acts; yet will we (God willing) give a little taste of the noble nature and princely qualities of this king, whereby the reader may esteem with himself, what is to be thought of the rest of his doings, though they be not here all expressed.

And first, to begin with that which is the chiefest property of all other extern things in a prince to be considered, that is, to be loved of his subjects: such were the hearts of all English people toward this king inclined, and so toward him still continued, as never came prince in this realm more highly esteemed, more amply magnified, or more dearly and tenderly beloved of all his subjects; but especially of the good and the learned sort: and yet not so much beloved, as also admirable, by reason of his rare towardness and hope both of virtue and learning, which in him appeared above the capacity of his years. And as he was entirely of his subjects beloved, so with no less good-will he loved them again; of nature and disposition meek, and much inclined to clemency. He always spared and favoured the life of man; as once appeared in a certain dissertation of his had with Master Cheek, in favouring the life of heretics; insomuch that when Joan Butcher should be burned, all the council could not move him to put to his hand, but were fain to get Dr. Cranmer to persuade with him, and yet neither could he, with much labour, induce the king so to do; saying, "What, my Lord? will ye have me to send her quick to the devil in her error?" So that Dr. Cranmer himself confessed, that he had never so much to do in all his life, as to cause the king to put to his hand, saying that he would lay all the charge thereof upon Cranmer before God. There wanted in him no promptness of wit, gravity of sentence, ripeness of judgment. Favour and love of religion was in him from his childhood. Such an organ, given of God to the church of England, he was, as England had never better. Over and besides these notable excellencies and other great virtues in him, add, moreover, skill and knowledge of tongues, and other sciences, whereunto he seemed rather born, than brought up.

Moreover, there wanted not in him, to this felicity of wit and dexterity of nature, like happiness of institution of good instructors; neither did there lack again in him any diligence to receive that which they would teach him; insomuch that in the midst of all his play and recreation, he would always observe and keep his hour appointed to his study, using the same with much attention, till time called him again from his book to pastime. In this his study and keeping of his hours, he did so profit, that Dr. Cranmer, the archbishop then of Canterbury, beholding his towardness, his readiness in both tongues, in translating from Greek to Latin, from Latin to Greek again; in declaiming with his school-fellows without help of his teachers, and that extempore; would weep for joy, declaring to Dr. Cox, his schoolmaster, that he would never have thought that to have been in him, except he had seen it himself.

To recite here his witty sentences, his grave reasons, which many times did proceed from him, and how he would sometimes, in a matter discoursed by his council, add thereunto, of his own, more reasons and causes, touching the said matter, than they themselves had or could devise, it was almost incredible in that age to see, and tedious here to prosecute.

This in him may seem notorious and admirable, that he, in these immature years, could tell and recite all the ports, havens, and creeks, not within his own realm only, but also in

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Scotland, and likewise in France; what coming in there was; how the tide served in every haven or creek; moreover, what burden, and what wind, served the coming into the haven.

Also, of all his justices, magistrates, gentlemen that bare any authority within his realm, he knew their names, their housekeeping, their religion, and conversation, what it was. Few sermons, or none, in his court, especially in the lord protector's time, but he would be at them. Again, never was he present at any commonly, but he would excerpt them, or note them with his own hand.

Besides and above all other notes and examples of his commendation, as touching the chiefest point which ought most to touch all men, for the maintaining, promoting, preferring, embracing, zealing, and defending the true cause and quarrel of Christ's holy gospel, what was his study, his zealous fervency, his admirable constancy therein, by this one example following, amongst many others, may notably appear.

In the days of this King Edward the Sixth, Charles the emperor made request to the said king and his council, to permit Lady Mary (who after succeeded in the crown) to have mass in her house without prejudice of the law. And the council, on a time, sitting upon matters of policy, having that in question, sent Cranmer, then archbishop of Canterbury, and Ridley, then bishop of London, to entreat the king for the same; who, coming to his Grace, alleged their reasons, and persuasions for the accomplishing thereof. So the king, hearing what they could say, replied his answer again out of the Scriptures so groundedly, gravely, and fully, that they were enforced to give place to his replication, and grant the same to be true. Then they, after long debating in this manner with his Majesty, laboured politicly in another sort, and alleged what dangers the denying thereof might bring to his Grace; what breach of amity on the emperor's part; what troubles, what unkindness, and what occasions sundry ways it would enforce, &c. Unto whom the king answered, willing them to content themselves; for he would (he said) spend his life, and all he had, rather than agree and grant to what he knew certainly to be against the truth: the which when the bishops heard, notwithstanding, they urged him still to grant, and would by no means have his nay. Then the good king, seeing their importunate suit, that needs they would have his Majesty to consent thereto, in the end, his tender heart bursting out into bitter weeping and sobbing, he desired them to be content; whereat the bishops themselves, seeing the king's zeal and constancy, wept as fast as he, and took their leave of his Grace. And coming from him, the archbishop took Master Cheek, his schoolmaster, by the hand, and said, "All! Master Cheek, you may be glad all the days of your life, that you have such a scholar, for he hath more divinity in his little finger, than all we have in all our bodies." Thus the Lady Mary's mass, for that time, was stayed.

Over and besides these heavenly graces and virtues, most chiefly to be required in all faithful and Christian magistrates which have governance of Christ's flock, neither was he also unprovided with such outwards gifts and knowledge as appertain to the governance of his realm politic; insomuch that he was neither inexpert nor ignorant of the exchange, and all the circumstances of the same touching doings beyond the sea: but was as skilful in the practices, and could say as much thereof, as the chiefest doers in his affairs. Likewise, in the entertaining of ambassadors; to whom he would give answer, and that to every part of their oration, to the great wonder of them that heard him, doing that in his tender years by himself, which many princes, at

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their mature age, seldom are wont to do but by others. And as he was a great notes of things that pertained to princely affairs, so had he a chest severally to himself, for every year, for the keeping of such records and matters as passed, and were concluded by the council; of whom also he would require a reason and cause of every thing that should pass their judgments: and of this chest he would evermore keep the key about him. His notes also he ciphered in Greek letters, to the end that those that waited upon him should not read nor know what he had written.

He had, moreover, great respect to justice, and to the despatch of poor men's suits, and would appoint hours and times with Master Cox, then master of his requests, how, and by what order, they might be sped in their causes without long delays and attendance; and so also debate with him, that their matters might be heard and judged with equity accordingly.

What Jerome Cardan saith of him, concerning his knowledge in liberal sciences, I thought here to express in his own words, so much the rather, because he speaketh of his own experiment, and upon the present talk which he had with the king himself.

"There was in him a towardly disposition and pregnancy, apt to all human literature; as who, being yet a child, had the knowledge of divers tongues, first of the English, his own natural tongue, of the Latin also, and of the French; neither was he ignorant (as I hear) of the Greek, Italian, and Spanish tongues, and of other languages, peradventure, more in his own, in the French, and in the Latin tongue, singularly perfect, and with the like facility apt to receive all others. Neither was he ignorant in logic, in the principles of natural philosophy, or in music. There was in him lacking neither humanity, (the image of our mortality,) a princely gravity and majesty, nor any kind of towardness beseeming a noble king. Briefly, it might seem a miracle of nature, to behold the excellent wit and forwardness that appeared in him, being yet but a child. This I speak not rhetorically, to amplify things, or to make them more than truth is; yea, the truth is more than I do utter.

"Being yet but fifteen years of age, he asked of me, in Latin, (in which tongue he uttered his mind no less readily and eloquently than I could do myself,) what my books which I had dedicated unto him, *De Verietate Rerum*, did contain. I said, that in the first chapter was showed the cause of comets, or blazing stars, which hath been long sought for, and yet hitherto scarce fully found.' 'What cause,' said he, is that? 'The concourse or meeting,' said I, 'of the light of the wandering planets and stars.' To this the king thus replied again: 'Forasmuch,' said he, 'as the motion of the stars keepeth not one course, but is divers and variable, by continued alteration, how is it, then, that the cause of these comets either doth not quickly evade and vanish, or that the comet doth not keep one certain and uniform course and motion with the said stars and planets?' Whereunto I answered, that the comet hath his course and moving, but much more swift than they, because of the diversity of aspect; as we see in crystal, and in the sun, when the form of the rainbow reboundeth on the wall: for a little mutation maketh a great difference of place. Then said the king, 'And how can that be, having no subject; for of the rainbow the wall is the subject?' 'Like,' said I, 'as in *lactea via*, or in reflection of lights; as, where many candles be lighted and set near together, in the middle they cause a certain bright and white lightsomeness to appear,' &c.

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"And so, by this little trial, a great guess may be given, what was in this king: in whom, no doubt, was a great hope and expectation amongst all good and learned men, both for the ingenuous forwardness, and amiable sweetness, which in his conditions appeared. First, he began to love and favour liberal arts and sciences, before he knew them, and to know them before he could use them; whose mortal condition and sudden decease and decay, in those tender and unripe years, not only England, but all the world, hath cause to lament. Oh how truly is it said of the poet,

'Things that be exceeding excellent,
Be not commonly long permanent.'

"A show or sight only of excellency he could give us: example he could not give. Where a kingly majesty required gravity, there you should have seen him a sage and an old man; and yet gentle and pleasant also, according as the condition of his age then required. He played well upon the lute; he had, also, to do in handling of weighty affairs of the realm. He was liberal and bountiful in heart; and therein he imitated his father," &c.

Thus, after the godly disposition and properties of this king briefly in this wise declared, now, God willing, we will intermeddle something to describe the order and proceedings which he followed in his administration and government of both the states, as well politic, as especially ecclesiastic; who, after the decease of his father coming unto the crown, because he was of young and tender age, he was committed to sixteen governors. Amongst them, especially the Lord Edward Seymour, duke of Somerset, his uncle, was assigned and joined to him, as protector and overseer of him and of the commonwealth; a man not so highly advanced for his consanguinity, as also for his noble virtues; and, especially for his favour to God's word, worthy of his vocation and calling. Through the endeavour and industry of this man, first that monstrous hydra with six heads, (the six articles, I mean,) which devoured up so many men before, was abolished and taken away: by reason whereof the counsels and proceedings of Winchester began to decay, who, storming at the same matter, wrote to the lord protector in the cause thereof, as by his letters is to be seen.

The Holy Scriptures he restored to the mother tongue. Masses he extinguished and abolished. Furthermore, after softer beginnings, by little and little, greater things followed in the reformation of the churches. Then such as before were in banishment for the danger of the truth, were again received to their country. To be short, a new face of things began now to appear, as it were in a stage, new players coming in, the old being thrust out; for the most part the bishops of churches and dioceses were changed: such as had been dumb prelates before, were then compelled to give place to others that would preach and take pains.

Besides others also, out of foreign countries, men of learning and notable knowledge were sent for and received, among whom was Peter Martyr, Martin Bucer, and Paulus Phagius; of whom the first taught at Oxford, the other two professed at Cambridge, and that with no small commendation of the whole university. Of the old bishops some were committed to one ward, some to another. Bonner, bishop of London, was committed to the Marshalsea, and eftsone, for his contempt and misdemeanour, deposed from his bishopric, as in further process followeth to be seen. Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, with Tonsal, bishop of Durham, was cast into the Tower for his disobedience, where he kept his Christmas five years together; more worthy of

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some other place without the Tower, if it had not otherwise pleased God to have meant a further plague to this realm, by that man.

But these meek and gentle times of King Edward, under the government of this noble protector, have this one commendation proper unto them, for that amongst the whole number of the popish sort, of whom some privily did steal out of the realm, many were crafty dissemblers, some were open and manifest adversaries; yet, of all that multitude, there was not one man that lost his life. In sum, during the whole time of the six years of this king, much tranquillity, and, as it were, a breathing-time, was granted to the whole church of England: so that the rage of persecution ceasing, and the sword taken out of the adversaries' hand, there was now no danger to the godly, unless it were only by wealth and prosperity, which many times bringeth more damage in corrupting men's minds, than any time of persecution or affliction.

Briefly, during all this time, neither in Smithfield nor any other quarter of this realm, were any heard to suffer for any matter of religion,, either papist or protestant, either for one opinion or another, except only two, one an Englishwoman, called Joan of Kent, and the other a Dutchman, named George, who died for certain articles not much necessary here to be rehearsed.

Besides these two, there was none else in all King Edward's reign, that died in any manner or cause of religion, but one Thomas Dobbe, who, in the beginning of this king's reign, was apprehended and imprisoned for speaking against the idolatry of the mass, and in the same prison died; as in the story here ensueth to be seen.

This Thomas Dobbe, being a student and a master of arts in Cambridge, was brought up in the college called St. John's College, and fellow of the same; where he increased in the study of good letters, among his equals very forward, of nature and disposition simple and modest, of zeal toward God fervent, patient in injuries, injurious to no man; of much like sort and condition as in doves, which, without all bitterness of gall, are more apt to receive injury than to work wrong to any. At length this godly man, intending with himself and addicting his mind to the Christian state of matrimony, resorted to a certain maiden not far off where he dwelt: for the which cause he was greatly molested, and wickedly abused, by three of that college, whose names were Hutchinson, Pindare, and Tayler, who with their malicious handling, scornful dealing, opprobries, rebukes, and contumelies, so much vexed the virtuous simplicity of the man, that they never left him, till at length they wearied him out of the college: who there having no rest or quietness, by reason of the unreasonable and virulent handling of his adversaries, was compelled to seek some other place, wherein to settle himself. Upon the occasion whereof coming up unto London, it chanced him to pass through Paul's church, where it happened that at the south side of the church, at the same time, there was a priest at mass, (more busy than well occupied,) being at the elevation as he passed by. The young man, replete with godly zeal, pitying the ignorance and idolatry of the people, in honouring that so devoutly which the priest lifted up, was not able to forbear, but, opening his mouth, and turning to the people, he exhorted them not to honour the visible bread as God, which neither was God, nor yet ordained of God to be honoured, &c.; with such other words more of Christian information. For which cause, straightway, he was apprehended by the mayor, and afterwards accused to the archbishop of Canterbury, and committed to the Compter, then in Bread Street, where he not long continued, but, falling into a sickness, how or whereupon I cannot tell, shortly upon the same changed this

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mortal life: whose pardon, notwithstanding, was obtained of the lord protector, and should have been brought him, if he had continued. And thus much concerning Thomas Dobbe and others.

Over and besides, I find that in the first year of the reign of King Edward, which was A. D. 1547, there was one John Hume, servant to Master Lewnax, of Wressel, apprehended, accused, and sent up to the archbishop of Canterbury, by the said Master Lewnax, his master, and Margaret Lewnax, his mistress, for these articles.

"I. First, for denying the sacrament (as it was then called) of the altar, to be the real flesh and blood of Christ.

"II. For saying that he would never veil his bonnet unto it, to be burned there-for.

"III. For saying that if he should hear mass, he should be damned."

For this was he sent up by his master and mistress aforesaid, with special letters unto the archbishop, requiring him severely to be punished by the law for the same. But, because I find no execution following thereupon, I therefore pass over this story of him.

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These things premised, when this virtuous and godly young prince (endued as you have heard with special graces from God) was now peaceably established in his kingdom, and had a council about him, grave, wise, and zealous in God's cause, especially his uncle the duke of Somerset, he then most earnestly likewise desired, as well the advancement of the true honour of Almighty God, and the planting of his sincere religion, as also the utter suppression and extirpation of all idolatry, superstition, hypocrisy, and other enormities and abuses, throughout his realms and dominions: and therefore following, as is before expressed, the good example of King Josias, he determined forthwith to enter into some reformation of religion in the church of England. And, forasmuch as at his first entry, (notwithstanding his father's good beginning, in abolishing the usurped power of antichrist,) he yet found most of his laws greatly repugning against this his zealous enterprise, he therefore purposed, by the advice of his said wise and honourable council, and of his own regal power and authority, somewhat to prosecute his godly purpose, until such time as by consent of the whole estate of parliament, he might establish a more free, perfect, and uniform order therein.

Whereupon, intending first a general visitation over all the bishoprics within his realm, (thereby as well to understand, as also to redress, the abuses in the same,) he chose out certain wise, learned, discreet, and worshipful personages, to be his commissioners in that behalf; and so, dividing them into several companies, assigned unto them several dioceses to be visited; appointing, likewise, unto every company, one or two godly learned preachers, which, at every session, should in their preaching both instruct the people in the true doctrine of the gospel of Christ, and in all love and obedience to the same; and, also, earnestly dehort them from their old superstition and wonted idolatry. And that they might be more orderly directed in this their commission, there were delivered unto them certain injunctions and ecclesiastical orders drawn out by the king's learned council, the which they should both inquire of, and also command in his Majesty's behalf, to be thenceforth observed of every person, to whom they did severally appertain within their sundry circuits.

Certain ecclesiastical laws, or general injunctions, given by King Edward to the Church of England.

"The king's most royal Majesty, by the advice of his most dear uncle the duke of Somerset, lord protector of all his realms, dominions, and subjects, and governor of his most royal person, and the residue of his most honourable council, (intending the advancement of the true honour of Almighty God, the suppression of idolatry and superstition throughout all his realms and dominions, and to plant true religion, to the extirpation of all hypocrisy, enormities, and abuses, as to his duty appertaineth,) doth minister unto his loving subjects these godly injunctions hereafter following, whereof part were given unto them heretofore by the authority of his most dearly beloved father King Henry the Eighth, of most famous memory, and part are now ministered and given by his Majesty: all which injunctions his Highness willeth and commandeth

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his said loving subjects, by his supreme authority, obediently to receive, and truly to observe and keep, every man in their offices, degrees, and states, as they will avoid his displeasure, and the pains in the same injunctions hereafter expressed.

The first, that all deans, archdeacons, parsons, vicars, and ecclesiastical persons, shall faithfully keep and observe, and, as far as in them may lay, shall cause to be observed and kept of others, all and singular the laws and statutes made as well for the abolishing and extirpation of the bishop of Rome's pretended and usurped power and jurisdiction, as for the establishment and confirmation of the king's authority, jurisdiction, and supremacy of the Church of England and Ireland.

"And, furthermore, all ecclesiastical persons having cure of souls, shall, to the uttermost of their wit, knowledge, and learning, purely, sincerely, and without any colour or dissimulation, declare, manifest, and open, four times every year at the least, in their sermons and other collations, that the bishop of Rome's usurped power and jurisdiction, having no establishment or ground by the law of God, was of most just causes taken away and abolished: and that, therefore, no manner of obedience or subjection within his realms or dominions is due unto him: and that the king's power, within his realms and dominions, is the highest power under God, to whom all men within the same realms and dominions, by God's laws, owe most loyalty and obedience, afore and above all other powers and potentates in earth. Besides this, to the intent that all superstition and hypocrisy, crept into divers men's hearts, may vanish away, they shall not set forth or extol any images, relics, or miracles, for any superstition or lucre; nor allure the people, by any enticements, to the pilgrimage of any saint or image; but, reproving the same, they shall teach, that all goodness, health, and grace, ought to be both asked and looked for only of God, as of the very author and giver of the same, and of none other.

"Item, That they, the persons above rehearsed, shall make, or cause to be made, in their churches and every other cure they have, one sermon every quarter of the year at the least, wherein they shall purely and sincerely declare the word of God, and in the same exhort the hearers to the works of faith, mercy, and charity, specially prescribed and commanded in Scripture; and that works devised by man's fantasies, beside Scripture, as wandering to pilgrimages, offering of money, candles, or tapers to relics or images, or kissing and licking of the same, praying upon beads, and such like superstition, have not only no promise of reward in Scripture for doing of them; but, contrariwise, great threats and maledictions of God, for that they do things tending to idolatry and superstition, which, of all other offences, God Almighty doth most detest and abhor; for that the same diminisheth most his honour and glory.

"Item, That such images as they know, in any of their cures, to be, or to have been, so abused with pilgrimage or offerings of any thing made thereunto, or that shall be hereafter incensed unto, they, and none other private persons, shall, for the avoiding of that most detestable offence of idolatry, forthwith take down and destroy the same; and shall suffer from henceforth no torches, nor candles, tapers, nor images of wax, to be set afore any image or picture, but only two lights upon the high altar before the sacrament, which, for the signification that Christ is the very true light of the world, they shall suffer to remain still; admonishing their parishioners, that images serve for no other purpose but to be a remembrance, whereby men may be admonished of the holy lives and conversation of them that the said images do represent;

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which images, if they do abuse for any other intent, they commit idolatry in the same, to the great danger of their souls.

"Item, That every holy-day throughout the year, where they have no sermon, they shall, immediately after the gospel, plainly recite to their parishioners in the pulpit, the Pater-noster, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments in English, to the intent the people may learn the same by heart: exhorting all parents and householders to teach their children and servants the same, as they are bound by the law of God, and in consequence, to do.

"Item, That they shall charge fathers and mothers, masters and governors, to bestow their children and servants, even from their childhood, either in learning, or to some honest exercise, occupation, or husbandry, exhorting and counselling, and by all their ways and means they may, as well in their sermons and collations as others, persuading their said fathers and mothers, masters, and other governors, diligently to provide and foresee, that the youth be in no manner of wise brought up in idleness, lest at any time afterward, for lack of some craft, occupation, or other honest mean to live by, they be driven to begging, stealing, or some other unthriftiness: forasmuch as we may daily see, through sloth and idleness, divers valiant men fall some to begging, and some to theft and murder, which after, brought to calamity and misery, do blame their parents, friends, and governors, which suffered them to be brought up so idly in their youth: whereas, if they had been well brought up in good learning, some occupation, or craft, they should, being rulers of their own household, have profited as well themselves, as divers other persons, to the great commodity and ornament of the commonwealth.

"Also, That the said parsons, vicars, and other curates, shall diligently provide, that the sacraments be reverently and duly ministered in their parishes. And if at any time it happen them, in any of the cases expressed in the statutes of this realm, or of special licence given by the king's Majesty, to be absent from their benefices, they shall leave their cure not to a rude and unlearned person, but to an honest, well learned, and expert curate, that can, by his ability, teach the rude and unlearned of their cure, wholesome doctrine, and reduce them to the right way that do err; and which will also execute their injunctions, and do their duty otherwise, as they are bound to do in every behalf; and accordingly may and will profit their cure no less with good example of living, than with the declaration of the word of God; or else their lack and default shall be imputed unto them, who shall straitly answer for the same, if they do otherwise. And always let them see, that neither they, nor their curates, do seek more their own profit, promotion, or advantage, than the profit of the souls that they have under their cure, or the glory of God.

"Also, That they shall provide, within three months next after this visitation, one book of the whole Bible of the largest volume in English, and within one twelvemonth next after the said visitation, the paraphrase of Erasmus, also in English, upon the Gospels, and the same set up in some convenient place within the said church that they have cure of, where their parishioners may most commodiously resort unto, and read the same; the charges of which books shall be rateably well borne, between the person or proprietary, and the parishes aforesaid; that is to say, the one half by the person or proprietary, and the other half by the parishioners. And they shall discourage no man, authorized and licensed thereunto, from the reading of any part of the Bible either in Latin or English, but shall rather conform and exhort every person to read the same as the very lively word of God, and the special food of man's soul, that all Christian persons are

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bound to embrace, believe, and follow, if they look to be saved, whereby they may the better know their duties to God; ever gently and charitably exhorting them, and in his Majesty's name straitly charging and commanding them, that, in the reading thereof, no man to reason or contend, but quietly to hear the reader.

"Also, the said ecclesiastical persons shall in no wise, at any unlawful time, nor for any other cause than for their honest necessity, haunt or resort to any taverns or ale-houses; and after their dinner or supper they shall not give themselves to drinking or riot, spending their time idly, by day or by night, at dice, cards, tables-playing, or any other unlawful game: but, at all times as they shall have leisure, they shall hear or read somewhat of Holy Scripture, or shall occupy themselves with some honest exercise; and that they always do the things which appertain to honesty with endeavour to profit the common weal, having always in mind, that they ought to excel others in purity of life, and should be examples to the people to live well and Christianly.

"Item, That they shall, in confessions every Lent, examine every person that cometh to confession, whether they can recite the Articles of their faith, the Pater-noster, and the Ten Commandments in English; and hear them say the same particularly: wherein if they be not perfect, they shall declare, then, that every Christian person ought to know the said things before they should receive the blessed sacrament of the altar; and monish them to learn the said necessary things more perfectly; or else they ought not to presume to come to God's board without perfect knowledge and will to observe the same; and if they do, it is at the great peril of their souls, and also to the worldly rebuke that they might incur hereafter by the same.

Also, that they shall admit no man to preach within any their cures, but such as shall appear unto them to be sufficiently licensed thereunto by the king's Majesty, his Grace the lord protector, the archbishop of Canterbury, the archbishop of York in his province, or the bishop in his diocese and such as shall be so licensed they shall gladly receive, to declare the word of God without any resistance or contradiction.

"Also, if they have heretofore declared to their parishioners any thing to the extolling or setting forth of pilgrimages, relics, or images, or lighting of candles, kissing, kneeling, decking of the same images, or any such superstition, they shall now, openly, before the same, recant and reprove the same; showing them, as the truth is, that they did the same upon no ground of Scripture, but were led and seduced by a common error or abuse, crept into the church through the sufferance and avarice of such as felt profit by the same.

"Also, if they do or shall know any man, within their parish or elsewhere, that is a letter of the word of God to be read in English, or sincerely preached, or of the execution of these the king's Majesty's injunctions, or a favourer of the bishop of Rome's pretended power, now by the laws of this realm justly rejected, extirped, and taken away, utterly they shall detect and present the same to the king, or his council, or to the justice of the peace next adjoining.

"Also, that the parson, vicar, or curate, and parishioners of every parish within this realm, shall, in their churches and chapels, keep one book or register, wherein they shall write the day and year of every wedding, christening, and burial, made within their parish for their time; and so every man succeeding them likewise; and also therein shall write every person's name, that

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shall be so wedded, christened, or buried; and, for the safe keeping of the same book, the parish shall be bound to provide, of their common charges, one big coffer, with two locks and keys, whereof the one to remain with the parson, vicar, or curate, and the other with the wardens of every parish, church, or chapel, wherein the said book shall be laid up: which book they shall every Sunday take forth, and, in the presence of the said wardens or one of them, write and record in the same all the weddings, christenings, and burials, made the whole week before; and, that done, to lay up the book in the said coffer, as before; and, for every time that the same shall be omitted, the party that shall be in fault thereof, shall be forfeit to the said church 3s. 9d., to be employed to the poor men's box of that parish.

"Furthermore, because the goods of the church are called the goods of the poor, and, at these days, nothing is less seen, than the poor to be sustained with the same, all parsons, vicars, pensioners, prebendaries, and other beneficed men within this deanery, not being resident upon their benefices, who may dispend yearly £20, and above, either within this deanery or elsewhere, shall distribute hereafter among their poor parishioners, or other inhabitants there, in the presence of the churchwardens or some other honest men of the parish, the fortieth part of the fruits and revenues of their said benefices, lest they be men worthily noted of ingratitude, who, reserving so many parts to themselves, cannot vouchsafe to impart the fortieth portion thereof among the poor people of that parish, that is so fruitful and profitable to them.

"And, to the intent that learned men may hereafter spring the more for the execution of the premises, every parson, vicar, clerk, or beneficed man within this deanery, having yearly to dispend, in benefices and other promotions of the church, a £100, shall give competent exhibition to one scholar; and for as many hundred pounds more as he may dispend, to so many scholars more, shall give like exhibition in the university of Oxford or Cambridge, or some grammar school; which, after they have profited in good learning, may be pertainers of their patrons cure and charge, as well in preaching, as otherwise in the execution of their offices; or may, when need shall be, otherwise profit the common weal, with their counsel and wisdom.

"Also, that all proprietaries, parsons, vicars, and clerks, having churches, chapels, or mansions, within this deanery, shall bestow yearly, hereafter, upon the same mansions or chancels of their churches being in decay, the fifth part of their benefices, till they be fully repaired; and the same, so repaired, shall always keep and maintain in good estate.

"Also, that the said parsons, vicars, and clerks, shall, once every quarter of the year, read these injunctions given unto them, openly and deliberately, before all their parishioners; to the intent that both they may be the better admonished of their duty, and their said parishioners the more moved to follow the same for their part.

"Also, forasmuch as, by a law established, every man is bound to pay his tithes, no man shall, by colour of duty omitted by the curates, detain their tithes, and so redouble and requite one wrong with another, or be his own judge; but shall truly pay the same as he hath been accustomed, to the parsons, vicars, and curates, without any restraint or diminution. And such lack and default as they can justly find in their parsons and curates, to call for the reformation thereof, at their ordinary's, and other superiors' hands; who, upon complaint and due proof thereof, shall reform the same accordingly.

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"Also, that no parson, from henceforth, alter or change the order and manner of any fasting-day that is so commanded, nor of Common Prayer, or divine service, otherwise than is specified in these Injunctions, until such time as the same shall be otherwise ordered and transposed by the king's authority.

"Also, that the parson, vicar, curate, chantry-priest, and stipendiary, being under the degree of a bachelor of divinity, shall provide and have of his own, within three months after this visitation, the New Testament, both in Latin and English, with paraphrase upon the same of Erasmus; and diligently study the same, conferring the one with the other. And the bishops and ordinaries, by themselves or their officers, in their synods and visitation, shall examine the said ecclesiastical persons, how they have profited in the study of Scripture. Also, in the time of high mass, within every church, he that sayeth or singeth the same, shall read, or cause to be read, the epistle and gospel of that mass, in English, and not in Latin, in the pulpit, or in such convenient place as the people may hear the same. And also every Sunday and holy-day, they shall plainly and distinctly read, or cause to be read, one chapter of the New Testament in English, in the said place at matins, immediately after the lessons; and at evensong, after Magnificat, one chapter of the Old Testament. And, to the intent the premises may be more conveniently done, the king's Majesty's pleasure is, that when nine lessons should be read in the church, three of them should be omitted and left out, with their responds; and at evensong-time, the responds, with all the memories, shall be left out, for that purpose.

"Also, because those persons which be sick and in peril of death, be oftentimes put in despair by the craft and subtlety of the devil, who is then most busy, and specially with them that lack the knowledge, sure persuasion, and stedfast belief, that they may be made partakers of the great and infinite mercy which Almighty God, of his bountiful goodness and mere liberality, without our deserving, hath offered freely to all persons that put their full trust and confidence in him; therefore, that this damnable vice of despair may be clearly taken away, and firm belief and stedfast hope surely conceived by all their parishioners being in any danger, they shall learn, and have always in a readiness, such comfortable places and sentences of Scripture, as do set forth the mercy, benefits, and goodness of Almighty God towards all penitent and believing persons; that they may, at all times when necessity shall require, comfort promptly their flock with the lively word of God, which is the only stay of man's conscience.

"Also, to avoid all contention and strife, which heretofore hath risen amongst the king's Majesty's subjects in sundry places of his realms and dominions, by reason of fond courtesy, and changing of places in procession, and also that they may the more quietly hear that which is said or sung, to their edifying, they shall not from henceforth, in any parish church, at any time use any procession about the church or church-yard, or other place; but immediately before high mass, the priests, with others of the choir, shall kneel in the midst of the church, and sing or say plainly or distinctly the Litany which is set forth in English, adding nothing thereto, but as the king's Grace shall hereafter appoint; and, in cathedral or collegiate churches, the same shall be done in such places as our commissaries in our visitation shall appoint. And in the time of the Litany, of the high mass, of the sermon, and when the priest readeth the Scripture to the parishioners, no manner of persons, without a just and urgent cause, shall depart out of the church; and all ringing and knolling of bells, shall be utterly forborne for that time, except one bell, in convenient time, to be rung and knelled before the sermon.

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"Also, like as the people be commonly occupied on the work-day with bodily labour, for their bodily sustenance, so was the holy-day, at the first beginning, godly instituted and ordained, that the people should that day give themselves wholly to God and whereas, in our time, God is more offended than pleased, more dishonoured upon the holy-day, because of idleness, pride, drunkenness, quarrelling, and brawling, which are most used on such days (people, nevertheless, persuading themselves sufficiently to honour God on that day, if they hear mass and service, though they understand nothing to their edifying); therefore, all the king's faithful and loving subjects shall, from henceforth, celebrate and keep their holy-day according to God's holy will and pleasure; that is, in hearing the word of God read and taught; in private and public prayers; in acknowledging their offences to God; in amendment of the same; in reconciling themselves charitably to their neighbours, where displeasure hath been; in oftentimes receiving the communion of the very body and blood of Christ; in visiting the poor and sick; in using all soberness and godly conversation. Yet, notwithstanding, all parsons, vicars, and curates, shall teach and declare unto their parishioners, that they may, with a safe and quiet conscience, in the time of harvest, labour upon the holy and festival days, and save the thing which God hath sent. And if, for any scrupulosity, or grudge of conscience, men should superstitiously abstain from working upon those days, that then they should grievously offend and displease God.

"Also, forasmuch as variance and contention is a thing which most displeaseth God, and is most contrary to the blessed communion of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ, curates shall in no case admit to the receiving thereof, any of their cure and flock, who hath maliciously and openly contended with his neighbour, unless the same do first charitably and openly reconcile himself again, remitting all rancour and malice, whatsoever controversy hath been between them. And, nevertheless, their just titles and rights they may charitably prosecute before such as have authority to hear the same.

"Also, that every dean, archdeacon, master of collegiate church, master of hospital, and prebendary, being priest, shall preach by himself personally, twice every year at the least, either in the place where he is entitled, or in some church where he hath jurisdiction, or else which is to the said place appropriate or united.

"Also, that they shall instruct and teach in their cures, that no man ought obstinately and maliciously to break and violate the laudable ceremonies of the church, by the king commanded to be observed, as yet not abrogated. And, on the other side, that whosoever doth superstitiously abuse them, doth the same to the great peril of his soul's health; as in casting holy water upon his bed, upon images, and other dead things; or bearing about him holy bread, or St. John's Gospel; or making crosses of wood upon Palm Sunday, in time of reading of the passion; or keeping of private holy-days, as bakers, brewers, smiths, shoemakers, and such others do; or ringing of the holy bells, or blessing with the holy candle, to the intent thereby to be discharged of the burden of sin, or drive away devils, or to put away dreams and fantasies; or in putting trust and confidence of health and salvation in the same ceremonies, when they be only ordained to put us in remembrance of the benefits which we have received by Christ. And if any use them for any other purpose, he grievously offendeth God.

"Also, that they shall take away, utterly extinct and destroy, all shrines, coverings of shrines, tables, candlesticks, trindles, or rolls of wax, pictures, paintings, and all other

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monuments of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry, and superstition, so that there remain no memory of the same on walls, glasses, windows, or elsewhere, within their churches or houses; and they shall exhort all their parishioners to do the like within their several houses.

"Also, that the churchwardens, at the common charge of the parishioners, in every church shall provide a comely and honest pulpit, to be set in a convenient place within the same, for the preaching of God's word.

"Also, they shall provide and have, within three months after this visitation, a strong chest, with a hole in the upper part thereof, to be provided at the cost and charge of the parish, having three keys, whereof one shall remain in the custody of the parson, vicar, or curate, and the other two in the custody of the churchwardens, or any other two honest men, to be appointed by the parish from year to year; which chest you shall set and fasten near unto the high altar, to the intent the parishioners should put into it their oblations and alms for their poor neighbours. And the parson, vicar, or curate, shall diligently from time to time, and especially when men make their testaments, call upon, exhort, and move their neighbours, to confer and give, as they may well spare, to the said chest; declaring unto them that whereas, heretofore, they have been diligent to bestow much substance otherwise than God commanded, upon pardons, pilgrimages, trentals, decking of images, offering of candles, giving to the friars, and upon other like blind devotions, they ought, at this time, to be much more ready to help the poor and needy, knowing that to relieve the poor is a true worshipping of God, required earnestly upon pain of everlasting damnation; and that also whatsoever is given for their comfort, is given to Christ himself, and so is accepted of him; that he will mercifully reward the same with everlasting life, the which alms and devotion of the people, the keepers of the keys shall, at all times convenient, take out of the church, and distribute the same in the presence of the whole parish, or six of them, to be truly and faithfully delivered to their most needy neighbours; and if they be provided for, then to the reparations of the highways next adjoining. And also, the money which riseth of fraternities, guilds, and other stocks of the church, except by the king's Majesty's authority it be otherwise appointed, shall be put into the said chest, and converted to the said use; and also the rents of lands, the profit of cattle, and money given and bequeathed to the finding of torches, lights, tapers, and lamps, shall be converted to the said use; saving that it shall be lawful for them to bestow part of the said profits upon the reparations of the church, if great need require, and where the parish is very poor, and not able otherwise to repair the same.

"And forasmuch as priests be public ministers of the church, and upon the holy-days ought to apply themselves to the common ministration of the whole parish, they shall not be bound to go to women lying in childbed, except in time of dangerous sickness; and not to fetch any corpse before it be brought to the church-yard: and if the woman be sick, or the corpse brought to the church, the priest shall do his duty accordingly in visiting the woman, and burying the dead person.

"Also, to avoid the detestable sin of simony, because the buying and selling of benefices is execrable before God, therefore all such as buy any benefices, or come to them by fraud or deceit, shall be deprived of such benefices, and be made unable at any time after to receive any other spiritual promotions: and such as do sell them, or by any colour do bestow them for their

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own gain and profit, shall lose the right and title of patronage and presentment for that time; and the gift thereof for that vacation shall appertain to the king's Majesty.

"Also because, through lack of preachers, in many places of the king's realms and dominions, the people continued in ignorance and blindness, all parsons, vicars, and curates, shall read in their churches every Sunday, one of the homilies which are and shall be set forth, for the same purpose, by the king's authority, in such sort as they shall be appointed to do, in the preface of the same.

"Also, whereas many indiscreet persons do at this day uncharitably contemn and abuse priests and ministers of the church, because some of them (having small learning) have of long time favoured phantasies, rather than God's truth; yet, forasmuch as their office and function is appointed of God, the king's Majesty willeth and chargeth all his loving subjects, that, from henceforth, they shall use them charitably and reverently, for their office and ministration's sake; and, especially, all such as labour in the setting-forth of God's holy word.

"Also, that all manner of persons, who understand not the Latin tongue, shall pray on no other Primer but upon that which was lately set forth in English by the authority of King Henry the Eighth, of most famous memory; and that no teachers of youth shall teach any other than the said Primer. And all those who have knowledge of the Latin tongue, shall pray upon none other Latin Primer, but upon that which is likewise set forth by the said authority. And that all graces to be said at dinner and supper, shall be always said in the English tongue. And that none other grammar shall be taught in any school or other place within the king's realms and dominions, but only that which is set forth by the said authority.

"Item, That all chantry priests shall exercise themselves in teaching youth to read and write, and bring them up in good manners, and other virtuous exercises.

"Item, When any sermon or homily shall be had, the prime and hours shall be omitted."

Besides these general injunctions and laws ecclesiastical, set out by the godly prince, King Edward, with the consent of his uncle, for the whole estate of the realm, there were also certain others particularly appointed for the bishops only, which, being delivered unto the commissioners, were likewise at their visitations committed unto the said bishops, with charge to be inviolably observed and kept, upon pain of the king's Majesty's displeasure; the copies whereof here ensue in tenor and effect following:-

Injunctions given by the most excellent prince, Edward the Sixth, to the reverend father in God, Thomas, bishop of Westminster, in his Highness's visitation.

"First, you shall, to your uttermost wit and understanding, see, and cause all, every, and singular the king's injunctions heretofore given, or hereafter to be given, from time to time, in and through your diocese duly, faithfully, and truly, to be kept, observed, and accomplished.

"Item, you shall personally preach in your diocese, every quarter of a year, once, at the least; that is to say, once in your cathedral church, and thrice in the year in other several places of

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your diocese, where to you shall seem most convenient and necessary; except you have a reasonable excuse to the contrary.

"Item, You shall not retain into your service or household, any chaplain or chaplains but such as be learned, or able to preach the word of God; and these you shall cause to exercise the same.

"Item, you shall not give orders to any person or persons, not being learned in Holy Scripture, nor deny them that be learned in the same, and of honest conversation and living.

"Item, you shall not, at any time or place, preach or set forth unto the people, any doctrine contrary or repugnant to the effect and content contained and set forth in the king's Highness's homilies; neither yet admit, or give licence to preach to, any within your diocese, but to such as you shall know, or, at least, assuredly trust, will do the same. And if, at any time, by hearing or by report proved, you shall perceive the contrary, you shall, incontinent, inhibit that person so offending, and punish him, and revoke your licences. All which and singular injunctions you shall inviolably observe and keep, upon pain of the king's Majesty's displeasure, and as you will answer for the contrary.

"Given, the twenty-ninth day of August, in the chapter-house of the cathedral church of St. Peter's of Westminster, the first year of the reign of our said sovereign lord, King Edward the Sixth

"Anthony Cook; John Godsalue; John Gosnold; Christopher Nevinson; John Madew."

Injunctions given by the king's Majesty's visitation, by us, Sir Anthony Cook, knight; Sir John Godsalue, knight; John Gosnold, esquire; Christopher Nevinson, doctor of law; and John Madew, doctor of divinity; commissioners specially appointed by the king's Majesty to visit the churches of Westminster, London, Norwich, and Ely: to the right reverend Father in God, Thomas, bishop of Westminster.

"In primis: In consideration, that above and before all other things, such ways and means are to be sought for, whereby the people may learn to know their duties to God, their sovereign lord, and one another: you shall cause, every Sunday, divine service to be done and ended in every parish church within this city of Westminster, before nine of the clock the same days; to the intent that the priests and the laity of the city may resort to the sermon to be made in your cathedral church, except they have a sermon made and preached in your own parish churches.

"Item, Whereas, by the ignorance of the clergy, not only God's glory is greatly obscured, but, also, the same clergy much disdained and evil spoken of by some of the laity, you shall cause that every parson, vicar, chantry-priest, and other stipendiary within this city of Westminster, be present at every lecture of divinity to be made within the college of St. Stephen, except they or any of them have some reasonable let, to be allowed and admitted by your chancellor, commissary, or other officer for that purpose, or the reader of the said lecture.

"Also you, your chancellor, commissary, and others, exercising jurisdiction ecclesiastical under you, shall proceed in all kinds of causes summarily, and *de plano, sine figura et strepitu*

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judicii; and shall give sentence in every cause within four assignations after the term *ad audiendum sententiam finalem*. All which and singular injunctions you shall inviolably observe and keep, upon pain of the king's Majesty's displeasure, and as you will answer for the contrary.

"Given at Westminster the third day of September, in the first year of the reign of our sovereign lord, Edward the Sixth, by the grace of God, king of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith; and, in earth, of the Church of England, and also in Ireland, the supreme head.

"Anthony Cook; John Godsalue; John Gosnold; Christopher Nevinson; John Madew."

Now, during the time that the commissioners were occupied abroad in their circuits about the speedy and diligent execution of these godly and zealous orders and decrees of the king and his council, his Majesty, (with the advice of the same,) yet still desiring a further reformation as well in this case of religion, as also in some others of his civil government, appointed a parliament of the three estates of his realm to be summoned against the fourth day of November, in the first year of his reign, A. D. 1547, which continued unto the twenty-fourth day of December then next following; in which session, forasmuch as his Highness minded the governance and order of his people to be in perfect unity and concord in all things, and especially in the true faith and religion of God, and therewithal also duly weighed the great danger that his loving subjects were in, for professing the gospel of Christ, through many and divers cruel statutes made by sundry his predecessors against the same, (which being still left in force, might both cause the obstinate to contemn his Grace's godly proceedings, and also the weak to be fearful of their Christianlike profession,) he therefore caused it among other things, by the authority of the same parliament, to be enacted, "that all acts of parliament and statutes, touching, mentioning, or in any wise concerning, religion or opinions; that is to say, as well the statute made in the first year of the reign of King Richard the Second, and the statute made in the second year of the reign of King Henry the Fifth, and the statute made in the 25th year of the reign of King Henry the Eighth, concerning punishment and reformation of heretics and Lollards, and every provision therein contained; and the statutes made for the abolishment of diversity of opinions in certain articles concerning Christian religion, commonly called the six articles, made in the 31st year of the reign of King Henry the Eighth, and also the statute made in the parliament begun the 16th day of January, in the 33d year of the reign of the said King Henry the Eighth, and, after, prorogued unto the 22d day of January, in the 34th year of his said reign, touching, mentioning, or in any wise concerning, books of the Old and New Testament in English, and the printing, uttering, selling, giving, or delivering of books or writings, and retaining of English books or writings, and reading, preaching, teaching, or expounding the Scriptures, or in any wise touching, mentioning, or concerning, any of the said matters; and also one other statute, made in the 35th year of the reign of the said King Henry the Eighth, concerning the qualification of the statute of the six articles, and all and every other act or acts of parliament, concerning doctrine or matters of religion; and all and every branch, article, sentence, matter, pains, or forfeitures contained, mentioned, or in any wise declared, in any of the same acts and statutes, should from thenceforth be utterly repealed, made void, and of none effect."

By occasion hereof, as well all such his godly subjects as were then still abiding within this realm, had free liberty publicly to profess the gospel; as also many learned and zealous

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preachers, before banished, were now both licensed freely to return home again, and also encouraged boldly and faithfully to travail in their function and calling, so that God was much glorified, and the people, in many places, greatly edified.

Moreover, in the same session his Majesty, with the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in the same parliament assembled, thoroughly understanding by the judgment of the best learned, that it was more agreeable unto the first institution of the sacrament of the most precious body and blood of our Saviour Christ, and also more conformable to the common use and practice both of the apostles, and of the primitive church, by the space of five hundred years and more after Christ's ascension, that the said holy sacrament should be ministered unto all Christian people under both the kinds of bread and wine, than under the form of bread only; and also that it was more agreeable unto the said first institution of Christ, and the usage of the apostles and primitive church, that the people, being present, should receive the same with the priest, than that the priest should receive it alone; did, by their authority, moreover enact:

"That the said holy sacrament should be from thenceforth commonly delivered and ministered unto the people, throughout the churches of England and Ireland, and other the king's dominions, under both the kinds of bread and wine, except necessity otherwise required; and, also, that the priest that should minister the same, should, at least one day before, exhort all persons who should be present, likewise to resort and prepare themselves to receive the same. And at the day prefixed, after some godly exhortation made by the minister, wherein should be further expressed the benefit and comfort promised to them that worthily receive this holy sacrament, and the danger and indignation of God, threatened to them which presume to receive the same unworthily, to the end that every man might try and examine his own conscience before he should come thereto; the said minister should not, without a lawful cause, deny the same to any person that would devoutly and humbly desire it: any law, statute, ordinance, or custom contrary thereunto in any wise notwithstanding."

After which most godly consent of the parliament, the king, being no less desirous to have the form of administration of the sacrament truly reduced to the right rule of the Scriptures, and first use of the primitive church, than he was to establish the same by the authority of his own regal laws, appointed certain of the most grave and best learned bishops, and others of his realm, to assemble together at his castle of Windsor, there to argue and treat upon this matter, and to conclude upon, and set forth, one perfect and uniform order, according to the rule and use aforesaid.

And, in the mean time, while that the learned were thus occupied about their conferences, the lord protector and the rest of the king's council, further remembering that that time of the year did then approach, wherein were practised many superstitious abuses and blasphemous ceremonies against the glory of God and truth of his word, (determining the utter abolishing thereof,) directed their letters unto the godly and reverend father, Thomas Cranmer, then archbishop of Canterbury, and metropolitan of England, requiring him that, upon the receipt thereof, he should will every bishop within his province, forthwith to give in charge unto all the curates of their dioceses, that neither candles should be any more borne upon Candlemas-day, nor yet ashes used in Lent, nor palms upon Palm-Sunday.

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Whereupon the archbishop, zealously favouring the good and Christian-like purpose of the king and his council, did immediately, in that behalf, write unto all the rest of the bishops of that province, and, amongst them, unto Edmund Bonner, then bishop of London; of whose rebellious and obstinate contumacy, for that we have hereafter more to say, I thought not to stand now long thereupon, but only by the way somewhat to note his former dissimulation and cloaked hypocrisy, in that he outwardly, at the first, consented as well unto this, as also unto all other the king's proceedings; but whether for fear or for any other subtle fetch I know not; howbeit most like it is rather for one of them, or both, than for any true love. And therefore, receiving the archbishop's letters, as one of them seeming to allow the contents thereof, he did presently write unto the bishop of Westminster, and to others to whom he was appointed, requiring them to give such knowledge thereof in their dioceses, as thereunto appertained; as more plainly appeareth by these his own letters here inserted, which here do follow.

A letter missive of Edmund Bonner, sent to the bishop of Westminster, with the tenor of the archbishop's letter for abolishing of candles, ashes, palms, and other ceremonies.

"My very good lord, after most hearty commendations, these be to advertise your good Lordship, that my Lord of Canterbury's Grace, this present twenty-eighth day of January, sent unto me his letters missive, containing this, in effect: that my lord protector's Grace, with the advice of other the king's Majesty's most honourable council, for certain considerations them moving, are fully resolved that no candles shall be borne upon Candlemas-day, nor also from henceforth ashes or palms used any longer: requiring me thereupon, by his said letters, to cause admonition and knowledge thereof to be given unto your Lordship, and other bishops, with celerity accordingly. In consideration whereof, I do send at this present these letters unto your said Lordship, that you thereupon may give knowledge and advertisement thereof within your diocese, as appertaineth. Thus I commit your good Lordship to Almighty God, as well to fare as your good heart can best desire.

"Written in haste, at my house in London, the said twenty-eighth day of January, 1548.
"Your good Lordship's to command,
"EDMUND LONDON."

Now, about that present time, credible and certain report was made unto the lords of the council, that great contention and strife did daily arise among the common people, in divers parts of this realm, for the pulling down and taking away of such images out of the churches, as had been idolatrously abused by pilgrimage, offerings, or otherwise, (according to the tenor of one of the injunctions given by the king in his late visitation,) some affirming that that image was abused, others that this, and, most, that neither of them both; so that, if speedy remedy were not had therein, it might turn to further inconvenience. Wherefore they, by one advice, thinking it best, (of good experience,) for avoiding of all discord and tumult, that all manner of images should be clean taken out of all churches, and none suffered to remain, did thereupon again write their letters unto the archbishop of Canterbury, requiring his ready aid therein, in manner following.

Another letter of the council, sent to the archbishop of Canterbury for the abolishing of images.

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"After our right hearty commendations to your good Lordship: whereas now of late, in the king's Majesty's visitations, among other godly injunctions commanded to be generally observed through all parts of this his Highness's realm, one was set forth for the taking down of all such images as had at any time been abused with pilgrimages, offerings, or censings, albeit that this said injunction hath in many parts of this realm been quietly obeyed and executed, yet, in many other places, much strife and contention hath risen and daily riseth, and more and more increaseth, about the execution of the same (some men being so superstitious, or rather wilful, as they would, by their good will, retain all such images still, although they have been most manifestly abused); and in some places also the images, which by the said injunctions were taken down, be now restored and set up again; and almost in every place is contention for images, whether they have been abused or not: and while these men go on both sides contentiously to obtain their minds, contending whether this or that image hath been offered unto, kissed, censed, or otherwise abused, parts have, in some places, been taken in such sort, as further inconveniences be like to ensue, if remedy be not found in time. Considering therefore, that almost in no place of this realm is any sure quietness, but where all images be clean taken away and pulled down already, to the intent that all contention in every part of the realm, for this matter, may be clearly taken away, and that the lively image of Christ should not contend for the dead images, which be things not necessary, and without which the churches of Christ continued most godly many years; we have thought good to signify unto you, that his Highness's pleasure, with the advice and consent of us the lord protector and the rest of the council, is, that immediately upon the sight hereof, with as convenient diligence as you may, you shall not only give order, that all the images remaining in any church or chapel within your diocese be removed and taken away, but also, by your letters, signify unto the rest of the bishops within your province, his Highness's pleasure, for the like order to be given by them and every of them, within their several dioceses. And in the execution hereof, we require both you and the rest of the said bishops, to use such foresight that the same may be quietly done, with as good satisfaction of the people as may be. Thus fare your good Lordship heartily well.

"From Somerset-place, the 11th of February, 1547.

"Your Lordship's assured loving friends,

Edward Somerset,

John Russell,

Henry Arundel,

Thomas Seymour,

Anthony Wingfield,

William Paget."

When the archbishop had received these letters, he forthwith directed his precept unto Bonner, bishop of London, requiring, and in the king's Majesty's name commanding him, that, with all speed, he should as well give in charge unto the rest of the bishops within the province of Canterbury, to look immediately, without delay, unto the diligent and careful execution of the contents of the said letter through all places of their diocese; as also, that he himself should do the like within his own city and diocese of London. Whereupon he, seeming then, with like outward consent as before, to allow these doings, presently (by virtue of the said precept) did send out his mandate as well unto the rest of the bishops, as also again unto the bishop of Westminster.

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Now, by the time that these things were thus determined, the learned men whom the king had appointed (as ye have heard before) to assemble together for the true and right manner of administering the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, according to the rule of the Scriptures of God, and first usage of the primitive church, after their long, learned, wise, and deliberate advices, did finally conclude and agree upon one godly and uniform order of receiving the same, not much differing from the manner at this present used and authorized within this realm and Church of England, commonly called, The Communion. Which agreement, being by them exhibited unto the king, and of him most gladly accepted, was thereupon publicly imprinted, and, by his Majesty's council, particularly divided and sent unto every bishop of the realm, requiring and commanding them, by their letters on the king's Majesty's behalf, that both they, in their own persons, should forthwith have diligent and careful respect to the due execution thereof, and also should, with all diligence, cause the books which they then sent them, to be delivered unto every parson, vicar, and curate within their diocese; that they, likewise, might well and sufficiently advise themselves for the better distribution of the same communion, (according to the tenor of the said book,) against the feast of Easter then next ensuing, as more fully appeareth by these their letters here following.

Letters missive from the council, to the bishops of the realm, concerning the communion to be ministered in both kinds.

"After our most hearty commendations unto your Lordship: Whereas in the parliament late holden at Westminster, it was, amongst other things, most godly established, that, according to the first institution and use of the primitive church, the most holy sacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ should be distributed to the people under the kinds of bread and wine: according to the effect whereof, the king's Majesty, minding, with the advice and consent of the lord protector's Grace, and the rest of the council, to have the said statute well executed in such sort, or like as is agreeable with the word of God, (so the same may be also faithfully and reverently received of his most loving subjects, to their comforts and wealth,) hath caused sundry of his Majesty's most grave and well-learned prelates, and other learned men in the Scriptures, to assemble themselves for this matter; who, after long conference together, have, with deliberate advice, finally agreed upon such an order to be used in all places of the king's Majesty's dominions, in the distribution of the said most holy sacrament, as may appear to you by the book thereof, which we send herewith unto you. Albeit, knowing your Lordship's knowledge in the Scriptures, and earnest good will and zeal to the setting forth of all things according to the truth thereof, we be well assured, you will, of your own good will, and upon respect to your duty, diligently set forth this most godly order here agreed upon, and commanded to be used by the authority of the king's Majesty: yet, remembering the crafty practice of the devil, who ceases not, by his members, to work by all ways and means the hinderance of all godliness; and considering furthermore, that a great number of the curates of the realm, either for lack of knowledge cannot, or for want of good mind will not, be so ready to set forth the same, as

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we would wish, and as the importance of the matter and their own bounden duties require—we have thought good to pray and require your Lordship, and nevertheless, in the king's Majesty's, our most dread sovereign lord's name, to command you, to have an earnest diligence, and careful respect, both in your own person, and by all your officers and ministers also, to cause these books to be delivered to every parson, vicar, and curate within your diocese, with such diligence as they may have sufficient time well to instruct and advise themselves, for the distribution of the most holy communion, according to the order of this book, before this Easter time; and that they may, by your good means, be well directed to use such good, gentle, and charitable instruction of their simple and unlearned parishioners, as may be to all their good satisfactions as much as may be; praying you to consider, that this order is set forth, to the intent there should be, in all parts of the realm, and among all men, one uniform manner quietly used. The execution whereof, like as it shall stand very much in the diligence of you and others of your vocation, so do we eftsoons require you to have a diligent respect thereunto, as ye tender the king's Majesty's pleasure, and will answer for the contrary. And thus we bid your Lordship right heartily farewell.

"From Westminster the 13th of March, 1548.

"Your Lordship's loving friends,

Thomas Canterbury,

Henry Arundel,

Richard Rich,

Anthony Wingfield,

William St. John,

William Peter,

John Russell,

Edward North,

Edward Wootton."

By means as well of this letter, and the godly order of the learned, as also of the statute and act of parliament before mentioned, made for the establishing thereof, all private blasphemous masses were now, by just authority, fully abolished throughout this realm of England, and the right use of the sacrament of the most precious body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ truly restored instead of the same. But nevertheless, as at no time any thing can be so well done by the godly, but that the wicked will find some means subtly to deface the same, so likewise, at this present, through the perverse obstinacy and dissembling forwardness of many of the inferior priests and ministers of the cathedrals, and other churches of this realm, there did arise a marvellous schism, and variety of fashions, in celebrating the common service and administration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the church. For some, zealously allowing the king's proceedings, did gladly follow the order thereof; and others, though not so willingly admitting them, did yet dissemblingly and patchingly use some part of them; but many, carelessly contemning all, would still exercise their old wonted popery.

Whereof the king and his council having good intelligence, and fearing the great inconveniences and dangers that might happen through this division, and being therewithal loth, at first, to use any great severity towards his subjects, but rather desirous, by some quiet and godly order, to bring them to some conformity, did, by their prudent advices, again appoint the archbishop of Canterbury, with certain of the best learned and discreet bishops and other learned men, diligently to consider and ponder the premises; and thereupon, having as well an eye and

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respect unto the most sincere and pure Christian religion taught by the Holy Scriptures, as also to the usages of the primitive church, to draw and make one convenient and meet order, rite, and fashion of Common Prayer, and administration of the sacraments, to be had and used within this his realm of England, and the dominions of the same; who, after most godly and learned conferences, through the aid of the Holy Ghost, with one uniform agreement did conclude, set forth, and deliver unto the king's Highness, a book in English, entitled, A Book of the Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the Church, after the use of the Church of England. Which his Highness receiving, with great comfort and quietness of mind, did forthwith exhibit unto the lords and commons of the parliament then assembled at Westminster, about the fourth of November, in the second year of his reign, and in the year of our Lord 1548, and continuing unto the fourteenth day of March, then next ensuing.

Whereupon the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons of the said parliament assembled, well and thoroughly considering, as well the most godly travail of the king's Highness, of the lord protector, and others of his Majesty's council, in gathering together the said archbishop, bishops, and other learned men, as the godly prayers, orders, rites, and ceremonies in the said book mentioned, with the consideration of altering those things which were altered, and retaining those things which were retained in the same book; as also the honour of God, and great quietness, which, by the grace of God, should ensue upon that one and uniform rite and order in such common prayer, rites, and extern ceremonies, to be used throughout England, Wales, Calais, and the marches of the same, did first give unto his Highness most lowly and hearty thanks for the same, and then most humbly prayed him that it might be ordained and enacted by his Majesty, with the assent of the lords and commons in that parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as followeth:

"That not only all and singular person and persons that had hitherto offended concerning the premises (other than such as were then remaining in ward in the Tower of London, or in the Fleet) might be pardoned thereof; but also, that all and singular ministers in any cathedral or parish churches, or other places, within the realm of England, Wales, Calais, and the marches of the same, or other the king's dominions, should, from and after the feast of Pentecost next coming, be bound to say and use the matins, evensong, celebration of the Lord's supper, and administration of each of the sacraments, and all other common and open prayer, in such order and form as were mentioned in the said book, and none other or otherwise.

"And, albeit that they were so godly and good that they gave occasion unto every honest and conformable man most willingly to embrace them, yet, lest any obstinate persons, who willingly would disturb so godly an order and quiet in this realm, should go unpunished, they further requested, that it might be ordained and enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that if any manner of parson, vicar, or whatsoever other minister that ought or should say or sing Common Prayer, (mentioned in the said book,) or minister the sacraments, should, after the said feast of Pentecost then next coming, refuse to use the said Common Prayer, or to minister the sacraments in such cathedral or parish churches, or other places, as he should use or minister the same, in such order and form as they were mentioned, and set forth in the said book; or should use wilfully, and obstinately standing in the same, any other rite, ceremony, form, or manner of mass, openly or privily, or matins, evensong, administration of the sacraments, or other open prayer than was mentioned and set forth in the said book; or should preach, declare, or speak,

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any thing in derogation or depraving of the said book, or any thing therein contained, or of any part thereof, and should be thereof lawfully convicted according to the laws of this realm by verdict of twelve men, or by his own confession, or by the notorious evidence of the fact, should lose and forfeit unto the king's Highness, his heirs and successors, for his first offence, one whole year's profit of such one of his benefices or spiritual promotions, as it should please the king's Highness to assign and appoint; and also, for the same offence, should suffer imprisonment by the space of six months, without bail or mainprize. But, if any such person, after his first conviction, should afterwards offend again, and be thereof, in form aforesaid, lawfully convicted, then he should, for his second offence, suffer imprisonment by the space of one whole year; and should also be deprived, *ipso facto*, of all his spiritual promotions for ever, so that it should be lawful to the patrons and donors thereof, to give the same again unto any other learned man, in like manner as if the said party so offending were dead. And if any the said person or persons should again the third time offend, and be thereof, in form aforesaid, lawfully convicted, then he should, for the same third offence, suffer imprisonment during his life. If any such person or persons aforesaid, so offending, had not any benefice,

For spiritual promotion, that then he should, for his first offence, suffer imprisonment by the space of six months without bail or mainprize, and, for his second offence, imprisonment during his life."

Which request, or rather actual agreement, of the lords and commons of the parliament, being once understood by the king, was also soon ratified and confirmed by his regal consent and authority; and thereupon the said book of Common Prayer was presently printed, and commanded to be exercised throughout the whole realm and dominions thereof, according to the tenor and effect of the said statute. Moreover, in the same session of the said parliament it was enacted and established by the authority thereof, as followeth:

"That forasmuch as great, horrible, and not to be rehearsed, inconveniences had, from time to time, risen amongst the priests, ministers, and other officers of the clergy, through their compelled chastity, and by such laws as prohibited them the godly and lawful use of marriage; that therefore all and every law and laws positive, canons, constitutions, and ordinances theretofore made by the authority of man only, which did prohibit or forbid marriage to any ecclesiastical or spiritual person or persons, of what estate, condition, or degree soever they were, or by what name or names they were called, who, by God's law, may lawfully marry; in all and every article, branch and sentence, concerning only the prohibition of the marriage of the persons aforesaid, should be utterly void and of none effect. And that all manner of forfeitures, pains, penalties, crimes, or actions, which were in the said laws contained, and of the same did follow, concerning the prohibition of the marriage of the said ecclesiastical persons, should also be thenceforth clearly and utterly void, frustrate, and of none effect."

By occasion hereof, it was, thence after, right lawful for any ecclesiastical person, not having the gift of chastity, most godly to live in the pure and holy estate of matrimony, according to the laws and word of God.

But, if the first injunctions, statutes, and decrees of the prince were, by many, but slenderly regarded, with much less good affection were these, especially the book of Common

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Prayer, by divers now received; yea, and that by some of them, who had always before, in outward show, willingly allowed the former doings, as appeareth most plainly, amongst others, by Bonner the bishop of London; who, although, by his former letters and other mandates, he seemed hitherto to favour all the king's proceedings, yet did lie, at that present, (notwithstanding both the first statute for the establishing of the communion and the abolishing of all private masses, and also this statute of the ratifying and confirming of the book of Common Prayer,) still suffer sundry idolatrous private masses of peculiar names, as the Apostles' Mass, the Lady's Mass, and such-like, to be daily solemnly sang within certain peculiar chapels of the cathedral church of Paul's, cloaking them with the names of the Apostles' Communion, and our Lady's Communion; not once finding any fault therewith, until such time as the lords of the council, having intelligence thereof, were fain, by their letters, to command and charge him to look better thereunto. And then, being therewith somewhat pricked forwards, (perhaps by fear,) he was content to direct his letters unto the dean and chapter of his cathedral church of Paul's, thereby requesting them forthwith to take such order therein, as the tenor of the council's said letters, therewithal sent unto them, did import; both which letters I have, for the more credit, here following inserted.

A letter directed from the King's council to Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, for abrogating of private masses; especially the Apostles' Mass, within the church of St. Paul, used under the name of the Apostles' Communion.

"After hearty commendations; having very credible notice that within that your cathedral church there be as yet the Apostles' Mass, and our Lady's Mass, and other masses of such peculiar names, under the defence and nomination of our Lady's Communion, and the Apostles' Communion, used in private chapels, and other remote places of the same, and not in the chancel: contrary unto the king's Majesty's proceedings, the same being, for the misuse, displeasing to God; for the place, Paul's, in example not tolerable; for the fondness of the name, a scorn to the reverence of the communion of the Lord's body and blood: we, for the augmentation of God's honour and glory, and the consonance of his Majesty's laws, and the avoiding of murmur, have thought good to will and command you, that, from henceforth, no such masses in this manner be in your church any longer used; but that the holy blessed communion, according to the act of parliament, be ministered at the high altar of the church, and in no other places of the same; and only at such time as your high masses were wont to be used, except some number of people desire, for their necessary business, to have a communion in the morning; and yet the same to be executed in the chancel, at the high altar, as it is appointed in the book of the public service, without cautel or digression from the common order. And herein you shall not only satisfy our expectation of your conformity in all lawful things, but also avoid the murmur of sundry that be therewith justly offended. And so we bid your Lordship heartily farewell.

"From Richmond, the 24th of June, anno 1519.

"Your loving friends,
Edward Somerset,
R. Rich, Chancellor,
William Saint John,
Francis Shrewsbury,
Edmund Montague,
William Cecil."

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A letter of Edmund Bonner to the dean and chapter of Paul's, sent with the order in council.

"To my right worshipful friends, and most loving good brethren, master dean of Paul's, with all the canons, residentiaries, prebendaries, sub-deans, and ministers of the same, and every of them, with speed:

"Right worshipful, with most hearty commendations. So it is, this Wednesday, the 26th of June, going to dinner, I received letters from the king's council by a pursuivant, and the same I do send now herewith unto you, to the intent you may peruse them well, and proceed accordingly; praying you, in case all be not present, yet those that be now resident, and supplying the places, may, in their absence, call the company together of the church, and make declaration hereof unto them. Thus committing you to God, right well to fare.

"Written with speed this 26th of June, at one of the clock.

"Your loving brother,
EDMUND LONDON."

What zealous care was in this young king, and in the lord protector his uncle, concerning reformation of Christ's church, and sincere religion, by these injunctions, letters, precepts, and exhortations, as well to the bishops, as to the justices of the realm above premised, it may right well appear. Whereby we have to note, not so much the careful diligence of the king and his learned council; as the lingering slackness, and drawing back, on the other side, of divers of the said justices and lawyers, but especially of bishops, and old popish curates, by whose cloaked contempt, wilful winking, and stubborn disobedience, the book of the Common Prayer was, long after the publishing thereof, either not known at all, or else very irreverently used, throughout many places of the realm. Which, when the king, by complaint of divers, perfectly understood, being not a little aggrieved to see the godly agreement of the learned, the willing consent of the parliament, and his Grace's own zealous desire, to take so small effect among his subjects, he decreed presently, with the advice of his whole council, again to write unto all the bishops of his realm, for speedy and diligent redress therein; willing and commanding them thereby, that as well they themselves should, thenceforth, have a more special regard to the due execution of the premises, as also that all others, within their several precincts and jurisdictions, should, by their good instructions and willing example, be the more often and with better devotion, moved to use and frequent the same: as further appeareth by the contents of this letter here ensuing.

Another letter, directed by the king and his council to Bonner, bishop of London, partly rebuking him of negligence, partly charging him to see to the better setting-out of the Service-Book within his diocese.

"Right reverend father in God! right trusty and well-beloved! we greet you well: and whereas, after great and serious debating and long conference of the bishops and other grave and well learned men in the Holy Scriptures, one uniform order for Common Prayers and Administration of the Sacraments, hath been, and is, most godly set forth, not only by the common agreement and full assent of the nobility and commons of the late session of our late parliament, but also, by the like assent of the bishops in the same parliament, and of all other the learned men of this our realm, in their synods and convocations provincial: like as it was much to our comfort, to understand the godly travail then diligently and willingly taken for the true

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opening of things mentioned in the said book, whereby the true service and honour of Almighty God, and the right ministration of the sacraments being well and sincerely set forth, according to the Scriptures and use of the primitive church, much idolatry, vain superstition, and great and slanderous abuses be taken away: so it is no small occasion of sorrow unto us, to understand, by the complaints of many, that our said book, so much travailed for, and also sincerely set forth, (as is aforesaid,) remaineth, in many places of this our realm, either not known at all, or not used; or at least, if it be used, very seldom, and that in such light and irreverent sort, that the people, in many places, either have heard nothing, or, if they hear, they neither understand, nor have that spiritual delectation in the same, that to good Christians appertaineth. The fault whereof, like as we must of reason impute to you and other of your vocation, called by God, through our appointment, to have due respect to this and such-like matters; so, considering that, by these and such-like occasions, our loving subjects remain yet still in their blindness and superstitious errors, and, in some places, in an irreligious forgetfulness of God, whereby his wrath may be provoked upon us and them; and remembering withal, that amongst other cures committed to our princely charge, we think this the greatest, to see the glory and true service of Him maintained and extolled, by whose clemency we acknowledge ourselves to have all that we have; we could not but, by advice and consent of our dearest uncle, Edward, duke of Somerset, governor of our person, and protector of our realm, dominions, and subjects, and the rest of our privy council, admonish you of the premises. Wherein, as it had been your office to have used an earnest diligence, and to have preferred the same in all places within your diocese, as the case required; so have we thought good to pray and require you, and nevertheless straitly to charge and command you, that from henceforth ye have an earnest and special regard to the restoration of these things, so as the curates may do their duties more often, and in more reverent sort, and the people be occasioned, by the good advices and examples of yourself, your chancellor, archdeacons, and other inferior ministers, to come with oftener and more devotion to their said Common Prayers, to give thanks to God, and to be partakers of the most holy communion. Wherein showing yourself diligent, and giving good example in your own person, you shall both discharge your duty to the great Pastor, to whom we all have to account, and also do us good service: and, on the other side, if we shall hereafter (these our letters and commandment notwithstanding) have eftsoons complaint, and find the like faults in your diocese, we shall have just cause to impute the fault thereof, and of all that ensueth thereof, unto you; and, consequently, be occasioned thereby to see otherwise to the redress of these things; whereof we would be sorry. And, therefore, we do eftsoons charge and command you, upon your allegiance, to look well upon your duty herein, as ye tender our pleasure.

"Given under our signet, at our manor of Richmond, the 23rd day of July, the third year of our reign, 1549."

The bishop of London, amongst the rest of the bishops, receiving these letters, did (as always before) in outward show willingly accept the same; and, therefore, immediately with the said letters directed this his precept unto the dean and chapter of his cathedral church of Paul's, commanding them to look to the due accomplishing thereof accordingly.

"Edmund, by the grace of God, &c.: to my well-beloved brethren the dean and chapter of the cathedral church of St. Paul in London, and to the other ministers there, and every of them, do send greeting. And whereas it is so, that of late I have received the said sovereign lord the king's Majesty's letters, of such tenor as is hereunto annexed, and, according to my most bounden

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duty, am right well willing and desiring, that the said letters should be in all points duly executed and observed, according to the tenor and purport of the same, as appertaineth: these therefore are to require, and also straitly to charge you, and every of you, on his Majesty's behalf, &c., that you do admonish and command, or cause to be admonished or commanded, all and singular parsons, vicars, and curates of your jurisdiction, to observe and accomplish the same from time to time accordingly: furthermore requiring and likewise charging you, and every of you, to make certificate herein to me, my chancellor, or others, my officers in this behalf, with such convenient celerity as appertaineth, both of your proceedings in the execution hereof, and also the persons and names of all such as, from henceforth, shall be found negligent in doing their duties in the premises, or any of them.

"Given at my house at Fulham, the twenty-sixth of July, A. D. 1549, and in the third year of our said sovereign lord the king's Majesty's reign."

Moreover, forasmuch as the king, at that instant, hearing the muttering of certain rebellion then stirring, (whereof more shall be said, the Lord willing, hereafter,) and also being credibly informed by divers, that, through the evil example, slackness of preaching and administering the sacraments, and careless contempt of Bonner, bishop of London, not only many of the people within the city of London, and other places of his diocese, were very negligent and forgetful of their duties to God, in frequenting the divine service then established and set forth by the authority of parliament, but also, that divers others, utterly despising the same, did, in secret places of his diocese, often frequent the popish mass, and other foreign rites not allowed by the laws of this realm, he thought it therefore good (having thereby just cause to suspect his former dissembling doubleness) to appoint the lord protector and the rest of his privy council to call the said bishop before them, and according to their wise and discreet judgments, to deal with him for the same.

Whereupon, the eleventh day of August, A. D. 1549, they sent a messenger for him, and, upon his appearance, made first declaration of such informations and complaints as had been heretofore made against him. And then, after sharp admonitions and reproofs for his evil demeanours in the premises, they delivered unto him from the king (for his better reformation and amendment) certain private injunctions, to be necessarily followed and observed of himself. And whereas, in the first branch of the said injunctions, he was personally assigned to preach at Paul's Cross the Sunday three weeks then next ensuing, (because both the dangerous and fickle estate of the time, and also partly his own suspicious behaviour, so required,) they further delivered unto him, in writing, such articles to treat upon in his sermon, as they thought then most meet and necessary for the time and causes aforesaid.

All the aforesaid injunctions and articles, for the further manifestation thereof, I have here inserted as followeth:

"Forasmuch as we are advertised that, amongst other disorders of our subjects at this present, there be divers of our city of London, and other places within your diocese, which, being very negligent and forgetful of their duty to Almighty God, of whom all good things are to be looked for, do assemble themselves very seldom, and fewer times than they were heretofore accustomed, unto Common Prayer, and to the Holy Communion, being now a time when it were more needful, with heart and mind, to pray to our heavenly Father for his aid and succour;

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whereof as we be right sorry, so we do understand that, through your evil example, and the slackness of your preaching and instructing of our said people to do their duties, this offence to God is most generally committed. For whereas heretofore, upon all principal feasts, and such as were called *majus duplex*, you yourself were wont to execute in person, now, since the time that we, by the advice of our whole parliament, have set a most godly and devout order in our Church of England and Ireland, ye have very seldom or never executed upon such or other days; to the contempt of our proceedings and evil example of others. And, forasmuch as it is also brought to our knowledge, that divers, as well in London, as in other places of your diocese, do frequent and haunt foreign rites and masses, and such as be not allowed by the orders of our realm, and contemn and forbear to praise and laud God, and pray unto his Majesty, after such rites and ceremonies as, in this realm, are approved and set out by our authority; and further, that adultery and fornication are maintained and kept openly and commonly in the said city of London and other places of your diocese, whereby the wrath of God is provoked against our people; of the which things you, being heretofore admonished, yet hitherto have made no redress, as to the pastoral office, authority, and cure of a bishop doth appertain: we, therefore, to whom the supreme cure and charge of this church doth appertain, to avoid from us the high indignation of Almighty God, by the advice of our most entirely beloved uncle the lord protector, and the rest of our privy council, have thought it no less than our most bounden duty, now at this present, and eftsoons peremptorily, to admonish, charge, and warn you, that you do most straitly look upon the premises, and see them so reformed that there may appear no negligence on your behalf; upon such pain as, by our laws ecclesiastical and temporal, we may inflict upon you, unto deprivation or otherwise, as shall seem to us, for quality of the offence, reasonable. And to the intent you should the better see to the reformation of the said abuses, we have thought good to give you these injunctions following:

"First, ye shall preach at Paul's Cross in London, in proper person, the Sunday after the date hereof three weeks, and in the same sermon declare and set forth the articles hereunto annexed; and ye shall preach hereafter once every quarter of the year there, exhorting, in your sermon, the people to obedience, prayer, and godly living; and ye shall be present at every sermon hereafter made at Paul's Cross, if sickness, or some other reasonable cause, do not let you.

"Secondly, You yourself, in person, shall from henceforth every day which heretofore was accounted in this Church of England a principal feast, or *majus duplex*, and at all such times as the bishops of London, your predecessors, were wont to celebrate and sing high mass, now celebrate and execute the communion at the high altar in Paul's for the better example of all others; except sickness do let.

"Thirdly, Ye shall yourself, according to your duty and the office of a bishop, call before you all such as do not come unto and frequent the common prayer and service in the church, or do not come unto God's board, and receive the communion at least once a year; or whosoever do frequent or go unto any other rite or service than is appointed by our book, either of matins, evensong, or mass, in any church, chapel, or other private places within your diocese; and ye shall see all such offenders convented before you, and punished according unto the ecclesiastical laws, with severe and strait punishment therefore. Likewise ye shall see one only order used in your diocese, according to our said book, and none other.

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"Fourthly, Ye shall, both by yourself and all your officers under you, search out and convent before you more diligently than heretofore ye have done (as appertaineth to your office) all adulterers, and see the same punished according to the ecclesiastical laws, and to the authority given you in that behalf.

"Fifthly, We have heard also complaints, that the church of Paul's and other churches of London, are of late more neglected, as well in reparation of the glass, as other buildings and ornaments of the same, than they were heretofore wont; and that divers and many persons in the city, of malice deny the payment of their due tithe to their curates, whereby the curates are both injured, and made not so well able, and in manner discouraged, to do their duties: the which thing also, our will and commandment is, ye shall diligently look unto, and see redressed as appertaineth.

"Sixthly, And forasmuch as all these complaints be made, as most done and committed in London, to the intent you may look more earnestly, better, and more diligently, to the reformation of them, our pleasure is, that you shall abide and keep residence in your house there, as in the city, see, and principal place, of your diocese, and none other where, for a certain time, until you shall be otherwise licensed by us."

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And thus, having brought Bishop Bonner home to his own house, there to leave him awhile, to take his ease in his own lodging till we return to him again, we will, in the mean time, make a little intercourse into Cornwall and Devonshire, to discourse some part of the disordered and disloyal doings of those men against their so meek and excellent a prince, having no cause ministered thereunto; yea, having cause rather to yield praise and thanks to the Lord for such a quiet and peaceable prince in his mercy given unto them. But such is the condition of unquiet natures, that they cannot skill of peace: and where due discretion lacketh, there lewd disposed persons cannot tell when they be well. Again, some be so crooked and so perversely given, that the more courteously they be treated, the worse they are; and when, by honest diligence, they list not to get their living, by public disturbance of commonwealths they think to thrive. And so seemed it to fare with this seditious people of Cornwall and Devonshire, who, having so good and virtuous a king, that if they should have sought him, as Diogenes, they say, did seek for a man with a candle, a meeker and better sovereign they could not have found, a crueller they well deserved; yet were they not with him contented, but, contrary to all order, reason, nature, and loyalty, advanced themselves in a rebellious conspiracy against him, and against his proceedings, through the pernicious instigation, first (as it seemeth) of certain popish priests, who, grudging and disdaining against the injunctions and godly order of reformation set forward by the king, and especially mourning to see their old popish Church of Rome to decay, ceased not, by all sinister and subtle means, first under God's name and the king's, and under colour of religion, to persuade the people; then, to gather sides, to assemble in companies, and to gather captains; and at last to burst out in rank rebellion.

Neither lacked there among the lay sort some as seditiously disposed as they to mischief and madness, as well gentlemen as others. Of whom the chief gentlemen captains were, Humfrey Arundel, esquire, governor of the Mount, James Rosogan, John Rosogan, John Pain, Thomas Underhil, John Soleman, William Segar. Of priests who were principal stirrers, and some of them governors of the camps, and afterwards executed, there were to the number of eight, whose names were Robert Bochim, John Tompson, Roger Barret, John Wolcock, William Asa, James Mourton, John Barrow, Richard Benet, besides a multitude of other popish priests, which to the same faction was adjoined. The number of the whole rebellion, speaking with the least, mounted to little less than ten thousand stout traitors.

These, hearing first of the commotions which began about the same time in other parts to broil, as in Oxfordshire, Yorkshire, and especially in Norfolk and Suffolk, began to take therein some courage, hoping that they should have well fortified the same quarrel. But afterwards, they, perceiving how the mischievous mutterings and enterprises of their conspiracy did suddenly fail, either being prevented by time, or repressed by power; or that their cause, being but only about plucking down of enclosures, and enlarging of commons, was divided from theirs, so that either they would not or could not join their aid together, then began they again to quail, and their courage to abate. Notwithstanding, forasmuch as they had gone so far that they thought there was

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no shrinking back, they fell to new devices and inventions, for the best furtherance of their desperate purposes.

Their first intent was, after they had spoiled their own country most miserably, to invade the city of Exeter, and so, consequently, all other parts of the realm. But first, for Exeter, they gaped, the gates whereof twice they burned, but gained nothing saving only gunshot, whereof they lacked no plenty. Being put from Exeter, they fell on spoiling and robbing, where or whatsoever they might catch. At length, laying their traitorous heads together, they consulted upon certain articles to be sent up. But herein such diversity of heads and wits was amongst them, that for every kind of brain there was one manner of article; so that there neither appeared any consent in their diversity, nor yet any constancy in their agreement. Some seemed more tolerable: others altogether unreasonable: some would have no justice: some would have no state of gentlemen. The priests ever harped upon one string, to ring in the bishop of Rome into England again, and to halloo home Cardinal Pole their countryman.

After much ado, and little to the purpose, at last a few sorry articles were agreed upon, to be directed unto the king, with the names of certain set thereunto, the copy whereof here ensueth.

The articles of the commons of Devonshire and Cornwall, sent to the king.

"First, Forasmuch as man, except he be born of water and the Holy Ghost, cannot enter into the kingdom of God, and forasmuch as the gates of heaven be not opened without his blessed sacrament of baptism, therefore we will that our curates shall minister this sacrament at all times of need, as well on the week-days, as on the holy-days.

"Item, We will have our children confirmed of the bishop, whensoever we shall within the diocese resort unto him.

"Item, Forasmuch as we constantly believe, that after the priest hath spoken the words of consecration, being at mass, there celebrating and consecrating the same, there is very really the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, God and man, and that no substance of bread and wine remaineth after, but the very selfsame body that was born of the Virgin Mary, and was given upon the cross for our redemption; therefore, we will have mass celebrated, as it hath been in times past, without any man communicating with the priests; forasmuch as many, rudely presuming unworthily to receive the same, put no difference between the Lord's body and other kind of meat, some saying that it is bread before and after, some saying that it is profitable to no man except he receive it; with many other abused terms.

"Item, We will have in our churches reservation.

"Item, We will have holy bread and holy water, in remembrance of Christ's precious body and blood.

"Item, We will that our priests shall sing or say, with an audible voice, God's service in the choir of the parish churches, and not God's service to be set forth like a Christmas play.

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"Item, Forasmuch as priests be men dedicated to God, for ministering and celebrating the blessed sacraments and preaching of God's word, we will that they shall live chaste without marriage, as St. Paul did, being the elect and chosen vessel of God, saying unto all honest priests, Be ye followers of me.

"Item, We will that the six articles which our sovereign lord, King Henry the Eighth, set forth in his latter days, shall be used, and so taken as they were at that time.

"Item, We pray God save King Edward, for we be his, both body and goods."

A message or answer sent by the king's Majesty to certain of his people assembled in Devonshire.

"Although knowledge hath been given to us and our dearest uncle, Edward, duke of Somerset, governor of our person, and protector of all our realms, dominions, and subjects, and to the rest of our privy council, of divers assemblies made by you, which ought of duty to be our loving subjects, against all order, law, and otherwise than ever any loving and kind subjects have attempted against their natural and liege sovereign lord: yet we have thought it meet, at this very first time, not to condemn or reject you, as we might justly do, but to use you as our subjects; thinking that the devil hath not that power in you, to make you, of natural born Englishmen, so suddenly to become enemies to your own native country, or, of our subjects to make you traitors, or, under pretence to relieve yourselves, to destroy yourselves, your wives, children, lands, houses, and all other commodities of this your life. This we say: we trust that, although ye be by ignorance seduced, ye will not be upon knowledge obstinate: and though some amongst you (as ever there is some cockle amongst good corn) forget God, neglect their prince, esteem not the state of the realm, but, as careless desperate men, delight in sedition, tumult, and wars; yet, nevertheless, the greater part of you will hear the voice of us your natural prince, and will, by wisdom and counsel, be warned, and cease your evils in the beginning, whose ends will be, even by Almighty God's order, your own destruction. Wherefore, as to you our subjects, by ignorance seduced, we speak, and be content to use our princely authority like a father to his children, for this time, to admonish you of your faults, not to punish them; to put you in remembrance of your duties, not to avenge your forgetfulness.

"First, your disorder to rise in multitudes, to assemble yourselves against others our loving subjects, to array yourselves to the war: who amongst you all can answer for the same to Almighty God, charging you to obey us in all things? or how can any English good heart answer us, our laws, and the rest of our very loving and faithful subjects, who, indeed, by their obedience, make our honour, estate, and degree?

"Ye use our name in your writings, and abuse the same against ourself. What injury herein do you us, to call those which love us to your evil purposes by the authority of our name! God hath made us your king by his ordinance and providence, by our blood and inheritance, by lawful succession and our coronation; but not to this end, as you use our name. We are your most natural sovereign lord and king, Edward the Sixth, to rule you, to preserve you, to save you from all your outward enemies, to see our laws well ministered, every man to have his own, to suppress disordered people, to correct traitors, thieves, pirates, robbers, and such like, yea, to

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keep our realms from foreign princes, from the malice of the Scots, of Frenchmen, of the bishop of Rome. Thus, good subjects! our name is written; thus it is honoured and obeyed; this majesty it hath by God's ordinance, not by man's. So that of this your offence we cannot write too much; and yet doubt not but this is enough from a prince to all reasonable people, from a king to all kind-hearted and loving subjects, from a puissant king of England to every natural Englishman.

"Your pretences which you say move you to do this, and wherewith you seek to excuse this disorder, we assure you, be either all false, or so vain, that we doubt not but, after ye shall hereby understand the truth thereof, ye will all, with one voice, acknowledge yourselves ignorantly led, and by error seduced: and if there be any that will not, assure you the same be rank traitors, enemies of our crown, seditious people, heretics, papists, or such as care not for what cause they seek to provoke an insurrection, so they may do it; nor indeed can wax so rich with their own labours, and with peace, as they can do with spoils, with wars, with robberies, and such like; yea, with the spoil of your own goods, with the living of your labours, with the sweat of your bodies, the food of your own households, wives, and children. Such they be, as for a time use pleasant persuasions to you, and, in the end, will cut your throats, for your own goods.

"You be borne in hand, that your children, though necessity chance, shall not be christened but upon the holy-days. How false this is, learn you of us: our book which we have set forth by the free consent of our whole parliament, in the English tongue, teacheth you the contrary, even in the first leaf, yea, the first side of the first leaf of that part which treateth of baptism. Good subjects! (for to others we speak not,) look and be not deceived. They which have put this false opinion into your ears, they mean not the christening of children, but the destruction of you our christened subjects. Be this known unto you, our honour is so much, that we may not be found faulty of our word. Prove it; if by our laws ye may not christen your children, upon necessity, every day or hour in the week, then might you be offended; but, seeing you may do it, how can you believe them which teach to the contrary? What think you they mean in the rest, which move you to break your obedience against us your king and sovereign, upon these so false tales and persuasions in so evident a matter? Therefore you all which will acknowledge us your sovereign lord, and which will hear the voice of us your natural king, may easily perceive how ye be deceived, and how subtlety traitors and papists, with their falsehood, seek to achieve and bring their purpose to pass with your help. Every traitor will be glad to dissemble his treason, and feed it secretly; every papist his popery, and nourish it inwardly; and, in the end, make you, our subjects, partakers of treason and popery, which, in the beginning, was pretended a commonwealth and holiness.

"And how are you seduced by them, which put in your heads, That the blessed sacrament of Christ's body should not differ from other common bread! If our laws, proclamations, and statutes be all to the contrary, why shall any private man persuade you against them? We do, ourself in our own heart, our council in all their profession, our laws and statutes in all purposes, our good subjects in all their doings, most highly esteem that sacrament, and use the communion thereof to our most comfort. We make so much difference thereof from other common bread, that we think no profit of other bread, but to maintain our bodies; but of this blessed bread we take the very food of our souls to everlasting life. How think you, good subjects! shall not we, being your prince, your lord, your king by God's appointment, with truth more prevail, than certain evil persons with open falsehood? Shall any seditious person persuade you, that the

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sacrament is despised, which is by our laws, by ourself, by our council, by all our good subjects, esteemed, used, participated, and daily received? If ever ye were seduced, if ever deceived, if ever traitors were believed, if ever papists poisoned good subjects, it is now. It is not the christening of children, not the reverence of the sacrament, not the health of your souls that they shoot at, good subjects! It is sedition, it is high treason, it is your destruction they seek; how craftily, how piteously, how cunningly soever they do it. With one rule judge ye the end, which of force must come of your purposes. Almighty God forbiddeth, upon pain of everlasting damnation, disobedience to us your king; and in his place we rule in earth. If we should be slow, would God err? If your offence be towards God, think you it pardoned without repentance? Is God's judgment mutable? Your pain is damnation, your Judge is incorruptible, your fault is most evident.

"Likewise are ye evil informed in divers other articles, as for confirmation of your children, for the mass, for the manner of your service of matins and even-song. Whatsoever is therein ordered, hath been long debated and consulted by many learned bishops, doctors, and other men of great learning in this realm concluded: in nothing were so much labour and time spent of late time, nothing so fully ended.

"As for the service in the English tongue, it hath manifest reasons for it. And yet, perchance, it seemeth to you a new service, and indeed is none other but the old. The selfsame words in English, which were in Latin, saving a few things taken out, so fond, that it had been a shame to have heard them in English, as all they can judge which list to report the truth. The difference is, we meant godly, that you, our subjects, should understand in English, being our natural country tongue, that which was heretofore spoken in Latin; then, serving only for them which understood Latin, and now, for all you which be born English. How can this with reason offend any reasonable man, that he shall understand what any other saith, and so consent with the speaker? If the service in the church was good in Latin, it remaineth good in English; for nothing is altered, but to speak with knowledge, that which was spoken with ignorance, and to let you understand what is said for you, to the intent you may further it with your own devotion: an alteration to the better, except knowledge be worse than ignorance. So that whosoever hath moved you to mislike this order, can give you no reason, nor answer yours, if ye understood it.

"Wherefore, you our subjects! remember, we speak to you, being ordained your prince and king by Almighty God: if anywise we could advance God's honour more than we do, we would do it. And see that ye become subject to God's ordinances, obeying us your prince, and learn of them which have authority to teach you, which have power to rule you, and will execute our justice if we be provoked. Learn not of them whose fruits be nothing but wilfulness, disobedience, obstinacy, dissimulation, and destruction of the realm.

"For the mass, we assure you, no small study nor travail hath been spent by all the learned clergy therein; and, to avoid all contention; it is brought even to the very use as Christ left it, as the apostles used it, as holy fathers delivered it: indeed somewhat altered from that the popes of Rome, for their lucre, brought it to. And although ye may hear the contrary of some popish evil men, yet our majesty, which, for our honour, may not be blemished or stained, assureth you, that they deceive you, abuse you, and blow these opinions into your head, to finish their own purposes.

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"And so, likewise, judge you of confirmation of children; and let them answer you this one question: Think they, that a child christened is damned, because it dieth before bishoping? They be confirmed at the time of discretion, to learn that which they professed, in the lack thereof by baptism; taught in age, that which they received in infancy: and yet, no doubt but they be saved by baptism, not by confirmation; and made Christ's by christening, and taught how to continue by confirmation. Wherefore, in the whole, mark, good subjects! how our doctrine is founded upon true learning, and theirs upon shameless errors.

"To conclude; besides our gentle manner of information to you, whatsoever is contained in our book, either for baptism, sacrament, mass, confirmation, and service in the church, is by our parliament established, by the whole clergy agreed, yea, by the bishops of the realm devised; and, further, by God's word confirmed. And how dare ye trust, yea, how dare ye give ear without trembling, to any singular person to disallow a parliament, a subject to persuade against our majesty, a man of his singular arrogancy against the determination of the bishops and all the clergy, any invented argument against the word of God?

"But now you, our subjects! we resort to a greater matter of your blindness, of your unkindness and great unnaturalness; and such an evil, that if we thought it had not begun of ignorance, and continued by persuasion of certain traitors amongst you, which we think few in number, but in their doings busy; we could not be persuaded but to use our sword, and do justice, and as we be ordained by God; that is, to redress your errors by avengement. But love and zeal yet overcome our just anger; but how long that will be, God knoweth, in whose hand our heart is; and rather for your own causes, being our christened subjects, we would ye were rather persuaded than vanquished, informed than forced, taught than overthrown, quietly pacified than rigorously persecuted.

"Ye require to have the statute of the six articles revived, and know ye what ye require? or know ye what ease ye have with the loss of them? They were laws made, but quickly repented; too bloody they were to be borne of our people, and yet at the first, indeed, made of some necessity. O subjects, how are ye trapped by subtle persons! We of pity, because they were bloody, took them away; and you now of ignorance, will ask them again. You know full well, that they helped us to extend rigour, and gave us cause to draw our sword very often; they were as a whetstone to our sword, and for your causes we left to use them. And since our mercy moved us to write our laws with milk and equity, how be ye blinded to ask them in blood!

"But, leaving this manner of reasoning, and resorting to the truth of our authority, we let you wit, the same hath been annulled by our parliament, with great rejoicing of our subjects, and is not now to be called by subjects in question. Dare then any of you, with the name of a subject, stand against an act of parliament, a law of the whole realm? What is our power, if laws should be thus neglected? Yea, what is your surety, if laws be not kept? Assure yourselves most surely, that we of no earthly thing under the heaven make such a reputation, as we do of this one thing: to have our law obeyed, and this cause of God, which we have taken in hand, to be thoroughly maintained: from the which we will never remove a hair's breadth, nor give place to any creature living, much less to any subject; but therein will spend our own royal person, our crown, treasure, realm, and all our state; whereof we assure you of our high honour. For herein indeed

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resteth our honour, herein standeth our kingdom, herein do all kings acknowledge us a king. And shall any of you dare breathe or think against our honour, our kingdom, or crown?

"In the end of this your request (as we be given to understand) ye would have them stand in force until our full age. To this, we think, if ye knew what ye spake, ye would never have uttered that motion, nor ever have given breath to such a thought. For what think you of our kingdom? Be we of less authority for our age? Be we not your king now, as we shall be? or shall ye be subjects hereafter, and now are ye not? Have not we the right we shall have? If we would suspend and hang our doings in doubt until our full age, ye must first know, that as a king, we have no difference of years or time, but as a natural man and creature of God, we have youth, and, by his sufferance, shall have age. We are your rightful king, your liege lord, your king anointed, your king crowned, the sovereign king of England, not by our age, but by God's ordinance; not only when we shall be of twenty-one years, but when we are of ten years. We possess our crown, not by years, but by the blood and descent from our father King Henry the Eighth. You are our subjects, because we be your king; and rule we will, because God hath willed. It is as great a fault in us not to rule, as in a subject not to obey.

"If it be considered, they which move this matter, if they durst utter themselves, would deny our kingdom. But our good subjects know their prince, and will increase, not diminish, his honour; enlarge, not abate, his power; acknowledge, not defer, his kingdom to certain years. All is one, to speak against our crown, and to deny our kingdom, as to require that our laws may be broken unto twenty-one years. Be we not your crowned, anointed, and established king? Wherein, then, be we of less majesty, of less authority, or less state, than were our progenitors, kings of this realm, except your unkindness, your unnaturalness, will diminish our estimation? We have hitherto, since the death of our father, by the good advice and counsel of our dear and entirely beloved uncle, kept our state, maintained our realm, preserved our honour, defended our people from our enemies; we have hitherto been feared and dreaded of our enemies, yea, of princes, kings, and nations; yea, herein we be nothing inferior to any our progenitors, (which grace we acknowledge to be given us from God,) and how else, but by good obedience of our people, good counsel of our magistrates, due execution of our laws? By authority of our kingdom, England hitherto hath gained honour; during our reign, it hath won of the enemy, and not lost.

"It hath been marvelled, that we, of so young years, have reigned so nobly, so royally, so quietly. And how chanceth it that you, our subjects of that our country of Devonshire, will give the first occasion to slander this our realm of England, to give courage to the enemy, to note our realm of the evil of rebellion? to make it a prey to our old enemies? to diminish our honour, which God hath given, our father left, our good uncle and council preserved unto us? What greater evil could ye commit, than even now, when our foreign enemy in Scotland, and upon the sea, seeketh to invade us, to rise in this manner against our law? to provoke so justly our wrath, to ask our vengeance, and to give us occasion to spend that force upon you, which we meant to bestow upon our enemies? to begin to slay you with that sword which we drew against the Scots and other enemies? to make a conquest of our own people, which otherwise should have been of the whole realm of Scotland?

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"Thus far, ye see, we have descended from our high majesty for love, to consider you in your base and simple ignorance, and have been content to send you an instruction like a fatherly prince, who, of justice, might have sent you your destruction like a king to rebels. And now we let you know, that as ye see our mercy abundant, so, if ye provoke us further, we swear to you by the living God, by whom we reign, ye shall feel the power of the same God in our sword, which how mighty it is, no subject knoweth; how puissant it is, no private man can judge; how mortal it is, no English heart dare think. But surely, surely, as your lord and prince, your only king and master, we say to you, Repent yourselves, and take our mercy without delay; or else, we will forthwith extend our princely power, and execute our sharp sword against you, as against very infidels and Turks, and rather adventure our own royal person, state, and power, than the same shall not be executed.

"And, if ye will prove the example of our mercy, learn of certain which lately did arise, pretending some griefs, and yet, acknowledging their offences, have not only received most humbly their pardon, but feel also, by our order, to whom all public order only pertaineth, redress devised for their griefs. In the end we admonish you of your duties to God, whom ye shall answer in the day of the Lord; and of your duties towards us, whom ye shall answer by our order; and take our mercy whilst God so inclineth us; lest, when ye shall be constrained to ask, we shall be too much hardened in our heart to grant it you; and whereas ye shall now hear of mercy—mercy and life!—ye shall then hear of justice—justice and death!

"Given at Richmond, the 8th day of July, the third year of our reign."

Besides the articles of these Devonshire men above mentioned, the said rebels sent up also, not long after, a supplication to the king, whereunto answer again was made by the king's learned council, which here, to make short, leisure serveth not to rehearse.

Over and besides, to behold the malicious working of those popish priests, to kindle more the spark of sedition in the people's hearts, what bruits and rumours did they raise up against the king and his council, making the vulgar multitude to believe, that they should be made to pay, first for their sheep, then for their geese and pigs also, and other like things; and whatsoever they had in store, or should put in their mouths, they must fine, there-for to the king! of all which matter never a word was either thought or meant. But this seemed matter fit for such priests, whereby to set the prince and his subjects together by the ears.

Against this seditious company of rebels, was appointed and sent by the king and his council, Sir John Russell, knight, lord privy seal, as lieutenant-general of the king's army, on whom chiefly depended the charge and achievement of that voyage in the west parts. To him also were adjoined, as in part of ordinary council in those affairs under him, Sir William Herbert, Sir Johan Pawlet, Sir Hugh Pawlet, Sir Thomas Speck, with the Lord Gray, and others beside.

Thus the said lord privy seal, accompanied with the Lord Gray, advancing his power against the rebels, although in number of soldiers not equally furnished like to the others, yet, through the gracious assistance of the Lord's help, fighting in his cause, and giving the adventure against the enemy, about the latter end of July, A. D. 1599, gave them the repulse; who, notwithstanding, recovering themselves again with such stomachs as they had, encountered the second time with the aforesaid lord privy seal, about the beginning of August following, by

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whom, through the Lord's mighty power, they, with their whole cause of false religion, were utterly vanquished and overthrown.

In the which victory a great work of God's mighty power undoubtedly did appear; for, although the number of the rebels did surmount, in great quantity, the power and strength of the lord privy seal, and their stomachs were so fiercely set upon all desperate adventures; and though the power of Sir William Herbert (being the same time at Bristol) was not yet presently come, which should have joined with the lord privy seal; yet, all this notwithstanding, the goodness of the Lord so wrought on the king's behalf, more than any industry of man, (which in all respects in handling that matter was very raw, and far behind,) that the victory fell to the king's part, under the valiant guiding of the aforesaid lord privy seal; so that the popish rebels not only lost the field, but a great part of them also lost their lives, lying there slain miserably in the chase, to the compass of two miles' space. Where also were taken and apprehended the chieftains and ringleaders of that mischievous dance, whereof the principal were Humfrey Arundel, Berry, Thomas Underhil, John Soleman, William Segar; Tempson and Barret, two priests; Henry Bray and Henry Lee, two mayors; with divers others more above specified; all which, accordingly, afterwards were executed.

These rebels, to make their part more sure by the help and presence of their consecrated god and maker, brought with them, into the battle, the pix under his canopy; and instead of an altar, where he was hanging before, set him now riding in a cart. Neither were there lacking masses, crosses, banners, candlesticks, with holy bread also, and holy water plenty, to defend them from devils, and all adversary power; which, in the end, neither could help their friends, nor yet could save themselves from the hands of their enemies, but, eftsoons, both the consecrated god, and all the trumpery about him, were taken in the cart, and there lay all in the dust, leaving to them a notable lesson of bitter experience, how to put their confidence hereafter in no such vain idols, but only in the true living God and immortal Maker, to be served according to his prescribed word; and that only in the faith of his Son, and not after their own dreaming fantasies.

The story whereof putteth me also in remembrance of another like popish field called Musselborough field, fought in Scotland the year before this, where the Scots likewise encamping themselves against the lord protector, and the king's power sent into Scotland, did, in semblable wise, bring with them to the battle the consecrated gods of their altars, with masses, crosses, banners, and all their popish stuff of idolatry; having great affiance, by virtue thereof, to have a great day against the English army, as indeed, in man's judgment, it might seem not unlike. For the number of the Scots' army so far exceeded ours, and they were so appointed with their pikes in the first front against our horsemen, (which gave the first onset,) that our men were fain to recule, not without the loss of divers gentlemen. Notwithstanding, the mighty arm of the Lord so turned the victory, that the Scots, in the end, with all their masses, pixes, and idolatrous trinkets, were put to the worse: of whom in that field were slain between thirteen and fourteen thousand, and not passing a hundred Englishmen. The cause of this was the promise of the said Scots, made before to King Henry, for the marriage of the young Scottish queen to King Edward, which promise the said Scots afterwards brake, and paid thereafter.

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In the which victory this is also to be noted, that the same day and hour when the images were burned openly in London, the Scots were put to flight in Musselborough, as is credibly noted in records.

During this hurly-burly amongst the popish rebels in Cornwall and Devonshire, the like commotion at the same time, by such like popish priests as Holmes and his fellows, began to gender in the parts of Oxford and Buckingham; but that was soon appeased by the Lord Gray, who, coming down that way into Devonshire, chased the rebels to their houses; of whom two hundred were taken, and a dozen of the ringleaders delivered unto him, whereof certain were after executed.

In Norfolk and parts thereabout, albeit the original of their tumultuous stirring was not for the like cause, yet the obstinate hearts of that unruly multitude seemed no less bent upon mischief, to disturb public peace, which was also in the month of July, the year abovesaid. For repression of which rebellion, first was sent the lord marquis of Northampton, with special instruction to avoid the fight; and so, by order, was appointed with a number of horse to keep the field and passages, whereby they, being stopped from victual, might the sooner he brought to acknowledge their folly, and to seek their pardon; who then, following other policy than by order was given, came and pinned himself within the city of Norwich, which afterwards they were fain to abandon, the rebels pressing upon the city so on every side, that at length they obtained the same. Nevertheless, in all that conflict there were but a hundred on both sides slain, and otherwise no great loss, but only the loss of the Lord Sheffield.

Then was sent down against them the earl of Warwick, with sufficient force and number of soldiers, besides the convoy of two thousand Almains, by whom the rude and confused rabble were there overthrown and slain, to the number, as is supposed, of four thousand at the least: and, in fine, both the Kets, chief stirrers and authors of that commotion, were taken and put to execution, and one of them hanged up in chains.

Moreover, besides these inordinate uproars and insurrections above mentioned, about the latter end of the said month of July the same year, which was 1549, another like stir or commotion began at Seamer, in the North Riding of Yorkshire, and continued in the East Riding of the same, and there ended. The principal doers and raisers up of this insurrection were one William Ombler of East Allerton, yeoman; and Thomas Dale, parish clerk of Seamer; with one Stevenson of Seamer, neighbour to Dale, and nephew to Ombler. Which Stevenson was a mean or messenger between the said Ombler and Dale, being before not acquainted together, and dwelling seven miles one from the other; who at last, by the travail of the said Stevenson and their own evil disposition, inclined to ungraciousness and mischief, knowing before one the other's mind by secret conference, were brought to talk together on St. James's day, A. D. 1549.

The causes moving them to raise this rebellion, were these: First and principally, their traitorous hearts, grudging at the king's most honourable proceedings, in advancing and reforming the true honour of God, and his religion. Another cause also was, for trusting to a blind and a fantastical prophecy, wherewith they were seduced, thinking the same prophecy should shortly come to pass, by hearing the rebellions of Norfolk, Devonshire, and other places. The tenor of which prophecy, and purpose together of the traitors, was, "That there should no

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king reign in England; that the noblemen and gentlemen should be destroyed, and the realm should be ruled by four governors, to be elected and appointed by the commons holding a parliament; in a commotion to begin at the south and north seas of England," &c.: supposing that this their rebellion in the north, and the other of the Devonshire men in the west, meeting (as they intended) at one place, should be the mean how to compass this their traitorous devilish device. And therefore, laying their studies together, how they might find out more company to join with them in that detestable purpose, and so set forward this device they framed, as to stir in two places, the one distant seven miles from the other; and, at the first rush, to kill and destroy such gentlemen and men of substance about them, as were favourers of the king's proceedings, or which would resist them. But, first of all, for the more speedy raising of men, they devised to burn beacons, and thereby to bring the people together, as though it were to defend the sea-coasts; and, having the ignorant people assembled, then to pour out their poison; first, beginning with the rudest and poorest sort, such as they thought were pricked with poverty, and were unwilling to labour, and therefore the more ready to follow the spoil of rich men's goods, blowing into their heads that God's service was laid aside, and new inventions, neither good nor godly, put in place; and so, feeding them with fair promises to reduce into the church again their old ignorance and idolatry, they thought, by that means soonest, to allure them to rage and run with them in this commotion. And furthermore, to the intent they might give the more terror to the gentlemen at their first rising, lest they should be resisted, they devised that some should be murdered in churches, some in their houses, some in serving the king in commission, and others as they could be caught; and to pick quarrels with them for alteration of service on the holy-days. And thus was the platform cast of their device, according as afterwards, by the confession at their examinations, it was testified, and remaineth in true record.

Thus they being together agreed, Omblor and Dale, and others by their secret appointment, so laboured the matter in the parishes of Seamer and Wintringham, and in the towns about, that they were infected with the poison of this confederacy in such sort, that it was easy to understand whereunto they would incline, if a commotion were begun. The accomplishment thereof did shortly follow; for, although by the words of one drunken fellow of that conspiracy, named Calvered, at the alehouse in Wintringham, some suspicion of that rebellion began to be smelled before by the lord president and gentlemen in those parts, and so prevented in that place where the rebels thought to begin; yet they gave not over so, but drew to another place at Seamer, by the sea-coast; and there, by night, rode to the beacon at Saxton, and set it on fire. And so, gathering together a rude rout of rascals out of the towns near about, being in a stir, Omblor, Thomas Dale, Barton, and Robert Dale, hasted forthwith with the rebels to Master White's house, to take him, who notwithstanding, being on horseback, minding to have escaped their hands, Dale, Omblor, and the rest of the rebels, took him, and Clopton his wife's brother, one Savage, a merchant of York, and one Bury, servant to Sir Walter Mildmay; which four, without cause or quarrel, saving to fulfil their seditious prophecy in some part, and to give a terror to other gentlemen, they cruelly murdered, after they had carried them one mile from Seamer, towards the Wold; and there, after they had stripped them of their clothes and purses, left them naked behind them in the plain field, for crows to feed on, until White's wife and Savage's wife, then at Seamer. caused them to be buried.

Long it were, and tedious, to recite what revel these rebels kept in their raging madness, who, ranging about the country from town to town, to enlarge their ungracious and rebellious

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band, taking those with force which were not willing to go, and leaving in no town where they came any man above the age of sixteen years, so increased this number, that, in short time, they had gathered three thousand to favour their wicked attempts; and had like to have gathered more, had not the Lord's goodness, through prudent circumspection, interrupted the course of their furious beginning.

For, first, came the king's gracious and free pardon, discharging and pardoning them, and the rest of the rebels, of all treasons, murders, felonies, and other offences done to his Majesty, before the twenty-first of August, A. D. 1549; which pardon, although Ombler contemptuously refused, persisting still in his wilful obstinacy, dissuading also the rest from the humble accepting the king's so loving and liberal pardon, yet, notwithstanding, with some it did good.

To make short, it was not long after this, but Ombler, as he was riding from town to town, twelve miles from Hunmanby, to charge all the constables and inhabitants where he came, in the king's name, to resort to Hunmanby, by the way he was espied, and by the circumspect diligence of John Wood the younger, James Aslabe, Ralph Twinge, and Thomas Constable, gentleman, he was had in chase, and at last by them apprehended, and brought in the night in sure custody unto the city of York, to answer to his demerits. After whom, within a short time, Thomas Dale and Henry Barton, the first chieftains and ringleaders of the former commotion, with John Dale, Robert Wright, William Peacock, Wetherel, and Edmund Buttry, busy stirrers in this sedition, as they travelled from place to place to draw people to their faction, were likewise apprehended, committed to ward, lawfully convicted, and lastly, executed at York the twenty-first of September, A. D. 1549.

To these pestiferous commotions, raised up against King Edward by his own subjects in this year aforesaid, within the realm, I might also adjoin the busy stirring and raging of the French king, against our young and innocent prince, without the realm: who, hearing of these tumults and violent insurrections of the king's subjects in divers and sundry quarters of the realm, supposing to take the time for his most advantage, thought, likewise, for his part, not to be unoccupied. Who, after he had by his ambassador made open breach with the king, immediately after the revocation of the said ambassador from hence, intending to annoy the king, and make his first invasion against the isles of Jersey and Guernsey, thought to have surprised our ships and the said isles with a certain number of his ships and galleys; in the which his assault he was so hotly saluted by the king's ships and the island, that, by the confession of them that saw it, and by the report written unto the lord protector, the Frenchmen lost at least a thousand men. Their ships and galleys were so spoiled, that being forced to return home, they were not able then to set out again.

Furthermore, out of France credible word was brought to the lord protector, (which yet in letters appeareth,) that into one town, in one vessel, were brought, at least, threescore gentlemen to be buried; and also an inhibition specially given out by the king, not to speak of the success in that journey. This was about the beginning of August, 1549, The like also might be noted of the losses of the said French king at Boulogne, the eighth day of August, the same year, as by the Lord Clinton's letters may well appear; but for spending of time I pass it over. What the meaning of the French king was in these voyages, or how he intended further to proceed, I have not herein to deal. This is certain and evident, that the mighty arm of God mercifully fought for King

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Edward his servant, to defend and deliver him from so many hard dangers, so dangerous and sundry commotions, stirred up in so many quarters within this realm, and also without the realm, and all within the compass of one year; and yet the Lord above, fighting for his true servant, despatched them all, as in story here ye have heard declared, and is no less worthy of all posterity to be noted.

230. Trial and Imprisonment of Edmund Bonner.

And thus much hitherto having discoursed touching the manifold troubles and tumults raised up on every side against King Edward by his unkind and unnatural subjects, and yet, notwithstanding, the gracious goodness of the Lord ever giving him the victory; now let us return again to Bonner, bishop of London, where we left him before, that is, in his own house, where he was by the council commanded to remain, as is above signified.

And now, forasmuch as we have to enter into the story of the said Bonner, for the better understanding of the whole order thereof, it shall be requisite to rip up and declare the matter, with the circumstances and occasions thereof, from the first beginning of King Edward's time. Where is to be understood, that King Edward, in the first year of his reign, A. D. 1547, the first day of September, for the order of his visitations, directed out certain commissioners, as Sir Anthony Cook, and Sir John Godsalue, knights, John Godsalue and Christopher Nevinson, doctors of the law, and John Madew, doctor of divinity; who, sitting in Paul's church upon their commission, the day and year aforesaid, there being present at the same time, Edmund, bishop of London, John Royston, Polydore Virgil, Peter Van, and others of the said cathedral church, after the sermon made, and the commission being read, ministered an oath unto the said bishop of London, to renounce and deny the bishop of Rome with his usurped authority, and to swear obedience unto the king, according to the effect and form of the statute made in the thirty-first year of King Henry the Eighth; also, that he should present and redress all and singular such things as were needful within the said church to be reformed.

Whereupon the said bishop humbly and instantly desired them that he might see their commission, only for this purpose and intent, (as he said,) that he might the better fulfil and put in execution the things wherein he was charged by them or their commission: unto whom the commissioners, answering, said, they would deliberate more upon the matter. And so they called the other ministers of the said church before them, and ministered the like oath unto them, as they did to the bishop before. To whom moreover, there and then, certain interrogatories and articles of inquisition were read by Peter Lilly the public notary. Which done, after their oaths taken, the said commissioners delivered unto the bishop aforesaid, certain injunctions, as well in print as written, and homilies set forth by the king; all which things the said bishop received, under the words of this protestation, as followeth

"I do receive these injunctions and homilies with this protestation, that I will observe them, if they be not contrary and repugnant to God's law and the statutes and ordinances of the church."

And immediately he added, with an oath, that he never read the said homilies and injunctions. The which protestation being made in manner and form aforesaid, the said Edmund Bonner bishop of London instantly desired and required Peter Lilly, the registrar aforesaid, there and then to register and enact the same. And so the said commissioners, delivering the

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injunctions and homilies to Master Bellasere, archdeacon of Colchester, and Gilbert Bourn, archdeacon of London, Essex, and Middlesex; and enjoining them, in most effectuous manner, under pains therein contained, to put the same in speedy execution, and also reserving other new injunctions to be ministered afterwards, as well to the bishop, as to the archdeacons aforesaid, according as they should see cause, &c., did so continue the said visitation till three of the clock the same day in the afternoon.

At the which hour and place assigned, the commissioners being set, and the canons and priests of the said church appearing before them, and being examined upon virtue of their oath, for their doctrine and conversation of life, first one John Painter, one of the canons of the said cathedral church, there and then openly confessed, that he, viciously and carnally, had often the company of a certain married man's wife, whose name he denied to declare: in the which crime divers other canons and priests of the aforesaid church, confessed in like manner, and could not deny themselves to be culpable.

And then, after the commissioners aforesaid had delivered to Master Royston, prebendary, and to the proctor of the dean and of the chapter of the said cathedral church of St. Paul, the king's injunctions, and the book of homilies, enjoining them to see the execution thereof, under pain therein specified, they prorogued their said visitation until seven of the clock the next day following.

By this visitation, above specified, it appears, gentle reader, first how Bonner made his protestation after the receiving of the king's injunctions, and also how he required the same to be put in public record. Furthermore, thou hast to note the unchaste life and conversation of these popish votaries and priests of Paul's. Now, what followed after this protestation of the bishop made, remaineth further, in the sequel of the story, to be declared; wherein, first thou shalt understand that the said bishop, shortly after his protestation, whether for fear, or for conscience, repenting himself, went unto the king, where he submitted himself, and recanting his former protestation, craved pardon of the king for his inordinate demeanour toward his Grace's commissioners, in the former visitation: which pardon, notwithstanding it was granted unto him by the king for the acknowledging of his fault, yet for the evil example of the fact, it was thought good that he should be committed to the Fleet, as by the tenor of the council's letter sent to the commissioners may appear; which, together with the form also of the bishop's protestation and of his recantation, here under followeth.

"To our very loving friends, Sir Anthony Cook, knight, and the rest of the commissioners for the visitation at London, in haste.

"After our hearty commendation: This shall be to signify unto you, that we have received your letters, and in the same enclosed the copy of the protestation made by the bishop of London in the time of your visitation at Paul's: your wise proceedings wherein, and advertisements from you, we take in very thankful part towards us. And because the said bishop, who, being here before us, hath acknowledged his indiscreet demeanour, did at that time, at Paul's, require the registrar of your visitation to make record and entry of his protestation, and now, upon better consideration of his duty, maketh means to have the same revoked, as shall appear unto you by the true copy of his writings enclosed, the original whereof, remaining with us, he hath

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subscribed; we pray you to cause the registrar to make entry of this his revocation, according to the tenor of this his said writing: further signifying unto you, that in respect of his offence, and the evil ensample that might thereupon ensue, we have thought meet to send him to the prison of the Fleet, whither he hath been conveyed by Master Vice-chamberlain. And whereas sundry things for the king's Majesty's service do now occur here, which require the present attendance of you, Sir John Godsalue, as well for your office of the signet, as of the prothonotaryship, we pray you that, leaving the execution of the visitation to the rest of your colleagues, you make your repair hither with convenient diligence. Thus fare you right heartily well.

"From Hampton Court, the 12th of September 1547.

"Your assured loving friends,

Thomas Canterbury,

William Paget,

William Saint John,

Anthony Brown,

John Russell

William Peter,

Thomas Seymour,

Anthony Dennie,

Edward North."

The form of Bonner's recantation.

"Whereas I, Edmund, bishop of London, at such time as I received the king's Majesty's injunctions and homilies of my most dread sovereign lord, at the hands of his Highness's visitors, did unadvisedly make such protestation as now, upon better consideration of my duty of obedience, and of the evil example that might ensue unto others thereof, appeareth to me neither reasonable, nor such as might well stand with the duty of an humble subject: forasmuch as the same protestation, at my request, was then, by the registrar of that visitation, enacted and put in record, I have thought it my duty not only to declare before your Lordships, that I do now, upon better consideration of my duty, renounce and revoke my said protestation; but also most humbly beseech your Lordships, that this my revocation of the same may be likewise put in the same records, for a perpetual memory of the truth; most humbly beseeching your good Lordships, both to take order that it may take effect, and also that my former and unadvised doings may be, by your good mediations, pardoned by the king's Majesty.

"EDMUND LONDON."

The registers of these affairs of Bonner's remain in the hands of Peter Lilly, then being registrar to the aforesaid commissioners.

Thus far thou hast heard, loving reader, first the popish protestation of Bonner; then how he, calling himself home again, solemnly recanted the same, requiring further the said his revocation to be committed to public record, for a perpetual remembrance. Also, how he, upon his humble submission, received his pardon of the king, and yet, for example's sake, was commanded to the Fleet; where he nevertheless did not long continue, but, according to the effect of the king's pardon before granted, was restored both to house and living again; which was in the first year of the king, A. D. 1547.

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After this ye have heard also, in the story above, in the second year, and a great part of the third year of the king, how he demeaned himself, although not most forward in advancing the king's proceedings, yet in such sort, as no great advantage by any law could be taken against him, both in swearing his obedience to the king, and so receiving his injunctions; also in confessing his assent and consent touching the state of religion then; and, furthermore, in directing out his letters, according to the archbishop of Canterbury's precepts, to Cloney his sumner, to the bishop of Westminster, and to other bishops, for abolishing of images, for abrogation of the mass, for Bibles to be set up, and for ministering in both kinds, with such other like matters of reformation; till at length he, hearing of the death of the lord admiral, the lord protector's brother, and after that of the stirring and rising of the king's subjects in sundry tumults against the king, began somewhat, as he durst, to draw back and slack his pastoral diligence, so that in many places of his diocese, and in London, the people not only were negligent in resorting to Divine service, but also did frequent and haunt foreign rites of masses, and other orders than in this realm were appointed; and he also himself, contrary to his wonted manner, upon principal feasts refused in his own person to execute. Whereupon he, being suspected and complained of, and convented before the king's council, (as ye heard before,) after sharp admonitions and reproofs, had certain private injunctions to him enjoined.

"1. That he should personally preach within three weeks after at Paul's Cross.

"2. That according as his predecessors were wont to celebrate mass, he at such wonted times should execute and administer the communion.

"3. That he should call before him and correct more diligently such transgressors as absented themselves from the order of service, and ministration of the Lord's board, appointed then in churches by the king's ordinance.

"4. That he should see more carefully and vigilantly to the punishment of adulterers and fornicators.

"5. That he, in the mean while, should be resident within his own house during the time while he should make his sermon at Paul's above mentioned, which was A. D. 1549."

In the which sermon certain special points were prefixed unto him, whereupon he should treat; which here in order follow, and are these:

Special points and articles to be treated of by Bonner, bishop of London, in his sermon.

"1. That all such as rebel against their prince, get unto them damnation, and those that resist the higher power, resist the ordinances of God; and he that dieth therefore in rebellion, by the word of God is utterly damned, and so loseth both body and soul. And therefore those rebels in Devonshire and Cornwall, in Norfolk, or elsewhere, who take upon them to assemble a power and force against their king and prince, against the laws and statutes of the realm, and go about to subvert the state and order of the commonwealth, not only do deserve therefore death as traitors and rebels, but do accumulate to themselves eternal damnation, even to be in the burning fire of hell with Lucifer, the father and first author of pride, disobedience, and rebellion, what pretences

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soever they have, and what masses or holy water soever they pretend, or go about to make among themselves; as Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, for rebellion against Moses, were swallowed down alive into hell, although they pretended to sacrifice unto God.

"2. Likewise, in the order of the church, and extern rites and ceremonies of Divine service, forasmuch as God requireth humility of heart, innocency of living, knowledge of him, charity and love towards our neighbours, and obedience to his word and to his ministers and superior powers, these we must bring to all our prayers, to all our service; and this is that sacrifice which Christ requireth, and these be those that make all things pleasant unto God. The extern rites and ceremonies be but exercises of our religion, and appointable by superior powers; in choosing whereof we must obey the magistrates; which things also we do see ever have been and shall be (as the time and place is) diverse, and yet all hath pleased God so long as these before spoken inward things be there. If any man shall use the old rites, and thereby disobey the superior power, the devotion of his ceremonies is made naught by his disobedience: so that which else (so long as the law did so stand) might be good, by pride and disobedience now is made naught: as Saul's sacrifice, Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, and Aaron's two children were. But whoso joineth to devotion obedience, he winneth the garland. For else it is a zeal, *sed non secundum scientiam*; a will, desire, zeal, and devotion, but not after wisdom; that is, a foolish devotion, which can require no thanks or praise. And yet again, where ye obey, ye must have devotion, for God requireth the heart more than the outward doings; and, therefore, he that taketh the communion, or saith or heareth the service appointed by the king's Majesty, must bring devotion and inward prayers with him, or else his prayers are but vain, lacking that which God requireth, that is, the heart and mind to pray to him.

"3. Further, ye shall, for example, on Sunday come seventh night, after the aforesaid date, celebrate the communion at Paul's church.

"4. Ye shall also set forth in your sermon, that. our authority of royal power is (as of truth it is) of no less authority and force in this our young age, than is or was that of any our predecessors, though the same were much older, as may appear by example of Josias, and other young kings, in Scripture; and therefore all our subjects to be no less bound to obedience of our precepts, laws, and statutes, than if we were of thirty or forty years of age."

The delivery of these injunctions and articles unto the bishop, (with the time of his appointed preaching,) was soon after known abroad among the citizens, and other the commons within the city of London, so that every man expected the time thereof, wishing to hear the same; which time being once come, the bishop, according to the tenor of the injunctions, publicly preached at the Cross of Paul's the first day of Septemiber. Howbeit, as hypocrisy never lurketh so secretly in the hearts of the wicked, but that, at one time or other, God, in his most righteous judgment, maketh it open unto the world; so, at this present, was that long, coloured, perverse obstinacy, and the infestered hatred of this double-faced dissembler against the king's godly proceedings, most plainly manifested by his disobedient demeanour in this his sermon. For, whereas he was commanded to treat only upon such special points as were mentioned in his articles, he yet, both besides the council's commandment, and to the withdrawing of the minds of the common people, as much as in him lay, from the right and true understanding of the holy sacrament, ministered in the holy communion then set forth by the authority of the king's

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Majesty, (according to the true sense of the Holy Scripture,) did spend most part of his sermon about the gross, carnal, and papistical presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar; and also, contrary thereunto, did not only slenderly touch the rest of his articles, but, of a rebellious and wilful carelessness, did utterly leave out unspoken the whole last article, concerning the as effectual and as lawful authority of the king's Highness during his young age, as if he were thirty or forty years old; notwithstanding the same (because it was the traitorous opinion of the popish rebels) was, by special commandment, chiefly appointed him to treat upon.

This contemptuous and disobedient dealing, as it greatly offended most of the king's faithful and loving subjects there present, so did it much mislike the minds, and was far from the good expectation, as well of that faithful and godly preacher Master John Hooper, afterwards bishop of Worcester and Gloucester, and lastly, a most constant martyr for the gospel of Christ, and also of Master Hugh Latimer, bachelor of divinity: and therefore they, well weighing the foulness of the fact, and their bounden allegiances unto their prince, did thereupon exhibit unto the king's Highness, under both their names, a bill of complaint or denunciation against the said bishop, in form following:

"In most humble wise show unto your Majesty Hugh Latimer and John Hooper, that whereas of late, as we be certainly informed from your Majesty, by the hand of the right high and noble Prince Edward, duke of Somerset, governor of your royal person, and protector of all your Highness's realms, dominions, and subjects, and the rest of your privy council, there were certain injunctions given to the bishop of London that now is, with articles to be insinuated and preached unto your subjects at a certain day limited, the which injunctions and articles did only tend to the honour of God, and the better instruction of your Highness's people to obedience, and hatred of rebellion and mutiny, wherewith of late this your Majesty's realm hath been marvellously vexed, to the danger of your Highness's person, and the state of the whole realm; and, therefore, a thing at this time most necessary to be taught unto the people, that they might know their duty unto your Majesty, and unto Almighty God; and especially to acknowledge your Majesty in these years and age to be a perfect high and sovereign lord and king, and supreme head, whose laws, proclamations, and commandments we are bound to obey, as well as any prince's subjects are bound to obey the laws, proclamations, and commandments of their natural and sovereign lord, notwithstanding that nature hath not yet given unto your person such age as, we trust, she shall, nor so many years, which we wish to be so many as any prince ever had, the which years do not make you king or prince, but the right of your birth, and lawful succession whatsoever it be, so that we all must as well acknowledge your Majesty to be our king and prince, at these years, as if you were at the age of thirty or forty years, and your laws and statutes no less to be feared and obeyed, than if your Highness were fifty or a hundred years old (the which thing not only is most certainly true, but also at this time most necessarily to be taught, especially when divers rebels have openly declared, that they would not obey your Highness's laws, nor acknowledge the statutes made by your Majesty to be available, till you come to the age of twenty years): and this not only being so, but the same thing being commanded by your said Majesty, amongst other injunctions and articles given in writing to the said Edmund Bonner, to be preached in his last sermon, as by the same injunctions may appear, of the which the true copy we have, when need is, to be showed: yet all this notwithstanding, the said Bonner, of what zeal or mind we cannot tell, whether favouring the opinion of the said rebels, or contemning your Highness's commandment declared unto him, hath not only left out to declare the said article, which we

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most and chiefly expected and looked for, but also, in all the rest of his sermon, did not so fully and apertly declare the said injunctions and articles, as to our judgment did appear they ought to have been declared, and was of no light ground looked for, entreating of others far distant and diverse from the articles upon the which he was commanded to entreat, and such as most should move and stir up the people to disorder and dissension; willingly leaving out those things which should have made quiet and obedience. Wherefore, not moved of any malice, grudge, envy, or evil will to the person of the bishop, but constrained by the love and zeal which we bear towards your Highness, and of our duty and allegiance to your Majesty, whose honour and safety, with tranquillity, quietness, and good governance of this your realm, we do most desire, and for the discharge of our most bounden duties, to avoid all the dangers that might ensue of the concealment thereof, we most humbly do declare the same to your Highness, to the intent that your Majesty, by the advice aforesaid, may, if it please your Highness, at this our humble denunciation, call the said bishop to answer to the premises, the which we are ready to avow and prove; and then your Highness may take further order herein, as to your princely wisdom shall seem most convenient, whose long life and most prosperous government God Almighty long continue, for the which we shall pray during our lives."

The king's Majesty having thus, by the information of these two credible persons, perfect intelligence of the contemptuous and perverse negligence of this bishop, in not accomplishing his Highness's commandment given him by injunction, thought it most necessary, with all convenient speed, (for the avoiding of further inconveniences,) to look more severely unto the due punishment of such dangerous, rebellious obstinacy; and, therefore, by the advice of the lord protector, and the rest of his honourable council, immediately he directed forth his commission under his broad seal unto the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Rochester, and to other grave and trusty personages and councillors, appointing and authorizing all them, or certain of them, by virtue of the same, to call before them, as well the bishop of London, as also the aforesaid denouncers, and upon due examination and proof of the premises, or any other matter otherwise to be objected, further to proceed against him summarily *et de plano*, according to law and justice, either to suspension, excommunication, committing to prison, or deprivation (if the quality of the offence so required): or otherwise, to use any other censure ecclesiastical, which, for the better hearing and determining of that cause, might to their wisdoms seem more pertinent, as appeareth more amply by the tenor of the commission here ensuing.

"Edward the Sixth, &c. To the most reverend father in God, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, metropolitan and primate of England, the right reverend father in God, Nicholas bishop of Rochester, our trusty and right well-beloved councillors, Sir William Peter and Sir Thomas Smith, knights, our two principal secretaries, and William May, doctor of the law civil, and dean of Paul's, greeting: It is come to our knowledge, that where we, by the advice of our most entirely beloved uncle Edward, duke of Somerset, governor of our person, and protector of all our realms, dominions, and subjects, and the rest of our privy council, did give to the right reverend father in God Edmund, bishop of London, upon certain complaints before made unto us, and other great considerations, certain injunctions to be followed, done, and executed; and, in a sermon appointed to him to preach by us with certain articles, and for the more sure knowledge, keeping, and observing, did exhibit the same in writing unto him by the hands of our said uncle, in the fulfilling of our council: all this notwithstanding, the said bishop hath, in contempt of us, (as it may appear,) overslipped and not observed certain of the said things so by

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us enjoined, and others so perversely and negligently done, that the things minded of us to reformation, and for a good quiet of our subjects and our whole realm, be converted, by the wilful negligence or perversity of him, to a great occasion of slander, tumult, and grudge amongst our people, as it hath been denounced to us in writing by certain honest and discreet persons, and otherwise called. The which things if they be so, we, tendering the health, quietness, good order, and government of our people, have not thought convenient to be let past unpunished and unreformed, and therefore, by the advice aforesaid, have appointed you five, four, or three, upon whose fidelities, wisdoms, dexterities, and circumspections, we have full confidence, to call before you as well the denouncers of the said faults, as also the said bishop; and, with due examinations and process, according to the law and justice, to hear the said matter, and all other matters, of what kind, nature, or condition soever they shall be, that shall be objected against the said bishop, summarily, *et de plano* or otherwise, as to your discretions shall be thought most meet, with full power and authority to suspend, excommunicate, commit to prison, or deprive the said bishop, if the offence shall so appear to merit, or to use any other censure ecclesiastical, which, for the better hearing and determining of the cause shall be requisite and appertain: any law, statute, or act to the contrary notwithstanding. In witness whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patents.

"Witness ourself at Westminster, the eighth of September, in the third year of our reign.

The commission, being sealed with the king's broad seal, was by his Highness's council forthwith delivered at the court unto Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, and the rest of the commissioners mentioned in the same, being there all together present; who, upon the receipt thereof, determined, by virtue of the same, to sit at the archbishop's house at Lambeth, the Wednesday then next ensuing, which was the tenth day of that present month of September, and therefore appointed the bishop of London to be summoned to appear before them, as at that time and place. The manner of whose behaviour at his appearance, because it both declareth the froward nature and stubborn condition of the person, and also what estimation and authority he thought the commissioners to be of, I thought it not unmeet first, before I enter into the process, somewhat to note and describe unto you.

At his first entry into the place within the archbishop's house at Lambeth, where the archbishop and others of the commissioners sat, he passed forth directly by them with his cap upon his head, (making as though he saw them not,) until one plucked him by the sleeve, willing him to do reverence unto the commissioners: whereat he laughingly turned himself, and spake unto the archbishop on this wise: "What, my Lord! are you here? by my troth I saw you not." "No," said the archbishop, "you would not see." "Well," quoth he, "you sent for me: have you any thing to say to me?" "Yea," said the commissioners, "we have here authority from the king's Highness to call you to an account for your sermon you made lately at Paul's Cross, for that you did not there publish to the people the article which you were commanded then to preach upon." At which words the bishop, either for that he did not greatly delight to hear of this matter, or else because he would make his friends believe that he was called to account only for his opinion in religion, (as afterwards in the sequel of this process it more plainly appeareth,) began to turn his talk unto other matters, and said unto the archbishop, "In good faith, my Lord, I would one thing were had in more reverence than it is." "What is it?" said the archbishop. "The blessed mass," quoth he: "you have written very well of the sacrament; I marvel you do no more honour it." The archbishop of Canterbury, therewith perceiving his subtlety, and seeing his gross blindness, to

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commend that which was utterly contrary to his opinion, said unto him again: "If you think it well, it is because you understand it not." The other then, adding unto his former gross ignorance an obstinate impudency, answered, "I think I understand it better than you that wrote it." Unto which words the archbishop replied, "Truly I will easily make a child that is but ten years old to understand therein as much as you. But what is this to the matter?"

Moreover, at what time as they began to enter the judicial prosecuting of their commission, and had called forth the denouncers to propound such matter as they had to object against him, he, hearing them speak, fell to scorning and taunting of them, saying to the one, that he spake like a goose; and to the other, that he spake like a woodcock; utterly denying their accusations to be true. Whereupon the archbishop seeing his peevish malice against the denouncers, asked him, if he would not believe them, whether he would credit the people there present? and therewithal (because many of them were also at the bishop's sermon at Paul's) he stood up and read the article of the king's authority during his young age; saying unto them, "How say you, my Masters! did my Lord of London preach this article?" whereunto they answered, "No, no." At which words the bishop turning himself about, deriding said, "Will you believe this fond people?"

Besides this, at all his appearings he used many irreverent, uncomely, obstinate, and froward words and behaviours towards the commissioners and others, (in defacing their authority with the terms of pretended commissioners, pretended witnesses, and unjust, unlawful, and pretended proceedings, with recusation of some, and terming others daws, woodcocks, fools, and such like,) which I will here omit, for they do more manifestly appear in the sequel of the story in the time and place as they happened; adding yet this much by the way, that although such stoutness of heart and will, if it had been in a cause true and rightful, might have perchance seemed, in some men's judgment, to be somewhat sufferable, yet, to say the truth, in what case soever it be, being immoderate, as this shall appear, it beseemed no wise man, and therefore much less one of his calling. For, if his cause had been good, why did he not take the wrong patiently and meekly, as the true canon law of the gospel doth teach him? If it were (as it was indeed) naught and wrong, whereto served so bold sturdy stoutness, but to show the impudency of the person, and to make the case worse, which was bad enough before? But belike he was disposed to declare, if need were, what he was able to do in the law, in shifting off the matter by subtle dilatories, and frivolous cavilling about the law. And if that would not help, yet with facing and bracing, and railing upon the denouncers with furious words, and irreverent behaviour toward the king's commissioners, he thought to countenance out the matter before the people, that something might seem yet to be in him, whatsoever was in the cause. For to conclude, for all his crafty cautels and tergiversations alleged out of the law, yet neither his cause could be so defended, nor his behaviour so excused, but that he was therefore both justly imprisoned, and also, in the end, most lawfully deprived; as by the sequel of this process may well appear, the manner whereof is as followeth.

The first action or session against Bonner, before the king's commissioners.

Upon Wednesday, the tenth day of September, in the year of our Lord 1549, and in the third year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth, Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, metropolitan and primate of all England, associated with Nicholas Ridley, then bishop of

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Rochester, Sir William Peter, knight, one of the king's two principal secretaries, and Master William May, doctor of the civil law, and dean of Paul's, by virtue of the king's commission, sat judicially upon the examination of Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, within the archbishop's chamber of presence, at his house in Lambeth, before whom there then also personally appeared the said bishop. At which time the commissioners, first showing forth their commission, requested Sir William Peter, that he would openly publish and read the same. That done, the archbishop, in the name of the rest, declared unto the bishop, that a grievous complaint had been heretofore made and exhibited against him in writing, unto the king's Majesty and his most honourable council, and that therefore his Highness, with their advice, had committed the examination thereof unto him, and other his colleagues there present; as also, unto Sir Thomas Smith, knight, the other of his Majesty's two principal secretaries, though then absent: and therewithal showed also forth a bill of complaint, exhibited unto the king by Hugh Latimer and John Hooper, ministers; which they likewise requested Sir William Peter to read.

These things ended, the bishop, like a subtle lawyer, having most like some secret intelligence before of these matters, (whatsoever he pretended to the contrary,) pulled out of his bosom a solemn protestation ready written, which he then exhibited unto the commissioners, requesting that the same might he there openly read.

This protestation being read, he requested the commissioners that he might have the bill of complaint delivered him; which when he had well perused, he said, that the same was very general, and so general as that he could not directly answer thereunto. Whereunto the archbishop answered, that the special cause of the complaint against him was, for that he had transgressed the king's commandment, given unto him by his council, in that he, in his late sermon made at Paul's Cross, did not set forth unto the people the king's Highness's royal power in his minority, according to the tenor of the article delivered unto him by them for that purpose; and for proof thereof called forth Hugh Latimer and John Hooper, preachers, who before that time had put up the bill of complaint unto the king against him.

Upon whom when the bishop had earnestly looked, and well beheld them, he said, "As for this merchant Latimer, I know him very well, and have borne with him, and winked at his doings a great while, but I have more to say to him hereafter. But as touching this other merchant Hooper, I have not seen him before, howbeit I have heard much of his naughty preaching." And then, turning himself again unto the archbishop, (of purpose, most like, to make his friends think that he was not called thither to answer for his contemptuous disobedience, but for matters of religion,) said unto him, "Ah, my lord! now I see that the cause of my trouble is not for the matter that you pretend against me, but it is for that I did preach and set forth in my late sermon the true presence of the most blessed body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ to be in the sacrament of the altar. For as for these my accusers, as they be evil, infamed, notorious, and crimiminous persons, so are they manifest and notable heretics and seducers of the people, especially touching the sacrament of the altar; and most of all this Hooper. For whereas, in my late sermon at Paul's Cross, I preached, that in the blessed sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration, there is the true body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, the selfsame in substance that was hanged and shed upon the cross, he, the same day at afternoon, having a great rabblement with him of his damnable sect, openly in the pulpit, within my diocese, did preach erroneously to the people against it; and maliciously inveighing against my sermon, denied the

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verity and presence of Christ's true body and blood to be in the same sacrament, and also falsely and untruly interpreted and expounded my words. And especially, where I preached and affirmed the very true body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ to be in the said sacrament, the selfsame in substance that was hanged and shed upon the cross, he, like an ass, (as he is an ass indeed,) falsely changed and turned the word 'that' into 'as,' like an ass, saying, that I had said as it hanged, as it was shed upon the cross."

The archbishop hereupon, perceiving the bishop's drift, and hearing him talk so much of the presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament, said unto him, "My Lord of London! ye speak much of a presence in the sacrament; what presence is there, and of what presence do you mean?" Wherewith the bishop, being somewhat stirred and moved in his mind, (as appeared by his cholerick countenance,) spake again to the archbishop very earnestly, and said, "What presence, my Lord? I say and believe that there is the very true presence of the body and blood of Christ. What believe you, and how do you believe, my Lord?" Upon which words the archbishop, because he saw his answer dark and subtle, and minding somewhat to nip the gross absurdities of the papists, asked him further, whether he were there, face, nose, mouth, eyes, arms, and lips, with other lineaments of his body? Whereat the bishop shaking his head, said, "Oh! I am right sorry to hear your Grace speak these words;" and therewith boldly urged the archbishop to show his mind therein; who wisely weighing the fond presumption of the party, with the place and occasion of their assembly, refused then so to do, saying, that their being there at that time was, not to dispute of those matters, but to prosecute their commission committed to them by their prince; and therefore willed him to answer them unto such things as were objected against him.

Whereupon, under his protestation, he required to have a copy both of the commission, and also of the denunciation given unto him, with time to answer thereto; which the commissioners willingly granted, assigning him there to appear again before them upon Friday then next following, at eight o'clock before noon; and then to answer the tenor of the denunciation. And so, for that day, (he complaining somewhat of the shortness of his time to answer,) they all together departed.

The second appearance of Bonner in the chapel of Lambeth, before the archbishop and other four commissioners, the bishop of Rochester, secretary Peter, secretary Smith, and the dean of Paul's.

Upon Friday, the thirteenth of September afore-named, four commissioners, associated then also with Sir Thomas Smith, knight, the other of the king's two principal secretaries, and joint commissioner with them, sat judicially in the archbishop's chapel, within his house at Lambeth; before whom (according to their former assignment) there and then appeared the bishop of London. To whom the archbishop, in the name of the rest, first said, "My Lord of London! the last time you were before us, we laid certain articles and matter to your charge touching your disobedience to the king's Majesty, and you have this day to make your answer thereunto: wherefore now show us what you have to say for your defence."

Whereto the bishop, first asking the archbishop if he had all said and done, and he again saying "Yea," made this answer: "My Lord, the last day that I appeared before you, I remember

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there sat in the kings Majesty's commission, your Grace, you my Lord of Rochester, you Master Secretary Peter, and you Master Dean of Paul's; hut now, I perceive, there sitteth also Master Secretary Smith, who, because he sat not at the beginning, nor took there the commission upon him, ought not so to do: for by the law, they that begin, must continue the commission."

Whereupon the archbishop first answered, that he was no lawyer, and therefore could not certainly show what the law willeth in that case; "But," saith he, "if the law be so indeed, surely I take it to be an unreasonable law." "Well," said the bishop, "there be here that know the law, and yet I say not this to the intent to stand or stick much in this point with you, but to tell it you as it were by the way; for I have here mine answer ready."

Then said Master Secretary Peter to the bishop, "My Lord! in good sooth I must say unto you, that although I have professed the law, yet, by discontinuance and disuse thereof, and having been occupied a long time in other matters from study of the law, I have perhaps forgotten what the law will do precisely in this point. But, admit the law were so as you say, yet yourself know, my Lord, that this is our certain rule in law, *quad consuetudo eat juris interpres optimus*: and I am sure you will not, and cannot deny, but that the custom is commonly in this realm in all judgments and commissions used to the contrary; and, in very deed, we all together at the court, having the commission presented unto us, took it upon us; and therefore, for you to stick in such trifling matters, you shall rather in my judgment hurt yourself and your matter, than otherwise."

"Truly, Master Secretary!" said the bishop, "I have also of long while been disused in the study of law, but having occasion, partly by reason of this matter, to turn my books, I find the law to be as I say; and yet, as I said, I tell you hereof but by the way, not minding to stick much with you in that point."

At which words, Master Secretary Smith said also unto the bishop, "Well, my Lord of London! as cunning as you make yourself in the law, there be here that know the law as well as you: and for my part I have studied the law too, and I promise you these be but quiddities and quirks invented to delay matters, but our commission is to proceed summarily, and straitforwardly, and to cut off such frivolous allegations."

"Well," said the bishop again, "look well on your commission, and you shall find therein these words, 'To proceed according to the law and justice;' and I ask both law and justice at your hands."

Then Master Secretary Peter willed him to stand no more thereupon, but to proceed unto his answer: whereupon he took forth a writing, wherein was contained his answer to the denunciation exhibited the day before by Latimer and Hooper, and delivering it unto the archbishop, said, that it was of his own hand-writing, and for lack of sufficient time written so hastily and coarsely, that it could scarcely be read by any other, and therefore he desired to read it himself; and so taking it again, read it openly, the copy whereof here followeth:

"I Edmund, bishop of London, concerning Hugh Latimer, and John Hooper, the pretended denunciators of this matter here now before you, and for answer unto the unlawful, untrue, and uncharitable, pretended denunciation of them, lately indeed, contrary to justice and

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good reason, exhibited here and read before you, under protestation heretofore made by me, and read unto you, remaining in the acts of this court, unto which I refer me, and have the same here again for repeated and rehearsed to all purposes agreeable to the law, do, for my necessary defence and help, allege and say as followeth:

"I. First, I do allege and say, that the said Hugh Latimer, and John Hooper, or either of them, were not, nor now are, to be admitted in any wise, by virtue of this or any other commission, as denunciators against me their bishop; especially, for that they and either of them have, as well before the time of their pretended denunciation, and also then and since, been and be, vile and infamed, notorious, criminous persons, and also open and manifest notable heretics, especially concerning the sacrament of the catholic church, and namely concerning the blessed sacrament of the altar; by reason of which their heresies, they were and be, by the order of the said catholic church, here in this realm of England, justly and duly excommunicated and accursed, and have divided themselves thereby from the unity and integrity of Christ's catholic church; and for such persons they have been and are named, reputed, and taken openly, notoriously, and commonly, amongst the catholic people of this realm of England, and especially of this city of London; familiarly haunting and conversant with sacramentaries, and openly known condemned heretics, and favourers and abettors of the same, and their detestable and pestilent doctrine and heresy.

"II. Item, That the said John Hooper, amongst other his poisoned and venomous doctrine, and amongst other his erroneous, detestable, and abominable errors and heresies taught and spread abroad here within this realm, infecting and poisoning the king's subjects therewith, hath, before the time of the said pretended denunciation, damnably and detestably made divers erroneous and heretical books, especially one, entitled, A Declaration of Christ, and of his Office, printed (as he falsely surmiseth) in Zurich, by Augustine Friars, wherein he, in many places, heretically and damnably denieth the true presence of Christ's body in the blessed sacrament of the altar, and also, in effect, denieth the verity of Christ's blessed body upon the cross, calling it 'mathematical,' and excluding thereby the true and very substance thereof.

"III. Item, The said John Hooper doth persevere, and continueth still, in his said poisoned and wicked venomous doctrine, in all points maintaining and defending the same, and every part thereof, all the ways he can, especially against the presence of Christ's blessed body in the sacrament of the altar; and his said books, especially the said Declaration of Christ and of his Office, he doth yet allow and maintain as good and catholic, whereas indeed it is heretical, wicked, and damnable: the contents of which doctrine and book so entitled, the said Latimer, especially touching the heresy against the verity of Christ's body, and his true presence in the sacrament of the altar, hath heard, taught, read, preached, believed, holden, maintained, and kept; and so, at this present, doth yet believe, hold, maintain, and keep; contrary to the faith of Christ's catholic church, and the unity of the same observed amongst all true Christian people; incurring thereby heresy, excommunication, and schism, to the loss both of their souls, and of their believers'.

"IV. Item, That the said Latimer and Hooper, and either of them, being of these vile and detestable qualities, and consequently, by the ordinance of the catholic church of Christ, as well of this realm, as also throughout all Christendom, being so excommunicated and cast out thereby

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from the said church, are not to this pretended denunciation against me their bishop, nor to any judicial act, to be admitted, nor yet to be accompanied withal, or answered unto; but are, by Scripture, and the order of Christ's catholic church here in this realm, utterly and truly to be excluded, avoided, detested, eschewed, and abhorred, in all manner of wise, of all faithful and true Christian people, fearing God, and desiring the advancement of the truth.

"V. Item, That whereas the said Latimer and Hooper, in their said pretended denunciation, amongst other things, do untruly deduce that they have made their said pretended denunciation, not moved of any malice or evil will, but for the good tranquillity and governance of this realm, which, as they pretend in their gay and glorious proem, they would seem to have a great care and solicitude of, whereas in very deed they, and such as they are, by sundry ways, and especially by their corrupt doctrine, and heretical, naughty preaching, and infecting of the king's Majesty's people, have disturbed and greatly inquieted the good tranquillity and governance of this realm, as evidently and notoriously it is well known; the truth is, that this their saying is evidently and plainly false; for notorious it is, and lawfully shall be proved, that the said Hooper, conspiring with the said Latimer, and other heretics of their factious sect and damnable opinion, did, the first day of September last past, after that I, the said bishop of London, had made the sermon at Paul's Cross, assemble maliciously, uncharitably, and unlawfully, a great rabblement of such as himself is, within my diocese and jurisdiction, and, under the colour of reading, did openly and manifestly rail and inveigh against me the said bishop, for my said sermon; not for such matter, pretence, or cause, as is falsely and untruly surmised in the said pretended denunciation, but only and chiefly for that I, the said bishop, as became a Christian man, and especially him that had and hath cure and charge of his flock, faithfully and truly to teach them, did, taking occasion of the communion not frequented nor revered, but neglected and contemned, confess and declare my faith and belief openly before my audience, touching the blessed sacrament of the altar, ministered in the same communion, affirming, as the catholic church affirmeth and teacheth, that in the blessed sacrament of the altar there is the very true body of our Saviour Christ, the selfsame in substance that hanged upon the cross, and the very true blood of our Saviour Christ, the selfsame in substance that was shed upon the cross. Against which affirmation and assertion, being catholic and true, the said John Hooper (albeit now colourably, and falsely, and foolishly, he pretendeth another matter more plausible in his opinion and judgment in sundry places of the city and suburbs of London) hath since that time maliciously inveighed and taught, learning and teaching his audience heretically (being many in number, and assembling in great routs) to reprove, contemn, and despise the said blessed sacrament of the altar, and not to have a true and faithful belief of it, as hitherto always the catholic church hath ever had, the said William Latimer, and the rabblement of his complices, conspiring and agreeing in points therein, and inducing others to do the same; not making any such pretence at all (as they, in their said pretended denunciation, do falsely surmise and deduce); but only and chiefly offended for my said assertion, and affirmation of the verity of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar.

"Item, That whereas the said Hugh Latimer and John Hooper, in their said pretended denunciation, do further deduce, and falsely surmise, that I, the said bishop of London, had delivered to me from the king's Majesty, by the hands of the lord protector's Grace, and the rest of the king's Majesty's council, certain injunctions with articles to be insinuated and preached to the king's Majesty's subjects, at a certain day limited, and after such sort, form, and manner, as is

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in the said pretended denunciation surmised untruly and deduced: it is notorious and evident, as well by the tenor and continue of that writing which was to me, the said bishop of London, delivered by the hands of Sir Thomas Smith, knight, one of the two principal secretaries to the king's Majesty, as otherwise, that the said surmise, in such sort and fashion as it is deduced and made, is not true in this behalf, referring me to the tenor of the said writing, which neither was signed with the king's Majesty's hand, nor sealed with any his Majesty's seal or signet, nor yet subscribed by any of the said council, or delivered after such sort as is alleged and pretended, as more evidently hereafter shall appear, and sufficiently be proved, for my lawful necessary defence in this behalf.

"VI. Item, That in case any such injunctions, with articles after such form and fashion, had been so delivered unto me as is surmised and pretended, yet false and untrue it is that I, the said bishop, either left out, or refused to declare the same for any such cause or causes falsely and untruly surmised in the said pretended denunciation, or else so perversely and negligently did, as likewise in the said pretended denunciation is deduced; which thing may well appear in the discourse of my said sermon, where, in substance and effect, I declared faithfully and truly these points specially following; that is to wit, that all such as rebel against their prince, get unto them damnation, and those that refuse the higher power resist the ordinance of God; and he that dieth therefore in rebellion, is by the word of God utterly damned, and so loseth both body and soul, alleging for this purpose the 13th chapter of St. Paul to the Romans, and it at large declaring unto the audience. Furthermore, speaking of the rebels in Devonshire, Cornwall, Norfolk, and elsewhere within this realm; standing in doubt whether I might put them in the place of those that put trust in themselves and despised all others, or in the place of both, doing as they did; forgetting God, not duly considering the king's Majesty, their supreme head next and immediately under God; forgetting their wives, their children, their kinsfolk, their alliance, acquaintance, and friends, yea, themselves, and their native country, and most unnaturally rebelling against their sovereign lord and king, whom, by God's law they were bound to love, serve, and faithfully obey; I did, to the best of my power, dissuade rebellion, and exhort the audience unto true obedience being thus commanded: And all rebellion being, in like manner, forbidden, under pain of eternal damnation, all these rebels in Cornwall, Devonshire, Norfolk, or elsewhere, who take upon them to assemble a power or force against their king and prince, against the laws and statutes of the realm, and went about to subvert the order of the commonwealth, did not only deserve therefore death, as rebels and traitors, but also did accumulate unto themselves eternal damnation, even to be in the burning fire of hell, with Lucifer, the father and first author of pride, disobedience, and rebellion.

"And here I did ask, who had induced the said rebels thus to do? To which I answered by another question, demanding who moved and induced Eve to take the apple and break her obedience against God's commandment? who moved also and induced Cain to kill his brother Abel? yea, who moved Judas the apostle to betray his Master, Christ? Was it not the devil? Yes truly, and he it is (said I) that of his great malice and hatred to men and good order hath moved and induced these rebels to do this unnatural rebellion against their prince and sovereign lord. Whereupon I asked, what pretences they had, and, answering thereto, said, that amongst others they had masses and holy water; upon which I, exclaiming against them, said, Good Lord! is not this a marvellous thing, to palliate, colour, excuse, and maintain rebellion and inobedience, to pretend mass or holy water? as who saith that these things had been instituted and ordained to

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defend, maintain, and excuse rebellion, treason, and inobedience; which I told the audience they could not do. And thereupon I brought four texts of Scripture to prove this thing that I said, alleging Numbers xvi.; 1 Kings xx.; Leviticus x., and the fourth, that myself added also, St. Luke xiii., setting them forth the best I could, as one not much exercised in preaching, but restrained therefrom. And here I concluded, that whatsoever pretences these rebels had of masses, holy water, or such other, it could not in any wise excuse or defend their rebellion and inobedience, referring myself herein to the indifferent hearers in the said audience.

"And here, pulling out a writing, sent from the king's Majesty's privy council unto me, touching the victory against the said rebels, which for brevity of time my memory would not serve to declare without book, I did rehearse it in writing word by word; in doing whereof it well appeared, that I did not favour the opinion of the said rebels, or maintain their enterprise, but contrariwise did detest them and all their doings, declaring obedience to be better than sacrifice; and that in disobedience and rebellion nothing could or did please Almighty God. Further, taking occasion of the proud Pharisee and the humble Publican ascending into the temple to pray, and noting the outward and extern doing of them both, with the success thereof, I declared to the audience touching the order of the church and the extern rites and ceremonies of the divine service, that forasmuch as God requireth humility of heart, innocency of living, knowledge of him, charity and love to our neighbour, and obedience to his word, to his ministers, and to the superior powers, we must bring all these things to all our prayers, to all our service; and that this is the sacrifice that Christ requireth, and that these be the things that make all other things pleasant to Almighty God: further saying, that the extern rites are but exercises of religion, and appointed by superior powers, and that in the choosing thereof we must obey the magistrates, and that we also do see that those things ever have been, and shall be, diverse, as the time and place is; and yet all hath pleased God, so long as humility of heart, innocency of living, knowing of God, charity and love to our neighbour, with obedience to God's word, God's ministers, and the superior powers, are concurrent and present therewith.

"VII. Moreover, I then said, that if any man should use rites, and disobey thereby the superior powers, the devotion of his ceremony was made evil by his disobedience; insomuch that that which (standing the law) might be good, was, by pride, disobedience, and rebellion, made evil and unprofitable; putting example in the fact of Saul, reserving the fat sheep for sacrifice; and in Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, and also in Nadab and Abihu, Aaron's two children, and in the Galileans, whose blood Pilate did mix with their sacrifices. And thereupon I told the audience that they must do herein especially two things: the first, they must join to and with their devotion faithful obedience, and then they shall win the garland, and otherwise have a zeal, *sed non secundum scientiam*, deserving no thank or praise of God; and also they must, with and to their obedience, join devotion, knowing that God more doth require and consider the heart, than the outward doing. And thereupon I exhorted the audience, that when they came to take the communion, or to hear or say the service, appointed by the king's Majesty, they must bring devotion and inward prayer with them, or else their prayers shall be but vain, as wanting and lacking that thing which God requireth, that is, the heart and mind to pray to him. And herein, because I marvelled that the communion was no more frequented now-a-days, and lamenting the irreverent coming to it and using of it; fearing that it proceeded of an evil opinion and belief touching the sacrament of the altar, ministered and distributed at the same communion; and to the intent to make the people have better opinion of it than they seemed to have, I did faithfully,

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truly, and plainly declare my belief of the said sacrament, wherewith the said Latimer and Hooper, with their complices, were so much offended and aggrieved.

"VIII. Item, That whereas the said Hugh Latimer and John Hooper do further, in the said pretended denunciation, untruly and uncharitably deduce and allege, that I, in my said sermon, did treat of such things as most should move and stir up the people to disorder and dissension, it doth hereby evidently and clearly appear, that either the said pretended denunciators do take and esteem a declaration faithfully made of the loyal obedience of subjects to the king's Majesty, the supreme and sovereign lord, and the great peril and danger of rebellion committed by subjects against their king and prince and sovereign lord, to be a moving, provoking, and stirring-up of people to discord and dissension: or else that the affirmation and assertion catholic of the verity of Christ's body and blood in the blessed sacrament of the altar, set forth by me as afore, doth effect and work such disorder and dissension. For evident it is to all those which indifferently heard my said sermon, that I (grounding myself upon Scripture, and taking occasion of the Sunday then occurrent) did speak specially and earnestly of these two things, without taxing of any man specially by name, or other circumstance, to slander them thereby; and I did both set forth the obedience and duty of all subjects generally to their king, and specially, of subjects of this realm to the king's Majesty that now is, whose minority to all people of this realm is more than manifest, and is also apparent or evidently known to all the whole world beside. And also, I did then declare and lay open the imminent danger and great peril of rebellion in subjects against the high powers and authority, and also specially of the rebellion late committed by them of Devonshire, Cornwall, Norfolk, and elsewhere, against the king's Majesty that now is, which I would not have done, except I both had believed that all the king's subjects without exception were bound to obey the king's Majesty, even as he now is, was, and shall be, during his life, which our Lord long preserve to all our comforts and wealth! and also that the rebellion of late so committed against his Majesty was damnable, and utterly detestable and condemned by God's law: and herein I refer me to the indifferent hearers of this my sermon, wishing that this Latimer and Hooper, with all the rest of these new preachers, did mean as faithfully, truly, obediently, and catholicly, as I always have done, towards the king's Majesty, his honour, authority, royal power, and surety of his person and realm; and did not more move, encourage, and stir the king's Majesty's subjects to sedition, tumult, and inobedience, by their erroneous doctrine and teaching, than I did at any time encourage, move, or stir any of them in any wise, or give occasion to any of the same.

"IX. Item, Whereas the said Hugh Latimer and John Hooper do falsely surmise in their pretended denunciation, that it was of no light ground looked for, that I, the said bishop of London, should more apertly have declared the injunctions and articles aforesaid, and that it did so appear unto their judgments; I do say, that their judgments are corrupted and only set to slander and picking of quarrels in this behalf, being well assured and so credibly informed, that all the worshipful and honest catholic persons of my said audience were fully satisfied, both as touching obedience to the king's Majesty in his tender age and minority, and also touching the penalty and great peril of punishments of the rebellion so lately committed against the said Majesty by the aforesaid rebels. And, moreover, I do say, that before my lord protector's Grace, and the rest of the king's Majesty's most honourable council then present, I made my excuse, and alleged many impediments for my not preaching at the Cross; and did not further promise but to do the best I could, which of my fidelity and conscience I did; not omitting any thing of purpose

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or evil will, that might be to the satisfaction of all people, both good and bad, in every condition and point; specially, in this behalf, collecting and gathering together, with all diligent study, all that might make, in my judgment and opinion, for the better setting forth of the same."

Thus have you Bonner's answer to the denunciation aforesaid: wherein first he alleged, or rather shamelessly and slanderously cavilled:

"That those his denouncers were vile, infamed, and notorious criminous persons, and also open and manifest heretics, as well against the rest of the sacraments of the church, as chiefly against the sacrament of the altar; and were for the same, by the orders of the church, excommunicated and accursed, and were so taken of all the catholics of this realm, and especially by Hooper; who, besides other his poisoned doctrine and heresy amongst the people, had also, before the time of the denunciation, made divers erroneous and heretical books against the true presence of Christ's body in the sacrament of the altar, and did also continue in the same, allowing and maintaining it as good and catholic: which books and doctrine (chiefly against the sacrament of the altar) Hugh Latimer had, and then likewise. did allow, believe, and teach, to the loss of both their own souls, and also of their believers'; and therefore were not now, nor ought at any time, to be admitted either in this their denunciation against him, or in any other judicial act; and that the rather also, because that although they pretend, in their denunciation, that they made not the same of any malice or evil will towards him, but for the good tranquillity and quiet governance of this realm, yet was it notoriously known, that as well the same day at afternoon in which he the said bishop preached at the Cross of Paul's, as also at sundry other times, they two, conspiring with others of their faction, did maliciously and unlawfully within his diocese assemble together a great rabblement of such as themselves were, and there, under the colour of reading, did openly rail and inveigh against him, not for any the causes pretended in their denunciation, but because he had in his sermon declared, (as the catholic church taught,) that in the sacrament of the altar there was the very true body and blood of Christ, the same in substance that was hanged and shed upon the cross."

Then, after these vain and frivolous allegations against the denouncers, he cometh and answereth to the substance of their denunciation, and saith:

"That where they, in the same, do falsely surmise, that there were delivered unto him from the king's Majesty, by the hands of the lord protector and the rest of his Highness's council, certain injunctions and articles to be published and declared unto the people at a day limited in the same, their information, in such sort as it was deduced, was most false and untrue, for that the articles delivered unto him by Sir Thomas Smith, one of the king's secretaries, were neither signed with the king's own hand, nor sealed with his Highness's seal or signet, nor yet subscribed by any of his council," &c.

Where mark, I beseech you, the subtlety of a disloyal papist, who, because the articles were not sealed by the king and his council, would make them therefore not to be of any such force as that the breach thereof should cause him to incur the danger of contemptuous disobedience. But admit they were not signed nor sealed, (of which thing, by the way, in the denunciation there is no mention yea or nay,) yet it is manifest by the second bill of articles ministered unto him by the commissioners, in the fourth act of his process, that, at such time as

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he was before the council, those articles were, by the commandment of the lord protector, openly there read unto him by one of the secretaries, and, after addition of the article concerning the king's lawful power and authority during his young years, were also delivered unto him by the hands of the lord protector, in the presence of the rest of the council; who, thus receiving them, promised there faithfully to accomplish all the contents thereof. After which, they were again delivered unto secretary Smith, to amend such things therein as the lord protector and the rest of the council had there appointed: which being accordingly done, (as the bishop himself at the last receipt thereof confessed,) they were finally delivered unto him by the secretary; and therefore was this but a poor shift. Now after this, he maketh a supposition:

"That in case it were true, that the injunctions were delivered him according to their information, yet was it untrue that he did omit or refuse to declare the same for any such causes as they had alleged against him; and that did well appear in the discourse of his sermon, which tended principally (as he said) to the disallowing and condemnation of all rebels, and chiefly of the rebels in Norfolk, Suffolk, Devonshire, and Cornwall, or elsewhere within this realm of England, who, forgetting their allegiance and duty unto their prince, assigned to them by God's word as their supreme head, their natural love and care for their country, wives, children, and kinsfolk, did both deserve death bodily as traitors, and also accumulate unto themselves damnation of body and soul eternally, with Satan the father and first mover of all rebellion and disobedience. And herewithal further exclaiming against the pretences of those rebels, who, amongst other things, pretended the mass and holy water, with such like, which were never ordained for the purpose, to colour and maintain rebellion, (as, he said, he then proved out of Numbers xvi., 1 Kings xx., Leviticus x., Luke xiii., and Acts vi., in the best manner that he could, as one not exercised greatly in preaching, but restrained therefrom,) but having humility of heart, innocency of living, knowledge of God, love to our neighbours, with obedience to God's word, ministers, and superior powers concurrent with them, they, being external rites and ceremonies of the church, were exercises of religion, and appointable by superior powers; and yet that which (standing the law) might be good, was by pride and disobedience made evil and unprofitable."

And here he further said:

"Because he saw the people slack in coming to the communion and divine service, set forth by the king's Majesty, and to the intent he would make them have a better opinion of the sacrament than he thought they had, he then faithfully did declare his belief therein. Wherewith his denouncers being offended, they uncharitably and untruly deduced, in their pretended denunciation, that in his sermon he did treat of such things as most should stir up unto dissension and tumult; whereby it appeared unto him, that his denouncers either took his catholic assertion of the verity of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar, or else his faithful declaration made of the obedience of subjects unto the king's Majesty their supreme and sovereign lord, with the peril and danger of rebellion committed against him, to be the cause of disorder and dissension; for that (saith he) of these two points he chiefly spake, and especially of obedience to the king, whose minority was more than manifestly known, as well amongst the people of this realm, as elsewhere, throughout the world besides: which he would not have done except he had believed that both all his subjects were bounden to obey him, even as he then was and should be during his life; and also that the rebellion of late committed against him was

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detestable, and condemned by God's word: and therefore he wished that his two denouncers, with all the rest of the new preachers, did mean as faithfully, obediently, and catholicly, towards the king's honour, royal power, and surety of person, as he did; and had not more moved the people to tumults and disobedience by their erroneous doctrine and teaching, than he had at any time given any occasion thereunto."

Then finally he concluded and said thus:

"That where his denouncers surmise, that it was of no light ground looked for, as it appeared in their judgments, that he should more apertly have declared the contents of the injunctions and articles than he did, that their judgments were in that behalf corrupted, and set to slander and picking of quarrels; for he was well assured, and credibly informed, that all his honest and catholic audience were fully satisfied, both touching their obedience to the king's Majesty in his tender age, and also concerning the great penalty and peril that the late rebels incurred by their disobedience. And besides that, when he was before the lord protector and the rest of the council, after he had made his excuse, and alleged many impediments for his not preaching at the Cross, he did not then further promise but to do the best he could; which he hath of his fidelity and conscience accomplished, not omitting any thing of purpose or evil will, that might satisfy the people in any point concerning the premises."

Whilst he was thus reading these answers, objecting against his denouncers such causes and quarrels as he before alleged, for which he would have earnestly had the denouncers to be repelled of the commissioners, the archbishop of Canterbury replied, that if there were any such law, he thought it not to be a good or godly law, but a law of the bishop of Rome. "For," said he, "if my matter and cause be good, what should I care who accuse me, yea, although he were the devil of hell?"

"No, sir," said the bishop of London, "it is the king's law used in the realm?"

"Well, my Lord," said the archbishop, "ye be too full of your law: I would wish you had less knowledge in that law, and more knowledge in God's law, and of your duty."

"Well," answered the bishop again, "seeing your Grace falleth to wishing, I can also wish many things to be in your person."

Then spake secretary Peter to the bishop, as touching these denouncers: "We are not so straited in this matter, but that we may proceed against you, either at their promotion or without them, at our pleasure."

"A God's name, then," said Bonner, "put them by, and then do as your pleasure shall be, so you do me right, for I ask but right."

"Nay," said secretary Smith, "you ask you wot not what: you would have us follow your mind in these quiddities and quirks; and all is nothing else but to delay justice. And you do herein as thieves, murderers, and traitors, not to have the truth known."

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"Say you so to me," quoth the bishop? "I thank you. Well, I could say somewhat to you also, were ye not in the place ye be, but let it pass. As for my matter, I fear it not, it is not so evil as you make it; for I have your own hand-writing for my discharge, which when I shall see time, I shall show forth."

"My hand," quoth the secretary. "Let me see it, and let it be read openly." "So it shall," said the bishop, "when I shall see time."

Then said Master Smith, "You do use us thus, to be seen a cunning lawyer."

"Indeed," quoth the bishop, "I knew the law, ere you could read it."

With that, secretary Peter willed the bishop to proceed in reading of his answers; who so did, and when he had finished, Latimer delivered up a writing in paper unto the archbishop and the rest of the commissioners; who then said unto the bishop of London, "Here be certain articles which we intend to minister unto you."

The bishop therewith said, "Do you minister them of your office, or at the promotion of these men, (pointing to Latimer and Hooper,) for I perceive they gave them unto you?"

"Nay," said secretary Peter, "we will minister them unto you, officially only."

The copy of which articles here followeth.

Articles ministered to Bonner, bishop of London, the first time, for him jointly and severally to answer unto.

"I. It is reported that you have received from the king's Majesty, by the hands of my lord protector's Grace, sitting in the council chamber at council with the rest of the lords of the council, the eleventh of August, certain injunctions to be done and followed by you, and articles to be preached there by you; that you did there and then accept the said injunctions, and promise to observe and follow the same.

"II. Item, That you have not truly, sincerely, and wholly, declared all the articles enjoined to you, in your last sermon, as they were put unto you.

"III. Item, Whether ye have written your sermon or no? and if ye have written it, whether of your own counsel only, or by whose help; and who hath seen the same written before and since ye did preach it?

"IV. Item, That ye have not declared in your sermon, that the old rite of prayers, as matins and mass, said after that sort in this realm, by reason of disobedience is naught, although a man have devotion unto it; according as it is in your articles.

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"V. Item, That you have not, in your sermon, declared the articles of the king's Majesty's power in his minority, as it was commanded you, to the refutation of the evil opinion and error of the rebels; and, if you have declared it, how and after what sort ye have declared it?

"VI. Item, Whether ye will take upon you to defend the said rebels' opinion or no?

"VII. Item, That ye know, or have heard say, that certain persons within your diocese, since the time that the said injunctions were given unto you, have heard, been at, or celebrated, mass or evensong in the Latin tongue, and after the old rite and manner, other than according to the king's Majesty's book.

"VIII. Item, That ye have not convented them before you, nor inflicted punishment unto them.

"IX. Item, That ye know or have heard say, that there be notable adulterers, fornicators, or incestuous parsons in your diocese; and you cited none of them, or have seen them punished.

"X. Item, That ye were at Master Dr. Cox's, the king's almoner's sermon at Paul's Cross, about Midsummer was twelve months, wherein he declared the great contempt of the bishop of Winchester in not observing the injunction given unto him. And, especially, in that he did not treat as he ought to have done, and was commanded, of the king's Majesty's authority in his minority, additionally.

"XI. Item, That the rites of the common service of the church, now set forth, be, in some parts of your diocese, diversely used; and you, knowing or hearing of the same, have not called any ministers of the service before you for a redress of such diversity, nor corrected the misusers thereof."

Hereupon, after an oath given unto the bishop *de fideliter respondendo*, he desired a copy of the articles, requiring also a competent time to be given unto him to make answer thereunto.

To whom secretary Peter replied, saying, "My Lord, here be certain of the articles touching your own fact, which you may answer unto forthwith; as whether you wrote your sermon or not before you preached it."

Whereunto the bishop answered, that he wrote it not, but he drew certain notes of it.

"Then whose counsel," said he, "and advice, used you in making your sermon?"

To which he also answered, that he had therein used his own counsel and books; "and yet my chaplains," quoth he, "be much suspected for my doings in many things, and sometimes I for theirs, when there is no cause why."

These words ended, the commissioners assigned him Monday, the sixteenth of September then next, to appear before them, and to make his full answers unto all the articles ministered unto him by them this day; the contents whereof are as followeth.

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The form and tenor of the articles ministered unto the bishop of London, by the king's commissioners.

Monday, the sixteenth of September, the archbishop, associated with the bishop of Rochester, secretary Smith, and Dr. May, dean of Paul's, sat judicially within his chapel at Lambeth; before whom there and then appeared the bishop of London, according as he was assigned in the last session; at which time he exhibited unto the commissioners in writing his answers unto the last former articles. But before the same were there read, the archbishop said unto him, that his late answer, made the thirteenth of September, unto the denunciation, was very obscure, and therewith also contained much matter of slander against Latimer and Hooper, and much untruth; and therefore they desired there to purge themselves. Whereupon Latimer, first obtaining leave to speak, said:

"That the bishop of London had most falsely, untruly, and uncharitably accused him, laying to his charge many feigned and untrue matters in his former answers to the denunciation, and such as he should never be able to prove. For where in his said answer he alleged, that Hugh Latimer and John Hooper, with other heretics conspiring against him, did the first day of September, after the bishop's sermon, assemble themselves together unlawfully against the said bishop, that saying of his was most untrue. For neither that day, nor yet before that day, nor until certain days after, he ever knew or spoke with Hooper. And as touching his own preaching there, openly accused by the bishop, he said, he never held, taught, or preached any thing concerning the blessed sacrament, otherwise than he ought to do, nor otherwise than according to the Scriptures, and true catholic faith of Christ's church; and therefore offered himself to be tried by the archbishop, or other such learned men as it should please the king's Majesty, or the said commissioners, to appoint; and further to suffer, to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, if the bishop could justly prove true the things that he had there shamefully laid to his charge."

Then Master Hooper, upon like licence obtained, said to this effect:

"This ungodly man," pointing to the bishop, "hath most uncharitably and ungodly accused me before your Grace and this audience, and hath laid to my charge, that I am a heretic: whereas, I take God to record, I never spake, read, taught, or preached any heresy, but only the most true and pure word of God. And where he saith, I frequent the company of heretics, I do much marvel of his so saying; for it hath pleased my lord protector's Grace, my singular good lord and master, and my Lady's Grace, to have me with them, and I have preached before them, and much used their company, with divers other worshipful persons; and therefore I suppose this man meaneth them. And further, whereas he saith that I have made heretical books against the blessed sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, calling it mathematical, I perceive that this man knoweth not what this word 'mathematical' there meaneth, and therefore understandeth not my book, which, I take God to be my judge, I have made truly and sincerely, and according to his holy word; and by the same his holy word and Scriptures, I am always (and shall be) ready to submit myself to your Grace's judgment, and the superior powers, to be tried:" with many such more words of like importance.

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Which ended, the archbishop, to shorten this matter, asked the bishop how he could prove that Hooper and Latimer assembled together against him the first of September, as he had alleged, seeing they now denied it; and therefore willed him to answer forthwith thereunto.

The bishop then answered that he would duly prove it, so that he might be admitted to do it according to law: and with that he pulled out of his sleeve certain books, saying, "I have this varlet's books which he made against the blessed sacrament, which you shall hear." Then, as he was turning certain leaves thereof, Hooper began again to speak; but the bishop turning himself towards him, tauntingly said, "Put up your pipes; you have spoken for your part; I will meddle no more with you:" and therewith read a certain sentence upon the book. This done, he said, "Lo! here you may see his opinion, and what it is." At which words the people standing behind, and seeing his irreverent and unseemly demeanour and railing, fell suddenly into great laughing; whereat the bishop being moved, and not perceiving the cause wherefore they did laugh, turned him towards them in a great rage, saying, "Ah woodcocks! woodcocks!"

Then said one of the commissioners, "Why say you so, my Lord?" "Marry," quoth he, "I may well call them woodcocks, that thus will laugh, and know not whereat; nor yet heard what I said or read."

"Well, my Lord of London," said the archbishop, "then I perceive you would persuade this audience, that you were called hither for preaching of your belief in the sacrament of the altar, and therefore you lay to these men's charge, [meaning Hooper and Latimer,] that they have accused you of that: howbeit, there was no such thing laid to your charge; and therefore this audience shall hear openly read the denunciation that is put up against you, to the intent they may the better perceive your dealing herein." And therewithal he said unto the people, "My Lord of London would make you believe that he is called hither for declaring and preaching his opinion touching the sacrament of the altar: but, to the intent you may perceive how he goeth about to deceive you, you shall hear the denunciation that is laid in against him read unto you:" and thereupon he delivered the denunciation unto Sir John Mason, knight, who there read it openly. Which done, the archbishop said again unto the audience, "Lo! here you hear how the bishop of London is called for no such matter as he would persuade you."

With this the bishop, being in a raging heat, as one clean void of all humanity, turned himself about unto the people, saying, "Well now hear what the bishop of London saith for his part." But the commissioners, seeing his inordinate contumacy, denied him to speak any more, saying, that he used himself very disobediently; with more like words of reproach.

Notwithstanding he, still persisting in his unreverent manner of dealing with the commissioners, pulled out of his sleeve another book, and then said unto the archbishop, "My Lord of Canterbury, I have here a note out of your books that you made touching the blessed sacrament, wherein you do affirm the verity of the body and blood of Christ to be in the sacrament, and I have another book also of yours of the contrary opinion; which is a marvellous matter."

To this the archbishop answered, that he made no books contrary one to another, and that he would defend his books, howbeit he thought the bishop understood them not: "For I promise

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you," quoth he, "I will find a boy of ten years old, that shall be more apt to understand that matter than you my Lord of London be."

Thus, after much multiplying of like words, the commissioners, thinking not good to spend any more waste time with him, willed him to show forth his answers unto the articles objected the last day against him: whereupon he, having them ready, did read the same openly to them; wherein, after many words of his former protestation recited, with a marvellous lamentation to see that one of his vocation, at the malicious denunciation of vile heretics, should be used after such strange sort, having nevertheless done the best he could to declare his obedience unto the king's Majesty for the repressing and discouraging of rebellion and rebels, and also for the advancement of the verity of Christ's true body and his presence in the sacrament of the altar, for which only the malicious denouncers with their complices had studied to molest and trouble him, he then cometh to answering the articles, and saith, that to the first, second, and fourth, he hath already, in his former answers to the denunciation, sufficiently answered, and therefore was not bound by law to answer any further. As to the third and fifth, he said,

"That he began to write his sermon, but being soon weary, did only make certain notes thereof, without help of any other, saving that he showed them to his chaplains, requiring them to put him in remembrance thereof. Amongst the which, for the better setting forth of the king's Majesty's power and authority in his minority, he had collected as well out of histories, as also out of the Scriptures, the names of divers young kings, who, notwithstanding their minority, were faithfully and obediently honoured, and reputed for very true and lawful kings: as Henry the Third, being but nine years old; Edward the Third, being but thirteen years; Richard the Second, being but eleven years; Henry the Sixth, being not fully one year; Edward the Fifth, being but eleven years; Henry the Eighth, being but eighteen years of age. And out of the Old Testament, Osias and Ahas, who were but sixteen years old; Solomon and Manasseh, being but twelve years; Josias, Joachim, and Joash, being but eight years of age when they entered their reigns. All which notes, with many others, he had purposed to declare, if they had come into his memory, as indeed they did not, because the same was disturbed, partly for lack of use of preaching, and partly by reason of a bill that was delivered to him from the king's council, to declare the victory then had against the rebels in Norfolk and Devonshire, which being of some good length, confounded his memory; and partly also for that his book in his sermon time fell away from him, wherein were divers of his notes which he had collected for that purpose: so that he could not remember what he would, but yet, in generality, he persuaded the people to obedience to the king's Majesty, whose minority was manifestly known to them and to all others.

"Then, as to the sixth, (he said,) he knew not the rebels' opinion, and therefore could not answer thereunto. And as for answer to the seventh, eighth, ninth, and eleventh articles, which touched his pastoral office, he said that notwithstanding his manifold and great troubles, as well by his own business and his family's sickness, as also by uncharitable informations made against him, yet he hath not failed to give order unto his officers straitly to look unto such matters; and such as he hath known, which were very few or none, he caused to be punished according to the laws." All which answers, with others written with his own hand, hereunder follow.

The answers of Bonner unto the articles objected to him by the king's commissioners the first time.

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"I, Edmund, bishop of London, under protestation heretofore by me made, exhibited, and repeated before you, which, in all my sayings and doings, I intend to have repeated and rehearsed again, to all lawful effects and purposes, for my honest and necessary defence; with protestation also of the nullity and iniquity of your process I had made in this behalf; and likewise of the generality, uncertainty, obscurity, contrariety, repugnancy, variety, insufficiency, and invalidity of the things alleged and deduced before you against me, as well in the commission and denunciation in divers parts, as also touching the articles and interrogatories so ministered unto me: lamenting not a little, that one of my vocation, at the malicious denunciation of vile, heretical, and detestable persons, should be used after this strange sort; having done the best I could to declare mine obedience unto the king's most excellent Majesty, for the repressing and discouraging of rebellion and rebellious persons, and for the advancement of the verity of Christ's true body and his presence in the most blessed sacrament of the altar: for which only the malicious denunciators with their complices have studied to molest and trouble me; although colourably they would be seen to pretend other causes, especially the good and tranquillity of this realm, which our Lord God knoweth they care nothing for, but contrariwise do let and impeach the same; corrupting and infecting with their poisoned and false doctrine, and teaching the king's subjects in this realm, to the great peril and danger thereof many ways: do answer unto certain pretended articles and interrogatories ministered by you indeed unto me the said bishop, the thirteenth day of September, 1549, as followeth

"To the first article objected against me, beginning thus, 'First it is reported,' &c., and ending thus, 'to observe and follow the same,' I do say, and for answer do refer me unto my former answers heretofore, that is to wit, the thirteenth of September, made and exhibited by me before you unto the said pretended denunciation, touching this matter: alleging withal, that a report of things doth not absolutely prove, nor necessarily infer, things to be in very deed true after such a sort, fashion, manner, and form as sometimes they be reported and rehearsed.

"To the second, beginning thus, 'Item, whether that you,' &c., and ending thus, 'as they were put unto you,' I do answer and say, that this article doth depend on the first article next before, which, after such sort, fashion, manner, and form as it is deduced, was justly by me, in my answer made unto the same, denied; and I therefore now am not bounden by the law eftsoons to make other answer thereunto.

"To the third, being an interrogatory, and beginning thus, 'Item, whether,' &c., and ending, 'thus ye did preach,' I do answer and say, that I began to write a piece of my sermon, and being soon weary thereof, I did leave off, and did make only certain notes of my said sermon, and put the same notes in writing of mine own hand, without help or counsel of any other; and the same notes did show unto my chaplains, Master Gilbert Bourn and Master John Harpsfield, both before and also since my said sermon, only desiring them to put me in remembrance of my said notes and process to be made thereupon, and also to search out for me the names of such kings as were in their minority when they began to reign.

"To the fourth article, beginning thus, 'Item, that ye have not declared,' &c., and ending thus, 'as it is in your article,' I do answer and say, that this article doth depend upon the first and second articles here before denied, deduced in such sort, manner, and form as is expressed in the

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same; and moreover I say, that already answer is made hereunto by me, in my former answers made to the said pretended denunciation.

"To the fifth article, beginning thus, 'Item, that ye have not,' &c., and ending thus, declared it,' I do answer and say, that this article also doth depend upon the first and second articles; and that answer is made thereunto by me already in my former answers made unto the said pretended denunciation. And moreover I do say, that for the better advancement and setting forth of the king's Majesty's royal power and authority, even in his minority, and for the due obedience of his Majesty's subjects unto his Highness, even during the said minority, I had collected together, as well out of histories as also out of the scripture of the Old Testament, the names of divers kings being in minority, who, notwithstanding their said minority, were faithfully, duly, and reverently obeyed, honoured, served, taken, and reputed, for very true and lawful kings: as Henry the Third, being but nine years old when he entered to reign and govern as king; Edward the Third, being but thirteen years of age; Richard the Second, being but eleven years old; Henry the Sixth, being not fully one year of age; Edward the Fifth, being but eleven years old; Henry the Eighth, being about eighteen years old; and so all these kings, being in their minority as the king's Majesty that now is, and yet having authority and power regal, as appertaineth: and in the Old Testament, Osias and Achaz were very true kings in their minority, being but sixteen years of age; Solomon and Manasses, being but twelve years of age; Josias and Joachim, being but eight years of age; and Joash, being but eight years old: all which things, I say, I had collected in notes, communicating the same with my said two chaplains; and praying them to put me in remembrance, if in numbering of them, or in setting forth in my other notes, at the time of my sermon, I did fail, or have default of memory in any wise. And all these things I would have specially set forth in my said sermon, if they had come to my memory, as indeed they did not, partly for disturbance of my memory not accustomed to preach in that place, partly also by reason of a certain writing that was sent to me from the king's Majesty's privy council, being of good length, to declare unto the people touching the victory against the rebels, especially in Norfolk, Devonshire, and Cornwall, confounding my memory in things which before I had set in good order; and partly also for the falling away of my book in the time of my said sermon, in which were contained divers of my said notes touching the king's Majesty's minority, as is aforesaid: having yet nevertheless otherwise, in generality and speciality, persuaded the people to obedience unto the king's said Majesty, whose minority to them and all others is notoriously and manifestly known; and his Majesty, saving of these late rebels, faithfully, truly, and reverently obeyed of all the rest of his subjects.

To the sixth, which beginneth, 'Whether ye will,' &c., and ending thus, the opinion or no,' I do answer and say, that not knowing certainly of which rebels the article meaneth, nor yet what their opinion is indeed, I ought not to be driven to make answer hereunto, nor yet can make good and perfect answer therein, though I would.

"To the seventh article, beginning thus, 'Item, that ye know,' &c., and ending thus, 'the king's Majesty's book,' I do answer and say, that albeit I have by the space of these five weeks last past and more, been in manner continually in business and trouble, as well in providing for my said sermon, as otherwise, specially by reason of my family, much vexed with sickness, to my great disquietness and charge, and also by reason that I have been so much troubled and encumbered by informations and complaints unjustly and uncharitably made against me, over

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and besides the having of divers and sundry persons, which daily resort and come unto me for their suits and business, both in matters of justice and otherwise, yet I have not omitted to send forth to my archdeacons and other my officers, to inquire and search diligently in this behalf, and to certify me accordingly; and yet I cannot hear certainly of any that have heard, been at, or celebrated masses or even songs in the Latin tongue, after the old rite and manner, except it be in the house of my Lady Mary's Grace, or in the houses of the ambassadors, nor yet there, nor in any of them, but by flying and not assured report; and without knowing the names and persons that so have heard, been at, or celebrate the same: and in this behalf how far I can and ought to proceed, and after what sort, I do refer me unto the statute late made in that behalf.

"To the eighth article, beginning thus, 'Item, that ye have,' &c., and ending thus, 'punishment unto them,' I do answer and say, that this article doth depend on the next article going before; and so consequently answer is already thereunto made.

"To the ninth article, beginning thus, 'Item, that ye know,' &c., and ending thus, 'nor see them punished,' I do answer and say, that touching such as either have been denounced or detected for such criminous and culpable persons to me or my officers, there hath been process already made before my said officers, as it appeareth in my register, and the acts of my court; and moreover, I have given express commandment to my said officers, to inquire and search for more such offenders, and to certify me thereof, that I may proceed against them accordingly.

"To the tenth article, beginning thus, 'Item, ye were,' &c., and ending thus, 'the king's Majesty's authority in his minority,' I do answer and say, that as touching the time mentioned in the article, and the declaration to be made by Dr. Cox, I do not well remember either the same time, or yet the special points and substance, of the said Dr. Cox's declaration. Truth it is, I was at a sermon made at Paul's Cross by the said Dr. Cox, wherein he inveighed against my Lord of Winchester; and, as far as I can now call to my remembrance, it was touching disobedience wherewith my Lord of Winchester by the said Dr. Cox seemed to be charged; and for a sermon also that my Lord of Winchester was seeming to have made before the king's Majesty in the court of Westminster.

"To the eleventh article, being by itself delivered unto me the fourteenth of this present September, 1549, in the night, at my house of London, beginning thus, 'Item, that the rites,' &c., and ending thus, 'the misuses thereof,' I do answer and say, that I have already given commandment to my officers to make diligent search and inquire herein, and do certify accordingly, to the intent I may proceed therein as appertaineth; and would before this time myself have also inquired and proceeded, had I not so been of all sides oppressed and pestered with multitude of other necessary business, as I have been, to my great disquietness and trouble."

When he had ended the reading of these answers, the commissioners said unto him, that he had in the same very obscurely answered unto the fifth article, ministered the thirteenth of September; wherefore they willed him there expressly to answer by mouth, whether he had, according to the injunctions delivered unto him, declared the article beginning thus, "You shall also set forth in your sermon that our authority," &c.: whereunto he again answered, that he had already made as full and sufficient an answer in writing, as he was bound to make by law.

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The judges then replied, that the answers already made in that part were obscure and insufficient, so that it appeared not certainly whether he had preached indeed according to the same injunction or not; and therefore they eftsoons willed him, as before, directly to answer whether he had so accordingly preached or no, the bishop still answering as before.

The judges again demanded of him whether he would otherwise answer or no? To the which he said, No, unless the law should compel him. Then they asked him whether he thought the law did compel him to answer more fully or no? He answered, No; adding further, that he was not bound to make answer to such positions.

The commissioners then, seeing his froward contumacy, told him plainly, that if he persisted thus in his frowardness, and would not otherwise answer, they would, according to law, take him *pro confesso*, and, *ex abundanti*, receive witness against him; and therewithal did recite again to him six of the first and principal articles, demanding his final answer thereunto: who said, as before, that he had already fully answered them by writing; but whereas they requested to have his notes, which he said he had made of his sermon, they should have them if they would send for them. And whereas in his answer to the sixth article, he doubted what the opinion of the rebels was, the judges declared unto him that their opinion was, "that the king's Majesty, before his Grace came to the age of one and twenty years, had not so full authority to make laws and statutes, as when he came to further years; and that his subjects were not bound to obey the laws and statutes made in his young age."

Whereunto the bishop answered, that he was not of the opinion of the rebels mentioned in that article, as did well appear by his answers, as well unto the denunciation, as also unto the fifth article objected against him.

Which ended, they, perceiving his scornful carelessness, presently did admit for witness, upon the articles objected against him, Master John Cheek, Henry Markham, John Joseph, John Douglas, and Richard Chambers, whom also they operated with a corporal oath upon the holy evangelists, truly to answer and depose upon the same articles in the presence of the bishop, who, under his former protestation, like a wily lawyer, protested of the nullity of the receiving, admitting, and swearing of those witnesses, with protestation also to object against the persons and sayings of the witnesses in time and place convenient; demanding also a competent and lawful time to minister interrogatories against them, with a copy of all the acts to that day: wherewith the delegates were well pleased, and assigned him to minister his interrogatories against Master Cheek on that present day, and against the rest, on the next day before noon.

After this the judge's delegate assigned the bishop to appear again before them upon Wednesday then next ensuing, between the hours of seven and eight of the clock before noon, in the hall of the archbishop's manor of Lambeth, there to show the cause why he should not be declared as having confessed, upon all the articles whereunto he had not then fully answered, and to see further process done in the matter.

And so Bonner, still protesting of the nullity and invalidity of all their proceedings, they did, for that present, depart.

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In this mean while the commissioners certified the king's Majesty and his council, of the bishop's demeanour towards them, and what objections he had made against their proceedings, making doubts and ambiguities, whether, by the tenor of his Majesty's commission, the commissioners might proceed not only at the denunciation, but also at their mere office; and also whether they might as well determine as hear the cause. Whereupon his Majesty, by advice aforesaid, for the better understanding thereof, did, the seventeenth of September, send unto the commissioners a full and perfect declaration and interpretation of his will and pleasure in the aforesaid commission, giving them hereby full authority to proceed at their own discretions.

The fourth session against Bonner, bishop of London, before the king's commissioners, in the great hall at Lambeth, the eighteenth of September.

After this declaration being sent down and received from the king, the bishop of London (according to the commissioners' assignment the Monday before) appeared again before then upon Wednesday the eighteenth of September, in the great hall at Lambeth; where, under his wonted protestation, first he declared, that although he had already sufficiently answered all things, yet, further to satisfy the term assigned unto him, to show cause why he ought not to be declared *pro confesso*, upon the articles theretofore ministered against him, and to the which he had not fully answered, he had then a matter in writing to exhibit unto them, why he ought not so to be declared, which he read there openly; the copy and words whereof be as follow.

Matter exhibited up to the commissioners by Bonner, why he ought not to be declared for cast and convicted.

"I, Edmund, bishop of London, under protestation heretofore by me made before you, which I have heretofore repeated; and, especially, under protestation of the nullity and invalidity, injustice and iniquity, of your pretended and unlawful process made by you against me; and especially, against your pretended assignation made by you the last session unto me appearing in your pretended acts: do say, that your said assignation is unavailable, nothing worth in law, unlawful, unjust, and unreasonable; and I, therefore, not bound by the law to obey unto it, for just and reasonable causes hereafter following. First, it is true, notorious, and manifest, that the said pretended assignation, in words and pronunciation, was made by you, Sir Thomas Smith, one of the pretended commissioners in this matter, without express consent given unto you by your pretended colleagues in the commission; or, at least, he, as a commissioner, did proceed herein with the rest of the said colleagues, and did induce the acts, prescribing to the actuary or scribe, what he therein should write.

"Item, It is likewise notorious and manifest, that the said colleagues did, in your absence, begin to sit as commissioners and judges, by virtue of the said commission pretended to be sent unto you, and began to make process against me, as appeareth in the acts of the first session in this matter; by reason whereof ye ought not by the law to have intermeddled therein otherwise than the law doth suffer you to do; which ye have done indeed naughtily and unlawfully, contrary to justice and good reason, and are unmet to be commissioner against me in this behalf.

"Item, It is likewise true, notorious, and manifest, that the answers being already given by me fully, lawfully, and sufficiently, so far as the law bindeth me, as well to the pretended

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denunciation in that matter, as also to all and singular articles, that in any wise against me have been objected in this behalf; and nothing in the least wise sufficient and good in law to be alleged, declared, specified, or apparent to the contrary in any specialty or particularity; by reason whereof I ought not further, without special allegation, declaration, specification, and appearance, to make other or more special answer therein, no cause in law sufficient and reasonable compelling and enforcing me thereunto. I am not by law bound to do further than I have done, referring me as well to my answers given to the said pretended denunciation and articles, as, also, unto the king's ecclesiastical laws, used and observed here commonly within this realm.

"Item, It is likewise true, notorious, and manifest, that in all proceedings hitherto, ye have proceeded so extraordinarily and unduly in this matter, that ye have confounded all kind of lawful process; sometimes proceeding to denounce; sometimes officially; sometimes otherwise; contrary to the king's ecclesiastical laws, and contrary also to the commission directed in this behalf; referring me to all the same. And it may be said herein, that hitherto ye have proceeded against me summarily, against the true sense of the word, and proceeded also *cum strepitu*, but *sine figura iudicii*.

"Item, It is likewise true, notorious, and manifest, that divers of the articles pretended are superfluous and impertinent, not relevant, though they were proved, containing in them untruth and falsity; some also be obscure, general, and uncertain, nor can have certain answers made unto them. And also others be depending of articles being denied, or at the least way qualified; some also captious and deceitful, to bring the answer into a snare; some also containing matter of divers sorts, part whereof is not true, but false; and some also being articles of the law, and such sort that, by the king's ecclesiastical laws, a subject of this realm is not bound to make answer unto them, but lawfully may refuse and deny to do it, by reason of the said just and reasonable causes being in this behalf.

"Item, It is likewise true, notorious, and manifest, that you, Sir Thomas Smith, when I, Edmund, bishop of London, was last with the council in the council-chamber, at Whitehall: ye, the said Sir Thomas, after the departure of the lord protector from the said council, and after the departure of the rest of the lords from the said council, did write yourself certain articles and injunctions, amongst which was that of the king's Majesty's minority and his authority in the same, which articles or injunctions ye writ yourself; and afterwards, also, ye copied them upon an altar or table within the said council-chamber; and you yourself, and none other, did then write the same, and deliver it to me. By reason whereof it cannot be, nor is, true, that which in the commission, denunciation, articles, and other things is deduced and objected against me in this behalf; referring me as well to the tenor of the said commission, denunciation, injunctions, and articles, as also unto my allegations and answers herein made unto the same, remaining in the acts of this cause and matter."

When these fond and frivolous objections were thus read, the archbishop, seeing his inordinate and intolerable contempt towards them, charged him very sharply, saying thus:

"My Lord of London, if I had sitten here only as archbishop of Canterbury, it had been your part to have used yourself more lowly, obediently, and reverently towards me than you

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have; but, seeing that I, with my colleagues, sit here now as delegates from the king's Majesty, I must tell you plain, you have behaved yourself too, too much inordinately. For at every time that we have sitten in commission, you have used such unseemly fashions, without all reverence and obedience, giving taunts and checks as well unto us, with divers of the servants and chaplains, as also unto certain of the ancientest that be here, calling them fools and daws, with such like, as that you have given to the multitude an intolerable example of disobedience. And I assure you, my Lord, there is you, and one other bishop whom I could name, that have used yourselves so contemptuously and disobediently, as the like I think hath not before been heard of or seen; whereby ye have done much harm."

At which words the gross bishop (a beast, a man might justly term him) said scornfully to the archbishop, "You show yourself to be a meet judge."

The archbishop, then proceeding, laid to his charge, how indiscreetly, the last day in the chapel, he had called all the people woodcocks.

Whereunto he answered, that the last session Hugh Latimer, one of the denouncers, being there present, had practised with the audience, that when he lifted up his hand to them, they should (and did as it were by a token given them) say as he said, and do as he did; as, at one time, upon the lifting up of his hand, they cried, "Nay, nay;" and at another time, "Yea, yea," and laughed they could not tell whereat; with such-like fashions.

Unto which words Latimer, seeing his vain suspicion, replied, saying, that he lifted not up his hand at any time but only to cause them to hold their peace.

Then secretary Smith said to the bishop, that in all his writings and answers that he had hitherto laid in, he would not once acknowledge them as the king's commissioners, but used always protestations, with divers ink-horn and naughty terms, calling them pretended commissioners, pretended delegates, pretended commission, pretended articles, pretended proceedings; so that all things were pretended with him.

"Indeed," said secretary Smith, "such terms the proctors of churches use, to delay matters for their clients, when they will not have the truth known. But you, my Lord, to use us, the king's Majesty's commissioners, with such terms, you do therein very lewdly and naughtily. And I pray you what other thing did the rebels? For when letters or pardons were brought them from the king and his council, they would not credit them, but said they were none of the king's or his council's, but gentlemen's doings, and made under a bush; with such-like terms. But now, my Lord, because hitherto we cannot make you confess whether, in your sermon that you preached, ye omitted the article touching the king's Majesty's authority in his tender age or not, but still have said that ye will not otherwise answer than ye have done, and that ye have already sufficiently answered, (with many such delays,) so as we can by no means induce you to confess plainly what you did, yea or nay; therefore, I say, to the intent we may come to the truth, we have dilated the matter more at large, and have drawn out other articles whereunto you shall be sworn; and then, I trust, you will dally with us no more as you have done: for, although ye make your answers in writing, yet you shall be examined by us, and make your answers by mouth to the same articles; or else you shall do worse. Indeed I do not, as I said, discommend your

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protestations and terms of law, if it were in a young proctor that would help his client's cause: but in you, it may not be suffered so to use the king's commissioners."

Then did the delegates minister unto him certain new articles and injunctions, and did there operate him with a corporal oath in form of law, to make a full and true answer thereunto. The bishop, notwithstanding, still (according to his wonted manner) under his former protestation, protested of the nullity and invalidity of these articles, injunctions, and process, desiring also a copy thereof, with a competent time to answer thereunto. To whom the judges decreed a copy, commanding him to come to his examination to the archbishop the next day at eight of the clock before noon.

Then the commissioners did receive for witness upon these new articles now ministered unto the bishop, Sir John Mason, knight, Sir Thomas Chalenor, knight, Master William Cecil, Armigel Wade, and William Hunnings, clerks to the king's Majesty's council, whom they operated with a corporal oath in the presence of the bishop, who, still protesting of the nullity of their receiving and swearing, objected against them and their sayings; and therewith, repeating his interrogatories already ministered, said, he had more to minister by to-morrow at eight of the clock.

The same day and time likewise the bishop exhibited unto the commissioners an information, or rather cavillation, against Hugh Latimer, which also I thought to impart unto the reader.

The information given against Hugh Latimer, priest, of St. Laurence Poultny, by Edmund, bishop of London, the eighteenth day of September, A.D. 1549.

"In the said act and session, Edmund, bishop of London, giveth information and saith: that that said Hugh Latimer, priest—pretending the good and tranquillity of this realm of England, as he saith, and that the same is very greatly and manifestly hindered and impeached, when any of the king's Majesty's people and subjects do believe or say, that the king's Majesty, our sovereign lord, in his minority, hath not full power and authority royal, as fully and justly as when his Majesty doth come to full and perfect age: and, likewise, that it is also hindered and impeached, when any of the king's Majesty's said people and subjects do declare or say, that the king's said people and subjects are not bound to obey the king's Majesty in his said minority—hath, of late, in open audience reported and said, that the said Hugh Latimer hath, with his ears, heard divers persons of this realm, at sundry and divers times, unreverently, unobediently, and not faithfully, speak of the king's Majesty—that now is, words in effect and substance as followeth: 'Tush! the king,' meaning the king of England that now is, 'is but a babe or child: what laws can he make? or what can he do in his minority? Let him have a toast and butter, or bread and milk; and that is more meet for him, than to make laws or statutes to bind us to obey them. We are not bound to obey, till he be past his minority, and come to his full and perfect age.'

"And those words were spoken before you, my Lord of Canterbury, my Lord of Rochester, Master Thomas Smith, and Master William May, by the mouth of the said Hugh Latimer at your last session; and the said Hugh Latimer was neither controlled by any of you for these words nor any of them, nor yet commanded to bring in such persons as had uttered and

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spoken the said words, but passed in silence: saving that I, the said Edmund, did speak against the said Hugh Latimer in this behalf, telling them that I would detect and denounce hereof. By all which it appeareth that the said Hugh Latimer hath long concealed, and not opened the words aforesaid, in such places, and to such persons, as of bounden duty he ought and should; but kept the persons and sayings secret, either not taking this matter of such importance as he pretended, either else unfaithfully and untruly behaving himself towards the king's Majesty and his council; worthy, therefore, to be convented and punished, with his aiders and abettors, favourers and councillors."

These vain cavillations ended, the commissioners for that day finished their session, assigning the bishop to appear in that same place again upon Monday then next following, between the hours of six and nine, in the forenoon, then and there to show a final cause why he should not be declared pro confesso. And so delivering him a copy of the articles, they departed; the contents whereof ensue:

"I. That ye were sent for to the lord protector's Grace, and the rest of the council, and came thither into the court at Westminster the tenth of August, or some other day of the same month.

"II. Item, That at the same time the lord protector and divers other of the king's Majesty's privy council sitting in council, ye were called in; and there the said lord protector did, on the king's Majesty's behalf, declare unto you divers faults and abuses which were found in you, and gave you strait charge to amend them; adding threatening, that else you should be otherwise looked unto.

"III. Item, That the said lord protector's Grace did declare unto you, for better, admonition and amendment of you, that you should have, from the king's Majesty, by his advice and the rest of the privy council, certain articles and injunctions, to observe and follow, given you in writing.

"IV. Item, That there and then the said lord protector commanded Sir Thomas Smith, knight, secretary to the king's Majesty, to read a certain proper book of injunctions and articles unto you, the said secretary standing at the council-table's end, and you standing by and hearing the same.

"V. Item, That the said lord protector there and then willed certain things in the said book of injunctions to be reformed, as whereas ye were appointed to preach sooner, at your request it was appointed unto you to preach the Sunday three weeks after the date of the said writing.

"VI. Item, That in the said articles the lord protector's Grace found fault, because an article or commandment unto you set forth and declared of the king's Majesty's authority now in his young age and of his laws and statutes in the same time, was omitted; and therefore, either immediately before you came into the council chamber, or you being present and standing by, commanded the said secretary Smith to put it in writing, and annex it to the rest of the articles.

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"VII. Item, That the said secretary Smith, then and there did, immediately upon commandment, write into the said book or paper, wherein the rest of the articles were written, the said article, namely, You shall also set forth in your sermon, that the authority of our royal power is (as truth it is) of no less authority and force in this our young age, than was that of any of our predecessors, though the same were much elder, as may appear by example of Josias and other young kings in the Scripture; and therefore all our subjects to be no less bound to the obedience of our precepts, laws, and statutes, than if we were of thirty or forty years of age.

"VIII. Item, That the lord protector did so deliver you the book or paper, willing, first, the said secretary Smith to amend all things as be had appointed.

"IX. Item, That ye then and there did promise to the lord protector's Grace, that ye would observe and fulfil all in the said injunctions and articles contained.

"X. Item, That all things in the said book, put in and mentioned by the said secretary Smith, and the same so read to you by him, and you first agreeing that all that was by him so written was by the lord protector's appointment, the said book was so delivered unto you then and there, by the said secretary Smith in the council chamber.

"XI. Item, That you have the said book in your possession, or else know where it is, the true copy whereof in effect is annexed to these articles.

"XII. Item, That ye were commanded in the same injunctions to preach the Sunday three weeks after the delivery thereof at Paul's, and there to treat upon certain articles, as is specified in the said book of injunctions, and especially the said article, beginning, 'Ye shall also set forth,' and ending, 'thirty or forty years of age.'

"XIII. Item, That for the accomplishment of part of the said injunctions and commandment, you did preach the first day of September last past at Paul's Cross.

"XIV. Item, That at the said sermon, contrary to your injunctions, ye omitted and left out the said article, beginning, 'Ye shall also set forth in your sermon,' &c., and ending, 'thirty or forty years of age.'

"XV. Ye shall also answer whether ye think and believe that the king's Majesty's subjects be bound to obey as well the laws, statutes, proclamations, and other ordinances made now in this youngage of the king's Majesty, as the laws, statutes, proclamations, and ordinances made by his Highness's progenitors."

These articles being thus ministered to the said bishop of London, the next day being Thursday and the nineteenth of September, the forenamed commissioners sat in the archbishop's chamber of presence at Lambeth, attending the coming of the bishop of London; before whom there appeared Robert Johnson, the bishop's registrar, and there did declare unto the commissioners, that the bishop his master could not at that time personally appear before them without great danger of his bodily health, because that he feared to fall into a fever by reason of a cold that he had taken by too much over-watching himself the last night before, whereby he was

compelled to keep his bed: nevertheless, if he could without danger of his bodily health, he would appear before them the same day at afternoon. This excuse the judges were content to take in good part. Yet, said Master Secretary Smith, if he were sick indeed, the excuse was reasonable, and to be allowed; "but," quoth he, "I promise you my Lord hath so dallied with us, and used hitherto such delays, that we may mistrust that this is but a feigned excuse: howbeit, upon your faithful declaration, we are content to tarry until one of the clock at afternoon." And so they did, willing Master Johnson to signify then unto them, whether the bishop could appear or not.



Bonner refusing to come before the commisioners

At which hour Robert Johnson and Richard Rogers, gentlemen of the bishop's chamber, appeared again before the commissioners, declaring that (for the causes afore alleged) their master could not appear at that time neither. Whereupon Master Secretary Smith said unto them,

"My Lord of London your master hath used us very homely, and sought delays hitherto; and now, perhaps, perceiving these last articles to touch the quick, and therefore loath to come to his answer, he feigneth himself sick. But, because he shall not so deceive us any more, we will send the knight marshal unto him, willing him, if he be sick indeed, to let him alone, for that is a reasonable excuse; but, if he be not sick, then to bring him forthwith to us: for I promise you he shall not use us as he hath done; we will not take it at his hands. And, therefore, Master Johnson, (said he,) you do the part of a trusty servant as becometh you; but it is also your part to show my Lord his stubborn heart and disobedience, which doth him more harm than he is aware of. What!

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thinketh he to stand with a king in his own realm? Is this the part of a subject? Nay, I ween we shall have a new Thomas a Becket. Let him take heed; for if he play these parts, he may fortune to be made shorter by the head. He may appeal if he think good; but whither? To the bishop of Rome? So he may help himself forwards, I say, he cannot appeal but to the same king, who hath made us his judges, and to the bench of his council; and how they will take this matter when they hear of it, I doubt not. He would make men believe, that he were called before us for preaching his opinion of the sacrament, wherein I assure you he did both falsely and naughtily; yea, and lewdly; and more than became him; and more than he had in commandment to do; for he was not willed to speak of that matter, and perhaps he may hear more of that hereafter: but yet we will lay no such thing to his charge, and therefore we will not have him to delay us as he doth."

Which ended, the delegates notwithstanding decreed to tarry again for him until two of the clock at afternoon the next day, being Friday, and the 20th of September.

The fifth action or process, the twentieth of September, against Bonner, bishop of London, before the king's commissioners.

At which day and time the bishop appeared himself personally before them in the same chamber of presence; where first he did exhibit his answers unto the last articles ministered unto him the eighteenth of September; the contents whereof hereunder follow:

"The answers of me, Edmund, bishop of London, under mine accustomed protestation given unto the articles of late ministered and exhibited against me here in this court; with special protestation also, that I do not intend in any wise to make answer to any of the said articles otherwise than the law of this realm doth bind me to do, nor to speak or say contrary to any thing that in my former answers I have said or done; and that if it so chance me to do, it is not, nor shall it be, with my good will or full consent; and that so soon as I shall perceive it, I intend to revoke it, and so now as then, and then as now, do so in that case revoke, to all honest and lawful purposes.

"To the first article I do answer and say, that there was a messenger, whose name I know not, that came unto me to Fulham, as I now remember, but I do not remember the day thereof; and he said that my lord protector's Grace required me to come by and by to speak with him. And thereupon, having made the said messenger to break his fast, I repaired to the court at Westminster; but not upon the tenth day of August, but some other day of the said month.

"To the second article I do say, that it is obscure, uncertain, and over general, especially in those words 'at the same time,' which may be referred to the tenth of August, and then answer already is made thereunto; and it may be referred to some other day of the said month of August, either before the tenth of August. or after. And because it remaineth undeclared, I am not bound in law to answer unto it, neither yet to these words and sentences in the said article, to wit, 'then, and there,' for they, without declaration, are uncertain, obscure, and general; and I, before the specification and declaration thereof, not bound herein to make an answer, especially having already made full and sufficient answer in this matter, according to the commission, as I do take it, and according unto the law; which also willeth, that if a certain answer be looked for, the position and article must before be certain.

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"To the third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth articles, he answereth all after one manner and sort, as thus: That it doth depend on the articles, to which for causes aforesaid, he saith, he is not hound in law to make answer, especially having already made. Saving that in the sixth he addeth thereunto, that he at no time heard the lord protector find fault, nor commanded, as is deduced in the said article, so far as he doth find. Also saving the seventh article, where he addeth, Nevertheless confessing and acknowledging, with heart and mouth, the king's Majesty's authority and regal power and minority, as well and full as in his majority:

"Also saving the eighth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh articles, where he addeth, 'As they be deduced, they are not true; as appeareth in conferring one with another.'

"To the twelfth and fourteenth articles, he addeth, 'As they be deduced, they are not true;' confessing, nevertheless, the king's Majesty's authority and power regal, as before is expressed.

"To the fifteenth article he answereth and saith, that it is a position in law, and that yet both now and heretofore be hath made answer thereunto in effect and substance, as appeareth in his former answers, and so shall do always according to the law and his bounden duty, acknowledging, as he hath already done, the king's Majesty's regal power in his minority to be no less than in his majority; and the subjects bound to obey unto his Grace, his laws, statutes, and ordinances, and his said authority, as well in his minority as in his majority; not allowing, but expressly condemning, the opinion of all rebels holding the contrary."

After this, perceiving that Master Secretary Smith was somewhat more quick with him than others of the commissioners, and that he would not suffer him any longer to dally out the matter with his vain quiddities and subtleties in law, but ever earnestly urged him to go directly to his matter, and therewithal sometimes sharply rebuking him for his evil and stubborn behaviour towards them; Bonner, to deface his authority, (as he thought,) did also then exhibit in writing a recusation of the secretary's judgment against him: the form and manner whereof, as he exhibited it unto the judges, I thought here also to exhibit unto the reader as hereunder followeth:

"In the name of God, Amen. Forasmuch as equity, natural reason, and all good laws, do require that judges shall be of that integrity, wisdom, circumspection, learning, and indifferency, that, exercising the office and room of a judge, they may and shall do it without hatred, malice, or grudge against any person convented or called before them; uprightly, sincerely, and duly executing and doing their office unto them in any wise committed: and forasmuch also as all judgments and process ought to have their due course, and proceed without suspicion or corruption in any wise: and finally, forasmuch as very dangerous it is to appear and make defence before an incompetent judge, who commonly and accustomedly, of private and unlawful corrupt affection to the one side, and for malice, hatred, and envy borne against the other side, rather serveth his carnal, corrupt, and wilful appetite, than by any thing else is moved to obedience and keeping of good order, law, or reason, touching him that is convented and compelled to make answer against his will: I therefore, Edmund, bishop of London, having perceived and felt by all the sayings, proceedings, and doings of you Sir Thomas Smith, knight, one of the two principal secretaries to the king's Majesty, in this matter attempted and moved against me, that ye have been, and yet continually are, a notorious and manifest enemy of me the

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said Edmund, and much offended that I should in any wise allege and say, or use any such things for my most defence, as the law giveth me licence and liberty to do; yea, hearing most favourably and effectually my denouncers and enemies with both ears in any thing that they shall allege, purpose, attempt, or do against me, though their persons in law are not in any wise to be heard or admitted, nor yet their sayings true; and not hearing me so much as with one ear in my lawful sayings and doings in this behalf; but, contrariwise, opening your mouth at large, ye have sundry times, against good wisdom and reason, outraged in words and deeds against me the said Edmund, saying, among other words, 'that I did as thieves, murderers, and traitors are wont to do, being myself, (as ye untruly did say,) inwardly indeed culpable; and yet outwardly otherwise unable to defend the matter against me, but only by taking exceptions, and making frivolous allegations against my judges and commissioners; and that I have been and am as sturdy, wilful, and disobedient, as may be in your judgment and opinion, maintaining and upholding the rebels and their opinions; and that I shall answer by mouth, or else smart and do worse; or else ye will send me to the Tower, there to sit and be joined with Ket and Humphrey Arundel the rebels:' over and besides divers other threatenings and comminatory words by you pronounced and uttered unseemly, and far unmeet to proceed out of the mouth of you, that are in such room and place as ye be in.

"And moreover, increasing your malice, evil will, and grudge borne against me, ye have, amongst other things, untruly surmised, written, alleged, and said, that a certain book of articles and injunctions by the lord's protector's Grace in the full council, after a certain prescribed fashion and form in the denunciation, commission, and articles which, were actually induced, brought in, and objected against me, was delivered unto me: and, moreover, of an evil will and ungodly intent and purpose, contrary to the truth, ye have withdrawn, added, altered, and qualified divers things in the same, otherwise than they were spoken and done; and yet ye are not ashamed to allege, write, and say, that all is true, and one consonant and agreeable in all points with the other, whereas indeed it is not so. And yet have further, against the law, and against the commission to you directed, and against my just and lawful allegations and sayings, proceeded unlawfully and unjustly against me, attempting many things against me unlawfully and unjustly, as appeareth in the acts of this matter, to the which I do refer me so far forth as they make for me, and be expedient by me and for me to be alleged and referred unto yourself also unlawfully and unjustly, *de facto*, with your colleagues; the which, without you had begun the said matters, proceeding where by the law ye so ought not to have done indeed, but abstained therefrom, as heretofore sundry times I have alleged, appearing in the acts of this court: I do, upon these just and reasonable causes, according to the order of the king's Majesty's ecclesiastical laws, refuse, decline, and recuse you the said Sir Thomas Smith, as an incompetent, unmeet, and suspect judge, against me in this behalf; and decline your pretended jurisdiction in this matter for causes aforesaid, desiring nothing but justice, and offering myself prompt and ready to prove them as far as I am bound, and according to the order of the king's Majesty's ecclesiastical laws of this realm, in this behalf, as time, place, and otherwise shall require."

This recusation ended, the secretary told him plain, that, notwithstanding, he would proceed in his commission, and would be still his judge until he were otherwise inhibited; and said unto him further, "My Lord! whereas you say in your recusation, that I said that you did like thieves, murderers, and traitors; indeed I said it, and may and will so say again, since we perceive it by your doings."

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Whereupon the bishop in a great and stout rage replied, saying, "Well, sir! because you sit here by virtue of the king's commission, and for that ye be secretary to his Majesty, and also one of his Highness's council, I must and do honour and reverence you; but as you be but Sir Thomas Smith, and say as ye have said, that I do like thieves, murderers, and traitors, I say ye lie upon me, and in that case I defy you; and do what ye can to me, I fear you not, and therefore, what you do, do quickly."

Whereat the archbishop with the other commissioners said unto him, that for such his unreverent behaviour he was worthy imprisonment.

Then the bishop, in more mad fury than before, said again unto him, "A God's name ye may do *de facto*: send me whither you will, and I must obey you; and so will, except ye send me to the devil; for thither I will not go for you. Three things I have; to wit, a small portion of goods, a poor carcass, and mine own soul: the two first ye may take (though unjustly) to you, but as for my soul, ye get not."

"Well," said the secretary, "then ye shall know that there is a king."

"Yea, sir," saith the bishop, "but that is not you; neither, I am sure, will you take it upon you."

"No, sir," said again the secretary, "but we will make you know who it is." And with that the commissioners commanded the bishop and all the rest to depart the chamber, until they called for him again.

Now, in the mean while that the commissioners were in consultation, the bishop, with Gilbert Bourn his chaplain, Robert Warrington his commissary, and Robert Johnson his registrar, were tarrying in a void quadrant-place before the door of the same chamber; where the bishop, leaning on a cupboard, and seeing his chaplains very sad, said unto them in effect as followeth:

"Sirs, what mean you? Why show you yourselves to be so sad and heavy in mind, as appeareth to me by your outward gestures and countenances? I would wish you, and I require you, to be as merry as I am (laying therewith his hand upon his breast); for, afore God, I am not sad or heavy, but merry and of good comfort; and am right glad and joyful of this my trouble, which is for God's cause; and it grieveth me nothing at all. But the great matter that grieveth me and pierceth my heart, is, for that this Hooper and such other vile heretics and beasts, be suffered and licensed to preach at Paul's Cross, and in other places within my diocese and cure, most detestably preaching and railing at the blessed sacrament of the altar, and denying the verity and presence of Christ's true body and blood to be there: and so infect and betray my flock. But, I say, it is there in very deed, and in that opinion I will live and die, and am ready to suffer death for the same. Wherefore ye, being Christian men, I do require you, and also charge and command you, in the name of God, and on his behalf, as ye will answer him for the contrary, that ye go to the mayor of London, and to his brethren the aldermen, praying and also requiring them earnestly, in God's name and mine, and for mine own discharge on that behalf, that from henceforth, when any such detestable and abominable preachers, and especially those who hold

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opinion against the blessed sacrament of the altar, do come to preach unto them, they forthwith depart out of their presence, and do not hear them; lest that they, tarrying with such preachers, should not only hurt themselves in receiving their poisoned doctrine, but also give a visage to the encouragement of others, who thereby might take an occasion to think and believe, that their erroneous and damnable doctrine is true and good: and this eftsoons I require and command you to do."

And then turning himself about, and beholding two of the archbishop's gentlemen, who in the same place kept the chamber-door where the commissioners were in consultation, and perceiving that they had heard all his talk, he spake unto them also and said:

"And, sirs, ye be my Lord of Canterbury's gentlemen; I know ye very well; and therefore I also require and charge you, in God's behalf, and in his name, that ye do the like, for your parts, in places where you shall chance to see and hear such corrupt and erroneous preachers; and also advertise my Lord your master of the same, and of these my sayings, that I have now spoken here before you, as ye are Christian men, and shall answer before God for the contrary."

With this the commissioners called for the bishop again, who did read unto them an instrument, containing a provocation to the king, which he made in manner and form here following:

"In the name of God, Amen. It shall appear to all men by this public instrument that A.D. 1549, the twentieth day of September, the third year of the reign of our most high and renowned Prince Edward the Sixth, by the grace of God king of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and in earth the supreme head of the church of England and Ireland, in a chamber within the palace of the said bishop, situated in London, and in the presence of me the public notary, and of the witnesses hereafter named, the aforesaid bishop did personally appear, and there did show forth in writing a certain protestation and appellation, the tenor whereof ensueth:

"In the name of God, Amen. I, Edmund, bishop of London, say, allege, and propound, before you being a public notary, and these credible witnesses here present, that although I, the aforesaid Edmund, have attained the bishopric aforesaid by the benevolence of the prince of famous memory King Henry the Eighth, and was lawfully elected and translated to the same, with his rites and appurtenances, and have of a long time possessed peaceably and quietly the same, and presently do possess, being taken as bishop and lawful possessor of the said bishopric, and am lawfully called, taken, and reputed notoriously and publicly; and, moreover, do keep residence and hospitality in the same, according to the order, state, person, and dignity, and as the revenues of the same would permit; and have exercised and done all things appertaining to my pastoral office, as the laws do require, as hereafter I trust by God's grace to do and observe; a man of good name and fame, neither suspended, excommunicated, nor interdicted, neither convicted of any notable crime or fact, always obeying readily the commandment of the church, and other my superiors in all lawful causes; nevertheless, fearing upon certain probable causes, likely conjectures, threatenings, and assertions of certain injurious men my enemies, or at the least, such as little favour me, that great damage may come to me hereafter about the premises or part of them; and lest any man by any authority, commandment, denunciation, inquisition, office, or at the request of any person or persons, may attempt prejudice or hurt to me or my said

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dignity, either by my excommunication, interdiction, sequestration, spoiling, vexing, and perturbing by any manner of means; do appeal unto the most high and mighty prince our sovereign lord Edward the Sixth, by the grace of God king of England, France, &c., and in these my writings do provoke and appeal to his regal Majesty. I do also require the apostles, so much as in this case they are to be required, the first, second, and third time, earnestly, more earnestly, and most earnestly of all, that there may be given to me the protection, tuition, and defence of my aforesaid most dread sovereign lord, for the safeguard of me, my dignity and title, and possession in the premises, and to all that will cleave to me in this behalf. I do also protest, that I will be contented to correct, reform, and amend this my protestation, and to the same to add, to take away, and to bring the same into the best form and state that may be devised by the counsel of learned men, or as the case shall require; and the same to intimate according to time and place, and the order of the law, and still shall require.

"Upon all the which premises the aforesaid Edmund, bishop of London, did require the public notary hereunder written to make unto him, and the witnesses hereafter named, one, two, or more copies of this protestation.

"These things were done the year, day, and time above written, there being present Gilbert Bourn, bachelor of divinity, John Harpsfield and Robert Colen, masters of arts, John Wakeling and Richard Rogers, learned men; being of the diocese of Worcester, Westminster, Coventry, Lichfield, and Gloucester, and especially requested to be witnesses of the same. And I, France Harward, of the diocese of Worcester, and public notary by the king's regal authority, forasmuch as I was present when the foresaid protestation, appellation, and other the premises were done, the year of our Lord, the year of the reign of the king, the day of the month and place aforesaid, the witnesses above named being present, and forasmuch as I did enact the same, therefore to this present public instrument, written faithfully with mine own hand, I have put to my mark, being specially requested unto the same."

Which thing after he had read, he did, under his protestation, first intimate unto the archbishop, the bishop of Rochester, and Dr. May, and then, protesting also not to recede from his recusation, did likewise intimate the same unto Master Secretary Smith, requiring the registrar to make an instrument as well thereupon, as also upon his recusation, with witness to testify the same.

Then the delegates did again proceed to the examination of the last answers, and finding the same imperfect, they demanded of him, (according to the first article,) what special day of August he was sent for by the lord protector? To whom he obstinately answered, that he was not bound to make other answer than he had already made, unless they did put their articles more certain: neither would he otherwise answer as long as Master Secretary Smith was there present, whom he had before recused, and therefore would not recede from his recusation.

The secretary, seeing him so wilful and perverse, said sharply unto him, "My Lord! come off, and make a full and perfect answer unto these articles, or else we will take other order with you to your pain."

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"In faith, sir," then said the bishop again, "I have thought ye had been learned; but now, before God, I perceive well that either ye be not learned indeed, or else ye have forgotten it: for I have so often answered lawfully and sufficiently, and have so often showed causes sufficient and reasonable, why thereunto I ought not by law to be compelled, (you showing nothing to the contrary, but sensuality and will,) that I must needs judge that you are ignorant herein."

"Well," said Master Secretary, "ye will not then otherwise answer?"

"No," said the bishop, "except the law compel me."

Then said the secretary, "Call for the knight-marshal, that he may be had to ward."

With that all the rest of the commissioners charged the bishop, that he had at that time sundry ways very outrageously and irreverently behaved himself towards them sitting on the king's Majesty's commission, and especially towards Sir Thomas Smith, his Grace's secretary; and therefore, and for divers other contumelious words which he had spoken, they declared they would commit him to the Marshalsea.

By this time the marshal's deputy came before them, whom Master Secretary commanded to take the bishop as prisoner, and so to keep him, that no man might come unto him; for if he did, he should sit by him himself.

When the secretary had ended his talk, the bishop said unto him, "Well, sir, it might have become you right well, that my Lord's Grace here present, being first in commission, and your better, should have done it."

Then the commissioners, assigning him to be brought before them on Monday next before noon, between seven and nine of the clock in the hall of that place, there to make full answer to these last articles, or else to show cause why he should not be declared as having confessed, did, for that present, break up that session.

Now as the bishop was departing with the under-marshal, he in a great fury turned himself again toward the commissioners, and said to Sir Thomas Smith, "Sir, whereas ye have committed me to prison, ye shall understand that I will require no favour at your hands, but shall willingly suffer what shall be put unto me, as bolts on my heels, yea, and if ye will, iron about my middle, or where ye will."

Then departing again, he yet returned once more, and foaming out his poison, said unto the archbishop; "Well, my Lord! I am sorry that I, being a bishop, am thus handled at your Grace's hand; but more sorry that ye suffer abominable heretics to practise as they do in London and elsewhere, infecting and disquieting the king's liege people. And therefore I do require you, as you will answer to God and the king, that ye will henceforth abstain thus to do: for if you do not, I will accuse you before God and the king's Majesty; answer to it as well as ye can." And so he departed, using many reproachful words against sundry of the common people, who stood and spake to him by the way as he went.

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The sixth action or process, upon Monday the twenty-third of September, had against Banner, bishop of London, before the commissioners, in the great hall at Lambeth.

It was assigned, as ye have heard, in the fourth act, prosecuted the eighteenth day of September, that upon Monday then next following, being the twenty-third of the same month, the bishop should again appear before the commissioners within the great hall at Lambeth, then to show a final cause why he should not be declared *pro confesso*, upon all the articles whereunto he had not fully answered.

According to which assignment, the same twenty-third day of September, the bishop was brought before them by the under-marshal, (to whom for his disobedient and obstinate behaviour he was before that time committed,) and there did first declare unto them, that his appearance at that time and place was not voluntary, but coerced; for that he was against his will brought thither by the keeper of the Marshalsea; and therewithal also, under his former protestation, recusation, and appeal, did then again intimate a general recusation of all the commissioners, alleging in the same, that because the archbishop, with all his colleagues, had neither observed the order of their commission, nor yet proceeded against him after any laudable or good fashion of judgment, but, contrariwise, had sundry times, as well in his absence as in his presence, attempted many things unlawfully against his person, dignity, and state, especially in committing him to strait prison, and yet commanding him to make answer: and further, because that he, with the rest, had proceeded in commission with Sir Thomas Smith, knight, supporting and maintaining all his evil doings, (notwithstanding that he the said bishop had before justly recused and declined from him,) he, therefore, did also there refuse and decline from the judgment of the said archbishop and his colleagues, and did except against their jurisdiction as suspect, and they, thereby, unmeet persons to proceed against him. Therefore, according to his former appeal, he intended to submit himself under the tuition, protection, and defence of the king's Majesty; for whose honour and reverence' sake (he said) they ought not to proceed any further against him, but quietly suffer him to use the benefit of all the recusations, provocations, and other lawful remedies before alleged, with other superfluous words, at large to be read and seen, as followeth.

The second recusation made by Edmund Bonner, bishop of London.

"In the name of God. Amen. Forasmuch as both natural reason and all good policies of laws, especially of this realm of England, do admit and suffer him that is convented before an incompetent and suspect judge, to refuse him and to decline his jurisdiction, inasmuch as the law and reason on the one side will process to run uprightly and justly, and that on the other side corruption and malice earnestly labour to the contrary, and need therefore to be bridled; and because you, my Lord of Canterbury, with your colleagues in this behalf, (deputed, as ye say, commissioners against me,) neither have observed your said commission, neither yet proceed hitherto against me after any laudable, lawful, or any good fashion of judgment; but, contrariwise, contrary to your commission, and against the law, good reason, and order, have, at sundry times and in sundry acts, attempted and done many things against me unlawfully, unseemly, and unjustly, and suffer the like to be attempted and done by others, not reforming and amending the same, as appeareth in divers and sundry things remaining in your acts:

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"And moreover, because you, my said Lord, with your said colleagues, have, (both in mine absence, being let with just causes of impediment, which, according to the laws of this realm, I have fully alleged, and very sufficiently and justly proved, according to the order of the king's ecclesiastical laws,) injuriously, and much to the hinderance of my name, person, title, dignity, and state, and also otherwise, especially in my presence; against all laws, good order, and reason, without good cause or ground, attempted and done many things against me, especially touching mine imprisonment; sending me to strait ward, and yet commanding me to make answer, as appeareth in your unlawful acts:

"I, for these causes, and also for that ye my said Lord and your said colleagues, proceeding with Sir Thomas Smith, knight, (whom upon just and lawful cause I have refused, recused, and declined,) have favoured, yea maintained, supported, and borne him in his unlawful and evil doings, do also refuse, recuse, and decline you my said Lord, with the rest of your said colleagues agreeing and joining with you; and do except against your proceedings, doings, and jurisdiction, as suspect, and thereby unmeet persons to proceed herein against me.

"And further, I do allege, that having been provoked to the king's most excellent Majesty, as appeareth by the tenor of my provocation remaining in your acts, whereunto I do protest that I intend to adhere and cleave, submitting myself unto the tuition, protection, and defence of his said Majesty in this behalf, ye in any wise ought not (if ye regard the person and authority of his Grace's royal power, as ye ought to do) to proceed herein against me; especially for the honour and reverence ye ought to have unto his Majesty in this behalf. And because it appeareth that ye do not duly and circumspectly consider the same, as ye ought to do, but more and more do grieve me; that not considered, I both here to all purposes repeat my former recusation, provocation, and all other remedies that heretofore I have used and mentioned in your said acts; and also do, by these presents, refuse, recuse, and decline you my said Lord, and your said colleagues, and your jurisdiction, upon causes aforesaid, offering myself prompt and ready to prove all the same, before an arbiter and arbiters, according to the tenor and form of the law herein to be chosen, requiring you all, for that honour and reverence ye ought to bear to our said sovereign Lord, and his laws allowed and approved in this behalf, that ye do not attempt or do, nor yet suffer to be attempted or done, any thing in any wise against me, or unto my prejudice; but suffer me to use and enjoy the benefit of my said former, and this, recusation, provocation, allegation, and other lawful remedies mentioned in your said acts. And in case ye do in fact, where ye ought not by right, attempt, or suffer any thing to be attempted or done against me in any wise herein, I protest herewith, and hereby, of my great grief and hurt in that behalf; and that not only I do intend to appeal from you, but also, according to the king's ecclesiastical laws, to accuse and complain upon you, as justly and truly I both may and ought to do."

Notwithstanding these recusations, and former appellations, the archbishop with the rest told him plain, that they would be still his judges, and proceed against him according to the king's commission, until they did receive a *supersedeas*, which if he did obtain, they would gladly obey.

Then the bishop, seeing that they would still proceed against him, did there likewise intimate another appellation unto the king's Majesty, expressing therein in effect no other matter, but such as is already alleged in the two former recusations and appeals; saving that he requireth

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that letters dimissory or appellatory might be given him according to the law, and that for his better safeguard he did submit himself under the protection of the king.

The commissioners for all this stuck still unto their commission, and would not in any case defer; but urged him straitly to make a more full answer to his articles than he had done.

To whom the bishop said, that he would stand unto his recusations and appellations before made, and would not make other answer.

Then the delegates demanded of him what cause he had to allege, why he ought not to be declared as having confessed, upon the articles whereunto he had not fully answered; the bishop still answering (as before) that he would adhere unto his appellation and recusation.

Whereupon the archbishop, with consent of the rest, seeing his pertinacy, pronounced him contumacious, and in pain thereof declared him as having confessed, upon the articles whereunto he had not answered.

This done, Master Secretary Smith showed forth a letter which the bishop of London had before that time sent unto the lord mayor and the aldermen of the city of London, the tenor whereof ensueth as followeth.

"To the right honourable and my very good Lord, the lord mayor of London, with all his worshipful brethren; my very dear and worshipshipful friends; with speed.

"Right honourable! with my very humble recommendations:—Whereas I have perceived of late, and heard with mine ears, what vile beasts and heretics have preached unto you, or rather, like themselves, prated and railed against the most blessed sacrament of the altar, denying the verity and presence of Christ's true body and blood to be there, giving you and the people liberty to believe what ye list; teaching you detestably, that faith in this behalf must not be coerced, but that every man may believe as he will! by reason whereof, lest my presence and silence might unto some have been seen to have allowed their heretical doctrine, and given credit unto them, betraying my flock of the catholic sort, ye know I departed yesterday from the heretic prater's uncharitable charity, and so could have wished that you, and all other that be catholic, should have done, leaving those there with him that be already cast away, and will not be recovered. For your tarrying with him still, shall not only hurt yourselves in receiving his poisoned doctrine, but also shall give a visage that their doctrine is tolerable, by reason that ye are content to hear it, and say nothing against it. And because I cannot tell when I shall speak with you to advertise you hereof, therefore I thought good, for mine own discharge and yours, thus much to write unto you, requiring and praying you again and again, in God's behalf, and for mine own discharge, that ye suffer not yourselves to be abused with such naughty preachers and teachers, in hearing their evil doctrine that ye shall perceive them go about to sow. And thus our blessed Lord long and well preserve you all, with this noble city, in all good rest, godliness, and prosperity. Written in haste, this Monday morning, the sixteenth of September, 1549.

"Your faithful beadsman and poor bishop,
EDMUND BONNER."

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This letter being read, the secretary demanded of him whether he wrote it not; to whom he would not otherwise answer, but that he would still adhere and stand unto his former recusations and appeals; which the commissioners seeing, determined to continue this case in state as it was until Friday then next following, between the hours of eight and nine of the clock before noon, assigning the bishop to be there at the same time and place, then to hear a final decree of this matter, he still protesting as before.

The seventh session or appearance of Bonner, on Tuesday the first of October, before the king's commissioners at Lambeth.

Upon Friday the commissioners, for divers urgent causes letting them, did not sit in commission according to their appointment, but deferred it until Tuesday the first of October then next following. Upon which day the bishop appearing before them, the archbishop made this declaration unto him:

That although as upon Friday last they had appointed to pronounce their final decree and sentence in this matter, yet forasmuch as they thought that that sentence (although they had just cause to give it) should have been very sore against him, they had not only deferred the same until this day, but, minding to be more friendly to him than he was to himself, and to use more easy and gentle reformation towards him, had also made such suit and means for him, that although he had grievously offended the king's Majesty, and very disobediently behaved himself, yet, if he would in the mean while have acknowledged his fault, and have been contented to make some part of amends in submitting himself according to his bounden duty, he should have found much favour; so the sentence should not have been so sore and extreme against him as it was like now to be; for which they were very sorry; especially to see the continuance of such stubborn disobedience, whereby they were then more enforced to give such sentence against him.

The bishop, nothing at all regarding this gentle and friendly admonition and favour, but persisting still in his wonted contumacy, drew forth a paper, whereon he read these words following:

"I, Edmund, bishop of London, brought in as a prisoner by his keeper, out of the Marshalsea, here before you my Lord of Canterbury and your pretended colleagues, do, under my former protestations heretofore by me made before you and remaining in your act, declare that this my presence here at this time is not voluntary, nor of mine own free will and consent, but utterly coerced and against my will; and that being otherwise sent for or brought before you than I am, (that is, as a prisoner,) I would not, being at liberty, have come and appeared before you, but would have declined and refused to make any appearance at all, and would have absented himself from you, as lawfully and well I might have done; standing to, using, and enjoying all and singular my lawful remedies and defences heretofore used, exercised, and enjoyed, especially my provocation, and appellation heretofore interposed and made unto the king's most excellent Majesty, to whom eftsoons, sufficiently, I have both provoked and appealed, and also made supplication, as appeareth in these writings, which, under protestation aforesaid, I do exhibit and leave here with the attorney of this cause; requiring him to make an instrument thereupon, and the persons here present to bear record in that behalf; especially to the

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intent it may appear, I do better acknowledge the king's Majesty's authority even in his tender and young age, provoking and appealing to his Majesty as my most gracious sovereign and supreme head, with submission to his Highness (as appeareth in my appellation and other remedies) for my tuition and defence, than some other, (I do mean you, my Lord of Canterbury, and your said pretended colleagues,) who, by law and good reason, ought to have deferred and given place unto such provocation, appellation, and supplication, as heretofore lawfully have been by me interponed and made unto his Majesty's most royal person and authority in this behalf."

As soon as the bishop had read these words, he did deliver as well that paper, as also two other, unto the actuary, the one containing an appellation, and the other a supplication unto the king's Majesty; which appellation beginneth thus:

"In the name of God, Amen."—Wherein first he showed "how naturally every creature declineth gladly from that thing which goeth about to hurt it; and also seeketh help and remedy to withstand such hurts and injuries."

Further, he showed "that it is found by experience to be hurtful and dangerous to trust him that once hath hurt and beguiled, lest he might add more, rather than to take aught from."

Moreover he showed, "that he had found heretofore, at the hands of the archbishop of Canterbury, and the rest of the colleagues in this matter, much extremity and cruelty, injuries, losses, and griefs, contrary to God's law, and the laws and statutes of this realm, and against justice, charity, and good order; being well assured, if they were not stayed, but proceeded, they would add more evil to evil, loss to loss, displeasure to displeasure; as (said he) their servants have reported, and they agreeably do show the same."

Again in the said appeal he showed, "that the bishop of Canterbury, and the other commissioners, ought to have considered and done better in that matter for honour and obedience to the king's Majesty, which hitherto they have not done, (said he,) in that they have not given place to his provocations and appellations heretofore made unto his Grace justly and lawfully, and upon good and just causes; namely, for the unjust griefs they did against him, which (he said) do appear in the acts of that matter; as in pronouncing him contumacious unreasonably, without good cause; and further in assigning the term to hear the final sentence, and in committing him to strait prison, as appeareth in their acts. Therefore he did not only decline and refuse their pretended jurisdiction as before, but also, by these presents here showed, he did appeal from the said archbishop of Canterbury, and the rest, unto the king's Majesty, asking also those letters of appeal which the law doth admit; saying, he did not intend to go from his former provocations and appellations, but to join and cleave unto them in every part and parcel, submitting himself to the protection and defence of the king's Majesty: and he therein made intimation to the archbishop of Canterbury, and to his said colleagues, to all intents and purposes that might come thereof."

Furthermore, as touching the supplication above mentioned, which Bonner, as we said, put up in writing to the commissioners, the copy thereof hereunder likewise ensueth.

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The supplication of Bonner to the chancellor of England, with all the rest of the king's Majesty's most honourable privy council.

"Please it your most honourable good Lordships, with my most humble recommendations, to understand, that albeit I have, according to the laws, statutes, and ordinances of this realm, made supplication, provocation, and appellation unto the king's most excellent Majesty, from the unlawful and wicked process of the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Rochester, Master Secretary Smith, and the dean of Paul's; as also as well from their unjust interlocutory, as also their definitive sentence, whereby in law I ought to have liberty to come abroad and prosecute the same, yet, such is the malignity of the judges against me, with bearing and maintenance of others, which sundry and many ways have sought my ruin and destruction, that I am here penned and locked up, used very extremely at their pleasure, and, for the contentation of the said Master Smith, not suffered to find sureties, or to go abroad to prosecute and sue my said appellation.

"In consideration whereof, it may please your said good Lordship to take some order and redress herein, especially for that it is now the time that the king's subsidy, now due, ought to be called upon, and justice also ministered unto his Majesty's subjects; which, being as I now am, I cannot be suffered to do. And thus, without further extending my letter therein, considering that your great wisdoms, experience, and goodness, can gather of a little what is expedient and necessary for the whole, I do beseech Almighty God to preserve and keep well all your honourable good Lordships.

"Written in haste this seventh of October, 1549, in the Marshalsea.

"Your honourable Lordship's poor orator, and most bounden beadsman,
EDMUND LONDON."

These things ended, the archbishop said unto him, "My Lord! where you say that you come coacted, or else you would not have appeared, I do much marvel of you: for you would thereby make us and this audience here believe, that because you are a prisoner, ye ought not therefore to answer; which, if it were true, it were enough to confound the whole state of this realm. For I dare say, that of the greatest prisoners and rebels that ever your keeper there" (meaning the under marshal) "hath had under him, he cannot show me one that hath used such defence as you here have done."

"Well," quoth the bishop, "if my keeper were learned in the laws, I could show him my mind therein."

"Well," said the archbishop, "I have read over all the laws as well as you, but to another end and purpose than you did; and yet I can find no such privilege in this matter."

Then Master Secretary Smith did very sore burden and charge him, how disobediently and rebelliously he had always behaved himself towards the king's Majesty and his authority. Whereupon the bishop, under his protestation, answered again, that he was the king's Majesty's lawful and true subject, and did acknowledge his Highness to be his gracious sovereign lord, or else he would not have appealed unto him as he had; yea, and would gladly lay his hands and his

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neck also under his Grace's feet; and therefore he desired that his Highness's laws and justice might be ministered unto him.

"Yea," quoth Master Secretary, "you say well, my Lord: but I pray you what other have all these rebels both in Norfolk, Devonshire, and Cornwall, and other places done? Have they not said thus? We be the king's true subjects; we acknowledge him for our king, and we will obey his laws, with such like: and yet, when either commandment, letter, or pardon, was brought unto them from his Majesty, they believed it not, but said it was forged and made under a hedge, and was gentlemen's doings; so that indeed they neither would nor did obey any thing."

"Ah, sir," said the bishop, "I perceive your meaning; as who should say that the bishop of London is a rebel like them." "Yea, by my troth," quoth the secretary. Whereat the people laughed.

Then the dean of Paul's said unto him, that he marvelled much, and was very sorry to see him so untractable, that he would not suffer the judges to speak. To whom the bishop disdainfully answered, "Well, Master dean! you must say somewhat." And likewise at another time as the dean was speaking, he interrupted and said, "You may speak when your turn cometh."

Then said the Secretary Smith, "I would you knew your duty." "I would," quoth he again, "you knew it as well as I:" with an infinite deal more of other such stubborn and contemptuous talk and behaviour towards them; which the commissioners weighing, and perceiving no likelihood of any tractable reason in him, they determined that the archbishop, with their whole consent, should at that present there openly read and publish their final decree or sentence definitive against him; which he did, pronouncing him thereby to be clean deprived from the bishopric of London; which ended, the bishop immediately did therefrom appeal by word of mouth, alleging that the same sentence there given against him, was no law; the tenor of whose words I thought here to express, according as they were by him uttered, in this wise as followeth:

"I, Edmund, bishop of London, brought in and kept here as a prisoner against my consent and will, do, under my former protestation heretofore made, and to the intent it may also appear that I have not, being so here in this place, consented or agreed to any thing done against me and in my prejudice, allege and say that this sentence given here against me, is *lex nulla*; and so far forth as it shall appear to be *aliqua*; I do say it is *iniqua et injusta*, and that therefore I do from it, as *iniqua et injusta*, appeal to the most excellent and noble King Edward the Sixth, by the grace of God, king of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and of the church of England and also Ireland (next and immediately under God here on earth) supreme head, and unto his court of chancery or parliament, as the laws, statutes, and ordinances of this realm will suffer and bear in this behalf; desiring instantly, first, second, and third, according to the laws, letters reverential, or dimissories, to be given and delivered unto me in this behalf, with all things expedient, requisite, or necessary in any wise."

And thereupon also the said bishop required the public notary or actuary, William Say, to make an instrument, and the witness aforesaid and others present to record the same: to whom so appealing, and requiring as before, the said judge's delegate said, that they would declare and

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signify to the king's Majesty what was done in this matter; and thereupon would defer or not defer to his said appellation, according as his Grace's pleasure and commandment should be given to them in that behalf.

And after all this, the said bishop of London said to them, "You have now discharged your office. What will your Grace do with me now, touching my imprisonment? will ye keep me still in prison? shall I not now be at liberty to prosecute mine appeal?" To whom the archbishop answering, said, that they perceived now more in that matter than they did at first, and that this matter was greater rebellion than he was aware of; and therefore they said that as yet they would not discharge him. And thereupon they committed him again to his keeper in prison.

This talk finished, the archbishop, considering that most of the audience there present did not understand the meaning of the sentence, being read in the Latin tongue, said to them, "Because there be many of you here that understand not the Latin tongue, and so cannot tell what judgment hath been here given, I shall therefore show you the effect thereof:" and therewith he did declare in English the causes expressed in the sentence, adding thereunto these words:

"Because my Lord of London is found guilty in these matters, therefore we have here, by our sentence, deprived him of our bishopric of London; and this we show unto you, to the intent that from henceforth ye shall not esteem him any more as bishop of London."

Then Bonner desired the archbishop to declare likewise what he had done, and how he had appealed. But the other, seeing his froward contempt, refused it, saying, You may do it yourself. Whereupon very disdainfully again he said, "you have now done your duty. What will your Grace do with me touching my imprisonment? will you keep me still in prison?"

To whom the commissioners answered, that they perceived now more in the matter than they did before, and that his behaviour was greater rebellion than he was aware of. And therefore they would not discharge him, but committed him again to his keeper to be kept in prison; where he most justly remained until the death of that most worthy and godly prince King Edward the Sixth; after which time he wrought most horrible mischief and cruelties against the saints of God, as appeareth hereafter throughout the whole reign of Queen Mary. From the executing of the which like tyranny, the Lord of his great mercy keep all other such. Amen!

Now, immediately after his deprivation he writeth out of the Marshalsea other letters supplicatory unto the lord chancellor, and the rest of the king's council, wherein he thus complaineth, that by reason of the great enmity which the duke of Somerset and Sir Thomas Smith bare unto him, his often and earnest suits unto the king and his council could not be heard. He therefore most humbly desired their Lordships, for the causes aforesaid, to consider him, and to let him have liberty to prosecute his matter before them; and he would daily pray for the good preservation of their Honours, as appeareth by the words of his own supplication hereunder following.

Thus after the commissioners had finished with Bonner, he, being now prisoner in the Marshalsea, leaving no shift of the law unsought how to work for himself as well as he might,

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drew out a certain supplication, conceived and directed to the king's Majesty, out of the said prison of the Marshalsea.

"To the right honourable, my lord chancellor of England, with all the rest of the most honourable privy council:

"Please it your most honourable good Lordships, with my most humble commendations, to understand, that albeit heretofore I have made such suit, and to such persons, as I cannot devise to make more, or to more higher; this is to wit, to the king's most excellent Majesty, and his most gracious person in divers sorts, and also unto your most honourable good Lordships being of his privy council, for redress of such notable and manifest injuries and extremities as have been, contrary to all law, honesty, and good reason, inflicted upon me by my Lord of Canterbury, my Lord of Rochester, Dr. Smith, and Dr. May: yet, because the said Dr. Smith, being a minister to the duke of Somerset, and they both my deadly enemies, hath sundry ways studied and laboured my ruin and destruction, staying and letting heretofore all my lawful remedies and suits, having therein help and furtherance of these two other aforesaid persons, being ready at foot and hand to accomplish all their desires and pleasures, I shall at this present (having for a time forborne to trouble, for good respects, your most honourable good Lordships with any my suits, and especially for your other manifold great affairs in the king's Majesty's business, myself yet, the mean while, neither wanting good will, nor yet just cause, being where I am, to make such suit) renew my suit, and most humbly beseech your most honourable good Lordships to give me leave to make most humble supplication again to your said Lordships, for honest and lawful liberty to prosecute my appellation and supplication heretofore made to the king's most excellent Majesty; and, according to the law, to make my suit for redress of the said great and manifest injuries, extremities, and wrongs, done against me by the said persons. And your said Lordships, over and besides the furtherance of justice many ways herein to me and others, and the collection of the king's Majesty's subsidy now to be levied of the clergy in my diocese, which hitherto hath been and is stayed by reason of the premises, shall also bind me most greatly and entirely to pray daily for the good preservation of your said most honourable good Lordships; in all honour, felicity, and joy, long to continue and endure unto God's pleasure.

"Written in the Marshalsea, the 26th of October, 1549.

"Your Lordships' most faithful and assured beadsman,
EDMUND LONDON."

A supplication made and directed by Edmund Bonner, late bishop of London, to the king's Majesty, out of the prison of the Marshalsea.

In the which supplication, first, after the used form of style, he prayed for the prosperous estate of the king long to reign. Then he showed that his faithful heart and service to him hath, is, and shall be, as it was to his father before.

Then he declared how he had been belied of evil men, and misreported not to bear a true heart to his Grace, but a rebellious mind, in denying his royal power in his minority; whereas indeed, he saith, his Grace should find him always, during life, both in heart, word, and deed, to do and acknowledge otherwise, and to be most willing to show, &c., and to do all other things

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for his Grace, as willingly as any other subject, or as those that were his denouncers, who, he thought, were not sent of his Grace, but pretended commissioners, &c.

Further, he complained of his denunciation by certain commissioners, (who said they were sent by his Grace,) alleging the same not to be lawful; and of his long and sharp imprisonment; and that the commissioners observed neither law nor reasonable order, but extremity. And whereas he had made appeal to his Grace, and he could not have it; he desired to have law to prosecute and sue his appeal for his remedy, and that he (considering his vocation) might not be shut up and put from liberty, which his meanest subjects have.

Then he desired his Grace's letters of *supersedeas* against the commissioners, and that the matter might be heard before the council; and then he doubted not but to be found a true faithful man, and herein to have wrong. So in the end he concluded, that this, (prostrating himself even to the very ground, and humbly kissing his Grace's feet,) was the only thing which he humbly desired, &c.

This done, and the supplication perused, the king eftsoons giveth in charge and commandment to certain men of honour and worship, and persons skilful in the law, as to the Lord Rich, high chancellor, the lord treasurer, the lord marquis Dorset, the bishop of Ely, Lord Wentworth, Sir Anthony Wingfield and Sir William Herbert, knights, Dr. Richard Wootton, Edward Montague, lord chief justice, Sir John Baker, knight, with Judge Hales, John Gosnold, Dr. Oliver, and also Dr. Leyson, that they, scanning and perusing all such acts, matters, and muniments of the said Bonner by him exhibited, produced, propounded, and alleged, with all and singular his protestations, recusations, and appellations, should, upon mature consideration thereof, give their direct answer upon the same, whether the appellation of the said Bonner were to be deferred unto; whether the sentence defined against him stood by the law sufficient and effectual, or not: who, eftsoons, after diligent discussion, and considerate advisement had of all and singular the premises, gave their resolute answer, that the pretended appellation of Edmund Bonner aforesaid was naught and unreasonable, and in no wise to be deferred unto; and that the sentence by the commissioners against him, was rightly and justly pronounced. And this was the conclusion of Bonner's whole matter and deprivation for that time.

231. Further Religious Reforms under King Edward

Thus then, leaving Dr. Bonner awhile in the Marshalsea with his keeper, we will proceed (the Lord permitting) further in the course of our story, as the order of years and time requireth. And although the trouble of the lord protector falleth here jointly with the deprivation of Dr. Bonner, yet, because he was shortly again delivered out of the same through the Lord's mighty working, I will therefore delay the tractation thereof, till the time of his second trouble, which was two years after; and so, in the mean time returning again into our discourse, intend, by the Lord's leave, to collect and continue the matters begun, touching the king's godly proceedings for reformation of religion in the aforesaid year of our Lord concurring—the year 1549.

And here first a note would be made of Peter Martyr and of his learned travails and disputation in the university of Oxford the said present year with Dr. Chedsey and others, about the matter of the sacrament; which was, that the substance of bread and wine was not changed in the sacrament, and that the body and blood of Christ were not carnally and bodily in the bread and wine, but united to the same sacramentally.

In like manner, some touch or mention here also would be made of the ecclesiastical laws, for the gathering and compiling whereof thirty-two persons were assigned by act of parliament the said present year, 1549. But because these be rather matters of tractation, than historical, I mean (God willing) to defer the further consideration thereof unto the end of the history of this king's days, and so to pass forward to other matters in the mean while.

Books in the Latin service abolished.



T followeth now in the story, that certain of the vulgar multitude hearing of the apprehension of the lord protector, and supposing the alteration of the public service into English, and administration of the sacrament and other rites lately appointed in the church, had been the act, chiefly or only, of the said lord protector, began upon the same to noise and bruit abroad, that they should now have their old Latin service, with holy bread and holy water, and their other like superstitious ceremonies again: whereupon the king, with the body and state of the privy council then being, directed out his letters of request and strait commandment to the bishops, in their dioceses, touching the same, in form and manner as followeth.

A certain precept or decree of King Edmard, directed to the bishops in their dioceses, for the abolishing of books of the Latin service, and of certain other ceremonies.

"Right reverend father in God, right truly and well-beloved, we greet you well. And whereas the book, entitled The Book of Common Prayers and Administration of the Sacraments

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and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, after the use of the Church of England, was agreed upon and set forth by act of parliament, and by the same act commanded to be used of all persons within this our realm, yet, nevertheless, we are informed that divers unquiet and evil-disposed persons, since the apprehension of the duke of Somerset, have noised and bruited abroad, that they should have again their old Latin service, their conjured bread and water, with such-like vain and superstitious ceremonies, as though the setting-forth of the said book had been the only act of the aforementioned duke: We, therefore, by the advice of the body and state of our privy council, not only considering the said book to be our own act, and the act of the whole state of our realm assembled together in the parliament, but also the same to be grounded upon Holy Scripture, agreeable to the order of the primitive church, and much to the edifying of our subjects,—to put away all such vain expectation of having the public service, the administration of the sacraments and other rites and ceremonies, again in the Latin tongue (which were but a preferring of ignorance to knowledge, and darkness to light, and a preparation to bring in papistry and superstition again)—have thought good, by the advice aforesaid, to require and nevertheless straitly command and charge you, that ye, immediately upon the receipt hereof, do command the dean and prebendaries of your cathedral church, the parson, vicar, or curate, and churchwardens of every parish within your diocese, to bring and deliver to you, or your deputy, every of them, for their church and parish, at such convenient place as ye shall appoint, all antiphoners, missals, grails, processions, manuals, legends, pixes, portucuses, journals, and ordinals, after the use of Sarum, Lincoln, York, Bangor, Hereford, or any other private use; and all other books of service, the keeping whereof should be let to the using of the said Book of Common Prayers; and that ye take the same books into your hands, or into the hands of your deputy, and them so deface and abolish, that they never after may serve, either to any such use as they were first provided for, or be at any time a let to that godly and uniform order, which, by a consent, is now set forth. And if ye shall find any person stubborn or disobedient in not bringing in the said books, according to the tenor of these our letters, that then you commit the same person to ward, to such time as ye have certified us of his misbehaviour: and we will and command you, that ye also search, or cause such search to be made, from time to time, whether any books be withdrawn or hid, contrary to the tenor of these our letters; and the same books to receive into your hands, and to use, as in these our letters we have appointed.

"And furthermore, whereas it is come to our knowledge, that divers froward and obstinate persons do refuse to pay toward the finding of bread and wine for the holy communion, according to order prescribed in the said book, by reason whereof the holy communion is many times omitted upon the Sunday: these are to will and command you, to convent such obstinate persons before you, and them to admonish and command to keep the order prescribed in the same book. And if any shall refuse so to do, punish them by suspension, excommunication, or other censures of the church. Fail ye not thus to do, as ye will avoid our displeasure.

"Given under our signet, at our palace of Westminster, the 25th of December, the third year of our reign.

Thomas Cranmer,
J. Russell,
R. Rich, Cancel.,
H. Dorset,
W. Saint John,
W. North."

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Whereby it may appear to us now, that no wafer-cakes, but common bread, was then, by the king's appointment, ordinarily received and used in churches. This was about the latter end of December, A.D. 1549.

Taking down of altars, and setting up the table instead thereof.

Furthermore, in the year next following, (1550) other letters, likewise, were sent for the taking down of altars in churches, and setting up the table instead of the same, unto Nicholas Ridley, who, being bishop of Rochester before, was then made bishop of London, in Bonner's place. The copy and contents of the king's letters are these, as follow.

The king's letter to Nicholas Ridley, bishop of London, &c.

"Right reverend father in God, right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And where it is come to our knowledge, that the altars within the most part of the churches of this realm being already upon good and godly considerations taken down, there do yet remain altars standing in divers other churches, by occasion whereof much variance and contention ariseth among sundry of our subjects, which, if good foresight were not had, might perchance engender great hurt and inconvenience; we let you wit, that, minding to have all occasion of contention taken away, which many times groweth by those and such-like diversities, and considering that amongst other things belonging to our royal office and cure, we do account the greatest to be, to maintain the common quiet of our realm; we have thought good, by the advice of our council, to require you, and nevertheless especially to charge and command you, for the avoiding of all matters of further contention and strife about the standing or taking away of the said altars, to give substantial order throughout all your diocese, that, with all diligence, all the altars in every church or chapel, as well in places exempted as not exempted, within your said diocese, be taken down; and instead thereof, a table be set up in some convenient part of the chancel, within every such church or chapel, to serve for the ministration of the blessed communion. And, to the intent the same may be done without the offence of such our loving subjects as be not yet so well persuaded in that behalf as we would wish, we send unto you herewith certain considerations gathered and collected, that make for the purpose; the which, and such other as you shall think meet to be set forth to persuade the weak to embrace our proceedings in this part, we pray you cause to be declared to the people by some discreet preachers, in such places as you shall think meet, before the taking-down of the said altars; so as both the weak consciences of others may be instructed and satisfied as much as may be, and this our pleasure the more quietly executed. For the better doing whereof, we require you to open the aforesaid considerations in that our cathedral church in your own person, if you conveniently may, or otherwise, by your chancellor, or some other grave preacher, both there and in such other market towns, and most notable places of your diocese, as you may think most requisite.

"Given under our signet, at our palace of Westminster, the twenty-fourth day of November, the fourth year of our reign.

Edward Somerset,
John Bedford,
Thomas Cranmer,
William North,
William Wiltshire,

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Edward Clinton,
John Warwick,
H. Wentworth,
Thomas Ely."

Reasons why the Lord's board should rather be after the form of a table, than of an altar.

"I am not ashamed of the gospel, because it is the power of God unto salvation, to every one that believeth, Rom. i. 16.

"Certain reasons why the reverend father, Nicholas, bishop of London, amongst other his injunctions given in his late visitation, did exhort those churches in his diocese, where the altars, as then, did remain, to conform themselves to those other churches which had taken them down, and had set up, instead of the multitude of their altars, one decent table in every church. And that herein he did not only not any thing contrary unto the Book of Common Prayer, or to the king's Majesty's proceedings, but that he was induced to do the same, partly moved by his office and duty, wherewith he is charged in the same book, and partly, for the advancement and sincere setting-forward of God's holy word, and the king's Majesty's most godly proceedings.

"First Reason.—The form of a table shall more move the simple from the superstitious opinions of the popish mass, unto the right use of the Lord's supper. For the use of an altar is to make sacrifice upon it; the use of a table is to serve for men to eat upon. Now, when we come unto the Lord's board, what do we come for? to sacrifice Christ again, and to crucify him again, or to feed upon him, that was once only crucified and offered up for us? If we come to feed upon him, spiritually to eat his body, and spiritually drink his blood, (which is the true use of the Lord's supper,) then no man can deny but the form of a table is more meet for the Lord's board, than the form of an altar.

"Second Reason.—Whereas it is said, 'The Book of Common Prayer maketh mention of an altar; wherefore, it is not lawful to abolish that which the book alloweth:' to this it is thus answered: The Book of Common Prayer calleth the thing whereupon the Lord's supper is ministered, indifferently a table, an altar, or the Lord's board; without prescription of any form thereof, either of a table or of an altar: so that whether the Lord's board have the form of an altar, or of a table, the Book of Common Prayer calleth it both an altar and a table. For, as it calleth it an altar, whereupon the Lord's supper is ministered, a table, and the Lord's board, so it calleth the table, where the holy communion is distributed with lauds and thanksgiving unto the Lord, an altar, for that there is offered the same sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving. And thus it appeareth, that here is nothing neither said nor meant contrary to the Book of Common Prayer.

"Third Reason.—The popish opinion of mass was, that it might not be celebrated but upon an altar, or at the least upon a super-altar, to supply the fault of the altar, which must have had its prints and characters; or else it was thought that the thing was not lawfully done. But this superstitious opinion is more holden in the minds of the simple and ignorant by the form of an altar, than of a table; wherefore it is more meet, for the abolishment of this superstitious opinion, to have the Lord's board after the form of a table, than of an altar.

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"Fourth Reason.—The form of an altar was ordained for the sacrifices of the law, and therefore the altar in Greek is called ζυσιαστηριον [Zysiasterion]. But now both the law and the sacrifices thereof do cease: wherefore the form of the altar used in the altar ought to cease withal.

"Fifth Reason.—Christ did institute the sacrament of his body and blood at his last supper, at a table, and not at an altar; as it appeareth manifestly by the three evangelists. And St. Paul calleth the coming to the holy communion, the coming unto the Lord's supper. And also it is not read that any of the apostles or the primitive church did ever use any altar in ministration of the holy communion.

"Wherefore, seeing the form of a table is more agreeable to Christ's institution, and with the usage of the apostles, and of the primitive church, than the form of an altar, therefore the form of a table is rather to be used, than the form of an altar, in the administration of the holy communion.

"Sixth and last Reason.—It is said in the Preface of the Book of Common Prayer, that if any doubt do arise in the use and practising of the same book, to appease all such diversity, the matter shall be referred unto the bishop of the diocese, who, by his discretion, shall take order for the quieting and appeasing of the same, so that the same order be not contrary unto any thing contained in that book."

After these letters and reasons received, the forenamed Nicholas Ridley, bishop of London, consequently upon the same did hold his visitation, wherein, amongst other his injunctions, the said bishop exhorted those churches in his diocese, where the altars did then remain, to conform themselves unto those other churches which had taken them down, and had set up, instead of the multitude of their altars, one decent table in every church. Upon the occasion whereof there arose a great diversity about the form of the Lord's board, some using it after the form of a table, and some of an altar. Wherein when the said bishop was required to say and determine what was most meet, he declared he could do no less of his bounden duty, for the appeasing of such diversity, and to procure one godly uniformity, but to exhort all his diocese unto that which he thought did best agree with Scripture, with the usage of the apostles, and with the primitive church, and to that which is not only not contrary unto any thing contained in the Book of Common Prayer, (as is before proved,) but also might highly further the king's most godly proceedings in abolishing of divers vain and superstitious opinions of the popish mass out of the hearts of the simple, and to bring them to the right use, taught by Holy Scripture, of the Lord's supper. And so appointed he the form of a right table to be used in his diocese, and, in the church of Paul, brake down the wall standing then by the high altar's side.

232. The Trial Of Stephen Gardiner.

Here followeth the history of the doings and attempts of Stephen Gardiner, late bishop of Winchester, with the process of his articles and examinations upon the same.

Now that we have discoursed the process, doings, and examinations of Edmund Bonner, followeth next in order the story of Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, in process not much unlike to the other; in stoutness alike arrogant and glorious; in craft and subtlety going before him, although the order and time of his examinations came behind him.

This Gardiner, having precept and commandment given unto him by the king to preach upon certain points which they had him in suspicion for, in much like sort as Bonner did before, showed himself, in performing the same, both stubborn and wilful, as was declared of the other before. Whereupon the next day after his sermon ensuing, being arrested by Sir Anthony Wingfield and Sir Ralph Sadler, knights, accompanied with a great number of the guard, he was committed to the Tower; from whence, at length, he was brought to Lambeth, to his examinations, whereof more shall be said hereafter (Christ permitting) at large. In the mean time to comprehend and collect all things in order, first, we will begin with the beginning of his deserved trouble: how he was committed to keep his house, and afterwards had to the Fleet; and what letters he wrote, as well to others as especially to the lord protector; whose answers again to the said bishop, as many as came to our hands, we have thereto annexed, by the example and copy of which his letters, here being expressed for thee, gentle reader, to peruse, thou mayest easily perceive and understand the proud and glorious spirit of that man, his stubborn contumacy against the king, and malicious rebellion against God and true religion, with sleight and craft enough to defend his peevish purposes.

The examples and copies of certain letters written by Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, containing divers matters not unworthy to be known for this present history.

Winchester to the lord protector, in consequence of a sermon of the bishop of St. David's.

"May it please your Grace to understand, that I have noted some points in my Lord of St. David's sermon, which I send unto you herewith, whereby to declare unto you some part what I think, for the whole I cannot express. Somewhat I shall encumber you with my babbling, but he hath encumbered some friends more with his tattling. And alas, my Lord! this is a piteous case, that having so much business as ye have, these inward disorders should be added unto them, to the courage of such as would this realm any ways evil. For this is the thing they would desire, with hope thereby to disorder this realm, being now a time rather to repair that which needeth reparation, than to make any new buildings which they pretend. Quiet, tranquillity, unity, and concord shall maintain estimation: the contrary may animate the enemy to attempt that which was never thought on, which God forbid.

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"There was never attempt of alteration made in England, but upon comfort of discord at home; and woe be to them that mindeth it! If my Lord of St. David's, or such others, have their head cumbered with any new platform, I would wish they were commanded, between this and the king's Majesty's full age, to draw the plat, diligently to hew the stones, dig the sand, and chop the chalk, in the unseasonable time of building; and, when the king's Majesty cometh to full age, to present their labours to him; and, in the mean time, not to disturb the state of the realm, whereof your Grace is protector; but that you may, in every part of religion, laws, lands, and decrees, (which four contain the state,) deliver the same unto our sovereign lord, according unto the trust you be put in; which shall be much to your honour, and as all honest men wish and desire: to which desired effect there can be nothing so noisome and contrarious as trouble and disquiet. Wherein your Grace shall be specially troubled, as on whose shoulders all the weight lieth; and whatsoever shall happen amiss by the faults of others, shall be imputed to your Grace, as doer thereof, or wanting foresight in time to withstand the same. And albeit that your mind be not faulty in either, yet, if the effect be not to the realm as it were to be wished, the prince, though he were of age, should be excused, and the governors bear the blame. And this is the infelicity of pre-eminence and authority, and specially in this realm, as stories make mention, which should not discourage you, for you need fear nothing without, if quiet be reserved at home; and at home, if the beginning be resisted, the intended folly may easily be interrupted. But if my brother of St. David's may, like a champion with his sword in his hand, make entry for the rest, the door of licence opened, there shall more by folly thrust in with him than your Grace would wish.

"Thus, as I think, I write homely to your Grace, because you were content I should write, wherein I consider only to have all things well. And because your Grace is the protector and the chief director of the realm, to present unto your wisdom what my folly is, I have been oftentimes blamed for fearing over-much, and yet I have had an inkling that they that so blamed me, feared even as much as I. Being in the state that you be in, it shall be ever commendable to foresee the worst. In quiet ye be strong, in trouble ye be greatly weak, and bring yourself in danger of one part, when parties be, therewith one to scourge the other: whereas, in concord, they be both yours, in an honest, reverent, lowly fear to do their duty; which, I doubt not, your wisdom can consider, and consider also how noisome any other outward encumber might be, in the time of the minority of our sovereign lord. I told the emperor's council, that our late sovereign lord did much for the emperor, to enter war with him, and to put his realm in his old days in the adventure of fortune, whether he should enjoy it or no; for that is the nature of war. And sometimes the contemned and abject have had the upper hand. And when ye administer the realm for another, it were a marvellous question of him that shall enjoy the realm to say, What meant you, in the time of administration to adventure my realm? Why took ye not rather, for the time of my minority, any peace, whatsoever it were? which is better than the best war, as some men have written.

"I know you have authority sufficient, and wisdom plenty, and yet, being entered to write, I forget for the time what ye be, and commune with you as I were talking at Brussels with you, devising of the world at large. And if I were sworn to say what I think of the state of the world, I would, for a time, let Scots be Scots, with despair to have them, unless it were by conquest, which shall be a goodly enterprise for our young master, when he cometh to age. And, in the mean time, prepare him money for it, and set the realm in an order which it hath need of. And for a stay, if the emperor would offer the daughter of the king of Romans, as he did, do with

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him in our master's minority, as he did with us in his, whereby all this hath chanced unto him. And by this alliance your estimation shall increase, and our sovereign lord's surety not a little increase and be augmented. For of France it must be taken for a rule, 'They be so wanton, they cannot do well longer than they see how they may be scourged if they do not.' Here is all the wit that I have, which I offer unto you upon this occasion of writing, and shall pray God to put into your mind that which shall be for the best, as I trust he will; and, in the mean time, to extinguish this barbarous contention at home, which can serve only to do hurt, and no good. I had fashioned a letter to Master Ridley, which I send unto your Grace, and encumber you with these melancholy writings, engendered of this fondness, which be not worth the reading. And so it may like you to use them, for having heard that which ye have said unto me, and otherwise heard and seen what you do, I shall go occupy my wit in other matters; and now such as have found enterprises shall see, that I letted not their follies (which they called God's word): but for his time the king our sovereign lord that dead is; and after his time you have done much to your honour and reputation; howsoever any shall be here not contented; which miscontentation hath been so fond in some, as they have burst out and wished, that they might, without breach of his laws, kill me; which is to me a token of a marvellous fury, which hath been cause why I am glad both to depart hence, and to depart the sooner, and pray to God to order all things for the best, with preservation of our sovereign lord, and increase of your Grace's honour." At my house in Southwark, the last of February.

"Your Grace's humble bead-man,
S. W."

A letter of Winchester to Captain Vaughan, dated the third of May, 1547.

"Master Vaughan, after my right hearty commendations: In my last letters to my lord protector, signifying, according to the general commandment by letters given to all justices of peace, the state of this shire, I declared (as I supposed true) the shire to be in good order, quiet, and conformity; for I had not then heard of any alteration in this shire, which the said letters of commandment did forbid. Now of late, within these two days, I have heard of a great and detestable (if it be true that is told me) innovation in the town of Portsmouth, where the images of Christ and his saints have been most contemptuously pulled down, and spitefully handled. Herein I thought good both to write to you and the mayor, the king's Majesty's chief ministers, as well to know the truth, as to consult with you for the reformation of it, to the intent I may be seen to discharge my duty, and discharging it indeed both to God and to the king's Majesty, under whom I am here appointed to have cure and care to relieve such as be by any ways fallen, and preserve the rest that stand, from like danger.

"Ye are a gentleman with whom I have had acquaintance, and whom I know to be wise, and esteem to have more knowledge, wisdom, and discretion than to allow any such enormities; and therefore I do the more willingly consult with you herein, with request friendly to know of you the very truth in the matter: who be the doers, and the circumstances of it, and whether ye think the matter so far gone with the multitude, and whether the reproof and disproving of the deed, might, without a further danger, be enterprised in the pulpit or not; minding, if it may so be, to send one thither for that purpose upon Sunday next coming. I would use preaching as it should not be occasion of any further folly where a folly is begun; and to a multitude, persuaded in that opinion of destruction of images, I would never preach: for, as Scripture willeth us, we

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should cast no precious stones before hogs. Such as be infected with that opinion, they be hogs, and worse than hogs, (if there be any grosser beasts than hogs be,) and have been ever so taken; and in England they are called Lollards, who, denying images, thought therewithal the crafts of painting and graving to be generally superfluous and naught, and against God's laws.

"In Germany such as maintained that opinion of destroying of images, were accounted the dregs cast out by Luther after he had tunned all his brewings in Christ's religion, and so taken as hog's meat; for the reproof of whom Luther wrote a book specially: and I have with mine eyes seen the images standing in all churches where Luther was had in estimation. For the destruction of images containeth an enterprise to subvert religion, and the state of the world with it, and especially the nobility, who, by images, set forth and spread abroad, to be read of all people, their lineage and parentage, with remembrance of their state and acts; and the pursuivant carrieth not on his breast the king's name, written with such letters as a few can spell, but such as all can read be they never so rude, being great known letters in images of three lions, and three fleurs-de-lis, and other beasts holding those arms. And he that cannot read the scripture written about the king's great seal, yet he can read St. George on horseback on the one side, and the king sitting in his majesty on the other side; and readeth so much written in those images, as, if he be an honest man, he will put off his cap. And although, if the seal were broken by chance, he would and might make a candle of it, yet he would not be noted to have broken the seal for that purpose, or to call it a piece of wax only, whilst it continueth whole. And if by reviling of stocks and stones, in which matter images be graven, the setting of the truth (to be read of all men) shall be contemned; how shall such writing continue in honour as is comprised in clouts and pitch, whereof and whereupon our books be made, such as few can skill of, and not the hundredth part of the realm? And if we, (a few that can read,) because we can read, in one sort, of letters so privileged as they have many reliefs, shall pull away the books of the rest, and would have our letters only in estimation, and blind all them, shall not they have just cause to mistrust what is meant? And if the cross be a truth, and if it be true that Christ suffered, why may we not have a writing thereof such as all can read, that is to say, an image? If this opinion should proceed, when the king's Majesty hereafter should show his person, his lively image, the honour due by God's law among such might continue; but as for the king's standards, his banners, his arms, they should hardly continue in their due reverence for fear of Lollards' idolatry, which they gather upon Scripture beastly—not only untruly. The Scripture reproveth false images made of stocks and stones, and so it doth false men made of flesh and bones.

"When the emperor's money was showed to Christ, wherein was the image of the emperor, Christ contemned not that image, calling it an idol, nor noted that money to be against God's law because it had an image in it, as though it were against the precept of God, Thou shalt have no graven image; but taught them good civility, in calling it the emperor's image, and bade them use the money as it was ordered to be used, in its right use.

"There is no Scripture that reproveth truth, and all Scripture reproveth falsehood. False writings, false books, false images, and false men, all be naught; to be contemned and despised. As for paper, ink, parchment, stones, wood, bones, A.B. of the chancery hand, and A. B. of the secretary hand, a letter of German fashion, or of any other form, they be all of one estimation, and may be of man, inclining to the devil, used for falsehood, or, applying to God's gracious calling, used to set forth truth. It is a terrible matter to think that this false opinion conceived

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against images should trouble any man's head; and such as I have known vexed with that devil, (as I have known some,) be nevertheless wondrously obstinate in it; and if they can find one that can spell Latin to help forth their madness, they be more obdurate than ever were the Jews, and slander whatsoever is said to them for their relief. Of this sort I know them to be; and, therefore, if I wist there were many of that sort with you, I would not irritate them by preaching without fruit, but labour for reformation to my lord protector. But if you thought there might be other ways used first to a good effect, I would follow your advice, and proceed with you and the mayor, with both your helps to do that may lie in me to the redress of the matter, which I take to be such an enterprise against Christ's religion, as there cannot be a greater by man excogitated with the devil's instigation, and this time much hurtful to the common estate, as ye can of your wisdom consider; whom I heartily desire and pray to send me answer, by this bearer, to these my letters, to the intent I may use myself in sending of a preacher thither, or writing to my lord protector, as the case shall require accordingly. And thus fare you heartily well.

"From my house at Wolvesey, the 3rd of May, 1547.

STEPH. WINCHESTER."

A letter of the lord protector, answering to the letter above.

"After hearty commendations: receiving of late two letters from your Lordship, the one enclosed in a letter of Master Vaughan's to us, and directed to him, the other directed strait unto us; very wittily and learnedly written, whereby we do perceive how earnest you are, that no innovations should be had.

The which mind of yours, as we do highly esteem and allow, proceeding from one that would quietness, so we would likewise wish, that you should take good heed that too much fear of innovation or disturbance do not cause both to be. Many times in a host, he that crieth, 'Enemies! enemies!' when there be none, causeth not only disturbance, but sometimes a mutiny or rebellion to be made; and he that for fear of a sickness to come, taketh unadvisedly a purgation, sometimes maketh himself sick indeed. We perceive by the said your letters, that heinous facts and words have been brought to your ears, than there was cause why; and those facts which were punishable, be already by him redressed.

"For the matter of images, an order was taken in the late king of famous memory our sovereign lord's days. When the abused images (yet lurking in some places, by negligence of them who should ere this time have looked unto the same) be now abolished, let not that be made a matter of the abolishing of all images. Though felons and adulterers be punished, all men be not slain. Though the images which did adulterate God's glory be taken away, we may not think by and by all manner of images to be destroyed. Yet, after our advice, better it were for a time to abolish them all, than for that the dead images, the king's loving subjects, being faithful and true to the king's Majesty, should be put to variance and disturbance. With quietness the magistrates and rulers shall keep them well in order, whom contentious preachers might irritate and provoke to disorder and strife. So it must be provided that the king's Majesty's images, arms, and ensigns, should be honoured and worshipped after the decent order and invention of human laws and ceremonies; and, nevertheless, that other images, contrary to God's ordinances and laws, should not be made partakers of that reverence, adoration, and invocation, which (forbidden by God) should derogate his honour, and be occasion to accumulate God's wrath upon us. Where they be

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taken for a remembrance, it maketh no great matter though they stand still in the church or market-stead, following the late king of famous memory's counsel and order; yet more gentleness was showed to those books of images, than to the true and unfeigned books of God's word, both being abused, the one with idolatry, the other with contention. The Scripture was removed for a time from certain persons, and almost from all. The images were left still to them who most did abuse them, the thing being yet closed from them which should teach the use. Wherefore it may appear unto us meet, more diligent heed to be taken, that the abused before be not abused again, the advantage of some priests, simplicity of laymen, and great inclination of man's nature to idolatry, giving cause thereto.

"They that contemn images, because the matter that they are made of is but vile, as stocks and stones, may likewise despise printing in paper, because the ink hath pitch in it, and the paper is made of old rags. And if they be both alike, it might be reasoned why a man should be more aggrieved, that an image of wood, though it were of St. Anne, or St. Margaret, should be burned, than he will that the Bible, wherein the undoubted word of God is comprised, should be torn in pieces, burned, or made paste of. Nor do we now speak of false Bibles, nor false gospels, but of the very true gospel, either in Latin, Greek, or English, which we see every day done, and sometimes commanded, because the translator displeaseth us; and yet herein no man exclaimeth of a terrible and detestable fact done. But let one image, either for age, and because it is worm-eaten, or because it hath been foolishly abused, be burnt or abolished, by and by some men are in exceeding rage, as though not a stock or a stone, but a true saint of flesh and bone, should be cast into the fire, which were a detestable and a terrible sight. We cannot but see that images may be counted marvellous books, to whom we have kneeled, whom we have kissed, upon whom we have rubbed our beads and handkerchiefs, unto whom we have lighted candles, of whom we have asked pardon and help: which thing hath seldom been seen done to the gospel of God, or the very true Bible. For who kisseth that, but the priest at the mass, at a painted picture, or in such a ceremony? or who kneeleth unto it, or setteth a candle before it? and yet it seeth or heareth, as well as the images or pictures either of St. John, or our Lady, or Christ.

"Indeed images be great letters; yet as big as they be, we have seen many which have read them amiss. And belike they be so likely to be read amiss, that God himself, fearing the Jews to become evil readers of them, generally did forbid them. Nor is it any great marvel though in reading of them the lay-people are many times deceived, when your Lordship (as appeareth) hath not truly read a most true and a most common image. Your Lordship hath found out, in the king's Highness's great seal, St. George on horseback, which the graver never made in it, nor the sealer ever sealed with it; and this inscription is not very little, and if it were, it could not escape your Lordship's eyes. As the inscription testifieth, the king's image is on both the sides; on the one side, as in war, the chief captain; on the other side, as in peace, the liege sovereign in harness, with his sword drawn, to defend his subjects; in his robes, in the seat of justice, with his sceptre rightfully to rule and govern than; as he whom both in peace and war we acknowledge our most natural and chiefest head, ruler, and governor. If it were St. George, my Lord, where is his spear and dragon? And why should the inscription round about tell an untruth, and not agree to the image? Yet it is called sometimes so of the rude and ignorant people; but not, by and by, that what is commonly called so, is always truest. And some have thought that by like deceiving, as your Lordship herein appeareth to have been deceived, the image of Bellerophon or Perseus was turned first and appointed to be St. George, and of Polyphemus, of

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Hercules, or of some other Colossus, to be St. Christopher, because authentical histories have not fully proved their two lives. But those be indifferent to be true or not true, either thus invented upon some device, or rising of a true fact or history; and whether it were true or not, it maketh no great matter.

"It were hardly done indeed, my Lord, if that you, and a few which can read, should take away from the unlearned multitude their books of their images; but it were more hardly done, if that you, or a few which can read in one or two languages (as Greek and Latin) the word of God, and have had thereby many reliefs and privileges, should pull away the English books from the rest which only understand English; and would have only your letters of Greek and Latin in estimation, and blind all them which understand not these languages, from the knowledge of God's word. And indeed, my Lord, by your saying they have just occasion to suspect what is meant.

"What you mean by true images and false images, it is not so easy to perceive. If they be only false images, which have nothing that they represent, as St. Paul writeth, An idol is nothing, (because there is no such god,) and therefore the cross can be no false image, because it is true that Christ suffered upon it; then the images of the sun and the moon were no idols, for such things there be as the sun and the moon, and they were in the image then so represented, as painting and carving doth represent them. And the image of Ninus, and Cæsar, and (as some write) the images of all the twelve chosen gods, (as they called them,) were the images of once living men. And it might be said, that the image of God the Father hath no such eyes, nose, lips, and a long grey beard, with a furred robe, nor ever had, as they carve and paint him to have. But, if that be a false image and an idol which is otherwise worshipped and accepted than it ought to be, as the brazen serpent, being a true image and representation of Christ, by abuse was made an idol; it may be thought in times past, and, peradventure, now at this time, in some places, the images not only of St. John, or St. Anne, but of our Lady and Christ, be false images and idols, representing to foolish, blind, and ignorant men's hearts and thoughts, that which was not in them, and they ought not to be made for. The which were by you, my Lord, to have been removed sooner, and before that the captain there should have need to have done it. But if your Lordship be slack in such matters, he that removeth false images and idols abused, doth not a thing worthy of blame.

"Christ called not the money, having Cæsar's image in it, an idol, when it was used to lawful uses, and to pay the due tribute withal. But, when a man doth not use those images graven in money to do his neighbour good, and the commonwealth service, St. Paul, Christ's disciple, called that covetousness, and the serving and bondage to idols. So that even in money may be idolatry, if we make too much of those images which Christ here doth not reprehend. There be some so ticklish, and so fearful one way, and so tender stomached, that they can abide no old abuses to be reformed, but think every reformation to be a capital enterprise against all religion and good order; as there be on the contrary side some too rash, who, having no consideration what is to be done, headlong will set upon every thing. The magistrate's duty is betwixt these, so in a mean to see and provide, that old dotings should not take further or deeper rust in the commonwealth, neither ancient error overcome the seen and tried truth, nor long abuse, for the age and space of time only, still be suffered; and yet all these with quietness and gentleness, and without all contention, if it were possible, to be reformed. To the which your Lordship, as a man

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to whom God hath given great qualities of wit, learning, and persuasion, could bring great help and furtherance, if it were your pleasure, with great thanks of men and reward of God. The which thing is our full desire and purpose, and our hearty and daily prayer to God, that in the king's Majesty's time (whose Majesty's reign God preserve!) all abuses with wisdom reformed, Christ's religion, with good and politic order of the commonwealth, without any contention and strife among the king's subjects, might flourish and daily increase. And this to your Lordship's letter sent to Master Vaughan of Portsmouth."

Another letter of Winchester to the lord protector.

"After my humble commendations to your Grace, it may like the same to understand, I have seen of late two books set forth in English by Bale, very pernicious, seditious, and slanderous. And albeit that your Grace needeth not mine advertisement in that matter, yet I am so bold to trouble your Grace with my letters for mine own commodity, wherewith to satisfy mine own conscience, to write and say as becometh me in such matters, which I desire your Grace to take in good part. For it grieveth me not a little to see, so soon after my late sovereign lord and master's death, a book spread abroad more to his dishonour (if a prince's honour may be by vile inferior subjects impeached) than professed enemies have imagined, to note a woman to have suffered under him as a martyr; and the woman therewith to be, by Bale's own elucidation, (as he calleth it,) so set forth and painted as she appeareth to be, and is boasted to be a Sacramentary, and by the laws worthy (as she suffered) the pains of death; such like things have, by stealth, in our late sovereign lord's days, gone abroad as they do now. And as I am wont in such cases to speak, I keep my wont to write to your Grace now, in whose hands I know the state of the realm to be for the time in government, and to whom, for respects of old acquaintance, I wish all felicity. In these matters of religion I have been long exercised, and have (thanks be to God) lived so long as I have seen them thoroughly tried; and, besides that I have learned in written books of authority, I have perceived by books written without authority, as by Master Bale, Joy, and others, and especially as Bale useth now, that Scripture loth, by abuse, service to the right hand and the left at once, insomuch as at one time Bale praiseth Luther, and setteth his death forth in English, with commendation as of a saint; which Luther (whatsoever he was otherwise) stoutly affirmed the presence really of Christ's natural body in the sacrament of the altar. And yet Bale, the noble clerk, would have Anne Askew, blasphemously denying the presence of Christ's natural body, to be taken for a saint also. So as Bale's saints may vary in heaven, if they chance not by the way; which might suffice to disprove the man's credit, if thwarting talk were more desired of many, than the truth indeed; which truth was supposed to have been, both in writing and exercise, well established long before our late lord's death; and Bale and his adherents in their madness plainly reprov'd and condemned.

"I cannot forget your Grace told me you would suffer no innovation; and indeed if you deliver this realm to the king at eighteen years of age, as the king his father, whose soul God assoil, left it, as I trust you shall, the act is so honourable and good, as it were pity to trouble it with any innovation, which were a charge to your Grace more than needed, being already burdened heavily. And albeit in the commonwealth every man hath his part, yet as God hath placed you, the matter is (under the king's Majesty) chiefly yours, and as it were yours alone. Every man hath his eye directed unto you, both here and abroad; you shall shadow men's doings, if they be done, which is one incommodity of high rule. And, for my part, besides my duty to the

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king's Majesty and the realm, I would that your Grace (in whom since your government I have found much gentleness and humanity) had as much honour with good success as ever any had, and pray to God that men would let your Grace alone, and suffer the realm in the time of your government in quiet among ourselves, whereby we may be the more able to resist foreign trouble, which your Grace doth prudently foresee.

"Certain printers, players, and preachers, make a wonderment, as though we knew not yet how to be justified, nor what sacraments we should have. And if the agreement in religion made in the time of our late sovereign lord be of no force in their judgment, what establishment could any new agreement have? and every uncertainty is noisome to any realm. And where every man will be master, there must needs be uncertainty. And one thing is marvellous, that at the same time it is taught that all men be liars, at the selfsame time almost every man would be believed; and amongst them Bale, when his untruth appeareth evidently in setting forth the examination of Anne Askew, which is utterly misreported.

"I beseech your Grace to pardon my babbling with you; but I see my late sovereign lord and master slandered by such simple persons, religion assaulted, the realm troubled, and peaceable men disquieted, with occasion given to enemies to point and say, that after Wickliff's strange teaching in the sacraments of Christ's church hath vexed others, it is finally turned unto us to molest and scourge us, for other fruit cannot Bale's teaching have, nor the teaching of such others as go about to trouble the agreement established here. In which matter I dare not desire your Grace specially to look earnestly unto it, lest I should seem to note in you that becometh me not. And I know that your Grace being otherwise occupied, these things may creep in, as it hath been heretofore. Sometimes it may be hard for your Grace to find out or pull out the root of this naughtiness: but yet I am so bold to write of these, of mine own stomach, who have ever used, for discharge of myself, to say and write in time and place as I thought might do good for relief of the matter, remitting the rest to the disposition of God, who hath wrought wonders in these matters, since they were first moved, and given me such knowledge and experience in them, as I ought to take them (as they be) for corruption and untruth; I mean knowledge and experience of them that be chief stirrers, to infect with untruth, as they cannot speak or report truly in common matters.—The pretence is of the spirit, and all is for the flesh, women, and meat, with liberty of hand and tongue, a dissolution and dissipation of all estates, clean contrarious to the place God hath called your Grace unto. For it tendeth all to confusion and disorder, which is the effect of untruth.

"Bale hath set forth a prayer for the Duke John of Saxony, wherein the duke remitteth to God's judgment, to be showed here in this world, the justness of his cause concerning religion; and desireth God, if his cause be not good, to order him to be taken, and to be spoiled of his honour and possessions, with many such gay words whereby to tempt God; since which prayer the duke is indeed taken, as all the world saith; and, at the time of his taking, as the account is made, such strangeness in the sun, as we saw it here, as hath not been seen. They happened both together, this we know, and be both marvellous; but, whether the one were a token ordered to concur with the other, God knoweth, and man cannot define. Many commonwealths have continued without the bishop of Rome's jurisdiction; but without true religion, and with such opinions as Germany maintained, no estate hath continued in the circuit of the world to us known since Christ came. For the Turks and Tartars' government is, as it were, a continual war, and they

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uphold their rule with subduing of nobility by fire and sword. Germany with their new religion could never have stood, though the emperor had let them alone: for if it be persuaded the understanding of God's law to be at large in women and children, whereby they may have the rule of that, and then God's law must be the rule of all, is not hereby the rule of all brought into their hands? These of some will be called witty reasons, but they be indeed truth's children; and so is all the eloquence, which some (to dispraise me) say I have, whatsoever they say of me. For truth is of itself, in a right meaning, man's mouth; more eloquent than forged matters can with study bring forth.

"What rhymes be set forth to deprave the Lent, and how fond (saving your Grace's honour) and foolish! and yet the people pay money for them, and they can serve for nothing, but to learn the people to rail, and to cause such as used to make provision for fish against Lent, fearing now in Lent to be so sick as the rhyme purporteth, and like to die indeed, to forbear to make their accustomed provision for the next year. And thereto shall it come, if the common diet be not certain: for the fishmonger will never hope to have good sale, when the butcher may with flesh outface him. And fish is the great treasure of this realm, and food inestimable. And these good words I give, although I love it not myself: for such as love not fish should nevertheless commend it to others, to the intent the flesh by them forborne, might be, to such as love it, only the more plenty.

"The public defamation and trifling with Lent is a marvellous matter to them that would say evil of this realm; for there is nothing more commended unto us Christian men in both the churches of the Greeks and Latins, than Lent is, if all men be not liars. In the king our late sovereign lord's days this matter was not thus spoken of. And I think our enemies would wish we had no Lent. Every country hath its peculiar inclination to naughtiness: England and Germany unto the belly, the one in liquor, the other in meat; France a little beneath the belly; Italy to vanities and pleasures devised; and let an English belly have a further advancement, and nothing can stay it. When I was purveyor for the seas, what an exclamation was there (as your Grace showed me) of the bishops' fasting-day, as they called Wednesday, and 'Winchester, Winchester, grand mercy for your wine; I beshrew your heart for your water!' Was not that song, although it was in sport, a signification how loth men be to have their licence restrained, or their accustomed fare abated? unless it were in extreme necessity.

"I hear say that the Lent is thus spoken of by Joseph and Tonge, with other new, (whom I know not,) as being one of Christ's miracles, which God ordained not man to imitate and follow; at which teaching all the world will laugh. For Christian men have Christ for an example in all things, both to use the world as he did, only for necessity, and to condemn the world as he did; and in case to refuse it, and choose the vile death, as he did the death of the cross, which things he did like a master most perfect, for he was very God; and we must endeavour ourselves, in the use of his gifts, to follow that he did—not to fast forty days without meat as Christ did, for we be but prentices, and carry about a ruinous carcass, that must have some daily reparation with food—but yet was there never any that said, how therefore we should do nothing, because we cannot do all, and take Christ's fast for a miracle only. And yet all that follow Christ truly, they work daily miracles, in subduing and conforming, by God's grace, their sensual appetites, and humbly obeying to the will of God; which no man can of himself do. And Christ promised that his true servants should work the works that he did, and greater works also. Wherefore it is a

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slender matter to say, Lent was one of Christ's miracles, for so it was, to love his enemies, and specially those that scourged and bobbed him; which may not be (if that a legation hath place) taught Christian men to follow, because it was a miracle, as they might say. It were more tolerable to forget Lent, as Poggius telleth of a priest in the mountains, that knew not how the year went about; and when the weather opened, and he went abroad, and perceived his neighbours were towards Palm Sunday, he devised an excuse to his parish, and bade them prepare there-for, for indeed the year had somewhat slipped him, but he would fashion the matter so as they should be as soon at Easter as the rest; and thus did he pass over Lent with much less slander, than to teach it for a doctrine, that Lent was one of Christ's miracles, and therefore not to be imitated of us. For although it was indeed a great miracle, (as all Christ's doings were,) yet was it not a greater miracle, nor more against man's nature, than to love them that laboured and were busy to take away the natural life of his manhood. For as the nature of man desireth relief, so doth it abhor destruction or hurt. In will and desire men follow Christ in all things; in execution they cannot; for we have brittle vessels, and God giveth his gifts to men, as he seeth expedient for his church; so as men cannot heal the lame when they will, as Christ did when he would, but as God shall think profitable for the edification of the flock assembled.

"Gregory Nazianzen speaketh of some that enterprised to imitate Christ's fast above their power, whose immoderate zeal he doth not disallow, not requiring of all men so to do, for that is an extremity, nor yet assoiling the matter, as our new school-men do, that Christian men should let Christ's fast alone as a miracle; which manner of solution I heard a good fellow make, when it was told him he might not revenge himself, and when he was stricken on the one ear, he should put forth the other. 'I am,' quoth he, 'a man; I am not God. If Christ being God did so, he might,' quoth he, 'if it had pleased him, have done otherwise.' And so when it hath been alleged that Christ fasted forty days, 'He might,' quoth he, 'have eaten if he had list.' These triflings in sport might be drawn to grave speech, if Christian men shall refuse to follow Christ in miracles. For all his life was miracles, and his love that is our badge, most miraculous of all, to die for his enemies. I beseech your Grace to pardon me, for I am like one of the Commons' house, that, when I am in my tale, think I should have liberty to make an end; and specially writing to your Grace, with whom I account I may be bold, assuring you it proceedeth of a zeal towards you to whom I wish well, whose intent although it be such as it ought to be, and as it pleased you to show me it was, yet are such things spread abroad whereof the evil willers of the realm will take courage, and make account (although it be wrong) that all goeth on wheels.

"If any man had either fondly or indiscreetly spoken of Lent to engrieve it to be an importable burden, I would wish his reformation; for I have not learned that all men are bound to keep the Lent in the form received. But this I reckon, that no Christian man may condemn the form received, being such a devout and profitable imitation of Christ to celebrate his fast; and in that time such as have been in the rest of the year worldly, to prepare themselves to come, as they should come, to the feast of Easter, whereof St. Chrysostom speaketh expressly. And for avoiding contempt, a licence truly obtained of the superior serveth. And so I heard the king's Majesty, our sovereign lord, declare, when your Grace was present: and therefore he himself was very scrupulous in granting of licences. And to declare that himself contemned not the fast, he was at charge to have (as your Grace knoweth) the Lent diet daily prepared, as if it had been for himself; and the like hereof I hear say your Grace hath ordered for the king's Majesty that now is; which agreeth not with certain preaching in this matter, nor the rhymes set abroad. Lent is,

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among Christian men, a godly fast to exercise men to forbear, and in England both godly and politic, such as without confusion we cannot forbear, as the experience shall show, if it he ever attempted; which God forbid. And yet Lent is buried in rhyme, and Stephen Stockfish bequeathed not to me, though my name be noted; wherewith for mine own part I cannot be angry, for that is mitigated by their fondness. But I would desire of God to have the strength of this realm increased with report of concord, which doth quench many vain devices and imaginations. And if all men be liars, as it is now to my understanding strangely published, methinketh Bale and such new men, as be new liars, should be most abhorred and detested, and so much the more dangerous as they be new. That which in Italy and France is a matter of combat, is now found to be improprie to all men. God grant the truth to be desired of all men truly! But, as one asked, when he saw an old philosopher dispute with another, what they talked on; and it was answered how the old man was discussing what was virtue; it was replied, 'If the old man yet dispute of virtue, when will he use it?' so it may be said in our religion, If we be yet searching for it, when shall we begin to put it in execution?"

"I would make an end of my letters, and cannot; wherein I account myself faulty. And though I may err, as every man may, yet I lie not, for I say as I think; forasmuch as I have said, and further think, your Grace hath no trouble troublesome, but this matter of religion unseasonably brought in to the defamation of our late sovereign lord's acts, doings, and laws. I beseech your Grace take my meaning and words in good part, and pardon my boldness, which groweth of the familiarity I have heretofore had with your Grace, which I cannot forget. And thus enforcing myself to an end, I shall pray to Almighty God to preserve your Grace in much felicity, with increase of honour and achieving of your heart's desire.

"At Winchester the 21st of May.

"Your Grace's humble bead-man,
S. W."

The letter of the lord protector, answering to Winchester.

"Your letters dated the twenty-first day of May, as concerning two books new set forth by one Bale, and certain sermons preached here, were with convenient speed delivered unto us. And like as in your letters to Edward Vaughan of Portsmouth, so in those to us, we perceive that you have a vigilant and diligent eye, and very fearful of innovation: which as it cannot be blamed, proceeding of one which is desirous of quiet, good order, and continuance of the godly state of this realm; so we do marvel that so soon, so far off, and so plainly, you can hear tell and say of so many things done here, which indeed we, being here, and attendant upon the same, cannot yet be advertised of. The world never was so quiet or so united, but that privily or openly those three which you write of, printers, players, and preachers, would set forth somewhat of their own heads, which the magistrates were unawares of. And they which already be banished and have forsaken the realm, as suffering the last punishment, be boldest to set forth their mind; and dare use their extreme licence or liberty of speaking, as out of the hands or rule of correction, either because they be gone, or because they be hid.

"There have foolish and naughty rhymes and books been made and set forth, of the which, as it appeareth, you have seen more than we; and yet, to our knowledge, too many be bought: but yet, after our mind, it is too sore and too cruelly done, to lay all those to our charge,

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and to ask as it were account of us of them all. In the most exact cruelty and tyranny of the bishop of Rome, yet Pasquill (as we hear say) writeth his mind, and many times against the bishop's tyranny, and sometimes toucheth other great princes; which thing, for the most part, he doth safely: not that the bishop alloweth Pasquill's rhymes and verses—especially against himself; but because he cannot punish the author, whom either he knoweth not, or hath not. In the late king's days of famous memory, who was both a learned, wise, and politic prince, and a diligent executer of his laws—and when your Lordship was most diligent in the same—yet, as your Lordship yourself writeth, and it is too manifest to be unknown, there were that wrote such lewd rhymes and plays as you speak of, and some against the king's proceedings, who were yet unpunished, because they were unknown or ungotten. And when we do weigh the matter, we do very much marvel, why that about Jack of Lent's lewd ballad, and certain, as it was reported unto us, godly sermons, (which be evil in your letters joined together,) you be so earnest, when against Dr. Smith's book, being a man learned in the doctors and Scripture, which made so plain against the king's Highness's authority, and for the furtherance of the bishop of Rome's usurped power, your Lordship neither wrote nor said any thing. And, as it appeared, you be so angry with his retraction, (which frankly without fear, dread, compulsion, or imprisonment, only with learning and truth overcome, he came unto,) that you cannot abide his beginning, although having the very words of Scripture: except, peradventure. you think that the saying of David, *Omnis homo mendax*, cannot be interpreted, Every man is a liar; which, howsoever your Lordship taketh it at pleasure, it appeareth unto us then of him, taken but godly, to declare the infirmity of man, and the truth of God and his word. And we are not able to reason so clerkly with you, and yet we have heard of the subtle difference of lying, and telling of a lie, or, as it is Latin called, *mentiri* and *mendacium dicere*. But if your Lordship be loth to be counted *mendax*, (which belike Dr. Smith hath interpreted a liar, or a lying man, and you think it a matter of combat, or that he was deceived in the interpretation, and it is a matter for clerks to dispute of,) we would have wished your Lordship to have written against his book before, or now with it, if you think that to be defended which the author himself refuseth to aver. Your Lordship writeth earnestly for Lent, which we go not about to put away; no more than, when Dr. Smith wrote so earnestly that every man should be obedient to the bishops, the magistrates by and by went not about to bring kings and princes, and others, under their subjection.

"Writers write their fantasy, my Lord, and preachers preach what either liketh them, or what God putteth in their heads. It is not by and by done, that is spoken. The people buy those foolish ballads of Jack-a-Lent. So bought they in times past pardons, and carols, and Robin Hood's tales. All be not wise men, and the foolisher a thing is, to some (although not to the more part) it is the more pleasant and meet. And peradventure of the sermons there is (and indeed there is, if it be true that we have heard) otherwise spoken and reported to you, than it was of the preachers there and then spoken or meant. Lent remaineth still, my Lord, and shall, God willing, till the king's Highness, with our advice and the residue of his Grace's council, take another order, although some light and lewd men do bury it in writing; even as the king's Majesty remaineth head of the church, although through sinister ways, and by subtle means, some traitors have gone about, and daily do, to abuse the king's Majesty's supremacy, and bring in the bishop of Rome's tyranny, with other superstition and idolatry.

"On both sides great heed is to be taken, and as your Lordship writeth, we are set in a painful room, to reform all lightness and lewdness, to the which we do endeavour ourself to the

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best of our power, although not so cruelly and fiercely as some peradventure would wish, yet not so loosely that there needeth such exclamations or great fear to be. We do study to do all things temperately, and with quiet and good order; and we would wish nothing more than your Lordship to be as ready to the reformation of the one as of the other, that neither superstition, idolatry, or papacy, should be brought in, nor lightness, nor contempt of good order to be maintained. They both take beginning at small things, and increase by little and little at unawares. And quiet may as well be broken with jealousy as negligence, with too much fear or too much patience: no ways worse, than when one is over light-eared the one way, and deaf on the other side. Rumours by space and times increase naturally; and by that time they come at you, as it appeareth, they be doubled and trebled. We do perceive your diligent eye towards us, and we will wish (and trust you have) your heart faithful to us. Our most hearty desire and continual prayer to God is, to leave this realm to the king's Highness, at his Grace's age, by you written, rather more flourishing in men, possessions, wealth, learning, wisdom, and God's religion and doctrine, if it were possible, and God's will, than we found it. And that is our whole intent and esperance, to the which we refuse no man's help, as knoweth God; in whom we bid you heartily farewell."

A letter of Winchester to the lord protector.

"After my most humble commendations to your good Grace: upon the return of my servant Massie with your Grace's letters, answering to such my letters wherein I signified the robbing of my secretary, I read the same gladly, as by the contents of the matter I had cause so to do; which was such a comfortative, as I digested easily the rest of the great packet, having been accustomed thereunto in the king my late sovereign lord's days; which fashion of writing, his Highness (God pardon his soul!) called 'whetting:' which was not all the most pleasant unto me at all times; yet when I saw in my doings was no hurt, and sometimes by the occasion thereof the matter amended, I was not so coy as always to reverse my argument; nor, so that his affairs went well, did I ever trouble myself, whether he made me a wanton or not. And when such as were privy to his letters directed unto me, were afraid I had been in high displeasure, (for the terms of the letters sounded so,) yet I myself feared it nothing at all. I esteemed him, as he was, a wise prince; and whatsoever he wrote or said for the present, he would after consider the matter as wisely as any man, and neither hurt nor inwardly disfavour him that had been bold with him; whereof I serve for a proof, for no man could do me hurt during his life. And when he gave me the bishopric of Winchester, he said, he had often squared with me, but he loved me never the worse; and for a token thereof gave me the bishopric. And once, when he had been vehement with me in the presence of the earl of Wiltshire, and saw me dismayed with it, he took me apart into his bed-chamber, and comforted me, and said, that his displeasure was not so much to me as I did take it; but he misliked the matter, and he durst more boldly direct his speech to me, than to the earl of Wiltshire. And from that day forward he could not put me out of courage, but if any displeasing words passed from him, as they did sometimes, I folded them up in the matter; which hindered me a little. For I was reported unto him that I stooped not, and was stubborn; and he had commended unto me certain men's gentle nature, (as he called it,) that wept at every of his words; and methought that my nature was as gentle as theirs, for I was sorry when he was moved. But else I know when the displeasure was not justly grounded in me, I had no cause to take thought, nor was I at any time in all my life miscontent or grudging at any thing done by him, I thank God for it.

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"And therefore, being thus brought up, and having first read your Grace's most gentle letters, signifying the device of a proclamation to stay these rumours, and reading the same proclamation, which my servant brought with him, I read with the more quiet your Grace's great letters; and would have laid them up without further answer, were it not that, perchance, my so doing might be mistaken. For glum silence may have another construction than frank speech, where a man may speak, as I reckon I may with your Grace; upon confidence whereof I am bold to write thus much for my declaration touching your Grace's letters of the 27th of May, that how earnest soever my letters be taken in fearing any innovation, I neither inwardly fear it, neither show any demonstration in mine outward deeds to the world here, or in communication, that I do fear it to be done by authority; but in myself resist the rumours and vain enterprises, with confidence in the truth and your Grace's wisdom. For if I feared that indeed, with persuasion, it should come to pass, I should have small lust to write in it; but I fear more indeed the trouble that might arise by light boldness of others, and the cumber of such matters while other outward affairs occupy your Grace's mind, than the effect by your direction that hath been talked of abroad. And yet, in the writing, I do speak as the matter leads, continuing mine old manner, to be earnest; which as some men have dispraised, so some have commended it. And therefore, in a good honest matter I follow rather mine own inclination, than to take the pains to speak as butter would not melt in my mouth; wherewith I perceive your Grace is not miscontent, for the which I most humbly thank you.

"And first, as concerning Portsmouth, I wrote to the captain and mayor in the thing as I had information, and by men of credence: and yet I suspended my credit till I had heard from thence, as by my letters appeareth; and as I was loth to have it so, so was I loth to believe it. And, to show that I feared no innovation by authority, nor regarded any such danger, I went thither myself, and in conclusion was in such familiarity with the captain, that after he had showed me all the gentle entertainment that he could, he desired me to make an exhortation to his men, as they stood handsomely with their weapons, wherewith they had showed warlike feats: which I did, and departed in amity with the captain and soldiers, and all the town; the captain telling me plainly, he was nothing offended with any thing I had said in my sermon: nor was there cause why he should. But the very act indeed in defacing the images, had no such ground as Master Captain pretended: for I asked specially for such as had abused those images, and no such could be showed, for that I inquired for openly. And the image of St. John the Evangelist, standing in the chancel by the high altar, was pulled down, and a table of alabaster broken; and in it an image of Christ crucified so contemptuously handled, as was in my heart terrible—to have the one eye bored out, and the side pierced! wherewith men were wondrously offended: for it is a very persecution beyond the sea, used in that form where the person cannot be apprehended. And I take such an act to be very slanderous, and, esteeming the opinion of breaking images to be had as unlawful, very dangerous, void of all learning and truth, wrote after my fashion to the captain; which letters I perceive to have come to your Grace's hands. I was not very curious in the writing of them, for with me truth goeth out plainly and roundly; and, speaking of the king's seal, uttered the common language I was brought up in, after the old sort. When, as I conject of a good will, the people taking St. George for a patron of the realm under God, and having some confidence of succour by God's strength derived by him, to increase the estimation of their prince and sovereign lord, I called their king on horseback, in the feat of arms, St. George on horseback; my knowledge was not corrupt. I know it representeth the king, and yet my speech came forth after the common language, wherein I trust is none offence. For besides learning, I by experience have

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known the pre-eminence of a king both in war and peace; and yet, if I had wist my letter should have come to your Grace's hands to be answered, then I would have been more precise in my speech, than to give occasion of so long an argument therein. As for St. George himself, I have such opinion of him as becometh me. And have read also of Bellerophon in Homer, as they call him, the father of tales, but I will leave that matter. And as for books, let Latin and Greek continue as long as it shall please God, I am almost past the use of them—what service those letters have done, experience has showed; and religion hath continued in them fifteen hundred years. But as for the English tongue, itself hath not continued in one form of understanding two hundred years; and without God's work and special miracles it shall hardly contain religion long, when it cannot last itself. And whatsoever your Grace's mind is now in the matter, I know well, that having the government of the realm, your Grace will use the gift of policy, which is a gift of God.

"And even as now, at this time, bishops be restrained by a special policy to preach only in their cathedral churches, (the like whereof hath not been known in my time,) so, upon another occasion, your Grace may percase think expedient to restrain (further than the parliament hath already done) the common reading of the Scripture, as is now restrained the bishops' liberty of preaching. As for the brazen serpent, it did not in all men's language represent Christ; and if I had written to another than your Grace, I might have had the like matter of argument that was taken against me, of St. George on horseback. For Gregory Nazianzen, chief divine in the Greek church, calleth the serpent's death the figure of the death of Christ; but not the serpent to be the figure of Christ. And yet, when I had done all my argument, I would resolve (as is resolved with me in the speech of St. George on horseback) that the common speech is otherwise, (and so it is,) in saying the serpent to be a true figure of Christ: and yet Gregory Nazianzen called the serpent itself ἀντίτυπον [Greek: antitypon] of Christ, in these words, Ὁδε [Greek: Ode], &c., in his sermon De Paschate; and yet in Almechorus Domini, we read Aries, Leo, Vermis, spoken of Christ; and some expound the Scripture *sicut Moses*, &c., after that sort. And, as your Grace said when I was last at your house with the French ambassador, ye wished him and me, together disputing, to see when we would make an end; even so it is in these matters, when they come in an argument. For a bye thing, as St. George on horseback, when it escaped me, or speaking of the brazen serpent following a speech not thoroughly discussed, shall be occasion of a digression all out of purpose. And therefore was it a great gift of God, that our late sovereign lord (God rest his soul!) set these matters in quiet; who had heard all these reasons touching images which be now rehearsed in your Grace's letters; and, having once my Lord of Canterbury and me present with him alone in his palace, that they call otherwise New-Hall, handled that matter at length, and discussed with my Lord of Canterbury the understanding of God's commandment to the Jews, so as all the clerks in Christendom could not amend it. And whereas one had denied the image of the Trinity to be had, by reasons as he touched in your Grace's letters, I heard his Highness answer to them at another time. And when he had himself specially commanded divers images to be abolished, yet (as your Grace knoweth) he both ordered, and himself put in execution, the kneeling and creeping before the image of the cross, and established agreement in that truth through all this realm, whereby all arguments to the contrary be assoiled at once.

"I would wish images used as the book, of his Highness set forth, doth prescribe, and not otherwise. I know your Grace only tempteth me with such reasons as others make unto you, and I am not fully at liberty, although I am bold enough, (and some will think too bold,) to answer

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some things as I would to another man mine equal, being so much inferior to your Grace as I am: but methinketh St. Paul's solution, during the king's Majesty's minority, should serve instead of all; *Nos talem consuetudinem non habemus*, We have no such custom in the church.

"When our sovereign lord cometh to his perfect age, (which God grant,) I doubt not but God will reveal that which shall be necessary for the governing of his people in religion. And if any thing shall be done in the mean time (as I think there shall not) by your Grace's direction, he may, when he cometh to age, say in the rest, as I hear say he said now of late concerning procession, that in his father's time men were wont to follow procession; upon which the king's Majesty's saying, the procession (as I heard) was well furnished afterwards by your Grace's commandment: which speech hath put me in remembrance, that if the bishops and other of the clergy should agree to any alteration in religion, to the condemnation of any thing set forth by his father, whereby his father might be noted to have wanted knowledge or favour to the truth, what he would say I cannot tell, but he might use a marvellous speech (and, for the excellency of his spirit, it were like he would); and, having so just a cause against bishops as he might have, it were to be feared he would. And when he had spoken, then he might, by his laws, do more than any of our sort would gladly suffer at these days. For as the allegation of his authority represented by your Grace shall be then answered, (as your Grace now writeth unto me, 'That your Grace only desireth truth according to God's Scripture,') and it may be then said, 'We bishops, when we have our sovereign lord and head in minority, we fashion the matter as we lust.' And then some young man that would have a piece of the bishops' lands shall say, 'The beastly bishops have always done so; and when they can no longer maintain one of their pleasures, of rule and superiority, then they take another way, and let that go, and, for the time they be here, spend up what they have, which eat you and drink you what they list, and we together, with *Edamus et bibamus, cras moriemur*. And if we shall allege for our defence the strength of God's truth, and the plainness of Scripture, with the word of the Lord, and many gay terms, and say, 'We were convinced by Scriptures,' such an excellent judgment as the king's Majesty is like to have, will never credit us in it, nor be abused by such a vain answer. And this is a worldly politic consideration, and at home: for the noise abroad in the world will be more slanderous, than this is dangerous. And touching the bishop of Rome, the doings in this realm hitherto have never done him so much displeasure, as the alteration in religion during the king's Majesty's minority, should serve for his purpose. For he wanteth not wits to beat into other princes' ears, that where his authority is abolished, there at every change of governors be change in religion; and that which hath been amongst us by a whole consent established, shall, by the pretence of another understanding in Scripture, straight be brought in question; for they will give it no other name but a pretence, how stiffly soever we will affirm otherwise, and call it God's word.

"And here it should be much noted that my Lord of Canterbury, being the high bishop of the realm, highly in favour with his late sovereign lord, and my Lord of Durham, a man of renowned fame in learning and gravity, (both put by him in trust for their counsel in the order of the realm,) should so soon forget their old knowledge in Scripture set forth by the king's Majesty's book, and advise to inveigh such matter of alteration. All which things be (I know well) by your Grace and them considered. And therefore it is to me incredible, that ever any such thing should be indeed with effect, whatsoever the lightness of talk shall spread abroad, which your Grace hath by proclamation well stayed. But if you had not, and the world talked so fast as

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ever they did, I assure your Grace I would never fear it, as men fear things they like not, unless I saw it in execution; for of this sort I am, that in all things I think should not be done in reason, I fear them not, wherewith to trouble me, otherwise than to take heed, if I can; and to the head governors (as now to your Grace) show my mind: and such experience hath every man of me, that hath communed with me in any such matters. And therefore, albeit your Grace writeth wisely, that overmuch fear doth hurt, and accelerateth sometimes that which was not intended, yet it needs not to me; for I have learned that lesson already, and would a great many more had, which indeed should be great stay. And thus I talk with your Grace homely, with multiplication of speech and not necessary, as though I meant to send you as great a packet as I received from you.

"One thing necessary to answer your Grace in, is touching your marvel, how I know sooner things from thence, than your Grace doth there; which ariseth not upon any desire of knowledge on my behalf, (for evil things be over-soon known,) nor upon any slackness of your Grace's behalf there, who is and is noted very vigilant; as your Grace's charge requireth. But thus it is, even as it was when I was in some little authority; they that were the evil doers in such matters, would hide them from me. So, now, they have handled it otherwise; for as for Jack of Lent's English Testament, it was openly sold in Winchester market before I wrote unto your Grace of it. And as for Bale's books, called the Elucidation of Anne Askew's Martyrdom, they were in these parts common, some with leaves unglued, where Master Paget was spoken of; and some with leaves glued. And I called them common, because I saw at the least four of them. As for Bale's book touching the death of Luther, wherein was the duke of Saxony's prayer, (whereof I wrote,) it was brought down into this country by an honest gentlemen, to whom it was (as I remember he told me) given at London for news; and he had it a great while ere I wrote to your Grace. I had not then received the inhibition for preaching, whereof men spake otherwise than they knew.

"And in the mean time Dr. Smith recanted, which a priest of this town (who to mine own mouth boasted himself to be your Grace's chaplain, but I believed it not) brought down with speed, and made bye means to have it brought to my knowledge, which I knew besides, for they had by and by filled all the country hereabouts with tales of me. And when I saw Dr. Smith's recantation begin with *Omnis homo mendax*, so Englished, and such a new humility, as he would make all the doctors of the church liars with himself; knowing what opinions were abroad, it enforced me to write unto your Grace for the ease of my conscience; giving this judgment of Smith, that I neither liked his tractation of unwritten verities, nor yet his retractation; and was glad of my former judgment, that I never had familiarity with him. I saw him not, that I wot, these three years, nor talked with him these seven years, as curious as I am noted in the commonwealth. And whereas in his unwritten verities he was so mad to say, 'Bishops in this realm may make laws,' I have witness that I said at that word, we should be then 'daws: 'and was by and by sorry that ever he had written of the sacrament of the altar, which was not, as it was noisome, untouched with that word, All men are liars; which is a marvellous word, as it soundeth in our tongue, when we say a man were better to have a thief in his house, than a liar. And the depraving of man's nature in that sort is not the setting out of the authority of the Scripture. For, albeit the authority of the Scripture dependeth not upon man, yet the ministration of the letter, which is writing and speaking, is exercised, and hath been from the beginning delivered, through man's hand, and taught by man's mouth; which men the Scripture calleth holy men; and that is,

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contrary to liars. And therefore St. Augustine, in his book De Mendacio, saying, *omnis homo mendax*, signifieth, *omnis homo peccans*. If Smith had only written of bishops' laws, and then said loudly, he had (saving your honour) lied, or, to mitigate the matter, said he had erred by ignorance, that had been done truly and humbly: for he that seeketh for much company in lying, as he did, hath small humility; for he would hide himself by the number. And thus much as touching Smith, of whom, nor his book, till he was in trouble, I never heard talking.

"But to the matter I wrote of; I have told your Grace how I came to knowledge of them, very scarcely in time, but in the thing over-quickly: and never had any such thought in my life, as I denied to your Grace, to be worthily charged with them (by them, I mean, that may hereafter charge); for I know no such yet in this world, and I never was in mine opinion so mad, as to write to your Grace in that sort. When all things be well, I have many causes to rejoyce; but where things were otherwise, (as I trust they shall not,) I have nothing to do to ask any account: I trust I shall never forget myself so much. I thank God, I am even as well learned to live in the place of obedience, as I was in the place of direction in our late sovereign lord's life. And for my quietness in this estate, I account myself to have a great treasure of your Grace's rule and authority; and therefore will worship and honour it otherwise than to use such manner of presumption to ask any account. And I know your Grace cannot stay these matters so suddenly; and I esteem it a great matter, that things be stayed hitherto thus: but, if things had increased as the rumours purported, your Grace might have been encumbered more in the execution of your good determination. Now, thanks be to God, your Grace goeth well about to stay it.

"As for myself, I know mine inward determination to do, as I may, my duty to God and the world, and have no cause to complain of the universal disposition of them in my diocese. I know but one way of quiet: to keep and follow such laws and orders in religion as our late sovereign lord left with us; which, by his life, as the bishops and clergy said, was the very truth, so I never yet read or heard any thing why to swerve from it, or think it expedient to call any one thing in doubt, during the king's Majesty's minority, whereby to impair the strength of the accord established.

Which I write, not mistrusting your Grace in the contrary, but declaring myself, and wishing the same mind to others about you, as I trust they have, for which I shall pray to God, who prospered our late sovereign lord in that rebellion, as we have seen experience, and, by your Grace's foresight and politic government, shall send the like prosperity to our sovereign lord that now is; wherein I shall do my part, as a subject most bounden many ways thereunto.

"I send unto your Grace herewith, my discussion of my Lord of St. David's purgation, wherein I walk somewhat more at liberty than writing to your Grace; and yet I take myself liberty enough, with a reverent mind, nevertheless, to keep me within my bounds; which if I at any time exceed, I trust your Grace will bear with me after your accustomed goodness, for whose prosperity I shall continually pray, with increase of honour.

"At Winchester, the sixth of June [1547.]"

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A letter of Winchester to the lord protector.

"After my most humble commendations to your good Grace: upon trust that your Grace would take my letters in good part, and not otherwise than I wrote them, I wrote to your Grace out of this prison, as I was wont to write to our late sovereign lord (whose soul God pardon!) when I was ambassador, refreshing myself sometimes with a merry tale in a sad matter; which his Highness ever passed over without displeasure, as I trust your Grace will do the semblable. For though some account me a papist, yet I cannot play the pope-holy, as the old term was: I dare not use that severity in writing, which my cause requireth, to speak of God and his truth in every second sentence, and become suddenly a prophet to your Grace, with a new phrase of speech, with whom I have been heretofore so familiarly conversant. As I think honour hath not altered your Grace's nature, even so adversity hath not changed mine.

"Of your high place in the commonwealth, no man is more glad than I, nor no man shall do his duty further than I, to acknowledge you, as your Grace is now, protector and governor of the realm. But I have been so traded to speak boldly, that I cannot change my manner now, when percase it doth me no good. And although there be an Italian in prison with me, in whom I see a like folly, who, living with a little miserably, will not for his honour take alms, fancying to be still in the state he was some time, which manner I condemn in him, yet I follow him thus far, rather to write after my old manner, which cometh plainly to mind, than to take alms and aid of eloquence, whereof I have, in this, state-need. For your Grace's letters return every word of my letters in my neck, and take my fly as it were a bee, which, I thought, should have stung no man: which matter, in mirth, declareth the necessity of the other matter, as aptly as may be, neither to be necessary. And when I wrote, I forgot, as my fellow prisoner the Italian doth, the state I am in now; and wrote as I had written from Antwerp in the state of ambassador. The Italian, my companion, hath his folly of nature; I have it, of custom in bringing up, which hath the effect of nature, and is called of learned men, another nature. And then the proverb of gentleness hath place, when men say to him that is offended, 'You must bear with the man's nature;' and so I trust you will do with me.

"Two things there be in your Grace's letter, which I trust I may touch without contention: one is, that if your Grace will, in a plain similitude, see the issue of faith only, and whether faith may exclude charity in the office of justifying, or not, it may be well resembled in the making of laws in this parliament, where the acts be passed by three estates, which be all three present, and do somewhat together, and concur to the perfecting of the law; wherein we may not say, that any one estate only made the law, or that any one estate excludeth the other in the office of making the law. This may be said: that these three estates only, in respect of the rest of the realm, make the law; and there need no more of the realm be present but they. But if we speak of these three estates within themselves, there is none estate only, that maketh the law.

"But whereas the law hath as it were a body and a soul, the high house and the low house of the parliament make, as it were, the body of the law; which lieth as it were a dead matter, such as is not apt to take life, till the king's Majesty hath, by the breath of his mouth, (saying, *Le roi le veut*, that is, The king wills it,) breathed a full life into it; besides the life, the assembly of the other estates had, by his authority, to assemble; which had else been a dead assembly, even as faith and hope be dead without charity. And as the king's Majesty, in this similitude of making

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laws, excludeth not in office of the whole the other two estates, no more do the estates, because they devise and frame laws, exclude the king's Majesty in the office of making laws; for without his authority they be nothing, as faith and hope be without charity not effectual. And look, what absurdity and untruth this saying hath in this realm, to say, 'The higher house and the lower house exclude the king in the office of making of laws,' the same absurdity is yet in religion, to say, that faith excludeth charity in the office of justification: and therefore it was never written of ancient writers. And therefore I desired my Lord of Canterbury to show me but one, and yet he cannot. In our time this dream hath been dreamed without Scripture, without authority, against Scripture, and against authority, as I can show. And further I can show, how this imagination extendeth so far by them that open their mind in it thoroughly, as your Grace would not at the first believe, if I did express it. But I can show, that I fail not evidently, as clearly for my discharge as I could wish. Another matter of your Grace's letter is, where your Grace reasoneth with me that I am over-precise in finding of faults in the Paraphrase, seeing every book hath some faults. And then your Grace taketh not Erasmus for a gospel, but as one in whom somewhat may be reprehended or amended. After which manner of sort, if your Grace take the Homilies, (as, for like reason, in my judgment they must; for they be men's compositions, as the Paraphrase is, and not the very gospel itself,) why should I be kept in prison, who offered to receive the Homilies and Erasmus both, so far as they were without fault, either of God's law or of the king's.

"Because I saw the errors before, and spake of them, I have made more speed to prison than others have done, who, perchance, for troubling of their conscience, have received the books close, with such reverence as becometh men to receive that are sent from their prince; wherein I would have done as they did, if I had not seen the books before. But I did, as I have seen divers noblemen do, (and among them, as I remember, your Grace,) when they have been sent in service, to have used such diligence, as to see their commission and instructions made; or they went, and finding something doubtful or amiss, (after the commission was sealed, and instructions signed,) worthy to be mended, have, upon declaration of their mind therein, obtained amendment with commendation.

"Now I have a charge in the bishopric of Winchester, to see the people fed with wholesome doctrine; wherein if I be so diligent as to look upon the commission, and, considering what I shall be charged with to do, take this or that for a fault in my judgment, and labour to have it amended, wherein differ I from other men's diligence? and how can it be taken for a fault, to say reverently to the council, 'My Lords! me seemeth, this and this cannot stand together: either instruct me in them, or amend them.' In what nature of crime should this humility be? Am I worthy, for so saying, to be condemned to a perpetual prison? and to be a close prisoner, to speak with no man, to hear from no man, to talk with no man? for my household, which is a great number, [to be] wandering and lamenting for me? My case should be in the nature of praise, in the nature of commendation, in the nature of thanks, if none other have said that I can say. If one only man in a realm saith, He knoweth treason to subvert the whole realm, and can show evident proof of his so saying, shall he be prisoned, because of good-will he offereth to say and prove that no man else uttereth but he, and therewith offereth to prove that he saith to be true? It is incredible that a king should set forth a book tending to the subversion of his own estate; and therefore that, I shall say, cannot touch his Majesty, who knoweth not what is done (as reason judgeth) in his tender age. It is also incredible that your Grace, being uncle to him, should be

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content that any book should be set forth, that might tend to the subversion of his estate. And I dare say for your Grace, you would not—if the book be like the horse that the Trojans received into their city, wherein the Trojans knew not what was in it. Let me be heard, that know what is in the book, and so know it, as I can show it as evidently as I can the sun and the moon in bright days and bright nights, when both shine. I do not trifle with my wit to undo myself, but travail with my honesty to preserve my country, to preserve my prince, to preserve religion: and this your Grace shall find to be true, which, knowing my letters to be construed to the extremity, I would not write, unless I were furnished with matter to discharge my writing. Your Grace, I doubt not, remembereth Singleton's conspiracy: and Erasmus hath framed his doctrine, as though Singleton had required him thereunto.

"I have such matter to show, as though I had myself devised it for my justification; and yet I am reasoned with, as though one given to let good doctrine, to find a knot in a rush, to trouble good enterprises; after which sort your Grace is moved to write unto me; and thereupon I remain here still without hearing, having such matter to utter as shall confound them all; which I would not write if I were not assured. For it were a small pleasure to me, writing thus extremely, to be confounded when I had been heard, and then worthily sent hither again for lying so manifestly; which I would think a worthy punishment, as this is unworthy—to be handled as I am for virtue, that I dare say the truth can declare the abomination of this Paraphrase, and of the Homilies also—in both which matters I have showed all I can show. I shall declare I am not worthy to be kept here, and yet here I have remained these seven weeks, without speaking with any man saving my physician, who, I thank your Grace, hath done me good. And yet, when men see I am thus banished from the world, so as no man may speak with me, it is not pleasant for any man to resort unto me. And this I perceive: If my Lord of Canterbury think I will wax mad, he is deceived; for I wax every day better learned than other, and find every day somewhat to impugn the Paraphrase and Homilies, not by wit or device, or other subtlety, but plain sensible matter, if I may be heard. And if I be not heard, my conscience telleth me I have done my duty, and therewith from travail shall apply myself to prayer, wherein I shall remember the prosperous estate of your Grace,—whom God preserve!

"In the Fleet.

S. W."

To the lord protector.

"After my most humble commendations to your good Grace: in my third letter I signified unto your Grace my need of the counsel of a physician, as the state of my body then required: whereunto because I had no answer, I have used all other means of relief that I could to avoid that need; as one loth to trouble your Grace with requests not necessary. Master Warden of the Fleet, and my servants, know that I feign not; and I have cause to fear, the effect will show I feign not indeed. In this case I may not desperately forbear to write to your Grace, and think that because I have had no answer to all mine other letters, among which I made mention of this necessity, that I should likewise have none answer to this. As I have determined myself to a truth in the chief matters, so I eschew to use simulation in by-matters. My mind, I thank God, was never so quiet as it hath been since my coming hither, which hath relieved my body much; but the body hath need of other relief, which cannot be had as I am kept by commandment.

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"These seven weeks, saving one day, I have been here under such strait keeping, as I have spoken with no man. And thus me seemeth I see my matter perplexed: Your Grace will meddle with nothing done before your coming home; and those of the council that sent me hither, can by themselves do nothing, now your Grace is coming home; upon which consideration I sue to none of them, and perceive that your Grace, to whom I sue, for some respect forbeareth to make me answer: for such a paraphrase I make of your Grace's silence, wherein I go as near as I think the truth, as Erasmus in his Paraphrase sometimes, wherein he taketh upon him to guess the cause of Christ's doings. I thank God my mind can take no hurt, how vehement so-ever these temptations be. But when a certain sect of philosophers, called Stoics, contemned in their learning stoutly the grief and disease of the body, they were fain a little to shrink, when the gout or any disease nipped them: and now my stomach nippeth me, which I have favoured as much as any man in England, and have laden it as light either with meat or drink of many years, and specially since my coming, as any other. And after I saw I could get no answer from your Grace for a physician, I have left off such study as I used, and given myself to continual walking for exercise; and, with hope of relief, have delayed any further suit in that matter till now. And now I sue enforced, which I do most humbly, with request that imprisonment—being to me, that was never in prison before, of itself tedious—be not with special commandment made more grievous, unless I were charged with other offence than I am yet charged with, or in my conscience can be. For me seemeth I have deserved thanks of your Grace and the realm, for the disclosing of the faults of the Paraphrase, wherein I have written some specialties, but not all; and have such to show, as I may term that book at one word, 'abomination,' both for the malice and untruth of much matter out of Erasmus's pen, and also the arrogant ignorance of the translator into English, considering the book should be authorized by a king, and, by the injunctions, charge the realm for buying rather above twenty thousand pound than under; whereof I have made account by estimate of the number of buyers, and the price of the whole books. The translator sheweth himself ignorant, both in Latin and English; a man far unmeet to meddle with such a matter, and not without malice on his part; whereby your Grace may take an argument, what moved them that counselled your Grace to authorize such a book in the realm. As for my Lord of Canterbury's Homily of Salvation, [it] hath as many faults as I have been weeks in prison, which be seven, besides the general, that the matter maketh a trouble without necessity, and is handled contrary to the teaching of the parliament.

"Finally, In the two books the matter I have to show is some part so dangerous, as (after I knew it as I know it) the concealment thereof were a great fault, if I did not utter it. As for the manner of mine enterprise to utter it, I know not how to have fashioned it better, than to write to the council in your absence, and on my knees to declare some part of it, when I came to them receiving their determination of imprisonment. I humbly departed from them hither without grudge, and remain here without grudge to any one of them, for they showed no fashion of any evil mind towards me. And I have learned in the civil law, that the deed of a number is no one man's act; with this also, the authority is to be honoured: which rule I observe in thought, word, and deed. After which sort I remain, with such suits as I have made to your Grace hitherto, and with this also that I add, enforced for the relief of my body (how little soever I do, and have cause to set by it); which I most humbly desire your Grace to consider, and to send me some answer by this bearer. And I shall pray Almighty God for the preservation of your Grace's felicity.

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"Your Grace's humble bead-man,
S. W."

Certain additions after these letters above specified, with notes and solutions answering to the same.

Thus have we set out to thee, gentle and studious reader, an extract of certain letters of Bishop Gardiner: not of all that he wrote, but of such as could come to our hands. Neither of these also that we have, for any good stuff, or any great profit therein contained, or that they did clear him or his cause any thing, for the which he was most worthily condemned. For if there did or might appear any such thing in all his writings, that might clear the ill-favoured doings of that man, be thou sure, such as were then secret about him, and yet his well-willers, (their names I leave untouched,) having his writings, and being able to show them, as I am privy they are, would not so conceal them in covert as they do, being thereto both provoked and occasioned by us, if they had seen any thing in them meet to relieve the person, or to remedy his matter. Wherefore think not for any such effect these his vain-glorious letters to be brought in here of us; but only that thou mightest hereby collect and understand by those his aforesaid epistles and articles following, not only the whole course and story almost of all his proceedings from time to time, but also mightest see the nature and inward condition of the man, how vain-glorious, full-stuffed and puffed up with arrogancy, and drowned in his own conceit he was; much like to the person, or rather he himself, described in the Latin comedy, *Miles Thraso Gloriosus*; having nothing in his mouth but emperors, kings, councillors, protectors, advisements, direction: as though all direction of realms and princes did flow out of his brain, like as it is in the poet's fables, that Minerva did spring out of the head of Jupiter. And yet, if this vain-glorious conceit had been alone in him, less matter had been against him.

Now his subtle practices, and pretended purposes, and dissimulating conveyance, did not only augment, but also exceed all his other evils, as in the letters above specified is notorious and evident to be seen; wherein though he durst not apertly gainsay that which he inwardly disliked, yet how covertly doth he insinuate himself to the lord protector, under pretence of giving counsel, to bring that to pass which was for his purpose! that is, that no innovation or alteration might be made of religion during all the king's minority, but that all things might stand as King Henry left them; and that is the chiefest butt, in all letters, whereto be driveth, using commonly this argument, which, as it is easy to recite, so neither is it hard to answer to; although we have answered it already sufficiently.

The sum and conclusion of all Winchester's drift in his epistles before.

"That is chiefly to be feared and avoided of the lord protector, and now specially in the king's minority, that may both bring danger to him, and trouble to the realm:—

"Innovation of religion, from that state in which King Henry left it, may be, and is like to be, dangerous to himself, and cause trouble to the realm.

"Ergo, Innovation of religion, from the state that the king left it in, is in no wise to be attempted."

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The answer.

To answer first to the vocable Innovation, which he stumbleth so greatly upon—this I say, that innovation is properly used, where a thing is brought in anew, which was not before. Forasmuch therefore as in this alteration there is no new religion brought in, but only the old religion of the primitive church revived; therefore here is to be thought not so much an innovation, as a renovation or reformation rather of religion, which reformation is oft-times so necessary in commonweals, that, without the same, all runneth to confusion.

Secondly, I answer to the argument, which I do deny as a fallacy, for there is *fallacia accidentis* where it is said, that reformation of religion gendereth danger to the protector, and trouble to the realm. First, what will come, that is uncertain: and, God be hallowed! yet no danger hath come to England for the reformation of religion. And though there did, yet the cause thereof is not to be imputed to religion reformed: for sincere and true doctrine of its own nature worketh quiet, peace, and tranquillity, with all good order. And if the contrary happen, that is incident by other causes, as by the malice of Satan, and wicked adversaries; not by reason of the doctrine of true religion. So, after the preaching of Christ and his apostles, dissension followed in commonweals betwixt father and son, brother and brother, &c.; but that is not to be ascribed to them, but to others.

As concerning the faults found in the Paraphrase of Erasmus, this I answer and say, that this bishop belike had overwatched himself in this matter. For if it be true, which he himself affirmeth, that he never read that book before, and now he never slept till he himself read it; it happened, peradventure, that in the over-much watching of himself, and swift reading of the book, his judgment was asleep, whilst his eyes were open in reading the same.

Likewise touching the Book of Homilies, especially the Homily of Salvation, wherewith he findeth himself so much grieved with the archbishop; seeing he bringeth forth no proofs, I have nothing to answer. In the mean season, this I have to think, that if he had been so cunning in the knowledge of his own salvation, as he was in the destruction and vexation of Christ's members, he would never so rage against that homily.

Touching the examination of Anne Askew, if it be misreported by Master Bale, why doth not he note the places, which they be, and wherein? And if he had, or were able so to do, yet, seeing the examination was of her own penning, which Master Bale did follow, let every Christian reader judge, whether is more to be credited of these two—she that was persecuted, or he that was the persecutor.

And where he speaketh so much of quiet and tranquillity; this I answer, that quiet and tranquillity in weals public, so long as they are joined with right reformed religion, be much to be embraced. But, when it is otherwise; that is, where true religion lacketh his right, there let the second table give place to the first.

He thwarteth, also, and wrangleth much against players, printers, preachers. And no marvel why: for he seeth these three things to be set up of God, as a triple bulwark against the

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triple crown of the pope, to bring him down; as, God be praised, they have done meetly well already.

As touching the article of free justification by faith, which he cannot abide, forasmuch as we have sufficiently declared it in the notes before, we shall refer the reader now also unto the same.

And moreover, because in one of his letters mention is made of a certain letter sent unto Master Ridley, because we will defraud thee, gentle reader, of nothing that cometh to our hands, here hast thou the copy thereof, in effect as folio weth:

"Master Ridley, after right hearty commendations: It chanced me, upon Wednesday last past, to be present at your sermon in the court, wherein I heard you confirm the doctrine in religion, set forth by our late sovereign lord and master, whose soul God pardon! admonishing your audience that ye would specially travail in the confutation of the bishop of Rome's pretended authority in government and usurped power, and in pardons, whereby he hath abused himself in heaven and earth. Which two matters I note to be plain, and here without controversy. In the other two ye spake of, touching images and ceremonies, and, as ye touched it, specially for holy water to drive away devils; for that you declared yourself always desirous to set forth the mere truth, with great desire of unity, as ye professed; not extending any your asseveration beyond your knowledge, but always adding such-like words, 'as far as ye had read,' and, 'if any man could show you further, ye would hear him,' (wherein you were much to be commended,)—upon these considerations, and for the desire I have to unity, I have thought myself bound to communicate to you that which I have read in the matter of images and holy water; to the intent you may by yourself consider it, and so weigh, before that ye will speak in those two points, as ye may (retaining your own principles) affirm still that ye would affirm, and may indeed be affirmed and maintained; wherein I have seen others forget themselves. First, I send unto you herewith, (which I am sure ye have read,) what Eusebius writeth of images: whereby appeareth that images have been of great antiquity in Christ's church. And to say we may have images, or to call on them when they represent Christ or his saints, be over-gross opinions to enter into your learned head, whatsoever the unlearned would tattle: for you know the text of the old law, Thou shalt not make to thee any graven thing, forbiddeth no more images now, than another text forbiddeth to us puddings. Add if all things be clean to the clean to the belly, there can be no cause why they should be of themselves unclean to the eye, wherein ye can say much more. And then, when we have images, to call them idols, is a like fault, in fond folly, as if a man would call a king a tyrant, and then bring in old writers to prove that *tyrannus* signified once a king, like as *idolum* signified once an image: but like as *tyrannus* was by consent of men appropriated to signify a usurper of that dignity, and an untrue king, so hath *idolum* been likewise appropriate to signify a false representation, and a false image: insomuch as there was a solemn anathematization of all those that would call an image an idol; as he were worthy to be hanged that would call the king our master (God save him!)—our true just king, a tyrant; and yet in talk he might show, that a tyrant signified sometimes a king: but speech is regarded in its present signification, which I doubt not ye can consider right well.

"I verily think, that for the having of images ye will say enough, and that also, when we have them, we should not despise them in speech, to call them idols, nor despise them with

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deeds, to mangle them or cut them; but at the least suffer them to stand untorn. Wherein Luther (that pulled way all other regard to them) strove stoutly, and obtained, as I have seen in divers of the churches in Germany of his reformation, that they should (as they do) still stand.

"All the matter to be feared is excess in worshipping, wherein the Church of Rome hath been very precise; and especially Gregory, writing to the bishop of Marseilles: which is contained in the chapter, De Consecratione, dist. 3, as followeth:

*"Perlatum ad nos fuerat, quod inconsiderato zelo succensus, sanctorum imagines sub hac quasi excusatione, ne adorari debuissent, confregeris. Et quidem eas adorari te vetuisse, omnino laudamus: fregisse vero reprehendimus. Dic frater, a quo factum esse sacerdote aliquando auditum est, quod fecisti? * * * * Aliud est enim picturam adorare: aliud per picturam historiam, quid sit adorandum, addiscere. Nam quod legentibus scripture, hoc idiotis præstat picture cernentibus, quia in ipsa etiam ignorantes vident, quid sequi debeant: in ipsa legunt, qui literas nesciunt. Unde et præcipue gentibus pro lectione pictura est."*

"Herein is forbidden adoration, and then, in the Sixth Synod, was declared what manner of adoration is forbidden; that is to say, divine adoration to it being a creature, as is contained in the chapter Venerabiles Imagines, in the same distinction, in this wise:

"Venerabiles imagines Christiani non Deos appellant, neque serviunt eis ut Diis, neque spem salutis ponunt in eis, neque ab eis expectant futurum iudicium: sed ad memoriam et recordationem primitivorum venerantur eas, et adorant; sed non serviunt eis cultu Divino, nec alicui creaturæ."

"By which doctrine all idolatry is plainly excluded in evident words; so as we cannot say, that the worshipping of images had its beginning by popery; for Gregory forbade it, unless we shall call that synod popery, because there were so many bishops. And yet there is forbidden *cultus divinus*: and agreeth with our aforesaid doctrine, by which we may creep before the cross on Good Friday; wherein we have the image of the crucifix in honour, and use it in a worshipful place, and so earnestly look on it, and conceive that it signifieth, as we kneel and creep before it, whilst it lieth there, and whilst that remembrance is in exercise: with which cross nevertheless the sexton, when he goeth for a cross, will not be afraid to be homely, and hold it under his gown whilst he drinketh a pot of ale; a point of holiness that might be left, but yet it declareth that he esteemed no divinity in the image. But ever since I was born, a poor parishioner, a layman, durst be so bold, at a shift, (if he were also churchwarden,) to sell to the use of the church at length, and his own in the mean time, the silver cross on Easter Monday, that was crept unto on Good Friday.

"In specialties there have been special abuses; but, generally, images have been taken for images, with an office to signify a holy remembrance of Christ and his saints. And as the sound of speech uttered by a lively image, and representing to the understanding, by the sense of hearing, godly matter, doth stir up the mind, and therewith the body, to consent in outward gesture of worshipful regard to that sound: so doth the object of the image, by the sight, work like effect in man, within and without; wherein is verily worshipped that we understand, and yet reverence and worship also showed to that whereby we attain that understanding; and is to us in

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the place of an instrument; so as it hath no worship of itself, but remaineth in its nature of stone or timber, silver, copper, or gold. But when it is in office, and worketh a godly remembrance in us, by representation of the thing signified unto us, then we use it worshipfully and honourably, as many do the priest at mass, whom they little regard all the day after.

"And me thinketh ever, that like as it is an over-gross error to take an image for God, or to worship it with godly honour, so, to grant that we may not have images of Christ, and that we may do no worship before them, or not to use them worshipfully, it is inexplicable. For it is one kind of worship, to place them worshipfully: so as if a man place an image in the church, or hang it about his neck, (as all use to do the image of the cross, and the knights of the order of St. George,) this is some piece of worship. And if we may not condemn the images of Christ and his saints, when we have them, (for that were villany,) nor neglect them, (for that were to have them without use, which were inconvenient,) we must have them in estimation and reputation; which is not without some honour and worship; and at the least in the place where we conveniently use them, (as in the church,) as where they serve us, rather than we them. And because their service is worshipful, they be so regarded accordingly for that time of service, and therefore they be called the venerable images, and be worshipfully ordered; before whom we kneel, and bow, and cense, not at that the images be, but at that the images signify, which, in our kneeling, bowing, and censing we knowledge to understand and read in that fashion of contract writing, wherein is wrapped up a great many of sentences, suddenly opened with one sudden sight, to him that hath been exercised in reading of them.

"And me seemeth, after the faith of Christ received and known, and thoroughly purged from heresies, if by chance there were offered a choice, either to retain painting and graving and forbear writing, or, choosing writing, to forbear both the other gifts; it would be a problem, seeing if graving were taken away we could have no printing. And therefore they that press so much the words, Thou shalt not make to thee any graven thing, ever, me thinketh, condemn printed books; the original whereof is of graving to make *matrices literarum*. Thou shalt make no graven images, lest thou worship them: which, I hear, is newly written in the new church, I know not the name, but not far from the Old Jewry.

"But to the matter of images, wherein I have discoursed at large, I think, if ye consider (as I doubt not but that ye will) the doctrine set forth by our late sovereign lord, ye shall in the matter see the truth set forth by such as had that committed unto them under his Highness, amongst whom I was not, nor was I privy unto it till it was done. And yet the clause in the book, for discussion of 'the Lord,' and 'our Lord,' hath made many think otherwise. But I take our Lord to witness, I was not; and that declaration of 'our Lord' was his Highness's own device. For he saw the fond Englishing of 'the Lord,' dissevered in speech, whom our Lord had congregated. And this I add, lest, giving authority to that book, I should seem to vaunt myself.

"Now will I speak somewhat of holy water, wherein I send unto you the four and thirtieth chapter in the ninth book of the History Tripartite, where Marcellus the bishop bade Equitius his deacon to cast abroad water, by him first hallowed, wherewith to drive away the devil. And it is noted how the devil could not abide the virtue of the water, but vanished away. And for my part, it seemeth the history may be true; for we be assured by Scripture, that in the name of God the church is able and strong to cast out devils, according to the gospel, In my name they shall cast

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out devils, &c.: so as if the water were away, by only calling on the name of God, that mastery may be wrought. And the virtue of the effect being only attributed to the name of God, the question should be only, whether the creature of the water may have the office to convey the effect of the holiness of the invocation of God's name. And first in Christ, the skirt of his garment had such an office to minister health to the woman, and spittle and clay to the blind; and St. Peter's shadow, and St. Paul's handkerchiefs.

"And, leaving old stories, here at home the special gift of curation, ministered by the kings of this realm, (not of their own strength, but by invocation of the name of God,) hath been used to be distributed in rings of gold and silver. And I think effectually therein the metal hath only an office, and the strength is in the name of God, wherein all is wrought. And Eliseus put his staff in like office. And why the whole church might not put water in like office, to convey abroad the invocation of God's name, there is no Scripture to the contrary: but there is Scripture how other inferior creatures have been promoted to like dignity; and much Scripture, how water hath been used in like and greater service. And the story I send unto you sheweth how water hath been used in the same service, to drive away devils. In which matter if any shall say, he believeth not the story, and he is not bound to believe it, being no Scripture; that man is not to be reasoned with, for the effect of the king's cramp-rings. And yet, for such effect as they have wrought, when I was in France, I have been myself much honoured; and of all sorts entreated to have them, with offer of as much for them as they were double worth.

"Some will say, 'What are rings to holy water?' Marry thus I say, If the metal of gold and silver may do service to carry abroad the invocation of the name of God effectually for one purpose, water may also serve to carry abroad the invocation of the name of God, wherewith to drive away devils. Hereto will be said, No inference can be drawn from what may be, to what is: but the story saith, 'The water did that service;' and other strangers say and affirm by experience, 'The king's Majesty's rings have done the service.' And our late master continued all his life the exercise of that gift of God, and used silver and gold to do that service, to carry abroad the strength of the invocation of the name of God by him; and he used it amongst us that served him in it, when he had thoroughly heard and seen what might be said in the matter: and yet he had no Scripture especially for it, that spake of rings of silver or gold, no more than is for the ashes ministered a little before ye last preached. And as our young sovereign lord hath received them reverently, so I trust he shall be advertised, not to neglect the grace of God in the gift of these charges, but follow his father therein; also not doubting but God will hear him, as he hath heard his father and other his progenitors kings of this realm; to whose dignity God addeth this prerogative, as he doth also to inferior ministers of his church, in the effect of their prayer, when it pleaseth him. A man might find some youngling, percase, that would say, how worldly, wily, witty bishops, have inveigled simple kings heretofore, and, to confirm their blessings, have also devised how kings should bless also, and so have authority to maintain where truth failed; and I have had it objected to me, that I used to prove one piece of mine argument ever by a king, as when I reasoned thus: If ye allow nothing but Scripture, what say you to the king's rings? but they be allowed; ergo, somewhat is to be allowed besides Scripture. And another: If images be forbidden, why doth the king wear St. George on his breast? But he weareth St. George on his breast: ergo, images be not forbidden. If saints be not to be worshipped, why keep we St. George's feast? But we keep St. George's feast: ergo, &c. And in this matter of holy water, if the strength of the invocation of the name of God, to drive away the devils, cannot be distributed by

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water, why can it be distributed in silver to drive away diseases, and the dangerous disease of the falling evil? But the rings hallowed by the holy church may do so: ergo, the water hallowed by the church may do like service.

"These were sore arguments in his time, and I trust be also yet; and may be conveniently used, to such as would never make an end of talk, but rake up every thing that their dull sight cannot penetrate, wherein me thought ye spake effectually, when ye said, 'Men must receive the determination of the particular church, and obey where God's law repugneth not expressly.' And in this effect to drive away devils, that prayer and invocation of the church may do it, Scripture main taineth evidently; and the same Scripture doth authorize us so to pray, and encourageth us to it—so as if, in discussion of holy water, we attribute all the effect of the holiness which proceedeth from God by invocation of the church, and take water only for a servant to carry abroad holiness; there can be no superstition, where men regard only prayer, which Scripture authorizeth. And if we shall say that the water cannot do such service, we shall be convinced, in that it doth a greater service in our baptism by God's special ordinance—so as we cannot say, that water cannot, or is not apt to do this service; only the stay is, to have a precise place in the New Testament, to say, 'Use water thus in this service, as we do in holy water;' which me thinketh needeth not, where all is ordered to be well used by us: and when the whole church agreed upon such a use, or any particular church, or the common minister of it, and by the exorcism ordered for it, the thing to be used, purged, there can be but slender matter to improve that custom, wherein God is only honoured, and the power of his name set forth; whereunto all things bow and give place, all natural operation set apart and secluded. And when any man hath denied that water may do service, because Scripture appointeth it not, that 'because' driveth away much of the rest which the church useth, and especially our cramp-rings. For if water may not serve to carry abroad the effects of God's grace, obtained by invocation from God, by the common prayer of the church, how can the metal of silver or gold carry abroad the effect of the king's invocation in the cramp-rings? which manner of reasoning *ad hominem*, Christ used with the Jews, when he said, If I by Beelzebub cast out devils, by whom do your children cast them out? And if by our own principles we should be enforced to say, that our cramp-rings be superstitious, (where truth enforceth us not so to do,) it were a marvellous punishment. If we were blind, as Christ saith, we should not have sin, but we see; and this realm hath learning in it, and you a good portion thereof; according whereunto I doubt not but you will weigh this matter, not in the scales of the people, but of the artificer; I mean, that artificer which teacheth the church our mother, (as ye fully declared it,) and ordered our mother to give nourishment unto us. In which point, speaking of the church, although ye touched an unknown church to us, and known to God only, yet you declared the union of that church in the permixt church, which God ordereth men to complain unto, and to hear again; wherein the absurdity is taken away of them that would have no church known, but every man believe as he were inwardly taught himself; whereupon followeth the old proverb, Σοι μὲν ταῦτα δοκοῦντ' ἐστὶ, ἐμοὶ δὲ τὰδε [Greek: *Soi men tauta dokoynt esti, emoi de tade*]; which is far from the unity ye so earnestly wished for, whereof (as me thought) ye said, 'Pride is the let;' as it is undoubtedly. Which fault God amend, and give you grace so to fashion your words, as ye may agree with them in speech, with whom ye be inclined to agree in opinion! For that is the way to relieve the world.

"And albeit there hath been between you and me no familiarity, but, contrariwise, a little disagreement, (which I did not hide from you,) yet, considering the fervent zeal ye professed to

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teach Peter's true doctrine, that is to say, Christ's true doctrine, whereunto ye thought the doctrine of images, and holy water to put away devils, agreed not, I have willingly spent this time to communicate unto you my folly (if it be folly) plainly as it is; whereupon ye may have occasion the more substantially, fully, and plainly, to open these matters for the relief of such as be fallen from the truth, and confirmation of those that receive and follow it; wherein it hath been ever much commended, to have such regard to histories of credit, and the continual use of the church, rather to show how a thing continued from the beginning, as holy water and images have done, may be well used, than to follow the light rash eloquence, which is ever to mock and improve that which is established. And yet again, I come to Marceline, that made a cross in the water, and bade his deacon cast it abroad faithfully and zealously: after which sort if our holy water were used, I doubt not but there be many Marcelluses, and many Elizeuses, and many at whose prayer God forgiveth sin, if such as will enjoy that prayer have faith and zeal, as Equitius, and were as desirous to drive the devil out of the temple of their body and soul, as Equitius out of the temple of Jupiter. So as if holy use were coupled with holy water, there should be more plenty of holiness than there is; but, as men be profane in their living, so they cannot abide to have any thing effectually holy, not so much as bread and water; fearing lest they should take away sin from us, which we love so dearly well. Christ alone washes away sins, who sprinkleth his blood by his ministers, as he hath taught his spouse the church, in which those ministers be ordered, wherein 'Many ways maketh not many saviours,' as ignorants do jest; whereof I need not speak further unto you, no more I needed not in the rest in respect of you; but, me thought, ye conjured all men in your sermon to say what they thought to you,

"Your loving friend,
STEPHEN WINCHESTER."

As I have set forth here, gentle reader, the cavilling letter of Winchester against Master Ridley's sermon, so am I right sorry that I have not likewise the answer of the said Ridley again to join withal. For I understand, that not only Master Ridley, but also Master Barlow, bishop of St. David's, (for Winchester wrote against them both,) had written and sent immediately their answers to the same, refuting the frivolous and unsavoury reasons of this popish prelate, as may well appear by a parcel additional of a letter sent by the lord protector to the said bishop in these words:

"And because we have begun to write to you, we are put in remembrance of a certain letter or book which you wrote unto us against the bishop of St. David's sermon, and Dr. Ridley's, to the which answer being immediately made, it was by negligence of us forgotten to be sent. Now we both send you that, and also the answer which the bishop of St. David's wrote to the same book of yours."

Nineteen articles and positions ministered and objected, each of them jointly and severally, to the bishop of Winchester; as followeth.

The First Article.

"In primis, That the king's Majesty justly and rightfully is, and by the laws of God ought to be, supreme head in earth of the Church of England, and also of Ireland; and so is by the

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clergy of this realm in their convocation, and by act of parliament, justly, and according to the laws of God, recognised."

This first article the bishop of Winchester granteth.

The Second Article.

"Item, That his Majesty, as supreme head of the said churches, hath full power and authority to make and set forth laws, injunctions, and ordinances, for and concerning religion, and orders of the said churches; for the increase of virtue, and repressing of all errors, heresies, and other enormities and abuses."

To this second article he answereth affirmatively.

The Third Article.

"Item, That all and every his Grace's subjects are bound, by the law of God, to obey all his Majesty's said laws, injunctions, and proceedings concerning religion, and orders in the said church."

To the third article the said bishop answereth affirmatively, and granteth it.

The Fourth Article.

"Item, That you, Stephen, bishop of Winchester, have sworn obedience unto his Majesty, as supreme head of this Church of England, and also of Ireland."

To the fourth article the said bishop answereth affirmatively, and granteth it.

The Fifth Article.

"Item, That all and every his Grace's subjects, that disobey any his Majesty's said laws, injunctions, ordinances, and proceedings already set forth and published, or hereafter to be set forth and published, ought worthily to be punished, according to his ecclesiastical law used within this his realm."

To this fifth article the said bishop answereth affirmatively, and granteth it.

The Sixth Article.

"Item, That you the said bishop, as well in the king's Majesty's late visitation within your diocese, as at sundry times, have been complained upon, and sundry informations made against you for your doings, sayings, and preachings, against sundry injunctions, orders, and other proceedings of his Majesty, set forth for reformation of errors, superstitions, and other abuses in religion."

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Winchester.—"This article toucheth other men's acts; who, or how they have complained and informed, I cannot thoroughly tell; for, at the time of the king's Majesty's visitation, I was in the Fleet, and the morrow after Twelfth-day I was delivered at Hampton-court, my Lord of Somerset and my Lord of Canterbury then being in council, with many other councillors; and was delivered by these words: The king's Majesty hath granted a general pardon,—and by the benefit thereof I was discharged. Whereunto I answered, that I was learned never to refuse the king's Majesty's pardon, and in strength as that was; and I would and did humbly thank his Majesty therefore.

"And then they began with me in an article of learning, touching justification, whereunto they willed me to say my mind; adding therewith, that because other learned men had agreed to a form delivered unto me, I should not think I could alter it: which I received of them, and promised the Thursday after to repair to my Lord of Somerset's house at Sheen, with my mind written: which I did, and, at that day seven-night following, appearing before him and others of the council, was committed to my house for prisoner, because I refused to subscribe to the form of words and sentences that others had agreed unto, as they said. In which time of imprisonment in my house, the bishop of Rochester, then being, was sent to me, and after Master Smith, and then Master Cecil; to which Master Cecil, when I had by learning resolved my mind in the matter, I delivered it; and he, delivering it to my Lord's Grace, wrote me, in his name, thanks for it. And then it was within the time of Lent, ere I was discharged of that trouble; and so went down to Winchester, as a man clearly out of all travail of business.

"And within fourteen days after that, or thereabouts, began other travail with me, upon a request made by my Lord of Somerset to surrender a college in Cambridge: and divers letters were written between his Grace and me in it; wherein I might perceive the secretary, with his pen, took occasion to prick me more than, I trusted, my Lord's Grace himself would have done. And by this trouble was I deduced to an end. Then, shortly after, I received letters to come to the council, and by reason I alleged my disease, I was respited by other letters; and three days before Whitsuntide received yet other letters to come: by which it might seem unto me, that it was not of all believed that I was diseased. And therefore with all expedition, when I could not ride, I came in a horse-litter; and, according to my duty, presented myself to my Lords of the council, who all then entertained me secretly among them before the matters were objected unto me, as if I had been in the same place with them, that I was in our late sovereign lord's days. Afterwards my Lord of Somerset's Grace charged me with these matters following, and in this form, having the articles written in a paper:

"First, with disobedience; that I came not at his sending for. Whereunto I answered, that I had his letters of licence to stay till I might come conveniently. And upon these last letters I came incontinently in a horse-litter.

"Then it was objected, that I bare palms, and crept to the cross. Whereunto I answered, that they were misinformed; and I trusted they would not think I durst deny it, if I had done it, because ceremonies had such circumstances, as I might easily be reprov'd if it were otherwise.

"Then it was objected, that at Easter I had a solemn sepulchre in the church, and such other ceremonies. I answered, that I had even as many as the king's Majesty's proclamations

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commanded me: declaring plainly, that I thought it not expedient to make any alteration, wherein to offend the king's Majesty's proclamation; adding, how he that followeth as he is commanded, is very obedient.

"It was then objected unto me, that I went about to defame two of the king's Majesty's chaplains, sent down to be canons of the church of Winchester. Whereunto I answered, declaring the fact truly as it was, which I am yet able to justify.—After this matter thus oft objected and answered, I was commanded to go apart, and being called in again, my Lord of Somerset's Grace, looking upon a bill of articles, said, I had preached how the apostles went from the presence of the council, of the council, of the council; which matter I denied, adding, that it was not my fashion of preaching, so to play in iteration of words.

"After that, it was objected unto me for preaching of the sacrament, to say, The body of Christ was really present; being a fault to use the word really, not comprised in the Scripture. Whereunto I answered, that I did not use the word really, which needeth not. For, as I once heard my Lord of Canterbury reason against one Lampert, in the presence of the king's Majesty that dead is; the words of the Scripture, This is my body that shall be betrayed for you, do plainly and lively express the very presence; and so did I set it forth to the people in my diocese.

"And this is the effect of all that was said against me at my being at the council, as I can remember. To whom I declared how much I esteemed obedience, and told them, I had taught in my diocese how the whole life of a Christian man consisteth in suffering properly; and therefore we may not do our own will, but the will of God: and among men, we must either suffer the rulers' will, or their power; their will to order us, and their power to punish us. After declaration whereof, my Lord of Somerset said, Ye must tarry in the town. Whereunto I answered, I would be contented at their commandment or pleasure to tarry; but, seeing I was no offender, I desired them I might not tarry as an offender; and for declaration thereof, that I might have some house in the country about London, to remove unto for a shift; in devising whereof, I stuck much to borrow Esher. My Lord of Somerset said, If he had any, in faith he would lend me one. And in the end, my Lord of Somerset desired me to write what my mind was in ceremonies, and to send it unto him; and with that departed.

"Thus I have truly opened after what sort I have been complained on, that hath certainly come to my knowledge: truth it is, that one Philpot in Westminster, whom I accounted altered in his wits, (as I have heard,) devised tales of me, the specialties whereof I never was called to answer unto. Players and minstrels also railed on me, and others made ballads and rhymes of me; but never man had just cause to complain of any my sayings, doings, or preachings, or to my knowledge did, otherwise than afore. And if any man shall put me in remembrance of any other complaint that might in my absence be made of me, if I have heard it, I will grant so. But well assured I am, I was never complained on, and called to make answer to the complaint, but this one time in all my whole life, by any man of any degree. Once the Lord Cromwell (God pardon his soul and forgive him!) caused one day and a half to be spent in a matter between Sir Francis Bryan and me; which was ended, and I declared an honest man; which the king's Majesty that dead is (God pardon his soul!) set forth with his familiarity to me incontinently. And this is all the trouble that I have had in my life, saving the sending to the Fleet, being occasioned by my own letter to the council, upon a zeal that I had, which they allowed not; and finally, this sending

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of me to the Tower, which was without calling me before the council, to hear what I could say. I am loth to be forsworn, and therefore I recount all the complaints in my whole life made against me, whereunto I have been made privy.

The Seventh Article.

"Item, That after and upon occasion of those and many other complaints and informations, you have been sundry times admonished, commanded, and enjoined to conform yourself, as to your duty appertaineth."

Winchester.—"To this seventh article I answer, I was never called afore the council by way of outward complaint and information, but only once in all my whole life; which was at my last coming to London. Whereunto I answered as afore, and have told the form and process of speech to serve for furniture of answer to this and that article: for other than I have before written, I remember not to have done or suffered by the higher powers in all my whole life, till my coming into the Tower, (without that I have had any by-admonitions, as a man faulty or negligent at any time, that I remember not,) for the observation of any thing already made or set forth by the king's Majesty that now is; but have kept, and caused to be kept to my power, the king's Majesty's acts, statutes, injunctions, and proclamations, inviolably; having for that purpose such a chancellor, as in orders and ordinances hath been always himself diligent and precise for the time I might have knowledge of his doings."

The Eighth Article.

"Item, That after the premises, and for that, those former admonitions and commandments notwithstanding, you did still show yourself not conformable; and for that also others, by your example, were much animated, and thereby occasion of much unquietness ministered among the people. You were called before the king's Majesty's council in the month of June, in the second year of his Majesty's reign, and by them, on his Majesty's behalf, commanded to preach a sermon before his Majesty; and therein to declare the justness and godliness of his Majesty's father, in his proceedings upon certain matters partly mentioned in certain articles to you delivered in writing, and partly otherwise declared unto you. The effect whereof was touching the usurped power and authority of the bishop of Rome, that the same was justly and godly taken away in this realm, and other the king's Majesty's dominions; touching the just suppressing and taking away of monasteries, religious houses, pilgrimages, relics, shrines, and images. The superstitious going about of St. Nicholas, bishop of St. Edmund, St. Katharine, St. Clement, and such-like; and just taking away of chantries, abbeyes, and colleges, hallowing of candles, water, ashes, palms, holy bread, beads, creeping to the cross, and such-like. Also, touching the setting-forth of the king's Majesty's authority in his young years, to be as great as if his Highness were of many more years. That auricular confession is indifferent, and of no necessity by the law of God: and touching the procession, and Common Prayer in English."

Winchester.—"This article, being of so many parts as it is, some true, some otherwise, must be answered by division of it into divers members, to divide the one from the other, granting that which is true, denying that which is otherwise, and opening that which is ambiguous, avoiding that which is captious; so as, according to my oath, I may open directly and

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plainly the truth, with sincerity of conscience. The motion of preaching was made unto me in mine own house by Master Cecil, upon the duke of Somerset's behalf, after I had been before the council, as I have before said; from which council I departed (as before is rehearsed) as no offender; and therefore when Master Cecil spake to me of preaching before the king's Majesty, with request to write my sermon before, I denied that manner of preaching, because I said it was to preach like an offender, and I was none, but departed from the council otherwise, as I have before showed. And the said Master Cecil did not say to me that I was moved to preach, because I was not conformable; for I had at that time no manner of variance with the council, but was in all conformity with them, for any thing that I know, as I will answer afore God.

"As for evil example to any man, I could none give, for I never offended law, statute, or proclamation in this realm, nor did ever any act to the impairing of due obedience to the king's Majesty in all my whole life; but by observation of them, and letting innovations, have done as much as in me lay to maintain obedience.

"After Master Cecil had spoken to me of preaching, and delivered two papers containing the matters whereupon I should entreat, because I refused to give my sermon in writing, (which was to me like an offender,) or to read those papers of another man's device, as the conception and sincere manner of uttering of mine own conscience: which me thought then and since, and yet, a marvellous unreasonable matter, touching both my conscience and honesty.

"I was then fetched to the duke of Somerset's Grace's chamber, and came in at a back door to himself alone, saving he took to him as witness (he said) the lord now of Wiltshire, then great master; and after many words, he showed me certain articles subscribed by lawyers, what a bishop might command and what the king might command, and what pain to the disobeyer. To whom I said plainly and truly, how those lawyers' subscription could not serve, in this case, to command me to utter to the people for mine own device in words, that which is not indeed so; and if I might speak with these lawyers, (I said,) his Grace should soon perceive them to agree with me. My Lord said, I should speak with no man, and I should do as I was bidden, or do worse; and bade me advise me till dinner was done. And then was I conveyed by the lord great master to his chamber, and there left alone to dine, as was indeed honourably prepared. But I took myself to be in the nature of a prisoner, and a restrained man.

"And about two of the clock at afternoon, came unto me Master Thomas Smith, then secretary, unto whom I complained of the unreasonableness of the matter, and showed him certain particularities; who said it was not meant so precisely, but to speak of the matters. To whom I said, I was content to speak of the matters, and then if I spake not according to the truth of them, there should be enough to bear witness to my condemnation; and if I spake the truth, then they had their desire. And I said further, I thought I might with my conscience say, so as men ought and should be content and satisfied. And further, if I thought that in my manner of the uttering of those matters I should offend the council, I had rather deny to speak of the thing, and begin the contention secretly with them, than to begin with the pulpit, and so bring myself in further trouble than needed; and therefore, if they would have me preach, I would preach as of myself, and of these matters, so as I thought they should be content.

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"Whereupon I was brought up to my Lord of Somerset's chamber, and there the matter ended thus: that my Lord of Somerset said, he would require no writing of me, but remit it to me, so I spake of the matters in the papers delivered me by Master Cecil. I told him I would speak of them, saving for children's toys, of going about of St. Nicholas, and St. Clement. If that be now gone, quoth I, and forgotten, if I be too busy in rehearsal of them, they will say I cumber their heads with ceremonies, and thus they will defame me. When ceremonies were plenty, they will say, I did nothing but preach on them; and now they be gone, I babble of them still. I said, I would touch the chief points, adding, that I would speak of other matters also; and with that, being put to my liberty to choose the day, departed: and otherwise I was not spoken with concerning preaching, saving after Master Cecil came unto me, whereof I shall speak anon.

"And concerning the matters to be spoken of, all such things as be here rehearsed, be named in the papers delivered unto me, although not altogether after this sort; saving the setting forth of the king's Majesty's authority in his minority, whereof there is no word in those papers, nor was there ever any promise made of me to speak of it. Truth it is, that after I had signified the day when I would preach, Master Cecil came unto me, making the chief message to know the day when I would preach: to whom I had sent word before, that it should be St. Peter's day, because me thought the gospel served well for that purpose. And in process of communication, he told me, that he liked gaily well a word that I had said in another communication: how a king was as much a king at one year of age, as at a hundred years of age; and if I touched it, he thought it would be well taken. I told him again, every man knew that; and then opened of myself the matter further. And at his next repair unto me, which was the Monday before I preached, the said Master Cecil brought me papers of the king's Majesty's hand, showing me how the king's Highness used to note every notable sentence, and specially if it touched a king; and therefore (quoth he) if ye speak of a king, ye must join counsel withal. Whereunto I made no answer, but shifted to other matter, without making him any promise or denial, because I would neither bind myself, nor trouble myself to discuss that matter: for albeit it is godly and wisely done of every prince to use counsel, yet, speaking of a king's power by Scripture, I cannot by express Scripture limit the king's power by counsel. And hearing blindly by report some secret matter, that I will not speak of here, I thought not to meddle with it at all in the pulpit; and yet, to the effect to have our sovereign lord now obeyed, of which mind I was ever, I pointed to our sovereign lord there in presence, and said, He was only to be obeyed; and, I would have but one king; and other words to that purpose. But, for any promise to be made by me, I utterly deny it, and tell plainly the cause why I spake not otherwise of it. There was also, in the papers delivered unto me, occasion given me to speak of the mass, because of matters satisfactory, as some understand them. And also there was occasion to speak of the sacrament of the altar, because of the proclamation passed of the same; which to be true, I shall justify by the said papers."

The Ninth Article.

"Item, That you, receiving the same, and promising to declare the same in a sermon by you made before his Majesty for that purpose, on the feast of St. Peter, in the said second year of his reign, did then and there contemptuously and disobediently omit to declare and set forth many of the said matters; and of divers other of the said articles you spake and uttered your mind in such doubtful sort, as the justness and godliness of his Majesty's father's, and his proceedings, was not set forth according to the commandment given unto you, and your own promise, to the

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great offence of the hearers, and manifest contempt of his Majesty, and dangerous example of others."

Winchester.—"Touching that promise, I answer as afore; and as touching omission of that I should have spoken of, by contempt or disobedience, I answer by mine oath, I did not omit any thing (if I did omit it) by contempt or disobedience; for I ever minded to satisfy the promise, to speak of all matters in those papers according to my former declaration. And if I did percase omit any thing, (whereof I can make now no assurance, it being two years and a half past since I preached,) but if I did omit any thing, he who knew my travail in the matter, would not marvel, being troubled with a letter sent from the duke of Somerset, whereof I shall speak after; so as from four of the clock on Thursday, till I had done my sermon on the Friday, I did neither drink, eat, nor sleep: so careful was I to pass over the travail of preaching without all slander of the truth, and with satisfaction of my promise, and discharge of my duty to God, and the king's most excellent Majesty. Wherein, whether any thing were omitted or not, I could have answered more precisely than I can now, if, according to my most instant suit, and the suit of my servants, the matter had been heard while it was in fresh memory. But, because omission may be by infirmity of nature, in which oblivion is a pain of our original sin, in which case it is no mortal offence, if a man being put in remembrance will purge it; I therefore, according to the true testimony of mine own conscience, dare the more boldly deny all contempt and disobedience, having for my declaration a general sentence spoken in my sermon, that I agreed with the upper part in their laws, orders, and commandments, or such-like words, and found fault only in the lower part. By which sentence it appeared, how I allowed in the whole that was past hitherto, and only dissented from the doings of them that attempt innovations, of their own presumption. And furthermore I say, that that saying 'omission' here objected unto me, if it were true, as I know it not to be, may happen two ways, one way by infirmity of nature, another way of purpose. Charity of a Christian man permitteth not to determine the worst of that which is doubtful and ambiguous to both parties: as touching doubtfulness objected, I take God to record, I minded to speak simply, and to be on the king's Majesty's side only, and not to go invisible in the world with ambiguities, esteeming him, &c. The worst man of all, is he that will make himself a lock of words and speech, which is known not to be my fashion, nor do I think this life worth that dissimulation; and how can that be a doubtful speech in him, that professeth to agree with the king's laws, injunctions, and statutes, which I did expressly?

"There be that call in doubt whatsoever serveth not their appetite. It is not in the speaker to satisfy the hearer that will doubt, where doubt is not. The sum of my teaching was, that all visible things be ordered to serve us, which we may in convenient service use. And when we serve them, that is an abuse, and may then, at the rulers' pleasure, unless Scripture appointeth a special use of them, be corrected in that use, or taken away for reformation. And this is a plain teaching that hath no doubt in it, but a yea and a nay on both sides, without a mean to make a doubt. And if any that doubteth cometh unto me, I will resolve him the doubt as I can. And if I promised to speak plainly, or am commanded to speak plainly, and cannot, then is my fault to promise only in the nature of folly and ignorance, whereunto I resort not for a shift, whereof indeed I profess the knowledge but to show how sometimes, to my hinderance, I am noted learned, that can speak plainly, and yet speak doubtfully; otherwhiles am rejected, as one that understandeth not the matter at all.. As touching contempt, there can be none manifest that proceedeth of a privy promise: if I had broken it, I intended not, but intended to take it, as

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appeareth by my general sentence, to agree with the superiors, and only find fault in the inferior subjects, who daily transgress the king's Majesty's proclamations, and others, whereof I spake then."

The Tenth Article.

"Item, That you, being also commanded and, on his Majesty's behalf, for the avoiding of tumult, and for other great considerations, inhibited to treat of any matter in controversy concerning the mass, or the communion, (then commonly called The Sacrament of the Altar,) did, contrary to the said commandment and inhibition, declare divers your judgments and opinions in the same, in manifest contempt of his Highness's said inhibition, to the great offence of the hearers, and disturbance of the common quiet and unity of the realm."

To the tenth article Winchester answered thus: "The Wednesday at afternoon next before the Friday when I preached, Master Cecil came to me, and having in all his other accesses spoken no word thereof, did then utter and advise me from the duke of Somerset, that I should not speak of the sacrament, or of the mass, whereby, he said, I should avoid trouble. And when he saw me not to take it well, I mean, quoth he, doubtful matters. I asked him what? he said, transubstantiation. I told him, he wist not what transubstantiation meant. I will preach, quoth I, the very presence of Christ's most precious body and blood in the sacrament, which is the catholic faith, and no doubtful matter, nor yet in controversy, saving that certain unlearned speak of it they wot not what. And among the matters, quoth I, whereof I have promised to speak, I must by special words speak of the sacrament, and of the mass also. And when I shall so speak of them, I will not forbear to utter my faith and true belief therein, which I think necessary for the king's Majesty to know; and therefore, if I wist to be hanged when I came down, I would speak it. Which plain zeal of my conscience, grounded upon God's commandment to do his message truly, I would not hide, but utter so as my Lord should, if he would not have it spoken of, not let me to come there as he might have done: whereas else, if I had had a deceitful purpose, I might have accepted the advice, and without any colour of trouble, have refused to follow it, as a thing grounded upon wealth only, as it was then uttered.

"With this my answer Master Cecil departed, and upon the Thursday, which was the next day following, and the evening before I preached, between three and four at afternoon, I received a letter signed with the hand of the duke of Somerset, the copy whereof I am ready to exhibit; and took it then, and esteemed it so now, to contain no effectual inhibition, whereunto I might by God's law, or the king's Majesty's laws, with discharge of my conscience and duty obey, although the said letters had been (as they were not) in such terms framed, as had precisely forbidden me (as they did not) but only to speak of matters in controversy of the sacrament; which indeed I did not, but only uttered a truth to my conscience, most certainly persuaded of the most holy sacrament, necessary to be known to the king's Majesty, and to be uttered by me admitted to that place of preaching, from whence God commandeth his truth to be uttered; which (in this nature of truth, the undue estimation and use whereof, St. Paul threateneth with temporal death) may in no wise be omitted. So as I was and am persuaded, the right estimation of the sacrament to be, to acknowledge the very presence of the same most precious body and blood present in the sacrament to feed us, that was given to redeem us. If I showed not my sovereign Lord the truth thereof, I for my part suffer him wittingly to fall into that extreme danger of body,

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which St. Paul threateneth, whose person I am bound by nature, by special oaths, and by God's laws, to preserve to my power; as I will do, and must do, by all ways and means. And if the king's Majesty doth vouchsafe to teach his people not to obey his commandment, where God commandeth the contrary, I might not take my Lord of Somerset's letter for an inhibition to hold my peace, when God biddeth me to speak, as he doth when the wolf cometh, and not to hide myself in silence, which is the most shameful running away of all. I have much matter to allege against the letter, why I should not credit it, written in his name alone, against a common letter (as I took it) written by him and the council, and published in print the first day of the said month, which maintaineth my preaching of the sacrament and mass, according to the proclamation and injunctions, the violation of which public letters had been a disorder and contempt; whereas I neither offended in the one nor the other.

"And as for tumult, none could reasonably be feared of any thing spoken agreeable to the king's Majesty's laws, as there did follow none; nor the people, nor any man did offer my person any wrong, or make tumult against me, notwithstanding players, jesters, rhymers, ballad-makers, did signify me to be of the true catholic faith, which I, according to my duty, declared to the king's Majesty, from whom I may hide no truth that I think expedient for him to know. And as the name of God cannot be used of any creature against God, no more can the king's name be used of any subject against his Highness. Wherefore, seeing the abuse of this holy sacrament hath in it a danger assured by Scripture, of body and soul; whosoever is persuaded in the catholic faith, as I am, findeth himself so burdened to utter that unto his Majesty, as no worldly loss can let him to do his duty in that behalf, and much less my Lord's private letters written without other of the council's hands."

The Eleventh Article.

"Item, That after the premises, viz., in the month of May or June, or one of them, in the third year of his Highness's reign, his Majesty sent eftsoons unto you, to know your conformity towards his said reformatiions, and specially touching the Book of Common Prayer then lately set forth by his Majesty; whereunto you at the same time refused to show yourself conformable."

To the eleventh article, for answer and declartion thereof, Winchester said, "The next day at afternoon after I had preached, when I looked for no such matter, came to my house the right worshipful Sir Anthony Wingfield, and Sir Ralph Sadler, knights, accompanied with a great number of the guard, and used themselves, for their part, according to their Worships, and, I doubt not, as they were appointed. And Sir Ralph Sadler began thus with me: My Lord, said he, ye preached yesterday obedience, but ye did not obey yourself; and went forth with his message very soberly, as he can, and discreetly. I asked him, wherein I obeyed not. He said, touching my Lord of Somerset's letter. Master Sadler, quoth I, I pray you say unto my Lord's Grace, I would he never made mention of that letter, for the love I bare him. And yet, quoth I, I have not broken that letter; and I was minded, quoth I, to have written to my Lord upon the receipt of it, and lo, quoth I, ye may see how I began:—and showed him (because we were then in my study) the beginning of my letter, and reasoned with him for the declaration of myself, and told him therewith, I will not spend, quoth I, many words with you, for I cannot alter this determination. And yet in good faith, quoth I, my manner to you, and this declaration, may have this effect, that I be gently handled in the prison; and for that purpose, I pray you, make suit on my behalf.

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"Master Wingfield laid his hand on my shoulder, and arrested me in the king's name for disobedience. I asked him, whither I should? They said, to the Tower. Finally, I desired them, that I might be spoken with shortly, and heard what I could say for myself; and prayed them to be suitors in it: and so they said they would. After that I was once in the Tower, until it was within six days of one whole year, I could hear no manner of word, message, comfort, or relief; saving once when I was sick, and me thought some extremity towards me, my chaplain had leave to come to me once: and then denied again, being answered, that my fever was but a tertian; which my said chaplain told me when he came to me at the Easter following; and there being with me from the morning until night on Easter-day, departed, and for no suit could I ever have him since. To Master Lieutenant I made divers suits to provoke the duke of Somerset's Grace to hear me, and, if I might have the liberty of an Englishman, I would plainly declare I had neither offended law, statute, act, proclamation, nor his own letter neither: but all would not help. And I shall report me to Master Lieutenant, whether in all this time I maligned, grudged, or used any unseemly words; ever demanding justice, and to be heard according to justice.

"When I had been thus in the Tower one whole year within six days or seven, as I remember, came to the Tower the lord chancellor of England, now being the lord treasurer, and Master Secretary Peter, who, calling me unto them, as I remember entered thus: They said they had brought with them a book passed by the parliament, which they would I should look on, and say my mind to it; and upon my conformity in it, my Lord of Somerset would be suitor to the king's Majesty for mercy to be ministered to me. Whereunto I answered that I trusted, if I might be heard, the king's Majesty's justice would relieve me, which I had long sued for, and could not be heard. And to sue for mercy, quoth I, when I have not in my conscience offended, and also to sue out of this place, where asking of mercy implieth a further suspicion than I would be for all the world touched in, were not expedient; and therefore, quoth I, 'Not guilty,' is and hath been continually allowed a good plea for a prisoner.

"Then my Lord said, Why, quoth he, were ye not commanded to preach of the king's authority in his young age, and did not? I told him I was not commanded. Is not, quoth he, that article in the papers ye had delivered you? I assured him no.

"And after communication of the king's Majesty's authority, wherein was no disagreement, then my lord chancellor said, I had disobeyed my Lord's Grace's letter.—I told him, I thought not, and if the matter came to judgment, it should appear. And then I said to him, My Lord, how many open injunctions under seal and in open court have been broken in this realm, the punishment whereof hath not been handled after this sort? and yet I would stand in defence, that I have not broken his letter; weighing the words of his letter, wherein I reasoned with Master Secretary Peter what a controversy was, and, some part, what I could say further. But whatsoever I can say, quoth I, you must judge it, and, for the passion of God, do it; and then let me sue for mercy, when the nature of the offence is known, if I will have it. But when I am, quoth I, declared an offender, I will with humility of suffering make amends to the king's Majesty, so far as I am able; for I should never offend him, and much less in his young age.

"My lord chancellor then showed me the beginning of the act for Common Prayer, how dangerous it was to break the order of it. I told him that it was true; and therefore, if I came abroad, I would beware of it. But it is, quoth I, after in the act, how no man should be troubled

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for this act, unless he were first indicted; and therefore, quoth I, I may not be kept in prison for this act. Ah, quoth he, I perceive ye know the law well enough.

I told him my chaplain had brought it unto me the afternoon before. Then they required me to look on the book, and to say my mind in it. I answered, that I thought not meet to yield myself a scholar to go to school in prison, and then slander myself, as though I redeemed my faults with my conscience. As touching the law which I know, I will honour it like a subject; and if I keep it not, I will willingly suffer the pain of it. And what more conformity I should show, I cannot tell, for mine offences be past, if there be any. If I have not suffered enough, I will suffer more—if upon examination I be found faulty; and as for this new law, if I keep it not, punish me likewise.

"Then my lord chancellor asked me, whether I would not desire the king's Majesty to be my good lord. At which words I said, Alas, my Lord! quoth I, do ye think that I have so forgotten myself? My duty, quoth I, requireth so; and I will on my knees desire him to be my good lord, and my lord protector also, quoth I. That is well said, quoth my lord chancellor. And what will ye say further, quoth my lord chancellor? In good faith, quoth I, this: that I thought when I had preached, that I had not offended at all, and think so still; and had it not been for the article of the supremacy, I would have rather feigned myself sick, than be occasion of this that hath followed: but, going to the pulpit, I must needs say as I said. Well, quoth my lord chancellor, let us go to our purpose again. Ye will, quoth he, desire the king's Majesty to be your good lord, and the lord protector also; and ye say, ye thought not to have offended. All this I will say, quoth I. And ye will, quoth my lord chancellor, submit yourself to be ordered by the lord protector. Nay, quoth I, by the law; for my lord protector, quoth I, hath scourged me over-sore this year, to put my matter in his hands now. And in the latter point I varied with the lord chancellor, when I would not refer my order to my lord protector, but to the law; and staying at this point they were content to grant me of their gentleness, to make their suit to procure me to be heard, and to obtain me liberty to go in the gallery, and that I should hear of one of them within two days following. I desired them to remember that I refused not the book by way of contempt, nor in any evil manner, but that I was loth to yield myself a scholar in the Tower, and to be seen to redeem my faults, if I had any, with my conscience. My body, I said, should serve my conscience, but not contrariwise. And this is the truth upon my conscience and oath, that was done and said at their coming. There was more said to the purposes aforesaid. And I bind not myself to the precise form of words, but to the substance of the matter and fashion of the entreating. So near as I can remember, I have truly discharged mine oath. But I heard no more of my matter in one whole year after almost, within fourteen days, notwithstanding two letters written by me to the council, of most humble request to be heard according to justice. And then, at the end of two years almost, came unto me the duke of Somerset, with others of the council; which matter, because it is left out here, I shall not touch, but prepare it in a matter apart, for declaration of my behaviour at all times."

The Twelfth Article.

"Item, That after that, viz., the ninth day of July, in the fourth year of his Majesty's reign, his Highness sent unto you his Grace's letters, with a certain submission and articles, whereunto his Grace willed and commanded you to subscribe. To the which submission you contemptuously refused to subscribe."

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To the twelfth article, for answer thereunto, Winchester granted, that about the time mentioned in this article, the lord treasurer, the earl of Warwick, lord great master, Sir William Harbert, and Master Secretary Peter, came to the Tower, and called him before them, and delivered unto him the king's Majesty's letters — "which I have to show," said he, "and received them at the hands of the lord treasurer upon my knees, kissed them as my duty was, and still upon my knees read them, whereas they gently required me to take more ease, and go apart with them, and consider them. Which after that I had thoroughly read, I much lamented that I should be commanded to say of myself as was there written, and to say otherwise of myself than my conscience will suffer me, and, where I trust my deeds will not condemn me, there to condemn myself with my tongue. I should sooner, quoth I to them, by commandment, I think, if ye would bid me, tumble myself desperately into the Thames.

"My Lord of Warwick, seeing me in that agony, said, What say ye, my Lord, quoth he, to the other articles? I answered, that I was loth to disobey where I might obey, and not wrest my conscience, destroying the comfort of it, as to say untruly of myself. Well, quoth my Lord of Warwick, will ye subscribe to the other articles? I told him I would: but then, quoth I, the article that toucheth me must be put out. I was answered, that needeth not, for I might write on the outside what I would say unto it. And then my Lord of Warwick entertained me very gently, and would needs, whiles I should write, have me sit down by him; and when he saw me make somewhat strange so to do, he pulled me nearer him, and said, we had ere this sat together, and trusted we should do so again. And then having pen and ink given me, I wrote, as I remember, on the article that touched me, these words,—I cannot with my conscience say this of myself,—or such-like words. And there followed an article of the king's Majesty's primacy, and I began to write on the side of that, and had made an *I* onward, as may appear by the articles; and they would not have me do so, but write only my name after their articles; which I did. Whereat, because they showed themselves pleased and content, I was bold to tell them merrily, that by this means I had placed my subscription above them all; and thereupon it pleased them to entertain me much to my comfort.

"And I was bold to recount unto them merry tales of my misery in prison, which they seemed content to hear. And then I told them also, (desiring them not to be discontent with that I should say,) when I remembered each of them alone, I could not think otherwise but they were my good lords; and yet when they met together, I felt no remedy at their hands. I looked, quoth I, when my Lord of Somerset was here, to go out within two days; and made my farewell feast in the Tower and all; since which time there is a month past, or thereabout; and I agreed with them, and now agree with you, and I may fortune to be forgotten. My Lord treasurer said, Nay, I should hear from them the next day. And so by their special commandment I came out of the chamber after them, that they might be seen to depart as my good lords; and so was done. By which process appeareth, how there was in me no contempt, as is said in this article; but such a subscription made as they were content to suffer me to make; which I took in my conscience for a whole satisfaction of the king's Majesty's letters, which I desire [it] may be deemed accordingly. And one thing was said unto me further: that others would have put in many more articles; but they would have no more but those."

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The Thirteenth Article.

"Item, That you, having eftsoons certain of the king's Majesty's most honourable council sent unto you the twelfth of July, in the said fourth year, with the said submission, and being on his Majesty's behalf required and commanded to consider again, and better, [of] the said submission, and to subscribe the same, stood in. justification of yourself, and would in no wise subscribe thereunto."

To the thirteenth article Winchester said, "The next day after the being in the Tower of the said lord treasurer, the earl of Warwick, and others, came unto me Sir William Harbert and Master Secretary Peter, to devise with me how to make some acknowledging of my fault, as they said, because the other form liked me not. Whereunto I said, I knew myself innocent, and to enter with you to entreat of a device to impair my innocency in any the least point, either by words or writings, it can have no policy in it. For although I did more esteem liberty of body than the defamation of myself, yet, quoth I, when I had so done with you, I were not so assured by you to come out. For when I were by [my] own pen once made a naughty man, then were I not the more sure to come out, but had locked myself the more surer in; and a small pleasure were it to me to have my body at liberty by your procurement, and to have my conscience in perpetual prison by mine own act. Many more words there were, and persuasions on their parts; which caused me to require of them, for the passion of God, that my matter might take an end by justice. And so they departed, there being no contempt or faction of disobedience showed on my behalf, but only allegation for my defence of mine own innocency in the best manner I could devise, as I trust they will testify."

The Fourteenth Article.

"Item, That after all this, viz. the fourteenth day of July, in the said fourth year, the said king's Majesty sent yet again unto you certain of his Majesty's honourable council, with another submission, and divers other articles, willing and commanding you to subscribe your name thereunto: which to do, you utterly refused."

To the fourteenth article Winchester said, "On the Monday in the morning following came the bishop of London, Sir William Harbert, Master Secretary Peter, and another whom I know not, who brought with them a paper, with certain articles written in it, which they required me to subscribe. Whereupon I most instantly required, that my matter might be tried by justice, which although it were more grievous, yet it hath a commodity with it, that it endeth certainly the matter. And I could never yet come to my assured stay, and therefore refused to meddle with any more articles, or to trouble myself with the reading of them; and yet they desired me instantly to read them, that I was content, and did read, and, to show my perfect obedient mind, offered incontinently upon my delivery out of prison to make answer to them all; such as I would abide by, and suffer pain for, if I have deserved it. I would indeed gladly have been in hand with my Lord of London; but he said he came not to dispute, and said, It was the hand of God that I was thus in prison, because I had so troubled other men in my time. Finally, my request was, that they should in this form make my answer to my Lords of the council, as followeth: That I must humbly thank them for their good-will to deliver me by the way of mercy; but, because in respect of mine own innocent conscience I had rather have justice, I desired them, seeing both was in the

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king's Majesty's hands, that I might have it; which if it happened to me more grievous, I will impute it to myself, and evermore thank them for their good-will. And so departed I with them, as I trust they will testify, and no misbehaviour or misdemeanour to have been used on my behalf"

The Fifteenth Article.

"Item, That after all this, viz. the nineteenth day of July, in the said fourth year, you, being personally called before the king's Majesty's privy council, and having the said submission and articles openly and distinctly read unto you, and required to subscribe the same, refused, for unjust and fantastical considerations by you alleged, to subscribe the same."

Winchester.—"To the fifteenth article I grant, that upon a Saturday at afternoon, even at such time of the day as they were at even-song in the chapel of the court, I was brought thither; and at my coming the lords of the council said, they were all my judges by special commission, and intended to proceed thus with me: that I should subscribe certain articles which were then read; and I must directly make answer, whether I would subscribe them or no. I answered on my knees in this wise: For the passion of God, my Lords, be my good lords, and let me be tried by justice, whether I be faulty or no: and as for these articles, as soon as ye deliver me to my liberty, I would make answer to them, whether I would subscribe them or no. Then they having [no] further to say, I answered, These articles are of divers sorts; some be laws, which I may not qualify; some be no laws, but learning and fact, which may have divers understandings; and a subscription to them without telling what I mean, were over-dangerous. And therefore I offered, for the more declaration of mine obedience to all their requests, that if they would deliver me the articles into the prison with me, I would shortly make them particular answer; and suffer the pains of the law, that by my answer I might incur into. Whereupon I was commanded to go apart, and they sent unto me the lord treasurer and Master Secretary Peter, who communed with me of a mean way, and that liked not the lords. And then I was called forth again, and my absolute subscription required again: and I again made offer to answer particularly; for I could not with my conscience subscribe them as they were, absolutely. And these my considerations I trust to be just, seeing no man for any commandments ought to offend his conscience, as I must have done in that case."

The Sixteenth Article.

"Item, That for your sundry and manifold contempts and disobediences in this behalf used, the fruits of your bishopric were then, by special commission of his Majesty, justly and lawfully sequestered."

Winchester.—"To the sixteenth article I answer, I deny contempts and disobedience of parts, and say, that my doings cannot so be termed, because it is taught in this realm for a doctrine of obedience, that if a king command that which is contrary to the commandment of God, the subject may not do as he is commanded, but humbly stand to his conscience; which is my case, who could not with my conscience do as I was required. And as touching the fact of decree, there was indeed a decree read, having words so placed and framed as though I were such an offender; which matter I deny. And in that decree was mention made of sequestration of

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fruits; but whether the former words were of the present tense, or else to be sequestered, I cannot precisely tell, but do refer that to the tenor of the decree."

The Seventeenth Article.

"Item, That after this, you had intimation and peremptory monition, with communication, that you should, within three months next following the said intimation, reconcile and submit yourself, under pain of deprivation."

Winchester.—"To the seventeenth article I answer, that in the same decree of sequestration at the same time read, I kneeling from the beginning of the decree to the latter end, I remember there was an intimation, and three months spoken of, and expressed also, how at every month's end I should have pen and ink offered to write, if I would yet subscribe; and, as I understand, it was upon the pain of proceeding further. And I do not remember that I heard the word 'deprivation,' but therein I refer me to the acts of the sentence; which when it was read, I desired it might be testified what mine offer was, to answer all those articles particularly, even remaining in prison. And this done, I made suit for some of my servants abroad to resort to me to the Tower, partly for my comfort, partly for my necessary business; which could not be obtained. And yet, to provoke it, I said to my Lord of Warwick, how for agreeing with my Lord of Somerset, I had some commodity; and for agreeing with him, had nothing; and therefore would needs by intercession press him, that I might by this means have some of my servants resorting unto me. He answered very gently. And then one said, I should within two or three days have somebody come to me. And then I was dismissed, with commandment to the lieutenant, to let me have the same liberty I had, but no more."

The Eighteenth Article.

"Item, That the said three months are now fully expired and run."

Winchester." To the eighteenth article I say, there is almost six months passed in time and number of days, but not one month past to the effect of the law, nor ten days neither, because I have been so kept in prison, that I could not seek for remedy in form abovesaid; nor was there at every month, after the form of the sentence, offered me pen and ink, and liberty given me to consult and deliberate with other learned men and friends, what were best to do, or to send unto them. And furthermore, the very eighth day after the decree given, I protested before my servants, whom I had only commodity to use as witnesses of the nullity of the decree, for the evident and apparent matter in it; but if it were in law, I appealed to the king's Majesty, because my request was not admitted, to have the copy of the articles to answer them particularly, and because it is excessive correction, to sequester my fruits and keep me in prison: with other cases to be deduced where I might have opportunity. Which appellation I protested to intimate as soon as I could come to any presence meet there-for, as I did in this assembly at my last repair; desiring therewith the benefit of complete restitution, because of mine imprisonment; and therefore do answer this matter with protestation of that appeal, and utterly deny all manner of contempt."

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The Nineteenth Article.

"Item, That you have not hitherto, according to the said intimation and monition, submitted, reconciled, nor reformed yourself, but contemptuously yet still remain in your disobedience."

Winchester.—"To the nineteenth article I say, that I have been all this while in prison so kept, as no man could have access to counsel with me, nor any means to write or send to any man, having made continual suit to master lieutenant and master marshal, under whose custody I am here, and to make suit in my name to the lords of the council, that I might come to hearing, or else be bailed upon surety; which I could not obtain, and so have remained, under the benefit of my said appeal to the king's Majesty made, as I might for the time; which I eftsoons desire I may have liberty to prosecute.

"And whereas, answering to these articles for declaration of the integrity of my conscience, I use in the same places general words, I protest I mean not by those words to set forth myself otherwise more arrogantly than as my direct intent (which excludeth malice) and purpose move me to say, and as my conscience beareth witness unto me at this time; and therefore will say therein with St. Paul, *Nihili mihi conscius sum, sed non in hoc justificatus sum*. Wherefore if any especially be objected unto me, wherein, by ignorance or oversight and negligence, any offence of mine may appear against the king's Majesty's laws, statutes, and injunctions, I shall desire and protest that it be not prejudicial to mine answer for this present *Credo* (as lawyers in civil matters use that term) to be true; that is to say, such as, without any alteration in my conscience, presently I may of myself say in affirmation or denial, as afore is answered. And whereas I spake of commandment to be made to me against God's law, I protest not to touch my sovereign lord's honour therein, which my duty is by all means to preserve, but that the commandment given resolveth to be against God's law on my part, in the obedience to be given; because I may not answer or say otherwise but yea, yea, and nay, nay. So as my words and heart may agree together, or else I should offend God's law; which my sovereign, if he knew my conscience, would not command me."

Now that we have set forth and declared the matters and articles propounded and objected against the bishop, with his answer and purgations unto the same, wherein, though he utter many words to the most advantage of his excuse, yet he could not so excuse himself, but that much fault, and matter of great complaint, and most worthy of accusation, did remain in him: it remaineth, consequently, to set forth the process of his doings, and such complaints and accusations, wherewith he was worthily charged withal, as in the copy here following doth appear.

The copy of a writ or evidence touching the order and manner of the misdemeanour of Winchester, with declaration of the faults wherewith he was justly charged; copied out of the public records.

"Whereas the king's Majesty, by the advice of the lord protector and the rest of his Highness's privy council, thinking requisite, for sundry urgent considerations, to have a general visitation throughout the whole realm, did, about ten months past, address forth commissions;

and, by the advice of sundry bishops and other the best learned men of the realm, appointed certain orders or injunctions to be generally observed; which, being such as in some part touched the reformation of many abuses, and in other parts concerned the good governance and quiet of the realm, were (as reason would) of all men of all sorts obediently received, and reverently observed and executed, saving only of the bishop of Winchester, who, as well by conference with others as by open protestations and letters also, showed such a wilful disobedience therein, as, if it had not been quickly espied, might have bred much unquietness and trouble:—upon the knowledge thereof he, being sent for, and his lewd proceedings laid to his charge, in the presence of the whole council so used himself (as well in denying to receive the said orders and injunctions, as otherwise) as he was thought worthy most sharp punishment; and yet, considering the place he had been in, he was only sequestered to the Fleet, where, after he had remained a certain time, as much at his ease as if he had been at his own house, upon his promise of conformity, he was both set at liberty again, and also licensed to repair to and remain in his diocese at his pleasure. Where when he was, forgetting his duty, and what promise he had made, he began forthwith to set forth such matters as bred again more strife, variance, and contention, in that one small city and shire, than was almost in the whole realm after. Besides that, the lord protector's Grace and the council were informed, that to withstand such as he thought to have been sent from his Grace and their Lordships into those parts, he had caused all his servants to be secretly armed and harnessed; and moreover, when such preachers as, being men of godly life and learning, were sent into that diocese by his Grace and their Lordships to preach the word of God, and appointed to preach, the bishop, to disappoint and disgrace them, and to hinder his Majesty's proceedings, did occupy the pulpit himself, not fearing in his sermon to warn the people to beware of such new preachers, and to embrace none other doctrine but that which he had taught them (than the which words none could have been spoken more perilous and seditious). Whereupon, being eftsoons sent for, and their Grace and Lordships objecting to him many particular matters wherewith they had just cause to charge him, they did in the end, upon his second promise, leave him at liberty, only willing him to remain at his house at London, because they thought it most meet to sequester him from his diocese for a time. And, being come to his house, he began afresh to ruffle and meddle in matters wherein he had neither commission nor authority; part whereof touched the king's Majesty. Whereof being yet once again admonished by his Grace and their Lordships, he did not only promise to conform himself in all things like a good subject, but also, because he understood that he was diversely reported of, and many were also offended with him, he offered to declare to the world his conformity; and promised, in an open sermon so to open his mind in sundry articles agreed upon, that such as had been offended should have no more cause to be offended, but well satisfied in all things. Declaring further, that as his own conscience was well satisfied, and liked well the king's proceedings within this realm, so would he utter his conscience abroad, to the satisfaction and good quiet of others. And yet, all this notwithstanding, at the day appointed, he did not only most arrogantly and disobediently, and that in the presence of his Majesty, his Grace, and their Lordships, and of such an audience as the like whereof hath not lightly been seen, speak of certain matters contrary to an express commandment given to him on his Majesty's behalf both by mouth and by letters, but also, in the rest of the articles whereunto he had agreed before, used such a manner of utterance as was very like, even there presently, to have stirred a great tumult; and, in certain great matters touching the policy of the realm, handled himself so colourably, as therein he showed himself an open great offender, and a very seditious man. Forasmuch as these his proceedings were of such sort, as, being suffered to escape unpunished, might breed

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innumerable inconveniences, and that the clemencies showed to him afore, by his Grace and their Lordships, did work in him no good effect, but rather a pride and boldness to demean himself more and more disobediently against his Majesty's and his Grace's proceedings; it was determined by his Grace and their Lordships, that he should be committed to the Tower, and be conveyed thither by Sir Anthony Wingfield; and that at the time of his committing, Sir Ralph Sadler, and William Hunning, clerk of the council, should seal up the doors of such places in his house as they should think meet: all which was done accordingly."

By this evidence above-mentioned, first, here is of the reader to be noted, how lewdly and disobediently the said Stephen Gardiner misused himself in the king's general visitation, in denying to receive such orders and injunctions, as for the which he justly deserved much more severe punishment, albeit the king, with his uncle the lord protector, more gently proceeding with him, were contented only to make him taste the Fleet; in the which house, as his durance was not long, so his entreating and ordering was very easy. Out of the which Fleet, divers and sundry letters he wrote to the lord protector and others of the council; certain also to the archbishop of Canterbury, and some to Master Ridley, bishop of London, as is above specified.

Here follow the circumstances of the council's proceedings with the bishop of Winchester, taken out of the register.

"Greenwich, June 8, 1550

"Considering the long imprisonment that the bishop of Winchester hath sustained, it was now thought time he should be spoken withal; and agreed by the council, that if he repented his former obstinacy, and would henceforth apply himself to advance the king's Majesty's proceedings, his Highness, in this case, would be his good lord to remit all his errors passed. Otherwise his Majesty was resolved to proceed against him as his obstinacy and contempt required. For the declaration whereof the duke of Somerset, the lord treasurer, the lord privy seal, the lord great chamberlain, and Master Secretary Peter, were appointed the next day to repair unto him."

After these things thus passed, certain of the council, by the king's appointment, had sundry days and times access to him in the Tower, to persuade with him; which were these, the duke of Somerset, the lord treasurer, the lord privy seal, the lord great chamberlain, and Master Secretary Peter, who repaired to him the tenth day of June.

"Greenwich, June 10, 1550.

"Report was made by the duke of Somerset and the rest, sent to the bishop of Winchester, that he desired of them to see the king's book of proceedings; upon the sight whereof he would make a full answer, seeming to be willing in all things to conform himself thereunto, and promising, that in case any thing offended his conscience, he would open it to none but to the council. Whereupon it was agreed, the book should be sent him to see his answer, that his case might be resolved upon; and that, for the mean time, he should have the liberty of the gallery and garden in the Tower, when the duke of Norfolk were absent."

The king was lying at Greenwich at this time.

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Greenwich, June 13, 1550.

This day the lieutenant of the Tower, who before was appointed to deliver the king's book unto the bishop of Winchester, declared unto the council, that the bishop, having perused it, said unto him, he could make no direct answer unless he were at liberty; and so being, he would say his conscience. Whereupon the lords and others that had been with him the other day, were appointed to go to him again to receive a direct answer, that the council thereupon might determine further order for him."

"At Westminster, July 8, 1550.

"This day the bishop of Winchester's case was renewed upon the report of the lords that had been with him, that his answers were ever doubtful, refusing while he were in prison to make any direct answer. Wherefore it was determined, that he should be directly examined, whether he would sincerely conform himself unto the king's Majesty's proceedings or not. For which purpose it was agreed, that particular articles should be drawn, to see whether he would subscribe them or not; and a letter also directed unto him from the king's Highness, with which the lord treasurer, the lord great master, the master of the horse, and Master Secretary Peter, should repair unto him; the tenor of which letter hereafter ensueth."

A letter sent to the bishop of Winchester, signed by the king, and subscribed by the council.

"It is not, we think, unknown unto you, with what clemency and favour we, by the advice of our council, caused you to be heard and used, upon the sundry complaints and informations that were made to us and our said council of your disordered doings and words, both at the time of our late visitation, and otherwise. Which notwithstanding, considering that the favour, both then and many other times ministered unto you, wrought rather an insolent wilfulness in yourself, than any obedient conformity, such as would have beseemed a man of your vocation, we would not but use some demonstration of justice towards you, as well for such notorious and apparent contempts, and other inobediences as, after and contrary to our commandment, were openly known in you, as also for some example and terror of such others as by your example seemed to take courage to mutter and grudge against our most godly proceedings, whereof great discord and inconvenience at that time might have ensued. For the avoiding whereof, and for your just deservings, you were by our said council committed to ward: where albeit we have suffered you to remain a long space, sending unto you in the mean time, at sundry times, divers of the noblemen, and others of our privy council, and travailing by them with clemency and favour to have reduced you to the knowledge of your duty; yet in all this time have you neither acknowledged your faults, nor made any such submission as might have beseemed you, nor yet showed any appearance either of repentance, or of any good conformity to our godly proceedings. Wherewith albeit we both have good cause to be offended, and might also justly, by the order of our laws, cause your former doings to be reformed and punished to the example of others; yet, for that we would both the world and yourself also should know that we delight more in clemency, than in the strait administration of justice, we have vouchsafed, not only to address unto you these our letters, but also to send eftsoons unto you four of our privy council with certain articles, which being by us, with the advice of our said council, considered, we think requisite, for sundry considerations, to be subscribed by you; and therefore will and command you to subscribe the said articles, upon pain of incurring such punishment and penalties as by our laws may be put upon you for not doing the same.

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"Given at our palace of Westminster, the eighth day of July, the fourth year of our reign."

This letter, signed by the king's Majesty, was also subscribed by the whole council.

"At Westminster, July 10.

"The lord treasurer, lord great master, the master of the horse, and Master Secretary Peter, made report unto the council, that they had not only delivered to the bishop of Winchester the king's Majesty's letter, but also the articles appointed unto all; which articles he subscribed with his own hand, saving to the first, whereunto he wrote his answer in the margin, as hereafter appeareth."

With the before-mentioned letter, addressed from the king and his council, these articles, also, were delivered to the bishop of Winchester, here following:

The copy of the articles, six in number.

"I. That by the law of God, and the authority of the Scriptures, the king's Majesty and his successors are supreme heads of the churches of England, and also of Ireland."

The bishop of Winchester's answer to this article, in the margin.—"Whereas I, Stephen, bishop of Winchester, have been suspected as one too much favouring the bishop of Rome's authority, decrees, and ordinances, and, as one that did not approve or allow the king's Majesty's proceedings in alteration of certain rites in religion, was convened before the king's Highness's council, and admonished thereof; and having certain things appointed for me to do and preach for my declaration, have not done that as I ought to do, although I promised to do the same; whereby I have not only incurred the king's Majesty's indignation, but also divers of his Highness's subjects have, by my example, taken encouragement (as his Grace's council is certainly informed) to repine at his Majesty's most godly proceedings: I am right sorry there-for, and acknowledge myself condignly to have been punished; and do most heartily thank his Majesty, that of his great clemency it hath pleased his Highness to deal with me not according to rigour, but mercy. And to the intent it may appear to the world, how little I do repine at his Highness's doings, which be in religion most godly, and to the commonwealth most profitable, I do affirm and say freely of mine own will, without any compulsion, as ensueth."

"II. Item, That the appointing of holy-days and fasting-days, as Lent, Ember-days, or any such like, or to dispense therewith, is in the king's Majesty's authority and power: and his Highness, as supreme head of the said churches of England and Ireland, and governor thereof, may appoint the manner and time of the holy-days and fasting-days, or dispense therewith, as to his wisdom shall seem most convenient for the honour of God, and the wealth of this realm.

"III. Item, That the king's Majesty hath most Christianly and godly set forth, by and with the consent of the whole parliament, a devout and Christian book of service of the church, to be frequented by the church, which book is to be accepted and allowed of all bishops, pastors, curates, and all ministers ecclesiastical of the realm of England, and so of him to be declared and commended in all places where he shall fortune to preach or speak to the people of it, that it is a

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godly and Christian book and order, and to be allowed, accepted, and observed of all the king's Majesty's true subjects.

"IV. I do acknowledge the king's Majesty that now is, (whose life God long preserve!) to be my sovereign lord, and supreme head under Christ to me as a bishop of this realm, and natural subject to his Majesty, and now in this his young and tender age to be my full and entire king; and that I, and all other his Highness's subjects, are bound to obey all his Majesty's proclamations, statutes, laws, and commandments, made, promulgated, and set forth in his Highness's young age, as well as though his Highness were at this present thirty or forty years old.

"V. Item, I confess and acknowledge, that the statute commonly called The Statute of the Six Articles, for just causes and grounds, is by authority of parliament repealed and disannulled.

"VI. Item, That his Majesty and his successors have authority in the said churches of England, and also of Ireland, to alter, reform, correct, and amend all errors and abuses, and all rites and ceremonies ecclesiastical, as shall seem from time to time to his Highness and his successors most convenient for the edification of his people; so that the same alteration be not contrary or repugnant to the Scripture and law of God.

"Subscribed by Stephen Winchester, with the testimonial hands of the council to the same."

To these articles afore specified, although Winchester with his own hand did subscribe, granting and consenting to the supremacy of the king as well then being, as of his successors to come; yet because he stuck so much in the first point touching his submission, and would in no case subscribe to the same, but only made his answer in the margin, (as is above noted,) it was therefore thought good to the king, that the master of the horse and Master Secretary Peter should repair unto him again with the same request of submission, exhorting him to look better upon it; and in case the words seemed too sore, then to refer it unto himself, in what sort and with what words he should devise to submit him, that, upon the acknowledgment of his fault, the king's Highness might extend his mercy and liberality towards him as it was determined: which was the eleventh day of July, the year abovesaid.

When the master of the horse and Secretary Peter had been with him in the Tower according to their commission, returning from him again, they declared unto the king and his council how precisely the said bishop stood in justification of himself, that he had never offended the king's Majesty: wherefore he utterly refused to make any submission at all. For the more surety of which denial, it was agreed, that a new book of articles should be devised, wherewith the said master of the horse, and Master Secretary Peter, should repair unto him again; and for the more authentic proceeding with him, they should have with them a divine, and a temporal lawyer, which were the bishop of London, and Master Goodrick.

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The copy of the last articles sent to the bishop of Winchester.

"Whereas I, Stephen, bishop of Winchester, have been suspected as one that did not approve or allow the king's Majesty's proceedings in alteration of certain rites in religion, and was convented before the king's Highness's council, and admonished thereof, and having certain things appointed for me to do and preach for my declaration, have not done therein as I ought to do, whereby I have deserved his Majesty's displeasure, I am right sorry therefore. And to the intent it may appear to the world how little I do repine at his Highness's doings, which be in religion most godly, and to the commonwealth most profitable, I do affirm as followeth

"I. That the late king, of most famous memory, King Henry the Eighth, our late sovereign lord, justly, and of good reason and ground, hath taken away, and caused to be suppressed and defaced, all monasteries and religious houses, and all conventicles and convents of monks, friars, nuns, canons, bonhommes, and other persons called religious; and that the same being so dissolved, the persons therein bound and professed to obedience to a person, place, habit, and other superstitious rites and ceremonies, upon that dissolution and order appointed by the king's Majesty's authority as supreme head of the church, are clearly released and acquitted of those vows and professions, and at their full liberty, as though those unwitty and superstitious vows had never been made.

"II. Item, That any person may lawfully marry, without any dispensation from the bishop of Rome, or any other man, with any person whom it is not prohibited to contract matrimony with, by the law Levitical.

"III. Item, That the vowing and going on pilgrimage to images, or the bones or relics of any saints, hath been superstitiously used, and cause of much wickedness and idolatry, and therefore justly abolished by the late said king, of famous memory; and the images and relics so abused, have been, for great and godly considerations, defaced and destroyed.

"IV. Item, That the counterfeiting of St. Nicholas, St. Clement, St. Katharine, and St. Edmund, by children heretofore brought into the church, was a mere mockery and foolishness, and therefore justly abolished and taken away.

"V. Item, It is convenient and godly, that the Scripture of the Old Testament and New, that is, the whole Bible, be had in English and published, to be read of every man, and that whosoever doth repel and dehort men from reading thereof, doth evil and damnably.

"VI. Item, That the said late king, of just ground and reason, did receive into his hands the authority and disposition of chantries and such livings as were given for the maintenance of private masses, and did well change divers of them to other uses.

"VII. Also, the king's Majesty that now is, by the advice and consent of the parliament, did, upon just ground and reason, suppress, abolish, and take away the said chantries, and such other livings as were used and occupied for maintenance of private masses, and masses satisfactory for the souls of them that are dead, or finding of obits, lights, or other like things. The mass that was wont to be said of priests was full of abuses, and had very few things of

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Christ's institution, besides the Epistle, Gospel, the Lord's Prayer, and the words of the Lord's supper; the rest, for the more part, were invented and devised by bishops of Rome, and by other men of the same sort, and therefore justly taken away by the statutes and laws of this realm; and the communion which is placed instead thereof, is very godly, and agreeable to the Scriptures.

"VIII. Item, That it is most convenient and fit, and according to the first institution, that all Christian men should receive the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ in both the kinds, that is, in bread and wine.

"IX. And the mass, wherein only the priest receiveth, and the others do but look on, is but the invention of man, and the ordinance of the bishop of Rome's church, not agreeable to Scripture.

"X. Item, That upon good and godly considerations it is ordered in the said book and order, that the sacrament should not be lifted up, and showed to the people to be adored; but to be with godly devotion received, as it was first instituted.

"XI. Item, That it is well, politically, and godly done, that the king's Majesty, by act of parliament, hath commanded all images which have stood in churches and chapels, to be clearly abolished and defaced; lest hereafter, at any time, they should give occasion of idolatry, or be abused, as many of them heretofore have been, with pilgrimages, and such idolatrous worshipping.

"XII. And also that, for like godly and good considerations, by the same authority of parliament, all mass-books, cowchers, grails, and other books of the service in Latin, heretofore used, should be abolished and defaced, as well for certain superstitions in them contained, as also to avoid dissension; and that the said service in the church should be, through the whole realm, in one uniform conformity, and no occasion through those old books to the contrary.

"XIII. That bishops, priests, and deacons have no commandment of the law of God, either to vow chastity, or to abstain continually from marriage.

"XIV. Item, That all canons, constitutions, laws positive, and ordinances of man, which do prohibit or forbid marriage to any bishop, priest, or deacon, be justly, and upon godly grounds and considerations, taken away and abolished by authority of parliament.

"XV. The Homilies lately commanded and set forth by the king's Majesty, to be read in the congregations of England, are godly and wholesome, and do teach such doctrine as ought to be embraced of all men.

"XVI. The book set forth by the king's Majesty, by authority of parliament, containing the form and manner of making and consecrating of archbishops, bishops, priests, and deacons, is godly, and in no point contrary to the wholesome doctrine of the gospel; and therefore ought to be received and approved of all the faithful members of the Church of England, and, namely, the ministers of God's word, and by them commended to the people.

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"XVII. That the orders of sub-deacon, Benet and Colet, and such others as were commonly called *minores ordines*, be not necessary by the word of God to be reckoned in the church, and be justly left out in the said Book of Orders.

"XVIII. That the Holy Scriptures contain sufficiently all doctrine required of necessity for eternal salvation through faith in Jesus Christ; and that nothing is to be taught as required of necessity to eternal salvation, but that which may be concluded and proved by the Holy Scriptures.

"XIX. That upon good and godly considerations it was and is commanded by the king's Majesty's injunctions, that the Paraphrase of Erasmus in English should be set up in some convenient place in every parish church of this realm, where the parishioners may most commodiously resort to read the same.

"XX. And because these articles aforesaid, do contain only such matters as be already published and openly set forth by the king's Majesty's authority, by the advice of his Highness's council, for many great and godly considerations; and amongst others, for the common tranquillity and unity of the realm; his Majesty's pleasure, by the advice aforesaid, is, that you, the bishop of Winchester, shall not only affirm these articles with subscription of your hand, but also declare and profess yourself well contented, willing, and ready to publish and preach the same at such times and places, and before such audience, as to his Majesty from time to time shall seem convenient and requisite; upon pain of incurring such penalties and punishments as, for not doing the same, may, by his Majesty's laws, be inflicted upon you.

"These articles were sent the fifteenth of July."

Report was made by the master of the horse and Master Secretary Peter as followeth:

"That they, with the bishop of London and Master Goodrick, had been with the bishop of Winchester, and offered him the foresaid articles according to the council's order: whereupon the said bishop of Winchester made answer, that first to the article of submission, he would in no wise consent; affirming, as he had done before, that he had never offended the king's Majesty in any such sort as should give him cause thus to submit himself; praying earnestly to be brought to his trial, wherein he refused the king's mercy, and desired nothing but justice. And for the rest of the articles, he answered, that after he were past his trial in this first point, and were at liberty, then it should appear what he would do in them: not being (as he said) reasonable, that he should subscribe them in prison."

Whereupon it was agreed that he should be sent for before the whole council and peremptorily examined once again, whether he would stand at this point or no. Which if he did, then to denounce unto him the sequestration of his benefice and consequently the intimation, in case he were not reformed within three months; as in the day of his appearance shall appear.

"At Westminster, the 19th July, 1550.

"This day the council had access unto the king's Majesty for divers causes, but specially for the bishop of Winchester's matter; who, this day, was therefore appointed to be before the

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council: and then, having declared to his Highness the circumstances of their proceedings with the bishop, his Majesty commanded that if he would this day also stand to his wonted obstinacy, the council should then proceed to the immediate sequestration of his bishopric and consequently to the intimation. Upon this the bishop of Winchester was brought before the council, and there the articles before mentioned read unto him distinctly, and with good deliberation: whereunto he refused to subscribe or consent, and thereupon were both the sequestration and intimation read unto him, in the form following:

"Whereas the king's Majesty, our most gracious sovereign lord, hath at divers times set sundry of us to travail with you, to the intent you, acknowledging your bounden duty, should, as a good and obedient subject, have conformed yourself to that uniformity in matters of religion, which is already openly set forth, both by acts of parliament, and otherwise by his Majesty's authority; and hath also of late, by certain of his Majesty's council, sent unto you certain articles, with express commandment that you should affirm them with subscription of your hand, and also declare and profess yourself well contented, willing, and ready, to publish and preach the same to others, at such times and places, and before such audience, as to his Majesty should, from time to time, be seen requisite: because you did at that time expressly refuse to do as you were commanded, to the great contempt of his Highness's most dread commandment, and dangerous example of others; we, having special commission from his Majesty to hear and determine your manifold con-tempts and disobediences, do eftsoons ask and demand of you, whether you will obey and do his Majesty's said commandment or not." Whereunto he answered, that in all things that his Majesty would command him, he was willing and most ready to obey; but forasmuch as there were divers things required of him that his conscience would not bear, therefore he prayed them to have him excused.—And thereupon Master Secretary Peter by the council's order proceeded with these words.—

The words of the sequestration, with the intimation to the bishop of Winchester.

"Forasmuch as the king's Majesty, our most gracious sovereign lord, understandeth, and it is also manifestly known and notorious unto us, that the clemency and long sufferance of his Majesty worketh not in you that good effect, and humbleness, and conformity, that is requisite in a good subject; and for that your disobediences, contempts, and other misbehaviours, for the which you were by his Majesty's authority justly committed to ward, have, since your said committing, daily more and more increased in you, in such sort as a great slander and offence is thereof risen in many parts of the realm, whereby also much slander, dissension, trouble, and unquietness, is very like more to ensue, if your aforesaid offences, (being, as they be, openly known,) should pass unpunished: we let you wit, that having special and express commission and commandment from his Majesty, as well for your contumacies and contempts so long continued, and yet daily more increasing, as also for the exchange of the slander and offence of the people, which by your said ill demeanours are risen; and for that also the church of Winchester may be in the mean time provided of a good minister, that may and will see all things done and quietly executed according to the laws and common orders of this realm; and for sundry other great and urgent causes: we do, by these presents, sequester all the fruits, revenues, lands, and possessions of your bishopric of Winchester; and discern, deem, and judge the same to be committed to the several receipt, collection, and custody, of such person or persons as his Majesty shall appoint for that purpose. And because your former disobediences and contempts, so long continued, so

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many times doubled, renewed, and aggravated, do manifestly declare you to be a person without all hope of recovery, and plainly incorrigible; we eftsoons admonish and require you to obey his Majesty's said commandment, and that you do declare yourself, by subscription of your hand, both willing and well contented to accept, allow, preach and teach to others, the said articles, and all such other matters as be or shall be set forth by his Majesty's authority of supreme head of this Church of England, on this side and within the term of three months; whereof we appoint one month for the first monition, one month for the second monition and warning, and one month for the third and peremptory monition.

"Within which time as you may yet declare your conformity, and shall have paper, pen, and ink, when you shall call for them for that purpose; so if you wilfully forbear and refuse to declare yourself obedient and conformable as is aforesaid, we intimate unto you, that his Majesty, who, like a good governor, desireth to keep both his commonwealth quiet, and to purge the same of evil men, (especially ministers,) intendeth to proceed against you as an incorrigible person, and unmeet minister of this church, unto the deprivation of your said bishopric.

"(Nevertheless, upon divers good considerations, and specially in hope he might within his time be yet reconciled, it was agreed, that the said bishop's house and servants should be maintained in their present estate, until the time that this injunction should expire, and the matter for the mean time to be kept secret.)"

After this sequestration, the said bishop was convented unto Lambeth before the archbishop of Canterbury, and other the king's commissioners, by virtue of the king's special letters sent unto the said commissioners; to wit, the archbishop of Canterbury, Nicholas, bishop of London, Thomas, bishop of Ely, Henry, bishop of Lincoln, Secretary Peter, Sir James Hales, knight; Dr. Leyson and Dr. Oliver, lawyers, and John Gosnold, esquire, &c., before them, and by them, to be examined. But, forasmuch as among other divers and sundry crimes and accusations, deduced against this bishop, the especial and chiefest matter wherewith he was charged, depended upon his sermon made before the king's Majesty, in not satisfying and discharging his duty therein—partly in omitting that which he was required to do, partly in speaking of those things which he was forbid to entreat of—it shall not be out of the order of the story, here to recite the whole tenor and effect of his sermon, as it was penned and exhibited to the commissioners at his examination, with the copy also of the lord protector's letter, sent unto him before he should preach.

The tenor and copy of a letter sent to the bishop of Winchester, from the duke of Somerset and the rest of the commissioners, touching such points as the bishop of Winchester should entreat of in his sermon. On the twenty-eighth of June, 1548.

"To our loving lord the bishop of Winchester.

"We commend us unto you: We sent unto you yesterday our servant William Cecil, to signify unto you our pleasure, and advise that you should, in this your next sermon, forbear to entreat upon those principal questions which remain amongst the number of learned men in this realm as yet in controversy, concerning the sacrament of the altar and the mass; as well for that your private argument or determination therein might offend the people, naturally expecting decisions of litigious causes, and thereby discord and tumult arise, the occasions whereof we

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must necessarily prevent and take away, as also for that the questions and controversies rest at this present in consultation; and, with the pleasure of God, shall be, in small time, by public doctrine and authority quietly and truly determined. This message we send unto you, not thinking but your own wisdom had considered so much in an apparent manner; or. at the least, upon our remembrance, ye would understand it, and follow it with good will: consulting thereby your own quiet in avoiding offence, as observing our pleasure in avoiding contention. Your answer hereunto our said servant hath declared unto us in this manner: 'Ye can in no wise forbear to speak of the sacrament, neither of the mass;' this last, being the chief foundation, as you say, of our religion; and that without it, we cannot know that Christ is our sacrifice. The other being so spoken of by many, that if you should not speak your mind thereof, what ye think, you know what other men would think of you. In the end, concluding generally, that ye will speak the truth; and that ye doubt not but we shall be therewith content; adding also, as our said servant reporteth unto us, that you would not wish that we ourselves should meddle or have to do in these matters of religion;. but that the care thereof were committed to the bishops, unto whom the blame, if any should be deserved, might well be imputed. To this your answer, if it so be, we reply very shortly, signifying unto you our express pleasure and commandment, on our sovereign lord the king's Majesty's behalf, charging you, by the authority of the same, to abstain in your said sermon from treating of any matter in controversy concerning the said sacrament and the mass; and only to bestow your speech in the expert explication of the articles prescribed unto you, and in other wholesome matters of obedience of the people, and good conversation in living; the same matter being both large enough for a long sermon, and not unnecessary for the time: and the treating of the other, which we forbid you, not meet in your private sermon to be had, but necessarily reserved for a public consultation, and at this present utterly to be forborne for the common quiet. This is our express pleasure, wherein we know how reasonably we may command you, and you, we think, know how willingly ye ought to obey us.

"For our intermeddling with these causes of religion, understand you, that we account it no small part of our charge, under the king's Majesty, to bring his people from ignorance to knowledge, and from superstition to true religion; esteeming that the chiefest foundation to build obedience upon; and, where there is a full consent of other the bishops and learned men in a truth, not to suffer you, or a few other wilful heads, to disorder all the rest. And although we presume not to determine articles of religion by ourself, yet from God we knowledge it, we be desirous to defend and advance the truth determined or revealed. And so consequently we will not fail but withstand the disturbers thereof. So fare you well.

"From Sion, the 28th of June, anno 1548.

"Your loving friend,
EDWARD SOMERSET."

Here followeth the sum and effect of the sermon which Gardiner bishop of Winchester preached before the king's Majesty, collected by Master Udall, and exhibited up to the commissioners in the time of the examination of the said bishop.

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The sermon of Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, preached before the king.

"Most honourable audience! I purpose, by the grace of God, to declare some part of the gospel that is accustomed to be read in the church as this day. And for because that without the special grace of God, neither I can speak any thing to your edifying, nor ye receive the same accordingly, I shall desire you all, that we may jointly pray altogether for the assistance of his grace; in which prayer I commend to Almighty God, your most excellent Majesty our sovereign lord, king of England, France, and Ireland, and of the Church of England and Ireland, next and immediately under God, here on earth the supreme head; queen Katharine, dowager; my Lady Mary's grace, my Lady Elizabeth's grace, your Majesty's most dear sisters; my lord protector's grace, with all others of your most honourable council; the spirituality and temporality. And I shall desire you to commend unto God with your prayer, the souls departed unto God in Christ's faith; and among these most specially, for our late sovereign lord King Henry the Eighth, your Majesty's most noble father. For these, and for grace necessary, I shall desire you to say a Pater-noster [and so forth].

"The gospel beginneth, *Cum venisset Jesus in partes Cæsaræ Philippi*, &c. When Jesus was come into the parts of Cesarea, a city that Philippus builded, he asked his disciples and said, Whom do men say that the Son of man is? They said, Some say that thou art John the Baptist; some, that thou art Elias; some, that thou art Jeremy, or one of the prophets. He said to them, But whom say ye that I am? Then answered Simon Peter and said, Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God, &c.

"I cannot have time, I think, to speak of the gospel thoroughly, for other matters that I have here now to say; but I shall note unto you such things as I may. And first, of the diversity of opinions concerning Christ, which were among the people variable, but among his (that is, the disciples of Christ's school) there was no variety. They agreed altogether in one truth, and among them was no variety. For when Peter had, for all the rest, and in the name of all the rest, made his answer, that Christ was the Son of God, they all, with one consent, confessed that he had spoken the truth. Yet these opinions of Christ that the people had of him, though they were sundry, yet were they honourable, and not slanderous; for to say that Christ was Elias, and John the Baptist, was honourable; for some thought him so to be, because he did frankly, sharply, and openly, rebuke vice. They that called him Jeremy, had an honourable opinion of him, and thought him so to be, because of his great learning which they perceived in him; and marvelled where he had it. And they that said he was one of the prophets, had an honourable opinion of him, and favoured him, and thought well of him. But there was another sort of people that spake evil of him, and slandered him and railed on him, saying that he was a glutton, and a drinker of wine; that he had a devil in him; that he was a deceiver of the people; that he was a carpenter's son (as though he were the worse for his father's craft). But of these he asked not any question; for among these, none agreed with the other. Wherein ye shall note, that man of his own power and strength can nothing do. For nothing that good is he can do of his own invention or device, but erreth and faileth when he is left to his own invention. He erreth in his imagination. So proud is man, and so stout of his own courage, that he deviseth nothing well, whensoever he is left to himself without God. And then never do any such agree in any truth, but wander and err in all that they do: as men of law, if they be asked their opinion in any point touching the law, ye shall not have two of them agree in opinion in any point touching the law; ye shall not have two of them agree in

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opinion one with the other. If there be two or three of them asked their opinion in any matter, if they should answer all one thing, they fear lest they should be supposed and thought to have no learning. Therefore, be they never so many of them, they will not agree in their answers, but devise each man a sundry answer in any thing that they are asked. The philosophers that were not of Christ's school, erred every one in their vain opinions, and no one of them agreeth with the other. Yea, men of simplicity, though they mean well, yet being out of Christ's school, they agree not, but vary in their opinions; as these simple people here spoken of, because they were not perfect disciples of Christ's school, they varied, and agreed not in their opinion of Christ, though they thought well of him.

"Some said he was John, some Elias, some Jeremy, but none made the right answer. He that answered here, was Simon the son of Jonas; and he said, Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God. Where ye shall note the properties that were in Peter, he was called Simon, which is obedience, and Jonas is a dove; so that in him that is of Christ's school, must be these two properties, obedience and simplicity. He must be humble and innocent as a dove, that will be of Christ's school. Pride is a let of Christ's school; for, as the wise man sayeth, God resisteth the proud, and giveth grace unto the humble and meek. And according to the same doth Christ in the Gospel say, O Father! I confess unto thee, (that is, I laud and magnify thee,) for that thou hast hidden these things from the wise, and hast opened them unto the little ones. Whereupon sayeth St. Augustine, that the gifts of learning, and knowledge of sciences, are not let to Christ's school, but a furtherance thereunto, if they be well applied, and used as they ought to be. But he that is proud, and feedeth himself with his own conceit and opinion of himself, and abuseth the gifts of God, applying his learning and knowledge to the satisfying and following of his own fantasy, is no right disciple of Christ, but falleth into error. When they said and affirmed themselves to be wise, they were made fools. The philosophers had every one a sect of his own, and had many gay sentences for the commendations of their opinions; and every man thought his own opinion to be best. But because they applied all to their own pride and glory, and not to the honour of God, nor humbled themselves as they ought to have done, but followed their own fancy, they erred and fell out of the way, and were not of Christ's school. And all that have gone out of Christ's school, pride hath brought them out of it; and such as have not entered, have kept themselves out of it with pride likewise. Therefore all such as will be scholars of Christ's school and discipline, must be humble and meek: otherwise, *dicentes se sapientes esse, stulti facti sunt*. He that cannot learn this lesson of Peter, and humbly confess with Peter, that Christ is the Son of the living God, is no scholar of Christ's school, be he otherwise never so well learned, never so well seen in other sciences.

"But now concerning the answer of Peter: Matthew here in this place saith,—he answered, Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God: St. Luke saith, he answered, Thou art the Christ of God: and St. Mark saith, he answered, Thou art Christ.—But, in all that, is no variety; for to say, Christ the Son of the living God, and to say, The Christ of God, and to say, Christ, is, in effect, all one, and no diversity in it. For Christ alone is the whole, and he that confesseth thoroughly Christ, is thoroughly a Christian man, and doth then therein confess him to be the Lord and Saviour of the world.

"But now we must consider what Christ is. Christ was a sacrifice. He was sent from the Trinity, to be our Mediator between God and us, and to reconcile us to the favour of God the

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Father. He was the bishop that offered for our sins, and the sacrifice that was offered. And as he is our bishop, so is he our mean to pacify God for us, for that was the office of a bishop, to sacrifice for the sins of the people, and to make intercession for the people. And as he was our sacrifice, so was he our reconciliation to God again. But we must confess and believe him thoroughly, I say, for as he was our bishop then, so is it he that still keepeth us in favour with God. And like as his sacrifice then made was sufficient for us, to deliver us from our sins, and to bring us in favour with God, so, to continue us in the same favour of God, be ordained a perpetual remembrance of himself. He ordained himself, for a memory of himself, at his last supper, when he instituted the sacrament of the altar. Not for another redemption, as though the first had not been sufficient, nor as though the world needed a new redemption from sin; but that we might thoroughly remember his passion, he instituted this sacrament by his most holy word; saying,—This is my body: which word is sufficient to prove the sacrament, and maketh sufficiently for the substance thereof. And this daily sacrifice he instituted to be continued amongst Christian men, not for need of another redemption or satisfaction for the sins of the world, (for that was sufficiently performed by his sacrifice of his body and blood, done upon the cross,) neither that he be now our bishop, for need of any further sacrifice to be made for sin; but to continue us in the remembrance of his passion suffered for us; to make us strong in believing the fruit of his passion; to make us diligent in thanksgiving, for the benefit of his passion; to establish our faith, and to make it strong in acknowledging the efficacy of his death and passion, suffered for us. And this is the true understanding of the mass: not for another redemption, but that we may be strong in believing the benefit of Christ's death and blood-shedding for us upon the cross.

"And this it is that we must believe of Christ, and believe it thoroughly: and therefore, by your patience, as Peter made his confession, so will I make confession. Wherein, by your Majesty's leave and sufferance, I will plainly declare what I think of the state of the Church of England at this day; how I like it, and what I think of it; where I said of the mass, that it was a sacrifice ordained to make us the more strong in the faith and remembrance of Christ's passion, and for commending unto God the souls of such as be dead in Christ. For these two things are the special causes why the mass was instituted. The parliament very well ordained mass to be kept; and because we should be the more strong in the faith and devotion towards God, it was well done of the parliament, for moving the people more and more with devotion, to ordain that this sacrament should be received in both kinds. Therefore I say, that the act of parliament for receiving of the sacrament of the altar in both kinds, was well made. I said, also, that the proclamation which was made, that no man should unreverently speak of the sacrament, or otherwise speak of it than Scripture teacheth them, was well made: for this proclamation stoppeth the mouths of all such as will unreverently speak of the sacrament. For in Scripture is there nothing to be found that maketh any thing against the sacrament, but all maketh with it. Wherefore if they were the children of obedience, they would not use any unreverent talk against the sacrament, nor blaspheme the holy sacrament; for no word of the Scripture maketh any thing against it.

"But here it may be said unto me, 'Why, sir, is this your opinion? It is good: you speak plainly in this matter, and halt nothing, but declare your mind plainly without any colouring or covert speaking.—The act for the dissolving and suppressing of the chantries seemeth to make against the mass, how like you that act? What say you of it? or what would you say of it, if you

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were alone?' I will speak what I think of it. I will use no colourable or covert words. I will not use a devised speech for a time, and afterward go from it again.—If chantries were abused by applying the mass, for the satisfaction of sin, or to bring men to heaven, or to take away sin, or to make men, of wicked, just, I like the act well; and they might well be dissolved: for the mass was not instituted for any such purpose. Yet, nevertheless, for them that were in them, (I speak now as in the cause of the poor,) it were well done that they were provided of livings. The act doth graciously provide for them during their lives, and I doubt not but that your Majesty and the lords of your most honourable council have willed and taken order, that they should be well looked unto. But yet how shall they be used at the hands of under-officers? God knoweth, full hardly, I fear. But as for the chantries themselves, if there were any such abuse in them concerning the mass, it is no matter if they be taken away. King Henry the Eighth, a noble and wise prince, not without a great pain, maintained the mass; and yet in his doctrine it was confessed, that masses of *Scala cœli*, were not to be used nor allowed, because they did pervert the right use and institution of the mass. For when men add unto the mass an opinion of satisfaction, or of a new redemption, then do they put it to another use than it was ordained for. I, that allow mass so well, and I, that allow praying for the dead, (as indeed the dead are of Christian charity to be prayed for,) yet can agree with the realm in that matter of putting down chantries. But yet ye would say unto me, There be fewer masses by putting away the chantries.' So were there when abbeyes were dissolved: so be there when ye unite many churches in one. But this is no injury nor prejudice to the mass. It consisteth not in the number, nor in the multitude, but in the thing itself; so that the decay of the masses by taking away of the chantries, is answered by the abbeyes: but yet I would have it considered for the persons that are in them, I speak of the poor men's livings.

"I have now declared what I think of the act of parliament, made for the receiving of the sacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ in both kinds. Ye have my mind and opinion, concerning the proclamation that came forth for the, same act; and I have showed my mind therein, even plainly as I think. And I have ever been agreeable to this precinct. I have oftentimes reasoned in it. I have spoken and also written in it, both beyond the seas, and on this side the seas. My books be abroad, which I cannot unwrite again. I was ever of this opinion, that it might be received in both kinds: and it was a constitution provincial scarce two hundred years ago, made by Peckham, the archbishop of Canterbury, that it should be received in both kinds: at leastwise, in *ecclesiis majoribus*, that is, in the greater churches; for in the smaller churches it was not thought to be so expedient. Thus have I ever thought of this matter. I have never been of other mind, nor I have not changed my conscience; but I have obeyed and followed the order of the realm: and I prayed you to obey orders as I have obeyed, that we may all be the children of obedience.

"Now I will return to the text. When Simon had answered, *Tu es Christus, filius Dei vivi*, Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God, then Christ said unto him, Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-jona; for flesh and blood hath not opened that unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven. And I say unto thee, that thou art Peter; and upon this rock will I build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. Blessed art thou, said he, for flesh and blood hath not opened that unto thee. For otherwise, in Luke, Andrew told of Christ and said, I have found the Messias, which is Christ. But that is not enough. He that shall confess Christ, must have an inward teaching, and must be spiritually taught by the Father of heaven; for Andrew's confession were

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nothing but a carnal confession, and such a one as any other might have made, by natural reason. But the confession of Peter was above the reason of man; for Christ was there a very man, and Peter's *eyes* told him, that he was a man and nothing else. But he was inwardly taught by the Father of heaven, and had a secret knowledge given him from heaven, not by flesh and blood, (that is to say, by man's reason,) but inwardly, by the Father of heaven. And seeing this was above reason, it is a marvellous thing, that reason should be used to impugn faith. It is a precinct of carnal men, and such as use gross reason. But Peter had another lesson inwardly taught him; and, because he conned his lesson, Christ gave him a new name,—for *Petros* is a stone, a new name of a Christian man: For upon this confession of thy faith here, I will build my church; that is, I will stablish all those which I intend to gather unto thee; *et demones non prevalebunt adversus eam*; that is, and the devils shall not prevail against it. For he that with a good heart and sure faith confesseth this, he is sure from all peril: this world nor Satan can do him no harm.

"But now for a further declaration. It is a marvellous thing, that upon these words the bishop of Rome should found his supremacy; for whether it be *super petram*, or *Petrum*, all is one matter. It maketh nothing at all for our purpose, to make a foundation of any such supremacy. For otherwise, when Peter spake carnally to Christ, (as in the same chapter a little following,) Satan was his name: where Christ said, Go after me, Satan. So that the name of Peter is no foundation for the supremacy; but, as it is said in Scripture, *Fundati estis super fundamentum apostolorum et prophetarum*; that is, by participation, (for godly participation giveth names of things,) he might be called the head of the church, as the head of the river is called the head, because he was the first that made his confession of Christ: which is not an argument for dignity, but for the quality, that was in the man—for the first man is not evermore the best. The head man of a quest is not always the best man in the quest; but is chosen to be the head man for some other quality that is in him. Virtue may allure many, so that the inferior person in dignity may be the better in place; as the king sometimes chooseth a mean man to be of his council, of whom he hath a good opinion; yet is the king the king still. And in some case the king of England might send to Rome; and, if the bishop of Rome were a man of such wisdom, virtue, and learning, that he were able, in matters of controversy concerning religion, to set a unity in the Church of England, the king might well enough send unto him for his counsel and help; and yet should not in so doing give the bishop of Rome any superiority over the king. For if a king be sick, he will have the best physician; if he hath war, he will have the best captain; and yet are not those the superiors, but the inferiors. A schoolmaster is a subject, a physician is a subject, a captain is a subject, councillors are subjects; yet do these order and direct the king. Wherefore, leaving the bishop of Rome, this I say, to declare of what opinion I am. I do not now speak what I could say. I have spoken beyond the seas; I have written; my books be abroad; but this is not the place here. I say that this place maketh nothing for the bishop of Rome, but for Christ only; for none can lay any other foundation than that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ.

"But now to go forth declaring my mind; in my time hath come many alterations. First, a great alteration it was, to renounce the bishop of Rome's authority; and I was one that stood in it. A great alteration it was that abbeyes were dissolved. A great alteration it was that images were pulled down. And to all these did I condescend, and yet I have been counted a maintainer of superstition; and I have been called a master of ceremonies and of outward things; and I have been noted to take that religion which consisteth in outward things, as though he were a right Christian that fulfilled the outward ceremonies.

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"I promised to declare my conscience, and so will I; and how I have esteemed ceremonies; and that I have never been of other opinion than I am, concerning ceremonies. And mine opinion I have gathered of Augustine and Jerome, ancient fathers and doctors of the church. Ceremonies serve to move men to serve God; and as long as they be used for that purpose, they may be well used in the church. But when man maketh himself servant to them, and not them to serve him, then be our ceremonies brought to an abuse. If by over-much familiarity of them, men abuse them, they do evil: for we must not serve creatures, but God. We had monkery, nunnery, friary, of a wondrous number; much variety of garments, variety of devices in dwelling, many sundry orders and fashions in moving of the body. These things were first ordained to admonish them to their duty to God, to labour for the necessity of the poor, to spare from their own bellies to the poor; and therefore was their fare ordained and provided. And because they abused these things, and set them in a higher place than they ought to do, (not taking monition thereby, the better to serve God, but esteeming perfection to consist in them,) they were dissolved; their houses and garments were taken away. But one thing King Henry would not take away; that was, the vow of chastity. The vow of obedience he converted to himself: the vow of chastity he willed still to remain with them. We had many images whereto pilgrimages were done, and many tombs that men used to visit; by reason whereof they fell in a fancy of idolatry and superstition, above the things that the image might have been taken for: and because it had not the use that it was ordained for, it was left. When men put the images in a higher place than they served for, then were they taken clean away. As give a child a gay book to learn upon, and then if he gaze upon the gorgeousness of his book, and learn not his lesson according to the intent that the book was given him for, the book is taken away from him again. So the images, when men devised and fell to have them in higher place and estimation than they were first set up in the church for, then they might be taken away. And I was never of other mind, nor ever had other opinion of it.

"Divers things there be in the church, which be in the liberty of the ruler, to order as he seeth cause; and he that is ruler, may either let it stand, or else may cause it to be taken away. There be two manner of reformations we have had, of both sorts. There be things in the church, the which if they be abused, may not be taken away; as for baptism, if it be abused, there may not another thing be put in the place of it, but the thing must be reformed and brought to the right use again. Also preaching, if it be abused, may not be taken away, but must be reformed and brought to the right use. But there be other things used in the church, in which the rulers have liberty either to reform them or to take them away. We have had many images, which be now all taken away, for it was in the liberty of the rulers, for the abuse of them, either to reform them or to take them away: and because it was an easier way to take them away than to bring them to the right use that they were ordained for, they were all clean taken away; and so they might be.—'Yea, sir,' will ye say, 'but ye have maintained and defended them; and have preached against such persons as despised them.' It is truth: I have preached against the despisers of them, and have said, that images might be suffered and used in the church, as laymen's books. Yet I never otherwise defended them, but to be used for such purpose as they were first set up in the church for. But now that men be waxed wanton, they are clean taken away; wherein our religion is no more touched than when books were taken away for abusing of them. There was an order taken for books not to be used, wherein some might have said, 'The books are good, and I know how to use them: I may therefore use them well enough. I will therefore use them, though they be

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forbidden.' But if thou have any charity, thou oughtest to be contented rather to have them all taken away, than to declare thyself of another opinion than thou oughtest to have.

"As touching ceremonies, I esteem them all as Paul esteemeth them—things indifferent; where he saith, The kingdom of God is not meat and drink. So of ceremonies. Nevertheless, we have time, place, and number: as a certain number of psalms to be said at times, which may be used without superstition. But these things must serve us, and not we serve them. Yet if an order be set in them by such as have power, we must follow it; and we must obey the rulers that appoint such time, place, and number to be kept. Ye may not say, 'If the time will not serve me, then I will come an hour after.' No, sir, ye must keep this time and this hour; because it is so appointed by the rulers: not for the things, but for the order that is set. I have been ever of this opinion. We had palms and candles taken away; which things may indifferently have either of the two reformatations above-said. When they were in places, they should have put men in remembrance of their duty and devotion towards God; but, because they were abused, they were and might be taken away. But the religion of Christ is not in these exercises; and therefore in taking away of them, the religion of Christ is nothing touched nor hindered; but men must in such things be conformable, not for the ceremony, but for obedience' sake. St. Paul saith, that we should rebuke every brother that walketh inordinately. I have told you my opinion, (and my conscience telleth me that I have spoken plainly,) that ye may know what I am; and that ye may not be deceived in me, nor be slandered in me, nor make any further search to know my heart. I like well the communion, because it provoketh men more and more to devotion. I like well the proclamation, because it stoppeth the mouths of all such as unreverently speak or rail against the sacrament. I like well the rest of the king's Majesty's proceedings concerning the sacrament.

"I have now told you what I like; but shall I speak nothing of that I mislike? ye will then say, I speak not plainly. I will therefore show my conscience plainly. I mislike that preachers which preach by the king's licence, and those readers which, by the king's permission and sufferance, do read open lectures, do openly and blasphemously talk against the mass, and against the sacrament. And to whom may I liken such readers and preachers? I may liken them unto posts; for the proverb says, that 'posts do bear truth in their letters, and lies in their mouths.' And so do they. And to speak so against the sacrament, it is the most marvellous matter that ever I saw or heard of. I would wish, therefore, that there were a stay and an order in this behalf; and that there might be but one order or ruler: for as the poet saith, (I may use the verse of a poet well enough, for so doth Paul of the great poet,) Οὐχ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη εἰς κοιρανὸς ἐστω [Greek: Oych agathon polykoiranie eis koiranos esto], that is, A government by many is not good: let there be one king only. And let no man of his own head begin matters, nor go before the king (they call it, 'going before the king'): and such make themselves kings.

"Well, what misliketh me else? It misliketh me that priests and men that vowed chastity, should openly marry and avow it openly; which is a thing that since the beginning of the church hath not been seen in any time, that men that have been admitted to any ecclesiastical administration, should marry. We read of married priests, that is to say, of married men chosen to be priests and ministers in the church; and in Epiphanius we read, that some such, for necessity, were winked at. But, that men being priests already, should marry, was never yet seen in Christ's church from the beginning of the apostles' time. I have written in it, and studied for it, and the very same places that are therein alleged to maintain the marriage of priests, being diligently

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read, shall plainly confound them, that maintain to marry your priests—or at the furthest, within two lines after.

"Thus have I showed my opinion in orders proceeding from the inferiors, and in orders proceeding from the higher powers; and thus I have, as I trust, plainly declared myself, without any covering or counterfeiting. And I beseech your most excellent Majesty to esteem and take me as I am; and not to be slandered in me; for I have told you the plain truth as it is, and I have opened my conscience unto you. I have not played the post with you, to carry truth in my letters, and lies in my mouth; for I would not for all the world make a lie in this place: but I have disclosed the plain truth as it lieth in my mind. And thus I commit your most excellent Majesty, and all your most honourable councillors, with the rest of the devout audience here present, unto God. To whom be all honour, laud, and glory, world without end!"

Thus, having comprised the sum and chief purpose of his sermon, with such other matters above written, as appertain to time better opening and understanding of the corrupt and blind ignorance of this bishop, with his dissembling and double-face doings in matters of religion, now it remaineth that we should proceed to the process of his examinations, before the king's commissioners, with the full handling of his cause in such order and process as things were done from time to time, as here following is to be seen.

The first session.



HE first session or action against Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, was holden in the great hall of the manor of Lambeth, by the king's Majesty's commissioners; that is to say, Thomas, archbishop of Cantertury, Nicholas, bishop of London, Thomas, bishop of Ely, Henry, bishop of Lincoln, Sir William Peter, one of the king's secretaries, Sir James Hales, knight; Griffin Leyson, John Oliver, doctors of law; Thomas Gosnold, esquire; Thomas Argall and William Say, notaries and actuaries in that matter assigned, the 15th of December, A.D. 1550: at which day and place, Master John Lewis, on the behalf of the king's Majesty, presented certain letters of commission under the great seal of England, the tenor whereof

ensueth.

"Edward the Sixth, by the grace of God king of England, France, and Ireland; defender of the faith, and of the Church of England and Ireland in earth the supreme head: To the most reverend father in God, our right trusty and right well-beloved councillor, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, the right reverend fathers in God, our right trusty and right well-beloved councillors, Nicholas, bishop of London, Thomas, bishop of Ely, and Henry, bishop of Lincoln; our trusty and right well-beloved councillors, Sir William Peter, knight, one of our two principal secretaries, Sir James Hales, knight, one of our justices of Common Pleas; Griffith Leyson, John Oliver, doctors of the law; Richard Goodrick and John Gosnold, esquires, greeting.

"Whereas Stephen, bishop of Winchester, showing himself not conformable to our godly proceedings touching the reformations of sundry abuses in religion within this our realm—and

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for that amongst the multitude of our subjects not yet well persuaded therein, his examples, sayings, preachings, and doings, are very much hurt to the quiet furtherance, and humble receipt, of our said reformatiōs and proceedings—was, for these and other great and urgent considerations, by our council, with our express consent and assent, willed, required, and commanded in our name, to preach and set forth there, in open sermon before us, sundry matters before that time justly ordered and reformed as well by our father of most noble memory, as by authority of parliament; and otherwise, by the advice of sundry learned men of our clergy; and whereas the said Stephen, bishop of Winchester, was at the same time, for the avoiding of occasion of our subjects, by our said council on our behalf, straitly charged and commanded not to speak of certain other matters unfit in respect of the time to be then spoken of, who, forgetting his bounden duty of allegiance to us, did nevertheless openly in our own hearing, and in the presence of our council, and a great number of our subjects, disobey the said commandments given to him, to the danger and evil example of all others, and great contempt of us, our crown, and dignity royal: for the which contempt, the same being notorious, the said bishop was then, by our authority, committed to our Tower of London, where, notwithstanding sundry sendings unto him, he hath ever since continued in this form of disobedience, and utterly and expressly refused to acknowledge the same: And besides that, by other ways and means increased in continuance and disobedience; for the which, after many occasions, and clemency ministered unto him, perceiving no hope of reconciling or conformity, we have further proceeded to the sequestration of the fruits and possessions of his bishopric; and given, eftsoons, strait commandment to obey and conform himself within the space of three months, upon pain of deprivation of the said bishopric, as by the record of our council, amongst other things, fully appeareth:

"Forasmuch as the said bishop—these our advertisements, monitions, and other the premises notwithstanding—doth yet still remain (as we be informed) in his former disobedience, and thereby declareth himself to be a person incorrigible, without any hope of recovery, we let you wit, that like as hitherto, by the space of these two years or more, we have suffered, and forborne to reform his offences with just punishment, upon hope of amendment, using and causing to be used (of our princely clemency, and certain knowledge) only such decrees and lenity in proceeding, as is aforesaid: so, seeing now and well perceiving by experience, that our long sufferance and great clemency hath been and is of him totally abused, and he thereby not only grown to a more wilfulness, but others also, by his example, much animated to follow like disobedience, we can no longer suffer his aforesaid misdemeanours and contempts to pass or remain unreformed; and therefore let you wit, that, knowing your gravity's learning, approved wisdoms, and circumspections, we, of our mere motion, certain knowledge, and by the advice of our council, have appointed, and by these presents do name and appoint, nine, eight, seven, six, five, or four of you (whereof you the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of London, the bishop of Ely, the bishop of Lincoln, Sir William Peter, Sir James Hales, or one of you, to be always one) to be our commissioners, substitutes, and delegates special; giving you nine, eight, seven, six, five, or four of you, (whereof you the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of London, the bishop of Ely, the bishop of Lincoln, Sir William Peter, Sir James Hales, or one of you, to be always one,) ample commission, and full power, jurisdiction, and authority, not only to call before you at such days, times, and places, as often as to you it shall be thought convenient, the said bishop of Winchester, and all others, whatsoever they be, whom ye shall think good or necessary to be called for the examination, trial, proof, and full determination of this matter or any part thereof; but also to require all and every such process, writings, and rescripts, as have

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passed and been done in this matter as is aforesaid, to be brought in and exhibited before you. And finding the said bishop either to continue in his former contempt, or that he hath not conformed him according to our pleasure and the monitions given by our council by commission from us; or if he, being called before you, shall, eftsoons, refuse to conform himself, according to our said commandments and monitions, our pleasure is, that you shall proceed against him to deprivation of his bishopric, and removing of him from the same, and further do, and cause to be done in the premises and in all matters and causes annexed, incident or depending upon the same or any part thereof, all and every such thing or things as to our laws either ecclesiastical or temporal, statutes, ordinances, equity, and reason, shall appertain, and to your good wisdoms may seem just and reasonable; causing that that shall be decreed, judged, and determined by you, or four of you, as is aforesaid, to be inviolably and firmly observed: in the examinations, process, and final determinations of which matter our pleasure is that ye shall proceed *ex officio mere, mixto, vel promoto, omni appellatione remota summarie et de plano, absque omni strepitu et figura judicii, ac sola veritate inspecta*: willing that that which, by any four of you, is or shall be begun, shall and may from time to time be continued and ended, by the same, or any other four or more of you; so as you the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of London, the bishop of Ely, the bishop of Lincoln, Sir William Peter, or Sir James Hales, or one of you, be one. And such persons as you shall send for, or command to appear before you concerning this matter, if they appear not, or, appearing, do not obey the precepts, we give you full and ample authority to punish them and compel them, by such ways and means as to you, or four of you, as is aforesaid, shall seem convenient; commanding and straitly charging all and singular mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, and other our ministers and subjects whatsoever, to be aiding and assisting unto you in the doings of the premises. In witness whereof, to this our present commission, signed with our hand, we have caused our great seal of England to be annexed and put unto.

"Given at our palace at Westminster the 12th day of December, and the fourth year of our reign.

"Edward Somerset,
William Paget,
William Wiltshire,
Thomas Cheney,
John Warwick,
Anthony Wingfield,
John Bedford,
Thomas Darcy,
William North,
William Herbert,
Henry Dorset,
William Tirrell,
Edward Clinton,
Edward North
Thomas Wentworth"

This commission being openly read, the archbishop with the rest of the said commissioners (for the honour and reverence due to the king's Majesty) took the charge and burden of the said commission upon them; and decreed to proceed according to the form and effect thereof. And thereupon his Grace, by consent of the rest, then and there assigned William

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Say and Thomas Argall, jointly and severally, to be registrars and actuaries of that cause, and assigned Master David Clapham and Master John Lewis, proctors of the Arches, jointly and severally to be necessary promoters of their office in that behalf. Which done, the said promoters assigned, taking upon them the said office, and promoting the office of the said commissioners, ministered unto him certain positions and articles.

Whereupon they required the bishop of Winchester, then and there personally present, to be sworn faithfully and truly to make answer; and therewith the said bishop of Winchester requiring and obtaining leave to speak, declared in manner following:

"That forasmuch as he perceived himself to be called to answer to justice, he did most humbly thank the king's Majesty, that it had pleased his Grace to be his good and gracious lord therein, and most humbly did acknowledge his Majesty to be his natural sovereign lord; and that he had [obeyed,] and always would obey, his Majesty's authority and jurisdiction, and be subject thereunto. And that forasmuch as his Grace had been pleased to grant him to use his lawful remedy and defence in this behalf, therefore he, there and then, openly protested, that by any thing then spoken, or to be thenceforth spoken, or then done or to be done, or by his then personal appearance, he intended not to consent unto the said judges, nor to admit their jurisdiction any otherwise, nor further, than by the law he was bound to do; nor to renounce any privilege which he might or ought in this behalf to use, but to use the same to his most advantage, and all other lawful defence meet and convenient to and for him, as well by way of recusation of the same judges, or excepting against their commission, as otherwise: which his said protestation he willed and required to be inserted in these acts, and in all other acts thenceforth to be sped and done in this matter."

And under the same his protestation he required a copy, as well of the said commission, as also of these acts; which copies the judges did decree unto him. And this done, the archbishop, by consent of the rest, then and there did onerate the said bishop of Winchester with a corporal oath, upon the holy evangelists by him touched and kissed, to make a true and faithful answer to the said positions and articles, and every part of them, in writing, by the Thursday next following, between the hours of nine and ten before noon, in that place; and delivered a copy of the said positions and articles, willing the lieutenant of the Tower to let him have papers, pen, and ink, to make and conceive his said answers, and other his protestations and lawful defences in that behalf: the same bishop, under his form of protestation giving the same oath, as far as the law did bind him, and requiring to have counsel appointed him; which the archbishop, and the rest of the commissioners, did decree unto him, such as he should name.

This done, the said promoters produced Sir Anthony Wingfield, comptroller of the king's Majesty's honourable household, Sir William Cecil, secretary, Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Edward North, Dr. Coxe, almoner, Sir Thomas North, Sir George Blage, Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Thomas Challoner, Sir John Cheke, Master Dr. Ayre, Master Dr. Robert Record, Master Nicholas Udall, and Thomas Watson, witnesses upon the articles by them ministered as before. Which witnesses, and every one of them, the archbishop, with the consent of his colleagues aforesaid, did admit, and with a corporal oath in form of law did onerate, to say and depose the whole and plain truth that they knew, in and upon the contents of the said articles; and monished them, and every one of them, to come to be examined accordingly: the said bishop of Winchester, under his said

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former protestation, dissenting to the said production, admission, and swearing; and protesting to say, as well against the persons of the said witnesses, as their sayings, so far as the same did or should make against them; and asking a time to minister interrogatories against them: to whom it was assigned to minister the said interrogatories by the Thursday immediately following.

As touching the depositions of the witnesses above named, ye shall have them, with all other attestations of the witnesses, as well of nobility as of others produced and examined in this matter, (both against the said bishop, and with him,) in the twentieth act of this process, where publication of the most part of them was required and granted. After this, the archbishop, with the consent of his colleagues aforesaid, at the petition of the said promoters, continued the cause, in the state it was, unto the Thursday following, between the hours of nine and ten in the forenoon in that place.

The second session.

The second session or act against Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, was held at Lambeth, on Thursday the eighteenth day of December.

The said eighteenth day of December, in the fore-named place, between the hours as above prefixed, before the archbishop of Canterbury and the rest of the commissioners, assembled as they were the last session, in the presence of William Say and Thomas Argall, actuaries, there was there presented to them a letter sent to them from the privy council, the tenor whereof is this:

"After our right hearty commendation unto your good Lordships: It is come to our knowledge by report of persons of good credit which were present at Lambeth at your last session in the bishop of Winchester's cause, that the said bishop did earnestly affirm in open court before your Lordships, and in the hearing of a great multitude of people, that we had made a full end with him at the Tower, for all the matters for which he was then committed, in such sort as he verily thought never to have heard any more thereof: which report seemed to us very strange, and so much toucheth the honour of the king's Majesty, to have him called to justice now for a matter determined: and our fidelities to his Majesty, to have ended the same cause without commission, that although the said bishop seem to defend his cause with untruths, yet can we not suffer him to seek his credit by his over-bold affirmation, amongst a multitude of so false and untrue matters; and, therefore, we have thought it necessary, upon our fidelities and honours to declare, that his said tale of our ending the matter with him, is false and untrue: for neither did we make any end of his matter, neither had we any commission from the king's Majesty so to do; but only to hear and confer with him for his obedience, and thereof to make report. And whereas he saith our end was such, that he thought never to have heard thereof again, if he meant to remember truths, as in this behalf he hath devised untruths, he then can tell what we said to him, requiring more liberty, that we had no commission to grant him that, or to take any order with him, but only to commune with him.

"We be sorry to see him make so evil a beginning at the first day, as to lay the first foundation of his defence upon so false and manifest an untruth; and would wish his audacity and unshamefacedness were used in allegation of truths; for this way, as the proverb saith, 'it

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doth but feed the winds.' Forgetfulness is oftentimes borne with as a man's excusation, but impudent avowal of falseness was never tolerable. Wherefore, besides that we would admonish him hereof, because his false report was openly made, and arrogantly against the truth told him maintained, we pray you to cause this our declaration to be manifested in like manner; that the truth may appear, and thereby the said bishop may be taught to forbear further false allegations: and, at the least, if he will help his cause no otherwise, yet to consider whom he shall touch with his untruth. For although the king's Majesty is well pleased he shall there, before you, use his defence, and have good justice, yet must he think it is not granted him to become so liberal a talker out of the matter, as his natural property and condition moveth him, nor within the matter to become so arrogant, as his sayings should be believed against other men's proofs: which two things if he should amend, 'we will be most glad of it, and charitably wish him a mild spirit, to remember he standeth in judgment for contempt against his sovereign lord the king's Majesty. And so we bid your Lordships most heartily well to fare. From Westminster, the 17th day of December, 1550.

"Your good lords' assured loving friends,
Edward Somerset,
John Bedford,
William Wiltshire,
William North."

This letter, after they had read it to themselves, they commanded to be openly read; the said bishop of Winchester, under his former protestations, requiring that he might be heard speak before that they would so openly read: for that as he said he had matter to say, that should move the judges not to have it openly read. Which request of the said bishop, because they granted him not, but willed the same letter to be openly read, as it was, by the actuary, who was William Say; and after, by the judges decreed, to remain among the acts: the said bishop upon the said reading, declared among other things to them, that they should have respect to all indifferently, and regard no letters or particular advertisements, but to have God alone before his eyes; under his former protestation protesting also, for that he could not be heard speak as before.

After this, the said bishop, declaring that he had used all the diligence he could possibly, to make ready his answers—which for the prolixity of them, and lack of a clerk, and shortness of time [he had not been able to complete]—yet, to declare his diligence in this behalf, under his said protestations, exhibited his said answers; being, as he said, the first original of his own hand-writing, which he required and offered to read openly himself. And because of the length of them, the judges were contented, that the said actuaries should exemplify them, and after collation and conference made between the said original and copy, with the said bishop in the Tower, by the said actuaries, the said original to be delivered him again. Thus his answers being exhibited, the commissioners did grant, (as is said,) not only to redeliver them to him, but also granted to the said bishop to alter and reform his said former answers, in case they should not have been fully and truly made according to his mind; and the same being fully made, to exhibit on Tuesday next in the place and at the hours aforesaid.

Then the said bishop, under his former protestations, gave in certain interrogatories against the witnesses sworn at the last session, requiring them to be interrogated upon them accordingly. The tenor of which interrogatories are these, as followeth:

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Interrogatories ministered by Winchester against his witnesses.

"Inprimis: Whether they heard the bishop of Winchester say, in the end of his sermon made before the king's Majesty, that he agreeth thoroughly with the rulers and higher estate of the realm; but all the fault he found was in the lower part, or such like words to that sense?

"Whether the bishop of Winchester did not say unto him, when he came with Sir Anthony Wingfield, that he thought so to have made his sermon, as none of the council should have found fault with it?

"Whether the said bishop of Winchester required the same Sir Ralph Sadler to show the lord of Somerset's Grace, that, by his advice, he should never speak of the letter he sent unto the said bishops?"

These his interrogatories being thus laid in, the judges granted him, at his request, a longer day, to minister more interrogatories, if he were so disposed, against as many of the said witnesses as remained about the city, and that they should not depart thence between that and the next session. Then the said bishop, under protestation as afore, required a copy of the sentence of sequestration and intimation made against him in the last summer, and likewise to have a clerk, and some temporal counsel. And the judges granted him to have a clerk to be with him and his counsel, so long as his counsel remained there, and willed him to send them the names of such temporal counsel as he would have, and he should have answer therein as was meet. There was also, by the said bishop, under his said protestation, exhibited a letter missive, directed from the council to Dr. Standish, Dr. Jeffrey, and Dr. Lewis, advocates of the Arches, and to Dockrel and Clark, proctors of the same; the tenor whereof ensueth in these words:

Letter missive to Drs. Standish and Jeffrey, &c.

"To our loving friends Dr. Standish and Dr. Jeffrey, advocates of the Court of the Arches, and Dockrel and Clark, proctors of the same.

"After our hearty commendations: Whereas the bishop of Winchester (having counsel granted unto him by our very good lord the archbishop of Canterbury, and other the king's Majesty's commissioners, as we be informed) caused you to be required to be a counsel with him: these be to advertise you the king's Majesty is pleased to, and by these our letters doth, license you, not only to be counsel with him, but also to repair to the Tower from time to time, for conference with him for his defence in this matter. And this his Majesty is pleased, notwithstanding one of you is his Majesty's chaplain. Fare you well.

"From Westminster, this present Tuesday, in December, 1550.

"Your friends, Edward Somerset,

W. North,

William Wiltshire,

F. Huntingdon,

J. Warwick,

E. Clinton,

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John Bedford,
Thomas Cheney."

By the said letter, as ye have heard, they were licensed, as well to be a counsel with the bishop of Winchester in this his suit, as also to repair to the Tower from time to time, for conference with him for his defence in this matter. Which letter, under his said protestations, he required to be registered, and the original to be to him redelivered; and the same his counsel then present (Dr. Lewis only absent) to be licensed also, by decree of the judges, to be of counsel as afore; at whose desire the said judges decreed according to his request.

The third session.

The third session or action was sped on Tuesday, the fourteenth day of December, A.D. 1550, at the prefixed hours, at Lambeth aforesaid, before the archbishop of Canterbury and the rest of the commissioners, (Sir James Hales and Master Richard Goodrick only absent,) in presence of the aforesaid William Say and Thomas Argall, actuaries. At the which day and place, Gardiner bishop of Winchester was assigned to exhibit his full answers to the positions and articles objected, and to minister more interrogations to the witnesses not yet departed: where and at what time, the said bishop of Winchester read an appellation in writing afore the actuaries aforesaid, and required them to make an instrument thereof.

This being done, the bishop, under his former protestation, and under the protestation not to recede from the benefit of his said appeal, did exhibit his answers to the said positions, being fully made as he said; and required a copy thereof, and also his first original answer, to be redelivered to him: which was decreed, due collation first made of the said original; the tenor of which his fuller answers, word for word, ensueth:

Answer of the bishop of Winchester to the request of a more full answer in certain articles objected unto him.

"The seventh article is not fully answered, where you say, 'I remember not:' 'At any time, that I remember.' First, for that it is required to make a more full answer to the seventh article, containing such general matter as is referred to two years and a half by-past and gone, than do the words 'as I remember,' the said bishop saith his answer therein, uttering as much as is presently in his conscience, doth satisfy all law and reason; and that the word *credo* in Latin, (I believe,) whereby all such positions be answered unto, containeth in effect no more virtue and strength, than do the words 'as I remember' in English; because no man can think of himself to be true, that he remembereth not, except as a man may think of himself generally, that (knowing his direct intention ever to do well) may think well of himself, as the said bishop hath, in the latter general clause of his answers, said; where he saith, Credit all his affirmations and denials in his said answer to be true, as his conscience now testifieth unto him. And therefore, because he answereth to the said seventh article, that he was never but once called in all his life, and at that time declared the matters wherefore he was called; and how, in the end of that examination, the said bishop answereth, that he so departed as he durst; and did allege for himself that he was no offender, and ought not in that sort to tarry by commandment, it must needs, by the matter contained in his said answer, sufficiently appear, he hath fully answered that article; and that

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(being such a personage as he is and hath been) he ought not—after vexation in prison so long time (two years and a half) in such manner of solitary keeping as he might reasonably forget that, and the world also—be now thus travailed with, whereby to touch the integrity of his conscience, and, without cause, indirectly to impute to him, as though he had not satisfied his oath: specially considering that the answer of the said bishop hath been willingly made to such articles; as else by the direct order of the law, he ought not to be compelled to make answer unto: offering, nevertheless, that when by the judges any further specialty shall be objected unto him, he will, and is ready (in such case as the law bind him to answer unto it) to make such answer as the law bindeth him unto in that behalf.

"The eighth wanteth answer to this part; namely, You were called before the kings Majesty's council, in the month of June, in the second year of his Majesty's reign, and by them, in his Highness's behalf, commanded to preach a sermon before his Majesty, and therein to declare the justness and godliness,' &c.

"To the eighth article the said bishop saith that full answer is made, in that the whole process of the fact, as it can come to the said bishop's remembrance, is plainly told (in what sort that matter of preaching was opened, and where, and with whom) by a clause, that 'otherwise the said bishop was not spoken with concerning preaching.' Which preciseness he nevertheless doth understand according to his present memory and conscience, wherein the said bishop can say no more, but as his conscience now testifieth the fact to have been; declaring with whom he was, with whom he spake, and what they said to him; which, as touching the time, he thinketh was done in the month of June; and his being with the duke of Somerset, to have been the Monday sevensnight before the said bishop preached: And the determination of the bishop being such as he intended faithfully to speak of the matters in the papers, after his conscience, (as he indeed ought to think himself in general estimation of his own integrity,) he did—and it cannot be to him prejudicial to have been commanded to preach, and therefore he mindeth not to make contradiction, or any state of question therein, although he must presently answer as his conscience telleth him, and so doth in his answer to the said article.

The ninth is not sufficiently answered, where you said, 'If I did omit:' and, 'If I did perchance omit any thing, whereof I can make now none assurance: But if I did omit: If it were true, as I know it not to be:' and, 'If I promised to speak plainly: If I had broken it,' &c.

"To the ninth, the said bishop saith his answer to that fact (of two years and a half by-past) of so many divers particularities to be by him touched in special, in a sermon, whereunto he came so troubled as in his said answer is declared, cannot be required to be made now more certain than it is made. And in case of omission, (as is here objected,) which may be by oblivion, and, considering the said bishop's intent, if it happened, was so, and no otherwise; no man can affirm precisely what he forgot, if it were true he did forget; for he that forgetteth, in that he forgetteth, knoweth it not, being forgotten then. And seeing the said bishop determined to speak of all requisite to be spoken of, according as was answered he would, he may then say, If he forgot, it must be by oblivion, and not of purpose. And it is a position uncertain and dangerous for conscience, whereunto the law bindeth no man to answer, to bring the said bishop's faith in slander, to answer more precisely to the fact than is already done. Wherefore all the 'ifs' that be made in the bishop's said answer in that article, be to declare the exclusion of contempt and

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disobedience, if any thing were indeed omitted, as the said bishop knoweth not any to have been, and without prejudice of granting by implication, what ought not to be granted in fact; which was by oblivion, if it were. And therefore, in all law and reason, the said answer as it was first made, is sufficient and reasonable cause by the said bishop now alleged, why none other should now be made or required of him.

"To the tenth, concerning that you were commanded and inhibited, on the king's Majesty's behalf, &c., you answer nothing.

"To the tenth, sufficient answer is made by declaration of the fact as it was; whereupon whether an inhibition and commandment may be grounded and proved, shall appear in the discussion of that letter sent by the duke of Somerset's Grace; which letter the said bishop answereth, in his said answer, to lie of no force in his conscience; declaring the reason of the causes why, and more intendeth to declare, by matter specially to be alleged hereafter for the same. And therefore, seeing commandment and inhibition to be terms of law, the force whereof riseth upon estimation of the fact thereupon to be denied, what is commandment and inhibition, as what is none; the said bishop esteemeth himself discharged in law, to tell for answer the mere fact done in that matter—with the sincerity of his conscience, how he esteemed and doth esteem it; and is bound by no law to bring his credit in slander upon a point of law, and either to grant to his prejudice that to be a commandment or inhibition, which, in his conscience, is none, or, by denial, incur danger of slander of his conscience, if others would esteem it a commandment or inhibition; and, therefore, he telleth the fact, as it was, of the receipt of the said letter: which letter he is ready to exhibit, as he doth offer in his said answer, for more ample understanding of the said answer.

"The last hath no answer concerning your submission, reconciliation, and reformation, &c. To the last article the said bishop said, that, seeing he denied in his answer all contempt on his part, he answereth it sufficiently, seeing the cause of reconciliation and reformation, after the judgment of his conscience, failing, the same ought not to be by him offered with prejudice of his innocency, which he is bound to maintain and defend; because, being an honest man, he is somewhat worth to the king his sovereign lord; and having cast his innocency willingly away by the untrue testimony of himself, he is nothing worth to the world nor himself either. As touching 'submission,' being an ambiguous word, to justice and mercy, the said bishop would think himself not worthy to live, if he should not submit himself to the king's Majesty's justice willingly and humbly, which he hath always done, as shall appear hereafter, now doth, and will do during his life. And when, by examination of his cause by justice, the said bishop shall appear in any point faulty, he will humbly submit himself to such punishment as shall be appointed to that fault, if there be any; and, by that means, honour (as his duty is) the king's Majesty and his laws, as every good subject should do. But otherwise, by submission to mercy whereby to imply an offence in himself, whereof the said bishop in his conscience knoweth he is not guilty, and whereof the said bishop is by no order of law convinced, is what the said bishop dare affirm, and is persuaded, the king's Majesty would wittingly require of no man; but will graciously permit every man to be tried and taken as he is.

"You lack well near (in your answer) to every article and position this clause —'and otherwise,' &c.—without which your answer remaineth imperfect and uncertain.

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"Finally, as touching the general clause 'and otherwise,' &c., seeing this is a special matter, specially used, and handled in such a special form as the said bishop thinketh was never heard of in a special personage, and in a special time; the said bishop desireth, that among so many specialties he be not bound to such a general clause as no law requireth in special terms; and such a clause as needeth not in this matter, nor can serve to any other use, but to bring the faith of the said bishop in slander, answering as he doth upon his oath: in consideration whereof, seeing the said bishop hath to such articles made answer, as by law he is not bound to answer unto—declaring thereby his desire to have the fact opened and known, uttering for his part as much as his conscience testifieth to be truth, and as much as upon these generalities he can call to remembrance—the said bishop (his protestations in the acts repeated and preserved) desireth his answers may be so by you the judges accepted and taken; considering also the said bishop offereth himself ready, as any other specialty, according to law and equity, shall be asked of him, he will be and is always ready to make such answer as the law bindeth him, as afore is always said."

These his full answers, as he said, being perused and considered by the commissioners, then the promoters alleged, that the bishop had not fully answered to the seventh, eighth, ninth, and nineteenth positions, referring themselves to the same answers and to the law; and therefore, accusing his contumacy in that behalf, did require him to be pronounced contumacious; and in pain thereof to be declared as confessed, upon the same, whereunto he had not fully answered; the said bishop, under his said protestations, saying that he had fully answered, referred himself to the said answers: whereupon the judges had assigned him to make full answer to the said positions, in case his answers already made were not full, the next court day; having first declaration made from the said judges, by St. John's day next, wherein it was not fully answered.

Then the said promoters alleged, that there were certain acts, orders, and other processes concerning that matter, making for the proof of the articles by them ministered in that cause, remaining in the books of the registry of the king's most honourable council, which they desired might there be exhibited. Whereupon Master Armigil Wade, and Master William Thomas, clerks of the said council, by commandment of the said judges did present two books, being, as they affirmed, originals of the said register, with certain copies extracted therefrom, concerning that matter; and, upon a corporal oath to them proffered by the judges, at the promoter's request they affirmed the same to be the very true and original books of the said register; and forasmuch as the books contained many secret matters not to be opened abroad, therefore the said judges, at the request of the promoters, decreed collation to be made between the said originals and copies, by the said clerks, and the foresaid actuaries; and that after collation made, as full faith should be given to the said copies as to the originals, as well as if the said bishop were present at the same collations.

After which decree, the said bishop, under his said protestations dissenting to the said exhibition, and protesting of the nullity thereof, and of the exhibits, and alleging the same to be but private writings, and not authentic, nor such whereunto faith sufficient in law ought to be given, nevertheless, without prejudice of his said protestation, consenting that collation thereof might be made in his absence, reserving power to him to object against the said exhibits, as far as by the law he might in that behalf do, as if he were personally present at the said collation.

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After this the judges, at the promoters' request, published the depositions of the witnesses produced by them, (the which witnesses, as heretofore I have declared, ye shall read in the twentieth act of this process,) the said bishop, under his said protestation dissenting thereunto, and protesting not to take knowledge or understanding of the said depositions, for that he intended to propose a matter justificatory, directly contrary to the articles proposed.

After this the judges, at the promoters' request, assigned to the said bishop to propose a matter, if he had any, upon Thursday next after the feast of the Epiphany, at the hours and place [specified,] the bishop, under his said protestations, dissenting, and asking a copy, as well of the acts, as of the exhibits aforesaid; to whom it was so decreed.

The fourth session.



he fourth session or act against the bishop of Winchester, was before the aforesaid commissioners, sitting in judgment in the hall of the manor at Lambeth, in the presence of William Say and Thomas Argall, notaries, the eighth day of January, anno 1551, upon Thursday, before noon.

It was assigned to the bishop of Winchester this day and place, to make full answer to the sixth, eighth, ninth, and nineteenth positions, before not fully answered; and also to propose a matter, if he had any to propose; whereupon the said bishop of

Winchester, repeating his former protestations, and under the same, and also such protestations as he said were contained in his matter, did then and there exhibit a matter in writing, which he required to be admitted, and a competent term assigned to him to prove the same, to all the effects of the law, and to all intents, purposes, and effects, contained in his said matter, with compulsory process, and other as shall be requisite for him to have, for proof of the said matter.

Now, to proceed further: in this fourth act the said Gardiner, after this matter thus exhibited as is above-said, did also, under his said protestation, exhibit a certain letter, to him (as he said) sent from the duke of Somerset, inasmuch as the same concerned his full answers to the positions, and made for his full answers; and not otherwise. And therewith he also gave in his answers to the positions afore not fully answered, the promoters accepting the contents as well of the said letters, as of his answers, as far as they made for the office, and not otherwise; and further alleging, that the bishop had not fully answered; and therefore requiring, that he be pronounced contumacious; and in pain thereof, be declared as confessed upon those positions whereunto it was not fully answered: the said bishop, under his said protestation, alleging that he had fully answered, as far as he was bound by law, referring himself to all his answers, and to the law, and to the letters and matters aforesaid.

Then the promoters (protesting of the nullity and generality, invalidity and inefficacy, of the said matter) alleged that the same did not conclude in law, and therefore ought not to be admitted; and therefore they required the same to be rejected: the said bishop, under his said protestations, requiring the same to be admitted as afore. Then the judges assigned to hear their pleasure as well upon the said answers as upon the said matters, upon the Monday following, at

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the same time and place, to which assignation the said bishop (under his said protestations) dissented, and required a letter by him, as before exhibited, to be registered, and the original to be to him re-delivered: which was decreed.

The fifth session against Gardiner.

The fifth appearance or session of the aforesaid bishop was on the twelfth day of January, anno 1551, in the forenoon of that day, before the judges, and in the place, as it was in the last session; the said actuaries being present. It was assigned, then and there, to hear the judges' pleasure upon the bishop's answer, and the matter by him proposed.

"The promoters did allege, that the bishop had not fully answered to the seventh, eighth, ninth, and nineteenth positions, as by them is before alleged, (referring themselves to the answers, and to the law,) and therefore did accuse the contumacy of the bishop. And he, being commanded to make full answer thereunto, and not full answering, they did, as afore, desire him to be pronounced *contumax*; and, in pain thereof, to be declared *pro confesso*, upon the parts of those positions, whereunto he had not fully answered:—the said bishop, under his former protestations, saying, that he ought not to be so pronounced and declared, for that he did not refuse to make answer, but upon the judge's decree and declaration made: that wherein he hath not fully answered, he would then make answer accordingly. And after disputation had on both sides upon the matter, the judges admonished the said bishop to make full answers to the said positions already not fully answered, on Monday, the twenty-sixth day of the same month, the same time and place, under pain of the law. After this, the said judges, at the said bishop's request, under his former protestation, admitted the matter aforesaid, inasmuch as the law would the same matter to be admitted, and not otherwise; the said promoters accepting the contents in the said matter, as far as the same did make for the office, and none otherwise.

"Then the said judges assigned to the said bishop (for a term to prove the contents of his said matter) Monday, the twenty-sixth day of January, the same time and place; and every judicial day between this and that, to produce his witnesses upon intimation thereof made to the promoters of the office; and further offered to the said bishop, that in case he would nominate his witnesses, he should have (if he would require) letters from the said judges to the said witnesses, to command them with speed to come to answer, and be examined without further compulsory process."

The copy of the letter sent to the several witnesses here followeth.

The letter from the judges to Gardiner's witnesses.

"After our commendations, we signify unto you, that whereas the bishop of Winchester thinketh your testimony necessary for declaration and proof of the truth, as he saith, in a cause depending before us and others, the king's Majesty's commissioners, and doubteth lest, upon his own request, ye will not willingly come, without certain advertisement from us, thereby to mean no displeasure or danger: these shall be to do you to wit, that ye may, without all blame and lack, upon request unto you made, repair to bear witness in that matter after the truth, and your conscience. And, to the intent the matter now depending by your absence be not delayed and

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deferred, we likewise charge you and command you, upon sight hereof, to repair to London with all convenient speed, to depose and testify in the said matter as afore: and therefore will you to use what diligence you can, whereby to avoid that may be objected unto you for the contrary. Thus fare ye well.

"Your loving friends,
T. Canterbury,
John Oliver,
N. London,
John Gosnall,
William Peter,
Griffith Leyson.

"From Lambeth, the 16th day of January, anno 1551."

"And further the said judges declared, that if at that day (the bishop in the mean time using due diligence for production of his witnesses) there should appear sufficient cause to grant him a longer day to prove, that then they would prorogue his said term further, as should be requisite: the bishop, under his said protestations, dissenting to the assignation to prove, for shortness of the time assigned. After this, upon motion made that the bishop should constitute proctors, to produce his said witnesses for him, the said bishop, under his said protestation, alleging and protesting that these causes were criminal, and that he therefore could not, by the law, constitute a proctor; nevertheless, under protestation also that by his constitution he intended not to alter the nature of his cause, did constitute Master Thomas Dockwray, John Clerk, proctors of the Arches, James Basset, James Wingfield, and Thomas Somerset, gentlemen, jointly and severally his proctors, to appear for him, and in his name, before the said judges; and to produce witnesses necessary in that behalf, and to require them to be received, sworn, and examined; and, further, to do all things needful and requisite in that behalf, promising to ratify and stand to their doings in the premises and other his said protestations; requiring a copy of all the acts and exhibits in this cause: to whom it was so decreed."

The sixth act against Gardiner.

Another act or session was held on Saturday, the seventeenth day of January, in the bishop of London's palace, before the said bishop, and the bishops of Ely and Lincoln, Master Dr. Oliver, and Master Gosnall, commissioners, in the presence of Thomas Argall and William Say, actuaries.

"The said day and place, appeared before the said judges Master Thomas Somerset, one of the bishop of Winchester's proctors, by him constituted the last court day; and, under the said bishop's former protestations, he exhibited the said proxy, and, making himself party for the said bishop, produced William Coppinger and John Davy, for witnesses upon articles XL. XLI. XLII. XLIII. XLIV. LV. LVI. LXVIII. LXXIX. LXXX. and LXXXI. of the matter laid in by the bishop; requiring them to be charged with a corporal oath in form of law, to testify the truth thereupon. At whose request the judges did onerate the said witness with a corporal oath upon the holy evangelists, to depose the whole and plain truth as well upon the said articles as upon the whole cause, and upon such interrogatories as should be ministered unto them, in presence of

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Masters Lewes and Clapham, promoters of the office, protesting to say against them and their sayings, in ease and as far as they should depose against the office. The copy of the which interrogatories, as well against Coppinger and Davy, as others undernamed, followeth in these words:—"

Interrogatories ministered against William Coppinger, John Dary, and William Bell, Nicholas Lentall, and Richard Hampden, John Seton, doctor of divinity, William Medon, clerk, Thomas Watson, clerk, and Robert Massey, pretended witnesses, brought in and sworn in, of the bishop of Winchester's part.

"First, it was asked of every of the said pretended witnesses, Whether he is or hath been servant retained or belonging to the said bishop, and how long he hath been servant so retained or belonging; and what wages, livery, annuity, or advancement, he hath or hath had, of the said bishop.

"Item, Whether he hath any affection, and what affection, toward the said bishop and his matter, in this cause moved and depending against the said bishop.

"Item, Whether they or any of them do earnestly covet and desire that the bishop may overcome in this matter, and have the victory: yea or nay.

"Item, If any of the said witnesses shall at any time seem to say any thing prejudicial unto the office promoted against the said bishop, or sounding to his discharge, let him be asked of the cause of his knowledge, and let him express the same."

And thus much for the interrogatories against Coppinger and others. Concerning the depositions of the witnesses here produced, ye shall see more at large in the twentieth session, until the which session we have deferred all other depositions of witnesses, as well of the one part as of the other, there the whole to be read and seen together.

The seventh session against Gardiner.

The seventh appearance or action of the forenamed bishop was in the council-chamber at Greenwich, on Monday, the nineteenth day of January, anno 1551, before the bishops of Ely and Lincoln, Master Secretary Peter, and Master Doctor Leyson, judges delegate; the actuaries, as before, being present.

"The said day and place appeared Master James Wingfield, and Master James Basset, proctors, constituted at the last session (which was the twelfth day of January) in this cause, by the bishop of Winchester; and, under the bishop's former protestations, did exhibit the proxy to them in that behalf made, and produced the right honourable personages here undernamed, being of the king's Majesty's most honourable privy council; that is to say, the duke of Somerset's Grace, on articles I. II. III. IV. X. XVII. XXII. XXIII. XXIV. XXV. XXVII. XXVIII. XLV. XLVII. XLVIII. LIX. LX. LXI. LXII. LXIII. LXIV. LXV. LXVI. LXVII. LXXXVI. LXXXVII.: the earl of Wiltshire, lord treasurer, on articles I. II. III. IV. X. XVII. XXII. XXIII. XXIV. XXV. XXVI. XXVII. XXVIII. XLVI. XLVII. XLVIII. XLIX. L. LI. LII. LIII. LIV. LV. LVII. LVIII.

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The eighth session against Gardiner.

The eighth session or court day was holden upon the cause of the bishop of Winchester, in the place of the lord chancellor Lord Riche, at Great St. Bartholomew's, before the archbishop of Canterbury, and the rest of the king's commissioners, in the presence of the aforesaid actuaries, on the twelfth day, the twentieth day of January, anno 1551.

"The same day and place appeared before the said judges Master James Basset, one of the bishop of Winchester's proctors, constituted the last court day; and, under the said bishop's former protestations he exhibited the said proxy; and, making himself party for the said bishop, produced the right honourable lord chancellor of England, as witness upon articles I. II. III. IV. XLV. XLVI. XLVII. XLVIII. XLIX. L. LI. LII. LIII. LIV. and LV. of the matter laid in by the bishop; whom he required to be admitted, sworn, and examined, as a witness, according to the law; the said lord chancellor declaring, that honourable personages being of dignity and office, (as he was,) are by the laws of the realm privileged not to be sworn in common form, as other witnesses accustomedly do swear; promising nevertheless, upon his truth to God, his allegiance to our sovereign lord the king's Majesty, and upon his fidelity, to testify the truth that he doth know, in this behalf: whom the said judges did so operate upon his truth to God, allegiance to the king's Majesty, and upon his honour and fidelity, to depose the plain and whole truth, as far as he knew, as well upon the said articles, as also upon the whole cause, in presence of Master Clapham, promoter of the office, approving the honourable personage of the said lord, and yet

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protesting to say against his sayings, in case and as far as they should be seen in law to make against the office; and requiring his Lordship to be examined upon such interrogatories as should be ministered unto him by the office; his Lordship (like as afore) promising, and by the judges ordered, to declare and answer the truth thereunto, according to his knowledge."

Concerning this noble personage of the lord chancellor here produced, who was then Master Wriothesley, understand, gentle reader, that though we find him here produced and sworn, yet we find not his depositions in any place. Whether he did depose at all, or not, I am not able to say. And this, by the way, concerning that man. Now to the matter.

"This being done, the said James Basset, proctor aforesaid, and under the protestations above recited, did intimate to the said lord chancellor, the appellation and querelation made by the said bishop of Winchester, as he said; and did show the instrument thereof made.

"After this, the said James Basset, under the former protestations, did produce the worshipful John Baker, knight, upon articles I. II. III. and IV. of the matter aforesaid, requiring that he might swear and be examined upon the same. At whose request the said judges did order the said Sir John Baker with an oath upon the holy evangelists, to declare the truth he knew upon the same articles, and upon the interrogatories that should be ministered by the office; the aforesaid Master Clapham approving his person, and yet protesting, as before he protested of the lord chancellor."

Interrogatories ministered by the office.

"I. Imprimis: Whether ye know, or have heard say, that the late king of famous memory, King Henry the Eighth, father of our sovereign lord the king's Majesty that now is, (for sundry causes him moving, and specially for that he judged and esteemed the bishop of Winchester nothing well pleased with the proceedings of the realm in matters of religion,) disliked the said bishop, and was much offended with him?

"II. Item, Whether ye know, or have heard say, that for the suspicion conceived of the said bishop, as is aforesaid, his Highness did forbear and refuse to have him named among other bishops and learned men, which were appointed to make the books last set forth by his Majesty, touching a uniformity in matters of religion?

"III. Item, Whether ye know, or have heard say, that for the causes aforesaid, and other great considerations him specially moving, he reputed the said bishop for a man vehemently suspected to favour the bishop of Rome?

"IV. Item, Whether ye know, or have heard say, that the said late king, expressly willed him (the said bishop) no more to be of the privy council with the king's Majesty our sovereign lord that now is; and omitted, and expressly refused, to have him named among other councillors, in his testament, to be of the council, as is aforesaid?

"V. Item, Whether ye know, or have heard say, that the said bishop, being aforenamed as an executor in the testament of the said late king, was, a little before his death, at his declaring of

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his last will, put out by his Highness, and so by him refused to be one of his said executors? for what causes the said bishop was so put out, and what the said late king said of the said bishop at the same time?

"VI. Item, Whether you know, or have heard say, that the said bishop is, and in the time of our late sovereign lord hath been, commonly reputed and accepted a man much favouring the authority and proceedings of the bishop of Rome, and, as such a one, an adversary to the king's Majesty's godly proceedings for reformation of abuses in religion in the court, in his diocese, and elsewhere, among such as be men of good understanding; and knoweth him commonly accepted and taken as such, and that such is the common and public fame in the court, in his said diocese, or elsewhere in this realm?

"VII. Item, Whether ye know, or have heard say, that to such of his diocese as favour the king's Majesty's godly proceedings, he hath been and is an offence or slander; and whether it is probably thought by them, that he, the said bishop, hath been and is a great hinderance to the said proceedings; and for such a one hath been and is by them commonly reputed and taken.

"VIII. Item, Whether ye know, or have heard say, that he—being commanded in the king's Majesty's name, for the avoiding of tumult, and upon other urgent considerations, not to treat of any thing in controversy concerning the communion or sacrament of the altar and the mass—contrary to that commandment, spake, among other things, these words following, or like in effect; namely, That the very presence of Christ's most precious body and blood is present in the sacrament, to feed us, which was given to redeem us, and that Christ consecrated himself to be a memorial of himself; and that it was the same Christ that was offered then, and is now either sacrificed, or else remembered in the mass; and that private masses might be and were well retained in this realm of England?

"IX. Item, Whether ye know, or have heard say, that as well before the time of the sermon made by the bishop of Winchester on St. Peter's day, in the second year of the king's Majesty's reign, as at the time of the sermon, there was much contention, strife, debate, and controversy, among divers of the king's Majesty's subjects, as well in the city of London, as elsewhere within this realm of England, concerning the presence of Christ's body and blood to be in the sacrament of the altar, and the retaining and use of private masses, whether the same might stand with God's word or no."

Then Basset required the lord chancellor to be examined as a witness on the Monday following.

The ninth session against Gardiner.

The ninth session or action upon the cause of Gardiner was held in the house of Cuthbert, bishop of Durham, called Cold Harbour, before Thomas and Henry, bishops of Ely and Lincoln, with the other commissioners judicially sitting, with the presence of the above-named notaries, on Wednesday, the twenty-first of January, 1551.

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"The said day and place appeared before the said judges James Basset, one of the bishop of Winchester's proctors, and under former protestations produced Cuthbert, bishop of Durham, on articles I. II. III. and IV.; William Bell, clerk, on articles XXXIV. and XXXV.; Nicholas Lentall and Richard Hampden on article XV.; John Seton, doctor of divinity, on articles XV. XXIX. XXXIV. XXXV. and XXXVIII.; William Medow, clerk, on articles I. II. III. X. XV. XXV. XXXIII. XXXIV. XXXV. and XXXVIII.; Thomas Watson, clerk, on articles VII. XI. XII. XIV. XVI. XVIII. XIX. XX. XXIX. XXXI. XXXIII. XXXVI. XXXVIII. and LXVIII.; and Robert Massey on articles XIII. and XVI. of the matter purposed by the bishop of Winchester; requiring that they and every of them might be onerated with an oath, to say and depose the truth in that they knew. At whose request the judges did onerate the same witnesses, and every of them, with an oath corporal, taken in due form, to testify the truth as well upon the said articles, as also upon the whole cause, and, upon such interrogatories as should be ministered unto them, and every of them, when they should be examined in the presence of David Clapham, one of the said promoters of the office, approving the person of the said Cuthbert, bishop, and yet protesting to say against his sayings, and the persons and sayings of the other witnesses, in case they should say or depose any thing against his office.

"These things done, appeared before the said commissioners then and there judicially sitting, as before, Thomas Dockwray, one of the proctors of the bishop of Winchester, constituted and appointed by him, and under former protestations made by the said bishop, he did exhibit his proxy for the said bishop, made in the acts, and made himself party for him. And also, under the said protestations, he gave and exhibited certain positions additional unto the matter already purposed by the said bishop of Winchester, which he desired to be admitted in the presence of the aforesaid David Clapham, one of the promoters, protesting of the nullity, generality, invalidity, inefficacy, and undue specification, of the same; and desiring the same to be rejected.

"Then the judges assigned to hear their pleasure upon the said positions upon the Monday following at Lambeth, at the hour accustomed, and heretofore already assigned. Consequently the said Thomas Dockwray, proctor aforesaid, under former protestations, &c., did lay in and give a matter in writing, conceived against the exhibits, desiring the same to be admitted by the judges in the presence of the aforesaid David Clapham, promoter, protesting as he did of the positions additional afore given; and further, alleging the same not to conclude in law, and therefore desiring the same matter to be rejected. Hereupon the judges assigned their pleasure to be heard upon the admission, or else the rejection, of the said matter, the day and place assigned; concerning which positions additional, with the matter, also, by the aforesaid proctor, exhibited, the tenor thereof here followeth."

Articles additional exhibited by Gardiner.

Here follow the positions and articles additional and declaratory of the matter, and letter, of late purposed and exhibited by the bishop of Winchester, before the pretended commissaries or judges delegate, named in the same matter, which the said bishop gave under the protestations made by him in the matter aforesaid.

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"First, That the bishop of London that now is, then being bishop of Rochester, did openly in his sermon made at Paul's Cross in the month of November or December, or thereabouts, in the first year of the king's Majesty's reign that now is, very earnestly and vehemently preach and teach the true presence of Christ's most precious body to be in the sacrament of the altar.

"Item, That Dr. Redman, in a sermon which he preached before the king's Majesty in Lent, the second year of his Majesty's reign, did preach and teach to be believed for the true catholic faith, that the true presence of Christ's body and blood was in the sacrament of the altar.

"Item, That my lord archbishop of Canterbury, about the time that the bishop of Winchester aforesaid preached a sermon on St. Peter's day at Westminster, before the king's Majesty, in a book by him translated, called Catechism, did affirm, publish, and set forth, the true presence of Christ's most precious body and blood to be in the sacrament of the altar; and, to the intent the same should so be believed, observed, acknowledged, and taught to be the true and catholic faith, did cause the same to be printed in his name, and as his translation; which books, so printed into great number of books, were, after their imprinting, to the intent aforesaid, openly and commonly sold by many and sundry booksellers, as well of London as of other places, and came about to all the parts of this realm, or to many parts of the same, and were openly and commonly known, declared, published, read, and heard, of all sorts of the king's Majesty's subjects of this realm. And this was and is true, public, notorious, manifest, and famous.

"Item, That in the months November and December, in the second year of the king's Majesty's reign, the bishops of Durham, Carlisle, London, Chichester, Worcester, Norwich, Hereford, and Westminster, (being of the most ancient bishops and best learned in this realm,) did openly, in the parliament then kept at Westminster, defend the very and true presence of Christ's body and blood to be in the sacrament of the altar.

"Item, That in sundry open and solemn disputations, made as well in the university of Oxford, as of Cambridge, the third year of the king's Majesty's reign, the same true presence of the very body and blood of Christ to be in the sacrament of the altar, was maintained and defended by the great number of the chief and well learned of the said universities. And this was and is true, public, notorious, manifest, and famous.

"Item, That the truth of Christ's most precious body and blood in the sacrament of the altar, hath not been nor was impugned, by any famous clerk, or yet by any named learned man in any part of all Christendom, either in the Greek or in the Latin church, by our time; specially at the time of the letters sent by the same duke of Somerset to the said bishop, mentioned in this matter aforesaid; but only by Æcolampadius, Zuinglius, Vadianus, and Carolostadius, the impugning whereof was most manifest error; and, in England, no learned man named had, or yet did, openly defend or favour that error. And this is true, public, notorious, manifest, and famous.

"Item, That the said bishop said not to Master Cecil that the mass was the chief foundation of our religion, for Christ himself is the only foundation; and in the mass, as now in the communion, [is] the showing forth of Christ's death; which is a sacrifice recordative of that only sacrifice of the cross, used in the church according to Christ's institution till his coming; the substance of the sacrifice being all as one, and the manner of the offering only differing. And

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after this manner and sort, in effect, the bishop, in his speaking of the mass to Master Cecil, as is aforesaid, declared to him, and no otherwise, if he had then rightly taken, perceived, and afterwards so uttered and reported the same.

"Item, That by our late sovereign lord the king's Majesty's father that now is, and by his testament and last will, it was provided, ordered, and (upon just considerations then moving his Majesty for the preservation and quietness of this his then realm) decreed, that his Majesty's councillors of his privy council, then being named and appointed in the same testament, or the more part of them, with further execution in that behalf, should have the whole order and governance of the same realm, during the minority of his only treasure under God, the king's Majesty that now is, which things, according to these effects, were thus declared, before the king's Majesty that now is, by the mouth of the lord chancellor, who was at that time in the Tower of London, then being present as well the said bishop of Winchester, as other of the lords of the council, and divers others hearing the same, whereby the authority of the protectorship was clearly restrained.

"Item, That the digression of the said duke from that order aforesaid, and the breaking thereof, was afterwards, among other matters, with the body of the king's Majesty's privy council, objected to him as a fault and offence."

The tenth session.

The tenth session against Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, was holden in the house of the bishop of Ely, in Warwick Lane, before the said bishops of Ely and London, Master Leyson, and other the king's commissioners, with their notaries above mentioned, on Friday, the twenty-third day of January, 1551, in the fourth year of Edward the Sixth.

"The said day and place appeared before the said commissioners Master Thomas Somerset, one of the bishop of Winchester's proctors, and under former protestations made, &c., he produced Sir John Markham, knight, on articles XL. XLI. XLII. XLIII. XLIV. LVI. LXVIII. and LXXXI.; Thomas White, esquire, on articles I. II. III. and XIII.; John Norton, esquire, on articles I. II. and III.; John Cooke, esquire, on articles I. II. III. VIII. and XIV.; Master John White, warden, on articles I. II. III. XV. XXIX. and XXXVII.; Francis Allen, on articles VII. VIII. XI. XII. XXXVI. XXXVIII. XLV. and LXVIII.; John Potinger, on articles I. VIII. and XV.; Peter Langridge, on articles I. VIII. and XV.; Roger Ford, on articles I. and VIII.; William Laurence and Giles White, on the XVth; William Lorking, vicar of Farnham, on the XIVth; Herman Bilson, on the XVth; Thomas Williams, John Hardy, Robert Braborne, Robert Quinby, John Reade, on XIVth; Thomas Crowte, on the XVth and LXVIIIth; George Bullock, George Smith, Hugh Weston, Philip Morgan, Richard Bruerne, John Weak, clerks, on the articles XXXIV. XXXV. and XXXVII.; Alexander Deringe, William Browne, on articles I. VIII. IX. and XV.; John Temple, on articles I. II. and III.; Thomas White, prebendary, on the XVth; and John Glasiar, on the VIIIth and IXth articles of the matter given by the bishop of Winchester: which said witnesses, and every one of them, the said bishop of London, by the consent of his colleagues, and the desire of the said Thomas Somerset, proctor aforesaid, did overate with a corporal oath on the holy evangelists, to depose the whole truth as well upon the same articles, that they were so specially produced on, as the whole cause and matter, and upon such

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interrogatories as should be ministered to them, as far as they knew, in the presence of Master Davy Clapham, one of the promoters of the office; dissenting from the said production, and approving the persons of the aforesaid Sir John Markham and Master Ralph Hopton; but yet protesting to say against their sayings, in case they should depose against the office; and desiring that they might be examined of such interrogatories as should be ministered by the office; and protesting against the persons and sayings of all the other witnesses and of every of them, in case they or any of them should depose against the office; and repeating against them the interrogatories last ministered by the office. This done, the said Master Somerset, proctor aforesaid, alleged that Master Doctor Redman, and Doctor Steward, were necessary witnesses for to prove certain things contained in the aforesaid matter, which Master Redman had been and then was sick, and the said Master Steward in durance. Wherefore he desired a commission for the examination of the said Master Redman, and means had, that the said Master Steward might come to be sworn and examined; and also required temporal counsel to be assigned to the said bishop."

The eleventh session.

The eleventh session upon the matter of Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, was in the house of the Lord Paget, without Temple Bar, before the aforesaid commissioners judicially sitting, (Thomas Argall, notary, being present,) the day aforesaid; that is, the twenty-third of January, 1551.

"At that time and place Master Davy Clapham, and John Lewis, promoters of the office, did produce Sir William Paget, knight of the order of the garter, Lord Paget, upon the articles laid in by the office; whom they desired to be sworn and examined as a witness, according to law; the said Lord Paget declaring, that honourable personages being of dignity as he was, were, by the laws of this realm, privileged not to be sworn in common form, as other witnesses usually did swear; promising, nevertheless, upon his truth to God, his allegiance to our sovereign lord the king's Majesty, and upon his fidelity, to testify the truth that he did know in this behalf; whom the said judges did so overate upon his truth to God, allegiance to the king's Majesty, and upon his honour and fidelity, to depose the plain and whole truth, as far as he knew, as well upon the said articles, as also upon the whole cause and interrogatories that should be ministered, in the presence of Thomas Somerset, proctor to the bishop of Winchester, under protestation, &c., dissenting to the production, and protesting of the nullity, &c.; and to say against his person and sayings (if he should depose against the said bishop in this matter); and requiring that he might be examined upon such interrogatories as should be ministered against him; and requiring, also, that he might be sworn with a corporal oath upon the evangelists."

The twelfth session against Gardiner.

The twelfth session upon the matter of Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, was within the bishop of Ely's house, before the bishops of London and Ely, with the rest of the commissioners delegate, one of the aforesaid two actuaries being present, the twenty-fourth day of January, 1551.

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"The same day and place appeared James Basset, one of the bishop of Winchester's proctors, and, under protestations before made, and always reserved, he produced Sir Thomas Smith, on articles XVII. XXII. XXIII. XXIV. XXV. XXVI. XXVII. and XXVIII.; Robert Willerton, John Young, and Edmund Bricket, clerks, on articles XXXIV. XXXV. and XXXVII.; whom and every one of them the said judges, at his desire, did onerate with a corporal oath, for to say and depose the truth upon the said articles, the whole cause and interrogatories, in the presence of Master Clapham, approving the person of Sir Thomas Smith, and protesting to say against his sayings, and the persons and sayings of the other witnesses, in case they or any of them should depose against the office; repeating the interrogatories already ministered against all the said witnesses, saving Sir Thomas Smith.

The thirteenth session against Gardiner.

The thirteenth session wherein appeared the said bishop of Winchester was held at Lambeth, before the archbishop of Canterbury, with all the other judges except Master Hales and Master Goodrick; the two aforesaid actuaries being withal present, on Monday in the forenoon, which was the twenty-sixth day of January, 1551.

This said day and place, the bishop of Winchester, under his former protestations, exhibited an allegation in writing touching the admonishment given to him the last court day to make answer to the seventh, eighth, ninth, and nineteenth positions or articles; the copy and tenor of this allegation, so by him exhibited, hereafter followeth.

The allegation of Winchester, touching the pretended admonishment.

"The said bishop, repeating his protestations in the acts, said, that discoursing, and particularly debating, the last court day the answers made by him to the said articles, and agreeing, as he took it, with the judges therein, and so departing, it had been, and was besides, his expectation to hear, in the acts, mention of such admonishment. Nevertheless, the said bishop, for the declaration of himself, how ready he was to obey always, for satisfaction of that admonishment laid in his allegations; and therewith declared, that according to the testimony of his conscience, he had fully answered the said articles, weighing together all that he had answered already and proved, so far as the same opened. And further declared the matter of the said answer, without captious understanding, whereof the bishop protested. And yet, if the judges should declare any special point of any the said articles, wherein a more full answer ought by law to be made, the said bishop offered himself, without any further delay, to make such answer as the law should bind him; and thereby eschew, as much as in him was, the report of disobedience not to answer, when he might answer, or not so fully as he might, with his conscience.'

"This allegation thus exhibited by the said bishop—furthermore, by word of mouth, for fuller answer [he] alleged, that he thought he spake of every article particularly, saving of the king's authority in his young years, and except St. Nicholas and St. Edmund, and such children's toys. And also he said, that he always submitted himself to justice; and for that he knew not himself guilty, he called not for mercy within the time of three months expressed in the said articles: which time of three months ran not, because it was suspended by his appellation made from the sequestration mentioned in the said articles.

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"After this the judges, at the said bishop's request, under his former protestations, admitted the positions additional, and the matter lastly laid in on his behalf, and before inserted in the ninth session, (as far as the same should or ought in law to be admitted, and none otherwise,) in presence of the promoters protesting of the over-much generality, impertinency, and inefficacy, of the said positions additional and matter; and alleging, that the same ought not, by the law, to be admitted. Then the bishop, under his former protestations protesting that he intended not to renounce the benefit of the law which he ought to have, in the production and swearing of such witnesses as he alleged were received afore in his absence—touching their oath, gave certain interrogatories in writing against the Lord Paget, being a witness received and sworn against him; the promoters alleging that none were received but either [in] his own presence or that of his proctors."

The fourteenth session against Gardiner.

The fourteenth action, or session, was in the bishop of Winchester's lodging, within the Tower of London, on Tuesday, the twenty-seventh day of January, in the presence of William Saye, one of the aforesaid two actuaries.

"The said day and place, in presence of William Saye, notary, the bishop of Winchester, under his former protestations, (that by this act he intended not to alter the nature of the cause,) did constitute Master Thomas Dockwray, John Clerke, (proctors of the Arches,) Thomas Somerset, James Basset, and James Wingfield, his proctors; jointly and severally—for him and in his name—to produce witnesses upon his matters purposed, and to be purposed, in this matter: and further, to do therein as he himself ought or should do, at all times, as well when he was present as absent. And likewise did constitute William Bucknam and Master Mitch, fellows in Trinity Hall in Cambridge, jointly and severally his proctors, to produce Dr. Redman before the king's Majesty's sub-delegates, and to require him to be received, sworn, and examined, upon the articles to the commission annexed; and promised to ratify the doings of his said proctors herein, being present hereat Master Dr. Jeffrey, William Coppinger, and John Davy, &c."

The fifteenth session against Gardiner.

The fifteenth action, or session, upon the matter of the bishop of Winchester was holden before Dr. Oliver, one of the king's commissioners, in the presence of Thomas Argall, one of the two actuaries.

"The said day Master Thomas Somerset, one of the bishop of Winchester's proctors, according to the assignation made, and under former protestations, &c., did exhibit certain minutes, letters, and escripts, to declare the said bishop's conformity from time to time, since the death of King Henry the Eighth, unto this present time; and also exhibited the same, as much as they should make for him in this cause, and not otherwise; videlicet first, five original letters, whereof three [were] from the duke of Somerset, one from Master Cecil, and the others from Master Brig and other the king's visitors.

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"Item, A book of statutes set forth in the second and third year of the king's Majesty that now is; wherein is contained An Act of Uniformity of the Service, and the Administration of the Sacrament, throughout the realm.

"Item, The bishop of Winchester's proxy exhibited in the visitation.

"Item, The copy of a letter printed and directed unto the preachers, from the duke of Somerset and others of the council.

"Item, Minutes of two letters from the bishop of Winchester to the duke of Somerset, then protector, from Winchester, before the said bishop's committing to the Fleet, with copies of them.

"Item, Minutes of letters from the bishop of Winchester to the bishop of Canterbury -- in No. 3, with their copies.

"Item, Minutes of letters from the bishop of Winchester to the lords of the king's Majesty's council, before his committing to the Fleet—in No. 2, with their copies.

"Item, Minutes of letters from the bishop of Winchester to the lord protector out of the Fleet—in No. 4, with their copies.

"Item, Minutes of letters from the bishop of Winchester to the lord protector, when he was committed to ward in his house—in No. 1.

"Item, Minutes of letters from the bishop to the lord protector, from Winchester—in No. 1."

In the mean time before the bishop's sending for to London, at which time he was sent to the Tower, all these said originals the said Master Somerset required to have, when they were collated and conferred.

The sixteenth session against Gardiner.

Another action or session upon the cause of Gardiner was in the house of the bishop of Ely, before the bishops of Ely and Lincoln, Master Leyson, and Master Oliver, (Thomas Argall, actuary, being present,) on Thursday, the twenty-ninth day of January, 1551.

"The same day and place James Basset, one of the bishop of Winchesters proctors, under the bishop's former protestations, exhibiting his proxy, &c., produced the reverend father Thomas, bishop of Norwich, on articles I. II. III. IV. of the first matter, and the IVth and VIth of the additional; Sir Edward Carne, on the articles I. II. and III. of the first matter; Thomas Babington, on articles I. VII. X. XI. of the last matter; Maurice Griffith, clerk, on articles III. IV. XXXV. and XXXVII. of the first matter, and the first article of the additional, and on the twentieth of the last matter; Christopher Moulton, on articles III. IV. XXXV. and XXXVII. of the matter, and on the XXth of the matter contra exhibited; William Glyn, clerk, on the Vth of

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the additional; Thomas Nave, on articles XV. XVI. and XX. of the last matter; Oliver Wachell, on articles XIII. XV. XVI. and XVIII. of the last matter; Thomas Cotisforde, on the VIIth of the last matter; Henry Burton, on articles IX. XV. and XVI. of the last matter; Thomas Skerne, on the XVth and XVIth of the last matter; Osmond Coware, on the IXth, XVth, and XVIth of the last matter; John Cliff, on the XVth and XVIth of the last matter; John Warner, on the XVth and the XVIth of the last matter; John Seton, clerk, on articles IV. VII. XIV. XV. XVI. XVII. XVIII. and XX. of the last matter; William Medowe, clerk, on the Ist of the additional, and on articles IV. V. VI. VII. IX. XIV. XV. XVI. XVIII. and XX. of the last matter; Thomas Watson, clerk, on the Ist of the additional, and on articles IV. VII. IX. XIII. XIV. XV. XVI. XVII. and XX. of the last matter; John Potinger, on articles II. III. V. VI. XV. and XVI. of the last matter; John Temple, on the XIIIth of the last matter; Alexander Dering, on the XVth and XVIth of the last matter; William Browne, on the IId, IIIId, Vth, and VIth of the last matter—which witnesses the said judges did onerate with an oath, to depose of and upon all and singular such articles as they were produced upon, and the whole cause, and such interrogatories as should be ministered in the presence of Clapham and Lewis; approving the persons of the said bishop of Norwich, and Sir Edward Carne; and protesting to say against their sayings, and the persons and sayings of all the other witnesses; and repeating the interrogatories before ministered, and requiring them to be examined on the same, and others to be ministered by them. Which done, the same James Basset (under the said bishop's former protestations) alleged that the bishops of Durham, Worcester, and Chichester, were necessary witnesses to prove, &c.; and to have a commission for the examination of Dr. Steward, being prisoner in the Marshalsea. Whereupon the said judges, by one assent, committed their power to the bishop of Ely and Dr. Oliver, for the examination of the bishop of Durham; Master Leyson for the examination of Dr. Steward; and the bishop of Lincoln for the examination of the bishops of Worcester and Chichester in the Fleet."

And forasmuch as mention is made, in this act, of certain interrogatories, as well of such as were to be ministered, as of the others being repeated before, the copy of them, which were afterwards ministered, here followeth in these words:

Interrogatories upon the first articles additional.

"I. Whether the bishop of London, in his said sermon, speaking of the presence of Christ in the sacrament, did use any of these words: 'the real, corporal, or substantial presence,' or the same adverbially; or any such like, and of the same effect, and what they were?

"II. Item, Whether he did not bid his auditory to be content to delay the discussion of the secret of that matter, till it should be afterwards judged by learning and authority?

"Item, Whether he did not say, that he would, and did, show them the sentence of an old author, which was both a great learned man, and martyr; and only did cite the same for the manner of Christ's presence in the sacrament, and who was the author, and what was the place?"

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The seventeenth session against Gardiner.

Another action upon the cause of Winchester was holden at Cold Harbour, before the bishops of Ely and Lincoln, and Master Doctor Oliver, with the presence of Thomas Argall, actuary, on Friday, the thirtieth day of January, 1551.

"James Basset, under the bishop of Winchesters former protestations, produced Cuthbert, bishop of Durham, upon the IVth and VIth positions additional; John Bourne, clerk, on the Ist article of the same additional; Owen Oglethorp, doctor, on the articles III. IV. and XXXVII. of the first matter or matter justificatory, the Vth article of the additional, and the Xth article against the exhibits; whom the said judges did admit and onerate with an oath, to say the truth and the whole truth upon those articles, and such interrogatories as should be ministered in behalf of the office, in the presence of David Clapham, one of the promoters; approving the person of the said bishop of Durham: protesting, nevertheless, to say against his depositions, and the persons and sayings of the other witnesses, in case they deposed any thing prejudicial against the office; and repeating the interrogatories afore ministered, requiring the witnesses to be examined upon the same.

The eighteenth session against Gardiner.

The same Friday they also met in the Marshalsea in Southwark, Master Doctor Oliver and Thomas Argall being present, on the cause of Winchester.

"James Basset, under the bishop of Winchester's former protestations, produced Master Edmund Steward, clerk, on articles I. II. III. VIII. IX. XV. of the matter justificatory; and on articles II. III. V. VI. VII. XIV. XV. XVI. and XVIII. of the matter against the exhibits; whom the said Master Doctor Oliver, at the petition of the same James Basset, did admit and onerate with an oath upon the premises, in the presence of David Clapham, one of the promoters aforesaid, protesting to say against the said witness and his testimony, in case he deposed against the office, and repeating these interrogatories afore ministered.

"The same Friday, in the Fleet, [before] Henry, bishop of Lincoln, in the presence of Thomas Argall, &c., the said James Basset, under the former protestations, produced Nicholas, bishop of Worcester, in his chamber where he lieth there, and George, bishop of Chichester, in another chamber where he lieth, of and upon the IVth and VIth articles of the positions additional; when the bishop of Lincoln, them and either of them, did respectively onerate with an oath, to depose the whole truth that they and either of them knew, upon the said articles, and all such interrogatories as should be ministered unto them, in presence of David Clapham; protesting to say against them and their sayings, in case they deposed against the office."

The nineteenth session against Gardiner.

Saturday, the last day of January, 1551, there was a session in the house of Thomas Argall, before Master John Oliver; the said Argall being present.

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"James Basset, proctor, &c., under the bishop's former protestations, did produce John Cooke, a witness before sworn, upon articles II. III. V. VI. and XIV. of the matter against the exhibits; whom the said Master Oliver did admit and swear, at the petition of the said Basset, in the presence of David

Clapham, one of the promoters; protesting, &c., and repeating the interrogatories afore ministered."

The twentieth session against Gardiner.

The twentieth session or action upon the cause of Winchester, with his appearance at Lambeth before the archbishop of Canterbury and the rest of the commissioners, (Master Gosnall only absent, Thomas Argall and William Say being, present,) was on Tuesday, the third day of February, anno 1551.

"The term probatory assigned to the bishop of Winchester, was prorogued to this day by nine of the clock afore noon; and, by the same time, it was assigned to transmit the examination of Dr. Redman. And it was also assigned to the said bishop of Winchester, to see further process, in this cause, between the hours of ten and eleven afore noon of this day. The said day, one Paul Hampcoats, on the behalf of Master Edward Leedes, and Master Michael Dunning, presented the process of the examination of Master Doctor Redman, at Cambridge, being sealed, and in authentical form, in the presence of the bishop of Winchester; under his former protestations, protesting that he intended not to revoke his proctors exhibiting the same process, as far as it made for him, and not otherwise; the promoters protesting to say against the said process, in case and as far as it should seem to make against the office.

"Then the bishop, under his former protestations alleging Master James Basset and Master Jacques Wingfield to be necessary witnesses for proof of certain articles by him purposed, desired that they might be admitted and sworn; at whose requiring the judge admitted them as far as the law would them to be admitted, and not else: whom they did then and there onerate with a corporal oath, to depose the truth, as they knew, upon such articles as they should be examined upon; the promoters protesting of the nullity of their production, for that they were the said bishop's proctors, and had exercised in this cause for him; and, in case the production were of force in law, protesting to say against them and their sayings, in case and as far as the same should make against the office, and to repeat the interrogatories heretofore ministered against the other witnesses produced by the said bishop. And the said bishop, under his said protestations, for further satisfaction of the term assigned him to prove, did exhibit these writings ensuing; videlicet first, an original letter from the king's Majesty that dead is; and another original letter from the king's Majesty that now is, as much as the same did make for his intent, and not otherwise; the promoter accepting the contents of the same letters as far as they made for the office; and none otherwise."

The tenor and words of these two letters, sent to Gardiner from the aforesaid kings, albeit they seem to me not much to make for the bishop, yet, forasmuch as he doth here allege them, I thought not to omit them; the copies whereof thus ensue:—

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Copy of a letter sent from King Henry the Eighth to the bishop of Winchester.

"Right reverend father in God, right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. Understanding, by your letters of the second of this instant, your mind touching such matter as hath lately, on our behalf, been opened to you by certain of our council, we have thought good, for answer, to signify that if your doings heretofore in this matter had been agreeable to such fair words as ye have now written, neither you should have cause to write this excuse, nor we any occasion to answer the same; and we cannot but marvel at this part of your letter, that you never said nay, to any request made unto you for those lands, considering that this matter being propounded, and, at good length, debated with you, as well by our chancellor and secretary, as also by the chancellor of our Court of Augmentations, both jointly and apart you utterly refused to grow to any conformity in the same, saying, That you would make your answer to our own person: which, as we can be well contented to receive, and will not deny you audience at any meet time, when you shall make suit to be heard for your said answer, so we must, in the mean time, think, that if the remembrance of our benefits towards you had earnestly remained in your heart indeed, as you have now touched the same in words, you would not have been so precise in such a matter, wherein a great number of our subjects, and, amongst others, many of your own coat, (although they have not had so good cause as you,) have yet, without indenting, dealt both more lovingly and more friendly with us. And, as touching you, our opinion was, that if our request had been for a free surrender, as it was for an exchange only, your duty had been to have done otherwise in this matter than you have: wherein, if you be yet disposed to show that conformity you write of, we see no cause why you should molest us any further therewith, being the same of such sort as may well enough be passed without officers there.

"Given under our signet, at our manor of Oatlands, the 4th of December, the thirty-eighth year of our reign."

Also, then and there the said bishop did, under his said protestations, exhibit a letter written from Louvain by one Francis Driander, the contents whereof are hereunder expressed in English, whereof, as much as to the present purpose appertaineth, here followeth.

Part of a letter of Francis Driander.

"Before my departure from the city of Paris, I wrote unto you by our friend the Englishman, &c. Now the narration of your bishop of Winchester, shall satisfy and content you. He (the said bishop) as appertained to the ambassador of so noble a prince, came to Louvain with a great rout and bravery, and was there, at a private man's house called Jeremy's, most honourably entertained and received; where the faculty of divines, for honour's sake, presented him wine in the name of the whole university. But our famous doctors, and learned masters, for that they would more deeply search and understand the learning and excellency of the prelate, perused and scanned a certain oration made by him, and now extant, entitled *De vera Obedientia*, which is as much as to say, in our English tongue, *Of true Obedience*; in the which his oration he did greatly impair and subvert the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, and preferred his lord and king's authority before the holy apostolic see, as they were wont to term it: which being read and considered by them, they did not only repent them, for attributing such their honour unto him, but also recanted what they had done before; and, like impudent persons, did not so much honour

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him afore, but now twice so much, with many obloquies and derisions, disabled and dishonoured his person. But, in conclusion, Richard Lathomus, interpreter of the Terms, with the favourers of this fraternity, and other the champions of the falling church, boldly enterprised to dispute with him concerning the pope's supremacy. The bishop stoutly defended his said oration. The divines, contrary, did stiffly maintain their opinion, and, divers times openly, with exclamation, called the said bishop an excommunicate person, and a schismatic; to the no little reproach and infamy of the English nation.

"I will not here repeat the arguments and reasons which were alleged on both parts, for the defence of the opinions of each side, for that lest, perhaps, to learned men, they shall not seem all of the strongest; and also, because it becometh me to save and preserve the estimation of either party. The bishop not long after, minding to say mass in St. Peter's church, they did deny unto him, as to an excommunicate person, the ornaments and vestments meet for the same; wherewith being highly offended, he suddenly hastened his journey from thence. The dean, the next day after, made an eloquent oration, wherein he openly disgraced and defamed his person. I lament greatly their case, who so rashly, without any advisement, gave themselves to be mocked among grave and witty men. You have heard now a true story, for our doctor was the chief and principal doer of that tragedy."

After this, the said bishop also exhibited a minute of a letter, sent by the said bishop out of the Fleet, to the duke of Somerset, the copy whereof ensueth.

A letter of Gardiner to the lord protector, out of the Fleet.

"After my most humble commendations to your good Grace: This day I received your Grace's letters, with many sentences in them, whereof in some I take much comfort, and especially, in sending a physician; and for the rest that might grieve me, do so understand them as they grieve me not at all. If I have done amiss, the fault is mine; and I perceive your Grace would not be grieved with me, unless I had offended. As for the council, I contend not with their doings, no more than he that pleadeth 'not guilty' doth blame the judge and quest that hath indicted him, and requireth on him. I acknowledge authority: I honour them and speak reverently of them; and yet, if my conscience so telleth me, I must plead 'not guilty,' as I am not guilty of this imprisonment. And so must I say, unless I would accuse myself wrongfully; for I intended ever well. Howsoever I have written or spoken, I have spoken as I thought; and I have spoken it in place where I should speak it; at which time I was sorry at your Grace's absence, unto whom I had used like boldness, the rather upon warranty of your Grace's letter. But I have written truth, without any affection other than to the truth, and could answer the particularities of your Grace's letter shortly, were it not that I will not contend with your Grace's letters; unto whom I wrote simply for no such purposes as they be taken (not by your Grace, but by others); for I trust your Grace will not require of me to believe, that all the contents of your Grace's letter proceed specially from yourself, and, in the mean time, I can flatter myself otherwise than to take them so. Whereupon, if it shall further be applied unto me, that I do your Grace wrong, being in the place ye represent, not to take your Grace's letters as though every syllable were of your Grace's device, being your hand set to them, I will be sorry for it. Thus I take the sum of your Grace's writing: that I should not, for any respect, withstand truth; and of that conformity I am. And to agree against the truth can do your Grace no pleasure, for truth will continue, and untruth cannot

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endure; in the discerning whereof if I err, and, when all the rest were agreed if that were so, I only then cannot agree, yet I am out of the case of hatred: for I say as I think. And, if I think like a fool, and cannot say otherwise, then it shall be accounted as my punishment, and I to be reckoned among the indurate, who, nevertheless, heretofore had used myself (when no man impeached me for religion) as friend to friends; and although I were not (as is of some now thought) a good Christian man, yet I was no evil civil man; and your Grace, at our being with the emperor, had ever experience of me, that I was a good Englishman.

"Now I perceive I am noted to have two faults: one, not to like Erasmus's Paraphrase; another, not to like my Lord of Canterbury's Homily of Salvation. Herein if I mislike that all the realm liketh, and, when I have been heard speak in open audience what I can say, can show no cause of my so doing, or else it cannot so be taken, yet should it be taken for no wonder, seeing the like hath been seen heretofore. And, though your Grace will be sorry for it, I am sure you will love men never the worse: for I adventure as much as any man hath done, to save my conscience. And I do it, if it may be so taken, in the best fashion I can devise: for I accuse not the council, which I confess ought to be honoured; and yet it is not always necessary for those which be committed by the council to prison, evermore to appear guilty; for then should every prisoner plead guilty, for the avoiding of contention with the council. And, howsoever your Grace be informed, I never gave advice, nor ever knew man committed to prison, for disagreeing to any doctrine, unless the same doctrine were established by a law of the realm before. And yet now it might be, that the council, in your Grace's absence, fearing all things, as rulers do in a commonwealth, might, upon a cause to them suspected, and without any blame, commit me to prison; with whom I have not striven in it, but humbly declared the matter with mine innocency, as one who never had conference in this matter with any man but such as came to me; and with them thus—to will them to say nothing. Because I thought myself, if I spake, would speak temperately, and I mistrusted others; being very loth of any trouble to ensue in your Grace's absence, and specially such absence as I feared in vain, (thanks be to God!) as the success hath showed: but not altogether without cause, seeing war is dangerous in the common sense of man, and the stronger hath had evermore the victory.

"I allege, in my letter to your Grace, worldly respects, to avoid worldly reasons against me; but I make not my foundation of them. The world is mere vanity, which I may learn in mine own case, being now destitute of all such help as friendship, service, familiarity, or gentleness, seemed to have gotten me in this world. And if I had travailed my wit in consideration of it since I came hither, (as, I thank God, I have not,) it might have made me past reasoning ere this time.

"I reserve to myself a good opinion of your Grace, being nothing diminished by these letters; in remembrance of whose advancement to honour, when I spake of chance, if I spake 'ethnically,' as you termed in your Grace's letters, then is the English Paraphrase to be condemned for that cause besides all other, wherein that word 'chance' is over common in my judgment. And yet, writing to your Grace, I would not (being in this case) counterfeit a holiness in writing otherwise than my speech hath been heretofore, to call all that comes to pass, God's doings; without whose work and permission nothing indeed is, and from whom is all virtue. And yet, in common speech, wherein I have been brought up, the names 'fortune' and 'chance' have been used to be spoken in the advancement to nobility, and commended when virtue is joined with them. Wherein, me thinketh, it is greater praise, and more rare, to add virtue to fortune, (as

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your Grace hath done,) than to have virtue go before fortune; which I wrote, not to flatter your Grace, but to put you in remembrance what a thing it were, that, bearing in hand of such as might have credit with you, should cause you to enterprise that which might indirectly work what your Grace mindeth not, and, by error in a virtuous pretence to the truth, advance that which is not truth: wherein I ask no further credit than that I can show shall persuade, which is one of the matters I kept in store to show against the Paraphrase, intending only to say truth, with suit to be heard, and instant request rather to be used, to utter that I can say, than to be here wasted after this sort. I can a great deal, and a great deal further than I have written to your Grace; and yet am so assured of that I have already written, as I know I cannot therein be convicted of untruth. As for Erasmus himself, I wrote unto your Grace what he writeth in his latter days, only to show you the man thoroughly. And [how] in speaking of the state of the church in his old days, [he] doth not so much further the bishop of Rome's matters as he did in his young days, being wanton; which Paraphrase if I can, with expense of my life, let from going abroad, I have done as good a deed, in my opinion, as ever was done in this realm, in the let of an enterprise: in which book I am now so well learned, and can show the matters I shall allege so plainly, as I fear no reproach in my so doing. And as for the English, either my Lord of Canterbury shall say, for his defence, that he hath not read over the English, or confess more of himself than I will charge him with. Therefore I call that, the fault of inferior ministers whom my lord trusteth. The matter itself is over far out of the way, and the translating also. In a long work (as your Grace toucheth) a slumber is pardonable; but this translator was asleep when he began, having such faults.

"I cannot now write long letters, though I would; but, to conclude, I think there was never man had more plain evident matter to allege than I have, without winches, or arguments, or devices of wit. I mean plainly, and am furnished with plain matter, intending only plainness, and destitute of all man's help, such as the world, in man's judgment, should minister. I make my foundation only on the truth, which to hear, serveth for your Grace's purpose towards God, and the world also; and, being that, I shall say truth in deed and apparent. I doubt not your Grace will regard it accordingly, for that only will maintain that your Grace hath attained; that will uphold all things, and prosper all enterprises: wherein if I may have liberty to show that I know, I shall gladly do it: and, otherwise, abide that [which] by authority shall be determined of me, as patiently and quietly as ever did man; continuing your Grace's beadman, during my life, unto Almighty God; who have your Grace in his tuition!"

And thus have ye the aforesaid letter sent from the Fleet to the lord protector. After this the said bishop did also exhibit another minute of a letter by him sent to the said duke from Winchester. Also another minute of a letter to the said duke from Winchester. Also another minute of a letter sent to the said duke from the said bishop when he was prisoner in his house, as he affirmed; the copy of which letters we have above specified. Also another minute of a letter in Latin, by him sent to Master Cecil. And also a minute of a letter written from Ratisbon, to the king's Majesty that dead is, by the said bishop, subscribed with the hand of Sir Henry Knivet, as he affirmed; which two last letters here mentioned be not yet come to our hands. All these letters abovesaid, he, under his former protestations, did exhibit as far as they made for his intent, and not otherwise; and required the same to be registered, and the originals to be to him delivered: which was decreed in presence of the promoters, protesting of the nullity of the exhibition of these letters, and of the same exhibits; alleging the same to be private writings, and not authentic, and such whereunto there ought no faith to be given in law; and accepting the contents of the

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said exhibits as much as they made for the office, and not otherwise. The said bishop, also, under like protestation as before, exhibited a book of Statutes of Parliament, of the first year of the king's Majesty's reign that then was, concerning his general pardon. And, lastly, two papers of articles, which the bishop affirmed were sent to him to preach, which likewise he did exhibit inasmuch as they made for his intent, and not otherwise, the promoters accepting the contents thereof, as far as they made for the office, and not otherwise.

After all this, the judges, at the request of the said promoters, did publish the sayings and depositions of the witnesses examined in this cause, reserving the examinations of the two witnesses lastly sworn as afore; the bishop, under his former protestations, dissenting to the said publication.

Witnesses produced, sworn, and examined, upon the articles ministered by the office, against Stephen, bishop of Winchester.

Sir Anthony Wingfield, Master Secretary Cecil, Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Thomas Chaloner, Sir Thomas Wrothe, Master John Cheke, Sir Thomas Smith, Dr. Richard Coxe, Thomas Watson, Master William Honing, Dr. Giles Ayre, Dr. Robert Record, Sir George Blage, Nicholas Udall, Sir Edward North, Edward duke of Somerset, William earl of Wiltshire, William lord marquis of Northampton, John earl of Bedford, the Lord Paget, Andrew Beynton, the lord chancellor Riche, the earl of Warwick, George Lord Cobham, Sir William Harbert, Sir John Baker, Sir Edward Caine, the lord bishop of Durham, the lord bishop of Norwich, Sir Ralph Hopton, Sir John Markham, William Coppinger, John Davy, Jacques Wingfield, John Seton, Nicholas Lentall, Richard Hampden, Master William Bell, Master William Medowe, Robert Willanton, Herman Bilson, John Reade, William Laurence, Peter Langridge, Giles White, Roger Hurd, William Lorking, John Smith, Thomas Williams, John Glasiar, Richard Bruerne, John Hardy, Morgan Phillips, Robert Quinby, Robert Braborne, Edmund Bricket, Alexander Dering, John Potinger, William Browne, Thomas Crowte, Robert Massie, Hugh Weston, John White, John Young, George Bullocke, John Norton, Francis Allen, Philip Paris, Christopher Malton, James Basset, Thomas Redman, John Redman, Nicholas bishop of Worcester, George bishop of Chichester, Owen Oglethorpe, Cuthbert bishop of Durham, Thomas bishop of Norwich, Maurice Griffith archdeacon of Rochester, Master Gilbert Bourne, William Glyn, Thomas Cotisforde, Thomas Skerne, John Clyffe, Henry Burton, Thomas Babington, John Warner, Osmond Coward, John Temple, John Cooke, Thomas Neve.

Notes for the reader.

A brief table or index of such notes and specialties, whereunto Stephen Gardiner did agree and grant; concerning reformation of religion.

It may seem to thee, loving reader, we have been too prolix and tedious in reciting the multitude of so many witnesses, which needed not here, peradventure, to have been inserted, considering, matters more necessary, and the greatness of the volumes: but the cause moving us thereunto was so reasonable, that we could not leave them out. For seeing there be so many yet to this day, that stick so much to Gardiner's wit, learning, and religion, taking him for such a champion and a firm pillar of the popish church—for such, as hitherto have been so deceived in

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him, we have taken here a little pains: so that if they will either credit his own words, works, sermons, writings, disputations, or else will be judged by his own witnesses on his own part here produced, they shall see how clearly and evidently he withstandeth the popes supremacy:

First, In his writings, as in his book De vera Obedientia.

Secondly, In his disputations and defensions at Louvain, and other places.

Thirdly, In his open sermons and preaching, as where he expoundeth the place Thou art Peter, nothing at all to make for authority of the Romish bishop, marvelling how the pope could usurp so much to take up that place to build upon, when Christ had taken it up before to build his church.

Item, That the confession of Peter was the confession of all the apostles, like as the blessing given to Peter pertained as well to all the apostles.

Item, That the place, Feed my sheep, was special to Peter alone, but general to all the apostles. Also that the Greek Church did never receive the said bishop of Rome for their universal head.

Item, That the authority of the bishop of Rome was not received of most part of Christian princes.

Item, He would not grant, that the said authority was received generally.

Item, That the church was builded upon Christ's faith, and not upon Peter; and though Peter was called chief of the apostles, that was nothing else but like as it is in an inquest, where the foreman or headman, is not so called because he is best or chiefest of that company; but because he speaketh first.

Item, When the keys were given, they were given generally to all the apostles.

Item, He taketh away all such scriptures which are thought to serve for the pope's supremacy, as on this rock: feed my sheep: chief of the apostles: proving, that they serve nothing for his authority.

Item, In his book De vera Obedientia, he did not only write against the pope's supremacy, but also did defend the same at Louvain.

And moreover in his sermons he did allege and preach the same, and that vehemently — pithily — earnestly—very earnestly—very forwardly.

And not only did so vehemently, pithily, earnestly, and forwardly, preach himself against the pope's supremacy, but also did cause Master White (then schoolmaster, after bishop of Winchester) to make certain verses extolling the king's supremacy against the usurped power of the pope, encouraging also his scholars to do the like.

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Item, For the space of fourteen years together, he preached against the pope's supremacy in divers sermons, and especially in one sermon before King Henry.

Item, For ceremonies and images, which were abused: to be taken away by public authority, he did well allow it, as a child to have his book taken from him, when he abuseth, or delighteth only in the golden cover.

Item, For dissolving of monkery, nunnery, or friary, and for dissolution of monasteries, he granteth they were justly suppressed.

Concerning images being by King Edward's injunctions abolished, he exhorted the people in his sermons to be contented therewith.

Monks and friars he calleth flattering knaves. Friars he never liked in all his life.

Monks he counted but belly-gods.

The going about of St. Nicholas, St. Katharine, and St. Clement, he affirmeth them to be children's toys.

For taking away or transposing of chantry obits, he referreth it to the arbitrement of the politic rulers, granting that in dissolving them it might well be so done.

Item, He wisheth them to be committed to a better use.

The observing of days, hours, number, time, and place, if they be orderly and publicly commanded by the rulers, it is but to set the church in an outward and public order. But if a man inwardly and privately be addicted to the same, thinking his prayer otherwise not availing, but by observing of the same, it is an error.

The Communion set out by King Edward, he liked well.

The Book of Common Service, he was content both to keep it himself and caused it to be kept of others.

For the Homilies he exhorted the people, in his preaching, to come to the church to hear them read.

In sum: to all injunctions, statutes, and proclamations, set forth by the king and superior powers, he yieldeth and granteth.

Item, Cardinal Pole, coming to the French king to stir him up against England, Winchester caused him to be expelled out of France.— Witness: Cuthbert, bishop of Durham.

Item, The said bishop sworn against the pope by express clauses in his proxy.

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Now, gentle reader, lay these his writings, preaching, and doings, with his doings in Queen Mary's time, and thou shalt see how variable he was, how inconstant and contrary to himself, how perjured, and far differing from the report of one, who, in an English book, set out in Queen Mary's time, reported, (as it appeareth in the said book to be seen,) that there were three only in England, whose consciences had been never distained in religion, of whom, he said, the aforesaid bishop of Winchester was one.

Notes and points concerning reformation of religion, whereunto he would not grant.

Contrary to the real and natural presence of the body in the sacrament, and to transubstantiation, he would not agree or subscribe.

Contrary to the mass, he would not clearly grant; but saying it did profit the quick and the dead. Although against the mass of *scala cæli*, masses satisfactory, and masses in number, he could not find them by Scripture.

To the marriage of priests he would not agree. To the article of justification he would not agree; and divers other places.

Also, here is to be noted in these aforesaid depositions, especially in the depositions of Andrew Beynton, and of Master Chalenor, how falsely, and traitor-like, Winchester behaved himself against King Henry the Eighth at Ratisbon, insomuch that the said king, for the secret informations which he had of the bishop, caused in all pardons afterward, all treasons committed beyond the seas to be excepted, which was most meant for the bishop's cause.

Item, He did exempt the said bishop out of his testament, as one being wilful and contentious, and that would trouble them all.

Item, That the said King Henry, before his death, was certainly believed to abhor the said bishop more than any Englishman in his realm.

Item, That the said king exempted also out of his testament the bishop of Westminster, for that he was schooled in Winchester's school.

Item, The said bishop of Winchester was found to be the secret worker, that, three years before the king's death, divers of the privy chamber were indicted of heresies; for the which the said king was much offended.

Thus thou seest, reader, Stephen Gardiner here described, what in all his doings he is, and what is to be thought of him; as who is neither a true protestant, nor a right papist: neither firm in his error, nor yet stedfast in the truth: neither a true friend to the pope, nor yet a full enemy to Christ: false in King Henry's time; obstinate in King Edward's time; perjured, and a murderer, in Queen Mary's time; but mutable and inconstant in all times. And finally, whereas in his letters to the lord protector and others, usually he vaunteth so much of his late sovereign lord King Henry the Eighth that is dead, and of the great reputation that he was in with him, behold, in the depositions of the Lord Paget; and there ye shall see, that the king, before his death, both

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excepting him out of his pardons, and quite striking him out of his last will and testament, so detested and abhorred him as he did no Englishman more. And whereas the Lord Paget, being sent in message from the king to the bishop, by other words than the king's mind and will was, of his own dexterity gave to him good and gracious words: then, indeed, the king neither knew, nor yet by him sent the same. Whereupon the bishop, persuading himself otherwise of the king's favour towards him than it was in deed, was far deceived.

And this, now, being sufficient concerning the witnesses and their depositions, let us return to the rest of the twentieth act and session of the process, where we left off.

The publication of the witnesses, which next before I have put, being had, as you have heard and granted, the judges, at the like petition of the promoters, did assign to hear final judgment and decree, in this matter, on Friday, the thirteenth day of this month of February, between the hours of eight and ten afore noon, in this place: The said bishop of Winchester under like protestation as afore dissenting also to the said assignation.

The twenty-first session.

The twenty-first act or session was held on Friday, the thirteenth day of February, between the aforesaid hours, and in the place assigned, before all the judges and commissioners, in the presence of Thomas Argall and William Say, actuaries.

"Here, and at this time, final judgment being assigned to be heard, the bishop of Winchester, under his former protestations, did exhibit for proof of his matters and additionals, five books in print: videlicet, one entitled thus, Stephani Winton, de Vera Obedientia Oratio: item, another of Peter Martyr, called, Tractatio de Sacramentis Eucharistiæ: item, another called, Catechismus, set forth by my Lord archbishop of Canterbury: item, another entitled De divinis, apostolicis, atque ecclesiasticis Traditionibus, auctore Martino Peresio Guadixiensi, Epistola: item, Injunctions given by the king's Majesty that now is, to all his subjects, as well of the clergy, as the laity: also, A Proclamation against those that do innovate, alter, or leave done, any rite or ceremony in the church, of their private authority: all which he did exhibit (as far as they made for him, and none otherwise) in presence of the promoters, accepting the contents of the same exhibits, as far as they made for the office; and as much as they made against the office, protesting of the nullity and invalidity of the exhibits aforesaid, (saving only the king's Majesty's injunctions and proclamation,) and alleging the same to be such, whereunto no faith ought to be given."

And as concerning the aforesaid five books, with the injunctions and proclamation, before by the bishop exhibited, because they are in print (here omitting them) we thought best to refer you to the perusing of the same. The said bishop also, under his said protestations, did exhibit certain exceptions in writings against the witnesses, which he desired to be admitted: the promoters protesting of the nullity, inefficacy, over-much generality, and invalidity of the same exceptions; and alleging that they were such, whereunto no faith ought to be given nor the same to be admitted. The exceptions, although they were not admitted, yet for divers considerations I thought good to recite them.

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Exceptions given, and laid in by the bishop of Winchester; against such witnesses as were produced against him.

"The bishop of Winchester—under all and singular protestations, heretofore by him made in this matter, and the same always to him saved and reserved, accepting and approving all and singular such parts of the depositions of the witnesses produced and examined against him and by him in this behalf, as the law bindeth him, and as they make for his part, and for this intent and none otherwise saith, that forasmuch as certain of the witnesses, brought forth by the said bishop and against him, be of the king's Majesty's most honourable council; that is to say, the duke of Somerset, the lord treasurer, the lord great master, the lord privy seal, the lord great chamberlain, the Lord Cobham, the Lord Paget, Sir William Harbert: unto whom, for that respect, and also in consideration of their estate, duty requireth seemly and convenable speech to be used of them: [in] which mind of his behaviour in language towards them, the said bishop protested, and by way of exception allegeth; and excepting saith, that the said noblemen have been, without any corporal oath by them taken, contrary to the order of the ecclesiastical laws, examined and deposed: unto whom, because the said oath-giving was not by special consent remitted, but especially and expressly by the part of the said bishop required, their deposition by the ecclesiastical laws hath no such strength of testimony, as the judge should or might, for the knowledge of truth, have regard to them. For, albeit the quality of their estate be such, and their sayings also, in words declared to proceed of their faith and honour, with which it becometh no private man to contend, nor to affirm, by objection, that they would otherwise say or depose upon a corporal oath, than they do now: yet, because the order of the law ecclesiastical requireth the oath corporal, lately practised in this realm, in persons of like estate; the said bishop dare the more boldly allege this exception: and so much the rather, that the Lord Paget hath, in his deposition, evidently and manifestly neglected honour, faith, and honesty, and sheweth himself desirous, beyond the necessary answer to that was demanded of him, (only of ingrate malice,) to hinder, as much as in him is, the said bishop, who was in the said lord's youth his teacher and tutor, afterward his master, and then his beneficial master; to obtain of the king's Majesty that dead is, one of the rooms of the clerkship of the signet for him: which ingrate malice of the said Lord Paget, the said bishop saith, in the depositions manifestly doth appear, as the said bishop offereth himself ready to prove and show. And moreover, the said bishop against the Lord Paget allegeth, at such time as the said Lord Paget was produced against the said bishop, the same Lord Paget openly, in the presence of the judges, and others there present, said, how the said bishop did fly from justice, which made him notoriously suspected, not to be affected indifferently to the truth (as seemed him); and without cause therein to speak, as enemy to the said bishop. Objecting against the Lord Paget, as afore in especial, and generally excepting the omission of the corporal oath in the rest, he saith further—that the sayings of the said noblemen, as they in some points depose only upon hearsay, in some points speaking in general, declaring no specialty, in some points declaring a specialty without such quality as the proof of the fact requireth; without giving such a reason of their saying, as the law in the deposition of a witness requireth, when there is deposition of such matter: the same their sayings do not in law conclude, nor make proof of any matter prejudicial to the said bishop, as upon the consideration of the depositions may appear. And finally, the said bishop, by way of exception, allegeth, and excepting saith, that the Lord Paget, being produced against the said bishop, was by the office examined, as appeareth, upon the interrogatories ministered by the office, without making the bishop privy what the said interrogatories were, to the intent he might understand what new

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matter were deduced, to use his just defence in that behalf. And, although the bishop produced those noblemen, as witnesses to prove his behaviour, at their repair unto him in the Tower, and at his coming to them, when he was commanded to appear before them at the king's Majesty's palace, whereby his sayings and answers before them might appear, with their testimony in general of the bishop's estimation in our late sovereign lord's days: yet the same personages be produced again for the office, to be taken and used as witnesses against the said bishop in the principal matter of that they themselves supposed to be true in their process, thereby, with their own testimony, to justify their own doings: whereupon they did proceed so as it appeareth, that the same personages be the judges in the first sentence, and brought here witnesses, whereby to approve the justness of their own former doings; which is against all law, equity, and justice. And touching the other witnesses, such as appear in the acts, to have made a corporal oath,—amongst which be also four of the king's most honourable council, Sir Anthony Wingfield, Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Edward North, and Master Cecil,—the said bishop, with due respects to their worships, saith their sayings and depositions, where they be general, and declare no specialty against the said bishop, wherein he should especially offend, conclude no proof in law, nor ought to be prejudicial to the said bishop, as by consideration of the depositions may appear.

"And where Master Cecil deposeth upon the Xth article, he is therein singular, and concludeth no proof in such a matter of weight, and telleth not that matter touching the king's Majesty's young age, as he uttered it, and calleth it a commandment that he uttered not so, leaving out the joining of the council to limit the king's authority; as the said bishop, upon his oath, in answer hath affirmed: and in the VIIIth article, the declaration of his knowledge of commandment given to the bishop to preach, by knowledge, from Master Smith, (as he saith,) varieth from Master Watson, a witness in that part produced. And as for Master Coxe, Master Ayre, Master Honing, Master Cheke, Master Chalenor, Master Record, and Master Smith, the bishop, excepting, allegeth, that either they depose generally, or by hearsay, not concluding any proof, or else so utter their own affection, as they be worthy of no credit, or else show themselves so loth to seem to remember any thing that might relieve the bishop, as they ought to be reputed not indifferent. And moreover, the said bishop saith, that Master Coxe had his conversation so touched in the latter end of the bishop's sermon, for priests to marry contrary to a law, and against order, that it was no marvel though he were offended. Master Ayre declareth himself to have complained of the said bishop, whose complaint by witness already produced is reproved. Master Record, saying that the bishop is yet disobedient, and so wrongfully judging of the bishop in his private prejudice, is unworthy of all faith in the matter. Master Chalenor sheweth himself to mistake the matter, not distinguishing Hampton Court from Westminster. Master Smith, in declaring of his treating with the bishop, doth plainly confound the month of February with June. Master Honing's deposition hath no matter substantial in form of proof declared. And also the said bishop, excepting as afore and under his protestation above mentioned, allegeth, that all and singular the witnesses aforesaid, examined against the said bishop, be, in their pretended depositions, variable, singular, discrepant, repugnant, and contrary one to another; and not proving, in any wise, such things as they go about and endeavour themselves to depose of. All which matters the said bishop allegeth as they be above respectively mentioned, touching the witnesses concerning the premises against them, as is aforesaid, objected and excepted, as well for the causes before respectively specified, as other causes contained in their pretended depositions: to whose sayings, credit and faith, sufficient by the law, ought not to be given, as is required for proof and testimony of truth in process, as by their said

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pretended depositions more plainly appeareth; unto which and unto the law, (as is expedient for him and none otherwise,) the said bishop referreth himself in this behalf. And under his said protestations he allegeth, that these things before by him respectively excepted against the said witnesses, were and be true and notorious, as by the acts and depositions of the same witnesses, and by other records and things had, exhibited, done, and made in this matter, doth appear; and also, by proof to be further made by the said bishop, if he may be admitted thereunto, shall appear; and therewith to what is already deposed, to which (as is aforesaid) the bishop answereth himself so far forth as they make for him and none otherwise."

Besides the premises, the said bishop also, under like protestations as afore, did exhibit, for the better information of the judges in this matter, certain papers: one, containing a collation made of the depositions in both parts, what was said, and how it was said in the bishop's sermon; and of the charge and discharge in the same: which collation, for that I have before comprehended it in the table and index of notes, I thought it not here necessary to occupy any more room.—Item, another abridgement of collections touching the said bishop's sermon.—Item, another touching the articles of the council sending to the said bishop to the Tower.—Another entitled, A note of the bishop's conformity in prison, with confutation of that which hath been in general terms called in him, obstinacy and disobedience.—Another entitled, Answers by evident deeds, to such matter at large in words, as is surmised against the bishop of Winchester. the promoters protesting also of the nullity of the same exhibits, and requiring judgment to be given.

Then and there the judges assigned again to hear judgment, on the following day, between the hours of nine and eleven of the clock before noon, in the same place: the bishop, under his protestation, dissenting to the said assignation, and protesting of a grief, for that he hath not yet all the exhibits again, nor space sufficient to consult with his learned counsel in this behalf: and also requiring another temporal counsellor, because one of them already assigned unto him cannot tarry longer in these parts.

The twenty-second session.

The twenty-second act or session, wherein appeared Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, personally, was sped in the hall of the manor at Lambeth, on Saturday, the fourteenth day of February, before all the judges delegate, in the presence of Thomas Argall and William Say, actuaries.

"On this day and place, according to the assignment in that behalf, between the hours prefixed, the promoters delivering to the archbishop the sentence in writing, required the same to be given in presence of the bishop of Winchester, who, under his former protestations, before the said actuaries and the multitude there assembled, making a certain appellation from the said judges to our sovereign lord the king's most excellent Majesty, according as was contained in certain paper-leaves, which he then and there openly read; and upon the reading thereof, required the said actuaries to make him an instrument thereof; and the witnesses there present, to bear testimony thereunto: protesting also, that from thenceforth he intended not, by any of his doings or sayings, to recede from the benefit of his said appellation. The copy of which appellation so by the bishop read here followeth.

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The appeal of the bishop of Winchester before the sentence definitive.

"In the name of God, Amen. Before you judges delegates, or commissaries pretended, under named, and before you notaries public, and authentic persons: and also before you witnesses here present, I, Stephen, by the permission of God bishop of Winchester, to the intent to appeal, and likewise principally of nullity to querell under the best and most effectual way, manner, and form of law which I best and most effectually ought to do, and to all purposes and effects of the law that may follow thereof, say, allege, and in this writing propone in law—That, although I have obtained, and do obtain, hold, keep, and occupy the said bishopric of Winchester lawfully; and the same, (so by me lawfully had and obtained,) with all the rights and appurtenances of the same, have possessed, by many years, peaceably and quietly; and so (saving always such things and griefs, as be under written) do possess now, at this present time; and, for the very and true bishop, and lawful possessor aforesaid, have been and am commonly taken, named, had, holden, and reputed, openly and notoriously: and albeit I was and am (as I thought to be) in peaceable possession of the law, to take, have, and receive the fruits, rents, provents, obventions, and other rights and profects, whatsoever they be, in any wise to the bishopric aforesaid appertaining, and of the same bishopric, by any manner of means, coming or happening: and though also I was, and am, a man of perfect and full integrity and of good name and fame, and also of life, manners, and conversation laudable; not suspected, not excommunicated, nor interdicted; neither with any crime, at least notorious or famous, nor with any disobedience or contentions against any my superiors, noted, respersed, or convicted; but to obey the law, and to stand to the commandments, precepts, and monitions of the most noble prince, and our sovereign lord, Edward the Sixth, (by the grace of God, king of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and in earth of the Church of England and Ireland supreme head,) as far forth as they be consonant, conformable, and agreeable with the laws, statutes, parliaments, and injunctions of the said king's Majesty, and ordained by his authority, published, made, and admitted—being not repugnant to the same: and as I may obey the same, saving the integrity of my conscience, am always ready likewise, as hitherto I have always been, as far as I am bound, duly to obey the same, and, with God's help, so do intend to do hereafter, and all other my superiors:—Yet, nevertheless, the most reverend father in God, Thomas, by the sufferance of God archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and metropolitan; Nicholas, bishop of London; Thomas, bishop of Ely, one of the king's Majesty's privy council; Henry, bishop of Lincoln; Sir William Peter, knight, one of the king's Majesty's principal secretaries, and one of the king's Highness's privy council; Sir James Hales, one of the justices of the Common Pleas; John Oliver, and Griffith Leyson, doctors of the civil law; John Gosnall, Richard Goodrick, esquires, commissaries or judges delegate, as they pretend themselves, by virtue of commission to them committed by the king's Majesty's proceeding against me, (the bishop aforesaid,) of their pretended office, necessarily promoted, as is pretended: laying and objecting against me certain articles, as well for the generality of them as otherwise, of no value, efficacy, or effect: and thereupon, and upon other interrogatories ministered privately by them, without the knowledge of the said bishop, taking away his just defence in that behalf: examining also divers and sundry witnesses upon them, contrary to the due order and deposition of the law, and without any corporal oath due and accustomed in that behalf, to them given, or by them taken, notwithstanding the said witnesses were, and be, laymen, and the cause original (as it is pretended) very urgent, tending to the deprivation of a bishop: which judges, or pretended commissaries, earnestly and vehemently defend the same, against the said bishop, and, showing

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themselves manifestly judges not indifferent, but very much affectionate against me; and to be therein to me, and to the truth of my just cause, vehemently, notoriously, and worthily suspected: and that my Lord of Canterbury aforesaid, was one of the judges that caused and commanded me (the said bishop) to the prison in the Tower of London, where I am now prisoner; and upon that commandment have remained as prisoner almost these three years continually: also Master James Hales, Master Goodrick, and Master Gosnall, commissioners pretended aforesaid, were of counsel. and gave their counsel and advice concerning the same sending of me to the Tower, and imprisonment aforesaid: moreover my Lord of Canterbury, my Lord of London, and my Lord of Lincoln, commissioners pretended aforesaid, do, contrary to the laws ecclesiastical of this realm, teach and set forth the manifest and condemned error against the very true presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar; and because I (the said bishop) am, and have been always, of the true catholic faith, contrary to them, (who in that, as well by my writings as otherwise, have and do set forth, according to the truth and verity of Christ's word, and the catholic faith and doctrine, that in the same sacrament of the altar is the very presence of Christ's body and blood,) therefore the same archbishop and bishops have and do show themselves unduly affected against me, and be notoriously in the truth adversaries unto me: and Sir William Peter was one of the judges, that decreed the fruits of my bishopric (not according to the order of law, or upon cause sufficient) unjustly, contrary to the laws, to be sequestered; and did sequester them, *de facto, sed non de jure*: and now is judge in his own cause, concerning his own fact; and so entreateth, and affecteth the maintenance of the same against me (the said bishop) as his own proper cause, both in the place of judgment, and other places: and also all the said judges have so notoriously handled, used, and openly manifested themselves in the distrust, and in their proceeding in this matter against me, (the said bishop,) that they seem, and appear openly, to indifferent men them hearing and perceiving, rather to be parties, than indifferent judges; and show, and declare manifestly, in words and deeds, their undue affection towards me, in my matter aforesaid; and more earnestly, fervently, and rigorously saying, imagining, and intending, with all their endeavours and industry, what they can possibly say and do against me, than any other of them, that be of counsel against me, do or can imagine, or invent to say, or do; and at no time do show themselves like indifferent judges, to say, speak, declare, or do in word or deed, any thing or matter besides granting of process, that might touch or return to my just innocency, and just and lawful defence, notoriously known to them as judges in this behalf, opening and manifesting thereby, and by other the premises, their undue affection, purpose, and intent they have to deprive me from my bishopric, and to make their determination by sentence against me: and that notwithstanding the copies of such necessary writings, and exhibits, as were exhibited in this cause by the part of me the said bishop, which be very necessary and expedient for the proof of my part in this behalf, be not yet delivered me, where upon I might consult with my counsel: and that the fact and state of the cause is not yet fully opened or declared, the said judges having, for their affections, and other the causes aforesaid, no respect thereunto, nor to minister justice in this behalf, having as yet little or no knowledge at all of the cause; and show themselves ready, and, with all their affections, industry, and endeavour, prepare themselves to give sentence of deprivation against me; and, in effect, uttered the same openly in judgment. And to the intent the verity of the fact, and due proof thereof, whereby the innocency of me (the said bishop) might evidently appear, should pass over unknown, and to have the same concealed, cloaked, and hid, the said pretended commissaries sitting, and unjustly and unlawfully proceeding, in this matter yesterday, being the thirteenth of this present month of February, then being the first time, that, in the matter, was assigned to hear sentence, and the first opening or declaring of any part of the

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fact, after the publication and other probations made; having no respect to any of the premises, nor yet that it was almost three of the clock that I returned home to the Tower, to repose and refresh myself; whereunto, without any consideration had in any the premises, [they] assigned the next morrow; videlicet, this day, at nine of the clock afore noon, to hear definitive sentence in this matter; not first admitting the exceptions laid before them by the said bishop, but refusing so to do, and thereby rejecting the same, no day being of respect betwixt the said days; whereby it is notorious, that the said time assigned was and is so short, that the counsel of me the said bishop dwelling about St. Paul's, and I remaining prisoner in the Tower, where the gates be shut at five of the clock in the evening, and till after six in the morning, that there was no sufficient time for me, and my counsel, to peruse and examine such witnesses, proofs, and writings, as were, as well of my part, as against me, in this behalf produced and exhibited, and deliberately to consult thereupon together; especially this cause being a very urgent, weighty, and arduous cause, concerning the deprivation (as it is intended) of a bishop of many years' continuance therein, from his bishopric; and that I, being of long time kept in close prison, was so pestered the said thirteenth day, being yesterday, with the populous audience, that I repair this day with the great travail of my body, and make my personal appearance again to the said place of judgment. And that the said injuries and griefs aforesaid, and other the premises, under manner and form above specified, done, and made, were and be true, public, notorious, manifest, and famous. Whereupon I, (the said bishop,) feeling and perceiving to be grieved of and upon the premises, and of such other things, as, of the acts, facts, doings, and proceedings of the said commissioners may be duly collected, do, from them, and from every of them, appeal in this writing to the king's Majesty aforesaid; and ask apostules, first, secondarily, and thirdly, instantly, more instantly, and most instantly, to be given and delivered to me, with the effect, and of the nullity of the premises do libel principally, and querell: and I protest, that there be not ten days since griefs of appeal have been done unto me, and that these griefs be daily continued: and I protest to add, correct, reform, diminish this my appellation, and to subtract from it, and to reduce and conceive the same in a better and more competent form, according to the counsel of such as be expert and have knowledge of the law; and to intimate the same to all and singular persons, that have or may have any interest in this behalf, for time and place convenient, as the manner and style of the law requireth."

After this, upon debate and discussion of the principal matter had, made, and used on both sides, my Lord's Grace of Canterbury, with consent of all the rest of the said judges his colleagues there personally and judicially sitting, gave and read openly a final sentence conceived in writing against the said bishop of Winchester, whereby, amongst other, he judged and determined the said bishop of Winchester to be deprived and removed from the bishopric of Winchester, and from all the right, authority, emoluments, commodities, and other appurtenances to the said bishopric in any wise belonging, whatsoever they be: and him did deprive, and remove from the same, pronouncing and declaring the said bishopric of Winchester to all effects and purposes to be void, according as in the same sentence is more fully contained; the copy whereof here ensueth:

"In the name of God, Amen. By authority of a commission by the high and mighty prince our most gracious sovereign Lord Edward the Sixth, by the grace of God king of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith; and of the Church of England, and also of Ireland, in earth the supreme head, the tenor whereof hereafter ensueth: Edward the Sixth, &c.—We,

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Thomas, by the sufferance of God, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and metropolitan, with the right reverend fathers in God, Nicholas, bishop of London, Thomas, bishop of Ely, and Henry, bishop of Lincoln, Sir William Peter, knight, one of our said sovereign lord's two principal secretaries, Sir James Hales, knight, one of our said sovereign lord's justices of his Common Pleas, Griffith Leyson and John Oliver, doctors in the civil law, Richard Goodrick and John Gosnall, esquires, delegates and judges assigned and appointed, rightfully and lawfully proceeding according to the form and tenor of the said commission, for the hearing, examination, debating, and final determination of the causes and matters in the said commission mentioned and contained, and upon the contents of the same, and certain articles objected of office against you, Stephen, bishop of Winchester, as more plainly and fully is mentioned and declared in the said commission and articles, all which we repute and take here to be expressed; and after sundry judicial assemblies, examinations, and debates of the said cause and matters, with all incidents, emergents, and circumstances to the same or any of them belonging; the same also being by us oft heard, seen, and well understood, and with good and mature examination and deliberation debated, considered, and fully weighed and pondered, observing all such order and other things, as by the laws, equity, and the said commission, ought or needed herein to be observed, in the presence of you, Stephen, bishop of Winchester, do proceed to the giving of our final judgment and sentence definitive in this manner following.

"Forasmuch as by the acts enacted, exhibits and allegations proposed, deduced, and alleged, and by sufficient proofs, with your own confession, in the causes aforesaid had and made, we do evidently find and perceive that you, Stephen, bishop of Winchester, have not only transgressed the commandments mentioned in the same, but also have of long time, notwithstanding many admonitions and commandments given unto you to the contrary, remained a person much grudging, speaking, and repugning against the godly reformation of abuses in religion, set forth by the king's Highness's authority within this his realm; and forasmuch as we do also find you a notable, open, and contemptuous disobeyer of sundry godly and just commandments given unto you by our said sovereign lord and by his authority, in divers great and weighty causes touching and concerning his princely office, and the state and common quietness of this his realm; and forasmuch as you have, and yet do, contemptuously refuse to recognise your notorious negligences and misbehaviours, contempts and disobediences, remaining still, after a great number of several admonitions, always more and more indurate, incorrigible, and without all hope of amendment—contrary both to your oath sworn, obedience, promise, and also your bounden duty of allegiance; and for that great slander and offence of the people arise in many parts of the realm, through your wilful doings, sayings, and preachings, contrary to the common order of the realm; and for sundry other great causes by the acts, exhibits, your own confession, and proofs of this process, more folly appearing; considering withal that nothing effectually hath been on your behalf alleged, proposed, and proved, nor by any other means appeareth, which doth or may impair or take away the proofs made against you, upon the said matters and other the premises:

"Therefore we, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and metropolitan, judge delegate aforesaid, having God before our eyes, with express consent and assent of Nicholas, bishop of London, Thomas, bishop of Ely, Henry, bishop of Lincoln, Sir William Peter, knight, Sir James Hales, knight, Griffith Leyson and John Oliver, doctors of the civil law, Richard Goodrick and John Gosnall, esquires, judges and colleagues with us in the

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matters aforesaid, and with the counsel of divers learned men in the laws, with whom we have conferred in and upon the premises, do judge and determine you, Stephen, bishop of Winchester, to be deprived and removed from the bishopric of Winchester, and from all the rights, authority, emoluments, commodities, and other appurtenances to the said bishopric in any wise belonging, whatsoever they be; and by these presents we do deprive and remove you from your said bishopric, and all rights and other commodities aforesaid; and further pronounce and declare the said bishopric of Winchester, to all effects and purposes, to be void by this our sentence definitive, which we give, pronounce, and declare in these writings."

"This sentence definitive being given, the said bishop of Winchester, under his former protestations, dissented from the giving and reading thereof, and from the same, as unjust, and of no efficacy or effect in law; and in that the same containeth excessive punishment, and for other causes expressed in his appellation aforesaid, he did then and there, immediately after the pronouncing of the sentence, by word of mouth appeal to the king's royal Majesty, first, secondly, and thirdly, instantly, more instantly, most instantly; and asked apostules, or letters dimissorial, to be given and granted unto him: and also, under protestation not to recede from the former appellation, asked a copy of the said sentence; the judges declaring that they would first know the king's pleasure and his council's therein. Upon the reading and giving of which sentence, the promoters willed William Say and Thomas Argall to make a public instrument, and the witnesses then and there present to bear testimony thereunto; and the bishop of Winchester required us also to make him an instrument upon his said appellation, and the said witnesses to testify thereunto; being present as witnesses at the premises: namely, the earls of Westmoreland and Rutland; the lord William Haward, the Lord Russel; Sir Thomas Wrothe, Sir Anthony Brown, knights; Master John Cheke, esquire; John Fuller, Richard Lyall, Galfride Glyn, William Jefferey, Richard Standish; David Lewis, doctors of law; Master Serjeant Morgan, Master Stamford, Master Chidley, Master Carell, Master Dyar, temporal counsellors; and many others in a great multitude then assembled."

And thus have you the whole discourse and process of Stephen Gardiner, late bishop of Winchester, unto whom the papistical clergy do so much lean (as to a mighty Atlas, and upholder of their ruinous religion); with his letters, answers, preachings, examinations, defensions, exhibits, and attestations, of all such witnesses as he could produce for the most advantage to his own cause, with such notes also, and collections gathered upon the same; whereby, if ever there were any firm judgment or sentence in that man to be gathered in matters of religion, here it may appear what it was, as well on the one side as on the other.

And thus an end of Winchester for a while, till we come to talk of his death hereafter, whom as we number amongst good lawyers, so is he to be reckoned amongst ignorant and gross divines, proud prelates, and bloody persecutors, as both by his cruel life and Pharisaical doctrine may appear, especially in the article of the sacrament, and of our justification, and images, and also in crying out of the Paraphrase, not considering in whose person the things he spoken; but what the paraphrast uttereth in the person of Christ, or of the evangelist, and not in his own, that he wresteth unto the author, and maketh thereof heresy and abomination.

The like impudency and quarrelling also he used against Bucer, Luther, Peter Martyr, Cranmer, and almost against all other true interpreters of the gospel. So blind was his judgment,

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or else so wilful was his mind, in the truth of Christ's doctrine, that it is hard to say, whether in him unskilfulness or wilfulness had greater predomination.

233. Doctor Redman Expounds the True Faith on his Deathbed

But against this Dr. Gardiner, we will now set and match, on the contrary side, Dr. Redman, forasmuch as he, departing this transitory life the same present year 1551, cometh now, by course of history, here to be mentioned; who, for his singular life and profound knowledge, being inferior in no respect to the said Gardiner, shall stand as great a friend in promoting the gospel's cause, as the other seemeth an enemy, by all manner of ways to impair and deface the same: for the more assured declaration whereof we will hereto adjoin (the Lord willing) the learned communication between the said Dr. Redman lying on his death-bed, and Master Wilkes, Master Alexander Nowel, Dr. Young, and other witnesses more; whereof the said Master Wilkes thus recordeth, speaking in his own person, and his own words, as followeth:

"I, (the aforesaid Richard Wilkes,) coming to Dr. Redman lying sick at Westminster, and, first saluting him after my ordinary duty, wished him health both in soul and body; not doubting, moreover, but he did practise the godly counsel in himself, which he was wont to give to others being in his case; and, thanks be to God, said I, who had given him stuff of knowledge to comfort himself withal. To whom he, answering again, said in this wise: 'God of all comfort, give me grace to have comfort in him, and to have my mind wholly fixed in him!' Master Young and I said, 'Amen.'

"Then I communed with him of his sickness, and of the weakness of his body, and said, that though he were brought never so low, yet he, if it were his pleasure, that raised up Lazarus, could restore him to health again. 'No, no,' saith he, 'that is past, and I desire it not; but the will of God be fulfilled!'

"After this, or a little other like communication, I asked if I might be so bold, not troubling him, to know his mind for my learning, in some matters and points of religion. He said, 'Yea,' and that he was as glad to commune with me in such matters, as with any man. And then I said to his servants, I trusted I should not trouble him. No,' said Ellis, his servant, 'my Lord of London, Master Nowel, and others, have communed with him, and he was glad of it.' Then said Master Redman, 'No, you shall not trouble me. I pray God ever give me grace to speak the truth, and his truth, and that which shall redound to his glory, and send us unity in his church;' and we said 'Amen.'

"I said, he should do much good in declaring his faith, and I would be glad to know his mind as touching the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ.—He said, 'As man is made of two parts, of the body and the soul, so Christ would feed the whole man: but what (saith he) be the words of the text? let us take the words of the Scripture.' And he rehearsed the text himself thus: 'Christ took bread; wherein his will was to institute a sacrament. Take, eat. Here he told the use of it. What did he give to them? He calleth it his body.'

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"Then I asked him of the presence of Christ.—He said, Christ was present with his sacrament, and in those that received it as they ought. And there was a wonderful union (for that word was named) betwixt Christ and us, as St. Paul saith, Ye be bone of his bone, and flesh of his flesh; the which union was ineffable.

"Then I asked him, what he thought of the opinion, that Christ was there corporally, naturally, and really.—He answered, 'If you mean by corporally, naturally, and really, that he is there present, I grant.'

"Then I asked, how he thought of that which was wont commonly to be spoken, that Christ was there flesh, blood, and bone, as I have heard the stewards in their Leets give charge when the six articles stood in effect, and charge the inquest to inquire, that if there were any that would deny that Christ was present in the sacrament of the altar, in flesh, blood, and bone, they should apprehend them.—He said, that it was too gross, and could not well be excused from the opinion of the Capernaïtes.

"Then I asked him, Inasmuch as Christ is there were, how do we receive him? in our minds and spiritual parts, or with our mouths, and into our bodies; or both?—He said, 'We receive him in our minds and souls by faith.'

"Then, inasmuch as he was much on this point, that there was 'a marvellous union' betwixt us and Christ, in that we were 'bone of his bone, and flesh of his flesh;' I desired to know his opinion, whether we received the very body of Christ with our mouths, and into our bodies, or no?—Here he paused and held his peace a little space; and shortly after he spake, saying, 'I will not say so; I cannot tell; it is a hard question: but surely,' saith he, 'we receive Christ in our soul by faith. When you do speak of it other ways, it soundeth grossly, and savoureth of the Capernaïtes.'

"Then I asked him, what he thought of that which the priest was wont to lift up and show the people betwixt his hands?—He said, It is the sacrament.'

"Then said I, 'They are wont to worship that which is lifted up.'—'Yea,' saith he, 'but we must worship Christ in heaven; Christ is neither lifted up nor down.' 'I am glad,' said I, 'Master Doctor, to hear you say so much. I would not speak of the holy sacrament otherwise than reverently; but I fear, lest that sacrament, and the little white piece of bread so lifted up, hath robbed Christ of a great part of his honour.'—Then said he, looking up and praying, 'God grant us grace that we may have the true understanding of his word, whereby we may come to the true use of his sacraments;' and said, he would never allow the carrying about of the sacrament, and other fond abuses about the same.

"Then, after a little while pausing, said I, 'Master Doctor, if I should not trouble you, I would pray you to know your mind in transubstantiation.' 'Jesus! Master Wilkes,' quoth he, 'will you ask me that Sir,' said I, 'not if I should trouble you.'—'No, no, I will tell you,' said he. 'Because I found the opinion of transubstantiation received in the church, when I heard it spoken against, I searched the ancient doctors diligently, and went about to establish it by them, because it was received. And when I had read many of them, I found little for it, and could not be

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satisfied. Then I went to the school doctors, and namely to Gabriel, and weighed his reasons. The which when I had done, and perceived they were no pithier, my opinion of transubstantiation waxed feeble: and then,' saith he, I returned again to Tertullian and Irenæus, and when I had observed their sayings, mine opinion that there should be transubstantiation was quite dashed.'

"Then said I, 'You know that the school doctors did hold, that bread remained not after the consecration, as they called it.'—'The school doctors,' saith he, 'did not know what *consecratio* meaneth:' and here he paused awhile.

"'I pray you,' said I, 'say you what *consecratio* means?'—Saith he, It is *tota actio*, in ministering the sacrament as Christ did institute it. All the whole thing done in the ministry, as Christ ordained it, that is *consecratio*; and what,' said he, 'need we to doubt, that bread remaineth? Scripture calleth it bread, and certain good authors that be of the later time, be of that opinion.'

"After that I had communed with Master Redman, and taken my leave of him, Master Young came forth into the next chamber with me, to whom I said that I was glad to see Master Doctor Redman so well minded. Then said Master Young to me, I am sure he will not deny it; I assure you,' saith he, 'Master Doctor hath so moved me, that whereas I was of that opinion before, in certain things, that I would have burned and lost my life for them; now,' saith Master Young, 'I doubt of them. But I see,' saith he, 'a man shall know more and more by process of time, and reading and hearing of others, and Master Doctor Redman's saying shall cause me to look more diligently for them.'

"Also Ellis, Master Doctor Redman's servant, showed me, that he did know, that his master had declared to his Majesty King Henry the Eighth, that faith only justified; but that doctrine, as he thought, was not to be taught the people, lest they should be negligent to do good works.

"The said Master Young hath reported, (the which also I heard,) that Master Doctor Redman should say, that the consent of the church was but a weak staff to lean to; but did exhort him to read the Scriptures, for there was that which should comfort him, when he should be in such case as he was then."

Another communication between Dr. Redman, lying in his death-bed, and Master Nowel, then schoolmaster in Westminster, and certain others, with notes of his censure and judgment touching certain points of Christ's religion.

"Imprimis, the said Dr. Redman sent for Master Nowel, of his own mind, and said, he was willing to commune with him of such matters as he had moved the said Dr. Redman of a day or two before; and he, being desired of the said Master Nowel to declare his mind concerning certain points of our religion, first said, Ask me what ye will, and I will answer you, before God, truly as I think, without any affection to the world or any worldly person.

"Witnesses: Alexander Nowel, Richard Burton, Ellis Lomas, John Wright.

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"II. Item, The said Dr. Redman said, that the see of Rome in these latter days is 'a sink of all evil.'

"Witnesses: John Young, Alex. Nowel, Rich. Burton, John Wright, Edward Cratford, Rich. Elithorne, Ellis Lomas.

"III. Item, That purgatory, as the schoolmen taught it, and used it, was ungodly, and that there was no such kind of purgatory as they fancied.

"Witnesses: John Young, Alex. Nowel, Rich. Burton, Ellis Lomas, Edw. Cratford, Rich. Elithorne, John Wright.

"IV. Item, That the offering up of the sacrament in masses and trentals for the sins of the dead is ungodly.

"Witnesses: John Young, Alex. Nowel, Rich. Burton, Edward Cratford, Ellis Lomas.

"V. Item, That the wicked are not partakers of the body of Christ, but receive the outward sacrament only.

"Witnesses: John Young, Alex. Nowel, Rich. Burton, Ellis Lomas, Edw. Cratford, Rich. Elithorne, John Wright.

"VI. Item, That the sacrament ought not to be carried about in procession; for it is taught what is the use of it in these words, Take, eat, and drink, and Do this in remembrance of me.

"Witnesses: John Young, Alex. Nowel, Rich. Burton, John Wright, Edward Cratford, Ellis Lomas.

"VII. Item, That nothing which is seen in the sacrament, or perceived with any outward sense, is to be worshipped.

"Witnesses: John Young, Alex. Nowel, Ellis Lomas, Rich. Burton."

"VIII. Item, That we receive not Christ's body corporally, that is to say, grossly, like other meats, and like as the Capernaïtes did understand it.

"Witnesses: John Young, Alex. Nowel, Richard Burton, Edw. Cratford, Ellis Lomas, John Wright.

"IX. Item, That we receive Christ's body so spiritually, that nevertheless truly.

"Witnesses: John Young, Alexander Nowel, Richard Burton, Edward Cratford, Ellis Lomas, John Wright.

"X. Item, As touching transubstantiation, that there is not, in any of the old doctors, any good ground or sure proof hereof, or any mention of it, as far as ever he could perceive, neither that he seeth what can be answered to the objections made against it.

"Witnesses: John Young, Richard Burton, Ellis Lomas.

"XI. Item, Being asked of Master Wilkes, what that was, which was lifted up between the priest's hands, he answered, 'He thought that Christ could neither be lifted up nor down.'

"Witnesses: John Young, Richard Burton, Ellis Lomas.

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"XII. Item, That priests may, by the law of God, marry wives.

"Witnesses: Alex. Newel, Ellis Lomas.

"XIII. Item, That this proposition, that only faith doth justify, so that faith do signify a true, a lively [faith,] and a faith resting in Christ, and embracing Christ, is a true, godly, sweet, and comfortable doctrine; so that it be so taught that the people take none occasion of carnal liberty thereof.

"Witnesses: John Young, Alex. Nowel, Rich. Burton, John Wright, Edw. Cratford, Rich. Elithorne, Ellis Lomas.

"XIV. Item, That our works cannot deserve the kingdom of God and life everlasting.

"Witnesses: John Young, Alex. Nowel, Rich. Burton, Ellis Lomas, Edw. Cratford, Richard Elithorne, John Wright.

"XV. Item, That the said Dr. Redman, at such times as we, the aforesaid persons who have subscribed, heard his communication concerning the aforesaid points of religion, was of quiet mind, and of perfect remembrance, as far as we were able to judge.

"Witnesses: John Young, Alex. Nowel, Rich. Burton, Ellis Lomas, Edw. Cratford, Richard Elithorne, John Wright."

Also Master Young, of himself, doth declare further, touching the former articles, in this wise:

"To the fifth article.—Imprimis, That Dr. Redman said more, whereas St. Augustine said, that Judas received the same that Peter did, he said, that he understood that of the sacrament; and that after the same phrase a man might say, 'That Simon Magus received the same baptism that the apostles did,' when he did receive only the outward sacrament to his condemnation; for he said, that he thought Christ would not vouchsafe to give his holy flesh to an ungodly man: and this, he said, was always his mind, though he knew that other men did otherwise think.

"To the sixth.—Item, He said, he never liked the carriage about of the sacrament, and preached against it about sixteen years since in Cambridge.

"To the tenth.—Item, When he was demanded of transubstantiation, he said, that he had travailed about it, and thinking that the doubts which he perceived did rise thereon, should be made plain by the schoolmen, did read their books; and after that he had read them, the opinion of transubstantiation was every day weaker and weaker, and that there was no such transubstantiation as they made; adding thereto, that the whole school did not know what was meant by consecration, which he said was the whole action of the holy communion.

"To the thirteenth.—Item, He said, that he did repent him, that he had so much strived against justification by faith only.

"To the fourteenth.—Item, That works had their crown and reward, but that they did not deserve eternal life, and the kingdom of God; no, not the works of grace; for everlasting life is the gift of God."

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Although these testimonies above alleged may suffice for a declaration touching the honest life, sound doctrine, and sincere judgment of Dr. Redman, yet I thought not to cut off in this place the testimonial letter or epistle of Dr. Young, written to Master Cheke, specially concerning the premises: which epistle of Dr. Young, as I received it written by his own hand in the Latin tongue, the copy which he himself neither hath nor can deny to be his own, and is extant to be read in the former Book of Acts and Monuments, so I have here exhibited the same faithfully translated into the English tongue, the tenor whereof followeth:

"Although, right worshipful, I am stricken into no little damp and dolour of mind for the unripe (but that it otherwise pleased Almighty God) and lamentable death of that most blessed and learned man Dr. Redman, insomuch that, all astonished with weeping and lamenting, I cannot tell what to do or think; yet nevertheless, perceiving it to be your Worship's will and pleasure, that so I should do, I gladly call my wits together, and purpose, by God's grace, here, in these my letters, sincerely and truly to open and declare what I heard that worthy learned man speak and confess at the hour of his death, as touching the controversies of religion, wherewith the spouse of Christ is, in these our days, most miserably troubled and tormented.

"This Dr. Redman, (being continually, by the space of twenty years, or somewhat more, exercised in the reading of the Holy Scripture,) with such industry, labour, modesty, magnanimity, and prayers to Almighty God, tried and weighed the controversies of religion, that in all his doings, as he would not seem to approve that which was either false or superstitious; so he would never improve that, which he thought to stand with the true worship of God. And albeit in certain points and articles of his faith, he seemed to divers, which were altogether ignorant of that his singular gravity, either for softness, fear, or lack of stomach, to change his mind and belief, yet they, to whom his former life and conversation, by familiar acquaintance with him, was thoroughly known, (with them also which were present at his departure,) may easily perceive and understand, how, in grave and weighty matters, not rashly and unadvisedly, but with constant judgment and unfeigned conscience, he descended into that manner of belief, which at that time of his going out of this world he openly professed.

"I give your wisdom to understand, that when death drew near, he, casting away all hope of recovery, attended and talked of no other thing (as we which were present heard) but of heaven and heavenly matters, of the latter day, of our Saviour Jesus Christ, with whom most fervently he desired to be; whose incredible love towards us miserable sinners most worthily, and not without tears, he oftentimes used to extol and speak of: and us which were there present he earnestly moved and exhorted to prepare ourselves to Christ, to love one another, and to beware of this most wretched and corrupt world. And besides that, he promised, (calling God to witness thereunto, to whom he trusted shortly to come,) if any would demand any question, that he would answer him what he thought in his judgment to be the truth. At that time there was present Master Alexander Nowel, a man earnestly bent to the true worshipping of God, and one that had alway singularly well loved the said Master Redman, to whom he spake on this wise:

"Your excellent learning, and purity of life, I have ever both highly favoured, and had in admiration; and for no other cause (God be my judge) I do ask these things of you which I shall propound, but that I might learn and know of you what is your opinion and belief touching those

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troublous controversies which are in these our days; and I shall receive and approve your words, as oracles sent from heaven.'

"To whom, when Dr. Redman had given leave to demand what he would, and had promised that he would faithfully and sincerely answer (all affection set aside) what he thought to be the truth, Master Nowel said, 'I would,' quoth he, 'right gladly; but that I fear, by my talk and communication, I shall be unto you, so feeble and now almost spent, a trouble and grief.' Then said Dr. Redman, replying, 'What! shall I spare my carcass,' quoth he, 'which hath so short a time here to remain? Go to, go to,' said he, 'propound what you will.'

"Then Master Nowel put forth certain questions, which in order I will here declare; whereunto the said Dr. Redman severally answered, as hereafter followeth.

"The first question that he asked of him was, What he thought of the bishop of Rome: unto whom Dr. Redman answered, 'The see of Rome, in these our later days, hath much swerved from the true religion and worshipping of God, and is with horrible vices stained and polluted; which I, therefore,' quoth he, 'pronounce to be the sink of all evil; and shortly will come to utter ruin by the scourge of God, except it do fall the sooner to repentance:' wherewith he briefly complained of the filthy abuse of our English church.

"Being then asked, what his opinion was concerning purgatory, and what the schoolmen judged thereof, he answered, that the subtle reasons of the schoolmen concerning purgatory, seemed to him to be no less vain and frivolous, than disagreeing from the truth; adding thereunto, that when we be rapt to the clouds, to meet Christ coming to judgment with a great number of angels, in all glory and majesty, then every one shall be purged with fire, as it is written, 'The fire shall go before him, and shall flame round about his enemies, and the fire shall burn in his sight; and round about him shall be a great tempest;' saying, that divers of the old writers approved this his sentence concerning purgatory.

"When he was asked, whether wicked and ungodly people, in the holy communion, did eat the body of Christ, and drink his blood, he answered, that such kind of men did not eat Christ's most blessed flesh but only took the sacrament to their own damnation; saying, that Christ would not give his most pure and holy flesh to be eaten of such naughty and impure persons, but would withdraw himself from them. 'And that,' quoth he, 'that is objected by St. Augustine, that Judas received the selfsame thing which Peter received, that I think to be understood of the external sacrament. And the like kind of phrase of speaking,' said he, 'we may use concerning the baptism of Magus,—that Simon Magus received that which the apostles did receive. Indeed, as concerning the sacrament of the external baptism, Simon Magus received that which the apostles did; but that internal grace wherewith the apostles were endued, and that Holy Spirit wherewith by baptism they were inspired, he lacked. And so,' quoth he, 'the wicked and forsaken people, which rashly presume to come to the holy table of the Lord, do receive the sacrament, and the selfsame which good and godly men receive; but the body of Christ they do not receive, for Christ doth not vouchsafe to deliver it them.' And thus, he said, was his opinion and belief, although he knew others to be of a contrary judgment.

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"Being then after this demanded, whether he thought Christ's presence to be in the sacrament, or no; he answered, that Christ did give and offer to faithful and Christian men his very real body and blood verily and really, under sacraments of bread and wine; insomuch that they which devoutly come to be partakers of that holy food, are, by the benefit thereof, united and made one with Christ in his flesh and body. And therefore, he said, that Christ did distribute his body spiritually; that he gave it truly: yet not so, nevertheless, that by these and the like words, we should conceive any gross and carnal intelligence, such as the Capernaïtes once dreamed of; but that (quoth he) we might labour and endeavour to express, by some kind of words, the ineffable majesty of this mystery. For the manner whereby Christ is there present, and ministereth to the faithful his flesh, is altogether inexplicable; but we must believe (quoth he) and think, that by God's mighty power, and the holy operation of his Spirit, that so notable a mystery was made; and that heaven and earth were joined together in that moment, as the blessed man St. Gregory saith, 'The lowest parts are joined with the highest;' by which is understood that holy food, whereby they which be regenerate by the Holy Ghost in baptism, are nourished to immortality. And further he said, that Christ's body was received in the said sacrament by faith; which being received, both body and soul were quickened to everlasting life.

"Being then required to say his mind about transubstantiation, he gave answer, that he had much travailed in that point, and that he first much favoured and inclined to that part which maintained transubstantiation; in searching the verity whereof most studiously he had been no little while occupied, and found to arise thereabout infinite and almost inexplicable absurdities, in confuting whereof, when he had but smally contented himself, (he said,) he took in hand the schoolmen's works, and perused Gabriel and other writers of that sort; for that, by their help and aid, he hoped that all inconveniences which did spring and arise by maintenance of transubstantiation, might be clean convinced and wiped away. Of which his hope he was utterly frustrate, (said he,) for that he did find in those books many fond and fantastical things, which were both too foolish to be recorded in writing, and also to be alleged, about such a mystery; and truly (said he) ever after the reading of them, my former zeal and opinion touching the maintenance of transubstantiation, did every day more and more decrease; and therefore, in conclusion, he persuaded himself to think, that there was no such transubstantiation as the schoolmen imagined and feigned to be; saying, that indeed the ancient writers were plainly against the maintenance thereof; amongst whom he recited by name, Justin, Irenæus, and Tertullian, notorious adversaries to the same. Furthermore he added hereunto, that the whole school understood not what this word *consecratio* was, which he defined to be the full entire action of the whole communion. Being demanded also, whether we ought to worship Christ present in his holy supper; he told us, that we are bound so to do, and that it was most agreeing to piety and godly religion.

"Likewise being asked, whether he would have the visible sacrament to be worshipped, which we see with our eyes, and is lifted up between the priest's hands, he answered, that nothing which was visible, and to be seen with the eye, is to be adored or worshipped, nor would Christ be elevated into any higher, or pulled down into any lower place, and that he can neither be lifted up higher, nor pulled down lower.

"Again, being asked his opinion about the custom and manner in carrying about the sacrament in solemn pomps, processions, and otherwise; he said, that he always misliked and

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reproved that order; insomuch that about sixteen years ago, openly in the pulpit at Cambridge, he spake against that abuse, and disallowed that ceremony; showing that Christ had expressed, by plain and evident words, a very fruitful and right use of this sacrament, when he said, 'Take ye,' (by which phrase, quoth he, he doth express that he will give a gift,) 'eat ye' (by which words he doth declare the proper use and order of that his precious gift): 'This is my body' (whereby he doth evidently and plainly show what, by that gift, they should receive, and how royal and precious a gift he would give them): and, therefore, he judged such pompous and superstitious ostentations utterly to be condemned, and taken as plain mockeries and counterfeit visors.

"His judgment also being asked about the commemoration of the dead, and the remembrance of them in orisons, whether he thought it profitable or no; he answered, that it seemed to him, to be no less profitable, than religious and godly; and that might be well proved out of the books of Maccabees: the which books, although St. Jerome, adjudging as not authentic, thought good to be read in the temples only for the edifying of the church, and not for the assertion of opinions; yet with him, [Dr. Redman,] the opinions of the other writers, by whom those books are allowed as canons, prevail, which he, in that point, thinketh good to be read.

"Being, furthermore, required to show his mind about trental masses, and masses of *scala cœli*; he showed them that they were altogether unprofitable, superstitious, and irreligious, flowing out of the filthy and impure fountain of superstition, not yielding the fruit which they promised to bring forth. The sacrifice of the supper of the Lord—the eucharist I mean—that sacrifice, he said, could not be offered for the sins of the quick and the dead.

"Finally, of his own voluntary will, and no man (as far as I can call to remembrance) demanding of him, he showed his opinion concerning justification by Christ. 'I lament,' said he, 'and repent, beseeching God forgiveness of the same, that too seriously and earnestly I have withstood this proposition, that only faith doth justify; but I always feared that it should be taken to the liberty of the flesh, and so should defile the innocency of life which is in Christ. But that proposition, that only faith doth justify, is true,' quoth he, 'sweet, and full of spiritual comfort, if it be truly taken, and rightly understood.' And when he was demanded what he thought to be the true and very sense thereof, 'I understand,' quoth he, 'that to be the lively faith, which resteth in our only Saviour Jesus Christ, and embraceth him; so that in our only Saviour Jesus Christ, all the hope and trust of our salvation be surely fixed. And as concerning good works,' saith he, 'they have their crown and merit, and are not destitute of their rewards; yet, nevertheless, they do not merit the kingdom of heaven. For no works,' said he, 'could purchase and obtain that blessed, happy, and everlasting immortality; no, nor yet those things which we do under grace, by the motion of the Holy Ghost: for that blessed and immortal glory is given and bestowed upon us, mortal men, of the heavenly Father, for his Son our Saviour Christ's sake, as St. Paul testifieth, The gift of God is eternal life.'

"And these be the solutions which I heard him give to the questions of Master Nowel proposed; from which his sentence and judgment, so heard by me, and of him uttered, (as I remember,) he never declined or varied.

"I beseech our Lord Jesus Christ to cease these troublous storms wherewith the church is tossed, and vouchsafe, for his holy name's sake, tenderly to behold and look upon his poor

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wretched flock, so miserably scattered and dispersed; beseeching him also, of his goodness, to preserve your worship.

"At London, the third of November."

234. William Gardiner, Martyred on Portugal

The history, no less lamentable than notable, of William Gardiner, an Englishman, suffering most constantly in Portugal, for the testimony of God's truth.



oming to the next year following, now we will for a time depart, and leave the coasts and country of England, whereupon our style hath now long stayed; and with open sails, as it were, following the tempests of persecution, pass over into Portugal amongst the popish merchants there, whereunto William Gardiner, an Englishman, of necessity calleth me, who was burned in Lisbon, the chief city of Portugal, in the year of our Lord 1552. A man verily, in my judgment, not only to be compared with the most principal and chief martyrs of these our days, but also such a one as the ancient churches, in the time of the first persecutions, cannot show a more famous, whether we do behold the force of his faith, his firm and stedfast constantness, the invincible strength of his spirit, or the cruel and horrible torments; the report only and hearing whereof were enough to put any man in horror or fear. Yet notwithstanding, so far off it was that the same did discourage him, that it may be doubted whether the pain of his body or the courage of his mind were the greater; when as indeed both appeared to be very great.

Wherefore, if any praise or dignity amongst men, as reason is, be due unto the martyrs of Christ for their valiant acts, this one man, amongst many, seemeth worthy to be numbered, and also to be celebrated in the church, with Ignatius, Laurentius, Ciriatus, Crescentius, and Gordianus. And if the church of Christ do receive so great and manifold benefits by these martyrs, with whose blood it is watered, by whose ashes it is enlarged, by whose constancy it is confirmed, by whose testimony it is witnessed, and, finally, through whose agonies and victories the truth of the gospel doth gloriously triumph; let not us, then, think it any great matter to requite them again with our duty, by committing them to memory, as a perpetual token of our good will towards them. Albeit they themselves receive no glory at our hands, and much less challenge the same, but, referring it wholly unto the Lord Christ, from whom it came, whatsoever great or notable thing there was in them: notwithstanding, forasmuch as Christ himself is glorified in his saints, we cannot show ourselves thankful unto him, except we also show ourselves dutiful unto those by whom his glory doth increase.

Hereupon I think it came to pass, that the ancient Christians, in the time of the first persecutions, thought good to celebrate yearly commemorations of the martyrdom of those holy men, not so much to honour them, as to glorify God in his soldiers, unto whom all glory and praise doth worthily belong; and moreover that we, being instructed by their example, might be the more prompt and ready in the policies of those wars, to stand more stoutly in battle against our adversaries, and learn the more easily to contemn and despise this world. For, in considering the end and death of these men, who will greatly long or lust after this life, which is so many

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ways miserable, through so many afflictions dolorous, through so many casualties ruinous, wherein consisteth so little constancy, and less safety, being never free from some hard calamity one or other? What good man would have this world in reputation, wherein he seeth so many good men so cruelly oppressed, and wherein no man can live in quietness, except he be wicked? Wherefore I do not a little marvel, that in this great slaughter of good men, with so many spectacles and examples of cruel torment, Christians do yet live, as it were, drowned in the foolish desires of this world; seeing daily before their eyes so many holy and innocent men yield up their spirits under the hands of such tormentors, to lie in filthy prisons, in bonds, darkness, and tears, and, in the end, to be consumed with fire. We see so many prophets of God, even Christ himself, the Son of God, to be so cruelly and many ways afflicted in this world, turmoiled, scourged, and crucified; and yet we laugh, drink, and give ourselves unto all looseness of life, and all lasciviousness. For honour and great possessions we contend; we build; we study and labour by all means to make ourselves rich: unto whom it loth not suffice, that we, with safety and freedom from their afflictions, racks, wheels, scourges, irons red-hot, gridirons, flesh-hooks, mallets, and other kind of torments, may serve our Christ in peace and quiet; but being herewith not content, will give over ourselves to all kind of wickedness, to be led away at the will and pleasure of Satan.

But what do we think in so doing? Either we must reckon those men to be most miserable in this life, or else ourselves to be most unhappy. But if their blessedness be most certain and sure, then let us direct the course of our life to the same felicity. These men have forsaken this life, which they might have enjoyed. But if we cannot willingly put off this life, yet let us not be slow to correct and amend the same; and though we cannot die with them in like martyrdom, yet let us mortify the worldly and profane affections of the flesh, which strive against the spirit; and, at the least, let us not run thus headlong into the licentious desires of the world, as we do. As the life of Christian men is now, I pray thee, what do these bonds, prisons, these wounds and scars, these great fires, and other horrible torments of martyrs, but upbraid unto us our slothful sluggishness, and worthily make us ashamed thereof? which martyrs, if in their lives they lived so innocently, and in their deaths continued so constant, what then is to be deemed of us, which suffer nothing for Christ, and will not take upon us the small conflict against vices and our own affections? How would we suffer the cruel looks of tyrants, the fearful kinds of torments, or the violent assaults of the tormentors, in any quarrel of godliness, if in peace and quietness we are (and that with every small breath or wind of temptation) blown away from God—so faint-hearted without any resistance, that we are carried headlong into all kinds of wickedness and mischief? One singeth songs of love; another watcheth all the night at dice: some spend their life and time day by day in hawking and hunting; some tittle so at taverns, that they come home reeling. Others, whatsoever desire of revenge doth put into their heads, that, by and by, they seek to put in practice. Some gape after riches; some swell with ambition; some think they are born for no other purpose but for pleasure and pastime. All the world is full of injury and perjury; nay, rather, it is so rare a thing patiently to suffer injuries done unto us, that except we have the sleight to do injury to others, we think ourselves scarce men. There is no love almost, nor charity among men; neither is there any man that regardeth the good name or fame of his neighbour.

But amongst all the rest, unsatiable covetousness and avarice so reigneth, that no man almost is contented with any tolerable estate of life, either that will prescribe himself any measure in having that he possesseth, or in prowling for that which he lacketh; never quiet, but

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always toiling; never satisfied, but always unsatiable. But now, setting apart these complaints spent in vain, we will prosecute our purposed story touching good William Gardiner.

And first, as concerning his kindred, he was of an honest stock, born at Bristol, a town of merchandise on the sea-coast of England; honestly brought up, and, by nature, given unto gravity; of a mean stature of body, of a comely and pleasant countenance, but in no part so excellent as in the inward qualities of the mind, which he always, from his childhood, preserved without spot of reprehension. Also his handsome and indifferent learning, did not a little commend and beautify his other ornaments. When he grew unto those years at which young men are accustomed to settle their minds to some kind of life, it happened that he gave himself to the trade of merchandise, under the conduct and guiding of a certain merchant of Bristol, called Master Paget, by whom he was at the last (being of the age of twenty-six or thereabout) sent into Spain; and by chance the ship arriving at Lisbon, (which is the chief city of Portugal,) he tarried there about his merchandise, where, at the last, he, having gotten understanding of the language, and being accustomed to their manners, became a profitable servant both unto his master and others, in such things as pertained unto the trade of that vocation; whereunto he did so apply himself, that nevertheless he, in that popish country, reserving still the religion of his own country of England, ever kept himself sound and undefiled from the Portuguese superstition. There were also, besides him, divers other good men in the same city. Neither did he lack good books, or the conference of good and honest men, unto whom he would oftentimes bewail his imbecility and weakness, that he was neither sufficiently touched with the hatred of his sins, nor yet inflamed with the love of godliness.

Whilst he was there abiding, it happened that there should be a solemn marriage celebrated the first day of September in the year abovesaid, betwixt two princes; that is to say, the son of the king of Portugal, and the Spanish king's daughter. The marriage day being come, there was great resort of the nobility and estates. There lacked no bishops with mitres, nor cardinals with their hats, to set out this royal wedding. To be short, they went forward to the wedding with great pomp, where a great concourse of people resorted, some of good will, some for service' sake, and some (as the matter is) to gaze and look. Great preparation of all parties was there throughout the whole city, as in such cases is accustomed, and all places were filled with mirth and gladness. In this great assembly of the whole kingdom, William Gardiner, who albeit he did not greatly esteem such kind of spectacles, yet being allured through the fame and report thereof, was there also; coming thither early in the morning, to the intent he might have the more opportunity, and better place, to behold and see.

The hour being come, they flocked into the church with great solemnity and pomp; the king first, and then every estate in order; the greater persons, the more ceremonies were about them. After all things were set in order, they went forward to the celebrating of their mass; for that alone serveth for all purposes. The cardinal did execute, with much singing and organ-playing. The people stood with great devotion and silence, praying, looking, kneeling, and knocking; their minds being fully bent and set, as it is the manner, upon the external sacrament. How grievously these things did prick and move this young man's mind, it cannot be expressed—partly to behold the miserable absurdity of those things, and partly to see the folly of the



The Royal Wedding

common people; and not only of the common people, but, especially, to see the king himself, and his council, with so many sage and wise men as they seemed, to be seduced with like idolatry as the common people were; insomuch that it lacked very little, but that he would, even that present day, have done some notable thing in the king's sight and presence, but that the great press and throng that was about him, letted that he could not come unto the altar. What need many words? When the ceremonies were ended, he cometh home very sad and heavy in his mind, insomuch that all his fellows marvelled greatly at him; who, albeit upon divers conjectures they conceived the cause of his sadness, notwithstanding they did not fully understand that those matters did so

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much trouble his godly mind; neither yet did he declare it unto any man: but, seeking solitariness and secret places, falling down prostrate before God, with manifold tears he bewailed the neglecting of his duty, deliberating with himself how he might revoke that people from their impiety and superstition.

In this deliberation and advice his mind being fully settled, and thinking that the matter ought not to be any longer deferred, he renounced the world, making up all his accounts so exactly, (as well of that which was due unto him, as that which he owed unto others,) that no man could justly ask so much as one farthing. Which thing done, he continued night and day in prayer, calling upon God, and in continual meditation of the Scriptures, that scarcely he would take any meat by day, or sleep by night, or at the most above one hour or two of rest in the night; as Pendigrace, his fellow companion both at bed and board, being yet alive, can testify.

The Sunday came again to be celebrated either with like pomp and solemnity, or not much less, whereat the said William was present early in the morning, very cleanly apparelled, even of purpose, that he might stand near the altar without repulse. Within a while after, cometh the king with all his nobles. Then Gardiner setteth himself as near the altar as he might, having a Testament in his hand, which he diligently read upon, and prayed, until the time was come, that he had appointed to work his feat. The mass began, which was then solemnized by a cardinal. Yet he sat still. He which said mass, proceeded: he consecrated, sacrificed, lifted up on high, showed his god unto the people. All the people gave great reverence, and as yet he stirred nothing. At last, they came unto that place of the mass, where they use to take the ceremonial host, and toss it to and fro round about the chalice, making certain circles and semicircles. Then the said William Gardiner, being not able to suffer any longer, ran speedily unto the cardinal; and (which is incredible to be spoken) even in the presence of the king and all his nobles and citizens, with the one hand he snatched away the cake from the priest, and trod it under his feet, and with the other hand overthrew the chalice. This matter at first made them all abashed, but, by and by, there arose a great tumult, and the people began to cry out. The nobles and the common people ran together, amongst whom one, drawing out his dagger, gave him a great wound in his shoulder; and, as he was about to strike him again to have slain him, the king twice commanded to have him saved. So, by that means, they abstained from murder.

After the tumult was ceased, he was brought to the king; by whom he was demanded what countryman he was, and how he durst be so bold to work such a contumely against his Majesty, and the sacraments of the church? He answered, "Most noble king, I am not ashamed of my country, who am an Englishman both by birth and religion, and am come hither only for traffic of merchandise. And when I saw, in this famous assembly, so great idolatry committed, my conscience neither ought nor could any longer suffer, but that I must needs do that, which you have seen me presently do. Which thing, most noble prince, was not done or thought of me, for any contumely or reproach of your presence, but only for this purpose, as before God I do clearly confess—to seek only the salvation of this people."

When they heard that he was an Englishman, and called to remembrance how the religion was restored by King Edward, they were, by and by, brought in suspicion, that he had been suborned by Englishmen thus to do, to mock and deride their religion: wherefore they were the more earnest upon him to know who was the author and procurer, that he should commit that act.

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Unto whom he answered, desiring them that they would conceive no such suspicion of him, forasmuch as he was not moved thereunto by any man, but only by his own conscience. For, otherwise, there was no man under the heaven, for whose sake he would put himself into so manifest danger; but that he owed this service, first, unto God, and secondarily, unto their salvation. Wherefore, if he had done any thing which were displeasing unto them, they ought to impute it unto no man, but unto themselves, who so irreverently used the holy supper of the Lord unto so great idolatry; not without great ignominy unto the church, violation of the sacrament, and the peril of their own souls, except they repented.

While he spake these, with many other things more unto this effect, very gravely and stoutly, the blood ran abundantly out of the wound, so that he was ready to faint; whereupon surgeons were sent for, whereby he might be cured, if it were possible, and be reserved for further examination, and more grievous torment. For they were fully persuaded, that this deed had divers abettors and setters-on; which was the cause that all the other Englishmen, also, in the same city, came into suspicion, and were commanded to safe custody: amongst whom Pendigraze, because he was his bed-fellow, was grievously tormented and examined more than the residue, and scarcely was delivered after two years' imprisonment. The others were much sooner set at liberty, at the intercession of a certain duke. Notwithstanding, their suspicion could not yet be thus satisfied, but they came into his chamber, to seek if there were any letters, to understand and find out the author of this enterprise. And when they could find nothing there, they came again unto him, being grievously wounded, with torments to extort of him the author of this fact, and to accuse him as guilty of most grievous heresy: of both which points, with such dexterity as he could, he cleared himself; wherein albeit he spake in the Spanish tongue well, yet he used the Latin tongue much more exactly.

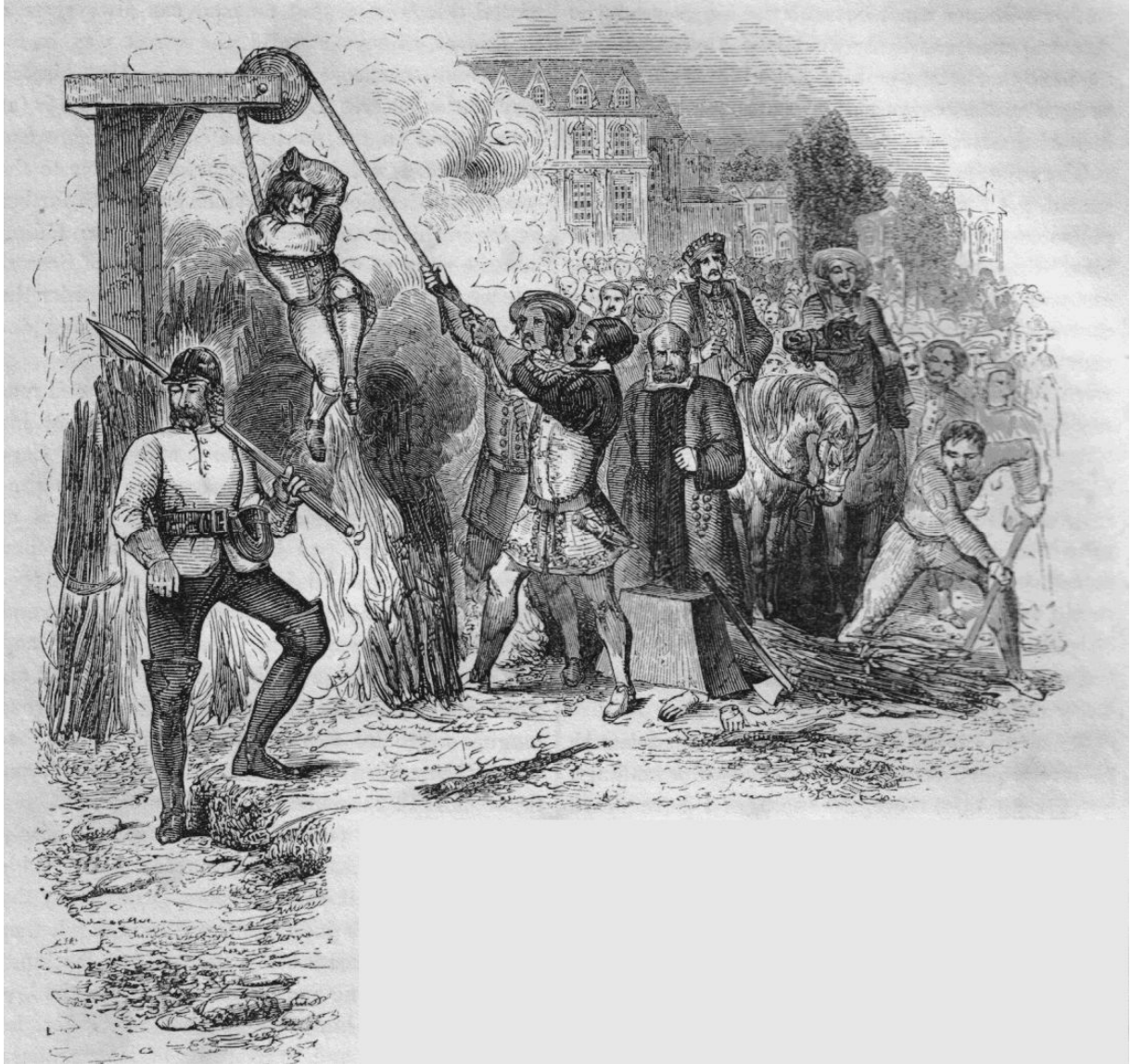
But they, not being therewith satisfied, added another strange kind of torment, which (as I suppose) passeth the bull of Phalaris. Because there should no kind of extreme cruelty be left unassayed, they caused a linen cloth to be sewed round like a ball, the which they with violence put down his throat unto the bottom of his stomach, tied with a small string which they held in their hands; and when it was down, they pulled it up again with violence: plucking it to and fro through the meat pipe, in such sort as that with much less grief they might have rid him out of his life at once.

Thus at the last, when all torments and tormentors were wearied, and that it did nothing at all prevail to go this way to work, they asked him, whether he did not repent his wicked and seditious deed? As touching the deed, he answered, that it was so far off that he did repent, that if it were to do again, he thought he should do the same. But as touching the manner of the deed, he was not a little sorry that it was done in the king's presence, to the disquietness of his mind. Howbeit, that was not to be imputed unto him, who neither enterprised nor thought upon any such matter; but was rather to be ascribed unto the king, in that he, having power, would not prohibit so great idolatry used among his people.—This he spake with great fervency.

After they had used all kind of torments, and saw that there could nothing more be gathered of him, and also that through his wounds and pains he could not long live, they brought him, three days after, to execution. And first of all, bringing him into the vestry, they cut off his right hand, which he, taking up with his left hand, kissed. Then he was brought into the market-

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place, where his other hand also was cut off; which he, kneeling down upon the ground, also kissed. These things thus done, after the manner and fashion of Spain, his arms being bound behind him, and his feet under the horse's belly, he was carried to the place of execution.



The execution of William Gardiner

There was in that place a certain engine, from which a great rope coming down by a pulley was fastened about the middle of this Christian martyr, which first pulled him up. Then was there a great pile of wood set on fire underneath him, into which he was, by little and little,

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let down, not with the whole body, but so that his feet only felt the fire. Then was he hoisted up, and so let down again into the fire; and thus oftentimes pulled up and down.

In this great torment, for all that, he continued with a constant spirit, and the more terribly he burned, the more vehemently he prayed.

At last, when his feet were consumed, the tormentors asked him whether he did not yet repent him of his deed; and exhorted him to call upon our Lady and the saints. Whereunto he answered, that as he had done nothing whereof he did repent him, so he had the less need of the help of our Lady, or any other saint; and what external torments soever they used, the truth, he said, remaineth always one, and like unto itself; the which as he had before confessed in his life, so would he not now deny it at his death: desiring them to leave off such vanities and folly; for when Christ did cease any more to be our Advocate, then he would pray to our Lady to be his Advocate. And said, "O eternal God, Father of all mercies, I beseech thee look down upon thy servant," &c. And when they sought, by all means possible, to stop or hinder his praying to and praising God in this sort, he cried out with a loud voice, rehearsing the forty-third Psalm, "Judge me, O God, and defend my cause against the unmerciful people."

He was not come unto the latter end of the Psalm, when, as they pulling him up and down in the fire for the more torment, the rope being burnt asunder, he fell down into the midst thereof; where, giving his body for a sacrifice, he changed his temporal pains for perpetual rest and quietness.

Thus it seemed good in the sight of God, by this messenger to provoke the Portuguese to the sincere knowledge of him; and therefore they ought the more to have acknowledged the great love and kindness of God offered unto them, and also the more to be mindful of their own duty and thankfulness towards him. And if it be so great an offence to violate the ordinance of man's law, and to condemn the ambassadors of kings and princes, let the Portuguese, and all others, look well unto it, what it is so cruelly to handle the heavenly messenger of the high God. Neither was this their cruelty altogether unrevengeed by the mighty hand of God, when as not only the very same night, amongst divers of the king's ships which were in the next haven ready to sail, one was burned, being set on fire by a sparkle of Gardiner's fire driven thither with the wind, but also the king's son, who then was married, died within half a year, and, in the next year after, the king himself also died; and so both within one year after the tormenting of this blessed martyr.

Thus the body of the said Gardiner being consumed, yet the rage and fury of the common people so ceased not, but they were as cruel against him, being dead, as they were when he was alive, and with their tongues tormented this martyr, when they could do no more with their hands; yea, for very madness, they would scarce tarry until he were burned, but every man, as they could catch any piece of him half burned, threw it into the sea.

This sacrifice thus ended, the clergy, to pacify God's wrath, which they feared for the violating of their altar, appointed a solemn fast of certain days, for penance to purge that fact; which fact rather should have taught them to purge themselves, and to put away their filthy idolatry; and much rather they should have fasted and repented for that their extreme cruelty, which they had showed unto the lively member of Christ.

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Albeit this death of William Gardiner seemeth to have profited very many of them little or nothing; yet, for all that, there are some (as I have heard divers report) out of whose minds the remembrance of this constant martyr can never be pulled, and is so fresh yet amongst them, as if it were now lately done: and finally, albeit it be a good while since he was put to death, yet the memory of his death, as fruitful seed, hath taken such root in some, that even unto this present day he is a lively and diligent preacher unto them, against superstition and idolatry used in their churches.

235. The Downfall of Edward, Duke of Somerset

The tragical history of the worthy Lord Edward, duke of Somerset, lord protector, with the whole cause of his troubles and handling.

After so many troublous matters in this history afore-passed, coming now to the lamentable and tragical narration of the Lord Edward, duke of Somerset, the king's uncle, and protector of his person and of his realm, I could not well enter into the story of him without some premonition, first, to all noble personages, of what honour or calling so-ever within this realm, by way of history, briefly to admonish them, no man to plant any trust or assurance upon the brickle pillars of worldly prosperity, how high soever it seemeth, considering that there is no state so high, but it hath his ruin; no wisdom so circumspect, but it may be circumvented; no virtue so perfect, but it may be envied; neither any man's trade so simple, but it may be beguiled. And therefore, seeing the condition of mortal things is so, that no man can always stand in this so ruinous a world, the surest way is, for every man to choose his standing so, that his fall may be the easier. But, because my purpose is (as I have said in the stories before) to abridge and make short, I will here stay; referring thee to the secret consideration of that which remaineth further by me in this matter to be uttered; and so, falling into the story of the lord protector, duke of Somerset, we will (the Lord willing) declare in order the original and whole occasion of his trouble and decay, even from the beginning.

King Edward, after that both his father and mother were dead, had three uncles left him by his mother's side, Edward, Thomas, and Henry Seymour; of the which two first, one was made protector of the realm, and the other high admiral of the same. These two brethren, so long as they were knit and joined in amity and concord, preserved both themselves, the king their nephew, and the whole commonwealth, from the violence and fear of all danger. But the subtle old serpent, always envying man's felicity, through slanderous tongues sought to sow matter, first of discord between them; then of suspicion: and last of all, extreme hatred: insomuch that the protector suffered his brother, being accused, (whether truly or falsely the Lord knoweth,) to be condemned, and to lose his head. Whereby it came to pass, (whether by the correction of God's judgment upon him, or whether that he, after the death of his brother, and the king, being yet but young and tender of age, was the less able to shift for himself,) that, not long after, he was overmatched and overthrown of his enemies; and so cast into the Tower, and at last lost his head also—to the great lamentation of many good men, as in the sequel of this history followeth to be declared. For the better introduction of which history, first to begin with the aforesaid brother of the lord protector, namely, Sir Thomas Seymour, high admiral of England, and the king's uncle, here is to be understood, that he had married Queen Katharine, late wife to King Henry the Eighth, of whom ye heard before. Now it happened, (upon what occasion I know not,) that there fell a displeasure betwixt the said queen and the duchess of Somerset, and thereupon also, in the behalf of their wives, displeasure and grudge began between the brethren; which, albeit, through persuasion of friends, it was for a time appeased between them, yet, in short space after, (perchance not without the privy setting-forward of some, which were back friends to the gospel,) it brake out again, both to the trouble of the realm, and especially to the confusion of

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them both, as after it proved. First, to the lord admiral's charge it was laid, that he purposed to destroy the young king, and translate the crown unto himself; and for the same being attainted and condemned, he did suffer at Tower Hill the twentieth of March, 1549. As many there were, which reported that the duchess of Somerset had wrought his death; so many more there were, who, misdoubting the long standing of the lord protector in his state and dignity, thought and affirmed no less, but that the fall of the one brother would be the ruin of the other; the experiment whereof, as it hath often been proved, so, in these also, eftsoons it ensued.

It was not long after the beheading of the lord admiral, that insurrections began to kindle, the same year, in divers quarters of the realm, as is above storied; by the occasion whereof the Lord Russel, lord privy seal, was sent to the west parts, and the Lord Dudley, earl of Warwick, was sent with an army into Norfolk, where both he himself, and a great number of gentlemen that were with him, meeting with the rebels, were in great danger: notwithstanding, in the end the overthrow was given to the rebels; which was about the beginning of September, 1549. After this victory achieved, in the next month following, which was October, how the matter fell out between the lord protector and certain other lords, I know not, but, at the return of the earl of Warwick aforesaid, great working and consultation there was among the lords, assembling themselves in the house of Master York, and at Baynard's Castle, and in the lord mayor's house, at London, against the lord protector, remaining then with the king at Hampton Court. Of the which business and trouble, thus the lord protector writeth, in his letters to the Lord Russel in the west country, as followeth.

A letter of the lord protector, to the Lord Russel, lord privy seal, concerning troubles working against him.

"After our right hearty commendations to your good Lordship: here hath of late risen such a conspiracy against the king's Majesty and us, as never hath been seen, the which they cannot maintain but with such vain letters and false tales surmised, as was never meant or intended of us. They pretend and say, that we have sold Boulogne to the French, and that we do withhold wages from the soldiers; and other such tales and letters they do spread abroad (of the which if any one thing were true, we would not wish to live): the matter now being brought to a marvellous extremity, such as we would never have thought it could have come unto, specially of those men, towards the king's Majesty and us, of whom we have deserved no such thing, but rather much favour and love. But the case being as it is, this is to require and pray you to hasten you hither to the defence of the king's Majesty, in such force and power as you may, to show the part of a true gentleman, and of a very friend: the which thing we trust God shall reward, and the king's Majesty, in time to come, and we shall never be unmindful of it too. We are sure you shall have other letters from them; but, as you tender your duty to the king's Majesty, we require you to make no stay, but immediately repair, with such force as ye have, to his Highness in his castle of Windsor, and cause the rest of such force as ye may make, to follow you. And so we bid you right heartily farewell.

"From Hampton Court the sixth of October.

"Your Lordship's assured loving friend,
EDWARD SOMERSET."

Substance of a letter of the Lord Russel in answer to the lord protector's letter.

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"To this letter of the lord protector sent the sixth of October, the Lord Russel returning answer again upon the eighth of the said month, first lamenteth the heavy dissension fallen between the nobility and him, which he taketh for such a plague, as a greater could not be sent of Almighty God upon this realm, being the next way, saith he, to make of us conquerors, slaves, and like to induce upon the whole realm a universal calamity and thralldom, unless the merciful goodness of the Lord do help, and some wise order be taken in staying these great extremities. And as touching the duke's request in his letters, forasmuch as he heard before of this broil of the lords, and fearing lest some conspiracy had been meant against the king's person, he hasted forward with such company as he could make, for the surety of the king, as to him appertained. Now, perceiving by the lords' letters sent unto him the same sixth day of October these tumults to rise upon private causes between him and them, he therefore thought it expedient, that a convenient power should be levied, to be in a readiness to withstand the worst, (what perils soever might ensue,) for the preservation both of the king and state of the realm from the invasion of foreign enemies, and also for the staying of bloodshed, if any such thing should be intended between the parties in the heat of this faction. And this, he, thinking best for discharge of his allegiance, humbly beseecheth his Grace to have the same also in special regard and consideration, first, that the king's Majesty be put in no fear; and that if there be any such thing wherein he hath given just cause to them thus to proceed, he will so conform himself as no such private quarrels do redound to the public disturbance of the realm; certifying, moreover, the duke, that if it were true, which he understandeth by the letters of the lords, that he should send about proclamations and letters for raising up of the commons, he liked not the same. Notwithstanding, he trusted well that his wisdom would take such a way as no effusion of blood should follow."

And thus much being contained in his former letter of the eighth of October, in his next letter again, written the eleventh day of October, the said Lord Russel wrote to this effect:

"He (rejoicing to hear of the most reasonable offers of the lord protector made unto the lords) writeth unto him, and promiseth to do what, in the uttermost power of him (and likewise of Sir William Harbert joined together with him) doth lie, to work some honourable reconciliation between him and them; so as his said offers being accepted and satisfied, some good conclusion might ensue, according to their good hope and expectation: signifying moreover, that as touching the levying of men, they had resolved to have the same in readiness for the benefit of the realm, to occur all inconveniences, whatsoever (either by foreign invasion or otherwise) might happen; and so, having their power at hand, to draw near, whereby they might have the better opportunity to be solicitors, and a means for this reformation on both parts," &c.

And thus much for answer of the Lord Russel to the lord protector's letters.

But now to the matter again of the lords, who, together with the earl of Warwick, (upon what occasion God knoweth,) being assembled at London, as ye heard, against the lord protector; when the king with his council at Hampton Court heard thereof, first Secretary Peter with the king's message was sent unto them, whom the lords, notwithstanding, detained still with them, making as yet no answer to the message. Whereupon the lord protector writeth to them in this manner as followeth:

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"My Lords, we commend us most heartily unto you: and whereas the king's Majesty was informed that you were assembled in such sort as you do now also remain; and was advised by us, and such other of his council as were then here about his person, to send Master Secretary Peter unto you, with such message as whereby might have ensued the surety of his Majesty's person, with preservation of his realm and subjects, and the quiet both of us and yourselves, as Master Secretary can well declare to you: his Majesty, and we of his council here, do not a little marvel that you stay still with you the said Master Secretary, and have not, as it were, vouchsafed to send answer to his Majesty, either by him or yet any other. And for ourselves, we do much more marvel, and are right sorry, as both we and you have good cause to be, to see the manner of your doings bent with violence, to bring the king's Majesty and us to these extremities. Which as we do intend, if you will take no other way but violence, to defend (as nature and our allegiance doth bind us) to extremity of death, and to put all to God's hand, who giveth victory as it pleaseth him: so that if any reasonable conditions and offers would take place, (as hitherto none have been signified unto us from you, nor do we understand what you do require or seek, or what you do mean,) and that you do seek no hurt to the king's Majesty's person; as touching all other private matters, to avoid the effusion of Christian blood, and to preserve the king's Majesty's person, his realm and subjects, you shall find us agreeable to any reasonable condition that you will require. For we do esteem the king's wealth and tranquillity of the realm, more than all other worldly things; yea, more than our own life. Thus, praying you to send us your determinate answer herein by Master Secretary Peter, or, if you will not him go, by this bearer, we beseech God to give both you and us grace to determine this matter, as may be to God's honour, the preservation of the king, and the quiet of us all; which may be, if the fault be not in you. And so we bid you most heartily farewell.

"From the king's Majesty's castle of Windsor, the 7th of October, 1549.

"Your Lordship's loving friend,
E. SOMERSET."

After these letters received, and the reasonable conditions of the lord protector offered, and yet not much regarded of the lords, they, persisting still in their intended purpose, took this advice, first to keep themselves in the city of London, as strong as they might; and therefore, calling upon the mayor and the aldermen, they willed them in any case to provide a good and substantial watch by night, and a good ward by day, for the safeguard of their city, and the ports and gates thereof; which was consented unto, and the companies of London, in their turns, warned to watch and ward accordingly.

Then the said lords and councillors demanded of the lord mayor and his brethren five hundred men to aid them to fetch the lord protector out of Windsor from the king; but thereunto the mayor answered, that he could grant no aid without the assent of common-council of the city: whereupon, the next day, a common-council was warned. But, in the mean time, the said lords of the council assembled themselves at the lord mayor's house of London, who then was Sir Henry Amcottes, fishmonger, and William Locke, mercer, and Sir John Aileph, sheriffs of the said city; and there the said council did agree and publish a proclamation forthwith, against the lord protector, the effect of which proclamation was as followeth:

"First, That the lord protector, by his malicious and evil government, was the occasion of all the sedition that of late happened within the realm.

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"2. The loss of the king's pieces in France.

"3. That he was ambitious, and sought his own glory, as appeareth by building of most sumptuous and costly houses in the time of the king's wars.

"4. That he esteemed nothing the grave counsel of the councillors.

"5. That he sowed division between the nobles, the gentlemen, and commons.

"6. That the nobles assembled themselves together at London for no other purpose, but to have caused the protector to have lived within limits, and to have put such order for the surety of the king's Majesty, as appertained, whatsoever the protector's doings were; which, they said, were unnatural, ingrate, and traitorous.

"7. That the protector slandered the council to the king, and did what in him lay, to cause variance between the king and the nobles.

"8. That he was a great traitor; and, therefore, the lords desired the city and commons to aid them, to take him from the king."

And in witness and testimony of the contents of the said proclamation, the lords subscribed their names, which were these:

"The lord Riche, lord chancellor.
The lord St. John, lord great master, and president of the council.
The lord marquis of Northampton.
The earl of Warwick, lord great chamberlain.
The earl of Arundel, lord chamberlain.
The earl of Shrewsbury.
The earl of Southampton (Wriothesley).
Sir Thomas Cheney, knight, treasurer of the king's house, and lord warden of the Cinque Ports.
Sir John Gage, knight, constable of the Tower.
Sir William Peter, knight, secretary.
Sir Edward North, knight.
Sir Edward Montague, chief justice of the Common Pleas.
Sir Ralph Sadler.
Sir John Baker.
Sir Edward Wootton.
Sir Richard Southwell.
Dr. Wootton, dean of Canterbury."

After the aforesaid proclamation was proclaimed, the lords, or the most part of them, still continuing and lying in London, came the next day to the Guildhall, during the time that the lord mayor and his brethren sat in their court or inner chamber, and entered and communed a long while with the mayor; and at the last, the mayor and his brethren came forth unto the common-

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council, where was read the king's letter sent to the mayor and citizens, commanding them to aid him with a thousand well-appointed men out of their city, and to send the same with all speed to his castle at Windsor.

This letter by name was directed to Sir Henry Amcotts, knight, lord mayor, to Sir Rowland Hill, knight, mayor elect; and to the aldermen and common-council of the city of London. The day and date of the letter was the sixth of October, in the third year of his reign, being signed with the hand of the king, and the lord protector; the contents of which letter, for the satisfaction of the reader, are here to be seen in manner and form as followeth.

EDWARD.
By the king.

"Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. We charge and command you most earnestly, to give order, with all speed, for the defence and preservation of that our city of London for us; and to levy out of hand, and to put in order, as many as conveniently you may, well weaponed and arrayed, keeping good watch at the gates; and to send us hither, for the defence of our person, one thousand of that our city, of trusty and faithful men, to attend upon us, and our most entirely beloved uncle, Edward duke of Somerset, governor of our person, and protector of our realms, dominions, and subjects, well harnessed, and with good and convenient weapon; so that they do make their repair hither unto us this night, if it be possible, or at least tomorrow before noon; and, in the mean time, to do what appertaineth unto your duty, for ours and our said uncle's defence against all such as attempt any conspiracy or enterprise of violence against us or our said uncle, as you know best for our preservation and defence at this present.

"Given under our signet, at our manor of Hampton Court, the sixth of October, the third year of our reign.

"You shall further give credit to our trusty and well-beloved Owen Cleydon, the bearer hereof, in all such things as he shall further declare unto you on the behalf of us, and our said uncle the lord protector.

EDWARD SOMERSET."

This letter of the king, and of the lord protector, was not so secretly devised, nor so speedily sent, but the lords keeping at London had knowledge immediately thereof, (by the means, as some suppose, of the Lord Paget, who was then with the king and the protector, but the truth the Lord knoweth,) being there ready furnished with their own bands of serving men, and other soldiers and men of arms; who, forthwith upon the same, addressed their letters in semblable wise to the said lord mayor and aldermen in the king's name, not only for a supportation of armed men to serve their purposes, and for a sufficient watch to fortify their city; but also, that they should not obey any such letters, proclamations, or injunctions sent to them from the duke: which letter of the lords at the same instant came likewise to the lord mayor and his brethren, the sixth day of the said month of October; the tenor and copy of which letter here ensueth.

"To our very good lord, the lord mayor, aldermen, and citizens of London.

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"After our right hearty commendations unto your good Lordship: knowing your hearty favour and earnest seals to the preservation of the person of the king's Majesty, and of this realm, and other his Majesty's realms and dominions, we have thought good to advertise you, that notwithstanding all the good advice and counsel that we could give to the duke of Somerset, to stay himself within reasonable limits, and to use his government now, in the tender age of his Majesty, in such sort as might tend to his Highness's surety, to the conservation of his estate, and to his honour; the said duke, nevertheless, still continuing in his pride, covetousness, and ambition, ceaseth not daily, by all the ways and means he can devise, to enrich himself without measure, and to impoverish his Majesty.

"He buildeth in four or five places most sumptuously, and leaveth the poor soldiers unpaid of their wages, unvictualled, and in all things so unfurnished, as the losses lately sustained, to the greatest dishonour that ever came to the king and this realm, do declare. He soweth daily division between the nobles and gentlemen, and commons. He rewardeth and entertaineth a number of those that were captains of the commons in these late insurrections; and finally, in such wise subverteth all laws, justice, and good order, (as is evident,) that, putting his trust in the commons, and perceiving that the nobles and gentlemen should be an impediment to him in his devilish purposes, he laboureth first to have them destroyed, and thinketh after, easily enough to achieve his desire; which, it appeareth plainly, is, to occupy the king's Majesty's place. For his doings, whosoever list to behold them, do manifestly declare, that he mindeth never to render account to his Majesty of his proceedings.

"These things, with many more too long to recite, considered, we pondered with ourselves, that either we must travail for some reformation, or we must, in effect as it were, consent with him to the destruction of our sovereign lord and country. Whereupon, laying apart all respects, and resting only upon our duties, we joined in counsel, and thought quietly to have treated the matter with him; who, perceiving that we joined for the king, and would have such order as might be for the surety of his Majesty's person and the commonwealth, straight put himself in force, and resteth at plain point, (as it appeareth,) either to go through with his detestable purpose in such sort as he hath done, or to try it by the sword.

"Now, forasmuch as we see presently, that unless there be a reformation, the person of the king's Majesty is in most certain danger, and this realm, our natural country, like to be destroyed, with all our posterities; like as we have again fully resolved, with God's help, either to deliver the king's Majesty and the realm from this extreme ruin and destruction, or to spend our lives for the declaration of our faithful hearts and duties; so, knowing your hearty good wills and truth to his Majesty, and therefore nothing doubting of your readiness to join with us in our godly purpose, we thought good to let you know the very truth of our enterprise, and, in the king's Majesty's behalf, to require you not only to put good and substantial order for watch and ward, but also to have an earnest continual regard to the preservation, within your city, of all harness, weapons, and munitions, so as none be suffered to be conveyed to the said duke, nor any others attending about him; and besides, that you from henceforth obey no letters, proclamations, nor other commandments to be sent from the said duke. And thus we bid your Lordship most heartily farewell.

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"From London, the 6th of October.
"Your Lordship's assured loving friends,
William St. John.
Th. Southampton.
W. Northampton.
William Peter.
John Warwick.
Edward North.
Arundel.
John Gage.
Richard Southwell."

After the receiving of these two letters above mentioned, the one from the king, the other from the lords, which came both at one instant, with contrary commandment to the lord mayor and citizens of London, the case seemed hard to them, and very doubtful (as it was indeed) what way to take, and what were best for the citizens of London to do. On the one side, the name and authority of the king was much; on the other side, the power and garrisons of the lords, lying then in London, was not little, which seemed then to be such as would have no repulse.

The case thus standing perplexedly, first by the mouth of the recorder it was requested, that the citizens would grant their aid rather unto the lords, for that the protector had abused both the king's Majesty and the whole realm; and that without he were taken from the king, and made to understand his folly, this realm was in great hazard; and he therefore required, that the citizens would willingly assent to aid the lords with five hundred men.

Hereunto of a great part in the common-council was no other answer made but silence. But the recorder (who at that time was Master Brook) still rested upon them for answer. At the last stepped up a wise and good citizen, named George Stadow, and said:

"In this case it is good for us to think of things past, to avoid the danger of things to come. I remember," saith he, "in a story written in Fabian's Chronicle, of the war between the king and his barons, which was in the time of King Henry the Third, and the same time the barons (as our lords do now) demanded aid of the mayor and city of London, and that in a rightful cause, for the commonwealth, which was for the execution of divers good laws against the king, who would not suffer those laws to be put in execution. And the city did aid them, and it came to an open battle, and the lords prevailed against the king, and took the king and his son prisoners; and, upon certain conditions, the lords restored the king and his son again to their liberties, and among all other conditions this was one, that the king should not only grant his pardon to the lords, but also to the citizens of London; the which was granted, yea, and the same was ratified by act of parliament. But what followed of it? Was it forgotten? No surely, nor forgiven neither, during the king's life. The liberties of the city were taken away, strangers appointed to be our heads and governors, the citizens given away body and goods, and from one persecution to another were most miserably afflicted. Such a thing is it, to enter into the wrath of a prince; as Solomon saith, The wrath and indignation of a prince is death. Wherefore, forasmuch as this aid is required of the king's Majesty, whose voice we ought to hearken unto, (for he is our high shepherd,) rather than unto the lords, and yet I would not wish the lords to be clearly shaken

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off; my counsel is, that they with us, and we with them, may join in suit, and make our most humble petition to the king's Majesty, that it would please his Highness to hear such complaint against the government of the lord protector, as may be justly alleged and proved; and I doubt not but this matter will be so pacified, that neither shall the King, nor yet the lords, have cause to seek for further aid, neither we to offend any of them both."

After this tale the commons stayed, and the lord mayor and his brethren for that time brake up, till they had further communed with the lords. To make short, I let pass what order by the city was taken; but the conclusion was, that the lords (upon what occasion I know not) sat the next day in council in the Star Chamber, and from thence sent Sir Philip Hobby with their letter of credence to the king's Majesty, beseeching and requesting his Majesty to give credit to that which the said Sir Philip should declare unto his Majesty in their names. And the king gave him liberty to speak, and most gently heard all that he had to say; who so handled the matter, declaring his message in the name of the lords, that in the end the lord protector was commanded from the king's presence, and shortly was committed to ward in a tower within the castle of Windsor, called Beauchamp Tower; and soon after were stayed Sir Thomas Smith, Master Whalley, Master Fisher, and many other gentlemen that attended upon the lord protector. The same day the lords of the council resorted to the King; and the next day they brought from thence the lord protector, and the others that were there stayed, and conveyed them through the city of London unto the Tower, and there left them.

Shortly after the lords resorted unto the Tower, and there charged the lord protector with sundry articles, which follow:

"Imprimis, You took upon you the office of protector and governor, upon condition expressly and specially, that you would do nothing in the King's affairs, publicly or privately, but by the assent of the late king's executors.

"II. Also you, contrary to the said condition, of your own authority did stay and let justice, and subverted the laws, as well by your letters, as by your commandments.

"III. Also, you caused divers persons being arrested and imprisoned for treason, murder, manslaughter, and felony, to be discharged and set at large, against the king's laws and statutes of this realm.

"IV. Also, you have made and ordained lieutenants for the king's armies, and other weighty affairs, under your own writing and seal.

"V. Also, you have communed with the ambassadors of other realms, discoursing alone with them the weighty causes of this realm.

"VI. Also, you have sometime rebuked, checked, and taunted, as well privately as openly, divers of the king's most honourable councillors, for showing and declaring their advises and opinions against your purposes, in the king's weighty affairs; saying sometimes to them, that you need not to open matters unto them, and would therefore be otherwise advised; and that you would, if they were not agreeable to your opinion, put them out, and take others at your pleasure.

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"VII. Also, you had and held, against the law, in your own house, a court of requests; and thereby did enforce divers the king's subjects to answer for their freeholds and goods, and determined the same to the subversion of the same laws.

"VIII. Also you, being no officer, without the advice of the council, or the more part of them, did dispose of the offices of the king's gift for money, and granted leases and wards of the king's, and gave presentations to the king's benefices and bishoprics, having no authority so to do. And further, you did meddle with the selling of the king's lands.

"IX. Also, you commanded multiplication and alchymy to be practised, to abuse the king's coin.

"X. Also, you caused a proclamation to be made concerning enclosures, whereby the common people have made divers insurrections, and levied open war, and distrained and spoiled divers of the king's subjects; which proclamation went forth against the will of the whole council.

"XI. Also, you have caused a commission, with certain articles thereunto annexed, to be made out concerning enclosures of commons, high-ways, decaying of cottages, and divers other things, giving the commissioners authority to hear and determine the same causes, to the subversion of the laws and statutes of this realm; whereby much sedition, insurrection, and rebellion, have risen and grown amongst the king's subjects.

"XII. Also, you have suffered the rebels and traitors to assemble, and to lie in camp and armour against the king, his nobles and gentlemen, without any speedy subduing or repressing of them.

"XIII. Also, you did comfort and encourage divers of the said rebels, by giving of them divers sums of your own money, and by promising to divers of them fees, rewards, and services.

"XIV. Also, you in favour of the said rebels did, against the laws, cause a proclamation to be made, that none of the said rebels or traitors should be sued or vexed by any person for any their offences in the said rebellion; to the clear subversion of the same law.

"XV. Also you have said, in the time of therebellion, that you liked well the doings and proceedings of the said rebels and traitors; and said, that the covetousness of the gentlemen gave occasion to the common people to rise; saying also, that better it were for the commons to die, than perish for lack of living.

"XVI. Also you said, that the lords of the parliament were loth to incline themselves to reformation of enclosures and other things; therefore the people had good cause to reform the things themselves.

XVII. Also you, after the report and declaration of the defaults and lacks reported to you by such as did survey Boulogne and the pieces there, would never amend the same defaults.

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"XVIII. Also, you would not suffer the king's pieces beyond the seas, called Newhaven and Black-nest, to be furnished with men and victuals, although you were advertised of the defaults therein by the captains of the same pieces and others, and were thereto advertised by the king's council; whereby the French king, being the king's open enemy, was encouraged and comforted to invade and win the said pieces; to the king's great loss, and dishonour of his realm.

"XIX. Also, you declared and published untruly, as well to the king's Majesty, as to other the young lords attendant upon his Grace's person, that the lords of the council at London minded to destroy the king; and you required the king never to forget it, but to revenge it: and likewise you required the young lords to put the king in remembrance thereof, to the intent to make sedition and discord between the king and his lords.

"XX. Also, whereas the king's Majesty's privy council, of their love and zeal that they did bear unto the king and his realm, did consult at London, to have communed with you, to the intent to move you charitably to amend your doings and misgovernment, you, hearing of their said assembly, caused to be declared, by letters in divers places, the said lords to be high traitors to the king, to the great disturbance of the realm."

And thus much hitherto, concerning the first trouble of the lord protector, duke of Somerset, with the crimes and articles objected against him, with his imprisonment also in the Tower, and the terrible proclamation given out against him. All which purposes of man, though they seemed fully to intend no less than the spilling of his blood; yet the Lord above, the only disposer of all men's purposes, so ordered the matter, by the means of the king labouring for his uncle, that in short while after, he was let out of the Tower, and that proclamation which before had made him a traitor, within three days after was called in again, with commandment given, none of them to be sold. And so the duke of Somerset, graciously escaping this adversity, was again restored, though not to the former office, yet unto liberty, wherein he continued the space of two years and two days. After the which time of respite being expired, the said duke of Somerset was apprehended and committed again to the Tower, and with him also Sir Michael Stanhope, Sir Ralph Vane, Sir Miles Partridge, and others, &c. At length the time being come of his arraignment, the aforesaid good duke, being brought from the Tower, was conveyed through London with the axe of the Tower before him, and with great preparance of bills, halberts, pikes, and poleaxes, in most forcible wise; a watch also set and appointed before every man's door through the high street of London: and so was he brought into Westminster Hall, where the lords of the council, sitting as his judges in the middle of the hall, upon a new scaffold, he was there before them arraigned and charged both with treason and felony.

In the which judgment I pass over the unseemly speech, the vile taunts and despiteful rebukes, without all modesty or honesty, used by certain of the serjeants and justices, and some others sitting there. All which, notwithstanding, he patiently and quietly did suffer, neither storming inwardly in stomach, nor reviling them with words again; but like a lamb, following the true Lamb and example of all meekness, was contented to take all things at their hands, and with no less patience to bear now their ungentle and cruel railings, than he did before their glaving words and flatterings, in time of his high estate and prosperity. And as the patience of this good duke was marvellous in forbearing his enemies, so also was his discretion and temperance no less seen in answering for himself to the articles to him objected; whereunto he wisely and

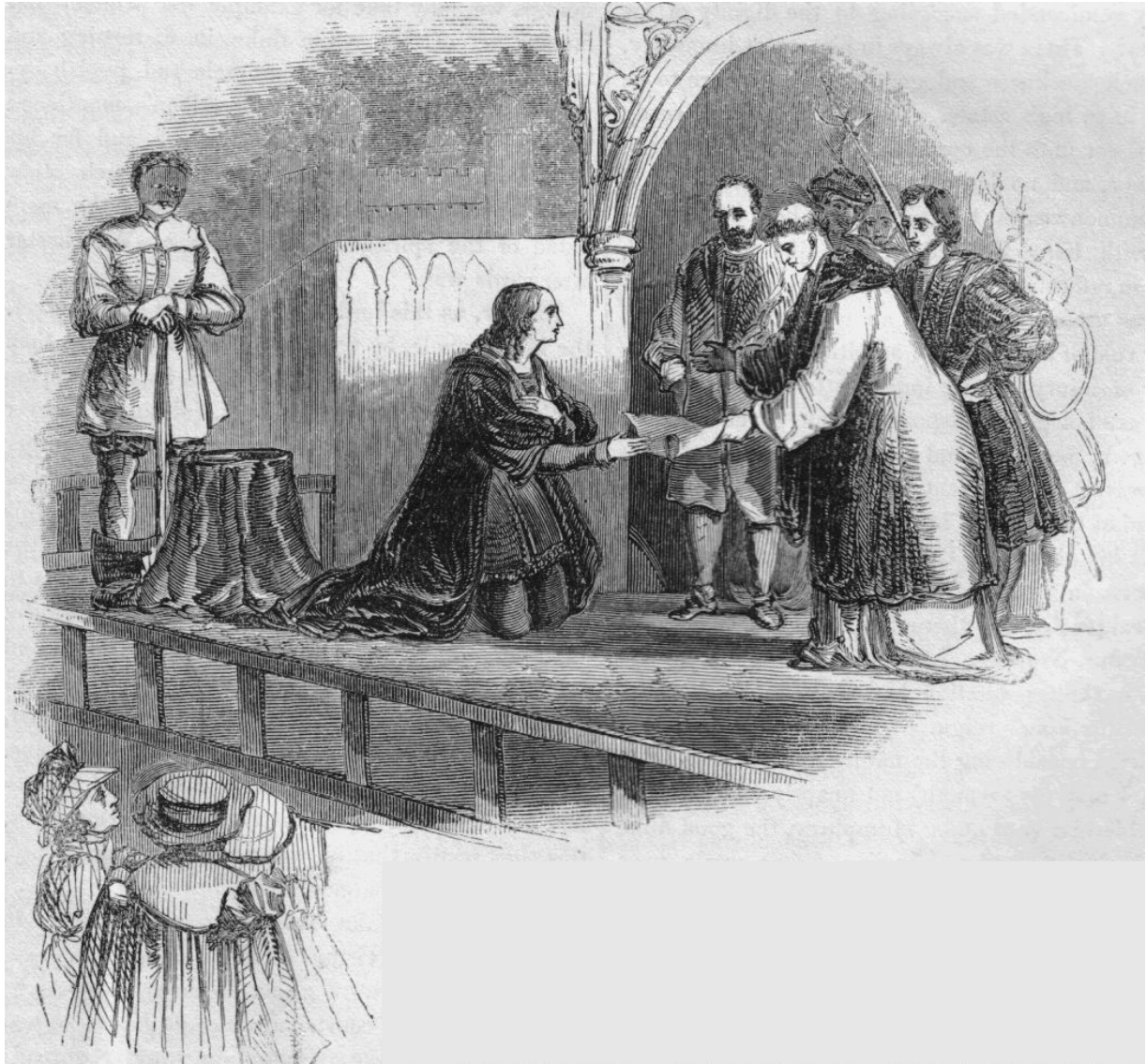
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substantially replied, putting himself, in the end, to be tried by his peers; who then, at length, after consultation had, did frame and temper their verdict thus: That as concerning the case of treason, wherewith he was charged, they discharged him, but they accounted him guilty of felony. When the people (which were there present to a great number) heard the lords say, "not guilty," (meaning by the case of treason,) supposing no less but that he had been clearly acquitted by these words, and especially seeing the axe of the Tower to be carried away, for great joy and gladness they made an outcry; well declaring their loving affection and hearty favour unto the duke, whose life they greatly desired. But this opinion of the people was deceived, and the innocent duke condemned to die for felony; which act of felony had been made a little before against the rebels and unlawful assemblies, such as should seek or procure the death of any councillor, so that every such attempt and procurement, according to the act, should be adjudged felony. By the virtue of which act the duke being accused, with certain others his complices, to intend and purpose the death of the duke of Northumberland, and of certain besides, was therefore cast and condemned of felony, and so was returned toward the Tower again; at whose passage through the city, great exclamations and outcries were made again of the people, some rejoicing that he was acquitted, some bewailing that he was condemned.

Thus the good duke, passing through a great part of the city, landing at the Crane in the Vintry, was conveyed to the Tower, where he endured till the twenty-second of January; upon the which day, at the coming down of the letter of execution from the king and the council, the aforesaid duke and uncle to the king, being found no traitor, only being cast by the act of felony, was delivered unto the sheriffs, and so brought to the place of execution.

Touching which execution a few words here would be [well] bestowed, in describing the wonderful order and manner thereof, as it hath faithfully been suggested to us upon the credit of a certain noble personage, who not only was there present at the deed-doing, but also, in a manner, next unto him upon the scaffold, beholding the order of all things with his eyes; and with his pen, also, reporting the same in order and manner as here followeth.

"In the year of our Lord 1552, the two and twentieth of January, in the fifth year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth, he being yet under age and governance of tutors, the noble duke of Somerset, uncle to King Edward, was brought out of the Tower of London, and, according to the manner, delivered to the sheriffs of the city; and, compassed round about with a great number of armed men, both of the guard and others, he was brought unto the scaffold on Tower Hill, where he, nothing changing either voice or countenance, but in a manner with the same gesture which he commonly used at home, kneeling down upon both his knees, and lifting up his hands, commended himself unto God.



Edward Duke of Somerset on the scaffold

"After that he had ended a few short prayers, standing up again, and turning himself toward the east side of the scaffold, nothing at all abashed (as it seemed to me, standing about the midst of the scaffold, and diligently marking all things) either with the sight of the axe, or yet of the hangman, or of present death; but with the like alacrity and cheerfulness of mind and countenance as beforetimes he was accustomed to hear the causes and supplication of others, and especially the poor, (towards whom, as it were with a certain fatherly love to his children, he always showed himself most attentive,) he uttered these words to the people:

"Dearly beloved friends, I am brought hither to suffer death, albeit that I never offended against the king either by word or deed, and have been always as faithful and true unto this realm as any man hath been. But forasmuch as I am by a law condemned to die, I do acknowledge

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myself, as well as others, to be subject thereunto. Wherefore, to testify my obedience which I owe unto the laws, I am come hither to suffer death: whereunto I willingly offer myself, with most hearty thanks unto God, that hath given me this time of repentance, who might, through sudden death, have taken away my life, that neither I should have acknowledged him, nor myself.

"Moreover, dearly beloved friends, there is yet somewhat that I must put you in mind of, as touching Christian religion; which so long as I was in authority I always diligently set forth and furthered to my power. Neither do I repent me of my doings, but rejoyce therein, since that now the state of Christian religion cometh most near unto the form and order of the primitive church; which thing I esteem as a great benefit, given of God, both unto you and me: most heartily exhorting you all, that this which is most purely set forth unto you, you will, with like thankfulness, accept and embrace, and set out the same in your living. Which thing if you do not, without doubt greater mischief and calamity will follow.'

"When he had spoken these words, suddenly there was a terrible noise heard; whereupon there came a great fear upon all men. This noise was as it had been the noise of some great storm or tempest, which, unto some, seemed to be heard from above; like as if a great deal of gunpowder, being enclosed in an armoury, and having caught fire, had violently broken out. But unto some, again, it seemed as though it had been a great multitude of horsemen running together, or coming upon them. Such a noise then was in the ears of all men, albeit they saw nothing. Whereby it happened that all the people, being amazed without any evident cause, without any violence or stroke stricken, or any man seen, they ran away, some into the ditches and puddles, and some into the houses thereabouts: others, being afraid of the horror and noise, fell down grovelling unto the ground, with their poleaxes and halberts; and most of them cried out, 'Jesus save us, Jesus save us.' Those which tarried still in their places, for fear knew not wherethey were; and I myself which was there present among the rest, being also afraid in this hurly-burly, stood still altogether amazed, looking when any man would knock me on the head. It happened here, as the evangelists write it did unto Christ, when the officers of the high priests and Pharisees, coming with weapons to take him, being astonied, ran backwards and fell to the ground.

"In the mean time, while these things were thus in doing, the people by chance spied one Sir Anthony Brown riding under the scaffold; which was the occasion of a new noise. For when they saw him coming, they conjectured that which was not true, but notwithstanding which they all wished for—that the king, by that messenger, had sent his uncle pardon; and therefore, with great rejoicing and casting up their caps, they cried out, 'Pardon, pardon is come; God save the king.' Thus this good duke, although he was destitute of all man's help, yet he saw, before his departure, in how great love and favour he was with all men. And truly I do not think that, in so great slaughter of dukes as hath been in England within these few years, there were so many weeping eyes at one time; and not without cause. For all men did see in the decay of this duke, the public ruin of all England; except such as indeed did perceive nothing.

"But now to return from whence we have strayed; the duke in the mean time standing still in the same place, modestly, and with a grave countenance, made a sign to the people with his

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hand, that they would keep themselves quiet; which thing being done, and silence obtained, he spake unto them in this manner:

"Dearly beloved friends, there is no such matter here in hand as you vainly hope or believe. It seemeth thus good unto Almighty God, whose ordinance it is meet and necessary that we all be obedient unto. Wherefore I pray you all to be quiet, and to be contented with my death, which I am most willing to suffer; and let us now join in prayer unto the Lord for the preservation of the king's Majesty, unto whom hitherto I have always showed myself a most faithful and true subject. I have always been most diligent about his Majesty in his affairs, both at home and abroad, and no less diligent in seeking the common commodity of the whole realm:' at which words all the people cried out and said, 'It was most true.'

"Then the duke proceeding, said, Unto whose Majesty I wish continual health, with all felicity and all prosperous success: 'whereunto the people again cried out, Amen.'

"Moreover, I do wish unto all his councillors the grace and favour of God, whereby they may rule in all things uprightly with justice. Unto whom I exhort you all, in the Lord, to show yourselves obedient, (as it is your bounden duty, under the pain of condemnation,) and also most profitable for the preservation and safeguard of the king's Majesty.

"Moreover, forasmuch as heretofore I have had oftentimes affairs with divers men, and hard it is to please every man, therefore, if there be any that hath been offended and injured by me, I most humbly require and ask him forgiveness, but especially Almighty God, whom, throughout all my life, I have most grievously offended; and all others whatsoever they be that have offended me, I do with my whole heart forgive them. Now I once again require you, dearly beloved in the Lord, that you will keep yourselves quiet and still, lest, through your tumult, you might trouble me. For albeit the spirit be willing and ready, the flesh is frail and wavering, and, through your quietness, I shall be much more quiet. Moreover, I desire you all to bear me witness, that I die here in the faith of Jesus Christ; desiring you to help me with your prayers, that I may persevere constant in the same unto my life's end.'

"After this, he, turning himself again about like a meek lamb, kneeled down upon his knees. Then Dr. Coxe, who was there present to counsel and advertise him, delivered a certain scroll into his hand, wherein was contained a brief confession unto God; which being read, he stood up again upon his feet, without any trouble of mind, (as it appeared,) and first bade the sheriffs farewell, then the lieutenant of the Tower, and others, taking them all by the hands who were upon the scaffold with him. Then he gave the hangman certain money; which done, he put off his gown, and kneeling down again in the straw, untied his shirtstrings. After that, the hangman, coming unto him, turned down his collar round about his neck, and all other things which did let or hinder him. Then, lifting up his eyes to heaven, where his only hope remained, and covering his face with his own handkerchief; he laid himself down along, showing no manner of token of trouble or fear, neither did his countenance change, but that, before his eyes were covered, there began to appear a red colour in the midst of his cheeks.

"Thus this most meek and gentle duke, lying along, and looking for the stroke, because his doublet covered his neck, he was commanded to rise up and put it off; and then laying

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himself down again upon the block, and calling thrice upon the name of Jesus, saying, Lord Jesu, save me!' as he was the third time repeating the same, even as the name of Jesu was in uttering, in a moment he was bereft both of bead and life, and slept in the Lord Jesus, being taken away from all the dangers and evils of this life, and resting now in the peace of God; in the preferment of whose truth and gospel he always showed himself an excellent instrument and member, and therefore hath received the reward of his labours."

Thus, gentle reader, thou hast here the true history of this worthy and noble duke, and if any man report it otherwise, let it be counted as a lie. As touching the manners, disposition, life, and conversation of the said duke and the king's uncle, what shall we need to speak, when he cannot be sufficiently commended according to the dignity of his virtues? There was always in him great humanity, and such meekness and gentleness, as is rare to be found in so high estate. He was prone and ready to give ear unto the complaints and supplications of the poor, and no less attentive unto the affairs of the commonwealth, to which, if he had lived together with King Edward, he was like to do much good, in reforming many misorders within this realm. He was utterly ignorant of all craft and deceit, and as far void of all pride and ambition, as he was from doing of injury; being indeed utterly void of both. He was of a gentle disposition, not coveting to be revenged; more apt and ready to be deceived, than to deceive. His ancient love and zeal of the gospel and of religion, he brought with him to the state of this his dignity. The proof whereof sufficiently was seen, in his constant standing to God's truth, and zealous defence thereof, against the bishops of Chichester, Norwich, Lincoln, London, and others more, in the consultation had at Windsor, the first year of the king's reign.

Briefly, considering the nature and virtues of this duke, I may (as seemeth) not unaptly compare and resemble him unto Duke Humphrey, the good duke of Gloucester; who, likewise, being uncle unto King Henry the Sixth, and protector of the realm, (as this was, also, to King Edward the Sixth,) yet he wanted not his enemies and privy enviers, especially Henry Beaufort, cardinal, bishop of Winchester, and lord chancellor of England; who, at that time disdainng and envying the rule and authority of this duke, procured much trouble against him, and great division in the whole realm, insomuch that all the shops within the city of London were shut in, for fear of the favourers of these two great personages; for each party had assembled no small number of people. For pacifying whereof, the archbishop of Canterbury and the duke of Coimbra (called the prince of Portugal) rode seven times in one day between the two adversaries. Such were then the troubles of this tumultuous division within the realm, between these two, as is before expressed; not much unlike to the troublesome discord betwixt parties in this protector's days. And as, in their afflictions and troubles, these two dukes seemed not much unlike, so, in matters of religion, and in discerning truth from falsehood, their zeals seemed not much discrepant. Although the light of the gospel did not so fully then shine out, as in the time of this latter duke, (the Lord be praised there-for,) yet the wisdom and towardness of the other duke also, touching the same, was not utterly unworthy of his commendation. For the more manifest declaration whereof, amongst many other his godly doings, we may take for example the prudent and famous act of that noble duke, in discerning and trying out the false lying miracle and popish hypocrisy of the blind beggar at St. Alban's, mentioned in his story before; for which cause, and for his diligent study in reforming that, and such other blind abuses of feigned religion, he was the more hated of the spirituality, and such as Winchester afterwards was.

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Finally, as this lord protector, duke of Somerset, the king's uncle, by certain of the council was then accused, arraigned, and condemned, for the trespass (as it was given forth) of felony, (although I never heard he murdered or robbed any,) so the other uncle of King Henry the Sixth was made away; of whose decease thus writeth Master Tyndale in his Practice of Prelates: "At the last, they found the means to contrive a drift to bring their matters to pass, and made a parliament far from the citizens of London, where was slain the said good duke, and the only wealth of the realm, and the mighty shield which so long had kept it from the sorrow, which, shortly after his death, fell upon them by heaps. But the chronicles," saith he, "cannot tell wherefore he died, nor by what means. Nevertheless, this they testify, that he was a virtuous man, godly, and good to the commonwealth."

But, to leave Duke Humphrey, and to return to the manners and virtues of the duke of Somerset, which before we were about to describe:—As he was a gentle and courteous duke at home, so was he no less fortunate a captain in warfare abroad; under whose government and guiding not only divers rebellious commotions were happily suppressed here at home; but also abroad, in the expedition of Scotland, such a victory was given him of God, that with the loss of scarce six hundred of his own men, there were, of the enemies, as good or little less than ten thousand slain and put to flight; and even the very same day and time in which all the idolatrous images were here burnt at London. And yet, all these wars notwithstanding, whereunto he was against his will compelled, he was a man of nature singularly given to peace, as maybe seen by the sweet and peaceable exhortation by him set forth in print before, and sent to the realm of Scotland. But as there is nothing in this world so perfect in all respects, which is not blotted or darkened with some spot of vice adjoined withal; so, amongst the manifold commendations of this duke, one thing there was too, which both distained his honour and estimation much, and also more impaired and hindered his own life and safety; which was, that he, in condescending to the death of his brother, followed too rashly the persuasion of certain whosoever they were: for that matter lacked not, perchance, some singular fetch and policy of some more craftily than godly disposed persons; as many good men have supposed.

But whatsoever of that matter is to be deemed, credible it is, that the said duke, in suffering or procuring the death of his brother, not only endamaged himself, and weakened his own power, but also provoked the chastisement of God's scourge and rod, which did so light upon him.

Furthermore, as touching the death and decay of the Lord Henry, earl of Surrey, who also suffered at the Tower next before the lord admiral, the lord protector's brother; because the casting of him was so near to the death of King Henry, as I know not upon whom or what cause the same did proceed, so I pass it over and leave it to the Lord. Notwithstanding, as for the duke of Somerset, whatsoever his other vices and virtues were, this is certain, that his end (the Lord so working with him) was constant in Christ's truth, as his life was before a great maintenance of the same.

Moreover, on the twenty-sixth day of February in the same year, were Sir Ralph Vane and Sir Miles Partridge both hanged at the Tower Hill, and Sir Michael Stanhope and Sir Thomas Arundel beheaded upon the scaffold; all which four were condemned by the said act of unlawful assembly, and as accessories unto the duke of Somerset.

236. Disputations Holden at Oxford, About the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

Not long after the death of the duke of Somerset, in the next year following, deceased the king himself about the month of June, whereof more shall be said (the Lord granting) in his due order and course hereafter. In the mean season, before we come to close up the latter end and story of this good king, the place here present seemeth not unfit to intermit, by the way, a few other things before happening within the time of his reign; namely, concerning matters incident of the church, and of religion. Which state of religion began well to grow, and to come happily forward during this king's days, had not the unhappy troubles of the outward state, among the lords, not agreeing within themselves, disquieted the good towardness of things begun. But the malice of the devil, how subtilely worketh it, if men could see it! So long as the lords agreed in concord among themselves, Winchester and Bonner, with all that faction, was cut short, and began to condescend to good conformity. But afterward, perceiving the states and nobles of the realm to be among themselves divided, and the lord protector the king's uncle displaced, and his brother the admiral before beheaded, and the young king now left in that case, they began upon some hope to take more heart to them, till, at last, it came to pass as they themselves desired. And thus, though nothing else will lead us, yet experience may teach us, what discord worketh in public weals; and contrarily, what a necessary thing concord is, to the advancement especially of God's matters appertaining to his church. Examples whereof in this king's days be not far to seek; for, as touching the success of the gospel of peace, while public peace and the gospel did join together, marvellous it was how error and popery were in themselves confounded, and ashamed almost to show their faces: insomuch that then, both Drs. Smith, Chedsey, Standish, Young, and Oglethorpe, with many more, recanted their former ignorance, whose recantations I have to show. Bonner then, with his own hand, subscribed unto the king's supremacy, and promoted his injunctions.

The same, also, did Stephen Gardiner, subscribing with his own hand to the first book of the king's proceedings; and no doubt had done [no] less to the second book also set forth by the king, had not the unfortunate discord fallen amongst the nobles, in a time so unfortunate as then it did. Briefly, during all that time of peace and concord, what papist was found in all the realm, which, for the pope's devotion, would or did once put his neck in the halter, to die a martyr for his sake?

I showed before, how, in these peaceable days of King Edward, Peter Martyr, Martin Bucer, Paulus Phagius, with other learned men more, were entertained, placed, and provided for, in the two universities of this realm, Oxford and Cambridge, who there, with their diligent industry, did much good. The learned and fruitful disputations of whom I have likewise present in any hands here to insert, but that the bigness of this volume driveth me to make short, especially seeing their disputations to be so long and prolix as they be, and also in Latin; and require of themselves a whole volume to comprehend them.

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First, Peter Martyr, being called by the king to the public reading of the divinity lecture in Oxford, amongst his other learned exercises did set up in the public schools three conclusions of divinity, to be disputed and tried by argument; at which disputations were present the king's visitors, to wit, Henry, bishop of Lincoln, Dr. Coxe, chancellor of that university, Dr. Hains, dean of Exeter, Master Richard Morison, esquire, and Christopher Nevin-son, doctor of civil law.

The conclusions propounded were these:

First: "In the sacrament of thanksgiving there is no transubstantiation of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ."

Secondly: "The body and blood of Christ be not carnally or corporally in the bread and wine, nor, as others use to say, under the kinds of bread and wine."

Thirdly: "The body and blood of Christ be united to bread and wine sacramentally."

They which were the chief disputers against him on the contrary side, were Dr. Tresham, Dr. Chedsey, and Morgan. The reasons and principal arguments of Peter Martyr hereunder follow.

"The Scriptures most plainly do name and acknowledge bread and wine. In the evangelists we read that the Lord Jesus took bread, blessed it, brake it, and gave it to his disciples. St. Paul, likewise, doth oftentimes make mention of bread.

"Ergo, We also, with the Scriptures, ought not to exclude bread from the nature of the sacrament.

"Cyprian saith, As in the person of Christ, his humanity was seen outwardly, and his Divinity was secret within: so, in the visible sacrament, the Divinity inserteth itself in such sort as cannot be uttered; that our devotion about the sacraments might be the more religious.'

"Ergo, As in the person of Christ, so in the sacrament, both the natures ought still to remain.

"Gelasius saith, The sacraments which we receive of the body and blood of Christ, are a Divine matter; by reason whereof, we are made partakers, by the same, of his Divine nature; and yet it ceaseth not still to be the substance of bread and wine. And certes the representation and similitude of the body and blood of Christ be celebrated in the action of the mysteries,' &c.

"Augustine saith, 'As the person of Christ consisteth of God and man, when as he is true God and true man: for every thing containeth in itself the nature and verity of those things whereof it is made. Now the sacrament of the church is made of two things; that is, of the sacrament that signifieth, and of the matter of the sacrament that is signified,' &c.

"Theodoret saith, 'These visible mysteries which are seen, he hath honoured with the name of his body and blood, not changing the nature, but adding grace unto nature,' &c. And the

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same Theodoret again saith, Those mystical sacraments, after sanctification, do not pass out of their own proper nature, but remain still in their former substance, figure, and shape,' &c.

"Ergo, Like as the body of Christ remained in him, and was not changed into his Divinity; so, in the sacrament, the bread is not changed into the body, but both the substances remain whole.

"Origen saith, 'If whatsoever entereth into the mouth goeth down into the belly, and so passeth through a man; even that meat, also, which is sanctified by the word of God, and by prayer, as touching that part which it hath material within it, passeth into the belly, and so voideth through a man. But through prayer, which is adjoined to it, according to the measure of faith, it is profitable and effectual,' &c. And he addeth moreover, For it is not the outward matter of bread, but the word that is spoken upon it, that profiteth him which eateth it worthily,' &c.

"Irenæus saith, 'Jesus, taking bread of the same condition which is after us,' that is, taking bread of the same nature and kind as we use commonly to eat, 'did confess it to be his body. And taking likewise the cup, which is of the same creature which is after us,' that is, which we commonly use to drink, confesseth it to be his blood,' &c. Also, 'Like as bread which is of the earth, receiving the word and calling of God, is now not common bread, but the eucharist, consisting of two things, the one earthly, the other heavenly; so our bodies receiving the sacred eucharist, be now not corruptible, having hope of resurrection,' &c."

Argument.

"The bread in the sacrament is so changed into the body, as our bodies are changed when they are made incorruptible by hope.

"But our bodies are not made corruptible by changing their substance:

"Ergo, No more is the bread changed into the substance of the body."

"Gregory saith, 'Notwithstanding, whether we take leavened or unleavened bread, we are all one body of our Lord and Saviour,' &c.

Argument.

"Where bread leavened or unleavened is taken, there is substance of bread; and not accidents only.

"In the sacrament, bread is received either leavened or unleavened:

"Ergo, In the sacrament is substance of bread, and not accidents only."

Argument.

"The body of Christ is named of that which is proportioned round, and is insensible in operation.

"Accidents only of bread have no figure of roundness:

"Ergo, the body of Christ is not named of accidents, but of very bread substantial."

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Argument.

"The words of the evangelist, speaking of that which Christ took, blessed, brake, and gave, do import it to be bread, and nothing else but bread:

"Ergo, the substance of bread is not to be excluded out of the sacrament."

"Chrysostom saith, 'Christ in giving bread and wine, said, Do this in remembrance of me.'

"Cyril saith, 'He gave to them pieces or fragments of bread.' Also the same Cyril saith, 'In bread we receive his precious body, and his blood in wine.'

"Ergo, by these doctors, it remaineth bread after the consecration.

"Ambrose saith, 'Before the blessing of the heavenly words, it is called another kind of thing. After consecration, the body of Christ is signified.'"

Arguments of Peter Martyr, disputing with Master Chedsey upon the first question.

"The analogy and resemblance between the sacrament and the thing signified, must ever be kept in all sacraments.

"In the sacrament of the Lord's body this analogy or resemblance cannot be kept, if bread be transubstantiated:

"Ergo, the substance of bread must needs remain in the sacrament.

"The major of this argument is certain by St. Augustine, where he saith, 'Sacraments must needs bear a similitude of those things whereof they are sacraments, or else they can be no sacraments.'

"The minor is thus proved: "

Argument.

"The resemblance between the sacrament and the body of Christ is this, that as the properties of bread and wine do nourish outwardly, so the properties of the body of Christ do nourish spiritually.

"Without the substance of bread and wine, there is no resemblance of nourishing:

"Ergo, Without the substance of bread and wine, the analogy cannot hold."

Argument.

"Again, another resemblance and similitude or analogy of this sacrament is this: that as one loaf of bread, and one cup of wine, containeth many corns, and many grapes; so the mystical congregation containeth many members, and yet maketh but one body.

"Without the substance of bread and wine no such resemblance or similitude of conjunction can be represented:

"Ergo, without the substance of bread and wine the analogy of this spiritual conjunction cannot hold."

Another Argument.

"Every sacrament consisteth in two things, that is, in the thing signifying, and the thing signified.

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"Without the substance of bread and wine, there is nothing that signifieth in the sacrament.

"Ergo, The substance of bread and wine, in the sacrament, can in no wise be transubstantiate from their natures.

"The minor is thus to be proved:

"There is no signification in any sacrament without the element.

"The substance of bread and wine is the element of this sacrament.

"Ergo, Without the substance of bread and wine, there is no similitude nor signification in this sacrament.

"And forasmuch as the adversaries ground their transubstantiation so much upon these words of Christ, This is my body, which they expound only after the literal sense, without trope or figure; now, that this their exposition is false, and that the said words are to be taken figuratively and spiritually, by three causes it is to be proved:

"First, By the words of the Scripture.

"Secondly, By the nature of a sacrament.

"Thirdly, By the testimonies of the fathers.

"I. First, by these words of the Scripture, where he saith, Do this in remembrance of me, forasmuch as remembrance properly serveth not for things corporally present, but for things rather being absent.

"II. Secondly, where he saith, Until I come; which words were vain, if he were already come by consecration.

"III. Thirdly, where St. Paul saith, The breaking of bread, is it not the communion of the body of Christ? Which words of breaking, in no case can be verified upon the body of Christ, which, for the glory thereof, is unpassible.

"IV. Furthermore, whereas the Lord biddeth them to take and eat, it is evident that the same cannot be understood simply of the body of Christ, without a trope, forasmuch as he cannot be eaten and chewed with teeth, as we use properly, in eating other meats, to do.

"V. The words moreover of Luke and Paul, spoken of the cup, do argue likewise, that the other words spoken of the bread, must needs be taken mystically; as where it is said, This cup is the new testament, which words must needs be expounded thus, This cup doth signify the new testament.

"VI. Item, These words of St. John, My words be spirit and life. The flesh profiteth nothing, &c.

"VII. Item, Where in the same places of St. John, Christ, to refel the carnal understanding of the Capernaïtes, of eating his body, maketh mention of his ascension, &c.

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"The second cause why the words of Christ, This is my body, cannot be literally expounded without a trope, is the nature of a sacrament; whose nature and property is to bear a sign or signification of a thing to be remembered, which thing, after the substantial and real presence, is absent. As touching which nature of a sacrament, sufficient hath been said before.

"The third cause why the words of consecration are figuratively to be taken, is the testimony of the ancient doctors.

"Tertullian saith, 'This is my body; that is to say, This is a figure of my body.'

"Augustine saith, 'Christ gave a figure of his body.' Also he saith, 'He did not doubt to say, This is my body, when he gave a sign of his body.'

"Jerome saith, 'Christ represented unto us his body.'

"Augustine, in his book De Doctrina Christiana declareth expressly, that this speech, of eating the body of Christ, is a figurative speech.

"Ambrose saith, 'As thou hast received the similitude of his death; so thou drinkest the similitude of his precious blood.'"

Argument.

"The death of Christ is not present really in the sacrament, but by similitude.

"The precious blood of Christ is present in the sacrament, as his death is present.

"Ergo, The precious blood of Christ is not present really in the sacrament.

"The minor of this argument is proved before by the words of Ambrose."

The argument of Peter Martyr, upon the second conclusion.

"The body and blood of Christ be not carnally or corporally in the bread and wine, nor, as others use to say, under the kinds of bread and wine."

Argument.

"The true natural body of Christ is placed in heaven.

"The true natural body of man can be but in one place at once, where he is.

"Ergo, The true natural body of Christ can be in no place at once, but in heaven where he is.

"The major is plain by the Scriptures: Jesus was taken up to heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God. The poor ye have always with you, but me you shall not always have. I leave the world, and go to my Father. Many shall say in that day, Lo, here is Christ, and there is Christ; believe them not. Whom the heavens must receive for a time, until the restitution of all. Seek those things that are above, where Christ is sitting at the right hand of God.

"The minor, likewise, is evident by St. Austin, who, speaking of the glorified body of Christ, affirmeth the same to be in one certain place, for the manner of a true body."

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Argument.

"Every true natural body requireth one certain place.

"Augustine saith, Christ's body is a true natural body.

"Ergo, Christ's body requireth one certain place."

Argument.

"Augustine giveth not to the soul of Christ to be in more places at once but one.

"Ergo, Much less is it to be given to the body of Christ to be in more places at once but in one."

Argument.

"The nature of the angels is not to be in divers places, but they are limited to occupy one certain place at once.

"Ergo, The body of Christ being the true natural body of a man, cannot fill divers places at one time."

Argument.

"Whatsoever is in many and divers places at once, is God.

"The body of Christ is not God, but a creature. "Ergo, The body of Christ cannot be in more places together."

Argument.

"We must not so defend the Divinity of Christ, that we destroy his humanity.

"If we assign to the body of Christ plurality of places, we destroy his humanity.

"Ergo, We must not assign to the body of Christ plurality of places."

Argument.

"Whatsoever thing is circumscribed, that is to say, contained in the limits of any peculiar place, cannot be dispersed in more places at once.

"The body of Christ is a thing circumscribed.

"Ergo, The body of Christ is not dispersed in more places at one time."

Argument.

"Every quantity (that is, every body having magnitude, length, and other dimensions) is circumscribed in one peculiar place.

"The body of Christ hath its dimensions, and is a quantity.

"Ergo, The body of Christ is circumscribed.

"The major is proved by Cyril: 'Whatsoever is understood to be a body, the same is verily

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in a place, and in magnitude and in quantity. And if it be in quantity, it cannot avoid circumscription; that is, to have its place."

Argument.

"If Christ had given his body substantially and carnally in the supper, then was that body either passible or impassible.

"But neither can you say that body to be passible or impassible, which he gave at supper.

"Ergo, He did not give his body substantially and carnally at supper.

"The minor is proved thus: For if ye say, it was passible, Augustine is against it, who saith, 'Ye shall not eat this body which you see, nor drink the same blood which they shall shed that shall crucify me,' &c. And if ye say, it was impassible, that may not be admitted by the words of the evangelist, who saith, Eat, this is my body which shall be given for you: so that that body was passible, and not impassible, wherein Christ was given.

"Vigil saith, One creature cannot receive in itself two contrary or diverse things together. But these two things be diverse and far unlike, that is to say, to be contained in a place, and to be every where. For the word is every where; but the flesh is not every where."

Argument.

"Bodies organical, without quantity, be no bodies. "The pope's doctrine maketh the body of Christ in the sacrament to be without quantity.

"Ergo, The pope's doctrine maketh the body of Christ in the sacrament to be no body."

Argument.

"All things which may be divided, have quantity. "The body in the pope's sacrament is divided in three parts.

"Ergo, The body in the pope's sacrament hath quantity, which is against their own doctrine."

Argument.

"No natural body can receive in itself, and at one time, contrary or divers qualities.

"To be in one place local, and in another place not local; to be in one place with quantity, and in another place without quantity; in one place circumscribed, in another place incircumscribed, is for a natural body to receive contrary qualities.

"Ergo, The body of Christ cannot be in one place local, and in another not local; in one place with quantity, and in another without quantity, as our adversaries do affirm."

Argument.

"The wicked receive not the body of Christ.

"The wicked do receive the body of Christ, if transubstantiation be granted.

"Ergo, Transubstantiation is not to be granted in the sacrament."

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Argument for probation of the major.

"To eat Christ, is for a man to have Christ dwelling and abiding in him.

"The wicked have not Christ dwelling in them. "Ergo, The wicked eat not the body of the Lord.

"Cyprian saith, 'The eating of Christ is our abiding in him.'"

Argument.

"The Holy Ghost could not come, if the body of Christ were really present.

"That the Holy Ghost is come it is most certain. "Ergo, It cannot be, that Christ himself should be here really present.

"For proof of the major: John xvi., Unless I go from you, the Holy Ghost shall not come: it is expedient for you that I go hence."

Argument of Peter Martyr on the third conclusion.

"The body and blood of Christ be united to bread and wine sacramentally."

"If the wicked, and infidels, do receive the body of Christ, they receive him either with sense, or reason, or with faith.

"But they receive him neither with sense, reason, nor with faith.

"Ergo, Wicked men and infidels receive in no wise the body of Christ.

"For declaration of the major, if ye say, they receive him with sense, that is against their own lore, for the body of Christ in the blessed sacrament (say they) is not sensible, nor to be perceived by any sense: neither with reason can they receive him, by their own learning, forasmuch as this sacrament exceedeth all reason; and if ye say, that they receive him with faith, how can that be, seeing infidels have no faith?

"What it is to eat the body of Christ, the teaching of the papists herein is strange, and differeth from the old doctors. For whereas they teach that wicked persons and infidels, albeit they receive not the effect of the sacrament, yet the matter of the sacrament, which is the very body of Christ, they receive with their mouth, and with their sense the accidents of bread, and thus imagine a certain body of Christ, such as evil men and infidels may eat; and yet, being eaten, it giveth them no nourishment nor life, nor maketh them partakers of his spirit and grace; both Scripture, and the ancient expositors of the Scripture, do teach much otherwise. For the Scripture knoweth no such kind of eating Christ's body, but only that which is fruitful, wholesome, and effectual. He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, abideth in me and I in him, &c. And therefore it may appear, that the Scripture meaneth, by eating Christ's flesh, to believe in Christ's passion; which none can do but only the faithful. And to the same sense sound all the old doctors.

"Cyprian [saith,] 'That we should know that eating is our dwelling in him, and our drinking is, as it were, a certain incorporation in him.'"

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"Item, the same Cyprian saith: 'The eating, therefore, of his flesh, is a certain desire to abide in him;' and saith moreover, 'None eateth of this lamb, but such as be true Israelites, that is, true Christian men, without colour or dissimulation.'

"And again he saith, As meat is to the flesh, the same is faith to the soul, the same is the word to the spirit.'

"Moreover saith he, 'And therefore doing this, we whet not our teeth to bite, but with pure faith we break the holy bread and distribute it.'

"Augustine saith, 'It may not be said, that any such do eat the body of Christ, because they are accounted amongst the members of Christ. Neither can they be both members of Christ, and members of a harlot, &c. Furthermore, when Christ saith, He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him; he sheweth what it is, not sacramentally, but indeed, to eat his body and drink his blood, which is, when a man so dwelleth in Christ, that Christ dwelleth in him. For so Christ spake those words, as if he should say, He that dwelleth not in me, and in whom I dwell not, let him not say nor think, that he eateth my body, or drinketh my blood.'

"Also in other places the said Augustine affirmeth, that 'to drink, is to live;' and saith moreover, 'Why preparest thou thy belly and thy teeth? Believe, and thou hast eaten,' &c.

"All which kinds of eating cannot be said of the wicked and infidels, but only of the godly and faithful."

And thus, briefly, we have run over all the arguments and authorities of Peter Martyr, in that disputation at Oxford, with Drs. Tresham, Chedsey, and Morgan, before the king's visitors above named, A.D. 1549.

Furthermore, whoso listeth more fully to be satisfied and resolved in all the points and occurrences, touching the matter of this sacrament, let him read the books first, of the Archbishop Cranmer against Winchester; secondly, The Tractation of Peter Martyr made in Oxford, translated and extant in English; and thirdly, the book of Bishop Ridley made in prison, called A brief Declaration of the Lord's Supper.

237. A Like Disputation in Cambridge

The like disputation also, about the same time, was appointed and commenced at Cambridge, concerning the same matter of the sacrament, the king's visitors being directed down for the same purpose by the king; the names of which visitors were these, Nicholas Ridley, bishop of Rochester, Thomas, bishop of Ely, Master John Cheke, the king's schoolmaster, Dr. May, civilian, and Thomas Wendy, the king's physician. The conclusions in that disputation propounded were these:

The first disputation, holden at Cambridge the twentieth day of June, A.D. 1549, before the king's Majesty's commissioners, by Dr. Madew, respondent, whose first conclusion was this:

"Transubstantiation cannot be proved by the plain and manifest words of Scripture; nor can thereof be necessarily collected, nor yet confirmed, by the consents of the ancient fathers for these thousand years past." (Dr. Glyn, Master Langdale, Master Segewick, Master Young, opponents.)

Dr. Madew's Declaration.

"First of all," quoth he, "I am very sorry, and do not a little lament the shortness of time, to declare and discuss such weighty matters of religion in, as these be. But, that notwithstanding, if I had had more plenty of time indeed, yet you shall understand how that I have ever, both in heart and mind, (if otherwise I could have avoided it,) abhorred all scholastical disputations, and subtile sophistications. In consideration whereof, I beseech those that are to dispute, not to allege or bring forth any dismembered or curtailed sentences, or wrested, (as happeneth many times,) but the whole and full sentences either of the Scriptures, or of the ancient doctors; yea, and to avouch such authors' sayings, as are not suspected, or feigned, but such as be their own very sayings indeed; which if they do, there is no doubt, but the clear light of this our disputation shall the sooner appear, and be manifest to this auditory.

"And for a further declaration of my part, you shall understand, that this my preface, in my said former most catholic and godly conclusion, shall consist in three principal points.

"First, What thing it was that Christ gave to his disciples.

"Secondly, What season or time this transubstantiation did begin.

"Thirdly, How many devilish abominations have ensued upon that horrible and pestilent invention.

"As concerning the first, that is, what thing Christ gave to his disciples, that may very well appear even by our own natural senses, as namely, by the sight, by the touching, by the

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tasting, which cannot be deceived of their natural judgment. For the eye seeth nothing but bread and wine; the tasting savoureth nothing else; and the hands touch nothing else. He gave, also, to their understanding, not only his holy and sacred doctrine, but also a special gift and pledge of his love. He gave the only material bread and wine sanctified, as the first rude and plain elements or principles to allure them withal; but he gave them the gift of his grace and heavenly doctrine, as the very things signified by the sensible elements; which thing plainly appeareth by the words of Christ our Saviour, I will not drink hereafter of the fruit of this vine, until I drink it new with you in the kingdom of God. Nor this fruit or juice of the vine, is nothing else but wine, as Chrysostom saith. And moreover, to prove the same true, if it be reserved after the consecration for a time, it becometh sour and tart; therefore it is but wine.

"And as touching the bread, St. Paul saith thus: Is not the bread which we break the communion, or participation, of Christ's body? He brake bread, therefore it was but bread which he gave them: for the body of Christ is not broken; as the Scripture saith of the same, You shall not break a bone of him. Also he said, This is my body; not that the bread was his body, and the wine his blood, but he spake those words to and of his own mortal body, there sitting amongst them at supper. Or he spake yet doubtfully, as thus: This signifieth my body, it is one thing which is seen, but it is another thing which is understood: for that which is seen hath a bodily form, but that which is understood thereby, hath a spiritual fruit. St. Augustine saith, 'Let the word have access to the element, so is it made a sacrament:' mark, he saith, 'Let the word have access'—and not 'success.' Now the thing that hath access to another thing, doth not quench the thing that it cometh to, no more doth it here: ergo, it is bread and wine still, as before, howbeit sacred and holy. 'What saw you yesterday,' saith St. Augustine, 'upon the altar? Truly bread and wine, which your own eyes can witness,' said he. What plainer testimony can be had of so ancient a father as he was, and of so rare knowledge in the Scriptures of God? Seeing then that our eyes do behold nothing but bread and wine, it must needs follow that it is so indeed, or else our senses be deceived in their own proper object, which cannot be by any reason or natural philosophy. And yet, notwithstanding, some papists dream and fancy such a corporal, real, and gross presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, as they affirm it to be there, even as verily as it was upon the cross. Indeed the bread is changed after a certain manner into Christ's body; for Christ gave not his own natural body to his disciples at his last supper, but only a sign or figure thereof. Christ's body is there with the bread; our senses cannot be deceived about the substance of bread, but they do judge there to be but one body, that is of bread: ergo, so it is. Also the very definition of a sacrament doth plainly repugn unto transubstantiation. Bread nourisheth the substance of Christ's body, but the accidents do not so: ergo, the substance doth remain of the bread that nourisheth. It is also called bread in the Acts, and in divers other places of the Scriptures; wherefore it is so, but indeed after a sort more holy than before. What gave he in the supper? Bread, which is the body, that is to say, a holy sign of his body; as Augustine doth witness, saying, 'He doubted not to say, This is my body, when it was but a sign of his body.' The unleavened bread was but a bare and naked sign of Christ's body; and so is this bread the same body, even as baptism is. Now, indeed, there be two manner of signs; one that signifieth only, the other that doth exhibit, the thing itself. The first is applied to the old law chiefly, the other to the law of grace. The old, ancient, and learned fathers did never use to speak of the substantial change, for because that all the mutation is but conditional, not substantial; nor do we deem the bodily substance sacramentally, but yet we say that this proposition, This is my body, is but a figurative speech, and no proper speech, as some do deem. But it is as much as to say, 'This

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signifileth my body;' or else thus, 'This is a sacrament of my body:' for the bodily bread and Christ's body are not contained in place locally, but mystically.

"This portentous and monstrous transubstantiation began first to enter, when the popish prelates and priests began first to understand this said proposition, This is my body, of the carnal and real presence of Christ's body; as Hugo de Sancto Victore, Gratian, Peter Lombard, and Innocent the Third, the very pestilent poison of all Christian religion, unto whom we have, of long season, yea, alas, too long, given credit: under the which Innocent the said devilish term or vocable of 'transubstantiation' began in the year 1315. And Boniface, after him bishop of Rome, made the said mad blind transubstantiation to be the third article of the faith, full wisely, no doubt! whereas another bishop of Rome after him affirmed plainly, against Nestor the heretic, that bread remaineth still, whose name was Gelasius the Third.

"Now, as touching the most shameful and detestable inconveniences, which must needs follow this devilish term or vocable of 'transubstantiation,' you shall understand the first is, that then such papists will have Christ's body still prostituted and received, even of the wicked and naughty people; which is clean contrary to that place of our Saviour Christ, where he saith, Whosoever eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him. Now it is plain, that evil persons dwell not in Christ, nor Christ in them; wherefore they receive not his body therein at all. For St. Augustine saith, 'It is but bread, which is seen after the consecration:' ergo, the substance of bread is there still.

"The second inconvenience that groweth hereof, is the fond and superstitious reservation of the sacrament in pixes, boxes, and such like, with vain tabernacles over the altar, where oftentimes it did putrify, for all their foolish honour; which began in Honorius's days, the third of that name, bishop of Rome; which corruption declareth it to be but only bread—say all the papists what they list.

"The third inconvenience that must needs follow transubstantiation, is adoration, which is too plain idolatry, as the papists do know themselves, if they list: but they are so stiff-necked, that they will not know it; and so both have kept, and yet also will keep, the world in blindness still, if they might be suffered. But to be short with you, even as we are changed into Christ by receiving the sacrament, so the bread is changed into the body of Christ. But our substance is not changed into Christ's substance: ergo, the substance of the bread is not changed into Christ's body. And to be short and plain with you, most honourable audience, the whole universal world hath been, and yet is, sore deceived and deluded about the estimation of this sacrament. Therefore this is most true; when we do receive the said sacrament worthily, then are we joined by faith spiritually, to Christ our Saviour. And thus much have I said, in this first matter."

"The second matter to be disputed of is this:

"That in the Lord's supper is none other oblation or sacrifice, than one only remembrance of Christ's death, and of thanksgiving."

"In this conclusion I will be much shorter and more compendious than in the first. In consideration thereof you shall understand, that the same is a very godly and true catholic

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proposition; for to offer Christ, and to exhibit the same, is all one thing: for in that he is offered—he is set forth to eat—there is no difference at all between the maker of the sacrifice, or offerer, and the thing that was offered, which both were one Christ. The Lord did command, saying, Do this in remembrance of me; he made mention of the remembrance only, wherefore it can be none other sacrifice but only that. The apostle doth declare the manner of the thing doing, saying thus, He took bread in his hands, he blessed it, he brake it, and gave it to his disciples. What gave he to them? Forsooth bread, which was the sacrament, and not his body. No earthly creature, nor heavenly, did ever offer up Christ at any time, but he himself, once for all, upon the cross; ergo, he cannot, nor ought not, to be offered many times and often—though that Pighius, with all the blind rabble of papists, say the contrary. For, truly, in this point especially, they know not what they say, being so led by the old Pharisaical blindness. But to the purpose: you shall understand, good auditors, that the pure and clean oblation and sacrifice, spoken of by the prophet Malachi, is nothing else than devout and faithful prayer and thanksgiving, as Tertullian saith in his third book 'contra Marcionem,' expounding the Psalm, where it is said thus, The sacrifice of laud and praise shall honour me. So do St. Jerome, Irenæus, and St. Austin say, also, upon Malachi; where, also, they deny that Christ is essentially in the sacrament. Yea, and St. Austin witnesseth, that the mortifying of our earthly members is our true sacrifice, that be Christians. And all the ancient fathers do call prayers by the name of sacrifices. And for this purpose, whosoever list to read that most excellent and famous clerk Zuinglius, shall find the same confirmed of him by most grounded reasons, whatsoever the papists do bark against it. Thus I have declared my mind in both matters now disputable; and, if my further declaration be required through the vehemency of arguments, I will perform the same in my answer thereunto."

(There disputed against this defendant, Dr. Glyn, Master Langdale, Master Segewick, and Master Young, students in divinity.)

Glyn.—"Notwithstanding, right worshipful Master Doctor, that you have so exquisitely declared your mind and opinion in every one of these matters now in contention, before this honourable and learned audience, and also, though just occasion be ministered to me to infringe your positions in both conclusions, yet I will not invade the same as now indirectly, with contrarious and vain words to occupy the small time which is appointed us for the trial of the same, but we will go forthwith to the thing itself, which containeth in it matter enough. It is but folly to use many words, where few will serve our purpose, as saith the Master of the Sentences. All words may signify at pleasure, and commonly there be more things than vocables. Like as, sometimes, there was variance amongst learned men, of the unity of two substances in one personage of Christ, God and man; so is there now, in our days, variance of transubstantiation of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ. Wherefore I do require you, first, to show me here openly, what the said transubstantiation is, that we go not from the thing itself, which is our first and chiefest ground."

Madew.—"As for that, I need not to show you; for every man knoweth it."

Glyn.—"Peradventure it is not so, good Master Doctor. And I am perfectly assured, that every man doth not know it indeed; for it is not so light a matter as you make it to be."

Madew.—"Forsooth you know it yourself, and so do all men else."

Glyn.—"Well, yet I pray you show me, what thing Christ did demonstrate and show forth by that article of the neuter gender, where he said, This is my body? What did he point at in that article 'this?' For if he meant by that, the bread, then Christ, in the sacrament, is not only of two natures, but of three natures, as of the nature of bread, of the nature of man, and of the Divine nature; which to say, were blasphemy. The argument is good, and doth hold by that text, He spoke the word, and it was done; he commanded, and they were created. Moreover, if he should mean by that article of the neuter gender, 'this,' the material bread, then he would have said, This bread is my body, so making the article of the neuter gender; or else he would have said thus, Here, with this bread, is my body; to have avoided ever after all heresies, errors, and schisms. But he said not so, but spake the article of the neuter gender, saying, This is my body, that is to say, the thing or substance contained under the form and kind of bread, which you see not with your bodily eyes, is my body, according to my promise made to you before, that I would give you my very flesh to eat. In like manner when he gave the cup of his blood, he said not 'this' in the neuter gender, as he would have done, if he had meant the material creature of wine to have remained; but he said then in the masculine gender, This is my blood: that is to say, the thing contained under the form of wine, which you see not with your bodily eyes, is my blood. For truly the Holy Ghost came down to lead us into all truth and verity, and not to deceive us in so notable a point of our faith. But, out of doubt, he should have deceived in this matter, if so be he had given us only material bread and wine, instead of his body and blood, and not have fulfilled his promise made in John vi., where he promised thus, The bread which I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world. Here be two givings spoken of, with two relatives, whereof the first, with his relative, must needs be referred to his gift in the last supper, and the second giving of the same flesh of his, with his relative, must be applied of necessity unto his giving of his body upon the cross: nor do we find in the whole Scripture, where Christ did fulfil his said promise made in John vi., but at those said two times. Wherefore if we be deceived in this matter of transubstantiation, we may well say, O Lord, thou hast deceived us. But God forbid that we should once think such wickedness of him. He must also be unjust of his promise, if it be not performed at any season; as it is not indeed, if it were not at both the said times. Then, if it were performed, (as the catholic church of Christ doth hold, determine, and believe,) then must it needs be granted, that he gave, at his last supper, his own body and flesh indeed and verily, which he gave upon the cross for the life of the world, though not in so fleshly a manner and bloody, yet the very same flesh and blood really, after an unbloody sort, and spiritually. He said not, This bread is my body, nor yet, Here, with the bread, is my body; but, This is my body, which shall be given for you. Neither said he, This wine is my blood, nor, With this wine is my blood; which circumstance of plain speech he would have used, if the pure creatures should have remained: but he said, This is my blood, which is shed for you and for many, for the remission of sins; that is to say, the substance hidden under these visible forms of bread and wine, is my very proper flesh and blood. I pray you where do you find, in the whole body of the Scripture expressed, or justly understood, that Christ gave but only a bare and naked sign, figure, or sacrament? or where find you that he gave his body with bread, it remaining bread still? And if you think to find it, I pray you show me here, whether that body that he gave with material bread were his true body or not? If not, then it was fantastical; if it were his true body, (as you do grant,) then must there needs be two very true bodies in one place together. Now, that it was his very true body and blood, it is certain, by the plain words of the text, saying thus, which is betrayed or given, and, which is shed for you and for many. But I will let all this pass over, and I

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do require of you this one question, Whether that the sacraments of the old law and of the new law be all one?"

Madew.—"If you do consider the things themselves, they be all one; but if you respect only the signs, figures, and sacraments outwardly, then they be divers."

Glyn.—"I do perceive your answer very well. Then further to our purpose, Was Christ, then, after the same manner in the bread that came from heaven, in the paschal lamb, and in Isaac, as he is in this sacrament? which if you do grant me, then these propositions were true, for Christ to say, This manna is my body, This lamb is my body, This Isaac is my body. Moreover, if the sacraments of the old law, and of the law of grace, be all one in very deed and effect, (as you seem to grant,) then what difference is between the shewbread in Moses's law, and the bread that we do break, that St. Paul speaketh of? They then had that bread which signifieth Christ; and so doth ours, as you say: that was bread, so is ours; and so, by your reason, there is no difference between them: yea, their manna, because it came from heaven, was better than this earthly bread, that cometh from beneath—which is contrary to the truth; for St. John saith, That the law was given by Moses, but the verity was given by Jesus Christ. Wherefore that which Christ gave, was not only a sign, but also the verity; that is to say, the living bread that came down from heaven, the true Lamb that taketh away the sins of the world, and Isaac himself, which is Christ: or else you must grant me that we Christians do receive less than the Jews did—for they received the bread, called manna, from heaven, and we only a poor morsel of bread from the earth; theirs was called angels' food, and ours is, as you hold, little better than common bread. Me seemeth that you do distrust the doctrine of the faith of Christendom for these five hundred years, even as though Christ had forsaken his catholic church after one thousand years; but that is not so; for he promised his Holy Spirit to assist his spouse the church, and to lead her continually into all truth from time to time, as need should require. As I remember, you said that adoration did follow upon transubstantiation: but the fathers, for one thousand years past, do grant adoration of the sacrament; therefore transubstantiation also. The minor I prove by the most clear testimonies of St. Austin, St. Ambrose, St. Denis, St. Basil, and St. Chrysostom."

Madew.—"I deny, Master Doctor, that I said any such thing; and therewith I say, that the fathers do understand by adoration, a certain reverent manner that we should receive the Lord's supper with; which may be called a certain veneration, but no adoration."

Glyn.—"No, Master? St. Austin, De Civitate Dei, witnesseth, that the ethnics and paynims do esteem the Christians to worship and adore the god of wheat and barley, called Ceres, and the god of wine, called Bacchus. And again, St. Austin saith thus, 'Lo, no man eateth of that bread, except he first adore and worship it.'"

Madew.—"By your patience, St. Austin, in that place, speaketh of the honouring of Christ's body now sitting in heaven."

Glyn.—"Yea, Master Doctor, think you so? And why not also of his blessed body in the sacrament; seeing that he saith it is there? This is my body which is given for you, saith he. More plainly he needeth not to speak for the real presence of his blessed body, being both able and willing to verify his word. For if a cunning lapidary should say to you or me, This is a true right

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diamond, a perfect carbuncle, sapphire, emerald, or any such precious stone, we would believe him, though we were ignorant of their natures. Wherefore we ought much more to believe our Saviour Christ, God and man, in that he saith, This is my body. And why then ought we not to honour it in the sacrament? or how many bodies hath Christ, seeing you do grant his body in heaven to be honoured, but not his body here in the sacrament?"

Madew.—"Forsooth he hath but one very body and no more; but the same is sacramentally in the sacrament, and substantially in heaven; here by faith, and there in deed."

Glyn.—"Well, yet once again to you thus: The very true body of Christ is to be honoured, but the same very true body is in the sacrament: ergo, the body of Christ in the sacrament is to be honoured."

Rochester.—"Well-beloved friends, and brethren in our Saviour Christ, you must understand that this disputation, with others that shall be after this, are appointed for to search for the plain truth of the Holy Scriptures in these matters of religion, which, of a long season, have been hidden from us by the false glosses of that great antichrist and his ministers of Rome, and now, in our days, must be revealed to us Englishmen, through the great mercy of God principally, and, secondarily, through the most gentle clemency of our natural sovereign lord the king's Majesty, whom the living Lord long preserve to reign over us in health, wealth, and godliness, to the maintenance of God's holy word, and to the extirpation of all blind glosses of men, that go about to subvert the truth. Because, therefore, that I am one that doth love the truth, and have professed the same amongst you, therefore, I say, because of conferring my mind with yours, I will here gladly declare what I think in this point now in controversy. Not because this worshipful doctor hath any need of my help in dissolving of arguments proposed against him, for, as me seemeth, he hath answered hitherto very well and clerkly, according to the truth of God's word. But now to the purpose, I do grant unto you, master opponent, that the old ancient fathers do record and witness a certain honour and adoration to be due unto Christ's body, but then they speak not of it in the sacrament, but of it in heaven at the right hand of the Father, as holy Chrysostom saith, 'Honour thou it, and then eat it:' but that honour may not be given to the outward sign, but to the body of Christ itself in heaven. For that body is there only in a sign virtually, by grace, in the exhibition of it in spirit, effect, and faith, to the worthy receiver of it. For we receive virtually only Christ's body in the sacrament."

Glyn.—"How then, if it please your good Lordship, doth baptism differ from this sacrament . for in that, we receive Christ also by grace, and virtually."

Rochester.—"Christ is present after another sort in baptism, than in this sacrament; for in that, he purgeth and washeth the infant from all kind of sin, but here, he doth feed spiritually the receiver in faith with all the merits of his blessed death and passion. And yet he is in heaven still really and substantially, as for example: the king's Majesty, our lord and master, is but in one place, wheresoever that his royal person is abiding for the time; and yet his mighty power and authority is every where in his realms and dominions: so Christ's real person is only in heaven substantially placed, but his might is in all things created effectually; for Christ's flesh may be understood for the power or inward might of his flesh."

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Glyn.—"If it please your fatherhood, St. Ambrose and St. Augustine do say, that before the consecration it is but very bread, and after the consecration it is called the very body of Christ."

Madew.—"Indeed it is the very body of Christ sacramentally, after the consecration, whereas before, it is nothing but common bread; and yet, after that, it is the Lord's bread: and thus must St. Ambrose and St. Augustine be understood."

(Here the proctors commanded the opponent to divert to the second conclusion but he requested them that they would permit him as long, in this matter, as they would in the second; and so he still prosecuted the first matter as followeth:)

Glyn.—"The bread, after consecration, doth feed the soul: ergo, the substance of common bread doth not remain.—The argument is good, for St. Ambrose, De Sacramentis, saith thus: 'After the consecration there is not the thing that nature did form, but that which the blessing doth consecrate. And if the benediction of the prophet Elias did turn the nature of water, how much more then doth the benediction of Christ here both God and man!'"

Madew.—"That book of St. Ambrose is suspected to be none of his works."

Rochester.—"So say all the fathers."

Glyn.—"I do marvel at that, for St. Austin, in his book of Retractations, maketh plain, that that was his own very work."

Rochester.—"He speaketh, indeed, of such a book so entituled, to St. Ambrose, but yet we do lack the same book indeed."

Glyn.—"Well, let it then pass to other men's judgments. What then say you to holy St. Cyprian, one thousand two hundred years past, who saith, that the bread, which our Lord gave to his disciples, was not changed in form, or quality; but in very nature, and, by the Almighty word, was made flesh?"

Madew.—"I do answer thus: that this word 'flesh' may be taken two ways, either for the substance itself, or else for a natural property of a fleshly thing. So that Cyprian there did mean of a natural property, and not of fleshly substance. And, contrariwise, in the rod of Aaron, where both the substance and also the property was changed."

Glyn.—"Holy St. Ambrose saith, 'The body there made by the mighty power of God's word, is the body of the Virgin Mary.'"

Rochester.—"That is to say, that by the word of God the thing hath a being that it had not before, and we do consecrate the body, that we may receive the grace and power of the body of Christ in heaven by this sacramental body."

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Glyn.—"By your patience, my Lord, if it be a body of the Virgin, as St. Ambrose saith, which we do consecrate, as ministers, by God's holy word, then must it needs be more than a sacramental or spiritual body; yea, a very body of Christ indeed; yea, the same that is still in heaven without all moving from place to place, unspeakably and far passing our natural reason, which is in this mystery so captivate, that it cannot conceive how it is there, without a lively faith to God's word. But let this pass. You do grant that this bread doth quicken or give life; which, if it do, then it is not a natural bread, but a supersubstantial bread."

Rochester.—"So doth the effectual and lively word of God, which for that it nourisheth the soul, it doth give life; for the Divine essence infuseth itself unspeakably into the faithful receiver of the sacrament."

Glyn.—"How then say you to holy Damascene, a Greek author, who, as one Tritenius saith, flourished one thousand years past. He saith thus: 'The body that is of the holy Virgin Mary, is joined to the Divinity, after the consecration, in verity and indeed: not so as the body, once assumed into heaven, and sitting on the Father's right hand, doth remove from thence and come down at the consecration-time, but that the same bread and wine are substantially transumpted into the very body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. If,' saith he, thou dost not know the manner how it is brought to pass, let it be enough to thee to believe, that it is done by the operation of the Holy Ghost; and we do know no more but that the living word of God is working and almighty, but the very manner how, is inscrutable to us: and no great marvel,' smith he, 'for we cannot well express how the material bread, wine, or water, are transumpted naturally into the same body and blood of the receiver, and be become another body than they were before. So,' saith this great ancient clerk, 'also this shewbread with wine and water are changed, by the coming of the Holy Ghost, into Christ's body and blood, and they be not two bodies there, but very one (of Christ) and the same.'"

Rochester.—"First, I deny, Master Doctor, that Damascene was one thousand years past. Secondly, that he is not to be holden as an ancient father, for that he maintaineth in his works evil and damnable doctrine, as the worshipping of images and such like. Thirdly, I say, that indeed God, by his Holy Spirit, is the worker of that which is done in the sacrament. Also I grant that there is a mutation of the common bread and wine spiritually into the Lord's bread and wine, by the sanctifying of them in the Lord's word. But I deny that there is any mutation of the substances; for there is no other change there, indeed, than there is in us, which, when we do receive the sacrament worthily, then are we changed into Christ's body, bones, and blood; not in nature, but spiritually, and by grace. Much like as Isaiah saw the burning coal, even so we see not there the very simple bread, as it was before the consecration; for a union cannot be but of two very things. Wherefore, if we be joined to Christ receiving the sacrament, then there is no annihilation of bread, (which is, when it is reduced to nothing,) as it is in your feigned transubstantiation."

Glyn.—"So, I perceive, you would have me to grant, that the sacrament is but a figure; which Theophylact doth deny."

Rochester.—"You say truth, he denieth it indeed to be a figure, but he meaneth that it is not only a figure."

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Glyn.—"Whereas St. Paul saith, that we, being many, are one bread, he speaketh not, nor meaneth one material bread, as you do here: ergo, he speaketh of heavenly bread. And holy Chrysostom, upon Matthew, saith, that the paschal lamb was a figure, but the mystery is the verity. For the disciples would not have been offended to have drunk a figure of Christ's blood, being well accustomed to figures. For Christ did not institute a figure for a figure, but the clear verity instead of the figure, as St. John saith, Grace and verity was given by Christ. 'Dost thou see bread,' saith Chrysostom, 'doth it avoid or pass as other meats do which we receive? God forbid! Ergo,'" &c.

Madew.—"That ancient clerk Origen, upon Matt. xv., saith thus, As touching that which is material in the sacrament, it descendeth and issueth out as other nutriments do; but as concerning that which is celestial, it doth not so."

Glyn.—"Chrysostom, upon Matthew, saith, that we cannot be deceived of Christ's word, but our natural senses may be deceived in this point very soon and easily: his said words cannot be false, but our senses be many times beguiled of their judgments. Because therefore that Christ said, This is my body, let us not at any hand doubt (saith Chrysostom); but let us believe it, and well perceive it with the eyes of our understanding. And within a little after, in that place, he saith thus: It was not enough, that he was become man, and afterwards was scourged for us; but also he did reduce and bring us to be as one body with him: not through faith only, but in very deed also, he maketh us his body.' And after that he saith, that these works are not of man's power; but the same things that he wrought in his last supper, he now worketh also by his precept to his right ministers, and we do occupy the place of the same ministers: but he it is that doth sanctify and transmute the creatures; he performeth still the same."

Rochester.—"Master Doctor, you must understand, that in that place St. Chrysostom sheweth us, that Christ delivered to us no sensible thing at his last supper."

Glyn.—"Honourable sir, by your patience I grant that he gave to his disciples no sensible thing in substance, but a thing insensible, his own precious body and blood, under the only kinds of creatures. And truly, as it seemeth, Theophylact best knew the meaning of Chrysostom, because all authors accept him as a faithful interpreter of him; and he hath these same plain words, 'trans-elemented' and 'transformed.' Also Theophylact of Alexandria, upon Mark, Cyril, and St. Augustine, saith, that before the consecration it is bread, but afterwards it is Christ's very body. In like manner St. Augustine, upon Psalm xxxiii., saith, that in the last supper Christ did bear himself in his own hands. Now every man may bear the figure of his body in his own hands, but St. Augustine saith it there, for a miracle. Irenæus, in his fifth book, is of the same mind. And St. Augustine saith, (I do remember the words,) The law and figures were by Moses; but the verity and body came by Christ."

Rochester.—"Well, say what you list, it is but a figurative speech, like to this: If you will receive and understand, he is Elias—for a property: but indeed he was not Elias, but John the Baptist. And so in this place Christ calleth it his body, when it was very bread. But better than the common bread, because it was sanctified by the word of Christ."

(Here Master Langdale replied to Dr. Madew.)

Langdale.—"Right worshipful Master Doctor, by your patience I have noted two things that you affirmed in your position even now, before this honourable audience, the which, as me seemeth, are not consonant to the truth of God's word. The first is, as touching Christ's saying, I will not from henceforth drink any more of the fruit of the vine, until I drink it new with you, &c.; which place of the Scripture you did, as I think, understand, and interpret, as though nothing else remained after the consecration, but very wine still. Whereof I do not a little marvel, seeing that most famous clerk Erasmus, whose authority and sentence you refuse at this present only, yet, nevertheless, is very worthy, in this matter, of far better estimation amongst learned men. Wherefore I trust I shall not offend, to allege him before this learned and honourable auditory. He plainly affirmeth, that for all his great labour in searching the Scriptures, he could never find either in the evangelists, or yet in the apostolical doctrine, that it might be or was called wine, after the consecration. And therefore I cannot but marvel, if the thing be so open and plain as in your declaration you seem to make it, that such a profound clerk as he was could not find it out. For that said place he entreated of in his Paraphrases, in his annotations, and in other of his lucubrations; and yet he plainly denieth that same very thing to be found of him, which you here openly affirmed, that it is wine, or may be so called after the consecration duly performed by a right minister. I beseech you not to be offended, though I credit not your saying in this so weighty a matter of Christian religion, as I do his."

Madew.—"No forsooth, I will not be offended one jot with you. But, for to content your mind in this point, it is most constant and sure, that Erasmus was of that mind and opinion, that it was enough for a Christian to believe Christ's body and blood to be in the sacrament, in what manner or condition soever it were."

Langdale.—"By your licence, good Master Doctor, these be Erasmus's words: The church of Christ hath determined, very lately, transubstantiation in the sacrament. It was of a long season enough to believe Christ's body to be either under the bread consecrated, or else to be present after any other manner. But yet,' saith he, after that the said church had pondered and weighed the thing more pithily with greater judgment, then she made a more certain determination of the same.' In the which place (1 Cor. vii.) Erasmus saith, that the proceeding of the Holy Ghost equally from the Father and the Son, was also determined of the same church. But let this pass. And as touching the second point which I noted in your so eloquent declaration, which was, that you did wrest and wring the saying of Tertullian from the verity of his mind: for you said, that he doth interpret the prophet Malachi, speaking of our daily sacrifice in the new law, to mean nothing else by that sacrifice, in that place, but prayer and thanksgiving. But the said ancient clerk Tertullian hath not those words that you do allege of him, that is to say, 'nothing else.' And yet, though that Ecolampadius doth so interpret that place, yet (as me seemeth) the judgment of the whole Christian church is to be preferred, in such a matter of religion. But I will pass over this point, and return to the matter itself: and first, I do require of your mastership, whether that this sentence, This is my body, be spoken of Christ figuratively or not."

Madew.—"After the mind of the common gloss of Cyprian and Origen, it is so taken in very deed."

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Langdale.—"That cannot be, by your patience; for it is taken there substantially: ergo, not figuratively."

Madew.—"I deny your argument."

Langdale.—"I prove my argument good, thus: This word 'substance' doth plainly repugn, and is contrary to, this word 'figure:' ergo, 'substantially' and 'figuratively' do also repugn. Moreover I ask of you, whether that this be a true proposition or not: 'Bread is Christ's body.'"

Madew.—"Yea forsooth, it is a true proposition."

Langdale.—"Then thus to you: Christ's body was given for us; but you say, that bread is Christ's body: ergo, bread was given for us."

Rochester.—"Not so, sir, for your former proposition is of double understanding."

Langdale.—"Well, yet you, Master Doctor, do grant that Christ is substantially in the sacrament."

Madew.—"No, I deny that I said so ever."

Langdale.—"Yea, do you so? Well, I pass not thereupon greatly, for I will prove it by another means.—Christ did suffer his most glorious passion for us, really and substantially: ergo, he is also in the sacrament substantially. The argument is good, because that it is the same here, that was there crucified for us; howbeit here invisibly, indeed spiritually and sacramentally; but there visibly, and after a mortal and most bloody manner."

Rochester.—"Master Langdale, your argument doth well conclude, in case that his body were here, in the sacrament, after such a sort as it was when he was betrayed. But that is not so, for he was betrayed and crucified in his natural body substantially and really, in very deed; but in the sacrament he is not so, but spiritually and figuratively only."

Langdale.—"By your good Lordship's favour, that is not so; for he is there not figuratively, but verily and indeed, by the power of his mighty word; yea, even his very own natural body, under the sacrament duly performed by the lawful minister."

Madew.—"O say not so; for you speak blasphemy."

Langdale.—"No, no, Master Doctor; God forbid that either I, or any man else, should be noted of blasphemy, saying nothing but the very plain truth, as in my conscience and learning I do no less."

Rochester.—"O Master Langdale! I wis it becometh you not here to have such words."

Langdale.—"If it like your good Lordship, I gave not the first occasion of them, but only did refute that which I was unjustly burdened withal, as reason doth require; and it grieved me to

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hear it. He [Erasmus] saith, if it please your Lordship, that there is a mutation or change of the bread after it is consecrated; which if it be so, as I grant no less, then I would require of him, whether it be changed in the substance, or in the accidents, or else in both, or in nothing? No man can justly say, that there is a change into nothing. And all ancient fathers do agree, that the same accidents are there still after, that were before; nor doth any doctor say, that there is any mutation both of the substance and accidents also: ergo, the substance of bread is changed into some other thing that is there really present under the forms of bread and wine, which, by Christ's words, must needs be his own blessed body."

Rochester.—"Sir, you are deceived greatly, for there is no change either of the substances, or of the accidents; but in very deed there do come unto the bread other accidents, inasmuch that whereas the bread and wine were not sanctified before, nor holy, yet afterwards they be sanctified, and so do receive then another sort or kind of virtue which they had not before." [Note: Here is to be noted, that Peter Martyr, in his answer at Oxford, did grant a change in the substances of bread and wine, which, in Cambridge, by the bishop Dr. Ridley, was denied.]

Langdale.—"By your patience, reverend father, by such means a man may easily avoid all the mysteries of our Christian faith. As where it is said thus of God the Father, This is my beloved Son, &c., a man may also wring that, to be understood thus: This is the image of my well-beloved Son; or, This is the virtue of my well-beloved Son: yea, much more justly than your good Lordship doth the other; because St. Paul to the Hebrews doth call the Son the image of the Father, and in another place, he calleth him the power or virtue of God, and God's wisdom. Now, though he be so called in Scripture, God forbid that we should call him only God's image or God's virtue, and not God himself."

Rochester.—"O gentle Master Langdale! you ought not to reason after such a sort as you do now, because that a trope or figurative speech is nocive some where—but not every where, nor in this matter."

Langdale.—"Yet by your licence, honourable father, it doth appear to me no trope at all in these words of Christ, This is my body which is given for you; and that for this reason: Christ did exhibit or give again the very same things at his last supper, by the which things he was joined to us; but he was joined or knit unto us, by his own natural flesh and blood: ergo, he did exhibit to us at his last supper no less again. My former proposition I prove by the testimony of St. Chrysostom, whose words in Christ's person are these: 'I would be your brother. I took upon me common flesh and blood for your sakes; and even the same things by which I am joined to you, the very same I have exhibited to you again,'" &c.

(Here the proctors commanded Langdale to give place to another.)

Rochester. "We are not joined by natural flesh, but do receive his flesh spiritually from above." (Here Master Segewick replied.)

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Segewick.—"Right worshipful Master Doctor, I do also ask of you first of all, whether the Greek article 'this,' of the neuter gender, be referred to the word 'bread,' or to the word 'body.' If it be referred to the word bread,' then Christ would not have said this,' in the neuter gender; but rather 'this,' in the masculine gender."

Rochester.—"Forsooth that article is referred to neither of both; but may signify unto us any other kind of thing."

Segewick.—"No forsooth; but it doth note unto us some excellent great thing determinately, and not so confusedly as you say. For such a great heap of articles, in the Greek, doth notify unto us a great and weighty thing to be in the sacrament determinately, if we may credit the ancient fathers. Moreover this word 'bread,' is not always in the Scriptures taken after one sort: wherefore I desire you to show me how it is taken in this place of St. Paul, 'We that are many, are one bread,'" &c.

Madew.—"Forsooth of the very wheaten bread."

Segewick.—"Then, after your mind, we are all very wheaten bread."

Rochester.—"Forsooth we are bread, not for the nature of bread, but for the fellowship and unity that is noted by the coagulation of many grains into one bread or loaf."

Segewick.—"Well, let that pass; then thus: It is the body; ergo, no figure; because there is a perpetual contrariety between the law of Moses and the law of grace. Therein were figures and shadows, and herein is the verity indeed."

Rochester.—"I do grant it to be Christ's true body and flesh, by a property of the nature assumed to the Godhead; yea, and we do really eat and drink his flesh and blood after a certain real property."

Segewick.—"It is not the figurative paschal lamb; it is not the figurative manna, nor yet the figurative shew-bread, &c.: ergo, it is no figure."

Madew.—"I deny your argument."

Segewick.—"I maintain my argument thus: All the shadows are wholly past: ergo, so also be the figures; for every figure is a shadow. If then it be but a figure, all the figures are not past as yet; but that is false: ergo, so is the other."

Rochester.—"It is nothing but a figure or token of the true body of Christ; as it is said of John the Baptist, he is Elias; not that he was so in deed or person, but in property and virtue he represented Elias."

Segewick.—"So:—But, most learned father, when Christ said, I am the way, the truth, and the life, may it be understood as you do the other place thus: I am 'the virtue of' the way, verity, and the life? But now to the matter itself. It is verily meat: ergo, it is not figuratively."

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Madew.—"This verb or word 'is,' in this place is taken for that which signifieth."

(Here he was commanded to reply in the second matter.)

Segewick.—"Now, as touching our second conclusion, this I say: Wheresoever Christ is, there is a sacrifice propitiatory; but, in the Lord's supper is Christ: ergo, in the Lord's supper is a sacrifice propitiatory."

Madew.—"Christ is not offered in the Lord's supper, but is received spiritually."

Segewick.—"The priesthood and the sacrifice be correspondent together; but Christ's priesthood after the order of Melchizedek is perpetual: ergo, also so is his sacrifice."

Rochester.—"Christ is a priest forever; that is to say, his priesthood and sacrifice, offered once for all, is available for ever, so that no other shall succeed him."

Segewick.—"Where there is no oblation, there is no sacrifice: ergo, if Christ be not perpetually offered, there is no perpetual sacrifice. Item, the same bloody sacrifice of Christ upon the cross, was the very fine and end of all the bloody sacrifices figured in the law after the order of Aaron's priesthood. Wherefore you must needs grant, that he offered himself also, at his last supper, after the order of Melchizedek, under the forms of bread and wine; or else you must show the Scripture where he did so, which I cannot perceive to be done but at his last supper only, after an unbloody manner. Item, He is offered for the remission of sins daily: ergo, he is a sacrifice propitiatory still, in the new law, as St. Augustine saith, expounding these words of the Psalm, 'Thou hast not willed to have sacrifice and oblation, but,'" &c.

Rochester.—"St. Cyprian speaketh much like that sort, where he saith thus, 'It is the Lord's passion which we do offer,'" &c.

Segewick.—"In the old law there were many sacrifices propitiatory: ergo, there be also in the new law, (or else you must grant that God is not so beneficial now to us, as then he was to them, seeing that we be as frail and as needy as ever were they,) which must be, especially, the most pure daily sacrifice of Christ's body and blood, that holy Malachi speaketh of."

Madew.—"As touching the place of Malachi the prophet, I answer, that it is nothing to your purpose for the offering of Christ daily in the sacrament. For that sacrifice there spoken of, is nothing else but the sincere and most pure preaching of God's holy word, and of prayer and of thanksgiving to God the Father through Jesus Christ."

(Here Master Segewick was commanded to cease to Master Young.)

Young.—"Worshipful Master Doctor, although you have learnedly and clerkly defended these your conclusions this day; yet, seeing that I am now placed to impugn them in place of a better, I do begin thus with you: It hath pleased Christ to make us partakers of his Holy Spirit, and that in very deed, by receiving of the Christian faith, hope, and charity: ergo, much more of his own blessed body and blood, spiritually and in very deed, in the Lord's supper. Item, the

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angels' food was altogether holy from above, and heavenly, called 'manna:' ergo, also this celestial and heavenly food can be justly esteemed to be of no less excellency than that; but without comparison better, (and so no very wheat,) after due consecration of it. Item, the words of Holy Scripture are evermore effectual and working: ergo, they must perform the thing indeed, that they do promise. For he that might create, might also change at his pleasure the natures and substances of creatures, as appeareth that Christ did, by changing water into wine at a marriage in Galilee. But Christ in the Scripture did promise, that the bread that he would give is his flesh indeed; which promise was never fulfilled till in his last supper, when he took bread, gave thanks, blessed it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, Take, eat; this is my body. Which bread, then, was his flesh indeed, as doth well appear in the said place, and next promise depending upon the same, thus: which flesh I will give for the life of the world. This last promise was fulfilled by him upon the cross: ergo, the first was likewise at his last supper. So that it was but one and the same flesh, first and last, promised and performed."

Rochester.—"Indeed the words of Holy Scripture do work their effects potentially and thoroughly, by the mighty operation of the Spirit of God."

Young.—"If it please your Lordship, man is fed and nourished with Christ's blood: ergo, then, it is his blood indeed, though it do not so appear to our outward senses, which be deceived; for Christ saith, This is my blood; and also, My blood is drink indeed. And because that we should not abhor his blessed blood in his natural kind, or his flesh, if they should be so ministered unto us; of his most excellent mercy and goodness, condescending to our weak infirmities, he hath appointed them to be given us, under the sensible kinds of his convenient creatures; that is to say, of bread and wine. Also, our body is fed with Christ's body, which is meat indeed; but it cannot be nourished with that that is not there present: ergo, Christ's body that feedeth us, must needs be present, in very deed, in the sacrament. Item, the nature of bread is changed; but the nature of the bread, and the substance of it, is all one thing: ergo, the substance also is changed. My first proposition is St. Cyprian's, De Cœna Domini, saying, that the bread in figure is not changed, but in nature."

Rochester.—"Cyprian there doth take this word 'nature,' for a property of nature only, and not for the natural substance."

Young.—"That is a strange acceptation, that I have not read in any author before this time: but yet, by your leave, the communion of Christ's body cannot be there, where his body is not; but the communion of Christ's body is in the sacrament: ergo, Christ's body is there present in very deed."

Rochester.—"Grace is there communicated to us by the benefit of Christ's body sitting in heaven."

Young.—"Not so only, for we are members of his flesh, and bones of his bones."

Rochester.—"We be not consubstantial with Christ—God forbid that: but we are joined to his mystical body through his Holy Spirit; and the communion of his flesh is communicated to us spiritually, through the benefit of his flesh, in heaven."

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Young.—"Well, I am contented; and do most humbly beseech your good Lordship, to pardon me of my great rudeness and imbecility, which I have here showed."

(Here ended the first disputation, holden at Cambridge the twentieth of June, 1549.)

The second disputation, holden at Cambridge the twenty-fourth day of June, 1549.

The declaration of Dr. Glyn upon his first conclusion.

"The mysteries of faith, as Augustine witnesseth, may very profitably be believed, but they cannot well be searched forth, as saith the Scripture, I believed; therefore I spake: and, He that confesseth me before men, him will I confess before my Father which is in heaven. We believe every man in his art; therefore much more Christ our Saviour in his word. Marvel not, most honourable lords and worshipful doctors, that I speak thus now; for once you yourselves spake the same. But, peradventure, some will say, Believe not every spirit. I answer, Charity believeth all things, but not in all things. If those things which I shall utter be convinced as false, I shall desire you to take them as not spoken at all. But these are the words of truth: This is my body. Christ spake them; therefore I dare not say, This bread is my body; for so Christ said not. Christ said thus, This is my body; and therefore I, but dust and ashes, yea, a worm before him, dare not say, this is a figure of his body. Heaven and earth, saith he, shall pass; but my word shall not pass. Whatsoever our old father Adam called every creature, that is his name to this day: the new Adam, Christ Jesus, said, This is my body; and is it not so? He never said, This is a figure of my body, nor, Eat you this figure or sign of my body. And therefore, when the paschal lamb was set before him, he said not, This is my body. Wherefore if, at the day of judgment, Christ should say to me, Why hast thou believed that this is my body, I would answer him, Because thou hast so called it. I believed it not to be a figure, because thou saidst not that it was a figure.

"Other reasons to avouch I know not. For the word itself I contend not, but the thing itself I defend; for we must speak regularly. Thus Christ, thus the apostles, thus all the ancient fathers have spoken. Our fathers had but only figures and shadows; but the church of God hath the truth itself with the signs. Tertullian saith, 'One figure containeth not another;' but Melchizedek was a figure: ergo, this is the body. The sacraments of the Jews were signs and tokens; but ours be both the signs, and the thing signified also. Luther himself confessed, that the body was present with the bread; and could not deny it. Ecolampadius took it for a figure only. Chrysostom demanding wherefore Christ gave his body before his passion, rather than at any other time; answered', that he might tie the truth to the figure, saying, Take, eat; this is my body; not a figure of my body. And the same Chrysostom saith again, 'If it were but bare bread, or but a figure, wherefore should his disciples have been offended in eating a figure.' Again, in his eighty-third homily upon Matthew: 'They are not any human works which he did work at his last supper: he it is that worketh; he maketh perfect: we are his ministers; but it is he that sanctifieth and changeth the elements of bread and wine into his body and blood.' Again, 'Dost thou see bread and wine? Do they pass into the draught like other meats? God forbid,' &c. Theophylact of Alexandria, upon these words of Mark the evangelist, This is my body, saith, 'This which I give, and which you receive, is not only bread, or a figure of Christ's body, but the truth itself; for if it should appear, as it is, in form of flesh and blood, we should loathe it; and therefore the Lord, condescending to our weakness, retaineth the forms of bread and wine, and yet converteth the same into the truth of his body and blood.' Theophylact saith, the bread and the wine is the very body and blood of

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Christ; and not a figure only. If you stand in suspense of the author, or approve him not, yet know you that he is counted and taken, amongst all the learned, for a most faithful interpreter of Chrysostom: The bread,' saith he, 'is trans-elementate, and transmuted into another substance than it was before.' Augustine saith, 'There was great heed taken in the primitive church, lest any part of the sacrament should fall down to the ground,' &c. Cyril saith, 'Lest we should abhor flesh and blood in the sacrament of the altar, God humbled himself to our weakness, pouring and infusing the force of life into it, and making it the very truth of his own blessed body and blood.' Damascene calleth it, a divine body, or a body deified. Origen, Irenæus, Eusebius, Jerome, with all the rest of the ancient catholic fathers, are of the same opinion with me, all which to produce, it were too long."

The declaration of Dr. Glyn upon his second conclusion.

"The sacrifice and offering up of Christ's body in the sacrament of the altar, right honourable and worshipful, I will defend even to the effusion of blood, as a thing consonant to Scripture, whereof Paul speaketh to the Hebrews. But, perchance, some will object—Christ offered up himself: ergo, you ought not to offer him. I answer, Yea, because he offered himself, therefore I offer him; for except he had offered himself I could not have offered him. But you will say, Christ's death is sufficient, and therefore you ought not to offer him again. I answer, So may we say, we need neither to fast nor pray, for Christ hath done both sufficiently for us. Again, you will object, if you offer him up again you crucify him anew. I answer, Not so, for many have offered him, that have not crucified him; as Abraham, Isaac, Moses, the Levites, Anna, Samuel. We offer Christ, but not to the death, but in commemoration of his death, there being not only a commemoration thereof, but also the very presence of Christ's body and blood. Irenæus saith, 'Christ counselled his disciples to offer the first-fruits of all their goods to God—not that he needed any of them, but for that they should not show themselves fruitless or ungrateful: and therefore Christ took the creature of bread, gave thanks, and said, This is my body; and likewise the creature of the cup, and confessed, saying, This is my blood of the new testament. Thus Christ hath taught a new kind of oblation, which the church, receiving from the apostles, offereth to God, throughout all the whole world; who only giveth unto us all kind of food, and the first-fruits of his gracious gifts in the new testament, whereof Malachi thus saith, I have no pleasure in you, saith the Lord of hosts. I will not receive any sacrifices at your hands, because my name is glorified amongst the nations from the east to the west, saith the Lord, and in every place is incense and pure sacrifice offered to my name.

"But here it may be objected, Christ is the only sacrifice for sin, and without him there is no more. I answer, Notwithstanding we have this commandment, Do this in remembrance of me; and although I deny not that it is a commemoration, yet I deny that it is only a commemoration; I deny his absence, and I affirm his presence."

(Here Master Perne beginneth to dispute.)

Master Perne.—"Whereas yon say, most reverend Master Doctor, in your proposition, 'I believed, and therefore I spake;' and, 'We believe, and therefore do speak, our consciences suggesting the same unto us;' and again, that mysteries are not to be searched, and the like; it seemeth you go about to restrain the searching of Holy Scriptures—whereas Christ saith, Search

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the Scriptures. Moreover, you have cited the fathers confusedly, and without order. You left transubstantiation, and endeavour yourself to prove the real presence in the sacrament: whereas we deny nothing less than his corporal presence, or the absence of his substance in the bread."

Glyn.—"You inveigh wonderfully, you know not against what; for neither do I, not yet doth Augustine, deny the searching of the Scriptures; but, I said out of Augustine, mysteries are not to be searched; it is another thing to search mysteries, than it is to search the Scriptures. Whereas you require of me a regular order of citing the doctors, I had not (as all men know) the liberty of time so to do; but if you desire me so earnestly to perform that, if time may be granted me, I will easily fulfil your request."

Perne.—"I pray you, let me ask you, what is a sacrament?"

Glyn.—"A sacrament is a visible sign of an invisible grace."

Perne.—"Augustine, against Maximinus the Arian bishop, maketh this definition of a sacrament; 'A sacrament is a thing signifying one thing, and showing another thing.'"

Glyn.—"I refuse not his reason."

Perne.—"What is the thing figured by the sacrament?"

Glyn.—"The thing figured is twofold; to wit, the thing contained and signified, and the thing signified and yet not contained. For there be three things contained, the true body of Christ, the mystical body, and the fruit or benefit of the sacrament."

Perne.—"The forms and signs of bread nourish not: ergo, somewhat else besides the bare sign of bread doth remain, which nourisheth; that is, the substance of bread. For, in every sacrament, there is a similitude between the sign and the thing signified: but, betwixt the body of Christ, and the form or kind of bread, there is no similitude: ergo, the nature of a sacrament is taken away."

Glyn.—"I deny your minor, Master Doctor."

Perne.—"The forms nourish not; but the body nourisheth: ergo, there is no similitude betwixt them; and so is the nature of a sacrament clean destroyed."

Glyn.—"It is sufficient to similitudes, that the bread which was, doth nourish: and yet certain doctors do affirm, that the forms do nourish miraculously."

Rochester.—"Whosoever taketh away all the similitude of substances, consequently he taketh away the sacrament; for a similitude is threefold, namely, of nutrition, of unity, and of conversion. But, by a contrary similitude, he is not changed into our substance, but we into his; for in nutrition this is the similitude, that as our blood nourisheth our bodies, so the blood of Christ doth nourish us, but after a wonderful manner; to wit, by turning us into himself."

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Glyn.—"I have answered your reason, most reverend father, in that I said, that the forms do nourish miraculously, as certain learned do affirm."

Perne. "By what authority can you say that bread doth not remain?"

Glyn.—"By the authority of Christ, who saith, This is my body."

Perne.—"By the same reason may we say that bread still remaineth: for St. Paul calleth it bread sundry times in his Epistles."

Glyn.—"I deny not that it is bread, but that it is material bread; for Paul always addeth this article 'which,' betokening (as all men hold) some chief thing."

Perne.—"We are changed into a new creature."

Glyn.—"Not substantially, but actually."

Rochester.—"This is that bread which came down from heaven: ergo, it is not Christ's body, for his body came not from heaven."

Glyn.—"We may say that Christ, God and man, came down from heaven, for the unity of his person, or else for the mutual community of the same his two natures in one; for his human nature, I know, came not from heaven."

Rochester.—"The bread is his human nature; but that human nature of his came not from heaven: ergo, neither the bread."

Glyn.—"It is true that the bread came not from heaven as bread simply, but as celestial and heavenly bread. But I will answer to that: Whereas you hold, that the body of Christ came not from heaven, I, by the body and flesh of Christ, do understand whole Christ, neither separating his soul, nor yet his Deity; although his humanity is not turned into his Divinity by confusion of substance, but is one by unity of both. Or else thus I may reason: The God of glory is crucified, and the Son of Mary created the world," &c.

Rochester.—"So it is. But he is called a rock and a vine, and so, after your judgment, he is both a material rock and also a material vine."

Glyn.—"The circumstances there, show plainly that there is a trope or figure; for it followeth, I am the vine, you are the branches; but here is no trope. For after these words, This is my body, he addeth, which is given for you."

Rochester.—"Your judgment herein is very gross, and far discrepant from the truth."

Glyn.—"If my judgment in this be gross, most reverend father, then are all the ancient fathers as gross in judgment as I in this point, and the catholic church also."

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Perne.—"Show us one place, or one doctor, who saith, that it remaineth not bread after the consecration."

Glyn.—"I wonder that you are not ashamed to ask that of me; for have you not had almost infinite places and doctors alleged to you in my former declarations, proving as much as you request at my hands?"

Perne.—"He took bread, he brake bread: ergo, it is bread."

Glyn.—"I have answered often hereunto, and I grant it is bread; but not only, or material."

Perne.—"Irenæus affirmeth, that a sacrament consisteth of a double matter, of an earthly matter, and of a heavenly: ergo, the bread remaineth."

Glyn.—"Irenæus, in that place, by the earthly matter meaneth the humanity of Christ, and by the heavenly matter the Deity of Christ."

Rochester.—"The humanity and the Divinity of Christ make not a sacrament, which consisteth of a visible and invisible nature; and I deny that Irenæus can be so understood; therefore we desire the learned auditory to search Irenæus at home, as opportunity will serve for this matter."

Glyn.—"I wish them so to do also, with all my heart."

(Here Master Grindal beginneth to dispute.)

Grindal.—"Whereas you say, worshipful Master Doctor, that we speak not now, as sometimes we thought and judged in this matter, peradventure you, also, judge not so now all things, as you have done heretofore. But what we have once been it forceth not; God respecteth no man's person. And whereas you say that you dare not, contrary to Christ, call it a sign or a figure, Augustine, notwithstanding, dareth to call it a figure, and Tertullian likewise, with many more."

Glyn.—"True it is, but they called it not a sign or a figure only; but prove you, if you can, that after the consecration remaineth any other substance than the real body of Christ."

Grindal.—"If the forms do nourish, as you contend, they nourish the natural and human body; for they be both as one, and are nourished alike."

Glyn.—"Your reason is merely physical, and therefore to be rejected in matters of faith: but I grant they nourish, but miraculously."

Grindal.—"If you grant that the forms do nourish, then you grant that bread remaineth."

FOXES BOOKE OF MARTYRS

Glyn.—"I said even now that it is true; but the nature of it is changed, and that miraculously."

Grindal.—"If it be the real and substantial body of Christ, because Christ said, This is my body; ergo, because the Lord said, I will not drink of the fruit of this vine, and Paul calleth it bread after the consecration, it is therefore bread and wine."

Glyn.—"Truly, sir, you must bring better arguments, or else you will prove nothing for your purpose. For to your reasons thus I answer: Chrysostom saith, Christ did drink of the blood; but whether this sentence, I will not drink of the fruit of the vine, be spoken of the blood, it is not certain. And truly Erasmus denieth that it is to be found in all the whole Scripture, that it is called bread after the consecration. Or else thus I may answer you: even as it is called bread, for the form, and kind, and accidents which remain; so for the form and similitude which it hath, it may be called the fruit of the vine, after the consecration. And whereas Chrysostom calleth it wine, he speaketh of the nature whereof the sacrament necessarily is made. And I deny not but it may be called wine, but yet eucharistically."

Rochester.—"The evangelists Matthew, Mark, and Luke call it the fruit of the vine, and Chrysostom saith that the fruit of the vine is nothing else but wine; ergo, Christ gave them wine, and drank wine himself also, and not blood."

Glyn.—"Christ said twice, I will not drink of the fruit of the vine; once at the eating of the paschal lamb, (as Luke saith,) and then was it wine indeed. And again, after the consecration of his body and blood he said the like; and then it was not wine, which methinks I can prove by the plain words of Luke, if we compare him with Matthew. For, if it were wine, as they both affirm, then the words of Christ cannot well stand, because first, as Luke sheweth, he said at his legal supper, I will not drink of the fruit of this Vine, &c. And again, in Matthew, after the consecration of his body and blood, 'he drank;' it followeth therefore, that that which he drank was not wine by nature, for then must Christ needs be a liar; which were blasphemy to say."

Rochester.—"Augustine doth thus reconcile those places, saying, it is spoken by a figure which we call *υστερον προτερον* [Greek: *ysteron proteron*]."

Glyn.—"I know that Augustine saith so; but methinks that which I have said, seemeth to be the true meaning of the places."

Rochester.—"Augustine seeketh no starting holes, nor yet any indirect shifts to obscure the truth."

Glyn.—"Say your fatherhood what you will of Augustine, I think not so."

Grindal.—"This cup is the new testament in my blood; but here is a trope: ergo, in these words of Christ, This is my body, is a trope also."

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Glyn.—"I deny your argument; for whereas Luke saith, this cup, Matthew saith, this is my blood: and therefore, as St. Augustine saith, places that be dark are to be expounded by others that be light."

Rochester.—"All of your side deny that Christ ever used any trope in the instituting of sacraments."

Glyn.—"For my part I hold no opinion but the truth, whereof you yourself also do pretend the like."

Rochester.—"What understand you by this word 'this,' and in what words standeth the force or strength of the sacrament?—in this pronoun 'this?' or in this verb 'is?' or else in this whole sentence, 'This is my body?'"

Glyn.—"It is not made the true body except all the words be spoken, as in baptism, I baptize thee in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. For neither doth baptism consist in this word 'I,' or in 'baptize', or in this word, 'thee;' or in these words, 'in the name,' &c. but in all the words spoken in order."

Grindal.—"If to eat the body of Christ be a figurative speech, as Augustine saith it is; ergo, then these words, This is my body, are a figurative speech also."

Glyn.—"It is a figurative speech, because we eat not the body of Christ after the same manner that we do other meats," &c.

Grindal.—"Cyprian understandeth this of those that come unworthily, and make no difference of the Lord's body, speaking of the dijudication of the sacraments, and not of the body of Christ."

Glyn.—"Truly he speaketh of the true body of Christ."

Rochester.—"They receive unworthily, who neither judge themselves, nor yet the sacraments, taking them as other common bread."

Grindal.—"Augustine upon the thirty-third Psalm saith, Christ bare himself in his own hands after a sort; not indeed or truly," &c.

Glyn.—"You omit many other things which Augustine saith; and I confess that he carried himself in his own hands, after a sort: but Augustine delivereth this unto us as a great miracle; and you know it was no great miracle, to carry a figure of his body in his hands. And whereas you say that Christ carried himself after a sort in his own hands, it is very true, but yet diversely; for he sat after one manner at his supper, and after another manner he carried himself in his hands. For Christ in the visible figure bore himself invisibly."

Grindal.—"Tertullian calleth it a figure: ergo, it is so."

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Glyn.—"It is, as I have said, a figure; but not a figure only. But hear what Tertullian saith, he took bread and made it his body, saying, 'This is my body,'" &c.

Grindal.—"Hear what Chrysostom saith upon Matthew, (Homil. ii. super cap. 5,) If vessels sanctified to holy uses," &c.

Glyn.—"That work is received not as Chrysostom's, but some man's else, as you know. Or thus I answer, It is not the true body in proper and visible form."

(Here Master Gest disputed.)

Gest.—"The bread is not changed before the consecration: ergo, not after it either."

Glyn.—"I deny your argument, Master Gest." *Gest.*—"Christ gave earthly bread: ergo, there is no transubstantiation."

Glyn.—"I deny your antecedent."

Gest.—"That which Christ took he blessed; that which he blessed he brake; what he brake he gave: ergo, he, receiving earthly bread, gave the same bread."

Glyn.—"Your order in reasoning standeth not; for by the same reason may you gather, that God took a rib of man, and thereof built a rib, and brought it unto Adam: ergo, what he received he brought—but he received a rib: ergo, brought a rib."

Gest.—"How is the body of Christ in heaven, and how in the sacrament? whether circumscriptively or definitively?"

Glyn.—"The body of Christ is in heaven circumscriptively, but not so in the sacrament. The angels also are contained definitively. But I have learned that the body of Christ is in the sacrament, but not locally; nor circumscriptively, but after an unspeakable manner unknown to man."

Rochester.—"Ah, know you not?"

Glyn.—"Neither in other mysteries of faith do we know the mean how, although this may partly be proved by reason. For as my soul is wholly in my head, and wholly in my foot, and wholly in my finger, and so in other parts of my body; and as there is one voice or sound which all men hearing do understand: so the body of Christ, being one and the same, is wholly in the altar, and in many places else. For if God could do this in my soul, how much more in his own body."

Rochester.—"I beseech you show us what difference is betwixt these two: to be in place circumscriptively and definitively."

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Glyn.—"Your Lordship knoweth very well: but yet if any would know the difference, let him read August. ad Volusianum, et ad Dardanum," &c.

Gest.—"If the bread be changed, it is made the body of Christ; but that is not so: ergo, it is not changed."

Glyn.—"I deny your minor."

Gest.—"It is not generate or begot: ergo, it is not the body."

Glyn.—"That followeth not; as though to be made, and to be generate or begot, were all one thing; or as though there were no other mutation than a generation: and so you impugn a thing that you know not. But what call you the generation?"

Gest.—"The generation is the production of the accidents."

Glyn.—"A new definition of a new philosopher."

Gest.—"That which he took he blessed; that which he blessed, he brake, and gave it unto them: ergo," &c.

Glyn.—"Christ took bread, brake bread, and gave his body, that is, the substance of his body: saying, This is my body."

Gest.—"The bread is not changed into the blood of Christ: ergo, not into his body either."

Glyn.—"I deny your antecedent."

Gest.—"The Master of the Sentences saith it."

Glyn.—"You understand him not; for the bread is changed into the body of Christ by the power of God's word."

Rochester.—"Ye dream of a real presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, by the force of the words spoken; which the Holy Scripture doth impugn."

Glyn.—"We say, that not only by the power of the word, but also by the spirit and secret virtue in the words, it is brought to pass; for there is no power in one word alone, as before in baptism, but in all the words duly prolated, according to the custom of the ancient catholic church."

Gest.—"If there were any transubstantiation, the accidents should not remain still; for they have no matter whereto they may lean or cleave. But the accidents remain not themselves alone: ergo," &c.

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Glyn.—"I confess accidents cannot stand, themselves alone, by their own nature, without a subject; but by the power of God they may, not after the opinion of philosophers, but of the Scriptures: although I could show, out of the Scriptures, the accidents to have been without the subject; as in Genesis, the light was made without a subject, whereas the subject of the light was made the fourth day after, as Basil beareth me record."

(Here Master Pilkington disputed.)

Pilkington.—"This one thing I desire of you, most worshipful Master Doctor, that you will answer me with like brevity as I shall propound. And thus I reason: The body of Christ that was broken on the cross, is a full satisfaction for the sins of the whole world; but the sacrament is not the satisfaction of the whole world: ergo, the sacrament is not the body of Christ."

Glyn.—"I deny your argument."

Pilkington.—"It is a syllogism."

Glyn.—"It is not so; for there be four *termines*. Touching this word sacrament, it is manifold; but thus I answer: If you take the sacrament for the matter of the sacrament, that is, the body of Christ, then is your minor proposition true, and the matter of the sacrament is the satisfaction for the sins of the whole world: but, if you take the sacrament for the sign, which we call a sacrament, then is your minor proposition false."

Pilkington.—"The body of Christ hath satisfied for the sins of the whole world; but the sacrament hath not satisfied: ergo, the sacrament is not the body of Christ."

Glyn.—"I deny your minor, understanding the sacrament for the matter of the sacrament."

Pilkington.—"The sacrament only profiteth him that receiveth it; but many were saved before the institution of this sacrament was begun: ergo, the sacrament is not the body of Christ."

Glyn.—"If you mean of the bare sign only, it profiteth nothing; but if you mean the thing signified, then what is spoken of the body of Christ, is spoken also of the thing of the sacrament itself."

Pilkington.—"Transubstantiation is not a sacrament; but that which I mean is a sacrament: ergo, that which I mean is not transubstantiated."

Glyn.—"I mean not that transubstantiation is a sacrament, neither do I say that the sacrament is transubstantiate, but the bread."

Pilkington.—"The body of Christ is resident in heaven, and the body of Christ is in the sacrament: ergo, the sacrament is in heaven."

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Glyn.—"A goodly reason, forsooth: but I answer, he is after one sort in heaven, and after another sort in the sacrament; for in heaven he is locally, in the sacrament not so; in heaven visibly and circumscriptively, but in the sacrament invisibly and sacramentally."

Rochester.—"St. Augustine saith, 'Take away the spaces from the bodies, and they shall be no where, and that which is no where' is not at all: so, whilst you take away the spaces and dimensions from the body of Christ in the sacrament, you bring to pass that it is not there at all."

Glyn.—"In that place Augustine speaketh of natural bodies, not of supernatural; otherwise I could deny that Christ had a true body, when he entered in to his disciples, the gates being shut."

Rochester.—"Of the gates being shut, a diverse and doubtful meaning may be gathered; for it may be, he entered in before the gates were shut, and afterwards opened them being shut," &c.

Glyn.—"Then it could be no miracle; but the evangelists, and all sound interpreters, say and affirm this to be a miracle of our Saviour Christ."

Rochester.—"Whether Christ entered in miraculously, the gates being shut, or else open, the Scripture setteth not down."

Glyn.—"As Christ (the womb of the Virgin being shut) was born into the world without violation of her pure virginity, or apertion of her womb, (for so he might have been polluted,) so entered he through the doors to his disciples miraculously."

Pilkington.—"In the body of Christ which was given for us, there are no accidents of bread; but in the sacrament there be accidents of bread: ergo, in the sacrament there is not the body of Christ."

Glyn.—"In the matter of the sacrament, that is, in the body of Christ, are no accidents of bread; but accidents are the very sacrament itself."

Pilkington.—"I beseech you, what do we eat? the substance or the accidents?"

Glyn.—"Both; as when we eat wholesome and unwholesome meats together, so we eat the substance of Christ's body, and yet not without the accidents of bread."

Pilkington.—"I prove that the accidents are eaten, for whatsoever entereth in by the mouth, goeth into the privy; but the accidents go in by the mouth: ergo, into the privy."

Glyn.—"This sentence, Whatsoever entereth in by the mouth, &c., is not meant of all kind of meats, as not of that which Christ did eat after his resurrection."

Pilkington.—"You shall not eat this body which you see."

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Glyn.—"That is, not after that manner as you see it now, nor after the same visible form."

Pilkington.—"Wheresoever Christ is, there be his ministers also (for so he promised): but Christ, as you hold, is in the sacrament: ergo, his ministers are there also."

Glyn.—"To be with Christ is spoken divers ways; as in heart and mind, and in place, and sometimes both: or, to be with Christ, is to minister unto him, and to do his will," &c.

The third disputation, holden at Cambridge as before.

The declaration of Master Perne upon the first conclusion.

"Christ, at his last supper, took bread, brake bread, distributed bread: ergo, not his body, but a sacrament of his body; for the bones of Christ could no man break, as witnesseth the prophet, saying, You shall not break a bone of him.—This cup is the cup of the new testament in my blood. In this sentence there is a trope, by their own confession; wherefore there is in the other also, This is my body; for the Holy Scripture is a perfect rule not only of doing, but also of speaking. Paul calleth it bread three times: ergo, it is bread, &c. And whereas they urge so much this pronoun 'that,' is not in the Greek canon, which hath 'bread,' not 'that bread.' There was no transubstantiation in the manna: ergo, nor in the sacrament; for there is this particle, eat, if that can prove transubstantiation, as they suppose. And if manna were a figure, say they, then this is not. This mystery or sacrament we hold to be true bread, and true meat. Manna gave life unto them, as this doth unto us; yet was it but a figure. In every sacrament there ought to be a certain analogy, both of the intern and extern thing of the sacrament, as Augustine saith, writing to Boniface; but betwixt the forms of bread and wine, and the body of Christ, there is no analogy at all: ergo, they make not a sacrament.—As of many grains, &c.: This similitude of Paul is spoken of the substance of bread, not of the form thereof, otherwise Paul should in vain compare us to bread. As in baptism there is material water; so in the sacrament of the eucharist is material bread. Dionysius called the sacrament of Christ's body no otherwise than bread. Eusebius, in Ecclesiastica Historia, doth the same. Tertullian (lib. iv. against Marcion) saith thus: 'He gave his body; that is,' saith he, 'a figure or type of his body.' Cyprian saith, 'In his last supper he gave bread and wine, and his body upon the cross.' The same Cyprian saith, Christ drank wine at his last supper, because he would root out the heresy of certain who only used water in the ministration thereof. Chrysostom saith, 'That only bread remaineth,' &c. Theodoret saith, 'Bread remaineth still in his first nature as before.' Augustine saith, 'The bread doth not lose his first nature after the consecration, but receiveth another quality, whereby it differeth from common bread.' The same Augustine saith, 'Sacraments are figures, being one thing indeed, and showing forth another thing.' He speaketh of no transubstantiation here. Again, writing to Boniface he saith, 'The sacrament of the body of Christ is the body of Christ, and so is the sacrament of wine also,' &c. The sacraments of the old and new law are all one in substance of matter, notwithstanding they be divers in signs: which sacraments, why should they not be one, when they signify all one thing? The body of Christ, when it was on the earth, was not in heaven; so now it, being in heaven, is not on the earth. Whereby it may appear that transubstantiation is a most blasphemous, sacrilegious, and damnable error, and a most vain, unsavoury, and devilish papistical invention, defended and maintained only by the papists, the professed and sworn enemies of all truth. Those who impugn this doctrine of transubstantiation are no new upstarts; as

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the enemies of the truth, the papists, bear the world in hand. But, contrarily, those who maintain this devilish doctrine are new-sprung-up cockatrices, as Manicheus, Eutiches, and others. Gelasius saith, that the sacraments which we receive are Divine things; yet cease they not to be bread and wine in nature. Out of this puddle of transubstantiation have sprung up adoration of the sacrament, and inducing men to believe that Christ hath many bodies."

The declaration of the Master Perne upon the second conclusion.

"Matthew, Mark, Luke, and the apostle Paul, call it a commemoration or remembrance of Christ's body and blood; and Paul to the Hebrews saith, By one only oblation once offered are we made perfect to eternal salvation, &c. By him, therefore, do we offer up the sacrifice of laud and praise to God; that is, the fruit of the lips, &c. It is called the eucharist, because we offer to God praise and thanksgiving, with devout minds; and it is called the cup of thanksgiving, because we give thanks to God thereby also. You shall preach forth the Lord's death, &c.; that is, you shall give thanks and be mindful of his death, &c. Give your bodies a quick and living sacrifice, &c. The sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving shall honour me, &c. Chrysostom saith, 'The wise men offered three kinds of sacrifices, gold, frankincense, and myrrh: so we do also, namely, virtue, prayer, and almsdeeds. These be the sacrifices wherewith Christ is pleased.' And Augustine saith, that there are no other sacrifices than prayer, praise, and thanksgiving, &c. Chrysostom (Homil. 46, upon John) saith, 'To be converted or turned into Christ, is to be made partaker of his body and blood.'"

(There disputed against him Master Parker, Master Pollard, Master Vavasor, and Master Young.)

Parker.—"Christ, whose words are to be believed, said, This is my body. He said not, This bread is my body, or with this bread, or under this bread, or by this bread; but said plainly, This is my body. And this he proved by these reasons: First, for that it was prefigured before. Secondly, for that it was promised. Thirdly, for that it was given. The transubstantiation of the bread was prefigured by the manna which came down from heaven: all that bread was heavenly, and without any earthly matter or substance annexed. Secondly, it was promised in those words of Christ, The bread that I will give, is my flesh, &c. Thirdly, it was given by Christ, and exhibited in his last supper, saying, Take, eat, this is my body."

(Here they were forced to break off through want of time, yet Parker replied thus against Doctor Perne.)

"We give thee thanks, most holy Father, that thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them to babes; for pride is the root of all heresies whatsoever. And, on the other side, to acknowledge our own infirmity and imperfection is the first step to the right understanding of the truth. Nestorius the heretic affirmed, that there were two persons in Christ; one that was man, another that was God: therefore, he said, that in the eucharist was contained true flesh, but only of his pure manhood. Against him did the council of Ephesus conclude, saying, that there was the real flesh of the Son of God, &c. This he proved by the words of Christ, My flesh is meat indeed: and what flesh that is, he teacheth upon John vi.; 'That is,' quoth he, 'the flesh united to the Deity, and quickened by the Holy Ghost,' &c. Now that that flesh is in

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the sacrament, it is plain, by Hilary. He proved the same also out of Chrysostom: 'We are one body with him, members of his flesh, and bones of his bones,' &c. Again, in the same Homily, 'We are joined to his flesh, not only by faith and love, but also in very deed and truly.' And again, 'It pleased me to become your brother, and by the same things wherein I was joined to you, have I given myself again unto you,' &c.

Perne.—"I grant unto you that Christ is in the sacrament truly, wholly, and verily, after a certain property and manner: I deny not his presence, but his real and corporal presence I utterly deny; for doubtless his true and natural body is in heaven, and not in the sacrament: notwithstanding he dwelleth with us, and in us, after a certain unity. And also in the sixth chapter of John, he speaketh not of the flesh of Christ crucified," &c.

Parker.—"The flesh of Christ as it is in the sacrament, is quick, and giveth life: ergo, his real and substantial flesh is in the sacrament."

Perne.—"The flesh of Christ, in that it is united unto the Deity, doth vivify, and giveth life; but not otherwise."

Rochester.—"Christ dwelleth in us by faith, and by faith we receive Christ, both God and man, both in spirit and flesh; that is, this sacramental eating is the mean and way whereby we attain to the spiritual eating: and indeed, for the strengthening of us, to the eating of this spiritual food, was this sacrament ordained. And these words, This is my body, are meant thus: By grace it is my true body, but not my fleshly body, as some of you suppose."

Parker.—"We are joined to Christ, not only by faith, but also in very deed: ergo," &c.

Rochester.—"We are joined to Christ; that is, we are made partakers of his flesh and of immortality. And so, in like case, is there a union between man and woman; yet there is no transubstantiation of either, or both," &c.

Pollard.—"The sacrament is not bare bread, and nothing else, only because it is called bread so often in the Scriptures; and that I prove by three reasons. First, it is called bread because of the similitude. Secondly, because of the mutation. Thirdly, for the matter whereof it is made and compact; as the angels are called men, the Holy Ghost a tongue, the rod of Aaron a serpent, and such like. The words of Christ do teach the same thing, as appeareth in the healing of the woman of Canaan's daughter, Jairus's son, and many others, &c.: ergo," &c.

Then he proved against Rochester, that somewhat else was in the sacrament besides power and grace, by this reason: "The evil receive the body of Christ, as is plain out of Augustine (Homil. xxi. De Verbis Domini): but the evil and wicked receive not the virtue, or grace: ergo, there is not only grace and virtue in the sacrament."

Rochester.—"The evil do not receive the Lord in the sacrament, but the sacrament of the Lord, as Judas, who indeed did not eat the true body of the Lord."

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Pollard.—"In the sacrament be three things; to wit, an outward sign, the matter of the sacrament, and the fruit of the same. The evil receive the outward sign, and the subject of the sacrament, but not the fruit of the sacrament: ergo, there is somewhat else in the sacrament than only grace. Also every sacrament ought to have a certain similitude with the matter of the sacrament; but the material bread hath no such similitude with the body of Christ, which is the matter of the sacrament: ergo, material bread is not a sacrament."

Perne.—"I deny your minor: for material bread doth so nourish the body, as the flesh of Christ doth the soul."

(Here he, being requested, gave place to Master Vavasor and others.)

Master Vavasor.—"Through the shortness of time, I am so constrained, that neither I can speak without loss of my reputation, nor yet hold my peace without offence to God. For in speaking, as I do, without great premeditation before this honourable, worshipful, and learned audience, I shall but show forth my childishness herein; and if I should hold my peace, I might be thought to betray the truth of God's cause. And therefore, while I can neither speak for the brevity of time, nor yet hold my peace, God's truth being in controversy, I have determined (although with the impairing of my good name) to render a reason of my faith; which if I cannot afford probably in words, yet will I not fault in saying nothing at all. For it seemeth better that I be esteemed altogether foolish and unlearned amongst so many grave learned fathers and doctors, than to forsake the just defence of the truth, which every good Christian man throughout the world hath ever holden inviolable: for whoso forsaketh the manifest known truth, had never any true faith therein. Which thing that I may overpass in Berengarius, Zuinglius, Ecolampadius, and many others, who are certainly known to be at no less variance amongst themselves, than uncertain of their faith what to believe, Zuinglius writeth thus of himself: 'Although this thing which I mean to entreat of, doth like me very well, yet, notwithstanding, I dare define nothing, but only show my poor judgment abroad to others, that, if it please the Lord, others may be thereby instructed by the Spirit of God, which teacheth all good things.' In vain do I spend many words: you see plainly he dare not define any thing certainly, but doubteth whether it please God or not. Ecolampadius, writing to a certain brother of his, saith thus: 'Peace be with thee. As far as I can conjecture out of the learned fathers, the words in John vi., and, This is my body, be figurative locutions,' &c. You see hereby how uncertain they be of their opinions. They lean not to the Scriptures, to doctors, nor yet to the truth; but to supposals and conjectures: who, therefore, hereafter will cleave unto them? But now I come to your oration, whose beginning pleaseth me very well, and whose progress therein offended me not; but, in the end, you concluded in such sort, that you left the whole matter to me, as it were confirming my parts by the same. And herein you framed a syllogism after this manner: What Christ took, that he blessed; what he blessed, that he brake; what he brake, that he gave: ergo, what he received he gave, &c. Whereto I answer with a like syllogism out of Genesis: God took a rib out of Adam's side; what he took he built; what he built that he brought; what he brought that he gave to Adam to be his wife; but he took a rib: ergo, he gave a rib to Adam to wife, &c. Also, in your said oration you shoot much at those words of Paul, where he calleth it bread so often, &c. But the Scripture, in anther place, calleth it water, when indeed it was wine; a rod, when it was a plain serpent."

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Rochester.—"You have pretended great zeal and words enough; but what pith or substance your reasons will afford, we shall see hereafter."

Vavasor.—"Christ gave the same flesh to us, which he received of the Virgin; but he took true and natural flesh of her: ergo, he gave us true and natural flesh. My major I prove by Augustine upon Psalm xcviij."

Rochester.—"Master Vavasor, you are in a wrong box: for the place maketh altogether for maintenance of adoration, if it make for any thing."

Vavasor.—"I know it very well, and therefore I allege it as the ground of my reason. These be Augustine's words, 'Christ of the earth received earth, and of the flesh of Mary he received flesh;' acknowledge his substance therefore."

Rochester.—"I acknowledge it."

Vavasor.—"And in the very same flesh he walked here upon the earth: acknowledge his substance."

Rochester.—"I acknowledge it."

Vavasor.—"And the very same flesh he gave us to eat: acknowledge his substance."

Rochester.—"I acknowledge not his real substance to be there; but the property of his substance."

Vavasor.—"Then Vavasor recited the place, to the end he might prove that his real substance ought to be acknowledged as well in the last place, as in the first and second; affirming it out of St. Augustine, who saith thus: "The disciples of Christ, approaching the Lord's table, by faith drank the same blood which the tormentors most cruelly spilt," &c. "But the tormentors spilt no figure of blood: ergo, &c. This place will not permit the other so to be illuded."

Rochester.—"It is no illusion, good Master Vavasor; but surely you would move a saint with your impertinent reasons."

Vavasor.—"I beseech your fatherhood to pardon my rudeness; for surely I cannot otherwise speak, without breach of conscience."

Perne.—"That place of Augustine is to be understood of a spiritual kind of eating."

Vavasor.—"I demand whether the faithful may receive spiritually, so as they need not to receive sacramentally."

Perne.—"They may."

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Vavasor.—"Then thus to you: To the spiritual eating there is no need to come to the Lord's table, for so it is the meat of the soul, not of the teeth—but the faithful come to the Lord's table: ergo, that place is to be understood of a sacramental eating. And again, Augustine saith, that he carried himself in his hands."

Rochester.—"Augustine sheweth a little after what he meaneth thereby, where he saith, he carried himself in his own hands after a certain sort or manner."

Vavasor.—"True it is, that after one manner he sat at the table, and after another manner was in the sacrament."

(Master Young here disputeth against Perne as followeth.)

Young.—"I understand the meaning of this word 'propriety' well enough; for, in Hilary and Eusebius, it signifieth not the virtue or power of any substance or being, but rather a natural being or substance."

Rochester.—"I commend your great diligence in searching of authors, but in divinity the matter standeth not so; for the propriety of essence in the Deity is the very essence, and whatsoever is in God is God."

Young.—"True it is, most reverend father, that this word 'propriety,' in Hilary, in his eighth book De Trinitate, entreating there of the Divinity of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, is so meant and taken; but the same Hilary, almost in the same place, speaketh of our communion and unity with Christ, &c. Tertullian also, writing of the resurrection of the flesh, affirmeth that the flesh of our Saviour is that, whereof our soul is allied to God; that is, it which causeth that our souls are joined to him: but our flesh is made clean, that the soul may be purged; our flesh is anointed, that the soul may be made holy; the flesh is sealed, that the soul may be comforted; the flesh is shadowed with the imposition of the hands, that our soul may be lightened with the glory of the spirit; our flesh is clothed with a body and blood, that the soul may be fed and nourished of God."

Rochester.—"The flesh indeed is fed with the body and the blood of the Lord, when our bodies, by mortification, are made like to his body; and our body is nourished, when the virtue and power of the body of Christ doth feed us. The same Tertullian is not afraid to call it flesh and blood, but he meaneth a figure of the same."

Young.—"Then, by your leave, it should follow by good consequence, that where any mortification is, there must needs be a sacramental communion; which cannot be: ergo," &c.

(Here ended the third and last disputation holden at Cambridge, 1549.)

This disputation continued three days. In the first, did answer Dr. Madew: against whom disputed Dr. Glyn, Master Langdale, Master Segewick, Master Young.

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In the second disputation, did answer Dr. Glyn: against whom disputed Master Grindal, Master Verne, Master Gest, Master Pilkington.

In the third disputation answered Master Perne: against whom disputed one Master Parker, (not Dr. Matthew Parker,) Master Pollard, Master Vavasor, Master Young.

At length the disputations ended, the bishop of Rochester, (Dr. Nicholas Ridley,) after the manner of schools, made this determination upon the aforesaid conclusions, as here followeth.

"There hath been an ancient custom amongst you, that after disputations had in your common schools, there should be some determination made of the matter so disputed and debated, especially touching Christian religion. Because, therefore, it hath seemed good unto these worshipful assistants joined with me in commission from the king's Majesty, that I should perform the same at this time; I will, by your favourable patience, declare, both what I do think and believe myself, and what also others ought to think of the same. Which thing I would that afterwards ye did with diligence weigh and ponder, every man at home severally by himself.

"The principal grounds, or rather head-springs, of this matter, are specially five.

"The first is, the authority, majesty, and verity of Holy Scripture.

"The second is, the most certain testimonies of the ancient catholic fathers, who, after my judgment, do sufficiently declare this matter.

"The third is, the definition of a sacrament.

"The fourth is, the abominable heresy of Eutiches, that may ensue of transubstantiation.

"The fifth is, the most sure belief of the article of our faith, He ascended into heaven."

The First Ground.

"This transubstantiation is clean against the words of the Scripture, and consent of the ancient catholic fathers. The Scripture saith, I will not drink hereafter of this fruit of the vine, &c. Now the fruit of this vine is wine. And it is manifest that Christ spake these words after the supper was finished, as it appeareth both in Matthew, Mark, and also in Luke, if they be well understood. There be not many places of Scripture that do confirm this thing, neither is it greatly material: for it is enough if there be any one plain testimony for the same. Neither ought it to be measured by the number of Scriptures, but by the authority, and by the verity of the same. And the majesty of this verity is as ample in one short sentence of the Scripture, as in a thousand.

"Moreover, Christ took bread; he gave bread. In the Acts, Luke calleth it bread. So Paul calleth it bread after the sanctification. Both of them speak of breaking, which belongeth to the substance of bread, and in no wise to Christ's body; for the Scripture saith, Ye shall not break a bone of him. Christ saith, Do ye this in my remembrance. St. Paul also saith, Do ye this in my remembrance. And again, As often as ye shall drink of this cup, do it in remembrance of me.

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And our Saviour Christ, (in John vi.) speaking against the Capernaïtes, saith, Labour for the meat that perisheth not. And when they asked, What shall we do, that we may work the works of God? he answered them thus: This is the work of God, that ye believe in him whom he hath sent. You see how he exhorteth them to faith: For faith is that work of God. Again, This is the bread which came down from heaven. But Christ's body came not down from heaven. Moreover, He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him. My flesh, saith he, is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed. When they heard this, they were offended. And while they were offended, he said unto them, What if ye shall see the Son of man ascend up where he was before? whereby he went about to draw them from the gross and carnal eating. This body, saith he, shall ascend up into heaven; meaning altogether, as St. Augustine saith, 'It is the spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing. The words that I speak unto you, are spirit and life, and must be spiritually understood.' These be the reasons which persuade me to incline to this sentence and judgment."

The Second Ground.

"Now my second ground against this transubstantiation is the ancient fathers a thousand years past. And so far off is it that they do confirm this opinion of transubstantiation, that plainly they seem unto me, both to think and to teach the contrary.

Dionysius in many places calleth it bread. The places are so manifest and plain that it needeth not to recite them.

"Ignatius saith, 'I beseech you, brethren, cleave fast unto one faith, and to one kind of preaching, using together one manner of thanksgiving; for the flesh of the Lord Jesus is one, and his blood is one which was shed for us: there is also one bread broken for us, and one cup of the whole church.'

"Irenæus writeth thus: 'Even as the bread that cometh of the earth, receiving God's vocation, is now no more common bread, but sacramental bread, consisting of two natures, earthly and heavenly; even so our bodies, receiving the eucharist, are now no more corruptible, having hope of the resurrection.'

Tertullian is very plain, for he calleth it, 'a figure of his body,' &c.

"Chrysostom writeth to Cæsarius the monk: albeit he be not received of divers, yet will I read the place to fasten it more deeply in your minds; for it seemeth to show plainly the substance of bread to remain. The words are these: 'Before the bread is sanctified, we name it bread; but, by the grace of God sanctifying the same through the ministry of the priest, it is delivered from the name of bread, and is counted worthy to bear the name of the Lord's body, although the very substance of bread notwithstanding do still remain therein; and now is taken, not to be two bodies, but one body of the Son,' &c.

"Cyprian saith, 'Bread is made of many grains. And is that natural bread, and made of wheat? Yea, it is so indeed.'

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"The book of Theodoret in Greek was lately printed at Rome, which if it had not been his, it should not have been set forth there; especially seeing it is directly against transubstantiation: for he saith plainly, that bread still remaineth after the sanctification.

"Gelasius also is very plain in this manner: 'The sacrament,' saith he, 'which we receive of the body and blood of Christ, is a Divine matter: by reason whereof we are made partakers, by the same, of the Divine nature; and yet it ceaseth not still to be the substance of bread and wine. And certes, the representation and similitude of the body and blood of Christ be celebrated in the action of the mysteries,'" &c.

(After this he recited certain places out of Augustine and Cyril which were not noted.)

"Isichus, also, confesseth that it is bread.

"Also the judgment of Bertram in this matter is very plain and manifest.—And thus much for the second ground."

The Third Ground.

"The third ground is the nature of the sacrament, which consisteth of three things; that is, unity, nutrition, and conversion.

"As touching unity, Cyprian thus writeth: 'Even as of many grains is made one bread, so are we one mystical body of Christ.' Wherefore bread must still needs remain, or else we destroy the nature of a sacrament.

"Also, they that take away nutrition, which cometh by bread, do take away likewise the nature of a sacrament. For as the body of Christ nourisheth the soul, even so doth bread likewise nourish the body of man.

"Therefore they that take away the grains, or the union of the grains in the bread, and deny the nutrition or substance thereof, in my judgment are sacramentaries; for they take away the similitude between the bread and the body of Christ. For they which affirm transubstantiation, are indeed right sacramentaries and Capernaïtes.

"As touching conversion—that, like as the bread which we receive is turned into our substance, so are we turned into Christ's body—Rabanus and Chrysostom are witnesses sufficient."

The Fourth Ground.

"They which say that Christ is carnally present in the eucharist, do take from him the verity of man's nature. Eutiches granted the Divine nature in Christ, but his human nature he denied. So they that defend transubstantiation, ascribe that to the human nature which only belongeth to the Divine nature."

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The Fifth Ground.

"The fifth ground is the certain persuasion of this article of faith, 'He ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God.'

"Augustine saith, 'The Lord is above, even to the end of the world: but yet the verity of the Lord is here also; for his body, wherein he rose again, must needs be in one place; but his verity is spread abroad every where.'

"Also in another place he saith, Let the godly also receive that sacrament; but let them not be careful (speaking there of the presence of his body). For as touching his majesty, his providence, his invincible and unspeakable grace, these words are fulfilled which he spake, I am with you unto the end of the world. But, according to the flesh which he took upon him, according to that which was born of the Virgin, was apprehended of the Jews, was fastened to a tree, taken down again from the cross, lapped in linen clothes, was buried and rose again, and appeared after his resurrection—so you shall not have me always with you; and why? Because that, as concerning his flesh, he was conversant with his disciples forty days, and they accompanying him, seeing him, but not following him, he went up into heaven, and is not here, for he sitteth at the right hand of his Father; and yet he is here, because he is not departed hence as concerning the presence of his Divine Majesty.'

"Mark and consider well what St. Augustine saith, 'He is ascended into heaven, and is not here,' saith he. Believe not them therefore which say, that he is here still in the earth.

"Moreover, 'Doubt not,' saith the same Augustine, 'but that Jesus Christ, as concerning the nature of his manhood, is there from whence he shall come. And remember well and believe the profession of a Christian man, that he arose from death, ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of his Father; and from that place, and none other, (not from the altars,) shall he come to judge the quick and the dead. And he shall come, as the angel said, as he was seen to go into heaven; that is to say, in the same form and substance, unto the which he gave immortality, but changed not nature. After this form (meaning his human nature) we may not think that it is every where.'

"And in the same epistle he saith, 'Take away from the bodies limitation of places, and they shall be no where; and because they are no where, they shall not be at all.'

"Vigilius saith, 'If the word and the flesh be both of one nature, seeing that the word is every where, why then is not the flesh also every where? For when it was in earth, then verily it was not in heaven; and now when it is in heaven, it is not surely in earth. And it is so certain that it is not in earth, that, as concerning the same, we look for him from heaven, whom, as concerning the word, we believe to be with us in earth.'

"Also the same Vigilius saith, 'Which things seeing they be so, the course of the Scripture must be searched of us, and many testimonies must be gathered, to show plainly what a wickedness and sacrilege it is, to refer those things to the property of the Divine nature, which do only belong to the nature of the flesh: and contrariwise, to apply those things to the nature of the

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flesh, which do properly belong to the Divine nature.' Which thing the transubstantiators do, whilst they affirm Christ's body not to be contained in any one place, and ascribe that to his humanity which properly belongeth to his Divinity; as they do which will have Christ's body to be in no one certain place limited.

"Now in the latter conclusion concerning the sacrifice, because it dependeth upon the first, I will in few words declare what I think; for if we did once agree in that, the whole controversy in the other would soon be at an end. Two things there be which do persuade me that this conclusion is true; that is, certain places of the Scripture, and also certain testimonies of the fathers. St. Paul saith, Christ, being become a High Priest of good things to come, by a greater and more perfect tabernacle not made with hands, that is, not of this building, neither by the blood of goats and calves, but by his own blood, entered once into the holy place, and obtained for us eternal redemption. And now, in the end of the world, he hath appeared once, to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself. And again, Christ was once offered to take away the sins of many. Moreover he saith, With one offering hath he made perfect for ever those that are sanctified.

"These Scriptures do persuade me to believe, that there is no other oblation of Christ, (albeit I am not ignorant there are many sacrifices,) but that which was once made upon the cross.

"The testimonies of the ancient fathers, which confirm the same, are out of Augustine, Ad Bonif. epist. 23. Again, in his book of Forty-three Questions, in the forty-first question. Also in his twentieth book against Faustus the Manichean, cap. 21. And in the same book against the said Faustus, cap. 28, thus he writeth, Now the Christians keep a memorial of the sacrifice past, with a holy oblation and participation of the body and blood of Christ.'

"Fulgentius, in his book De Fide, calleth the same oblation a commemoration.—And these things are sufficient for this time, for a scholastical determination of these matters."

Disputations of Martin Bucer at Cambridge.

(Ornamental capital £246} OVER and besides these disputations above mentioned, other disputations were also holden at Cambridge, shortly after, by Martin Bucer, upon these conclusions following:

Conclusions to be disputed.

First. "The canonical books of Holy Scripture alone, do sufficiently teach the regenerated all things necessarily belonging unto salvation."

Secondly. "There is no church in earth which erreth not in manners as well as in faith."

Thirdly. "We are so justified freely of God, that before our justification it is sin, and provoketh God's wrath against us, whatsoever good work we seem to do. Then, being justified, we do good works."

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In these three propositions against Bracer disputed Master Segewick, Young, and Perne: which disputations, because they are long here to be recited, I mind (the Lord willing) to reserve them to some other convenient place. In the mean season, because great controversy hath been and is yet amongst the learned, and much effusion of Christian blood, about the words and meaning of the sacrament; to the intent that the verity thereof more openly may be explained, and all doubtful scruples discussed, it shall not be out of place to adjoin to the former discourses of Peter Martyr, and of Dr. Ridley above mentioned, another certain learned treatise in form of a dialogue, as appertaining to the same argument, compiled (as it seemeth) out of the tractations of Peter Martyr, and other authors, by a certain learned and reverend person of this realm; who, under the persons of Custom and Verity, manifestly layeth before our eyes, and teacheth all men, not to measure religion by custom, but to try custom by truth and the word of God: for else custom may soon deceive, but the word of God abideth for ever.

238. A Fruitful Dialogue Declaring these Words of Christ, This Is My Body.

Custom and Verity.

Custom.—"I marvel much what madness hath crept into those men's hearts, which now-a-days are not ashamed so violently to tread down the lively word of God, yea, and impudently to deny God himself."

Verity.—"God forbid there should be any such. Indeed I remember that the Romish bishop was wont to have the Bible for his footstool, and so to tread down God's word evermore, when he stood at his mass. But, thanks be to God, he is now detected, and his abominations he opened and blown throughout all the world. And I hear of no more that oppress God's word."

Custom.—"No more! say you? Yes, doubtless, there are a hundred thousand more, and your part it is, Verity, to withstand them."

Verity.—"As touching my part, you know it agreeth not with my nature to stand with falsehood. But what are they? Disclose them if you will have them reprov'd."

Custom.—"What! are you so great a stranger in these quarters? Hear you not how that men do daily speak against the sacrament of the altar, denying it to be the real body of Christ?"

Verity.—"In good sooth I have been a great while abroad, and returned but of late into this country: wherefore you must pardon me, if my answer be to seek in such questions. But go forth in your tale. You have been longer here, and are better acquainted than I. What say they more than this?"

Custom.—"Than this? Why, what can they possibly say more?"

Verity.—"Yes, there are many things worse than this: for this seemeth in some part to be tolerable."

Custom.—"What! me thinketh you dally with me. Seemeth it tolerable to deny the sacrament?"

Verity.—"They deny it not, so much as I can gather by your words."

Custom.—"Nay, then, fare you well: I perceive you will take their part."

Verity.—"I am not partial, but indifferent to all parties: for I never go further than the truth."

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Custom.—"I can scarcely believe you. But what is more true than Christ, which is truth itself? or whoever was so hardy, before this time, to charge Christ with a lie for saying these words, This is my body? The words are evident and plain: there is in them not so much as one obscure or dark letter; there is no cause for any man to cavil. And yet, that notwithstanding, whereas Christ himself affirmed it to be his body, men now-a-days are not abashed to say, Christ lied, it is not his body. The evangelists agree all in one; the old writers stand of our side; the universal and catholic church hath been in this mind these fifteen hundred years and more. And shall we think that Christ himself, his evangelists, all the whole catholic church, have been so long deceived, and the truth now at length begotten and born in these days?"

Verity.—"You have moved a matter of great force and weight, and whereto, without many words, I can make no full answer. Notwithstanding, because you provoke me thereto, if you will give me licence, I will take part with them of whom you have made false report, for none of them ever reprov'd Christ of any lie: but, contrariwise, they say, that many men of late days, not understanding Christ's words, have builded and set up many fond lies upon his name. Wherefore, first I will declare the meaning of these words, This is my body; and next, in what sense the church and the old fathers have evermore taken them. First, therefore, you shall understand, that Scripture is not so to be taken always as the letter soundeth, but as the intent and purpose of the Holy Ghost was, by whom the Scripture was uttered. For, if you follow the bare words, you will soon shake down and overthrow the greatest part of the Christian faith. What is plainer than these words, My Father is greater than I am? Of those plain words sprang up the heresy of the Arians, which denied Christ to be equal with his Father. What is more evident than this saying, I and my Father are both one? Thereof arose the heresy of them that denied three distinct persons. They all had one soul and one heart, was spoken by the apostle: yet had each of them a soul and heart peculiar to himself. They are now not two, but one flesh, is spoken of the man and his wife: yet have both the man and the wife their several body. He is our very flesh, said Reuben by Joseph his brother; who, notwithstanding, was not their real flesh. I am bread, said Christ; yet was he flesh, and no bread. Christ was the stone, saith Paul; and was indeed no material stone. Melchizedek had neither father nor mother; and yet indeed he had both. Behold the Lamb of John, saith John Baptist by Christ: notwithstanding, Christ was a man, and not a lamb. Circumcision was called the covenant, whereas it was but a token of the covenant. The lamb named the passover, and yet was it eaten in remembrance only of the passover. Jacob raised up an altar, and called it, being made but of lime and stone, The mighty God of Israel. Moses, when he had conquered the Amalekites, set up an altar, and called it by the names of God, Jehovah, and Tetragramatum. We are all one loaf of bread, saith Paul; yet were they not thereby turned into a loaf of bread. Christ, hanging upon the cross, appointed St. John to his mother, saying, Lo! there is thy son; and yet was he not her son. So many as be baptized into Christ, saith Paul, have put on Christ; and so many as are baptized into Christ, are washed with the blood of Christ: notwithstanding no man took the font-water to be the natural blood of Christ. The cup is the new testament, saith Paul; and yet is not the cup indeed the very new testament. You see, therefore, that it is not strange, nor a thing unwont in the Scriptures, to call one thing by another's name. So that you can no more, of necessity, enforce the changing of the bread into Christ's body in the sacrament, because the words be plain, This is my body; than the wife's flesh to be the natural and real body and flesh of the husband, because it is written, They are not two but one flesh; or the altar of stone to be very God, because Moses, with evident and plain words, pronounced it to be the mighty God of Israel. Notwithstanding, if you will needs cleave to the

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letter, you make for me, and hinder your own cause: for thus I will reason, and use your own weapon against you. The Scripture calleth it bread. The evangelists agree in the same. Paul nameth it so five times in one place. The Holy Ghost may not be sent to school to learn to speak. Wherefore, I conclude by your own argument, that we ought not only to say, but also to believe, that in the sacrament there remaineth bread."

Custom.—"Methinketh your answer is reasonable, yet can I not be satisfied. Declare you, therefore, more at large, what moveth you to think this of the sacrament. For I think you would not withstand a doctrine so long holden and taught, unless you were enforced by some strong and likely reasons."

Verity.—"First, In examining the words of Christ, I get me to the meaning and purpose for which they were spoken. And in this behalf I see that Christ meant to have his death and passion kept in remembrance. For men, of themselves, be, and evermore were, forgetful of the benefits of God. And therefore it was behoveful, that they should be admonished and stirred up with some visible and outward tokens; as with the passover lamb, the brazen serpent, and the like. For the brazen serpent was a token, that when the Jews were stung and wounded with serpents, God restored them and made them whole. The passover lamb was a memory of the great benefit of God, who, when he destroyed the Egyptians, saved the Jews, whose doors were sprinkled with the blood of a lamb. So likewise Christ left us a memorial and remembrance of his death and passion in outward tokens, that when the child should demand of his father, what the breaking of the bread, and drinking of the cup, meaneth, he might answer him, that like as the bread is broken, so Christ was broken and rent upon the cross, to redeem the soul of man. And likewise, as wine fostereth and comforteth the body, so doth the blood of Christ cherish and relieve the soul. And this do I gather by the words of Christ, and by the institution and order of the sacrament: for Christ charged the apostles to do this in the remembrance of him. Whereupon thus I conclude:

"No thing is done in remembrance of itself.

"But the sacrament is used in the remembrance of Christ:

"Therefore the sacrament is not Christ.

"Christ never devoured himself.

"Christ did eat the sacrament with his apostles:

"Ergo, the sacrament is not Christ himself.

"Besides this, I see that Christ ordained not his body, but a sacrament of his body. A sacrament (as St. Austin declareth) is an outward sign of an invisible grace. His words are, 'A sacrament is a visible sign of invisible grace.' Out of which words I gather two arguments. The first is this: the token of the body of Christ is not the thing tokened; wherefore they are not one. The second is this:

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"One thing cannot be both visible and invisible.

"But the sacrament is visible, and the body of Christ invisible:

"Therefore they are not one.

"Which thing St. Augustine openeth very well by these words, 'The sacrament is one thing, the substance another. The sacrament goes into the body, the substance is the body of Christ.' Moreover, I remember that Christ ministered this sacrament not to great and deep philosophers, but to a sort of ignorant and unlearned fishers, who, notwithstanding, understood Christ's meaning right well, and delivered it even as they took it at Christ's hand, to the vulgar and lay people, and fully declared unto them the meaning thereof. But neither the lay people, nor scarcely the apostles themselves, could understand what is meant by transubstantiation, impanation, dimensions, *qualitates, quantitates, accidens sine subjecto, terminus a quo, et terminus ad quem, per modum quanti*. This is no learning for the unlearned and rude people; wherefore it is likely that Christ meant some other thing than hath been taught of late days. Furthermore, Christ's body is food, not for the body, but for the soul; and therefore it must be received with the instrument of the soul, which is faith. For as ye receive sustenance for your body by your bodily mouth, so the food of your soul must be received by faith, which is the mouth of the soul. And for that St. Augustine sharply rebuketh them that think to eat Christ with their mouth, saying, 'Why makest thou ready thy tooth and thy belly? Believe, and thou hast eaten Christ.' Likewise, speaking of eating the selfsame body, he saith to the Capernaïtes, who took him grossly as men do now-a-days: The words that I speak, are spirit and life. It is the spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing."

Custom.—"What mean you by this spirit, and by spiritual eating? I pray you utter your mind more plainly. For I know well that Christ hath a body, and therefore must be eaten (as I think) with the mouth of the body. For the spirit and the soul, as it hath no body and flesh, so it hath no month."

Verity.—"You must understand, that a man is shaped of two parts, of the body and of the soul; and each of them hath his life and his death, his mouth, his teeth, his food, and abstinence. For like as the body is nourished and fostered with bodily meats, or else cannot endure; so must the soul have his cherishing, otherwise it will decay and pine away. And therefore we do and may justly say, that the Turks, Jews, and heathen be dead, because they lack the lively food of the soul. But how then, or by what mean, will you feed the soul? Doubtless not by the instrument of the body, but of the soul; for that which is received into the body, hath no passage from thence into the soul. For Christ saith, Whatsoever entereth into the belly, is conveyed into the draught. And whereas you say that the spirit hath no mouth, like as it hath no body or bones, you are deceived; for the spirit hath a mouth, in his kind; or else how could a man eat and drink justice? For undoubtedly his bodily mouth is no fit instrument for it. Yet Christ saith, that he is blessed that hungereth and thirsteth for justice. If he hunger and thirst for justice, belike he both eateth and drinketh it; for otherwise he neither abateth his hunger, nor quencheth his thirst. Now, if a man may eat and drink righteousness with his spirit, no doubt his spirit hath a mouth. Whereof I will reason thus:

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"Of whatsoever sort the mouth is, such is his food. "But the mouth of the spirit is spiritual, not bodily:

"Therefore it receiveth Christ's body spiritually, not bodily.

"And in like manner Christ, speaking of the eating of his body, nameth himself the bread, not for the body, but of life, for the soul; and saith, He that cometh to me, shall not hunger; and he that believeth in me, shall never thirst. Wherefore, whosoever will be relieved by the body of Christ, must receive him as he will he received, with the instrument of faith appointed thereunto, not with his teeth or mouth. And whereas I say that Christ's body must be received and taken with faith, I mean not that you shall pluck down Christ from heaven, and put him in your faith, as in a visible place; but that you must, with your faith, rise and spring up to him, and, leaving this world, dwell above in heaven; putting all your trust, comfort, and consolation in him, who suffered grievous bondage to set you at liberty and to make you free; creeping into his wounds, which were so cruelly pierced and dented for your sake. So shall you feed on the body of Christ; so shall you suck the blood that was poured out and shed for you. This is the spiritual, the very true, the only eating of Christ's body: and therefore St. Gregory calleth it, 'The food of the mind, and not of the belly.' And St. Cyprian saith likewise, 'We sharpen not our tooth, nor prepare our belly.'

"Now, to return to our former purpose: seeing it is plain that Christ's body is meat for our spirit, and hath nothing to do with our body, I will gather thereof this reason. The sacrament is bodily food, and increaseth the body: ergo, the sacrament is not the very body of Christ. That it nourisheth the body it is evident; for Christ calleth it the fruit of the vine, whose duty is to nourish. And, for a proof, if you consecrate a whole loaf, it will feed you as well as your table-bread. And if a little mouse get a host, he will crave no more meat to his dinner.

"But you will say, these are worldly reasons. What then if the old fathers record the same? Irenæus saith, 'When the mingled cup and the broken bread receive the word of God, it is made the eucharist of the body and blood of the Lord, by which the substance of our flesh is made up and nourished.' Bede witnesseth the same by these words, 'Because bread supports our flesh, and wine our blood, the former is applied to the body, and the latter to the blood of Christ. Wherefore, as I said before, seeing that Christ's body is spiritual meat, and the bread of the sacrament bodily, I may conclude that the sacrament is not Christ's body. Beside this, whereas it was forbidden, in the old law, that any man should eat or drink blood, the apostles, notwithstanding, took the cup at Christ's hands, and drank of it; and never staggered, or shrank at the matter: whereby it may be gathered, that they took it for a mystery, for a token and a remembrance, far otherwise than it hath of late been taken.

"Again, when the sacrament was dealt, none of them all crouched down, and took it for his God, forgetting him that sat there present before their eyes; but took it, and ate it, knowing that it was a sacrament and remembrance of Christ's body. Yea, the old councils commanded that no man should kneel down at the time of the communion, fearing that it should be an occasion of idolatry. And long after the apostles' time, as Tertullian writeth, women were suffered to take it home with them, and lap it up in their chests. And the priests, many times, sent it to sick persons by a child; who, no doubt, would have given more reverence thereto, if they had taken it for their

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God. But a great while after, about three hundred years ago, Honorius the Third, bishop of Rome, took him and hanged him up, and caused men to kneel and crouch down, and all to begod him. A.D. 1220.

"Furthermore, if the bread be turned and altered into the body of Christ, doubtless it is the greatest miracle that ever God wrought. But the apostles saw no miracle in it. Nazianzen, an old writer, and Augustine, entreating of all the miracles that are in the Scripture, number the sacrament for none. As for the apostles, it appeareth well that they had it for no marvel, for they never mused at it, neither demanded how it might be; whereas, in other things, they evermore were full of questions. As touching St. Augustine, he not only overskipped it, as no wonder, but, by plain and express words, testifieth that there is no marvel in it. For speaking of the Lord's supper, and of the other sacraments, he saith these words: 'The sacraments demand honour as religious ordinances, but not wonder as miracles.' Moreover, a little before the institution of the sacrament, Christ spake of his ascension, saying, I leave the world: I tarry but a little while with you. Let not your hearts be troubled, because I go from you: I tell you truth, it is for your profit that I go from you, for if I go not, the Spirit of comfort cannot come to you; with many other like warnings of his departure. St. Stephen saw him sitting at the right hand of his Father, and thought it a special revelation of God: but he never said, that he saw him at the communion, or that he made him every day himself. And, in the Acts of the Apostles, St. Peter saith, that Christ must needs keep the heaven till all be ended. Isaiah, Solomon, and St. Stephen say, that God dwelleth not in temples made with man's hand. St. Paul wisheth that he were dissolved and dead, and were with Christ: not in the altar, doubtless, where he might be daily; but in heaven. And, to be brief, it is in our Credo, and we do constantly believe, that Christ is ascended into heaven, and sitteth at his Father's right hand; and no promise have we, that he will come jumping down at every priest's calling. Hereof I gather this reason:

"Christ's body cannot both be gone, and be here.

"But he is gone, and hath left the world:

"Therefore, it is folly to seek him in the world."

Custom.—"Fie, you be far deceived, I can in no wise brook these words. You shut up Christ too straitly, and imprison him in one corner of heaven, not suffering him to go at large. No, doubtless, he hath deserved more gentleness at your hand, than to be tied up so short."

Verity.—"I do neither lock up, nor imprison Christ in heaven; but, according to the Scriptures, declare that he hath chosen a blessed place, and most worthy to receive his Majesty; in which place whoso is enclosed, thinketh not himself (as I suppose) to be a prisoner. But, if you take it for so heinous a thing, that Christ should sit resident in heaven in the glory of his Father, what think you of them that imprison him in a little box; yea, and keep him in captivity so long, until he be mouldy and overgrown with vermin; and when he is past men's meat, be not contented to hang him till he stink, but will have him to a new execution, and burn him too? This is wonderful and extreme cruel imprisoning. But to return to the matter: we are certainly persuaded by the word of God, that Christ, the very Son of God, vouchsafed to take upon him the body and shape of man; and that he walked and was conversant amongst men in that same one,

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and not in many bodies; and that he suffered death, rose again, and ascended to heaven in the selfsame body; and that he sitteth at his Father's right hand in his manhood, in the nature and substance of the said one body. This is our belief, this is the very word of God. Wherefore they are far deceived, who, leaving heaven, will grope for Christ's body upon the earth."

Custom.—"Nay, sir, but I see now you are far out of the way. For Christ hath not so gross and fleshly a body as you think, but a spiritual and ghostly body; and therefore, without repugnance, it may be in many places at once."

Verity.—"You say right well, and do grant that Christ's body is spiritual. But, I pray you, answer me by the way, can any other body than that which is spiritual, be, at one time, in sundry places?"

Custom.—"No, truly."

Verity.—"Have we that selfsame sacrament, that Christ gave to his disciples at his maundy, or no?"

Custom.—"Doubtless we have the same."

Verity.—"When became Christ's body spiritual? was it so even from his birth?"

Custom.—"No: for, doubtless, before he arose from death, his body was earthly, as other men's bodies are."

Verity.—"Well, but when gave Christ the sacrament to his disciples? before he rose from death, or after?"

Custom.—"You know yourself he gave it before his resurrection, the night before he suffered his passion."

Verity.—"Why, then, methinketh he gave the sacrament at that time when his body was not spiritual."

Custom.—"Even so."

Verity.—"And was every portion of the sacrament dealt to the apostles? and received they into their mouths the very real and substantial body of Christ?"

Custom.—"Yea, doubtless."

Verity.—"Mark well what ye have said, for you have granted me great repugnance. First, you say, that no body, being not spiritual, can be in sundry places at once. Then say you, that at the maundy Christ's body was not spiritual: and yet hold you, that he was there present visibly before the apostles' eyes, and in each of their hands and mouths, all at one time—which grants of

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yours are not agreeable. But I will gather a better and a more formal reason of your words, in this sort:

"No body being real, natural, and organical, and not spiritual, can be in many places at once.

"Christ's body in the sacrament was in the apostles' hands and mouths at one time, which were many places:

"Ergo, Christ's body in the sacrament was not a real, natural, and organical body; but spiritual."

Custom.—"Indeed you have driven me into the straits, before I was aware of you; and I know not how I may escape your hands honestly. But the best refuge that I have is this, that I will not believe you."

Verity.—"I desire you not to give credence to me. Believe the word of God; yea, believe your own belief: for they both witness against you, that Christ's body is taken up into heaven, and there shall remain until he come to judge."

Custom.—"Tush, what speak you of the word of God? there be many dark sayings therein, which every man cannot attain to."

Verity.—"I grant you there be certain obscure places in the Scripture, yet not so obscure but that a man, with the grace of God, may perceive; for it was written not for angels, but for men. But, as I understand, Custom meddled but little with the Scripture. How say you by St. Augustine, St. Jerome, St. Ambrose? what if they stand on our side?"

Custom.—"No, no, I know them well enough."

Verity.—"So well as you know them, for all old acquaintance, if they be called to witness, they will give evidence against you. For St. Austin commonly, in every of his books, but chiefly in an epistle to his friend Dardanus, declareth that Christ's body is placed in one room. I marvel you be not nearer of his counsel. His words are these: 'Do not doubt the man Jesus Christ to be there, from whence he shall come. And remember well, and faithfully believe, the Christian confession, that he is risen, ascended into heaven, sitteth at the right hand of God the Father, and from thence he shall come, and from no other place, to judge the quick and the dead. And shall come in the same substance of body, to which he gave immortality, and took not the nature from it. After this form he is to be thought not to be dispersed in all places; for we must beware so to defend his Divinity that we destroy not his humanity.' And in another place of the same epistle, 'He is one person God and man, and both is one Christ. He is every where as God, but in heaven as man.' Likewise upon Psalm xiv.: 'While the world shall last, the Lord is above, and also the verity of the Lord is with us. For the body wherein he rose again must be in one place; but the verity of him is every where dispersed.' In like manner writeth Damasus, an old bishop of Rome, in his Credo, 'Having conquered the power of death, he rose and ascended into heaven with that flesh in which he was born and suffered, the same nature remaining.' St. Ambrose, writing upon

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Luke x., recordeth the same: Wherefore neither above the earth, nor upon the earth, nor according to the earth, we ought to seek the Lord, if we will find him; for he did not seek him above the earth, who did see him sitting at the right hand of God. And Mary sought upon the earth to touch Christ and could not. Stephen touched him, because he sought him in heaven.' St. Jerome, in an epistle to Marcella, proveth that the body of Christ must needs be contained in some place, for he saith, 'The property of God is to be every where; the property of man is to be in one place.' The same Jerome, in another place, calleth it a foolish thing to seek for him in a narrow place. or in a corner, who is the light of all the world; 'Foolishness it is, in a small place or in a hid corner to seek him who is the light of the whole world.' Origen saith likewise, 'They are not to be heard, who show Christ in houses.' The same also recordeth Bede, writing upon these words of Christ, Now a little while shall you see me. He speaketh in Christ's person. 'Therefore,' saith he, 'shall you see me but a little while after my resurrection; because I will not still abide in the earth bodily; but, in the manhood which I have taken, will ascend up to heaven.' What needeth more words? All the old fathers witness the same. You may by these soon judge the rest. Now to return to the matter: Seeing that the word of God in many and sundry places, the Credo, and the Abridgement of the Faith, seeing all the old fathers do constantly agree in one, that the body of Christ is ascended into heaven, and there remaineth at the right hand of the Father, and cannot be in more than in one place, I do conclude that the sacrament is not the body of Christ; first, because it is not in heaven, neither sitteth at the Father's right hand; moreover, because it is in a hundred thousand boxes, whereas Christ's body filleth but one place. Furthermore, if the bread were turned into the body of Christ, then would it necessarily follow, that sinners and unpenitent persons receive the body of Christ."

Custom.—"Marry, and so they do. For Paul saith plainly, that they receive the body of Christ to their own confusion."

Verity.—"No, not so. These are not Paul's words, but he saith, 'Whoso eateth of this bread, and drinketh of this cup unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own condemnation, not judging the body of the Lord.' Here he calleth it, in plain words, bread. And although the sacrament be very bread, yet doth the injury redound to the body of Christ. As if a man break the king's mace, or tread the broad seal under his foot, although he have broken and defaced nothing but silver and wax; yet is the injury the king's, and the doer shall be taken as a traitor. St. Ambrose declareth the meaning of St. Paul by these words, 'He is guilty of the body of the Lord, and shall suffer the punishment of the death of Christ, seeing he has made of none effect the death of Christ.' The cause of the ordinance thereof was the remembrance of the death of Christ, which whoso forgetteth, receiveth the sacrament to their condemnation. That same witnesseth St. Augustine: 'For the sacrament,' saith he, 'is an outward token of love and charity. For like as many grains of corn are become one piece of bread, even so they that receive it, ought to be one.' Then saith he, *Mysterium pacis ac unitatis nobis Christus in mensa sua consecravit. Qui accepit mysterium unitatis et non servat unitatem, non mysterium accepit pro se, sed testimonium contra se.* He that readeth the gospel, wherein is declared the passion and death of Christ, and liveth contrary to the gospel, shall doubtless be the more of the death of Christ, because he heareth and readeth the word of God, and regardeth it not."

"In a certain country the manner is, that when the gospel is read, the king shall stand up with a naked sword in his hand, declaring thereby that he beareth his sword in defence of the

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gospel. But if he himself oppresseth the gospel, he beareth the sword against himself; for the gospel shall turn to his judgment and condemnation. So will Christ so much more extremely punish a man, who, knowing himself to be wicked and without repentance, and therefore none of the flock of Christ, yet, notwithstanding, will impudently creep into the company of Christian men, and receive the sacraments with them, as though he were one of the number. And this meant St. Paul by the unworthy receiving of a sacrament of Christ's body. Wherefore a man may unworthily take the sacrament, and be guilty of the death of Christ, although he receive not Christ's body into his mouth, and chew it with his teeth.—But what if I prove that every massing priest is guilty of the body and blood of Christ?"

Custom.—"I dare say you cannot prove it."

Verity.—"But if I do prove it, will you believe me?"

Custom.—"I may well enough, for it is impossible to do it; for priests commonly are confessed before they go to mass; and how can they then take the sacrament unworthily?"

Verity.—"Indeed confession, if it be discreetly used, is a laudable custom, and to the unlearned man and feeble conscience so good as a sermon: but, notwithstanding, because it was never commanded of Christ, nor received of the apostles, nor much spoken of by the old doctors, it cannot make much for the due receiving of the sacrament. But how like ye these words of St. Ambrose? 'He taketh it unworthily, that taketh it otherwise than Christ ordained it.'"

Custom.—"This liketh me very well. But what gather you of it?"

Verity.—"This will I gather. The massing priest taketh the sacrament otherwise than Christ either commanded or taught: ergo, he taketh it unworthily, and so consequently to his condemnation."

Custom.—"That is not so, for he doth altogether as Christ commanded him."

Verity.—"That shall appear; for Christ commanded it to be done in his remembrance: the priest doth it in remembrance of dead men. Christ took bread, and left it bread: the priest taketh bread and conjureth it away. Christ took bread and gave thanks: the priest taketh bread and breatheth upon it. Christ took bread and brake it: the priest taketh bread and hangeth it up. Christ took bread and dealt it to his apostles: the priest, because he is an apostle himself, taketh bread and eateth it every whit alone. Christ, in a sacrament, gave his own body to be eaten in faith: the priest, for lack of faith, receiveth accidents, and dimensions. Christ gave a sacrament to strengthen men's faith: the priest giveth a sacrifice to redeem men's souls. Christ gave it to be eaten: the priest giveth it to be worshipped. And to conclude, Christ gave bread: the priest saith he giveth a God. Here is difference enough between Christ and the priest. Yet moreover, Christ, at his supper, spake his words out, and in a plain tongue: the priest speaketh nothing but Latin or Greek, which tongues he oftentimes perceiveth not; and much he whispereth, lest any poor man should perhaps perceive him. So it cometh to pass, that the priest knoweth no more what he himself saith, than what he doth. Thus you may see that the massing priest receiveth the

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sacrament of Christ's body far otherwise than ever Christ minded; and so therefore unworthily, and to his condemnation.

"Now, if you think yourself satisfied, I will return to my former question, and prove more at large, that Christ's body cannot be eaten of the wicked, which thing must necessarily ensue, if the bread were turned into the body of Christ. Christ, in John vi., speaking of the eating of his body, saith, He that eateth of this bread shall live for ever. Whereof I gather thus: but sinful men take the sacrament to their condemnation, and live not for ever; ergo, in the sacrament they receive not the body of Christ. Again, Christ saith, He that eateth me shall live for my sake. Hereof I conclude thus: but impenitent persons cannot live for Christ's sake. Moreover Christ's body must be received, not with the mouth, as Gregory recordeth, saying, that it is eaten with the teeth of the soul, not of the body, as I have above more largely declared. But wicked and impenitent persons lack faith; wherefore they cannot eat the body of Christ. Again, Christ's body cannot be divided from his spirit; but wicked men have not the Spirit of God: God's word, or the doctors and the ancient writers, ergo, they have not Christ's body. Hereunto agree all the old writers, affirming constantly, that the unfaithful be no meet vessels to receive the body of Christ. St. Augustine saith, 'Whosoever does not remain in Christ, and in whom Christ does not remain, without doubt he neither eats his flesh nor drinks his blood, though he also eats and drinks so great a mystery to his own condemnation.' Ambrose avoweth the same by these words: 'He that departs from Christ neither eats his flesh nor drinks his blood, though he receive the sacrament of so great a thing.' And therefore St. Augustine saith, 'The wicked have the sacrament, but the substance of the sacrament they have not.' Thus by the word of God, by reason, and by the old fathers, it is plain, that sinful men eat not the body of Christ, receive they the sacrament never so oft: which thing could not be, if in the sacrament there remained nothing but the body of Christ.

"The sacrament in Holy Scripture is named, the breaking of bread; which, to say the truth, were but a cold breaking, if there remained no bread to break, but certain fantasies of white and round. Yet whereas they, with words, crossings, blessings, breathings, leapings, and much ado, can scarcely make one god, they have such virtue in their fingers, that at one cross they be able to make twenty gods; for if they break the sacrament, every portion, yea, every mite, must needs be a god. After the apostles' time there arose up heretics, who said that Christ, walking here amongst men bodily upon the earth, had no very body, but a thing like a body, and so therewith dimmed men's sight. Against whom the old fathers used these arguments: Christ increased in growing, fasted, hungered, eat, wept, sweat, was weary, and in conclusion died, and had all other properties of a very body: wherefore he had a body. I will use the same kind of reasoning: It feedeth, it tasteth like bread, it looketh like bread, the little silly mouse taketh it for bread, and, to be short, it hath all the properties and tokens of bread: ergo, it is bread. The old fathers, when there remained any part of the sacrament more than was spent at the communion, they used to burn it, and of it there came ashes. But there is nothing in the sacrament that can turn to ashes but only bread (for I think they burned not Christ's body to ashes): ergo, in the sacrament there remaineth bread. Henry the emperor, the sixth of that name, was poisoned in the host, and Victor the bishop of Rome in the chalice. But poison cannot hang in God's body and blood: wherefore there remaineth bread and wine. What needeth many words in a matter so evident? If you demand either of your reason, or your eyes, or nose, or tongue, or fingers, or the cat, or the ape, or the mouse, all these agree in one, and answer together, There is bread. Wherefore, if you reject so many and so constant witnesses, and so well agreeing in their tale,

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specially being such as will lie for no man's pleasure, I will appeal from you, and take you as no indifferent judge. If all these witnesses suffice you not, I will call the sacrament itself to record. It crieth unto you, and plainly doth advertise you, what you should think of it. 'I am,' it saith, 'grated with the tooth; I am conveyed into the belly; I perish; I can endure no space; I canker; I suffer green mould, blue mould, red mould; I breed worms; I am kept in a box for fear of rats. If you leave me out all night, I shall be devoured before morning, for if the mouse get me, I am gone. I am bread; I am no God: believe them not.' Thus crieth the sacrament daily, and beareth witness itself."

Custom.—"The devil on such like reasons! and therefore I will never trouble my brains to make you answer: but, if it be true that you have said, why is the sacrament so well of Christ himself, as of his apostles, and the old fathers, called the body of Christ?"

Verity.—"Because it is no strange thing in Scripture so to speak; as I have declared before.—But will you stand to St. Augustine's arbitrement in the matter?"

Custom.—"To no man sooner."

Verity.—"St. Augustine, in an epistle to his friend Boniface, giveth a good cause why the sacrament, although it be not the body of Christ, is, notwithstanding, called the body of Christ. His words be these: 'If sacraments had not a certain similitude of those things whereof they be sacraments, then were they no sacraments; of the which similitude many times they take their name. Wherefore, after a certain manner the sacrament of the body of Christ is the body of Christ; and the sacrament of the blood of Christ is the blood of Christ,' &c. And upon Psalm xxiii. he writeth likewise, 'Christ after a certain manner and fashion, as it were, did bear himself in his own hand, when he said, This is my body.' 'In manner,' he saith, 'and after a fashion;' not in very deed. Again, when faithful men receive the sacrament, they think not of the bread, nor mark the wine, but they look further, and behold the very body of Christ spread upon the cross, and his very blood poured down for their sakes. So in baptism men regard not greatly the water, but account themselves washed with the blood of Christ. So saith St. Paul, Whatsoever we are that be baptized, we are washed in the blood of Christ. Wherefore to the faithful receivers you may say, that the water of baptism is the blood of Christ, and the bread and wine the body and blood of Christ: for to them it is no less than if the natures were altered and changed. Which thing you may very well learn of Chrysostom, whose words are these: 'All mysteries must be considered with inward eyes, that is to say, spiritually. But the inward eyes, when they see the bread, they pass over the creatures, neither do they think of that bread which is baked of the baker, but of him which called himself the bread of eternal life.' For these two causes the bread and wine are called the body and blood of Christ. Now I think you are satisfied concerning the meaning of these words, This is my body."

Custom.—"Yet one thing moveth me very much."

Verity.—"What is that?"

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Custom.—"The doctors and old writers, men inspired with the Holy Ghost, have evermore been against your doctrine; yea, and in these days the wisest men and best learned call you heretics, and your learning heresy."

Verity.—"As touching the old writers, I remember well they speak reverently of the sacraments, like as every man ought to do; but whereas they deliver their mind with their right hand, you, Custom, receive it with the left. For whereas they say, that it is the body of Christ, and that it must be verily eaten, meaning that it doth effectually lay before the eyes Christ's body, and that it is to the faithful man no less than if it were Christ himself, and that Christ must be eaten in faith, not torn nor rent with the teeth: you say, that howsoever it be taken, it is Christ's body, and that there is none other eating but with the mouth.

"And that the fathers meant no other thing than I have said, it shall appear by their words. But as touching the learned and wise men of these days, I cannot blame them if they call my doctrine heresy; for they would condemn all ancient writers of heresy, if they were now alive. But I will answer you to them anon. In the mean while mark you how well their learning agreeth. They say, 'You must follow the letter; you must stick to the letter.' But Origen saith, 'If ye follow after the letter that which is written, Unless ye shall eat the flesh of the Son of man, there shall be no life in you—this letter killeth.'

"Augustine, in the third book De Doctrina Christiana: 'First, thou must beware that thou take not a figurative speech after the letter. For thereto pertaineth that the apostle saith, The letter killeth. For when a thing is spiritually meant, and the same is taken literally as properly spoken, that is a carnal taking. Neither can any other be called the killing of the soul, rather than that.' And in the same book he teacheth a man to know the plain sense from a figure, saying thus: 'If the commanding speech be such as commandeth a thing wicked and horrible to be done, or a charitable thing to be undone, then this is a figurative speech, Unless ye shall eat the flesh of the Son of man, and shall drink his blood, there shall be no life in you. Because in this speech he seemeth to command a wicked thing, it is therefore a figurative speech, commanding that we should communicate with the passion of our Lord, and sweetly to retain it in our remembrance.'

"In like manner Chrysostom plucketh you from the plain letter and the bare words by this saying, The flesh profiteth not; that is to say, 'My words must be taken and expounded after the Spirit. For he that heareth after the flesh, gaineth nothing. Now what is it to understand carnally? To take things simply as they be spoken, and not to consider any meaning further therein. For things must not be judged as they are seen, but all mysteries must be seen with inward eyes, that is to say, spiritually.'

"What is so heinous in these days, as to call the sacrament the token or the remembrance of Christ's body? Yet did the old writers in manner never call it other. Tertullian, in the fourth book against the Marcionists: 'Christ took bread and made it his body, saying, This is my body; that is to say, a figure of my body.' Ambrose, upon 1 Corinthians xi.: 'Because we are delivered by the Lord's death, in the remembrance of the same by eating and drinking, we signify the body and blood which were offered up for us.' Chrysostom, in the eighty-third Homily upon the Gospel of Matthew: 'When they object unto us, and ask, How know you that Christ was offered up? then, alleging these things, we stop their mouths. For, if Christ died not, then whose sign or

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token is this sacrifice?' Augustine to Adimantus: 'Christ doubted not to say, This is my body, when he gave but a sign of his body.' Augustine, upon Psal. iii.: 'Christ received Judas to the supper, in which he commended and delivered a figure of his body and blood unto his disciples.' Rabanus: 'Because the bread strengtheneth the body, therefore it is aptly called Christ's body. And likewise the wine, because it increaseth blood in the flesh, it doth resemble the blood of Christ.' The monk Druthmar, on Matthew: 'Wine maketh glad the heart, and increaseth blood; and therefore the blood of Christ is not unaptly signified thereby.' Irenæus witnesseth plainly, that in the sacrament remaineth bread and wine, by these words: 'As the earthly bread, receiving the vocation of God, is now no common bread, but the eucharist, consisting of two things, the one earthly and the other heavenly.' Here he recordeth, that there remained in the sacrament an earthly nature, which is either bread or nothing. Gelasius writing against Nestorius avowed, the same, saying, 'In the eucharist the substance of bread and nature of the wine cease not to be. For the image and similitude of the body and blood of the Lord is celebrated in the action of the mysteries.' Chrysostom preferreth a poor man before the sacrament, and calleth him the body of Christ, rather than the other. Whereof I may gather this reason:

"The poor man is not the natural and real body of Christ.

"Every poor member of Christ is the body of Christ, rather than the sacrament:

"Ergo, the sacrament is not the natural and real body of Christ.

"His words are: 'This altar thou dost reverence, because the body of Christ therein is set before thee. But him that is the body of Christ indeed, thou dost spitefully entreat, and dost neglect him ready to perish.' Chrysostom, in the eleventh Homily upon Matthew: 'If it be so perilous a matter to translate these sanctified vessels unto private uses, in which not the true body of Christ, but a mystery of the body of Christ is contained, how much more then these vessels of our body!' Athanasius, upon these words, Whosoever shall speak a word against the Son of man, saith: 'The words that Christ here speaketh, be not carnal, but spiritual. For what body might have sufficed for all that should eat, to be a nourishment of the whole world But therefore he maketh mention of the ascension of the Son of man into heaven, to the intent to pluck them away from that corporal cogitation.' Augustine to Marcellinus: 'In those carnal oblations the flesh of Christ was figured, which he should offer for our sins, and the blood which he should bestow on us; but, in this sacrifice, is the giving of thanks and memorial of the flesh of Christ which he hath offered for us, and of the blood which he hath shed for us. In that sacrifice, therefore, is signified figuratively what should be given for us; in this sacrifice what is given to us is evidently declared. In those sacrifices the Son of God was before preached to be slain; in this sacrifice he is showed to be slain already for the wicked.'

"Origen, upon Matthew, expounding these words, This is my body, saith: 'The bread which Christ confesseth to be his body, is a word nutritive of our souls.' Augustine: 'No man ought in any wise to doubt but that every faithful man is then partaker of the body and blood of the Lord, when in baptism he is made a member of Christ. For he shall not be deprived of the participation and benefit of that sacrament, when he findeth in himself that thing which the sacrament loth signify.' Ambrose: 'Such is the force and strength of the word, that the bread and wine remain the same as they were, and yet are changed into another thing.' For it is not any

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longer common bread, but it is turned into a sacrament; yet notwithstanding there remained' bread and wine. Tertullian, writing against a heretic named Marcion, which taught that the creatures of God, as flesh, bread, and wine, and such like, were naught and uncleanly: God hath not cast away his creature, but by it he hath represented his body: Origen, upon Leviticus, speaking of the drinking of Christ's blood, saith, 'We do not desire the blood of the flesh, but the blood of the word.' Ambrose called the sacrament 'a type of the body of Christ,' and Basil, 'an antitype,' which is as much as to say, as a token, a figure, a remembrance, and example of Christ's body. Origen, upon Matthew xiv.: 'In this bread that thing which is material passeth through man's body: but that which is made by the word of God, by the means of faith doth profit.' And lest perhaps you think that he spake those words of our common table-bread, he concludeth the matter himself with these words: 'These things we have spoken of the mystical bread.' Augustine declareth, that it must needs be a figure and a remembrance of the body of Christ: 'These things are understood figuratively, according to the rule of sound and true faith. For otherwise it seemeth to be more horrible to eat man's flesh than to kill a man, and more horrible to drink man's blood than to shed it.' And therefore he saith upon Psalm xcvi.: 'Ye shall not eat this body which you see, and drink that blood which they shall shed that shall crucify me; I commend unto you a sacrament.' Tertullian: 'Jesus hath another body than bread; for bread was not given for us, but the very true body of Christ was given upon the cross; which body was exhibited in the supper under the figure of bread.' This recordeth Theodoret, an ancient writer, and avoweth, that there is no turning or altering of the bread in the sacrament. His words are these: 'He hath honoured and dignified the visible signs with the name of his body and of his blood, not changing the nature, but adding grace to nature.' And in another place, where he maketh a true Christian man to reason with a heretic, he giveth to the heretic this part: to hold with the turning of bread and wine into the natural body and blood of Christ. The heretic's words are these: 'The sacraments of the Lord's body and blood before invocation are one thing; but after, they are changed and made another.' This maketh Theodoret to be on the heretic's part. Then he bringeth forth the true Christian man, who reproveth the heretic for so saying: 'Thou art fallen into the snares which thou thyself hast laid. For those selfsame holy signs after the consecration, do not go from their nature, for they abide still, both in their former substance and figure; and may be both with eyes seen, and felt with hands, as before.' To the same agreeth well Chrysostom, saying, 'After the bread is sanctified, it is called bread no more, although the nature of the bread still remain.' Hereby you may understand, how and in what sort the old fathers, how the primitive and beginning church, how the apostles, and how Christ himself, took these words, 'This is my body.'

"Now, to withstand and stoutly to go, not against only ancient writers, or the congregation of Christian people, (which at that time was not overgrown, no, neither spotted with covetousness and worldly honour,) but the apostles also, and God himself, no doubt it is great fondness. But what speak I of the old fathers? It is not long since the sacrament grew out of its right understanding. For this word *transubstantiatio*, whereby they signify the turning of the bread into the body of Christ, was never either spoken or heard or thought of, among the ancient fathers, or in the old church. But about five hundred years past, Pope Nicholas II., in a council holden at Lateran in Rome, confirmed that opinion of the changing of bread, and would have made an article of faith, and placed it in the Credo. After which time ensued Corpus Christi day, masses of Corpus Christi, reservation of the sacrament with honour, with canopies, with censing, with kneeling, with worshipping and adoration, and with so much as any man could devise. For

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they thought they could not do too much to him, after that the bishop of Rome had allowed him for a God.

"But not fully two hundred years before that time, when this doctrine first began to bud, (and yet notwithstanding had not so prevailed, but that a great number of learned and good men could know the sacrament to be a sacrament, and not Christ himself,) Charlemagne, king of France and emperor of Germany, demanded of a great learned man, whose name was Bertram, what he thought of that strange kind of calling down Christ from heaven, and turning a little gobbet of bread into his natural body. To whom Bertram made answer in this wise: 'This we say, That there is a great difference and separation betwixt the body in the which Christ suffered, and the blood which he shed upon the cross, and this body which every day is celebrated in the mystery of the passion of Christ. For this body is a pledge and similitude, but the other is the very truth itself. Ergo, it appeareth that these are separated asunder by no less difference than is between a pledge, and the thing whereof the pledge is given; or than is betwixt an image of a thing, and the thing itself whereof the image is; or than is between the form of a thing, and the verity itself.' This wrote Bertram, Druthmar, and many others, and yet were never in all their time once reprov'd of heresy. This wrote Johannes Scotus also, in whose lifetime men had not eyes to espy his heresies: but, about two hundred years after his death, he was judged and condemned for a heretic, and his books burned, in a council holden at Vercelli in Lombardy, in the year of our Lord God 1050. Since which time, even until this day, although idolatry had great increase, yet there never wanted some good men, which boldly would profess and set forth the truth; although they were well assured that their worldly reward should be spite, malice, imprisoning, sword, fire, and all kinds of torments. Thus, so shortly, and in so few words as I could, I have declared unto you what Christ meant by these words, This is my body; what the apostles taught therein, and in what sort they delivered them to their successors; in what sense and meaning the holy fathers and old writers, and the universal and catholic church, have evermore taken them."

239. The End and Death of King Edward the Sixth.

Thus, having discoursed things done and past under the reign of King Edward, such as seemed not unfruitful to be known, we will now draw to the end and death of this blessed king, our young Josias; who, about a year and a half after the death of the duke of Somerset his uncle, A.D. 1553, entering into the seventeenth year of his age, and the seventh year of his reign, in the month of July was taken from us, for our sins no doubt; whom if it had so pleased the good will of the Lord to have spared with longer life, not unlike it was, by all conjectures probably to be esteemed by those his toward and blessed beginnings, but proceeding so as he began, he would have reformed such a commonwealth here in the realm of England, as by good cause that might have been said of him, which was said in the old time of the noble Emperor Augustus, in reforming and advancing the empire of Rome: "Which empire he received (as he said) of brick, but he left it of fine marble." But the condition of this realm. and the customable behaviour of English people, (whose property is commonly to abuse the light of the gospel when it is offered,) deserved no such benefit of so blessed a reformation, but rather a contrary plague of deformation, such as happened after his reign, as you shall hear, the Lord granting, in the next queen's days that followed.

Thus then this godly and virtuous imp, in the time and month above mentioned, was cut from us, whose worthy life and virtues have been partly before declared. Nevertheless, to have some monument of him remaining, to testify of the good nature and gentle disposition of that prince, we will add here, for a remembrance, this little epistle of his own handwriting to the archbishop of Canterbury, his godfather, as followeth:

An epistle of young Prince Edward to the archbishop of Canterbury, his godfather.

"Impertio te plurima salute, colendissime præsul, et charissime susceptor. Quia abes longe a me, vellem libenter audire te esse incolumem. Precor autem ut vivas diu, et promoveas verbum Dei. Vale.

*Antilæ, 18. Junii. Tuus in Christo filius,
EDWARDUS PRINCEPS."*

Another epistle of the young Prince Edward to the archbishop, his godfather.

"Etsi puer sum, colendissime susceptor, non tamen immemor sum vel officii erga te mei, vel humanitatis tuæ quam indies mihi exhibere studes. Non exciderunt mihi humanissimæ tuæ literæ pridie divi Petri ad me datæ. Quibus antehac respondere nolui, non quod illas neglexerim, aut non meminerim, sed ut illarum diuturna meditatione fruerer, fidelique memoria reponerem, atque demum bene ruminatis pro mea virili responderem. Proinde affectum erga me tuum vere paternum, quem in illis expressisti, amplector et veneror, optoque ut multos vivas annos, tuoque pio ac salubri consilio pergas esse mihi venerandus pater. Nam pietatem ante omnia mihi

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amplectendam et exosculandam esse duco, quoniam divas Paulus dicit, pietas ad omnia utilis est. Optime valeat tua paternitas in plurimos annos.

*Hartefordiæ, 13. Januarii. Tui studiosissimus,
EDWARDUS PRINCEPS."*

The answer of the archbishop to Prince Edward's epistle.

"Non magis poterat ipsa me servare salus (fili in Christo charissime) quam salus tua. Mea vita non dicenda est vita absque tua et salute et valetudine. Quapropter cum te incolumem ac saluum intelligo, vitam etiam mihi integram esse et incolumem sentio. Neque certe absentia mea tam est injucunda tibi quam sunt literæ tuæ perjucundæ mihi. Quæ arguunt tibi juxta adesse et ingenium dignum tanto principe et præceptorem dignum tanto ingenio. Ex quibus tuis literis te sic literas video colere, ut interim doctrinæ cælestis tua nequaquam minima sit cura; quæ cuicunque sit curæ, non potest ilium quævis cura frangere. Perge igitur qua via incepisti, princeps iliustrissime, et Spartam quam nactus es hanc orna, ut quam ego per literas video in te virtutis lucem, eadem olim illummet universam tuam Angliam. Non scribam prolixius, tum quidem ut me intelligas brevitate non nihil affici, tum etiam quad credam te ætate quidem adhuc parvulum parvo gaudere, et similem simili; turn etiam præterea ne impolita mea oratio in causa sit, quo generosa ilia tua indoles barbari vitium contrahat."

The report of the prince's schoolmaster, in commendation of his towardness, to the archbishop.

"Right honourable and my singular good Lord, after my most hearty commendations: the opportunity of this messenger forceth me to write at this time, having little matter but only to signify unto your Grace, that my Lord's Grace your godson is merry and in health, and of such towardness in learning, godliness, gentleness, and all honest qualities, that both you and I, and all this realm, ought to think him, and take him, for a singular gift sent of God, an imp worthy of such a father; for whom we are bound without ceasing to render to God most hearty thanks, with most humble request of his long and prosperous continuance. He hath learned almost four books of Cato to construe, to parse, and to say without book. And of his own courage now, in the latter book, he will needs have at one time fourteen verses, which he conneth pleasantly and perfectly, besides things of the Bible, Satellitium Vivis, Æsop's Fables, and Latin-making, whereof he hath sent your Grace a little taste.—Dominus Jesus te diutissime servet."

(Ornamental Capital £247} Thus much hitherto having declared, touching the worthy virtues and singular towardness of this godly imp, King Edward the Sixth, although I have not, neither can, insert all things due to his commendation, but am enforced to let pass many memorable matters, well worthy to be prosecuted, if they might have come to our hands: yet this one brief note I thought not to overslip, (something to recreate the weary reader in such a doleful story,) being notified to me by one Master Edward Underhil, who, waiting the same time with the rest of his fellow pensioners and men at arms, as Sir Henry Gates, Master Robert Hall, Master Henry Harston, and Master Stafforton, heard these words between the king and his council.

The relation and testimony of which person and persons above-named come to this effect: That King Edward the Sixth, the fourth year of his reign, being then but thirteen years old

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and upward, at Greenwich, upon St. George's day, when he was come from the sermon into the presence-chamber, there being his uncle the duke of Somerset, the duke of Northumberland, with other lords and knights of that order called the Order of the Garter, he said to them, "My Lords, I pray you, what saint is St. George, that we here so honour him?" At which question the other lords being all astonished, the lord treasurer that then was, perceiving this, gave answer, and said, "If it please your Majesty, I did never read in any history of St. George, but only in *Legenda Aurea*, where it is thus set down: That St. George out with his sword, and ran the dragon through with his spear." The king, when he could not a great while speak for laughing, at length said, "I pray you, my Lord, and what did he with his sword the while?" "That I cannot tell your Majesty," said he. And so an end of that question of good St. George. Now to return again from whence we have digressed, which is to signify some part of the order and manner of his godly departing. As the time approached when it pleased Almighty God to call this young king from us, which was the sixth day of July, the year above-said, about three hours before his death, this godly child, his eyes being closed, speaking to himself, and thinking none to have heard him, made this prayer which followeth:

The prayer of King Edward before his death.

"Lord God, deliver me out of this miserable and wretched life, and take me among thy chosen: howbeit not my will, but thy will be done. Lord, I commit my spirit to thee. O Lord! thou knowest how happy it were for me to be with thee: yet, for thy chosen's sake, send me life and health, that I may truly serve thee. O my Lord God, bless thy people, and save thine inheritance! O Lord God, save thy chosen people of England! O my Lord God, defend this realm from papistry, and maintain thy true religion; that I and my people may praise thy holy name, for thy Son Jesus Christ's sake!"

Then turned he his face, and seeing who was by him, said unto them, "Are ye so nigh? I thought ye had been further off." Then Dr. Owen said, "We heard you speak to yourself, but what you said we know not." He then (after his fashion smilingly) said, "I was praying to God." The last words of his pangs were these, "I am faint; Lord have mercy upon me, and take my spirit." And thus he yielded up the ghost, leaving a woeful kingdom behind unto his sister. Albeit he, in his will, had excluded his sister Mary from the succession of the crown, because of her corrupt religion; yet the plague which God had destined unto this sinful realm could not so he avoided, but that she, being the elder daughter to King Henry, succeeded in possession of the crown: of whose dreadful and bloody regiment it remaineth now, consequently, to discourse.

This briefly may suffice to understand, that for all the writing, sending, and practising with the Lady Mary, by the king and his council, and also by Bishop Ridley, yet would she not be reclaimed from her own singular opinion, fixed upon custom, to give any indifferent hearing to the word and voice of verity. The which set will of the said Lady Mary, both this young king, and also his father, King Henry before him, right well perceiving and considering, they were both much displeased against her: insomuch that not only her brother did utterly sequester her in his will, but also her own father, considering her inclination, conceived such heart against her, that for a great space he did seclude her from the title of princess; yea, and seemed so eagerly incensed against her, that he was fully purposed to proceed further with her, (as it is reported,) had not the intercession of Thomas Cranmer, the archbishop, reconciled the king again to favour

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and pardon his own daughter. For the better understanding whereof, by these her own letters copied out of her own handwriting, which I have to show, something may be perceived, and more, peradventure, may be guessed. The words out of her own handwriting be these. And first her letter to King Henry her father here followeth:

A letter of the Lady Mary to King Henry her father.

"In my most humble wise I beseech your Grace of your daily blessing. Pleaseth it the same to be advertised, that this morning my Lord my chamberlain came and showed me, that he had received a letter from Sir W. Paulet, comptroller of your house; the effect whereof was, that I should with all diligence remove unto the castle of Hertford. Whereupon I desired him to see the same letter, which he showed me: wherein was written, that the Lady Mary, the king's daughter, should remove to the place before-said, leaving out in the same the name of princess. Which when I heard, I could not a little marvel, trusting verily that your Grace was not privy to the same letter as concerning the leaving out of the name of princess; forasmuch as I doubt not in your goodness, but your Grace doth take me for your lawful daughter, born in true matrimony. Wherefore, if I should agree to the contrary, I should in my conscience run in the displeasure of God, which I hope assuredly your Grace would not that I so should. And in all other things your Grace shall have me always as humble and obedient a daughter and handmaid as ever was child to the father, which my duty bindeth me to; as knoweth our Lord, who have your Grace in his most holy tuition, with much honour, and long life to his pleasure.

"Written at your manor of Beaulieu, the second day of October,
By your humble daughter,
MARY, PRINCESS."

Protestation of the Lady Mary to certain lords sent by the king her father, with certain requests unto her.

"My Lords, as touching my removing to Hatfield, I will obey his Grace, as my duty is, or to any other place his Grace will appoint me. But I protest before you and all others that be here present, that my conscience will in no wise suffer me to take any other than myself for the king's lawful daughter, born in true matrimony, or princess; and that I will never willingly and wittingly say or do, whereby any person might take occasion to think that I agree to the contrary. Not of any ambition or proud mind, as God is my judge; but that, if I should say or do otherwise, I should, in my conscience, slander the deed of our mother holy church, and the pope, who is the judge in this matter, and none other; and also dishonour the king my father, the queen my mother, and falsely confess myself a bastard; which God defend that I should do, seeing the pope hath not so declared it by his sentence definitive; for to his judgment I submit me."

As you have heard some part already of the stout courage of the Lady Mary toward her father, and also by her letters no less was declared toward King Edward her brother and others of his council, as well may appear by the letters above specified between the king her brother and his council: so now let us infer somewhat, likewise, of the stout talk and demeanour of the said Lady Mary toward Doctor Ridley, bishop of London, who, gently coming to herof mere good will, had this communication with her, and she with him, as here followeth:

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About the eighth of September, 1552, Dr. Ridley, then bishop of London, lying at his house at Hadham in Hertfordshire, went to visit the Lady Mary, then lying at Hunsdon, two miles off; and was gently entertained of Sir Thomas Wharton, and other her officers, till it was almost eleven of the clock; about which time the said Lady Mary came forth into her chamber of presence, and then the said bishop there saluted her Grace, and said, that he was come to do this duty to her Grace. Then she thanked him for his pains, and, for a quarter of an hour, talked with him very pleasantly; and said, that she knew him in the court when he was chaplain to her father, and could well remember a sermon that he made before King Henry her father, at the marriage of my Lady Clinton that now is, to Sir Anthony Brown, &c.: and so dismissed him to dine with her officers.

After dinner was done, the bishop being called for by the said Lady Mary, resorted again to her Grace, between whom this communication was. First the bishop beginneth in manner as followeth:

Bishop.—"Madam, I came not only to do my duty, to see your Grace, but also to offer myself to preach before you on Sunday next, if it will please you to hear me."

At this her countenance changed, and, after silence for a space, she answered thus:

Mary.—"My Lord, as for this last matter I pray you make the answer to it yourself."

Bishop.—"Madam, considering mine office and calling, I am bound in duty to make to your Grace this offer, to preach before you."

Mary.—"Well, I pray you make the answer (as I have said) to this matter yourself; for you know the answer well enough. But if there be no remedy but I must make you answer, this shall be your answer: the door of the parish church adjoining shall be open for you if you come, and ye may preach if you list; but neither I, nor any of mine, shall hear you."

Bishop.—"Madam, I trust you will not refuse God's word."

Mary.—"I cannot tell what ye call God's word: that is not God's word now, that was God's word in my father's days."

Bishop.—"God's word is all one in all times; but hath been better understood and practised in some ages than in others."

Mary.—"You durst not, for your ears, have avouched that for God's word in my father's days, that now you do. And as for your new books, I thank God I never read any of them: I never did nor ever will do."

And after many bitter words against the form of religion then established, and against the government of the realm and the laws made in the young years of her brother (which, she said, she was not bound to obey till her brother came to perfect age, and then, she affirmed, she would

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obey them,) she asked the bishop whether he were one of the council. He answered. "No." "You might well enough," said she, "as the council goeth now-a-days."

And so she concluded with these words: "My Lord, for your gentleness to come and see me, I thank you: but for your offering to preach before me, I thank you never a whit."

Then the said bishop was brought by Sir Thomas Wharton to the place where they dined, and was desired to drink. And after he had drunk, he paused awhile, looking very sadly; and suddenly brake out into these words: "Surely I have done amiss." "Why so?" quoth Sir Thomas Wharton. "For I have drunk," said he, "in that place where God's word offered hath been refused: whereas, if I had remembered my duty, I ought to have departed immediately, and to have shaken off the dust of my shoes for a testimony against this house." These words were by the said bishop spoken with such a vehemency, that some of the hearers afterwards confessed their hair to stand upright on their heads. This done, the said bishop departed, and so returned to his house.

And thus, making an end of this ninth book, touching the story and reign of King Edward, and having also somewhat said before of the nature and disposition of the Lady Mary, whereby the way may be prepared the better to the troubles of the next book following; we intend, the grace of God assisting us therein, now further to proceed in describing the acts and proceedings of the said Lady Mary, coming now to be queen, and advanced, next after this godly King Edward, to the crown of this realm of England.

END OF VOLUME 8

**THE ACTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE
CHRISTIAN CHURCH**

by
JOHN FOXE

Commonly known as
FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

Volume 9

The Reign Of Queen Mary I. – Part I.

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Portrait of Mary I

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

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THE BEGINNING OF THE REIGN OF QUEEN MARY.**

240. The Abominable Blasphemy of the Mass.



ORASMUCH as we come now to the time of Queen Mary, when so many were put to death for the cause especially of the Mass, and The Sacrament of the Altar, (as they call it,) I thought it convenient, upon the occasion given, in the ingress of this foresaid story, first, to prefix before, by the way of preface, some declaration collected out of divers writers and authors, whereby to set forth to the reader the great absurdity, wicked abuse, and perilous idolatry, of the popish mass; declaring how, and by whom, it came in, and how it is clouted and patched up of divers additions: to the intent that the reader, seeing the vain institution thereof, and weighing the true causes

why it is to be exploded out of all churches, may the better thereby judge of their death, which gave their lives for the testimony and the word of truth.

First concerning the origin of this word *Missa*, whether it came of non מִסָּח in Hebrew, or nee which signifieth "oblation;" or whether it came of sending away the catechumens, and persons unworthily out of place of ministration, (as certain writers suppose,) or else, "Of gifts and oblations, wont to be offered before the communion." Or whether *Missa* is derived of *Remissa*, which in the former writers was used *Pro remissione*, that is, forgiveness; or whether *Missa* is taken for sending away the congregation by the words of the deacon, *Ite missa est*: or whether *Missa* hath its denomination of what the Grecians call ἀφεσις του λαου [Aphesis tou laou], "dismissal of the people" (alluding to the story of the Hebrews, licensed of Pharaoh to depart out of captivity after the eating of the paschal lamb, as I read in an old popish book, entitled *De Sacramentis Sacerdotalibus*); or what term soever it be else, either Latin, Syrian, Dutch, or French, or howsoever else it taketh its appellation, as there is no certainty amongst themselves who most magnify the mass, so it is no matter to us that stand against it. To my judgment or conjecture, this latter exposition of the word seemeth more probable, both for that it is joined with the word *ite*, which signifieth "departing," and also the time and order in speaking the same agreeth well thereunto. For, as the old Hebrews, after the supper of the lamb, and not before, were set at liberty straightway to depart out of captivity, so, belike, to declare our mystical deliverance by Christ offered and slain for us, first goeth before the action of the holy supper: that done, then the priest or deacon saith *Ite missa est*, meaning, thereby, the deliverance and liberty which is spiritually wrought in us, after that the body of Christ hath been offered for us. Or else, if *Missa* otherwise should signify the celebration or the action of the supper, it would not be said *Ite*, but *Venite missa est*, &c. Moreover, besides other arguments, there be certain places in Cassianus which seem to declare that *Missa* signifieth the dismissal of the congregation: as where he writeth of him which cometh not in time to the hours of prayer, saying it not to be lawful for him to enter into the oratory, that he ought, standing without the doors, to wait for the miss of the congregation.

And again in the next chapter following, he inferreth the same vocable *Missa*, in like sense: "contented with so much sleep as served, us for the miss, or breaking up of the night vigil,

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unto the coming of the day," &c. But, to let pass these conjectures, this by the way I give the reader to note and understand: that as this word *Missa* never yet entered into the church nor usage among the Greeks, so it is to be observed among our Latin interpreters, (such as have translated of old time the ancient Greek authors,) as Eusebius, and the Tripartite History, (and others that were the Greek writers,) have these terms, "to call the congregation," "to convent assemblies," and "to frequent together;" the old translator of Epiphanius, and others, translate upon the same *Missas facere, collectus agere, missas celebrare, &c.* Whereby it is not obscure to be seen, that this word "mass," in the old time, was not only and peculiarly applied to the action of consecration, but as well as to all Christian assemblies collected, or congregations convented, according as in the Dutch language this name *Masse* signifieth any solemn frequency, or panagery, or gathering together of the people. But of the name enough and too much.

To (express now) the absurdity of the said mass, and the irreligious application thereof, unseemly and perilous for Christians to use, I will bring two or three reasons of the worthy servant and martyr of God, John Bradford, to which many more may also be added out of others. First, the mass, saith he, is a most subtle and pernicious enemy against Christ; and that, double ways: namely, against his priesthood, and against his sacrifice. Which he proveth by this way: for the priesthood of Christ, saith he, is an everlasting priesthood, and such an one as cannot go to another; but the mass utterly putteth him out of place, as though he was dead for ever, and so God were a liar which said, that Christ should be "a Priest for ever;" which, briefly, cometh unto this argument.

That thing is not perpetual, nor standeth alone, which admitteth succession of others, to do the same thing that was done before:

But the mass-priests succeed after Christ, doing the same sacrifice, as they say, which he did before:

Ergo, the mass-priests make Christ's priesthood not to be perpetual.

Another Argument.

All priests either be after the order of Aaron, or after the order of Melchizedek, or after the order of the apostles, or after that spiritual sort, whereof it is written, *Vos estis spirituale sacerdotium, &c.*

But our mass-priests neither be after the order of Aaron, for that is to resume that which Christ hath abolished; neither after the order of Melchizedek, for that is peculiar only to Christ; neither after the order of the apostles, for then should they be ministers, not masters; not priests, but preachers; and which of the apostles was ever named by the title of a priest? Again, neither are they after the general sort of the spiritual priesthood, for after that prerogative every true Christian is a spiritual priest, as well as they offering up spiritual, not bodily, sacrifice: as prayers, thanksgiving, obedience, mortification of the body framed to the obedience of his commandments.

Ergo, our mass-priests are no priests, unless it be after the order of the priests of Baal!

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Secondly, concerning the sacrifice of Christ above mentioned, he reasoneth in like manner; which we have reduced in the way of argument as followeth:

To reiterate a thing once done, for the attaining or accomplishing of the end whereof it was begun, declareth the imperfection of the same thing before.

The mass-priests do reiterate the sacrifice of Christ, once done for the end whereof it was begun; that is, for propitiation and remission.

Ergo, mass-priests make the sacrifice of Christ to be imperfect; and so are they injurious to the sacrifice of Christ.

For confirmation of the premises, mark here, reader, I beseech thee, the Rubric here following, written before the Mass of the Five Wounds, in the mass-book.

"Boniface; bishop of Rome, lay sick and was like to die, to whom our Lord sent the archangel Raphael with the office of the Mass of the Five Wounds, saying, Rise and write this office, and say it five times, and thou shalt be restored to thy health immediately; and what priest soever shall say this office for himself, or for any other that is sick, five times, the person for whom it is said shall obtain health and grace, and in the world to come, if he continue in virtue, life everlasting. And in whatsoever tribulation a man shall be in this life, if he procure this office to be said five times for him of a priest, without doubt he shall be delivered. And if it be said for the soul of the dead, anon as it shall be said and ended five times, his soul shall be rid from pains. This hearing, the bishop did erect himself up in his bed, conjuring the angel, in the name of Almighty God, to tell him what he was, and wherefore he came, and that he should depart without doing him harm; who answered, that he was Raphael the archangel, sent unto him of God, and that all the premises were undoubtedly true. Then the said Boniface confirmed the said office of the Five Wounds by the apostolic authority."

Another argument against the mass is, for that it is a hinderance to the true service of God, and to the godly life of men; the declaration whereof is more at large by the said author set out, but, briefly, in form of argument it may be thus contracted.

Another argument.

Whatsoever causeth or occasioneth a man to rest in outward serving of God, (whose service should be all inward, in spirit and verity,) that hindereth the true service of God.

The mass occasioneth a man to rest in outward serving; as, in hearing, seeing, and saying mass, which be but outward senses of a man, and is, as they say, meritorious.

Ergo, the mass hindereth the right and true service of God.

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Another argument, proving that the mass hindereth good life, is this:

Upon the mass riseth false hope; a false remedy is promised to wicked livers. For evil men, hearing mass in the morning, upon hope thereof, take more security in doing all day what they list. And such as have (in bibbing, brawling, taverning, swearing, whoring, dicing, carding) committed wickedness, to them the mass is set up; promising him sufficient propitiation, sacrifice, remedy of body and soul, for man and beast, though they never heard preaching, never used praying, never repented. Or, how wicked soever they have been, yet if they come to the church, take holy bread and holy water, and hear mass, or find a soul-priest upon the remedy thereof, then they think themselves discharged, and good catholic men.

Upon what cause soever riseth false hope, and false remedy is promised to wicked livers, which hindereth good life.

Ergo, the mass hindereth good life.

Another argument.

Where one thing is sufficient and serveth alone, there all other helps be needless thereunto, wherein it serveth.

The mass (as they say) hath all—serveth for all; for, by it cometh pardon for sins, by it cometh deliverance from hell and purgatory, by it cometh health for man and beast.

Ergo, all other helps else be needless; hearing of God's word, faith, praying in spirit, repenting, preaching, piety, and all other helps to good life, &c.

Another argument: proving that the mass is diverse and contrary from the institution of Christ's supper.

I. Christ ordained his supper to be a memorial of his death and passion, to be preached until he came.

The mass is no memorial thing of Christ remembered in the sacrament, but rather they make the sacrament to be Christ himself offered and sacrificed for remission of sins; both for the quick and the dead.

II. Christ ordained his supper to be celebrated and received of the congregation; and therefore Paul biddeth the Corinthians to tarry one for another. In the mass there is no such thing: choose the people to come or no, "Sir John" is kin to the tide, he will tarry for no man; if he have a boy to say "amen," it is enough.

III. Christ received not, but he distributed also the whole in every part: "Sir John," when he hath received all alone, he sheweth the people the empty chalice; and if he distribute to the people once a year, it is but in one kind alone.

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IV. Christ ordained the supper to be a taking matter, an eating matter, a distributing and a remembering matter: contrary our mass-men make it a matter, not of taking, but of gazing, peeping, pixing, boxing, carrying, re-carrying, worshipping, stooping, kneeling, knocking, with "stoop down before," "hold up higher," "I thank God I see my Maker to-day," &c. Christ ordained it a table-matter: we turn it to an altar-matter. He, for a memorial, we, for a sacrifice: he sat, our men stand; he in his common tongue, we in a foreign tongue: whereby it is manifest to appear, how diverse and repugnant the mass is to the institution of the Lord's supper.

Another argument: proving that the Mass is contrary to God's commandments.

Item, Whereas the first table of God's blessed and sacred commandments, teacheth men to worship and serve him, and to direct the meditations of their hearts only unto him, and that in all places, at all times, both publicly and privately;

The mass-book doth point out service for saints and for creatures by name, to be served at least three hundred days and years; as appeareth by the calendars, masses, collects, martyrologue, &c.:

Ergo, the doctrine and institution of the mass-book tendeth contrary to God's holy commandments.

Another reason against the Mass.

Item, Whereas St. Paul, in express words, willeth all things to be done in an edifying tongue, the mass is celebrated in a tongue foreign, strange, and unknown to the people; so that although the matter therein contained were wholesome and consonant to Scripture, (as it is much disagreeing to the same,) yet for the strangeness of the tongue it giveth but a sound, and worketh no edifying to the ignorant.

Now both the tongue being strange to the ears of the people, and the matter also in the mass contained being repugnant to God's word, what defence can the mass have, but utterly it is to be rejected?

And forasmuch therefore as the mass so long used in a foreign language hath not hitherto come to the understanding of the simple and vulgar sort, to the intent they may themselves perceive the matter, and be their own judges, I have here set forth the chiefest part thereof, which is the canon, in English, so as I found it in a certain written copy, by Master Coverdale translated, adjoining withal the rubric and circumstance of the same in every point, as it is in the mass-book contained.

The whole canon of the Mass, with the Rubric thereof, as it standeth in the Mass-book, after Salisbury Use, translated word by word out of Latin into English.

After the Sanctus, the priest immediately joining his hands together, and lifting up his eyes, beginneth these words:

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Te igitur clementissime, &c.; that is to say, _ "Therefore, most gracious Father, through Jesus Christ thy Son our Lord, we humbly beseech thee,"

Let him bow down his body while he saith: "And we desire,"

Here the priest, standing upright, must kiss the altar on the right hand of the sacrifice, saying: "That thou accept and bless,"

Here let the priest make three crosses upon the chalice and the bread, saying:

"These + gifts, these + presents, these + holy and unspotted sacrifices."

When the signs are made upon the chalice, let him lift up his hands, saying thus:

"Which, first of all, we offer unto thee for thy holy catholic church, that thou vouchsafe to pacify, keep, unite, and govern it throughout the whole world, with thy servant our pope *N.* and our bishop *N.*," [that is his own bishop only] "and our king *N.*" [and they are expressed by name.]

Then let there follow:

"And all true believers, and such as have the catholic and apostolic faith in due estimation." Here let him pray for the living:

"Remember, Lord, thy servants and handmaids *N.* and *N.*"

In the which prayer a rule must be observed for the order of charity. Five times let the priest pray: first, for himself: secondly, for father and mother, carnal and spiritual, and for other parents: thirdly, for special friends, parishioners, and others: fourthly, for all that stand by: fifthly, for all Christian people. And here may the priest commend all his friends to God, (but my counsel is, that none make over-long tarrying there, partly for distraction of mind, partly because of immissions which may chance through evil angels,) and all that stand hereby round about, whose faith and devotion unto thee is known and manifest; for whom we offer unto thee, or which themselves offer unto thee, this sacrifice of praise for them and theirs, for the redemption of their souls, for the hope of their salvation and health, and render their vows unto Thee, the eternal living and true God.

Communicating, and worshipping the memorial, first, of the glorious and ever Virgin; bowing down a little, let him say:

"Mary, the mother of our God and Lord Jesu Christ, and also of thy blessed apostles and martyrs, Peter, Paul, Andrew, James, John, Thomas, Philip, Bartholomew, Matthew, Simon and Thaddeus, Linus, Cletus, Clement, Sixtus, Cornelius, Cyprian, Laurence, Chrysogonus, John and Paul, Cosmas and Damian, and of all thy saints: by whose merits and prayers, grant thou, that in all things we may be defended with the help of thy protection, through the same Christ our Lord. Amen."

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Here let the priest behold the host with great veneration, saying:

"Therefore, Lord, we beseech thee, that thou, being pacified, wilt receive this oblation of our bound service, and of all thy household: and order our days in thy peace, and command us to be delivered from eternal damnation, and to be numbered in the flock of thine elect, through Christ our Lord. Amen."

Here again let him hold the host, saying:

"Which oblation we beseech thee, O Almighty God, in all things to make,"

Here let him make three crosses upon both when he saith:

"+ blessed, + appointed, + ratified, reasonable, and acceptable; that unto us it may be,"

Here let him make a cross upon the bread, saying: + "The body," here upon the chalice, "and + blood,"

Here with hands joined together, let him say, "of thy most dearly beloved Son our Lord Jesu Christ;

Here let the priest lift up his hands and join them together, and afterward wipe his fingers, and lift up the host, saying:

"Who, the next day, afore he suffered, took bread into his holy and reverent hands, and his eyes being lift up into heaven,"

Here let him lift up his eyes,

"unto the God Almighty his Father,"

Here let him bow down, and afterward erect himself up a little, saying:

"Rendering thanks unto thee, he + blessed, he brake,"

Here let him touch the host, saying:

"and gave unto his disciples, saying, Take ye, and eat of this ye all; for this is my body."

And these words must be pronounced with one breath, and under one prolation, without making of any pause between. After these words let him bow himself to the host, and afterward lift [it] up above his forehead, that it may be seen of the people: and let him reverently lay it again before the chalice, in manner of a cross made with the same. And then let him uncover the chalice, and hold it between his hands, not putting his thumb and forefinger asunder, save only when he blesseth, saying thus:

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"Likewise after they had supped, he, taking this excellent cup into his holy and reverent hands, rendering thanks also unto thee,"

Here let him bow himself, saying:

"Blessed, and gave unto his disciples, saying, Take, and drink of this ye all;"

Here let him lift up the chalice a little, saying thus:

"For this is the cup of my blood, of the new and everlasting testament, the mystery of faith, which, for you and for many, shall be shed to the remission of sins."

Here let him lift the chalice to his breast, or further than his head, saying:

"As oft as ye do these things, ye shall do them in remembrance of me."

Here let him set down the chalice again, and rub his fingers over the chalice. Then let him lift up his arms, and cover the chalice. Then let him lift up his arms crosswise, his fingers being joined together until these words: *de tuis donis*; this is to say, of thine own rewards.

"Wherefore, O Lord, we also, thy servants, and thy holy people, being mindful as well of the blessed passion and resurrection, as of the glorious ascension of the same Christ thy Son, our Lord God, do offer unto thy excellent Majesty of thy own rewards and gifts."

Here let there be made five crosses, namely, the three first upon the host and cup, saying:

+ a pure host; + a holy host; + an undefiled host."

The fourth upon the bread only, saying: "The holy + bread of eternal life,"

The fifth upon the cup, saying:

"And + cup of eternal salvation. Vouchsafe thou also, with a merciful and pleasant countenance, to have respect hereunto, and to accept the same, as thou didst vouchsafe to accept the gifts of thy righteous servant Abel, and the sacrifice of our patriarch Abraham, and the holy sacrifice, the undefiled host, that the high priest Melchizedek did offer unto thee."

Here let the priest, with his body bowed down, and his hands holden across, say, *Supplices te rogamus*, "We humbly beseech thee," until these words, *Ex hac altaris participatione*, "of this partaking of the altar." And then let him stand up, kissing the altar on the right side of the sacrifice; and let him make a sign of the cross upon the host, and in his own face, when he saith, *Omni benedictione cælesti*, "with all heavenly benediction."

"We humbly beseech thee, O Almighty God, command thou these to be brought by the hands of thy holy angel unto thy high altar in the presence of thy Divine Majesty, that as many of us as,"

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Here erecting up himself, let him kiss the altar on the right side of the sacrifice, saying:

"Of this participation of the altar shall receive thy Son's holy"

Here let him make a sign of the cross upon the host, saying:

"body,"

Then upon the cup, saying:

"and + blood may be replenished"

Then let him make a sign in his own face, saying: "With all heavenly benediction and grace through the same Christ our Lord. Amen."

Here let him pray for the dead.

"Remember, Lord, also, the souls of thy servants and handmaidens, *N.* and *N.* which are gone before us with the mark of faith, and rest in the sleep of peace. We beseech thee, O Lord, that unto them, and unto all such as rest in Christ, thou wilt grant a place of refreshing, of light, and of peace, through the same Christ our Lord. Amen."

Here let him smite once upon his breast, saying:

"Unto us sinners also, thy servants, hoping of the multitude of thy mercies, vouchsafe to give some portion and fellowship with thy holy apostles and martyrs; with John, Stephen, Matthias, Barnabas, Ignatius, Alexander, Marcellinus, Peter, Felicitas, Perpetua, Agatha, Lucia, Agnes, Cecilia, Anastasia, and with all thy saints; within whose fellowship we beseech thee admit us, not weighing our merit, but granting us forgiveness through Christ our Lord."

Here is not said "Amen."

"By whom, O Lord, all these good things thou dost ever create."

Here let him make a sign over the chalice three times, saying:

"Thou+ sanctifiest; thou + quickenest; thou + blessest, and givest unto us."

Here let him uncover the chalice, and make a sign of the cross with the host five times: first, beyond the chalice on every side; secondly, even with the chalice; thirdly, within the chalice; fourthly, like as at the first; fifthly, before the chalice.

"Through + him, and with + him and in him, is unto thee God, Father + almighty in the unity of the Holy Ghost, all honour and glory."

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Here let the priest cover the chalice, and hold his hands still upon the altar till the Pater-noster be spoken, saying thus:

"World without end, Amen.—Let us pray. Being advertised by wholesome precepts, and taught by God's institution, we are bold to say,"

Here let the deacon take the paten, and hold it uncovered on the right side of the priest, his arm being stretched out on high until *da propitius*.

Here let the priest lift up his hands, saying, *Pater noster*, &c. The choir must say, *Sed libera nos*, &c.

"Deliver us, we beseech thee, O Lord, from all evil past, present, and for to come; and that, by the intercession of the blessed, glorious, and our Virgin Mary the mother of God, and thy blessed apostles Peter, and Paul, and Andrew; with all saints."

Here let the deacon commit the paten to the priest, kissing his hand; and let the priest kiss the paten. Afterward let him put it to his left eye, and then to the right. After that let him make a cross with the paten above upon his head, and so lay it down again into its place, saying:

"Give peace graciously in our days, that we, being helped through the succour of thy mercy, may both be always free from sin, and safe from all trouble,"

Here let him uncover the chalice, and take the body, doing reverence, shifting it over in the hollow room of the chalice, holding it between his thumbs and forefingers; and let him break it into three parts; the first breaking, while there is said:

"Through the same our Lord Jesus Christ thy Son,"

The second breaking:

"Who, with thee, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, liveth and reigneth God."

Here let him hold two pieces in his left hand, and the third piece in the right hand, upon the brink of the chalice, saying this with open voice: "World without end."

Let the choir answer:

"Amen."

Here let him make three crosses within the chalice with the third part of the host, saying:

"The peace of the Lord + be always + with + you,"

Let the choir answer:

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"And with thy spirit."

To say Agnus Dei, let the deacon and subdeacon approach near unto the priest, both being on the right hand, the deacon nearer, the subdeacon further off. And let them say privately:

"O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us: O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us: O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, grant us peace."

In masses for the dead it is said thus:

"O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, give them rest,"

With this addition in the third repetition, "Everlasting."

Here making a cross, let him put down the said third part of the host into the sacrament of the blood, saying:

"This holy mingling together of the body and blood of our Lord Jesu Christ be unto me, and to all that receive it, salvation of mind and body: a wholesome preparation both to deserve and to receive eternal life, through the same Christ our Lord."

Afore the pax be given, let the priest say:

"O Lord, holy Father, almighty eternal God, grant me so worthily to take this holy body and blood of thy Son our Lord Jesu Christ, that by this I may merit to receive forgiveness of all my sins, and be replenished with thy Holy Spirit, and to have thy peace: for thou art God alone, neither is there any other without thee, whose glorious kingdom and empire endureth continually world without end, Amen."

Here let the priest kiss the corporas on the right side, and the brink of the chalice, and afterward let him say to the deacon:

"Peace be unto thee, and to the church of God." Answer:

"And with thy spirit."

On the right hand of the priest let the deacon receive the pax of him, and reach it to the subdeacon. Then to the step of the choir let the deacon himself bear the pax unto the rectors of the choir; and let them bring it to the choir, either of them to his own side, beginning at the eldest. But in feasts and ferial days, when the choir is not governed, the pax is borne from the deacon unto the choir by two of the lowest of the second form, like as afore.

After the pax given, let the priest say the prayers following, privately, before he communicate; holding the host with both his hands:

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"O God, Father, thou fountain and original of all goodness, who, being moved with mercy, hast willed thine only begotten Son, for our sake, to descend into the lower parts of the world, and to be incarnate, whom I unworthy hold in my hands;"

Here let the priest bow himself to the host, saying: "I worship thee, I glorify thee, I praise thee with whole intention of mind and heart: and I beseech thee that thou fail not us thy servants, but forgive our sins, so as with pure heart, and chaste body, we may be able to serve thee, the only living and true God, through the same Christ our Lord: Amen.

"O Lord Jesu Christ, thou Son of the living God, who, according to the will of the Father, the Holy Ghost working withal, hast quickened the world through thy death, deliver me, I beseech thee, through this thy holy body, and this thy blood, from all my iniquities, and from all evils. And make me to alway obey thy commandments, and never suffer me to be separated from thee for evermore, thou Saviour of the world, who, with God the Father, and the same Holy Ghost, livest and reignest God, world without end: Amen.

"O Lord Jesu Christ, let not the sacrament of thy body and blood which I receive, (though unworthy,) be to my judgment and damnation; but, through thy goodness, let it profit to the salvation of my body and soul: Amen."

To the body let him say with humiliation before he receive:

"Hail for evermore, thou most holy flesh of Christ; unto me, afore all things and above all things, the highest sweetness. The body of our Lord Jesu Christ be unto me, sinner, the way and life, in the + name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: Amen."

Here let him take the body, a cross being first made with the same body afore his mouth, saying:

"Hail for evermore, thou heavenly drink! unto me, before all things and above all things, the highest sweetness. The body and blood of our Lord Jesu Christ profit me, sinner, for a remedy everlasting unto life eternal: Amen. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: Amen."

Here let him take the blood, which when it is received, let him bow himself, and say the prayer:

"I render thanks to thee, O Lord, holy Father, almighty eternal God, which hast refreshed me out of the most holy body and blood of thy Son our Lord Jesu Christ. And I beseech thee, that this sacrament of our salvation, which I, unworthy sinner, have received, come not to my judgment nor condemnation after my merits; but to the profit of my body, and to the salvation of my soul into life everlasting: Amen."

Which prayer being said, let the priest go to the right side of the altar, with the chalice between his hands, his fingers being yet joined together as afore, and let the subdeacon approach dear, and pour out wine and water into the chalice. And let the priest rinse his hands, lest any

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parcels of the body or blood be left behind in his fingers or in the chalice. But, when any priest must celebrate twice in one day, then, at the first mass, he must not receive any ablution, but put it in the sacristy, or in a clean vessel, till the end of the other mass; and then let both the ablutions be received.

After the first ablution, is said this prayer: "That we have received with mouth, O Lord, let us take with a pure mind, and out of a temporal gift, let it be to us a remedy everlasting."

Here let him wash his fingers in the hollow room of the chalice, with wine being poured in by the subdeacon; which, when it is drunk up, let the prayer follow:

"Lord, let this communion purge us from sin, and make us to be partakers of the heavenly remedy." After the receiving of the ablutions, let the priest lay the chalice upon the paten; that if aught remain behind, it may drop. And afterward bowing himself, let him say:

"Let us worship the sign of the cross, whereby we have received the sacrament of salvation." Afterward let him wash his hands. In the mean season let the deacon fold up the corporas. When his hands are washen, and the priest returneth to the right end of the altar, let the deacon reach the chalice to the priest's mouth, that if aught of that which was poured in do remain behind, he may receive it. After that, let him say the communion with his ministers. Then, making a sign of the cross in his own face, let the priest turn himself to the people; and with his arms somewhat lifted up, and his hands joined together, let him say, *Dominus vobiscum*; and, turning him again to the altar, let him say, *Oremus*, "Let us pray."

Then let him say the postcommon, according to the number and order of the aforesaid prayers. Before the epistle, when the last postcommon is ended, and the priest hath made a sign of the cross in his forehead, let him turn him again to the people, and say, *Dominus vobiscum*. Then let the deacon say, *Benedicamus Domino*. At another time is said, *Ite missa est*. As oft as *Ite missa est* is said, it is always said in turning to the people. And when *Benedicamus Domino* or *Requiescant in pace* must be said, let it be said in turning to the altar. When these things are spoken, let the priest (with his body bowed down, and his hands joined together) in the midst before the altar, say, with a still voice, this prayer:

"O holy Trinity, let the office of my bond-service please thee! and grant that this sacrifice, which I, unworthy, have offered in the eyes of thy Majesty, may be acceptable unto thee: and that unto me and all them for whom I have offered it, it may avail to obtain remission, thou being merciful, who livest and reignest God," &c.

Which prayer being ended, let the priest stand upright, crossing himself in his face, saying, In nomine Patris, &c. And so when obeisance is made, after the same order wherein they came afore to the altar at the beginning of the mass, so, having on their apparel, with the censor-bearer, and other ministers, let them go their way again.

THE END OF THE CANON.

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Now it remaineth (as we have promised before) to entreat of the parts and parcels of the Mass, declaring likewise how, and by whom, this popish, or rather apish, mass became so clamped and patched together with so many divers and sundry additions; whereby it may the better appear what hath been the continuance of the same.

First, in the beginning of this preface it was declared before, how this word "mass" was never used or known in the old primitive church among the first Christians, nor among the Grecians. Therefore they that deduce and derive the origin of the mass from St. James and Basil, are far deceived. As I think, that St. James was once bishop at Jerusalem, so I think not contrary, but sometimes he ministered at the communion there, in breaking of bread, and that not without the Lord's Prayer, and other prayers of thanksgiving, as we now in our communion use like prayers, and these prayers make not the communion to be a mass. And the like is to be said of St. Peter, who though he did celebrate the communion at Rome, yet it followeth not that he said mass at Rome, as some report him to have done.

Neither is it hard to fetch out the origin, how this error first came up among the people, that St. James said mass at Jerusalem, if a man consider well histories and authors which have written. For in the history of Eusebius, Egesippus thus writeth of St. James, *Eum ab apostolis primum constitutum fuisse episcopum et liturgum*, &c. Upon the which word *liturgus*, it is not unlike, and divers suppose, this error to come: that St. James did first set and institute the order of mass. For so lightly the old translators, wheresoever they find *liturgia*, or *collecta*, (*κοινωνια* [Greek: *koinonia*],) they translated it *missa*; whereupon the greatest occasion of this error riseth, to make the people believe the mass to be so ancient as to proceed from the apostles, and from St. James. Notwithstanding, that error, as it lightly came up, so it may be as lightly exploded. For how could St. James say mass then at Jerusalem, or St. Peter at Rome, when as yet neither the name of mass was heard, nor the parts thereof invented? And although Sigebert in his Chronicles reports, that in the city of Bazas, being delivered from the siege of the Huns, the pastor of that church did celebrate mass with thanksgiving, about the year 453, yet Sigebert, in so saying, is to be taken as speaking rather after the use and manner of his time when he wrote it, than of that time when it was done. For in all the works of St. Augustine, and of Chrysostom, and in all that age, the name of mass is not found, but it is called either the supper of the Lord, or the Lord's board or communion, *synaxis*, sacrifice, oblation, mystery, celebration of the sacrament, *eucharistia*, the mystical table, *mystagogia*, *cœna mystica*; or with some other like term they nominate it. The name of the mass was not yet devised, nor were the patches thereof compiled. Platina testifieth, that before Pope Celestine, only the epistle and gospel were read at the communion, which being done, the communion ended. And Gregory saith, that the apostles, afore the ministration of the sacrament did use only the Lord's Prayer, that is, the Pater-noster. Let us hear what Walafrius Strabo writeth of that matter: "That which now is done in the church, with such a long circumstance of so many orisons, lessons, or readings, songs and consecrations; all that the apostles, and they that next succeeded the apostles, (as it is thought,) did accomplish simply with prayer only, and with the commemoration of the Lord's passion," &c. It followeth in the same author: "And, as the report is, like as it is in the Roman church upon Good Friday, where the communion is wont to be taken without any mass; so it was in the old time with them," &c.

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Now how this mass hath grown up and increased since, let us search out, by the Lord's help, out of authors, so much as may be found.

The "Introite."

Pope Celestine gave the first Introite, as Platina and Sigebert write.

The Psalm. "Judica me Deus," &c.

And before the priest do prepare himself to his mass, first with the psalm, *Judica me Deus et discerne causam meam*, &c.: that was ordained by the said Celestine.

And where they ascribed to St. Ambrose the two prayers which he used in the preparation to the mass, and he added to the books of Ambrose, Erasmus judgeth the same to be none of his, and that rightly as it seemeth: for therein are contained errors, not else to be found in the books of Ambrose, both in giving adoration to the bread of the sacrament, and making invocation to saints, namely, to blessed Mary; as in the second prayer, where he saith, "And that this my prayer maybe of efficacy, I desire the suffrage and intercession of blessed Mary the virgin," &c.: whereby it may appear learned Ambrose not to be the author of such an error.

Chrysostom, in the eleventh Homily upon the Gospel of Matthew, saith, that in his time, and afore his time, the use was to sing whole psalms, till they were entered and assembled together. And so belike Celestine borrowed this custom of the Greeks, and brought it into the Latin church, as Rupertus writeth.

Gregory the Great (as some write) called a synod at Rome, about the year of our Lord 594, in which synod he appointed that the introite of the mass should be taken out of some psalm.

The "Confiteor."

The *Confiteor* Pope Damasus brought into the mass, as it is written: albeit peradventure not this popish Confiteor, winch in the latter church hath been used, stuft full of idolatry and invocation of saints, against the word of God.

The "Kyrie Eleison."

The Kyrie Eleison, nine times to be repeated in such a tongue as few priests either understand, or do rightly pronounce, Gregory did institute about 600 years after Christ; taking it out of the Greek church, and yet transposing it otherwise than there it was used. For among the Greeks this *Kyrie Eleison*, which they called their litany, was sung of all the people; the which Gregory ordained to be sung only of the choir: adding thereto also *Christe Eleison*, which the Grecians used not; as Gregory himself, writing to the bishop of Syracuse, doth testify.

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"Gloria in Excelsis."

Next followeth *Gloria in Excelsis*, &c. which words were sung of the angels, at the birth of our Saviour. Albeit these words also were corrupted, as many other things were in the church; for where the words of the angels' hymn were "to men good will;" the mass said, "to men of good will," &c. This hymn was brought into the mass by Pope Symmachus, (and not by Telesphorus, as some not truly write, that he ordained three masses on Christmas day; for in his time there was no mass, A.D. 140,) about the year of our Lord 510. And after, the said hymn was augmented by Hilary, of Poitiers, with those words that follow, *Lan-damns te*, &c., singing it first in his own church, which was A.D. 340. And afterward it was brought into other churches by Pope Symmachus, A.D. 510, as is aforesaid.

"Dominus vobiscum," with the answer "Oremus," and the Collects.

Dominus vobiscum, with the answer of the people, although we have no certain author named by whom it came; yet this is certain, that it was deduced out of the Greek church into the Latin; as may appear by the Liturgy of Chrysostom and Basil (if the Liturgy be rightly ascribed unto them): also by Origen, and other ancient writers; by whom, it may seem that the liturgy or mass (as they call it) did first begin with *Dominus vobiscum*, and then *Sursum corda*; after that *Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro*, and so following upon the same, *Vere dignum et justum est*, &c.: to the which beginning of the canon other additions, after, were put by others, as ye shall hear, by the Lord's grace, hereafter more at large.

Hugo de Sto. Victore writeth, that this prayer was taken out of the ancient salutation of Boaz saluting his harvest-folks. And out of the book of Paralipomena, where the prophet saluteth Asa the king, with his company about him, saying, *Dominus vobiscum*. Honorius writeth thus: "As the priest saluteth the people with the words of the Old Testament, *Dominus vobiscum*; so the bishop useth the words of the New Testament, saying, *Pax vobiscum*," &c. Concerning the collects, Walafridus writeth, that as they be divers and uncertain, so they were made of divers and sundry authors, as every of them thought it congrue. Hugo de Sto. Victore affirms, that chiefly they were made by Gelasius and Gregory.

Why they were called collects, William Durand and Micrologus show the cause: for that in the city of Rome they said them over the people collected together on the station-day, therefore they were called collectæ.

The "Gradual," with "Alleluia," "Tract," and "Sequences."

The responsory, which is called the "gradual," (being wont to be sung at the steps going up,) with Alleluia, Honorius saith that Ambrose made them, but Pope Gregory ordained them to be received.

Upon festival days the "sequences," which were wont to be sung, were chiefly composed by an abbot called Notherus de Sto. Gallo, and by Pope Nicholas commanded to be sung in the mass.

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The gradual the people were wont to sing when the bishop was about to go up to the pulpit, or some higher standing, where the word of God might be the better and more sensibly heard at his mouth, reading the epistle and the gospel.

The epistle and the gospel.

The reading of the epistle and the gospel, although it was not used in the apostles' times, yet it seemeth to be of ancient continuance, as Hugo saith: "In former time the mass began first with the epistle of St. Paul, after which epistle then followed the gospel, as also now," &c.

Walafridus saith, "It is uncertain who first ordered and disposed them so to be."

Some attribute them to Jerome, some to Damasus, some to Telesphorus aforesaid. This is certain, that Pope Anastasius ordained to stand up at the hearing of the gospel read; about the year of our Saviour 406.

Petrus Ciruelus writeth thus: "We read that about five hundred years since almost, the epistle," saith he, "was brought into the mass."

Honorius: "Alexander," saith he, "appointed the epistle and gospel to be read at mass. The translation and the disposition of them, in that order as they stand, Jerome the priest collected; but Damasus appointed them to be read in the church, so as the use is now."

Betwixt the epistle and the gospel the old canons of the Spaniards did forbid any hymn or canticle to be sung in the order of the mass, which now by the Romish order is broken.

The Creed.

The creed was made by the synod of Constantinople, but, by Damasus the pope, ordained to be sung at the mass. And whereas some affirm, that it was brought in by Pope Marcus, about the year of our Lord 340—to reconcile these two together, peradventure thus it may be taken, that the one brought in the creed, or symbol, of the Nicene council, the other appointed the creed of Constantinople, as is said.

The Offertory.

After this, oblations were wont to be offered of the people to the priest; and the offertory to be sung of the choir.

Of these oblations speaketh Irenæus: "Instead of the sundry rites of sacrifices, let the simple oblation of bread and wine suffice the faithful."

Item, Walafridus: "Every person entering in the church must do sacrifice, as the order of ecclesiastical institution doth teach." What order this was, it is declared in *Ordine Romano* by these words: "The people give every one his oblations; that is, bread and wine, first the men, then the women. After them priests and deacons offer, but bread only," &c.

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Likewise Burchardus testifieth the same: "In the synod of Mascon it was ordained, that every Sunday and festival day, oblation should be made of all the people which came to the mass, or liturgy, both men and women, in the church; every person bringing and offering his own oblation. The liturgy being done, they should receive the oblations of the priest," &c.

Thus ye may see what were their oblations and sacrifice in the ancient time, in their liturgy. Whereof now remaineth nothing but the name only with the song.

This offertory some ascribe to Eutychianus, about the year of our Lord 280, but thereof no certain evidence appeareth.

"Orate pro me, fratres," &c.

Naclerus writeth, that Pope Leo brought in that which is said in the mass, *Orate pro me, fratres et sorores*, &c.

The preface of the canon.

The preface of the canon from *vere dignum et justum est*, &c., to *per Christum Dominum nostrum*, is given to Gelasius. *Sursum corda* seemeth to be borrowed out of the old manner of the Greek church; St. Cyprian also maketh mention of the same, and St. Augustine. And therefore Thomas Walden judgeth that this part of the preface cannot be attributed to Gelasius.

After *Christum Dominum nostrum*, in the old liturgy, then followed *Qui pridie quam pateretur*, as Rhenanus supposeth; but then came Gelasius I. about the year of our Lord 497, which inserted that which followeth, *Te igitur clementis ime*, &c. Whereby it is to be noted, that Polydore Virgil, which ascribeth *Qui pridie* to Pope Alexander, is deceived.

The like is also to be said of Panormitane, who referreth the same clause, *Qui pridie*, &c., to the apostles.

Furthermore note, good reader, how this doth agree with the long canon of St. Ambrose (lib. iv. de Sacrament. cap. 5): *Dicit Sacerdos, Fac nobis hanc oblationem adscriptam, rationalem, acceptabilem, quod est figura corporis et sanguinis Domini nostri Jesus Christi. Qui pridie quam pateretur in sanctis manibus suis accepit panem, respexit ad celsum, ad te Sancte Pater omnipotens et æterne Deus, gratias agens benedixit, fregit*, &c. If it be true either that Panormitane saith, or that Gelasius made *Qui pridie*, &c., how can this canon then be fathered upon St. Ambrose? And by the same reason also his whole book, entituled *De Sacramentis*, may be suspected; as of divers learned men it is.

Then came Pope Sixtus ten years after him, who brought into the canon *Sanctus, Sanctus*, thrice to be sung out of the book of Isaiah; and, to annex it together, joined also that which goeth before, *Per quem maiestatem tuam*, &c.

He that writeth the Liturgy of Basil, ascribeth it to his name: whether he doth it truly or no, I will not here contend. This is to be noted, that seeing in the said Liturgy of Basil the same

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particle *Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth: pleni sunt cæli et terra gloria tua, Osanna in Excelsis* is sung; therefore it must needs follow, that either Leo, who was about the year of our Lord 460, borrowed this out of Basil's Liturgy, or else the same is falsely attributed to Basil.

After this followeth *Sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam*, till ye come to *placatus accipias*, which Leo the First did make and institute.

The words in the communion, *Hoc quotiescunque feceritis, in mei memoriam facietis*, &c., were put in by Pope Alexander, as Humbertus writeth: *Alexander martyr. et papa quintus ab apost. Petro, passionem Domini inserens canon missæ, ait, Hoc quotiescunque feceritis, &c.*

Pope Gregory the Third, about the year of our Lord 732, put to his piece, *Et eorum quorum memoria, &c.*

This Gregory the Third called a council at Rome, wherein he decreed, that images should not only be had in temples, but also be worshipped, and that all gainsayers should be counted as heretics.

Innocent the Third affirmeth Pope Gelasius, who was about four hundred and ninety years after Christ, to have made a great piece of that canon, as he himself did something therein, about the year of our Lord 1215.

Panormitane affirmeth that Gregory did add to the canon this clause, *Diesque nostros in pace disponas*.

Briefly, Gregory saith, "that one Scholasticus made the most part of the canon, finding also fault with the same, that in composing the canon he would put in his own prayers, and leave out the Lord's Prayer," &c.

Where it is to be noted, for the reconciling these writers together, of whom some impute the canon to Gelasius, some again to Scholasticus: in my conjecture it may be said, that both these be one, and so the matter is reconciled. The reason that moveth me is this; for so I find in a certain ancient book *De Officio Missæ*, after these words, *Gelasius, Papa ex Scholastico effectus, in ordine 48. fecit Tractatus et Hymnos, &c.*

The elevation and adoration.

The elevation and adoration of the sacrament we cannot find to come in by any other than by Honorius the Third, about the year of our Lord 1222; who ordained that the people then should kneel down and worship the sacrament.

The "Pater-noster."

John the deacon, writing of Gregory, saith, "that Gregory caused the Lord's Prayer to be recited immediately after the canon upon the host," &c.

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Although the apostles ever used the Lord's Prayer at the supper of the Lord, as is said before; yet Gregory (belike) placed it so, in that order, after the canon, and brought it in with those words, *Præceptis salutaribus*, &c.

Gregory: "The Lord's Prayer," saith he, "amongst the Grecians, was wont to be sung generally of all the people: with us it is sung only of the priest."

The "Agnus."

The *Agnus*, Pope Sergius, about the year of our Lord 700, brought into the mass, as witnesseth Expositio Rom. Ordin. *Propter officium confractionis Dominici corporis, constitutum est a papa Sergio ut Agnus Dei decantetur*, &c.

The "Pax."

Innocent ordained the pax to be given to the people. *Pacis, ait, osculum dandum post confecta mysteria, ut constet populism ad omnia, quæ in mysteriis aguntur, præbuisse consensum*, &c.

Peter Martyr, in his commentaries on Jude, saith, that it was brought in by Pope Leo the Second, as it is said: and yet he supposeth the same not to be so, saying, "That this was an ancient custom in the apostles' time, for Christians to salute one another with the kiss of peace," &c.

To this of Peter Martyr agreeth also Gabriel Biel, writing in these words: "In the primitive church the priest gave a kiss of peace to the minister, to be given by him to the people."

The distribution and communion.

After this followeth the communion, wherein our popish mass and ministers thereof do much alter and degenerate from ancient antiquity, two manner of ways. First, in that they make no communion thereof, receiving only to themselves, contrary both to their own words, where they say after their receiving, *Sacramenta quæ sumpsimus*, &c., and also to the ancient examples and decrees of the apostles and others; and where it is decreed in the epistle of Anacletus, "The consecration being done, let all communicate together; unless they will be thrust out of the church doors," &c.

Here note by the way, gentle reader, how Gratian, the writer of the pope's decrees, is overseen, who, in his book De Consecrat., dist. 2, referreth this saying of Anacletus to Pope Calixtus. And likewise also Cochleus, writing against Musculus, followeth Gratian in the same error.

Likewise in the canons of the apostles (if the canons were theirs) we read, "All the faithful, who resort to the church, and tarry not out the end of the service, and receive not the holy communion, be such as, bringing in disorder to the church, ought to be dissevered," &c.

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And again, *Si quis episcopus, presbyter, aut diaconus, aut quicumque ex sacerdotali consortio, oblatione facto, non communicaverint, causam dicito, &c.*

For how can that be called a communion, which is not common, but private to one? As Micrologus writeth: "It cannot be called a communion, except more than one do participate of one sacrifice," &c.

And Durandus: "In the primitive time all that were present at the ministration were wont every day to communicate, because that the apostles did all together drink of the cup," &c.

Secondly, They alter and degenerate therein from ancient antiquity, in that when they communicate also with the people, yet they deprive them of the holy cup: which deprivation was not in the church before the council of Constance, about the year of our Lord 1414. For before, it was so authentically received, that it was counted a sacrilege to receive the one without the other, as appeareth by the words of Pope Gelasius. The whole in English is this: "We understand that there be some, who, receiving the one part only of the holy body, abstain from the cup of the sacred blood; who, because they be taught so to do, (by what superstition I cannot tell,) either let them receive the sacrament whole together, or let them abstain from the whole sacrament altogether; because the division of that one and whole sacrament cannot be without great sacrilege," &c.

Hitherto also pertaineth the testimony of St. Augustine in these words: "There be you at the table; and at the cup there also be you with us: for together we receive, and together we drink, because we live together."

As also out of the book of Gregory it is manifest, that not only the people received them in both kinds; but also the words were prescribed to the minister, that he should say in giving the cup: "Let the priest say, in giving the cup, 'The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ keep thee to everlasting life, Amen.'"

Further, in rendering the cause why it should so be done, Thomas Aquinas writeth: "For that serveth to represent the passion of Christ, wherein his blood was parted severally from the body, &c. Secondly, for that it is convenient to the use of the sacrament, that the body should severally be given to the faithful for meat, and the blood for drink."

And therefore served the office of the deacons, as we read: "To lay the offerings of the people upon the altar to be hallowed, and when the mysteries be consecrated, to distribute the cup of the sacred blood of the Lord to the faithful," &c.

But among all other testimonies to prove that the sacrament ought to be common to all people in both kinds, there is none more evident than that of Jerome: "The supper of the Lord ought to be indifferently common to all his disciples there present," &c.

And thus have ye heard the canon described, which otherwise is called *Secretum*; that is, "The secret of the mass," being so termed, because the priest was wont to read it in secret or in silence. The reason thereof Pope Innocent the Third declareth in his third book: "For that the

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holy words," saith he, "of the canon should not grow in contempt with the people, by the daily use and hearing thereof." And he bringeth in an example concerning the same of certain shepherds, which in the fields, using the same words of the canon upon their bread and wine, "the matter was turned," saith he, "into flesh and blood, and they plagued therefor from heaven:" but with such popish tales the church hath been long replenished.

The Postcommon.

After the canon and communion then followeth the postcommon, with the collects, which the mass-book requireth always to be used in an odd number, sometimes teaching to use but one, as in the Sundays in Lent; and sometimes three, as in certain masses from Low-Sunday till the Ascension; but never to pass the number of seven.

"Ite missa est."

Last of all cometh *Ite missa est*, whereby the minister dimitteth and sendeth away all the congregation there present to their business: for, as you heard before, it was decreed in ancient time, that it was not lawful to depart from the congregation in the time of holy ministration, before the end of the whole communion. And therefore, all things being accomplished, the minister, turning to the assembly, pronounceth, *Ite missa est*.

Where note, that upon Sundays and festival days only, when Gloria in excelsis was sung, *Ite missa est* was wont to be said: on the work days *Benedicamus Domino*; sometimes *Requiescant in pace*.

Now concerning such trinkets as were to the aforesaid mass appertaining or circumstant: first, the linen albes and corporasses were brought in by Pope Mark, A.D. 340; if that be true which is thought by some. Where note again, that in the time of this pope it was nothing offensive for every honest priest to have his own proper wife. In the time also of this Mark was the council of Elvira in Spain, which condemned all kinds of images and pictures in temples.

Contrary to the which council Pope Gregory the Third, about the year of our Lord 732, calling a council at Rome, did not only stablish the images before condemned, but condemned the gainsayers for heretics, as is aforesaid.

By Sixtus the Second it was ordained, that no liturgy should be done save only upon altars hallowed, about the year of our Lord 260, as some suppose. But as I see no firm probation upon the same, so have I probable conjecture the same not to be true.

Some there be that shame not to say, that St. Clement brought in the albes and vestments to the popish mass.

Item, That the sacrament of the blood of the Lord should be consecrated in chalices of glass, and not of wood, as it was in time before, they say it was the ordinance of Pope Zephyrinus.

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After this came in golden chalices, and a true proverb withal, "That once they had wooden chalices, and golden priests; now they have golden chalices, and wooden priests."

Sabinian ordained the ringing of bells and burning of lamps in churches.

Vitalian, the playing on the organs.

Damasus, by the instigation of Jerome, appointed *Gloria Patri* after the Psalms.

Pelagius devised the memento for the dead. Leo brought in the incense.

Eutychian, as others say, brought in the offertory, which was then after a manner far otherwise than it is, or hath been used now a great while. For what time as many of the heathen, being greatly accustomed with offerings, were converted unto Christ, and could not be well brought from their old long use of offerings, the pope thought to bear somewhat with the weak, and permitted them to bring meats into the congregation or church, that when the bishop had blessed them, they that brought them might distribute them to the poor, or take them to their own use. But afterwards did Pope Gregory so help with this sentence, "Thou shalt not appear in the sight of thy God empty," &c., that as he willed the people to lay their offerings upon the altar, so they did; and have not yet forgotten to do so still.

Soul-masses, and masses applied for the dead, came in partly by Gregory, partly by Pelagius, who brought in the Memento, as is said.

Wherein note, good reader, and mark, how these two stand together, that which our Saviour saith in his evangelist, Do this in remembrance of me; and that which they say, "In whose commemoration the body of Christ is taken," &c. Christ would it to be done in his remembrance; and the pope saith, "Do it in remembrance of the dead," &c.—What can be more contrary?

Innocent the Third ordained that the sacrament should be reserved in the church. The same brought also in auricular confession as a law, about the year of our Lord 1215. He did also constitute that no archbishop should enjoy the pall, unless he were of his own religion; and therefore no great marvel if there be such unity in popery.

Vigilius ordained that the priest should say mass having his face toward the east.

Platina writeth how the first Latin mass was sung in the sixth council of Constantinople, which was about the year of our Lord 680: so that the said mass was there and then first allowed, and not before. And yet they (I mean the Greek church) should have known as soon as the mass, if it had proceeded from James or Basil, as the Latin church did know it.

The opinion to think the mass to help souls in purgatory, was confirmed by Pope John the Seventeenth by reason of a dream, wherein he dreamed that he saw (and heard the voices of) devils lamenting and bewailing, that souls were delivered from them by the saying of masses and

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diriges. And therefore he did approve and ratify the feast of All Souls, brought in by Odilo. Moreover he adjoined also to the same the feast of Allhallows, about the year of our Lord 1003.

Concerning Lent fast, some think that Telesphorus, about the year of our Lord 140, was the author thereof. But that peradventure may be as true, as that which they also attribute to him, that he ordained three masses of one priest to be said on Christmas day. Or, if he did ordain that fast, yet he did ordain it but freely to be kept: for so I find among the decrees, that Lent was commanded first to be fasted but only of the clergy or churchmen.

Pope Leo commanded the sacrament to be censed.

Pope Boniface set in his foot for covering of the altars.

In St. Cyprian's time it seemeth that water was then mingled with the wine, whereof we read mention in his second book of Epistles, which mixture is referred to Alexander the First, in the Order of the Roman canon.

As concerning the breaking of the body in three parts, we read also mention to be made in the same book of Order, but no certain author thereof to be named. The words of the book be these: "Three ways is the body of the Lord understood: one which rose again from the dead, being signified by that part which is let fall to the blood in the chalice; the other is that which yet is living in the earth, which the part of the priest eaten doth signify; the third is that which now resteth in Christ, which also is figured by that particle that is reserved upon the altar."

Dedication of churches came in by Felix the Third; and that churches might not be hallowed but by a bishop, A.D. 492.

The canticle, *Gloria laus, &c.*, in the procession before the mass on Palm Sunday, was instituted by Theodulphus, bishop of Orleans, as Sigebert writeth, about the year of our Lord 483.

Giving of holy bread came in by this occasion, as it is to be gathered, partly out of Honorius, partly out of Durandus, and others. The manner was in ancient time, that the ministers were wont to receive certain meal of every house or family, wherewith a great loaf was made, called *Panis Dominicus*, able to serve in the communion, and to be distributed unto the people, who then were wont every day to be present and to receive, especially they that offered the meal: for whom it was wont therefore to be said in the canon, *Omnium circumstantium, qui tibi hoc sacrificium laudis offerunt, &c.* But afterward, the number of the people increasing, and piety decreasing, as Durandus writeth, it was then ordained to communicate but only upon Sundays.

At length followed the third constitution, that thrice a year, at least Easter, every man should communicate; it being thus provided, that instead of the daily communion before used, the pax did serve. And instead of receiving upon the Sunday, bread was hallowed, and suddenly given and distributed unto the people, which also was called *Eulogia*; the constitution whereof seemeth to proceed from Pope Pius. For so we read in the decrees of the said Pope Pius: "That the minister shall take of the oblations offered of the people, remaining of the consecration, or

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else of the bread which the faithful bring unto the church, or else to take of his own bread, and cut it conveniently in portions in a clean and a convenient vessel; so that after the solemnity of the ministration being done, they that were not prepared and ready to communicate, may receive every Sunday or festival day 'eulogies,' or benedictions, with the same."

As concerning holy water, which they used to sprinkle at the church door upon them that entered in, I will not say that it sprung from the idolatrous use of the Gentiles.

This I say as I find in Historia Zozomeni: "It was an old custom among the Romans, that at the entering in at the church door, the priest, after the usual manner of the ethnics, having in his hand moist branches of olive, did sprinkle with the same such as entered in," &c. To the which custom this our manner of giving of holy water is so like, that it seemeth to proceed out of the same.

In the book of the pope's Decrees, and in the Distinctions of Gratian, there is a certain decree fathered upon Alexander the First, about the year of our Lord 121; which decree may well seem to be a bastard decree, neither agreeing to such a father, nor such a time, concerning the conjuring of holy water. The words of the decree be these: "We bless water sprinkled with salt among the people, that all such as be sprinkled with the same may be sanctified and purified; which thing we charge and command all priests to do. For if the ashes of the cow, in the old law, being sprinkled among the people, did sanctify and cleanse them, much more water sprinkled with salt, and hallowed with godly prayers, sanctifieth and cleanseth the people. And if that Elisha the prophet, by the sprinkling of salt, did heal and help the barrenness of the water; how much more doth the salt, being hallowed by godly prayers, take away the barrenness of human things, and sanctify and purge them that be defiled; also multiply other things that be good, and turn away the snares of the devil, and defend men from the deceptions of fantasy," &c.

Thus ye have heard the author and father of holy water, which some also ascribe to Pope Sixtus, who succeeded Alexander: but as the papists do not agree in the first author or institutor of this hallowing of elements, so I think the same untruly to be ascribed to either. But leaving the probation of this to further leisure, let us now hear, in our own tongue, their own words, which they use in this their conjuration.

The form and words used of the priest in conjuring salt.

"I conjure thee, thou creature of salt, by the + living God, by the + true God, by the holy God, &c.: that thou mayest be made a conjured salt, to the salvation of them that believe; and that unto all such as receive thee thou mayest be health of soul and body; and that from out of the place wherein thou shalt be sprinkled, may fly away and depart all fantasy, wickedness, or craftiness of the devil's subtlety, and every foul spirit," &c.

The form of conjuring water.

"I conjure thee, thou creature of water, in the name of + God the Father almighty, and in the name of + Jesu Christ his Son our Lord, and in the virtue + of the Holy Ghost, that thou become a conjured water to expel all power of the enemy," &c.

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Who seeth not in these words blasphemy intolerable; how that which is only due to the blood of Christ, and promised to faith only in him, is transferred to earthly and insensate creatures, to be salvation both to body and spirit, inwardly to give remission of sins, to give health and remedy against evils and devils, against all fantasies, wickedness, and all foul spirits, and to expel the power of the enemy, &c.? If this be true, whereto serveth the blood of Christ, and the virtue of Christian faith?

Therefore judge thyself, gentle reader, whether thou think this trumpety rightly to be fathered upon those ancient fathers aforenamed; or else whether it may seem more like truth that John Sleidan writeth, whose words, in his second book *De Monarchiis*, are these: "The decrees of these aforesaid bishops and martyrs be inserted in the Book of Councils; but of these decrees many be so childish, so trifling, and so far disagreeing from the Holy Scripture, that it is very like that the same were feigned and counterfeited of others long after their time," &c. Thus much saith Sleidan, with more words in that place; unto whose testimony if I might be so bold also to add my conjecture, I would suppose the conjuration of this aforesaid water and salt to spring out of the same fountain from whence proceeded the conjuring of flowers and branches, because I see the order and manner of them both to be so like and uniform as may appear.

The manner of hallowing flowers and branches.

"I conjure thee, thou creature of flowers and branches, in the name of + God the Father almighty, and in the name of + Jesu Christ his Son our Lord, and in the virtue of the Holy + Ghost. Therefore be thou rooted out and displanted from this creature of flowers and branches, all thou strength of the adversary, all thou host of the devil, and all the power of the enemy, even every assault of the devils," &c.

And thus much concerning the antiquity of holy bread and holy water; whereby thou mayest partly conjecture the same not to be so old as Stephen Gardiner, in his letter against Master Ridley above mentioned, would have; being both deceived himself, and also going about to seduce others.

Furthermore, as touching the relics and the memorial of saints brought into the mass, Gregory the Third is the author thereof, who also added to the canon thereof this clause, *Quorum solemnitates hodie in conspectu Divinae majestatis tuae celebrantur*, &c.

Finally, it were too long to recite every thing in order, devised and brought in particularly to the mass, and to the church. For after that man's brain was once set on devising, it never could make an end of heaping rite upon rite, and ceremony upon ceremony, till all religion was turned well nigh to superstition. Thereof cometh oil and cream, brought in by Pope Silvester, not wont to be hallowed but by a bishop: that the corporas should not be of silk, but only of fine linen cloth: that the psalms should be sung on sides, the one side of the choir singing one verse, the other another, with *Gloria Patri*, &c.: that baptism should be ministered at no other time in the year but only at Easter and Whitsuntide, (save only to infants, and such as were in extreme infirmity,) and that it should be required forty days before: so determined by Pope Sirloins. And therefore was it that fonts were hallowed only at these two seasons, the which hallowing they keep yet still, but the ordinance they have rejected. Item, that bells also were christened. Item, no

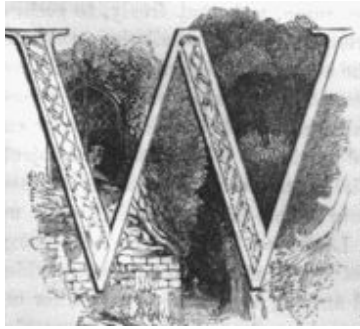
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priest should wear a beard, or have long hair: so appointed by Pope Martin the First. Item, that auricular confession should be made, that the book of decrees and decretals should be established, and transubstantiation confirmed; in which three acts Pope Innocent the Third was the chiefest doer, about the year of our Lord 1215.

And thus have ye in sum the gatherings of the mass, with the canon and all the appurtenance of the same: which, not much unlike to the crow of Æsop, being patched with the feathers of so many birds, was so long a gathering, that the temple of Solomon was not so long in building, as the pope's mass was in making, Whereby judge now thyself, good reader, whether this mass did proceed from James and other apostles, or no. And yet this was one of the principal causes for which so much turmoil was made in the church, with the bloodshed of so many godly men, suffering in so many quarters of this realm; some consumed by fire; some pined away with hunger; some hanged; some slain; some racked; some tormented one way, some another: and that only or chiefly for the cause of this aforesaid popish mass; as by the reading of this story following, by the grace of Christ our Lord, shall appear more at large. In whom I wish thee to continue in health, and to persevere in the truth.

241. The Beginning of The Reign of Queen Mary

The first entering of Queen Mary to the crown, with the alteration of religion, and other perturbations happening the same time in this realm of England.



W^HAT time King Edward, by long sickness, began to appear more feeble and weak, in the mean while, during the time of this his sickness, a certain marriage was provided, concluded, and shortly also upon the same solemnized in the month of May, between the Lord Guilford, son to the duke of Northumberland, and the Lady Jane, the duke of Suffolk's daughter; whose mother, being then alive, was daughter to Mary, King Henry's second sister, who first was married to the French king, and afterward to Charles duke of Suffolk. But to make no long tarriance hereupon, the marriage being ended, and the king waxing every day more sick than other, whereas indeed there seemed in him no hope of recovery, it was brought to pass by the consent not only of the nobility, but also of the chief lawyers of the realm, that the king, by his testament, did appoint the aforesaid Lady Jane, daughter to the duke of Suffolk, to be inheritrix unto the crown of England, passing over his two sisters, Mary and Elizabeth.

To this order subscribed all the king's council, and the chief of the nobility, the mayor and city of London, and almost all the judges and chief lawyers of this realm, saving only Justice Hales of Kent, a man both favouring true religion, and also an upright judge as any hath been noted in this realm, who, giving his consent unto Lady Mary, would in no case subscribe to Lady Jane. Of this man (God willing' you shall hear more in the sequel of this story. The causes laid against Lady Mary, were as well for that it was feared she would marry with a stranger, and thereby entangle the crown; as also that she would clean alter religion, used both in King Henry her father's, and also in King Edward her brother's days, and so bring in the pope, to the utter destruction of the realm, which indeed afterward came to pass, as by the course and sequel of this story may well appear.

Much probable matter they had thus to conjecture of her, by reason of her great stubbornness showed and declared in her brother's days, as in the letters before mentioned, passing between her and King Edward and the council, may appear. The matter being thus concluded, and after confirmed by every man's hand, King Edward, an imp of so great hope, not long after this, departed by the vehemency of his sickness, when he was sixteen years of age; with whom also decayed in a manner the whole flourishing estate and honour of the English nation.

When King Edward was dead, this Jane was established in the kingdom by the nobles' consent, and was forthwith published queen by proclamation at London, and in other cities where was any great resort, and was there so taken and named. Between this young damsel and King Edward there was little difference in age, though in learning and knowledge of the tongues she was not only equal, but also superior unto him, being instructed of a master right nobly learned.

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If her fortune had been as good as her bringing up, joined with fineness of wit, undoubtedly she might have seemed comparable not only to the house of Vespasians, Sempronians, and the mother of the Gracchi, yea, to any other women beside, that deserved high praise for their singular learning; but also to the university men, which have taken many degrees of the schools.

In the mean time, while these things were a-working at London, Mary, which had knowledge of her brother's death, writeth to the lords of the council in form as followeth.

A letter of the Lady Mary, sent to the lords of the council, wherein she claimeth the crown after the decease of King Edward.

"My Lords, we greet you well, and have received sure advertisement, that our dearest brother the king, our late sovereign lord, is departed to God's mercy; which news how woeful they be unto our heart, he only knoweth, to whose will and pleasure we must, and do, humbly submit us and our wills. But in this so lamentable a case, that is to wit now, after his Majesty's departure and death, concerning the crown and governance of this realm of England, with the title of France, and all things thereto belonging, what hath been provided by act of parliament, and the testament and last will of our dearest father, besides other circumstances advancing our right, you know, the realm and the whole world knoweth; the rolls and records appear by the authority of the king our said father, and the king our said brother, and the subjects of this realm; so that we verily trust that there is no good true subject, that is, can, or would, pretend to be ignorant thereof: and of our part we have of ourselves caused, and, as God shall aid and strengthen us, shall cause, our right and title in this behalf to be published and proclaimed accordingly. And albeit this so weighty a matter seemeth strange, that our said brother, dying upon Thursday at night last past, we hitherto had no knowledge from you thereof, yet we consider your wisdoms and prudence to be such, that having eftsoons amongst you debated, pondered, and well weighed this present case with our estate, with your own estate, the commonwealth, and all our honours, we shall and may conceive great hope and trust, with much assurance in your loyalty and service; and therefore for the time interpret and take things not to the worst, and that ye will, like noblemen, work the best. Nevertheless, we are not ignorant of your consultations, to undo the provisions made for our preferment, nor of the great bands, and provisions forcible, wherewith ye be assembled and prepared—by whom, and to what end, God and you know, and nature cannot but fear some evil. But be it that some consideration politic, or whatsoever thing else hath moved you thereto; yet doubt you not, my Lords, but we can take all these your doings in gracious part, being also right ready to remit and fully pardon the same, and that freely, to eschew bloodshed and vengeance, against all those that can or will intend the same; trusting also assuredly you will take and accept this grace and virtue in good part, as appertaineth, and that we shall not be enforced to use the service of others our true subjects and friends, which in this our just and right cause, God, in whom our whole affiance is, shall send us. Wherefore, my Lords, we require you, and charge you and every of you, that of your allegiance which you owe to God and us, and to none other, for our honour and the surety of our person, only employ yourselves, and forthwith, upon receipt hereof, cause our right and title to the crown and government of this realm to be proclaimed in our city of London and other places, as to your wisdom shall seem good, and as to this case appertaineth; not failing hereof as our very trust is in you. And this our letter, signed with our hand, shall be your sufficient warrant in this behalf.

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"Given under our signet, at our manor of Kenning-hall, the ninth of July, 1553."

Votre tres humble et tres obeissante fille

MARIE

To this letter of the Lady Mary, the lords of the council make answer again, as followeth:

"Madam, we have received your letters, the ninth of this instant, declaring your supposed title, which you judge yourself to have, to the imperial crown of this realm, and all the dominions thereunto belonging. For answer whereof, this is to advertise you, that forasmuch as our sovereign lady Queen Jane is, after the death of our sovereign lord Edward the Sixth, a prince of most noble memory, invested and possessed with the just and right title in the imperial crown of this realm, not only by good order of old ancient laws of this realm, but also by our late sovereign lord's letters patent, signed with his own hand, and sealed with the great seal of England, in presence of the most part of the nobles, councillors, judges, with divers other grave and sage personages, assenting and subscribing to the same: we must, therefore, as of most bounden duty and allegiance, assent unto her said Grace, and to none other, except we should (which faithful subjects cannot) fall into grievous and unspeakable enormities. Wherefore we can no less do, but, for the quiet both of the realm and you also, to advertise you, that forasmuch as the divorce made between the king of famous memory, King Henry the Eighth, and the Lady Katharine your mother, was necessary to be had both by the everlasting laws of God, and also by the ecclesiastical laws, and by the most part of the noble and learned universities of Christendom, and confirmed also by the sundry acts of parliaments remaining yet in their force, and thereby you justly made illegitimate and unhereditary to the crown imperial of this realm, and the rules, and dominions, and possessions of the same, you will, upon just consideration hereof, and of divers other causes lawful to be alleged for the same, and for the just inheritance of the right line and godly order taken by the late king our sovereign lord King Edward the Sixth, and agreed upon by the nobles and greatest personages aforesaid, surcease by any pretence to vex and molest any of our sovereign lady Queen Jane's subjects from their true faith and allegiance due unto her Grace: assuring you, that if you will for respect show yourself quiet and obedient, (as you ought,) you shall find us all and several ready to do you any service that we with duty may, and be glad, with your quietness, to preserve the common state of this realm, wherein you may be otherwise grievous unto us, to yourself, and to them. And thus we bid you most heartily well to fare. From the Tower of London, in this ninth of July, 1553.

"Your Ladyship's friends, showing yourself an obedient subject,

Thomas Canterbury.

The Marquis of Winchester.

John Bedford.

William Northampton.

Thomas Ely, chancellor.

Northumberland.

Henry Suffolk.

Henry Arundel.

Shrewsbury.

Pembroke.

Cobham.

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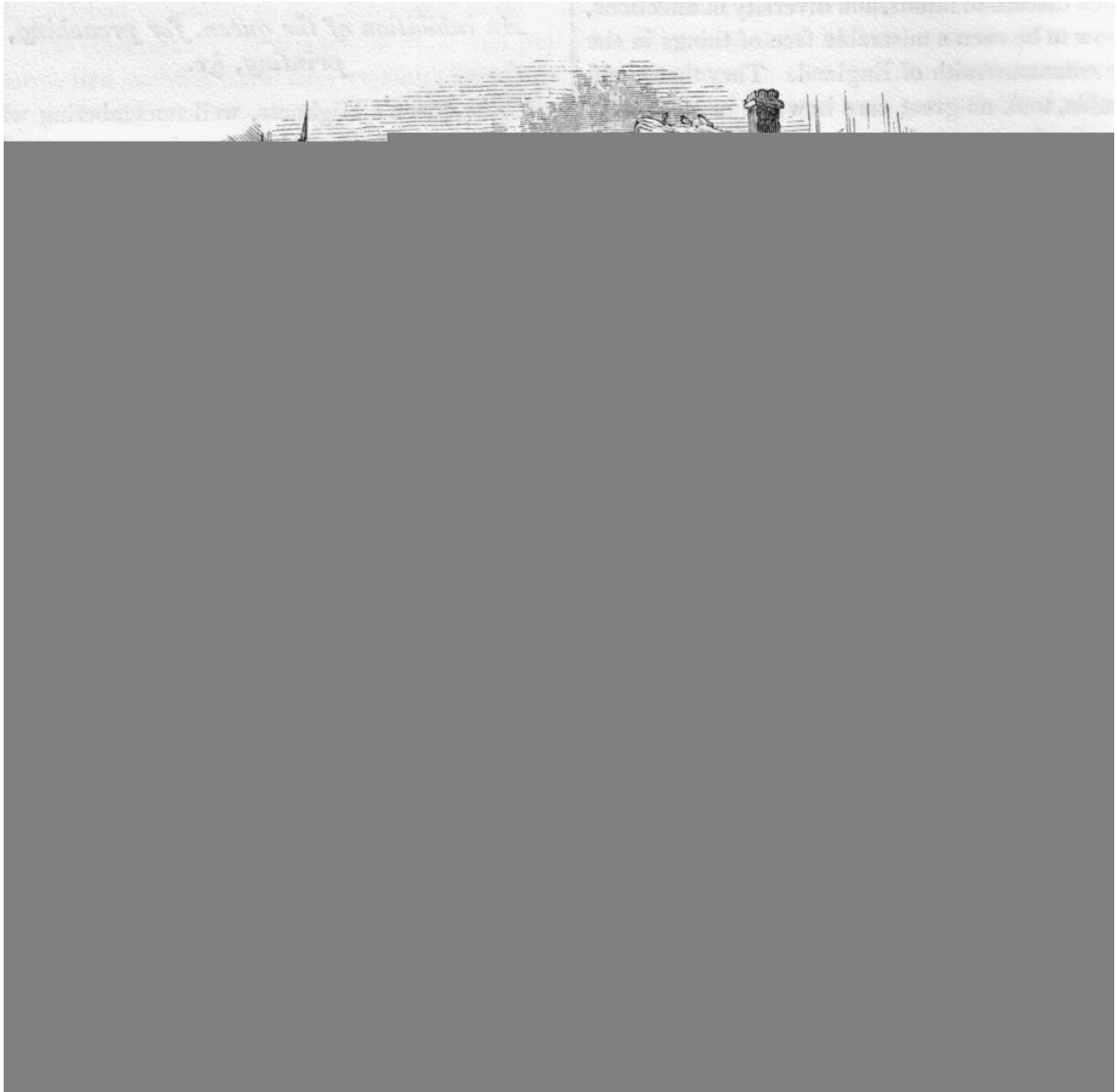
R. Riche.
Huntingdon.
Cheney.
Darcy.
R. Cotton.
John Gates.
W. Cecil.
W. Peter.
John Cheke.
John Mason.
Edward North.
R. Bowes."

After this answer received, and the minds of the lords perceived, Lady Mary speedeth herself secretly away far off from the city, hoping chiefly upon the good will of the commons, and yet perchance not destitute altogether of the secret advertisements of some of the nobles. When the council heard of her sudden departure, and perceived her stoutness, and that all came not to pass as they supposed, they gathered speedily a power of men together, appointing an army, and first assigned that the duke of Suffolk should take that enterprise in hand, and so have the leading of the band. But afterward, altering their minds, they thought it best to send forth the duke of Northumberland, with certain other lords and gentlemen; and that the duke of Suffolk should keep the Tower, where the Lord Guilford and the Lady Jane the same time were lodged.

In the which expedition the guard also, albeit they were much unwilling at the first thereunto, yet notwithstanding, through the vehement persuasions of the lord treasurer, Master Chomley, and others, they were induced to assist the duke, and to set forward with him.

These things thus agreed upon, and the duke now being set forward after the best array out of London, having notwithstanding his times prescribed, and his journey appointed by the council, to the intent he might not seem to do any thing but upon warrant, Mary, in the mean while, tossed with much travail up and down, to work the surest way for her best advantage, withdrew herself into the quarters of Norfolk and Suffolk, where she understood the duke's name to be had in much hatred for the service that had been done there of late under King Edward, in subduing the rebels; and there, gathering to her such aid of the commons on every side as she might, kept herself close for a space within Framlingham castle. To whom first of all resorted the Suffolk men; who, being always forward in promoting the proceedings of the gospel, promised her their aid and help, so that she would not attempt the alteration of the religion, which her brother King Edward had before established by laws and orders publicly enacted, and received by the consent of the whole realm in that behalf.

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Queen Mary receiving a letter

To make the matter short, unto this condition she eftsoons agreed, with such promise made unto them that no innovation should be made of religion, as that no man would or could then have misdoubted her. Which promise, if she had as constantly kept, as they did willingly preserve her with their bodies and weapons, she had done a deed both worthy her blood, and had also made her reign more stable to herself through former tranquillity. For though a man be never so puissant of power, yet breach of promise is an evil upholder of quietness; fear is worse; but cruelty is the worst of all.

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Thus Mary, being guarded with the power of the gospellers, did vanquish the duke, and all those that came against her. In consideration whereof it was, methinks, a heavy word that she answered to the Suffolk men afterwards, who did make supplication to her Grace to perform her promise: "Forasmuch," saith she, "as you, being but members, desire to rule your head, you shall one day well perceive that members must obey their head, and not look to bear rule over the same." And not only that, but also to cause the more terror unto others, a certain gentleman named Master Dobbe, dwelling about Wyndham side, for the same cause, (that is, for advertising her by humble request of her promise,) was punished, being three sundry times set on the pillory to be a gazing-stock unto all men. Divers others delivered her books and supplications made out of the Scripture, to exhort her to continue in the doctrine then established; and for their good will were sent to prison. But such is the condition of man's nature, as here you see, that we are for the most part more ready always to seek friendship when we stand in need of help, than ready to requite a benefit once past and received. Howbeit, against all this, one sheet-anchor we have, which may be a sure comfort to all miserable creatures, that equity and fidelity are ever perfect and certainly found with the Lord above; though the same, being shut out of the doors in this world, be not to be found here among men. But, seeing our intent is to write a story, not to treat of office, let us lay Suffolk men aside for a while, whose deserts, for their readiness and diligence with the queen, I will not here stand upon. What she performed on her part, the thing itself, and the whole story of this persecution, do testify, as hereafter more plainly will appear.

On the contrary side, the duke of Northumberland, having his warrant under the broad seal, with all furniture in readiness, as he took his voyage, and was now forward in his way; what ado there was, what stirring on every side, what sending, what riding and posting, what letters, messages, and instructions went to and fro, what talking among the soldiers, what heart-burning among the people, what fair pretences outwardly, inwardly what privy practices there were, what speeding of ordnance daily and hourly out of the Tower, what rumours and coming down of soldiers from all quarters there were; a world it was to see, and a process to declare, enough to make a whole Iliad.

The greatest help that made for the Lady Mary was the short journeys of the duke, which by commission were assigned to him before, as is above mentioned. For the longer the duke lingered in his voyage, the Lady Mary the more increased in puissance, the hearts of the people being mightily bent unto her, which after the council at London perceived, and understood how the common multitude did withdraw their hearts from them, to stand with her, and that certain noblemen began to go the other way, they turned their song, and proclaimed for queen the Lady Mary, eldest daughter to King Henry the Eighth, and appointed by parliament to succeed King Edward, dying without issue.

And so the duke of Northumberland, being by counsel and advice sent forth against her, was left destitute, and forsaken alone at Cambridge with some of his sons, and a few others, among whom the earl of Huntingdon was one; who there were arrested and brought to the Tower of London, as traitors to the crown, notwithstanding that he had there proclaimed her queen before.

Thus have ye Mary now made a queen, and the sword of authority put into her hand, which how she afterward did use, we may see in the sequel of this book. Therefore, (as I said,)

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when she had been thus advanced by the gospellers, and saw all in quiet by means that her enemies were conquered, sending the duke captive to the Tower before, (which was the twenty-fifth of July,) she followed not long after, being brought up the third day of August to London, with the great rejoicing of many men, but with a greater fear of more, and yet with flattery peradventure most great, of feigned hearts.

Thus coming up to London, her first lodging she took at the Tower, where the aforesaid Lady Jane, with her husband the Lord Guilford, a little before her coming, were imprisoned; where they remained waiting her pleasure almost five months. But the duke, within a month after his coming to the Tower, being adjudged to death, was brought forth to the scaffold, and there beheaded; albeit he, having a promise, and being put in hope of pardon, (yea, though his head were upon the block,) if he would recant and hear mass, consented thereto, and denied in words that true religion, which, before time, as well in King Henry the Eighth's days, as in King Edward's, he had oft evidently declared himself both to favour and further—exhorting also the people to return to the catholic faith, as he termed it; whose recantation the papists did forthwith publish and set abroad, rejoicing not a little at his conversion, or rather subversion, as then appeared.

Thus the duke of Northumberland, with Sir John Gates, and Sir Thomas Palmer, (which Palmer, on the other side, confessed his faith that he had learned in the gospel, and lamented that he had not lived more gospel-like,) being put to death; in the mean time Queen Mary, entering thus her reign with the blood of these men, besides hearing mass herself in the Tower, gave a heavy show and signification hereby, but especially by the sudden delivering of Stephen Gardiner out of the Tower, that she was not minded to stand to that which she so deeply had promised to the Suffolk men before, concerning the not subverting or altering the state of religion, as in very deed the surmise of the people was therein nothing deceived.

Besides the premises, other things also followed, which every day more and more discomforted the people, declaring the queen to bear no good will to the present state of religion; as not only the releasing of Gardiner, being then made lord chancellor of England and bishop of Winchester, Dr. Poynt being put out; but also that Bonner was restored to his bishopric again, and Dr. Ridley displaced. Item, Dr. Day, to the bishopric of Chichester; John Scory being put out. Item, Dr. Tonsal to the bishopric of Durham. Item, Dr. Heath to the bishopric of Worcester, and John Hooper committed to the Fleet. Item, Dr. Vesey to Exeter, and Miles Coverdale put out. These things being marked and perceived, great heaviness and discomfort grew more and more to all good men's hearts; but on the contrary, to the wicked, great rejoicing: in which discord of minds, and diversity of affections, was now to be seen a miserable face of things in the whole commonwealth of England. They that could dissemble, took no great care how the matter went: but such whose consciences were joined to truth, perceived already coals to be kindled, which after should be the destruction of many a true Christian man; as indeed it came to pass. In the mean while Queen Mary, after these beginnings, having removed from the Tower to Hampton Court, caused a parliament to be summoned against the tenth of October next ensuing, whereof more is to be said hereafter.

242. Prohibition of Unauthorised Preaching.

Ye heard before, how divers bishops were removed, and others placed in their rooms; amongst whom was Dr. Ridley, bishop of London, a worthy man both of fame and learning. This Dr. Ridley, in the time of Queen Jane, had made a sermon at Paul's Cross, so commanded by the council; declaring there his mind to the people as touching the Lady Mary, and dissuaded them, alleging there the incommodities and inconveniences which might rise by receiving her to be their queen; prophesying, as it were before, that which after came to pass, that she would bring in foreign power to reign over them, besides the subverting also of all Christian religion then already established: showing, moreover, that the same Mary being in his diocese, he, according to his duty, (being then her ordinary,) had travailed much with her to reduce her to this religion, and notwithstanding in all other points of civility she showed herself gentle and tractable, yet in matters that concerned true faith and doctrine, she showed herself so stiff and obstinate, that there was no other hope of her to be conceived, but to disturb and overturn all that, which, with so great labours, had been confirmed and planted by her brother afore. Shortly after this sermon, Queen Mary was proclaimed; whereupon he, speedily repairing to Framlingham to salute the queen, had such cold welcome there, that, being despoiled of all his dignities, he was sent back upon a lame halting horse to the Tower.

After him preached also Master Rogers the next Sunday, entreating very learnedly upon the gospel of the same day.

This so done, Queen Mary, seeing all things yet not going so after her mind as she desired, devised with her council to bring to pass that thing by other means, which as yet, by open law, she could not well accomplish; directing forth an inhibition by proclamation, that no man should preach or read openly in churches the word of God, besides other things also in the same proclamation inhibited, the copy whereof here followeth.

An inhibition of the queen, for preaching, printing, &c.

"The queen's Highness, well remembering what great inconveniences and dangers have grown to this her Highness's realm in times past, through the diversity of opinions in questions of religion, and hearing also that now of late, since the beginning of her most gracious reign, the same contentions be again much revived, through certain false and untrue reports and rumours spread by some light and evil-disposed persons, hath thought good to do to understand, to all her Highness's most loving subjects, her most gracious pleasure in manner following:

"First, her Majesty, being presently by the only goodness of God settled in her just possession of the imperial crown of this realm, and other dominions thereunto belonging, cannot now hide that religion, which God and the world knoweth she hath ever professed from her infancy hitherto: which as her Majesty is minded to observe and maintain for herself by God's

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grace, during her time, so doth her Highness much desire, and would be glad, the same were of all her subjects quietly and charitably embraced.

"And yet she doth signify unto all her Majesty's loving subjects, that of her most gracious disposition and clemency, her Highness mindeth not to compel any her said subjects thereunto, until such time as further order by common assent may be taken therein: forbidding nevertheless all her subjects of all degrees, at their perils, to move seditions, or stir unquietness in her people, by interpreting the laws of this realm after their brains and fantasies, but quietly to continue for the time, till (as before is said) further order may be taken, and therefore willet and straitly chargeth and commandeth all her said good loving subjects to live together in quiet sort and Christian charity, leaving those new-found devilish terms of papist or heretic, and such like, and applying their whole care, study, and travail, to live in the fear of God, exercising their conversations in such charitable and godly doing, as their lives may indeed express that great hunger and thirst of God's glory and holy word, which, by rash talk and words, many have pretended: and in so doing they shall best please God, and live without danger of the laws, and maintain the tranquillity of the realm. Whereof as her Highness shall be most glad, so, if any man shall rashly presume to make any assemblies of people, or at any public assemblies, or otherwise, shall go about to stir the people to disorder or disquiet, she mindeth, according to her duty, to see the same most severely reformed and punished according to her Highness's laws.

"And furthermore, forasmuch as it is also well known, that sedition and false rumours have been nourished and maintained in this realm, by the subtlety and malice of some evil-disposed persons, which take upon them, without sufficient authority, to preach and to interpret the word of God after their own brain in churches, and other places both public and private, and also by playing of interludes, and printing of false-found books, ballads, rhymes, and other lewd treatises in the English tongue, concerning doctrine, in matters now in question and controversy, touching the high points and mysteries of Christian religion; which books, ballads, rhymes, and treatises, are chiefly by the printers and stationers set out to sale to her Grace's subjects, of an evil zeal, for lucre and covetousness of vile gain: her Highness, therefore, straitly chargeth and commandeth all and every of her said subjects, of whatsoever state, condition, or degree they be, that none of them presume from henceforth to preach; or, by way of reading in churches, or other public or private places, (except in schools of the university,) to interpret or teach any Scriptures, or any manner of points of doctrine concerning religion; neither also to print any books, matter, ballad, rhyme, interlude, process, or treatise, nor to play any interlude, (except they have her Grace's special licence in writing for the same,) upon pain to incur her Highness's indignation and displeasure.

"And her Highness also further chargeth and commandeth all and every her said subjects, that none of them, of their own authority, do presume to punish, or to rise against any offender in the causes above-said, or any other offender in words or deeds in the late rebellion committed or done by the duke of Northumberland, or his complices, or to seize any of their goods, or violently to use any such offender by striking or imprisoning or threatening the same; but wholly to refer the punishment of all such offenders unto her Highness and public authority, whereof her Majesty mindeth to see due punishment, according to the order of her Highness's laws.

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"Nevertheless, as her Highness mindeth not hereby to restrain and discourage any of her loving subjects, to give from time to time true information against any such offenders in the causes abovesaid, unto her Grace or her council, for the punishment of every such offender, according to the effect of her Highness's laws provided in that part: so her said Highness exhorteth and straitly chargeth her said subjects, to observe her commandment and pleasure in every part aforesaid, as they will avoid her said Highness's indignation and most grievous displeasure; the severity and rigour whereof, as her Highness shall be most sorry to have cause to put the same in execution, so doth she utterly determine not to permit such unlawful and rebellious doings of her subjects (whereof may ensue the danger of her royal estate) to remain unpunished, but to see her said laws touching these points to be thoroughly executed: which extremities she trusteth all her said loving subjects will foresee, dread, and avoid accordingly; her said Highness straitly charging and commanding all mayors, sheriffs, justices of peace, bailiffs, constables, and all other public officers and ministers, diligently to see to the observing and executing of her said commandments and pleasure, and to apprehend all such as shall wilfully offend in this part, committing the same to the next gaol, there to remain without bail or main-prize, till, upon certificate made to her Highness, or her privy council, of their names and doings, and upon examination had of their offences, some further order shall be taken for their punishment, to the example of others, according to the effect and tenor of the laws aforesaid.

"Given at our manor of Richmond, the eighteenth day of August, in the first year of our most prosperous reign."

Master Bourn preaching at Paul's Cross.



bout this time, or not long before, Bonner, bishop of London, being restored, appointed Master Bourn, a canon of Paul's, to preach at the Cross, who afterward was bishop of Bath. Bourn took occasion of the gospel of that day, to speak somewhat largely in justifying of Bonner, being then present: "Which Bonner," said he, "upon the same text, in that place that day four years, had preached before: and was, upon the same, most cruelly and unjustly cast into the most vile dungeon of the Marshalsea, and there kept during the time of King Edward." His words sounded so evil in the ears of the hearers, that they could not keep silence; and began to murmur and to stir in such sort, that the mayor and aldermen, with other estates then present, feared much an uproar. But the truth is, that one hurled a dagger at the preacher; but who it was, it could not then be proved, albeit afterward it was known.

In fine the stir was such, that the preacher plucked in his head, and durst no more appear in that place. The matter of this sermon tended much to the derogation and dispraise of King Edward, which thing the people in no case could abide. Then Master Bradford, at the request of the preachers brother and others, then being in the pulpit, stood forth and spake so mildly, Christianly, and effectually, that with few words he appeased all: and afterward he and Master Rogers conducted the preacher betwixt them from the pulpit to the grammar-school door, where they left him safe, as further, in the story of Master Bradford, is declared. But, shortly after, they were both rewarded with long imprisonment, and, last of all, with fire in Smithfield.

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By reason of this tumult at Paul's Cross, an order was taken by the lords of the council with the mayor and aldermen of London to this effect:

"That they, calling the next day following a common council of the city, should thereby charge every householder to cause their children, apprentices, and other servants, to keep their own parish churches upon the holy days, and not to suffer them to attempt any thing to the violating of the common peace: willing them also to signify to the said assembly the queen's determination, uttered unto them by her Highness the twelfth of August, in the Tower; which was, that albeit her Grace's conscience was stayed in the matters of religion, yet she graciously meant not to compel or strain other men's consciences otherwise than God should (as she trusted) put in their hearts a persuasion of the truth that she was in, through the opening of his word unto them by godly, virtuous, and learned preachers, &c.

"Also it was then ordered, that every alderman, in his ward, should forthwith send for the curates of every parish within their liberties; and warn them not only to forbear to preach themselves, but also not to suffer any others to preach, or make any open or solemn reading of Scripture in their churches, unless the said preachers were severally licensed by the queen."

After this sermon at Paul's Cross aforementioned, the next day after it followed that the queen's guard was at the Cross with their weapons to guard the preacher. And when quiet men withdrew themselves from the sermon, order was taken by the mayor, that the ancients of all companies should be present, lest the preacher should be discouraged by his small auditory.

August.—The fifteenth of August, A.D. 1553, was one William Butler committed by the council to the Marshalsea, for uttering certain words against Master Bourn, preacher, for his sermon at Paul's Cross on Sunday last before.

The sixteenth of August, was Humphrey Palden committed to the Compter, for words against the said Bourn's sermon at Paul's Cross.

A letter sent to the sheriffs of Buckingham and Bedford, for the apprehending of one Fisher, parson of Amersham, a preacher.

Another letter to the bishop of Norwich, not to suffer any preacher or other to preach or expound the Scripture openly, without special licence from the queen.

The same day were Master Bradford, Master Vernon, and Master Beacon, preachers, committed to the charge of the lieutenant of the Tower.

The same day, also, was Master John Rogers, preacher, commanded to keep himself prisoner in his own house at Paul's, without having any conference with any other than those of his own household.

The twenty-second of August, there were two letters directed to Master Coverdale, bishop of Exeter, and Master Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, for their undelayed repair to the court, and there to attend the council's pleasure.

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The same day, Fisher, parson of Amersham, made his appearance before the council, according to their letter the sixteenth of August, and was appointed the next day to bring in a note of his sermon.

The twenty-fourth of August, was one John Melvin, a Scot, and preacher, sent to Newgate in London by the council.

The twenty-sixth of August, there was a letter sent to the mayor of Coventry and his brethren, for the apprehension of one Symons, of Worcester, preacher, and then vicar of St. Michael's in Coventry; and for the sending of him up to the council, with his examinations and other matters they could charge him with; with a commission to them to punish all such as had, by means of his preaching, used any talk against the queen's proceedings.

The twenty-ninth of August, Master Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, made his personal appearance before the council, according to their letters the twenty-second of August.

The thirty-first of August, Master Coverdale, bishop of Exeter, made his appearance before the council, according to their letters the twenty-second of August.

September.—The first of September, 1553, Master Hooper and Master Coverdale appeared again before the council, whence Master Hooper was committed to the Fleet, and Master Coverdale commanded to attend the lords' pleasure.

The second of September, Master Hugh Saunders, vicar of St. Michael's in Coventry, was before the council for a sermon, and was commanded to appear again upon Monday next after.

The fourth of September, a letter was directed from the council to Master Hugh Latimer, for his appearance before them.

About the fifth day of September the same year, Peter Martyr came to London from Oxford, where for a time he had been commanded to keep his house, and found there the archbishop of Canterbury, who offered to defend the doctrine of the Book of Common Prayer, both by Scriptures and doctors, assisted by Peter Martyr and a few others, as hereafter ye shall hear. But whilst they were in hope to come to disputations, the archbishop and others were imprisoned; but Peter Martyr was suffered to return whence he came.

The same day there was a letter sent to the mayor of Coventry to set Hugh Symons at liberty, if he would recant his sermon; or else to stay him, and to signify so much to the council.

The thirteenth of September, Master Hugh Latimer appeared before the council, according to their letter the fourth of September, and was committed to the Tower close prisoner, having his servant Austin to attend upon him.

The same day the archbishop of Canterbury, appearing before the council, was commanded to appear the next day at afternoon before them in the Star-chamber.

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The fourteenth of September, the archbishop of Canterbury, according to their former day's commandment, made his appearance before the lords in the Star-chamber; where they, charging him with treason, and spreading abroad of seditious bills to the disquieting of the state, committed him from thence to the Tower of London, there to remain till further justice and order at the queen's pleasure.

The fifteenth of September, there was a letter sent to Master Horn, dean of Durham, for his appearance before them; and another was sent to him the seventh of October next after, for his speedy appearance.

The sixteenth of September, there were letters sent to the mayors of Dover and Rye, to suffer all French protestants to pass out of this realm, except such whose names should be signified to them by the French ambassador.

October.—The first day of October Queen Mary was crowned at Westminster, and the tenth day of the same month began the parliament with the solemn mass of the Holy Ghost, after the popish manner, celebrated with great pomp in the palace of Westminster; to the which mass among the other lords, according to the manner, should come the bishops which yet remained undeposed, which were the archbishop of York, Dr. Taylor, bishop of Lincoln, John Harley, bishop of Hereford. Of the bishops, Dr. Taylor and Master Harley, (presenting themselves according to their duty, and taking their place amongst the lords,) after they saw the mass begin, not abiding the sight thereof, withdrew themselves from the company; for the which cause the bishop of Lincoln being examined, and protesting his faith, was, upon the same, commanded to attend; who not long after, at Ankerwyke, by sickness departed. Master Harley, because he was married, was excluded both from the parliament and from his bishopric.

Mass being done, the queen, accompanied with the estates of the realm, was brought into the parliament-house, there, according to the manner, to enter and begin the consultation: at which consultation or parliament were repealed all statutes made in the time of King Henry the Eighth for præmunire, and statutes made in King Edward the Sixth's time for administration of Common Prayer and Sacrament in the English tongue; and further, the attainder of the duke of Northumberland was by this parliament confirmed. In the mean while many men were forward in erecting of altars and masses in churches. And such as would stick to the laws made in King Edward's time, till others should be established, some of them were marked, and some presently apprehended; among whom Sir James Hales, a knight of Kent and justice of the Common Pleas, was one; who, notwithstanding he had ventured his life in Queen Mary's cause, in that he would not subscribe to the disinheriting of her by the king's will, yet for that he did, at a quarter sessions, give charge upon the statutes made in the time of King Henry the Eighth, and Edward the Sixth, for the supremacy and religion, he was imprisoned in the Marshalsea, Compter, and Fleet, and so cruelly handled and put in fear, by talk that the warden of the Fleet used to have in his hearing, of such torments as were in preparing for heretics, (or for what other cause God knoweth,) that he sought to rid himself out of this life by wounding himself with a knife, and afterward was contented to say as they willed him: whereupon he was discharged. But, after that, he never rested till he had drowned himself in a river, half a mile from his house in Kent: of whom more is to be seen, when you come to his story.

243. A Disputation On Religion Ordered By The Queen.

During the time of this parliament, the clergy likewise, after their wonted manner, had a convocation, with a disputation also, appointed by the queen's commandment, at Paul's church in London the same time, which was about the eighteenth of October; in the which convocation, first Master John Harpsfield, bachelor of divinity, made a sermon *ad clerum*, the sixteenth of October. After the sermon done, it was assigned by the bishops, that they of the clergy-house, for avoiding confusion of words, should choose them a prolocutor; to the which room and office, by common assent, was named Dr. Weston, dean of Westminster, and presented to the bishops with an oration of Master Pie, dean of Chichester, and also of Master Wimbisley, archdeacon of London: which Dr. Weston, being chosen and brought unto the bishops, made his gratulatory oration to the house, with the answer again of Bishop Bonner.

After these things thus sped in the convocation-house, they proceeded next to the disputation appointed, as is above said, by the queen's commandment, about the matter of the sacrament; which disputation continued six days: wherein Dr. Weston was chief on the pope's part, who behaved himself outrageously in taunting and checking. In conclusion, such as disputed on the contrary part were driven some to flee, some to deny, and some to die; though to the most men's judgments that heard the disputation, they had the upper hand, as here may appear by the report of the said disputation, the copy whereof we thought fit here to annex as followeth:

The true report of the disputation had and begun in the convocation-house at London the eighteenth of October, A.D. 1553.

"Whereas divers and uncertain rumours be spread abroad of the disputation had in the convocation-house; to the intent that all men may know the certainty of all things therein done and said, as much as the memory of him that was present thereat call bear away, he hath thought good, at request, thoroughly to describe what was said therein on both parties of the matters argued and had in question, and of the entrance thereof."

The act of the first day.

"First, upon Wednesday, being the eighteenth of October, at afternoon, Master Weston, the prolocutor, certified the house, that it was the queen's pleasure, that the company of the same house, being learned men assembled, should debate of matters of religion, and constitute laws thereof, which her Grace and the parliament would ratify. 'And for that,' said he, 'there is a book of late set forth, called the Catechism, [which he showed forth,] bearing the name of this honourable synod, and yet put forth without your consents, as I have learned; being a book very pestiferous, and full of heresies; and likewise a book of Common Prayer very abominable,' as it pleased him to term it. 'I thought it therefore best, first to begin with the articles of the Catechism, concerning the sacrament of the altar, to confirm the natural presence of Christ in the

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same, and also transubstantiation. Wherefore,' said he, 'it shall be lawful, on Friday next ensuing, for all men freely to speak their conscience in these matters, that all doubts may be removed, and they fully satisfied therein.'"

The act of the second day.

"The Friday coming, being the twentieth of October, when men had thought they should have entered disputations of the questions proposed, the prolocutor exhibited two several bills unto the house; the one for the natural presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar; the other concerning the Catechism, that it was not of that house's agreement set forth, and that they did not agree thereunto: requiring all them to subscribe to the same, as he himself had done. Whereunto the whole house did immediately assent, except six, which were the dean of Rochester, the dean of Exeter, the archdeacon of Winchester, the archdeacon of Hereford, the archdeacon of Stow, and one other.

"And whilst the rest were about to subscribe these two articles, John Philpot stood up, and spake, first, concerning the articles of the Catechism, that he thought they were deceived in the title of the Catechism, in that it beareth the title of the synod of London last before this; although many of them which then were present were never made privy thereof in setting it forth; for that this house had granted the authority to make ecclesiastical laws unto certain persons to be appointed by the king's Majesty; and whatsoever ecclesiastical laws they, or the most part of them, did set forth, according to a statute in that behalf provided, it might be well said to be done in the synod of London, although such as be of this house now, had no notice thereof, before the promulgation. And in this point he thought the setter-forth thereof nothing to have slandered the house, as they, by their subscription, went about to persuade the world, since they had our synodal authority unto them committed, to make such spiritual laws as they thought convenient and necessary.

"And moreover he said, as concerning the article of the natural presence in the sacrament, that it was against reason and order of learning, and also very prejudicial to the truth, that men should be moved to subscribe before the matter were thoroughly examined and discussed. But when he saw that allegation might take no place, being as a man astonished at the multitude of so many learned men, as there were of purpose gathered together to maintain old traditions more than the truth of God's holy word, he made this request unto the prolocutor: That whereas there were so many ancient learned men present on that side, as in the realm the like again were not to be found in such number; and that on the other side of them that had not subscribed, were not past five or six, both in age and learning far inferior unto them: therefore, that equality might be had in this disputation, he desired that the prolocutor would be a mean unto the lords, that some of those that were learned, and setters-forth of the same Catechism, might be brought into the house, to show their learning that moved them to set forth the same; and that Dr. Ridley and Master Rogers, with two or three more, might be licensed to be present, at this disputation, and to be associated with them.

"This request was thought reasonable, and was proposed unto the bishops, who made this answer: That it was not in them to call such persons unto our house, since some of them were prisoners. But they said, they would be petitioners in this behalf unto the council, and in case any

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were absent that ought to be of the house, they willed them to be taken in unto them if they listed. After this, they minding to have entered into disputation, there came a gentleman as messenger from the lord great master, signifying unto the prolocutor, that the lord great master and the earl of Devonshire would be present at the disputations, and therefore he deferred the same unto Monday, at one of the clock at afternoon."

The act of the third day.

"Upon Monday, the twenty-third of October, at the time appointed, in the presence of many earls, lords, knights, gentlemen, and divers other of the court and of the city also, the prolocutor made a protestation, that they of the house had appointed this disputation, not to call the truth into doubts, to the which they had already all subscribed, saving five or six, but that those gainsayers might be resolved of their arguments in the which they stood, 'as it shall appear unto you, not doubting but they will also condescend unto us.'

"Then he demanded of Master Haddon, whether we would reason against the questions proposed, or no. To whom he made answer, that he had certified him before, in writing, that he would not, since the request of such learned men as were demanded to be assistant with them, would not be granted. Master Elmar likewise was asked, who made the prolocutor the like answer; adding moreover this, that they had done too much prejudice already to the truth, to subscribe before the matter was discussed: and little or nothing it might avail to reason for the truth, since all they were now determined to the contrary.

"After this he demanded of Master Cheney, who, the prolocutor said, allowed the presence with them; but he denied the transubstantiation by the means of certain authorities upon the which he standeth, and desireth to be resolved, (as you shall hear,) whether he will propose his doubts concerning transubstantiation, or no. 'Yea,' quoth he, 'I would gladly my doubts to be resolved, which move me not to believe transubstantiation. The first is out of St. Paul to the Corinthians, who, speaking of the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, calleth it oftentimes bread, after the consecration. The second is out of Origen, who, speaking of this sacrament, saith, that the material part thereof goeth down to the excrements. The third is out of Theodoret, who making mention of the sacramental bread and wine after the consecration, saith, that they go not out of their former substance, form, and shape. These be some of my doubts, among many others, wherein I require to be answered.'

"Then the prolocutor assigned Dr. Moreman to answer him, who, to St. Paul, answered him thus: 'The sacrament is called by him bread indeed; but it is thus to be understood: that it is the sacrament of bread; that is, the form of bread.'

"Then Master Cheney inferred and alleged, that Hesychius called the sacrament both bread and flesh. 'Yea,' quoth Moreman, 'Hesychius calleth it bread, because it was bread, and not because it is so.' And passing over Origen, he came to Theodoret, and said, that men mistook his authority, by interpreting a general into a special, as Peter Martyr hath done in the place of Theodoret, interpreting ουσΙΑ [Greek: ousia], for substance, which is a special signification of the word; whereas ουσΙΑ [Greek: ousia] is a general word, as well to accidents as to substance; and therefore I answer thus unto Theodoret; That the sacramental bread and wine do not go out

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of their former substance, form, and shape; that is to say, not out of their accidental substance and shape.'

"After this Master Cheney sat him down; and by and by Master Elmar stood up, as one that could not abide to hear so fond an answer to so grave an authority, and reasoned upon the authority of Theodoret alleged before by Master Cheney, and declared, that Moreman's answer to Theodoret was no just or sufficient answer, but an illusion and subtle evasion, contrary to Theodoret's meaning. 'For,' said he, 'if ουσια [Greek: ousia] should signify an accident in the place alleged, as it is answered by Master Moreman, then were it a word superfluous set in Theodoret there, where do follow two other words, which sufficiently do expound the accidents of the bread, that is εἶδος καὶ σχῆμα [Greek: eidos kai schema], which signify in English, shape and form.' And so he proved out of the same author, by divers allegations, that ουσια [Greek: ousia], in Greek, could not be so generally taken in that place, as Moreman for a shift would have it. But Moreman, as a man having no other salve for that sore, affirmed still, that ι ουσια [Greek: ousia], which signifieth substance, must needs signify an accidental substance properly. To whose importunity, since he could have no other answer, Elmar, as a man wearied with his importunity, gave place.

"After this stood up John Philpot, and said, that he could prove, that by the matter that Theodoret entreateth of in the place above alleged, and by the similitude which he maketh to prove his purpose, by no means Master Moreman's interpretation of ουσια [Greek: ousia], might be taken for an accidental substance, as he for a shift would interpret it to be; for the matter which Theodoret entreateth of in that place, is against Eutiches, a heretic, who denied two natures of substance to remain in Christ, being one person, and that his humanity, after the accomplishment of the mystery of our salvation, ascending into heaven, and being joined unto the Divinity, was absorpt, or swallowed up of the same; so that Christ should be no more but of one Divine substance only, by his opinion. Against which opinion Theodoret writeth, and by the similitude of the sacrament proveth the contrary against the heretic: that like as in the sacrament of the body of Christ, after the consecration, there is the substance of Christ's humanity, with the substance of bread remaining as it was before, not being absorpt by the humanity of Christ, but joined by the Divine operation thereunto; even so in the person of Christ, being now in heaven, of whom this sacrament is a representation, there be two several substances, that is, his Divinity and humanity, united in one hypostasis or person, which is Christ; the humanity not being absorpt by the conjunction of the Divinity, but remaining in his former substance. 'And this similitude,' quoth Philpot, brought in of Theodoret to confound Eutiches, should prove nothing at all, if the very substance of the sacramental bread did not remain as it did before. But if Dr. Moreman's interpretation might take place for transubstantiation, then should the heretic have thereby a strong argument, by Theodoret's authority so taken, to maintain his heresy, and to prove himself a good Christian man; and he might well say thus unto Theodoret: Like as thou, Theodoret, if thou wert of Dr. Moreman's mind, dost say, that after the consecration in the sacrament, the substance of the bread is absorpt or transubstantiate into the human body of Christ coming thereunto, so that in the sacrament is now but one substance of the humanity alone, and not the substance of bread as it was before: even so likewise may I affirm, and conclude by thine own similitude, that the humanity ascending up by the power of God into heaven, and adjoined unto the Deity, was by the might thereof absorpt and turned into one substance with the Deity; so that now there remaineth but one Divine substance in Christ, no more than in the sacramental

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signs of the Lord's supper, after the consecration, doth remain any more than one substance, according to your belief and construction.'

"In answering to this, Dr. Moreman staggered, whose defect Philpot perceiving, spake on this wise, Well, Master Moreman, if you have no answer at this present ready, I pray you devise one, if you can conveniently. against our next meeting here again.'

"With that his saying the prolocutor was grievously offended, telling him that he should not brag there, but that he should be fully answered. Then said Philpot, 'It is the only thing that I desire, to be answered directly in this behalf; and I desire of you, and of all the house at this present, that I may be sufficiently answered, which I am sure you are not able to do, saving Theodoret's authority and similitude upright, as he ought to be taken.' None other answer, then, was made to Philpot's reason, but that he was commanded to silence.

"Then stood up the dean of Rochester, offering himself to reason in the first question against the natural presence, wishing that the Scripture and the ancient doctors, in this point, might be weighed, believed, and followed. And against this natural presence, he thought the saying of Christ in St. Matthew to make sufficiently enough, if men would credit and follow Scripture; who said there of himself, that poor men we should have alway with us, but Him we should not have always 'which was spoken,' quoth he, 'concerning the natural presence of Christ's body. Therefore we ought to believe as he hath taught—that Christ is not naturally present on earth in the sacrament of the altar.'

To this was answered by the prolocutor, that we should not have Christ present always to exercise alms-deeds upon him, but upon the poor.

"But the dean prosecuted his argument, and showed it out of St. Augustine further, that the same interpretation of the Scripture alleged, was no sufficient answer; who writeth on this wise, on the same sentence: 'When he said, (saith St. Augustine,) Me shall ye not have always with you; he spake of the presence of his body. For by his majesty, by his providence, by his unspeakable and invisible grace, that is fulfilled which is said of him, Behold, I am with you until the consummation of the world. But in the flesh, which the Word took upon him, in that which was born of the Virgin, in that which was apprehended of the Jews, which was crucified on the cross, which was let down from the cross, which was wrapped in clouts, which was hid in the sepulchre, which was manifested in the resurrection, You shall not have me always with you. And why? For after a bodily presence he was conversant with his disciples forty days; and they accompanying him, seeing and not following him, he ascended and is not here; for there he sitteth at the right hand of the Father; and yet here he is, because he is not departed in the presence of his majesty. After another manner we have Christ always, by the presence of his majesty; but, after the presence of his flesh, it is rightly said, You shall not verily have me always with you. For the church had him in the presence of his flesh a few days, and now by faith it apprehendeth him, and seeth him not with eyes.'

"To this authority Dr. Watson took upon him to answer, and said, he would answer St. Augustine by St. Augustine. And having a certain book in his hand of notes, he alleged out of the

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seventieth treatise upon St. John, that after that mortal condition and manner we have not now Christ on earth, as he was heretofore before his passion.

"Against whose answer John Philpot replied, and said, that Master Watson had not fully answered St. Augustine by St. Augustine, as he would seem to have done; for that in the place above mentioned by master dean of Rochester, he doth not only teach the mortal state of Christ's body before his passion, but also the immortal condition of the same after his resurrection: in the which mortal body St. Augustine seemeth plainly to affirm, that Christ is not present upon the earth, neither in form visibly, neither in corporal substance invisibly, as in few lines after the place above alleged, St. Augustine doth more plainly declare by these words, saying, 'Now these two manners of Christ's presence declared, who is, by his majesty, providence, and grace, now present in the world, who before his ascension was present in flesh; and being now placed at the right hand of the Father, is absent in the same from the world, I think (saith St. Augustine) that there remaineth no other question in this matter.'

"'Now,' quoth Philpot, if St. Augustine acknowledged no more presence of Christ to be now on earth, but only his Divine presence, and touching his humanity, to be in heaven, we ought to confess and believe the same. But if we put a third presence of Christ, that is, corporally to be present always in the sacrament of the altar invisibly, according to your suppositions, whereof St. Augustine maketh no mention at all in all his works; you shall seem to judge that, which St. Augustine did never comprehend.'

"'Why,' quoth Watson, 'St. Augustine, in the place by me alleged—maketh he no mention how St. Stephen, being in this world, saw Christ after his ascension?'

"'It is true,' said Philpot: 'but he saw Christ, as the Scripture telleth, in the heavens, being open, standing at the right hand of God the Father.' Further to this Watson answered not.

"Then the prolocutor went about to furnish up an answer to St. Augustine, saying, that he is not now in the world after the manner of bodily presence, but yet present, for all that, in his body.

"To whom Philpot answered, that the prolocutor did grate much upon this word *secundum* in St. Augustine; which signified, after the manner, or in form: but he doth not answer to *id quod*, which is that thing or substance of Christ, in the which Christ suffered, arose, and ascended into heaven, in the which thing and substance he is in heaven, and not in earth; as St. Augustine, in the place specified, most clearly doth define.

"To this nothing else being answered, the dean of Rochester proceeded in the maintenance of his argument, and read out of a book of annotations sundry authorities for the confirmation thereof; to the which Moreman, who was appointed to answer him, made no direct answer, but bade him make an argument, saying, that master dean had recited many words of doctors, but he made not one argument. Then said the dean, 'The authorities of the doctors by me rehearsed, be sufficient arguments to prove mine intent, to the which my desire is to be answered of you.' But still Moreman cried, 'Make an argument,' to shift off the authority which he could not answer unto.

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"After this the dean made this argument out of the institution of the sacrament: Do this in remembrance of me; and, Thus ye shall show forth the Lord's death until he come.—The sacrament is the remembrance of Christ: ergo, the sacrament is not very Christ; for yet he is not come. For these words, until he come,' do plainly signify the absence of Christ's body. Then the prolocutor went about to show that these words, 'until he come,' did not import any absence of Christ on the earth, by other places of Scripture, where *donec*, 'until,' was used in like sense; but directly to the purpose he answered nothing. In conclusion the dean fell to questioning with Moreman, whether Christ did eat the paschal lamb with his disciples, or not? He answered, 'Yea.' Further, he demanded whether he did eat likewise the sacrament with them, as he did institute it? Moreman answered, 'Yea.' Then he asked, what he did eat, and whether he did eat his own natural body, as they imagine it to be, or no? which when Moreman had affirmed; then said the dean, 'It is a great absurdity by you granted;' and so he sat down.

"Against this absurdity Philpot stood up and argued, saying, he could prove it by good reason deduced out of the Scripture, that Christ ate not his own natural body at the institution of the sacrament; and the reason is this:

"Receiving of Christ's body hath a promise of remission of sins with it annexed.

"Christ, eating the sacrament, had no promise of remission of sin.

"Ergo, Christ, in the sacrament, did not eat his own body.

"To this reason Moreman answered, denying the former part of the argument, that the sacrament had a promise of remission of sins annexed unto it.

"Then Philpot showed this to be the promise in the sacrament: Which is given for you, which is shed for you, for the remission of sins. But Moreman would not acknowledge that to be any promise, so that he drave Philpot to John vi., to vouch his saying with these words; The bread which I will give, is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world.

"Moreman answering nothing directly to this argument, Harpsfield started up to supply that which was wanted in his behalf; and thinking to have answered Philpot, confirmed more strongly his argument, saying, 'Ye mistake the promise which is annexed to the body of Christ in the sacrament: for it pertained not to Christ, but to his disciples, to whom Christ said, This is my body which is given for you; and not for Christ himself.'

""You have said well for me,' quoth Philpot, 'for that is mine argument. The promise of the body of Christ took no effect in Christ: ergo, Christ ate not his own body.'

"Then the prolocutor, to shoulder out the matter, said, the argument was nought; for by the like argument he might go about to prove, that Christ was not baptized, because the remission of sin, which is annexed unto baptism, took no effect in Christ. To the which Philpot replied, that like as Christ was baptized, so he ate the sacrament: but he took on him baptism, not that he had any need thereof, or that it took any effect in him; but as our Master, to give the church an

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example to follow him in the ministration of the sacrament, and thereby to exhibit unto us himself; and not to give himself to himself.

"No more was said in this; but afterward the prolocutor demanded of Philpot, whether he would argue against the natural presence, or no? To whom he answered, Yea, if he would hear his argument without interruption, and assign one to answer him, and not many; which is a confusion to the opponent, and especially for him that was of an ill memory.

"By this time the night was come on; wherefore the prolocutor brake up the disputation for that time, and appointed Philpot to be the first that should begin the disputation the next day after, concerning the presence of Christ in the sacrament."

The act of the fourth day.

"On Wednesday, the twenty-fifth of October, John Philpot, as it was before appointed, was ready to have entered the disputation, minding first to have made a certain oration, and a true declaration in Latin of the matter of Christ's presence, which was then in question. Which thing the prolocutor perceiving, by and by he forbade Philpot to make any oration or declaration of any matter; commanding him, also, that he should make no argument in Latin, but to conclude on his arguments in English.

"Then said Philpot, 'This is contrary to your order taken at the beginning of this disputation. For then you appointed that all the arguments should be made in Latin, and thereupon I have drawn and devised all my arguments in Latin. And because you, master prolocutor, have said heretofore openly in this house, that I had no learning, I had thought to have showed such learning as I have, in a brief oration, and a short declaration of the questions now in controversy; thinking it so most convenient also, that in case I should speak otherwise in my declaration than should stand with learning, or than I were able to warrant and justify by God's word, it might the better be reformed by such as were learned of the house, so that the unlearned sort, being present, might take the less offence thereat.'

"But this allegation prevailed nothing with the prolocutor, who bade him still form an argument in English, or else to hold his peace. Then said Philpot, 'You have sore disappointed me, thus suddenly to go from your former order: but I will accomplish your commandment, leaving mine oration apart; and I will come to my arguments, the which, as well as so sudden a warning will serve, I will make in English. But before I bring forth any argument, I will, in one word, declare what manner of presence I disallow in the sacrament, to the intent the hearers may the better understand to what end and effect mine arguments shall tend; not to deny utterly the presence of Christ in his sacraments, truly ministered according to his institution; but only to deny that gross and carnal presence, which you of this house have already subscribed unto, to be in the sacrament of the altar, contrary to the truth and manifest meaning of the Scriptures: That by transubstantiation of the sacramental bread and wine, Christ's natural body should, by the virtue of the words pronounced by the priest, be contained and included under the forms or accidents of bread and wine. This kind of presence, imagined by men, I do deny,' quoth Philpot, 'and against this I will reason.'

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"But before he could make an end of that he would have said, he was interrupted of the prolocutor, and commanded to descend to his argument. At whose unjust importunity Philpot being offended, and thinking to purchase him a remedy therefor, he fell down upon his knees before the earls and lords which were there present, being a great number, whereof some were of the queen's council, beseeching them that he might have liberty to prosecute his arguments, without interruption of any man; the which was gently granted him of the lords. But the prolocutor, putting in use a point of the practice of prelates, would not condescend thereunto, but still cried, 'Hold your peace, or else make a short argument' 'I am about it,' quoth Philpot, 'if you will let me alone. But first, I must needs ask a question of my respondent (who was Dr. Chedsey) concerning a word or twain of your supposition; that is, of the sacrament of the altar: What he meaneth thereby, and whether he taketh it as some of the ancient writers do, terming the Lord's supper the sacrament of the altar—partly because it is a sacrament of that lively sacrifice which Christ offered for our sins upon the altar of the cross,—and partly because that Christ's body, crucified for us, was that bloody sacrifice, which the blood-shedding of all the beasts offered upon the altar in the old law, did prefigure and signify unto us, in signification whereof the old writers sometimes do call the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, among other names which they ascribe thereunto, the sacrament of the altar? Or whether you take it otherwise; as for the sacrament of the altar which is made of lime and stone, over the which the sacrament hangeth, and to be all one with the sacrament of the mass, as it is at this present in many places? This done, I will direct mine arguments according as your answer shall give me occasion.'

"Then made Dr. Chedsey this answer, that in their supposition they took the sacrament of the altar, and the sacrament of the mass, to be all one.

"Then,' quoth Philpot, 'I will speak plain English as master prolocutor willeth me, and make a short resolution thereof: That that sacrament of the altar, which ye reckon to be all one with the mass, once justly abolished, and now put in full use again, is no sacrament at all, neither is Christ in any wise present in it.' And this his saying he offered to prove before the whole house, if they listed to call him thereunto; and likewise he offered to vouch the same before the queen's Grace, and her most honourable council, [or] before the face of six of the best learned men of the house, of the contrary opinion, and refused none. And if I shall not be able,' quoth he, 'to maintain by God's word that I have said, and confound those six which shall take upon them to withstand me in this point, let me be burned with as many faggots as be in London, before the court gates.' This he uttered with great vehemency of spirit.

"At this the prolocutor, with divers others, was very much offended, demanding of him, whether he wist what he said, or no? 'Yea,' quoth Philpot, 'I wot well what I say,' desiring no man to be offended with his saying, for that he spake no more than by God's word he was able to prove. And praised be God,' quoth he, 'that the queen's Grace hath granted us of this house, (as our prolocutor hath informed us,) that we may freely utter our consciences in these matters of controversy in religion: and therefore I will speak here my conscience freely, grounded upon God's holy word, for the truth; albeit some of you here present mislike the same.'

"Then divers of the house, besides the prolocutor, taunted and reprehended him for speaking so unfearingly against the sacrament of the mass, and the prolocutor said, he was mad; and threatened him, that he would send him to prison, if he would not cease his speaking.

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"Philpot, seeing himself thus abused, and not permitted with free liberty to declare his mind, fell into an exclamation, casting his eyes up towards the heaven, and said, 'O Lord, what a world is this, that the truth of thy holy word may not be spoken and abiden by!' And for very sorrow and heaviness the tears trickled out of his eyes.

"After this the prolocutor, being moved by some that were about him, was content that he should make an argument, so that he would be brief therein.

"I will be as brief,' quoth Philpot, 'as I may conveniently be, in uttering all that I have to say. And first, I will begin to ground my arguments upon the authority of Scriptures, whereupon all the building of our faith ought to be grounded; and after, I shall confirm the same by ancient doctors of the church. And I take the occasion of my first argument out of Matthew xxviii., of the saying of the angel to the three Marys, seeking Christ at the sepulchre, saying, He is risen, he is not here: and Luke xxiii., the angel asketh them, Why they sought him that liveth among the dead. Likewise the Scripture testifieth, that Christ is risen, ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father: all the which is spoken of his natural body: ergo, it is not on earth included in the sacrament.

"I will confirm this yet more effectually, by the saying of Christ in John xvi.; I came, saith Christ, from my Father into the world, and now I leave the world and go away to my Father: the which coming and going he meant of his natural body. Therefore we may affirm thereby, that it is not now in the world.

"But I look here,' quoth he, to be answered with a blind distinction of visibly and invisibly, that he is visibly departed in his humanity, but invisibly he remaineth notwithstanding in the sacrament. But that answer I prevent myself, that with more expedition I may descend to the pith of mine arguments, whereof I have a dozen to propose; and will prove that no such distinction ought to take away the force of that argument, by the answer which Christ's disciples gave unto him, speaking these words: Now thou speakest plainly, and utterest forth no proverb; which words St. Cyril, interpreting, saith, 'That Christ spake without any manner of ambiguity and obscure speech.' And therefore I conclude hereby thus, that if Christ spake plainly, and without parable, saying, I leave the world now and go away to my Father, then that obscure, dark, and imperceptible presence of Christ's natural body, to remain in the sacrament upon earth invisibly, contrary to the plain words of Christ, ought not to be allowed. For nothing can be more uncertain, or more parabolical and insensible, than so to say. Here now will I attend what you will answer, and so descend to the confirmation of all that I have said by ancient writers..

"Then Dr. Chedsey, reciting his argument in such order as it was made, took upon him to answer severally to every part thereof on this wise. First, to the saying of the angel, That Christ is not here; and, Why seek ye the living among the dead? he answered, that these sayings pertained nothing to the presence of Christ's natural body in the sacrament; but that they were spoken of Christ's body being in the sepulchre, when the three Marys thought him to have been in the grave still. And therefore the angel said, Why do ye seek him that liveth among the dead? And to the authority of John xvi., where Christ saith, Now I leave the world and go to my Father, he meant that of his ascension. And so likewise did Cyril, interpreting the saying of the disciples, that knew plainly that Christ would visibly ascend into heaven. But that doth not exclude the invisible

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presence of his natural body in the sacrament; for St. Chrysostom, writing to the people of Antioch, doth affirm the same, comparing Elijah and Christ together, and Elijah's cloak unto Christ's flesh: 'Elijah,' quoth he, 'when he was taken up in the fiery chariot, left his cloak behind him unto his disciple Elisha. But Christ, ascending into heaven, took his flesh with him, and left also his flesh behind him.' Whereby we may right well gather, that Christ's flesh is visibly ascended into heaven, and invisibly abideth still in the sacrament of the altar.

"To this Philpot replied, and said, You have not directly answered to the saying of the angel, Christ is risen, and is not here, because you have omitted that which was the chiefest point of all. For,' said he, 'I proceeded further, as thus: He is risen, ascended, and sitteth at the right hand of God the Father: ergo, he is not remaining on the earth. Neither is your answer to Cyril, by me alleged, sufficient; but by and by I will return to your interpretation of Cyril, and more plainly declare the same, after that I have first refuted the authority of Chrysostom, which is one of your chief principles that you alleged, to make for your gross carnal presence in the sacrament; which being well weighed and understood, pertaineth nothing thereunto.'

"At that the prolocutor startled, that one of the chief pillars in this point should be overthrown; and therefore recited the said authority in Latin first, and afterward Englished the same, willing all that were present to note that saying of Chrysostom, which he thought invincible on their side. But I shall make it appear,' quoth Philpot, 'by and by, that it doth make little for your purpose.' And as he was about to declare his mind in that behalf, the prolocutor did interrupt him, as he did almost continually; wherewith Philpot, not being content, said, Master prolocutor thinketh that he is in a sophistry school, where he knoweth right well the manner is, that when the respondent perceiveth that he is like to be enforced with an argument, to the which he is not able to answer, then he loth what he can, with cavillation and interruption, to drive him from the same.'

"This saying of Philpot was ill taken of the prolocutor and his adherents; and the prolocutor said, that Philpot could bring nothing to avoid that authority, but his own vain imagination. 'Hear,' quoth Philpot, 'and afterward judge. For I will do in this, as in all other authorities wherewith you shall charge me in refelling any of my arguments that I have to prosecute, answering either unto the same by sufficient authorities of Scripture, or else by some other testimony of like authority of yours, and not of mine own imagination; the which if I do, I will it to be of no great credit. And concerning the saying of Chrysostom, I have two ways to beat him from your purpose; the one out of Scripture, the other out of Chrysostom himself, in the place here by you alleged. First, where he seemeth to say, that Christ ascending took his flesh with him, and left also his flesh behind him, truth it is: for we all do confess and believe, that Christ took on him our human nature in the Virgin Mary's womb, and, through his passion in the same, hath united us to his flesh; and thereby are we become one flesh with him: so that Chrysostom might therefore right well say, that Christ, ascending, took his flesh, which he received of the Virgin Mary, away with him; and also left his flesh behind him, which are we that he his elect in this world, which are the members of Christ, and flesh of his flesh; as very aptly St. Paul to the Ephesians, in the fifth chapter, doth testify, saying, We are flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bones. And if percase any man will reply, that he entreateth there of the sacrament, so that this interpretation cannot so aptly be applied unto him in that place, then will I yet interpret Chrysostom another way by himself. For in that place, a few lines before those

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words which were here now lately read, are these words; that Christ, after he ascended into heaven, left unto us, endued with his sacraments, his flesh in mysteries; that is, sacramentally. And that mystical flesh Christ leaveth as well to his church in the sacrament of baptism, as in the sacramental bread and wine. And that St. Paul justly doth witness, saying, As many of us as are baptized in Christ have put upon us Christ: and thus you may understand that St. Chrysostom maketh nothing for your carnal and gross presence in the sacrament, as you wrongfully take him.'

"Now in this mean while Master Pie rounded the prolocutor in the ear, to put Philpot to silence, and to appoint some other, mistrusting lest he would shrewdly shake their carnal presence in conclusion, if he held on long, seeing in the beginning he gave one of their chief foundations such a pluck. Then the prolocutor said to Philpot, that he had reasoned sufficiently enough, and that some other should now supply his room. Wherewith he was not well content, saying: 'Why, sir, I have a dozen arguments concerning this matter to be proposed, and I have yet scarce overgone my first argument; for I have not brought in any confirmation thereof out of any ancient writer, (whereof I have for the same purpose many,) being hitherto still letted by your oft interrupting of me.'

"'Well,' quoth the prolocutor, 'you shall speak no more now, and I command you to hold your peace.'

"'You perceive,' quoth Philpot, that I have stuff enough for you, and am able to withstand your false supposition, and therefore you command me to silence.' 'If you will not give place,' quoth the prolocutor, 'I will send you to prison.' 'This is not,' quoth Philpot, 'according to your promise made in this house, nor yet according to your brag made at Paul's Cross, that men should be answered in this disputation to whatsoever they can say; since you will not suffer me, of a dozen arguments, to prosecute one.'

"Then Master Pie took upon him to promise that he should be answered another day. Philpot seeing he might not proceed in his purpose, being therewith justly offended, ended, saying thus: 'A sort of you here, which hitherto have lurked in corners, and dissembled with God and the world, are now gathered together to suppress the sincere truth of God's holy word, and to set forth every false device, which, by the catholic doctrine of the Scripture, ye are not able to maintain.'

"Then stepped forth Master Elmar, chaplain to the duke of Suffolk, whom Master Moreman took upon him to answer; against whom Master Elmar objected divers and sundry authorities for the confirming of the argument he took the day before in hand, to prove that ουσια [Greek: ousia] in the sentence of Theodoret, brought in by Master Cheney, must needs signify substance, and not accidents: whose reasons and probations, because they were all grounded and brought out of the Greek, I do pass over, for that they want their grace in English, and also their proper understanding. But his allegations so encumbered Master Moreman, that he desired a day to overview them, for at that instant he was without a convenient answer.

"Then did the prolocutor call Master Haddon, dean of Exeter, and chaplain to the duke of Suffolk, who prosecuted Theodoret's authority in confirming Master Elmar's argument: to whom Dr. Watson took upon him to give answer; who, after long talk, was so confounded, that he was

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not able to answer to the word *mysterium*: but, forasmuch as he seemed to doubt therein, Master Haddon took out of his bosom a Latin author to confirm his saying, and showed the same to Master Watson, asking him whether he thought the translation to be true, or that the printer were in any fault. 'There may be a fault in the printer,' quoth Watson, 'for I am not remembered of this word.' Then did Master Haddon take out of his bosom a Greek book, wherein he showed forth with his finger the same words; which Master Watson could not deny. His arguments further I omit to declare at large, because they were for the most part in Greek, about the bolting of the true signification of ουσια [Greek: ousia].

"Then stept forth Master Pern, and in argument made declaration of his mind against transubstantiation, and confirmed the sayings and authorities alleged by Master Elmar and Master Haddon; to whom the prolocutor answered, saying, I much marvel, Master Pern, that you will say thus; forasmuch as, on Friday last, you subscribed to the contrary.' Which his saying Master Elmar did mislike, saying to the prolocutor, that he was to blame, so to reprehend any man, 'partly for that this house,' quoth he, 'is a house of free liberty for every man to speak his conscience, and partly for that you promised yesterday, that, notwithstanding any man had subscribed, yet he should have free liberty to speak his mind.' And for that the night did approach, and the time was spent, the prolocutor, giving them praises for their learning, did yet notwithstanding conclude, that, all reasoning set apart, the order of the holy church must be received, and all things must be ordered thereby."

The act of the fifth day.

"On Friday, the twenty-seventh of October, Dr. Weston the prolocutor did first propound the matter, showing that the convocation hath spent two days in disputation already about one only doctor, who was Theodoret, and about one only word, which was ουσια [Greek: ousia]: yet were they come, the third day, to answer all things that could be objected, so that they would shortly put their arguments. So Master Haddon, dean of Exeter, desired leave to oppose Master Watson, which, with two other more, that is, Morgan and Harpsfield, was appointed to answer.

"Master Haddon demanded this of him, 'Whether any substance of bread or wine did remain after the consecration.' Then Master Watson asked of him again, Whether he thought there to be a real presence of Christ's body or no? Master Haddon said, It was not meet nor order-like, that he who was appointed to be respondent, should be opponent; and he whose duty it was to object, should answer.—Yet Master Watson, a long while, would not agree to answer; but, that thing first being granted him, at last an order was set, and Master Haddon had leave to go forward with his argument.

"Then he proved, by Theodoret's words, a substance of bread and wine to remain. For these are his words: 'The same they were before the sanctification, which they are after.' Master Watson said, that Theodoret meant not the same substance, but the same essence.

"Whereupon they were driven again unto the discussing of the Greek word ουσια [Greek: ousia]; and Master Haddon proved it to mean a substance, both by the etymology of the word, and by the words of the doctor. 'For ουσια [Greek: ousia],' quoth he, cometh of the particle ων,[Greek:on] which descendeth of the verb εἰμι [Greek:eimi]; and so cometh the noun οὐσία,

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which signifieth substance.' Then Master Watson answered, that it had not that signification only: but Master Haddon proved that it must needs so signify in that place.

"Then Haddon asked Watson, When the bread and wine became symbols? Whereunto he answered, 'After the consecration, and not before.' Then gathered Master Haddon this reason out of his author:

"The same thing, saith Theodoret, that the bread and wine were before they were symbols, the same they remain still in nature and substance, after they are symbols.

"Bread and wine they were before:

"Therefore bread and wine they are after.

"Then Master Watson fell to the denial of the author, and said he was a Nestorian; and he desired that he might answer to Master Cheney who stood by, for that he was more meet to dispute in the matter, because he had granted and subscribed unto the real presence.

"Master Cheney desired patience of the honourable men to hear him, trusting that he should so open the matter, that the verity should appear: protesting furthermore, that he was no obstinate or stubborn man, but would be conformable to all reason; and if they, by their learning, (which he acknowledged to be much more than his,) could answer his reasons, then he would be ruled by them, and say as they said; for he would be no author of schism, nor hold any thing contrary to the holy mother the church, which is Christ's spouse.

"Dr. Weston liked this well, and commended him highly, saying that he was a well-learned and sober man, and well exercised in all good learning, and in the doctors; and finally, a man meet, for his knowledge, to dispute in that place: 'I pray you hear him,' quoth he.

"Then Master Cheney desired such as there were present, to pray two words with him unto God, and to say, *Vincat veritas*: 'Let the verity take place, and have the victory;' and all that were present cried with a loud voice, *Vincat veritas, Vincat veritas*.

"Then said Dr. Weston to him, that it was hypocritical. 'Men may better say,' quoth he, '*Vicit veritas*, Truth hath gotten the victory.' Master Cheney said again, if he would give him leave, he would bring it to that point, that he might well say so.

"Then he began with Master Watson after this sort: 'You said, that Master Haddon was unmeet to dispute, because he granteth not the natural and real presence; but I say, you are much more unmeet to answer, because you take away the substance of the sacrament.'

"Master Watson said, he [Cheney] had subscribed to the real presence, and should not go away from that: so said Weston also, and the rest of the priests; insomuch that for a great while he could have no leave to say any more, till the lords spake, and willed that he should be heard.

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"Then Master Cheney told them what he meant by his subscribing to the real presence, far otherwise than they supposed. So then he went forward, and prosecuted Master Haddon's argument, in proving that ουσια [Greek: ousia] was a substance; using the same reason that Master Haddon did before him. And when he had received the same answer also that was made to Master Haddon, he said, it was but a lewd refuge, when they could not answer, to deny the author: and proved the author to be a catholic doctor; and, that being proved, he confirmed that which was said of the nature and substance further. 'The similitude of Theodoret is this,' quoth he: 'As the tokens of Christ's body and blood, after the invocation of the priests, do change their names, and yet continue the same substance; so the body of Christ, after his ascension, changed its name, and was called immortal, yet had it its former fashion, figure, and circumscription; and to speak at one word, the same substance of his body. Therefore,' said Master Cheney, 'if, in the former part of the similitude, you deny the same substance to continue, then, in the latter part of the similitude, which agreeth with it, I will deny the body of Christ, after his ascension, to have the former nature and substance. But that were a great heresy; therefore it is also a great heresy to take away the substance of blood and wine after the sanctification.'

"Then was Master Watson enforced to say, that the substance of the body, in the former part of the similitude brought in by him, did signify quantity, and other accidents of the sacramental tokens which be seen, and not the very substance of the same; and therefore Theodoret saith, 'those things which be seen.' For, according to philosophy, the accidents of things be seen, and not the substances.

"Then Master Cheney appealed to the honourable men, and desired that they should give no credit to them in so saying; for if they should so think as they would teach, after their Lordships had ridden forty miles on horseback, (as their business doth sometimes require,) they should not be able to say at night, that they saw their horses all the day, but only the colour of their horses. And, by his reason, Christ must go to school, and learn of Aristotle to speak: for when he saw Nathanael under the fig-tree, if Aristotle had stood by, he would have said, 'No, Christ; thou sawest not him, but the colour of him.'

"After this, Watson said, 'What if it were granted that Theodoret was on the other side? Where they had one of that opinion, there were a hundred on the other.'

"Then the prolocutor called for Master Morgan to help, and said, that Theodoret did no more than he might lawfully do. For first, he granted the truth; and then, for fear of such as were not fully instructed in the faith, he spake αινιγματικώς [Greek: ainigmatikos]; that is, covertly, and in a mystery; and this was lawful for him to do: for first he granted the truth, and called them the body of Christ, and the blood of Christ. Then, afterwards, he seemed to give somewhat to the senses, and to reason: 'but, that Theodoret is of the same mind that they were of, the words following,' quoth he, 'do declare; for that which followeth is a cause of that which went before. And therefore he saith, 'The immortality,' &c., whereby it doth appear, that he meant the Divine nature, and not the human.'

"Then was Morgan taken with misalleging of the text: for the book had not this word 'for;' for the Greek word did rather signify 'truly' and not 'for;' so that it might manifestly appear,

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that it was the beginning of a new matter, and not a sentence rendering a cause of that he had said before.

"Then it was said by Watson again, 'Suppose that Theodoret be with you, who is one that we never heard of printed, but two or three years ago; yet is he but one, and what is one against the whole consent of the church?' After this, Master Cheney inferred, that not only Theodoret was of that mind, that the substance of bread and wine do remain, but divers others also, and especially Irenæus, who, making mention of this sacrament, saith thus: 'When the cup which is mingled with wine, and the bread that is broken, do receive the word of God, it is made the eucharist of the body and blood of Christ, by the which the substance of our flesh is nourished, and doth consist.' If the thanksgiving do nourish our body, then there is some substance besides Christ's body.

"To the which reason both Watson and Morgan answered, that *ex quibus*, 'by the which,' in the sentence of Irenæus, was referred to the next antecedent, that is, to the body and blood of Christ; and not to the wine which is in the cup, and the bread that is broken.

"Master Cheney replied, that it was not the body of Christ which nourished our bodies. 'And let it be that Christ's flesh nourished' to immortality, yet it doth not answer to that argument, although it be true, no more than that answer which was made to my allegation out of St. Paul, The bread which the break, &c., with certain other like: whereunto you answered, That bread was not taken there in its proper signification, but for that it had been; no more than the rod of Aaron was taken for the serpent, because it had been a serpent.'

"After this, Master Cheney brought in Hesychius, and used the same reason that he did, of burning of symbols; and he asked them, What was burnt. Master Watson said, we must not inquire nor ask, but if there were any fault, impute it to Christ. Then said Master Cheney, Whereof came those ashes—not of substance? or can any substance arise of accidents?

"Then was Master Harpsfield called in to see what he could say in the matter; who told a fair tale of the omnipotency of God, and of the imbecility and weakness of man's reason, not able to attain to godly things. And he said, that it was convenient, whatsoever we saw, felt, or tasted, not to trust our senses. And he told a tale out of St. Cyprian, how a woman saw the sacrament burning in her coffer; 'and that which burned there,' quoth Harpsfield, 'burneth here, and becometh ashes.' But what that was that burnt, he could not tell. But Master Cheney continued still, and forced them with this question, What it was that was burnt? 'It was either,' said he, the substance of bread, or else the substance of the body of Christ, which were too much absurdity to grant.' At length they answered, that it was a miracle; whereat Master Cheney smiled, and said, that he could then say no more.

"Then Dr. Weston asked of the company there, whether those men were sufficiently answered, or no. Certain priests cried, 'Yea,' but they were not heard at all for the great multitude which cried, 'No, No,' which cry was heard and noised almost to the end of Paul's. Whereat Dr. Weston, being much moved, answered bitterly, that he asked not the judgment of the rude multitude and unlearned people, but of them which were of the house. Then asked he of Master Haddon and his fellows, whether they would answer them other three days? Haddon, Cheney,

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and Elmar said, 'No.' But the archdeacon of Winchester stood up and said, that they should not say, but they should be answered; and though all others did refuse to answer, yet he would not, but offered to answer them all one after another. With his proffer the prolocutor was not contented, but railed on him, and said, that he should go to Bedlam: to whom the archdeacon soberly made this answer, that he was more worthy to be sent thither, who used himself so ragingly in that disputation, without any indifferent equality. Then rose Dr. Weston up, and said:

"All the company have subscribed to our article, saving only these men which you see. What their reasons are, you have heard. We have answered them three days, upon promise (as it pleased him to descant without truth, for no such promise was made) that they should answer us again as long as the order of disputation doth require; and if they be able to defend their doctrine, let them so do.'

"Then Master Elmar stood up, and proved how vain a man Weston was; for he affirmed that they never promised to dispute, but only to open and testify to the world their consciences. For when they were required to subscribe, they refused, and said that they would show good reasons which moved them, that they could not with their consciences subscribe; as they had partly already done, and were able to do more sufficiently: 'Therefore,' quoth he, 'it hath been ill called a disputation, and they were worthy to be blamed that were the authors of that name. For we meant not to dispute, nor now mean to answer, before our arguments,' quoth he, 'which we have to propound, be solved, according as it was appointed. For by answering we should but encumber ourselves, and profit nothing; since the matter is already decreed upon and determined, whatsoever we shall prove, or dispute to the contrary.'"

The act of the sixth day.

"On Monday following, being the thirtieth of October, the prolocutor demanded of John Philpot, archdeacon of Winchester, whether he would answer in the questions before propounded to their objections, or no? To whom he made this answer, That he would willingly so do, if, according to their former determination, they would first answer sufficiently to some of his arguments, as they had promised to do, whereof he had a dozen, not half of the first being yet decided: and if they would answer fully and sufficiently but to one of his arguments, he promised that he would answer to all the objections that they should bring. Then the prolocutor bade him propound his argument, and it should be resolutely answered by one of them; whereunto Master Morgan was appointed.

"Upon Wednesday last,' quoth Philpot, 'I was enforced to silence before I had prosecuted half mine argument; the sum whereof was this (as was gathered by the just context of the Scripture)—That the human body of Christ was ascended into heaven, and placed on the right hand of God the Father: wherefore it could not be situate upon earth in the sacrament of the altar, invisible after the imagination of man.' The argument was denied by Morgan: for the proof whereof, Philpot said, that this was it wherewith he had to confirm his first argument, if they would have suffered him the other day, as now he trusted they would.

"One self and same nature,' quoth he, 'receiveth not in itself any thing that is contrary to itself.

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"But the body of Christ is a human nature, distinct from the Deity, and is a proper nature of itself:

"Ergo, it cannot receive any thing that is contrary to that nature, and that varieth from itself.

"But bodily to be present, and bodily to be absent; to be on earth, and to be in heaven, and all at one present time; be things contrary to the nature of a human body: ergo, it cannot be said of the human body of Christ, that the selfsame body is both in heaven, and also in earth, at one instant, either visibly or invisibly.'

"Morgan denied the major, that is, the first part of the argument; the which Philpot vouched out of Vigilius, an ancient writer. But Morgan cavilled that it was no Scripture, and bade him prove the same out of Scripture.

"Philpot said, he could also so do, and right well deduce the same out of St. Paul, who saith, that Christ is like unto us in all points, except sin: and therefore, like as one of our bodies cannot receive in itself any thing contrary to the nature of the body, as to be in Paul's church and at Westminster at one instant, or to be at London visibly and at Lincoln invisibly at one time, (for that is contrary to the nature of a body, and of all creatures, as Didimus and Basil affirm, that an invisible creature, as an angel, cannot be at one time in divers places,) wherefore he concluded that the body of Christ might not be in more places than in one, which is in heaven; and so consequently not to be contained in the sacrament of the altar.

"To this the prolocutor took upon him to answer, saying, that it was not true that Christ was like unto us in all points, as Philpot took it, except sin. For that Christ was not conceived by the seed of man, as we be.

"Whereunto Philpot again replied, that Christ's conception was prophesied before, by the angel, to be supernatural; but after he had received our nature by the operation of the Holy Ghost in the Virgin's womb, he became in all points like unto us, except sin.

"Then Morgan inferred that this saying of Paul did not plainly prove his purpose.

"Well,' quoth Philpot, 'I perceive that you do answer but by cavillation, yet am I not destitute of other Scriptures to confirm my first argument, although you refuse the probation of so ancient and catholic a doctor as Vigilius is. St. Peter, in the sermon that he made in Acts iii., making mention of Christ, saith these words, Whom heaven must receive, until the consummation of all things, &c.: which words are spoken of his humanity. If heaven must hold Christ, then can he not be here on earth, in the sacrament, as is pretended.'

"Then Morgan, laughing at this, and giving no direct answer at all, Harpsfield stood up, being one of the bishop of London's chaplains, and took upon him to answer to the saying of St. Peter, and demanded of Philpot, whether he would, *ex necessitate*, that is, of necessity, force Christ to any place, or no.

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"Philpot said, that he would no otherwise force Christ of necessity to any place, than he is taught by the words of the Holy Ghost, which sound thus: That Christ's human body must abide in heaven until the day of judgment,—as he rehearsed out of the chapter before mentioned.

""Why,' quoth Harpsfield, 'do ye not know that God is God omnipotent?' 'Yes,' said Philpot, 'I know that right well; neither doubt I any thing at all of his omnipotency. But of Christ's omnipotency, what he may do, is not our question, but rather what he doth. I know he may make a stone in the wall a man, if he list, and also that he may make more worlds: but doth he therefore so? It were no good consequent so to conclude, He may do this or that, therefore he doth it.

"Only so much is to be believed of God's omnipotency, as is in the word expressed.

"That Christ's body is both in heaven, and here also really in the sacrament, is not expressed in the word:

"Ergo, it is not to be believed, that the body of Christ, being in heaven, is here also really in the sacrament.'

""Why,' quoth the prolocutor, then you will put Christ in prison in heaven.' To the which Philpot answered, 'Do you reckon heaven to be a prison? God grant us all to come to that prison.'

"After this Harpsfield inferred that this word *oportet* in St. Peter, which signifieth in English 'must,' did not import so much as I would infer, of necessity, as by other places of Scripture it may appear, as in 1 Tim. iii., where Paul saith, A bishop must be the husband of one wife. 'Here,' quoth he, '*oportet* doth not import such a necessity; but that he that never was married, may be a bishop.'

"To this Philpot said again, that the places were not alike which he went about to compare; and that in comparing of the Scriptures we must not consider the naked words, but the meaning rather of the Scriptures, for that, in the place by him alleged, St. Paul doth declare of what quality a bishop ought to be. But in the other, St. Peter teacheth us the place where Christ must necessarily be until the end of the world: which we ought to believe to be true. And this comparison of this word *oportet* doth no more answer mine argument, than if I should say of you now being here, *Oportet te hic esase*, You must needs be here; which importeth such a necessity for the time, that you can no otherwise be but here: and yet you would go about in words to avoid this necessity with another *oportet* in another sense, as this; *Oportet te esse virum bonum*, You must be a good man; where *oportet* doth not in very deed conclude any such necessity, but that you may be an evil man. Thus you may see that your answer is not sufficient, and as it were no answer to my argument.'

"Then the prolocutor brought in another *oportet*, to help this matter, (if it might be,) saying, 'What say you to this, *Oportet hæreses esse*: must heresies needs be therefore, because of this word *oportet*?'

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"'Yea, truly,' quoth Philpot, 'it cannot otherwise be, if you will add that which followeth immediately upon these words of Paul, that is, That such as be the elect of God may be manifested and known.'

"'Why,' quoth the prolocutor, the time hath been, that no heresies were.' 'I know no such time,' quoth Philpot; 'for since the time of Abel and Cain heresies have been, and then began they.'

"Then said the prolocutor, Will you now answer Morgan an argument or two? 'I will,' quoth Philpot, 'if I may first be answered to my argument any thing according to truth and learning.' 'What!' quoth the prolocutor, 'you will never be answered.'

"How I am answered,' quoth Philpot, 'let all men that are here present judge, and especially such as be learned; and with what cavillations you have dallied with me. First, to the ancient authority of Vigilitis you have answered nothing at all, but only denying it to be Scripture, that he saith. Secondly, to the saying of St. Peter in the Acts, ye have answered thus—demanding of me whether I would keep Christ in prison, or no. Let men now judge, if this be a sufficient answer or no.'

"Then stood Morgan up again, and asked Philpot whether he would be ruled by the universal church, or no?

"'Yes,' quoth he, 'if it be the true catholic church. And since you speak so much of the church, I would fain that you would declare what the church is.'

"The church,' quoth Morgan, 'is diffused and dispersed throughout the whole world.'

"That is a diffuse definition,' quoth Philpot, 'for I am yet as uncertain as I was before, what you mean by the church: but I acknowledge no church but that which is grounded and founded on God's word; as St. Paul saith, Upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, and upon the Scriptures of God.'

"What!' quoth Moreman, 'was the Scripture before the church?' 'Yea,' quoth Philpot.

"But I will prove nay,' quoth Moreman, 'and I will begin at Christ's time. The church of Christ was before any Scripture written; for Matthew was the first that wrote the gospel, about a dozen years after Christ: ergo, the church was before the Scripture.'

"To whom Philpot answering, denied his argument; which when Moreman could not prove, Philpot showed that his argument was *elenchus*, or a fallacy, that is, a deceivable argument. For he took the Scripture only to be that which is written by men in letters; whereas in very deed, all prophecy uttered by the Spirit of God, was counted to be Scripture before it was written in paper and ink, for that it was written in the hearts, and graven in the minds, yea, and inspired in the mouths, of good men and of Christ's apostles, by the Spirit of Christ; as the salutation of the angel was the Scripture of Christ, and the word of God, before it was written.

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"At that Moreman cried, 'Fie! fie!' wondering that the Scripture of God should be counted Scripture before it was written; and affirmed, that he had no knowledge that said so.

"To whom Philpot answered, that concerning knowledge in this behalf, for the trial of the truth about the questions in controversy, he would wish himself no worse matched than with Moreman.

"At the which saying the prolocutor was grievously offended, saying, that it was arrogantly spoken of him, that would compare with such a worshipful learned man as Moreman was, being himself a man unlearned, yea, a madman; meeter to be sent to Bethlehem, than to be among such a sort of learned and grave men as were there; and a man that never would be answered, and one that troubled the whole house: and therefore he did command him that he should come no more into the house, demanding of the house whether they would agree thereupon, or no. To whom a great company answered Yea.' Then said Philpot again, that he might think himself happy that was out of that company.

"After this Morgan rose off, and rounded the prolocutor in the ear. And then again the prolocutor spake to Philpot, and said, 'Lest thou shouldest slander the house, and say that we will not suffer you to declare your mind, we are content you shall come into the house as you have done before; so that you be apparelled with a long gown and a tippet, as we be, and that you shall not speak, but when I command you.' 'Then,' quoth Philpot, 'I had rather be absent altogether.'"

Thus they reasoning to and fro, at length, about the thirteenth of December, Queen Mary, to take up the matter, sendeth her commandment to Bonner, bishop of London, that he should dissolve and break up the convocation.

During the time of this disputation, the twentieth day of November, the mayor of Coventry sent up unto the lords of the council Baldwin Clarke, John Careless, Thomas Wilcocks, and Richard Estelin, for their behaviour upon Allhallows-day last before: whereupon Careless and Wilcocks were committed to the Gatehouse, and Clarke and Estelin to the Marshalsea.

The same day there was a letter directed to Sir Christopher Heydon, and Sir William Farmer, knights, for the apprehension of John Huntingdon, preacher, for making a rhyme against Dr. Stokes and the sacrament: who, appearing before the council the third of December next after, was, upon his humble submission and promise to amend as well in doctrine as in living, again suffered to depart.

244. Deposed Bishops Re-appointed, and Appointed Bishops Deposed.

In the days of King Henry, and also King Edward reigning after him, divers noblemen, bishops, and others, were cast into the Tower, some charged with treason, as Lord Courtney, and the duke of Norfolk—whose son, Lord Henry, earl of Surrey, had been the same time beheaded, a worthy and ingenuous gentleman, for what cause, or by whom, I have not here to deal: this is certain, that not many years after his death followed the beheading of both the Lord Seymours, and at last of the duke of Northumberland also—some for the pope's supremacy, and suspicious letters tending to sedition, (as Tonstal, bishop of Durham,) and others for other things, all which continued there prisoners till Queen Mary's coming-in: unto whom the said queen eftsoons granted their pardon, and restored them to their former dignities; amongst whom, also, was Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, whom she not only freed out of captivity, but also advanced him to be high chancellor of England. Furthermore, to the Lord Courtney she showed such favour, that she made him earl of Devonshire, insomuch that there was a suspicion amongst many, that she would marry him; but that proved otherwise.

The same time Bonner, also, had been prisoner in the Marshalsea; whom likewise Queen Mary delivered, and restored to the bishopric of London again, displacing Dr. Ridley, with divers other good bishops more, as is above mentioned: as Cranmer from Canterbury, the archbishop of York likewise, Poynt from Winchester, John Hooper from Worcester, Barlow from Bath, Harley from Hereford, Taylor from Lincoln, Ferrar from St. David's, Coverdale from Exeter, Scorry from Chichester, &c., with a great number of archdeacons, deans, and briefly, all such beneficed men, who either were married, or would constantly adhere to their profession. All which were removed from their livings, and others of the contrary sect set in the same, as Cardinal Pole, (who was then sent for,) Gardiner, Heath, White, Day, Tubervill, etc.

And as touching Cranmer, of whom mention was made before, forasmuch as there was rumour spread of him the same time in London, that he had recanted, and caused mass to be said at Canterbury, for purging of himself he published abroad a declaration of his truth and constancy in that behalf, protesting that he neither had so done, nor minded so to do: adding moreover, that if it would so please the queen, he, with Peter Martyr, and certain others whom he would choose, would, in open disputation, sustain the cause of the doctrine taught and set forth before in the time of King Edward, against all persons whomsoever. But while he was in expectation to have this disputation obtained, he, with other bishops, was laid fast in the Tower, and Peter Martyr permitted to depart the realm; and so went he to Strasburg.

After this, in the month of November, the Archbishop Cranmer, notwithstanding he had earnestly refused to subscribe to the king's will in disinheriting his sister Mary, alleging many grave and pithy reasons for her legitimation, was, in Guildhall of London, arraigned and attainted of treason, with the Lady Jane, and three of the duke of Northumberland's sons, who, at the entreaty of certain persons, were had again to the Tower, and there kept for a time. All which

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notwithstanding, Cranmer, being pardoned of treason, stood only in the action and case of doctrine, which they called heresy, whereof he was right glad and joyful.

This being done in November, the people, and especially the churchmen, perceiving the queen so eagerly set upon her old religion, they likewise, for their parts, to show themselves no less forward to serve the queens appetite, (as the manner is, of the multitude, commonly to frame themselves after the humour of the prince and time present,) began in their choirs to set up the pageant of St. Katharine, and of St. Nicholas, and of their processions in Latin, after all their old solemnity, with their gay gardeviance, and grey amices.

And when the month of December was come, the parliament brake up; but first of all such statutes were repealed, which were made either of præmunire, or touched any alteration of religion and administration of sacraments under King Edward: in the which parliament, also, communication was moved of the queen's marriage with King Philip, the emperor's son.

245. Wyatt's Rebellion

In this mean while Cardinal Pole, being sent for by Queen Mary, was by the emperor requested to stay with him, to the intent (as some think) that his presence in England should not be a let to the marriage which he intended between Philip his son, and Queen Mary. For the making whereof he sent a most ample ambassade, with full power to make up the marriage betwixt them; which took such success, that after they had communed of the matters a few days, they knit up the knot.

The thirteenth of January, 1554, Dr. Crome, for his preaching upon Christmas day without licence, was committed to the Fleet.

The twenty-first of January, Master Thomas Wootton, esquire, was, for matters of religion, committed to the Fleet close prisoner.

This mention of marriage was about the beginning of January, and was very evil taken of the people, and of many of the nobility, who, for this and for religion, conspiring among themselves, made a rebellion, whereof Sir Thomas Wyatt, knight, was one of the chief beginners; who, being in Kent, said, (as many else perceived,) that the queen and the council would, by foreign marriage, bring upon this realm most miserable servitude, and establish popish religion. About the twenty-fifth of January news came to London of this stir in Kent, and shortly after of the duke of Suffolk, who was fled into Warwickshire and Leicestershire, there to gather a power. The queen therefore caused them both, with the Carews of Devonshire, to be proclaimed traitors; and sent into Kent against Wyatt, Thomas, duke of Norfolk, who, being about Rochester bridge forsaken of them that went with him, returned safe to London without any more harm done to him, and without bloodshed on either part.

Furthermore, to apprehend the Duke of Suffolk, being fled into Warwickshire, was sent the earl of Huntingdon in post, who, entering the city of Coventry before the duke, disappointed him of his purpose. Wherefore the duke, in great distress, committed himself to the keeping of a servant of his, named Underwood, in Astley Park, who, like a false traitor, betrayed him. And so he was brought up to the Tower of London.

In the mean while Sir Peter Carew, hearing of that was done, fled into France; but the others were taken, and Wyatt came towards London in the beginning of February. The queen, hearing of Wyatt's coming, came into the city to the Guildhall, where she made a vehement oration against Wyatt; the contents (at least the effect) whereof here followeth, as near as out of her own mouth could be penned.

"I am come unto you in mine own person, to tell you that, which already you see and know; that is, how traitorously and rebelliously a number of Kentishmen have assembled themselves against both us and you. Their pretence (as they said at the first) was for a marriage

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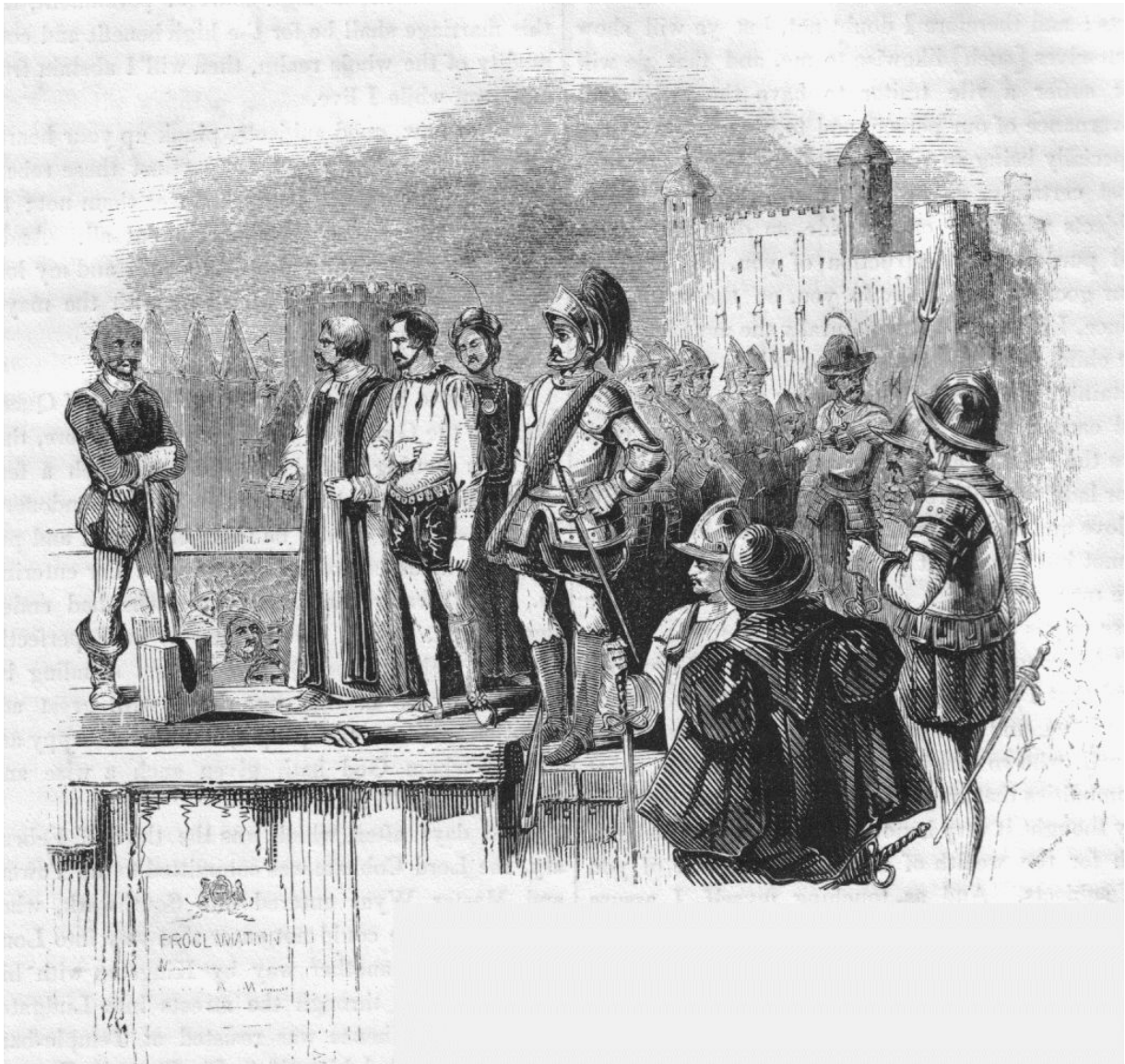
determined for us: to the which, and to all the articles thereof, ye have been made privy. But since, we have caused certain of our privy council to go again unto them, and to demand the cause of this their rebellion; and it appeared then unto our said council, that the matter of the marriage seemed to be but a Spanish cloak to cover their pretended purpose against our religion; for that they arrogantly and traitorously demanded to have the governance of our person, the keeping of the Tower, and the placing of our councillors.

"Now, loving subjects, what I am ye right well know. I am your queen, to whom at my coronation, when I was wedded to the realm and laws of the same, (the spousal ring whereof I have on my finger, which never hitherto was, nor hereafter shall he, left off,) you promised your allegiance and obedience unto me. And that I am the right and true inheritor of the crown of this realm of England, I take all Christendom to witness. My father, as ye all know, possessed the same regal state, which now rightly is descended unto me: and to him always ye showed yourselves most faithful and loving subjects; and therefore I doubt not, but ye will show yourselves [such] likewise to me, and that ye will not suffer a vile traitor to have the order and governance of our person, and to occupy our estate, especially being so vile a traitor as Wyat is; who most certainly, as he hath abused mine ignorant subjects which be on his side, so doth he intend and purpose the destruction of you, and spoil of your goods. And I say to you, on the word of a prince, I cannot tell how naturally the mother loveth the child, for I was never the mother of any; but certainly, if a prince and governor may as naturally and earnestly love her subjects, as the mother doth love the child, then assure yourselves, that I, being your lady and mistress, do as earnestly and tenderly love and favour you. And I, thus loving you, cannot but think that ye as heartily and faithfully love me; and then I doubt not but we shall give these rebels a short and speedy overthrow.

"As concerning the marriage, ye shall understand that I enterprised not the doing thereof without advice, and that by the advice of all our privy council, who so considered and weighed the great commodities that might ensue thereof, that they not only thought it very honourable, but also expedient, both for the wealth of the realm, and also of you our subjects. And as touching myself, I assure you, I am not so bent to my will, neither so precise nor affectionate, that either for mine own pleasure I would choose where I list, or that I am so desirous, as needs I would have one. For God, I thank him, to whom be the praise therefore, I have hitherto lived a virgin, and doubt nothing, but with God's grace, I am able so to live still. But if, as my progenitors have done before, it may please God that I might leave some fruit of my body behind me, to be your governor, I trust you would not only rejoice thereat, but also I know it would be to your great comfort. And certainly, if I either did think or know, that this marriage were to the hurt of any of you my commons, or to the impeachment of any part or parcel of the royal state of this realm of England, I would never consent thereunto, neither would I ever marry while I lived. And on the word of a queen, I promise you, that if it shall not probably appear to all the nobility and commons in the high court of parliament, that this marriage shall be for the high benefit and commodity of the whole realm, then will I abstain from marriage while I live.

"And now, good subjects, pluck up your hearts, and, like true men, stand fast against these rebels, both our enemies and yours, and fear them not; for I assure you, I fear them nothing at all. And I will leave with you my Lord Howard, and my lord treasurer, who shall be assistants with the mayor for your defence."

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Thomas Wyatt on the Scaffold

Here is to be noted, that at the coming of Queen Mary to the Guildhall, it being bruited before, that she was coming with harnessed men, such a fear came among them, that a number of the Londoners, fearing lest they should be there entrapped and put to death, made out of the gate before her entering in. Furthermore note, that when she had ended her oration, (which she seemed to have perfectly conned without book,) Winchester, standing by her, when the oration was done, with great admiration cried to the people, "Oh how happy are we, to whom God hath given such a wise and learned prince!" &c.

Two days after, which was the third of February, the Lord Cobham was committed to the Tower, and Master Wyatt entered into Southwark, who, forasmuch as he could not enter that way

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into London, returning another way by Kingston with his army, came up through the streets into Ludgate, and returning thence was resisted at Temple-bar, and there yielded himself to Sir Clement Parson, and so was brought by him to the court, and with him the residue of his army (for before, Sir George Harper and almost half of his men ran away from him at Kingston bridge) were also taken, and about a hundred killed, and they that were taken were had to prison, and a great many of them were hanged, and he himself afterward executed at the Tower Hill, and then quartered; whose head, after being set up upon Hay Hill, was thence stolen away, and great search made for the same: of which story ye shall hear more (the Lord willing) hereafter.

246. Lady Jane Grey.

The twelfth day of February was beheaded the Lady Jane, to whom was sent Master Fecknam, alias Howman, from the queen, two days before her death, to commune with her, and to reduce her from the doctrine of Christ to Queen Mary's religion: the effect of which communication here followeth:

Fecknam.—"Madam, I lament your heavy case; and yet I doubt not, but that you bear out this sorrow of yours with a constant and patient mind."

Jane.—"You are welcome unto me, sir, if your coming be to give Christian exhortation. And as for my heavy case, I thank God, I do so little lament it, that rather I account the same for a more manifest declaration of God's favour toward me, than ever he showed me at any time before. And therefore there is no cause why either you, or others which bear me good will, should lament or be grieved with this my case, being a thing so profitable for my soul's health."

Fecknam.—"I am here come to you at this present, sent from the queen and her council, to instruct you in the true doctrine of the right faith: although I have so great confidence in you, that I shall have, I trust, little need to travail with you much therein."

Jane.—"Forsooth, I heartily thank the queen's Highness, which is not unmindful of her humble subject: and I hope, likewise, that you no less will do your duty therein both truly and faithfully, according to that you were sent for."

Fecknam.—"What is then required of a Christian man?"

Jane.—"That he should believe in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, three persons and one God."

Fecknam.—"What? Is there nothing else to be required or looked for in a Christian, but to believe in him?"

Jane.—"Yes, we must love him with all our heart, with all our soul, and with all our mind, and our neighbour as ourself."

Fecknam.—"Why? then faith justifieth not, nor saveth not."

Jane.—"Yes verily, faith, as Paul saith, only justifieth."

Fecknam.—"Why? St. Paul saith, If I have all faith without love, it is nothing."

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Jane.—"True it is; for how can I love him whom I trust not, or how can I trust him whom I love not? Faith and love go both together, and yet love is comprehended in faith."

Fecknam.—"How shall we love our neighbour?"

Jane.—"To love our neighbour is to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, and to give drink to the thirsty, and to do to him as we would do to ourselves."

Fecknam.—"Why? then it is necessary unto salvation to do good works also, and it is not sufficient only to believe."

Jane.—"I deny that, and I affirm that faith only saveth: but it is meet for a Christian, in token that he followeth his Master Christ, to do good works; yet may we not say that they profit to our salvation. For when we have done all, yet we be unprofitable servants, and faith only in Christ's blood saveth us."

Fecknam.—"How many sacraments are there?"

Jane.—"Two: the one the sacrament of baptism, and the other the sacrament of the Lord's supper."

Fecknam.—"No, there are seven."

Jane.—"By what Scripture find you that?"

Fecknam.—"Well, we will talk of that hereafter. But what is signified by your two sacraments?"

Jane.—"By the sacrament of baptism I am washed with water and regenerated by the Spirit, and that washing is a token to me that I am the child of God. The sacrament of the Lord's supper, offered unto me, is a sure seal and testimony that I am, by the blood of Christ, which he shed for me on the cross, made partaker of the everlasting kingdom."

Fecknam.—"Why? what do you receive in that sacrament? Do you not receive the very body and blood of Christ?"

Jane.—"No surely, I do not so believe. I think that at the supper I neither receive flesh nor blood, but bread and wine: which bread when it is broken, and the wine when it is drunken, put me in remembrance how that for my sins the body of Christ was broken, and his blood shed on the cross; and with that bread and wine I receive the benefits that come by the breaking of his body, and shedding of his blood, for our sins on the cross."

Fecknam.—"Why, doth not Christ speak these words, Take, eat, this is my body? Require you any plainer words? Doth he not say, it is his body?"

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Jane.—"I grant he saith so; and so he saith, I am the vine, I am the door; but he is never the more for that the door or the vine. Doth not St. Paul say, He calleth things that are not, as though they were? God forbid that I should say, that I eat the very natural body and blood of Christ: for then either I should pluck away my redemption, or else there were two bodies, or two Christs. One body was tormented on the cross, and if they did eat another body, then had he two bodies: or if his body were eaten, then was it not broken upon the cross; or if it were broken upon the cross, it was not eaten of his disciples."

Fecknam.—"Why, is it not as possible that Christ, by his power, could make his body both to be eaten and broken, and to be born of a virgin, as to walk upon the sea, having a body, and other suchlike miracles as he wrought by his power only?"

Jane.—"Yes verily, if God would have done at his supper any miracle, he might have done so: but I say, that then he minded no work nor miracle, but only to break his body and shed his blood on the cross for our sins. But I pray you to answer me to this one question: Where was Christ when he said, Take, eat, this is my body? Was he not at the table, when he said so? He was at that time alive, and suffered not till the next day. What took he, but bread? what brake he, but bread? and what gave he, but bread? Look, what he took, he brake: and look, what he brake, he gave: and look, what he gave, they did eat: and yet all this while he himself was alive, and at supper before his disciples, or else they were deceived."

Fecknam.—"You ground your faith upon such authors as say and unsay both in a breath; and not upon the church, to whom ye ought to give credit."

Jane.—"No, I ground my faith on God's word, and not upon the church. For if the church be a good church, the faith of the church must be tried by God's word; and not God's word by the church, neither yet my faith. Shall I believe the church because of antiquity, or shall I give credit to the church that taketh away from me the half part of the Lord's supper, and will not let any man receive it in both kinds? which things, if they deny to us, then deny they to us part of our salvation. And I say, that it is an evil church, and not the spouse of Christ, but the spouse of the devil, that altereth the Lord's supper, and both taketh from it, and addeth to it. To that church, say I, God will add plagues; and from that church will he take their part out of the book of life. Do they learn that of St. Paul, when he ministered to the Corinthians in both kinds? Shall I believe this church? God forbid!"

Fecknam.—"That was done for a good intent of the church, to avoid a heresy that sprang on it."

Jane.—"Why, shall the church alter God's will and ordinance, for good intent? How did King Saul? The Lord God defend!"

With these and such-like persuasions he would have had her lean to the church, but it would not be. There were many more things whereof they reasoned, but these were the chiefest.

After this, Fecknam took his leave, saying, that he was sorry for her: "For I am sure," quoth he, "that we two shall never meet."

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Jane.—"True it is," said she, "that we shall never meet, except God turn your heart; for I am assured, unless you repent and turn to God, you are in an evil case. And I pray God, in the bowels of his mercy, to send you his Holy Spirit; for he hath given you his great gift of utterance, if it pleased him also to open the eyes of your heart."

A later of the Lady Jane, sent unto her father.

"Father, although it hath pleased God to hasten my death by you, by whom my life should rather have been lengthened; yet can I so patiently take it, as I yield God more hearty thanks for shortening my woeful days, than if all the world had been given unto my possession, with life lengthened at my own will. And albeit I am well assured of your impatient dolours, redoubled manifold ways, both in bewailing your own woe, and especially, as I hear, my unfortunate state; yet, my dear father, (if I may without offence rejoice in my own mishaps,) meseems in this I may account myself blessed, that washing my hands with the innocency of my fact, my guiltless blood may cry before the Lord, Mercy to the innocent! And yet, though I must needs acknowledge, that being constrained, and, as you wot well enough, continually assayed, in taking upon me I seemed to consent, and therein grievously offended the queen and her laws: yet do I assuredly trust, that this my offence towards God is so much the less, (in that being in so royal estate as I was,) mine enforced honour blended never with mine innocent heart. And thus, good father, I have opened unto you the state wherein I at present stand; whose death at hand, although to you perhaps it may seem right woeful, to me there is nothing that can be more welcome, than from this vale of misery to aspire to that heavenly throne of all joy and pleasure with Christ our Saviour. In whose stedfast faith, (if it may be lawful for the daughter so to write to the father,) the Lord that hitherto hath strengthened you, so continue you, that at the last we may meet in heaven with the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost."

At what time her father was flourishing in freedom and prosperity in the time of King Edward, there belonged unto him a certain learned man, student and graduate of the university of Oxford; who, then, being chaplain to the said duke, and a sincere preacher (as he appeared) of the gospel, according to the doctrine of that time set forth and received, shortly after that the state of religion began to alter by Queen Mary, altered also in his profession with the time, and of a protestant became a friend and defender of the pope's proceedings. At whose sudden mutation and inconstant mutability, this Christian lady being not a little aggrieved, and most of all lamenting the dangerous state of his soul, in sliding so away for fear from the way of truth, writeth her mind unto him in a sharp and vehement letter: which, as it appeareth to proceed of an earnest and zealous heart, so would God it might take such effect with him, as to reduce him to repentance, and to take better hold again for the health and wealth of his own soul. The copy of the letter is this as followeth.

Another letter of the Lady Jane, to Master Harding, late chaplain to the duke of Suffolk, her father, and then fallen from the truth of God's most holy word.

"So oft as I call to mind the dreadful and fearful saying of God, That he which layeth hold upon the plough, and looketh back, is not meet for the kingdom of heaven; and, on the other side, the comfortable words of our Saviour Christ to all those that, forsaking themselves, do follow him; I cannot but marvel at thee, and lament thy case, which seemed sometime to be the

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lively member of Christ, but now the deformed imp of the devil; sometime the beautiful temple of God, but now the stinking and filthy kennel of Satan; sometime the unspotted spouse of Christ, but now the unshamefaced paramour of antichrist; sometime my faithful brother, but now a stranger and apostate; sometime a stout Christian soldier, but now a cowardly runaway. Yea, when I consider these things, I cannot but speak to thee, and cry out upon thee, thou seed of Satan, and not of Judah, whom the devil hath deceived, the world hath beguiled, and the desire of life subverted, and made thee of a Christian an infidel. Wherefore hast thou taken the testament of the Lord in thy mouth? Wherefore hast thou preached the law and the will of God to others? Wherefore past thou instructed others to be strong in Christ, when thou thyself dost now so shamefully shrink, and so horribly abuse the testament and law of the Lord? when thou thyself preachest not to steal, yet most abominably stealest, not from men, but from God, and, committing most heinous sacrilege, robbest Christ thy Lord of his right members, thy body and soul; and choosest rather to live miserably with shame to the world, than to die, and gloriously with honour reign with Christ, in whom even in death is life? Why dost thou now show thyself most weak, when indeed thou oughtest to be most strong? The strength of a fort is unknown before the assault, but thou yieldest thy hold before any battery be made. O wretched and unhappy man, what art thou, but dust and ashes? and wilt thou resist thy Maker that fashioned thee and framed thee? Wilt thou now forsake Him, that called thee from the custom gathering among the Romish antichristians, to be an ambassador and messenger of his eternal word? He that first framed thee, and since thy first creation and birth preserved thee, nourished and kept thee, yea, and inspired thee with the spirit of knowledge, (I cannot say of grace,) shall he not now possess thee? Darest thou deliver up thyself to another, being not thine own, but his? How canst thou, having knowledge, or how darest thou, neglect the law of the Lord, and follow the vain traditions of men; and whereas thou hast been a public professor of his name, become now a defacer of his glory? Wilt thou refuse the true God, and worship the invention of man, the golden calf, the whore of Babylon, the Romish religion, the abominable idol, the most wicked mass? Wilt thou torment again, rend and tear the most precious body of our Saviour Christ, with thy bodily and fleshly teeth? Wilt thou take upon thee to offer up any sacrifice unto God for our sins, considering that Christ offered up himself, as Paul saith, upon the cross, a lively sacrifice once for all? Can neither the punishment of the Israelites, (which, for their idolatry, they so oft received,) nor the terrible threatenings of the prophets, nor the curses of God's own mouth, fear thee to honour any other god than him? Dost thou so regard him, that spared not his dear and only Son for thee, so diminishing, yea, utterly extinguishing his glory, that thou wilt attribute the praise and honour due unto him to the idols, which have mouths and speak not, eyes and see not, ears and hear not; which shall perish with them that made them?

"What saith the prophet Baruch, where he recited the epistle of Jeremy, written to the captive Jews? Did he not forewarn them that in Babylon they should see gods of gold, silver, wood, and stone borne upon men's shoulders, to cast fear before the heathen? But be not ye afraid of them, saith Jeremy, nor do as other do. But when you see others worship them, say you in your hearts, It is thou, O Lord, that oughtest only to be worshipped; for, as for those gods, the carpenter framed them and polished them: yea, gilded be they, and laid over with silver and vain things, and cannot speak. He showeth, moreover, the abuse of their deckings, how the priests took off their ornaments, and apparelled their women withal: how one holdeth a sceptre, another a sword in his hand, and yet can they judge in no matter, nor defend themselves, much less any other, from either battle, or murder, nor yet from gnawing of worms, or any other evil thing.

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These, and such-like words, speaketh Jeremy unto them, whereby he proveth them to be but vain things, and no gods. And at last he concludeth thus: Confounded be all they that worship them. They were warned by Jeremy, and thou as Jeremy hast warned others, and art warned thyself by many Scriptures in many places. God saith, he is a jealous God, which will have all honour, glory, and worship given to him only. And Christ saith, in Luke iv., to Satan which tempted him, even to the same Beelzebub, the same devil, which hath prevailed against thee: It is written, saith he, Thou shalt honour the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.

"These, and such like, do prohibit thee and all Christians to worship any other god than that which was before all worlds, and laid the foundations both of heaven and earth. And wilt thou honour a detestable idol, invented by Romish popes, and the abominable college of crafty cardinals? Christ offered himself up once for all, and wilt thou offer him up again daily at thy pleasure?—But thou wilt say, thou doest it for a good intent. O sink of sin! O child of perdition! Dost thou dream therein of a good intent, where thy conscience beareth thee witness of God's threatened wrath against thee? How did Saul? who for that he disobeyed the word of the Lord for a good intent, was thrown from his worldly and temporal kingdom. Shalt thou, then, that dost deface God's honour, and rob him of his right, inherit the eternal and heavenly kingdom? Wilt thou, for a good intent, dishonour God, offend thy brother, and endanger thy soul, where-for Christ hath shed his most precious blood? Wilt thou, for a good intent, pluck Christ out of heaven, and make his death void, and deface the triumph of his cross by offering him up daily? Wilt thou, either for fear of death, or hope of life, deny and refuse thy God, who enriched thy poverty, healed thy infirmity, and yielded to thee his victory, if thou couldest have kept it? Dost thou not consider that the thread of thy life hangeth upon him that made thee, who can (as his will is) either twine it harder to last the longer, or untwine it again to break the sooner? Dost thou not then remember the saying of David, a notable king, to teach thee, a miserable wretch, in his hundred and fourth Psalm, where he saith thus: When thou takest away thy Spirit, O Lord, from men, they die and are turned again to their dust; but when thou lettest thy breath go forth, they shall be made, and thou shalt renew the face of the earth. Remember the saying of Christ in his gospel: Whosoever seeketh to save his life, shall lose it: but whosoever will lose his life for my sake, shall find it. And in the same place, Whosoever loveth father or mother above me, is not meet for me. He that will follow me, let him forsake himself and take up his cross, and follow me. What cross? the cross of infamy and shame, of misery and poverty, of affliction and persecution, for his name's sake. Let the oft falling of those heavenly showers pierce thy stony heart. Let the two-edged sword of God's holy word shear asunder the sinews of worldly respects, even to the very marrow of thy carnal heart, that thou mayest once again forsake thyself and embrace Christ. And, like as good subjects will not refuse to hazard all, in the defence of their earthly and temporal governor, so fly not like a white-livered milksop from the standing wherein thy chief Captain Christ hath set thee in array of this life. Fight manfully, come life, come death: the quarrel is God's, and undoubtedly the victory is ours.

"But thou wilt say, 'I will not break unity.' What? not the unity of Satan and his members? not the unity of darkness, the agreement of antichrist and his adherents? Nay, thou deceivest thyself with a fond imagination of such a unity as is among the enemies of Christ. Were not the false prophets in a unity? Were not Joseph's brethren and Jacob's sons in a unity? Were not the heathen, as the Amalekites, the Perizzites, and Jebusites, in a unity? Were not the scribes and Pharisees in a unity? Doth not King David testify, *Convenerunt in unum adversus*

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Dominum? Yea, thieves, murderers, conspirators, have their unity. But what unity? Tully saith of amity, *Amicitia non est, nisi inter bonos*. But mark, my friend, (yea, friend, if thou be not God's enemy,) there is no unity but where Christ knitteth the knot among such as be his. Yea, be well assured, that where his truth is resident, there it is verified what he himself saith, *Non veni mittere pacem in terram, sed gladium*, &c., but to set one against another, the son against the father, and the daughter against the mother-in-law. Deceive not thyself, therefore, with the glittering and glorious name of Unity; for antichrist hath his unity, yet not in deed, but in name. The agreement of ill men is not a unity, but a conspiracy.

"Thou hast heard some threatenings, some cursings, and some admonitions, out of the Scripture, to those that love themselves above Christ. Thou hast heard, also, the sharp and biting words to those that deny him for love of life. Saith he not, He that denieth me before men, I will deny him before my Father in heaven? And to the same effect writeth Paul: It is impossible, saith he, that they which were one lightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have tasted of the good word of God, if they fall and slide away, crucifying to themselves the Son of God afresh, and making of him a mocking-stock, should he renewed again by repentance. And again, saith he, If we shall willingly sin, after we have received the knowledge of his truth, there is no oblation left for sin, but the terrible expectation of judgment, and fire which shall devour the adversaries. Thus St. Paul writeth, and this thou readest; and dost thou not quake and tremble?

"Well, if these terrible and thundering threatenings cannot stir thee to cleave unto Christ, and forsake the world; yet let the sweet consolations and promises of the Scriptures, let the example of Christ and his apostles, [and of] holy martyrs and confessors, encourage thee to take faster hold of Christ. Hearken what he saith: Blessed are you when men revile you, and persecute you for my sake: rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven; for so persecuted they the prophets that were before you. Hear what Isaiah the prophet saith: Fear not the curse of men; be not afraid of their blasphemies; for worms and moths shall eat them up like cloth and wool: but my righteousness shall endure for ever, and my saving health from generation to generation. What art thou then, saith he, that fearest a mortal man, the child of man, which fadeth away like the flower, and forgettest the Lord that made thee, that spread out the heavens, and laid the foundation of the earth? I am the Lord thy God, that made the sea to rage, and be still, whose name is the Lord of hosts: I shall put my word in thy mouth, and defend thee with the turning of a hand. And our Saviour Christ saith to his disciples, They shall accuse you, and bring you before princes and rulers, for my name's sake; and some of you they shall persecute and kill: but fear you not, saith he, nor care you what you shall say: for it is the Spirit of your Father that speaketh within you. Even the very hairs of your head are all numbered. Lay up treasure for yourselves, saith he, where no thief cometh, nor moth corrupteth. Fear not them that kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul; but fear him that hath power to destroy both soul and body. If ye were of the world, the world would love his own: but because ye are not of the world, but I have chosen you out of the world, therefore the world hateth you.

"Let these and such-like consolations, taken out of the Scriptures, strengthen you to Godward: let not the examples of holy men and women go out of your mind, as Daniel and the rest of the prophets; of the three children; of Eleazar, that constant father; of the seven of the Maccabees' children; of Peter, Paul, Stephen, and other apostles and holy martyrs in the

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beginning of the church, as of good Simeo, archbishop of Solyma, and Zetrophone, with infinite others under Sapor, the king of the Persians and Indians, who contemned all torments devised by the tyrants, for their Saviour's sake. Return, return again into Christ's war, and, as becometh a faithful warrior, put on that armour that St. Paul teacheth to be most necessary for a Christian man. And, above all things, take to you the shield of faith, and be you provoked by Christ's own example to withstand the devil, to forsake the world, and to become a true and faithful member of his mystical body, who spared not his own body for our sins.

"Throw down yourself with the fear of his threatened vengeance, for this so great and heinous an offence of apostacy: and comfort yourself, on the other part, with the mercy, blood, and promise of him that is ready to turn unto you, whensoever you turn unto him. Disdain not to come again with the lost son, seeing you have so wandered with him. Be not ashamed to turn again with him from the swill of strangers, to the delicacies of your most benign and loving Father, acknowledging that you have sinned against heaven and earth: against heaven, by staining the glorious name of God, and causing his most sincere and pure word to be evil spoken of through you: against earth, by offending so many of your weak brethren, to whom you have been a stumbling-block through your sudden sliding. Be not abashed to come home again with Mary, and weep bitterly with Peter, not only with shedding the tears of your bodily eyes, but also pouring out the streams of your heart—to wash away, out of the sight of God, the filth and mire of your offensive fall. Be not abashed to say with the publican, Lord be merciful unto me a sinner. Remember the horrible history of Julian of old, and the lamentable case of Spira of late, whose case, methinks, should be yet so green in your remembrance, that, being a thing of our time, you should fear the like inconvenience, seeing you are fallen into the like offence.

Last of all, let the lively remembrance of the last day be always before your eyes, remembering the terror that such shall be in at that time, with the runagates and fugitives from Christ, which, setting more by the world than by heaven, more by their life than by him that gave them life, did shrink, yea, did clean fall away, from him that forsook not them: and, contrariwise, the inestimable joys prepared for them, that fearing no peril, nor dreading death, have manfully fought, and victoriously triumphed over all power of darkness, over hell, death, and damnation, through their most redoubted Captain, Christ, who now stretcheth out his arms to receive you, ready to fall upon your neck and kiss you, and, last of all, to feast you with the dainties and delicacies of his own precious blood: which undoubtedly, if it might stand with his determinate purpose, he would not let to shed again, rather than you should he lost. To whom with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, be all honour, praise, and glory everlasting. Amen.

"Be constant, be constant; fear not for any pain:
Christ hath redeemed thee, and heaven is thy gain."

A letter written by the Lady Jane in the end of the New Testament in Greek, the which she sent unto her sister the Lady Katharine, the night before she suffered.

"I have here sent you, good sister Katharine, a book, which, although it be not outwardly trimmed with gold, yet inwardly it is more worth than precious stones. It is the book, dear sister, of the law of the Lord. It is his testament and last will, which he bequeathed unto us wretches; which shall lead you to the path of eternal joy: and, if you with a good mind read it, and with an earnest mind do purpose to follow it, it shall bring you to an immortal and everlasting life. It

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shall teach you to live, and learn you to die. It shall win you more than you should have gained by the possession of your woeful father's lands. For as, if God had prospered him, you should have inherited his lands; so, if you apply diligently to this book, seeking to direct your life after it, you shall be an inheritor of such riches, as neither the covetous shall withdraw from you, neither thief shall steal, neither yet the moths corrupt. Desire with David, good sister, to understand the law of the Lord God. Live still to die, that you by death may purchase eternal life. And trust not that the tenderness of your age shall lengthen your life; for as soon (if God call) goeth the young as the old: and labour always to learn to die. Defy the world, deny the devil, and despise the flesh, and delight yourself only in the Lord. Be penitent for your sins, and yet despair not; be strong in faith, and yet presume not and desire, with St. Paul, to be dissolved and to be with Christ, with whom even in death there is life. Be like the good servant, and even at midnight be waking, lest, when death cometh and stealeth upon you as a thief in the night, you be, with the evil servant, found sleeping; and lest, for lack of oil, you be found like the five foolish women; and like him that had not on the wedding garment, and then ye be cast out from the marriage. Rejoice in Christ, as I do. Follow the steps of your Master Christ, and take up your cross: lay your sins on his back, and always embrace him. And as touching my death, rejoice as I do, good sister, that I shall be delivered of this corruption, and put on incorruption. For I am assured, that I shall, for losing of a mortal life, win an immortal life, the which I pray God grant you, and send you of his grace to live in his fear, and to die in the true Christian faith, from the which, (in God's name,) I exhort you, that you never swerve, neither for hope of life, nor for fear of death. For if you will deny his truth for to lengthen your life, God will deny you, and yet shorten your days. And if you will cleave unto him, he will prolong your days, to your comfort and his glory: to the which glory God bring me now, and you hereafter, when it pleaseth him to call you. Fare you well, good sister, and put your only trust in God, who only must help you."

Here followeth a certain effectual prayer, made by the Lady Jane in the time of her trouble.

A prayer of the Lady Jane.

"O Lord, thou God and Father of my life, hear me, poor and desolate woman, which flieth unto thee only, in all troubles and miseries. Thou, O Lord, art the only defender and deliverer of those that put their trust in thee: and therefore I, being defiled with sin, encumbered with affliction, unquieted with troubles, wrapped in cares, overwhelmed with miseries, vexed with temptations, and grievously tormented with the long imprisonment of this vile mass of clay, my sinful body, do come unto thee, O merciful Saviour, craving thy mercy and help, without the which so little hope of deliverance is left, that I may utterly despair of any liberty. Albeit it is expedient, that, seeing our life standeth upon trying, we should be visited sometime with some adversity, whereby we might both be tried whether we be of thy flock or no, and also know thee and ourselves the better: yet thou, that saidst thou wouldst not suffer us to be tempted above our power, be merciful unto me now, a miserable wretch, I beseech thee; who, with Solomon, do cry unto thee, humbly desiring thee, that I may neither be too much puffed up with prosperity, neither too much pressed down with adversity, lest I, being too full, should deny thee my God, or being too low brought, should despair, and blaspheme thee my Lord and Saviour.

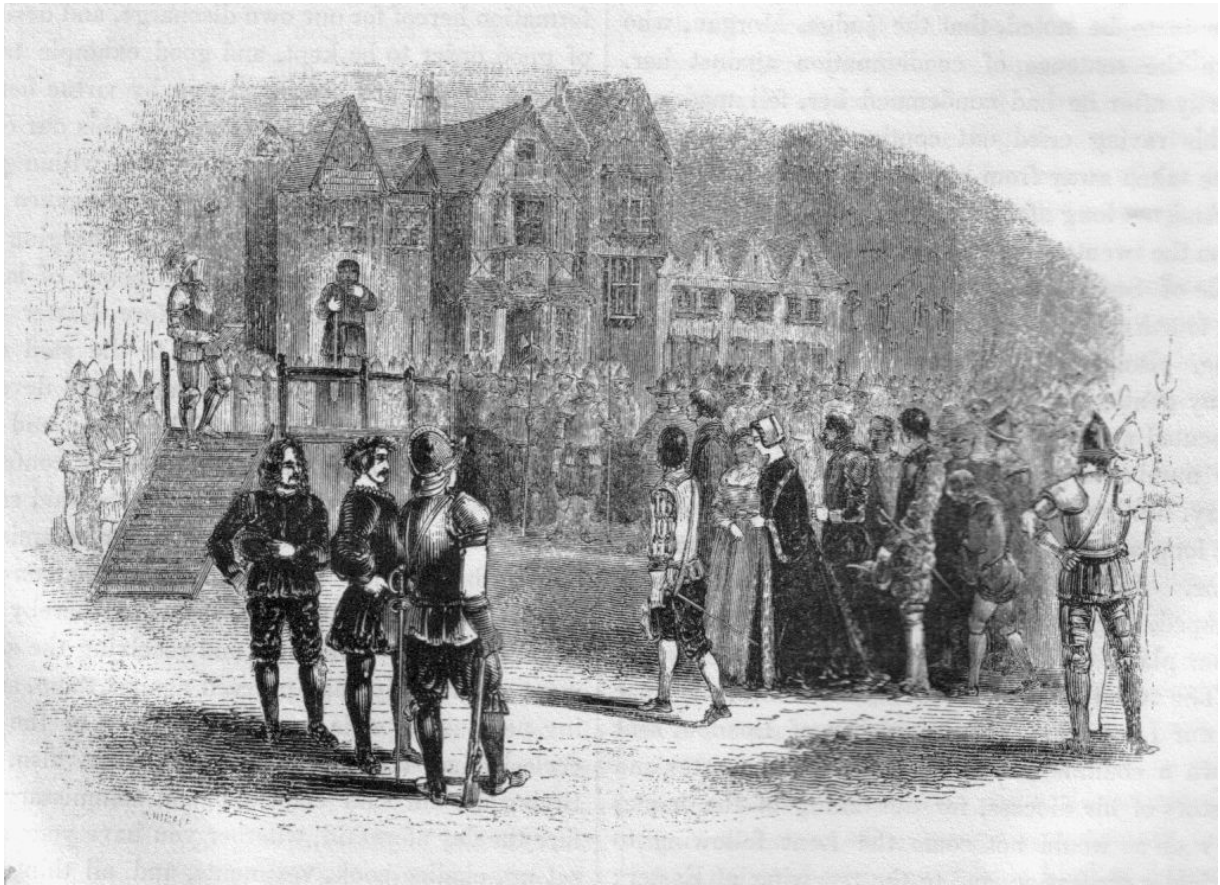
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"O merciful God, consider my misery, best known unto thee; and be thou now unto me a strong tower of defence, I humbly require thee. Suffer me not to be tempted above my power, but either be thou a deliverer unto me out of this great misery, or else give me grace, patiently to hear thy heavy hand and sharp correction. It was thy right hand, that delivered the people of Israel out of the hands of Pharaoh, which for the space of four hundred years did oppress them, and keep them in bondage. Let it therefore, likewise, seem good to thy fatherly goodness, to deliver me, sorrowful wretch, (for whom thy Son Christ shed his precious blood on the cross,) out of this miserable captivity and bondage, wherein I am now. How long wilt thou be absent? for ever? O Lord, hast thou forgotten to be gracious, and hast thou shut up thy loving-kindness in displeasure? Wilt thou be no more entreated? Is thy mercy clean gone for ever, and thy promise come utterly to an end for evermore? Why dost thou make so long tarrying? Shall I despair of thy mercy, O God? Far be that from me. I am thy workmanship, created in Christ Jesus. Give me grace, therefore, to tarry thy leisure, and patiently to bear thy works, assuredly knowing, that as thou canst, so thou wilt, deliver me, when it shall please thee, nothing doubting or mistrusting thy goodness towards me; for thou knowest better what is good for me than I do: therefore do with me in all things what thou wilt, and plague me what way thou wilt. Only, in the mean time, arm me, I beseech thee, with thy armour, that I may stand fast, my loins being girded about with verity, having on the breastplate of righteousness, and shod with the shoes prepared by the gospel of peace: above all things taking to me the shield of faith, wherewith I may be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked; and taking the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is thy most holy word: praying always with all manner of prayer and supplication, that I may refer myself wholly to thy will, abiding thy pleasure, and comforting myself in those troubles that it shall please thee to send me; seeing such troubles be profitable for me, and seeing I am assuredly persuaded that it cannot be but well, all that thou doest. Hear me, O merciful Father! for his sake, whom thou wouldest should be a sacrifice for my sins: to whom with thee and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory. Amen."

After these things thus declared, it remaineth now, coming to the end of this virtuous lady, next to infer the manner of her execution, with the words and behaviour of her at the time of her death.

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The words and behaviour of the Lady Jane upon the scaffold.



Lady Jane Grey led to execution

These are the words that the Lady Jane spake upon the scaffold, at the hour of her death. First, when she mounted upon the scaffold, she said to the people standing thereabout, "Good people, I am come hither to die, and by a law I am condemned to the same. The fact against the queen's Highness was unlawful, and the consenting thereunto by me: but, touching the procurement and desire thereof by me, or on my behalf, I do wash my hands thereof in innocency before God, and the face of you. good Christian people, this day:" and therewith she wrung her hands, wherein she had her book. Then said she, "I pray you all, good Christian people, to bear me witness that I die a true Christian woman, and that I do look to be saved by no other mean, but only by the mercy of God, in the blood of his only Son Jesus Christ: and I confess, that when I did know the word of God, I neglected the same, loved myself and the world; and therefore this plague and punishment is happily and worthily happened unto me for my sins; and yet I thank God, that of his goodness he hath thus given me a time and respite to repent. And now, good people, while I am alive, I pray you assist me with your prayers." And then, kneeling down, she turned her to Fecknam, saying, "Shall I say this psalm?" And he said, "Yea." Then said she the psalm of *Miserere mei Deus* in English, in most devout manner, throughout to the end; and then she stood up, and gave her maiden, Mistress Ellen, her gloves

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and handkerchief, and her book to Master Bruges. And then she untied her gown, and the hangman pressed upon her to help her off with it; but she, desiring him to let her alone, turned towards her two gentlewomen, who helped her off therewith, and also with her frowes, paaft, and neckerchief, giving to her a fair handkerchief to knit about her eyes.

Then the hangman kneeled down and asked her forgiveness, whom she forgave most willingly. Then he willed her to stand upon the straw; which doing, she saw the block. Then she said, "I pray you despatch me quickly." Then she kneeled down, saying, "Will you take it off, before I lay me down?" And the hangman said, "No, madam." Then tied she the handkerchief about her eyes, and feeling for the block, she said, "What shall I do? Where is it? Where is it?" One of the standers-by guiding her thereunto she laid her head down upon the block, and then stretched forth her body, and said, "Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit;" and so finished her life, in the year of our Lord God 1554, the twelfth day of February.

Certain verses, written by the said Lady Jane with a pin.

Non aliena putes homini, quæ obtingere possunt:
Sora hodierna mihi, tunc erit illa tibi.

Do never think it strange,
Though now I have misfortune,
For if that fortune change,
The same to thee nay happen.

JANE DUDLEY.

Deo juvante, nil nocet livor malus
Et non juvante, nil juvat labor gravis.
Post tenebras spero lucem.

If God do help thee,
Hate shall not hurt thee;
If God do fail thee,
Then shall not labour prevail thee.

Thus, the twelfth day of February, as I said, was beheaded the Lady Jane, and with her, also, the Lord Guildford her husband, one of the duke of Northumberland's sons; two innocents in comparison of them that sat upon them. For they did but ignorantly accept that, which the others had willingly devised, and, by open proclamation, consented to take from others, and give to them.

Touching the condemnation of this Lady Jane, here is to be noted, that the judge, Morgan, who gave the sentence of condemnation against her, shortly after he had condemned her, fell mad, and in his raving cried out continually to have Lady Jane taken away from him; and so ended his life.

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And not long after the death of the Lady Jane, upon the twenty-first of the same month, was Henry, duke of Suffolk, also beheaded at the Tower Hill, the fourth day after his condemnation: about which time, also, were condemned for this conspiracy many gentlemen and yeomen, whereof some were executed at London, and some in the country. In the number of whom also was the Lord Thomas Gray, brother to the said duke, being apprehended not long after in North Wales, and executed for the same. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton very hardly escaped, as ye shall hear (the Lord willing) in another place.

247. Actions to Re-Establish Papism.

The twenty-fourth of the same month, the year of our Lord 1554, Bonner, bishop of London, sent down a commission, directed to all the curates and pastors of his diocese, for the taking of the names of such as would not come the Lent following to auricular confession, and to the receiving at Easter; the copy of which monition here followeth.

A monition of Bonner, bishop of London, sent down to all and singular curates of his diocese, for the certifying of the names of such as would not come in Lent to confession, and receiving at Easter.

"Edmund, by the permission of God bishop of London, to all parsons, vicars, curates, and ministers of the church within the city and diocese of London, sendeth grace, peace, and mercy, in our Lord everlasting: Forasmuch as by the order of the ecclesiastical laws and constitutions of this realm, and the laudable usage and custom of the whole catholic church, by many hundred years ago, duly and devoutly observed and kept, all faithful people, being of lawful age and discretion, are bound once in the year at least (except reasonable cause excuse them) to be confessed to their own proper curate, and to receive the sacrament of the altar, with due preparation and devotion: And forasmuch, also, as we be credibly informed, that sundry evil disposed and undevout persons, given to sensual pleasures and carnal appetites, following the lusts of their body, and neglecting utterly the health of their souls, do forbear to come to confession according to the said usage, and to receive the sacrament of the altar accordingly, giving thereby pernicious and evil example to the younger sort, to neglect and condemn the same: We, minding the reformation hereof for our own discharge, and desirous of good order to be kept, and good example to be given; do will and command you, by virtue hereof, that immediately upon the receipt of this our commandment, ye, each and every of you, within your cure and charge, do use all your diligence and dexterity to declare the same, straitly charging and commanding all your parishioners, being of lawful age and discretion, to come, before Easter next coming, to confession, according to the said ordinance and usage, with due preparation and devotion to receive the said sacrament of the altar; and that ye do note the names of all such as be not confessed unto you, and do not receive of you the said sacrament, certifying us or our chancellor or commissary thereof, before the sixth day of April next ensuing the date hereof: that so we, knowing thereby who did not come to confession, and receiving the sacrament accordingly, may proceed against them, as being persons culpable, and transgressors of the said ecclesiastical law and usage. Further, also, certifying us, our said chancellor or commissary, before the day aforesaid, whether you have your altars set up, chalice-book, vestments, and all things necessary for mass, and the administration of sacraments and sacramentals, with procession, and all other divine service prepared and in readiness, according to the order of the catholic church, and the virtuous and godly example of the queen's Majesty: and, if ye so have not, ye then, with the churchwardens, cause the same to be provided for, signifying by whose fault and negligence the same want or fault hath proceeded; and generally, of the not coming of your parishioners to church, undue walking, talking, or using of themselves there unreverently in

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the time of divine service, and of all other open faults and misdemeanours; not omitting thus to do, and certify as before, as you will answer upon your peril for the contrary.

"Given at London the twenty-third of February, in the year of our Lord 1554."

The next month following, which was the month of March, and the fourth day of the said month, there was a letter sent from the queen to Bonner, bishop of London, with certain articles also annexed, to be put in speedy execution, containing as here followeth.

"Right reverend father in God, right trusty and well beloved, we greet you well: And whereas heretofore in the time of the late reign of our most dearest brother King Edward the Sixth, (whose soul God pardon,) divers notable crimes, excesses, and faults, with sundry kinds of heresies, simony, adultery, and other enormities, have been committed within this our realm, and other our dominions, the same continuing yet hitherto in like disorder since the beginning of our reign, without any correction or reformation at all; and the people both of the laity and also of the clergy, and chiefly of the clergy, have been given to much insolency, and ungodly rule, greatly to the displeasure of Almighty God, and very much to our regret and evil contentation, and to no little slander of other Christian realms, and in a manner to the subversion and clean defacing of this our realm: and remembering our duty to Almighty God to be, to foresee (as much as in us may be) that all virtue and godly living should be embraced, flourish, and increase; and therewith also, that all vice and ungodly behaviour should be banished and put away, or at leastwise (so nigh as might be) so bridled and kept under, that godliness and honesty might have the upper hand; understanding by very credible report and public fame, to our no small heaviness and discomfort, that within your diocese, as well in not exempted as exempted places, the like disorder and evil behaviour hath been done and used, like also to continue and increase, unless due provision be had and made to reform the same; which earnestly, in very deed, we do mind and intend to the uttermost, all the ways we can possibly, trusting of God's furtherance and help in that behalf: For these causes, and other most just considerations us moving, we send unto you certain articles of such special matters, as, among other things, be most necessary now to be put in execution by you and your officers, extending to the end by us desired, and the reformation aforesaid: wherein ye shall be charged with our special commandment, by these our letters, to the intent you and your officers may the more earnestly and boldly proceed thereunto, without fear of any presumption to be noted on your part, or danger to be incurred of any such our laws, as, by our doing of that is in the said articles contained, might any wise grieve you, whatsoever be threatened in any such case. And therefore we straitly charge and command you and your said officers, to proceed to the execution of the said articles, without all tract and delay, as ye will answer to the contrary.

"Given under our signet, at our palace of Westminster, the third day of March, the first year of our reign."

Articles sent from the queen unto the ordinary, and by him and his officers, by her commandment, to be put in execution in the whole diocese.

"First, that every bishop and his officers, with all others having ecclesiastical jurisdiction, shall, with all speed and diligence, and all manner of ways to them possible, put in execution all such canons and ecclesiastical laws, heretofore, in the time of King Henry the Eighth, used

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within this realm of England, and the dominions of the same, not being directly and expressly contrary to the laws and statutes of this realm.

"Item, That no bishop, or any of his officers, or other person aforesaid, hereafter, in any ecclesiastical writings, in process, or other extrajudicial acts, do use to put in this clause or sentence, *Regia autoritate fulcitus*.

"Item, That no bishop, or any of his officers, or other person aforesaid, do hereafter exact or demand, in the admission of any person to any ecclesiastical promotion, order, or office, any oath touching the primacy or succession, as of late, in few years passed, hath been accustomed and used.

"Item, That every bishop and his officers, with all other persons aforesaid, have a vigilant eye, and use special diligence and foresight, that no person be admitted or received to any ecclesiastical function, benefice, or office, being a sacramentary, infected or defamed with any notable kind of heresy, or other great crime, and that the said bishop do stay, and cause to be staved, as much as lieth in him, that benefices and ecclesiastical promotions do not notably decay or take hinderance by passing or confirming of unreasonable leases.

"Item, That every bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, do diligently travail for the repressing of heresies and notable crimes, especially in the clergy, duly correcting and punishing the same.

"Item, That every bishop, and all the other persons aforesaid, do likewise travail for the condemning and repressing of corrupt and naughty opinions, unlawful. books, ballads, and other pernicious and hurtful devices, engendering hatred amongst the people, and discord among the same. And that schoolmasters, preachers, and teachers, do exercise and use their offices and duties without teaching, preaching, or setting forth any evil and corrupt doctrine; and that, doing the contrary, they may be, by the bishop and his said officers, punished and removed.

"Item, That every bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, proceeding summarily, and with all celerity and speed, may and shall deprive, or declare deprived, and remove, according to their learning and discretion, all such persons from their benefices and ecclesiastical promotions, who, contrary to the state of their order, and the laudable custom of the church, have married and used women as their wives, or otherwise notably and slanderously disordered or abused themselves: sequestering also, during the said process, the fruits and profits of the said benefices and ecclesiastical promotions.

"Item, that the said bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, do use more lenity and clemency with such as have married, whose wives be dead, than with others, whose women do yet remain alive; and likewise such priests, as (with the consent of their wives or women) openly in the presence of the bishop do profess to abstain, to be used more favourably. In which case, after the penance effectually done, the bishop, according to his discretion and wisdom, may, upon just consideration, receive and admit them again to their former administration, so it be not in the same place; appointing them such a portion to live upon, to be paid out of their benefice

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whereof they be deprived, by discretion of the said bishop or his officer, as he shall think may be spared of the said benefice.

"Item, That every bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, do foresee that they suffer not any religious man, having solemnly professed chastity, to continue with his woman or wife; but that all such persons, after deprivation of their benefice or ecclesiastical promotion, be also divorced every one from his said woman, and due punishment otherwise taken for the offence therein.

"Item, That every bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, do take order and direction with the parishioners of every benefice where priests do want, to repair to the next parish for divine service, or to appoint for a convenient time, till other better provision may be made, one curate to serve, *alienis vicibus*, in divers parishes, and to allot to the curate, for his labour, some portion of the benefice that he so serveth.

"Item, That all and all manner of processions of the church be used; and frequented and continued, after the old order of the church, in the Latin tongue.

"Item, That all such holy days and fasting days be observed and kept, as were observed and kept in the latter time of King Henry the Eighth.

"Item, That the laudable and honest ceremonies which were wont to be used, frequented, and observed in the church, be also hereafter frequented, used, and observed.

"Item, That children be christened by the priest, and confirmed by the bishop, as heretofore hath been accustomed and used.

"Item, Touching such persons as were heretofore promoted to any orders, after the new sort and fashion of orders: considering they were not ordered in very deed, the bishop of the diocese finding otherwise sufficiency and ability in those men, may supply that thing which wanted in them before; and then, according to his discretion, admit them to minister.

"Item, That by the bishop of the diocese a uniform doctrine be set forth by homilies, or otherwise, for the good instruction and teaching of all people; and that the said bishop, and other persons aforesaid, do compel the parishioners to come to their several churches, and there devoutly to hear divine service, as of reason they ought.

"Item, That they examine all schoolmasters and teachers of children; and, finding them suspect in any wise, to remove them, and place catholic men in their rooms, with a special commandment to instruct their children, so as they may be able to answer the priest at the mass, and so help the priest to mass, as hath been accustomed.

"Item, That the said bishop, and all others the persons aforesaid, have such regard, respect, and consideration of and for the setting-forth of the premises, with all kind of virtue, godly living, and good example, with repressing also and keeping under of vice and unthriftiness, as they and every of them may be seen to favour the restitution of true religion; and

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also to make an honest account and reckoning of their office and cure, to the honour of God, our good contentation and profit of this our realm, and the dominions of the same."

A like prescript also, with articles, was sent from the said Queen Mary to the lord mayor of London, the fourth day of March, in the year abovesaid; which lord mayor, upon the same, directed his commandment to the aldermen, every one severally in his ward, containing as followeth:

"On the queen our most gracious and most benign sovereign lady's behalf, we most straitly charge and command you, that ye (the said aldermen) fail not personally to call before your own person, in such place within your said ward, as to you shall seem most convenient and meet, upon Wednesday next coming, which shall be the seventh day of this present month, at seven of the clock in the morning of the same day, all and every the householders both poor and rich of your said ward, and then and there openly and plainly, for your own discharge, and for the eschewing the perils that to you might otherwise be justly imputed and laid, do not only straitly admonish, charge, and command, in the queen our said sovereign lady's name and behalf, all and every the said householders, that both in their own persons, and also their wives, children, and servants, being of the age of twelve years and upwards, [all] and every of them, do, at all and every time and times from henceforth, and namely at the holy time of Easter, now approaching, honestly, quietly, obediently, and catholically, use and behave themselves like good and faithful Christian people, in all and every thing and things touching and concerning the true faith, profession, and religion of his catholic church, both according to the laws and precepts of Almighty God, and also their bounden duty of obedience towards our sovereign lady the queen, her laws and statutes, and her Highness's most good example and gracious proceeding according to the same, and according also to the right wholesome, charitable, and godly admonition, charge, and exhortation, lately set forth and given by the right reverend father in God the bishop of London, our diocesan and ordinary, to all the parsons, vicars, and curates, within his diocese: but, also, that they and every of them do truly, without delay, advertise you of the names and surnames of all and every person and persons, that they or any of them can or may at any time hereafter know, perceive, or understand, to transgress or offend in any point or article concerning the premises, at their utmost perils; [and] that ye, immediately after such notice thereof to you given, do forthwith advertise us thereof. Fail ye not thus to do with all circumspection and diligence, as ye will answer to our said most dread sovereign lady the queen for the contrary, at your like peril.

"Given at the Guildhall of the city of London, the fifth day of March, in the first year of the reign of our said sovereign lady the queen.

Blackwell.

"And likewise do you give to every of the said householders straitly in commandment, that they or their wives depart not out of the said city, until this holy time of Easter be past."

Upon the articles above mentioned, and inquisition made upon the same, divers ministers were divorced from their wives. Amongst whom was one John Draper, and Joan Gold his wife, in the diocese of London, troubled and vexed for the same by Bonner, bishop of London, who sent forth a commission, with a process to sequester and separate them; enjoining also penance to the poor woman.

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Besides this John Draper, divers others, also, were divorced the same time against their wills; and some were contented, of their own unconstant accord, to be separated from their wives: as of Chichester one, (who, because he soon recovered again, shall be here nameless,) another named Edmund Alstone, another Alexander Bull; amongst whom also was Dr. Standish, with many others, whose names together, in the end of this story of Queen Mary, we may peradventure, by God's grace, in a general catalogue together comprehend.

About the same year and time, when Dr. Bonner set forth this prescript or monitory, there came from the queen another proclamation, against strangers and foreigners within this realm: the purpose and intent of which proclamation, because it chiefly and most specially concerned religion and doctrine, and the true professors thereof, I thought here to annex the tenor and manner of the same.

A copy of the queen's proclamation for the driving out of the realm strangers and foreigners.

"The queen our sovereign lady, understanding that a multitude of evil disposed persons, being born out of her Highness's dominions in other sundry nations, flying from the obeisance of the princes and rulers under whom they be born, (some for heresy; some for murder, treason, robbery; and some for other horrible crimes,) be resorted into this her Majesty's realm, and here have made their demurrer, and yet be commorant and lingering, partly to eschew such condign punishment as their said horrible crimes deserve, and partly to dilate, plant, and sow the seeds of their malicious doctrine and lewd conversation among the good subjects of this her said realm, on purpose to infect her good subjects with the like, insomuch as (besides innumerable heresies, which divers of the same, being heretics, have preached and taught within her Highness's said realm) it is assuredly known unto her Majesty, that not only their secret practices have not failed to stir, comfort, and aid, divers her Highness's subjects to this most unnatural rebellion against God and her Grace, but also some others of them desist not still to practise with her people eftsoons to rebel: her Majesty therefore, having (as afore is said) knowledge and intelligence hereof, hath for remedy herein determined, and most straitly chargeth and commandeth, that all and every such person or persons born out of her Highness's dominions, now commorant or resident within this realm, of whatsoever nation or country, being either preacher, printer, bookseller, or other artificer, or of whatsoever calling else, not being denizen or merchant known, using the trade of merchandise, or servant to such ambassadors as be liegers here from the princes and states joined in league with her Grace, shall within twenty-four days of this proclamation, avoid the realm, upon pain of most grievous punishment by imprisonment, and forfeiture and confiscation of all their goods and movables; and also to be delivered unto their natural princes or rulers, against whose persons or laws they have offended. Giving to all mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, constables, and all other her ministers, officers, and good subjects, straitly also in charge, if they know any such person, not born in the queen's Highness's dominions, (except before excepted,) that shall, after the time and day limited in the proclamation, tarry within this realm, that they shall apprehend the same person or persons, and commit him or them to ward, there to remain without bail or mainprize, till her Grace's pleasure or her council's be signified unto them, for the further ordering of the said person or persons. And that if any of her said officers, after the said twenty-four days, apprehend, take, or know of any such, they shall, with all diligence, immediately certify her said council thereof, to the intent order maybe forthwith given for their punishment accordingly."

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In the mean while, upon the proclamation before mentioned, not only the strangers in King Edward's time received into the realm for religion, (among whom was Peter Martyr, and John Alasco, uncle to the king of Poland,) but many Englishmen, fled, some to Friesland, some to Cleveland, some to High Germany, where they were diversely scattered into divers companies and congregations, at Wesel, at Frankfort, Embden, Marburg, Transborough, Basil, Arow, Zurich, Geneva, and other places; where, by the providence of God, they were all sustained, and there entertained with greater favour amongst strangers abroad, than they could be in their own country at home, well near to the number of eight hundred persons, students and others together.

In the said month of March, the Lord Courtney, earl of Devonshire, whom the queen, at her first entering, delivered out of the Tower, and Lady Elizabeth also, the queen's sister, were both in suspicion to have consented to Wyatt's conspiracy, and for the same, this March, were apprehended and committed to the Tower.

Touching the imprisonment of which Lady Elizabeth and the Lord Courtney, thou shalt note here for thy learning, good reader! a politic point of practice in Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, not unworthy to be considered. This Gardiner being always a capital enemy to the Lady Elizabeth, and thinking now, by the occasion of Master Wyatt, to pick out some matter against the Lord Courtney, and so in the end to entangle the Lady Elizabeth, devised a pestilent practice of conveyance, as in the story here following may appear.

The story is this. The same day that Sir Thomas Wyatt died, he desired the lieutenant to bring him to the presence of the Lord Courtney; who there, before the lieutenant and the sheriffs kneeling down upon his knees, besought the Lord Courtney to forgive him, for that he had falsely accused both the Lady Elizabeth and him: and so, being brought from thence unto the scaffold to suffer there, openly (in the hearing of all the people) cleared the Lady Elizabeth and the Lord Courtney, to be free and innocent from all suspicion of that commotion. At which confession Dr. Weston, there standing by, cried to the people, saying, "Believe him not, good people! for he confessed otherwise before, unto the council."

After the execution done of Sir Thomas Wyatt, which was the eleventh day of April, word was brought immediately unto the lord mayor, Sir Thomas White, a little before dinner, how Master Wyatt had cleared the Lady Elizabeth and Lord Courtney, and the words also which Dr. Weston spake unto the people; whereunto the lord mayor answering, "Is this true?" quoth he; "said Weston so? In sooth, I never took him otherwise but for a knave." Upon this the lord mayor sitting down to dinner, (who dined the same day at the Bridgehouse,) cometh in Sir Martin Bowes with the recorder, newly come from the parliament house, who, hearing of the mayor and sheriffs this report of Wyatt's confession, both upon the scaffold and also in the Tower, marvelled thereat, declaring how there was another tale, contrary to this, told the same day in the parliament house, which was, that Sir Thomas Wyatt should desire the Lord Courtney to confess the truth, so as he had done before.

Upon this it followed not long after, that a certain prentice, dwelling in St. Laurence Lane, named Cut, as he was drinking with one Denham a plasterer, being one of Queen Mary's servants, amongst other talk made mention how Sir Thomas Wyatt had cleared the Lady Elizabeth and the Lord Courtney to be no consenters to his rising. These words being brought to

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Gardiner, (by what means I know not,) incontinent upon the same, Sir Andrew Judd was sent by the said bishop unto the lord mayor, commanding him to bring the said prentice to the Star-chamber, which was accused of these words, that he should say, that Wyat was constrained by the council to accuse the Lady Elizabeth and the Lord Courtney. Which fellow, when he was come to the Star-chamber, the aforesaid Gardiner, letting pass other matters that were in hand, began to declare to the whole multitude, how miraculously Almighty God had brought the queen's Majesty to the crown, the whole realm in a manner being against her; and that he had brought this to pass for this singular intent and purpose, that this realm being overwhelmed with heresies, she might reduce again the same unto the true catholic faith. And whereas she took the Lady Elizabeth into her favour, and loved her so tenderly, and also the Lord Courtney, who had long time been detained in prison, and by her was set at liberty, and received great benefits at her hands; and, notwithstanding all this, they had conspired most unnaturally and traitorously against her, with that heinous traitor Wyat, as by the confession of Wyat, said he, and the letters sent to and fro, may plainly appear: yet there were some in the city of London which reported, that Wyat was constrained by the council to accuse the Lady Elizabeth and the Lord Courtney, "and yet you, my Lord Mayor," quoth he, "have not seen the same punished."

"The party is here," said the lord mayor. "Take him with you," said Gardiner, "and punish him according to his desert;" and said further, "My Lord, take heed to your charge! The city of London is a whirlpool and sink of all evil rumours, where they be bred, and from thence spread into all parts of this realm."

There stood by, the same time, the Lord Chandos, who, being then lieutenant of the Tower, and now hearing the bishop thus speak, to soothe his tale came in with these words as followeth:

"My Lords," quoth he, "this is a truth that I shall tell you. Being lieutenant of the Tower when Wyat suffered, he desired me to bring him to the Lord Courtney; which when I had done, he fell down upon his knees before him in my presence, and desired him to confess the truth of himself, as he had done before, and to submit himself unto the queen's Majesty's mercy."

And thus much I thought of this matter to declare, to the intent that the reader, perceiving the proceedings of the bishop in the premises, and comparing the same with the true testimony of Wyat himself, and with the testimony of the sheriffs, which were present the same time when Sir Thomas Wyat asked the Lord Courtney forgiveness, may the better judge of the whole case and matter for which the Lady Elizabeth and the Lord Courtney were so long in trouble; of which her Grace's trouble, hereafter (God willing) more shall be said in the story of her life. In the mean time to let this matter stay, let us now pass further in our history.

Not long after this, Queen Mary, partly fearing the Londoners by occasion of Wyat's conspiracy; partly perceiving most of the city, for religion's sake, not greatly to favour her proceedings, to their displeasure and hinderance summoned a parliament to be holden at Oxford: as it were to gratify that city, where both the university, town, and country, had showed themselves very obedient, and forward, especially, in restoring popish religion. For this purpose great provision was made, as well by the queen's officers, as by the townsmen and inhabitants of Oxford, and the country about. But the queen's mind in short space changed, and the same

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parliament was holden at Westminster in April following. Then the queen, beside other things, proposed concerning her marriage to King Philip, and restoring of the pope's supremacy; as touching her marriage, it was agreed upon: but the other request could not as then be obtained.

The same time when this parliament was summoned, she also summoned a convocation of bishops, and of the clergy, writing unto Bonner (whom she had made vicegerent in the stead of Cranmer, being then in the Tower) after the tenor and form of a new style, differing from the old style of King Henry and King Edward, as followeth.

The style of Queen Mary altered, writing to Bonner for the summoning of a convocation.

"Maria Dei gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ regina, fidei defensor, reverendo in Christo patri Edmundo Londinensi episcopo salutem. Licet nuper quibusdam arduis et urgentibus negotiis nos securitatem et defensionem ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, ac pacem et tranquillitatem," &c.

Where note, good reader, concerning the altering and changing the queen's style, the latter part thereof to be left out of her style, which is, "Supreme head of the church of England and Ireland," because in this present parliament the supremacy being given away from the crown of England to the pope, thereupon this parcel of the title was also taken away. Likewise the said Bonner, giving his certificate upon the same, leaves out *auctoritate illustrissimæ*, &c., *legitime suffultus*: which parcel, also, in the said parliament was repealed and taken away the same time.

The dignity of priests extolled by Bishop Bonner.

In this aforesaid convocation, Bonner, bishop of London, being vicegerent and president, as is said, made a certain exhortation or oration to the clergy, (which was in this convocation, or much about the said time,) wherein he seemeth to show a great piece of profound and deep learning, in setting forth the most incomparable and superangelical order of priesthood, as may appear by this parcel or fragment of his aforesaid oration, being collected and gathered by some that stood by; which, as it came to our hands, so I thought to impart it to the reader, both for that the author of so worthy a work should not pass unknown, and partly, also, for that the estimation of this blessed order should lose nothing of its pre-eminence, but might be known in most ample perfection, so as it standeth above angels and kings, if it be true that Bonner saith.

A piece or fragment of the exhortation in praise of priesthood, made by Bonner, bishop of London, to them of the convocation-house; copied out by them that stood by and heard him.

"Wherefore it is to be known, that priests and elders be worthy of all men to be worshipped for the dignity' sake which they have of God, as in Matthew xvi.: Whatsoever ye shall loose upon earth, &c., and whatsoever ye shall bind, &c. For a priest, by some means, is like Mary the Virgin, and is showed by three points. As the blessed Virgin, by five words, did conceive Christ, as it is said in Luke i., *Fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum*, (Be it unto me according to thy word,) so the priest, by five words, doth make the very body of Christ. Even as immediately after the consent of Mary, Christ was all whole in the womb; so, immediately after the speaking of the words of consecration, the bread is substantiated into the very body of Christ. Secondly, as the Virgin carried Christ in her arms, and laid him in an ox-stall after his birth; even

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so the priest, after the consecration, doth lift up the body of Christ, and placeth it, and carrieth it, and handleth it with his hands. Thirdly, as the blessed Virgin was sanctified before she had conceived; so the priest, being ordained and anointed before he doth consecrate, because without orders he could consecrate nothing, therefore the layman cannot do that thing, although he be never so holy, and do speak the selfsame words of consecration. Therefore here is to be known, that the dignity of priests, by some means, passeth the dignity of angels, because there is no power given to any of the angels to make the body of Christ. Whereby the least priest may do in earth, that which the greatest and highest angel in heaven cannot do; as St. Bernard saith, 'O worshipful dignity of priests, in whose hands the Son of God is, as in the womb of the Virgin he was incarnate.' St. Augustine saith, that angels, in the consecration of the sacred host, do serve him; and the Lord of heaven descendeth to him. Whereupon St. Ambrose upon St. Luke saith, 'Doubt thou not the angels to be where Christ is present upon the altar.' Wherefore priests are to be honoured before all kings of the earth, princes, and nobles. For a priest is higher than a king, happier than an angel, maker of his Creator. Wherefore," &c.

248. Dr. Ridley Disputes On The Scarament.

It was declared a little before, how Dr. Ridley was had from Framlingham to the Tower; where being in durance, and invited to the lieutenant's table, he had certain talk or conference with Secretary Bourn, Master Fecknam, and others, concerning the controversies in religion; the sum whereof, as it was penned with his own hand, hereafter ensueth.

The sum and effect of the communication between Dr. Ridley and Secretary Bourn, with others, at the lieutenant's table in the Tower.

"Master Thomas of Bridges said at his brother Master Lieutenant's board, I pray you, Master Doctors, for my learning, tell me what a heretic is.' Master Secretary Bourn said, 'I will tell you who is a heretic: whoso stubbornly and stiffly maintaineth an untruth—he is a heretic.' 'You mean, sir,' said I, an untruth in matters of religion, and concerning our faith.' 'Yea, that is true,' said he; 'and in this we are soon agreed.' Then said Master Fecknam, (whom they called Master Dean of Paul's,) sitting at the upper end of the table, I will tell you by St. Augustine who is a heretic: *Qui adulandi principibus vel lucri gratia falsas opiniones gignit vel sequitur, hæreticus est*, saith St. Augustine. And then he Englished the same. 'Sir,' said I, 'I ween St. Augustine addeth the third number, which is, *vel vanæ gloriæ causa*.' 'You say even true, Master Doctor,' said he. And thus far we did agree all three.

"Master Fecknam began again to say, 'Whoso doth not believe what the Scripture affirmeth, but will obstinately maintain the contrary, he is *hæreticus*; as in the sacrament of the altar, Matthew doth affirm there to be Christ's body, Mark doth affirm it, Luke affirmeth it, Paul affirmeth it, and none denieth it: therefore, to hold the contrary, is heresy. It is the same body and flesh that was born of the Virgin; and this is confirmed by unity, antiquity, and universality. For none before Berengarius did ever doubt of this, and he was a heretic, as Master Doctor there knoweth full well: I do take to witness his own conscience,' said he.

"'Marry sir,' said Master Secretary, 'Master Fecknam hath spoken well. These he great matters, unity, antiquity, and universality. Do you not think so, Master Doctor?' said he to me.

"Here, while I strained courtesy, and pretended no willingness to talk; said one of the commissioners, 'peradventure Master Ridley doth agree with Master Fecknam; and then there needs not much debating of the matter.'

"'Sir,' said I, 'in some things I do and shall agree with him, and in some things which he hath spoken, to be plain, I do not agree with him at all. Masters,' said I, ye be, as I understand, the queen's commissioners here, and if ye have commission to examine me in these matters, I shall declare unto you plainly my faith; if ye have not, then I shall pray you either to give me leave to speak my mind freely, or else to hold my peace.'

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"'There is none here,' said Master Secretary, 'that doth not favour you:' and then every man showed what favour they bare towards me, and how glad they would be of an agreement.

"But as I strained to have licence of them in plain words to speak my mind, some thought they granted me it but *vix* or *ægre*. Well, at the last I was content to take it for licensed, and so began to talk.

"To Master Fecknam's arguments of the manifold affirmation where no denial was, I answered, 'Where is a multitude of affirmations in Scripture, and where is one affirmation, all is one concerning the truth of the matter: for that which any one of the evangelists spake, inspired by the Holy Ghost, was as true as that which is spoken of them all. It is as true that John saith of Christ, I am the door of the sheep, as if all had said it. For it is not in Scripture as in witness of men, where the number is credited more than one, because it is uncertain with what spirit he doth speak.' And whereas Master Fecknam spake of so many, affirming without any negation, &c., 'Sir,' said I, 'all they do affirm the thing which they meant. Now if ye take their words, to leave their meaning—then do they affirm what ye take, but not what they meant. Sir,' said I, 'if, in talk with you, I should so utter my mind in words, that ye, by the same, do and may plainly perceive my meaning, and could, if you would be captious, cavil at my words, and writhe them to another sense, I would think ye were no gentle companions to talk with, except ye would take my words as ye did perceive I did mean.'

"'Marry,' quoth Master Secretary, 'we should else do you plain injury and wrong.'

"Master Fecknam, perceiving whereunto my talk went, 'Why,' quoth he, 'what circumstances can ye show me, that shall move to think of any other sense, than as the words plainly say, This is my body which shall be betrayed for you?'

"Sir,' said I, 'even the next sentence that followeth, viz., Do this in my remembrance. And also by what reason ye say the bread is turned into Christ's carnal body, by the same I may say that it is turned into his mystical body. For as that saith of it, This is my body which shall be betrayed for you: so Paul, which spake by Christ's Spirit, saith, We, being many, are all but one bread and one body, inasmuch as we are partakers of one bread.'

"'Here he calleth one bread, one loaf,' said Master Secretary.

"'Yea,' said I, 'one loaf, one bread: all is one with me.'

"'But what say ye,' quoth Master Secretary, of the universality, antiquity, and unity, that Master Fecknam did speak of?'

"'I assure you,' said I, 'I think them matters weighty, and to be considered well. As for unity, the truth is before God, I do believe it, and embrace it, so it be with verity, and joined to our Head, Christ, and such a one as Paul speaketh of, saving, One faith, one God, one baptism. And for antiquity, I am also persuaded that to be true which Irenæus saith, 'That which is first is true.' In our religion Christ's faith was first truly taught by Christ himself, by his apostles, and by many good men that from the beginning did succeed next unto them; and for this controversy of

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the sacrament, I am persuaded that those old writers, which wrote before the controversy and the usurping of the see of Rome, do all agree, if they be well understood in this truth.'

""I am glad to hear,' said Master Secretary, 'that you do so well esteem the doctors of the church.'

""Now as for universality,' said I, it may have two meanings; one to understand that to be universal, which from the beginning in all ages hath been allowed; another to understand universality for the multitude of our age, or of any other singular age.'

""No, no,' saith Master Secretary, 'these three do always agree, and where there is one, there is all the rest.' And here he and I changed many words; and finally, to be short, in this matter we did not agree.

""There was none,' quoth Master Fecknam, before Berengarius, Wickliff, and Huss; and now, in our days, Carolostadius and Ecolampadius. Carolostadius saith, 'Christ pointed to his own body, and not to the sacrament, and said, *Hoc est corpus meum*.' And Melancthon writeth to one Miconius (Miconius said I) these or the like words: 'I can find no grounded reason, to cause me to dissent from the belief of our fore-elders.'

""Thus when he had spoken at length, with many other words more; 'Sir,' said I, 'it is certain that others, before these, have written of this matter: not by the way only, and obiter: as do for the most all the old writers, but even *ex professo*; and their whole books entreat of it alone; as Bertram.'

""Bertram,' said the secretary, 'what man was he? and who was he? and how do you know?' &c., with many questions.

""Sir,' quoth I, 'I have read his book. He propoundeth the same which is now in controversy, and answereth so directly, that no man may doubt but that he affirmeth, that the substance of bread remaineth still in the sacrament; and he wrote unto Charlemagne.'

""Marry,' quoth he, mark, for there is a matter. He wrote,' quoth he, 'to Henry, and not 'to Charles;' for no author maketh any such mention of Bertram.'

""Yes,' quoth I, 'Trithemius, in *Catalogo illustrium Scriptorum*, speaketh of him. Trithemius was but of late time; but he speaketh,' quoth I, 'of them that were of antiquity.' Here, after much talk of Bertram, 'What authors have ye,' quoth Master Secretary, 'to make of the sacrament a figure?'

""Sir,' quoth I, 'ye know, I think, that Tertullian in plain words speaketh thus: 'This is my body; that is to say, a figure of my body.' And Gelasius saith plainly, that 'the substance of bread remaineth.' And Origen saith likewise, 'That which is sanctified, as touching the matter or substance, passeth away into the draught.' This when I had Englished, Master Secretary said to me, 'You know very well as any man,' &c. And here, if I would, I might have been set in a foolish paradise of his commendation of my learning, and 'that I was a man of much reading.'

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But this I would not take at his hand. He set one not up so high, but I brought myself as low again: and here was much ado.

""As for Melancthon,' quoth I, 'whom Master Fecknam spake of, I marvel that ye will allege him, for we are more nigh an agreement here in England, than the opinion of Melancthon is to you: for in this point we all agree here, that there is in the sacrament but one material substance, and Melancthon, as I ween, saith there are two.'

""Ye say truth,' quoth Master Secretary; 'Melancthon's opinion is so. But, I pray you, have ye read that the sacrament was in old time so revered, that many were then forbidden to be present at the ministration thereof—*catechumeni*,' quoth he, 'and many more?'

""Truth, sir,' quoth I, there were some called *audientes*, some *pœnitentes*, some *catechumeni*, and some *energumeni*, which were commanded to depart.'

""Now,' quoth he, 'then; and how can ye then make but a figure or a sign of the sacrament, as that book doth, which is set forth in my Lord of Canterbury's name? I wis, ye can tell who made it. Did not ye make it?' And here was much murmuring of the rest, as though they would have given me the glory of the writing of that book; which yet was said, of some there, to contain the most heinous heresy that ever was.'

""Master Secretary,' quoth I, 'that book was made of a great learned man, and him which is able to do the like again. As for me, I assure you (be not deceived in me) I was never able to do or write any such-like thing. He passeth me, no less than the learned master his young scholar.'

""Now, here every man would have his saying, which I pass over, not much material for to tell. 'But, sir,' quoth I, 'methinks it is not charitably done, to bear the people in hand, that any man doth so lightly esteem the sacrament, as to make it but a figure; for that but maketh it a bare figure without any more profit; which that book doth often deny, as appeareth to the reader most plainly.'

""Yes,' quoth he, 'that they do.'

""Sir, no,' quoth I, 'of a truth; and as for me, I assure you I make no less of the sacrament than thus: I say, whosoever receiveth the sacrament, he receiveth therewith either life or death.'

""No,' quoth Master Secretary, 'Scripture saith not so.'

""Sir,' quoth I, 'although not in the same sound of words, yet it doth in the same sense; and St. Augustine saith, in the sound of words also: for Paul saith, The bread which we break, is it not the partaking or fellowship of the body of Christ? And St. Augustine, 'Eat life, drink life.'

""Then said Master Pope, 'What can ye make of it, when ye say, 'There is not the real body of Christ,' which I do believe, &c.; and I pray God I may never believe other. How can it bring (as ye say) either life or death, when Christ's body is not there? '

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"'Sir,' quoth I, 'when you hear God's word truly preached, if you do believe it, and abide in it, ye shall and do receive life withal; and if ye do not believe it, it doth bring unto you death: and yet Christ's body is still in heaven, and not carnal—in every preacher's mouth.'

"'I pray you tell me,' quoth he, 'how can you answer to this, Which shall be given for you? Was the figure of Christ's body given for us?'

"'No, sir,' quoth I, 'but the very body itself, whereof the sacrament is a sacramental figure.'

"'How say you then,' quoth he, to Which shall be given for you?'

"'Forsooth,' quoth I, 'Tertullian's exposition maketh it plain; for he saith, 'The body is a figure of the body.' Now put to, Which shall be given for you, and it agreeth exceeding well.'

"'In faith,' quoth he, 'I would give forty pound that ye were of a good opinion; for I assure you, I have heard you, and had an affection to you.'

"'I thank you, Master Pope, for your heart and mind; and ye know,' quoth I, 'I were a very fool if I would, in this matter, dissent from you, if that in my conscience the truth did not enforce me so to do. For I wis (as ye do perceive, I trow) it is somewhat out of my way, if I would esteem worldly gain.'

"'What say ye,' quoth he, 'to Cyprian? Doth he not say plainly, 'The bread which the Lord did deliver being changed, not according to the form, but according to the nature thereof, by the omnipotent word, is made flesh?'

"'True, sir, so he doth say; and I answer even the same which once, by chance, I preached at Paul's Cross in a sermon, for the which I have been as unjustly and as untruly reported of, as any poor man hath been. For there I, speaking of the sacrament, and inveighing against them that esteemed it no better than a piece of bread, told even the same thing of penitents, hearers, catechumens, that I spake of before: and I bade them depart as unworthy to hear the mystery. And then I said to those that be holy: Cyprian the martyr shall tell you how it is that Christ calleth it, saying, 'Bread is the body, meat, drink, flesh; because that unto this material substance is given the property of the thing whereof it beareth the name.' And this place then took I to utter, as the time would then suffer, that the material substance of bread doth remain.

"'Master Fecknam (which, as is reported to me, did belie me openly in the same matter at Paul's Cross) heard all this my talk, as red as scarlet in his face, and herein answered me not a word.

"'You do know well,' quoth Master Secretary, that Origen and Tertullian were not catholic, but erred.'

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"Sir,' quoth I, 'there is no one of all the doctors that is holden in all points, but is thought to have erred in some things. But yet I never heard that it was either laid to Origen's charge or to Tertullian's, that ever they were thought to have erred in this matter of the sacrament.'

"What,' quoth Master Cholmley, late chief justice, 'doth not Christ plainly say, that it is his very flesh, and his very blood, and we must needs eat him, or else we can have no life?' 'Sir,' quoth I, 'if you will hear how St. Augustine expoundeth that place, you shall perceive that you are in a wrong box.' And then I began to tell St. Augustine's mind in his book De Doctrina Christiana. 'Yea, yea,' quoth Master Secretary, that is true; St. Augustine doth take it figuratively indeed.'

"Forty years ago,' quoth Master Fecknam, all were of one opinion in this matter.'

"Forty years ago,' quoth I, 'all held that the bishop of Rome was supreme head of the universal church.'

"What then?' was Master Fecknam beginning to say, &c.; but Master Secretary took the tale, and said, 'That was but a positive law.'

"A positive law?' quoth I; 'no, sir, he would not have it so: for it is in his decrees, that he challenged it by Christ's own word. For his decree saith, 'The church of Rome was advanced above all other churches in the world, not by any synodical constitutions, nor by any councils, but by the lively voice of the Lord, according as the Lord said to Peter, Thou art Peter,' &c. And in another place he entreateth, 'Thou art Cephas, that is to say, the head.'

"Tush! it was not counted an article,' quoth Master Secretary,' of our faith.'

"Yes,' said I, 'if ye call that an article of our faith, which is believed under pain of damnation. For he saith, We do absolutely determine, declare, and pronounce, that every creature is subject to the obedience of the bishop of Rome, upon necessity of salvation.'

"And here, when we spake of laws and decrees, Master Roger Cholmley thought himself much wronged, that he could not be suffered to speak, the rest were so ready to interrupt him. And then he up and told a long tale, what laws were of kings in England made against the bishop of Rome; and was vehement to tell how they alway of the clergy did fly to him. And here, because he seemed to speak of many things beside our purpose, whereof we spake before, he was answered of his own fellows, and I let them talk.

"Finally, we departed in peace, and Master Secretary promised in the end, that of their talk there should come to me no harm. And after I had made my moan for lack of my books, he said, they were all once given him: But since I know,' said he, 'who hath them now, write me the names of such as you would have, and I will speak for you the best I can.'"

249. Ridley, Cranmer and Latimer at Oxford.

The tenth of March a letter was sent to the lieutenant of the Tower, to deliver the bodies of Master Doctor Cranmer, the archbishop of Canterbury, Master Doctor Ridley, and Master Latimer, to Sir John Williams, to be conveyed by him unto Oxford.

The twenty-sixth of March, there was a letter directed to Sir Henry Doell, and one Foster, to attach the bodies of Doctor Taylor, parson of Hadley, and of Henry Askew, and to send them up to the council.

How Thomas Cranmer, archbishop, Bishop Ridley, and Master Latimer, were sent down to Orford to dispute: with the order and manner, and all other circumstances unto the said disputation, and also to their condemnation, appertaining.



ABOUT the tenth of April, Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, Ridley, bishop of London, and Hugh Latimer, bishop also sometime of Worcester, were conveyed as prisoners from the Tower to Windsor; and from thence to the university of Oxford, there to dispute with the divines and learned men of both the universities, Oxford and Cambridge, about the presence, substance, and sacrifice of the sacrament. The names of the university doctors and graduates appointed to dispute against them, were these: of Oxford, Dr. Weston, prolocutor, Dr. Tresham, Dr. Cole, Dr. Oglethorpe, Dr. Pie, Master Harpsfield, Master Fecknam. Of Cambridge, Dr. Young, vice-chancellor, Dr. Glyn, Dr. Seton, Dr. Watson, Dr. Sedgewick, Dr. Atkinson, &c. The articles or questions whereupon they should dispute were these:

First, Whether the natural body of Christ be really in the sacrament, after the words spoken by the priest, or no?

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

Thirdly, Whether in the mass be a sacrifice propitiatory for the sins of the quick and the dead?

Touching the order and manner of all which things there done, with the notes, arguments, and all circumstances thereunto pertaining, to deduce the matter from the beginning, leaving out nothing (as near as we may) that shall seem necessary to be added: First, Here is to be understood, that upon Saturday, the seventh day of April, the heads of the colleges in Cambridge being congregated together, letters coming down from Stephen Gardiner, lord chancellor, were read, with articles therewith annexed, that should be disputed upon at Oxford: the contents of

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which three articles are sufficiently expressed before. Whereupon, in the said congregation of the aforesaid university of Cambridge, there was granted first a grace in this form, proposed by the senior proctor: "May it please you to have an instrument made, that the doctrine of these aforesaid articles may be sound and catholic, and consonant with the verity of the right meaning faith; and that the same may be approved by your consent and voices?" Secondly, in the said congregation, another grace was given and granted, that Dr. Young, being vice-chancellor, Dr. Glyn, Dr. Atkinson, Dr. Scot, and Master Sedgewick, should go to Oxford to defend the said articles against Canterbury, London, and Latimer: also to have letters to the Oxford men, sealed with their common seal. Item, Another grace granted to Master Sedgewick to be actual doctor, being thereupon immediately admitted. The aforesaid letters, being then drawn out, the third day after (which was the eleventh day of April) were read in the aforesaid congregation-house, and there sealed.

Whereupon the next day after (the twelfth of the said month) the aforesaid doctors, with the full grace of that university, set forward to Oxford: and coming thither the next day after, (being Friday, the thirteenth of April,) were all lodged at the Cross Inn, with one Wakeclene, being some time servant to Bishop Bonner.

Anon after their coming, Dr. Croke presented them with wine for their welcome; and, shortly after, two of the beadles came from the vice-chancellor of Oxford, and presented the vice-chancellor of Cambridge with a dish of apples and a gallon of wine; after whom, next came Master Pie and Fecknam to welcome them. Then, after consultation concerning the delivery of their letters, and instrument of grace, (which was in Dr. Seton and Dr. Watson's keeping,) they went all to Lincoln college, to Dr. Weston, the prolocutor, and to the vice-chancellor, Dr. Tresham; and there they delivered their letters, and declared what they had done touching the articles, letters, and graces. Half an hour after eight they returned to their inn again: but first they concluded of a procession, sermon, and convocation, to be had the morrow following; and that the doctors of Cambridge should be incorporate in the university of Oxford, and likewise that the doctors of Oxford should be incorporate in the university of Cambridge. The same day the aforesaid prisoners were dissevered, as was said afore; Dr. Ridley to Alderman Irish's house, Master Latimer to another, and Dr. Cranmer remained still in Bocardo.

On Saturday, being the fourteenth of April, at eight of the clock, the aforesaid vice-chancellor of Cambridge, with the other doctors of the same university, repaired to Lincoln college again, and found the prolocutor above in a chapel, with a company of the house singing Requiem mass, and tarried there until the end. Then they, consulting all together in the master's lodging, about nine of the clock came all to the university church called St. Mary's; and there, after a short consultation in a chapel, the vice-chancellor, the prolocutor, &c. of Oxford, caused the vice-chancellor of Cambridge, and the rest of the doctors of that university, to send for their scarlet robes, brought from Cambridge; save that Doctors Seton and Watson borrowed of the Oxford men. And in this time, the regents in the congregation-house had granted all the Cambridge doctors their graces, to be incorporate there; and so they went up, and were admitted immediately, Dr. Oglethorpe presenting them, and the proctor reading the statute, and giving them their oaths.

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That done, they came all into the choir, and there held the convocation of the university. They had mass of the Holy Ghost solemnly sung in prick-song, by the choir men of Christ's church. But first, the cause of the convocation was opened in English, partly by the vice-chancellor, and partly by the prolocutor, declaring that they were sent by the queen, and wherefore they were sent; and caused Master Say, the register, openly to read the commission. That done, the vice-chancellor read Cambridge letters openly, and then concluded, that three notaries, Master Say for the convocation, a beadle of Cambridge for that university, and one Master White for Oxford, should testify of their doing; and then willed the said notaries to provide parchment, that the whole assembly might subscribe to the articles, save those that had subscribed before in the convocation-house at London and Cambridge. And so the vice-chancellor began first; after him the rest of the Oxford men, as many as could in the mass time.

The mass being done, they went in procession: First, The choir in their surplices followed the cross; then the first-year regents and proctors; then the doctors of law, and their beadles before them; then the doctors of divinity of both universities intermingled, the divinity and arts' beadles going before them, the vice-chancellor and prolocutor going together. After them bachelors of divinity, *Regentes, et non regentes*, in their array; and last of all, the bachelors of law and art; after whom followed a great company of scholars and students not graduate. And thus they proceeded through the street to Christ's church; and there the choir sung a psalm, and after that a collect was read. This done, departed the commissioners, doctors, and many others to Lincoln college, where they dined with the mayor of the town, one alderman, four beadles, Master Say, and the Cambridge notary. After dinner they went all again to St. Mary's church; and there, after a short consultation in a chapel, all the commissioners came into the choir, and sat all on seats before the altar, to the number of thirty-three persons; and first they sent to the mayor, that he should bring in Dr. Cranmer, who, within a while, was brought to them with a great number of rusty bill-men.

Thus the reverend archbishop, when he was brought before the commissioners, revered them with much humility, and stood with his staff in his hand, who notwithstanding, having a stool offered him, refused to sit. Then the prolocutor, sitting in the midst in a scarlet gown, began with a short preface or oration in praise of unity, and especially in the church of Christ; declaring withal his bringing up, and taking degrees in Cambridge, and also how he was promoted by King Henry, and had been his counsellor and a catholic man, one of the same unity, and a member thereof in times past, but, of late years, did separate and cut off himself from it, by teaching and setting forth of erroneous doctrine, making every year a new faith: and therefore it pleased the queen's Grace, to send them of the convocation, and other learned men, to bring him to this unity again, if it might be. Then showed he him, how they of the convocation-house had agreed upon certain articles, whereunto they willed him to subscribe.

The archbishop answered to the preface very wittily, modestly, and learnedly, showing that he was very glad of a unity, forasmuch as it was "the preserver of all commonwealths, as well of the heathen as of the Christians:" and so he dilated the matter with one or two stories of the Romans' commonwealth. Which thing when he had done, he said, that he was very glad to come to a unity, so that it were in Christ, and agreeable to his holy word.

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Cranmer at the Convocation at Oxford

When he had thus spoken his full mind, the prolocutor caused the articles to be read unto him, and asked if he would grant and subscribe unto them. Then the bishop of Canterbury did read them over three or four times; and touching the first article, he asked what they meant by these terms, "true and natural." "Do you not mean," saith he, "a sensible body?" Some answered, "The same that was born of the Virgin;" and so confusedly, some said one thing, some another.

Then the bishop of Canterbury denied it utterly; and when he had looked upon the other two, he said, they were all false, and against God's holy word: and therefore he would not agree, he said, in that unity with them.

This done, the prolocutor, first willing him to write his mind of them that night, said moreover, that he should dispute in them, and caused a copy of the articles to be delivered him, assigning him to answer thereunto on Monday next: and so charged the mayor with him again, to be had to Bocardo, where he was kept before; offering moreover unto him, to name what books he would occupy, and should have them brought unto him. The archbishop was greatly commended of every body for his modesty; insomuch that some masters of arts were seen to weep for him, which in judgment were contrary to him.

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Then was Dr. Ridley brought in, who, hearing the articles read unto him, answered without any delay, saying, they were all false; and said further, that they sprang out of a bitter and sour root. His answers were sharp, witty, and very learned. Then did they lay to his charge a sermon that he made when he was bishop of Rochester, wherein (they said) he spake with transubstantiation. He denied it utterly, and asked whether they could bring out any that heard him, which would say and affirm with them the same. They could bring no proof of it at all. After that, he was asked of one, whether he desired not my lord chancellor that now is, to stick to the mass, and other things? He said, that my Lord would say no such things or words of him; for if he did, he reported not the truth of him.

Then he was asked, whether he would dispute or no? He answered, that as long as God gave him life, he should not only have his heart, but also his mouth and pen to defend his truth: but he required time and books. They said, he could not, and that he should dispute on Thursday, and till that time he should have books. He said it was not reason, that he might not have his own books, and time, also, to look for his disputations. Then gave they him the articles, and bade him write his mind of them that night, and so did they command the mayor to have him from whence he came.

Last of all came in Master Latimer in like sort, with a kerchief, and two or three caps on his head, his spectacles hanging by a string at his breast, and a staff in his hand, and was set in a chair; for so was he suffered by the prolocutor. And after his denial of the articles, when he had Wednesday appointed for disputation, he alleged age, sickness, disuse, and lack of books, saying, that he was almost as meet to dispute, as to be a captain of Calais: but he would, he said, declare his mind either by writing or word, and would stand to all they could lay upon his back: complaining moreover, that he was permitted to have neither pen nor ink, nor yet any book but only the New Testament there in his hand, which, he said, he had read over seven times deliberately, and yet could not find the mass in it, neither the marrow-bones nor sinews of the same. At which words the commissioners were not a little offended; and Dr. Weston said, that he would make him grant that it had both marrowbones and sinews in the New Testament. To whom Master Latimer said again, "That you will never do, Master Doctor:" and so, forthwith, they put him to silence; so that whereas he was desirous to tell what he meant by those terms, he could not be suffered. There was a very great press and throng of people, and one of the beadles swooned by reason thereof, and was carried into the vestry.

After this, bringing home the prolocutor first, the Cambridge men, viz., Dr. Young, vice-chancellor, Seton, Glyn, Atkinson, Scot, Watson, and Sedgewick, went to the Cross Inn to supper. And this was on Saturday, being the fourteenth day of April.

On Sunday after, Master Harpsfield preached at St. Mary's, the university church, at nine of the clock, where were divers of the doctors of the university in their robes, and placed accordingly. After the sermon they went all to dinner to Magdalene college, and there had a great dinner. They supped at Lincoln college with the prolocutor, whither Dr. Cranmer sent answer of his mind upon the articles, in writing.

On Monday, being the sixteenth of April, Master Say and Master White, notaries, went about in the morning to the colleges, to get subscriptions to the articles. And, about eight of the

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clock, the prolocutor, with all the doctors and the vice-chancellor, met together at Exeter college; and so they went into the schools. And when the vice-chancellor, the prolocutor, and doctors were placed, and four (appointed to be *exceptores argumentorum*) sat at a table in the midst, and four notaries sitting with them, Dr. Cranmer came to the answerer's place, the mayor and aldermen sitting by him; and so the disputation began to be set to work by the prolocutor with a short *præludium*. Dr. Chedsey began to argue first, and ere he left, the prolocutor divers times, Drs. Tresham, Oglethorpe, Marshal, the vice-chancellor, Pie, Cole, and Harpsfield did interrupt and press him with their arguments, so that every man said somewhat, as the prolocutor would suffer, disorderly; sometimes in Latin, sometimes in English, so that three hours of the time were spent ere the vice-chancellor of Cambridge began; who also was interrupted as before. He began with three or four questions subtilely. Here the beadles had provided drink, and offered the answerer; but he refused with thanks. The prolocutor offered him, if he would retire for a brief interval, he should. Thus the disputation continued until almost two of the clock, with this applausion of the audience: *Vicit veritas*. Then were all the arguments, written by the four appointed, delivered into the hand of Master Say, registrar; and as for the prisoner, he was had away by the mayor; and the doctors dined together at the University college.

And thus much concerning the general order and manner of these disputations, with such circumstances as there happened, and things there done, as well before the disputation, and in the preparation thereof, as also in the time of their disputing. Now followeth to infer and declare the orations, arguments, and answers, used and brought forth in the said disputations on both parts.

250. Disputation of Cranmer at Oxford

The arguments, reasons, and allegations used in this disputation.

On Monday, Dr. Weston, with all the residue of the visitors, censors, and opponents, repairing to the divinity school, each one installed himself in his place. Dr. Cranmer, with a rout of rusty bills, was brought thither, and set in the answerer's place, with the mayor and aldermen sitting by him; where Dr. Weston, prolocutor, apparelled in a scarlet gown after the custom of the university, began the disputation with this oration. His words, as he spake them, were these:

"Ye are assembled hither, brethren, this day, to confound the detestable heresy of the verity of the body of Christ in the sacrament," &c. At which words thus pronounced of the prolocutor unawares, divers of the learned men there present, considering and well weighing the words by him uttered, burst out into a great laughter, as though, even in the entrance of the disputations, he had betrayed himself and his religion, that termed the opinion of the verity of Christ's body in the sacrament, a detestable heresy. The rest of his oration tended all to this effect, that it was not lawful by God's word to call these questions into controversy: for such as doubted of the words of Christ, might well be thought to doubt both of the truth and power of God. Whereunto Dr. Cranmer, desiring licence, answered in this wise.

"We are assembled," saith he, "to discuss these doubtful controversies, and to lay them open before the eyes of the world; whereof ye think it unlawful to dispute. It is indeed no reason," saith he, "that we should dispute of that which is determined upon, before the truth be tried. But if these questions be not called into controversy, surely mine answer then is looked for in vain."

This was the sum and effect of his answer; and, this done, he prepared himself to disputation.

Then Chedsey, the first opponent, began in this wise to dispute.

"Reverend Master Doctor, these three conclusions are put forth unto us at this present, to dispute upon;

"First, in the sacrament of the altar is the natural body of Christ, conceived of the Virgin Mary, and also his blood present really under the forms of bread and wine, by virtue of God's word pronounced by the priest.

"Secondly, there remaineth no substance of bread and wine after the consecration, nor any other substance, but the substance of God and man.

"Thirdly, the lively sacrifice of the church is in the mass propitiatory, as well for the quick as the dead.

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"These be the conclusions propounded, whereupon this our present controversy doth rest. Now, to the end we might not doubt how you take the same, you have already given up unto us your opinion thereof: I term it your opinion, in that it disagreeeth from the catholic. Wherefore I thus argue:

"Your opinion differeth from the Scripture: "Ergo, you are deceived."

Cranmer.—"I deny the antecedent."

Chedsey.—"Christ, when he instituted his last supper, spake to his disciples, Take, eat: this is my body which shall be given for you.

"But his true body was given for us:

"Ergo, his true body is in the sacrament.

"The right form of this argument is thus to be framed:

"The same which was given for us is in the sacrament.

"But his true body was given for us:

"Ergo, his true body is in the sacrament."

Cranmer.—"His true body is truly present to them that truly receive him: but spiritually. And so it is taken after a spiritual sort; for when he said, This is my body, it is all one as if he had said, This is the breaking of my body; this is the shedding of my blood.—As oft as you shall do this, it shall put you in remembrance of the breaking of my body, and the shedding of my blood; that as truly as you receive this sacrament, so truly shall you receive the benefit promised by receiving the same worthily."

Chedsey.—"Your opinion differeth from the church, which saith, that the true body is in the sacrament:

"Ergo, your opinion therein is false."

Cranmer.—"I say and agree with the church, that the body of Christ is in the sacrament effectually, because the passion of Christ is effectual."

Chedsey.—"Christ, when he spake these words, This is my body, spake of the substance, but not of the effect."

Cranmer.—"I grant he spake of the substance, and not of the effect after a sort: and yet it is most true that the body of Christ is effectually in the sacrament. But I deny that he is there truly present in bread, or that under the bread is his organical body."

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And because it should be too tedious (he said) to make discourse of the whole, he delivered up there his opinion thereof to Dr. Weston, written at large; with answers to every one of their three propositions, which he desired Dr. Weston, sitting there on high, to read openly to the people; which he promised to do. But it was not the first promise that such papists have broken.

The copy of this writing, although it were not there read, yet the contents thereof we have drawn out as followeth.

"In the assertions of the church and of religion, trifling and new-fangled novelties of words, so much as may be, are to be eschewed, whereof ariseth nothing but contention and brawling about words; and we must follow, so much as we may, the manner of speaking of the Scripture.

"In the first conclusion, if ye understand by this word 'really' in very deed and effectually, so Christ, by the grace and efficacy of his passion, is indeed and truly present to all his true and holy members.

"But if ye understand by this word really 'corporally,' so that by the body of Christ is understood a natural body and organical; so, the first proposition doth vary, not only from the usual speech and phrase of Scripture, but also is clean contrary to the holy word of God, and Christian profession: when as both the Scripture doth testify by these words, and also the catholic church hath professed from the beginning,—Christ to have left the world, and to sit at the right hand of the Father till he come to judgment.

"And likewise I answer to the second question; that is, that it swerveth from the accustomed manner and speech of Scripture.

"The third conclusion, as it is intricate and wrapped in all doubtful and ambiguous words, and differing also much from the true speech of the Scripture, so as the words thereof seem to import no open sense; is most contumelious against our only Lord and Saviour Christ Jesus, and a violating of his precious blood, which, upon the altar of the cross, is the only sacrifice and oblation for the sins of all mankind."

Chedsey.—"By this your interpretation which you have made upon the first conclusion, this I understand,—the body of Christ to be in the sacrament only by the way of participation: insomuch as we, communicating thereof, do participate the grace of Christ, so that you mean hereby only the effect thereof. But our conclusion standeth upon the substance, and not the efficacy only, which shall appear by the testimony both of Scriptures, and of all the fathers a thousand years after Christ.

"And first, (to begin with the Scripture,) let us consider what is written in Matt. xxvi., Mark xiv., Luke xxii., and 1 Cor. xi. Matthew saith, As they sat at supper, Jesus took bread, &c. In Mark there is the same sense, although not the same words, who, also, for one part of the sacrament speaketh more plainly, Jesus taking bread, &c. After the same sense also writeth Luke xxii., And when Jesus had taken bread, &c. In the mouth of two or three witnesses, saith the

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Scripture, standeth all truth. Here we have three witnesses together, that Christ said that to be his body, which was given for many; and that to be his blood, which should be shed for many: whereby is declared the substance, and not only the efficacy alone thereof. Ergo, it is not true that you say, there to be not the substance of his body, but the efficacy alone thereof."

Cranmer.—"Thus you gather upon mine answer, as though I did mean of the efficacy, and not of the substance of the body; but I mean of them both, as well of the efficacy as of the substance. And, forasmuch as all things come not readily to memory, to a man that shall speak extempore, therefore, for the more ample and fuller answer in this matter, this writing here I do exhibit."

A further explication exhibited by Cranmer.

"Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, at the time of his maundy—preparing himself to die for our cause, that he might redeem us from eternal death, forgive us all our sins, and cancel out the handwriting that was against us—that we, through ungrateful oblivion, should not forget his death, therefore, at the time of his holy supper, did institute a perpetual memory of this his death, to be celebrated among Christians in bread and wine, according as it is said: Do this in remembrance of me; and, So often as you eat this bread, and drink this cup, you shall show forth the Lord's death, till he come. And this remembrance or sacrament of his holy passion, that is, of his body slain, and blood shed, he would all Christians to frequent and celebrate in bread and wine, according as he said, Take, eat; and drink ye all of this. Therefore, whosoever, for man's tradition, denieth the cup of Christ's blood to laymen, they manifestly repugn against Christ, forbidding that which Christ commandeth to be done, and be like to those scribes and Pharisees of whom the Lord spake: Ye hypocrites, ye have rejected the commandments of God for your traditions. Well did Esaias prophesy of you, saying, This people honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me. Without cause do they worship me, teaching the doctrines and precepts of men. The sacrament and mystical bread being broken and distributed after the institution of Christ, and the mystical wine being likewise taken and received, be not only sacraments of the flesh of Christ wounded for us, and of his blood-shedding, but also be most certain sacraments for us, and (as a man would say) seals of God's promises and gifts, and also of that holy fellowship which we have with Christ and all his members. Moreover, they be to us memorials of that heavenly food and nourishment, wherewith we are nourished unto eternal life, and the thirst of our boiling conscience [is] quenched; and finally, whereby the hearts of the faithful be replenished with unspeakable joy, and be corroborated and strengthened unto all works of godliness. We are many, saith St. Paul, one bread, and one body, all we which do participate of one bread, and one cup. And Christ saith, Eat ye; this is my body; and, Drink ye.; this is my blood. And, I am the living bread which came down from heaven. He that eateth me, shall also live for ever. Not as your fathers did eat manna in the desert, and are dead: he that eateth me, shall also live for ever.

"Thus, therefore, true bread and true wine remain still in the eucharist (until they be consumed of the faithful) to be signs, and as seals unto us annexed unto God's promises, making us certain of God's gifts towards us. Also Christ remaineth in them, and they in Christ, which eat his flesh, and drink his blood, as Christ himself hath promised: They that eat my flesh, and drink my blood, abide in me, and I in them. Moreover, he abideth also in them which worthily receive

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the outward sacrament; neither doth he depart so soon as the sacrament is consumed, but continually abideth, feeding and nourishing us so long as we remain bodies of that Head, and members of the same. I acknowledge not here the natural body of Christ, which is only spiritual, unintelligible, and insensible, having no distinction of members and parts in it: but that body only I acknowledge and worship, which was born of the Virgin, which suffered for us, which is visible, palpable, and hath all the form, and shape, and parts of the true natural body of man. Christ spite not these words of any uncertain substance, but of the certain substance of bread, which he then held in his hands, and showed his disciples, when he said, Eat ye; this is my body: and likewise of the cup, when he said, Drink ye; this is my blood: meaning verily of that bread, which by nature is usual and common with us, which is taken out of the fruit of the ground, compacted by the uniting of many grains together made by man, and by man's hand brought to that visible shape, being of round compass, and without all sense or life; which nourisheth the body, and strengtheneth the heart of man: of this same bread, (I say,) and not of any uncertain and wandering substance, the old fathers say that Christ spake these words, Eat ye; this is my body. And likewise also of the wine, which is the creature and fruit of the vine pressed out of many clusters of grapes, and maketh man's heart merry, of the very same wine (I say) Christ spake, Drink ye; this is my blood. And so the old doctors do call this speaking of Christ tropical, figurative, analogical, allegorical; which they do interpret after this sort, that although the substance of bread and wine do remain, and be received of the faithful, yet, notwithstanding, Christ changed the appellation thereof, and called the bread by the name of his flesh, and the wine by the name of his blood; 'Not that it is so in very deed, but signified in a mystery.' So that we should consider, not what they be in their own nature, but what they import to us and signify; and should understand the sacrament not carnally, but spiritually; and should attend not to the visible nature of the sacraments, neither have respect only to the outward bread and cup, thinking to see there with our eyes no other things but only bread and wine: but that, lifting up our minds, we should look up to the blood of Christ with our faith; should touch him with our mind, and receive him with our inward man; and that, being like eagles in this life, we should fly up into heaven in our hearts, where that Lamb is resident at the right hand of his Father, which taketh away the sins of the world; by whose stripes we are made whole; by whose passion we are filled at his table, and whose blood we receiving out of his holy side, do live for ever, being made the guests of Christ; having him dwelling in us through the grace of his true nature, and, through the virtue and efficacy of his whole passion, being no less assured and certified, that we are fed spiritually unto eternal life by Christ's flesh crucified, and by his blood shed, the true food of our minds, than that our bodies be fed with meat and drink in this life: and hereof this said mystical bread on the table of Christ, and the mystical wine, being administered and received after the institution of Christ, be to us a memorial, a pledge, a token, a sacrament, and a seal. And thereof it is that Christ saith not thus: This is my body; eat ye: but, after he had bidden them eat, then he said, This is my body, which shall be given for you: which is to mean, as though he should say, In eating of this bread, consider you that this bread is no common thing, but a mystical matter; neither do you attend that which is set before your bodily eyes, but what feedeth you within. Consider and behold my body crucified for you; that eat and digest in your minds; chew you upon my passion; be fed with my death. This is the true meat; this is the drink that moisteneth, wherewith you—being truly fed and inebriate—shall live for ever. The bread and wine which be set before your eyes are only declarations of me, but I myself am the eternal food. Wherefore, whensoever at this my table you shall behold the sacraments, have not regard so much to them, as consider ye what I promise you by them; which is—myself to be meat for you of eternal life.

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"The only oblation of Christ (wherewith he offered himself to God the Father once to death upon the altar of the cross for our redemption) was of such efficacy, that there is no more need of any sacrifice for the redemption of the whole world; but all the sacrifices of the old law he took away, performing that in very deed, which they did signify and promise. Whosoever therefore shall fix the hope of his salvation in any other sacrifice, he falleth from the grace of Christ, and is contumelious against the blood of Christ. For he was wounded for our transgressions, and was broken for our iniquities. All we like sheep have wandered astray. Every man hath turned after his own way, and the Lord hath laid all our iniquities upon him. For he hath entered once for all into the holy place by the blood, not of goats or calves, but by his own blood, finding eternal redemption: And hath entered into heaven, to appear now in the sight of God for us: not to offer himself oftentimes (for so should he have suffered many times); but now hath he appeared once to put away sin, through his own oblation. And as it is appointed to all men once to die, so also Christ once was offered: Who, offering up one oblation for sins, sitteth now for ever on the right hand of God: for by one oblation hath he made perfect for ever those that be sanctified. For where is remission of sins, there is now no oblation for sin, but this only sacrifice of Christ. Whosoever shall seek any other sacrifice propitiatory for sin, maketh the sacrifice of Christ of no validity, force, or efficacy: for if it be sufficient to remit sins, what need is there of any other? for the necessity of another argueth and declareth this to be insufficient. Almighty God grant, that we may truly lean to one sacrifice of Christ, and that we to him again may repay our sacrifices of thanksgiving, of praise, of confessing his name, of true amendment, of repentance, of mercifulness towards our neighbours, and of all other good works of charity: for by such sacrifices we shall declare ourselves neither ungrateful to God, nor altogether unworthy of this holy sacrifice of Christ.

"And thus you have out of the testimonies of Holy Scripture, and of the ancient doctors of the church, the true and sincere use of the Lord's holy supper, and the fruit of the true sacrifice of Christ; which whosoever, through captious or wrested interpretations, or by men's traditions, shall go about, otherwise than Christ ordained them, to alter or transubstantiate, he shall answer to Christ in the latter day, when he shall understand, (but then too late,) that he hath no participation with the body and blood of Christ, but that out of the supper of eternal life, he hath eaten and drunken eternal damnation to himself."

Weston.—"Because we will not consume and spend the time in waste, this your writing which you exhibit, hereafter shall be read in this place. In the mean season let us now fall to the arguments."

Chedsey.—"The Scriptures in many places do affirm, that Christ gave his natural body: Matt. xxvi.; Mark sic.; Luke xxii. Ergo, I do conclude that the natural body is in the sacrament."

Cranmer.—"To your argument I answer, If you understand by the body natural *organicum*, that is, having such proportion and members as he had living here, then I answer negatively. Furthermore, concerning the evangelists thus I say and grant, that Christ took bread, and called it his body."

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Chedsey.—"The text of the Scripture maketh against you, for the circumstance thereto annexed doth teach us, not only there to be the body, but also teacheth us what manner of body it is, and saith, The same body which shall be given.

"That thing is here contained, that is given for us.

"But the substance of bread is not given for us. "Ergo, The substance of bread is here not contained."

Cranmer.—"I understand not yet what you mean by this word 'contained.' If ye mean 'really,' then I deny your major."

Chedsey.—"The major is the text of Scripture. He that denieth the major, denieth the Scripture: for the Scripture saith, This is my body which is given for you."

Cranmer.—"I grant he said it was his body which should be given, but he said it was not his body which is here contained; but the body, saith he, that shall be given for you. As though he should say, This bread is the breaking of my body; and this cup is the shedding of my blood. What will ye say then? Is the bread the breaking of his body, and the cup the shedding of his blood really? If you say so, I deny it."

Chedsey.—"If you ask what is the thing therein contained; because his apostles should not doubt what body it was that should be given, he saith, This is my body which shall be given for you, and my blood which shall be shed for many. Ergo, here is the same substance of the body, which the day after was given, and the same blood which was shed. And here I urge the Scripture, which teacheth that it was no fantastical, no feigned, no spiritual body, nor body in faith; but the substance of the body."

Cranmer.—"You must prove that it is contained: but Christ said not, 'which is contained.' He gave bread, and called that his body. I stick not in the words of the Scripture, but in your word, which is feigned and imagined of yourself."

Chedsey.—"When Christ took bread and brake it, what gave he?"

Cranmer.—"He gave bread. The bread sacramentally, and his body spiritually, and the bread there he called his body."

Chedsey.—"This answer is against the Scripture, which saith, that he gave his body."

Cranmer.—"It did signify that which they did eat."

Chedsey.—"They did not eat the body as the Capernaïtes did understand it, but the selfsame body which was given for the sins of the world. Ergo, it was his body which should be given, and his blood which should be shed."

[In some other copies I find this argument to be made by Chedsey.

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"The same body is in the sacrament, which was given for us on the cross.

"But bread was not given on the cross for us:

"Ergo, Bread is not given in the sacrament."

Cranmer.—"I deny the major, which is, that the same natural body is given in the sacrament, which was given on the cross, except you understand it spiritually."—And after, he denied also the argument as utterly nought, as he might well do, the major in the second figure being not universal.]

When Master Chedsey had put forth his argument, and prosecuted the same, and Dr. Cranmer answered as before is showed, Dr. Oglethorpe, one of those doctors which the prolocutor called *censores*, (belike to be arbiters to order the disputations,) said on this wise:

Oglethorpe.—"You come in still with one evasion or starting hole to flee to. He urgeth the Scriptures, saying, that Christ gave his very body. You say, that he gave his body in bread. *Quomodo prædicatur corpus? qualis est corpus? qualis est prædicatio? panis est corpus.*"

Cranmer.—"You should say, *Quale corpus*. I answer to the question: It is the same body which was born of the Virgin, was crucified, ascended; but tropically, and by a figure. And so I say, *Panis en corpus* is a figurative speech, speaking sacramentally; for it is a sacrament of his body."

Oglethorpe.—"This word 'body,' being *prædicatum*, doth signify substance.

"But *substantia* is not predicated denominatively.

"Ergo, It is an essential predication; and so it is his true body, and not the figure of his body."

Cranmer.—"Substantia may be predicated denominatively in an allegory, or in a metaphor, or in a figurative locution."

Oglethorpe.—"It is not a likely thing, that Christ hath less care for his spouse the church, than a wise householder hath for his family, in making his will or testament."

Cranmer.—"Your reason is drawn out of the affairs of men, and not taken out of the Holy Scriptures."

Oglethorpe.—"But no householder maketh his testament after that sort."

Cranmer.—"Yes, there are many that so do. For what matter is it, so it be understood and perceived? I say, Christ did use figurative speech in no place more than in his sacraments; and specially in this of his supper."

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Oglethorpe.—"No man of purpose doth use tropes in his testament; for if he do, he deceiveth them that he cornprehendeth in his testament: therefore Christ useth none here."

Cranmer.—"Yes, he may use them well enough. You know not what tropes are."

Oglethorpe.—"The good man of the house hath respect that his heirs, after his departure, may live in quiet and without brabbling."

"But they cannot be in quiet, if he do use tropes: "Therefore, I say, he useth no tropes."

Cranmer.—"I deny your minor."

Weston.—"Augustine, in his book entituled De unitate Ecclesiæ, chap. x., hath these words following:

"What a thing is this, I pray you? When the last words of one lying upon his death-bed are heard, who is ready to go to his grave, no man saith, that he hath made a lie; and he is not accounted his heir, who regardeth not those words. How shall we then escape God's wrath, if either not believing, or not regarding, we shall reject the last words both of the only Son of God, and also of our Lord and Saviour,—both ascending into heaven, and beholding from thence, who despiseth, who observeth them not; and so shall come from thence to judge all men?"

"The argument is thus formed:

"Whosoever saith that the testator lieth, is a wicked heir.

"But whosoever saith that Christ spake by figures, saith that he did lie:

"Ergo, Whosoever saith that Christ here spake by figures, is a wicked heir."

Cranmer.—"I deny the minor: as who say, it is necessary that he that useth to speak by tropes and figures, should lie in so doing."

Oglethorpe.—"Your judgment is disagreeing with all churches."

Cranmer.—"Nay, I disagree with the papistical church."

Oglethorpe.—"This you do, through the ignorance of logic."

Cranmer.—"Nay, this you say, through the ignorance of the doctors."

Weston.—"I will go plainly to work by Scriptures. What took he?"

Cranmer.—"Bread."

Weston.—"What gave he?"

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Cranmer.—"Bread."

Weston.—"What brake he?"

Cranmer.—"Bread."

Weston.—"What did he eat?"

Cranmer.—"Bread."

Weston.—"He gave bread: therefore he gave not his body.

"He gave not his body, therefore it is not his body verily, and in deed and in truth."

Cranmer.—"I deny the argument."

Cole.—"This argument holdeth, *a disparatis*: It is bread: ergo, it is not the body; and it is such an argument or reason as cannot be dissolved."

Cranmer.—"The like argument may be made. He is a rock: ergo, he is not Christ."

Cole.—"It is not alike."

Weston.—"He gave not his body indeed: ergo, it was not his body indeed."

Cranmer.—"He gave his death, his passion, and the sacrament of his passion. And, in very deed, setting the figure aside, formally it is not his body."

Weston.—"Why? then the Scripture is false."

Cranmer.—"Nay, the Scripture is most true."

Weston.—"This saith Chrysostom: Needful it is, dear friends, to tell you what the miracle of the mysteries is, and wherefore it is given, and what profit there is of the thing. We are one body, and members of his flesh and of his bones. We that be in the mystery, let us follow the thing which was spoken. Wherefore, that we may become this thing, not only by love, but also that we may become one with that flesh indeed, that is brought to pass by this food which he gave unto us, minding to show his great good will that he hath towards us; and therefore he mixed himself with us, and united his own body with us, that we should be made all as one thing together, as a body joined and annexed to the head; for this is a token of most ardent and perfect love. And the same thing Job also, insinuating, said of his servants, of whom he was desired above measure insomuch that they, showing their great desire toward him, said, Who shall give unto us to be filled with his flesh? Therefore also Christ did the same, who, to induce us into a greater love toward him, and to declare his desire towards us, did not only give himself to be seen of them that would, but also to be handled and eaten, and suffered us to fasten our teeth in his flesh, and to be united together, and so to fill all our desire. Like lions therefore, as breathing

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fire, let us go from that table, being made terrible to the devil, remembering our Head in our mind, and his charity which he showed unto us. For parents many times give their children to others to be fed, but I do not so, (saith he,) but feed you with mine own flesh, and set myself before you; desiring to make you all jolly people, and pretending to you great hope and expectation to look for things to come, who here give myself to you, but much more in the world to come. I am become your brother; I took flesh and blood for you. Again, my flesh and blood, by the which I am made your kinsman, I deliver unto you.' Thus much out of Chrysostom. Out of which words I make this argument:

"The same flesh whereby Christ is made our brother and kinsman, is given of Christ to us to be eaten.

"Christ is made our brother and kinsman, by his true, natural, and organical flesh:

"Ergo, His true, natural, and organical flesh, is given to us to be eaten."

Cranmer.—"I grant the consequence and the consequent."

Weston.—"Therefore we eat it with our mouth."

Cranmer.—"I deny it. We eat it through faith."

Weston.—"He gave us that same flesh to eat whereby he became our brother and kinsman.

"But he became our brother and kinsman by his true, natural, and organical flesh:

"Therefore he gave his true, natural, and organical flesh to be eaten."

Cranmer.—"I grant he took and gave the same true, natural, and organical flesh wherein he suffered; and yet he feedeth us spiritually, and that flesh is received spiritually."

Weston.—"He gave us the same flesh which he took of the Virgin.

"But he took not his true flesh of the Virgin spiritually, or in a figure.

"Ergo, He gave his true natural flesh, not spiritually."

Cranmer.—"Christ gave to us his own natural flesh, the same wherein he suffered, but feedeth us spiritually."

Weston.—"Chrysostom is against you, where he saith, 'Let it come into thy remembrance with what honour thou art honoured, and what table thou sittest at: for with the same thing we are nourished, which the angels do behold and tremble at; neither are they able to behold it without great fear, for the brightness which cometh thereof: and we be brought and compact into one heap or mass with him, being together one body of Christ, and one flesh with him. Who shall

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speake the powers of the Lord, and shall declare forth all his praises? What pastor hath ever nourished his sheep with his own members? Many mothers have put forth their infants after their birth to other nurses; which he would not do, but feedeth us with his own body, and conjoineth and uniteth us to himself.' Whereupon I gather this argument:

"Like as mothers nurse their children with milk, so Christ nourisheth us with his body.

"But mothers do not nourish their infants spiritually with their milk:

"Therefore Christ doth not nourish those that be his spiritually, with his blood."

Cranmer.—"He gave us the wine for his blood."

Weston.—"If he gave the wine for his blood, (as you say,) then he gave less than mothers do give.

"But Chrysostom affirmeth, that he gave more than mothers give:

"Therefore he gave not the wine for his blood."

Cranmer.—"You pervert mine answer. He gave wine, yet the blood is considered therein. As for example: when he giveth baptism, we consider not the water, but the Holy Ghost, and remission of sins. We receive with the mouth the sacrament; but the thing and the matter of the sacrament we receive by faith."

Weston.—"When Christ said, Eat ye, whether meant he by the mouth or by faith?"

Cranmer.—"He meant, that we should receive the body by faith, the bread by the mouth."

"*Weston.*—"Nay, the body by the mouth.

Cranmer.—"That I deny."

Weston.—"I prove it out of Chrysostom, writing upon the fiftieth Psalm 'She that is a mother, shameth sometime to play the nurse. But Christ, our nurse, doth not so play with us. Therefore, instead of meat, he feedeth us with his own flesh; and instead of drink, he feedeth us with his own blood.' Likewise, upon the 83d Homily, on Matt. xxvi., he saith: 'For it shall not be enough for him to become man, and in the mean while to be whipped; but he doth bring us into one mass or lump with himself (as I may so call it); and maketh us his body, not by faith alone, but also in very deed.'"

Cranmer.—"I grant, we make one nature with Christ. But that to be done with the mouth, I deny."

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Weston.—"Chrysostom (2 Cur. xiii. Homil. 29) hath these words: 'No little honour is given to our mouth, receiving the body of the Lord.'"

Cranmer.—"This I say, that Christ entereth into us both by our ears and by our eyes. With our mouth we receive the body of Christ, and tear it with our teeth, that is to say, the sacrament of the body of Christ. Wherefore I say and affirm, that the virtue of the sacrament is much: and therefore Chrysostom many times speaketh of sacraments no otherwise than of Christ himself; as I could prove, if I might have liberty to speak, by many places of Chrysostom, where he speaketh of the sacrament of the body of Christ."

With which word of the "sacrament of the body," &c., Dr. Cole being highly offended, denied it to be the sacrament of the body of Christ, save only of the mystical body, which is the church.

Cranmer.—"And why should we doubt to call it the sacrament of the body of Christ, offered upon the cross, seeing both Christ and the ancient fathers do so call it?"

Cole.—"How gather you that of Chrysostom?"

Cranmer.—"Chrysostom declareth himself thus: O miracle, O the good-will of God towards us, which sitteth above, at the right hand of the Father, and is holden in men's hands at the sacrifice's time, and is given to feed upon, to them that are desirous of him! And that is brought to pass by no subtlety or craft, but with the open and beholding eyes of all the standers-by.' Thus you hear, Christ is seen here in earth every day; is touched, is torn with the teeth, that our tongue is red with his blood; which no man having any judgment will say or think to be spoken without trope or figure."

Weston.—"What miracle is it, if it be not his body, and if he spake only of the sacrament, as though it were his body? But hearken what Chrysostom saith: I show forth that thing on the earth unto thee, which is worthy the greatest honour. For like as in the palace of kings, neither the walls, nor the sumptuous bed, but the body of kings sitting under the cloth of estate, and royal seat of majesty, is of all things else the most excellent: so is, in like manner, the King's body in heaven, which is now set before us on earth. I show thee neither angels nor archangels, nor the heaven of heavens, but the very Lord and Master of all these things. Thou perceivest after what sort thou dost not only behold, but tougest; and not only touchest, but eatest, that which on the earth is the greatest and chieftest thing of all other; and when thou hast received the same, thou goest home: wherefore cleanse thy soul from all uncleanness.'

"Upon this, I conclude that the body of Christ is showed us upon the earth."

Cranmer.—"What! upon the earth? No man seeth Christ upon the earth: he is seen with the eyes of our mind, with faith and spirit."

Weston.—"I pray you, what is it that seemeth worthy highest honour on the earth? Is it the sacrament, or else the body of Christ?"

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Cranmer.—"Chrysostom speaketh of the sacrament; and the body of Christ is showed forth in the sacrament."

Weston.—"Ergo, then the sacrament is worthy greatest honour."

Cranmer.—"I deny the argument."

Weston.—"That thing is showed forth, and is now on the earth, which is worthy highest honour."

"But only the body of Christ is worthy highest honour:

"Ergo, The body of Christ is now on the earth."

Cranmer.—"I answer, the body of Christ to be on the earth, but so as in the sacrament, and as the Holy Ghost is in the water of baptism."

Weston.—"Chrysostom saith, 'I show forth,' which noteth a substance to be present."

Cranmer.—"That is to be understood sacramentally."

Weston.—"He saith, 'I show forth on earth;' declaring also the place where."

Cranmer.—"That is to be understood figuratively."

Weston.—"He is showed forth, and is now on the earth, &c., as before."

Cranmer.—"Your major and conclusion are all one."

Weston.—"But the major is true: ergo, the conclusion also is true.

"That thing is on the earth, which is worthy of most high honour.

"But no figure is worthy of highest honour.

"Ergo, That which is on the earth, is no figure."

"*Cranmer.*—"I answer, that is true sacramentally.

Here Weston crieth to him, that he should answer to one part, bidding him repeat his words. Which when Cranmer went about to do, such was the noise and crying out in the school, that his mild voice could not be heard. For when he went about to declare to the people how the prolocutor did not well English the words of Chrysostom, using for *ostenditur in terra*, "he is showed forth on the earth," *est in terra*, "he is on the earth," whereas Chrysostom hath not *est* nor any such word of being on the earth, but only of showing, as the grace of the Holy Ghost *in*

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baptismo ostenditur, i. e. is showed forth in baptism: and oftentimes he did inculcate this word *ostenditur*.

Then the prolocutor, stretching forth his hand, set on the rude people to cry out at him, filling all the school with hissing, clapping of hands, and noise; calling him unlearned, unskilful, impudent: which impudent and reproachful words this reverend man most patiently and meekly did abide, as one that had been inured with the suffering of such-like reproaches. And when the prolocutor, not yet satisfied with this rude and unseemly demeanour, did urge and call upon him to answer the argument; then he bade the notary repeat his words again.

Notary.—"That which is worthy most high honour, here I show forth to thee on earth.

"The body of Christ is worthy highest honour:

"Ergo, He showeth forth the body of Christ here on earth."

Cranmer.—"That is showed forth here on the earth, which may be seen, which may be touched, and which may be eaten: but these things be not true of the body."

Cole.—"Why should not these things be true of the body of Christ?"

Cranmer.—"The major out of Chrysostom is true; meaning of the sacraments. For in the sacrament the true body of Christ, and not the figurative body, is set forth."

Weston.—"Show me somewhat in earth worthy greatest honour."

Cranmer.—"I cannot, but in the sacrament only."

Weston.—"Ergo, The sacrament is worthy greatest honour."

Cranmer.—"So it is."

Judges.—"Let it be written."

Cranmer.—"I pray you let my answer be written likewise: I affirm, that the body of Christ is showed forth unto us. It is our faith that seeth Christ."

Weston.—"I show it to thee,' saith Chrysostom—not to thy faith."

Cranmer.—"He speaketh sacramentally.

Weston.—"Ergo, Chrysostom lieth. For he, speaking of showing, saith, 'I Chrysostom do show.' But he can show nothing sacramentally."

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Chedsey.—"By force of argument we are brought to this point, that the body of Christ is proved to be on earth, not only sacramentally, but in very deed also, by this reason, that it is worthy highest honour.—The reason is indissoluble."

Cranmer.—"I never heard a more vain argument, and it is most vain; also it hath mine answer unto it."

Chedsey.—"Will you affirm, that it is absurd which Chrysostom saith, That the body of Christ is touched?"

"I touch the body of Christ in the sacrament, as Thomas touched Christ.

"Thomas touched Christ, and said, My Lord, my God.

"Ergo, That which he touched was the Lord, the God."

[This argument, as I received it out of the notary's book, is not formal; but rather he should conclude in the third figure thus:

As Thomas touched the body of Christ, so we touch it in the sacrament.]

Thomas touched the body of Christ corporally: Ergo, We touch the body of Christ corporally in the sacrament.]

Cranmer.—"I deny your argument. He touched not God, but him which was God; neither is it sound doctrine to affirm that God is touched."

Chedsey.—"This is because of the union; so that God is said to be touched, when Christ, which is both God and man, is touched.

"Tertullian saith, 'Let us consider as concerning the proper form of the Christian man, what great prerogative this vain and foul substance of ours hath with God. Although it were sufficient to it, that no soul could ever get salvation unless it believe while it is in the flesh: so much the flesh availeth to salvation; by the which flesh it cometh, that whereas the soul so is linked unto God, it is the said flesh that causeth the soul to be linked: yet the flesh moreover is washed, that the soul may be cleansed; the flesh is anointed, that the soul may be consecrated; the flesh is signed, that the soul may be defended; the flesh is shadowed by the imposition of hands, that the soul may be illuminated with the Spirit; the flesh doth eat the body and blood of Christ, that the soul may be fed of God. Whereupon I gather this argument:

"The flesh eateth the body of Christ.

"Ergo, The body of Christ is eaten with the mouth.

"Item, Photius upon these words (1 Cor. xi.) will be guilty of the body and blood, &c.: 'Whereas he saith, Is guilty of the body and blood; this he declareth, that like as Judas betrayed

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him, and the Jews were fierce and spiteful against him; so do they dishonour him, who receive his holy body with their impure hands, and, as the Jews did hold him then, do now receive him with impure mouths. And whereas he often maketh mention of the body and blood of the Lord, he declareth, that it is not simply man that is sacrificed, but even the Lord himself, being the Maker of all things, hereby (as it were) making them afraid.'

"Ergo, (as it is hereby gathered,) the body of Christ is touched with the hands."

Cranmer.—"You vouch two authors against me upon sundry things. First I must answer Tertullian, and then the other."

Chedsey.—"They tend both to one meaning."

Cranmer.—"Unto Tertullian I answer, (because our disputation is wandering and uncertain,) that he calleth that the flesh, which is the sacrament. For although God work all things in us invisibly, beyond man's reach, yet they are so manifest, that they may be seen, and perceived of every sense. Therefore he setteth forth baptism, unction, and, last of all, the supper of the Lord unto us, which he gave to signify his operation in us. The flesh liveth by the bread, but the soul is inwardly fed by Christ."

Weston.—"Stick to those words of Tertullian, The body eateth, that the soul may be fed."

Chedsey.—"The flesh eateth the body of Christ, that the soul may be fed therewith."

Weston.—"Here you see two kinds of food, of the soul and of the body."

Chedsey.—"He saith, that not only the soul, but the flesh is also fed."

Cranmer.—"The soul is fed with the body of Christ, the body with the sacrament."

Chedsey.—"Is the soul fed with the body of Christ, and not with the sacrament."

Cranmer.—"Read that which followeth, and you shall perceive, that by things external, an operation internal is understood. Inwardly we eat Christ's body, and outwardly we eat the sacrament. So one thing is done outwardly, and another inwardly. Like as in baptism the external element, whereby the body is washed, is one; the internal thing, whereby the soul is cleansed, is another."

Chedsey.—"The soul is fed by that which the body eateth."

"But the soul is fed by the flesh of Christ:

"Ergo, The body eateth the flesh of Christ."

Cranmer.—"We eat not one thing outwardly and inwardly. Inwardly we eat Christ's body: outwardly we eat the sacrament."

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Chedsey—"I will repeat the argument.

"The flesh eateth Christ's body, that the soul may be fed therewith.

"The soul is not fed with the sacrament, but with Christ's body.

"Ergo, The flesh eateth the body of Christ."

Cranmer.—"The sacrament is one thing, the matter of the sacrament is another. Outwardly we receive the sacrament; inwardly we eat the body of Christ."

Chedsey.—"I prove, that we receive that outwardly, wherewith the soul is fed.

"The soul is fed with the body of Christ:

"Ergo, We eat the body of Christ outwardly.

"The flesh eateth Christ his body:

"Ergo, The soul is fed therewith."

Cranmer.—"The flesh, I say, eateth the sacrament; it eateth not Christ's body. For Tertullian speaketh of the sacrament; and the place hath not 'thereof,' but 'of God.'"

Chedsey.—"What say you to Photius's saying? 'They which receive the body with impure hands, are guilty of the Lord's blood, as Judas was.'"

Weston.—"That which followeth in Tertullian doth take away your shift, where he saith, 'They cannot be separated in reward, whom one work joineth together.'

"But manducation is the work, or labour: ergo, &c.

"The form of this argument may be thus collected:

"One work or labour joineth body and soul together.

"Manducation is a work, or labour.

"Ergo, One manducation joineth together both body and soul.

"To the major of which argument, thus it may be answered, expounding the saying of Tertullian, *Una opera conjungit, sed non idem operandi modus*. Again, *opera* here, in Tertullian, may be taken for temptations and afflictions."

Cranmer.—"Your authority, I suppose, is taken out of the book, Of the Resurrection of the Flesh; and the meaning thereof is this: Tertullian goeth about there to prove, that the flesh

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shall rise again, because it is joined together in one work with the soul. Through baptism in this world the body is washed, and the soul is washed: the body outwardly, the soul inwardly; the work is one. In this work they are joined, and he speaketh of signs."

Weston.—"He speaketh of eating in a sign: ergo, the reward is in a sign."

Cranmer.—"They are coupled in one work, namely, in the sacrament."

Weston.—"There are two works: ergo, there are two rewards."

"If the work be in a figure: ergo, the reward is in a figure."

Cranmer.—"He speaketh not of two works. Two works are but one work. And yet he saith not, 'whom one work joineth together;' but 'a work:' as in baptism the soul and body are joined in understanding."

Weston.—"The flesh and soul shall have one and the selfsame reward, because they have one work."

Cranmer.—"Because they be joined together in one work."

Tresham.—"Forasmuch as the reverend doctors here have impugned and overthrown your assertion and your answers sufficiently, I will fall to another matter, not altogether impertinent to the purpose, and that in few words, against a certain sequel of your opinion. The sequel is this: that between us and Christ there is no further conjunction, while we receive the eucharist, than a conjunction of the mind, or a spiritual conjunction, whereby we are united and knit unto Christ through faith and love. As for the presence of Christ concerning the substance, that you utterly deny. Whereupon, in very deed, you leave but a spiritual union and joining together of mind: howbeit you would seem to think otherwise, by your subtle answers. But I will declare, by manifest testimonies of the fathers, that this your sequel, which you account so sure, is far wide from the truth. And I will begin with St. Hilary, who is both an ancient and learned author. For, disputing against the Arians, in his eighth book of the Trinity, he saith, that this was their opinion; that the Father and the Son are conjoined only through unity of will. Whereupon Arius himself, when Scripture was alleged against him, did (as you do now) elude the right meaning of it by his false interpretations. But the catholic church hath always believed and ever maintained, That Christ is one with the Father in nature, and not by consent of will only.' To the proof whereof, when the catholics vouched this testimony of John, The Father and I are one; the Arians answered, that *unum sumus* was to be understood by the assent of their wills, and agreement of their minds; not by unity of their natures. Thus it happeneth now-a-days, where men do doubt of the sacrament. But Hilary, going on, and proving the natural conjunction between the Father and the Son *a fortiori*, questioneth with his adversaries after this manner: 'I demand of them now, which will needs have the unity of will only between the Father and the Son, whether Christ be now in us truly by nature, or only by the agreement of wills. If,' saith he, 'the Word be incarnate in very deed, and we receive at the Lord's table the Word made flesh, how then is he to be thought not to dwell in us naturally, who, being born man, hath both taken the nature of our flesh upon him, that is now inseparable, and hath also mingled that nature of his

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own flesh unto the nature of eternity, under the sacrament of his flesh, to be communicated unto us?' Thus much hath Hilary. Whereupon I ask of you this question, How Christ dwelleth now in us?—according to faith, or according to nature?"

Cranmer.—"I say that Christ dwelleth verily in us carnally and naturally; for that he hath taken of the Virgin our flesh upon him, and because he hath communicated his nature unto us."

Tresham.—"Bucer referreth these words only to the eucharist, saying, 'Christ doth exhibit all this unto us in his holy supper; and, according to the holy fathers,' saith Bucer, 'Christ liveth thereby in us, not only by faith and love, as absent, but naturally, corporally, and carnally.' Wherefore he is not absent, neither are we joined to Christ only by a spiritual union, (as you suppose,) but also by a corporal and carnal union."

Cranmer.—"I know that Master Bucer was a learned man. But your faith is in good case, which leaneth upon Bucer."

Tresham.—"I do not bring Bucer as a patron of our faith; but because he is a man of your sort, and yet bringeth this place of Hilary for that union which we have by the sacrament, and confesseth, that by it we are carnally united to Christ: whereas you think, we are joined by it only through faith and love."

Cranmer.—"I say that Christ was communicated unto us, not only by faith, but in very deed, also, when he was born of the Virgin. We have fellowship with Christ, when we are united in the unity of the church; when we are made flesh of his flesh, and bones of his bones: and so we are united in the communion, in baptism, and in faith."

Tresham.—"I pray you, what fellowship have we with Christ, in that he is made man? Are not the Turks and Jews therein joined with him? For they are men as we are, and are joined with him in man's nature, in that he was born of a woman. I speak now of a more near unity. We are made one with Christ by the communion, in a perfect unity."

Cranmer.—"We are made so, I grant: but we are made so also by baptism; and the unity in baptism is perfect."

Tresham.—"We are not made one by baptism in a perfect unity, as Hilary there speaketh, but by the communion, by which we are carnally made one; but not likewise by baptism: wherefore you understand not Hilary. You shall hear his words, which are these: 'He had now declared afore the sacrament of his perfect union, saying; As the living Father sent me, so do I also live by the Father. And he that eateth my flesh, shall also live through me.' And a little after that he writeth thus: 'This truly is the cause of our life; that we have Christ dwelling by his flesh in us that are fleshly, which also by him shall live in such sort as he liveth by his Father.' Wherefore of these words it is manifest, that we obtain this perfect unity by means of the sacrament, and that Christ by it is carnally united unto us."

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Cranmer.—"Nay, Hilary in that same place doth teach, that it is done by baptism: and that doctrine is not to be suffered in the church, which teacheth, that we are not joined to Christ by baptism."

Weston.—"Repeat the argument."

Cramner.—"You must first make an argument."

Tresham.—"It is made already, but it shall be made again in this form:

"As Christ liveth by his Father, so they that eat Christ's flesh, live by the same flesh.

"But Christ liveth by the Father, not only by faith and love, but naturally.

"Ergo, We live not through the eating of Christ's flesh, by faith and love only, but naturally."

Cranmer.—"We live by Christ, not only by faith and love, but eternally indeed,"

Tresham.—"Nay, naturally; I prove it thus: "As Christ liveth by the Father, so live we by his flesh eaten of us.

"But Christ liveth not by his Father only by faith and love, but naturally.

"Therefore we do not live by eating of Christ's flesh only by faith and love, (as you suppose,) but naturally."

Cranmer.—"The minor is not true."

Tresham.—"This is the opinion of Arius—that Christ is united to his Father by conjunction of mind, and not naturally."

Cranmer.—"I say not so yet, neither do I think so: but I will tell you what I like not in your minor. You say, 'that Christ doth not live by his Father only by faith and love:' but I say, that Christ liveth not at all by his faith."

Weston.—"Mark and consider well this word, 'by faith,' lest any occasion of cavilling be given."

Tresham.—"Let that word, 'by faith,' be omitted. Neither did I mean, that Christ liveth by his Father through faith. Yet the strength of the argument remaineth in force; for else Hilary doth not confute the Arians, except there be a greater conjunction between us and Christ, when he is eaten of us, than only a spiritual conjunction. You do only grant a union. As for a carnal or natural union of the substance of flesh, by which we are joined more than spiritually, you do not grant. But our Lord Jesus give you a better mind, and show you the light of his truth, that you may return into the way of righteousness."

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Weston.—"We came hither to dispute, and not to pray."

Tresham.—"Is it not lawful to pray for them that err?"

Weston.—"It is not lawful yet—But proceed."

Tresham.—"Again, I reason thus: As Christ liveth by his Father, after the same manner do we live by the eating of his flesh.

"But Christ liveth not by his Father, only in unity of will, but naturally:

"Ergo, We do not live when we eat the flesh of Christ, only by faith and unity of will, but naturally."

Cranmer.—"This is my faith, and it agreeth with the Scripture; Christ liveth by his Father naturally, and maketh us to live by himself indeed naturally, and that not only in the sacrament of the eucharist, but also in baptism. For infants, when they are baptized, do eat the flesh of Christ."

Weston.—"Answer either to the whole argument, or to the parts thereof. For this argument is strong, and cannot be dissolved."

Cranmer.—"This is the argument:

"As Christ liveth by his Father, after the same manner do we live by his flesh, being eaten of us.

"But Christ liveth by his Father not only in unity of will, but naturally.

"Ergo, We, eating his flesh, do not live only by faith and love, but naturally.

"But the major is false; namely, that by the same manner we live by Christ, as he liveth by his Father."

Weston.—"Hilary saith, 'after the same manner,' upon these words, He that eateth my flesh shall live by me. Ergo, Christ liveth by his Father, and as he liveth by his Father, after the same manner we shall live by his flesh. Here you see, that Hilary saith, 'after the same manner.'"

Cranmer.—"After the same manner,' doth not signify alike in all things, but indeed and eternally: for so do we live by Christ, and Christ liveth by his Father. For in other respects Christ liveth otherwise by his Father than we live by Christ."

Weston.—"He liveth by his Father naturally and eternally.

"Ergo, We live by Christ naturally and eternally."

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Cranmer.—"We do not live naturally, but by grace, if you take naturally for the manner of nature; as Christ hath eternal life of his Father, so have we of him."

Weston.—"I stick to this word 'naturally.'"

Cranmer.—"I mean it, touching the truth of nature. For Christ liveth otherwise by his Father than we live by Christ."

Weston.—"Hilary, in his eighth book de Trinitate, denieth it, when he saith, He liveth therefore by his Father; and as he liveth by his Father, after the same manner we shall live by his flesh."

Cranmer.—"We shall live after the same manner, as concerning the nature of the flesh of Christ: for as he hath of his Father the nature of eternity, so shall we have of him."

Weston.—"Answer unto the parts of the argument."

"As Christ liveth by his Father, after the same manner shall we live by his flesh.

"But Christ doth not live by his Father only in unity of will, but naturally.

"Ergo, We, eating of his flesh, do not live only by faith and love, but naturally."

Cranmer.—"I grant, as I said, we live by Christ naturally: but I never heard that Christ liveth with his Father in unity of will only."

Weston.—"Because it seemeth a marvel unto you, hear what Hilary saith: 'These things are recited of us to this end, because the heretics, feigning a unity of will only between the Father and the Son, did use the example of our unity with God; as though we, being united to the Son, and by the Son to the Father, only by obedience and will of religion, had no propriety of the natural communion by the sacrament of the body and blood.'

"But answer to the argument,—Christ liveth by his Father naturally and eternally: therefore do we live by Christ naturally and eternally."

Cranmer.—"Cyril and Hilary do say, that Christ is united to us not only by will, but also by nature: he doth communicate to us his own nature, and so is Christ made one with us carnally and corporally, because he took our nature of the Virgin Mary. And Hilary doth not say only that Christ is naturally in us, but that we also are naturally in him, and in the Father; that is, that we are partakers of their nature, which is eternity, or everlastingness. For as the Word, receiving our nature, did join it unto himself in unity of person, and did communicate unto that our nature, the nature of his eternity, that like as he, being the everlasting Word of the Father, had everlasting life of the Father; even so he gave the same nature to his flesh. Likewise also did he communicate with us the same nature of eternity, which he and the Father have, and that we should be one with them, not only in will and love, but that we should be also partakers of the nature of everlasting life."

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Weston.—"Hilary, where he saith, 'Christ communicated to us his nature,' meaneth that not by his nativity, but by the sacrament."

Cranmer.—"He hath communicated to us his flesh by his nativity."

Weston.—"We have communicated to him our flesh when he was born."

Cranmer.—"Nay, he communicated to us his flesh, when he was born, and that I will show you out of Cyril upon this place, *Et homo factus est.*"

Weston.—"Ergo, Christ being born, gave us his flesh."

Cranmer.—"In his nativity he made us partakers of his flesh."

Weston.—"Write, sirs."

Cranmer.—"Yea, write."

Chedsey.—"This place of Hilary is so dark, that you were compelled to falsify it in your book, because you could not draw it to confirm your purpose: 'If Christ hath taken verily the flesh of our body, and the man that was verily born of the Virgin Mary is Christ, and also we receive under the true mystery the flesh of his body, by means whereof we shall be one, (for the Father is in Christ, and Christ in us,) how shall that be called the unity of will, when the natural property, brought to pass by the sacrament, is the sacrament of unity. We must not speak in the sense of man, or of the world, in matters concerning God: neither must we perversely wrest any strange or wicked sense out of the wholesome meaning of the Holy Scripture, through impudent and violent contention. Let us read those things that are written, and let us understand those things that we read, and then we shall perform the duty of perfect faith. For as touching that natural and true being of Christ in us, except we learn of him, we speak foolishly and ungodly that thing that we do speak. For he saith, My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed: he that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, abideth in me, and I in him. As touching the verity of his flesh and blood, there is left no place of doubt: for now, both by the testimony of the Lord, and also by our faith, it is verily flesh, and verily blood.'—Here you have falsified Hilary, for you have set *vero sub mysterio*, for *vere sub mysterio*, 'we receive truly under a mystery.' Hilary thrice reporteth *vere sub mysterio*, and you interpret it twice *vere sub mysterio*, but, the third time, you have *vero* for *vere*."

Cranmer.—"Assuredly I am not guilty of any deceit herein. It may be that the copy which I followed had *sub vero mysterio*, i. e. under a true mystery; although touching the sense it differeth little. God, I call to witness, I have always hated falsifying, and if you had leisure and lust to hear false citations, I could recite unto you six hundred."

Weston.—"Here shall be showed you two copies of Hilary, the one printed at Basil, the other at Paris."

Cranmer.—"I suppose that Dr. Smith's book hath *vero*."

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Weston.—"Here is Dr. Smith: let him answer for himself.—Master Smith, Master Doctor, what say you for yourself? Speak, if you know it."

Here Dr. Smith, either for the truth in his book alleged, or else astonished with Dr. Weston's hasty calling, staid to answer; for he only put off his cap, and kept silence.

Weston.—"But your own book, printed by Wolf, your own printer, hath *vero*."

Cranmer.—"That book is taken from me, which easily might have ended this controversy. I am sure the Book of Decrees hath *vero*."

Cole.—"Now you admit the Book of Decrees, when it maketh for you."

Cranmer.—"Touching the sense of the matter there is little difference. The change of one letter for another is but a small matter."

Weston.—"No? Yes; *pastor*, as you know, signifieth a bishop, and *pistor* signifileth a baker. But *pastor* shall be *pistor*, a bishop shall be a baker, by this your change of one letter, if *vere* and *vero* do nothing change the sense."

Cranmer.—"Let it be so, that in *pistor* and *pastor* one letter maketh some difference: yet let *pistor* be either a maker or baker of bread, ye see here the change of a letter, and yet no great difference to be in the sense."

Young.—"This disputation is taken in hand, that the truth might appear. I perceive that I must go another way to work than I had thought. It is a common saying, 'Against them that deny principles, we must not dispute.' Therefore, that we may agree of the principles, I demand, whether there be any other body of Christ, than his instrumental body?"

Cranmer.—"There is no natural body of Christ, but his organical body."

Young.—"Again I demand, whether sense and reason ought to give place to faith?"

Cranmer.—"They ought."

Young.—"Thirdly, whether Christ be true in all his words?"

Cranmer.—"Yea, he is most true, and truth itself."

Young.—"Fourthly, whether Christ, at his supper, minded to do that which he spake, or no?"

Cranmer.—"In saying he spake, but in saying he made not, but made the sacrament to his disciples."

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Young.—"Answer according to the truth, Whether did Christ that as God and man, which he spake, when he said, This is my body?"

Cranmer.—"This is a sophistical cavillation: go plainly to work. There is some deceit in these questions. You seek subtileness: leave your crafty fetches."

Young.—"I demand, whether Christ by these words wrought any thing or no?"

Cranmer.—"He did institute the sacrament."

Young.—"But answer, whether did he work any thing?"

Cranmer.—"He did work in instituting the sacrament."

Young.—"Now I have you; for before you said, it was a figurative speech.

"But a figure worketh nothing:

"Ergo, It is not a figurative speech. A liar ought to have a good memory."

Cranmer.—"I understood your sophistry before. You, by working, understand converting into the body of Christ: but Christ wrought the sacrament, not in converting, but in instituting."

Young.—"Woe be to them that make Christ a deceiver! Did he work any other thing than he spake, or the selfsame thing?"

Cranmer.—"He wrought the sacrament, and by these words he signified the effect."

Young.—"A figurative speech is no working thing.

"But the speech of Christ is working:

"Ergo, It is not figurative."

Cranmer.—"It worketh by instituting, not by converting."

Young.—"The thing signified in the sacrament, is it not that sacrament?"

Cranmer.—"It is; for the thing is ministered in a sign. He followeth the letter that taketh the thing for a sign. Augustine separateth the sacrament from the thing. 'The sacrament,' saith he, 'is one, and the thing of the sacrament another.'"

Weston.—"Stick to this argument.

"It is a figurative speech.

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"Ergo, It worketh nothing."

Young.—"But the speech of Christ is a working thing.

"Ergo, It is not figurative."

Cranmer.—"Oh how many crafts are in this argument! they are mere fallacies. I said not, that the words of Christ do work, but Christ himself; and he worketh by a figurative speech."

Weston.—"If a figure work, it maketh of bread the body of Christ."

Cranmer.—"A figurative speech worketh not."

Weston.—"A figurative speech, by your own confession, worketh nothing.

"But the speech of Christ in the supper (as you grant) wrought somewhat.

"Ergo, The speech of Christ in the supper was not figurative."

Cranmer.—"I answer, these are mere sophisms. The speech doth not work, but Christ, by the speech, doth work the sacrament. I look for Scriptures at your hands, for they are the foundation of disputations."

Young.—"Are not these words of Scripture, This is my body? The word of Christ is of strength; and by the Lord's words the heavens were made. He said, This is my body: ergo, he made it."

Cranmer.—"He made the sacrament; and I deny your argument."

Young.—"If he wrought nothing, nothing is left there. He said, This is my body. You say, contrary to the Scriptures, it is not the body of Christ; and fall from the faith."

Cranmer.—"You interpret the Scriptures contrary to all the old writers, and feign a strange sense."

Young.—"Ambrose saith: 'Thou hast read of the works of all the world, that he spake the word, and they were made; he commanded, and they were created. Cannot the word of Christ, which made of nothing that which was not, change those things that are into that they were not? for it is no less matter to give new things, than to change natures. But what use we arguments? let us use his own examples, and let us confirm the verity of the mystery by example of his incarnation. Did the use of nature go before, when the Lord Jesus was born of Mary? If you seek the order of nature, conception is wont to be made by a woman joined to a man. It is manifest therefore, that contrary to the order of nature, a virgin did conceive: and this body that we make, is of the Virgin. What seekest thou here the order of nature in the body of Christ, when, against the order of nature, the Lord Jesus was conceived of a virgin? It was the true flesh of Christ that was crucified, and which was buried: therefore it is truly the sacrament of him. The Lord Jesus

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himself crieth, This is my body. Before the blessing of the heavenly words, it is named another kind: but, after the consecration, the body of Christ is signified. He calleth it his blood. Before consecration it is called another thing: after consecration it is called blood. And thou sayest, Amen; that is, It is true. That the mouth speaketh, let the inward mind confess: that the word soundeth, let the heart perceive.'

"The same Ambrose, in his fourth book of Sacraments, chap. iv., saith thus 'This bread is bread before the words of the sacraments: when the consecration cometh to it, of bread it is made the flesh of Christ. Let us confirm this, therefore. How can that which is bread, by consecration be the body of Christ? by what words then is the consecration made, and by whose words? By the words of our Lord Jesus. For touching all other things that are said, praise is given to God, prayer is made for the people, for kings, and for the rest. When it cometh that the reverend sacrament must be made, then the priest useth not his own words, but the words of Christ: therefore the word of Christ maketh this sacrament. What word? That word, by which all things were made. The Lord commanded, and heaven was made: the Lord commanded, and the earth was made: the Lord commanded, and the seas were made: the Lord commanded, and all creatures were made. Post thou not see then how strong in working the word of Christ is? If therefore so great strength be in the Lord's word, that those things should begin to be, which were not before, how much the rather is it of strength to work, that these things which were, should be changed into another thing?' Ambrose saith, that the words are of strength to work."

Weston.—"You omit those words which follow, which make the sense of Ambrose plain: read them."

Young.—"Heaven was not, the sea was not, the earth was not: but hear him that said, He spake the word, and they were made; be commanded, and they were created. Therefore, to answer thee, it was not the body of Christ before consecration: but after the consecration I say to thee, that now it is the body of Christ."

Cranmer.—"All these things are common. I say, that God doth chiefly work in the sacraments."

Young.—"How doth he work?"

Cranmer.—"By his power, as he doth in baptism."

Young.—"Nay, by the word he changeth the bread into his body. This is the truth: acknowledge the truth; give place to the truth."

Cranmer.—"O glorious words! You are too full of words."

Young.—"Nay, O glorious truth!—You make no change at all."

Cranmer.—"Not so, but I make a great change; as, in them that are baptized, is there not a great change, when the child of the bondsman of the devil, is made the Son of God? So it is also in the sacrament of the supper, when he receiveth us into his protection and favour."

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Young.—"If he work in the sacraments, he worketh in this sacrament."

Cranmer.—"God worketh in his faithful, not in the sacraments."

Weston.—"In the supper the words are directed to the bread; in baptism, to the Spirit. He said not, the water is the Spirit, but of the bread he said, This is my body."

Cranmer.—"He called the Spirit a dove, when the Spirit descended in likeness of a dove."

Weston.—"He doth not call the Spirit a dove; but he saith, that he descended as a dove. He was seen in the likeness of a dove. As in baptism the words are directed to him that is baptized, so in the supper the words are directed unto the bread."

Cranmer.—"Nay it is written, Upon whomsoever thou shalt see the Spirit descending. He calleth that which descended, the Holy Spirit. And Augustine calleth the dove, the Spirit. Hear what Augustine saith in John i., 'What meant he by the dove, that is, by the Holy Ghost? forsooth, to teach who sent him.'"

Young.—"He understandeth of the Spirit descending as a dove: the Spirit is invisible. If you mind to have the truth heard, let us proceed. Hear what Ambrose saith: 'You see what a working power the word of Christ hath. Therefore, if there be so great power in the Lord's word, that those things which were not, begin to be, how much more of strength is it, to work that those things that were, should be changed into another thing?' And in the fifth chapter, 'Before it is consecrated, it is bread: but, when the words of Christ come to it, it is the body of Christ.' But, hear what he saith more: 'Take ye, eat ye; this is my body. Before the words of Christ, the cup is full of wine and water: when the words of Christ have wrought, there is made the blood of Christ which redeemed the people.' What can be more plain?"

Cranmer.—"Nay, what can be less to the purpose? The words are of strength to work in this sacrament, as they are in baptism."

Pie.—"The words of Christ, as Ambrose saith, are of strength to work. What do they work?—Ambrose saith, 'They make the blood which redeemed the people.'

"Ergo, The natural blood is made."

Cranmer.—"The sacrament of his blood is made. The words make the blood to them that receive it: not that the blood is in the cup, but in the receiver."

Pie.—"There is made the blood which redeemed the people."

Cranmer.—"The blood is made; that is, the sacrament of the blood, by which he redeemed the people. *Fit*, it is made; that is to say, *ostenditur*, 'it is showed forth there.' And Ambrose saith, we receive in a similitude: 'As thou hast received the similitude of his death, so also thou drinkest the similitude of his precious blood.'"

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Weston.—"He saith, 'in a similitude,' because it is ministered under another likeness. And this is the argument:

"There is made the blood which redeemed the people.

"But the natural blood redeemed the people:

"Ergo, There is the natural blood of Christ.

"You answer, that words make it blood to them that receive it; not that blood is in the cup, but because it is made blood to them that receive it. That all men may see how falsely you would avoid the fathers, hear what Ambrose saith in the sixth book and first chapter. Peradventure thou wilt say, How be they true? I, who see the similitude, do not see the truth of the blood. First of all I told thee of the word of Christ, which so worketh, that it can change and turn kinds ordained by nature. Afterward, when the disciples could not abide the words of Christ, but hearing that he gave his flesh to eat, and his blood to drink, they departed. Only Peter said, Thou hast the words of eternal life; whither should I go from thee? Lest therefore more should say this thing, as though there should be a certain horror of blood, and yet the grace of redemption should remain: therefore, in a similitude thou receivest the sacrament, but indeed thou obtainest the grace and power of his nature."

Cranmer.—"These words of themselves are plain enough. [And he read this place again, 'Thou receivest the sacrament for a similitude.'] But what is that he saith, Thou receivest for a similitude? I think he understandeth the sacrament to be the similitude of his blood."

Chedsey.—"That you may understand that truth dissenteth not from truth, to overthrow that which you say of that similitude, hear what Ambrose saith, in his fourth book of Sacraments: 'If the heavenly word did work in other things, doth it not work in the heavenly sacraments? Therefore thou hast learned, that of bread is made the body of Christ; and that wine and water is put into that cup, but, by consecration of the heavenly word, it is made blood. But thou wilt say peradventure, that the likeness of blood is not seen. But it hath a similitude. For as thou hast received the similitude of his death, so also thou drinkest the similitude of his precious blood; so that there is no horror of blood, and yet it worketh the price of redemption. Therefore thou hast learned, that that which thou receivest is the body of Christ.'"

Cranmer.—"He speaketh of sacraments sacramentally. He calleth the sacraments by the names of the things; for he useth the signs for the things signified: and therefore the bread is not called bread, but his body, for the excellency and dignity of the thing signified by it. So doth Ambrose interpret himself, when he saith, 'For a type or figure whereof we receive the mystical cup of his blood, for the safeguard of our bodies and souls.'"

Chedsey.—"A type? He calleth not the blood of Christ a type or sign: but the blood of bulls and goats in that respect was a type or sign."

Cranmer.—"This is new learning; you shall never read this among the fathers."

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Chedsey.—"But Ambrose saith so."

Cranmer.—"He calleth the bread and the cup a type or sign of the blood of Christ, and of his benefit."

Weston.—"Ambrose understandeth it for a type of his benefit; that is, of redemption: not of the blood of Christ, but of his passion. The cup is the type or sign of his death, seeing it is his blood."

Cranmer.—"He saith most plainly, that the cup is a type of Christ's blood."

Chedsey.—"As Christ is truly and really incarnate, so is he truly and really in the sacrament."

"But Christ is really and truly incarnate:

"Ergo, The body of Christ is truly and really in the sacrament."

Cranmer.—"I deny the major."

Chedsey.—"I prove the major out of Justin, in his second Apology, Ον τροπον δια λογου θεου σαρκοποιηθεις Ιησους Χριστος, ο σωτηρ ημων, και σαρκα και αιμα υπερ σοτηριας ημων εχεν, ουτω και την δι ευχης λογου του παρ αυτου ευχαριστηθισαν τροφην, εξ ης αιμα και σαρκες κατα μεταβολην τρεφονται ημων, εκεινου του σαρκοποιηθεντος Ιησου και αιμα εδιδαχθημεν ειναι.[Greek: On tropon dia ogou theou sarkopoietheis Iesous Christos, o soter emon, kai sarka kai aima yper soterias emon echen, oyte kai ten di euches logou tou par aytou eucharistepheisan trophen, ex es aima kai sarkes kata metabolen trephontai emon, ekeinou tou sarkoroiethentos Iesou kai aima edidachthemen einai]"

Cranmer.—"This place hath been falsified by Marcus Constantius. Justin meant nothing else but that the bread which nourishes us is called the body of Christ."

Chedsey.—"To the argument. As Christ is truly and naturally incarnate, &c. *ut supra.*"

Cranmer.—"I deny your major."

Chedsey.—"The words of Justin are thus to be interpreted word for word: As by the word of God, Jesus Christ our Saviour, being made flesh, had both flesh and blood for our salvation: so we are taught, that the meat consecrated by the word of prayer, instituted of him, whereby our blood and flesh are nourished by communion, is the flesh and blood of the same Jesus which was made flesh," &c.

Cranmer.—"You have translated it well; but I deny your major. This is the sense of Justin: that the bread is called the body of Christ; and yet of that sanctified meat our bodies are nourished."

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Chedsey.—"Nay, he saith, that of that sanctified meat both our bodies and souls are nourished."

Cranmer.—"He saith not so; but he saith that it nourisheth our flesh and blood: and how can that nourish the soul, that nourisheth the flesh and blood."

Cole.—"It feedeth the body by the soul."

Cranmer.—"Speak uprightly. Can that which is received by the soul and spirit be called the meat of the body?"

Weston.—"Hear then what Irenæus saith: 'This, the same cup which is a creature, he confirmed to be his body, by which he increaseth our bodies. When both the cup mixed, and the bread broken, hath joined to it the word of God, it is made the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, of which the substance of our flesh is increased and consisteth.'

"The substance of our flesh is increased by the body and blood of Christ:

"Ergo, Our body is nourished by the body and blood of Christ."

Cranmer.—"I deny your argument. He calleth it the flesh and blood, for the sacrament of the body and blood; as Tertullian also saith: Our flesh is nourished with symbolical or sacramental bread; but our soul is nourished with the body of Christ."

Weston.—"Look what he saith more: 'How do they say, that the flesh cannot receive the gift of God that is eternal life, which is nourished with the blood and body of Christ?' That is in the fifth book, two leaves from the beginning."

Cranmer.—"The body is nourished both with the sacrament, and with the body of Christ; with the sacrament to a temporal life; with the body of Christ to eternal life."

Chedsey.—"I cannot but be sorry when I see such a manifest lie in your writings. For whereas you translate Justin on this fashion; that the bread, water, and wine, are not so to be taken in this sacrament, as common meats and drinks are wont to be taken of us, but are meats chosen out peculiarly for this; namely, for the giving of thanks, and therefore be called of the Greeks eucharistia, that is, thanksgiving—they are called moreover the blood and body of Christ (so have you translated it)—the words of Justin are thus: 'We are taught that the meat consecrated by the word of prayer, by the which our flesh and blood is nourished by communion, is the body and blood of the same Jesus who was made flesh.'"

Cranmer.—"I did not translate it word for word, but only I gave the meaning: and I go nothing from his meaning."

Harpsfield.—"You remember, touching Justin, to whom this apology was written; namely, to a heathen man. The heathen thought that the Christians came to the church to worship bread: Justin answereth, that we come not to common bread, but as to, &c., as is said afore.

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Weigh the place well; it is right worthy to be noted: 'Our flesh is nourished according to mutation.'"

Cranmer.—"We ought not to consider the bare bread, but whosoever cometh to the sacrament eateth the true body of Christ."

Weston.—"You have corrupted Emissene; for instead of to be filled with meat,' you have set 'to be filled with spiritual meats.'"

Cranmer.—"I have not corrupted it; for it is so in the Decrees."

Weston.—"You have corrupted another place of Emissene; for you have omitted these words, Marvel thou when thou comest up to the reverend altar to be filled with spiritual meats: look in faith to the holy body and blood of thy God; marvel at his honour; worthily touch him.'"

Cranmer.—"This book hath not that."

Weston.—"Also you have falsified this place by evil translating, 'Honour the body of thy God.' You have translated it, 'Honour him which is thy God.' Whereas Emissene hath not honour him,' but 'honour the body of thy God.'"

Cranmer.—"I have so translated him, and yet no less truly, than not without a weighty cause; else it should not have been without danger, if I had translated it thus: 'Honour the body of thy God,' because of certain that (according to the error of the Anthropomorphites) dreamed that God had a body."

Weston.—"Nay, you most of all have brought the people into that error, who so long have taught that he sitteth at the right hand of God the Father; and counted me for a heretic, because I preached that God had no right hand. Then I will oppose you in the very articles of your faith.

"Christ sitteth at the right hand of God the Father.

"But God the Father hath no right hand: "Ergo, Where is Christ now?"

Cranmer.—"I am not so ignorant a novice in the articles of my faith, but that I understand that to sit at the right hand of God, doth signify to be equal in the glory of the Father."

Weston.—"Now then take this argument.

"Wheresoever God's authority is, there is Christ's body.

"But God's authority is in every place:

"Ergo, What letteth the body of Christ to be in every place.—Moreover you have also corrupted Duns."

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Cranmer.—"That is a great offence, I promise you."

Weston.—"For you have omitted as it appeareth whereas his words are these, If you demand why the church did choose this so hard an understanding of this article, whereas the words of Scripture may be salved after an easy and true understanding (as appeareth) of this article," &c.

Cranmer.—"It is not so."

Weston.—"Also you have set forth a catechism in the name of the synod of London, and yet there be fifty, who, witnessing that they were of the number of the convocation, never heard one word of this catechism."

Cranmer.—"I was ignorant of the setting to of that title; and as soon as I had knowledge thereof, I did not like it. Therefore, when I complained thereof to the council, it was answered me by them, that the book was so entitled, because it was set forth in the time of the convocation."

Weston.—"Moreover, you have in Duns translated 'in the Church of Rome,' for 'the catholic church.'"

Cranmer.—"Yea; but he meant the Romish church."

Weston.—"Moreover you have depraved St. Thomas, namely, where he hath these words: 'Inasmuch as it is a sacrifice, it hath the power of satisfaction: but in satisfaction the affection of the offerer is more to be weighed, than the quantity of the oblation. Wherefore the Lord said, in Luke's Gospel, of the widow which offered two mites, that she cast in more than they all. Therefore, although this oblation of the quantity of itself will suffice to satisfy for all pain, yet it is made satisfactory to them for whom it is offered, or to the offerers, according to the quantity of their devotion, and not for all the pain.' You have thus turned it: 'That the sacrifice of the priest hath power of satisfaction,' &c. And therefore in this place you have chopped in this word, of the priest;' whereas, in the translation of all the New Testament, you have not set it but where Christ was put to death. And again, where St. Thomas hath 'for all pain,' your book omitteth many things there. Thus you see, brethren, the truth stedfast and invincible. You see, also, the craft and deceit of heretics. The truth may be pressed, but it cannot be oppressed: therefore cry altogether, The truth overcometh.'"

This disordered disputation, sometimes in Latin, sometimes in English, continued almost till two of the clock. Which being finished, and the arguments written and delivered to the hands of Master Say, the prisoner was had away by the mayor, and the doctors dined together at the University college.

251. Disputation of Ridley at Oxford



HE next day following, which was the twelfth of April, was brought forth Dr. Ridley to dispute; against whom was set Dr. Smith to be principal opponent. Touching which Dr. Smith, forasmuch as mention here happeneth of his name, first the reader is to be advertised what is to attributed to his judgment in religion, who so oftentimes before had turned and returned to and fro, grounded (as it seemeth) upon no firm conscience of doctrine, as both by his articles by him recanted may appear, and also by his own letter sent a little before in King Edward's days to the archbishop of Canterbury from Scotland. Which letter I thought here to exhibit as a certain preface before his own

arguments, or rather as a testimony against himself, whereby the reader may understand how devoutly he magnified them and their doctrine a little before, against whom he now disputeth so busily. Read I beseech thee his epistle and judge.

The true copy of a certain Epistle of Dr. Richard Smith to Dr. Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, declaring his affection to the setting forth of God's sincere word.

"Most honourable, I commend me unto your Lordship, doing the same to understand, that I wrote letters to your Grace in January last and the tenth day of February, declaring the causes of my sudden and unadvised departing from your Grace over the sea; and desiring your good Lordship, of your charity toward them that repent of their ill acts, to forgive me yourself all the wrong I did towards your Grace, and to obtain in writing the king's Majesty's pardon for me in all points concerning his laws: upon the receipt whereof I would return again home, and, within half a year (at the uttermost) afterward, write *De Sacerdotum Connubiis, &c.*, a Latin book that should be a just satisfaction for any thing that I have written against the same. *Reliquaque omnia dogmata vestra tuum demum libentur amplexurum, ubi Deus mentem meam [ita persuadeat] ut ea citra conscientiae lésionem agnoscam, doceamque.* I wrote not this that I want any good living here, but because mine absence out of the realm is dishonour to the king's Highness and realm, and because I must needs (if I tarry here a quarter of a year longer) write an answer to your Grace's book of the sacrament, and also a book of commonplaces against all the doctrine set forth by the king's Majesty, which I cannot do with a good conscience. Wherefore I beseech your Grace help me home, as soon as you may conveniently, for God's sake; and ye shall never, I trust in God, repent that fact.

"Ex urbe divi Andreae. 14. Feb.

Rich. Smithheus."

And thus much touching the forenamed Dr. Richard Smith, being set here (as is said) to dispute against Bishop Ridley, who was brought now, the next day after the archbishop, to answer in the divinity school. Against whom also, besides Dr. Smith, disputed Dr. Weston, Dr.

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Tresham, Dr. Oglethorpe, Dr. Glyn, Dr. Seton, and Dr. Cole, Master Ward, Master Harpsfield, Dr. Watson, Master Pie, Master Harding, Master Curton, Master Fecknam: to all them he answered very learnedly. He made a preface to these questions, but they would not let him go forth in it, but caused him to make an end of the same, and said it was blasphemy. And some said, he drove off the time in ambiguous things, nothing to the purpose; and so they would not suffer him to say his mind. Dr. Smith could get nothing at his hand; insomuch that others did take his arguments and prosecuted them. He showed himself to be learned, and a great clerk. They could bring nothing, but he knew it as well as they.

The disputation beginneth.

Weston the prolocutor.—"Good Christian people and brethren, we have begun this day our school, by God's good speed I trust; and are entering into a controversy, whereof no question ought to be moved, concerning the verity of the body of our Lord Jesu Christ in the eucharist. Christ is true, who said the words. The words are true which he spake, yea, truth itself that cannot fail. Let us therefore pray unto God to send down unto us his Holy Spirit, which is the true interpreter of his word; which may purge away errors, and give light, that verity may appear. Let us also ask leave and liberty of the church, to permit the truth received to be called this day in question, without any prejudice to the same. Your parts thereof shall be to implore the assistance of Almighty God, to pray for the prosperity of the queen's Majesty, and to give us quiet and attentive ears. Now go to your question."

Dr. Smith.—"This day, right learned Master Doctor, three questions are propounded, whereof no controversy among Christians ought to be moved, to wit;

"First, Whether the natural body of Christ our Saviour, conceived of the Virgin Mary, and offered for man's redemption upon the cross, is verily and really in the sacrament by virtue of God's word spoken by the priests, &c.

"Secondly, Whether in the sacrament, after the words of consecration, be any other substance, &c.

"Thirdly, Whether in the mass be a sacrifice propitiatory, &c.

"Touching the which questions, although you have publicly and apertly professed your own judgment and opinion on Saturday last; yet being not satisfied with that your answer, I will essay again to demand your sentence in the first question —whether the true body of Christ, after the words pronounced, be really in the eucharist, or else only the figure. In which matter I stand here now to hear your answer."

(The Preface or Protestation of Dr. Ridley before his Disputation.)

"I received of you the other day, right worshipful Master Prolocutor, and ye my reverend masters, commissioners from the queen's Majesty and her honourable council, three propositions; whereunto ye commanded me to prepare against this day, what I thought good to answer concerning the same.

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"Now, whilst I weighed with myself how great a charge of the Lord's flock was of late committed unto me, for the which I am certain I must once render an account to my Lord God, (and that how soon, he knoweth,) and that moreover, by the commandment of the apostle Peter, I ought to be ready alway to give a reason of the hope that is in me with meekness and reverence, unto every one that shall demand the same: besides this, considering my duty to the church of Christ, and to your Worships, being commissioners by public authority; I determined with myself to obey your commandment, and so openly to declare unto you my mind touching the aforesaid propositions. And albeit, plainly to confess unto you the truth in these things which ye now demand of me, I have thought otherwise in times past than now I do, yet (God I call to record unto my soul, I lie not) I have not altered my judgment, as now it is, either by constraint of any man or laws, either for the dread of any dangers of this world, either for any hope of commodity; but only for the love of the truth revealed unto me by the grace of God (as I am undoubtedly persuaded) in his holy word, and in the reading of the ancient fathers.

"These things I do the rather recite at this present, because it may happen to some of you hereafter, as in times past it hath done to me: I mean, if ye think otherwise of the matters propounded in these propositions than I now do, God may open them unto you in time to come.

"But howsoever it shall be, I will in few words do that, which I think ye all look I should do; that is, as plainly as I can, I will declare my judgment herein. Howbeit of this I would ye were not ignorant, that I will not indeed wittingly and willingly speak in any point against God's word, or dissent in any one jot from the same, or from the rules of faith, or Christian religion: which rules that same most sacred word of God prescribeth to the church of Christ, whereunto I now and for ever submit myself, and all my doings. And because the matter I have now taken in hand is weighty, and ye all well know how unready I am to handle it accordingly, as well for lack of time, as also lack of books: therefore here I protest, that I will publicly this day require of you, that it may be lawful for me, concerning all mine answers, explications, and confirmations, to add or diminish whatsoever shall seem hereafter more convenient and meet for the purpose, through more sound judgment, better deliberation, and more exact trial of every particular thing. Having now, by the way of preface and protestation, spoken these few words, I will come to the answer of the propositions propounded unto me, and so to the most brief explication and confirmation of mine answers."

Weston.—"Reverend Master Doctor, concerning the lack of books, there is no cause why you should complain. What books soever you will name, you shall have them; and as concerning the judgment of your answers to be had of yourself with further deliberation, it shall, I say, be lawful for you, until Sunday next, to add unto them what you shall think good yourself. My mind is, that we should use short arguments, lest we should make an infinite process of the thing."

Ridley.—"There is another thing besides, which I would gladly obtain at your hands. I perceive that you have writers and notaries here present. By all likelihood our disputations shall be published: I beseech you for God's sake let me have liberty to speak my mind freely, and without interruption; not because I have determined to protract the time with a solemn preface, but lest it may appear that some be not satisfied. God wot I am no orator, nor have I learned rhetoric to set colours on the matter."

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Weston.—"Among this whole company, it shall be permitted you to take two for your part."

Ridley.—"I will choose two, if there are any here with whom I were acquainted."

Weston.—"Here are two that Master Cranmer had yesterday. Take them if it please you."

Ridley.—"I am content with them; I trust they are honest men."

The first proposition.

"In the sacrament of the altar, by the virtue of God's word spoken of the priest, the natural body of Christ, born of the Virgin Mary, and his natural blood, are really present under the forms of bread and wine."

(The answer of Dr. Ridley.)

Ridley.—"In matters appertaining to God we may not speak according to the sense of man, nor of the world: therefore this proposition or conclusion is framed after another manner of phrase or kind of speech than the Scripture useth. Again, it is very obscure and dark, by means of sundry words of doubtful signification. And being taken in the sense which the schoolmen teach, and at this time the Church of Rome doth defend, it is false and erroneous, and plain contrary to the doctrine which is according to godliness."

(The explication.)

Ridley.—"How far the diversity and newness of the phrase, in all this first proposition, is from the phrase of the Holy Scripture, and that in every part almost, it is so plain and evident to any that is but meanly exercised in holy writ, that I need not now (especially in this company of learned men) to spend any time therein, except the same shall be required of me hereafter.

"First, there is a double sense in these words 'by virtue of God's word,' for it is doubtful what word of God this is; whether it be that which is read in the evangelists, or in Paul, or any other. And if it be that which is in the evangelists, or in St. Paul, what that is. If it be in none of them, then how it may be known to be God's word, and of such virtue that it should be able to work so great a matter.

"Again, there is a doubt of these words, 'of the priest,' whether no man may be called a priest, but he which hath authority to make a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead; and how it may be proved that this authority was committed of God to any man, but to Christ alone.

"It is likewise doubted, after what order the sacrificing priest shall be, whether after the order of Aaron, or else after the order of Melchizedek. For as far as I know, the Holy Scripture doth allow no more."

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Weston.—"Let this be sufficient."

Ridley.—"If we lack time at this present, there is time enough hereafter."

Weston.—"These are but evasions or starting holes: you consume the time in vain."

Ridley.—"I cannot start far from you: I am captive and bound."

Weston.—"Fall to it, my masters."

Smith.—"That which you have spoken, may suffice at this present."

Ridley.—"Let me alone, I pray you; for I have not much to say behind."

Weston.—"Go forward."

Ridley.—"Moreover, there is ambiguity in this word 'really,' whether it be taken as the logicians term it *transcendenter*; that is, most generally: and so it may signify any manner of thing which belongeth to the body of Christ, by any means: after which sort we also grant Christ's body to be really in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, (as in disputation, if occasion be given, shall be declared,) or whether it be taken to signify the very same thing, having body, life, and soul, which was assumed and taken of the word of God, into the unity of person. In which sense, since the body of Christ is really in heaven, because of the true manner of his body, it may not be said to be here in the earth.

"There is yet a further doubtfulness in these words, 'under the forms of bread and wine,' whether the forms be there taken to signify the only accidental and outward shows of bread and wine; or therewithal the substantial natures thereof, which are to be seen by their qualities, and perceived by exterior senses. Now the error and falseness of the proposition after the sense of the Roman church and schoolmen, may hereby appear, in that they affirm the bread to be transubstantiated and changed into the flesh assumed of the Word of God, and that (as they say) by virtue of the word, which they have devised by a certain number of words, and cannot be found in any of the evangelists, or in Paul; and so they gather that Christ's body is really contained in the sacrament of the altar. Which position is grounded upon the foundation of the transubstantiation; which foundation is monstrous, against reason, and destroyeth the analogy or proportion of the sacraments: and therefore this proposition also, which is builded upon this rotten foundation, is false, erroneous, and to be counted as a detestable heresy of the sacramentaries."

Weston.—"We lose time."

Ridley.—"You shall have time enough."

Weston.—"Fall to reasoning. You shall have some other day for this matter."

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Ridley.—"I have no more to say concerning my explication. If you will give me leave, and let me alone, I will but speak a word or two for my confirmation."

Weston.—"Go to; say on."

(The confirmation of the aforesaid answer.)

Ridley.—"There ought no doctrine to be established in the church of God, which dissenteth from the word of God, from the rule of faith, and draweth with it many absurdities that cannot be avoided.

"But this doctrine of the first proposition is such: "Ergo, It ought not to be established and maintained in the church of God.

"The major or first part of my argument is plain, and the minor or second part is proved thus: "This doctrine maintaineth a real, corporal, and carnal presence of Christ's flesh, assumed and taken of the Word, to be in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and that not by virtue and grace only, but also by the whole essence and substance of the body and flesh of Christ.

"But such a presence disagreeeth from God's word, from the rule of faith, and cannot but draw with it many absurdities:

"Ergo, The second part is true.

"The first part of this argument is manifest, and the second may yet further be confirmed thus:—"

Weston.—"Thus you consume time, which might be better bestowed on other matters. Master opponent, I pray you to your arguments."

Smith.—"I will here reason with you upon transubstantiation, which you say is contrary to the rule and analogy of faith; the contrary whereof I prove by the Scriptures and the doctors. But before I enter argumentation with you, I demand first, whether in John vi. there be any mention made of the sacrament, or of the real presence of Christ in the sacrament?"

Ridley.—"It is against reason, that I should be impeached to prosecute that which I have to speak in this assembly; being not so long, but that it may be comprehended in few words."

Weston.—"Let him read on."

Ridley.—"First of all, this presence is contrary to many places of the Holy Scripture.

"Secondly, it varieth from the articles of the faith.

"Thirdly, it destroyeth and taketh away the institution of the Lords supper.

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"Fourthly, it maketh precious things common to profane and ungodly persons; for it casteth that which is holy unto dogs, and pearls unto swine.

"Fifthly, it forceth men to maintain many monstrous miracles without necessity and authority of God's word.

"Sixthly, it giveth occasion to the heretics who erred concerning the two natures in Christ, to defend their heresies thereby.

"Seventhly, it falsifieth the sayings of the godly fathers; it falsifieth also the catholic faith of the church, which the apostles taught, the martyrs confirmed, and the faithful (as one of the fathers saith) do retain and keep until this day. Wherefore the second part of mine argument is true.

(The probation of the antecedent or former part of this argument by the parts thereof.)

"This carnal presence is contrary to the word of God, as appeareth, thus:—I tell you the truth. It is profitable for you that I go away, for if I go not away, the Comforter shall not come unto you. Whom the heavens must receive until the time of restoring of all things which God hath spoken. The children of the bridegroom cannot mourn so long as the bridegroom is with them: but now is the time of mourning. But I will see you again, and your hearts shall rejoice. I will come again and take you to myself. If they shall say unto you, Behold, here is Christ, or there is Christ, believe them not: for wheresoever the dead carcass is, thither the eagles will resort.

"It varieth from the articles of the faith: 'He ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father, from whence (and not from any other place, saith St. Augustine) he shall come to judge both the quick and the dead.'

"It destroyeth and taketh away the institution of the Lord's supper, which was commanded only to be used and continued until the Lord himself should come. If, therefore, he be now really present in the body of his flesh, then must the supper cease: for a remembrance is not of a thing present, but of a thing past and absent. And there is a difference between remembrance and presence, and, as one of the fathers saith, A figure is in vain where the thing figured is present.'

"It maketh precious things common to profane and ungodly persons, and constraineth men to confess many absurdities. For it affirmeth, that whoremongers and murderers, yea, and (as some of them hold opinion) the wicked and faithless mice, rats, and dogs also, may receive the very real and corporal body of the Lord, wherein the fulness of the Spirit of light and grace dwelleth: contrary to the manifest words of Christ in six places and sentences of John vi.

"It confirmeth also and maintaineth that beastly kind of cruelty of the Anthropophagi, that is, the devourers of man's flesh: for it is a more cruel thing to devour a quick man, than to slay him."

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Pie.—"He requireth time to speak blasphemies. Leave your blasphemies."

Ridley.—"I had little thought to have had such reproachful words at your hands."

Weston.—"All is quiet. Go to your arguments, Master Doctor."

Ridley.—"I have not many things more to say."

Weston.—"You utter blasphemies with a most impudent face: leave off, I say, and get you to the argument."

Ridley.—"It forceth men to maintain many monstrous miracles, without any necessity and authority of God's word. For at the coming of this presence of the body and flesh of Christ, they thrust away the substance of bread, and affirm that the accidents remain without any subject; and, instead thereof, they place Christ's body without his qualities and the true manner of a body. And if the sacrament be reserved so long until it mould, and worms breed there, some say that the substance of bread miraculously returneth again, and some deny it. Others affirm, the real body of Christ goeth down into the stomach of the receivers, and doth there abide so long only as they shall continue to be good. But another sort hold, that the body of Christ is carried into heaven, so soon as the forms of bread be bruised with the teeth. O works of miracles! Truly, and most truly, I see that fulfilled in these men, whereof St. Paul prophesied, Because they have not received the love of the truth, that they might be saved, God shall send them strong delusions, that they should believe lies, and be all damned which have not believed the truth. This gross presence hath brought forth that fond fantasy of concomitance, whereby is broken at this day and abrogated the commandment of the Lord for distributing of the Lord's cup to the laity.

"It giveth occasion to heretics to maintain and defend their errors; as to Marcion, who said that Christ had but a phantastical body; and to Eutiches, who wickedly confounded the two natures in Christ.

"Finally, it falsifileth the sayings of the godly fathers and the catholic faith of the church, which Vigilius, a martyr and grave writer, saith, was taught of the apostles, confirmed with the blood of martyrs, and was continually maintained by the faithful, until his time. By the sayings of the fathers, I mean of Justin, Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, Eusebius, Emissene, Athanasius, Cyril, Epiphanius, Jerome, Chrysostom, Augustine, Vigilius, Fulgentius, Bertram, and other most ancient fathers. All those places, as I am sure I have read making for my purpose, so am I well assured that I could show the same, if I might have the use of mine own books; which I will take on me to do, even upon the peril of my life, and loss of all that I may lose in this world.

"But now, my brethren, think not, because I disallow that presence which the first proposition maintaineth, (as a presence which I take to be forged, phantastical, and, beside the authority of God's word, perniciously brought into the church by the Romanists,) that I therefore go about to take away the true presence of Christ's body in his supper rightly and duly ministered, which is grounded upon the word of God, and made more plain by the commentaries of the faithful fathers. They that think so of me, the Lord knoweth how far they are deceived.

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And to make the same evident unto you, I will in few words declare, what true presence of Christ's body in the sacrament of the Lord's supper I hold and affirm, with the word of God and the ancient fathers.

"I say and confess with the evangelist Luke, and with the apostle Paul, that the bread on the which thanks are given, is the body of Christ in the remembrance of him and his death, to be set forth perpetually of the faithful until his coming.

"I say and confess, the bread which we break to be the communion and partaking of Christ's body, with the ancient and the faithful fathers.

"I say and believe that there is not only a signification of Christ's body set forth by the sacrament, but also that therewith is given to the godly and faithful the grace of Christ's body, that is, the food of life and immortality. And this I bold with Cyprian.

"I say also with St. Augustine, that we eat life and we drink life; with Emissene, that we feel the Lord to be present in grace; with Athanasius, that we receive celestial food, which cometh from above; the property of natural communion, with Hilary; the nature of flesh, and benediction which giveth life, in bread and wine, with Cyril; and with the same Cyril, the virtue of the very flesh of Christ, life and grace of his body, the property of the only begotten, that is to say, life; as he himself in plain words expoundeth it.

"I confess also with Basil, that we receive the mystical advent and coming of Christ, grace and the virtue of his very nature; the sacrament of his very flesh, with Ambrose; the body by grace, with Epiphanius; spiritual flesh, but not that which was crucified, with Jerome; grace flowing into a sacrifice, and the grace of the Spirit, with Chrysostom; grace and invisible verity, grace and society of the members of Christ's body, with Augustine.

"Finally, with Bertram (who was the last of all these) I confess that Christ's body is in the sacrament in this respect; namely, (as he writeth,) because there is in it the Spirit of Christ, that is, the power of the word of God, which not only feedeth the soul, but also cleanseth it. Out of these I suppose it may clearly appear unto all men, how far we are from that opinion, whereof some go about falsely to slander us to the world, saying, we teach that the godly and faithful should receive nothing else at the Lord's table, but a figure of the body of Christ."

The second proposition.

"After the consecration there remaineth no substance of bread and wine, neither any other substance than the substance of God and man."

(The answer of Dr. Ridley.)

Ridley.—"The second conclusion is manifestly false, directly against the word of God, the nature of the sacrament, and the most evident testimonies of the godly fathers; and it is the rotten foundation of the other two conclusions propounded by you, both of the first, and also of

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the third. I will not therefore now tarry upon any further explication of this answer, being contented with that which is already added afore, to the answer of the first proposition."

(The first argument for the confirmation of this answer.)

"It is very plain by the word of God, that Christ did give bread unto his disciples, and called it his body.

"But the substance of the bread is another manner of substance than is the substance of Christ's body, God and man:

"Therefore, the conclusion is false.

"The second part of mine argument is plain, and the first is proved thus:

(The second argument.)

"That which Christ did take, on the which he gave thanks, and the which he brake, he gave to his disciples, and called it his body.

"But he took bread, gave thanks on bread, and brake bread.

"Ergo, The first part is true. And it is confirmed with the authorities of the fathers, Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, Epiphanius, Jerome, Augustine, Theodoret, Cyril, Rabanus, and Bede: whose places I will take upon me to show most manifest in this behalf, if I may be suffered to have my books, as my request is.

"Bread is the body of Christ:

"Ergo, it is bread."

(The third argument.)

"As the bread of the Lord's table is Christ's natural body, so is it his mystical body.

"But it is not Christ's mystical body by transubstantiation:

"Ergo, It is not his natural body by transubstantiation.

"The second part of my argument is plain, and the first is proved thus: As Christ, who is the verity, spake of the bread, This is my body which shall be betrayed for you, speaking there of his natural body; even so Paul, moved with the same Spirit of truth, said, We, though we be many, yet are we all one bread and one body, which be partakers of one bread."

(The fourth argument.)

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"We may no more believe bread to be transubstantiate into the body of Christ, than the wine into his blood.

"But the wine is not transubstantiate into his blood:

"Ergo, Neither is that bread, therefore, transubstantiate into his body.

"The first part of this argument is manifest; and the second part is proved out of the authority of God's word, in Matthew and Mark, I will not drink of the fruit of the vine, &c. Now the fruit of the vine was wine, which Christ drank and gave to his disciples to drink. With this sentence agreeth plainly the place of Chrysostom on Matt. xx.: as Cyprian doth also, affirming that there is no blood, if wine be not in the cup."

(The fifth argument.)

"The words of Christ spoken upon the cup and upon the bread, have like effect and working.

"But the words spoken upon the cup have not virtue to transubstantiate:

"Ergo, It followeth, that the words spoken upon the bread have no such virtue.

"The second part of the argument is proved; because they would then transubstantiate the cup, or that which is in the cup, into the new testament. But neither of these things can be done, and very absurd it is to confess the same."

(The sixth argument.)

"The circumstances of the Scripture, the analogy and proportion of the sacraments, and the testimony of the faithful fathers, ought to rule us in taking the meaning of the Holy Scripture touching the sacrament.

"But the words of the Lord's supper, the circumstances of the Scripture, the analogy of the sacraments, and the sayings of the fathers, do most effectually and plainly prove a figurative speech in the words of the Lord's supper:

"Ergo, A figurative sense and meaning is specially to be received in these words, This is my body.

"The circumstances of the Scripture: Do this in remembrance of me. As oft as ye shall eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye shall show forth the Lord's death. Let a man prove himself, and so eat of this bread, and drink of this cup. They came together to break bread; and they continued in breaking of bread. The bread which we break, &c. For we, being many, are all one bread and one body, &c.

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"The analogy of the sacraments is necessary: for if the sacraments had not some similitude or likeness of the things whereof they be sacraments, they could in no wise be sacraments. And this similitude in the sacrament of the Lord's supper is taken three manner of ways:

"The first consisteth in nourishing; as ye shall read in Rabanus, Cyprian, Augustine, Irenæus, and, most plainly, in Isidore out of Bertram.

"The second in the uniting and joining of many into one, as Cyprian teacheth.

"The third is a similitude of unlike things, where, like as the bread is turned into one body; so we, by the right use of this sacrament, are turned through faith into the body of Christ.

"The sayings of the fathers declare it to be a figurative speech, as it appeareth in Origen, Tertullian, Chrysostom, Augustine, Ambrose, Basil, Gregory, Nazianzen, Hilary, and, most plainly of all, in Bertram. Moreover, the sayings and places of all the fathers, whose names I have before recited against the assertion of the first proposition, do quite overthrow transubstantiation: but of all other most evidently and plainly, Irenæus, Origen, Cyprian, Chrysostom, (to Cæsarius the monk,) Augustine, (against Adamantus,) Gelasius, Cyril, Epiphanius, Chrysostom Rabanus, Damascene, and Bertram.

"Here, right worshipful Master Prolocutor, and ye the rest of the commissioners, it may please you to understand, that I do not lean to these things only, which I have written in my former answers and confirmations, but that I have also, for the proof of that I have spoken, whatsoever Bertram, a man learned, of sound and upright judgment, and ever counted a catholic for these seven hundred years until this our age, hath written. His treatise, whosoever shall read and weigh, considering the time of the writer, his learning, godliness of life, the allegations of the ancient fathers, and his manifold and most grounded arguments, I cannot (doubtless) but much marvel, if he have any fear of God at all, how he can, with good conscience, speak against him in this matter of the sacrament. This Bertram was the first that pulled me by the ear, and that first brought me from the common error of the Romish church, and caused me to search more diligently and exactly both the Scriptures and the writings of the old ecclesiastical fathers in this matter. And this I protest before the face of God, who knoweth I lie not in the things I now speak."

The third proposition.

"In the mass is the lively sacrifice of the church, propitiabile and available for the sins as well of quick as of the dead."

(The answer of Dr. Ridley.)

Ridley.—"I answer to this third proposition as I did to the first: and moreover I say, that being taken in such sense as the words seem to import, it is not only erroneous, but withal so much to the derogation and defacing of the death and passion of Christ, that I judge it may and

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ought most worthily to be counted wicked and blasphemous against the most precious blood of our Saviour Christ."

(The explication.)

"Concerning the Romish mass which is used at this day, or the lively sacrifice thereof, propitiatory and available for the sins of the quick and the dead, the Holy Scripture hath not so much as one syllable.

"There is ambiguity also in the name of mass: what it signifieth, and whether at this day there be any such indeed, as the ancient fathers used; seeing that now there be neither catechists nor penitents to be sent away.

"Again, touching these words, 'the lively sacrifice of the church,' there is a doubt whether they are to be understood figuratively and sacramentally, for the sacrament of the lively sacrifice, (after which sort we deny it not to be in the Lord's supper,) or properly and without any figure: after the which manner there was but one only sacrifice, and that once offered, namely, upon the altar of the cross.

"Moreover, in these words 'as well as,' it may be doubted whether they be spoken in mockage; as men are wont to say in sport, of a foolish and ignorant person, that he is apt as well in conditions as in knowledge—being apt indeed in neither of them both.

"There is also a doubt in the word 'propitiable,' whether it signify here, that which taketh away sin, or that which may be made available for the taking away of sin; that is to say, whether it is to be taken in the active or in the passive signification.

"Now the falseness of the proposition, after the meaning of the schoolmen and the Romish church, and impiety in that sense which the words seem to import, is this: that they, leaning to the foundation of their fond transubstantiation, would make the quick and lively body of Christ's flesh (united and knit to the Divinity) to lie hid under the accidents, and outward shows of bread and wine; which is very false, as I have said afore: and they, building upon this foundation, do hold that the same body is offered unto God by the priest in his daily!Passings, to put away the sins of the quick and the dead; whereas, by the apostle to the Hebrews it is evident, that there is but one oblation, and one true and lively sacrifice of the church offered upon the altar of the cross, which was, is, and shall be for ever, the propitiation for the sins of the whole world: and where there is remission of the same, there is (saith the apostle) no more offering for sin."

(Arguments confirming his answer.)

"No sacrifice ought to be done, but where the priest is meet to offer the same.

"All other priests be unmeet to offer sacrifice propitiatory for sin, save only Christ:

"Ergo, No other priests ought to sacrifice for sin, but Christ alone.

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"The second part of my argument is thus proved.

"No honour in God's church ought to be taken where a man is not called, as Aaron.

"It is a great honour in God's church to sacrifice for sin:

"Ergo, No man ought to sacrifice for sin, but only they which are called.

"But only Christ is called to that honour:

"Ergo, No other priest but Christ ought to sacrifice for sin. That no man is called to this degree of honour but Christ alone, it is evident; for there are but two only orders of priesthood allowed in the word of God: namely, the order of Aaron, and the order of Melchizedek. But now the order of Aaron is come to an end, by reason that it was unprofitable and weak; and of the order of Melchizedek there is but one priest alone, even Christ the Lord, who hath a priesthood that cannot pass to any other."

(Another argument.)

"That thing is in vain, and to no effect, where no necessity is, wherefore it is done.

"To offer up any more sacrifice propitiatory for the quick and the dead there is no necessity, for Christ our Saviour did that fully and perfectly once for all:

"Ergo, To do the same in the mass it is in vain."

(Another argument.)

"After that eternal redemption is found and obtained, there needeth no more daily offering for the same.

"But Christ coming a high bishop, &c., found and obtained for us eternal redemption:

"Ergo, There needeth now no more daily oblation for the sins of the quick and the dead."

(Another argument.)

"All remission of sins cometh only by shedding of blood.

"In the mass there is no shedding of blood:

"Ergo, In the mass there is no remission of sins: and so it followeth also that there is no propitiatory sacrifice."

(Another argument.)

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"In the mass the passion of Christ is not in verity, but in a mystery representing the same: yea, even there where the Lord's supper is duly ministered.

"But where Christ suffereth not, there is he not offered in verity: for the apostle saith, Not that he might offer up himself oftentimes (for then must he have suffered oftentimes since the beginning of the world). Now where Christ is not offered there is no propitiatory sacrifice:

"Ergo, In the mass there is no propitiatory sacrifice: For Christ appeared once, in the latter end of the world, to put sin to flight by the offering up of himself. And as it is appointed to all men that they shall once die, and then cometh the judgment: even so Christ was once offered to take away the sins of many. And unto them that look for him, shall he appear again without sin unto salvation."

(Another argument.)

"Where there is any sacrifice that can make the comers thereunto perfect, there ought men to cease from offering any more expiatory and propitiatory sacrifices.

"But in the New Testament there is one only sacrifice now already long since offered, which is able to make the comers thereto perfect for ever:

"Ergo, In the New Testament they ought to cease from offering any more propitiatory sacrifices."

(Sentences of the Scripture, alleged by Ridley, tending to the same end and purpose; out of which also may be gathered other manifest arguments for more confirmation thereof.)

"By the which will (saith the apostle) we are sanctified, by the offering up of the body of Jesus Christ once for all. And in the same place, But this man, after that he had offered one sacrifice for sin, sitteth for ever at the right hand of God, &c. For with one offering hath he made perfect for ever them that are sanctified; and, By himself hath he purged our sins."

"I beseech you to mark these words 'by himself,' the which, well weighed, will without doubt cease all controversy. The apostle plainly denieth any other sacrifice to remain for him, that treadeth under his feet the blood of the testament, by the which he was made holy. Christ will not be crucified again, he will not his death to be had in derision."

"He hath reconciled us in the body of his flesh."

"Mark, I beseech you; he saith not, in the mystery of his body, but in the body of his flesh."

"If any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous, and he is the propitiation for our sins; not for ours only, but for the sins of the whole world.

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"I know that all these places of the Scripture are avoided by two manner of subtle shifts: the one is by the distinction of the bloody and unbloody sacrifice, as though our unbloody sacrifice of the church were any other than the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, than a commemoration, a showing-forth, and a sacramental representation of that one only bloody sacrifice, offered up once for all. The other is, by depraving and wresting the sayings of the ancient fathers unto such a strange kind of sense as the fathers themselves indeed never meant. For what the meaning of the fathers was, it is evident by that which St. Augustine writeth in his epistle to Boniface, and in the eighty-third chapter of his ninth book against Faustus the Manichee, besides many other places; likewise by Eusebius, Emissene, Cyprian, Chrysostom, Fulgentius, Bertram, and others, who do wholly concord and agree together in this unity in the Lord; that the redemption, once made in verity for the salvation of man, continueth in full effect for ever, and worketh without ceasing unto the end of the world; that the sacrifice once offered cannot be consumed; that the Lord's death and passion is as effectual, the virtue of that blood once shed as fresh at this day for the washing away of sins, as it was even the same day that it flowed out of the blessed side of our Saviour: and finally, that the whole substance of our sacrifice, which is frequented of the church in the Lord's supper, consisteth in prayers, praise, and giving of thanks, and in remembering and showing forth of that sacrifice once offered upon the altar of the cross; that the same might continually be had in reverence by mystery, which once only, and no more, was offered for the price of our redemption.

"These are the things, right worshipful Master Prolocutor, and ye the rest of the commissioners, which I could presently prepare to the answering of your three aforesaid propositions, being destitute of all help in this shortness of time, sudden warning, and want of books: wherefore I appeal to my first protestation, most humbly desiring the help of the same (as much as may be) to be granted unto me. And because ye have lately given most unjust and cruel sentence against me, I do here appeal (so far forth as I may) to a more indifferent and just censure and judgment of some other superior, competent, and lawful judge, and that according to the approved state of the Church of England. Howbeit, I confess, that I am ignorant what that is, at this present, through the trouble and alteration of the state of the realm. But if this appeal may not be granted to me upon earth, then do I fly (even as to my only refuge and alone haven of health) to the sentence of the eternal Judge, that is, of the Almighty God; to whose most merciful justice towards us, and most just mercifulness, I do wholly commit myself and all my cause, nothing at all despairing of the defence of mine Advocate and alone Saviour Jesus Christ; to whom, with the everlasting Father, and the Holy Spirit, the Sanctifier of us all, be now and for ever all honour and glory. Amen."

Albeit this learned bishop was not suffered to read all that is above prefixed before the disputations, yet because he had it then ready, and offered it up to the prolocutor after the disputations and sentence pronounced, I thought here the place not unmeet to annex the same together with the rest. Now let us hear the arguments and answers between Dr. Smith and him.

(Dr. Smith beginneth to oppose.)

Smith.—"You have occasioned me to go otherwise to work with you, than I had thought to have done. Meseemed you did, in your supposition, abuse the testimonies of Scripture

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concerning the ascension of Christ, to take away his presence in the sacrament; as though this were a strong argument to enforce your matter withal.

"Christ did ascend into heaven: ergo, he is not in the sacrament.

"Now therefore I will go about to disprove this reason of yours.

"Christ's ascension is no let to his real presence in the sacrament: ergo, you are deceived, whereas you do ground yourself upon those places."

Ridley.—"You import as though I had made a strong argument by Christ's going up into heaven. But howsoever mine argument is made, you collect it not rightly. For it doth not only stay upon his ascension, but upon his ascension and his abiding there also."

Smith.—"Christ's going up to heaven, and his abiding there, hinder not his real presence in the sacrament: ergo, you are deceived."

Ridley.—"Of Christ's real presence, there may be a double understanding. If you take the real presence of Christ according to the real and corporal substance which he took of the Virgin, that presence being in heaven, cannot be on the earth also. But, if you mean a real presence, according to something that appertaineth to Christ's body, certes the ascension and abiding in heaven are no let at all to that presence. Wherefore Christ's body, after that sort, is here present to us in the Lord's supper; by grace, I say, as Epiphanius speaketh it."

Weston.—"I will cut off from henceforth all equivocation and doubt: for whensoever we speak of Christ's body, we mean that which he took of the Virgin."

Ridley.—"Christ's ascension and abiding in heaven cannot stand with his presence."

Smith.—"Christ appeared corporally and really on the earth, for all his ascension and continual abode in heaven unto the day of doom: ergo, his ascension and abiding in heaven, is no let to his real presence in the sacrament."

Ridley.—"Master Doctor, this argument is nothing worth. I do not so straitly tie Christ up in heaven, that he may not come into the earth at his pleasure: for when he will, he may come down from heaven, and be on the earth, as it liketh himself. Howbeit I do affirm, that it is not possible for him to be both in heaven and earth at one time."

Smith.—"Mark, I pray you, my masters that be here, diligently, what he answereth: First he saith, that the sitting of Christ at the right hand of his Father, is a let to the real presence of his body in the sacrament; and then, afterward, he flieth from it again."

Ridley.—"I would not have you think that I do imagine or dream upon any such manner of sitting, as these men here sit in the school."

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Smith.—"Ergo, It is lawful for Christ, then, to be here present on the earth, when he will himself."

Ridley.—"Yea, when he will, it is lawful indeed."

Smith.—"Ergo, He, ascending into heaven, doth not restrain his real presence in the sacrament."

Ridley.—"I do not gainsay, but that it is lawful for him to appear on the earth when he will: but prove you that he will."

Smith.—"Then your answer dependeth upon the will of Christ, I perceive: therefore I will join again with you in that short argument:

"Christ, albeit he doth alway abide in heaven after his ascension, was seen really and corporally on earth:

"Ergo, Notwithstanding his ascension and continual sitting at the right hand of his Father, he may be really and corporally in the sacrament."

Ridley.—"If the notaries should so record your argument as you have framed it, you, peradventure, would be ashamed of it hereafter."

Smith.—"Christ, after his ascension, was seen really and corporally upon the earth:

"Ergo, Notwithstanding his ascension and abiding with his Father, he may be corporally in the sacrament."

Ridley.—"I grant the antecedent; but I deny the consequence."

Smith.—"Do you grant the antecedent?"

Ridley.—"Yea, I grant the antecedent. I am content to let you have so much: because I know that there be certain ancient fathers of that opinion. I am well content to let you use that proposition as true; and I will frame the argument for you.

"He was seen on earth after his ascension: ergo," &c.

Smith.—"Nay, nay, I will frame it myself.

"Christ, after his ascension, was seen really and corporally on earth, albeit he do abide in heaven continually:

"Ergo, Notwithstanding his ascension and continual abiding at the right hand of the Father, he may be really and corporally on the earth."

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Ridley.—"Let us first agree about the continual sitting at the right hand of the Father."

Smith.—"Doth he so sit at the right hand of his Father, that he doth never forsake the same?"

Ridley.—"Nay, I do not bind Christ in heaven so straitly. I see you go about to beguile me with your equivocations. Such equivocations are to be distinguished. If you mean by his sitting in heaven, to reign with his Father, he may be both in heaven and also in earth. But if ye understand his sitting to be after a corporal manner of sitting, so is he always permanent in heaven. For Christ to be corporally here on earth, when corporally he is resident in heaven, is clean contrary to the Holy Scriptures, as Austin saith: 'The body of Christ is in heaven; but his truth is dispersed in every place.' Now if continually he abide in heaven after the manner of his corporal presence, then his perpetual abiding there, stoppeth or letteth that the same corporal presence of him cannot be in the sacrament."

Smith.—"In Acts iii. we read, that Christ shall sit perpetually at the right hand of God, unto the consummation of the world."

Weston.—"I perceive you are conme here to this issue, whether the body of Christ may be together both in earth and in heaven. I will tell you that Christ, in very deed, is both in earth and in heaven together, and at one time, both one and the same natural Christ, after the verity and substance of his very body: ergo," &c.:—

Ridley.—"I deny the antecedent."

Weston.—"I prove it by two witnesses: First by Chrysostom: Do we not offer every day: we do so indeed; but doing it for the remembrance of his death. And this offering is one, and not many. And how is it one, and not many, which was once offered in the holy place? This sacrifice is a pattern of that: the selfsame we always offer; not now as offering one lamb to-day, and another to-morrow, but always one and the same lamb. Wherefore here is but one sacrifice; for else by this means, seeing there be many sacrifices in many places, he there many Christs. Not so, but one Christ in all places, both perfect here, and perfect there, one only body.' Now thus I argue:

"We offer one thing at all times.

"There is one Christ in all places, both here complete, and there complete.

"Ergo, By Chrysostom, there is one both in heaven and earth."

Ridley.—"I remember the place well. These things make nothing against me."

Weston.—"One Christ is in all places; here full and there full."

Ridley.—"One Christ is in all places; but not one body in all places."

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Weston.—"One body, saith Chrysostom."

Ridley.—"But not after the manner of bodily substance he is in all places, nor by circumscription of place. For 'here' and 'there,' in Chrysostom, do assign no place; as Augustine saith, 'The Lord is above, but the truth of the Lord is in all places.'"

Weston.—"You cannot so escape. He saith not the verity of Christ is one; but one Christ is in all places, both here and there."

Ridley.—"One sacrifice is in all places, because of the unity of him whom the sacrifice doth signify: not that the sacrifices be all one and the same."

Weston.—"Ergo, By your saying it is not Christ, but the sacrifice of Christ. But Chrysostom saith, 'One body and one Christ is there;' and not one sacrifice."

Ridley.—"I say, that both Christ and the sacrifice of Christ are there; Christ by his Spirit, grace, and verity; the sacrifice by signification. Thus I grant with Chrysostom, that there is one host or sacrifice, and not many. And this our host is called one, by reason of the unity of that one, which one only all our hosts do represent. That only host was never other but that which was once offered on the altar of the cross, of which host all our hosts are but sacramental examples.

"And whereas you allege out of Chrysostom, that Christ is offered in many places at once, (both here full Christ, and there full Christ,) I grant it to be true; that is, that Christ is offered in many places at once, in a mystery and sacramentally, and that he is full Christ in all those places; but not after the corporal substance of our flesh which he took, but after the benediction which giveth life; and he is given to the godly receivers in bread and wine, as Cyril speaketh. Concerning the oblation of Christ, whereof Chrysostom here speaketh, he himself doth clearly show what he meaneth thereby, in saying by the way of correction, 'We always do the selfsame, howbeit by the recordation or remembrance of his sacrifice.'"

Weston.—"The second witness is Bernard, in a sermon that he made of the supper of the Lord, who saith: How cometh this to us, most gentle Jesus, that we, silly worms, creeping on the face of the earth; that we, I say, which are but dust and ashes, may deserve to have thee present in our hands, and before our eyes, who, both together, full and whole, dost sit at the right hand of the Father; and who also, in the moment of one hour, from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same, art present, one and the selfsame, in many and divers places?"

Ridley.—"These words of Bernard make for you nothing at all. But I know that Bernard was in such a time, that in this matter he may worthily be suspected. He hath many good and fruitful sayings; as also in the same aforesaid place by you alleged: but yet he followed in an age, when the doctrine of the holy supper was sore perverted. Notwithstanding yet I will so expound him rather than reject him, that he shall make nothing for you at all. He saith, that we have Christ in a mystery, in a sacrament, under a veil or cover; but hereafter shall have him without veil or cover. In the mean time here now he saith, that the verity of Christ is every where: the verity of Christ is both here and there, and in all places."

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Weston.—"What do you call verity? He saith not the verity of Christ, but the verity of the body of Christ."

Ridley.—"The verity of the body of Christ is the true faith of the body of Christ: after that verity he is with them which truly believe upon him."

Weston.—"Christ is one and the same in divers places. I urge these words in divers places;' and yet I am not satisfied."

Smith.—"Christ was really seen and corporally on the earth after his ascension, and continually sitting at the right hand of the Father: ergo, the ascension and perpetual sitting in heaven hinder nothing, but that he may be really and corporally in the sacrament."

Ridley.—"If by perpetual sitting you mean the residence of his body in heaven, your reason containeth manifest contradiction."

Smith.—"These two have no contradiction in them at all, both to sit continually at his Father's right hand, and also to be seen here really in earth after his ascension. First, you will give me, that Christ sitteth in heaven at the right hand of his Father: for so it is written, Heaven must needs receive him, unto the time of the restoring of all, &c. Secondly, he was also seen of Paul here corporally on earth. Wherefore these two do import, as ye see, no contradiction."

Ridley.—"What letteth but that Christ, if it please him, and when it pleaseth him, may be in heaven and in earth, and appear to whom he will? and yet, notwithstanding, you have not yet proved that he will so do. And though Christ continually shall be resident in heaven unto the judgment, yet there may be some intermission, that notwithstanding. But this controversy, as I said, is amongst all the ancient doctors and writers. And that Christ hath been here seen, that they grant all: but whether then he being in earth or in heaven, that is doubtful."

Smith.—"I will prove that he would appear in earth. He so would, and also did appear here in earth after his ascension: ergo," &c.

Ridley.—"He appeared, I grant; but how he appeared, whether then being in heaven or in earth, that is uncertain. So he appeared to Stephen, being then corporally sitting in heaven. For, speaking after the true manner of man's body, when he is in heaven, he is not the same time in earth; and when he is in earth, he is not the same time corporally in heaven."

Smith.—"Christ hath been both in heaven and in earth all at one time: ergo, you are deceived in denying that."

Ridley.—"I do not utterly deny Christ here to have been seen in earth. Of uncertain things I speak uncertainly."

Smith.—"He was seen of Paul, as being born before his time, after his ascending up to heaven."

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"But his vision was a corporal vision:

"Ergo, He was seen corporally upon the earth after his ascending into heaven."

Ridley.—"He was seen really and corporally indeed: but whether being in heaven or earth, is a doubt: and of doubtful things we must judge doubtfully. Howbeit you must prove, that he was in heaven at the same time when he was corporally on earth."

Smith.—"I would know of you, whether this vision may enforce the resurrection of Christ."

Ridley.—"I account this a sound and firm argument to prove the resurrection. But whether they saw him in heaven or in earth, I am in doubt: and to say the truth, it maketh no great matter. Both ways the argument is of like strength: for whether he were seen in heaven, or whether he were seen on earth, either of both maketh sufficiently for the matter. Certain it is, he rose again: for he could not have been seen, unless he had risen again."

Smith.—"Paul saw him as he was here conversant on earth, and not out of heaven, as you affirm."

Ridley.—"You run to the beginning again: that you take for granted, which you should have proved."

Smith.—"You make delays for the nonce."

Ridley.—"Say not so, I pray you. Those that hear us be learned: they can tell both what you oppose, and what I answer well enough, I warrant you."

Tresham.—"He was seen after such sort, as that he might be heard: ergo, he was corporally on the earth; or else how could he be heard?"

Ridley.—"He that found the means for Stephen to behold him in heaven, even he could bring to pass well enough, that Paul might hear him out of heaven."

Smith.—"As others saw him, so Paul saw him.

"Other did see him visibly and corporally on earth:

"Ergo, Paul saw him visibly and corporally on earth."

Ridley.—"I grant he was seen visibly and corporally: but yet have you not proved that he was seen in earth."

Smith.—"He was seen of him as of others. "But he was seen of others being on earth, and appeared visibly to them on earth:

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"Ergo, He was seen of Paul on earth."

Ridley.—"Your controversy is about being on earth. If 'to be' be referred as unto the place, I deny that Christ after that sort was on earth. But if it be referred as to the verity of the body, then I grant it. Moreover I say, that Christ was seen of men in earth after his ascension, it is certain: for he was seen of Stephen; he was seen also of Paul. But whether he descended unto the earth, or whether he, being in heaven, did reveal or manifest himself to Paul, when Paul was rapt into the third heaven, I know that some contend about it: and the Scripture, as far as I have read or heard, doth not determine it. Wherefore we cannot but judge uncertainly of those things which be uncertain."

Smith.—"We have Egesippus and Linus against you, which testify, that Christ appeared corporally on the earth to Peter after his ascension. Peter, overcome with the requests and mournings of the people, which desired him to get him out of the city because of Nero's lying in wait for him, began without company to convey himself away from thence: and when he was come to the gate, he seeth Christ come to meet him, and worshipping him, he said, 'Master, whither walk you?' Christ answered, 'I am come again to be crucified.' Linus, writing of the passion of Peter, hath the selfsame story. St. Ambrose hath the same likewise, and also Abdias, scholar to the apostles, which saw Christ before his ascending into heaven. With what face, therefore, dare you affirm it to be a thing uncertain, which these men do manifestly witness to have been done?"

Ridley.—"I said before, that the doctors in that matter did vary."

Smith.—"Do you think this story is not certain, being approved by so ancient and probable authority?"

Ridley.—"I do so think, because I take and esteem not their words for the words of Scripture. And though I did grant you that story to be certain, yet it maketh not against me."

Smith.—"Such things as be certain, and approved of them, you do reject as things uncertain."

Ridley.—"The story of Linus is not of so great authority; although I am not ignorant that Eusebius so writeth also, in the Story of the Church. And yet I account not these men's reports so sure as the canonical Scriptures. Albeit if, at any time, he had to any man appeared here on the earth after his ascension, that doth not disprove my saying. For I go not about to tie Christ up in fetters (as some do untruly report of us); but that he may be seen upon the earth according to his Divine pleasure, whensoever it liketh him. But we affirm, that it is contrary to the nature of his manhood, and the true manner of his body, that he should be together and at one instant both in heaven and earth, according to his corporal substance. And the perpetual sitting at the right hand of the Father, may, I grant, be taken for the stability of Christ's kingdom, and his continual or everlasting equality with his Father in the glory of heaven."

Smith.—"Now, whereas you boast that your faith is the very faith of the ancient church, I will show here that it is not so, but that it doth directly strive against the faith of the old fathers: I

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will bring in Chrysostom for this point. 'Eliseus received the mantle, as a right great inheritance: for it was indeed a right excellent inheritance, and more precious than any gold beside. And the same was a double Elias: he was both Elias above, and Elias beneath. I know well you think that just man to be happy, and you would gladly be, every one of you, as he is. What will you then say, if I shall declare unto you a certain other thing, which all we that are endued with these holy mysteries do receive much more than that? Elias indeed left his mantle to his scholar: but the Son of God ascending did leave here his flesh unto us. Elias left it, putting off the same: but Christ both left it to us, and ascended also to heaven, having it with him.'

Ridley.—"I grant that Christ did both; that is, both took up his flesh with him ascending up, and also did leave the same behind him with us, but after a divers manner and respect. For he took his flesh with him, after the true and corporal substance of his body and flesh: again, he left the same in mystery to the faithful in the supper, to be received after a spiritual communication, and by grace. Neither is the same received in the supper only, but also at other times, by hearing the gospel, and by faith. For, the 'bread,' which we break, is the communication of the body of Christ: and generally, Unless ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye shall have no life in you."

Smith.—"Chrysostom saith: 'O miracle, O good will of God! He that sitteth above, at the sacrifice time, is contained in the hands of men.' Or else as others have translated it, thus: 'O miracle, O the gentleness of God! he that sitteth above with the Father, is handled with the hands of all men at the very same moment of time, and doth himself deliver himself to them that are desirous to take him and embrace him.'"

Ridley.—"He that sitteth there, is there present in mystery, and by grace; and is holden of the godly, such as communicate him, not only sacramentally with the hand of the body, but much more wholesomely with the hand of the heart, and by inward drinking is received: but by the sacramental signification he is holden of all men."

Seton.—"Where is then the miracle, if he be only present through his grace and mystery only?"

Ridley.—"Yes, there is a miracle, good sir: Christ is not idle in his sacraments. Is not the miracle great, trow you, when bread, which is wont to sustain the body, becometh food to the soul? He that understandeth not that miracle, he understandeth not the force of that mystery. God grant we may every one of us understand his truth, and obey the same."

Smith.—"Chrysostom calleth it a miracle, that Christ sitteth at the right hand of God in heaven, and at the same time is held in the hands of men.—Not that he is handled with the hands of men—only in a mystery, and is with them through grace. Therefore while you deny that, you are altogether deceived, and stray far from the truth."

Harpsfield.—"The former place of Chrysostom is not to be let slip. Let me, before I begin, ask this one question of you. Is it not a great matter that Elias left his cloak or mantle, and the gift of prophecy, to his scholar?"

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Ridley.—"Yes, surely; it is a great matter."

Harpsfield.—"Did not Elias then leave great grace?"

Ridley.—"He did so."

Harpsfield.—"But Christ left a far greater grace than Elias: for he could not both leave his cloak and take it with him; Christ doth both in his flesh."

Ridley.—"I am well content to grant, that Christ left much greater things to us than Elias to Eliseus, albeit he be said to have left his double spirit with him: for that the strength and grace of the body of Christ, which Christ, ascending up, here left with us, is the only salvation and life of all them who shall be saved: which life Christ hath here left unto us, to be received by faith through the hearing of the word, and the right administration of the sacraments. This virtue and grace Chrysostom, after the phrase and manner of John the evangelist, calleth Christ's flesh."

Harpsfield.—"But Christ performed a greater matter. He carried up, and left behind. You understand not the comparison. The comparison is in this, That Elias left his mantle, and carried it not with him: Christ left his flesh behind him, and carried it with him also."

Ridley.—"True it is, and I myself did affirm no less before. Now where you seem to speak many things, indeed you bring no new things at all. Let there be a comparison between grace and grace; then Christ gave the far greater grace, when he did insert or graft us into his flesh."

Harpsfield.—"If you will give me leave, I will ask you this question: If Chrysostom would have meant so, that Christ left his body in the eucharist, what plainer words think you, or more evident, could he have used than these?"

Ridley.—"These things be not of so great force as they bear a great show outwardly. He might also have used grosser words if he had listed to have uttered his mind so grossly: for he was an eloquent man. Now he speaketh after the manner of other doctors, which of mystical matters speak mystically, and of sacraments sacramentally."

Harpsfield.—"The comparison lieth in this: That which was impossible to Elias, is possible with Christ."

Ridley.—"I grant it was possible to Christ, which was to the other impossible. Elias left his cloak: Christ both left his flesh and took it with him."

Harpsfield.—"Elias left behind him, and could not take with him: Christ both left behind him, and also took with him: except you will say the comparison here made to be nothing."

Ridley.—"He took up his flesh with him to heaven, and left here the communion of his flesh in earth."

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Weston.—"You understand in the first place his flesh for very true flesh; and in the second place for grace, and communion of his flesh; and why do you not understand it in the second place also, for his true flesh? I will make it evident how blockish and gross your answer is."

Ridley.—"These be taunts and reproaches, not beseeching, as I think, the modesty of this school."

Weston.—"Elias left his cloak to his disciple: but the Son of God, going up to heaven, left his flesh. But Elias certainly left his cloak behind, and Christ likewise his flesh; and yet, ascending, he carried the same with him too. By which words we make this reason:

"Christ left his flesh to his disciples, and yet, for all that, he took the same up with him:

"Ergo, He is present here with us."

Here Dr. Weston, crying to the people, said unto them, "Master Doctor answereth it after this fashion: 'He carried his flesh into heaven, and he left here the communion of his flesh behind.' Assuredly the answer is too unlearned."

Ridley.—"I am glad you speak in English. Surely, I wish that all the whole world might understand your reasons and my answers: He left his flesh. This you understand of his flesh, and I understand the same of grace. He carried his flesh into heaven, and left behind the communion of his flesh unto us."

Weston.—"Ye judges, what think you of this answer?"

Judges.—"It is ridiculous, and a very fond answer."

Ridley.—"Well, I take your words patiently, for Christ's cause."

Weston here citeth a place: "We are sprinkled with the blood of Christ."

Ridley.—"Master Doctor, it is the same blood, but yet spiritually received. And indeed all the prophets were sprinkled with the same blood, but yet spiritually, I say, and by grace. And whatsoever they be that are not sprinkled with this blood, they cannot be partakers of the everlasting salvation."

Weston.—"Here I bring Bernard unto you again: 'Even from the west unto the east, from the north unto the south, there is one and the selfsame Christ in many and divers places.'"

Ridley.—"The answer is soon made, that one Christ is here and in divers places: for God, according to his majesty, and according to his providence, as St. Austin saith, is every where with the godly, according to his indivisible and unspeakable grace. Or else, if ye would understand Bernard according to the corporal presence, how monstrous, or huge and giant-like, a

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body would you then make Christ's body to be, which should reach even from north to south, from west to east."

Weston.—"Nay, nay, you make a monstrous answer, and unlearned."

Ward.—"Before I come in with those reasons which I had purposed to bring against you, I am minded to come again to Master Doctor's argument, by which you, being brought into the briers, seemed to doubt of Christ's presence on the earth. To the proof of which matter I will bring nothing else than that which was agreed upon in the catechism of the synod of London, set out not long ago by you."

Ridley.—"Sir, I give you to wit, before you go any further, that I did set out no catechism."

Weston.—"Yes, you made me subscribe to it, when you were a bishop in your ruff."

Ridley.—"I compelled no man to subscribe."

Ward.—"Yes, by the rood, you are the very author of that heresy."

Ridley.—"I put forth no catechism."

Cole.—"Did you never consent to the setting out of those things which you allowed?"

Ridley.—"I grant that I saw the book; but I deny that I wrote it. I perused it after it was made, and I noted many things for it: so I consented to the book. I was not the author of it."

Judges.—"The catechism is so set forth, as though the whole convocation-house had agreed to it. Cranmer said yesterday, that you made it."

Ridley.—"I think surely, that he would not say so."

Ward.—"The catechism hath this clause: 'If visibly and on the earth.'"

Ridley.—"I answer, that those articles were set out, I both witting and consenting to them. Mine own hand will testify the same, and Master Cranmer put his hand to them likewise, and gave them to others afterward. Now, as for the place which you allege out of it, that may easily be expounded, and without any inconvenience."

Ward.—"Christ is the power and the virtue of his Father: ergo, he was not of so little strength that he could not bring to pass whatsoever he would himself."

Ridley.—"I grant."

Ward.—"Christ was the wisdom of the Father: ergo, that he spake, he spake wisely, and so as every man might understand; neither was it his mind to speak one thing instead of another."

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Ridley.—"All this I grant."

Ward.—"Christ was likewise the very truth: ergo, he made and performed indeed that which he intended to make. And likewise it is, that he doth neither deceive, nor could be deceived, nor yet would go about to deceive others."

Weston.—"Hilary on Psal. cxviii. hath these weds: All God's words or sayings are true, and neither idly placed, nor unprofitably, but fiery, and wonderful fiery, without all doubtfulness of superfluous vanity; that there may be nothing thought to be there, which is not absolute and proper."

Ward.—"He is the truth of the Father: ergo, he can neither deceive, nor yet be deceived; especially, I mean, when he spake at his latter end, and made his testament."

Ridley.—"Christ is the very truth of the Father; and I perceive well to what scope you drive your reason. This is but a far-fetched compass of words. If that these words of Christ, 'This is my body,' which you mean, be rightly understood, they are most true."

Ward.—"He took, he brake, he gave, &c. What took he?"

Ridley.—"Bread: his body."

Ward.—"What brake he?"

Ridley.—"Bread."

Ward.—"What gave he?"

Ridley.—"Bread."

Ward.—"Gave he bread made of wheat, and material bread?"

Ridley.—"I know not whether he gave bread of wheat; but he gave true and material bread."

Ward.—"I will prove the contrary by Scriptures.

"He delivered to them that which he bade them take.

"But he bade not them take material bread, but his own body:

"Ergo, He gave not material bread, but his own body."

Ridley.—"I deny the minor. For he bade them take his body sacramentally in material bread: and after that sort it was both bread which he bade them take, because the substance was bread, and that it was also his body; because it was the sacrament of his body, for the sanctifying

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and the coming of the Holy Ghost, which is always assistant to those mysteries which were instituted of Christ, and lawfully administered."

Harpsfield.—"What is he that so saith, 'By the coming unto of the Holy Spirit?'"

Ridley.—"I have Theophylact for mine author for this manner of speaking. And here I bring him, that ye may understand that phrase not to be mine, upon Matthew xxvi. Furthermore the said Theophylact, writing upon these words, This is my body, sheweth, that the body of the Lord is bread, which is sanctified on the altar."

Oglethorpe.—"That place of Theophylact maketh openly against you: for he saith in that place, that Christ said not, 'This is the figure of my body, but my body.' 'For,' saith he, 'by an unspeakable operation it is transformed, although it seem to us to be bread.'"

Ridley. "It is not a figure; that is to say, It is not only a figure of his body."

Weston.—"Where have you that word 'only?'"

Ridley.—"It is not in that place, but he hath it in another; and Augustine doth so speak many times, and other doctors more."

Here Weston, repeating the words of Theophylact in English, said, "He saith, it is not a figure, and you say, it is a figure. And the same Theophylact saith moreover, that the converting or turning of the bread is made into the Lord's flesh.

"That which Christ gave, we do give.

"But that which he gave was not a figure of his body, but his body.

"Ergo, We give no figure, but his body."

Ridley.—"I grant," quoth he, "the bread to be converted and turned into the flesh of Christ; but not by transubstantiation, but by a sacramental conversion or turning. 'It is transformed,' saith Theophylact, in the same place, by a mystical benediction, and by the accession or coming of the Holy Ghost unto the flesh of Christ.' He saith not, by expulsion or driving away the substance of bread, and by substituting or putting in its place the corporal substance of Christ's flesh. And whereas he saith, 'It is not a figure of the body,' we should understand that saying, as he himself doth elsewhere add 'only,' that is, it is no naked or bare figure only. For Christ is present in his mysteries; neither at any time, as Cyprian saith, doth the Divine Majesty absent himself from the Divine mysteries."

Weston.—"You put in 'only,' and that is one lie. And I tell you further, Peter Martyr was fain to deny the author, because the place was so plain against him. But mark his words, how he saith, It is no figure, but his flesh."

Ridley.—"To take his words, and not his meaning, is to do injury to the author."

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Larding.—"No other doctor maketh more against you. For the word in Greek is μετατοιχειουται[Greek:metastoi-cheioutai]; which is in Latin *trans-elementatur*, that is, turned from one element into another. And showing the cause why it is in form of bread, he saith, 'Because we are infirm, and abhor to eat the raw flesh, especially the flesh of man: therefore it appeareth bread, but it is flesh.'"

Ridley.—"That word hath not that strength which you seem to give it. You strain it overmuch, and yet it maketh not so much for your purpose. For the same author hath in another place, ημεις μετατοιχειουμεθα[Greek: emeis metastoicheioumetha] that is, 'We are trans-elemented, or transformed and changed, into the body of Christ:' and so by that word, in such meaning as you speak of, I could prove as well that we are transformed indeed into the very body of Christ."

Ward.—"Learned Master Doctor, thus you expound the place, This is my body, that is, a figure of my body."

Ridley.—"Although I know there be that so expound it, yet that exposition is not full to express the whole."

Ward.—"My sheep hear my voice, and follow me.

"But all the sheep of Christ hear his voice, This is my body, without a figure:

"Ergo, The voice of Christ here hath no figure."

Ridley.—"The sheep of Christ follow the voice of Christ, unless they be seduced and deceived through ignorance."

Ward.—"But the fathers took this place for no figurative speech."

Ridley.—"Yet they do all number this place among figurative and tropical speeches."

Ward.—"Justin Martyr, in his second Apology, hath thus: 'Neque vero hæc pro pane potuve communi sumimus; imo quemadmodum verbo Dei Jesus Christus, Servator noster incarnatus, habuit pro salute nostra carnem et sanguinem: ita per orationem illius verbi consecratum hoc alimentum, quo sanguis et carnes nostræ per immutationem enutriuntur, ejusdem incarnati carnem et sanguinem esse sumus edocti.'"

"This place Cranmer hath corrupted. Thus it is Englished; 'For we do not take this for common bread and drink, but like as Jesus Christ our Saviour, incarnate by the word of God, had flesh and blood for our salvation; even so we be taught the food wherewith our flesh and blood is nourished by alteration, when it is consecrated by the prayer of his word, to be the flesh and blood of the same Jesus incarnate.'"

"Dr. Cranmer hath thus translated it: 'Bread, water, and wine, are not to be taken as other common meats and drinks be, but they be ordained purposely to give thanks to God, and

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therefore be called Eucharistia, and be called the body and blood of Christ: and that it is lawful for none to eat and drink of them, but such as profess Christ, and live according to the same; and yet the same meat and drink is changed into our flesh and blood, and nourisheth our bodies."

Ridley.—"O good Master Doctor, go sincerely to work: I know that place, and I know how it is used."

Ward here repeated the place again out of Justin, 'We are taught,' &c., as above.

Ridley.—"O what upright dealing is this! I have the selfsame place of Justin here copied out. You know yourself, which are skilful in Greek, how the words here be removed out of the right place; and that without any just cause."

Ward.—"I stand still upon mine argument. What say you?"

Ridley.—"If you will, that I should answer to Justin, then you must hear. I have but one tongue, I cannot answer at once to you all."

Weston.—"Christ gave us his very and true flesh to be eaten:

"But he never gave it to be eaten but in his last supper, and in the sacrament of the altar:

"Ergo, There is the very true flesh of Christ."

Ridley.—"If you speak of the very true flesh of Christ, after the substance of his flesh taken in the womb of the Virgin Mary, and not by grace and spiritually, I then do deny the first part of your reason. But if you understand it of the true flesh, after grace and spiritual communication, I then grant the first part, and deny the second. For he giveth unto us truly his flesh, to be eaten of all that believe in him: for he is the very and true meat of the soul, wherewith we are fed unto everlasting life, according to his saying, My flesh is meat indeed," &c.

Ward.—"I have desired with my hearty desire to eat this paschal with you. What paschal, I pray you, desired he to eat? If you stand in doubt, you have Tertullian against Marcion: He, therefore, protesting a great desire to eat his paschal, (his own paschal I say, for it was not meet that he should desire any other than his own,) taking bread and distributing it to his disciples, made it his body, saying, This is my body. What say you? Did he understand by this paschal the Judaical lamb, or by that which afterward he gave in his supper?"

Ridley.—"I suppose that the first he understood of the Judaical passover, and afterward of the eucharist."

Ward.—"Nay then Tertullian is against you, who saith:

'He desired to eat his passover.

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'But the Judaical passover was not his, but strange from Christ:

'Ergo, He meant not of the Judaical passover.'"

Ridley.—"The Judaical passover was not strange from Christ, but his own: insomuch as he is the Lord of all; and as well the Lord of the Judaical passover, as of his own supper."

Ward.—"What answer you then to Tertullian, who saith, He desired to eat his own passover, and not the Jewish passover, which stood upon words without flesh?"

Ridley.—"Tertullian may here dally in sense analogical. I know that Cyprian hath these words: 'He began then to institute the holy eucharist, but both were Christ's.'"

Ward.—"Augustine on Psalm xcvi., writing upon these words, Worship his footstool, &c.: 'I ask,' saith he, what is the footstool of his feet; and the Scripture telleth me, The earth is the footstool of my feet. And so, in searching thereof, I turn myself to Christ, because I seek him here in the earth, and find how, without impiety, the footstool of his feet may be worshipped. For he took earth of earth, in that he is flesh of earth, and because of the flesh of Mary he took flesh, and because that in the same flesh here he walked; and also he gave the same flesh to us, to be eaten unto salvation. But no man eateth that flesh except he have worshipped before. And so it is found, how such a footstool of the feet of the Lord is to be worshipped, so that not only we sin not in worshipping, but also do sin in not worshipping the same.'

"He gave to us his flesh to be eaten, the which he took of the earth, in which also here he walked, &c.

"But he never gave his flesh to be eaten, but when he gave it at his supper, saying, This is my body:

"Ergo, In the eucharist he gave us his flesh."

Ridley.—"You do allege the place of Augustine upon Psalm xcvi., where he saith, that Christ gave his flesh to be eaten which he took of the earth, and in which here he walked; inferring hereupon that Christ never gave the same his flesh to be eaten, but only in the eucharist: I deny your minor; for he gave it both in the eucharist to be eaten, and also otherwise, as well in the word, as also upon the cross."

Smith.—"What if Augustine say, that Christ did not only give himself to us in a figure, but gave his own very flesh indeed and really?"

Ridley."I never said that Christ gave only a figure of his body; for indeed he gave himself in a real communication, that is, he gave his flesh after a communication of his flesh."

(Here Weston read the place of Augustine in English, and afterward said, "Ye say Christ gave not his body, but a figure of his body.")

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Ridley.—"I say not so: I say, he gave his own body verily; but he gave it by a real, effectual, and spiritual communication."

After this, Dr. Glyn began to reason, who (notwithstanding Master Ridley had always taken him for his old friend) made a very contumelious preface against him. This preface Master Ridley, therefore, did the more take to heart, because it proceeded from him. Howbeit he thought, that Dr. Glyn's mind was to serve the turn: for afterward he came to the house wherein Master Ridley was kept, and, as far as Master Ridley could call to remembrance, before Dr. Young and Dr. Oglethorpe he desired him to pardon his words. The which Master Ridley did even from the very heart; and wished earnestly, that God would give not only to him, but unto all others, the true and evident knowledge of God's evangelical sincerity, that, all offences put apart, they, being perfectly and fully reconciled, might agree and meet together in the house of the heavenly Father.

Glyn.—"I see that you elude or shift away all Scriptures and fathers: I will go to work with you after another sort:—Christ hath here his church known in earth, of which you were once a child, although now you speak contumeliously of the sacraments."

Ridley.—"This is a grievous contumely, that you call me a shifter-away of the Scripture, and of the doctors. As touching the sacraments, I never yet spake contumeliously of them. I grant that Christ hath here his church in earth; but that church did ever receive and acknowledge the eucharist to be a sacrament of the body of Christ, yet not the body of Christ really, but the body of Christ by grace."

Glyn.—"Then I ask this question; whether the catholic church hath ever or at any time been idolatrous?"

Ridley. "The church is the pillar and stay of the truth, that never yet hath been idolatrous in respect of the whole; but, peradventure, in respect of some part thereof, which sometimes may be seduced by evil pastors, and through ignorance."

Glyn.—"That church ever hath worshipped the flesh of Christ in the eucharist.

"But the church hath never been idolatrous:

"Ergo, It hath alway judged the flesh of Christ to be in the eucharist."

Ridley.—"And I also worship Christ in the sacrament, but not because he is included in the sacrament: like as I worship Christ also in the Scriptures, not because he is really included in them. Notwithstanding I say, that the body of Christ is present in the sacrament; but yet sacramentally and spiritually, (according to his grace,) giving life, and in that respect really, that is, according to his benediction, giving life. Furthermore, I acknowledge gladly the true body of Christ to be in the Lord's supper, in such sort as the church of Christ (which is the spouse of Christ, and is taught of the Holy Ghost, and guided by God's word) doth acknowledge the same. But the true church of Christ doth acknowledge a presence of Christ's body in the Lord's supper

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to be communicated to the godly by grace, and spiritually, as I have often showed, and by a sacramental signification; but not by the corporal presence of the body of his flesh."

Glyn.—"Augustine against Faustus [saith,] 'Some there were which thought us, instead of bread and of the cup, to worship Ceres and Bacchus.' Upon this place I gather, that there was an adoration of the sacrament among the fathers; and Erasmus, in an epistle to the brethren of Low Germany, saith, that the worshipping of the sacrament was before Augustine and Cyprian."

Ridley.—"We do handle the signs reverently; but we worship the sacrament as a sacrament, not as a thing signified by the sacrament."

Glyn.—"What is the symbol or sacrament?"

Ridley.—"Bread."

Glyn.—"Ergo, We worship bread."

Ridley.—"There is a deceit in this word *adoramus*. We worship the symbols, when reverently we handle them. We worship Christ wheresoever we perceive his benefits: but we understand his benefits to be greatest in the sacrament."

Glyn.—"So I may fall down before the bench here, and worship Christ; and if any man ask me what I do, I may answer, I worship Christ."

Ridley.—"We adore and worship Christ in theeucharist. And if you mean the external sacrament; I say, that also is to be worshipped as a sacrament."

Glyn.—"So was the faith of the primitive church."

Ridley.—"Would to God we would all follow the faith of that church."

Glyn.—"Think you that Christ hath now his church?"

Ridley.—"I do so."

Glyn.—"But all the church adoreth Christ verily and really in the sacrament."

Ridley.—"You know yourself, that the eastern church would not acknowledge transubstantiation; as appeareth in the council of Florence."

Cole.—"That is false: for in the same they did acknowledge transubstantiation; although they would not entreat of that matter, for that they had not in their commission so to do."

Ridley.—"Nay, they would determine nothing of that matter, when the article was propounded unto then."

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Cole.—"It was not because they did not acknowledge the same, but because they had no commission so to do."

Curtop.—"Reverend sir, I will prove and declare, that the body of Christ is truly and really in the eucharist: and whereas the holy fathers, both of the west and east church, have written both many things and no less manifest of the same matter, yet will I bring forth only Chrysostom. The place is this:

"That which is in the cup, is the same that flowed from the side of Christ:

"But true and pure blood did flow from the side of Christ:

"Ergo, His true and pure blood is in the cup."

Ridley.—"It is his true blood which is in the chalice, I grant, and the same which sprang from the side of Christ. But how? It is blood indeed, but not after the same manner, after which it sprang from his side. For here is the blood, but by way of a sacrament.—Again I say, like as the bread of the sacrament and of thanksgiving is called the body of Christ given for us; so the cup of the Lord is called the blood which sprang from the side of Christ: but that sacramental bread is called the body, because it is the sacrament of his body. Even so likewise the cup is called the blood also, which flowed out of Christ's side, because it is the sacrament of that blood which flowed out of his side, instituted of the Lord himself for our singular commodity; namely, for our spiritual nourishment: like as baptism is ordained in water to spiritual regeneration."

Curtop.—"The sacrament of the blood is not the blood."

Ridley.—"The sacrament of the blood is the blood; and that is attributed to the sacrament, which is spoken of the thing of the sacrament."

(Here Weston repeateth Curtop's argument in English.)

Weston.—"That which is in the chalice, is the same which flowed out of Christ's side.

"But there came out very blood:

"Ergo, There is very blood in the chalice."

Ridley.—"The blood of Christ is in the chalice indeed, but not in the real presence, but by grace, and in a sacrament."

Weston.—"That is very well. Then we have blood in the chalice."

Ridley.—"It is true; but by grace, and in a sacrament."

(Here the people hissed at him.)

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Ridley.—"O my masters! I take this for no judgment: I will stand to God's judgment."

Watson.—"Good sir, I have determined to have respect of the time, and to abstain from all those things which may hinder the entrance of our disceptation: and therefore first I ask this question: When Christ said in John vi., He that eateth my flesh, &c., doth he signify in those words the eating of his true and natural flesh, or else of the bread and symbol?"

Ridley.—"I understand that place of the very flesh of Christ to be eaten, but spiritually: and further I say, that the sacrament also pertaineth unto the spiritual manducation: for without the spirit to eat the sacrament, is to eat it unprofitably; for whoso eateth not spiritually, he eateth his own condemnation."

Watson.—"I ask then, whether the eucharist be a sacrament?"

Ridley.—"The eucharist, taken for a sign or symbol, is a sacrament."

Watson.—"Is it instituted of God?"

Ridley.—"It is instituted of God."

Watson.—"Where?"

Ridley.—"In the supper."

Watson.—"With what words is it made a sacrament?"

Ridley.—"By the words and deeds which Christ said and did, and commanded us to say and do the same."

Watson.—"It is a thing commonly received of all, that the sacraments of the new law give grace to them that worthily receive."

Ridley.—"True it is, that grace is given by the sacrament; but as by an instrument. The inward virtue and Christ give the grace through the sacrament."

Watson.—"What is a sacrament?"

Ridley.—"I remember there be many definitions of a sacrament in Augustine: but I will take that which seemeth most fit to this present purpose. A sacrament is a visible sign of invisible grace."

Watson.—"Ergo, grace is given to the receivers."

Ridley.—"The society or conjunction with Christ through the Holy Ghost is grace; and by the sacrament we are made the members of the mystical body of Christ, for that by the sacrament the part of the body is grafted in the head."

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Watson.—"But there is difference between the mystical body and natural body."

Ridley.—"There is, I grant you, a difference; but the head of them both is one."

Watson.—"The eucharist is a sacrament of the New Testament:

"Ergo, It hath a promise of grace.

"But no promise of grace is made to bread and wine:

"Ergo, Bread and wine be not the sacraments of the New Testament."

Ridley.—"I grant that grace pertaineth to the eucharist, according to this saying, The bread which we break, is it not the communication or partaking of the body of Christ? And like as he that eateth and he that drinketh unworthily the sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord, eateth and drinketh his own damnation; even so he that eateth and drinketh worthily, eateth life, and drinketh life. I grant also that there is no promise made to bread and wine. But inasmuch as they are sanctified, and made the sacraments of the body and blood of the Lord, they have a promise of grace annexed unto them; namely, of spiritual partaking of the body of Christ to be communicated and given, not to the bread and wine, but to them which worthily do receive the sacrament."

Watson.—"If the substance of bread and wine do remain, then the society betwixt Christ and us is promised to them that take bread and wine.

"But that society is not promised to bread and wine, but to the receivers of the flesh and blood.

"Ergo, The substance of bread and wine remaineth not."

Ridley.—"The promise undoubtedly is made to the flesh and blood, but the same is to be received in the sacrament through faith."

Watson.—"Every sacrament hath a promise of grace annexed unto it: but bread and wine have not a promise of grace annexed unto them:

"Ergo, The bread and wine are not sacraments."

Ridley.—"True it is, every sacrament hath grace annexed unto it instrumentally. But there is divers understanding of this word 'hath:' for the sacrament hath not grace included in it; but to those that receive it well, it is turned to grace. After that manner the water in baptism hath grace promised, and by that grace the Holy Spirit is given: not that grace is included in water, but that grace cometh by water."

Watson.—"This promise is made to the flesh and blood of Christ; and not to the bread and wine:

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"Ergo, The sacrament is not bread and wine, but the body and blood of Christ."

Ridley.—"There is no promise made to him that taketh common bread and common wine; but to him that receiveth the sanctified bread, and bread of the communion, there is a large promise of grace made: neither is the promise given to the symbols, but to the thing of the sacrament. But the thing of the sacrament is the flesh and blood."

Watson.—"Every sacrament of the New Testament giveth grace, promised of God to those that worthily receive it."

Ridley.—"This sacrament hath a promise of grace, made to those that receive it worthily, because grace is given by it, as by an instrument; not that Christ hath transfused grace into the bread and wine."

Watson.—"But this promise which is made, is not but to those that worthily receive the flesh and blood; not the bread and wine."

Ridley.—"That proposition of yours hath a divers understanding. There is no promise made to them that receive common bread, as it were; but to those that worthily receive the sanctified bread, there is a promise of grace made, like as Origen doth testify."

Watson.—"Where is that promise made?"

Ridley.—"The bread which we break, is it not a communication of the body of Christ? And we being many are one bread, one body of Christ."

Watson.—"What doth he mean by bread in that place?"

Ridley.—"The bread of the Lord's table, the communion of the body of Christ."

Watson.—"Hearken what Chrysostom saith upon that place: 'The bread which we break, is it not the communication of Christ's body?' Wherefore did he not say participation? Because he would signify some greater matter, and that he would declare a great convenience and conjunction betwixt the same. For we do not communicate by participation only and receiving, but also by co-uniting; for likewise as that body is co-united to Christ, so also we, by the same bread, are conjoined and united to him."

Ridley.—"Let Chrysostom have his manner of speaking, and his sentence. If it be true, I reject it not. But let it not be prejudicial to me, to name it true bread."

Watson.—"All,' saith Chrysostom, 'which sit together at one board, do communicate together of one true body. What do I call,' saith he, 'this communicating? We are all the selfsame body. What doth bread signify? The body of Christ. What be they that receive it? The body of Christ: for many are but one body.' Chrysostom doth interpret this place against you: 'All we be one bread and one mystical body, which do participate together one bread of Christ.'"

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Ridley.—"All we be one mystical body, which do communicate of one Christ in bread, after the efficacy of regeneration, or quickening."

Watson.—"Of what manner of bread speaketh he?"

Ridley.—"Of the bread of the Lord's table."

Watson.—"Is not that bread one?"

Ridley.—"It is one of the church being one; because one bread is set forth upon the table: and so of one bread all together do participate, which communicate at the table of the Lord."

Watson.—"See how absurdly you speak. Do you say, all which be from the beginning to the end of the world?"

Ridley.—"All, I say, which at one table together have communicated in the mysteries might well so do. Albeit the heavenly and celestial bread is likewise one also, whereof the sacramental bread is a mystery: the which being one, all we together do participate."

Watson.—"A perverse answer. Which all? Mean you all Christian men?"

Ridley.—"I do distribute this word 'all;' for all were wont together to communicate of the one bread divided into parts: all, I say, which were in one congregation, and which all did communicate together at one table."

Watson.—"What? Do you exclude then from the body of Christ all them which did not communicate, being present?"

Fecknam.—"But Cyprian saith, 'Bread which no multitude doth consume:' which cannot be understood but only of the body of Christ."

Ridley.—"Also Cyprian in this place did speak of the true body of Christ, and not of material bread."

Fecknam.—"Nay, rather he did there entreat of the sacrament in that tractation De Cœna Domini, writing upon the supper of the Lord."

Ridley.—"Truth it is, and I grant he entreateth there of the sacrament: but, also, he doth admix something therewithal of the spiritual manducation."

Smith.—"When the Lord saith, 'This is my body,' he useth no tropical speech:

"Ergo, You are deceived."

Ridley.—"I deny your antecedent."

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Smith.—"I bring here Augustine expounding these words, He was carried in his own hands: How may this be understood to be done in man? For no man is carried in his own hands, but in the hands of other. How this may be understood of David after the letter, we do not find; of Christ we find it. For Christ was borne in his own hands, when he saith, 'This is my body:' for he carried that same body in his own hands, &c. Augustine here did not see how this place, after the letter, could be understood of David; because no man can carry himself in his own hands. Therefore,' saith he, 'this place is to be understood of Christ after the letter.' For Christ carried himself in his own hands in his supper, when he gave the sacrament to his disciples, saying, 'This is my body.'"

Ridley.—"I deny your argument, and I explicate the same. Austin could not find, after his own understanding, how this could be understood of David after the letter. Austin goeth here from others in this exposition, but I go not from him. But let this exposition of Austin be granted to you; although I know this place of Scripture be otherwise read of other men, after the verity of the Hebrew text, and it is also otherwise to be expounded. Yet, to grant to you this exposition of Austin, I say yet, notwithstanding, it maketh nothing against my assertion: for Christ did bear himself in his own hands, when he gave the sacrament of his body to be eaten of his disciples."

Smith.—"Ergo, It is true of Christ after the letter, that he was borne in his own hands."

Ridley.—"He was borne literally, and after that letter which was spoken of David: but not after the letter of these words, *Hoc est corpus meum.*"

"I grant that St. Austin saith, that it is not found literally of David, that he carried himself in his own hands, and that it is found of Christ. But this word *ad literam*, literally, you do not well refer to that which was borne, but rather it ought to be referred to him that did bear it. St. Augustine's meaning is this; that it is not read any where in the Bible, that this carnal David, the son of Jesse, did bear himself in his hands; but of that spiritual David, that overthrew Goliath the devil, (that is, of Christ our Saviour, the Son of the Virgin,) it may well be found literally, that he bare himself in his own hands after a certain manner, namely, in carrying the sacrament of himself. And note, that St. Austin hath these words, *quodam modo*, after a certain manner; which manifestly declare, how the doctor's meaning is to be taken."

Smith.—"When then was he borne in his own hands; and after what letter?"

Ridley.—"He was borne in the supper sacramentally, when he said, 'This is my body.'"

Smith.—"Every man may bear in his own hands a figure of his body. But Augustine denieth that David could carry himself in his hands:

"Ergo, He speaketh of no figure of his body."

Ridley.—"If Austin could have found in all the Scripture, that David had carried the sacrament of his body, then he would never have used that exposition of Christ."

Smith.—"But he did bear himself in his own hands."

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"Ergo, He did not bear a figure only."

Ridley.—"He did bear himself, but in a sacrament: and Austin afterward addeth, *quodam modo*, that is, sacramentally."

Smith.—"You understand not what Austin meant when he said, *quodam modo*; for he meant, that he did bear his very true body in that supper, not in figure and form of a body, but in form and figure of bread.

"Ergo, You are holden fast, neither are you able to escape out of this labyrinth."

Dr. Weston repeated this place again in English: which done, then Dr. Tresham began thus to speak, moved (as it seemed to Master Ridley) with great zeal; and desired that he might be in the stead of John Baptist, in converting the hearts of the fathers, and in reducing the said Bishop Ridley again to the mother church. Now at the first, not knowing the person, he thought he had been some good old man, which had the zeal of God, although not according to knowledge, and began to answer him with mansuetude and reverence: but afterward he smelled a fox under a sheep's clothing.

Tresham.—"God Almighty grant that it may be fulfilled in me, that was spoken by the prophet Malachi of John Baptist, Which may turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the hearts of the children to their fathers, that you at length may be converted. The wise man saith, Son, honour thy father, and reverence thy mother: but you dishonour your Father in heaven, and pollute your mother the holy church here on earth, while ye set nought by her."

Ridley.—"These by-words do pollute your school."

Tresham.—"If there were an Arian which had that subtle wit that you have, he might soon shift off the authority of the Scriptures and fathers."

Weston.—"Either dispute, or else hold your peace, I pray you."

Tresham.—"I bring a place here out of the council of Lateran, the which council, representing the universal church, wherein were congregated three hundred bishops, and seventy metropolitans, besides a great multitude of others, decreed that bread and wine, by the power of God's word, was transubstantiate into the body and blood of the Lord. Therefore whosoever saith contrary, cannot be a child of the church, but a heretic."

Ridley.—"Good sir, I have heard what you have cited out of the council of Lateran, and remember that there was a great multitude of bishops and metropolitans, as you said: but yet you have not numbered how many abbots, priors, and friars were in that council, who were to the number of eight hundred."

One of the scribes.—"What! will you deny then the authority of that council, for the multitude of those priors?"

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Ridley.—"No, sir, not so much for that cause, as for that, especially, because the doctrine of that council agreed not with the word of God, as it may well appear by the acts of that council, which was holden under Innocent the Third, a man (if we believe the histories) most pernicious to the church and commonwealth of Christ."

Tresham.—"What! do you not receive the council of Lateran?" Whereupon he, with certain others, cried, "Write, write."

Ridley.—"No, sir, I receive not that council; write, and write again."

Tresham.—"Evil men do eat the natural body of Christ; ergo, the true and natural body of Christ is on the altar."

Ridley.—"Evil men do eat the very true and natural body of Christ sacramentally, and no further; as St. Augustine saith. But good men do eat the very true body, both sacramentally, and spiritually by grace."

Tresham.—"I prove the contrary, by St. Augustine: 'Like as Judas, to whom the Lord gave the morsel, did offend, not in taking a thing that was evil, but in receiving it after an evil manner,' &c. And a little after, 'Because some do not eat unto salvation, it followeth not, therefore, that it is not his body.'"

Ridley.—"It is the body to them, that is, the sacrament of the body: and Judas took the sacrament of the Lord to his condemnation. Austin hath distinguished these things well in another place, where he saith, 'The bread of the Lord, the bread the Lord. Evil men eat the bread of the Lord, but not the bread the Lord. But good men eat both the bread of the Lord, and bread the Lord.'"

Weston.—"Paul saith, the body, and you say, the sacrament of the body."

Ridley.—"Paul meaneth so indeed."

Watson.—"You understand it evil concerning the sign: for the fathers say, that evil men do eat him which descended from heaven."

Ridley.—"They eat him indeed, but sacramentally. The fathers use many times the sacrament for the matter of the sacrament, and all that same place maketh against you:" and so here he cited the place."

Weston.—"I bring Theophylact, which saith, that Judas did taste the body of the Lord. 'The Lord did show the cruelty of Judas, who, when he was rebuked, did not understand, and tasted the Lord's flesh,' &c."

Ridley.—"This phrase to divines is well known, and used of the doctors: 'He tasted the flesh of the Lord insensibly;' that is, the sacrament of the Lord's flesh."

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Weston.—"Chrysostom saith, that the same punishment remaineth to them which receive the body of the Lord unworthily, as to them which crucified him."

Ridley.—"That is, because they defile the Lord's body: for evil men do eat the body of Christ sacramentally, but good men eat both the sacrament, and the matter of the sacrament."

Watson.—"You reject the council of Lateran, because (you say) it agreeth not with God's word. What say you then to the council of Nice? The words of the council be these: 'Let us not look a-low by the ground, upon the bread and the drink set before us, but, lifting up our mind, let us faithfully believe, there upon that holy table to lie the Lamb of God taking away the sins of the world, being sacrificed of the priests.'"

Ridley.—"That council was collected out of ancient fathers; and is to me a great authority; for it with, 'that bread is set upon the altar, and having our minds lifted up, we must consider him which is in heaven.' The words of the council make for me."

Watson.—"With a mind exalted: that is, not as brute beasts at the rack or manger, having an eye only upon the thing that is set before them. 'The Lamb of God lieth on the table,' saith the council."

Ridley.—"The Lamb of God is in heaven, according to the verity of the body: and here he is with us in a mystery, according to his power; not corporally."

Watson.—"But the Lamb of God lieth on the table."

Ridley.—"It is a figurative speech; for in our mind we understand him which is in heaven."

Watson.—"But he lieth there, the Greek word is κεῖται[Greek:keitai].

Ridley.—"He lieth there; that is, he is there present: not corporally, but he lieth there by his operation."

Watson.—"He lieth; but his operation lieth not."

Ridley.—"You think very grossly of the sitting or lying of the celestial Lamb on the table of the Lord: for we may not imagine any such sitting or lying upon the table, as the reason of man would judge: but all things are here to be understood spiritually. For that heavenly Lamb is (as I confess) on the table; but by a spiritual presence, by grace, and not after any corporal substance of his flesh taken of the Virgin Mary. And indeed the same canon doth very plainly teach, that the bread which is set on the table is material bread; and therefore it (the canon I mean) commandeth that we should not creep on the ground in our cogitation, to those things which are set before us; as who should say, what other things are they (as much as pertaineth to their true substance) than bread and wine? 'But rather,' saith the canon, 'lifting up our minds into heaven, let us consider with faith the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world, sitting or lying upon the table.' 'For a lifted-up faith,' saith he, 'seeth him which sitteth on the

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right hand of God the Father, after the true manner of a body set by grace on the Lord's table, and taking away the sins of the world. For I think you mean not so; as though the Lamb did lie there prostrate with his members spread upon the table."

Smith.—"I bring another place out of the council of Nice: 'None of the apostles said, this is a figure of the body of Christ: none of the reverend elders said, the unbloody sacrifice of the altar to be a figure.'

"Ergo, You are deceived."

Ridley.—"This canon is not in the council of Nice; for I have read over this council many times."

Then came in another, whom Master Ridley knew not, and said: "The universal church both of the Greeks and Latins, of the east and of the west, have agreed in the council of Florence uniformly in the doctrine of the sacrament; that in the sacrament of the altar there is the true and real body."

Ridley.—"I deny the Greek and the east church to have agreed either in the council at Florence, or at any time else, with the Romish church in the doctrine of transubstantiation of bread into the body of Christ. For there was nothing in the council of Florence, wherein the Greeks would agree with the Romanists; albeit hitherto I confess it was left free for every church to use, as they were wont, leavened or unleavened bread."

Here cried out Dr. Cole, and said, they agreed together concerning transubstantiation of bread into the body of Christ. Master Ridley said that could not be.

Here started up another unknown to Master Ridley, but thought to be one of the scribes, who affirmed with him, that indeed there was nothing decreed concerning transubstantiation; but the council left that, as a matter not meet nor worthy to disturb the peace and concord of the church; to whom Master Ridley answered again, saying, that he said the truth.

Pie.—"What say you to that council, where it is said, that the priest doth offer an unbloody sacrifice of the body of Christ?"

Ridley.—"I say, it is well said, if it be rightly understood."

Pie.—"But he offereth an unbloody sacrifice."

Ridley.—"It is called unbloody, and is offered after a certain manner, and in a mystery, and as a representation of that bloody sacrifice; and he doth not lie, who saith Christ to be offered."

Weston.—"I, with one argument, will throw down to the ground your opinion, out of Chrysostom, and I will teach, not only a figure, and a sign or grace only, but the very same body, which was here conversant on the earth, to be in the eucharist."

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"We worship the selfsame body in the eucharist which the wise men did worship in the manger.

"But that was his natural and real body, not spiritual:

"Ergo, The real body of Christ is in the eucharist.

"Again, the same Chrysostom saith, 'We have not here the Lord in the manger, but on the altar. Here a woman holdeth him not in her hands, but a priest.'"

Ridley.—"We worship, I confess, the same true Lord and Saviour of the world, which the wise men worshipped in the manger; howbeit we do it in a mystery; and in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and that in spiritual liberty, as saith St. Augustine, not in carnal servitude; that is, we do not worship servilely the signs for the things: for that should be, as he also saith, a part of a servile infirmity. But we behold with the eyes of faith him present after grace, and spiritually set upon the table; and we worship him which sitteth above, and is worshipped of the angels. For Christ is always assistant to his mysteries, as the said Augustine saith. And the Divine Majesty, as saith Cyprian, doth never absent itself from the Divine mysteries; but this assistance and presence of Christ, as in baptism it is wholly spiritual, and by grace, and not by any corporal substance of the flesh: even so it is here in the Lord's supper, being rightly and according to the word of God duly ministered."

Weston.—"That which the woman did hold in her womb, the same thing holdeth the priest."

Ridley.—"I grant the priest holdeth the same thing, but after another manner. She did hold the natural body; the priest holdeth the mystery of the body."

(Weston repeated again his argument out of Chrysostom in English.)

Ridley.—"I say that the author meant it spiritually."

(Weston here, dissolving the disputations, had these words: "Here you see the stubborn, the glorious, the crafty, the unconstant mind of this man. Here you see, this day, that the strength of the truth is without foil. Therefore I beseech you all most earnestly to blow the note, (and he began, and they followed,) 'Verity hath the victory,' 'Verity hath the victory.'"

252. Disputation of Latimer at Oxford



AFTER these disputations of Bishop Ridley ended, next was brought out Master Hugh Latimer to dispute, upon Wednesday, which was the eighteenth day of April; which disputation began at eight of the clock, in such form as before: but it was most in English. For Master Latimer, the answerer, alleged that he was out of use with the Latin, and unfit for that place.

There replied unto him Master Smith of Oriel college; Dr. Cartwright, Master Harpsfield, and divers others, had snatches at him, and gave him bitter taunts. He escaped not hissings and scornful laughings, no more than they that went before him. He was very faint, and desired that he might not long tarry. He durst not drink for fear of vomiting. The disputation ended before eleven of the clock. Master Latimer was not suffered to read what he had (as he said) painfully written: but it was exhibited up, and the prolocutor read part thereof, and so proceeded unto the disputation.

(The preface of Weston unto the disputation following.)

Weston.—"Men and brethren! we are come together this day, (by the help of God,) to vanquish the strength of the arguments, and dispersed opinions of adversaries, against the truth of the real presence of the Lord's body in the sacrament. And therefore, you father, if you have any thing to answer, I do admonish you that you answer in short and few words."

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

Weston.—"Take your ease, father."

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

The protestation of Master Hugh Latimer, given up in writing to Dr. Weston.

"The conclusions whereunto I must answer are these:

"The first is, that in the sacrament of the altar, by the virtue of God's word pronounced by the priest, there is really present the natural body of Christ, conceived of the Virgin Mary, under the kinds of the appearance of bread and wine: in like manner his blood.

"The second is, that after consecration there remaineth no substance of bread and wine, nor any other substance, but the substance of God and man.

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"The third is, that in the mass there is the lively sacrifice of the church, which is propitiable, as well for the sins of the quick, as of the dead.

"Concerning the first conclusion, methinketh it is set forth with certain new-found terms that be obscure, and do not sound according to the speech of the Scripture. Howbeit, howsoever I understand it, this I do answer plainly, though not without peril—I answer, I say, that to the right celebration of the Lord's supper there is no other presence of Christ required, than a spiritual presence: and this presence is sufficient for a Christian man, as a presence by which we abide in Christ, and Christ abided in us, to the obtaining of eternal life, if we persevere. And this same presence may be called most fitly a real presence; that is, a presence not feigned, but a true and a faithful presence: which thing I here rehearse, lest some sycophant or scorner should suppose me, with the Anabaptists, to make nothing else of the sacrament, but a naked and a bare sign. As for that which is feigned of many, concerning their corporal presence, I, for my part, take it but for a papistical invention; therefore think it utterly to be rejected.

"Concerning the second conclusion, I dare be bold to say, that it hath no stay or ground in God's word, but is a thing invented and found out by man; and therefore to be taken as fond and false: and I had almost said, as the mother and nurse of the other errors. It were good for any lords and masters of the transubstantiation, to take heed lest they conspire with the Nestorians, for I do not see how they can avoid it.

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

"What meaneth Paul, when he saith, They that serve at the altar are partakers of the altar? and so addeth, So the Lord hath ordained, that they that preach the gospel, shall live of the gospel.—Whereas he should have said, The Lord hath ordained, that they that sacrifice at mass, should live of their sacrificing; that there might be a living assigned to our sacrificers now, as was before Christ's coming, to the Jewish priests. For now they have nothing to allege for their living, as they that be preachers have. So that it appeareth, that the sacrificing priesthood is

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changed by God's ordinance into a preaching priesthood; and the sacrificing priesthood should cease utterly, saving inasmuch as all Christian men are sacrificing priests.

"The supper of the Lord was instituted to provoke us to thanksgiving for the offering which the Lord himself did offer for us, much rather than that our offerers should do there as they do. Feed, saith Peter, as much as ye may, the flock of Christ: nay, rather, let us sacrifice as much as we may, for the flock of Christ. If so be the matter he as now men make it, I can never wonder enough, that Peter would or could forget this office of sacrificing, which, at this day, is in such a price and estimation that to feed is almost nothing with many. If thou cease from feeding the flock, how shalt thou be taken? Truly, catholic enough. But if thou cease from sacrificing and massing, how will that be taken? At the least, I warrant thee, thou shalt be called a heretic. And whence, I pray you, come these papistical judgments? except, perchance, they think a man feedeth the flock, in sacrificing for them: and then what needeth there any learned pastors? For no man is so foolish, but soon may he learn to sacrifice and mass it.

"Thus, lo! I have taken the more pains to write, because I refused to dispute, in consideration of my debility thereunto: that all men may know, how that I have so done not without great pains, having not any man to help me, as I have never before been debarred to have. Oh, sir! you may chance to live till you come to this age and weakness that I am of. I have spoken in my time before two kings more than once, two or three hours together, without interruption; but now, that I may speak the truth, (by your leave,) I could not be suffered to declare my mind before you, no, not by the space of a quarter of an hour, without snatches, revilings, checks, rebukes, taunts, such as I have not felt the like, in such an audience, all my life long.

"Surely it cannot be but a heinous offence that I have given. But what was it? Forsooth I had spoken of the four marrow-bones of the mass; the which kind of speaking I never read to be a sin against the Holy Ghost. I could not be allowed to show what I meant by my metaphor; but, sir, now, by your favour, I will tell your mastership what I mean." The first, is 'the popish consecration,' which hath been called a god's body-making. The second, is 'transubstantiation.' The third, is the 'Missal oblation.' The fourth, 'adoration.'

"These chief and principal portions, parts, and points, belonging or incident to the mass, and most esteemed and had in price in the same, I call 'the marrow-bones of the mass;' which indeed you, by force, might, and violence, intrude in sound of words in some of the Scripture, with racking and cramping, injuring and wronging the same: but else, indeed, plain out of the Scripture, as I am thoroughly persuaded; although in disputation I now could nothing do to persuade the same to others, being both unapt to study, and also to make a show of my former study, in such readiness as should be requisite to the same.

"I have heard much talk of Master Doctor Weston to and fro in my time: but I never knew your person to my knowledge, till I came before you, as the queen's Majesty's commissioner. I pray God send you so right judgment, as I perceive you have a great wit, the great learning, with many other qualities. God give you grace ever well to use them, and ever to have in remembrance, that he that dwelleth on high, looketh on the low things on the earth; and that there is no counsel against the Lord; and also that this world hath been, and yet is, a tottering

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world. And yet again, that though we must obey the princes, yet that hath this limitation; namely, in the Lord. For whoso doth obey them against the Lord, they be most pernicious to them, and the greatest adversaries that they have; for they so procure God's vengeance upon them, if God be only the ruler of things.

"There be some so corrupt in mind, the truth being taken from them, that they think gain to be godliness; great learned men, and yet men of no learning, but of railing, and raging about questions and strife of words. I call them men of no learning, because they know not Christ, how much else soever they know. And on this sort we are wont to call great learned clerks, being ignorant of Christ, unlearned men; for it is nothing but plain ignorance, to know any thing without Christ: whereas whoso knoweth Christ, the same hath knowledge enough, although in other knowledge he be to seek. The apostle St. Paul confesseth of himself to the Corinthians, that he did know nothing but Jesus Christ crucified. Many men babble many things of Christ which yet know not Christ; but, pretending Christ, do craftily colour and darken his glory. Depart from such men, saith the apostle St. Paul to Timothy.

"It is not out of the way to remember what St. Augustine saith. The place where, I now well remember not, except it be against the epistles of Petilian 'Whosoever,' saith he, 'teacheth any thing necessarily to be believed, which is not contained in the Old and New Testament, the same is accursed.' Oh! beware of this curse if you be wise. I am much deceived if Basil have not such like words: 'Whatsoever,' saith he, 'is beside the Holy Scripture, if the same be taught as necessarily to be believed, that is sin.' Oh therefore take heed of this sin!

"There be some that speak many false things more probable, and more like to the truth, than the truth itself. Therefore Paul giveth a watchword: Let no man, saith he, deceive you with probability and persuasions of words.—'But what mean you,' saith one, 'by this talk so far from the matter?' Well, I hope, good masters, you will suffer an old man a little to play the child, and to speak one thing twice. O Lord God!—you have changed the most holy communion into a private action; and you deny to the laity the Lord's cup, contrary to Christ's commandment. And you do blemish the annunciation of the Lord's death till he come; for you have changed the common prayer, called the divine service, with the administration of the sacraments, from the vulgar and known language, into a strange tongue, contrary to the will of the Lord revealed in his word. God open the door of your heart, to see the things you should see herein! I would as fain obey my sovereign as any in this realm; but, in these things, I can never do it with an upright conscience. God be merciful unto us. Amen!"

Weston.—"Then refuse you to dispute? Will you here then subscribe?"

Latimer.—"No, good master; I pray be good to an old man. You may, if it please God, be once old, as I am: you may come to this age, and to this debility."

Weston.—"Ye said, upon Saturday last, that ye could not find the mass, nor the marrow-bones thereof, in your book: but *we* will find a mass in that book."

Latimer.—"No, good Master Doctor, ye cannot."

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Weston.—"What find you then there?"

Latimer.—"Forsooth, a communion I find there."

Weston.—"Which communion?—the first or the last?"

Latimer.—"I find no great diversity in them; they are one supper of the Lord; but I like the last very well."

Weston.—"Then the first was naught, belike."

Latimer.—"I do not well remember wherein they differ."

Weston.—"Then cake-bread and loaf-bread are all one with you. Ye call it the supper of the Lord, but you are deceived in that: for they had done the supper before, and therefore the Scripture saith, after they had supped: For ye know that St. Paul findeth fault with the Corinthians, for that some of them were drunken at this supper; and ye know no man can be drunken at our communion."

Latimer.—"The first was called The Jewish supper,' when they did eat the paschal lamb together; the other was called 'The Lord's supper.'"

Weston.—"That is false; for Chrysostom denieth that. And St. Ambrose, on I Cor. x., saith, that 'the mystery of the sacrament, given as they were at supper, is not the supper of the Lord.' And Gregory Nazianzen saith the same: 'Again he kept the holy feast of passover with his disciples in the dining chamber, after the supper, and one day before his passion. But we keep it both in the churches and houses of prayer, both before the supper, and also after the resurrection. And that first supper was called *αγάπη* [Greek: agape]: can you tell what that is?"

Latimer.—"I understand no Greek: yet I think it meaneth charity."

Weston.—"Will you have all things done that Christ did then? Why, then, must the priest be hanged on the morrow.—And where find you, I pray you, that a woman should receive the sacrament?"

Latimer.—"Will you give me leave to turn my book: I find it in 1 Cor. xi. I trow these be his words: *probet autem seipsum homo*, &c.—I pray you, good master, what gender is *homo*?"

Weston.—"Marry, the common gender."

Cole.—"It is in the Greek, ο ανθρωπος [*o anthropos*]."

Harpsfield.—"It is ανης [*anes*], that is, vir."

Latimer.—"It is in my book of Erasmus's translation, *probet seipsum homo*."

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Fecknam.—"It is *probet seipsum* indeed, and therefore it importeth the masculine gender."

Latimer.—"What then? I trow when the woman touched Christ, he said, Who touched me? I know that some man touched me."

Weston.—"I will be at host with you anon.—cWhen Christ was at his supper, none were with him but his apostles only: ergo, he meant no woman, if you will have his institution kept."

Latimer.—"In the twelve apostles was represented the whole church, in which you will grant both men and women to be."

Weston.—"So through the whole heretically translated Bible ye never make mention of priest, till ye come to the putting of Christ to death. Where find you then that a priest or minister (a minstrel, I may call him well enough) should do it of necessity?"

Latimer.—"A minister is a more fit name for that office; for the name of a priest importeth a sacrifice."

Weston.—"Well, remember that ye cannot find that a woman may receive by Scripture. Master Opponent, fall to it."

Smith.—"Because I perceive that this charge is laid upon my neck to dispute with you: to the end that the same may go forward after a right manner and order, I will propose three questions, so as they are put forth unto me. And first I ask this question of you, although the same indeed ought not to be called in question; but such is the condition of the church, that it is always vexed of the wicked sort. I ask, I say, whether Christ's body be really in the sacrament?"

Latimer.—"I trust I have obtained of Master Prolocutor, that no man shall exact that thing of me, which is not in me. And I am sorry that this worshipful audience should be deceived of their expectation for my sake. I have given up my mind in writing to Master Prolocutor."

Smith.—"Whatsoever ye have given up, it shall be registered among the acts."

Latimer.—"Disputation requireth a good memory; my memory is gone clean, and marvellously weakened, and never the better, I wis, for the prison."

Weston.—"How long have ye been in prison?"

Latimer.—"These three quarters of this year."

Weston.—"And I was in prison six years."

Latimer.—"The more pity, sir."

Weston.—"How long have you been of this opinion?"

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Latimer.—"It is not long, sir, that I have been of this opinion."

Weston.—"The time hath been, when you said mass full devoutly."

Latimer.—"Yea, I cry God mercy heartily for it."

Weston.—"Where learned you this new-fangleness?"

Latimer.—"I have long sought for the truth in this matter of the sacrament, and have not been of this mind past seven years: and my Lord of Canterbury's book hath especially confirmed my judgment herein. If I could remember all therein contained, I would not fear to answer any man in this matter."

Tresham.—"There are in that book six hundred errors."

Weston.—"You were once a Lutheran."

Latimer.—"No, I was a papist: for I never could perceive how Luther could defend his opinion without transubstantiation. The Zurichers once did write a book against Luther, and I oft desired God, that he might live so long to make them answer."

Weston.—"Luther, in his book *De privata Missa*, said, that the devil reasoned with him, and persuaded him that the mass was not good. Whereof it may appear, that Luther said mass, and the devil dissuaded him from it."

Latimer.—"I do not take in hand here to defend Luther's sayings or doings. If he were here, he would defend himself well enough, I trow. I told you before, that I am not meet for disputations. I pray you read mine answer, wherein I have declared my faith."

Weston.—"Do you believe this, as you have written?"

Latimer.—"Yea, sir."

Weston.—"Then have you no faith."

Latimer.—"Then would I be sorry, sir."

Tresham.—"It is written, Except ye shall eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye shall have no life in you. Which when the Capernaïtes, and many of Christ's disciples, heard, they said, This is a hard saying, &c. Now that the troth may the better appear, here I ask of you, whether Christ, speaking these words, did mean of his flesh to be eaten with the mouth, or the spiritual eating of the same?"

Latimer.—"I answer as Augustine understandeth: that Christ meant of the spiritual eating of his flesh."

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Tresham.—"Of what flesh meant Christ? his true flesh, or no?"

Latimer.—"Of his true flesh, spiritually to be eaten in the supper by faith, and not corporally."

Tresham.—"Of what flesh mean the Capernaïtes?"

Latimer.—"Of his true flesh also; but to be taken with the mouth."

Tresham.—"They, as ye confess, did mean his true flesh to be taken with the mouth. And Christ also, as I shall prove, did speak of the receiving of his flesh with the mouth. Ergo, they both did understand it of the eating of one thing, which is done by the mouth of the body."

Latimer.—"I say, Christ understood it not of the bodily mouth, but of the mouth of the spirit; mind, and heart."

Tresham.—"I prove the contrary, that Christ understandeth it of the eating with the bodily mouth. For whereas custom is a right good mistress and interpreter of things, and whereas the acts put in practice by Christ, do certainly declare those things which he first spake: Christ's deeds in his supper, where he gave his body to be taken with the mouth, together with the custom which hath been ever since that time, of that eating which is done with the mouth, doth evidently infer that Christ did understand his words, here cited of me out of John vi., of the eating with the mouth."

Latimer.—"He gave not his body to be received with the mouth, but he gave the sacrament of his body to be received with the mouth: he gave the sacrament to the mouth, his body to the mind."

Tresham.—"But my reason doth conclude, that Christ spake concerning his flesh to be received with the corporal mouth: for otherwise (which God forbid) he had been a deceiver, and had not been offensive to the Capernaïtes and his disciples, if he had not meant in this point as they thought he meant: for if he had thought as you do feign, it had been an easy matter for him to have said, You shall not eat my flesh with your mouth, but the sacrament of my flesh; that is to say, ye shall receive with your mouth not the thing itself, but the figure of the thing; and thus he might have satisfied them: but so he said not, but continued in the truth of his words, as he was wont. Therefore Christ meant the selfsame thing that the Capernaïtes did, I mean concerning the thing itself to be received with the mouth; videlicet, that his true flesh is truly to be eaten with the mouth. Moreover, forasmuch as you do expound for 'the body of Christ,' 'the sacrament of the body of Christ,' and hereby do suppose that we obtain but a spiritual union, or union of the mind between us and Christ, plain it is, that you are deceived in this thing, and do err from the mind of the fathers: for they affirm by plain and express words, that we are corporally and carnally joined together. And these be the words of Hilary: Therefore, if Christ did truly take the flesh of our body upon him, and the same man be Christ indeed, which was born of Mary; then we also do receive under a mystery the flesh of his body indeed, and thereby shall become one; because-the Father is in him, and he in us. How is the unity of will affirmed, when a natural propriety by the sacrament is a perfect sacrament of unity?' Thus far hath Hilary. Lo! here you

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see how manifestly these words confound your assertion. To be short, I myself have heard you preaching at Greenwich before King Henry the Eighth, where you did openly affirm, that no Christian man ought to doubt of the true and real presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, forasmuch as he had the word of Scripture on his side; videlicet, This is my body; whereby he might be confirmed. But now there is the same truth; the word of Scripture hath the selfsame thing which it then had. Therefore why do you deny at this present that, whereof it was not lawful once to doubt before, when you taught it?"

Latimer.—"Will you give me leave to speak?"

Tresham.—"Speak Latin, I pray you; for ye can do it, if ye list, promptly enough."

Latimer.—"I cannot speak Latin so long and so largely. Master Prolocutor hath given me leave to speak English. And as for the words of Hilary, I think they make not so much for you. But he that shall answer the doctors, had not need to be in my case, but should have them in a readiness, and know their purpose. Melancthon saith, 'If the doctors had foreseen that they should have been so taken in this controversy, they would have written more plainly.'"

Smith.—"I will reduce the words of Hilary into the form of a syllogism.

"Such as is the unity of our flesh with Christ's flesh, such, yea greater, is the unity of Christ with the Father.

"But the unity of Christ's flesh with ours, is true and substantial:

"Ergo, The unity of Christ with the Father, is true and substantial."

Latimer.—"I understand you not."

Scion.—"I know your learning well enough, and how subtle ye be: I will use a few words with you, and that out of Cyprian, De Cœna Domini. 'The Old Testament doth forbid the drinking of blood. The New Testament doth command the drinking and tasting of blood: but where doth it command the drinking of blood?'"

Latimer.—"In these words, Drink ye all of this."

Seton.—"Then we taste true blood."

Latimer.—"We do taste true blood, but spiritually; and this is enough."

Seton.—"Nay, the Old and New Testament in this do differ: for the one doth command, and the other doth forbid, to drink blood."

Latimer.—"It is true as touching the matter; but not as touching the manner of the thing."

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Seton.—"Then there is no difference between the drinking of blood in the New Testament, and that of the Old: for they also drank spiritually."

Latimer.—"And we drink spiritually, also; but a more precious blood."

Weston.—"Augustine, upon the 45th Psalm, saith, 'Drink boldly the blood which ye have poured out.'—Ergo, it is blood."

Latimer.—"I never denied it, nor ever will I go from it, but that we drink the very blood of Christ indeed, but spiritually: for the same St. Augustine saith, 'Believe, and thou hast eaten.'"

Weston.—"Nay, 'To believe, is not to drink or eat.' You will not say, I pledge you, when I say, I believe in God."

Latimer.—"Is not 'to eat,' in your learning put for 'to believe?'"

Weston.—"I remember my lord chancellor demanded Master Hooper of these questions, whether 'to eat,' were 'to believe;' and 'an altar,' were Christ, in all the Scripture, &c.: and he answered, 'Yea.' Then said my lord chancellor, 'Why then, We have an altar of which it is not lawful to eat, is as much to say, We have a Christ in whom we may not believe.'"

Tresham.—"Believe, and thou hast eaten,' is spoken of the spiritual eating."

Latimer.—"It is true, I do allow your saying; I take it so also."

Weston.—"We are commanded to drink blood in the new law.—Ergo, it is very blood."

Latimer.—"We drink blood, so as appertaineth to us to drink to our comfort, in sacramental wine. We drink blood sacramentally: he gave us his blood to drink spiritually: he went about to show, that as certain as we drink wine, so certainly we drink his blood spiritually."

Weston.—"Do not you seem to be a papist, which do bring in new words, not found in Scripture? Where find you that 'sacramentally,' in God's book?"

Latimer.—"It is necessarily gathered upon Scripture."

Weston.—"The Old Testament doth forbid the tasting of blood, but the New doth command

Latimer.—"It is true, not as touching the thing, but as touching the manner thereof."

Weston.—"Hear, ye people, this is the argument:—

"That which was forbidden in the Old Testament, is commanded in the New.

"To drink blood was forbidden in the Old Testament, and commanded in the New:

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"Ergo, It is very blood that we drink in the New."

Latimer.—"It is commanded spiritually to be drunk. I grant it is blood drunk in the New Testament, but we receive it spiritually."

Pie.—"It was not forbidden spiritually in the old law."

Latimer.—"The substance of blood is drunk; but not in one manner."

Pie.—"It doth not require the same manner of drinking."

Latimer.—"It is the same thing, not the same manner. I have no more to say."

[Here Weston cited the place of Chrysostom, of Judas's treason: "O the madness of Judas He made bargain with the Jews for thirty pence to sell Christ, and Christ offered him his blood, which he sold."]

Latimer.—"I grant he offered to Judas his blood, which he sold, but in a sacrament."

Weston.—"Because ye can defend your doctors no better, ye shall see what worshipful men ye hang upon, and one that hath been of your mind shall dispute with you.—Master Cartwright, I pray you dispute."

Cartwright.—"Reverend father, because it is given me in commandment to dispute with you, I will do it gladly. But first understand, ere we go any further, that I was in the same error that you are in: but I am sorry for it, and do confess myself to have erred. I acknowledge mine offence, and I wish and desire God, that you may also repent with me."

Latimer.—"Will you give me leave to tell what hath caused Master Doctor here to recant? It is 'the pain of the law,' which hath brought you back, and converted you, and many more; the which letteth many to confess God. And this is a great argument, there are few here can dissolve it."

Cartwright.—"That is not my cause; but I will make you this short argument, by which I was converted from mine errors.

"If the true body of Christ be not really in the sacrament, all the whole church hath erred from the apostles' time.

"But Christ would not suffer his church to err:

"Ergo, It is the true body of Christ."

Latimer.—"The popish church hath erred, and doth err. I think for the space of six or seven hundred years, there was no mention made of any eating but spiritually: for, before these five hundred years, the church did ever confess a spiritual manducation. But the Romish church

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begat the error of transubstantiation. My Lord of Canterbury's book handleth that very well, and by him I could answer you, if I had him."

Cartwright.—"Linus and all the rest do confess the body of Christ to be in the sacrament: and St. Augustine also, upon Psalm xcviij., upon this place, *Adorate scabellum pedum, &c.*, granteth that it is to be worshipped."

Latimer.—"We do worship Christ in the heavens, and we do worship him in the sacrament: but the massing worship is not to be used."

Smith.—"Do you think that Cyril was of the ancient church?"

Latimer.—"I do think so."

Smith.—"He saith, 'That Christ dwelleth in us corporally.' These be Cyril's words of the mystical benediction."

Latimer.—"That 'corporally' hath another understanding than you do grossly take it."

[Here Smith repeateth these words of Cyril, "By the communicating of the body of Christ, Christ dwelleth in us corporally."]

Latimer.—"The solution of this, is in my Lord of Canterbury's book."

Smith.—"Cyril was no papist, and yet these be his words, 'Christ dwelleth in us corporally:' but you say, be dwelleth in us spiritually."

Latimer.—"I say, both; that he dwelleth in us both corporally and spiritually, according to his meaning: spiritually by faith, and corporally by taking our flesh upon him. For I remember I have read this in my Lord of Canterbury's book."

Weston.—"Because your learning is let out to farm, and shut up in my Lord of Canterbury's book, I will recite unto you a place of St. Ambrose, where he saith, 'We see the chief priest coming unto us, and offering blood,' &c. Likewise both Augustine on Psalm xxxviii., and Chrysostom, concerning the incomprehensible nature of God, say, *Non solum homines, &c.*"

Latimer.—"I am not ashamed to acknowledge mine ignorance; and these testimonies are more than I can bear away."

Weston.—"Then you must leave some behind you, for lack of carriage."

Latimer.—"But for Chrysostom, he hath many figurative speeches, and emphatical locutions in many places; as in that which you have now recited: but he saith not, 'For the quick and the dead:' He taketh the celebration for the sacrifice."

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Weston.—"You shall hear Chrysostom again, upon Acts ix., 'What say you? The host in the hands of the priest,' &c.:—He doth not call it a cup of wine."

Latimer.—"Ye have mine answer there with you in a paper: and yet he calleth it not, a propitiatory sacrifice."

Weston. You shall hear it to be so: and I bring another place of Chrysostom out of the same treatise, 'It was not rashly instituted by the apostles,' &c."

Latimer.—"He is too precious a thing for us to offer; he offereth himself."

Weston.—"here, in another place of Chrysostom to the people of Antioch, and also to the Philippians, he saith, 'There should be a memory and sacrifice for the dead.'"

Latimer.—"I do say, that the holy communion beareth the name of a sacrifice, because it is a sacrifice memorative."

Weston.—"How say you to the sacrifice of the dead?"

Latimer.—"I say, that it needeth not, and it booteth not."

Weston.—"Augustine, in his Enchiridion, saith, 'We must not deny that the souls of the dead are relieved by the devotion of their friends which are living, when the sacrifice of the Mediator is offered for them:'—where he proveth the verity of Christ's body, and praying for the dead. And it is said, that the same Augustine said mass for his mother."

Latimer.—"But that mass was not like yours, which thing doth manifestly appear in his writings, which are against it in every place. And Augustine is a reasonable man, he requireth to be believed no further than he bringeth Scripture for his proof, and agreeth with God's word."

Weston.—"In the same place he proveth a propitiatory sacrifice, and that upon an altar; and no oyster-board."

Latimer.—"It is the Lord's table, and no oyster-board. It may be called an altar, and so the doctors call it in many places: but there is no propitiatory sacrifice, but only Christ. The doctors might be deceived in some points, though not in all things. I believe them when they say well."

Cole.—"Is it not a shame for an old man to lie? You say, you are of the old fathers' faith where they say well; and yet ye are not."

Latimer.—"I am of their faith when they say well. I refer myself to my Lord of Canterbury's book wholly herein."

Smith.—"Then are not you of Chrysostom's faith, nor of St. Augustine's faith."

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Latimer.—"I have said, when they say well, and bring Scripture for them, I am of their faith. And further Augustine requireth not to be believed."

Weston.—"Origen, homily thirteen upon Leviticus—"

Latimer.—"I have but one word to say: 'the sacramental bread' is called a propitiation, because it is a sacrament of the propitiation. What is your vocation?"

Weston.—"My vocation is at this time to dispute; otherwise I am a priest, and my vocation is to offer."

Latimer.—"Where have you that authority given you to offer?"

Weston.—"Hoc facite, Do this: for *facite* in that place, is taken for *offerte*, that is, offer."

Latimer.—"Is *facere* nothing but 'to sacrifice?' Why, then, no man must receive the sacrament but priests only: for there may none other offer but priests.—Ergo, there may none receive but priests."

Weston.—"Your argument is to be denied."

Latimer.—"Did Christ then offer himself at his supper?"

Pie.—"Yea, he offered himself for the whole world."

Latimer.—"Then if this word 'do ye,' signify 'sacrifice ye,' it followeth, as I said, that none but priests only ought to receive the sacrament, to whom it is only lawful to sacrifice: and where find you that, I pray you?"

Weston.—"Forty year ago, whither could you have gone to have found your doctrine?"

Latimer.—"The more cause we have to thank God, that hath now sent the light into the world."

Weston.—"The light? nay, light and lewd preachers; for you could not tell what you might have. Ye altered and changed so often your communions and altars; and all for this one end, to spoil and rob the church."

Latimer.—"These things pertain nothing to me; I must not answer for other men's deeds, but only for mine own."

Weston.—"Well, Master Latimer, this is our intent, to will you well, and to exhort you to come to yourself, and remember, that without Noah's ark there is no health. Remember what they have been, that were the beginners of your doctrine; none but a few flying apostates, running out of Germany for fear of the faggot. Remember what they have been which have set forth the same in this realm: a sort of fling-brains and light-heads, which were never constant in any one thing;

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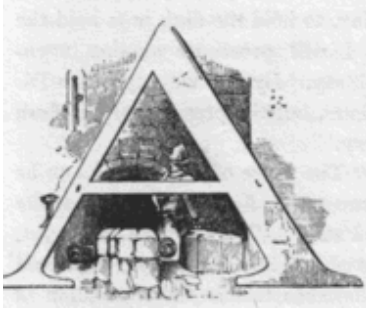
as it was to be seen in the turning of the table, where, like a sort of apes, they could not tell which way to turn their tails, looking one day west, and another day east; one that way, and another this way. They will be like (they say) to the apostles, they will have no churches. A hovel is good enough for them. They come to the communion with no reverence. They get them a tankard, and one saith, I drink, and I am thankful. The more joy of thee, saith another. And in them was it true that Hilary saith, 'We make every year and every month a faith.' A runagate Scot did take away the adoration or worshipping of Christ in the sacrament, by whose procurement that heresy was put into the last communion-book: so much prevailed that one man's authority at that time. You never agreed with the Zurichers, or the Germans, or with the church, or with yourself. Your stubbornness cometh of a vain-glory, which is to no purpose: for it will do you no good when a faggot is in your beard. And we see all, by your own confession, how little cause you have to be stubborn, for your learning is in feoffer's hold. The queen's Grace is merciful, if ye will turn."

Latimer.—"You shall have no hope in me to turn. I pray for the queen daily, even from the bottom of my heart, that she may turn from this religion."

Weston.—"Here you all see the weakness of heresy against the truth: he denieth all truth, and all the old fathers."

Here all good readers may see, how this glorious prolocutor triumpheth: but whether he hath the victory or no, that I suppose they have yet neither heard nor seen.—And give, that he had the victory, yet what great marvel was it, disputing as he did, *non sine suo Theseo*, that is, not without his tippling cup standing at his elbow all the time of his disputation; not without a privy noting and smiling of them that beheld the matter, but especially at that time, when Dr. Ridley, disputing with one of the opponents, the said prolocutor took the cup, and holding it in his hand, said to the opponent, *Urge hoc, urge hoc; nam hoc facie pro nobis*. In which words, as he moved no little matter of laughter to the beholders thereof, so I thought here also not to leave the same unmentioned, somewhat also to delight the reader withal, after his tedious weariness in reading the story thereof.

253. Disputation of Harpsfield at Oxford



AND thus hast thou, loving reader, the whole action and stage of this doctorly disputation showed forth unto thee, against these three worthy confessors and martyrs of the Lord, wherein thou mayest behold the disordered usage of the university-men, the unmannerly manner of the school, the rude tumult of the multitude, the fierceness and interruption of the doctors, the full pith and ground of all their arguments, the censure of the judges, the railing language of the oblocutor, with his blast of triumph in the latter end, being both the actor, the moderator, and also judge himself. And what marvel then, if the courage of this victorious conqueror, having the law in his own hands, to do and say what him listed, would say for himself, *Vicit veritas*, although he said never a true word, nor made ever a true conclusion almost, in all that disputation.

It followeth furthermore, after disputation of these three days being ended, that Master Harpsfield, the next day after, which was the 19th of April, should dispute for his form, to be made doctor: to the which disputation the archbishop of Canterbury was brought forth, and permitted, among the rest, to utter an argument or two in defence of his cause; as in sequel hereof may appear.

Disputation of Master Harpsfield, bachelor of divinity, answering for his form, to be made doctor.

Harpsfield.—"I am not ignorant what a weighty matter it is to entreat of the whole order and trade of the Scriptures; and most hard it is too, in the great contention of religion, to show the ready way whereby the Scriptures may be best understood: for the often reading of them doth not bring the true understanding of them. What other thing is there then? Verily this is the ready way, not to follow our own heads and senses, but to give over our judgment unto the holy catholic church, which hath had of old years the truth, and always delivered the same to their posterity. But if the often reading of Scriptures, and never so painful comparing of places, should bring the true understanding, then divers heretics might prevail even against whole general councils. The Jews did greatly brag of the knowledge of the law, and of the Saviour that they waited for. But what availed it them? Notwithstanding, I know right well, that divers places of the Scripture do much warn us of the often reading of the same, and what fruit doth thereby follow; as, Search the Scriptures; for they do bear witness of me, &c. The law of the Lord is pure, able to turn souls. And that saying of St. Paul, All Scripture inspired from above, doth make that a man may be instructed to all good works. Howbeit *doth* the law of the Jews convert their souls? *are* they by reading instructed to every good work? The letter of the Old Testament is the same that we have.

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"The heretics, also, have ever had the same Scriptures which we have that be catholics. But they are served as Tantalus, that the poets speak of; who, in the plenty of things to eat and drink, is said to be oppressed with hunger and thirst. The swifter that men do seek the Scriptures without the catholic church, the deeper they fall, and find hell for their labour. St. Cyprian, never swerving from the catholic church, saith, 'He that doth not acknowledge the church to be his mother, shall not have God to his Father.' Therefore it is true divinity, to be wise with the church, where Christ saith, Unless ye eat my flesh, and drink my blood, ye have no life in you.

"If he had meant of only eating bread and drinking wine, nothing had been more pleasant to the Capernaïtes, neither would they have forsaken him. The flesh profited, nothing to them that do so take it. For the Capernaïtes did imagine Christ to be given in such sort as he lived. But Christ spake high things; not that they should have him as flesh in the market, but to consider his presence with the Spirit under the forms whereby it is given. As there is an alteration of bodies by courses and times of ages, so there is no less variety in eating of bodies."

These things which I have recited briefly, Master Harpsfield did, with many more words, set out: and hereupon Dr. Weston disputed against him.

Weston.—"Christ's real body is not in the sacrament: ergo, you are deceived."

Harpsfield.—"I deny the antecedent."

Weston.—"John xvi. I speak the truth unto you: it behoveth me that I go away from you. For unless I do depart, that Comforter cannot come, &c. Upon this I will make this argument.

"Christ is so gone away, as he did send the Holy Ghost.

"But the Holy Ghost did verily come into the world:

"Ergo, Christ is verily gone."

Harpsfield.—"He is verily gone, and yet remaineth here."

Weston.—"St. Augustine saith, that these words, I will be with you even to the end of the world, are accomplished, 'according to his majesty:' but 'by the presence of his flesh he is not here.' The church hath him not in flesh, but by belief."

Harpsfield.—"We must diligently weigh, that there are two natures in Christ: the Divine nature, and human nature. The Divine nature is of such sort, that it cannot choose but be in all places. The human nature is not such, that of force it must be in all places, although it be in divers after a divers manner. So, where that the doctors do entreat of his presence by majesty, they do commend the majesty of the Divine nature, not to hinder us of the natural presence here in the sacrament."

Weston.—"He saith further, Ye shall not have me always with you, is to be understood in the flesh."

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Harpsfield.—"The presence of the flesh is to be considered, that he is not here as he was wont to live in conversation with them, to be seen, talked withal, or in such sort as a man may give him any thing: after that sort he is not present."

Weston.—"But what say you to this of Augustine, 'He is not here?'"

Harpsfield.—"I do answer out of St. Augustine upon John, Tract. 25, upon these words, I go to the Father, ye shall not see me; that is, 'such as I am now.' Therefore I do deny the manner of his presence."

Weston.—"I will overthrow St. Augustine with St. Augustine; who saith this also, How may a man hold Christ? Send thy faith, and thou holdest him.'—So he sheweth, that by sending our faith, we do hold Christ."

Harpsfield.—"Indeed no man holdeth Christ, unless he believe in him; but it is another thing to have Christ merciful and favourable unto us, and to have him present in the sacrament. There, St. Augustine speaketh of holding him by faith, as he is favourable unto us."

Weston.—"Nay, he speaketh there, how the fathers had him in the flesh, and teacheth that we have him not so in the flesh, as they had him long time; saying, 'Your fathers did hold Christ present in the flesh: do you hold him in your heart?' What words can be more plain? Further he saith, 'He is gone, and is not here: he hath left us, and yet hath not forsaken us.' 'He is here in majesty, and gone touching the flesh.'"

Harpsfield.—"I do understand Augustine thus: that Christ is here in his flesh, to them that receive him worthily: to such as do not worthily receive him, to them he is not present in the flesh. I judge St. Augustine meaneth so. We have him, and have not: we have him in receiving of him worthily, otherwise not."

Weston.—"Nay, to hold the flesh is to hold the outward letter. I will prosecute another argument. Cyril doth say, 'By the majesty of his Divinity he is ever here, but the presence of his flesh hath he taken away.'"

Harpsfield.—"The sense of Cyril is thus to be understood: the most true flesh of Christ is at the right hand of the Father. Thus the fathers taught, and so they believed. Thus said Cyril; thus said Augustine: and because this is the foundation of our faith, they did oftentimes teach it. Therefore when they prove this, (the body to be in heaven,) they do not make against the presence in the sacrament.

"So unless ye can plainly show that the fathers do directly say, he is not in the sacrament, you make nothing against me: for I have showed why the fathers so spake. They did teach the great difference between the Divine nature, and the human nature, as I have before said."

Weston.—"I will then prove, that he is not in the sacrament, Vigilius against the heretic Eutiches, upon these words, 'Me ye have not always,' saith, 'The Son of God, as touching his

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humanity, is gone from us; by his Divinity he remaineth with us.' And the same Vigilus, in his fourth book, saith, 'He that is in the heaven, is not in the earth;' speaking of Christ."

Harpsfield.—"I will show you the reason of these words. The heretic Eutiches did believe, that the Divine nature of Christ was fastened on the cross, and believed that Christ had no natural body. To this Vigilus said, that the human nature was taken up and ascended; which could not so have done, unless he had a body. This he said not, to take away the presence in the sacrament: for what had he to refer this sentence to the sacrament? He never did so much as dream of the sacrament."

Weston. "Cyril saith, 'Although he be absent from us in body, yet are we governed by his Spirit.'"

Harpsfield.—"By these words he gave us a cheerfulness to aspire upwards, seeking thence our help: for as touching his conversation, he is not so in the sacrament as one meet to be lived withal. But let him not teach us, that he is not there to feed us; for after that sort he is there."

Weston.—"You have satisfied me with your answers, in doing the same learnedly, and catholicly. But now to another argument.

"Christ is now so absent from the earth by his body, as he was absent from heaven when he lived here.

"But when he did live bodily on earth, the same natural body was out of heaven:

"Ergo, Now whilst this natural body is in heaven, it is not in the earth."

Harpsfield.—"I deny the major."

Weston.—"Fulgentius saith, 'As to the substance of his humanity, he was absent from heaven when he came down from heaven.' These are Fulgentius's words touching his human substance: He was absent from heaven, when he descended from heaven; and touching the same substance, now he is in heaven he is not on the earth: but concerning the Divine nature, he never forsook, either heaven or earth.'"

After these words, not waiting Harpsfield's answer, he offered Master Cranmer to dispute; who began in this wise:

Cranmer.—"I have heard you right learnedly and eloquently entreat of the dignity of the Scriptures, which I do both commend, and have marvelled thereat within myself. But whereas you refer the true sense and judgment of the Scriptures to the catholic church as judge thereof, you are much deceived; specially for that under the name of the church, you appoint such judges as have corruptly judged, and contrary to the sense of the Scriptures. I wonder likewise, why you attribute so little to the diligent reading of the Scriptures, and conferring of places; seeing the Scriptures do so much commend the same, as well in divers other places, as also in those which

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you yourself have already alleged. And as touching your opinion of these questions, it seemeth to me neither to have any ground of the word of God, nor of the primitive church. And, to say the truth, the schoolmen have spoken diversely of them, and do riot agree therein among themselves. Wherefore, minding here briefly to show my judgment also, I must desire you first to answer me to a few questions which I shall demand of you; which being done, we shall the better proceed in our disputation. Moreover, I must desire you to bear also with my rudeness in the Latin tongue, which, through long disuse, is not now so prompt and ready with me as it hath been: and now, all other things set apart, I mind chiefly to have regard to the truth. My first question is this: How Christ's body is in the sacrament, according to your mind or determination?"

Then answered a doctor, "He is there as touching his substance, but not after the manner of his substance."

Harpsfield.—"He is there in such sort and manner, as he may be eaten."

Cranmer.—"My next question is, Whether he hath his quantity and qualities, form, figure, and such-like properties?"

Harpsfield.—"Are these your questions?" said Master Harpsfield. "I may likewise ask you, 'When Christ passed through the Virgin's womb, *an ruperit necne?*'"

When they had thus awhile contended, there were divers opinions in this matter. All the doctors fell in a buzzing, uncertain what to answer: some thought one way, some another; and thus Master Doctors could not agree. Then Master Cranmer said thus:

Cranmer.—"You put off questions with questions, and not with answers, I ask one thing of you, and you answer another. Once again I ask, 'Whether he have those properties which he had on the earth?'"

Tresham.—"No, he hath not all the quantities and qualities belonging to a body."

Smith.—"Stay you, Master Tresham: I will answer you, Master Doctor, with the words of Damascene, 'The bread is transformed,' &c.:—but if thou wilt inquire how, 'The manner is impossible.'"

Then two or three others added their answers to this question, somewhat doubtfully. A great hurly-burly was among them, some affirming one thing, and some another.

Cranmer.—"Do you appoint me a body, and cannot tell what manner of body? Either he hath not his quantity, or else you are ignorant how to answer it."

Harpsfield.—"These are vain questions, and it is not meet to spend the time on them."

Weston.—"Hear me a while: Lanfranc, some time bishop of Canterbury, doth answer in this wise unto Berengarius upon such-like questions, 'They may be well believed, but never faithfully asked.'"

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Cranmer.—"If you think good to answer it, some of you declare it."

Harpsfield He is there as pleaseth him to be there."

Cranmer.—"I would be best contented with that answer, if that your appointing of a carnal presence had not driven me of necessity to have inquired, for disputation's sake, how you place him there, since you will have a natural body."

When again he was answered of divers at one time, some denying it to be a *quantum*, some saying it to be *quantitativum*; some affirming it to have *modum quanti*, some denying it; some one thing, some another;—up starts Dr. Weston, and doughtily decided, as he thought, all the matter, saying, "It is a body, having quantity; but not according to the manner of quantity."

Whereunto Master Ward, a great sophister, thinking the matter not fully answered, did largely declare and discourse his sentence.—How learnedly and truly I cannot tell, nor I think he himself either, nor yet the best learned there. For it was said since, that far better learned than he, laid as good ear to him as they could, and yet could by no means perceive to what end all his talk tended: indeed he told a formal tale to clout up the matter. He was full of *quantum* and *quantitativum*. This that follows was, as it is thought, the effect; yet others think not. Howbeit we will rehearse the sum of his words, as it is thought he spake them.

Ward.—"We must consider," saith he, "that there are two positions. The one standeth by the order of parts, with respect of the whole. The other in respect of that which containeth. Christ is in the sacrament in respect of the whole. This proposition is in one of Aristotle's Predicaments, called Situs. I remember I did entreat these matters very largely, when I did rule and moderate the philosophical disputations in the public schools. This position is *sine modo quantitativo*, as by an ensample: you can never bring heaven to a quantity. So I conclude that he is in the sacrament *quantum, sine modo quantitativo*."

These words he amplified very largely, and so high he climbed into the heavens with Duns's ladder, and not with the Scriptures, that it is to be marvelled how he could come down again without falling. To whom Master Cranmer said:

Cranmer.—"Then thus do I make my argument.

"In heaven his body hath quantity, in earth it hath none, by your saying:

"Ergo, He hath two bodies, the one in heaven, the other in earth."

Here some would have answered him, that he had quantity in both, and so put off the antecedent: but thus said Master Harpsfield:

Harpsfield.—"I deny your argument;" [though some would not have had him say so.]

Cranmer.—"The argument is good. It standeth upon contradictories, which is the most sure hold."

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Harpsfield.—"I deny that there are contradictions."

Weston.—"I confirm the same: for one body may have *modum quantitativum*, and not have; and the same body was passible and impassible; one body may have wounds and not wounds."

Cranmer.—"This cannot be at one time."

Weston.—"The ensample of the potter doth prove that which I say; who of that which is clay now, maketh a pot or cup forthwith."

Cranmer.—"But I say again, that it is so; but at divers times: as one piece of meat to be raw and sodden, cannot be at one time together. But you would have it otherwise, that Christ should be here and in heaven at one time, and should have *modum quantitativum*, and not have; which cannot be but by such argument as I have showed you."

Weston.—"But I say, Christ's body was passible and not passible at one instant."

Seton.—"You may ask as well other questions—how be is in heaven? whether he sit or stand? and whether he be there as he lived here?"

Cranmer.—"You yourself, by putting a natural presence, do force me to question, how he is here. Therefore, next, I do ask this question: Whether good and evil men do eat the body in the sacrament?"

Harpsfield.—"Yea, they do so, even as the sun doth shine upon king's palaces, and on dung-heaps."

Cranmer.—"Then do I inquire, how long Christ tarrieth in the eater?"

Harpsfield.—"These are curious questions, unmeet to be asked."

Cranmer.—"I have taken them out of your schools and schoolmen, which you yourselves do most use: and there, also, do I learn to ask, how far he goeth into the body."

Harpsfield.—"We know that the body of Christ is received to nourish the whole man, both body and soul: *eousque progreditur corpus quousque species*."

Cranmer.—"How long doth he abide in the body?"

Seton.—"St. Augustine saith, 'Our flesh goeth into his flesh.' But after he is once received into the stomach, it maketh no matter for us, to know how far he doth pierce, or whither he is conveyed."

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Here Master Tresham and one Master London answered, that Christ being given there under such form and quantity as pleased him, it was not to be inquired of his tarrying, or of his descending into the body.

Harpsfield.—"You were wont to lay to our charge, that we added to the Scripture; saying always that we should fetch the truth out of the Scripture: and now you yourself bring questions out of the schoolmen, which you have disallowed in us."

Cranmer.—"I say as I have said alway, that I am constrained to ask these questions, because of this carnal presence which you imagine: and yet I know right well, that these questions be answered out of the Scriptures. As to my last question, How long he abideth in the body? &c.: the Scripture answereth plainly, that Christ doth so long dwell in his people, as they are his members. Whereupon I make this argument.

"They which eat the flesh of Christ, do dwell in him, and he in them.

"But the wicked do not remain in him, nor he in them:

"Ergo, The wicked do not eat his flesh, nor drink his blood."

Harpsfield.—"I will answer unto you as St. Augustine saith, not that howsoever a man doth eat, he eateth the body, but he that eateth after a certain manner."

Cranmer.—"I cannot tell what manner ye appoint; but I am sure that evil men do not eat the flesh and drink the blood of Christ, as Christ speaketh in John vi."

Harpsfield.—"In John vi. some things are to be referred to the godly, and some to the ungodly."

Cranmer.—"Whatsoever he doth entreat there of eating, doth pertain unto good men."

Harpsfield.—"If you do mean only of the word of eating, it is true; if concerning the thing, it is not so: and if your meaning be of that which is contained under the word of eating, it may be so taken, I grant."

Cranmer.—"Now to the argument: He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him. Doth not this prove sufficiently, that evil men do not eat that the good do?"

Tresham.—"You must add, 'He that eateth worthily.'"

Cranmer.—"I speak of the same manner of eating that Christ speaketh of."

Weston.—"Augustine ad Fratres in Eremo, sermon 28, There is a certain manner of eating:' Augustine speaketh of two manners of eating; the one of them that eat worthily, the other that eat unworthily."

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Harpsfield.—"All things in John vi. are not to be referred to the sacrament, but to the receiving of Christ by faith. The fathers do agree, that there is not entreaty made of the supper of the Lord, before they come unto *Panis quem dabo vobis, caro mea est,*" &c.

Cranmer.—"There is entreating of manna, both before and after."

Harpsfield.—"I will apply another answer. This argument hath a kind of poison in it, which must be thus bitten away:—That manna and this sacrament be not both one. Manna hath not its efficacy of itself, but of God."

Cranmer.—"But they that did take manna worthily, had fruit thereby: and so, by your assertion, he that doth eat the flesh of Christ worthily, hath his fruit by that. Therefore the like doth follow of them both; and so there should be no difference between manna and this sacrament, by your reason."

Harpsfield.—"When it is said, that they which did eat manna are dead, it is to be understood, that they did want the virtue of manna."

[If Master Harpsfield do mean of bodily life, they which eat the sacrament do die, as well as they which did eat the manna. If he mean of spiritual life, neither be they all damned that did eat manna, nor all saved that do eat the sacrament. Wherefore the truth is, that neither the eating of manna bringeth death, nor the eating of the sacrament bringeth salvation: but only the spiritual believing upon Christ's bodily passion, which only justifieth both them and us. And therefore, as the effect is spiritual, which Christ speaketh of in this chapter; so is the cause of that effect spiritual whereof he meaneth, which is our spiritual believing in him, and not our bodily eating of him.]

Cranmer.—"They, then, which do eat either of them worthily, do live."

Harpsfield.—"They do live which do eat manna worthily; not by manna, but by the power of God given by it. The others which do eat this sacrament, do live by the same."

Cranmer.—"Christ did not entreat of the cause, but the effect which followed: he doth not speak of the cause, whereof the effect proceedeth."

Harpsfield.—"I do say, the effects are diverse—life, and death, which do follow the worthy and unworthy eating thereof."

Cranmer.—"Since you will needs have an addition to it, we must use both in manna and in the sacrament, indifferently, either worthily or unworthily, Christ spake absolutely of manna, and of the supper; so that, after that absolute speaking of the supper, wicked men can in no wise eat the flesh of Christ, and drink his blood. Further, Augustine, upon these words, *Qui manducat*, &c., saith, There are no such respects in common meats, as in the Lord's body. For who that eateth other meats hath still hunger, and needeth to be satisfied daily: but he that doth eat the flesh of Christ, and drinketh his blood, doth live for ever.' But you know wicked men do not so.—Ergo, Wicked men do not receive."

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Harpsfield.—"St. Augustine meaneth, that he who eateth Christ's flesh, &c., after a certain manner, should live for ever. Wicked men do eat, but not after that manner."

Cranmer.—"Only they which participate Christ, be of the mystical body.

"But the evil men are not of the mystical body.

"Ergo, They do not participate Christ."

Weston.—"Your wonderful gentle behaviour and modesty, good Master Doctor Cranmer, is worthy much commendation: and that I may not deprive you of your right and just deserving, I give you most hearty thanks in my own name, and in the name of all my brethren."

At this saying all the doctors gently put off their caps. Then Master Weston did oppose the respondent on this wise:

Weston.—"Tertullian doth call the sacrament, 'the sign and figure of the Lord.' St. Augustine ad Dardanum saith, 'The Lord did not stick to say, This is my body, when he gave a sign of his body.'

"Besides this, he giveth rules how to understand the Scriptures, saying: 'If the Scriptures seem to command some heinous thing, then it is figurative, as by example: To eat the flesh, and drink the blood, is a tropical speech.'"

Harpsfield.—"Tertullian did write in that place against Marcion, a heretic, who denied Christ to have a true body, and said, he had only a fantastical body. He went about to show, that we had Christ both in heaven and in earth; and though we have the true body in the sacrament, yet he would not go about so to confound him, as to say that Christ was truly in the sacrament: for that heretic would have thereat rather marvelled, than believed it. Therefore he showed him, that it was the figure of Christ: and a figure cannot be but of a thing that is, or hath been extant.

"To the text of Augustine, the church hath never taught the contrary. There is an outward thing in the sacrament, which sometimes hath sundry names; for it may be called a figure in this declaration: That body which is in the sacrament, is a figure of Christ dwelling in heaven.

"To the third: that which is brought by Augustine, for example, about the understanding of the Scriptures, is thus to be understood; as tending to a general manner of eating: so 'To eat the flesh and drink the blood,' may be a figurative speech to exclude 'The eating of man's flesh.' The which is, when we eat man's flesh, cut in morsels, as we eat common meat; so as we neither have, nor eat Christ in the sacrament."

Weston.—"I understand your short and learned answer, which doth sufficiently content me. But now to the second question, which is of transubstantiation.

"The Scripture calleth it bread:

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"Ergo, it is bread."

Harpsfield.—"In the name of bread all is signified which we do eat."

Weston.—"Theodoret, an ancient writer, in his first dialogue, saith, that Christ changed not the nature, but called it his body."

Harpsfield.—"He doth there speak *de symbolo*, which is, 'The outward form of the sacrament.' He meaneth, that that doth tarry in his own nature."

[Moreover, as it was reported, he brought for his answer Augustine.]

Weston.—"Theodoret also, in his second dialogue of those kinds of bread and wine, saith, 'They go not out of their own nature, but they tarry in their own substance.'"

Harpsfield.—"They are understood to be of the same substance wherein they are turned."

Weston.—"But what say you to this? They remain in their former substance."

Harpsfield.—"The outward signs do tarry."

"*Weston.*—"But what is meant here by this word *symbolum*?"

Harpsfield.—"The outward form or shape only of the nature."

Weston.—"Then you cannot call them a substance."

Harpsfield.—"Yes, sir, every thing hath a certain substance in his kind."

Weston.—"That is true; but accidents are not substances in their kind."

Harpsfield.—"They are substance in their own kind."

[Of this they contended much.]

Weston.—"Chrysostom saith, 'Like as before it is consecrated, it is bread: so after it is consecrated, it is delivered from the name of bread, and is endued with the name of the Lord's body; whereas the nature doth remain.'"

Harpsfield.—"Where read you this place, I pray you?"

Weston.—"Here, in Peter Martyr I find it; I have his book in my hand."

Harpsfield.—"The author shall be of more credit, before that I make so much of him, as to frame an answer unto it."

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Weston.—"Indeed I know not well where he findeth it. But Gelasius saith, that the nature of bread and wine do tarry."

Harpsfield.—"What is that Gelasius?"

Weston.—"A bishop of Rome."

Harpsfield.—"Then he allowed the mass?"

Weston.—"Yea, and oftentimes said it: and purgatory he also allowed, and so prayer for the dead, relics, and invocation to saints."

Harpsfield.—"Belike, then, he meant nothing against transubstantiation."

Weston.—"It doth appear so indeed. But Origen saith, that the material bread doth tarry, and is conveyed into the privy, and is eaten of worms."

Harpsfield.—"Tush, tush! this place appertaineth unto holy bread."

Weston.—"What! doth it appertain to holy bread?"

Harpsfield.—"Yea, unto holy bread."

Weston.—"By what means can you show how this miraculous work bringeth Christ into the sacrament?"

Harpsfield.—"By the Scripture I prove that, which saith, This is my body."

Weston.—"It doth rejoyce all us not a little, that you have so well maintained the sound doctrine of the sacrament of the altar, wherein you have faithfully cleaved to the catholic church, as an only stay of our religion: by the which means you have proved yourself meet to be authorized further towards the practising of the Scripture.

"And here I do openly witness, that I do thoroughly consent with you: and have, for disputation's sake only, brought these arguments against you, which you have right learnedly satisfied: and now all things being done, after our form and manner, we will end this disputation, saying, Sacred theology is against it."

254. Concerning these Disputations

Certain observations or censures given to the reader, upon the disputations of the bishops and doctors above mentioned; declaring what judgment is to be given, as well touching the arguments of the adversaries, and also to the answers of the martyrs.



HUS ye have heard, in these aforesaid disputations about the holy supper of the Lord, the reasons and arguments of the doctors, the answers and resolutions of the bishops, and the triumph of the prolocutor triumphing before the victory with *Vicit veritas*; who rather in my mind should have exclaimed *Vicit potestas*: as it happeneth always *ubi pars major vincit meliorem*. For else if *potestas* had not helped the prolocutor more than *veritas*, there had been a small *victoria*. But so it is, where judgments be partial and parties addicted, there all things turn to victory, though it be never so mean and simple: but, contrariwise, all partiality set apart, if censure should be given upon these disputations with upright and indifferent judgment, weighing with the arguments on the one side, the answers on the other, we shall see victory there falsely bragged, where no victory was.

If in these disputations it had so been, that the distinction of the answers had been wiped away or removed by the opposers; or if the arguments, of the opponents' side, had been so strong that they could not be dissolved of the answerer, then would I confess victory gotten. But seeing now all the arguments, brought against the bishops, to be taken away by a plain distinction of Really, Spiritually, and Sacramentally: and this distinction so to stand in force, that the contrary arguments were not able to infringe the same, we must say, *Vicit non veritas, sed potestas*, that is, He conquered not by truth, but by force.

And, for the reader's sake, to make the matter more largely and evidently to appear, concerning the distinction made of the bishops in this disputation, (whereby they did both repeat the arguments objected, and manfully maintain the verity,) here have we, as in a brief sum or table, expressed, as well their arguments, as the distinctions and answers of the other part to the same.

In these disputations the controversy is of the body of Christ, either to be present with us, or to be eaten of us, or to be united to us; which presence, eating, and uniting of him to us, standeth three manner of ways, Really, Spiritually, and Sacramentally. And these three things must be considered after three divers respects; for the lack of the knowledge and consideration whereof, the papists, who take upon them most to maintain this matter, are much deceived and deceive many; of whom I cannot marvel enough, that they, being so full of distinctions in all their other questions, in this one matter neither will make distinction themselves, nor abide it in others. For who seeth not that the presence of Christ's body is one, to the faith and spirit of man—which is spiritual; and another to the body of man—which is bodily.

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Besides these two, there is also another presence differing from them both, which is "sacramental." Of things diverse and differing in themselves we must speak diversely, except we will confound things together which nature hath distincted asunder. Now they of the catholic part, as they call themselves, (other men call them papists,) whether for rudeness they cannot, or for wilfulness they will not see, speaking of the real presence of Christ, think there is no other presence of Christ real but in the sacrament; being deceived therein two manner of ways. First, that they consider not the nature of a sacrament; which is, not to exhibit the thing in deed which it doth represent, but to represent effectually one thing by another: for that is the property of a sacrament, to bear a similitude of one thing by another thing; of the which two things the one is represented, the other in deed exhibited. Secondly, that they consider not the operation of faith, which, penetrating up to heaven, there apprehendeth the real body of Christ, no less, yea, and more effectually, than if he were here bodily present to the eye.

To these two, the third error also of these men may be added: in that they seem either not to weigh the operation of Christ's passion enough, or else, not to feel the heavy torment of sin and miserable hunger of man's soul; which, if they did feel, they would easily perceive what a necessary and opportune nourishment to man's conscience, were the body of Christ on the cross broken, and his blood shed.

Wherefore these are to be distincted after their right terms. For that which is sacramental, by and by is not real; and, like as the real presence of Christ's body is to be distincted from the spiritual presence, so is it to be said of the eating, and also of the co-uniting or conjunction, betwixt his body and us: for as there is a real eating, so there is a spiritual eating, and also a sacramental eating.

Now the papists, whensoever they speak or read of the eating of Christ's body, conceive no other eating of him but only of that in the sacrament, and no otherwise; which is false and the cause of great error, in that they see not, neither do consider, how Christ is eaten, not only with the symbols or sacrament, but also without the sacrament: which eating standeth inwardly by faith, and pertaineth to the spirit of man, in apprehending or digesting with the stomach of faith those things which, by the outward sacrament, are represented. And of the spiritual eating of Christ speaketh the sixth chapter of St. John.

Besides this spiritual eating there is also a sacramental manducation of Christ's body, under, and with, the elements of bread and wine; that is, when both the mouth and spirit of man receive both the bread and the body together, in divers and sundry respects, bread substantially, the body sacramentally. The spirit receiveth the body only and not the bread.

The like distinction also is to be made of the uniting or conjunction betwixt Christ and us, which is both real, spiritual, and sacramental.

Further, here is to be noted, that to this sacramentally uniting, eating, and presence of Christ, in or under the sacrament, belong two things, Mutation and Operation, which the doctors much speak of. This "Mutation" is double, substantial and accidental.

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Mutation is called *substantial*, when one substance is changed into another, as water into wine, the rod of Aaron into a serpent, &c.; and this mutation, which they call "transubstantiation," belongeth nothing to the Lord's supper.

The other mutation, which is *accidental*, (whereof the doctors entreat,) standeth in three points: that is, where the use, the name, and the honour of the sacramental elements be changed. In use: as, when the use of common bread is changed to a mystical and heavenly use, the name of bread and wine is changed to the name of the body and blood of Christ; the honour, from a not reverent, to a reverent receiving of the same, &c.

About "Operation" the Romish clergy make much ado; thinking there is no other operation but only transubstantiation. And this operation they ascribe to the five words of the priest: saying, that Christ, in calling a thing, maketh the thing so to be.

We affirm also that the words of Christ do work, but not as they do say; to wit, they work effectually in the material bread and wine: not in altering or trans-elementing the substance there, as Harding saith above, but in sanctifying the aforesaid creatures to be a sacrament, which cannot be but only by the virtue of the word and of the Holy Ghost, as St. Augustine saith; for else no priest or creature hath any such power to make a sacrament.

Of these aforesaid distinctions here followeth a brief Table to make the contents hereof more plain.

A Table declaring divers and sundry respects how the holy real body of Christ our Saviour, both in the sacrament and beside the sacrament, is present, eaten, and united to us.

The body of Christ is, really, spiritually, and sacramentally, *present, eaten, and united*.

FIRST.

The body of Christ is *really present*.

So was the body of Christ once present here on earth with us, and shall be again at the day of his coming. Otherwise it is not here really present, but only to our faith, really, that is to say truly, apprehending his body in heaven, and here feeding upon the same in earth. And thus is he present only to good men, whether with the symbols or without the symbols.

The body of Christ is *really eaten*.

Really, not with our bodily mouth, but with the mouth of faith; apprehending the real body of Christ, who suffered for us, and worketh to us nourishment of life and grace, &c.

The body of Christ is *really united*.

Really and corporally the body of Christ is united to us, by his incarnation, and the partaking of our flesh.

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SECONDLY.

The body of Christ is *spiritually present*.

Spiritually we say his body to be present, when either the body of Christ is present to our spirit and faith; or when the virtue of his body is present and redoundeth to our bodies and spirits by grace. And this differeth from the other real presence above, in this: that the one hath respect to the body apprehended, the other to the thing that doth apprehend.

The body of Christ is *spiritually eaten*.

Spiritually we eat the body and blood of Christ, not with mouth and teeth, but with faith only, whensoever we believe on the passion of Christ, being the true bread of life and the only food of man's soul. And thus is he eaten, but only of good men, as well besides the sacrament as with the sacrament; and of this eating speaketh the sixth chapter of John. And so was he eaten in the time also of the old law.

The body of Christ is *spiritually united*.

Spiritually he is united unto us, when the properties of his holy body, as his innocence, power, glorification, eternity, beatitude, &c., are united to our bodies and spirits, which cometh by our faith in him, according to his words in John xvii. 23, I in them, and thou in me, &c. And this uniting, standing by grace, cometh as well besides the sacrament, as with the sacrament; only to the godly.

THIRDLY.

The body of Christ is *sacramentally present*.

Sacramentally his body is present, by representation of another thing which beareth a similitude or a memorial of his body; and his sacramental presence, pertaining to the outward mouth of the receiver, is common as well to the good as to the evil. And this sacramental presence ought not to be alone, but to be joined with the spiritual presence, &c.

The body of Christ is *sacramentally eaten*.

Sacramentally we eat with our bodily mouth the mysteries of bread and wine, not being the real body indeed, but representing the real body indeed; *id est, Non panem Dominum, sed panem Domini*; that is, not the Lord as bread, but the bread of the Lord. And this eating, if it be not joined with the other two above, profiteth nothing; and, so, is eaten only of the evil. If it be adjoined, then is it eaten of the good, and then it profiteth.

The body of Christ is *sacramentally united*.

The sacrament, as it is not the real body itself of the Lord, so it causeth not itself any real conjunction betwixt Christ's real body and ours, but representeth the same; declaring that as the material bread, digested in our bodies, is united to the same, so the body of Christ, being received by faith, changeth our spirits and bodies to the nature of him.

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To the sacramental presence, and eating of Christ, pertain two things chiefly to be considered: *Mutation* and *Operation*.

MUTATION.

First, Mutation *substantial*.

Whereby one substance is changed into another: as, water into wine; the rod of Aaron into a serpent, &c. And this "mutation," which they call "transubstantiation," belongeth nothing to the sacrament; for, then, accidents of bread should also be changed, as the accidents of Aaron's rod were changed, with the substance, into a serpent.

Secondly, Mutation *accidental*.

Of this "mutation" speak the doctors, meaning not of the change of substance but of accidents, which standeth in three things, in the *use*, in *name*, and in *honour*.

First, *In use*.

As when the use of common bread is changed into a mystical and heavenly use.

Secondly, *In name*.

When the name of bread and wine passeth away, and is changed into the name of the body and blood of the Lord, and, so, is the name changed.

Thirdly, *In honour*.

As when the bread and wine which before were received not with honour, are now received with honour and reverence: not that we honour the bread and wine, but the things represented in them, as, in a king's letter and seal, we honour the king and not the seal.

OPERATION.

First, Operation *in* the sacraments.

The operation of the word in the sacraments is this: to change, not the substance of the sacrament, but that the substance thereof remaining may be made the body of Christ, that is, the sacrament of the body of Christ. And this operation cannot come but by the Holy Ghost. Whereof Augustine saith: *Panis non sanctificatur in sacramentum tam magnum, nisi operante invisibiliter Spiritu Dei*.

Secondly, Operation *of* the sacraments.

The operation of the sacraments is thought by the papists to give grace, which, in very deed, give not grace of their own work; but only serve as instruments and means of that grace

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and life which cometh from God. So Peter calleth it the word of life; and St. Paul calleth the gospel of Christ, the power of God unto salvation. Not that they themselves give life and salvation, but that they are certain means and instruments of that life and salvation which cometh to us from God.

To the spiritual presence and manducation of Christ, principally belongeth the sixth chapter of St. John; albeit two sorts of bread are there specified, namely, *bodily or sacramental*, and *spiritual* bread.

First, Bodily or sacramental, of the *Old Testament*; and also of the *New Testament*.

The bodily or sacramental bread of the *Old Testament* signifying Christ to come, as manna, the rock, &c.; and the bodily or sacramental bread of the *New Testament* signifying Christ being already come, as the holy eucharist.

Secondly, Spiritual bread.

Spiritual bread, which is Christ himself, born for us, and given for the life of the world. John vi. My flesh is meat indeed, &c.

Thus hast thou, gentle reader, in this aforesaid table set forth unto thee the diverse respects how the real body of the Saviour is eaten in the sacrament, and out of the sacrament, &c. By which table, if thou mark it well, thou mayest answer easily to the most part of the arguments which the papists bring. And now these things being premised, let us see and examine the arguments of the aforesaid doctors, here in brief sum repeated again, and, afterwards, annex the resolution of the same.

A Table of the principal arguments brought

against Doctor Cranmer.

I. *Chedsey*.—"That thing which was given for us, is here contained; from the words of Christ. "The substance of bread was not given for us: Ergo, the substance of bread is not contained in the sacrament."

II. *Oglethorpe*.—"This word *body*, being *prædicatum*, doth signify substance.

"But one substance is not predicated, or affirmed, denominatively, upon another: Ergo, it is an essential predication, and, so, it is his true body, and not a figure of his body."

III. *Oglethorpe*.—"Christ hath no less care for his espouse than a father for his household. "No father maketh his will with tropes for deceiving his household: Ergo, Christ used no tropes in making his Will or Testament."

IV. *Weston*.—"A good heir will not say that the testator did lie.

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"Whoso saith, that the testator 'spoke by figures,' saith that the testator did lie: Ergo, he that saith that Christ our testator spake by figures is no good heir."

V. *Cole*.—"If it be bread it cannot be the body; *a disparitis*.

"But Christ saith it is his body: Ergo, it cannot be bread."

VI. *Weston*.—"The same flesh is given us to be eaten, by which he is made our brother and kinsman.

"By his true, natural, and organical flesh, he is made our brother and kinsman: Ergo, he gave us his true and organical flesh to eat."

VII. *Weston*.—"He gave us the same flesh, which he took of the Virgin.

"He took his flesh of the Virgin not spiritually: Ergo, he gave his true flesh, and not [his flesh] spiritually."

VIII. *Weston*.—"As mothers nourish their children with their milk, so Christ nourished us with his body.

"Mothers nourish not their infants spiritually with their milk: Ergo, Christ nourisheth us not spiritually with his body."

IX. *Weston*.—"If Christ gave wine for his blood, then he gave less than mothers to their infants. "Chrysostom saith, 'Christ gave more to us than mothers to their infants:' Ergo, he gave not wine for his blood."

X. *Weston*.—"That thing which is worthy the highest honour, is showed forth in earth.

"Christ's body is worthy the highest honour: Ergo, Christ's body is showed forth in earth."

XI. *Chedsey*.—"The soul is fed by that which the body eateth.

"The soul is fed by the body of Christ: Ergo, the body eateth the body of Christ."

XII. *Chedsey*.—"The flesh eateth Christ's body that the soul may be fed therewith.

"The soul is not fed with the sacrament, but with Christ's body: Ergo, the flesh eateth the body of Christ."

XIII. *Tresham*.—"As Christ liveth by his Father, so we live by his flesh eaten of us.

"Christ liveth by his Father naturally, not by unity of will: Ergo, we live by eating Christ's flesh naturally, not by faith only and will."

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XIV. *Young*.—"A figurative speech is no working thing; Christ's speech is a working thing: Ergo, Christ's speech is not figurative in this sacrament."

XV. *Pie*.—"The words of Christ work that, there, which redeemed the people.

"The natural blood of Christ redeemed the people: Ergo, the words of Christ make, there, the natural blood of Christ."

XVI. *Chedsey*.—"As Christ is truly and really incarnate, so is he truly and really in the sacrament.

"But Christ is truly and really incarnate: Ergo, Christ is truly and really in the sacrament."

XVII. *Weston*.—"The substance of our flesh could not be increased thereby, except it were the true body and blood of Christ.

"But the substance of our body is increased thereby, which we receive in the sacrament: Ergo, it is the true body and blood, which we receive in the sacrament."

A Table of the principal arguments objected against Dr. Ridley.

XXIII. *Smith*.—"Christ, after his ascension, was seen really and corporally on earth: Ergo, notwithstanding his ascension, and continual abiding at the right hand of the Father, he may be really and corporally on earth.

"Or thus; Christ's ascension into heaven letteth not, but that he may be, really and corporally, seen on the earth: Ergo, his ascension letteth not, but that he may be, really and corporally, in the sacrament."

XIX. *Weston*.—"We offer one thing at all times. There is one Christ in all places, both here complete, and there complete: Ergo, by Chrysostom, there is one body both in heaven and earth."

XX. *Smith*.—"He was seen of Paul as being born before his time, after his ascending up to heaven, [1 Cor. xv.]

"But his vision was a corporal vision: Ergo, he was seen corporally on earth, after his ascension."

XXI. *Tresham*.—"He was seen after such sort that he might be heard: Ergo, he was corporally on the earth, or else how could he be heard."

XXII. *Smith*.—"He was seen so of him as of others.

"But he was seen of others being on earth, and appeared visible to them on earth: Ergo, he was seen of Paul on earth."

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XXIII. *Weston*.—"Christ left his flesh to his disciples, and yet, for all that, he took the same up with him: Ergo, he is present here with us."

XXIV. *Ward*.—"He delivered that which he bade them take.

"But he bade them not take material bread, but his own body: Ergo, he gave not material bread, but his own body."

XXV. *Weston*.—"That which Christ gave we do give.

"But that which he gave was not a figure of his body, but his body: Ergo, we give no figure, but his body."

XXVI. *Ward*.—"My sheep hear my voice and follow me.

"But all the sheep of Christ hear this voice, This is my body, without a figure: Ergo, the voice of Christ, here, hath no figure."

XXVII. *Ward*.—"Christ gave us his very and true flesh to be eaten.

"But he never gave it to be eaten but in his last supper and in the sacrament of the altar: Ergo, there is the very true flesh of Christ."

XXVIII. *Ward*.—"He desired to eat his passover.

"But the Judaical passover was not his: Ergo, he meant not of the Judaical passover."

XXIX. *Ward*.—"He gave us his flesh to be eaten, which he took of the earth, in which, also, he here walked, &c.

"But he never gave his flesh to be eaten, but when he gave it at his supper, saying, This is my body: Ergo, in the eucharist he gave us his flesh."

XXX. *Curtop*.—"That which is in the cup is the same that flowed from the side of Christ.

"But his true and pure blood did flow from the side of Christ: Ergo, his true and pure blood is in the cup."

XXXI. *Watson*.—"Every sacrament hath a promise of grace annexed unto it.

"But bread and wine have not a promise of grace annexed unto it: Ergo, the bread and wine are not sacraments."

XXXII. *Smith*.—"Every man may bear, in his own hands, a figure of his body.

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"But Augustine denied that David could carry himself in his hands: Ergo, Augustine speaketh of no figure of his body."

XXXIII. *Tresham*.—"Evil men do eat the natural body of Christ: Ergo, the true and natural body of Christ is in the sacrament of the altar."

XXXIV. *Weston*.—"We worship the selfsame body in the eucharist, which the wise men did worship in the manger."

"But that was his natural real body, not spiritual: Ergo, the real body of Christ is in the eucharist."

Arguments objected against Master Latimer.

Seton's arguments, formed by Weston.—"You say, That which was forbidden in the Old Testament is commanded in the New."

"To drink blood was forbidden in the Old Testament and commanded in the New: Ergo, by your own saying, it is the very blood that we drink in the New."

Cartwright.—"If the true body of Christ be not really in the sacrament, all the whole church hath erred from the apostles' time."

"But Christ would not suffer his church to err: Ergo, it is the true body of Christ."

The argument of Doctor Cranmer objecting against Harpsfield.

Doctor Cranmer.—"Christ's body, in heaven, hath quantity."

"The papists say, Christ's body in earth hath no quantity: Ergo, by the papists Christ hath two bodies, one in heaven, another in earth."

Doctor Cranmer.—"They that do eat the flesh of Christ, do dwell in him, and be in them. The wicked do not remain in him, nor lie in them: Ergo, the wicked eat not his flesh, nor drink his blood."

*Here follow the answers and resolutions to the arguments above mentioned, by number and order of the same;
and first to the arguments objected against Doctor Cranmer.*

I. First, to answer to Chedsey's first argument: Cranmer denieth the argument, and may well so do, for the form thereof is faulty; which, being in the first figure, hath his minor negative. Again, he answereth to the major by a distinction, being two ways: How the body may be contained Really,—and so it is false; Sacramentally,—and so it is true.

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II. One substance or *disparatum* cannot be affirmed of another properly; but figuratively it may: and therefore we say this is a figurative locution: Bread is the body of Christ (meaning bread to be a figure of the body).

III. The minor is false; for, though equivocation of one word sometimes, peradventure, may deceive, yet the whole sense or locution, being tropical, doth not deceive, but rather serveth for beautifying of the oration, and for the better help of the hearers. And if the trope be not perceived of all, the fault is not in the trope, but in their ignorance.

IV. The authority of St. Augustine, De unitate Ecclesiæ, proveth the major, which we also do allow. For who knoweth not that a man, at his death, will commonly speak the truth? But we deny the minor, That he which speaketh by figure or trope doth lie: that St. Augustine yet hath not proved, nor Dr. Weston either. Christ, after his supper, being more near his death, saith, Let this cup pass from me; calling his passion "the cup," by a metaphor; yet he lied not.

V. Cole saith, "This argument cannot be dissolved." But Cranmer's answer cannot be infringed; for, if one *disparatum* cannot be affirmed of another by any way than by that rule, "Christ is not the rock;" "Bread cannot be the body" (being disparate one from the other) I grant, speaking properly; but figuratively, or sacramentally, it may.

VI. and VII. Cranmer answereth to the major by a distinction: "The same body is given which was born of the Virgin, but not after the same manner." Of the Virgin, his body was born really: in the sacrament, it is eaten sacramentally and figuratively.

VIII. The nourishment of mothers and of Christ agree in this, wherein they are compared: that is, that they both do nourish their children with their own bodies, but not after one way of nourishing. The mother feedeth her infant by putting her milk into his mouth and body, really; Christ likewise feedeth us with his body broken for us; not in putting his flesh, broken, into our bodies, but in offering the passion of his body to our faith, spiritually; and, in the bread, sacramentally.

IX. The major is false: Christ giveth not only wine for his blood, but giveth both wine and his blood. Wine as a holy sacrament of his blood, to be taken with mouth, wherein, not the wine, but his blood, is to be considered; and also, besides the wine, he giveth his blood to be received with faith, and these two be more than mothers give to their infants.

X. In this argument is a point of false packing; for where Chrysostom hath, *Ostenditur in terra*, the prolocutor thrusteth in *est in terra*. And so is the argument answered—the body of Christ is showed here on earth in a sacrament, and the same body, so showed, is worthy highest honour.

XI. and XII. This argument is to be denied for lack of form, except Chedsey would thus form it: "The soul of man is fed, there, with what the body eateth; The soul of man is fed with Christ's body, and not with sacraments: ergo, the body of man eateth the body of Christ, and not the sacrament," &c.—First, the major is false as it standeth. And here note the deceit of Chedsey in putting in "therewith," which Tertullian hath not: his words be these, "The flesh feeds on the

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body and blood of Christ, that the soul may be nourished by God."—Here Chedsey, for "by God," hath "by it;" which corrupteth the meaning of Tertullian, who saith "by God:" meaning that the soul is fed spiritually, and the body sacramentally. Secondly, to the minor: if the soul be not fed with the sacraments, how is it true then that the papists say the sacraments give grace?

XIII. The major is false and to be denied: for the similitude of Christ's living by his Father, and our living by eating the body of Christ, is not like. For if Christ live, naturally, by his Father, so do not we eat the body of Christ naturally in the sacrament, nor live naturally by eating the same; but naturally we live by Christ, in that he took our natural body—not that we eat his natural body.

XIV. To the minor it is answered by a distinction: "For the speech of Christ worketh two manner of ways, by making, and by instituting." The speech of Christ, at the supper, worketh, not by making any new substance or by changing the old, but by instituting a sacrament by the power of the word and of the Holy Spirit; of which instituting St. Augustine speaketh: "The bread is not consecrated to so great a sacrament, unless by the unseen work of the Spirit of God."

XV. To the major, being grounded upon the words of Ambrose, the archbishop answereth, That there is the same blood which redeemed the people, but not after the same manner; for, on the cross, the blood of Christ was there, simply and really: at the supper and in the cup, it is sacramentally and by a similitude. As Ambrose saith himself in another place, "As thou hast received the similitude of his death, so also thou drinkest the similitude of his precious blood."

XVI. As concerning this argument here is to be noted, that the archbishop found fault with Chedsey for false translating of Justin, *Cibum ilium consecratum per sermonem*: whereas the Greek text of Justin hath not ἱερειοθεῖσαν ἡρπύσων, but εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν; that is *non consecratum*, meat not consecrated; but meat only over which thanks be given. Then to the argument; If Christ be so truly in the sacrament, as he was truly incarnate of the Virgin, then can there be no transubstantiation; for, as the Word was made flesh, not by changing the substance of the Word into the substance of flesh, so is not the substance of bread changed into the body.

XVII. To the XVIIth, the major, as it standeth, is not to be granted: "The substance of our flesh may be nourished and increased with that which is received, though it be not the true and real body of Christ; for the bread, being a sacrament of Christ's real body, may feed the body of man, and so doth the real body of Christ properly feed the soul and not the body; as Tertullian saith, 'The body is nourished by the symbolical bread, the soul by the body of Christ.'"

Next follow the answers and resolutions to the arguments objected against Dr. Ridley; wherein the less labour shall need to be taken, because he, being more practised in the schools, hath sufficiently and fully answered the same before.

XVIII. Argument: This argument doth not hold; and that for three causes, as Dr. Ridley in his answers seemeth to infer. First, that the presence of Christ may be upon earth according to any thing which belongs to the body of Christ, and not according to his real or corporal substance; and so he granteth his ascension not to let his presence to be in the sacrament.

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Secondly, if Christ, after his ascension, was seen here in earth, as to Paul, Stephen, and Peter, &c., yet, whether he appeared from heaven to them on earth, or whether their eyes from earth were rapt up to him in heaven, it is doubtful; and of things doubtful no certain judgment can be given. Thirdly, though he had so manifested himself at certain times to be seen as pleased him, yet by that is proved that he *was*, and not that he *is* present here now in earth; and therefore, as this, his abiding in heaven, is no let but that he may be in the sacrament if he list, so this his appearing sometimes on the earth, is no proof that he list now to be in the sacrament when he may.

XIX. To the antecedent: "One Christ is complete at all times, and in all places;" but Chrysostom saith not, that one body of Christ is in all places.

XX. and XXI. It may be that Christ might appear to Paul, not he coming down from heaven—but that the eyes of Paul, rising up to heaven, there might apprehend him. Again it may be, that the power and glory of Christ might appear to Paul, and yet the body of Christ remain still in heaven; but, if his body was then really present on earth, yet his body was not at one time both in heaven and earth together. But what should we say then to the pix? If the body of Christ be so often on the altar and so long in the pix as they make him, then, by this reason, Christ's body is either seldom, or never, lightly, in heaven.

XXII. He answereth to the minor by a distinction: If the being or appearing of Christ here on the earth be referred as to a place, so he denieth that Paul or others did see him corporally being here on earth; but if it be referred as to the verity of his person, so he granteth it may be. And yet, as is said, whether he descended down, or their spirits ascended up, it is doubtful: certes, to whomsoever he appeared, yet his appearing was in the air above, and not on the earth.

XXIII. The force of this argument is grounded upon Chrysostom, "Christ both left his flesh to us, and ascended having it with him." To the which it is thus answered: That Christ both took his flesh and left the same with us; but not after the same manner: for he took up his flesh really, and left the same behind sacramentally. And therein he did more than Elias, for he, as he left his mantle behind him really, so he took the same with him no manner of way.

XXIV. This argument of Master Ward, as the terms stand, is neither a right figure nor mode. Again, there is a *fallax a dicto secundum quid ad id quod simpliciter*: and therefore the minor is well denied. For Christ, in giving them his body to eat, did not give his body *simpliciter* to be eaten, but after a certain manner, that is, sacramentally his body, and materially his bread; and so both bread and his body, in sundry respects.

XXV. The minor of this argument standeth upon Theophylact, "He did not not say it is a figure of my flesh, but it is my body;" which author, as he is not to be numbered among the most ancient, so neither among the most sound of writers. He was about that time, when this controversy about transubstantiation began first to grow, and when the contention was between the Greek church and the Latin about the proceeding of the Holy Ghost, &c. But, to let authority stand: this place upon St. Mark is answered by another place of the said author upon St. John, cap. vi.: *Attende quod panis in mysteriis non est tantum figuratio quædam carnis Domini, sed ipsa caro Domini, &c.*; meaning that here, which he speaketh above: That the sacrament is not

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only a figure, (that is, no bare and void figure,) but a reverend sacrament of the body, and, after a manner, the body itself, of Christ.

XXVI. The minor hereof is untrue, if it stand universally for all the true sheep of Christ.

XXVII. The major of this argument, taken out of Justin, maybe taken two ways: for the giving of the body of Christ, may be understood either really, and so the major is false; or spiritually, and so the minor faileth: for he gave his flesh, not only in the supper, but also on the cross.

XXVIII. The major is false: The Judaical passover is not strange from Christ, for that he is the Lord of all.

XXIX. The minor is denied: for he gave his flesh to be eaten, both in the eucharist and also otherwise; as is before declared: In the eucharist, sacramentally to be eaten; on the cross, and also in the world, spiritually.

XXX. To the major he answereth: The true blood, and the same blood which issued out of his side, is in the cup; but not after the same manner. From his side it streamed, really and substantially. In the cup it is sacramentally, that is, by way and condition of representation, so by him ordained. The question is not of being, for that is granted on both parties, but of the manner of being, which now in heaven is really; in the receivers is spiritually; in the eucharist is sacramentally.

XXXI. The minor is thus to be understood: Bread and wine, as it is common bread and common wine, have no promise; but, as they be sanctified into a sacrament of the Lord's body and blood, they have promise of grace annexed; but so annexed, that not they themselves have or give the grace, but they are only as instruments whereby the grace cometh, not for their sake, but for that thing which they represent.

XXXII. This argument of Dr. Smith lacketh its right shape and form, having four terms, &c.

Further, to the sequel, which he inferreth upon this argument: "But Christ bare himself in his own hands: ergo, he bare no figure of his body," &c. To this is answered by a distinction really and sacramentally. Really, neither David nor Christ did bear himself in his own hands; sacramentally, David could not bear himself, but Christ so did at the supper; and that Augustine meaneth, adding this word, *quodam modo*, after a certain manner; expounding thereby his words before. And this Dr. Smith, falsely and craftily, leaveth out, in alleging the doctor's words.

XXXIII. Evil men do eat the natural body of Christ, he granteth, but only sacramentally; that is, that thing which beareth a sacrament of the natural body of Christ: but good men eat the same, both sacramentally and spiritually.

XXXIV. To the major he answereth: We worship the same natural body of Christ, which the wise men did worship, but not after the same manner; that is, not really here present to our

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bodies, as he was to theirs, but spiritually or sacramentally; and, so we worship Christ spiritually in his word and Scriptures, and yet we say not that he is really present in the Scriptures.

Resolutions to the arguments objected against Master Latimer.

XXXV. To the major of this argument, Master Latimer answereth himself sufficiently before. As touching drinking of blood, it is forbidden in the Old Testament; and commanded in the New, as touching the matter, but not as touching the manner of the thing, &c.

XXXVI. First he denieth the major; secondly he distincteth the word "church" in the minor; for as there is the true church of Christ which he never suffereth to err, in the whole, from the apostles' time, (although it may, in part, sometime,) so there is the popish church, and that erreth and hath erred; which first begat the error of transubstantiation in the time of Pope Innocent the Third about the year 1215.

255. Various Documents Relating to the Disputations

Here followeth a copy of the letter of warrant, sent from the queen to Richard Atkinson, mayor of Oxford; Richard Ivery, and William Jony, bailiffs; and the rest of the aldermen and inhabitants of the same city, concerning the custody and bringing forth of the said bishops to the disputations.

A letter of Warrant, &c.

To our trusty and well-beloved the mayor, aldermen, and other inhabitants, of the city of Oxford.

"Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And whereas Dr. Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Ridley, and Hugh Latimer, clerk, now remaining in your custody, by your appointment, have, besides other their great crimes, maintained and openly set forth divers heresies and erroneous and most pernicious opinions, contrary to the catholic faith of Christ's church, to the great offence of Almighty God, and evil and dangerous example of all our faithful and loving subjects:—like as it hath been wisely considered in the convocation of the bishops, prelates, and other the clergy of our realm, that the heresies, moved and nourished by the fore-said persons and other their adherents, being no less perilous for the state of our realm than hurtful to the setting-forth of God's glory and the furtherance of the catholic religion, are meet to be, by learning, convinced and overthrown in time:—so have they, for that purpose, appointed certain grave and well learned doctors and others, as well of that our university of Oxford as of our university of Cambridge, to hear, in open disputation, the said Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer; so as their erroneous opinions, being by the word of God justly and truly convinced, the residue of our subjects may be thereby the better established in the true catholic faith: We therefore, minding to have the truth of Christ's catholic religion set forth and justly established among our loving subjects, to his glory and benefit of this our realm, do let you wit, that our will and pleasure is, that when, and as often as, the said learned persons appointed for that purpose shall require you to cause the said Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer (every or any of them) to be brought to the place of open disputation, you shall not only give order for the same conveying thither of them, or any one or two of them, at the hours to them to be appointed, but also to receive them again into your custody, to be kept all together or separately as the commissioners shall appoint from time to time, until further order shall be taken in this behalf accordingly. Given under our signet, at our manor of St. James, the sixth of April, and in the first year of our reign."

The report and narration of Master Ridley, concerning the misordered disputation had against him and his fellow prisoners at Oxford.

"I never yet, since I was born, saw or heard any thing done or handled more vainly or tumultuously, than the disputation which was with me in the schools at Oxford. Yea verily, I could never have thought that it had been possible to have found amongst men recounted to be of

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knowledge and learning in this realm, any so brazen-faced and shameless, so disorderly and vainly to behave themselves, more like to stage-players in interludes to set forth a pageant, than to grave divines in schools to dispute. The Sorbonical clamours—which at Paris I have seen in times past, when popery most reigned—might be worthily thought (in comparison of this Thrasonical ostentation) to have had much modesty. And no great marvel, seeing they which should have been moderators and overseers of others, and which should have given good examples in words and gravity; they themselves, above all others, gave worst example, and did, as it were, blow the trump to the rest, to rave, roar, rage, and cry out. By reason whereof (good Christian reader) manifestly it may appear, that they never sought for any truth or verity, but only for the glory of the world, and their own bragging victory. But lest, by the innumerable railings and reproachful taunts, wherewith I was baited on every side, our cause—yea, rather God's cause and his church's—should be evil spoken of, and slandered to the world, through false reports and untrue examples given out of our disputation, and so the verity might sustain some damage, I thought it no less than my duty to write mine answers; to the intent that whosoever is desirous to know the truth thereof, may by this perceive, as well those things which were chiefly objected, as summarily that which was answered of me unto every of them. Howbeit (good reader) I confess this to be most true, that it is impossible to set forth either all that was (God knoweth) tumultuously and confusedly objected of their parts, being so many; speaking many times all together so thick, that one could not well hear another, neither all that was answered on my behalf to them so sundry and divers opponents.

"Moreover, a great part of the time appointed for the disputations was vainly consumed in opprobrious checks and reviling taunts, (with hissing and clapping of hands,) and that in the English tongue, to procure the people's favour withal. All which things, when I with great grief of heart did behold, protesting openly, that such excessive and outrageous disorder was unseemly for those schools, and men of learning and gravity, and that they which were the doers and stirrers of such things, did nothing else but betray the slenderness of their cause, and their own vanities: I was so far off, by this my humble complaint, from doing any good at all, that I was enforced to hear such rebukes, checks, and taunts for my labour, as no person of any honesty, without blushing, could abide to hear the like spoken of a most vile varlet, against a most wretched ruffian.

"At the first beginning of the disputation, when I should have confirmed mine answer to the first proposition in few words (and that after the manner and law of schools); afore I could make an end of my first probation, which was not very long, even the doctors themselves cried out, 'He speaketh blasphemies! he speaketh blasphemies!' And when I on my knees besought them, and that heartily, that they would vouchsafe to hear me to the end (whereat the prolocutor, being moved, cried out on high, 'Let him read it! let him read it!'): yet, when I began to read again, there followed immediately such shouting, such a noise and tumult, such confusion of voices, crying, 'Blasphemies! blasphemies!' as I, to my remembrance, never heard or read the like; except it be that one, which was in the Acts of the Apostles, stirred up of Demetrius the silversmith, and others of his occupation, crying out against Paul, 'Great is Diana of the Ephesians! great is Diana of the Ephesians!' And except it be a certain disputation which the Arians had against the orthodox, and such as were of godly judgment in Africa; where, it is said, that such as the president and rulers of the disputation were, such was the end of the disputations:

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all were in a hurly-burly; and so great were the slanders which the Arians cast out, that nothing could quietly be heard. This writeth Victor, in the second book of his history.

"The which cries and tumults of them against me so prevailed, that, will I, nill I, I was enforced to leave off the reading of my probations, although they were short. If any man doubt of the truth hereof, let the same ask any one that was there, and not utterly perverted in popery; and I am assured he will say, I spake the least. But, to complain of these things further, I will cease."

And further, speaking of this disputation, he concludeth with these words:

"And thus was ended this most glorious disputation of the most holy fathers, sacrificers, doctors, and masters; which fought most manfully, as ye may see, for their God and goods, for their faith and felicity, for their country and kitchen, for their beauty and belly, with triumphant applauses, and favour of the whole university."

After the disputation of Master Latimer ended, which was the eighteenth of April; the Friday following, which was the twentieth of the said month, the commissioners sat in St. Mary's church, as they did the Saturday before, and Dr. Weston used particularly dissuasions with every one of them, and would not suffer them to answer in any wise, but directly and peremptorily, as his words were, to say whether they would subscribe, or no. And first to the archbishop of Canterbury, he said, he was overcome in disputations. To whom the archbishop answered, that whereas Dr. Weston said, he hath answered and opposed, and could neither maintain his own errors, nor impugn the verity; all that he said was false. For he was not suffered to oppose as he would, nor could answer as he was required, unless he would have brawled with them; so thick their reasons came one after another. Ever four or five did interrupt him, that he could not speak. Master Ridley and Master Latimer were asked what they would do: they replied, that they would stand to that they had said. Then were they all called together, and sentence read over them, that they were no members of the church: and therefore they, their supporters and patrons, were condemned as heretics. And in reading of it, they were asked, whether they would turn or no: and they bade them read on in the name of God; for they were not minded to turn. So they were condemned all three.

After which, sentence of condemnation being awarded against them, they answered again every one in his turn, in manner and effect of words, as followeth: the archbishop first beginning thus:

The archbishop of Canterbury.—"From this your judgment and sentence, I appeal to the just judgment of God Almighty; trusting to be present with him in heaven, for whose presence in the altar I am thus condemned."

Dr. Ridley.—"Although I be not of your company, yet doubt I not but my name is written in another place, whither this sentence will send us sooner, than we should by the course of nature have come."

Master Latimer.—"I thank God most heartily, that he hath prolonged my life to this end, that I may in this case glorify God by that kind of death."

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Dr. Weston to Latimer.—"If you go to heaven in this faith, then I will never come thither, as I am thus persuaded."

After the sentence pronounced, they were separated one from another; videlicet, the archbishop was returned to Bocardo, Dr. Ridley was carried to the sheriff's house, Master Latimer to the bailiff's.

On Saturday following, they had a mass with a general procession and great solemnity. Dr. Cranmer was caused to behold the procession out of Bocardo; Dr. Ridley out of the sheriff's house; Latimer also, being brought to see it from the bailiff's house, thought that he should have gone to burning, and spake to one Augustine Cooper, a catchpole, to make a quick fire. But when he came to Carfax, and saw the matter, he ran as fast as his old bones would carry him, to one Spenser's shop, and would not look towards it. Last of all, Dr. Weston carried the sacrament, and four doctors carried the canopy over him. Immediately after the sentence was given, Dr. Ridley writeth to the prolocutor in manner as followeth.

"Master Prolocutor, you remember, I am sure, how you promised me openly in the schools, after my protestation, that I should see how my answers were there taken and written of the notaries whom ye appointed (*me fateor neminem recusare*) to write what should be said, and to have had licence to have added unto them, or to have altered them, as upon more deliberation should have seemed me best. Ye granted me also at the delivery of my answer unto your first proposition, a copy of the same:—these promises are not performed. If your sudden departure be any part of the cause thereof, yet I pray you remember that they may be performed; for performance of promise is to be looked for at a righteous judge's hands. Now I send you here my answers in writing to your second and third propositions, and do desire and require earnestly a copy of the same; and I shall, by God's grace, procure the pains of the writer to be paid for, and satisfied accordingly. Master Prolocutor, in the time of my answering in the schools, when I would have confirmed my sayings with authorities and reasons, ye said then openly, that I should have time and place, to say and bring whatsoever I could, another time, and the same your saying was then and there confirmed of other of the commissioners: yea, and (I dare say) the audience also thought then, that I should have had another day, to have brought and said what I could, for the declaration and confirmation of mine assertions. Now that this was not done, but so suddenly sentence given, before the cause was perfectly heard, I cannot but marvel at it all; and the due reformation of all things which are amiss, I commit to Almighty God my heavenly Father, who, by his dear Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, whom he hath made the universal judge of all flesh, shall truly and righteously judge both you and me."

On Monday next ensuing, after these things done and past, being the twenty-third of the said month of April, Dr. Weston, prolocutor, took his journey up to London, with the letters certificatory from the university unto the queen, by whom the archbishop of Canterbury directed his letters supplicatory unto the council. The which letters, after the prolocutor had received, and had carried them well-near half way to London, by the way he opened the same, and seeing the contents thereof, sent them back again, refusing to carry them, &c. Likewise Bishop Ridley, hearing of the prolocutor's going to London, writeth to him his letters, wherein he desireth him to carry his answers up to certain bishops in London, the form of which letters, first of Dr. Ridley,

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then of the archbishop, and lastly, another letter of Dr. Ridley to the archbishop, here in order followeth.

Another letter of Bishop Ridley to the prolocutor.

"Master Prolocutor, I desire you, and in God's name require you, that you truly bring forth and show all mine answers, written and subscribed with mine own hand, unto the higher house of the convocation, and especially to my lord chancellor, my lords of Durham, Ely, Worcester, Norwich, and Chichester; and also to show and exhibit this my writing unto them, which in these few lines here I write unto you. And that I did make this request unto you by this my writing, know ye that I did take witness of them by whom I send you this writing, and also of those which were then with them present; videlicet, the two bailiffs of Oxford—and of Master Irish, alderman, then there called to be a witness.

"By me Nicholas Ridley, the 13th of April, anno 1554."

The copy of the archbishop of Canterbury's letter to the council, sent by Dr. Weston, who refused to deliver it.

"In right humble wise sheweth unto your honourable Lordships Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury, beseeching the same to be a means for me unto the queen's Highness for her mercy and pardon. Some of you know by what means I was brought and trained unto the will of our late sovereign lord King Edward the Sixth, and what I spoke against the same; wherein I refer me to the reports of your honours and worships. Furthermore, this is to signify unto your Lordships, that upon Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday last past, were open disputations here in Oxford against me, Master Ridley, and Master Latimer, in three matters concerning the sacrament: first, of the real presence: secondly, of transubstantiation: and thirdly, of the sacrifice of the mass. Upon Monday, against me; upon Tuesday, against Dr. Ridley; and upon Wednesday, against Master Latimer. How the other two were ordered, I know not; for we were separated, so that none of us knoweth what the other said, nor how they were ordered. But as concerning myself, I can report. Dr. Chedsey was appointed to dispute against me, but the disputation was so confused, that I never knew the like; every man bringing forth what him liked without order: and such haste was made, that no answer could be suffered to be taken fully to any argument, before another brought a new argument. And in such weighty matters the disputation must needs be ended in one day, which can scanty be ended in three months. And when we had answered them, they would not appoint us one day to bring forth our proofs, that they might answer us, being required by me thereunto; whereas I myself have more to say, than can be well discussed, as I suppose, in twenty days. The means to resolve the truth, had been to have suffered us to answer fully to all that they could say; and then they again to answer us fully to all that we can say. But why they would not answer us, what other cause can there be, but that either they feared their matter, that they were not able to answer us, or else for some consideration they made such haste, not to seek the truth, but to condemn us, that it must be done in post-haste before the matters could be thoroughly heard—for in haste we were all three condemned of heresy. Thus much I thought good to signify unto your Lordships, that you may know the indifferent handling of matters, leaving the judgment thereof unto your wisdoms. And I beseech your Lordships, to remember me, a poor prisoner, unto the queen's Majesty; and I shall

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pray, as I do daily unto God, for the long preservation of your good Lordships in all godliness and felicity.

"April 23, 1554."

Bishop Ridley to Archbishop Cranmer.

"I wish ye might have seen these mine answers before I had delivered them, that ye might have corrected them. But, I trust, in the substance of the matter we do agree fully, both led by one Spirit of truth, and both walking after one rule of God's word. It is reported, that Serjeant Morgan, the chief justice of the Common Pleas, is gone mad. It is said also, that Justice Hales hath recanted, perverted by Dr. Moreman. Item, that Master Rogers, Dr. Crome, and Master Bradford shall he had to Cambridge, and there be disputed with, as we were here; and that the doctors of Oxford shall go likewise thither, as Cambridge men came hither. When ye have read mine answers, send them again to Austin, except ye will put any thing to them. I trust the day of our delivery out of all miseries, and of our entrance into perpetual rest, and into perpetual joy and felicity, draweth nigh: the Lord strengthen us with his mighty Spirit of grace!

"If you have not to write with, you must make your man your friend. And this bearer deserveth to be rewarded; so he may, and will do you pleasure. My man is trusty, but it grieveth both him and me, that when I send him with any thing to you, your man will not let him come up to see you, as he may to Master Latimer, and yours to me. I have a promise to see how my answers were written in the schools, but as yet I cannot come by it. Pray for me, I pray for you, and so shall I for you. The Lord have mercy of his church, and lighten the eyes of the magistrates, that God's extreme plagues light not on this realm of England!—Turn, or burn."

256. Other Things which Happened in this Realm, in this Tumultuous Time.

These disputations being thus discussed and ended, which were at Oxford in the month of April, as is aforesaid: now let us return again to the prosecuting of our story, touching other things likewise that happened in other parts of the realm, in this tumultuous time of Queen Mary. And because things that happened in that time were so many and divers, that it is hard to keep a perfect order in reciting them all—to the intent therefore to insert things left out before, or else to prosecute the same more at full, we have thought here a little to interrupt the order of time, (albeit not much,) returning again to the month of July the year before, viz. 1553. In the which month of July, I showed before, how the duke of Northumberland was apprehended by the guard, and brought to London by the earl of Arundel, and other lords and gentlemen appointed for that purpose, on St. James's day, (being the twenty-fifth of July,) and so to the Tower, where he remained.

These be the names of them that were committed to the Tower with the duke. First, the earl of Warwick, the earl of Huntingdon, Lord Ambrose Dudley and Lord Henry Dudley, Lord Hastings, who was delivered again the same night; Sir John Gates, Sir Henry Gates, Sir Andrew Dudley, Sir Thomas Palmer, and Dr. Sands, chancellor of Cambridge.

The twenty-sixth of July, the lord marquis of Northampton, the bishop of London, Lord Robert Dudley, and Sir Richard Corbet, were brought and committed to the Tower.

The twenty-seventh of July, the lord chief justice of England, and the Lord Mountacute, chief justice of the Common Pleas, were committed to the Tower.

On the Friday, being the twenty-eighth of July, the duke of Suffolk and Sir John Cheke were committed to the Tower.

The thirtieth of July, the Lord Russel was committed to the sheriff of London's custody.

The thirty-first of July, the earl of Rutland was committed to the Fleet.

On the same day, being Monday, the duke of Suffolk was delivered out of the Tower again. On Thursday the third of August, the queen entered into the city of London at Aldgate, and so to the Tower, where she remained seven days, and then removed to Richmond.

On Friday the fourth of August, Dr. Day was delivered out of the Fleet.

On Saturday the fifth of August, the Lord Ferrers was committed to the Tower, and the same day Dr. Bonner was delivered out of the Marshalsea. The same day at night, Dr. Coxe was committed to the Marshalsea, and one Master Edward Underhill to Newgate. Also the same day

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Dr. Tonsal and Stephen Gardiner were delivered out of the Tower, and Gardiner received into the queen's privy council, and made lord chancellor.

On Sunday the sixth of August, Henry Dudley, captain of the guard at Guines, who before had been sent to the French king by his cousin the duke of Northumberland, after the despatch of his ambassage with the French king, returned to Guines, and so was taken, and this day brought to the Tower.

On Monday the seventh of August, *Dirige* in Latin was sung within the Tower, by all the king's chapel, and the bishop of Winchester was chief minister; whereat was present the queen, with most part of the council.

On Tuesday the eighth of August, the king's body was brought to Westminster, and there buried; where Dr. Day, bishop of Chichester, preached. The same day a mass of Requiem was sung within the Tower, by the bishop of Winchester, who had on his mitre, and did all things as in times past was done; at which mass the queen was present.

On Thursday the duke of Norfolk came forth of the Tower, with whom the duchess of Somerset was also delivered this Thursday.

On Sunday the thirteenth of August, Dr. Bourn preached at Paul's Cross: of the which sermon read before.

In the week following, commandment was given throughout the city, that no apprentices should come to the sermon, nor bear any knife or dagger.

On the Wednesday, being the sixteenth of August, Master Bradford, Master Beacon, and Master Veron, were committed to the Tower: with whom

also Master Sampson should have been committed, and was sought for the same time at Master Elsing's house in Fleet Street, where Master Bradford was taken; and because he was not found, the bishop of Winchester fumed like a prelate, with the messenger.

On the Friday, being the eighteenth of August, the duke of Northumberland, the marquis of Northampton, and the earl of Warwick, were arraigned at Westminster, and there the same day condemned; the duke of Norfolk that day being the high judge.

On Saturday the nineteenth of August, Sir Andrew Dudley, Sir John Gates, Sir Henry Gates, and Sir Thomas Palmer, were arraigned at Westminster, and condemned the same day; the lord marquis of Winchester being high judge.

On that day a letter was sent unto Sir Henry Tirril, Anthony Brown and Edmund Brown, esquires, praying them to commit to ward all such as should contemn the queen's order of religion, or should keep themselves from church, there to remain until they be conformable, and to signify their names to the council.

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On Sunday the twentieth of August, Dr. Watson, the bishop of Winchester's chaplain, preached at Paul's Cross, at whose sermon were present the marquis of Winchester, the earl of Bedford, the earl of Pembroke, the Lord Rich, and two hundred of the guard with their halberts, lest the people should have made any stir against the preacher.

On Monday the twenty-first of August, the duke of Northumberland, the marquis of Northampton, Sir Andrew Dudley, Sir John Gates, and Sir Thomas Palmer, heard a mass within the Tower, and after mass they all five received the sacrament in one kind only, as in the popish time was used. On the which day also Queen Mary set forth a proclamation, signifying to the people, that she could not hide any longer the religion which she from her infancy had professed, &c.: inhibiting in the said proclamation, printing and preaching. The tenor thereof read before.

On the Tuesday, being the twenty-second of August, the duke of Northumberland, Sir John Gates, and Sir Thomas Palmer, were beheaded at the Tower Hill, as before is said. The same day certain noble personages heard mass within the Tower, and likewise after mass, received the sacrament in one kind.

On Sunday the twenty-seventh of August, Dr. Chedsey preached at Paul's Cross; and the same day the bishop of Canterbury, Sir Thomas Smith, and the dean of Paul's, were cited to appear the week following before the queen's commissioners, in the bishop's consistory within Paul's.

In this mean time it was noised abroad by running rumours falsely and craftily devised; either to stablish the credit of the mass, or else to bring Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, out of credit, that he, to curry favour with Queen Mary, should promise to say "Dirige mass," after the old custom, for King Edward, and that he had already said mass at Canterbury, &c. Wherefore, to stop the noise and slanders of those rumours, on the seventh of September, 1553, he set forth a letter, which was also printed, in purgation of himself, the copy of which letter here ensueth:

"As the devil, Christ's ancient adversary, is a liar, and the father of lies, even so hath he stirred up his servants and members to persecute Christ, and his true word and religion, with lying: which he ceaseth not to do most earnestly at this present time. For whereas the prince of famous memory, King Henry the Eighth, seeing the great abuses of the Latin mass, reformed some things therein in his lifetime, and after, our late sovereign lord King Edward the Sixth, took the same wholly away, for the manifold and great errors and abuses of the same, and restored in the place thereof Christ's holy supper, according to Christ's own institution, and as the apostles used the same in the primitive church; the devil goeth about now, by lying, to overthrow the Lord's supper again, and to restore his Latin satisfactory mass, a thing of his own invention and device. And to bring the same more easily to pass, some have abused the name of me, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, bruiting abroad, that I have set up the mass at Canterbury, and that I offered to say mass at the burial of our late sovereign prince King Edward the Sixth, and that I offered also to say mass before the queen's Highness, and at Paul's church, and I wot not where. And although I have been well exercised these twenty years to suffer and bear evil reports and lies, and have not been much grieved thereat, but have borne all things quietly; yet, when untrue reports and lies turn to the hinderance of God's truth, they are in no wise to be suffered.

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Wherefore, these be to signify unto the world, that it was not I that set up the mass at Canterbury, but it was a false, flattering, lying, and dissembling monk, which caused mass to be set up there without mine advice or counsel. And as for offering myself to say mass before the queen's Highness, or in any other place, I never did it; as her Grace well knoweth. But if her Grace will give me leave, I shall be ready to prove, against all that will say the contrary, that all that is contained in the Holy Communion, set out by the most innocent and godly prince King Edward the Sixth, in his high court of parliament, is conformable to that order which our Saviour Christ did both observe, and command to be observed; and which his apostles and the primitive church used many years:—whereas the mass, in many things, not only hath no foundation of Christ, his apostles, nor the primitive church, but is manifestly contrary to the same, and containeth many horrible abuses in it. And although many, either unlearned or malicious, do report, that Master Peter Martyr is unlearned, yet, if the queen's Highness will grant thereunto, I, with the said Master Peter Martyr, and other four or five, which I shall choose, will, by God's grace, take upon us to defend, not only the common prayers of the church, the ministration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies, but also all the doctrine and religion set out by our sovereign lord King Edward the Sixth, to be more pure, and according to God's word, than any other that hath been used in England these one thousand years: so that God's word may be judge, and that the reasons and proofs of both parties may be set out in writing, to the intent, as well that all the world may examine and judge thereon, as that no man shall start back from his writing. And whereas they boast of the faith, that hath been in the church these fifteen hundred years, we will join with them in this point; and that the same doctrine and usage is to be followed, which was in the church fifteen hundred years past: and we shall prove, that the order of the church, set out at this present in this realm by act of parliament, is the same that was used in the church fifteen hundred years past—and so shall they be never able to prove theirs."

The same Thursday, being the seventh of September, 1553, Lord Mountacute, chief justice, and the lord chief baron, were delivered out of the Tower.

The thirteenth of September, the reverend father, Master Hugh Latimer, was committed to the Tower.

The fourteenth of September, the archbishop of Canterbury was committed to the Tower.

The twenty-sixth of September, one Master Gray of Cambridge, called before him one Master Garth, for that he would not suffer a boy of Peterhouse to help him say mass in Pembroke hall; which was before any law was established for that behalf.

The queen came to the Tower of London upon the Thursday, the twenty-eighth of September. And, upon the Saturday following, she rode from the Tower through the city of London, where were made many pageants to receive her; and so she was triumphantly brought to Westminster to Whitehall.



Queen Mary's Coronation Procession

Upon the Sunday, being the first of October, 1553, the queen's Highness went from Whitehall to Westminster Abbey, accompanied with the most part of the nobility of this realm, namely these: the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Arundel, the earl of Shrewsbury, the marquis of Winchester, the earls of Derby, Bedford, Worcester, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Oxford, Sussex, Devonshire, Pembroke, the Lord Dacres of the north, Lord Ferrers, Lord Cobham, Lord Abergavenny, Lord Wentworth, Lord Scrope, Lord Riche, Lord Vaux, Lord Howard, Lord Connyers, Lord Morley, Lord Paget, and the Lord Willoughby, with other nobles, and all the ambassadors of divers countries, and the mayor of London, with all the aldermen. Also out of the Abbey, to receive her coming, came three silver crosses, and to the number of fourscore, or near upon, of singing men, all in very rich and gorgeous copes. Amongst whom was the dean of Westminster, and divers of her chaplains, which bare every one some ensign in their hands, and after them followed ten bishops, mitred all, and their crosier staves in their hands, and rich copes upon them every one. And in this order they returned from Westminster Hall before the queen to the Abbey, where she was crowned by Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester and lord chancellor of England. At the time of the coronation Dr. Day, bishop of Chichester, made a sermon to the queen's Majesty, and to the rest of the nobility.

Also there was a general pardon proclaimed within the Abbey at the same time of her coronation, out of which proclamation all the prisoners of the Tower and the Fleet were excepted, and sixty-two more; whereof Master Whitchurch and Master Grafton were two.

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The third of October, the vice-chancellor of Cambridge did challenge one Master Pierson, for that he ministered still the communion in his own parish, and did receive strangers of other parishes to the same, and would not say mass. Whereupon, within two days after, he was clean discharged from further ministering in his cure.

On the Wednesday following, the archbishop of York was committed to the Tower.

On Thursday, being the fifth of October, the queen rode to the parliament in her robes, and all the nobility with her, and when they were set in the parliament house, the bishop of Winchester made to them a solemn oration, and Serjeant Pollard was chosen speaker of the parliament. The same day the bishops of Lincoln, Hereford, and Chester, were discharged from the parliament and convocation.

Also, the tenth of October, the earl of Huntingdon was delivered out of the Tower.

On the Sunday after, being the fifteenth of October, Master Laurence Saunders preached at Allhallows in Bread Street in the morning; where he declared the abomination of the mass, with divers other matters, very notably and godly: whereof more shall be heard (by the Lord's leave) hereafter, when we come to his story. In which his doing, as he showed himself to be God's faithful minister, so is he sure not to be defrauded of God's faithful promise, who saith, Whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I confess before my Father in heaven. But about noon of the same day, he was sent for by the bishop of London, and from thence committed to the Marshalsea.

On the Sunday following, being the twentieth of October, Dr. Weston preached at Paul's Cross: who, in the beginning of his sermon, willed the people to pray for the souls departed, on this wise: "You shall pray for all them that be departed, that be neither in heaven, nor hell, but in a place not yet sufficiently purged to come to heaven, that they may be relieved by your devout prayers." He named the Lord's table an oyster-board. He said, that the catechism in Latin, lately set out, was abominable heresy, and likened the setters-out of the same catechism to Julian the apostate, and the book to a dialogue set out by the said Julian the apostate, wherein Christ and Pilate were the speakers; with many other things. Which sermon, with all the points thereof, Master Coverdale the same time learnedly confuted by writing; which remaineth yet in my hands to be seen.

In the week following began the disputations in the Convocation-house in Paul's church, whereof sufficient hath been before declared.

The twenty-sixth of October, the vice-chancellor of Cambridge went to Clare hall, and in the presence of Dr. Walker, displaced Dr. Madew, and placed Master Swynbourne in the mastership there, by force of the lord chancellor's letters; for that he was (as they termed it) *uxoratus*, that is, married.

The twenty-eighth of October, the papists in the King's college in Cambridge (not tarrying the making of any law, but of their blind zeal) had their whole service again in the Latin tongue; contrary to the law then in force.

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The last day of October, the vice-chancellor of Cambridge did sharply reprove and threaten one Master Throckold, for that he challenged the said vice-chancellor, who had suffered Master Bovell (contrary to the statutes then in force) quietly without punishment to depart, notwithstanding that he refused to swear to the supremacy of the queen, and the abrogation of the bishop of Rome.

The third of November the vice-chancellor sent for the curate of the Round church in Cambridge, commanding him not to minister any more in the English tongue; saying, he would have one uniform order of service throughout the town, and that in Latin, with mass: which was established the twelfth day of this month.

The sixth of November, Master Pollard preached at St. Michael's, and in his sermon approved purgatory.

The twenty-eighth of November, the archdeacon's official visited Hinton, where he gave in charge to present all such as did disturb the queen's proceedings, in letting the Latin service, the setting up of their altars, and saying of mass, or any part thereof: whereby it was easy to see, how these good fellows meant to proceed, having the law once on their side; that thus readily, against a manifest law, would attempt the punishment of any man.

The fifteenth of December there were two proclamations at London; the one for the repealing of certain acts made by King Edward, and for the setting up of the mass, for the twentieth of December then next following: the other was, that no man should interrupt any of those that would say mass.

The parliament beginning about the fifth of October, continued till the fifth of December. In the which parliament were dissolved as well all the statutes made of præmunire, in the time of King Henry the Eighth, &c., as also other laws and statutes concerning religion and administration of sacraments, decreed under King Edward the Sixth, as is partly above touched. In the which parliament moreover was appointed, the twentieth of December next ensuing, the same year 1553, that all the old form and manner of church service, used in the last year of King Henry, should now again be restored.

On new-year's even, being the last day of December, the lord marquis of Northampton was delivered out of the Tower.

About this time a priest of Canterbury said mass on the one day, and the next day after he came into the pulpit, and desired all the people to forgive him; for he said, he had betrayed Christ, not as Judas did, but as Peter did: and there made a long sermon against the mass.

The day after new-year's day, being the second of January, A. D. 1554, four ambassadors came into London from the emperor, and were honourably received. Their names were these: the counts of Egmont and Lalain, the lord of Courrieres, and the sieur de Nigry.

About this time a great number of new bishops, deans, &c., were chosen; more than were made at one time since the Conquest. Their names are these: Holyman, bishop of Bristol; Cotes,

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bishop of Chester; Hopton, bishop of Norwich; Bourn, bishop of Bath; White, bishop of Lincoln; Mores, bishop of Rochester; Morgan, bishop of St. David's; Poole, bishop of St. Asaph; Brookes, bishop of Gloucester; Moreman, coadjutor to the bishop of Exeter, and, after his decease, bishop of Exeter; Glyn, bishop of Bangor; Master Fecknam, dean of Paul's; Rainolds, dean of Bristol, with others.

The twelfth of January, the vice-chancellor of Cambridge called a congregation general, wherein amongst other things he showed, that the queen would have there a mass of the Holy Ghost upon the eighteenth of February then next following, for that it was her birthday; which was fulfilled the day appointed, and that very solemnly.

On the Saturday, being the thirteenth of January, Dr. Crome was committed to the Fleet. Also upon the Sunday following, one Master Addington was committed to the Tower. Also this same Sunday knowledge was given in the court openly by the bishop of Winchester, that the marriage between the queen's Majesty and the king of Spain was concluded; and the day following, being Monday, and the fifteenth of January, the mayor with the aldermen and certain commons were at the court; and there they were commanded by the lord chancellor to prepare the city ready to receive the said king of Spain; who declared unto them what a catholic, mighty, prudent, and wise prince the said king was, with many other commendations of him.

On the Saturday following, being the twentieth of January, the court of the first-fruits and tenths was dissolved.

On the Thursday at night following, the twenty-fifth of January, the lord marquis of Northampton was again committed to the Tower, and Sir Edward Warner with him; who were brought to the Tower by the mayor.

On the Saturday following, being the twenty-seventh of January, Justice Hales was committed to the Marshalsea, and the same day Master Rogers was committed to Newgate. On this Saturday, and the Sunday and Monday following, the Londoners prepared a number of soldiers (by the queen's commandment) to go into Kent against the commons: whereof were chief captains the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Arundel, Sir Henry Jerningham, Sir George Hayward, and ten other captains. Which soldiers when they came to Rochester bridge, where they should have set upon their enemies, most of them (as it is said) left their own captains, and came wholly to the Kentish men; and so the aforesaid captains returned to the court both void of men and victory, leaving behind them both six pieces of ordnance and treasure.

About the latter end of January, the duke of Suffolk with his brethren departed from his house at Shene, and took his voyage into Leicestershire. After whom was sent the earl of Huntingdon to take him and bring him to London, who proclaimed the said duke traitor, by the way as he rode.

And thus passing to the month of February, here is to be noted by way of story, that upon the fifteenth day of the said month, being Thursday, there were seen within the city of London, about nine of the clock in the forenoon, strange sights. There were seen two suns both shining at once, the one a pretty good way distant from the other. At the same time was also seen a rainbow

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turned contrary, and a great deal higher than hath been accustomed. The common standing of the rainbow is thus \cap , but this stood thus U, with the head downward, and the feet as it were upward. Both these sights were seen as well at Westminster, in Cheapside, and on the south side of Paul's, as in very many other places; and that by a great number of honest men. Also certain aldermen went out of the Guildhall, to behold the sight.

257. The Execution of The Kentish Rebels.



Execution of the Duke of Suffolk

As touching the rising of Master Wyat, with Sir William Cobham and others, in Kent, and their coming to London in the month of February; also of the queen's coming to Guildhall, and her oration there made; and after of the taking of the said Wyat and his company; likewise of the apprehension of the duke of Suffolk with his brother Lord John Gray; and, the next day after,

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of the beheading of the Lord Guildford and Lady Jane, which was the twelfth of February, and how the day before, which was the eleventh of the said month, Lord William Howard and Sir Edward Hastings were sent for the Lady Elizabeth; and how the same Sunday, Sir Henry Iseley, Master Culpepper, and Master Winter were committed to the Tower, the bishop of Winchester the same day (being the eleventh of February) preaching before the queen, and persuading her to use no mercy toward these Kentish men, but severe execution—all which was in the month of February; because most of these matters have been briefly touched before, or else may be found in other chronicles, I will cease to make any further story of them: having somewhat, notwithstanding, to declare touching the arraignment and death of the duke of Suffolk.

On Saturday, the seventeenth of February, the duke of Suffolk was arraigned at Westminster, and the same day condemned to die by his peers: the earl of Arundel was chief judge for this day.

On the Sunday following, the eighteenth of February, sessions was kept in London, which hath not before been kept on the Sunday.

On Monday, the nineteenth of February, the Lord Cobham's three sons, and four other men, were arraigned at Westminster: of which sons the youngest was condemned, whose name was Thomas, and the other two came not at the bar; and the other four were condemned.

On Tuesday, the twentieth of February, the Lord John Gray was arraigned at Westminster, and there condemned the same day; and other three men, whereof one was named Nailer.

On Wednesday, the twenty-first of February, the Lord Thomas Gray and Sir James Croft were brought through London to the Tower, with a number of horsemen.

On Thursday, the twenty-second of February, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton was committed to the Tower.

On Friday, the twenty-third of February, the duke of Suffolk was beheaded at the Tower Hill, the order of whose death here followeth.

The godly end and death of the duke of Suffolk, beheaded at Tower Hill.

On Friday the twenty-third of February, 1554, about nine of the clock in the forenoon, the Lord Henry Gray, duke of Suffolk, was brought forth of the Tower of London unto the scaffold on the Tower Hill, with a great company, &c.; and in his coming thither, there accompanied him Dr. Weston, as his ghostly father: notwithstanding, as it should seem, against the will of the said duke—for when the duke went up to the scaffold, the said Weston being on the left hand, pressed to go up with him. The duke with his hand put him down again off the stairs; and Weston, taking hold of the duke, forced him down likewise. And as they ascended the second time, the duke again put him down.

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Then Weston said, that it was the queen's pleasure he should so do. Wherewith the duke casting his hands abroad, ascended up the scaffold, and paused a pretty while after. And then he said:

"Masters, I have offended the queen and her laws, and thereby am justly condemned to die, and am willing to die, desiring all men to be obedient. And I pray God that this my death may be an en-sample to all men, beseeching you all to bear me witness, that I die in the faith of Christ, trusting to be saved by his blood only, and by no other trumpery, the which died for me, and for all them that truly repent, and stedfastly trust in him. And I do repent, desiring you all to pray to God for me; and that when you see my breath depart from me, you will pray to God that he may receive my soul."

And then he desired all men to forgive him, saying, that the queen had forgiven him.

Then Master Weston declared with a loud voice, that the queen's Majesty had forgiven him. With that divers of the standers-by said, with meetly good and audible voice: "Such forgiveness God send thee" (meaning Dr. Weston). Then the duke kneeled down upon his knees, and said the psalm, *Miserere mei Deus*, unto the end, holding up his hands, and looking up to heaven. And when he had ended the psalm, he said, *In manes tuus, Domine, commendo spiritum meum*, &c. Then he arose and stood up, and delivered his cap and his scarf unto the executioner.

Then the said executioner kneeled down, and asked the duke forgiveness. And the duke said, "God forgive thee, and I do: and when thou dost thine office, I pray thee do it well, and bring me out of this world quickly; and God have mercy to thee." Then stood there a man, and said, "My Lord, how shall I do for the money that you do owe me?" And the duke said, "Alas, good fellow! I pray thee trouble me not now; but go thy way to my officers." Then he knit a kercher about his face, and kneeled down and said, "Our Father which art in heaven," &c., unto the end. And then he said, "Christ have mercy upon me;" and laid down his head on the block, and the executioner took the axe, and, at the first chop, struck off his head, and held it up to the people, &c.

The same day a number of prisoners had their pardon, and came through the city with their halters about their necks. There were in number about two hundred.

On Saturday, the twenty-fourth of February, Sir William Sentlow was committed, as prisoner to the master of the horse, to be kept. This Sir William was at this time one of the Lady Elizabeth's gentlemen.

On Sunday, the twenty-fifth of February, Sir John Rogers was committed to the Tower.

In this week, all such priests within the diocese of London as were married, were divorced from their livings, and commanded to bring their wives within a fortnight, that they might be likewise divorced from them.—This the bishop did of his own power.

On the Tuesday in the same week, being the twenty-seventh of February, certain gentlemen of Kent were sent into Kent, to be executed there: their names were these, the two

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Mantels, two Knevets, and Bret. With these Master Rudston, also, and certain others were condemned, and should have been executed, but they had their pardon.

As touching the aforesaid Master Mantel the elder, here by the way is to be noted, that as he was led to execution, and at his first casting under the gallows, the rope brake. Then they would have had him recant the truth, and receive the sacrament of the altar (as they term it): and then, they said, he should have the queen's pardon. But Master Mantel, like a worthy gentleman, refused their serpentine counsel, and chose rather to die, than to have life for dishonouring of God.

Moreover, as touching the said Master Mantel, for that he was reported falsely to have fallen from the constancy of his profession; to clear himself thereof, and to reprove the sinister surmise of his recantation, he wrote this brief apology in purgation of himself, the copy whereof you shall hear.

The apology of Master Mantel the elder.

"Perceiving that already certain false reports are raised of me, concerning my answer in the behalf of my belief, while I was prisoner in the Tower of London, and considering how sore a matter it is to be an occasion of offence to any of those little ones that believe in Christ: I have thought it the duty of a Christian man, as near as I can, (with the truth,) to take away this offence. It pleased the queen's Majesty to send unto me Master Doctor Bourn, unto whom at the first meeting I acknowledged my faith in all points to agree with the four creeds, that is, the common creed, the creed of Nicene, *Quicunque vult*, and *Te Deum laudamus*.

"Further, as concerning confession and penance, I declare that I could be content to show unto any learned minister of Christ's church, any thing that troubled my conscience; and of such a man I would most willingly hear absolution pronounced.

"Touching the sacrament of the altar, (as he termed it,) I said that I believed Christ to be there present as the Holy Ghost meant, when these words were written, *Hoc en corpus meum*.

"Further, when this word would not satisfy, I desired him to consider, that I was a condemned man to die by a law, and that it was more meet for me to seek a readiness and preparation to death. And insomuch as I dissented not from him in any article of the Christian faith necessary to salvation, I desired him, for God's sake, no more to trouble me with such matters, as which to believe, is neither salvation; nor not to believe, damnation. He answered, that if I dissented but in the least matter from the catholic church, my soul was in great danger; therefore much more in this great matter—alleging this text, He that offendeth in the least of these, is guilty of them all.—Yea, quoth I, 'It is true of these commandments of God.' To this I desired him to consider, it was not my matter, nor could I in these matters keep disputation, nor minded so to do. And therefore, to take these few words for a full answer, that I not only in the matter of the sacrament, but also in all other matters of religion, believe as the holy catholic church of Christ (grounded upon the prophets and apostles) believeth. But upon this word 'church' we agreed not; for I took exception at the antichristian, popish church.

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"Then fell we in talk of the mass, wherein we agreed not; for I, both for the occasion of idolatry, and also the clear subversion of Christ's institution, thought it naught; and he, *e contra*, upon certain considerations supposed it good. I found fault that it was accounted a sacrifice propitiatory for sin, and at certain other applications of it. But he said, that it was not a propitiatory sacrifice for sin, (for the death of Christ only was that sacrifice,) and this but a commemoration of the same. 'Then, if ye think so, (certain blasphemous collects left out,) I could be content (were it not for offending my poor brethren that believe in Christ, which know not so much) to hear your mass.' 'See,' quoth he, how vain-glory toucheth you.' 'Not so, sir,' quoth I, 'I am not now, I thank God, in case to be vainglorious.'

"Then I found further fault with it, that it was not a communion. Yea,' saith he, one priest saying mass here, and another there, and the third in another place, &c., is a communion.' 'This agreeth scarcely with these words of Paul,' said I, 'Ye come not after a better manner, but after a worse.' 'Yea, and it is a communion too,' said he, 'when they come together. Now draweth on the time,' quoth he, 'that I must depart from you to the court, to say mass before the queen, and must signify unto her in what case I find you, and methinks I find you sore seduced.' Then I said, 'I pray you report the best; for I trust you find me not obstinate.' What shall I say? are ye content to hear mass, and to receive the sacrament in the mass?' 'I beseech you,' said I, 'signify unto her Majesty, that I am neither obstinate nor stubborn; for time and time and persuasion may alter me, but as yet my conscience is such, that I can neither hear mass, nor receive the sacrament after that sort.'—Thus, after certain requests made to the queen's Majesty concerning other matters, he departed.

"The next day he came to me again, and brought with him St. Cyprian's works; for so I had required him to do the day before, because I would see his sermon 'De Mortalitate.' He had in this book turned and interlined certain places, both concerning the church and the sacrament, which he willed me to read. I read as much as my time would serve, and at his next coming I said, that I was wholly of Cyprian's mind in the matter of the sacrament. Dr. Weston and Dr. Mallet came after to me, whom I answered much after that sort as I did the other. Dr. Weston brought in the place of St. Cyprian, *Panis iste non effigie sed nature mutatus*, &c. I asked of him how nature was taken in the Convocation-house, in the disputation upon the place of Theodoret.

"To be short, Dr. Bourn came often unto me, and I always said unto him, that I was not minded nor able to dispute in matters of religion: but I believed as the holy catholic church of Christ, grounded upon the prophets and apostles, doth believe: and namely in the matter of the sacrament, as the holy fathers, St. Cyprian and St. Augustine, do write and believed. And this answer, and none other, they had of me in effect: what words soever have been spread abroad of me, that I should be conformable to all things, &c. The truth is, I never heard mass nor received the sacrament during the time of my imprisonment.

"One time he willed me to be confessed. I said, 'I am content.' We kneeled down to pray together in a window. I began without 'Benedicite,' desiring him not to look, at my hand, for any superstitious particular enumeration of my sins. Therewith he was called away to the council; *et ego liberatus*. Thus much I bare only for my life, as God knoweth. If in this I have offended any Christian, from the bottom of my heart I ask them forgiveness. I trust God hath forgiven me, who

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knoweth that I durst never deny him before men, lest he should deny me before his heavenly Father.

"Thus I have left behind me, written with mine own hand, the effect of all the talk, especially of the worst that ever I granted unto, to the uttermost I can remember, as God knoweth. All the whole communication I have not written; for it were both too long, and too foolish, so to do. Now I beseech the living God, which hath received me to his mercy, and brought to pass that I die steadfast and undefiled in his truth, at utter defiance and detestation of all papistical and antichristian doctrine—I beseech him (I say) to keep and defend all his chosen, for his name's sake, from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, (that antichrist,) and from the assault of all his satellites. God's indignation is known: he will try and prove who be his. Amend your lives. Deny not Christ before men, lest he deny you before his heavenly Father. Fear not to lose your lives for him; for ye shall find them again. God hold his merciful hand over this realm, and avert the plagues imminent from the same! God save the queen, and send her knowledge in his truth, Amen! Pray, pray, pray, ye Christians, and comfort yourselves with the Scriptures.

"Written the second of March, anno 1554, by me Walter Mantel, prisoner, whom both God and the world have forgiven his offences. Amen."

And thus much concerning the purgation of Master Walter Mantel, who, if he had consented unto the queen, what time she sent Dr. Bourn unto him to deny his faith, it is not otherwise to be thought, but he had had his pardon, and escaped with life.

On Saturday, the third of March, Sir Gawen Carew and Master Gibbs were brought through London to the Tower with a company of horsemen.

In London, the seventeenth of March, every householder was commanded to appear before the alderman of his ward, and there were commanded, that they, their wives and servants, should prepare themselves to shrift, and receive the sacrament at Easter; and that neither they, nor any of them, should depart out of the city, until Easter was past.

On the Sunday following, being the eighteenth of March, the Lady Elizabeth, of whom mention was made before, the queen's sister, was brought to the Tower.

On Easter even, being the twenty-fourth of March, the lord marquis of Northampton, the Lord Cobham, and Sir William Cobham, were delivered out of the Tower.

The twenty-fifth day, (being Easter day,) in the morning, at St. Pancras in Cheap, the crucifix with the pix were taken out of the sepulchre, before the priest rose to the resurrection: so that when, after his accustomed manner, he put his hand into the sepulchre, and said very devoutly, *Surrexit; non est hic*,"—he found his words true, for he was not there indeed. Whereupon, being half dismayed, they consulted amongst themselves whom they thought to be likeliest to do this thing. In which debatement they remembered one Marsh, who, a little before, had been put from that parsonage because he was married, to whose charge they laid it. But when they could not prove it, being brought before the mayor, they then burdened him to have kept company with his wife, since that they were by commandment divorced. Whereto he

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answered, "that he thought the queen had done him wrong, to take from him both his living and his wife:" which words were then noted, and taken very grievously, and he and his wife were both committed to several compters, notwithstanding that he had been very sick.



A cat hanged in priest's dress

The eighth of April, there was a cat hanged upon a gallows at the cross in Cheap, apparelled like a priest ready to say mass, with a shaven crown. Her two fore-feet were tied over her head, with a round paper like a wafer-cake put between them: whereon arose great evil-will against the city of London; for the queen and the bishops were very angry withal. And therefore the same afternoon there was a proclamation, that whosoever could bring forth the party that did hang up the cat, should have twenty nobles, which reward was afterwards increased to twenty marks; but none could or would earn it.

As touching the first occasion of setting up this gallows in Cheapside, here is to be understood, that after the sermon of the bishop of Winchester, (above mentioned,) made before the queen for the strait execution of Wyat's soldiers; immediately upon the same, the thirteenth

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of February, were set up a great number of gallowses in divers places of the city; namely, two in Cheapside. one at Leaden-hall, one at Billingsgate, one at St. Magnus church, one in Smithfield, one in Fleet Street, four in Southwark, one at Aldgate, one at Bishopsgate, one at Aldersgate, one at Newgate, one at Ludgate, one at St. James's park corner, one at Cripplegate: all which gibbets and gallowses, to the number of twenty, there remained for terror of others, from the thirteenth of February till the fourth of June; and then, at the coming in of King Philip, were taken down.

The eleventh of April was Sir Thomas Wyatt beheaded and quartered at the Tower Hill, where he uttered these words touching the Lady Elizabeth, and the earl of Devonshire. "Concerning," said he, "what I have said of others in my examinations, to charge any others as partakers of my doings, I accuse neither my Lady Elizabeth's Grace, nor my Lord of Devonshire. I cannot accuse them, neither am I able to say, that to my knowledge they knew any thing of my rising." And when Dr. Weston told him, that his confession was otherwise before the council, he answered: "That which I said then, I said; but that which I say now, is true!"

On Tuesday, the seventeenth of April, Sir James Croft and Master Winter were brought to the Guildhall, with whom also, the same time, and to the same place, was brought Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, and there arraigned of treason, for that he was suspected to be of the conspiracy with the duke of Suffolk and the rest, against the queen: where he so learnedly and wisely behaved himself, (as well in clearing his own case, as also in opening such laws of the realm as were then alleged against him,) that the quest which was charged with this matter, could not in conscience but find him "not guilty:" for the which, the said twelve persons of the quest, being also substantial men of the city, were bound in the sum of five hundred pounds apiece to appear before the queen's council at a day appointed; there to answer such things as should be laid against them for his acquittal. This quest appeared accordingly before the council in the Star-chamber on Wednesday, being the twenty-fifth of April, and St. Mark's day. From whence, after certain questioning, they were committed to prison: Emanuel Lucas and Thomas Whetstone were committed to the Tower, and the other ten to the Fleet.

As concerning the condemnation of Thomas archbishop of Canterbury, of Doctor Ridley, and Master Latimer, which was the twentieth of this month of April, and also of their disputations, because we have said enough before, it shall not need now to bestow any further rehearsal thereof.

The Friday next following after the condemnation of them, (the twenty-seventh of April,) Lord Thomas Gray, the late duke of Suffolk's brother, was beheaded at Tower Hill.

On Saturday, the twenty-eighth of April, Sir James Croft and Master Winter were again brought to the Guildhall, where Sir James Croft was arraigned and condemned; and because the day was far spent, Master Winter was not arraigned.

On Thursday, the seventeenth of May, William Thomas was arraigned at the Guildhall, and there the same day condemned, who, the next day after, was hanged, drawn, and quartered. His accusation was, for conspiring the queen's death: which how true it was, I have not to say. This is certain, that he made a right godly end, and wrote many fruitful exhortations, letters, and sonnets, in the prison before his death.

258. Disputation of Bradford and Saunders at Cambridge.

In the month of May it was given out, and bruited abroad, that a solemn disputation should be holden at Cambridge, (as ye heard before in Master Ridley's letter.) between Master Bradford, Master Saunders, Master Rogers, and others of that side, and the doctors of both universities on the other side, like as had been in Oxford before, as you have heard. Whereupon the godly preachers who were in prison, having word thereof, albeit they were destitute of their books, neither were ignorant of the purpose of the adversaries, and how the cause was prejudiced before; also how the disputations were confusedly handled at Oxford: nevertheless, they thought not to refuse the offer of disputation, so that they might be quietly and indifferently heard. And therefore, wisely pondering the matter with themselves, by a public consent they directed out of prison a declaration of their mind by writing, the eighth of May. Wherein first, as touching the disputation, although they knew that they should do no good, where all things were so predetermined before; yet, nevertheless, they would not deny to dispute, so that the disputation might be either before the queen, or before the council, or before the parliament houses, or else if they might dispute by writing: for else, if the matter were brought to the doctors' handling in their own schools, they had sufficient proof they said, by the experience of Oxford, what little good would be done at Cambridge. And so consequently declaring the faith and doctrine of their religion, and exhorting the people withal to submit themselves with all patience and humility, either to the will or punishment of the higher powers, they appealed in the end from them to be their judges in this behalf; and so ended their protestation, the copy and contents whereof I thought not unfit here to be inserted.

A copy of a certain declaration drawn and sent abroad out of prison by Master Bradford, Master Saunders, and divers other godly preachers, concerning their disputation, and doctrine of their religion, as followeth:

"Because we hear that it is determined of the magistrates, and such as be in authority, especially of the clergy, to send us speedily out of the prisons of the King's Bench, the Fleet, the Marshalsea, and Newgate, where at this present we are, and of long time some of us have been, not as rebels, traitors, seditious persons, thieves, or transgressors of any laws of this realm, inhibitions, proclamations, or commandments of the queen's Highness, or of any of the council's, (God's name be praised therefore,) but alonely for the conscience we have to God, and his most holy word and truth, upon most certain knowledge:—because, we say, we hear that it is determined, we shall be sent to one of the universities of Cambridge or Oxford, there to dispute with such as are appointed in that behalf: in that we purpose not to dispute otherwise than by writing, except it may be before the queen's Highness and her council, or before the parliament houses; and therefore perchance it will be bruited abroad, that we are not able to maintain by the truth of God's word, and the consent of the true and catholic church of Christ, the doctrine we have generally and severally taught, and some of us have written and set forth; through which the godly and simple may be offended, and somewhat weakened: we have thought it our bounden

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duty now, while we may, by writing to publish and notify the causes why we will not dispute otherwise than is above-said, to prevent the offences which might come thereby:—

"First, Because it is evidently known unto the whole world; that the determinations of both the universities in matters of religion, especially wherein we should dispute, are directly against God's word, yea, against their own determinations in the time of our late sovereign lord and most godly prince, King Edward: and further it is known they be our open enemies, and have already condemned our causes, before any disputation had of the same.

"Secondly, Because the prelates and clergy do not seek either us or the verity, but our destruction and their glory. For if they had sought us, (as charity requireth,) then would they have called us forth hereabouts before their laws were so made, that frankly and without peril we might have spoken our consciences. Again, if they had sought for the verity, they would not have concluded of controversies before they had been disputed: so that it easily appeareth, that they seek their own glory and our destruction, and not us and the verity: and therefore we have good cause to refuse disputation, as a thing which shall not further prevail than to the setting forth of their glory, and the suppression of the verity.

"Thirdly, Because the censors and judges (as we hear who they be) are manifest enemies to the truth, and that which worse is, obstinate enemies, before whom pearls are not to be cast, by the commandment of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and by his own example. That they be such, their doings of late at Oxford, and in the Convocation-house in October last past, do most evidently declare.

"Fourthly, Because some of us have been in prison these eight or nine months, where we have had no books, no paper, no pen, no ink, or convenient place for study, we think we should do evil thus suddenly to descend into disputation with them, who may allege, as they list, the fathers and their testimonies; because our memories have not that which we have read so readily, as to reprove, when they shall report and wrest the authors to their purpose, or to bring forth that we may hate there for our advantage.

"Fifthly, Because in disputation we shall not be permitted to prosecute our arguments, but be stopt when we should speak; one saying this, another that, the third his mind, &c. As was done to the godly learned fathers, especially Dr. Ridley, at Oxford, who could not be permitted to declare his mind and meaning of the propositions, and had oftentimes half a dozen at once speaking against him, always letting him to prosecute his argument, and to answer accordingly: we will not speak of the hissing, scoffing, and taunting, which wonderfully then was used. If on this sort, and much worse, they handled these fathers, much more will they be shamelessly bold with us, if we should enter into disputation with them.

"Sixthly, Because the notaries, that shall receive and write the disputations, shall be of their appointment, and such as either do not or dare not favour the truth, and therefore must write either to please them, or else they themselves (the censors and judges we mean) at their pleasure will put to, and take from, that which is written by the notaries; who cannot, or must not, have in their custody that which they write, longer than the disputation endureth; as their doings at Oxford declare. No copy nor scroll could any man have, by their good will: for the censors and

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judges will have all delivered into their hands. Yea, if any man was seen there to write, as the report is, the same man was sent for, and his writings taken from him: so must the disputation serve only for the glory, not of God, but of the enemies of his truth.

"For these causes we all think it so necessary not to dispute with them, as, if we did dispute, we should do that which they desire and purposely seek, to promote the kingdom of antichrist, and to suppress (as much as may be) the truth. We will not speak of the offence that might come to the godly, when they should hear, by the report of our enemies, our answers and arguments framed (you may be sure) for their fantasies, to the slandering of the verity.

"Therefore we publish, and by this writing notify, unto the whole congregation and church of England, that for these aforesaid causes we will not dispute with them, otherwise than with the pen, unless it be before the queen's Highness and her council, or before the houses of the parliament, as is abovesaid. If they will write, we will answer, and by writing confirm and prove out of the infallible verity, even the very word of God, and by the testimony of the good and most ancient fathers in Christ's church, this our faith and every piece thereof, which hereafter we, in a sum, do write and send abroad purposely, that our good brethren and sisters in the Lord may know it. And, to seal up the same, we are ready, through God's help and grace, to give our lives to the halter or fire; or otherwise, as God shall appoint: humbly requiring, and in the bowels of our Saviour Jesus Christ beseeching, all that fear God, to behave themselves as obedient subjects to the queen's Highness and the superior powers, which are ordained of God under her; rather, after our example, to give their heads to the block, than in any point to rebel, or once to mutter against the Lord's anointed; we mean our sovereign lady Queen Mary: into whose heart we beseech the Lord of mercy plentifully to pour the wisdom and grace of his Holy Spirit, now and for ever. Amen!

"First, We confess and believe all the canonical books of the Old Testament, and all the books of the New Testament, to be the very true word of God, and to be written by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and are therefore to be heard accordingly, as the judge in all controversies and matters of religion.

"Secondly, We confess and believe, that the catholic church, which is the spouse of Christ, as a most obedient and loving wife, doth embrace and follow the doctrine of these books in all matters of religion; and therefore is she to be heard accordingly: so that those which will not hear this church thus following and obeying the word of her Husband, we account as heretics and schismatics, according to this saying, If he will not hear the church, let him be to thee as a heathen.

"Thirdly, we believe and confess all the articles of faith and doctrine set forth in the symbol of the apostles, which we commonly call the creed, and in the symbols of the councils of Nice, kept A. D. 324; of Constantinople, A. D. 384; of Ephesus, kept A. D. 432; of Chalcedon, kept A. D. 454; of Toledo, the first and fourth. Also in the symbols of Athanasius, Irenæus, Tertullian, and of Damasus, (which was about the year of our Lord 376,) we confess and believe (we say) the doctrine of the symbols generally and particularly; so that whosoever doth otherwise, we hold the same to err from the truth.

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"Fourthly, We believe and confess concerning justification, that as it cometh only from God's mercy through Christ, so it is perceived and had of none which be of years of discretion, otherwise than by faith only: which faith is not an opinion, but a certain persuasion wrought by the Holy Ghost in the mind and heart of man, through whom as the mind is illuminated, so the heart is supplied to submit itself to the will of God unfeignedly; and so sheweth forth an inherent righteousness, which is to be discerned, in the article of justification, from the righteousness which God endueth us withal, justifying us; although inseparably they go together. And this we do, not for curiosity or contention's sake, but for conscience' sake, that it might be quiet; which it can never be, if we confound without distinction forgiveness of sins, and Christ's justice imputed to us, with regeneration and inherent righteousness. By this we disallow the papistical doctrine of free-will, of works of supererogation, of merits, of the necessity of auricular confession, and satisfaction to God-ward.

"Fifthly, We confess and believe concerning the exterior service of God, that it ought to be according to the word of God: and therefore, in the congregation, all things public ought to be done in such a tongue as may be most to edify; and not in Latin, where the people understand not the same.

"Sixthly, We confess and believe that God only by Christ Jesus is to be prayed unto and called upon; and therefore we disallow invocation or prayer to saints departed this life.

"Seventhly, we confess and believe, that as a man departeth this life, so shall he be judged in the last day generally, and in the mean season is entered either into the state of the blessed for ever, or damned for ever; and therefore is either past all help, or else needs no help of any in this life. By reason whereof we affirm purgatory, masses of Scala cœli, trentals, and such suffrages as the popish church doth obtrude as necessary, to be the doctrine of antichrist.

"Eighthly, We confess and believe the sacraments of Christ, which be baptism and the Lord's supper, that they ought to be ministered according to the institution of Christ, concerning the substantial parts of them: and that they be no longer sacraments, than they be had in use, and used, to the end for which they were instituted.

"And here we plainly confess, that the mutilation of the Lord's supper, and the subtraction of the one kind from the lay people, is antichristian. And so is the doctrine of transubstantiation of the sacramental bread and wine after the words of consecration, as they be called. Item, the adoration of the sacrament with honour due unto God. [Item,] the reservation and carrying about of the same. Item, the mass to be a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and dead, or a work that pleaseth God.

"All these we believe and confess to be antichrist's doctrine: as is the inhibition of marriage as unlawful to any state. And we doubt not, by God's grace, but we shall be able to prove all our confessions here to be most true by the verity of God's word, and consent of the catholic church, which followeth, and hath followed, the governance of God's Spirit, and the judgment of his word.

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"And this, through the Lord's help, we will do, either in disputation by word, before the queen's Highness and her council, or before the parliament houses, of whom we doubt not but to be indifferently heard, or else with our pens, whensoever we shall be thereto, by them that have authority, required and commanded.

"In the mean season, as obedient subjects, we shall behave ourselves towards all that be in authority, and not cease to pray to God for them, that he would govern them all, generally and particularly, with the Spirit of wisdom and grace. And so we heartily desire and humbly pray all men to do, in no point consenting to any kind of rebellion or sedition against our sovereign lady the queen's Highness: but where they cannot obey, but they must disobey God, there to submit themselves with all patience and humility to suffer as the will and pleasure of the higher powers shall adjudge: as we are ready, through the goodness of the Lord, to suffer whatsoever they shall adjudge us unto, rather than we will consent to any doctrine contrary to this which we here confess; unless we shall be justly convinced thereof, either by writing or by word, before such judges as the queen's Highness and her council, or the parliament houses, shall appoint. For the universities and clergy have condemned our causes already by the bigger, but not by the better part, without all disputation of the same: and therefore most justly we may, and do, appeal from them to be our judges in this behalf, except it may be in writing; that to all men the matter may appear. The Lord of mercy endue us all with the Spirit of his truth, and grace of perseverance therein unto the end! Amen.

"The eighth day of May, A. D. 1554.

Robert St. David's; alias Robert Ferrar.

Glouc. Episcopus; alias John Hooper.

Rowland Taylor.

Edward Crome.

John Philpot.

John Rogers.

John Bradford.

Laurence Saunders.

John Wigorn, and

Edmund Laurence. J. P., and T. M."

"To these things abovesaid, do I, Miles Coverdale, late of Exon, consent and agree, with these mine afflicted brethren being prisoners (mine own hand)."

And thus much concerning this present declaration subscribed by these preachers; which was on the eighth of May.

259. Princess Elizabeth Imprisoned.

Furthermore, the nineteenth of the said month, the Lady Elizabeth, sister to the queen, was brought to the Tower, and committed to the custody of Sir John Williams, after Lord Williams of Thame; of whom her Highness was gently and courteously entreated; who afterward was had to Woodstock, and there committed to the keeping of Sir Henry Benifield, knight, of Oxborough in Norfolk; who, on the other side, both forgetting her estate, and his own duty, (as it is reported,) showed himself more hard and strait unto her, than either cause given of her part, or reason of his own part, would have led him, if either grace or wisdom in him might have seen before, what danger afterward might have ensued thereof. But herein have we to see and note, not so much the uncivil nature and disposition of that man, as the singular lenity and gracious mansuetude of that princess, who, after coming to her crown, showed herself so far from revenge of injuries taken, that whereas other monarchs have oftentimes requited less offences with loss of life, she hath scarce impaired any piece of his liberty or estimation, save only that he was restrained from coming to the court. And whereas some, peradventure, of her estate would here have used the bloody sword, her Majesty was contented with scarce a nipping word; only bidding him to repair home, and saying, "If we have any prisoner, whom we would have sharply and straitly kept, then we will send for you."

This virtuous and noble lady, in what fear she was the mean time, and in what peril greater than her fear, the Lord only best doth know: and, next, it is not unknown to herself, to whose secret intelligence I leave this matter further to be considered. This I may say, which every man may see; that it was not without a singular miracle of God that she could or did escape, in such a multitude of enemies, and grudge of minds so greatly exasperated against her; especially Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, whose head and devices were chiefly bent, as a bow, against that only person, to make her away: and no doubt would have brought it by some means to pass, had not the Lord prevented him with death; to preserve her life, to the preservation of this realm. Wherefore that is false which Dr. Story said in the parliament house, lamenting, as I heard say, "that when they went so much about the branches, they had not shot at the root herself." For why? They neither lacked their darts, or no good will, to shoot at the root, all they possibly might; but, what God's providence will have kept, it shall be kept, when all Dr. Stories have shot all their artillery in vain. But of this matter it is sufficient at this present, for of it we have to entreat more at large (the Lord willing) hereafter, in the story and life of Queen Elizabeth.

260. Marriage of Queen Mary and Philip of Spain. Further Actions to Re-Establish Papism

On the Friday following, being the twentieth of July, and St. Margaret's day, the prince of Spain landed at Southampton. The prince himself was the first that landed; who, immediately as he set foot upon the land, drew out his sword, and carried it naked in his hand a good pretty way.

Then met him, a little without the town, the mayor of Southampton with certain commoners, who delivered the keys of the town unto the prince, who removed his sword (naked as it was) out of his right into his left hand, and so received the keys of the mayor without any word speaking, or countenance of thankfulness; and after a while delivered the keys to the mayor again. At the town-gate met him the earl of Arundel and the Lord Williams, and so he was brought to his lodging.

On the Wednesday following, being St. James's day, and the twenty-fifth of July, Philip prince of Spain, and Mary queen of England, were married together solemnly in the cathedral church at Winchester, by the bishop of Winchester, in the presence of a great number of noblemen of both the realms. At the time of this marriage, the emperor's ambassador, being present, openly pronounced, that in consideration of that marriage the emperor had granted and given unto his son the kingdom of Naples, &c.

Whereupon, the first day of August following, there was a proclamation, that from that time forth the style of all manner of writings should be altered, and this following should be used:

"Philip and Mary, by the grace of God, king and queen of England, France, Naples, Jerusalem, and Ireland; defenders of the faith; princes of Spain and Sicily; archdukes of Austria; dukes of Milan, Burgundy, and Brabant; counts of Hapsburg, Flanders, and Tyrol."

Of this marriage as the papists chiefly seemed to be very glad, so divers of them, after divers studies, to show forth their inward affections, made interludes and pageants: some drew forth genealogies, deriving his pedigree from Edward the Third, and John of Gaunt; some made verses.

After the consummation of which marriage, they both removed from Winchester to sundry other places, and by easy journeys came to Windsor castle, where he was installed in the order of the garter, on Sunday the twelfth of August. At which time a herald took down the arms of England at Windsor, and in the place of them would have set up the arms of Spain, but he was commanded to set them up again by certain lords. From thence they both removed to Richmond, and from thence by water came to London, and landed at the bishop of Winchester's house, through which they passed, both, into Southwark park, and so to Southwark House, called Suffolk Place, where they lay that night, being the seventeenth of August.

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And the next day, being Saturday, and the eighteenth of August, the king and queen's Majesties rode from Suffolk Place (accompanied with a great number, as well of noblemen as gentlemen) through the city of London to Whitehall; and at London bridge, as he entered at the draw-bridge, was a vain great spectacle set up, two images representing two giants, the one named Chorinæus, and the other, Gogmagog, holding between them certain Latin verses, which for the vain ostentation of flattery I overpass.

And as they passed over the bridge, there were a number of ordnance shot off at the Tower, such as by old men's report the like hath not been heard or seen these one hundred years.

From London bridge they passed the conduit in Gracious Street, which was finely painted; and among other things, the nine worthies, whereof King Henry the Eighth was one. He was painted in harness, having in one hand a sword, and in the other hand a book, whereupon was written Verbum Dei; delivering the same book (as it were) to his son King Edward, who was painted in a corner by him.

But hereupon was no small matter made: for the bishop of Winchester, lord chancellor, sent for the painter, and not only called him knave, for painting a book in King Henry's hand, and specially for writing thereupon Verbum Dei, but also rank traitor and villain; saying to him that he should rather have put the book into the queen's hand, (who was also painted there,) for that she had reformed the church and religion, with other things, according to the pure and sincere word of God indeed.

The painter answered and said, that if he had known that had been the matter wherefore his Lordship sent for him, he could have remedied it, and not have troubled his Lordship.

The bishop answered and said, that it was the queen's Majesty's will and commandment, that he should send for him: and so, commanding him to wipe out the book and Verbum Dei too, he sent him home. So the painter departed; but, fearing lest he should leave some other part either of the book, or of Verbum Dei, in King Henry's hand, he wiped away a piece of his fingers withal!

Here I pass over and cut off other gaudes and pageants of pastime showed to him in passing through London, with the flattering verses set up in Latin; wherein were blazed out in one place the five Philips, as the five worthies of the world: Philip of Macedonia, Philip the emperor, Philip the bold, Philip the good, Philip prince of Spain and king of England.

In another poetry King Philip was resembled by an image representing Orpheus, and all English people resembled to brute and savage beasts following after Orpheus's harp, and dancing after King Philip's pipe—not that I reprehend the art of the Latin verses, which was fine and cunning, but that I pass over the matter, having other graver things in hand: and therefore pass over, also, the sight at Paul's church-side, of him that came down upon a rope tied to the battlements with his head before, neither staying himself with his hand nor foot; which shortly after cost him his life.

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But one thing by the way I cannot let pass, touching the young flourishing rood, newly set up against this present time to welcome King Philip into Paul's church. The setting up of which rood was this, and may make as good a pageant as the best: In the second year of Mary, Bonner in his royalty, and all his prebendaries about him in Paul's choir, the rood laid along upon the pavements, and also, the doors of Paul's being shut—the bishop with others said and sung divers prayers by the rood. That being done, they anointed the rood with oil in divers places; and, after the anointing, crept unto it, and kissed it.

After that, they took the said rood, and weighed him up, and set him in his old accustomed place; and all the while they were doing thereof, the whole choir sang *Te Deum*; and when that was ended, they rang the bells, not only for joy, but also for the notable and great fact they had done therein.

Not long after this, a merry fellow came into Paul's, and spied the rood with Mary and John new set up; whereto, among a great sort of people, he made a low courtesy, and said: "Sir, your Mastership is welcome to town. I had thought to have talked further with your Mastership, but that ye be here clothed in the queen's colours. I hope that ye be but a summer's bird, in that ye be dressed in white and green."

The prince thus being in the church of Paul's, after Dr. Harpsfield had finished his oration in Latin, set forward through Fleet Street, and so came to Whitehall, where he with the queen remained four days after; and from thence removed unto Richmond.

After this, all the lords had leave to depart into their countries, with strait commandment to bring all their harness and artillery into the Tower of London with all speed. Now remained there no English lord at the court but the bishop of Winchester. From Richmond they removed to Hampton Court, where the hall door within the court was continually shut, so that no man might enter, unless his errand were first known; which seemed strange to Englishmen that had not been used thereto.

About the eighth of September Bishop Bonner began his visitation, who charged six men in every parish to inquire, (according their oaths,) and to present before him the day after St. Matthew's day, being the twenty-second of September, all such persons as either had or should offend in any of his articles, which he had set forth to the number of thirty-seven; of the which visitation of Bonner I have somewhat more largely to entreat, after that first I shall overpass a few other things following in course of this present story.

The seventeenth of September was a proclamation in London, that all vagabonds and masterless men, as well strangers as Englishmen, should depart the city within five days; and straitly charging all innholders, victuallers, taverners, and alehouse-keepers, with all others that sell victuals, that they (after the said five days) should not sell any meat, drink, or any kind of victual to any servingman whatsoever, unless he brought a testimonial from his master to declare whose servant he was, and were in continual household with his said master; upon pain to run in danger of the law, if they offended herein.

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On the Sunday following, being the thirtieth of September, the bishop of Winchester, lord chancellor of England, preached at Paul's Cross, at whose sermon were present all the council that were at the court: namely, the marquis of Winchester, the earl of Arundel, Lord North, Sir Anthony Brown, Master Rochester, Master Walgrave, Master Englefield, Lord Fitzwater, and Secretary Peter; and the bishops of London, Durham, and Ely; which three sat under the bishop's arms. The gospel whereof he made his sermon, is written in Matt. xxii., where the Pharisees came unto Christ; and amongst them, one asked Christ which was the greatest commandment. Christ answered, Thou shalt love thy Lord God with all thy heart, &c., and thy neighbour as thyself; in these two are comprehended the law and the prophets.

After his long declaration of these words, speaking very much of love and charity, at last he had occasion, upon St. James's words, to speak of the true teachers, and of the false teachers; saying, that all the preachers almost in King Edward's time, preached nothing but voluptuousness, and filthy and blasphemous lies; affirming their doctrine to be that false doctrine whereof St. James speaketh; saying, that it was full of perverse zeal, earthly, full of discord and dissension, that the preachers aforementioned would report nothing truly, and that they taught, that it was lawful for a man to put away his wife for adultery, and marry another; and that if a man vowed to-day, he might break it to-morrow at his pleasure; with many other things which I omit. And when he spake of the sacrament, he said, that all the church from the beginning have confessed Christ's natural body to be in heaven, and here to be in the sacrament; and so concluded that matter. And then willed all men to say with Joseph's brethren, "We have all sinned against our brother:"—"and so," said he, "have I too." Then he declared what a noble king and queen we have, saying, that if he should go about to show that the king came hither for no necessity or need, and what he had brought with him, it should be superfluous, seeing it is evidently known, that he hath ten times as much as we are in hope and possession of; affirming him to be as wise, sober, gentle, and temperate a prince, as ever was in England; and if it were not so proved, then to take him for a false liar for his so saying: exhorting all men to make much of him, and to win him whilst we had him; and so should we also win all such as he hath brought with him. And so made an end.

On the Tuesday following, being the second of October, twenty carts came from Westminster, laden (as it was noised) with gold and silver, and certain of the guard with them through the city to the Tower, and there it was received in by a Spaniard, who was the king's treasurer, and had custody of it within the Tower. It was matted about with mats, and mailed in little bundles about two feet long, and almost half a foot thick; and in every cart were six of those bundles. What it was indeed, God knoweth; for it is to us uncertain.

About the same time, or a little before, upon Corpus Christi day, the procession being made in Smithfield, where, after the manner, the priest with his box went under the canopy, by chance there came by the way a certain simple man, named John Street, a joiner of Coleman Street, who, having some haste in his business, and finding no other way to pass through, by chance went under the canopy by the priest. The priest, seeing the man so to presume to come under the canopy, being belike afraid, and worse feared than hurt, for fear let his pix fall down. The poor man, being straightways apprehended, was had to the Compter, the priest accusing him unto the council as though he had conic to slay him; whereas the poor man (as himself hath since declared unto us) had no such thought ever in his mind. Then from the Compter he was had unto

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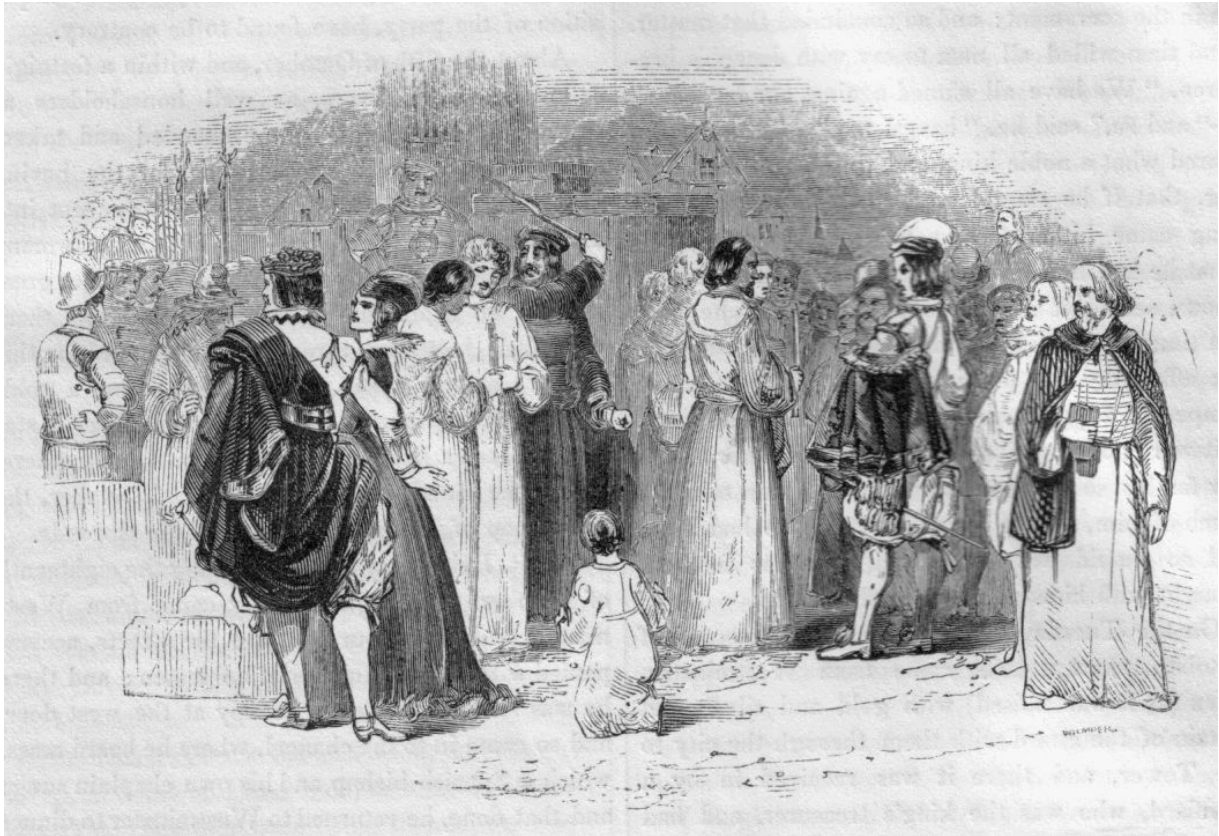
Newgate, where he was cast into the dungeon, there chained to a post; where he was cruelly and miserably handled, andso extremely dealt withal, that being but simple before, he was now feared out of his wits altogether, and so upon the same had to Bedlam. Whereupon the brief chronicle of London in this point is not to be credited, which untruly reported that he feigned himself in Newgate to be mad; which thing we, in writing of this history, by due inquisition of the party, have found to be contrary.

About the fifth of October, and within a fortnight following, were divers, as well householders as servants and apprentices, apprehended and taken, and committed to sundry prisons, for the having and selling of certain books which were sent into England by the preachers that fled into Germany and other countries; which books nipped a great number so near, that within one fortnight there were little less than threescore imprisoned for this matter: among whom was Master Brown a goldsmith, Master Spark a draper, Randal Tirer a stationer, Master Beston a merchant, with many others. On the Sunday, the fourteenth of October, the old bishop of Durham preached in the Shrouds.

On St. Luke's day following, being the eighteenth of October, the king's Majesty came from Westminster to Paul's church along the streets, accompanied with a great number of noblemen; and there he was received under a canopy at the west door, and so came in to the chancel, where he heard mass, which a Spanish bishop and his own chaplain sung: and that done, he returned to Westminster to dinner again.

On Friday, the twenty-sixth of October, certain men, whereof I spake before, who were of Master Throgmorton's quest, being in number eight (for the other four were delivered out of prison, for that they submitted themselves, and said they had offended—like weaklings, not considering truth to be truth; but of force for fear said so): these eight men, I say, whereof Master Emanuel Lucas and Master Whetstone were chief, were called before the council of the Star-chamber; where they all affirmed, that they had done all things in that matter according to their knowledge, and with good consciences; even as they should answer before God at the day of judgment. Where Master Lucas said openly before all the lords, that they had done in the matter like honest men, and true and faithful subjects; and therefore they humbly besought the lord chancellor, and the other lords, to be means to the king and queens Majesties that they might be discharged and set at liberty: and said, that they were all contented humbly to submit themselves to their Majesties, saving and reserving their truth, consciences, and honesty.—Some of the lords said, that they were worthy to pay a thousand pounds apiece; and others said, that Master Lucas and Master Whetstone were worthy to pay a thousand marks apiece, and the rest five hundred pounds apiece. In conclusion, sentence was given by the lord chancellor, that they should pay a thousand marks apiece; and that they should go to prison again, and there remain, till further order were taken for their punishment.

On Tuesday, being the thirtieth of October, the Lord John Gray was delivered out of the Tower, and set at liberty.



Priests doing penance for having taken wives

On Sunday, the fourth of November, five priests did penance at Paul's Cross, who were content to put away their wives, and take upon them again to minister. Every of them had a taper in his hand, and a rod, wherewith the preacher did disple them.

On Wednesday, the seventh of November, the Lord Paget, and Sir Edward Hastings, master of the horse, were sent as ambassadors, I know not whither; but, as it was adjudged, to Cardinal Pole, who lay all that summer before at Brussels: and it was thought they were sent to accompany and conduct him into England, whereas at that time he was nominated and appointed bishop of Canterbury.

On the Friday following, being the ninth of November, Master Barlow, late bishop of Bath, and Master Cardmaker, were brought before the council in the Star-chamber, where, after communication, they were commanded to the Fleet.

On the Saturday, the tenth of November, the sheriffs of London had commandment to take an inventory of every one of their goods who were of Master Throgmorton's quest, and to seal up their doors; which was done the same day. Master Whetstone, Master Lucas, and Master Kytely, were judged to pay a thousand pounds apiece, and the rest a thousand marks apiece, to be paid within a fortnight after. From this payment were exempted those four who confessed a fault,

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and submitted themselves; whose names are these, Master Loe, Master Poynter, Master Beswike, and Master Carter. Mention was made a little before, of the visitation of Edmund Bonner bishop of London, which began (as is said) about the month of September: for the better preparation whereof were set forth certain articles to the number of thirty-seven. These articles, partly for the tediousness of them, partly for that Master Bale in a certain treatise hath sufficiently painted out the same in their colours, partly also because I will not infect this book with them, I slip over, proceeding in the progress of this bishop in his visitation in the county of Essex; who, passing through the said county of Essex, being attended with divers worshipful of the shire, (for so they were commanded,) arrived at Stortford in Hertfordshire, where he rested certain days; solacing himself after that painful peregrination with no small feasting and banqueting with his attendants aforesaid, at the house of one Parsons his nephew, whose wife he commonly called his fair niece (and fair she was indeed). He took there great pleasure to hear her play upon the virginals, wherein she excelled; insomuch that every dinner (sitting by his sweet side) she arose and played three several times at his request, of his good and spiritual devotion towards her. These certain days thus passed in this bishoplike fashion, he proceeded in his popish visitation towards Hadham, his own house and parish, not past two miles from Stortford, being there most solemnly rung out, as in all other places where he passed. At length drawing near unto Hadham, when he heard no bells stirring there in honour of his holiness, he grew into some choler; and the nearer he approached, the hotter was his fit; and the quieter the bells were, the unquieter was his mood. Thus he rode on, chafing and fuming with himself. "What meaneth," saith he, "that knave the clerk, that he ringeth not? and the parson, that he meeteth me not?" with sundry other furious words of fiery element. There this patient prelate, coming to the town, alighted, calling for the key of the church, which was then all unready, for that (as they then pretended) he had prevented his time by two hours; whereupon he grew from choler to plain melancholy, so as no man willingly would deal with him to qualify the raging humour so far incorporated in his breast. At last, the church door being opened, the bishop entered, and finding no sacrament hanged up, nor rood-loft decked after the popish precept, (which had commanded about the same time a well-favoured rood, and of tall stature, universally in all churches to be set up,) curtailed his small devotions, and fell from all choler and melancholy to flat madness in the uttermost degree, swearing and raging with a hunting oath or two, and by no beggars, that in his own church, where he hoped to have seen best order, he found most disorder, to his Honour's most heavy discomfort, as he said; calling the parson (whose name was Dr. Bricket) knave, and heretic. Who there humbled himself, and yielded, as it were, to his fault, saying: He was sorry his Lordship was come before that he and his parish looked for him; and therefore could not do their duties to receive him accordingly. And as for those things lacking, he trusted in short time hereafter he should compass that, which hitherto he could not bring about. Therefore if it pleased his Lordship to come to his poor house, (where his dinner was prepared,) he would satisfy him in those things which his Lordship thought amiss. Yet this so reasonable an answer nothing could satisfy or assuage his passion unreasonable: for the catholic prelate utterly defied him and his cheer, commanding him out of his sight; saying, as his by-word was, "Before God, thou art a knave: avaunt, heretic!" and therewithal, whether thrusting or striking at him, so it was, that with his hand he gave Sir Thomas Jocelyn, knight, (who was then amongst the rest, and stood next the bishop,) a good flewet upon the upper part of the neck—even under his ear, as some say which stood by; but, as he himself said, he hit him full upon the ear: whereat he was somewhat astonished at the suddenness of the quarrel for that time. At last he spake and said, "What meaneth your

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Lordship? have you been trained in Will Sommers's school, to strike him that standeth next you?" The bishop still in rage either heard not, or would not hear.

Then Master Fecknam, dean of Paul's, seeing the bishop still in this bitter rage, said, "O Master Jocelyn! you must bear with my Lord; for truly his long imprisonment in the Marshalsea, and the misusing of him there, hath altered him, that in these passions he is not ruler of himself, nor it booteth any man to give him counsel until his heat be past; and then, assure yourself, Master Jocelyn, my Lord will be sorry for those abuses that now he cannot see in himself." Whereunto he merrily replied and said, "So it seems, Master Fecknam; for now that he is come forth of the Marshalsea, he is ready to go to Bedlam." At which merry conceit some laughed, and more smiled; because the nail was so truly hit upon the head. The bishop, nothing abashed at his own folly, gave a deaf ear; as no marvel it was that he shamed little to strike a stranger, who spared not the burning of so many good men.

After this worthy combat thus finished and achieved, this martial prelate presently taketh him to his horse again, notwithstanding he was minded to tarry at Hadham three or four days, and so had made provision in his own house; and, leaving his dinner, rode that night with a small company of his household to Ware, where he was not looked for till three days after, to the great wonder of all the country, why he so prevented his day aforestalled.

At this hasty posting-away of this bishop, his whole train of attendants there left him. Also his doctors and chaplains (a few excepted) tarried behind and dined at Dr. Bricket's as merrily, as he rode towards Ware all chafingly which dinner was prepared for the bishop himself. Now, whether the bishop were offended at those solemnities which he wanted, and was accustomed to be saluted withal in other places where he journeyed; joining to that, that his "great god" was not exalted aboveground over the altar, nor his "block almighty" set seemly in the rood-loft to entertain strangers, and thereupon took occasion to quarrel with Dr. Bricket, (whose religion perchance he somewhat suspected,) I have not perfectly to say: but so it was supposed of divers the cause thereof to rise, which drove the bishop so hastily from such a dinner.

A story of a rood set up in Lancashire.



IN this visitation of Bishop Bonner above mentioned, ye see how the bishop took on for not setting up the rood, and ringing the bells at Hadham. Ye heard also of the precept, which commanded in every parish a rood to be erected, both well favoured and of a tall stature. By the occasion whereof it cometh in mind (and not out of place) to story, likewise, what happened in a certain town in Lancashire near to Lancaster, called Cockram, where the parishioners and churchwardens, having the same time a like charge for the erecting of a rood in their parish church, had made their bargain, and were at a price with one that could cunningly carve and paint such idols, for the framing of their rood: who, according to his promise, made them one, and set it up in their church. This done, he demanded his money: but they, misliking his workmanship, refused to pay him; whereupon he arrested them, and the matter was brought before the mayor of Lancaster, who was a very meet man for such a purpose,

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and an old favourer of the gospel; which is rare in that country. Then the carver began to declare how they covenanted with him for the making of a rood with the appurtenances, ready carved and set up in their church, which he, according to his promise, had done; and now, demanding his money, they refused to pay him. "Is this true?" quoth the mayor to the wardens. "Yea, sir," said they. "And why do you not pay the poor man his due?" quoth he. "And it please you, Master Mayor," quoth they, "because the rood we had before was a well-favoured man; and he promised to make us such another: but this that he hath set us up now, is the worst-favoured thing that ever you set your eyes on; gaping and grinning in such sort, that none of our children dare once look him in the face, or come near him!" The mayor, thinking that it was good enough for that purpose if it had been worse—"My masters," quoth he, "howsoever the rood like you, the poor man's labour hath been never the less; and it is pity that he should have any hinderance or loss thereby: therefore I will tell you what you shall do. Pay him the money ye promised him, and go your ways home and look on it, and if it will not serve for a god, make no more ado, but clap a pair of horns on his head, and so he will make an excellent devil." This the parishioners took well in worth; the poor man had his money; and divers laughed well thereat—but so did not the Babylonish priests.

This mayor above-mentioned continued a protestant almost fifty years, and was the only reliever of Marsh the martyr (whose story followeth hereafter) with meat, drink, and lodging, while he lay in Lancaster castle, the space of three quarters of a year, before he was had to Chester to be burned.

About this time, or the month next before, which was October, there came a precept or mandate from Bonner, bishop of London, to all parsons and curates within his diocese, for the abolishing of such Scriptures and writings as had been painted upon church walls before, in King Edward's days. The copy of which precept or mandate here we thought good to express in their own style and words, that the world might see the wicked proceedings of their impious zeal, or rather their malicious rage against the Lord and his word, and against the edifying of Christian people: whereby it might appear, by this blotting out of Scriptures, not only how blasphemously they spake against the Holy Scriptures of God, but also how studiously they sought, by all manner of means, to keep the people still in ignorance.

A mandate of Bonner, bishop of London, to abolish the Scriptures and writings painted upon the church walls.

"Edmund, by God's permission bishop of London—to all and every parsons, vicars, clerks, and lettered, within the parish of Hadham, or within the precinct of our diocese of London, wheresoever being—sendeth greeting, grace, and benediction.

"Because some children of iniquity, given up to carnal desires and novelties, have by many ways enterprised to banish the ancient manner and order of the church, and to bring in and establish sects and heresies; taking from thence the picture of Christ, and many things besides instituted and observed of ancient time laudably in the same; placing in the room thereof such things, as in such a place it behoved them not to do; and also have procured, as a stay to their heresies, (as they thought,) certain Scriptures wrongly applied to be painted upon the church walls; all which persons tend chiefly to this end—that they might uphold the liberty of the flesh,

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and marriage of priests, and destroy, as much as lay in them, the reverent sacrament of the altar, and might extinguish and enervate holy-days, fasting days, and other laudable discipline of the catholic church; opening a window to all vices, and utterly closing up the way unto virtue: Wherefore we, being moved with a Christian zeal, judging that the premises are not to be longer suffered, do, for discharge of our duty, commit unto you jointly and severally, and by the tenor hereof do straitly charge and command you, that at the receipt hereof, with all speed convenient, you do warn, or cause to be warned, first, second, and third time, and peremptorily, all and singular churchwardens and parishioners whosoever, within our aforesaid diocese of London, (wheresoever any such Scriptures or paintings have been attempted,) that they abolish and extinguish such manner of Scriptures, so that by no means they be either read or seen; and therein to proceed, moreover, as they shall see good and laudable in this behalf. And if, after the said monition, the said churchwardens and parishioners shall be found remiss and negligent, or culpable, then you, jointly and severally, shall see the foresaid Scriptures to be rased, abolished, and extinguished forthwith; citing all and singular those churchwardens and parishioners, (whom we, also, for the same do cite here, by the tenor hereof,) that all and singular the churchwardens and parishioners, being slack and negligent, or culpable therein, shall appear before us, our vicar-general and principal official, or our commissary special, in our cathedral church of St. Paul at London, in the consistory there, at the hour appointed for the same, the sixth day next after their citation, if it be a court day, or else at the next court day after ensuing, where either we or our official or commissary shall sit: there to say and allege for themselves some reasonable cause, if they have or can tell of any, why they ought not to be excommunicated, or otherwise punished, for their such negligence, slackness, and fault; to say and to allege, and further to do and receive, as the law and reason requireth. And what you have done in the premises, do you certify us, or our vicar, principal official, and such our commissary, diligently and duly in all things, and through all things; or let him among you thus certify us, which hath taken upon him to execute this mandate: In witness whereof we have set our seals to these presents.

Dated in the bishop's palace at London, the twenty-fifth day of the month of October, in the year of our Lord 1554, and of our translation the sixteenth."

About this time the lord chancellor sent Master Christopherson unto the university of Cambridge, with these three articles, which he enjoined them to observe.

The first, that every scholar should wear his apparel according to his degree in the schools.

The second was touching the pronunciation of the Greek tongue.

The third, that every preacher there should declare the whole style of the king and queen in their sermons.

In this university of Cambridge, and also of Oxford, by reason of the bringing of these things, and especially for the alteration of religion, many good wits and learned men departed the universities: of whom, some of their own accord gave over, some were thrust out of their fellowships, some were miserably handled: insomuch that in Cambridge, in the college of St. John, there were four-and-twenty places void together, in whose rooms were taken in four-and-

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twenty others, who, neither in virtue nor in religion, seemed to answer to them before. And no less miserable was the state of Oxford, by reason of the time, and the strait dealing of the visitors, that, for setting forward their papistical proceedings, had no regard or respect to the forwardness of good wits, and the maintenance of good letters, beginning then more and more to flourish in that university.

And forasmuch as we have entered into the mention of Oxford, we may not pass over in silence the famous exhortation of Dr. Tresham, who, supplying the room of the sub-dean in Christ-church, after he had called all the students of the college together, with great eloquence and art persuasory, began to commend the dignity of the mass unto them; declaring, that there was stuff enough in the Scripture to prove the mass good. Then, to allure them to the catholic service of the church, he used these reasons—declaring that there were a company of goodly copes, that were appointed to Windsor; but he had found the queen so gracious unto him, that they should come to Christ-church. Now if they, like honest men, would come to church, they should wear them on holy-days. And besides all this, he would get them the lady bells of Hampton, and that should make the sweetest ring in all England. And as for a holy-water-sprinkle, he had already the fairest that was within the realm. Wherefore he thought that no man would be so mad, to forego these commodities, &c.

These things I rehearse, that it may appear what want of discretion is in the fathers of popery, and into what idle follies such men do fall; whom, I beseech the Lord, if it be his pleasure, to reduce to a better truth, and to open their eyes to see their own blindness.

To proceed now further in the course and race of our story where we left, being before in the month of November, it followeth more, that on the twelfth day of the same month of November, being Monday, began the parliament holden at Westminster, to the beginning whereof both the king and queen rode in their parliament robes, having two swords borne before them. The earl of Pembroke bare his sword, and the earl of Westmoreland bare the queen's. They had two caps of maintenance borne before them, whereof the earl of Arundel bare one, and the earl of Shrewsbury the other.

Cardinal Pole landed at Dover on Wednesday, the twenty-first of November; on which day one act passed in the parliament for his restitution in blood, utterly repealing as false and most slanderous, that act made against him in King Henry the Eighth's time; and on the next day, being Thursday, and the twenty-second of November, the king and the queen came both to the parliament house, to give their royal assent, and to establish this act against his coming.

On Saturday, being the twenty-fourth of November, the said cardinal came by water to London, and so to Lambeth House, which was ready prepared against his coming.

On the Wednesday following, being the twenty-eighth of November, there was a general procession in Paul's, for joy that the queen was conceived and quick with child, as it was declared in a letter sent from the council to the bishop of London.

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The same day were present at this procession ten bishops, with all the prebendaries of Paul's, and also the lord mayor with the aldermen, and a great number of commons of the city in their best array. The copy of the council's letter here followeth:—

"After our hearty commendations unto your good Lordship: whereas it hath pleased Almighty God, amongst other his infinite benefits of late most graciously poured upon us and this whole realm, to extend his benediction upon the queen's Majesty in such sort as she is conceived and quick of child: whereby (her Majesty being our natural liege lady, queen, and undoubted inheritor of this imperial crown) good hope of certain succession in the crown is given unto us, and consequently the great calamities, which, for want of such succession, might otherwise have fallen upon us and our posterity, shall, by God's grace, be well avoided, if we thankfully acknowledge this benefit of Almighty God, endeavouring ourselves with earnest repentance to thank, honour, and serve him, as we be most bounden: these be not only to advertise you of these good news, to be by you published in all places within your diocese, but also to pray and require you, that both yourself do give God thanks with us for this his especial grace, and also give order that thanks may be openly given by singing of *Te Deum* in all the churches within your said diocese; and that likewise all priests and other ecclesiastical ministers, in their masses, and other Divine services, may continually pray to Almighty God, so to extend his holy hand over her Majesty, the king's Highness, and this whole realm, as that this thing, being by his omnipotent power graciously thus begun, may by the same be well continued and brought to good effect, to the glory of his name. Whereunto, albeit we doubt not ye would of yourself have had special regard without these our letters, yet, for the earnest desire we have to have this thing done out of hand, and diligently continued, we have also written these our letters, to put you in remembrance; and so bid your Lordship most heartily well to fare.

"From Westminster the twenty-seventh of November, 1554.

"Your assured loving friends,

Stephen Winton. Cancel.

John Bathon.

Arundel.

R. Riche.

F. Shrewsbury.

Thomas Wharton.

Edward Darby.

John Huddilstone.

Henry Sussex.

R. Southwell."

Also the same day in the afternoon, Cardinal Pole came to the parliament house, which, at that present, was kept in the great chamber of the court at Whitehall, for that the queen was then sick, and could not go abroad; where the king and queen's Majesties, sitting under the cloth of state, and the cardinal sitting on the right hand, with all the other estates of the parliament being present, the bishop of Winchester, being lord chancellor, began in this manner:

"My Lords of the upper house, and you my Masters of the nether house, here is present the right reverend father in God my Lord Cardinal Pole, come from the apostolic see of Rome, as ambassador to the king and queen's Majesties, upon one of the weightiest causes that ever

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happened in this realm, and which pertaineth to the glory of God, and your universal benefit. The which ambassage, it is their Majesties' pleasure, that it be signified unto you all by his own mouth; trusting that you will receive and accept it in as benevolent and thankful wise, as their Highnesses have done, and that you will give an attent and inclinable ear unto him."

When the lord chancellor had thus ended his talk, the cardinal. taking the time then offered, began his oration, wherein he declared the causes of his coming, and what were his desires and requests. In the mean time the court gate was kept shut until he had made an end of his oration.

The tenor of Cardinal Pole's oration, made in the parliament house.

My Lords all, and you that are the commons of this present parliament assembled, (which, in effect, is nothing else but the state and body of the whole realm,) as the cause of my repair hither hath been most wisely and gravely declared by my Lord Chancellor, so, before that I enter to the particularities of my commission, I have somewhat touching myself, and to give most humble and hearty thanks to the king and queen's Majesties, and after them to you all, which of a man exiled and banished from this commonwealth, have restored me to be a member of the same, and of a man having no place either here, or elsewhere within this realm, have admitted me in a place, where to speak and to be heard. This I protest unto you all, that though I was exiled my native country without just cause, as God knoweth, yet the ingratitude could not pull from me the affection and desire that I had to profit and do you good. If the offer of my service might have been received, it was never to seek, and where that could not be taken, you never failed of my prayer, nor ever shall.

"But leaving the rehearsal thereof, and coming more near to the matter of my commission, I signify unto you all, that my principal travail is, for the restitution of this noble realm to the ancient nobility, and to declare unto you, that the see apostolic, from whence I come, hath a special respect to this realm above all others; and not without cause, seeing that God himself, as it were by providence, hath given this realm prerogative of nobility above all others; which to make more plain unto you, it is to be considered that this island, first of all islands, received the light of Christ's religion. For as stories testify, it was *prima provinciarum quæ amplexa est fidem Christi*.

"For the Britons, being first inhabitants of this realm, (notwithstanding the subjection of the emperors and heathen princes,) did receive Christ's faith from the apostolic see universally: and not in parts, as other countries; nor by one and one, as clocks increase their hours by distinction of times; but altogether at once, as it were in a moment. But after that their ill merits, or forgetfulness of God, had deserved expulsion, and that strangers, being infidels, had possessed this land, yet God of his goodness, not leaving where he once loved, so illuminated the hearts of the Saxons, being heathen men, that they forsook the darkness of heathen errors, and embraced the light of Christ's religion: so that within a small space idolatry and heathen superstition were utterly abandoned in this island.

"This was a great prerogative of nobility; the benefit whereof, though it be to be ascribed to God, yet the mean occasion of the same came from the Church of Rome, in the faith of which

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church we have ever since continued and consented with the rest of the world in unity of religion. And to show further the fervent devotion of the inhabitants of this island towards the Church of Rome, we read that divers princes in the Saxons' time, with great travail and expenses went personally to Rome, as Offa and Adulphus, who thought it not enough to show themselves obedient to the said see, unless that in their own persons they had gone to that same place from whence they had received so great a grace and benefit.

"In the time of Charlemagne, who first founded the university of Paris, he sent into England for Alcuinus, a great learned man, which first brought learning to that university; whereby it seemeth that the greatest part of the world fetched the light of religion from England.

"Adrian the Fourth, being an Englishman, converted Norway from infidelity; which Adrian afterwards, upon great affection and love that he bare to this realm, being his native country, gave to Henry the Second, king of England, the right and seignory of the dominion of Ireland, which pertained to the see of Rome.

"I will not rehearse the manifold benefit that this realm hath received from the apostolic see, nor how ready the same hath been to relieve us in all our necessities. Nor will I rehearse the manifold miseries and calamities that this realm hath suffered by swerving from that unity. And even as in this realm, so also in all other countries which, refusing the unity of the catholic faith, have followed fantastical doctrine, the like plagues have happened. Let Asia and the empire of Greece be a spectacle unto the world, which, by swerving from the unity of the Church of Rome, are brought into captivity and subjection of the Turk. All stories be full of like examples. And to come unto the later time, look upon our neighbours in Germany, who, by swerving from this unity, are miserably afflicted with diversity of sects, and divided into factions.

"What shall I rehearse unto you the tumults and effusion of blood that hath happened there of late days; or trouble you with the rehearsal of those plagues that have happened since this innovation of religion, whereof you have felt the bitterness, and I have heard the report? of all which matters I can say no more but—such was the misery of the time. And see how far forth this fury went. For those that live under the Turk, may freely live after their conscience; and so was it not lawful here.

"If men examine well upon what grounds these innovations began, they shall well find that the root of this, as of many other mischiefs, was avarice; and that the lust and carnal affection of one man confounded all laws, both Divine and human. And notwithstanding all these devices and policies practised within this realm against the Church of Rome, they needed not to have lost you, but that they thought rather as friends to reconcile you, than as enemies to infest you: for they wanted not great offers of the most mighty potentates in all Europe to have aided the church in that quarrel. Then mark the sequel: there seemed by these changes to rise a great face of riches and gain, which, in proof, came to great misery and lack. See how God then can confound the wisdom of the wise, and turn unjust policy to mere folly; and that thing which seemed to be done for relief, was cause of plain ruin and decay. Yet see that goodness of God, which at no time failed us, but most benignly offered his grace, when it was of our parts least sought and worse deserved.

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"And when all light of true religion seemed utterly extinct, the churches defaced, the altars overthrown, the ministers corrupted—even like as in a lamp, the light being covered, yet it is not quenched—even so, in a few remained the confession of Christ's faith; namely, in the breast of the queen's Excellency, of whom, to speak without adulation; the saying of the prophet may be verified, *Ecce quasi derelicta!*

"And see how miraculously God of his goodness preserved her Highness, contrary to the expectation of man, that when numbers conspired against her, and policies were devised to disinherit her, and armed power prepared to destroy her; yet she, being a virgin helpless, naked, and unarmed, prevailed, and had the victory of tyrants; which is not to be ascribed to any policy of man, but to the almighty great goodness and providence of God, to whom the honour is to be given: and therefore it may be said, *Da gloriam Deo*. For in man's judgment, on her Grace's part was nothing in appearance but despair.

"And yet for all these practices and devices of ill men, here you see her Grace established in her estate, being your lawful queen and governess, born among you; whom God hath appointed to reign over you for the restitution of true religion, and extirpation of all errors and sects. And to confirm her Grace the more strongly in this enterprise, lo! how the providence of God hath joined her in marriage with a prince of like religion, who, being a king of great might, armour, and force, yet useth towards you neither armour nor force, but seeketh you by the way of love and amity: in which respect great cause you have to give thanks to Almighty God, that hath sent you such a catholic sovereign. It shall he, therefore, your part again to love, obey, and serve them.

"And as it was a singular favour of God to conjoin them in marriage, so it is not to be doubted but that he shall send them issue, for the comfort and surety of this commonwealth.

"Of all princes in Europe, the emperor hath travailed most in the cause of religion, as it appeareth by his acts in Germany; yet haply, by some secret judgment of God, he hath not achieved the end: with whom in my journey hitherwards, I had conference touching my legation; whereof when we had understanding, he showed a great appearance of most earnest joy and gladness, saying, that it rejoiced him no less of the reconcilment of this realm unto Christian unity, than that his son was placed by marriage in the kingdom,—and most glad he was of all, that the occasion thereof should come by me, being an Englishman born, which is (as it were) to call home ourselves. I can well compare him to David, which, though he were a man elect of God, yet, for that he was contaminate with blood and war, he could not build the temple of Jerusalem, but left the finishing thereof to Solomon, who was *rex pacificus*. So may it be thought, that the appeasing of controversies of religion in Christianity, is not appointed to this emperor, but rather to his son, who shall perform the building that his father had begun. Which church cannot he perfectly builded, unless universally in all realms we adhere to one head, and do acknowledge him to be the vicar of God, and to have power from above: for all power is of God, according to the saying, *Non est potestas, nisi a Deo*. And therefore I consider that all power being in God, yet, for the conservation of quiet and godly life in the world, he hath derived that power from above into two parts here in earth; which is into the powers imperial and ecclesiastical. And these two powers, as they be several and distinct, so have they two several effects and operations: for secular princes, to whom the temporal sword is committed, be

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ministers of God to execute vengeance upon transgressors and evil livers, and to preserve the well-doers and innocents from injury and violence. Which power is represented in these two most excellent persons, the king and queen's Majesties here present, who have this power committed unto them immediately from God, without any superior in that behalf.

"The other power is of ministration, which is the power of the keys, and order in the ecclesiastical state, which is, by the authority of God's word, and examples of the apostles, and of all old holy fathers from Christ hitherto, attributed and given to the apostolic see of Rome by special prerogative: from which see, I am here deputed legate and ambassador. having full and ample commission from thence, and have the keys committed to my hands. I confess to you that I have the keys, not as mine own keys, but as the keys of him that sent me, and yet cannot open: not for want of power in me to give, but for certain impediments in you to receive, which must be taken away before my commission can take effect. This I protest before you, my commission is not of prejudice to any person. I come not to destroy, but to build: I come to reconcile, not to condemn: I am not come to compel, but to call again: I am not come to call any thing in question already done, but my commission is of grace and clemency, to such as will receive it. For touching all matters that be past, they shall be as things cast into the sea of forgetfulness.

"But the mean whereby you shall receive this benefit, is to revoke and repeal those laws and statutes, which be impediments, blocks, and bars, to the execution of my commission. For, like as I myself had neither place nor voice to speak here among you, but was in all respects a banished man, till such time as ye had repealed those laws that lay in my way; even so cannot you receive the benefit and grace offered from the apostolic see, until the abrogation of such laws, whereby you have disjoined and dissevered yourselves from the unity of Christ's church.

"It remaineth therefore that you, like true Christians and provident men, for the weal of your souls and bodies, ponder what is to be done in this so weighty a cause; and so to frame your acts and proceedings, as they may first tend to the glory of God, and next to the conservation of your commonwealth, surety, and quietness."

The next day after, the three estates assembled again in the great chamber of the court at Westminster; where the king and the queen's Majesties and the cardinal being present, they did exhibit (all kneeling on their knees) a supplication to their Highnesses, the tenor whereof ensueth.

"We, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons of this present parliament assembled—representing the whole body of the realm of England and dominions of the same, in our own names particularly, and also of the said body universally, in this supplication directed to your Majesties with most humble suit, that it may, by your gracious intercession and means, be exhibited to the most reverend father in God, the Lord Cardinal Pole, legate, sent especially hither from our most holy father Pope Julius the Third, and the see apostolic of Rome—do declare ourselves very sorry and repentant for the schism and disobedience committed in this realm and dominions of the same, against the said see apostolic, either by making, agreeing, or executing any laws, ordinances, or commandments, against the supremacy of the said see, or otherwise doing or speaking what might impugn the same: offering ourselves, and promising by this our supplication, that for a token and knowledge of our said repentance, we be, and shall be

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alway, ready, under and with the authority of your Majesties, to the uttermost of our power, to do that which shall be in us for the abrogation and repealing of the said laws and ordinances in this present parliament; as well for ourselves, as for the whole body whom we represent.

"Whereupon we most humbly beseech your Majesties, as persons undefiled in the offence of this body towards the said see, which nevertheless God, by his providence, hath made subject unto your Majesties, so to set forth this our most humble suit, that we may obtain from the see apostolic, by the said most reverend father, as well particularly as universally, absolution, release, and discharge from all danger of such censures and sentences, as by the laws of the church we be fallen in; and that we may, as children repentant, be received into the bosom and unity of Christ's church, so as this noble realm, with all the members thereof, may, in unity and perfect obedience to the see apostolic, and pope for the time being, serve God and your Majesties, to the furtherance and advancement of his honour and glory. Amen."

The supplication being read, the king and queen delivered the same unto the cardinal, who (perceiving the effects thereof to answer his expectation) did receive the same most gladly from their Majesties: and after he had in few words given thanks to God, and declared what great cause he had to rejoice above all others, that his coming from Rome into England had taken most happy success; he, by the pope's authority, did give them this absolution following.

"Our Lord Jesus Christ, which with his most precious blood hath redeemed and washed us from all our sins and iniquities, that he might purchase unto himself a glorious spouse without spot or wrinkle, and whom the Father hath appointed Head over all his church, he by his mercy absolve you! And we, by apostolic authority, (given unto us by the most holy lord Pope Julius the Third, his vicegerent in earth,) do absolve and deliver you, and every of you, with the whole realm and dominions thereof, from all heresy and schism, and from all and every judgment, censure, and pain, for that cause incurred; and also we do restore you again unto the unity of our mother the holy church, (as in our letters more plainly it shall appear,) in the name of the Father, of the Son. and of the Holy Ghost."

When all this was done, they went into the chapel, and there, singing Te Deum, with great solemnity declared the joy and gladness that for this reconciliation was pretended.

The report of this was with great speed sent unto Rome; as well by the king and cardinal's letters, which hereafter follow, as also otherwise; whereupon the pope caused there at Rome processions to be made, and thanks to be given to God with great joy, for the conversion of England to his church; and therefore, (praising the cardinal's diligence, and the devotion of the king and queen,) on Christmas even, by his bulls he set forth a general pardon to all such as did truly rejoice for the same.

A copy of King Philip's letter, written with his own hand to Pope Julius, touching the restoring of the realm of England: translated out of Spanish into English.

"Most holy father, I wrote yesterday unto Don John Maurique, that he should declare by word of mouth, or else write to your Holiness, in what good state the matter of religion stood in this realm, and of the submission to your Holiness, as to the chief. As this day, which is the feast

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of St. Andrew, late in the evening, we have done God that service, (to whose only goodness we must impute it, and to your Holiness, who have taken so great pain to gain these souls,) that this realm, with full and general consent of all them that represent the state, being very penitent for that was past, and well bent to what they come to do, submitted themselves to your Holiness, and to that holy see; whom, at the request of the queen and me, your legate did absolve. And forasmuch as the said Don John shall signify unto your Holiness all that passed in this matter, I will write no more thereof; but only that the queen and I, as most faithful and devout children of your Holiness, have received the greatest joy and comfort thereof that may be expressed with tongue: considering that, besides the service done to God hereby, it hath chanced, in the time of your Holiness, to place as it were in the lap of the holy and catholic church such a kingdom as this is. And therefore I think I cannot be thankful enough for that is done this day. And I trust in him, that your Holiness shall alway understand, that the holy see hath not had a more obedient son than I, nor more desirous to preserve and increase the authority of the same. God guide and prosper the most holy personage of your Holiness, as I desire.

"From London, the thirtieth of November, 1554.

"Your Holiness's most humble son, the king," &c.

Here followeth, likewise, the cardinal's letter to the said pope concerning the same matter.

"Those things which I wrote unto your Holiness of late, of that hope which I trusted would come to pass, that in short space this realm would be reduced to the unity of the church, and obedience of the apostolic see; though I did write then not without great cause, yet, nevertheless, I could not be void of all fear, not only for that difficulty which the minds of our countrymen did show, being so long alienated from the see apostolic, and for the old hatred which they had borne so many years to that name; but much more I feared, lest the first entry into the cause itself, should be put off by some other by-matter or convention coming betwixt. For the avoiding whereof, I made great means to the king and queen, which little needed; for their own godly forwardness, and earnest desire to bring the thing to pass, far surmounted my great and earnest expectation.

"This day in the evening, being St. Andrew's day, (who first brought his brother Peter to Christ,) it is come to pass by the providence of God, that this realm is reclaimed to give due obedience unto Peter's seat and your Holiness, by whose means it may be conjoined to Christ the Head, and to his body which is the church. The thing was done and concluded in parliament (the king and queen being present) with such full consent and great rejoicing, that incontinently after I had made my oration, and given the benediction, with a great joy and shout there was divers times said, "Amen, Amen." Which doth evidently declare, that that holy seed, although it hath been long oppressed, yet was not utterly quenched in them; which chiefly was declared in the nobility.

"Returning home to my house, these things I wrote unto your Holiness upon the sudden, rejoicing that I had so luckily brought to pass so weighty a matter by the Divine Providence, thinking to have sent my letters by the king's post, who (as it was said) should have departed shortly: but afterwards, changing my purpose, when I had determined to send one of my own men, I thought good to add thus much to my letters, for the ample gratulation and rejoicing at that good chance. Which thing, as it was right great gladness to me, through the event of the

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same (being itself very great, and so holy, so profitable to the whole church, so healthful to this my country which brought me forth, so honourable to the same which received me): so likewise I took no less rejoicing of the princes themselves, through whose virtue and godliness the matter did take success and perfection.

"Of how many and how great things may the church (which is the spouse of Christ, and our mother) make her account through those her children! O notable zeal of godliness! O ancient faith! which undoubtedly doth so manifestly appear in them both, that whoso seeth them, must needs (whether he will or no) say the same which the prophet spake of the first children of the church: 'These are the seed which the Lord hath blessed. This is the Lord's planting to glory in.' How holily did your Holiness with all your authority and earnest affection favour this marriage! which truly seemeth to express a great similitude of the highest King, which, being heir of the world, was sent down by his Father from the regal seat to be spouse and son of the Virgin, and by this means to comfort all mankind. For even so this king himself, the greatest heir of all men which are in the earth, leaving his father's kingdoms that are most great, is come into this little kingdom, and is become both the spouse and son of this virgin, (for he so behaveth himself as though he were a son, whereas indeed he is a husband,) that he might, as he hath in effect already performed, show himself an aider and helper to reconcile this people to Christ, and to his body, which is the church. Which things, seeing they are so, what may not our mother the church herself look for at his hands, that hath brought this to pass, to convert the hearts of the fathers towards their sons, and the unbelievers to the wisdom of the righteous? which virtue, truly, doth wonderfully shine in him. But the queen, which at that time, when your Holiness sent me legate unto her, did rise up as a rod of incense springing out of the trees of myrrh, and as frankincense out of the desert—she, I say, which a little before was forsaken of all men, how wonderfully doth she now shine! What a savour of myrrh and frankincense doth she give forth unto her people, who (as the prophet saith of the mother of Christ) brought forth, before she laboured; before she was delivered, brought forth a man-child! Whoever heard of such a thing, and who hath seen the like of this? Shall the earth bring forth in one day, or shall a whole nation be brought forth together? But she now hath brought forth a whole nation before the time of that delivery, whereof we are in most great hope.

"How great cause is given to us to rejoice! How great cause have we to give thanks to God's mercy, your Holiness, and the emperor's Majesty, which have been causers of so happy and so godly a marriage, by which we, being reconciled, are joined to God the Father, to Christ, and to the church! of the which although I cannot comprehend in words the joy that I have taken, yet I cannot keep silence of it. And to this my rejoicing, this was also joined, (which when I had perceived by the letters of the reverend archbishop of Cocenza, your Holiness's nuncio with the emperor's Majesty, brought me marvellous great gladness,) that your said Holiness began to restore to the ancient beauty those things, which, in the Church of Rome, through the corruption of times, were deformed; which truly, when it shall be finished, then indeed may we well cry out with the prophet, and speak unto your Holiness with these words 'Put off the stole of sorrow and vexation; and put on comeliness, which thou hast of God in everlasting glory. For thy name shall be named of God everlasting, peace of righteousness, and honour of godliness; and then it shall be said, Look about and see thy sons gathered together from the sun-rising to the going down of the same, rejoicing in the holy word.' There is nothing truly (to speak of thy children gathered together in the west, which prepare themselves to meet their mother) which they had rather see,

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than her apparelled (that I may use the words of the prophet) in that garment of righteousness, wherewith God adorned her in times past. This one thing remaineth: that your Holiness's joy, and the joy of all the universal church, may be perfected; which, together with us her unworthy children, ceaseth not to pray to God for it. The Almighty God preserve your Holiness long to continue in health, for the profit of his church!

"From London, the last of November, 1554,

"Your most humble servant,
REGINALD POLE, cardinal."

On the Sunday, the second of December, the bishop of Winchester, lord chancellor of England, preached at Paul's Cross, at which sermon was present the king and Cardinal Pole. He took for his theme this part of the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans, This also we know, the season, brethren, that we should now awake out of sleep; for now is our salvation nearer, than when we believed, &c. Some notes thereof, as they came to my hands, faithfully gathered, (as it appeareth by sundry copies,) I have here thought good to set forth.

First, he showed how the saying of St. Paul was verified upon the Gentiles, who had a long time slept in dark ignorance, not knowing God: "Therefore St. Paul," quoth he, "to stir up their heavy dulness, willed them to awake out of their long sleep, because their salvation was nearer, than when they believed."

In amplifying this matter, and comparing our times with theirs, he took occasion to declare what difference the Jewish sacraments had from those of the Christians, wherein he used these words:

"Even as the sacrament of the Jews did declare Christ to come, so do our sacraments declare Christ to be already come: but Christ to come, and Christ to be come, is not all one. For now that he is come, the Jews' sacraments be done away, and ours only remain, which declare that he is already come, and is nearer us, than he was to the fathers of the old law: for they had him but in signs, but we have him in the sacrament of the altar, even his very body. Wherefore now, also, it is time that we awake out of our sleep, who have slept, or rather dreamed, these twenty years past; as shall more easily appear by declaring at large some of the properties and effects of a sleep or a dream. And first, as men intending to sleep do separate themselves from company, and desire to be alone; even so have we separated ourselves from the see apostolic of Rome; and have been alone, no realm in Christendom like us.

"Secondly, as in sleep men dream sometimes of killing, sometimes of maiming, sometimes of drowning or burning, sometimes of such beastliness as I dare not name, but will spare your ears: so we have in this our sleep not only dreamed of beastliness, but we have done it indeed. For in this our sleep hath not one brother destroyed another? hath not half our money been wiped away at one time?—And again, those that would defend their conscience, were slain, and others also otherwise troubled; besides infinite other things, which you all know as well as I, whereof I report me to your own consciences. Further, in a man's sleep all his senses are stopped, so that he can neither see, smell, nor hear: even so, whereas the ceremonies of the church were instituted to move and stir up our senses, they being taken away, were not our senses (as ye would say) stopped, and we fast asleep? Moreover, when a man would gladly sleep, he will put

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out the candle, lest peradventure it may let his sleep, and awake him: so of late all such writers as did hold any thing with the apostolic see, were condemned, and forbidden to be read; and images (which were laymen's books) were cast down and broken.

"This sleep hath continued with us these twenty years, and we all that while without a head: for when King Henry did first take upon him to be head of the church, it was then no church at all. After whose death, King Edward (having over him governors and protectors which ruled as them listed) could not be head of the church, but was only a shadow or sign of a head: and, at length, it came to pass that we had no head at all; no, not so much as our two archbishops. For on the one side, the queen, being a woman, could not be head of the church; and on the other side, they both were convicted of one crime, and so deposed. Thus, while we desired to have a supreme head among us, it came to pass that we had no head at all. When the tumult was in the north, in the time of King Henry the Eighth, I am sure the king was determined to have given over the supremacy again to the pope: but the hour was not then come, and therefore it went not forward, lest some would have said, that he did it for fear.

"After this, Master Knevet and I were sent ambassadors unto the emperor, to desire him that he would be a mean between the pope's Holiness and the king, to bring the king to the obedience of the see of Rome: but the time was not yet come; for it might have been said, that it had been done for a civil policy. Again, in the beginning of King Edward's reign the matter was moved, but the time was not yet; for it would have been said, that the king (being but a child) had been bought and sold. Neither in the beginning of the queen's reign was the hour come; for it would have been said, that it was done in a time of weakness. Likewise when the king first came, if it had been done, they might have said it had been by force and violence. But now, even now, *hora est*, the hour is come, when nothing can be objected, but that it is the mere mercy and providence of God. Now hath the pope's Holiness, Pope Julius the Third, sent unto us this most reverend father, Cardinal Pole, an ambassador from his side. What to do? Not to revenge the injuries done by us against his Holiness, *sed benedicere maledicentibus*, to give his benediction to those that defamed and persecuted him.

"And that we may be the more meet to receive the said benediction, I shall desire you that we may alway acknowledge ourselves offenders against his Holiness—I do not exclude myself forth of the number. I will weep with them that weep, and rejoice with them that rejoice. And I shall desire you that we may defer the matter no longer; for now, the hour is come. The king and queen's Majesties have already restored our holy father the pope to his supremacy, and the three estates assembled in the parliament, representing the whole body of the realm, have also submitted themselves to his Holiness, and his successors for ever; wherefore let us not any longer stay. And even as St. Paul said to the Corinthians, that he was their father, so may the pope say, that he is our father: for we received our doctrine first from Rome—therefore he may challenge us as his own. We have all cause to rejoice, for his Holiness hath sent hither and prevented us, before we sought him: such care hath he for us. Therefore let us say, *Hæc est dies quam fecit Dominus, emullemus et lætemur in ea*: Rejoice in this day, which is of the Lord's working, that such a nobleman of birth is come, yea, such a holy father, (I mean, my Lord Cardinal Pole,) which can speak unto us as unto brethren, and not as unto strangers; who hath a long time been absent. And let us now awake, which so long have slept, and in our sleep have done so much naughtiness against the sacraments of Christ, denying the blessed sacrament of the

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altar, and pulled down the altar, which thing Luther himself would not do, but rather reproved them that did, examining them of their belief in Christ."

This was the sum of his sermon before his prayers, wherein he prayed first for the pope, Pope Julius the Third, with all his college of cardinals; the bishop of London, with the rest of that order. Then for the king and queen, and the nobility of this realm; and last, for the commons of the same, with the souls departed, lying in the pains of purgatory. This ended, the time being late, they began in Paul's to ring for their evening song, whereby the preacher could not be well heard, which caused him to make a short end of his clerkly sermon.

About this very time a post or messenger was sent from the whole parliament to the pope, to desire him to confirm and establish the sale of abbey-lands and chantry-lands; for the lords and the parliament would grant nothing in the pope's behalf, before their purchases were fully confirmed.

On the Thursday following, being the sixth of December, and St. Nicholas's day, all the whole convocation, both bishops and others, were sent for to Lambeth to the cardinal, who the same day forgave them all their perjuries, schisms, and heresies, and they all there kneeled down and received his absolution; and after an exhortation and gratulation for their conversion to the catholic church made by the cardinal, they departed.

On Wednesday, the twelfth of December, five of the eight men which lay in the Fleet, that were of Master Throgmorton's quest, were discharged, and set at liberty upon their fine paid, which was two hundred and twenty pounds apiece; and the other three put up a supplication, therein declaring, that their goods did not amount to the sum that they were appointed to pay; and so, upon that declaration paying forty pounds apiece, they were delivered out of prison upon St. Thomas's day before Christmas, being the twenty-first of December.

On the Saturday following, being the twenty-second of December, all the whole parliament had strict commandment, that none of them should depart into their country this Christmas, nor before the parliament were ended: which commandment was wonderful contrary to their expectations; for as well many of the lords, as also many of the inferior sort, had sent for their horses, and had them brought hither.

On the Friday following, being the twenty-eighth of December, and Childermas-day, the prince of Piedmont came to the court at Westminster.

On new-year's day the act of supremacy passed in the parliament. Also the same day at night was a great tumult between Spaniards and Englishmen at Westminster, whereof was like to have ensued great mischief through a Spanish friar, which got into the church and rung alarum. The occasion was about two loose women which were in the cloister of Westminster, with a sort of Spaniards, whereof, whilst some played the knaves with them, others did keep the entry of the cloister with dogs, in harness. In the mean time certain of the dean's men came into the cloister, and the Spaniards discharged their dogs at them, and hurt some of them. By and by the noise of this doing came into the streets, so that the whole town was up almost; but never a stroke was

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stricken. Notwithstanding, the noise of this doing with the dean's men, and also the ringing of the alarum, made much ado; and a great number also to be sore afraid.

261. John Bolton

A lamentable example of cruelty showed upon John Bolton, a man of Reading, imprisoned for the true testimony of a Christian conscience.

The Lent following the coronation of Queen Mary, which Lent was in the year 1554, there was a writing set upon the church-door at Reading in . Berkshire, containing matter against the mass, but the author thereof then, and a long time after, was unknown; although now certainly known to be indeed one John Moyer, who afterwards confessed the fact, recanted, and is now made minister. Great inquisition was in every place thereabouts, but nothing, as I said, could be found certainly. Amongst many others one John Bolton was suspected, who, being asked his mind of the mass, answered, that he took it to be against the word of God, and contumelious to Christ: upon which words, he was by the mayor, (whose name was Boyer, and by science a tanner,) with other officers, committed to the gaol about three weeks before Easter; where being kept by the space of a week or a fortnight, in the under prison or dungeon, afterwards he was had up to a chamber of the gaoler's, (whose name was Welch,) having his bed and other necessities to help himself withal, and so continued until Gardiner, the bishop of Winchester, came through the town with King Philip and Queen Mary, straight upon their marriage at Winchester.

Then the said bishop, hearing of the said John Bolton, sent for him to talk with him, persuading him, what he could, to relent from the truth. But he stood stedfast, and most boldly reproved the said bishop to his face, and replied most earnestly against his persuasions; whereby the bishop, being greatly moved, commanded that he should be had to prison again, there to be kept with bread and water, and nothing else: charging, further, that whosoever came to him should, in anywise, immediately be set by him. Well, John Bolton was, thereupon, carried again to the gaol and put into the dungeon, or under prison, where he was before; which is under the ground about twelve feet deep, compassed about with most thick walls, without any light saving only that which cometh down at the entry; but (which is the best) both above the head and under foot, it is boarded. And alas! to no purpose, (poor John Bolton might say,) for he was not suffered to walk any part therein, but was most cruelly stocked and chained, as hereafter followeth. In the same dungeon is a marvellous evil scent or odour, and the whole proportion most terrible to see. In the midst thereof is a huge pair of stocks, of a great height, wherein they did put both his hands and his feet; on the other side of the stocks, his legs were tied with a great chain of iron, being surely fastened to a great and mighty block unmovable. And hanging on this sort by the hands and feet, sometimes for a day and a night together, (his body not touching any part of the ground,) the gaoler often would ease him and loose his hands sometimes at night, but his feet he would keep in the stocks still, three or four whole days together. And, being in this woeful and most miserable case, the gaoler and his family would wickedly, in the night season, to trouble the good poor man, oftentimes cast squibs of fire into the dungeon, whereby his empty and careful head might be troubled with vain and fond fantasies; which came to pass, as hereafter shall be showed.

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Now his honest good neighbours, hearing of his perplexity, were not a little careful for him, and sent their benevolence liberally to him; such as wholesome meats and drinks to comfort his weak body, which always were either eaten up by the gaoler and his household, or else brought to the grate of the prison, and there given to dogs before his face: so cruel and unmerciful was this wicked gaoler. Whereby the said poor John Bolton was enforced (alas! the pity) to eat what cannot be named for hunger; some think for the space of six days, some think more, some less; but although how long the time is uncertain, yet, that he did it, is most true.

Thus was he in the lower prison just twelve months and ten weeks, having sometimes his hand and feet in the stocks; sometimes his feet only, sometimes neither; sometimes having checks, taunts, scornings, threatenings, and mockings; otherwhiles having meat; otherwhiles in loathsome extremity: until at last, with terrible torments, solitary sighings, lack of liberty, meat, drink, with such like, and also with eating that which nature most abhorreth, and what never was heard of before in any tyrant's days, he began, I say, at the last, to be full of ravings and strange fantasies, in such sort, that men took him as one without reason and distracted of mind. This being once known to Sir Francis Englefield, he, with his blood-thirsty brother the parson of Englefield, thought good to rid the prison of him; and so he was discharged.

It is not to be forgotten, amongst so many troubles, that in prison was laid awhile, for fornication, a collar-maker by his science; who, being of nature very tender, and feeling not one quarter of John Bolton's troubles and miserable torments, fell mad. And, through friendship of them that were more mad than he, liberty was given him to sit at the grate of the dungeon, to work for his living and to have the benefit of the light; which is (as prisoners say) no small benefit. This madman having his tools, that is to say an awl and a stretcher, and his liberty therewith, used the same almost to the destruction of his own wife and the said John Bolton. For she, coming to visit him, being great with child and thinking of no danger (poor woman) towards her, the wretched madman, ungraciously, thrust his awl in her body, and slew the little babe within her. And yet, not content therewith, but to increase his mischief more and more, he also with the same instrument did, in divers places, hurt the said John Bolton sitting in the stocks, to the great peril of his life, and no less danger of the same continually, while the said collar-maker remained in prison; as it appeareth evidently at this present upon his body, for them that list to see.

By such cruelty, and so greatly, was truth handled and whoredom maintained by this wicked gaoler, that the evil person could have liberty to do his mischief when he would, while the poor simple John Bolton (laid in for conscience' sake to God-ward) might not once have so much favour as to be free from the stocks, and to walk a little for his comfort. This is the truth of this story, approved by sufficient and credible testimonies, as well of the inhabitants of the said town of Reading, (whose letters, at this present, for the certification thereof we have to show, dated to us the twelfth day of May,) as also by the confirmation of the party himself on whom this cruelty was showed, being, although, through the same their extreme handling, weak and feeble, yet, God be praised! a man alive.

262. The Queen with Child

Ye heard a little before the council's letter sent to Bishop Bonner, signifying the good news of Queen Mary to be not only conceived, but also quick with child, which was in the month of November, the twenty-eighth day. Of this child great talk began at this time to rise in every man's mouth, with busy preparation, and much ado, especially amongst such as seemed in England to carry Spanish hearts in English bodies. In number of whom is here not to be forgotten, nor defrauded of his condign commendation for his worthy affection towards his prince and her issue, one Sir Richard Southwell, who, being the same time in the parliament house, when the lords were occupied in other affairs and matters of importance, suddenly starting up, for fulness of joy burst out in these words following: "Tush, my masters," quoth he, "what talk ye of these matters? I would have you take some order for our young master that is now coming into the world apace, lest he find us unprovided," &c. By the which words both of him, and also by the aforesaid letters of the council, and the common talk abroad, it may appear what an assured opinion was then conceived in men's heads of Queen Mary to be conceived and quick with child: insomuch that at the same time, and in the same parliament, there was eftsoons a bill exhibited, and an act made upon the same, the words whereof, for the more evidence, I thought good here to exemplify, as followeth.

Extract of an Act for the government of Queen Mary's issue.

"Albeit we, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in this present parliament assembled, have firm hope and confidence in the goodness of Almighty God, that like as he hath hitherto miraculously preserved the queen's Majesty from many great imminent perils and dangers; even so he will, of his infinite goodness, give her Highness strength, the rather by our continual prayers, to pass well the danger of deliverance of child, wherewith it hath pleased him (to all our great comforts) to bless her: yet forasmuch as all things of this world be uncertain. and having before our eyes the dolorous experience of the inconstant government, during the time of the reign of the late King Edward the Sixth, do plainly see the manifold inconveniences, great dangers and perils, that may ensue in this whole realm, if foresight be not used to prevent all evil chances, if they should happen: for the eschewing hereof, we, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in this present parliament assembled, for and in consideration of a most special trust and confidence that we have and repose in the king's Majesty, for and concerning the politic government, order, and administration of this realm in the time of the young years of the issue or issues of her Majesty's body to be born (if it should please God to call the queen's Highness out of this present life, during the tender years of such issue or issues; which God forbid)—according to such order and manner, as hereafter, in this present act, his Highness's most gracious pleasure is, should be declared and set forth, have made our humble suit, by the assent of the queen's Highness, that his Majesty would vouchsafe to accept and take upon him the rule, order, education, and government of the said issue or issues to be born, as is aforesaid: upon which our suit being of his said Majesty most graciously accepted, it hath pleased his Highness not only to declare, that like as for the most part his Majesty verily trusteth that Almighty God (who hath

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hitherto preserved the queen's Majesty, to give this realm so good a hope of certain succession in the blood royal of the same realm) will assist her Highness with his graces and benedictions, to see the fruit of her body well brought forth, live, and able to govern, (whereof neither all this realm, nay, all the world besides, should or could receive more comfort than his Majesty should and would,) yet, if such chance should happen, his Majesty at our humble desires is pleased and contented, not only to accept and take upon him the cure and charge of the education, rule, order, and government of such issues as of this most happy marriage shall be born between the queen's Highness and him; but also, during the time of such government, would, by all ways and means, study, travail, and employ himself to advance the weal both public and private of this realm and dominion thereunto belonging, according to the said trust in his Majesty reposed, with no less goodwill and affection, than if his Highness had been naturally born amongst us. In consideration whereof, be it enacted by the king and the queen's most excellent Majesties, by the assent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same," &c.

Thus much out of the act and statute I thought to rehearse, to the intent the reader may understand, not so much how parliaments may sometimes be deceived, (as by this child of Queen Mary may appear,) as rather what cause we Englishmen have to render most earnest thanks unto Almighty God, who so mercifully, against the opinion, expectation, and working of our adversaries, hath helped and delivered us in this case; which otherwise might have opened such a window to the Spaniards, to have entered and replenished this land, that peradventure, by this time, Englishmen should have enjoyed no great quiet in their own country. The Lord therefore make us perpetually mindful of his benefits! Amen.

Thus we see then how man doth purpose, but God disposeth as pleaseth him. For all this great labour, provision, and order taken in the parliament house for their young master long looked for, coming so surely into the world, in the end appeared neither young master, nor young mistress, that any man yet to this day can hear of. Furthermore, as the labour of the lay sort was herein deluded; so no less ridiculous it was to behold, what little effect the prayers of the pope's churchmen had with Almighty God, who travailed no less with their processions, masses, and collects, for the happy deliverance of this young master to come, as here followeth to be seen.

A prayer made by Dr. Weston, dean of Westminster, daily to be said for the queen's deliverance.—Out of Latin into English.

"O most righteous Lord God, which, for the offence of the first woman, has threatened unto all women, a common, sharp, and inevitable malediction, and hath enjoined them that they should conceive in sin, and, being conceived, should be subject to many and grievous torments; and finally, be delivered with the danger and jeopardy of their lives: we beseech thee for thine exceeding great goodness and bottomless mercy, to mitigate the strictness of that law. Assuage thine anger for a while, and cherish in the bosom of thy favour and mercy our most gracious Queen Mary, being now at the point to be delivered. So help her, that without danger of her life she may overcome the sorrow, and in due season bring forth a child, in body beautiful and comely, in mind noble and valiant. So that afterward, she, forgetting the trouble, may, with joy, laud and praise the bountifulness of thy mercy, and, together with us, praise and bless both thee and thy holy name, world without end. This, O Lord, we desire thee, we beseech thee, and most

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heartily crave of thee. Hear us, O Lord, and grant us our petition: let not the enemies of thy faith and of thy church say, 'Where is their God?'"

A solemn prayer made for King Philip and Queen Mary's child, that it may be a male child, well-favoured, and witty, &c.

"O most mighty Lord God, which regardest the prayer of the humble, and despisest not their request; bow down from thine high habitation of the heavens, the eyes of thy mercy unto us wretched sinners, bowing the knees of our hearts, and with many and deep sighs bewailing our sins and offences; humbly, with eyes intent and hands displayed, praying and beseeching thee, with the shield of thy protection, to defend Mary thy servant, and our queen, who hath none other helper but thee, and whom, through thy grace, thou hast willed to be conceived with child: and at the time of her travail graciously, with the help of thy right hand, deliver her; and from all danger, with the child in her conceived, mercifully preserve.

"It hath seemed good in thy sight, merciful Father, by thy servant Mary, to work these wonders; that is to say, in her hands to vanquish and overthrow the stout enemy, and to deliver us, thy people, out of the hands of heretics, infidels, enemies to thee and to the cross of thy beloved Son Jesus Christ; that of thy servant thou mightest speak in far countries. Therefore, for these wonderful works which thou dost to thy servants, thou art magnified, Lord God, for ever; and we thy people bless thee, the God of heaven, which hath wrought upon us this great mercy, and hath excluded from us the heretic, the enemy of truth, the persecutor of thy church. We know, we know, that we have grievously, Lord, sinned; that we have been deceived by vanity, and that we have forsaken thee our God. Our iniquities be multiplied on our head, and our sins be increased up to heaven: and we ourselves, having offended, and our princes and our priests, for these our sins have deserved a hypocrite to our prince; our sins have deserved a tyrant to our governor, that should bring our life to a bitterness. We be not worthy to have so gentle and merciful a queen, so godly a ruler, and finally, so virtuous a prince; at the very beginning of whose reign, a new light, as it were, of God's religion seemed to us for to spring and rise. The Jews did bless the widow Judith with one voice, saying, 'Thou art the glory of Jerusalem, thou art the joy of Israel, thou art the honour of our people, for that thou hast loved chastity; and thou shalt be blessed for ever.'

"And we, the English people, with one agreeable consent do cry: 'Thou Mary art the glory of England,' our joy, the honour of thy people; for that thou hast embraced chastity. Thine heart is strengthened, for the hand of our Lord hath comforted thee, and therefore thou shalt be blessed for ever. But bow down, O most merciful Father, thine ear, and open thine eyes, and behold our affliction, and our humble confession. Thou knowest, Lord, that against Philip, (not by human, but by thy ordinance, our king,) and against thy servant Mary, (by thy providence our queen,) the restorers and maintainers of thy testament of the faith, and most constant defenders of thy church: thou knowest, I say, that against these, our two governors, the enemies of thy holy Testament, and of the church thy spouse, be most rank rebels and spiteful murmurers, walking after their lusts; whose mouth speaketh words of pride, to the end they may set up the kingdom of heretics and schismatics. By the power of their hands they would change thy promises, and destroy thine inheritance, and stop and shut up the mouths of them that praise thee, and extinguish the glory of thy catholic church and altar.

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"It is manifest and plain, how many contentions, how many conspiracies and seditions, how great wars, what tumults, how many and how great troublesome vexations, how many heresies and schisms, (for these be the most ready devices and evident tokens of heretics,) for our sins do hang over us, if thy servant be taken from this life: for we acknowledge that our Lord is omnipotent, who hath pitched his dwelling-place in the midst of his people, to the intent to deliver us out of the hands of our enemies. Turn therefore thy countenance unto us, show unto us, O Lord, thy face. Punish us for our sins according to thy will and pleasure; only now deliver us. We, bowing the knees of our heart, beseech thee, that thou wilt not reserve unto us punishment for ever; and we shall praise thee all the days of our life. Hear our cry, and the prayer of thy people, and open to them the treasure of thy mercy, thy gracious favour, the spring of lively water. Thou that hast begun, make in the hand of thy servant a perfect work. Suffer not, we pray thee, the faithless rebels to say of thy servant and her councillors, that they have devised matters which they cannot perform. And grant unto thy servant a happy and an easy travail: for it is not impossible to thy power, nor indecent to thy justice, nor unwonted to thy mercy.

"It is well known unto us, how marvellously thou didst work in Sarah of the age of ninety years, and in Elizabeth, the barren, and also far stricken in age: for thy counsel is not in the power of men. Thou, Lord, that art the searcher of hearts and thoughts, thou knowest that thy servant never lusted after man, never gave herself to wanton company, nor made herself partaker with them that walk in lightness: but she consented to take a husband with thy fear, and not with her lust. Thou knowest that thy servant took a husband not for carnal pleasure, but only for the desire and love of posterity, wherein thy name might be blessed for ever and ever.

"Give therefore unto thy servants Philip our king and Mary our queen, a male issue, which may sit in the seat of thy kingdom. Give unto our queen thy servant a little infant, in fashion and body comely and beautiful, in pregnant wit notable and excellent. Grant the same to be in obedience like Abraham, in hospitality like Lot, in chastity and brotherly love like Joseph, in meekness and mildness like Moses, in strength and valour like Samson. Let him be found faithful as David after thy heart. Let him be wise among kings as the most wise Solomon. Let him be like Job, a simple and an upright man, fearing God and eschewing evil. Let him, finally, be garnished with the comeliness of all virtuous conditions, and in the same let him wax old and live, that he may see his children's children to the third and fourth generation. And give unto our sovereign lord and lady, King Philip and Queen Mary, thy blessings and long life upon earth; and grant that of them may come kings and queens, which may stedfastly continue in faith, love, and holiness. And blessed be their seed of our God, that all nations may know, thou art only God in all the earth, which art blessed for ever and ever: Amen!"

Another prayer for Queen Mary, and her conceived child.

"O Almighty Father, which didst sanctify the blessed Virgin and mother Mary in her conception, and in the birth of Christ our Saviour thine only Son; also, by thine omnipotent power, didst safely deliver the prophet Jonas out of the whale's belly: defend, O Lord, we beseech thee, thy servant Mary, our queen, with child conceived; and so visit her in and with thy godly gift of health, that not only the child thy creature, within her contained, may joyfully come from her into this world, and receive the blessed sacraments of baptism and confirmation, enjoying therewith daily increase of all princely and gracious gifts both of body and soul; but

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that also she, (the mother,) through thy special grace and mercy, may in time of her travail avoid all excessive dolour and pain, and abide perfect and sure from all peril and danger of death, with long and prosperous life, through Christ our Lord. Amen."

It followeth now further, in process of the story, that upon the Tuesday, being the tenth of January, nineteen of the lower house of the parliament, with the speaker, came to Whitehall to the king, and offered him the government of the realm and of the issue, if the queen should fail, which was confirmed by act of parliament within ten days after.

On Wednesday following, being the sixteenth of January, the parliament was clean dissolved. In this parliament, amongst other tidings, the bishop of Rome was established, and all such laws as were made against him since the twentieth year of King Henry the Eighth, were repealed, and also Cardinal Pole, Bishop Pates, Lilly, and others were restored to their blood. Also there was an act made for speaking of words; that whoever should speak any thing against the king or queen, or that might move any sedition or rebellion, at the first time to have one of his ears cut off, or to forfeit a hundred marks; and at the second time to have both his ears cut off, or else to forfeit a hundred pounds; and whosoever should write, cipher, or print any of the premises, to have their right hand cut off.

Also in this parliament three statutes were revived for trial of heresy; one made in the fifth year of Richard the Second: another in the second year of Henry the Fourth: and the third in the second year of Henry the Fifth. Also the doing of Master Rose, and the others that were with him, was commuted of in this parliament; and upon that occasion an act was made, that certain evil prayers should be treason against the queen's Highness. The prayers of these men were thus: "God turn the heart of Queen Mary from idolatry; or else shorten her days."

263. The Bow Congregation

Master Rose with thirty persons taken at a communion in Row Churchyard. Anno 1555.



ON new-year's day at night following, certain honest men and women of the city, to the number of thirty, and a minister with them named Master Rose, were taken as they were in a house in Bow Churchyard at the communion, and the same night they were all committed to prison. And on the Thursday following, being the third of January, Master Rose was before the bishop of Winchester, being lord chancellor; and from thence the same day he was committed to the Tower, after certain communication had between the bishop and him.

As touching the taking of Master Rose and his fellows, word was brought thereof to that godly man and dear martyr of God, Master Hooper, being then in the Fleet, in words as followeth.

A letter sent to Master Hooper, concerning the taking of a godly company in Bow Churchyard, at their prayer.

"My duty humbly remembered:—You hear, I know, of a godly company imprisoned, which were taken upon new-year night. Yet notwithstanding, forasmuch, perhaps, as you know not perfectly how nor wherefore, you shall understand that being upon their knees in ending of prayer, (wherein they gave God thanks, prayed for the magistrates and estates of the realm, and required things necessary at his bountiful hands,) two of my Lord Chancellor's men, as I am informed, came first into the chamber where they were, in Bow Churchyard; and, immediately afterwards, followed Master Sheriff with others, who commanded them all to stay, in the king's and queens Majesty's names: whereunto they humbly obeyed. For they came not thither weaponed, to conspire or make any tumult, but only like Christians, Christianly to pray, and to be instructed, in the vulgar tongue, by the reading and hearing of God's word; as their conscience did enforce them, without the displeasure of God, to do.

"For, as you well know, there is nothing so grievous to the patient in this world, as the gnawing and biting worm of a troubled conscience; being accused by God's law for the wilful transgression of the same. This, by experience, we know by Judge Hales: who, contrary to the knowledge of God's word, consented to the wicked traditions of the papists, who, although in name they would be of the holy church and preachers of the gospel of Christ, yet, in fact and deed, do dissent from the same, and most detest that godly society; as by the cruel handling of the Christians by the prelates, at this present time, it doth evidently appear. Therefore, I say, that they might, without the offence of God, quietly pray together, as they he taught by his word, there assembled a godly company together, to the number of thirty: divided and sent to both the compters, where, at commandment, they yet remain. And with Master Chambers, Master Monger, and the rest in the compter at Bread Street, I was yesterday; who (God he thanked!) be strong, and do rejoice that for well-doing they are imprisoned: not doubting, but that as God hath

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vouchsafed to accept them worthy to sustain imprisonment for his sake, so he will strengthen them, rather to suffer death than to deny his truth; as the Lord knoweth, who assist you with his Holy Spirit, that unto the end you may persevere in his truth: unto whose tuition, in my poor prayer, I humbly commend you. January the third, 1555. Master Chambers, Master Monger, Master Sh * * *, and the rest in the compter do pray for you, and, in Christ, salute you most heartily."

Whereupon the said Master Hooper sendeth answer again, with a letter also of consolation sent to the said prisoners; the copy whereof I thought here not to overpass.

The answer of Master Hooper to a letter sent unto him concerning certain prisoners taken in Bow Churchyard.

"The grace of God be with you, Amen. I perceive by your letter, how that upon new-year's day at night, there were taken a godly company of Christians, whilst they were praying. I do rejoyce in that men can be so well occupied in this perilous time, and flee unto God for remedy by prayer, as well for their own lacks and necessities, as also charitably to pray for them that persecute them. So doth the word of God command all men to pray charitably for them that hate them, and not to revile any magistrate with words, or to mean him evil by force or violence. They also may rejoyce, that in well-doing they were taken to the prison. Wherefore I have thought it good to send them this little writing of consolation; praying God to send them patience, charity, and constancy in the truth of his most holy word. Thus fare you well, and pray God to send his true word into this realm again amongst us, which the ungodly bishops have now banished.

"January 4, A.D. 1555."

A letter of consolation sent from .Master Hooper, to the godly brethren taken in Bow Churchyard in prayer, and laid in the compter in Bread Street.

"The grace, favour, consolation, and aid of the Holy Ghost, be with you now and ever. So be it.

"Dearly beloved in the Lord, ever since your imprisonment I have been marvellously moved with great affections and passions, as well of mirth and gladness, as of heaviness and sorrow. Of gladness in this, that I perceived how ye be bent and given to prayer and invocation of God's help in these dark and wicked proceedings of men against God's glory. I have been sorry to perceive the malice and wickedness of men to be so cruel, devilish, and tyrannical, to persecute the people of God for serving of God, saying and hearing of the holy Psalms, and the word of eternal life. These cruel doings do declare, that the papists' church is more bloody and tyrannical, than ever was the sword of the Ethnic and Gentiles.

"When I heard of your taking, and what ye were doing, wherefore, and by whom ye were taken, I remembered how the Christians, in the primitive church, were used by the cruelty of unchristened heathens, in the time of Trajan the emperor, about seventy-seven years after Christ's ascension into heaven; and how the Christians were persecuted very sore, as though they had been traitors and movers of sedition: whereupon the gentle emperor Trajan required to know the

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true cause of Christian men's trouble. A great learned man, called Pliny, wrote unto him, and said, It was because the Christians said certain Psalms before day unto one called Christ, whom they worshipped for God. When Trajan the emperor understood it was for nothing but for conscience and religion, he caused by his commandments every where, that no man should be persecuted for serving of God. Lo! a Gentile and heathen man would not have such as were of a contrary religion punished for serving of God: but the pope and his church hath cast you into prison, being taken even doing the work of God, and one of the excellentest works that is required of Christian men: that is to wit, whilst ye were in prayer, and not in such wicked and superstitious prayers as the papists use, but in the same prayer that Christ hath taught you to pray. And in his name only ye gave God thanks for that ye have received, and for his sake ye asked for such things as ye want. Oh! glad may ye be that ever ye were born, to be apprehended whilst ye were so virtuously occupied. Blessed be they that suffer for righteousness' sake: for if God had suffered them that took your bodies, then to have taken your life also, now had you been following the Lamb in perpetual joys, away from the company and assembly of wicked men. But the Lord would not have you suddenly so to depart, but reserveth you, gloriously to speak and maintain his truth to the world.

"Be ye not careful what ye shall say, for God will go out and in with you, and will be present in your hearts, and in your mouths to speak his wisdom, although it seemeth foolishness to the world. He that hath begun this good work in you, continue you in the same unto the end; and pray unto him that ye may fear him only, that hath power to kill both body and soul, and to cast them into hell-fire. Be of good comfort. All the hairs of your head are numbered, and there is not one of them can perish, except your heavenly Father suffer it to perish. Now ye be in the field, and placed in the fore-front of Christ's battle. Doubtless it is a singular favour of God, and a special love of him towards you, to give you this fore-ward and pre-eminence, as a sign that he trusteth you before others of his people. Wherefore, dear brethren and sisters, continually fight this fight of the Lord. Your cause is most just and godly; ye stand for the true Christ, (who is after the flesh in heaven,) and for his true religion and honour, which is amply, fully, sufficiently, and abundantly contained in the holy Testament, sealed with Christ's own blood. How much be ye bound to God, who puts you in trust with so holy and just a cause!

"Remember what lookers-on you have, to see and behold you in your fight: God and all his angels, who be ready always to take you up into heaven, if ye be slain in this fight. Also you have standing at your backs all the multitude of the faithful, who shall take courage, strength, and desire, to follow such noble and valiant Christians as you be. Be not afraid of your adversaries: for he that is in you, is stronger than he that is in them. Shrink not, although it be pain to you: your pains be not now so great, as hereafter your joys shall be. Read the comfortable eighth, tenth, and fifteenth chapters to the Romans, and the eleventh and twelfth to the Hebrews. And upon your knees thank God that ever ye were accounted worthy to suffer any thing for his name's sake. Read the second chapter of St. Luke's Gospel, and there you shall see how the shepherds that watched upon their sheep all night, as soon as they heard that Christ was born at Bethlehem, by and by went to see him. They did not reason nor debate with themselves, who should keep the wolf from the sheep in the mean time, but did as they were commanded, and committed their sheep unto him, whose pleasure they obeyed. So let us do, now we be called; commit all other things to him that calleth us. He will take heed that all things shall be well. He will help the husband, he will comfort the wife, he will guide the servants, he will keep the

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house, he will preserve the goods; yea, rather than it should be undone, he will wash the dishes, and rock the cradle. Cast therefore all your care upon God, for he careth for you.

"Besides this, you may perceive by your imprisonment, that your adversaries' weapons against you be nothing but flesh, blood, and tyranny. For if they were able, they would maintain their wicked religion by God's word: but, for lack of that, they would violently compel us, as they cannot by Holy Scripture persuade; because the holy word of God, and all Christ's doings, be contrary unto them. I pray you, pray for me; and I will pray for you. And although we be asunder after the world, yet in Christ (I trust) for ever joining in the Spirit: and so shall meet in the palace of the heavenly joys, after this short and transitory life is ended. God's peace be with you. Amen.

"The 14th of January, 1555."

On the Friday following, being the eighteenth of January, all the council went unto the Tower, and there the same day discharged and set at liberty all the prisoners of the Tower, or the most part of them, namely, the late duke of Northumberland's sons, Ambrose, Robert, and Henry; Sir Andrew Dudley, Sir John Rogers, Sir James Crofts, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, Sir Nicholas Arnold, Sir George Harper, Sir Edward Warner, Sir William Sent-low, Sir Gawin Carew, Master Gibbs, Cuthbert Vaughan, with many others.

On the Tuesday following, being the twenty-second of January, all the preachers that were in prison were called before the bishop of Winchester, lord chancellor, and certain others, at the bishop's house at St. Mary Overy's; from whence (after communication, being asked whether they would convert and enjoy the queen's pardon, or else stand to that they had taught; they all answering, that they would stand to that they had taught) they were committed to straiter prison than before they were, with charge that none should speak with them.

Among this number of prisoners, one James George the same time died in prison, being there in bands for religion and righteousness' sake; who therefore was exempted to be buried in the popish churchyard, and was buried in the fields.

On the Wednesday following, being the twenty-third of January, all the bishops with the rest of the Convocation-house were before the cardinal at Lambeth, where he willed them to repair every man where his cure and charge lay, exhorting them to entreat the people and their flock with all gentleness, and to endeavour themselves, to win the people rather by gentleness, than by extremity and rigour: and so let them depart.

On the Friday following, being the twenty-fifth of January, and the day of the conversion of St. Paul, there was a general and solemn procession through London, to give God thanks for their conversion to the catholic church: wherein (to set out their glorious pomp) there were fourscore and ten crosses, and one hundred and sixty priests and clerks, who had every one of them copes upon their backs, singing very lustily. There followed also, for the better estimation of the sight, eight bishops; and, last of all, came Bonner, the bishop of London, carrying the popish pix under a canopy.

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Besides, there was also present the mayor, aldermen, and all the livery of every occupation. Moreover, the king also himself, and the cardinal, came to Paul's church the same day. From whence, after mass, they returned to Westminster again. As the king was entered the church at the steps going up to the choir, all the gentlemen that of late were set at liberty out of the Tower, kneeled before the king, and offered unto him themselves and their services.

After the procession there was also commandment given to make bonfires at night; whereupon did rise among the people a doubtful talk, why all this was done. Some said it was that the queen, being (as they said) with child, might have a safe delivery. Others thought that it was for joy that the realm was joined again to the see of Rome; which opinion, of both, seemed most true.

On the Monday following, being the twenty-eighth of January, the bishop of Winchester and the other bishops had commission from the cardinal to sit upon, and order, according to the laws, all such preachers and heretics (as they termed them) as were in prison; and according to this commission, the same day the bishop of Winchester and the other bishops, with certain of the council, sat in St. Mary Overy's church, and called before them these three, Master Hooper, Master Rogers, and Master Cardmaker, who were brought thither by the sheriffs; from whence after communication they were committed to prison till the next day, but Cardmaker this day submitted himself unto them.

On the Tuesday, being the twenty-ninth of January, Hooper, Rogers, Dr. Taylor, and Bradford were brought before them; where sentence of excommunication and judgment ecclesiastical was pronounced upon Master Hooper and Master Rogers, by the bishop of Winchester, who sat as judge in Caiaphas's seat; who drave them out of the church, according to their law and order. Dr. Taylor and Bradford were committed to prison till the next day.

On the Wednesday, being the thirtieth of January, Dr. Taylor, Dr. Crome, Master Bradford, Master Saunders, and Dr. Ferrar, sometime bishop of St. David's, were before the said bishops; where three of them, that is to say, Dr. Taylor, Master Saunders, and Master Bradford, were likewise excommunicated, and sentence pronounced upon them; and so committed to the sheriffs. Dr. Crome desired two months' respite, and it was granted him; and Master Ferrar was again committed to prison till another time. All these men showed themselves to be learned, as indeed they were no less: but what availeth either learning, reason, or truth itself, where will beareth rule?

After the examination and condemnation of these good men and preachers above recited, commissions and inquisitors were sent abroad likewise into all parts of the realm: by reason whereof, a great number of most godly and true Christians out of all the quarters of the realm (but especially Kent, Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk) were apprehended, brought up to London, cast into prison; and afterwards, most of them, either consumed cruelly by fire, or else through evil handling died in the prisons, and were buried on the dunghills abroad in the fields, or in some backside of the prison. Of all which matters, concerning the tragical handling of the blessed martyrs and witnesses of Jesus Christ—of all the bloody persecution of this time—now followeth (the Lord so granting) severally and more particularly in this next book in order to be declared: after that I shall first recite a general supplication, given up in the name of the

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preachers aforesaid lying in prison, unto the king and queen, during the time of the parliament, as followeth

"Unto the king and queen's most excellent Majesties, and to their most honourable and high court of parliament.

"In most humble and lamentable wise complain unto your Majesties, and to your high court of parliament, your poor desolate and obedient subjects, H. F. T. B., P. R. S., &c. That whereas your said subjects, living under the laws of God and of this realm, in the days of the late most noble King Edward the Sixth, did in all things show themselves true, faithful, and diligent subjects, according to their vocation, as well in the sincere ministering of God's most holy word, as in due obedience to the higher powers, and in the daily practice of such virtues and good demeanour, as the laws of God at all times, and the statutes of the realm did then, allow: your said subjects nevertheless, contrary to all laws of justice, equity, and right, are in very extreme manner not only cast into prison, (where they have remained now these fifteen or sixteen months,) but their livings also, their houses and possessions, their goods and books, taken from them, and they slandered to be most heinous heretics, their enemies themselves being both witnesses, accusers, and judges; belying, slandering, and misreporting your said subjects at their pleasure, whereas your said subjects, being straitly kept in prison, cannot yet be suffered to come forth, and make answer accordingly.

"In consideration whereof, may it please your most excellent Majesties, and this your high court of parliament, graciously to tender the present calamity of your said poor subjects, and to call them before your presence, granting them liberty, either by mouth or writing, in the plain English tongue, to answer before you, or before indifferent arbiters to be appointed by your Majesties, unto such articles of controversy in religion as their said adversaries have already condemned them of, as of heinous heresies: provided that all things may be done with such moderation and quiet behaviour, as becometh subjects and children of peace, and that your said subjects may have the free use of all their own books, and conference together among themselves.

"Which thing being granted, your said subjects doubt not but it shall plainly appear, that your said subjects are true and faithful Christians, and neither heretics, neither teachers of heresy, nor cut off from the true catholic universal church of Christ: yea, that rather their adversaries themselves be unto your Majesties as were the charmers of Egypt to Pharaoh, Zedechias and his adherents unto the king of Israel, and Bar-Jesu to the proconsul Sergius Paulus. And if your said subjects be not able, by the testimony of Christ, his prophets, apostles, and godly fathers of his church, to prove that the doctrine of the church, homilies, and service taught and set forth in the time of our late most godly prince and king, Edward the Sixth, is the true doctrine of Christ's catholic church, and most agreeable to the articles of the Christian faith; your said subjects offer themselves then to the most heavy punishment that it shall please your Majesties to appoint.

"Wherefore, for the tender mercy of God in Christ, (which you look for at the day of judgment,) your said poor subjects in bonds most humbly beseech your most excellent Majesties, and this your high court of parliament, benignly and graciously to hear and grant this their petition, tending so greatly to the glory of God, to the edifying of his church, to the honour of

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your Majesties, to the commendation and maintenance of justice, right, and equity both before God and man. And your said subjects, according to their bounden duty, shall not cease to pray unto Almighty God for the gracious preservation of your most excellent Majesties long to endure."

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THE ELEVENTH BOOK.

WHEREIN

**IS DISCOURSED THE BLOODY MURDERING OF GOD'S SAINTS,
WITH THE PARTICULAR PROCESSES AND NAMES OF SUCH GOOD
MARTYRS, BOTH MEN AND WOMEN, AS, IN THIS TIME OF QUEEN
MARY, WERE PUT TO DEATH.**

264. John Rogers.



HE fourth of February suffered the constant martyr of God, Master John Rogers, concerning whose life, examinations, and suffering, here followeth in order set forth. And first touching his life and bringing up.

John Rogers, brought up in the university of Cambridge, where he profitably travailed in good learning, at length was chosen and called by the merchant adventurers to be their chaplain at Antwerp in Brabant, whom he served to their good contentation many years. It chanced him there to fall in company with that worthy servant and martyr of God William Tyndale, and with Miles Coverdale, who both, for the hatred they bare to popish superstition and idolatry, and love to true religion, had forsaken their native country. In conferring with them the Scriptures, he came to great knowledge in the gospel of God, insomuch that he cast off the heavy yoke of popery, perceiving it to be impure and filthy idolatry, and joined himself with them two in that painful and most profitable labour of translating the Bible into the English tongue, which is entitled, The Translation of Thomas Matthewe. He, knowing by the Scriptures, that unlawful vows may lawfully be broken, and that matrimony is both honest and honourable among all men, joined himself in lawful matrimony, and so went to Wittenberg in Saxony, where he, with much soberness of living, did not only greatly increase in all good and godly learning, but also so much profited in the knowledge of the Dutch tongue, that the charge of a congregation was orderly committed to his cure.

In which ministry he diligently and faithfully served many years, until such time as it pleased God, by the faithful travail of his chosen and dear servant, King Edward the Sixth, utterly to banish all popery forth of England, and to receive in true religion, setting God's gospel at liberty. He then, being orderly called, having both a conscience, and a ready good will to help forward the work of the Lord in his native country, left such honest and certain conditions as he had in Saxony, and came into England to preach the gospel, without certainty of any condition. In which office, after he had a space diligently and faithfully travailed, Nicholas Ridley, then bishop of London, gave him a prebend in the cathedral church of Paul; and the dean and the chapter chose him to be the reader of the divinity-lesson there; wherein he diligently travailed, until such time, as Queen Mary, obtaining the crown, banished the gospel and true religion, and brought in the antichrist of Rome, with his idolatry and superstition.

After the queen was come to the Tower of London, he, being orderly called thereunto, made a godly and vehement sermon at Paul's Cross, confirming such true doctrine as he and others had there taught in King Edward's days, exhorting the people constantly to remain in the same, and to beware of all pestilent popery, idolatry, and superstition. The council, being then overmatched with popish and bloody bishops, called him to account for his sermon: to whom he made a stout, witty, and godly answer; and yet in such sort handled himself, that at that time he was clearly dismissed. But after that proclamation was set forth by the queen to prohibit true

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preaching, he was called again before the council; for the bishops thirsted after his blood. The council quarrelled with him concerning his doctrine, and in conclusion commanded him as prisoner to keep his own house; and so he did; although by flying, he might easily have escaped their cruel hands, and many things there were which might have moved him thereunto. He did see the recovery of religion in England, for that present, desperate; he knew he could not want a living in Germany; and he could not forget his wife and ten children, and to seek means to succour them. But all these things set apart, after he was called to answer in Christ's cause, he would not depart, but stoutly stood in defence of the same, and for the trial of that truth, was content to hazard his life.

Thus he remained in his own house as prisoner a long time, till at length, through the uncharitable procurement of Bonner, bishop of London, who could not abide such honest neighbours to dwell by him, he was removed from his own house to the prison called Newgate, where he was lodged among thieves and murderers for a great space; during which time, what business he had with the adversaries of Christ, all is not known, neither yet any certainty of his examinations, further than he himself did leave in writing; which God would not to be lost, but to remain for a perpetual testimony in the cause of God's truth, as here followeth recorded and testified by his own writing.

The examination and answer of John Rogers, made to the lord chancellor, and to the rest of the council, the twenty-second of January, A. D. 1555.

First the lord chancellor said unto me thus: "Sir, ye have heard the state of the realm, in which it standeth now."

Rogers.—"No, my Lord, I have been kept in close prison, and except there have been some general thing said at the table when I was at dinner or supper, I have heard nothing; and there have I heard nothing whereupon any special thing might be grounded."

Then said the lord chancellor, "General things, general things," mockingly. "Ye have heard of my Lord Cardinal's coming, and that the parliament hath received his blessing, not one resisting unto it, but one man which did speak against it. Such a unity, and such a miracle, hath not been seen. And all they (of which there are eightscore in one house, said one that was by, whose name I know not) have, with one assent and consent, received pardon of their offences, for the schism that we have had in England, in refusing the holy father of Rome to be head of the catholic church. How say ye? Are ye content to unite and knit yourself to the faith of the catholic church with us, in the state in which it is now in England. Will ye do that?"

Rogers.—"The catholic church I never did nor will dissent from."

L. Chan.—"Nay, but I speak of the state of the catholic church, in that wise in which we stand now in England, having received the pope to be supreme head."

Rogers.—"I know none other head but Christ of his catholic church, neither will I acknowledge the bishop of Rome to have any more authority than any other bishop hath by the

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word of God, and by the doctrine of the old and pure catholic church four hundred years after Christ."

L. Chan.—"Why didst thou then acknowledge King Henry the Eighth to be the supreme head of the church, if Christ be the only head?"

Rogers.—"I never granted him to have any supremacy in spiritual things, as are the forgiveness of sins, giving of the Holy Ghost, authority to be a judge above the word of God."

L. Chan. &c.—"Yea," said the lord chancellor, and Tonsal, bishop of Durham, and N****, bishop of Worcester, "if thou hadst said so in his days"—and they nodded the head at me with a laughter—"thou hadst not been alive now." Which thing I denied, and would have told how he was said and meant to be supreme head. But they looked and laughed one upon another, and made such a business, that I was constrained to let it pass. There lieth also no great weight thereupon; for all the world knoweth what the meaning was. The lord chancellor, also, said to the Lord William Howard, that there was no inconvenience therein, to have Christ to be supreme head and the bishop of Rome also: and when I was ready to have answered that there could not be two heads of one church, and have more plainly declared the vanity of that his reason, the lord chancellor said, "What sayest thou? Make us a direct answer whether thou wilt be one of this catholic church or not, with us in that state in which we are now?"

Rogers.—"My Lord, without fail I cannot believe, that ye yourselves do think in your hearts that he is supreme head in forgiving of sin, &c., (as is before said,) seeing you, and all the bishops of the realm, have now twenty years long preached, and some of you also written, to the contrary, and the parliament hath so long agoe condescended unto it." And there he interrupted me thus:

L. Chan.—"Tush! that parliament was with most great cruelty constrained to abolish and put away the primacy from the bishop of Rome."

Rogers.—"With cruelty? why then I perceive that you take a wrong way, with cruelty to persuade men's consciences. For it should appear by your doings now, that the cruelty then used hath not persuaded your consciences. How would you then have our consciences persuaded with cruelty?"

L. Chan.—"I talk to thee of no cruelty, but that they were so often and so cruelly called upon in that parliament, to let the act go forward; yea, and even with force driven thereunto: whereas, in this parliament, it was so uniformly received, as is aforesaid."

Here my Lord Paget told me more plainly, what my lord chancellor meant; unto whom I answered: "My Lord, what will ye conclude thereby; that the first parliament was of less authority, because but few condescended unto it? and this last parliament of great authority, because more condescended unto it? It goeth not, my Lord, by more or lesser part: but by the wiser, truer, and godlier part:" and I would have said more, but the lord chancellor interrupted me with his question, willing me once again to answer him: "For," said he, "we have more to speak with than thou, which must come in after thee."—And so there were indeed ten persons

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more out of Newgate, besides two that were not called: of which ten, one was a citizen of London, which granted unto them; and nine were contrary, which all came to prison again, and refused the cardinal's blessing, and the authority of his holy father's church, saving that one of these nine was not asked the question, otherwise than thus: Whether he would be an honest man as his father was before him? and he answering yea, was so discharged by the friendship of my Lord William Howard, as I have understood.—He bade me tell him what I would do: whether I would enter into the one church with the whole realm as it is now, or not?" "No," said I, "I will first see it proved by the Scriptures. Let me have pen, ink, and books, &c., and I shall take upon me plainly to set out the matter, so that the contrary shall be proved to be true; and let any man that will, confer with me by writing."

L. Chan. "Nay, that shall not be permitted thee. Thou shalt never have so much proffered thee as thou hast now, if thou refuse it, and will not now condescend and agree to the catholic church. Here are two things, mercy and justice: if thou refuse the queen's mercy now, then shalt thou have justice ministered unto thee."

Rogers.—"I never offended, nor was disobedient unto her Grace, and yet I will not refuse her mercy. But if this shall be denied me, to confer by writing and to try out the truth, then it is not well, but too far out of the way. Ye yourselves (all the bishops of the realm) brought me to the knowledge of the pretended primacy of the bishop of Rome, when I was a young man twenty years past: and will ye now, without collation, have me to say and do the contrary? I cannot be so persuaded."

L. Chan.—"If thou wilt not receive the bishop of Rome to be supreme head of the catholic church, then thou shalt never have her mercy, thou mayest be sure. And as touching conferring and trial, I am forbidden by the Scriptures to use any conferring and trial with thee. For St. Paul teacheth me, that I should shun and eschew a heretic after one or two monitions, knowing that such a one is overthrown, and is faulty, insomuch as he is condemned by his own judgment."

Rogers.—"My Lord, I deny that I am a heretic: prove ye that first, and then allege the aforesaid text."—But still the lord chancellor played on one string, saying:

L. Chan.—"If thou wilt enter into our church with us, &c., tell us that; or else thou shalt never have so much proffered thee again as thou hast now."

Rogers.—"I will find it first in the Scripture; and see it tried thereby, before I receive him to be supreme head."

Worcester.—"Why! do ye not know what is in your creed: 'I believe the holy catholic church?'"

Rogers.—"I find not the bishop of Rome there. For 'catholic' signifieth not the Romish church: it signifieth the consent of all true teaching churches of all times, and all ages. But how should the bishop of Rome's church be one of them, which teacheth so many doctrines that are

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plainly and directly against the word of God? Can that bishop be the true head of the catholic church that doth so? that is not possible."

L. Chan.—"Show me one of them; one, let me hear one!"

I remembered myself, that amongst so many I were best to show one, and said, "I will show you one."

L. Chan.—"Let me hear that; let me hear that.."

Rogers.—"The bishop of Rome and his church say, read, and sing, all that they do in their congregations, in Latin, which is directly and plainly against 1 Cor. xiv."

L. Chan.—"I deny that; I deny that it is against the word of God. Let me see you prove that. How prove you that?"

Thus I began to say the text from the beginning of the chapter: "To speak with tongue," said I, "is to speak with a strange tongue, as Latin or Greek, &c., and so to speak, is not to speak unto men, but to God. But ye speak in Latin, which is a strange tongue; wherefore ye speak not unto men, but unto God" (meaning God only at the most). This he granted, that they spake not unto men, but unto God.

L. Chan.—"Well, then it is in vain unto men."

Rogers.—"No, not in vain. For one man speaketh in one tongue, and another in another tongue, and all well."

L. Chan.—"Nay, I will prove then, that he speaketh neither to God nor to man, but into the wind."

I was willing to have declared how and after what sort these two texts do agree, (for they must agree; they be both the sayings of the Holy Ghost, spoken by the apostle Paul,) as to wit, "to speak not to men, but unto God," and, "to speak into the wind," and so to have gone forward with the proof of my matter begun; but here arose a noise and a confusion.—Then said the lord chancellor:

L. Chan.—"To speak unto God, and not unto God, were impossible."

Rogers.—"I will prove them possible."

"No," said my Lord William Howard to my Lord Chancellor. "Now will I bear you witness, that he is out of the way; for he granted first, that they which speak in a strange speech speak unto God—and now he saith the contrary, that they speak neither to God nor to man."

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Rogers.—"I have not granted nor said," turning me to my Lord Howard, "as you report. I have alleged the one text, and now I am come to the other. They must agree, and I can make them to agree. But as for you, you understand not the matter."

Lord Howard.—"I understand so much, that that is not possible."

"This is a point of sophistry," quoth Secretary Bourn.

Then the lord chancellor began to tell the Lord Howard, that when he was in High Dutchland, they at Halle, which had before prayed and used their service all in Dutch, began then to turn part into Latin, and part into Dutch.

Worcester.—"Yea, and at Wittenberg too."

Rogers.—"Yea," but I could not be heard for the noise, "in a university, where men for the most part understand the Latin, and yet not all in Latin."—And I would have told the order, and have gone forward both to have answered my Lord, and to have proved the thing that I had taken in hand: but, perceiving their talk and noise to be too noisome, I was fain to think this in my heart, suffering them in the mean while to talk one of them one thing, and another another "Alas! neither will these men hear me if I speak, neither yet will they suffer me to write. There is no remedy, but to let them alone, and commit the matter to God."—Yet I began to go forward, and said, that I would make the texts to agree, and to prove my purpose well enough.

L. Chan.—"No, no, thou canst prove nothing by the Scripture. The Scripture is dead: it must have a lively expositor."

Rogers.—"No, the Scripture is alive. But let me go forward with my purpose."

Worcester.—"All heretics have alleged the Scriptures for them; and therefore we must have a lively expositor for them."

Rogers.—"Yea, all heretics have alleged the Scriptures for them: but they were confuted by the Scriptures, and by none other expositor."

Worcester.—"But they would not confess that they were overcome by the Scriptures, I am sure of that."

Rogers.—"I believe that: and yet were they overcome by them, and in all councils they were disputed with and overthrown by the Scriptures."—And here I would have declared how they ought to proceed in these days, and so have come again to my purpose, but it was impossible: for one asked one thing, another said another, so that I was fain to hold my peace, and let them talk. And even when I would have taken hold on my proof, the lord chancellor bade to prison with me again "And away, away," said he; "we have more to talk withal" If I would not be reformed (so he termed it) "away, away!" Then up I stood, for I had kneeled all the while.

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Then Sir Richard Southwell, who stood in a window by, said to me, "Thou wilt not burn in this gear when it cometh to the purpose, I know well that."

Rogers.—"Sir, I cannot tell, but I trust in my Lord God, yes;"—lifting up mine eyes unto heaven. Then my Lord of Ely told me much of the queen's Majesty's pleasure and meaning, and set it out with large words, saying, that she took them that would not receive the bishop of Rome's supremacy, to be unworthy to have her mercy, &c. I said I would not refuse her mercy, and yet I never offended her in all my life: and that I besought her Grace, and all their Honours, to be good to me, reserving my conscience.

Divers spake at once.—"No," quoth they then, a great sort of them, and specially Secretary Bourn "A married priest, and have not offended the law!"

Rogers.—"I said I had not broken the queen's law, nor yet any point of the law of the realm therein: for I married where it was lawful."

Divers at once.—"Where was that?" said they, thinking that to be unlawful in all places.

Rogers.—"In Dutchland. And if ye had not here in England made an open law that priests might have had wives, I would never have come home again; for I brought a wife and eight children with me: which thing ye might be sure that I would not have done, if the laws of the realm had not permitted it before."

Then there was a great noise, some saying, that I was come too soon with such a sort; I should find a sore coming of it; and some one thing, and some another. And one said, (I could not well perceive who,) that there was never a catholic man or country, that ever granted that a priest might have a wife.

I said, "The catholic church never denied marriage to priests, nor yet to any other man;" and therewith was I going out of the chamber, the sergeant which brought me thither having me by the arm.

Then the bishop of Worcester turned his face towards me, and said that I wist not where that church was or is.

Rogers.—I said, yes, that I could tell where it was;—but therewith went the sergeant with me out of the door.

This was the very true effect of all that was spoken unto me, and of all that I answered thereunto.

And here would I gladly make a more perfect answer to all the former objections, as also a due proof of that which I had taken in hand; but at this present I was informed that I should tomorrow come to further answer. Wherefore I am compelled to leave out that which I would most gladly have done, desiring here the hearty and unfeigned help of the prayers of all Christ's true members, the true imps of the true unfeigned catholic church, that the Lord God of all

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consolation will now be my comfort, aid, strength, buckler, and shield: as also of all my brethren that are in the same case and distress, that I and they all may despise all manner of threats and cruelty, and even the bitter burning fire, and the dreadful dart of death; and stick like true soldiers to our dear and loving Captain, Christ, our only Redeemer and Saviour, and also the only true head of the church, that doth all, in us all; which is the very property of a head (and is a thing that all the bishops of Rome cannot do): and that we do not traitorously run out of his tents, or out of the plain field from him, in the most jeopardy of the battle; but that we may persevere in the fight (if he will not otherwise deliver us) till we be most cruelly slain of his enemies. For this I most heartily, and, at this present, with weeping tears most instantly and earnestly, desire and beseech you all to pray: and also, if I die, to be good to my poor and most honest wife, being a poor stranger, and all my little souls, hers and my children; whom, with all the whole faithful and true catholic congregation of Christ, the Lord of life and death save, keep, and defend, in all the troubles and assaults of this vain world, and bring at the last to everlasting salvation—the true and sure inheritance of all crossed Christians. Amen, Amen.

The twenty-seventh day of January, at night.

The second confession of John Rogers, made, and that should have been made, (if it might have been heard,) the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth day of January, 1555.

"First, being asked again by the lord chancellor, whether I would come into one church with the bishops and the whole realm, as now was concluded by parliament, (in the which all the realm was converted to the catholic Church of Rome,) and so receive the mercy before proffered me, arising again with the whole realm out of the schism and error in which we had long been, with recantation of my errors:—I answered, that before I could not tell what his mercy meant; but now, I understand that it was a mercy of the antichristian Church of Rome, which I utterly refused; and that the rising which he spake of, was a very fall into error and false doctrine. Also, that I had and would be able, by God's grace, to prove that all the doctrine which I had ever taught was true and catholic, and that by the Scriptures and the authority of the fathers that lived four hundred years after Christ's death. He answered, That should not, might not, nor ought not, to be granted me: for I was but a private man, and might not be heard against the determination of the whole realm. 'Should,' quoth he, 'when a parliament hath concluded a thing, one or any private person have authority to discuss, whether they had done right or wrong? No, that may not be.'

"I answered shortly, that all the laws of men might not, neither could, rule the word of God; but that they all must be discussed and judged thereby, and obey thereto; and neither my conscience, nor any Christian man's, could be satisfied with such laws as disagreed from that word: and so was willing to have said much more. But the lord chancellor began a long tale to very small purpose, concerning mine answer, to have defaced me; that there was nothing in me wherefore I should be heard, but arrogancy, pride, and vain-glory.—I also granted mine ignorance to be greater than I could express, or than he took it: but yet that I feared not, by God's assistance and strength, to be able by writing to perform my word; neither was I (I thanked God) so utterly ignorant as he would make me; but all was of God, to whom be thanks rendered therefore. Proud man was I never, nor yet vain-glorious. All the world knew well, where and on

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which side pride, arrogancy, and vain-glory was. It was a poor pride, that was or is in us, God it knoweth.

"Then said he, that I at the first dash condemned the queen and the whole realm to be of the church of antichrist; and burdened me highly therewithal. I answered, that the queen's Majesty (God save her Grace) would have done well enough, if it had not been for his counsel. He said, the queen went before him, and it was her own motion. I said, without fail I neither could, nor would I, ever believe it.

"Then said Dr. Aldrich, the bishop of Carlisle, that they (the bishops) would bear him witness. 'Yea,' quoth I, 'that I believe well:' and with that the people laughed; for that day there were many, but on the morrow they kept the doors shut, and would let none in, but the bishops' adherents and servants in a manner: yea, and the first day the thousandth man came not in. Then Master Comptroller and Secretary Bourn would have stood up also, to bear witness, and did.

"I said, it was no great matter: and, to say the truth, I thought that they were good helpers thereunto themselves; but I ceased to say any more therein, knowing that they were too strong and mighty of power, and that they should be believed before me; yea, and before our Saviour Christ, and all his prophets and apostles too, in these days.

"Then, after many words, he asked me what I thought concerning the blessed sacrament; and stood up, and put off his cap, and all his fellow bishops (of which there were a great sort new men, of whom I knew few)—whether I believed in the sacrament to be the very body and blood of our Saviour Christ, that was born of the Virgin Mary and hanged on the cross, really and substantially.

"I answered, I had often told him that it was a matter in which I was no meddler; and therefore suspected of my brethren to be of a contrary opinion. 'Notwithstanding, even as the most part of your doctrine in other points is false, and the defence thereof only by force and cruelty: so in this matter I think it to be as false as the rest. For I cannot understand 'really and substantially' to signify otherwise than corporally: but corporally Christ is only in heaven, and so cannot Christ be corporally also in your sacrament.' And here I somewhat set out his charity after this sort: 'My Lord,' quoth I, 'ye have dealt with me most cruelly; for ye have put me in prison without law, and kept me there now almost a year and a half. For I was almost half a year in my house, where I was obedient to you, God knoweth, and spake with no man. And now have I been a full year in Newgate at great costs and charges, having a wife and ten children to find; and I had never a penny of my livings—which was against the law.'

"He answered, that Dr. Ridley which had given them me, was a usurper, and therefore I was the unjust possessor of them.

""Was the king, then, a usurper,' quoth I, 'which gave Dr. Ridley the bishopric?'

""Yea,' quoth he; and began to set out the wrongs that the king had done to the bishop of London, and to himself also:—'But yet I do misuse my terms,' quoth he, 'to call the king usurper.'

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But the word was gone out of the abundance of the heart before; and I think that he was not very sorry for it in heart. I might have said more concerning that matter, but I did not.

"I asked him, wherefore he put me in prison. He said, because I preached against the queen.

"I answered that it was not true: and I would be bound to prove it, and to stand to the trial of the law, that no man should be able to disprove it, and thereupon would set my life. 'I preached,' quoth I, 'a sermon at the Cross, after the queen came to the Tower; but therein was nothing said against the queen, I take witness of all the audience; which was not small.' I alleged also, that he had, after examination, let me go at liberty after the preaching of that sermon.

"'Yea, but thou didst read thy lectures after,' quoth he, 'against the commandment of the council.'

"That did I not,' quoth I; 'let that be proved, and let me die for it. Thus have you now against the law of God and man handled me, and never sent for me, never conferred with me, never spoke of any learning, till now that ye have gotten a whip to whip me with, and a sword to cut off my neck, if I will not condescend to your mind. This charity doth all the world understand.'

"I might and would have added, if I could have been suffered to speak, that it had been time enough to take away men's livings, and thereto to have imprisoned them, after that they had offended laws: for they be good citizens that break not laws, and worthy of praise, and not of punishment. But their purpose is to keep men in prison, so long until they may catch them in their laws; and so kill them. I could and would have added the example of Daniel, which, by a crafty devised law, was cast into the lions' den. Item, I might have declared, that I most humbly desired to be set at liberty, sending my wife to him with a supplication, being great with child, and with her eight honest women, or thereabouts, to Richmond, at Christmas was a twelvemonth, while I was yet in my house.

"Item, I wrote two supplications to him out of Newgate, and sent my wife many times to him. Master Gosnold also, that worthy man who is now departed in the Lord, laboured for me, and so did divers other worthy men also take pains in the matter. These things declare my Lord Chancellor's antichristian charity, which is, that he hath and doth seek my blood, and the destruction of my poor wife and my ten children.

"This is a short sum of the words which were spoken on the twenty-eighth day of January at afternoon, after that Master Hooper had been the first, and Master Cardmaker the second, in examination before me. The Lord grant us grace to stand together, fighting lawfully in his cause, till we be smitten down together, if the Lord's will be so to permit it. For there shall not a hair of our heads perish against his will, but with his will. Whereunto the same Lord grant us to be obedient unto the end; and in the end, Amen, sweet, mighty, and merciful Lord Jesus, the Son of David and of God! Amen, Amen! let every true Christian say and pray.

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"Then the clock being, as I guessed, about four, the lord chancellor said, that he and the church must yet use charity with me, (what manner of charity it is, all true Christians do well understand,—as to wit, the same that the fox doth with the chickens, and the wolf with the lambs,) and gave me respite till to-morrow, to see whether I would remember myself well to-morrow, and whether I would return to the catholic church (for so he calleth his antichristian false church) again, and repent, and they would receive me to mercy.

"I said, that I was never out of the true catholic church, nor would be: but into his church would I, by God's grace, never come.

""Well,' quoth he, 'then is our church false and antichristian?'

""Yea,' quoth I.

""And what is the doctrine of the sacrament?

""False,' quoth I;—and cast my hands abroad.

"Then said one, that I was a player. To whom I answered not; for I passed not upon his mock.

""Come again,' quoth the lord chancellor, 'tomorrow between nine and ten.'

""I am ready to come again, whensoever ye call,' quoth I.

"And thus was I brought up by the sheriffs to the compters in Southwark, Master Hooper going before me, and a great multitude of people being present, so that we had much to do to go in the streets. (Thus much was done the twenty-eighth day of January.)

"The second day, which was the twenty-ninth of January, we were sent for in the morning about nine of the clock, and by the sheriffs fetched from the compters in Southwark to the church again, as to wit, to St. Mary Over's, where we were the day before in the afternoon, as is said. And when Master Hooper was condemned, as I understood afterward, then sent they for me. Then my lord chancellor said unto me:

""Rogers,' quoth he, here thou wast yesterday, and we gave thee liberty to remember thyself this night, whether thou wouldst come to the holy catholic church of Christ again or not. Tell us now what thou hast determined; whether thou wilt be repentant and sorry, and wilt return again and take mercy.'

""My Lord,' quoth I, 'I have remembered myself right well, what you yesterday said to me, and desire you to give me leave to declare my mind, what I have to say thereunto; and, that done, I shall answer you to your demanded question.

""When I yesterday desired that I might be suffered by the Scripture and authority of the first, best, and purest church, to defend my doctrine by writing, (meaning not only of the

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primacy, but also of all the doctrine that ever I had preached,) ye answered me, that it might not, nor ought not, to be granted me, for I was a private person; and that the parliament was above the authority of all private persons, and therefore the sentence thereof might not be found faulty and valueless by me, being but a private person. And yet, my Lord,' quoth I, 'I am able to show examples, that one man hath come into a general council, and after the whole had determined and agreed upon an act or article, some one man coming in afterward, hath, by the word of God, declared so pithily that the council had erred in decreeing the said article, that he caused the whole council to change and alter their act or article before determined. And of these examples,' said I, 'I am able to show two. I can also show the authority of St. Augustine; that when he disputed with a heretic, he would neither himself, nor yet have the heretic, to lean unto the determination of two former councils, of the which the one made for him, and the other for the heretic that disputed against him; but said, that he would have the Scriptures to be their judge, which were common and indifferent for them both, and not proper to either of them.

"'Item, I could show,' said I, 'the authority of a learned lawyer, Panormitane, who saith, that unto a simple layman, that bringeth the word of God with him, there ought more credit to be given, than to a whole council gathered together. By these things will I prove that I ought not to be denied to say my mind, and to be heard against a whole parliament, bringing the word of God for me, and the authority of the old church four hundred years after Christ—albeit that every man in the parliament had willingly, and without respect of fear and favour, agreed thereunto, which thing I doubt not a little of—specially seeing the like had been permitted in that old church, even in general councils; yea, and that in one of the chiefest councils that ever was, unto which neither any acts of this parliament, nor yet any of the late general councils of the bishops of Rome, ought to be compared. For,' said I, 'if Henry the Eighth were alive, and should call a parliament, and begin to determine a thing, (and here I would have alleged the example of the act of making the queen a bastard, and of making himself the superior head; but I could not, being interrupted by one whom God forgive,) then will ye, (pointing to my Lord Chancellor,) and ye, and ye, and so ye all, (pointing to the rest of the bishops,) say, Amen: yea, and it like your Grace, it is meet that it be so enacted.'

"Here my Lord Chancellor would suffer me to speak no more; but bade me sit down mockingly, saying that I was sent for to be instructed of them, and I would take upon me to be their instructor.

"'My Lord,' quoth I, 'I stand, and sit not: shall I not be suffered to speak for my life?'

"'Shall we suffer thee to tell a tale, and to prate?' quoth he. And with that he stood up, and began to face me, after his old arrogant, proud fashion; for he perceived that I was in a way to have touched them somewhat, which he thought to hinder by dashing me out of my tale, and so he did. For I could never be suffered to come to my tale again, no, not to one word of it; but he had much like communication with me as he had the day before, and as his manner is, taunt upon taunt, and check upon check. For in that case, being God's cause. I told him he should not make me afraid to speak.

L. Chan.—"See what a spirit this fellow hath,' said he; 'finding fault at mine accustomed earnestness, and hearty manner of speaking.'

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Rogers.—"I have a true spirit,' quoth I, 'agreeing and obeying the word of God:' and would further have said, that I was never the worse, but the better, to be earnest in a just and true cause, and in my Master Christ's matters: but I could not be heard. And at length he proceeded towards his excommunication and condemnation, after that I had told him that his Church of Rome was the church of antichrist, meaning the false doctrine and tyrannical laws, with the maintenance thereof by cruel persecutions used by the bishops of the said church (of which the bishop of Winchester and the rest of his fellow bishops, that are now in England, are the chief members): 'Of laws I mean,' quoth I, 'and not of all men and women which are in the pope's church.' Likewise when I was said to have denied their sacrament, (whereof he made his wonted reverent mention, more to maintain his kingdom thereby, than for the true reverence of Christ's institution; more for his own and his popish generations' sake, than for religion or God's sake,) I told him after what order I did speak of it (for the manner of his speaking was not agreeing to my words, which are before recited in the communication that we had on the twenty-eighth of January); wherewith he was not contented, but he asked the audience whether I had not simply denied the sacrament. They would have said, and did, what he lusted; for the most of them were of his own servants at that day (the twenty-ninth of January, I mean). At the last I said, 'I will never deny that I said; that is, that your doctrine of the sacrament is false; but yet I tell you after what order I said it.'

"To be short, he read my condemnation before me particularly, mentioning therein but two articles; first, that I affirmed the Romish catholic church to be the church of antichrist, and that I denied the reality of their sacrament. He caused me to be degraded and condemned, and put into the hands of the laity; and so he gave me over into the sheriffs' hands, which were much better than his."

The copy of this his condemnation here, I thought good to put down in English, to the intent that the same, being here once expressed, may serve for all other sentences condemnatory, through the whole story to be referred unto.

The sentence condemnatory against Master Rogers.

"In the name of God, Amen. We Stephen, by the permission of God bishop of Winchester, lawfully and rightly proceeding with all godly favour, by authority and virtue of our office, against thee John Rogers, priest, alias called Matthew, before us personally here present, being accused and detected, and notoriously slandered of heresy, having heard, seen, and understood, and with all diligent deliberation weighed, discussed, and considered, the merits of the cause, all things being observed, which by us in this behalf in order of law ought to be observed, sitting in our judgment-seat, the name of Christ being first called upon, and having only God before our eyes: because by the acts enacted, propounded, and exhibited in this matter, and by thine own confession judicially made before us, we do find that thou hast taught, holden, and affirmed, and obstinately defended, divers errors, heresies, and damnable opinions, contrary to the doctrine and determination of the holy church, as namely these: That the catholic Church of Rome is the church of antichrist: item, that in the sacrament of the altar there is not substantially nor really the natural body and blood of Christ: the which aforesaid heresies and damnable opinions, being contrary to the law of God, and determination of the universal and apostolical church, thou hast arrogantly, stubbornly, and wittingly maintained, held, and

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affirmed, and also defended before us, as well in this judgment, as also otherwise; and with the like obstinacy, stubbornness, malice, and blindness of heart, both wittingly and willingly hast affirmed, that thou wilt believe, maintain and hold, affirm and declare, the same: we therefore, Stephen Winchester, bishop, ordinary, and diocesan aforesaid, by the consent and assent as well of our reverend brethren the lord bishops here present and assistant, as also by the counsel and judgment of divers worshipful lawyers and professors of divinity, with whom we have communicated in this behalf, do declare and pronounce thee, (the said John Rogers, otherwise called Matthew,) through thy demerits, transgressions, obstinacies, and wilfulness, (which, through manifold ways, thou hast incurred by thine own wicked and stubborn obstinacy,) to have been and to be guilty of the detestable, horrible, and wicked offences of heretical pravity and execrable doctrine, and that thou hast before us sundry times spoken, maintained, and wittingly and stubbornly defended, the said cursed and execrable doctrine in the sundry confessions, assertions, and recognitions here judicially before us oftentimes repeated, and yet still dost maintain, affirm, and believe the same; and that thou hast been and art lawfully and ordinarily convicted in this behalf: we therefore, I say—albeit, following the example of Christ, which would not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should convert and live, we have gone about oftentimes to correct thee, and by all lawful means that we could, and all wholesome admonitions that we did know, to reduce thee again unto the true faith and unity of the universal catholic church: notwithstanding we have found thee obstinate and stiff-necked, willingly continuing in thy damnable opinions and heresies, and refusing to return again unto the true faith and unity of the holy mother church, and as the child of wickedness and darkness so to have hardened thy heart, that thou wilt not understand the voice of thy shepherd, which, with a fatherly affection, doth seek after thee; nor wilt be allured with his fatherly and godly admonitions—we therefore, (Stephen, the bishop aforesaid,) not willing that thou which art wicked shouldest now become more wicked, and infect the Lord's flock with thine heresy, (which we are greatly afraid of,) with sorrow of mind and bitterness of heart do judge thee, and definitively condemn thee, the said John Rogers, otherwise called Matthew, thy demerits and faults being aggravated through thy damnable obstinacy, as guilty of most detestable heresies, and as an obstinate, impenitent sinner, refusing penitently to return to the lap and unity of the holy mother church; and that thou hast been and art by law excommunicate, and do pronounce and declare thee to be an excommunicate person. Also we pronounce and declare thee, being a heretic, to be cast out from the church, and left unto the judgment of the secular power, and now presently so do leave thee as an obstinate heretic, and a person wrapped in the sentence of the great curse, to be degraded worthily for thy demerits (requiring them, notwithstanding, in the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, that this execution and punishment worthily to be done upon thee, may so be moderated, that the rigour thereof be not too extreme, nor yet the gentleness too much mitigated; but that it may be to the salvation of thy soul, to the extirpation, terror, and conversion of the heretics, to the unity of the catholic faith) by this our sentence definitive which we here lay upon and against thee, and do with sorrow of heart promulgate in this form aforesaid!"

"After this sentence being read, he sent us (Master Hooper I mean, and me) to the clink, there to remain till night: and when it was dark, they carried us, (Master Hooper going before with the one sheriff, and I coming after with the other,) with bills and weapons enow, out of the clink, and led us through the bishop's house, and so through St. Mary Overy's churchyard; and so into Southwark, and over the bridge in procession to Newgate, through the city.

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"But I must show you this also, that when he had read the condemnation, he declared that I was in the great curse; and what a vengeable dangerous matter it was, to eat and drink with us that were accursed, or to give us any thing: for all that so did, should be partakers of the same great curse.

"'Well my Lord,' quoth I, 'here I stand before God and you, and all this honourable audience, and take him to witness, that I never wittingly or willingly taught any false doctrine; and therefore have I a good conscience before God and all good men. I am sure that you and I shall come before a Judge that is righteous, before whom I shall be as good a man as you: and I nothing doubt but that I shall be found there a true member of the true catholic church of Christ, and everlastingly saved. And as for your false church, ye need not to excommunicate me forth of it. I have not been in it these twenty years, the Lord be thanked there-for. But now ye have done what ye can, my Lord, I pray you yet grant me one thing.'

"'What is that?' quoth he.

"'That my poor wife, being a stranger, may come and speak with me so long as I live. For she hath ten children that are hers and mine, and somewhat I would counsel her, what were best for her to do.'

"'No,' quoth he, 'she is not thy wife.'

"'Yes, my Lord,' quoth I, 'and hath been these eighteen years.'

"'Should I grant her to be thy wife?' quoth he.

"'Choose you,' quoth I: 'whether ye will or not, she shall be so nevertheless.'

"'She shall not come at thee,' quoth he.

"'Then I have tired out all your charity,' said I. 'You make yourself highly displeased with the matrimony of priests, but you maintain open whoredom; as in Wales,' quoth I, 'where every priest hath his whore openly dwelling with him, and lying by him: even as your holy father suffereth all the priests in Dutchland and in France to do the like.' Thereto he answered not, but looked as it were asquint at it: and thus I departed, and saw him last."

Other good matter there is besides, penned by Master Rogers in the prison, which he thought and would have answered, if he might have been permitted: which matter hereunder followeth to be seen by his own setting down.

"Hitherto, dearly beloved, ye have heard what was said. Now hear what I purposed the night before to have said, if I could have been permitted. Two things I purposed to have touched: the one, how it was lawful for a private man to reason and write against a wicked act of parliament, or ungodly council, which the lord chancellor the day before denied me: the other was to prove that prosperity was not always a token of God's love.

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"And this I purposed to speak of, because the lord chancellor boasted of himself, that he was delivered forth of prison as it were by miracle, and preserved of God to restore true religion, and to punish me and such others, whom he termed heretics. Concerning these two points, in this manner I purposed to have proceeded:-

"It is not unknown to you, that King Henry the Eighth, in his time, made his daughter, the queen that now is, a bastard; he abolished the authority of the bishop of Rome; he pulled down abbeys: and all this he did by the consent of parliament.

"King Edward the Sixth, in his time, made lawful the marriage of priests; turned the service into English; abolished the idolatrous mass, with all like superstitious trumpery; set up the holy communion: and all by consent of parliament.

"The queen that now is hath repealed the act that made her bastard; hath brought in the bishop of Rome, and set him in his old authority: beginneth to set up abbeys again; hath made the marriage of priests unlawful; hath turned the English service into Latin again; hath set up the mass again, with like baggage, and pulled down the holy communion: and all this is done by consent of parliament.

"If the acts of parliament, made in King Henry's time and in King Edward's, had their foundation upon God's word, whereupon all positive law ought to be grounded; then these which are established in the queen's time, being clean contrary to the others, as they are not warranted by God's word, so are they wicked, and therefore to be both spoken and written against of all men, as well of private as of public persons.

"If your acts, my Lord Chancellor, which you have lately coined, (I call them yours, because ye only bear the swinge—devise, and decree what ye list, all other men are forced to follow,) be good, and according to God's word, then the former acts were naught; which thing ye seem to say, in utterly taking of them away, and setting up of the contrary.—If the former were naught, why then did ye consent unto them, and confirm them to be good by your voluntary and advised writing, as it appeareth, and will do to the world's end, in your book *De vera Obedientia*, where you prove the queen a bastard, and the bishop of Rome to be a usurper, and to have no authority in the realm of England?

"Ye must needs confess, that the most part of your acts of parliament in these latter days have been according to the fantasies of a few. King Henry, in his time, established by parliament in a manner what he listed, and many things that might well have been amended.

"In King Edward's days the dukes of Somerset and Northumberland bare a great stroke in things, and did not all things sincerely. Even so, since the queen that now is came to the government of the realm, all things are ordered by your device and head, and the whole parliament house is led as you list; by reason whereof they are compelled to condescend to things both contrary to God's manifest word, and also contrary to their own consciences: so great is your cruelty.

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"For to bring your wicked purposes to pass, and to establish your antichristian kingdom, (which, I trust, the Lord with the breath of his mouth will speedily blow over,) ye have called three parliaments in one year and a half, that what ye could not compass by subtle persuasion, ye might bring to pass by tyrannical threatening: for, if ye had not used cruel force in your doings, ye had never brought to pass such things as this day ye have, to the utter defacing and abolishing of God's true religion, and to the casting away and destruction of your natural country, so much as in you lieth.

"And as it is most true, that acts of parliament have, in these latter days, been ruled by the fantasies of a few; and the whole parliament house, contrary to their minds, was compelled to consent to such things as a few have conceived: so it must needs be granted, that the papists at all times were most ready to apply themselves to the present world, and, like men-pleasers, to follow the fantasies of such as were in authority, and turn with the state, which way soever it turned. Yea, if the state should change ten times in one year, they would ever be ready at hand to change with it, and so follow the cry; and rather utterly forsake God, and be of no religion, than that they would forego lust or living, for God or for religion.

"King Henry by parliament, according to God's word, put down the pope: the clergy consented, and all men openly by oath refused his usurped supremacy, knowing by God's word Christ to be head of the church, and every king in his realm to have, under and next unto Christ, the chief sovereignty.

"King Edward also, by parliament, according to God's word, set the marriage of priests at liberty, abolished the popish and idolatrous mass, changed the Latin service, and set up the holy communion: the whole clergy consented hereunto; many of them set it forth by their preaching; and all they by practising confirmed the same.

"Notwithstanding, now when the state is altered, and the laws changed, the papistical clergy, with other like worldlings, as men neither fearing God, neither flying worldly shame, neither yet regarding their consciences, oaths, or honesty, like wavering weathercocks, turn round about, and putting on harlots' foreheads, sing a new song, and cry with an impudent mouth, 'Come again, come again to the catholic church;' meaning the antichristian Church of Rome, which is the synagogue of Satan, and the very sink of all superstition, heresy, and idolatry.

"Of what force, I pray you, may a man think these parliaments to be, which scantily can stand a year in strength? or what credit is to be given to these law-makers, which are not ashamed to establish contrary laws, and to condemn that for evil, which before (the thing itself and the circumstances remaining all one) they affirmed and decreed to be good. Truly ye are so ready, contrary to all right, to change and turn for the pleasure of man, that at length, I fear, God will use you like changelings, and both turn you forth of his kingdom, and out of your own country.

"Ye charge the gospel preachers with the undoing of this realm: nay, it is the turning papists, which have not only set to sale their country like traitors, but also troubled the simple people, so that they cannot tell what they may believe. For that which they affirmed, and

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preached to be true doctrine, in King Edward's days, now they cry against it, as it were most abominable heresy. This fault, I trust, ye shall never find at our hands.

"Therefore, to conclude that which I purposed, forasmuch as the acts of parliament of these latter times are one contrary to another, and those which ye now have established in your time are contrary to God's most manifest word—as is the usurped supremacy of the bishop of Rome, the idolatrous mass, the Latin service, the prohibiting of lawful marriage, (which St. Paul calleth the doctrine of devils,) with many such others: I say, it is not only lawful for any private man, which bringeth God's word for him, and the authority of the primitive and best church, to speak and write against such unlawful laws; but it is his duty, and he is bound in very conscience to do it. Which thing I have proved by divers examples before, and now will add but one other, which is written in Acts v., where it appeareth that the high priests, the elders, scribes, and Pharisees, decreed in their council, and gave the same commandments to the apostles, that they should not preach in the name of Christ, as ye have also forbidden us. Notwithstanding, when they were charged therewithal, they answered, We ought more to obey God than man: even so we may, and do answer you—God is more to be obeyed than man; and your wicked laws cannot so tongue-tie us, but we will speak the truth.

"The apostles were beaten for their boldness, and they rejoiced that they suffered for Christ's cause. Ye have also provided rods for us, and bloody whips: yet when ye have done that which God's hand and counsel hath determined that ye shall do, be it life or death, I trust that God will so assist us by his Holy Spirit and grace, that we shall patiently suffer it, and praise God for it. And whatsoever become of me and others, which now suffer for speaking and professing of the truth, yet be ye sure that God's word will prevail, and have the upper hand, when your bloody laws and wicked decrees, for want of sure foundation, shall fall in the dust. And that which I have spoken of your acts of parliament, the same may be said of the general councils of these latter days, which have been within these five hundred years, where the antichrist of Rome, by reason of his usurped authority, ruled the roast, and decreed such things as made for his gain, not regarding God's glory: and therefore are they to be spoken, written, and cried out against, of all such as fear God and love his truth.

"And thus much I purposed to have said concerning the first point.

"Now touching the second point: That whereas my Lord Chancellor had the day before said his pleasure of them that ruled the realm while he was in prison, and also rejoiced as though God had made this alteration, even for his sake and his catholic church, as he called it, and to declare as it were by miracle, that we were before in a schism and heresy, and the realm was now brought unto a unity, and to a truth, and I cannot tell whereto: thereto was I fully purposed to have said:

"Secondly, my Lord, whereas ye yesterday so highly dispraised the government of them that ruled in innocent King Edward's days, it may please your Lordship to understand, that we poor preachers, whom ye so evil allow, did most boldly and plainly rebuke their evil governance in many things, specially their covetousness, and neglect and small regard to live after the gospel; as also their negligence to occasion others to live thereafter, with more things than I can now rehearse. This can all London testify with us.—I would also have told him, what I myself,

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for my part, did once at Paul's Cross, concerning the misuse of abbeyes, and other church goods: and I am assured right well, that never a papist of them all, did ever so much therein as I did, I thank the Lord there-for: I was also, as is well known, fain to answer there-for before all the council, and many of my brethren did the like, so that we, for the not rebuking of their faults, shall not answer before God, nor be blameworthy before men. Therefore let the gentlemen and courtiers themselves, and all the citizens of London, testify what we did.

"But, my Lord, you could not abide them, for that which they did unto you, and for that they were of a contrary religion unto you. Wherefore, in that you seem so infest against them, it is neither any just nor public cause, but it is your own private hate, that maketh you to report so evil of their governance. And ye may now say what ye list of them, when they be partly dead and gone, and partly by you put out of office.

"But what shall be said of you when your fall shall follow, ye shall then hear. And I must say my conscience to you: I fear me, ye have and will, with your governance, bring England out of God's blessing into a warm sun. I pray God, you do not.

"I am an Englishman born, and, God knoweth, do naturally wish well to my country. And, my Lord, I have often proved that the things, which I have much feared aforehand should come to pass, have indeed followed. I pray God I may fail of my guessing in this behalf: but truly, that will not be with expelling the true word of God out of the realm, and with the shedding of innocent blood.

"And as touching your rejoicing, as though God had set you aloft to punish us by miracle, (for so you report and brag openly of yourself,) and to minister justice, if we will not receive your holy father's mercy, and thereby do declare your church to be true, and ours false, to that I answer thus: God's works be wonderful, and are not to be comprehended and perceived by man's wisdom, nor by the wit of the most wise and prudent. Yea, they are soonest deceived, and do most easily judge amiss of God's wonderful works, that are most worldly wise. God hath made all the wisdom of this world foolishness: 'He hath put his beloved and dear heart into the hands of the enemies thereof.'

"This thing doth God, which thing all wise men account to be the most foolish and unwise part that can be. Will the wise of the world, trow ye, put their most dear friends and tenderly beloved children into their enemies' hands, to kill, slay, burn, &c.: that is unto them a madness above all madness. And yet doth God use this order, and this is a high and singular wisdom in his sight, which the world taketh to be most extreme madness.

"Can the world show a cause why he suffered the great multitude of innocent children to be murdered of Herod of Ascalon, or why he put that most holy man, John Baptist, into the hands of Herod's son to be beheaded, and that in prison secretly, without open judgment, most tyrannously? Why he suffered his beloved apostle James to be beheaded of another Herod? Why he suffered his beloved seed of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, to be four hundred years in thralldom and bondage, and under Pharaoh? And all the stock of Judah and Benjamin, his beloved children and church, to come under the power, sword, and tyranny of Nebuchadnezzar? No verily, but his

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true catholic church knoweth divers causes thereof, which are now too long to rehearse, and which I would right gladly show, if I had time.

"But this I am right sure of, that it was not because that the aforesaid godly men were in heresies, and subject to false gods' services, and idolatry, and that their adversaries were men of God, and beloved of God: the contrary was true: John Baptist was beloved of God, and Herod hated, and so forth of the rest: and John Baptist, the innocent children, James, the children of Israel in Egypt and in Babylon, were the catholic members and people of God: and their adversaries, into whose hands they were put and delivered, and that of God, by his good will and pleasure, were idolaters, and the people of the devil: but they would be called the chief members of God, and rejoiced that they had the true God, and that it was now declared by miracle, that the Israelites had but a false God, and a false religion, seeing they were delivered into the Babylonians' hands. And all the others (the Herods and Pharaoh, I mean) plainly determined, that if the men, which they killed and handled evil, had been God's people, God would never have suffered them to come into their hands, but rather have done the contrary; and have let John Baptist kill Herod, and the Israelites Pharaoh and Nebuchadnezzar. Even the like is now to be seen in us, and in our most cruel adversaries.

"They are not therefore the catholic church, because our merciful God hath at this present given our lives into their hands: neither are we therefore heretics, because we suffer punishment at their hands, as the lord chancellor by his rejoicing seemeth to gather. The contrary is hereby to be gathered, that we be the members of the true catholic church, because we suffer for the same doctrine which John Baptist, James, the Israelites, yea, Christ and the apostles, did teach: of which none taught any thing of our adversaries' doctrine; namely, that the rotten antichristian head of Rome should be the head of Christ's church: but they have manifestly taught the contrary, especially Paul, John, and Daniel; which thing, if I might have life and books, I would so (by God's grace) set forth, that all the world should see it: and that our adversaries, with their antichristian head, are the members of the devil's church, as they undoubtedly are. And in like case, as the above-mentioned holy men, though they, in their days, were counted to be heretics, seditious, and disturbers of the whole world; for unto John Baptist it was said, Wherefore baptizest thou, if thou be not Elias, nor that prophet? &c.—as who should say, Thou hast no such authority to begin a new ceremony in the church; for we be in ordinary possession of the church; and of us thou hast received no such power: we abide by our circumcision. And the like could I declare of James, and of all the apostles and prophets, and of our Saviour Christ himself, that were all condemned as heretics, and blasphemers of God, and disturbers of the whole world. Paul and Silas heard like words of the Philippians: These men trouble our city, seeing they are Jews, and preach institutions which are not lawful for us to receive, seeing we be Romans. And in Athens, the wise men of this world, and such as gave their endeavour to wisdom, said by St. Paul, *Quid vult spermo-logus hic dicere?* What will this prater, (as my Lord Chancellor said to me, Shall we suffer this fellow to prate,—when I would fain have said that thing that I have here written,) trifler, news-carrier, or bringer, that telleth whatsoever men will have him for gain and advantage? that will for a piece of bread say what ye will have him, &c. And another said in the same place, He seemeth to be a preacher of new devils, &c.; and the Jews say by Paul, laying hands on him, Help, O ye Israelites, say they; this is the man that teacheth all men every where against the people, (meaning the Jews,) and the law of this place (meaning Jerusalem): and yet was never a word of these true. And the same Jews said of Paul, Out of the earth with that man,

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or, Away with him; for it is not lawful for him to live, or, he is not worthy to live. And how many more of these examples are to be found in the Bible! Although, I say, these men were in their days taken for heretics of them that were then in authority, and of the great multitude of the world, yet it is now well known (yea, and very shortly after their deaths this was known, yea, and even in their lives also) unto the true catholic church, that they were not only the chief and special members of the true catholic church, but also the founders and builders thereof (notwithstanding the sinister judgment that the wise and mighty men, and the great multitude of the world, had of them); and in their consciences they were always assuredly certified of the same. Even the same shall the world find true in us shortly after our deaths, as also there be at this hour (the Lord be thanked there-for) not a few that already know it; as we ourselves also are by God's grace assuredly certified in our consciences—that we are not heretics, but members of the true catholic church; and that our adversaries the bishops and popish clergy, which will have that title, are the members of Satan's church, and their antichristian head of Rome with them.

"But here they will cry out, Lo! these men will be still like John Baptist, the apostles, and prophets,' &c.

"I answer, 'We make not ourselves like unto them, in the singular virtues and gifts of God given unto them; as of doing miracles, and of many other things.' The similitude and likeness of them and us consisteth not in all things, but only in this; that is, that we be like them in doctrine, and in the suffering of persecution and infamy for the same.

"We have preached their very doctrine, and none other thing: that we are able sufficiently to declare by their writings; and by writing, for my part, I have proffered to prove the same, as is now often said. And for this cause we suffer the like reproach, shame, and rebuke of the world, and the like persecution, losing of our lives and goods, forsaking (as our Master Christ commandeth) father, mother, sisters, brethren, wives, children, and all that there is; being assured of a joyful resurrection, and to be crowned in glory with them, according to the infallible promises made unto us in Christ, our only and sufficient Mediator, Reconciler, Priest, and Sacrifice; which hath pleased the Father, and quieted and pacified his wrath against our sins, and made us without spot or wrinkle in his sight by imputation, although we, of and in ourselves, are bespotted, and be-blotted with many filthy sins, which, if the great mercy granted in Christ did not put away, by not imputing them unto us of his measureless unspeakable mercy and love to save us, they would have brought us to everlasting damnation, and death perpetual: herein, and in no other, do we affirm ourselves to be like unto our Head Christ, and all his apostles, prophets, martyrs, and saints. And herein ought all Christian men to be like them; and herein are all true Christian men and women like them every one, according to the measure of the faith that God hath dealt unto them, and to the diversity of the gifts of the Spirit given unto them.

"But let us now consider, that if it be God's good will and pleasure to give his own beloved heart (that is, his beloved church, and the members thereof) into the hands of their enemies, to chasten, try, and prove them, and to bring them to the true unfeigned acknowledging of their own natural stubbornness, and disobedience towards God and his commandment, as touching the love of God and of their brethren or neighbours, and their natural inclination, readiness, and desire to love creatures; to seek their own lusts, pleasures, and things forbidden of God; to obtain a true and earnest repentance, and sorrowfulness there-for, and to make them to

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sigh and cry for the forgiveness of the same. and for the aid of the Spirit daily to mortify and kill the said evil desires and lusts: yea, and often falling into gross outward sins, as did David, Peter, Magdalene, and others, to rise again also thereout with a mighty crying for mercy, with many other causes—let us also consider what he hereafter doth with the said enemies, into whose hands he hath given his tender beloved dearlings to be chastened and tried. Forsooth, whereas he but chasteneth his dearlings, and crosseth them for a small while, according to his good pleasure, as all fathers do with their children, he utterly destroyeth, yea, and everlastingly damneth, the unrepentant enemies. Let Herod tell me what he won by killing James, and persecuting Peter, and Christ's tender dearlings, and beloved spouse and wife, his church. Verily God thought him not worthy to have death ministered unto him by men or angels, or any worthy creatures, but those small, and yet most vile vermin, lice and worms, must consume and kill his beastly, vile, and tyrannous body. Pharaoh and Nebuchadnezzar, for all their pride and most mighty power, must at length let God's dearlings go freely away out of their land; yea, out of their bands and tyranny. For when it could not be obtained at their hands that God's congregation might have true mercy ministered unto them, but the counterfeit mercy of these our days, (that is to say, extreme cruelty, and even the very and that most horrible and cruel death,) God-arose and awoke out of his sleep, and destroyed those enemies of his flock with a mighty hand and stretched-out arm. Pharaoh did, with most great and intolerable labours and burdens, oppress and bring under the poor Israelites; and yet did the courtiers undoubtedly noise abroad, that the king was merciful unto them, to suffer them to live in the land, and to set them awork, that they might get them their livings. If he should thrust them out of his land, whither should they go, like a sort of vagabonds and runagates? This title and name of mercy would that tyrant have, and so did his flattering false courtiers spread his vain praise abroad. Have not we the like examples now-a-days? Oh that I had now time to write certain things pertaining to our Winchester's mercy! How merciful he hath been to me and to my good brethren I will not speak of, neither yet unto the duke of Suffolk's most innocent daughter, and to her as innocent husband. For, although their fathers were faulty, yet had their youth and lack of experience deserved a pardon by all true merciful men's judgments. Oh that I had time to paint out this matter aright! but there be many alive that can do it much better when I am dead. Pharaoh had his plagues, and his most flourishing land was, by counterfeit mercy, which was indeed right cruelty and abominable tyranny, utterly destroyed. And think ye that this bloody, butcherly bishop of Winchester, and his most bloody brethren, shall escape? or that England shall, for their offences, and specially for the maintenance of their idolatry, and wilful following of them, not abide as great a brunt?—Yes, undoubtedly.

"If God look not mercifully upon England, the seeds of utter destruction are sown in it already, by these hypocritical tyrants, and antichristian prelates, popish papists, and double traitors to their natural country. And yet they speak of mercy, of blessing, of the catholic church, of unity, of power, and strengthening of the realm. This double dissimulation will show itself one day, when the plague cometh, which will undoubtedly light upon those crown-shorn captains, and that shortly; howsoever the godly and the poor realm suffer in the mean while, by God's good sufferance and will.

"Spite of Nebuchadnezzar's beard, and maugre his heart, the captive, thrall'd, and miserable Jews must come home again, and have their city and temple builded up again by Zerubbabel, Esdras, and Nehemiah, &c. And the whole kingdom of Babylon must go to ruin, and

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be taken in of strangers, the Persians and the Medes. So shall the dispersed English flock of Christ be brought again into their former estate, or to a better, I trust in the Lord God, than it was in innocent King Edward's days; and our bloody Babylonical bishops, and the whole crown-shorn company, brought to utter shame, rebuke, ruin, decay, and destruction. For God cannot, and undoubtedly will not, suffer for ever their abominable lying false doctrine; their hypocrisy, bloodthirst, whoredom, idleness; their pestilent life, pampered in all kind of pleasure; their thrasonical boasting pride; their malicious, envious, and poisoned stomachs, which they bear towards his poor miserable Christians. Peter truly warneth, that, If judgment beginneth at the house of God, what shall be the end of them, that believe not the gospel? If the righteous shall scant be saved, where shall the ungodly and sinful appear? Some shall have their punishment here in this world, and in the world to come; and they that do escape in this world, shall not escape everlasting damnation. This shall be your sauce, O ye wicked papists; make ye merry here, as long as ye may!"

After that John Rogers, as ye have heard, had been long and straitly imprisoned, lodged in Newgate amongst thieves, often examined, and very uncharitably entreated, and at length unjustly and most cruelly by wicked Winchester condemned: the fourth of February, A. D. 1555, being Monday in the morning, he was warned suddenly, by the keeper's wife of Newgate, to prepare himself to the fire; who, being then found asleep, scarce with much shogging could be awaked. At length being raised and waked, and bid to make haste, "Then," said he, "if it be so, I need not tie my points" and so was had down first to Bonner to be degraded. That done, he craved of Bonner but one petition. And Bonner asking what that should be: "Nothing," said he, "but that I might talk a few words with my wife before my burning." But that could not be obtained of him. "Then," said he, "you declare your charity, what it is." And so he was brought into Smithfield by Master Chester and Master Woodroffe, then sheriffs of London, there to be burnt; where he showed most constant patience, not using many words, for he could not be permitted; but only exhorting the people constantly to remain in that faith and true doctrine which he before had taught, and they had learned, and for the confirmation whereof he was not only content patiently to suffer and bear all such bitterness and cruelty as had been showed him, but also most gladly to resign up his life, and to give his flesh to the consuming fire, for the testimony of the same.

Briefly, and in few words, to comprehend the whole order of his life, doings, and martyrdom: first, this godly Master Rogers was committed to prison, as is above said, and there continued a year and a half. In prison he was merry, and earnest in all he went about. He wrote much; his examinations he penned with his own hand, which else had never come to light: wherein is to be noted, by the way, a memorable working of God's providence. Ye heard a little above, how Master Rogers craved of Bonner, going to his burning, that he might speak a few words before with his wife; which could not be granted. What these words were, which he had to say to his wife, it is for no man certainly to define. Likewise it may be supposed that his purpose was, amongst other things, to signify unto her of the book written of his examinations and answers, which he had privily hid in a secret corner of the prison where he lay. But where man's power lacketh, see how God's providence worketh. For notwithstanding that during the time of his imprisonment, strait search there was to take away his letters and writings; yet, after his death, his wife and one of her sons, called Daniel, coming into the place where he lay, to seek for his books and writings, and now ready to go away, it chanced her son aforenamed, casting his

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eye aside, to spy a black thing (for it had a black cover, belike because it should not be known) lying in a blind corner under a pair of stairs; who, willing his mother to see what it was, found it to be the book written with his own hand, containing these his examinations and answers, with other matter above specified. In the latter end whereof was also contained, that which concerneth a propheticall forewarning of things pertaining to the church, and which, in the same his words as they be there written, may be seen in the end of his Admonitions, Sayings, and Propheysings.

Furthermore, amongst other words and sayings, which may seem prophetically to be spoken of him, this also may be added, and is notoriously to be marked, that he spake, being then in prison, to the printer of this present book, who then also was laid up for like cause of religion "Thou," said he, "shalt live to see the alteration of this religion, and the gospel to be freely preached again: and therefore have me commended to my brethren, as well in exile as others, and bid them be circumspect in displacing the papists, and putting good ministers into churches; or else their end will be worse than ours." And for lack of good ministers to furnish churches, his device was, (Master Hooper also agreeing to the same,) that for every ten churches some one good and learned superintendent should be appointed, which should have under him faithful readers, such as might well be got; so that popish priests should clean be put out, and the bishop once a year to oversee the profiting of the parishes. And if the minister did not his duty, as well in profiting himself in his book, and his parishioners in good instructions, so that they may be trained by little and little to give a reckoning how they do profit, then he to be expelled, and another put in his place; and the bishop to do the like with the superintendent. This was his counsel and request: showing moreover, and protesting in his commendations to his brethren by the printer aforesaid, that if they would not so do, their end, he said, would be worse than theirs.

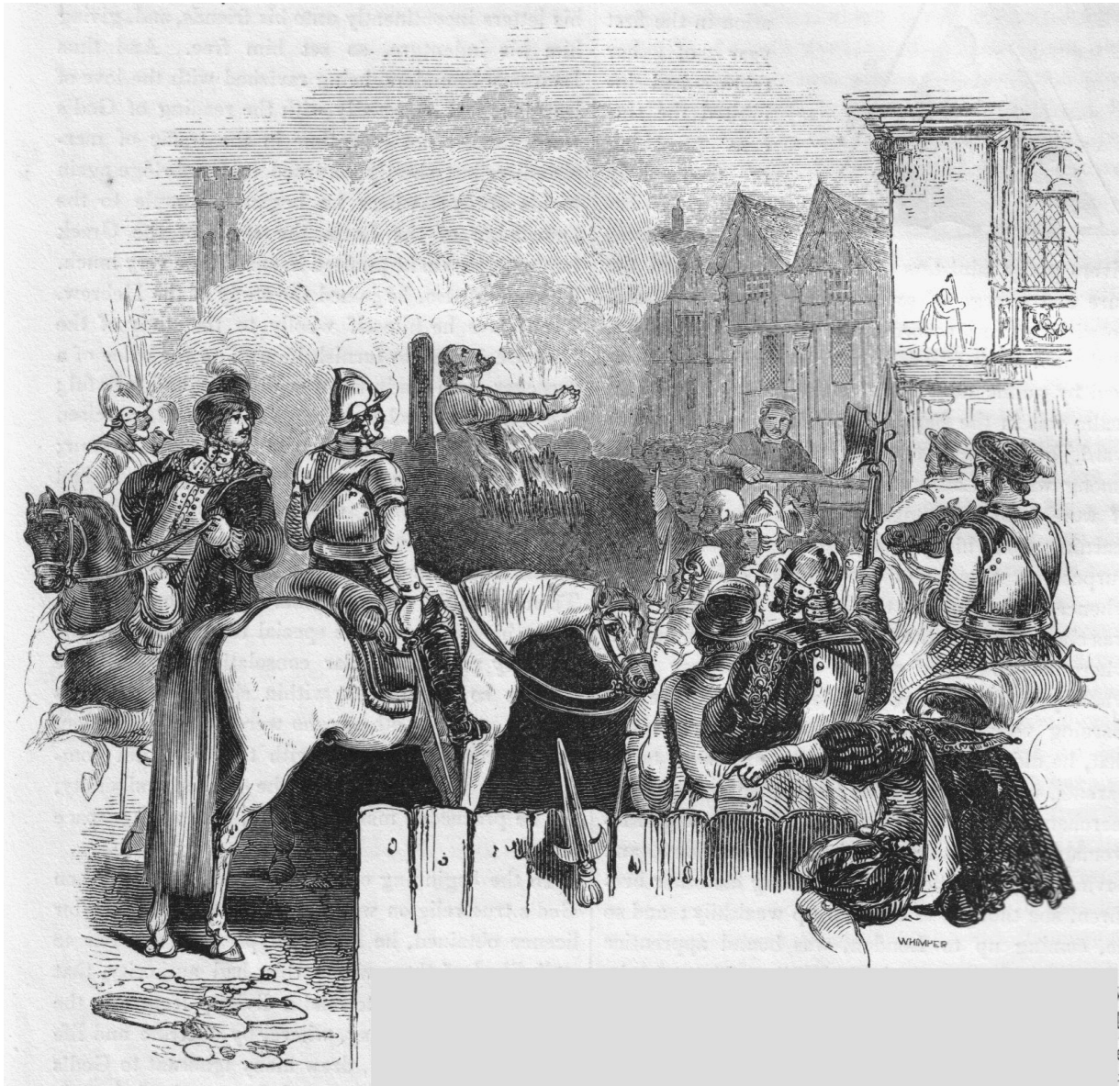
Over and besides divers things touching Master Rogers, this is not to be forgotten, how in the days of King Edward the Sixth, there was a controversy among the bishops and clergy, for wearing of priests' caps, and other attire belonging to that order. Master Rogers, being one of that number which never went otherwise than in a round cap, during all the time of King Edward, affirmed that he would not agree to that decreement of uniformity, but upon this condition: that if they would needs have such a uniformity of wearing the cap, tippet, &c., then it should also be decreed withal, that the papists, for a difference betwixt them and others, should be constrained to wear upon their sleeves a chalice with a host upon it. Whereupon if they would consent, he would agree to the other: otherwise he would not, he said, consent to the setting forth of the same, nor ever wear the cap; as indeed he never did.

To proceed now further in describing the doings of this man, during the time while he remained prisoner in Newgate, he was to the prisoners beneficial and liberal; for whom he had thus devised: that he with his fellows should have but one meal a day, they paying notwithstanding for the charges of the whole; the other meal should be given to them that lacked on the other side of the prison. But Alexander Andrew, their keeper, a strait man, and a right Alexander, a coppersmith indeed, of whose doing more shall be said, God willing, hereafter, would in no case suffer that.

The Sunday before he suffered, he drank to Master Hooper, being then underneath him, and bade them commend him unto him, and tell him, "There was never little fellow better would stick to a man, than he would stick to him; "presupposing they should both be burned together,

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although it happened otherwise; for Master Rogers was burnt alone. And thus much briefly concerning the life and such acts of Master Rogers, as I thought worthy noting.



John Rogers Burnt at the Stake

Now when the time came, that he, being delivered to the sheriffs, should be brought out of Newgate to Smithfield, the place of his execution, first came to him Master Woodroffe, one of the aforesaid sheriffs, and calling Master Rogers unto him, asked him if he would revoke his abominable doctrine, and his evil opinion of the sacrament of the altar. Master Rogers answered and said, "That which I have preached I will seal with my blood." "Then," quoth Master

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Woodroffe, "thou art a heretic." "That shall be known," quoth Rogers, "at the day of judgment." "Well," quoth Master Woodroffe, "I will never pray for thee." "But I will pray for you," quoth Master Rogers: and so was brought the same day, which was Monday the fourth of February, by the sheriffs towards Smithfield, saying the psalm Miserere by the way, all the people wonderfully rejoicing at his constancy, with great praises and thanks to God for the same. And there, in the presence of Master Rochester, comptroller of the queen's household, Sir Richard Southwell, both the sheriffs, and a wonderful number of people, the fire was put unto him; and when it had taken hold both upon his legs and shoulders, he, as one feeling no smart, washed his hands in the flame, as though it had been in cold water. And, after lifting up his hands unto heaven, not removing the same until such time as the devouring fire had consumed them—most mildly this happy martyr yielded up his spirit into the hands of his heavenly Father. A little before his burning at the stake, his pardon was brought, if he would have recanted, but he utterly refused. He was the first protomartyr of all the blessed company that suffered in Queen Mary's time, that gave the first adventure upon the fire. His wife and children, being eleven in number, and ten able to go, and one sucking on her breast, met him by the way as he went towards Smithfield. This sorrowful sight of his own flesh and blood could nothing move him; but that he constantly and cheerfully took his death, with wonderful patience, in the defence and quarrel of Christ's gospel.

265. Laurence Saunders.



AFTER that Queen Mary, by public proclamation in the first year of her reign, had inhibited the sincere preaching of God's holy word, as is before declared, divers godly ministers of the word, which had the cure and charge of souls committed to them, did, notwithstanding, according to their bounden duty, feed their flock faithfully, not as preachers authorized by public authority, (as the godly order of the realm was in the happy days of blessed King Edward,) but as the private pastors of particular flocks; among whom Laurence Saunders was one, a man of worshipful parentage. His bringing up was in learning from his yonth, in places

meet for that purpose, as namely in the school of Eton; from whence (according to the manner there used) he was chosen to go to the King's college in Cambridge, where he continued scholar of the college three whole years, and there profited in knowledge and learning very much for that time. Shortly after that, he did forsake the university, and went to his parents, upon whose advice he minded to become a merchant, for that his mother, who was a gentlewoman of good estimation, being left a widow, and having a good portion for him among his other brethren, she thought to set him up wealhtily; and so he, coming up to London, was bound apprentice with a merchant, named Sir William Chester, who afterward chanced to be sheriff of London the same year that Saunders was burned at Coventry. Thus, by the mind of his friends, Laurence should needs have been a merchant; but Almighty God, who hath his secret working in all things, saw better for his servant, as it fell out in the end. For although that Saunders was bound by fast indenture to play the merchant, yet the Lord so wrought inwardly in his heart, that he could find no liking in that vocation; so that when his other fellows were busily occupied about that kind of trade, he would secretly withdraw himself into some privy corner, and there fall into his solitary lamentations; as one not liking that kind and trade of life.

It happened that his master, being a good man, and hearing his apprentice thus in his secret prayers inwardly to mourn by himself, called him unto him, to know what the cause was, of that his solitariness and lamentation; who then, perceiving his mind nothing to fancy that kind of life, (for so Saunders declared unto him,) and perceiving also his whole purpose to be bent to the study of his book, and spiritual contemplation, like a good man directed his letters incontinently unto his friends, and, giving him his indenture, so set him free. And thus Laurence Saunders, being ravished with the love of learning, and especially with the reading of God's word, tarried not long time in the traffic of merchandise, but shortly returned to Cambridge again to his study; where he began to couple to the knowledge of the Latin, the study of the Greek tongue, wherein he profited in small time very much. Therewith, also, he joined the study of the Hebrew. Then gave he himself wholly to the study of the Holy Scripture, to furnish himself to the office of a preacher. In study he was diligent and painful; in godly life he declared the fruits of a well-exercised conscience; he prayed often and with great fervour; and in his prayers, as also

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at other times, he had his part of spiritual exercises, which his hearty sighing to God declared, in which when any special assault did come, by prayer he felt present relief. Then was his company marvellous comfortable; for as his exercises were special teachings, so in the end they proved singular consolations: wherein he became so expert, that within short space he was able to comfort others who were in any affliction, by the consolation wherewith the Lord did comfort him. Thus continued he in the university, till he proceeded master of arts, and a long space after.

In the beginning of King Edward's reign, when God's true religion was begun to be restored, after licence obtained, he began to preach; and was so well liked of them which then had authority, that they appointed him to read a divinity lecture in the college at Fotheringay, where, by doctrine and life he edified the godly, drew many ignorant to God's true knowledge, and stopped the mouth of the adversaries. He married about that time, and in the married estate led a life unblamable before all men. The college of Fotheringay being dissolved, he was placed to be reader in the minster at Lichfield; where he so behaved himself in teaching and living, that the very adversaries did give him a full report as well of learning, as of much godliness. After a certain space, he departed from Lichfield to a benefice in Leicestershire, called Church-Langton, whereupon he, keeping residence, taught diligently, and kept a liberal house. From thence he was orderly called to take a benefice in the city of London, named Allhallows in Bread Street. Then minded he to give over his cure in the country: and therefore, after he had taken possession of his benefice in London, he departed from London into the country, clearly to discharge himself thereof. And even at that time began the broil about the claim that Queen Mary made to the crown, by reason whereof he could not accomplish his purpose.

In this trouble, and even among the beginners of it, (such I mean as were for the queen,) he preached at Northampton, nothing meddling with the state, but boldly uttered his conscience against popish doctrine and antichrist's damnable errors, which were like to spring up again in England, as a just plague for the little love which the English nation did bear to the blessed word of God, which had been so plentifully offered unto them. The queen's men, which were there and heard him, were highly displeased with him for his sermon, and for it kept him among them as prisoner: but, partly for love of his brethren and friends, who were chief doers for the queen among them, partly because there was no law broken by his preaching, they dismissed him. He, seeing the dreadful days at hand, inflamed with the fire of godly zeal, preached with diligence at both those benefices, as time could serve him; seeing he could resign neither of them now, but into the hand of a papist.

Thus passed he to and fro preaching, until that proclamation was put forth, of which mention is made in the beginning. At that time he was at his benefice in the country, where he (notwithstanding the proclamation aforesaid) taught diligently God's truth, confirming the people therein, and arming them against false doctrine, until he was not only commanded to cease, but also with force resisted, so that he could not proceed there in preaching. Some of his friends, perceiving such fearful menacing, counselled him to fly out of the realm, which he refused to do. But seeing he was with violence kept from doing good in that place, he returned towards London to visit the flock, of which he had there the charge.

On Saturday, the fourteenth of October, as he was coming nigh to the city of London, Sir John Mordant, a councillor to Queen Mary, did overtake him, and asked him whither he went. "I

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have," said Saunders, "a cure in London; and now I go to instruct my people according to my duty." "If you will follow my counsel," quoth Master Mordant, "let them alone, and come not at them." To this Saunders answered, "How shall I then be discharged before God, if any be sick, and desire consolation? if any want good counsel, and need instruction? or if any should slip into error, and receive false doctrine?" "Did you not," quoth Mordant, "preach such a day (and named a day,) in Bread Street, London?" "Yes verily," said Saunders "that same is my cure." "I heard you myself," quoth Master Mordant; "and will you preach now there again?" "If it please you," said Saunders, "to-morrow you may hear me again in that same place; where I will confirm, by the authority of God's word, all that I said then, and whatsoever before that time I taught them." "I would counsel you," quoth the other, "not to preach." "If you can and will forbid me by lawful authority, then must I obey," said Saunders. "Nay," quoth he, "I will not forbid you; but I do give you counsel." And thus entered they both the city, and departed each from other. Master Mordant, of an uncharitable mind, went to give warning to Bonner, bishop of London, that Saunders would preach in his cure the next day. Saunders resorted to his lodging, with a mind bent to do his duty: where, because he seemed to be somewhat troubled, one who was there about him, asked him how he did. "In very deed," saith he, "I am in prison, till I be in prison:" meaning that there his mind was unquiet until he had preached; and that he should have quietness of mind, though he were put in prison.

The next day, which was Sunday in the forenoon, he made a sermon in his parish, entreating on that place which Paul writeth to the Corinthians: I have coupled you to one man, that ye should make yourselves a chaste virgin unto Christ. But I fear lest it come to pass, that as the serpent beguiled Eve, even so your wits should be corrupt from the singleness which ye had towards Christ. He recited a sum of that true Christian doctrine, through which they were coupled to Christ, to receive of him free justification through faith in his blood. The papistical doctrine he compared to the serpent's deceiving: and, lest they should be deceived by it, he made a comparison between the voice of God and the voice of the popish serpent; descending to more particular declaration thereof, as it were to let them plainly see the difference that is between the order of the church service set forth by King Edward in the English tongue, and comparing it with the popish service then used in the Latin tongue. The first, he said, was good, because it was according to the word of God, and the order of the primitive church. The other, he said, was evil, and though in that evil be intermingled some good Latin words; yet was it but a little honey or milk mingled with a great deal of poison, to make them drink up all. This was the sum of his sermon. In the afternoon he was ready in his church to have given another exhortation to his people. But the bishop of London interrupted him, by sending an officer for him. This officer charged him, upon the pain of disobedience and contumacy, forthwith to come to the bishop his master. Thus, as the apostles were brought out of the temple, where they were teaching, unto the rulers of the priests; so was Laurence Saunders brought before this bishop in his palace of London, who had in his company the aforementioned Sir John Mordant, and some of his chaplains. The bishop laid no more to Laurence Saunders's charge, but treason for breaking the queen's proclamation; heresy and sedition for his sermon.

The treason and sedition his charity was content to let slip until another time; but a heretic he would now prove him, and all those, he said, who did teach and believe that the administration of the sacraments and all orders of the church are most pure, which do come most nigh to the order of the primitive church. For the church was then but in her infancy, and could

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not abide that perfection which was afterward to be furnished with ceremonies. And for this cause Christ himself, and after him the apostles, did in many things bear with the rudeness of that church. To this Laurence Saunders answered with the authority of St. Augustine—that ceremonies were, even from the beginning, invented and ordained for the rude infancy and weak infirmity of man; and therefore it was a token of the more perfection of the primitive church, that it had few ceremonies, and of the rudeness of the church papistical, because it had so many ceremonies, partly blasphemous, partly unsavoury and unprofitable.

After much talk had concerning this matter, the bishop willed him to write what he believed of transubstantiation. Laurence Saunders did so, saying, "My Lord, ye do seek my blood, and ye shall have it. I pray God that ye may be so baptized in it, that ye may thereafter loathe blood-sucking, and become a better man." This writing the bishop kept for his purpose—even to cut the writer's throat; as shall appear hereafter. The bishop, when he had his will, sent Laurence Saunders to the lord chancellor, as Annas sent Christ to Caiaphas: and like favour found Saunders as Christ his Master did before him. But the chancellor being not at home, Saunders was constrained to tarry for him by the space of four hours, in the outer chamber, where he found a chaplain of the bishop's very merrily disposed, with certain gentlemen playing at the tables, with divers others of the same family or house occupied there in the same exercise.



Laurence Saunders in the Bishop's House

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All this time Saunders stood very modestly and soberly at the screen or cupboard bare-headed, Sir John Mordant, his guide or leader, walking up and down by him; who, as I said before, was then one of the council. At last the bishop returned from the court, whom, as soon as he was entered, a great many suitors met and received: so that before he could get out of one house into another, half an hour was passed. At last he came into the chamber where Saunders was, and went through into another chamber: where, in the mean way, Saunders's leader gave him a writing, containing the cause, or rather the accusation, of the said Saunders; which when he had perused, "Where is the man?" said the bishop. Then Saunders, being brought forth to the place of examination, first most lowly and meekly kneeled down, and made courtesy before the table where the bishop did sit; unto whom the bishop spake on this wise:

"How happeneth it," said he, "that, notwithstanding the queen's proclamation to the contrary, you have enterprised to preach?"

Saunders denied not that he did preach; saying, that forasmuch as he saw the perilous times now at hand, he did but according as he was admonished, and warned by Ezekiel the prophet—exhort his flock and parishioners to persevere and stand stedfastly in the doctrine which they had learned: saying also, that he was moved and pricked forward thereunto by the place of the apostle, wherein he was commanded rather to obey God than man; and moreover, that nothing more moved or stirred him thereunto, than his own conscience.

"A goodly conscience surely," said the bishop. "This your conscience could make our queen a bastard, or misbegotten: would it not, I pray you?"

Then said Saunders, "We," said he, "do not declare or say, that the queen is base, or misbegotten, neither go about any such matter. But for that, let them care whose writings are yet in the hands of men, witnessing the same, not without the great reproach and shame of the author" privily taunting the bishop himself, who had before (to get the favour of Henry the Eighth) written and set forth in print a book of True Obedience, wherein he had openly declared Queen Mary to be a bastard. Now Master Saunders, going forwards in his purpose, said, "We do only profess and teach the sincerity and purity of the word; the which, albeit it be now forbidden us to preach with our mouths, yet notwithstanding, I do not doubt, but that our blood hereafter shall manifest the same." The bishop, being in this sort prettily nipped and touched, said, "Carry away this frenzy-fool to prison." Unto whom Master Saunders answered, that he did give God thanks, which had given him at last a place of rest and quietness, where he might pray for the bishop's conversion.

Furthermore, he that did lie with him afterwards in prison, in the same bed, reported that he heard him say, that even in the time of his examination he was wonderfully comforted; insomuch as not only in spirit, but also in body, he received a certain taste of that holy communion of saints, whilst a most pleasant refreshing did issue from every part and member of the body unto the seat and place of the heart, and from thence did ebb and flow to and fro unto all the parts again.

This Saunders continued in prison a whole year and three months; in all which space he sent divers letters to divers men: as one to Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer; another to his wife, and

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also to others; certifying them both of the public calamity of the time, and also of his private afflictions, and of sundry his conflicts with his adversaries—as, in writing to his friend, he speaketh of Weston conferring with him in prison, whereof ye shall hear anon, (by the leave of the Lord,) as followeth in the story. In the mean time the chancellor, after this little talk with Master Saunders, (as is aforesaid,) sent him to the prison of the Marshalsea, &c. For the Caiaphas (Winchester I mean) did nothing but bait him with some of his currish eloquence; and so committed him to the prison of the Marshalsea, where he was kept prisoner one whole year and a quarter. But of his cause and estate, thou shalt now see what Laurence Saunders himself did write.

A parcel of a letter of Laurence Saunders, sent to the bishop of Winchester, as an answer to certain things wherewith he had before charged him.

"Touching the cause of my imprisonment, I doubt whether I have broken any law or proclamation. In my doctrine I did not, forasmuch as at that time it was permitted by the proclamation to use, according to our consciences, such service as was then established. My doctrine was then agreeable unto my conscience and the service then used. The act which I did was such as, being indifferently weighed, sounded to no breaking of the proclamation, or at the least no wilful breaking of it; forasmuch as I caused no bell to be rung, neither occupied I any place in the pulpit, after the order of sermons or lectures. But be it that I did break the proclamation, this long time of continuance in prison may be thought to be more than a sufficient punishment for such a fault.

"Touching the charging of me with my religion, I say with St. Paul: This I confess, that after the way which they call heresy, so worship I the God of my forefathers, believing all things which are written in the law and the prophets, and have hope towards God, &c. And herein study I to have always a clear conscience towards God and towards men: so that (God I call to witness) I have a conscience. And this my conscience is not grounded upon vain fantasy, but upon the infallible verity of God's word, with the witnessing of his chosen church agreeable unto the same.

"It is an easy thing for them which take Christ for their true Pastor, and be the very sheep of his pasture, to discern the voice of their true Shepherd, from the voice of wolves, hirelings, and strangers: forasmuch as Christ saith, My sheep hear my voice. Yea, and thereby they shall have the gift to know the right voice of the true Shepherd, and so to follow him, and to avoid the contrary, as he also saith: The sheep follow the shepherd, for they know his voice: a stranger they will not follow, but will fly from him; for they know not the voice of a stranger. Such inward inspiration doth the Holy Ghost put into the children of God; being indeed taught of God, but otherwise unable to understand the true way of their salvation. And albeit that the wolf (as Christ saith) cometh in sheep's clothing; yet he saith, By their fruits ye shall know them. For there be certain fruits whereby the wolf is bewrayed, notwithstanding that otherwise, in sundry sorts of devout holiness in outward show, he seemeth never so simple a sheep.

"That the Romish religion is ravening and wolfish, it is apparent in three principal points:—

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"First, it robbeth God of his due and only honour.

"Secondly, it taketh away the true comfort of conscience, in obscuring, or rather burying, of Christ and his office of salvation.

"Thirdly, it spoileth God of his true worship and service in spirit and truth, appointed in his prescript commandments, and driveth men unto that inconvenience, against the which Christ, with the prophet Isaiah, doth speak sharply: This people honoureth me with their lips; but their heart is far from me. They worship me in vain, teaching the doctrine and precepts of men. And in another place: Ye cast aside the commandments of God, to maintain your own traditions.

"Wherefore I,—in conscience weighing the Romish religion, and, by indifferent discussing thereof, finding the foundation unstedfast, and the building thereupon but vain: and, on the other side, having my conscience framed after a right and uncorrupt religion, ratified and fully established by the word of God, and the consent of his true church,—I neither may, nor do intend, by God's gracious assistance, to be pulled one jot from the same; no, though an angel out of heaven should preach another gospel than that which I have received of the Lord.

"And although that for lack either of such deep knowledge and profound judgment, or of expedite uttering of that I do know and judge, as is required in an excellent clerk, I shall not be able sufficiently to answer, for the convincing of the gainsayer: yet nevertheless this my protestation shall be of me premised; that, for the respect of the grounds and causes before considered, albeit I cannot *explicita fide*, as they call it, conceive all that is to be conceived, neither can discuss all that is to be discussed, nor can effectually express all that can be expressed, in the discourse of the doctrine of this most true religion, whereunto I am professed; yet do I bind myself, as by my humble simplicity, so by my *fidem implicitam*, that is, by faith in generality, (as they call it,) to wrap my belief in the credit of the same, that no authority of that Romish religion repugnant thereunto, shall by any means remove me from the same, though it may hap that our adversaries will labour to beguile us with enticing words, and seek to spoil us through philosophy and deceitful vanity, after the traditions of men, and after the ordinances of the world, and not after Christ," &c.

And thus much of Master Saunders's letter, so much as remained thereof. The residue, because it was rent away, I could not adjoin thereunto. Notwithstanding, by this already expressed, it is sufficient to understand, how good was the cause and state of this blessed child of God, being prisoner for Christ's cause. For the defence whereof he wholly bestowed and resigned himself, in such sort, as he forbade his wife to sue for his delivery; and, when others of his friends had by suit almost obtained it, he discouraged them, so that they did not follow their suit, as by his letter following may appear.

A letter of Master Saunders, to his Wife

"Grace, mercy, and peace in Christ our Lord:—Entirely beloved wife, even as unto mine own soul and body, so do I daily in my hearty prayer wish unto you; for I do daily, twice at the least, in this sort remember you. And I do not doubt, dear wife, but that both I and you, as we be written in the book of life, so we shall together enjoy the same everlastingly, through the grace

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and mercy of God our dear Father, in his Son our Christ. And for this present life, let us wholly appoint ourselves to the will of our good God, to glorify him either by life or by death; and even that same merciful Lord make us worthy to honour him either way as pleaseth him! Amen.

"I am merry, I thank my God and my Christ, in whom and through whom I shall, I know, be able to fight a good fight, and finish a good course, and then receive the crown which is laid up in store for me, and all the true soldiers of Christ. Wherefore, wife, let us, in the name of our God, fight lustily to overcome the flesh, the devil, and the world. What our harness and weapons be in this kind of fight, look in Ephesians vi.; and pray, pray, pray. I would that you make no suit for me in any wise. Thank you know whom, for her most sweet and comfortable putting me in remembrance of my journey whither I am passing. God send us all good speed, and a joyful meeting. I have too few such friends to further me in that journey, which is indeed the greatest friendship. The blessing of God be with you all, Amen.

"A prisoner in the Lord,
LAURENCE SAUNDERS."

This his constancy is sufficiently commended and declared by his valiant buckling with two mighty enemies, antichrist and death. To neither of these did he give place; but, by suffering their malice, got the victory over them both. One of the conflicts which he had with antichrist and his members, I have gathered out of a letter of his own handwriting. It was with Dr. Weston, a man, whom though I should praise, yet would all good and godly men worthily dispraise. Of this the said Laurence Saunders thus writeth in a letter which he sent to one of his friends, who wrote to him to know what Dr. Weston did at the Marshalsea whereunto he thus answereth.

"Master Weston came to confer with Master Grimoald. What he hath concluded with him I know not: I wish it may be to God's glory, Amen, Amen. Master Weston of his gentleness visited me, and offered me friendship in his worldly, wily sort, &c. I had not so much good manners, as to take it at his hand; for I said, that I was well enough, and ready cheerfully to abide the extremity, to keep thereby a good conscience. 'Ye be asleep in sin,' said he. 'I would awake,' quoth I, 'and do not forget Watch and pray.' 'What church was there, thirty years past?' 'What church was there,' quoth I, 'in Elias's time?' 'Joan of Kent,' said he, 'was of your church.' 'No,' quoth I; we did condemn her as a heretic."

"'Who was of your church,' said he, 'thirty years past?' 'Such,' quoth I, 'as the Romish antichrist, and his rabble, have reputed and condemned as heretics.' 'Wickliff,' said he, 'Thorpe, Old-castle,' &c. 'Yea,' quoth I, 'with many more, as stories do tell.'"

"'The bishop of Rome hath,' said he, 'longtime played a part in your railing sermons: but, now, be ye sure, he must play another manner of part.' 'The more pity,' quoth I, 'and yet some comfort it is to see how that the best learned, wisest, and holiest of you all, have heretofore had him to play a part likewise in your sermons and writings; though now, to please the world, you do turn with the weathercock.' 'Did you ever,' said he, 'hear me preach against the bishop of Rome?' 'No,' quoth I, for I never heard you preach. But I trow you have been no wiser than others,' &c.—with more about the sacrament. Pray, pray. God keep your family, and bless it."

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What a blessed taste this good man had of God's Holy Spirit, by divers and sundry his letters may right well appear to him that is disposed to peruse the same: whereof certain we have here thought good, the Lord willing, to express; first beginning with that which he wrote out of the Marshalsea to Drs. Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, prisoners for the like cause of Christ in Oxford.

To the Archbishop Cranmer, Bishop Ridley, and Master Latimer, being imprisoned in Oxford.

"In my most humble wise I salute you, most reverend fathers in Christ Jesus our Lord.—Immortal thanks and everlasting praises be given unto that our Father of mercies, which hath made us meet to be partakers of the inheritance of saints in light; which hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of his beloved Son; by whom we have redemption through his blood, &c. O most happy estate! that, in an unspeakable wise, our life is hid with Christ in God: but whensoever Christ, which is our life, shall show himself, then shall we also appear with him in glory. In the mean season, as our sight is but in a glass, even in a dark speaking, so we walk in faith, not after outward appearance: the which faith, although, for want of outward appearance, reason reputeth but as vain, yet the chosen of God do know the effect thereof to bring a more substantial state and lively fruition of very felicity and perfect blessedness than reason can reach, or senses receive. By this faith we have in our possession all good things, yea, even them which the eye hath not seen, and the ear hath not heard, neither hath entered the heart of man, &c. Then if hereby we do enjoy all good things, it followeth that we must needs possess, have, and enjoy you, most reverend fathers, who be no small part of our joy, and good things given us of God.

"We, heretofore, have had the fruition of you by bodily presence to our inexplicable benefit; praised be that our most gracious God there-for! And now in spirit we have the experience of unspeakable comfort by your reverend fatherhoods; for that in this so glorious sort ye become a town set upon a hill, a candle upon a candlestick, a spectacle unto the world, both to the angels and unto men. So that, as we to our great comfort do feel, you also may assuredly say, with St. Paul, that the things which happen unto us, do chance unto the great furtherance of the gospel; so that our bonds in Christ are manifest, not only throughout all the judgment-hall, but in all whole Europe; insomuch that many of the brethren in the Lord, being encouraged through our bonds, dare more boldly speak the word without fear. And herein as you have with St. Paul greatly to rejoice, so we rejoice with you, and we do indeed, with you, give thanks for this excellent worthy favour of our God towards you, that Christ is thus magnified in you; yea, and hereafter shall be magnified in your bodies, whether it be through life or death: of which thing truly we are assured in our prayers for you, and ministering of the Spirit. And although, for your own parts, Christ is unto you in life and death advantage, and that your desire is (as indeed it were better for you) to be loosed and to be with Christ, yet, for the church of Christ, were it much more necessary, that ye should abide in the flesh. Yea, that merciful God, even for his Christ's sake, grant that ye may abide and continue for the furtherance of the church, and rejoicing of faith, that the rejoicing thereof may be the more abundant, through Christ, by your restoring! Amen, Amen.

"But if it seem better otherwise, unto the Divine wisdom, that by speedy death he hath appointed you to glorify him, the Lord's will be done. Yea, even as we do rejoice both on your

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behalfs, and also on our own, that God is magnified by life, and should be more abundantly glad for the continuance thereof; so we shall no less rejoice to have the same wrought by death. We shall give thanks for this honour given unto you, rejoicing that ye are accounted worthy to suffer for the name of Christ, and that it is given to you of God, not only that ye should believe in him, but also that ye should suffer for his sake. And herein we shall have to rejoice in the behalf of the church of Christ, whose faith may be the faster fixed upon God's verity, being confirmed with three such worthy witnesses. O thanks be to God for this his unspeakable gift!

"And now, most reverend fathers, that you may understand the truth of us and our estate, how we stand in the Lord, I do assure your reverences, partly by that I perceive by such of our brethren as be here in bonds with me, partly by that I hear of them which be in other places, and partly by that inward experience, which I, most unworthy, have of God's good comfort, (more abundance whereof I know there is in others,) you may be assured, I say, by God's grace, that you shall not be frustrate of your hope of our constant continuance in the cheerful confession of God's everlasting verity. For even as we have received the word of truth, even the gospel of our salvation, wherein we, believing, are sealed with the Holy Spirit of promise, which is the earnest of our inheritance (the which Spirit certifieth our spirit, that we are the children of God, and therefore God hath sent the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, Abba, Father): so, after such portion as God measureth unto us, we, with the whole church of Christ, and with you, reverend fathers, receiving the same Spirit of faith, according as it is written; I believed, and therefore I have spoken; we also believe, and therefore speak. For the which we, in this dangerous bondage and other afflictions, having even such a fight as we have seen in you, and have heard of you, are in no wise afraid of our adversaries.

"And forasmuch as we have such an office, even as God hath had mercy on us, we go not out of kind, but even with you, after our little power, we labour to maintain the faith of the gospel, knowing most certainly, that though we have this treasure in earthen vessels, that the excellency of this power might be God's, and not ours; yet shall we not be dashed in pieces, for the Lord will put his hand under us. When we are troubled on every side, yet are we not without shift: when we are in poverty, we are not utterly without something: when we suffer persecution, we are not forsaken therein: when we are cast down, yet we shall not perish: but to communicate with our sweet Saviour Christ in bearing the cross, it is appointed unto us, that even with him also we shall be glorified: For it is a true saying, If we be dead with him, we shall also live with him: if we be patient, we shall also reign with him: if we deny him, he shall also deny us. Wherefore we be of good cheer, always bearing about in our body the dying of the Lord Jesus, that the life of Jesus might appear also in our body. For we know, that he which raised up the Lord Jesus, shall raise up us also by the means of Jesus, and shall join us to himself together with you. Wherefore we are not wearied; but though our outward man perish, yet the inward man is renewed day by day. For our tribulation, which is momentary and light, prepareth an exceeding and eternal weight of glory unto us, while we look not on the things which are seen, but on the things which are not seen. For the things which are seen, are temporal; but the things which are not seen, are eternal.

"We testify unto you, reverend fathers, that we draw these matters with joy out of the wells of the Saviour. And I trust we shall continually, with you, bless the Lord, and give thanks unto the Lord out of the wells of Israel. We trust to be merry together at that great supper of the

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Lamb, whose spouse we are by faith, and there to sing that song of everlasting Hallelujah, Amen. Yea, come Lord Jesus! The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you. Amen."

Another letter written to his wife, wherein is to be seen how this worthy warrior prepared himself, even as it were against himself, to the appointed fight, and to keep his standing in Christ's camp.

"Grace and comfort in Christ Jesus, our only comfort in all extreme assaults, Amen.

"Fain would this flesh make strange of that which the spirit doth embrace. O Lord! how loth is this loitering sluggard to pass forth in God's path! It phantasieth forsooth much fear of fray-bugs: and were it not for the force of faith which pulleth it forward by the rein of God's most sweet promise, and of hope which pricketh on behind, great adventure there were of fainting by the way. But blessed, and everlastingly blessed, be that heavenly Father of ours, who, in his Christ, our sufficient Saviour, hath vouchsafed so to shine in our hearts, that he giveth us the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ: and having this treasure in our earthen vessels, that the excellency of the power might be God's, and not ours, we are (according to his own good will) troubled on every side, yet are we not without shift; we are in poverty, but yet not without that is sufficient; we suffer persecution, but are not forsaken therein; we are cast down, nevertheless we perish not; we bear in the body the dying of the Lord Jesus, that the life of Jesus might also appear in our body. Wherefore, by the grace of our Christ, we shall not be wearied, neither be dismayed by this our probation through the fire of affliction, as though some strange thing had happened unto us: but by his power we shall rejoice, inasmuch as we are partakers of Christ's passion, that when he doth appear, we may be merry and glad, knowing that our tribulation, which is momentary and light, prepareth an exceeding and eternal weight of glory unto us, while we look not on the things which are seen, but on the things which are not seen. They that sow in tears, shall reap in joy. For he that goeth on his way weeping, and scattering his good seed, shall doubtless come again with joy, and bring his whole sheaves with him. Then, then, shall the Lord wipe away all tears from our eyes. Then, then, shall be brought to pass that saying which is written, Death is swallowed up in victory. Death, where is thy sting? Hell, where is thy victory? Yea, thanks be to God, which hath given us victory through our Lord Jesus Christ, Amen.

"In the mean season it remaineth for us to follow St. Peter's bidding: Let them, saith he, that are troubled according to the will of God, commit their souls to him with well doing, as a faithful Creator and Maker. He is our Maker; we are his handiwork and creatures, whom now, when he hath made, he doth not leave and forsake, as the shipwright doth the ship; leaving it at all adventures to be tossed in the tempest; but he comforteth us his creatures. And in him we live, move, and have our being. Yea, not only that, but now that he hath in his dear Christ repaired us, being before utterly decayed, and redeemed us, purging us unto himself as a peculiar people by the blood of his Son, he hath put on a most tender good-will and fatherly affection towards us, never to forget us: unto whom by such promises he hath plighted such faith, that though it were possible that the mother could forget her infant, and not be tender-hearted to the child of her womb, yet may not it be, that his faithful believers should be forgotten of him. He biddeth us to cast our care on him, and saith, that assuredly he careth for us. And what though for a season he both suffer us to be turmoiled in the troublous tempests of temptation, and seemeth, as in much

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anger, to have given us over and forgotten us? Let not us, for all that, leave off to put our trust in him; but let us, with godly Job, conclude in ourselves and say, Even though he kill me, yet will I put my trust in him. Let us, with the blessed Abraham, in hope, even contrary to hope, by belief lean unto that our loving Lord, who, though for our probation he suffereth us to be afflicted, yet will he not be always chiding, neither keepeth he his anger for ever: for he knoweth whereof we be made; he remembereth that we are but dust. Wherefore, look how high the heaven is in comparison of the earth: so great is his mercy towards them which fear him. Look how wide the east is from the west: so far hath he set our sins from us. Yea, like as a father pitieth his own children, even so is the Lord merciful unto them that fear him. Oh what great cause of rejoicing have we in our most gracious God! We cannot but burst forth in the praising of such a bountiful Benefactor, and say with the same psalmist, Praise the Lord, O my soul! and all that is within me, praise his holy name. Praise the Lord, O my soul! and forget not all his benefits.

"Dear wife, riches I have none to leave behind me, wherewith to endow you after the worldly manner: but that treasure of tasting how sweet Christ is unto hungry consciences, (whereof, I thank my Christ, I do feel part, and would feel more,) that I bequeath unto you, and to the rest of my beloved in Christ, to retain the same in sense of heart always. Pray, pray. I am merry, and I trust I shall be merry, maugre the teeth of all the devils in hell. I utterly refuse myself, and resign myself unto my Christ, in whom I know I shall be strong, as he seeth needful. Pray, pray, pray!

"LAURENCE SAUNDERS."

He wrote many other letters, full of godly instruction and consolation, which cannot all in such large sort be added, as I have done these; therefore thou shalt now, good reader, be content with some such short things as are gathered out of his writings. Being in prison he was, to his fellow-prisoners, a profitable prisoner, to whom, as he faithfully disposed the bread of life, so left he record thereof in this English metre following.

"The grace of God declared is, in Christ, his Son most dear,
And teacheth us, in holiness, to live in his true fear;
Whoso then, in that heavenly birth, a Child is rightly born,
His Father's will he followeth, and thereunto is sworn.

"Children, of love, their father's will do lovingly embrace;
Servants, of fear, their mater's will to do, do somewhat pass:
To children and to servants both, the rod doth oftentimes reach;
The children and the servants both, the rod doth penance teach.

"All ye, therefore, which in this place in strait bondage now be,
Be servants unto righteousness, from sin be loose and free;
Be mindful of all duty, due unto the Lord above,
Be thankful for his benefits, the pledges of his love.
Consider with yourselves, I say, to sanctify the Lord,
In every place, and that alway, by thought, deed, and by word.

"LAURENCE SAUNDERS."

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Of the communion of saints, the true taste whereof he learned and felt even in prison, thus he wrote in a letter which he sent to a gentlewoman, speaking of such friendship as she had showed unto him.

"Herein do I take occasion of much rejoicing in our gracious God and heavenly Father; who, as he hath in his unmeasurable mercies, by faith, hand-fasted us his chosen children unto his dear Son our Christ, as the spiritual espouse of such a heavenly Husband, so he linketh us by love one to another; being by that bond compacted together, with such charitable readiness to do good one to another, that, first, to the glory of God and his Christ; then, to our own joying in the testimony of a good conscience; last of all, to the stopping of the mouths and confounding of our adversaries, we bear that badge, as the right espouse of Christ, which he himself noteth in this saying, Herein shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another. Then, further, by this bond of mutual love, is set forth the fatherly providence of God towards us his children; that, though it be he that careth for us, in whom we live, move, and have our being, who feedeth all flesh with bodily sustenance, yet hath he appointed us, in these present necessities, to stand in his stead one unto another; wherein is not only set forth our dignity, but also that unspeakable accord and unity among us, the many members of this mystical body. And though that, either for lack of ability, or else for distance of place, power and opportunity of present helping one another by bodily presence do fail, yet wonderful is the working of God's children through the Spirit of prayer, as thereby they fetch all heavenly influence from Christ their celestial Head, by his Spirit to be measured severally as may serve to the maintenance of the whole body. Thus doth our faithful prayer one for another, scatter God's bountiful blessings, both ghostly and bodily, when ordinary ability lacketh, and the arm cannot reach such God's riches," &c.

A letter, of true taste of God's love by faith with the fruits thereof.

"The love of our most gracious God and heavenly Father, bestowed upon us in the merits of his Christ our Saviour, who may, by conceit of mind, comprehend? passing indeed all understanding! Much less can the same by any means be expressly uttered. And, as such heavenly blessings, which, by faith, we fetch from above, be inexplicable, so, hard it is to utter (when the faithful are set on fire by love) their readiness to reach forth by charity, to scatter and give, as by faith they have received. But, alas, we carry this treasure in earthly vessels. Many times faith is feeble, and love loseth her fervour: pray we, therefore, Lord, increase our faith, and love forthwith will be on fire. And immortal thanks be given unto our God, who, in our Christ, hath bestowed upon us the first-fruits of his Spirit, which crieth in our hearts, Abba, Father. And, as St. Paul saith, Seeing we have the same Spirit of faith, according as it is written, I believed, and therefore have I spoken, we also believe, and therefore we speak; yea, God knoweth, this Spirit putteth us in mind to speak, but in attempting thereof we are driven to say with Moses, O Lord! I am slow-mouthed; and with Jeremiah, O Lord! I cannot speak," &c.

In this letter he doth, with most tender affection, commend his wife and child to the Christian care of that same his dear friend to whom he did write; which doth declare, that, as he had learned to forsake both wife, child, and life, for Christ's sake, so did he thereby retain that godly care over them which becometh a true Christian.

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This affection is most lively set forth in another letter, which he did write to his wife; in which (after he had admonished her that she should not resort much to the prison where he was, for danger of trouble that might ensue) he saith:

"You shall, I think, shortly come far enough into danger, by keeping of faith and a good conscience; which, dear wife, I trust you do not slack to make reckoning and account upon, by exercising your inward man in the meditation of God's most holy word, which is the sustenance of the soul; and also by going yourself to humble prayer: for these two things be the very means by which the members of Christ are made daily more meet to inherit his kingdom. Wherefore do this, dear wife, in earnest, without leaving off, and so shall we two, with our Christ and all his chosen children, enjoy the merry world in that everlasting immortality; whereas, here, will nothing else be found but extreme misery, even of them which most greedily seek this worldly wealth; and so, if we two continue God's children grafted into our Christ, the same God's blessing which we receive, shall also settle upon our Samuel. Though we do shortly depart hence, and leave the poor infant (as it seemeth) at all adventures, yet shall he have our gracious God to be his God: for so hath He said which cannot lie, I will be thy God and the God of thy seed. Yea, if you, being called of God to do his will, either to die for the confession of Christ, or to do any work of obedience, should be compelled to leave him in the wild wilderness, destitute of all help, that God which heard the cry of that poor little infant of Hagar, Sarah's handmaid, and did succour it, will do the like to this our child, and to the child of any other which feareth God and putteth his trust in him. If we lack faith to believe this, (as many times we do indeed,) let us call for it, and we shall have both the increase of it, and of any other, good grace needful for us. Be merry in God, dear wife, for I am very merry. O Lord! what great cause have we for rejoicing, when we think upon that kingdom which God vouchsafeth, for his Christ's sake, freely to give unto us, forsaking ourselves and following him. Dear wife, this is truly to follow him, even to take up our cross and follow him. Then, as we suffer with him, so shall we reign with him everlastingly. Amen; shortly, shortly," &c.

To the commendation of a true fatherly affection doth this also make not a little.

As the said Master Saunders was in prison, strait charge was given to the keeper that no person should speak with him. His wife yet came to the prison-gate with her young child in her arms, to visit her husband. The keeper, though for his charge he durst not suffer her to come into the prison, yet did he take the little babe out of her arms, and brought him unto his father. Laurence Saunders seeing him, rejoiced greatly, saying, that he rejoiced more to have such a boy, than he should if two thousand pounds were given him. And unto the standers-by, which praised the goodliness of the child, he said, "What man, fearing God, would not lose this life present, rather than, by prolonging it here, he should adjudge this boy to be a bastard, his wife a whore, and himself a whoremonger? Yea, if there were no other cause, for which a man of my estate should lose his life, yet who would not give it, to avouch this child to be legitimate, and his marriage to be lawful and holy?"

I do, good reader, recite this saying, not only to let thee see what be thought of priests' marriage; but chiefly to let all married couples and parents learn to bear in their bosom true affections—natural, but yet seasoned with the true salt of the Spirit—unfeignedly and thoroughly mortified to do the natural works and offices of married couples and parents, so long as with

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their doing they may keep Christ with a free confessing faith in a conscience unsoiled. Otherwise, both they and their own lives are so to be forsaken, as Christ required them to be denied, and given in his cause.

And now to come to the examination of this good man: after that the bishops had kept him one whole year and a quarter in prison, at the length they called him, as they did the rest of his fellows, openly to be examined. Of the which his first examination the effect and purport thus followeth.

"Praised be our gracious God who preserveth his from evil, and doth give them grace to avoid all such offences as might hinder his honour, or hurt his church, Amen.

"Being convented before the queen's most honourable council, sundry bishops being present, the lord chancellor began to speak in such form as followeth

Lord Chancellor.—"It is not unknown, that you have been a prisoner for such abominable heresies and false doctrine as hath been sown by you; and now it is thought good that mercy be showed to such as seek for it. Wherefore if now you will show yourself conformable, and come home again, mercy is ready. We must say, that we have fallen in manner all; but now we be risen again, and returned to the catholic church: you must rise with us, and come home unto it.—
vGive us forthwith a direct answer."

Saunders.—"My Lord, and my Lords all, may it please your Honours to give me leave to answer with deliberation."

L. Chan.—"Leave off your painting and pride of speech: for such is the fashion of you all, to please yourselves in your glorious words. Answer yea, or nay."

Saunders.—"My Lord, it is no time for me now to paint: and as for pride, there is no great cause why it should be in me. My learning, I confess, to be but small; and as for riches or worldly wealth, I have none at all. Notwithstanding, it standeth me in hand to answer to your demand circumspectly, considering that one of these two extreme perils is like to fall upon me: the losing of a good conscience, or the losing of this my body and life. And I tell you truth, I love both life and liberty, if I could enjoy them without the hurt of my conscience."

L. Chan.—"Conscience! you have none at all, but pride and arrogancy, dividing yourselves by singularity from the church."

Saunders.—"The Lord is the knower of all men's consciences. And whereas your Lordship layeth to my charge this dividing myself from the church, (as you do mean, and is now among you concluded upon, and I do understand,) I do assure you, that I live in the faith wherein I have been brought up since I was fourteen years old: being taught that the power of the bishop of Rome is but usurped, with many other abuses springing thereof. Yea, this I have received even at your hands that are here present, as a thing agreed upon by the catholic church and public authority."

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L. Chan.—"Yea, marry; but, I pray you, have you received by consent and authority all your heresies of the blessed sacrament of the altar?"

Saunders.—"My Lord, it is less offence to cut off an arm, hand, or joint of a man, than to cut off the head: for the man may live, though he do lack an arm, hand, or joint; and so he cannot without his head. But you, all the whole sort of you, have agreed to cut off the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, whom now you will have to be the head of your church again."

Bishop of London.—"And if it like your Lordship, I have his hand against the blessed sacrament. How say you to that?"

Saunders.—"What I have written, that I have written; and further I will not accuse myself. Nothing have you to burden me withal, for breaking of your laws since they were in force."

L. Chan.—"Well, you be obstinate, and refuse liberty."

Saunders.—"My Lord, I may not buy liberty at such a price: but I beseech your Honours to be means to the queen's Majesty for such a pardon for us, that we may live and keep our consciences unlogged, and we shall live as most obedient subjects. Otherwise, I must say for myself, that by God's grace I will abide the most extremity that man may do against me, rather than to do against my conscience."

L. Chan.—"Ah sirrah! you will live as you list. The Donatists did desire to live in singularity; but indeed they were not meet to live on earth.—No more be you, and that shall you understand within these seven days; and therefore away with him!"

Saunders.—"Welcome be it, whatsoever the will of God shall be, either life or death. And I tell you truly, I have learned to die. But I exhort you to beware of shedding of innocent blood. Truly it will cry. The Spirit of God rest upon all your Honours! Amen."—This is the sum and form of my first examination. Pray, &c.

This examination being ended, the officers led him out of the place, and so stayed until the rest of his fellows were likewise handled, that they might have them all together to prison. Laurence Saunders, standing among the officers, seeing there a great multitude of people, opened his mouth and spake freely, warning them all of that, which, by their falling from Christ to antichrist, they did deserve; and therefore exhorting them by repentance to rise again, and to embrace Christ with stronger faith, to confess him to the end, in the defiance of antichrist, sin, death, and the devil: so should they retain the Lord's favour and blessing.

The copies of his other examination and excommunication came to the hands of such as do keep them still in secret: but in them, as he defended Christ's cause stoutly, so warned he the pharisaical bishops and papists of their hypocrisy and tyranny freely, and cleared himself of their unjust quarrellings truly. After he was excommunicate and delivered to the secular power, he was brought by the sheriff of London to the prison called the Compter, in his own parish in Bread Street; whereat he rejoiced greatly, both because he found there a fellow prisoner, Master

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Cardmaker, with whom he had Christian and comfortable conference, and also because out of prison, as before out of a pulpit, he might preach to his parishioners; as by his letter hereafter shall be declared.

The fourth day of February, the bishop of London did come to the prison, where he was, to degrade him; which when he had done, Laurence Saunders said to him, "I thank God, I am none of your church."

The day following in the morning, the sheriff of London delivered him to certain of the queen's guard, which were appointed to carry him to the city of Coventry, there to be burned. The first night they came to St. Alban's, where Master Grimoald (a man who had more store of good gifts than of great constancy) did speak with him.

After Master Saunders had given him a lesson meet for his lightness, he took a cup in his hand, and asked him if he would pledge him of that cup, of which he would begin to him. Grimoald, by his shrugging and shrinking showing what he was, said, "Of that cup which is in your hand, I will pledge you; but of that other which you mean, I will not promise you." "Well," said Master Saunders, "my dear Lord Jesus Christ hath begun to me of a more bitter cup than mine shall be; and shall I not pledge my most sweet Saviour? Yes, I hope." After they were come to Coventry, the same night a poor shoemaker, which was wont to serve him of shoes, came to him after this manner, and said, "O my good master! God strengthen and comfort you." "Gracmercies good shoemaker," quoth Master Saunders, "and I pray thee to pray for me; for I am the unmeetest man for this high office, that ever was appointed to it: but my gracious God and dear Father is able to make me strong enough." That same night he was put into the common gaol among other prisoners, where he slept little, but spent the night in prayer, and instructing of others.

The next day, which was the eighth of February, he was led to the place of execution in the park without the city, going in an old gown and a shirt, barefooted, and oftentimes fell flat on the ground, and prayed. When he was come nigh to the place, the officer appointed to see the execution done, said to Master Saunders, that he was one of them which marred the queen's realm with false doctrine and heresy, "wherefore thou hast deserved death," quoth he; "but yet, if thou wilt revoke thine heresies, the queen hath pardoned thee: if not, yonder fire is prepared for thee." To whom Master Saunders answered, "It is not I, nor my fellow preachers of God's truth, that have hurt the queen's realm, but it is yourself, and such as you are, which have always resisted God's holy word; it is you which have and do mar the queen's realm. I do hold no heresies; but the doctrine of God, the blessed gospel of Christ, that hold I; that believe I; that have I taught; and that will I never revoke." With that, this tormentor cried, "Away with him." And away from him went Master Saunders with a merry courage towards the fire. He fell to the ground, and prayed: he rose up again, and took the stake to which he should be chained in his arms, and kissed it, saying, "Welcome the cross of Christ! welcome everlasting life!" and being fastened to the stake, and fire put to him, full sweetly he slept in the Lord.



Laurence Saunders burnt at the stake

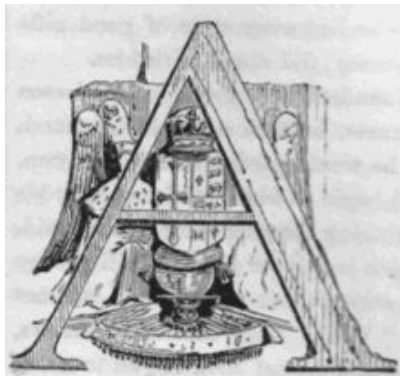
And thus have ye the full history of Laurence Saunders, whom I may well compare to St. Laurence, or any other of the old martyrs of Christ's church; both for the fervent zeal of the truth and gospel of Christ, and the most constant patience in his suffering, as also for the cruel torments that he, in his patient body, did sustain in the flame of fire. For so his cruel enemies handled him, that they burned him with green wood, and other smothering, rather than burning fuel, which put him to much more pain, but that the grace and most plentiful consolation of Christ, who never forsaketh his servants, and gave strength to St. Laurence, gave also patience to

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this Laurence, above all that his torments could work against; which well appeared by his quiet standing, and sweet sleeping in the fire, as is above declared.

And to the intent to give the reader to understand the better what the grace of Christ worketh in his servants; and again, how feeble and weak man is of himself without this grace given from above, though he seem otherwise never so stout in himself; here, therefore, have we added to the aforesaid story of Laurence Saunders, the communication which in the beginning of his trouble was between him and Dr. Pendleton, by the example whereof, such as stand, may learn to understand to take heed with due fear, and not to brag; to lean to the grace of the Lord, and not to presume in themselves.

A certain communication between Laurence Saunders and Dr. Pendleton, in the beginning of Queen Mary's time.



T the change of religion in this realm, and the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, Dr. Pendleton and Master Saunders, men known to the world not only to be learned, but also earnest preachers of God's word in the time of blessed King Edward, met together in the country, where, by occasion, they were at that time, and, as the case required, (by reason of the persecution that was then at hand,) fell to debate what was best for them to do in so dangerous a season. Whereupon Master Saunders, whether through very frailty of his weak flesh that was loth to taste the bitter cup, though his spirit were ready thereunto; or whether it were upon the mistrust of his own strength, that he might receive the greater power from above; or whether it were not for any one of the said causes alone, but for both together, or such like; seemed so fearful and feeble-spirited, that he showed himself, in appearance, like either to fall quite from God and his word, which he had taught, or at least to betake him to his heels, and to fly the land, rather than to stick to his profession, and abide by his tackle: so as Dr. Pendleton (who on the contrary side appeared not so big of body, but as bold in courage; nor so earnest before in pulpit, but as ready now to seal the same with his blood) took upon him to comfort Master Saunders all that he might; admonishing him, as he could do it very well, not to forsake cowardly his flock when he had most need to defend them from the wolf; neither, having put his hand to God's plough, to start now aside and give it over; nor yet, (that is worst of all,) having once forsaken antichrist, to fall either himself, or suffer others, by his example, to return to their vomit again.

After which and such-like persuasions bidding him be of good comfort, and to take a good heart unto him, "What, man!" quoth he, "there is a great deal more cause in me to be afraid than in you; forasmuch as you see, I carry a greater mass, of flesh upon my back than you do, and being so laden with a heavier lump of this vile carcass, ought therefore of nature to be more frail than you; and yet," said he, "I will see the uttermost drop of this grease of mine molten away, and the last gobbet of this pampered flesh consumed to ashes, before I will forsake God and his truth." Whereunto the other, answering but little, and wishing that Almighty God would give him more strength than he presently felt in himself, acknowledging his own weakness, consented notwithstanding, though it were somewhat faintly, to join with him in the profession

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of the gospel, and so to go up to London, and set forth the same: whereupon they gave each other their hands.

Now when they were come to London, oh what a great change was there between these two persons! The poor, feeble, faint-hearted Saunders, by the goodness of Almighty God taking heart of grace to him, seeking the same in humility, boldly and stoutly confirmed his flock out of the pulpit, where his charge lay, mightily beating down antichrist, and lustily preaching Christ his Master; for the which he afterward suffered most willingly, as is before declared. Whereas on the other side, Pendleton the proud (who, as it appeared by the sequel, had been more stout in words than constant in deeds, and a greater bragger than a good warrior) followed Peter so justly in cracks, howsoever he did in repentance, (which God only knoweth,) that he came not so soon to London but he changed his tippet, and played the apostatate, preaching, instead of sound doctrine, nothing almost but errors and lies, advancing antichrist, and overthrowing poor Christ with all his main: so his former boldness came to nothing, unless it were a contrary key, becoming of a faithful pastor a false runagate, and of a true preacher a sworn enemy to God's everlasting testament; to the great offence of his brethren, the hurt of his flock, and the utter undoing, without God's greater mercy, of his own soul. Wherein are specially to be considered the deep and marvellous judgments of God, who, as he can and doth make strong whom it pleaseth him, when he seeth his time, and most commonly such as appear most feeble; even so, contrariwise, throweth he down others, seem they never so stout, stand they never so much in their own conceits. Wherefore, let him that standeth take heed he fall not; and let us pray continually to Almighty God, though we have faith, that he will help and increase our faith, that in him it may be made strong, which of itself is so weak, that it is soon overthrown.

This blessed man of God, enduring long time in prison, did not pass all this time in unfruitful idleness, but still, from time to time, did visit his friends, (as is said,) and especially his wife, with many letters full of godly instruction and consolation. All which letters it shall not be greatly needful here to insert; partly because they are to be found in The Book of Letters, partly because we intend also (if God will) to prosecute the same hereafter more at large. In the mean time it shall not be out of place here presently to comprehend certain of them, as in order followeth.

A letter sent to Master Ferrar, bishop of St. David's, Doctor Taylor, Master Bradford, and Master Philpot.

"Grace, mercy, and peace in Jesus Christ our Lord, &c. Good fathers, and dear brethren, be thankful unto our most gracious God, which hath preserved us, and shall, I doubt not, from blaspheming his blessed name: yea, not only that, but also out of the mouths of very babes and sucklings shall be set forth his praise. They offer us, forsooth, our liberty and pardon, so that we will rise with them into that faith, which we with them were fallen from. Yea, or no, must be answered in haste. They will not admit any needful circumstances, but all (as heretofore) most detestable and abominable. Rise with them we must unto the unity. A pardon, say I, of me must not so dearly be purchased. A pardon I desire, to live with an unclogged conscience. 'The Donatists,' say they, 'sought for such singularity; but they were not meet to live in a commonwealth—no more be you, as you shall shortly understand. Wherefore away with him.' (Yea, the time was named—within this seven-night.) There be twelve hours in the day. Death

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shall be welcome,' said I, 'as being looked for long since: and yet do justice ye were best; for Abel's blood cried, ye wot what. The Spirit of God be upon you, and God save your Honours.' Thus departed I from them. Pray, pray. Ah, ah! 'I am a child, I cannot speak.' My brother P. shall show you more herein. By him send me word what you have done. Fare ye well, and pray, pray. I would gladly meet with my good brother Bradford on the backside, about eleven of the clock. Before that time I cannot start out, we have such out-walkers but then will they be at dinner.

"Yours, as you know,
LAURENCE SAUNDERS."

A letter which Laurence Saunders did write to his wife, and others of the faithful flock, after his condemnation to the fire; written the last of January, A. D. 1555, out of the Compter in Bread Street.

"The grace of Christ, with the consolation of the Holy Ghost, to the keeping of faith and a good conscience, confirm and keep you for ever vessels to God's glory. Amen.

"Oh! what worthy thanks can be given to our gracious God for his unmeasurable mercies plentifully poured upon us? And I, most unworthy wretch, cannot but pour forth at this present, even from the bottom of my heart, the bewailing of my great ingratitude and unkindness towards so gracious and good a God and loving Father. I beseech you all, as for my other many sins, so specially for that sin of my unthankfulness, crave pardon for me in your earnest prayers, commending me to God's great mercies in Christ.

"To number these mercies in particular, were to number the drops of water which are in the sea, the sands on the shore, the stars in the sky. O my dear wife, and ye the rest of my friends, rejoice with me, I say, rejoice with thanksgiving, for this my present promotion, in that I am made worthy to magnify my God, not only in my life, by my slow mouth and uncircumcised lips, bearing witness unto his truth, but also by my blood to seal the same, to the glory of my God, and confirming of his true church: and as yet I testify unto you, that the comfort of my sweet Christ doth drive from my fantasy the fear of death. But if my dear Husband Christ doth, for my trial, leave me alone a little to myself, alas, I know in what case I shall be then: but if, for my proof, he do so, yet I am sure he will not be long or far from me. Though he stand behind the wall, and hide himself, (as Solomon saith in his mystical ballet,) yet will he peep in by a crevice to see how I do. He is a very tender-hearted Joseph. Though he speak roughly to his brethren, and handle them hardly, yea, threaten grievous bondage to his best-beloved brother Benjamin, yet can he not contain himself from weeping with us and upon us, with falling on our necks, and sweetly kissing us. Such, such a brother is our Christ unto us all. Wherefore hasten to go unto him, as Jacob did with his sons and family, leaving their country and acquaintance. Yea, this our Joseph hath obtained for us, that Pharaoh the infidel shall minister unto us chariots, wherein at ease we may be carried, to come unto him; as we have experience how our very adversaries do help us unto our everlasting bliss by their speedy despatch, yea, and how all things have been helpings hereunto, blessed be our God! Be not afraid of fray-bugs which lie in the way. Fear rather the everlasting fire: fear the serpent which hath that deadly sting, of which by bodily death they shall be brought to taste, which are not grafted in Christ, wanting faith and a good conscience; and so are not acquainted with Christ the killer of death. But oh, my dear wife and friends! we, we whom God hath delivered from the power of darkness, and hath translated us

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into the kingdom of his dear Son, by putting off the old man, and by faith putting on the new, even our Lord Jesus Christ, his wisdom, holiness, righteousness, and redemption; we, I say, have to triumph against the terrible spiteful serpent the devil, sin, hell, death, and damnation. For Christ, our brazen serpent, hath pulled away the sting of this serpent, so that now we may boldly, in beholding it spoiled of its sting, triumph; and with our Christ, and all his elect, say, Death, where is thy sting? Hell, where is thy victory? Thanks be to God, who hath given (us) the victory, through our Lord Jesus Christ!

"Wherefore be merry, my dear wife, and all my dear fellow heirs of the everlasting kingdom, always remember the Lord. Rejoice in hope, be patient in tribulation, continue in prayer; and pray for us now appointed to the slaughter, that we may be unto our heavenly Father a fat offering, and an acceptable sacrifice. I may hardly write to you: wherefore let these few words be a witness of my commendations to you and all them which love us in the faith; and namely, unto my flock, among whom I am resident, by God's providence, but as a prisoner.

"And although I am not so among them, as I have been, to preach to them out of a pulpit, yet doth God now preach unto them by me, by this my imprisonment and captivity which now I suffer among them for Christ's gospel's sake; bidding them to beware of the Romish antichristian religion and kingdom; requiring and charging them to abide in the truth of Christ, which is shortly to be sealed with the blood of their pastor, who, though he be unworthy of such a ministry, yet Christ their high Pastor is to be regarded, whose truth hath been taught them by me, is witnessed by my chains, and shall be by my death, through the power of that high Pastor.

"Be not careful, good wife; cast your care upon the Lord, and commend me unto him in repentant prayer, as I do you and our Samuel; whom, even at the stake, I will offer as myself unto God. Fare ye well all in Christ, in hope to be joined with you in joy everlasting: this hope is put up in my bosom.—Amen, Amen, Amen! Pray, pray!"

Another letter, to Mrs. Lucy Harrington, a godly gentlewoman, and friendly to him in his troubles.

"Your most gentle commendations, whereof this messenger made remembrance unto me, was for two causes very comfortable: first, for that hereby I understood of the state of your health and bodily welfare, for the which I give thanks unto God, who grant the long continuance thereof to his honour and fatherly good will; whereunto I will daily say, Amen! And further, I was refreshed by the expressing of your mindful friendship towards me far unworthy thereof. Wherein I take occasion of much rejoicing in our so gracious a God and merciful Father, who, as he hath in his immeasurable mercy, by faith, hand-fastened us his chosen children unto his dear Son our Christ, as the spiritual spouse of such a heavenly Husband; so he linketh us by love one unto another, being by that bond compact together with charitable readiness to do good one to another: so that first to the glory of our God and his Christ, then to our own joining in the testimony of a good conscience, and, last of all, to the stopping of the mouths and confusion of our adversaries, we bear the badge, as the right spouse of our Christ, which he himself noted in this saying: Herein shall all men know that ye be my disciples, if ye love one another. Then further, by this bond of mutual love is set forth the fatherly providence of God towards us his children; that though it be he that careth for us—in whom we live, move, and be—who feedeth

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all flesh with bodily sustenance—yet hath he appointed us, in these present necessities, to stand in his stead one unto another. Wherein is not only set forth our dignity, but also that unspeakable accord and unity among us, the many members of his mystical body. And though that either for lack of ability, or else through distance of place, power and opportunity of helping one another do fail; yet wonderful is the working of God's children through the Spirit of prayer, as whereby they fetch all heavenly influence from Christ their celestial Head by his Spirit, to be measured severally, as may serve to the maintenance of the whole body.

"Thus doth our faithful prayer, which we make one for another, distribute and scatter God's bountiful blessings, both ghostly and bodily, when ordinary ability lacketh, and when the arm may not reach forth such God's riches. According hereunto I well perceive and understand your readiness to do good unto all; and especially I have experience of your ready good-will towards me, in your hearty desire to stretch out your helping hand to relieve my lack: and of your help to be extended to me in the other spiritual sort, by your good prayer, I doubt not; as I also therein assure you of my help, being all that I may do, and yet the same not so much as I would do.

"My need concerning bodily necessities is as yet furnished by God's provision, so that I am not driven to any extremity, wherefore to be burdenous to you, as your gentle benevolence provoketh me: the Lord reward you there-for! If God make me worthy to be his witness at this present, in giving this corruptible body to burn for the testimony of his truth, it is enough for me to say to you, that I have a poor wife and child, whom I love in the Lord, and whom I know, for my sake, you will tender when I am departed hence," &c.

Another letter to Mistress Lucy Harrington.

"Grace and mercy, &c. It happeneth oftentimes that abundance of matter, bringing with it much vehemency of friendly affection, maketh men dumb; and even then chiefly, when there is most eager purpose of speaking, silence doth suppress, and causeth the party so affected imperfectly to express that he goeth about to utter. Such impediment by much matter, mingled with fervency of affection, feel I sometimes in myself, letting the utterance, either by tongue or writing, of the abundance of the heart. The love of our most gracious God and heavenly Father, bestowed upon us in the merits of Christ our Saviour, who may, by conceit of mind, comprehend? passing indeed all understanding! much less may the same by any means be expressly uttered. And as such heavenly blessings, which by faith we fetch from above, be inexplicable, so is it hard to utter, when the faithful are set on fire by love, their readiness to reach forth and to give by charity, as by faith they have received. But (alas!) we carry this treasure in earthen vessels. Many times faith is feeble, and then love loseth her fervour. Pray we therefore, Lord, increase our faith, and love forthwith will be on fire. And immortal thanks be given unto our God, who in our Christ hath bestowed upon us the first-fruits of his Spirit, who crieth in our hearts, Abba, Father. And (as Paul saith) Seeing we have the same Spirit of faith, according as it is written; I believed, and therefore I have spoken: we also believe, and therefore we speak. Yea, God knoweth, this Spirit putteth in us a mind to speak; but in attempting thereof we are driven with Moses to say, O Lord! I am slow-mouthed, and of uncircumcised lips: and with Jeremiah, O Lord, I cannot speak.

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"Albeit that this infancy restraineth the opening of such abundance of heart in my tender Christian duty to be declared towards you, yet I beseech you, let this be settled in your understanding; that, as St. Paul expresseth unto his Corinthians, that they were in his heart either to live or to die, with many other such sayings uttered unto them and the Galatians, expressing his vehement affection towards them: so, in some part, I would be like affected towards all God's children, and especially towards you whom I know in Christ, and to whom I will not say how much I am indebted. I thank you for your great friendship and tender good-will towards my wife: yea, that good gracious God recompense you, which may worthily with the more countervail the same, and fulfil that which lacketh of thankful duty in us. And because of that which heretofore I have conceived of you, and of your more than natural love towards me and mine; I make myself thus bold to lay this burden upon you, even the care and charge of my said poor wife; I mean, to be unto her a mother and mistress, to rule and direct her by your discreet counsel. I know she conceiveth of you the same that I do, and is thankful unto God with me for such a friend; and therefore I beseech you, even for Christ's sake, put never from you this friendly charge over her, whether I live longer, or shortly depart. But to charge you otherwise, thanks be to God, neither I, neither she, have any such extreme need: if we had, I would be as bold with you as with mine own mother. I beseech you give my hearty salutations unto Master Fitz-Williams, and my good lady; with thanks also for my poor wife and child. The Lord recompense them!

"LAURENCE SAUNDERS."

Furthermore, as touching his fatherly care and affection to his wife and his little child, the same is lively set forth in another letter which he did write to his wife; wherein he admonished her that she would not resort much to the prison where he was, for danger of trouble that might ensue; the tenor of whose letter here followeth:

"Grace and comfort, &c.—Wife, you shall do best not to come often unto the grate where the porter may see you. Put not yourself in danger where it needs not. You shall, I think, shortly come far enough into danger by keeping faith and a good conscience; which, dear wife, I trust you do not slack to make reckoning and account upon, by exercising your inward man in meditation of God's most holy word, being the sustenance of the soul, and also by giving yourself to humble prayer: for these two things be the very means how to be made members of our Christ, meet to inherit his kingdom.

"Do this, dear wife, in earnest, and not leaving off; and so we two shall, with our Christ and all his chosen children, enjoy the merry world in that everlasting immortality; whereas, here will nothing else be found but extreme misery, even of them which most greedily seek this worldly wealth. And so, if we two continue God's children grafted in our Christ, the same God's blessing which we receive, shall also settle upon our Samuel. Though we do shortly depart hence, and leave the poor infant (to our seeming) at all adventures, yet shall he have our gracious God to be his God: for so hath he said, and he cannot lie, I will be thy God, saith he, and the God of thy seed. Yea, if you leave him in the wilderness, destitute of all help, being called of God to do his will, either to die for the confession of Christ, or any work of obedience; that God which heard the cry of the little poor infant of Hagar, Sarah's handmaiden, and did succour it, will do the like to the child of you, or any other fearing him, and putting your trust in him.

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"And if we lack faith, as we do indeed many times, let us call for it, and we shall have the increase both of it, and also of any other good grace needful for us: and be merry in God, in whom also I am very merry and joyful. O Lord, what great cause of rejoicing have we, to think upon that kingdom, which he voucheth safe for his Christ's sake, freely to give us, forsaking ourselves and following him! Dear wife, this is truly to follow him; even to take up our cross and follow him: and then, as we suffer with him, so shall we reign with him everlastingly, shortly. Amen."

Another letter to his wife, to Master Robert Harrington and Master Hurland, and other friends.

"Grace and comfort, &c.—Dear wife, rejoice in our gracious God, and his and our Christ; and give thanks most humbly and heartily to him for this day's work; that in any part I, most unworthy wretch, should be made worthy to bear witness unto his everlasting verity, which antichrist, with his, by main force (I perceive) and by most impudent pride and boasting, will go about to suppress. Remember God always, my dear wife; and so shall God's blessing light upon you and your Samuel. O remember always my words for Christ's sake; be merry, and grudge not against God; and pray, pray. We be all merry here, thanks be unto our God, who, in his Christ, hath given us great cause to be merry; by whom he hath prepared for us such a kingdom, and doth and will give unto us some little taste thereof, even in this life, and to all such as are desirous to take it. Blessed, saith our Christ, be they which hunger and thirst after righteousness, for such shall be satisfied. Let us go, yea, let us run, to seek such treasure, and that with whole purpose of heart to cleave unto the Lord, to find such riches in his heavenly word through his Spirit obtained by prayer. My dear friends and brethren, Master Harrington and Master Hurland, pray, pray. The spirit is ready, but the flesh is weak. When I look upon myself, being astonished and confounded, what have I else to say but those words of Peter, Lord, go from me; for I am a sinful man. But then feel I that sweet comfort, The word of the Lord is a lanthorn unto my feet, and a light unto my paths, and this is my comfort in my trouble. Then wax I bold with the same Peter to say, Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of everlasting life. This comfort have I when the giver thereof doth give it. But I look for battles, which the root of unfaithfulness, the which I feel in me, will most eagerly give unto my conscience, when we come once to the combat. We be (I ween) within the sound of the trump of our enemies. Play, ye that be abroad, the part of Moses, praying in all places, lifting up pure hands; and God's people shall prevail: yea, our blood shall be their perdition who do most triumphantly spill it. And we then, being in the hands of our God, shall shine in his kingdom, and shall stand in great stedfastness against them which have dealt extremely with us. And when these our enemies shall thus see us, they shall be vexed with horrible fear, and shall wonder at the hastiness of the sudden health; and shall say with themselves, having inward sorrow and mourning for very anguish of mind, 'These are they whom we sometime had in derision, and jested upon. We fools thought their lives to be very madness, and their end to be without honour; but lo! how they are accounted among the children of God.'—The blessing of God be with you all, &c.

"LAURENCE SAUNDERS."

To his wife a little before his burning.

"Grace and comfort in Christ, Amen.—Dear wife, be merry in the mercies of our Christ, and also ye, my dear friends. Pray, pray for us, everybody. We be shortly to be despatched hence

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unto our good Christ; Amen, Amen. Wife, I would you send me my shirt, which you know whereunto it is consecrated. Let it be sewed down on both the sides, and not open. O my heavenly Father, look upon me in the face of thy Christ, or else I shall not be able to abide thy countenance; such is my filthiness. He will do so; and therefore I will not be afraid what sin, death, hell, and damnation, can do against me. O wife! always remember the Lord. God bless you, yea, he will bless thee, good wife, and thy poor boy also. Only cleave thou unto him, and he will give thee all things. Pray, pray, pray!"

Another letter to Masters Robert and Johan Glover, written the same morning that he was burnt.

"Grace and consolation in our sweet Saviour Christ.—O my dear brethren, whom I love in the Lord, being loved of you also in the Lord, be merry and rejoice for me, now ready to go up to that mine inheritance, which I myself indeed am most unworthy of, but my dear Christ is worthy, who hath purchased the same for me with so dear a price. Make haste, my dear brethren, to come unto me, that we may be merry, with that joy which no man shall take from us. O wretched sinner that I am not thankful unto this my Father, who hath vouched me worthy to be a vessel unto his honour! But, O Lord, now accept my thanks, though they proceed not of a not-enough-circumcised heart. Salute my good sisters your wives; and, good sisters, fear the Lord. Salute all others that love us in the truth. God's blessing be with you always, Amen. Even now towards the offering of a burnt sacrifice. O my Christ, help, or else I perish!

"LAURENCE SAUNDERS."

After these godly letters of Master Saunders diversely dispersed and sent abroad to divers of the faithful congregation of Christ, as is afore to be seen; now, in the latter end, we will adjoin two other letters, not written by Master Saunders the martyr, but by Master Edward Saunders the justice, his brother, sent to this our Saunders in prison, although containing no great matter worthy to be known, yet to this intent; that the reader may see in these two brethren, so joined in nature, and so divided in religion, that word of the Lord verified, truly saying, Brother shall be against brother, &c., as by the contents of these two letters following may appear.

A letter of Justice Saunders to his brother Laurence.

"After my most hearty commendations: these be to ascertain you, that I have spoken with Master Basset, who hath showed me, that four pound (all deductions being allowed) is the whole that hath come to his hands of the profit of the prebendary at York, the which you shall have, although, as he thinketh, it was not due unto you by reason of your deprivation; before, it was due. As concerning your conscience in religion, I beseech God it may be lightened by the Holy Ghost, and that you may also have the grace of the Holy Ghost to follow the counsel of St. Paul to Timothy ii., To handle rightly the word of truth; wherein you, dissenting from many holy and catholic men, especially in the sacrament, it maketh me in my conscience to condemn yours. For although I have not hitherto fancied to read Peter Martyr, and other such, &c.; yet have I had great desire to see Theophylact, and divers others of this sort and opinion, both notable and holy fathers (if any credit be to be given to the writings of our ancient fathers before us): and surely the sentences and judgments of two or three of them have more confirmed my conscience, than three hundred of the Zuinglians, or as many of the Lutherans, can or should do. Thus in haste, willing to relieve you, to the end you might convert. If you shall need towards your finding, (if

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you shall require it of me,) you shall unfeignedly find my money ready, as knoweth our Lord, who send us all things good for us.—Scribbled this Thursday, by your brother and petitioner to God,

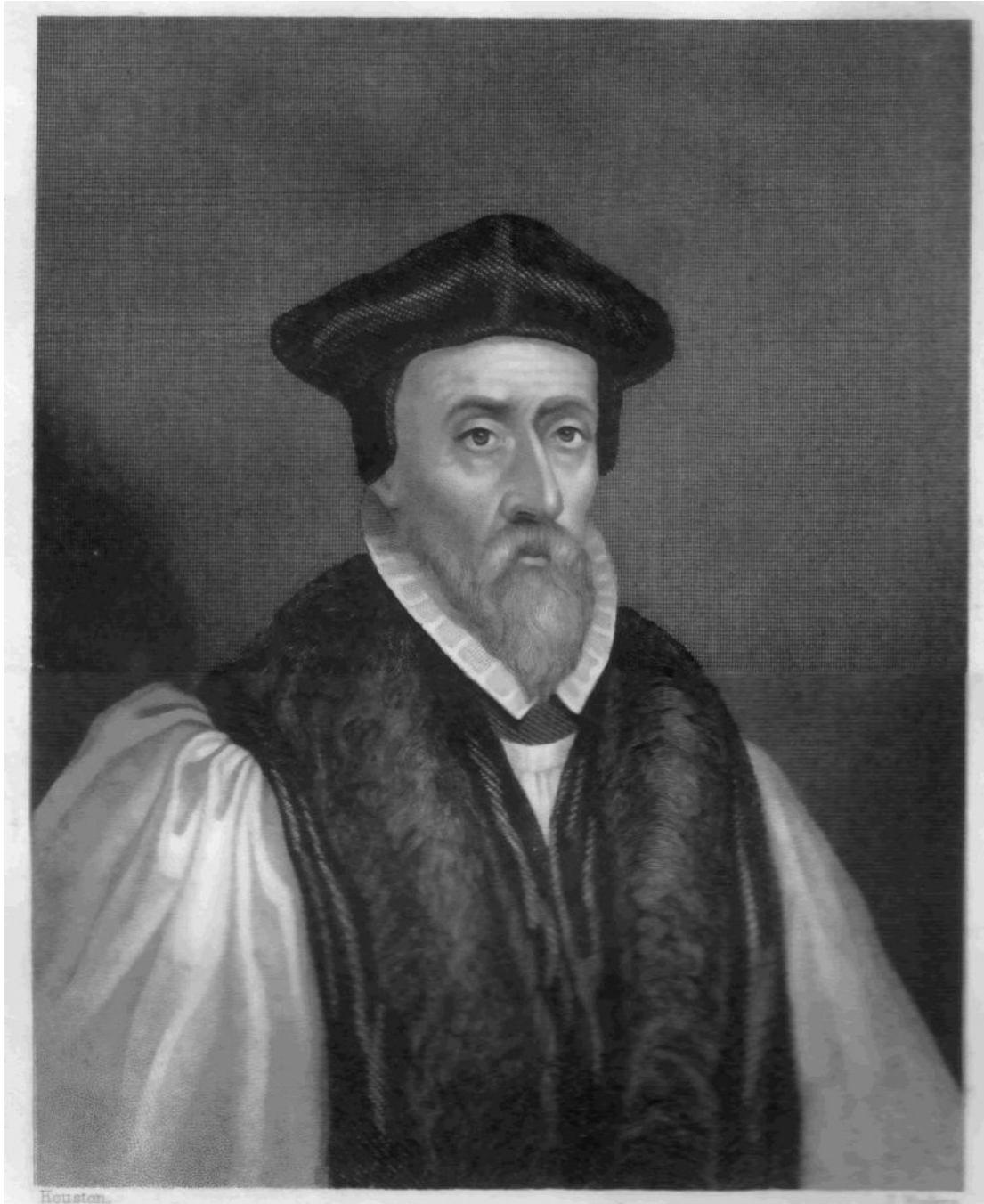
ED. SAUNDERS."

Another letter of Justice Saunders to his brother, wherein he seeketh to win him to popery.

"As nature and brotherly love with godly charity require, I send you by these letters (*quantum licet*) most hearty commendation; being sorry for your fault, and your disobedient handling of yourself towards my Lord Chancellor, who, I assure you, mindeth your good and preservation, if you can so consider and take it. I would be glad to know, whether you have not had with you of late some learned men to talk with you by my Lord Chancellor's appointment, and how you can frame yourself to reform your error in the opinion of the most blessed, and our most comfortable, sacrament of the altar: wherein, I assure you, I was never in all my life better affected than I am at this present, using to my great comfort hearing of mass, and, somewhat before the sacring time, the meditation of St. Bernard, set forth in the third leaf of this present book. The accustomed using whereof I am fully professed unto, during my life, and to give more faith unto that confession of holy Bernard, than to Luther, &c., or to Latimer, &c.; for that the antiquity, the universality of the open church, and the consent of all saints and doctors, do confirm the same: ascertaining you that I have been earnestly moved in mine own conscience these ten or twelve days past, and also between God and myself, to move you to the same; most earnestly desiring you, and as you tender my natural, godly, and friendly love towards you, that you would read over this book this holy time, at my request, although you have already seen it, and let me know wherein you cannot satisfy your own conscience. Thus fare you well for this time.

"By yours, from Serjeants' Inn,
ED. SAUNDERS."

266. John Hooper



Portrait of John Hooper

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The story, life, and martyrdom of Master John Hooper, bishop of Worcester and Gloucester; burnt for the defence of the gospel at Gloucester, February the ninth, A. D. 1555.



OHN Hooper, student and graduate in the university of Oxford, after the study of the sciences, wherein he had abundantly profited and proceeded, through God's secret vocation was stirred with fervent desire to the love and knowledge of the Scriptures: in the reading and searching whereof, as there lacked in him no diligence joined with earnest prayer; so neither wanted unto him the grace of the Holy Ghost to satisfy his desire, and to open unto him the light of true divinity.

Thus Master Hooper, growing more and more, by God's grace, in ripeness of spiritual understanding, and showing withal some sparkles of his fervent spirit, being then about the beginning of the six articles, in the time of King Henry the Eighth, fell eftsoons into displeasure and hatred of certain rabbins in Oxford, who, by and by, began to stir coals against him; whereby, and especially by the procurement of Dr. Smith, he was compelled to void the university; and so, removing from thence, was retained in the house of Sir Thomas Arundel, and there was his steward, till the time that Sir Thomas Arundel, having intelligence of his opinions and religion, which he in no case did favour, and yet exceedingly favouring the person and conditions of the man, found the means to send him in a message to the bishop of Winchester, writing his letter privily to the bishop, by conference of learning to do some good upon him; but in any case requiring him to send home his servant to him again.

Winchester, after long conference with Master Hooper four or five days together, when he at length perceived that neither he could do that good which he thought to him, nor that he would take any good at his hand, according to Master Arundel's request, he sent home his servant again; right well commending his learning and wit, but yet bearing in his breast a grudging stomach against Master Hooper still.

It followed not long after this, as malice is always working mischief, that intelligence was given to Master Hooper to provide for himself, for danger that was working against him. Whereupon Master Hooper, leaving Master Arundel's house, and borrowing a horse of a certain friend, (whose life he had saved a little before from the gallows,) took his journey to the sea-side to go to France, sending back the horse again by one, who indeed did not deliver him to the owner. Master Hooper being at Paris, tarried there not long, but in short time returned into England again, and was retained of Master Sentlow, till the time that he was again molested and laid for; whereby he was compelled, under the pretence of being captain of a ship going to Ireland, to take the seas. And so escaped he (although not without extreme peril of drowning) through France, to the higher parts of Germany; where he, entering acquaintance with the learned men, was of them friendly and lovingly entertained, both at Basil, and especially at Zurich, of Master Bullinger, being his singular friend. There also he married his wife, who was a Burgonian, and applied very studiously to the Hebrew tongue.

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At length, when God saw it good to stay the bloody time of the six articles, and to give us King Edward to reign over this realm, with some peace and rest unto his gospel, amongst many other English exiles who then repaired homeward, Master Hooper also, moved in conscience, thought not to absent himself; but, seeing such a time and occasion, offered to help forward the Lord's work, to the uttermost of his ability. And so, coming to Master Bullinger, and other of his acquaintance in Zurich, (as duty required,) to give them thanks for their singular kindness and humanity toward him manifold ways declared, with like humanity again purposed to take his leave of them at his departing, and so did. Unto whom Master Bullinger again (who had always a special favour to Master Hooper) spake on this wise:

"Master Hooper," said he, "although we are sorry to part with your company for our own cause, yet much greater causes we have to rejoice, both for your sake, and especially for the cause of Christ's true religion, that you shall now return, out of long banishment, into your native country again; where not only you may enjoy your own private liberty, but also the cause and state of Christ's church, by you, may fare the better; as we doubt not but it shall.

"Another cause, moreover, why we rejoice with you and for you, is this: that you shall remove not only out of exile into liberty; but you shall leave here a barren, a sour, and an unpleasant country, rude and savage; and shall go into a land flowing with milk and honey, replenished with all pleasure and fertility. Notwithstanding, with this our rejoicing one fear and care we have, lest you, being absent, and so far distant from us, or else coming to such abundance of wealth and felicity, in your new welfare and plenty of all things, and in your flourishing honours, where ye shall come, peradventure, to be a bishop, and where ye shall find so many new friends, you will forget us your old acquaintance and well-willers. Nevertheless, howsoever you shall forget and shake us off, yet this persuade yourself, that we will not forget our old friend and fellow Master Hooper. And if you will please not to forget us again, then I pray you let us hear from you."

Wherunto Master Hooper, answering again, first gave to Master Bullinger and the rest right hearty thanks, for that their singular good-will, and undeserved affection, appearing not only now, but at all times towards him: declaring moreover, that as the principal cause of his removing to his country was the matter of religion; so, touching the unpleasantness and barrenness of that country of theirs, there was no cause therein why he could not find in his heart to continue his life there, as soon as in any place in the world, and rather than in his own native country, if there were nothing else in his conscience that moved him so to do. And as touching the forgetting of his old friends; although, said he, the remembrance of a man's country naturally doth delight him, neither could he deny, but God had blessed his country of England with many great commodities; yet, neither the nature of country, nor pleasure of commodities, nor newness of friends, should ever induce him to the oblivion of such friends and benefactors, whom he was so entirely bound unto "and therefore you shall be sure," said he, "from time to time to hear from me, and I will write unto you, how it goeth with me. But the last news of all, I shall not be able to write: for there," said he, (taking Master Bullinger by the hand,) "where I shall take most pains, there shall you hear of me to be burned to ashes. And that shall be the last news, which I shall not be able to write unto you, but you shall hear it of me," &c.

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To this also may be added another like prophetic demonstration, foreshowing before the manner of his martyrdom wherewith he should glorify God, which was this: When Master Hooper, being made bishop of Worcester and Gloucester, should have his arms given him by the herald, (as the manner is, here in England, every bishop to have his arms assigned unto him,) whether by the appointment of Master Hooper, or by the herald, I have not certainly to say; but the arms which were to him allotted were these: A lamb in a fiery bush, and the sun-beams from heaven descended down upon the lamb; rightly denoting, as it seemed, the order of his suffering, which afterward followed.

But now to the purpose of our story again. Thus when Master Hooper had taken his farewell of Master Bullinger and his friends in Zurich, he made his repair again into England in the reign of King Edward the Sixth, where he, coming to London, used continually to preach, most times twice, at least once, every day; and never failed.

In his sermons, according to his accustomed manner, he corrected sin, and sharply inveighed against the iniquity of the world, and corrupt abuses of the church. The people in great flocks and companies daily came to hear his voice, as the most melodious sound and tune of Orpheus's harp, as the proverb saith; insomuch that oftentimes when he was preaching, the church would be so full, that none could enter further than the doors thereof. In his doctrine he was earnest, in tongue eloquent, in the Scriptures perfect, in pains indefatigable.

Moreover, besides other his gifts and qualities, this is in him to be marvelled, that even as he began, so he continued still unto his life's end. For neither could his labour and pains-taking break him, neither promotion change him, neither dainty fare corrupt him. His life was so pure and good, that no kind of slander (although divers went about to reprove it) could fasten any fault upon him. He was of body strong, his health whole and sound, his wit very pregnant, his invincible patience able to sustain whatsoever sinister fortune and adversity could do. He was constant of judgment, a good justice, spare of diet, sparer of words, and sparest of time: in house-keeping very liberal, and sometimes more free than his living would extend unto. Briefly, of all those virtues and qualities required of St. Paul in a good bishop, in his Epistle to Timothy, I know not one in this good bishop lacking. He bare in countenance and talk always a certain severe and grave grace, which might, peradventure, be wished sometimes to have been a little more popular and vulgar-like in him: but he knew what he had to do best himself.

This, by the way, I thought to note, for that there was once an honest citizen, and to me not unknown, who, having in himself a certain conflict of conscience, came to his door for counsel: but, being abashed at his austere behaviour, durst not come in, but departed, seeking remedy of his troubled mind at other men's hands; which he afterward, by the help of Almighty God, did find and obtain. Therefore, in my judgment, such as are appointed and made governors over the flock of Christ, to teach and instruct them, ought so to frame their life, manners, countenance, and external behaviour, as neither they show themselves too familiar and light, whereby to be brought into contempt, nor, on the other side again, that they appear more lofty and rigorous, than appertaineth to the edifying of the simple flock of Christ. Nevertheless, as every man hath his peculiar gift wrought in him by nature, so this disposition of fatherly gravity in this man neither was excessive, nor did he bear that personage that was in him, without great consideration. For it seemed to him, peradventure, that this licentious and unbridled life of the

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common sort ought to be chastened, not only with words and discipline, but also with the grave and severe countenance of good men.

After he had thus practised himself in this popular and common kind of preaching; at length, and that not without the great profit of many, he was called to preach before the king's Majesty, and soon after made bishop of Gloucester by the king's commandment. In that office he continued two years, and behaved himself so well, that his very enemies (except it were for his good doings, and sharp correcting of sin) could find no fault with him; and, after that, he was made bishop of Worcester.

But I cannot tell what sinister and unlucky contention concerning the ordering and consecration of bishops, and of their apparel, with such other like trifles, began to disturb the good and lucky beginning of the godly bishop. For notwithstanding that godly reformation of religion then begun in the Church of England, besides other ceremonies more ambitious than profitable, or tending to edification, they used to wear such garments and apparel as the popish bishops were wont to do: first a chimere, and under that a white rochet; then, a mathematical cap with four angles, dividing the whole world into four parts. These trifles, tending more to superstition than otherwise, as he could never abide, so in no wise could he be persuaded to wear them. For this cause he made supplication to the king's Majesty, most humbly desiring his Highness, either to discharge him of the bishopric, or else to dispense with him for such ceremonial orders; whose petition the king granted immediately, writing his letter to the archbishop after this tenor.

The king's letters or grant for the dispensation of John Hooper, elected bishop of Gloucester; written to the archbishop of Canterbury and other bishops.

"Right reverend father, and right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well.—Whereas we, by the advice of our council, have called and chosen our right well-beloved and well worthy, Master John Hooper, professor of divinity, to be our bishop of Gloucester, as well for his great knowledge, deep judgment, and long study both in the Scriptures, and other profane learning, as also for his good discretion, ready utterance, and honest life for that kind of vocation; to the intent all our loving subjects, which are in his said charge and elsewhere, might, by his sound and true doctrine, learn the better their duty towards God, their obedience towards us, and love towards their neighbours: from consecrating of whom we understand you do stay, because he would have you omit and let pass certain rites and ceremonies offensive to his conscience, whereby ye think ye should fall in *præmunire* of laws; we have thought good, by the advice aforesaid, to dispense and discharge you of all manner of dangers, penalties, and forfeitures, you shall run and be in any manner of way, by omitting any of the same. And these our letters shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge there-for.

"Given under our signet, at our castle of Windsor, the fifth of August, the fourth year of our reign.

Ed. Somerset.

W. Paget.

W. Wiltshire.

An. Wingfield.

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W. North.
N. Wooton."

Besides this letter of the king, also the earl of Warwick (who was afterward duke of Northumberland) adjoined his letter to the foresaid archbishop of Canterbury, to this purpose and effect: that Master Hooper might not be burdened with the oath used then commonly in the consecration of bishops, which was against his conscience; as by the purport of the letter here is to be seen, as followeth.

"After my most hearty commendations to your Grace, these may be to desire the same, that in such reasonable things, wherein this bearer, my Lord elect of Gloucester, craveth to be borne withal at your hands, you would vouchsafe to show him your Grace's favour, the rather at this my instance; which thing partly I have taken in hand by the king's Majesty's own motion. The matter is weighed by his Highness, none other but that your Grace may facily condescend unto. The principal cause is, that you would not charge this said bearer with an oath burdensome to his conscience. And so, for lack of time, I commit your Grace to the tuition of Almighty God. From Westminster, the twenty-third of July, 1550.

"Your Grace's most assured loving friend,
J. WARWICK."

Both this grant of the king, and also the earl's letters aforesaid notwithstanding, the bishops still stood earnestly in the defence of the aforesaid ceremonies; saying it was but a small matter, and that the fault was in the abuse of the things, and not in the things themselves: adding moreover, that he ought not to be so stubborn in so light a matter; and that his wilfulness therein was not to be suffered.

To be short, whilst both parties thus contended about this matter more than reason would, in the mean time occasion was given, as to the true Christians to lament, so to the adversaries to rejoice. In conclusion, this theological contention came to this end: that the bishops having the upper hand, Master Hooper was fain to agree to this condition—that sometimes he should in his sermon show himself apparelled as the other bishops were. Wherefore, appointed to preach before the king, as a new player in a strange apparel, he cometh forth on the stage. His upper garment was a long scarlet chimere down to the foot, and under that a white linen rochet that covered all his shoulders. Upon his head he had a geometrical, that is, a four-squared cap, albeit that his head was round. What cause of shame the strangeness hereof was that day to that good preacher, every man may easily judge. But this private contumely and reproach, in respect of the public profit of the church, which he only sought, he bore and suffered patiently. And I would to God, in like manner, they, who took upon them the other part of that tragedy, had yielded their private cause, whatsoever it was, to the public concord and edifying of the church; for no man in all the city was one hair the better for that hot contention.

I will name nobody, partly for that his oppugners, being afterwards joined in the most sure bond of friendship with him, in one, and for one cause, suffered martyrdom; and partly for that I commonly use, according to my accustomed manner, to keep my pen from presumptuous judging of any person. Yet I thought to note the thing for this consideration: to admonish the reader hereby, how wholesome and necessary the cross of Christ is sometimes in the church of

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Christ, as by the sequel hereof afterward did appear. For as, in a civil governance and commonwealth, nothing is more occasion of war than overmuch peace; so in the church and among churchmen, as nothing is more pernicious than too much quietness, so nothing more ceaseth private contentions oftentimes rising amongst them, than the public cross of persecution.

Furthermore, so I persuaded myself, the same not to be inexpedient, to have extant such examples of holy and blessed men. For, if it do not a little appertain to our public consolation and comfort, when we read in the Scriptures of the foul dissension between Paul and Barnabas, of the fall of Peter, and of David's murder and adultery; why may or should it not be as well profitable for our posterity, to hear and know the falls of these godly martyrs, whereby we may the less despair in our infirmity, considering the same or greater infirmities to reign in the holy saints of God, both prophets, apostles, and martyrs?

And thus, by the way, thou hast heard, good reader, hitherto the weakness of these good men, plainly and simply, as the truth was, declared unto thee, to the end their fall may minister occasion to us, either of eschewing the like, or else to take heart and comfort in the like fall and frailness of ours. Now again, on the other part, it remaineth to record, after the foresaid discord, the godly reconciliations of these good men in time of persecution, who afterward, being in prison for the truth's sake, reconciled themselves again with most godly agreement, as appeareth by this letter sent by Bishop Ridley to the said bishop of Gloucester. The copy whereof, as it was written with his own hand, hereafter followeth.

"My dearly beloved brother and fellow elder, whom I reverence in the Lord, pardon me, I beseech you, that hitherto, since your captivity and mine, I have not saluted you by my letters: whereas I do indeed confess, I have received from you (such was your gentleness) two letters at sundry times: but yet at such time as I could not be suffered to write to you again; or, if I might, yet was I greatly in doubt how my letters might safely come into your hands. But now, my dear brother, forasmuch as I understand by your works, which I have yet but superficially seen, that we thoroughly agree and wholly consent together in those things which are the grounds and substantial points of our religion, against the which the world so furiously rageth in these our days, howsoever in time past, in certain by-matters and circumstances of religion, your wisdom and my simplicity (I grant) have a little jarred, each of us following the abundance of his own sense and judgment; now, I say, be you assured, that even with my whole heart, God is my witness, in the bowels of Christ I love you in the truth, and for the truth's sake which abideth in us, and, as I am persuaded, shall, by the grace of God, abide in us for evermore.

"And because the world, as I perceive, brother, ceaseth not to play his pageant, and busily conspireth against Christ our Saviour, with all possible force and power, exalting high things against the knowledge of God: let us join hands together in Christ; and, if we cannot overthrow, yet to our power, and as much as in us lieth, let us shake those high altitudes, not with carnal, but with spiritual weapons: and withal, brother, let us prepare ourselves to the day of our dissolution, by the which, after the short time of this bodily affliction, by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ we shall triumph together with him, in eternal glory.

"I pray you, brother, salute in my name your reverend fellow prisoner, and venerable father, D. C.; by whom, since the first day that I heard of his most godly and fatherly constancy,

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in confessing the truth of the gospel, I have conceived great consolation and joy in the Lord. For the integrity and uprightness of that man, his gravity and innocency, all England, I think, hath known long ago. Blessed be God therefore, which in such abundance of iniquity, and decay of all godliness, hath given unto us, in this reverend old age, such a witness for the truth of his gospel. Miserable and hard-hearted is he, whom the godliness and constant confession of so worthy, so grave, and innocent a man, will not move to acknowledge and confess the truth of God.

"I do not now, brother, require you to write any thing to me again; for I stand much in fear lest your letters should be intercepted before they can come to my hands. Nevertheless know you, that it shall be to me great joy to hear of your constancy and fortitude in the Lord's quarrel. And albeit I have not hitherto written unto you, yet have I twice, as I could, sent unto you my mind touching the matter which in your letters you required to know. Neither can I yet, brother, be otherwise persuaded: I see methinks so many perils, whereby I am earnestly moved to counsel you not to hasten the publishing of your works, especially under the title of your own name. For I fear greatly, lest by this occasion both your mouth should be stopped hereafter, and all things taken away from the rest of the prisoners; whereby otherwise, if it so please God, they may be able to do good to many. Farewell in the Lord, my most dear brother; and if there be any more in prison with you for Christ's sake, I beseech you, as you may, salute them in my name. To whose prayers I do most humbly and heartily commend myself and my fellow prisoners and co-captives in the Lord; and yet once again, and for ever in Christ, my most dear brother. Farewell.

"N. RIDLEY."

Master Hooper, after all these tumults and vexations sustained about his investing and priestly vestures, at length entering into his diocese, did there employ his time which the Lord lent him under King Edward's reign, with such diligence, as may be a spectacle to all bishops who shall ever hereafter succeed him, not only in that place, but in whatsoever diocese through the whole realm of England. So careful was he in his cure, that he left neither pains untaken, nor ways unsought, how to train up the flock of Christ in the true word of salvation, continually labouring in the same. Other men commonly are wont, for lucre or promotion's sake, to aspire to bishoprics, some hunting for them, and some purchasing or buying them, as men used to purchase lordships; and when they have them are loth to leave them: and thereupon also loth to commit that thing by worldly laws, whereby to lose them.

To this sort of men Master Hooper was clean contrary, who abhorred nothing more than gain, labouring always to save and preserve the souls of his flock; who, being bishop of two dioceses, so ruled and guided either of them and both together, as though he had in charge but one family. No father in his household, no gardener in his garden, nor husbandman in his vineyard, was more or better occupied, than he in his diocese amongst his flock, going about his towns and villages in teaching and preaching to the people there.

That time that he had to spare from preaching, he bestowed either in hearing public causes, or else in private study, prayer, and visiting of schools. With his continual doctrine he adjoined due and discreet correction, not so much severe to any, as to them which for abundance of riches, and wealthy state, thought they might do what they listed. And doubtless he spared no kind of people, but was indifferent to all men, as well rich as poor, to the great shame of no small number of men now-a-days; whereof many we see so addicted to the pleasing of great and rich

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men, that in the mean time they have no regard to the meaner sort of poor people, whom Christ hath bought as dearly as the other.

But now, again, we will return our talk to Master Hooper, all whose life, in fine, was such, that to the church and all churchmen, it might be a light and example; to the rest a perpetual lesson and sermon. Finally, how virtuous and good a bishop he was, ye may conceive and know evidently by this; that even as he was hated of none but of them that were evil, so yet the worst of them all could not reprove his life in any one jot.

I have now declared his usage and behaviour abroad in the public affairs of the church: and, certainly, there appeared in him at home no less example of a worthy prelate's life. For though he bestowed and converted the most part of his care upon the public flock and congregation of Christ, for the which also he spent his blood; yet, nevertheless, there lacked no provision in him, to bring up his own children in learning and good manners; insomuch that ye could not discern whether he deserved more praise for his fatherly usage at home, or for his bishop-like doings abroad: for every where he kept one religion in one uniform doctrine and integrity. So that if you entered into the bishop's palace, you would suppose yourself to have entered into some church or temple. In every corner thereof there was some smell of virtue, good example, honest conversation, and reading of Holy Scriptures. There was not to be seen in his house any courtly rioting or idleness; no pomp at all; no dishonest word, no swearing could there be heard.

As for the revenues of both his bishoprics, although they did not greatly exceed, as the matter was handled; yet, if any thing surmounted thereof, he pursed nothing, but bestowed it in hospitality. Twice I was, as I remember, in his house in Worcester, where, in his common hall, I saw a table spread with good store of meat, and beset full of beggars and poor folk: and I asking his servants what this meant, they told me that every day their lord and master's manner was, to have customably to dinner a certain number of poor folk of the said city by course, who were served by four at a mess, with hot and wholesome meats; and, when they were served, (being before examined by him or his deputies, of the Lord's prayer, the articles of their faith, and ten commandments,) then he himself sat down to dinner, and not before. After this sort and manner Master Hooper executed the office of a most careful and vigilant pastor, by the space of two years and more, so long as the state of religion in King Edward's time did safely flourish and take place: and would God that all other bishops would use the like diligence, care, and observance, in their function!

After this, King Edward being dead, and Mary being crowned queen of England, religion being subverted and changed, this good bishop was one of the first that was sent for by a pursuivant to be at London; and that for two causes: first, to answer to Dr. Heath, then appointed bishop of that diocese, who was before, in King Edward's days, deprived thereof for papistry. Secondly, to render account to Dr. Bonner, bishop of London, for that he, in King Edward's time, was one of his accusers, in that he showed himself not conformable to such ordinances as were prescribed to him by the king and his council, openly at Paul's Cross. And, although the said Master Hooper was not ignorant of the evils that should happen towards him, (for he was admonished by certain of his friends to get him away, and shift for himself,) yet he would not prevent them, but tarried still, saying, "Once I did flee, and take me to my feet; but now, because

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I am called to this place and vocation, I am thoroughly persuaded to tarry, and to live and die with my sheep."

And when at the day of his appearance, which was the first of September, he was come to London, before he could come to the aforesaid Drs. Heath and Bonner, he was intercepted, and commanded violently against his will to appear before the queen and her council, to answer to certain bonds and obligations, wherein they said he was bound unto her; and, when he came before them, Winchester, by and by, received him very opprobriously, and, railing and rating of him, accused him of religion. He, again, freely and boldly told his tale, and purged himself. But, in fine, it came to this conclusion, that by them he was commanded to ward; it being declared unto him at his departure, that the cause of his imprisonment was only for certain sums of money, for the which he was indebted to the queen, and not for religion. This, how false and untrue it was, shall hereafter in its place more plainly appear.

The next year, being 1554, the nineteenth of March, he was called again to appear before Winchester, and other the queen's commissioners; where, what for the bishop, and what for the unruly multitude, when he could not be permitted to plead his cause, he was deprived of his bishoprics: which how, and in what order it was done, here now followeth to be seen by the testimony and report of one, which, being present at the doing, committed the same to writing.

A letter or report of a certain godly man, declaring the order of Master Hooper's deprivation from his bishoprics, March the nineteenth, Anno 1554.

"Forasmuch as a rumour is spread abroad of the talk had at my Lord Chancellor's, between him with other commissioners there appointed, and Master Hooper, clean contrary to the verity and truth thereof indeed, and therefore to be judged rather to be risen of malice, for the discrediting of the truth by false suggestions and evil reports, than otherwise: I thought it my duty, being present thereat myself, in writing to set forth the whole effect of the same; partly that the verity thereof may be known to the doubtful people; and partly also to advertise them, how uncharitably Master Hooper was handled at their hands, which, with all humility, used himself towards them, desiring, that with patience he might have been permitted to speak; assuring all men, that whereas I stood in aammering and doubt, which of these two religions to have credited, either that set forth by the king's Majesty that is dead, or else that now maintained by the queen's Majesty; their unreverent behaviour towards Master Hooper doth move me the rather to credit his doctrine, than that which they, with railing and cruel words, defended; considering that Christ was so handled before. And that this which I have written here was the effect of their talk, as I acknowledge it to be true myself—so I appeal to all the hearers' consciences, that there were present, (so they put affection away,) for the witness of the same."

Master Hooper examined before the commissioners.

The bishops of Winchester, London, Durham, Llandaff, and Chichester, sat as commissioners.—At Master Hooper's coming in, the lord chancellor asked whether he was married.

Hooper.—"Yea, my Lord, and will not be unmarried till death unmarry me."

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Durham.—"That is matter enough to deprive you."

Hooper.—"That it is not, my Lord, except ye do against the law."

The matter concerning marriage was no more talked of then for a great space; but as well the commissioners, as such as stood by, began to make such outcries, and laughed, and used such gesture, as was unseemly for the place, and for such a matter. The bishop of Chichester, Dr. Day, called Master Hooper "hypocrite," with vehement words, and scornful countenance. Bishop Tonsal called him "beast" so did Smith, one of the clerks of the council, and divers others that stood by. At length the bishop of Winchester said, that all men might live chaste that would; and brought in this text, There be, that have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven.

Master Hooper said; that text proved not that all men could live chaste, but such only to whom it was given: and read that which goeth before in the text. But there was a clamour and cry, mocking and scorning, with calling him beast, that the text could not be examined.

Then Master Hooper said, that it did appear by the old canons, that marriage was not forbidden unto priests; and named the Decrees. But the bishop of Winchester sent for another part, namely the Clementines, or the Extravagants: but Bishop Hooper said, that book was not it, which he named. Then cried out the bishop of Winchester, and said, "You shall not have any other, until ye be judged by this." And then began such a noise, tumult, and speaking together of a great many that favoured not the cause, that nothing was done or spoken orderly or charitably. Afterward Judge Morgan began to rail at Master Hooper a long time, with many opprobrious and foul words of his doing at Gloucester, in punishing of men; and said, there was never such a tyrant as he was. After that, Dr. Day, bishop of Chichester, said that the council of Ancyra, which was before the council of Nice, was against the marriage of priests.

Then cried out my Lord Chancellor, and many with him, that Master Hooper had never read the councils.

"Yea, my Lord," quoth Master Hooper, "and my Lord of Chichester (Dr. Day) knoweth that the great council of Nice, by the means of one Paphnutius, decreed that no minister should be separated from his wife." But such clamours and cries were used, that the council of Nice was not seen.

After this long brutish talk, Tonsal, bishop of Durham, asked Master Hooper, whether he believed the corporal presence in the sacrament. And Master Hooper said plainly, that there was none such, neither did he believe any such thing.

Then would the bishop of Durham have read out of a book, for his purpose belike (what book it was, I cannot tell); but there was such a noise and confused talk on every side, that he did not read it. Then asked Winchester of Master Hooper, what authority moved him not to believe the corporal presence? He said, the authority of God's word; and alleged this text, Whom heaven must hold until the latter day.

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Then the bishop of Winchester would have made that text have served nothing for his purpose; and he said, he might be in heaven, and in the sacrament also. Master Hooper would have said more to have opened the text, but all men that stood next about the bishop, allowed so his saying with clamours and cries, that Master Hooper was not permitted to say any more against the bishop. Whereupon they bade the notaries write that he was married: and said, that he would not go from his wife, and that he believed not the corporal presence in the sacrament: wherefore he was worthy to be deprived of his bishopric.

This is the truth of the matter (as far as I can truly remember) of the confused and troublesome talk that was between them; and except it were hasty and uncharitable words, this is the whole matter of their talk at that time.

The true report of Master Hooper's entertainment in the Fleet; written with his own hand, the seventh of January, 1555.

"The first of September, 1553, I was committed unto the Fleet from Richmond, to have the liberty of the prison; and, within six days after, I paid for my liberty five pounds sterling to the warden, for fees: who, immediately upon the payment thereof, complained unto Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester; and so was I committed to close prison one quarter of a year in the tower chamber of the Fleet, and used very extremely. Then, by the means of a good gentlewoman, I had liberty to come down to dinner and supper, not suffered to speak with any of my friends; but, as soon as dinner and supper was done, to repair to my chamber again. Notwithstanding, while I came down thus to dinner and supper, the warden and his wife picked quarrels with me, and complained untruly of me to their great friend the bishop of Winchester.

"After one quarter of a year and somewhat more, Babington the warden, and his wife, fell out with me for the wicked mass: and thereupon the warden resorted to the bishop of Winchester, and obtained to put me into the wards, where I have continued a long time; having nothing appointed to me for my bed, but a little pad of straw and a rotten covering, with a tick and a few feathers therein, the chamber being vile and stinking, until by God's means good people sent me bedding to lie in. Of the one side of which prison is the sink and filth of the house, and on the other side the town ditch, so that the stench of the house hath infected me with sundry diseases.—During which time I have been sick; and the doors, bars, hasps, and chains being all closed, and made fast upon me, I have mourned, called, and cried for help. But the warden, when he hath known me many times ready to die, and when the poor men of the wards have called to help me, hath commanded the doors to be kept fast, and charged that none of his men should come at me, saying, "Let him alone; it were a good riddance of him." And, amongst many other times, he did thus the eighteenth of October, 1553; as many can witness.

"I paid always like a baron to the said warden, as well in fees, as for my board, which was twenty shillings a week, besides my man's table, until I was wrongfully deprived of my bishopric; and, since that time, I have paid him as the best gentleman doth in his house; yet hath he used me worse, and more vilely, than the veriest slave that ever came to the hall commons.

"The said warden hath also imprisoned my man, William Downton, and stripped him out of his clothes to search for letters, and could find none, but only a little remembrance of good

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people's names, that gave me their alms to relieve me in prison; and to undo them also, the warden delivered the same bill unto the said Stephen Gardiner, God's enemy and mine.

"I have suffered imprisonment almost eighteen months, my goods, living, friends, and comfort taken from me; the queen owing me by just account eighty pounds or more. She hath put me in prison, and giveth nothing to find me, neither is there suffered any one to come at me whereby I might have relief. I am with a wicked man and woman, so that I see no remedy, (saving God's help,) but I shall be cast away in prison before I come to judgment. But I commit my just cause to God, whose will be done, whether it be by life or death."

Thus much wrote he himself, of this matter.

Another examination of Master Hooper.

The twenty-second of January following, 1555, Babington, the warden of the Fleet, was commanded to bring Master Hooper before the bishop of Winchester, with other bishops and commissioners, at the said Winchester's house at St. Mary Overy's, where in effect thus much was done. The bishop of Winchester, in the name of himself and the rest, moved Master Hooper earnestly to forsake the evil and corrupt doctrine (as he termed it) preached in the days of King Edward the Sixth, and to return to the unity of the catholic church, and to acknowledge the pope's Holiness to be head of the same church, according to the determination of the whole parliament; promising, that as he himself, with other his brethren, had received the pope's blessing, and the queen's mercy; even so mercy was ready to be showed to him and others, if he would arise with them, and condescend to the pope's Holiness.

Master Hooper answered, that forasmuch as the pope taught doctrine altogether contrary to the doctrine of Christ, he was not worthy to be accounted as a member of Christ's church, much less to be head thereof; wherefore he would in no wise condescend to any such usurped jurisdiction. Neither esteemed he the church, whereof they call him head, to be the catholic church of Christ: for the church only heareth the voice of her spouse Christ, and flieth the strangers. "Howbeit," saith he, "if in any point, to me unknown, I have offended the queen's Majesty, I shall most humbly submit myself to her mercy; if mercy may be had with safety of conscience, and without the displeasure of God."

Answer was made, that the queen would show no mercy to the pope's enemies. Whereupon Babington was commanded to bring him to the Fleet again: who did so, and shifted him from his former chamber into another, near unto the warden's own chamber, where he remained six days; and, in the mean time, his former chamber was searched by Dr. Martin and others, for writings and books, which Master Hooper was thought to have made, but none were found.

Another examination of Master Hooper.

The twenty-eighth of January, Winchester and other the commissioners sat in judgment at St. Mary Overy's, where Master Hooper appeared before them at afternoon again; and there, after much reasoning and disputation to and fro, he was commanded aside, till Master Rogers (which

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was then come) had been likewise examined. Examinations being ended, the two sheriffs of London were commanded, about four of the clock, to carry them to the Compter in Southwark, there to remain till the morrow at nine o'clock, to see whether they would relent and come home again to the catholic church. So Master Hooper went before with one of the sheriffs, and Master Rogers came after with the other, and being out of the church door, Master Hooper looked back, and stayed a little till Master Rogers drew near, unto whom he said, "Come, brother Rogers! must we two take this matter first in hand, and begin to fry these faggots?" "Yea, sir," said Master Rogers, "by God's grace." "Doubt not," said Master Hooper, "but God will give strength." So going forwards, there was such a press of people in the streets, which rejoiced at their constancy, that they had much ado to pass.

By the way the sheriff said to Master Hooper, "I wonder that ye were so hasty and quick with my Lord Chancellor, and did use no more patience." He answered, "Master Sheriff. I was nothing at all impatient, although I was earnest in my Master's cause, and it standeth me so in hand, for it goeth upon life and death; not the life and death of this world only, but also of the world to come." Then were they committed to the keeper of the Compter, and appointed to several chambers, with commandment that they should not be snffered to speak one with another, neither yet any other permitted to come at them, that night.

The third and last examination of Master Hooper.

Upon the next day following, the twenty-ninth of January, at the hour appointed, they were brought again by the sheriffs before the said bishop and commissioners, in the church, where they were the day before. And after long and earnest talk, when they perceived that Master Hooper would by no means condescend unto them, they condemned him to be degraded, and read unto him his condemnation. That done, Master Rogers was brought before them, and in like manner entreated, and so they delivered both of them to the secular power, the two sheriffs of London, who were willed to carry them to the Clink, a prison not far from the bishop of Winchester's house, and there to remain till night.

When it was dark, Master Hooper was led by one of the sheriffs, with many bills and weapons, first through the bishop of Winchester's house, and so over London bridge, through the city to Newgate. And by the way some of the serjeants were willed to go before, and put out the costermongers' candles, who used to sit with lights in the streets: either fearing, of likelihood, that the people would have made some attempt to have taken him away from them by force, if they had seen him go to that prison; or else, being burdened with an evil conscience, they thought darkness to be a most fit season for such a business.

But notwithstanding this device, the people having some foreknowledge of his coming, many of them came forth of their doors with lights, and saluted him; praising God for his constancy in the true doctrine which he had taught them, and desiring God to strengthen him in the same to the end. Master Hooper passed by, and required the people to make their earnest prayers to God for him: and so went through Cheapside to the place appointed, and was delivered as close prisoner to the keeper of Newgate, where he remained six days, nobody being permitted to come to him, or talk with him, saving his keepers, and such as should he appointed thereto.

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During this time, Bonner, bishop of London, and others at his appointment, as Fecknam, Chedsey, and Harpsfield, &c., resorted divers times unto him to assay if by any means they could persuade him to relent, and become a member of their antichristian church. All the ways they could devise, they attempted: for, besides the disputations and allegations of testimonies of the Scriptures and of ancient writers wrested to a wrong sense, according to their accustomed manner, they used also all outward gentleness and significations of friendship, with many great proffers and promises of worldly commodities; not omitting also most grievous threatenings, if with gentleness they could not prevail: but they found him always the same man, stedfast and immovable. When they perceived that they could by no means reclaim him to their purpose with such persuasions and offers as they used for his conversion, then went they about, by false rumours and reports of recantations, (for it is well known, that they and their servants did spread it first abroad,) to bring him, and the doctrine of Christ which he professed, out of credit with the people. So the bruit being a little spread abroad, and believed of some of the weaker sort, by reason of the often resort of the bishop of London and others, it increased more, and at last came to Master Hooper's ears: wherewith he was not a little grieved, that the people should give so light credit unto false rumours, having so simple a ground; as it may appear by a letter which he wrote upon that occasion, the copy whereof followeth:—

"The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with all them that unfeignedly look for the coming of our Saviour Christ. Amen.

"Dear brethren and sisters in the Lord, and my fellow prisoners for the cause of God's gospel, I do much rejoice and give thanks unto God for your constancy and perseverance in affliction, unto whom I wish continuance unto the end. And as I do rejoice in your faith and constancy in afflictions that be in prison; even so do I mourn and lament to hear of our dear brethren that yet have not felt such dangers for God's truth as we have and do feel, and be daily like to suffer more; yea, the very extreme and vile death of the fire: yet such is the report abroad, (as I am credibly informed,) that I, John Hooper, a condemned man for the cause of Christ, should now, after sentence of death, (being in Newgate prisoner, and looking daily for execution,) recant and abjure that which heretofore I have preached. And this talk ariseth of this, that the bishop of London and his chaplains resort unto me. Doubtless, if our brethren were as godly as I could wish them, they would think, that in case I did refuse to talk with them, they might have just occasion to say that I were unlearned, and durst not speak with learned men; or else proud, and disdained to speak with them. Therefore, to avoid just suspicion of both, I have and do daily speak with them when they come; not doubting but that they report that I am neither proud nor unlearned. And I would wish all men to do as I do in this point, for I fear not their arguments, neither is death terrible unto me; praying you to make true report of the same, as occasion shall serve; and that I am more confirmed in the truth which I have preached heretofore, by their coming.

"Therefore, ye that may send to the weak brethren, pray them that they trouble me not with such reports of recantations as they do. For I have hitherto left all things of the world, and suffered great pains and imprisonment, and, I thank God, I am as ready to suffer death, as a mortal man may be. It were better for them to pray for us, than to credit or report such rumours that be untrue. We have enemies enough of such as know not God truly; but yet the false report

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of weak brethren is a double cross. I wish you eternal salvation in Jesus Christ, and also require your continual prayers, that he which hath begun in us, may continue it to the end.

"I have taught the truth with my tongue and with my pen heretofore; and hereafter shortly shall confirm the same by God's grace with my blood.

"Forth of Newgate the second of February, anno 1555.

"Your brother in Christ,
JOHN HOOPER."

Upon Monday morning the bishop of London came to Newgate, and there degraded Master Hooper.

After the sentence of degradation thus declared, now let us see the form and mannec of their degrading, which here also followeth. But first here is to be noted, that they, degrading this blessed bishop, did not proceed against him as a bishop, but as only against a priest, as they termed him; for such as he was, these Balaamites accounted for no bishop.

The form and manner used in degrading Bishop Hooper.



John Hooper degraded from his office

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The fourth day of February, the year above mentioned, in the chapel in Newgate, the bishop of London there sitting with his notary and certain other witnesses, came Alexander Andrew, the gaoler, bringing with him Master Hooper and Master Rogers, being condemned before by the chancellor; where the said bishop of London, at the request of the aforesaid Winchester, proceeded to the degradation of the parties above mentioned, Master Hooper and Master Rogers, after this form and manner: first, he put upon him all the vestures and ornaments belonging to a priest, with all other things to the same order appertaining, as though (being revested) they should solemnly execute their office. Thus they, being apparelled and invested, the bishop beginneth to pluck off, first the uttermost vesture; and so, by degree and order, coming down to the lowest vesture, which they had only in taking Benet and Collet; and so, being stript and deposed, he deprived them of all order, benefit, and privilege belonging to the clergy; and consequently, that being done, pronounced, decreed, and declared the said parties so degraded, to be given personally to the secular power, as the sheriffs being for that year, Master Davy Woodroffe, and Master William Chester; who, receiving first the said Master Rogers at the hands of the bishop, had him away with them, bringing him to the place of execution where he suffered. The witnesses there present were Master Harpsfield, archdeacon of London; Robert Cosin, and Robert Willerton, canons of Paul's; Thomas Mountague, and George How, clerks; Tristram Swadock, and Richard Cloney, the sumner, &c.

The same Monday at night, being the fourth of February, his keeper gave him an inkling that he should be sent to Gloucester to suffer death, whereat he rejoiced very much, lifting up his eyes and hands unto heaven, and praising God that he saw it good to send him amongst the people over whom he was pastor, there to confirm with his death the truth which he had before taught them; not doubting but the Lord would give him strength to perform the same to his glory. And immediately he sent to his servant's house for his boots, spurs, and cloak, that he might be in a readiness to ride when he should be called.

The next day following, about four o'clock in the morning before day, the keeper with others came to him and searched him, and the bed wherein he lay, to see if he had written any thing; and then he was led by the sheriffs of London, and other their officers, forth of Newgate to a place appointed, not far from St. Dunstan's church in Fleet Street, where six of the queen's guards were appointed to receive him, and to carry him to Gloucester, there to be delivered unto the sheriff, who, with the Lord Chandos, Master Wicks, and other commissioners, were appointed to see execution done. The which guard brought him to the Angel, where he brake his fast with them, eating his meat at that time more liberally than he had used to do a good while before. About the break of the day he went to horse, and leaped cheerfully on horseback without help, having a hood upon his head under his hat, that he should not be known. And so he took his journey joyfully towards Gloucester, and always by the way the guard learned of him, where he was accustomed to bait or lodge; and ever carried him to another inn.

On the Thursday following, he came to a town in his diocese called Cirencester, fifteen miles from Gloucester, about eleven o'clock, and there dined at a woman's house who had always hated the truth, and spoken all evil she could of Master Hooper. This woman, perceiving the cause of his coming, showed him all the friendship she could, and lamented his case with tears; confessing that she before had often reported, that if he were put to the trial, he would not stand to his doctrine.

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After dinner he rode forwards, and came to Gloucester about five o'clock; and a mile without the town was much people assembled, which cried and lamented his estate, insomuch that one of the guard rode post into the town, to require aid of the mayor and sheriffs, fearing lest he should have been taken from them. The officers and their retinue repaired to the gate with weapons, and commanded the people to keep their houses, &c.; but there was no man that once gave any signification of any such rescue or violence. So was he lodged at one Ingram's house in Gloucester; and that night (as he had done all the way) he did eat his meat quietly, and slept his first sleep soundly, as it was reported by them of the guard, and others. After his first sleep he continued all that night in prayer until the morning; and then he desired that he might go into the next chamber, (for the guard were also in the chamber where he lay,) that there, being solitary, he might pray and talk with God: so that all the day, saving a little at meat, and when he talked at any time with such as the guard licensed to speak with him, he bestowed in prayer.

Amongst others that spake with him, Sir Anthony Kingston, knight, was one; who, seeming in time past his very friend, was then appointed by the queen's letters to be one of the commissioners, to see execution done upon him. Master Kingston, being brought into the chamber, found him at his prayer: and as soon as he saw Master Hooper, he burst forth in tears. Master Hooper at the first blush knew him not. Then said Master Kingston, "Why, my Lord, do you not know me, an old friend of yours, Anthony Kingston?"

Hooper.—"Yes, Master Kingston, I do now know you well, and am glad to see you in health, and do praise God for the same."

Kingston.—"But I am sorry to see you in this case; for as I understand you be come hither to die. But, alas, consider that life is sweet, and death is bitter. Therefore, seeing life may be had, desire to live; for life hereafter may do good."

Hooper.—"Indeed it is true, Master Kingston, I am come hither to end this life, and to suffer death here, because I will not gainsay the former truth that I have heretofore taught amongst you in this diocese, and elsewhere; and I thank you for your friendly counsel, although it be not so friendly as I could have wished it. True it is, Master Kingston, that death is bitter, and life is sweet: but, alas, consider that the death to come is more bitter, and the life to come is more sweet. Therefore, for the desire and love I have to the one, and the terror and fear of the other, I do not so much regard this death, nor esteem this life, but have settled myself, through the strength of God's holy Spirit, patiently to pass through the torments and extremities of the fire now prepared for me, rather than to deny the truth of his word; desiring you, and others, in the mean time, to commend me to God's mercy in your prayers."

Kingston.—"Well, my Lord, then I perceive there is no remedy, and therefore I will take my leave of you: and I thank God that ever I knew you; for God did appoint you to call me, being a lost child: and by your good instructions, whereas before I was both an adulterer and a fornicator, God hath brought me to the forsaking and detesting of the same."

Hooper.—"If you have had the grace so to do, I do highly praise God for it: and if you have not, I pray God ye may have; and that you may continually live in his fear."

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After these, and many other words, the one took leave of the other; Master Kingston with bitter tears, Master Hooper with tears also trickling down his cheeks. At which departure Master Hooper told him that all the troubles he had sustained in prison, had not caused him to utter so much sorrow.

The same day in the afternoon, a blind boy, after long intercession made to the guard, obtained licence to be brought unto Master Hooper's speech. The same boy not long afore had suffered imprisonment at Gloucester for confessing of the truth. Master Hooper, after he had examined him of his faith, and the cause of his imprisonment, beheld him stedfastly, and (the water appearing in his eyes) said unto him, "Ah, poor boy! God hath taken from thee thy outward sight, for what reason he best knoweth: but he hath given thee another sight much more precious, for he hath endued thy soul with the eye of knowledge and faith. God give thee grace continually to pray unto him, that thou lose not that sight; for then shouldest thou be blind both in body and soul!"

After that another came to him, whom he knew to be a very papist and a wicked man, which appeared to be sorry for Master Hooper's trouble, saying, "Sir, I am sorry to see you thus." "To see me? Why," said he, "art thou sorry?" "To see you," saith the other, "in this case. For I hear say, you are come hither to die, for the which I am sorry." "Be sorry for thyself, man," said Master Hooper, "and lament thine own wickedness; for I am well, I thank God, and death to me for Christ's sake is welcome."

The same night he was committed by the guard, their commission being then expired, unto the custody of the sheriffs of Gloucester. The name of the one was Jenkins, the other Bond, who, with the mayor and aldermen, repaired to Master Hooper's lodging, and at the first meeting saluted him, and took him by the hand. Unto whom Hooper spake on this manner "Master Mayor, I give most hearty thanks to you, and to the rest of your brethren, that you have vouchsafed to take me, a prisoner and a condemned man, by the hand; whereby to my rejoicing it is some deal apparent that your old love and friendship towards me is not altogether extinguished; and I trust also that all the things I have taught you in times past are not utterly forgotten, when I was here, by the godly king that dead is, appointed to be your bishop and pastor. For the which most true and sincere doctrine, because I will not now account it falsehood and heresy, as many other men do, I am sent hither (as I am sure you know) by the queen's commandment to die; and am come where I taught it, to confirm it with my blood. And now, Master Sheriffs, I understand by these good men, and my very friends," (meaning the guard,) "at whose hands I have found so much favour and gentleness, by the way hitherward, as a prisoner could reasonably require, (for the which also I most heartily thank them,) that I am committed to your custody, as unto them that must see me brought to-morrow to the place of execution. My request therefore to you shall be only, that there may be a quick fire, shortly to make an end; and in the mean time I will be as obedient unto you, as yourselves would wish. If you think I do amiss in any thing, hold up your finger, and I have done: for I am not come hither as one enforced or compelled to die (for it is well known, I might have had my life with worldly gain); but as one willing to offer and give my life for the truth, rather than consent to the wicked papistical religion of the bishop of Rome, received and set forth by the magistrates in England, to God's high displeasure and dishonour; and I trust, by God's grace, to-morrow to die a faithful servant of God, and a true obedient subject to the queen."

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These and such-like words in effect used Master Hooper to the mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen, whereat many of them mourned and lamented. Notwithstanding the two sheriffs went aside to consult, and were determined to have lodged him in the common gaol of the town, called North gate, if the guard had not made earnest intercession for him; who declared at large, how quietly, mildly, and patiently he had behaved himself in the way; adding thereto, that any child might keep him well enough, and that they themselves would rather take pains to watch with him, than that he should be sent to the common prison.

So it was determined, at length, he should still remain in Robert Ingram's house; and the sheriffs, and the sergeants, and other officers did appoint to watch with him that night themselves. His desire was, that he might go to bed that night betimes, saying, that he had many things to remember: and so he did at five of the clock, and slept one sleep soundly, and bestowed the rest of the night in prayer. After he got up in the morning, he desired that no man should be suffered to come into the chamber, that he might be solitary till the hour of execution.

About eight o'clock came Sir John Bridges, Lord Chandos, with a great band of men, Sir Anthony Kingston, Sir Edmund Bridges, and other commissioners appointed to see execution done. At nine o'clock Master Hooper was willed to prepare himself to be in a readiness, for the time was at hand. Immediately he was brought down from his chamber by the sheriffs, who were accompanied with bills, gloves, and weapons. When he saw the multitude of weapons, he spake to the sheriffs on this wise "Master Sheriffs," said he, "I am no traitor, neither needed you to have made such a business to bring me to the place where I must suffer; for if ye had willed me, I would have gone alone to the stake, and have troubled none of you all. Afterward, looking upon the multitude of people that were assembled, being by estimation to the number of seven thousand, (for it was market day, and many also came to see his behaviour towards death,) he spake unto those that were about him, saying, "Alas, why be these people assembled and come together? Peradventure they think to hear something of me now, as they have in times past; but, alas! speech is prohibited me. Notwithstanding, the cause of my death is well known unto them. When I was appointed here to be their pastor, I preached unto them true and sincere doctrine; and that, out of the word of God: because I will not now account the same to be heresy and untruth, this kind of death is prepared for me."

So he went forward, led between the two sheriffs (as it were a lamb to the place of slaughter) in a gown of his host's, his hat upon his head, and a staff in his hand to stay himself withal: for the pain of the sciatica, which he had taken in prison, caused him somewhat to halt. All the way being straitly charged not to speak, he could not be perceived once to open his mouth, but beholding the people all the way, which mourned bitterly for him, he would sometimes lift up his eyes towards heaven, and look very cheerfully upon such as he knew: and he was never known, during the time of his being amongst them, to look with so cheerful and ready a countenance as he did at that present. When he came to the place appointed where he should die, smilingly he beheld the stake and preparation made for him, which was near unto the great elm tree, over against the college of priests, where he was wont to preach. The place round about the houses and the boughs of the tree were replenished with people; and in the chamber over the college-gate stood the priests of the college.

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Then kneeled he down (forasmuch as he could not be suffered to speak unto the people) to prayer, and beckoned six or seven times unto one whom he knew well, to hear the said prayer, to make report thereof in time to come, (pouring tears upon his shoulders and in his bosom,) who gave attentive ears unto the same; the which prayer he made upon the whole creed, wherein he continued the space of half an hour. Now, after he was somewhat entered into his prayer, a box was brought and laid before him upon a stool, with his pardon (or at least-wise it was feigned to be his pardon) from the queen, if he would turn. At the sight whereof he cried, "If you love my soul, away with it! if you love my soul, away with it!" The box being taken away, the Lord Chandos said, "Seeing there is no remedy, despatch him quickly." Master Hooper said, "Good my Lord, I trust your Lordship will give me leave to make an end of my prayers."

Then said the Lord Chandos to Sir Edmund Bridges's son, which gave ear before to Master Hooper's prayer at his request, "Edmund, take heed that he do nothing else but pray: if he do, tell me, and I shall quickly despatch him." Whiles this talk was, there stepped one or two uncalled, who heard him speak these words following:

"Lord, (said he,) I am hell, but thou art heaven; I am swill and a sink of sin, but thou art a gracious God and a merciful Redeemer. Have mercy therefore upon me, most miserable and wretched offender, after thy great mercy, and according to thine inestimable goodness. Thou that art ascended into heaven, receive me, hell, to be partaker of thy joys, where thou sittest in equal glory with thy Father. For well knowest thou, Lord, wherefore I am come hither to suffer, and why the wicked do persecute this thy poor servant; not for my sins and transgressions committed against thee, but because I will not allow their wicked doings, to the contaminating of thy blood, and to the denial of the knowledge of thy truth, wherewith it did please thee, by thy Holy Spirit, to instruct me: the which, with as much diligence as a poor wretch might, (being thereto called,) I have set forth to thy glory. And well seest thou, my Lord and God, what terrible pains and cruel torments be prepared for thy creature; such, Lord, as without thy strength none is able to bear, or patiently to pass. But all things that are impossible with man, are possible with thee: therefore strengthen me of thy goodness, that in the fire I break not the rules of patience; or else assuage the terror of the pains, as shall seem most to thy glory."

As soon as the mayor had espied these men who made report of the former words, they were commanded away, and could not be suffered to hear any more. Prayer being done, he prepared himself to the stake, and put off his host's gown, and delivered it to the sheriffs, requiring them to see it restored unto the owner, and put off the rest of his gear, unto his doublet and hose, wherein he would have burned. But the sheriffs would not permit that, such was their greediness; unto whose pleasures, good man, he very obediently submitted himself; and his doublet, hose, and waistcoat were taken off. Then, being in his shirt, he took a point from his hose himself, and trussed his shirt between his legs, where he had a pound of gunpowder in a bladder, and under each arm the like quantity, delivered him by the guard. So, desiring the people to say the Lord's prayer with him, and to pray for him, (who performed it with tears, during the time of his pains,) he went up to the stake. Now when he was at the stake, three irons, made to bind him to the stake, were brought; one for his neck, another for his middle, and the third for his legs. But he refusing them said, "Ye have no need thus to trouble yourselves; for I doubt not but God will give strength sufficient to abide the extremity of the fire, without bands:

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notwithstanding, suspecting the frailty and weakness of the flesh, but having assured confidence in God's strength, I am content ye do as ye shall think good."

So the hoop of iron prepared for his middle was brought, which being made somewhat too short, (for his belly was swollen by imprisonment,) he shrank, and put in his belly with his hand, until it was fastened: and when they offered to have bound his neck and legs with the other two hoops of iron, he utterly refused them, and would have none, saying, "I am well assured I shall not trouble you."

Thus being ready, he looked upon all the people, of whom he might be well seen, (for he was both tall and stood also on a high stool,) and beheld round about him; and in every corner there was nothing to be seen but weeping and sorrowful people. Then, lifting up his eyes and hands unto heaven, he prayed to himself. By and by, he that was appointed to make the fire, came to him, and did ask him forgiveness. Of whom he asked why he should forgive him, saying, that he knew never any offence he had committed against him. "O sir!" said the man, "I am appointed to make the fire." "Therein," said Master Hooper, "thou dost nothing offend me; God forgive thee thy sins, and do thine office, I pray thee." Then the reeds were cast up, and he received two bundles of them in his own hands, embraced them, kissed them, and put under either arm one of them, and showed with his hand how the rest should be bestowed, and pointed to the place where any did lack.

Anon commandment was given that the fire should be set to, and so it was. But because there were put to no fewer green faggots than two horses could carry upon their backs, it kindled not by and by, and was a pretty while also before it took the reeds upon the faggots. At length it burned about him, but the wind having full strength in that place, (it was a lowering and cold morning,) it blew the flame from him, so that he was in a manner no more but touched by the fire.

Within a space after, a few dry faggots were brought, and a new fire kindled with faggots, (for there were no more reeds,) and that burned at the nether parts, but had small power above, because of the wind, saving that it did burn his hair, and scorch his skin a little. In the time of which fire, even as at the first flame, he prayed, saying mildly and not very loud, (but as one without pains,) "O Jesus, the Son of David, have mercy upon me, and receive my soul!" After the second was spent, he did wipe both his eyes with his hands, and beholding the people, he said with an indifferent loud voice, "For God's love, good people, let me have more fire!"

And all this while his nether parts did burn; for the faggots were so few, that the flame did not burn strongly at his upper parts.

The third fire was kindled within a while after, which was more extreme than the other two: and then the bladders of gunpowder brake, which did him small good, they were so placed, and the wind had such power. In the which fire he prayed with somewhat a loud voice. "Lord Jesus, have mercy upon me; Lord Jesus, have mercy upon me: Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!" And these were the last words he was heard to utter. But when he was black in the mouth, and his tongue swollen, that he could not speak, yet his lips went till they were shrunk to the gums: and he knocked his breasts with his hands, until one of his arms fell off, and then knocked still

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with the other, what time the fat, water, and blood, dropped out at his fingers' ends, until by renewing of the fire his strength was gone, and his hand did cleave fast, in knocking, to the iron upon his breast. So immediately, bowing forwards, he yielded up his spirit.

Thus was he three quarters of an hour or more in the fire. Even as a lamb, patiently he abode the extremity thereof, neither moving forwards, backwards, nor to any side: but, having his nether parts burned, and his bowels fallen out, he died as quietly as a child in his bed. And he now reigneth as a blessed martyr, in the joys of heaven prepared for the faithful in Christ, before the foundations of the world: for whose constancy all Christians are bound to praise God.

A letter which Master Hooper did write out of prison, to certain of his friends.

"The grace of God be with you. Amen. I did write unto you of late, and told you of what extremity the parliament had concluded upon concerning religion, suppressing the truth, and setting forth the untruth; intending to cause all men by extremity to forswear themselves, and to take again, for the head of the church, him that is neither head nor member of it, but a very enemy, as the word of God and all ancient writers do record: and for lack of law and authority, they will use force and extremity, which have been the arguments to defend the pope and popery, since their authority first began in the world. But now is the time of trial, to see whether we fear more God or man. It was an easy thing to hold with Christ whilst the prince and world held with him: but now the world hateth him, it is the true trial, who be his.

"Wherefore in the name, and in the virtue, strength, and power, of his Holy Spirit, prepare yourselves in any case to adversity and constancy. Let us not run away when it is most time to fight. Remember none shall be crowned, but such as fight manfully; and he that endureth to the end shall be saved. Ye must now turn all your cogitations from the peril you see, and mark the felicity that followeth the peril; either victory in this world of your enemies, or else a surrender of this life to inherit the everlasting kingdom. Beware of beholding too much the felicity or misery of this world, for the consideration and too earnest love or fear of either of them, draweth from God.

"Wherefore think with yourselves as touching the felicity of the world, it is good; but yet none otherwise than it standeth with the favour of God.

It is to be kept; but yet so far forth as by keeping of it we lose not God. It is good abiding and tarrying still among our friends here; but yet so, that we tarry not therewithal in God's displeasure, and hereafter dwell with the devils in fire everlasting. There is nothing under God but may be kept; so that God, being above all things we have, be not lost.

"Of adversity judge the same. Imprisonment is painful; but yet liberty upon evil conditions is more painful. The prisons stink; but yet not so much as sweet houses, where the fear and true honour of God lack. I must be alone and solitary: it is better so to be and have God with me, than to be in company with the wicked. Loss of goods is great; but loss of God's grace and favour is greater. I am a poor simple creature, and cannot tell how to answer before such a great sort of noble, learned, and wise men: it is better to make answer before the pomp and pride of wicked men, than to stand naked in the sight of all heaven and earth before the just God at the

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latter day. I shall die then by the hands of the cruel man: he is blessed that loseth this life full of miseries, and findeth the life of eternal joys. It is pain and grief to depart from goods and friends; but yet not so much, as to depart from grace and heaven itself. Wherefore there is neither felicity nor adversity of this world, that can appear to be great, if it be weighed with the joys or pains in the world to come.

"I can do no more, but pray for you: do the same for me, for God's sake. For my part, I thank the heavenly Father, I have made mine accounts, and appointed myself unto the will of the heavenly Father: as he will, so I will, by his grace. For God's sake, as soon as ye can, send my poor wife and children some letter from you, and my letter also which I sent of late to D***. As it was told me she never had letter from me since the coming of M*** S*** unto her; the more blame to the messengers, for I have written divers times. The Lord comfort them, and provide for them; for I am able to do nothing in worldly things. She is a godly and wise woman. If my meaning had been accomplished, she should have had necessary things but what I meant, God can perform, to whom I commend both her, and you all. I am a precious jewel now, and daintily kept; never so daintily: for neither mine own man, nor any of the servants of the house, may come to me, but my keeper alone, a simple rude man, God knoweth; but I am nothing careful thereof. Fare you well.

"The twenty-first of January, 1555.

"Your bounden,
JOHN HOOPER."

Amongst many other memorable acts and notes worthy to be remembered in the history of Master Hooper, this also is not to be forgotten which happened between him and a bragging friar, a little after the beginning of his imprisonment: the story whereof here followeth.

"A friar came from France to England with great vaunt, asking who was the greatest heretic in England: thinking belike to do some great act upon him. To whom answer was made that Master Hooper had then the greatest name to be the chiefest ringleader, who was then in the Fleet. The friar coming to him, asked why he was committed to prison. He said, for debt. Nay, said he, it was for heresy: which, when the other had denied, 'What sayest thou,' quoth he, 'to Hoc est corpus meum?' Master Hooper, being partly moved at the sudden question, desired that he might ask of him another question, which was this: What remained after the consecration in the sacrament—any bread, or no? 'No bread at all,' saith he. 'And when ye break it, what do you break; whether bread or the body?' said Master Hooper. 'No bread,' said the friar, 'but the body only.' 'If ye do so,' said Master Hooper, ye do great injury, not only to the body of Christ, but also ye break the Scriptures, which say, 'Ye shall not break of him one bone,' &c. With that the friar, having nothing belike to answer, suddenly recoiled back, and with his circles and his crosses began to use exorcism against Master Hooper, as though," &c.

This and more wrote Master Hooper to Mistress Wilkinson, in a letter, which letter was read unto her by John Kelke.

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

Comparison between Hooper and Polycarp.



HEN I see and behold the great patience of these blessed martyrs in our days in their sufferings, so quietly and constantly abiding the torments that are ministered unto them of princes for God's cause; methinks I may well and worthily compare them unto the old martyrs of the primitive church: in the number of whom, if comparison be to be made between saint and saint, martyr and martyr, with whom might I better match this blessed martyr John Hooper, through the whole catalogue of the old martyrs, than with Polycarp, the ancient bishop of Smyrna, of whom Eusebius maketh mention in the ecclesiastical story? For as both agreed together in one kind of

punishment, being both put to the fire, so which of them showed more patience and constancy in the time of their suffering, it is hard to be said. And though Polycarp, being set in the flame, (as the story saith,) was kept by miracle from the torment of the fire, till he was stricken down with weapon, and so despatched: yet Hooper, by no less miracle, armed with patience and fervent spirit of God's comfort, so quietly despised the violence thereof, as though he had felt little more than did Polycarp, in the fire flaming round about him.

Moreover, as it is written of Polycarp, when he should have been tied to the stake, he required to stand untied, saying these words "Let me alone I pray you; for he that gave me strength to come to this fire, will also give me patience to abide in the same without your tying." So likewise Hooper, with the like spirit, when he should have been tied with three chains to the stake. requiring them to have no such mistrust of him, was tied but with one; who, if he had not been tied at all, yet no doubt, would have no less answered to that great patience of Polycarp.

And as the end of them was both much agreeing, so the life of them both was such, as might seem not far discrepant. In teaching, alike diligent both; in zeal fervent, in life unspotted, in manners and conversation inculpable: bishops and also martyrs both. Briefly, in teaching so pithy and fruitful, that as they both were joined together in one spirit, so might they be joined in one name together—Πολυκαρπος [Greek; Polykarpos]; to wit, much fruitful; to which name also οπωρος [Greek: oporos] is not much unlike. In this the martyrdom of Master Hooper may seem in suffering to go before, though in time it followed the martyrdom of Polycarp, for that he was both longer in prison, and there also so cruelly handled by the malice of his keepers, as I think none of the old martyrs ever suffered the like. To this also add, how he was degraded by Bonner with such contumelies and reproaches, as I think, in Polycarp's time, was not used to any.

And as we have hitherto compared these two good martyrs together, so now if we should compare the enemies and authors of their death one with the other, we should find no inequality betwixt them both, but that the adversaries of Master Hooper seemed to be more cruel and unmerciful. For they that put Polycarp to death, yet ministered to him a quick despatch, moved belike by some compassion not to have him stand in the torment; whereas the tormentors of Master Hooper suffered him, without all compassion, to stand three quarters of an hour in the fire. And as touching the chief doers and authors of his martyrdom, what consul or proconsul

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was there to be conferred with the chancellor here, which brought this martyr to his burning? Let this suffice.

This good bishop and servant of God, being in prison, wrote divers books and treatises, to the number of twenty-four, whereof some he wrote to the parliament in Latin, and one to the bishop of Chichester, Dr. Day: besides he wrote of the sacraments, of the Lord's prayer, and of the ten commandments, with divers others.

Here follow certain of Master Hooper's letters.

As you have heard the whole story of the life and martyrdom of this good man declared; so now let us consequently adjoin some part of his letters, written in the time of his imprisonment, most fruitful and worthy to be read, especially in these dangerous days, of all true Christians, which, by true mortification, seek to serve and follow the Lord through all tempests and storms of this malignant world, as by the reading and perusing of the said letters you shall better feel and understand.

A letter of Master Hooper to certain godly professors and lovers of the truth, instructing them how to behave themselves in that woeful alteration and change of religion.

"The grace, mercy, and peace of God the Father, through our Lord Jesus Christ, be with you, my dear brethren, and with all those that unfeignedly Love and embrace his holy gospel. Amen.

"It is told me, that the wicked idol, the mass, is established again by law, and passed in the parliament-house. Learn the truth of it, I pray you, and what penalty is appointed in the act to such as speak against it; also whether there be any compulsion to constrain men to be at it. The statute thoroughly known, such as be abroad and at liberty may provide for themselves, and avoid the danger the better. Doubtless there hath not been seen, before our time, such a parliament as this is, that as many as were suspected to be favourers of God's word should be banished out of both houses. But we must give God thanks for that truth he hath opened in the time of his blessed servant King Edward the Sixth, and pray unto him that we deny it not, nor dishonour it with idolatry; but that we may have strength and patience rather to die ten times than to deny him once. Blessed shall we be, if ever God make us worthy of that honour to shed our blood for his name's sake; and blessed then shall we think the parents which brought us into the world, that we should, from this mortality, be carried into immortality. If we follow the commandment of St. Paul, that saith, If ye then be risen again with Christ, seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God; we shall neither depart from the vain transitory goods of this world, nor from this wretched and mortal life, with so great pains as others do.

"Let us pray to our heavenly Father, that we may know and love his blessed will, and the glorious joy prepared for us in time to come; and that we may know and hate all things contrary to his blessed will, and also the pain prepared for the wicked in the world to come. There is no better way to be used in this troublesome time for your consolation, than many times to have assemblies together of such men and women as be of your religion in Christ; and there to talk

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and renew amongst yourselves the truth of your religion, to see what ye be by the word of God, and to remember what ye were before ye came to the knowledge thereof; to weigh and confer the dreams and false lies of the preachers that now preach, with the word of God that retaineth all truth: and by such talk and familiar resorting together, ye shall the better find out all their lies that now go about to deceive you, and also both know and love the truth that God hath opened to us. It is much requisite, that the members of Christ comfort one another, make prayers together, confer one with another: so shall ye be the stronger, and God's Spirit shall not be absent from you, but in the midst of you, to teach you, to comfort you, to make you wise in all godly things, patient in adversity, and strong in persecution.

"Ye see how the congregation of the wicked, by helping one another, make their wicked religion and themselves strong against God's truth and his people. If ye may, have some learned man, that can, out of the Scriptures, speak unto you of faith, and true honouring of God; also that can show you the descent of Christ's church from the beginning of it until this day, that ye may perceive, by the life of our forefathers, these two things; the one, that Christ's words, which said that all must suffer persecution and trouble in the world, be true; the other, that none of all his, before our time, escaped trouble—then shall ye perceive, that it is but a folly for one that professeth Christ truly, to look for the love of the world.

"Thus shall ye learn to bear trouble, and to exercise your religion, and feel indeed that Christ's words be true, In the world ye shall suffer persecution. And when ye shall feel your religion indeed, say, Ye be no better than your forefathers; but be glad, that ye may be counted worthy soldiers for this war. And pray God when ye come together, that he will use and order you and your doings to these three ends, which ye must take heed to: the first, that ye glorify God; the next, that ye edify the church and congregation; the third, that ye profit your own souls.

"In all your doings beware ye be not deceived. For although this time he not yet so bloody and tyrannous as the time of our forefathers, that could not bear the name of Christ without danger of life and goods; yet is our time more perilous both for body and soul. Therefore of us Christ said, Think ye, when the Son of man cometh, he shall find faith upon the earth? He said not, Think ye, he shall find any man or woman christened, and in name a Christian? But he spake of the faith that saveth the Christian man in Christ. And doubtless the scarcity of faith is now more (and will, I fear, increase) than it was in the time of the greatest tyrants that ever were; and no marvel why. Read the sixth chapter of St. John's Revelation, and ye shall perceive, amongst other things, that at the opening of the fourth seal came out a pale horse, and he that sat upon him was called Death, and hell followed him. This horse, is the time wherein hypocrites and dissemblers entered into the church under the pretence of true religion, as monks, friars, nuns, massing-priests, with such others, that hath killed more souls with heresy and superstition, than all the tyrants that ever were, who killed bodies by fire, sword, or banishment, as it appeareth by his name that sitteth upon the horse, who is called Death: for all souls that leave Christ, and trust to these hypocrites, live to the devil in everlasting pain, as is declared by him that followeth the pale horse, which is hell.

"These pretended and pale hypocrites have stirred the earthquakes, that is to wit, the princes of the world, against Christ's church; and have also darkened the sun, and made the moon bloody, and have caused the stars to fall from heaven: that is to say, have darkened with mists,

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and daily do darken, (as ye hear by their sermons,) the clear sun of God's most pure word. The moon, which be God's true preachers, which fetch only light at the sun of God's word, are turned into blood, prisons, and chains, that their light cannot shine unto the world as they would: whereupon it cometh to pass, that the stars, that is to say, Christian people, fall from heaven, that is to wit, from God's most true word to hypocrisy, most devilish superstition, and idolatry. Let some learned man show you all the articles of your belief and monument of Christian faith, from the time of Christ hitherto, and ye shall perceive that there was never mention of such articles as these hypocrites teach. God bless you, and pray for me as I do for you.

"Out of the Fleet, by your brother in Christ,
JOHN HOOPER."

*To Master Ferrar, bishop of St. David's, Dr. Taylor, Master Bradford, and Master Philpot,
prisoners in the King's Bench in Southwark.*

"The grace of God be with you, Amen. I am advertised by divers, as well such as love the truth, as also by such as yet be not come unto it, that ye and I shall be carried shortly to Cambridge, there to dispute for the faith, and for the religion of Christ (which is most true) that we have and do profess. I am (as I doubt not ye be) in Christ ready, not only to go to Cambridge, but also to suffer, by God's help, death itself in the maintenance thereof. Weston and his complices have obtained forth the commission already; and speedily, most like, he will put it in execution. Wherefore, dear brethren, I do advertise you of the thing before, for divers causes. The one to comfort you in the Lord, that the time draweth near and is at hand, that we shall testify before God's enemies God's truth: the next, that ye should prepare yourselves the better for it: the third, to show you what ways I think ourselves were best to use in this matter, and also to hear of you your better advice, if mine be not good. Ye know such as shall be censors and judges over us breathe and thirst for our blood; and whether we, by God's help overcome after the word of God, or by force and subtlety of our adversaries be overcome, this will be the conclusion: our adversaries will say, they overcome; and ye perceive how they report of those great learned men and godly personages at Oxford.

"Wherefore I mind never to answer them, except I have books present, because they use not only false allegation of the doctors, but also a piece of the doctors against the whole course of the doctors' mind. The next, that we may have sworn notaries, to take things spoken indifferently: which will be very hard to have, for the adversaries will have the oversight of all things, and then make theirs better than it was, and ours worse than it was. Then, if we see that two or three, or more, will speak together, or with scoffs and taunts illude and mock us; I suppose it were best to appeal, to be heard before the queen and the whole council, and that would much set forth the glory of God. For many of them know already the truth, many of them err rather of zeal than malice, and the others that be indurate should be answered fully to their shame, I doubt not; although to our smart and blood-shedding. For of this I am assured, that the commissioners appointed to hear us and judge us, mean nothing less than to hear the cause indifferently; for they be enemies unto us and our cause, and be at a point already to give sentence against us: so that if it were possible, with St. Stephen, to speak so that they could not resist us, or to use such silence and patience as Christ did, they will proceed to revenging.

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"Wherefore, my dear brethren in the mercy of Jesus Christ, I would be glad to know your advice this day or to-morrow; for shortly we shall begone, and I verily suppose that we shall not company together, but be kept one abroad from another. They will deny our appeal, yet let us challenge the appeal, and take witness thereof, of such as be present, and require for indifferency of hearing and judgment, to be heard either before the queen and the council, or else before all the parliament, as they were used in King Edward's days. Further, for my part I will require both books and time to answer. We have been prisoners now three quarters of a year, and have lacked our books; and our memories, by close keeping and ingratitude of their parts, be not so present and quick as theirs be. I trust God will be with us, yea, I doubt not but he will, and teach us to do all things in his cause godly and constantly. If our adversaries, that shall be our judges, may have their purpose, we shall dispute one day, be condemned the next day, and suffer the third day. And yet is there no law to condemn us, (as far as I know,) and so one of the Convocation-house said this week to Dr. Weston. To whom Weston made this answer, 'It forceth not,' quoth he, 'for a law: we have commission to proceed with them. When they be despatched, let their friends sue the law.'

"Now how soon a man may have such a commission at my Lord Chancellor's hand, you know. It is as hard to be obtained as an indictment for Christ at Caiaphas's hand. Besides that the bishops, having the queen so upon their sides, may do all things both without the advice, and also the knowledge of the rest of the lords of the temporality; who, at this present, have found out the mark that the bishop shot at, and doubtless be not pleased with their doings. I pray you, help, that our brother Saunders, and the rest in the Marshalsea, may understand these things, and send me your answer betime. 'Judas sleepeth not; neither know we the day nor the hour.' The Lord Jesus Christ, with his Holy Spirit, comfort and strengthen us all. Amen.

"May the sixth, anno 1554.

"Yours, and with you unto death, in Christ,
JOHN HOOPER."

An exhortation to patience, sent to his godly wife, Ann Hooper; whereby all the true members of Christ may take comfort and courage to suffer trouble and affliction for the profession of his holy gospel.

"Our Saviour Jesus Christ—dearly beloved, and my godly wife—in St. Matthew's Gospel said to his disciples, That it was necessary scandals should come: and that they could not be avoided, he perceived as well by the condition of those that should perish and be lost for ever in the world to come, as also by their affliction that should be saved. For he saw the greatest part of the people should contemn and neglect whatsoever true doctrine or godly ways should be showed unto them, or else receive and use it as they thought good to serve their pleasures, without any profit to their souls at all, not caring whether they lived as they were commanded by God's word or not; but would think it sufficient to be counted to have the name of a Christian man, with such works and fruits of his profession and Christianity, as his fathers and elders, after their custom and manner, esteem and take to be good fruits and faithful works; and will not try them by the word of God at all. These men, by the just judgment of God, be delivered unto the craft and subtilty of the devil, that they may be kept by one scandalous stumbling-block or other, that they never come unto Christ, who came to save those that were lost: as ye may see how God delivereth wicked men up unto their own lusts, to do one mischief after another; careless, until

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they come into a reprobate mind, that forgetteth itself, and cannot know what is expedient to be done, or to be left undone; because they close their eyes, and will not see the light of God's word offered unto them: and being thus blinded, they prefer their own vanities before the truth of God's word. Where such corrupt minds be, there is also corrupt election and choice of God's honour: so that the mind of man taketh falsehood for truth, superstition for true religion, death for life, damnation for salvation, hell for heaven, and persecution of Christ's members for God's service and honour. And as these men wilfully and voluntarily reject the word of God, even so God most justly delivereth them into the blindness of mind and hardness of heart, that they cannot understand, nor yet consent to, any thing that God would have preached and set forth to his glory, after his own will and word: wherefore they hate it mortally, and of all things most detest God's holy word. And as the devil hath entered into their hearts, that they themselves cannot nor will not come to Christ, to be instructed by his holy word even so can they not abide any other man, to be a Christian man, and to lead his life after the word of God; but hate him. persecute him, rob him, imprison him, yea, and kill him, whether it be man or woman, if God suffer it. And so much are these wicked men blinded, that they pass off no law, whether it be God's or man's, but persecute such as never offended; yea, do evil to those that have prayed daily for them, and wish them God's grace.

"In their Pharaonical and blind fury they have no respect to nature. For the brother persecuteth the brother, the father the son; and most dear friends, in devilish slander and offence, are become most mortal enemies. And no marvel; for when they have chosen sundry masters, the one the devil, the other God, the one shall agree with the other, as God and the devil agree between themselves. For this cause (that the more part of the world doth use to serve the devil under cloaked hypocrisy of God's title) Christ said, It is expedient and necessary that scandals should come: and many means be devised to keep the little babes of Christ from the heavenly Father; but Christ saith, Woe be unto him by whom the offence cometh! Yet is there no remedy, man being of such corruption and hatred towards God, but that the evil shall be deceived, and persecute the good; and the good shall understand the truth, and suffer persecution for it, unto the world's end: For as he that was born after the flesh, persecuted in times past him that was born after the Spirit, even so it is now. Therefore, forasmuch as we live in this life amongst so many great perils and dangers, we must be well assured by God's word how to bear them, and how patiently to take them as they be sent to us from God. We must also assure ourselves, that there is no other remedy for Christians in the time of trouble, than Christ himself hath appointed us. In St. Luke he giveth us this commandment: Ye shall possess your lives in patience, saith he. In the which words he giveth us both commandment what to do, and also great comfort and consolation in all troubles. He sheweth what is to be done, and what is to be hoped for, in troubles. And, when troubles happen, he biddeth us be patient, and in no case violently nor seditiously to resist our persecutors: because God hath such care and charge of us, that he will keep in the midst of all troubles the very hairs of our head, so that one of them shall not fall away without the will and pleasure of our heavenly Father. Whether the hair, therefore, tarry on the head, or fall from the head, it is the will of the Father. And seeing he hath such care for the hairs of our head, how much more doth he care for our life itself! Wherefore let God's adversaries do what they list, whether they take life or take it not, they can do us no hurt: for their cruelty hath no further power than God permitteth them; and that which cometh unto us by the will of our heavenly Father can be no harm, no loss, neither destruction unto us; but rather gain, wealth, and felicity.

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For all troubles and adversity that chance to such as be of God, by the will of the heavenly Father, can be none other but gain and advantage.

"That the spirit of man may feel these consolations, the giver of them, the heavenly Father, must be prayed unto, for the merits of Christ's passion: for it is not the nature of man that can be contented, until it be regenerated and possessed by God's Spirit, to bear patiently the troubles of the mind or of the body. When the mind and heart of a man seeth on every side sorrow and heaviness, and the worldly eye beholdeth nothing but such things as be troublous and wholly bent to rob the poor of that he hath, and also to take from him his life: except the man weigh these brittle and uncertain treasures that be taken from him, with the riches of the life to come; and this life of the body, with the life in Christ's precious blood; and so, for the love and certainty of the heavenly joys, condemn all things present—doubtless he shall never be able to bear the loss of goods, life, or any other thing of this world.

"Therefore St. Paul giveth a godly and necessary lesson to all men in this short and transitory life, and therein showeth how a man may best bear the iniquities and troubles of this world: If ye be risen again with Christ, saith he, seek the things which are above; where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God the Father. Wherefore, the Christian man's faith must be always upon the resurrection of Christ, when he is in trouble; and in that glorious resurrection he shall not only see continual and perpetual joy and consolation, but also the victory and triumph over all persecution, trouble, sin, death, hell, the devil, and all other tyrants and persecutors of Christ and of Christ's people; the tears and weeping of the faithful dried up; their wounds healed; their bodies made immortal in joy; their souls for ever praising the Lord, in conjunction and society everlasting with the blessed company of God's elect, in perpetual joy. But the words of St. Paul in that place, if they be not marked, shall do little profit to the reader or hearer, and give him no patience at all in this impatient and cruel world.

"In this first part St. Paul commandeth us, to think or set our affections on things that are above. When he biddeth us seek the things that are above, he requireth that our minds never cease from prayer and study in God's word, until we see, know, and understand, the vanities of this world; the shortness and misery of this life, and the treasures of the world to come; the immortality thereof, the joys of that life; and so never cease seeking, until such time as we know certainly and be persuaded, what a blessed man he is, that seeketh the one and findeth it, and careth not for the other though he lose it. And in seeking to have right judgment between the life present and the life to come, we shall find how little the pains, imprisonment, slanders, lies, and death itself is, in this world, in respect of pains everlasting, the prison infernal, and dungeon of hell, the sentence of God's just judgment, and everlasting death.

"When a man hath, by seeking the word of God, found out what the things above be, then must he (as St. Paul saith) set his affections upon them. And this commandment is more hard than the other. For man's knowledge many times seeth the best, and knoweth that there is a life to come, better than this life present; as you may see how, daily, men and women can praise and commend, yea, and wish for heaven, and to be at rest there, yet they set not their affection upon it: they do more affect and love indeed a trifle of nothing in this world that pleaseth their affection, than the treasure of all treasures in heaven, which their own judgments saith is better than all worldly things. Wherefore we must set our affections upon the things that be above; that

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is to say, when any thing, worse than heaven, upon earth, offereth itself to be ours, if we will give our good wills to it, and love it in our hearts, then ought we to see, by the judgment of God's word, whether we may have the world without offence of God, and such things as be for this worldly life without his displeasure. If we cannot, St. Paul's commandment must take place, Set your affections on things that are above. If the riches of this world may not be gotten nor kept by God's law, neither our lives be continued without the denial of his honour, we must set our affection upon the riches and life that is above, and not upon things that be on the earth. Therefore this second commandment of St. Paul requireth, that as our minds judge heavenly things to be better than things upon the earth, and the life to come better than the life present; so we should choose them before other, and prefer them, and have such affection to the best, that in no case we set the worst before it, as the most part of the world doth and hath done; for they choose the best and approve it, and yet follow the worst.

"But these things, my godly wife, require rather cogitation, meditation, and prayer, than words or talk. They be easy to be spoken of, but not so easy to be used and practised. Wherefore, seeing they be God's gifts, and none of ours, to have as our own when we would, we must seek them at our heavenly Father's hand, who seeth and is privy how poor and wretched we be, and how naked, how spoiled and destitute of all his blessed gifts, we be, by reason of sin. He did command therefore his disciples, when he showed them that they should take patiently the state of this present life, full of troubles and persecution, to pray that they might well escape those troubles that were to come, and be able to stand before the Son of man. When you find yourself too much oppressed, (as every man shall be sometimes with the fear of God's judgment,) use the seventy-seventh Psalm, that beginneth, I will cry unto God with my voice, and he shall hearken unto me: in which Psalm is both godly doctrine and great consolation unto the man or woman that is in anguish of mind.

"Use also in such trouble the eighty-eighth Psalm, wherein is contained the prayer of a man that was brought into extreme anguish and misery, and being vexed with adversaries and persecutions, saw nothing but death and hell. And although he felt in himself, that he had not only man, but also God angry towards him, yet he by prayer humbly resorted unto God, as the only port of consolation, and, in the midst of his desperate state of trouble, put the hope of his salvation in him, whom he felt his enemy. Howbeit no man of himself can do this; but the Spirit of God, that striketh the man's heart with fear—prayeth for the man stricken and feared, with unspeakable groanings. And when you feel yourself, or know any other, oppressed after such sort, be glad; for, after that God hath made you to know what you be of yourself, he will doubtless show you comfort, and declare unto you what you be in Christ his only Son; and use prayer often, for that is the means whereby God will be sought unto for his gifts. These Psalms be for the purpose, when the mind can take no understanding, nor the heart any joy, of God's promises: and therefore were the sixth, twenty-second, thirtieth, thirty-first, thirty-eighth, and sixty-ninth Psalms also made, from the which you shall learn both patience and consolation. Remember, that although your life (as all Christian men's be) be hid, and appeareth not what it is, yet it is safe (as St. Paul saith) with God in Christ: and when Christ shall appear, then shall our lives be made open with him in glory. But, in the mean time, with seeking and setting our affections upon the things that be above, we must patiently suffer whatsoever God shall send unto us in this mortal life. Notwithstanding, it might fortune that some would say, 'Who is so perfect, that can let all things pass as they come, and have no care of them; suffer all things, and

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feel nothing; be tempted of the devil, the world, and the flesh, and be not troubled?' Verily no man living. But this I say, that, in the strength of Jesus Christ things that come may pass with care, for we be worldly; and yet are we not carried with them from Christ, for we be in him godly. We may suffer things, and feel them as mortal men, yet bear them and overcome them as Christian men. We may be tempted of the devil, the flesh, and the world; but yet, although those things pinch, they do not pierce; and, although they work sin in us, yet in Christ no damnation to those that be grafted in him. Hereof may the Christian man learn both consolation and patience: consolation, in that he is compelled both in his body and goods to feel pain and loss; and in the soul heaviness and anguish of mind: howbeit none of them both shall separate him from the love that God beareth him in Christ. He may learn patience, forasmuch as his enemies both of body and soul, and the pains also they vex us withal for the time, if they tarry with us as long as we live, yet, when death cometh, they shall avoid, and give place to such joys as be prepared for us in Christ: for no pains of the world be perpetual, and whether they shall afflict us for all the time of our mortal life, we know not; for they be servants of God, to go and come as he commandeth them. But we must take heed we meddle not forcibly nor seditiously to put away the persecution appointed unto us by God. Remember Christ's saying, Possess you your lives by your patience. And in this commandment God requireth of every man and woman this patient obedience. He saith not, it is sufficient that other holy patriarchs, prophets, apostles, evangelists, and martyrs, continued their lives in patience, and patient suffering the trouble of this world; but Christ saith to every one of his people, By your own patience ye shall continue your life: not that man hath patience in himself, but that he must have it for himself of God, the only giver of it, if he purpose to be a godly man. Now, therefore, as our profession and religion requireth patience outwardly, without resistance and force; so requireth it patience of the mind, and not to be angry with God, although he use us, that be his own creatures, as him listeth.

"We may not also murmur against God, but say always, his judgments be right and just—and rejoice that it pleaseth him by troubles to use us, as he used heretofore such as he most loved in this world; and have a singular care to this commandment, Be glad and rejoice; for he sheweth great cause why: Your reward, saith he, is great in heaven. These promises of him that is the truth itself shall, by God's grace, work both consolation and patience in the afflicted Christian person. And when our Saviour Christ hath willed men in trouble to be content and patient, because God, in the end of trouble, in Christ hath ordained eternal consolation; he useth also to take from us all shame and rebuke, as though it were not an honour to suffer for Christ, because the wicked world doth curse and abhor such poor troubled Christians. Wherefore Christ placeth all his honourably, and saith, Even so persecuted they the prophets that were before you. We may also see with whom the afflicted for Christ's sake be esteemed, by St. Paul to the Hebrews, whereas the number of the blessed and glorious company of saints appear now to our faith in heaven, in joy; yet, in the letter, for the time of this life, in such pains and contempt as was never more. Let us therefore consider both them, and all other things of the world since the fall of man, and we shall perceive nothing to come to perfection, but with such confusion and disorder to the eye of the world, as though things were rather lost for ever, than like to come to any perfection at all. For of godly men, who ever came to heaven (no not Christ himself) until such time as the world had thought verily that both he and all his had been clean destroyed and cast away as the wise man saith of the wicked people, We thought them to be fools, but they be in peace.

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"We may learn by things that nourish and maintain us, both meat and drink, what loathsomeness and (in manner) abhorring they come unto, before they work their perfection in us. From life they are brought to the fire, and clean altered from that they were when they were alive; from the fire to the trencher and knife, and all-to-hacked; from the trencher to the mouth, and as small ground as the teeth can grind them; and from the mouth into the stomach, and there so boiled and digested before they nourish, that whosoever saw the same, would loathe and abhor his own nourishment, before it come to his perfection.

"Is it then any marvel if such Christians as God delighteth in, be so mangled and defaced in this world, which is the kitchen and mill to boil and grind the flesh of God's people in, till they achieve their perfection in the world to come And as a man looketh for the nutriment of his meat when it is full digested, and not before; so must he look for his salvation when he hath passed this troublous world, and not before. Raw flesh is not meat wholesome for man: and unmortified men and women be not creatures meet for God. Therefore Christ saith, that his people must be broken, and all-to-be-torn in the mill of this world; and so shall they be most fine meal unto the heavenly Father. And it shall be a Christian man's part, and the duty of a mind replenished with the Spirit of God, to mark the order of God in all his things; how he dealeth with them, and how they suffer; and be content to let God do his will upon them: as St. Paul saith, They wait until the number of the elect be fulfilled, and never be at rest, but look for the time when God's people shall appear in glory.

"We must therefore patiently suffer, and willingly attend upon God's doings, although they seem clean contrary, after our judgment, to our wealth and salvation; as Abraham did, when he was bid to offer his son Isaac, in whom God promised the blessing and multiplying of his seed. Joseph at the last came to that which God promised him, although in the mean time, after the judgment of the world, he was never like to be (as God said he should be) lord over his brethren. When Christ would make the blind man to see, he put clay upon his eyes, which, after the judgment of man, was a means rather to make him doubly blind, than to give him his sight; but he obeyed, and knew that God could work his desire, what means soever he used contrary to man's reason. And as touching this world, he useth all his after the same sort. If any smart, his people be the first; if any suffer shame, they begin; if any be subject to slander, it is those that he loveth: so that he showeth no face or favour, nor love almost in this world outwardly to them, but layeth clay upon their sore eyes that be sorrowful: yet the patient man seeth, as St. Paul saith, life hid under these miseries and adversities, and sight under foul clay; and in the mean time he hath the testimony of a good conscience, and believeth God's promises to be his consolation in the world to come; which is more worth unto him, than all the world is worth besides: and blessed is that man in whom God's Spirit beareth record, that he is the Son of God, whatsoever troubles he suffer in this troublesome world.

"And to judge things indifferently, my good wife, the troubles be not yet generally, as they were in our good fathers' time, soon after the death and resurrection of our Saviour Jesus Christ, whereof he spake in St. Matthew: of the which place you and I have taken many times great consolation, and especially of the latter part of the chapter, wherein is contained the last day and end of all troubles (I doubt not) both for you and me, and for such as love the coming of our Saviour Christ to judgment. Remember therefore that place, and mark it again, and ye shall in this time see this great consolation, and also learn much patience. Were there ever such

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troubles, as Christ threatened upon Jerusalem? Was there since the beginning of the world such affliction? Who was then best at ease? The apostles, that suffered in body persecution, and gathered of it ease and quietness in the promises of God. And no marvel, for Christ saith, Lift up your heads, for your redemption is at hand; that is to say, your eternal rest approacheth and draweth near. The world is stark blind, and more foolish than foolishness itself, and so be the people of the world. For when God saith, Trouble shall come, they will have ease. And when God saith, Be merry and rejoice in trouble, we lament and mourn, as though we were cast-away. But this our flesh (which is never merry with virtue, nor sorry with vice; never laugheth with grace, nor ever weepeth with sin) holdeth fast with the world, and letteth God slip. But, my dearly beloved wife, you know how to perceive and to beware of the vanity and crafts of the devil well enough in Christ. And that ye may the better have patience in the Spirit of God, read again the twenty-fourth chapter of St. Matthew, and mark what difference is between the destruction of Jerusalem and the destruction of the whole world, and you shall see, that then here were left alive many offenders to repent; but, at the latter day, there shall be absolute judgment, and sentence (never to be revoked) of eternal life and eternal death upon all men; and yet, towards the end of the world, we have nothing so much extremity as they had then, but even as we be able to bear. So doth the merciful Father lay upon us now imprisonment (and I suppose, for my part, shortly death); now spoil of goods, loss of friends, and the greatest loss of all, the knowledge of God's word. God's will be done. I wish in Christ Jesus, our only Mediator and Saviour, your constancy and consolation, that you may live for ever and ever, whereof in Christ I doubt not; to whom, for his most blessed and painful passion, I commit you. Amen.

"October the thirteenth, A. D. 1553."

To a certain godly woman, instructing her how she should behave herself in the time of her widowhood.

"The grace of God and the comfort of his Holy Spirit be with you, and all them that unfeignedly love his holy gospel. Amen.

"I thank you, dear sister, for your most loving remembrance; and, although I cannot recompense the same, yet do I wish, with all my heart, that God would do it, requiring you not to forget your duty towards God in these perilous days, in the which the Lord will try us. I trust you do increase, by reading of the Scriptures, the knowledge you have of God; and that you diligently apply yourself to follow the same: for the knowledge helpeth not, except the life be according thereunto. Further, I do heartily pray you, to consider the state of your widowhood, and if God shall put in your mind to change it, remember the saying of St. Paul, It is lawful for the widow or maiden to marry to whom they list, so it be in the Lord; that is to say, to such a one as is of Christ's religion. Dearly beloved in Christ, remember these words, for you shall find thereby great joy and comfort, if you change your state. Whereof I will, when I have better leisure, (as now I have none at all,) further advertise you. In the mean time I commend you to God, and the guiding of his good Spirit, who stablish and confirm you in all well-doing, and keep you blameless to the day of the Lord! Watch and pray, for this day is at hand.

"Yours assured in Christ,
JOHN HOOPER."

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To all my dear brethren, my relievers and helpers in the city of London.

"The grace of God be with you, Amen. I have received from you, dearly beloved in our Saviour Jesus Christ, by the hands of my servant William Downton, your liberality, for the which I most heartily thank you, and I praise God highly in you and for you, who hath moved your hearts to show this kindness towards me; praying him to preserve you from all famine, scarcity, and lack of the truth of his word, which is the lively food of your souls, as you preserve my body from hunger and other necessities which should happen unto me, were it not cared for by the benevolence and charity of godly people. Such as have taken all worldly goods and lands from me, and spoiled me of all that I had, have imprisoned my body, and appointed not one halfpenny to feed or relieve me withal: but I do forgive them, and pray for them daily in my poor prayer unto God; and from my heart I wish their salvation, and quietly and patiently bear their injuries, wishing no further extremity to be used towards us. Yet, if the contrary seem best unto our heavenly Father, I have made my reckoning, and fully resolved myself to suffer the uttermost that they are able to do against me, yea, death itself, by the aid of Christ Jesus, who died the most vile death of the cross for us wretches and miserable sinners. But of this I am assured, that the wicked world, with all its force and power, shall not touch one of the hairs of our heads without leave and licence of our heavenly Father, whose will be done in all things. If he will life, life be it: if he will death, death be it. Only we pray, that our wills may be subject unto his will; and then, although both we and all the world see none other thing but death, yet if he think life best, we shall not die—no, although the sword be drawn out over our heads: as Abraham thought to kill his son Isaac, yet, when God perceived that Abraham had surrendered his will to God's will, and was content to kill his son, God then saved his son.

"Dearly beloved, if we be contented to obey God's will, and for his commandment's sake to surrender our goods and our lives to be at his pleasure, it maketh no matter whether we keep goods and life, or lose them. Nothing can hurt us that is taken from us for God's cause, nor can any thing at length do us good that is preserved contrary unto God's commandment. Let us wholly suffer God to use us and ours after his holy wisdom, and beware we neither use nor govern ourselves contrary to his will by our own wisdom; for if we do, our wisdom will at length prove foolishness. It is kept to no good purpose, that we keep contrary unto his commandments. That can by no means be taken from us, which he would should tarry with us. He is no good Christian that ruleth himself and his, as worldly means serve: for he that so doth, shall have as many changes as chance in the world. To-day with the world he shall like and praise the truth of God; to-morrow as the world will, so will he like and praise the falsehood of man: to-day with Christ, and to-morrow with antichrist. Wherefore, dear brethren, as touching your behaviour towards God, use both your inward spirits and your outward bodies, your inward and your outward man, (I say,) not after the manner of men, but after the infallible word of God.

"Refrain from evil in both; and glorify your heavenly Father in both. For if ye think ye can inwardly in the heart serve him, and yet outwardly serve with the world, in external service, the thing that is not God, ye deceive yourselves; for both the body and the soul must together concur in the honour of God, as St. Paul plainly teacheth. For if an honest wife be bound to give both heart and body to faith and service in marriage, and if an honest wife's faith in the heart cannot stand with an unchaste or defiled body outwardly; much less can the true faith of a Christian, in the service of Christianity, stand with the bodily service of external idolatry; for the

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mystery of marriage is not so honourable between man and wife, as it is between Christ and every Christian man, as St. Paul saith.

"Therefore, dear brethren, pray to the heavenly Father, that as he spared not the soul nor the body of his dearly beloved Son, but applied both of them with extreme pain, to work our salvation both of body and soul; so he will give us all grace to apply our bodies and souls to be servants unto him: for doubtless he requireth as well the one as the other, and cannot be discontented with the one, and well pleased with the other. Either he hateth both, or loveth both; he divideth not his love to one, and his hatred to the other. Let not us therefore, good brethren, divide ourselves, and say our souls serve him, whatsoever our bodies do to the contrary for civil order and policy.

"But, alas! I know by myself, what troubleth you; that is, the great danger of the world, that will revenge, ye think, your service to God with sword and fire, with loss of goods and lands. But, dear brethren, weigh of the other side, that your enemies and God's enemies shall not do so much as they would, but as much as God shall suffer them, who can trap them in their own counsels, and destroy them in the midst of their furies. Remember ye be the workmen of the Lord, and called into his vineyard, there to labour till evening-tide, that you may receive your penny, which is more worth than all the kingdoms of the earth. But he that calleth us into his vineyard, hath not told us how sore and how fervently the sun shall trouble us in our labour; but hath bid us labour, and commit the bitterness thereof unto him, who can and will so moderate all afflictions, that no man shall have more laid upon him, than in Christ lie shall be able to bear. Unto whose merciful tuition and defence I commend both your souls and bodies.

"September the second, anno 1554.

"Yours, with my poor prayer,

JOHN HOOPER."

To a merchant of London, by whose means he had received much comfort in his great necessity in the Fleet.

"Grace, mercy, and peace, in Christ Jesus our Lord. I thank God and you for the great help and consolation I have received in the time of adversity by your charitable means; but most rejoice that you be not altered from truth, although falsehood cruelly seeketh to distain her. Judge not, my brother, truth by outward appearance; for truth now worse appeareth, and more vilely is rejected, than falsehood. Leave the outward show, and see, by the word of God, what truth is; and accept truth, and dislike her not, though man call her falsehood. As it is now, so it hath been heretofore, the truth rejected and falsehood received. Such as have professed truth, for truth have smarted, and the friends of falsehood laughed them to scorn. The trial of both hath been by contrary success; the one having the commendation of truth by man, but the condemnation of falsehood by God; flourishing for a time, with endless destruction: the other afflicted a little season, but ending with immortal joys. Wherefore, dear brother, ask and demand of your book, the Testament of Jesus Christ, in those woeful and wretched days, what you should think, and what you should stay upon for a certain truth; and whatsoever you hear taught, try it by your book, whether it be true or false. The days be dangerous and full of peril, not only for the world and worldly things, but for heaven and heavenly things. It is a trouble to lose the treasure of this life, but yet a very pain, if it be kept with the offence of God. Cry, call, pray; and in Christ daily

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require help, succour, mercy, wisdom, grace, and defence, that the wickedness of this world prevail not against us. We began well, God preserve us until the end. I would write more often unto you, but I do perceive you be at so much charges with me, that I fear you would think when I write I crave. Send me nothing till I send to you for it; and so tell the good men, your partners: and when I need, I will be bold with you.

"December the third, anno 1554.

"Yours, with my prayer,

JOHN HOOPER."

To Mistress Wilkinson, a woman hearty in God's cause, and comfortable to his afflicted members: afterwards dying in exile at Frankfort.

"The grace of God, and the comfort of his Holy Spirit, be with you. Amen.

"I am very glad to hear of your health, and do thank you for your loving tokens. But I am a great deal more glad to hear how Christianly you avoid idolatry, and prepare yourself to suffer the extremity of the world, rather than to endanger yourself to God. You do as you ought to do in this behalf; and in suffering of transitory pains, you shall avoid permanent torments in the world to come. Use your life, and keep it with as much quietness as you can, so that you offend not God. The ease that cometh of his displeasure, turneth at length to unspeakable pains; and the gains of the world, with the loss of his favour, is beggary and wretchedness. Reason is to be amended in this cause of religion: for it will choose and follow an error with the multitude, if it may be allowed, rather than turn to faith, and follow the truth with the people of God. Moses found the same fault in himself, and did amend it, choosing rather to be afflicted with the people of God, than to use the liberty of the king's daughter, that accounted him as her son. Pray for contentation and peace of the Spirit, and rejoice in such troubles as shall happen to you for the truth's sake: for in that part Christ saith, you be happy. Pray also for me, I pray you, that I may do in all things the will of our heavenly Father: to whose tuition and defence I commend you."

To my dear friends in God, Master John Hall and his wife, exhorting them to stand fast in the truth.

"The grace of God be with you, Amen. I thank you for your loving and gentle friendship at all times, praying to God to show unto you such favour, that whatsoever trouble and adversity happen, ye go not back from him. These days be dangerous and full of peril; but yet let us comfort ourselves in calling to remembrance the days of our forefathers, upon whom the Lord sent such troubles, that many hundreds, yea, many thousands, died for the testimony of Jesus Christ, both men and women, suffering with patience and constancy as much cruelty as tyrants could devise, and so departed out of this miserable world to the bliss everlasting, where now they remain for ever; looking always for the end of this sinful world, when they shall receive their bodies again in immortality, and see the number of the elect associated with them in full and consummate joys: and, as virtuous men suffering martyrdom, and tarrying a little while in this world with pains, by and by rested in joys everlasting; and as their pains ended their sorrows, and began ease, so did their constancy and steadfastness animate and confirm all good people in the truth, and gave them encouragement and lust to suffer the like, rather than to fall with the world

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to consent unto wickedness and idolatry. Wherefore, my dear friends, seeing God, of his part, hath illuminated you with the same gift and knowledge of true faith, wherein the apostles and evangelists, and all martyrs, suffered most cruel death; thank him for his grace in knowledge, and pray unto him for strength and perseverance, that through your own fault ye be not ashamed or afraid to confess it. Yet ye be in the truth, and the gates of hell shall never prevail against it, nor antichrist with all his imps can prove it to be false. They may kill and persecute, but never overcome. Be of good comfort, and fear God more than man. This life is short and miserable; happy be they that can spend it to the glory of God. Pray for me, as I do for you, and commend me to all good men and women.

"December the twenty-second, anno 1554.

Your brother in Christ,
JOHN HOOPER."

To my dearly beloved sister in the Lord, Mistress Anne Warcop.

"The grace of God be with you, Amen. I thank you for your loving token. I pray you burden not yourself too much. It were meet for me rather to bear a pain, than to be a hinderance to many. I did rejoice at the coming of this bearer, to understand of your constancy, and how that you be fully resolved, by God's grace, rather to suffer extremity, than to go from the truth of God which you have professed. He that gave you grace to begin so infallible a truth, will follow you in the same unto the end. But, my loving sister, as you be travelling this perilous journey, take this lesson with you, practised by wise men; whereof you may read in the second of St. Matthew's Gospel. Such as travelled to find Christ, followed only the star; and as long as they saw it, they were assured they were in the right way, and had great mirth in their journey. But when they entered into Jerusalem (whereas the star led them not thither, but unto Bethlehem) and there asked the citizens the thing that the star showed before; as long as they tarried in Jerusalem, and would be instructed where Christ was born, they were not only ignorant of Bethlehem, but also lost the sight of the star that led them before. Whereof we learn, in any case, whilst we be going in this life to seek Christ, that is above, to beware that we lose not the star of God's word, that only is the mark that sheweth us where Christ is, and which way we may come unto him. But as Jerusalem stood in the way, and was an impediment to these wise men; so doth the synagogue of antichrist, that beareth the name of Jerusalem, which by interpretation is called the vision of peace, and amongst the people now is called the catholic church, stand in the way that pilgrims must go by through this world to Bethlehem, the house of saturity and plentifulness, and is an impediment to all Christian travellers; yea, and except the more grace of God be, will keep the pilgrims still in her, that they shall not come where Christ is at all. And to stay them indeed, they take away the star of light, which is God's word, that it cannot be seen: as you may see how the celestial star was hid from the wise men, when they asked of the Pharisees at Jerusalem, where Christ was born. Ye may see what great dangers happened unto these wise men, whilst they were learning of liars where Christ was. First, they were out of their way, and next they lost their guide and conductor, the heavenly star. Christ is mounted from us into heaven, and there we seek him (as we say); and let us go thitherward by the star of his word. Beware we happen not to come into Jerusalem, the church of men, and ask for him. If we do, we go out of the way, and lose also our conductor and guide, that only leadeth us straight thither.

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"The poets write in fables, that Jason, when he fought with the dragon in the isle of Colchis, was preserved by the medicines of Medea, and so won the golden fleece. And they write also that Phaeton, whom they feign to be the son and heir of the high god Jupiter, would needs upon a day have the conduction of the sun round about the world; but, as they feigned, he missed of the accustomed course: whereupon when he went too high, he burned heaven, and when he went too low, he burned the earth and the water. These profane histories do shame us that be Christian men. Jason, against the poison of the dragon, used only the medicine of Medea. What a shame is it for a Christian man, against the poison of the devil, heresy, and sin, to use any other remedy than Christ and his word! Phaeton, for lack of knowledge, was afraid of every sign of the zodiac, that the sun passeth by: wherefore he went now too low, and now too high, and at length fell down and drowned himself in the sea. Christian men for lack of knowledge, and for fear of such dangers as Christian men must needs pass by, go clean out of order, and at length fall into the pit of hell.

"Sister, take heed! you shall, in your journey towards heaven, meet with many a monstrous beast: have salve of God's word therefore ready. You shall meet husband, children, lovers, and friends, that shall, if God be not with them, (as God be praised he is, I would it were with all other alike,) be very lets and impediments to your purpose. You shall meet with slander and contempt of the world, and be accounted ungracious and ungodly; you shall hear and meet with cruel tyranny to do you all extremities; you shall now and then see the troubles of your own conscience, and feel your own weakness; you shall hear that you be cursed by the sentence of the catholic church, with such-like terrors: but pray to God, and follow the star of his word, and you shall arrive at the port of eternal salvation, by the merits only of Jesus Christ: to whom I commend you and all yours most heartily.

"Yours in Christ,
JOHN HOOPER."

Unto these letters of Master Hooper heretofore recited, we thought not inconvenient to annex also another certain epistle, not of Master Hooper's, but written to him by a famous learned man, Henry Bullinger, chief superintendent in the city of Zurich: of whose singular love and tender affection toward Master Hooper ye heard before in the beginning of Master Hooper's life discoursed. Now how loving he writeth unto him, ye shall hear by this present letter, as followeth.

A letter of Master Bullinger to the most reverend father, Master John Hooper, bishop of Worcester and Gloucester, and now prisoner for the gospel of Jesus Christ, my fellow elder and most dear brother in England.

"The heavenly Father grant unto you, and to all those who are in bands and captivity for his name's sake, grace and peace though Jesus Christ our Lord, with wisdom, patience, and fortitude of the Holy Ghost.

"I have received from you two letters, my most dear brother, the former in the month of September of the year past, the latter in the month of May of this present year, both written out of prison. But I, doubting lest I should make answer to you in vain, whilst I feared that my letters should never come into your hands, or else increase and double your sorrow, did refrain from the

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duty of writing. In the which thing I doubt not but you will have me excused, especially seeing you did not vouchsafe, no not once in a whole year, to answer to my whole libels rather than letters; whereas I continued still notwithstanding in writing unto you: as also at this present, after I heard you were cast in prison, I did not refrain from continual prayer, beseeching our heavenly Father, through our only Mediator Jesus Christ, to grant unto you, and to your fellow prisoners, faith and constancy unto the end. Now is that thing happened unto you, my brother, the which we did oftentimes prophesy unto ourselves, at your being with us, should come to pass; especially when we did talk of the power of antichrist, and of his felicity and victories. For you know the saying of Daniel, His power shall be mighty, but not in his strength; and he shall wonderfully destroy and make havoc of all things, and shall prosper and practise, and he shall destroy the mighty and the holy people after his own will. You know what the Lord warned us of beforehand by Matthew, chap. x., by John, in chap. xv. and xvi., and also what that chosen vessel St. Paul hath written, in 2 Tim. iii. Wherefore I do nothing doubt, by God's grace, of your faith and patience, whilst you know that those things which you suffer are not asked for, nor come by chance; but that you suffer them in the best, truest, and most holy quarrel: for what can be more true and holy than our doctrine, which the papists, those worshippers of antichrist, do persecute? All things touching salvation we attribute unto Christ alone, and to his holy institutions, as we have been taught of him and of his disciples; but they would have even the same things to be communicated as well to their antichrist, and to his institutions. Such we ought no less to withstand than we read that Elias withstood the Baalites. For if Jesus be Christ, then let them know, that he is the fulness of his church, and that perfectly: but if antichrist be king and priest, then let them exhibit unto him that honour. How long do they halt on both sides? Can they give unto us any one that is better than Christ, or who shall be equal with Christ, that may be compared with him, except it be he whom the apostle calleth the adversary? But if Christ be sufficient for his church, what needeth this patching and piecing? But I know well enough, I need not to use these disputations with you which are sincerely taught, and have taken root in Christ, being persuaded that you have all things in him, and that we in him are made perfect.

"Go forwards therefore constantly to confess Christ, and to defy antichrist, being mindful of this most holy and most true saying of our Lord Jesus Christ: He that overcometh shall possess all things, and I will be his God and he shall be my son: but the fearful, and the unbelieving, and the murderers, and whoremongers, and sorcerers, and idolaters, and all liars, shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone, which is the second death. The first death is soon overcome, although a man must burn for the Lord's sake: for they say well that do affirm this our fire to be scarcely a shadow of that which is prepared for unbelievers, and them that fall from the truth. Moreover, the Lord granteth unto us, that we may easily overcome, by his power, the first death, the which he himself did taste and overcome; promising withal such joys as never shall have end, unspeakable, and passing all understanding, the which we shall possess so soon as ever we do depart hence. For so again saith the angel of the Lord: If any man worship the beast and his image, and receive his mark in his forehead, or on his hand, the same shall drink of the wrath of God; yea, of the wine which is poured into the cup of his wrath: and he shall be tormented in fire and brimstone before the holy angels, and before the Lamb. And the smoke of their torment shall ascend evermore; and they shall have no rest, day nor night, which worship the beast and his image, and whosoever receiveth the print of his name. Here is the patience of saints; here are they that keep the commandments of God, and the faith of Jesus. To this he added by and by, I heard a voice saying to me, Write, Blessed be the dead that die in the

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Lord; from henceforth, or speedily, they be blessed: Even so, saith the Spirit; for they rest from their labours, but their works follow them: for our labour shall not be frustrate or in vain.

"Therefore, seeing you have such a large promise, be strong in the Lord, fight a good fight, be faithful to the Lord unto the end. Consider that Christ, the Son of God, is your Captain, and fighteth for you, and that all the prophets, apostles, and martyrs are your fellow soldiers. They that persecute and trouble us, are men sinful and mortal, whose favour a wise man would not buy with the value of a farthing: and, besides that, our life is frail, short, brittle, and transitory. Happy are we, if we depart in the Lord; who grant unto you, and to all your fellow prisoners, faith and constancy! Commend me to the most reverend fathers and holy confessors of Christ, Dr. Cranmer, bishop of Canterbury, Dr. Ridley, bishop of London, and the good old father Dr. Latimer. Them, and all the rest of the prisoners with you for the Lord's cause, salute in my name, and in the name of all my fellow ministers, the which do speak unto you the grace of God, and constancy in the truth.

"Concerning the state of our church. it remaineth even as it was when you departed from us into your country. God grant we may be thankful to him, and that we do not only profess the faith with words, but also express the same effectually with good works, to the praise of our Lord

"The word of God increaseth daily in that part of Italy that is near unto us, and in France.

"In the mean while the godly sustain grievous persecutions, and, with great constancy and glory, through torments they go unto the Lord. I and all my household, with my sons-in-law and kinsmen, are in good health in the Lord. They do all salute you, and pray for your constancy; being sorrowful for you and the rest of the prisoners. There came to us Englishmen; students, both godly and learned. They be received of our magistrate. Ten of them dwell together; the rest remain here and there with good men. Amongst others, Master Thomas Lever is dear unto me, and familiar. If there be any thing wherein I may do any pleasure to your wife and children, they shall have me wholly at commandment; whereof I will write also to your wife, for understand she abideth at Frankfort.

"Be strong and merry in Christ, waiting for his deliverance, when and in what sort it shall seem good unto him. The Lord Jesus show pity upon the realm of England, and illuminate the same with his Holy Spirit, to the glory of his name, and the salvation of souls. The Lord Jesus preserve and deliver you from all evil, with all them that call upon his name. Farewell, and farewell eternally.

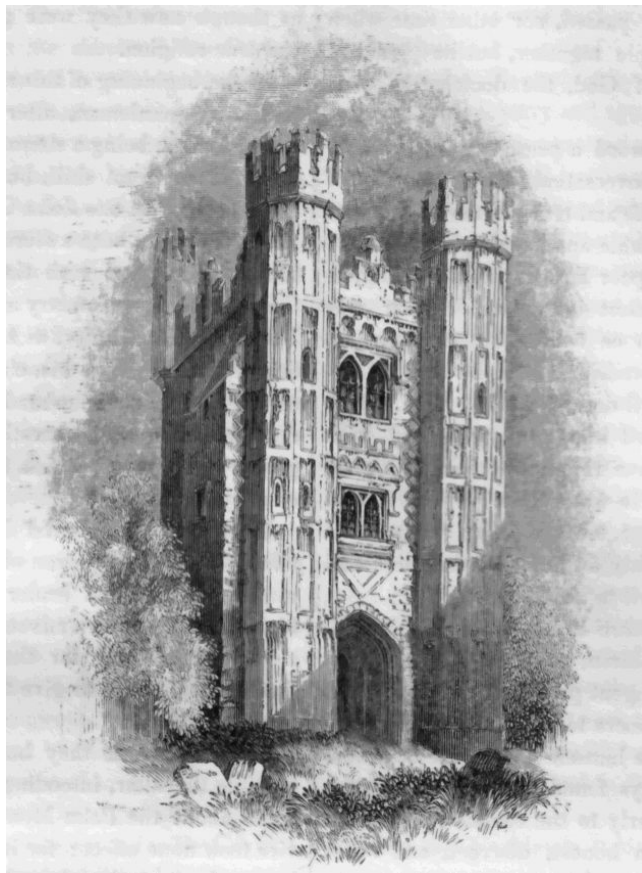
"The tenth of October, anno 1554. From Zurich.

"You know the hand, H. B."

267. Rowland Taylor.

The history of Dr. Rowland Taylor, who suffered for the truth of God's word, under the tyranny of the Roman bishops, the ninth day of February, A. D. 1555.

The town of Hadley was one of the first that received the word of God in all England, at the preaching of Master Thomas Bilney: by whose industry the gospel of Christ had such gracious success, and took such root there, that a great number of that parish became exceeding well learned in the Holy Scriptures, as well women as men, so that a man might have found among them many, that had often read the whole Bible through, and that could have said a great sort of St. Paul's Epistles by heart, and very well and readily have given a godly learned sentence in any matter of controversy. Their children and servants were also brought up and trained so diligently in the right knowledge of God's word, that the whole town seemed rather a university of the learned, than a town of cloth-making or labouring people: and (what most is to be commended) they were for the more part faithful followers of God's word in their living.



Ancient Gateway, Hadleigh

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In this town was Dr. Rowland Taylor, doctor in both the civil and canon laws, and a right perfect divine, parson; who, at his first entering into his benefice, did not, as the common sort of beneficed men do, let out his benefice to a farmer, that shall gather up the profits, and set in an ignorant, unlearned priest to serve the cure, and, so they have the fleece, little or nothing care for feeding the flock: but, contrarily, he forsook the archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, with whom he before was in household, and made his personal abode and dwelling in Hadley, among the people committed to his charge; where he, as a good shepherd, abiding and dwelling among his sheep, gave himself wholly to the study of Holy Scriptures, most faithfully endeavouring himself to fulfil that charge which the Lord gave unto Peter, saying, Peter, lovest thou me? Feed my lambs, feed my sheep, feed my sheep. This love of Christ so wrought in him, that no Sunday nor holy-day passed, nor other time when he might get the people together, but he preached to them the word of God, the doctrine of their salvation.

Not only was his word a preaching unto them, but all his life and conversation was an example of unfeigned Christian life and true holiness. He was void of all pride, humble and meek, as any child: so that none were so poor but they might boldly, as unto their father, resort unto him; neither was his lowliness childish or fearful, but, as occasion, time, and place required, he would be stout in rebuking sinful and evil doers; so that none was so rich but he would tell him plainly his fault, with such earnest and grave rebukes as became a good curate and pastor. He was a man very mild, void of all rancour, grudge, or evil will; ready to do good to all men; readily forgiving his enemies; and never sought to do evil to any.

To the poor that were blind, lame, sick, bedrid, or that had many children, he was a very father, a careful patron, and diligent provider; insomuch that he caused the parishioners to make a general provision for them: and he himself (beside the continual relief that they always found at his house) gave an honest portion yearly to the common alms-box. His wife also was an honest, discreet, and sober matron, and his children well nurtured, brought up in the fear of God and good learning.

To conclude, he was a right and lively image or pattern of all those virtuous qualities described by St. Paul in a true bishop: a good salt of the earth, savourily biting the corrupt manners of evil men; a light in God's house, set upon a candlestick for all good men to imitate and follow.

Thus continued this good shepherd among his flock, governing and leading them through the wilderness of this wicked world, all the days of the most innocent and holy king of blessed memory, Edward the Sixth. But after it pleased God to take King Edward from this vale of misery unto his most blessed rest, the papists, who ever sembled and dissembled, both with King Henry the Eighth and King Edward his son, now seeing the time convenient for their purpose, uttered their false hypocrisy, openly refusing all good reformation made by the said two most godly kings; and, contrary to that they had all these two kings' days preached, taught, written, and sworn, they violently overthrew the true doctrine of the gospel, and persecuted with sword and fire all those that would not agree to receive again the Roman bishop as supreme head of the universal church, and allow all the errors, superstitions, and idolatries, that before by God's word were disproved and justly condemned, as though now they were good doctrine, virtuous, and true religion.

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In the beginning of this rage of antichrist, a certain petty gentleman, after the sort of a lawyer, called Foster, being a steward and keeper of courts, a man of no great skill, but a bitter persecutor in those days, with one John Clerk of Hadley, which Foster had ever been a secret favourer of all Romish idolatry, conspired with the said Clerk to bring in the pope and his maumetry again into Hadley church. For as yet Dr. Taylor, as a good shepherd, had retained and kept in his church the godly church service and reformation made by King Edward, and most faithfully and earnestly preached against the popish corruptions, which had infected the whole country round about.

Therefore the foresaid Foster and Clerk hired one John Averth, parson of Aldham, a very money mammonist, a blind leader of the blind, a popish idolater, and an open advouterer and whoremonger, a very fit minister for their purpose, to come to Hadley, and there to give the onset to begin again the popish mass.

To this purpose they builded up with all haste possible the altar, intending to bring in their mass again about the Palm Monday. But this their device took none effect; for in the night the altar was beaten down: wherefore they built it up again the second time, and laid diligent watch, lest any should again break it down.

On the day following came Foster and John Clerk, bringing with them their popish sacrificer, who brought with him all his implements and garments to play his popish pageant, whom they and their men guarded with swords and bucklers, lest any man should disturb him in his missal sacrifice.

When Dr. Taylor, who, according to his custom, sat at his book studying the word of God, heard the bells ringing, he arose and went into the church, supposing something had been there to be done, according to his pastoral office: and, coming to the church, he found the church doors shut and fast barred, saving the chancel door, which was only latched. Where he, entering in, and coming in the chancel, saw a popish sacrificer in his robes, with a broad new-shaven crown, ready to begin his popish sacrifice, beset round about with drawn swords and bucklers, lest any man should approach to disturb him.

Then said Dr. Taylor, "Thou devil! who made thee so bold to enter into this church of Christ to profane and defile it with this abominable idolatry?" With that started up Foster, and with an ireful and furious countenance said to Dr. Taylor, "Thou traitor! what dost thou here, to let and disturb the queen's proceedings?" Dr. Taylor answered, "I am no traitor, but I am the shepherd that God my Lord Christ hath appointed to feed this his flock: wherefore I have good authority to be here; and I command thee, thou popish wolf, in the name of God to avoid hence, and not to presume here, with such popish idolatry, to poison Christ's flock."

Then said Foster, "Wilt thou traitorously, heretic! make a commotion, and resist violently the queen's proceedings?"

Dr. Taylor answered, "I make no commotion; but it is you papists, that make commotions and tumults. I resist only with God's word against your popish idolatries, which are against God's word, the queen's honour, and tend to the utter subversion of this realm of England. And further,

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thou dost against the canon law, which commandeth, that no mass be said but at a consecrated altar."

When the parson of Aldham heard that, he began to shrink back, and would have left his saying of mass: then started up John Clerk, and said, "Master Averth, be not afraid, you have a superaltare, go forth with your business, man."

Then Foster, with his armed men, took Dr. Taylor, and led him with strong hand out of the church; and the popish prelate proceeded in his Romish idolatry. Dr. Taylor's wife, who followed her husband into the church, when she saw her husband thus violently thrust out of his church, she kneeled down and held up her hands, and with a loud voice said, "I beseech God, the righteous Judge, to avenge this injury, that this popish idolater to this day doth to the blood of Christ." Then they thrust her out of the church also, and shut the doors; for they feared that the people would have rent their sacrificer in pieces. Notwithstanding one or two threw in great stones at the windows, and missed very little the popish masser.

Thus you see how, without consent of the people, the popish mass was again set up with battle array, with swords and bucklers, with violence and tyranny: which practice the papists have ever yet used. As for reason, law, or Scripture, they have none on their part. Therefore they are the same that say, "The law of unrighteousness is our strength: come, let us oppress the righteous without any fear," &c.

Within a day or two after, with all haste possible, this Foster and Clerk made a complaint of Dr. Taylor, by a letter written to Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and lord chancellor.

When the bishop heard this, he sent a letter missive to Dr. Taylor, commanding him within certain days to come and to appear before him upon his allegiance, to answer such complaints as were made against him.

When Dr. Taylor's friends heard of this, they were exceeding sorry and aggrieved in mind; which when foreseeing to what end the same matter would come, seeing also all truth and justice were trodden under foot, and falsehood with cruel tyranny were set aloft and ruled all the whole rout: his friends, I say, came to him and earnestly counselled him to depart and fly, alleging and declaring unto him, that he could neither be indifferently heard to speak his conscience and mind, nor yet look for justice or favour at the said chancellor's hands, who, as it was well known, was most fierce and cruel; but must needs (if he went up to him) wait for imprisonment and cruel death at his hands.

Then said Dr. Taylor to his friends, "Dear friends, I most heartily thank you, for that you have so tender a care over me. And although I know that there is neither justice nor truth to be looked for at my adversaries' hands, but rather imprisonment and cruel death; yet know I my cause to be so good and righteous, and the truth so strong upon my side, that I will, by God's grace, go and appear before them, and to their beards resist their false doing."

Then said his friends, "Master Doctor, we think it not best so to do. You have sufficiently done your duty, and testified the truth, both by your godly sermons, and also in resisting the

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parson of Aldham, with others that came hither to bring again the popish mass. And forasmuch as our Saviour Christ willeth and biddeth us, that when they persecute us in one city, we should fly into another; we think, in flying at this time ye should do best, keeping yourself against another time, when the church shall have great need of such diligent teachers and godly pastors."

"Oh," quoth Dr. Taylor, "what will ye have me to do? I am now old, and have already lived too long, to see these terrible and most wicked days. Fly you, and do as your conscience leadeth you; I am fully determined (with God's grace) to go to the bishop, and to his beard to tell him that he doth naught. God shall well hereafter raise up teachers of his people, which shall, with much more diligence and fruit, teach them, than I have done. For God will not forsake his church, though now for a time he trieth and correcteth us, and not without a just cause."

"As for me, I believe before God, I shall never be able to do God so good service, as I may do now; nor I shall ever have so glorious a calling as I now have, nor so great mercy of God proffered me, as is now at this present. For what Christian man would not gladly die against the pope and his adherents? I know that the papacy is the kingdom of antichrist, altogether full of lies, altogether full of falsehood; so that all their doctrine, even from 'Christ's cross be my speed,' and St. Nicholas, unto the end of their apocalypse, is nothing but idolatry, superstition, errors, hypocrisy, and lies."

"Wherefore I beseech you, and all other my friends, to pray for me; and I doubt not but God will give me strength and his Holy Spirit, that all mine adversaries shall have shame of their doings."

When his friends saw him so constant, and fully determined to go, they, with weeping eyes, commended him unto God; and he within a day or two prepared himself to his journey, leaving his cure with a godly old priest, named Sir Richard Yeoman, who afterwards, for God's truth, was burnt at Norwich.

There was also in Hadley one Alcock, a very godly man, well learned in the Holy Scriptures, who, after Sir Richard Yeoman was driven away, used daily to read a chapter, and to say the English litany in Hadley church. But him they fetched up to London, and cast him in prison in Newgate; where, after a year's imprisonment, he died.

But let us return to Dr. Taylor again, who, being accompanied with a servant of his own, named John Hull, took his journey towards London. By the way this John Hull laboured to counsel and persuade him very earnestly to fly, and not come to the bishop; and proffered himself to go with him to serve him, and in all perils to venture his life for him, and with him.

But in no wise would Dr. Taylor consent or agree thereunto; but said, "O John! shall I give place to this thy counsel and worldly persuasion, and leave my flock in this danger? Remember the good Shepherd Christ, which not alone fed his flock, but also died for his flock. Him must I follow, and, with God's grace, will do. Therefore, good John, pray for me; and if thou seest me weak at any time, comfort me; and discourage me not in this my godly enterprise and purpose."

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Thus they came up to London, and shortly after Dr. Taylor presented himself to the bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner, then lord chancellor of England. For this hath been one great abuse in England these many years, that such offices as have been of most importance and weight, have commonly been committed to bishops and other spiritual men, whereby three devilish mischiefs and inconveniences have happened in this realm, to the great dishonour of God, and utter neglecting of the flock of Christ; the which three be these.

First, they have had small leisure to attend to their pastoral cures, which thereby have been utterly neglected and left undone.

Secondly, it hath also puffed up many bishops, and other spiritual persons, into such haughtiness and pride, that they have thought no nobleman in the realm worthy to be their equal and fellow.

Thirdly, where they, by this means, knew the very secrets of princes, they, being in such high offices, have caused the same to be known in Rome, afore the kings could accomplish and bring their intents to pass in England. By this means hath the papacy been so maintained, and things ordered after their wills and pleasures, that much mischief hath happened in this realm and others, sometimes to the destruction of princes, and sometimes to the utter undoing of many commonwealths.

The examination of Dr. Taylor.



OW, when Gardiner saw Dr. Taylor, he, according to his common custom, all to reviled him, calling him knave, traitor, heretic, with many other villanous reproaches; all which Dr. Taylor heard patiently, and at the last said unto him "My Lord," quoth he, "I am neither traitor nor heretic, but a true subject, and a faithful Christian man; and am come, according to your commandment, to know what is the cause that your Lordship hath sent for me." Then said the bishop, "Art thou come, thou villain? How darest thou look me in the face for shame? Knowest thou not who I am?"

"Yes," quoth Dr. Taylor, "I know who you are. Ye are Dr. Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and lord chancellor; and yet but a mortal man, I trow. But if I should be afraid of your lordly looks, why fear you not God, the Lord of us all? How dare ye for shame look any Christian man in the face, seeing ye have forsaken the truth, denied our Saviour Christ and his word, and done contrary to your own oath and writing? With what countenance will ye appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, and answer to your oath made first unto that blessed King Henry the Eighth of famous memory, and afterward unto blessed King Edward the Sixth his son?"

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The bishop answered, "Tush, tush, that was Herod's oath: unlawful; and therefore worthy to be broken: I have done well in breaking it; and, I thank God, I am come home again to our mother the catholic Church of Rome; and so I would thou shouldst do."

Dr. Taylor answered, "Should I forsake the church of Christ, which is founded upon the true foundation of the apostles and prophets, to approve those lies, errors, superstitions, and idolatries, that the popes and their company at this day so blasphemously do approve? Nay, God forbid. Let the pope and his return to our Saviour Christ and his word, and thrust out of the church such abominable idolatries as he maintaineth, and then will Christian men turn unto him. You wrote truly against him, and were sworn against him."

"I tell thee," quoth the bishop of Winchester, "it was Herod's oath, unlawful; and therefore ought to be broken, and not kept: and our holy father the pope hath discharged me of it."

Then said Dr. Taylor, "But you shall not so be discharged before Christ, who doubtless will require it at your hands, as a lawful oath made to our liege and sovereign lord the king, from whose obedience no man can assoil you, neither the pope nor any of his."

"I see," quoth the bishop, "thou art an arrogant knave, and a very fool."

"My Lord," quoth Dr. Taylor, "leave your unseemly railing at me, which is not seemly for such a one in authority as you are. For I am a Christian man, and you know, that he that saith to his brother, Raca, is in danger of a council; and he that saith, Thou fool, is in danger of hell fire."

The bishop answered, "Ye are false, and liars all the sort of you." "Nay," quoth Dr. Taylor, "we are true men, and know that it is written, The mouth that lieth, slayeth the soul. And again, Lord God, thou shalt destroy all that speak lies. And therefore we abide by the truth of God's word, which ye, contrary to your own consciences, deny and forsake."

"Thou art married?" quoth the bishop. "Yea," quoth Dr. Taylor, "that I thank God I am; and have had nine children, and all in lawful matrimony; and blessed be God that ordained matrimony, and commanded that every man that hath not the gift of continency, should marry a wife of his own, and not live in adultery or whoredom." Then said the bishop, "Thou hast resisted the queen's proceedings, and wouldst not suffer the parson of Aldham (a very virtuous and devout priest) to say mass in Hadley." Dr. Taylor answered, "My Lord, I am parson of Hadley; and it is against all right, conscience, and laws, that any man should come into my charge, and presume to infect the flock committed unto me, with venom of the popish idolatrous mass."

With that the bishop waxed very angry, and said. "Thou art a blasphemous heretic indeed, that blasphemest the blessed sacrament (and put off his cap): and speakest against the holy mass, which is made a sacrifice for the quick and the dead." Dr. Taylor answered, "Nay, I blaspheme not the blessed sacrament which Christ instituted, but I reverence it as a true Christian man ought to do; and confess that Christ ordained the holy communion in the remembrance of his death and

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passion, which when we keep according to his ordinance, we (through faith) eat the body of Christ, and drink his blood, giving thanks for our redemption; and this is our sacrifice for the quick and the dead, to give thanks for his merciful goodness showed to us, in that he gave his Son Christ unto the death for us."

"Thou sayest well," quoth the bishop; "it is all that thou hast said, and more too; for it is a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead." Then answered Dr. Taylor, "Christ gave himself to die for our redemption upon the cross, whose body there offered was the propitiatory sacrifice, full, perfect, and sufficient unto salvation, for all them that believe in him. And this sacrifice did our Saviour Christ offer in his own person himself once for all, neither can any priest any more offer him, nor we need any more propitiatory sacrifice: and therefore I say with Chrysostom, and all the doctors, 'Our sacrifice is only memorative, in the remembrance of Christ's death and passion: a sacrifice of thanksgiving;' and therefore the fathers called it *eucharistia*: and other sacrifice hath the church of God none."

"It is true," quoth the bishop, "the sacrament is called *eucharistia*, a thanksgiving, because we there give thanks for our redemption; and it is also a sacrifice propitiatory for the quick and the dead, which thou shalt confess ere thou and I have done." Then called the bishop his men, and said, "Have this fellow hence, and carry him to the King's Bench, and charge the keeper he be straitly kept."

Then kneeled Dr. Taylor down, and held up both his hands, and said, "Good Lord, I thank thee; and from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable errors, idolatries, and abominations, good Lord, deliver us: and God be praised for good King Edward." So they carried him to prison to the King's Bench, where he lay prisoner almost two years.

This is the sum of that first talk, as I saw it mentioned in a letter that Dr. Taylor wrote to a friend of his; thanking God for his grace, that he had confessed his truth, and was found worthy for truth to suffer prison and bands, beseeching his friends to pray for him, that he might persevere constant unto the end.

Being in prison, Dr. Taylor spent all his time in prayer, reading the Holy Scriptures, and writing, and preaching, and exhorting the prisoners, and such as resorted to him, to repentance and amendment of life.

Within a few days after, were divers other learned and godly men in sundry counties of England committed to prison for religion, so that almost all the prisons in England were become right Christian schools and churches; so that there was no greater comfort for Christian hearts, than to come to the prisons to behold their virtuous conversation, and to hear their prayers, preachings, most godly exhortations, and consolations.

Now were placed in churches blind and ignorant mass-mongers, with their Latin babblings and apish ceremonies; who, like cruel wolves, spared not to murder all such, as any thing at all but once whispered against their popery. As for the godly preachers which were in King Edward's time, they were either fled the realm, or else, as the prophets did in King Ahab's

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days, they were privily kept in corners. As many as the papists could lay hold on, they were sent into prison; there as lambs waiting when the butchers would call them to the slaughter.

When Dr. Taylor was come into the prison called the King's Bench, he found therein the virtuous and vigilant preacher of God's word, Master Bradford; which man, for his innocent and godly living, his devout and virtuous preaching, was worthily counted a miracle of our time; as even his adversaries must needs confess. Finding this man in prison, he began to exhort him to faith, strength, and patience, and to persevere constant unto the end. Master Bradford, hearing this, thanked God that he had provided him such a comfortable prison-fellow. And so they both together lauded God, and continued in prayer, reading, and exhorting one the other; insomuch that Dr. Taylor told his friends that came to visit him, that God had most graciously provided for him, to send him to that prison where he found such an angel of God, to be in his company to comfort him.

Dr. Taylor brought forth to be deprived.

After that Dr. Taylor had lain in prison awhile, he was cited to appear in the Arches, at Bow-church, to answer unto such matter as there should be objected against him. At the day appointed he was led thither, his keeper waiting upon him; where, when he came, he stoutly and strongly defended his marriage, affirming, by the Scriptures of God, by the doctors of the primitive church, by both laws civil and canon, that it is lawful for priests to marry, and that such as have not the gift of continency are bound, on pain of damnation, to marry. This did he so plainly prove, that the judge could give no sentence of divorce against him; but gave sentence he should be deprived of his benefice, because he was married.

"You do me wrong then," quoth Dr. Taylor; and alleged many laws and constitutions for himself. But all prevailed not; for he was again carried into prison, and his livings taken away, and given to other. As for Hadley benefice, it was given or sold, I wot not whether, to one Master Newcalle, whose great virtues were altogether unlike to Dr. Taylor, his predecessor, as the poor parishioners full well have proved.

Dr. Taylor brought again before Winchester and other bishops.

After a year and three quarters, or thereabout, in the which time the papists got certain old tyrannous laws, which were put down by King Henry the Eighth and by King Edward, to be again revived by parliament; so that now they might, ex officio, cite whom they would, upon their own suspicion, and charge him with what articles they lusted; and except they in all things agreed to their purpose, burn them: when these laws were once established, they sent for Dr. Taylor, with certain other prisoners, who were again convented before the chancellor and other commissioners, about the twenty-second of January. The purport and effect of which talk between them, because it is sufficiently described by himself, in his own letter written to a friend of his, I have annexed the said letter hereunder, as followeth.

"Whereas you would have me to write the talk between the king and queen's most honourable council and me, on Tuesday, twenty-second of January, so far as I remember: first, my Lord Chancellor said, 'You, among others, are at this present time sent for, to enjoy the king's

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and queen's Majesties' favour and mercy, if you will now rise again with us from the fall which we generally have received in this realm; from the which (God be praised!) we are now clearly delivered miraculously. If you will not rise with us now, and receive mercy now offered, you shall have judgment according to your demerit.' To this I answered, that so to rise, should be the greatest fall that ever I could receive: for I should so fall from my dear Saviour Christ, to antichrist. 'For I do believe, that the religion set forth in King Edward's days, was according to the vein of the Holy Scripture, which containeth fully all the rules of our Christian religion, from the which I do not intend to decline, so long as I live, by God's grace.'

"Then Master Secretary Bourn said, 'Which of the religions mean ye of, in King Edward's days? For ye know there were divers books of religion set forth in his days. There was a religion set forth in a catechism by my Lord of Canterbury. Do you mean that you will stick to that?' I answered, My Lord of Canterbury made a catechism to be translated into English, which book was not of his own making; yet he set it forth in his own name: and truly that book for the time did much good. But there was, after that, set forth by the most innocent King Edward, (for whom God be praised everlastingly,) The Whole Church-service, with great deliberation, and the advice of the best learned men in the realm, and authorized by the whole parliament, and received and published gladly by the whole realm: which book was never reformed but once; and yet, by that one reformation it was so fully perfected, according to the rules of our Christian religion in every behalf, that no Christian conscience could be offended with any thing therein contained; I mean of that book reformed.'

"Then my Lord Chancellor said, 'Didst thou never read the book that I set forth of the sacraments?'—I answered, that I had read it.

"Then he said, 'How likest thou that book?'—With that one of the council (whose name I know not) said, 'My Lord, that is a good question: for I am sure that book stoppeth all their mouths.' Then said I, 'My Lord, I think many things be far wide from the truth of God's word in that book.'

"Then my Lord said, 'Thou art a very varlet.' To that I answered, 'That is as ill as *raca* or *fatue*.' Then my Lord said, 'Thou art an ignorant beetle-brow.'—To that I answered, 'I have read over and over again the Holy Scriptures, and St. Augustine's works through; St. Cyprian, Eusebius, Origen, Gregory Nazianzen, with divers other books through, once; therefore, I thank God, I am not utterly ignorant. Besides these, my Lord, I professed the civil laws, as your Lordship did; and I have read over the canon law also.'

"Then my Lord said, 'With a corrupt judgment thou readest all things: touching my profession, it is divinity, in which I have written divers books.'—Then said I, 'My Lord, ye did write one book, De Vera Obedientia: I would you had been constant in that: for indeed you never did declare a good conscience that I heard of, but in that one book.'

"Then my Lord said, 'Tut, tut, tut; I wrote against Bucer in priests' marriages: but such books please not such wretches as thou art, which hast been married many years.'—To that I answered, I am married indeed, and I have had nine children in holy matrimony, I thank God: and this I am sure of, that your proceedings now at this present in this realm against priests'

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marriages, is the maintenance of the doctrine of devils, against natural law, civil law, canon law, general councils, canons of the apostles, ancient doctors, and God's laws.'

"Then spake my Lord of Durham, saying, 'You have professed the civil law, as you say. Then you know that Justinian writeth, that priests should, at their taking of orders, swear that they were never married; and he bringeth in to prove that, *Canones Apostolorum*.'—To that I answered, that I did not remember any such law of Justinian. 'But I am sure, that Justinian writeth, In Titulo de indicta Viduitate, (in Cod.) that if one would bequeath to his wife in his testament a legacy, under a condition that she should never marry again, and take an oath of her for accomplishing the same, yet she may marry again if he die, notwithstanding the aforesaid conditions, and oath taken and made against marriage: and an oath is another manner of obligation made to God, than is a papistical vow made to man.—Moreover, in the Pandects it is contained, that if a man doth manumit his handmaid, under a condition that she shall never marry; yet she may marry, and her patron shall lose *jus patronatus*, for his adding of the unnatural and unlawful condition against matrimony.'

"Then my Lord Chancellor said, 'Thou sayest that priests may be married by God's law. How provest thou that?'—I answered, 'By the plain words and sentences of St. Paul, both to Timothy and to Titus, where he speaks most evidently of the marriage of priests, deacons, and bishops. And Chrysostom, writing upon the Epistle to Timothy, saith, It is a heresy to say that a bishop may not be married.'

"Then said my Lord Chancellor, 'Thou liest of Chrysostom. But thou dost, as all thy companions do, belie ever without shame both the Scriptures and the doctors. Didst thou not also say, that by the canon law priests may be married? which is most untrue, and the contrary is most true.'—I answered, 'We read in the Decrees, that the four general councils—Nicene, Constantinople, Ephesus, Chalcedon—have the same authority that the four evangelists have. And we read in the same Decrees, (which is one of the chief books of the canon law,) that the council of Nice, by the means of one Paphnutius, did allow priests' and bishops' marriages: therefore by the best part of the canon law, priests may be married.'

"Then my Lord Chancellor said, 'Thou falsifiest the general council; for there is express mention in the said decree, that priests should be divorced from their wives, which be married.'—Then said I, 'If those words be there, as you say, then am I content to lose this great head of mine: let the book be fetched!'

"Then spake my Lord of Durham: 'Though they be not there, yet they may be in *Ecclesiastica Historia*, which Eusebius wrote; out of which book the decree was taken.'—To that said I, 'It is not like that the pope would leave out any such sentence, having such authority, and making so much for his purpose.'

"Then my Lord Chancellor said, 'Gratian was but a patcher, and thou art glad to snatch up such a patch as maketh for thy purpose.'—I answered, My Lord, I cannot but marvel that you do call one of the chief papists that ever was, but a patcher.'

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"Then my Lord Chancellor said, 'Nay, I call thee a snatcher and patcher. To make an end, wilt thou not return again with us to the catholic church?' And with that he rose.—And I said, 'By God's grace I will never depart from Christ's church.'

"Then I required that I might have some of my friends to come to me in prison: and my Lord Chancellor said, 'Thou shalt have judgment within this week:' and so was I delivered again unto my keeper. My Lord of Durham would, that I should believe as my father and my mother did. I alleged St. Augustine, that we ought to prefer God's word before all men."

And thus much was contained in the aforesaid letter of Doctor Taylor for that matter.

Besides this letter, moreover he directed another writing in like manner to another friend of his, concerning the causes wherefore he was condemned, which we thought likewise here to express as followeth.

"It is heresy to defend any doctrine against the Holy Scripture. Therefore the lord chancellor and bishops, consenting to this sentence against me, be heretics. For they have given sentence against the marriage of priests, knowing that St. Paul to Timothy and Titus writeth plainly, that bishops, priests, and deacons, may be married; knowing also that, by St. Paul's doctrine, it is the doctrine of devils to inhibit matrimony. And St. Paul willeth every faithful minister to teach the people so, lest they be deceived by the marked merchants.

"These bishops are not ignorant, that it is not only St. Paul's counsel, and lawful, but God's commandment also, to marry—for such as cannot otherwise live chaste, neither avoid fornication.

"They know that such as do marry, do not sin.

"They know that God, before sin was, ordained matrimony, and that in Paradise, between two of his principal creatures, man and woman.

"They know what spirit they have, which say it is evil to marry, (seeing God said, It is not good for man to be alone without a wife,) having no special gift, contrary to the general commandment and ordinance, divers times repeated in the book of Genesis, which is, to increase and multiply.

"They know that Abraham carried into the land of Canaan his old and yet barren wife, the virtuous woman Sarah, with him; leaving father and mother, and country, the while, at God's commandment. For though father and mother and other friends are dear and near, yet none are so dearly and nearly joined together, as man and wife in matrimony; which must needs be holy, for that it is a figure and similitude of Christ and his church.

"They know that St. Paul giveth a great praise to matrimony, calling it honourable; and that not only to and among many, but to and among all men without exception, whosoever have need of that God's remedy, for man's and woman's infirmity.

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"They know that if there were any sin in matrimony, it were chiefly to be thought to be in the bed-company. But St. Paul saith, that the bed-company is undefiled.

"They know that the having of a wife was not an impediment for Abraham, Moses, Isaac, Jacob, David, &c., to talk with God; neither to the Levites', bishops', and priests' office, in the time of the Old Testament or the New.

"They know that Christ would not be conceived or born of his blessed mother, the Virgin Mary, before she was espoused in marriage, his own ordinance.

"They know, by St. Cyprian and St. Augustine, that a vow is not an impediment sufficient to let matrimony, or to divorce the same.

"They know that St. Chrysostom saith, it is heresy to affirm that a bishop may not have a wife.

"They know that Ambrose will have no commandment, but counsel only to be given, touching the observing of virginity.

"They know that Christ, with his blessed mother and the apostles, were at a marriage, and [therefore] beautified and honoured the same with his presence, and first miracle.

"To be short, they know that all that I have here written touching the marriage of priests, is true: and they know that the papists themselves do not observe, touching that matter, their own laws and canons, and yet they continue marked in conscience with a hot iron, as detestable heretics in this behalf. The Lord give them grace to repent, if it be his good will. Amen.

"My second cause why I was condemned a heretic is, that I denied transubstantiation and concomitance, two juggling words of the papists, by the which they do believe, and will compel all other to believe, that Christ's natural body is made of bread, and the Godhead by and by to be joined thereunto; so that immediately after the words called 'the words of consecration,' there is no more bread and wine in the sacrament, but the substance only of the body and blood of Christ together with his Godhead: so that the same being now Christ, both God and man, ought to be worshipped with godly honour, and to be offered to God, both for the quick and the dead, as a sacrifice propitiatory and satisfactory for the same. This matter was not long debated in words: but because I denied the aforesaid papistical doctrine, (yea rather, plain, most wicked, idolatry, blasphemy, and heresy,) I was judged a heretic.

"I did also affirm the pope to be antichrist, and popery antichristianity. And I confessed the doctrine of the Bible to be sufficient doctrine, touching all and singular matters of Christian religion, and of salvation.

"I also alleged, that the oath against the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, was a lawful oath, and so was the oath made by us all, touching the king's or queen's pre-eminence: for Chrysostom saith, that apostles, evangelists, and all men in every realm, were ever, and ought to be ever, touching both body and goods, in subjection to the kingly authority, who hath the sword

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in his hand, as God's principal officer and governor in every realm. I desired the bishops to repent for bringing the realm from Christ to antichrist, from light to darkness, from verity to vanity.

"Thus you know the sum of my last examination and condemnation. Pray for me, and I will pray for you.

"God be praised, since my condemnation I was never afraid to die; God's will be done. If I shrink from God's truth, I am sure of another manner of death than had Judge Hales. But God be praised, even from the bottom of my heart, I am unmovably settled upon the rock, nothing doubting but that my dear God will perform and finish the work, that he hath begun in me and others. To him be all honour both now and ever, through Christ our only and whole Saviour. Amen."

And thus much wrote Dr. Taylor, concerning this matter, to his friend.

You heard in the former answers a little before, certain allegations touched of Dr. Taylor out of St. Cyprian, Augustine, Chrysostom, and Ambrose, touching the lawfulness of priests' marriage. Now ye shall hear the places of the said doctors cited and produced out of their own books, as here ensueth.

The places of the doctors alleged before, in Dr. Taylor's letter.

"This question was asked of St. Cyprian, 'What should be done with those religious persons, that could not keep their chastity as they had vowed.' He answered thus: 'Thou dost ask what we do judge of virgins, which, after they had decreed to live chastely, are afterward found in bed with a man. Of the which thou sayest, that one of them was a deacon. We do with great sorrow see the great ruin of many persons, which cometh by the reason of such unlawful and perilous companying together. Wherefore, if they have dedicated themselves unto Christ in faith, to live purely and chastely, then let them so remain without any fable, and strongly and stedfastly abide the reward of virginity. But if they will not abide, or else cannot abide, then it is better to marry, than to fall into the fire of concupiscence: and let them give to the brethren and sisters none occasion of slander,' &c.

"'Certain men do affirm, those men to be adulterers, that do marry after that they have vowed chastity. But I do affirm, that those men do grievously sin, the which do separate them,' &c.

"'Chastity of the body ought to be desired of us: which thing I do give for a counsel, and do not command it imperiously. For virginity is a thing which ought to be only counselled, but not to be commanded: it is rather a thing of voluntary will, and not a precept.'"

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A brief recapitulation out of Dr. Taylor's causes afore touched, for the reader more evidently to see how the papists do against their own knowledge, in forbidding priests' marriage.

"The pope's clergy, forbidding ecclesiastical persons to marry, do against their conscience and knowledge, as may well be proved by these causes hereunder following.

"First; they know that matrimony in the Old Testament, *de jure institutionis*, is indifferently permitted to all men without any exception.

"Secondly; they know that in the Old Testament, *de facto*, both priests, Levites, prophets, patriarchs, and all others, had their wives.

"Thirdly; they know that matrimony was permitted and instituted of God, for two principal ends; to wit, for procreation, and avoiding of sin.

"Fourthly; they know that in the Old Testament God not only instituted and permitted matrimony to be free, but also induceth and appointeth men to marry and take wives, in these words: It is not good for a man to be alone, &c.

"Fifthly; they know that in the New Testament St. Paul permitteth the state of matrimony free to all men, having not the gift of continency, and forbiddeth none.

"Sixthly; they know that in the New Testament the said St. Paul not only permitteth, but also expressly willeth and chargeth men, having not the gift, to marry; saying, For avoiding fornication, let every man have his wife, &c.

"Seventhly; they know that in the New Testament the said St. Paul not only permitteth and commandeth, but also commendeth and praiseth the state of matrimony, calling it 'honourable,' and the bed-company to be 'undefiled,' &c.

"Eighthly; they know that in the New Testament Christ himself not only was not conceived nor born of the Virgin before she was espoused in matrimony; but also, that both he and his blessed mother did beautify and honour the state of matrimony with their presence: yea, in the same began his first miracle.

"Ninthly; they know both by the Old Testament and New, that marriage is no impediment to walk in the obedience of God's commandment; for both Abraham carried into the land of Canaan his old, yea, and barren wife, the virtuous woman Sarah, with him: and also to Isaac, Jacob, Moses, David, and others, their marriage was no impediment to them to talk with God; neither to other Levites, bishops, and priests, in the time of both the Old Testament and of the New. Again, neither was it a let to Peter, Philip, and others, both to have their wives with them, and also to supply the office of apostleship.

"Tenthly; they know, both by the Old Testament and New, that sinful fornication and adultery depriveth man of God's favour and graces of the Holy Ghost, which graces especially be requisite in the men of the church.

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"Eleventhly; they know in their own secret conscience, and by experience, that neither they which enjoin this vow of chastity, nor they which take it, do observe the vow of chastity. Whereupon rise inconveniences more than can be expressed: but the Lord above knoweth all, besides the secret murders, peradventure, of many a poor infant, &c.

"Twelfthly; they know by St. Cyprian, and St. Augustine, that a vow is no impediment sufficient to let matrimony, or to divorce the same.

"Thirteenthly; they know that Chrysostom affirmeth it to be a heresy to say, that a bishop may not have a wife.

"Fourteenthly; they know that St. Ambrose will have no commandment, but counsel only, to be given touching the observing of virginity.

"Fifteenthly; they know that before the time of Pope Hildebrand, that is, during the time of one thousand years after Christ, marriage was never restrained, by any forcible necessity or vow, from men of the church.

"Sixteenthly; they know that St. Paul calleth it the doctrine of devils, to forbid meats and marriage, which God hath left free, with thanksgiving, for necessity of man and woman."

After that Dr. Taylor thus, with great spirit and courage, had answered for himself, and stoutly rebuked his adversaries for breaking their oath made before to King Henry and to King Edward his son, and for betraying the realm into the power of the Roman bishop; they—perceiving that in no case he could be stirred to their wills and purpose; that is, to turn with them from Christ to antichrist—committed him thereupon to prison again, where he endured till the last of January.

Dr. Taylor the fourth time, with Master Bradford, and Master Saunders, brought before Winchester and other bishops.



IN the day and year aforesaid, Dr. Taylor, and Master Bradford, and Master Saunders, were again called to appear before the bishop of Winchester, the bishops of Norwich, London, Salisbury, and Durham; and there were charged again with heresy and schism: and therefore a determinate answer was required; whether they would submit themselves to the Roman bishop, and abjure their errors; or else they would, according to their laws, proceed to their condemnation. When Dr. Taylor and his fellows, Master Bradford and Master Saunders, heard this, they answered stoutly and boldly, that they would not depart from the truth which they had preached in King Edward's days, neither would they submit themselves to the Romish antichrist; but they thanked God for so great mercy, that he would call them to be worthy to suffer for his word and truth.

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When the bishops saw them so boldly, constantly, and unmovably fixed in the truth, they read the sentence of death upon them, which when they had heard, they most joyfully gave God thanks, and stoutly said unto the bishops, "We doubt not, but God the righteous Judge will require our blood at your hands, and the proudest of you all shall repent this receiving again of antichrist; and your tyranny that ye now show against the flock of Christ."

So was Dr. Taylor now condemned, committed to the Clink, and the keepers charged straitly to keep him "For ye have now another manner of charge," quoth the lord chancellor, "than they had before: therefore look ye; take heed to it."

When the keeper brought him toward the prison, the people flocked about to gaze upon him: unto whom he said, "God be praised, good people, I am come away from them undefiled, and will confirm the truth with my blood." So was he bestowed in the Clink till it was toward night; and then he was removed to the Compter by the Poultry.

When Dr. Taylor had lain in the said Compter in the Poultry a seven-night or thereabouts prisoner, the fourth of February, A. D. 1555, Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, with others, came to the said Compter to degrade him, bringing with them such ornaments as do appertain to their massing-mummery. Now, being come, he called for the said Dr. Taylor to be brought unto him; the bishop being then in the chamber where the keeper of the Compter and his wife lay. So Dr. Taylor was brought down from the chamber above that, to the said Bonner. And at his coming, the bishop said, "Master Doctor, I would you would remember yourself, and turn to your mother, holy church; so may you do well enough, and I will sue for your pardon." Whereunto Master Taylor answered, "I would you and your fellows would turn to Christ. As for me, I will not turn to antichrist." "Well," quoth the bishop, I am come to degrade you: wherefore put on these vestures." "No," quoth Dr. Taylor, "I will not." "Wilt thou not?" said the bishop. "I shall make thee ere I go." Quoth Dr. Taylor, "You shall not, by the grace of God." Then he charged him upon his obedience to do it: but he would not do it for him; so he willed another to put them upon his back. And when he was thoroughly furnished therewith, he set hands to his side, walking up and down, and said, "How say you, my Lord? am not I a goodly fool? How say you, my masters? If I were in Cheap, should I not have boys enough to laugh at these apish toys, and toying trumpery?" So the bishop scraped his fingers, thumbs, and the crown of his head, and did the rest of such-like devilish observances.

At the last, when he should have given Dr. Taylor a stroke on the breast with his crosier-staff, the bishop's chaplain said, "My Lord! strike him not, for he will sure strike again." "Yea, by St. Peter will I," quoth Dr. Taylor. "The cause is Christ's, and I were no good Christian, if I would not fight in my Master's quarrel." So the bishop laid his curse upon him, but struck him not. Then Dr. Taylor said, "Though you do curse me, yet God doth bless me. I have the witness of my conscience, that ye have done me wrong and violence: and yet I pray God, if it be his will, to forgive you. But from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and his detestable enormities, good Lord, deliver us!" [Note: This clause was originally a part of the Litany in the book of Common Prayer.] And in going up to his chamber, he still said, "God deliver me from you! God deliver me from you!" And when he came up he told Master Bradford, (for they both lay in one chamber,) that he had made the bishop of London afraid: "for," saith he laughingly, "his chaplain

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gave him counsel not to strike me with his crosier-staff, for that I would strike again; and, by my troth," said he, rubbing his hands, "I made him believe I would do so indeed."

The night after that he was degraded, his wife and his son Thomas resorted unto him, and were, by the gentleness of the keepers, permitted to sup with him. For this difference was ever found between the keepers of the bishops' prisons and the keepers of the king's prisons: that the bishops' keepers were ever cruel, blasphemous, and tyrannous, like their masters; but the keepers of the king's prisons showed, for the most part, as much favour as they possibly might. So came Dr. Taylor's wife, his son, and John Hull his servant, to sup with him: and at their coming-in afore supper, they kneeled down and prayed, saying the litany. After supper walking up and down, he gave God thanks for his grace, that had so called him, and given him strength to abide by his holy word: and turning to his son Thomas, he said:

"My dear son, Almighty God bless thee, and give thee his Holy Spirit, to be a true servant of Christ, to learn his word, and constantly to stand by his truth all thy life long. And, my son, see that thou fear God always. Flee from all sin, and wicked living: be virtuous, serve God with daily prayer, and apply thy book. In any wise see that thou be obedient to thy mother, love her and serve her: he ruled by her now in thy youth, and follow her good counsel in all things. Beware of lewd company, of young men that fear not God, but follow their lewd lusts and vain appetites. Fly from whoredom, and hate all filthy living, remembering, that I thy father do die in the defence of holy marriage. Another day, when God shall bless thee, love and cherish the poor people, and count that thy chief riches is, to be rich in alms: and when thy mother is waxed old, forsake her not; but provide for her to thy power, and see that she lack nothing: for so will God bless thee, and give thee long life upon earth, and prosperity: which I pray God to grant thee."

Then, turning to his wife, he said thus:

"My dear wife, continue stedfast in the fear and love of God; keep yourself undefiled from their popish idolatries and superstitions. I have been unto you a faithful yoke-fellow, and so have you been unto me; for the which I pray God to reward you; and doubt not, dear wife, but God will reward it.—Now the time is come that I shall be taken from you, and you discharged of the wedlock bond towards me: therefore I will give you my counsel, what I think most expedient for you. You are yet a child-bearing woman, and therefore it will be most convenient for you to marry. For doubtless you shall never be at a convenient stay for yourself and our poor children, nor out of trouble, till you be married. Therefore, as soon as God will provide it, marry with some honest faithful man that feareth God. Doubt you not, God will provide an honest husband for you, and he will be a merciful Father to you and to my children; whom I pray you bring up in the fear of God, and in learning, to the uttermost of your power, and keep them from this Romish idolatry."

When he had thus said, they with weeping tears prayed together, and kissed one the other: and he gave to his wife a book of the church-service, set out by King Edward, which he, in the time of his imprisonment, daily used. And unto his son Thomas he gave a Latin book, containing the notable sayings of the old martyrs, gathered out of *Ecclesiastica Historia*; and in the end of that book he wrote his testament and last vale, as hereafter followeth.

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"I say to my wife, and to my children, The Lord gave you unto me, and the Lord hath taken me from you, and you from me: blessed be the name of the Lord! I believe that they are blessed which die in the Lord. God careth for sparrows, and for the hairs of our heads. I have ever found him more faithful and favourable, than is any father or husband. Trust ye therefore in him by the means of our dear Saviour Christ's merits: believe, love, fear, and obey him: pray to him, for he hath promised to help. Count me not dead, for I shall certainly live, and never die. I go before, and you shall follow after, to our long home. I go to the rest of my children, Susan, George, Ellen, Robert, and Zachary: I have bequeathed you to the only Omnipotent.

"I say to my dear friends of Hadley, and to all others which have heard me preach; that I depart hence with a quiet conscience, as touching my doctrine, for the which I pray you thank God with me. For I have, after my little talent, declared to others those lessons that I gathered out of God's book, the blessed Bible. Therefore if I, or an angel from heaven, should preach to you any other gospel than that ye have received, God's great curse upon that preacher!

"Beware, for God's sake, that ye deny not God, neither decline from the word of faith, lest God decline from you, and so do ye everlastingly perish. For God's sake beware of popery, for though it appear to have in it unity, yet the same is vanity and antichristianity, and not in Christ's faith and verity.

"Beware of the sin against the Holy Ghost, now after such a light opened so plainly and simply, truly, thoroughly, and generally to all England.

"The Lord grant all men his good and holy Spirit, increase of his wisdom, contemning the wicked world, hearty desire to be with God and the heavenly company; through Jesus Christ, our only Mediator, Advocate, righteousness, life, sanctification, and hope. Amen, Amen. Pray, pray.

Rowland Taylor departing hence in sure hope, without all doubting of eternal salvation, I thank God and my heavenly Father, through Jesus Christ my certain Saviour, Amen.

"The fifth of February, anno 1555.

"The Lord is my light and my salvation: whom then shall I fear?

"God is he that justifieth: who is he that can condemn?

"In thee, O Lord, have I trusted, let me never be confounded."

On the next morrow after that Dr. Taylor had supped with his wife in the Compter, as is before expressed, which was the fifth day of February, the sheriff of London with his officers came to the Compter by two o'clock in the morning, and so brought forth Dr. Taylor; and without any light led him to the Woolsack, an inn without Aldgate. Dr. Taylor's wife, suspecting that her husband should that night be carried away, watching all night in St. Botolph's church porch beside Aldgate, having with her two children, the one named Elizabeth, of thirteen years of age, (whom, being left without father or mother, Dr. Taylor had brought up of alms from three years old,) the other named Mary, Dr. Taylor's own daughter.

"Now, when the sheriff and his company came against St. Botolph's church, Elizabeth cried, saying, "O my dear father! mother, mother, here is my father led away." Then cried his wife, "Rowland, Rowland, where art thou?"—for it was a very dark morning, that the one could not see the other. Dr. Taylor answered, "Dear wife, I am here," and staid. The sheriff's men

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would have led him forth; but the sheriff said, "Stay a little, masters, I pray you; and let him speak to his wife" and so they staid.

Then came she to him, and he took his daughter Mary in his arms: and he, his wife, and Elizabeth, kneeled down and said the Lord's prayer. At which sight the sheriff wept apace, and so did divers others of the company. After they had prayed, he rose up and kissed his wife, and shook her by the hand, and said, "Farewell, my dear wife; be of good comfort, for I am quiet in my conscience. God shall stir up a father for my children." And then he kissed his daughter Mary, and said, "God bless thee, and make thee his servant" and kissing Elizabeth, he said, "God bless thee. I pray you all stand strong and stedfast unto Christ and his word, and keep you from idolatry." Then said his wife, "God be with thee, dear Rowland; I will, with God's grace, meet thee at Hadley."

And so was he led forth to the Woolsack, and his wife followed him. As soon as they came to the Woolsack, he was put into a chamber, wherein he was kept with four yeomen of the guard, and the sheriff's men. Dr. Taylor, as soon as he was come into the chamber, fell down on his knees and gave himself wholly to prayer. The sheriff then, seeing Dr. Taylor's wife there, would in no case grant her to speak any more with her husband, but gently desired her to go to his house, and take it as her own, and promised her she should lack nothing, and sent two officers to conduct her thither. Notwithstanding she desired to go to her mother's, whither the officers led her, and charged her mother to keep her there till they came again.

Thus remained Dr. Taylor in the Woolsack, kept by the sheriff and his company, till eleven o'clock; at which time the sheriff of Essex was ready to receive: and so they set him on horseback within the inn, the gates being shut.

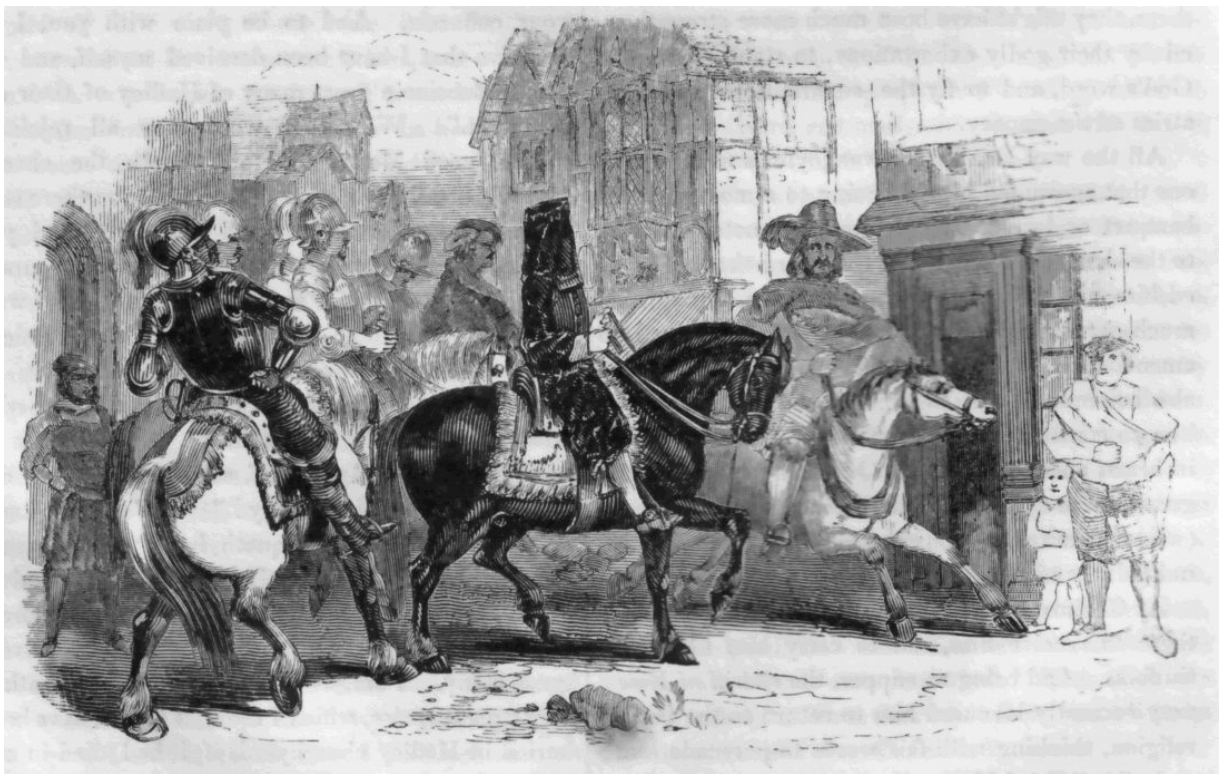
At the coming out of the gates, John Hull, before spoken of, stood at the rails with Thomas, Dr. Taylor's son. When Dr. Taylor saw them, he called them, saying, "Come hither, my son Thomas." And John Hull lifted the child up, and set him on the horse before his father: and Dr. Taylor put off his hat, and said to the people that stood there looking on him, "Good people, this is mine own son, begotten of my body in lawful matrimony; and God be blessed for lawful matrimony." Then lifted he up his eyes towards heaven, and prayed for his son; laid his hat upon the child's head and blessed him; and so delivered the child to John Hull, whom he took by the hand and said, "Farewell, John Hull, the faithfulest servant that ever man had." And so they rode forth, the sheriff of Essex, with four yeomen of the guard, and the sheriff's men leading him.

When they were come almost at Brentwood, one Arthur Faysie, a man of Hadley, who beforetime had been Dr. Taylor's servant, met with them; and he, supposing him to have been at liberty, said, "Master Doctor, I am glad to see you again at liberty; "and came to him, and took him by the hand. "Soft, sir," quoth the sheriff, "he is a prisoner; what hast thou to do with him?" "I cry you mercy," said Arthur; "I knew not so much, and I thought it no offence to talk to a true man." The sheriff was very angry with this, and threatened to carry Arthur with him to prison; notwithstanding, he bade him get quickly away. And so they rode forth to Brentwood, where they caused to be made for Dr. Taylor a close hood, with two holes for his eyes to look out at, and a slit for his mouth to breathe at. This they did, that no man should know him, nor he speak to any man: which practice they used also with others. Their own consciences told them, that

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they led innocent lambs to the slaughter. Wherefore they feared lest, if the people should have heard them speak, or have seen them, they might have been much more strengthened by their godly exhortations, to stand stedfast in God's word, and to fly the superstitions and idolatries of the papacy.

All the way Dr. Taylor was joyful and merry, as one that accounted himself going to a most pleasant banquet or bridal. He spake many notable things to the sheriff and yeomen of the guard that conducted him, and often moved them to weep, through his much earnest calling upon them to repent, and to amend their evil and wicked living. Oftentimes also he caused them to wonder and rejoice, to see him so constant and stedfast, void of all fear, joyful in heart, and glad to die. Of these yeomen of the guard, three used Dr. Taylor friendly, but the fourth (whose name was Homes) used him very homely, unkindly, and churlishly.



Dr. Taylor brought hooded through Brentwood

At Chelmsford met them the sheriff of Suffolk, there to receive him, and to carry him forth into Suffolk. And being at supper, the sheriff of Essex very earnestly laboured him to return to the popish religion, thinking with fair words to persuade him; and said, "Good Master Doctor! we are right sorry for you, considering what the loss is of such a one as ye might be, if ye would. God hath given you great learning and wisdom; wherefore ye have been in great favour and reputation in times past with the council and highest of this realm. Besides this, ye are a man of goodly personage, in your best strength, and by nature like to live many years; and, without

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doubt, ye should in time to come be in as good reputation as ever ye were, or rather better. For ye are well beloved of all men, as well for your virtues as for your learning: and me thinketh it were great pity you should cast away yourself willingly, and so come to such a painful and shameful death. Ye should do much better to revoke your opinions, and return to the catholic Church of Rome, acknowledge the pope's Holiness to be the supreme head of the universal church, and reconcile yourself to him. You may do well yet, if you will. Doubt ye not but ye shall find favour at the queen's hands. I and all these your friends will be suitors for your pardon; which, no doubt, ye shall obtain. This counsel I give you, good Master Doctor, of a good heart, and good-will toward you: and thereupon I drink to you." In like manner said all the yeomen of the guard, "Upon that condition, Master Doctor, we will all drink to you."

When they had all drank to him, and the cup was come to him, he staid a little, as one studying what answer he might give. At the last thus he answered and said, "Master Sheriff, and my masters all, I heartily thank you for your good-will; I have hearkened to your words, and marked well your counsels. And to be plain with you, I do perceive that I have been deceived myself, and am like to deceive a great many of Hadley of their expectation." With that word they all rejoiced. "Yea, good Master Doctor," quoth the sheriff, "God's blessing on your heart! hold you there still. It is the comfortablest word that we heard you speak yet. What! should ye cast away yourself in vain? Play a wise man's part, and I dare warrant it, ye shall find favour." Thus they rejoiced very much at the word, and were very merry. At the last, "Good Master Doctor," quoth the sheriff, what meant ye by this, that ye say ye think ye have been deceived yourself, and think ye shall deceive many a one in Hadley?" "Would ye know my meaning plainly?" quoth he. "Yea," quoth the sheriff, "good Master Doctor, tell it us plainly."

Then said Doctor Taylor, "I will tell you how I have been deceived, and, as I think, I shall deceive a great many. I am, as you see, a man that hath a very great carcass, which I thought should have been buried in Hadley churchyard, if I had died in my bed, as I well hoped I should have done; but herein I see I was deceived: and there are a great number of worms in Hadley churchyard, which should have had jolly feeding upon this carrion, which they have looked for many a day. But now I know we be deceived, both I and they; for this carcass must be burnt to ashes: and so shall they lose their bait and feeding, that they looked to have had of it."

When the sheriff and his company heard him say so, they were amazed, and looked one on another, marvelling at the man's constant mind, that thus, without all fear, made but a jest at the cruel torment and death now at hand prepared for him. Thus was their expectation clean disappointed. And in this appeareth what was his meditation in his chiefest wealth and prosperity; namely, that he should shortly die, and feed worms in his grave: which meditation if all our bishops and spiritual men had used, they had not, for a little worldly glory, forsaken the word of God and truth, which they, in King Edward's days, had preached and set forth; nor yet, to maintain the bishop of Rome's authority, have committed so many to the fire as they did.

But let us return to Dr. Taylor, who, at Chelmsford, was delivered to the sheriff of Suffolk, and by him conducted to Hadley, where he suffered. When they were come to Lavenham, the sheriff staid there two days; and thither came to him a great number of gentlemen and justices upon great horses, which all were appointed to aid the sheriff. These gentlemen laboured Dr. Taylor very sore to reduce him to the Romish religion, promising him his pardon,

FOXES' BOOK OF MARTYRS

"which," said they, "we have here for you." They promised him great promotions, yea, a bishopric, if he would take it: but all their labour and flattering words were in vain. For he had not built his house upon the sand, in peril of falling at every puff of wind; but upon the sure and unmovable rock, Christ. Wherefore he abode constant and unmovable unto the end.

After two days, the sheriff and his company led Dr. Taylor towards Hadley; and, coming within two miles of Hadley, he desired, for somewhat, to light off his horse: which done, he leaped, and set a frisk or twain, as men commonly do in dancing. "Why, Master Doctor," quoth the sheriff, "how do you now?" He answered "Well, God be praised, good Master Sheriff, never better: for now I know I am almost at home. I lack not past two stiles to go over, and I am even at my Father's house.—But, Master Sheriff," said he, "shall we not go through Hadley?" "Yes," said the sheriff, "you shall go through Hadley." Then said he, "O good Lord! I thank thee, I shall yet once ere I die see my flock, whom thou, Lord, knowest I havemost heartily loved, and truly taught. Good Lord! bless them, and keep them stedfast in thy word and truth."

When they were now come to Hadley, and came riding over the bridge, at the bridge-foot waited a poor man with five small children; who, when he saw Dr. Taylor, he and his children fell down upon their knees, and held up their hands, and cried with a loud voice, and said, "O dear father and good shepherd, Dr. Taylor! God help and succour thee, as thou hast many a time succoured me and my poor children." Such witness had the servant of God, of his virtuous and charitable alms given in his lifetime: for God would now the poor should testify of his good deeds, to his singular comfort, to the example of others, and confusion of his persecutors and tyrannous adversaries. For the sheriff and others that led him to death, were wonderfully astonished at this: and the sheriff sore rebuked the poor man for so crying. The streets of Hadley were beset on both sides the way with men and women of the town and country, who waited to see him; whom when they beheld so led to death, with weeping eyes and lamentable voice they cried, saying one to another, "Ah good Lord! there goeth our good shepherd from us, that so faithfully hath taught us, so fatherly hath cared for us, and so godly hath governed us. O merciful God! what shall we poor scattered lambs do? What shall come of this most wicked world? Good Lord, strengthen him, and comfort him:" with such other most lamentable and piteous voices. Wherefore the people were sore rebuked by the sheriff and the catchpoles his men, that led him. And Dr. Taylor evermore said to the people, "I have preached to you God's word and truth, and am come this day to seal it with my blood."

Coming against the almshouses, which he well knew, he cast to the poor people money which remained of that good people had given him in time of his imprisonment. As for his living, they took it from him at his first going to prison, so that he was sustained all the time of his imprisonment by the charitable alms of good people that visited him. Therefore the money that now remained he put in a glove ready for the same purpose, and (as is said) gave it to the poor almsmen standing at their doors to see him. And, coming to the last of the almshouses, and not seeing the poor that there dwelt, ready at their doors, as the other were, he asked, "Is the blind man and blind woman, that dwelt here, alive?" It was answered, "Yea, they are there within." Then threw he glove and all in at the window, and so rode forth.

Thus this good father and provider for the poor now took his leave of those, for whom all his life he had a singular care and study. For this was his custom, once in a fortnight at the least,

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to call upon Sir Anthony Doyle, and others the rich cloth-makers, to go with him to the almshouses, and there to see how the poor lived; what they lacked in meat, drink, clothing, bedding, or any other necessities. The like did he also to other poor men that had many children, or were sick. Then would he exhort and comfort them, and, where he found cause, rebuke the unruly; and what they lacked, that gave he after his power: and what he was not able, he caused the rich and wealthy men to minister unto them. Thus showed he himself in all things an example to his flock worthy to be followed: and taught by his deed, what a great treasure alms is, to all such as cheerfully, for Christ's sake, do it.

At the last, coming to Aldham common, the place assigned where he should suffer, and seeing a great multitude of people gathered thither, he asked, "What place is this, and what meaneth it that so much people are gathered hither?" It was answered, "It is Aldham common, the place where you must suffer: and the people are come to look upon you." Then said he, "Thanked be God, I am even at home;" and so alighted from his horse, and with both his hands rent the hood from his head.

Now was his head knotted evil-favouredly, and clipped much like as a man would clip a fool's head; which cost the good bishop Bonner had bestowed upon him, when he degraded him. But when the people saw his reverend and ancient face, with a long white beard, they burst out with weeping tears, and cried, saying, "God save thee, good Dr. Taylor! Jesus Christ strengthen thee, and help thee; the Holy Ghost comfort thee" with such other like godly wishes. Then would he have spoken to the people, but the yeomen of the guard were so busy about him, that as soon as he opened his mouth, one or other thrust a tipstaff into his mouth, and would in no wise permit him to speak.

Then desired he licence of the sheriff to speak; but the sheriff denied it to him, and bade him remember his promise to the council. "Well," quoth Dr. Taylor, "promise must be kept."

What this promise was, it is unknown; but the common fame was, that after he and others were condemned, the council sent for them, and threatened them they would cut their tongues out of their heads, except they would promise, that at their deaths they would keep silence, and not speak to the people. Wherefore, they, desirous to have the use of their tongues, to call upon God as long as they might live, promised silence. For the papists feared much, lest this mutation of religion, from truth to lies, from Christ's ordinances to the popish traditions, should not so quietly have been received as it was; especially this burning of the preachers: but they, measuring others' minds by their own, feared lest any tumult or uproar might have been stirred, the people having so just a cause not to be contented with their doings, or else (that they most feared) the people should more have been confirmed by their godly exhortations to stand stedfast against their vain popish doctrine and idolatry. But thanks be to God, which gave to his witnesses faith and patience, with stout and manly hearts to despise all torments: neither was there so much as any one man that once showed any sign of disobedience toward the magistrates. They shed their blood gladly in the defence of the truth, so leaving example unto all men of true and perfect obedience: which is, to obey God more than men; and, if need require it, to shed their own blood, rather than to depart from God's truth.

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Dr. Taylor, perceiving that he could not be suffered to speak, sat down, and seeing one named Soyce, he called him, and said, "Soyce, I pray thee come and pull off my boots, and take them for thy labour. Thou hast long looked for them, now take them." Then rose he up, and put off his clothes unto his shirt, and gave them away: which done, he said with a loud voice, "Good people! I have taught you nothing but God's holy word, and those lessons that I have taken out of God's blessed book, the holy Bible: and I am come hither this day to seal it with my blood." With that word, Homes, yeoman of the guard aforesaid, who had used Dr. Taylor very cruelly all the way, gave him a great stroke upon the head with a waster, and said, "Is that the keeping of thy promise, thou heretic?" Then he, seeing they would not permit him to speak, kneeled down and prayed, and a poor woman that was among the people, stepped in and prayed with him: but her they thrust away, and threatened to tread her down with horses; notwithstanding she would not remove, but abode and prayed with him. When he had prayed, he went to the stake, and kissed it, and set himself into a pitch-barrel, which they had set for him to stand in, and so stood with his back upright against the stake, with his hands folded together, and his eyes toward heaven, and so he continually prayed.

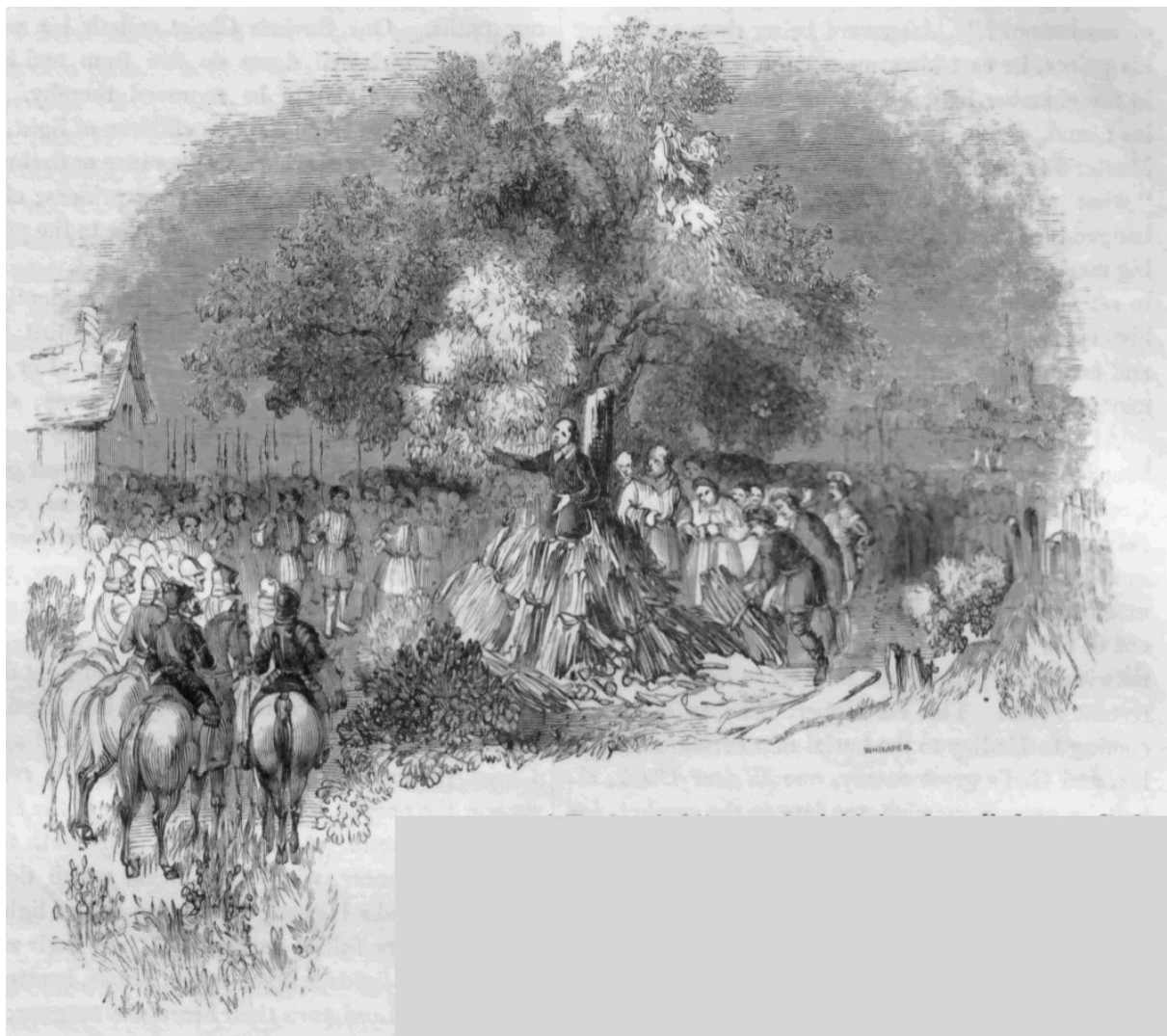
Then they bound him with chains, and the sheriff called one Richard Donningham, a butcher, and commanded him to set up faggots: but he refused to do it, and said, "I am lame, sir; and not able to lift a faggot." The sheriff threatened to send him to prison; notwithstanding he would not do it.

Then appointed he one Mulleine, of Kersey, a man for his virtues fit to be a hangman, and and Warwick, who, in the commotion time in King Edward's days, lost one of his ears for his seditious talk; amongst whom also was one Robert King, a deviser of interludes, who albeit was there present, and had doing there with the gunpowder; what he meant and did therein (he himself saith he did it for the best, and for quick despatch) the Lord knoweth, which shall judge all: more of this I have not to say.

These four were appointed to set up the faggots, and to make the fire, which they most diligently did: and this Warwick cruelly cast a faggot at him, which lit upon his head, and brake his face, that the blood ran down his visage. Then said Dr. Taylor, "O friend, I have harm enough; what needed that?"

Furthermore, Sir John Shelton there standing by, as Dr. Taylor was speaking, and saying the psalm Miserere, in English, struck him on the lips "Ye knave," said he, "speak Latin: I will make thee." At the last they set to fire; and Dr. Taylor, holding up both his hands, called upon God, and said, "Merciful Father of heaven, for Jesus Christ my Saviours sake, receive my soul into thy hands." So stood he still without either crying or moving, with his hands folded together, till Soyce with a halbert struck him on the head that the brains fell out, and the dead corpse fell down into the fire.

Thus rendered the man of God his blessed soul into the hands of his merciful Father, and to his most dear and certain Saviour Jesus Christ, whom he most entirely loved, faithfully and earnestly preached, obediently followed in living, and constantly glorified in death.



Taylor burned at the stake

They that were present and familiarly conversant with this Dr. Taylor, reported of him, they never did see in him any fear of death; but especially, and above all the rest which besides him suffered at the same time, always showed himself merry in time of his imprisonment: as well before his condemnation, as after, he kept one countenance and like behaviour; whereunto he was the rather confirmed by the company and presence of Master John Bradford, who then was in prison and chamber with him.

The same morning, when he was called up by the sheriff to go to his burning, (about three o'clock in the morning,) being suddenly awaked out of his sound sleep, he sat up in his bed, and putting on his shirt, said these words, speaking somewhat thick, after his accustomed manner, "Ah, whoreson thieves! ah, whoreson thieves! rob God of his honour, rob God of his honour?" Afterward being risen and tying his points, he cast his arms about a bulk which was in the chamber between Master Bradford's bed and his; and, there, hanging by the hands, said to

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Master Bradford, "O Master Bradford," quoth he, "what a notable sway should I give if I were hanged!" meaning for that he was a corpulent and big man—These things I thought good here to note, to set forth and declare to those that shall read this history, what a notable and singular gift of spirit and courage God had given to this godly and blessed martyr.

At what time Dr. Taylor was deprived of his benefice of Hadley, there was one called Sir Robert Bracher, a false pretended protestant in King Edward's days, and afterward a deadly enemy to the same religion; who was also one of them that so unmercifully thrust Dr. Taylor's wife and children out of the doors, as she herself yet can testify; and notwithstanding the same now since became a protestant again. This Sir Robert Bracher aforesaid, coming to Hadley to the burial of a certain friend of his, and God's great enemy, one Walter Clark, albeit he came somewhat too late to the market, (as he said,) yet desirous to utter such popish pelf and packware as he brought with him, he opened there his baggage of pestilent doctrine, preaching in the same town of Hadley against justification by faith, of the corporal presence, of praying for the dead, and auricular confession; whereof Dr. Taylor having understanding by letters, writeth again to them of Hadley, directing his letter to his wife, in confutation of the said popish poisoned sermon; the copy of which letter we thought not unworthy here, in the end of this story, to be annexed, as under followeth.

"Dear wife, I pray God be ever with us, through Christ our only Mediator. Amen.

"I thank you for my cap; I am somewhat proud of it; for it is one step from the clergy in these days. I thank God my heart is clean divided from their proceedings: for I know that no man can serve two masters, specially if they agree no better than Christ and antichrist do. I am glad that Hadley can skill of such packing-ware as was brought thither the first day of May last past. Christ's sheep can discern Christ's voice from the voice of strangers, thieves, or hirelings. The pack-bringer was sorry that he came too late to the funeral market of his faithful friend. But here I will leave them both to God's judgment, and something touch the matter whereof the packer made mention on his opening day. At the first he called the Scripture (as I hear) full of dark sentences, but indeed it is called of David, a candle to our feet, and a light to our paths. Our Saviour Christ calleth his word, the light, which evil doers do flee from and hate, lest their deeds should be reprov'd thereby. St. Paul would have us to walk as children of light, and in any wise not to continue in ignorance or darkness. But all we in the world pertain to two princes; either to the Father of light and truth, or else to the prince of darkness and lies.

"In these days preachers declare evidently of whom they are sent, and with what spirit they speak, and to what prince they belong. For they cry out against God's lights, sun, moon, stars, torches, lamps, lanterns, cressets, and candles, in God's book the Bible, provided of God's great goodness and mercy to avoid all foul darkness, clouds and mists, or dangerous doubtful ways, in this our journey to our heavenly Father's long home, mansion-houses, and dearly purchased heritage. Isaiah, God's faithful messenger, saith, Woe be unto them that call sweet sour, good evil, and light darkness! Therefore cometh my people into captivity, because they have no understanding. Our Saviour Christ pronounceth error and heresies to remain among the people, so long as ignorance of the Scriptures remaineth. And hereby it appeareth to all good consciences, what they mean, which defame or accuse God's blessed word being full of light, as though it were full of darkness. These owls would have all day-lights scraped out of books,

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hearts, and churches. O Lord, turn their hearts and tongues; bow them from the way of darkness, lest they go to the prince of darkness, and be cast into the pit of utter darkness, where is weeping and gnashing of teeth!

"Now, touching the packs of wool, and the packs of cloth, I fear they were as all other wares be, transubstantiate into stocks; even his very finest packing stuff against only faith justifying, and for the corporal presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, for praying for souls departed, and for auricular confession. Abraham's justification by faith, by grace, by promise, and not by works, is plainly set forth both in the fourth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, and in the third chapter to the Galatians; and Abraham's works of obedience, in offering up his son so long after his justification, must needs be taken as a fruit of a good tree justifying before men, and not of justification before God; for then had man to glory in; then did Christ die in vain.

"And whereas the sixth chapter of John was alleged, to prove that Christ did give his body corporally in his supper, even as he had promised in the said chapter, it is most untrue. For only he gave his body sacramentally, spiritually, and effectually, in his supper to the faithful apostles, and corporally he gave it in a bloody sacrifice for the life of the world upon the cross once for all. There, in his own person, in his own natural body, he bare all our sins. By whose stripes we are healed, as St. Peter proveth. Indeed receiving Christ's sacrament accordingly as it was instituted, we receive Christ's body and Christ's blood, even, as I said before, the apostles did.

"But the popish mass is another matter. The mass as it is now, is but one of antichrist's youngest daughters, in the which the devil is rather present and received, than our Saviour, the second person in Trinity, God and man. O Lord God, heavenly Father! for Christ's sake, we beseech thee to turn again England to the right way it was in, in King Edward's time, from this Babylonical, Jewish, spiritual whoredom, conspiracy, tyranny, detestable enormities, false doctrine, heresy, hardness of heart, and contempt of thy word and commandments; from this evident and open idolatry, sacrilege, simony, blasphemy, superstition, hypocrisy, transubstantiate angel of light, and day-devil, kingdom of lies, foul vain schisms, sects, sedition, apostacy, gay sweet poison, honied and sugared viperous venom, wily wolfishness, Satanical subtlety, and abomination in the sight of God, and all such as put on the true spectacles of Holy Scripture. I am the more plain now in this matter, because I fear greatly, that many will be too much ready to go from Christ to antichrist, from the Bible, God's true service and religion, to Latin lying legends, portueses, mass books, and superstition. They say their church cannot err in any point, when indeed they be not of God's church, and therefore they can do nothing but err, even as they do almost in all cases of true faith.

"But, to come again to the packer, rather than preacher, he bringeth St. Chrysostom, writing, *Ad Populum Antiochenum*, where he maketh a comparison between Christ's flesh, and Elias's cloak cast down to Elizeus, when Elias was taken up in the fiery chariot: at length he said, that Christ ascending up to heaven, took his flesh with him, and also left his flesh behind him in earth.

"The meaning of it is, he did ascend with his flesh, and left a memorial cloak of the same body and flesh, which he calleth his flesh, as he in the sacramental phrase calleth bread his body,

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because it representeth his body; and as, in like manner of sacramental speech, a lamb was called the passover, the circumcision, God's covenant. He took up his flesh corporally, and left his flesh in mystery and sacrament spiritually. Or it may be said, that he left his flesh upon earth; that is, his mystical body, his faithful people; whom St. Paul calleth the members of his body, of his flesh, of his bones. In Genesis xlix. there is no word of Christ's sacrament: but there is a prophecy of Christ's passion wherein his foal was bound, that is, his body. And whereas he speaketh there of grapes and wine, it is as that is spoken of Christ in another place, where he saith, I alone did tread the wine-press; meaning thereby, that Christ alone suffered painful passion for the remission of sins, and for the consolation of his faithful soldiers.

"It is not true, that the packer said, that Christ's infinite power may make his body to be in a thousand places at once, as a loaf to be in a thousand bellies: for then may Christ divide the parts of his body, as a loaf is divided, and so consumed; and then might Scripture be false, appointing Christ's body to be but in one place. The articles of our faith tell us sufficiently where Christ's body is. It was never in two places at once, neither ever shall be, neither ever can be corporally and naturally; neither ever was, is, can, or shall be eaten so with any corporal mouths, as the Capernautes and the papists most erroneously and heretically do judge. If our Saviour Jesus Christ hath no other body natural than is made of the substance of bread, and is in a thousand places at once, as I have often said in Hadley, we are not yet redeemed, neither shall our bodies rise again, and be made like unto his glorious body. We are sure that our Saviour Christ's body is made of none other substance than of his mother the blessed Virgin Mary's substance. We are sure that he taketh not the nature of angels, much less of bread. Only he taketh on him the seed of Abraham, in all things like unto us, sin only excepted. And this is a comfortable doctrine to us Christians. believing stedfastly, as the true catholic faith is, that Christ hath but two natures, perfect God, and perfect man. Upon this rock Christ's church is builded, and the gates of hell shall never prevail against it.

"I speak nothing now of auricular confession, and praying for souls departed: because I do not hear what authors the packer brought in for this purpose. Sure I am that he can bring no authentical and canonical warrant for such his packware. He may say what he will of Hebricians and Grecians; and of flesh under forms, and not above forms, or above the board. He may conjure and convey, pass and repass, even what he will in such clouds and mists. He reproveth the Scriptures as full of darkness, and yet is full of darkness himself. He did wittily, to bring proofs out of Jewry, Turkey, and other strange places, for his round white cake; for that such his pedlary pelf-pack is contrary to the plain simplicity of Christ's supper. He glanced at priests' marriage. He might against that have brought as ancient a doctor as any be alleged out of Hebrew, for his mass and wafer-cake, that is 'Doctor Devil.'

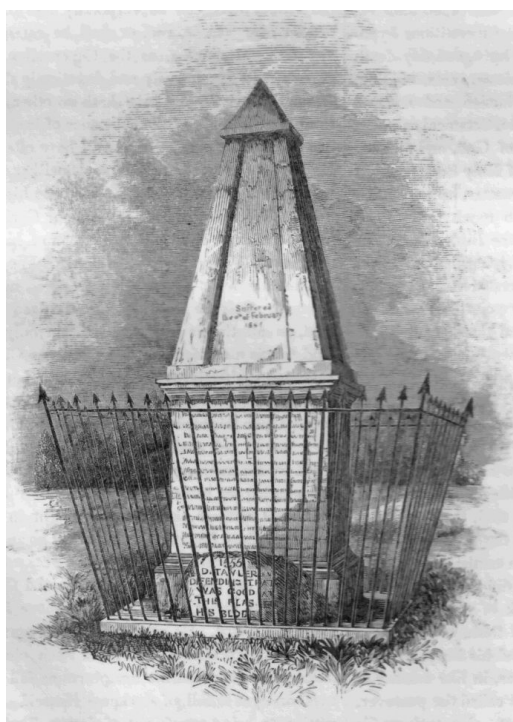
"I marvel that he did not confute and confound St. Paul for the sentences written above the altar, of the which he made mention in the pulpit. For he, and his fellows of Oxford, be so profound, so excellent, so glorious, and triumphant clerks, that they can easily prove a man an ass, and all writers on the Bible ignorant, simple, full of errors, full of heresies, and beggarly fools. Yet they will be called catholics, faithful and true Christian people, defenders of the holy mother the church: but truly they take part with the prince of darkness, with antichrist, with Jezebel. They will not be called papists, Pharisees, Jews, Turks, heretics, and so forth: but whatsoever they will be called, God's religion had never more evident adversaries; and that in all

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the chief points of it: no, not then, when our Saviour Christ whipt such merchants out of the temple, calling them a company of thieves. God give them grace to repent! God be thanked that the nobility something of late have spied and stopped their tyranny. O unhappy England! O more ungrateful people! sooner bewitched than the foolish Galatians. We have now no excuse.

"We have undoubtedly seen the true trace of the prophetic, apostolic, primitive catholic church. We are warned to beware, lest we be led out of that way, society, and rule of religion. Now we shall show what countrymen we be, whether spiritual and heavenly, or carnal and worldly. We had as true knowledge as ever was in any country, or at any time, since the beginning of the world; God be praised there-for. If Hadley, being so many years persuaded in such truth, will now willingly and wittingly forsake the same, and defile itself with the cake-god, idolatry, and other antichristianity thereunto belonging, let it surely look for many and wonderful plagues of God shortly. Though another have the benefice, yet, as God knoweth, I cannot but be careful for my dear Hadley. And therefore as I could not but speak, after the first abominable mass begun there, I being present no more, I cannot but write now being absent, hearing of the wicked profanation of my late pulpit by such a wily wolf. God's love, mercy, goodness, and favour hath been unspeakable, in teaching us the right way of salvation and justification: let us all have some zeal; some care how to serve him according to his goodwill written.

The God of love and peace be ever in Hadley, through Christ our only Advocate. Amen.
ROWLAND TAYLOR."



Taylor's Monument

END OF VOLUME 9

**THE ACTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE
CHRISTIAN CHURCH**

by
JOHN FOXE

Commonly known as
FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

Volume 10

The Reign of Queen Mary I. – Part II.

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VOLUME 10



John Bradford

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

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After that Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, had got the laws and the secular arm on his side, as ye have heard, with full power and authority to reign and rule as he listed, and had brought these godly bishops and reverend preachers aforesaid under foot, namely, the archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Ridley, bishop of London, Master Latimer, Master Hooper, bishop of Worcester and Gloucester, Master Rogers, Master Saunders, Dr. Taylor, and Master Bradford, all which he had now presently condemned, and some also burned, he supposed now all had been cock-sure, and that Christ had been conquered for ever, so that the people, being terrified with example of these great learned men condemned, never would nor durst once rout against their violent religion: not much unlike in this behalf to the manner of the Turks, who, when they cannot maintain their sect by good learning and truth of God's word, think by violence of sword to force whom they can to their belief; and, that done, afterward make laws, no man under pain of heresy to dispute, or once to call in question any of their proceedings. Even so, Stephen Gardiner and his fellows, when they see they cannot prevail by trial of God's word, and discourse of learning, neither are disposed simply to seek for truth where it is to be found, they take exceptions against God's word, affirming it to be intricate, obscure, and insufficient to be its own judge, and therefore that of necessity it must be judged by the pope's church: and so, having kings and queens on their side, they seek not to persuade by the word of God, nor to win by charity, but, instead of the law of God, they use, as the Proverb saith, τὸ νομῶ χειρὶν [Greek: to nomo cheiron], compelling men by death, fire, and sword, (as the Turks do,) to believe that in very deed they think not. And indeed, after flesh and blood, this seemeth to be a sure way. Neither peradventure are they ignorant how gaily this way thriveth with the Turks; and therefore think they to practise the same; at least-wise so they do, upon what example soever they do it. And thus condemned they these godly learned preachers and bishops aforesaid, supposing, as I said, that all the rest would soon be quailed by their example. But they were deceived: for within eight or nine days after that Stephen Gardiner had given sentence against Master Hooper, Master Rogers, Master Saunders, Dr. Taylor, and Master Bradford, being the eighth of February, six other good men were brought likewise before the bishops for the same cause of religion, to be examined, whose names were William Pygot, butcher; Stephen Knight, barber; Thomas Tomkins, weaver; Thomas Hawkes, gentleman; John Laurence, priest; William Hunter, apprentice.

Stephen Gardiner, seeing thus his device disappointed, and that cruelty in this case would not serve to his expectation, gave over the matter as utterly discouraged, and from that day meddled no more in such kind of condemnations, but referred the whole doing thereof to Bonner, bishop of London; who supplied that part right doughtily, as in the further process of this history hereafter evidently and too much may appear. Thus Bishop Bonner taking the matter in hand, called before him in his consistory at Paul's (the lord mayor and certain aldermen sitting with him) the six persons afore-named, upon the eighth of February in the year aforesaid, and on the next day, being the ninth of February, read the sentence of condemnation upon them, as appeareth in Bonner's own registers: such quick speed these men could make in despatching their

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business at once. Notwithstanding, because the death of these condemned martyrs did not follow incontinently before the next month of March, I will defer the prosecuting of their matter till I come, by the grace of the Lord, to the time and day of their suffering.

In the mean time, what was the cause that their execution was so long deferred after their condemnation, I have not precisely to say—unless, peradventure, the sermon of Alphonsus, the Spanish friar, and the king's confessor, did some good. For so I find, that when those six persons aforesaid were cast upon Saturday the ninth of February, upon Sunday following, which was the tenth of February, the said Alphonsus, a Gray Friar, preached before the king; in which sermon he did earnestly inveigh against the bishops for burning of men, saying plainly that they learned it not in Scripture, to burn any for his conscience: but the contrary—that they should live and be converted; with many other things more to the same purport. But, touching the lingering of these men's death, as I have not certainly to affirm, so let it pass.

On the fourteenth of February, Master Robert Ferrar, bishop of St. David's, was sent towards St. David's, there to be condemned and executed. Touching whose martyrdom, forasmuch as it fell not before the month of March, we will defer the history thereof till we come to the day and time of his suffering.

Furthermore, this foresaid fourteenth day of February, the lord chancellor, and other his fellow bishops, caused the image of Thomas Becket, that old Romish traitor, to be set up over the Mercer's chapel door in Cheapside in London, in the form and shape of a bishop, with mitre and crosier. Howbeit within two days after his erection, his two blessing fingers were first broken away, and on the next day (being the seventeenth of February) his head also was stricken off. Whereupon arose great trouble, and many were suspected; among whom one Master John Barnes, mercer, dwelling over against the same chapel, was vehemently by the lord chancellor charged withal, as the doer thereof; and the rather, for that he was a professor of the truth. Wherefore he, and three of his servants, were committed to prison; and at his delivery (although it could not be proved upon him) he was bound in a great sum of money as well to build it up again as often as it should be broken down, as also to watch and keep the same. And therefore, at this his compelled charges, the image was again set up the second day of March then next ensuing: but, for lack belike of careful watching, the fourteenth day of the same month in the night, the head of that dangerous beast, over whom there was such charge given, was again the second time broken off: which thing was so heinously taken, that the next day, being the fifteenth day, there was a proclamation made in London, that whosoever would tell who did strike off his head, (though he were of counsel, and not the principal doer,) he should have not only his pardon, but also one hundred crowns of gold, with hearty thanks. But it was not known who did it.

269. Correspondence between Queen Mary and the King of Denmark.

The eighteenth of February, Queen Mary at length, after long delay, made full answer to the king of Denmark's letters, who had written before two letters to the said queen, in the behalf of Master Coverdale, for his deliverance; who at that time went under sureties, and was in great danger, had he not been rescued by the great suit and letters of the said king of Denmark. The matter and copy of which his suit and letters, as they came to our hands, we have here set forth and expressed, whereby the singular love of this good king towards the truth of God's word, and the professors thereof, might the better appear to the world.

First, this virtuous and godly king Christian, hearing of the captivity of Miles Coverdale, of whom he had had some knowledge before, (being there in Denmark in King Henry the Eighth's time,) and lamenting his dangerous case, and partly through the intercession of Master Machabæus, superintendent in Denmark, who was partly of kin to Master Coverdale's wife, made intercession by letters to Queen Mary, desiring and requesting the said Miles Coverdale to be sent unto him. The date of which his first letter was about the kalends of May, A. D. 1554.

To this letter of the king, Queen Mary answering again, declared that the said Miles Coverdale was in no such captivity for any religion, but for certain debt: so neither plainly granting, nor expressly denying his request, but using a colourable excuse for shifting off the matter, as appeareth by his second letter sent to the queen, dated the twenty-fourth of September, as followeth.

"Christian, by the grace of God king of Denmark, Norway, Gothland, and of the Vandals; duke of Sleswick, Holstein, Stormar, and Ditmarsh; earl of Oldenburgh and Delmenhorst, &c.: To the most noble princess and Lady Mary, queen of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c., our most dearly beloved sister and cousin, wisheth prosperity with good and lucky success of all things.

"We have received your Majesty's letter, whereby answer is rendered, and that very graciously, unto our petition, which we made for the safeguard of Master Coverdale, lately called bishop of Exeter. So that we perceive, though he be in danger for another cause than was signified unto us afore, yet your Majesty will so regard our intercession that Coverdale himself shall understand it to have done him good. To the which regal promise, seeing we (as reason would we should do) attribute so much, that trusting unto the same, we doubt not, whereas he, being in captivity, his friends, whom we specially tender, are therefore in heaviness and care, your good promise doth call them from such sorrow and solicitude, to the hope and expectation of his assured welfare: we could not do otherwise, but render thanks unto your Majesty for such your ready and gracious good will, not only in respect of this benefit, but also of the conservation and keeping of perpetual amity between us and our realms, and so, as much as in us lieth, to omit nothing that to the nourishing and continuance of these fortunate beginnings might appertain.

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Neither had we ever any doubt concerning the clemency and moderation of your goodness, whom we heartily beseech Almighty God ever more and more to prosper, unto the glory of his name, and profit of the commonweal.

"Wherefore, seeing your Majesty writeth, that Master Coverdale is in danger for certain accounts of money, and not for any other more grievous offence, we have cause on his behalf to rejoice; and therefore we doubt so much the less, that at our request he shall graciously have his deliverance given him, and be out of danger. For as touching the bishopric, by reason whereof he came in debt, we understand he yielded it up, that no payment might thereof be required, specially seeing he is reputed neither to have enjoyed it long, neither to have had at any time so great commodity of it. Moreover, though it be possible to find some perplexity in the account, or haply some other cause, yet your Majesty's letters, offering such favour and benignity, have taken from us all carefulness and doubt; insomuch, that we think your Majesty, as much as may be, will have more respect unto our honour, than to that which might of him be required. And therefore we purpose not to trouble your Majesty by repeating of our petition, but to declare how greatly we esteem it that your Majesty would gratify us herein: whereof we plainly hope for such an end, that Coverdale himself shall shortly in our presence make declaration concerning the benefit of his welfare obtained of your Majesty. And of this we desire your Majesty to be specially assured again, that we will not only omit no occasion or opportunity to requite this benefit, but also to establish and amplify our mutual love and amity between us and our realms on either side. Almighty God preserve your Majesty in prosperous health and felicity.

"Given at our city of Otton, the twenty-fourth of September, A. D. 1554."

To these letters it was a great while before the queen would answer.

270. Bishop Bonner Commands Universal Reconciliation.

The same month, the nineteenth day, was a certain intimation set forth and printed in the name of Bonner, wherein was contained a general monition, and strait charge given to every man and woman within his diocese, to prepare themselves against Lent then near approaching, to receive the glad tidings of peace and reconciliation sent from the Pope Julius the Third, by Pole his cardinal and legate *de latere*, and so receive also the joyful benefit of absolution, being sent first from the cardinal to Bonner, and from him to every of his archdeacons, to be ministered to every private person within his diocese, that would come the said holy time of Lent to his pastor or curate to be confessed, and to receive of him wholesome counsel, penance, and absolution. Signifying moreover, that as he was authorized by the foresaid cardinal, so he, for the same purpose, had endued with the like authority all and singular pastors and curates within his diocese, to reconcile and assoil from their former heresy and schism, and from the censures of the church, such as would resort unto them. And lest any scruple or doubt, rising peradventure in their consciences, should be any stay or let in this behalf, he had assigned and deputed therefore through his diocese certain learned men, to whom they might resort, or else might open their griefs to any of his archdeacons, or else come to his own person, and so should be resolved.

And therefore all manner of doubts and obstacles set aside, he straitly willed and commanded every man and woman to come to confession, and to enjoy this benefit of reconciliation, and absolution, against the first Sunday next after Easter ensuing; and not to fail. For the which purpose he had specially commanded the pastors and curates of every parish to certify up in writing the names of every man and woman so reconciled, and so forth: the copy of which intimation hereunder followeth.

"Edmund, by the permission of God bishop of London, unto all and singular the lay-people of his diocese, doth send greeting in our Saviour Jesus Christ.

"Whereas this noble realm of England, dividing itself from the unity of the catholic church, and from the agreement in religion with all other Christian realms, hath been, besides many other miseries and plagues which God's indignation hath poured upon it, grievously also vexed and sore infected with many and sundry sorts of sects of heretics, as Arians, Anabaptists, Libertines, Zuinglians, Lutherans, and many others, all which sects be most repugnant, and contrary one against another, and all against God's truth, and Christ's catholic faith; whereupon hath grown such slander to the realm, such malice and disagreement among ourselves the inhabitants thereof, such treasons, tumults, and insurrections against our prince, such blasphemy and dishonour unto God, as no man's tongue or pen is able to express: it hath pleased the goodness of God to cast his eye of mercy and clemency upon us, and to move the pope's Holiness to send his most godly messenger, the most reverend father in God the lord cardinal Pole, legate *de latere*, to bring us the glad tidings of peace and reconciliation, and to reduce and bring home unto the fold the lost sheep that were gone astray: whose message, as it hath been honourably received of the king and queen's Majesties, even so the lords spiritual and temporal,

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and commons, at the last parliament have received it; revoking all the laws the which in the time of schism were promulgate against the authority of the pope's Holiness, and restoring the same and the Church of Rome to all that power which they had in this realm before the said schism, the which reconciliation was also most gladly and joyfully embraced, as well of all the clergy and convocation of the province of Canterbury, as also of many other persons—and being so great and necessary to be extended to every person of the realm, it hath pleased the said lord legate's Grace to give and impart unto me, the said bishop of London, for my said diocese, and to all such as I shall appoint in that behalf, power and authority to absolve and reconcile all and every person thereof, as well of the clergy as of the laity, and as well men as women, the which will renounce their errors, and (being penitent) will humbly require to be restored to the unity of the catholic church,—as by the letters of the said lord legate's Grace sent unto me, and from me sent unto every of the archdeacons within my diocese, more at large may and doth appear.

"And forasmuch as in mine own person, as well for the multitude of people as distance of places, I cannot minister this benefit unto every private person myself, and for that also the holy time of Lent is now at hand, in which every true Christian man ought to come unto his own pastor and curate, to be of him confessed, and to receive at his hand wholesome counsel, penance, and absolution: these are therefore as well to give knowledge unto every one of you, as also to signify and declare, that for that purpose, I have by the said authority chosen, named, and deputed, and so by these presents do choose, name, and depute, all and singular pastors and curates having cure of souls within my diocese, and being themselves reconciled herein; that they and every of them by authority hereof, shall have full power and authority to absolve all such as be lay-persons of their parishes from heresy and schism, and from the censures of the church, into which they be fallen by occasion thereof, and also to reconcile to the church all such which shall declare themselves penitent, and desirous to enjoy the benefit of the said reconciliation.

"And whereas divers pastors and curates in sundry parishes peradventure be not able to satisfy the minds, and to appease the consciences, of some of their parishioners in cases that shall trouble them, I have therefore given also authority to every archdeacon of my diocese within his archdeaconry, to name and appoint certain of the best learned in every deanery of their archdeaconry, to supply that lack; so that every man so troubled may repair to any one of them within the said deanery whom he shall like best, to be instructed and appeased in that behalf. And also I have appointed, that if, this being done, there shall yet remain any scruple in the party's conscience, and himself not satisfied, then the said party shall repair unto one of mine archdeacons or chaplains, unto whom his mind shall be most inclined, or else to repair unto mine own self, to be resolved in his said scruple or doubt, and to receive and take such order therein, as to one of the said archdeacons, or unto me, shall therein appear to be most expedient.

"Further certifying and declaring unto you, that I have given commandment herein to all my archdeacons, that they monish and command every pastor and curate within their archdeaconries, that they, having knowledge hereof, do, on the first holiday next then following, at the mass time, when the multitude of people is present, declare all these things unto their parishioners, and exhort them that they esteem this grace accordingly, and reconcile themselves to the church before the first Sunday after Easter next ensuing: which thing I also do command by the tenor hereof, with intimation that the said time being once past, and they not so

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reconciled, every one of them shall have process made against him, according to the canons, as the cause shall require: for which purpose the pastors and curates of every parish shall be commanded by their archdeacon, to certify me in writing of every man and woman's name that is not so reconciled.

"Further, herewith I do signify and declare unto you, that our holy father the pope Julius. the third of that name, like a most tender and natural father, hearing of the return and recovery of his prodigal child, this realm of England, hath himself made much joy and gladness hereat, and also all other true Christian realms have done the like: exhorting you therefore in our Lord, not to be unthankful yourselves, or negligent in this behalf, but diligently to seek for it, joyfully to embrace it, and fruitfully to use it, remembering withal the monition and charge which came from me the last year, concerning your coming to confession in Lent, and receiving the sacrament at Easter: which monition to all effects and purposes I have now here repeated and renewed, charging you, and also all your curates, therewith.

"And because all our duties is earnestly and devoutly to pray for the prosperous estate of our sovereigns, the king and the queen of this realm, I do finally require and pray you, as heartily as I can, to pray for their Majesties accordingly; and specially that it may please Almighty God, to send unto her Grace a good time, and to make her a glad mother, which cannot be but unto us all great joy, much comfort, and inestimable profit.

"Given at London the nineteenth day of the month of February, in the year of our Lord God, after the computation of the Church of England, 1554, and of my translation the sixteenth."

The form of absolution to be kept by the pastors and curates in private confessions, concerning this reconciliation; to be used in the diocese of London.

"Our Lord Jesus Christ absolve you, and by the apostolic authority to me granted and committed, I absolve you from the sentences of excommunication, and from all other censures and pains, into the which you be fallen by reason of heresy, or schism, or any other ways: and I restore you unto the unity of our holy mother the church, and the communion of all sacraments, dispensing with you for all manner of irregularity: and by the same authority I absolve you from all your sins, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen."

271. James Hales



e have a little overpast the time and story of Judge Hales, for although about this time he most pitifully sought his own destruction, through the cruel handling of the malignant papists—who pass upon nothing but upon their own dignity, little caring who perish besides, so their estimation may be magnified—yet the virtues and memory of that man are not unworthy either to be numbered with the saints that be departed, or at least not to be forgotten or obliterated among the saints that be alive. Concerning whose worthy doings, singular prudence, and incorrupt ministration of judgment, with the lamentable trouble which afterwards fell upon that good man, we thought here, among many other histories, somewhat to express; desiring the good reader to take that which is to be followed in that good man—the rest, to refer to the judgment of Him who only is Judge of all.

The lamentable and pitiful history of Master James Hales, judge.

WE have made mention, a little before, of Judge Hales, who alone taking Queen Mary's part, would in no wise subscribe to have any other queen but her, for that he thought he could not do otherwise with a safe conscience, though all the rest, in a manner, had subscribed to Edward the Sixth's will and testament. Hereby as he did cast himself into manifest jeopardy of the duke of Northumberland, to lose both body and goods, so he deserved at Queen Mary's hands, and her adherents, marvellous thanks and reward of his singular faithfulness, and true heart, towards her. This Sir James Hales, of the county of Kent, was both a worshipful knight and one of the high judges of the realm, who ordered and finished matters of controversy in the same.

Although he did not so much exceed in nobleness of birth and parentage, as he did excel all others in virtue, prudence, gravity, and true ministering of justice; for which he was in great veneration with all men, and was more conspicuous and known to the world thereby, than by sight. There was in him, by nature grafted, a singular gift of prudence, which afterwards, by much practice, he accomplished and brought to a marvellous good perfection; besides that, by his assiduous travail and exercise in demurring and pleading of matters, he attained to the vein of eloquence wherewith he was trimly qualified. In which kind of study, being exercised certain years, and passing the under degrees, he had aspired (being rather thereunto compelled) to the high benches, where he executed his function with justice, fidelity, constancy, and conscience, that even the law itself seemed no less to be printed and written in his life and doings, than in the very volumes or papers; he was always so upright a justiciary and conscionable a judge, declining corruption and embracing law and equity.

To these his gifts and qualities, were linked like sincerity and hearty affection to religion and the gospel of Christ, whereunto he had been, by many years, most earnestly set and addicted;

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showing himself to be a gospeller, no less by his word than deed, and no less at home than abroad: and, as he was godly himself, so brought he up his family to his godly line and order. He had daily service in his house, which was not ministered by any of his household or waiting chaplains, but by his own self, to the intent he might be the better example to the rest; joining with this devotion the often reading of the Holy Scripture. After this sort and manner he passed his life all King Edward's time; either being busied in weighty and public affairs, or else bestowing his time in virtue and godliness, even until his piety, by reason of the change of the prince and time, might nor could not any more be suffered or permitted.

As the change of the world and time was to every man very dangerous, so to him, in especial, it appeared most perilous; who was in that office and calling, that he could neither be long absent from it in London, neither be there occupied without present peril or jeopardy. Thus, the state of religion being changed and altered, upon a time, he, being counselled by his friends and well-wishers, to leave his forensical trade, and to go home,—providing for his safety by what means he could, either in flying or hiding himself,—refused their counsel; trusting too much there, as by and by you shall understand, to his own wit. To be short; at the term-time when other of the lawyers were wont to come up to London, he, the said Sir James Hales, likewise came up to do his office and function; persuading and knowing himself to be clear and inculpable. But, as a mouse, according to the old-said saw, falling into the gluepot, he was not so soon at London, but that the bishop of Winchester sent for him, and did expostulate about the calling and vexing of certain prevent-law priests; for, as yet, the mass was not by the laws received and restored, although the queen herself, by her consent and example, set it forward, wherewith divers priests, being couraged, presumed to say mass. And, like as in a main and set battle there are certain nimble and light-armed soldiers, who, in skirmishes amongst their enemies, go before the force of battle; even so, in this troublesome time, there lacked none before-law prelates, or light-armed but much more light-hearted soldiers, who ran before the law, who of duty should rather have followed and obeyed it. And this was not only to be seen in Kent, but also in divers other places; for, in Oxford, as it was told me, there was a certain priest, who there, in Magdalene college, preparing himself to say mass, and being almost in the midst thereof, was, with his vestments, pulled by one from the altar, and constrained to blow a retract, until by the law he might mass it. Thus Judge Hales, like a severe judge and justiciary, suffering such priests not to go unpunished, as that, before a law, presumed to say mass, got thereby the queen's displeasure, but much more Winchester's evil will: which bishop, although he had nothing wherewith justly he might burden him, yet he did expostulate with him, as though it were concerning cruelty, who had showed himself so austere a judge against the priests. Wherefore I thought best to leave in record, all the whole communication had between them, as those that stood by bare it away.

The communication between the lord chancellor and Judge Hales; being there, among other judges, to take his oath in Westminster Hall, October the sixth, A. D. 1553.

L. Chan.—"Master Hales, ye shall understand, that like as the queen's Highness hath heretofore conceived good opinion of you, especially for that ye stood both faithfully and lawfully in her cause of just succession, refusing to set your hand to the book among others that were against her Grace in that behalf: so now, through your own late deserts against certain her

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Highness's doings, ye stand not well in her Grace's favour; and therefore, before ye take any oath, it shall be necessary for you to make your purgation."

Hales.—"I pray you, my Lord, what is the cause?"

L. Chan.—"Information is given, that ye have indicted certain priests in Kent for saying mass."

Hales.—"My Lord, it is not so, I indicted none; but indeed certain indictments of like matter were brought before me at the last assizes there holden, and I gave order therein as the law required. For I have professed the law, against which in cases of justice I will never (God willing) proceed, nor in any wise dissemble, but with the same show forth my conscience; and if it were to do again, I would do no less than I did."

L. Chan.—"Yea, Master Hales, your conscience is known well enough: I know you lack no conscience."

Hales.—"My Lord, you may do well to search your own conscience; for mine is better known to myself than to you: and to be plain, I did as well use justice in your said mass case by my conscience, as by the law, wherein I am fully bent to stand in trial to the uttermost that can be objected. And if I have therein done any injury or wrong, let me be judged by the law; for I will seek no better defence, considering chiefly that it is my profession."

L. Chan.—"Why, Master Hales, although you had the rigour of the law on your side, yet ye might have had regard to the queen's Highness's present doings in that case. And further, although ye seem to be more than precise in the law, yet I think ye would be very loth to yield to the extremity of such advantage as might be gathered against your proceedings in the law, as ye have sometimes taken upon you in place of justice; and if it were well tried, I believe ye should not be well able to stand honestly thereto."

Hales.—"My Lord, I am not so perfect, but I may err for lack of knowledge. But both in conscience, and such knowledge of the law as God hath given me, I will do nothing but I will maintain it, and abide in it: and if my goods, and all that I have, be not able to counterpoise the case, my body shall be ready to serve the turn; for they be all at the queen's Highness's pleasure."

L. Chan.—"Ah sir! ye be very quick and stout in your answers. But as it should seem, that which you did was more of a will favouring the opinion of your religion against the service now used, than for any occasion or zeal of justice, seeing the queen's Highness doth set it forth as yet, wishing all her faithful subjects to embrace it accordingly: and whereas you offer both body and goods in your trial, there is no such matter required at your hands, and yet ye shall not have your own will neither."

Hales.—"My Lord, I seek not wilful will, but to show myself as I am bound in love to God and obedience to the queen's Majesty, in whose cause willingly, for justice' sake, all other respects set apart, I did of late, as your Lordship knoweth, adventure as much as I had. And as for my religion, I trust it be such as pleaseth God, wherein I am ready to adventure as well my

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life as my substance, if I be called thereunto. And so in lack of mine own power and will, the Lord's will be fulfilled."

L. Chan.—"Seeing you be at this point, Master Hales, I will presently make an end with you. The queen's Highness shall be informed of your opinion and declaration: and, as her Grace shall thereupon determine, ye shall have knowledge. Until such time, ye may depart as ye came, without your oath; for as it appeareth, ye are scarce worthy the place appointed."

Hales.—"I thank your Lordship: and as for my vocation, being both a burden and a charge more than ever I desired to take upon me; whensoever it shall please the queen's Highness to ease me thereof, I shall most humbly, with due contentation, obey the same."

And so he departed from the bar. Not many days after this communication or colloquy in Westminster Hall, which was October the sixth, anno 1553, Master Hales, at the commandment of the bishop, was committed to the King's Bench, where he remained constant until Lent, being tossed and removed from one prison to another: for then was he removed to the Compter in Bread Street, and afterward from thence was carried to the Fleet, where he endured most Christianly by the space of three weeks.

Being in the Fleet, what it was that he had granted unto the bishops, by their fraudulent assaults and persuasions, (namely, of Dr. Day, bishop of Chichester, and of Judge Portman, as it is thought, overcome at last,) I have not to say.

And thus, now we have rehearsed his notable virtues and afflictions, borne out and valiantly sustained by him, will we declare the miserable falls of him, and lamentable chance. And when thus, in divers prisons, he, being tossed and wearied, could in no wise be subdued and overcome by the suppression of his adversaries, he, being yet in the mean time assaulted with secret assaults, recoiled and gave over. Wherein, as I do lament so miserable a case in so worthy a man, even so do I marvel at the vile and detestable frauds and wiles of his adversaries.

There was in the prison where Hales was, a certain gentleman of Hampshire, called Foster, who being suborned, as it should seem, of the bishops, used all kinds of persuasions that he could; whereby he might draw him from the truth to error; whereby, at length, by continual wearying and seeking upon him, he brought to pass that Hales began to seem that he might be overcome. At last, when this came to his adversaries' ears, the bishop of Chichester was at hand forthwith, very early in the morning of the twelfth of April, to commune with Master Hales in the prison; but I have no certain knowledge what the talk was between them. But, undoubtedly, his constancy was so quailed, that even before, he had given over in the plain field; and for that cause he was in a great dump and sorrow with himself: to whom, by all likelihood, this bishop came to minister matter of comfort. And the same day, in the afternoon, came unto him Judge Portman, and talked with him so long till the time was come that Judge Hales must come to supper. Therefore, when Portman had taken his leave, Master Hales getteth him to supper with a heavy, troubled mind; howbeit he did eat very little, or no meat at all, being brought to an extreme desperation by the worm of his conscience. Albeit, to say the truth, I do not impute the fall of this man to the persuasions of the comers to him, nor to so small causes; for in case that be true, which one told me, (as it is like to be true,) his adversaries went a more subtle way to work

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with him, than all the world knoweth. For, when they had him sure in the prison, they, like wily spies, found the means to shut him up into that part thereof, where the noise of the streets, the tumult and concourse, the night and day troubles of the talk of artificers, and coming to and fro of men,—and besides, the noise of the prisoners hard by, ringing about his head, troubled him, in such sort, that he could not take his rest,—thinking perchance that if they could not win by any other means, yet by the lack of sleep they might soon make him give over, and come unto their side;—and, perchance, therefore, this was the very policy why they made him change prisons so often. But, for that I have no certainty of the thing, I will leave the truth thereof to the reader's conjecture: and, whatsoever the cause was, that made him to relent in the confession of the truth, undoubtedly he was cast, forthwith, into a great repentance of the deed, and into a terror of conscience thereby; insomuch that when supper was done, he gat him straight to bed, where he passed over all that night in much care and anxiety of mind. And then, when it was day, he sent, about six of the clock, for a cup of beer, as though he were desirous to drink. His man was yet scarce out of his chamber, when he, with a penknife, had wounded himself in divers places, and would, without fail, have likewise killed himself, (which argueth that he was not well in his wit,) unless the goodness of God had been a present help and preservation unto him; whereby it is evident for all men to understand, how God's favour was not absent from the man, although he thought himself utterly forsaken for his denial, as by the sequel may well appear.

For as soon as he had sent his man out of his chamber, (see what God would have done,) even afore the chamber-door eftsoons the butler met him; who, being desired to fill the drink, and taking the cup, the other returned again unto his master, at the same very time when he was working his own destruction: whereby Master Hales at that time was stopped of his purpose, and preserved, not without God's manifest good-will and providence. When Winchester had knowledge of it, straightway he taketh occasion thereby to blaspheme the doctrine of the gospel, which he openly in the Star-chamber called "doctrine of desperation." Master Hales, being within awhile after recovered of those wounds, and delivered out of prison, getteth himself home unto his house; where he, either for the greatness of his sorrow, or for lack of good counsel, or for that he would avoid the necessity of hearing mass, (having all things set in order, a good while before that, pertaining to his testament,) casting himself into a shallow river, was drowned therein; which was about the beginning of the month of February, or in the month of January before, anno 1555.

The unhappy chance of this so worthy a judge, was surely the cause of great sorrow and grief unto all good men, and it gave occasion besides unto certain divines to stand something in doubt with themselves, whether he were reprobate or saved, about which matter it is not for me to determine either this way or that: for he that is our Judge, the same shall be his Judge; and he it is, that will lay all things open when the time cometh. This in the mean time is certain and sure: that the deed of the man in my mind ought in no wise to be allowed, which, if he did wittingly, then do I discommend the man's reason. But if he did it in phrensy, and as being out of his wits, then do I greatly pity his case. Yet, notwithstanding, seeing God's judgments be secret, and we likewise in doubt upon what intent he did thus punish himself, neither again is any man certain, whether he did repent or no before the last breath went out of his body; me thinketh, their opinion is more indifferent herein, who do rather disallow the example of the deed, than despair of his salvation.

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Otherwise, if we will adjudge all those to hell that have departed the world after this sort, how many examples have we in the first persecutions of the church, of those men and women, who, being registered in the works of worthy writers, have notwithstanding their praise and commendation? For what shall I think of those young men, who being sought for to do sacrifice to heathen idols, did cast down themselves headlong, and break their own necks, to avoid such horrible pollution of themselves? What shall I say of those virgins of Antioch, who, to the end they might not defile themselves with uncleanness, and with idolatry, through the persuasion of their mother, casting themselves headlong into a river together with their mother, did foredo themselves, although not in the same water, yet after the same manner of drowning as this Master Hales did? What shall I say of other two sisters, who, for the self-same quarrel, did violently throw themselves headlong into the sea, as Eusebius doth record? In whom, though perchance there was less confidence to bear out the pains which should be ministered of the wicked unto them, yet that their good desire to keep their faith and religion unspotted, was commended and praised.

Another like example of death is mentioned by Nicephorus, and that in another virgin likewise, whose name is expressed in Jerome to be Brassilia Dyrrachina, who, to keep her virginity, feigned herself to be a witch; and so, conventing with the young man who went about to dishonour her, pretended that she would give him an herb which would preserve him from all kind of weapons; and so, to prove it in herself, laid the herb upon her own throat, bidding him smite, whereby she was slain; and so with the loss of her life her virginity was saved.

Hereunto may be joined the like death of Sophronia, a matron of Rome, who, when she was required of Mazentius the tyrant to be defiled, and saw her husband more slack than he ought to have been in saving her honesty, bidding them that were sent for her to tarry awhile till she made her ready, went into her chamber, and with a weapon thrust herself through the breast, and died. Now who is he that would reprehend the worthy act of Achetes, who, biting off his own tongue, spit it out into the harlot's face?

But, in these examples, you will say, The cause was necessary and honest. And who can tell whether Master Hales, meaning to avoid the pollution of the mass, did likewise choose the same kind of death, to keep his faith undefiled: whereof there ought to be as great respect, and greater too, than of the chastity of the body. But you will say, He ought rather to have suffered the tyrants. And why may not the same be said of the forenamed virgins?

These examples I do not here infer, as going about either to excuse or to maintain the heinous fact of Master Hales, (which I would wish rather by silence might be drowned in oblivion,) but yet notwithstanding, as touching the person of the man, whatsoever his fact was—because we are not sure whether he at the last breath repented—again, because we do not know, nor are able to comprehend, the bottomless depth of the graces and mercies which are in Christ Jesus our Saviour—we will leave therefore the final judgment of him, to the determination of him who is only appointed Judge both of the quick and the dead.

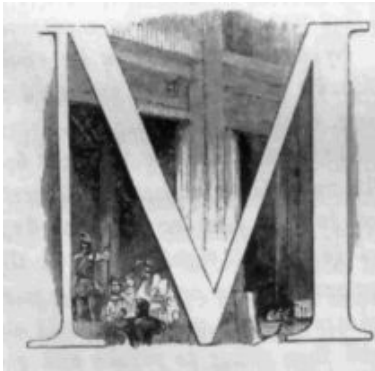
And, finally, although he did it of a certain desperation, yet how know you whether he repented even in breathing out his life?—Although I truly am so far from allowing his fact, by any means, that I am wonderfully sorry for his rash and over-hasty temerity; and, therefore,

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although we do not account him among the martyrs, yet, on the other side, we do not reckon him among the damned persons. Finally, let us all wish heartily that the Lord impute not to him, in judgment, that which he offended in his own punishment. Amen.

272. Thomas Tomkins.

The history of Thomas Tomkins, martyr, who, having first his hand burned, after was burned himself by Bishop Bonner, for the constant testimony of Christ's true profession.



ENTION was made before of six prisoners, brought and examined before Bishop Bonner the eighth of February, whose names were Tomkins, Pygot, Knight, Hawkes, Laurence, and Hunter: all which, though they received their condemnation together the next day after, yet, because the time of their execution was then driven off from February till the next month of March, I did therefore refer the story of them to this present month of March aforesaid, wherein: now remaineth severally to entreat of the martyrdom of these six persons, as the order and time of their sufferings severally do require. of the which six aforesaid martyrs, the first was Thomas Tomkins, burned in Smithfield, the sixteenth day of March, A. D. 1555.

This Thomas Tomkins, a weaver by his occupation, dwelling in Shoreditch, and of the diocese of London, was of such conversation, and disposition so godly, that if any woman had come to him with her web, as sometimes they did, three or four in a day, he would always begin with prayer; or if any other had come to talk of any matter, he would likewise first begin with prayer. And if any had sought unto him to borrow money, he would show him such money as he had in his purse, and bid him take it.

And when they came to repay it again, so far off was he from seeking any usury at their hand, or from strait exaction of his due, that he would bid them keep it longer, while they were better able. And these were the conditions of Thomas Tomkins, testified yet to this present day by the most part of all his neighbours, and almost of all his parish which knew him, as Master Skinner, Master Leeke, and others. of whom more than half a dozen at once came to me, discreet and substantial men, reporting the same unto me; recording moreover as followeth: That Dr. Bonner, bishop of London, kept the said Tomkins with him in prison half a year; during which time the said bishop was so rigorous unto him, that he beat him bitterly about the face, whereby his face was swelled. Whereupon the bishop caused his beard to be shaven, and gave the barber twelve pence.

Touching which shaving of Thomas Tomkins's beard, this is more to be added: Bishop Bonner, having Tomkins with him prisoner at Fulham, in the month of July, did set him with his other work-folks to make hay; and seeing him to labour so well, the bishop, setting him down, said, "Well, I like thee well; for thou labourest well: I trust thou wilt be a good catholic." "My Lord," said he, "St. Paul saith, He that doth not labour is not worthy to eat." Bonner said, "Ah, St. Paul is a great man with thee." And so, after such other talk, the bishop inferring moreover, wished his beard off, saying, that so he would look like a catholic. "My Lord," said Tomkins, "before my beard grew I was, I trust, a good Christian, and so I trust to be, my beard being on." But Bonner, in fine, sent for the barber, and caused his beard to be shaven off. The very cause was, for that Bonner had plucked off a piece of his beard before.

The rage of this bishop was not so great against him, but the constancy of the party was much greater with patience to bear it; who, although he had not the learning as others have, yet he was so endued with God's mighty Spirit, and so constantly planted in the perfect knowledge of God's truth, that by no means he could be removed from the confession of truth, to impiety and error. Whereupon Bonner the bishop, being greatly vexed against the poor man, when he saw that by no persuasions he could prevail with him, devised another practice, not so strange as cruel, further to try his constancy; to the intent, that seeing he could not otherwise convince him by doctrine of Scriptures, yet he might overthrow him by some forefeeling and terror of death. So, having with him Master Harpsfield, Master Pembleton, Dr. Chedsey, Master Willerton, and others standing by, he called for Thomas Tomkins, who, coming before the bishop, and standing as he was wont in defence of his faith, the bishop fell from beating to burning: who, having there a taper or wax candle of three or four wicks standing upon the table, thought there to represent unto us, as it were, the old image of King Porsenna. For as he burned the hand of Scævola so this catholic bishop took Tomkins by the fingers, and held his hand directly over the flame, supposing that by the smart and pain of the fire being terrified, he would leave off the defence of his doctrine which he had received.

Tomkins, thinking no otherwise but there presently to die, began to commend himself unto the Lord, saying, "O Lord! into thy hands I commend my spirit," &c. In the time that his hand was in burning, the same Tomkins afterward reported to one James Hinse, that his spirit was so rapt, that he felt no pain. In the which burning he never shrank, till the veins shrank, and the sinews burst, and the water did spirt in Master Harpsfield's face: insomuch that the said Master Harpsfield, moved with pity, desired the bishop to stay, saying, that he had tried him enough. This burning was in the hall at Fulham.

And whereas the bishop thought by that means to drive him from his opinions, it proved much otherwise: for this Christian Scævola so valiantly did despise, abide, and endure that burning, that we have less cause hereafter to marvel at the manfulness of that Roman Scævola: I would to God the other had as well followed the example of that Etruscan tyrant. For he, after the left hand of Scævola was half burned, either satisfied with his punishment, or overcome by his manhood, or driven away by fear, sent him home safe unto his people: whereas Bonner, hitherto not contented with the burning of his hand, rested not until he had consumed his whole body into ashes, at London in Smithfield.

But before we come to his suffering, we will first entreat of some part of his examination and articles, with his answers and confession thereunto annexed, as it is credibly in register recorded.

The first examination of Thomas Tomkins, before Bonner.

This faithful and valiant soldier of God, Thomas Tomkins, after he had remained the space (as is said) of half a year in prison, about the eighth day of February was brought with certain others before Bonner, sitting in his consistory, to be examined. To whom first was brought forth a certain bill or schedule, subscribed (as appeareth) with his own hand, the fifth day of the same month last before, containing these words following.

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The confession of Tomkins subscribed with his own hand.

"Thomas Tomkins of Shoreditch, and of the diocese of London, hath believed and doth believe, that in the sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, there is not the very body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ in substance, but only a token and remembrance thereof, the very body and blood of Christ being only in heaven, and no where else.

"By me, THOMAS TOMKINS."

Whereupon he was asked, whether he did acknowledge the same subscription to be of his own hand. To the which he granted, confessing it so to be. This being done, the bishop went about to persuade him (with words, rather than with reasons) to relinquish his opinions, and to return again to the unity of the catholic church, promising if he would so do, to remit all that was past. But he constantly denied so to do. When the bishop saw he could not so convince him, he brought forth and read to him another writing, containing articles and interrogatories, whereunto he should come the next day and answer: in the mean time he should deliberate with himself what to do. And so the next day, being the ninth of March, at eight o'clock in the morning, to be present in the same place again, to give his determinate answer what he would do in the premises, and then either to revoke and reclaim himself, or else in the afternoon the same day to come again, and have justice (as he called it) ministered unto him. The copy of which articles here followeth.

Articles objected and ministered the eighth day of February against Thomas Tomkins, with his own hand subscribing to the same.

"Thou dost believe, that in the sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, there is not, by the omnipotent power of Almighty God, and his holy word, really, truly, and in very deed, the very true and natural body of our Saviour Jesus Christ, as touching the substance thereof; which was conceived in the womb of the Virgin Mary, and hanged upon the cross, suffering passion and death there for the life of the world.

"I do so believe.

"Thou dost believe, that after the consecration of, the bread and wine prepared for the use of the sacrament of the altar, there doth remain the substance of material bread and material wine, not changed or altered in substance by the power of Almighty God, but remaining as it did before.

"I do so believe.

"Thou dost believe, that it is an untrue doctrine, and a false belief, to think or say, that in the sacrament of the altar there is, after consecration of the bread and wine, the substance of Christ's natural body and blood, by the omnipotent power of Almighty God, and his holy word.

"I do so believe.

"Thou dost believe, that thy parents, kinsfolks, friends, and acquaintance, and also thy godfathers and godmother, and all people, did err, and were deceived, if they did believe, that in the sacrament of the altar there was, after the consecration, the body and blood of Christ, and that

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there did not remain the substance of material bread and wine.

"I do so believe.

"By me THOMAS TOMKINS."

The second examination of Thomas Tomkins.

The next day, being the ninth of February, at eight o'clock before noon, the said Thomas Tomkins (according to the former commandment) was brought again into the place aforenamed, before the bishop and other his assistants, where the aforesaid articles were propounded unto him: whereunto he answered as followeth

"To the first he said, that he did so believe, as in the same is contained.

"To the second he said, that it was only bread, and a participation of Christ's death and passion, and so do the Scriptures teach.

"To the third he said and did believe, it was a false doctrine, to believe and think as is contained in this article.

"To the fourth, he did also believe the same."

After this answer he did also subscribe his name to the said articles. Whereupon the bishop, drawing out of his bosom another confession subscribed with Tomkins's own hand, and also that article that was the first day objected against him, caused the same to be openly read; and then willed him to revoke and deny his said opinions, the which he utterly refused to do; and therefore was commanded to appear before the bishop again in the same place at two o'clock in the afternoon.

The bishop repeateth again the confession of Thomas Tomkins; written before by the said bishop of London, and subscribed by the said Tomkins, the twenty-sixth of September, anno 1554, which is this.

"I, Thomas Tomkins, of the parish of Shoreditch, in the diocese of London, having confessed and declared openly heretofore, to Edmund, bishop of London, mine ordinary, that my belief hath been many years past, and is at this present, that the body of our Saviour Jesus Christ is not truly and in very deed in the sacrament of the altar, but only in heaven; and so in heaven, that it cannot now indeed be really and truly in the sacrament of the altar: And moreover, having likewise confessed and declared to my said ordinary openly many times, that although the church, called the catholic church, hath allowed, and doth allow, the mass and sacrifice made and done therein, as a wholesome, profitable, and a godly thing; yet my belief hath been many years past, and is at this present, that the said mass is full of superstition, plain idolatry, and unprofitable for my soul; and so have I called it many times, and take it at this present: Having also likewise confessed and declared to my said ordinary, that the sacrament of baptism ought to be only in the vulgar tongue, and not otherwise ministered, and also without any such ceremonies, as accustomedly are used in the Latin church, and otherwise not to be allowed:—

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Finally, being many times and oft called openly before my said ordinary, and talked withal touching all my said confessions and declarations, both by the said mine ordinary and divers other learned men, as well his chaplains as others, and counselled by all of them to embrace the truth, and to recant mine error in the premises, which they told me was plain heresy and manifest error; do testify and declare hereby, that I do and will continually stand to my said confession, declaration, and belief, in all the premises; and every part thereof, and in no wise recant or go from any part of the same. In witness whereof I have subscribed and passed this writing the twenty-sixth day of September, the year aforesaid.

"By me Tho. TOMKINS aforesaid."

The names of them that sat upon Thomas Tomkins at this session, were these: Edmund Bonner; John Fecknam, dean of Paul's; John Harpsfield, archdeacon of London; John Morwen, Master of Arts; Thomas Morton, parson of Fulham; Tristram Swadell, Thomas More, Thomas Bekinsaw, James Cline, clerks.

The last appearance and condemnation of Thomas Tomkins before Bonner and the commissioners.

The same day and place, at two o'clock in the afternoon, he was, the last time, brought before the bishops of London, Bath, and St. David's, with others; where he was earnestly exhorted by the said bishop of Bath, to revoke and leave off his opinions. Unto whom he answered, "My Lord, I was born and brought up in ignorance until now of late years; and now I know the truth, wherein I will continue unto the death."

Then Bonner caused all his articles and confession to be again openly read, and so, in his accustomed manner, persuaded with him to recant. To whom he finally said, "My Lord, I cannot see but that you would have me forsake the truth, and to fall into error and heresy." The bishop seeing he would not recant, did proceed in his law, and so gave sentence of condemnation upon him.

Then he delivered him to the sheriff of London, who carried him straight unto Newgate, where he remained most joyous and constant until the sixteenth of March next after: on which day, he was by the said sheriff conveyed into Smithfield, and there sealed up his faith in the flaming fire, to the glory of God's holy name, and confirmation of the weak.

273. William Hunter.

A notable history of William Hunter, a young man, an apprentice, of nineteen years, pursued to death by Justice Brown, for the gospel's sake; worthy of all young men and parents to be read.



HE twenty-sixth day of the said month of March, the year aforesaid, followed the martyrdom of William Hunter, a right godly young man, of the age of nineteen years, and born of like godly parents: by whom he was not only instructed in true religion and godliness, but also confirmed by them unto death, after a rare and strange example, worthy to be noted and had in admiration of all parents. Wherein may appear a singular spectacle, not only of a marvellous fortitude in the party so young, but also in his parents, to behold nature in them striving with religion, and overcome of the same: whereby Christian parents may learn what is to be done, not only in their children

but also in themselves, if need at any time do require, or godliness should demand the duty of a Christian man against natural affection. Nature is a strong thing, I must needs confess, and almost invincible, and, among all the affections of nature, there is none that is so deeply graved in a father's mind, as the love and tender affection towards his children, that is, as you would say, towards his own bowels. By which affection we see many, yea rather infinite parents, that are overcome; but, of them that overcome it, very few, or rather none. So much the more, therefore, am I moved not to pass over, in this place, such notable and singular godliness of the parents: who, when they saw their son led towards the fire, did not follow him with lamentation, nor laboured, by their words, to draw him from his purpose, neither took pity of his fortune; but, setting aside all private affection of natural love, forgetting nature, and, as it were, forgetting themselves,—neither yet following that common affection of parents at this day, but the example of that holy mother of the Maccabees,—encouraged their son, as much as they could; and rejoicing with wonderful gladness, exhorted him to go through valiantly: insomuch, that when he was ready to suffer death, either of them drinking unto him, rejoiced over him, and confirmed him in the Lord. And here, truly, I cannot tell whether I should rather praise the virtue of the son, or of the parents; for he, indeed, died with great constancy, and after he had recited the eighty-fourth Psalm, as he was a dying, doubtless obtained the crown of blessed martyrdom. But no less constancy, as I think, appeared in them, and they are no less to be accounted martyrs, in the martyrdom of their son: for he, offering his body to torments, with great praise, overcame the tormentors, the torments, and the tyrants. And they, with no less praise, overcame their own natures, offering to the Lord a mind no less constant and strong than he did, and, perchance, felt no less torments inwardly, than he did outwardly. He, broiling in the midst of the flame, suffered his life to be taken from him, not without cruel torment; and they, also, with no less torment, suffered their son to be taken from them. On both sides the strength of the spirit, the fervent heat of godliness, and the love of Christ, overcame all the torments; and, therefore, I thought the praise of the son could not well be recorded, without the commendation of the parents: for as he, dying for the gospel, hath left behind him in the church, a strong and evident testimony, to confirm the doctrine of the gospel; so they, to confirm a gospel-like life, have given an example,

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worthy to be followed of all men: example whereof, in the sequel of this history, we have here present before our eyes. Which history, as it was faithfully drawn out by Robert Hunter, his own brother, (who, being present with his brother William, and never leaving him till his death, sent the true report unto us,) we have here, with like faithfulness, placed and recorded the same, as followeth.

"William Hunter, being an apprentice in London in the first year of Queen Mary, was commanded at the Easter next following to receive the communion at a mass, by the priest of the parish where he dwelt, called Coleman Street; which because he refused to do, he was very much threatened that he should be therefore brought before the bishop of London. Wherefore William Hunter's master, one Thomas Taylor, a silkweaver, required William Hunter to go and depart from him, lest that he should come in danger because of him, if he continued in his house. For the which causes, William Hunter took leave of his said master, and thence came to Brentwood, where his father dwelt, with whom he afterwards remained about the space of half a quarter of a year.

"After this it happened within five or six weeks, that William going into the chapel of Brentwood, and finding there a Bible lying on a desk, did read therein. In the mean time there came in one Father Atwell, a sumner, who hearing William read in the Bible, said to him, 'What! meddlest thou with the Bible? Knowest thou what thou readest, and canst thou expound the Scriptures?'

"To whom William answered and said, 'Father Atwell, I take not upon me to expound the Scriptures, except I were dispensed withal; but I, finding the Bible here when I came, read in it to my comfort.' To whom Father Atwell said, 'It was never merry world, since the Bible came abroad in English.'

"To the which words William answered, saying, 'Father Atwell, say not so, for God's sake: for it is God's book, out of the which every one that hath grace may learn to know both what things please God, and also what displeaseth him.' Then said Father Atwell, 'Could we not tell before this time as well as now, how God was served?' William answered, 'No, Father Atwell, nothing so well as we may now; if that we might have his blessed word amongst us still as we have had.' 'It is true,' said Father Atwell, 'if it be as you say.'

"'Well,' said William Hunter, 'it liketh me very well, and I pray God that we may have the blessed Bible amongst us continually.' To the which words Father Atwell said, 'I perceive your mind well enough: you are one of them that mislike the queen's laws; and therefore you came from London, I hear say. You learned these ways at London: but for all that,' said Father Atwell, 'you must turn another leaf; or else you, and a great sort more heretics, will broil for this gear, I warrant you.' To the which words William said, God give me grace, that I may believe his word, and confess his name, whatsoever come thereof.' 'Confess his name!' quoth old Atwell, 'No, no; ye will go to the devil all of you, and confess his name.' 'What?' said William, 'you say not well, Father Atwell.'

"At the which words he went out of the chapel in a great fury, saying, 'I am not able to reason with thee: but I will fetch one straightway which shall talk with thee, I warrant thee, thou

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heretic!' And he, leaving William Hunter reading in the Bible, straightways brought one Thomas Wood, who was then vicar of Southwell, who was at an alehouse even over against the said chapel; who, hearing old Atwell say, that William Hunter was reading of the Bible in the chapel, came by and by to him, and finding him reading in the Bible, took the matter very heinously, saying; 'Sirrah, who gave thee leave to read in the Bible, and to expound it?' Then William answered, 'I expound not the Scriptures, sir, but read them for my comfort.'

""What meddlest thou with them at all? said the vicar. 'It becometh not thee, nor any such, to meddle with the Scriptures.' But William answered, 'I will read the Scriptures (God willing while I live; and you ought, Master Vicar, not to discourage any man for that matter, but rather exhort men diligently to read the Scriptures for your discharge and their own.'

"Unto the which the vicar answered, 'It becometh thee well to tell me what I have to do. I see thou art a heretic by thy words.' William said, 'I am no heretic for speaking the truth.' But the vicar said, 'It is a merry world, when such as thou shall teach us what is the truth. Thou art meddling, Father Atwell tells me, with the sixth chapter of John, wherein thou mayest perceive how Christ saith, 'Except that ye eat the flesh of Christ, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you.' William said. 'I read the sixth chapter of John indeed; howbeit, I made no exposition on it.'

"Then said Father Atwell, 'When you read it, I said, that you there might understand how that in the sacrament of the altar is Christ's very natural body and blood: unto the which you answered, how that you would take the Scriptures as they are, and that you would meddle with no great exposition, except that ye were dispensed withal.'

""Ah,' said the vicar, 'what say you to the blessed sacrament of the altar? Believest thou not in it, and that the bread and wine is transubstantiated into the very body and blood of Christ?' William answered, 'I learn no such thing in the sixth of John as you speak of.' 'Why,' said the vicar, 'dost thou not believe in the sacrament of the altar?' 'I believe,' said William Hunter, 'all that God's word teacheth.' 'Why,' said the vicar, 'thou mayest learn this which I say plainly in the sixth of John.'

"Then said William, 'You understand Christ's words much like the carnal Capernaïtes, which thought, that Christ would have given them his flesh to feed upon: which opinion our Saviour Christ corrected, when he said, The words which I speak to you, are spirit and life.'

""Now,' quoth the vicar, 'I have found you out: now I see that thou art a heretic indeed, and that thou dost not believe in the sacrament of the altar.' Then said William Hunter, 'Whereas you doubt my belief, I would it were tried, whether that you or I would stand faster in our faith.' 'Yea, thou heretic,' said the vicar, 'wouldst thou have it so tried?' 'William Hunter answered, 'That which you call heresy, I serve my Lord God withal.'

"Then said the vicar, 'Canst thou serve God with heresy?' But William answered, 'I would that you and I were even now fast tied to a stake, to prove whether that I or you would stand strongest to our faith.' But the vicar answered, 'It shall not be so tried.' 'No,' quoth William, 'I think so; for if I might, I think I know who would soonest recant: for I durst set my foot against yours, even to the death.' 'That we shall see,' quoth the vicar; and so they departed, the vicar

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threatening William much, how that he would complain of him; with much other communication which they had together.

"Immediately after, this vicar of the Wield told Master Brown of the communication which William Hunter and he had together; which when Master Brown understood, immediately he sent for William's father and the constable, one Robert Salmon. For immediately after William Hunter and the vicar had reasoned together, he took his leave of his father and fled; because Wood the vicar threatened him. Now when the constable and William's father were come, and were before Master Brown, he asked where William Hunter was. His father answered, saying, 'If it please you, sir, I know not where he is become.' 'No!' quoth Master Brown: 'I will make thee tell where he is, and fetch him forth also, ere I have done with thee.' 'Sir,' said William's father, 'I know not where he is become, nor where to seek for him.'

"Then said Master Brown, 'Why didst thou not bring him, when thou hadst him? I promise thee, if thou wilt not fetch him, I will send thee to prison, till I shall get him. Wherefore see that thou promise me to fetch him; or else it is not best to look me in the face any more, nor yet to rest in Brentwood.' 'Well,' quoth Master Brown to William's father, 'see that thou seek him forth, and bring him to me.'

"William's father answered, 'Sir, would you have me seek out my son to be burned?' 'If thou bring him to me,' quoth Master Brown, 'I will deal well enough for that matter; thou shalt not need to care for the matter. Fetch him, and thou shalt see what I will do for him. Moreover, if thou lackest money,' quoth he, 'thou shalt have some and bade the constable, Master Salmon, to give him a crown: but William's father took none of him. Howbeit Master Brown would never rest, till William's father had promised him to seek out his son. And thus Master Brown sent the constable home again, and William's father; commanding him to seek out William Hunter, and then to come again and bring him to him.

After that old father Hunter had ridden two or three days' journey to satisfy Master Brown's expectation, it happened that William met with his father in the highway as he travelled; and first he, seeing his father, came to him, and spake to him, and told him how that he thought that he sought for him. And then his father, confessing it, wept sore, and said, that Master Brown charged him to seek him, and bring him to him. 'Howbeit,' said he, 'I will return home again, and say I cannot find you.' But William said, 'Father, I will go home with you, and save you harmless, whatsoever cometh of it.'

"And thus they came home together; but William, as soon as he was come home, was taken by the said constable, and laid in the stocks till the next day, when Master Brown (hearing that William Hunter was come home) sent for him to the constable; who brought him immediately to Master Brown.

"Now when William was come, Master Brown said to him, 'Ah, sirrah! are ye come?' and then by and by he commanded the Bible to be brought and opened it, and then began to reason with William on this manner, saying: 'I hear say you are a Scripture man, you; and can reason much of the sixth of John, and expound as pleaseth you.' and turned the Bible to the sixth of St.

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John. And then he laid to his charge what an exposition he made, when the vicar and he talked together. And William said, 'He urged me to say so much as I did.'

"'Well,' quoth Master Brown, 'because you can expound that place so well; how say you to another place?' (turning to the twenty-second of St. Luke.) And Master Brown said, 'Look here,' quoth he, for Christ saith, that the bread is his body.'—To the which William answered, 'The text saith, how Christ took bread; but not that he changed it into another substance, but gave that which he took, and brake that which he gave; which was bread, as is evident by the text: for else he should have had two bodies, which to affirm I see no reason,' said William. At the which answer Master Brown was very angry, and took up the Bible and turned the leaves, and then flung it down again in such a fury, that William could not well find the place again whereof they reasoned.

"Then Master Brown said, 'Thou naughty boy! wilt thou not take things as they are, but expound them as thou wilt? Doth not Christ call the bread his body plainly? and thou wilt not believe, that the bread is his body after the consecration. Thou goest about to make Christ a liar!' But William Hunter answered, 'I mean not so, sir; but rather more earnestly to search what the mind of Christ is in that holy institution, wherein he commendeth unto us the remembrance of his death, passion, resurrection, and coming again; saying, 'This do, in the remembrance of me.' And also, though Christ call the bread his body, as he doth also say that he is a vine, a door, &c., yet is not his body turned into bread, no more than he is turned into a door or vine. Wherefore Christ called the bread his body by a figure.'

"At that word Master Brown said, 'Thou art a villain indeed. Wilt thou make Christ a liar yet still?' and was in such a fury with William, and so raged, that William could not speak a word but he crossed him, and scoffed at every word. Wherefore William, seeing him in such a fury, desired him that he would either hear him quietly, and suffer him to answer for himself; or else send him away. To the which Master Brown answered, 'Indeed I will send thee to-morrow to my Lord of London, and he shall have thee under examination:' and thus left off the talk, and made a letter immediately; and sent William Hunter with the constable to Bonner, bishop of London, who received William.

"After that he had read the letter, and the constable returned home again, the bishop caused William to be brought into a chamber, where he began to reason with him in this manner: 'I understand, William Hunter,' quoth he, 'by Master Brown's letter, how that you have had certain communication with the vicar of the Wield, about the blessed sacrament of the altar; and how that ye could agree: whereupon Master Brown sent for thee, to bring thee to the catholic faith, from the which he saith that thou art gone. Howbeit if thou wilt be ruled by me, thou shalt have no harm for any thing that thou hast said or done in this matter.' William answered, saying, 'I am not fallen from the catholic faith of Christ, I am sure; but do believe it, and confess it with all my heart.'

"'Why,' quoth the bishop, 'how sayest thou to the blessed sacrament of the altar? Wilt thou not recant thy saying, which thou confessedst before Master Brown, how that Christ's body is not in the sacrament of the altar, the same that was born of the Virgin Mary?' To the which William answered, saying, 'My Lord, I understand that Master Brown hath certified you of the

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talk which he and I had together, and thereby ye know what I said to him; the which I will not recant, by God's help.'

"Then said the bishop, 'I think thou art ashamed to bear a faggot, and recant openly; but, if thou wilt recant thy sayings, I will promise thee that thou shalt not be put to open shame: but speak the word here now between me and thee, and I will promise thee it shall go no further, and thou shalt go home again without any hurt.' William answered and said, 'My Lord, if you will let me alone, and leave me to my conscience, I will go to my father and dwell with him, or else with my master again; and so, if nobody will disquiet or trouble my conscience, I will keep my conscience to myself.'

"Then said the bishop, 'I am content. so that thou wilt go to the church, and receive, and be shriven; and so continue a good catholic Christian.' No,' quoth William, 'I will not do so for all the good in the world.' 'Then,' quoth the bishop, 'if you will not do so, I will make you sure enough, I warrant you.' 'Well,' quoth William, 'you can do no more than God will permit you.' 'Well,' quoth the bishop, 'wilt thou not recant indeed by no means?' 'No,' quoth William, 'never while I live, God willing.'

"Then the bishop (this talk ended) commanded his men to put William in the stocks of his gatehouse, where he sat two days and nights, only with a crust of brown bread and a cup of water. At the two days' end the bishop came to him, and finding the cup of water and the crust of bread still by him upon the stocks, said to his men, 'Take him out of the stocks, and let him break his fast with you.' Then they led him forth of the stocks, but would not suffer him to eat with them, but called him heretic. And he said, he was as loth to be in their company, as they were to be in his.

"After the breakfast, the bishop sent for William, and demanded whether he would recant or no. But William made him answer, how that he would never recant that which he had confessed before men, as concerning his faith in Christ. Then the bishop said that he was no Christian; but he denied the faith in which he was baptized. But William answered, 'I was baptized in the faith of the Holy Trinity, the which I will not go from, God assisting me with his grace.'

"Then the bishop sent him to the convict prison, and commanded the keeper to lay irons upon him as many as he could bear: and moreover asked him, how old he was; and William said that he was nineteen years old. 'Well,' said the bishop, 'you will be burned ere you be twenty years old, if you will not yield yourself better than you have done yet.' William answered, 'God strengthen me in his truth.' And then he parted, and the bishop allowing him a halfpenny a day to live on, in bread or drink.

"Thus he continued in prison three quarters of a year. In the which time he had been before the bishop five times, besides the time when he was condemned in the consistory in Paul's, the ninth day of February: at the which time I his brother, Robert Hunter, was present, when and where I heard the bishop condemn him, and five others.

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"And then the bishop calling William, asked him if he would recant; and so read to him his examination and confession, as is above rehearsed: and then rehearsed, how that William confessed that he did believe that he received Christ's body spiritually, when he did receive the communion. Dost thou mean,' quoth the bishop, 'that the bread is Christ's body spiritually?' 'William answered, 'I mean not so, but rather when I receive the holy communion rightly and worthily, I do feed upon Christ spiritually, through faith in my soul, and am made partaker of all the benefits which Christ hath brought unto all faithful believers through his precious death, passion, and resurrection: and not, that the bread is his body, either spiritually or corporally.'

"Then said the bishop to William, 'Dost thou not think,' holding up his cap, 'that, for example here of my cap, thou mayest see the squareness and colour of it, and yet that not to be the substance, which thou judgest by the accidents?' William answered, 'If you can separate the accidents from the substance, and show me the substance without the accidents, I could believe.' Then said the bishop, 'Thou wilt not believe that God can do any thing above man's capacity.' 'Yes,' said William, 'I must needs believe that; for daily experience teacheth all men that thing plainly: but our question is not what God can do, but what he will have us to learn in his holy supper.'

"Then the bishop said, 'I always have found thee at this point, and I see no hope in thee to reclaim thee unto the catholic faith, but thou wilt continue a corrupt member:' and then pronounced sentence upon him, how that he should go from that place to Newgate for a time, and so from thence to Brentwood, 'where,' said he, 'thou shalt be burned.'

"Then the bishop called for another, and so when he had condemned them all, he called for William Hunter, and persuaded with him; saying, 'If thou wilt yet recant, I will make thee a freeman in the city, and give thee forty pound in good money to set up thine occupation withal: or I will make thee steward of my house, and set thee in office; for I like thee well. Thou hast wit enough, and I will prefer thee if thou recant: But William answered, 'I thank you for your great offers: notwithstanding, my Lord,' said he, 'if you cannot persuade my conscience with Scriptures, I cannot find in my heart to turn from God for the love of the world; for I count all things worldly but loss and dung, in respect of the love of Christ.'

"Then said the bishop, 'If thou diest in this mind, thou art condemned for ever.' William answered, 'God judgeth righteously, and justifieth them whom man condemneth unjustly.' Thus William and the bishop departed, William and the rest to Newgate, where they remained about a month; who afterward were sent down, William to Brentwood, and the others into divers places of the country. Now when William was come down to Brentwood, which was the Saturday before the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary that followed on the Monday after, William remained till the Tuesday after, because they would not put him to death then, for the holiness of the day.

"In the mean time William's father and mother came to him, and desired heartily of God that he might continue to the end in that good way which he had begun: and his mother said to him, that she was glad that ever she was so happy to bear such a child, which could find in his heart to lose his life for Christ's name's sake.

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"Then William said to his mother, 'For my little pain which I shall suffer, which is but a short braid, Christ hath promised me, mother,' said he, 'a crown of joy: may you not be glad of that, mother?' With that his mother kneeled down on her knees, saying, 'I pray God strengthen thee, my son, to the end. Yea, I think thee as well bestowed as any child that ever I bare.'

"At the which words Master Higbed took her in his arms, saying, 'I rejoyce' (and so said the others) 'to see you in this mind; and you have a good cause to rejoyce.' And his father and mother both said, that they were never of other mind, but prayed for him, that as he had begun to confess Christ before men, he likewise might so continue to the end. William's father said, 'I was afraid of nothing but that my son should have been killed in the prison by hunger and cold; the bishop was so hard to him.' But William confessed, after a month, that his father was charged with his board, that he lacked nothing; but had meat and clothing enough, yea even out of the court, both money, meat, clothes, wood and coals, and all things necessary.

"Thus they continued in their inn, being the Swan in Brentwood, in a parlour, whither resorted many people of the country to see those good men which were there. And many of William's acquaintance came to him, and reasoned with him, and he with them, exhorting them to come away from the abomination of popish superstition and idolatry.

"Thus passing away Saturday, Sunday, and Monday, on Monday at night it happened that William had a dream about two o'clock in the morning, which was this: How that he was at the place where the stake was pitched, where he should be burned, which (as he thought in his dream) was at the town's end where the butts stood; which was so indeed. And also he dreamed that he met with his father as he went to the stake, and also that there was a priest at the stake, who went about to have him recant. To whom he said (as he thought in his dream) how that he bade him, 'Away, false prophet!' and how that he exhorted the people to beware of him, and such as he was: which things came to pass indeed. It happened that William made a noise to himself in his dream, which caused Master Higbed and the others to awake him out of his sleep, to know what he lacked. When he awaked he told them his dream in order, as is said.

"Now when it was day, the sheriff, Master Brocket, called on to set forward to the burning of William Hunter. Then came the sheriff's son to William Hunter, and embraced him in his right arm, saying, 'William! be not afraid of these men which are here present with bows, bills, and weapons, ready prepared to bring you to the place where you shall be burned.' To whom William answered, 'I thank God I am not afraid; for I have cast my count what it will cost me already.' Then the sheriff's son could speak no more to him for weeping.

"Then William Hunter plucked up his gown, and stepped over the parlour groundsel, and went forward cheerfully; the sheriff's servant taking him by one arm, and I his brother by another. And thus going in the way, he met with his father according to his dream, and he spake to his son, weeping and saying, 'God be with thee, son William!' And William said, 'God be with you, good father, and be of good comfort; for I hope we shall meet again when we shall be merry.' His father said, 'I hope so, William; and so departed. So William went to the place where the stake stood, even according to his dream, where all things were very unready. Then William took a wet broom-faggot, and kneeled down thereon, and read the fifty-first Psalm, till he came

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to these words, The sacrifice of God is a contrite spirit; a contrite and a broken heart, O God, thou wilt not despise.

"Then said Master Tyrill of the Beaches, (called William Tyrill,) 'Thou liest,' said he, 'thou readest false; for the words are an humble spirit.' But William said, 'The translation saith, a contrite heart.' 'Yea,' quoth Master Tyrill, 'the translation is false: ye translate books as ye list yourselves, like heretics.' 'Well,' quoth William, there is no great difference in those words.' Then said the sheriff, 'Here is a letter from the queen. If thou wilt recant thou shalt live; if not, thou shalt be burned.' 'No,' quoth William, 'I will not recant, God willing.' Then William rose and went to the stake, and stood upright to it. Then came one Richard Ponde, a bailiff, and made fast the chain about William.

"Then said Master Brown, 'Here is not wood enough to burn a leg of him.' Then said William, 'Good people! pray for me; and make speed and despatch quickly: and pray for me while you see me alive, good people; and I will pray for you likewise.'

"Now,' quoth Master Brown. 'pray for thee! I will pray no more for thee, than I will pray for a dog.' To whom William answered, 'Master Brown, now you have that which you sought for, and I pray God it be not laid to your charge in the last day: howbeit I forgive you.' Then said Master Brown, 'I ask no forgiveness of thee.' 'Well,' said William, 'if God forgive you, I shall not require my blood at your hands.'

"Then said William, 'Son of God, shine upon me;' and immediately the sun in the element shone out of a dark cloud so full in his face, that he was constrained to look another way: whereat the people mused, because it was so dark a little time afore. Then William took up a faggot of broom, and embraced it in his arms.

"Then the priest, which William dreamed of, came to his brother Robert with a popish book to carry to William, that he might recant; which book his brother would not meddle withal. Then William, seeing the priest, and perceiving how he would have showed him the book, said, 'Away, thou false prophet! Beware of them, good people, and come away from their abominations, lest that you be partakers of their plagues.' "Then,' quoth the priest, 'look how thou burnest here, so shalt thou burn in hell.' William answered, 'Thou liest, thou false prophet! Away, thou false prophet, away! '

"Then was there a gentleman which said, 'I pray God have mercy upon his soul.' The people said, 'Amen, Amen.' Immediately fire was made.

"Then William cast his psalter right into his brother's hand, who said, 'William! think on the holy passion of Christ, and be not afraid of death.'

"And William answered, 'I am not afraid.' Then lift he up his hands to heaven, and said, 'Lord, Lord, Lord, receive my spirit;' and, casting down his head again into the smothering smoke, he yielded up his life for the truth, sealing it with his blood to the praise of God.

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"Now, by and by after, Master Brown commanded one old Hunt, to take his brother Robert Hunter, and lay him in the stocks till he returned from the burning of Higbed at Horndon on the Hill, the same day. Which thing rid Hunt did. Then Master Brown (when Robert Hunter came before him) asked if he would do as his brother had done. But Robert Hunter answered, 'If I do as my brother hath done, I shall have as he hath had.' 'Marry,' quoth Master Brown, 'thou mayest be sure of it.'

"Then Master Brown said, 'I marvel that thy brother stood so to his tackling;' and moreover, he asked Robert, if William's master of London were not at his burning. But Robert said, that he was not there; but Master Brown bare him in hand that his master was there, and how that he did see him there: but Robert denied it. Then Master Brown commanded the constable and Robert Hunter to go their ways home, and so had no further talk with them."



William Hunter at the Stake

274. Thomas Causton and Thomas Higbed.

Here followeth the history of Master Causton and Master Higbed, two worthy gentlemen of Essex, who, for their sincere confession of their faith under Bonner, bishop of London, were martyred and burned in Essex, A. D. 1555.



ALTHOUGH the condemnation of Master Causton and Master Higbed followed after the condemnation of those who were condemned with Tomkins and Hunter above mentioned, yet, because the time of their execution was before the burning of the aforesaid four martyrs, forasmuch that they suffered the same day that William Hunter did, which was the twenty-sixth of March, I thought therefore, next after the story of the said William Hunter, following the order of time, here to place the same.

This Master Causton and Master Higbed, two worshipful gentlemen in the county of Essex, the one at Horndon on the Hill, the other of the parish of Thundersby, being zealous and religious in the true service of God; as they could not dissemble with the Lord their God, nor flatter with the world, so in time of blind superstition and wretched idolatry, they could not long lie hid and obscure in such a number of malignant adversaries, accusers, and servants of this world, but at length they were perceived and detected to the aforesaid Edmund Bonner, bishop of London: peradventure not without the same organ which sent up William Hunter, as is above declared. By reason whereof, by commandment they were committed to the officers of Colchester to be safely kept, and with them also a servant of Thomas Causton, who, in this praise of Christian godliness, was nothing inferior to his master.

Bonner, the foresaid bishop, perceiving these two gentlemen to be of worshipful estate, and of great estimation in that country, lest any tumult should thereby arise, came thither himself, accompanied with Master Fecknam and certain others, thinking to reclaim them to his faction and fashion: so that great labour and diligence was taken therein, as well by terrors and threatenings, as by large promises and flattering, and all fair means, to reduce them again to the unity (as they termed it) of the mother church.

In fine, when nothing could prevail to make them assent to their doings, at length they came to this point, that they required certain respite to consult with themselves what was best to do. Which time of deliberation being expired, and they remaining still constant and unmovable in their professed doctrine, and setting out also their confession in writing, the bishop seeing no good to be done in tarrying any longer there, departed thence, and carried them both with him to London; and with them certain other prisoners also, which about the same time in those quarters were apprehended.

It was not long after this, but these prisoners, being at London committed to strait prison, and there attempted sundry ways by the bishop and his chaplains to revoke their opinions: at

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length, when no persuasions would serve, they were brought forth to open examination at the consistory in Paul's, the seventeenth day of February, A. D. 1555; where they were demanded as well by the said bishop, as also by the bishop of Bath, and others, whether they would recant their errors and perverse doctrine, (as they termed it,) and so come to the unity of the popish church. Which when they refused to do, the bishop assigned them likewise the next day to appear again, being the eighteenth of February.

On the which day, among many other things there said and passed, he read unto them severally certain articles, and gave them respite until the next day to answer unto the same; and so committed them again to prison. The copy of which articles hereunder followeth.

"First, That thou Thomas Causton (or Thomas Higbed) hast been and art of the diocese of London, and also of the jurisdiction now of me, Edmund, bishop of London.

"Item, That thou wast in time past, according to the order of the Church of England, baptized and christened.

"Item, That thou hadst godfathers and godmother, according to the said order.

"Item, That the said godfathers and godmother did then promise for thee, and in thy name, the faith and religion that then was used in the realm of England.

"Item, That that faith and religion, which they did profess and make for thee, was accounted and taken to be the faith and religion of the church, and of the Christian people: and so was it in very deed.

"Item, Thou coming to the age of discretion, (that is to say, to the age of fourteen years,) didst not mislike nor disallow that faith, that religion, or promise then used and approved and promised by the said godfathers and godmother, but for a time didst continue in it, as others (taking themselves for Christian people) did likewise.

"Item, That at that time, and also before, it was taken for a doctrine of the church, catholic and true, and every where in Christendom then allowed for catholic and true, and to be the profession of a Christian man, to believe, that in the sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, after the consecration, there was, and is, by the omnipotent power and will of Almighty God, and his word, without any substance of bread and wine there remaining, the true and natural body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ in substance, which was born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered upon the cross, really, truly, and in very deed.

"Item, That at that time thy father and mother, all thine ancestors, all thy kindred, acquaintance, and friends, and thy said godfathers and godmother, did then so believe and think in all the same as the said church did therein believe.

"Item, That thyself hast had no just cause or lawful ground to depart or swerve from the said religion or faith, nor any occasion at all, except thou wilt follow and believe the erroneous

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opinion or belief that hath been (against the common order of the church) brought in by certain disordered persons of late, at the uttermost within these thirty or forty years last past.

"Item, That thou dost know, or credibly hast heard, and dost believe, that Dr. Robert Barnes, John Frith, Thomas Gerrard, Jerome Lassels, Anne Askew, John Hooper, late bishop of Gloucester, Sir Laurence Saunders, priest, John Bradford, Sir John Rogers, priest, Sir Rowland Taylor, priest, Sir John Laurence, priest, William Pygot, Stephen Knight, William Hunter, Thomas Tomkins, and Thomas Hawkes, have been heretofore reputed, taken, and accounted as heretics, and also condemned as heretics, and so pronounced openly and manifestly; specially in holding and believing certain damnable opinions, against the verity of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar, and all the same persons (saving John Bradford, Sir John Laurence, William Pygot, Stephen Knight, William Hunter, Thomas Tomkins, and Thomas Hawkes) have suffered pains of death by fire, for the maintenance and defence of the said opinions and misbelief.

"Item, That thou dost know, or credibly hast heard, and dost believe, that Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury; and Nicholas Ridley, naming himself bishop of London; Robert Ferrar, late bishop of St. David's; and Hugh Latimer, some time bishop of Worcester; have been and are at this present reputed, accounted, and taken as heretics and misbelievers, in maintaining and holding certain damnable opinions against the verity of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar.

"Item, That thou hast commended and praised all the said persons, so erring and believing, (or at the leastwise some of them, secretly, and also openly, taking and believing them to be faithful and catholic people, and their said opinions to be good and true; and the same, to the best and uttermost of thy power, thou hast allowed, maintained, and defended at sundry times.

"Item, That thou, having heard, known, and understood, all the premises thus to be as is aforesaid, hast not regarded all or any part thereof, but, contrary to the same and every part thereof, hast attempted and done; condemning, transgressing, and breaking the promise, faith, religion, order, and custom aforesaid: and hast become and art a heretic and misbeliever in the premises, denying the verity of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar, and obstinately affirming, that the substance of the material bread and wine is there remaining, and that the substance of Christ's body and blood, taken of the Virgin Mary, is not there in the said sacrament really and truly being.

"Item, That all the premises be true, notorious, famous, and manifest; and that upon all the same, there have and be amongst the sad and good people of the city of London, and diocese of the same, in great multitude, commonly and publicly, a common and public fame and opinion, and also in all places where thou hast been, within the said diocese of London."

These articless being given to them in writing by the bishop, the next day following was assigned to them to give up and exhibit their answers unto the same.

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The third day's session upon the examination of Master Causton and Master Higbed.

Upon that day, being the first day of March, the said Thomas Causton and Thomas Higbed, gentlemen, being brought before the bishop in the consistory, there exhibited their answers to the articles aforesaid: the tenor of which answers here followeth.

"To the first, they answer and confess the same to be true.

"To the second, they answer and believe the same to be true.

"To the third, they answer and believe the same to be true.

"To the fourth, they answer and think the same to be true.

"To the fifth, until this clause, 'and so was it in very deed,' they answer and believe the same to be true. And unto that clause, 'and so was it in very deed,' they answer negatively, and believe that it was not in very deed.

"To the sixth, seventh, and eighth, they answer and believe the same to be true.

"To the ninth, they answer and say, that they think they have a just and lawful cause and ground to swerve and go from the said faith and religion, because they have now read more Scripture, than either themselves, or their parents and kinsfolk, godfathers or godmothers, have read or seen heretofore in that behalf.

"To the tenth, they answer, say, and believe, that the said persons articulate, have been named, taken, and counted for heretics, and so condemned for heretics: yet about three years past, they were taken for good Christian persons. And forasmuch as these respondents did ever hear them preach concerning the sacrament of the altar, they say that they preached well, in that they said and preached that Christ is not present really and truly in the sacrament; but that there is remaining the substance of bread and wine.

"To the eleventh, they answer and say, that howsoever other folks do repute and take the said persons articulate, yet these respondents themselves did never, nor yet do, so account and take them. And further they say, that in case the said persons articulate, named in this article, have preached that in the sacrament of the altar is very material wine, and not the substance of Christ's body and blood under the forms of bread and wine, then they preached well and truly, and these respondents themselves do so believe.

"To the twelfth, they answer and say, that whereas other folk have dispraised the said persons articulate, and disallowed their opinions, these respondents (for ought that they at any time have heard) did like and allow the said persons, and their sayings.

"To the thirteenth, they answer and say, that they have not broken or condemned any promise made by their godfathers and godmothers for them at their baptism, and that they are no heretics or misbelievers, in that they believe that there remaineth only bread and wine in the

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sacrament of the altar, and that Christ's natural body is not there, but in heaven: for they say, that the Scriptures so teach them.

"To the fourteenth, they answer and believe, that the premises before by them confessed be true, notorious, and manifest."

After these answers exhibited and perused, then the bishop, speaking unto them after this sort, beginneth first (as he did ever before) with Thomas Causton. "Because ye shall not be suddenly trapped, and that men shall not say that I go about to seek snares to put you away; I have hitherto respited you, that you should weigh and consider with yourself your state and condition, and that you should, while ye have time and space, acknowledge the truth, and return to the unity of the catholic church." Then the bishop, reading their former articles and answers to the same, asked them if they would recant: which when they denied, they were again dismissed, and commanded to appear the Wednesday next after, at two o'clock at afternoon, there to receive their definitive sentence against them: which thing (as it seemeth) was yet deferred.

Another examination of Master Causton and Master Higbed.

The next Friday, being the eighth of March, the said Thomas Causton was first called to examination before the bishop, Fecknam, and Dr. Stempe, being in his palace, and there had read unto him his aforesaid articles with his answers thereunto; and after certain exhortations to recant his former profession, and to be conformable to the unity of their church, they promised him, so doing, willingly to receive him again thereunto. To whom he answered, "You go about to catch us in snares and gins. But mark, by what measure ye measure us, look you to be measured with the same again at God's hands." The bishop still persuaded with him to recant. To whom he answered, "No, I will not abjure. Ye said that the bishops that were lately burned, be heretics: but I pray God make me such a heretic as they were."

The bishop then leaving Master Causton, calleth for Master Higbed; using with him the like persuasions that he did with the other: but he answered, "I will not abjure; for I have been of this mind and opinion that I am now, these sixteen years; and do what ye can, ye shall do no more than God will permit you to do; and with what measure you measure us, look for the same again at God's hands."

Then Fecknam asked him his opinion in the sacrament of the altar. To whom he answered. "I do not believe that Christ is in the sacrament as ye will have him, which is of man's making."

Both their answers thus severally made, they were again commanded to depart for that time. and to appear the next day in the consistory at Paul's, between the hours of one and three o'clock at afternoon.

The last appearance of Master Causton and Master Higbed before Bonner.

At which day and hour, being the ninth day of March, they were both brought thither; where the bishop caused Master Thomas Causton's articles and answers first to be read openly,

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and after persuaded with him to recant and abjure his heretical opinions, and to come home now, at the last, to their mother the catholic church, and save himself.

But Master Thomas Causton answered again, and said, "No, I will not abjure; for I came not hither for that purpose:" and therewithal did exhibit in writing unto the bishop (as well in his own name, as also in Thomas Higbed's name) a confession of their faith, to the which they would stand; and required leave to read the same: which, after great suit, was obtained. And so he read it openly in the hearing of the people, as followeth.

"First, we believe and profess in baptism, to forsake the devil and all his works and pomps, and the vanities of the wicked world, with all the sinful lusts of the flesh.

"2. We believe all the articles of our Christian faith.

"3. We believe, that we are bound to keep God's holy will and commandments, and to walk in the same all the days of our life.

"4. We believe, that there is contained in the Lord's prayer all things necessary both for body and soul; and that we are taught thereby to pray to our heavenly Father, and no other saint or angel.

"5. We believe, that there is a catholic church, even the communion of saints, built upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles, as St. Paul saith, Christ being the head corner-stone. For the which church Christ gave himself, to make it to himself a glorious congregation, without fault in his sight.

"6. We believe, that this church of herself, and by her own merits, is sinful, and must needs say, Father! forgive us our sins: but, through Christ and his merits, she is freely forgiven; for he in his own person, saith St. Paul, hath purged her sins, and made her faultless in his sight: Besides whom, there is no Saviour, saith the prophet: Neither is there salvation, saith St. Peter, in any other name.

"7. We believe, as he is our only Saviour, so he is our only Mediator. For the apostle St. Paul saith, There is one God, one Mediator between God and man, even the man Jesus Christ. Wherefore, seeing none hath this name, God and man, but Jesus Christ, therefore there is no Mediator but Jesus Christ.

"8. We believe, that this church of Christ is and hath been persecuted, by the words of Christ, saying, As they have persecuted me, so shall they persecute you: for the disciple is not above his master. For it is not only given unto you to believe in Christ, saith St. Paul, but also to suffer for his sake. For all that will live godly in Christ Jesus, must suffer persecution.

"9. We believe that the church of Christ teacheth the word of God truly and sincerely, putting nothing to, nor taking any thing from: and also doth minister the sacraments according to the primitive church.

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"10. We believe, that this church of Christ suffereth all men to read the Scriptures, according to Christ's commandment, saying, Search the Scriptures; for they testify of me. We read also out of the Acts, that when St. Paul preached, the audience daily searched the Scriptures, whether he preached truly or no. Also the prophet David teacheth all men to pray with understanding: For how shall the unlearned, saith St. Paul, say Amen, at the giving of thanks, when they understand not what is said? And what is more allowed than true faith, which, St. Paul saith, cometh by hearing of the word of God?

"11. We believe, that the church of Christ teacheth, that God ought to be worshipped according to his word, and not after the doctrine of men: For in vain, saith Christ, ye worship me, teaching nothing but the doctrine of men.

"Also we are commanded of God by his prophet, saying, Walk not in the traditions and precepts of your elders: but walk, saith he, in my precepts: do that I command you: put nothing thereunto, neither take any thing from it. Likewise saith Christ, You shall forsake father and mother, and follow me. Whereby we learn, that if our elders teach otherwise than God commanded, in that point we must forsake them.

"12. We believe, that the supper of the Lord ought not to be altered and changed, forasmuch as Christ himself, being the wisdom of the Father, did institute it. For it is written, Cursed is he that changeth my ordinances, and departeth from my commandments, or taketh any thing from them.

"13. Now, we find by the Scriptures, that this holy supper is sore abused. First, in that it is given in one kind, where Christ gave it in both. Secondly, in that it is made a private mass, whereas Christ made it a communion: for he gave it not to one alone, but to all the apostles in the name of the whole church. Thirdly, in that it is made a sacrifice for the quick and the dead; whereas Christ ordained it for a remembrance of the everlasting sacrifice, which was his own body offered upon the altar of the cross once for all, as the holy apostle saith, Even the full and perfect price of our redemption: and where there is remission of sin, saith he, there is no more sacrifice for sin. Fourthly, in that it is worshipped contrary to the commandment, saying, Thou shalt worship nothing that is made with hands. Fifthly, in that it is given in an unknown tongue, whereby the people are ignorant of the right use thereof, how Christ died for our sins, and rose again for our justification, by whom we be set at peace with God, and received to his favour and mercy by his promise, whereof this sacrament is a sure seal and witness. Besides this, it is hanged up, and shut in a box; yea, many times so long, that worms breed in it, and so it putrifieth: whereby the rude people have an occasion to speak irreverently thereof, which otherwise would speak reverently. Therefore they that thus abuse it, bring up the slander, and not we which pray daily to God to restore it to the right use, according to Christ's institution.

"14. Now concerning Christ's words, This is my body, we deny them not; but we say, that the mind of Christ in them must be searched out by other open Scriptures, whereby we may come to the spiritual understanding of them, which shall be most to the glory of God: for, as the holy apostle saith, There is no Scripture that hath any private interpretation. Besides this, the Scriptures are full of the like figurative speeches: as for example: Christ saith, This cup is the

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new testament in my blood. The rock is Christ, saith St. Paul. Whosoever receiveth a child in my name, saith our Saviour Jesus Christ, receiveth me.

"Which sentences must not be understood after the letter, lest we do err, as the Capernaïtes did, which thought that Christ's body should have been eaten with their teeth, when he spake of the eating thereof. Unto whom Christ said, Such a fleshly eating of my body profiteth nothing: it is the Spirit, saith our Saviour Jesus Christ, that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing: for my words are spirit and life.

"Thus we see that Christ's words must be understood spiritually, and not literally. Therefore he that cometh to this worthy supper of the Lord, must not prepare his jaw, but his heart; neither tooth nor belly; but, 'Believe,' saith St. Augustine, 'and thou hast eaten it:' so that we must bring with us a spiritual hunger, and, as the apostle saith, Try and examine ourselves, whether our conscience do testify unto us, that we do truly believe in Christ, according to the Scriptures; whereof if we be truly certified, being new-born from our old conversation in heart, mind, will, and deed, then may we boldly, with this marriage-garment of our faith, come to the feast.

"15. In consideration whereof we have invincible Scriptures, as of Christ himself: This do in remembrance of me. And St. Paul: As often, saith he, as ye eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye shall remember the Lord's death until he come. Here is no change, but bread still. And St. Luke affirmeth the same. Also Christ hath made a just promise, saying, Me you shall not have always with you, I leave the world, and go to my Father: for if I should not depart, the Comforter which I will send, cannot come unto you. So, according to his promise, he is ascended as the evangelists testify. Also St. Peter saith, That heaven shall keep him until the last day also.

"16. Now as touching his omnipotent power, we confess and say with St. Augustine, that Christ is both God and man. In that he is God, he is every where; but in that he is man he is in heaven, and can occupy but one place. Whereunto the Scriptures do agree: for his body was not in all places at once when he was here; for it was not in the grave when the woman sought it, as the angel saith: neither was it at Bethany, where Lazarus died, by Christ's own words, saying, I am glad I was not there. And thus we conclude with the Scriptures, that Christ is in his holy supper sacramentally and spiritually in all them that worthily receive it, and corporally in heaven, both God and man.

"And further, we make here our protestation before God, (whom we call to record in this matter,) that this which we have said, is neither stubbornness, nor wilful mind, as some judge of us; but even of very conscience, truly (we trust) grounded on God's holy word. For before we took this matter in hand, we besought God from the bottom of our hearts, that we might do nothing contrary to his holy and blessed word. And in that he hath thus showed his power in our weakness, we cannot worthily praise him, unto whom we give hearty thanks, through Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen."

When he had thus delivered and read their confession, the bishop, still persisting sometimes in fair promises, sometimes threatening to pronounce judgment, asked them whether they would stand to this their confession and other answers? To whom Causton said, "Yea, we

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will stand to our answers written with our hands, and to our belief therein contained." After which answer the bishop began to pronounce sentence against him.

Then he said, that it was much rashness, and without all love and mercy, to give judgment without answering to their confession by the truth of God's word; whereunto they submitted themselves most willingly. "And therefore I," quoth Causton, "because I cannot have justice at your hand, but that ye will thus rashly condemn me, do appeal from you to my Lord Cardinal."

Then Dr. Smith said, that he would answer their confession. But the bishop (not suffering him to speak) willed Harpsfield to say his mind, for the stay of the people; who, taking their confession in his hand, neither touched nor answered one sentence thereof. Which done, the bishop pronounced sentence, first against the said Thomas Causton; and then, calling Thomas Higbed, caused his articles and answers likewise to be read. In the reading whereof Higbed said, "Ye speak blasphemy against Christ's passion, and ye go about to trap us with your subtleties and snares. And though my father and mother, and other my kinsfolk, did believe as you say, yet they were deceived in so believing. And further, whereas you say, that my Lord, named Cranmer, (late archbishop of Canterbury,) and others specified in the said articles, be heretics; I do wish that I were such a heretic as they were, and be." Then the bishop asked him again, Whether he would turn from his error, and come to the unity of their church? To whom he said, "No; I would ye should recant: for I am in the truth, and you in error."

"Well," quoth the bishop, "if ye will return, I will gladly receive you." "No," said Higbed, "I will not return as you will have me, to believe in the sacrament of the altar, your God." Whereupon the bishop proceeded, and gave judgment upon him, as he had done before upon Thomas Causton.

When all this was thus ended, they were both delivered to the sheriffs, and so by them sent to Newgate, where they remained by the space of fourteen days, praised be God, not so much in afflictions as in consolations. For the increase whereof they earnestly desired all their good brethren and sisters in Christ to pray, that God, for his Son's sake, would go forth with that great mercy, which already he had begun in them, so that they might persevere unto the end, to the praise of the eternal God, and comfort of all their brethren.

These fourteen days (after the condemnation) once expired, they were, the twenty-third day of this month of March, fetched from Newgate at four o'clock in the morning, and so led through the city to Aldgate, where they were delivered unto the sheriff of Essex, and there, being fast bound in a cart, were shortly after brought to their several appointed places of burning; that is to say, Thomas Higbed to Horndon on the Hill, and Thomas Causton to Raleigh, (both in the county of Essex,) where they did most constantly, the twenty-sixth day of the same month, seal this their faith with shedding of their blood by most cruel fire, to the glory of God, and great rejoicing of the godly. At the burning of which Master Higbed, Justice Brown was also present, as is above specified, and divers gentlemen in the shire were commanded to be present, for fear, belike, lest they should be taken from them.

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And thus much touching the apprehension, examination, confession, condemnation, and burning, of these two godly and constant martyrs of God.

275. William Pygot, Stephen Knight, and John Laurence

In the story before of Thomas Tomkins and his fellows, mention was made of six who were examined and condemned together, by Bishop Bonner, the ninth day of February. of the which six condemned persons, two (which were Tomkins and William Hunter, as ye heard) were executed, the one upon the sixteenth of March, and the other upon the twenty-sixth day of March. Other three, to wit, William Pygot, and Stephen Knight, suffered upon the twenty-eighth day, and John Laurence the twenty-ninth of the said month of March.

Touching the which three martyrs, (now something to say of their examinations,) it was first demanded of them, what their opinion was of the sacrament of the altar. Whereunto they severally answered, and also subscribed, that in the sacrament of the altar, under forms of bread and wine, there is not the very substance of the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, but a special partaking of the body and blood of Christ; the very body and blood of Christ being only in heaven, and no where else. This answer thus made, the bishop caused certain articles to be read unto them, tending to the same effect, as did the articles before of Tomkins and of Master Causton; the tenor whereof here followeth.

"Whether do you think, and stedfastly believe, that it is a catholic, faithful, Christian, and true doctrine, to teach, preach, and say, that in the sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, there is, without any substance of bread and wine there remaining, by the omnipotent power of Almighty God, and his holy word, really, truly, and in very deed, the true and natural body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, the selfsame in substance (though not in outward form and appearance) which was born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered upon the cross, yea, or nay?

"Whether do you think, and stedfastly believe, that your parents, kinsfolk, friends, and acquaintance, here in this present realm of England, before your birth a great while, and also after your birth, professing and believing the said doctrine and faith concerning the said sacrament of the altar, had a true Christian faith, and were faithful and true Christian people, or no?

"Whether do you think, and stedfastly believe, that your godfathers and godmother, professing and believing the said doctrine and faith concerning the said sacrament of the altar, had a true Christian faith, and were faithful and true Christian people, or no?

"Whether do you think, and stedfastly believe, that your own self, in times past, being of the age of fourteen years and above, did think and believe concerning the said sacrament of the altar in all points, as your said parents, kinsfolks, friends, acquaintance, godfathers, and godmother, did then think and believe them, or no?

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"Whether do you think, and stedfastly believe, that our sovereigns the king and the queen of this realm of England, and all the nobility, clergy, and laity of this realm, professing and believing the said doctrine and faith, as other Christian realms do, concerning the said sacrament of the altar, have a true Christian faith, and believe as the catholic and true church of Christ hath always believed, preached, and taught, or no?

"Whether do you think, and stedfastly believe, that our Saviour Christ and his Holy Spirit hath been, is, and shall be with his catholic church, even to the world's end, governing and ruling the same in all things, especially in the necessary points of Christian religion, not suffering the same to err, or to be deceived therein?

"Whether is it true, that you being suspected, or infamed to be culpable and faulty in speaking against the sacrament of the altar, and against the very true presence of Christ's natural body, and the substance thereof in the said sacrament; and thereupon called before me upon complaint made to me against you; have not been a good space in my house, having freely meat and drink, and also divers times instructed and informed, as well by one being our ordinary, as also by my chaplains and divers other learned men, some whereof were bishops, some deans, and some archdeacons, and every one of them learned in divinity, and minding well unto you, and desiring the safeguard of your soul, and that you should follow and believe the doctrine of the catholic church, as afore, concerning the said sacrament of the altar; and whether you did not at all times since your said coming to me, utterly refuse to follow and believe the said doctrine concerning the said sacrament?

"Whether can you now find in your heart and conscience to conform yourself in all points to the said faith and catholic church concerning the said sacrament of the altar, faithfully, truly, and plainly, without any dissimulation, believing therein as our said sovereigns, with the nobility, clergy, and laity of this realm, and other Christian realms, and other persons aforesaid, and also the said catholic church, have and do believe in that behalf?

"In case you so cannot, what ground have you to maintain your opinion, and who is of the same opinion with you? and what conference have you had therein with any? what comfort and what relief have you had therein by any of them, and what are their names and surnames, and their dwelling-places?

Their answers to these articles were not much discrepant from Tomkins, and other like martyrs above mentioned, as here followeth to be seen.

"To the first article, they believe, that the contents of this article are not agreeable to Scripture.

"To the second, they answer and believe, that their parents, and others expressed in the said article, and so believing as is contained in the same, were deceived.

"To the third they answer, that they so believed; but they were deceived therein, as they now believe.

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"To the fourth they say, that they have heretofore believed as is contained in the said article; but now they do not so believe.

"To fifth they say, that if they so believe, they are deceived.

"To the sixth, they believe the same to be true.

"To the seventh they answer, and believe the contents of the same to be true.

"To the eighth they answer, that they can no whit conform themselves to the faith and doctrine contained and specified in this article, until it be proved by Scripture.

"To the ninth they say, that they have no ground to maintain their said opinions, but the truth; which (as they said) hath been persuaded by learned men, as Dr. Taylor of Hadley, and such others."

These answers being made and exhibited, they were commanded to appear again the next day, at eight o'clock in the morning, and, in the mean while, to bethink themselves what they would do.

Another appearance of Pygot, Knight, and Laurence before Bonner.

The next day in the morning, being the ninth of February, before their open appearance, the bishop sent for William Pygot and Stephen Knight into his great chamber in his palace, where he persuaded with them to recant, and deny their former profession. Who answered, that they were not persuaded in their consciences to return and abjure their opinions, whereunto they had subscribed. Within awhile after, they were all three (with Thomas Tomkins and William Hunter aforesaid) brought openly into the consistory, the ninth day of February aforesaid, and there had the same articles propounded unto them, which were before propounded unto the aforesaid Thomas Tomkins, (as appeareth in the discourse of his history,) and thereto also subscribed these words, "I do so believe."

The bishop also used certain talk unto John Laurence only; whereunto he answered in this manner: that he was a priest, and was consecrated and made a priest about eighteen years past; and that he was some time a Black Friar professed; that also he was assured unto a maid, whom he intended to have married.

And being again demanded his opinion upon the sacrament, he said, that it was a remembrance of Christ's body, and that many have been deceived in believing the true body of Christ to be in the sacrament of the altar: and that all such as do not believe as he doth, do err.— After this talk and other fair words and threatenings, they were all of them commanded to appear again at afternoon.

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The third and last appearance of the aforesaid prisoners.

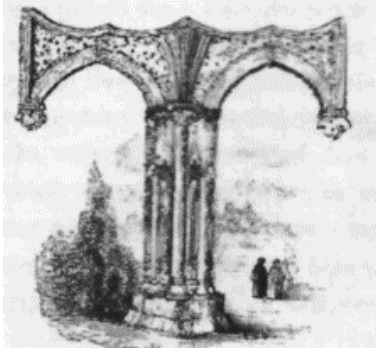
At the which hour they came thither again, and there, after the accustomed manner, were exhorted to recant and revoke their doctrine, and receive the faith. To the which they constantly answered they would not, but would stick to that faith that they had declared and subscribed unto; for that they did believe that it was no error which they believed, but that the contrary thereof was very heresy.

When the bishop saw that neither his fair flatterings, nor yet his cruel threatenings, would prevail, he gave them severally their judgments. And because John Laurence had been one of their anointed priests, he was by the bishop there (according to their order) solemnly degraded, the manner whereof you may see in the history of Master Hooper afore passed.

Their sentence of condemnation and this degradation once ended, they were committed unto the custody of the sheriffs of London, who sent them unto Newgate, where they remained with joy together until they were carried down into Essex, and there, the twenty-eighth day of March, the said William Pygot was burned at Braintree; and Stephen Knight at Maldon, who, at the stake, kneeling upon the ground, said this prayer which here followeth.

"O Lord Jesus Christ! for whose love I leave willingly this life, and desire rather the bitter death of thy cross, with the loss of all earthly things, than to abide the blasphemy of thy most holy name, or to obey men in breaking thy holy commandment: thou seest, O Lord, that whereas I might live in worldly wealth to worship a false god, and honour thine enemy, I choose rather the torment of the body and the loss of this my life, and have counted all things but vile, dust, and dung, that I might win thee; which death is dearer unto me, than thousands of gold and silver. Such love, O Lord, hast thou laid up in my breast, that I hunger for thee, as the deer that is wounded desireth the soil. Send thy holy Comforter, O Lord, to aid, comfort, and strengthen this weak piece of earth, which is empty of all strength of itself. Thou rememberest, O Lord, that I am but dust, and able to do nothing that is good: therefore, O Lord, as of thine accustomed goodness and love thou hast bidden me to this banquet, and accounted me worthy to drink of thine own cup amongst thine elect; even so give me strength, O Lord, against this thine element, which as to my sight it is most irksome and terrible, so to my mind it may, at thy commandment, (as an obedient servant,) be sweet and pleasant; that, through the strength of thy Holy Spirit, I may pass through the rage of this fire into thy bosom, according to thy promise, and for this mortal receive an immortal, and for this corruptible put on incorruption. Accept this burnt sacrifice and offering, O Lord, not for the sacrifice, but for thy dear Son's sake my Saviour, for whose testimony I offer this free-will offering with all my heart and with all my soul. O heavenly Father! forgive me my sins, as I forgive all the world. O sweet Son of God my Saviour! spread thy wings over me. O blessed and Holy Ghost! through whose merciful inspiration I am come hither, conduct me into everlasting life. Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit! Amen."

The death and martyrdom of John Laurence, priest

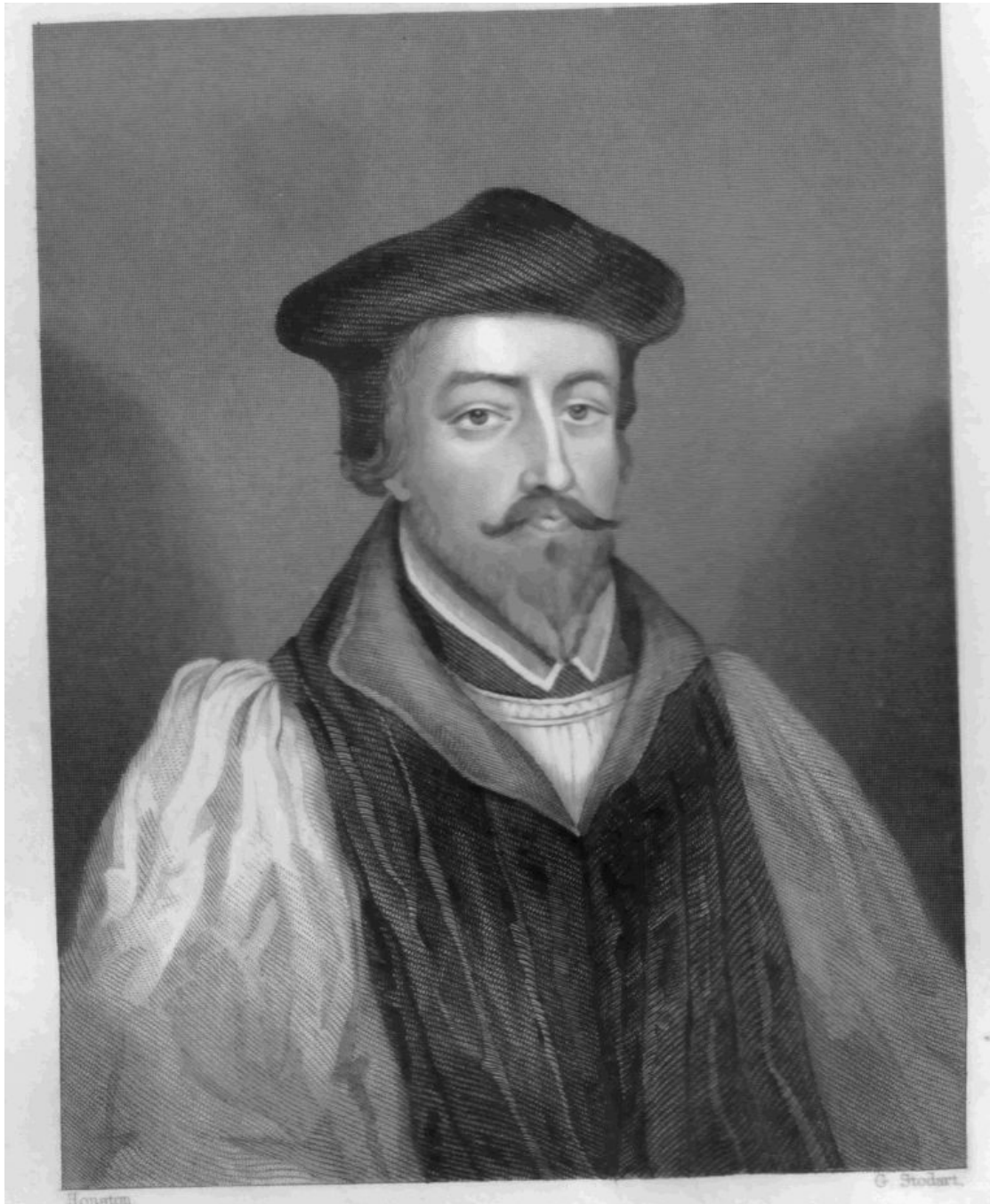


HE next day, being the twenty-ninth of this month, the said John Laurence was brought to Colchester, and there, being not able to go, (for that as well his legs were sore worn with heavy irons in prison, as also his body weakened with evil keeping,) was borne to the fire in a chair, and, so sitting, was in his constant faith consumed with fire.

At the burning of this Laurence, he, sitting in the fire, the young children came about the fire, and cried, as well as young children could speak, saying, "Lord, strengthen thy servant, and keep thy promise; Lord, strengthen thy servant, and keep thy promise"

which thing, as it is rare, so it is no small manifestation of the glory of God, who wrought this in the hearts of these little ones; nor yet a little commendation to their parents, who, from their youth, brought them up in the knowledge of God and his truth.

276. Robert Ferrar



Bishop Ferrar

The history of Dr. Robert Ferrar, bishop of St. David's in Wales, who most constantly gave his life for the testimony of the truth, March the thirtieth, A. D. 1555.



THE day after Laurence's death, which was the thirtieth of the month of March, followed the worthy and constant martyrdom of the bishop of St. David's in Wales, called Robert Ferrar, who was the next bishop in this catalogue of Christian martyrs, that suffered after Master Hooper. This aforesaid Ferrar, by the favour and good will of the lord protector, was first called and promoted to that dignity. This man I may well call twice a martyr, not only for the cruel death of the fire, which he suffered most constantly in the days of Queen Mary, unto the shedding of his blood, but also for divers other injuries and molestations in King Edward's time, which he no less firmly than unworthily sustained at the

hands of his enemies, after the fall of the duke of Somerset. of these his vexations and troubles, with the wrangling articles and informations laid against him, to the number of fifty-six, and of the malice conceived against him by certain covetous canons of the church of Caermarthen, and what were the proceedings of both parts, as well of the innocent, as of the crafty adversaries, and what were their names, in their articles against him, in order here followeth.

George Constantine; David Walter, his servant; Thomas Young, chanter of the cathedral church, who was afterward archbishop of York; Rowland Meyrike, doctor of law, who was afterward bishop of Bangor; Thomas Lee, and Hugh Rawlins, &c.

Through the procurement and instance of these his adversaries, joining and confederating together, one Hugh Rawlins, priest, and Thomas Lee, brother-in-law to the said George Constantine, did exhibit to the king's most honourable council certain articles and informations, conceived and devised by the persons before named, to the intent to blemish the bishop's credit, and utterly (as they thought and made their boast) to pull him from his bishopric, and to bring him in a *præmunire*.

After answers exhibited by the virtuous and godly bishop against the quarrelling and frivolous articles of his foresaid adversaries, to wit, Hugh Rawlins and Thomas Lee; then came in for witness, upon the said articles and informations, George Constantine, and the chanter of St. David's: against whom the bishop laid first exceptions, then also exhibited matter justificatory.

During all this time of the examination of the witnesses, the said bishop was stayed at London, upon the allegation of the said adversaries; which was, that if the said bishop should depart into his diocese, he would let them of their proofs.

And at the return of their commission it was signified unto the council what a great number of witnesses they had examined, viz. sixscore and seven; which sounded very heinous in the council's ears.

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And about three weeks after, publication of their witnesses was granted; and after that it was a fortnight ere the bishop could get a copy written of their depositions, because the book thereof is so huge and monstrous.

Then the bishop desired time, first, to inquire of what condition the persons were, that had witnessed against him, and to make exceptions and matters to justify direct contrary, and to have a commission for the proof thereof; which was then granted. And now it is objected, that the bishop was appointed so to travail with the expedition of his matter, that he should have sued out his commission, and have made return thereof at All-Hallowtide last past; but there was no such decree put in writing. And it was not possible for the bishop to do it in so short a time, these causes considered which he could not avoid, as followeth.

First, It was the latter end of July ere he came home to St. David's where he began his visitation, which before was appointed.

Secondly, He was by force of law constrained to answer at the bar daily, during all the time of the great sessions at Caermarthen, in defence of his just cause against the pretended matter of *præmunire*, which his adversaries of mere malice have procured against him.

Thirdly, The said adversaries, to molest him further, did privily pack a quest of ignorant persons of no reputation, and indicted him upon the words of Rawlins' information, as appeareth by a copy of the indictment; intending thereby to make the matter sound more heinous; notwithstanding that the same cause dependeth before the king's high council undetermined.

Fourthly, He was appointed by the commissioners, before his departure from London, to pay two hundred pounds (which was arrearages) into the court of First-fruits and Tenth, at Bartholomew-day then next following; which payment he made accordingly, notwithstanding that his adversaries wrought means to have made him break his day; namely, one Edward Harbert, gentleman, who hath a parsonage of his to farm, kept back his rent to the very last day, because that money should not help to serve his turn; and so, by crafty cavillation, detaineth it still in his hand with a year's rent and an half more: for the said Edward Harbert is an adherent of the said bishop's adversaries.

Fifthly, The book of their depositions is so great, that it asketh a long time to peruse; and also the greatest part of their witnesses were utterly unknown of the bishop and all his: and also dwelling in so many sundry places of the diocese, among the mountains and elsewhere, scarcely within the circuit of two hundred miles.

Item, Another great sessions was holden at Caermarthen in the month of October last, during which time he was attendant there, as is aforesaid. All which causes considered, being also in the time of his ordinary visitation, which he did execute himself, he could not make ready his exceptions in shorter time.

The said bishop despatched his man towards London the twenty-third day of October, who ever since hath been and is attendant in the same suit, for the obtaining the commission for proof of this matter against his adversaries.

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And thus you have heard the first trouble of this blessed martyr of the Lord in King Edward's days, with the whole discourse thereof; which we thought the rather here to express, to give other good bishops warning to be more circumspect, whom they should trust and have about them. Briefly, in few words to conclude this process, Bishop Ferrar, partly upon the importunate suit of his adversaries, partly upon the sinister and unfortunate fall of the good duke of Somerset, by whom he had been before promoted and maintained, having but small favour showed, was detained in prison till the death of King Edward, and the coming in of Queen Mary and popish religion, whereby a new trouble rose upon him, being now accused and examined for his faith and doctrine: the process of which his trouble here likewise followeth.

After that the foresaid Master Ferrar, bishop of St. David's, had been long detained in custody under sureties, in the reign of King Edward, not for any just cause for his part deserved, but by reason that he had been promoted by the duke of Somerset; and now after his fall he found fewer friends to support him against such as hunted after his bishopric, at length, after the decease of King Edward, by the coming in of Queen Mary the state of religion began to be changed and altered: whereby a new trouble rose upon him, being now accused and examined, not for any matter of *præmunire*, but for his faith and doctrine. Whereupon, he was called before the bishop of Winchester, with Master Hooper, Master Rogers, Master Bradford, Master Saunders, and others aforesaid, the fourth of February. On the which day he should also with them have been condemned; but, because leisure or list did not so well then serve the bishop, his condemnation was deferred, and he sent to prison again, where he continued till the fourteenth day of the said month of February. What his examinations and answers were, before the said bishop of Winchester, so much as remained and came to our hands I have here annexed in manner as followeth. At his first coming and kneeling before my Lord Chancellor, the bishop of Durham, and the bishop of Worcester, who sat at the table, and Master Rochester, Master Southwell, Master Bourne, and others, standing at the table's end, the lord chancellor said unto him on this sort:

Winchester.—"Now, sir, have you heard how the world goeth here?"

Ferrar.—"If it like your Honour. I know not."

Winchester.—"What say you? Do you not know things abroad, notwithstanding you are a prisoner?"

Ferrar.—"No, my Lord, I know not."

Winchester.—"Lo, what a froward fellow is this?"

Ferrar.—"If it please your Lordship, how should I know any thing abroad, being a prisoner?"

Winchester.—"Have you not heard of the coming in of the lord cardinal?"

Ferrar.—"I know not my Lord Cardinal; but I heard that a cardinal was come in: but I did not believe it, and I believe it not yet."

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Worcester.—"I pray your Lordship tell him yourself, that he may know what is done."

Winchester.—"The queen's Majesty and the parliament have restored religion into the same state it was in at the beginning of the reign of King Henry the Eighth. Ye are in the queen's debt; and her Majesty will be good unto you, if you will return to the catholic church,"

Ferrar.—"In what state I am concerning my debts to the queen's Majesty, in the court of exchequer, my Lord Treasurer knoweth: and the last time that I was before your Honour, and the first time also, I showed you that I had made an oath never to consent or agree, that the bishop of Rome should have any power or jurisdiction within this realm: and further, I need not rehearse to your Lordship; you know it well enough."

Bourne.—"You were once abjured for heresy in Oxford,"

Ferrar.—"That was I not."

Bourne.—"You were"

Ferrar.—"I was never; it is not true,"

Bourne.—"You went from St. David's to Scotland."

Ferrar.—"That I did not."

Bourne.—"You did."

Ferrar.—"That did I never; but I went from York into Scotland."

Bourne.—"Ah! so said I: you went with Barlow."

Ferrar.—"That is true; but never from St. David's."

Bourne.—"You carried books out of Oxford, to the archbishop of York, Edward Lee."

Ferrar.—"That did I not."

Bourne.—"You did."

Ferrar.—"I did not; but I carried old books from St. Oswald's to the archbishop of York."

Bourne.—"You supplanted your master."

Ferrar.—"That did I never in my life."

Bourne.—"By my faith you did."

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Ferrar.—"Forsooth I did not, never in my life; but did shield and save my master from danger; and that I obtained of King Henry the Eighth, for my true service, I thank God there-for."

"My Lord," saith Master Bourne to my Lord Chancellor, "he hath an ill name in Wales as ever had any."

Ferrar.—"That is not so: whosoever saith so, they shall never be able to prove it."

Bourne.—"He hath deceived the queen in divers sums of money."

Ferrar.—"That is utterly untrue: I never deceived king or queen of one penny in my life; and you shall never be able to prove that you say."

Winchester.—"Thou art a false knave."

Then Ferrar stood up unbidden, (for all that while he kneeled,) and said, "No, my Lord, I am a true man; I thank God for it! I was born under King Henry the Seventh; I served King Henry the Eighth and King Edward the Sixth truly; and have served the queen's Majesty that now is, truly, with my poor heart and word: more I could not do; and I was never false, nor shall be, by the grace of God."

Winchester.—"How sayest thou; wilt thou be reformable?"

Ferrar.—"My Lord, if it like your Honour, I have made an oath to God, and to King Henry the Eighth, and also to King Edward, and in that to the queen's Majesty, the which I can never break while I live, to die for it."

Durham.—"You had made another oath before."

Ferrar.—"No, my Lord; I never made another oath before."

Durham.—"You made a vow."

Ferrar.—"That did I not."

Winchester.—"You made a profession to live without a wife."

Ferrar.—"No, my Lord, if it like your Honour: that did I never. I made a profession to live chaste—not without a wife."

Worcester,— "You were sworn to him that was master of your house."

Ferrar.—"That was I never."

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Winchester.—"Well, you are a froward knave: we will have no more to do with you, seeing that you will not come; we will be short with you, and that you shall know within this seven-night."

Ferrar.—"I am as it pleaseth your Honour to call me; but I cannot break my oath which your Lordship yourself made before me, and gave in example, the which confirmed my conscience. Then I can never break that oath whilst I live, to die for it."

Durham.—"Well! he standeth upon his oath: call another."

My Lord Chancellor then did ring a little bell, and Master Ferrar said, "I pray God save the king and queen's Majesties long to continue in honour to God's glory and their comforts, and the comfort of the whole realm; and I pray God save all your Honours;" and so departed.

After these examinations thus ended, Bishop Ferrar so remained in prison uncondemned. till the fourteenth day (as is aforesaid) of February; and then was sent down into Wales, there to receive sentence of condemnation. Who then upon the twenty-sixth of February, in the church of Caermarthen, being brought by Griffith Leyson, esquire, sheriff of the county of Caermarthen. was there personally presented before Henry, bishop of St. David's, and Constantine, the public notary: which Henry there and then discharged the said sheriff, and received him into his own custody, further committing him to the keeping of Owen Jones; and thereupon declared unto the said Master Ferrar the great mercy and clemency, that the king and queen's Highness' pleasure was to be offered unto him, which he there did offer unto the said Master Ferrar; that is to say, that if he would submit himself to the laws of this realm, and conform himself to the unity of the universal catholic church, he should be received and pardoned, After that, seeing the said Master Ferrar to give no answer to the premises, the said bishop ministered unto him these articles following,

"First, Whether he believeth the marriage of priests lawful by the laws of God and holy church, or no?

"Item, Whether he believeth, that in the blessed sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration duly pronounced by the priest, the very body and blood of Christ is really and substantially contained, without the substance of bread and wine?

Unto the which articles the said bishop required the said Master Ferrar to answer upon his allegiance. To which he said, he would answer when he saw a lawful commission; and would make no further answer at that time, Whereupon the said bishop, taking no advantage upon the same answer, committed him to the said keeper, to be kept in prison until a new monition, and in the mean time to deliberate with himself for his further answer to the premises.

Another examination of the bishop of St. David's, before Henry Morgan, the pretended bishop of St. David's, George Constantine, his registrar, and others, the last of February, A. D. 1555.

This day and place, Morgan, the pretended bishop of St. David's, sitting as judge, ministered unto Bishop Ferrar, there personally present before him, certain articles and

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interrogatories in writing: which being openly read and ministered unto him, the said Bishop Ferrar refused to answer, till he might see his lawful commission and authority, Whereupon the aforesaid pretended bishop of St, David's did pronounce him as *contumax*, and for the punishment of this his contumacy to be counted *pro confesso*, and so did pronounce him in writing: which being done, he committed the said bishop to the custody of Owen Jones, until Monday next, being the fourth of March, then to be brought again into the same place, between one and two.

Another appearance of the said Bishop Ferrar, before Morgan, the pretended bishop of St. David's.

Item, The day and place appointed, the said bishop appearing again before the pretended bishop, humbly submitting himself as ready to answer to the articles and positions above-mentioned, gently required the copy of the articles, and a competent term to be assigned unto him, to answer for himself: which being granted unto him, and the Thursday next being assigned unto him between one and three to answer precisely and fully; so he was committed again to custody, as above.

Another appearance of the said bishop.

On Thursday, as was appointed, which was the seventh of March, the said bishop personally again appeared; where he exhibited a certain bill in writing, containing in it his answer unto certain articles objected and ministered unto him before. Then after, Henry, the pretended bishop of St, David's, offered him again the said articles as before; the tenor whereof tendeth to this effect:

"First, That he willed him, being a priest, to abrenounce matrimony.

"Secondly, To grant the natural presence of Christ in the sacrament, under the forms of bread and wine.

"Thirdly, That the mass is a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead.

"Fourthly, That general councils lawfully congregated never did, nor can err.

"Fifthly, That men are not justified before God by faith only: but that hope and charity are also necessarily required to justification.

"Sixthly, That the catholic church, which only hath authority to expound Scriptures, and to define controversies of religion, and to ordain things appertaining to public discipline, is visible, and like unto a city set upon a mountain for all men to understand."

To these articles thus objected to him, he refused to subscribe, affirming that they were invented and excogitated by man, and pertain nothing to the catholic faith. After this, the bishop above-named delivered unto him the copy of the articles, assigning him Monday next following, to answer and subscribe to the same, either affirmatively or negatively.

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Another appearance of Bishop Ferrer.

Upon the which Monday, being the eleventh of March, he, appearing again before the bishop, and the aforesaid notary, George Constantine, exhibited in a written paper his mind and answer to the fore-said articles, which the bishop had twice now objected against him before, to the which articles and answers he did so subscribe—adding these words, as *tenens se de æquitate et justitia esse Episcopum Menevensem*—that the bishop assigned the next Wednesday, in the forenoon, to hear his final and definitive sentence.

The last appearance of Bishop Ferrar.

The which day and place the said bishop and true servant of God, Master Ferrar, personally there appearing, was demanded of Henry, the pretended bishop of St, David's, whether he would renounce and recant his heresies, schisms, and errors, (as he called them,) which hitherto he had maintained, and if he would subscribe to the catholic articles, otherwise than he had done before.

After this the said godly bishop, Master Ferrar, did exhibit a certain schedule written in English, and remaining in the Acts; appealing withal by express word of mouth from the bishop, as from an incompetent judge, to Cardinal Pole, &c. All which notwithstanding, the said bishop, proceeding in his rage, pronounced the definitive sentence against him, contained in writing, and there left in the Acts: by the which sentence he pronounced him as a heretic excommunicate, and to be given up forthwith to the secular power; namely, to the sheriff of the town of Caermarthen, Master Leyson.

Thus this godly bishop, being condemned and degraded, was committed to the secular power, who not long after was brought to the place of execution in the town of Caermarthen, where he, in the market place in the south side of the market-cross, the thirtieth day of March, being Saturday next before Passion Sunday, most constantly sustained the torments and passion of the fire.

Touching the which constancy of this blessed martyr, this is moreover to be added and noted, that one named Richard Jones, a knight's son, coming to Master Ferrar a little before his death, seemed to lament the painfulness of the death he had to suffer: unto whom the bishop answered again to this effect, saying, that if he saw him once to stir in the pains of his burning, he should then give no credit to his doctrine. And as he said, so he right. well performed the same; for so patiently he stood that he never moved, but even as he stood, (holding up his stumps,) so still he continued, till one Richard Gravell with a staff dashed him upon the head, and so struck him down.

Letters of Dr, Ferrar, bishop of St. David's.



S touching the letters of Master Ferrar, we do not find many that he did write. And peradventure in Queen Mary's time his imprisonment was so strait, that at no time it was permitted him to write. Albeit in his other troubles, in King Edward's time, certain letters he wrote to the archbishop of Canterbury Thomas Cranmer, and to the earl of Warwick: which letters, although they might be well referred to the first edition of this story; yet because in the said letters is contained briefly, and in few lines, the whole discourse of his unjust vexation at that time wrought by his adversaries, I thought good not to pass them over, but to communicate them unto the reader, for the better understanding both of the innocency of that

blessed bishop, and of the crafty iniquity of his conspired enemies; as in the said letters here following to the indifferent reader may easily appear.

The copy of a certain letter of the bishop of St. David's, written belike to the lord chancellor, Dr. Goodrick, bishop of Ely.

"Most humbly sheweth unto your Honour, your poor orator, Robert, bishop of St. David's, that whereas one Thomas Lee, (by the procurement of Thomas Young and Rowland Meyrike, being both canons of St, David's, and George Constantine, registrar to the said bishop,) hath exhibited unto your Honour against him certain articles, in the which are mentioned many trifling things, unworthy to be declared in your honourable audience, and also their pretended weighty articles (as they have alleged there) are utterly untrue: for proof whereof the said Thomas Lee, hath had commissions into the country: therefore it may please your Honour, of your favourable goodness, to grant unto your said orator a like commission for the examination of witnesses, in defence of his truth and honesty against the aforementioned Thomas Lee, George Constantine, Thomas Young, Rowland Meyrike, and all other persons, with their unjust articles, attestations, and savings, deposed against him. And in tender consideration that your said orator standeth bounden, and sureties with him, in the sum of a thousand marks, to appear before the king's justice, in the sessions at Caermarthen, in July next coming, to answer to a forged matter of *præmunire*, by the procurement and counsel of his forenamed adversaries, maliciously surmised against him to his utter undoing: and furthermore that your orator, being in debt to the king's Majesty, by reason of the malicious vexation of the foresaid adversaries, cannot (if he remain here) satisfy the same: for whereas there be arrearages to a great sum, (as well of the king's money as of his own rents,) he can receive none thereof, his adversaries have made such ill report to his discredit, bearing the people in hand, that he shall come no more thither. By reason of which bruit, neither his own tenants will pay their rents and arrearages, nor the priests their arrearages due to the king's Majesty, as well for *anno secundo* and *tertio*, as for *quarto* and *quinto*. In consideration of all which things, it may please your honourable goodness to license your said orator to depart into the diocese, for these affairs and others, And he shall be ready at all times, at your honourable commandment and pleasure, to repair again, and ever to pray to the Lord Jesu for the perpetual conservation of your Honour, to his glory."

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Another letter written by the bishop of St. David's, to the chancellor aforesaid.

"Right honourable, and my very special good Lord, with humble service and hearty thanks to God, and to you for your godly favour towards me at all times, as right plainly appeareth by your fatherly letters, most lovingly admonishing me to incline unto that which is very necessary, as charitable concord and unity: this is furtherly to beseech your Lordship, for the Lord's sake, not to be grieved, but benignly to hear and gravely to ponder that weighty matter, which, appearing to others but a light grief, to me is, in very deed, a right grievous offence to God, with no little hinderance of his holy word, and disturbance of the king's godly proceedings; and may be a great occasion of much inobedience and disorder of good life, Wherefore I am straitly bounden, for the true zeal that I ought to bear unto God's word of life, Christian religion, the king's Majesty's honour, and the godly quiet state of his people, not faintly to let fall the burden of diligent redress to be sought at his Majesty's hands by the godly wisdom of his most honourable and upright council, but with hearty affection to bear it up against those high-minded, arrogant, stubborn, ambitious, covetous canons, trusting in their biting tongues, with crafty prevention and utterly untrue surmises, to stop the light, that their ungodly misdoing in darkness shall either not be seen, or at the least may have a colourable appearance of right; insomuch that I do not a little marvel at these qualities in Master Chanter the canon, and the dean of Worcester, whose ungentle and untrue behaviour I have not only known, but expertly proved, and sensibly felt, in two of the first, to my great losses, whereof I make no complaint.

"But I wonder in my mind, and lament in my heart, the strange alteration and wilful going backward of my old faithful brother George Constantine, the which (knowing them all three to have been in times past either obstinate enemies to the true bearers of the cross of Christ, or at least privy lurkers, under pretence of favour towards the gospel, to sting the poor followers thereof; seeking but their own lucre and pleasure in all their doings) would so earnestly cleave unto them in their wrong deeds, as to betray me with his tongue, become untrue of his promise, and a bearer of filthy sin for lucre's sake, even yet stiffly persisting in the same, namely, in things manifestly known unto many, although he would deny it, and that I might not be credited.

"And as for their *præmunire*, both George and they, at my first coming, ungently detaining from Master Farlee his commission for the chancellorship, would have faced me down with *præmunire*, because it was written in my own name according to the statute: yet was I fain, for the zeal of unity, not to see their uncourteous deeds, departing with Master Farlee for the avoiding of their malice and envy, and gave that office, for the amity of George, unto Master Chanter his son-in-law, and to Master Meyrike, the office of Cardigan, But, seeing afterward their covetous respect to their own glory and lucre, not regarding the reformation of sin, and specially of shameless whoredom, I was compelled to remove them, sore against their wills: and whereas I desired many and sundry times charitable redress of their wrong doings in the vacation-time, I obtained many fair words, and nothing in deed.

"Also desiring to have sight of the book of Statutes of the Church, for the knowledge of my duty and theirs, I could not obtain it. Desiring to have a key of the chapter seal, as my Lord of Bath had, they would not deliver it but upon conditions; yet was I content to be bridled, receiving it as pleased them to give it. And further, requiring the sight of necessary evidences, for the declaration of divers things in traverse of my right, they would in no wise grant it. And

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thereupon, considering their ungentleness, I moved the *Quo warranto*, knowing right well, that if they should show any substantial grant under the king's seal for their corporation, it must therein appear the bishop to be the head, and ever hath been under the king; for other they never have, nor had, except they would return to Rome again; as I trust they will not. And yet, perceiving afterward that they had no special grant to show, or else such as they would not show, I myself, for the respect of unity, wrote my letters to the king's attorney, by reason whereof the *Quo warranto* was stayed, and so yet remaineth.

"But touching the certificate, the king's subsidy being due at Michaelmas last, and forborne till after Christmas, and lawfully demanded afore, they did utterly refuse to pay it both to my vice-chancellor and to myself, except I would take it of them in portions, not knowing where to ask the rest, and it is committed to me in the king's roll a whole sum in gross, to be received of the canons residentiary for their dividend: who, because they cannot agree in dividing, would have the king's Majesty to tarry for his money, till they can agree to make division; and I cannot demand it of any particular person, nor at any particular place.

"Wherefore I most humbly beseech your fatherly goodness, for the Lord's sake, to persist and continue my good lord and friend unto such time as ye find me either desiring to be defended in my wrong, or not willing to put the judgment of my right cause into your hands. And because that the residue of matters touching them and their ungentle, untrue, and ungodly doings is too long, and I have molested you too much with this my tedious letter, I shall now surcease; humbly beseeching your good Lordship to accept in good part this my boldness, proceeding of necessity, and to pardon it for the love of our Lord Jesus, who save and keep you in health, comfort, and honour long to endure, for the advancement of his glory.—Written at Aber Gwili, this ninth of March,

"Your Lordship's to command during life,
ROBERT FERRAR."

277. Rawlins White

The history of one Rawlins White, burned at Cardiff in Wales about the month of March, for the testimony of Christ's gospel, reported by John Dane, being yet alive, who was almost continually with him during his trouble, unto his death.



ORASMUCH as we have here passed the history of Master Ferrar, burned at the town of Caermarthen in Wales, I thought to adjoin and accompany with the same the history also of one Rawlins White, a fisherman, who, both in the like cause, and in the same country of Wales, and also about the same month of March and year aforesaid, gave his life, like a valiant soldier of Jesus Christ, to martyrdom, and was burned at Cardiff; the process of whose story here followeth expressed more at large.

This Rawlins was by his calling or occupation a fisherman, living and continuing in the said trade by the space of twenty years at the least, in the town of Cardiff, being (as a man of his vocation might be) one of a very good name, and well accounted amongst his

neighbours, As touching his religion at the first, it cannot otherwise be known, but that he was a great partaker of the superstition and idolatry that then was used; I mean in the reign of King Henry the Eighth. But after that God of his mercy had raised up the light of his gospel, through the blessed government of King Edward the Sixth, here in this realm of England, this Rawlins began partly to mislike that which before he had embraced, and to have some good opinion of that which before, by the iniquity of the time, had been concealed from him: and the rather to bring this good purpose and intent of his to pass, he began to be a diligent hearer, and a great searcher-out of the truth.

But because the good man was altogether unlearned, and withal very simple, he knew no ready way how he might satisfy his great desire. At length it came in his mind to take a special remedy to supply his necessity, which was this: he had a little boy which was his own son; which child he set to school to learn to read English. Now after the little boy could read indifferently well, his father, every night after supper, summer and winter, would have the boy to read a piece of the Holy Scripture, and now and then of some other good book; in which kind of virtuous exercise the old man had such a delight and pleasure, that, as it seemed, he rather practised himself in the study of the Scripture, than in the trade or science which beforetime he had used: so that Rawlins, within few years, in the said time of King Edward, through the help of his little son, (a special minister appointed by God, no doubt, for that purpose,) and through much conference beside, profited and went forward in such sort, that he was able not only to resolve himself touching his own former blindness and ignorance, but was also able to admonish and instruct others: and therefore, when occasion served, he would go from one place to another, visiting such as he had best hope in. By which his doing, he became, in that country, both a notable and open professor of the truth, being at all times and in all such places, not without the company of his little boy, whom (as I have said) he used as an assistance to this his good purpose. And to this his great industry and endeavour in the Holy Scripture, God did also add in

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him a singular gift of memory; so that by the benefit thereof he would and could do that, in vouching and rehearsing of the text, which men of riper and more profound knowledge, by their notes and other helps of memory, could very hardly accomplish; insomuch that he, upon the alleging of Scripture, very often would cite the book, the leaf, yea, and the very sentence: such was the wonderful working of God in this simple and unlearned father.

Now when he had thus continued in his profession the space of five years, King Edward died, upon whose decease Queen Mary succeeded, and, with her, all kind of superstition and papistry crept in. Which thing being once perceived, Rawlins did not altogether use open instruction and admonition, as before he was wont; and therefore oftentimes, in some private place or other, he would call his trusty friends together, and with earnest prayer and great lamentation pass away the time, so that by his virtuous instructions, being without any blemish of error, he converted a great number; which number, no doubt, had greatly increased, had not the cruel storm of persecution been. The extremity and force whereof, at the last, so pursued this good father Rawlins, that he looked every hour to go to prison: whereupon many of those which had received comfort by his instructions, did resort unto him, and by all means possible began to persuade him to shift for himself, and to dispose his goods by some reasonable order to the use of his wife and children; and by that means he should escape that danger which was imminent over his head.

But Rawlins, nothing abashed for his own part through the iniquity of the time, and nothing at all moved with these their fleshly persuasions, thanked them most heartily for their good will, and told them plainly, that he had learned one good lesson touching the confessing and denial of Christ; advertising them, that if he, upon their persuasions, should presume to deny his Master Christ, Christ, in the last day, would deny and utterly condemn him: "and therefore," quoth he, "I will, by his favourable grace, confess and bear witness of him before men, that I may find him in everlasting life."

Notwithstanding which answer, his friends were very importunate with him. Howbeit father Rawlins continued still in his good purpose so long, till at the last he was taken by the officers of the town, as a man suspected of heresy; upon which apprehension he was convented before the bishop of Llandaff that then was, the said bishop lying then at his house beside Chepstow; by whom, after divers combats and conflicts with him and his chaplains, this good father Rawlins was committed to prison in Chepstow. But this his keeping, whether it were by the bishop's means, because he would rid his hands of him, or through the favour of his keeper, was not so severe and extreme, but that, if he had so listed, he might have escaped oftentimes.

But that notwithstanding, he continued still, insomuch that at the last he, by the aforementioned bishop, was removed from Chepstow to the castle of Cardiff, where he continued by the space of one whole year; during which time, this reporter resorted to him very often, with money and other relief from this reporter's mother, who was a great favourer of those that were in affliction in those days,) and other of his friends; which he received not without great thanks and praises given to the name of God. And albeit that he was thus troubled and imprisoned, as ye have heard, to his own undoing in this world, and to the utter decay of his poor wife and children; yet was his heart so set to the instruction and furtherance of others in the way of salvation, that he was never in quiet, but when he was persuading or exhorting such of his

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familiar friends, as commonly came unto him: insomuch that on the Sundays and other times of leisure, when his friends came to visit him, he would pass away the time in prayer and exhortations, admonishing them always to beware of false prophets which come in sheep's clothing.

Now when he had continued in Cardiff castle by the space of one whole year, (as I have said,) the time of his further trial was at hand. Whereupon the forenamed bishop of Llandaff caused him to be brought again from the castle of Cardiff unto his own house beside Chepstow; and whilst he continued there, the bishop assayed many ways how to reduce him to some conformity. But when all means, either by their threatening words, or flattering promises, were to no purpose, the bishop willed him to advise, and be at a full point with himself, either to recant his opinions, or else to abide the rigour of the law: and thereupon gave him a day of determination; which day being come, the bishop with his chaplains went into his chapel, not without a great number of other by-dwellers, that came to behold the manner of their doings.

When the bishop with his retinue were placed in order, poor Rawlins was brought before them. The bishop, after a great deliberation in addressing himself, as it seemed, and silence forewarned to the rest that were there present, used a long kind of talk to him, declaring the cause of his sending-for, which was for that he was a man well known to hold heretical opinions, and that through his instruction many were led into blind error. In the end he exhorted him to consider his own estate wherein he stood "for," said the bishop, "Rawlins, you have oftentimes since your first trouble, both here in my house, and elsewhere, been travailed withal touching your opinions; and, that notwithstanding, ye seem altogether obstinate and wilful. Now hereupon we thought good to send for you, to see if there were any conformity in you: so that the matter is come to this point, that if you will show yourself repentant for that which you have done against God and the prince's law, we are ready to use favour towards you; but if by no means we can persuade with you touching your reformation, we are minded at this time to minister the law unto you—and therefore advise yourself, what you will do."

When the bishop had made an end of his long tale, this good father Rawlins spake boldly to him, and said, "My Lord, I thank God I am a Christian man; and I hold no opinions contrary to the word of God: and if I do, I desire to be reformed out of the word of God, as a Christian man ought to be." Many more words were in like sort between the bishop and Rawlins, which this reporter doth not well remember. But in the end, when Rawlins would in no wise recant his opinions, the bishop told him plainly, that he must proceed against him by the law, and condemn him as a heretic.

"Proceed in your law a God's name," said Rawlins; "but for a heretic you shall never condemn me while the world standeth." "But," said the bishop to his company, "before we proceed any further with him, let us pray unto God that he would send some spark of grace upon him, [meaning Rawlins,] and it may so chance that God, through our prayer, will here turn and convert his heart." When Rawlins heard the bishop say so, "Ah, my Lord," quoth he, "now you deal well, and like a godly bishop; and I thank you most heartily for your great charity and gentleness. Christ saith, Where two or three be gathered together in my name, I will be in the midst of them: and there be more than two or three of you. Now, if it be so that your request be godly and lawful, and that ye pray as ye should pray, without doubt God will hear you, And

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therefore, my Lord, go to; do you pray to your God, and I will pray to my God, I know that my God will both hear my prayer, and perform my desire."

By and by the bishop with his company fell to prayer; and Rawlins, turning himself to a pew that stood somewhat near him, fell down upon his knees, covering his face with his hands, And when they had prayed a while, the bishop with his company arose from prayer; and then also arose Rawlins, and came before the bishop.

Then said the bishop, "Now, Rawlins, how is it with thee? Wilt thou revoke thy opinions, or no?" "Surely," said Rawlins, "my Lord, Rawlins you left me, and Rawlins you find me; and, by God's grace, Rawlins I will continue. Certainly if your petitions had been just and lawful, God would have heard them; but you honour a false god, and pray not as ye should pray; and therefore hath not God granted your desire. But I am only one poor simple man, as you see, and God hath heard my complaint, and I trust he will strengthen me in his own cause."

The bishop, when he perceived that this hypocrisy of theirs took none effect, then with hot words he reprov'd him, and forthwith was ready to read the sentence. Howbeit, upon some advice given to him by his chaplains that were there present, he thought best, first, to have a mass, thinking that indeed, by so doing, some wonderful work should be wrought in Rawlins; and thereupon a priest began a mass.

In the mean time poor Rawlins betook himself to prayer in a secret place there by, until such time as the priest came to the sacring, as they term it, which is a principal point of their idolatry, When Rawlins heard the sacring-bell ring (as the use was) he rose out of his place, and came to the choir-door, and, there standing a while, turned himself to the people, speaking these words "Good people! if there be any brethren amongst you, or, at the least, if there be but one brother amongst you, the same one bear witness at the day of judgment, that I bow not to this idol"—meaning the host that the priest held over his head.

The mass being ended, Rawlins eftsoons was called for again; to whom the bishop used many persuasions; but the blessed man continued so stedfast in his former profession, that the bishop's talk was altogether in vain, and to no purpose: whereupon the bishop caused the definitive sentence to be read. Which being ended, Rawlins was dismissed; and from thence he was, by the bishop's commandment, carried again to Cardiff, there to be put into the prison of the town, called Cockmarel; a very dark, loathsome, and most vile prison. Rawlins in the mean time passed away the time in prayer, and chiefly in singing of psalms: which kind of godly exercise he always used, both at Cardiff castle, and in all other places.

Now, after he had thus continued a prisoner in Cockmarel prison at Cardiff, (as is aforesaid,) a good space, about three weeks before the day wherein he suffered, the head officers of the town, that had the charge of his execution, were determined to burn him, because they would be sooner rid of him; having not indeed a writ of execution awarded, as by the law they should have. Whereupon one Henry Lewis, the recorder of the town that then was, seeing that they went about to burn him without any warrant by writ, came to them and told them, that if they did burn him before they had the writ, *De hæreticis comburendis*, the wife of the said Rawlins would, upon just cause, by law, call their doings into question, Immediately upon this

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advertisement, they sent to London for the writ above-named; upon the receipt whereof they made some speed to the execution of the said Rawlins, Now, when the day was come wherein the good father should perform and accomplish the last act of this his worthy conflict, he was the night before willed to prepare himself.

Now when he perceived his time was no less near than it was reported unto him, he sent forthwith to his wife, and willed her by the messenger, that in any wise she should make ready and send unto him his wedding garment, meaning a shirt, which afterward he was burned in: which request, or rather commandment of his, his wife, with great sorrow and grief of heart, did perform, and early in the morning did send it to him, which he received most gladly and joyfully, Now when the hour of his execution was come, this good and constant father Rawlins was brought out of prison, having on his body the long shirt, which (as you heard before) he called his wedding garment, and an old russet coat which he was wont to wear. Besides this, he had upon his legs an old pair of leather buskins, which he had used long afore, And thus being brought out of prison, (as I have said,) he was accompanied, or rather guarded, with a great company of bills and glaves; which sight when he beheld, "Alas!" quoth he, "what meaneth all this? All this needed not. By God's grace I will not start away: but I, with all my heart and mind, give unto God most hearty thanks, that he hath made me worthy to abide all this, for his holy name's sake."

So he came to a place in his way, where his poor wife and children stood weeping and making great lamentation; the sudden sight of whom so pierced his heart that the very tears trickled down his face. But he soon after, as though he had misliked this infirmity of his flesh, began to be as it were altogether angry with himself; insomuch that in striking his breast with his hand he used these words "Ah flesh! stayest thou me so? wouldst thou fain prevail? Well, I tell thee, do what thou canst, thou shalt not, by God's grace, have the victory." By this time this poor innocent came to the very altar of his sacrifice, (I mean the place appointed for his death,) and there found a stake ready set up, with some wood toward the making of the fire; which when he beheld, he set forward himself very boldly; but, in going toward the stake, he fell down upon his knees, and kissed the ground: and in rising again, the earth a little sticking on his nose, he said these words, "Earth unto earth, and dust unto dust: thou art my mother, and unto thee I shall return." Then went he cheerfully and very joyfully, and set his back close unto the stake; and when he had stood there awhile, he cast his eye upon this reporter, and called him unto him, and said, "I feel a great fighting between the flesh and the spirit, and the flesh would very fain have his swinge; and therefore I pray you, when you see me any thing tempted, hold your finger up to me, and I trust I shall remember myself."

As he was thus standing with his back close unto the stake, a smith came with a great chain of iron; whom when he saw, he cast up his hand with a loud voice, and gave God great thanks. Then the smith cast a chain about him; and as he was making it fast on the other side, Rawlins said unto him, "I pray you, good friend, knock in the chain fast; for it may be that the flesh would strive mightily; but God of thy great mercy give me strength and patience to abide the extremity!"

Now when the smith had made him sure to the stake, the officers began to lay on more wood, with a little straw and reed: wherein the good old man was no less occupied than the best;

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for as far as he could reach his hands, he would pluck the straw and reed, and lay it about him in places most convenient for his speedy despatch: which thing he did with such a cheerful countenance and familiar gesture, that all men there present were in a manner astonished.

Thus, when all things were ready, so that there lacked nothing but the putting-to of the fire, directly over against the stake, in the face of Rawlins, there was a standing erected, whereon stepped up a priest, addressing himself to speak to the people, which were many in number, because it was market-day, When Rawlins perceived him, and considered the cause of his coming, he reached a little straw unto him, and made two little stays, and set them under his elbows. Then went the priest forward in his sermon, wherein he spake of many things touching the authority of the Church of Rome. In the mean time Rawlins gave such good ear and attention, that he seemed nothing at all moved or disquieted, At the last, the priest came to the sacrament of the altar, and there he began to inveigh against Rawlins's opinions: in which his invective he cited the common place of Scripture, and thereupon made a clerkly interpretation.

Now when Rawlins perceived that he went about not only to teach and preach the people false doctrine, but also to confirm it by Scripture, he suddenly started up, and beckoned with his hands to the people, saying twice, "Come hither, good people; and hear not a false prophet preaching:" and then said unto the preacher, "Ah, thou naughty hypocrite! dost thou presume to prove thy false doctrine by Scripture? Look in the text what followeth; did not Christ say, Do this in remembrance of me! "After which words the priest, being rather amazed than interrupted, forthwith held his peace.

Then some that stood by cried out, "Put fire, set to fire;" which being set to, the straw and reed, by and by, cast up both a great and sudden flame. In the which flame this good and blessed man bathed his hands so long, until such time as the sinews shrunk, and the fat dropped away; saving that once he did, as it were, wipe his face with one of them. All this while, which was somewhat long, he cried with a loud voice, "O Lord, receive my soul! O Lord, receive my spirit!" until he could not open his mouth. At the last the extremity of the fire was so vehement against his legs, that they were consumed almost before the rest of his body was burned, which made the whole body fall over the chain into the fire sooner than it would have done. During which time of his burning, it cannot be said that he suffered or felt any great pain, considering that not without his perfect memory he abode both quietly and patiently, even unto the departing of his life, Thus died this godly and old man Rawlins, for the testimony of God's truth, being now rewarded, no doubt, with the crown of everlasting life.

It is recorded, furthermore, of the said good father Rawlins, by this reporter, that as he was going to his death, and standing at the stake, he seemed in a manner to be altered in nature. For as before he was wont to go stooping, or rather crooked, through the infirmity of age, having a sad countenance and a very feeble complexion, and withal very soft in speech and gesture, now he went and stretched up himself not only bolt upright, but also bore withal a most pleasant and comfortable countenance, not without great courage and audacity both in speech and behaviour, He had—of which thing I should have spoken before—about his head a kerchief; the hairs of his head, (somewhat appearing beneath his kerchief,) and also of his beard, were more inclining to white than to grey, which gave such a show and countenance to his whole person, that he seemed to be altogether angelical.

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It is also said by this reporter, that a little before the fire flashed up to his body (as ye have heard) many of his friends came to him, and took him by the hand; amongst whom the reporter of this story held him so long by the hand, till the flame of the fire rose and forced them to sunder, In the mean time the priest, of whom I spake afore, cried out and said, that it was not lawful for any man to take him by the hand, because he was a heretic, and condemned by the church,—The chief cause of his trouble, was his opinion touching the sacrament of the altar. He was, at the time of his death, of the age of threescore years, or thereabouts.

278. Other Events of March and April 1555.

The sum of the words spoken by Queen Mary to certain of her councillors, March the twenty-eighth, A.D. 1555, touching the restitution of the abbey lands.

Before I pass over this month of March, I cannot but leave a little memorandum of the words or consultation of Queen Mary, used to certain of the council the twenty-eighth day of the said month of March, touching the restoring again of the abbey lands; who, after she had called unto her presence four of her privy council, the day and month aforesaid (the names of which councillors were these, namely, William, lord marquis of Winchester, high treasurer of England; Sir Robert Rochester, knight, the queen's comptroller; Sir William Peter, knight, secretary; Sir Francis Englefield, knight, master of the wards); the said Queen Mary inferred these words, the principal effect and sum whereof here followeth:—

"You are here of our council: and we have willed you to be called unto us, to the intent you might hear of me my conscience, and the resolution of my mind, concerning the lands and possessions as well of monasteries, as of other churches whatsoever, being now presently in my possession.

"First, I do consider, that the said lands were taken away from the churches aforesaid in the time of schism, and that by unlawful means, such as are contrary both to the law of God and of the church; for the which cause my conscience doth not suffer me to detain them: and therefore I here expressly refuse either to claim or to retain the said lands for mine; but with all my heart, freely and willingly, without all paction or condition, here, and before God, I do surrender and relinquish the said lands and possessions, or inheritances whatsoever, and do renounce the same with this mind and purpose, that order and disposition thereof may be taken, as shall seem best liking to our most holy lord the pope, or else his legate the lord cardinal, to the honour of God, and wealth of this our realm.

"And albeit you may object to me again, that, considering the state of my kingdom, and the dignity thereof, my crown imperial cannot be honourably maintained and furnished without the possessions aforesaid: yet notwithstanding, I set more by the salvation of my soul, than by ten kingdoms; and therefore the said possessions I utterly refuse here to hold after that sort and title, and give most hearty thanks to Almighty God, which hath given me a husband likewise minded, with no less good affection in this behalf, than I am myself.

"Wherefore I charge and command, that my chancellor, (with whom I have conferred my mind in this matter before,) and you four, to-morrow together do resort to the most reverend lord legate, and do signify to him the premises in my name, and give your attendance upon him for the more full declaration of the state of my kingdom, and of the foresaid possessions accordingly, as you yourselves do understand the matter, and can inform him in the same."

This intimation being given by the queen, first unto the councillors, and then coming to the cardinal's hand, he drawing out a copy thereof in Latin, sent the same to the pope; which

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copy drawn in Latin, and coming afterward to my hand, I have thus translated into English, as you have heard.

Furthermore, here by the way is to be understood, that in the month before, which was February, and on the nineteenth day of the said month, the bishop of Ely and the Lord Montacute, with sevenscore horse, were sent as ambassadors from the king and queen unto Rome; for what cause, in story it is not expressed; but, by conjecture, it may be well supposed to be for the same cause of abbey lands, as by the sequel thereof may probably appear.

For it was not long after, but the pope did set forth in print a bull of excommunication for all manner of such persons, without exception, as kept any of the church or abbey lands; by virtue of which bull, the pope excommunicated as well all such as had any of the church or abbey lands, as also all such princes, bishops, and noblemen, justices of peace and others in office, who had not, or did not forthwith, put the same bull in execution, Albeit this execution (God be thanked) yet, to this day, was never put in practice. Wherein again is to be observed another catholic fetch, not unworthy, perchance, of marking. For whereas this kind of catholicism, by rigour and force, may overmaster, they spare for no cost, but lay on load enough. This well appeared, and still doth appear, in burning the poor patient Christians, whom because they see to be destitute of power and strength to resist them, and content with patience to receive whatsoever is put unto them, there they play the lions, and make no end of burning and persecuting. But where they spy themselves to be overmatched, or fear to receive a foil in pursuing too far, there they keep in, and can stay the execution of their laws and bulls, be they never so apostolical, till they spy their time convenient for their purpose, as in this case is evident for all the world to see. For notwithstanding that the pope's bull, coming down with full authority for restitution of abbey lands, did so thunder out most terrible excommunication, not only against them which detained any such lands, but also against all others that did not see the pope's commandment to be executed; yet neither Winchester, nor any of all the pope's clergy, would greatly stir in that matter, perceiving the nobility to be too strong for them to match withal; and therefore were contented to let the case fall, or at least to stay for a time, while time might better serve them.

Yea, and moreover, under a crafty pretence that the nobility and men of lands, at the first coming out of the bull, should not be exasperated too much against them, they subtly abused the pulpits, and dissembled with the people; affirming that the said pope's late bull, set forth in print, for restitution of abbey lands, was not meant for England, but for other foreign countries: whereas, in very deed, the meaning of that bull was only for England, and no country else, as both by this intimation of Queen Mary here mentioned, and by many other conjectures, and also by Master Feckenham's ballet of *Caveat emptor*, may appear: whereby it is easy for all men to understand what the purpose of those men was to do, if time, which they observed, might have served their devotion.

But to let this matter pass of the pope's bull, the time now serveth to entreat of Pope Julius's death, forasmuch as he made his end about the latter end of this foresaid month of March. Concerning the deeds and acts of which pope, to make a full declaration, it were not so much tedious to the reader, as horrible to all good ears, Under this Julius flourished the archbishop of Benevento, a Florentine, named John de la Casa, dean of the pope's chamber, and chief legate to the Venetians; who, well declaring the fruit of that filthy see, so far forgot both

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honesty and nature, that he shamed not only to play the filthiest immorality himself, and to boast openly of the same; but also took upon him most impudently in Italian metre, to all men's ears, to set forth the praise and commendation of a certain nameless iniquity, saying that he himself never used other; and this book was printed at Venice by one Trajanus Nævus. And yet the pope could suffer this so great iniquity and shameless beastliness, even under his nose in his own chamber; which could not abide the true doctrine of Christ in Christian books.

Amongst other pranks and deeds of this foresaid pope, in his Jubilee, and in the synod of Trent, and in confirming of the idol of Loretto, this is also reported of him in his life, that he delighted greatly in pork-flesh and peacocks. Upon a time when he was admonished of his physician to abstain from all swine's flesh, for that it was noisome for his gout, and yet would not follow his counsel; the physician afterward gave warning to his steward or orderer of his diet, that he should set no more pork-flesh before him. Whereupon when the pope perceived the said pork-flesh to be lacking in his accustomed service: "Where," said he, "is my pork?" And when his steward had answered, that his physician had forbidden any pork to be served; then the pope, bursting out into a great rage, saith these words; "Bring me," said he, "my pork-flesh, in the despite of God."

At another time, he, sitting at dinner, pointing to a peacock upon his table, which he had not touched, "Keep," said he, "this cold peacock for me against supper, and let me sup in the garden; for I shall have guests." So when supper came, and, amongst other hot peacocks, he saw not his cold peacock brought to his table, the pope, after his wonted manner, most horribly blaspheming God, fell into an extreme rage, &c.; whereupon one of his cardinals, sitting by, desired him, saying, "Let not your Holiness, I pray you, be so moved with a matter of so small weight." Then this Julius the pope, answering again, "What," said he, "if God was so angry for an apple, that he cast our first parents out of Paradise for the same, why may not I, being his vicar, be angry then for a peacock, since a peacock is a greater matter than an apple." Behold here, good reader, by this pope, the holiness of that blasphemous see: and yet thou shalt see here what affection was borne to this pope here in England, by the diriges, hearses, and funerals, commanded to be had and celebrated in all churches by the queen and her council, as may appear by the copy of their letters here following.

A letter from the bishop of Winchester (being lord chancellor) unto Bonner, bishop of London, touching the celebrating of the pope's funeral.

"After my hearty commendations to your good Lordship: The king and queen's Majesties having certain knowledge of the death of the pope's Holiness, thought good there should be as well solemn obsequies said for him throughout the realm, as also these prayers (which I send you herein enclosed) used at mass times in all places at this time of vacation: and therefore willed me to signify their pleasures unto you in this behalf, that thereupon ye might proceed to the full accomplishment thereof, by putting the same in due execution within your own diocese, and sending word to the rest of the bishops, to do the like in theirs. Thus doubting not but that your Lordship will use such diligence in this matter at this time, as shall be necessary, I bid your Lordship heartily well to fare.

"From my house at Esher, the tenth of April, 1555.

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"Your assured friend and brother,
STEPHEN WINTON., Chancellor."

A woman of St. Magnus's imprisoned for not praying for the pope.

Upon this commandment, on Wednesday in Easter week there were hearses set up and diriges sung for the said Julius in divers places; at which time it chanced a woman to come into St. Magnus's church, at the bridge-foot in London, and there, seeing a hearse and other preparation, asked what it meant: and another that stood by said, that it was for the pope, and that she must pray for him, "Nay," quoth she, "that will I not, for he needeth not my prayers: and seeing he could forgive us all our sins, I am sure he is clean himself; therefore I need not to pray for him." She was heard speak these words of certain that stood by, who, by and by, carried her unto the cage at London-bridge, and bade her cool herself there.



The Woman in the cage at London-bridge

A spectacle for all Christians to behold, and to take heed of the pope's blasphemous doctrine.



Y many and sundry ways Almighty God hath admonished men of all nations in these our latter years, to embrace, and not violently to repugn against, the light of his gospel: as first, by preaching of his word; secondly, by the blood of the martyrs; and thirdly, by terrible examples showed from time to time upon his adversaries, In the number of whom cometh here to he remembered the notable working of God's hand upon a certain priest in Kent, named Nightingal, parson of Crundal beside Canterbury; who, upon Shrove-Sunday, which was about the third day of the said month of March, and year of our Lord aforesaid, (rejoicing belike not a little at this alteration of

religion,) began to make a sermon to his parishioners, taking his theme out of the words of St. John: He that saith that he hath no sin, is a liar, and the truth is not in him. And so upon the same very impertinently declared to them all such articles as were set forth by the pope's authority, and by the commandment of the bishops of this realm; saying, moreover, unto the people in this wise "Now, masters and neighbours, rejoice and be merry; for the prodigal son is come home. For I know that the most part of you be as I am, for I know your hearts well enough. And I shall tell you what hath happened in this week past: I was before my Lord Cardinal Pole's Grace, and he hath made me as free from sin, as I was at the font-stone: and on Thursday last being before him, he hath appointed me to notify (thank him for it) the same unto you, and I will tell you what it is."—And so reading the popes bull of pardon that was sent into England, he said, he thanked God that ever he had lived to see that day; adding, moreover, that he believed, that by the virtue of that bull he was as clean from sin, as that night that he was born:—and immediately upon the same fell suddenly down out of the pulpit, and never stirred hand nor foot, and so lay he. This was testified by Robert Austen of Cartham, who heard and saw the same, and it is witnessed also by the whole country round about.

John Awcock, martyr.

In the beginning of April, and the second day of the said month, died in prison John Awcock, who after was buried in the fields; as the manner of the papists was to deny their Christian burial to such as died out of their popish antichristian church.

Now, forasmuch as having passed the month of March, we are entered into the month of April, to set down in order, out of public records, what happened in the said month, here followeth to be noted: that the first day of April, A, D, 1555, a letter was sent to the sheriff of Kent to apprehend Thomas Wodgat and William Maynard, for preaching secretly, and to send them up to the council. The seventh day of the said month, another letter was sent to the said sheriff for the apprehension of one Harwich, who went about, with a boy with him, preaching from place to place.

The fifteenth of April a letter was directed to Sir Nicholas Hare, and Sir Thomas Cornwallis, willing them to examine Master Flower (alias Branch) what he meant, by wearing about his neck written, *Deum time, idolum fuge*; and whom else he knew to wear the like:

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praying them also to speak to Bonner, bishop of London, speedily to proceed against him for his religion, according to the laws, and that the justices of peace of Middlesex should likewise proceed against him for shedding of blood in the church, according to the statute; so as if he continue his opinion, he might be executed at the furthest by the latter end of this week, and that his right hand be, the day before his execution, or the same day, stricken off.

The twenty-second of April there was a like letter sent to the justices of peace of Middlesex, with a writ for the execution of the said Flower, commanding them to see his hand stricken off before his burning.

The twenty-ninth of April, Master Robert Hornebey, servant then to the Lady Elizabeth, was convented before the council for his religion; and standing constantly to the truth, notwithstanding their threats and other persuasions, was therefore committed to the Marshalsea.

279. George Marsh

A declaration of the life, examination, and burning of George Marsh, who suffered most constant martyrdom for the profession of the gospel of Christ at Chester, the twenty fourth day of April, 1555.

The said George Marsh was born in the parish of Dean, in the county of Lancaster, and was well brought up in learning and honest trade of living by his parents; who afterwards, about the twenty-fifth year of his age, took to wife an honest maiden of the country, with whom he continued, earning their living upon a farm, having children between them lawfully begotten: and then, God taking his wife out of this world, he being most desirous of godly studies, (leaving his household and children in good order,) went unto the university of Cambridge, where he studied, and much increased in learning and godly virtues, and was a minister of God's holy word and sacraments, and for a while was curate to Laurence Saunders; as he himself reporteth, In which condition of life he continued for a space, earnestly setting forth God's true religion, to the defacing of antichrist's false doctrine, by his godly readings and sermons, as well there and in the parish of Dean, as elsewhere in Lancashire.

Whereupon at length, by detection of certain adversaries, he was apprehended, and kept in close prison by George Cotes, then bishop of Chester, in strait prison in Chester, within the precinct of the bishop's house, about the space of four months, being not permitted to have relief and comfort of his friends; but charge being given unto the porter, to mark who they were that asked for him, and to signify their names unto the bishop; as by the particular description of his story, testified and recorded with his own pen, more evidently may appear in the process hereunder following.

"On the Monday before Palm Sunday, which was the twelfth day of March, it was told me at my mother's house, that Roger Wrinstone. with other of Master Barton's servants, did make diligent search for me in Bolton; and when they perceived that I was not there, they gave strait charge to Roger Ward and Robert Marsh, to find and bring me to Master Barton the day next following, with others, to be brought before the honourable earl of Derby, to be examined in matters of religion, &c.

"I, knowing this, by relation of divers of my friends, was diversely affected: my mother and other my friends advertising me to fly, and to avoid the peril, which thing I had intended afore after a week then next ensuing, if this in the mean while had not chanced; seeing that if I were taken, and would not recant in matters of religion, (as they thought I would not, and as, God strengthening and assisting me with his Holy Spirit, I never will,) it would not only have put them to great sorrow, heaviness, and losses, with costs and charges, to their shame and rebuke in this world, but also mine own self, after troublous and painful imprisonment, unto shameful death.

"This considered, they advised me and counselled me to depart and fly the country, as I had intended to have done, if this had not happened: to whose counsel my weak flesh would

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gladly have consented, but my spirit did not fully agree; thinking and saying thus to myself, that if I fled so away, it would be thought, reported, and said, that I did not only fly the country, and my nearest and dearest friends, but much rather from Christ's holy word, according as these years past I had with my heart, or at least with mine outward living, professed, and with my mouth and word taught, according to the small talent given me of the Lord, I, being thus with their advice and counsel, and the cogitations and counsels of mine own mind, drawn as it were divers ways, went from my mother's house, saying I would come again at evening.

"In the mean time I ceased not, by earnest prayer, to ask and seek counsel of God, (who is the giver of all good gifts,) and of other my friends, whose godly judgments and knowledge I much trusted unto. After this, I met with one of my said friends on Dean Moor, about sun going-down: and after we had consulted together of my business, not without hearty prayer, kneeling on our knees, we departed, I not fully determining what to do, but taking my leave with my friend, said, I doubted not but God (according as our prayer and trust was) would give me such wisdom and counsel as should be most to his honour and glory, the profit of my neighbours and brethren in the world, and obtaining of mine eternal salvation by Christ in heaven.

"This done, I returned to my mother's house again, where had been divers of Master Barton's servants seeking after me; who, when they could not find me, straitly charged by brother and William Marsh to seek me that night, and to bring me to Smirhill the next day; who, being so charged, were gone to seek me in Adderton, or elsewhere I know not. Thus, intending afore to have been all night with my mother, but then considering that my tarrying there would disquiet her with her household, I departed from thence, and went beyond Dean Church, and there tarried all night with an old friend of mine, taking ill rest, and consulting much with myself of my trouble.

"So at my first awaking, one came to me from a faithful friend of mine with letters, which I never read nor yet looked on, who said this: my friend's advice was, that I should in no wise fly; but abide and boldly confess the faith of Jesus Christ, At whose words I was so confirmed and established in my conscience, that from thenceforth I consulted no more whether was better, to fly or to tarry; but was at a point with myself, that I would not fly, but go to Master Barton, who did seek for me, and there present myself, and patiently bear such cross as it should please God to lay upon my shoulders, Whereupon my mind and conscience, afore being much unquieted and troubled, was now merry and in quiet estate.

"So betimes in the morning I arose, and after I had said the English Litany, (as my custom was,) with other prayers, kneeling on my knees by my friend's bed-side, I prepared myself to go toward Smirhill: and as I was going thitherward, I went into the houses of Harry Widdowes, of my mother-in-law, of Rafe Yeton, and of the wife of Thomas Richardson; desiring them to pray for me, and have me commended to all my friends, and to comfort my mother, and be good to my little children: for (as I supposed) they should not see my face any more before the last day: and so took my leave of them, not without tears shed on both parties, and came to Smirhill about nine of the clock, and presented myself afore Master Barton; who showed me a letter from the earl of Derby, wherein he was commanded to send me with others to Latham.

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"Whereupon he charged my brother and William Marsh, to bring and deliver me the next day by ten of the clock, before the said earl or his council. I made earnest suit with other special friends which I had there at the same time, to Master Barton, that he would take some one of them, or them all, bound by recognisance or otherwise, for mine appearing before the said earl or his said council, that my brother and William Marsh might be at home, because it was the chiefest time of seeding, and their ploughs could not go if they were not at home: but nothing could be obtained.

"So we went to my mother's, and there I dined and shifted part of my clothes, and so, praying, took my leave of my mother, the wife of Richard Marsh, and both their households, they and I both weeping; and so departed from them, and went toward Latham, and were all night a mile and a half on this side Latham. So the next day, which was Wednesday, we arose, prayed, and came to Latham betimes, and tarried there till four of the clock at afternoon.

"Then was I called by Roger Mekinson to come to my Lord and his council, and so I was brought into the chamber of presence, where was present Sir William Norris, Sir Pierce Leigh, Master Sherburn the parson of Grappenhall, Master More, with others; where when I had tarried a little while, my Lord turned him toward me, and asked what was my name: I answered, 'Marsh.'

"Then he asked, whether I was one of those that sowed evil seed and dissension amongst the people: which thing I denied, desiring to know mine accusers, and what could be laid against me. But that I could not know.

"Then, said he, he would with his council examine me themselves, and asked me whether I was a priest; I said, 'No.' Then he asked me what had been my living, I answered I was a minister, served a cure, and taught a school. Then said my Lord to his council, 'This is a wonderful thing, Afore he said he was no priest, and now he confeseth himself to be one,' I answered, 'By the laws now used in this realm (as far as I do know) I am none.'

"Then they asked me who gave me orders, or whether I had taken any at all, I answered, I received orders of the bishops of London and Lincoln.

"Then said they one to another, 'Those be of the new heretics:' and asked me what acquaintance I had with them. I answered, I never saw them but at the time when I received orders.

"They asked me how long I had been curate, and whether I. had ministered with a good conscience, I answered, I had been curate but one year, and had ministered with a good conscience, I thanked God; and if the laws of the realm would have suffered me, I would have ministered still; and if the laws at any time hereafter would suffer me to minister after that sort, I would minister again. Whereat they murmured, and the parson of Grappenhall said, this last communion was the most devilish thing that ever was devised.

"Then they asked me what my belief was. I answered, I believed in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, according as the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments do teach,

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and according as the four symbols or creeds, that is to wit, the creed commonly called *Apostolorum*, the creed of Nice council, of Athanasius, and of Augustine and Ambrose, do teach, And after a few words, the parson of Grappenhall said, 'But what is thy belief in the sacrament of the altar?' I answered, I believed that whosoever, according to Christ's institution, did receive the holy sacrament of Christ's body and blood, did eat and drink Christ's body and blood, with all the benefits of his death and resurrection, to their eternal salvation; for Christ (said I) is ever present with his sacrament.

"Then asked they me, whether the bread and wine, by the virtue of the words pronounced of the priest, were changed into the flesh and blood of Christ, and that the sacrament, whether it were received or reserved, was the very body of Christ: whereunto I made answer, I knew no further than I had showed already; 'for my knowledge is unperfect,' said I: desiring them not to ask me such hard and unprofitable questions, whereby to bring my body into danger of death, and to suck my blood. Whereat they were not a little offended, saying they were no blood-suckers, and intended nothing to me but to make me a good Christian man.

"So, after many other questions, which I avoided as well as I could, remembering the saying of Paul, Foolish and unlearned questions avoid, knowing they do but engender strife; my Lord commanded me to come to the board, and gave me pen and ink in my hand, and commanded me to write mine answers to the questions of the sacrament above named; and I wrote as I had answered before: whereat he, being much offended, commanded me to write a more direct answer, saying I should not choose but do it.

"Then I took the pen and wrote, that further I knew not: whereat he, being sore grieved, after many threatenings, said, I should be put to shameful death like a traitor, with such other like words; and sometimes giving me fair words, if I would turn and be conformable as others were, how glad he would be.

"In conclusion, after much ado, he commanded me to ward, in a cold, windy, stone house, where was little room; where I lay two nights without any bed, saving a few great canvass tent-clothes; and, that done, I had a pair of sheets, but no woollen clothes; and so continued till Palm Sunday, occupying myself as well as I could in meditation, prayer, and study: for no man could be suffered to come to me but my keeper twice a day, when he brought me meat and drink."

Another examination of George Marsh before the earl of Derby.

"On Palm Sunday, after dinner, I was sent for to my Lord and his council, (saving Sir William Norris and Sir Pierce Leigh were not then present in place,) amongst whom was Sir John Biron, and the vicar of Prescott. So they examined me yet once again of the sacrament. And after I had communed apart with the vicar of Prescott a good space concerning that matter, he returned to my Lord and his council with me, saying: that answer which I had made before, and then did make, (as it is above written,) was sufficient for a beginner, and as one which did not profess a perfect knowledge in that matter, until such time as I had learned further. Wherewith the earl was very well pleased, saying, he doubted not but by the means and help of the vicar of Prescott, I would be conformable in other things, So, after many fair words, he commanded I

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should have a bed, with fire, and liberty to go amongst his servants, so that I would do no harm with my communication amongst them.

"And so, after much other communication, I departed, much more troubled in my spirit than afore, because I had not with more boldness confessed Christ, but in such sort as mine adversaries thereby thought they should prevail against me; whereat I was much grieved: for hitherto I went about, as much as in me lay, to rid myself out of their hands, if by any means, without open denying of Christ and his word, that could be done.

"This considered, I cried more earnestly unto God by prayer, desiring him to strengthen me with his Holy Spirit, with boldness to confess him: and to deliver me from their enticing words, and that I were not spoiled through their philosophy and deceitful vanity after the traditions of men and ordinances of the world, and not after Christ.

"And so, after a day or two, I was sent for to the vicar of Prescot, and the parson of Grappenhall; where our most communication was concerning the mass: and he asked what offended me in the mass, I answered, the whole mass did offend me; first, because it was in a strange language, whereby the people were not edified, contrary to St, Paul's doctrine, 1 Cor. xiv., and because of the manifold and intolerable abuses and errors contained therein, contrary to Christ's priesthood and sacrifice.

"Then they asked me in what place thereof: and I named certain places; which places they went about with gentle and far-sought interpretations to mitigate, saying, those places were understood far otherwise than the words did purport, or than I did take them.

"I answered, I did understand them as they did purport, and as their own books do comment and gloss upon them.

"They said, *sacrificium* or *oblatio* did not in the mass signify any thing else, than either a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, or else a memorial of a sacrifice or oblation. So they caused a mass-book to be sent for, and showed me where, in some places of the mass, was written, *sacrificium laudis*. Whereto I answered, that it followed not therefore that in all places it signified a sacrifice or oblation of praise or thanksgiving; and although it did, yet was not a sacrifice of praise or thanksgiving to be offered for the sins of the people; for that did Christ, by his own passion, once offer on the cross: whereas the words of the mass were, that the priest did offer an oblation and sacrifice for the sins and offences both of himself, and of the people; for them that were dead, and for the salvation of the living: and that the commixion of the body and blood of Christ, was health both of body and soul.

The vicar answered, that was to be understood of the commixion of Christ's body and blood with his church or people. So, after much exhortation unto me that I should be conformable to the true catholic church, (which, as they meant, was the Romish church,) I departed, not consenting unto them.

"So within a day or twain came to me Master More, bringing with him certain articles, whereunto Dr. Crome had consented and subscribed in the presence of certain witnesses in the

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days of King Henry the Eighth, and willed me read them over, and asked me whether I would consent and subscribe unto those articles: and after communication had of one or two of the said articles, I confessed plainly I would in no wise consent and subscribe to those articles: for then I did against mine own conscience: and so he departed.

"So within a short space after, which was on Shere-Thursday, the said parson and vicar sent for me again, saying, my Lord would be at a short point with me: for if I would not consent and subscribe unto four articles drawn out of the articles aforesaid, I must go to prison straightways.

"The first was, whether the mass now used in the church of England was according to Christ's institution, and, with faith, reverence, and devotion, to be heard and seen?

"The second, whether the Almighty, by the words pronounced by the priest, did change the bread and wine, after the words of consecration, into the body and blood of Christ, whether it were received or reserved?

"Thirdly, whether the lay people ought to receive but under the form of bread only, and that the one kind was sufficient for them?

"Fourthly, whether confession to the priest now used in England were godly and necessary?

"These four questions or articles they delivered me in writing, and bade me go to my chamber and subscribe my answers with mine own hand, and come again. So within one half hour I came to them again, and delivered them the questions with mine answers. The first I denied. The second I answered, as I did to my Lord afore, and as is above written. To the third I answered, that the lay people, by Christ's institution, ought to receive under both kinds, and that it sufficeth not them to receive under the one kind only. Fourthly, that though confession auricular were a commodious mean to instruct the rude people, yet it was not necessary nor commanded of God.

"They much exhorted me then to leave mine opinions, saying, I was much deceived, understanding the Scriptures amiss; and much counselled me to follow the catholic church of Christ, and to do as others did, I answered, my faith in Christ conceived by his holy word I neither could nor would deny, alter, or change, for any living creature, whatsoever he were; desiring them to speak to my Lord, that during my life and imprisonment my poor friends might be suffered to relieve me with necessary things according to their powers. And so, after much exhortation of them, to do and believe as the catholic church did, we departed; I from thenceforth continuing in the porter's ward, not coming forth of my chamber, saving at noon and night while I dined and supped.

"Upon one of the Easter holidays Master Sherburn and Master More sent for me, persuading me much to leave mine opinions; saying, all the bringers up and favourers of that religion had evil luck, and were either put to death or in prison, and in danger of life, Again, the favourers of the religion now used had wondrous good luck and prosperity in all things: with

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many other worldly reasons of man's wisdom; for as for the Scriptures, Master Sherburn confessed himself ignorant. I answered, that I believed and leaned only to the Scriptures, not judging things by prosperity or adversity: but they earnestly advised me to refuse mine opinions, and not to let for any worldly shame, I answered, that that which I did, I did not for the avoiding of any worldly shame, saying, My soul and life were dearer to me than the avoiding of any worldly shame: neither yet did I it for any vain praise of the world, but in the reverent fear of God.

"Then Master More questioned with me of receiving the sacrament under the one kind. I said, Christ's institution was plain, that all men should drink of the cup, Then he told me of Luke xxiv. and Acts xx., where was but mention of breaking of bread only: whereof he gathered, that they received the sacrament but under one kind. That I denied, saying, those places either did not speak of the celebration of the Lord's supper, or else under the name of breaking bread was signified and meant the receiving of the sacrament, both of the body and blood of Christ, according to his institution.

"So, after much communication of that matter, Master Sherburn said, it was great pity that I, being a well-favoured young man, and one that might have good living and do good, would so foolishly cast myself away, sticking so hard to such foolish opinions. I answered as afore I had done to my Lord and to his council, that my life, mother, children, brethren, sisters, and friends, with other delights of life, were as dear and sweet unto me as unto any other man, and that I would be as loth to lose them as another would, if I might hold them with good conscience, and without the ignominy of Christ; and seeing I could not do that, my trust was, that God would strengthen me with his Holy Spirit to lose them all for his sake: for I take myself (said I) for a sheep appointed to be slain, patiently to suffer what cross soever it shall please my merciful Father to lay on me, And so, after I had desired them that if I were committed to prison my friends might be suffered to relieve me, they departed.

"Master More, after this, brought unto me a book of one Alphonsus, a Spanish friar, of all heresies wherewith the Church of Rome, which he called Christ's true church, had been troubled since Christ's time; willing me to read and take counsel of that book: and appointed me a place, where this author did write against them that say, the lay people ought to receive under both kinds.

"This author I perceived did vehemently write against Luther, Melancthon, Pellican, and other Germans of this our time, in all points defending the blasphemous abuses and enormities of the Romish church, condemning as detestable heresies whatsoever was written, taught, or believed contrary to the same; using for his strongest and surest arguments, the consent, agreement, and determination of the Romish church. So, within a few days, Master More came to me again, asking me how I liked the book, I said the author of the book did in all points, being a papist, allow the rites and abuses of the Romish church: and showed him further, that this author, without authority, and contrary both to the Scriptures and old doctors, did condemn for heresy the lay people receiving of this sacrament under both kinds, whereas this author witnesseth his own self, that Christ's church, nine hundred years after Christ, used the contrary.

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"So in conclusion he rebuked me, saying I was unlearned, and erred from the catholic faith; stubborn, and stood altogether in mine own conceit. I answered, for my learning, I knowledge myself to know nothing but Jesus Christ, even him that was crucified, and that my faith was grounded upon God's holy word only, and such as, I doubted not, pleased God, and as I would stand in until the last day, God assisting me; and that I did not say or do any thing either of stubbornness, self-wilfulness, vain-glory, or any other worldly purpose, but with good conscience, and in the fear of God: and desired him to speak to my Lord and his council, that I might find some gentleness and mercy at their hands. He made me but short answer. Then I said, I commit my cause unto God, who hath numbered the hairs of my head, and appointed the days of my life; saying, I am sure God, which is a righteous judge, would make inquisition for my blood, according as he hath promised. Then he took his book from me, and departed.

"I continued still in ward until Low Sunday, and after dinner my keeper, Richard Scot, came to me into my chamber, and told me that two young men were come to carry me to Lancaster; and so delivered me unto them, a great company, both of my Lord's servants and others, accompanying and bringing me on the way, unto Richard Adderton's, and somewhat further; counselling and persuading like as is aforesaid. To whom I made plain answer, that in matters of faith I would give place to no earthly creature. So they comforted me, and said that they were sorry for me, saying, If I knew mine own opinion to be good, I did well: and so they departed, willing my bringers to entreat me honestly.

"My bringers by the way showed me they were willed and advised to bind me, and that they desired first to see me: and after they had looked on me sitting at dinner, they answered they would take charge of me being loose, for they said I seemed to be an honest man.

"The first night we were all night at Broughton, and the second day we came to Lancaster betimes at afternoon, and so they kept me all night with them of their gentleness, and on the morrow delivered me to the jailer, who brought me into the highest prison, where I do remain."

After that, the said George came to Lancaster castle, and there being brought with other prisoners unto the sessions, was made to hold up his hands with the malefactors. The earl of Derby had this communication with him as here followeth:

"I said unto my Lord, I had not dwelled in the country these three or four years past, and came home but lately to visit my mother, children, and other my friends, and to have departed out of the country before Easter then next, and to have gone out of the realm. Wherefore I trusted, seeing nothing could be laid against me, wherein I had offended against the laws of this realm, his Lordship would not with captious questions examine me, to bring my body into danger of death, to the great discomfort of my mother; but suffer me to avoid peaceably, seeing I might have fled out of the country, and yet of mine own will came to his Lordship.

"He said to his council, he had heard tell of me above at London; and intended to make search for me, and take me either in Lancashire or above at London; and asked me into what land I would have gone.

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"I answered, I would have gone either into Almain, or else into Denmark. He said to his council—in Denmark they used such heresy as they have done in England; but as for Almain, he said, the emperor had destroyed them.

"So, after such-like words I said unto him, my trust was, that his Lordship, being of the honourable council of the late King Edward, consenting and agreeing to acts concerning faith toward God and religion, under great pain, would not so soon after consent to put poor men to shameful death, as he had threatened me, for embracing the same with so good a conscience.

"He answered, that he, with the Lord Windsor and Lord Dacres, with one more, whose name I have forgotten, did not consent to those acts; and that the nay of them four would be to be seen, as long as the parliament-house stood. Then my Lord did rehearse the evil luck of the dukes of Northumberland and Suffolk, with others, because they favoured not the true religion; and again the good hap and prosperity of the queen's Highness, because she favoured the true religion: thereby gathering the one to be good, and of God, and the other to be wicked, and of the devil; and said, that the duke of Northumberland confessed so plainly."

George Marsh to the reader.

"Forasmuch as not only when I was at Latham, but also since I departed thence, I hear that there be divers and sundry reports and opinions of the cause of mine imprisonment, as well at Latham as at Lancaster, (as by credible persons I am informed,) some saying it was only because I would not do open penance; and some, because I could not agree with my Lord and his council concerning the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, and the manner of Christ's presence there; some, because I would not grant it sufficient, and according to Christ's institution, the lay people to receive the said sacrament under the one kind only: I thought it good, dearly beloved in Christ, and my bounden duty, to certify you by mine own hand-writing, of mine examination and handling at Latham, and to tell you the truth as near as I could, to quiet your mind in this behalf; and therefore I have here written with mine own hand the certainty of those things, as near as I could, here above expressed, not omitting any thing at all concerning religion, whereof they did examine me: howbeit I perceive in some things I keep not the same order in writing that thing which was asked by them, and answered by me afore and after, as it was in very deed in all points, saving this: telling the truth as near as I can, desiring you to accept in good worth this my good will, and to pray for me and all them that be in bonds, that God will assist us with his Holy Spirit; and that we may with boldness confess his holy name; and that Christ may be magnified in our bodies, that we may stand full and perfect in all the will of God; to whom be all honour and glory, world without end, Amen."

And thus you have heard all the whole trouble which George Marsh sustained both at Latham, and also at Lancaster, testified and written with his own hand, whereto he addeth moreover, and saith:

"While I was (saith he) in ward at Latham, divers at sundry times came unto me. Some said unto me that all my fellows had recanted, and were gone home, whereas indeed that was not so; for I saw divers of them divers times after. Others said, that it was reported amongst my Lord's household, that I had consented and agreed in all things with my Lord and his council.

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"Furthermore, while I was at Lancaster, at this session, many came to me to talk with me: some of good will towards me, but without knowledge gave me such-like counsel as Peter gave Christ as he went up to Jerusalem, when he took him aside and began to rebuke him, saying, Master, favour thyself; this thing shall not be unto thee. But I answered with Christ's sharp answer unto Peter again; who turned about and said unto Peter, Come after me, Satan; and, perceiving that they were a hinderance unto me, and that they savoured not the things which are of God, but the things that are of men, I made them plain answer; that I neither could, nor would, follow their counsel, but that by God's grace I would both live and die with a pure conscience, and according as hitherto I had believed and professed. For we ought in no wise to flatter and bear with them, though they love us never so well, which go about to pluck us away from the obedience that we owe unto God and to his word; but after Christ's example sharply to rebuke them for their counsel.

"Some others, yea, even strangers also, came to me far unlike to these, who, after sober communication had, consented with me in all things, lamenting much my troublous estate, giving me comfortable words and some money too; and resorted to me oftentimes, for the space of two, three, or four days, There came also many priests to me, by two, three, four, five, or six at once, whose mouths it was a thing easy enough to stop; for the priests (which is much to be lamented) be not always the greatest clerks, and best learned in the law of God, At their departing they either consented with me, or else had nothing to say against me, saying, they could find no fault with my words. My communication with them was about the sacrament. There came also into the prison to me Master Westby, Master Ashton of Hill, Master Ashton of Chatterton, and many more, both gentlemen and others, to my great comfort; unto whom I had good occasion to utter a great part of my conscience; for God so strengthened me with his spirit of boldness, according to my humble request and prayer before, (everlasting thanks be given him therefor!) that I was nothing afraid to speak to any that came to me, no, not even to judges themselves, before whom I was thrice arraigned at the bar, amongst the thieves, with irons on my feet, and put up my hand as others did; but yet with boldness I spake unto them, so long as they would suffer me.

"They also sent for me the fourth time into their chamber, where, amongst other things, they laid it straitly to my charge, that I had reported, that I knew a whole mess of good gentlemen in Lancashire of mine opinion; and straitly charged me, upon pain of allegiance to the queen's Grace, to show who they were, But I denied that I had spoken any such thing (as it was, indeed, a false forged lie of some wicked wretches), After that, they threatened and rebuked me, for my preaching to the people out of the prison, as they called it, and for my praying and reading so loud that the people in the streets might hear. The truth is, I and my prison-fellow Warbarton, every day kneeling on our knees, did read morning and evening prayer, with the English Litany every day twice, both before noon and after, with other prayers more, and also read every day certain chapters of the Bible, commonly towards night: and we read all these things with so high and loud a voice, that the people without in the streets might hear us, and would oftentimes, namely, in the evenings, come and sit down in our sights under the windows, and hear us read; wherewith others being offended, complained."

All this while George Marsh was not yet brought before the bishop, whose name was Dr. Cotes, placed the same time in the bishopric of Chester, of whose coming then into Lancaster, the said George Marsh reporteth himself as followeth:

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"The bishop, being at Lancaster, there set up and confirmed all blasphemous idolatry; as holywater-casting, procession, gadding, mattins-mumbling, children-confirming, mass-hearing, idols-upsetting, with such heathenish rites forbidden by God; but no gospel-preaching, which Christ, God's Son, so earnestly commanded. He was informed of me, and willed to send for me and examine me; which thing he refused to do, saying he would have nothing to do with heretics so hastily: so hasty in judgment, and calling men heretics, are our bishops in their lordly dignities, afore they hear or see what is to be amended or condemned; contrary to the express commandment of God's word, which saith, Condemn no man, before thou hast tried out the truth of the matter; and when thou hast made inquisition, then reform righteously, Give no sentence before thou hast heard the cause, but first let men tell out their tale: and he that giveth sentence in a matter before he hear it, is a fool, and worthy to be confounded.

"And instead of his liberality towards me, poor prisoner, he sent for the jailer, and rebuked him because he suffered one to fare so well; willing to have me more strictly kept and dieted; but if his Lordship were tabled but one week with me, I do think he would judge our fare but slender enough.

"Also he, and his chaplains and chancellor, did find fault with the schoolmaster and others, for speaking to me, as to a most heinous heretic, and also with the jailer for suffering them. Such is the mercy that those religious fathers show to the friendless and comfortless in their adversities. If we may know the tree by the fruits, (as Christ saith,) no man can judge such for any other, but for very enemies to Christ and his true religion, God lay it never to their charges; but forgive them, and turn their hard hearts, if it be his will!

"But it is no new thing for the bishops to persecute the truth, and the prophets of the Lord for their constancy in preaching of the true faith; for so did their Pharisaical forefathers, if ye mark well the histories of the Holy Bible, Pashur was the head bishop of the temple, the ring-leader of false prophets, the chief heretic-taker; that is as much as to say, the out-thruster of true godliness. After that the dignity of priesthood was given unto him, he abused it; for he taught not, neither reprov'd by the word, but feared the godly with cruelty. He not only struck, but also imprisoned, the holy prophet Jeremy; though he withstood him not, but presently looked for the help of God, stedfastly preaching the truth of God.

"What mischief the ungracious Bishop Jason wrought among the Jews, destroying all godliness, and setting up abominable idolatrous laws, ye may read in 2 Mac, iv, How the execrable and blind bishops, Annas and Caiaphas, which never spake the truth of God themselves, unless it were against their wills, unwittingly, to their utter destruction—how (I say) they pressed the truth in Christ and his apostles, is so well known that I need not to rehearse it."

And thus much hitherto concerning the prisonment of George Marsh, and his examinations before the earl of Derby and his deputies above named. Now, proceeding further in the troublesome persecution of this blessed man, let us likewise consider the latter part of his troubles and examinations which followed under the bishop of the same diocese, which was Dr. Cotes; the effect whereof, being drawn out of his own writing, here briefly is to be seen, as followeth.

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Ye heard before, how George Marsh, being first imprisoned at Latham, and afterward translated unto Lancaster, was troubled by the earl. Again, within few days after, the said Marsh was removed from Lancaster; and coming to Chester, was sent for by Dr. Cotes, then bishop, to appear before him in his hall, nobody being present but they twain; and then he asked him certain questions concerning the sacrament: who made such answers as the bishop seemed therewith to be content, saving that he utterly denied transubstantiation, and allowed not the abuse of the mass, nor that the lay people should receive under one kind only, contrary to Christ's institution; in which points the bishop went about to persuade him: howbeit (God be thanked) all in vain, Much other talk he had with him, to move him to submit himself to the universal Church of Rome; and when he saw he could not prevail, he sent him to prison again. And after, being there, came to him divers times one Massie, a fatherly old man, one Wrench, the schoolmaster, one Hensham, the bishop's chaplain, and the archdeacon, with many more; who, with all probability of words and philosophy, or worldly wisdom and deceitful vanity, after the tradition of men, and the beggarly ordinances and laws of the world, but not after Christ, (as it were all singing one song,) went about to persuade him to submit himself to the Church of Rome, and to acknowledge the pope to be head thereof, and to interpret the Scriptures none otherwise than that church did; with many such-like arguments and persuasions of fleshly wisdom.

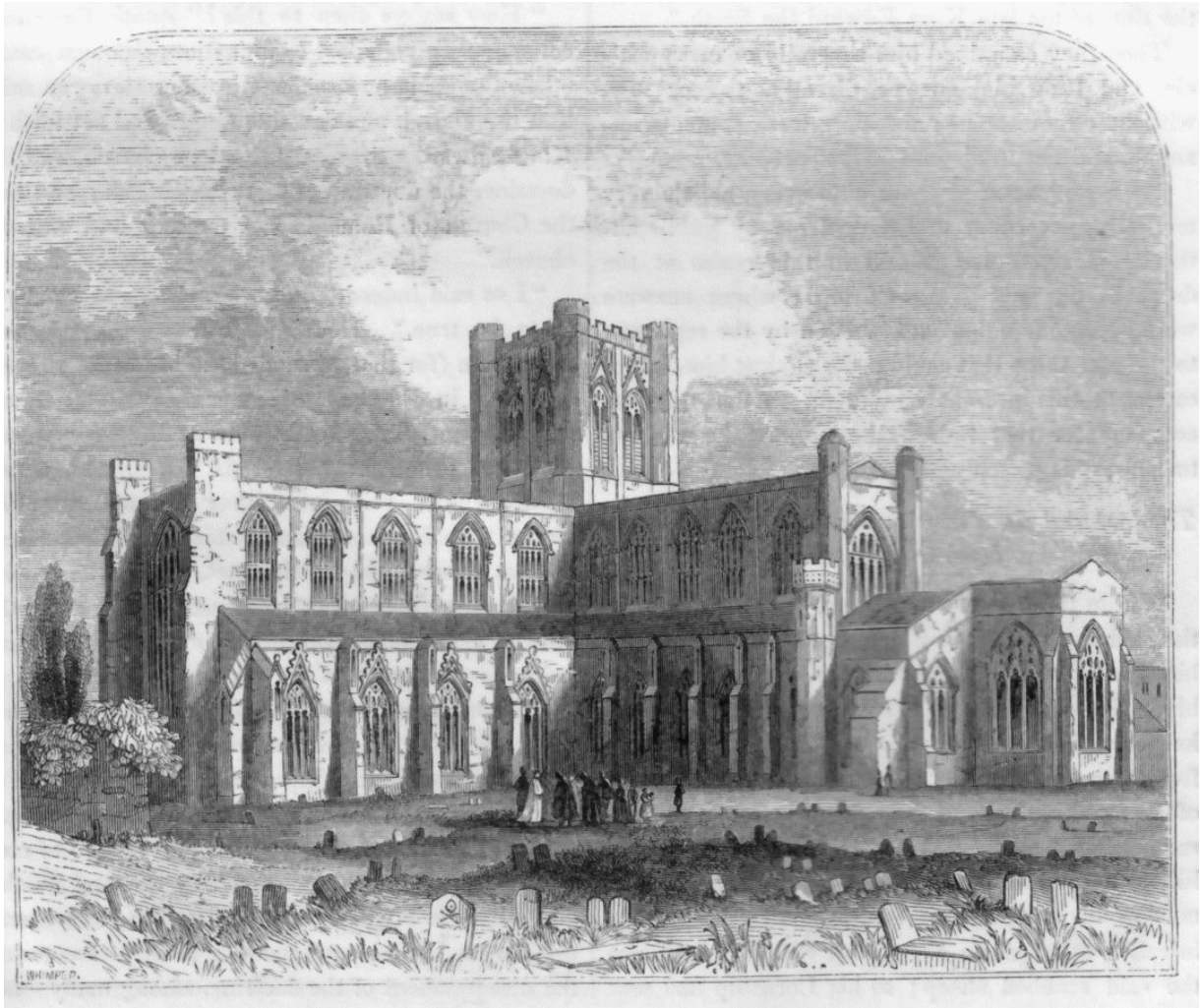
To whom the said George Marsh answered, that he did acknowledge and believe (though much evil be withal annexed) one holy catholic and apostolic church, without which there is no salvation, and that this church is but one; because it ever hath, doth, and shall, confess and believe one only God, and him only worship; and one only Messiah, and in him only trust for salvation: which church also is ruled and led by one Spirit, one word, and one faith; and that this church is universal and catholic, because it ever hath been since the world's beginning, is, and shall endure to the world's end, and comprehending within it all nations, kindreds, languages, degrees, states, and conditions of men; and that this church is builded only upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles, Jesus Christ himself being the head corner-stone; and not upon the Romish laws and decrees, the bishop of Rome being the supreme head.

And whereas they said, the church did stand in ordinary succession of bishops, being ruled by general councils, holy fathers, and the laws of holy church, and so had continued by the space of fifteen hundred years and more; he made answer, that the holy church, which is the body of Christ, and therefore most worthy to be called holy, was before any succession of bishops, general councils, or Romish decrees; neither yet was bound to any time or place, ordinary succession, general councils, or traditions of fathers, neither had any supremacy over empires and kingdoms: but that it was a little poor silly flock, dispersed and scattered abroad, as sheep without a shepherd in the midst of wolves, or as a flock of orphans and fatherless children; and that this church was led and ruled by the only laws, counsels, and word of Christ, he being the supreme Head of this church, and assisting, succouring, and defending her from all assaults, errors, troubles, and persecutions, wherewith she is ever compassed about.

He showed and proved unto them also, by the flood of Noah, the destruction of Sodom, the Israelites departing out of Egypt; by the parables of the sower, of the king's son's marriage, of the great supper, and by other plain sentences of Scripture, that this church was of none estimation, and little in comparison of the church of hypocrites and wicked worldlings.

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He was thrust at with all violence of craft and subtlety, but yet the Lord upheld him and delivered him. Everlasting thanks be to that merciful and faithful Lord, which suffereth us not to be tempted above our might, but in the midst of our troubles strengtheneth us with his most Holy Spirit of comfort and patience, giveth us a mouth and wisdom how and what to speak, where-against all his adversaries were not able to resist.



Chester Cathedral

Another appearance of George Marsh before Dr, Cotes, bishop of Chester.

Now, after that the said bishop had taken his pleasure in punishing this his prisoner, and often reviling him, giving taunts and odious names of heretic, &c., he caused him to be brought forth into a chapel, in the cathedral church of Chester, called Our Lady Chapel, before him the said bishop, at two o'clock in the afternoon, who was there placed in a chair for that purpose, and

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Fulk Dutton, mayor of the said city, Dr. Wall, and other priests assisting him, placed not far from the said bishop, but somewhat lower; George Wensloe, chancellor, and one John Chetham, registrar, sat directly over against the said bishop.

Then they caused the said George Marsh to take an oath upon a book, to answer truly unto such articles as should be objected against him. Upon which oath taken, the chancellor laid unto his charge, that he had preached and openly published most heretically and blasphemously within the parish of Dean, Eccles, Bolton, Bury, and many other parishes within the bishop's diocese, in the months of January, February, or some other time of the year last preceding, directly against the pope's authority and catholic Church of Rome, the blessed mass, the sacrament of the altar, and many other articles. Unto all which in sum he answered, that he neither heretically nor blasphemously preached or spake against any of the said articles; but simply and truly, as occasion served, and (as it were thereunto forced in conscience) maintained the truth touching the same articles, "as," he said, "all you now present did acknowledge the same in the time of the late King Edward the Sixth."

Then they examined him severally of every article, and bade him answer directly, yea or nay, without circumstance; for they were come to examine, and not to dispute at that present.

Then he answered them unto every article very modestly, according to the doctrine by public authority received and taught in this realm at the death of the said King Edward: whose answers were every one noted and written by the registrar, to the uttermost that could make against him, which cannot at this present be gotten. After this, the company for that time brake up, and he was returned to his prison again.

The last and final appearance of George Marsh before the same.

Within three weeks after this, or thereabouts, in the said chapel, and in like sort as before, the said bishop and others before named there being assembled, the said George Marsh was brought by his keeper and others with bills and divers weapons before them; where, first, the said chancellor, by way of an oration, declared unto the people present the said bishop's charge and burning charity, who, even like as a good shepherd doth see to his flock, that none of his sheep have the scab or other disease for infecting other clean sheep, but will save and cure the said scabbed sheep; so his Lordship had sent for the said George Marsh there present, as a scabbed sheep, and had weeded him out for corrupting others, and had done what he could in showing his charitable disposition toward the said Marsh, to reduce him from his naughty heresies; but all that he could do would not help: so that he was now determined, if the said Marsh would not relent and abjure, to pronounce and give sentence definitive against him, Wherefore he bade the said George Marsh to be now well advised what he would do, for it stood upon his life: and if he would not at that present forsake his heretical opinions, it would be (after the sentence given) too late, though he would never so gladly desire it.

Then the said chancellor first asked him, whether he were not one of the bishop's diocese? To the which he answered, that he knew not how large his diocese was, for his continuance was at Cambridge, But then they replied and asked, whether he had not lately been at Dean parish in Lancashire, and there abode? And he answered, "Yea." Then the chancellor

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read all his former answers that he made in that place at his former examination: and at every one he asked him, whether he would stick to the same, or no? To the which he answered again, "Yea, yea."

"How say ye then to this?" quoth the chancellor,— "In your last examination, amongst many other damnable and schismatical heresies, you said, that the church and doctrine taught and set forth in King Edward's time, was the true church, and the doctrine, the doctrine of the true church: and that the Church of Rome is not the true and catholic church."

"I so said indeed," quoth Marsh, "and I believe it to be true." Here also others took occasion to ask him (for that he denied the bishop of Rome's authority in England) whether Linus, Anacletus, and Clement, that were bishops of Rome, were not good men, and he answered. Yes, and divers others; but," said he, "they claimed no more authority in England than the bishop of Canterbury doth at Rome; and I strive not," quoth he, "with the place, neither speak I against the person of the bishop, but against his doctrine; which in most points is repugnant to the doctrine of Christ."

"Thou art an arrogant fellow indeed then," said the bishop. "In what article is the doctrine of the Church of Rome repugnant to the doctrine of Christ?" To whom George Marsh answered and said, "O my Lord, I pray you judge not so of me: I stand now upon the point of my life and death; and a man in my case hath no cause to be arrogant, neither am I, God is my record. And as concerning the disagreement of the doctrine, among many other things the Church of Rome erreth in the sacrament. For whereas Christ, in the institution thereof, did as well deliver the cup as the bread, saying, Drink ye all of this; and Mark reporteth, that they did drink of it: in like manner St. Paul delivered it unto the Corinthians. And in the same sort also was it used in the primitive church by the space of many hundred years. Now the Church of Rome doth take away one part of the sacrament from the laity, Wherefore, if I could be persuaded in my conscience by God's word that it were well done, I could gladly yield in this point."

Then said the bishop, "There is no disputing with a heretic." And therefore when all his answers were read, he asked him whether he would stand to the same; "being as they were," said he, "full of heresy, or else forsake them, and come unto the catholic church."

To whom he made this full answer, and said, that he held no heretical opinion, but utterly abhorred all kind of heresy, although they most untruly so did slander him. And he desired all the people present to bear him witness, (if hereafter any would slander him, and say that he held any grievous heresy,) that in all articles of religion he held none other opinion than was by law most godly established and publicly taught in England at the death of King Edward the Sixth; and in the same pure religion and doctrine he would, by God's grace, stand, live, and die,—And here the chancellor spake to one Leach, which stood near unto Marsh, and bade him stand farther from him; for his presence did him no good.

This being done, the bishop took a writing out of his bosom and began to read the sentence of condemnation: but when the bishop had read almost half thereof, the chancellor called him, and said, "Good my Lord, stay, stay; for if ye proceed any farther, it will be too late to call it again" and so the bishop stayed. Then his popish priests, and many other of the ignorant

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people, called upon Marsh, with many earnest words, to recant; and, amongst others, one Pulleyn, a shoe-maker, said to him, "For shame, man, remember thyself, and recant." They bade him kneel down and pray, and they would pray for him: so they kneeled down, and he desired them to pray for him, and he would pray for them.

The bishop then asked him again, whether he would not have the queen's mercy in time; and he answered, he did gladly desire the same, and did love her Grace as faithfully as any of them; but yet he durst not deny his Saviour Christ, for losing his mercy everlasting, and so win everlasting death.

Then the bishop put his spectacles again upon his nose, and read forward his sentence about five or six lines, and there again the chancellor with a glavering and smiling countenance called to the bishop, and said, "Yet, good my Lord, once again stay; for if that word be spoken, all is past, no relenting will then serve." And the bishop, pulling off his spectacles, said, "I would stay; and if it would be!"

"How sayest thou," quoth he, "wilt thou recant?" Many of the priests and ignorant people bade him do so, and call to God for grace; and pulled him by the sleeve, and bade him recant and save his life. To whom he answered, "I would as fain to live as you, if in so doing I should not deny my Master Christ; and so again he should deny me, before his Father in heaven."

So the bishop read out his sentence unto the end, and straight after said unto him, "Now will I no more pray for thee, than I will for a dog." And Marsh answered, that notwithstanding he would pray for his Lordship: and after this the bishop delivered him unto the sheriffs of the city. Then his late keeper bade him, "Farewell, good George," with weeping tears, which caused the officers to carry him to a prison at the North-gate, where he was very straitly kept until the time he went to his death, during which time he had small comfort or relief of any worldly creature.

For being in the dungeon or dark prison, none that would him good could speak with him, or at least durst enterprize so to do for fear of accusation: and some of the citizens which loved him in God, for the gospel's sake, (whereof there were but a few,) although they were never acquainted with him, would sometimes in the evening, at a hole upon the wall of the city, (that went into the said dark prison,) call to him, and ask him how he did. He would answer them most cheerfully, that he did well; and thanked God most highly, that he would vouchsafe of his mercy to appoint him to be a witness of his truth, and to suffer for the same, wherein he did most rejoice; beseeching him that he would give him grace not to faint under the cross, but patiently bear the same to his glory, and comfort of his church: with many other like godly sayings at sundry times, as one that most desired to be with Christ, Once or twice he had money cast him in at the same hole, about ten pence at one time, and two shillings s at another time; for which he gave God thanks, and used the same to his necessity.

When the time and day appointed came that he should suffer, the sheriffs of the city, whose names were Amry and Cooper, with their officers and a great number of poor simple barbers with rusty bills and pole-axes, went to the North-gate, and there took out the said George Marsh, who came with them most humbly and meekly, with a lock upon his feet. And as he came upon the way towards the place of execution, some folks proffered him money, and looked

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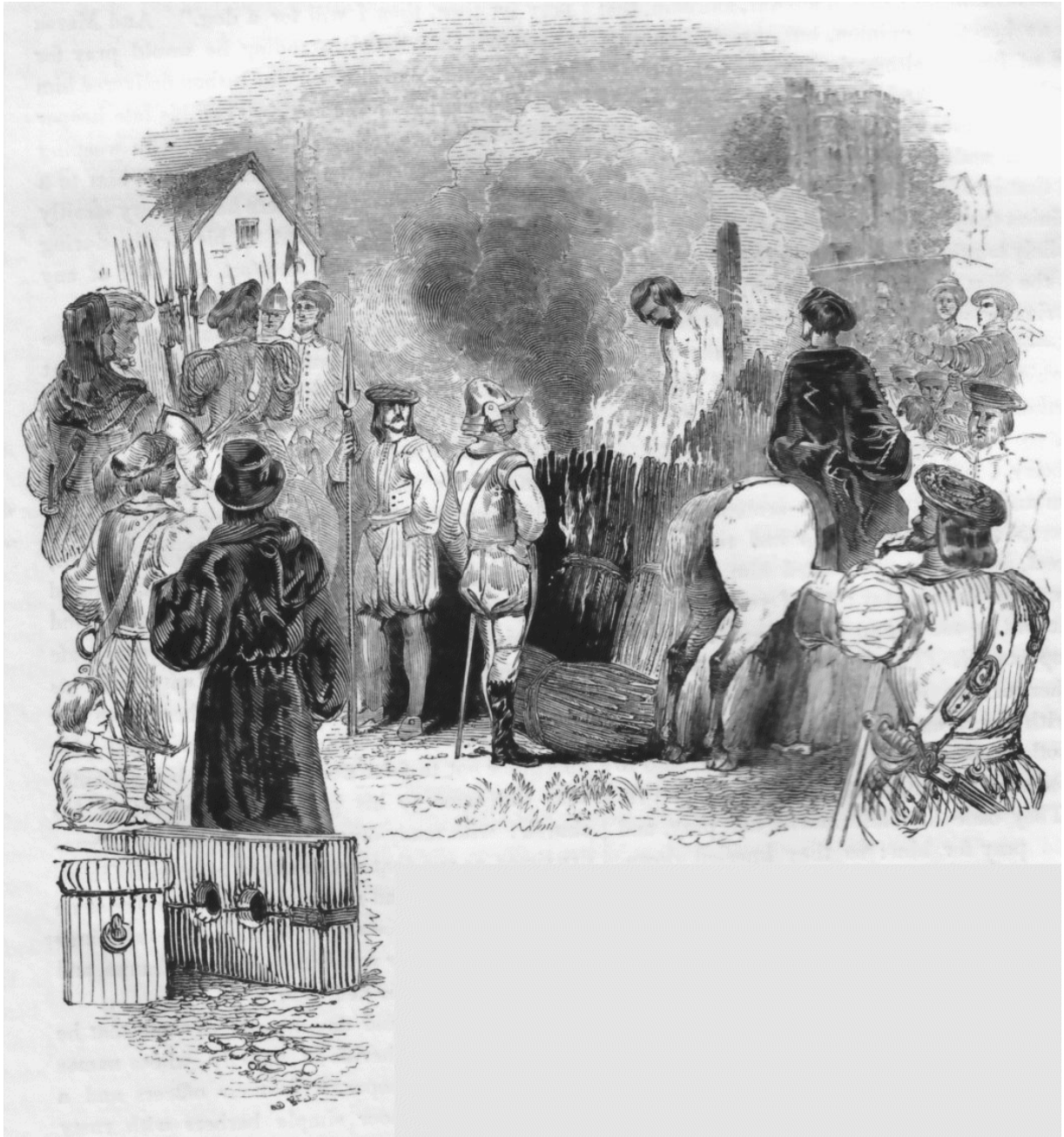
that he should have gone with a little purse in his hand, (as the manner of felons was accustomed in that city in times past, at their going to execution,) to the end to gather money to give unto a priest to say trentals or masses for them after their death, whereby they might, as they thought, be saved: but Marsh said, he would not as then be troubled with meddling with money; but willed some good man to take the money, if the people were disposed to give any, and to give it unto the prisoners or poor people. So he went all the way unto his death with his book in his hand, looking upon the same; and many of the people said, "This man goeth not unto his death as a thief, or as one that deserveth to die."

Now when he came to the place of execution without the city, near unto Spittle-Boughton, one Vawdrey, being then deputy chamberlain of Chester, showed Marsh a writing under a great seal, saying, that it was a pardon for him if he would recant. Whereat Marsh answered, that he would gladly accept the same (and said further that he loved the queen); but, forasmuch as it tended to pluck him from God, he could not receive it upon that condition. After that, he began to speak to the people, showing the cause of his death, and would have exhorted them to stick unto Christ. Whereupon one of the sheriffs said, "George Marsh, we must have no sermoning now." To whom he said, "Master, I cry you mercy:" and so kneeling down made his prayers, and then put off his clothes unto his shirt, and then was he chained to the post, having a number of faggots under him, and a thing made like a firkin, with pitch and tar in the same, over his head; and by reason the fire was unskilfully made, and that the wind did drive the same to and fro, he suffered great extremity in his death, which notwithstanding he abode very patiently.

Wherein this in him is to be noted, that when he had been a long time tormented in the fire without moving, having his flesh so broiled and puffed up, that they which stood before him underneath could see the chain wherewith he was fastened, and therefore supposed no less but he had been dead; notwithstanding suddenly he spread abroad his arms, saying, "Father of heaven, have mercy upon me!" and so yielded his spirit into the hands of the Lord.

Upon this many of the people said, that he was a martyr, and died marvellous patiently and godly: which thing caused the bishop shortly after to make a sermon in the cathedral church, and therein affirmed, that the said Marsh was a heretic, burnt like a heretic, and was a firebrand in hell.

In recompence of this his good and charitable sermon, within short time after, the just judgment of God appeared upon the said bishop, recompensing him in such wise, that not long after he turned up his heels and died, Upon what cause his death was gendered, I have not here precisely to pronounce, because the rumour and voice of the people is not always to be followed, Notwithstanding, such a report went in all men's mouths, that he died of a disgraceful disease. Whereupon, whether he died so or no, I am not certain, neither dare lean too much upon public speech: albeit this is certain, that when he was afterward searched, being dead, by some of his secret friends and certain aldermen for stopping the rumour of the people, this maidenly priest and bishop was found not to be free from certain appearance which declared but small virginity in him, and that the rumour was not raised up altogether upon nought amongst the people, But of this I will stay, and proceed no further; not because more cannot be said, but because I will not be so uncharitable in defacing these men, as they are cruel in condemning God's servants to death.



George Marsh burnt at the stake.

This good man, George Marsh, wrote divers and sundry letters out of prison, besides his examinations, as before ye have heard: touching the which his examinations, this letter first he sendeth to his friends, the copy whereof here followeth.

"Here have you, dearly beloved friends in Christ, the chief and principal articles of Christian doctrine briefly touched, which heretofore I have both believed, professed, and taught;

and as yet do believe, profess, and teach; and am surely purposed, by God's grace, to continue in the same until the last day. I do want both time and opportunity to write out at large the probations, causes, parts, effects, and contraries or errors of these articles, which whoso desireth to know, let them read over the common-places of the godly learned men, Philip Melancthon and Erasmus Sarcerus, whose judgment in these matters of religion I do chiefly follow and lean unto. The Lord give us understanding in all things, and deliver us from this present evil world, according to his will and pleasure, and bring us again out of this hell of affliction, into which it hath pleased the merciful Lord to throw us down; and deliver us out of the mouth of the lion, and from all evil doing, and keep us unto his everlasting and heavenly kingdom. Amen.

"Though Satan be suffered as wheat to sift us for a time, yet faileth not our faith through Christ's aid, but that we are at all times able and ready to confirm the faith of our weak brethren, and always ready to give an answer to every man that asketh us a reason of the hope that is in us; and that with meekness and reverence, having a good conscience; that whereas they backbite us as evil doers, they may be ashamed, forasmuch as they have falsely accused our good conversation in Christ, I thought myself now of late years, for the cares of this life, well settled with my loving and faithful wife and children, and also well quieted in the peaceable possession of that pleasant Euphrates, I do confess it: but the Lord, who worketh all things for the best to them that love him, would not there leave me, but did take my dear and beloved wife from me; whose death was a painful cross to my flesh.

"Also I thought myself now of late well placed under my most loving and most gentle Master Laurence Saunders, in the cure of Langton, But the Lord of his great mercy would not suffer me long there to continue (although for the small time I was in his vineyard, I was not all an idle workman): but he hath provided me, I perceive it, to taste of a far other cup; for by violence hath he yet once again driven me out of that glorious Babylon, that I should not taste too much of her wanton pleasures, but with his most dearly beloved disciples to have my inward rejoicing in the cross of his Son Jesus Christ; the glory of whose church, I see it well, standeth not in the harmonious sound of bells and organs, nor yet in the glistening of mitres and copes, neither in the shining of gilt images and lights, (as the blind papists do judge it,) but in continual labours and daily afflictions for his name's sake.

"God, at this present here in England, hath his fan in his hand; and after his great harvest, where-into these years past he hath sent his labourers, is now sifting the corn from the chaff, and purging his floor, and ready to gather the wheat into his garner, and burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire.

"Take heed and beware of the leaven of the scribes and of the Sadducees: I mean the erroneous doctrine of the papists, which with their glosses deprave the Scriptures; for, as the apostle St, Peter doth teach us, there shall be false teachers amongst us, which privily shall bring in damnable sects: and saith, that many shall follow their damnable ways, by whom the way of truth shall be evil spoken of, and that through covetousness they shall with feigned words make merchandise of us. And Christ earnestly warneth us to beware of false prophets, which come to us in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves. By their fruits you shall know them. The fruits of the prophets are their doctrine. In this place are all we Christians taught that we should try the preachers, and others that come under colour to set forth true religion unto us,

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according to the saying of St. Paul. Try all things, and choose that which is good. Also the evangelist St. John saith, Believe not every spirit; but prove the spirits, whether they be of God or not: for many false prophets, saith he, are gone out into the world. Therefore if thou wilt know the true prophets from the false, try their doctrine by the true touchstone, which is the word of God: and as the godly Bereans did, search ye the Scriptures, whether those things which be preached unto you, be even so or not; for else, by the outward conversation of them, ye may easily be deceived."

A letter exhortatory of George Marsh, to the faithful professors of Langton.

"Grace be unto you, and peace be multiplied in the knowledge of Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen.

"I thought it my duty to write unto you, my beloved in the Lord at Langton, to stir up your minds, and to call to your remembrance the words which have been told you before, and to exhort you, (as that good man, and full of the Holy Ghost, Barnabas, did the Antiochians,) that with purpose of heart ye continually cleave unto the Lord; and that ye stand fast, and be not moved away from the hope of the gospel, whereof, God be thanked, ye have had plenteous preaching unto you by your late pastor Master Saunders, and other faithful ministers of Jesus Christ, which now, when persecution ariseth because of the word, do not fall away like shrinking children, and forsake the truth, being ashamed of the gospel whereof they have been preachers; but are willing and ready, for your sakes, which are Christ's mystical body, to forsake not only the chief and principal delights of this life (I do mean, their native countries, friends, livings, &c.); but also to fulfil their ministry to the utmost, that is to wit, with their painful imprisonments and blood-sheddings, if need shall require, to confirm and seal Christ's gospel, whereof they have been ministers; and, as St. Paul saith, they are ready not only to be cast into prison, but also to be killed for the name of the Lord Jesus.

"Whether of these—being that good salt of the earth, that is, true ministers of God's word, by whose doctrine, being received through faith, men are made savoury unto God, and which themselves lose not their saltness, now when they be proved with the boisterous storms of adversity and persecution;—or others, being that unsavoury salt which hath lost his saltness; that is to wit, those ungodly ministers, which do fall from the word of God into the dreams and traditions of antichrist: whether of these, I say, be more to be credited and believed, let all men judge.

"Wherefore, my dearly beloved, receive the word of God with meekness, that is grafted in you, which is able to save your souls: and see that ye be not forgetful hearers, deceiving yourselves with sophistry, but doers of the word; whom Christ doth liken to a wise man, which buildeth his house on a rock; that when the great rain descended, and the floods came and beat upon the house, it fell not, because it was grounded upon a rock: that is to wit, that when Satan, with all his legion of devils, with all their subtle suggestions, and the world with all the mighty princes thereof, with their crafty counsels, do furiously rage against us, we faint not, but abide constant in the truth; being grounded upon a most sure rock, which is Christ, and the doctrine of the gospel, against which the gates of hell (that is, the power of Satan) cannot prevail.

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"And be ye followers of Christ and his apostles, and receive the word in much affliction, as the godly Thessalonians did: for the true followers of Christ and the apostles, be they which receive the word of God. They only receive the word of God, which both believe it, and also frame their lives after it, and be ready to suffer all manner of adversity for the name of the Lord: as Christ and all the apostles did, and as all that will live godly in Christ Jesu must do: for there is none other way into the kingdom of heaven, but through much tribulation. And if we suffer any thing for the kingdom of heaven's sake, and for righteousness' sake, we have the prophets, Christ, the apostles, and martyrs, for an ensample to comfort us: for they did all enter into the kingdom of heaven at the strait gate and narrow way that leadeth unto life, which few do find. And unless we will be content to deny our own selves, and take up the cross of Christ and follow him, we cannot be his disciples; for if we deny to suffer with Christ and his saints, it is an evident argument, that we shall never reign with him.

And again, if we can find in our hearts patiently to suffer persecutions and tribulations, it is a sure token of the righteous judgment of God, that we are counted worthy of the kingdom of God, for which we also suffer. It is verily, saith the apostle, a righteous thing with God to recompense tribulation to them that trouble us, and rest to us that be troubled: for after this life, the godly, being delivered from their tribulations and pains, shall have a most quiet and joyful rest; whereas the wicked and ungodly, contrariwise, shall be tormented for evermore with intolerable and unspeakable pains, as Christ, by the parable of the rich glutton and wretched Lazarus, doth plainly declare and teach. These ought we to have before our eyes always; that in the time of adversity and persecution (whereof all that will be the children of God shall be partakers, and wherewith it hath pleased God to put some of us in use already) we may stand stedfast in the Lord, and endure even unto the end, that we may be saved, For unless we, like good warriors of Jesus Christ, will endeavour ourselves to please him who hath chosen us to be soldiers, and fight the good fight of faith even unto the end, we shall not obtain that crown of righteousness, which the Lord, that is a righteous judge, shall give to all them that love his coming.

"Let us therefore receive with meekness the word that is grafted in us, which is able to save our souls, and ground ourselves on the sure rock Christ. For, as the apostle saith, other foundation can no man lay, besides that which is laid already, which is Jesus Christ. If any man build on this foundation, gold, silver, precious stones, timber, hay, stubble, every man's work shall appear, for the day shall declare it, and it shall be showed in the fire. And the fire shall try every man's work what it is, If any man's work that he hath builded upon, abide, he shall receive a reward: if any man's work burn, he shall suffer loss; but he shall be safe himself, nevertheless yet as it were through fire.

"By fire here doth the apostle understand persecution and trouble; for they which do truly preach and profess the word of God, which is called the word of the cross, shall be railed upon and abhorred, hated, thrust out of company, persecuted and tried in the furnace of adversity, as gold and silver are tried in the fire. By gold, silver, and precious stones, he understandeth them that in the midst of persecution abide stedfast in the word. By timber, hay, and stubble, are meant such, as in time of persecution do fall away from the truth. And when Christ doth purge his floor with the wind of adversity, these scatter away from the face of the earth like light chaff, which shall be burned with unquenchable fire, If they then which do believe, do in time of persecution

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stand stedfastly in the truth, the builder (I do mean the preacher of the word) shall receive a reward, and the work shall be preserved and saved: but if so be that they go back and swerve when persecution ariseth, the builder shall suffer loss, that is to say, shall lose his labour and cost; but yet he shall be saved, if he, being tried in the fire of persecution, do abide fast in the faith.

"Wherefore, my beloved, give diligent heed, that ye as living stones be builded upon that sure rock, and be made a spiritual house and a holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable unto God by Jesus Christ. For we are the true temple of God, and the Spirit of God dwelleth in us, if so be that we continue in the doctrine of the gospel, We are also a holy and royal priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices and oblations; for the sacrifices of the New Testament are spiritual, and of three manners. The first is the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving; which St. Paul doth call the fruits of those lips which confess the name of God. The second is mercy towards our neighbours, as the prophet Hosea saith, I will have mercy and not sacrifice: read also Matthew xiv. The third is, when we make our body a quick sacrifice, holy, and acceptable unto God; that is, when we mortify and kill our fleshly concupiscences and carnal lusts, and so bring our flesh, through the help of the Spirit, under the obedience of God's holy law. This is a sacrifice to God most acceptable, which the apostle calleth Our reasonable serving of God. And let us be sure, that unless we do now at this present take better heed to ourselves, and use thankfully the grace of God offered to us by the gospel preached these years past, whereby we are induced and brought to the knowledge of the truth; unless, I say, we keep Christ and his holy word dwelling by faith in the house and temple of our hearts, the same thing that Christ threateneth unto the Jews, shall happen unto us; that is to wit, the unclean spirit of ignorance, superstition, idolatry, and infidelity or unbelief, the mother and head of all vices, which, by the grace of God, was cast out of us, bringing with him seven other spirits worse than himself, shall, to our utter destruction, return again unto us; and so shall we be in worse case than ever we were before. For if we, after we have escaped from the filthiness of the world, through the knowledge of the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, be yet tangled therein again, and overcome. then is the latter end worse than the beginning; and it had been better for us not to have known the way of righteousness, than after we have known it, to turn from the holy commandment given to us, For it is then happened unto us according to the true proverb, The dog is turned to his vomit again, and the sow that was washed, to wallowing in the mire. And thus to continue and persevere in infidelity, and to kick against the manifest and known truth, and so to die without repentance, and with a despair of the mercy of God in Jesus Christ, is to sin against the Holy Ghost, which shall not be forgiven, neither in this world, neither in the world to come. For it is not possible, saith St. Paul, that they which were once lighted, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and have tasted of the good word of God, and of the power of the world to come; if they fall away, should be renewed again by repentance; forasmuch as they have, as concerning themselves, crucified the Son of God again, making a mocking of him. St. Paul's meaning in this place is, that they that believe truly and unfeignedly God's word, do continue and abide stedfast in the known truth.

"If any therefore fall away from Christ and his word, it is a plain token that they were but dissembling hypocrites, for all their fair faces outwardly, and never believed truly; as Judas, Simon Magus, Demas, Hymeneus, Philetus, and others were, which all fell away from the known verity, and made a mock of Christ: which St. Paul doth call here, to crucify Christ anew, because

that they, turning to their old vomit again, did most blasphemously tread the benefits of Christ's death and passion under their feet. They that are such, can in no wise be renewed by repentance, for their repentance is fleshly, as the repentance of Cain, Saul, and Judas was; which, being without godly comfort, breedeth desperation unto death. These are not of the number of the elect: and, as St. John doth say, They went out from us, but they were not of us; for if they had been of us, they would have remained with us unto the end. Also the apostle saith in another place, If we sin willingly, after we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sin, but a fearful looking for judgment and violent fire, which shall devour the adversaries.

"They sin willingly, which of a set malice and purpose do withhold the truth in unrighteousness and lying, kicking against the manifest and open known truth, which although they do perfectly know that in all the world there is none other sacrifice for sin, but only that omni-sufficient sacrifice of Christ's death; yet, notwithstanding, they will not commit themselves wholly unto it, but rather despise it, allowing other sacrifices for sin, invented by the imagination of man, (as we see by daily experience,) unto whom, if they abide still in their wickedness and sin, remaineth a most horrible and dreadful judgment. This is that sin unto death, for which St. John would not that a man should pray.

"Wherefore, my beloved in Christ, let us, on whom the ends of the world are come, take diligent heed unto ourselves, that now, in these last and perilous times, in the which the devil is come down, and hath great wrath because he knoweth his time is but short, and whereof the prophets, Christ, and the apostles have so much spoken, and given us so earnest forewarning, we withhold not the truth in unrighteousness, believing, doing, or speaking any thing against our knowledge and conscience, or without faith. For if we so do, for whatsoever cause it be, it is a wilful and obstinate infidelity, and a sin unto death: and as our Saviour Christ saith, If ye believe not, ye shall die in your own sins. For unless we hold fast the word of life, both believing it, and also bringing forth fruit worthy of repentance, we shall, with the unprofitable fig tree, which did but cumber the ground, be cut down, and our talent taken from us, and given unto another that shall put it to a better use: and we, through our own unthankfulness put from the mercy of God, shall never be able to pay our debts: that is to say, we shall altogether be lost and undone. For the earth that drinketh in the rain that cometh oft upon it, and bringeth forth herbs meet for them that dress it, receiveth blessing of God; but that ground that beareth thorns and briers, is reproved and is nigh unto cursing, whose end is to be burned.

"Nevertheless, dear friends, we trust to see better of you, and things which accompany salvation, and that ye, being the good ground, watered with the moistness of God's word, plenteously preached among you, will with a good heart hear the word of God and keep it, bringing forth fruit with patience. And be none of those forgetful and hypocritical hearers, which, although they hear the word, yet the devil cometh, and catcheth away that which was sown in their heart; either having no root in themselves, endure but a season, and as soon as tribulation or persecution ariseth because of the word, by and by they are offended: or, with the cares of this world and deceitfulness of riches, choke the word, and so are unfruitful. Read the parable of the sower, and among other things, note and mark, that the most part of the hearers of God's word are but hypocrites, and hear the word without any fruit or profit, yea, only to their greater condemnation; for only the fourth part of the seed doth bring forth fruit. Therefore let not us, that

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be ministers, or professors, and followers of God's word, be discouraged, though that very few do give credit, and follow the doctrine of the gospel, and be saved.

"Whosoever therefore hath ears to hear, let him hear: for whosoever hath, to him shall be given, and he shall have abundance; but whosoever hath not, from him shall be taken away even that he hath: that is to say, they that have a desire of righteousness, and of the truth, shall be more and more illuminated of God: on the contrary part, they that do not covet after righteousness and truth, are more hardened and blinded, though they seem unto themselves most wise. For God doth here follow an example of a loving father, which when he seeth that fatherly love and correction doth not help towards his children, useth another way. He ceaseth to be beneficial unto them, and to minister unto them fatherly correction: he giveth them over unto themselves, suffering them to live as they list themselves.

"But we trust to see better of you, my dearly beloved, that ye, like very Gadarenites, for fear to lose your worldly substance or other delights of this life, will not banish away Christ and his gospel from among you; but that ye, with all diligence of mind, will receive the word of God, taught you by such ministers as now, when persecution ariseth because of the word, are not ashamed of the testimony of our Lord Jesus, but are content to suffer adversity with the gospel, and therein to suffer trouble as evil doers, even unto bonds. And if ye refuse thus to do, your own blood will be upon your own heads. And as ye have had plenteous preaching of the gospel, more than others have had,—so ye shall be sure, if ye repent not and bring forth fruits worthy of repentance, to be sorer plagued, and to receive greater vengeance at God's hand, than others; and the kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and be given to another nation, which will bring forth the fruits thereof.

"Wherefore, my dearly beloved in Christ, take good heed to yourselves, and ponder well in your minds, how fearful and horrible a thing it is to fall into the hands of the living God. And see that ye receive not the word of God in vain, but continually labour in faith, and declare your faith by your good works, which are infallible witnesses of the true justifying faith, which is never idle, but worketh by charity. And see that ye continually give yourselves unto all manner of good works; amongst the which the chiefest are, to be obedient to the magistrates, (since they are the ordinance of God, whether they be good or evil,) unless they command idolatry and ungodliness; that is to say, things contrary unto true religion: for, then ought we to say with Peter, We ought more to obey God than man. But in any wise we must beware of tumult, insurrection, rebellion, or resistance.

"The weapon of a Christian in this matter, ought to be the sword of the Spirit, which is God's word and prayer, coupled with humility and due submission, and with readiness of heart, rather to die than to do any ungodliness, Christ also doth teach us, that all power is of God, yea, even the power of the wicked, which God causeth oftentimes to reign for our sins and disobedience towards him and his word. Whosoever then doth resist any power, doth resist the ordinance of God, and so purchase to himself utter destruction and undoing.

"We must also, by all means, be promoters of unity, peace, and concord. We must honour and reverence princes, and all that be in authority; and pray for them, and be diligent to set forth their profit and commodity. Secondly, We must obey our parents, or them that be in their rooms;

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and be careful for our households, that they be provided for and fed, not only with bodily food, but much rather with spiritual food, which is the word of God. Thirdly, We must serve our neighbours by all means we can, remembering well the saying of Christ, Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye likewise unto them: for this is the law and the prophets, Fourthly, We must diligently exercise the necessary work of prayer for all estates; knowing that God therefore hath so much commanded it, and hath made so great promises unto it, and doth so well accept it. After these works, we must learn to know the cross, and what affection and mind we must bear towards our adversaries and enemies, whatsoever they be, to suffer all adversities and evils patiently, to pray for them that hurt, persecute, and trouble us: and by thus using ourselves, we shall obtain a hope and certainty of our vocation, that we be the elect children of God.

"And thus I commend you, brethren, unto God and to the word of his grace, which is able to build further, and to give you an inheritance among all them which are sanctified; beseeching you to help Master Saunders and me your late pastors, and all them that be in bonds for the gospel's sake, with your prayers to God for us, that we may be delivered from all them that believe not, and from unreasonable and froward men; and that this our imprisonment and affliction may be to the glory and profit of our Christian brethren in the world; and that Christ may be magnified in our bodies, whether it be by death or by life, Amen.

"Salute from me all the faithful brethren: and because I write not several letters to them, let them either read or hear these my letters. The grace of our Lord be with you all, Amen

"The twenty-eighth of June; by the unprofitable servant of Jesus Christ, and now also his prisoner.

GEORGE MARSH.

Save yourselves from this untoward generation. Pray, pray, pray: never more need."

Another letter of the said George Marsh, to certain of his dearly beloved friends at Manchester in Lancashire.

"Grace be with you and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ, Amen.

"After salutations in Christ to you, with thanks for your friendly remembrances of me, desiring and wishing unto you, not only in my letters, but also in my daily prayers, such consolation in spirit, and taste of heavenly treasures, that ye may thereby continually work in faith, labour in love, persevere in hope, and be patient in all your tribulations and persecutions, even unto the end and glorious coming of Christ: these shall be earnestly to exhort and beseech you in Christ, as ye have received the Lord Jesus, even so to walk, rooted in him, and not to be afraid of any terror of your adversaries, be they never so many and mighty, and you on the other side never so few and weak: for the battle is the Lord's. And as, in times past, God was with Abraham, Moses, Isaac, David, the Maccabees, and others, and fought for them, and delivered all their enemies into their hands, even so hath he promised to be with us also unto the world's end, and so to assist, strengthen, and help us, that no man shall be able to withstand us. For as I was with Moses, so will I be with thee, saith God, and will never leave thee, nor forsake thee. Be

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strong and bold; neither fear nor dread: for the Lord thy God is with thee, whithersoever thou goest. Now if God be on our side, who can be against us?

"In this our spiritual warfare is no man overcome, unless he traitorously leave and forsake his Captain, either cowardly cast away his weapons, or willingly yield himself to his enemies, either fearfully turn his back and fly. Be strong therefore in the Lord, dear brethren, and in the power of his might, and put on all the armour of God, that ye may be able to stand steadfast against the crafty assaults of the devil.

"Now what weapons ye must fight withal, learn of St. Paul; a champion both much exercised, and also most valiant and invincible. For we must think none other, but that the life of man is a perpetual warfare upon earth, as the examples of all godly men throughout all ages do declare. The valiant warrior St. Paul, being delivered from the hands of the ungodly, and that so many times, and also from so many extreme perils and dangers of death, as he his own self doth witness, is fain to commit himself in the end to the rough waters of the sea, where he was in great peril and jeopardy of his own life: yet was God always (to the great comfort of all that hear of it) most ready to comfort and succour him, and gloriously delivered him out of all his troubles, so that no man that invaded him could do him any harm; and in the end he was compelled to say, I have finished my course; the time of my departing is at hand; I long to be loosed, and to be with Christ, which is best of all, most heartily desiring death.

"These things he written for our learning and comfort, and be to us a sure obligation, that if we submit ourselves to God and his holy word, no man shall be able to hurt us; and that he will deliver us from all troubles, yea, from death also, until such time as we covet and desire to die. Let us therefore run with patience unto the battle that is set before us, and look unto Jesus, the Captain and finisher of our faith; and after his example, for the reward's sake that is set out unto us. patiently bear the cross and despise the shame. For all that will live godly in Christ Jesu, shall suffer persecution.

"Christ was no sooner baptized, and declared to the world to be the Son of God, but Satan was, by and by, ready to tempt him; which thing we must look for also: yea, the more we shall increase in faith and virtuous living, the more strongly will Satan assault us: whom we must learn, after the example of Christ, to fight against, and overcome with the holy and sacred Scriptures, the word of God, (which is our heavenly armour: and sword of the Spirit. And let the fasting of Christ, while he was tempted in the wilderness, be unto an example of sober living; not for the space of forty days, (as the papists do fondly fancy of their own brains,) but as long as we are in the wilderness of this wretched life, assaulted of Satan, who, like a roaring lion, walketh about, and ceaseth not, seeking our utter destruction.

"Neither can the servants of God at any time come and stand before God; that is, lead a godly life, and walk innocently before God, but Satan cometh also among them; that is, he daily accuseth, findeth fault, vexeth, persecuteth, and troubleth the godly: for it is the nature and property of the devil always to hurt and do mischief, unless he be forbidden of God: for unless God doth permit him, he can do nothing at all, not so much as enter into a filthy hog: but we are more of price than many hogs before God, if we cleave unto his Son by faith.

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"Let us therefore, knowing Satan's deceits and rancour, walk the more warily, and take unto us the shield of faith, wherewith we may be able to quench and overcome all the fiery and deadly darts of the wicked, Let us take to us the helmet of salvation, and sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God, and learn to use the same according to the example of our grand Captain, Christ. Let us fast and pray continually. For this frantic kind of devils goeth not out otherwise, as Christ doth teach us, but by faithful prayer and fasting, which is true abstinence and soberness of living, if we use the same according to the doctrine of the gospel and word of God. Fasting is acceptable to God, if it be done without hypocrisy; that is to say, if we use it to this intent, that thereby this mortal body and disobedient carcass may be tamed and brought under the subjection of the Spirit; and again, if we fast to this intent, that we may spare wherewith to help and succour our poor needy brethren.

"This fast do the true Christians use all the days of their life, although among the common sort of people remaineth yet still that superstitious kind of fasting, which God so earnestly reproveth by his prophet Isaiah. For as for true chastening of the body, and abstaining from vice, with showing mercy towards our needy neighbours, we will neither understand nor hear of it, but still think, with the Jews, that we do God a great pleasure when we fast; and that we then fast when we abstain from one thing, and fill our bellies with another. And verily in this point doth our superstition much exceed the superstition of the Jews; for we never read that they ever took it for a fast, to abstain from flesh, and to eat either fish or white-meat, as they call it.

"To fasting and prayer must be joined alms, and mercy towards the poor and needy: and that our alms may be acceptable unto God, three things are chiefly required, First, that we give with a cheerful and joyful heart; for the Lord loveth a cheerful giver, Secondly, that we give liberally, putting aside all niggardship, knowing that he that soweth little shall reap little, and he that soweth plenteously shall reap plenteously. Let every man therefore do according as he is able. The poorest caitiff in the world may give as great and acceptable an alms in the sight of God, as the richest man in the world can do. The poor widow that did offer but two mites, which make a farthing, did highly please Christ; insomuch that he affirmed with an oath, that she, of her penury, had added more to the offerings of God, than all the rich men, which of their superfluity had cast in very much. For if there be first a willing mind, as St. Paul saith, it is accepted according to that a man hath, and not according to that a man hath not. Thirdly, we must give without hypocrisy and ostentation; not seeking the praise of men, or our own glory or profit. And although the Scriptures in some places make mention of a reward to our alms and other good works, yet ought we not to think that we do merit or deserve any thing; but rather we ought to acknowledge, that God in his mere mercy rewarded thus in his own gifts. For what hath he that giveth alms, that he hath not received? He then that giveth up to a poor man any manner of thing, giveth not of his own, but of those goods which he hath received of God. What hast thou, saith the apostle, that thou hast not received? If thou hast received it, why rejoicest thou, as though thou hadst not received it?

"This sentence ought to be had in remembrance of all men, For if we have nothing, but that which we have received, what can we deserve, or what need we to dispute and reason of our own merits? It cometh of the free gift of God, that we live, that we love God, that we walk in his fear: where is our deserving then? We must also in this our spiritual warfare arm ourselves with continual prayer, a very necessary, strong, and invincible weapon, and, after the example of

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Christ and all other godly men, cry heartily unto God in faith, in all our distresses and anguishes, Let us go boldly to the seat of grace, where we shall be sure to receive mercy, and find grace to help in time of need: for now is pride and persecution increased; now is the time of destruction and wrathful displeasure.

"Wherefore, my dear brethren, be ye fervent in the law of God, and jeopard ye your lives, if need shall so require, for the testament of the fathers, and so shall ye receive great honour, and an everlasting name. Remember Abraham. Was not he found faithful in temptation, and it was reckoned unto him for righteousness? Joseph, in time of his trouble, kept the commandment, and was made a lord of Egypt, Phineas was so fervent for the honour of God, that he obtained the covenant of an everlasting priesthood. Joshua, for the fulfilling of the word of God, was made the captain of Israel. Caleb bare record before the congregation, and received a heritage. David also, in his merciful kindness, obtained the throne of an everlasting kingdom. Elias, being zealous and fervent in the law, was taken up into heaven. Ananias, Azarias, and Misael remained stedfast in the faith, and were delivered out of the fire. In like manner Daniel, being unguilty, was saved from the mouth of the lions.

"And thus ye may consider throughout all ages, since the world began, that whosoever put their trust in God were not overcome, Fear not ye then the words of ungodly men; for their glory is but dung and worms: to-day are they set up, and tomorrow they are gone; for they are turned into earth, and their memorial cometh to nought. Wherefore let us take good hearts unto us, and quit ourselves like men in the law: for if we do the things that are commanded us in the law of the Lord our God, we shall obtain great honour therein.

"Beloved in Christ, let us not faint because of affliction, wherewith God trieth all them that are sealed unto life everlasting; for the only way into the kingdom of God is through much tribulation. For the kingdom of heaven (as God teacheth by his prophet Esdras) is like a city builded and set upon a broad field, and full of all good things; but the entrance is narrow and sudden (full of sorrow and travail, perils and labours): like as if there were a fire at the right hand, and a deep water at the left; and as it were one straight path between them both, so small, that there could but one man go there. If this city now were given to an heir, and he never went through the perilous way, how could he receive his inheritance? Wherefore, seeing we are in this narrow and straight way, which leadeth unto the most joyful and pleasant city of everlasting life, let us not stagger, neither turn back, being afraid of the dangerous and perilous way, but follow our Captain, Jesus Christ, in the narrow and straight way; and be afraid of nothing, no, not even of death itself: for it is he that must lead us to our journey's end, and open us the door unto everlasting life.

"Consider also the course of this world, how many there be, which, for their master's sake, or for a little promotion's sake, would adventure their lives in worldly affairs, as, commonly, in wars; and yet is their reward but light and transitory, and ours is unspeakable, great, and everlasting. They suffer pains to be made lords on earth for a short season: how much more ought we to endure like pains, yea, peradventure, much less, to be made kings in heaven for evermore! Consider also the wicked of this world, which, for a little pleasure's sake, or to be avenged on their enemies, will fight with sword and weapons, and put themselves in danger of

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imprisonment and hanging, So much as virtue is better than vice, and God mightier than the devil, so much ought we to excel them in this our spiritual battle.

"And seeing, brethren, it hath pleased God to set me, and that most worthy minister of Christ, John Bradford, your countryman, in the fore-front of this battle, where, for the time, is most danger, I beseech you all, in the bowels of Christ, to help us, and all other our fellow soldiers standing in like perilous place, with your prayers to God for us, that we may quit ourselves like men in the Lord, and give some example of boldness and constancy mingled with patience in the fear of God; that we and others our brethren, through our example, may be so encouraged and strengthened to follow us, that ye also may leave example to your weak brethren in the world to follow you. Amen.

"Consider what I say; the Lord give us understanding in all things! Brethren, the time is short. It remaineth that ye use this world as though ye used it not; for the fashion of this world vanisheth away. See that ye love not the world, neither the things that are in the world, but set your affection on heavenly things, where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God. Be meek and long-suffering; serve and edify one another with the gift that God hath given you. Beware of strange doctrine; lay aside the old conversation of greedy lusts, and walk in a new life. Beware of all uncleanness, covetousness, foolish talking, false doctrine, and drunkenness: rejoice and be thankful towards God, and submit yourselves one to another. Cease from sin; spend no more time in vice; be sober and apt to pray; be patient in trouble; love each other: and let the glory of God and profit of your neighbour be the only mark ye shoot at in all your doings. Repent ye of the life that is past, and take better heed to your doings hereafter. And, above all things, cleave ye fast to him, who was delivered to death for our sins, and rose again for our justification: to whom, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be a:1 honour and rule for evermore, Amen.

"Salute from me in Christ all others which love us in the faith, and at your discretion make them partakers of these letters: and pray ye all for me and others in bonds for the gospel, that the same God, which by his grace hath called us from wicked papistry unto true Christianity, and now of love proveth our patience by persecution, will, of his mercy and favour, in the end gloriously deliver us, either by death, or by life, to his glory. Amen.

"At Lancaster, the thirtieth of August, 1555:
by me an unprofitable servant of Christ.
GEORGE MARSH."

A letter of George Marsh to Jenkin Crampton and others.

"To his well-beloved in Christ, Jenkin Crampton, James Leiver, Elice Fogge, Ralph Bradshaw, the wife of Richard Bradshaw, Elice Crampton, and to every one of them, be these delivered from Lancaster, George Marsh.

"The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with you all. Amen.

"After salutations in Christ, and hearty thanks for your friendly tokens, and your other remembrances towards me, beseeching God that ye may increase in faith, fear, and love, and all

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good gifts, and grow up into a perfect man in Christ: these be earnestly to exhort you, yea, and to beseech you in the tender mercy of Christ, that with purpose of heart ye continually cleave unto the Lord, and that ye worship and serve him in spirit, in the gospel of his Son. For God will not be worshipped after the commandments and traditions of men, neither yet by any other means appointed, prescribed, and taught us, but by his holy word. And though all men, for the most part, defile themselves with the wicked traditions of men, and ordinances after the world, and not after Christ; yet do ye, after the ensample of Toby, Daniel and his three companions, Mattathias and his five sons, be at a point with yourselves, that ye will not be defiled with the unclean meats of the heathen; I do mean the filthiness of idolatry, and the very heathenish ceremonies of the papists: but as the true worshippers, serve ye God in spirit and verity, according to his sacred Scriptures, which I would wish and will you above all things continually and reverently (as both St. Paul and Christ command you) to search and read, with the wholesome monitions of the same; to teach, exhort, comfort, and edify one another, and your brethren and neighbours, now in the time of this our miserable captivity, and great famishment of souls, for want of the food of God's word. And doubt not but that the merciful Lord (who hath promised to be with us even unto the world's end, and that whensoever two or three be gathered together in his name he will be in the midst of them) will assist you, and teach you the right meanings of the sacred Scriptures, will keep you from all errors, and lead you into all truth, as he hath faithfully promised.

"And though ye think yourselves unable to teach, yet, at the commandment of Christ, now in time of famine, (the hungry people, being in the wilderness far from any towns, who if they be sent away fasting, are sure to faint and perish by the way,) employ and bestow those five loaves and two fishes that ye have, upon that hungry multitude, although ye think it nothing among so many. And he that increased the five loaves and two fishes to feed five thousand men, besides women and children, shall also augment his gifts in you, not only to the edifying and winning of others in Christ, but also to an exceeding great increase of your knowledge in God and his holy word. And fear not your adversaries, for either according to his accustomed manner God shall blind their eyes that they shall not spy you, either get you favour in their sight, or else graciously deliver you out of their hands by one means or other.

"Obey with reverence all your superiors, unless they command idolatry or ungodliness. Make provision for your households; chiefly that they be instructed and taught in the law of God. Love your wives even as your own selves, and as Christ loved the congregation. Love your children; but rate them not, lest they be of a desperate mind: and bring them up in the nurture and information of the Lord, and teach them even as the godly parents of Toby the younger and Susanna did teach their children, even from their infancy, to reverence God according to his law, and to abstain from sin; providing that in no wise they be brought up in idleness and wantonness, seeing that ye reckon yourselves to be the children of God, and look for the life which God shall give to them that never turn their belief from him. See that ye ever fear God, and keep his commandments: and though the plague of God chance unto you, yet remain ye steadfast in the faith and fear of God, and thank him, and serve him in such holiness and righteousness as are acceptable before him, all the days of your life. Comfort yourselves in all your adversities, and stay yourselves in him, who hath promised not to leave you as fatherless and motherless children without any comfort, but that he will come to you like a most gentle and merciful Lord. He will continually stand by you in all your troubles, assisting, helping, and succouring you at all times. I

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will be with you, saith he, unto the end of the world. And cleave you fast unto him which was incarnate, lived, wrought, taught, and died for your sins, yea, rose again from death, and ascended into heaven for your justification. Repent ye of the life that is past, and cease from sin, and from henceforward live as much time as remaineth in the flesh, riot after the lusts of men, but after the will of God. To do good and distribute, forget not. Fast and pray busily; and as every man hath received the gift, minister the same one to another as good ministers of the manifold graces of God, that God in all things may be glorified through Jesus Christ; to whom be praise and dominion for ever, and while the world standeth. Amen.

"Yours.

GEORGE MARSH."

Another letter of George .Marsh to certain faithful brethren in the congregation.

"The same grace and peace, dearly beloved in Christ, do I entirely desire and wish unto you, which the apostle St. Paul wisheth to all them, unto whom he did write and send his epistles; than which two things no better can be wished and desired of God. Grace is, throughout all the epistles of Paul, taken for the free mercy and favour of God, whereby he saveth us freely without any deservings or works of the law. In like manner peace is taken for the quietness and tranquillity of the conscience, being thoroughly persuaded that through the only merits of Christ's death and blood-shedding, there is an atonement and peace made between God and us, so that God will no more impute our sins unto us, nor yet condemn us.

"Dearly beloved, I will not be negligent to put you always in remembrance of things, though that you know them yourselves, and be also established in the present truth; notwithstanding, I think it meet, as long as I am in this tabernacle, to stir you up by putting you in remembrance. Wherefore I beseech you, brethren, and exhort you in the Lord Jesus, that ye increase more and more, even as ye have received how ye ought to walk and to please God. And as Barnabas, that good man, and full of the Holy Ghost, exhorted the Antiochians, with purpose of heart cleave ye continually unto the Lord. And stand fast, and be not moved from the hope of the gospel, whereof (God be thanked) ye have had plenteous preaching unto you these years past, by the faithful ministers of Jesus Christ, Leiver, Pilkington, Bradford, Saunders, and others like, which now, when persecution ariseth, because of the word, do not fall away like shrinking children, and forsake the truth, but are prest and ready for your sakes, which are his mystical body, to forsake the chief and principal delights of this life; and some of them, in giving place to the outrageous tyranny of the world, to forsake their livings, friends, native land, and other chief pleasures of this life, and to commit themselves to painful exile, that, if it please God, Christ may come again out of Egypt. And others are ready to fulfil their ministry unto the uttermost: that is to wit, with their painful imprisonments and blood-shedding, if need shall so require, to confirm and seal Christ's gospel, whereof they have been ministers; and, as St. Paul saith, not only to be cast into prison, but also to die, for the name of the Lord Jesus.

"Be ye not therefore ashamed of the testimony of our Lord Jesus, neither be ye ashamed of us which are his prisoners, but suffer ye adversity with the gospel, for which word we suffer as evil-doers, even unto bonds: but the word of God is not bound with us. Therefore we suffer all things for the elect's sake, that they also may obtain the salvation which is in Christ Jesu with eternal glory. Wherefore stand ye fast in the faith, and be not moved from the hope of the gospel,

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and so shall ye make us, even with joy, to suffer for your sakes, and, as the apostle saith, to fulfil that which is behind of the passion of Christ in our flesh, for his body's sake, which is the congregation. St. Paul doth not here mean, that there wanteth any thing in the passion of Christ, which may be supplied by man: for the passion of Christ, as touching his own person, is that most perfect and omni-sufficient sacrifice, whereby we are all made perfect, as many as are sanctified in his blood; but these his words ought to be understood of the elect and chosen, in whom Christ is, and shall he persecuted, unto the world's end. The passion of Christ then, as touching his mystical body, which is the church, shall not be perfected till they have all suffered, whom God hath appointed to suffer for his Son's sake. Wherefore stablish yourselves. and be of good comfort; and be not moved in these afflictions, knowing that we are appointed thereunto. For, on our parts, nothing can be greater consolation and inward joy unto us in our adversity, than to hear of your faith and love, and that ye have a good remembrance of us always, praying for us as we do for you, as the apostle writeth of the Thessalonians, saying, Now are we alive, if ye stand stedfast in the Lord. For good shepherds do always count the welfare and prosperous estate of Christ's flock to be their own; for, while it goeth well with the congregation, it goeth well with them also in whatsoever affliction or adversity they be: but when they see the church in any peril or weakness, then be they weary of their own lives; then can they have no rest nor joy. Who is weak, saith St. Paul, and I am not weak? who is offended, and I do not burn? But this affection is not in them that seek their own lucre and glory.

"And, forasmuch as the life of man is a perpetual warfare upon earth, let us run with joy unto the battle that is set before us, and, like good warriors of Jesus Christ, please him who hath chosen us to be soldiers; and not, like shrinking children, faint and fall away from the truth now, in time of adversity and tribulation, wherewith all that will live godly in Christ Jesus must be tried, even as gold and silver is proved in the fire, and whereof all the Scriptures have given us so much forewarning. For God is wont, for the most part, to warn his elect and chosen, what affliction and trouble shall happen unto them for his sake; not to the intent to fray them thereby, but rather to prepare their minds against the boisterous storms of persecution—as we have a notable example in the apostle St. Paul, unto whom God sent Agabus, who prophesied unto him of the imprisonment and bands that he should suffer at Jerusalem: in whom we have also a good example of constancy and stedfastness, who, regarding nothing the tears of his familiar friends, nor yet the peril of his own life, did through fire and water go on still to set forth the glory of God; and he, being delivered from the hands of his ungodly and bloodthirsty enemies, and that so many times, is in conclusion fain to commit himself to the rough waters of the sea, where he was a long season in great peril and jeopardy of his own life. But God was always (to the great comfort of all that shall hear of it) most ready to help and succour him. First, he did send him a most friendly and sweet company, I mean Aristarchus and Lucas, so ruling the heart of the under-captain Julius, that he courteously entreated him, and gave him liberty to go to his friends, and to refresh himself; and he was beneficial unto him at all times. In like manner was God with Joseph, and delivered him from all his adversities, and gave him favour and wisdom in the sight of Pharaoh king of Egypt, insomuch that he made him governor over all Egypt, and over all his household. In like manner was he with Jeremy and Daniel, in their great troubles, and appointed men for them in their most troubles, to relieve, succour, and help them; to their singular comfort. Also when Peter was in Herod's prison, sleeping between two soldiers, bound with two chains, and the keepers before the door keeping the prison, the same night that Herod had intended to have brought him out unto the people the day following, and to have put him unto death to please

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the Jews withal, as a little before he had killed James the brother of John with the sword; God sent his angel, and the chains fell off from Peter's hands, and the iron gate opened unto him by its own accord; and so was Peter wonderfully delivered by God. For it is the true living God that looseth all bands, and delivereth out of prison, and not that feigned God, St. Leonard. On that true God did St. Peter call; unto him did he ascribe the glory of his deliverance, saying, Now I know of a truth, that God hath sent his angel, &c.

"These things are written for our learning, that we, through patience and comfort of the Scriptures, might have hope. The God of patience and comfort grant that we be like-minded one towards another, after the ensample of Christ Jesus; that we, all agreeing together, may with one mouth glorify God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

"A poor prisoner for Christ.
GEORGE MARSH."

Another letter of George Marsh to Robert Langley and others.

"The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with you, good brother in Christ, Robert Langley, and with all them that love the Lord Jesus unfeignedly; Amen.

"After hearty commendations to you, with thanks for that ye did visit me a prisoner in Christ, and unacquainted with you, to your costs; this shall be to let you know, that ye shall receive from me mine examination and handling at Latham the cause of mine imprisonment, according as I promise you: and this ye shall receive by brother, or some one of the Bradshaws of Bolton, within this sevensnight; willing you to show the same to such faithful men about Manchester or elsewhere, as you do take to be favourers of true religion and Christ's holy word, and then to deliver it again. And whereas you did put me in comfort, that if I did want any thing necessary unto this life, you with some others would be bearers with me in this my costly and painful affliction; I give you most hearty thanks, and rejoice greatly in the Lord, who stirs up the hearts of others to be careful for me in this my great necessity. I thank God, as yet I do want nothing, and intend to be as little chargeable to others (saving my mother) as I can. If I do want, I will be bold with you and others, to send for your relief and help in my necessity; desiring you in the mean while to pray for me, and all others in the bonds of Christ, that God would perform the thing which he hath begun in us, that we may with boldness confess Jesus Christ, and fight the good fight of faith.

"Yours.
GEORGE MARSH."

A letter of George Marsh to a certain godly friend.

"Grace be with you, and peace be multiplied in the knowledge of God, and Jesus the Lord.

"After hearty commendations and thanks to you, not only for your large token, but much more for your loving letters, full of consolation to me as touching my person to you unknown; these shall be to certify you, that I rejoice greatly in the Lord, when I do perceive how my sweet

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Saviour Christ doth stir up the minds, not only of my familiar friends in times past, but also of sundry and divers heretofore unto me unknown and unacquainted, to bear part with me in this my painful and costly imprisonment, sending me things not only necessary for this present life, but also comfortable letters; encouraging and exhorting me to continue grounded and stablished in the faith, and not to be moved away from the hope of the gospel, whereof, according to my small talent, I have been a minister: and daily I call and cry unto the Lord, in whom is my trust, and without whom I can do nothing. he which hath begun a good work in me, would vouchsafe to go forth with it until the day of Jesus Christ; being surely certified in my conscience of this, that he will so do, forasmuch as he hath given me, that not only I should believe on him, but also suffer for his sake. The Lord strengthen me with his Holy Spirit, that I may be one of the number of those blessed, which, enduring to the end, shall be saved!

"And whereas you say, that my suffering of persecution with Christ is a thing to you most comfortable, I make answer, that in all mine adversity and necessity nothing on your behalf is greater consolation unto me, than to hear of the faith and love of others, and how they have good remembrance of us always, even as the apostle reporteth by the Thessalonians, saying, Now are we alive, if ye stand stedfast in the Lord. For my trust in the Lord is, that this my business shall happen to the furtherance of the gospel, and that you will be none of those forgetful and hypocritical hearers, whereof some being but wayside hearers, the devil cometh and taketh away the word out of their hearts, lest they should believe and be saved, (but let prayer be made without ceasing by the congregation unto God for them,) and, no doubt, God will to your consolation gloriously deliver, by one means or other, his oppressed. Only tarry ye the Lord's leisure; be strong; let your heart be of good comfort; and wait ye still for the Lord. He tarrieth not that will come: look for him therefore, and faint not, and he will never fail you.

"Yours.

GEORGE MARSH."

A prayer of George Marsh, which he used daily to say.

"O Lord Jesus Christ, which art the only physician of wounded consciences, we miserable sinners, trusting in thy gracious goodness, do briefly open unto thee the evil tree of our heart, with all the roots, boughs, leaves, and fruits, and with all the crooks, knots, and knoures, all which thou knowest: for thou thoroughly perceivest as well the inward lusts, doubtings, and denying thy providence, as those gross outward sins which we commit inwardly and deadly. Wherefore we beseech thee, according to the little measure of our infirmity, although we be far unable and unapt to pray, that thou wouldest mercifully circumcise our stony hearts; and for these old hearts create new within us, and replenish us with a new spirit, and water us, and moisten us with the juice of heavenly grace, and wells of spiritual waters, whereby the inward venom and noisome juice of the flesh may be dried up, and custom of the old man changed; and our heart, always bringing forth thorns and briers to be burned with fire, from henceforth may bear spiritual fruits in righteousness and holiness, unto life everlasting: Amen.

"Beloved, among other exercises, I do daily on my knees use this confession of sins, willing and exhorting you to do the same, and daily to acknowledge unfeignedly to God your unbelief, unthankfulness, and disobedience against him. This shall ye do, if ye will diligently consider and look yourselves, first, in the pure glass of God's commandments, and there see your

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outward filthiness and uncleanness, and so learn to vanquish the same; that is to wit, fall in hearty displeasure against sin, and thereby be provoked to long after Christ; for we truly are sinners, but he is just. and the justifier of all them that believe on him. We are poor, but he is rich in mercy toward all them that call upon him. If we hunger and thirst for righteousness, let us resort unto his table, for he is a most liberal feast-maker. He will set before us his own holy body, which is given to us to be our meat, and his precious blood, which was shed for us and for many, for the remission of sins, to be our drink. He biddeth, willeth, and calleth for guests, which hunger and thirst. Come, saith he, all ye that labour and are laden, and I will refresh you, cool and ease you, and you shall find rest unto your souls"

280. William Flower

The life and story of William Flower, who striking of a priest, was apprehended, first having his hand cut off, and after martyred for his constant standing to the truth.



William Flower otherwise named Branch—First, concerning his trade of life and bringing up—he was born at Snailwell, in the county of Cambridge, where he went to school certain years, and then came to the abbey of Ely; where, after he had remained awhile, he was a professed monk according to the order and rule of the same house wherein he remained, using and bearing the habit of a monk, and observing the rules and order of the same house, until he came to twenty-one years of age, or thereabout: and before he came to that age, and being a professed monk, he was made a priest also in the same

house; and there did celebrate and sing mass a good space together. After that, by reason of a visitation, and certain injunctions given in the same time by the authority of King Henry the Eighth, he forsook the same house, and casting from him the said monk's habit and religion aforesaid, took upon him and used the habit of a secular priest, and returned to Snailwell, where he was born; and there he did celebrate and sing mass, and taught children their primer and accidence about half a year together.

Then he went from thence to Lidgate in Suffolk, and there served as a secular priest about a quarter of a year; and from thence he then went to Stony-land, where he tarried and served as a secular priest also, until the coming out of the Six Articles; and then he departed from thence, and went into Gloucestershire, where, after he had made his abode in the country awhile, at length in Tewkesbury, according to God's holy ordinance, he married a wife, with whom he ever after faithfully and honestly continued: and after his marriage, he tarried in Tewkesbury about two years together, and then from thence he went unto Bursley, where he tarried three-quarters of a year, and practised physic and chirurgery; and from thence he removed to Northamptonshire, where, under a gentleman, he taught children their primers and to write and read, a good space. And so, departing from those parts, he came to London; and there remained for a certain space. After that, being desirous to see his country, he returned to Snailwell where he was born: from thence to Braintree in Essex, then to Coggeshall, where he taught children a space, and so came to Lambeth beside London, where he hired a house, and placed his wife; where he and his wife did ever since dwell together till this time: howbeit, for the most part, he was always abroad; and very seldom at home, except once or twice in a month, to visit and see his wife; where he, being at home upon Easter day about ten or eleven o'clock in the forenoon of the same day, came over the water from Lambeth into St. Margaret's church at Westminster; where he, finding and seeing a priest called John Cheltham ministering and giving the sacrament of the altar to the people, and therewith, being greatly offended in his conscience with the priest for the same his doing, (for that he judged him not to be a catholic minister, neither his act to be catholic and laudable according to God's word,) did strike and wound him upon the head, and

also upon the arm and hand, with his wood-knife; the priest having the same time in his hand a chalice, with certain consecrated hosts therein, which were sprinkled with the blood of the said priest. In the which so doing as indeed he did not well nor evangelically, so afterward, being examined before Bishop Bonner, did he no less confess his not well doing in the same; submitting therefore himself willingly to punishment, when it should come. Howbeit touching his belief in the sacrament, and the popish ministration, he neither would nor did submit himself.

Whereupon the foresaid William Flower first apprehended and laid in the Gatehouse at Westminster (where he had given two groats the same day a little before to the prisoners, saying, he would shortly after come to them) with as many irons as he could bear; afterward was convented before Bonner his ordinary, April the nineteenth, A. D. 1555, where the bishop, after he had sworn him upon a book, (according to his ordinary manner,) ministered articles and interrogatories to him. But before I speak of the articles, first we have here to set forth what communication passed betwixt him and Robert Smith (being then also there prisoner with him in Newgate) concerning his fact done at Westminster; the tenor and effect of which communication here followeth.

Robert Smith.—"Friend, forasmuch as I do understand that you do profess the gospel. and also have so done a long season, I am bold to come unto you, and in the way of communication to demand and learn a truth at your own mouth, of certain things by you committed, to the astonishing not only of me, but of divers others, that also profess the verity."

Flower.—"I praise God for his great goodness, in showing me the light of his holy word; and I give you hearty thanks for your visitation, intending, by God's grace, to declare all the truth that ye shall demand lawfully of me, in all things."

Smith.—"Then I desire you to show me the truth of your deed, committed on John Cheltham, priest in the church, as near as you can, that I may hear from your own mouth how it was."

Flower.—"I came from my house at Lambeth over the water, and entering into St. Margaret's church, (so called,) and there, seeing the people falling down before a most shameful and detestable idol, being moved with extreme zeal for my God, whom I saw before my face dishonoured, I drew forth my hanger, and strake the priest which ministered the same unto them: whereupon I was immediately apprehended. And this is most true, as the act is manifest."

Smith.—"Did ye not know the parson that ye strake, or were ye not zealous upon him for any evil will or hatred between you at any time?"

Flower.—"No, verily; I never to my knowledge saw the parson before that present, neither owed him, or any man alive, evil will or malice; for if he had not had it, another should, if I had any time come where the like occasion had been ministered, if God had permitted me to do it."

Smith.—"Do ye think that thing to be well done, and after the rule of the gospel?"

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Flower.—"I do confess all flesh to be subject to the power of Almighty God, whom he maketh his ministers, to do his will and pleasure; as in example, Moses, Aaron, Phinehas, Joshua, Zimri, Jehu, Judith, Mattathias, with many others, not only changing degrees, but also planting zeals to his honour, against all order and respect of flesh and blood. For, as saith St. Paul, His works are past finding out: by whose Spirit I have also given my flesh at this present unto such order as it shall please the good will of God to appoint in death, which, before the act committed, I looked for."

Smith.—"Think you it convenient for me, or any other, to do the like by your example?"

Flower.—"No, verily; neither do I know, if it were to do again, whether I could do it again, or no: for I was up very early at Paul's church (so called) upon Christ's day in the morning, to have done it in my jealousy: but when I came in place I was no more able to do it, than now to undo that is done; and yet now, being compelled by the Spirit, not only to come over the water, and to enter the church, but being in mind fully content to die for the Lord, gave over my flesh willingly, without all fear, I praise God. Wherefore I cannot learn you to do the like: first, because I know not what is in you; secondly, because the rules of the gospel command us to suffer with patience all wrongs and injuries. Yet, nevertheless, if he make you worthy, that hath made me zealous, ye shall not be letted, judged, nor condemned; for he doth in his people his unspeakable works in all ages, which no man can comprehend. I humbly beseech you to judge the best of the Spirit, and condemn not God's doings: for I cannot express with my mouth the great mercies that God hath showed on me in this thing, which I repent not."

Smith.—"Are ye not assured to have death ministered unto you for the same act committed, and even with extremity?"

Flower.—"I did, before the deed committed, adjudge my body to die for the same: whereupon I carried about me in writing, mine opinion of God and the Holy Scriptures; that if it had pleased God to have given them leave to have killed my body in the church, they might in the said writing have seen my hope, which (I praise God) is laid up safe within my breast, notwithstanding any death that may be ministered unto my body in this world; being ascertained of everlasting life through Jesus Christ our Lord, and being most heartily sorry for all mine offences committed in this flesh, and trusting shortly, through his mercy, to cease from the same."

Smith.—"It is no need to examine or commune with you of the hope that ye have any further; for I perceive (God be praised) ye are in good estate, and therefore I beseech God for his mercies spread his wings over you; that as, for his love, you have been zealous, even to the loss of this life, so he may give you his Holy Spirit to conduct you out of this death into a better life, which I think will be shortly."

Flower.—"I hunger for the same, dear friend, being fully ascertained that they can kill but the body, which I am assured shall receive life again everlasting, and see no more death; entirely desiring you and all that fear the Lord, to pray with me to Almighty God, to perform the same in me shortly."

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And thus Robert Smith departed, leaving him in the dungeon, and went again to his ward. And this, gentle reader, is the truth, as near as the said Smith could report it. And thus much concerning the talk between him and Robert Smith in Newgate, concerning his fact in striking the priest. Now to return again to the matter of his examination, where we left: we showed before how this William Flower, after his striking the priest, first was laid in the Gatehouse; then, being examined before Bonner, had articles ministered against him, the copy whereof here followeth.

"First, that thou, being of a lawful age and discretion, at the least of seventeen years of old, was professed a monk in the late abbey of Ely, wherein, after thy profession, thou remainedst until the age of twenty-one years, using, all the mean time, the habit and religion of the same house, and wast reputed and taken notoriously for such a person.

"Item, that after the premises, thou wast ordered and made priest, according to the laudable custom of the catholic church; and afterward thou didst execute and minister as a priest; and wast commonly reputed, named, and taken for a priest.

"Item, that after the premises thou, forgetting God, thy conscience, honesty, and the laudable order of the catholic church, didst, contrary to thy profession and vow, take as unto thy wife, one woman, commonly called Alice Pulton, in the parish church of Tewkesbury, in the diocese of Gloucester, with whom thou hadst mutual cohabitation as man and wife, and begattest of her two children.

"Item, that thou, being a religious man and a priest, didst, contrary to the order of the ecclesiastical laws, take upon thee to practise in divers places within the diocese of London, physic and chirurgery, when thou wast not admitted, expert, nor learned.

"Item, that upon Easter day last past, that is to wit, the fourteenth day of this present month of April, within the parish church of St. Margaret's at Westminster, within the county of Middlesex and diocese of London, thou didst maliciously, outrageously, and violently pull out thy weapon; that is to wit, thy wood-knife or hanger. And whereas the priest and minister there, called Sir John Cheltham, was executing his cure and charge, especially in doing his service, and ministering the sacrament of the altar to communicants, then didst thou wickedly and abominably smite with thy said weapon the said priest, first upon the head very sore; and afterwards, upon his hands or other parts of his body, drawing blood abundantly upon him: the said priest then holding the said sacrament in his hand, and giving no occasion why thou shouldest so hurt him; the people being grievously offended therewith, and the said church polluted thereby, so that the inhabitants were compelled to repair to another church to communicate, and to receive the said sacrament.

"Item, that by reason of the premises, thou wast and art, by the ecclesiastical laws of the church, amongst other penalties, excommunicate and accursed, *ipso facto*; and not to be companied withal, neither in the church, nor elsewhere, but in special cases.

"Item, that thou, concerning the verity of Christ's natural body and blood in the sacrament of the altar, hast been by the space of these twenty, nineteen, eighteen, seventeen, sixteen, fifteen, fourteen, thirteen, twelve, eleven, ten, nine, eight, seven, six, five, four, three, two, and

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one years, or any one of them, and yet art at this present, of this opinion; that is to say, that in the said sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration, there is not really, truly, and in very deed contained (under the forms of bread) the very true and natural body of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

"Item, that thou, for the hatred and disdain that thou hadst and didst bear against the said sacrament, and the virtue thereof, and against the said priest ministering the same, (as before,) didst smite, wound, and hurt him in manner and form as before is declared.

"Item, that thou, over and besides the pains due unto thee for the doing of the cruel fact, art also, by the order of the ecclesiastical laws of the church, and the laudable custom and ordinance of the same, to be reputed, taken, and adjudged (as thou art indeed) a very heretic, and to be punished by and with the pains due for heresy, by reason of thy said heresy and damnable opinion.

"Item, that all the premises be true and manifest, notorious and famous; and that upon the same, and every part thereof, there was and is, within the said parish of St. Margaret's and other places thereabout, a public voice and fame."

The answer of William Flower, made to the articles aforesaid.

"To the first article he answereth and confesseth the same to be true in every part thereof; except that he saith and confesseth, that he never consented and agreed in his heart to be a monk.

"To the second article he answereth and confesseth the same to be true in every part thereof: howbeit, he saith, that he never did, nor yet doth, esteem the said order of priesthood, according to the said order of the catholic church; because he was offended therewith in his conscience.

"To the third article he answereth and confesseth, that he, intending to live in godly matrimony, and not forgetting God, did marry with the said Alice Pulton named in this article; wherein he believed that he did well, and according to God's laws. Further, confessing and believing, that all the time when he was professed monk, and made priest, he did thereby utterly forget God: but when he did so marry the said Alice Pulton, and in continuing with her did beget three children, he did remember God, as he saith, and believeth that he did then lawfully.

"To the fourth article he answereth, and believeth the same to be true in every part thereof.

"To the fifth article he answereth and confesseth, that his conscience being greatly offended with the said Sir John Cheltham, priest, for ministering of the sacrament of the altar to the people at the place and time specified in this article, he did smite and strike the same priest with his hanger or wood-knife, as well upon his head, as upon other parts and places of his body which he remembereth not, whereby the blood ran out, and was shed in the said church, as he believeth; having, as he saith, none other cause or matter so to do, but only that his conscience was offended and grieved; in that the same priest did so give and minister the said sacrament to

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the people: which people he believeth were greatly abashed and offended with his said fact and doing; and were enforced and compelled to go out of the church, and to repair to another to receive the said sacrament. And further, being then demanded and examined, whether he did then mind and intend to have killed the said priest, or not; he said he would not answer thereunto. And being further examined, whether he did well or evil in striking the said priest; he would make no answer thereunto, as he said.

"To the sixth he answereth and saith, that whether he be so excommunicate or accursed, as is contained in this article, he referreth himself herein to the ecclesiastical laws.

"To the seventh he answereth and saith, that by the space of six and twenty years now past, he hath always been, and yet is, of this opinion touching the said sacrament of the altar, as followeth: *videlicet*, that in the sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration, there is not really, truly, and in very deed, contained under the form of bread, the very true and natural body of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

"To the eighth he answereth, and believeth the same to be true in every part thereof.

"To the ninth he answereth, and herein he referreth himself to the said laws, custom, and ordinance specified in this article; that is to say, the canonical laws.

"To the last he answereth and believeth, that those things before by him confessed, be true, and those which he hath denied, be untrue; and that the said common voice and fame hath and doth only labour and go upon those things by him before confessed.

"By me WILLIAM FLOWER, alias BRANCH."

After this examination done, the bishop began after the best sort of his fine divinity to instruct him, and to exhort him to return again to the unity of his mother the catholic church, with such reasons as he is commonly wont to use to others, promising many fair things if he would so do, besides the remitting of what was past. To this William Flower, answering again, thanked him for his offer; and whereas it was in his power to kill or not to kill his body, he stood therewith contented, let him do therein what he thought; yet over his soul he had no such power, which being once separated from the body, is in the hands of no man, but only of God, either to save or spill. As concerning his opinion of the sacrament, he said he would never go from what he had spoken, do he with him what he would.

Then the bishop assigned him again to appear in the same place at afternoon, betwixt three and four; in the mean time, to advise himself of his former answers, whether he would stand to the same his opinions or no: which if he so did, he would further proceed against him, &c.

At afternoon the said William Flower appeared again before the said bishop, the hour and place appointed; to whom the bishop, sitting in his consistory, spake these words "Branch, ye were this forenoon here before me, and made answer to certain articles; and thereupon I respited you till now, to the intent you should consider and weigh with yourself your state; and to remember while you have time, both your abominable act, and also that evil opinion which ye

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have conceived, touching the verity of Christ's true natural body in the sacrament of the altar:" to whom the said Branch answered again, and said as followeth "That which I have said, I will stand to; and therefore I require that the law may proceed against me." Whereupon the bishop commanded his notary (Hayward by name) to read to him again his articles, as before: which being read, the said William Flower, persisting in his godly sentence, answered to all parts of the articles, as in the forenoon before; save only that he requested the bishop, concerning the fifth article, he might alter something his answer therein, after this tenor and manner of words; to wit.

"And moreover confesseth and saith—that whereas he strake the priest on Easter day last past, in St. Margaret's church in Westminster, he hath since that time and yet doth mislike himself in that doing; and doth now judge and believe that the same his act was evil and naught. Howbeit he saith and believeth, that as for the matter and cause wherefore he so struck the said priest, (which was for ministering of the sacrament of the altar, which he taketh and judgeth abominable,) he did not nor doth mislike himself at all therein. Moreover, he desireth of the said bishop licence to be granted him, to alter and take out somewhat of the ninth article; and in place thereof, these words to be placed; to wit, 'Herein he referreth himself to the laws, custom, and ordinance specified in this article,' &c."

At this request, Bonner granted to the altering of both the articles according as he desired, and so put in the acts.

After this, the bishop turning again to his old manner of exhorting, went about with words (and words only) to persuade him to submit himself to the catholic church, and to the faith thereof. All which his persuasions notwithstanding, William still remained in the constancy of his sentence; saying that he would not be removed from that he had spoken, to die there-for. Whereupon the bishop assigned him the next day (being the twentieth day of April) to appear in the same day and place, between the hours of eight and nine before noon; there and then to hear the sentence pronounced, in case he would not relent, &c.

The last appearance of William Flower before Bishop Bonner.

In the which day, hour, and place, the said William Flower, as he was appointed, was brought by his keeper belonging to the warden of the Fleet, before Bonner, who, after his wonted manner of persuasion going about to reduce him to his catholic church and the unity thereof; that is, from Christ to antichrist; sometimes with fair promises alluring, sometimes with menaces and terrors fearing him, &c.; to this William answering, said on this wise: "Do what ye will, I am at a point; for the heavens shall as soon fall, as I will forsake mine opinion." &c. Whereupon the bishop, after he had commanded these words to be registered, called for the depositions of certain witnesses, produced for the better information of this matter, the names of which witnesses were these: William Jennings, John Bray, Robert Graunt, Richard Dod, William Pampion, Robert Smalwood, the parish priest of St. Margaret's at Westminster. The sum and effect of whose depositions here ensueth.

"Robert Graunt of Westminster, examined upon the said answers of William Flower, saith and deposeth, that he did hear and see the said Flower acknowledge and recognise the said answers, and subscribe to the same with his own hand; and also was present in the church of St.

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Margaret's in Westminster, when the said William Flower did smite and wound the priest, when (as he saith) he was ministering the sacrament; and how this examine among others pressed towards him to take him, and was hurt thereby upon his chin; and after he was taken, this examine help to conduct him to the Gatehouse at Westminster.

"Richard Dod of Westminster, examined upon the said answers, saith and deposeth, that he did hear and see the said Flower acknowledge and recognise the said answers, and subscribe to the same with his own hand; and also did see and was present, when the said Flower upon Easter day last past, drew his wood-knife, and strake the priest upon the head, hand, and arm; who, being wounded therewith, and having a chalice with consecrated hosts therein, in his hand, sprinkled with the said priest's blood, was holpen and rescued by this examine, and the said Flower carried to the Gatehouse at Westminster, and his wood-knife taken away by this examine.

"William Pampion, one of the churchwardens of the said parish church of St. Margaret's in Westminster, examined upon the said answers of the said Flower, saith and deposeth, that the same answers be true, and in his sight were subscribed with the hand of the said Flower. And that upon Easter day last past, about eleven of the clock in the forenoon, in the parish church of St. Margaret's in Westminster, among a great number of the people ready to be houseled, the priest's back being turned toward the said Flower, he (the said Flower) suddenly drew forth his wood-knife, and strake Sir John Cheltham the priest both upon his head, hand, and arm, whereby he was wounded, and bled abundantly; and the chalice with consecrated hosts being in his hand, were sprinkled with his blood, and the people in great fear cried out lamentably, and thought they should presently have been killed.

"Robert Smalwood of Westminster, examined upon the said answers, saith and deposeth that he did hear and see the said Flower acknowledge and recognise the said answers, and subscribe the same with his own hand; and saith further, touching the striking and wounding the priest in St. Margaret's church in Westminster upon Easter day last, this examine saith, he was not there when the fact was done, but, immediately after, he came to church, and found Sir John hurt, and wounded in the head, hand, and arm, by the said Flower, and the people in great heaviness by reason thereof. Also the people did report (as this examine saith) that Flower did the deed as the priest had the chalice in his hand, ministering the sacrament to the people.

"William Jennings of Westminster, being examined upon the answers of the said William Flower, saith and deposeth, by virtue of his oath, that he did hear and see the said Flower acknowledge and recognise the said answers, and subscribe to the same with his own hand in the consistory place: and further deposeth, that he (upon Easter day last past) was present in the church of St. Margaret's in Westminster, where Flower strake the said Sir John Cheltham, priest, first upon the head, and afterward upon his arm, two sore strokes, whereby the said priest is like to lose his hand. Also this jurate deposed, that the said Sir John Cheltham had a chalice with certain consecrated hosts therein, (in his hand,) which were sprinkled with the blood of the said priest; and after the said Flower was apprehended by this examine and others, they carried him immediately to the Gatehouse in Westminster.

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"John Bray, one of the churchwardens of the parish church of St. Margaret's in Westminster, sworn and examined upon the said answers, saith and deposeth, that he did hear and see the said Flower acknowledge and recognise the said answers, and also subscribe unto the same. And further deposeth of Flower's striking the priest, in effect, as the rest of the examiners do, and that this said jurate was present there at the deed-doing."

After the depositions of these foresaid witnesses being taken, published, and denounced, the said bishop, speaking to William Flower, asked him if he knew any matter or cause why his sentence should not be read, and he to him pronounced as a heretic. Whereunto the martyr of God answered again as followeth "I have nothing at all to say, for I have already said unto you all that I have to say; and that I have said, I will not go from; and therefore do what you will." &c. Which when he had spoken, the bishop proceeded to the sentence, condemning and excommunicating him for a heretic, and after pronounced him also to be degraded; and so committed him to the secular power. Upon the twenty-fourth day of the aforesaid month of April, which was St. Mark's even, he was brought to the place of martyrdom, which was in St. Margaret's churchyard at Westminster, where the fact was committed: and there, coming to the stake where he should be burned, first he maketh his prayer to Almighty God, with a confession of his Christian faith, in manner as followeth:

"O eternal God, most mighty and merciful Father, who hast sent down thy Son upon the earth, to save me and all mankind, who ascended up into heaven again, and left his blood upon the earth behind him, for the redemption of our sins, have mercy upon me, have mercy upon me, for thy dear Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's sake, in whom I confess only to be all salvation and justification, and that there is none other mean, nor way, nor holiness, in which or by which any man can be saved in this world.—This is my faith, which I beseech all men here to bear witness of."

Then he said the Lord's prayer, and so made an end.

Then Master Cholmley came to him, willing him to recant his heresy, whereby he might do good to the people; or else he would be damned. Flower answered as followeth: "Sir, I beseech you, for God's sake, be contented; for that I have said, I have said: and I have been of this faith from the beginning; and I trust to the living God he will give me his Holy Spirit, to continue to the end." Then he desired all the world to forgive him whom he had offended, as he forgave all the world. This done, first his right hand, being held up against the stake, was stricken off, his left hand being stayed behind him. At the which striking off his hand, certain that were present beholders of the matter, and purposely observing the same, credibly informed us, that he in no part of his body did once shrink at the striking thereof, but once a little he stirred his shoulders.

And thus fire was set unto him, who burning therein, cried with a loud voice, "O the Son of God, have mercy upon me! O the Son of God, receive my soul!" three times; and so his speech being taken from him, he spake no more, lifting up, notwithstanding, his stump with his other arm, as long as he could. And thus endured this constant witness and faithful servant of God the extremity of the fire, being therein cruelly handled, by reason that to his burning little wood was brought; so that for lack of faggots, there being not sufficient to burn him, they were

fain to strike him down into the fire; where he lying along (which was doleful to behold) upon the ground, his nether part was consumed in the fire, whilst his upper part was clean without the fire, his tongue in all men's sight still moving in his mouth.



William Flower Burnt at the stake

281. Other Events of May 1555.

The third of May a letter was sent to George Colt and Thomas Daniel, to make search for and apprehend John Bernard and John Walsh, who used to repair to Sudbury, and carrying about with them the bones of Pygot that was burned, to show them to the people, persuading them to be constant in his religion: and upon examination to commit them to further ordering, according to the laws.

This day Stephen Appes was committed to the Little Ease in the Tower, there to remain two or three days, until further examination.

The twelfth day, Master Thomas Ross, preacher, was by the councils' letters delivered from the Tower to the sheriff of Norfolk, to be conveyed and delivered to the bishop of Norwich; and he, either to reduce him to recant, or else proceed against him according to the law.

The sixteenth, a letter was sent to the lord treasurer, signifying what the Lord L. had done for Ross; and that order should be given, according to his Lordship's request, for letters to the bishops: and for Appes, whom the lieutenant of the Tower reporteth to be mad, his Lordship, perceiving the same to be true, should commit him to Bethlem, there to remain until their further order.

The twenty-sixth, a letter was sent to the lord treasurer, to confer with the bishop of London, and the justices of the peace of that county, wherein they were to be executed, that were already condemned for religion; and, upon agreement of places, to give order for their execution accordingly.

The twenty-eighth, a letter was sent to the lord treasurer, to cause speedy preparation to be made of such money as was appointed for such persons as should carry the joyful tidings of Queen Mary's good delivery of child, to divers princes, so as they be not compelled to stay when time shall come. The ambassadors were, to the emperor, the lord admiral; to the French king, the Lord Fitzwaters; to the king of Romans, Sir Henry Sidney; to the king of Portugal, Richard Shelley; whose free passage through France Master Doctor Wotton was willed to procure by letters, the twenty-fourth of June.

The twenty-ninth, was a letter directed to Sir Francis Englefield, to make search for one John D., at London, and to apprehend him, and send him to the council; and to make search for such papers and books as he thinketh may touch the same D., or one Benger.

282. John Cardmaker and John Warne.

The burning and martyrdom of John Cardmaker and John Warne, upholsterer, who suffered both together in Smithfield, A. D. 1555.

On the thirtieth day of May suffered together in Smithfield John Cardmaker, otherwise called Taylor, prebendary of the church of Wells; and John Warne, upholsterer, of the parish of St. John in Walbrook: of whom it remaineth now particularly to entreat, beginning first with Master Cardmaker, who, first, was an Observant Friar before the dissolution of the abbeys; then, after, was a married minister; and, in King Edward's time, appointed to be a reader in Paul's, where the papists were so much aggrieved with him for his doctrine's sake, that in his reading they cut and mangled his gown with their knives. This Cardmaker, being apprehended in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, with Master Barlow, bishop of Bath, was brought to London, and laid in prison in the Fleet, King Edward's laws yet being in force. But after the parliament was ended, in which the pope was again admitted as supreme head of the church, and the bishops had also gotten power and authority, ex officio, to exercise their tyranny, these two were both brought before Winchester, chancellor, and others appointed by commission, (as before is mentioned,) to examine the faith of such as were then prisoners: and, as unto others before, so now unto them, the chancellor offered the queen's mercy, if they would agree, and be conformable, &c.

To this they both made such an answer, as the chancellor with his fellow commissioners allowed them for catholic. Whether they of weakness so answered, or he of subtlety would so understand their answer, that he might have some forged example of a shrinking brother to lay in the dish of the rest, which were to be examined, it may easily be perceived by this, that to all them which followed in examination, he objected the example of Barlow and Cardmaker, commending their soberness, discretion, and learning. But whatsoever their answer was, yet, notwithstanding, Barlow was led again to the Fleet, from whence he afterward, being delivered, did by exile constantly bear witness to the truth of Christ's gospel. Cardmaker was conveyed to the Compter in Bread Street, the bishop of London procuring it to be published, that he should shortly be delivered, after that he had subscribed to transubstantiation and certain other articles. To the same prison where Cardmaker was, Laurence Saunders was brought (after the sentence of excommunication and condemnation was pronounced against him); where these two prisoners had such Christian conference, that whatsoever the breath of the bishops blustered, and the tickle ears of the people too lightly believed, in the end they both showed themselves constant confessors and worthy martyrs of Christ: as of Laurence Saunders it is already written. After whose departure Cardmaker remained there prisoner, to be baited of the papists, who would needs seem to have a certain hope that Cardmaker was become theirs. Continual and great conference divers of them had with him, with reasonings, persuadings, threatenings, and all to none effect. To the end that their doings might appear, he required them to put their reasons in writing, and promised by writing to answer them.

Dr. Martin, who bare also a part in those pageants, took upon him to be the chief doer by writing, whose long unsavoury letters and simple reasons for transubstantiation, and such

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papistical trash, this Cardmaker answered largely, learnedly, and substantially; confuting the same, opening the falsehood of his arguments, and delivering the sentences of the fathers (which Martin abused for his purpose) to their true understanding; which his answers I would had come into our hands. Thus constantly abode this man of God all the enemies' doings, as he did also the death which he suffered in Smithfield in London; whereof ye shall hear more anon. But first we will survey the matter and manner of his articles objected against him by Bishop Bonner, with his answers annexed to the same; as consequently hereunder followeth.

"First, I Edmund, bishop of London, object against thee, Sir John Taylor, alias Cardmaker, that thou wast and art of the city and diocese of London, and so of the jurisdiction of me, Edmund, bishop of London.

"Item, that thou, in times past, didst profess the rule of St. Francis, and didst by vow promise to keep poverty, chastity, and obedience, according to the rule of St. Francis.

"Item, that thou, in times past, didst receive all the orders of the church then used; to wit, *tam majores quam minores*.

"Item, that thou, after thy said entry into religion and profession and orders aforesaid, didst take to wife a widow, and with her hast lived in wedlock, and didst get of her a woman child; breaking thereby thy vow and order, and also the ordinance of the church.

"Item, that thou hast believed and taught, and so dost believe, that in the sacrament of the altar under the visible signs there; that is to say, under the forms of bread and wine, there is really and truly the true and very natural body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

"Item, that the belief of the catholic church is, that in having the body and blood of Christ really and truly contained in the sacrament of the altar, is to have (by the omnipotent power of Almighty God) the body and blood of Christ there invisibly and really present under the said sacrament; and not to make thereby a new God, or a new Christ, or a new body of Christ.

"Item, that it may stand well together, and so is the faith of the catholic church; that the body of Christ is visibly and truly ascended into heaven, and there is, in the visible form of his humanity; and yet the same body in substance is invisibly and truly contained in the said sacrament of the altar.

"Item, that Christ, at his last supper, taking bread into his hands, blessing it, breaking it, giving it to his apostles, and saying, Take, eat, this is my body, did institute a sacrament there; willing that his body really and truly should be contained in the said sacrament—no substance of bread and wine there remaining, but only the accidents thereof."

Answers of Cardmaker to the articles aforesaid.

"To the first article he answereth, and confesseth the same to be true in every part thereof.

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"To the second article he answereth and confesseth, that he, being under age, did profess the said order and religion; and afterward, by the authority of King Henry the Eighth, he was dispensed with for the same religion.

"To the third he answereth, and confesseth the same to be true in every part thereof.

"To the fourth he answereth and confesseth, the first part thereof to be true: and to the second part of the same article he answereth and saith, that in marriage he brake no vow, because he was set at liberty to marry, both by the laws of this realm, and also by the laws and ordinances of the church of the same.

"To the fifth he answereth and confesseth, that he hath believed and taught as it is contained in this article, but he doth not now so believe nor teach.

"To the sixth he answereth, that he doth not believe the same to be true in any part thereof.

"To the seventh he answereth, that he doth not believe the same to be true in any part thereof.

"To the eighth he answereth and doth believe, *videlicet*, that it is true; that is to say, that Christ, taking bread at his last supper into his hands, blessing it, breaking it, giving it to his disciples, and saying, Take, eat, this is my body, did institute a sacrament there. And to the other part of this article, *videlicet*—willing that his body really and truly should be contained in the said sacrament, no substance of bread and wine there remaining, but only the accidents thereof—he answereth, that he doth not believe the same to be true.

"By me, JOHN CARDMAKER."

Master Cardmaker, calling to mind afterwards the ready cavillings of the papists, and thinking himself not to have fully, and according to his true meaning, answered the latter part of the last eighth article, did, the next day after the foresaid answers, exhibit unto the bishop in a schedule, this hereafter following.

"Whereas in my answers to your articles I deny the presence of Christ in the sacrament, I mean not his sacramental presence, for that I confess; but my denial is of his carnal presence in the same. But yet further, because this word is oftentimes taken of the holy fathers, not only for the bread and wine, but also for the whole administration and receiving of the same, according to Christ's institution: so I say that Christ is present spiritually too, and in all them which worthily receive the sacrament, so that my denial is still of the real, carnal, and corporal presence in the sacrament, and not of the sacramental, nor spiritual presence.—This have I thought good to add to my former answer, because no man should misunderstand it.

"By me, JOHN CARDMAKER."

Next to these articles of Master Cardmaker, I thought best to infer the articles and answers likewise of John Warne, his martyr-fellow, in manner as followeth.

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"First, that thou, John Warne, being of the age of twenty-nine years, and of the parish of St. John of Walbrook in London, hast believed, and dost believe, firmly and stedfastly, that in the sacrament, commonly called the sacrament of the altar, there is not the very true and natural body of our Saviour Christ in substance, under the forms of bread and wine.

"Item, that thou hast believed, and dost believe, that after the words of consecration spoken by the priest, there is not (as the Church of England doth believe and teach) the body of Christ; but that there doth only remain the substance of material bread, as it is before the consecration, or speaking of the words of consecration; and that the said bread is in no wise altered or changed.

"Item, that thou hast said and dost believe, that if the catholic church do believe and teach, that there is in the mass, now used in England, and in other places of Christendom, a sacrifice wherein there is a sacrament containing the body and blood of Christ really and truly; then that belief and faith of the church is naught, and against God's truth and the Scripture.

"Item, that thou hast said, that whereas about a twelvemonth ago and more, a great rough water-spaniel of thine was shorn in the head, and had a crown like a priest's made in the same, thou didst laugh at it and like it, though thou didst it not thyself, nor knewest who did it.

"Item, that thou, neither this Lent last past, nor at any time since the queen's Majesty's reign, hast come into the church, or heard mass, or been confessed, or received the sacrament of the altar; and hast said, that thou art not sorry that thou hast so done, but thou art glad; because thou hast not therewith defiled thy conscience, which otherwise thou shouldst have done.

"Upon all which articles John Warne being examined by the said Bonner in presence of divers witnesses, the twenty-third of May, A. D. 1555, did confess and believe the same, and subscribe hereunto his name with his own hand.

"By me, JOHN WARNE."

Also it was objected against the said John Warne, by the bishop aforesaid, as followeth:

"Item, That thou, John Warne, wast in time past here, in the city of London, convented in the Guild-hall for heresy against the sacrament of the altar, according to the order of the laws of this realm of England in the time of King Henry the Eighth, and when Alderman Barnes was sheriff, and the Thursday after that Anne Askew was burnt in Smithfield; and thereupon thou wast sent a prisoner to Newgate, to whom Edmund, bishop of London, did repair with his chaplains, to instruct thee in the true faith of Christ, touching the said sacrament of the altar, and to bring thee from thy error, which was, that in the sacrament of the altar there is not the body of Christ, nor any corporal presence of Christ's body and blood, under the forms of bread and wine, but that in the said sacrament there is only material bread and wine, without any substance of Christ's body and blood at all: and because thou wouldst not leave and forsake thy said heresy therein, but persist and abide obstinately and wilfully therein, thou wert, according to the said laws, condemned to death and to be burnt; and thereupon labour being made for thee to the king and others in the court, thou hadst a pardon of King Henry the Eighth, and so thereby didst save thy life.

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"Nevertheless, in thy heart, conscience, and mind, thou didst both then, and also afore, believe no otherwise than at this present thou dost believe; that is to say, that in the sacrament of the altar there is neither the very true body or blood of Christ, nor any other substance but the substance of material bread and wine; and to receive the said material bread and wine, and to break it, and to distribute it among the people, only is the true receiving of Christ's body, and no otherwise: so that thy faith and belief is, that in the said sacrament there is no substance of Christ's material body and blood; but all the thing that is there, is material bread, and the receiving thereof as afore; and that the substance of the natural and true body of Christ, born of the Virgin Mary, is only in heaven, and not in the sacrament of the altar. In which thine opinion thou hast ever hitherto since continued, and so dost continue at this present, thou confessing all this to be true, and in witness thereof subscribing thy name thereunto, as followeth.

"By me, JOHN WARNE."

John Warne, being examined upon the foresaid articles by the bishop before certain witnesses, whose names were John Boswell, John Heywood, Robert Ravens, the twenty-third of May, did answer to the same, confessing and granting the articles and contents thereof to be true, according as they were objected in every part; subscribing also the same with his hand. Such strength and fortitude God's Holy Spirit wrought in him, to stand stoutly and confidently to the defence of the sincere doctrine of his Son. Whereupon the bishop, exhorting him with many words to leave his heresies, (as he called them,) and to return to the bosom of his mother the holy church, commanded him to appear again the next day, being the twenty-fourth of the same month: who, so doing and answering as he did before, was willed to come thither again at afternoon, and so he did: where and at what time, he was earnestly exhorted by the said bishop to recant his opinions. To whom he answered, that he would not depart from his received profession, unless he were thereunto thoroughly persuaded by the Holy Scriptures.

Upon which answer he was willed to come again the next day, being the twenty-fifth of the same month, at one o'clock in the afternoon. At which day and hour the bishop examined him again upon all his former articles before objected, to the which he most constantly did stick, with this further answer thereunto added "I am persuaded," quoth he, that I am in the right opinion, and I see no cause to repent; for all filthiness and idolatry is in the Church of Rome."

The bishop then, seeing that notwithstanding all his fair promises, and terrible threatenings, (whereof he used store,) he could not any thing prevail; finished this examination with the definitive sentence of condemnation pronounced against the said John Warne, and so charged the sheriffs of London with him, under whose custody he remained in the prison of Newgate, until the thirtieth day of the same month of May. Upon the which day, being the day appointed for their execution, John Card-maker, with the said John Warne, were brought by the sheriffs to the place where they should suffer: who, being come to the stake, first the sheriffs called Cardmaker aside, and talked with him secretly, so long, that in the mean time Warne had made his prayers, was chained to the stake, and had wood and reed set about him, so that nothing wanted but the firing; but still abode Cardmaker talking with the sheriffs.

The people, which before had heard that Cardmaker would recant, on beholding this manner of doing, were in a marvellous dump and sadness, thinking indeed that Cardmaker should now recant at the burning of Warne. At length Cardmaker departed from the sheriffs, and

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came towards the stake, and, in his garments as he was, kneeled down and made a long prayer in silence to himself: yet the people confirmed themselves in their fantasy of his recanting, seeing him in his garments, praying secretly, and no semblance of any burning.

His prayers being ended, he rose up, put off his clothes unto his shirt, went with bold courage to the stake, and kissed it sweetly: he took Warne by the hand, and comforted him heartily; and so gave himself to be also bound to the stake most gladly. The people seeing this so suddenly done, contrary to their fearful expectation, as men delivered out of a great doubt, cried out for joy, (with so great a shout as hath not lightly been heard a greater,) saying, "God be praised; the Lord strengthen thee, Cardmaker; the Lord Jesus receive thy spirit!" And this continued while the executioner put fire to them, and they both passed through the fire to the blessed rest and peace among God's holy saints and martyrs, to enjoy the crown of triumph and victory prepared for the elect soldiers and warriors of Christ Jesus in his blessed kingdom. To whom be glory and majesty for ever. Amen.

The confession of the faith of John Warne, citizen of London, which he wrote the day before he was burned, the thirtieth day of May, A. D. 1555.

"I believe in God the Father Almighty, and Maker of heaven and earth."

"A Father, because he is the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the everlasting Word, whom before all worlds he hath begotten of himself, which Word was made flesh, and therein also manifested to be his Son; in whom he hath adopted us to be his children, the inheritors of his kingdom—and therefore he is our Father: an Almighty God, because he hath of nothing created all things visible and invisible, both in heaven and in earth, even all creatures contained therein, and governeth them.

"And in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord."

"The eternal Word, perfect God with his Father, of equal power in all things, of the same substance, of like glory, by whom all things were made, and have life, and without whom nothing liveth: he was made also perfect man; and so, being very God and very man in one person, is the only Saviour, Redeemer, and Ransomer of them which were lost in Adam our forefather. He is the only mean of our deliverance, the hope of our health, the surety of our salvation.

"Which was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary."

"According to the Father's most merciful promise, this eternal Son of God, forsaking the heavenly glory, humbled himself to take flesh of a virgin, according to the Scriptures, uniting the substance of the Godhead to the substance of the manhood, which he took of the substance of that blessed Virgin Mary in one person, to become therein the very Messiah, the anointed King and Priest, for ever appointed to pacify the Father's wrath, which was justly gone out against us all for our sin.

"Suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried, and descended into hell."

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"He was arraigned before Pontius Pilate the ruler of Jewry; and so unjustly accused of many crimes, that the ruler judged him innocent, and sought means to deliver him; but, contrary to known justice, he did let go Barabbas, which had deserved death, and delivered Christ to be crucified, who deserved no death: which doth declare unto us manifestly, that he suffered for our sins, and was buffeted for our offences, as the prophets do witness; thereby to have it manifested to all men, that he is that Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world. Therefore, suffering for our sins, he received and did bear our deserved condemnation, the pains of death, the taste of abjection, the very terror of hell; yielding his spirit to his Father, his body to be buried in earth.

""The third day he rose again from death to life.'

"To make full and perfect the whole work of our redemption and justification, the same crucified body which was laid in the grave, was raised up again the third day from death, by the power of his Father, and glory of his Godhead: he became the first-fruits of the resurrection, and got the victory of death, that all by him might be raised up from death. Through whom all true penitent sinners may now boldly come unto the Father, and have remission of their sins.

"He ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty.'

After that in his death and resurrection he had conquered sin, death, and the devil, and had been conversant forty days in the earth, being seen of the apostles and more than five hundred brethren at once, in the same body in which he wrought the work of our salvation, he ascended into heaven with eternal triumph, for the victory over death, sin, hell; leaving the passage open, by which all true believers may and shall enter into his kingdom, where he now sitteth at his Father's right hand; that is to say, in power and glory equal, in majesty co-eternal.

""From thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.'

"He shall appear again in great glory to receive his elect unto himself, and to put his enemies under his feet; changing all living men in a moment, and raising up all that be dead, that all may be brought to his judgment. In this shall he give each man according to his deeds. They which have followed him in regeneration, which have their sins washed away in his blood, and are clothed with his righteousness, shall receive the everlasting kingdom, and reign with him for ever; and they which, after the race of the corrupt generation of Adam, have followed flesh and blood, shall receive everlasting damnation with the devil and his angels.

""I believe in the Holy Ghost.'

"I do believe that the Holy Ghost is God, the third person in Trinity, in unity of the Godhead equal with the Father and the Son, given through Christ to inhabit our spirits, by which we are made to feel and understand the great power, virtue, and loving-kindness of Christ our Lord. For he illuminateth, quickeneth, and certifieth our spirit, that by him we are sealed up unto the day of redemption; by whom we are regenerate and made new creatures, so that by him and through him we do receive all the abundant goodness promised us in Jesus Christ.

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"The holy catholic church.'

"This is a holy number of Adam's posterity, elected, gathered, washed, and purified by the blood of the Lamb from the beginning of the world; and is dispersed through the same by the tyranny of Gog and Magog; that is to say, the Turk and his tyranny, and antichrist, otherwise named the bishop of Rome, and his angels, as this day also doth teach.

""The communion of saints.'

"Which most holy congregation, (being, as Paul teacheth, builded upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Christ being the head corner-stone,) though it be by the tyranny of Satan and his ministers persecuted, some by imprisonment, some by death, and some by other afflictions and painful torments; yet doth it remain in one perfect unity, both in faith and fellowship: which unity is knit in an unspeakable knot, as well of them which are departed from this mortal life, as of them which now be living, and hereafter shall be in the same, and so shall continue until they all do meet in the kingdom, where the head Jesus Christ, with all these his holy members, (of which number through Christ I assuredly believe that I am one,) shall be fully complete, knit, and united together for evermore.

""The forgiveness of sins.'

"I do believe that my sins, and all their sins which do rightly believe the Holy Scripture, are forgiven only through Jesus Christ, of whom only I do profess that I have my whole and full salvation and redemption; which, St. Paul saith, cometh not through our works and deservings, but freely by grace, lest any should boast himself. Through the blood of his cross all things in heaven and earth are reconciled, and set at peace with the Father; without him no heavenly life is given, nor sin forgiven.

""The resurrection of the body.'

"I do believe, that by the same my Saviour Christ, I and all men shall rise again from death; for he, as St. Paul saith, is risen again from the dead, and is become the first-fruits of them which sleep. For by a man came death, and by a man cometh the resurrection from death. This man is Christ, through the power of whose resurrection I believe that we all shall rise again in these our bodies; the elect clothed with immortality, to live with Christ for ever: the reprobate also shall rise immortal, to live with the devil and his angels in death everlasting.

""And the life everlasting.'

"Through the same Jesus, and by none other, I am sure to have life everlasting. He only is the way and entrance into the kingdom of heaven: For so God loved the world, that he did give his only Son Jesus Christ, to the end that so many as do believe in him, might have everlasting life. The which I am sure to possess, so soon as I am dissolved, and departed out of this tabernacle; and in the last day shall both body and soul possess the same for ever, to the which God grant all men to come.

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"I believe that the sacraments, that is to say, of baptism and of the Lord's supper, are seals of God's most merciful promises towards mankind. In baptism, as by the outward creature of water I am washed from the filthiness which hangeth on my flesh; so do I assuredly believe, that I am, by Christ's blood, washed clean from my sins, through which I have sure confidence of my certain salvation. In the partaking of the Lord's supper, as I receive the substance of bread and wine, (the nature of which is to strengthen the body,) so do I, by faith, receive the redemption wrought in Christ's body broken on the cross, life by his death, resurrection by his resurrection; and in sum, all that ever Christ in his body suffered for my salvation, to the strengthening of my faith in the same. And I believe, that God hath appointed the eating and drinking of the creatures of bread and wine in his holy supper, according to his word, to move and to stir up my mind to believe these articles above written.

"This is my faith; this do I believe; and I am content by God's grace to confirm and seal the truth of the same with my blood.

"By me, JOHN WARNE."

A letter of John Cardmaker to a certain friend of his.

"The peace of God be with you:—You shall right well perceive that I am not gone back, as some men do report me, but as ready to give my life, as any of my brethren that are gone before me; although by a policy I have a little prolonged it, and that for the best, as already it appeareth unto me, and shall shortly appear unto all. That day that I recant any point of doctrine, I shall suffer twenty kinds of death, the Lord being mine assistance; as I doubt not but he will. Commend me to my friend, and tell him no less. This the Lord strengthen you, me, and all his elect. My riches and poverty is as it was wont to be, and I have learned to rejoice in poverty as well as in riches, for that count I now to be very riches. Thus fare ye well in Christ. Salute all my brethren in my name. I have conferred with some of my adversaries, learned men, and I find that they be but sophists and shadows."

A note concerning Master Cardmaker, and one Beard, a promoter.

Master Cardmaker being condemned, and in Newgate, one Beard, a promoter, came to him two or three days before he was burned, and said thus unto him:

Beard.—"Sir, I am sent unto you by the council, to know whether ye will recant or no?"

Cardmaker.—"From which council are ye come? I think ye are not come, nor yet sent, from the queen's council, but rather from the commissioners, unto whom (as I suppose) ye belong. And whereas ye would know, whether I will recant or no, thus I pray you report of me to those who ye said sent you. I know you are a tailor by your occupation, and have endeavoured yourself to be a cunning workman, and thereby to get your living: so I have been a preacher these twenty years, and ever since that God, by his great mercy, hath opened mine eyes to see his eternal truth, I have, by his grace, endeavoured myself to call upon him, to give me the true understanding of his holy word; and I thank him for his great mercy. I hope I have discharged my conscience in the setting forth of the same, to that little talent that I have received."

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Beard.—"Yea, sir; but what say you to the blessed sacrament of the altar?"

Cardmaker.—"I say, (and mark it well,) that Christ, the night before his bitter passion, ordained the holy and blessed communion, and hath given commandment, that his death should be preached before the receiving thereof; in remembrance of his body broken, and his precious blood shed, for the forgiveness of our sins, to as many as faithfully believe and trust in him."

And furthermore, to conclude the matter briefly with him, he asked of him, Whether the sacrament he spake of, had a beginning or no? Whereunto when he had granted and affirmed the same to be, then Master Cardmaker again thus inferred thereupon:

"If the sacrament," said he, "as you confess, have a beginning and an ending, then it cannot be God; for God hath no beginning nor ending" and so willing him well to note the same, he departed from him.

283. Other Events of June, 1555.

The fifth day of June, [there were letters sent to] Master Secretary Bourne, the master of the Rolls, Sir Francis Englefield, Sir Richard Read, and Dr. Hughes, authorizing them, or two or three of them at the least, to proceed to examination of Bengier, Cary, D***, and Field, upon such further points as they shall gather out of their former confessions, touching their lewd and vain practices of calculating or conjuring, presently sent unto them with the said letters.

The seventh day of June there was another letter to Sir John Tregonwell; willing him to join in commission with the said Lord North, and others above named, about the examination of the said parties and others for conjuring and witchcraft. And the twenty-ninth of August, Cary and D*** were set at liberty upon bonds for their good appearing until Christmas after.

The twelfth day of June a letter was sent to the lord treasurer, to cause writs to be made to the sheriff of Sussex, for the burning and executing of Derike, a brewer, at Lewes, and other two, the one at Stenning, the other at Chichester.

The twenty-third of June a letter was sent to Bonner, to examine a report given to the council of four parishes within the soke of Essex, that should still use the English service; and to punish the offenders, if any such be.

284. John Ardeley and John Simson.

The story of John Ardeley and John Simson, martyrs, of the parish of Wigborough the Great, in Essex.



ITH Master Cardmaker andcJohn Warne, upon the same day, and in the same company, and for the same cause, were also condemned John Ardeley and John Simson; which was the twenty-fifth day of May. But before we come to the story of them, first here is to be noted the copy of the king and queen's letter, directed from the court the same day, and sent by a post early in the morning to the bishop, in tenor and form as followeth.

"To the right reverend father in God, our right trusty and well-beloved, the bishop of London.

"Right reverend father in God, right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And whereas of late we addressed our letters to the justices of peace within every of the counties of this our realm, whereby, amongst other instructions given them for the good order and quiet government of the country round about them, they are willed to have a special regard unto such disordered persons as (forgetting their duties towards God and us) do lean to any erroneous and heretical opinions, refusing to show themselves conformable to the catholic religion of Christ's church; wherein if they cannot by good admonitions and fair means reform them, they are willed to deliver them to the ordinary, to be by him charitably travailed withal, and removed (if it may be) from their naughty opinions; or else, if they continue obstinate, to be ordered according to the laws provided in that behalf: understanding now, to our no little marvel, that divers of the said disordered persons, being by the justices of peace, for their contempt and obstinacy, brought to the ordinaries to be used as is aforesaid, are either refused to be received at their hands, or, if they be received, are neither so travailed with as Christian charity requireth, nor yet proceeded withal according to the order of justice, but are suffered to continue in their errors, to the dishonour of Almighty God, and dangerous example of others; like as we find this matter very strange, so we have thought convenient both to signify this our knowledge, and therewith also to admonish you to have in this behalf such regard henceforth to the office of a good pastor and bishop, as when any such offenders shall be by the said officers or justices of peace brought unto you, you to use your good wisdom and discretion in procuring to remove them from their errors, if it may be; or else in proceeding against them (if they shall continue obstinate) according to the order of the laws; so as through your good furtherance, both God's glory may be better advanced, and the commonwealth more quietly governed.

"Given under our signet, at our honour of Hampton Court, the twenty-fourth of May, the first and second years of our reigns."

This letter thus coming from the court to the bishop, made him the more earnest and hasty to the condemnation, as well of others, as of these men, of whom now we have presently to entreat, of John Simson, I mean, and John Ardeley; which being both of one country, and of one

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town together, and of one trade, that is, being both husbandmen in the town of Wigborough in Essex, and also almost both of one age, save that Simson was of the age of thirty-four, the other of thirty, were brought up both together by the under-sheriff of Essex, to Bonner, bishop of London, upon the accusation (as in that time it was called) of heresy.

As touching the order and manner of their examinations before the bishop; as the articles ministered against them were much like, so their answers again unto the same were not much discrepant in manner and form; as out of the bishop's own registers here followeth expressed.

"I. First, That thou John Simson, [or John Ardeley,] husbandman, of the age of thirty-four years or thereabout, wast and art of the parish of Great Wigborough, within the diocese of London; and thou hast not believed, nor dost believe, that there is here in earth one catholic and universal whole church, which doth hold and believe all the faith and religion of Christ, and all the necessary articles and sacraments of the same.

"II. Item, That thou hast not believed, nor dost believe, that thou art necessarily bounden, under the pain of damnation of thy soul, to give full faith and credence unto the said catholic and universal church, and to the religion of the same, in all necessary points of the said faith and religion, without wavering or doubting in the said faith or religion, or in any part thereof.

"III. Item, That thou hast not believed, nor dost believe, that that faith and religion, which both the Church of Rome, Italy, Spain, England, France, Ireland, Scotland, and all other churches in Europe, being true members and parts of the said catholic and universal church, do believe and teach, is both agreeing with the said catholic and universal church, and the faith and religion of Christ, and also is the very true faith and religion which all Christian people ought to believe, observe, follow, and keep; but, contrariwise, thou hast believed, and dost believe, that that faith and religion, which the said Church of Rome, and all the other churches aforesaid, have heretofore believed, and do now believe, is false, erroneous, and naught, and in no wise ought to be believed, observed, kept, and followed of any Christian man.

"IV. Item, That albeit it be true, that in the sacrament of the altar there is in substance the very body and blood of Christ under the forms of bread and wine, and albeit that it be so believed, taught, and preached undoubtedly in the said Church of Rome, and all other the churches aforesaid, yet thou hast not so believed, nor dost so believe; but, contrariwise, thou hast and dost believe firmly and stedfastly, that there is not in the said sacrament of the altar, under the said forms of bread and wine, the very substance of Christ's body and blood, but that there is only the substance of material and common bread and wine, with the forms thereof; and that the said material and common bread and wine are only the signs and tokens of Christ's body and blood, and by faith to be received, only for a remembrance of Christ's passion and death, without any such substance of Christ's body and blood at all.

"V. Item, That thou hast believed and taught, and thou hast openly spoken, and to thy power maintained and defended, and so dost believe, think, maintain, and defend, that the very true receiving and eating of Christ's body and blood, is only to take material and common bread, and to break it, and to distribute it amongst the people; remembering thereby the passion and death of Christ only.

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"VI. Item, That thou hast likewise believed, taught, and spoken, that the mass now used in this realm of England, and other the churches aforesaid, is abominable and naught, and full of idolatry, and is of the ordinance of the pope, and not of the institution of Christ, and hath no goodness in it, saving the Gloria in excelsis, and the Epistle and the Gospel; and that therefore thou hast not, nor wilt not, come to be present at the mass, nor receive the sacrament of the altar, or any other sacrament of the church, as they are now used in this realm of England, and other the churches aforesaid.

"VII. Item, That thou hast in times past believed precisely, and obstinately affirmed and said, and so lost now believe and think, that auricular confession is not needful to be made unto the priest, but it is a thing superfluous and vain, and ought only to be made to God, and to none other person: and likewise thou hast condemned as superfluous, vain, and unprofitable, all the ceremonies of the church, and the service of the same, and hast said, that no service in the church ought to be said but in the English tongue; and if it be otherwise said, it is unlawful and naught."

The answers of John Simson, and also of John Ardeley, to the foresaid articles.

"To the first, they believe, that here in earth there is one catholic and universal holy church, which doth hold and believe as is contained in the first article; and that this church is dispersed and scattered abroad throughout the whole world.

"To the second, they believe, that they be bound to give faith and credence unto it, as is contained in the second article.

"To the third, as concerning the faith and religion of the Church of Rome, of Italy, Spain, France, Ireland, Scotland, and other churches in Europe, they say, they have nothing to do with that faith and religion: but as concerning the faith and religion of England, that if the said Church of England be ruled and governed by the Word of Life, then the Church of England hath the faith and religion of the catholic church, and not otherwise; and do say also, that if the Church of England were ruled by the Word of Life, it would not go about to condemn them and others of this heresy.

"To the fourth they answer, that in the sacrament, commonly called the sacrament of the altar, there is very bread and very wine, not altered or changed in substance in any wise; and that he that receiveth the said bread and wine, doth spiritually and by faith only receive the body and blood of Christ; but not the very natural body and blood of Christ in substance under the forms of bread and wine.

"To the fifth they say, they have answered, answering to the said fourth article, and yet nevertheless they say, that they have believed, and do believe, that in the sacrament of the altar there is not the very substance of Christ's body and blood, but only the substance of the natural bread and wine.

"To the sixth they say, that they believe, that the mass is of the pope, and not of Christ; and therefore it is not good, nor having in it any goodness, saving the Gloria in excelsis, the

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Epistle and Gospel, the Creed, and the Pater-noster; and for this cause they say they have not, nor will not, come and hear mass.

"To the seventh, John Ardeley answereth and saith, that he believeth the contents of the same to be true; but John Simson doth answer, that he is not as yet fully resolved with himself, what answer to make thereunto; and further, that as touching the common and daily service said and used in the church, he saith, that he never said, that service in the church ought to be said but in the English tongue, nor yet he never said, that if it be otherwise said and used than in English, it is unlawful and naught.

"JOHN ARDELEY and JOHN SIMSON."

Thus these articles being to them objected, and their answers made unto the same, as before, the bishop, according to the old trade of his consistory court, respited them to the afternoon, bidding them to make their appearance the said day and place, between the hours of two and three. At what time the said bishop, repeating again the said articles unto them, and beginning with John Ardeley, did urge and solicitate him, according to his manner of words, to recant.

To whom John Ardeley again, constantly standing to his professed religion, gave answer in words as followeth "My Lord," quoth he, "neither you, nor any other of your religion, is of the catholic church; for you be of a false faith: and I doubt not but you shall be deceived at length, bear as good a face as ye can. Ye will shed the innocent blood, and you have killed many, and yet go about to kill more." &c.

And added further, saying, "If every hair of my head were a man, I would suffer death in the opinion and faith that I am now in." These with many other words he spake. Then the bishop yet demanded if he would relinquish his erroneous opinions, (as he called them,) and be reduced again to the unity of the church. He answered as followeth, "No! God foreshield that I should so do, for then I should lose my soul."

After this, the said bishop, asking John Ardeley (after his formal manner) if he knew any cause why he should not have sentence condemnatory against him, so read the condemnation; as he also did against John Simson, standing likewise in the same cause and constancy with John Ardeley: which was done the twenty-fifth day of May. And so were they both committed to the secular power, (that is, to the hands of the sheriffs,) to be conveyed to the place where they should be executed. But before I come to their execution, here is not to be passed a thing not unworthy the looking upon, which happened in the closing up the examination of these two innocent martyrs of God, which is this:

At the time of the examination of this Simson and John Ardeley aforesaid, there was assembled such a great multitude of people, that because the consistory was not able to hold them, they were fain to stand in the church, near about the said consistory, waiting to see the prisoners when they should depart. It happened in the mean time, that the bishop, being set in a heat with the stout and bold answers of the said two prisoners, (especially of John Simson,) burst out in his loud and angry voice, and said, "Have him away! have him away!"

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Now the people in the church, hearing these words, and thinking (because the day was far spent) that the prisoners had their judgment, they, being desirous to see the prisoners had to Newgate, severed themselves, one running one way, another another way, which caused such a noise in the church, that they in the consistory were all amazed, and marvelled what it should mean: wherefore the bishop also, being somewhat afraid of this sudden stir, asked what there was to do. The standers-by answering said, that there was like to be some tumult; for they were together by the ears.

When the bishop heard this, by and by his heart was in his heels, and leaving his seat, he with the rest of the court betook them to their legs, hastening with all speed possible to recover the door that went into the bishop's house: but the rest, being somewhat lighter of foot than my Lord, did sooner recover the door, and thronging hastily to get in, kept the bishop still out, and cried, "Save my Lord! save my Lord!" but meaning yet first to save themselves, if any danger should come; whereby they gave the standers-by good matter to laugh at; resembling in some part a spectacle not much unlike to the old stagers at Oxford, worse feared than hurt, when the church there was noised to be set on fire, whereof ye may read before. But of this matter enough.

Now John Simson and John Ardeley being delivered (as is aforesaid) to the sheriffs, were shortly after sent down from London to Essex, where both they in one day (which was about the tenth of June) were put to death, albeit in several places; for John Simson suffered at Rochford; John Ardeley the same day was had to Rayleigh, where he finished his martyrdom most quietly in the quarrel of Christ's gospel.

A note of John Ardeley.

For the better consideration of the rigorous cruelty of these catholic days, this is furthermore not unworthy of all men to be noted and known to all posterity, concerning the examinations of this Ardeley and his company, how that they, being brought before the commissioners, were by them greatly charged of stubbornness and vain-glory. Unto whom they answered in defence of their own simplicity, that they were content willingly to yield to the queen all their goods and lands, so that they might be suffered to live under her, in keeping their conscience free from all idolatry and papistical religion. Yet this would not be granted, although they had offered all to their heart-blood; so greedy and so thirsty be these persecutors of Christian blood. The Lord give them repentance if it be his will, and keep from them the just reward of such cruel dealing! Amen.

285. John Tooley

The ridiculous handling and proceeding of Bishop Bonner and his mates against John Tooley, first suspected and condemned after his death, and then digged out of his grave, and given to the secular power, and so burned for a heretic.

About the same time of the burning of these two aforesaid, in the beginning of the said month of June, fell out a solemn process, and much ado was made about the pope's spiritually against John Tooley, in a case of heresy. The story is this: There was about the time that the Spaniards began first to keep a stir in England, one John Tooley, a citizen and poulterer in London, who conspired with certain other of his society, to rob a Spaniard at St. James's: and although the deed were heinous and wicked of itself, yet was it aggravated and made greater than it was by others, being committed against such a person, and against such a country, which both the queen and her whole court did highly favour. The robbery being known, and brought into judgment, this Tooley was found guilty, and judged to be hanged, whereas notwithstanding in this realm there are many more thefts committed than thieves executed.

The foresaid Tooley being led to the gallows, (which stood fast by Charing Cross,) a little before he died, standing upon the cart, read a certain prayer in a printed book, and two other prayers written in two several papers: who then, having the halter about his neck, desired the people there present to pray for him, and to bear him witness that he died a true Christian man, and that he trusted to be saved only by the merits of Christ's passion, and shedding of his precious blood; and not by any masses or trentals, images or saints, which were (as he said) mere idolatry and superstition, and devised by the bishop of Rome: and as the same Tooley, and two other his fellows which were there hanged with him, did steal and rob for covetousness, so the bishop of Rome did sell his masses and trentals, with such other paltry, for covetousness; and there being in a great anger (as appeared) against the bishop of Rome, spake with a loud voice these words following "From the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities; from false doctrine and heresy, and from the contempt of thy word and commandment, good Lord, deliver us!"

And then adding further to the same, he spake unto the people,—"All you that be true Christian men, say with me, Amen." And immediately thereupon three hundred persons and more, to the judgment and estimation of those that were there present, answered and said, "Amen," three times together at the least.

After this it happened, that when Tooley had read the bill the first time, it fell from him, and a certain young man (who was thought to be a prentice) stooped down and took up the bill, and climbed up by the cart, and delivered it unto Tooley again, which he again did read to the people. That done, he delivered unto one of the marshal's officers the book aforesaid, and willed him to deliver it unto one Haukes, saving, that it was his book. Furthermore, he delivered one of the prayers, written in a paper, to one Robert Bromley, sergeant, who desired to have it of him. Upon the top of which bill was written a line, containing these words, "Beware of Antichrist;" and subscribed underneath, "Per me Thomam Harold, prisoner in the Marshalsea, enemy to

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antichrist." For the bill aforesaid, Robert Bromley was brought afterward *coram nobis*; and was fain to ask pardon of the bishop, and to detest all the words of Tooley, and glad so to escape.

Thus while Tooley had made his prayers, as is abovesaid, to be delivered from the pope's tyranny, by the same prayers he fell into great tyranny. For so soon as the bruit of this fact came unto the ears of the priests and mitred prelates, they were not a little mad thereat, thinking it not tolerable that so great a reproach should be done against the holy father. Calling therefore for a council together, as though it had been a matter of great importance, Tooley's talk at his death was debated among themselves.

At last, after much pro and contra, they all consented to those men's judgments, who thought it meet that the violating of the pope's Holiness should be revenged with fire and faggot. And I do easily believe that Cardinal Pole was no small doer in this sentence; for as Winchester and Bonner did always thirst after the blood of the living, so Pole's lightning was for the most part kindled against the dead; and he reserved this charge only to himself, I know not for what purpose, except peradventure, being loth to be so cruel as the other, he thought nevertheless by this means to discharge his duty towards the pope. By the same cardinal's like lightning and fiery fist the bones of Martin Bucer and Paulus Phagius, which had lain almost two years in their graves, were taken up and burned at Cambridge, as Tooley's carcass was here at London. And besides this, because he would show some token of his diligence in both universities, he caused Peter Martyr's wife, a woman of worthy memory, to be digged out of the churchyard, and to be buried on the dunghill. of these two prodigious acts ye shall hear more hereafter. But now to our purpose of Tooley, who, having ended his prayer, was hanged and put into his grave, out of which he was digged again, by the commandment of the bishops; and because he was so bold to derogate the authority of the bishop of Rome, at the time of his death, it pleased them to judge and condemn him as a heretic, upon the commandment of the council's letter, as here appeareth.

A letter sent unto Bonner, bishop of London, from the council, concerning Tooley.

"After our very hearty commendations to your Lordship, understanding that of late amongst others that have suffered about London for their offences, one lewd person that was condemned for felony died very obstinately, professing at the time of his death sundry heretical and erroneous opinions; like as we think it not convenient that such a matter should be overpassed without some example to the world, so have we thought good to pray your Lordship to cause further inquiry to be made thereof, and thereupon to proceed to the making out of such process as by the ecclesiastical laws is provided in that behalf. And so we bid your Lordship heartily well to fare.

"From Hampton Court, the 28th of April, 1555.

"Your Lordship's loving friends.

Step. Winton, chancellor.

F. Shrewsbury

John Gage.

Thomas Cheney.

R. Rochester.

William Peter.

Rich. Southwell."

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Anon after, a citation was set up upon Paul's church door under the bishop of London's great seal.

When the time of this citation was expired, and this Tooley being cited did not appear, next in order of law came the suspension (whereas one suspension had been enough for him); and after that cometh the excommunication, that is, that no man should eat and drink with him; or if any met him by the way, he should not bid him good morrow; and besides that, he should be excluded from the communion of the church. These things being prepared in such manner, as in such cases full wisely they use to do, at length one stood out for the nonce, that made answer to certain articles, rehearsed in judgment openly, and that in the behalf of the dead man. But when the poor dead man could neither speak for himself, nor did (as they said) sufficiently answer them by the other—to avoid the name of a heretic—first witnesses were provided against him, whose names were Henry Clark, esquire, Thomas May, keeper of the Marshalsea, Philip Andrew, under-marshal, William Holingworth, fishmonger, William Gellard, William Walton, chandler, Richard Longman, merchant-tailor, Philip Britten, John Burton, brewer, Thomas Smith, sergeant. Then he was for a heretic condemned, and so committed to the secular power, namely, to the sheriffs of London, who, with the like diligence, went about to execute their charge. Therefore receiving the man, (being suspended, excommunicated, condemned as a heretic, and besides that, dead,) they laid him on the fire to be burned, namely, for a continual remembrance thereof: this was done the fourth day of June.

286. Thomas Haukes.

The history and martyrdom of the worthy servant of Christ, Thomas Haukes, gentleman; with his examinations and answers had with Bishop Bonner, recorded and penned with his own hand.

Immediately after the story of Doctor Taylor, mention before was made of six men brought and convented before Bishop Bonner upon the eighth day of February; the names of which martyrs were, Stephen Knight, William Pygot, Thomas Tomkins, John Laurence, William Hunter. In which number was also Thomas Haukes, and condemned likewise with them the ninth day of the foresaid month of February. But because his execution did not so shortly follow with theirs, but was prolonged to this present tenth day of the month of June, wherewith we are now in hand, it followeth therefore now consequently to enter tractation thereof; first, beginning briefly with his godly conversation and institution of life, then showing of his troubles, also of his examinations and conflicts with the bishop and other adversaries, according as the order of his story doth require.

As touching therefore his education and order of life, first, he was of the country of Essex, born of an honest stock, in calling and profession a courtier, brought up daintily from his childhood, and like a gentleman. Besides that, he was of such comeliness and stature, so well endued with excellent qualities, that he might seem on every side a man (as it were) made for the purpose. But his gentle behaviour toward others, and especially his fervent study and singular love unto true religion and godliness, did surmount all the rest. Wherein as God did singularly adorn him, even so he, being such a valiant martyr of God, may seem to nobilitate the whole company of other holy martyrs, and as a bright star to make the church of God and his truth, of themselves bright and clear, more gloriously to shine by his example.

For if the conquests of martyrs are the triumphs of Christ, (as St. Ambrose doth notably and truly write,) undoubtedly Christ in few men hath either conquered more notably, or triumphed more gloriously, than in this young man: he stood so wisely in his cause, so godly in his life, and so constantly in his death.

But to the declaration of the matter: first, this Haukes, following the guise of the court, as he grew in years, entered service with the lord of Oxford, where he remained a good space, being there right well esteemed and loved of all the household, so long as Edward the Sixth lived. But he dying, all things began to go backward, religion to decay, godliness not only to wax cold, but also to be in danger every where, and chiefly in the houses of great men. Haukes, misliking the state of things, and especially in such men's houses, rather than he would change the profession of true godliness which he had tasted, thought to change the place; and so, forsaking the nobleman's house, departed thence to his own home, where more freely he might give himself to God, and use his own conscience.

But what paradise in this world shall a man find so secret for himself, whither that old wicked serpent cannot creep, whereby he may have some matter to overthrow the quietness of the godly? Now in the mean season (as it happened) Haukes, keeping his house at home, had

born unto him a young son, whose baptism was deferred to the third week, for that he would not suffer him to be baptized after the papistical manner; which thing the adversaries not able to suffer, laying hands upon him, did bring him to the earl of Oxford, there to be reasoned with, as not sound in religion, in that he seemed to condemn the sacraments of the church.



he earl, either intending not to trouble himself in such matters, or else seeing himself not able to weigh with him in such cases of religion, sent him up to London with a messenger, and letters; and so, willing to clear his own hands, put him in the hands of Bonner, bishop of London; the contents of which his letter sent to Bonner, be these.

"Most reverend father in God, he it known unto you, that I have sent you one Thomas Haukes, dwelling in the county of Essex, who hath a child that hath remained unchristened more than three weeks; who, being upon the same examined, hath denied to have it baptized as it is now used in the church; whereupon I have sent him to your good Lordship, to use as ye think best, by your good discretion."

When the bishop had perused this letter, and afterward read it to Master Haukes, he, hearing the same, thought with himself that he should not be very well used, seeing he was put to his discretion. Then wrote the bishop a letter again to him that sent the prisoner, with many great thanks for his diligence in setting forth the queen's proceedings. Then began the bishop to enter communication with Master Haukes, first asking, what should move him to leave his child unchristened so long? To whom Master Haukes answered thus again as followeth:

Private talk or conference between Haukes and Bonner.

Haukes.—"Because we be bound to do nothing contrary to the word of God."

Bonner.—"Why! baptism is commanded by the word of God."

Haukes.—"His institution therein I do not deny."

Bonner.—"What deny ye then?"

Haukes.—"I deny all things invented and devised by man."

Bonner.—"What things be those that be devised by man, that ye be so offended withal?"

Haukes.—"Your oil, cream, salt, spittle, candle, and conjuring of water, &c."

Bonner.—"Will ye deny that, which all the whole world, and your father, hath been contented withal?"

Haukes.—"What my father and all the whole world have done, I have nothing to do withal: but what God hath commanded me to do, to that stand I."

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Bonner.—"The catholic church hath taught it."

Haukes.—"What is the catholic church?"

Bonner.—"It is the faithful congregation, wheresoever it be dispersed throughout the whole world."

Haukes.—"Who is the head thereof?"

Bonner.—"Christ is the head thereof."

Haukes.—"Are we taught in Christ, or in the church now?"

Bonner.—"Have ye not read in John viii. where he said, he would send his Comforter, which should teach you all things?"

Haukes.—"I grant you it is so, that he would send his Comforter—but to what end? Forsooth to this end, that he should lead you into all truth and verity; and that is not to teach a new doctrine."

Bonner.—"Ah, sir? ye are a right Scripture man; for ye will have nothing but the Scripture. There is a great number of your countrymen of your opinion. Do you know one Knight and Pygot?"

Haukes.—"Knight I know, but Pygot I do not know."

Bonner.—"I thought ye were acquainted with him: it seemeth so by your judgment. What preachers do ye know in Essex?"

Haukes.—"I know none."

Bonner.—"Do ye not know one Baget there?"

Haukes.—"Yes forsooth, I know him."

Bonner.—"What manner of man is he?"

Haukes.—"An honest man so far as I know."

Bonner.—"Do you know him if ye see him?"

Haukes.—"Yea, that I do."

Then said he to one of his servants, "Go call me Baget hither." And then he said to me, "Ye seem to be a very proud man, and a stubborn."—He that brought me up stood all this while by.

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Haukes.—"What should move your Lordship so to say?"

Bonner.—"Because I see in a man that came with you, much humility and lowliness."

Haukes.—"It seemeth your Lordship speaketh that to me, because I make no courtesy to you:"—and with that came Baget. Then the bishop said to Baget "How say ye, sir? know ye this man?"

Baget.—"Yea forsooth, my Lord:"—with that Baget and I shook hands. Then said the bishop to Baget, "Sir, this man hath a child which hath lain three weeks unchristened (as I have letters to show); who refuseth to have it baptized, as it is now used in the church:—how say you thereto?"

Baget.—"Forsooth, my Lord, I say nothing thereto." [with low courtesy to the hard ground.]

Bonner.—"Say you nothing thereto? I will make you tell me whether it be laudable, and to be frequented and used in the church or not."

Baget.—"I beseech your Lordship to pardon me: he is old enough; let him answer for himself."

Bonner.—"Ah, sir knave! are ye at that point with me?" "Go call me the porter," said he, to one of his men "Thou shalt sit in the stocks, and have nothing but bread and water. I perceive I have kept you too well. Have I made thus much of you, and have I you at this point?"

Then came the bishop's man, and said, "The porter is gone to London:" then said the bishop to Baget, "Come with me;" and he went away with him, and commanded me away, and bade one of his gentlemen to talk with me, (who was one of his own teaching,) who desired, amongst other things, to know of me, with whom I was acquainted in Essex, and what men they were, that were my teachers.

Haukes. "When I see your commission I will make you answer."—And then immediately came the bishop again: but ere he came, his man and I had much talk. Then the bishop sat down under a vine in his orchard, and called Baget to him, whom he carried away, and brought again; and called me also, and said to Baget "How say ye now, sir, unto baptism? Say, whether it be to be frequented and used in the church, as it is now, or no?"

Baget.—"Forsooth, my Lord, I say it is good."

Bonner.—"I befool your heart; could ye not have said so before? Ye have wounded this man's conscience." Then the bishop turned to me and said, "How say ye now, sir? This man is turned and converted."

Haukes.—"I build my faith neither upon this man, neither upon you, but only upon Christ Jesus; who (as Paul saith) is the founder and author of all men's faith."

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Bonner.—"I perceive ye are a stubborn fellow. I must be glad to work another way with you, to win you."

Haukes.—"Whatsoever ye do, I am ready to suffer it: for I am in your hands to abide it."

Bonner.—"Well, ye are so; come on your ways; ye shall go in, and I will use you Christian-like: you shall have meat and drink, such as I have in my house: but in any wise talk not."

Haukes.—"I purpose to talk nothing but the word of God and truth."

Bonner.—"I will have no heresy talked on in my house."

Haukes.—"Why, is the truth become heresy? God hath commanded that we should have none other talk in our houses, in our beds, at our meat, and by the way, but all truth."

Bonner.—"If ye will have my favour, be ruled by my counsel."

Haukes.—"Then I trust you will grant me my request."

Bonner.—"What is that?"

Haukes.—"That your doctors and servants give me none occasion: for if they do, I will surely utter my conscience."

Then commanded he his men to take in Baget, and let not Haukes and him talk together. And so thus we departed, and went to dinner; and I dined at the steward's table. After dinner, his chaplains and his men began to talk with me. But amongst all others, there was one Darbshire, principal of Broadgates in Oxford, and the bishop's kinsman, who said to me, that I was too curious; "for ye will have," said he, "nothing but your little pretty God's book."

Haukes.—"And is it not sufficient for my salvation?" "Yes," said Darbshire, "it is sufficient for our salvation, but not for our instruction."

Haukes.—"God send me the salvation, and you the instruction."

And as we thus reasoned, came the bishop, who said unto me, "I gave you a commandment, that you should not talk."

Haukes.—"And I desired you, that your doctors and servants should give me none occasion."—Then went we into his orchard again, he and his doctors and I.

Bonner.—"Would not ye be contented to have that your child should be christened after the book that was set out by King Edward?"

Haukes.—"Yes, with a good will: it is a thing that I desire."

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Bonner.—"I thought so: ye would have the same thing. The principal is in the name of the Father, the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, and, in necessity, it may serve."

Haukes.—"Christ did use it without any such necessity: and yet we lack the chiefest point."

Bonner.—"What is that?"

Haukes.—"Go teach all nations, baptizing them, &c."

Bonner.—"Thou speakest that, because I am no preacher."

Haukes.—"I speak the text: I do not mean you." Then spake all the doctors and his men that were with him "He speaketh it of you, my Lord" [with a great noise that they made].

Bonner.—"Will ye be content to tarry here, and your child shall be baptized, and you shall not know of it, so that you will agree to it?"

Haukes.—"If I would so have done, I needed not to have come to you: for I had the same counsel given before."

Bonner.—"You seem to be a lusty young man; you will not give your head for the washing; you will stand in the defence of it for the honour of your country. Do ye think that the queen and I cannot command it to be done, in spite of your teeth?"

Haukes.—"What the queen and you can do, I will not stand in it: but ye get my consent never the sooner."

Bonner.—"Well, you are a stubborn young man: I perceive I must work another way with you."

Haukes.—"Ye are in the hands of God: and so am I."

Bonner.—"Whatsoever you think, I will not have you speak such words unto me."—And so we departed until evensong time; and ere evensong was begun, my Lord called for me to come to him into the chapel, and said; "Haukes! thou art a proper young man, and God hath done his part unto thee; I would be glad to do thee good. Thou knowest that I am thy pastor, and one that should answer for thee. If I would not teach thee well, I should answer for thy soul."

Haukes.—"That I have said, I will stand to it, God willing: there is no way to remove it."

Bonner.—"Nay, nay, Haukes, thou shalt not be so wilful. Remember Christ bade two go into his vineyard: the one said he would, and went not; the other said he would not, and went."

Haukes.—"The last went."

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Bonner.—"Do thou likewise, and I will talk friendly with thee; how sayest thou? It is in the sixth of St. John, I am the bread of life; and the bread that I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world: and whosoever eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath everlasting life. My flesh is very meat indeed, and my blood is very drink indeed. And he that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him. Do ye believe this?"

Haukes.—"Yea, I must needs believe the Scriptures."

Bonner.—"Why! then I trust that you be sound in the blessed sacrament."

Haukes.—"I beseech your Lordship to feel my conscience no further than in that that I was accused in unto you."

Bonner.—"Well, well! let us go unto evensong."—With that I turned my back to go out of the chapel.

Bonner.—"Why, will you not tarry evensong?"

Haukes.—"No, forsooth."

Bonner.—"And why?"

Haukes.—"For I will not."

Bonner.—"And why will ye not?"

Haukes.—"For because I have no edifying thereby, for I understand no Latin."

Bonner.—"Why? you may pray by yourself. What books have ye?"

Haukes.—"I have the New Testament, the books of Solomon, and the Psalter."

Bonner.—"Why, I pray you, tarry here, and pray you on your Psalter."

Haukes.—"I will not pray in this place, nor in any such."

Then said one of his chaplains, "Let him go, my Lord; and he shall be no partaker with us in our prayers."

Haukes.—"I think myself best at ease when I am furthest from you."—And so the bishop went to evensong, and I came down and walked between the hall and the chapel in the court, and tarried there till evensong was done. And within an hour after that evensong was done, the bishop sent for me into his chamber where he lay himself; and when I came, there was he, and three of his chaplains.

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Bonner.—"Ye know of the talk that was between you and me, as concerning the sacrament. You would not have your conscience sought any further, than in that ye were accused of."

Haukes.—"I thought you would not be both mine accuser and judge."

Bonner.—"Well, ye shall answer me to the sacrament of baptism, the sacrament of penance, and the sacrament of matrimony."

Haukes.—"There are none of these, but I dare speak my conscience in them."

Bonner.—"The sacrament of the altar ye seem to be sound in."

Haukes.—"In the sacrament of the altar?—why, sir, I do not know it."

Bonner.—"Well, we will make you to know it, and believe in it too, ere ever we have done with you."

Haukes.—"No, that shall ye never do."

Bonner.—"Yes, a faggot will make you do it."

Haukes.—"No, no, a point for your faggot! What God thinketh meet to be done, that shall ye do; and more ye shall not do."

Bonner.—"Do ye not believe that there remaineth in the blessed sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration be spoken, no more bread, but the very body and blood of Christ?"—and at that word he put off his cap.

Haukes.—"I do believe as Christ hath taught me."

Bonner.—"Why, did not Christ say, Take, eat, this is my body?"

Haukes.—"Christ said so: but therefore it followeth not, that the sacrament of the altar is so as you teach; neither did Christ ever teach it so to be."

Bonner.—"Why? the catholic church taught it so; and they were of Christ's church."

Haukes.—"How prove you it? The apostles never taught it so. Read Acts ii. and xx. Neither Peter nor Paul ever taught it, neither instituted it so."

Bonner.—"Ah, sir! ye will have no more than the Scripture teacheth, but even as Christ hath left it bare."

Haukes.—"He that teacheth me any otherwise, I will not believe him."

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Bonner.—"Why? then ye must eat a lamb, if ye will have but Christ's institution only."

Haukes.—"Nay, that is not so; before that Christ did institute the sacrament, that ceremony ceased, and then began the sacrament."

Bonner.—"Alas, you know not how it began, neither of the institution thereof."

Haukes.—"Then I would be glad to learn."

Bonner.—"Marry, we will teach you: but you are so stubborn that ye will not learn."

Haukes.—"Except ye learn me by the word of God, I will never credit you, nor believe you:" and thus we concluded. Then the bishop and his chaplains laughed and said, "Jesu, Jesu! what a stubbornness and arrogantness is this! "And this was in his chamber where he lay. Then said the bishop to me, "Go ye down, and drink; for it is fasting day: it is Midsummer Even, but I think ye love neither fasting nor praying."

Haukes.—"I will never deny fasting, neither praying; so that it be done as it ought to be done, and without hypocrisy or vain-glory."

Bonner.—"I like you the better for that:" and so we left for that night.

The next day the bishop went to London: for Fecknam was made dean that day, and I tarried still at Fulham. Then did the bishop's men desire me to come to mass, but I did utterly refuse it, answering them as I did their master. That night the bishop came home to Fulham again.

Talk between Harpsfield and Thomas Haukes.

Then upon the Monday morning, very early, the bishop did call for me. There was with him Harpsfield, archdeacon of London, to whom the bishop said, "This is the man which I told you of, who would not have his child christened, nor will have any ceremonies."

Harpsfield.—"Christ used ceremonies. Did he not take clay from the ground, and took spittle, and made the blind man to see?"

Haukes.—"I wot well that; but Christ did never use it in baptism. If ye will needs have it, put it to the use that Christ put it unto."

Harpsfield.—"Admit your child die unchristened: what a heavy case stand you in!"

Haukes.—"I admit that, if it do: what then?"

Harpsfield.—"Marry, then are ye damned, and your child both."

Haukes.—"Judge you no further than ye may by the Scriptures."

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Harpsfield.—"Do ye not know that your child is born in original sin?"

Haukes.—"Yes, that I do."

Harpsfield.—"How is original sin washed away?"

Haukes.—"By true faith and belief of Christ Jesus."

Harpsfield.—"How can your child, being an infant, believe?"

Haukes.—"The deliverance of it from sin, standeth in the faith of his parents."

Harpsfield.—"How prove you that?"

Haukes.—"By St. Paul, in 1 Cor. vii.: The unbelieving man is sanctified by the believing woman; and the unbelieving woman is sanctified by the believing man; or else were your children unclean."

Harpsfield.—"I will prove that they whom thou putteth thy trust in, will be against thee in this opinion."

Haukes.—"Who be those?"

Harpsfield.—"Your great learned men in Oxford."

Haukes.—"If they do it by the Scriptures, I will believe them."

Bonner.—"Recant, recant. Do you not know that Christ said, Except ye be baptized, ye cannot be saved:"

Haukes.—"Doth Christianity stand in outward ceremonies, or no?"

Bonner.—"Partly it doth: what say you to that?"

Haukes.—"I say as St. Peter saith, Not the washing of water purgeth the filthiness of the flesh, but a good conscience consenting unto God."

Harpsfield.—"Beware of pride, brother, beware of pride!"

Haukes.—"It is written, Pride serveth not for men, nor yet for the sons of men."

Bonner.—"Let us make an end here.—How say you to the mass, sirrah?"

Haukes.—"I say, it is detestable, abominable, and profitable for nothing."

Bonner.—"What! nothing profitable in it What say you to the Epistle and Gospel?"

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Haukes.—"It is good, if it be used as Christ left it to be used."

Bonner.—"Well, I am glad that ye somewhat recant: recant all, recant all."

Haukes.—"I have recanted nothing; nor will do."

Bonner.—"How say you to *Confiteor*?"

Haukes.—"I say it is abominable and detestable, yea, and a blasphemy against God and his Son Christ, to call upon any, to trust to any, or to pray to any, save only to Christ Jesus."

Bonner.—"To trust to any, we bid you not: but to call upon them, and to pray to them, we bid you. Do ye not know, when ye come into the court, ye cannot speak with the king and the queen, unless ye call to some of the privy-chamber that are next to the king and queen?"

Haukes.—"They that list, receive your doctrine. You teach me that I should not believe nor trust in any, but to call on them: and St. Paul saith, How should I call upon him, on whom I believe not?"

Bonner.—"Will you have nobody to pray for you, when you be dead?"

Haukes.—"No, surely; except you can prove it by the Scriptures."

Then the bishop pointed unto Harpsfield, and said unto me, "Is it not well done to desire this man to pray for me?"

Haukes.—"Yes, surely; so long as we live, prayer is available of the righteous man: but this man's prayer, you being dead, profiteth nothing at all."

Bonner.—"Will ye grant the prayer of the righteous man to prevail?"

Haukes.—"I grant it doth for the living, but not for the dead."

Bonner.—"Not for the dead!"

Haukes.—"No, forsooth; for David saith, No man can deliver his brother from death, nor make agreement unto God for him: for it cost more to redeem their souls, so that ye must let that alone for ever. Also Ezekiel saith, Though Noah, Daniel, or Job dwelt among them, yet can they in their righteousness exceed no further than themselves."

Then the bishop said to Harpsfield, "Sir, ye see this man hath no need of our Lady, neither of any of the blessed saints. Well! I will trouble you no longer. I did call you, hoping that you should do some good on him; but it will not be."—And he said to me, "Sir, it is time to begin with you. We will rid you away, and then we shall have one heretic less."

Harpsfield.—"What books have you?"

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Haukes.—"The New Testament, Solomon's books, and the Psalter."

Harpsfield.—"Will you read any other books?"

Haukes.—"Yea, if you will give me such books as I will require."

Harpsfield.—"What books will you require?"

"*Haukes.*—"Latimer's books, my Lord of Canterbury's book, Bradford's sermons, Ridley's books."

Bonner.—"Away, away! He will have no books but such as maintain his heresies:"—and so they departed, for Harpsfield was booted to ride unto Oxford; and I went to the porter's lodge again.

The next day's talk.

The next day came thither an old bishop, who had a pearl in his eye; and he brought with him to my Lord a dish of apples, and a bottle of wine. For he had lost his living, because he had a wife. Then the bishop called me again into the orchard, and said to the old bishop "This young man hath a child, and will not have it christened."

Haukes.—"I deny not baptism."

Bonner.—"Thou art a fool; thou canst not tell what thou wouldest have;"—and that he spake with much anger.

Haukes.—"A bishop must be blameless or faultless, sober, discreet, no chider, nor given to anger."

Bonner.—"Thou judgest me to be angry: no, by my faith, am I not: "—and stroke himself upon the breast.

Then said the old bishop, "Alas, good young man! you must be taught by the church, and by your ancients; and do as your forefathers have done before you."

Bonner.—"No, no! he will have nothing but the Scriptures, and God wot, he doth not understand them. He will have no ceremonies in the church, no not one. What say you to holy water?"

Haukes.—"I say to it, as to the rest, and to all that be of his making that made them."

Bonner.—"Why, the Scriptures do allow it."

Haukes.—"Where prove you that?"

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Bonner.—"In the Book of Kings, where Elizeus threw salt into the water."

Haukes.—"Ye say truth; that is written 2 Kings ii. 'The children of the prophets came to Elizeus, saying, The dwelling of the city is pleasant, but the waters be corrupted. This was the cause that Elizeus threw salt into the water, and it became sweet and good: and so when our waters be corrupted, if ye can by putting in of salt make them sweet, clear, and wholesome, we will the better believe your ceremonies.'"

Bonner.—"How say you to holy bread?"

Haukes.—"Even as I said to the other. What Scripture have you to defend it?"

Bonner.—"Have ye not read where Christ fed five thousand men with five loaves and three fishes?"

Haukes.—"Will ye make that holy bread? There Christ dealt fish with his holy bread."

Bonner.—"Look, I pray you, how captious this man is!"

Haukes.—"Christ did not this miracle, or other, because we should do the like miracle; but because we should believe and credit his doctrine thereby."

Bonner.—"Ye believe no doctrine, but that which is wrought by miracles."

Haukes.—"No, forsooth; for Christ saith, These tokens shall follow them that believe in me: they shall speak with new tongues, they shall cast out devils, and if they drink any deadly poison, it shall not hurt them."

Bonner.—"With what new tongues do ye speak?"

Haukes.—"Forsooth, whereas, before that I came to the knowledge of God's word, I was a foul blasphemer and filthy talker, since I came to the knowledge thereof, I have lauded God, praised God, and given thanks unto God, even with the same tongue: and is not this a new tongue?"

Bonner.—"How do you cast out devils?"

Haukes.—"Christ did cast them out by his word; and he hath left the same word, that whosoever doth credit and believe it, shall cast out devils."

Bonner.—"Did you ever drink any deadly poison?"

Haukes.—"Yea, forsooth, that I have; for I have drunken of the pestilent traditions and ceremonies of the bishop of Rome."

Bonner.—"Now you show yourself to be a right heretic."

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Haukes.—"I pray you, what is heresy?"

Bonner.—"All things that are contrary to God's word."

Haukes.—"If I stand in any thing contrary thereto, then am I worthy to be so called."

Bonner.—"Thou art one; and thou shalt be burned, if thou stand and continue in this opinion. Ye think we are afraid to put one of you to death: yes, yes, there is a brotherhood of you, but I will break it, I warrant you."

Haukes.—"Where prove you that Christ or any of his apostles did kill any man for his faith?"

Bonner.—"Did not Paul excommunicate?"

Haukes.—"Yes, my Lord; but there is a great difference between excommunicating and burning."

Bonner.—"Have ye not read of the man and the woman in the Acts of the Apostles, whom Peter destroyed?"

Haukes.—"Yes, forsooth; I have read of one Ananias, and Sapphira his wife, which were destroyed for lying against the Holy Ghost, which serveth nothing to your purpose."

Bonner.—"Well, you will grant one yet."

Haukes.—"Well, if you will have us to grant you be of God, then show mercy; for that God requireth."

Bonner.—"We will show such mercy unto you, as ye showed unto us: for my benefice or bishopric was taken away from me, so that I had not one penny to live upon."

Haukes.—"I pray ye, my Lord, what do you give him now that was in the bishopric or benefice before that ye came again to it?"—Whereunto he answered me never a word; for he turned his back unto me, and talked with other men, saying, that he was very sorry for me, but he trusted that I would turn with St. Paul, because I was so earnest: and so he departed, and went to dinner, and I to the porter's lodge again. After dinner I was called into the hall again, and the bishop desired the old bishop to take me into his chamber "for I would be glad," said he, "if ye could convert him." So he took me into his chamber, and sat him down in a chair, and said to me, "I would to God I could do you some good. Ye are a young man, and I would not wish you to go too far, but learn of your elders to bear somewhat."

Haukes.—"I will bear with nothing that is contrary to the word of God." And I looked that the old bishop should have made me an answer, and he was fast asleep.—Then I departed out of the chamber alone, and went to the porter's lodge again, and there saw I the old bishop last: I suppose he is not yet awake.

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

Talk between Fecknam and Haukes.

The next day came Fecknam unto me and said, "Are ye he, that will have no ceremonies?"

Haukes.—"What mean you by that?"

Fecknam.—"Ye will not have your child christened but in English; and you will have no ceremonies."

Haukes.—"Whatsoever the Scripture commandeth to be done, I refuse not."

Fecknam.—"Ceremonies are to be used by the Scriptures."

Haukes.—"Which be those?"

Fecknam.—"How say you by Paul's breeches?"

Haukes.—"I have read no such thing."

Fecknam.—"Have ye not read in the Acts of the Apostles how things went from Paul's body, and they received health thereby?"

Haukes.—"I have read in Acts xix, how there went partlets and napkins from Paul's body: is it that you mean?"

Fecknam.—"Yea, the same is it: what say you to those ceremonies?"

Haukes.—"I say nothing to the ceremonies; for the text saith, that God did so work by the hands of Paul, that there went partlets and napkins from him, &c. So that it seemed by the text, that it was God that wrought, and not the ceremonies."

Fecknam.—"How say ye to the woman that came behind Christ, and touched the hem of his vesture?—Did not her disease depart from her by that ceremony?"

Haukes.—"No, forsooth; for Christ turned back, and said to Peter, Who is it that toucheth me? And Peter said, Thou seest the people thrust thee, and askest thou, Who touched me? Somebody hath touched me, saith Christ; for virtue hath gone out of me.—I pray you, whether was it the virtue that healed this woman, or his vesture?"

Fecknam.—"Both."

Haukes.—"Then is not Christ true; for he said, Go thy way, thy faith hath made thee whole."

Bonner.—"Away, away to the sacrament; for these are but mere trifles to that."

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Fecknam.—"How say ye, sirrah? Christ took bread, and brake it, and said, Take, eat; this is my body."

Haukes.—"I grant Christ said so."

Fecknam.—"And is it not so? "

Haukes.—"No, forsooth; I do not understand it so."

Fecknam.—"Why, then is Christ a liar?"

Haukes.—"I think ye will so prove him."

Fecknam.—"Will I?—why I have spoken the words that Christ spake."

Haukes.—"Is every word to be understood as Christ spake it? Christ said, I am a door, a vine; I am a king, a way, &c."

Fecknam.—"Christ spake these words in parables."

Haukes.—"And why speaketh he this in parables, when he said, I am a door, a vine, a king, a way, &c., more than this, when he said, This is my body?—for after the same phrase of speech, as he saith, This is my body; so saith he, I am a door, a vine, a king, a way; he saith not, I am like a door, like a vine, &c."

Then Fecknam stood up, and said, "I had such a one before me this other day. Alas! these places serve nothing for your purposes. But I perceive ye hang and build on them that be at Oxford."

Haukes.—"What mean you by that?"

Fecknam.—"I mean Latimer, Cranmer, and Ridley."

Haukes.—"I know nothing else by them, but that they be both godly and learned."

Fecknam.—"Wilt thou trust to such dolts? One of them hath written a book, wherein he affirmeth a real presence in the sacrament."

Haukes.—"What he hath done, I know not; but what he doth, I know."

Fecknam.—"Ridley hath preached at Paul's Cross openly, that the devil believeth better than you: for he believeth that Christ is able of stones to make bread; and ye will not believe Christ's body in the sacrament: and yet thou buildest thy faith upon them."

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Haukes.—"I build my faith upon no man, and that shall ye well know: for if those men, and as many more as they be, should recant, and deny that they have said or done, yet will I stand to it; and by this shall ye know that I build my faith upon no man."

Bonner.—"If any of those recant, what will ye say to it?"

Haukes.—"When they recant, I will make you an answer."

Bonner.—"Then thou wilt say as thou dost now, for all that."

Haukes.—"Yea, indeed, will I, and that, trust to it, by God's grace."

Bonner.—"I dare say Cranmer would recant, so that he might have his living." And so the bishop and Fecknam departed from me with great laughing, and I went again to the porter's lodge.

Talk between Haukes and Chedsey.

The next day came Dr. Chedsey to the bishop; and then was I called into the garden to the bishop and him. The bishop declared unto him, that I had stood stubbornly in the defence against the christening of my child, and against the ceremonies of the church, and that I would not have it christened but in English.

Then said Dr. Chedsey, "Then he denieth the order of the catholic church."

Bonner.—"Yea, he thinketh that there is no church but in England and in Germany."

Haukes.—"And ye think that there is no church but the church of Rome."

Chedsey.—"What say ye to the church of Rome?"

Haukes.—"I say it is a church of a sort of vicious cardinals, priests, monks, and friars, which I will never credit nor believe."

Chedsey.—"How say ye to the bishop of Rome?"

Haukes.—"From him and all his detestable enormities, good Lord, deliver us."

Chedsey.—"Marry, so may we say, from King Henry the Eighth, and all his detestable enormities, good Lord, deliver us."

Haukes.—"Where were ye whiles that he lived, that ye would not say so?"

Chedsey.—"I was not far."

Haukes.—"Where were ye in his son's days?"

Chedsey.—"In prison."

Haukes.—"It was not for your well doing."

Bonner.—"He will by no means come within my chapel, nor hear mass: for neither the mass, neither the sacrament of the altar, can he abide, neither will he have any service but in English."

Chedsey.—"Christ never spake in English."

Haukes.—"Neither spake he ever any Latin; but always in such a tongue as the people might be edified thereby. And Paul saith, That tongues profit us nothing. He maketh a similitude between the pipe and the harp, and except it be understood what the trumpet meaneth, who can prepare himself to the battle: so if I hear the tongue which I do not understand, what profit have I thereby? no more than he hath by the trumpet, that knoweth not what it meaneth."

Chedsey.—"If he understand Paul's saying, he speaketh it under a prophecy, If one prophesy to you in tongues, &c."

Haukes.—"Forsooth Paul speaketh plainly of tongues; for tongues serve not for them that believe."

Chedsey.—"I tell you Paul speaketh altogether upon prophecy."

Haukes.—"Paul maketh a distinction between prophesying and tongues, saying, That if any man speak with tongues, let it be by two or three at the most, and let another interpret it. But if there be no interpreter, let them keep silence in the congregation, and let himself pray unto God: and then let the prophets speak two or three, and that by course; and let the other judge. And if any revelation be made to him that sitteth by, let the first hold his peace: so that it seemeth that Paul maketh a distinction between tongues and prophesying."

Bonner.—"The order was taken in the catholic church that the Latin tongue should serve through the whole world, because that they should pray all generally together in one tongue; and that to avoid all contention and strife, and to have one universal order through the whole world."

Haukes.—"This did your councils of Rome conclude."

Bonner.—"Understand ye what the general councils of Rome meant?"

Haukes.—"Indeed all your general councils of Rome be in Latin, and I am an Englishman: therefore I have nothing to do with them."

Chedsey.—"Ye are to blame, being an unlearned man, to reprove all the councils throughout all the whole world."

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Haukes.—"I reprove them not, but Paul rebuketh them, saying, If any man preach any other doctrine than that which I have taught, do you hold him accursed."

Chedsey.—"Hath any man preached any other doctrine unto you?"

Haukes.—"Yea, I have been taught another gospel since I came into this house."

Chedsey.—"What gospel have ye been taught?"

Haukes.—"Praying to saints and to our Lady, and trust in the mass, holy bread, holy water, and in idols."

Chedsey.—"He that teaches you so, teacheth not amiss."

Haukes.—"Cursed be he that teacheth me so; for I will not trust him nor believe him!"

Bonner.—"You speak of idols, and you know not what they mean."

Haukes.—"God hath taught us what they be: for whatsoever is made, graven, or devised by man's hand, contrary to God's word, the same is an idol. What say you to that?"

Chedsey.—"What be those that ye are so offended withal?"

Haukes.—"The cross of wood, silver, copper, or gold, &c."

Bonner.—"What say ye to that?"

Haukes.—"I say it is an idol. What say you to it?"

Bonner.—"I say every idol is an image, but every image is not an idol."

Haukes.—"I say, what difference is there between an idol and image?"

Bonner.—"If it be a false god, and an image made of him, that is an idol: but if an image be made of God himself, it is no idol, but an image, because he is a true God."

Haukes.—"Lay your image of your true God and of your false god together, and ye shall see the difference. Have not your images feet and go not, eyes and see not, ears and hear not, hands and feel not, mouths and speak not?—and even so have your idols."

Chedsey.—"God forbid, saith St. Paul, that I should rejoice in any thing else, but the cross of Christ Jesus."

Haukes.—"Do ye understand Paul so? Do ye understand Paul?"—unto the which he answered me never a word.

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Bonner.—"Where can we have a godlier remembrance when we ride by the way, than to see the cross?"

Haukes.—"If the cross were such a profit unto us, why did not Christ's disciples take it up, and set it on a pole, and carry it in procession, with *Salve, festa dies?*"

Chedsey.—"It was taken up."

Haukes.—"Who took it up? Helene, as ye say; for she sent a piece of it to a place of religion, where I was with the visitors when that house was suppressed, and the piece of the holy cross (which the religious had in such estimation, and had robbed many a soul, committing idolatry to it) was called for; and when it was proved, and all come to all, it was but a piece of a lath, covered over with copper, double gilded as it had been clean gold!"

Bonner.—"Fie, fie! I dare say thou slanderest it."

Haukes.—"I know it to be true, and do not believe the contrary."—And thus did the bishop and the doctor depart in a great fume; and Chedsey said unto me, as he was about to depart, "It is pity that thou shouldest live, or any such as thou art." I answered, "In this case I desire not to live, but rather to die."

Chedsey.—"Ye die boldly, because ye would glory in your death, as Joan Butcher did."

Haukes.—"What Joan Butcher did, I have nothing to do withal: but I would my part might be to-morrow."—"God make you in a better mind," said they both; and so they departed, and I went to the porter's lodge with my keeper.

The next day Dr. Chedsey preached in the bishop's chapel, and did not begin his sermon until all the service was done: and then came the porter for me, and said, "My Lord would have you come to the sermon."—And so I went to the chapel-door, and stood without the door.

Bonner.—"Is not this fellow come?"

Haukes.—"Yes, I am here."

Bonner.—"Come in, man."

Haukes.—"No, that I will not." He called again, and I answered, "I will come no nearer;" and so I stood at the door. Then said the bishop, "Go to your sermon."

Then Dr. Chedsey put the stole about his neck, and carried the holy water-sprinkle unto the bishop, who blessed him and gave him holy water, and so he went to his sermon.

The text that he treated on was in Matthew xvi.: Whom do men say that I the Son of man am? Peter said, Some say that thou art Elias, some say that thou art John Baptist, some say thou art one of the prophets. But whom say ye that I am? Then said Peter, Thou art Christ the Son of

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the ever-living God. Then left he the text there, and said, Whose sins soever ye bind, are bound "which authority," said he, "is left to the heads of the church, as my Lord here is one, and so unto all the rest that be underneath him. But the church hath been much kicked at sith the beginning; yet kick the heretics, spurn the heretics never so much, the church doth stand and flourish."— And then he went straightway to the sacrament, and said his mind on it, exalting it above the heaven (as the most of them do); and so returned to his place again, saying, Whose sins ye do remit, are remitted and forgiven: and so he applied it to the bishops and the priests to forgive sins, and said, "All that be of the church will come and receive the same." And this he proved by St. John, (chap. xi.,) saying, that Christ Caine to raise Lazarus, who, when he was risen, was bound in bands: then said Christ to them that were in authority, (who were his disciples,) Go ye and loose him; loose him you. And this was the effect of his sermon, applying all to them, that they have the same authority that Christ spake of to his apostles: and so ended his sermon, and they went to dinner.

Another communication between Thomas Haukes and the bishop.

And, after dinner, I was called into the chapel, where were certain of the queen's servants, and other strangers whom I did not know.

Bonner.—"Haukes! how like you the sermon?"

Haukes.—"As I like all the rest of his doctrine."

Bonner.—"What! are ye not edified thereby?"

Haukes.—"No, surely."

Bonner.—"It was made only because of you."

Haukes.—"Why? then am I sorry that ye had no more heretics here, as ye call them: I am sorry that ye have bestowed so much labour on one, and so little regarded."

Bonner.—"Well, I will leave you here, for I have business: I pray you talk with him, for if ye could do him good," said he, "I would be glad."

This the bishop spake to the queen's men, who said unto me, "Alas! what mean you to trouble yourself about such matters against the queen's proceedings?"

Haukes.—"Those matters have I answered before them that be in authority: and unless I see you have a further commission, I will answer you nothing at all." Then said the bishop's men, (which were many,) "My Lord hath commanded you to talk with them."

Haukes.—"If my Lord will talk with me himself, I will answer him." They cried, "Faggots! burn him, hang him, to prison with him: it is pity that he liveth! Lay irons upon him!" and with a great noise they spake these words. Then in the midst of all their rage I departed from them, and went to the porter's lodge again.

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The next day's talk.

The next day the bishop called me into his chamber and said, "Ye have been with me a great while, and ye are never the better, but worse and worse: and therefore I will delay the time no longer, but send you to Newgate."

Haukes.—"My Lord, you can do me no better pleasure."

Bonner.—"Why, would you so fain go to prison?"

Haukes.—"Truly I did look for none other, when I came to your hands."

Bonner.—"Come on your ways; ye shall see what I have written."—Then did he show me certain articles, and these are the contents of them:

"Whether the catholic church do teach and believe, that Christ's real presence doth remain in the sacrament or no, after the words of consecration, according to the words of St. Paul, which are these: Is not the bread which we break the partaking of the body of Christ, and the cup which we bless, the partaking of the blood of Christ? which if it were not so, Paul would never have said it."

Haukes.—"What your church doth, I cannot tell: but I am sure that the holy catholic church doth neither so take it, nor believe it."

Bonner.—"Whether doth the catholic church teach and believe the baptism that now is used in the church, or no?"

Haukes.—"I answered to it, as I did to the other question before." Then did the bishop with much flattery counsel me to be persuaded, and to keep me out of prison, which I utterly refused, and so we departed. And I supposed that the next day I should have gone to prison; and so I had, save for the archdeacon of Canterbury, whose name is Harpsfield, whom the bishop had desired to talk with me, and [who] began to persuade me concerning the sacrament, and the ceremonies: and after much talk he said, "that the sacrament of the altar was the same body that was born of the Virgin Mary, which did hang upon the cross."

Haukes.—"He was upon the cross both alive and dead: which of them was the sacrament? The archdeacon answered, "Alive."

Haukes.—"How prove you that?"

Harpsfield.—"You must believe. Doth not St. John say, He is already condemned that believeth not?"

Haukes.—"St. John saith, He that believeth not in the Son of God is already condemned, but he saith not, He that believeth not in the sacrament is already condemned."

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Harpsfield.—"There is no talk with you; for ye are both without faith and learning; and therefore I will talk no more with you in Scripture." Then two that stood by bade me [Haukes] enter further in talk with him; and then said I unto him, "Why is the rood-loft set betwixt the body of the church and the chancel?"

Harpsfield.—"I cannot tell; for ye have asked a question which you cannot assoil yourself."

Haukes.—"Yes, that I can: for this saith one of your own doctors: 'that the body of the church doth represent the church militant, and the chancel the church triumphant: and so, because we cannot go from the church militant to the church triumphant, but that we must bear the cross of Christ; this is the cause of the rood-loft being between the body of the church and the chancel.'"

Harpsfield.—"This is well and clerkly concluded."

Haukes.—"As all the rest of your doctrine is:"—and so, with many persuasions on his part, we ended, and so departed: and I, to the porter's lodge again.

Another day's talk.

The next day in the morning, which was the first day of July, the bishop did call me himself from the porter's lodge, commanding me to make me ready to go to prison, and to take such things with me, as I had of mine own. And I said, "I do neither intend to bribe, neither to steal, God willing." Then he did write my warrant to the keeper of the Gatehouse at Westminster, and delivered it to Harpsfield, who, with his own man and one of the bishop's men, brought me to prison, and delivered the warrant and me both to the keeper: and this was contained in the warrant:

"I will and command you, that you receive him who cometh named in this warrant, and that he be kept as a safe prisoner, and that no man speak with him, and that ye deliver him to no man, except it be the council, or to a justice: for he is a sacramentary, and one that speaketh against baptism; a seditious man, a perilous man to be abroad in these perilous days."

And thus was I received, and they departed. And there I remained thirteen days, and then the bishop sent two of his men unto me, saying, "My Lord would be glad to know how ye do." I answered them, "I do like a poor prisoner." They said, "My Lord would know, whether ye be the same man that ye were when ye departed." I said, "I am no changeling." They said, "My Lord would be glad that ye should do well." I said, "If my Lord will me any good, I pray you desire him to suffer my friends to come to me." So they said they would speak for me, but I heard no more of them.

This is the first examination of me Thomas Haukes, being examined by Edmund Bonner, then bishop of London, and by his chaplains and doctors, at Fulham, four miles from London, where I lay, till I came to prison to Westminster: and after his two men had been with me, I heard no more of him till the third day of September.

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Here followeth the second time of mine examination, the which was the third day of September: for the bishop did send his men for me to come to his palace of London; and so my keeper and his men brought me to his palace the same day.

The bishop of Winchester, then being chancellor, preached that day at Paul's Cross, and the bishop of London said to my keeper, "I think your man will not go to the sermon to-day."

Haukes.—"Yes, my Lord, I pray you let me go: and that which is good I will receive, and the rest I will leave behind me;" and so I went. And when the sermon was done, I and my keeper came to the bishop's house, and there we remained till dinner was done: and after dinner the bishop called for me, and asked me, if I were the same man that I was before.

Haukes.—"I am no changeling, nor none will be."

Bonner.—"Ye shall find me no changeling neither."—And so he returned into his chamber, and there he did write the side of a sheet of paper, and all that while I stood in the great chamber, and as many with me as might well stand in the chamber. And as I stood there, Dr. Smith came unto me, (who once recanted, as it appeared in print,) saying, that he would be glad to talk brotherly with me. I asked him what he was. Then said they that stood by, "He is Dr. Smith." Then said I, "Are you he that did recant?" And he said, "it was no recantation, but a declaration."

Haukes.—"You were best to term it well, for your own honesty."

Dr. Smith.—"Shall I term it as it pleaseth you?"

Haukes.—"To be short with you, I will know whether ye will recant any more or no, before that I talk with you, credit you, or believe you:"—and so I departed from him to the other side of the chamber. Then said the bishop's men and his chaplains, that my Lord commanded me to talk with him. Then they that stood by cried with a great noise, "Hang him, burn him! it is pity that he liveth, that disobeyeth my Lord's commandment."

Then said one Miles Huggard, "Where prove you that infants were baptized?"

Haukes.—"Go teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Sir, here is none excepted."

Master Haggard.—"What, shall we go to teach children?"

Haukes.—"That word doth trouble you; it might be left out full well: it is too much for you to teach. Is not your name Miles Huggard?"

Huggard.—"So am I called."

Haukes.—"Be you not a hosier, and dwell in Pudding Lane?"

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Huggard.—"Yes, that I am, and there I do dwell."

Haukes.—"It would seem so, for ye can better skill to eat a pudding, and make a hose, than in Scripture either to answer or oppose." With that he was in great rage, and did chafe up and down. Then I desired that some man would take the pain to walk the gentleman, he did fret so for anger. Then one that stood by me (who was parson of Hornchurch and Romford in Essex) said, "Alas, what do you mean: a young man to be so stubborn? There seemeth too much pride in you."

Haukes.—"Are not ye the parson of Hornchurch?"

Parson.—"Yes, that I am."

Haukes.—"Did you not set such a priest in your benefice?"

Parson.—"Yes, for a shift."

Haukes.—"Like will to like; such master, such man; for I know that priest to be a very vile man, as any could be."

I asked the parson, what kin he was to the weathercock of Paul's? and he fell in a great laughter with the rest of his companions. He said, that I did rail. Then said another that stood by unto me, "What book have you here?" I answered, "The New Testament." "May I look in it?" said he. "Yea, that ye may." said I. And so he looked in my book, and said it was corrupt. I answered him, "If the things contained in it be true, then are ye all false prophets." He said that he would oppose me in the first word of the Testament, saying, "Here is a generation of Christ" and Esay saith, "No man can tell his generation."

Haukes.—"What meaneth Esay by that?" "I would learn of you." said he.

Haukes.—"Ye would be angry, if the scholar should teach the master: but if ye will have me to teach you, I will tell you Esay's meaning."

Then said he, "No man can tell the generation between the father and the son: but you (I dare say) did know it before."

Haukes.—"Why then Esay denieth not the generation."

Then said he, "Why is Christ called Christ?"

Haukes.—"Because he is a Messias."

Then said he, "Why is he called a Messias?"

Haukes.—"Because he was so prophesied by the prophets."

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Then said he, "Why is your book called a book?"

Haukes.—"These words do breed more strife than godly edifying."

"Beware," said he, "that ye do not decline from the church; for if you do, you will prove yourself a heretic."

Haukes.—"Even as ye do call us heretics, that do incline to Christ's church from your church; so are ye all false prophets that do decline from Christ's church to your own church. And by this shall all men know you to be false prophets, if ye say, 'This saith the church: 'and will not say, This saith our Lord.'"—And so he went his way, as though he had a flea in his ear.

Then came another and said unto me, he would talk with me; for he perceived (as he said) that I was angry, and out of patience.

Haukes.—"I will see your commission, or ever I talk with you, or with any man more."—For I wist not how to be rid of them, they came so thick about me; for I said, that I came to talk with my Lord, and not with any of them.

With that came the bishop, bringing a letter in his hand, the which he had written in my name, and read it unto me after this manner. "I, Thomas Haukes, do here confess and declare before my said ordinary Edmund, bishop of London, that the mass is abominable and detestable, and full of all superstition; and also as concerning the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, (commonly called the sacrament of the altar,) that Christ is in no part thereof, but only in heaven: this I have believed, and this I do believe," &c.

Haukes.—"Stop there, my Lord: what I have believed, what have you to do withal? But what I do believe, to that stand I, and will."—Then he took his pen, and said that he would scrape it out for my pleasure, and so he did to my thinking.

Then he went further with his writing, and said, "I, Thomas Haukes, have talked with my said ordinary, and with certain good, godly, and learned men. Notwithstanding I stand still in mine opinion."

Haukes.—"Shall I grant you to be good, godly, and learned men, and yet grant myself to stand in a contrary opinion? No, I will not grant you to be good, godly, and learned men."

Bonner.—"Ye will grant that ye have talked with us: the other I will put out for your pleasure." Then said all his doctors, "If your Lordship be ruled by him, he will cause you to put out all together." And then he read more to me "Here unto this bill have I set my hand;" and then he offered me the bill and his pen, and bade me set my hand to it.

Haukes.—"Ye get not my hand to any thing of your making or devising."

Bonner.—"Wilt not thou set to thy hand? It shall be to thy shame for the denying of it."

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And then he called all his doctors, and said, he would have every man's hand to it that was in the chamber; and so he had all their hands to it and said, "He that will not set his hand to it, I would he were hanged;" and so said all his chaplains and doctors with a great noise.

Then the bishop thrust me on the breast with great anger; and said he would be even with me, and with all such proud knaves in Essex.

Haukes.—"Ye shall do no more than God shall give you leave."

Bonner.—"This gear shall not be unpunished—trust to it."

Haukes.—"As for your cursings, railings, and blasphemings, I care not for them: for I know the moths and worms shall eat you, as they eat cloth or wool."

Bonner.—"I will be even with you when time shall come."

Haukes.—"You may in your malice destroy a man: but, when ye have done, ye cannot do so much as make a finger; and ye be meetly even with some of us already."

Bonner.—"If I do thee any wrong, take the law of me."

Haukes.—"Solomon saith, Go not to law with a judge; for he will judge according to his own honour."

Bonner.—"Solomon saith, Give not a fool an answer."

Haukes.—"What! do you count me a fool?"

Bonner.—"Yea, by my troth do I; and so dost thou me too: but God forgive thee, and so do I."

Haukes.—"Thought is free, my Lord." Then took Bonner the bill, and read it again; and when he saw that he could not have my hand to it, then he would have had me to take it into my hand, and to give it to him again.

Haukes.—"What needeth that ceremony? Neither shall it come into my hand, heart, or mind." Then he wrapt it up, and put it in his bosom, and in a great anger went his way, and called for his horse and went to horse-back; for the same day he rode in visitation into Essex. And so went I to prison, from whence I came with my keeper. And this was the second time of my examination.

Written by me Thomas Haukes, who desire all faithful men and brethren to pray unto God, to strengthen me in his truth unto the end.—Pray, pray, pray, gentle brethren, pray!

The public examination of Thomas Haukes at the bishop's consistory.

After all these private conferences, persuasions, and long debatings, had with Thomas Haukes in the bishop's house, as hitherto hath been declared, the bishop, seeing no hope to win him to his wicked ways, was fully set to proceed openly against him after the ordinary course of his popish law. Whereupon Thomas Haukes, shortly after, was cited with the rest of his other fellows above specified, to wit, Thomas Tomkins, Stephen Knight, William Pygot, John Laurence, and William Hunter, to appear in the bishop's consistory, the eighth day of February, this present year, viz. 1555. Upon which appearance, was laid against him in like order as to the other, first the bill of his confession, written with Bonner's hand, to the which bill ye heard before how this blessed servant of God denied to subscribe.

After which bill of confession being read, and he constantly standing to the said confession, the bishop then assigned him with the other five the next day following, which was the ninth of February, to appear before him again, to give a resolute answer what they would stick unto. Which day being come, and these foresaid six prisoners being severally called before the bishop, at the coming of Thomas Haukes, the bishop willed him to remember what was said to him yesterday, and now, while he had time and space, to advise with himself what he would answer, for he stood upon life and death. "Well," quoth Master Haukes again, "I will willingly receive whatsoever shall be put upon me." Then were certain other interrogatories or articles commenced against him by the said bishop (in like manner as to the other) to the number of four, with another bill also, which Bonner brought out of his bosom, containing private matters against the said Thomas Haukes, which the bishop called heresies and errors, but we may better call them Christian verities. To the which matter being read, the said Haukes answered openly again, saying that it was true, and that he was glad it was so true as it was; with more words to the like effect. And this was in the forenoon, the ninth day of February. In the afternoon again the said Haukes appearing and hearing the foresaid bill of his confession, with the articles and interrogatories read unto him, with like constancy in answering again to the bishop, "My Lord," said he, "as you, being my great friend, have caused these my sayings to be written; so do you cause them to be read: and yet I will never go from them." And then, being exhorted by the bishop, with many fair words, to return again to the bosom of the mother church. "No, my Lord," said he, "that will I not: for if I had a hundred bodies, I would suffer them all to be torn in pieces, rather than I will abjure or recant." And so continuing still in the same song, notwithstanding that the doctors and lawyers were ever calling upon him to come again to the unity of the church, he ever kept them off with this answer, that he would never go from the belief he was in, so long as he believed. Whereupon Bonner, at the last, read the sentence of death upon him; and so was he condemned the same day with the residue of his fellows, which was the ninth of February. Nevertheless his execution was prolonged, and he remained in prison till the tenth day of June. Then was he committed to the hands and the charge of the Lord Riche, who, being assisted with power sufficient of the worshipful of the shire, had the foresaid Thomas Haukes down into Essex, with six other fellow prisoners whose stories hereafter follow, there to suffer martyrdom, Haukes at Coggeshall, the others severally in other several places.

Thomas Haukes by the way used much exhortation to his friends; and whensoever opportunity served to talk with them, he would familiarly admonish them.

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A little before his death, certain there were of his familiar acquaintance and friends, who frequented his company more familiarly, who seemed not a little to be confirmed both by the example of his constancy, and by his talk; yet notwithstanding, the same again, being feared with the sharpness of the punishment which he was going to, privily desired that in the midst of the flame he would show them some token, if he could, whereby they might be the more certain, whether the pain of such burning were so great that a man might not therein keep his mind quiet and patient. Which thing he promised them to do; and so, secretly between them, it was agreed, that if the rage of the pain were tolerable and might be suffered, then he should lift up his hands above his head towards heaven, before he gave up the ghost. Not long after, when the hour was come, Thomas Haukes was led away to the place appointed for the slaughter, by the Lord Riche and his assistants, who, being now come unto the stake, there mildly and patiently addressed himself to the fire, having a strait chain cast about his middle, with no small multitude of people on every side compassing him about: unto whom after he had spoken many things, especially unto the Lord Riche, reasoning with him of the innocent blood of the saints; at length, after his fervent prayers first made and poured out unto God, the fire was set unto him. In the which when he continued long, and when his speech was taken away by violence of the flame, his skin also drawn together, and his fingers consumed with the fire, so that now all men thought certainly he had been gone, suddenly, and contrary to all expectation, the blessed servant of God, being mindful of his promise afore made, reached up his hands burning on a light fire, which was marvellous to behold, over his head to the living God, and with great rejoicing, as it seemed, struck or clapped them three times together. At the sight whereof there followed such applause and outcry of the people, and especially of them which understood the matter, that the like hath not commonly been heard. And so the blessed martyr of Christ, straightway sinking down into the fire, gave up his spirit, A. D. 1555, June 10. And thus have you plainly and expressly described unto you the whole story, as well of the life as of the death of Thomas Haukes, a most constant and faithful witness of Christ's holy gospel.

LETTERS.

An epistle to the congregation, by Thomas Haukes.

"Grace, mercy, and peace, from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ, be alway with you all, (my dear brethren and sisters in the Lord Jesus Christ for ever,) and his Holy Spirit conduct and lead you all, in all your doings, that you may always direct your deeds according to his holy word; that when he shall appear to reward every man according to their works, ye may, as obedient children, be found watching, ready to enter into his everlasting kingdom, with your lamps burning; and, when the Bridegroom shall show himself, ye need not to be ashamed of this life which God hath lent you, which is but transitory, vain, and like unto a vapour that for a season appeareth and vanisheth away: so soon passeth away all our terrestrial honour, glory, and felicity. For all flesh, saith the prophet, is grass, and all his glory as the flower of the field, which for a season showeth her beauty, and as soon as the Lord bloweth upon it, it withereth away, and departeth. For in this transitory and dangerous wilderness, we are as pilgrims and strangers following the footsteps of Moses, among many unspeakable dangers, beholding nothing with our outward man, but all vain vanities and vexation of mind; subject to hunger, cold, nakedness, bonds, sickness, loss, labours, banishment; in danger of that dreadful dragon, and his sinful seed, to be devoured, tempted, and tormented, who ceaseth not behind

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every bush to lay a bait, when we walk awry to have his pleasure upon us; casting abroad his apples in all places, times, and seasons, to see if Adam will be allured and enticed to leave the living God and his most holy commandments, whereby he is assured of everlasting life; promising the world at will, to all that will fall down in all ages, and for a mess of pottage sell and set at nought the everlasting kingdom of heaven. So frail is flesh and blood; and, in especial, Israel is most ready to walk awry, when he is filled with all manner of riches, as saith the prophet.

"Therefore I am bold in bonds (as entirely desiring your everlasting health and felicity) to warn you, and most heartily desire you, to watch and pray; for our estate is dangerous, and requireth continual prayer. For on the high mountains doth not grow most plenty of grass, neither are the highest trees farthest from danger, but seldom sure, and always shaken of every wind that bloweth. Such a deceitful thing (saith our Saviour) is honour and riches, that without grace it choketh up the good seed sown on his creatures, and blindeth so their seeing, that they go groping at noonday in darkness: it maketh a man think himself somewhat, that is nothing at all. For though for our honour we esteem ourselves and stand in our own light, yet when we shall stand before the living God, there shall be no respect of persons: for riches help not in the day of vengeance; neither can we make the Lord partial, for money. But as ye have ministered unto the saints, so shall ye receive the reward, which I am fully persuaded and assured shall be plenteously poured upon you all, for the great goodness showed unto the servants of the living God. And I most heartily beseech Almighty God to pour forth a plenteous reward upon you for the same, and that he will assist you with his Holy Spirit in all your doings, that ye may grow, as ye have begun, unto such a perfection as may be to God's honour, your own salvation, and the strengthening of the weak members of Christ. For though the world rage, and blaspheme the elect of God, ye know that it did so unto Christ, his apostles, and to all that were in the primitive church, and shall be, unto the world's end.

"Therefore believe in the light while ye have it, lest it be taken away from you; if you shall seem to neglect the great mercy of God that hath been opened unto you, (and your hearts consented unto it,) that it is the very and only truth pronounced by God's only Son Jesus Christ, by the good will of our heavenly Father: therefore I say, in the bowels of my Lord Jesus Christ, stick fast unto it; let it never depart out of your hearts and conversation, that you with us and we with you at the great day, being one flock as we have one Shepherd, may rise to the life immortal, through Jesus Christ our only Saviour. Amen.

"Yours in him that liveth for ever.

THOMAS HAUKES."

Here followeth another letter of Thomas Haukes, sent to his wife after his condemnation, being prisoner in Newgate; the copy whereof is this:

"Grace be with you, and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ, which gave himself for our sins, to deliver us from this present evil world, through the good will of God our Father, to whom be praise for ever and ever. Amen.

"My dear yoke-fellow in the Lord, forasmuch as the Lord hath not only called me to work in his vineyard, but hath also fulfilled his good work in me, (I trust to his glory, and to the

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comfort of all those that look for his coming,) I thought it my duty, dear yoke-fellow, to write unto you some lessons out of God's book; and if you will direct yourself thereafter, doubt not of it but God, who refuseth none that will come to him with their whole heart, will assist you with his Holy Spirit, and direct you in all his ways, to his honour and glory, who grant it for his mercy sake. Amen.

"First, I exhort you to fear God; to serve and honour his holy name; to love him with all your heart, soul, and mind; to believe faithfully all his promises; to lay sure hold upon them, that in all your troubles, whatsoever they are, ye may run straight to the great mercy of God, and he will bring you forth of them. Keep you within his wings; then shall ye be sure that neither devil, flesh, nor hell, shall be able to hurt you.

"But take heed; if you will not keep his holy precepts and laws, and to the uttermost of your power call for the help of God to walk in the same, but will leave them, and run to all abominations with the wicked world, and do as they do; then be sure to have your part with the wicked world in the burning lake that never shall be quenched. Therefore beware of idolatry, which doth most of all stink before the face of Almighty God, and was of all good men most detested from the beginning of the world. For the which, what kingdoms, nations, and realms, God hath punished with most terrible plagues, with fire, brimstone, hunger, sword, and pestilence, &c., to the utter subversion of them, it is manifestly to be seen through the whole Bible. Yea, his own peculiar people, whom he had done so much for, when they fell from him and went and served other gods, contrary to his commandment, he utterly destroyed and rooted them out from off the earth: and as many as died in that damnable state, not repenting their abominable evil, he threw them into the pit of hell. Again, how he hath preserved those that abhor superstition and idolatry, and that have only taken hold upon God with their whole heart, to serve him, and to love him, to fear him, &c.:—it is most manifestly to be seen even from the beginning, out of what great dangers he hath ever delivered them: yea, when all hope of deliverance was past as touching their expectation, even then, in the sight of all his enemies, would he work his godly will and purpose, to the utter amazing and destruction of all those that were his manifest enemies.

"Further, I exhort you, in the bowels of Christ, that you will exercise and be steadfast in prayer; for prayer is the only mean to pierce the heavens, to obtain at the hand of God whatsoever we desire; so that it be asked in faith. Oh what notable things do we read in Scriptures that have been obtained through fervent prayer! We are commanded to call upon him for help, aid, and succour, in necessities and troubles, and he hath promised to help us. Again, they that will not call upon him with their whole heart, but upon other dead creatures, in whom there is no help, (for there was none found worthy to open the book, but only the Lamb Christ which was killed for our sins,) I say, who that will refuse his help, must even by the terrible judgments of God come utterly to confusion: as it hath, and is daily manifest to be seen. And whatsoever you desire of God in your prayer, ask it for Jesus Christ's sake, for whom and in whom God hath promised to give us all things necessary. And though that which we ask come not by and by at the first and second calling, yet continue still knocking, and he will at the length open his treasures of mercy, so that ye shall be sure to obtain; for he hath so promised, if we continue in faith, hoping surely in him. These former lessons, with all such instructions as I have told you by mouth, I do wish that you would most earnestly learn; and then I doubt not, but God,

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who is the giver of all grace, will assist you in all your doings, that ye may be found worthy of his kingdom, which is prepared through Christ.

"Further, whereas it hath pleased God to send us children, my desire is that they may be brought up in the fear of God and in his laws. And this is to certify you, that ye deliver in any wise my eldest son unto Master Throgmorton, who, upon his good will, hath promised me to bring him up according to my desire; and, I trust, as God hath put into his heart. See therefore that ye deliver him in any wise without delay; and as for the other, if ye shall seem to be burdened with him, (which I think nature will not suffer,) my desire is, that it be brought up in the fear of God to the uttermost of your endeavour, with some honest man that hath the fear of God before his eyes; and let us give thanks unto God who hath given them us, beseeching him that they may be counted worthy to be of that flock that shall stand on the right hand of the majesty of God, when he shall judge the world. Amen.

"Yet once again I warn you, that ye continue in fervent prayer, as I said before; then shall ye be sure, that God, even of his own mercy, according as he hath promised, will be a husband unto you, and provide better for you than ever I was able to do; yea, he will cause all men that fear him to pity you, to help you, to succour you in all your necessities, so that if any will do you wrong, he will be avenged on him. Moreover I wish you to keep company with those of whom ye may learn to come to a more perfect knowledge in God, and I doubt not but God will provide that such will be glad to receive you, if you shall profess and go forward in his truth.

"Finally, and to make an end, I desire you that ye take heed with whom ye couple yourself. See that he be a man that feareth God, loveth his laws, and will walk in the same to the uttermost of his power: such a one as can be content to love you, and to care for you. Take heed he be no brawler, no drunkard, no wicked person, not given to filthiness, no worldling, no dicer, nor carder: in fine, no filthy person, but choose you such a one as God may be glorified in both your lives. And again, on your part, love him, serve him, obey him in all godliness, as long as God shall give you life in this world. Then shall ye both be sure to obtain that kingdom which God the Father hath prepared, and Jesus Christ obtained for you, that never shall have end, where I trust to abide your coming. Amen.

"By your husband.

THOMAS HAUKES."

Ye heard before, in the letter of Thomas Haukes written to his wife, mention made concerning his eldest son to be sent to Master Throgmorton. Now what he writeth himself to the said Master Throgmorton touching the same matter, by this his letter to the said party, hereunder ensuing, may appear.

"Grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ, be with you, and assist you in all your thoughts, words, and works, that he in all things, as most worthy, may be glorified, and that the blessing of Abraham may be poured plenteously on you and all your posterity.

"Whereas the love of God hath moved you to require my son to be brought up before your eyes, and the selfsame love hath also moved me in like case to leave him in your hands, as

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unto a father in mine absence, I shall require you in God's behalf, according to your promise, that ye will see him brought up in the fear of the Lord, and instructed in the knowledge of his holy word, that he may thereby learn to leave the evil, and know the good, and always be pricked forward with fatherly instructions, to follow my footsteps, that as Almighty God hath made me worthy, through his special grace, to work his will in obedience, he may learn to follow me his father in the like, to God's honour and praise: and this I require you in God's behalf to fulfil, or cause to be fulfilled, as ye, before the living God, will make answer for the same. I have left for the child certain books which shall be delivered unto you, wherein his instruction and salvation lieth, if he learn and practise the same. And thus most humbly beseeching you, once again, to be as good to him as your promise was unto me, that is, to be a father, and a wall of defence unto him in all troubles, I leave him in your hand through the Lord Jesus, and desire him to bless both him and you according to his good promise: and all that good which ye shall do unto him, I shall most heartily desire the everlasting God to recompense unto you in his kingdom, where I hope to meet both him and you among all God's elect. To which God be all praise, honour, and glory. Amen.

"Yours and all men's in Christ Jesus.
THOMAS HAUKEs."

287. Thomas Wats.

The history of Thomas Wats, examined, tried, and burnt for the truth of the gospel.

Thomas Wats of Billericay, within the county of Essex, of the diocese of London, was by his occupation a linen draper; who, before he was apprehended, had sold and made away his cloth in his shop, and disposed his things, being set in order, to his wife and children, and gave away much of his cloth unto the poor. For he looked always to be taken by God's adversaries and his, as shortly after came indeed to pass; so that, upon the twenty-sixth day of April, he was apprehended and brought before the Lord Riche and other commissioners at Chelmsford, and there, being accused for not coming to the church, was upon the same examined before the Lord Riche, Henry Tyrrel, Sir Anthony Brown, Edmund Tyrrel, Thomas Mildman, John Wiseman, Roger Appleton, Richard Weston, Justice Gaudy, &c.: the sum and principal effect of which examination hereunder followeth briefly expressed.

When this Thomas Wats came before the Lord Riche and other the justices, whose names are specified in the letter following, (which they sent unto the bishop of London against him,) at the sessions at Chelmsford, the Lord Riche said these words or the like in effect unto him. "Wats, ye be brought hither, as I understand, because of disobedience to the king and the queen's laws. Ye will not come to the church, ye will not hear mass, &c., but have your conventicles a sort of you in corners, contrary to the king's and queen's proceedings." Unto which his words Wats answered and said "My Lord, if I have offended a law, I am subject here to the law." Then Anthony Brown, justice, said unto him, "Wats, I pray thee tell me who hath been thy schoolmaster to teach thee this gear, or where didst thou first learn this religion?" "Forsooth," quoth Wats, "even of you, sir: you taught it me, and none more than you. For in King Edward's days in open sessions you spake against this religion now used; no preacher more. You then said the mass was abominable, and all their trumpery besides, wishing and earnestly exhorting that none should believe therein, and that our belief should be only in Christ: and you said then, whosoever should bring in any strange nation to rule here, it were treason, and not to be suffered."

Then said Brown to my Lord Riche, "He belies me, my Lord. What a knave is this! he will soon belie me behind my back, when he doth it before my face"—and my Lord Riche said again, "I dare say he doth so."

After these words, Wats took occasion to speak somewhat of King Philip and of his coming in; but what it was I could not justly learn. But thus much was heard, that after those words spoken, the bench among themselves stood up, and said one to another, "Treason!" saving one good man, called Justice Gaudy, who a little before was about to speak: but, when he heard them cry "treason," he held down his head as one grieved and troubled at their doings.

In conclusion, the commissioners being weary of him, or else not willing to meddle further in such high matters, sent him up to the bishop of London, with their letter withal, importing the cause of his sending up, as the contents thereof hereunder follow to be seen.

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A letter sent by certain justices in Essex to Bonner, bishop of London.

"After our most hearty commendations to your good Lordship, these shall be to advertise you, that at our sessions of Oyer and Terminer holden at Chelmsford the twenty-sixth day of April last past, here came before us in open court one Thomas Wats of Billericay within your diocese, by ordinary process: and then and there being examined why he refused to come to his parish church, and there to receive the sacrament of the altar, and hear divine service, according to the institution of holy church, he openly there answered generally, that like as the service of the church set out in the days of the late King Edward the Sixth, was said by us now to be abominable, heretical, schismatical, and all naught; so he said, that all that is now used and done in that church, is abominable, heretical, schismatical, and all naught, with divers other erroneous and arrogant words: and therefore we have thought good to send him to your Lordship, to be further examined by you of his particular opinions, as to your pastoral office shall seem convenient; certifying you further, that in our opinion he is one of the most arrogant heretics that hath been heard speak, or ever came before you, and not meet to be kept here in any gaol, as well for fear of corrupting others, as for divers and sundry other special causes hereafter to be more declared. Thus leaving to molest your good Lordship, we commit you to the Holy Ghost.— Given at Chelmsford the twenty- seventh of April, Anno 1555.

"Your good Lordship's most assured.

R. Riche.

Henry Tyrrel.

Anthony Brown.

Edmund Tyrrel.

Thomas Mildmay.

John Wiseman.

Roger Appleton.

Richard Weston."

Now when the bishop had received him, how he used him it is easy (by his common practices with others) to judge. What his private conferences were I know not, but what was publicly done in the consistory at Paul's (the common stage for these tragedies) you shall here see.

The first appearance of Thomas Wats in the bishop's consistory.

First upon Thursday, being the second day of May, Thomas Wats was brought thither before the bishop of London; and there, being examined upon his words had before the Lord Riche and others, (as is contained in their letters,) he did earnestly affirm the same to be true. Whereupon the bishop objected, and examined him upon these articles following, to the which he answered, as under may appear.

"I. First, that the said Thomas Wats was of Billericay, and so of the jurisdiction of the bishop of London.

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"II. Item, that he believed not in the sacraments of the holy and catholic church, as the catholic Church of Rome, and all other churches, members of the same, ever hitherto have believed, and is taught of all good and faithful people; nor hath allowed the sacraments, rites, usages, or ceremonies of the said church, but hath despised the same.

"III. Item, that he believeth, and also hath taught others, that the substance of material bread and wine doth remain in the sacrament of the altar after the consecration: and that the said material bread and wine are the signs and tokens of Christ's body hanged upon the cross, and of his blood there shed: and that in the said sacrament there is only a memory or remembrance of Christ's body and blood, and nothing else.

"IV. Item, that he believeth, and doth precisely affirm, that the very true presence of Christ's body and blood in substance, is not in the sacrament of the altar, but only in heaven, and no where else.

"V. Item, that he believeth, affirmeth, and saith, that the mass now used in the Church of Rome, here in England, and other places, is full of idolatry, abomination, and wickedness; and that Christ did never institute it, nor ordain it, nor yet allow it as a good and laudable thing to be used in his church.

"VI. Item, that he believeth and affirmeth, that auricular confession to be made unto the priest is not necessary, but superfluous: and that it is enough for a man to believe only, and to confess himself unto God, without any priest or minister at any time, though he may have the priest to confess him unto.

"VII. Item, that he believeth that Luther, Wickliff, Dr. Barnes, and all others that have holden against the sacrament of the altar, and suffered death by fire, or otherwise, for the maintenance of the said opinion, were good men and faithful servants and martyrs of Christ in so believing and dying.

"VIII. Item, that he hath and doth believe, that to fast, pray, or to do alms-deeds, is a thing utterly unprofitable: for if a man shall be saved, he shall be saved without doing of them; and if he shall be damned, they shall not help him, or do him any good at all.

"IX. That the said Wats of late coming into open court at the sessions before the Lord Riche, Sir Henry Tyrrel, knight, Anthony Brown, esquire, and others, and being then and there examined, did openly confess, that he had refused to come to the church, and to hear there the divine service, and to receive the sacrament of the altar, according to the order of the church: because that like as the service of the church, set out in the days of the late King Edward the Sixth, was said and alleged to be abominable, heretical, schismatical, and all naught; so he (the said Thomas Wats) then and there said openly before the said commissioners, that all that is now used and done in the church, is abominable, heretical, schismatical, and altogether naught: and that he did also then utter before the said commissioners other erroneous and arrogant words, to the hurt of his soul, and to the evil example of the people there present.

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"X. Item, that he the said Thomas, by reason of the premises, was and is to be taken, had, reported, and judged as a manifest and open heretic; and for the same, by the order of ecclesiastical laws, is to be declared accursed; and being obstinate and incorrigible, is to be delivered to the secular power, there to be punished as a heretic.

"XI. Item, that he, over and besides all these offences and trespasses aforesaid, had also added this trespass; that is to wit, that he had believed and deliberately spoken that the Church of Rome, in her rites, ceremonies, sacraments, constitutions, and traditions, is the synagogue of Satan; and therefore that he had consented and agreed in opinion and belief with one John Tooley, of late hanged at Charing Cross, who, at the time of his executing, desired the people to pray to be delivered from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, with all his enormities; as who should say, that his authority and doings were tyranny, and had all enormities and iniquities in them.

"XII. Item, that the premises and every part thereof be true, notorious, manifest, and openly spoken and talked of amongst the honest and credible persons in great multitude; and that of all and singular the same within Billericay aforesaid, and other places thereabout, being of the diocese of London, there is a common voice and fame thereof."

The answer of the said Thomas Wats to the aforesaid articles.

"To the Ist he said and confessed the same to be true in every part thereof.

"To the IInd article he answered, that he believeth in all the sacraments according to Christ's institution, and the catholic church; but not according to the bishop of Rome's church: and further said, that he doth not believe now, as he had done in times past—for in time past he believed as the church then believed, but now he doth not so believe; for the Church of Rome hath deceived us—and therefore, he said, he did not believe as the Church of Rome believeth, but as Christ hath taught him. And further said, that he was so taught to believe by preaching of one Master Alvey, and others whose names he remembered not; which Alvey, he said, did preach the word of God truly and sincerely.

"To the IIIrd he answered, that he hath and doth believe, that Christ's body is in heaven, and no where else; and further, that he will never believe that Christ's body is in the sacrament.

"To the IVth he answered, confessing and firmly believing the same to be true.

"To the Vth, that he did believe that the mass is abominable, and that he will not go one jot from that his belief.

"To the VIth, that he neither did, nor yet doth believe that the priest can absolve him of his sins: howbeit he denieth not but it is good to ask counsel at the priest's mouth.

"To the VIIth he said, that he knew not what the opinions of the said persons named in the said article were; and in case the said persons did believe, that the body and blood of Christ were really, and in very deed, in the sacrament of the altar, then that they were not good men.

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But in case they did believe that the body and blood of Christ was not in the sacrament of the altar really and truly, then he believed that they were good Christian men.

"To the VIIIth, that he had not spoken as is contained in this article; but said, that he hath and doth believe, that fasting, prayers, and alms-deeds, be works of a lively faith.

"To the IXth he confessed, that he did utter and speak, as in this article is contained; and, further, desireth God that he might die in that faith and belief, wherein he now is.

"To the Xth he answered and said, that he will submit himself herein to the order of the law: and further said, that he trusteth that with God he shall be blessed, although with men he be accursed.

"To the XIth he said, that he believed that the bishop of Rome is a mortal enemy to Christ and his church. And as for Tooley he said, he did never see nor know him; but in case the said Tooley did wish and pray as is contained in the article, then he did likewise wish and consent with him therein.

"To the XIIth he answered, that all which before he confessed to be true, is also true; and all that he hath denied to be true, be denieth again to be true, and believeth the same to be according to such things as he hath confessed.

"By me, THOMAS WATS."

Three other appearances of Thomas Wats in the consistory.

These articles thus propounded and answered, the bishop commanded him to appear again in the same place at three of the clock in the afternoon, upon the same day; at which hour, being brought thither by his keeper, the bishop began with him in this wise; "Wats! you know what I said unto you to-day, and what I appointed unto you at this time. The time is now come: weigh and consider with yourself, that you are but a man, and albeit that ye will wilfully cast away your body, yet cast not so away your soul; but while ye have time, return and confess the truth." Whereunto Thomas Wats answered and said, "I am weary to live in such idolatry as ye would have me to live in;" upon which answer the bishop caused his articles again to be read. He thereto answered as before, and further, subscribed the same with his own hand.

The bishop, after many persuasions to cause him to recant, willed him to depart as then, and to come again on Saturday at eight of the clock in the morning; where, the bishop being absent, Dr. Nicholas Harpsfield, as then being his deputy, did sit, and earnestly exhorted him to deny his opinions. To whom in the end he answered "Well, ye have a law to condemn me, and I submit myself to the law; but not to the laws of the church, as you call it: and further I do affirm, and will stand to mine answers that I have made."

Whereupon Dr. Harpsfield willed him to appear there again upon Friday, being the tenth day of the same month of May. Upon which day the bishop privately sent the said Thomas Wats into his chamber, and there, with many fair promises tempted and tried him, whether he would revoke his errors, as he then termed them. But Wats answered him in this sort "I will not believe

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your church, neither the Romish church; and therefore you do but labour in vain thus to travail with me." He was hereupon again dismissed for that time until Friday the seventeenth day of May, and then commanded to appear in the consistory; which commandment he obeyed, and having the accustomed former articles ministered unto him, made then such answers as before.



Wats with his Wife and Children

Thus being tossed to and fro from day to day, and hour to hour, he was at the last, the eighteenth day of the month of May, brought into the consistory, where first was made a brief recital of all the former process: and there the said Wats, being, by the bishop and others, willed to deny his profession, made this final answer "God keep me from the doctrine that ye would have me to come unto, which ye have now declared. And I beseech God that I may persevere in that that I have done; for I will stand to mine answers."

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The bishop, perceiving his fair flattering promises nothing to prevail, and having no great store of other reasons to persuade with, put forth his last and strongest argument of condemnation; which being ended, he was delivered to the sheriffs of London, and by them was sent to Newgate, where he remained until the ninth day of June, or (as some record) to the twenty-second of May: at which time he was carried unto Chelmsford, and there was brought to Scot's house, keeping then an inn in Chelmsford, where, as they were eating meat with Haukes and the rest that came down to their burning, they prayed together both before and after their meat.

Then Wats went and prayed privately to himself, and afterward came to his wife and his six children being there, and said these words in effect:

"Wife, and my good children! I must now depart from you. Therefore hence-forth know I will see you no more; but, as the Lord hath given you unto me, so I give you again unto the Lord, whom, I charge you, see you do obey, and fear him: and beware ye turn not to this abominable papistry, against the which I shall, anon, by God's grace, give my blood. Let not the murdering of God's saints cause you to relent, but take occasion thereby to be the stronger in the Lord's quarrel, and I doubt not but he will be a merciful Father unto you." All these and such-like words spake he unto them, and they unto him; of whom two, as it is said, offered to be burnt with him. In the end he bade them farewell, and kissed them all, and was carried to the fire.

At the stake, after he had kissed it, he spake to my Lord Riche these or the like words "My Lord," saith he, "beware, beware! for you do against your own conscience herein; and without you repent, the Lord will revenge it: for you are the cause of this my death."

288. Concerning the Childbed of Queen Mary, as it Was Rumoured among the People.

Long persuasion had been in England with great expectation, for the space of half a year or more, that the queen was conceived with child. This report was made by the queen's physicians, and others nigh about the court; so that divers were punished for saying the contrary: and commandment was given, that in all churches, supplication and prayer should be made for the queen's good delivery; the certificate whereof ye may read before in the letter of the council sent to Bonner, and also the same, moreover, may appear by provision made before in act of parliament for the child.

And now, forasmuch as in the beginning of this month of June, about Whitsuntide, the time was thought to be nigh that this young master should come into the world, and that midwives, rockers, nurses, with the cradle and all, were prepared, and in a readiness; suddenly, upon what cause or occasion it is uncertain, a certain vain rumour was blown in London of the prosperous deliverance of the queen, and the birth of the child; insomuch that the bells were rung, bonfires and processions made, not only in the city of London, and in most other parts of the realm, but also in the town of Antwerp guns were shot off upon the river by the English ships, and the mariners thereof rewarded with a hundred pistolets, or Italian crowns, by the lady regent, who was the queen of Hungary. Such great rejoicing and triumph was for the queen's delivery, and that there was a prince born. Yea, divers preachers, namely, one the parson of St. Anne within Aldersgate, after procession and *Te Deum* sung, took upon him to describe the proportion of the child, how fair, how beautiful, and great a prince it was, as the like had not been seen.

In the midst of this great ado, there was a simple man (this I speak but upon information) dwelling within four miles of Berwick, that never had been before half way to London, which said concerning the bonfires made for Queen Mary's child, "Here is a joyful triumph; but at length all will not prove worth a mess of pottage" as indeed it came to pass; for in the end all proved clean contrary, and the joy and expectations of men were much deceived. For the people were certified, that the queen neither was as then delivered, nor after was in hope to have any child.

At this time many talked diversely. Some said this rumour of the queen's conception was spread for a policy; some others affirmed that she was deceived by a tympany, or some other like disease, to think herself with child, and was not; some thought she was with child, and that it did by some chance miscarry, or else that she was bewitched; but what was the truth thereof the Lord knoweth, to whom nothing is secret.

One thing of mine own hearing and seeing, I cannot pass over unwitnessed: There came to me, whom I did both hear and see, one Isabel Malt, a woman dwelling in Aldersgate Street in Horn Alley, not far from the house where this present book was printed, who before witness

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made this declaration unto us: that she, being delivered of a man-child upon Whit Sunday in the morning, which was the eleventh day of June, anno 1555, there came to her the Lord North, and another lord to her unknown, dwelling then about Old Fish Street, demanding of her if she would part with her child, and would swear that she never knew nor had any such child; which if she would, her son (they said) should be well provided for, she should take no care for it; with many fair offers, if she would part with the child. After that, came other women also, of whom one they said should have been the rocker; but she in no wise would let go her son, who at the writing hereof being alive, and called Timothy Malt, was of the age of thirteen years and upward.

Thus much, I say, I heard of the woman herself. What credit is to be given to her relation, I deal not withal, but leave it to the liberty of the readers to believe it they that list: to them that list not, I have no further warrant to assure them.

Among many other great preparations made for the queen's deliverance of child, there was a cradle very sumptuously and gorgeously trimmed, upon the which cradle for the child appointed, these verses were written, both in Latin and English.

"Quam Mariæ sobolem, Deus optime, summe, dedisti,
Anglia incolumem redde, tuere, rege."

"The child which thou to Mary, O Lord of might! hast send,
To England's joy, in health preserve,—keep, and defend!"

289. Protestant Books Condemned By The Council

About this time there came over into England a certain English book, giving warning to Englishmen of the Spaniards, and disclosing certain close practices for recovery of abbey-lands, which book was called, A Warning for England; whereof ye shall understand more, God willing, when we come to the Spanish inquisition: so that by the occasion of this book, upon the thirteenth day of this month came out a certain proclamation, set forth in the name of the king and queen, repealing and disannulling all manner of books written or printed, whatsoever should touch any thing the impairing of the pope's dignity; whereby not only much godly edification was hindered, but also great peril grew among the people. The copy of which proclamation here followeth.

"Whereas by the statute made in the second year of King Henry the Fourth concerning the repressing of heresies, there is ordained and provided a great punishment, not only for the authors, makers, and writers of books containing wicked doctrine, and erroneous and heretical opinions, contrary to the catholic faith and determination of the holy church, and likewise for their fautors and supporters; but also for such as shall have or keep any such books or writings, and not make delivery of them to the ordinary of the diocese or his ministers, within a certain time limited in the said statute, which act or statute being by authority of parliament of late revived, was also openly proclaimed, to the intent the subjects of the realm upon such proclamation should the rather eschew the danger and penalty of the said statute; and as yet nevertheless, in most parts of the realm, the same is neglected, and little regarded: the king and queen our sovereign lord and lady, therefore, &c., straitly charge and command: that no person or persons, of what estate, degree, or condition soever he or they be, from henceforth presume to bring or convey, or cause to be brought or conveyed into this realm, any books, writings, or works hereafter mentioned; that is to say, any book or books, writings or works, made or set forth, by or in the name of Martin Luther, or any book or books, writings or works, made or set forth, by or in the name of Ecolampadius, Zuinglius, John Calvin, Pomerane, John Alasco, Bullinger, Bucer, Melancthon, Bernardine, Ochino, Erasmus, Sarcerius, Peter Martyr, Hugh Latimer, Robert Barnes, otherwise called Friar Barnes, John Bale, otherwise called Friar Bale, Justus Jonas, John Hooper, Miles Coverdale, William Tyndale, Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury, William Turner, Theodore Basil, otherwise called Thomas Beacon, John Frith, Roy, and the book commonly called Hall's Chronicle, or any of them in the Latin tongue, Dutch tongue, English tongue, Italian tongue, or French tongue, or any other like book, paper, writing, or work, made, printed, or set forth, by any other person or persons, containing false doctrine contrary and against the catholic faith, and the doctrine of the catholic church. And also that no person or persons presume to write, print, utter, sell, read, or keep any, or cause to be written, printed, uttered, or kept, any of the said books, papers, works, or writings, or any book or books, written or printed in the Latin or English tongue, concerning the common service and administration set forth in English to be used in the churches of this realm in the time of King Edward the Sixth, commonly called "The Communion Book, or Book of Common Service and Ordering of Ministers, otherwise called, The Book set forth by authority of Parliament, for

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Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments," or to be used in the mother tongue within the Church of England; but shall, within the space of fifteen days next after the publication of this proclamation, bring or deliver, or cause the said books, writings, and works, and every of them remaining in their custodies and keeping, to be brought and delivered to the ordinary of the diocese, where such books, works, or writings be or remain, or to his chancellor or commissaries, without fraud, colour, or deceit, at the said ordinary's will and disposition to be burnt, or otherwise to be used or ordered by the said ordinaries, as by the canons or spiritual laws it is in that case limited and appointed, upon pain that every offender contrary to this proclamation, shall incur the danger and penalties contained in the said statute, and as they will avoid their Majesties' high indignation and displeasure, and further answer at their uttermost perils.

"And their Majesties, by this proclamation, give full power and authority to all bishops and ordinaries, and all justices of the peace, mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs of cities and towns corporate, and other head officers within this realm and the dominions thereof, and expressly command and will the same and every of them, that they and every of them, within their several limits and jurisdictions, shall in the default and negligence of the said subjects, after the said fifteen days expired, inquire and search out the said books, writings, and works; and for this purpose enter into the house or houses, closets, and secret places of every person, of whatsoever degree, being negligent in this behalf, and suspected to keep any such book, writing, or works, contrary to this proclamation: and that the said justices, mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, and other head officers above specified, and, every of them within their said limits and jurisdictions, finding any of the said subjects negligent and faulty in this behalf, shall commit every such offender to ward, there to remain without bail or mainprize, till the same offender or offenders have received such punishment as the said statute doth limit and appoint in this behalf.

"Given under our signs manual, at our honour of Hampton Court, the 13th day of June, the first and second years of our reigns."

"Imprinted by John Cawood, anno 1555."

Articles to be inquired upon by the wardens of every company, touching seditious books, especially touching the book called, A Warning for England.

"I. Whether they have seen any of the aforesaid books?

"II. Whether they have heard of any of the said books?

"III. Where they were, and in what place they have seen them?

"IV. Whom they know to have lately come from beyond the sea; especially from Zurich, Strasburg, Frankfort, Wezel, Emden, and Delsburg?

"V. Whom they know, or vehemently suspect, to be common carriers of letters, or money, thither from hence?

"VI. That they bring to my Lord Mayor all such seditious books as they have, or shall have found hereafter."

290. Some Papistical Blasphemies.

In the previous chapter thou hast heard, Christian reader! the profound and learned censure of the catholic Church of England, what books they mislike and reject as heretical, schismatical, and pernicious. Against the which catholic censure of these learned fathers, I have not at this time to infer: neither doth my leisure now serve to write apologies in defence of these authors here condemned. Only so much leave it may please the reader to grant me to set before him here a pair of balances, wherein to weigh the books on the one side condemned, with the books on the other side allowed, to the end that we, weighing the one with the other, may discern the better between them, which part weigheth best with God's holy truth and true catholic church, against manifest idolatry and palpable abomination. And now therefore, as they have in this present proclamation given their condemnation upon these books above recited; so I desire thee to give thy censure upon their books, by them allowed, and upon the matter in them contained, and mark well what good stuff it is.

And first to begin with the Primer in English for children, after the use of Salisbury, imprinted with privilege according to letters-patent of the king and queen's Majesties in the reign of Queen Mary. Let us repeat and survey some part of the said Primer, (for to express all, it were too long,) beginning with the first lesson of our Lady, in these words:

"Holy Mary, mother most pure of virgins all,
Mother and daughter of the King Celestial,
So comfort us in our desolation.
That by thy prayer and special mediation.
We enjoy the reward of thy heavenly reign," &c.

Confer this with the Scriptures, good reader, and judge uprightly whether this doctrine be tolerable in the church or not. It followeth more in the Second Lesson:

"Holy Mary, of all godly the godliest.
Pray for us, of all holy the holiest;
That he our prayers accept may in good wise.
Which of thee was born, and reigneth above the skies," &c.

In the Third Lesson.

"Thy Son beseech, with humble intercession.
To purge us clean of our transgression;
That so being redeemed we may the place ascend,
Where thou dwellest with him world without end."

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The Versicle.

"Pray for the people, entreat for the clergy, make intercession for the devout woman-kind; let all feel thy help, that worthily solemnize thy memorial," &c.

Another Versicle.

"Holy Mother of God, make thy petition.
That we may deserve Christ's promission," &c.

And in the anthem after Benedictus, thus it followeth:-

"We beseech thee of thy pity to have us in remembrance, and to make means for us unto Christ, that we, being supported by thy help, may deserve to attain the kingdom of heaven."

Furthermore in the collect after it followeth:

"And grant, that through the gracious intercession of the Virgin thy Mother, we may be delivered from this present heaviness, and have the fruition of eternal gladness."

It followeth moreover in the said Primer thus, concerning the material cross.

"O God, which hast ascended thy most holy cross, and hast given light to the darkness of the world, vouchsafe by the virtue of thy cross to illumine, visit, and comfort both our hearts and bodies," &c.

Moreover, in the name of St. John Baptist thus it prayeth:-

"O Lord, defend us alway through the continual succours of St. John Baptist. For the more frail we be, the more need we have to be relieved with necessary prayers," &c.

In which words note, good reader, not only the absurdity of doctrine, but also the stolidity of the reason. For whereas their doctrine pretendeth that St. John Baptist should pray for us, here we pray to God for St. John Baptist, that he will hear his prayer praying for us. It followeth furthermore in the name of Peter and Paul:-

"Hear us mercifully; and grant that through the merits of them both, we may obtain the glory everlasting," &c.

of St. Andrew.

"So let him, O Lord, be a continual petitioner for us to thee," &c.

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of St. Lawrence thus:-

"St. Lawrence the deacon did work a great work. For by the virtue of the holy cross, he gave sight to the blind," &c.

And how can this be true, when the holy cross was not yet found in the time of St. Lawrence? For Helen which first found the cross, as they say, came after St. Lawrence more than forty years.

of Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury.

"By the blood of Thomas, which he for thee did spend, Make us, Christ, to climb, whither Thomas did ascend."

of St. Nicholas.

"O God, which hast glorified blessed Nicholas, thy holy bishop, with innumerable miracles, grant, we beseech thee, that by his merits and prayers we may be delivered from the fire of hell."

of Mary Magdalene.

"Grant, we beseech thee, through thy mercy, to let her purchase for us the bliss everlasting," &c.

Another prayer of our Lady.

"The dolorous compassion of God's sweet Mother
Bring us to the bliss of Almighty God the Father," &c.

Another prayer in the said Primer to our Lady.

"Establish us in peace and tranquillity.
And change the name of sinful Eva:
Loose thy prisoners from captivity,
Unto the blind give sight again:
Deliver us from malignity.
To the end we may some grace attain:
Show thyself to be a Mother.
So that he accept our petition.
Deliver us from bondage of sin."

Item.

"Holy Mother, succour the miserable, comfort the weak-spirited, give courage to the desperate, pray for the people, make intercession for the clergy, and be a mean for the devout womankind," &c.

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Another blasphemous prayer.

"O thou meek Mother, have mercy therefore
On wretches, for whom thou haddest these paines all,
Seeing thy Son that vine-cluster pressed sore:
And from the pestilence of death eternal.
Keep us by voiding the Send infernal.
And join us with them which rewarded be
"With eternal life, seeing the Deity."

Another blasphemy in the said Primer.

"Hail Queen, mother of mercy, our life, our sweetness, our hope. Unto thee do we cry and sigh, weeping and wailing. Come off, therefore, our patroness; cast upon us thy pitiful eyes; and after this our banishment, show to us the blessed fruit of thy womb. O Gate of glory! be for us a reconciliation unto the Father and the Son. From the wretched their faults expel: wipe the spots of sins unclean," &c.

Item, to our Lady.

"The fruit of thy womb everlasting
We may behold through thy deserving," &c.

Item.

"Grant, we beseech thee, that by her merits and prayers we may attain to that unspeakable joy, where she, being assumpt, doth now rejoice with thee in heaven for ever."

And thus much hitherto of this Catholic Primer, called our Lady's Matins; whereunto, if it were not tedious for the reader, we would also adjoin our Lady's Psalter, to the intent that all indifferent readers, as they have seen what books these catholic fathers have condemned and do condemn for heretical; so the same also may see and judge, what books on the other side they approve as lawful and catholic. And forasmuch as it is not known peradventure to all men, what our Lady's Psalter is, or what it meaneth; yea, and some peradventure will deny any such book of our Lady's Psalter to be written or approved, here therefore we will first produce the name of the author, who was Bonaventure, a seraphical doctor, bishop also and cardinal, canonized moreover by Pope Sixtus the Fourth, anno 1482, for a saint in the calendar, who, in his book thus entitled in Latin, *Incipit Psalterium beate Virginis, compilatum per Seraphicum Doctorem Sanctum Bonaventuram Episcopum Albanensem, necnon sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Presbyterum Cardinalem, in honorem genetricis, &c.*, (fol. 84, in the second part of his whole works, which were imprinted at Strasburgh, anno 1495,) to show himself a devout servant to his Lady, hath taken every psalm of David's Psalter, (which be peculiarly made and referred to Almighty God,) and hath in divers of the said psalms and verses put out the name of the Lord, and hath placed in the name of our Lady. This being done through the whole psalms and every one of them, it is now called our Lady's Psalter, used to be sung and said in the praise and service of our Lady. A brief taste whereof, for example's sake, (for, to show all, it were too long,) we thought here to exhibit unto the reader in order, as followeth:-

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"Here beginneth the Psalter of the blessed Virgin, made by the seraphical doctor St. Bonaventure, the bishop of Albano, and cardinal of the holy Church of Rome."

1. "Blessed is the man which understandeth thy name, O Virgin Mary; thy grace shall comfort his soul. Thou shalt bring forth in him the most plentiful fruit of justice, being watered as it were with fountains of water. All women thou passest in the beauty of thy body; all angels and archangels in the excellency of thy holiness. Thy mercy and thy grace is magnified every where," &c.—"Glory be to the Father," &c.

2. "Why do our enemies fret and imagine vain things against us? Let thy right hand defend us, O Mother of God, terribly confounding and destroying them as a sword. Come unto her, all ye that labour and are troubled, and she will give rest unto your souls. Come unto her in your temptations, and her loving countenance shall stablish and comfort you. Bless her with all your heart; for the earth is full of her mercy. Glory be to the Father," &c.

3. "Why are they so many, O Lady, that trouble me? In thy fury thou shalt persecute and destroy them. Loose the bonds of our impiety, and take away the burden of our sins. Have mercy upon me, O Lady, and heal my infirmity. Take away my sorrow and the anguish of my heart. Deliver me not into the hands of mine enemies, and in the day of my death comfort my soul. Bring me unto the haven of salvation, and restore my spirit unto my Maker and Creator. Glory be to the Father," &c.

4. "When I called to thee, thou heardest me, O my Lady, and out of thy high throne thou didst vouchsafe to think upon me. From the roaring of them that prepare themselves to devour me, and out of the hands of such as seek after my life, thy grace shall deliver me: because thy mercy and thy pity are great towards all them that call upon thy holy name. Blessed be thou, O Lady, for ever, and thy majesty for ever and ever. Glorify her, all nations of the earth," &c.

5. "Hear my words, O Lady," &c. "Turn our mourning into gladness, and our trouble into rejoicing. Let our enemies fall before our feet, and with thy power dash their heads in pieces."

6. "O Lady, suffer me not to be rebuked in God's anger, nor to be chastened in his heavy displeasure," &c. "From the gate and deep pit of hell, with thy holy prayers deliver us. Let the everlasting gates be opened, that we may show forth thy marvellous works for ever. Because neither the dead, nor they that be in hell, shall praise thee, O Lady, but they which shall obtain by thy grace life everlasting."

7. "O my Lady, in thee will I put my trust; deliver me from mine enemies, O Lady. Stop the mouth of the lion, and bind the lips of the persecutors. Make no tarrying for thy name's sake, to show thy mercy upon me. Let the brightness of thy countenance shine upon us, that our conscience may be saved before the most highest. If the enemy do persecute my soul, O Lady, help me that he destroy me not."

9. "I will give thanks to thee, O Lady, with my whole heart, and will show forth among the nations thy praise and glory," &c. "They shall find grace through thee, the finder out of grace

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and salvation. The humble and penitent groan for pardon and forgiveness; heal thou the sores of their heart," &c.

10. "In thee, O Lady, do I put my trust," &c. "Seek her even from your youth, and she shall glorify you," &c. "Her mercy take from us the multitude of our sins, and give unto us plenteousness of merits," &c.

12. "Save me, O Mother of love, and fountain of mercy," &c. "Thou thyself alone hast gone about the compass of the earth, to help them that call upon thee."

13. "How long dost thou forget me, O Lady, and dost not deliver me in the day of my trouble? How long shall mine enemy triumph over me? With thy mighty power destroy him," &c. "We magnify thee the finder and the author of grace, by whom the world is repaired," &c.

16. "Preserve me, O Lady, for in thee have I put my trust," &c. "Blessed be thy breasts, [from] which, with thy deifying milk, didst [thou] nourish the Saviour," &c.

18. "I will love thee, O Lady of heaven and earth; I will call upon thy name among the nations. Confess yourselves unto her, ye that are troubled in heart, and she shall strengthen you against your enemies," &c. "All ye cloisterers, honour her, for she is your helper and special advocate. Be thou our refreshing and rest, for thou art the marvellous foundation of all religion."

20. "Hear us, O Lady, in the day of trouble," &c. "Cast us not away in the time of our death, but succour our soul when it forsaketh the body. Send an angel to meet it, that it may be defended from the enemies," &c. "In torments and pain let it feel thy comfort, and grant to it a place among the elect of God."

25. "To thee, O Lady, do I lift up my soul," &c. "Let not the snares of death prevail against me,"

26. "Be thou my guide to the heavenly rest, and to the company of angels associate me."

26. "Judge thou me, O Lady, for I am fallen from mine innocence: but because I put my trust in thee, therefore I shall not fall," &c.

27. "O Lady, let the brightness of thy face be my light, and let the clearness of thy grace shine unto my mind," &c.

28. "To thee, O Lady," &c. "Have mercy upon me in the day of my trouble, and in the light of thy truth deliver me," &c.

31. "In thee, O Lady, do I put my trust; let me not be confounded for ever: in thy glory receive me. Thou art my strength and my refuge, my consolation and protection," &c. "Deliver me from the snare that they have laid for me, because thou art my helper. Into thy hands I commend my spirit," &c.

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34. "I will always praise our Lady," &c. "In perils, in adversity, call upon her, and in time of need ye shall find succour. Let her conversation be an example unto you, and follow the virtue of her humility. Because therefore, O Lady, thou wast humble and lowly, thou didst compel the Word incarnate to take flesh of thee."

36. "The wicked man said," &c. "Let him depart from his evil purpose. O Mother of God, turn the countenance of God toward us: compel him to be merciful unto sinners. Blessed be thy empery and dominion in heaven, and blessed be thy magnificence upon the earth."

45. "My heart is inditing a good matter, O Lady," &c. "By thy holiness let my sins be purged; by thy integrity let me obtain incorruption," &c.

47. "Clap your hands, all ye people," &c. "For she is the gate of life, the door of salvation, the reconciler of our life; the hope of the penitent, the comfort of the sorrowful, the blessed peace of hearts, and salvation. Have mercy upon me, O Lady; have mercy upon me; for thou art the light and hope of all that put their trust in thee."

51. "Have mercy upon me, O Lady, which art called the Mother of mercy; and in the bowels of thy great compassion cleanse me from mine iniquities."

54. "O Lady, in thy name save me, and from mine unrighteousness deliver me," &c.

70. "Make haste, O Lady, to help me," &c. "Have mercy on thy servants, upon whom thy name is invoked," &c.

71. "In thee, Lady, have I put my trust: let me not be confounded for ever; in thy mercy deliver me," &c.

79. "O Lady, the Gentiles are come into the inheritance of God, whom thou didst join unto Christ by thy merits," &c.

89. "Thou that rulest Israel," &c. "The favour of life cometh from her, and all health floweth out of her heart," &c.

91. "Whoso dwelleth in the help of the Mother of God, shall dwell in the shadow of her protection," &c. "Cry unto her in your dangers, and the scourge shall not come near your tabernacle. The fruit of grace shall be to him whoso trusteth in her, and the gate of paradise shall be open unto him."

95. "Come let us rejoice to our Lady," &c. "Receive our souls at our last end, and bring them into everlasting rest," &c.

105. "Praise our Lady, and call upon her name," &c. "Everlasting salvation is in thy hand, O Lady," &c.

110. "The Lord said unto our Lady, Sit here, my Mother, on my right hand," &c.

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114. "In the passing of my soul out of this world, come and meet it, O Lady, and receive it," &c. "Be to it a ladder to the kingdom of heaven, and a right way to the paradise of God," &c.

119. "The whole earth is full of thy mercies, and therefore I will search out the way of thy justifications," &c. "I will covet for ever to praise thee, O Lady, when thou shalt teach me thy justifications," &c.

125. "They that put their trust in thee, O Mother of God, shall not be afraid of the face of their enemy," &c.

127. "Except our Lady shall build the house of our heart, the building thereof shall not continue."

128. "Blessed is every one that feareth our Lady, and blessed be all they which know to do her will," &c.

130. "Out of the deep I have called unto thee, O Lady, O Lady, hear my voice," &c.

132. "O Lady, remember David, and all them that call upon thy name," &c.

134. "Behold and bless now our Lady, all ye that put your trust in her holy name."

136. "At the floods of Babylon," &c. "There is no propitiation to be found without her," &c.

140. "Deliver me, O Lady, from all evil, and from the infernal enemy defend me," &c.

145. "Our eyes look up and trust in thee. Do thou send us meat and food convenient," &c. "My tongue shall speak thy praise, and shall bless thee for ever."

148. "Praise thou our Lady, O Jerusalem, and glorify her also, O thou Sion; for she buildeth up thy walls, and blesseth thy children. Her grace maketh thee fat, and giveth peace unto thy coasts," &c.

I could recite also other things more of like blasphemy, following immediately after this Psalter of our Lady, in the seraphical doctor aforesaid, as these:

"Behold, my Lady, my saviour; I will be bold in thee, and will not fear," &c. "Because thou art my strength, and art become my salvation," &c.

"Rejoice, O all mankind, because the Lord thy God hath given unto thee such a mediatrix," &c.

"I will confess to thee, O Lady, because thou hast hid these things from the wise, and hast revealed them to the little ones."

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"O thou wicked and peevish generation, acknowledge our Lady thy saviour. Is not she the mother that hath possessed thee, and in faith hath begotten thee?"

"O thou blessed, in thy hands is laid up our salvation," &c.

"In thy name let every knee bend, in heaven and earth, and in hell."

"Like as an infant cannot live without the nurse, so neither canst thou have salvation without our Lady."

"Whoso will be saved, before all things he must needs hold his belief of our Lady: which belief, unless every one shall hold perfect and sound, he shall perish, without doubt, for ever."

Moreover, after these so horrible things and intolerable to be heard, consequently in the next tractation followeth the Rosary or Garland of our Lady, compiled by the said St. Bonaventure; wherein these words are to be read as followeth:

"O mediatrix between God and man, the Lord hath worthily magnified thee, that thou only shouldest conceive his Son. Wherefore, O good Mary our mediatrix, mother of grace, and mother of mercy," &c.

And moreover, within few lines it followeth in these words:

"Therefore, O our empress and Lady most bountiful, by the authority of a mother command, command (I say) thy well-beloved Son, that he will stir up our minds from the love of worldly things, to heavenly desires," &c.

Item, "O the advocate of the miserable, the eyes of thy servants be directed to thee," &c.

To these premises I might also adjoin the horrible and most blasphemous words of the said Bonaventure in the said book, fol. 100, p. 2, col. 1, which I beseech thee to read and note, "What greater goodness can be, than that Christ is content to be captive upon the altar?"

Whereupon he speaketh in the person of Jeremy, saying:

"Behold, I am in your hands; do with me as you see good," &c. "Where note," saith he, "that when any duke or prince is taken prisoner for his subjects, he is not let go, before he pay some great sum of money for his ransom. Even so neither we ought to let Christ go out of our hands, being our prisoner and captive, except he grant unto us remission of our sins and his heavenly kingdom. The priest therefore lifteth up the body of Christ upon the altar, as though he said thus, Behold him whom the whole world is not able to comprehend; he is holden here our captive; wherefore let us hold him fast, and not let him go before we obtain of him our requests," &c.

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Notes: The Church of Rome examined.

Is not here good catholic stuff, Christian reader, trow you? Confer, I beseech you, this doctrine with the doctrine of the apostles, who teach us that we are fully complete in Christ, and I will refer me to no better judge than to your own conscience. And now therefore, if any man have been in doubt in times past of the doctrine and proceedings of the Church of Rome, whether it be rightly charged with blind errors, with blasphemy intolerable, and idolatry abominable, or not, here now may he be fully certified and resolved. For where was ever idolatry or blasphemy to be found, if it be not here in this Matins and Psalter of our Lady? If idolatry be to make an idol to be worshipped as God, which is no God, what do we here but make an idol of our Lady, (as we call her,) to be worshipped with no less dignity, glory, authority, reverence, and service, than is the Lord God himself? And as he is called our Lord, so she is called our Lady. And if he be King, yet she is the Queen of heaven. And though he have the name of God, yet she beareth so the title of the Mother of God; that as mothers have authority over their children, so she is willed to show herself to be his mother, to cause him to grant our petitions. Finally, if he be our patron, yet is she our patroness. The commandment saith, "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve." And what worship or service can we give to God, more than we do ascribe unto her? or what benefit is to be asked at the hands of Christ our Saviour, which is not equally asked of her? To save our souls, to give us peace, to grant grace, to comfort the desperate, to loose our captivity, to release our sins, to deliver from the fiend, to bring to heaven, &c. To her we pray, we cry, we creep, we sigh, we groan, we knock and kneel, to her we trust; and if we believe not also in our Lady, we be heretics *ipso facto*.

Furthermore, as Christ our only Lord and Saviour hath his church and congregation, which professeth his name, of whom we are called Christians; so neither is she likewise without her chapels, her cloisters, her chapters, fraternities, and brotherhoods, which professing her name in like sort, are called our Lady's Brethren, or White Friars, besides an innumerable sort of other patrons of churches, of whom every one hath his peculiar church and religion by himself, yet all these together be included under the general devotion of our Lady, their supreme patroness and governess.

Now to proceed further to the other part of the commandment, which saith, "Him only shalt thou serve." What service hath the Lord in all the church, but our Lady also jointly with him hath the like? Her mass, her matins, her even-song, her hours and compline, her rosaries, her anthems, her collects, her primer, her psalter; her holy-days likewise, yea, five to one. Finally, as the Lord hath his prayer called the Lord's Prayer, so hath she her Ave Marias, yea, ten Ayes to one Paternoster; yea, and read further in the said Bonaventure, and ye shall see her also to have her *Te Deum*, her *Benedictus*, her *Magnificat*; and also her *Quicunque vult*.

If the Lord our God had not expressed unto us his own will by plain words, limiting unto us by express injunction what to believe, what to follow, and how to worship and serve him, and how to receive from him our salvation; but had left us to the imagination of our own inventions, every man to shift for himself after his own policy; then, peradventure, this way taken by the pope's church, to make friends and mediators between God and us, for reconciliation, remission, and salvation, might have some rhyme or reason; but now God's word doth bind us, doth prescribe and limit us precisely, in every point touching salvation, what to believe, and what to

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do, showing us plainly that we cannot be saved, but by the blood of his Son only, neither can be justified but by faith only in the same Christ his Son: wherefore, not to believe that which he hath promised, is infidelity, and to follow any other belief than he hath set us, is plain idolatry. The which two special errors most commonly do follow the doctrine of the Romish church, as not only in this Primer and Psalter of our Lady aforesaid, but also in all their proceedings, teachings, and preachings besides, may well appear. For whereas the Scripture doth perfectly promise and pronounce us to be justified through our faith in Christ, and willeth us to seek our salvation no where else, but only in the merits of Jesus: the institution of the Church of Rome neither will receive that God hath freely given, (wherein standeth infidelity,) neither yet will seek the same there where they should, but in the merits and prayers of our Lady, of St. John Baptist, St. Peter and Paul, St. Andrew, St. Nicholas, St. Thomas of Canterbury; and by the worthiness of the material cross, and such other unlawful means, wherein standeth plain idolatry. And yet such books as these can be suffered among the catholics to be current, as good, wholesome, and lawful books; whereas the other, which lead us the true way from infidelity and blind idolatry to true Christianity, in no wise can be sufferable. But of this to complain it is vain. Wherefore to pass from this proclamation, let us proceed (God willing) in the course of our history.

291. Thomas Osmond, William Bamford, Thomas Osborne, and Others.



ention was made before, in the story of Thomas Haukes, of six prisoners besides, which were sent down with him to Essex, the same time as he went to execution; of which six prisoners, three were sent to be burned, the other three to recant, and to do penance: of whom it followeth next in the story now to entreat. The names of which six were these, Thomas Osmond, fuller; William Bamford, alias Butler, weaver; Thomas Osborne, fuller; Nicholas Chamberlain, weaver; Thomas Brodehill, weaver; Richard Web, weaver; being all of the town of Coggeshall. All which six Coggeshall men, next after the examination of Thomas Haukes, and

Thomas Wats, were sent up to Bonner to be examined, by the earl of Oxford 'and Sir Philip Paris, knight, with a letter also with them sent, the copy whereof here followeth.

"After our hearty commendations unto your good Lordship, this shall be to advertise the same, that the constables of Coggeshall within your diocese, have brought before us this day six persons dwelling in the town of Coggeshall aforesaid, whose names hereafter do follow, videlicet, Nicholas Chamberlain, weaver; John Wallet, fuller; Thomas Brodehill, weaver; Richard Web, weaver; William Bamford, alias Butler, weaver; and Thomas Osborne, fuller; for that they, at the feast of Easter now last, have not obeyed to the order of the holy catholic church in receiving of the sacraments, but obstinately refusing the same, besides the holding of divers other opinions, contrary to the faith of the said church. Wherefore we have thought it good to send the same persons unto your good Lordship further to be ordered, as in such case shall appertain. Thus we commit your good Lordship to the keeping of Almighty God.—From Heddingham the first of May, Anno 1555.

"Your Lordship's assuredly, OXFORD.
PHILIP PARIS."

Thus the said prisoners being sent up the first day of May, were brought before the said bishop the seventeenth of the said month, to be examined upon divers and sundry articles ministered and objected against them; whereunto they were compelled to answer, and to put their hands to the same.

These articles in the same form and manner of words are commonly objected to all others that follow after, with the same answers also thereunto annexed. In which articles thou mayest note, reader, the crafty and subtle handling of these lawyers and registrars, who so deceitfully frame their articles and positions, that unless a man do advisedly consider them, it is hard for a simple man to answer to them, but he shall be snared and entangled. So they paint their church with such a visage of universal, whole, holy, catholic—as who should say, he that denieth Rome,

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denieth the holy church of Christ here in earth. Likewise in examining them, and specially the simple sort in the matter of the sacrament, to the material bread in the sacrament they put this word "only" very captiously and fraudulently, to take them at the worst advantage, making the people believe that they take the holy sacrament to be no better than only common bread: when they do not so, but make a difference between the same, both in the use, honour, and name thereof.

Again, when the examiners hold but only against the erroneous points of Romish religion, these bishops in their interrogatories give out the matter so generally, as though the said examiners in general spake against all the articles of faith taught in Rome, Spain, England, France, Scotland, &c.

Moreover, concerning Latin service, in such crafty form of words they propound their article, that it might appear to the people, these men do deny any service to be lawful in any place, country, or language, but only in English.

And as these articles are craftily, captiously, and deceitfully in form of words devised by these bishops and their notaries: so the answers again to the same, be no less subtly framed, and after the most odious manner put down in the name of the examiners; which being read unto them, thus without further advice they were constrained, upon a sudden, to subscribe the same with their hands. Whereby, if any word escaped their hand, peradventure not considerably subscribed, there the papists take their advantage against them, to defame them, and to bring them into hatred with the people.

These articles thus propounded and answered, they were until the afternoon dismissed; at what time they did again appear, and there were examined, and travailed with by fair and flattering speeches, as well of the bishop as of others his assistants, to recant and revoke their opinions, who notwithstanding remained constant and firm, and therefore, after the common usage of their ecclesiastical laws, were sent away again until the next day, being Saturday, and the eighteenth day of May. Then in the forenoon the bishop, using his accustomed manner of proceeding, which he had used before as well with them as with others, did likewise dismiss them; and at last, in the afternoon, condemned them as heretics, and so delivered them to the sheriffs, in whose custody they remained until they were delivered to the sheriff of Essex, and by him were executed; Chamberlain at Colchester, the fourteenth of June; Thomas Osmond at Manningtree, the fifteenth of June; and William Bamford, alias Butler, at Harwich, the same fifteenth day in the month of June.

292. John Bradford.

As touching the first country and education of John Bradford, he was born at Manchester in Lancashire. His parents did bring him up in learning from his infancy, until he attained such knowledge in the Latin tongue, and skill in writing, that he was able to gain his own living in some honest condition. Then he became servant to Sir John Harrington, knight, who in the great affairs of King Henry the Eighth, and King Edward the Sixth, which he had in hand when he was treasurer of the king's camps and buildings, at divers times, in Boulogne, had such experience of Bradford's activity in writing, his expertness in the art of auditors, as also of his faithful trustiness, that not only in those affairs, but in many other of his private business he trusted Bradford in such sort, that above all others he used his faithful service.

Thus continued Bradford certain years in a right honest and good trade of life, after the course of this world, like to come forward, (as they say,) if his mind could have so liked, or had been given to the world as many other be. But the Lord, who had elected him unto a better function, and preordained him to preach the gospel of Christ in that hour of grace which, in his secret counsel, he had appointed, called this his chosen child to the understanding and partaking of the same gospel of life: in which call he was so truly taught, that forthwith this effectual call was perceived by the fruits. For then Bradford did forsake his worldly affairs and forwardness in worldly wealth, and, after the just account given to his master of all his doings, he departed from him; and with marvellous favour to further the kingdom of God by the ministry of his holy word, he gave himself wholly to the study of the Holy Scriptures. The which his purpose to accomplish the better, he departed from the Temple at London, where the temporal law is studied, and went to the university of Cambridge, to learn by God's law how to further the building of the Lord's temple. In Cambridge his diligence in study, his profiting in knowledge and godly conversation, so pleased all men, that within one whole year after that he had been there, the university did give him the degree of a master of arts.

Immediately after, the master and fellows of Pembroke Hall did give him a fellowship in their college with them: yea, that man of God, Martin Bucer, so liked him, that he had him not only most dear unto him, but also oftentimes exhorted him to bestow his talent in preaching. Unto which Bradford answered always, that he was unable to serve in that office through want of learning. To the which Bucer was wont to reply, saying, "If thou have not fine manchet bread, yet give the poor people barley bread, or whatsoever else the Lord hath committed unto thee." And while Bradford was thus persuaded to enter into the ministry, Dr. Ridley, that worthy bishop of London, and glorious martyr of Christ, according to the order that then was in the Church of England, called him to take the degree of a deacon, which order, because it was not without some such abuse, as to the which Bradford would not consent, the bishop yet, perceiving that Bradford was willing to enter into the ministry, was content to order him deacon without any abuse, even as he desired. This being done, he obtained for him a licence to preach, and did give him a prebend in his cathedral church of St. Paul's.

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In this preaching office by the space of three years, how faithfully Bradford walked, how diligently he laboured, many parts of England can testify. Sharply he opened and reproved sin, sweetly he preached Christ crucified, pithily he impugned heresies and errors, earnestly he persuaded to godly life. After the death of blessed young King Edward the Sixth, when Queen Mary had gotten the crown, still continued Bradford diligent in preaching, until he was unjustly deprived both of his office and liberty by the queen and her council. To the doing whereof (because they had no just cause) they took occasion to do this injury, for such an act as among Turks and infidels would have been with thankfulness rewarded, and with great favour accepted, as indeed it did no less deserve. The fact was this: the thirteenth of August, in the first year of the reign of Queen Mary, Master Bourn, then bishop of Bath, made a seditious sermon at Paul's Cross in London, as partly is declared before, to set popery abroad, in such sort that it moved the people to no small indignation, being almost ready to pull him out of the pulpit. Neither could the reverence of the place, nor the presence of Bishop Bonner, who then was his master, nor yet the commandment of the mayor of London, whom the people ought to have obeyed, stay their rage; but the more they spake, the more the people were incensed. At length Bourn, seeing the people in such a mood, and himself in such peril, (whereof he was sufficiently warned by the hurling of a drawn dagger at him, as he stood in the pulpit,) and that he was put from ending his sermon, fearing lest (against his will) he should there end his wretched life, desired Bradford, who stood in the pulpit behind him, to come forth, and to stand in his place and speak to the people. Good Bradford, at his request, was content, and there spake to the people of godly and quiet obedience: whom as soon as the people saw to begin to speak unto them, so glad they were to hear him, that they cried with a great shout,—“Bradford, Bradford; God save thy life, Bradford!”—well declaring not only what affection they bare unto him, but also what regard they gave unto his words. For after that he had entered a little to preach unto them, and to exhort them to quiet and patience, eftsoons all the raging ceased, and in the end quietly departed each man to his house. Yet in the mean season (for it was a long time before that so a great multitude could all depart) Bourn thought (and truly) himself not yet full sure of his life till he were safely housed, notwithstanding that the mayor and sheriffs of London were there at hand to help them. Wherefore he desired Bradford not to depart from him till he were in safety: which Bradford, according to his promise, performed. For while the mayor and sheriffs did lead Bourn to the schoolmaster's house, which is next to the pulpit, Bradford went at his back, shadowing him from the people with his gown, and so to set him safe.

Let the reader now consider the peril of Bourn, the charity of Bradford, and the headiness of the multitude, and also the grudging minds of certain, which yet still there remained behind; grieved not a little in their minds, to see that so good a man should save the life of such a popish priest, so impudently and openly railing against King Edward; among whom one gentleman said these words: “Ah Bradford, Bradford, thou savest him that will help to burn thee. I give thee his life. If it were not for thee, I would (I assure thee) run him through with my sword.” Thus Bourn for that time, through Bradford's means, escaped bodily death: but God hath his judgment to be showed in the time appointed.

The same Sunday in the afternoon, Bradford preached at the Bow Church in Cheapside, and reproved the people sharply for their seditious misdemeanour. After this he did abide still in London, with an innocent conscience, to try what should become of his just doing. Within three days after, he was sent for to the Tower of London, where the queen then was, to appear there

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before the council. There was he charged with this act of saving of Bourn, which act they there called seditious, and also objected against him for preaching, and so by them he was committed first to the Tower, then unto other prisons, out of which neither his innocency, godliness, nor charitable dealing could purchase to him liberty of body, till by death (which he suffered for Christ's cause) he obtained the heavenly liberty, of which neither pope nor papist shall ever deprive him.

From the Tower he came to the King's Bench in Southwark: and after his condemnation, he was sent to the Compter in the Poultry in London: in which two places, for the time he did remain prisoner, he preached twice a day continually, unless sickness hindered him: where also the sacrament was often ministered, and through his means (the keepers so well did bear with him) such resort of good folks was daily to his lecture, and to the ministration of the sacrament, that commonly his chamber was well nigh filled therewith. Preaching, reading, and praying was all his whole life. He did not eat above one meal a day; which was but very little when he took it; and his continual study was upon his knees. In the midst of dinner he used often to muse with himself, having his hat over his eyes, from whence came commonly plenty of tears dropping on his trencher. Very gentle he was to man and child, and in so good credit with his keeper, that at his desire in an evening (being prisoner in the King's Bench in Southwark) he had licence, upon his promise to return again that night, to go into London without any keeper to visit one that was sick, lying by the Still-yard. Neither did he fail his promise, but returned to his prison again, rather preventing his hour, than breaking his fidelity: so constant was he in word and in deed.

Of personage he was somewhat tall and slender, spare of body, of a faint sanguine colour, with an auburn beard. He slept not commonly above four hours in the night; and in his bed, till sleep came, his book went not out of his hand. His chief recreation was in no gaming or other pastime, but only in honest company, and comely talk, wherein he would spend a little time after dinner at the board; and so to prayer and his book again. He counted that hour not well spent, wherein he did not some good, either with his pen, study, or in exhorting of others, &c. He was no niggard of his purse, but would liberally participate that he had to his fellow prisoners. And commonly once a week he visited the thieves, pick-purses, and such others that were with him in prison, where he lay on the other side, unto whom he would give godly exhortation, to learn the amendment of their lives by their troubles; and, after that so done, distribute among them some portion of money to their comfort.

By the way, this I thought not to conceal. While he was in the King's Bench, and Master Saunders in the Marshalsea, both prisoners, on the backside of those two prisons they met many times, and conferred together when they would: so mercifully did the Lord work for them, even in the midst of their troubles; and the said Bradford was so trusted with his keeper, and had such liberty in the backside, that there was no day but that he might have easily escaped away, if he would; but that the Lord had another work to do for him. In the summer time, while he was in the said King's Bench, he had liberty of his keeper to ride into Oxfordshire, to a merchant's house of his acquaintance, and horse and all things prepared for him for that journey, and the party in readiness that should ride with him: but God prevented him by sickness that he went not at all.

One of his old friends and acquaintance came unto him while he was prisoner, and asked him, if he sued to get him out, what then he would do, or whither he would go? Unto whom he

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made answer, as not caring whether he went out or no: but if he did, he said he would marry, and abide still in England secretly, teaching the people as the time would suffer him, and occupy himself that way. He was had in so great reverence and admiration with all good men, that a multitude, which never knew him but by fame, greatly lamented his death: yea, and a number also of the papists themselves wished heartily his life. There were few days in which he was thought not to spend some tears before he went to bed, neither was there ever any prisoner with him but by his company he greatly profited; as all they will yet witness, and have confessed of him no less, to the glory of God, whose society he frequented; as among many, one special thing I thought to note, which is this:

Bishop Ferrar, being in the King's Bench prisoner, as before you have heard, was travailed withal of the papists in the end of Lent, to receive the sacrament at Easter in one kind, who, after much persuading, yielded to them, and promised so to do. Then (so it happened by God's providence) the Easter-even, the day before he should have done it, was Bradford brought to the King's Bench, prisoner; where the Lord making him his instrument, Bradford only was the mean that the said Bishop Ferrar revoked his promise and word, and would never after yield to be spotted with that papistical pitch; so effectually the Lord wrought by this worthy servant of his. Such an instrument was he in God's church, that few or none there were that knew him, but esteemed him as a precious jewel and God's true messenger.

The night before Bradford was had to Newgate, which was the Saturday night, he was sore troubled divers times in his sleep by dreams, how the chain for his burning was brought to the Compter gate, and how the next day, being Sunday, he should be had to Newgate, and on the Monday after burned in Smithfield; as indeed it came to pass accordingly, which hereafter shall be showed. Now he, being vexed so oftentimes in this sort with these dreams, about three of the clock in the morning he waked him that lay with him, and told him his unquiet sleep, and what he was troubled withal. Then, after a little talk, Master Bradford rose out of the bed, and gave himself to his old exercise of reading and prayer, as always he had used before; and at dinner, according to his accustomed manner, he did eat his meat, and was very merry, nobody being with him from morning to night, but he that lay with him, with whom he had many times on that day communication of death, of the kingdom of heaven, and of the ripeness of sin in that time.

In the afternoon they two walking together in the keeper's chamber, suddenly the keeper's wife came up, as one half amazed, and seeming much troubled, being almost windless, said, "O Master Bradford, I come to bring you heavy news." "What is that?" said he. "Marry," quoth she, "tomorrow you must be burned; and your chain is now a buying, and soon you must go to Newgate." With that Master Bradford put off his cap, and lifting up his eyes to heaven, said, "I thank God for it; I have looked for the same a long time, and therefore it cometh not now to me suddenly, but as a thing waited for every day and hour; the Lord make me worthy thereof!" And so, thanking her for her gentleness, he departed up into his chamber, and called his friend with him, who when he came thither, he went secretly himself alone a long time, and prayed: which done, he came again to him that was in his chamber, and took him divers writings and papers, and showed him his mind in those things what he would have done, and after they had spent the afternoon till night in many and sundry such things, at last came to him half a dozen of his friends more, with whom all the evening he spent the time in prayer, and other good exercise, so wonderfully, that it was marvellous to hear and see his doings.

A little before he went out of the Compter, he made a notable prayer of his farewell, with such plenty of tears, and abundant spirit of prayer, that it ravished the minds of the hearers. Also when he shifted himself with a clean shirt that was made for his burning, (by one Master Walter Marlar's wife, who was a good nurse unto him, and his very good friend,) he made such a prayer of the wedding-garment, that some of those that were present were in such great admiration, that their eyes were as throughly occupied in looking on him, as their ears gave place to hear his prayer. At his departing out of the chamber, he made likewise a prayer, and gave money to every servant and officer of the house, with exhortation to them to fear and serve God, continually labouring to eschew all manner of evil. That done, he turned him to the wall and prayed vehemently, that his words might not be spoken in vain, but that the Lord would work the same in them effectually, for his Christ's sake. Then being beneath in the court, all the prisoners cried out to him, and bade him farewell, as the rest of the house had done before, with weeping tears.

The time they carried him to Newgate, was about eleven or twelve o'clock in the night, when it was thought none would be stirring abroad: and yet, contrary to their expectation in that behalf, was there in Cheapside and other places, (between the Compter and Newgate,) a great multitude of people that came to see him, which most gently bade him farewell, praying for him with most lamentable and pitiful tears; and he again as gently bade them farewell, praying most heartily for them and their welfare. Now, whether it were a commandment from the queen and her council, or from Bonner and his adherents, or whether it were merely devised of the lord mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs of London, or no, I cannot tell; but a great noise there was overnight about the city by divers, that Bradford should be burnt the next day in Smithfield, by four of the clock in the morning, before it should be greatly known to any. In which rumour, many heads had divers minds; some thinking the fear of the people to be the cause thereof: others thought nay, that it was rather because the papists judged his death would convert many to the truth, and give a great overthrow to their kingdom. So some thought one thing, and some another, that no just conjecture of the cause could be known that ever I heard yet. But this was certain, the people prevented the device suspected: for the next day, at the said hour of four o'clock in the morning, there was in Smithfield such a multitude of men and women, that many being in admiration thereof, thought it was not possible that they could have warning of his death, being so great number, in so short a time, unless it were by the singular providence of Almighty God.

Well, this took not effect as the people thought; for that morning it was nine o'clock of the day, before Master Bradford was brought into Smithfield; who, in going through Newgate thitherward, spied a friend of his whom he loved, standing on the one side of the way to the keeper's housewards, unto whom he reached his hand over the people, and plucked him to him, and delivered to him from his head his velvet night-cap, and also his handkerchief, with other things besides. And after a little secret talk with him, and each of them parting from other, immediately came to him a brother-in-law of his, called Roger Beswick, who, as soon as he had taken the said Bradford by the hand, one of the sheriffs of London, called Woodrofe, came with his staff, and brake the said Roger's head, that the blood ran about his shoulders; which sight Bradford beholding with grief, bade his brother farewell, willing him to commend him to his mother and the rest of his friends, and to get him to some surgeon betimes: so they, departing, had little or no talk at all together. Then was he led forth to Smithfield with a great company of

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weaponed men, to conduct him thither, as the like was not seen at any man's burning: for in every corner of Smithfield there were some, besides those that stood about the stake.



Bradford on his way to execution

Bradford then, being come to the place, fell flat to the ground, secretly making his prayers to Almighty God. Then rising again, and putting off his clothes unto his shirt, he went to the stake, and there suffered with a young man of twenty years of age, joyfully and constantly, whose name was John Leaf: touching the order and manner of whose burning, more shall be said (God willing) hereafter. In the mean time we will now show forth the sundry examinations, conflicts, and conferences between him and other his adversaries, during the time of his imprisonment, which was in all two years lacking one month and a half; which examinations here follow to be declared.

It was before a little above declared, that John Bradford, within three days after the sermon of Master Bourn, was by the council committed to the Tower, where he remained from the month of August, A. D. 1553, to the twenty-second day of January, A. D. 1555; upon which day he was called out to examination before Stephen Winchester and other of the commissioners.

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The effect of which examination and communication which passed between him and them, proceeded in manner as followeth.

After the lord chancellor, and the residue of the queen's council in commission with him, had ended their talk with Master Ferrar, late bishop of St. David's, the under-marshal of the King's Bench was commanded to bring in John Bradford; who, being come into the presence of the council sitting at a table, kneeled down on his knee; but immediately, by the lord chancellor, was bidden to stand up: and so he did.

When he was risen, the lord chancellor earnestly looked upon him, to have, belike, over-faced him: but he gave no place; that is, he ceased not in like manner to look on the lord chancellor still continually, save that once he cast up his eyes to heaven-ward, sighed for God's grace, and so over-faced him.

Then the lord chancellor, as it were amazed, and something troubled, spake thus to him in effect: that of long time he had been imprisoned justly for his seditious behaviour at Paul's Cross, the thirteenth of August, in the year 1553, for his false preaching and arrogance, taking upon him to preach without authority. "But now," quoth he, "the time of mercy is come: and therefore the queen's Highness, minding to offer unto you mercy, hath by us sent for you, to declare and give the same, if so be you will with us return: and if you will do as we have done, you shall find as we have found, I warrant you." This was the sum of his words, and in manner the same words which he spake. To these words John Bradford spake (after reverent obeisance made) in this manner:—

"My Lord and Lords all; I confess that I have been long imprisoned, and (with humble reverence be it spoken) unjustly, for that I did nothing seditiously, falsely, or arrogantly, in word or fact, by preaching or otherwise, but rather sought truth, peace, and all godly quietness, as an obedient and faithful subject, both in going about to save the now bishop of Bath, then Master Bourn, the preacher at the Cross, and in preaching for quietness accordingly."

At these words, or rather before he had fully finished, the said lord chancellor something snuffed, and speaking with an admiration, said:-

L. Chan.—"There was a loud lie: for," quoth he, "the fact was seditious; as you my Lord of London can bear witness."

Bonner.—"You say true, my Lord; I saw him with mine own eyes, when he took upon him to rule and lead the people malapertly; thereby declaring that he was the author of the sedition."

Bradford.—"My Lords, notwithstanding my Lord Bishop's seeing and saying, yet the truth I have told, as one day my Lord God Almighty shall reveal to all the world, when we shall all come and appear before him. In the mean season, because I cannot be believed of you, I must and am ready to suffer, as now your sayings be, whatsoever God shall license you to do unto me."

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L. Chan.—"I know thou hast a glorious tongue, and goodly shows thou makest: but all is lies thou speakest. And again, I have not forgotten how stubborn thou wast when thou wast before us in the Tower, whereupon thou wast committed to prison concerning religion: I have not forgotten thy behaviour and talk, where-through worthily thou hast been kept in prison, as one that would have done more hurt than I will speak of."

Brad.—"My Lord, as I said I say again, that I stand as before you, so before God; and one day we shall all stand before him: the truth then will be the truth, though now ye will not so take it. Yea, my Lord, I dare say, that my Lord of Bath, Master Bourn, will witness with me, that I sought his safe-guard with the peril of mine own life; I thank God there-for."

Bonner.—"That is not true: for I myself did see thee take upon thee too much."

Brad.—"No, I took nothing upon me undesired, and that of Master Bourn himself, as, if he were here present, I dare say he would affirm. For he desired me both to help him to pacify the people, and also not to leave him till he was in safety. And as for my behaviour in the Tower, and talk before your Honours, if I did or said any thing that did not beseem me, if your Lordships would tell me wherein it was, I should and would shortly make you answer."

L. Chan.—"Well, to leave this matter: how sayest thou now? Wilt thou return again, and do as we have done, and thou shalt receive the queen's mercy and pardon."

Brad.—"My Lord, I desire mercy with God's mercy; but mercy with God's wrath, God keep me from! although (I thank God there-for) my conscience doth not accuse me, that I did speak any thing wherefore I should need to receive the queen's mercy or pardon. For all that ever I did or spake, was both agreeable to God's laws, and the laws of the realm at that present, and did make much to quietness."

L. Chan.—"Well, if thou make this babbling rolling in thy eloquent tongue, and yet being altogether ignorant and vain-glorious, and wilt not receive mercy offered to thee, know for truth that the queen is minded to make a purgation of all such as thou art."

Brad.—"The Lord, before whom I stand as well as before you, knoweth what vain-glory I have sought, and seek in this behalf: his mercy I desire, and also would he be glad of the queen's favour, to live as a subject without clog of conscience. But otherwise, the Lord's mercy is better to me than life. And I know to whom I have committed my life, even into his hands which will keep it, so that no man may take it away before it be his pleasure. There are twelve hours in the day, and as long as they last, so long shall no man have power thereon: therefore his good will be done. Life, in his displeasure, is worse than death; and death, with his true favour, is true life."

L. Chan.—"I know well enough, that we shall have glorious talk enough of thee: be sure therefore that as thou hast deceived the people with false and devilish doctrine, so shalt thou receive."

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Brad.—"I have not deceived the people, nor taught any other doctrine than, by God's grace, I am, and hope shall be, ready to confirm with my life. And as for the devilishness and falseness in the doctrine, I would be sorry you could so prove it."

Durham.—"Why, tell me, what say you by the ministration of the communion, as now you know it is?"

Brad.—"My Lord, here I must desire of your Lordship and of all your Honours a question, before I dare make you an answer to any interrogatory or question, wherewith you now begin. I have been six times sworn that I shall in no case consent to the practising of any jurisdiction, or any authority on the bishop of Rome's behalf within this realm of England. Now, before God, I humbly pray your Honours to tell me, whether you ask me this question by his authority, or no? If you do, I dare not, nor may answer you any thing in his authority, which you shall demand of me, except I would be forsworn, which God forbid."

Sec. Bourne.—"Hast thou been sworn six times? What office hast thou borne?"

Brad.—"Forsooth I was thrice sworn in Cambridge, when I was admitted master of arts; when I was admitted fellow of Pembroke hall; and when I was there, the visitors came thither, and sware the university. Again, I was sworn when I entered into the ministry; when I had a prebend given me; and when I was sworn to serve the king, a little before his death."

L. Chan.—"Tush, Herod's oaths a man should make no conscience at."

Brad.—"But, my Lord, these were no Herod's oaths, no unlawful oaths, but oaths according to God's word, as you yourself have well affirmed in your book, *De Vera Obedientia*."

"My Lords," quoth another of the council that stood by the table, (Master Rochester, I ween,) "I never knew wherefore this man was in prison before now: but I see well that it had not been good that this man had been abroad. What the cause was that he was put in prison, I know not; but I now well know that not without a cause he was, and is to be, kept in prison."

Bourne.—"Yea, it was reported this parliament time by the earl of Derby, that he hath done more hurt by letters, and exhorting those that have come to him, in religion, than ever he did when he was abroad by preaching. In his letters he curseth all that teach any false doctrine, (for so he calleth that which is not according to that he taught,) and most heartily exhorted them to whom he writeth to continue still in that they have received by him, and such-like as he is." All which words divers of the council affirmed. Whereunto the said Master Bourne added, saying, "How say you, sir? have you not thus seditiously written and exhorted the people?"

Brad.—"I have not written nor spoken any thing seditiously, neither (I thank God therefor) have I admitted any seditious cogitation, nor I trust ever shall do."

Bourne.—"Yea, but thou hast written letters."

L. Chan.—"Why speakest thou not? Hast thou not written as he saith?"

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Brad.—"That I have written, I have written."

Southwell.—"Lord God, what an arrogant and stubborn boy is this, that thus stoutly and dallyingly behaveth himself before the queen's council!"—Whereat one looked upon another with disdainful countenances.

Brad.—"My Lords and Masters, the Lord God, which is and will be judge to us all, knoweth, that as I am certain I stand now before his Majesty; so, with reverence in his sight, I stand before you, and unto you accordingly in words and gesture I desire to behave myself. If you otherwise take it, I doubt not but God in his time will reveal it. In the mean season I shall suffer with all due obedience your sayings and doings too, I hope."

L. Chan.—"These be gay glorious words of reverence; but, as in all other things, so herein also, thou doest nothing but lie."

Brad.—"Well, I would God, the author of truth, and abhorrer of lies, would pull my tongue out of my head before you all, and show a terrible judgment on me here present, if I have purposed or do purpose to lie before you, whatsoever you shall ask me."

L. Chan.—"Why then dost thou not answer? Hast thou written such letters as here we objected against thee?"

Brad.—"As I said, my Lord, that I have written, I have written. I stand now before you, which either can lay my letters to my charge or no: if you lay any thing to my charge that I have written, if I deny it, I am then a liar."

L. Chan.—"We shall never have done with thee, I perceive now: be short, be short. Wilt thou have mercy?"

Brad.—"I pray God give me his mercy; and if therewith you will extend yours, I will not refuse it: but, otherwise, I will none."

Here now was much ado, one speaking this, and another that, of his arrogancy, in refusing the queen's pardon, which she so lovingly did offer unto him: whereto Bradford answered thus:

Brad.—"My Lords, if I may live as a quiet subject without clog of conscience, I shall heartily thank you for your pardon; if otherwise I behave myself, then I am in danger of the law. In the mean season I ask no more but the benefit of a subject, till I be convinced of transgression. If I cannot have this, as hitherto I have not had, God's good will be done."

Upon these words my Lord Chancellor began a long process of the false doctrine wherewith the people were deceived in the days of King Edward, and so turned the end of his talk to Bradford, saying, "How sayest thou?"

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Brad.—"My Lord, the doctrine taught in King Edward's days was God's pure religion: the which as I then believed, so do I now more believe it than ever I did, and therein I am more confirmed, and ready to declare it by God's grace, even as he will, to the world, than I was when I first came into prison."

Durham.—"What religion mean you in King Edward's days? What year of his reign?"

Brad.—"Forsooth even the same year, my Lord, that the king died, and I was a preacher." Here wrote Secretary Bourne I wot not what.

Now after a little pausing, my lord chancellor beginneth again to declare, that the doctrine taught in King Edward's days was heresy; using for probation and demonstration thereof, no Scripture nor reason, but this: that it ended with treason and rebellion, "so that," quoth he, "the very end were enough to improve that doctrine to be naught."

Brad.—"Ah, my Lord! that you could enter in God's sanctuary, and mark the end of this present doctrine that you now so magnify."

L. Chan.—"What meanest thou by that? I ween we shall have a snatch of rebellion even now."

Brad.—"My Lord, I mean no such end as you would gather: I mean an end which no man seeth, but such as enter into God's sanctuary. If a man look on present things, he will soon deceive himself."

Here now did my Lord Chancellor offer again mercy; and Bradford answered, as before, mercy with God's mercy should be welcome, but otherwise he would none. Whereupon the lord chancellor did ring a little bell, belike to call in somebody: for there were present none in manner, but only those before named, and the bishop of Worcester. Now when one was come in; "It is best," quoth Master Secretary Bourne, "that you give the keeper a charge of this fellow." So was the under-marshal called in.

L. Chan.—"Ye shall take this man to you, and keep him close without conference with any man, but by your knowledge; and suffer him not to write any letters," &c., "for he is of another manner of charge unto you now, than he was before."

And so they departed, Bradford looking as cheerfully as any man could do, declaring thereby even a desire to give his life for confirmation of that he had taught and written.

The effect of the second examination of John Bradford.

After the excommunication of John Rogers, John Bradford was called in, and standing before the lord chancellor and other bishops set with him, the said lord chancellor spake thus in effect:

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"Whereas before the twenty-second of January, the said Bradford was called before them, (the said lord chancellor, &c.,) and they offered unto him the queen's pardon, although he had contemned the same, and further said, that he would stiffly and stoutly maintain and defend the erroneous doctrine taught in the days of King Edward the Sixth, yet, in consideration that the queen's Highness was wonderfully merciful, they thought good eftsoons to offer the same mercy again, before it were too late "therefore advise you well," said he, "there is yet space and grace before we so proceed that you be committed to the secular power, as we must do and will do, if you will not follow the example of Master Barlow, and Master Cardmaker;" whom he there commended, adding oratoriously amplifications to move the said Bradford to yield to the religion presently set forth.

After the lord chancellor's long talk, Bradford began on this sort to speak:

Brad.—"My Lord, and my Lords all! as now I stand in your sight before you, so I humbly beseech your Honours to consider, that you sit in the seat of the Lord, who, as David doth witness, is in the congregation of judges, and sitteth in the midst of them judging; and as you would your place to be now of us taken as God's place, so demonstrate yourselves to follow him in your sitting; that is, seek no guiltless blood, nor hunt by questions to bring into the snare, them which are out of the same. At this present I stand before you guilty or guiltless: if guilty, then proceed and give sentence accordingly: if guiltless, then give me the benefit of a subject, which hitherto I could not have."

Here the lord chancellor replied, and said, that the said Bradford began with a true sentence, *Deus stetit in synagoga*, &c. "But," quoth he, "this and all thy gesture declare but hypocrisy and vainglory." And further he made much ado to purge himself, that he sought not guiltless blood; and so began a long process how that Bradford's fact at Paul's Cross was presumptuous, arrogant, and declared a taking upon him to lead the people, which could not but turn to much disquietness, "in that thou," speaking to Bradford, "wast so refract and stout in religion at that present. For the which, as thou wast then committed to prison, so hitherto thou hast been kept in prison, where thou hast written letters to no little hurt to the queen's people, as by report of the earl of Derby, in the parliament house, was credibly declared." And to this he added, "that the said Bradford did stubbornly behave himself the last time he was before them: and therefore not for any other thing now I demand of thee," quoth he, "but of and for thy doctrine and religion."

Brad.—"My Lord, whereas you accuse me of hypocrisy and vain-glory, I must and will leave it to the Lord's declaration, which one day will open yours and my truth and hearty meanings; in the mean season, I will content myself with the testimony of mine own conscience, which if it yield to hypocrisy, could not but have God to be my foe also; and so both God and man were against me. And as for my fact at Paul's Cross, and behaviour before you at the Tower, I doubt not but God will reveal it to my comfort. For if ever I did thing, which God used to public benefit, I think that my deed was one; and yet, for it, I have been and am kept of long time in prison. And as for letters and religion, I answer, as I did the last time I was before you."

L. Chan.—"There didst thou say stubbornly and malapertly, that thou wouldest manly maintain the erroneous doctrine in King Edward's days."

Brad.—"My Lord, I said the last time I was before you, that I had six times taken an oath, that I should never consent to the practising of any jurisdiction on the bishop of Rome's behalf; and therefore durst I not answer to any thing that should be demanded so, lest I should be forsworn, which God forbid. Howbeit, saving mine oath, I said that I was more confirmed in the doctrine set forth publicly in the days of King Edward, than ever I was before I was put in prison: and so I thought I should be, and think yet still I shall be found more ready to give my life as God will, for the confirmation of the same."

L. Chan.—"I remember well that thou madest much ado about needless matter, as though the oath against the bishop of Rome were so great a matter. So others have done before thee, but yet not in such sort as thou hast done: for thou pretendest a conscience in it, which is nothing else but mere hypocrisy."

Brad.—"My conscience is known to the Lord: and whether I deal herein hypocritically or no, he knoweth. As I said therefore then, my Lord, so I say again now, that for fear lest I should be perjured, I dare not make answer to any thing you shall demand of me, if my answering should consent to the confirming or practising of any jurisdiction for the bishop of Rome here in England."

L. Chan.—"Why didst thou begin to tell that we are *dii*, and sit in God's place, and now wilt thou not make us an answer?"

Brad.—"My Lord, I said, you would have your place taken of us now as God's place; and therefore I brought forth that piece of Scripture, that ye might the more be admonished to follow God and his ways at this present, who seeth us all, and well perceiveth whether of conscience I pretend this matter of the oath or no."

L. Chan.—"No, all men may well see thine hypocrisy: for if for thine oath's sake thou didst not answer, then wouldest thou not have spoken as thou didst, and have answered me at the first: but now men well perceive, that this is but a starting-hole to hide thyself in, because thou darest not answer, and so wouldest escape; blinding the simple people's eyes, as though of conscience you did all you do."

Brad.—"That which I spake at the first, was not a replication or an answer to that you spake to me: and therefore I needed not to lay for me mine oath. For I thought you would have more weighed what I did speak, than you did: but, when I perceived you did not consider it, but came to ask matter, whereto by answering I should consent to the practising of jurisdiction on the bishop of Rome's behalf here in England, and so be forsworn; then of conscience and simplicity I spake as I do yet again speak, that I dare not for conscience' sake answer you. And therefore I seek no starting-holes, nor go about to blind the people, as God knoweth. For if you of your honours shall tell me, that you do not ask me any thing whereby mine answering should consent to the practising of the bishop of Rome's jurisdiction, ask me wherein you will, and you shall hear that I will answer you as flatly as any ever did that came before you. I am not afraid of death, I thank God: for I look, and have looked for nothing else at your hands of long time; but I am afraid, when death cometh, I should have matter to trouble my conscience, by the guiltiness of perjury, and therefore do I answer as I do."

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L. Chan.—"These be gay glorious words, full of hypocrisy and vain-glory, and yet dost thou not know that I sit here as bishop of Winchester in mine own diocese, and therefore may do this which I do, and more too?"

Brad.—"My Lord, give me leave to ask you this question, that my conscience may be out of doubt in this matter. Tell me here, before God, all this audience being witness, that you demand of me nothing whereby mine answering should consent to and confirm the practice of jurisdiction for the bishop of Rome here in England, and your Honour shall hear me give you as flat and as plain answers briefly, to whatsoever you shall demand me, as ever any did."

Here the lord chancellor was wonderfully offended, and spake much how the bishop of Rome's authority needed no confirmation of Bradford's answering, nor of any such as he was; and turned his talk to the people, how that Bradford followed crafty covetous merchants, who because they would lend no money to their neighbours when they were in need, would say that they had sworn oft, that they would never lend any more money, because their debtors had so oft deceived them. "Even so thou," quoth he to Bradford, "dost at this present, to cast a mist in the people's eyes, to blear them with a heresy, (which is greater, and more hurtful to the commonwealth, than the other is,) pretend thine oath, whereby the people might make a conscience where they should not. Why speakest thou not?"

Brad.—"My Lord, as I said, I say again: I dare not answer you for fear of perjury, from which God defend me: or else I could tell you that there is a difference between oaths. Some be according to faith and charity, as the oath against the bishop of Rome: some be against faith and charity; as this, to deny by oath, my help to my brother in his need."

Here my Lord Chancellor again was much offended, still saying that Bradford durst not answer, and further made much ado to prove, that the oath against the bishop of Rome was against charity. But Bradford answered, that howsoever his Honour took him, yet he was assured of his meaning, that no fear but the fear of perjury made him unwilling to answer.

"For, as for death, my Lord," quoth Bradford, "as I know there are twelve hours in the day, so with the Lord my time is appointed. And when it shall be his good time, then I shall depart hence: but in the mean season I am safe enough, though all the people had sworn my death. Into his hands have I committed it, and do—his good will be done! And saving mine oath, I will answer you in this behalf, that the oath against the bishop of Rome was not, nor is, against charity."

L. Chan.—"How prove you that?"

Brad.—"Forsooth I prove it thus:

Argument.

"Nothing is against charity, which is with God's word, and not against it.

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"The oath against the bishop of Rome's authority in England is with God's word, and is not against it.

"Ergo, The oath against the bishop of Rome's authority in England, is not against charity."

L. Chan.—"Is it not against God's word, that a man should take a king to be supreme head of the church in his realm?"

Brad.—"No, saving still mine oath, it is not against God's word, but with it, being taken in such sense as it may well be taken: that is, attributing to the king's power the sovereignty in all his dominion."

L. Chan.—"I pray you where find you that?"

Brad.—"I find it in many places, but specially in Romans xiii., where St. Paul writeth, Every soul to be subject to the superior power: but what power? The power verily which beareth the sword; which is not the spiritual, but the temporal power: as Chrysostom full well noteth upon the same place, which your Honour knoweth better than I. He (Chrysostom I mean) there plainly sheweth that bishops, prophets, and apostles, are obedient to the temporal magistrates."

Here yet more the lord chancellor was stirred, and said, how that Bradford went about to deny all obedience to the queen for his oath "and so," quoth he, "this man would make God's word a warrant of disobedience: for he will answer the queen on this sort, that when she saith, 'Now swear to the bishop of Rome, or obey his authority,' 'No,' will he say, 'for I should be forsworn;' and so he makes the queen no queen."

Brad.—"No, I go not about to deny all obedience to the queen's Highness, but denying obedience in this part, if she should demand it. For I was sworn to King Edward, not simply, (that is, not only concerning his own person,) but also concerning his successors, and therefore in denying to do the queen's request herein, I deny not her authority, nor become disobedient."

L. Chan.—"Yes, that thou doest;" and so he began to tell a long tale, how, if a man should make an oath to pay to me a hundred pounds by such a day, and the man to whom it was due would forget the debt, the debtor should say, "No, you cannot do it: for I am forsworn then."

Here Bradford desired my Lord Chancellor not to trifle it, saying, that he wondered his Honour would make solemn oaths made to God, trifles in that sort; and make so great a matter concerning vows (as they call it) made to the bishop for marriage of priests. At these words the lord chancellor was much offended, and said, he did not trifle "but," quoth he, "thou goest about to deny obedience to the queen, who now requireth obedience to the bishop of Rome."

Brad.—"No, my Lord; I do not deny obedience to the queen, if you would discern between genus and species. Because I may not obey in this, ergo, I may not obey in the other, is no good reason. As if a man let or sell a piece of his inheritance, yet, this notwithstanding, all his

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inheritance is not let or sold: and so in this case, all obedience I deny not, because I deny obedience in this branch."

L. Chan.—"I will none of these similitudes."

Brad.—"I would not use them, if that you went not about to persuade the people, that I mean that which I never meant: for I myself not only mean obedience, but will give ensample of all most humble obedience to the queen's Highness, so long as she requireth not obedience against God."

L. Chan.—"No, no, all men may see your meaning well enough. There is no man, though he be sworn to the king, that doth therefore break his oath, if he afterwards be sworn to the French king and to the emperor."

Brad.—"It is true, my Lord, but the cases be not like. For here is an exception: 'Thou shalt not swear to the bishop of Rome at any time.' If, in like manner, we were sworn, 'Thou shalt not serve the emperor,' &c., you see there were some alteration and more doubt. But I beseech your Honour remember what you yourself have written, answering the objections here against in your book, *De Vera Obedientia*: 'Let God's word, and the reason thereof, bear the bell away.'"

Here the lord chancellor was thoroughly moved, and said still, how that Bradford hath written seditious letters, and perverted the people thereby, and did stoutly stand, as though he would defend the erroneous doctrine in King Edward's time, against all men; "and now," quoth he, "he saith he dare not answer."

Brad.—"I have written no seditious letters; I have not perverted the people; but that which I have written and spoken, that will I never deny, by God's grace. And whereas your Lordship saith, that I dare not answer you: that all men may know that I am not afraid, saving mine oath, ask me what you will, and I will plainly make you answer, by God's grace, although I now see my life lieth thereon. But, O Lord! into thy hands I commit it, come what come will; only sanctify thy name in me, as in an instrument of thy grace: Amen. Now ask what you will, and you shall see I am not afraid, by God's grace, flatly to answer."

L. Chan.—"Well then, how say you to the blessed sacrament? Do you not believe there Christ to be present concerning his natural body?"

Brad.—"My Lord, I do not believe that Christ is corporally present at and in the due administration of the sacrament. By this word 'corporally' I mean that Christ is there present corporally unto faith."

L. Chan.—"Unto faith? we must have many more words to make it plain."

Brad.—"You shall so: but first give me leave to speak two words."

L. Chan.—"Speak on."

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Brad.—"I have been now a year and almost three quarters in prison, and in all this time you never questioned me hereabout, when I might have spoken my conscience frankly without peril; but now have you a law to hang up and put to death, if a man answer freely, and not to your appetite: and so now you come to demand this question. Ah, my Lord! Christ used not this way to bring men to faith: no more did the prophets or apostles. Remember what Bernard writeth to Eugene the pope: 'I read that the apostles stood to be judged; but I read not, that they sat to judge. This shall be, that was,' &c."

Here the lord chancellor was appalled, as it seemed, and said most gently that he used not this means. "It was not my doing," quoth he, "although some there be that think this to be the best way: for I, for my part, have been challenged for being too gentle oftentimes." Which thing the bishop of London confirmed, and so did almost all the audience, that he had been ever too mild and too gentle. At which words Bradford spake thus:

Brad.—"My Lord, I pray you stretch out your gentleness, that I may feel it: for hitherto I never felt it."

As soon as ever he had spoken thus, the lord chancellor (belike thinking that Bradford would have had mercy and pardon) said, that with all his heart, not only he, but the queen's Highness, would stretch out mercy, if with them he would return.

Brad.—"Return, my Lord! God save me from that going back: I mean it not so, but I mean, that I was three quarters of a year in the Tower; you forbade me paper, pen, and ink; and never in all that time, nor since, did I feel any gentleness from you. I have rather hitherto found, as I looked for, extremity. And, I thank God, that I perceive now ye have kept me in prison thus long, not for any matter ye had, but for matter ye would have; God's good will be done."

Here now were divers telling my Lord it was dinner-time. And so he rose up, leaving Bradford speaking, and saying that in the afternoon they would speak more with him. And so was he had into the vestry, and was there all that day till dark night, and so was conveyed again to prison.

In the mean time, about four of the clock the same afternoon, a gentleman, called Master Thomas Hussey of Lincolnshire, who was once an officer in the duke of Norfolk's house, did come into the vestry to inquire for one Stoning: and when it was answered him by the under-marshal's officers of the King's Bench, that there was none such, he entered into the house, and took acquaintance of John Bradford, saying, that he would commune and speak with him the next morning, for old acquaintance.

The next morning, about seven of the clock, this gentleman came into the chamber wherein John Bradford did lie, and, being with him, he began a long oration, how that of love and old acquaintance he came unto him, to speak that which he would further utter.

"You did," said the gentleman, "so wonderfully behave yourself before the lord chancellor, and other bishops yesterday, that even the veriest enemies you have, did see that they have no matter against you: and therefore I advise you [speaking as though it came of his own

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good will, without making any other man privy, or any other procuring him, as he said] this day—for anon you shall be called before them again—to desire a time, and men to confer withal: so shall all men think a wonderful wisdom, gravity, and godliness in you: and by this means you shall escape present danger, which else is nearer than you be aware of."

To this John Bradford answered:

Brad.—"I neither can nor will make any such request: for then shall I give occasion to the people, and to all others, to think that I doubt of the doctrine which I confess; the which thing I do not, for thereof I am most assured, and therefore I will give no such offence."

As they were thus talking, the chamber-door was unlocked, and Dr. Seton came in, who, when he saw Master Hussey, "What, sir," quoth he, "are you come before me?" "O Lord!" said Bradford in his heart to God, "goeth the matter thus? This man told me, no man knew of his coming: Lord! give me grace to remember thy lesson, Beware of those men, &c. Cast not your pearls before dogs: for I see these men be come to hunt for matter, that the one may bear witness with the other."

Dr. Seton, after some by-talk of Bradford's age, of his country, and such like, began a gay and long sermon of my Lord of Canterbury, Master Latimer, and Master Ridley, and how they at Oxford were not able to answer any thing at all; and that therefore my Lord of Canterbury desired to confer with the bishop of Durham and others: all which talk tended to this end, that John Bradford should make the like suit, being in nothing to be compared in learning to my Lord of Canterbury. To this John Bradford briefly answered as he did before to Master Hussey. With this answer neither the doctor nor gentleman being contented, after many persuasions, Master Doctor said thus:

Dr. Seton.—"I have heard much good talk of you, and even yesternight a gentleman made report of you at the lord chancellor's table, that ye were able to persuade as much as any that he knew. And I, (though I never heard you preach, and to my knowledge did never see you before yesterday,) yet methought your modesty was such, your behaviour and talk so without malice and impatience, that I would be sorry you should do worse than myself. And I tell you further, I do perceive my Lord Chancellor hath a fantasy towards you: wherefore be not so obstinate, but desire respite and some learned man to confer withal," &c.

But John Bradford kept still one answer "I cannot, nor I will not so offend the people. I doubt not, but I am most certain of the doctrine I have taught."

Here Master Doctor Seton waxed hot, and called Bradford arrogant, proud, vain-glorious, and "spake like a prelate."

But Bradford answered, "Beware of judging, lest you condemn yourself." But still Master Doctor Seton urged him, showing him how merciful my Lord Chancellor was, and how charitably they entertained him.

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"I never saw any justice, much less love; I speak for my part," quoth Bradford, "in my Lord Chancellor. Long have I been unjustly imprisoned, and handled in the same uncharitably: and now my Lord hath no just matter against me."

This talk served not the doctor's purpose: wherefore he went from matter to matter, from this point to that point. Bradford still gave him the hearing, and answered not; for he perceived that they both did come but to fish for some things which might make a show that my Lord Chancellor had justly kept him in prison.

When all their talk took no such effect as they would or looked for, Master Hussey asked Bradford:

Hussey.—"Will ye not admit conference, if my Lord Chancellor should offer it publicly?"

Brad.—"Conference! if it had been offered before the law had been made, or if it were offered so that I might be at liberty to confer, and as sure as he with whom I should confer, then it were something: but else I see not to what other purpose conference should be offered, but to defer that which will come at the length, and the lingering may give more offence than do good. Howbeit, if my Lord shall make such an offer of his own motion, I will not refuse to confer with whomsoever he shall appoint."

Master Doctor, hearing this, called Bradford arrogant, proud, and whatsoever pleased him. Then Bradford, perceiving by them that he should shortly be called for, besought them both to give him leave to talk with God, and to beg wisdom and grace of him; "for," quoth he, "otherwise I am helpless" and so they with much ado departed. Then Bradford went to God, and made his prayers, which the Lord of his goodness did graciously accept in his need; praised therefore be his holy name! Shortly after they were gone, Bradford was led to the aforesaid church, and there tarried, uncalled for, till eleven of the clock, that is, till Master Saunders was excommunicated.

The effect and sum of the last examination of John Bradford, in the church of St. Mary Overy's.

After the excommunication of Laurence Saunders, John Bradford was called in, and, being brought in before the lord chancellor and other the bishops there sitting, the lord chancellor began to speak thus in effect: that if Bradford, being now eftsoons come before them, would answer with modesty and humility, and conform himself to the catholic church with them, he yet might find mercy, because they would be loth to use extremity.—Therefore he concluded with an exhortation, that Bradford would recant his doctrine.

After the lord chancellor had ended his long oration, Bradford began to speak thus:

"As yesterday I besought your Honours to set in your sight the majesty and presence of God to follow him, which seeketh not to subvert the simple by subtle questions: so I humbly beseech every one of you to do this day; for that you know well enough, that guiltless blood will cry for vengeance. And this I pray not your Lordships to do, as one that taketh upon me to condemn you utterly herein; but that ye might be more admonished to do that, which none doth

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so much as he should do.—For our nature is so much corrupt, that we are very oblivious and forgetful of God. Again, as yesterday I pretended mine oath and oaths against the bishop of Rome, that I should never consent to the practising of any jurisdiction for him, or on his behalf in the realm of England; so do I again at this day, lest I should be perjured. And, last of all, as yesterday the answers I made were by protestation and saving mine oath, so I would your Honours should know that mine answers shall be this day: and this I do, that when death (which I look for at your hands) shall come, I may not be troubled with the guiltiness of perjury."

At these words the lord chancellor was wroth, and said, that they had given him respite to deliberate till this day, whether he would recant his errors of the blessed sacrament, "which yesterday," quoth he, "before us you uttered."

Brad.—"My Lord, you gave me no time of any such deliberation, neither did I speak any thing of the sacrament, which you did disallow. For when I had declared a presence of Christ to be there to faith, you went from that matter to purge yourself, that you were not cruel, and so went to dinner."

L. Chan.—"What! I perceive we must begin all again with thee. Did I not yesterday tell thee plainly, that thou madest a conscience where none should be? Did I not make it plain, that the oath against the bishop of Rome was an unlawful oath?"

Brad.—"No indeed, my Lord: you said so, but you proved it not yet, nor ever can do."

L. Chan.—"O Lord God! what a fellow art thou! Thou wouldest go about to bring into the people's heads, that we—all the lords of the parliament house, the knights and burgesses, and all the whole realm—be perjured. O what a heresy is this! Here, good people, you may see what a senseless heretic this fellow is. If I should make an oath I would never help my brother, nor lend him money in his need; were this a good answer to tell my neighbour, desiring my help, that I had made an oath to the contrary? or that I could not do it?"

Brad.—"O my Lord, discern betwixt oaths that be against charity and faith, and oaths that be according to faith and charity, as this is against the bishop of Rome."

Here the lord chancellor made much ado, and a long time was spent about oaths, which were good and which were evil; he captiously asking often of Bradford a direct answer concerning oaths: which Bradford would not give simply, but with a distinction; whereat the chancellor was much offended. But Bradford still kept him at the bay, that the oath against the bishop of Rome was a lawful oath, using thereto the lord chancellors own book, *De Vera Obedientia*, for confirmation.

At the length they came to this issue, Who should be judge of the lawfulness of the oath? and Bradford said the word of God, according to Christ's word, John xii., My word shall judge; and according to the testimony of Isaiah and Micah, that God's word, coming out of Jerusalem, shall give sentence among the Gentiles. "By this word," quoth Bradford, "my Lord, I will prove the oath against the bishop of Rome's authority, to be a good, a godly, and a lawful oath."

So that the lord chancellor left his hold, and, as the other day he pretended a denial of the queen's authority and obedience to her Highness, so did he now. But Bradford, as the day before, proved, that obedience in this point to the queen's Highness, if she should demand an oath to the bishop of Rome, being denied, was not a general denial of her authority, and of obedience to her; "no more," quoth he, "than the sale, gift, or lease of a piece of a man's inheritance, proveth it a sale, gift, or lease of the whole inheritance."

And thus much ado was made about this matter: the lord chancellor talking much, and using many examples of debt, of going out of town to-morrow by oath, and yet tarrying till Friday, and such like; which trifling talk Bradford did touch, saying, that it was a wonder his Honour weighed conscience no more in this, and would be so earnest in vows of priests' marriages made to bishops, and be careless for solemn oaths made to God and to princes. Summa, this was the end. The lord chancellor said, the queen might dispense with it, and did so to all the whole realm. But Bradford said, that the queen's Highness could do no more but remit her right: as for the oath made to God, she could never remit, forasmuch as it was made unto God. At which words the lord chancellor chafed wonderfully, and said, that in plain sense I slandered the realm of perjury; "and therefore," quoth he to the people, "you may see how this fellow taketh upon him to have more knowledge and conscience than all the wise men of England; and yet he hath no conscience at all."

Brad.—"Well, my Lord, let all the standers-by see who hath conscience. I have been a year and a half in prison: now, before all this people, declare wherefore I was imprisoned, or what cause you had to punish me. You said the other day in your own house, my Lord of London witnessing with you, that I took upon me to speak to the people undesired. There he sitteth by you. I mean my Lord of Bath, which desired me himself, for the passion of Christ, I would speak to the people: upon whose words I, coming into the pulpit, had like to have been slain with a dagger, (which was hurled at him, I think,) for it touched my sleeve. He then prayed me I would not leave him; and I promised him, as long as I lived, I would take hurt before him that day; and so went out of the pulpit and entreated with the people, and at length brought him myself into a house. Besides this, in the afternoon I preached at Bow church, and there, going up into the pulpit, one willed me not to reprove the people; for, quoth he, you shall never come down alive, if you do it. And yet, notwithstanding, I did in that sermon reprove their fact, and called it sedition at the least twenty times. For all which my doing, I have received this recompence, prison for a year and a half and more, and death now, which you go about. Let all men be judge where conscience is."

In speaking of these words, there was endeavour to have letted it: but Bradford still spake on, and gave no place till he had made an end, speak what they would. And then the lord chancellor said, that for all that fair tale, his fact at the Cross was naught.

Brad.—"No, my fact was good, as you yourself did bear witness with me. For when I was at the first before you in the Tower, you yourself did say, that my fact was good; but, quoth you, thy mind was evil.' 'Well,' quoth I, 'then, my Lord, in that you allow the fact, and condemn the mind. Forasmuch as otherwise I cannot declare my mind to man but by saying and doing, God one day, I trust, will open it to my comfort, what my mind was, and yours is.'"

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Here the lord chancellor was offended, and said, that he never said so. "I," quoth he, "had not so little wit I trow, as not to discern betwixt meaning and doing" and so brought forth, little to the purpose, many examples to prove that men construe things by the meaning of men, and not by their doings. But when this would not serve, then cometh he to another matter, and said, that Bradford was put in prison at the first because he would not yield, nor be conformable to the queen's religion.

Brad.—"Why, my Lord? your Honour knoweth that you would not reason with me in religion; but said, a time should afterwards be found out, when I should be talked withal. But if it were as your Lordship saith, that I was put in prison for religion, in that my religion was then authorized by public laws of the realm, could conscience punish me or cast me in prison therefor? Wherefore let all men be judges, in whom conscience wanteth."

Here came forth Master Chamberlain of Woodstock, and spake to my Lord Chancellor, how that Bradford had been a serving man, and was with Master Harrington.

L. Chan.—"True, and did deceive his master of sevenscore pounds: and because of this he went to be a gospeller and a preacher, good people; and yet you see how he pretendeth conscience."

Brad.—"My Lord, I set my foot by his, whosoever he be, that can come forth and justly vouch to my face, that ever I deceived my master. And as you are chief justicer by office in England, I desire justice upon them that so slander me, because they cannot prove it."

Here my Lord Chancellor and Master Chamberlain were smitten blank, and said they heard it. "But," quoth my Lord Chancellor, "we have another manner of matter than this against you: for you are a heretic." "Yea," quoth the bishop of London, "he did write letters to Master Pendleton, which knoweth his hand as well his own: your Honour did see the letters."

Brad.—"That is not true; I never did write to Pendleton since I came to prison, and therefore I am not justly spoken of."

Bonner.—"Yea, but you indited it."

Brad.—"I did not, nor know what you mean, and this I offer to prove."

Here came in another, I trow they call him Master Allen, one of the clerks of the council, putting the lord chancellor in remembrance of letters written into Lancashire.

L. Chan.—"You say true: for we have his hand to show."

Brad.—"I deny that you have my hand to show of letters sent into Lancashire, otherwise than before you all I will stand to, and prove them to be good and lawful."

Here was all answered, and then the lord chancellor began a new matter.

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L. Chan.—"Sir," quoth he, "in my house the other day, you did most contemptuously contemn the queen's mercy; and further said, that you would maintain the erroneous doctrine in King Edward's days against all men; and this you did most stoutly."

Brad.—"Well, I am glad that all men see now you have had no matter to imprison me afore that day justly. Now say I, that I did not contemptuously contemn the queen's mercy, but would have had it, (though, if justice might take place, I need it not,) so that I might have had it with God's mercy, that is, without doing or saying any thing against God and his truth. And as for maintenance of doctrine, because I cannot tell how you will stretch this word maintenance, I will repeat again that which I spake. I said I was more confirmed in the religion set forth in King Edward's days, than ever I was: and if God so would, I trusted I should declare it by giving my life for the confirmation and testification thereof. So I said then, and so I say now. As for otherwise to maintain it, than pertaineth to a private person by confession, I thought not, nor think not."

L. Chan.—"Well, yesterday thou didst maintain false heresy concerning the blessed sacrament; and therefore we gave thee respite till this day to deliberate."

Brad.—"My Lord, as I said at the first, I spake nothing of the sacrament, but that which you allowed; and therefore you reprov'd it not, nor gave me any time to deliberate."

L. Chan.—"Why! didst thou not deny Christ's presence in the sacrament?"

Brad.—"No, I never denied nor taught, but that to faith, whole Christ, body and blood, was as present as bread and wine to the due receiver."

L. Chan.—"Yea, but dost thou not believe that Christ's body naturally and really is there, under the forms of bread and wine?"

Brad.—"My Lord, I believe Christ is present there to the faith of the due receiver: as for transubstantiation, I plainly and flatly tell you, I believe it not."

Here was Bradford called *diabolus*, a slanderer "for we ask no question," quoth my Lord Chancellor, "of transubstantiation, but of Christ's presence."

Brad.—"I deny not his presence to the faith of the receiver; but deny that he is included in the bread, or that the bread is transubstantiate."

Worcester.—"If he be not included, how is he then present?"

Brad.—"Forsooth, though my faith can tell how, yet my tongue cannot express it; nor you, otherwise than by faith, hear it, or understand it."

Here was much ado, now one doctor standing up and speaking thus, and others speaking that, and the lord chancellor, talking much of Luther, Zuinglius, Œcolampadius: but still Bradford kept him at this point, that Christ is present to faith; and that there is no

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transubstantiation nor including of Christ in the bread: but all this would not serve them. Therefore another bishop asked this question: whether the wicked man received Christ's very body or no? And Bradford answered plainly, "No." Whereat the lord chancellor made a long oration, how that it could not be that Christ was present, except that the evil man received it. But Bradford put away all his oration in few words, that grace was at that present offered to his Lordship, although he received it not "So that," quoth he, "the receiving maketh not the presence, as your Lordship would infer: but God's grace, truth, and power, is the cause of the presence, which grace the wicked that lack faith cannot receive." And here Bradford prayed my Lord, not to divorce that which God had coupled together. "He hath coupled all these together: Take, eat, this is my body. He saith not, See, peep, this is my body; but, Take, eat. So that it appeareth this is a promise depending upon condition, if we take and eat.

Here the lord chancellor and other bishops made a great ado, that Bradford had found out a toy that no man else ever did, of the condition; and the lord chancellor made many words to the people thereabout. But Bradford said thus, "My Lord, are not these words, Take, eat, a commandment? And are not these words, This is my body, a promise? If you will challenge the promise, and do not the commandment, may you not deceive yourself?" Here the lord chancellor denied Christ to have commanded the sacrament, and the use of it.

Brad.—"Why, my Lord, I pray you tell the people what mood *accipite, manducate*, is; is it not plain to children, that Christ, in so saying, commandeth?"

At these words the lord chancellor made a great toying and trifling at the imperative mood, and fell to parsing or examining, as he should teach a child; and so concluded that it was no commandment, but such a phrase as this, "I pray you give me drink, which," quoth he, "is no commandment, I trow." But Bradford prayed him to leave toying and trifling, and said thus:

Brad.—"My Lord, if it be not a commandment of Christ to take and eat the sacrament, why dare any take upon them to command and make that of necessity, which God leaveth free? as you do in making it a necessary commandment, once a year, for all that be of discretion, to receive the sacrament."

Here the lord chancellor called him again *diabolus* or calumniator, and began out of these words, Let a man prove himself, and so eat of the bread ["yea, bread," quoth Bradford] and drink of the cup, to prove that it was no commandment to receive the sacrament "for then," quoth he, "if it were a commandment, it should bind all men, in all places, and at all times."

Brad.—"O my Lord, discern between commandments: some be general, as the Ten Commandments, that they bind always, in all places, and all persons; some be not so general, as this of the supper, the sacrament of baptism, of the thrice appearing before the Lord yearly at Jerusalem, of Abraham offering of Isaac, &c."

Here my Lord Chancellor denied the cup to be commanded of Christ: "for then," quoth he, "we should have eleven commandments."

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Brad.—"Indeed I think you think as you speak: for else would you not take the cup from the people, in that Christ saith, Drink ye all of it. But how say you, my Lords? Christ saith to you bishops especially, Go and preach the gospel. Feed Christ's flock, &c. Is this a commandment, or no?"

Here was my Lord Chancellor in a chafe, and said as pleased him. Another, the bishop of Durham I ween, asked Bradford, when Christ began to be present in the sacrament—whether before the receiver received it, or no?

Bradford answered, that the question was curious, and not necessary; and further said, that as the cup was the new testament, so the bread was Christ's body to him that received it duly, but yet so, that the bread is bread. "For," quoth he, "in all the Scripture ye shall not find this proposition, 'There is no bread.'" And so he brought forth Chrysostom, *Si in corpore essemus. In summa*, much ado was hereabouts; they calling Bradford heretic, and he, desiring them to proceed on in God's name, looked for that which God appointed for them to do.

L. Chan.—"This fellow is now in another heresy of fatal necessity, as though all things were so tied together that of mere necessity all must come to pass."

But Bradford prayed him to take things as they be spoken, and not wrest them into a contrary sense.

"Your Lordship," quoth Bradford, "doth discern betwixt God and man. Things are not, by fortune, to God at any time, though to man they seem so sometimes. I speak but as the apostles said; Lord, quoth they, see how Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the prelates, are gathered together against thy Christ, to do that which thy hand and counsel hath before ordained for them to do."

Here began the lord chancellor to read the excommunication. And in the excommunication, when he came to the name of John Bradford, *laicus*, (layman,) "Why," quoth he, "art thou no priest?"

Brad.—"No, nor ever was, either priest, either beneficed, either married, either any preacher, afore public authority had established religion, or preacher after public authority had altered religion; and yet I am thus handled at your hands; but God, I doubt not, will give his blessing where you curse."

And so he fell down on his knees, and heartily thanked God that he counted him worthy to suffer for his name's sake. And so, praying God to give him repentance, and a good mind, after the excommunication was read, he was delivered to the sheriff of London, and so had to the Clink, and afterwards to the Compter in the Poultry, in the same city of London; this being then purposed of his murderers, that he should be delivered from thence to the earl of Derby, to be conveyed into Lancashire, and there to be burned in the town of Manchester, where he was born: but their purpose concerning the place was afterward altered, for they burned him in London.

After the condemnation of Master Bradford, which was the last day of January, Master Bradford, being sent into prison, did there remain until the first day of July, during all which

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time, divers other conferences and conflicts he sustained with sundry adversaries, which repaired unto him in the prison: of whom first Bishop Bonner, coming to the Compter to degrade Dr. Taylor, the fourth day of February, entered talk with the said Master Bradford, the effect whereof here ensueth.

Private talk had with John Bradford, by such as the prelates sent unto him, after the time of condemnation, by his own writing.

Upon the fourth of February, that is, the same day Master Rogers was burned, Bonner, bishop of London, came to the Compter in the Poultry, to degrade Dr. Taylor, about one of the clock at afternoon. But before he spake to Master Taylor, he called for John Bradford which was prisoner there, whom when he saw, he put off his cap, and gave him his hand, saying:

Bonner.—"Because I perceive that ye are desirous to confer with some learned men, therefore I have brought Master Archdeacon Harpsfield to you. And I tell you, you do like a wise man. But I pray you go roundly to work, for the time is but short."

Brad.—"My Lord, as roundly as I can I will go to work with you: I never desired to confer with any man, nor yet do. Howbeit if ye will have one to talk with me, I am ready."

Bonner.—"What," quoth the bishop in a fume to the keeper, "did you not tell me that this man desired conference?"

Keeper.—"No, my Lord, I told you that he would not refuse to confer with any; but I did not say that it is his desire."

Bonner.—"Well, Master Bradford, you are well beloved, I pray you consider yourself, and refuse not charity when it is offered."

Brad.—"Indeed, my Lord, this is small charity, to condemn a man as you have condemned me, which never brake your laws. In Turkey a man may have charity; but in England I could not yet find it. I was condemned for my faith, so soon as I uttered it at your requests, before I had committed any thing against the laws. And as for conference, I am not afraid to talk with whom ye will. But to say that I desire to confer, that do I not."

Bonner.—"Well, well." And so he called for Master Taylor, and Bradford went his way.

Another private matter of talk between Master Bradford and Willerton, Creswell, Harding, Harpsfield, and others.

On another day of February, one Master Willerton, chaplain of the bishop of London, did come to confer with Bradford; but when he perceived that Bradford desired not his coming, and therefore wished rather his departing than abiding, "Well, Master Bradford," quoth he; "yet I pray you let us confer a little: perchance you may do me good, if I can do you none." Upon which words Bradford was content, and so they began to talk. Willerton spake much of the

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doctors, the fathers, of the bread in John vi., &c., labouring to prove transubstantiation, and that wicked men do receive Christ.

But Bradford, on the contrary part, improved his authorities, so that they came to this issue, that Willerton should draw out of the Scriptures and doctors his reasons, and Bradford would peruse them; and if he could not answer them, then he would give place. Likewise also should Bradford draw out his reasons out of the Scriptures and doctors, to which Willerton should answer if he could: and so for that day they departed.

The next day following in the morning, Willerton sent half a sheet of paper written on both sides, containing no reasons how he gathered his doctrine, but only bare sentences; The bread which I will give is my flesh: and the places in Matt. xxvi., Mark xiv., Luke xxii., and 1 Cor. x. and xi., with some sentences of the doctors, all which made as much against him as with him.

In the afternoon he came himself, and there they had a long talk to little effect. At the length Willerton began to talk of the church, saying, that "Bradford swerved from the church."

Brad.—"No, that I do not, but ye do. For the church is Christ's spouse, and Christ's obedient spouse, which your church is not, which robbeth the people of the Lord's cup, and of service in the English tongue."

Willerton.—"Why? It is not profitable to have the service in English; for it is written, The lips of the priest should keep the law, and out of his mouth man must look for knowledge."

Brad.—"Should not the people, then, have the Scriptures? Wherefore serveth this saying of Christ, Search the Scriptures?"

Will.—"This was not spoken to the people, but to the scribes and learned men."

Brad.—"Then the people must not have the Scriptures?"

Will.—"No, for it is written, They shall be all taught of God."

Brad.—"And must we learn all at the priests?"

Will.—"Yea."

Brad.—"Then I see you would bring the people to hang up Christ, and let Barabbas go; as the priests did then persuade the people."

At which words Master Willerton was so offended, that he had no lust to talk any more. In the end Bradford gave him the reasons which he had gathered against transubstantiation, and prayed him to frame his into the form of reasons, "and then," quoth Bradford, "I will answer them."

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"Well, I will do so," said Willerton, "but first I will answer yours." The which thing until this day he hath not done.

On the twelfth of February, there came one of the earl of Derby's servants to Bradford, saying, "My Lord hath sent me to you: he willeth you to tender yourself, and he will be a good lord to you."

Brad.—"I thank his Lordship for his good will towards me: but in this case I cannot tender myself more than God's honour."

Servant.—"Ah, Master Bradford! consider your mother, sisters, friends, kinsfolk, and country; what a great discomfort will it be unto them to see you die as a heretic!"

Brad.—"I have learned to forsake father, mother, brother, sister, friend, and all that ever I have, yea, even mine own self; for else I cannot be Christ's disciple."

Serv.—"If my Lord should obtain for you that ye might depart the realm, would you not be content to be at the queen's appointment, where she would appoint you beyond the sea."

Brad.—"No, I had rather be burned in England than be burned beyond the seas. For I know that if she should send me to Paris, Louvain, or some such place, forthwith they would burn me."

Talk between Master Bradford and one Percival Creswell: and after that with Dr. Harding.

Upon the fourteenth of February, Percival Creswell, an old acquaintance of Bradford's, came to him, bringing with him a kinsman of Master Fecknam's, who, after many words, said.

Creswell.—"I pray you let me make labour for you."

Bradford.—"You may do what ye will."

Cres.—"But tell me what suit I should make for you."

Brad.—"Forsooth, that ye will do, do it not at my request, for I desire nothing at your hands. If the queen will give me life, I will thank her. If she will banish me, I will thank her. If she will burn me, I will thank her. If she will condemn me to perpetual imprisonment, I will thank her."

Hereupon Creswell went away, and about eleven of the clock he and the other man came again, and brought a book of More's making, desiring Bradford to read it over. Bradford taking the book, said:

Brad. "Good Percival, I am settled for being moved in this article."

Cres.—"Oh! if ever ye loved me, do one thing for me."

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Brad.—"What is it?"

Cres.—"Desire and name what learned man or men ye will have to come unto you; my Lord of York, my Lord of Lincoln, my Lord of Bath, and others will gladly come unto you."

Brad.—"No, never will I desire them, or any other, to come to confer with me; for I am as certain of my doctrine as I am of any thing. But for your pleasure, and also that all men may know I am not ashamed to have my faith sifted and tried, bring whom ye will, and I will talk with them."

So they went their way. About three of the clock in the afternoon, Master Doctor Harding, who was the bishop of Lincoln's chaplain, came to Bradford, and after a great and solemn protestation, showing how that he had prayed to God, before he came, to turn his talk to Bradford's good, he began to tell of the good opinion he had of Bradford; and spent the time in such tattling, so that their talk was to little purpose, save that Bradford prayed him to consider from whence he was fallen, and not to follow the world, nor to love it; for the love of God is not where the world is. But Harding counted Bradford in a damnable estate, as one being out of the church; and therefore willed him to take heed of his soul, and not to die in such an opinion.

"What, Master Harding!" quoth Bradford, "I have heard you, with these ears, maintain this that I stand in."

Harding.—"I grant that I have taught that the doctrine of transubstantiation was a subtle doctrine; but otherwise I never taught it."

And so he, inveighing against marriages of priests, and namely against Peter Martyr, Martin Bucer, Luther, and such, which for breaking their vows were justly given up into heresies, (as he said,) Bradford seeing him altogether given up to popery, after admonishment thereof, bade him farewell.

Talk between Dr. Harpsfield, archdeacon, and Master Bradford.

On the twenty-fifth of February, Percival Creswell came with Master Harpsfield, archdeacon of London, and a servant waiting upon him. After formal salutations, he made a long oration, of which this is a short sum; that all men, even the infidels, Turks, Jews, Anabaptists, and Libertines, desire felicity as well as the Christians, and how that every one thinketh they shall attain to it by their religion. To which Bradford answered briefly, that he spake not far amiss.

Harpsfield.—"But the way thither is not all alike: for the infidels by Jupiter and Juno, the Turk by his Alcoran, the Jew by his Talmud, do believe to come to heaven. For so may I speak of such as believe the immortality of the soul."

Brad.—"You speak truly."

Harps.—"Well, then, here is the matter; to know the way to this heaven."

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Brad.—"We may not invent any manner of ways. There is but one way, and that is Jesus Christ, as he himself doth witness: I am the way."

Harps.—"It is true that you say, and false also. I suppose that you mean by Christ, believing in Christ."

Brad.—"I have learned to discern betwixt faith and Christ. Albeit I confess, that whoso believeth in Christ, the same shall be saved."

Harps.—"No, not all that believe in Christ; for some shall say, Lord, Lord, have we not cast out devils? &c. But Christ will answer in the day of judgment to these, Depart from me, I know you not."

Brad.—"You must make difference betwixt believing, and saying, I believe: as for example, if one should say and swear he loveth you, for all his saying, ye will not believe him when you see he goeth about to utter and do all the evil against you that he can."

Harps.—"Well, this is not much material. There is but one way, Christ. How come we to know him? Where shall we seek to find him?"

Brad.—"Forsooth, we must seek him by his word, and in his word, and after his word."

Harps.—"Very good: but tell me now how first we came into the company of them that could tell us this, but by baptism?"

Brad.—"Baptism is the sacrament, by the which outwardly we are ingrafted into Christ: I say outwardly, because I dare not exclude from Christ all that die without baptism. I will not tie God, where he is not bound. Some infants die, whose parents desire baptism for them, and cannot have it."

Harps.—"To those we may think perchance that God will show mercy."

Brad.—"Yea, the children whose parents do condemn baptism will not I condemn, because the child shall not bear the father's offence."

Harps.—"Well, we agree, that by baptism then we are brought, and, as a man would say, begotten to Christ: for Christ is our Father, and the church his spouse is our mother. As all men naturally have Adam for their father, and Eve for their mother; so all spiritual men have Christ for their Father, and the church for their mother: and as Eve was taken out of Adam's side, so was the church taken out of Christ's side; whereout flowed blood, for the satisfaction and purgation of our sins."

Brad.—"All this is truly spoken."

Harps.—"Now then, tell me whether this church of Christ hath not been always?"

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Brad.—"Yea, since the creation of man, and shall be for ever."

Harps.—"Very good. But yet tell me whether this church is a visible church, or no?"

Brad.—"It is no otherwise visible, than Christ was here on earth; that is, by no exterior pomp or show that setteth her forth commonly; and therefore to see her we must put on such eyes, as good men put on to see and know Christ when he walked here on earth: for as Eve was of the same substance that Adam was of, so was the church of the same substance that Christ was of, flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bones; as Paul saith, Ephes. v. Look, therefore, how Christ was visibly known to be Christ, when he was on earth, that is, by considering him after the word of God, so is the church known."

Harps.—"I do not come to reason at this present, and therefore I will go on forward. Is not this church a multitude?"

Brad.—"Yes, that it is. Howbeit, *Latet anguis in herba*, as the proverb is; for in your question is a subtlety. What visible multitude was there in Elias's time, or when Moses was on the mount, Aaron and all Israel worshipping the calf?"

Harps.—"Ye divert from the matter."

Brad.—"No, nothing at all. For I do prevent you, knowing well where about you go. And therefore fewer words might well serve, if that you so would."

Harps.—"Well, I perceive you have knowledge, and by a little perceive I the more. Tell me yet more, whether this multitude have not the ministry or preaching of God's word?"

Brad.—"Sir, ye go about the bush. If ye understand preaching for confessing of the gospel, I will go with you: for else, if you will, you may know that persecution often letteth preaching."

Harps.—"Well, I mean it so. Tell me yet more: hath it not the sacraments administered?"

Brad.—"It hath the sacraments, howbeit the administration of them is often letted. But I will put you from your purpose, because I see where about you go. If heretics have baptism, and do baptize, as they did in St. Cyprian's time, you know this baptism is baptism, and not to be reiterate."

This Bradford did speak, that the standers-by might see, that though the papist's church have baptism which we have received of them, yet therefore it is not the true church, neither need we to be baptized again.

Harps.—"You go far from the matter, and I perceive you have more errors than one."

Brad.—"So you say; but that is not enough till you prove them."

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Harps.—"Well, this church is a multitude. Hath it not the preaching of the gospel, and the ministration of the sacraments? And, yet more, hath it not the power of jurisdiction?"

Brad.—"What jurisdiction is exercised in persecution and affliction?"

Harps.—"I mean by jurisdiction, admonishing one another, and so forth."

Brad.—"Well, go to; what then?"

Harps.—"It hath also succession of bishops." And here Harpsfield made much ado to prove that this was an essential point.

Brad.—"You say as you would have it; for if this part fail you, all the church that you go about to set up, will fall down. You shall not find in all the Scripture this your essential part of succession of bishops. In Christ's church antichrist will sit. And Peter telleth us, as it went in the old church, afore Christ's coming, so will it be in the new church, since Christ's coming: that is, as there were false prophets, and such as bear rule were adversaries to the true prophets, so shall there be (saith he) false teachers, even of such as are bishops, and bear rule amongst the people."

Harps.—"You go always out of the matter: but I will prove further the succession of bishops."

Brad.—"Do so."

Harps.—"Tell me, were not the apostles bishops?"

Brad.—"No, except you will make a new definition of a bishop: that is, give him no certain place."

Harps.—"Indeed, the apostles' office was not the bishops' office, for it was universal; but yet Christ instituted bishops in his church, as Paul saith, he hath given pastors, prophets, &c., so that I trow it be proved by the Scriptures the succession of bishops to be an essential point."

Brad.—"The ministry of God's word and ministers be an essential point. But to translate this to the bishops and their succession, is a plain subtlety: and therefore, that it may be plain, I will ask you a question. Tell me, whether that the Scripture knew any difference between bishops and ministers, which ye called priests?"

Harps.—"No."

Brad.—"Well, then, go on forwards, and let us see what ye shall get now by the succession of bishops; that is, of ministers, which cannot be understood of such bishops as minister not, but lord it."

Harps.—"I perceive that you are far out of the way. By your doctrine you can never show in your church, a multitude which ministereth God's word and his sacraments, which hath

jurisdiction and succession of bishops, which hath from time to time believed as you believe, beginning now, and so going upwards, as I will do of our doctrine; and therefore are ye out of the church, and so cannot be saved. Perchance you will bring me downwards a show to blear people's eyes; but to go upwards, that you can never do, and this is the true trial."

Brad.—"Ye must and will, I am assured, give me leave to follow the Scriptures, and examples of good men."

Harps.—"Yea."

Brad.—"Well, then, Stephen was accused and condemned, as I am, that he had taught new and false doctrine, before the fathers of the church then, as they were taken. Stephen for his purgation improveth their accusation. But how? doth he it by going upwards? No, but by coming downwards, beginning at Abraham, and continuing still till Esaias's time, and the people's captivity. From whence he maketh a great leap until the time he was in, which was (I think) upon four hundred years, and called them by their right names, hellhounds, rather than heaven-hounds. On this sort will I prove my faith, and that can you never do yours."

Harps.—"Yea, sir, if we did know that you had the Holy Ghost, then could we believe you."

Here Bradford would have answered, that Stephen's enemies would not believe he had the Holy Ghost, and therefore they did as they did: but, as he was in speaking, Master Harpsfield rose up; and the keeper and others that stood by began to talk gently, praying Bradford to take heed to what Master Archdeacon spake, who still said, that Bradford was out of the church.

Brad.—"Sir, I am most certain that I am in Christ's church, and I can show a demonstration of my religion from time to time continually.—God our Father, for the name and blood of his Christ, be merciful unto us, and unto all his people, and deliver them from false teachers and blind guides, through whom, alas, I fear me, much hurt will come to this realm of England. God our Father bless us, and keep us in his truth and poor church for ever. Amen!"

Then the archdeacon departed, saying, that he would come again the next morning.

The next day's talk between Dr. Harpsfield and Master Bradford.

Upon the sixteenth of February in the morning, the archdeacon, and the other two with him, came again, and after a few by-words spoken, they sat down.

Master Archdeacon Harpsfield began a very long oration, first repeating what they had said, and how far they had gone over-night; and therewith did begin to prove upwards succession of bishops here in England for eight hundred years: in France at Lyons for twelve hundred years: in Spain at Seville for eight hundred years: in Italy at Milan for twelve hundred years, labouring by this to prove his church. He used also succession of bishops in the East church for the more confirmation of his words, and so concluded with an exhortation, and an interrogation: the exhortation, that Bradford would obey this church; the interrogation, whether Bradford could

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show any such succession for the demonstration of his church (for so he called it) which followed. Unto this long oration, Bradford made this short answer:

Brad.—"My memory is evil, so that I cannot answer particularly your oration. Therefore I will generally do it, thinking because your oration is rather to persuade than to prove, that a small answer will serve. If Christ or his apostles, being here on earth, had been required by the prelates of the church then, to have made a demonstration of that church by succession of such high priests as had approved the doctrine which he taught, I think that Christ would have done as I do: that is, have alleged that which upholdeth the church, even the verity, the word of God taught and believed, not by the high priests, which of long time had persecuted it, but by the prophets and other good simple men which perchance were counted for heretics of the church: which church was not tied to succession, but to the word of God. And this to think St. Peter giveth me occasion, when he saith, that as it went in the church before Christ's coming, so shall it go in the church after his coming: but then the pillars of the church were persecutors of the church; therefore the like we must look for now."

Harps.—"I can gather and prove succession in Jerusalem of the high priests from Aaron's time."

Brad.—"I grant, but not such succession as allowed the truth."

Harps.—"Why! did they not allow Moses's law?"

Brad.—"Yes, and keep it, as touching the books thereof; as you do the Bible, and Holy Scriptures. But the true interpretation and meaning of it they did corrupt, as you have done and do; and therefore the persecution which they stirred up against the prophets and Christ, was not for the law, but for the interpretation of it: for they taught as you do now, that we must fetch the interpretation of the Scriptures at your hands. But to make an end, death I look daily for, yea, hourly, and I think my time be but very short. Therefore I had need to spend as much time with God as I can, whilst I have it, for his help and comfort; and therefore I pray you bear with me, that I do not now particularly, and in more words, answer your long talk. If I saw death not so near me as it is, I would then weigh every piece of your oration, if you would give me the sum of it, and I would answer accordingly; but because I dare not, nor I will not, leave off looking and preparing for that which is at hand, I shall desire you to hold me excused, because I do as I do; and heartily thank you for your gentle good will. I shall heartily pray God our Father to give you the same light and life I do wish to myself."

And so Bradford began to rise up. But then began Master Archdeacon to tell him that he was in very perilous case; and that he was sorry to see him so settled. "As for death, whether it be nigh or far off, I know not, neither forceth it, so that you did die well."

Brad.—"I doubt not in this case but that I shall die well: for as I hope and am certain my death shall please the Lord, so I trust I shall die cheerfully, to the comfort of his children."

Harps.—"But what if you be deceived?"

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Brad.—"What if you should say the sun did not shine now?"—and the sun did shine through the window where they sat.

Harps.—"Well, I am sorry to see you so secure and careless."

Brad.—"Indeed I am more carnally secure and careless than I should be: God make me more vigilant. But in this case I cannot be so secure, for I am most assured I am in the truth."

Harps.—"That are ye not; for you are out of the catholic church."

Brad.—"No, though you have excommunicated me out of your church, yet am I in the catholic church of Christ, and am, and by God's grace shall be, a child, and an obedient child, of it for ever: I hope Christ will have no less care for me, than he had for the blind man excommunicated of the synagogue. And further, I am sure that the necessary articles of the faith, I mean the twelve articles of the Creed, I confess and believe with that which you call the holy church, so that even your church hath taken something too much upon her to excommunicate me for that, which, by the testimony of my Lord of Durham in the book of the sacrament lately put forth, was free many a hundred years after Christ, for us to believe or not believe."

Harps.—"What is that?"

Brad.—"Transubstantiation."

Harps.—"Why: ye are not condemned therefore only."

Brad.—"For that, and because I deny that wicked men do receive Christ's body."

Harps.—"You agree not with us in the presence, nor in any thing else."

Brad.—"How you believe you know: for my part I confess a presence of whole Christ, God and man, to the faith of the receiver."

Harps.—"Nay, you must believe a real presence in the sacrament."

Brad.—"In the sacrament? Nay, I will not shut him in, nor tie him to it otherwise than faith seeth and perceiveth. If I should include Christ really present in the sacrament, or tie him to it otherwise than to the faith of the receiver, then the wicked men should receive him, which I do not, nor will, by God's grace, believe."

Harps.—"More pity: but a man may easily perceive, you make no presence at all, and therefore you agree not therein with us."

Brad.—"I confess a presence, and a true presence, but to the faith of the receiver."

"What," quoth one that stood by, "of Christ's very body which died for us?"

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Brad.—"Yea, even of whole Christ, God and man, to feed the faith of him that receiveth it."

Harps.—"Why? this is nothing else but to exclude the omnipotency of God, and all kind of miracle in the sacrament."

Brad.—"I do not exclude his omnipotency, but you do it rather; for I believe that Christ can accomplish his promise, the substance of bread and wine being there, as well as the accidents, which you believe not. When we come to the sacrament, we come not to feed our bodies, and therefore we have but a little piece of bread; but we come to feed our souls with Christ by faith, which the wicked do want, and therefore they receive nothing but *panem Domini*, as Judas did, and not *panem Dominum*, as the other apostles did."

Harps.—"The wicked do receive the very body of Christ, but not the grace of his body."

Brad.—"They receive not the body, for Christ's body is no dead carcass: he that receiveth it, receiveth the Spirit, which is not without grace, I trow."

Harps.—"Well, you have many errors. You count the mass for abomination, and yet St. Ambrose said mass;" and so he read, out of a book written, a sentence of St. Ambrose to prove it.

Brad.—"Why, sir? the mass, as it is now, was nothing so in St. Ambrose's time. Was not the most part of the canon made since by Gregory and Scholasticus?"

Harps.—"Indeed a great piece of it was made (as ye say) by Gregory: but Scholasticus was before St. Ambrose's time."

Brad.—"I ween not: howbeit I will not contend. St. Gregory saith, that the apostles said mass without the canon, only with the Lord's Prayer."

Harps.—"You say true: for the canon is not the greatest part of the mass, the greatest part is the sacrifice, elevation, transubstantiation, and adoration."

Brad.—"I can away with none of those."

Harps.—"No, I think the same: but yet *hoc facite*, telleth plainly the sacrifice of the church."

Brad.—"You confound sacrifices, not discerning betwixt the sacrifice of the church, and for the church. The sacrifice of the church is no propitiatory sacrifice, but a gratulatory sacrifice; and as for *hoc facite*, is not referred to any sacrificing, but to the whole action of taking, eating," &c.

Harps.—"You speak not learnedly now: for Christ made his supper only to the twelve apostles, not admitting his mother or any of the seventy disciples to it. Now the apostles do signify the priests."

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Brad.—"I think that you speak as you would men should understand it: for else you would not keep the cup away from the laity. We have great cause to thank you, that you will give us of your bread: for I perceive you order the matter so as though Christ had not commanded it to his whole church."

Then Harpsfield would have proved elevation by a place of Basil.

Brad.—"I have read the place, which seemeth to make nothing for elevation: but be it as it is, this is no time for me to scan the doubtful places of the doctors with you. I have been in prison long without books and all necessities for study, and now death draweth nigh, and I, by your leave, must now leave off, to prepare for him."

Harps.—"If I could do you good, I would be right glad, either in soul or body. For you are in a perilous case both ways."

Brad.—"Sir, I thank you for your good will. My case is as it is. I thank God it was never so well with me; for death to me shall be life."

Creswell.—"It were best for you to desire Master Archdeacon that he would make suit for you, that you might have a time to confer."

Harps.—"I will do the best I can: for I pity his case."

Brad.—"Sir, I will not desire any body to sue for time for me. I am not wavering, neither would I that any body should think I were so. But if you have the charity and love you pretend towards me, and thereto do think that I am in an error, I think the same should move you to do as you would be done to. As ye think of me, so do I of you, that you are far out of the way; and I do not only think it, but also am thereof most assured."

And in this and such-like gentle talk they departed.

The talk of Dr. Heath, archbishop of York, and Day, bishop of Chichester, with Master Bradford.

The twenty-third of the same month, the archbishop of York and the bishop of Chichester came to the Compter to speak with Bradford. When he was come before them, they both, and especially the bishop of York, used him very gently: they would have him to sit down, and because he would not, they also would not sit. So they all stood, and whether he would or not, they would needs he should put on, not only his night-cap, but his upper cap also, saying unto him, that obedience was better than sacrifice.

Now thus standing together, my Lord of York began to tell Bradford how that they were not sent to him, but of love and charity they came to him: and he, for that acquaintance also which he had with Bradford, more than the bishop of Chichester had. Then, after commending Bradford's godly life, he concluded with this question, how he was certain of salvation, and of

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his religion? After thanks for their good will, Bradford answered, "By the word of God—even by the Scriptures—I am certain of salvation and religion."

York.—"Very well said: but how do ye know the word of God and the Scriptures, but by the church?"

Brad.—"Indeed, my Lord, the church was and is a mean to bring a man more speedily to know the Scriptures and the word of God, as was the woman of Samaria a mean that the Samaritans knew Christ: but as when they had heard him speak, they said, Now we know that he is Christ, not because of thy words, but because we ourselves have heard him; so after we come to the hearing and reading of the Scriptures showed unto us, and discerned by the church, we do believe them, and know them as Christ's sheep—not because the church saith, they are the Scriptures, but because they be so; being thereof assured by the same Spirit which wrote and spake them."

York.—"You know, in the apostles' time, at the first, the word was not written."

Brad.—"True, if you mean it for some books of the New Testament: but else for the Old Testament Peter telleth us, We have a more sure word of prophecy: not that it is simply so, but in respect of the apostles, who, being alive and compassed with infirmity, attributed to the word written more firmity, as wherewith no fault could be found; whereas for the infirmity of their persons men perchance might have found some fault at their preaching: albeit in very deed no less obedience and faith ought to have been given to the one, than to the other; for all proceedeth forth of one Spirit of truth."

York.—"That place of Peter is not so to be understood of the word written."

Brad.—"Yea, sir, that it is, and of none other."

Chichester.—"Yea, indeed Master Bradford doth tell you truly in that point."

York.—"Well, you know that Irenæus and others do magnify much, and allege the church against the heretics, and not the Scripture."

Brad.—"True, for they had to do with such heretics as did deny the Scriptures, and yet did magnify the apostles; so that they were enforced to use the authority of those churches wherein the apostles had taught, and which had still retained the same doctrine."

Chich.—"You speak the very truth; for the heretics did refuse all Scriptures, except it were a piece of Luke's Gospel."

Brad.—"Then the alleging of the church cannot be principally used against me, which am so far from denying of the Scriptures, that I appeal unto them utterly, as to the only judge."

York.—"A pretty matter, that you will take upon you to judge the church: I pray you where hath your church been hitherto? for the church of Christ is catholic and visible hitherto."

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Brad.—"My Lord, I do not judge the church, when I discern it from that congregation, and those which be not the church; and I never denied the church to be catholic and visible, although at sometimes it is more visible than at some."

Chich.—"I pray you tell me where the church which allowed your doctrine was, these four hundred years?"

Brad.—"I will tell you, my Lord, or rather you shall tell yourself, if you will tell me this one thing: where the church was in Elias's time, when Elias said, that he was left alone?"

Chich.—"That is no answer."

Brad.—"I am sorry that you say so: but this will I tell your Lordship, that if you had the same eyes wherewith a man might have espied the church then, you would not say it were no answer. The fault why the church is not seen of you, is not because the church is not visible, but because your eyes are not clear enough to see it."

Chich.—"You are much deceived in making this collation betwixt the church then and now."

York.—"Very well spoken, my Lord; for Christ said, *Edificabo ecclesiam*, I will build my church; and not I do, or have built it; but, I will build it."

Brad.—"My Lords, Peter teacheth me to make this collation, saying, as in the people there were false prophets, which were most in estimation afore Christ's coming, so shall there be false teachers amongst the people after Christ's coming; and very many shall follow them. And as for your future tense, I hope your Grace will not thereby conclude Christ's church not to have been before, but rather that there is no building in the church but by Christ's work only: for Paul and Apollos be but waterers."

Chich.—"In good faith I am sorry to see you so light in judging the church."

York.—"He taketh upon him, as they all do, to judge the church. A man shall never come to certainty that doth as they do."

Brad.—"My Lords, I speak simply what I think, and desire reason to answer my objections. Your affections and sorrows cannot be my rules. If that you consider the order and case of my condemnation, I cannot think but that it should something move your Honours. You know it well enough, (for you heard it,) no matter was laid against me, but what was gathered upon mine own confession. Because I did deny transubstantiation, and the wicked to receive Christ's body in the sacrament, therefore I was condemned and excommunicated, but not of the church, although the pillars of the church (as they be taken) did it."

Chich.—"No; I heard say the cause of your imprisonment was, for that you exhorted the people to take the sword in the one hand, and the mattock in the other."

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Brad.—"My Lord, I never meant any such thing, nor spake any thing in that sort."

York.—"Yea, and you behaved yourself before the council so stoutly at the first, that you would defend the religion then; and therefore worthily were you prisoned."

Brad.—"Your Grace did hear me answer my Lord Chancellor to that point. But put case I had been so stout as they and your Grace make it, were not the laws of the realm on my side then? Wherefore unjustly was I prisoned: .only that which my Lord Chancellor propounded, was my confession of Christ's truth against transubstantiation, and of that which the wicked do receive, as I said."

York.—"You deny the presence."

Brad.—"I do not, to the faith of the worthy receivers."

York.—"Why! what is that to say other than that Christ lieth not on the altar?"

Brad.—"My Lord, I believe in no such presence."

Chich.—"It seemeth that you have not read Chrysostom, for he proveth it."

Brad.—"Hitherto I have been kept well enough without books: howbeit this I do remember of Chrysostom, that he saith, that Christ lieth upon the altar, as the seraphim with their tongues touch our lips with the coals of the altar in heaven, which is a hyperbolical locution, of which you know Chrysostom is full."

York.—"It is evident that you are too far gone: but let us come then to the church, out of the which ye are excommunicate."

Brad.—"I am not excommunicate out of Christ's church, my Lord, although they which seem to be in the church, and of the church, have excommunicated me, as the poor blind man was (John ix.); I am sure Christ receiveth me."

York.—"You do deceive yourself."

Here, after much talk of excommunication, at length Bradford said:

"Assuredly as I think you did well to depart from the Romish church, so I think ye have done wickedly to couple yourselves to it again; for you can never prove it, which you call the mother church, to be Christ's church."

Chich.—"Ah, Master Bradford! you were but a child when this matter began. I was a young man, and then coming from the university, I went with the world: but, I tell you, it was always against my conscience."

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Brad.—"I was but a child then, howbeit, as I told you, I think you have done evil: for ye are come, and have brought others, to that wicked man which sitteth in the temple of God, that is, in the church; for it cannot be understood of Mahomet, or any out of the church, but of such as bear rule in the church."

York.—"See how you build your faith upon such places of Scripture as are most obscure, to deceive yourself, as though ye were in the church, where you are not."

Brad.—"Well, my Lord, though I might by fruits judge of you and others, yet will I not utterly exclude you out of the church. And if I were in your case, I would not condemn him utterly that is of my faith in the sacrament; knowing as you know, that at the least eight hundred years after Christ, as my Lord of Durham writeth, it was free to believe or not to believe transubstantiation."

York.—"This is a toy that you have found out of your own brain; as though a man not believing as the church doth, (that is, transubstantiation,) were of the church."

Chich.—"He is a heretic, and so none of the church, that doth hold any doctrine against the definition of the church; as a man to hold against transubstantiation. Cyprian was no heretic, though he believed re-baptizing of them which were baptized of heretics, because he held it before the church had defined it; whereas if he had holden it after, then had he been a heretic."

Brad.—"Oh, my Lord! will ye condemn to the devil any man that believeth truly the twelve articles of the faith, (wherein I take the unity of Christ's church to consist,) although in some points he believe not the definition of that which ye call the church? I doubt not but that he which holdeth firmly the articles of our belief, though in other things he dissent from your definitions, yet he shall be saved."

"Yea," said both the bishops, (York and Chichester,) "this is your divinity."

Brad.—"No, it is Paul's; who saith, that if they hold the foundation, Christ, though they build upon him straw and stubble, yet they shall be saved."

York.—"Lord God! how you delight to lean, to so hard and dark places of the Scriptures."

Chich.—"I will show you how that Luther did excommunicate Zuinglius for this matter:" and so he read a place of Luther making for his purpose.

Brad.—"My Lord, what Luther writeth, as you much pass not, no more do I in this case. My faith is not builded on Luther, Zuinglius, or Æcolampadius, in this point: and indeed to tell you truly, I never read any of their works in this matter. As for them, I do think assuredly that they were, and are, God's children, and saints with him."

York. "Well, you are out of the communion of the church."

Brad.—"I am not; for it consisteth and is in faith."

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York.—"Lo, how you make your church invisible; for you would have the communion of it to consist in faith."

Brad.—"For to have communion with the church needeth no visibleness of it; for communion consisteth, as I said, in faith, and not in exterior ceremonies, as appeareth both by Paul, who would have one faith, and by Irenæus to Victor, for the observation of Easter; saying that disagreeing of fasting should not break the agreeing of faith."

Chich.—"The same place hath often even wounded my conscience, because we dissevered ourselves from the see of Rome."

Brad.—"Well, God forgive you; for you have done evil to bring England thither again."

Here my Lord of York took a book of paper of common-places, and read a piece of St. Augustine *Contra Epistolam Fundamenti*, how that there were many things that did hold St. Augustine in the bosom of the church: consent of people and nations; authority confirmed with miracles, nourished with hope, increased with charity, established with antiquity "besides this, there holdeth me in the church," said Augustine, "the succession of priests from Peter's seat until this present bishop. Last of all, the very name of catholic doth hold me," &c. "Lo," quoth he, "how say you to this of St. Augustine? Paint me out your church thus."

Brad.—"My Lord, these words of St. Augustine make as much for me as for you: although I might answer, that all this, if they had been so firm as you make them, might have been alleged against Christ and his apostles: for there was the law and the ceremonies consented on by the whole people, confirmed with miracles, antiquity, and continual succession of bishops from Aaron's time until that present."

Chich.—"In good faith, Master Bradford, you make too much of the state of the church before Christ's coming."

Brad.—"Therein I do but as Peter teacheth, 2 Pet. ii., and Paul very often. You would gladly have your church here very glorious, and as a most pleasant lady. But as Christ saith, *Beatus est quicumque non fuerit offensus per me*; so may his church say, Blessed are they that are not offended at me."

York.—"Yea, you think that none is of the church, but such as suffer persecution."

Brad.—"What I think, God knoweth: I pray your Grace judge me by my words and speaking, and mark what Paul saith, All that will live godly in Christ Jesus must suffer persecution. Sometimes Christ's church hath rest here; but commonly it is not so, and specially towards the end her form will be more unseemly."

York.—"But what say you to St. Augustine? where is your church that hath the consent of people and nations?"

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Brad.—"Even all people and nations that be God's people have consented with me, and I with them, in the doctrine of faith."

York.—"Lo, you go about to shift off all things."

Brad.—"No, my Lord; I mean simply, and so speak, God knoweth."

York.—"St. Augustine doth here talk of succession, even from Peter's seat."

Brad.—"Yea, that seat then was nothing so much corrupt as it is now."

York.—"Well, you always judge the church." *Brad.*—"No, my Lord; Christ's sheep discern Christ's voice, but they judge it not; so they discern the church, but judge her not."

York.—"Yes, that they do."

Brad.—"No, and it like your Grace; and yet full well may one not only doubt, but judge also of the Romish church; for she obeyeth not Christ's voice, as Christ's true church doth."

York.—"Wherein?"

Brad.—"In Latin service, and robbing the laity of Christ's cup in the sacrament; and in many other things, in which it committeth most horrible sacrilege."

Chich.—"Why, Latin service was in England when the pope was gone."

Brad.—"True; the time was in England when the pope was away, but not all popery—as in King Henry's days."

York.—"Latin service was appointed to be sung and had in the choir, where only were *clerici*, that is, such as understood Latin; the people sitting in the body of the church, praying their own private prayers; and this may well be yet seen by making of the chancel and choir so as the people could not come in, or hear them."

Brad.—"Yea, but both in Chrysostom's time, and also in the Latin church in St. Jerome's time, 'all the church,' saith he, 'answereth again mightily, Amen:' whereby we may see that the prayers were made so, that both the people heard them and understood them."

Chich.—"Ye are to blame, to say that the church robbeth the people of the cup."

Brad.—"Well, my Lord, term it as it please you; all men know that the laity hath none of it."

Chich.—"Indeed I would wish the church would define again, that they might have it, for my part."

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Brad.—"If God make it free, who can define to make it bond?"

York.—"Well, Master Bradford, we leese our labour; for ye seek to put away all things which are told you to your good: your church no man can know."

Brad.—"Yes, that ye may well."

York.—"I pray you whereby?"

Brad.—"Forsooth Chrysostom saith, 'alonely by the Scriptures:' and this speaketh he very oftentimes, as ye well know."

York.—"Indeed that is of Chrysostom in *Opere imperfecto*, which may be doubted of. The thing whereby the church may be known best, is succession of bishops."

Brad.—"No, my Lord, Lyra full well writeth upon Matthew, that 'The church consisteth not in men, by reason either of secular or temporal power; but in men endued with true knowledge, and confession of faith, and of verity.' And in Hilary's time, you know he writeth to Auxentius, that the church was hidden rather in caves and holes, than did glisten and shine in thrones of pre-eminence."



HEN came one of their servants and told them, that my Lord of Durham tarried for them at Master York's house; and this was after that they had tarried three hours with Bradford. And after that their man was come, they put up their written books of common-places, and said that they lamented his case: they willed him to read over a book which did Dr. Crome good. And so, wishing him good in words, they went their way, and poor Bradford to his prison.

After this communication with the bishops ended, within two days following came into the Compter two Spanish friars to talk with Master Bradford, sent (as they said) by the earl of Derby; of whom the one was the king's confessor, the other was Alphonsus, who had before written a popish book against heresies, the effect of which their reasoning here likewise followeth.

On the twenty-fifth day of February, about eight of the clock in the morning, two Spanish friars came to the Compter where Bradford was prisoner; to whom Bradford was called. Then the one friar, which was the king's confessor, asked in Latin (for all their talk was in Latin) of Bradford, whether he had not seen or heard of one Alphonsus, that had written against heresies?

Brad.—"I do not know him."

Confessor.—"Well, this man [pointing to Alphonsus] is he. We are come to you of love and charity, by the means of the earl of Derby, because you desired to confer with us."

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Brad.—"I never desired your coming, nor to confer with you, or any other: but, seeing you are come of charity, as you say, I cannot but thank you; and as touching conference, though I desire it not, yet I will not refuse to talk with you, if you will."

Alph.—"It were requisite that you did pray unto God, that ye might follow the direction of God's Spirit, that he would inspire you, so that ye be not addict to your own self-will or wit."

Whereupon Bradford made a prayer, and besought God to direct all their wills, words, and works, as the wills, words, and works of his children for ever.

Alph.—"Yea, you must pray with your heart. For if you speak but with tongue only, God will not give you his grace."

Brad.—"Sir, do not judge, lest ye be judged. You have heard my words: now charity would have you leave the judgment of the heart to God."

Alph.—"You must be as it were a neuter, and not wedded to yourself, but as one standing in doubt. Pray and be ready to receive what God shall inspire; for in vain laboureth our tongue to speak else."

Brad.—"Sir, my sentence, if you mean it for religion, must not be in a doubting or uncertain, as I thank God I am certain in that for which I am condemned: I have no cause to doubt of it, but rather to be most certain of it; and therefore I pray God to confirm me more in it; for it is his truth. And because it is so certain and true that it may abide the light, I dare be bold to have it looked on, and confer it with you, or any man; in respect whereof I am both glad of your coming, and thank you for it."

Alph.—"What is the matter whereof you were condemned? We know not."

Brad.—"Sir, I have been in prison almost two years: I never transgressed any of their laws where-for I might justly be prisoned; and now am I condemned, only because I frankly confessed (whereof I repent not) my faith concerning the sacrament, when I was demanded in these two points: one, that there is no transubstantiation; the other, that the wicked do not receive Christ's body."

Alph.—"Let us look a little on the first. Do you not believe that Christ is present really and corporally in the form of bread?"

Brad.—"No, I do believe that Christ is present to the faith of the worthy receiver, as there is present bread and wine to the senses and outward man: as for any such presence of including and placing Christ, I believe not, nor dare believe."

Alph.—"I am sure you believe Christ's natural body is circumscribable."

And here he made much ado of the two natures of Christ, how that the one is every where, and the other is in his proper place; demanding such questions as no wise man would

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have spent any time about. At length, because the friar had forgotten to conclude, Bradford put him in mind of it, and thus then at length he concluded: How that because Christ's body was circumscribable, concerning the human nature in heaven, therefore it was so in the bread.

Brad.—"How hangeth this together? Even as if you should say, because you are here, ergo, it must needs follow that you are at Rome. For thus you reason,—Because Christ's body is in heaven, ergo, it is in the sacrament under the form of bread: which no wise man will grant."

Alph.—"Why! will you believe nothing but that which is expressly spoken in the Scriptures?"

Brad.—"Yes, sir, I will believe whatsoever you shall by demonstration out of the Scriptures declare unto me."

"He is obstinate," quoth Alphonsus to his fellow: and then turning to Bradford, said, "Is not God able to do it?"

Brad.—"Yes, but here the question is of God's will, and not of his power."

Alph.—"Why! doth he not say plainly, This is my body?"

Brad.—"Yes, and I deny not but that it is so, to the faith of the worthy receiver."

Alph.—"To the faith!—how is that?"

Brad.—"Forsooth, sir, as I have no tongue to express it; so I know ye have no ears to hear and understand it. For faith is more than man can utter."

Alph.—"But I can tell all that I believe."

Brad.—"You believe not much then; for if you believe the joys of heaven, and believe no more thereof than you can tell, you will not yet desire to come thither. For as the mind is more capable and receivable than the mouth, so it conceiveth more than tongue can express."

Alph.—"Christ saith it is his body."

Brad.—"And so say I, after a certain manner."

Alph.—"After a certain manner? that is, after another manner than it is in heaven."

Brad.—"St. Augustine telleth it more plainly, that it is Christ's body after the same manner as circumcision was the covenant of God, and the sacrament of faith is faith; or, to make it more plain, as baptism and the water of baptism is regeneration."

Alph.—"Very well said: baptism and the water thereof is a sacrament of God's grace and Spirit in the water cleansing the baptized."

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Brad.—"No, sir, away with your enclosing; but this I grant, that after the same sort Christ's body is in the bread, on which sort the grace and Spirit of God is in the water."

Alph.—"In water is God's grace, by signification."

Brad.—"So is the body in the bread in the sacrament."

Mph.—"You are much deceived, in that you make no difference between the sacraments that be standers, and the sacraments that are transitory and passers-by. As for example, the sacrament of Orders, which you deny, though St. Augustine affirm it; it is a standard, although the ceremony be past. But in baptism, so soon as the body is washed, the water ceaseth to be a sacrament."

Brad.—"Very good; and so it is in the supper of the Lord: no longer than it is in use, is it Christ's sacrament."

Here was this friar in a wonderful rage, and spake so high (as often he had done before) that the whole house rang again, chafing with *om* and *cho*. He hath a great name of learning, but surely he hath little patience; for if Bradford had been any thing hot, one house could not have held them. At the length he cometh to this point, that Bradford could not find in the Scripture baptism and the Lord's supper to bear any similitude to each other. And here he triumphed before the conquest, saying, that these men would receive nothing but Scripture, and yet were able to prove nothing by the Scripture.

Brad.—"Be patient, and you shall see that by the Scripture I will find baptism and the Lord's supper coupled together."

Alph.—"No, that canst thou never do. Let me see a text of it."

Brad.—"Paul saith; that as we are baptized into one body, we have drunk of one spirit, meaning the cup in the Lord's supper."

Alph.—"Paul hath no such words."

Brad.—"Yes, that he hath."

Confessor.—"I trow, he hath not."

Brad.—"Give me a Testament, and I will show you."

So a priest that sat by them gave him his Testament, and he showed them the plain text. Then they looked one upon another. In fine the friar found this simple shift, that Paul spake not of the sacrament.

Brad.—"Well, the text is plain enough, and there are of the fathers which do so understand the place: for Chrysostom doth expound it so."

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Alphonsus, who had the Testament in his hand, desirous to suppress this foil, turned the leaves of the book from leaf to leaf, till he came to the place (1 Cor. xi.); and there he read how that he was guilty who made no difference of the Lord's body.

Brad.—"Yea, but therewith he saith, He that eateth of the bread; calling it bread still: and that after consecration, (as ye call it,) as in 1 Cor. x., he saith, The bread which we break, &c."

Alph.—"Oh how ignorant are ye, which know not that things, after their conversion, do retain the same names which they had before, as Moses' rod!"

Here Alphonsus, calling for a Bible, after he had found the place began to triumph: but Bradford cooled him quickly, saying:

Brad.—"Sir, *there* is mention made of the conversion, as well as that the same appeared to the sense: but *here* ye cannot find it so. Find me one word how the bread is converted, and I will then say, ye bring some matter that maketh for you."

At these words the friar was troubled, and at length he said, how that Bradford hanged on his own sense.

Brad.—"No, that do I not; for I will bring you forth the fathers of the church eight hundred years after Christ, to confirm this which I speak."

Alph.—"No, you have the church against you."

Brad.—"I have not Christ's church against me."

Alph.—"Yes, that you have. What is the church?"

Brad.—"Christ's wife, the chair and seat of verity."

Alph.—"Is she visible?"

Brad.—"Yea, that she is to them that will put on the spectacles of God's word to look on her."

Alph.—"This church hath defined the contrary, and that I will prove by all the good fathers from Christ's ascension, even for eight hundred years at the least continually."

Brad.—"What will you so prove? Transubstantiation?"

Alph.—"Yea, that the bread is turned into Christ's body."

Brad.—"You speak more than you can do."

Alph.—"That do I not."

Brad.—"Then will I give place."

Alph.—"Will you believe?"

Brad.—"Belief is God's gift; therefore cannot I promise. But I tell you that I will give place; and I hope I shall believe his truth always, so good is he to me in Christ my Saviour."

Here the friar found a great fault with Bradford, that he made no difference betwixt *habitus* and *actus*: as though *actus*, which he called credulity, had been in our power. But this he let pass, and came again, asking Bradford, if he could prove it as he said, whether he would give place?"Yea, that I will." Then called he for paper, pen, and ink, to write; and then said I, "What and if that I prove, by the testimony of the fathers, that continually, for eight hundred years after Christ at the least, they did believe that the substance of bread doth remain in the sacrament—what will ye do?"

Alph.—"I will give place."

Brad.—"Then write you here, that you will give place if I so prove; and I will write that I will give place if you so prove: because ye are the ancient, ye shall have the pre-eminency."

Here the friar fumed marvellously, and said, "I came not to learn at thee: are not here witnesses? [meaning the two priests] be not they sufficient?" But the man was so chafed, that if Bradford had not passed over this matter of writing, the friar would have fallen to plain scolding. At the length the king's confessor asked Bradford what the second question was?

Brad.—"That wicked men receive not Christ's body in the sacrament, as St. Augustine speaketh of Judas, that he received the bread of the Lord, but not the Lord the bread."

Alph.—"St. Augustine saith not so."

Brad.—"Yes, that doth he."

So they arose and talked no more of that matter. Thus went they away, without bidding Bradford farewell.—After they were gone, one of the priests came, and willed Bradford not to be so obstinate.

Brad.—"Sir, be not you so wavering; in all the Scripture cannot you find me *non est panis*."

Priest.—"Yes, that I can in five places."

Brad.—"Then I will eat your book."

So the book was opened, but no place found; and he went his way smiling, "God help us."

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Talk between Master Bradford and Dr. Weston, and others.

It followed after this, upon the twenty-first of March, that by means of one of the earl of Derby's men, there came to the Compter to dinner one Master Collier, once warden of Manchester, and the said servant of the earl of Derby, of whom Master Bradford learned that Dr. Weston, dean of Westminster, would be with him in the afternoon about two of the clock. At dinner time—when the said warden did discommend King Edward, and went about to set forth the authority of the pope, which Bradford withstood, defending the king's faith, that it was catholic, and that the authority of the bishop of Rome's supremacy was usurped, bringing forth the testimony of Gregory, which affirmeth the name of supreme head to be a title of the forerunner to antichrist—a woman prisoner was brought in; whereupon the said Bradford took occasion to rise from the table, and so went to his prison-chamber to beg of God grace and help therein, continuing there still until he was called down to speak with Master Weston, who was then come in.

Master Bradford then being called down, so soon as he was entered into the hall, Master Weston very gently took him by the hand, and asked how he did; with such other talk. At length he willed avoidance of the chamber: so they all went out, save Master Weston himself, Master Collier, the earl of Derby's servant, the subdean of Westminster, the keeper, Master Claydon, and the parson of the church where the Compter is.

Now then he began with Master Bradford, to tell how that he was often minded to have come unto him, being thereto desired of the earl of Derby "and," quoth he, "after that I perceived by this man, that you could be contented rather to speak with me, than any others, I could not but come to do you good, if I can; for hurt you be sure I will not."

"Sir," quoth Master Bradford, "when I perceived by the report of my Lord's servant, that you did bear me good will: more (as he said) than any other of your sort, I told him then, that therefore I could be better content and more willing to talk with you, if you should come unto me. This did I say," quoth Bradford, "otherwise I desired not your coming."

"Well," quoth Weston, "now I am come to talk with you: but before we shall enter into any talk, certain principles we must agree upon, which shall be this day's work. First," quoth he, "I shall desire you to put away all vain-glory, and not hold any thing for the praise of the world."

Brad.—"Sir, St. Augustine maketh that indeed a piece of the definition of a heretic; which if I cannot put away clean, (for I think there will be a spice of it remain in us, as long as this flesh liveth,) yet I promise you, by the grace of God, that I purpose not to yield to it. God I hope will never suffer it to bear rule in them that strive there against, and desire all the dregs of it utterly to be driven out of us."

West.—"I am glad to hear you say so, although indeed I think you do not so much esteem it as others do. Secondly, I would desire you that you will put away singularity in your judgment and opinions."

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Brad.—"Sir, God forbid that I should stick to any singularity or private judgment in God's religion. Hitherto I have not desired it, neither do, nor mind at any time to hold any other doctrine than is public and catholic; understanding catholic as good men do, according to God's word."

West.—"Very well; this is a good day's work. I hope to do you good; and therefore, now, thirdly, I shall pray you to write me *capita* of those things whereupon you stand in the sacrament, and to send them to me betwixt this and Wednesday next: until which time, yea, until I come to you again, be assured that you are without all peril of death. of my fidelity, I warrant you; therefore away with all dubitations," &c.

Brad.—"Sir, I will write to you the grounds I lean to in this matter. As for death, if it come, welcome be it: this which you require of me, shall be no great let to me therein."

West.—"You know that St. Augustine was a Manichean, yet was he converted at the length; so have I good hope of you."

Brad.—"Sir, because I will not flatter you, I would you should flatly know, that I am even settled in the religion, wherefore I am condemned."

West.—"Yea, but if it be not the truth, and you see evident matter to the contrary, will you not then give place?"

Brad.—"God forbid, but that I should always give place to the truth."

West.—"I would have you to pray so."

Brad.—"So I do, and that he will more and more confirm me in it; as I thank God be hath done and doth."

West.—"Yea, but pray with a condition, if you be in it."

Brad.—"No, sir, I cannot pray so, because I am settled and assured of his truth."

"Well," quoth Weston, "as the learned bishop answered St. Augustine's mother, that though he was obstinate, yet the tears of such a mother could not but win her son: so," quoth he, "I hope your prayers [for then Bradford's eyes did show that he had wept in prayer] cannot but he heard of God, though not as you would, yet as best shall please God. Do ye not," quoth he, "remember the history thereof?"

"Yea, sir," quoth Bradford, "I think it be of St. Ambrose."

West.—"No, that it is not."

And here Weston would have laid a wager, and began to triumph, saying to Bradford, "As you are overseen herein, so are you in other things."

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Brad.—"Well, sir, I will not contend with you for the name. This (I remember) St. Augustine writeth in his Confessions."

After this talk, Weston began to tell Master Bradford, how the people were by him procured to withstand the queen. Whereunto Bradford, answering again, bade him hang him up as a traitor and a thief, if ever he encouraged any to rebellion: which thing his keeper, and others that were there of the priests, affirmed on his behalf: so, much talk there was to little purpose at that time. Dr. Weston declared moreover how he had saved men going in the cart to be hanged, and such like. The end was this, that Bradford should send unto him *capita doctrinae* of the supper, and after Wednesday he would come unto him again. And thus departed he, after that he had drunk to him in beer and wine. I omit here talk of Oxford, of books of German writers, of the fear of death, and such other talk, which is to no purpose.

Another disputation or talk between Master Bradford and Dr. Pendleton.

In the mean time, when Master Bradford had written his reasons and arguments, and had sent them to Dr. Weston, in short space after, (about the twenty-eighth of March,) there came to the Compter Dr. Pendleton, and with him the foresaid Master Collier, sometime warden of Manchester, and Stephen Bech. After salutations Master Pendleton began to speak to Bradford, that he was sorry for his trouble. "And further," quoth Pendleton, "After that I did know you could be content to talk with me, I made the more speed, being as ready to do thee good, and pleasure thee what I can, as ye would wish."

Bradford.—"Sir, the manner how I was content to speak with you, was on this sort: Master Bech was often in hand with me whom he should bring unto me, and named you amongst others; and I said, that I had rather speak with you, than with any of all the others. Now the cause why I so would, I will briefly tell you. I remember that once you were (as far as a man might judge) of the religion that I am of at this present, and I remember that you have set forth the same earnestly. Gladly therefore would I learn of you what thing it was that moved your conscience to alter, and gladly would I see what thing it is that you have seen since, which you saw not before."

Pendleton.—"Master Bradford, I do not know wherefore you are condemned."

Brad.—"Transubstantiation is the cause wherefore I am condemned, and because I deny that wicked men do receive Christ's body: wherein I would desire you to show me what reasons, which before you knew not, did move your conscience now to alter. For once (as I said) you were as I am in religion."

Here Master Pendleton, half amazed, began to excuse himself, if it would have been, as though he had not denied fully transubstantiation indeed, "although I said," quoth he, "that the word was not in Scripture;" and so he made an endless tale of the thing that moved him to alter: "but," said he, "I will gather to you the places which moved me, and send you them." And here he desired Bradford, that he might have a copy of that which he had sent to Master Weston; the which Bradford did promise him.

Some reasoning also they had, whether evil men did receive Christ's body, Bradford denying, and Pendleton affirming. Bradford said that they received not the spirit: ergo, not the body; for it is no dead carcass. Hereto Bradford brought also St. Augustine, how Judas received *panem Domini*, and not *panem Dominum*; and how that he must be in Christ's body, which must receive the body of Christ. But Pendleton went about to put it away with *idem*, and not *ad idem*, and how that *in corpore Christi* was to be understood of all that be in the visible church with God's elect. Bradford denied this to be St. Augustine's meaning; and said, also, that the allegation of *idem*, and not *ad idem*, could not make for that purpose. They talked more of transubstantiation, Pendleton bringing forth Cyprian; *panis natura mutatur*, &c. And Bradford said, that in that place *natura* did not signify substance. As the nature of an herb is not the substance of it, so the bread changed in nature is not to be taken for changed in substance; for now it is ordained, not for the food of the body simply, but rather for the soul. Here also Bradford alleged the sentence of Gelasius. Pendleton said, that he was a pope. "Yea," said Bradford, "but his faith is my faith in the sacrament, if ye would receive it."

They reasoned also whether *accidentia* were *res*, or no. If they be properly *res*, said Bradford, then are they substances; and if they be substances they are earthly, and then are there earthly substances in the sacrament, as Irenæus saith, which must needs be bread. But Pendleton said that the colour was the earthly thing; and called it "an accidental substance."

I omit the talk they had of my Lord of Canterbury, of Peter Martyr's book, of Pendleton's letter laid to Bradford's charge when he was condemned, with other talk more of the church; whether *die ecclesiæ* was spoken of the universal church, or of a particular (which Pendleton at the length granted to be spoken of a particular church): also of vain-glory, which he willed Bradford to beware of; and such-like talk. A little before his departing Bradford said thus, "Master Doctor, as I said to Master Weston the last day, so say I unto you again, that I am the same man in religion against transubstantiation still, which I was when I came into prison; for hitherto I have seen nothing in any point to infirm me." At which words Pendleton was something moved, and said that it was no catholic doctrine. "Yes," quoth Bradford, "and that will I prove even by the testimony of the catholic fathers until the council of Lateran, or thereabouts." Thus Pendleton went his way, saying, that he would come oftener to Bradford.—God our Father be with us all, and give us the spirit of his truth for ever. Amen.

The same day in the afternoon, about five of the clock, came Master Weston to Bradford; and after gentle salutations, he desired the company every man to depart; and so they two sat down. And after that he had thanked Bradford for his writing unto him, he pulled out of his bosom the same writing which Bradford had sent him. The writing is this that followeth.

Certain reasons against transubstantiation, gathered by John Bradford, and given to Dr. Weston and others.

"That which is former (saith Tertullian) is true; that which is later is false. But the doctrine of transubstantiation is a late doctrine: for it was not defined generally afore the council of Lateran, about 1215 years after Christ's coming, under Pope Innocent, the third of that name. For before that time it was free for all men to believe it, or not believe it, as the bishop of

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Durham doth witness in his book of the Presence of Christ in his Supper, lately put forth: ergo, the doctrine of transubstantiation is false.

"2. That the words of Christ's supper be figurative, the circumstances of the Scripture, the analogy or proportion of the sacraments, and the sentences of all the holy fathers, which were and did write for the space of 1000 years after Christ's ascension, do teach. Whereupon it followeth, that there is no transubstantiation.

"3. That the Lord gave to his disciples bread, and called it his body, the very Scriptures do witness. For he gave that, and called it his body, which he took in his hands, whereon he gave thanks; which also he brake, and gave to his disciples, that is to say, bread; as the fathers Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, Epiphanius, Augustine, and all the residue, which are of antiquity, do affirm. But inasmuch as the substance of bread and wine is another thing than the substance of the body and blood of Christ, it plainly appeareth that there is no transubstantiation.

"4. The bread is no more transubstantiate than the wine: but that the wine is not transubstantiate, St. Matthew and St. Mark do teach us: for they witness, that Christ said that he would drink no more of the fruit of the vine, which was not blood, but wine: and therefore it followeth, that there is no transubstantiation. Chrysostom upon Matthew, and St. Cyprian, do affirm this reason.

"5. As the bread in the Lord's supper is Christ's natural body, so is it his mystical body: for the same Spirit that spake of it, This is my body, did say also, For we many are one bread, one body, &c.

But now it is not the mystical body by transubstantiation, and therefore it is not his natural body by transubstantiation.

"6. The words spoken over the cup in St. Luke and St. Paul, are not so mighty and effectual as to transubstantiate it: for then it, or that which is in it, should be transubstantiate into the new testament. Therefore the words spoken over the bread, are not so mighty as to make transubstantiation.

"7. All that doctrine which agreeth with those churches which be apostolic mother churches, or original churches, is to be counted for truth, in that it holdeth that which these churches received of the apostles, the apostles of Christ, Christ of God. But it is manifest, that the doctrine taught at this present of the Church of Rome, concerning transubstantiation, doth not agree with the apostolic and mother churches in Greece, of Corinth, of Philippi, Colosse, Thessalonica, Ephesus, which never taught transubstantiation; yea, it agreeth not with the doctrine of the Church of Rome taught in time past. For Gelasius the pope, setting forth the doctrine which that see did then hold, doth manifestly confute the error of transubstantiation, and reproveth them of sacrilege, which divide the mystery, and keep from the laity the cup. Therefore the doctrine of transubstantiation agreeth not with the truth."

This was the writing which Weston pulled out of his bosom: and yet, before he began to read it, he showed Bradford that he asked of his conversation at Cambridge since his last being

with him; "and," quoth he, "Master Bradford, because you are a man not given to the glory of the world, I will speak it before your face: your life I have learned was such there always, as all men, even the greatest enemies you have, cannot but praise it; and therefore I love you much better than ever I did; but now I will read over your arguments, and so we will confer them. Such they are, that a man may well perceive you stand on conscience, and therefore I am the more ready and glad to pity you." So he began to read the first; to the which he said, that though the word transubstantiation began but lately, yet the thing always was, and hath been since Christ's institution.

Brad.—"I do not contend, or hang upon the word only, but upon the thing, which is as new as the word."

Then went Weston to the second, and there brought out St. Augustine, how that if an evil man, going to the devil, did make his will, his son and heir would not say his father did lie in it, or speak tropically: much more Christ, going to God, did never lie, or use any figurative speech in his last will and testament. "Do you not remember this place of St. Augustine;" said he?

Brad.—"Yes, sir, but I remember not that St. Augustine hath those words, tropicè or figurative, as you rehearse them: for any man may speak a thing figuratively, and lie not: and so Christ did in his last supper."

After this Weston went to the third, and brought forth Cyprian, bow that the nature of bread is turned into flesh. "Here," saith he, "my Lord of Canterbury expoundeth nature' for quality,' by Gelasius. The which interpretation serveth for the answer of your third argument, that Christ called bread his body; that is, the quality, form, and appearance of bread. And further the Scripture is wont to call things by the same names which they had before, as Simon the leper; he was not so presently, but because he had been so."

Brad.—"Cyprian wrote before Gelasius: therefore Cyprian must not expound Gelasius, but Gelasius Cyprian: and so they both teach, that bread remaineth still. As for things having still the names they had, it is no answer, except you could show that this now were not bread, as easily as a man might have known and seen then Simon to have been healed and clear from his leprosy."

After this, Weston went to the fourth, of the cup, the which he did not fully read, but digressed into a long talk of Cyprian's epistle De Aquariis: also of St. Augustine; expounding the breaking of bread by Christ to his two disciples going to Emmaus, to be the sacrament, with such other talk to no certain purpose: and therefore Bradford prayed him, that inasmuch as he had written the reasons that stablished his faith against transubstantiation, so he would likewise do to him, that is, answer him by writing, and show him more reasons in writing to confirm transubstantiation; which Dr. Weston promised to do, and said that he would send or bring it to Master Bradford again within three days.

Thus, when he had over-read the arguments, and here and there spoken little to the purpose for the avoiding of them, and Bradford had prayed him to give him in writing his answers, then he began to tell Bradford how and what he had done for Grimoald, and how that

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Bradford needed not to fear any reproach or slander he should suffer: meaning belike to have Bradford secretly to come to them, as Grimoald did; for he subscribed.

Brad.—"Master Dean, I would not gladly that you should conceive of me that I pass of shame of men simply in this matter: I rather would have you to think of me, as the very truth is, that hitherto as I have not heard or seen any thing to inform my faith against transubstantiation, so I am no less settled in it, than I was at my first coming hither. I love to be plain with you, and to tell you at the first, as you shall find at the last."

West.—"In good faith, Master Bradford, I love you the better for your plainness; and do not think otherwise of me, but that you shall find me plain in all my talk with you."

Here Weston began to ask Bradford of his imprisonment and condemnation: and so Bradford told him altogether, how he had been handled; whereat Weston seemed to wonder: yea, in plain words he said, that Bradford had been handled otherwise than he had given cause; and so showed Bradford how that my Lord of Bath reported that he had deserved a benefit at the queen's hand, and at all the council's. In this kind of talk they spent an hour almost, and so, as one weary, Bradford rose up, and Weston called to the keeper, and before him he bade Bradford be of good comfort, and said that he was out of all peril of death. "Sir," quoth the keeper, "but it is in every man's mouth that he shall die to-morrow." Whereat Weston seemed half amazed, and said, he would go say even-song before the queen, and speak to her in his behalf. But it is to be thought that the queen had almost supped at that present; for it was past six of the clock.

Before the keeper, Bradford told Weston again that still he was one man, and even as he was at the first; and till he should see matter to teach his conscience the contrary, he said he must needs so continue. The keeper desired Bradford to hearken to Master Doctor's counsel, and prayed Master Doctor to be good unto him: and so after they had drunk together, Master Doctor with most gentle words took his leave for three days.

Now when he was gone, the keeper told Bradford, that Master Doctor spake openly how that he saw no cause why they should burn him: which sentence, for the ambiguity of the meaning, made him somewhat sorry, lest he had behaved himself in any thing, wherein he had gathered any conformableness to them in their doctrine, "which, God knoweth," saith Bradford, "I never as yet did." God our Father bless us, as his children, and keep us from all evil for ever. Amen.

Another talk or conference between Master Bradford and Doctor Weston.

On the fifth day of April came Master Doctor Weston to the Compter, about two of the clock in the afternoon, who excused himself for being so long absent; partly by sickness, partly for that Dr. Pendleton told him that he would come unto him; "and partly for that," quoth he, "I withstood certain monks, which would have come again into Westminster; "telling him, moreover, how that the pope was dead. And also declared unto him, how he had spoken to the queen in his behalf, and how that death was not near to him. Last of all Weston excused himself for not answering his arguments against transubstantiation; "because my coming today," quoth he, "was more by fortune, than of purpose."

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Brad.—"I would gladly, Master Doctor, if it please you, see your answers to my arguments."

Weston.—"Why? you have remembered something that I spake to you, when I was last with you."

Brad.—"No, sir, I never called them in manner to mind, since that time, as well because I hoped you would have written them; as also for that they seemed not to be so material."

Weston.—"In good faith, I cannot see any other or better way for you, than for to submit yourself to the judgment of the church."

Brad.—"Marry so will I, sir, if so be by the church you understand Christ's church."

Weston.—"Lo, you take upon you to judge the church."

Brad.—"No, sir, that I do not; in taking upon me to discern, I do not judge the church."

Weston.—"Yes, that you do; and make it invisible."

Brad.—"I do neither."

Weston.—"Why, who can see your church?"

Brad.—"Those, sir, that have spiritual eyes, wherewith they might have discerned Christ's visible conversation here upon earth."

Weston.—"Nay, Christ's church hath three tokens, that all men may look well upon; namely, unity, antiquity, and consent."

Brad.—"These three may be as well in evil as in good; as well in sin as in virtue; as well in the devil's church, as in God's church—as for an example; idolatry amongst the Israelites had all those three. Chrysostom telleth plainly, as you well know, that the church is well known, *tantummodo per Scripturas*, alone by the Scriptures."

Weston.—"In good faith, you make your church invisible, when you will have it known alone by the Scriptures."

Brad.—"No, sir, the Scriptures do plainly set forth to us the church, that all men may well enough thereby know her, if they list to look."

Weston.—"The church is like a tower or town upon a hill, that all men may see."

Brad.—"True, sir, all men that be not blind. Visible enough is the church, but men's blindness is great. Impute not therefore to the church, that which is to be imputed to men's blindness."

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Weston.—"Where was your church forty years ago, or where is it now, except in a corner of Germany?"

Brad.—"Forsooth, sir, the church of God is dispersed, and not tied to this or that place, but to the word of God; so that where it is, there is God's church, if it be truly taught."

West.—"Lo, is not this to make the church invisible? Point me out a realm a hundred years past, which maintained your doctrine."

Brad.—"Sir, if you will, or would well mark the state of the church before Christ's coming, with it now, (as St. Paul and Peter willeth us,) I think you would not look for such shows of the church to be made, as to point it by realms. You know that in Elias's time, both in Israel and elsewhere, God's church was not pointable; and therefore cried he out, that he was left alone."

West.—"No, marry; did not God say that there were seven thousand which had not bowed their knees to Baal? Lo then seven thousand. Show me seven thousand a hundred years ago of your religion."

Brad.—"Sir, these seven thousand were not known to men: for then Elias would not have said, that he had been before left alone. And it is plain enough, by that which the text hath, namely, that God saith, *Reliqui mihi*, I have reserved to me seven thousand. Mark that it saith, God hath reserved to himself, to his own knowledge; as I doubt not but a hundred years ago God had his seven thousand in his proper places, though men knew not thereof."

West.—"Well, Master Bradford, I will not make your case worse than for transubstantiation: although I know that we agree not in other matters. And I pray you make you it yourself not worse. If I can do you good, I will: hurt you I will not. I am no prince, and therefore I cannot promise you life, except you will submit yourself to the definition of the church."

Brad.—"Sir, so that you will define me your church, that under it you bring not in a false church, you shall not see but that we shall soon be at a point."

West.—"In good faith, Master Bradford, I see no good will be done; and therefore I will wish you as much good as I can, and hereafter I will perchance come or send to you again."

And so he sent for Master Weal, and departed.—Now after his departing, came the keeper, Master Claydon, and Stephen Bech; and they were very hot with Bradford, and spake with him in such sort that he should not look but to have them utter enemies unto him, notwithstanding the friendship they both had hitherto pretended. God be with us, and what matter is it who be against us?

Among divers which came to Master Bradford in prison, some to dispute and confer, some to give counsel, some to take comfort, and some to visit him, there was a certain gentlewoman's servant, which gentlewoman had been cruelly afflicted, and miserably handled by

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her father and mother and all her kindred, in her father's house, for not coming to the mass, and like at length to have been pursued to death, had not the Lord delivered her out, of her father's house, being put from all that ever she had. This gentlewoman's servant, therefore, being sent to Master Bradford with commendations, had this talk with him, which I thought here not to overslip.

This servant or messenger of the foresaid gentlewoman, coming to Master Bradford, and taking him by the hand, said, "God be thanked for you: how do you do?"

Master Bradford answered, "Well; I thank God. For as men in sailing, which be near to the shore or haven where they would be, would be nearer; even so the nearer I am to God, the nearer I would be."

Servant.—"Sir, I have never seen you so strong and healthsome of body, as methinketh you be now, God be thanked for it."

"Why," quoth Bradford, "I have given over all care and study, and only do I covet to be talking with him, whom I have always studied to be withal."

Serv.—"Well, God hath done much for you since the time that I first knew you, and hath wrought wondrously in you to his glory."

Brad.—"Truth it is: for he hath dealt favourably with me, in that he hath not punished me according to my sins, but hath suffered me to live, that I might seek repentance."

Serv.—"Truly, we hear say, there is a rod made so grievous, out of the which I think no man shall pluck his head."

Brad.—"Well, let all that be of Christ's flock, arm themselves to suffer: for I think verily, God will not have one of his to escape untouched, if he love him; let them seek what means or ways they can."

Serv.—"Well, sir, there goeth a talk of a friar that should preach before the king, and should tell him, that he should be guilty of the innocent blood that hath been shed of late."

"Verily," quoth Bradford, "I had a book within these two days of his writing, and therein he saith, that it is not meet nor convenient that the heretics should live; and therefore I do marvel how that talk should rise: for I have heard of it also, and I have also talked with this friar (he is named friar Fonso) and with divers other; and I praise God they have confirmed me: for they have nothing to say but that which is most vain."

Serv.—"Sir, father Cardmaker hath him commended unto you."

Brad.—"How doth he? how doth he?"

Serv.—"Well, God be thanked."

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Brad.—"I am very glad thereof: for indeed my Lord Chancellor did cast him in my teeth; but, as David saith, God hath disappointed him."

Serv.—"Forsooth (God's name be praised) he is very strong."

Brad.—"And, I trust, so are we. What else? our quarrel is most just: therefore let us not be afraid."

Serv.—"My mistress hath her recommended unto you."

Brad.—"How doth she?"

Serv.—"Well, God be praised, but she hath been sorer afflicted with her own father and mother, than ever you were with your imprisonment, and yet God hath preserved her, I trust, to his glory."

Brad.—"I pray you tell her, I read this day a goodly history, written by Basil the Great, of a virtuous woman which was a widow, and was named Juletta. She had great lands and many children, and nigh her dwelled a cormorant, which, for her virtuousness and godly living, had great indignation at her; and of very malice he took away her lands, so that she was constrained to go to the law with him. And, in conclusion, the matter came to the trial before the judge, who demanded of this tyrant why he wrongfully withheld these lands from this woman? He made answer and said, he might so do: 'for,' saith he, 'this woman is disobedient to the king's proceedings; for she will in no wise worship his gods, nor offer sacrifice unto them.' Then the judge, hearing that, said unto her, 'Woman, if this be true, thou art not only like to lose thy land, but also thy life, unless that thou worship our gods, and do sacrifice unto them.' This godly woman, hearing that, stept forth to the judge, and said, 'Is there no remedy but either to worship your false gods, or else to lose my lands and life? Then farewell suit, farewell lands, farewell children, farewell friends; yea, and farewell life too: and, in respect of the true honour of the ever living God, farewell all.' And with that saying did the judge commit her to prison, and afterward she suffered most cruel death. And being brought to the place of execution, she exhorted all women to be strong and constant: 'for,' saith she, 'ye were redeemed with as dear a price as men. For although ye were made of the rib of the man, yet be you all of his flesh: so that also, in the case and trial of your faith towards God, ye ought to be as strong.' And thus died she constantly, not fearing death. I pray you tell your mistress of this history."

Serv.—"That shall I, sir, by God's grace: for she told me that she was with you and Master Saunders, and received your gentle counsel."

Brad.—"We never gave her other counsel but the truth; and in witness thereof, we have and will seal it with our bloods. For I thought this night that I had been sent for, because at eleven of the clock there was such rapping at the door."

Then answered a maid, and said, "Why then I perceive you were afraid."

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Brad.—"Ye shall hear how fearful I was; for I considered that I had not slept, and I thought to take a nap before I went: and after I was asleep, these men came into the next chamber and sang, as it was told me; and yet, for all my fearfulness, I heard them not: therefore belike I was not afraid, that slept so fast."

Serv.—"Do you lack any thing towards your necessity?"

Brad.—"Nothing but your prayers; and I trust I have them, and you mine."

Serv.—"I saw a priest come to you to-day in the morning."

Brad.—"Yea, he brought me a letter from a friar, and I am writing an answer."

Serv.—"Then we let you: therefore the living God be with you."

Brad.—"And with you also, and bless you."

"Amen," said he; and gave him thanks and departed.

Thus still in prison continued Bradford, until the month of July, in such labours and sufferings as he before always had sustained in prison. But when the time of his determined death was come, he was suddenly conveyed out of the Compter where he was prisoner, in the night season, to Newgate, as afore is declared; and from thence he was carried the next morning to Smithfield, where he, constantly abiding in the same truth of God which before he had confessed, earnestly exhorting the people to repent, and to return to Christ, and sweetly comforting the godly young springal of nineteen or twenty years old, which was burned with him, cheerfully he ended his painful life, to live with Christ.

Lines in memory of John Bradford, martyr.

Lament we may both day and night
For this our brother dear;
Bradford, a man, both just and right,
There were but few his peer.
For God's true servant he was known
In every city and town:
His word amongst them he hath sown
Till it was trodden down.

There was no man could him appeach
Neither in word nor deed;
But that he lived as he did teach,
In fear of God and dread.
Since that the time he did profess
God's holy word most true,
No riches, substance more or less,
Could turn his heart anew.

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From God's true word he would not slide,
Though it was to his pain;
But in the truth he did abide,
All men might know it plain.
The wicked men, they did him take,
And promise him much store,
To cause him this his God forsake,
And preach the truth no more.

But he, for all that they could say,
Would not his God displease;
But trusted, at the judgment clay,
His joy would then increase.
And where they punished him therefore,
Full well he did it take:
He thought no pains could be so sore
To suffer for Christ's sake.

Alas! the people did lament,
When that they did hear tell
That he in Smithfield should be burnt,
No more with us to dwell.
His preaching was both true and good,
His countenance meek and mild;
Alas! the shedding of his blood
Pleas'd neither man nor child:

Save only they, which had the law
At that time in their hand;
Which still desire more in to draw,
And catch them in their band.
O wicked men of little grace!
Was ever the like seen
So many men, in such a space,
To death consumed clean?

How many of you papists all
Would not with speed return
From your doctrine papistical,
If that you knew to burn!
And where you would not give him leave
His mind forth for to break;
All men of God will him believe,
Though little he did speak.

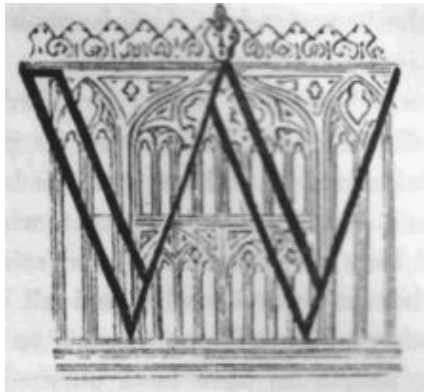
In going to the burning fire,
He talked all the way:
The people then he did desire
For him that they would pray.
And when he came unto the place

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Whereas then he should die,
Full meek the fire he did embrace,
And said, "Welcome to me."

A servant true of God, I say,
With him that time did burn;
Because in God's word he did stay,
Not willing to return.
But quietly were both content
Their death to take truly;
Which made the people's hearts to rent
Their deathful pangs to see.

293. John Leaf, Burnt with Bradford.



With John Bradford was burnt one John Leaf, an apprentice to Humfrey Gawdy, tallow-chandler, of the parish of Christ-Church in London, of the age of nineteen years and above, born at Kirby Moorside, in the county of York; who, upon the Friday next before Palm Sunday, was committed to the Compter in Bread Street, by an alderman of London, who had rule and charge of that ward, or part of the city, where the said Leaf did dwell. After, he, coming to examination before Bonner, gave a firm and Christian testimony of his doctrine and profession, answering to such articles as were objected to him by the said bishop.

First, as touching his belief and faith in the said sacrament of the altar, he answered, that after the words of consecration, spoken by the priest over the bread and wine, there was not the very true and natural body and blood of Christ in substance; and further did hold and believe, that the said sacrament of the altar, as it is now called, used, and believed in this realm of England, is idolatrous and abominable; and also said further, that he believed, that after the words of consecration spoken by the priest over the material bread and wine, there is not the selfsame substance of Christ's body and blood there contained; but bread and wine, as it was before: and further said, that he believed, that when the priest delivereth the said material bread and wine to the communicants, he delivereth but only material bread and wine; and the communicants do receive the same in remembrance of Christ's death and passion, and spiritually, in faith, they receive Christ's body and blood, but not under the forms of bread and wine: and also affirmed, that he believed auricular confession not to be necessary to be made unto a priest; for it is no point of soul-health—neither that the priest hath any authority given him by the Scripture to absolve and remit any sin.

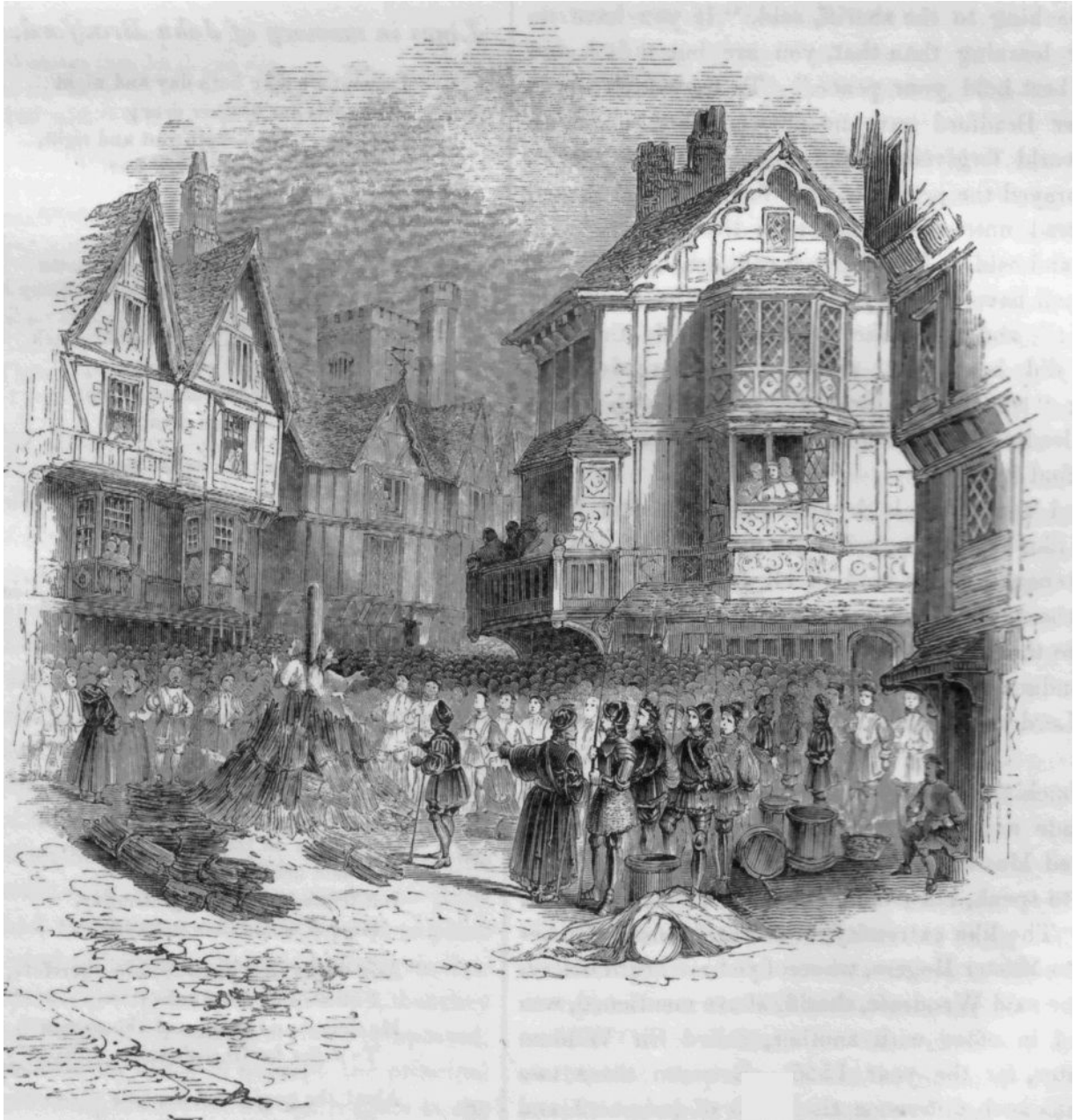
Upon these his answers, and testimony of his faith, he, at that time being dismissed, was bid the Monday next, being the tenth of June, to appear again in the said place, there and then to hear the sentence of his condemnation; who so did: at what time the foresaid bishop, propounding the said articles again to him, as before, essaying by all manner of ways to revoke him to his own trade, that is, from truth to error, notwithstanding all his persuasions, threats, and promises, found him the same man still, so planted upon the sure rock of truth, that no words nor deeds of men could remove him.

Then the bishop, after many words to and fro, at last asked him, if he had been Master Rogers's scholar? To whom the foresaid John Leaf answered again, granting him so to be, and that he the same John did believe in the doctrine of the said Rogers, and in the doctrine of Bishop Hooper, Cardmaker, and others of their opinion, who of late were burned for the testimony of Christ, and that he would die in that doctrine that they died for: and after other replications again

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of the bishop, moving him to return to the unity of the church, he, with a great courage of spirit, answered again in these words: "My Lord," quoth he, "you call mine opinion heresy: it is the true light of the word of God." And again, repeating the same, he professed that he would never forsake his staid and well-grounded opinion, while the breath should be in his body. Whereupon the bishop, being too weak either to refute his sentence or to remove his constancy, proceeded consequently to read the popish sentence of cruel condemnation: whereby this godly and constant young man, being committed to the secular power of the sheriffs there present, was then adjudged, and not long after suffered the same day with Master Bradford, confirming with his death that which he had spoken and professed in his life.

294. The Execution of Bradford and Leaf.



The execution of Bradford and Leaf

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The behaviour of Master Bradford, preacher, and of the young man that suffered with him in Smithfield, named John Leaf, a prentice, who both suffered for the testimony of Christ.

First, when they came to the stake in Smithfield to be burned, Master Bradford, lying prostrate on the one side of the stake, and the young man John Leaf on the other side, they lay flat on their faces, praying to themselves the space of a minute of an hour. Then one of the sheriffs said to Master Bradford, "Arise, and make an end; for the press of the people is great."

At that word they both stood up upon their feet, and then Master Bradford took a faggot in his hand, and kissed it, and so likewise the stake. And when he had so done, he desired of the sheriffs that his servant might have his raiment; "for," said he, "I have nothing else to give him: and besides that, he is a poor man." And the sheriff said he should have it. And so forthwith Master Bradford did put off his raiment, and went to the stake: and, holding up his hands, and casting his countenance up to heaven, he said thus, "O England, England, repent thee of thy sins, repent thee of thy sins. Beware of idolatry, beware of false antichrists; take heed they do not deceive you." And as he was speaking these words, the sheriff bade tie his hands, if he would not be quiet. "O Master Sheriff," said Master Bradford, "I am quiet: God forgive you this, Master Sheriff." And one of the officers which made the fire, hearing Master Bradford so speaking to the sheriff, said, "If you have no better learning than that, you are but a fool, and were best hold your peace." To the which words Master Bradford gave no answer; but asked all the world forgiveness, and forgave all the world, and prayed the people to pray for him; and turned his head unto the young man that suffered with him, and said, "Be of good comfort, brother; for we shall have a merry supper with the Lord this night:" and so spake no more words that any man did hear, but, embracing the reeds, said thus; "Strait is the way, and narrow is the gate, that leadeth to eternal salvation, and few there be that find it."

And thus they both ended their mortal lives, most like two lambs, without any alteration of their countenance, being void of all fear, hoping to obtain the price of the game that they had long run at; to the which I beseech Almighty God happily to conduct us, through the merits of Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour. Amen.

Touching Master Woodrofe the sheriff, mention is made a little before how churlishly here he answered Master Bradford at the stake, not suffering him to speak, but commanding his hands to be tied, &c. The like extremity, or worse, he used also before to Master Rogers, whereof ye have heard before.

The said Woodrofe, sheriff, above mentioned, was joined in office with another, called Sir William Chester, for the year 1555. Between these two sheriffs such difference there was of judgment and religion, that the one (that is, Master Woodrofe) was wont commonly to laugh, the other to shed tears, at the death of Christ's people. And whereas the one was wont to restrain, and to beat the people, which were desirous to take them by the hands that should be burned: the other sheriff, contrariwise again, with much sorrow and mildness behaved himself, which I wish here to be spoken and known to the commendation of him, although I do not greatly know the party.

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Furthermore, here by the way to note the severe punishment of God's hand against the said Woodrofe, as against all such cruel persecutors, so it happened, that within half a year after the burning of this blessed martyr, the said sheriff was so stricken on the right side, with such a palsy or stroke of God's hand, (whatsoever it was,) that for the space of eight years after, till his dying day, he was not able to turn himself in his bed, but as two men with a sheet were fain to stir him; and withal such an insatiable devouring came upon him, that it was monstrous to see. And thus continued he the space of eight years together.

295. The Letters of Master Bradford.

This godly Bradford and heavenly martyr, during the time of his imprisonment, wrote sundry comfortable treatises, and many godly letters; of which, some he wrote to the city of London, Cambridge, Walden, Lancashire, and Cheshire, and divers to his other private friends. By the which foresaid letters, to the intent it may appear how godly this man occupied his time being prisoner, what special zeal he bare to the state of Christ's church, what care he had to perform his office, how earnestly he admonished all men, how tenderly he comforted the heavy-hearted, how faithfully he confirmed those whom he had taught, I thought here good to place the same: and although to exhibit here all the letters that he wrote (being in number so many, that they are able to fill a book) it cannot well be compassed, yet, nevertheless, we mind to excerpt the principal of them; referring the reader for the residue to the book of Letters of the Martyrs, where they may be found.

And first, forasmuch as ye heard in the story before, how the earl of Derby complained in the parliament house, of certain letters written of John Bradford out of prison, to Lancashire, and also how he was charged both of the bishop of Winchester and of Master Allen with the same letters; to the intent the reader more perfectly may understand what letters they were, being written indeed to his mother, brethren, and sisters, out of the Tower, before his condemnation, we will begin first with the same letters; the copy, with the contents whereof, is this, as followeth.

A comfortable letter of Master Bradford to his mother, a godly matron, dwelling in Manchester, and to his brethren and sisters, and other of his friends there.

"Our dear and sweet Saviour Jesus Christ—whose prisoner at this present (praised be his name there-for) I am—preserve and keep you, my good mother, with my brothers and sisters, my father, John Treves, Thomas Sorrocold, Laurence and James Bradshaw, with their wives and families, &c., now and for ever. Amen.

"I am at this present in prison, (sure enough for starting,) to confirm that I have preached unto you: as I am ready, I thank God, with my life and blood to seal the same, if God vouchsafe me worthy of that honour. For, good mother and brethren, it is a most special benefit of God, to suffer for his name's sake and gospel, as now I do: I heartily thank God for it, and am sure that with him I shall be partaker of his glory; as Paul saith, If we suffer with him, we shall reign with him. Therefore be not faint-hearted, but rather rejoice, at the least for my sake, which now am in the right and high way to heaven: for by many afflictions we must enter into the kingdom of heaven. Now will God make known his children. When the wind doth not blow, then cannot a man know the wheat from the chaff; but when the blast cometh, then flieth away the chaff, but the wheat remaineth, and is so far from being hurt, that by the wind it is more cleansed from the chaff, and known to be wheat. Gold, when it is cast into the fire, is the more precious: so are God's children by the cross of affliction. Always God beginneth his judgment at his house. Christ and the apostles were in most misery in the land of Jewry, but yet the whole land smarted for it

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after; so now God's children are first chastised in this world, that they should not be damned with the world; for surely, great plagues of God hang over this realm.

"Ye all know there was never more knowledge of God, and less godly living, and true serving of God. It was counted a foolish thing to serve God truly, and earnest prayer was not past upon. Preaching was but a pastime. The communion was counted too common. Fasting to subdue the flesh, was far out of use. Alms was almost nothing. Malice, covetousness, and uncleanness, were common every where, with swearing, drunkenness, and idleness. God therefore now is come, as you have heard me preach, and because he will not damn us with the world, he beginneth to punish us—as me for my carnal living. For, as for my preaching, I am most certain it is and was God's truth, and I trust to give my life for it, by God's grace: but because I lived not the gospel truly, but outwardly, therefore doth he thus punish me; nay, rather in punishing blesseth me. And indeed I thank him more of this prison, than of any parlour, yea, than of any pleasure that ever I had: for in it I find God my most sweet good God always. The flesh is punished, first, to admonish us now heartily to live as we profess; secondly, to certify the wicked of their just damnation, if they repent not.

"Perchance you are weakened in that which I have preached, because God doth not defend it, as you think, but suffereth the popish doctrine to come again and prevail: but you must know, good mother, that God by this doth prove and try his children and people, whether they will unfeignedly and simply hang on him and his word. So did he with the Israelites, bringing them into a desert, after their coming out of Egypt, where (I mean the wilderness) was want of all things, in comparison of that which they had in Egypt. Christ, when he came into this world, brought no worldly wealth nor quietness with him, but rather war: The world, saith he, shall rejoice, but ye shall mourn and weep; but your weeping shall be turned into joy. And therefore happy are they that mourn and weep, for they shall be comforted. They are marked then with God's mark in their foreheads, and not with the beast's mark—I mean the pope's shaven crown, who now, with his shavelings, rejoice: but woe unto them, for they shall be cast down! they shall weep and mourn. The rich glutton had here his joy, and Lazarus sorrow; but afterwards the time was changed. The end of carnal joy is sorrow. Now let the whoremonger joy with the drunkard, swearer, covetous, malicious, and blind buzzard, Sir John: for the mass will not bite them, neither make them to blush, as preaching would. Now may they do what they will,—come devils to the church, and go devils home—for no man must find fault: and they are glad of this. Now they have their heart's desire, as the Sodomites had when Lot was gone. But what followed! Forsooth when they cried, 'Peace; all shall be well!' then came God's vengeance, fire and brimstone from heaven, and burnt up every mother's child: even so, dear mother, will it do to our papists.

"Wherefore fear God; stick to his word though all the world swerve from it. Die you must once; and when, or how, can you not tell. Die therefore with Christ; suffer for serving him truly and after his word: for sure may we be, that of all deaths it is most to be desired to die for God's sake. This is the most safe kind of dying: we cannot doubt but that we shall go to heaven, if we die for his name's sake. And that you shall die for his name's sake, God's word will warrant you, if you stick to that which God by me hath taught you. You shall see that I speak as I think; for, by God's grace, I will drink before you of this cup, if I be put to it.

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"I doubt not but God will give me his grace, and strengthen me thereunto: pray that he would, and that I refuse it not. I am at a point, even when my Lord God will, to come to him. Death nor life, prison nor pleasure, (I trust in God,) shall be able to separate me from my Lord God and his gospel. In peace, when no persecution was, then were you content and glad to hear me; then did you believe me: and will ye not do so now, seeing I speak that which I trust by God's grace, if need be, to verify with my life? Good mother, I write before God to you, as I have preached before him.

"It is God's truth I have taught: it is that same infallible word whereof he said, Heaven and earth shall pass, but my word shall not pass. The mass, and such baggage as the false worshippers of God and enemies of Christ's cross (the papists I say) have brought in again, to poison the church of God withal, displeaseth God highly, and is abominable in his sight. Happy may be he which of conscience suffereth loss of life or goods in disallowing it! Come not at it. If God be God, follow him: if the mass be God, let them that will, see it, hear, or be present at it, and go to the devil with it. What is there as God ordained? His supper was ordained to be received of us in the memorial of his death, for the confirmation of our faith, that his body was broken for us, and his blood shed for pardon of our sins: but in the mass there is no receiving, but the priest keepeth all to himself alone. Christ saith, take, eat: No, saith the priest, Gape, peep.' There is a sacrificing, yea, killing of Christ again as much as they may. There is idolatry in worshipping the outward sign of bread and wine. There is all in Latin: you cannot tell what he saith. To conclude, there is nothing as God ordained. Wherefore, my good mother, come not at it.

"'Oh,' will some say, 'it will hinder you, if you refuse to come to mass, and to do as other do.' But God will further you, (be you assured,) as you shall one day find; who hath promised to them that suffer hinderance or loss of any thing in this world, his great blessing here, and, in the world to come, life everlasting.

"You shall be counted a heretic: but not of others than of heretics, whose praise is a dispraise. You are not able to reason against the priests, but God will that all they shall not be able to withstand you. Nobody will do so but you only. Indeed no matter, for few enter into the narrow gate which bringeth to salvation. Howbeit, you shall have with you (I doubt not) father Traves, and other my brothers and sisters to go with you therein: but, if they will not, I your son in God, I trust, shall not leave you an inch, but go before you. Pray that I may, and give thanks for me. Rejoice in my suffering, for it is for your sakes, to confirm the truth I have taught. Howsoever you do, beware this letter come not abroad, but into father Traves' hands: for, if it should be known that I have pen and ink in the prison, then would it be worse with me. Therefore to yourselves keep this letter, commending me to God and his mercy in Christ Jesus, who make me worthy for his name's sake, to give my life for his gospel and church' sake.—Out of the Tower of London, the sixth day of October, 1553.

"My name I write not for causes, you know it well enough: like the letter never the worse. Commend me to all our good brethren and sisters in the Lord. Howsoever you do, be obedient to the higher powers, that is, in no point either in hand or tongue rebel; but rather, if they command that which with good conscience you cannot obey, lay your head on the block, and suffer whatsoever they shall do or say. By patience possess your souls."

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After the time that Master Bradford was condemned, and sent to the Compter, it was purposed of his adversaries (as ye heard before) that he should be had to Manchester, where he was born, and there be burned. Whereupon he writeth to the city of London, thinking to take his last *vale* of them in this letter.

A fruitful letter to the city of London.

"To all that profess the gospel and true doctrine of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ in the city of London, John Bradford, a most unworthy servant of the Lord, now not only in prison, but also excommunicated and condemned to be burned for the same true doctrine, wisheth mercy, grace, and peace, with increase of all godly knowledge and piety from God the Father of mercy, through the merits of our alone and omni-sufficient Redeemer Jesus Christ, by the operation of the Holy Spirit for ever. Amen.

My dearly beloved brethren in our Saviour Christ! although the time I have to live is very little, (for hourly I look when I should be had hence, to be conveyed into Lancashire, there to be burned, and to render my life, by the providence of God, where I first received it by the same providence,) and although the charge is great to keep me from all things whereby I might signify any thing to the world of my state; yet having, as now I have, pen and ink, through God's working, maugre the head of Satan and his soldiers, I thought good to write a short confession of my faith, and thereto join a little exhortation unto you all, to live according to your profession.

"First, for my faith, I do confess, and pray all the whole congregation of Christ to bear witness with me of the same, that I believe constantly, through the gift and goodness of God, (for faith is God's only gift,) all the twelve articles of the symbol or creed, commonly attributed to the collection of the apostles. This my faith I would gladly particularly declare and expound to the confirmation and comfort of the simple; but, alas! by starts and stealth I write in manner that I write, and therefore I shall desire you all to take this brevity in good part. And this faith I hold, not because of the creed itself, but because of the word of God, the which teacheth and confirmeth every article accordingly. This word of God, written by the prophets and apostles, left and contained in the canonical books of the whole Bible, I do believe to contain plentifully all things necessary to salvation, so that nothing (as necessary to salvation) ought to be added thereto; and therefore the church of Christ, nor none of his congregation, ought to be burdened with any other doctrine, than what, hereout, hath its foundation and ground. In testimony of this faith, I render and give my life, being condemned as well for not acknowledging the antichrist of Rome to be Christ's vicar-general and supreme head of his catholic and universal church here or elsewhere upon earth; as for denying the horrible and idolatrous doctrine of transubstantiation, and Christ's real, corporal, and carnal presence in his supper, under the forms and accidents of bread and wine.

"To believe Christ our Saviour to be the Head of his church, and kings in their realms to be the supreme powers, to whom every soul oweth obedience, and to believe that in the supper of Christ (which the sacrament of the altar, as the papists call it, and use it, doth utterly overthrow) is a true and very presence of whole Christ, God and man, to the faith of the receiver, but not to the stander-by and looker-upon, as it is a true and very presence of bread and wine to the senses of men: to believe this, I say, will not serve, and therefore as a heretic I am condemned, and shall

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be burned; whereof I ask God heartily mercy that I do no more rejoice than I do, having so great cause, as to be an instrument wherein it may please my dear Lord God and Saviour to suffer.

"For albeit my manifold sins, even since I came into prison, have deserved at the hands of God, not only this temporal, but also eternal fire in hell, much more then my former sinful life, which the Lord pardon for his Christ's sake, as I know he of his mercy hath done, and never will lay mine iniquities to my charge, to condemnation, so great is his goodness (praised therefore be his holy name): although, I say, my manifold and grievous late sins have deserved most justly all the tyranny that man or devil can do unto me; and therefore I confess that the Lord is just, and that his judgments be true and deserved on my behalf; yet the bishops and prelates do not persecute them in me, but Christ himself, his word, his truth, and religion. And therefore I have great cause, yea, most great cause, to rejoice that ever I was born, and hitherto kept of the Lord; that by my death, which is deserved for my sins, it pleaseth the heavenly Father to glorify his name, to testify his truth, to confirm his verity, to repugn his adversaries. O good God and merciful Father, forgive my great unthankfulness, especially herein!

"And you, my dearly beloved, for the Lord Jesus Christ's sake, I humbly and heartily, in his bowels and blood, do now (for my last *vale* and farewell in this present life) beseech you, and every of you, that you will consider this work of the Lord accordingly. First, by me be admonished to beware of hypocrisy and carnal security: profess not the gospel with tongue and lips only, but in heart and verity: frame and fashion your lives accordingly: beware God's name be not evil spoken of, and the gospel less regarded by your conversation. God forgive me that I have not so heartily professed it as I should have done, but have sought much myself therein. The gospel is a new doctrine to the old man; it is new wine; and therefore cannot be put in old bottles, without more great hurt than good to the bottles. If we will talk with the Lord, we must put off our shoes and carnal affections: if we will hear the voice of the Lord, we must wash our garments and be holy: if we will be Christ's disciples, we must deny ourselves, take up our cross and follow Christ. We cannot serve two masters. If we seek Christ's kingdom, we must seek also for the righteousness thereof. To this petition, Let thy kingdom come, we must join, Thy will be done, done on earth as it is in heaven. If we will not be doers of the word, but hearers of it only, we sore deceive ourselves: if we hear the gospel, and love it not, we declare ourselves to be but fools, and builders upon the sand. The Lord's Spirit hateth feigning; deceitfulness the Lord abhorreth; if we come to him, we must beware that we come not with a double heart; for then may chance that God will answer us according to the block which is in our heart, and so we shall deceive ourselves and others.

"To faith see that we couple a good conscience, lest we make a shipwreck. To the Lord we must come with fear and reverence. If we will be gospellers, we must be Christ's; if we be Christ's, we must crucify our flesh with the lusts and concupiscences thereof; if we will be under grace, sin must not bear rule in us. We may not come to the Lord, and draw nigh to him with our lips, and leave our hearts elsewhere, lest the Lord's wrath wax hot, and he take from us the good remaining. In no case can the kingdom of Christ approach to them that repent not. Therefore, my dearly beloved, let us repent, and be heartily sorry that we have so carnally, so hypocritically, so covetously, so vaingloriously, professed the gospel. For all these I confess myself, to the glory of God, that he may cover mine offences in the day of judgment. Let the anger and plagues of God (most justly fallen upon us) be applied to every one of our deserts; that, from the bottom of our

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hearts, every one of us may say, It is I, Lord, that have sinned against thee: it is my hypocrisy, my vain-glory, my covetousness, uncleanness, carnality, security, idleness, unthankfulness, self-love, and such like, which have deserved the taking away of our good king; of thy word and true religion; of thy good ministers by exile, imprisonment, and death; it is my wickedness that causeth success and increase of authority and peace to thine enemies. O be merciful, be merciful unto us! Turn to us again, O Lord of hosts, and turn us unto thee: correct us, but not in thy fury, lest we be consumed in thine anger: chastise us not in thy wrathful displeasure: reprove us not, but in the midst of thine anger remember thy mercy! For if thou mark what is done amiss, who shall be able to abide it? but with thee is mercifulness, that thou mightest be worshipped. O then be merciful unto us, that we might truly worship thee! Help us for the glory of thy name: be merciful unto our sins, for they are great. O heal us and help us, for thine honour. Let not the wicked people say, Where is their God? &c.

"On this sort, my right dearly beloved, let us heartily bewail our sins; repent us of our former evil life; heartily and earnestly purpose to amend our lives in all things; continually watch in prayer; diligently and reverently attend, hear, and read the Holy Scriptures; labour after our vocation to amend our brethren. Let us reprove the works of darkness: let us fly from all idolatry: let us abhor the antichristian and Romish rotten service; detest the popish mass; abrenounce their Romish god; prepare ourselves to the cross; be obedient to all that are in authority in all things that be not against God and his word,—for then, answer with the apostles, It is more meet to obey God than man. Howbeit, never for any thing resist or rise against the magistrates. Avenge not yourselves, but commit your cause to the Lord, to whom vengeance pertaineth; and he, in his time, will reward it. If you feel in yourselves a hope and trust in God, that he will never tempt you above that he will make you able to bear, be assured the Lord will be true to you, and you shall be able to bear all brunts: but, if you want this hope, fly, and get you hence, rather than, by your tarrying, God's name should be dishonoured.

"In sum, cast your care on the Lord, knowing for most certain, that he is careful for you. With him all the hairs of your head are numbered, so that not one of them shall perish without his good pleasure and will; much more then, nothing shall happen to your bodies, which shall not be profitable, howsoever for a time it seem otherwise to your senses. Hang on the providence of God, not only when you have means to help you, but also when you have no means,—yea, when all means be against you. Give him this honour, which of all other things he most chiefly requireth at your hands; namely, believe that you are his children through Christ, that he is your Father and God through him, that he loveth you, pardoneth you all your offences, that he is with you in trouble, and will be with you for ever. When you fall, he will put under his hand; you shall not lie still. Before you call upon him, he heareth you; out of evil he will finally bring you, and deliver you to his eternal joy. Doubt not, my dearly beloved, hereof; doubt not, I say, this will God your Father do for you—not in respect of yourselves, but in respect of Christ, your Captain, your Pastor, your Keeper, out of whose hands none shall be able to catch you—in him be quiet, and often consider your dignity; namely, how that ye be God's children, the saints of God, citizens of heaven, temples of the Holy Ghost, the thrones of God, members of Christ, and lords over all.

"Therefore be ashamed to think, speak, or do any thing that should be unseemly for God's children, God's saints, Christ's members, &c. Marvel not, though the devil and the world hate

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you—though ye be persecuted here—for the servant is not above his master. Covet not earthly riches; fear not the power of man; love not this world, nor things that be in this world; but long for the Lord Jesus's coming, at which time your bodies shall be made like unto his glorious body; when he appeareth you shall be like unto him; when your life shall thus be revealed, then shall ye appear with him in glory.

"In the mean season live in hope thereof. Let the life you lead, be in the faith of the Son of God; For the just doth live by faith: which faith flieth from all evil, and followeth the word of God, as a lantern to her feet, and a light to her steps. Her eyes be above, where Christ is; she beholdeth not the things present, but rather things to come; she glorieth in affliction; she knoweth that the afflictions of this life are not like to be compared to the glory which God will reveal to us, and in us. of this glory God grant us here a lively taste; then shall we run after the scent it sendeth forth! It will make us valiant men, to take to us the kingdom of God; whither the Lord of mercy bring us in his good time through Christ our Lord—to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, three persons and one God, be all honour and glory, world without end. Amen.

"My dearly beloved, I would gladly have given here my body to have been burned for the confirmation of the true doctrine I have taught here unto you: but that, my country must have. Therefore I pray you take in good part this signification of my good will towards every of you. Impute the want herein to time and trouble. Pardon me mine offensive and negligent behaviour when I was amongst you. With me repent, and labour to amend. Continue in the truth which I have truly taught unto you by preaching in all places where I have come; God's name therefore be praised. Confess Christ when you be called, whatsoever cometh thereof; and the God of peace be with us all. Amen.

—This eleventh of February, 1555.

"Your brother in bonds for the Lord's sake,
JOAN BRADFORD."

A letter to the university and town of Cambridge.

"To all that love the Lord Jesus and his true doctrine, being in the university and town of Cambridge, John Bradford, a most unworthy servant of the Lord, now not only prisoned, but also condemned for the same true doctrine, wisheth grace, peace, and mercy, with increase of all godliness from God the Father of all mercy, through the bloody passion of our Saviour Jesus Christ, by the lively working of the Holy Spirit for ever. Amen.

"Although I look hourly when I should be had to the stake, my right dearly beloved in the Lord, and although the charge over me is great and strait, yet, having by the providence of God secretly pen and ink, I could not but something signify unto you my solicitude which I have for you and every of you in the Lord, though not as I would, yet as I may. You have often and openly heard the truth (specially in this matter wherein I am condemned) disputed and preached, that it is needless to do any more, but only to put you in remembrance of the same: but hitherto have you not heard it confirmed, and as it were sealed up, as now you do and shall hear by me; that is, by my death and burning. For albeit I have deserved (through my uncleanness, hypocrisy, avarice, vain-glory, idleness, unthankfulness, and carnality, whereof I accuse myself, to my confusion before the world, that before God through Christ I might, as my assured hope is I shall,

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find mercy) eternal death, and hell fire, much more than this affliction and fire prepared for me; yet, my dearly beloved, it is not these, or any of these things, wherefore the prelates do persecute me, but God's verity and truth; yea, even Christ himself is the only cause and thing wherefore I am now condemned, and shall be burned as a heretic, because I will not grant the antichrist of Rome to be Christ's vicar-general and supreme head of his church here, and every where upon earth, by God's ordinance; and because I will not grant such corporal, real, and carnal presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament, as doth transubstantiate the substance of bread and wine, and is received of the wicked, yea, of dogs and mice. Also I am excommunicated, and counted as a dead member of Christ's church, as a rotten branch, and therefore shall be cast into the fire.

"Therefore ye ought heartily to rejoice with me, and to give thanks for me, that God the eternal Father hath vouchsafed our mother to bring up any child in whom it would please him to magnify his holy name as he doth, and I hope, for his mercy and truth's sake, will do in me, and by me. Oh, what such benefit upon earth can it be, as that I, which deserved death by reason of my sins, should be delivered to a demonstration, a testification, and confirmation of God's verity and truth? Thou, my mother the university, hast not only had the truth of God's word plainly manifested unto thee by reading, disputing, and preaching publicly and privately; but now, to make thee altogether excuseless, and as it were almost to sin against the Holy Ghost, if thou put to thy helping hand with the Romish rout to suppress the verity, and set out the contrary, thou hast my life and blood as a seal to confirm thee, if thou wilt be confirmed; or else to confound thee, and bear witness against thee, if thou wilt take part with the prelates and clergy, which now fill up the measure of their fathers which slew the prophets and apostles, that all the righteous blood from Abel to Bradford, shed upon the earth, may be required at their hands.

"of this, therefore, I thought good before my death, as time and liberty would suffer me, (for love and duty I bear unto thee,) to admonish thee, good mother, and my sister the town, that you would call to mind from whence you are fallen, and study to do the first works. You know (if you will) these matters of the Romish supremacy, and the antichristian transubstantiation, whereby Christ's supper is overthrown, his priesthood evacuate, his sacrifice frustrate, the ministry of his word unplaced, repentance repelled, faith fainted, godliness extinguished, the mass maintained, idolatry supported, and all impiety cherished: you know, I say, (if you will,) that these opinions are not only beside God's word, but even directly against it; and therefore to take part with them, is to take part against God, against whom you cannot prevail.

Therefore, for the tender mercy of Christ, in his bowels and blood I beseech you, to take Christ's collyrium and eye-salve to anoint your eyes, that you may see what you do and have done in admitting (as I hear you have admitted, yea, alas, authorized, and by consent confirmed) the Romish rotten rags, which once you utterly expelled. O be not the dog returned to his own vomit. Be not the sow that was washed, returned to her wallowing in the mire. Beware lest that Satan enter in with seven other spirits, and then *postrema* shall be worse than the first. It had been better ye had never known the truth, than after knowledge to run from it. Ah! woe to this world and the things therein, which have now so wrought with you! O that ever this dirt of the devil should daub up the eye of the realm! for thou, O mother, art as the eye of the realm. If thou be light, and give shine, all the body shall fare the better; but if thou the light be darkness, alas,

how great will the darkness be! What is man whose breath is in his nostrils, that thou shouldest thus be afraid of him?

"O what is honour and life here? Bubbles. What is glory in this world, but shame? Why art thou afraid to carry Christ's cross? Wilt thou come into his kingdom, and not drink of his cup? Dost thou not know Rome to be Babylon? Dost thou not know that as the old Babylon had the children of Judah in captivity, so hath this Rome the true Judah; that is, the confessors of Christ? Dost thou not know that as destruction happened unto it, so shall it do unto this? And trowest thou that God will not deliver his people now, when the time is come, as he did then? Hath not God commanded his people to come out from her, and wilt thou give ensample to the whole realm to run unto her? Hast thou forgotten the woe that Christ threateneth to offence-givers? Wilt thou not remember that it were better that a millstone were hanged about thy neck, and thou thrown into the sea, than thou shouldest offend the little ones?

"And alas, how hast thou offended! yea, and how dost thou still offend! Wilt thou consider things according to the outward show? Was not the synagogue more seemly and like to be the true church, than the simple flock of Christ's disciples? Hath not the whore of Babylon more costly array, and rich apparel externally to set forth herself, than the homely housewife of Christ? Where is the beauty of the king's daughter the church of Christ—without or within? Doth not David say, within? O remember that as they are happy which are not offended at Christ, so are they happy which are not offended at his poor church. Can the pope and his prelates mean honestly, which make so much of the wife, and so little of the Husband? The church they magnify, but Christ they contemn. If this church were an honest woman, (that is, Christ's wife,) except they would make much of her Husband, Christ, and his word, she would not be made much of them.

"When Christ and his apostles were upon earth, who was more like to be the true church? they, or the prelates, bishops, and synagogue? If a man should have followed custom, unity, antiquity, or the more part, should not Christ and his company have been cast out of the doors? Therefore bade Christ, Search the Scriptures. And, good mother, shall the servant be above his master? Shall we look for other entertainment at the hands of the world, than Christ and his dear disciples found? Who were taken in Noah's time for the church; poor Noah and his family, or others? Who was taken for God's church in Sodom; Lot, or others?

And doth not Christ say, As it was then, so shall it go now towards the coming of the Son of man? What meaneth Christ when he saith, Iniquity shall have the upper hand? Doth not he tell that charity shall wax cold? And who seeth not a wonderful great lack of charity in those, which would now be taken for Christ's church? All that fear God in this realm truly, can tell more of this than I can write.

"Therefore, dear mother, receive some admonition of one of thy poor children, now going to be burned for the testimony of Jesus. Come again to God's truth; come out of Babylon; confess Christ and his true doctrine; repent that which is past; make amends by declaring thy repentance by the fruits. Remember the readings and preachings of God's prophet, the true preacher, Martin Bucer. Call to mind the threatenings of God, now something seen by thy children Leaver and others. Let the exile of Leaver, Pilkington, Grindal, Haddon, Horn, Scory,

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Ponet, &c., something awake thee. Let the imprisonment of thy dear sons, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, move thee. Consider the martyrdom of thy chickens, Rogers, Saunders, Taylor. And now cast not away the poor admonition of me, going to be burned also, and to receive the like crown of glory with my fellows. Take to heart God's calling by us. Be not as Pharaoh was: for then will it happen unto thee as it did unto him. What is that? Hardness of heart. And what then? Destruction eternally, both of body and soul. Ah, therefore, good mother! awake, awake; repent, repent; buskle thyself, and make haste to turn to the Lord: for else it shall be more easy for Sodom and Gomorrah in the day of judgment than for thee. O harden not your hearts. O stop not your ears today in hearing God's voice, though it be by me, a most unworthy messenger. O fear the Lord; for his anger is begun to kindle. Even now the axe is laid to the root of the tree.

"You know I prophesied truly to you before the Sweat came, what would come, if you repented not your carnal gospelling. And now I tell you before I depart hence, that the ears of men will tingle to hear the vengeance of God that will fall upon you all, both town and university, if you repent not; if you leave not your idolatry; if you turn not speedily to the Lord; if you still be ashamed of Christ's truth, which you know.

"O Perne, repent! O Thompson, repent! O you doctors, bachelors, and masters, repent! O mayor, aldermen, and town-dwellers, repent, repent, repent, that you may escape the near vengeance of the Lord! Rend your hearts, and come apace, calling on the Lord. Let us all say, *peccavimus*, we have all sinned, we have done wickedly, we have not hearkened to thy voice, O Lord! Deal not with us after our deserts, but be merciful to our iniquities, for they are great. O pardon us our offences! In thine anger remember thy mercy. Turn us unto thee, O Lord God of hosts, for the glory of thy name's sake. Spare us, and be merciful unto us. Let not the wicked people say, Where is now their God? O for thine own sake, for thy name's sake, deal mercifully with us. Turn thyself unto us, and us unto thee, and we shall praise thy name for ever.

"If in this sort, my dearly beloved, in heart and mouth we come unto our Father, and prostrate ourselves before the throne of his grace, then surely, surely we shall find mercy. Then shall the Lord look merrily upon us, for his mercy's sake in Christ: then shall we hear him speak peace unto his people; for he is gracious and merciful, of great pity and compassion: he cannot be chiding for ever: his anger cannot last long to the penitent. Though we weep in the morning, yet at night we shall have our sorrow to cease; for he is exorable, and hath no pleasure in the death of a sinner: he rather would our conversion and turning.

"O turn ye now and convert yet once again, I humbly beseech you, and then the kingdom of heaven shall draw nigh. The eye hath not seen, the ear hath not heard, nor the heart of man is able to conceive the joys prepared for us if we repent, amend our lives, and heartily turn to the Lord. But if ye repent not, but be as you were, and go on forwards with the wicked, following the fashion of the world, the Lord will lead you on with wicked doers: you shall perish in your wickedness; your blood will be upon your own heads; your parts shall be with hypocrites, where shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth; ye shall be cast from the face of the Lord for ever and ever: eternal shame, sorrow, woe, and misery, shall be both in body and soul to you, world without end. Oh, therefore, right dear to me in the Lord! turn you, turn you; repent you, repent you; amend, amend your lives; depart from evil; do good; follow peace and pursue it. Come out from Babylon; cast off the works of darkness; put on Christ; confess his truth; be not ashamed of

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his gospel; prepare yourselves to the cross; drink of God's cup before it come to the dregs; and then shall I, with you and for you, rejoice in the day of judgment, which is at hand; and therefore prepare yourselves thereto, I heartily beseech you. And thus I take my vale in æternum, with you in this present life, mine own dear hearts in the Lord. The Lord of mercy be with us all, and give us a joyful and sure meeting in his kingdom: Amen, Amen.—Out of prison the eleventh of February, Anno 1555.

"Your own in the Lord for ever,
JOHN BRADFORD."

A letter to Lancashire and Cheshire, and specially to Manchester.

"To all those that profess the name and true religion of our Saviour Christ in Lancashire and Cheshire, and specially abiding in Manchester and thereabout—John Bradford, a most unworthy servant of the Lord, now not only in bonds, but also condemned for the same true religion, wisheth mercy and grace, peace and increase of all godliness, from God the Father of all pity, through the deserts of our Lord Jesus Christ, by the working of the most mighty and lively Spirit the Comforter, for ever. Amen.

"I heard it reported credibly, my dearly beloved in the Lord, that my heavenly Father hath thought it good to provide, that as I have preached his true doctrine and gospel amongst you by word, so I shall testify and confirm the same by deed: that is, I shall with you leave my life, which by his providence I first received there, (for in Manchester was I born,) for a seal to the doctrine I have taught with you, and amongst you: so that if from henceforth you waver in the same, you have none excuse at all. I know the enemies of Christ, which exercise this cruelty upon me, (I speak in respect of mine offence, which is none to them-wards,) think, by killing of me amongst you, to affray you and others, lest they should attempt to teach Christ truly, or believe his doctrine hereafter. But I doubt not but my heavenly Father will, by my death, more confirm you in his truth for ever. And therefore I greatly rejoice to see Satan and his soldiers supplanted in their own sapience, which is plain foolishness amongst the wise indeed; that is, amongst such as have heard God's word, and do follow it: for they only are counted wise of the wisdom of God our Saviour.

"Indeed if I should simply consider my life with that which it ought to have been, and as God in his law requireth, then could I not but cry as I do, Righteous art thou, O Lord, and all thy judgments are true. For I have much grieved thee, and transgressed thy holy precepts, not only before my professing the gospel, but since also: yea, even since my coming into prison I do not excuse, but accuse myself before God and all his church, that I have grievously offended my Lord God; I have not loved his gospel as I should have done; I have sought myself, and not simply and only his glory and my brethren's commodity; I have been too unthankful, secure, carnal, hypocritical, vain-glorious, &c.: all which my evils, the Lord of mercy pardon me for his Christ's sake, as I hope, and certainly believe, he hath done for his great mercy in Christ our Redeemer.

"But when I consider the cause of my condemnation, I cannot but lament, that I do no more rejoice than I do: for it is God's verity and truth; so that the condemnation is not a condemnation of Bradford simply, but rather a condemnation of Christ and of his truth. Bradford

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is nothing else but an instrument, in whom Christ and his doctrine are condemned. And therefore, my dearly beloved, rejoice; rejoice and give thanks with me and for me, that ever God did vouchsafe so great a benefit to our country, as to choose the most unworthy (I mean myself) to be one, in whom it would please him to suffer any kind of affliction: much more this violent kind of death, which I perceive is prepared for me with you, for his sake. All glory and praise be given unto God our Father, for his great and exceeding mercy towards me, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

"But perchance you will say unto me, 'What is the cause for the which you are condemned? We hear say, that ye deny all presence of Christ in his holy supper, and so make it a bare sign and common bread, and nothing else.' My dearly beloved, what is said of me, and what will be, I cannot tell. It is told me that Pendleton is gone down to preach with you, not as he once recanted, (for you all know how he hath preached contrary to that he was wont to preach afore I came amongst you,) but to recant that which he hath recanted. How he will speak of me, and report before I come, when I am come, and when I am burned, I much pass not: for he that is so uncertain, and will speak so often against himself, I cannot think he will speak well of me, except it make for his purpose and profit: but of this enough.

"Indeed the chief thing which I am condemned for, as a heretic, is because I deny in the sacrament of the altar (which is not Christ's supper, but a plain perverting of it, being used as the papists now use it) to be a real, natural, and corporal presence of Christ's body and blood, under the forms and accidents of bread and wine; that is, because I deny transubstantiation, which is the darling of the devil, and daughter and heir to antichrist's religion, whereby the mass is maintained, Christ's supper perverted, his sacrifice and cross imperfect, his priesthood destroyed, the ministry taken away, repentance repelled, and all true godliness abandoned. In the supper of our Lord, or sacrament of Christ's body and blood, I confess and believe that there is a true and very presence of the whole Christ, God and man, to the faith of the receiver, (but not of the stander-by and looker-on,) as there is a very true presence of bread and wine to the senses of him that is partaker thereof. This faith, this doctrine, which consenteth with the word of God, and with the true testimony of Christ's church, (which the popish church doth persecute,) will I not forsake, and therefore I am condemned as a heretic, and shall be burned. But, my dearly beloved, this truth (which I have taught, and you have received, I believed, and do believe, and therein give my life) I hope in God shall never be burned, bound, nor overcome; but shall triumph, have victory, and be at liberty, maugre the head of all God's adversaries. For there is no counsel against the Lord, nor can any device of man be able to defeat the verity in any other than such as be children of unbelief, which have no love to the truth, and therefore are given up to believe lies: from which plague the Lord of mercy deliver you and all the realm, my dear hearts in the Lord, I humbly beseech his mercy: Amen.

"And to the end you might be delivered from this plague—right dear to me in the Lord—I shall, for my farewell with you for ever in this present life, heartily desire you all, in the bowels and blood of our most merciful Saviour Jesus Christ, to attend unto these things which I now shall shortly write unto you out of the holy Scriptures of the Lord.

"You know a heavy plague (or rather plagues) of God is fallen upon us, in taking away our good king and true religion, God's true prophets and ministers, &c.; and setting over us such

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as seek not the Lord after knowledge: whose endeavours God prospereth wonderfully to the trial of many, that his people may both better know themselves, and be known. Now the cause hereof is our iniquities and grievous sins. We did not know the time of our visitation: we were unthankful unto God: we contemned the gospel, and carnally abused it, to serve our hypocrisy, our vain-glory, our viciousness, avarice, idleness, security, &c. Long did the Lord linger and tarry to have showed mercy upon us, but we were ever the longer the worse. Therefore most justly hath God dealt with us, and dealeth with us: yea, yet we may see that his justice is tempered with much mercy, whereto let us attribute that we are not utterly consumed: for if the Lord should deal with us after our deserts, alas! bow could we abide it? In his anger therefore, seeing he doth remember his mercy undeserved, (yea, undesired on our behalf,) let us take occasion the more speedily to go out to meet him, not with force of arms, (for we are not so able to withstand him, much less to prevail against him,) but to beseech him to be merciful unto us, and, according to his wonted mercy, to deal with us.

"Let us arise with David, and say, Enter not into judgment with thy servant, O Lord; for in thy sight no flesh living shall be justified. Let us send ambassadors with the centurion, and say, Lord, we are not worthy to come ourselves unto thee; speak the word, and we shall have peace. Let us penitently, with the publican, look down on the earth, knock our hard hearts to burst them, and cry out, O God, be merciful unto us wretched sinners. Let us, with the lost son, return and say, O Father, we have sinned against heaven and earth, and before thee, we are unworthy to be called thy children. Let us, I say, do on this sort; that is, heartily repent us of our former evil life, and unthankful gospelling past, convert and turn to God with our whole hearts, hoping in his great mercy through Christ, and heartily calling upon his holy name; and then, undoubtedly, we shall find and feel otherwise than yet we feel, both inwardly and outwardly. Inwardly we shall feel peace of conscience between God and us, which peace passeth all understanding; and outwardly we shall feel much mitigation of these miseries, if not an utter taking of them away.

"Therefore, my dearly beloved in the Lord, I, your poorest brother now departing to the Lord, for my *vale in æternum* for this present life, pray you, beseech you, and even from the very bottom of my heart, for all the mercies of God in Christ showed unto you, most earnestly beg and crave of you out of prison, (as often out of your pulpits I have done,) that you will repent you, leave your wicked and evil life, be sorry for your offences, and turn to the Lord; whose arms are wide open to receive and embrace you, whose stretched-out hand to strike to death stayeth, that he may show mercy upon you. For he is the Lord of mercy, and God of all comfort; he will not the death of a sinner, but rather that ye should return, convert, and amend. He hath no pleasure in the destruction of men; his long-suffering draweth to repentance before the time of vengeance and the day of wrath, which is at hand, doth come.

"Now is the axe laid to the root of the tree, utterly to destroy the impenitent. Now is the fire gone out before the face of the Lord, and who is able to quench it? Oh! therefore repent you, repent you. It is enough to have lived as we have done: it is enough to have played the wanton gospellers, the proud protestants, hypocritical and false Christians; as, alas, we have done. Now the Lord speaketh to us in mercy and grace: oh! turn before he speaketh in wrath. Yet is there mercy with the Lord, and plenteous redemption: yet he hath not forgotten to show mercy to them that call upon him. Oh! then call upon him while he may be found; for he is rich in mercy, and

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plentiful to all them that call upon him. So that he that calleth on the name of the Lord, shall be saved. If your sins be as red as scarlet, the Lord saith, he will make them as white as snow. He hath sworn, and never will repent him thereof, that he will never remember our iniquities: but as he is good, faithful, and true, so will he be our God, and we shall be his people; his law will he write in our hearts, and ingraft in our minds, and never will he have in mind our unrighteousness.

"Therefore, my dear hearts in the Lord, turn you, turn you to the Lord your Father, to the Lord your Saviour, to the Lord your Comforter. Oh! why do you stop your ears and harden your hearts to-day, when you hear his voice by me your poorest brother? Oh! forget not how that the Lord hath showed himself true, and me his true preacher, by bringing to pass these plagues, which at my mouth you oft heard before they came to pass: specially when I treated of Noah's flood, and when I preached of the twenty-second chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, on St. Stephen's day, the last time that I was with you. And now, by me the Lord sendeth you word, dear countrymen, that if you will go on forward in your impenitency, carnality, hypocrisy, idolatry, covetousness, swearing, gluttony, drunkenness, whoredom, &c. (wherewith, alas! alas! our country floweth); if (I say) you will not turn and leave off, seeing me now burned amongst you, to assure you on all sides how God seeketh you, and is sorry to do you hurt, to plague you, to destroy you, to take vengeance upon you; oh! your blood will be upon your own heads: you have been warned, and warned again, by me in preaching, by me in burning.

"As I said therefore, I say again, my dear hearts and dearlings in the Lord, turn you, turn you, repent you; cease from doing evil, study to do well, away with idolatry, flee the Romish god and service, leave off from swearing, cut off carnality, abandon avarice, drive away drunkenness; fly from fornication and flattery, murder and malice; destroy deceitfulness, and cast away all the works of darkness. Put on pity and godliness; serve God after his word, and not after custom; use your tongues to glorify God by prayer, thanksgiving, and confession of his truth, &c. Be spiritual, and by the Spirit mortify carnal affections; be sober, holy, true, loving, gentle, merciful, and then shall the Lord's wrath cease, not for this our doing's sake, but for his mercy's sake. Go to, therefore, good countrymen, take this counsel of the Lord, by me now sent unto you, as the Lord's counsel, and not as mine, that in the day of judgment I may rejoice with you, and for you; the which thing I heartily desire, and not to be a witness against you. My blood will cry for vengeance, as against the papists, God's enemies, (whom I beseech God, if it be his will, heartily to forgive, yea, even them which put me to death and are the causers thereof; for they know not what they do,) so will my blood cry for vengeance against you, my dearly beloved in the Lord, if ye repent not, amend not, and turn not unto the Lord.

"Turn unto the Lord yet once more, I heartily beseech thee, thou Manchester, thou Ashton-under-Line, thou Bolton, Bury, Wigan, Liverpool, Mottram, Stockport, Winsley, Eccles, Preston, Middleton, Radcliff, and thou city of Westchester, where I have truly taught and preached the word of God. Turn, I say unto you all, and to all the inhabitants thereabouts, unto the Lord our God, and he will turn unto you; he will say unto his angel, It is enough, put up the sword. The which thing that he will do, I humbly beseech his goodness, for the precious blood's sake of his dear Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ. Ah, good brethren! take in good part these my last words unto every one of you. Pardon me mine offences and negligences in behaviour amongst you. The Lord of mercy pardon us all our offences, for our Saviour Jesus Christ's sake: Amen.

"Out of prison ready to come to you, the eleventh of February, Anno 1555."

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To the town of Walden.

"To the faithful, and such as profess the true doctrine of our Saviour Jesus Christ, dwelling at Walden and thereabouts, John Bradford, a most unworthy servant of the Lord, now in bands and condemned for the same true doctrine, wisheth grace, mercy, and peace, with the increase of all godliness in knowledge and living, from God the Father of all comfort, through the deserts of our alone and full Redeemer Jesus Christ, by the mighty working of the most Holy Spirit the Comforter, for ever. Amen.

"When I remember how that by the providence and grace of God I have been a man, by whom it hath pleased him through my ministry to call you to repentance and amendment of life, something effectually, as it seemed, and to sow amongst you his true doctrine and religion, lest that by my affliction, and storms now arisen to try the faithful, and to conform them like to the image of the Son of God, into whose company we are called, you might be faint-hearted; I could not but, out of prison secretly, (for my keepers may not know that I have pen and ink,) write unto you a signification of the desire I have, that you should not only be more confirmed in the doctrine I have taught amongst you, which (I take on my death, as I shall answer at the day of doom) I am persuaded to be God's assured, infallible, and plain truth: but also should, after your vocation, avow the same by confession, profession, and living. I have not taught you, my dearly beloved in the Lord, fables, tales, or untruths; but I have taught you the verity, as now by my blood, gladly (praised be God there-for) I do seal the same.

"Indeed, to confess the truth unto you, and to all the church of Christ, I do not think of myself, but that I have most justly deserved, not only this kind, but also all kinds of death, and that eternally, for mine hypocrisy, vain-glory, uncleanness, self-love, covetousness, idleness, unthankfulness, and carnal professing of God's holy gospel, living therein not so purely, lovingly, and painfully as I should have done. The Lord of mercy, for the blood's sake of Christ, pardon me, as I hope, yea, I certainly believe he hath done, for his holy name's sake through Christ. But, my dearly beloved, you and all the whole world may see, and easily perceive, that the prelates persecute in me another thing than mine iniquities, even Christ himself, Christ's verity and truth, because I cannot, dare not, nor will not, confess transubstantiation, and how that wicked men, yea, mice and dogs, eating the sacrament, which they term of the altar, (thereby overthrowing Christ's holy supper utterly,) do eat Christ's natural and real body born of the Virgin Mary.

"To believe and confess as God's word teacheth, the primitive church believed, and all the catholic and good holy fathers taught five hundred years at the least after Christ, that in the supper of the Lord, (which the mass overthroweth, as it doth Christ's priesthood, sacrifice, death, and passion, the ministry of his word, true faith, repentance, and all godliness,) whole Christ, God and man, is present by grace to the faith of the receivers, but not of the standers-by and lookers-on, as bread and wine is to their senses, will not serve: and therefore I am condemned and shall be burned out of hand as a heretic. 'Wherefore I heartily thank my Lord God, that will and doth vouch me worthy to be an instrument, in whom he himself doth suffer. For you see my affliction and death is not simply because I have deserved no less, but much more at his hands and justice; but rather because I confess his verity and truth, and am not afraid through his gift that to do, that you also might be confirmed in his truth. Therefore, my dearly beloved, I heartily

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do pray you, and so many as unfeignedly love me in God, to give, with me and for me, most hearty thanks to our heavenly Father, through our sweet Saviour Jesus Christ, for this his exceeding great mercy towards me, and you also, that your faith waver not from the doctrine I have taught, and ye have received. For what can you desire more, to assure your consciences of the verity taught by your preachers, than their own lives?

"Go to, therefore, my dear hearts in the Lord, waver not in Christ's religion truly taught you, and set forth in King Edward's days. Never shall the enemies be able to burn it, and prison it, and keep it in bonds. Us they may prison; they may bind and burn as they do, and will do, so long as shall please the Lord: but our cause, religion, and doctrine which we confess, they shall never be able to vanquish and put away. Their idolatry and popish religion shall never be built in the consciences of men that love God's truth. As for those that love not God's truth, that have no pleasure to walk in the ways of the Lord, over those, I say, the devil shall prevail: for God will give them strong illusion to believe lies. Therefore, dear brethren and sisters in the Lord, I humbly beseech you and pray you in the bowels and blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, now going to the death for the testimony of Jesus, as oftentimes I have done before this present out of your pulpit, that you would live the Lord's truth; love (I say) to live it, and frame your lives thereafter. Alas! you know the cause of all these plagues fallen upon us, and of the success which God's adversaries have daily, is for our not loving God's word.

"You know how that we were but gossellers in lips, and not in life. We were carnal, concupiscentious, idle, unthankful, unclean, covetous, arrogant, dissemblers, crafty, subtle, malicious, false, backbiters, &c.; and even glutted with God's word; yea, we loathed it, as did the Israelites the manna in the wilderness; and therefore as to them the Lord's wrath waxed hot, so doth it unto us. So that there is no remedy, but that (for it is better late to turn, than never to turn) we confess our faults even from the bottom of our hearts, and with hearty repentance (which God work in us all for his mercy's sake) we run unto the Lord our God, who is exorable, merciful, and sorry for the evil poured out upon us, and cry out unto him with Daniel, saying, We have sinned, we have sinned grievously, O Lord God! against thy Majesty. We have heaped iniquity upon iniquity, the measure of our transgressions floweth over, so that justly are thy vengeance and wrath fallen upon us. For we are very miserable, we have contemned thy long-suffering, we have not hearkened to thy voice. When thou hast called us by preachers, we hardened our hearts; and therefore now deserve that thou send thy curse hereupon to harden our hearts also, that we should henceforth have eyes and see not, ears and hear not, hearts and understand not, lest we should convert and be saved. Oh be merciful unto us! spare us, good Lord, and all thy people, whom thou hast dearly bought. Let not thine enemies triumph altogether, and always against thee; for then will they be puffed up. Look down and behold the pitiful complaint of the poor; let the sorrowful sighing of the simple come in thy sight, and be not angry with us for ever. Turn us, O Lord God of hosts, unto thee, and turn thee unto us, that thou mayest be justified in thy sweet sentences, and overcome when thou art judged, as now thou art of our adversaries. For they say, Where is their God? Can God deliver them now? Can their gospel serve them? O Lord, how long? for the glory of thy name, and for thy honour's sake, in the bowels and blood of Jesus Christ, we humbly beseech thee, come and help us, for we are very miserable.

"On this sort I say, dearly beloved! let us publicly and privately bewail our sins; but so that hereto we join ceasing from wilfulness and sin of purpose: for else the Lord heareth not our

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prayers, as David saith. And in St. John it is written, The impenitent sinners God heareth not. Now, impenitent are they which purpose not to amend their lives: as for example, not only such as follow still their pleasures, uncleanness, carnality; but those also which, for fear or favour of men, do against their consciences consent to the Romish rags, and resort to the rotten religion, communicating in service and ceremonies with the papists; thereby declaring themselves to love more the world than God; to fear man more than Christ; to dread more the loss of temporal things than eternal; in whom it is evident that the love of God abideth not. For he that loveth the world, hath not God's word abiding in him, saith St. John: therefore, my dear hearts, and dear again in the Lord, remember what you have professed, Christ's religion and name, and the renouncing of the devil, sin, and the world.

"Remember that before ye learned A, B, C, your lesson was Christ's cross. Forget not that Christ will have no disciples, but such as will promise to deny themselves, and take up their cross, (mark, take it up,) and follow him, and not the multitude, custom, &c. Consider, for God's sake, that if we gather not with Christ, we scatter abroad.

What should it profit a man to win the whole world, and lose his own soul? We must not forget that this life is a wilderness, and not a paradise; here is not our home: we are now in warfare; we must needs fight, or else be taken prisoners. of all things we have in this life, we shall carry nothing with us. If Christ be our Captain, we must follow him as soldiers: if we keep company with him in affliction, we shall be sure of his society in glory: if we forsake not him, he will never forsake us: if we confess him, he will confess us; but, if we deny him, he will deny us; if we be ashamed of him, he will be ashamed of us. Wherefore, as he forsook his Father, and heaven, and all things to come to us; so let us forsake all things, and come to him, being sure and most certain that we shall not lose thereby. Your children shall find, and feel it double, yea, treble, whatsoever you lose for the Lord's sake; and you shall find and feel peace of conscience, and friendship with God, which is more worth than all the goods of the world.

"My dearly beloved, therefore, for the Lord's sake, consider these things which I now write unto you of love, for my *vale*, and last farewell for ever, in this present life. Turn to the Lord; repent you of your evil and unthankful life; declare repentance by the fruits; take time while ye have it; come to the Lord while he calleth you; run into his lap while his arms be open to embrace you; seek him while he may be found; call upon him while time is convenient; forsake and flee from all evil, both in religion, and in the rest of your life and conversation. Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and praise God in the day of his visitation. 'O! come again, come again, you strange children, and I will receive you, saith the Lord. Convert and turn to me, and I will turn unto you. Why will ye needs perish? As sure as I live (swareth the Lord) I will not your death; turn therefore unto me. Can a woman forget the child of her womb? If she should, yet I will not forget you, saith the Lord your God. 'I am he, I am he which put away your sins for mine own sake.'

"O then, dear friends, turn I say unto your dearest Father. Cast not these sweet and loving words to the ground, and at your tail; for the Lord watcheth on his word to perform it: which is in two sorts; to them that lay it up in their hearts, and believe it, will he pay all, and eternal joy and comfort. But to them that cast it at their backs, and will forget it, to them (I say) will he pour out indignation and eternal shame. Wherefore I heartily yet once more beseech and pray you, and

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every of you, not to condemn this poor and simple exhortation, which now out of prison I make unto you, or rather the Lord by me. Loth would I be to be a witness against you in the last day; as of truth I must be, if ye repent not; if ye love not God's gospel; yea, if ye love it not.

"Therefore (to conclude) repent; love God's gospel; live it in all your conversation; so shall God's name be praised, his plagues be mitigated, his people comforted, and his enemies ashamed. Grant all this, thou gracious Lord God, to every one of us, for thy dear Son's sake, our Saviour Jesus Christ: to whom with thee and the Holy Ghost be eternal glory for ever and ever. Amen.

The twelfth of February, Anno 1555.

"By the bondman of our Lord,
and your poor afflicted brother,
JOHN BRADFORD."

To my loving brethren, B. C., &c., their wives, and whole families. John Bradford.

"I beseech the ever-living God to grant you all, my good brethren and sisters, the comfort of the Holy Spirit, and the continual sense of his mercy in Christ our Lord, now and for ever. Amen.

"The world, my brethren, seemeth to have the upper hand; iniquity overfloweth; the truth and verity seemeth to be suppressed; and they which take part therewith, are unjustly entreated; as they which love the truth, lament to see and hear as they do. The cause of all this, is God's anger and mercy: his anger, because we have grievously sinned against him; his mercy, because he here punisheth us, and as a father nurtureth us. We have been unthankful for his word; we have contemned his kindness; we have been negligent in prayer; we have been too carnal, covetous, licentious, &c.; we have not hastened to heaven-ward, but rather to hell-ward. We were fallen almost into an open contempt of God and all his good ordinances; so that of his justice he could no longer forbear, but make us feel his anger, as now he hath done, in taking his word and true service from us, and permitting Satan to serve us with antichristian religion; and that in such sort, that if we will not yield to it, and seem to allow it in deed and outward fact, our bodies are like to be laid in prison, and our goods given we cannot tell to whom.

"This should we look upon as a sign of God's anger procured by our sins; which, my good brethren, every of us should now call to our memory oftentimes, so particularly as we can, that we might heartily lament them, repent them, hate them, ask earnestly mercy for them, and submit ourselves to bear in this life any kind of punishment which God will lay upon us for them. This should we do in consideration of God's anger in this time. Now his mercy in this time of wrath is seen, and should be seen in us, my dearly beloved, in this: that God doth vouchsafe to punish us in this present life. If he should not have punished us, do not you think that we should have continued in the evils we were in? Yes, verily, we would have been worse, and have gone forwards in hardening our hearts by impenitence, and negligence of God and true godliness. And then, if death had come, should not we have perished both soul and body in eternal fire in perdition? Alas, what misery should we have fallen into, if God should have suffered us to have gone on forward in our evils! No greater sign of damnation there is, than to lie in evil and sin unpunished of God, as now the papists, my dearly beloved, are cast into Jezebel's bed of security;

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which, of all plagues, is the most grievous that can be. They are bastards and not sons, they are not under God's rod of correction.

"A great mercy it is, therefore, that God doth punish us: for if he loved us not, he would not punish us. Now doth he chastise us, that we should not be damned with the world. Now doth he nurture us, because he favoureth us. Now may we think ourselves God's house and children, because he beginneth his chastising at us: now calleth he us to remember our sins past. Wherefore? That we might repent, and ask mercy. And why? That he might forgive us, pardon us, justify us, and make us his children; and so begin to make us here like unto Christ, that we might be like unto him elsewhere, even in heaven, where already we are set by faith with Christ; and at his coming in very deed, we shall then most joyfully enjoy, when our sinful and vile bodies shall be made like to Christ's glorious body, according to the power whereby he is able to make all things subject to himself.

"Therefore, my brethren, let us in respect hereof not lament, but laud God; not be sorry, but be merry; not weep, but rejoice and be glad, that God doth vouchsafe to offer us his cross; thereby to come to him to endless joys and comforts. For if we suffer, we shall reign; if we confess him before men, he will confess us before his Father in heaven; if we be not ashamed of his gospel now, he will not be ashamed of us in the last day, but will be glorified in us, crowning us with crowns of glory and endless felicity: for blessed are they that suffer persecution for righteousness' sake; for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Be glad, saith Peter, for the Spirit of God resteth upon you. After that you are a little afflicted, God will comfort, strengthen, and confirm you. And therefore, my good brethren, be not discouraged for cross, for prison, or loss of goods; for confession of Christ's gospel and truth which ye have believed, and lively was taught amongst you in the days of our late good king, and most holy prince, King Edward. This is most certain, if you lose any thing for Christ's sake, and for contemning the antichristian service set up again amongst us; as you, for your parts, even in prison shall find God's great and rich mercy, far passing all worldly wealth; so shall your wives and children, in this present life, find and feel God's providence, more plentifully than tongue can tell: for he will show merciful kindness on thousands of them that love him. The good man's seed shall not go a begging his bread. You are good men, so many as suffer for Christ's sake.

"I trust you all, my dearly beloved, will consider this gear with yourselves, and in the cross see God's mercy, which is more sweet, and to be set by, than life itself, much more than any muck or pelf of this world. This mercy of God should make you merry and cheerful; for the afflictions of this life are not to be compared to the joys of the life prepared for you. You know the way to heaven is not the wide way of the world, which windeth to the devil, but it is a strait way, which few walk in; for few live godly in Christ Jesus; few regard the life to come; few remember the day of judgment; few remember how Christ will deny them before his Father, that do deny him here; few consider that Christ will be ashamed of them in the last day, which are ashamed of his truth and true service; few cast their accounts, what will be laid to their charge in the day of vengeance; few regard the condemnation of their own consciences, in doing that which inwardly they disallow; few love God better than their goods.

"But, I trust, you are of this few, my dearly beloved; I trust you be of that little flock, which shall inherit the kingdom of heaven; I trust you are the mourners and lamenters which

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shall be comforted with comfort, which never shall be taken from you, if now you repent your former evils; if now you strive against the evils that are in you; if now you continue to call upon God; if now you defile not your bodies with any idolatrous service used in the antichristian churches; if you molest not the good Spirit of God, which is given you as a gage of eternal redemption, a counsellor and master to lead you into all truth; which good Spirit I beseech the Father of mercy to give to us all, for his dear Son's sake Jesus Christ our Lord; to whom I commend you all, and to the word of his grace, which is able to help you all, and save you all that believe it, follow it, and serve God thereafter.

"And of this I would ye were all certain, that all the hairs of your heads are numbered; so that not one of them shall perish, neither shall any man or devil be able to attempt any thing, much less to do any thing to you, or any of you, before your heavenly Father, which loveth you most tenderly, shall give them leave; and when he hath given them leave, they shall go no further than he will, nor keep you in trouble any longer than he will. Therefore cast on him all your care, for he is careful for you. Only study to please him, and to keep your consciences clean and your bodies pure from the idolatrous service, which now every where is used, and God will marvellously and mercifully defend and comfort you; which thing he do for his holy name's sake, in Christ our Lord. Amen."

To his dearly-beloved in Christ, unto a godly couple, Erkinalde Rawlins and his wife.

"God, our dear and most merciful Father through Christ, be with you, my good brother and sister, as with his children for ever; and in all things so guide you with his Holy Spirit, the leader of his people, as may be to his glory, and your own everlasting joy and comfort in him: Amen. Because I have oftentimes received from either of you comfort corporally, (for the which I beseech the Lord, as to make me thankful, so to recompense you both now and eternally,) I cannot but go about (Lord, help hereto for thy mercy's sake!) to write something for your comfort spiritually.

"My dearly beloved! look not upon these days, and the afflictions of the same here with us, simply as they seem unto you; that is, as dismal days, and days of God's vengeance; but rather as lucky days, and days of God's fatherly kindness towards you, and such as you be; that is, towards such as repent their sins and evil life past, and earnestly purpose to amend, walking not after the will of the world, and most part of men, for the preservation of their pelf, which (will they, nill they) they shall leave sooner or later; and to whom or how it shall be used, they know not. Indeed, to such as walk in their wickedness, and wind on with the world, this time is a time of wrath and vengeance; and their beginning of sorrow is but now, because they contemn the physic of their Father, which by this purging time and cleansing days would work their weal, which they will not: and because they will not have God's blessing, which both ways he hath offered unto them, by prosperity and adversity, therefore it shall be kept far enough from them. As when the sick man will no kind of physic at the hands of the physician, he is left alone, and so the malady increaseth, and destroyeth him at the length.

To such men, indeed, these days are and should be doleful days, and days of woe and weeping, because their damnation draweth nigh.

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"But unto such as be penitent, and are desirous to live after the Lord's will, (among whom I do not only count you, but, as far as a man may judge, I know ye are,) unto such, I say, this time is and should be comfortable. For first, now your Father chastiseth you and me for our sins; for the which if he would have destroyed us, then would he have letten us alone, and left us to ourselves, in nothing to take to heart his fatherly visitation, which here it pleaseth them to work presently, because elsewhere he will not remember our transgressions, as Paul writeth: he chastiseth us in this world, lest with the world we should perish. Therefore, my dear hearts, call to mind your sins to lament them, and to ask mercy for them in his sight, and withal undoubtedly believe to obtain pardon and assured forgiveness of the same, for twice the Lord punisheth not for one thing.

"So that I say, first we have cause to rejoice for these days, because our Father suffereth us not to lie in Jezebel's bed, sleeping in our own sins and security, but, as mindful of us, doth correct us as his children. Whereby we may be certain, that we be no bastards, but children; for he chastiseth every child whom he receiveth. So that they which are not partakers of his chastising, or that contemn it, declare themselves to be bastards, and not children, as I know you are, which, as ye are chastised, so do ye take it to heart accordingly. And therefore be glad, my dear hearts and folks, knowing certainly, even by these visitations of the Lord, that ye are his dear elect children, whose faults your Father doth visit with the rod of correction, but his mercy will he never take away from us. Amen.

"Secondly, ye have cause to rejoice for these days, because they are days of trial, wherein not only ye yourselves, but also the world, shall know that ye be none of his, but the Lord's dearlings. Before these days came, Lord God! how many thought of themselves, they had been in God's bosom; and so were taken, and would be taken of the world! But now we see whose they are: for to whom we obey, his servants we are. If we obey the world, (which God forbid, and hitherto ye have not done it,) then are we the world's; but if we obey God, then are we God's: which thing, (I mean, that ye are God's,) these days have declared both to you, to me, and to all others that know you, better than ever we knew it. Therefore ye have no cause to sorrow, but rather to sing, in seeing yourselves to be God's babes, and in seeing that all God's children do so count you.

"What though the world repine thereat? What though he kick? What though he seek to trouble and molest you? My dear hearts, he doth but his kind: he cannot love the Lord, which liveth not in the Lord: he cannot brook the child, that hateth the father: he cannot mind the servant, that careth not for the master. If ye were of the world, the world would love you; ye should dwell quietly; there would be no grief, no molestation. If the devil dwelt in you, (which the Lord forbid,) he would not stir up his knights to besiege your house, to snatch your goods, or suffer his fiends to enter into your hogs. But because Christ dwelleth in you, (as he doth by faith,) therefore stirreth he up his first-begotten son, the world, to seek how to disquiet you, to rob you, to spoil you, to destroy you: and perchance your dear Father—to try and to make known unto you, and to the world, that ye are destinate to another dwelling than here on earth, to another city than man's eyes have seen at any time hath given or will give power to Satan, and to the world, to take from you the things which he hath lent you; and, by taking them away, to try your fidelity, obedience, and love towards him, (for ye may not love them above him,) as by giving that ye have, and keeping it, he hath declared his love towards you.

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"Satan perchance telleth God, (as he did of Job,) that ye love God for your goods' sake. What now then, if the Lord, to try you with Job, shall give him power on your goods and body accordingly—should ye be dismayed? should ye despair? should ye be faint-hearted? Should ye not rather rejoice, as did the apostles, that they were counted worthy to suffer any thing for the Lord's sake? O forget not the end that happened to Job: for as it happened to him, so shall it happen unto you. For God is the same God, and cannot long forget to show mercy to them that look and long for it; as I know ye do, and I pray you so to do still. For the Lord loveth you, and never can nor will forget to show and pour out his mercy upon you. After a little while that he hath afflicted and tried you, saith Peter, he will visit, comfort, and confirm you. As to Jacob wrestling with the angel, at the length morning came, and the sun arose; so, dear hearts, doubtless it will happen unto you. Howbeit, do ye as Job and Jacob did; that is, order and dispose your things that God hath lent you, as ye may, and whiles ye have time. Who knoweth whether God hath given you power thus long, even to that end?

"Go to therefore; dispose your goods, prepare yourselves to trial, that either ye may stand to it like God's champions, or, else, if you feel such infirmity in yourselves that ye be not able, give place to violence, and go where you may with free and safe conscience serve the Lord. Think not this counsel to come by chance, or fortune, but to come from the Lord. Other oracles we may not look for now. As God told Joseph in a dream by an angel, that he should fly; so if you feel such infirmity in yourselves, as should turn to God's dishonour and your own destruction withal, know that at this present I am as God's angel, to admonish you to take time whiles ye have it, and to see that in no case God's name by you might be dishonoured. Joseph might have objected the omission of his vocation, as perchance ye will do: but, dear hearts, let vocations and all things else give place to God's name, and the sanctifying thereof.

"This I speak, not as though I would not have you rather to tarry, and to stand it: but I speak it in respect of your infirmity, which if you feel to be so great in you, that you are not certain of this hope, that God will never tempt you above your ability; fly and get you hence, and know that thereby God will have you tried to yourselves and to others. For by it you shall know how to take this world, and that your home here is no home, but that ye look for another; and so give occasion to others less to love this world, and perchance to some to doubt of their religion: wherein though they be earnest, yet would they not lose so much as ye do for your religion, which ye do confirm to me and others, by your giving place to violence.

"Last of all, ye have cause to rejoice over these our days, because they be the days of conformation, in the which, and by which, God our heavenly Father maketh us like unto Christ's image here, that we may be like unto him elsewhere. For if that we suffer with him, then we shall reign also with him: if we be buried with him, then we shall rise with him again: if that we company with him in all troubles and afflictions, then we shall rejoice with him in glory: if we now sow with him in tears, we shall reap with him in gladness: if we confess him before men, he will confess us before his Father in heaven: if we take his part, he will take ours: if we lose aught for his name's sake, he will give us all things for his truth's sake. So that we ought to rejoice and be glad; for it is not given to every one to suffer loss of country, life, goods, house, &c., for the Lord's sake. What can God the Father do more unto us, than to call us into the camp with his Son? what may Christ our Saviour do more for us, than to make us his warriors? what can the Holy Ghost do to us above this, to mark us with the cognizance of the Lord of hosts?

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"This cognizance of the Lord standeth not in forked caps, tippets, shaven crowns, or such other baggage and antichristian pelf; but in suffering for the Lord's sake. The world shall hate you, saith Christ. Lo, there is the cognizance and badge of God's children: the world shall hate you. Rejoice therefore, my dearly beloved, rejoice, that God doth thus vouchsafe to begin to conform you, and to make you like to Christ. By the trial of these days ye are occasioned more to repent, more to pray, more to condemn this world, more to desire life everlasting; more to be holy, (for holy is the end wherefore God doth afflict us,) and so to come to God's company: which thing because we cannot do, as long as this body is as it is, therefore by the door of death we must enter with Christ into eternal life, and immortality of soul and body; which God of his mercy send shortly, for our Saviour Jesus Christ's sake: Amen."

To mine own dear brother, Master Lawrence Saunders, prisoner in the Marshalsea.

"My good brother, I beseech our good and gracious Father always to continue his gracious favour and love towards us, and by us, as by instruments of his grace, to work his glory and the confusion of his adversaries. Out of the mouth of infants and babes he will show forth his praise, to destroy the enemy, &c.

"I have perused your letters to myself, and have read them to others; for answer whereof, if I should write what Doctor Taylor and Master Philpot do think, then must I say, that they think the salt sent unto us by your friend is unseasonable: and indeed I think they both will declare it heartily, if they should come before men. As for me, if you would know what I think, my good and most dear brother Lawrence, because I am so sinful and so conspurcate (the Lord knoweth I lie not) with many grievous sins, which I hope are washed away *sanguine Christi nostri*, I neither can nor would be consulted withal, but as a cipher in Agrime. Howbeit, to tell you how and what I mind, take this for a sum: I pray God in no case I may seek myself; and indeed (I thank God therefore) I purpose it not.

"That which remaineth, I commit to my Lord God; and I trust in him, that he will do according to this: Cast thy care on the Lord, &c. Cast all your care upon him, &c. Reveal unto the Lord thy way, and trust, &c. Who that trusteth in the Lord, mercy shall compass him about. I did not, nor do I know, but by your letters, *quod eras* we shall come *coram nobis*. Mine own heart, still stick to, It shall be given you, &c. For the Lord is faithful. He will in temptation make a way that ye may be able to bear it. The Lord knoweth how to rid out of temptation the godly, &c. O would God I were godly! The Lord knoweth how to deliver out of temptation such as trust in him, &c. I cannot think that they will offer any kind of indifferent or mean conditions: for if we will not *adorare bestiam*, we never shall be delivered, but against their will, think I. God, our Father and gracious Lord, make perfect the good he hath begun in us!

"He will do it, my brother, my dear brother, whom I have in my inward bowels to live and die with. O if I were with you!" Pray for me, my own heart-root in the Lord.

"For ever your own,
JOHN BRADFORD."

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Another letter to Master Lawrence Saunders.

"God's sweet peace in Christ be with you, my good brother in the Lord Jesus, and with all your con-captives. Amen.

"I was letted this morning from musing on that which I was purposed to have thought on by reason of you, against whom I saw myself guilty of negligence, even in this point that I would not write,—I should say, that I had not written unto you as yet: therefore out of hand in manner I prepared myself to purge myself hereof; not that I will go about to excuse my fault, (for that were more to load me,) but by asking both God and you pardon, to get it no more laid to my charge. Now when I was thus purposing, and partly doing, cometh there one with a letter from you: for the which as I have cause to thank God and you, (howbeit not so that you should think I give not the whole to God,) so I see myself more blameworthy, for this long holding my peace. Howbeit, good brother, in this I have given a demonstration to you, to behold my negligence in all other things, and especially in praying for you, and for the church of God, which for my sins and hypocrisy (hypocrisy indeed even in this writing; God deliver me from it!) have deserved to be punished. Just is God, for we have deserved all kind of plagues at his hands: but yet merciful is he that will on this wise chastise us with this world, that we should not be condemned with the world. He might otherwise have punished us; I mean, he might have for other causes cast us in prison, me especially, than for his gospel and word's sake. Praised therefore be his name, which voucheth us worthy this honour. Ah! good God, forgive us our sins, and work by this thy fatherly correction on us, on me especially, effectually to love thee and thy Christ; and with joyfulness unto the end to carry thy cross through thick and thin. Always set before our eyes, not this gallows on earth, if we will stick to thee, but the gallows in hell, if we deny thee, and swerve from that we have professed.

"Ah! good brother, if I could always have God, his majesty, mercy, heaven, hell, &c., before mine eyes, then should I *obdurare*, as Paul writeth of Moses: He endured, saith he, as he that saw him which is invisible. Pray for me, as I know you do, and give thanks also: for, in the Lord I trust, I shall not waver. If I walk by the valley of the shadow of death, I will not fear, for thou art with me, O Lord. I think we shall be shortly called forth; for now *legem habent, et secundum legem*, &c., otherwise will they not reason with us; and I think their sheet-anchor will be, to have us to subscribe; the which thing if we do, though with this condition, 'so far as the thing subscribed to repugneth not against God's word,' yet this will be offensive. Therefore let us *vadere planè*, and so *sanè*; I mean, let us all confess that we are no changelings, but *re-ipsa* are the same we were in religion, and therefore cannot subscribe except we will dissemble both with God, ourselves, and the world.

"These things I write to you, dear brother in the Lord. Now I will read your epistle. Ah! brother, that I had the practical understanding with you in that Vine which you describe; pray the Lord that I may think so indeed. God make me thankful for you. All our fellow prisoners salute you, and give thanks to God for you. The same do you for us, and pray that, &c.

"Your brother in the Lord Jesus,
to live and die with you,
J. BRADFORD."

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To my dear fathers, Dr. Cranmer, Dr. Ridley, and Dr. Latimer.

"Jesus Emmanuel!—My dear fathers in the Lord, I beseech God, our sweet Father through Christ, to make perfect the good he hath begun in us all. Amen.

"I had thought that every of your staves had stood next the door; but now it is otherwise perceived. Our dear brother Rogers hath broken the ice valiantly, as this day, I think, or tomorrow at the uttermost, hearty Hooper, sincere Saunders, and trusty Taylor, end their course, and receive their crown. The next am I, who hourly look for the porter to open me the gates after them, to enter into the desired rest. God forgive me mine unthankfulness for this exceeding great mercy, that, amongst so many thousands, it pleaseth his mercy to choose me to be one, in whom he will suffer. For although it be most true, that I justly suffer, (for I have been a great hypocrite, and a grievous sinner: the Lord pardon me!) yet, he hath done it, he hath done it indeed; yet, What evil hath he done? Christ, whom the prelates persecute, his verity which they hate in me, hath done no evil, nor deserveth death. Therefore ought I most heartily to rejoice of this indignation and tender kindness of the Lord's towards me, which useth remedy for my sin as a testimonial of his testament, to his glory, to my everlasting comfort, to the edifying of his church, and to the overthrowing of antichrist and his kingdom. Oh! what am I, Lord, that thou shouldest thus magnify me so vile a man and miser, as always I have been? Is this thy wont, to send for such a wretch and a hypocrite, as I have been, in a fiery chariot, as thou didst for Elias? Oh! dear fathers, be thankful for me, and pray for me, that I still might be found worthy, in whom the Lord would sanctify his holy name. And for your part, make you ready: for we are but your gentlemen-ushers: The marriage of the Lamb is prepared, come unto the marriage. I now go to leave my flesh there, where I received it. I shall be conveyed thither, as Ignatius was at Rome, to the leopards; by whose evil I hope to be made better. God grant, if it be his will that I ask, it may make them better by me. Amen.

"For my farewell therefore, I write and send this unto you, trusting shortly to see you where we shall never be separated. In the mean season I will not cease, as I have done, to commend you to our Father of heaven, and that you would so do by me, I most heartily pray every one of you: you know now I have most need. Faithful is God, which will not suffer us to be tempted above our strength. He never did it hitherto, nor now, and I am assured, he will never: Amen. He is on my right hand, therefore I shall not fall. Wherefore my heart shall rejoice, for he shall not leave my soul in hell, neither shall suffer me, his holy one, by his grace in Christ, to see corruption.

"Out of prison in haste, looking every moment for the tormentor, the eighth of February, 1555.

"JOHN BRADFORD."

To the Right Honourable Lord Russell, now earl of Bedford; being then in trouble for the verity of God's gospel.

"The everlasting and most gracious God and Father of our Saviour Jesu Christ, bless your good Lordship with all manner of heavenly blessings in the same Christ our only comfort and hope: Amen.

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"Praised be God our Father, which hath vouched you worthy, as of faith in his Christ, so of his cross for the same. Magnified be his holy name, who as he hath delivered you from one cross, so he hath made you willing (I trust) and ready to bear another, when he shall see his time to lay it upon you: for these are the most singular gifts of God, given as to few, so to none else but to those few which are most dear in his sight. Faith is reckoned, and worthily, among the greatest gifts of God, yea, it is the greatest itself that we may enjoy; for by it, as we be justified and made God's children, so are we temples and possessors of the Holy Spirit; yea, of Christ also, and of the Father himself. By faith, we drive the devil away: we overcome the world, and are already citizens of heaven, and fellows with God's dear saints. But who is able to reckon the riches that this faith bringeth with her unto the soul she sitteth upon? No man nor angel. And therefore, (as I said,) of all God's gifts, she may be set in the top, and have the upmost seat. The which thing if men considered, (in that she cometh alone from God's own mercy-seat, by the hearing, not of mass or matins, diriges, or such dross; but the word of God in such a tongue as we can and do understand,) as they would be diligent and take great heed for doing or seeing any thing which might cast her down (for then they fall also); so would they with no less care read and hear God's holy word, joining thereto most earnest and often prayer, as well for the more and better understanding, as for the loving, living, and confessing of the same, maugre the head of the devil, the world, our flesh, reason, goods, possessions, carnal friends, wife, children, and very life here; if they should pull us back to hearken to their voice and counsel, for more quiet, sure, and longer use of them.

"Now, notwithstanding this excellency of faith, in that we read the apostle to match therewith, yea, (as it were,) to prefer, suffering persecution for Christ's sake, I trow no man will be so fond as to think otherwise, but that I, and all God's children, have cause to glorify and praise God, which hath vouched you worthy so great a blessing. For though the reason or wisdom of the world thinketh of the cross according to their reach, and according to their present sense, and therefore flieth from it as from a most great ignominy and shame: yet God's scholars have learned otherwise to think of the cross, that is, the frame-house in the which God frameth his children, like to his Son Christ; the furnace that fineth God's gold; the highway to heaven; the suit and livery that God's servants are served withal; the earnest and beginning of all consolation and glory: for they (I mean God's scholars, as your Lordship is, I trust) do enter into God's sanctuary, lest their feet slip. They look not, as beasts do, on things present only, but on things to come, and so have they as present to faith the judgment and glorious coming of Christ Jesus, like as the wicked have now their worldly wealth, wherein they wallow, and will wallow, till they tumble headlong into hell, where are torments too terrible and endless. Now they follow the fiend, (as the bear doth the train of honey, and the sow the swillings,) till they be brought into the slaughter-house; and then they know that their prosperity hath brought them to perdition. Then cry they, Woe, woe, we went the wrong way! we counted these men, (I mean such as you be, that suffer for God's sake loss of goods, friends, and life, whom they shall see endued with rich robes of righteousness, crowns of most pure precious gold, and palms of conquest in the goodly glorious palace of the Lamb, where is eternal joy, felicity, &c.) we counted (will they then say) these men but fools: and mad-men, we took their conditions to be but curiosity. But then will it be too late then the time will be turned; laughing shall be turned into weeping, and weeping into rejoicing. Read Wisd. ii. iii. iv. v.

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"Therefore, (as before I have said,) great cause have I to thank God, which hath vouched you worthy of his most bountiful blessing: much more then have you cause, my good Lord, so to be; I mean thankful. For look upon your vocation, I pray you: tell me how many noblemen, earls' sons, lords, knights, and men of estimation, hath God in this realm of England dealt thus withal? I dare say you think not that you have deserved this. Only God's mercy in his Christ hath wrought this on you, as he did in Jeremiah's time on Ebed-melech, in Achab's time on Abdias, in Christ's time on Joseph of Arimathea, in the apostles' time on Sergius Paulus and the queen Candace's chamberlain. Only now be thankful and continue; continue, continue, my good Lord, continue to confess Christ. Be not ashamed of him before men: for then will not he be ashamed of you. Now will he try you. Stick fast unto him, and he will stick fast by you; he will be with you in trouble, and deliver you. But then must you cry unto him, for so it proceedeth: He cried unto me, and I heard him; I was with him in trouble, &c.

"Remember Lot's wife, which looked back: remember Francis Spira: remember that none is crowned, but he that striveth lawfully: remember that all you have is at Christ's commandment: remember he lost more for you, than you can lose for him: remember you lose not that which is lost for his sake; for you shall find much more here and elsewhere: remember you shall die, and when, where, and how, ye cannot tell: remember the death of sinners is most terrible: remember the death of God's saints is most precious in his sight: remember the multitude goeth the wide way which windeth to woe: remember that the strait gate, which leadeth to glory, hath but few travellers: remember Christ biddeth you to strive to enter in thereat: remember he that trusteth in the Lord, shall receive strength to stand against all the assaults of his enemies. Be certain all the hairs of your head are numbered: be certain your good Father hath appointed bounds, over the which the devil dares not look. Commit yourself to him; he is, hath been, and will be your keeper. Cast your care on him, and he will care for you. Let Christ be your scope, and mark to prick at; let him be your pattern to work by; let him be your ensample to follow: give him as your heart so your hands; as your mind so your tongue; as your faith so your feet; and let his word be your candle, to go before you in all matters of religion. Blessed is he that walketh not to these popish prayers, nor standeth at them, nor sitteth at them: glorify God both in soul and body. He that gathereth not with Christ scattereth abroad. Use prayer: look for God's help, which is at hand to them that ask and hope thereafter assuredly. In which prayers I heartily desire your Lordship to remember us, who as we are going with you right gladly, (God therefore be praised,) so we look to go before you, hoping that you will follow, if God so will, according to your daily prayer, Thy will be done on earth, &c. The good Spirit of God always guide your Lordship unto the end: Amen.

"Your Lordship's own for ever,
JOIN BRADFORD."

To Master Warcup and his wife, Mrs. Wilkinson, and others of his godly friends, with their families.

"The same peace our Saviour Christ left with his people, which is not without war with the world, Almighty God work plentifully in your hearts now and for ever. Amen.

"The time, I perceive, is come wherein the Lord's ground will be known: I mean, it will now shortly appear who have received God's gospel into their hearts indeed, to the taking of

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good root therein; for such will not for a little heat or sun-burning wither, but stiffly will stand and grow on, maugre the malice of all burning showers and tempests. And forasmuch as—my beloved in the Lord—I am persuaded of you, that ye be indeed the children of God, God's good ground, which groweth and will grow on, (by God's grace,) bringing forth fruit to God's glory after your vocations, as occasions shall be offered, (burn the sun never so hot,) therefore I cannot but so signify unto you, and heartily pray you and every one of you accordingly, to go on forwards after your Master, Christ, not sticking at the foul way and stormy weather, which you are to come into, and are like so to do: of this being most certain, that the end of your journey shall be pleasant and joyful, in such a perpetual rest and blissfulness as cannot but swallow up the showers that ye now feel and are soused in, if ye often set it before your eyes, after Paul's counsel in the latter end of the fourth, and beginning of the fifth, chapter of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians. Read it, I pray you, and remember it often as a restorative to refresh you, lest ye faint in the way.

"And besides this set before you also, that though the weather be foul, and storms grow apace, yet go not ye alone, but other your brothers and sisters tread the same path, as St. Peter telleth us: and therefore company should cause you to be the more courageous and cheerful. But if you had no company at all to go presently with you, I pray you tell me, if, even from the beginning, the best of God's friends have found any fairer weather and way to the place whither ye are going, (I mean heaven,) than ye now find and are like to do; except ye will, with the worldlings, which have their portion in this life, tarry still by the way till the storms be overpast; and then either night will so approach that ye cannot travel, or the doors will be sparred before ye come, and so ye then lodge without in wonderful and evil lodgings. Read Apocalypse xxii. Begin at Abel, and come from him to Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, the patriarchs, Moses, David, Daniel, and all the saints of the Old Testament; and tell me whether ever any of them found any fairer way than ye now find.

"If the Old Testament will not serve, I pray you come to the New, and begin with Mary and Joseph, and come from them to Zachary and Elizabeth, John Baptist, and every one of the apostles and evangelists; and search whether they all found any other way into the city we travel towards, than by many tribulations.

"Besides these, if ye should call to remembrance the primitive church, Lord God! ye should see many to have given cheerfully their bodies to most grievous torments, rather than they would be stopped in their journey; that there is no day in the year, but (I dare say) a thousand was the fewest that with great joy lost their homes here, but in the city they went unto have found other manner of homes than man's mind is able to conceive. But, if none of all these were, if ye had no company now to go with you, as you have me your poor brother and bondman of the Lord, with many others, I trust in God, if you had none other of the fathers, patriarchs, kings, prophets, apostles, evangelists, martyrs, and other holy saints and children of God, that in their journey to heaven-ward found as ye now find, and are like to find if ye go on forward, as I trust ye will; yet ye have your Master and your Captain, Jesus Christ, the dear darling and only begotten and beloved Son of God, in whom was all the Father's pleasure, joy, and delectation; ye have him to go before you, no fairer way, but much fouler, into this our city of Jerusalem. I need not, I trust, to rehearse what manner of way he found. Begin at his birth, and till ye come at his

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burial, ye shall find that every foot and stride of his journey was no better, but much worse than yours is now.

"Wherefore, my dearly beloved in the Lord, be not so dainty, as to look for that at God's hands, your dear Father, which the fathers, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, evangelists, martyrs, saints, and his own Son Jesus Christ, did not find. Hitherto we have had fair way (I trow) and fair weather also: now, because we have loitered by the way, and not made the speed we should have done, our loving Lord and sweet Father hath overcast the weather, and stirred up the storms and tempests, that we might with more haste run out our race before night come, and the doors be sparred. The devil standeth now at every inn-door in his city and country of this world, crying unto us to tarry and lodge in this or that place till the storms be over-past; not that he would not have us wet to the skin, but that the time might overpass us to our utter destruction. Therefore beware of his enticements. Cast not your eyes on things that be present, how this man doth, and how that man doth; but cast your eyes on the gleve ye run at, or else ye will lose the game. Ye know that he which runneth at the gleve, doth not look on others that stand by, and go this way or that way; but altogether he looketh on the gleve, and on them that run with him, that those which be behind overtake him not, and that he may overtake them which be before. Even so should we do; leave off looking on those which will not run the race to heaven's bliss by the path of persecution with us; and cast our eyes on the end of our race, and on them that go before us, that we may overtake them, and on them which come after us, that we may provoke them to come the faster after.

"He that shooteth, will not cast his eyes in his shooting on them that stand by, or ride by the ways, (I trow,) but rather at the mark he shooteth at: for else he were like to win the wrong way. Even so, my dearly beloved, let your eyes be set on the mark ye shoot at, even Christ Jesus; who, for the joy set before him, did joyfully carry his cross, contemning the shame; and therefore he now sitteth on the right hand of the throne of God. Let us follow him; for this did he, that we should not be fainthearted. For we may be most assured, that if we suffer with him, we shall undoubtedly reign with him: but, if we deny him, surely he will deny us; For he that is ashamed of me, saith Christ, and of my gospel, in this faithless generation, I will be ashamed of him before the angels of God in heaven. Oh! how heavy a sentence is this to all such as know the mass to be an abominable idol, full of idolatry, blasphemy, and sacrilege against God and his Christ (as undoubtedly it is); and yet, for fear of men, for loss of life or goods, yea, for advantage and gain, some will honest it with their presence, dissembling both with God and man, as their own heart and conscience doth accuse them. Better it were that such had never known the truth, than thus wittingly, and for fear or favour of man, whose breath is in his nostrils, to dissemble it; or rather (as indeed it is) to deny it. The end of such is like to be worse than their beginning. Such had need to take heed of the two terrible places to the Hebrews in the sixth and tenth chapters, lest, by so doing, they fall therein. Let them beware they play not wily-beguily with themselves, as some do, I fear me, which go to mass, and because they worship not, nor kneel, nor knock, as others do, but sit still in their pews, therefore they think they rather do good to others than hurt.

"But, alas! if these men would look into their own consciences, there should they see they are very dissemblers, and in seeking to deceive others (for by this means the magistrates think them of their sort) they deceive themselves. They think at the elevation time, all men's eyes are

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set upon them, to mark how they do. They think others, hearing of such men going to mass, do see, or inquire of their behaviour there. Oh! if there were in those men that are so present at the mass, either love to God, or to their brethren, then would they, for the one or both, openly take God's part, and admonish the people of their idolatry. They fear man more than him which hath power to cast both soul and body into hell-fire; they halt on both knees; they serve two masters. God have mercy upon such, and open their eyes with his eye-salve, that they may see that they which take no part with God are against God, and that they which gather not with Christ, do scatter abroad. Oh that they would read what St. John saith will be done to the fearful. The counsel given to the church of Laodicea, is good counsel for such.

"But to return to you again, dearly beloved be not ye ashamed of God's gospel: it is the power of God to salvation to all those that do believe it. Be therefore partakers of the afflictions, as God shall make you able; knowing for certain, that he will never tempt you further than he will make you able to bear: and think it no small grace of God to suffer persecution for God's truth; for the Spirit of God resteth upon you, and ye are happy, as one day ye shall see: read 2 Thess. i. and Heb. xii. As the fire hurteth not gold, but maketh it finer, so shall ye be more pure by suffering with Christ. The flail and wind hurteth not the wheat, but cleanseth it from the chaff. And ye, dearly beloved, are God's wheat: fear not therefore the flail, fear not the fanning wind, fear not the millstone, fear not the oven; for all these make you more meet for the Lord's own tooth. Soap, though it be black, soileth not the cloth, but rather at the length maketh it more clean: so doth the black cross help us to more whiteness, if God strike with his battledore. Because ye are God's sheep, prepare yourselves to the slaughter, always knowing that in the sight of the Lord our death shall be precious. The souls under the altar look for us to fill up their number: happy are we if God have so appointed us. Howsoever it be, dearly beloved, cast yourselves wholly upon the Lord, with whom all the hairs of your heads are numbered, so that not one of them shall perish. Will we, nill we, we must drink God's cup, if he have appointed it for us. Drink it willingly then; and at the first, when it is full, lest peradventure if we linger, we shall drink at length of the dregs with the wicked, if at the beginning we drink not with his children: for with them his judgment beginneth, and when he hath wrought his will on Mount Sion, then will he visit the nations round about.

"Submit yourselves therefore under the mighty hand of the Lord. No man shall touch you without his knowledge: when they touch you therefore, know it is to your weal. God thereby will work to make you like Christ here, that ye may be also like unto him elsewhere. Acknowledge your unthankfulness and sin, and bless God that correcteth you in the world, because you shall not be damned with the world. Otherwise might he correct us, than in making us to suffer for righteousness' sake: but this he doth, because we are not of the world. Call upon his name through Christ for his help, as he commandeth us. Believe that he is merciful to you, heareth you, and helpeth you: I am with him in trouble, and will deliver him, saith he. Know that God hath appointed bounds, over which the devil and all the world shall not pass. If all things seem to be against us, yet say with Job, If he kill me, I will hope in him. Read the 91st Psalm, and pray for me, your poor brother and fellow sufferer for God's gospel sake; his name therefore be praised. And of his mercy he make me and you worthy to suffer with good conscience for his name's sake. Die once we must, and when we know not: happy are they to whom God giveth to pay nature's debt, I mean, to die for his sake.

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"Here is not our home: therefore let us accordingly consider things, always having before our eyes the heavenly Jerusalem, the way thither to be by persecutions; the dear friends of God, how they have gone it after the example of our Saviour Jesus Christ, whose footsteps let us follow even to the very gallows, if God so will, not doubting but that as he, within three days, rose again immortal, even so we shall do in our time; that is, when the trump shall blow, and the angel shall shout, and the Son of man shall appear in the clouds with innumerable saints and angels, in majesty and great glory: then shall the dead arise, and we shall be caught up into the clouds to meet the Lord, and so be always with him. Comfort yourselves with these words, and pray for me for God's sake.

"From prison, 19 Nov. 1553.

"J. BRADFORD."

To Sir James Hales, knight, then prisoner in the Compter in Bread Street.

"The God of mercy, and the Father of all comfort, plentifully pour out upon you and in you his mercy, and with his consolations comfort and strengthen you to the end, for his and our Christ's sake.

"Although, right worshipful sir, many causes might move me to be content with crying for you to your God and my God, that he would give you grace to persevere well, as he hath right notably begun, to the great glory of his name, and comfort of all such as fear him; as lack of learning, of familiarity, yea, acquaintance, (for I think I am unknown to you, both by face and name,) and other such-like things; yet I cannot content myself, but presume something to scribble unto you, not that I think my scribbling can do you any good, but that I might declare my συμπαιθειαν [Greek; sympatheian] and compassion, love and affection, I bear towards your Mastership, which is contented, yea, desirous, with us poor misers, to confess Christ's gospel in these perilous times and days of trial. O Lord God! how good art thou, which dost thus glean out grapes—I mean, children for thyself, and brethren for Christ! Look, good Master Hales, on your vocation: not many judges, not many knights, not many landed men, not many rich men, and wealthy to live as you are, hath God chosen to suffer for his sake, as he hath now done you. Certainly I dare say you think not so of yourself, as though God were bound to prefer you, or had need of you; but rather attribute this, as all good things, unto his free mercy in Christ. Again, I dare say that you, being a wise man, do judge of things wisely, that is, concerning this your cross, you judge of it not after the world and its people, which is the great master of error; nor after the judgment of reason and worldly wisdom, which is foolishness to faith; nor after the present sense, to which it seemeth not to be joyous, but grievous, as Paul writeth: but after the word of God, which teacheth your cross to be, in respect of yourself, between God and you; God's chastising, and your Father's correction, nurture, school, trial, path-way to heaven, glory, and felicity, and the furnace to consume the dross, and mortify the relics of old Adam which yet remain; yea, even the frame-house to fashion you like to the dearest saints of God here, yea, to Christ the Son of God, that elsewhere you might be like unto him.

"Now, concerning your cross in respect of the world, between the world and you, God's word teacheth it to be a testimonial of God's truth, of his providence, of his power, of his justice, of his wisdom, of his anger against sin, of his goodness, of his judgment, of your faith and religion, so that by it you are to the world a witness of God, one of his *testes*, that he is true, he

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ruleth all things, he is just, wise, and at length will judge the world, and cast the wicked into perdition; but the godly he will take and receive into his eternal habitation. I know you judge of things after faith's fetch, and the effects or ends of things, and so you see an eternal weight of glory, which this cross shall bring unto you, while ye look not on things which are seen, but on the things which are not seen. Let the worldlings weigh things and look upon the affairs of men with their worldly and corporal eyes, as did many in subscription of the king's last will; and therefore they did that, for the which they beshrewed themselves: but let us look on things with other manner of eyes, as, God be praised, you did, in not doing that which you were desired, and driven at to have done. You then beheld things not as a man, but as a man of God; and so you do now in religion, at the least hitherto you have done: and that you might do so still, I humbly beseech and pray you, say with David, Mine eyes fail for thy word-saying; when wilt thou comfort me? Though you be as *uter in fumo*, that is, like a bottle in the smoke, (for I hear you want health,) yet, do not forget the statutes of the Lord: but cry out, How many are the days of thy servant? when wilt thou execute judgment on them that persecute me? And be certain the Lord will surely come, and not stay; though he tarry, wait for him; for he is but a while in his anger, but in his favour is life: weeping may abide at evening, but joy cometh in the morning. Follow therefore Esay's counsel, Hide thyself for a very little while, until his indignation pass over, which is not *indignatio* indeed, but to our sense; and therefore in Esay xxvii. God saith of his church and people, that as he keepeth night and day, so, There is no anger in me, saith he.

"The mother sometimes beateth her child, but yet her heart melteth upon it, even in the very beating: and therefore she casteth the rod into the fire, and colletteth the child, giveth it an apple, and dandleth it most motherly. And, to say the truth, the love of mothers to their children, is but a trace to train us to behold the love of God towards us: and therefore saith he, Can a mother forget the child of her womb? As who should say, No: but if she should so do, yet will not I forget thee, saith the Lord of hosts. Ah comfortable saying! I will not forget thee, saith the Lord. Indeed the children of God think oftentimes that God hath forgotten them, and therefore they cry, Hide not thy face from me, &c. Leave me not, O Lord, &c. Whereas in very truth it is not so, but to their present sense: and therefore David said, I said in my agony, I was clean cast away from thy face. But was it so? Nay verily. Read his Psalms, and you shall see. So writeth he also in other places very often, especially in the person of Christ: as when he saith, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me? He saith not, Why dost thou forsake me? or, Why wilt thou forsake me? But, Why hast thou forsaken me? Where indeed God had not left him, but that it was so to his sense; and that this Psalm telleth us full well; which Psalm I pray you now and then read, it is the 22nd, and thereto join the 31st, and the 116th, with divers others. The same we read in the prophet Isaiah, chap. xl., where he reproveth Israel for saying, God had forgotten them; Knowest thou not, saith he; hast thou not heard, &c.; They that trust in the Lord shall renew their strength. And in his 54th chapter, Fear not, &c.: for a little while I have forsaken thee, but with great compassion will I gather thee. For a moment in mine anger I hid my face from thee, for a little season: but in everlasting mercy have I had compassion on thee, saith the Lord thy Redeemer. For this is unto me as the waters of Noah: for as I have sworn that the waters of Noah should no more go over the earth, so have I sworn that I would not be angry with thee nor rebuke thee. For the mountains shall remove, and hills shall fall down; but my mercy shall not depart from thee, neither shall the covenant of my peace fall away, saith the Lord that hath compassion on thee.

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"But the Scriptures are full of such sweet places to them that will bear the wrath of the Lord, and wait for his health and help. As of all temptations this is the greatest, that God hath forgotten, or will not help us through the pikes, as they say: so of all services of God, this liketh him the best, to hope assuredly on him, and for his help always, which is a helper in tribulations, and doth more gloriously show his power by such as be weak, and feel themselves so. For the weaker we are, the more strong we are in him. Thus the eyes of the Lord be on them that tremble and fear. He will accomplish their desire, he is with them in their trouble, he will deliver them. Before they cry, he heareth them; as all the Scriptures teach us. To the reading whereof, and hearty prayer, I heartily commend you, beseeching Almighty God, that of his eternal mercy he would make perfect the good he hath begun in you, and strengthen you to the end; that you might have no less hope, but much more of his help to your comfort now against your enemies, than already he hath given you against N., for not subscribing to the king's will.

"Be certain, be certain, good Master Hales! that all the hairs of your head your dear Father hath numbered, so that one of them shall not perish: your name is written in the book of life. Therefore upon God cast all your care, which will comfort you with his eternal consolations, and make you able to go through the fire, (if need he,) which is nothing to be compared to the fire wherein our enemies shall fall and lie for ever, from the which the Lord deliver us, though it be through temporal fire; which must be construed according to the end and profit that cometh after it: so shall it then not much fear us to suffer it for our Master Christ's cause, the which the Lord grant us for his mercy's sake: Amen.

"From the King's Bench.

"Your humble JOHN BRADFORD."

To my very friend in the Lord, Dr. Hill, physician.

"The God of mercy and Father of all comfort, at this present and for ever, ingraft in your heart the sense of his mercy in Christ, and the continuance of his consolation, which cannot but enable you to carry with joy whatsoever cross he shall lay upon you: Amen.

"Hitherto I could have no such liberty as to write unto you, as I think you know: but now, in that through God's providence I have no such restraint, I cannot but something write, as well to purge me of the suspicion of unthankfulness towards you, as also to signify my carefulness for you in these perilous days; lest you should wax cold in God's cause, (which God forbid,) or suffer the light of the Lord, once kindled in your heart, to be quenched, and so become as you were before, after the example of the world, and of many others, which would have been accounted otherwise in our days, and yet still beguile themselves, still would be so accounted: although by their outward life they declare the contrary, in that they think it enough to keep the heart pure, notwithstanding that the outward man doth curry favour.

"In which doings, as they deny God to be jealous, and therefore requiring the whole man, as well body as soul, being both create as to immortality and society with him, so redeemed by the blood of Jesus Christ, and now sanctified by the Holy Spirit to be the temple of God, and member of his Son: as (I say) by their parting stake to give God the heart, and the world the body, they deny God to be jealous, (for else they would give him both, as the wife would do to her husband whether he be jealous or no, if she be honest,) so they play the dissemblers with the

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church of God by their fact, offending the godly, whom either they provoke to fall with them, or make more careless and conscienceless if they be fallen, and occasioning the wicked and obstinate to triumph against God, and the more vehemently to prosecute their malice against such as will not defile themselves in body or soul with the Romish rags now received amongst us. Because of this,—I mean, lest you, my dear master and brother in the Lord, should do as many of our gospellers do for fear of man, whose breath is in his nostrils, and hath power but of the body, not fearing the Lord, which hath power both of soul and body, and that not only temporally, but also eternally,—I could not but write something unto you, as well because duty deserveth it, (for many benefits I have received of God by your hands, for the which He reward you, for I cannot,) as also because charity and love compelleth me; not that I think you have any need, (for as I may rather learn of you, so I doubt not but you have hitherto kept yourself upright from halting,) but that I might both quiet my conscience, calling upon me hereabout, and signify unto you by something, my carefulness for your soul, as painfully and often you have done for my body.

"Therefore I pray you call to mind, that there be but two masters, two kinds of people, two ways, and two mansion-places. The masters be Christ and Satan, the people be servitors to either of these, the ways be strait and wide, the mansions be heaven and hell. Again, consider that this world is the place of trial of God's people, and the devil's servants: for as the one will follow his master whatsoever cometh of it, so will the other. For a time it is hard to discern who pertaineth to God, and who to the devil: as in the calm and peace, who is a good shipman and warrior, and who is not. But as when the storm ariseth the expert mariner is known, and as in war the good soldier is seen, so in affliction and the cross, easily God's children are known from Satan's servants. For then, as the good servant will follow his master, so will the godly follow their Captain, come what will come: whereas the wicked and hypocrites will bid adieu, and desire less of Christ's acquaintance. For which cause the cross is called a probation and trial, because it trieth who will go with God, and who will forsake him. And now in England we see how small a company Christ hath in comparison of Satan's soldiers. Let no man deceive himself; for he that gathereth not with Christ, scattereth abroad. No man can serve two masters; the Lord abhorreth double hearts; the lukewarm (that is, such as are both hot and cold) he spitteth out of his mouth. None that halt on both knees doth God take for his servants. The way of Christ is the strait way; and so strait, that as a few find it, and few walk in it, so no man can halt in it, but must needs go upright: for as the straitness will suffer no reeling to this side or that side, so, if any man halt, he is like to fall off the bridge into the pit of eternal perdition.

"Strive therefore, good Master Doctor, now you have found it, to enter into it: and if you should be called or pulled back, look not on this side or that side, or behind you, as Lot's wife did, but straight forwards on the end which is set before you (though it be to come) as even now present: like as you do and will your patients to do in purgations, and other your ministrations, to consider the effect that will ensue, where-through the bitterness and loathsomeness of the purgation is so overcome, and the painfulness in abiding the working of that is ministered is so eased, that it maketh the patient willingly and joyfully to receive that [which] is to be received, although it be never so unpleasant: so (I say) set before you the end of this strait way; and then doubtless, as St. Paul saith, it shall bring with it an eternal weight of glory, whilst we look not on the thing which is seen, for that is temporal, but on the thing which is not seen, which is eternal. So doth the husbandman, in ploughing and tilling, set before him the harvest-time; so doth the

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fisher consider the draught of his net, rather than the casting-in; so doth the merchant the return of his merchandise; and so should we in these stormy days set before us not the loss of our goods, liberty, and very life—but the reaping time, the coming of our Saviour Christ to judgment; the fire that shall burn the wicked and disobedient to God's gospel; the blast of the trump; the exceeding glory prepared for us in heaven eternally, such as the eye hath not seen, the ear hath not heard, nor the heart of man can conceive. The more we lose here, the greater joy shall we have there: the more we suffer, the greater triumph. For corruptible dross, we shall find incorruptible treasures; for gold, glory; for silver, solace without end; for riches, robes royal; for earthly houses, eternal palaces; mirth without measure, pleasure without pain, felicity endless; in short, we shall have God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

"O happy place! O that this day would come, then shall the end of the wicked be lamentable; then shall they receive the just reward of God's vengeance; then shall they cry, Woe, woe! that ever they did as they have done. Read Wisd. ii. iii. iv. v.: read Matt. xxv.: read 1 Cor. xv.; 2 Cor. v.: and by faith (which God increase in us) consider the thing there set forth. And for your comfort, read Heb. xi., to see what faith hath done, always considering the way to heaven to be by many tribulations, and that all they which will live godly in Christ Jesus, must suffer persecution. You know this is our alphabet: He that will be my disciple, saith Christ, must deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me.—Not this bishop, not that doctor; not this emperor, nor that king, but me, saith Christ: For he that loveth father, mother, wife, children, or very life, better than me, is not worthy of me. Remember that the same Lord saith, He that will save his life shall lose it. Comfort yourself with this, that as the devils had no power over the porkets, or over Job's goods, without God's leave; so shall they have none over you. Remember also, that all the hairs of your head are numbered with God. The devil may make one believe he will drown him, as the sea in his surges threateneth to the land: but as the Lord hath appointed bounds for the one, over the which he cannot pass, so hath He done for the other.

"On God therefore cast your care; love him, serve him after his word, fear him, trust in him, hope at his hand for all help, and always pray, looking for the cross; and whensoever it cometh, be assured, the Lord, as he is faithful, so he will never tempt you further than he will make you able to bear, but in the midst of the temptation will make such an evasion, as shall be most to his glory and your eternal comfort. God, for his mercy in Christ, with his Holy Spirit endue you, comfort you, under the wings of his mercy shadow you, and as his dear child guide you for evermore. To whose merciful tuition, as I do with my hearty prayer commit you; so I doubt not but you pray for me, and so I beseech you to do still. My brother P. telleth me, you would have the last part of St. Jerome's works, to have the use thereof for a fortnight. I cannot for these three days well forbear it, but yet on Thursday next I will send it you, if God let me not; and use me, and that I have, as your own. The Lord for his mercy in Christ direct our ways to his glory.

"Out of prison, by yours to command.
JOHN BRADFORD."

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To Mistress M. H., a godly gentlewoman, comforting her in that common heaviness and godly sorrow, which the feeling and sense of sin worketh in God's children.

"I humbly and heartily pray the everlasting God and Father of mercy, to bless and keep your heart and mind in the knowledge and love of his truth, and of his Christ, through the inspiration and working of his Holy Spirit: Amen.

"Although I have no doubt, but that you prosper and go forward daily in the way of godliness, more and more drawing towards perfection, and have no need of any thing that I can write; yet, because my desire is that you might be more fervent, and persevere to the end, I could not but write something unto you, beseeching you both often and diligently to call unto your mind, as a mean to stir you hereunto, yea, as a thing which God most straitly requireth you to believe, that you are beloved of God, and that he is your dear Father, in, through, and for, Christ and his death's sake. This love and tender kindness of God towards us in Christ is abundantly herein declared, in that he hath, to the godly work of creation of this world, made us after his image; redeemed us being lost; called us into his church; sealed us with his mark and sign manual of baptism; kept and conserved us all the days of our life; fed, nourished, defended, and most fatherly chastised us; and now hath kindled in our hearts the sparkles of his fear, faith, love, and knowledge of his Christ and truth: and therefore we lament, because we lament no more our unthankfulness, our frailness, our diffidence and wavering in things wherein we should be most certain.

"All these things we should use as means to confirm our faith of this, that God is our God and Father, and to assure us that he loveth us as our Father in Christ: to this end, I say, we should use the things before touched, especially in that, of all things, God requireth this faith and fatherly persuasion of his fatherly goodness, as his chiefest service. For before he ask any thing of us, he saith, I am the Lord thy God: giving himself, and then all he hath, to us, to be our own. And this he doth in respect of himself, of his own mercy and truth, and not in respect of us, for then were grace no grace. In consideration whereof, when he saith, Thou shalt have none other gods but me, Thou shalt love me with all thy heart, &c., though of duty we are bound to accomplish all that he requireth, and are culpable and guilty if we do not the same, yet he requireth not these things further of us, than to make us more in love, and more certain of this his covenant, that he is our Lord and God. In certainty whereof, as he hath given this whole world to serve to our need and commodity; so hath he given his Son Christ Jesus, and (in Christ) himself to be a pledge and gage, whereof the Holy Ghost doth now and then give us some taste and sweet smell, to our eternal joy.

"Therefore (as I said) because God is our Father in Christ, and requireth of you straitly to believe it, give yourself to obedience; although ye do it not with such feeling as you desire. First must faith go before, and then feeling will follow. If our imperfection, frailty, and many evils, should be occasions whereby Satan would have us to doubt; as much as we can, let us abhor that suggestion, as of all others most pernicious: for so indeed it is. For when we stand in a doubt, whether God be our Father, we cannot be thankful to God; we cannot heartily pray or think any thing we do acceptable to God; we cannot love our neighbours, and give over ourselves to care for them, and do for them as we should do, and therefore Satan is most subtle hereabout, knowing full well that if we doubt of God's eternal mercies towards us through Christ, we cannot

please God, or do any thing as we should do to man. Continually casteth he into our memories our imperfection, frailty, falls, and offences, that we should doubt of God's mercy and favour towards us.

"Therefore, my good sister, we must not be sluggish herein, but as Satan laboureth to loosen our faith, so must we labour to fasten it by thinking on the promises and covenant of God in Christ's blood; namely, that God is our God with all that ever he hath: which covenant dependeth and hangeth upon God's own goodness, mercy, and truth only; and not on our obedience or worthiness on any point; for then should we never be certain. Indeed God requireth of us obedience and worthiness, but not that thereby we might be his children, and he our Father: but because he is our Father and we his children through his own goodness in Christ, therefore requireth he faith and obedience. Now if we want this obedience and worthiness which he requireth, should we doubt whether he be our Father? Nay, that were to make our obedience and worthiness the cause, and so to put Christ out of place, for whose sake God is our Father: but rather because he is our Father, and we feel ourselves to want such things as he requireth, we should be stirred up to a shamefacedness and blushing, because we are not as we should be: and thereupon should we take occasion to go to our Father in prayer on this manner:

"Dear Father, thou, of thine own mercy in Jesus Christ, hast chosen me to be thy child, and therefore thou wouldest I should be brought into thy church and faithful company of thy children; wherein thou hast kept me hitherto; thy name therefore be praised. Now I see myself to want faith, hope, love, &c., which thy children have and thou requirest of me, where-through the devil would have me to doubt, yea, utterly to despair of thy fatherly goodness, favour, and mercy. Therefore I come to thee as to my merciful Father, through thy dear Son Jesus Christ, and pray thee to help me, good Lord: help me, and give me faith, hope, love, &c., and grant that thy Holy Spirit may be with me for ever, and more and more to assure me that thou art my Father; that this merciful covenant that thou madest with me in respect of thy grace in Christ and for Christ, and not in respect of any my worthiness, is always true to me,' &c.

"On this sort, I say, you must pray and use your cogitations, when Satan would have you to doubt of salvation. He doth all he can to prevail herein. Do you all you can to prevail herein against him. Though you feel not as you would, yet doubt not, but hope beyond all hope, as Abraham did: for faith always (I said) goeth before feeling. As certain as God is almighty; as certain as God is merciful; as certain as God is true; as certain as Jesus Christ was crucified, is risen, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father; as certain as this is God's commandment, I am the Lord thy God, &c., so certain ought you to be that God is your Father. As you are bound to have no other gods but him, so are ye no less bound to believe that God is your God. What profit should it be to you to believe this to be true, I am the Lord thy God, to others, if you should not believe that this is true to yourself? The devil believeth on this sort. And whatsoever it be that would move you to doubt of this—whether God be your God through Christ—that same cometh undoubtedly of the devil. Wherefore did he make you, but because he loved you? Might not he have made you blind, deaf, lame, frantic, &c.? might not he have made you a Jew, a Turk, a papist, &c.? And why hath he not done so? Verily because he loved you. And why did he love you? What was there in you to move him to love you? Surely nothing moved him to love you, and therefore to make you, and so hitherto to keep you, but his own goodness in Christ. Now then, in that his goodness in Christ still remaineth as much as it was—that is, even as great as

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himself, for it cannot be lessened—how should it be but that he is your God and Father? Believe this, believe this, my good sister, for God is no changeling. Them whom he loveth, he loveth to the end.

"Cast therefore yourself wholly upon him, and think without all wavering that you are God's child, that you are a citizen of heaven, that you are the daughter of God, the temple of the Holy Ghost, &c. If hereof you be assured as you ought to be, then shall your conscience be quieted; then shall you lament more and more that you want many things which God loveth; then shall you labour to be holy in soul and body; then shall you go about that God's glory may shine in you, in all your words and works; then shall you not be afraid what man can do unto you; then shall you have wisdom to answer your adversaries, as shall serve to their shame, and your comfort; then shall you be certain that no man can touch one hair of your head further than shall please your good Father, to your everlasting joy; then shall you be most certain, that God as your good Father will be more careful for your children, and make better provision for them, if all you have were gone, than you can; then shall you (being assured, I say, of God's favour towards you) give over yourself wholly to help and care for others that be in need; then shall you condemn this life, and desire to be at home with your good and sweet Father; then shall you labour to mortify all things that would spot either soul or body. All these things spring out of this certain persuasion and faith, that God is our Father, and we are his children by Christ Jesus. All things should help our faith herein; but Satan goeth about in all things to hinder us.

"Therefore let us use earnest and hearty prayer; let us often remember this covenant—I am the Lord thy God; let us look upon Christ and his precious blood shed for the oblation and confirmation of his covenant; let us remember all the free promises of the gospel; let us set before us God's benefits generally in making this world, in ruling it, in governing it, in calling and keeping his church, &c. Let us set before us God's benefits particularly—how he hath made his creatures after his image; how he made us of perfect limbs, form, beauty, memory, &c.; how he hath made us Christians, and given us a right judgment in his religion; how he hath, ever since we were born, blessed, kept, nourished, and defended us; how he hath often beaten, chastised, and fatherly corrected us; how he hath spared us, and doth now spare us, giving us time, space, place, grace. This if you do, and use earnest prayer, and so flee from all things which might wound your conscience, giving yourself to diligence in your vocation, you shall find at the length (which God grant to me with you) a sure certainty of salvation, without all such doubt as may trouble the peace of conscience, to your eternal joy and comfort. Amen, Amen.

"Yours to use in Christ.

J. BRADFORD."

Another letter full of godly comfort, written to the same person.

"The good Spirit of God which guideth his children, be with you, my good sister in the Lord, for ever. Amen.

"Although, as I to you, so you unto me in prison are unknown, yet to him whom we desire to please, we are not only in persons, but also in hearts, known and thoroughly seen: and therefore as for his sake you would, by that you sent, of me be perceived how that in God you bear to me a good will; so that I to you might be seen in God to bear you the like, I send to you

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these few words in writing, wishing that in all your doings and speech, yea, even in your very thoughts, you would labour to feel that they are all present and open before the sight of God, be they good or bad. This cogitation often had in mind, and prayer made to God for the working of his Spirit, thereby, as a mean, you shall at the length feel more comfort and commodity, than any man can know, but such as be exercised therein. Howbeit this is to be added, that in thinking yourself, and all that you have and do, to be in the sight of God; this (I say) is to be added, that you think his sight is the sight not only of a Lord, but rather of a Father, which tendereth more your infirmities, than you can tender the infirmities of any your children. Yea, when in yourself you see a motherly affection to your little one that is weak, let the same be unto you a trace to train you to see the unspeakable kind affection of God your Father towards you.

"And therefore upon the consideration of your infirmities and natural evils, which continually cleave unto us, take occasion to go to God as your Father through Christ: and before his merciful heart lay open your infirmities and evils, with desire of pardon and help after his good will and pleasure: but in his time, and not when you will; and by what means he will, not by that way you would; in the mean season hang on hope of his fatherly goodness, and surely you shall never be ashamed. For if a woman that is natural, cannot finally forget the child of her womb, be sure God, which is a Father supernatural, cannot, nor will not, forget you. Yea, if a woman could be so forgetful, yet God himself saith, he will not be so.

"This opinion, yea, rather certain persuasion, of God your Father through Christ, see that you cherish; and by all means, as well by diligent consideration of his benefits, as of his loving corrections, whether they be inward or outward, see that you nourish; knowing for certain, that as the devil goeth about nothing so much as to bring you in a doubt whether ye be God's child or no; so whatsoever shall move you to admit that dubitation, be assured the same to come from the devil. If you feel in yourself not only the want of good things, but also plenty of evil, do not therefore doubt whether you be God's child in Christ, or no. For if for your goodness' or illness' sake, which you feel or feel not, ye should believe or doubt, then should you make Christ Jesus, for whose sake only God is your Father, either nothing, or else but half Christ. But rather take occasion of your wants in good, and of your plenty in evil, to go to God as your Father, and to pray to him, that inasmuch as he commandeth you to believe that he is your God and Father, so he would give you his good Spirit, that you might feel the same, and live as his child, to his glory; and cease not upon such prayers to look for comfort in God's good time, still hoping the best, and rejecting all dubitation, and so all evil works, words, and cogitations, as the Lord shall enable you by his good Spirit and grace, which I beseech him to give unto you, my good sister, for ever. And further I pray you, that as he hath made you to be a helper unto your husband, so you would endeavour yourself therein to show the same as well in soul as body; and beg grace of God, that your endeavours may be effectual to both your comforts in Christ. Amen.

"JOHN BRADFORD."

To my well-beloved in the Lord, W. P.

"Grace and peace from God the Father, through our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

"Dear brother, God most justly hath cast me down into a dungeon, but much better than I deserve; wherein I see no man but my keeper, nor can see any except they come to me.

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Something in the earth my lodging is, which is an example and memorial of my earthly affections, (which God I trust will mortify,) and of my sepulchre, whereunto I trust my Lord God will bring me in peace in his good time. In the mean season he give me patience, lively hope, and his good Spirit. I pray you pray for me; for the prayer of the godly, if it be fervent, worketh much with God. I thank God my common disease doth less trouble me than when I was abroad, which doth teach me the merciful providence of God towards me. Use true and hearty prayer, and you shall perceive God at length will declare himself to see, where now many think he sleepeth.

"Out of the Tower, by the Lord's prisoner.

JOHN BRADFORD."

A letter which he wrote to a faithful woman in her heaviness and trouble: most comfortable for all those to read that are afflicted and broken-hearted for their sins.

"God our good Father, for his mercy's sake in Christ, with his eternal consolation so comfort you, as I desire to be comforted of him in my most need: yea, he will comfort you, my dear sister; only cast your care upon him, and he never can nor will forsake you; for his calling and gifts be such, that he can never repent him of them. Whom he loveth, he loveth to the end: none of his chosen can perish; of which number I know you are, my dearly beloved sister: God increase the faith thereof daily more and more in you! he give unto you to hang wholly on him, and on his providence and protection! For whoso dwelleth under that secret thing, and help of the Lord, he shall be cock-sure for evermore. He that dwelleth, I say; for if we be flitters and not dwellers, as was Lot a flitter from Segor, where God promised him protection, if he had dwelled there still; we shall remove to our loss, as he did into the mountains.

"Dwell therefore, that is, trust, and that finally unto the end, in the Lord, my dear sister, and you shall be as Mount Sion. As mountains compass Jerusalem, so doth the Lord all his people. How then can he forget you, which are as the apple of his eye, for his dear Son's sake? Ah! dear heart, that I were now but one half hour with you, to be a Simon to help carry your cross with you. God send you some good Simon to be with you and help you.

"You complain in your letters of the blindness of your mind, and the troubles you feel. My dearly beloved God make you thankful for that which God hath given unto you; he open your eyes to see what and how great benefits you have received, that you may be less covetous, or rather impatient, for so (I fear me) it should be called, and more thankful. Have you not received at his hands sight to see your blindness, and thereto a desirous and seeking heart to see where he lieth in the mid-day, as his dear spouse speaketh of herself in the Canticles? Oh, Joyce! my good Joyce! what a gift is this! Many have some sight, but none this sobbing and sighing, none this seeking which you have, I know, but such as he hath married unto him in his mercies. You are not content to kiss his feet with the Magdalene, but you would be kissed even with the kiss of his mouth. You would see his face with Moses, forgetting how he biddeth us seek his face, yea, and that for ever, which signifieth no such sight, as you desire to be in this present life, which would see God now face to face; whereas he cannot be seen, but covered under something; yea, sometimes in that which is (as you would say) clean contrary to God; as to see his mercy in his anger. In bringing us to hell, faith seeth him to bring us to heaven: in darkness it beholdeth brightness: in hiding his face from us, it beholdeth his merry countenance. How did Job see God, but as (you would say) under Satan's cloak? for who cast the fire from heaven upon

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his goods, who overthrew his house, and stirred up men to take away his cattle, but Satan? and yet Job pierced through all these, and saw God's work, saying, The Lord hath given, the Lord hath taken away, &c.

"In reading of the Psalms, how often do you see that David in the shadow of death saw God's sweet love! And so, my dearly beloved, I see that you, in your darkness and dimness, by faith do see charity and brightness; by faith, I say, because faith is of things absent, of things hoped for, of things which I appeal to your conscience, whether you desire not. And can you desire any thing which you know not? And is there of heavenly things any other true knowledge than by faith?

"Therefore, my dear heart, be thankful; for (before God I write it) you have great cause. Ah! my Joyce, how happy is the state wherein you are! Verily you are even in the blessed state of God's children, for they mourn; and do not you so? And that not for worldly weal, but for spiritual riches, faith, hope, charity, &c. Do you not hunger and thirst for righteousness? And I pray you, saith not Christ, who cannot lie, that happy are such? How should God wipe away the tears from your eyes in heaven, if now on earth ye shed no tears? how could heaven be a place of rest, if on earth you'd find it? how could ye desire to be at home, if in your journey you found no grief? how could ye so often call upon God, and talk with him, as I know you do, if your enemy should sleep all day long? how should you elsewhere be made like unto Christ, I mean in joy, if in sorrow you sobbed not with him? If you will have joy and felicity, you must first needs feel sorrow and misery: if you will go to heaven, you must sail by hell: if you will embrace Christ in his robes, you must not think scorn of him in his rags: if you will sit at Christ's table in his kingdom, you must first abide with him in his temptations: if you will drink of his cup of glory, forsake not his cup of ignominy.

"Can the head Corner-stone be rejected, and the other more base stones in God's building be in this world set by? You are one of his lively stones—be content therefore to be hewn and snagged at, that you might be made more meet to be joined to your fellows which suffer with you Satan's snatches, the world's wounds, contempt of conscience, and frets of the flesh, where-through they are enforced to cry, Oh wretches that we are! who shall deliver us? You are of God's corn, fear not therefore the flail, the fan, millstone, nor oven. You are one of Christ's lambs, look therefore to be fleeced, haled at, and even slain.

"If you were a market-sheep, you should go in more fat and grassy pasture; if you were for the fair, you should be stall-fed, and want no weal: but, because you are for God's own occupying, therefore you must pasture on the bare common, abiding the storms and tempests that will fall. Happy, and twice happy are you, my dear sister, that God now haleth you whither you would not, that you might come whither you would. Suffer a little, and be still. Let Satan rage against you; let the world cry out; let your conscience accuse you; let the law load you and press you down; yet shall they not prevail, for Christ is Emmanuel, that is, God with us. If God be with us, who can be against us? The Lord is with you; your Father cannot forget you; your Spouse loveth you. If the waves and surges arise, cry with Peter, Lord, I perish; and he will put out his hand and help you. Cast out your anchor of hope, and it will not cease, for all the stormy surges, till it take hold on the rock of God's truth and mercy.

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

"Think not that he which hath given you so many things corporally, as inductions of spiritual and heavenly mercies, (and that, without your deserts or desire,) can deny you any spiritual comfort, desiring it. For if he give to desire, he will give you to have and enjoy the thing desired. The desire to have, and the going about to ask, ought to certify your conscience, that they be his earnest of the thing which, you asking, he will give you; yea, before you ask, and whilst you are about to ask, he will grant the same, as Isaiah saith, to his glory, and your eternal consolation. He that spared not his own Son for you, will not nor cannot think any thing too good for you, my heartily beloved.

"If he had not chosen you, (as most certainly he hath,) he would not have so called you; he would never have justified you; he would never have so glorified you with his gracious gifts, which I know, praised be his name therefore; he would never have so exercised your faith with temptations, as he hath done and doth; if, I say, he had not chosen you. If he hath chosen you, (as doubtless, dear heart, he hath done in Christ, for in you I have seen his earnest, and before me and to me you could not deny it, I know both and when,) if, I say, he have chosen you, then neither can you nor shall you ever perish. For if you fail, he putteth under his hand; you shall not lie still; so careful is Christ your keeper over you. Never was mother so mindful over her child, as he is over you. And hath not he always been so?

"Speak, woman, when did he finally forget you? And will he now, throw you, in your utmost need, do otherwise, you calling upon him, and desiring to please him? Ah, my Joyce! think you God to be mutable? is he a changeling? doth not he love to the end them whom he loveth? are not his gifts and calling such, that he cannot repent him of them? For else were he no God. If you should perish, then wanted he power; for I am certain his will towards you is not to be doubted of. Hath not the Spirit, which is the Spirit of truth, told you so? and will you now hearken with Eve to the lying spirit, which would have you not to despair, (no, he goeth more craftily to work; howbeit to that end, if you should give ear unto it, which God forbid,) but to doubt, and stand in aammering; and so should you never truly love God, but serve him of a servile fear, lest he should cast you off for your unworthiness and unthankfulness; as though your thankfulness or worthiness were any cause with God, why he hath chosen you, or will finally keep you.

"Ah! mine own dear heart, Christ only, Christ only, and his mercy and truth. In him is the cause of your election. This Christ, this mercy, this truth of God, remaineth for ever, is certain for ever, and so is your election certain for ever, for ever, I say, for ever. If an angel from heaven should tell you contrary, accursed be he. Your thankfulness and worthiness are fruits and effects of your election; they are no causes. These fruits and effects shall be so much more fruitful and effectual, by how much you waver not.

"Therefore, my dearly beloved, arise; and remember from whence you are fallen. You have a Shepherd which never slumbereth nor sleepeth; no man nor devil can pull you out of his hands; night and day he commandeth his angels to keep you.

Have you forgotten what I read to you out of the Psalm, The Lord is my shepherd, I can want nothing? Do you not know that God spared Noah in the ark on the outside, so that he could not get out? So hath he done to you, my good sister; so hath he done to you. Ten thousand shall

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fall on your right hand, and twenty thousand on your left hand; yet no evil shall touch you. Say boldly therefore, Many a time from my youth up have they fought against me; but they have not prevailed; no, nor ever shall prevail, for the Lord is round about his people. And who are the people of God, but such as hope in him? Happy are they that hope in the Lord, and you are one of those, my dear heart; for I am assured you have hoped in the Lord; I have your words to show most manifestly, and I know they were written unfeignedly: I need not to say, that even before God you have simply confessed to me, and that oftentimes, no less. And if once you had this hope, as you doubtless had it, though now you feel it not, yet shall you feel it again: for the anger of the Lord lasteth but a moment, but his mercy lasteth for ever. Tell me, my dear heart, who hath so weakened you? Surely not a persuasion which came from him that called you: for why should you waver? Why should you waver and be so heavy hearted? Whom look you on? On yourself? on your worthiness, on your thankfulness? on that which God requireth of you, as faith, hope, love, fear, joy, &c.? Then can you not but waver indeed: for what have you as God requireth? Believe you, hope you, love you, &c., as much as you should do? No, no; nor ever can in this life. Ah! my dearly beloved, have you so soon forgotten that, which ever should be had in memory? namely, that when you would and should be certain and quiet in conscience, then should your faith burst throughout all things not only that you have in you, or else are in heaven, earth, or hell, until it come to Christ crucified, and the eternal sweet mercies and goodness of God in Christ. Here, here is the resting-place, here is your Spouse's bed; creep into it, and in your arms of faith embrace him; bewail your weakness, unworthiness, your diffidence, &c., and you shall see he will turn to you. What said I? you shall see. Nay, I should have said, you shall feel he will turn to you. You know that Moses, when he went to the mount to talk with God, he entered into a dark cloud, and Elias had his face covered when God passed by. Both these dear friends of God heard God, but they saw him not; but you would be preferred before them. See now, my dear heart, how covetous you are. Ah! be thankful, be thankful. But, God be praised, your covetousness is Moses' covetousness.

Well, with him you shall be satisfied. But when? Forsooth when he shall appear. Here is not the time of seeing, but as it were in a glass. Isaac was deceived, because he was not content with hearing only.

"Therefore, to make an end of these many words, wherewith I fear me I do but trouble you from better exercises; inasmuch as you are indeed the child of God, elect in Christ before the beginning of all times; inasmuch as you are given to the custody of Christ, as one of God's most precious jewels; inasmuch as Christ is faithful, and hitherto hath all power, so that you shall never perish, no, one hair of your head shall not be lost; I beseech you, I pray you, I desire you; I crave at your hands with all my very heart; I ask of you with hand, pen, tongue, and mind; in Christ, through Christ, for Christ; for his name, blood, mercies, power, and truth's sake, my most entirely beloved sister, that you admit no doubting of God's final mercies towards you, howsoever you feel yourself; but to complain to God, and crave of him, as of your tender and dear Father, all things; and, in that time which shall be most opportune, you shall find and feel far above that your heart or the heart of any creature can conceive, to your eternal joy. Amen, Amen, Amen.

"The good Spirit of God always keep us as his dear children; he comfort you, as I desire to be comforted, my dearly beloved, for evermore: Amen.

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

"I break up thus abruptly, because our common prayer-time calleth me. The peace of Christ dwell in both our hearts for ever: Amen.

"As for the report of W. Po., if it be as you hear, you must prepare to bear it. It is written on heaven's door, 'Do well, and hear evil.' Be content therefore to hear whatsoever the enemy shall imagine to blot you withal. God's Holy Spirit always comfort and keep you: Amen, Amen.

"This eighth of August, by him that in the Lord desireth to you as well and as much felicity, as to his own heart.

"JOHN BRADFORD."

Here followeth another letter of his, written to the good Lady Vane, wherein he resolveth certain questions which she demanded. This Lady Vane was a special nurse, and a great supporter (to her power) of the godly saints, which were imprisoned in Queen Mary's time: unto whom divers letters I have both of Masters Philpot, Careless, Trahern, Thomas Rose, and of others more; wherein they render unto her most grateful thanks for her exceeding goodness extended towards them, with their singular commendation and testimony, also, of her Christian zeal towards God's afflicted prisoners, and to the verity of his gospel. She departed of late at Holborn, Anno 1568, whose end was more like a sleep than any death; so quietly and meekly she deceased and parted hence in the Lord.

Amongst others who wrote unto her, Master Bradford also sent these letters to the said lady; the tenor whereof here followeth.

To my good Lady Vane.

"The true sense and sweet feeling of God's eternal mercies in Christ Jesus be ever more and more lively wrought in your heart by the Holy Ghost. Amen.

"I most heartily thank you, good madam, for your comfortable letters; and whereas you would be advertised what were best to be done on your behalf, concerning your three questions; the truth is, that the questions are never well seen, nor answered, until the thing whereof they arise be well considered; I mean, until it be seen how great an evil the thing is. If it be once indeed in your heart perceived, upon probable and pithy places gathered out of God's book, that there was never thing upon the earth so great and so much an adversary to God's true service, to Christ's death, passion, priesthood, sacrifice, and kingdom, to the ministry of God's word and sacraments, to the church of God, to repentance, faith, and all true godliness of life, as that is whereof the questions arise, (as most assuredly it is indeed,) then cannot a Christian heart but so much the more abhor it, and all things that in any point might seem to allow it, or any thing pertaining to the same, by how much it hath the name of God's service.

"Again, your Ladyship doth know, that as all is to be discommended and avoided, which is followed or fled from in respect of ourselves, in respect of avoiding Christ's cross; so the end of all our doings should be to God-ward, to his glory, to our neighbours, to edification and good example; whereof none can be given in allowing any of the three questions by you propounded. But because this which I write now is brief, and needeth the more consideration or explication; as I doubt not of the one in you, so from me, by God's grace, you shall receive the other shortly.

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For I have already written a little book of it, which I will send unto you, in the which you shall have your questions fully answered and satisfied, and therefore I omit to write any more hereabout presently; beseeching God, our good Father, to guide you as his dear child, with his Spirit of wisdom, power, and comfort, unto eternal life, that you may be strong, and rejoice in him and with his church, to carry Christ's cross, if he shall so think it need: which is a thing to be desired, wished, and embraced, if we looked on things after the judgment of God's word, and tried them by that touchstone.

"If you be accustomed to think on the brevity, vanity, and misery of this life, and on the eternity, truth, and felicity of everlasting life; if you look on things after their ends, and not after their present appearance only; if you use yourself to set God's presence, power, and mercy always before your eyes, to see them, as God by every creature would you should; I doubt not but you shall find such strength and comfort in the Lord, as you shall not be shaken with all the power of Satan. God's mercy in Christ be with you, and his good Spirit guide you for ever. Amen."

Another letter to the Lady Vane.

"As to mine own soul, I wish to your Ladyship grace and mercy from God, our dear Father in Christ our Lord and Saviour.

"I thank God that something he hath eased you, and mitigated his fatherly correction in us both: I would to God he had done so much in the behalf of the grief of the body to you, as he hath done to me. For as for the soul, I trust you feel that which I pray God increase in you, I mean, his fatherly love; and grant that I may with you feel the same in such degree as may please him; I will not say as you feel, lest I should seem to ask too much at one time. God doth often much more plentifully visit with the sense of his mercy them that humble themselves under his mighty hand, and are sore exercised, (as you long have been,) than others which, to the face of the world, have a more show and appearance. Therefore I wish as I do, and that not only for mine own commodity, but also that I might occasion you to the consideration of the goodness of God, which I by your letters do well espy; which is indeed the highway, whereby as God increaseth his gifts, so showeth he more lively his salvation. I have received God's blessing from you, the which I have partly distributed unto my three fellow prisoners, Master Ferrar, Master Taylor, Master Philpot; and the residue I will bestow upon four poor souls which are imprisoned in the common gaol for religion also. As for mine own part, if I had need, I would have served my turn also: but, because I had not, nor (I thank God) have not, I have been and will be your almoner in such sort as I have already advertised you. God reward you, and give you to find it spiritually and corporally. Because otherwise I cannot talk with you, therefore on this sort, as occasion and opportunity will serve, I am ready to show my good will and desire of your help and furtherance in the Lord to everlasting life, whereunto God bring us shortly, for his mercy's sake: Amen.

"Good madam, be thankful to God, as I hope you be; be earnest in prayer; continue in reading and hearing God's word, and if God's further cross come, as therein God doth serve his providence, (for else it shall not come unto you,) so be certain the same shall turn to your eternal joy and comfort: Amen.

"JOHN BRADFORD."

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

To my dear friends and brethren, Royden and Esing, with their wives and families.

"The comfort of Christ—felt commonly of his children in their cross for his sake—the everlasting God work in both your hearts, my good brethren, and in the hearts of both your yoke-fellows; especially of good Mary, my good sister in the Lord: Amen.

"If I had not something heard of the hazard which you are in for the gospel's sake, if you continue the profession and confession thereof, as I trust you do and will do, and that unto the end, God enabling you, (as he will doubtless for his mercy's sake, if you hope in him—for this bindeth him, as David in Christ's person witnesseth: Our fathers hoped in thee, and thou deliveredst them, &c.,) yet by conjectures I could not but suppose (though not so certainly) the time of your suffering and probation to be at hand. For now is the power of darkness fully come upon this realm most justly for our sins, and abusing the light lent us of the Lord, to the setting-forth of ourselves more than God's glory, that as well we might be brought into the better knowledge of our evils, and so heartily repent, (which God grant us to do,) as also we might have more feeling and sense of our sweet Saviour Jesus Christ, by the humbling and dejecting of us, thereby to make us, as more desirous of him, so him more sweet and pleasant unto us; the which thing the good Spirit of God work sensibly in all our hearts, for God's holy name's sake.

"For this cause I thought it my duty, being now where I have some liberty to write, (the Lord be praised,) and hearing of you as I hear; to do that which I should have done, if I had heard nothing at all; that is, to desire you to be of good cheer and comfort in the Lord, (although in the world you see cause rather to the contrary,) and to go on forwards in the way of God whereinto you are entered, considering that the same cannot but so much more and more wax strait to the outward man, by how much you draw nearer to the end of it: even as in the travail of a woman, the nearer she draweth to her delivery, the more her pains increase; so it goeth with us in the Lord's way, the nearer we draw to our deliverance by death to our eternal felicity.

"Example hereof we have, I will not say, in the holy prophets and apostles of God, which when they were young girded themselves, and went in manner whither they would, but when they waxed old, they went girded of others, whither they would not, concerning the outward man; but rather and most lively in our Saviour Jesus Christ, whose life and way was much more painful to him towards the end, than it was at the beginning. And no marvel, for Satan can something abide a man to begin well, and set forwards; but, rather than he should go on to the end, he will vomit his gorge, and cast out floods to overflow him, before he will suffer that to come to pass.

"Therefore, as we should not be dismayed now at this world, as though some strange thing were happened unto us, in that it is but as it was wont to be to the godly, in that the devil declareth himself after his old wont, in that we have professed no less but to forsake the world and the devil as God's very enemies, in that we learned no less at the first, when we came to God's school, than to deny ourselves, and take up our cross and follow our Master, which leadeth us none other way than he himself hath gone before us: as (I say) we should not be dismayed, so we should with patience and joy go forwards, if we set before us as present the time to come, like as the wife in her travail doth the deliverance of her child, and as the saints of God did, but especially our Saviour and pattern Jesus Christ; for the apostle saith, He set before him the joy

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and glory to come, and therefore contemned the shame and sorrow of the cross: so if we did, we should find at the length as they found. For whom would it grieve, which hath a long journey to go, through a piece of foul way, if he knew that, after that, the way should be most pleasant, yea, the journey should be ended, and he at his resting-place most happy? Who will be afraid or loath to leave a little pelf for a little time, if he knew he should shortly after receive most plentiful riches? Who will be unwilling for a little while to forsake his wife, children, or friends, &c., when he knoweth he shall shortly after be associated unto them inseparably, even after his own heart's desire? Who will be sorry to forsake this life, which cannot but be most certain of eternal life? Who loveth the shadow better than the body? Who can love this life, but they that regard not the life to come? Who can desire the dross of this world, but such as be ignorant of the treasures of the everlasting joy in heaven? I mean, who is afraid to die, but such as hope not to live eternally? Christ hath promised pleasures, riches, joy, felicity, and all good things, to them that for his sake lose any thing, and suffer any sorrow. And is he not true? How can he but be true? for guile was never found in his mouth.

"Alas! then, why are we so slack and slow, yea, hard of heart, to believe him, promising us thus plentifully eternal blissfulness, and are so ready to believe the world, promising us many things, and paying us nothing? If we will curry favour now, and halt on both knees, then it promiseth us peace, quietness, and many other things else. But how doth it pay this gear? or, if it pay it, with what quietness of conscience? or, if so, how long, I pray you? Do not we see before our eyes, men to die shamefully, I mean as rebels and other malefactors, which refuse to die for God's cause? What way is so sure a way to heaven, as to suffer in Christ's cause? If there be any way on horseback to heaven, surely this is the way. By many troubles, saith the apostle, we must enter into heaven. All that will live godly in Christ Jesus, must suffer persecution. For the world cannot love them that are of God; the devil cannot love his enemies; the world will love none but his own: but you are Christ's, therefore look for no love here. Should we look for fire to quench our thirst? And as soon shall God's true servants find peace and favour in antichrist's regiment.

"Therefore, my dearly beloved, be stout in the Lord, and in the power of his might. Put on you his armour; stand in the liberty of Christ which you have learned; rejoice that you may be counted worthy to suffer any thing for God's cause: to all men this is not given. Your reward is great in heaven, though in earth ye find nothing. The journey is almost past; you are almost in the haven. Hale on apace, I beseech you, and merrily hoist up your sails. Cast yourselves on Christ, who careth for you. Keep company with him now still to the the end; he is faithful, and will never leave you, nor tempt you further than that he will make you able to bear: yea, in the midst of the temptation he will make an outscape. Now pray unto him heartily; be thankful of his indignation; rejoice in hope of the health you shall receive; and be mindful of us which are in the vaward, and by God's grace trust in Christ to be made able to break the ice before you, that you following, may find the way more easy.—God grant it may so be: Amen, Amen.

"Out of prison, by your brother in Christ.

JOHN BRADFORD."

To Mrs. Wilkinson.

"Almighty God, our most loving Father, increase in your heart (my good mother and dear mistress in the Lord) his true knowledge and love in Christ, to the encouraging and comforting of

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your faith in these stormy days, as necessary unto us; so profitable, if we persist unto the end, which thing God grant to us: Amen.

"My right dearly beloved, I know not what other thing to write unto you, than to desire you to be thankful to the Lord, in that amongst the not many of your calling and state, it pleaseth him to give you his rare blessing,—I mean, to keep you from all the filth wherewith our country is horribly defiled. This blessing assuredly is rare, as you see. But now, if he shall bless you with another blessing, which is more rare,—I mean, to call you forth as a martyr, and a witness against this filth,—I hope you will become doubly thankful. For a greater token commonly we have not to judge of our election and salvation, next to Christ and faith in him, than the cross, especially when it is so glorious, as on this sort to suffer any thing, but chiefly loss of this life, which indeed is never found till it be so lost: Except the grain of wheat fall and be dead, it remaineth fruitless.

"You know that he which was rapt into the third heaven, and did know what he wrote, doth say, That as the corn liveth not, except it be dead and cast into the earth, so truly our bodies. And therefore the cross should so little fear us, that even death itself should altogether be desired of us; as the tailor which putteth off our rags, and arrayeth us with the royal robes of immortality, incorruption, and glory. Great shame it should be for us, that all the whole creatures of God should desire, yea, groan in their kind for our liberty, and we ourselves to loathe it; as doubtless we do, if for the cross, yea, for death itself, we with joy swallow not up all sorrow that might let us from following the Lord's calling, and obeying the Lord's providence; whereby doubtless all crosses, and death itself doth come, and not by hap or chance. In consideration whereof, right dear mother, that this providence stretcheth itself so unto us, and for us, that even the hairs of our heads are numbered with God, not one of them to fall to our hurt; surely we declare ourselves very faint in faith, if we receive not such comfort, that we can willingly offer ourselves to the Lord, and cast our whole care upon his back, honouring him with this honour, that he is and ever will be careful for us, and all we have, as for his dear children. Be therefore of good cheer, even in the midst of these miseries; be thankful to the Lord, and prepare yourself for a further trial; which if God send you, as I hope, so do you believe that God therein will help and comfort you, and make you able to bear whatsoever shall happen. And thus much, having this opportunity, I thought good to write, praying God our Father to recompense into ybur bosom all the good that ever you have done, to me especially, and to many others, both in this time of trouble, and always heretofore.

"Your own in the Lord.

JOHN BRADFORD."

Another letter, written to certain godly persons, encouraging them to prepare themselves with patience to the cross.

"Gracious God and most merciful Father, for Jesus Christ's sake, thy dearly beloved Son, grant us thy mercy, grace, wisdom, and Holy Spirit, to counsel, comfort, and guide us, in all our cogitations, words, and works, to thy glory, and our everlasting joy and peace for ever: Amen.

"In my last letter you might perceive my conjecturing to be no less towards you, than now I have learned. But, my dearly beloved, I have learned none other thing than before I have

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told you would come to pass, if ye cast not away that which ye have learned. I do appeal to both your consciences, whether herein I speak truth, as well of my telling, (though not so often as I might and should, God forgive me,) as also of your learning. Now God will try you, to make others to learn by you, that which ye have learned by others, and, by them which have suffered this day, ye might learn, (if already ye had not learned,) that life and honour is not to be set by more than God's commandment. They in no point (for all that ever their ghostly fathers could do, having Doctor Death to take their part) would consent, or seem to consent; to the popish mass and papistical god, otherwise than in the days of our late king they had received. And this their faith they have confessed with their deaths, to their great glory, and all our comforts, if we follow them; but to our confusion, if we start back from the same. Wherefore I beseech you to consider it as well to praise God for them, as to go the same way with them; if God so will.

"Consider not the things of this life, which is a very prison to all God's children; but the things of everlasting life, which is our very home. But to the beholding of this gear, ye must open the eyes of your mind, (of faith, I should have said,) as Moses did, which set more by trouble with God's people, than by the riches of Egypt and Pharaoh's court. Your house, home, and goods, yea, life, and all that ever ye have, God hath given you as love-tokens, to admonish you of his love, and to win your love to him again. Now will he try your love, whether ye set more by him than by his tokens, or no. If ye for his tokens' sake,—that is, for your home, house, goods, yea, life; will go with the world, lest ye should lose them, then be assured, your love, as he cannot but espy it to be a strumpet's love, so will he cast it away with the world. Remember, that he which will save his life shall lose it, if Christ be true: but he which adventureth, yea, loseth his life, for the gospel's sake, the same shall be sure to find it eternally. Do not ye know that the way to salvation, is not the broad way, which many run in; but the strait way, which few now walk in?

"Before persecution came, men might partly have stood in a doubt by the outward state of the world with us, (although by God's word it was plain,) whether was the high-way (for there were as many that pretended the gospel as popery); but now the sun is risen, and the wind bloweth, so that the corn which hath not taken fast root, cannot nor will abide; and therefore easily ye may see the strait way by the small number that passeth through it. Who will now adventure their goods and life for Christ's sake, which yet gave his life for our sakes? We are now become Gergesites, that would rather lose Christ than our pockets. A faithful wife is never tried so to be, but when she rejecteth and withstandeth wooers. A faithful Christian is then found so to be, when his faith is assaulted.

"If we be not able,—I mean, if we will not forsake this world for God's glory and gospel's sake, trow ye that God will make us able, or give us a will to forsake it for nature's sake? Die ye must once, and leave all ye have, (God knoweth how soon and when,) will ye or will ye not; and seeing perforce ye must do this, will ye not willingly now do it for God's sake?

"If ye go to mass, and do as the most part do, then may ye live at rest and quietly; but if ye deny to go to it, then shall ye go to prison, lose your goods, leave your children comfortless, yea, lose your life also. But, my dearly beloved, open the eyes of your faith, and see how short a thing this life is, even a very shadow and smoke. Again, see how intolerable the punishment of hell-fire is, and that endless. Last of all, look on the joys incomprehensible, which God hath

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prepared for all them, world without end, which lose either lands or goods for his name's sake. And then do ye reason thus: If we go to mass, the greatest enemy that Christ hath, though for a little time we shall live in quiet, and leave to our children that they may live by hereafter, yet shall we displease God, fall into his hands, (which is horrible to hypocrites,) and be in wonderful hazard of falling from eternal joy into eternal misery, first of soul, and then of body, with the devil and all idolaters.

"Again, we shall want peace of conscience, which surmounteth all the riches of the world: and for our children, who knoweth whether God will visit our idolatry on them in this life? yea, our house and goods are in danger of losing, as our lives be, through many casualties; and when God is angry with us, he can send always, when he will, one mean or another to take all from us for our sins, and to cast us into care for our own sakes, which will not come into some little trouble for his sake.

"On this sort reason with yourselves, and then doubtless God will work otherwise with you, and in you, than ye are aware of. Where now ye think yourselves unable to abide persecution, be most assured, if so be you purpose not to forsake God, that God will make you so able to bear his cross, that therein you shall rejoice. Faithful is God, (saith Paul,) which will not tempt you further than he will make you able to bear; yea, he will give you an out-scape in the cross, which shall be to your comfort. Think how great a benefit it is, if God will vouch you worthy this honour; to suffer loss of any thing for his sake. He might justly cast most grievous plagues upon you, and yet now he will correct you with that rod whereby you shall be made like to his Christ, that for ever ye may reign with him. Suffer yourselves therefore now to be made like to Christ, for else ye shall never be made like unto him. The devil would gladly have you now to overthrow that, which godly ye have of long time professed. Oh! how would he triumph, if he could win his purpose! Oh! how would the papists triumph against God's gospel in you! Oh! how would you confirm them in their wicked popery! Oh! how would the poor children of God be discomfited, if now you should go to mass and other idolatrous service, and do as the world doth!

"Hath God delivered you from the sweat, to serve him so? Hath God miraculously restored you to health from your grievous agues for such a purpose? Hath God given you such blessings in this world, and good things all the days of your life hitherto, and now, of equity, will ye not receive at his hands, and for his sake, some evil? God forbid: I hope better of you. Use prayer, and cast your care upon God; commit your children into his hand; give to God your goods, bodies, and lives, as he hath given them, or rather lent them, unto you. Say with Job, God hath given, and God hath taken away: his name be praised for ever. Cast your care upon him, I say, for he is careful for you; and take it amongst the greatest blessings of God, to suffer for his sake. I trust he hath kept you hitherto to that end.

"And I beseech thee, O merciful Father, for Jesus Christ's sake, that thou wouldest be merciful unto us; comfort us with thy grace, and strengthen us in thy truth, that in heart we may believe, and in tongue boldly confess thy gospel, to thy glory, and our eternal salvation: Amen. Pray for me, and I by God's grace will do the same for you.

"JOHN BRADFORD."

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An admonition to certain professors of the gospel, to beware they fall not from it, in consenting to the Romish religion, by the example of other halting and double-faced gospellers.

"The peace of Christ, which is the true effect of God's gospel believed, (my dearly beloved,) be more and more plentifully perceived of you, through the grace of our dear Father, by the mighty working of the Holy Spirit our comforter: Amen.

"Though I have many lets, presently to hinder me from writing unto you, yet, being desired, I could not but something signify my ready good will in this behalf so much as I may, when I cannot so much as I would.

"You hear and see how Satan bestirreth him, raging as a roaring lion to devour us. You see and feel partly what storms he hath raised up to drown the poor boat of Christ; I mean his church. You see how terribly he traineth his soldiers, to give a fierce onset on the vaward of God's battle. You see how he hath received power of God, to molest God's children, and to begin at his house. By reason whereof consider two things; one, the cause on our behalf; the other, what will be the sequel on strangers.

"For the first, if we be not blind, we cannot but well see that our sins are the cause of all this misery; our sins, I say, which I would that every one of us would apply to ourselves after the example of Jonas and David, turning over the wallet, that other men's offences might lie behind, and our own before. Not that I would excuse other men, which exteriorly have walked much more grossly than many of you have done; but that I would provoke you .all as myself, to more hearty repentance and prayer. Let us more and more increase to know and lament our doubting of God, of his presence, power, anger, mercy, &c.

"Let us better feel and hate our self-love, security, negligence, unthankfulness, unbelief, impatience, &c., and then doubtless the cross shall be less careful, yea, it shall be comfortable, and Christ most dear and pleasant; death then shall be desired, as the despatcher of us out of misery, and entrance into eternal felicity and joy unspeakable, the which is so much the more longed for, by how much we feel indeed the serpent's bites, wherewith he woundeth our heels; that is, our outward Adam and senses. If we had, I say, a lively and true feeling of his poison, we could not but, as [we] rejoice over our Captain that hath bruised his head, so be desirous to follow his example; that is, to give our lives with him and for him, and so fill up his passions, that he might conquer and overcome in us and by us, to his glory and comfort of his children.

"Now the second, (I mean the sequel, or that which will follow on the strangers,) my dearly beloved, let us well look upon. For if so be that God justly do thus give to Satan and his seed to vex and molest Christ and his penitent people; oh! what and how justly may he and will he give to Satan, to entreat the reckless and impenitent sinners! If judgments begin thus at God's house, what will follow on them that be without, if they repent not? Certainly for them is reserved the dregs of God's cup, that is, brimstone, fire, and tempest intolerable. Now are they unwilling to drink of God's cup of afflictions, which he offereth common with his Son Christ our Lord, lest they should lose their pigs with the Gergesites. They are unwilling to come into the way that bringeth to heaven, even afflictions; they in their hearts cry, Let us cast his yoke from us; they walk two ways, that is, they seek to serve God and mammon, which is impossible; they

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will not come nigh the strait way that bringeth to life; they open their eyes to behold present things only; they judge of religion after reason, and not after God's word; they follow the more part, and not the better; they profess God with their mouths, but in their hearts they deny him; or else they would sanctify him by serving him more than men; they part stake with God, which would have all, giving part to the world, to the Romish rout, and antichristian idolatry now set abroad amongst us publicly; they will have Christ, but none of his cross, which will not be; they will be counted to live godly in Christ, but yet they will suffer no persecution; they love this world, where-through the love of God is driven forth of them; they savour of those things that be of men, and not that be of God: *summa*, they love God in their lips, but in their hearts, yea, and in their deeds, deny him, as well by not repenting their evils past, as by continuing in evil still; by doing as the world, the flesh, and the devil willeth; and yet still perchance they will pray, or rather prate, Thy will be done in earth, which is, generally, that every one should take up his cross, and follow Christ. But this is a hard saying: who is able to abide it? Therefore Christ must be prayed to depart, lest all the pigs be drowned. The devil shall have his dwelling again in themselves, rather than in their pigs; and therefore to the devil they shall go, and dwell with him in eternal perdition and damnation, even in hell-fire, a torment endless, and above all cogitations incomprehensible, if they repent not.

"Wherefore by them, my dearly beloved, be admonished to remember your profession, how that in baptism you made a solemn vow to forsake the devil, the world, &c. You promised to fight under Christ's standard. You learned Christ's cross afore you began with A, B, C.—Go to then; pay your vow to the Lord; fight like men, and valiant men, under Christ's standard; take up your cross and follow your Master, as your brethren, Masters Hooper, Rogers, Taylor, and Saunders have done, and as now your brethren, Masters Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, Ferrar, Bradford, Haukes, &c., be ready to do. The ice is broken before you, therefore be not afraid, but be content to die for the Lord. You have no cause to waver or doubt of the doctrine thus declared by the blood of the pastors. Remember that Christ saith, He that will save his life, shall lose it. And what should it profit you to win the whole world, much less a little quietness, your goods, &c., and to lose your own souls? Render to the Lord that he hath lent you, by such means as he would have you render it, and not as you would. Forget not, Christ's disciples must deny themselves, as well concerning their will, as concerning their wisdom. Have in mind, that as it is no small mercy to believe in the Lord, so it is no small kindness of God towards you, to suffer any thing; much more, death for the Lord. If they be blessed that die in the Lord, how shall they he that die for the Lord! Oh! what a blessing is it to have death, due for our sins, diverted into a demonstration and testification of the Lord's truth! Oh that we had a little of Moses' faith to look upon the end of the cross; to look upon the reward; to see continually with Christ and his people greater riches than the riches of Egypt. O let us pray that God would open our eyes to see his hid manna, heavenly Jerusalem, the congregation of his first-born, the melody of the saints, the tabernacle of God dwelling with men: then should we run, and become violent men, and so take the kingdom of heaven as it were by force. God our Father give us for his Christ's sake to see a little, what and how great joy he hath prepared for us, he hath called us unto, and most assuredly giveth us, for his own goodness and truth's sake: Amen.

"My dearly beloved, Iepent, be sober, and watch in prayer; be obedient, and after your vocations show your obedience to the higher powers in all things that are not against God's word; therein acknowledging the sovereign power of the Lord: howbeit, so that ye be no rebels, or

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rebellers for no cause; but because with good conscience you cannot obey, be patient sufferers, and the glory and good Spirit of God shall dwell upon us. I pray you remember us, your afflicted brethren, being in the Lord's bonds for the testimony of Christ, and abiding the gracious hour of our dear and most merciful Father. The Lord, for Christ's sake, give us merry hearts to drink lustily of his sweet cup, which daily we groan and sigh for, lamenting that the time is thus prolonged. The Lord Jesus give us grace to be thankful, and to abide patiently the provident hour of his most gracious will: Amen, Amen.—From the Compter in the Poultry.

"Yours in Christ.

JOHN BRADFORD."

To my good brother, John Careless, prisoner in the King's Bench.

"The Father of mercy and God of all comfort visit us with his eternal consolation, according to his great mercies in Jesus Christ our Saviour: Amen.

"My very dear brother, if I shall report the truth unto you, I cannot but signify, that since I came into prison, I never received so much consolation as I did by your last letter; the name of God be most heartily praised therefore. But if I shall report the truth unto you, and, as I have begun, speak still the verity, I must confess, that for mine unthankfulness to you-wards, and to God especially, I have more need of God's merciful tidings, than I had ever heretofore. Ah! that Satan envieth us so greatly. Ah! that our Lord would tread his head under our feet shortly. Ah! that I might for ever both myself beware, and be a godly example to you and others to beware, of unthankfulness. Good brother Careless! we had more need to take heed, after a lightning, of a foil than before: God therefore is to be praised even when he hideth, and that not of long, his cheerful countenance from us, lest we, being not expert how to use it as we should do, do hurt more ourselves thereby; so great is our ignorance and corruption. This, my good brother and right dear to my very heart, I write unto you, as to one whom in the Lord I embrace; and I thank God that you do me in like manner. God our Father more and more give us both his good Spirit, that as by faith we may feel ourselves united unto him in Christ, so by love we may feel ourselves linked in the same Christ one to another, I to you, and you to me; we to all the children of God, and all the children of God to us: Amen, Amen.

"Commend me to your good brother Skelthrop, for whom I heartily praise my God, which hath given him to see his truth at length, and to give place to it. I doubt not but that he will be so heedy in all his conversation, that his old acquaintance may ever thereby think themselves astray. Woe and woe again should be unto us, if we by our example should make men to stumble at the truth. Forget not salutations in Christ, as you shall think good, to Trew, and his fellows. The Lord hath his time, I hope, for them also; although we perchance think otherwise. A drop maketh the stone hollow, not with once, but with often dropping: so if with hearty prayer for them, and good example, you still and drop upon them as you can, you shall see God's work at the length. I beseech God to make perfect all the good he hath begun in us all: Amen. I desire you all to pray for me, the most unworthy prisoner of the Lord.

"Your brother.

JOHN BRADFORD."

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

To Master John Hall and his wife, prisoners in Newgate for the testimony of the gospel.

"Almighty God, our heavenly Father through Jesus Christ, be with you both, my dearly beloved, as with his dear children, forever, and so he bless you with his Holy Spirit, that you may in this your cross (for his cause doubtless) rejoice, and gladly take it up to bear it so long as he shall think good. I have heard, my good brother and sister, how that God hath brought you both into his school-house, (whereas you both purposed, by his leave, to have played the truants,) that thereby you might see his carefulness and love towards you. For if it be a token of a loving and careful Father for his children, to prevent the purpose and disappoint the intent of his children, purposing to depart awhile from the school for fear of beating (which thing they would not do, if they did as much consider the commodity of learning which there they might get); how should you take this work of the Lord preventing your purpose, but as an evident sign of love and fatherly carefulness that he beareth towards you? If he should have winked at your wills, then would you have escaped beating, I mean the cross; but then should you have lost the commodity of learning that which your Father will now have you to learn and feel, and therefore hath he sent to you his cross. He, I say, hath brought you where you be; and though your reason and wit will tell you, it is by chance or fortune, or otherwise, yet (my dearly beloved) know for certain that, whatsoever was the mean.

God your Father was the worker hereof, and that for your weal. Although otherwise your old Adam doth tell you, and you feel; yet I say of truth, that your duty is to think of this cross, that as it is of God's sending, and cometh from him; so although your deserts be otherwise, it is of love and fatherly affection for your weal and commodity's sake.

"What commodity is hereby? you will perchance object. You are now kept in close prison, you will say; your family and children be without good overseers; your substance diminisheth by these means; poverty will approach; and perchance more perils also, yea, and loss of life too. These are no commodities, but discommodities, and that no small ones; so that justly you would be glad to know what commodity can come to you by this cross, whereby cometh so great discommodities.

"To these things I answer, that indeed it is true you say of your bodies, families, children, substance, poverty, life, &c., which things, if you would consider awhile with inward eyes, as you behold them with outward, then perhaps you should find more ease. Do not you now by the inward sense perceive, that you must part from all these and all other commodities in the world? Tell me then, have not you this commodity by your cross, to learn to loathe and leave the world, and to long for and desire another world, where is perpetuity? You ought of your own head and free will to have (according to your profession in baptism) forsaken the world, and all earthly things; using the world as though you used it not: your heart set only upon your hoard in heaven, or else you could never be Christ's true disciples, that is, to be saved, and be where he is. And trow you, my good hearts in the Lord, trow you, I say, that this is no commodity, by this cross to be compelled hereto, that you might assuredly enjoy with the Lord endless glory? How now doth God, as it were, fatherly pull you by the ears, to remember your former offences concerning these things and all other things, that repentance and remission might ensue? How doth God now compel you to call upon him, and to be earnest in prayer? are these no commodities? Doth not the Scripture say, that God doth correct us in the world, because we shall not be damned with the

world?—that God chasteneth every one he loveth?—that the end of this correction shall be joy and holiness? Doth not the Scripture say, that they are happy that suffer for righteousness' sake, as you now do?—that the glory and Spirit of God is upon them?—that, as you are now made like unto Christ in suffering, so shall you be made like him in reigning? Doth not the Scripture say, that you are now going the high and right way to heaven?—that your suffering is Christ's suffering? My dearly beloved, what greater commodities than these can a godly heart desire?

"Therefore ye are commanded to rejoice and be glad, when ye suffer as now ye do: for, through the goodness of God, great shall be your reward. Where? Forsooth on earth: first, for your children; for now they are in God's mere and immediate protection. Never was father so careful for his children, as God is for yours presently. God's blessing, which is more worth than all the world, you leave indeed to your children. Though all your providence for them should be pulled away, yet God is not poor; he hath promised to provide for them most fatherly: Cast thy burden upon me, saith he, and I will bear it. Do you therefore cast then, and commend them unto God your Father, and doubt not that he will die in your debt. He never yet was found unfaithful, and he will not now begin with you. The good man's seed shall not go a begging his bread; for he will show mercy upon thousands of the posterity of them that fear him. Therefore, as I said, God's reward, first upon earth, shall be felt by your children, even corporally; and so also upon you, if God see it more for your commodity—at the least inwardly you shall feel it by quietness and comfort of conscience: and secondly, after this life you shall find it so plentifully, as the eye hath not seen, the ear hath not heard, the heart cannot conceive, how great and glorious God's reward will be upon your bodies; much more upon your souls. God open our eyes to see and feel this indeed! Then shall we think the cross, which is a mean hereto, to be commodious. Then shall we thank God, that he would chastise us. Then shall we say with David, Happy am I that thou hast punished me: for before I went astray, but now I keep thy laws.

"This that we may do indeed, my dearly beloved, let us first know that our cross cometh from God: secondly, that it cometh from God as a Father, that is, to our weal and good. Therefore let us, thirdly, call to mind our sins, and ask pardon; whereto let us, fourthly, look for help certainly at God's hand in his good time: help, I say, such as shall make most to God's glory, and to the comfort and commodity of our souls and bodies eternally. This if we certainly conceive, then will there issue out of us hearty thanksgiving, which God requireth as a most precious sacrifice. That we may all through Christ offer this, let us use earnest prayer to our God and dear Father, who bless us, keep us, and comfort us under his sweet cross for ever! Amen, Amen.

"My dear hearts, if I could any way comfort you, you should be sure thereof, though my life lay thereon; but now I must do as I may, because I cannot as I would. Oh! that it would please our dear Father shortly to bring us where we should never depart, but enjoy continually the blessed fruition of his heavenly presence. Pray, pray, that it may speedily come to pass—pray! To-morrow I will send to you to know your estate: send me word what are the chiefest things they charge you withal.—From the Compter.

"By your brother in the Lord.

JOHN BRADFORD."

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

To Mrs. Hall, prisoner in Newgate, and ready to make answer before her adversaries.

"Our most merciful God and Father, through Christ Jesus our Lord and Saviour, be merciful unto us, and make perfect the good he hath begun in us unto the end: Amen.

"My dear sister, rejoice in the Lord, rejoice; be glad, I say, be merry and thankful, not only because Christ so commandeth us, but also because our state wherein we are presently, requireth no less, for we are the Lord's witnesses. God the Father hath vouchsafed to choose us amongst many, to witness and testify that Christ his Son is King, and that his word is true. Christ our Saviour, for his love's sake towards us, will have us to bear record that he is no usurper nor deceiver of the people, but God's ambassador, Prophet, and Messiah; so that of all dignities upon earth this is the highest. Greater honour had not his prophets, apostles, nor dearest friends, than to bear witness with Christ, as we now do. The world, following the counsel of their sire Satan, would gladly condemn Christ and his verity; but lo! the Lord hath chosen us to be his champions to let this. As stout soldiers, therefore, let us stand to our Master, who is with us, and standeth on our right hand, that we should not be much moved, if we hope and hang on his mercy; he is so faithful and true, that he will never tempt us further than he will make us able to bear.

"Therefore be not careful (for I hear say this day you shall be called forth) what you shall answer. The Lord which is true and cannot lie, hath promised, and will never fail nor forget it, that you shall have both what and how to answer, so as shall make his shameless adversaries ashamed. Hang therefore on this promise of God, who is a helper at a pinch, and a most present remedy to them that hope in him. Never was it ever heard of, or shall be, that any hoping in the Lord was put to foil.

"Therefore, as I said, I say again: dear sister, be not only not careful for your answering, but also be joyful for your cause. Confess Christ, and be not ashamed, and he will confess you, and never be ashamed of you. Though loss of goods and life be like here to ensue; yet if Christ be true, (as he is most true,) it is otherwise indeed: for he that loseth his life, saith he, winneth it; but he that saveth it, loseth it. Our sins have deserved many deaths. Now if God so deal with us, that he will make our deserved death a demonstration of his grace, a testimonial of his verity, a confirmation of his people, and overthrow of his adversaries, what great cause have we to be thankful! Be thankful therefore, good sister, be thankful. Rejoice and be merry in the Lord; be stout in his cause and quarrel; be not faint-hearted, but run out your race, and set your Captain, Christ, before your eyes. Behold how great your reward is. See the great glory and the eternity of felicity prepared for you. Strive and fight lawfully, that you may get the crown. Run to get the game; you are almost at your journey's end. I doubt not but our Father will with us send to you also, as he did to Elias, a fiery chariot, to convey us into his kingdom. Let us therefore not be dismayed, to leave our cloak behind us; that is, our bodies to ashes. God will one day restore them to us like to the body of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, whose coming is now at hand. Let us look for it, and lift up our heads, for our redemption draweth nigh: Amen, Amen. The Lord of mercy grant us his mercy: Amen. I pray you, pray for me; and so desire my brethren which be with you. God's peace be with us all: Amen. Blessed be the dead that die in the Lord; then how much more they that die for the Lord!

"Your brother in bonds.

J. BRADFORD."

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To a woman that desired to know his mind, whether she, refraining from the mass, might be present at the popish matins, or evensong; or no.

"I beseech Almighty God our heavenly Father to be merciful unto us, and to increase in you, my good sister, the knowledge and love of his truth, and at this present give me grace so to write to you something of the same, as may make to his glory and our own comfort and confirmation in him, through Christ our Lord. Amen.

"Whether you may come with safe conscience to the church now, that is, to the service used commonly, in part, as at matins or at even-song, or no, is your desire to have me to write something for your further stay. My dearly beloved, although your benefits towards me might perchance make you to think that in respect thereof I would bear with that which else were not to be borne withal; yet, by God's grace, I am purposed, simply and without all such respect in this matter, to speak to you the truth according to my conscience, as I may be able to stand unto, when I shall come before the Lord.

"First, therefore, go about to learn perfectly the first lesson to be learned of all that profess Christ; that is, to deny yourself, and in nothing to seek yourself.

"Secondly, learn after this, to begin at the next lesson to it, which is, to seek God in all things you do, and leave undone.

"Thirdly, know that then you seek God, when in his service you follow his word, and not man's fantasies, custom, multitude, &c., and when with your brother you follow the rule of charity; that is, To do as you would be done by. In these is a sum of all the counsel I can give you, if that hereto I admonish you of the service now used, which is not according to God's word, but rather against God's word directly, and in manner wholly. So that your going to the service is a declaration that you have not learned the first lesson, nor ever can learn it, so long as you go thither; therefore the second lesson you shall utterly lose, if you cease not the seeking of yourself, that is, if for company, custom, father or friend, life or goods, you seem to allow that which God disalloweth. And this that you the better may perceive, I purpose by God's grace briefly to show.

"First, the matins and even-song are in a tongue forbidden publicly to be used in a congregation that perceiveth not the tongue. Read how Paul affirmeth it, to pray in an unknown tongue, to be against God's commandment. This one, I trow, were enough, if nothing else were. For how can God's glory be sought, where his word and commandment are wilfully broken? How can charity to man stand, when charity to God, which is obedience to his word, is overthrown?

"Again, both in matins and in even-song is idolatry maintained for God's service; for there is invocation and prayer made to saints departed this life, which robbeth God of that glory, which he will give to none other.

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"Moreover this service, and the setters-forth of it, condemn the English service as heresy, thereby falling into God's curse, which is threatened to all such as call good evil, and evil good; whereof they shall be partakers that do communicate with them.

"Besides this, this Latin service is a plain mark of antichrist's catholic synagogue; so that the communicants and approvers of it thereby declare themselves to be members of the same synagogue, and so cut off from Christ and his church, whose exterior mark is the true administration of God's word and sacraments.

"Furthermore, the example of your going thither to allow the religion of antichrist, (as doubtless you do indeed, howsoever in heart you think,) occasioneth the obstinate to be utterly intractable, the weak papists to be more obstinate, the strong gospellers to be sore weakened, and the weak gospellers to be utterly overthrown: which things, how great offences they be, no pen is able to utter by letters. All these evils you shall be guilty of, that company with those in religion exteriorly, from whom you are admonished to fly. If Christ be Christ, follow him: gather with him, lest you scatter abroad. Serve God, not only in spirit, but also in body. Make not your body, now a member of Christ, a member of antichrist. Come out from amongst them, saith the Lord, and touch no unclean thing. Confess Christ and his truth, not only in heart, but also in tongue; yea, in very deed, which few gospellers do. Indeed they deny him, and therefore had need to tremble, lest that Christ will deny them in the last day: the which day, if it were set before our eyes often, then would the pleasures and treasures 'of this world be but trifles.

"Therefore, good sister, often have it before your eyes; daily set yourself and your doings as before the judgment-seat of Christ now, that hereafter you be not called into judgment. Think that it will little profit you to win the whole world, and to lose your own soul. Mark Christ's lessons well, He that will save his life shall lose it. The Father of heaven commandeth you to hear Christ, and he saith, Follow me: this can you not do, and follow idolatry or idolaters. Fly from such, saith the Scripture. This God grant to you, to me, and to all God's children: Amen.

"Thus in haste I have accomplished your request. God grant that as you have done me much good bodily, so that this may be a little mean to do you some good spiritually: Amen. If time would serve, I would have written more at large.—The second of March, anno 1555."

To the Worshipful, and in God my most dear friend, the Lady Vane.

"The good Spirit of God our Father be more and more plentifully perceived of your good Ladyship, through the mediation and merits of our dear Saviour Jesus Christ: Amen.

"Although your benefits towards me have deserved at my hands the service I can do for you, yet, right worshipful and dearly beloved in the Lord, the true fear of God, and the love of his truth, which I perceive to be in you, specially, and above all other things, do bind me hereunto. This bearer hath told me that your desire is, to have something sent to you concerning the usurped authority of the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, (which is undoubtedly that great antichrist, of whom the apostles do so much admonish us,) that you may have as well something the more to stay on, as also wherewith to answer the adversaries, because you may perchance therein be something apposed. To satisfy this your desire, I will briefly go about; and so, that I

will by God's grace fully set forth the same, to enarm you to withstand the assaults of the papists herein, if you mark well and read over again that which I now write.

"The papists do place in pre-eminence over the whole church, the pope, thereby unplacing Christ, which is the Head of the church, that giveth life to the whole body, and by his Spirit doth make lively every member of the same. This they do without all Scriptures: for whereas they bring in this spoken to Peter, Feed my sheep, I would gladly know whether this was not commanded unto others also. As for that (which perchance they will urge) that he spake to Peter by name, if they had any learning, they would easily perceive bow that it was not for any such cause as they pretend, but rather by a threefold commandment to restore him to the honour of an apostle, which he had lost by his threefold denial. And how dare they interpret this word, My sheep, my lambs, to be the universal church of Christ? I trow a man might easily, by the like reason, prove that Peter himself had resigned that which Christ had given to him, in exhorting his fellow pastors to feed the flock of Christ. Is not this pretty stuff? Because Christ saith to Peter, Feed my sheep, therefore he ought to rule the universal and whole church of Christ? If Peter do truly write unto others that they should do the like, that is, feed Christ's flock, either he translateth his right and authority committed to him upon them, or else he doth participate or communicate with them; so that foolishly they go about to establish that which hath no ground. Peter indeed was a shepherd of the sheep, but such a one as bestowed his labour on them so far as he could stretch himself by his ministry. But the papists prate, that he had full power over all churches: wherein they may see Paul to improve them, for else he had done unjustly in denying him the superior place. Howbeit, who ever yet read, that Peter did take any thing upon him over churches committed to other men? Was not he sent of the church, and sent as one not having rule over the rest? I grant that he was an excellent instrument of God, and for the excellency of his gifts, whensoever they met together, place therefore was commonly given unto him. But what is this to the purpose, to make him ruler and head over all the whole church, because he was so over a small congregation?

"But be it so that Peter had as much given to him as they do affirm—who yet will grant that Peter had a patrimony given for his heirs? He hath left (say the papists) to his successors the selfsame right which he received. O Lord God! then must his successor be a Satan: for he received that title of Christ himself. I would gladly have the papists to show me one place of succession mentioned in the Scriptures. I am sure that when Paul purposely painteth out the whole administration of the church, he neither maketh one head, nor any inheritable primacy; and yet he is altogether in commendation of unity. After he hath made mention of one God the Father, of one Christ, of one Spirit, of one body of the church, of one faith, and of one baptism; then he describeth the mean and manner how unity is to be kept; namely, because unto every pastor is grace given after the measure wherewith Christ hath endued them. Where I pray you is now any title of *plenitudinis potestatis*, of fulness of power? When he calleth home every one unto a certain measure, why did he not forthwith say one pope? which he could not have forgotten, if the thing had been as the papists make it.

"But let us grant that perpetuity of the primacy in the church was established in Peter; I would gladly learn why the seat of the primacy should be rather at Rome than elsewhere. Marry, say they, because Peter's chair was at Rome. This is even like to this, that because Moses the greatest prophet, and Aaron the first priest, exercised their offices unto their death in the desert,

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therefore the principallest place of the Jewish church should be in the wilderness! But grant them their reason that it is good; what should Antioch claim? For Peter's chair was there also, wherein Paul gave him a check, which was unseemly and unmannerly done of Paul, that would not give place to his president and better.

"No, say the papists, Rome must have this authority because Peter died there. But what if a man should by probable conjectures show, that it is but a fable which is feigned of Peter's bishopric at Rome? Read how Paul doth salute very many private persons, when he writeth to the Romans. Three years after his Epistle made, he was brought to Rome prisoner. Luke telleth, that he was received of the brethren; and yet in all these, is no mention at all of Peter, which then by their stories was at Rome. Belike he was proud, as the pope and prelates be, or else he would have visited Paul! Paul being in prison in Rome did write divers epistles, in which he expresseth the names of many which were, in comparison of Peter, but rascal personages; but of Peter he speaketh never a word. Surely if Peter had been there, this silence of him had been suspicious. In the 2nd Epistle to Timothy, Paul complaineth that no man was with him in his defence, but all had left him. If Peter had been then at Rome, as they write, then either Paul had belied him, or Peter had played his Peter's part. In another place, how doth he blame all that were with him, only Timothy excepted! Therefore we may well doubt whether Peter was at Rome bishop, as they prate: for all this time, and long before, they say that Peter was bishop there.

"But I will not stir up coals in this matter. If Rome be the chief seat because Peter died there, why should not Antioch be the second? Why should not James and John, which were taken with Peter to be as pillars? why, I say, should not their seats have honour next to Peter's seat? Is not this gear preposterous, that Alexandria, where Mark (which was but one of the disciples) was bishop, should be preferred before Ephesus, where John the evangelist taught and was bishop; and before Jerusalem, where not only James taught and died bishop, but also Christ Jesus our Lord and High Priest for ever, by whom, being Master, I hope honour should be given to his chair, more than to the chair of his chaplains?

"I need to speak nothing how that Paul telleth Peter's apostleship to concern rather circumcision or the Jews, and therefore properly pertaineth not to us. Neither do I need to bring in Gregory the First, bishop of Rome, which was about the year of our Lord 600, who plainly, in his works, doth write that this title of primacy, and to be head over all churches under Christ, is a title meet and agreeing only to antichrist; and therefore he calleth it a profane, a mischievous, and a horrible title. Whom should we believe now, if we will neither believe apostle nor pope?

"If I should go about to tell how this name was first gotten by Phocas, I should be too long. I purpose, God willing, to set it forth at large in a work which I have begun of antichrist, if God for his mercy's sake give me life to finish it. For this present therefore I shall desire your Ladyship to take this in good part. If they will needs have the bishop of Rome to be acknowledged for the head of the church, then will I urge them that they shall give us a bishop. But they obtrude unto us a butcher rather, or a bite-sheep, than a bishop. They brag of Peter's succession, of Christ's vicar: this is always in their mouth. But, alas! how can we call him Christ's vicar that resisteth Christ, oppugneth his verity, persecuteth his people, and, like a prelate, preferreth himself above God and man? How, or wherein, do the pope and Christ agree? How supplieth he Peter's ministry, that boasteth of his succession? Therefore to begin withal,

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which I will use presently for a conclusion, if the papists will have the bishop of Rome supreme head of the church of Christ in earth, they must, afore they attain this, give us a bishop in deed, and not in name. For whosoever he be, that will make this the bond of unity, whatsoever the bishop of Rome be, surely this must needs follow, that they do nothing else but teach a most wicked defection and departing from Christ.

"But of this, if God lend me life, I purpose to speak more at large hereafter. Now will I betake your Ladyship unto the tuition of God our Father, and Christ our only Head, Pastor, and Keeper, to whom see that you cleave by true faith, which dependeth only upon the word of God; which if you do follow as a lantern to your feet, and a light to your steps, you shall then avoid darkness, and the dangerous deeps whereinto the papists are fallen by the judgment of God, and seek to bring us into the same dungeon with them; that the blind following the blind, they both may fall into the ditch: out of the which God deliver them according to his good will, and preserve us for his name's sake, that we being in his light, may continue therein, and walk in it whilst it is day! so shall the night never over-press us, we going from light to light, from virtue to virtue, from faith to faith, from glory to glory, by the governance of God's good Spirit, which God our Father give unto us all for ever: Amen.

"Your brother in bonds for the testimony of Jesus Christ.

JOHN BRADFORD. '

Here followeth another letter of Master Bradford, to one Richard Hopkins, sheriff sometime of Coventry, and yet being (as I hear say) alive. This Hopkins, whom Master Bradford commendeth so much in this letter, during the time of his sheriffalty, was detected and accused, by certain malignant adversaries, of matter pertaining to religion. What matter it was I am not yet certainly informed, unless it were for sending and lending unto a thief, being then in prison ready to be hanged, a certain English book of Scripture for his spiritual comfort.

Whereupon, or else upon some such-like matter, he, being maliciously accused, was sent for and committed to the Fleet; and there endured a sufficient time, not without great peril of life. Notwithstanding, the said Hopkins, being at length delivered out of prison, following this counsel of Master Bradford, and minding to keep his conscience pure from idolatry, was driven with his wife and eight young children to avoid the realm; and so, leaving all other worldly respects, with his great loss and damage went into High Germany, where he continued in the city of Basil till the death of Queen Mary; being like a good Tobias, to his power a friendly helper and a comfortable reliever of other English exiles thereabout him; God's holy blessing so working with him therefore, that in those far countries neither he fell in any great decay, neither any one of all his household, during all that time there, miscarried, but so many as he brought out, so many he recarried home again; yea, and that with advantage, and God's plenty withal upon him. Now the letter written to this Richard Hopkins by Master Bradford is this.

A letter to Master Richard Hopkins, then sheriff of Coventry, and prisoner in the Fleet, for the faithful and constant confessing of God's holy gospel.

"Dearly beloved in the Lord! I wish unto you as unto mine own brother, yea, as to mine own heart-root, God's mercy, and the feeling of the same plentifully in Christ our sweet Saviour,

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who gave himself a ransom for our sins, and price for our redemption; praised therefore be his holy name for ever and ever: Amen.

"I will not go about to excuse myself for not sending unto you hitherto, suffering for the Lord's sake as you do, to the comfort of me and all that love you in the truth; but rather accuse myself both before God and you, desiring of you forgiveness, and with me to pray to God for pardon of this my unkind forgetting you, and all other my sins, which I beseech the Lord in his mercy to do away, for his Christ's sake: Amen.

"Now to make amends to you-ward, I would be glad if I could: but because I cannot, I shall heartily desire you to accept that will, and this which I shall now write unto you thereafter; I mean, after my will, and not after the deed, to accept and take it. At this present, my dear heart in the Lord, you are in a blessed state, although it seem otherwise to you, or rather unto your old Adam, the which I dare now be so bold as to discern from you, because you would have him not only discerned, but also utterly destroyed. For if God be true, then is his word true.

"Now his word pronounceth of your state, that it is happy; therefore it must needs be so. To prove this, I think it need not: for you know that the Holy Ghost saith, That they are happy which suffer for righteousness' sake, and that God's glory and Spirit resteth on them which suffer for conscience to God. Now this you cannot but know, that this your suffering is for righteousness' sake, and for conscience to God-ward: for else you might be out of trouble, even out of hand. I know in very deed, that you have felt and do feel your unthankfulness to God, and other sins, to witness to you, that you have deserved this imprisonment, and lack of liberty, betwixt God and yourself; and I would you so would confess unto God in your prayers, with petition for pardon, and thanksgiving for his correcting you here. But you know that the magistrates do not persecute in you your sins, your unthankfulness, &c.; but they persecute in you Christ himself, his righteousness, his verity. And therefore happy be you that have found such favour with God your Father, as to account you worthy to suffer for his sake in the sight of man; surely you shall rejoice therefore one day with a joy unspeakable, in the sight of man also.

"You may think yourself born in a blessed time, that have found this grace with God, to be a vessel of honour to suffer with his saints, yea, with his Son. My beloved, God hath not done so with many. The apostle saith, not many noble, not many rich, not many wise in the world, hath the Lord God chosen. Oh then, what cause have you to rejoice, that amongst the not many, he hath chosen you to be one! For this cause hath God placed you in your office, that therefore ye might the more see his special dignation and love towards you. It had not been so great a thing for Master Hopkins to have suffered as Master Hopkins, as it is for Master Hopkins also to suffer as Master Sheriff. O happy day that you were made sheriff! by the which as God in this world would promote you to a more honourable degree, so, by suffering in this room, he hath exalted you in heaven, and in the sight of his church and children, to a much more excellent glory. When was it read that a sheriff of a city hath suffered for the Lord's sake? Where read we of any sheriff that hath been cast into prison for conscience to God-ward? How could God have dealt more lovingly with you, than herein he hath done? To the end of the world it shall be written for a memorial to your praise, that Richard Hopkins, sheriff of Coventry, for conscience to do his office before God, was cast into the Fleet, and there kept prisoner a long time. Happy and twice happy are you, if here-for you may give your life. Never could you have attained to this

promotion on this sort, out of that office. How do you preach now, not only to all men, but specially to magistrates in this realm! Who would ever have thought that you should have been the first magistrate that, for Christ's sake, should have lost any thing? As I said before, therefore I say again, that your state is happy. Good brother, before God I write the truth unto you; my conscience bearing me witness, that you are in a most happy state with the Lord, and before his sight.

"Be thankful therefore; rejoice in your trouble; pray for patience; persevere to the end; let patience have her perfect work. If you want this wisdom and power, ask it of God, who will give it to you in his good time. Hope still in him; yea, if he should slay you, yet trust in him with Job, and you shall perceive that the end will be to find him merciful and full of compassion: for he will not break promise with you, which hitherto did never so with any. He is with you in trouble; he heareth you calling upon him, yea, before you call; your desires are not only known, but accepted, through Christ. If now and then he hide his face from you, it is but to provoke your appetite, to make you the more to long for him. This is most true: he is coming, and will come, he will not be long. But if for a time he seem to tarry, yet stand you still, and you shall see the wonderful works of the Lord. O beloved! wherefore should you be heavy? Is not Christ Emmanuel, God with us? shall you not find that as he is true in saying, In the world you shall have trouble; so is he in saying, In me you shall have comfort? He doth not swear only that trouble will come, but withal he sweareth that comfort shall ensue. And what comfort? Such a comfort as the eye hath not seen, the ear hath not heard, nor the heart of man can conceive. O great comfort! who shall have this? Forsooth they that suffer for the Lord. And are not you one of them? Yea, verily are you. Then, as I said, happy, happy, and happy again are you, my dearly beloved in the Lord. You now suffer with the Lord, surely you shall be glorified with him. Call upon God, therefore, in your trouble, and he will hear you; yea, deliver you in such sort, as most shall make both to his and your glory also. And in this calling I heartily pray you to pray for me, your fellow in affliction. Now we be both going in the high-way to heaven: for by many afflictions must we enter in thither, whither God bring us for his mercy's sake. Amen, Amen.

"Your fellow in affliction.

JOHN BRADFORD."

To my good sister, Mrs. Elizabeth Brown.

"Good sister, God our Father make perfect the good he hath begun in you, unto the end.

"I am afraid to write unto you, because you so overcharge yourself at all times, even whensoever I do but send to you commendations. I would be more bold on you than many others, and therefore you might suspend so great tokens till I should write unto you of my need; which thing doubtless I would do, if it urged me. Dear sister, I see your unfeigned love to me-ward in God, and have done of long time, the which I do recompense with the like, and will do, by God's grace, so long as I live, and therefore I hope not to forget you, but in my poor prayers to have you in remembrance, as I hope you have me. Otherwise I can do you no service, except it be now and then by my writing, to let you from better exercise; where yet the end of my writing is to excite and stir up your heart more earnestly to go forwards in your well-begun enterprise. For you know none shall be crowned, but such as strive lawfully; and none receiveth the gleve,

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but those that run to the appointed mark. None shall be saved but such as persist and continue to the very end.

"Therefore, dear sister, remember that we have need of patience, that when we have done the good will of God, we may receive the promise. Patience and perseverance be the proper notes, whereby God's children are known from counterfeits. They that persevere not, were always but hypocrites. Many make godly beginnings, yea, their progress seemeth marvellous; but yet after, in the end, they fail. These were never of us, saith St. John; for if they had been of us, they would have continued unto the very end.

"Go to now, therefore, mine own beloved in the Lord: as you have well begun, and well gone forward, so well persist, and happily end; and then all is yours. Though this be sharp and sour, yet it is not tedious and long. Do all that ever you do, simply for God, and as to God; so shall never unkindness, nor any other thing, make you to leave off from well doing, so long as you may do well. Accustom yourself now to see God continually, that he may be all in all unto you. In good things behold his mercy, and apply it unto yourself: in evil things and plagues behold his judgments, where-through learn to fear him. Beware of sin, as the serpent of the soul, which spoileth us of all our ornament and seemly apparel in God's sight. Let Christ crucified be your book to study on, and that both night and day. Mark your vocation, and be diligent in the works thereof. Use hearty and earnest prayer, and that in spirit. In all things give thanks to God our Father through Christ. Labour to have here life everlasting begun in you: for else it will not be elsewhere enjoyed. Set God's judgment often before your eyes, that now examining yourself, you may make diligent suit, and obtain, never to come into judgment. Uncover your evils to God, that he may cover them. Beware of this antichristian trash: defile not yourself in soul or body therewith, but accomplish holiness in the fear of God, and bear no yoke with unbelievers. Look for the coming of the Lord which is at hand; by earnest prayer and godly life hasten it. God our Father accomplish his good work in you. Amen. Commend me to my good mother, Mistress Wilkinson, and to my very dear sister, Mistress Warcup. I shall daily commend you all to God, and I pray you do the like for me.

"JOHN BRADFORD."

To a friend of his, instructing him how he should answer his adversaries.

"My good brother, our merciful God and dear Father through Christ, open your eyes effectually to see, and your heart ardently to desire, the everlasting joy which he hath prepared for his slaughter-sheep; that is, for such as shrink not from his truth for any such storms' sake. Amen.

"When you shall come before the magistrates to give an answer of the hope which is in you, do it with all reverence and simplicity. And because you may be something afraid by the power of the magistrates, and cruelty which they will threaten against you, I would you set before you the good father Moses, to follow his example: for he set the invisible God before his eyes of faith, and with them looked upon God, and his glorious majesty and power, as with his corporal eyes he saw Pharaoh and all his fearful terrors. So do you, my dearly beloved: let your inward eyes give such light unto you, that as you know you are before the magistrates, so, and much more, you and they also are present before the face of God, which will give such wisdom

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to you, fearing him and seeking his praise, as the enemies shall wonder at; and further, he will so order their hearts and doings, that they shall (will they nill they) serve God's providence towards you, (which you cannot avoid though you would,) as shall be most to his glory, and your everlasting comfort.

"Therefore, my good brother, let your whole study be only to please God: put him always before your eyes, for he is on your right hand, lest you should be moved; he is faithful, and never will suffer you to be tempted above that he will make you able to bear. Yea, every hair of your head he hath numbered, so that one of them shall not perish without his good will, which cannot but be good unto you, in that he is become your Father through Christ; and therefore as he hath given you to believe in him, (God increase this belief in us all,) so doth he now graciously give unto you to suffer for his name's sake: the which you ought with all thankfulness to receive, in that you are made worthy to drink of the selfsame cup, which not only the very sons of God have drunk of before you, but even the very natural Son of God himself hath brought you good luck. Oh! he of his mercy make us thankful to pledge him again. Amen.

"Because the chiefest matter they will trouble you, and go about to deceive you withal, is the sacrament, not of Christ's body and blood, but of the altar, as they call it, thereby destroying the sacrament which Christ instituted, I would you noted these two things: first, that the sacrament of the altar which the priest offereth in the mass, and eateth privately with himself, is not the sacrament of Christ's body and blood instituted by him, as Christ's institution plainly written and set forth in the Scriptures, being compared to their using of it, plainly doth declare.

"Again, if they talk with you of Christ's sacrament instituted by him, whether it be Christ's body or no: answer them, that as to the eyes of your reason, to your taste and corporal sense, it is bread and wine, and therefore the Scripture calleth it after the consecration so; even so to the eyes, taste, and sense of your faith, which ascendeth to the right hand of God in heaven, where Christ sitteth, it is in very deed Christ's body and blood, which spiritually your soul feedeth on to everlasting life in faith, and by faith, even as your body presently feedeth on the sacramental bread and sacramental wine.

"By this means, as you shall not allow transubstantiation, nor any of their popish opinions; so shall you declare the sacrament to be a matter of faith, and not of reason, as the papists make it. For they deny God's omnipotency, in that they say Christ is not there, if bread be there: but faith looketh on the omnipotency of God, joined with his promise, and doubteth not but that Christ is able to give that he promiseth us spiritually by faith, the bread still remaining in substance, as well as if the substance of bread were taken away: for Christ saith not in any place, this is no bread. But of this gear God shall instruct you, if you hang on his promise, and pray for the power and wisdom of his Spirit, which undoubtedly as you are bound to look for, praying for it, so he hath bound himself by his promise to give it: the which thing he grant unto us both, and to all his people, for his name's sake, through Christ our Lord! Amen.

"JOHN BRADFORD."

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To certain godly men, whom he exhorteth to be patient under the cross, and constant in the true doctrine which they had professed.

"My dearly beloved in the Lord, as in him I wish you well to fare, so I pray God I and you may continue in his true service, that perpetually we may enjoy the same welfare, as here in hope, so in heaven indeed, and eternally.

"You know this world is not your home, but a pilgrimage and place wherein God trieth his children: and therefore as it knoweth you not, nor can know you, so I trust you know not it; that is, you allow it not, nor in any point will seem so to do, although by many you be occasioned thereto. For this hot sun, which now shineth, burneth so sore, that the corn which is sown upon sand and stony ground, beginneth to wither; that is, many which beforetimes were taken for hearty gospellers, begin now, for the fear of afflictions, to relent, yea, to turn to their vomit again, thereby declaring that though they go from among us, yet were they never of us; or else they would have still tarried with us, and neither for gain nor loss have left us, either in word or in deed. As for their heart, (which undoubtedly is double, and therefore in danger of God's curse,) we have as much with us, as the papists have with them, and more too by their own judgment. For they, playing wily-beguily themselves, think it enough inwardly to favour the truth, though outwardly they curry favour: What though with my body, say they, I do this or that? God knoweth my heart is whole with him.

"Ah! brother, if thy heart be whole with God, why dost not thou confess and declare thyself accordingly, by word and fact? Either that which thou sayest thou believest in thy heart is good, or no. If it be good, why art thou ashamed of it? If it be evil, why dost thou keep it in thy heart? Is not God able to defend thee, adventuring thyself for his cause? or will he not defend his worshippers? Doth not the Scripture say, that the eyes of the Lord are on them that fear him, and trust in his mercy? And whereto? Forsooth to deliver their souls from death, and to feed them in the time of hunger.

"If this be true, as it is most true, why are we afraid of death, as though God could not comfort or deliver us, or would not, contrary to his promise? Why are we afraid of the loss of our goods, as though God would leave them that fear him destitute of all good things, and so do against his most ample promises? Ah! faith, faith, how few feel thee nowadays! Full truly said Christ, that he should scarcely find faith, when he came on earth. For if men believed these promises, they would never do any thing outwardly, which inwardly they disallow. No example of men, how many soever they be, or how learned soever they be, can prevail in this behalf: for the pattern which we must follow is Christ himself, and not the more company or custom. His word is the lantern to lighten our steps, and not learned men. Company and custom are to be considered according to the thing they allow. Learned men are to be listened to and followed according to God's lore and law: for else the more part goeth to the devil. As custom causeth error and blindness, so learning, if it be not according to the light of God's word, is poison, and learned men most pernicious. The devil is called demon for his cunning, and the children of the world are much wiser than the children of light in their generation: and I know the devil and his darlings have always for the most part more helps in this life than Christ's church and her children. They (the devil and his synagogue I mean) have custom, multitude, unity, antiquity, learning, power, riches, honour, dignity, and promotions plenty, as always they have had, and

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shall have commonly, and for the most part until Christ's coming, much more than the true church hath presently, heretofore hath had, or hereafter shall have. For her glory, riches, and honour are not here; her trial, cross, and warfare are here.

"And therefore, my dear hearts in the Lord, consider these things accordingly. Consider what you be: not worldlings, but God's children. Consider where you be: not at home, but in a strange country. Consider among whom you are conversant, even in the midst of your enemies, and of a wicked generation; and then I trust you will not much muse at affliction; which you cannot be without, being as you be, God's children, in a strange country, and in the midst of your enemies, except you would leave your Captain, Christ, and follow Satan for the muck of this world, rest and quietness, which he may promise you, and you indeed think you shall receive it by doing as he would have you to do. But, my sweet hearts! he is not able to pay that he promiseth. Peace and war come from God, riches and poverty, wealth and woe. The devil hath no power but by God's permission. If then God permit him a little on your goods, body, or life, I pray you tell me what can much hurt you, as Peter saith, you being followers of godliness? Think you that God will not remember you in his time, as most shall be to your comfort? Can a woman forget the child of her womb? And if she should, yet will I not forget thee, saith the Lord. Look upon Abraham in his exile and misery; look upon Jacob, Joseph, Moses, David, the prophets, apostles, and all the godly from the beginning; and my good brethren, is not God the same God? Is he a changeling? You have heard of the patience of Job, saith St. James, and you have seen the end, how that God is merciful, patient, and long-suffering: even so I say unto you, that you shall find accordingly, if so be you be patient; that is, if so be you fear him, set his word before you, serve him thereafter, and if he lay his cross on you, you bear it with patience: the which you shall do when you consider it not according to the present sense, but according to the end.

"Therefore I heartily beseech you, and out of my bonds, which I suffer for your sake, pray you, mine own sweet hearts in the Lord, that you would cleave in heart and humble obedience to the doctrine taught you by me, and many others my brethren. For we have taught you no fables nor tales of men, or our own fantasies, but the very word of God, which we are ready with our lives (God so enabling us, as we trust he will) to confirm, and by the shedding of our bloods, in all patience and humble obedience to the superior powers, to testify and seal up, as well that you might be more certain of the doctrine, as that you might be ready to confess the same before this wicked world; knowing that if we confess Christ and his truth before men, he will confess us before his Father in heaven: if so be we be ashamed hereof for loss of life, friends, or goods, he will be ashamed of us before his Father, and his holy angels in heaven.

"Therefore take heed, for the Lord's sake take heed; take heed, and defile not your bodies or souls with this Romish and antichristian religion set up amongst us again: but come away, come away, as the angel crieth, from amongst them in their idolatrous service, lest you be partakers of their iniquity. Hearken to your preachers as the Thessalonians did to Paul; that is, confer their sayings with the Scriptures, and if they sound not thereafter, the morning light shall not shine upon them.

"Use much and hearty prayer for the spirit of wisdom, knowledge, humbleness, meekness, sobriety, and repentance, which we have great need of; because our sins have thus provoked the Lord's anger against us: but let us bear his anger, and acknowledge our faults with

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bitter tears and sorrowful sighs, and doubtless he will be merciful to us after his wonted mercy. The which thing he vouchsafe to do for his holy name's sake in Christ Jesu our Lord, to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour, glory, praise, and everlasting thanks, from this time forth for evermore. Amen.

"Out of prison by yours in the Lord to command.

JOHN BRADFORD."

A letter to Master George Eaton.

"Almighty God, our heavenly Father, recompense abundantly into your bosom, my dearly beloved, here and eternally, the good which from him by you I have continually received since my coming into prison. Otherwise can I never be able to requite your loving-kindness here, than by praying for you, and after this life, by witnessing your faith declared to me by your fruits, when we shall come and appear together before the throne of our Saviour Jesus Christ, whither, I thank God, I am even now a-going; ever looking when officers will come, and satisfy the precept of the prelates, whereof though I cannot complain, because I have justly deserved a hundred thousand deaths at God's hands by reason of my sins, yet I may and must rejoice, because the prelates do not persecute in me mine iniquities, but Christ Jesus and his verity: so that they persecute not me, they hate not me; but they persecute Christ, they hate Christ.

"And because they can do him no hurt, (for he sitteth in heaven, and laugheth them and their devices to scorn, as one day they shall feel,) therefore they turn their rage upon his poor sheep, as Herod their father did upon the infants. Great cause therefore have I to rejoice, that my dear Saviour Christ will vouchsafe, amongst many, to choose me to be a vessel of grace to suffer in me, (who have deserved so often and justly to suffer for my sins,) that I might be most assured I shall be a vessel of honour, in whom he will be glorified.

"Therefore, my right dear brother in the Lord, rejoice with me, give thanks for me; and cease not to pray, that God, for his mercy's sake, would make perfect the good lie hath begun in me. And as for the doctrine which I have professed and preached, I do confess unto you in writing, as to the whole world I shortly shall, by God's grace, in suffering, that it is the very true doctrine of Jesus Christ, of his church, of his prophets, apostles, and all good men: so that if an angel should come from heaven and preach otherwise, the same were accursed.

"Therefore waver not, dear heart in the Lord, but be confirmed in it; and as your vocation requireth, when God so will, confess it, though it be perilous so to do. The end shall evidently show another manner of pleasure for so doing, than tongue can tell. Be diligent in prayer, and watch therein. Use reverent reading of God's word. Set the shortness of this time before your eyes, and let not the eternity that is to come depart out of your memory. Practise in doing that you learn by reading and hearing. Decline from evil, and pursue good. Remember them that be in bonds, especially for the Lord's cause, as members of your body, and fellow-heirs of grace. Forget not the afflictions of Sion, and the oppression of Jerusalem; and God our Father shall give us his continual blessing through Christ our Lord, who guide us as his dear children for ever. Amen.

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"And thus I take my *vale* and farewell with you, dear brother, for ever in this present life, till we shall meet in eternal bliss; whither our good God and Father bring us shortly. Amen.—God bless all your babes for ever. Amen.—Out of prison this eighth of February.

"Your afflicted brother for the Lord's cause.

JOHN BRADFORD."

Another letter to Mrs. Ann Warcup.

"Almighty God, our heavenly Father, for his Christ's sake, increase in us faith, by which we may more and more see what glory and honour is reposed and safely kept in heaven, for all them that believe with the heart, and confess Christ and his truth with the mouth. Amen.—My dearly beloved, I remember that once heretofore I wrote unto you a *vale* or a farewell upon conjecture: but now I write my farewell to you in this life indeed, upon certain knowledge. My staff standeth at the door; I continually look for the sheriff to come for me, and I thank God I am ready for him. Now go I to practise that which I have preached. Now am I climbing up the hill: it will cause me to puff and to blow before I come to the cliff. The hill is steep and high, my breath is short, and my strength is feeble: pray therefore to the Lord for me, that as I have now, through his goodness, even almost come to the top, I may by his grace be strengthened, not to rest till I come where I should be. O loving Lord! put out thy hand, and draw me unto thee; for no man cometh, but he whom the Father draweth. See, my dearly beloved, God's loving mercy: he knoweth my short breath and great weakness. As he sent for Elias in a fiery chariot, so sendeth he for me; for by fire my dross must be purified, that I may be fine gold in his sight. O unthankful wretch that I am! Lord, do thou forgive me mine unthankfulness. Indeed I confess, (right dear to me in the Lord!) that my sins have deserved hell-fire, much more than this fire. But lo, so loving is my Lord, that he converteth the remedy for my sins, the punishment for my transgressions, into a testimonial of his truth, and a testification of his verity, which the prelates do persecute in me, and not my sins. Therefore they persecute not me, but Christ in me, which, I doubt not, will take my part unto the very end. Amen.

"Oh that I had so open a heart as could so receive as I should do this great benefit and unspeakable dignity, which God my Father offereth to me! Now pray for me, my dearly beloved: pray for me that I never shrink. I shall never shrink, I hope. I trust in the Lord I shall never shrink: for he that always hath taken my part, I am assured will not leave me when I have most need, for his truth and mercy's sake. O Lord! help me. Into thy hands I commend me wholly. In the Lord is my trust, I care not what man can do unto me: Amen, Amen. My dearly beloved, say you Amen also; and come after, if so God call you. Be not ashamed of the gospel of Christ, but keep company with him still. He will never leave you, but in the midst of temptation will give you an out-scape, to make you able to bear the brunt. Use hearty prayer; reverently read and hear God's word; put it in practice; look for the cross; lift up your hands, for your redemption draweth nigh; know that the death of God's saints is precious in his sight. Be merry in the Lord; pray for mitigation of God's heavy displeasure upon our country. God keep us for ever; God bless us with his spiritual blessings in Christ. And thus I bid you farewell for ever in this present life. Pray for me, pray for me; for God's sake pray for me. God make perfect his good work begun in me. Amen.—Out of prison, the seventh of February.

"Yours in the Lord.

J. BRADFORD."

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

In the story of Master Bradford, it was above rehearsed, how a certain gentlewoman, being in trouble by her father and mother for not coming to mass, sent her servant to visit Master Bradford in prison; who, tendering the woeful case of the gentlewoman, to the intent partly to confirm her with counsel, partly to relieve her oppressed mind with some comfort, directed this letter unto her: the contents whereof are these.

To a certain godly gentlewoman, troubled and afflicted by her friends for not coming to the mass.

"I wish unto you, right worshipful and my dearly beloved sister in the Lord, as to myself, the continual grace and comfort of Christ, and of his holy word, through the operation of the Holy Spirit, who strengthen your inward man with the strength of God, that you may continue to the end in the faithful obedience of God's gospel, whereto you are called. Amen.

"I perceived by yourself, the last day when you were with me, how that you are in the school-house and trial-parlour of the Lord; which to me is (at the least it should be) a great comfort, to see the number of God's elect by you increased, which are in that state whereof God hath not called many, as Paul saith. And as it is a comfort to me, so should it be a confirmation unto me, that the Lord, for his faithfulness' sake, will make perfect and finish the good he hath begun in you to the end.

"If then your cross be to me a comfort or token of your election, and a confirmation of God's continual favour, my dearly beloved, how much more ought it to be so unto you, unto whom he hath not only given to believe, but also to come into the trace of suffering for his sake; and that not commonly of common enemies, but even of your own father, mother, and all your friends, I mean kinsfolks, as you told me! by which I see Christ's words to be true, how that he came to give his children such a peace with him, as the devil might not, nor may abide; and therefore stirreth up father and mother, sister and brother, rather than it should continue. But, my dear sister, if you cry with David to the Lord, and complain to him; how that for conscience to him, your father and mother have forsaken you, you shall hear him speak in your heart, that he hath received you; and by this would have you to see, how that he maketh you here like to Christ, that elsewhere (in heaven) you might be like unto him; whereof you ought to be most assured, knowing that in time, even when Christ shall appear, you shall be like unto him. For he will make your body, which now you defile not with idolatrical service in going to mass, like unto his own glorious and immortal body, according to the power whereby he is able to do all things. He will confess you before his Father, which do not deny his verity in word nor deed before your father; he will make you to reign with him, that now suffer for him and with him; he will reward you with himself and all the glory he hath, that now, for his sake, deny yourselves with all that ever you have; he will not leave you comfortless, that seek no comfort but at his hand though for a little time you be afflicted, yet therein will he comfort and strengthen you, and at the length make you to be merry with him in such joy as is infinite and endless. He will wipe all the tears from your eyes; he will embrace you as your dear Husband; he will, after he hath proved you, crown you with a crown of glory and immortality, such as the heart of man shall never be able to conceive in such sort as the thing is. He now beholdeth your stedfastness, and striving to do his good will; and shortly will he show you how stedfast he is, and will be ready to do your will, after that you have fully resigned it to his will.

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"Pledge him in his cup of the cross, and you shall pledge him in the cup of his glory. Desire to drink it before it be come to the dregs, whereof the wicked shall drink, and all those that, for fear of the cross and pledging the Lord, do walk with the wicked, in betraying in fact and deed that which their heart embraceth for verity. The which thing if you should do, (which God forbid,) then, my dear mistress and sister in the Lord, you should not only lose all that I have before spoken, and much more infinitely of eternal joy and glory, but also be a castaway, and partaker of God's most heavy displeasure in hell-fire eternally; and so for a little ease, which you cannot tell how long it will last, to lose for ever and ever all ease and comfort. For he that gathereth not with me, saith Christ, (as no mass-gospeller doth,) scattereth abroad. According to that we do in this body, we shall receive, be it good or bad. If of our words we shall be judged to condemnation or salvation; much more then of our facts and deeds. You cannot be partaker of God's religion and antichrist's service, whereof the mass is most principal. You cannot be a member of Christ's church, and a member of the pope's church. You must glorify God not only in soul and heart, but also in body and deed. You may not think that God requireth less of you his wife now, than your husband did of you. If both heart and body your husband would have, shall Christ have less, trow you, which hath so bitterly and dearly bought it? If your husband could not admit an excuse how your heart is his only, if he should have taken your body in bed with another; do you think that Christ will allow your body at mass, although your heart consent not to it?

"God esteemeth his children, not only of their hearts, but of their pure hands and works; and therefore in Elias's time he counted none to be his servants and people, but such as had not bowed their knees to Baal; as now he doth not in England account any other to be his darlings, which know the truth in heart, and deny it in their deeds; as do our mass-gospellers.

"We ought to desire above all things the sanctifying of God's holy name, and the coming of his kingdom; and shall we then see his name blasphemed so horribly, as it is at mass, by making it a sacrifice propitiatory, and setting forth a false Christ of the priests' and bakers' making, to be worshipped as God, and say nothing? The Jews rent their clothes asunder in seeing or hearing any thing blasphemously done or spoken against God; and shall we yet come to church where mass is, and be mute? Paul and Barnabas rent their clothes to see the people of Lycaonia to offer sacrifice unto them; and shall we see sacrifice and God's service done to an inanimate creature, and be mum? What thing helpeth more or so much antichrist's kingdom as doth the mass? And what destroyeth preaching and the kingdom of Christ upon earth more than it doth? And how can we then say, Let thy kingdom come, and go to mass? How can we pray before God, Thy will be done on earth, when we will do our own will, and the will of our father or friends? How pray we, Deliver us from evil, which, knowing the mass to be evil, do come to it?

"But what go I about to light a candle in the noon-day, that is, to tell you that we may not go to mass, or to the congregation where it is, except it be to reprove it, in that all men in so doing do but dissemble both with God and man? And is dissembling now to be allowed? How long will men yet halt on both knees? saith God. Halting, saith St. Paul, bringeth out of the way; that is to say, out of Christ, which is the way: so that he which is not in him shall wither away, and be cast into hell-fire. For Christ will be ashamed of them before his Father, which be now ashamed of his truth before this wicked generation.

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"Therefore, my good mistress, take good heed; for it had been better for you never to have known the truth, and there-through to have escaped from papistical uncleanness, than now to return to it; making eftsoons your members, being members of righteousness, members of unrighteousness; as you do, if you do but go to the church where mass is. Be pure therefore, and keep yourself from all filth of the spirit, and of the flesh. Abstain not only from all evil, but from all appearance of evil.

"And so the God of peace shall be with you, the glory of God shall govern you, the Spirit of God shall sanctify you, and be with you for ever, to keep you from all evil, and to comfort you in all your distress and trouble; which is but short, if you consider the eternity you shall enjoy in glory and felicity in the Lord, which undoubtedly you shall not fail but inherit for ever, if so be you, as the elect child of God, put your trust in his mercy, call upon his name unfeignedly, and yield not over to the wicked world, but stick still against it unto the end. God, for his holy name's sake, who is properly the God of the widows, be your good and dear Father for ever, and help you always, as I myself would be holpen at his hands in all things; and especially in this his own cause. Amen, Amen.

"JOHN BRADFORD."

To one by whom he had received much comfort and relief in his trouble and imprisonment.

"The mercy of God in Christ, peculiar to his children, be evermore felt of you, my dearly beloved in the Lord. Amen.

"When I consider with myself the benefits which God hath showed unto me by your means, if I had so good and thankful a heart as I would I had, I could not with dry eyes give him thanks; for certainly they are very many and great. And now, being yet still the Lord's prisoner, I receive from him more benefits by you. For the which I think myself so much bound to you, my good brother, (although you were but the instrument by whom God wrought and blessed me,) that I look not to come out of your debt by any pleasure or service that I shall ever be able to do you in this life. I shall heartily pray unto God, therefore, to requite you the good you have done to me for his sake: for I know that which you have done, you have done it simply in respect of God and his word. He therefore give you daily more and more to be confirmed in his truth and word, and so plentifully pour upon you the riches of his Holy Spirit and heavenly treasures laid up in store for you, that your corporal and earthly riches may be used of you as sacraments and significations thereof; the more to desire the one—that is, the heavenly, and the less to esteem the other—that is, the earthly. For Satan's solicitation is, so to set before you the earthly, that therein and thereby you should not have access to the consideration of the heavenly, but, as one bewitched, should utterly forget them, and altogether become a lover and worshipper of the earthly mammon, and so to fall to covetousness, and a desire to be rich, by that means to bring you into many noisome and hurtful lusts: as now-a-days I hear of many which have utterly forsaken God and all his heavenly riches, for antichrist's pleasure, and the preserving of their worldly pelf, which they imagine to leave to their posterity; whereof they are uncertain, as they may be most certain they leave to them God's wrath and vengeance, in his time to be sent by visitation, if they in time heartily repent not, and prevent not the same by earnest prayer. Wherein, my good brother, if you be diligent, hearty, and persevere, I am sure God will preserve you from evil, and from yielding yourself to do as the world now doth, by allowing in bodily fact

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in the Romish service, that which the inward cogitation and mind doth disallow. But if you be cold in prayer, and come into consideration of earthly and present things simply, then shall you fall into faithless follies and wounding of your conscience; from which God evermore preserve you, with your good wife, and your babe Leonard, and all your family; to the which I wish the blessing of God, now and for ever, through Christ our Lord. Amen.

"I pray you give thanks for me to your old bed-fellow, for his great friendship for your sake showed to me when I was in the Tower.

"JOHN BRADFORD."

To a faithful friend of his, and his wife, resolving their doubt, why they ought not to come to auricular confession.

"The merciful God, and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which loveth us as a most dear Father, and hath put upon him towards us the affection of a most tender mother towards her children, so that he can no less think upon us (although of ourselves we be most unworthy, and deserve nothing less) than she can think on her only begotten child in his distress; yea, if she should forget her child, as some unnatural mother will do, yet will he never forget us, although for a time he seem to sleep, that we might be occasioned to call loud and awake him: this good God keep you, my dear brother Nathaniel, and your good yoke-fellow, my heartily beloved sister in the Lord, in all things now and for ever, to his glory, and your eternal comfort: and also of his goodness he grant you both the feeling of that hope, which undoubtedly he hath laid up in store for you both, far passing the store and provision, not only which you have made, but all the world is able to make, as I trust already he hath wrought it in you: but I beseech him to increase it more and more, and kindle in you a hearty longing for the enjoying of the same; the which once felt and had in deed, then the means by the which we come thereto cannot be so greatly dreaded, as most men do dread them, because either they want this feeling, (I mean it, of altogether,) or else because the sense of this present time and things therein, are as a mist to the hiding of those things from our sight, lest we should run and embrace them by hearty prayer; the spirit whereof God grant us, and indeed we should attain enough in this behalf, if we continued therein.

"For auricular confession, wherein you desire my advice for your good yoke-fellow and family, (my most dear brother,) I am as ready to give it, as you to desire it, yea, more glad, forasmuch as half a suspicion was in me (at the least touching my dear sister your wife) of a loathing of my advice, that too much had been given, whereas indeed I should lament my too little feeding you spiritually, as you, both out of prison and in prison, have fed me corporally. But as I always thought of her, so I yet think, that she is the child of God, whom God dearly loveth, and will in his good time, to her eternal comfort, give her her heart's desire in sure feeling and sensible believing of this, which I would she had often in her mind; namely, that he is her God and Father through Jesus Christ our dear Lord and Saviour. A greater service to God she cannot give, than to believe this. If Satan say, she believeth not, to answer not him but the Lord, and to say, Yea, Lord, help my unbelief; and increase my poor faith, which Satan saith is no faith: make him a liar, Lord, as always he hath been, is, and shall be. Undoubtedly, sooner or later God will graciously hear her groans, and keep all her tears in his bottle, yea, write them in his counting-book, for he is a righteous God, and hath no pleasure in the death of his creature; he

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loveth mercy, he will return and show her his mercy, he will cast all her sins and iniquities into the bottom of the sea; and the longer that he tarrieth, (as he doth it but to prove her,) so the more liberally will he recompense her long looking; which no less pleaseth him, than it grieveth now her outward Adam. For the mortification whereof God useth this cross, and therefore if she desire to bear the same, doubtless God will make her able to bear it; and in presumption of his goodness and strength, let her cast herself wholly upon him; for he is faithful, and will assuredly confirm, and bring to a happy end, that good which graciously he hath begun in her. The which thing I desire him to do for his own glory and name's sake. Amen, Amen.

"And now to the matter. Confession auricular, as it was first used and instituted, (which was by the way of a counsel asking,) I take to be amongst those traditions which are indifferent; that is, neither unlawful, nor necessarily binding us, except the offence of the weak could not be avoided. But to consider it as it is now used, (I write to you but as I think, and what my mind is; which follow no further, than good men by God's word do allow it,) to consider it, I say, as it is now used, methinketh, it is plainly unlawful and wicked, and that for these causes:

"First, because they make it a service of God, and a thing which pleaseth God of itself, I will not say meritorious; this bringer, my brother, can tell you at large how great this evil is.

"Secondly, because they make it of necessity, so that he or she that useth it not, is not taken for a good Christian.

"Thirdly, because it requireth of itself an impossibility; that is, the numbering and telling of all our sins; which no man perceiveth, much less can utter.

"Fourthly, because it establisheth and confirmeth, at the least alloweth, praying to saints: *Precor sanctam Mariam*, you must say, or the priest for you.

"Fifthly, because it is very injurious to the liberty of the gospel, the which to affirm in example and fact, I take to be a good work and dear in God's sight.

"Sixthly, because (as it is used) it is a note, yea, a very sinew, of the popish church: and therefore we should be so far from allowing the same, that we should think ourselves happy to lose any thing in bearing witness there-against.

"Seventhly, because, instead of counsel, thereat you should receive poison; or, if you refuse it under Sir John's *benedicite*, you should no less there be wounded in the briers.

"Eighthly, because the end and purpose why we go thither, is for the avoiding of the cross; that is, for our own cause, and not for Christ's cause, or for our brethren's commodity. For in that they make it so necessary a thing, and a worshipping of God, it cannot but be against Christ, and the freedom of his gospel: and the same thing teacheth us, that it is against the commodity of our brethren, which either be weak, either be strong, either be ignorant, either be obstinate. If they be weak, by your resorting to it, they be made more weak. If they be strong, you do what you can to infirm their strength. If they be ignorant, therein you help to keep them by your fact. If they be obstinate, your resorting to it cannot but rock them asleep in their

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obstinate error of the necessity of this rite and ceremony. These causes recited, do show you what I think in this: but my thinking must no further bind you than a man's thought should do, except the same be grounded upon God's word, which bindeth indeed, as I think they do. I doubt not but you, weighing these causes, and especially two, the first and the last, if you pray to God for his Spirit to direct you, and thereto ask the advice of this my good brother and other godly learned men, I doubt not (I say) but you shall be guided to do that which is best in God's sight, although in the sight of the world, perhaps, you should be counted foolish and precise. But be at a point with yourselves as the disciples of Christ, which had forsaken themselves, to follow, not your will, but God's will, as you daily pray in the Lord's prayer.

"The cross of Christ be willing to carry, lest you carry the cross of the world, the flesh, or the devil. One of these four crosses you must carry. Three of them bring to hell, and therefore the more part goeth that way, which is a broad way. Only the fourth bringeth to heaven; but few go that way, as well because the way is strait, as also because few walk in it. Howbeit, though it be strait, it is but short, and the few are many, if you consider the godly, as the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, and Christ Jesus, with all his guard and train. Think not scorn to come after them which are gone before you, and after them which now go before you, in whose number I trust I am appointed to be one; and I beseech you pray for me, that God would vouch me worthy that honour. Our sins deserve plagues, prison, and the loss of all that ever we have: therefore if God remove our sins out of sight, and send us prison, or loss of goods and living, for his name's sake, O how happy are we! My dear hearts in the Lord, consider this gear, and be assured that he which loseth any thing for Christ's sake, the same in his posterity shall find it here, and in heaven elsewhere. As for unableness to answer for your faith, it shall be enough to will them to dispute with your teachers. Faith standeth not in disputing. I think few, if it came to disputing, could defend the Godhead of Christ and many other articles: I speak it for the simple sort. Pray for me. Lack of paper maketh this end. Commend me to my good brother R. B., and my good sister his wife. I pray them to pray for me. I trust by this bearer to hear how you do.

"JOHN BRADFORD."

To a dear friend N., and his wife.

"God's mercy in Christ I wish you to feel, my dear brother, with my faithful sister your wife, now and for ever. Amen.

"Having this occasion, I could not but write something, as well to put myself in remembrance of my duty to God-ward for you, both in thankfulness and prayer, as to put you in remembrance of me; and your duty towards God for me, in praying for me; for I dare not say in thankfulness for me: not that I would have you to give no thanks to God for his wonderfully great and sweet mercies towards me, and upon me in Christ his Son; but because I have not deserved it at either of your hands. For ye both know right well, at least my conscience doth accuse me, how that I have not only not exhorted and taught you (as both my vocation and your deserts required) to walk worthy of that vocation which God hath made you worthy of, and with trembling and fear to work out your salvation (that is, in the fear of God to give yourselves to great vigilancy in prayer for the increase of faith, and to a wary circumspection in all your conversation, not only in works and words, but also in thoughts, because God is a searcher of the heart, and out of the heart it cometh that defileth us in God's sight): I have (I say) not only not

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done this, but also have given you example of negligence in prayer, watching, fasting, talking, and doing; so that woe to me for giving you such offence. Partly for this cause, dear brother and sister, God hath cast me here, that I might repent me and turn to him; and that ye might also, by this correction upon me, be more diligent to redress these things and others, if they in your conscience do accuse you.

"My dearly beloved, heavily is God's anger fallen upon us all; doleful is this day. Now hath antichrist all his power again. Now is Christ's gospel trodden under foot. Now are God's people a derision and prey for the wicked. Now is the greatest plague of all plagues fallen, the want of God's word: and all these we have, yea, I alone have justly deserved. Oh! that as I write, (I alone,) I could with David, and with Jonas, in heart say so. But I do not, I do not. I see not how grievously I have sinned, and how great a misery is fallen for mine unthankfulness for God's word, for mine hypocrisy in professing, preaching, hearing, and speaking of God's word; for my not praying to God for the continuance of it, for my not living of it thoroughly, as it requireth, &c. I will speak nothing of my manifest evils, for they are known to you well enough.

"Dear brother and sister, with me say ye the like for your own parts, and with me join your hearts, and let us go to our heavenly Father, and for his Christ's sake beseech him to be merciful unto us, and to pardon us: O good Father, it is we that have deserved the taking away of thy word; it is we that have deserved these thy just plagues fallen upon us; we have done amiss; we have dealt unjustly with thy gospel; we have procured thy wrath; and therefore just art thou in punishing us, just art thou in plaguing us, for we are very miserable. But, good Lord and dear Father of mercy, whose justice is such, that thou wilt not punish the poor souls of this realm, which yet have not thus sinned against thee as we have done, (for many yet never heard thy word,) for our trespasses; and whose mercy is so great, that thou wilt put our iniquities out of thy remembrance for thy Christ's sake, if we repent and believe: grant us, we beseech thee, true repentance and faith, that we, having obtained pardon for our sins, may, through thy Christ, get deliverance from the tyranny of antichrist now oppressing us.

"O good Father, which hast said, that the sceptre of the wicked should not long lie upon and over the just, lest they should put forth their hands to iniquity also; make us just, we pray thee in Christ's name, and cut asunder the cords of them that hate Sion; let not the wicked people say, Where is their God? Thou our God art in heaven, and dost whatsoever pleaseth thee upon earth.

Oh that thou wouldest in the mean while, before thou dost deliver us—that, I say, thou wouldest open our eyes to see all these plagues to come from thee, and all other that shall come, whatsoever they be, public or private, that they come not by chance nor by fortune, but that they come even from thy hand; and that justly and mercifully: justly, because we have and do deserve them, not only by our birth-poison still sticking and working in us, but also by our former evil life past, which by this punishment and all other punishments thou wouldest have us to call to our remembrance, and to set before us, that thou mightest put them from before thee, whereas they stand so long as they are not in our remembrance, to put them away by repentance. Mercifully, O Lord God, dost thou punish, in that thou dost not correct to kill, but to amend; that we might repent our sins, ask mercy, obtain it freely in Christ, and begin to suffer for righteousness' sake; to be part of thy house, whereat thy judgment beginneth; to be partakers of

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the afflictions of thy church, and thy Christ, that we might be partakers of the glory of the same; to weep here that we might rejoice elsewhere; to be judged in this world, that we might with thy saints judge hereafter the world; to suffer with Christ, that we might reign with him; to be like to Christ in shame, that we might be like to him in glory; to receive our evils here, that we might with poor Lazarus find rest elsewhere; rest, I say, and such a rest as the eye hath not seen, the ear hath not heard, nor the heart of man is able to conceive. Oh! that our eyes were open to see this: that the cross cometh from thee to declare thy justice and thy mercy, and hereto, that we might see how short a time the time of suffering is; how long a time the time of rejoicing is, to them that suffer here; but to them that will not, how long and miserable a time is appointed and prepared; a time without time in eternal woe and perdition, too horrible to be thought upon. From the which keep us, dear Father, and give us more light in soul to see this gear, and how that all thy dearest children have carried the cross of grievous afflictions in this life; in whose company do thou place us; and such a cross lay upon us, as thou wilt make us able to bear, to thy glory and our salvation in Christ, for whose sake we pray thee to shorten the days of this our great misery fallen upon us most justly, and in the mean season give us patience, repentance, faith, and thy eternal consolation. Amen, Amen, Amen.

"And thus, dear hearts, I have talked, methinks, a little while with you, or rather we have all talked with God. Oh! that God would give us his Spirit of grace and prayer. My dearly beloved, pray for it, as for yourselves, so for me; and that God would vouchsafe to make me worthy to suffer with a good conscience for his name's sake. Pray for me, and I shall do the like for you.—This twentieth of December, by him whom by this bringer you shall learn. I pray you give my commendations to all that love me in the Lord. Be merry in Christ, for one day in heaven we shall meet and rejoice together for evermore. Amen."

To my good brother Augustine Bernher.

"Mine own good Augustine, the Lord of mercy bless thee, my dear brother, for ever. I have good hope, that if you come late at night, I shall speak with you; but come as secretly as you can: howbeit, in the mean season, if you can, and as you can, learn what Master G. hath spoken to Dr. Story and others. The cause of all this trouble both to my keeper and me, is thought to come by him. It is said that I shall be burned in Smithfield, and that shortly. The Lord's will be done. Behold, here I am, Lord, send me. Ah! mine own sweet friend, I am now alone, lest I should make you and others worse. If I should live, I would more warily use the company of God's children, than ever I have done. I will bear the Lord's anger, because I have sinned against him. Commend me to my most dear sister, for whom my heart bleedeth: the Lord comfort her and strengthen her unto the end! I think I have taken my leave of her for ever in this life, but in eternal life we shall most surely meet, and praise the Lord continually. I have now taken a more certain answer of death than ever I did: and yet not so certain as I think I should do. I am now as a sheep appointed to the slaughter. Ah! my God, the hour is come; glorify thy most unworthy child. I have glorified thee, saith this my sweet Father, and I will glorify thee. Amen.—Ah! mine own bowels, praise God for me; and pray for me; for I am his hope: I hope he will never forsake me, though I have above all others most deserved it. I am the most singular example of his mercy, praised be his name therefore for ever. Cause Mrs. Pierrepont to learn of the sheriff, Master Chester, what they purpose to do with me; and know, if you can, whether there be any writ forth for me. I am like to an owl in the house, and as a sparrow alone in the house-top. Ah!

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my Augustine, how long shall God's enemies thus triumph? I have sent you this of the baptism of children to write out; when this is done, you shall have other things. Pray, pray, mine own dear heart, on whom I am bold. The keeper telleth me, that it is death for any to speak with me, but yet, I trust, that I shall speak with you.

"JOHN BRADFORD.

To these letters of Master Bradford above specified, here is also adjoined another letter of the said Bradford, written to certain of his faithful friends, worthy of all Christians to be read; wherein is described a lively comparison between the old man and the new: also between the law and the gospel, containing much fruitful matter of divinity, necessary for Christian consciences to read and understand.

A letter of Master Bradford, describing a comparison between the old man and the new, &c.

"A man that is regenerate and born of God (the which thing that every one of us be, our baptism, the sacrament of regeneration, doth require under pain of damnation, and therefore let every one of us with the Virgin Mary say, Be it unto me, O Lord, according to thy word, according to the sacrament of baptism, wherein thou hast declared our adoption; and let us lament the doubting hereof in us, striving against it, as we shall be made able of the Lord): a man, I say, that is regenerate, consisteth of two men (as a man may say); namely, of the old man, and of the new man: the old man is like to a mighty giant, such a one as was Goliath, for his birth is now perfect; but the new man is like unto a little child, such a one as was David, for his birth is not perfect until the day of his general resurrection.

"The old man therefore is more strong, lusty, and stirring than is the new man, because the birth of the new man is but begun now, and the old man is perfectly born. And as the old man is more stirring, lusty, and stronger than the new man; so is the nature of him clean contrary to the nature of the new man, as being earthly and corrupt with Satan's seed, the nature of the new man being heavenly, and blessed with the celestial seed of God. So that one man, inasmuch as he is corrupt with the seed of the serpent, is an old man; and inasmuch as he is blessed with the seed of God from above, he is a new man. And as, inasmuch as he is an old man, he is a sinner and an enemy to God; so, inasmuch as he is regenerate, he is righteous and holy, and a friend to God, the seed of God preserving him from sin, so that he cannot sin, as the seed of the serpent (wherewith he is corrupt even from his conception) inclineth him, yea, enforceth him to sin, and nothing else but to sin: so that the best part in man before regeneration, in God's sight, is not only an enemy, but enmity itself.

"One man therefore which is regenerate, well may be called always just, and always sinful; just in respect of God's seed, and his regeneration; sinful in respect of Satan's seed, and his first birth. Betwixt these two men therefore there is continual conflict, and war most deadly. The flesh and old man, by reason of his birth that is perfect, doth often for a time prevail against the new man, (being but a child in comparison,) and that in such sort, as not only others, but even the children of God themselves, think that they be nothing else but old, and that the spirit and seed of God is lost and gone away; whereas, yet notwithstanding, the truth is otherwise, the spirit and the seed of God at the length appearing again, and dispelling away the clouds which cover the sun of God's seed from shining, as the clouds in the air do the corporal sun; so that

sometimes a man cannot tell, by any sense, that there is any sun, the clouds and wind so hiding it from our sight: even so our cecity or blindness, and corrupt affections, do often shadow the sight of God's seed in God's children, as though they were plain reprobates. Whereof it cometh, that they, praying according to their sense, but not according to the truth, desire of God to give them again his Spirit, as though they had lost it, and he had taken it away. Which thing God never doth indeed, although he make us to think so for a time; for always he holdeth his hand under his children in their falls, that they lie not still as others do which are not regenerate. And this is the difference betwixt God's children which are regenerate and elect before all times in Christ, and the wicked always; that the elect lie not still continually in their sin, as do the wicked, but at the length do return again by reason of God's seed, which is in them hid as a sparkle of fire in the ashes; as we may see in Peter, David, Paul, Mary Magdalene, and others. For these (I mean God's children) God hath made all things in Christ Jesus, to whom he hath given this dignity, that they should be his inheritance and spouses.

"This our inheritor Christ Jesus, God with God, light of light, co-eternal and consubstantial with the Father and with the Holy Ghost, to the end that he might become our Husband, (because the husband and the wife must be one body and flesh,) hath taken our nature upon him, communicating with it and by [it] in his own person, to us all his children, his Divine majesty, (as Peter saith,) and so is become flesh of our flesh, and bone of our bones substantially; as we are become flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bones spiritually, all that ever we have pertaining to him, yea, even our sins; as all that ever he hath pertaineth unto us, even his whole glory. So that if Satan should summon us to answer for our debts or sins, in that the wife is no sueable person, but the husband, we may well bid him enter his action against our Husband, Christ, and he will make him a sufficient answer.

"For this end (I mean that we might be coupled and married thus to Christ, and so be certain of salvation, and at godly peace with God in our consciences) God hath given his holy word, which hath two parts, (as now the children of God do consist of two men,) one part of God's word being proper to the old man, and the other part of God's word being proper to the new man. The part properly pertaining to the old man, is the law; the part properly pertaining to the new man, is the gospel.

"The law is a doctrine which commandeth and forbiddeth, requiring doing and avoiding: under it therefore are contained all precepts, threatenings, promises, upon conditions of our doing and avoiding, &c. The gospel is a doctrine which always offereth and giveth, requiring faith on our behalf, not as of worthiness, or as a cause, but as a certificate unto us; and therefore under it are contained all the free and sweet promises of God, as, I am the Lord thy God, &c.

"In those that be of years of discretion, it requireth faith, not as a cause, but as an instrument, whereby we ourselves may be certain of our good Husband, Christ, and of his glory; and therefore when the conscience feeleth itself disquieted for fear of God's judgment against sin, she may in no wise look upon the doctrine pertaining to the old man, but on the doctrine only that pertaineth to the new man; in it not looking for that which it requireth, that is, faith, because we never believe as we should; but only on it which it offereth, and which it giveth, that is, on God's grace and eternal mercy and peace in Christ. So shall she be in quiet, when she looketh for it, altogether out of herself, in God's mercy in Christ Jesus: in whose lap if she lay her head with

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St. John, then is she happy, and shall find quietness indeed. When she feeleth herself quiet, then, in God's name, let her look on the law, and upon such things as it requireth, thereby to bridle and keep down the old Adam, to slay that Goliath; from whom she must needs keep the sweet promises, being the bed wherein her Spouse and she meet and lie together. For as the wife will keep her bed only for her husband, although in other things she is contented to have fellowship with others, as to speak, sit, eat, drink, go, &c.; so our consciences, which are Christ's wives, must needs keep the bed (that is, God's sweet promises) alone for ourselves and our Husband, there to meet together, to embrace and laugh together, and to be joyful together. If sin, the law, the devil, or any thing would creep into the bed, and lie there, then complain to thy Husband, Christ, and forthwith thou shalt see him play Phineas's part. Thus, my dearly beloved, I have given you, in few words, a sum of all the divinity which a Christian conscience can want."

A letter written to his mother, as a farewell, when he thought he should have suffered shortly after.

"The Lord of life and Saviour of the world, Jesus Christ, bless you and comfort you, my good and dear mother, with his heavenly comfort, consolation, grace, and spirit, now and for ever. Amen.—If I thought that daily, yea, almost hourly, you did not cry upon God the Father through Jesus Christ, that he would give me his blessing, even the blessing of his children, then would I write more hereabouts. But forasmuch as herein I am certain you are diligent, and so I beseech you, good mother, to continue; I think it good to write something, whereby this your crying might be furthered. Furthered it will be, if those things which hinder it be taken away; among the which, in that I think my imprisonment is the greatest and chiefest, I will thereabout spend this letter, and that briefly, lest it might increase the let, as my good brother, this bringer, can tell you. You shall know therefore, good mother, that for my body, though it be in a house, out of the which I cannot come when I will, yet in that I have conformed my will to God's will, I find herein liberty enough, I thank God. And for my lodging, bedding, meat, drink, godly and learned company, books, and all other necessities for mine ease, comfort, and commodity, I am in much better case than I could wish, and God's merciful providence here is far above my worthiness. Worthiness, quoth I? Alas, I am worthy of nothing but damnation.

"But besides all this, for my soul, I find much more commodity; for God is my Father, I now perceive, through Christ; therefore, in prisoning me for his gospel, he maketh me like to the image of his Son Jesus Christ here, that when he cometh to judgment, I might then be like unto him, as my trust and hope is I shall be. Now maketh he me like to his friends the prophets, apostles, the holy martyrs and confessors: which of them did not suffer at the least imprisonment or banishment for his gospel and word?

"Now, mother, how far am I unmeet to be compared to them!—I (I say) which always have been and am so vile a hypocrite and grievous a sinner. God might have caused me, long before this time, to have been cast into prison as a thief, a blasphemer, an unclean liver, and a heinous offender of the laws of the realm; but, dear mother, his mercy is so great upon both you, and all that love me, that I should be cast into prison as none of these, or for any such vices, but only for his Christ's sake, for his gospel's sake, for his church's sake, that hereby as I might learn to lament and bewail my ingratitude and sins, so I might rejoice in his mercy, be thankful, look for eternal joy with Christ; for whose sake, praised be his name for it, I now suffer, and therefore

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should be merry and glad. And indeed, good mother, so I am, as ever I was: yea, never so merry and glad was I, as now I should be, if I could get you to be merry with me, to thank God for me, and to pray on this sort: Ah! good Father, which dost vouchsafe that my son, being a grievous sinner in thy sight, should find this favour with thee, to be one of thy Son's captains and men of war to fight and suffer, for his gospel's sake, I thank thee, and pray thee, in Christ's name, that thou wouldest forgive him his sins and unthankfulness, and make perfect in him that good which thou hast begun; yea, Lord, I pray thee make him worthy to suffer, not only imprisonment, but even very death, for thy truth, religion, and gospel's sake. As Anna did apply and give her first child Samuel unto thee, so do I, dear Father, beseeching thee for Christ's sake to accept this my gift, and give my son, John Bradford, grace always truly to serve thee and thy people, as Samuel did. Amen, Amen.

"If on this sort, good mother, from your heart you would pray, as I should be the most merriest man that ever was; so am I certain the lets of your prayer for my imprisonment would be taken away. Good mother, therefore mark what I have written, and learn this prayer by heart, to say it daily; and then I shall be merry, and you shall rejoice if that you continue, as I trust you do, in God's true religion, even the same I have taught you, and my father Traves I trust will put you in remembrance of: my brother Roger also, I trust, doth so daily: go to, therefore, and learn apace. Although the devil cast divers lets in the way, God, in whom you trust, will cast them away for his Christ's sake, if you will call upon him; and never will he suffer you to be tempted above that he will make you able to bear. But how you should do herein, the other letter which I have written herewith shall teach you, which I would have none should read till my father Traves have read it, and he will give you, by God's grace, some instructions.

"Now, therefore, will I make an end, praying you, good mother, to look for no more letters; for if it were known that I have pen and ink, and did write, then should I want all the foresaid commodities I have spoken of concerning my body, and be cast into some dungeon in fetters of iron; which thing I know would grieve you. And therefore, for God's sake, see that these be burned, when this little prayer in it is copied by my brother Roger; for perchance your house may be searched for such gear, when you think little of it: and look for no more, sweet mother, till either God shall deliver me, and send me out, or you and I shall meet together in heaven, where we shall never part asunder. Amen.

"I require you, Elizabeth and Margaret my sisters, that you will fear God, use prayer, love your husbands, be obedient unto them, as God willeth you; bring up your children in God's fear, and be good housewives. God bless you both, with both your husbands, my good brethren, to whom to do good, because I now cannot, I will pray for them and you. Commend me to my sister Anne, mother Pike, Thomas Sorrocold and his wife, R. Shalcross and his wife, R. Bolton, J. Wild, Master Vicar, the parson of Mottram, Sir Laurence Hall, with all that love, and, I trust, live in the gospel; and God turn Sir Thomas's heart: Amen. I will daily pray for him. I need not to set my name; you know it well enough.

"Because you should give my letters to my father Traves to be burned, I have written here a prayer for you to learn to pray for me, good mother, and another for all your house in your evening prayer, to pray with my brother. These prayers are written with mine own hand: keep

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them still, but the letters give to father Traves to burn, and give father Traves a copy of the latter prayer."

Another letter to his mother, at his last farewell unto her in this world, a little before he was burned.

"God's mercy and peace in Christ be more and more perceived of us. Amen.

"My most dear mother, in the bowels of Christ I heartily pray and beseech you to be thankful for me unto God, which thus now taketh me unto himself: I die not, my good mother, as a thief, a murderer, an adulterer, &c.; but I die as a witness of Christ, his gospel and verity, which hitherto I have confessed (I thank God) as well by preaching as by imprisonment, and now even presently I shall most willingly confirm the same by fire. I acknowledge that God most justly might take me hence simply for my sins (which are many, great, and grievous; but the Lord, for his mercy in Christ, hath pardoned them all, I hope): but now, dear mother, he taketh me hence by this death, as a confessor and witness, that the religion taught by Christ Jesus, the prophets, and the apostles, is God's truth. The prelates do persecute in me Christ, whom they hate, and his truth, which they may not abide, because their works are evil, and may not abide the truth and light, lest men should see their darkness.

Therefore, my good and most dear mother, give thanks for me to God, that he hath made the fruit of your womb to be a witness of his glory, and attend to the truth, which (I thank God for it) I have truly taught out of the pulpit of Manchester. Use often and continual prayer to God the Father through Christ. Hearken, as you may, to the Scriptures: serve God after his word, and not after custom; beware of the Romish religion in England, defile not yourself with it; carry Christ's cross as he shall lay it upon your back; forgive them that kill me; pray for them, for they know not what they do; commit my cause to God our Father; be mindful of both your daughters, and help them as you can.

"I send all my writings to you by my brother Roger: do with them as you will, because I cannot as I would: he can tell you more of my mind. I have nothing to give you, or to leave behind me for you; only I pray God my Father, for his Christ's sake, to bless you, and keep you from evil. He give you patience; he make you thankful, as for me, so for yourself, that he will take the fruit of your womb to witness his verity: wherein I confess to the whole world, I die and depart this life, in hope of a much better; which I look for at the hands of God my Father, through the merits of his dear Son Jesus Christ.

"Thus, my dear mother, I take my last farewell of you in this life, beseeching the Almighty and eternal Father by Christ, to grant us to meet in the life to come, where we shall give him continual thanks and praise for ever and ever. Amen.—Out of prison, the 24th of June, 1555.

"Your son in the Lord.
JOHN BRADFORD."

A letter sent with a supplication to Queen Mary, her council, and the whole parliament.

"In most humble wise complaineth unto your Majesty and Honours, a poor subject, persecuted for the confession of Christ's verity: the which verity deserveth at your hands to be maintained and defended, as the thing by the which you reign, and have your honours and authorities. Although we that be professors, and through the grace of God the constant confessors of the same, are (as it were) the outswEEPINGS of the world; yet, (I say,) the verity itself is a thing not unworthy for your ears to hear, for your eyes to see, and for your hands to handle, help, and succour, according to that the Lord hath made you able, and placed you where you are, for the same purpose. Your Highness and Honours ought to know, that there is no innocency in words or deeds, where it is enough and sufficeth only to accuse. It behoveth kings, queens, and all that be in authority, to know that in the administration of their kingdoms they are God's ministers. It behoveth them to know, that they are no kings, but plain tyrants, which reign not to this end, that they may serve and set forth God's glory after true knowledge: and therefore it is required of them, that they would be wise, and suffer themselves to be taught, to submit themselves to the Lord's discipline, and to kiss their Sovereign, lest they perish; as all those potentates with their principalities and dominions cannot long prosper, but perish indeed, if they and their kingdoms be not ruled with the sceptre of God, that is, with his word; which whoso honoureth not, honoureth not God; and they that honour not the Lord, the Lord will not honour them, but bring them into contempt, and at the length take his own cause, which he hath most chiefly committed unto them to care for, into his own hands, and so overthrow them, and set up his truth gloriously; the people also perishing with the princes, where the word of prophecy is wanting—much more is suppressed, as it is now in this realm of England; over which the eyes of the Lord are set to destroy it, your Highness, and all your Honours, if in time you look not better to your office and duties herein, and not suffer yourselves to be slaves and hangmen to antichrist and his prelates, which have brought your Highness and Honours already to let Barabbas loose, and to hang up Christ: as by the grace and help of God I shall make apparent, if, first, it would please your excellent Majesty, and all your Honours, to take to heart God's doctrine, which rather through the malice of the Pharisees (I mean the bishops and prelates) than your consciences, is oppressed; and not for our contemptible and execrable state in the sight of the world, to pass the less of it. For it (the doctrine, I mean) is higher and of more honour and majesty, than all the whole world. It standeth invincible above all power, being not our doctrine, but the doctrine of the ever-living God, and of his Christ, whom the Father hath ordained King, to have dominion from sea to sea, and from the river unto the ends of the world. And truly so doth he and will he reign, that he will shake all the whole earth with his iron and brazen power, with his golden and silvery brightness, only by the rod of his mouth, to shivers, in such sort as though they were pots of clay, according to that which the prophets do write of the magnificence of his kingdom. And thus much for the thing, I mean the doctrine, and your duties to hearken, to propagate, and defend the same.

"But now will our adversaries mainly cry out against us, because no man may be admitted once to whist against them, that we pretend falsely the doctrine and word of God; calling us the most wicked contemnors of it, and heretics, schismatics, traitors, &c. All which their sayings, how malicious and false they are, though I might make report to that which is written by those men whose works they have condemned, and all that retain any of them, publicly by proclamation; yet here will I occasion your Majesty and Honours, by this my writing, to see that it is far otherwise than they report of us. God our Father, for his holy name's sake,

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direct my pen to be his instrument to put into your eyes, ears, and hearts, that which most may make to his glory, to the safeguard of your souls and bodies, and preservation of the whole realm. Amen.

"JOHN BRADFORD."

To certain of his friends, N. S., and R. C.

"I wish to you, my good brethren, the same grace of God in Christ, which I wish and pray the Father of mercies to give me, for his holy name's sake. Amen.

"Your letter, though I have not read myself, because I would not alienate my mind from conceived things, to write to others, yet I have heard the sum of it, that it is of God's election; wherein I will briefly write to you my faith, and how I think it good and meet for a Christian man to wade in it. I believe, that man, made after the image of God, did fall from that blessed state, to the condemnation of himself, and all his posterity. I believe that Christ, for man being thus fallen, did oppose himself to the justice of God, a mediator, paying the ransom and price of redemption for Adam and his whole posterity that refuse it not finally. I believe, that all that believe in Christ, (I speak of such as be of years of discretion,) are partakers of Christ and all his merits. I believe that faith, and to believe in Christ (I speak not now of faith that men have by reason of miracles, or by reason of earthly commodity, custom, and authority of men, which is commonly seen—the hearts of them that so believe, being not right and simple before God; but I speak of that faith which indeed is the true faith, the justifying and regenerating faith): I believe, I say, that this faith and belief in Christ, is the work and gift of God, given to none other than to those which be the children of God; that is, to those whom God the Father, before the beginning of the world, hath predestinated in Christ unto eternal life.

"Thus do I wade in predestination, in such sort as God hath patefied and opened it. Though in God it be the first, yet to us it is last opened. And therefore I begin with creation, from whence I come to redemption, so to justification, and so to election. On this sort I am sure, that warily and wisely a man may walk in it easily by the light of God's Spirit, in and by his word, seeing this faith not to be given to all men, but to such as are born of God, predestinate before the world was made, after the purpose and good will of God: which will we may not call into disputation, but in trembling and fear submit ourselves to it, as to that which can will none otherwise than that which is holy, right, and good, how far soever otherwise it seem to the judgment of reason, which must needs be beaten down to be more careful for God's glory than for man's salvation, which dependeth only thereon, as all God's children full well see: for they seek not the glory which cometh of men, but the glory which cometh of God. They know God to be a God which doth on earth, not only mercy, but also judgment, which is his justice, and most justice; although our foolish reason cannot see it. And in this knowledge they glory and rejoice, though others, through vain curiosity, grudge and murmur there-against. Thus briefly I have sent you my mind and meaning concerning this matter. Hereafter you shall have (I think) your letter particularly answered by Master Philpot; as also, if I have time, and so you require it, I will do.

"JOHN BRADFORD."

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Notes upon the same epistle, and to the matter of election appertaining.

As touching the doctrine of election (whereof this letter of Master Bradford, and many other his letters more, do much entreat) three things must be considered.

1. First, What God's election is, and what is the cause thereof.
2. Secondly, How God's election proceedeth in working our salvation.
3. Thirdly, To whom God's election pertaineth, and how a man may be certain thereof.

Between predestination and election, this difference there is: predestination is as well to the reprobate, as to the elect; election pertaineth only to them that be saved.

Predestination, in that it respecteth the reprobate, is called reprobation; in that it respecteth the saved, is called election, and is thus defined:

Predestination is the eternal decreement of God, purposed before in himself, what shall befall on all men, either to salvation or damnation.

Election is the free mercy and grace of God in his own will, through faith in Christ his Son, choosing and preferring to life such as pleaseth him.

In this definition of election, first goeth before, "the mercy and grace of God," as the causes thereof, whereby are excluded all the works of the law, and merits of deserving, whether they go before faith, or come after. So was Jacob chosen, and Esau refused, before either of them began to work, &c.

Secondly, in that this mercy and grace of God in this definition is said to be "free," thereby is to be noted the proceeding and working of God not to be bounded to any ordinary place, or to any succession of chair, nor to state and dignity of person, nor to worthiness of blood, &c.; but all goeth by the mere will of his own purpose; as it is written, The wind bloweth where it listeth. And thus was the outward race and stock of Abraham after the flesh refused (which seemed to have the preeminence); and another seed after the Spirit raised up to Abraham of the stones, that is, of the Gentiles. So was the outward temple of Jerusalem and chair of Moses, which seemed to be of price, forsaken, and God's chair advanced in other nations. So was tall Saul refused, and little David accepted; the rich, the proud, the wise of this world rejected, and the word of salvation daily opened to the poor and miserable abjects; the high mountains cast under, and the low valleys exalted, &c.

Thirdly, where it is added, "in his own will," by this falleth down the free will and purpose of man, with all his actions, counsels, and strength of nature; according as it is written, It is not in him that willeth, nor in him that runneth, but in God that sheweth mercy: so we see how Israel ran long, and yet got nothing. The Gentiles later began to set out, and yet got the game. So they which came at the first hour did labour more; and yet they which came last were rewarded with the first. The working will of the Pharisee seemed better; but yet the Lord's will was rather

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to justify the publican. The elder son had a better will to tarry by his father, and so did indeed; and yet the fat calf was given to the younger son that ran away: whereby we are to understand, how the matter goeth, not by the will of man, but by the will of God; as it pleaseth him to accept, according as it is written, Which are born, not of the will of the flesh, nor yet of the will of man, but of God. Furthermore, as all then goeth by the will of God only, and not by the will of man; so again here is to be noted, that this will of God never goeth without faith in Christ Jesus his Son.

And therefore, fourthly, is this clause added in the definition, "through faith in Christ his Son;" which faith in Christ to us-ward maketh all together. For first, it certifieth us of God's election; as this epistle of Master Bradford doth well express: for whosoever will be certain of election in God, let him first begin with his faith in Christ; which if he find in him to stand firm, he may be sure, and nothing doubt, but that he is one of the number of God's elect. Secondly, the said faith, and nothing else, is the only condition and means whereupon God's mercy, grace, election, vocation, and all God's promises to salvation, do stay, according to the words of St. Paul, If ye abide in the faith. Thirdly, this faith also is the immediate and next cause of our justification simply, without any other condition annexed. For as the mercy of God, his grace, election, vocation, and other precedent causes, do save and justify us upon condition, if we believe in Christ: so this faith only in Christ, without condition, is the next and immediate cause, which, by God's promise, worketh our justification; according as it is written, Believe in the Lord Jesus, and thou shalt be saved, thou and thy whole house. And thus much touching the definition of election, with the causes thereof declared; which you see now to be no merits, nor works of man, whether they go before or come after faith, but only the mere mercy of God through faith. For like as all they that be born of Adam, do taste of his malediction, though they tasted not his apple; so all they that be born of Christ, (which is by faith,) take part of the obedience of Christ, although they never did that obedience themselves, which was in him.

Now to the second consideration, let us see likewise, how and in what order this election of God proceedeth, in choosing and electing them which he ordaineth to salvation; which order is this. In them that be chosen to life, first, God's mercy and free grace bringeth forth election; election worketh vocation, or God's holy calling; which vocation, through hearing, bringeth knowledge and faith of Christ. Faith through promise, obtaineth justification; justification through hope, waiteth for glorification.

Election is before time. Vocation and faith come in time. Justification and glorification are without end.

Election, depending upon God's free grace and will, excludeth all man's will, blind fortune, chance, and all peradventures.

Vocation, standing upon God's election, excludeth all man's wisdom, cunning, learning, intention, power, and presumption.

Faith in Christ, proceeding by the gift of the Holy Ghost, and freely justifying man by God's promise, excludeth all other merits of men, all condition of deserving, and all works of the law, both God's law and man's law, with all other outward means whatsoever.

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Justification, coming freely by faith, standeth sure by promise, without doubt, fear, or wavering in this life.

Glorification, pertaining only to the life to come, by hope is looked for.

Grace and mercy preventeth.

Election ordaineth.

Vocation prepareth and receiveth the word, whereby cometh faith.

Faith justifieth.

Justification bringeth glory.

Election is the immediate and next cause of vocation.

Vocation (which is the working of God's Spirit by the word) is the immediate and next cause of faith.

Faith is the immediate and next cause of justification.

And this order and connexion of causes is diligently to be observed, because of the papists, which have miserably confounded and inverted this doctrine, thus teaching, that Almighty God, so far forth as he foreseeth man's merits before to come, so doth he dispense his election. "*Dominus prout cujusque merita fore prævidet, ita dispensat electionis gratiam.*" And again, "*Nullis præcedentibus meritis Dominum rependere electionis gratiam, futuris tamen concedere:*" that is, that the Lord recompenseth the grace of election, not to any merits preceding; but yet granteth the same to the merits which follow: as though we had our election by our holiness that followeth after, and not rather have our holiness by God's election going before.

But we, following the Scripture, say otherwise, that the only cause of God's election is his own free mercy; and the only cause of our justification is our faith in Christ, and nothing else. As for example; first concerning election, if the question be asked, Why was Abraham chosen, and not Nahor? Why was Jacob chosen, and not Esau? Why was Moses elected, and Pharaoh hardened? Why David accepted, and Saul refused? Why few be chosen, and the most forsaken? It cannot be answered otherwise than thus: Because it was so the good will of God.

In like manner touching vocation, and also faith, if the question be asked, Why this vocation and gift of faith was given to Cornelius the Gentile, and not to Tertullus the Jew? why to the poor, to the babes, and little ones of this world? (of whom Christ speaketh, I thank thee, Father, which hast hid this from the wise, &c. ;) why to the unwise, the simple, abjects and outcasts in this world? (of whom speaketh St. Paul, Ye see your calling, my brethren, how not many of you, &c. ;) why to the sinners, and not to the just? why were the beggars by the high-

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ways called, and the bidden guests excluded? We can go to no other cause, but to God's purpose and election, and say with Christ our Saviour, Yea, Father, for so it seemeth good in thy sight.

As so for justification likewise—if the question be asked, Why the publican was justified, and not the Pharisee? why Mary the sinner, and not Simon the inviter? why harlots and publicans go before the scribes and Pharisees in the kingdom? why the son of the free-woman was received, and the bond-woman's son, being his elder, rejected? why Israel, which so long sought for righteousness, found it not; and the Gentiles, which sought not for it, found it?—we have no other cause hereof to render, but to say with St. Paul, Because they sought for it by works of the law, and not by faith: which faith, as it cometh not by man's will, (as the papist falsely pretendeth,) but only by the election and free gift of God; so it is only the immediate cause whereunto the promise of our salvation is annexed, according as we read: And therefore of faith is the inheritance given as after grace, that the promise might stand sure to every seed. Item, in the same chapter, Faith, believing in him which justifieth the wicked, is imputed to righteousness.

And thus concerning the causes of our salvation, ye see how faith in Christ, only and immediately, without any condition, doth justify us, being so linked with God's mercy and election, that wheresoever election goeth before, there faith in Christ must needs follow after. And again, whosoever believeth in Christ Jesus, through the vocation of God, he must needs be partaker of God's election.

Whereupon resulteth now the third note or consideration; which is to consider whether a man in this life may be certain of his election. To answer to which question, this first is to be understood; that although our election and vocation simply indeed be known to God only in himself, *a priore*; yet, notwithstanding, it may be known to every particular faithful man, *a posteriore*; that is, by means, which means is faith in Christ Jesus crucified. Forasmuch as by his faith in Christ a man is justified, and thereby made the child of salvation, reason must needs lead the same to be then the child of election, chosen of God unto everlasting life; for how can a man be justified but he must needs be saved? and how can a man be saved, but by consequence it followeth, that he must also be elected?

And therefore of election it is truly said, We must judge of election by that which cometh after, that is, by our faith and belief in Christ: which faith, although in time it followeth after election, yet this is the proper and immediate cause assigned by the Scripture which not only justifieth us, but also certifieth us of this election of God.

Whereunto likewise well agreeth this present letter of Master Bradford, wherein he saith, "Election, albeit in God it be the first, yet to us it is the last opened. And therefore beginning first," saith he, "with creation, I come from thence to redemption, and justification by faith, and so to election." Not that faith is the cause efficient of election, being rather the effect thereof, but is to us the cause certificatory, or the cause of our certification, whereby we are brought to the feeling and knowledge of our election in Christ. For albeit that election first be certain in the knowledge of God; yet in our knowledge, faith only that we have in Christ, is the thing that giveth to us our certificate and comfort of this election.

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Wherefore, whosoever desireth to be assured that he is one of the elect number of God, let him not climb up to heaven to know, but let him descend into himself, and there search his faith in Christ the Son of God; which if he find in him not feigned, by the working of God's Holy Spirit accordingly, thereupon let him stay, and so wrap himself wholly, both body and soul, under God's general promise, and cumber his head with no further speculations; knowing this, that, Whosoever believeth in him, shall not perish, shall not be confounded, shall not see death, shall not enter into judgment, shall have everlasting life, shall be saved, shall have remission of all his sins, shall be justified, shall have floods flowing out of him of water of life, shall never die, shall be raised in the last day, shall find rest to his soul, and shall be refreshed.

Now then, forasmuch as we see faith to be the ground whereupon dependeth the whole condition of our justifying, let us discuss, in like manner, what is this faith whereof the Scripture so much speaketh, for the more plain understanding of the simple. For many kinds there be of faith: as a man may believe every thing that is true, yet not every truth doth save, neither doth the believing of every truth justify a man. He that believeth that God created all things of nought, believeth truly. He that believeth that God is a just God, that he is omnipotent, that he is merciful, that he is true of promise, believeth well, and holdeth the truth. So he that believeth that God hath his election from the beginning, and that he also is one of the same elect and predestinate, hath a good belief, and thinketh well: but yet this belief alone, except it be seasoned with another thing, will not serve to salvation; as it availed not the old Jews, which so thought of themselves, and yet think to this day, to be God's only elect people.

The only faith which availeth to salvation is that, whose object is the body and passion of Jesus Christ crucified. So that in the act of justifying, these two, faith and Christ, have a mutual relation, and must always concur together; faith as the action which apprehendeth, Christ as the object which is apprehended.

For neither doth the passion of Christ save without faith, neither doth faith help, except it be in Christ: as we see the body of man sustained by bread and drink, not except the same be received and conveyed into the stomach: and yet neither doth the receiving of every thing sustain man's body, except it be meat and drink, which have power to give nourishment. In like sort it is with faith; for neither doth the believing of every thing save, but only faith in the blood of Christ: neither again doth the same blood of Christ profit us, except by faith it be received. And as the sun, being the cause of all light, shineth not but to them only which have eyes to see; nor yet to them neither, unless they will open their eyes to receive the light: so the passion of Christ is the efficient cause of salvation, but faith is the condition whereby the said passion is to us effectual.

And that is the cause why we say with the Scripture, that faith only justifieth us, not excluding thereby all other external causes that go before faith, as grace, mercy, election, vocation, the death of Christ, &c., all which be external causes, working our salvation through faith. But when we say that faith only justifieth us, the meaning thereof is this: that of all internal actions, motions, or operations in man, given to him of God, there is none other that contenteth and pleaseth God, or standeth before his judgment, or can help any thing to the justifying of man before him, but only this one action of faith in Jesus Christ the Son of God.

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For although the action of praying, fasting, alms, patience, charity, repentance, the fear and love of God, be high gifts in man, and not of man, given of God to man, yet be none of all these actions in man imputed of God to salvation, but only this one action of faith in man upon Christ Jesus the Son of God. Not that the action itself of believing, as it is a quality in man, doth so deserve, but because it taketh that dignity of the object. For as I said, the act of justifying faith, as it is an action in man, is not to be considered alone, but must ever go with its object, and taketh its virtue thereof. Like as the looking up of the old Israelites did not of itself procure any health unto them, but the promise made in the object, which was the brazen serpent, whereupon they looked, gave them health by their looking up; even so, after like sort, are we saved by faith and spiritual looking up to the body of Christ crucified; which faith to define is this: to believe Jesus Christ to be the Son of the living God, sent into this world, by his death to satisfy for our sins, and so to receive the same.

And thus much touching election and faith; with the order and explication of the causes necessary to be considered in our salvation, whereby may appear how far the pretended Catholics do swerve from the right mind of the Scriptures. For whereas the Scriptures, in declaring the causes of salvation, do send us only to faith, as the only condition whereby these causes have their working, these Catholics do quite leave out faith, and, instead thereof, place in other conditions of doings, merits, will-works, pardons, masses, and especially auricular confessions, with penance and satisfaction for our sins, &c.

And besides these letters above specified of Master John Bradford, there have come to our hands certain other letters of his, not long ago, sent by a certain old friend of the said John Bradford unto us: which letters being written of him in former times before his trouble, as they have not yet been printed nor seen abroad, so I thought it not amiss to communicate the same to the Christian reader, for the worthiness of the matter, and the goodness of the man, which may redound, I trust, to no small fruit to him that with godly eyes shall devise the same.

To father Traves, minister of Blackley. (No. 1.)

"The abundant grace and rich mercy of God in Christ our only Saviour and high Bishop, be increased in your heart, through the lively worker of all goodness, the Holy Spirit, until the day of the Lord, &c.

"I have received your two letters, good father Traves, since that I did write any unto you, whereof though honesty willeth to make an excuse, yet truth biddeth me otherwise, and saith, it is better with shame to confess the fault, (for therein is, as a man might say, half a deserving of pardon,) than without shame to lie. I might have written unto you twice (notwithstanding indeed some business wherein I have something been occupied); but yet I have not. Now the cause is, because I would not. And why would I not, but because I could not? I mean, because my canning is taken away by sin; for my sins do forbid goodness unto me. Indeed if my sinning were of infirmity, there were good hope of recovery of that which I have lost: but seeing, both willing and knowing I have too much yielded, and yet do yield to my infirmities, justly I do deserve, that because I have cast away and rejected the word of the Lord behind my back, the Lord should reject me; and because I would not have blessing, I am worthy (as David saith) that it be taken away from me: I have now at length experience, that to bring a man forth of God's favour, is

sooner seen when a man hath received all things abundantly, than when need or the cross pincheth. Afore it pleased God to work the restitution, (you know what I mean,) and afore it pleased God to provide for me as he hath done, so that I can say in nothing where any want is, as pertaining to my body; I was another manner of man than now I am, and yet God's deserts have otherwise bounden me: but the Scripture is true, I have advanced my children, and nourished them, but they have contemned me; I have fed them that they were fat and gross, and they spurned against me. Perchance you will ask me wherein? O father Traves, I warrant you, this my style, in carnal, and not in spiritual writing, doth something show unto you; but as for it, in comparison of other things it is nothing. For whereas the life of man is such, that either it paireth or amendeth, as Paul saith, The outward man is corrupted day by day; and therefore, except the inward man be renewed, the shoe goeth awry; every building in Christ doth grow to a holy temple, as the wicked on the contrary part shall proceed to worsen. I have made a change far otherwise in going back, than I think by letters I can persuade you. Wherein? will you say. For the first, second, and third, and, to be brief, in all things: as for an example, God's true fear is flown away from me; love to my brethren is exiled from me; faith is utterly taken away. Instead whereof are distrust and doubtfulness bearing rule, contempt of God's honour, and of my brethren reigning; and instead of true fear, an imagined fear, according to my brain holding the principality. For I extenuate sin, and I do not consider that in sin, which a Christian ought to consider; that sin being not forgiven, is such a thing for the which God casteth his creature away, as examples, not only of Saul, of Judas, of the Israelites, (which were beloved indeed, and yet for sin are rejected,) but also of others, on whom lately, for my warning, God hath showed the same, do admonish me. But it is but my pen which writes this: For the wicked, saith Solomon, when they come into the depth of their sins, then they grow in security. I am I cannot tell what: I fear, but it is but blindly, or else would I awake otherwise than I do; I fear me, I say, that I am entangled of the devil, after his desire. Pray for me, that the Lord would give repentance, that I may escape out of his snares. Alas! the spirit of prayer, which before I have felt plentifully, is taken clean away from me. The Lord be merciful unto me! I am sold under sin; I am the bond-slave of sin: for whom I obey, his servant I am. I am ashamed to speak of it?—No, I shame not at all: for I have forgot to blush, I have given over to weep. And truly I obey; I obey, I say, mine own concupiscences, namely, in eating, in drinking, in jangling and idleness; I will not speak of vain-glory, envy, disdain, hypocrisy, desire of estimation, self-love, and who can tell all? Is this the reward thou renderest to God, O Bradford? It is true, yea, too true, thou knowest it, O Lord! for thy mercy's sake pardon me. In your letters you touch me home, how that there is no man's heart but that considering the ingratitude of this world, this belly-cheer, (wherein you even take me by the nose,) &c., his eyes would tumble out great gushes of tears. The Lord be praised which worketh so in you, for it is with me as with them of whom you complain. Indeed it may be so again, but oh! it is very unlikely: for mine enemies are become old, and are made by custom more than familiar; for they are as it were converted into nature in me. Yet I am not grieved therefore, although I cannot persuade myself that God will help me. O Lord, be merciful unto me for thy Christ's sake. This day I received the Lord's supper, but how I have welcomed him, this night (which I have spent in lasciviousness, in wantonness and prodigality, obeying my flesh and belly) doth so declare, that what to say or write any more, I know not; sleep doth aggravate mine eyes, and to pray I am altogether unapt. All this is come through the occasion of making this bringer a supper in my chamber: the Lord pardon me; I trust no more to be so far overseen. But this I write, not that the anger of God, which I have deserved, so feareth me, thou knowest it, O Lord. But of this perchance too much.

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

"For God's sake pray for me, good father Traves, and write unto me as you may by your weakness: your letters do me good. But this which I have now written, you may consider more: touch me therefore home in your letters, and the Lord, I trust, shall and will reward you. If God lend me life, of which I am most unworthy, I will more trouble you with my letters than I have done; but bear with me, I do it not out of any evil will, the Lord I take to judge; there is none whose company and talk I more desire than yours, I speak it before God. Prove my mother's mind how she can bear it, if, when I shall come down, I shall show myself another man outwardly, but alas! feignedly, than before I have done. Marry, when my coming will be, I know not. Indeed two things move me sore, the one for my mother's cause, concerning her better instruction, if the Lord would thereto use me his instrument; the other is to talk with you, and oftsoons to trouble you, as I have hitherto ever done, but always to my profit. For God's sake pray for me, for I had never so much need.—This Sunday at night, following St. Andrew's day, at Pembroke Hall.

"The most miserable, hard-hearted, unthankful sinner.
JOHN BRADFORD."

To Sir Thomas Hall, by father Traves, of Blackley.

"The grace of God our most merciful Father, keep your mind and soul in Christ Jesus, who alone is our full sufficient Saviour, for in him we be complete, being made, through his death and one only oblation made and offered by himself upon the cross, the children of God, and fellow heirs with him of the celestial kingdom, which is the free gift of God, and cometh not of merits, but of the mere grace of God, given to none that putteth any manner of hope or trust in any other thing visible or invisible, than in that oblation of sweet savour which Christ himself did offer upon Good Friday, (as we call it,) which oblation is alway recent and new in the sight of God the Father, and maketh intercession for us; us I mean, which think that only Sacrifice, then offered, to be sufficient, as it is, hath been, and ever shall be, for all the faithful, by the which sacrifice (we believe) we have free pardon of all our sins. To him therefore which was both the offerer and the offering, be all honour and praise, with the Father and said the Holy Ghost, blessed for every Amen.

"Sir Thomas, the occasion of this my long silence, mine old friend John Traves shall declare unto you, upon the knowledge whereof I doubt not of your pardon. I have sent unto you an English and Latin Testament, both in one print and volume, the which though it be not so beautiful without, as I could have sent you, yet no less beautiful within, and more I think for your profit and better for your eyes, your eyes, I mean, of the body: for undoubtedly it giveth light unto the soul, if she be not dead. Whereof take this for an argument, and a true proof: If your soul be not deghted in it, if your soul do not hunger for it, (I mean not the book, but the doctrine in the book,) surely your soul is sore sick; for as the body abhorring meat is not well, even so must the soul be, for other meat hath she none. Christ, whom you must believe afore all men, affirmeth this to be true in Matt. iv.: Not only in bread, but in every word of God, the soul doth live. Mark well, he saith not, one or two words, as an epistle, or a gospel; but he saith, every word. Take heed, believe Christ better than any man, be he never so holy; for he that is of God heareth the word of God. Will you have a more plain badge, whether you are the elect child of God or no, than this text? Christ saith, He that is of God heareth the word of God: but other word of God have we none, than in the canon of the Bible: and all things written therein, are written

for our learning, saith St. Paul; whereby he proveth, seeing that it is a learning, yea, *our* learning, that we must learn it. Therefore woe be to all them which either persuade men, that there is other doctrine of like authority, or that dissuade men from embracing this word, this word of God, or that think this word, especially the New Testament, is not above all others to be loved, to be read, to be chewed. This is the precious stone, which in the gospel Christ saith, when a man hath found, he selleth all that ever he hath, and buyeth it. Mark now, how necessary and precious Christ maketh that which great learned men (nay, the devils, but no men) think not necessary, God help them! Christ bade his disciples sell their coats, and buy a sword: which is none other thing than the word of God; for so St. Paul calleth it, the sword of the Spirit. Nay, say our great learned men, (I lie, they *have* said so, *now* they are ashamed,) fetch fire and burn it.

"This I say, Sir Thomas, to the intent no ungodly hypocrisy should persuade or dissuade you from reading the holy word of God, the gospel of Jesus Christ. Follow you St. Paul's lesson: attend reading, and let the word of God dwell in you. How much? Plentifully, saith he. And to what end? To feed the flock of Christ: even as much as in you is, saith Peter; not once a year or once a quarter, as a strawberry, but so much as in you is. This word of God trieth all doctrine; for we ought to have our conscience charged with nothing as touching religion, except the word of God in the canon of the Bible set it out (I mean not only in allegories, but even in plain words); for no other foundation can any man lay, beside that which is laid. St. Paul saith, the groundwork is laid already. Even so saith he to the Ephesians: We be his workmanship, to do good works, which God hath created that we should walk in them. He saith that they were not to be made, but they are made already. What shall we think, then, of such works as man's wit hath founded, which yet seem most holy? Let God's word be judge. Read the same diligently and reverently with prayer, (I mean not Latin service not understood, but with true hearty prayer,) and mark what the law requireth, even that which we cannot give, the whole heart, and more if it were possible. But to this end, that we, seeing our abominable uncleanness and inability, might despair in ourselves, trembling at the justice of God, and his anger which we continually procure, and so amplex Christ, in whom God the Father is well pleased: which Christ is the end of the law to justify all that believe, and continue not in their popish ignorance, justifying themselves, and treading Christ's blood under their feet, denying the Lord that bought them. All such, be they never so well learned, never so holy, be nothing but hypocrites, and plain antichrists, which may not abide the sword of God's mouth. For the trumpets of the army, (I mean still God's word,) when they blow, the high walls of Jericho, the figure of hypocrisy, fall down. Embrace therefore God's holy word, and be not only a reader, but a doer: for your calling requireth you to be apt to teach such proud, hypocritical, arrogant babblers, as I am now (which, if I may use this term, defile God's word). God forgive me, and pray you for me, and give God thanks for me, that spareth me, thus Lucifer-like, not of a true zeal but of a foolish bragging, which prate of God's holy word. I wot not what I do to confess it. So it is. I have sent to you other books, which I pray you read. I have written your name in them. The Holy Ghost keep you, with your brother George, his wife, and children, and with your brother James, &c., Sir Laurence, &c.

"This twentieth of March.

"A very painted hypocrite,

JOHN BRADFORD,

Yours in Christ for ever."

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

"Pray for me, pray for me, give God thanks for me, and take John Traves's help to read this letter written in haste.

"If any thing but good be chanced to John Traves, (which God forbid,) I pray you burn my letters out of hand."

To father Traves. (No. 2.)

"Gratia, misericordia, et pax à Deo Patre nostro, et Domino Jesu Christo Domino nostro.—If mine heart were not altogether adamantine, your kind letters to me, unkind miser, would cause me, from the bottom of the same, to confess mine ingratitude towards you, upon your behalf concerning me so much deserved: but as I am to do, so show I myself to write; and as I am unable in the one, so am I foolish in the other; in all those unkindnesses, rudeness, &c., whereof you accuse yourself, I am enforced to acknowledge myself most justly condemned; not so feignedly by me confessed, as most truly by you experienced. In your letters as in a glass I may learn by you, in dejecting yourself, to espy my nakedness, which heretofore I thought clothed 'duplici vestitu,' now only but with fig leaves hypocritishly gilded: of which dejection, wrought in you by the Holy Ghost, be not proud; for what have you that you have not received? But be thankful to the Lord, not only therefore, but also for those surges which you feel now through the cares accompanying marriage, now through education and bringing up of your children and family, now through that cross of the common accustomed trade of living; for through many tribulations we must enter into the kingdom of heaven. Yea, they be the cognizances of God's election, the letter *Thau*, the instruments which work 'suspiria æternæ vita,' and therefore to be embraced. Believe me this is the most excellent gift of God; a man to deject and humble himself, and to feel the crosses of Christ as crosses. But I, most hypocritical wretch, not worthy that this earth should bear me, am even a-going to bed with Jezebel, and such as commit fornication her, which is 'afflictio maxima.' O Lord, help me and deliver me for Jesus' sake; anoint mine eyes with ointment, that I may see. O give me not over unto a lewd mind and reprobate sense; but awaken my sleeping soul, that Christ may shine in me. You know the cross, the fatherly cross, the loving Lord hath laid upon me; but I am little or nothing moved therewith. I work therein (yet not I, but God's Spirit); not of a repentant, faithful mind, but (I cannot tell how) of a slothful, blind, wretchless intent. O Lord! forgive me for saying so (it is thy gift); forgive me mine unthankfulness for Jesus' sake, and grant me, as herein I blasphemed and dishonested thy holy name, so do thou, by thy Holy Spirit, glorify by me the same. So be it, So be it.

"Since my coming to London, I was with Master Latimer, whose counsel is as you shall hear, which I purpose, by God's grace, to obey (if it be thy will, O Lord, *fiat*). He willed me (as I have done) to write to my master who is in the country, and to show him, that if within a certain time, which I appointed, (fourteen days,) he do not go about to make restitution, that I will submit myself to my Lord Protector, and the king's Majesty's council, to confess the fault, and ask pardon. This life is uncertain and frail; and when time is, it must not be deferred. And what should it profit me to win the whole world, and to lose mine own soul? If, as I justly have deserved, I be put to death for it, God's will be done. At the least, slander, reproach, rebuke, loss of worldly friends, loss of living, &c., shall ensue. What then? Lord, thy will be done, thine I am: if death come, welcome be it: if slander, &c. Even as thou wilt, Lord, so be it. Only grant me a

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penitent, loving, obedient heart, and of mere love to go forwards herein; and not to shrink, to stand and not to fall, that thy name only be praised herein. Amen.—Pray, pray for me; cry for me, and when you shall hear any thing, comfort my mother, to whom, for that this bringer hath not given me an hour's warning of his departure, I have not only written nothing, but also have thus prattled to you, who (as no man else would) I think will bear with me. For as God knoweth, (to whose grace I commit you and your bed-fellow, with all your children and family,) the shortness of time, and this said bringer's importance, is the only let I neither send you spectacles, the price of the Paraphrases, nor thanks for your cheese, as by the next that cometh I will, God willing, send the premises to you, and a godly Testament for Sir John Hall, which is at the binding. But be not acknowledged that I have now written to you, for so I have prayed this bringer. God be with us, and pray for me, and abhor not my rude scribbling; which if it were as well written as it is meant, would deserve pardon. Thus make I an end, imputing to the hastiness of this bringer all blame, which you may lay unto me.

"From the Temple this Sunday, immediately after Master Latimer's famous sermon, which this bringer, as he saith, did hear.

"By your poorest friend.

JOHN BRADFORD."

"It shall not be long, God willing, but you shall both have and hear from me. Keep with you Melancthon's Common-places, for I have another."

To father Traves. (No. 3.)

"Grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, through our Lord Jesus Christ, with increase of all manner of godly knowledge and living, be with you and all your household, now and ever, Amen.

"To excuse this my long silence, within five or six days after my (like foolish) letters written to you by John Moss, it pleased God to send my master hither to London, whom (as I lately before had advertised by letters) I moved, (you know wherein,) and prayed him to discharge the same, or else I would submit myself, &c. Whereunto he answered, that if the books would declare it, he would satisfy, &c. The books I showed, whereupon he promised as much as I could ask. But being herein something more moved than he had cause, (God be praised therefor, which of his mere good pleasure wrought it,) at times, as I could, I desired to know how and in what time he would discharge us both. He, thinking me to be over curious herein, was not therewith contented; and hearing me to allege the uncertainty of time, and the fear of God's justice, (which, O gracious Lord, grant me to feel indeed as much as thou knowest good for me,) he answered me to be scrupulous, and of a superstitious conscience (for 'animalis homo non percipit ea quæ sunt Dei'): and plainly said further, that I should not know, nor by these words have his head so under my girdle. And when I showed him that (God witnessed with me) I went about no such thing: he said, that there was no godly conscience, seeing he promised afore the face of God to discharge me, and to pay the thing, but it ought so to be quieted. And thus at divers and sundry times, moving eftsoons to know of him the way and time of discharging the debt, and having none other answers than before, I, doubting worldly wisdom, which useth delays, to reign in him with this mammon, (the which, O merciful God, eradicate out of his heart,

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mind, and all others,) I was something more sharp, and told him, 'non ego tamen, sed gratia tua, Domine,' I would obey God more than man: the which he lightly regarding, as seemed, I departed, and went to Master Latimer, to have had him to have brought me to my Lord Protector (whose Grace then was purposed shortly to take his journey to visit the ports): Master Latimer, I say, willed me to stay until his return, which will not be long before Easter. In this mean time I bade my bedfellow, my master's son, whom my master had used as his instrument to move me carnally, for my master discharged him of his exhibition, telling him that he could not be able to keep either house or child, for I purposed to undo both him and all his, (untruly, thou knowest, good Lord,) and bade him to take that as a warning, that both he and his brethren should provide for themselves as they could—I bade, I say, my said bed-fellow to show my master, as of himself, my further purpose, which thing when he knew, it so moved and feared him, that he began something to relent, and then made fair promises, that look what I should devise, that would he do. I devised, but my devices pleased him not. And thus, but not vainly I trust, (as I now do with you, but I know your gentleness, which ever hath borne with me,) I spent the time in which I have been silent, to write, nay, babble to you. And he, departing out of London before I knew, did send me word by another of his said sons, not so given to the gospel and a good life according as my bed-fellow, and therefore more to be suspected, (for though '*pietas non est suspiciosa*,' as I should think myself rather *impius*; yet Christ bade us to be '*prudentes sicut serpentes*,') this other brother, I say, told me that my master would do all things, only his fame and ability preserved ('*et quid prodest totum mundum lucrari, animæ vero jacturam facere?*') And with the said brother my master sent me a little billet also, wherein he confessed that he was contented within twelve months to deliver to my hands the whole money; which bill I thinking not so good as it might have been, have devised another, and have sent it down to him in the country, with request that he will seal and sign it. For thus Master Latimer thinketh sufficient, but as yet I hear not of it, doubting worldly wisdom, which was the whore that overcame Samson, that moved David to slay Uriah, that brought wise Solomon to idolatry, that crucified Christ, the which moved me to perpetrate *hoc facinus*, the which worketh in my master's heart, having higher place there than *timor Domini*. What say I? 'there?' Yea, yea, with me, it sitteth in the holy place (the Lord deliver us). Doubting, I say, worldly wisdom, I remain in that same state now for this matter, (though in worse for my soul, which is more to be lamented. Pray therefore, I beseech you, pray with me, and for me, that I may do so earnestly,) that I was in at my last writing unto you. And as I then was purposed, so I doubt not, (grant it, Lord,) but that I shall persevere, if in the mean season I shall not hear from my master accordingly. Thus I have (like myself) foolishly but truly declared unto you in many babbling words, which wit (if I had it) would have shortly and briefly comprehended (arrogant! nay, God's working, unthankful wretch!) my working in this matter, which is and was the only cause (as I now do) I troubled you not afore, to the intent I might advertise you some certainty in this thing. And though silence had been much better than this foolish prating, yet your fatherly kindness ever towards me in expecting from you correction, as I have herein given cause, may, though not to you, yet to me, be profitable. In hope whereof, I proceed in requiring you to continue your remembrance of me, a most unkind wretch, to God and you, in your prayers with the almighty merciful Lord, that I may more regard his will and pleasure herein, than all honour or shame in this life. But I must confess unto you that my working in this matter is not of love, as I should do, nor of fear of God's justice, (mine unthankfulness, mine unthankfulness, if nothing else were, hath not only deserved it, but doth deserve more than everlasting damnation, O Lord, be merciful unto me,) I do not so repent it as I should do. Why say I so? as though this so were any thing: O! hypocritical

wretch that I am. Alas! father Traves, (let me so call you,) I am hardhearted, there was never any so obstinate, so unkind, against so loving, so merciful, so gracious, so good, so beneficial a Lord, yea, a Father, as I, wretch and most miserable sinner, am. This I speak, but not of humility, but of hypocrisy, yet I speak truly. I pray thee, good Father, for Christ's sake, I may think it truly; as I write it even of arrogancy, so it is. Therefore pray and cry for me. Here be such goodly, godly, and learned sermons, which these uncircumcised ears of mine hear at the least thrice a week, which were able (the great loving mercy of God offered to me in them, I mean) to burst any man's heart, to relent, to repent; to believe, to love, and to fear that omnipotent gracious Lord: but my adamantine, obstinate, most unkind, ingrate, unthankful heart, hearing my Lord, which is the Lord over all lords, so graciously, so lovingly, vouchsafe by so many his instruments to speak, to call, to cry unto me, now by his law, now by his threats, now by his gospel, now by his promises, now by all his creatures, to come, to come even to himself, I hide me with Adam in the garden; I play not only Samuel running to Eli, but I play Jonas running to the sea, and there I sleep upon the hatches, tumbling in Jezebel's bed, (*quod est afflictio maxima*.) until it please God to anoint mine eyes '*collyrio*,' until it please him to raise up a tempest, to turn and look upon me, as Luke saith he did on Peter. For, O Lord, it is thy gift, and cometh of thee, and of thy mere grace; it cometh not of man, it cometh not of works, to repent, to believe, to fear, and to love. Work thou therefore in me, for Jesus Christ's sake, which am thy creature, and most unthankful, hypocritical servant, not when I will, nor as I will, but when thou wilt, even that which may be most to the glory of thy name. Amen. What should I write? nay, why do I not pluck these same words and paper in pieces? for I write altogether of hypocrisy and arrogant presumption. I will confess it, (thou wicked spirit, the Lord judge thee,) I will confess it; it is most true, John Traves; I but only write it, for it is not I, it is Hypocrisy. '*Scientia*' (if I had it) '*inflaret*,' O Lord, grant me thy grace, and leave me not to mine own judgment and reason. Hypocrisy, arrogancy, and obstinate security environ me: yet I feel them not. The Lord deliver me! Pray, pray for me. Give God thanks for me. O Lord, even '*tua fiat voluntas*:' unlock this mine heart, thou which hast the key of David, which openest only, that I may desire to have the desire of the glory of thy name, of repentance, faith, &c. Pray for me, and be thankful for me, O father Traves, and write to me. Your letters I desire more to see, than any man's living. Let me have them therefore as you may, but your prayers at all times, that God would open mine heart to feed and taste of these comfortable places of Scripture (which to me are locked): *memento 'Jesum Christum resurrexisse ex mortuis.'* This text as a text of most comfort (as it is indeed, and, when God will, I shall feed on it) did Paul send to Timothy to be his comfort in all places. For our salvation (this day of resurrection) is nearer now than when we believed. Therefore, '*qui perseveraverit salvus erit.*' For '*consummabitur praevaricatio,*' saith Daniel, '*finem accipiet peccatum, delebitur iniquitas, et adducetur justitia sempiterna. Deus enim ipse veniet et salvabit nos. Veniens veniet, et non tardabit, et quandocunque manifestatus fuerit vita nostra Christus, tunc et nos manifestabimur cum illo in gloria. Semel enim oblatus est ut multorum peccata tolleretur, rursus absque peccato conspicietur iis qui illum expectant in salutem. Sic semper cum Domino erimus: proinde consolemini vos invicem mutuo sermonibus hiis.*' O Lord, open mine eyes, which see nothing of the great comforts in these thy most rich words: open mine eyes, good Lord, '*ne nunquam obdormiam in morte.*' Pray for me, and commend me to your good bed-fellow, '*et omnibus in Christo fratribus osculo sancto.*' Thus I make an end, (for it is time, you may say,) and I pray you still, water Sir Thomas Hall, unto whom I have sent a fair Testament both in English and Latin, if this bringer will carry it. And I have herewith sent you a letter, which first peruse and read, and, when you have so done, abhor not me, but my wickedness, and pray for

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me. And as you can see a meet time, seal it, and deliver it to Sir Nicholas Wolstoncros, by such policy as you can think, by God's grace, through prayer. I confess unto you, God is my witness, to my knowledge, I never, in my being in the country this winter, at any time called it to remembrance; the Lord forgive me! I would by some occasion, if any could be had, afore the delivery of the letter, by some story or communication, that he did know that abomination to be sin, for I fear me he thinketh it to be no sin. The Lord open our eyes, and forgive us. Amen.—The peace of God be with you, Amen.

"From the Temple, this 22nd of March, 1547.

"Yours in Christ most bounden.

JOHN BRADFORD."

"I have sent you three pair of good spectacles, I trow; and other such books as have your name written in them, which take in good worth, and pray for me, and give thanks for me."

To father Traves. (No. 4.)

"Gratia, misericordia, et pax,' &c.—My chance is not by this bringer to have any warning in manner of his farewell, so that I am constrained, time coacting me, to write not so much of things, (which I will omit,) as my desire was. Concerning the great matter you know of, it hath pleased God to bring it to this end, that I have a bill of my master's hand, wherein he is bound to pay the sum afore Candlemas next coming. This Master Latimer thinks to be sufficient. Therefore I pray you to give that gracious Lord thanks, and thanks, and thanks upon it, for me a most wretched ingrate sinner, which have also in other things no less cause to praise God's name; as for that I have and sustain my master's sore displeasure, the which hath brought me (God I should say) through it, unto a more contempt of worldly things, through the sequestration of such his business, as before I had ado withal: I call it a contempt. Well, take the word even as it is hypocritically and vain-gloriously spoken; for the which fault, amongst my others innumerable, I trust you remember in your prayers, whereof I have (would I knew how much) need. There is yet another thing, whereof I will advertise you, even to this end; that you might pray, if it be God's will, that as I trust shortly to begin, so he may vouchsafe to confirm that he hath begun, as (if I be not deceived) I believe it is his working, If the thing seem, by God's Spirit in you, that I presume, then, for the Lord's sake, advertise me: for I am much given to that disease; the Lord deliver me! I have moved my master therein already by letters, to see if I shall have any living of him as hitherto I have had; but I have thereof no answer, nor, as our natural speech is, any likelihood of any grant: yet that I have already, I trust, will suffice me for three years. You look what my purpose meaneth, I am so long afore I come to it. Therefore I do it, because my long babbling should be less tedious. Now shall you have it. If God's will be, (whereunto pray I may be obedient,) I am minded afore Midsummer to leave London to go to my book at Cambridge; and, if God shall give me grace, to be a minister of his word. Thus you have of a fly an elephant. Well, take it in good part, though you see my *etiam non*, and not *etiam, etiam*. A tumbling stone gathereth no moss: so therefore pray for me. Perchance I do foolishly to forsake so good a living as I have. I will say no more hereof, but pray for me. I trust, as I said, for three years' study I have sufficient, if my master take all from me: and when this is spent, God will send more. I do not write this that you should think me to be in need of worldly help, and therefore, as friars were wont, secretly to beg. No, in the Lord's name, I require you not to take it so: for I had rather never send letter, afore I should be herein a cross to you, for 'sufficit sua diei afflictio,' we are

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more set by than many sparrows. But if my mother, or Sir Thomas Hall, murmur at it, or be offended with me, as you can, remedy it with your counsel. Howbeit as yet I will not write to them of it, until such time as I be going. I am something fickle-minded and unconstant, therefore pray for me, that my hand being put to the plough, (presumptuously spoken,) I look not back. You may gather by my words in this letter the heroical heart which lieth in me.

"I have sent you a book of Bucer against Winchester, in English, lately translated, which I never read; therefore I cannot praise it. And as I call to remembrance, I did send you with the other books more than you received, at the least one of them I remember, which is called, The Common-places, or the Declaration of the Faith, by Urbanus Rhegius. Ask for it, or send me word in whom the default is you have it not. Hereafter, and that shortly, by God's grace, I will send you *Primitiæ Laborum meorum*, a work or two which I have translated into English, so soon as they be printed, which will be afore Whitsuntide. Pray for me, good father Traves, and God send you health of soul and body, as I would mine own or any man's living. But yet, to warn you of that you know not: in writing your letters to me, you hit me home, and give me that I look for. You are deceived, and so are all that know me; I never came to any point of mortification, therefore a little tickling sets me afloat. God help me, and give God thanks for me, as all men be most bounden. Thus when I once begin to write to you I run as the priest saith matins, for I think I may be bold on you. The Holy Ghost preserve you, your wife, and family, and persevere his grace in you unto the end. I pray you pray for me, a most (what should I call me) miserable and blasphemous sinner. The peace of God be with us.

"From the Temple, this twelfth of May, 1548.

"Sir Thomas Hall hath deceived me, but himself most. I desire to speak with him, as this winter it may chance, if I discharge not myself of mine office, to see him. Pray for him, and for me.

"A very hypocrite.

JOHN BRADFORD."

To father Traves. (No. 5.)

"The perseverance of God's grace, with the knowledge of his good will, increase with you unto the end.—To declare myself, as I am, a carnal man, which understand not the things that be of the Spirit: these my letters, though I counterfeit and meddle amongst them the spiritual words, as the devil did in his temptations to Christ, will declare not less. For I begin with carnal things in effect, and no marvel if I so end: for how can a man gather figs of briers? These words, as they seem, so they are spoken for a cloak to make you think otherwise: but, father Traves, you cannot think so evil of me as I am: but to the matter. This present day, by God's grace, I take my journey towards Cambridge, where, I pray God, and so earnestly I pray you to pray for me, that I may circumspectly redeem this time which God hath appointed (to me unknown) to lend me: for alas! I have spent most wickedly the time past, for the which I must account, even for every hair-breadth, as they say: for God hath not given here time to sin. But if I considered this, (as I do nothing less, custom of sin and pleasing myself hath so hardened my heart,) I should then come to the feeling of myself; then should I hate sin, which I now love; then should I fear God's wrath, which I now contemn; then should I cry out and weep, and continually pray; whereas now I am as dry as a stone, as dumb as a nail, as far from praying as he that never knew any taste of it.

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Which thing once I felt (thanks to the Lord); but now, for mine unthankfulness, I am almost (but most worthily) deprived. I fear me God will take his grace from me, I am so unthankful. Alas! why do I lie, in saying I fear me? Nay, God grant I may do so, for then should I pray and pray: but seeing I cannot, speak you for me, pray for me, that the Lord would remember his old compassions towards me, for his mercy's sake draw me, yea, compel me, to serve, to fear, and to love him. Thus may you see how I presume: for my intent was to have been a minister of God's word, to have been his instrument to call from, as I have called to, sin; but you see how that God punisheth mine arrogancy. Alas! what shall I do? I am an unprofitable and an idle member; I thought I should have been therein profitable, but *Medice, cura teipsum*. How should I, or what should I do? I cannot labour with my hands. Well, I trust God will give me grace and knowledge to translate. Nothing I fear me, yea, I distrust me, that I shall never be minister of God's word: yea, if arrogancy were not in me, how should I, of all wretches the greatest, think me to look to the highest room and vocation that is upon earth? Therefore eftsoons I desire you to pray for me, that God's will may be done in me, whether I live or die, so that his name be honoured. My master which was, hath denied me all his beneficence, but I have for this life. more than enough, thanks be to God, as this winter I intend, by God's favour, to declare more unto you. This book which I have sent, take it in good part; it is the first, I trust it shall not be the last, God hath appointed me to translate. The print is very false, I am sorry for it.

I pray you be not offended at my babbling in the Prologues, &c.
JOHN BRADFORD.

"I will lie, God willing, this summer, at Katherine's Hall in Cambridge. Write to me."

To father Traves. (No. 6.)

"The loving-kindness and abundant mercy of God the Father, poured plentifully upon all the faithful, in the blood of that meek Lamb, Jesus Christ, our only satisfaction and Mediator, through the working of the most Holy Spirit, be increased and perceived in you daily more and more, to the glory of God, &c.

"Because I stand both in doubt of the reading and delivery of such letters as I write and send unto you, dearly beloved father Traves, I am constrained to leave off such griefs and spiritual wants, as, thanks unto the Lord, I unwillingly feel: for the flesh, as you know, loveth nothing so much as security, of all enemies most perilous, and not a little familiar with me: from the which, with vain-glory, hypocrisy, &c., and worldliness, the Lord deliver me! I had not thought to have written thus much, but these I cannot keep, but commit them to your prayers. And to the intent I would you should not think any ingratitude in me; as also that I might give you occasion to write to me again, as heretofore I have done, even so do I interturb and trouble you with my babbling, but yet having this commodity, that I babble not so much as I am wont to do. The cause I have declared, which had almost been the cause I had not written at all. I did write unto you from London when I came hither: send me word what letters you have received, for from you I have received but two, and both by John Moss; and in the latter I perceived that the Lord had visited you with sickness, his fatherly rod, whereby he declareth his love upon you, and that he careth for you: 'Ut in tempore supremo exultes nunc ad breve tempus afflictus, quo exploratio fidei multo pretiosior auro quod perit, et tamen probatur, &c. Siquidem in hoc vocatus

es, ut cum Christo patiaris, nam et cum illo glorificaberis. Certus enim sermo est, si sufferimus et con-regnabimus.' You know that Christ, 'etsi Filius Dei erat, tamen ex his quæ passus est didicit obedientiam.' 'Patientia opus perfectum habeat ut sitis perfecti et integri, nullaue in parte diminuti:' and doth not *patientia* come of *probatio*? The one then you had, so that you were going a-school to learn the other, which learnt, what want you? The end of all God's proving is, as Paul saith, 'Ut impertiat nobis sanctimoniam: igitur gratias age Deo Patri, qui idoneum te fecit ad participationem sortis sanctorum in lumine, &c. Nam qui parumper afflixit, idem instauret te, fulciat, roboret, stabiliat.' And that the Lord knoweth how 'eripere pios è tribulatione,' and that 'in tempore opportuno,' even shortly: for haud tardat qui promisit: 'nam modicum tempus, et videbis me;' 'veniens enim veniet, et non tardabit.' 'Itaque qui consortes estis crucis Christi, gaudete,' saith Peter, 'ut in revelatione quoque gloriæ ejus gaudeatis exultantes.' Oh, how doth my will over-run my wit. Why, Bradford! whom writest thou unto? thou showest thyself. Thus, father Traves, you may see my rashness to rabble out the Scripture without purpose, rhyme, or reason. I will not blot it out, as I thought to have done; for that hereby you shall see my need of your prayer. Well, I look for a watch-word from you. Write, for God's sake, and pray for me that I may be in something profitable to the Lord's congregation, that I may be no stumbling-block, 'ut confundantur in me qui illum expectant.' Send me such counsel as the Lord's Spirit shall move you how to study. My desire is in something to be profitable, if it were the Lord's will, for to be 'minister verbi.' Alas! I am unmeet, and my time, my time, yea, the Lord's time, I have hitherto evil, yea, most wickedly misspent it, &c. Thus will I end. The Lord be with you and your bed-fellow, to whom have me heartily commended, and to all your children and family, the which I beseech the Lord to lighten his countenance over, and grant you his peace: pray for me. I long for winter to speak with you. Rescribe oro. Pray for me.

"This Assumption-day in Katherine's Hall, in Cambridge.

"Yours, with all I have and can.

JOHN BRADFORD."

To father Traves. (No. 7.)

"The plentiful grace of God the Father, through our only Master and Lord Jesus Christ, increase in us daily to the glory of his name. Amen.

"Forasmuch as I have often written unto you, good father Traves, and yet have not once heard from you since Pentecost, I cannot now be so bold, either in writing much or often, as I would have been: howbeit this I say, that I much marvel that I hear not from you: but not so, for I am so wretched a sinner, that the Lord's Spirit, I am certain, doth not move you to write to me, yet, for God's sake, pray for me, and in the Lord's name I desire you to give thanks to God for me. And when it may please God to move you, write to me, though it be but two words, and counsel me how to study the word of life, the ministry whereof I desire, if it be the Lord's pleasure, to profess, and that I may do it both in living and learning: pray for me. 'Hæc mecum omnibus rebus suis me abdicavit, et quæ prius concesserat, jam solvere renuit, et mihi prorsus factus est inimicus.' I know not when I shall see you in body, therefore let me hear from you. I write not this that you should think me 'in egestate aut angustia esse.' No, father, the Lord giveth me 'omnia affatim,' and will do. I trust I shall shortly here have a fellowship: I am so promised, and therefore I have taken the degree of Master of Arts, which else I could not have attained. If I

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get a fellowship, I shall not need 'de crastino sollicitus esse,' as hereafter I shall more write to you by God's grace. I pray you write again, and often pray for me. In haste, as appeareth, the twenty-second of October. Ne sciat mater me quod herus meus adeo duriter mecum egit, &c.

"Miserrimus peccator.

J. BRADFORD."

To father Traves. (No. 8.)

"The peace and plenteous mercy of God our heavenly Father, in his Christ our only Lord and Saviour, be ever increased in you by the Holy Spirit, 'qui efficit omnia in omnibus.' Amen.

"Father Traves, though I might think myself more happy if you would often write unto me, yet because I ought to have respect to your pains, which now that old man cannot so well sustain as it might, I had rather lose my happiness in that behalf, than will your grief, forasmuch as it can be no happiness unto me which turneth to your pain; yet, because pain is not painful when it is joined with gain, I therefore desire you, for God's sake, to pray often for me: for if I shall not be worthy of your prayer, as the Lord, who knoweth all things, doth right well see it, and so my conscience witnesseth, your good prayer shall return into your own bosom. And know this, that whoso converteth a sinner by prayer, (whether it be by prayer, preaching, or writing letters, &c.,) the same hath saved a soul. Use therefore, for God's sake I ask it, that pains whereunto is joined profit, I mean prayer to God for me, a miserable and most wretched sinner: and as for the gainless pain in writing to me, use it yet as you may, and surely God, for whose sake you do it, in that he will reward a cup of cold water, will in some thing requite you. And I know certainly, that if you did see what spiritual profit I receive by your letters, I am certain you would not think all your labour lost. For Christ's sake, therefore, begin again to write unto me, and reprove me sharply for my horrible unthankfulness to God. You know how that God hath exonerated my laden conscience of the great weighty burden, for so I did write to you; yea, the Lord hath in a manner unburdened me of the lesser burden also; for I have an assurance of the payment of the same by Candlemas. Lo, thus you see what a good God the Lord is unto me. O father Traves, give thanks for me, and pray God to forgive me my unthankfulness. But what should I rehearse the benefits of God towards me? Alas, I cannot. I am too little for all his mercies, yea, I am not only unthankful, but I am too far contumelious against God. For whereas you know the sun, the moon, and the seven stars, did forsake me, and would not shine upon me, you know what I mean 'per herum et heriles amicos,' yet the Lord hath given me here in the university as good a living as I would have wished; for I am now a fellow of Pembroke Hall, for the which neither I, nor any other for me, did ever make any suit: yea, there was a contention betwixt the master of Catherine Hall and the bishop of Rochester, who is master of Pembroke Hall, whether should have me, 'fit hoc tibi dictum.' Thus you may see the Lord's carefulness for me. My fellowship here is worth seven pound a year; for I have allowed me eighteen-pence a week, and as good as thirty-three shillings four-pence a year in money, besides my chamber, launder, barber, &c., and I am bound to nothing but once or twice a year to keep a problem. Thus you see what a good Lord God is to me. But I pray you what do I now to God, for all this? I will not speak of the great mercies he sheweth unto my soul. Surely, father Traves, I have clean forgotten God; I am all secure, idle, proud, hard-hearted, utterly void of brotherly love; I am envious, and disdain others; I am a very stark hypocrite, not only in my words and works, but even in these my letters to you. I am all sensual, without the true fear of God, another manner of

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man than I have been since my calling. Alas! father Traves, I write this to put myself in remembrance; but I am without all sense, I do but only write it. For God's sake pray for me, which am only in name a Christian, in very deed a very worldling, and, to say to you the very truth, the most worldling of all others. I pray you exhort my mother now and then, with my sister Margaret, to fear the Lord: and if my mother had not sold the fox-fur which was in my father's gown, I would she would send it me. She must have your counsel in a piece of cloth.

"Yours for ever.

JOHN BRADFORD."

To father Traves. (No. 9.)

"The selfsame mercy, grace, and peace, which heretofore I have felt plenteously, though now, through mine unthankfulness and wilful obedience to the pleasure of this outward man, I neither feel, neither can be persuaded that I possess; yea, if I shall truly write, I in manner pass not upon the same, so far am I fallen, the Lord help me: the same mercy, &c., I say, I wish unto you as I can, with all increase of godliness: hypocritically with my pen and mouth, beseeching you, in your earnest prayers to God, to be an earnest suitor unto God for me, which am fallen into such a security, and even a hardness of heart, that neither I sorrow my state, neither with any grief or fear of God's abjection do write this: before the Lord, which knoweth the hearts of all men, I lie not. Consider for Christ's sake therefore, good father Traves, my necessity, though I myself do it not, and pray for me, that God cast me not off, as I deserve most justly. For whereas I ought to have well proceeded in God's school, by reason of the time, I confess it to my shame I am so far gone back, as, alas! if shame were in me, I might be ashamed to write it; but much more to write it, and think it not: such is the reward of unthankfulness. For whereas God wrought the restitution of the great thing you know of, (the which benefit should bind me to all obedience,) alas! father Traves, I am too unthankful: I find no will in heart (though by my writing it will be hard to persuade you) either to be thankful, either to begin a new life in all things to mortify this outward man, and heartily to be well content to serve the Lord in spirit and verity, and withstand mine affections, and especially my beastly sensuality in meat and drink, wherewith I was troubled at my being with you; but now, through my licentious obeying that affect, I am fallen so, that a whole legion spirituum malorum possesseth me. The Lord, whom I only with mouth (my heart still abiding both in hardness and wilfulness) call upon, deliver me and help me; and for God's sake give you hearty thanks for the great benefit of restitution. Pray to the Lord, that at the length I may once return to the obedience of his good will. Amen.—I thank you for your cheese, and so doth father Latimer as unknown: for I did give it him, and he saith he did never eat better cheese; and so I dare say he did not. I thank him I am as familiar with him, as with you; yea, God so moveth him towards me, that his desire is to have me come and dwell with him whensoever I will, and welcome. This do I write yet once more to occasion you to be thankful for me to the Lord, which by all means sheweth nothing but most high love to me; and I again a very obstinate rebellion. Pray therefore for me in haste.

"The sinful JOHN BRADFORD."

296 William Minge and James Trevisam



HE next day after Master Bradford and John Leaf did suffer in Smithfield, William Minge, priest, died in prison at Maidstone, being there in bonds for religion, and like to have suffered also, if he had continued the fury of his adversaries, whose nature was to spare and favour none that favoured Christ's pure gospel: which William Minge with as great constancy and boldness yielded up his life in prison, as if it had pleased God to have called him to suffer by the fire, as the other good and godly men had done at the stake; and as he himself was ready also so to do, if it had pleased God to have called him thereunto.

James Trevisam buried in the fields, and summoned after his death.

On the third of July, 1555, died one James Trevisam in the parish of St. Margaret in Lothbury, upon a Sunday, who, being impotent and lame, kept his bed: for he could not rise out of it a long time. This Trevisam had a servant, one John Smal, which read on the Bible; and, as he was in reading, Berd the promoter came to the house, and would needs go up the stairs, where he found four persons besides him and his wife—to wit, the young man that read, and two men and a woman; all which folks, the said Berd the promoter, there being, apprehended and carried to the Compter, where they remained about a fortnight, for all the friends they could make. Moreover the said Berd would have had also James the lame man himself to Newgate in a cart, (and brought the cart to the door,) but for neighbours. Nevertheless, the poor man was fain to put in two sureties for his forthcoming; for he could not go out of his bed, being not only impotent, but also very sick the same time. So within a few days, the said James lying in extremity, the parson of the church, named Master Farthing, came to him, and had communication with him, and agreed well, and so departed. It happened after the priest was come down into the street, there met him one Toiler, a founder. "Yea," saith he, "be ye agreed? I will accuse you, for he denieth the sacrament of the altar." Upon that the parson went to him again, and then the priest and he could not agree. And so the parson went to the bishop of London and told him. The bishop answered, that he should be burnt, and if he were dead, he should be buried in a ditch. And so, when he died, the parson was against his wife as much as he could, neither would let her have the coffin to put him in, nor any thing else, but was fain to bear him upon a table to Moorfield, and there was he buried. The same night the body was cast up above the ground, and his sheet taken from him, and he left naked. After this the owner of the field, seeing him, buried him again, and a fortnight after the sumner came to his grave, and summoned him to appear at Paul's before his ordinary, to answer to such things as should be laid against him! But what more befell upon him, I have not certainty to say.

297. John Bland.

The history of Master John Bland, preacher and martyr, constantly suffering for the gospel of Jesus Christ.



HE twelfth day of July, John Bland, John Frankesh, Nicholas Sheterden, and Humfrey Middleton, were all four burned at Canterbury together, for one cause; of the which number, Frankesh and Bland were ministers and preachers of the word of God, the one being parson of Adisham, the other the vicar of Rolvenden. This Master Bland was a man so little born for his own commodity, that no part of his life was separated from the common and public utility of all men; for his first doings were there employed to the bringing up of children in learning and virtue: under whom were trained divers towardly young men, which even at this present do handsomely flourish; in the number of whom is Dr. Sands, a man of singular learning and worthiness, as may well beseem a scholar meet for such a schoolmaster, whom I gladly here name for his singular gifts of virtue and erudition.

After this he, coming to the ministry in the church of God, or rather being called thereto, was inflamed with incredible desire to profit the congregation; which may appear by this, that whereas he was cast into Canterbury prison for the preaching of the gospel, and delivered once or twice from thence at the suit of his friends, yet would he needs preach the gospel again as soon as he was delivered. Whereupon he, being the third time apprehended, when his friends yet once again would have found the means to have delivered him if he would have promised to abstain from preaching; he stood in it earnestly, that he would admit no such condition, notably well expressing unto us the manner and example which we read in the apostle Paul: Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Tribulation, or anguish, or hunger, or nakedness, or danger, or persecution, or the sword? &c. But to express the whole life and doings of this godly martyr, seeing we have his own testimony concerning the same, it shall be best to refer the reader to his own report, writing to his father of the whole discourse of his troubles, from the beginning almost to the latter end, in order and manner as ye shall hear.

A discourse of the whole process and doings of Master Bland, written and reported by himself to his father in his own letter as followeth.

"Dearly beloved father in Christ Jesus, I thank you for your gentle letters; and, to satisfy your mind, as concerning the troubles whereof you have heard, these shall both declare unto you all my vexations that have chanced me since ye were with me, and also since I received your last letters. God keep you ever.

Your son.

JOHN BLAND.

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"First, the third of September, being Sunday, after service ended, ere I had put off my surplice, John Austen came to the table, (commonly called the Lord's table,) and laid both his hands upon it, saying, 'Who set this here again?' (Now they say they took the table down the Sunday before, which I knew not, neither do I know who set it up again.) The clerk answered, that he knew not. Then Austen said, 'He is a knave that set it here.' I was then going down the church, marvelling what he meant, and said, 'Goodman Austen, the queen's Highness hath set forth a proclamation, that ye may move no sedition.' And ere I could speak any more, he said, 'Thou art a knave:' and I said, 'Well, goodman Austen, that I have said, I have said.' 'By God's soul,' quoth he, 'thou art a very knave.'

"Then my clerk spake to him, but what I am not sure: but he said, 'Ye are both heretic knaves, and have deceived us with this fashion too long; and if he say any service here again, I will lay the table on his face.' And in that rage he with others took up the table, and laid it on a chest in the chancel, and set the trestles by it. Wherefore I rode by and by to Master Isaac, and showed him the cause, both how seditiously he had spoken, and performed it with a like deed. Master Isaac directed a warrant to the constable or borsholder, which was incontinently served, so that he was brought before him the same night, and was bound by recognisance, with sureties, to appear, if he were called. But we agreed so well then, that it was never called for; the table was brought down, and was permitted, as before.

"The twenty-sixth of November, being Sunday, Richard Austen and his brother Thomas came to the foresaid table after the communion was done; and as I was going by them, Richard said unto me, 'Master Parson, we have to speak to you.' And I said, 'What is your will?' And he said, 'You know that you took down the tabernacle or ceiling wherein the rood did hang, and such other things: we would know what recompence you will make us. For the queen's proceedings are, as you know, that such must up again.' Quoth I, 'I know no such proceedings as yet; and as for that I did, I did it by commandment.' 'No,' said Thomas Austen, 'ye will not know the queen's proceedings.' 'Yes,' said I, 'I refuse not to know them.'

"Then said Richard, 'Ye are against the queen's proceedings; for you say there are abominable uses and devilishness in the mass.' 'Goodman Austen,' said I, 'if I so said, I will say it again; and, God willing, stand to the proof of it.' 'Masters all,' quoth Richard Austen, 'bear record of these words;' and went his way.

"Quoth Thomas Austen, 'Thou wilt as soon eat this book as stand to them.' 'No,' quoth I, 'not so soon.' 'Tell us,' quoth he, 'what that devilishness is, that is in the mass.' 'I have often preached it unto you,' said I, 'and ye have not believed it, nor borne it away, nor will now either, though I should tell you.'

"'Thou,' quoth he, 'hast told us always, like a heretic as thou art.' 'Now ye lie, goodman Austen,' quoth I, 'by your leave.' 'Marry,' quoth he, 'thou liest.' And I said, 'And you lie; for I have taught you Christ and his truth.'

"Quoth he, 'Thou art a heretic, and hast taught us nothing but heresy; for thou canst say nothing that is true.' 'Yes, goodman Austen, I can say that God is in heaven; and ye will say (I trow) that it is true, and so have I taught you truly.'

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"Quoth he, 'Thou hast taught us like a heretic, and hast said, that there is no devil in hell.' 'Well,' said I, 'lie on; methinketh you can say little truth.'

"Many other taunts he gave, too long to write. And at the last he said, 'Ye pulled down the altar: will ye build it again?' 'No,' quoth I, 'except I be commanded; for I was commanded to do that I did.'

"'Well, if you will not,' said he, 'then will I: for I am a churchwarden.' 'I charge you,' said I, 'that you do not, except you have authority.'

"'I will,' said he, 'not let for your charge. For we will have a mass here on Sunday, and a preacher that shall prove thee a heretic, if thou dare abide his coming.' 'Yes,' quoth I, 'God willing, I will abide and hear him; for sure I am, that he cannot disprove any doctrine that I have preached.'

"'Yes,' quoth he, 'and that thou shalt hear, if thou run not away ere then.' 'No, goodman Austen, I will not run away.'

"'Marry,' quoth he, 'I cannot tell, thou art as like yea, as nay.' With many other words we came out of the church door, and so departed.

"When the Sunday came, I looked for our preacher, and at the time of morning-prayer, I said to the clerk, 'Why do ye not ring? ye forget that we shall have a sermon to-day.' 'No,' quoth he, 'Master Miles's servant hath been here this morning, and said his master hath letters from my Lord Chancellor, that he must go to London, and cannot come.' That day I did preach to them a sermon in his stead.

"Now have they slandered me, that I had prepared a company from divers places to have troubled him; but they agreed not in their lie; for some said, I had them at Adisham, and that Richard Austen had knowledge, and sent for the king's constable to see the peace kept, which is found a lie. Other said, I had them lying in wait for him between Canterbury and Adisham. Other said, I had them in both places, that if the one missed the other should not. God forgive them all! Now upon these two matters they crack that they sent two bills of complaint to the council: wherefore by the counsel of friends, I made this testimony, and sent it up by Master Wiseman."

The behaviour of John Bland, parson of Adisham, in the county of Kent, the Sunday, the third day of December last past, [1553,] containing the words which he there spake unto the people.

"Whereas upon certain communication bad between the said parson and Richard Austen and Thomas Austen, in the presence of all the parish of Adisham, the Sunday before St. Andrew's day last, the said Austen then declared, that the said parson had taught there in times past great heresies, which to confound, they would prepare a preacher against the next Sunday following, if so be the said parson would abide, and not run away: upon which rumour divers and sundry persons resorted out of the country, unto the said parish church, at the said same day appointed, there to hear the preacher; and at the time in which the sermon ought to be made, no man appeared there to preach. But it was reported unto the parson, that the preacher appointed

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had urgent business, and could not come: so that the multitude being now come together, the same parson, perceiving that the people's expectation was defrauded, said, 'Forasmuch as you are come willingly to hear some good advertisement of the preacher, who now cannot be present, I think it not convenient to permit you to depart without some exhortation for your edifying.' And so further declaring that he had no licence to preach, said that he would not meddle with any matter in controversy. And then he began the epistle of the day, desiring the audience to mark three or four places in the same epistle, which touched quietness and love one to another. And there briefly reading the epistle, he noted the same places; and so, making an end thereof, desired all men to depart quietly and in peace, as they did, without any manner of disturbance, or token of evil.

"Witnesses the undernamed, with divers others:

Edmund Mores.

Richard Randall.

John Hills.

William Forstall.

Thomas Gooding."

Another matter of trouble wrought against John Bland, as appeareth by his own narration.

"Upon the Innocents' day, being the twenty-eighth day of December, they had procured the priest of Stodmarsh to say them mass. He had nigh made an end of matins ere I came; and when he had made an end of matins, he said to me, 'Master Parson, your neighbours have desired me to say matins and mass: I trust ye will not be against the queen's proceedings.' 'No,' quoth I, 'I will offend none of the queen's Majesty's laws, God willing.' 'What say ye:' quoth he; and made as he had not heard. And I spake the same words to him again, with a higher voice; but he would not hear, though all the chancel heard. So I cried the third time, (that all in the church heard,) that I would not offend the queen's laws. And then he went to mass; and when he was reading the epistle, I called the clerk unto me with the beckoning of my finger, and said unto him, 'I pray you desire the priest, when the gospel is done, to tarry a little; I have something to say to the people.' And the clerk did so.

"And the priest came down to the stall, where he sat; and I stood up in the chancel door, and spake to the people of the great goodness of God, always showed unto his people, unto the time of Christ's coming; and in him and his coming, what benefit they past, we present, and our successors, have; and among other benefits, I spake of the great and comfortable sacrament of his body and blood. And after I had declared briefly the institution, the promise of life to the good, and damnation to the wicked, I spake of the bread and wine, affirming them to be bread and wine after the consecration, as yonder mass-book doth, saying, 'Holy bread of eternal life, and the cup of perpetual salvation: so that like as our bodily mouths eat the sacramental bread and wine, so doth the mouth of our souls (which is our faith) eat Christ's flesh and blood.'

"And when I had made an end of that, I spake of the misuse of the sacrament in the mass; so that I judged it in that use no sacrament: and showed how Christ bade us all eat and drink; and one only in the mass eateth and drinketh, and the rest kneel, knock, and worship.

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"And after these things ended, as briefly as I could, I spake of the benefactors of the mass, and began to declare what men made the mass, and recited every man's name, and the patch that he put to the mass.

"And ere I had rehearsed them all, the churchwarden and the borsholder, his son-in-law, violently came upon me, and took my book from me, and pulled me down, and thrust me into the chancel, with an exceeding roar and cry. Some cried, 'Thou heretic;' some, 'Thou traitor;' some, 'Thou rebel:' and when every man had said his pleasure and the rage was something past, 'Be quiet, good neighbours,' said I, 'and let me speak to you quietly. If I have offended any law, I will make answer before them that are in authority to correct me.' But they would not hear me, and pulled, one on this side, and another on that, and began again. Then Richard Austen said, 'Peace, masters; no more till mass be done' and they ceased.

"Then said I to the churchwarden and the borsholder, (either holding me by the arm,) 'Masters, let me go into the church-yard till your mass be done.' 'No,' quoth the churchwarden, 'thou shalt tarry here till mass be done.' 'I will not,' quoth I, 'but against my will.' And they said, 'Thou shalt tarry: for if thou go out, thou wilt run away.' Then said I to the borsholder, 'Lay me in the stocks, and then ye shall be sure of me:' and turned my back to the altar.

"By that time Richard Austen had devised what to do with me, and called to the borsholder and the churchwarden, and bade them put me into a side chapel, and shut the door to me; and there they made me tarry till mass was ended.

"When the mass was ended, they came into the chapel to me, and searched what I had about me; and found a dagger, and took it from me. Then said Thomas Austen, churchwarden, (after many brablings that they made with me,) 'Thou keepest a wife here amongst us, against God's law and the queen's.' 'Ye lie, goodman Austen,' said I, 'it is not against God's law, nor, as I suppose, against the queen's.'

"Thus they brought me out of the church, and without the door they railed on me, without pity or mercy: but anon the priest came out of the church, and Ramsey, that of late was clerk, said unto him, Sir, where dwell you? 'And therewith Thomas Austen took him by the arm, and said, 'Come on, sirrah, you are of his opinion:' and took his dagger from him, and said he should go with him. 'I am content,' said he, and a little mocked them in their envious talk.

"By this time there came in at the church stile, one John Gray, of Wingham, servant to John Smith, and seeing them hold Ramsey by the arms, said to him, 'How now, Ramsey, have you offended the queen's laws?' 'No,' quoth he. 'Then there is no transgression.' Therewith Thomas Austen took him, and said, 'Ye are one of their opinion; ye shall go with them for company:' and took his dagger from him, and then demanded what he did there? but after, I think, for very shame they let him go again; but they carried me and Ramsey to Canterbury, with eighteen persons weaponed. A sheet of paper will not hold the talk that we had that night with Master Hardes, justice, Master Oxenden, Master Spilman, and Master Tutsam.

"The next day they made a bill against me, but it served not their purpose, which was, that they would have had me to prison. But James Chapman and Bartholomew Joyes were bound

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in twenty pounds either of them, for my appearance at the next general sessions, or in the mean time to appear, if I were sent for before the queen's Majesty's council, or any other commissioners sent by the queen's authority. And Ramsey was bound to the peace, and to be of good behaviour till the next sessions. His sureties were Thomas Hogekeying and Simon Barrat.

"Now the twenty-third or twenty-fourth of February, [1554,] Sir Thomas Finch, knight, and Master Hardes, sent for me and my sureties to Master Finch's place, and took me from my sureties, and sent me to the castle of Canterbury, by Sir Thomas Moyle's commandment, (they said,) where I lay ten weeks, and then was bailed, and bound to appear at the next sessions holden at Canterbury; but after they changed it to be at Ashford on the Thursday in Whitsun-week, being the nineteenth of May: but in the mean time the matter was exhibited to the Spiritual Court."

The first examination of Master John Bland in the Spiritual Court, before Doctor Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury, and Master Collins, commissary, May 18, 1554.

"The eighteenth day of May, Master Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury, made the mayor's serjeant to bring me before him and Master Collins, commissary, into Christ's church; and they went with me into a chamber, in the suffragan of Dover's house. Then the archdeacon said, 'Art thou a priest?' And I said, 'I was one.' And he said, 'Art thou a graduate of any university?' And I said, 'Yea.' 'What degree,' said he, 'hast thou taken?' 'The degree,' quoth I, 'of a Master of Arts.' 'The more pity,' quoth he, 'that thou shouldest behave thyself as thou hast done. Thou hast been a common preacher licensed, hast thou not?' And I said, 'I have been so.' 'Marry,' quoth he, 'so I understand.'

"What hast thou preached?"

"And I said, 'God's word, to the edifying, I trust, of his people.'

"No, no,' quoth he; 'to the destroying of their souls and thine both, except the mercy of God be all the greater. I pray thee, what hast thou preached? tell me.'

"I told you,' quoth I, 'what I have preached.'

"Nay, but tell me,' quoth he, 'what one matter hast thou preached to the edifying of the people, as thou sayest?' 'I will tell you no particular matter; for I perceive you would have some matter against me.'

"No, by my faith,' quoth he, 'but only that I would win thee from heresies that thou art bewrapt in, and hast infected others withal: for thou hast preached, as I am informed, that the blessed sacrament of the altar is not the very body and blood of Jesus Christ after the consecration. Tell me, hast thou not thus preached? and is not this thine opinion?"

"Sir,' quoth I, 'I perceive (as I said) that ye seek matter against me. But, seeing that I am bound in the sessions to my good behaviour for preaching, which may be broken with words, and

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well I know not with what words; and also both mine authority to preach and my living are taken from me, I think thus I am not bound to make you an answer."

Collins.—"Master Bland, do you not remember, that St. Peter biddeth you make answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the faith that is in you?"

Bland.—"I know that, and am content so to answer as that text biddeth: but I know that Master Archdeacon doth not ask me after that manner, but rather to bring me into trouble."

"Then they said, 'No, ye shall not be troubled for any thing that ye say here.'"

Bland.—"I am content for knowledge' sake to commune with you in any matter, but not otherwise."

"And so they fell in reasoning more than the space of an hour, of the sacrament, both against me. At the last Master Collins said, 'Master Bland, will ye come and take in hand to answer such matter on Monday next, as shall be laid to you?'"

Bland.—"Sir, ye said I should not be troubled for any thing that should be said here for learning's sake."

"And they said, Ye shall not, but it is for other matters."

Bland.—"Sir, I am bound to appear, as some tell me, on Thursday next at Ashford: I am in doubt whether I can or no; yet I have purposed to be there, and so to go to London to Master Wiseman, for an obligation that he hath, whereby I should receive certain money to pay my debts withal."

"Then said Master Archdeacon, 'I will write to Master Wiseman, that ye shall sustain no loss.'"

Bland.—"That shall not need; for I can sustain no great loss, if I go not. But I pray you to let me have a longer day." "No," quoth he.

Bland.—"Sir, I cannot well come on Monday."

Harpsfield.—"Wilt thou not come, when he so gently speaketh to thee, where he may command thee?"

Bland.—"I do not deny to come, but I desire a longer day."

Harpsfield.—"Thou shalt have no other day; I charge thee to come on Monday."

Bland.—"Sir, I perceive it shall be for this or like matters: will it please you or Master Collins, for God's sake, to confer Scriptures privately with me in this matter, seeing ye say ye would so gladly win me?"

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Harpsfield.—"With all my heart will I take the pains, and I will also borrow my Lord of Dover's library, to have what books thou wilt:" and thus they departed. Now the seventeenth of May at Ashford I could not be released, although I was called to the Spiritual Court for the same matter, but was bound to appear at the sessions holden at Cranbrook, the third of July.

Another appearance of Master Bland before the archdeacon and his fellows.

"The twenty-first day of May I appeared in the chapter-house, where was a great multitude of people, unlooked for of me; and Master Archdeacon said thus to me, 'Ye are come here according as ye were appointed: and the cause is, that it hath pleased the queen's Highness here to place me, to see God's holy word set forth, and to reform those that are here fallen into great and heinous errors, to the great displeasure of God, and the decay of Christ's sacraments, and contrary to the faith of the catholic church, whereof thou art notably known to be one that is sore poisoned with the same, and hast infected and deceived many with thy evil preaching, which if thou wilt renounce, and come home again to the catholic church, both I and many others more would be very glad; and I, for my part, shall be right glad to show you the favour that lieth in me, as I said unto you when you were appointed hither, because ye then refused to satisfy again the people that ye had deceived. And whereas it is feigned by you, that I should openly dispute the matter with you this day; although I did neither so intend nor appoint, yet I am content to dispute the matter with thee, if thou wilt not without disputation help to heal the souls that are brought to hell-ward by thee. What sayest thou?'"

Bland.—"I do protest before God and you all, that neither is my conscience guilty of any error or heresy, neither that I ever taught any error or heresy willingly. And whereas your Mastership saith, that I have feigned an open disputation with you, it is not true, as I can thus approve: Upon Saturday I was at Ugden's, and there Master Bingham laid it to my charge, that such an open disputation, as ye have here offered, should be this day between you and me: whereat I much marvelled, and said to him that before that present I never heard any such word; neither would I answer nor dispute. And to this can Master Vaughan, Master Oxenden, Master Seth of Overland, and Master Ugden witness; and further I said to them, that I never spake to you of any disputation, nor you to me. Now if your Mastership have any thing to say to me by the law, I will make answer to it."

Harpsfield.—"Hear ye what he saith? His conscience is clear. I pray thee whereon groundest thou thy conscience? Let me hear what thy faith is."

Bland.—"I know not why ye should more ask me a reason of my faith, than any other man in this open audience."

Harpsfield.—"Why, thou heretic, art thou ashamed of thy faith? If it were a Christian belief, thou needest not to be ashamed of it."

Bland.—"I am not ashamed of my faith: for I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord, &c., with all the other articles of the Creed; and I do believe all the Holy Scriptures of God to be most certain and true."

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Harpsfield.—"Wilt thou declare no more than this?"

Bland.—"No."

Harpsfield.—"Well, I will tell thee whereon I ground my faith: I do believe and ground my faith and conscience upon all the articles of the Creed, and upon all the Holy Scriptures, sacraments, and holy doctors of the church, and upon all the general councils that ever were, since the apostles' time. Lo, hereupon ground I my faith;" with many words more which I well remember not. And when he could get no other answer of me, than I had said before, he called for a scribe to make an act against me. And after much communication, I said, "By what law and authority will ye proceed against me?" Master Collins said, "By the canon law."

Bland.—"I doubt whether it be in strength or no. Yet I pray you let me have a counsellor in the law, and I will make answer according to the law."

Harpsfield.—"Why, thou heretic, thou wilt not confess thy faith to me, that have authority to demand it of thee, and yet I have confessed my faith to thee before all this audience. As concerning the blessed sacrament of the altar, thou hast taught, that after the consecration it is bread and wine, and not the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ. How sayest thou, hast thou not thus taught?"

Bland.—"Sir, as concerning this matter of the sacrament, when I was with you and Master Collins, ye said then it was for other matters that I should come hither: and further, that ye would be content at my desire, to confer Scriptures with me, to see if ye could win me; and ye said, ye would borrow my Lord of Dover's library, that I should have what book I would. And now ye require me thus to answer, contrary to your promise, ere any conference be had, and seek rather to bring me into trouble, than to win me."

Harpsfield.—"I will, as God shall help me, do the best to thee that I can, if thou wilt be any thing conformable: and I trust to dissolve all thy doubts, if thou be willing to hear. And I also will desire these two worshipful men, my Lord of Dover, and Master Collins, to hear us."

Bland.—"No, ye shall pardon me of that: there shall be no such witness, but, when we agree, set to our hands." Hereat made the people a noise against me, for refusing the witness: and here had we many more words than I can rehearse. But at the last I said, "Sir, will ye give me leave to ask you one question?" And he said, "Yea, with all my heart; for in that thou askest any thing, there is some hope that thou mayest be won."

Bland.—"Sir, when it pleased Almighty God to send his angel unto the Virgin Mary to salute her, and said, Hail, full of grace, &c., came any substance from God our Father into the Virgin's womb to become man?" Whereat as well Master Archdeacon, as my Lord of Dover, and Master Collins staid. But my Lord spake the first, and said, "The Holy Ghost came to her;" and ere he had brought out his sentence, Master Syriac Peters said, "The power of the Highest shall overshadow thee." "Truth," said Master Archdeacon, "it was the power of God, sent by the Holy Ghost."—They had forgotten that, begotten of the substance of the Father; or else they perceived whereunto this question tended: and so both I and they left it; by what words I cannot tell. But I

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said, "Sir, shall I ask one other?" And he said, "Yea." "Is there in the sacrament, after the consecration, Christ's natural body, with all the qualities of a natural body, or no?"

Harpsfield.—"Hark," said Master Archdeacon; "hear ye this heretic? He thinks it an absurdity to grant all the quantities of Christ's natural body to be in the sacrament: but it is no absurdity; for even that natural body that was born of the Virgin Mary is glorified, and that same body is in the sacrament after the consecration. But perceive ye not the arrogancy of this heretic, that will put me to answer him, and he will not answer me? He thought to put me to a pinch with his question; for I tell you it is a learned question."

Bland.—"Sir, if ye be so much discontented with me, I will say no more; yet I would all men heard, that ye say the glorified body of Christ is in the sacrament, after the consecration."

Harpsfield.—"I may call thee gross ignorant. Thou gross ignorant, is not the same body glorified, that was born of the Virgin Mary? Is it then any absurdity to grant that to be in the sacrament?" And while he spake many other words, I said to Master Petit, that the sacrament was instituted, delivered, and received of his apostles, before Christ's body was crucified; and it was crucified before it was glorified; which saying Master Petit partly recited to Master Archdeacon.

Harpsfield.—"Thou art without all learning. Was not Christ's body given to his apostles, as in a glorified act? and yet no inconvenience, although his natural body was not crucified: for when he was born of the Virgin Mary without pain, was not that the act of a glorified body? and when he walked on the water, and when he came into the house to his apostles, the doors being shut fast, were not these acts of a glorified body?"

"Then my Lord of Dover helped him to a better place, and said, 'When Christ was in Mount Tabor, he was there glorified in his apostles' sight.'"

Harpsfield.—"Ye say truth, my Lord, he was glorified in the sight of three of his apostles."

Bland.—"This methinks is new doctrine."

Harpsfield.—"Well, seeing he will by no other way be reformed, let the people come in, and prove these matters against him." And therewith the archdeacon brought forth a copy of the bill of complaint that was put against me at Christmas, and about that we talked a little. And then Master Archdeacon rose up and said, "See ye, good people that know this matter, that ye come in, and prove it against him." Whereunto answered Thomas Austen, "I pray you," said he, "let us be no more troubled with him."

"And then spake John Austen, and Heath with one eye, and began to accuse me; but no answer they could have of me, but, 'Do to me what ye can by law, and I will answer it.' Then said Thomas Austen, 'Bland, ye were once abjured.'"

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Bland.—"Ye say not truly, goodman Austen, I was never abjured." "Either," said he, "ye were abjured, or else ye had the king's pardon." "Neither of both; ye speak this of malice:" with many other brabbling words more."

"Then Master Archdeacon departed, and left Master Collins to command me to appear the next day. Howbeit, for certain other urgent business that I had, I did not appear, but wrote a letter to Master Commissary, desiring him to respite the matter till my coming home again; and if he would not, I would be content to submit myself to the law when I came home.

{Ornamental capital £311}NOW about the twenty-eighth day of June I came to Master Commissary to show him of my return, and offered myself to satisfy the law, if it were proceeded against me, before Master Cox of Surrey, and Marks the apparitor: but Master Commissary said gently, he had done nothing against me; and so appointed me to appear before him the Friday seven-night after.

"Now in the mean time was the sessions holden at Cranbrook, where I was bound to appear; and carrying surety with me to be bound again, for I looked for none other, did appear the third of July.

"And Sir John Baker said, 'Bland, ye are, as we hear say, a Scot: where were ye born and brought up?' And I said I was born in England. And he said, 'Where?' And I said, 'In Sedberg, and brought up by one Doctor Lupton, provost of Eton college.' 'Well,' said he, 'I know him well. Remain to your bond till afternoon.'

"Then said Sir Thomas Moyle, 'Ah! Bland, thou art a stiff-hearted fellow. Thou wilt not obey the law, nor answer when thou art called.' 'Nor will,' quoth Sir John Baker. 'Master Sheriff, take him to your ward.' and the bailiff set me in the stocks, with others, and would not hear me speak one word. And so we remained in the gaol of Maidstone, till a fortnight after Michaelmas, or thereabouts; and then we were carried to Rochester, to the assize holden there, where we were among the prisoners two days. And when we were called, and the judges of assize asked our causes, when my cause was rehearsed, Master Barrow, clerk of the peace, said, that I was an excommunicate person.

"Then Master Roper of Linsted talked with the judges, but what, I am not able to say: but the judges of assize said, 'Take them to Maidstone again, and bring them to the sessions that shall be holden next at the town of Malden.' Howbeit, the sheriff did not send for us, so that we tarried at Maidstone till the sessions holden at Greenwich the eighteenth and nineteenth of February [1555]. I and others, being within the bar amongst the felons, and irons upon our arms, were called out the latter day by the jailer and bailiffs, and eased of our irons, and carried by them into the town to Sir John Baker, Master Petit, Master Web, and two others whom I know not."

Another examination of Master Bland before Sir John Baker. Feb. 19, 1555.

Baker.—"Bland, wherefore were ye cast into prison?"

Bland.—"I cannot well tell. Your Mastership cast me in."

Baker.—"Yea, but wherefore were you in before that time?"

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Bland.—"For an unjust complaint put upon me."

Baker.—"What was the complaint?"

(I told him as truly and as briefly as I could.)

Baker.—"Let me see thy book;"(and I took him a Latin Testament.)

Baker.—"Will ye go to the church, and obey and follow the queen's proceedings, and do as an honest man should do?"

Bland.—"I trust in God to do no otherwise but as an honest man should do."

Baker.—"Will ye do as I said?"

Bland.—"Will it please your Mastership to give me leave to ask you a question?"

Baker.—"Yea."

Bland.—"Sir, may a man do any thing that his conscience is not satisfied in to be good?"

Baker.—"Away, away" and threw down the book and said, "It is no Testament." And I said, "Yes." And Master Web took it up, and said unto me marvellous gently, "Master Bland, I knew you when ye were not of this opinion. I would to God ye would reform yourself;" with better words than I will write. And I said, "If ye have known me of another opinion than I am of now, it was for lack of knowledge."

Baker.—"Yea, sayest thou so? By St. Mary, and thou hold thee there, I will give six faggots to burn thee withal, ere thou shouldest be unburned: hence, knave, hence!" And so were we reprieved into our place again within the bar. And at night, when judgment of felons and all was done, we were called, and the judge said to the jailer, "Take them with you, and deliver them to the ordinary, and if they will not be reformed, let them be delivered to us again, and they shall have judgment and execution." And one of our company said, "My Lord, if we be killed at your hands for Christ's sake, we shall live with him for ever."

Another appearance of Master Bland in the Spiritual Court. March 2, 1555.

"Then came we to the castle of Canterbury, and there we remained till the second of March, at which day we were brought into the chapter-house of Creechurch, where were set the suffragan of Canterbury, Master Collins, Master Mills, with others; and then went to them Master Oxenden, Master Petit, Master Web, and Master Hardes, justices. And when I was called, Master Web said, 'Here we present this man unto you, as one vehemently suspected of heresy.'

"And I said, 'Master Web, ye have no cause to suspect me of heresy. I have been a prisoner this whole year, and no matter proved against me. I pray you, wherefore have I been so long kept in prison?'"

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Web.—"Leave your arrogant asking of questions, and answer to that that is laid to your charge."

Bland.—"I do so; for I say you have no cause to suspect me of heresy."

Web.—"Yes; ye denied to Sir John Baker to be conformable to the queen's proceedings."

Bland.—"Is it a just cause to suspect me of heresy for asking a question with leave?" So we had more words there than I well remember.

"Then stood up Master Petit, and said, 'Ye were cast into prison, because ye fled away from your ordinary.'"

Bland.—"Then have I had wrong; for I never fled, nor disobeyed mine ordinary, nor did any thing contrary to the law. Let them now say if I did:" but they said nothing. And when I saw they held their peace, I said, "Master Commissary, have you been the cause of this mine imprisonment?" "No." quoth he; "ye know that when ye went from me, ye were appointed to appear the Friday after the sessions." Here I was suffered to speak no more, but shut up in a corner till my companions were likewise presented: and then we were sent to Westgate, into prison, and were put in several close holds, that never one of us could speak to another, nor any man was permitted to come to us. We were four times at this appearance: but one they despatched, (by what means I cannot tell,) whose name was Cornwall, a tanner."

And thus hitherto passed the talk between Bland and the justices, and certain gentlemen of the shire. Now followeth the order of the reasoning between him and the clergymen before whom he was examined. But forasmuch as the chiefest doer and judge against him was the bishop of Dover, or suffragan of Canterbury, called Dr. Richard Thornton, to the intent it may appear what little truth or constancy is in these catholic persecutors, I thought here to exhibit by the way a certain popish letter, written of a papist unto him; wherein is declared what a gospeller the said Richard Thornton was in King Edward's time, who now, turning with the world, sheweth himself such a bitter persecutor against God's servants in Queen Mary's time. The copy of this letter here followeth

"Right reverend, and my good Lord,—after my hearty thanks for your good cheer at my last being with your Lordship, this shall be to certify you, that as soon as I arrived with my Lord's Grace, I gave him your letters: but I had much work to obtain any thing of him for you. For there have been given very evil informations of you, and it hath been said, that you have concurred with all manner of evil proceedings, the which hath these years past been in England, as well against the holy sacrament of the altar, and against the supreme authority of Christ's vicar in earth, as with the use of the abominable late communion, and with the marriage of priests, as well religious as secular; and that you have given orders to (I cannot tell how many) base, unlearned, and evil disposed people, by reason of the which they have taken upon them to preach, and to do much hurt in Kent. So that men think that yet, if any new mutation (the which God forbid) should chance, you would be as ready to change as any other. And indeed it maketh me to fear the same, by reason that notwithstanding it hath pleased Almighty God to provide that your absolution was sent unto you (not looking, I dare say, for any such thing) of all manner of

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matters past, yet your Lordship (more regarding the vanity of the world, than the offence of God, the which he only knoweth how much it grieves me, for the due love I bear unto you) presumed to sing mass in pontificalibus, the holy-days immediately following; and also to ministrate to children the sacrament of confirmation, because that one (being a member of the devil) did somewhat comfort you so to do.

"O my Lord, what honour should it have been both to God and yourself, and also edification to all good people, (though all worldly men and heretics would therefore have laughed you to scorn,) if you, considering your great offences toward God, and his goodness again toward you, would, like as you have offended in the face of the world to the damnation of many, likewise have showed yourself penitent in the face of the world to the edification of many, and not only to have celebrated for vanity *pontificaliter*; but also for a time to have abstained for reverence *totaliter* from the altar, according to the old custom of the church; the which I have also seen observed of some honest men, not being thereto enjoined of any man: but that which is past cannot be called again. And I thought it not my part to leave your Lordship, mine old friend and master, in the mire. Wherefore I ceased not to solicit your cause with my Lord's Grace, till at the last I obtained of his Grace, for your Lordship, all the faculties of the which I send you a copy here enclosed, partly for your own consolation, and partly for others, desiring your Lordship so to use them to the honour of God, that there come to me thereof no rebuke; not publishing them to any person, but to such that you know will gladly receive them: for hitherto there is never a bishop in England, who hath granted him so great authority concerning those which be under his cure. Only Master Archdeacon hath the like, and in one thing more great than be these your Lordship's. Wherefore your Lordship shall do well to remit unto him all such priests as have cure of soul, whether they be beneficed men, or parish priests. For he hath not only authority to absolve them, as you have, but also to give them authority to absolve such as be underneath their cures. And thus I commit your Lordship to the protection of Almighty God.—Written at Brussels, the sixteenth of June, 1554.

"Your Lordship's bead-man.

THOMAS GOLDWELL."

And thus much concerning the bishop of Dover, by way of digression. Now to return again to the examinations of Master Bland, let us hear his own report of his answers, as followeth:

Bland.—"Here followeth mine answer, as nigh as I can call to remembrance, every word and sentence; yet if any that was present can help to perfect it, I would be glad. But yet this dare I say, that there is never one sentence, but it was openly spoken the ninth of March, in the chapter-house of Cree-church, in the presence of as many as they had chosen; the mayor of the city being called to be assistant, and all others shut out."

"Master Collins said, 'Master Bland, ye know that ye are presented unto us as one suspected of heresy. How say ye, be ye contented to reform yourself to the laws of this realm, and of the holy church?'"

Bland.—"I deny that I am suspected justly of heresy, and this ye heard when I was presented, that I denied the suspicion to be just, but to defend the unjust punishment that I have

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suffered: neither can ye prove that any occasion hath been given by me, whereby any man should suspect me therein. But if you have any law or authority to proceed against me for any thing done for a whole year ago and more, I will answer to it."

Collins.—"Ye were convented before Master Archdeacon and me, and matter of heresy laid to your charge."

Bland.—"That matter was done and said a whole year ago, and for that I have been in prison this year and more. If ye have any thing against me by any law, I desire you to let me know the law and the matter, and I will answer according to the law."

"Then said my Lord Suffragan, But that I am one of the judges, I would rise, and stand by thee, and accuse thee to be a sacramentary, and bring witness to prove it; yea, and further, that thou hast called the mass an abominable idol."

Bland.—"You, my Lord, never heard me say so: but I heard you once say, that in your conscience ye had abhorred the mass three years." "Thou liest," quoth he, "I never said so."

Bland.—"My Lord, if they might be heard, I can bring witness to approve it, with the day, time, and place; and I once did hear Master Collins, at a visitation in Wingham, say, that Christ was a full satisfaction for all sin present, past, and to come; contrary to that he saith now."

"And here we had more words of this matter, which I do let pass for lack of good remembrance.

"Master Collins said, 'This is but a drift. You were better answer now; for else you shall go to prison again, and be called on Monday, and have articles laid to you, and if ye then answer not directly, ye shall be condemned *pro confesso*, and that will be worse for you.'

Bland.—"Sir, I do not now, nor will then deny to answer any thing that ye can lay to my charge by the law: wherefore I trust ye will let me have the benefit of the law."

Collins.—"This is the law, that if ye be required of the ordinary, *reddere rationem fidei*, then may ye not deny it. And that we do now."

Bland.—"To that then will I answer: for I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord, with all the other articles of the same creed; and I believe all the articles contained both in the creed called the mass creed, and in the creed of Athanasius; and I do believe, that all the Holy Scriptures, and all things therein contained, are most true."

Collins.—"This will not serve you: ye must answer to all such articles in all these as shall be laid to you, or asked of you."

Bland.—"Let me know the law, that it is in that force, (without any just cause of suspicion proved against me,) and I will answer."

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Collins.—"How say ye, will ye answer?"

Bland.—"Sir, I have answered you." "Have him away," said my Lord of Dover; "he had better have answered."

Bland.—"My Lord, I am ready to answer, if ye have any thing against me by the law."

Bishop of Dover.—"Ye have preached many heresies in Adisham, where I am parson now; and therefore ye must make answer to them."

Bland.—"Lay them to my charge by the law, and I will answer then, if ye can approve that I am bound to answer to that was done a year and more ago: for if ye may do that, ye may also lay to my charge, and compel me to answer to, all things done in all my life, I trow."

Collins.—"It is not a year ago since you were before Master Archdeacon and me."

Bland.—"It is truth, it is a year and ten weeks since the words were spoken; and I have been a prisoner ever since, and have been at five sessions, and never could have my cause tried. Methinketh your charities should think it punishment enough, if I had been guilty."

Collins.—"All this will not serve you; you must needs answer, and it will be better for you to answer now, than another time. Will ye reform yourself, and go to the church, and worship Christ in the blessed sacrament of the altar; and be obedient unto all the queen's laws?"

Bland.—"I pray you, wherefore am I brought hither?"

Collins.—"To answer to such things as are demanded of you."

Bland.—"Sir, I thought ye had some matters against me by the law."

Collins.—"Well, on Monday, at nine of the clock, ye shall see the law, and have articles laid unto you."

"Then they had spied Master Cox the lawyer, and called him in, and said, 'Here is a lawyer can tell you are bound by the law to answer:' and he said as they had said."

Collins.—"Do ye not believe, that after the consecration of the blessed sacrament of the altar, there remaineth no substance of bread, but the substance of Jesus Christ, both God and man?"

Bland.—"Master Commissary, I know not by any law why ye should ask me that question. more than any other man here." And after a little talk, my Lord of Dover asked me this question "Dost not thou believe, after the consecration, that it is the body of Christ?" And I said, "No, I do not so believe: for the Scriptures do not teach me that there should remain the flesh of Christ, to eat as a man should eat man's flesh."

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"Then Master Glasier said, 'That was the opinion of the Capernaïtes; there is no man here of that opinion:' and spake long of cutting Christ's body, as men cut flesh in the shambles.

"Then Master Doctor Faucet said, 'Master Bland, forasmuch as you and I were brought up both in one house, and born both in one parish, I would be as glad as any man alive to do you good: but ye may not thus stand against the church, for Christ saith, Ye must humble yourself, and take up his cross, and follow him. And to humble yourself in this place, is to be content, and not stick to your own judgment, but to humble yourself to the holy church, which hath determined, that after the consecration there remaineth no bread, but the natural body and blood of Christ."

Bland.—"Master Doctor, if ye take humbling of ourselves in that place, to admit the determination of the church, then must we know by the Scriptures, that the same church determined nothing but according to the Scriptures, as this is not: and therefore I do not believe any such transubstantiation; nor ever will, God willing." "Then, quoth he, "I have done with you: I will no more pray for you than for a dog."

"Then said Master Glasier,—'How think ye? Did Paul, when he said, Is not the bread that we break a partaking of the body of Christ? did he mean baker's bread?'"

Bland.—"Though he did not mean baker's bread, that doth not prove that he brake natural and real flesh."

Glasier.—"No, by St. Mary, we say not so; but we say it is the natural body glorified, under the forms of bread and wine."

Bland.—"Then the apostles had it not as we have: or else his glorified body was crucified for us."

Glasier.—"Tush, ye do not understand the Scriptures; for Christ's body was ever glorified, in that it was so marvellously united to the Godhead: yea, and he showed his body divers times glorified, as in the Mount Tabor; and when he walked on the water, we see he was light, and had no weight in him. Was not that then a glorified body?"

Bland.—"Then belike Peter's body was glorified, if walking on the water was the deed of a glorified body: and the iron that Elizeus made to swim upon the water."

"'Tush,' quoth my Lord of Dover, 'that was done by prayer.' But they made such a noise with laughing, that I heard no more what my Lord said."

Bland.—"Masters, I know that it availeth us nothing to reason with you, no more than it booted you in the time of the gospel. For then neither the reason of Eckius, Cochläus, nor yet of the detection of the devil's sophistry of my Lord Chancellor's doing, could take any place. And it is known that some be here, that something I can say in them."

Dover.—"No, you know Æcolampadius, Zuinglius, and such others."

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Bland.—"Indeed, my Lord, I have seen part of their doings."

Dover.—"That is seen by thee to-day."

Glasier.—"I was glad, when I heard you say ye believed the catholic church; and now go you from it?"

Bland.—"No, that I do not."

Glasier.—"Ye know that Christ saith, If thy brother have offended thee, go and reconcile him between thee and him. If he hear thee not, take two or three with thee, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses all things may be established. If he hear not them, tell it to the church, *die ecclesiae*; if he hear not the church, take him as a heathen. I pray you where could ye have found this church of yours fifty years ago?"

Bland.—"Ye know that the true church did not at all times flourish, but was wonderfully persecuted."

"Then my Lord of Dover cried, 'No more, I command you to hold your peace. Have him away and bring in another.'"

Collins.—"Ye shall come again on Monday, at nine of the clock, and in the mean time ye shall have whom ye will to confer withal: your friend Dr. Faucet, or Master Glasier, if ye desire them."

Bland.—"I will refuse to talk with no man. As for any conference of your part, it is but weak laws, established as they are: but when there was no law, I did desire conference." And so for that time I departed.

"The Monday after we were brought forth to the same place again; and then Master Collins began to speak to me, but after what manner, it is clean out of my mind: but the end was, that I would reform myself. But, as I did before, I demanded what they had to lay to my charge, and to see the law, which, they said before, I should see."

Dover.—"What needs that? we have enough against you: for ye denied to me transubstantiation in the sacrament."

Bland.—"I did refuse to answer, till ye promised that I should see the law, whereby ye may compel me to answer."

"My Lord of Dover took the scribe's book, and read the answer that I made to Dr. Faucet's reason, which I knew not that they had written."

Bland.—"My Lord, I made you no such answer when ye asked me: I take Master Collins and Master Glasier to witness."

"Then they brought forth a Decretal, a book of the bishop of Rome's law, to bind me to answer, which my heart abhorred to look upon. The effect was, that the ordinary had authority to examine, and that they, so examined, must needs answer. But I said, that it meant of such as were justly suspected, as I was not. And here we had much communication; for I charged them with unjust imprisonment, which they could not avoid. But Master Oxenden would have helped them, and said, the justices put me in prison for a sermon seditiously spoken, and for troubling a priest at mass."

Bland.—"That is not true; for, after I had been ten weeks in prison, I was bailed, till I was cast in again, and (as the justice said) for the disobeying mine ordinary, which I never did."

Collins.—"Will ye be content to confer with some? It will be better for you. Now we offer it you, because ye would not desire it."

Bland.—"As I did not refuse before, no more will I now. But I did not perceive before, but that one thing might have come, without any leave-asking, to confer the Scriptures; and therefore I looked that Dr. Faucet would have come to me without desiring, if any commodity to me had been in conference: for though I was never able to do him good, yet once I was his tutor."

Collins.—"Are ye content to come to his chamber at afternoon?"

Bland.—"Sir, I am a prisoner; and therefore it is meet that I obey, and come whither you will," and so departed.

"At this time we were three: but, they took another to appear before them the Tuesday sevensnight after. And when he came, I knew not what was done, but that I hear they excommunicated him, and let him go. His name was Miller, a clothier."

Here followeth a certain confutation of Master Bland against false and manifest absurdities, granted by Master Mills, priest of Christ's Church in Canterbury.

Mills.—"We say, that Christ is in or under the sacrament really and corporally, which are the forms of bread and wine, and that there is his body contained invisibly; and the qualities which we do see, as whiteness and roundness, be there without substance by God's power, as quantity and weight be there also by invisible measure."

Bland.—"This is your own divinity, to make accidents the sacrament, and Christ's real body invisibly contained in them, and so to destroy the sacrament. And yet the doctors say, *Materia sacramenti est panis et vinum*. And God by his power worketh no miracles with *Hoc est corpus meum*, so to change the substance of bread and wine into his body and blood, in that he maketh accidents to be without their substance by invisible measure. I am ashamed to see you so destroy Christ's sacrament, contrary to your own doctors, and trifle so with God's work."

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Mills.—"To Christ is given all power in heaven and in earth; so that by the omnipotent power of his Godhead he may be and is where he listeth; and is in the sacrament really and corporally without occupying of place; for a glorified body occupieth no place."

Bland.—"Mark your own reason: all power is given to Christ both in heaven and earth. By the omnipotent power of his Godhead he may be where he list: ergo, he is in the sacrament really and corporally, without occupying of place. I deny your argument; for it followeth neither of your major nor minor. And, first, I would learn of you, how you know that Christ listeth to be present at every priest's list. For if the priest list not to say your mass, then Christ listeth not to be there. Again, ye say, all power is given unto Christ both in heaven and in earth, so that that is the cause, by your reason, that by the omnipotent power of his Godhead he may be where he list: and by that reason he had no power of his Godhead, till he had his human body; and then he was not equal with the Father in Divinity: for all power was not given to Christ, before the humanity and the Godhead were knit together, neither was he *filius*. Here is more danger than ye are aware of, if ye would stand to it with just judges."

Mills.—"We eat Christ's flesh and blood spiritually, when we receive it with faith and charity; and we also do eat it corporally in the sacrament. And the body that we so receive hath life; for the Godhead is annexed thereto: which, although it be received with the body of Christ, yet it is not invisible after a gross sort. And the flesh of Christ that we receive is lively; for it hath the Spirit of God joined to it. And if a man be drunken, it is not by receiving of the blood of Christ, for it is contrary to the nature of Christ's blood. If he be drunken, it is by the qualities and quantities, without substance of blood."

Bland.—"I am glad that you are so much against all men, to say that Christ's body is alive in the sacrament: it may fortune to bring you to the truth in time to come. Methinketh it is evil to keep Christ's body alive in the pix, or else must ye grant, that he is alive in receiving, and dead in the pix. And ye say truth, that it is not the natural receiving of Christ's blood that maketh a man drunken, for it is the nature of wine that doth that; which ye deny not. And a more truth ye confess than ye did think, when ye said, 'If a man be drunken, it is by the qualities and quantities, without the substance of blood;' for indeed blood hath no such qualities with it: by which it is evident that there is no natural blood. If a man be drunken with wine consecrated, it must be a miracle, as I think you will have it, that the said accidents should be without their natural substance, and work all the operations of both substance and accidents: and so it followeth, that a man may be drunken by miracle. The body that ye receive, ye say, is alive, because it is annexed to the Godhead, and the flesh that ye receive is lively, because it hath the Spirit of God joined to it. This division is of your new inventions, to divide the body and the flesh, the one alive by the Godhead, the other lively by God's Spirit, and both one sacrament: ye make of it a thing so fantastical, that ye imagine a body without flesh, and flesh without a body, as ye do qualities and quantities without substance, and a living body without qualities and quantities."

Mills.—"If case so require, and there be a godly intent in the minister to consecrate, after the consecration thereof, there is present the body and blood of Christ, and no other substance but accidents without substance, to a true believer."

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Bland.—"Ye grant three absurdities, that in a tun of wine consecrated is nothing but accidents: and to increase it withal, ye have brought in two inconveniences; first, that it is not the word of God that doth consecrate, but the intent of the priest must help it. And if that lack, ye seem to grant no consecration, though the priest speak the word; and yet your doctors say, that the wickedness of the priest minisheth not the sacrament. And to an unbeliever ye seem to say, that it is not the same that it is to the true believer; and then must the believer have something to do in the consecration. *Incidit in Scyllam, qui vult vitare Charibdim.*

Mills.—"The substance of Christ's body doth not fill the mouse's belly; for although he doth receive the outward forms of bread and wine, yet he doth not receive the substance inwardly, but without violation. And a mouse doth not eat the body of Christ, to speak properly; for it doth not feed him spiritually or corporally, as it doth man, because he doth not receive it to any inducement of immortality to the flesh."

Bland.—"Ye make not your doctrine plain to be understood: we must know how a mouse can receive the substance inwardly and outwardly. Ye say he doth not receive the substance inwardly, but without violation: ergo, with violation he receiveth the substance inwardly. Ye say that the mouse cannot violate Christ's body; but he violateth the substance that he eateth. And this your proper speech doth import as much as that the mouse should eat the sacrament to as great effect, and the same thing, as doth the unworthy receiver; for, if that be the cause that she properly eateth not the body of Christ, because she doth not feed upon it spiritually nor corporally, nor receiveth it to any inducement of immortality, as ye say; then it followeth, that the unbeliever and the mouse receive both one thing. And yet it cannot be denied but the mouse will live with consecrated bread; and then ye must grant the absurdity, that a substance is nourished and fed only with accidents."

Mills.—"Men's bodies be fed with Christ's body, as with immortal meat, by reason of the Godhead annexed to eternal life; but men's bodies be corporally nourished with qualities and forms of bread and wine; and we deny that, by the sacramental eating, any gross humour turned into blood is made miraculously in the body."

Bland.—"Whereas it cannot be denied that a man may live, and naturally be nourished in his natural body, with the sacramental bread and wine consecrated, ye cannot avoid that. But then ye turn to the spiritual nourishing of man's body, by Christ's body and Godhead annexed, which is nothing to put away the absurdity, that either a man's natural body should be fed naturally with accidents, or else to have them changed into gross humours. But ye say, 'Men's bodies be corporally nourished with qualities and forms of bread and wine;' and then must ye needs grant, that qualities and quantities must be made substance in man. For *ex eisdem sunt et nutriuntur mixta*, or else all that is the nutriment in man, is accidents, and no substance."

Mills.—"If the forms of bread and wine be burned, or worms engendered, it is no derogation to the body of Christ, because the presence of his body ceaseth to be there, and no substance cometh again."

Bland.—"Ye grant here, that a substance may be made of accidents, as ashes or worms: but I think you will have it by your miracles. And this I count a more absurdity than the other,

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that Christ's body should cease to be there, and no substance to come again: for no word in all the whole Bible seems to serve you for the ceasing of his presence, though we granted you (which we do not) that it were there. God Almighty open your heart—if it be his will and pleasure—to see the truth. And if I thought not my death to be at hand, I would answer you to all the rest, in these and all other my doings. I submit myself to our Saviour Jesus Christ, and his holy word, desiring you in the bowels of Christ to do the same."

"Your orator in the Lord.
JOHN BLAND."

Another appearance and examination of John Bland. June 13, 1555.

Hitherto you have heard the troublesome handling of this faithful and blessed servant of God, John Bland, tost to and fro, from prison to prison, from session to session. At last he was brought before the bishop of Dover, the commissary, and the archdeacon, at Canterbury, the thirteenth day of June. The name of this bishop was Richard Thornton; the commissary was Robert Collins, whom the cardinal, by his letters patent, had substituted to be his factor, before his coming over to England; the archdeacon was Nicholas Harpsfield. Under these a great sort of innocent lambs of Christ were cruelly entreated and slain at Canterbury, amongst whom this aforesaid Master Bland was one of the first; who, as it is said, being brought before the said bishop, and his colleagues, which were John Frankesh, Nicholas Sheterden, Thomas Thacker, Humfrey Middleton, William Cocker, was examined of articles. To whom it was objected by the commissary, whether he believed that Christ is really in the sacrament, or no, &c. To this he answered and said, that he believed that Christ is in the sacrament, as he is in all other good bodies: so that he judged not Christ to be really in the sacrament.

The last appearance of John Bland. June 20, 1555.



hereupon, the day being Monday, he was bid to appear again upon Wednesday next; and from thence he was deferred again to Monday following, being the twentieth of June, in the same chapter-house, then to hear further what should he done, in case he would not relent to their mind. The which day and place he, appearing as before, was required to say his mind plainly and fully to the foresaid articles, being again repeated to him: which articles, commonly and in course, they use to object to their examinatees which be brought before them, as here now followeth, and need not much hereafter, specially for that country of Kent, to be repeated.

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Articles ministered by Richard, bishop of Dover, to Master Bland, and likewise to the rest following after him.

"First, that thou art of the diocese of Canterbury, and so subject to the jurisdiction of the archbishop there.

"II. Item, that thou art a Christian man, and dost profess the laws of God, and faith of Christ's catholic church, and the determination of the same.

"III. Item, that all parsons which teach, preach, believe, affirm, hold, maintain, or say, within the diocese of Canterbury, otherwise than our holy mother the church doth, are excommunicate persons, and heretic, and as excommunicate and heretics ought to be named, reputed, and taken.

"IV. Item, that thou, contrary to the catholic faith, and determination of our mother holy church, within the diocese of Canterbury, hast openly spoken, maintained, holden, affirmed, and believed, and yet dost hold, maintain, affirm, and believe, that in the blessed sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, there is not the very body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ in substance, but only a token, sign, and remembrance thereof, and that the very body and blood of Christ is only in heaven, and no where else.

"V. Item, that thou, contrary to the catholic faith, and determination of our mother holy church, hast within this diocese of Canterbury openly spoken, said, maintained, holden, affirmed, and believed, and yet dost hold, maintain, affirm, and believe, that it is against God's word, that the sacrament of Christ's church should be ministered in an unknown tongue; and that no man, safely and with a safe conscience, or without peril of sin, receiveth any sacrament ministered in any tongue that he understandeth not.

"VI. Item, that thou, contrary to the catholic faith of our mother holy church, hast, and yet dost hold opinion, and say, that it is against God's word, that the sacrament of the altar should be ministered in one kind; and that no man may with a safe conscience so receive it.

"VII. Item, that the premises be true, and that there is a common fame upon them within the diocese of Canterbury."

The answers of Master Bland to the foresaid articles.

"To these articles Master Bland, answering again in order as they were objected to him, saith to the first, (granting the same,) that he was a priest, and of the diocese of Canterbury.

"To the second also he answereth affirmatively.

"Item, to the third he answereth, that the article is true; meaning the catholic church to be Christ's church.

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"Item, in the fourth article, as touching the first part of the article, he doth confess, that he hath preached and taught it, as it is contained in the same. And as touching the second part of the article, he doth confess, that he doth now also hold and say, as he preached and taught before.

"Item, to the fifth article he granteth.

"To the sixth, he hath preached, held, and doth hold, as it is contained in the article.

"Item, to the seventh and last article he granteth the same," &c.

This done, and his answers and confession taken, respite was given him yet a few days to deliberate with himself. So, the twenty-fifth day of the said month of June, he, making his appearance again in the said chapter-house, there openly and boldly withstood the authority of the pope; whereupon his sentence was read, and so he condemned and committed to the secular power. Touching the form and tenor of the sentence, because all their sentences of course agree in one, read before in the history of Master Rogers.

The prayer of John Bland before his death.

"The Lord Jesus, for whose love I do willingly leave this life, and desire rather the bitter death of this cross, with the loss of all earthly things, than to abide the blasphemy of thy holy name, or else to obey man in breaking of thy commandments: thou seest, O Lord, that whereas I might live in worldly wealth to worship false gods, and honour thy enemy, I chose rather the torments of this body, and loss of this my life, and have counted all things but vile dust and dung, that I might win thee; which death is more clear unto me, than thousands of gold and silver. Such love, O Lord, hast thou laid up in my breast, that I hunger for thee, as the deer that is wounded desireth the soil. Send thy holy comfort, O Lord, to aid, comfort, and strengthen this weak piece of earth, which is void of all strength of itself. Thou rememberest, O Lord, that I am but dust, and not able to do any thing that is good. Therefore, O Lord, as thou of thy accustomed goodness hast bidden me to this banquet, and counted me worthy to drink of thine own cup amongst thine elect; give me strength against this element, that as it is to my sight most irksome and terrible, so to my mind it may be, at thy commandment, as an obedient servant, sweet and pleasant; and, through the strength of thy Holy Spirit, I may pass through the strength of this fire into thy bosom, according unto thy promise, and for this mortality to receive immortality, and for this corruptible to put on incorruptible. Accept this burnt-offering and sacrifice, O Lord, not for the sacrifice itself, but for thy dear Son's sake my Saviour; for whose testimony I offer this free-will offering with all my heart and with all my soul. O heavenly Father, forgive me my sins, as I forgive the whole world. O sweet Saviour, spread thy wings over me. O God, grant me thy Holy Ghost, through whose merciful inspiration I am come hither. Conduct me unto everlasting life. Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit: Lord Jesus, receive my soul. So be it! "

298. Nicholas Sheterden, John Frankesh, and Humfrey Middleton.



AVING now passed over the examinations of Master Bland, let us further proceed to the rest of his fellows con-captives, being joined the same time with him in the like cause and like affliction; the names of whom were Nicholas Sheterden, John Frankesh, Humfrey Middleton, Thacker, and Cocker, of whom Thacker only gave back. The rest, constantly standing to the truth, were altogether condemned by the suffragan of Canterbury, the twenty-fifth day of June, the year above expressed; touching whose examinations I shall not need long to stand. Forasmuch as the articles ministered against them were all one, so in their answers they little or nothing disagreed, as hereafter (by the Lord's help) you shall hear. In

the mean time, because Nicholas Sheterden in his examinations had a little more large talk with the archdeacon and the commissary, I will first begin with the same.

"First, the archdeacon and commissary affirmed, that the very bare words of Christ, when he said, This is my body, did change the substance, without any other interpretation or spiritual meaning of the words."

Sheterden.—"Then, belike, when Christ said, This cup is my blood, the substance of the cup was changed into his blood, without any other meaning, and so the cup was changed, and not the wine."

Harpsfield.—"Not so; for when Christ said, This cup is my blood, he meant not the cup, but the wine in the cup."

Sheterden.—"If Christ spake one thing, and meant another, then the bare words did not change the substance; but there must be a meaning sought as well of the bread, as of the cup."

Harpsfield.—"There must be a meaning sought of the cup otherwise than the words stand; but of the bread it must be understood only as it standeth, without any other meaning."

Sheterden.—"Then do ye make one half of Christ's institution a figure, or borrowed speech, and the other half a plain speech; and so ye divide Christ's supper."

Harpsfield.—"Christ meant the wine, and not the cup, though he said, This cup is my blood."

Sheterden.—"Then show me whether the words which the priests do speak over the cup, do change the substance, or whether the mind of the priest doth it?"

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Harpsfield.—"The mind of the priest doth it, and not the words."

Sheterden.—"If the mind of the priest doth it, and not the words, if the priest then do mind his harlot, or any other vain thing, that thing so minded was there made, and so the people do worship the priest's harlot, instead of Christ's blood. And again, none of the people can tell when it is Christ's blood, or when it is not, seeing the matter standeth in the mind of the priest; for no man can tell what the priest meaneth but himself; and so are they ever in danger of committing idolatry."

"Then was the archdeacon somewhat moved, and sat him down, and said to the commissary, 'I pray you, Master Commissary, speak you to him another while; for they are unreasonable and perverse answers as ever I heard of.'

"Then stood up the commissary, and said, 'Your argument is much against yourself; for ye grant that the bread is a figure of Christ's body, but the cup can be no figure of his blood, nor yet his very blood; and therefore Christ did not mean the cup, but the wine in the cup.'"

Sheterden.—"My argument is not against me at all; for I do not speak it to prove that the cup is his blood, nor the figure of his blood, but to prove that the bare words being spoken of the priest, do not change the substance any more of the bread, than they do change the cup into blood."

Commissary.—"It could not be spoken of the cup, when he said, This cup is my blood; but he meant the wine in the cup."

Sheterden.—"Then it remaineth for you to answer my question to the archdeacon; that is, whether the mind of the priest, when he speaketh over the cup, doth change it into blood, or the bare words?"

Commissary.—"Both together do it, the words and the mind of the priest together; yea, the intent and the words together do it."

Sheterden.—"If the words and intent together do change the substance, yet must the cup be his blood, and not the wine; forasmuch as the words are, This cup is my blood, and the intent, ye say, was the wine: or else the words take none effect, but the intent only."

"After, the commissary in his chamber said, it was the intent of the priest before he went to mass, without the words; for if the priest did intend to do as holy church had ordained, then the intent made the sacrament to take effect."

Sheterden.—"If the sacraments take effect of the intent of the priest, and not of God's word, then many parishes having a priest that intendeth not well, are utterly deceived, both in baptizing, and also worshipping that thing to be God, which is but bread; because, for lack of the priest's intent, the words do take none effect in it: so that by this it is ever doubtful, whether they worship Christ, or bread, because it is doubtful what the priests do intend."

"Then the commissary would prove to me, that Christ's manhood was in two places at one time, by these words of Christ in John iii., where he saith, No man ascendeth up to heaven, but he that came down from heaven; that is to say, the Son of man which is in heaven. By this he would prove, that Christ was then in heaven and in earth also, naturally and bodily."

Sheterden.—"This place and other must needs be understood for the unity of the person, in that Christ was God and man; and yet the matter must be referred to the Godhead, or else ye must fall into great error."

Commissary.—"This is not so: for it was spoken of the manhood of Christ, forasmuch as he saith, the Son of man which is in heaven."

Sheterden.—"If ye will needs understand it to be spoken of Christ's manhood, then must ye fall into the error of the Anabaptists, which deny that Christ took flesh of the Virgin Mary; for if there be no body ascended up, but that which came down, where is then his incarnation? for then he brought his body down with him."

Commissary.—"Lo, how you seek an error in me, and yet see not how ye err yourself; for it cannot be spoken of the Godhead, except ye grant that God is passible: for God cannot come down, because he is not passible."

Sheterden.—"If that were a good argument, that God could not come down, because he is not passible; then it might be said, by the like argument, that God could not sit; and then heaven is not his seat: and then say as some do, that God hath no right band for Christ to sit at."

"Then the commissary affirmed plainly that it was true, 'God hath no right hand indeed.'"

Sheterden.—"Oh! what a spoil of Christ's religion will this be, that, because we cannot tell how God came down, therefore we shall say, that he came not down at all; and because we cannot tell what manner of hand he hath, to say that he hath no hand at all; and then he cannot reach the utmost part of the sea. O misery! at length it will come to pass, that God cannot sit, and then how can heaven be his seat; and if heaven be not his seat, then there is no heaven: and then, at length, I doubt ye will say there is no God, or else no other God but such as the heathen gods are, which cannot go nor feel."

Commissary.—"Why, doth not the Scripture say, that God is a Spirit? and what hand can a spirit have?"

Sheterden.—"Truth it is, God is a Spirit, and therefore is worshipped in spirit and truth; and as he is a Spirit, so hath he a spiritual power, so he hath a spiritual seat, a spiritual hand, and a spiritual sword; which we shall feel, if we go this way to work, as we begin. Because we know not what hand God hath, therefore, if we say he hath none, then it may as well be said, there is no Christ."

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"Then the commissary said, he would talk no more with me; and so departed. And also the commissary was compelled to grant, that Christ's testament was broken, and his institution was changed from that he left it: but, he said, they had power so to do."

My first answering, after their law was established.

"Because I know ye will desire to hear from me some certainty of my state, I was called before the suffragan, and seven or eight of the chief priests, and examined of certain articles; and then I required to see their commission. They showed it to me, and said, 'There it is, and the king and queen's letters also.'

"Then I desired to have it read: and so in reading I perceived, that on some notable suspicion he might examine upon two articles; whether Christ's real presence were in the sacrament; and whether the Church of England be Christ's catholic church. To that I answered, that I had been a prisoner three quarters of a year, and as I thought wrongfully: reason would, therefore, that I should answer to those things wherefore I was prisoner.

"The suffragan said, his commission was, I must answer directly, yea or nay. This commission, said I, was not general to examine whom he will, but on just suspicion. He said I was suspected, and presented to him.

"Then I required that the accusation might be showed. He said he was not bound to show it, but he commanded me in the king and queen's name to answer directly."

Sheterden.—"And I, as a subject, do require of you justice: for that I have done, I ask no favour."

"He said I was suspected. I bade him prove that suspicion, or what cause he had to suspect."

Suffragan.—"Thou wast cast into prison for that cause."

Sheterden.—"That was a pretty suspicion, because I had suffered imprisonment contrary to God's law and the realm, that therefore I must now, for amends, be examined of suspicion without cause, to hide all the wrong done to me before. For when I was cast into prison, there was no law but I might speak as I did: therefore, in that point, I could be no more suspected than you which preached the same yourself not long before."

Suffragan.—"That was no matter to thee, what I preached."

Sheterden.—"Well, yet in the king and queen's name I must answer directly: and therefore I require, as a subject, that ye do not extend beyond your commission, but prove me suspect more than you yourself."

"Then said Master Mills, I had written to my mother, and he did see the letter, wherein I persuaded my mother to my opinions."

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Sheterden.—"In that I did but my duty to certify her, I was not in prison for any evil. And that was before the law, also; and therefore no more suspicion was in me, than was in them which taught the like."

Mills.—"Well, ye are required here to answer directly, yea or no."

Sheterden.—"First, then, I require of you to prove his suspicion." And thus we tossed to and fro. At last the bishop said, he himself did suspect me. I asked, whereby?

Sufragan. "Well," said he, "I myself did suspect thee, and it is no matter whereby."

Sheterden.—"But your commission doth not serve you so to do without just cause of suspicion."

Sufragan.—"Well, yet did I suspect you."

Sheterden.—"It is not meet for you to be my accuser and my judge also; for that is too much for one man." And thus many words were multiplied, and they were much grieved.

Mills.—"If you were a Christian man, you would not be ashamed of your faith being required."

Sheterden.—"I am not ashamed indeed, I thank God, and if any man did come to me, either to teach or learn, I would declare it; but, forasmuch as I perceive you come neither to teach nor to learn, I hold it best not to answer you."

Mills.—"If you will not, then will we certify the king's council."

Sheterden.—"I am therewith content that you should certify that I had suffered three quarters' prison wrongfully, and therefore I desire to be justified or condemned, first for that I suffered such imprisonment; and then I will not refuse to answer your articles, though there were a bushel of them. But to say that I would answer, whereby you should heal all your wrong done to me against the law of God and the realm, I will not."

"Here much ado there was, to prove that he had no wrong; and again, that it was not they that did it. But said Sheterden, 'The commissary was one of them.' He answered, 'No, it was the archdeacon.' Sheterden said, 'You sat with him, and he asked your counsel in it: and yet if it were he, it was your church—except the archdeacon and you be divided one from another.' 'Well;' said they, will ye now deny that ye said then, and promise here to submit yourself henceforth, and ye shall be delivered?'"

Sheterden.—"I am not so much bound to you to grant any such promise: and again, you shall well know that I would not promise to go cross the street for you: but if I did at any time offend your law, let me have the punishment. I ask no favour."

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"Then said they, that it was obstinacy in him, that he would not answer, and a token that his faith was naught, seeing he was ashamed to utter it.

"Nay," said Sheterden, 'you shall well know I am not ashamed of my faith: but because you do so greedily seek blood, I will answer only to that you have against me."

Suffragan.—"Nay, you shall answer to the articles, or else be condemned upon suspicion."

Sheterden.—"I am content with that; yet all men shall know, that as ye suspect and can prove no cause, so shall ye condemn me without a matter, and then shall all men know ye seek my blood, and not justice."

Suffragan.—"No, we seek not thy blood, but thy conversion."

Sheterden.—"That we shall see: for then shall you prove my perversion first, before you condemn me on your suspicion without proof of the same: and, by that, I shall know whether you seek blood or no." Many other words were between them.

"At last stepped up one Lovels a lawyer, which would prove his imprisonment not to be wrong, but right, by old statutes of Edward the Fourth, and Henry, &c.; but, at last, he was compelled to forsake those statutes from Michaelmas to Christmas, and then he said, it was no wrong.

"To this Nicholas said, If he could prove that men might wrongfully imprison before a law, and in the mean while make laws, and then, under that, hide the first wrong, then he said true; or else not.

"Thus he kept the ban-dogs at staves' end, not as thinking to escape them, 'but that I would see,' said he, 'the foxes leap above the ground for my blood: if they can reach it, (so it be the will of God,) yet we shall see them gape, and leap for it.'—From Westgate in haste.

"By yours.

NICHOLAS SHETERDEN."

Notes of Nicholas Sheterden, against the false worship and oblation of the sacrament.

"The holy sign instead of the thing signified is servile servitude; as St. Augustine termeth it, when the bread in the sacrament is by common and solemn error worshipped, instead of the flesh assumed of the word of God.

"There was no mention of worshipping the creatures at the feast or first supper that Christ did celebrate: therefore the saying of Christ concerning divorce, may well be applied to them; it was not so from the beginning, nor shall be to the end.

"The once made oblation of Christ is hereby derogate, when this sacramental oblation and offering of thanksgiving is believed to be propitiatory, and that it purgeth the soul as well of

the living as of the dead, against this saying to the Hebrews: With one only oblation he hath made perfect for ever those that are sanctified. Again, Where is remission, there is no more oblation for sins, making us clean by him.

"This word 'by himself' hath a vehemency and pith, that driveth all priests from authority to enterprise such oblation; whereas what he himself doth by himself, he leaveth not for others to do. So seemeth our purgatory already past and done, not to come and remaining to be done."

The examination of Nicholas Sheterden before the bishop of Winchester, then lord chancellor.

"I was called into a chamber before the lord chancellor, the suffragan, and others, priests I think for the most part. He standing to the table, called me to him, and because I saw the cardinal was not there, I bowed myself and stood near.

"Then said he, 'I have sent for you, because I hear you are indicted of heresy; and, being called before the commissioners, ye will not answer nor submit yourself. I said, 'If it like you, I did not refuse to answer; but I did plainly answer, that I had been in prison long time, and reason it was that I should be charged or discharged for that, and not to be examined of articles to hide my wrong imprisonment; neither did I know any indictment against me. If there were any, it could not be just, for I was not abroad since the law was made.'"

Winchester.—"Well, yet if such suspicion be of you, if you be a Christian, ye will declare that it is not true, and so purge yourself."

"I thought it sufficient to answer to mine offences, &c., trusting that they would lay no such burden upon me, whereby the wrong done to me might be covered, but I would be proved to have wrong or right. Winchester said, 'If thou wilt declare thyself to the church to be a Christian, thou shalt go, and then have a writ of wrong imprisonment,' &c.

"I said, 'I am not minded to sue now, but require to have right justice; but to make a promise I will not: but if I offend the law, then punish me accordingly. For it may be that my conscience is not persuaded, nor will be, in prison; seeing those things which I have learned, were by God's law openly taught and received by authority of the realm.' And he said, it was never received, that I might speak against the sacrament. I said, against some opinion of the sacrament it was openly taught.

"Winchester said, By no law, and that it was notable to consider that (all that while) God preserved that, so that no law could pass against it.

"I said, 'Their law did not only persuade me, but this most: when they preached unto us, they took pain to set out the word of God in our tongue, so that we might read and judge whether they say true or no; but now they take the light from us, and would have us believe it, because they say so; which is to me a great persuasion.'"

Winchester.—"It was not a few that could be your guide in understanding, but the doctors and all the whole church. Now whom wouldest thou believe, either the few or the many?"

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Sheterden.—"I do not believe for the few nor for the many; but only for that he bringeth the word, and sheweth it to me to be so according to the process thereof."

"'Well,' said Winchester, 'then if an Arian come to thee with Scripture, thou wilt believe him, if he show this text, My Father is greater than I.'

"I answered, No, my Lord, he must bring me also the contrary place, and prove them both true, where he saith, My Father and I am one.'

"'Yea,' said Winchester, 'that is by charity, as we be one with him.'

"I said, that gloss would not stand with the rest of the Scripture, where he said, I am the very samethat I say to you; He said the truth, and the truth was God, &c., with much such like.

"And here he made many words (but very gently) of the sacrament: 'Likewise Christ said,' quoth he, 'it was his body; yea, (that is to say,) a figure of his body;' and how men did not consider the word was God, and God the word: and so provoked me with such temptation. But I let him alone, and said nothing.

"So, after many words, Winchester came to the church's faith, and comely orders of ceremonies and images. And then I joined to him again with the commandments. He said, that was done that no false thing should be made, as the heathen would worship a cat, because she killed mice. I said, that it was plain that the law forbade not only such, but even to make an image of God to any manner of likeness."

Winchester.—"Where find ye that?"

Sheterden.—"Forsooth in the law, where God gave them the commandments: for he said, Ye saw no shape, but heard a voice only; and added a reason why; lest they should after make images, and mar themselves: so that God would not show his shape, because they should have no image of him which was the true God," &c.

"Winchester said, I made a goodly interpretation. I said, no, it was the text.

"Then was the Bible called for, and when it came, he bade me find it, and I should straight be confounded with mine own words; so that if there were any grace with me, I would trust mine own wit no more: and when I looked, it was Latin.

"'Why,' said Winchester, 'can ye read no Latin?' 'No.'

"Then was the English Bible brought. He bade me find it; and so I read it aloud, and then he said; 'Lo, here thou mayest see; this is no more to forbid the image of God, than of any other beast, fowl, or fish' (the place was Deut. iv.). I said it did plainly forbid to make any of these as an image of God, because no man might know what shape he was of. Therefore might no man say of any image, This is an image of God."

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Winchester.—"Well, yet by your leave, so much as was seen we may; that is, of Christ, of the Holy Ghost; and the Father appeared to Daniel, like an old man," &c.

Sheterden. That is no proof that we make images contrary to the commandment: for though the Holy Ghost appeared like a dove, yet was he not like in shape, but in certain qualities. And therefore when I saw the dove which is God's creature, indeed I might remember the Spirit to be simple and loving, &c.:" and with that he was somewhat moved, and said, I had learned my lesson; and asked who taught me; with many words. And he said he would prove how good and profitable images were to teach the unlearned, &c.

"At the last I said, 'My Lord, although I were able to make never so good a gloss upon the Commandments, yet obedience is better than all our good intents:' and much ado we had. At last he saw, he said, what I was, and how he had sent for me for charity's sake to talk with me, but now he would not meddle; and said, my wrong imprisonment could not excuse me, but I must clear myself.

"I said, that was easy for me to do; for I had not offended.

"Winchester said, I could not escape so; there I was deceived.

"I said, 'Well, then I am under the law,' &c.

"The archdeacon was there called in for me, and he laid to me, that with such arrogance and stoutness as never was heard, I behaved myself before him; whereas he was minded with such mercy towards me, &c. And many lies he laid to me, 'that I was sent home till another time; and I would not be contented, but went out of the church with such an outcry as was notable.'

"I declare, that he falsely herein reported me, and brought in the laws then in the realm, and the queen's proclamation that none of her subjects should be compelled till the law were to compel; and that I rehearsed the same in the court for me; 'and I did use him then,' said I, 'as I used your Grace now, and no otherwise.'

"Winchester said, that I did not use myself very well now.—I said, I had offered myself to be bailed, and to confer with them, when and where they would.

"Winchester said, I should not confer, but be obedient.—I said, let me go, and I will not desire to confer neither; and when I offended, let them punish me: and so departed.

"By your brother.

NICHOLAS SHETERDEN.

Prisoner for the truth in Westgate."

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The last examination with the condemnation of the four godly martyrs, Master Bland, John Frankesh, Nicholas Sheterden, and Humfrey Middleton.



ND thus much touching the particular, and several examinations of Nicholas Sheterden, and of Master Bland. Now to touch something also of the other martyrs, which the same time were examined, and suffered with them together, to wit, Humfrey Middleton of Ashford, and John Frankesh, vicar of Rolvenden, in the diocese of Kent above mentioned, here first would be declared the articles which publicly, in their last examinations, were jointly and severally ministered unto them by the foresaid Thornton, bishop of Dover. But forasmuch as these articles, being ordinary and of course, are already expressed in the story of Master Bland, as may appear before; it shall not therefore be needful to make any new rehearsal thereof.

To these seven articles then being propounded to the five persons above named, to wit, John Frankesh, John Bland, Nicholas Sheterden, Humfrey Middleton, and one Thacker, first answered John Frankesh somewhat doubtfully, desiring further respite to be given him of fourteen days to deliberate with himself: which was granted. Master Bland answered flatly and roundly, as before ye heard. Nicholas Sheterden and Humfrey Middleton answered to the first and second articles affirmatively. To the third, concerning the catholic church, after a sort they granted. To the fourth, and fifth, and sixth, touching the real presence, and the sacrament to be ministered in the Latin tongue, and in one kind, they refused utterly to answer. Sheterden said, he would not answer thereto before the cause were determined why he was imprisoned, and so still remained prisoner, before the laws of parliament received, &c. Middleton added moreover and confessed, that he believed in his own God, saying, "My living God, and no dead God," &c. Thacker only relented, and was content to take penance. Thus the aforesaid four, upon these answers, were condemned by the bishop of Dover, the twenty-fifth day of June, anno 1555.

And so, being given to the secular power, they were burned at Canterbury the twelfth of July, at two several stakes, but all in one fire together, where they, in the sight of God and of his angels, and before men, like true soldiers of Jesus Christ, gave a constant testimony to the truth of his holy gospel.

The Christian prayer of Nicholas Sheterden before his death.

"O Lord my God and Saviour, which art Lord in heaven and earth, Maker of all things visible and invisible, I am the creature and work of thy hands. Lord God, look upon me, and other thy people, which at this time are oppressed of the worldly-minded for thy law's sake: yea, Lord, thy law itself is now trodden under foot, and men's inventions exalted above it, and for that cause do I, and many thy creatures, refuse the glory, praise, and commodity of this life, and do choose to suffer adversity, and to be banished; yea, to be burnt with the books of thy word, for the hope's sake that is laid up in store. For, Lord, thou knowest, if we would but seem to please men in things contrary to thy word, we might by thy permission enjoy these commodities that others do, as wife, children, goods, and friends, which all I acknowledge to be thy gifts, given to

the end I should serve thee. And now, Lord, that the world will not suffer me to enjoy them, except I offend thy laws, behold, I give unto thee my whole spirit, soul, and body; and lo, I leave here all the pleasures of this life, and do now leave the use of them for the hope's sake of eternal life purchased in Christ's blood, and promised to all them that fight on his side, and are content to suffer with him for his truth, whensoever the world and the devil shall persecute the same.



Bland, Frankesh, Sheterden and Midleton at the Stake

"O Father, I do not presume unto thee, in mine own righteousness; no, but only in the merits of thy dear Son my Saviour. For the which excellent gift of salvation I cannot worthily praise thee, neither is any sacrifice worthy, or to be accepted with thee, in comparison of our bodies mortified, and obedient unto thy will. And now, Lord, whatsoever rebellion hath been, or is found in my members, against thy will, yet do I here give unto thee my body to the death, rather than I will use any strange worshipping, which I beseech thee accept at my hand for a pure sacrifice. Let this torment be to me the last enemy destroyed, even death, the end of misery, and

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the beginning of all joy, peace, and solace; and when the time of resurrection cometh, then let me enjoy again these members then glorified, which now be spoiled and consumed by the fire. O Lord Jesus, receive my spirit into thy hands. Amen."

Letters of Nicholas Sheterden; and, first, a letter to his mother.

"After my humble and bounden duty remembered, well-beloved mother, this shall be to wish you increase of grace and godly wisdom, that ye may see and perceive the crafty bewitching of Satan our mortal enemy, which, as I have divers times declared unto you, doth not openly show himself in his own likeness, but under colour of devotion deceiveth them that keep not a diligent eye upon him; but, having confidence in men's traditions and customs of the world, leaving the commandments of God, and testament of his Son Christ Jesus our Lord, do grow more into superstition and hypocrisy, than into wisdom and true holiness. For this is most true, that Satan, the enemy of souls, doth by his ministers make many believe, that those things which they compel us unto for their bellies' sake, have many godly significations, although they be most contrary to God's will, as doubtless they be; even as did the serpent in Paradise to our first mother Eve. 'What,' said he, 'hath God commanded ye shall not eat of all the trees in the garden?' The woman said, of the fruits of the trees in the garden we may eat.' 'But of the tree in the midst of the garden,' said God, 'see ye eat not, lest ye die.' Even so our ministers nowadays say, 'Hath God commanded ye shall not make you any image or likeness of any thing?' 'Yea, forsooth.' 'Tush,' say they, 'what harm can they do? May we not remember God the better when we see his image or picture? for they are good books for the laymen:' but indeed they be better for the priests, because they receive the offerings.

"And look how truly the promise of the serpent was kept with Eve, so is the persuasion of our priests found true to us. For as Adam and Eve did become like God in knowing good and evil, so are we in remembering God by his image. For Adam's eyes were so open, that he lost both innocency and righteousness, and was become most miserable of all creatures: and even so we remember Christ so well by images, that we forget his commandments, and count his testament, confirmed in his blood, for stark madness or heresy; so miserably have we remembered him, that of all people we are most blind. And this doth follow upon our presumption, when we remember God by breaking of his law: and therefore surely, except we repent shortly, God will remember us in his wrath, and reward us with his plagues: as sure as there is a God it will come to pass.

"But I know the craftiness of them herein (I thank God) which will say, 'Where went he to school? Is he wiser than our great doctors that studied all their life!' And lo, they say that it is good hay: although we smell it musty ourselves, yet must we believe it is sweet; and then pay them well for their so saying, and all is safe. But I might say again, What, sir! be ye wiser than Christ, and God his Father, or the Holy Ghost? What! wiser than the prophets, and the holy apostles, and all the holy martyrs? I pray you, sir, where had you your high learning? Is it higher than God (being in heaven) is able to reach; or have ye set it lower in hell than ever Christ durst to venture? For it is some strange learning, belike, that Christ and his apostles could never attain to the knowledge of it. But vain men are never without some shift; for, peradventure, they will not be ashamed to say, that Christ, coming on his Father's message, did forget half his errand by the way. For I dare say, the greater half of their ceremonies were never commanded by Christ:

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yea, I doubt it would be hard to find one in the church perfectly as he left it: so Romishly hath antichrist turned the church upside down for lucre's sake.

"Beloved mother, as I have oftentimes said unto you, even so now I beseech you from my very heart-root in Christ, to consider your own soul's health is offered you; do not cast it off; we have not long time here. Why should we deceive ourselves either for ease of our flesh, or for the winning of this world's treasure? I know that some will say to you, Why should we condemn our fathers that lived thus? God forbid that we should condemn any that did according to their knowledge: but let us take heed that they condemn not us, for if they had heard the word as we have, and had been warned as we have, it is to be thought that they would more thankfully have received it than we do: yea, they were more faithful in that they knew, than many now are. Therefore they shall be our condemnation, if we do not embrace this grace offered us. And surely look how many of them God will accept and save, those shall we never see, nor have any part among them: for our disobedience is more great than their ignorance. Wherefore, if we will meet our fathers in bliss and joy, let us not refuse his mercy offered more largely to us than to them, even according to Christ's promise, which said, after such great ignorance as to seek him from country to country, and find him not: 'Yet shall the gospel,' saith he, 'be preached in all the world, and then shall the end come.'

"And now let us know the time of our visitation, and not turn back again, seeing we are once delivered: for surely God will not bear it at our hands to turn backward. Oh remember Lot's wife. God must needs punish out of hand our shameful backsliding, either with induration and hardness of heart, so that they shall persecute his church and his true servants, or else reward it with open vengeance and plagues. And therefore, good mother, accept this my simple letter as a fruit of my love and obedience to you. Would God we might be so knit in faith and trust in God's word and promises here in this life, as we might together enjoy the bliss and consolation of eternal life; which I desire and seek above all worldly treasure, as ye partly know. If I would seek the good will of men contrary to my conscience, I could make some my friends which now, peradventure, are jealous over me amiss: but, I thank God, let them weigh the matter between God and their consciences, and they have no just cause so to do. Nevertheless I would they would yet refrain and put their matter and mine into the even balance of God's most holy word, there to be weighed by the mind of the Holy Ghost, expressed unto us by the holy patriarchs, and prophets, and by Jesus Christ our only Saviour and Mediator, and by his holy apostles. And then, I doubt not, but our matter shall be ended with peace and joyfulness of heart; which God grant us for his mercy's sake. Amen.

"Your own child.

NICHOLAS SHETERDEN.

Prisoner for the truth in Westgate, 1555."

A letter to his brother, Walter Sheterden.

"I wish you health in Christ, true knowledge of his word, and a faithful obedient heart unto the same. It is showed me, my brother, that ye willed me by a letter made to a friend of yours to persuade with me, that I should be ruled by mine uncle, which saith, he will bestow his goods very largely upon me, if I should not stand too high in mine own conceit. But, my good brother, I trust ye do not judge so evil of me, that I should have a faith to sell for money. For

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though he or you were able to give me the treasure of the whole country, yet, I thank my Lord God, I do judge it but a heap of dung, in respect of the treasure hid within; yet I do esteem a buckle of your shoe, if it come with good will. And for to be counselled and ruled by him or you, or any other my friends, I do not, neither have refused it, if they require no more of me than my power, and that which belongeth to mortal men. But, if they require of me any thing which pertaineth to God only, there is neither high nor low, friend nor foe, (I trust in God,) shall get it of me, nor yet the angels in heaven.

"For though I be not learned, (as the vain men of the world call learning,) yet, I thank my Lord God, I have learned out of God's book, to know God from his creatures, and to know Christ from his sacraments, and to put a difference between the merits of Christ's passion and his supper, and a difference between the water of baptism and the Holy Ghost, and not to mix and mingle all things confusedly together; so that if one ask me a question or a reason of my faith, I must say thus: 'I believe as holy church believeth.' If he ask me what is the order of that faith, I should be so ignorant that I could not discern God from his creatures, nor Christ from his sacraments! If I should so monstrously utter my faith, that I were not able to judge between Christ's birth and his burial, nor which were first, of his mortification, and his glorification, who would believe that my faith were sound?

"For some affirm that Christ did not give to his apostles a mortal and a passible body, but an immortal and glorified body, so that he should have a glorified body before his death, and so his glorification was before his resurrection; and that he was risen before he was crucified, and crucified before his baptism; and then they may as well say, he was baptized before his birth, and born before he was conceived, and conceived before he was promised; and that were even right antichrist, to turn all things backward, and then say, 'Oh! ye must believe, for God is almighty, he can do all things,' &c. Truth it is, that God is almighty indeed, and yet I may not believe things contrary to his word, that Christ's body was glorified before he died: for God's omnipotency doth not stand in things contrary to his will, but in performing his will at his pleasure in time; neither doth he require of us to judge or believe of his almighty power, that he hath made the end of the world to come before the beginning, nor yet the fruit to come before the blossom; and yet is he nevertheless almighty.

"But if, peradventure, ye shall think with yourself, Why, they are learned; it were marvel but they should know what is the truth, as well as others which never kept no such study, &c.: to that I answer, that if they had studied God's word, the Author of truth, as they have done logic and Duns, with the legend of lies, they should have been as expert in the truth, as they be now in bald reasons. But thus hath God fulfilled his promise, that such should be deluded with lies, which would not believe nor walk in his truth.

"And again: this is a good cause to make us think surely, that this was the cause that God gave them over at the first to error, after the apostles' time, by little and little, as they grew in sin. For seeing we had his truth now among us a few years, because we did not obey unto it, we see what a sudden change God hath brought upon us for our sins' sake. And why should not we think that this and such-like disobedience was the cause that God took his word from all Christendom at the first, and cast a darkness upon them that would not walk in his light? For it is evident enough to see how unlike their doings be to Christ's and his apostles: and that seen, either we

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must judge Christ's doings very slender, and theirs good, or else that indeed they be the very antichrists, which should come and turn all things out of frame. Thus I have been bold to trouble you, which I trust shall not be altogether in vain. Pray for me as I do for you.

"By your brother, NICHOLAS SHETERDEN.

Prisoner for the truth in Westgate."

Another letter to his brother.

"God, which is the giver of all goodness, and that freely for his love to us, (not only without our deserts, but contrary to the same,) grant you, my brother, such increase of godly knowledge and love unto the virtues thereunto belonging, as may give you such a taste in heavenly things, that all treasure of earthly things may savour to you, as indeed they are, most vain and uncertain; so shall ye never take them for no better than they be. Yea, whether God take them from us, or give them unto us, we shall know ourselves neither richer nor poorer before God. But if we lay up in our hearts the treasure of his word, we shall not only enrich ourselves against the time of need, but also arm ourselves against the battle with weapons and harness which is invincible, and clothe ourselves against the marriage. For behold, the Lord hath called us of long time to the feast, and blown the trumpet to prepare the battle. Let us know the time of our visitation, lest the Lord, sitting on his mount, bewail our destruction, which he desireth not, but because he is just to punish such as continue in sin, even as he is merciful to forgive the repentant that turn in time; for so is God, that cannot deny himself.

"Let us therefore in this day, while it is called to-day, hear his voice, and not harden our hearts by resistance of his will, lest he swear in his wrath, that we shall not enter into his rest. Let us count it sufficient, that we have spent the time past, as St. Peter saith, after the will of the Gentiles, in eating and drinking, chambering and wantonness, and in abominable idolatry, &c. And now let us essay a new life, and trade our members in virtue another while, lest, peradventure, we might run past any return in the contrary. But, if we now return and lay hand of his word in deed and verity, as we have long time done in talk and liberty, then will God heap upon us such certificate of conscience, as shall kindle our consolation in him, so that all treasure shall be dung to the excellent knowledge of our Saviour. Dear brother, my heart's desire and prayer to God is, that we may together enjoy the bliss of eternal inheritance by one spiritual regeneration and new birth, as we are joined by nature. But, alack, the way and mean thereunto hath been much neglected of me—I will not say of you, for I had rather ye should accuse yourself—for no doubt the best of us both hath not sought for wisdom in God's word, as some in the world whom we know have sought for money: therefore they shall be our judges, if we do not learn by them. Yea, the very emmet, as Solomon saith, doth teach us to provide for the time to come; for she provideth in summer against winter.

"This is the best token I have for you now, which, though it be simple, yet shall it declare partly my heart's desire to you-ward, which is even as mine own soul. Let nothing dismay you for my cause: but be ye sure I shall have victory in the truth, which truth is stronger than kings, wine, or women. For, as Zerubbabel saith, Wine is unrighteous, the king is unrighteous, women are unrighteous, yea, all the children of men are unrighteous; but the truth endureth, and is always strong, and conquereth for ever without end. Therefore this is to desire you, and all other my friends that wish me good, to pray that God will always keep me in his truth, as he hath

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begun; which prayer, if it be of such a mind as laboureth to depart from evil, shall be to me the greatest pleasure under heaven; for I desire nothing in comparison of God's truth. I thank him of his mercy, which so hath wrought; for I take it as a sure seal of the endless joy which shall hereafter follow—which God bring us unto, when his will and pleasure is.; Amen.—

From Canterbury.

By yours.

NICHOLAS SHETERDEN."

Another letter of .Nicholas Sheterden to his mother, written the day before his death.

"O my good mother, whom I love with reverence in the Lord, and according to my duty, I desire your favourable blessing and forgiveness of all my misdeeds towards you. O my good mother, in few words, I wish you the same salvation, which I hope myself to feel, and partly taste of before this come to you to read; and in the resurrection, I verily believe to have it more perfectly in body and soul joined together for ever; and in that day God grant you to see my face with joy: but, dear mother, then beware of that great idolatry, and blasphemous mass. O let not that be your god, which mice and worms can devour. Behold, I call heaven and earth to record, that it is no god, yea, the fire that consumeth it, and the moistness that causeth it to mould; and I take Christ's Testament to witness, that it is none of his ordinances, but a mere invention of men, and a snare to catch innocents' blood; and now that God hath showed it unto you, be warned in time. O give over old customs, and become new in the truth. What state soever your fathers be in, leave that to God; and let us follow the counsel of his word. Dear mother, embrace it with hearty affection; read it with obedience; let it be your pastime: but yet cast off all carnal affections, and love of worldly things; so shall we meet in joy at the last day, or else I bid you farewell for evermore. O farewell my friends and lovers all: God grant me to see your faces in joy. Amen.—From Westgate, the eleventh of July, 1555.

"Your child, written with his hand, and sealed with his blood, Nicholas Sheterden, being appointed to be slain."

The copy of a letter written to his wife.

"I wrote unto you as one that longed more to hear of your health, than of all worldly treasure, willing you to entreat Esau, the elder brother by nature, gently, giving to him his own, yea, and offer him one of the droves, and say, they be Jacob's, and are sent for a present to my Lord Esau; but he will not take it, &c. Now, my beloved, ye know the blessing of our Father is, that the elder shall serve the younger, and Wisdom, our mother, hath taught us the same; and I know ye do complain of your servant the Flesh, that he is rebellious, disobedient, and untoward; unruly and crookedly, ye think, he doth his service: but yet behold, how shall ye plead your cause before an indifferent judge? For if it be true that his service be not according to his duty, as it is many times found in servants; yet, I say, can you show your cause to no indifferent judge, but he shall object against you that he is not kept like a servant, but he lacketh both meat and drink, and other necessities meet and due for a servant: so shall ye take more shame of your own complaint, than remedy or vantage against your servant; and it shall be a cloak for him to hide all his rebellion and untoward service, because ye have misused him.

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"And therefore my sentence is, that ye patiently bear with him in small faults, and amend your own great faults, as oppression, cruelty, and covetousness, requiring more than a servant can do, specially being tired with labour, famined with hunger, and lamed with stripes. And these things amended, if he do his service negligently, (as, no doubt, sometimes he will,) yet then ye may boldly correct him with discretion; and sometimes if he do not his task, ye may make him go to bed supperless: but yet beat him not with durable strokes, neither withhold his meat in due time, and pinch him not by the belly continually, but let him have something to joy in: only watch him, and keep him from doing of harm. Though he be but a stranger in the life that is in God, yet be good to strangers; for we were all strangers in darkness, and captives in sin, as well soul and spirit, being in Egypt, as now the flesh is yet unbaptized with the terrible Red Sea of death; and remember that one law abideth for the stranger,—I mean, one reward abideth both for body and soul in the land of everlasting rest. And therefore entreat him gently, and deal with him justly now: for the time will come that the yoke of bondage shall be taken from his neck, and he shall be a fellow heir with your younger brother.

"Circumcise him, therefore, but do not misuse him, nor keep him from his own; but deal mercifully with the stranger, that he may say, 'Oh! of what understanding heart is this people: who hath God, or where is God, so nigh as to these?' God make you wise and politic in heart, victorious in the field of this world, to rule the nations with a rod. But kill not the Gibeonites, with whom peace is taken; but let them draw water and hew wood, but give them their meat and drink due for labourers. And be glad because your disease is so remedied; for it is better and easier for a thirsty labouring man to drink, than for a drunken man to tell a sober-wise tale. Yea, it is a token that ye have earnestly followed your labour, and not kept company with drunkards and belly-gods: and therefore be glad, I say, yea, and glad again; for great is your reward in heaven: yea, blessed shall she be, that in this your zeal shall meet you, and withdraw your hand from revenging yourself upon that churlish Nabal: which thing I hope I hope to do now with these sweet raisins and frails of figs. I, being of one house with your servant Nabal, I dare say to you that Churlishness is his name: but revenge not, for the Lord shall do it in his due time. Farewell, mine own heart.

"Yours in bonds at Westgate.
NICHOLAS SHETERDEN."

The next day after the condemnation of these aforesaid, which was the twenty-sixth day of July, were also condemned for the same articles, William Coker, William Hopper of Cranbrook, Henry Laurence, Richard Wright of Ashford, William Stere of Ashford. But because the execution of these martyrs pertaineth not to this month, more shall be said, the Lord willing, of them, when we come to the month following of August.

299. Nicholas Hall and Christopher Wade.

The same month of July, next after the suffering of the Kentish-men above named, followed the death and martyrdom of Nicholas Hall, bricklayer, and Christopher Wade, of Dartford, which both were condemned by Maurice, bishop of Rochester, about the last day of the month of June. The six articles ministered to them were of the same ordinary course and effect with the articles of the other martyrs before specified, the brief sum whereof were these.

"First, That they were Christian men, and professed the catholic determinations of our mother holy church.

"2. That they which maintain or hold otherwise than our holy mother the catholic church doth, are heretics.

"3. That they hold and maintain, that in the sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, is not the very body and blood of Christ. And that the said very body of Christ is verily in heaven only, and not in the sacrament.

"4. Item, that they have and do hold and maintain, that the mass, as it is now used in the catholic church, is naught and abominable.

"5. Item, that they have been and be, amongst the people of that jurisdiction, vehemently suspected upon the premises, and thereupon indicted," &c.

Their answers.

"To these articles they answered, as commonly others used to do, which stand with Christ and his truth against these pretended catholics, and their sinister doctrine.

"First, granting themselves Christian men, and acknowledging the determinations of the holy church, that is, of the congregation or body of Christ,—save that Hall denied to call the catholic and apostolic church his mother, because he found not this word, 'mother,' in the Scripture.

"To the 2nd they granted.

"To 3rd article, as touching the very body and blood of Christ to be under the forms of bread and wine in substance, they would not grant, only affirming the very body of him to be in heaven, and in the sacrament to be a token or remembrance of Christ's death; Nicholas Hall adding moreover, and saying, that whereas, before, he held the sacrament to be but only a token or remembrance of Christ's death, now, he said, that therein is neither token nor remembrance, because it is now misused and clean turned from Christ's institution, &c.

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"And concerning the mass in the 4th article, to be abominable, Christopher Wade with the other answered, that as they had confessed before, so would they now not go from that they had said.

"To the 5th article, for the people's suspicion, they made no great account nor sticking to grant to the same."

And thus much concerning the articles and answers of these good men: which being received, immediately sentence of condemnation was pronounced by the said Maurice the bishop against them, the copy of which sentence, as it runneth much after the common course in condemning all other like servants of Christ; so the same being exemplified before in the story of Master Rogers, shall not greatly need here again to be repeated, but rather may be referred over to the place above noted.

Nicholas Hall was burned at Rochester about the nineteenth day of July. Furthermore, with the aforesaid Hall and Wade, in the same month of July, three others were condemned by Maurice, bishop aforesaid, whose names were Joan Beach, widow, John Harpol of Rochester, and Margery Polley: of which Margery Polley, touching her examination and condemnation, here followeth in story.

Margery Polley, widow, wife some time of Richard Polley of Pepenbury, was accused and brought before the said Maurice, bishop of Rochester, about the beginning of the month of June: which bishop, according to the pontifical solemnity of that church, rising up out of the chair of his majesty, in the high swelling style, after his ordinary fashion, to dash the silly poor woman, began in these words:—

"We Maurice, by the sufferance of God, bishop of Rochester, proceeding of our mere office in a cause of heresy, against thee, Margery Polley, of the parish of Pepenbury, of our diocese and jurisdiction of Rochester, do lay and object against thee all and singular these articles ensuing. To the which, and to every parcel of them, we require of thee a true, full, and plain answer, by virtue of thine oath thereupon to be given," &c.

Thus the oath first being ministered, and the articles commenced against her, which articles were the same that were ministered to Nicholas Hall and Wade before, she so framed her answers again, especially answering to the 3rd and 4th articles, that she neither allowed the deity of their sacrament, nor the absurdity of their mass. For the which, sentence was read against her about the beginning of June, and she condemned for the same. But because her death followed not upon the same, we will therefore defer the tractation thereof to the due place and time, first setting down in order of history the execution of Christopher Wade above-mentioned.

The execution and martyrdom of Christopher Wade.



Christopher Wade at the Place of execution

Christopher Wade of Dartford, in the county of Kent, linen-weaver, was condemned by Maurice, bishop of Rochester, and appointed to be burned at Dartford aforesaid. At the day appointed for his execution, which was in the month of July, there was, betimes in the morning, carried out of the town, in a cart, a stake, and therewith many bundles of reeds, to a place a quarter of a mile out of the town, called the Brompt, into a gravel-pit thereby, the common place of the execution of felons. Thither also was brought a load of broom-faggots, with other faggots and tall wood: unto which place resorted the people of the country in great numbers, and there tarried his coming, insomuch that thither came divers fruiterers with horse-loads of cherries, and sold them. About ten of the clock cometh riding the sheriff, with a great many of other gentlemen and their retinue appointed to assist him therein, and with them Wade, riding pinioned, and by him one Margery Polley of Tunbridge; both singing of a psalm: which Margery, as soon as she espied afar off the multitude gathered about the place where he should suffer, waiting his coming, she said unto him very loud and cheerfully, "You may rejoice, Wade, to see such a company gathered to celebrate your marriage this day."

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And so, passing by the place, which joined hard to the highway, they were carried straight down to the town, where she was kept until the sheriff returned from Wade's execution. And Wade, being made ready, and stripped out of his clothes in an inn, had brought unto him a fair long white shirt from his wife, which being put on, and he pinioned, he was led up on foot again to the foresaid place. And coming straight to the stake, he took it in his arms, embracing it, and kissed it, setting his back unto it, and standing in a pitch-barrel, which was taken from the beacon, being hard by. Then a smith brought a hoop of iron, and, with two staples, made him fast to the stake under his arms.

As soon as he was thus settled, he spake, with his hands and eyes lifted up to heaven, with a cheerful and loud voice, the last verse of Psalm lxxxvi.: Show some good token upon me, O Lord, that they which hate me, may see it, and be ashamed; because thou, Lord, hast helped me, and comforted me. Near unto the stake was a little hill, upon the top whereof were pitched up four staves, quadrangle-wise, with a covering round about like a pulpit: into the which place, as Wade was thus praying at the stake, entered a friar with a book in his hand; whom when Wade espied, he cried earnestly unto the people, to take heed of the doctrine of the whore of Babylon, exhorting them to embrace the doctrine of the gospel preached in King Edward's days; whom the sheriff, thus speaking to the people, often interrupted, saying, "Be quiet, Wade! and die patiently." "I am," said he, "I thank God, quiet, Master Sheriff! and so trust to die." All this while the friar stood still, looking over the coverlet, as though he would have uttered somewhat: but Wade very mightily admonished the people to beware of that doctrine; which when the friar perceived, whether he were amazed, or could have no audience of the people, he withdrew himself out of the place immediately, without speaking any word, and went away down to the town. Then the reeds being set about him, Wade pulled them, and embraced them in his arms, always with his hands making a hole against his face, that his voice might be heard, which they perceiving that were his tormentors, always cast faggots at the same hole, which, notwithstanding, he still, as he could, put off, his face being hurt with the end of a faggot cast thereat. Then fire being put unto him, he cried unto God often, "Lord Jesus! receive my soul;" without any token or sign of impatency in the fire, till at length, after the fire was once thoroughly kindled, he was heard by no man to speak, still holding his hands up over his head together towards heaven, even when he was dead and altogether roasted; as though they had been stayed up with a prop standing under them.

This sign did God show upon him, whereby his very enemies might perceive, that God had, according to his prayer, showed such a token upon him, even to their shame and confusion. And this was the order of this godly martyr's execution: this was his end; whereby God seemed to confound and strike with the spirit of dumbness the friar, that locust which was risen up to have spoken against him; and also no less wonderfully sustained those hands which he lifted up to him for comfort in his torment.

300. Dirick Carver and John Launder

The twenty-second day of this month of July, was burned at Lewes, within the county of Sussex, one Dirick Carver, late of the parish of Brighthelmstone in the same county. And the next day, (being the twenty-third day of the same month,) was also burned at Stenning, another named John Launder, late of Godstone in the county of Surrey: which two men were, (with others,) about the end of the month of October, A. D. 1554, apprehended by Edward Gage, gentleman, as they were at prayer within the dwelling-house of the said Dirick; and by him were sent up unto the queen's council, who, after examination, sent them as prisoners to Newgate, there to attend the leisure of Bonner, bishop of London. From whence (upon the bishop's receipt of a letter from the lord marquis of Winchester, now lord treasurer) they were brought by the keeper of the prison the eighth of June next after, into the bishop's chamber at his house in London; and there (being examined upon divers points of religion) they made their several confessions, subscribing and signing them with their own hands. Which being read, the bishop objected unto them certain other articles, causing them to swear truly and directly to answer thereunto; which articles they confessed to be true, referring themselves chiefly to their former confessions.

This done, after long persuasions and fair exhortations, they were demanded whether they would stand to their answers. To whom Launder said, "I will never go from these answers so long as I live." The other also confirmed the same, and therefore they were commanded to appear again before the bishop in the consistory at Paul's, the tenth day of the same month next following; which articles and confession, with the aforementioned letter, do here ensue.

A letter sent from the marquis of Winchester, lord treasurer, unto Bonner, bishop of London, touching the examination of the said prisoners.

"After my right hearty commendations to your good Lordship, I shall not forget your livery of black against this time; no more I shall Master Dean, to whom I wrote to make the sermon, who must now assuredly do it; for my Lord of Chichester cannot attend it. To whom I have given like knowledge by my letter now sent, and your Lordship must command the sextons of your church to be in readiness for ringing-in the time of service. And if ye be not furnished with black apparel for the altar, and for the priest, deacon, and sub-deacon, I must have knowledge thereof, that it be taken of the queen's stuff, whereof I pray you let me be advertised.

"And ye have sent Bradford to Newgate, as a man determined of heresy before you: but, as I perceive, ye have not sent a *significavit*, and therefore you must send me one, that I may proceed with him; and that I shall do, as soon as I am answered of you.

"There be divers like prisoners that came from Sussex, that be not yet examined before you, lying now in Newgate, which must be examined by you, since they be come to London; and so I pray they may be, and I certified of your proceedings, that I may follow; which I shall do, thanking your Lordship heartily for my conies, trusting to recompense your Lordship again shortly with twice as many.—From my house this seventh of June, 1555.

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"Your loving friend.
WINCHESTER."

The confession of Dirick Carver, before Bonner, bishop of London.

"Dirick Carver, beer-brewer, of Brighthelmstone, in the county of Sussex, where he hath dwelled by the space of eight or nine years, born in the village of Dilson by Stockom in the land of Luke, forty years of age, (or thereabout,) and now prisoner in Newgate, where he hath remained and continued at the council's commandment, since Allhallow's day last past, being examined concerning his faith and belief in the sacrament of the altar, saith, that he hath, and doth believe, that the very substance of the body and blood of Christ is not in the said sacrament, and that there is no other substance remaining in the said sacrament after the words spoken by the priest, but only the substance of bread and wine.

"Item, Being examined concerning the mass in Latin now used in the Church of England, he believeth that there is no sacrifice in the said mass, and that there is in it no salvation for a Christian man, except it should be said in the mother-tongue, that he might understand it; and concerning the ceremonies of the church, he saith and believeth, that they be not profitable to a Christian man.

"Item, Being examined concerning auricular confession, he answereth, that he hath and doth believe, that it is necessary to go to a good priest for good counsel; but the absolution of the priest, laying his hand upon any man's head, as is now used, is nothing profitable to a Christian man's salvation. And further he saith, that he hath not been confessed, nor received the sacrament of the altar, since the coronation of the queen that now is.

"Item, Concerning the faith and religion now taught, set forth, and believed in the Church of England, he answereth and believeth, that the faith and doctrine now taught, set forth, and used, in the said Church of England, is not agreeable to God's word. And furthermore he saith, that Bishop Hooper, Cardmaker, Rogers, and others of their opinion, which were of late burned, were good Christian men, and did preach the true doctrine of Christ, as' he believeth; and saith, that they did shed their blood in the same doctrine, which was by the power of God, as he saith and believeth.

"And further, being examined, he saith that since the queen's coronation he hath had the Bible and Psalter in English, read in his house at Brighthelmstone divers times, and likewise since his coming into Newgate: but the keeper, hearing thereof, did take them away; and saith also, that about a twelvemonth now past, he had the English procession said in his house, with other English prayers.

"And further saith, that Thomas Iveson, John Launder, and William Vesie, being prisoners with him in Newgate, were taken with this examine in his house at Brighthelmstone, as they were hearing of the gospel, then read in English, a little before Allhallow's day last past, and brought into the court: and being examined thereupon by the council, were committed by them to prison in Newgate."

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The confession of John Launder, before Bonner, bishop of London.

"John Launder, husbandman, of the parish of Godstone, in the county of Surrey, of the age of twenty-five years, born at Godstone aforesaid, being examined, loth confess and say, that about two days next before Allhallowntide last past, this examine, and one Dirick Carver, Thomas Iveson, William Vesie, with divers other persons to the number of twelve, (being altogether in their prayers, and saying the service in English, set forth in the time of King Edward the Sixth, in the house of the said Dirick, situate at Brightonhamstead in Sussex,) were apprehended by one Master Edward Gage, and by him sent up hither to London, to the king and queen's council, and by them (upon his examination) committed to Newgate, where he, with his said other fellows, hath ever since remained in prison.

"And further being examined, he doth confess and say, that the occasion of his coming to the said Brighthelmstone was upon certain business there to be sped for his father: and so being there, and hearing that the said Dirick was a man that did much favour the gospel, this examine did resort to his house and company, (whom before that time he did never see or know,) and by reason of that his resort, he was apprehended as before. And further doth confess and believe, that there is here in earth one whole and universal catholic church, whereof the members be dispersed through the world; and doth believe also, that the same church doth set forth and teach only two sacraments, viz. the sacrament of baptism, and the sacrament of the supper of our Lord: and whosoever doth teach or use any more sacraments, or yet any ceremonies, he doth not believe that they be of the catholic church, but doth abhor them from the bottom of his heart. And doth further say and believe that all the service, sacrifices, and ceremonies, now used in this realm of England, (yea, and in all other parts of the world, which have been used after the same manner,) be erroneous and naught, and contrary to Christ's institution, and the determination of Christ's catholic church, whereof he believeth that he himself is a member.

"Also he doth confess and believe, that in the sacrament, now called the sacrament of the altar, there is not really and truly contained, under the forms of bread and wine, the very natural body and blood of Christ in substance: but his belief and faith therein is as followeth, viz. that when he doth receive the material bread and wine, he doth receive the same in remembrance of Christ's death and passion; and, so receiving it, he doth eat and drink Christ's body and blood by faith, and none other ways, as he believeth.

"And moreover he doth confess, say, and believe, that the mass now used in the realm of England, or elsewhere in all Christendom, is naught and abominable, and directly against God's word, and his catholic church; and that there is nothing said or used in it good and profitable. For he saith, that albeit the Gloria in excelsis, the Creed, Sanctus, Paternoster, Agnus, and other parts of the mass, be of themselves good and profitable, yet the same being used amongst other things that be naught and superfluous in the mass, the same good things do become naught also; as he believeth.

"Also he doth believe and confess that auricular confession is not necessary to be made to any priest, or to any other creature, but every person ought to acknowledge and confess his sins only to God; and also that no person hath any authority to absolve any man from his sins. And also believeth that the right and true way, (according to the Scripture,) after a man hath fallen

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from grace to sin, to arise to Christ again, is to be sorry for his offences, and to do the same or the like no more: and not to make any auricular confession of them to the priest, either to take absolution for them at the priest's hands. All which his said opinions he hath believed by the space of these seven or eight years past, and in that time hath divers and many times openly argued and defended the same, as he saith," &c.

Articles objected by Bonner, bishop of London, against Dirick Carver and John Launder.

"First, I do object against you, and every of you, that ye and every of you, being within the said prison of Newgate, and within the said city of London, are of my jurisdiction, (being bishop of London,) and subject unto the same, offending and trespassing within the said prison and city in matters of religion, and concerning the catholic faith and belief of the church in any wise.

"2. Item, I do object against you, and every of you, that ye and every of you, since your first coming and entering into the said prison, and during your abode there, both there and in sundry places within this city and diocese of London, have holden, maintained, and defended sundry opinions against the sacraments of the church, especially against the sacrament of penance, and also against the sacrament of the altar.

"3. Item, I do likewise object that ye, and every of you, in all or some of the said places, have (as concerning the sacrament of the altar) holden, maintained, and defended, to the best of your power, that in the said sacrament of the altar there is not the very substance of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ, but that in the sacrament there is only the substance of natural bread and wine, and no other substance.

"4. Item, I do likewise object that you, and every of you, in all or some of the said places, have, concerning the mass in Latin now used in the church, and the sacrifice of the same, holden, maintained, and likewise defended, that the said mass is not good, nor profitable, and that there is no sacrifice in the same.

"5. Item, I do likewise object that you, and every of you, in all or some of the places, have, concerning the ceremonies of the church, holden, maintained, and likewise defended, that the said ceremonies are not profitable to a Christian man, but hurtful and evil.

"6. Item, I do likewise object that you, and every of you, in all or some of the said places, have, concerning the sacrament of penance, holden, maintained, and likewise defended, that auricular confession, (being a part thereof,) albeit it may be made unto a good priest for counsel, yet the absolution of the priest, laying his hand upon any man's head, and doing as is now usually done in the church, is nothing profitable to any man's salvation; and that therefore ye neither have been confessed to the priest after the usual manner of the church, nor yet received the said sacrament of the altar, since the coronation of the queen's Majesty, which is more than the space of one year and a half.

"7. Item, I do likewise object, that ye and every of you, in all or some of the said places, concerning the faith and religion now taught, set forth, used, and believed in the church of this

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realm of England, and the doctrine of the same, have holden, believed, and said, that it is not agreeable to God's word, but clean contrary to the same.

"8. Item, I do likewise object that ye, and every of you, in all or some of the said places, have believed, spoken, and said, and to your power upholden, maintained, and said, that Bishop Hooper, Cardmaker, Rogers, and others of their opinion, which of late within this realm were burnt for heresy, were good Christian men, in speaking and holding against the said sacrament of the altar; and that they did preach nothing but the true doctrine of Christ, shedding their blood for the maintenance of the said doctrine.

"9. Item, I do likewise object that ye, and every of you, have earnestly laboured and travailed, to the best and uttermost of your power, to have up again the English service, and the communion in all points, as was used in the latter days of King Edward the Sixth, here in this realm of England.

"10. Item, I do likewise object that ye, and every of you, have thought and do think firmly and stedfastly, and so have and do believe, that the faith, religion, and doctrine, set forth in the said time of the aforesaid King Edward, was in all points good and godly, containing in it the true faith and religion of Christ, in every part.

"11. Item, I do likewise object and say, that ye, and every of you, (for your mischief, offence, transgression, and misbehaviour in the premises, and for that also you would not come to your several parish churches, and hear your divine service there, as other Christian people did and do, but absent yourselves from the same, and have your private service in your houses, especially in the house of Dirick Carver,) were sent up unto the king and queen's Majesty's privy council, and by them or some of them sent afterward into the prison of Newgate aforesaid, having there, by their authority, remained as prisoners during all the time ye have been there.

"12. Item, I do likewise object and say, that I the said bishop of London was commanded, by the authority of the said council, to make process against you, and every of you, so that it was not my procuring or searching that ye should be commanded or called before me in this matter of heresy, but partly your own demerits, and partly the said commandment, enforced me to call and send for you to make answer herein; and hereof to show you the said letters."

Upon Monday, being the said tenth day of June, these two persons, with others, were brought by the keeper unto the bishop's consistory (as it was before commanded) at one of the clock in the afternoon; where the bishop, first beginning with the said Dirick Carver, caused his confession with the articles and answers to be openly read unto him, (which order he kept at the condemnation of every prisoner,) asking him whether he would stand to the same. To whom the said Dirick answered, that he would "for your doctrine," quoth he, "is poison and sorcery. If Christ were here you would put him to a worse death than he was put to before. You say, that you can make a god: ye can make a pudding as well. Your ceremonies in the church be beggary and poison. And further I say, that auricular confession is contrary to God's word, and very poison:" with divers other such words.

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The bishop, seeing this constancy, and that neither his accustomed flatteries, nor yet his cruel threatenings, could once move this good man to incline to their idolatry, pronounced his usual and general blessing, as well towards this Dirick as also upon the said John Launder, although severally: who (after the like manner of process used with him) remained in the same constancy, as did the other, and therefore were both delivered unto the sheriffs, who were there present; but afterwards were conveyed to the places above named, and there most joyfully gave their bodies to be burned in the fire, and their souls into the hands of Almighty God, by Jesus Christ, who had assured them to a better hope of life.

This Dirick was a man whom the Lord had blessed as well with temporal riches, as with his spiritual treasures; which riches yet were no clog or let unto his true professing of Christ (the Lord by his grace so working in him); of the which, there was such havoc made by the greedy raveners of that time, that his poor wife and children had little or none thereof. During his imprisonment, although he was well stricken in years, (and, as it were, past the time of learning,) yet he so spent his time, that being at his first apprehension utterly ignorant of any letter of the book, he could, before his death, read perfectly any printed English: whose diligence and zeal is worthy no small commendation, and therefore I thought it good not to let it pass over in silence, for the good encouragement and example of others.

Moreover, at his coming into the town of Lewes to be burned, the people called upon him, beseeching God to strengthen him in the faith of Jesus Christ. He thanked them, and prayed unto God, that of his mercy he would strengthen them in the like faith. And when he came to the sign of the Star, the people drew near unto him, where the sheriff said, that he had found him a faithful man in all his answers. And as he came to the stake, he kneeled down and made his prayers, and the sheriff made haste.

Then his book was thrown into the barrel, and when he had stript himself, (as a joyful member of God,) he went into the barrel himself. And as soon as ever he came in, he took up the book, and threw it among the people; and then the sheriff commanded, in the king and queen's name, on pain of death, to throw in the book again. And immediately that faithful member spake with a joyful voice, saying:

"Dear brethren and sisters, witness to you all, that I am come to seal with my blood Christ's gospel, because I know that it is true. It is unknown unto all you, but that it hath been truly preached here in Lewes and in all places of England, and now it is not. And for because that I will not deny here God's gospel, and be obedient to man's laws.

"I am condemned to die. Dear brethren and sisters, as many of you as do believe upon the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, unto everlasting life, see you do the works appertaining to the same. And as many of you as do believe upon the pope of Rome, or any of his laws which he sets forth in these days, you do believe to your utter condemnation; and, except the great mercy of God, you shall burn in hell perpetually."

Immediately the sheriff spake unto him, and said, "If thou dost not believe on the pope, thou art damned body and soul." And further the sheriff said unto him, "Speak to thy God, that

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he may deliver thee now; or else to strike me down to the example of this people." But this faithful member said, "The Lord forgive you your sayings."

And then spake he again to all the people there present, with a loud voice, saying.

"Dear brethren, and all you whom I have offended in words or in deed, I ask you, for the Lord's sake, to forgive me; and I heartily forgive all you which have offended me in thought, word, or deed."

And he said further in his prayer as followeth:

"O Lord my God, thou hast written, He that will not forsake wife, children, house, and all that ever he hath, and take up thy cross and follow thee, is not worthy of thee. But thou, Lord, knowest, that I have forsaken all, to come unto thee: Lord, have mercy upon me, for unto thee I commend my spirit; and my soul doth rejoice in thee."

These were the last words of that faithful member of Christ, before the fire was put to him. And after that the fire came to him he cried, "O Lord, have mercy upon me;" and sprung up in the fire, calling upon the name of Jesus, and so ended.

301. Thomas Iveson, John Aleworth and James Abbes.

Thomas Iveson, or Everson, apprehended with Dirick and others, and suffered at Chichester.

At Chichester, about the same month, was burned one Thomas Iveson, of Godstone, in the county of Surrey, carpenter; whose apprehension, examination, and condemnation, (forasmuch as it was at one time and in one form with Dirick Carver and John Launder,) I do here omit, referring the reader to their history and process before mentioned; saving only this his several confession and private answers made before Bishop Bonner at his last examination in the consistory, I thought not to pretermitt, who, being examined upon the foresaid articles, answered as followeth.

"First, That he believed, that there is but one catholic, universal, and whole church of Christ through the whole world, which hath and holdeth the true faith, and all the necessary articles of Christian belief, and all the sacraments of Christ, with the true use and administration of the same.

"2. Item, That he is necessarily bounden to believe and give credit, in all the said faith, articles of the belief, religion, and the sacraments of Christ, and the administration of the same.

"3. Item, That that faith, religion, and administration of sacraments, which now is believed, used, taught, and set forth in this our Church of England, is not agreeing with the true faith of Christ, nor with the faith of the said catholic and universal church of Christ.

"4. Item, Concerning the sacrament of the altar, he believeth, that it is a very idol, and detestable before God, as it is now ministered.

"5. Item, That the mass is naught, and not of the institution of Christ; but that it is of man's invention. And being demanded whether any thing used in the mass be good, he said that he would answer no further.

"6. Item, That he had not received the sacrament of the altar, since it had been ministered as now it is in England, neither was confessed at any time within these seven years; nor hath he heard mass by the same space.

"7. That auricular confession is not necessary to be made to a priest; for that he cannot forgive, nor absolve him from sins.

"8. Item, Concerning the sacrament of baptism, that it is a sign and token of Christ, as circumcision was, and none otherwise; and he believeth that his sins are not washed away thereby, but his body only washed: for his sins be washed away only by Christ's blood.

"9. Item, That there be in the catholic church of Christ only two sacraments; that is to say, the sacrament of baptism, and the sacrament of the supper of the Lord, and no more; which are not rightly used at this present time in England, and therefore be unprofitable.

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"10. Item, He believeth, that all the ceremonies now used in the Church of England, are vain, superfluous, superstitious, and naught."

Furthermore, the said Iveson being earnestly travailed withal to recant, said in this wise, "I would not recant and forsake my opinion and belief for all the goods in London. I do appeal to God's mercy, and will be none of your church, nor submit myself to the same: and that I have said, I will say again. And if there came an angel from heaven, to teach me any other doctrine than that which I am now in, I would not believe him." Which answer thus made, he was condemned as a heretic, and with the same persons was committed to the secular power, (as they term it,) and at the place above-mentioned was burned; persevering still in his constant faith unto the end.

John Aleworth.

In the latter end of this month of July, John Aleworth died in prison, at the town of Reading, being there in bonds for the cause and testimony of the truth of the Lord's gospel: whom, although the catholic prelates (according to their usual solemnity) did exclude out of their catholic burial, yet we see no cause why to exclude him out of the number of Christ's holy martyrs, and heirs of his holy kingdom.

James Abbes, a martyr of blessed memory, suffering for the true cause of Christ's gospel.

Among many that travailed in these troublesome days to keep a good conscience, there was one James Abbes, a young man, who through compulsion of the tyranny then used, was enforced to have his part with his brethren in wandering, and going from place to place, to avoid the peril of apprehending. But when time came, that the Lord had another work to do for him, he was caught by the hands of wicked men, and brought before the bishop of Norwich, Dr. Hopton; who, examining him of his religion, and charging him therewith very sore, both with threats and fair speech, at the last the said poor James did yield and relented to their naughty persuasions; although his conscience consented not thereto.

Now when he was dismissed, and should go from the bishop, the bishop calling him again, gave him a piece of money, either forty-pence or twenty-pence, whether I know not; which when the said James had received, and was gone from the bishop, his conscience began to throb, and inwardly to accuse his fact, how he had displeased the Lord by consenting to their beastly illusions: in which combat with himself, (being piteously vexed,) he went immediately to the bishop again, and there threw him his said money, which he had received at his hand, and said, it repented him that he ever gave his consent to their wicked persuasions, and that he gave his consent in taking of his money.

Now this being done, the bishop with his chaplains did labour afresh to win him again, but in vain: for the said James Abbes would not yield for any of them all, although he had played Peter before, through infirmity, but stood manfully in his Master's quarrel to the end, and abode the force of the fire, in the consuming of his body into ashes, which tyranny of burning was done in Bury, the second day of August, A. D. 1555.

VOLUME 10

END OF VOLUME 10

**THE ACTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE
CHRISTIAN CHURCH**

by
JOHN FOXE

Commonly known as
FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

Volume 11

The Reign of Queen Mary I. – Part III.

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302. John Denley, Gentleman, John Newman, and Patrick Packingham.

A discourse of the apprehension, examination, and condemnation of John Denley, gentleman, John Newman, and Patrick Packingham, martyred for the testimony of Christ's gospel.



N the midst of this tempestuous rage of malignant adversaries, persecuting and destroying the poor flock of Christ, many there were, who though they were not spiritual men, yet thought to help forward, for their parts, and, as one would say, to heap up more coals to this furious flame of persecution, whether of a blind zeal or a parasitical flattery, I know not: amongst which one was Edmund Tyrrel, esq., and at that time a justice of peace within the county of Essex, an assister (as it seemeth) to cruel murderers of God's saints, who, as he came from the burning and death of certain godly martyrs, met with Master John Denley, gentleman, and one John Newman, (both of Maidstone in Kent,) travelling upon the way, and going to visit such their godly friends as then they had in the county of Essex. And upon the sight of them, as he yet braggeth, first upon suspicion apprehended and searched them; and at last, finding the confessions of their faith in writing about them, sent them up unto the queen's commissioners, directing also unto one of the same commissioners these his favourable letters in their behalf. The copy whereof here may appear as followeth.

"Sir, with most hearty commendations unto you, these shall be to advertise you, that I have received a letter from Sir Nicholas Hare and you, and others of the king and queen's Majesty's commissioners, by a servant of the king and queen, called John Failes, for certain business about St. Osith's, the which I could not immediately go about, for that I had received a letter from the council, to assist the sheriff for the execution of the heretics, the one at Raileigh, and the other at Rochford, the which was done on Tuesday last.

"And as I came homeward, I met with two men: even as I saw them I suspected them, and then I did examine them, and search them; and I did find about them certain letters which I have sent you, and also a certain writing in paper, what their faith was. And they confessed to me that they had forsaken and fled out of their country for religion's sake; and, since, they have been in many countries, by their confession, which I have sent you: for the which I thought it good (for that they came from London, and that there might be more had of them than I yet have understood) to send them to you, whereby you and others of the king and queen's commissioners there, might try them so that their lewdness might be thoroughly known; for I think these have caused many to trouble their consciences. So this hath been some let to me, wherefore I could not go about those matters expressed in your letters; but, to-morrow at noon, I intend by God's grace to accomplish your letters, with as much diligence as I may. And thus the Holy Trinity have you ever in his keeping. I beseech you to be so good, master, to discharge these poor men that bring these prisoners up, as soon as may be. And thus most heartily farewell.—From Ramsdon Park, the twelfth of June, 1555.

"By yours assured to command,
EDMUND TYRREL."

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Forasmuch as in this letter mention is made of a certain writing in paper, found about them of their faith; what this writing was, and what were the contents of it, the copy thereof here ensueth.

"Christ is in the sacrament, as he is where two or three are gathered together in his name.

"The difference of doctrine between the faithful and the papists concerning the sacrament is, that the papists say, that Christ is corporally under or in the forms of bread and wine; but the faithful say, that Christ is not there, neither corporally nor spiritually; but in them that worthily eat and drink the bread and wine, he is spiritually, but not corporally.

"For figuratively he is in the bread and wine, and spiritually he is in them that worthily eat and drink the bread and wine; but really, carnally, and corporally he is only in heaven, from whence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

"My belief in the sacrament of the blessed body and blood of my Saviour Jesus Christ.

"As concerning the sacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, my belief is this, that the bread and wine is appointed unto a sacrament, and that after thanks be given to God the Father, then it doth represent unto me the very body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ: not that the bread is the body, or the wine the blood, but that I in faith do see that blessed body of our Saviour broken on the cross, and his precious blood plentifully shed, for the redemption of my sins. Also in faith I hear him call us unto him, saying, Come unto me, all ye that labour and are laden, and I will refresh you. In faith I come unto him, and I am refreshed, so that I believe that all that do come unto the table of the Lord in this faith, fear, and love, being sorry for their offences, intending earnestly to lead a godly conversation in this vale of misery, do receive the fruit of the death of Christ, which fruit is our salvation.

"I do understand, spiritually, that as the outward man doth eat the material bread which comforteth the body, so doth the inward man, through faith, eat the body of Christ, believing that as the bread is broken, so was Christ's body broken on the cross for our sins; which comforteth our souls unto life everlasting; and signifying thereby, that even as that bread was divided among them, so should his body and fruit of his passion be distributed unto as many as believed his words. But the bread broken and eaten in the supper, monisheth and putteth us in remembrance of his death, and so exciteth us to thanksgiving, to laud and praise God for the benefits of our redemption.

"And thus we there have Christ present: in the inward eye and sight of our faith we eat his body, and drink his blood; that is, we believe surely that his body was crucified for our sins, and his blood shed for our salvation.

"Christ's body and blood are not contained in the sacramental bread and wine, as the papists have said, and as some yet do say, as ye read in these scriptures following: first read iii Matt. ix.; Luke v.; Matt. xxiv. and xxvi.; Mark xvi.; Luke xxiv.; John xiii.; Luke xxiii. in the end; John xiv. xv. xvi. xvii.; Acts i. iii. vii. ix.; Rom. viii.; Psalm viii.; 1 Cor. x. xi.; Exod. xii.; Col. i.; Ephes. i. iv.; Phil. i. ii.; 1 Thess. i. iv.; Heb. i. v. viii. ix. x. xii.; 1 Pet. iii.; Psalm xi. xlvii. ciii. x.

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"Christ's material body is not in all places, as these scriptures do testify hereafter.

"First read St. Matthew the last, Mark the last, Luke the last, John xi. xx. xxi. These places of the Scripture do plainly declare, that his body, that was born of the Virgin Mary, cannot be in more places than one, and that is in heaven, on the right hand of God, and not in the sacrament; nor in all places, as the papists have affirmed, and yet do affirm.

"Therefore, whosoever they be that do worship the creatures of bread and wine, do commit idolatry, and make abominable idols of them, and take the glory from God, and give it to his creatures, which is contrary to the mind of God, as these scriptures hereafter do testify; first in Exod. xx. xxii. xxiii. xxiv.; Lev. xix.; Deut. iv. vi. xxxii.; Psalm lxxx.; Isa. xlv.; Mal. ii.; Matt. iv.; Luke iv.; Acts xiv.; Rev. xiv.; Psalm xcvi.; 1 Cor. viii.; Ephes. iv.; 1 Tim. ii.; 1 John v.; Rev. xix. xxii.

"JOHN DENLEY."

Now to return to the commissioners again: they, receiving these prisoners aforementioned, after they saw they could little prevail with their own persuasions, sent them unto Bishop Bonner, to be handled after his fatherly and charitable discretion; which how discreet and favourable it was, as well the history of others, as also the sequel of this, doth manifestly declare; for the twenty-eighth of June then next following, he caused the said Denley and Newman, with one Patrick Packingham, to be brought into his chamber, within his house or palace, there examining them upon their confessions, (which Tyrrel had found about them,) objecting also unto them certain other articles of his own. To the which they all answered in effect one thing, although Denley answered more largely than the others; and therefore I thought it enough only to manifest his, as sufficient, and in no part differing from the others, except that Packingham had one article of no great force objected to him, which the rest had not.

This done, the bishop used with them his accustomed persuasions, to the which Master Denley said, "God save me from your counsel, and keep me in the mind that I am in, for that you count heresy, I take to be the truth" and thereupon they were commanded to appear in the bishop's consistory the fifth of July then next coming, in the afternoon, where these articles were objected against them.

"First, That the said N. now is of the diocese of London, and the jurisdiction of the bishop of London.

"2. That the said N. hath not believed, nor doth believe, that there is any catholic church of Christ here in earth.

"3. That the said N. hath not believed, nor doth believe, that this Church of England is any part or member of the said catholic church.

"4. That the said N. hath believed, and doth believe, that the mass now used in this realm of England is naught, and full of idolatry and evil, and plain against God's word; and therefore he (the said N.) hath not heard it, nor will hear it.

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"5. That the said N. hath believed, and doth so believe, that auricular confession, used now in this realm of England, is not good, but contrary to God's word.

"6. That the said N. hath believed, and doth so believe, that absolution, given by the priest hearing confession, is not good, nor allowable by God's word, but contrary to the same.

"7. That the said N. hath believed, and doth so believe, that christening of children, as it is now used in the Church of England, is not good, nor allowable by God's word, but against it: likewise confirming of children, giving of orders, saying of matins and even-song, anointing or anointing of sick persons, making of holy bread and holy water, with the rest of the church.

"8. That the said N. hath believed, and doth so believe, that there are but two sacraments in Christ's catholic church; that is to say, the sacrament of baptism, and the sacrament of the altar.

"9. That the said N. hath believed, and doth so believe, that forasmuch as Christ is ascended up into heaven, therefore the very body of Christ is not in the sacrament of the altar.

"10. That thou, Patrick Packingham, now being of the age of twenty-one at the least, being within the house of the bishop of London at Paul's, and by him brought to the great chapel to hear mass there, the said twenty-third day of June, the year of our Lord 1555, didst unreverently stand in the said chapel having thy cap on thy head all the mass while; and didst also refuse to receive holy water and holy bread at the priest's hands, there contemning and despising both the mass, and the said holy water and holy bread."

The answer of John Denley and the rest, to the articles objected.

"To the 1st article I answer, it is very true.

"To the 2d article I answer, that it is not true: for I believe the holy catholic church which is builded upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles, Christ being the Head, which holy church is the congregation of the faithful people, dispersed through the whole world, the which church doth preach God's holy word truly, and doth also minister the two sacraments; that is to say, baptism and the supper of the Lord, according to his blessed word.

"To the 3d article I answer, that I do believe, that this Church of England, using the faith and religion which is now used, is no part or member of the aforesaid catholic church, but is the church of antichrist, the bishop of Rome being the head thereof; for it is plain that they have altered the testament of God, and set up a testament of their own devising, full of blasphemy and lies: for Christ's testament is, that he would have all things done to the edifying of the people, as it appeareth when he taught them to pray, and also it appeareth by St. Paul, for he saith, that he that prophesieth, speaketh unto men for their edifying, for their exhortation, and for their comfort; he that speaketh with the tongue, profiteth himself; he that prophesieth, edifieth the congregation. Also he saith, Even so likewise when ye speak with tongues, except ye speak words that have signification, how shall it be understood what is spoken? for ye shall but speak in the air; that is as much to say, in vain. Also he saith, Thou verily givest thanks well, but the

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other is not edified. I thank my God, I speak with tongues more than ye all: yet I had rather in the congregation to speak five words with understanding, to the information of others, than ten thousand words with the tongue. Also he saith, Let all things be done to edification. Also it is written in the Psalms, For God is King of all the earth: O sing praises unto him with understanding, &c. So it doth appear, that this Church of England, now used, is not builded upon Christ, if St. Paul's words be true, and also the Psalms: therefore this church is not builded upon the prophets, apostles, nor Christ, as I have declared before.

"To this 4th article I answer, and I do believe (as I have afore said) that the mass, now used in this realm of England, is naught, and abominable idolatry and blasphemy against God's holy word; for Christ, in his holy supper, instituted the sacraments of bread and wine, to be eaten together in remembrance of his death till he come, and riot to have them worshipped, and make an idol of them: for God will not be worshipped in his creatures, but we ought to give him praise for his creatures, which he hath created for us. For he saith in the second commandment, Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, nor the likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath: thou shalt not bow down to them nor worship them. So it appeareth by this commandment, that we ought not to worship the sacrament of bread and wine, for it is plain idolatry; for he saith, no similitude: therefore thou shalt not bow down to them nor worship them. I pray you what do you call kneeling down, holding up the hands, knocking of the breast, putting off the cap, and making curtesy, with other like superstition? You would make men to be so blind, that this is no worshipping. Peradventure you will object and say, You do not worship the bread and the wine, but Christ's body which was born of the Virgin Mary, contained under the forms of bread and wine. But that is a very lie; for Christ's body that was born of the Virgin Mary is in heaven, if St. Paul's words be true, as undoubtedly they are: for he saith, But this man, after he hath offered one sacrifice for sins, is set down for ever on the right hand of God, and from henceforth tarrieth till his foes be made his footstool.

"Also he saith, For Christ is not entered into holy places that are made with hands, which are similitudes of true things, but is entered into very heaven, to appear now in the sight of God for us, &c. Also, But our conversation is in heaven, from whence we look for the Saviour, even the Lord Jesus Christ, &c. For they themselves show of you, what manner of entering in we had unto you, and how ye returned to God from images, to serve the living God, and to look for his Son from heaven, whom he raised from death, even Jesus which delivered us from the wrath to come, &c. Also, I went out from the Father, and came into the world. Again, I leave the world, and go to the Father, &c. Now I am not in the world, and they are in the world, and I Come to thee. And these places of the Scripture, with other more, prove plainly to them that have ears to hear, that Christ's body that was born of the Virgin Mary is in heaven, and not in the sacramental bread and wine; and therefore it is idolatry to worship them, &c.

"To this 5th article I answer, that I do believe as I have afore said, that auricular confession is not good, as it is now used. Touching my sins, wherein I have offended God, I must seek to him for remission thereof, for our Saviour Christ saith, Come unto me, all ye that labour and are laden: I will ease you, &c. The riotous son saith, I will arise and go to my father, and I will say to him, Father, I have sinned against heaven and before thee, and I am no more worthy to be called thy son, &c. I said I will knowledge mine offences, and accuse myself unto the Lord, and so thou forgavest me the wickedness of my sin, &c. But I will reprove mine own ways in his

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sight: he shall make me whole, and there may no hypocrite come before him. The son of Sirach saith, Who can be cleansed of the unclean? And there was but one of the ten lepers that were cleansed, that came to Christ to give him thanks: he asked for the other nine. But if I have offended my neighbour, I must reconcile myself to my neighbour: and if I be a notorious sinner, after the first and second admonition, it ought to be declared to the congregation; and the minister of the congregation hath power by the word to excommunicate me, and I am to be taken as a heathen person, not for a day, or forty days, but unto such time as I do openly, in the congregation, acknowledge my fault. Then the minister hath power, by the word, to preach to me or them the remission of our sins in the blood of Jesus Christ, as it is written in the Acts of the Apostles, (chap. xiii.) and Matthew, (chap. xviii.) Other confession I know none.

"To this 6th article, I (the said John Denley) hare answered in the fifth.

"To the 7th article I answer, that as touching the sacrament of baptism, which is the christening of children, it is altered and changed; for St. John Baptist used nothing but the preaching of the word and the water, as it doth appear, when Christ required to be baptized of him,—and others, also, which came to John to be baptized, as it appeareth in Matt. iii., Mark i., and Luke iii.: and in Acts viii., the chamberlain said, See here is water: what letteth me to be baptized? It appeareth here that Philip had preached unto him; for he said, Here is water. We do not read that he asked for any cream, nor oil, not for spittle, nor conjured water, nor conjured wax, nor yet crysom, nor salt, for it seemeth that Philip had preached no such things to him; for he would as well have asked for them as for water—and the water was not conjured, but even as it was afore. Also, Then answered Peter, Can any man forbid water that these should not be baptized? &c. And Paul and Silas preached unto him the word of the Lord, and to all that were in his house. And he took them the same hour of thenight, and washed their wounds; and so was he baptized, and all they of his household straightway: where ye see nothing but preaching the word and the water. The like also is to be said of the rest of the ceremonies of your church.

"To the 8th article I answer shortly, that there be sacraments no more but two; baptism, and the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ,—except ye will make the rainbow a sacrament: for there is no sacrament but hath a promise annexed unto it.

"To the 9th article I do answer you, that ye have my mind written already, for it was found about me when I was taken; and also ye know my mind in the 4th article, plainly expressed concerning the bodily presence: for Christ's body is in heaven, and will not be contained in so small a piece of bread. And as the words which Christ spake are true indeed, so must they also be understood by other of the Scriptures which Christ spake himself, and also the apostles after him. And thus I make an end, &c.

"By me.

JOHN DENLEY."

The first day of the month of July, the said three prisoners were brought into the consistory in Paul's church, where be proceeded against them after the usual form and manner of law, reading first their confessions, articles, and answers; and then, tempting them, sometimes with fair promises, otherwhiles with threatenings, which were always his chieftest arguments and reasons to persuade withal. In the end, seeing their unmovable constancy, upon the fifth of July

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he condemned them as heretics, and gave them unto the sheriffs of London, as to his common executioners, who kept them until they were commanded by writ to send them to their several places of suffering; which was for Master Denley, Uxbridge; where, the eighth day of August, he was burned. And being set in the fire with the burning flame about him, he sung in it a psalm.

Then cruel Dr. Story, being there present, commanded one of the tormentors to hurl a faggot at him, whereupon, being hurt therewith upon the face that he bled again, he left his singing, and clapt both his hands on his face. "Truly," quoth Dr. Story to him that hurled the faggot, "thou hast marred a good old song."

The said John Denley, being yet still in the flame of the fire, put his hands abroad, and sung again, yielding at the last his spirit into the hands of God, through his Son Jesus Christ.

After the martyrdom of Master Denley, at Uxbridge, which was the eighth of August, suffered also not long after Patrick Packingham at the same town of Uxbridge, about the twenty-eighth of the said month. This Packingham was charged of Bonner (as ye heard in the tenth article before) for his behaviour showed in the bishop's chapel, who, at the mass time there standing, would not put off his cap, which was taken for a heinous offence. The said Packingham also, being much laboured by Bonner to recant, protested in these words to the bishop, that the church which he believed was no catholic church, but was the church of Satan, and therefore he would never turn to it, &c.

Furthermore, as touching the other, which was John Newman, pewterer, dwelling at Maidstone in Kent, he was burned the last of August, at Saffron Walden in the county of Essex, whose examination and confession of his faith and belief, for the which he was cruelly burnt and persecuted, hereunder followeth.

The story of John Newman, martyr.



JOHN Newman first was apprehended in Kent, dwelling in the town of Maidstone, and there was examined before Dr. Thornton, suffragan, and others, at Tenderden. From thence he was brought to Bonner, and there condemned with Master Denley and Packingham, and burned at Saffron Walden, as is before storied. But, because his examination and answers before the suffragan came not then to my hands, I thought here in this place to bestow them, rather than they should utterly be suppressed. And first, what his answer was by writing to the said suffragan, after his apprehension, you shall bear by the tenor of his own words, as follow:

"It may please you to understand, that for the space of all the time of King Edward's reign, we were diligently instructed with continual sermons, made by such men, whose faith, wisdom, learning, and virtuous living, was commended unto all men under the king's hand and seal, and under the hands of the whole council. These men taught diligently a long time, persuading us by the allegations of God's word, that there was no transubstantiation nor corporal

presence in the sacrament. Their doctrine was not believed of us suddenly, but by their continual preaching, and also by our continual prayer unto God, that we might never be deceived, but, if it were true, that God would incline our hearts unto it; and, if it were not true, that we might never believe it. We weighed that they laboured with God's word, and we asked the advice of our friends, neither could we find that they preached false doctrine. We considered also, as we did learn, that the king's Grace and his council, and the most part of the whole realm, believed as they taught, because no man preached the contrary. Also we know that the preachers were commanded by the king and laws of the realm, to preach unto us such doctrine, as was to the authority of God's word agreeable, and no other; and by their diligent setting-forth of it by the king's commandment, and the whole consent of the whole council, and by the authority of the parliament, we embraced it, and received it as a very infallible truth, taught unto us for the space of seven years. Wherefore, until such time as our consciences are otherwise taught and instructed by God's word, we cannot with safeguard of our consciences take it, as many suppose at this time. And we trust in God that the queen's merciful Highness, neither yet her most honourable council, will in a matter of faith use compulsion nor violence; because faith is the gift of God, and cometh not of man, neither of man's laws, neither at such time as men require it, but at such time as God giveth it."

The examination and answers of John Newman, martyr, before Dr. Thornton and others.

First, one of the doctors, or one of the bench, (either the archdeacon or Faucet, or some other, whose name John Newman doth not express,) beginneth, asking in this wise.

Doctor.—"How say you to this, This is my body which is given for you?"

Newman.—"It is a figurative speech; one thing spoken, and another meant; as Christ saith, I am a vine, I am a door, I am a stone, &c. Is he therefore a material stone, a vine, or a door?"

Doctor.—"This is no figurative speech. For he saith, This is my body which is given for you; and so saith he not of the stone, vine, or door; but that is a figurative speech."

Newman.—"Christ saith, This cup is the new testament in my blood: if ye will have it so meant, then let them take and eat the cup."

Doctor.—"Nay, that is not so meant; for it is a common phrase of speech among ourselves. We say to our friend, 'Drink a cup of drink,' and yet we mean he should drink the drink in the cup."

Newman.—"Why, if ye will have the one so understood, ye must so understand the other."

Doctor.—"Nay, it is a common use of speech, to say, 'Drink a cup of ale or beer;' and therefore it is no figurative speech."

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Newman.—"The often using of a thing doth not make that thing otherwise than it is; but wheresoever one thing is spoken, and another meant, it is a figurative speech."

Doctor.—"Well, we will not stand hereabout. How say ye by the real presence? Is not Christ's natural body there, that was born of the Virgin Mary?"

Newman.—"No, I do not so believe, neither can I so believe; for the soul of man doth not feed upon natural things as the body doth."

Doctor.—"Why, how then doth it feed?"

Newman.—"I think the soul of man doth feed as the angels in heaven, whose feeding is only the pleasure, joy, felicity, and delectation that they have of God: and so the soul of man doth feed and eat, through faith, the body of Christ."

Collins.—"Yea, but if the body do not feed upon natural things, the soul cannot continue with the body: therefore the body must needs feed upon natural things, that both may live together."

Newman.—"I grant it to be true; but yet the soul doth live otherwise than the body which doth perish: therefore natural things do but feed the body only. I pray you what did Judas receive at the supper?"

Collins.—"Marry, Judas did receive the very body of Christ; but it was to his damnation."

Newman.—"Why, was the devil entered into him before? Then he had both the devil and Christ in him at one time."

Collins.—"Nay, the devil did enter into him afterward."

Newman.—"Yea, and before too. What do ye think? Had he but one devil? Nay, I think he had rather a legion of devils at the latter end."

Collins.—"Well, put case it be so: what say you to that?"

Newman.—"Marry, if Christ and the devil were both in Judas at once, I pray you how did they two agree together?"

Collins.—"We grant that they were both in Judas at that time: for Christ may be where the devil is, if he will; but the devil cannot be where Christ is, except it please Christ."

Newman.—"Christ will not be in an unclean person that hath the devil."

Thornton.—"Why, will ye not believe that Christ was in hell? and ye will grant that the devil is there; and so might he be in Judas, if it pleased him."

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Newman.—"Christ would not suffer Mary Magdalene to touch him, which sought him at his grave, and did love him entirely; much less he will suffer an ungodly man to receive him into his unclean body."

Thornton.—"Yes, seeing God may do all things, he may do what he list, and be where he will. And doth not the Psalm say, he is in hell, and in all places? Why should we then doubt of his being there?"

Newman.—"Though his Godhead be in all places, yet that is not sufficient to prove that his humanity is in all places."

Thornton.—"No? do you not believe that God is omnipotent, and may do all things?"

Newman.—"I do believe that God is almighty, and may do all that he will do."

Thornton.—"Nay, but if he be omnipotent, he may do all things, and there is nothing impossible for him to do."

Newman.—"I know God is almighty, and can do all that he will; but he cannot make his Son a liar, he cannot deny himself, nor can he restore virginity once violated and defiled."

Thornton.—"What is that to your purpose? God doth not defile virginity; we speak but of things that God doth."

Newman.—"Why, will ye have the humanity of Christ in all places as the Deity is?"

Thornton.—"Yea, he is in all places as the Deity is, if it please him."

Newman.—"I will promise you that seemeth to me a very great heresy, for heaven and earth are not able to contain the divine power of God; for it is in all places, as here and in every place: and yet ye will say, that wheresoever the Deity is, there is also the humanity, and so ye will make him no body, but a fantastical body, and not a body indeed."

Thornton.—"Nay, we do not say he is in all places as the Deity is; but, if it please him, he may be in all places with the Deity."

Newman.—"I promise you, that it seemeth to me as great a heresy as ever I heard in my life, and I dare not grant it, lest I should deny Christ to be a very man; and that were against all the Scriptures."

Thornton.—"Tush, what shall we stand reasoning with him? I dare say he doth not believe that Christ came out of his mother not opening the matrix. Do you believe that Christ rose from death, and came through the stone?"

Newman.—"I do believe that Christ rose from death; but I do not believe that he came through the stone, neither doth the Scripture so say."

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Thornton.—"Lo! how say you? he doth not believe that Christ came through the stone; and if he doth not believe this, how shall he believe the other? If he could believe this, it were easy for him to believe the other."

Newman." The Scripture doth not say he went through the stone, but it saith the angels of God came down, and rolled away the stone, and for fear of him the keepers became even as dead men."

Thornton.—"Ah! fool, fool; that was because the woman should see that was risen again from death."

Newman.—"Well, the Scripture maketh as much for me, as it doth for you, and more too."

Thornton.—"Well, let us not stand any longer about this: back again to the real presence. How say ye, is the body of Christ really in the sacrament, or no?"

Newman.—"I have answered you already."

Thornton.—"Well, do ye not believe that he is there really?"

Newman.—"No, I believe it not."

Thornton.—"Well, will ye stand to it?"

Newman.—"I must needs stand to it, till I be persuaded by a further truth."

Thornton.—"Nay, ye will not be persuaded, but stand to your own opinion."

Newman.—"Nay, I stand not to mine own opinion, (God I take to witness,) but only to the Scriptures of God, and that can all those that stand here witness with me, and nothing but the Scriptures: and I take God to witness, that I do nothing of presumption, but that that I do, is only my conscience; and if there be a further truth than I see, except it appear a truth to me, I cannot receive it as a truth. And seeing faith is the gift of God, and cometh not of man; for it is not you that can give me faith, nor no man else: therefore I trust ye will bear the more with me, seeing it must be wrought by God; and when it shall please God to open a further truth to me, I shall receive it with all my heart, and embrace it."

"Thornton had many other questions which I did not bear away; but as I do understand, these are the chiefest: as for taunts, foolish and unlearned, he lacked none. Praise God for his gifts, and God increase in us strength."

The Arguments of John Newman.

"If the body of Christ were really and bodily in the sacrament, then whosoever received the sacrament, received also the body.

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"The wicked receiving the sacrament, receive not the body of Christ.

"Ergo, The body of Christ is not really in the sacrament."

"They which eat the flesh, and drink the blood of Christ, dwell in him, and he in them.

"The wicked dwell not in Christ, nor he in them.

"Ergo, the wicked eat not the flesh, nor drink the blood of Christ."

Argument.

"They that have Christ dwelling in them, bring forth much fruit: He that dwelleth in me, and I in him, bringeth forth much fruit.

"The wicked bring forth no fruit of goodness.

"Ergo, They have not Christ's body dwelling in them."

Argument.

"Where remembrance is of a thing, there is imported the absence thereof.

"Remembrance of Christ's body is in the sacrament, Do this in remembrance of me, &c.

"Ergo, Christ's body there, is imported to be absent."

"Marry they will say, we see him not with our outward eyes, but he is commended under the forms of bread and wine, and that we see is nothing but a quality or an accident. But let them show me a quality or an accident without a substance, and I will believe them."

And thus much concerning Newman's examinations and arguments.

The faith of John Newman, dwelling at Maidstone in Kent, who was by occupation a pewterer.

"The Lord is the protector of my life. The just shall live by faith, and if he withdraw himself, my soul shall have no pleasure in him.

"My faith is, that there is one God, which is without beginning, and without ending. This God created all things visible and invisible. And after that he had made both heaven and earth, with all other creatures, he made man, and set him in the place which he had prepared for him, which place he called Eden. He gave to Adam his commandments and precepts, and said, Whosoever thou dost the thing which I forbid, thou shalt surely die the death. Yet did man, for all this, disobey God his Creator, and after his sin, he fled from God, hid himself, and was in a miserable desperate case. But God, seeing man in his miserable estate, because he and all posterity should riot continue in death, promised Adam that the woman's seed should break the

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serpent's head; whereby is meant, that Son of God should become man, and destroy the devil, which by his subtle persuasions had deceived Adam. Then did Adam, by faith, take hold of God's promise, and became the servant of righteousness, through the faith which he had in the promise of the woman's seed: so did Abel, Seth, Enoch, and Noah, with faithful Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and the rest of the faithful until Christ's time. As St. Paul saith, They did eat all of one spiritual meat, and did all drink of one spiritual drink: they did drink of that spiritual rock that followed them, which rock was Christ that saveth us. And when the time was full come, God sent his Son, made of woman, that is, he took flesh of the Virgin Mary, and became man; not the shadow of a man, nor a fantastical man, as some falsely feign, but a very natural man in all points, sin only excepted, which God and man is Christ, the promised woman's seed. This Christ was here conversant among men for the space of thirty years and more; and when the time was come that he should go to his Father, he gave unto us the mystery of our redemption, that we, through faith, should eat his body, and drink his blood, that we might feed on him through faith, to the end of the world. After this, Christ offered up his body on the cross to pacify his Father, and to deliver us from the thralldom of the devil, in the which we were, through sin original and actual. And with that one sacrifice of his body once offered on the cross, he hath made perfect for ever all them that are sanctified. He descended into hell, the third day he rose again from death, and was conversant at certain times with his disciples for the space of forty days after he rose from death. Then, in the sight of all his disciples, he ascended into heaven: and as his disciples stood looking upward, and beholding him how he went into heaven, two men stood by them in white apparel, which also said, Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing up into heaven? This same Jesus, which is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come even as ye have seen him go into heaven. St. Peter also saith, that the heavens must receive him, until the time that all things which God hath spoken by the mouth of all his prophets since the world began, be restored again; which is the latter day, when he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

"I do believe in the Holy Ghost, which is the Spirit of God, proceeding from the Father and the Son, which Holy Spirit is one God with them. I believe that there is a holy church, which is the company of the faithful and elect people of God, dispersed abroad throughout the whole world, which holy church or congregation doth not look for Christ here, nor Christ there, neither in the desert, nor in the secret places, whereof Christ warneth us; but as St. Paul saith, in heaven, where he sitteth on the right hand of God the Father. They set their affections on things that are above, and not on things that are on the earth; for they are dead concerning the things of this world, and their life is hid with Christ in God: and when Christ, which is their life, shall show himself, then shall they also appear with him in glory.

"I believe that there is a communion of saints, even the fellowship of the faithful people which are dispersed abroad throughout all the whole world, and are of one mind. They follow Christ their Head; they love one another as Christ loved them, and are knit together in one, even in Christ; which church or congregation hath forgiveness of sins through Christ, and shall enter without spot before the face of God into his glory: for as Christ, being their Head, hath entered pure and clean, so they, entering by him, shall be like him in glory.

"And I am certain and sure that all they which do die, shall rise again and receive their bodies. In them shall they see Christ come in his glory, to judge the quick and the dead; at whose coming all men shall appear and give a reckoning of their doings. He shall separate the good

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from the bad; he shall say to them which are his elect, Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the beginning; but to the others that have always resisted his will, he shall say, Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire, which is prepared for the devil and his angels.

"Thus have I briefly declared my faith, which were no faith at all, if I were in doubt of it. This faith therefore I desire God to increase in me. Praise God for his gifts!"

And thus have ye the martyrdom with the confession of this blessed man, and witness of the Lord's truth, who for that gave his life, as is before declared.

Likewise Richard Hook about the same season, and for the same matter, gave his life at Chichester.

303. William Coker, William Hopper, Henry Laurence, Richard Colliar, Richard Wright, and William Stere.

The examinations, answers, and condemnation of six martyrs, in Kent, viz., William Coker, William Hopper, Henry Laurence, Richard Colliar, Richard Wright, and William Stere, before the bishop of Dover, and Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury.

Mention was made a little before in the story of Master Bland and Nicholas Sheterden, of certain other Kentish men, who being, the same time with them, called forth and examined by Thornton, bishop of Dover, Nicholas Harpsfield, Richard Faucet, and Robert Collins; yet notwithstanding, because the condemnation and execution of them were deferred a little longer, till the latter end of the month of August, (coming therefore now to the time of their suffering,) we will briefly touch some part of their examinations and answers as we find them in the registers. The names of these were William Coker, William Hopper, Henry Laurence, Richard Colliar, Richard Wright, and William Stere. What the articles objected to Master Bland and them were, ye heard before. To the which articles they answered for themselves severally, in effect as followeth.

First William Coker said, he would answer no otherwise than he had already answered; and being offered to have longer respite of six days after, he refused to take it; and so upon the same, sentence of condemnation was read against him, the eleventh of July.

William Hopper first seemed to grant to the faith and determination of the catholic church. After calling himself better to mind, constantly sticking to the truth, he was condemned the next week after, the sixteenth of July.

Henry Laurence examined the said sixteenth of July, and partly deferred to the second of August, answered to the articles objected against him, first denying auricular confession, and that he neither had nor would receive the sacrament, "because," saith he, "the order of the Holy Scriptures is changed in the order of the sacrament."

Moreover, the said Laurence was charged for not putting off his cap, when the suffragan made mention of the sacrament, and did reverence to the same: the said Laurence answering in these words, "What!" said he, "ye shall not need to put off your cap; for it is not so holy that you need put off your cap thereunto."

Further, being opposed concerning the verity of the sacrament given to Christ's disciples, he affirmed that even as Christ gave his very body to his disciples, and confessed it to be the same; so likewise Christ himself said, he was a door, &c.: adding, moreover, that as he had said before, so he saith still, that the sacrament of the altar is an idol, and no remembrance of Christ's passion; and contrary he knoweth not. At last, being required to put to his hand in subscribing to his answers, he wrote these words under the bill of their examinations, "Ye are all of antichrist, and him ye fol." And here his hand was stayed to write any further: belike he would have written out "follow," &c. And so upon the same, sentence was given against him the second of August.

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Richard Colliar above mentioned, having the sixteenth of August to appear, examined of the sacrament of the popish altar, answered and said, that he did not believe, that after the consecration there is the real and substantial body of Christ, but only bread and wine; and that it is most abominable, most detestable, and most wicked, to believe otherwise, &c. Upon this the sentence was read against him, and he condemned the sixteenth of August. After his condemnation he sang a psalm: wherefore the priests and their officers railed at him, saying, he was out of his wits.

Richard Wright the same place and day, being the sixteenth of August, appearing, and required of the judge what he believed of the real presence in the sacrament, answered again, that as touching the sacrament of the altar and the mass, he was ashamed to speak of it, or to name it, and that he allowed it not, as it was used in the church. Against whom the sentence was also read the day and place aforesaid.

William Stere of the aforesaid parish of Ashford, likewise detected and accused, was brought to appear the said sixteenth day of August, where he, in the said chapter-house of Canterbury, being required to make answer to the positions laid unto him by the judge, made answer again, that he should command his dogs, and not him: and further declared, that Dick of Dover had no authority to sit against him in judgment, and asked where his authority was. Who then showed him certain bulls and writings from Rome, as he said. William Stere, denying that to be of sufficient force, the said Dick said also he had authority from the queen. Then the martyr alleging that the archbishop of Canterbury (who then was in prison) was his diocesan, urged him to show his authority from the archbishop, or else he denied his authority to be sufficient. And as touching the sacrament of the altar, he found it not (he said) in the Scripture; and therefore he would not answer thereunto.

And moreover the judge speaking of the sacrament of the altar, with reverence thereof, and putting off his cap, he said that he needed not to reverence that matter so highly. And thus (saying to the judge that he was a bloody man, &c.) the sentence was pronounced against him; after which sentence being read, he said that the sacrament of the altar was the most blasphemous idol that ever was, &c.

And thus these six heavenly martyrs and witness-bearers to the truth, being condemned by the bloody suffragan and the archdeacon of Canterbury, Master Collins and Master Faucet, were burned all together in the same town of Canterbury, at three stakes and one fire, about the latter end of August.

The copy of their sentence condemnatory, you may find above in the story of John Rogers; for the papists, in all their condemnations, follow one manner of sentence of course, commonly, against all that be condemned through their unmerciful tyranny.

304. The Persecution of Ten Martyrs Together, Sent By Certain of The Council To Bonner To Be Examined.



AFTER the burning of these six above named, next followeth the persecution of ten other true servants and saints of the Lord; not such saints as the pope maketh, or which are mentioned in *Legenda Sanctorum*, or in *Vitis Patrum*, or in the fabulous book *De Vita Sanctorum Wallensium*, &c.; but such as are spoken of in the holy *Apocalypse*, of whom it is written, These be they that follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth, and which have washed their stoles in the blood of the Lamb, &c. Thus these saints be not of the pope's making, or rather, to say the truth, they are of the pope's making; of the pope's making (I say) in this respect, not that the saints of God are made by the pope, but that the saints of God

are tried and declared by the pope: so, as by afflictions of Satan, Job's patience was proved; by Pharaoh, God's power declared; and by Salinator, Tarentum was won (as Tully writeth); for except he had lost it before, Quintus Fabius could not have recovered it: so, in like manner, unless by antichrist good men had been destroyed, otherwise they had not been true martyrs of Christ. The names of these ten martyrs, sent by the commissioners, were, Elizabeth Warne, George Tankerfield, Robert Smith, Stephen Harwood, Thomas Fust, William Hale, Thomas Leyes, George King, John Wade, and Joan Lashford.

The prisons of London beginning now to be replenished with God's saints, and still more and more coming in, the council and commissioners, thinking to make ready despatch with the poor prisoners, caused these ten above named to be sent with their letter directed to Bonner, bishop of London, by him to be examined, and rid out of the way. The copy of which their letter, with their names subscribed, here followeth to be read and noted.

"After our hearty commendations to your good Lordship, we send you here John Wade, William Hale, George King, Thomas Leyes of Thorpe in Essex; Thomas Fust, hosier; Robert Smith, painter; Stephen Harwood, brewer; George Tankerfield, cook; Elizabeth Warne; Joan Lashford of London, sacramentaries; all which we desire your Lordship to examine, and to order according to the ecclesiastical laws: praying your Lordship to appoint some of your officers to receive them at this bearer's hand. And thus most heartily fare your Lordship well.—

From London this second of July.

"Your Lordship's loving friends.

Nich. Hare.

Will. Roper.

Rich. Rede.

Will. Cooke."

305. Elizabeth Warne.

The history of Elizabeth Warne, widow; burnt at Stratford Bow.

Now severally to prosecute the stories of these ten martyrs aforementioned, first we will begin with the history of Elizabeth Warne, who in this month of August was burnt at Stratford Bow, nigh unto London, widow, late the wife of John Warne, upholsterer, and martyr, who also was burned in the end of the month of May last past, as before in his story is recorded. This Elizabeth had been apprehended amongst others, the first day of January, in a house in Bow Churchyard in London, as they were gathered together in prayer, and at that present was carried to the Compter, (as is also above specified,) where she lay as prisoner until the eleventh day of June; at which time she was brought into Newgate, and remained there in the like case unto the second day of July. Then she was sent by the king and queen's commissioners unto Bonner, bishop of London, who, the sixth day of the same month, caused her with divers others (as Robert Smith, George Tankerfield, &c.) to be brought before him into his palace; and there examined her upon sundry articles, such as of common order be ministered unto the poor saints and martyrs of God, as you may more plainly perceive by other more large and ample processes, as well before, as hereafter mentioned.

The chiefest objection that he used either towards her, or the most of those, was touching the real and corporal presence of the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament of the altar, as the chiefest ground and profitablest foundation for their catholic dignity. Many other matters he objected against them, as for not coming to the church, for speaking against the mass, for despising their ceremonies and new-found sacraments, with divers other fond and trifling toys, not worthy any mentioning.

In the end, when she had been divers times brought before him and other his adherents, and there earnestly exhorted to recant, she said, "Do what ye will; for if Christ were in an error, then am I in an error." Upon which answer, she was, the twelfth day of the same month of July, adjudged and condemned as a heretic, and so delivered unto the secular power, as they term it, to be by them (yet at the clergy's appointment) put to death, which thing was accomplished in her the same month above mentioned.

The chief procurer of this her death was Dr. Story, being (as it is thought) of some alliance either to her, (the said Elizabeth,) or else to her late husband: who, though he was, at the first apprehension of his said kinswoman, a very earnest suitor for her deliverance to Dr. Martin, then one of the king and queen's commissioners in matters of religion, (himself being as yet not made commissioner,) and had by his suit obtained her deliverance for that present, as Dr. Martin himself (the author hereof) hath reported; yet afterwards, upon what occasion God only knoweth, except upon some burning charity, the said Dr. Story, obtaining now the room of one of the commissioners, caused not only the said John Warne, but also his wife, and afterwards his daughter, to be again apprehended, never leaving them until he had brought them all to ashes. Such was the rage of that devout catholic and white child of the mother church, that neither kindred, nor any other consideration, could prevail with him, although it did (at his request) with others, who in respect of him were but strangers unto them. The Lord, if it be his will, turn his heart, or else rid his poor church from such a hydra, as, thanked be the Lord, now he hath.

306. George Tankerfield

George Tankerfield of London, cook, born in the city of York, about the age of twenty-seven or twenty-eight years, was in King Edward's days a very papist, till the time Queen Mary came in; and then, perceiving the great cruelty used of the pope's side, was brought into a misdoubt of their doings, and began (as he said) in his heart to abhor them. And as concerning the mass, whereof he had but a doubtful opinion before, and much striving with himself in that case, at length he fell to prayer, desiring God in mercy to open to him the truth, that he might be thoroughly persuaded therein, whether it were of God, or not: if not, that he might utterly hate it in his heart, and abhor it: which, according to his prayer, the Lord mercifully heard, working daily more and more in him to detest and abhor the same. And so he was moved to read the Testament, whereby (as is said) the Lord lightened his mind with the knowledge of the truth, working lively faith in him to believe the same, and utterly to detest all papistry; and so he came no more to their doings. And not only that, but also this lively faith, saith he, kindled such a flame in him, as would not be kept in, but utter itself by confession thereof, reproving his own former doings to his friends, exhorting them likewise to convert and turn to the truth with him; and thus he began to be smelled out among them, till at last he was sent for as followeth.

It pleased God to strike him with sickness, whereby he lay long sick; and, on a certain day, to take the air abroad, he rose up, and went and walked into the Temple fields to see the shooters. In the mean season came Beard home to his house, and inquired for him, pretending to his wife, that he came only to have him to come and dress a banquet at the Lord Paget's. The wife, because of his apparel, (which was very brave,) took him to be some honest gentleman, and with all speed prepared herself to fetch her husband, having a good hope he should now earn some money: and, lest this gentleman should be annoyed with tarrying, she fetched him a cushion to set him soft, and laid a fair napkin before him, and set bread thereon, and came to her husband; who, when he heard it, said, "A banquet, woman! Indeed it is such a banquet as will not be very pleasant to the flesh; but God's will be done." And, when he came home, he saw who it was, and called him by his name; which when his wife perceived, and wherefore he came, she, like a tall woman, would play Peter's part, and instead of a sword, took a spit, and had run him through, had not the constable, which Beard had sent for by his man, come in withal, who rescued him; yet she sent a brickbat after him, and hit him on the back. And so Tankerfield was delivered to the constable, and brought to Newgate about the last day of February, anno 1555, by the said Beard, yeoman of the guard, and Simon Ponder, pewterer, constable of St. Dunstan's in the West, sent in by Roger Chomley, knight, and by Dr. Martin.

Tankerfield, thus being brought to prison by his adversaries, at length, with the other above named, was brought to his examination before Bonner; who, after his accustomed manner, ordered his articles and positions unto him; the copy and tenor of which his ordinary articles ye may read above expressed.



The Arrest of George Tankerfield

"To these articles, as above rehearsed, he answered again, constantly declaring his mind both touching auricular confession, and also the sacrament of the popish altar, and likewise of the mass, &c.: First, that he was not confessed to any priest five years past, nor to any other but only to God; and further denying that he would hereafter be confessed to any priest, for that he found it not in Christ's book, and took it only to be a council.

"And concerning the sacrament, commonly called, here in England, of the altar, he confessed that he neither had nor did believe, that in the said sacrament there is the real body and blood of Christ; because that the body is ascended into heaven, and there doth sit at the right hand of God the Father.

"And moreover he said, that the mass now used in the Church of England was naught, and full of idolatry and abomination, and against the word of God; affirming also, that there are but two sacraments in the church of Christ, baptism and the supper of the Lord, &c. And to these assertions, he said, he would stand: and so he did to the end."

And when at last the bishop began to read the sentence, exhorting him before with many words to revoke his professed opinion, (which they called damnable and heretical,) he,

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notwithstanding, resisted all contrary persuasions, answering the bishop again in this form of words "I will not," said he, "forsake mine opinions, except you, my Lord, can repel them by Scriptures; and I care not for your divinity, for you condemn all men, and prove nothing against them." And after many fair words of exhortation, which Bonner then used (after his ordinary manner) to convert, or rather pervert him, he answered boldly again, saying moreover, that the church, whereof the pope is supreme head, is no part of Christ's catholic church: and adding thereunto, and pointing to the bishop, spake to the people, saying, "Good people, beware of him, and such as he is; for these be the people that deceive you," &c.

These, with other words more, he spake; whereupon the bishop, reading the sentence of his popish condemnation, gave him to the secular power.

And so this blessed servant of God was had to St. Alban's, and there with much patience and constancy ended his life, the twenty-sixth day of August, for the defence of the truth, which at length will have the victory.

Certain notes concerning George Tankerfield, after he came to suffer martyrdom at St. Alban's.

"Imprimis, he was brought unto St. Alban's by the high sheriff of Hertfordshire, Master Edward Brocket, esquire, and one Pulter of Hitchen, which was under sheriff.

"Item, their inn was the Cross-keys, where there was great concourse of people to see and hear the prisoner: among the which multitude some were sorry to see so godly a man brought to be burned; others praised God for his constancy and perseverance in the truth. Contrariwise some there were which said, it was pity he did stand in such opinions: and others, both old women and men, cried against him; one called him heretic, and said it was pity that he lived. But George Tankerfield did speak unto them so effectually out of the word of God, lamenting of their ignorance, and protesting unto them his unspotted conscience, that God did mollify their hardened hearts, insomuch that some of them departed out of the chamber with weeping eyes.

"Item, there came unto him a certain schoolmaster, which retained unto Sir Thomas Pope, knight. This man had a certain communication with George Tankerfield the day before he was coming towards St. Alban's, as touching their sacrament of the altar, and other points of papistical religion: but as he urged Tankerfield with the authority of the doctors, wresting them after his own will; so on the other side Tankerfield answered him mightily by the Scriptures, not wrested after the mind of any man, but being interpreted after the will of the Lord Jesus, &c. So that as he would not allow such allegations as Tankerfield brought out of the Scriptures without the opinions of the doctors; so again Tankerfield would not credit his doctrine to be true, except he could confirm it by the Scriptures. In the end Tankerfield prayed him that he would not trouble him in such matters, for his conscience was established, &c. And so he departed from him, wishing him well, and protesting that he meant him no more hurt than his own soul.

"Item, when the hour drew on apace that he should suffer, he desired the wine-drawer that he might have a pint of Malmsey and a loaf, that he might eat and drink that in remembrance of Christ's death and passion, because he could not have it ministered unto him by others in such manner as Christ commanded; and then he kneeled down, making his confession unto the Lord

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with all which were in the chamber with him. And after that he had prayed earnestly unto the Lord, and had read the institution of the holy supper by the Lord Jesus out of the evangelists, and out of St. Paul, he said, 'O Lord, thou knowest it, I do not this to derogate authority from any man, or in contempt of those which are thy ministers, but only because I cannot have it ministered according to thy word,' &c. And when he had spoken these and such-like words, he received it with giving of thanks.

"Item, when some of his friends willed him to eat some meat, he said he would not eat that which should do others good that had more need, and that had longer time to live than he.

"Item, he prayed his host to let him have a good fire in the chamber: he had so, and then he, sitting on a form before the fire, put off his shoes and hose, and stretched out his leg to the flame; and when it had touched his foot, he quickly withdrew his leg, showing how the flesh did persuade him one way, and the spirit another way. The flesh said, 'O thou fool, wilt thou burn and needest not?' The spirit said, 'Be not afraid, for this is nothing, in respect of fire eternal.' The flesh said, 'Do not leave the company of thy friends and acquaintance which love thee, and will let thee lack nothing.' The spirit said, 'The company of Jesus Christ and his glorious presence doth exceed all fleshly fiends.' The flesh said, 'Do not shorten thy time, for thou mayest live, if thou wilt, much longer.' The spirit said, 'This life is nothing unto the life in heaven, which lasteth for ever,' &c. And all this time the sheriffs were at a certain gentleman's house at dinner, not far from the town, whither also resorted knights and many gentlemen out of the country, because his son was married that day; and until they returned from dinner the prisoner was left with his host to be kept and looked unto. And George Tankerfield all that time was kindly and lovingly entreated of his host; and, considering that his time was short, his saying was, that although the day was never so long, yet at the last it ringeth to even-song.

"Item, about two of the clock, when the sheriffs were returned from dinner, they brought George Tankerfield out of his inn unto the place where he should suffer, which is called Romeland, being a green place nigh unto the west end of the abbey church: unto the which when he was come, he kneeled down by the stake that was set up for him, and after he had ended his prayers he arose, and with a joyful faith he said, that although he had a sharp dinner, yet he hoped to have a joyful supper in heaven.

"Item, while the faggots were set about him, there came a priest unto him, and persuaded him to believe on the sacrament of the altar, and he should be saved. But George Tankerfield cried out vehemently, and said, 'I defy the whore of Babylon; I defy the whore of Babylon: fie on that abominable idol. Good people, do not believe him; good people, do not believe him.' And then the mayor of the town commanded to set fire to the heretic, and said, if he had but one load of faggots in the whole world, he would give them to burn him. There was a certain knight by, who went unto Tankerfield, and took him by the hand, and said, 'Good brother, be strong in Christ:' this he spake softly; and Tankerfield said, 'O sir, I thank you, I am so; I thank God.' Then fire was set unto him, and he desired the sheriff and all the people that they would pray for him; the most part did so. And so, embracing the fire, he hathed himself in it, and, calling on the name of the Lord Jesus, he was quickly out of pain," &c.

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After the martyrdom was ended, and that he was fallen asleep in the Lord, there were some superstitious old women who did blasphemously say, that the devil was so strong with him and all such heretics as he was, that they could not feel any pain almost, nor yet be sorry for their sins.

307. Robert Smith

Robert Smith was brought unto Newgate the fifth of November, in the first and second year of the king and queen, by John Matthew, yeoman of the guard, of the queen's side, by the commandment of the council. This Smith first gave himself unto service in the house of Sir Thomas Smith, knight, being then provost of Eton: from thence he was preferred to Windsor, having there in the college a clerkship of ten pound a year. Of stature he was tall and slender, active about many things, but chiefly delighting in the art of painting, which, many times, rather for his mind's sake than for any living or lucre, he did practise and exercise. In religion he was fervent, after he had once tasted the truth; wherein he was much confirmed by the preachings and readings of one Master Turner of Windsor, and others. Whereupon at the coming of Queen Mary he was deprived of his clerkship by her visitors, and not long after he was apprehended, and brought to examination before Bonner, as here followeth, written and testified with his own hand.

The first examination of Robert Smith before Bishop Bonner, &c.

"About nine o'clock in the morning, I was among the rest of my brethren brought to the bishop's house; and I, first of all, was brought before him into his chamber, to whom the bishop said as followeth, after he had asked my name."

Bonner.—"How long is it ago since the time that ye were confessed to any priest?"

Smith.—"Never since I had years of discretion. For I never saw it needful, neither commanded of God, to come to show my faults to any of that sinful number, whom ye call priests."

Bonner.—"Thou showest thyself, even at the first chop, to be a rank heretic, which, being weary of painting, art entered into divinity, and so fallen, through thy departing from thy vocation, into heresy."

Smith.—"Although I have understanding in the said occupation, yet, I praise God, I have had little need all my life hitherto to live by the same, but have lived without the same in mine own house as honestly in my vocation, as ye have lived in yours, and yet used the same better than ever you used the pulpit."

Bonner.—"How long is it ago since ye received the sacrament of the altar, and what is your opinion in the same?"

Smith.—"I never received the same since I had years of discretion, nor ever will, by God's grace; neither do esteem the same in any point, because it hath not God's ordinance, neither in name, nor in other usage, but rather is set up and erected to mock God withal."

Bonner.—"Do ye not believe that it is the very body of Christ that was born of the Virgin Mary, naturally, substantially, and really, after the words of consecration?"

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Smith.—"I showed you before, it was none of God's ordinances, as ye use it; then much less to be God, or any part of his substance, but only bread and wine erected to the use aforesaid: yet, nevertheless, if ye can approve it to be the body that ye spake of by the word, I will believe it; if not, I will, as I do, account it a detestable idol; not God, but contrary to God and his truth."

"Then, after many raging words and vain objections, Bonner said there was no remedy but I must be burned."

Smith.—"Ye shall do no more unto me, than ye have done to better men than either of us both. But think not thereby to quench the Spirit of God, neither thereby to make your matter good; for your sore is too well seen to be healed so privily with blood. For even the very children have all your deeds in derision; so that although ye patch up one place with authority, yet shall it break out in forty to your shame."

"Then, after much ado, and many railing sentences, he said, throwing away the paper of mine examination, 'Well, even now, by my troth, even in good earnest, if thou wilt go and be shriven, I will tear this paper in pieces.' To which I answered, It would be too much to his shame to show it to men of discretion."

"After which answer I was carried down to the garden with my jailer, and there remained until my brother Harwood was examined; and then, being again brought up before the said bishop, he demanded if I agreed with Harwood in his confession, upon these articles following."

Bonner.—"What say you to the catholic church? Do ye not confess there is one in earth?"

Smith.—"Yes verily, I believe that there is one catholic church, or faithful congregation, which, as the apostle saith, is builded upon the prophets and apostles, Christ Jesus being the head corner-stone; which church, in all her words and works, maintaineth the word, and bringeth the same for her authority; and without, it doth nothing, nor ought to do; of which I am assured I am by grace made a member."

Bonner.—"Ye shall understand, that I am bound, when my brother offendeth, and will not be reconciled, to bring him before the congregation. Now if your church be the same, where may a man find it, to bring his brother before the same?"

Smith.—"It is written in the Acts of the Apostles, that when the tyranny of the bishops was so great against the church in Jewry, they were fain to congregate in houses and privy places, as they now do; and yet were they nevertheless the church of God: and, seeing they had their matters redressed, being shut up in a corner, may not we do the like now-a-days?"

Bonner.—"Yea, their church was known full well; for St. Paul wrote to the Corinthians, to have the man punished and excommunicated, that had committed evil with his father's wife; whereby we may well perceive it was a known church, but yours is not known."

Smith.—"Then could you not persecute it as ye do: but as ye say the church of God at Corinth was manifest both to God and Paul; even so is this church of God in England, which ye

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persecute, both known to God, and also even to the very wicked, although they know not, nor will know, their truth and conversation; yea, and your sinful number have professed their verity, and maintained the same a long season."

Bonner.—"Well, thou sayest that the church of God was only at Corinth, when Paul wrote unto them; and so will I put in writing, shall I?"

Smith.—"I do marvel greatly, my Lord, that ye are not ashamed to lay snares for your brethren on this manner. This is now the third snare you have laid for me: first, to make me confess that the Church of England is not the church of Christ: secondly, to say it is not known: thirdly, to say the church of God is not universal, but particular. And this is not the office of a bishop: for if an innocent had come in your way, you would have done your best, I see, to have entangled him."

"Well, friend," quoth one of my Lord's chaplains, "you are no innocent, as it appeareth."

Smith.—"By the grace of God I am that I am; and this grace in me, I hope, is not in vain."

"Well," quoth my Lord, laughing, "tell me, how sayest thou of the church?"

Smith.—"I told you whereupon the true church is builded, and I affirm in England to be the congregation of God, and also in *omnem terram*, as it is written, Their sound is gone forth into all lands; and that this is the afflicted and persecuted church, which ye cease not to imprison, slay, and kill. And in Corinth was not all the congregation of God, but a number of those holy and elect people of God. For neither Paul nor Peter were present at Corinth when they wrote, and yet were they of the church of God, as many thousands more, which also communicate in that holy Spirit."

Bonner.—"What call ye catholic, and what call you church?"

Smith.—"Catholic is universal, and church is a congregation knit together in unity."

"Then after much like vain talk, it was laid to my charge, that my fellow and I spake all one thing: whereof I praised God, and was sent again to a garden, where after a while, as my brother Harwood and I had been together, cometh one of my Lord's chaplains, that much desired to commune with me, demanding first if I were not a prisoner."

Smith.—"I am in this flesh a prisoner, and subject to my master and yours; but I hope yet the Lord's free man through Christ Jesus."

Doctor.—"I do much desire to talk with you, lovingly, because ye are a man that I much lament," with many other sweet words.

"To which I answered, *Sub melle latet venenum*. And after much ado about his god, I compelled him to say, that it must needs enter into the belly, and so fall into the draught. To which the doctor answered, 'What derogation was it to Christ, when the Jews spat in his face?'"

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Smith.—"If the Jews, being his enemies, did spit in his face, and we, being his friends, throw him into the draught, which of us have deserved the greatest damnation? Then, by your argument, he that doth injury to Christ, shall have a most plenteous salvation."

"Then started the doctor away, and would have his humanity incomprehensible, making a comparison between our soul and the body of Christ, bringing in to serve his turn, which way Christ came in among his disciples, the doors being shut?"

Smith.—"Although it be said, that when he came the doors were shut, yet have I as much to prove, that the doors opened at his coming, as ye have to prove he came through the door: for that mighty God that brought the disciples out of prisons, which yet, when search came, were found shut, was able to let Christ in at the door, although it were shut: and yet it maketh not for your purpose; for they saw him, heard him, and felt him; and so can we not say ye do, neither is he in more than in one place at once. At which answer when he had made many scoffings, he departed away from me, and we were carried unto my Lord's hall, where we were baited of my Lord's band, almost all the day, until our keeper, seeing their disorder, shut us up all in a fair chamber, while my Lord went into his synagogue to condemn Master Denley and John Newman. Then brought they up my Lord Mayor to hear our matter above in the chamber, and I, first of all, was called into the chamber, where my Lord intended to sup; where my Lord Mayor, being set with the bishop and one of the sheriffs, wine was walking on every side: I, standing before them as an outcast. Which made me remember how Pilate and Herod were made friends, but no man was sorry for Joseph's hurt. But, after my Lord had well drunk, my articles were sent for and read, and he demanded whether I said not as was written?"

Smith.—"That I have said, I have said; and what I have said, I do mean utterly."

Bonner.—"Well, my Lord Mayor, your Lordship hath heard somewhat, what a stout heretic this is, and that his articles have deserved death: yet nevertheless, forasmuch as they report me to seek blood, and call me 'Bloody Bonner,' whereas God knoweth, I never sought any man's blood in all my life, I have stayed him from the consistory this day, whither I might have brought him justly; and yet here, before your Lordship, I desire him to turn, and I will with all speed despatch him out of trouble; and this I profess before your Lordship and all this audience."

Smith.—"Why, my Lord, do ye put on this fair visor before my Lord Mayor, to make him believe that ye seek not my blood, to cloak your murders through my stoutness, as ye call it? Have ye not had my brother Tomkins before you, whose hand when you had burned most cruelly, ye burnt also his body? And not only of him, but of a great many of the members of Christ, men that feared God, and lived virtuously, and also the queen's Majesty's most true subjects, as their goods and bodies have made manifest? And seeing in these saints ye have showed so little mercy, shall it seem to my Lord and this audience, that ye show me more favour? No, no, my Lord. But if ye mean as ye say, why then examine ye me of that I am not bound to answer you unto?"

Bonner.—"Well, what sayest thou by the sacrament of the altar? Is it not the very body of Christ, flesh, blood, and bone, as it was born of the Virgin?"

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Smith.—"I have answered, that it is none of God's order, neither any sacrament, but man's own vain invention;" and showed him the Lord's institution.

"But when he was so earnest before the audience, declaring that we knew nothing, bringing out his *Hoc est corpus meum*, to lay in my dish, I proved before the audience, that it was a dead god, declaring the distinction appointed between the two creatures of bread and wine, and that a body without blood hath no life; at which Harpsfield found himself much offended, and took the tale out of my Lord's mouth, saying, 'I will approve by the Scriptures, that ye blaspheme God in so saying: for it is given in two parts, because there are two things showed, that is to say, his body and his passion, as saith St. Paul: and therefore is the bread his body, and the wine the representation of his death and blood-shedding.'"

Smith.—"Ye falsify the word, and rack it to serve your purpose. For the wine was not only the showing of his passion, but the bread also: for our Saviour saith, So oft as ye do this, do it in remembrance of me. And St. Paul saith, So oft as ye eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye shall show the Lord's death till he come. And here is as much reverence given to the one, as to the other. Wherefore if the bread be his body, the cup must be his blood, and as well ye make his body in the cup, as his blood in the bread."

"Then up rose my Lord, and went to the table, where my Lord Mayor desired me to save my soul. To whom I answered, I hope it was saved through Christ Jesus; desiring him to have pity on his own soul, and remember whose sword he carried. At this I was carried into the garden, and there abode until the rest of my friends were examined; and so were we sent away with many foul farewells to Newgate again, my Lord Bishop giving the keeper a charge to lay me in limbo."

Another examination of Robert Smith before the said bishop, &c.

"Upon Saturday at eight of the clock, I was brought to his chamber again, and there by him examined, as followeth:—"

Bonner.—"Thou, Robert Smith, &c., sayest that there is no catholic church here on earth."

Smith.—"Ye have heard me both speak the contrary, and ye have written as a witness of the same."

Bonner.—"Yea, but I must ask thee this question: how sayest thou?"

Smith.—"Must ye of necessity begin with a lie? it maketh manifest that ye determine to end with the same: but there shall no liars enter into the kingdom of God. Nevertheless, if ye will be answered, ask mine articles that were written yesterday, and they shall tell you that I have confessed a church of God, as well in earth as in heaven; and yet all one church, and one man's members, even Christ Jesus."

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Bonner.—"Well, what sayest thou to auricular confession? is it not necessary to be used in Christ's church, and wilt thou not be shriven of the priest?"

Smith.—"It is not needful to be used in Christ's church, as I answered yesterday: but if it be needful for your church, it is to pick men's purses. And such pick-purse matters is all the whole rabble of your ceremonies; for all is but money matters that ye maintain."

Bonner.—"Why, how art thou able to prove that confession is a pick-purse matter? Art thou not ashamed so to say?"

Smith.—"I speak by experience; for I have both heard and seen the fruits of the same. For, first, it hath been, we see, a bewrayer of king's secrets, and the secrets of other men's consciences; who, being delivered, and glad to be discharged of their sins, have given to priests great sums of money to absolve them, and sing masses for their souls' health."

"And, for ensample, I began to bring in a pageant, that by report was played at St. Thomas of Acres, and where I was some time a child waiting on a gentleman of Norfolk, who being bound in conscience, through the persuasion of the priest, gave away a great sum of his goods, and forgave unto Master Gresham a great sum of money, and to another as much. The priest had for his part a sum, and the house had an annuity to keep him; the which thing when his brother heard, he came down to London, and after declaration made to the council, how, by the subtlety of the priest he had robbed his wife and children, recovered a great part again, to the value of two or three hundred pounds, of Master Gresham and his other friend; but what he gave to the house, could not be recovered. This tale began I to tell. But when my Lord saw it savoured not to his purpose, he began to revile me, and said, 'By the mass, if the queen's Majesty were of his mind, I should not come to talk before any man, but should be put into a sack, and a dog tied unto the same, and so should be thrown into the water.'

"To which I answered again, saying, 'I know you speak by practice, as much as by speculation: for both you and your predecessors have sought all means possible to kill Christ secretly; record of Master Hun, whom your predecessor caused to be thrust in at the nose with hot burning needles, and then to be hanged, and said the same Hun to have hanged himself: and also a good brother of yours, a bishop of your profession, having in his prison an innocent man, whom because he saw he was not able by the Scriptures to overcome, he made him privily to be snarled, and his flesh to be torn and plucked away with a pair of pincers, and, bringing him before the people, said the rats had eaten him. Thus, according to your oath is all your dealing, and hath been; and as you, taking upon you the office, do not without oaths open your mouth, no more do you without murder maintain your traditions."

Bonner.—"Ah! ye are a generation of liars; there is not one true word that cometh out of your mouths."

Smith.—"Yes, my Lord, I have said that Jesus Christ is dead for my sins, and risen for my justification; and this is no lie." Then made he his man to put in my tale of the gentleman of Norfolk, and would have had me recite it again: which when I would not do, he made his man to put in such sums as he imagined. At the end of this cometh in Master Mordant, knight, and sat

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down to hear my examination. Then said my Lord, "How sayest thou, Smith, to the seven sacraments? Believest thou not that they be God's order, that is to say, the sacrament of," &c.

Smith.—"I believe that in God's church are but two sacraments, that is to say, the sacrament of regeneration, and the sacrament of the Lord's supper: and as for the sacrament of the altar, and all your sacraments, they may well serve your church; but God's church hath nothing to do with them, neither have I any thing to do to answer them, nor you to examine me of them."

Bonner.—"Why, is God's order changed in baptism? In what point do we dissent from the word of God?"

Smith.—"First, in hallowing your water; in conjuring of the same; in baptizing children with anointing and spitting in their mouths, mingled with salt, and with many other lewd ceremonies, of which not one point is able to be proved in God's order."

Bonner.—"By the mass, this is the most unshamefaced heretic that ever I heard speak."

Smith.—"Well sworn, my Lord; ye keep a good watch."

Bonner.—"Well, Master Comptroller, ye catch me at my words: but I will watch thee as well, I warrant thee."

"By my troth, my Lord," quoth Master Mordant, "I never heard the like in all my life. But I pray you, my Lord, mark well his answer for baptism. He disalloweth therein holy ointment, salt, and such other laudable ceremonies, which no Christian man will deny."

Smith.—"That is a shameful blasphemy against Christ, so to use any mingle-mangle in baptizing young infants."

Bonner.—"I believe (I tell thee) that if they die before they be baptized, they be damned."

Smith.—"Ye shall never be saved by that belief. But I pray you, my Lord, show me, are we saved by water, or by Christ?"

Bonner.—"By both."

Smith.—"Then the water died for our sins; and so must ye say, that the water hath life; and it being our servant, and created for us, is our Saviour. This, my Lord, is a good doctrine, is it not?"

Bonner.—"Why, how understandest thou the Scriptures? Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God. And again, Suffer, saith our Saviour, these children to come unto me: and if thou wilt not suffer them to be baptized after the laudable order, thou lettest them to come unto Christ."

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Smith.—"Whereas ye allege St. John, Except a man, &c., and will thereby prove the water to save, and so the deed or work to save and put away sins, I will send you to St. Paul, which asketh of the Galatians, Whether they received the Spirit by the deeds of the law, or by the preaching of faith? And there concludeth, that the Holy Ghost accompanieth the preaching of faith, and with the word of faith entereth into the heart. So now, if baptism preach to me the washing in Christ's blood, so doth the Holy Ghost accompany it, and it is unto me as a preacher, and not a Saviour. And whereas ye say, I let the children to come unto Christ, it is manifest by our Saviour's words, that ye let them to come, that will not suffer them to come to him without the necessity of water. For he saith, Suffer them to come unto me, and not unto water; and therefore if ye condemn them, ye condemn both the merits and words of Christ. For our Saviour saith, Except ye turn and become as children, ye cannot enter into the kingdom of God. And so brought I out many other ensamples, to make manifest, that Christ hath cleansed original sin, bringing in ensamples out of Scriptures for the same."

Bonner.—"Then thou makest the water of none effect: and then put away water."

Smith.—"It is not," saith St. Peter, "the washing-away of the filth of the flesh, but in that a good conscience consenteth unto God. And to prove that water only bringeth not the Holy Ghost, it is written in Acts viii., that Simon received water, but would have received the Holy Ghost for money. Also that the Holy Ghost hath come before baptism, it is written that John had the Holy Ghost in his mother's womb. Cornelius, Paul, and the queen of Candace's servant, with many others, received the Holy Ghost before baptism. Yea, and although your generation have set at nought the word of God, and like swine turned his words upside down, yet must his church keep the same in that order which he left them, which his church dare not break; and, to judge children damned that be not baptized, it is wicked."

Mordant.—"By our Lady, sir, but I believe that if my child die without water, he is damned."

Bonner.—"Yea, and so do I, and all catholic men, good Master Mordant."

Smith.—"Well, my Lord, such catholic, such salvation."

Bonner.—"Well, sir, what say you to the sacrament of orders?"

Smith.—"Ye may call it the sacrament of disorders: for all orders are appointed of God. But as for your shaving, anointing, greasing, polling, and rounding, there are no such things appointed in God's book, and therefore I have nothing to do to believe your orders. And as for you, my Lord, if ye had grace and intelligence, ye would not so disfigure yourself as ye do."

Bonner.—"Sayest thou so? Now, by my troth, I will go shave myself, to anger thee withal:" and so sent for his barber, who immediately came. And before my face at the door of the next chamber he shaved himself, desiring me before he went to answer to these articles.

Bonner.—"What say you to holy bread and holy water, to the sacrament of anointing, and to all the rest of such ceremonies of the church?"

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Smith.—"I say, they be baubles for fools to play withal, and not for the children of God to exercise themselves in; and therefore they may go among the refuse." Then went away Master Mordant, and my Lord went to shaving, leaving there certain doctors, as he called them, to assay what they could do, of whom I was baited for half an hour: of whom I also asked this question, "Where were all you, in the days of King Edward, that ye spake not that which ye speak now?"

Doctor.—"We were in England."

Smith.—"Yea, but then ye had the faces of men, but now ye have put on lions' faces again, as saith St. John. Ye show yourselves now as full of malice as ye may be; for ye have for every time a visor; yea, and if another King Edward should arise, ye would then say, 'Down with the pope, for he is antichrist, and so are all his angels.'"

"Then was I all-to reviled, and so sent away, and brought in again to come before these men; and one of them that baited me before, asked me if I disallowed confession? To whom I answered, 'Look in mine articles, and they shall show you what I allow.'"

Doctor.—"Your articles confess, that you allow not auricular confession."

Smith.—"I allow it not, because the Word alloweth it not, nor commandeth it."

Doctor.—"Why, it is written, Thou shalt not hide thy sins and offences."

Smith.—"No more do I, when I confess them to Almighty God."

Doctor.—"Why, ye cannot say that ye can hide them from God; and therefore you must understand the words are spoken to be uttered to them that do not know them."

Smith.—"Ye have made a good answer: then must the priest confess himself to me, as I to him; for I know his faults and secrets no more than he knoweth mine. But if ye confess you to the priest, and not unto God, ye shall have the reward that Judas had: for he confessed himself to the priest, and yet went and hanged himself by and by; and so, as many as do not acknowledge their faults to God, are said to hide them."

Doctor.—"What did they that came to John to be baptized?"

Smith.—"They came and confessed their sins unto Almighty God."

Doctor.—"And not unto John?"

Smith.—"If it were unto John, as ye are not able to prove, yet was it to God, before John and the whole congregation."

Doctor.—"Why, John was alone in the wilderness."

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Smith.—"Why, and yet the Scriptures say he had many disciples, and that many Pharisees and Sadducees came to his baptism. Here the Scriptures and you agree not. And if they confessed themselves to John, as ye say, it was to all the congregation, as St. Paul doth to Timothy, and to all that read his epistle, in opening to all the hearers, that he was not worthy to be called an apostle, because he had been a tyrant. But as for ear-confession, ye never heard it allowed by the word; for the prophet David maketh his confession unto God, and saith, I will confess my sins unto the Lord. Daniel maketh his confession unto the Lord; Judith, Toby, Jeremy, Manasseh, with all the forefathers, did even so. For the Lord hath said, Call upon me in the time of trouble, and I will deliver thee. Knock, ask, seek, with such-like; and this is the word of God. Now bring somewhat of the word, to help yourself withal." Then they raged, and called me dog, and said I was damned.

Smith.—"Nay, ye are dogs, that because holy things are offered, will slay your friends. For I may say with St. Paul, I have fought with beasts in the likeness of men; for here I have been baited these two days, of my Lord and his great bulls of Basan, and in his hall beneath have I been baited of the rest of his band."

"With this came my Lord from shaving, and asked me how I liked him?"

Smith.—"Forsooth, ye are even as wise as ye were before ye were shaven."

Bonner.—"How standeth it, Master Doctors, have ye done any good?"

Doctor.—"No, by my troth, my Lord, we can do no good."

Smith.—"Then it is fulfilled which is written, How can an evil tree bring forth good fruit?"

Bonner.—"Nay, naughty fellow; I set these gentlemen to bring thee home to Christ."

Smith.—"Such gentlemen, such Christs; and as truly as they have that name from Christ, so truly do they teach Christ."

Bonner.—"Well, wilt thou neither hear them, nor me?"

Smith.—"Yes, I am compelled to hear you; but ye cannot compel me to follow you."

Bonner.—"Well, thou shalt be burnt at a stake in Smithfield, if thou wilt not turn."

Smith.—"And ye shall burn in hell, if ye repent not. But, my Lord, to put you out of doubt, because I am weary, I will strain courtesy with you: I perceive you will not, with your doctors, come unto me, and I am determined not to come unto you, by God's grace; for I have hardened my face against you as hard as brass."

"Then, after many railing sentences, I was sent away. And thus have I left the truth of mine answers in writing, gentle reader, being compelled by my friends to do it; that ye may see

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how the Lord hath, according to his promise, given me a mouth and wisdom to answer in his cause, for which I am condemned, and my cause not heard."

The last examination of Robert Smith, with his condemnation in the consistory.

"The twelfth of July I was with my brethren brought into the consistory, and mine articles read before my Lord Mayor and the sheriffs, with all the assistants; to which I answered, as followeth:"

Bonner.—"By my faith, my Lord Mayor, I have showed him as much favour as any man living might do: but I perceive all is lost, both in him and all his company."

"At this word, which he coupled with an oath, came I in, and taking him with the manner, said, 'My Lord, it is written, Ye must not swear.'"

Bonner.—"Ah, Master Comptroller, are ye come? Lo, my Lord Mayor, this is Master Speaker," pointing to my brother Tankerfield, "and this is Master Comptroller," pointing to me.

"And then, beginning to read my articles, he persevered till he came at my tale of the gentleman of Norfolk, and then demanded of my Lord Mayor, if he heard of the same before. To which he answered, 'No.' To whom I answered: 'My Lord Mayor, will it please you to hear me recite it, as I heard it and I told it, and then shall you hear the truth. For this tale that my Lord hath told, is untrue.'"

Bonner.—"How say you, good Master Mordant, spake he not this here, as it is written? were ye not by?"

Mordant.—"Yes, my Lord; that it is: I heard him say it."

Smith.—"How heard ye me say it, and were not present when I spake it? Should such a man make a lie? It is manifestly proved that the prophet saith: Even as the king saith, so saith the judge, that he may do him a pleasure again."

"And so was brought out my jailer for trial thereof, who there openly professed, that neither Master Mordant, nor the doctors before mentioned, were present when I spake it. At which Master Mordant, with blushing cheeks, said, he heard them read and heard me affirm the same; which was also not true.

"Then proceeded my Lord, with the rest of mine articles, demanding of me, if I said not as was written. To which I answered, 'No:' and turning to my Lord Mayor, I said, 'I require you, my Lord Mayor, in God's behalf, unto whom pertaineth your sword and justice, that I may here, before your presence, answer to these objections that are laid against me, and have the probation of the same; and if any thing that I have said, or will say, be to be proved (as my Lord saith) heresy, I shall not only with all my heart forsake the same, and cleave to the truth, but also recant wheresoever ye shall assign me, and all this audience shall be witness to the same.'"

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Mayor.—"Why, Smith, thou canst not deny, but this thou saidst."

Smith.—"Yes, my Lord, I deny that which he hath written, because he hath both added to, and diminished from, the same: but what I have spoken, I will never deny."

Mayor.—"Why, thou spakest against the blessed sacrament of the altar."

Smith.—"I denied it to be any sacrament, and I do stand here to make probation of the same; and if my Lord here, or any of his doctors, be able to approve either the name or usage of the same, I will recant mine error."

"Then spake my brother Tankerfield, and defended the probation of those things, which they called heresy: to the which the bishop answered, 'By my troth, Master Speaker, ye shall preach at a stake.'"

Smith.—"Well sworn, my Lord, ye keep a good watch."

Bonner.—"Well, Master Comptroller, I am no saint."

Smith.—"No, my Lord, nor yet good bishop; for a bishop, saith St. Paul, should be faultless, and a dedicate vessel unto God. And are ye not ashamed to sit in judgment, and be a blasphemer, condemning innocents?"

Bonner.—"Well, Master Comptroller, ye are faultless."

Smith.—"My Lord Mayor, I require you, in God's name, that I may have justice. We be here to-day a great many of innocents that are wrongfully accused of heresy. And I require you, if you will not seem to be partial, let me have no more favour at your hands, than the apostle had at the hands of Festus and Agrippa, which being heathen and infidels, gave him leave not only to speak for himself, but also heard the probation of his cause. This require I at your hands, who, being a Christian judge, I hope will not deny me that right, which the heathen have suffered: if ye do, then shall all this audience, yea, and the heathen, speak shame of your fact. For a city, saith our Saviour, that is builded on a hill, cannot be hid: if they therefore have the truth, let it come to light; for all that well do, come to the light, and they that do evil hate the light."

"Then my Lord Mayor, hanging down his head, said nothing; but the bishop told me, I should preach at a stake; and so the sheriff cried, with the bishop, Away with me."

"Thus came I in before them four times, desiring justice, but could have none: and at length my friends, requiring with one voice the same, and could not have it, we had sentence; and then, being carried out, were brought in again, and had it every man severally given. But before the bishop gave me sentence, he told me, in derision of my brother Tankerfield, a tale between a gentleman and his cook. To which I answered, 'My Lord, ye fill the people's ears with phantasies and foolish tales, and make a laughing matter at blood; but, if ye were a true bishop, ye should leave these railing sentences, and speak the words of God.'"

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Bonner.—"Well, I have offered to that naughty fellow, Master Speaker, your companion the cook, that my chancellor should here instruct him, but he hath here with great disdain forsaken it. How sayest thou, wilt thou have him instruct thee, and lead thee in the right way?"

Smith.—"My Lord, if your chancellor shall do me any good, and take any pains, as ye say, let him take mine articles in his hands, that ye have objected against me, and either prove one of them heresy, or any thing that you do to be good: and if be able so to do, I stand here with all my heart to hear him; if not, I have no need, I praise God, of his sermon: for I come to answer for my life, and not to hear a sermon."

"Then began the sentence, *In Dei nomine*. To which I answered, that he began in a wrong name, requiring of him, where he learned in Scriptures to give sentence of death against any man for his conscience' sake. To the which he made no answer, but went forward to the end, and immediately cried, 'Away with him.' Then I turned me to the mayor, and said, 'Is it not enough for you, my Lord Mayor, and ye that are the sheriffs, that ye have left the straight way of the Lord, but that ye must condemn Christ causeless?'"

Bonner.—"Well, Master Comptroller, now ye cannot say but I have offered you fair, to have instruction. And now I pray thee, call me 'bloody bishop,' and say, I seek thy blood."

Smith.—"Well, my Lord, although neither I, nor any of this congregation, do report the truth of your fact, yet shall these stones cry it out, rather than it shall be hidden."

Bonner.—"Away with him! away with him!"

Woodrofe.—"Away with him! take him away!"

Smith.—"Well, good friends, ye have seen and heard the great wrong that we have received this day, and ye are all records that we have desired the probation of our cause by God's book, and it hath not been granted; but we are condemned, and our cause not heard. Nevertheless, my Lord Mayor, forasmuch as here ye have exercised God's sword causeless, and will not hear the right of the poor, I commit my cause to Almighty God, that shall judge all men according unto right, before whom we shall both stand without authority; and there will I stand in the right, and have true judgment, to your great confusion, except ye repent, which the Lord grant you to do, if it be his will."—And then was I, with the rest of my brethren, carried away to Newgate.

"Thus, gentle reader, as near as I can, I have set out the truth of my examination, and the verity of mine unjust condemnation for the truth, requiring God that it may not be laid to the charge of thee, O England! requiring your hearty prayers unto God for his grace and spirit of boldness; who hope even shortly to set to my seal, at Uxbridge, the eighth of August, by God's grace: pray that it may be to his honour, my salvation, and your consolation, I pray you.

"ROBERT SMITH."

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Smith and his Companions in Newgate

Thus hast thou, good reader, not only to note, but also to follow, in this man, a singular example of Christian fortitude, who so manfully and valiantly did stand in the defence of his Master's cause. And as thou seest him here boldly stand in examination before the bishop and doctors, so was he no less comfortable also in the prison among his fellows; which also is to be observed no less in his other prison-fellows, who, being there together cast in an outward house within Newgate, had godly conference within themselves, with daily praying and public reading, which they, to their great comfort, used in that house together; amongst whom this foresaid Smith was a chief doer: whose industry was always solicitous, not only for them of his own company, but also his diligence was careful for other prisoners, whom he ceased not to dehort and dissuade from their old accustomed iniquity; and many he converted unto his religion. Divers letters he wrote there in prison to sundry his friends, partly in metre, and partly in prose, And first in metre as followeth.

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"O ye that love the Lord, see that ye hate the thing that is evil."

"The God that giveth life and light, and leadeth into rest,
That breaketh bonds and bringeth out the poor that are opprest,
And keepeth mercy for the meek, his treasure and his store:
Increase thy life in perfect love, both now and evermore.
That as thou hast begun to ground in faith and fervent love,
Thou may'st be made a mighty mount, that never may remove.
That thine ensample may be showed among all thine increase;
That they may live and learn the like, and pass their time in peace.
Thy salutations that were sent, I heartily retain;
And send thee seventy times as much, to thee and thine again.
And now because I know the gold is fined in the fire,
I send thee here a paper full, that thou dost most desire,
In hope thou wilt accept it well, although it be but small,
Because I have none other good, to make amends withal.
For all thy free and friendly facts, which thy good will hath wrought,
I send thee surely, for a shift, the thing that cost me nought.
Abstain from all ungodliness, in dread direct your days,
Possess not sin in any wise, beware of wicked ways.
Hold fast your faith unfeignedly, build as you have begun,
And arm yourself in perfect faith, to do as ye have done,
Lest that the wicked make a mock, that ye have taken in hand,
In leaving of the perfect rock, to build upon the sand.
Beware these filthy Pharisees; their building is in blood:
Eat not with them in any wise; their leaven is not good.
Their salt is all unsavoury; and under good intents
They maintain all their knavery, and murder innocents.
They seek to sit in Christ his seat, and put him out of place;
And make all means that may be made, his doings to deface.
They keep him down with bills and bats, that made the blind to see:
They make a god for mice and rats, and say the same is he.
They show like sheep, and sweat like wolves, their baits be all for blood:
They kill and slay the simple souls, and rob them of their good.
The dark illusions of the devil have dimmed so their eyes,
That they cannot abide the truth to stir in any wise.
And if ye keep the perfect path, (as I have hope you do,)
Ye shall be sure to have such shame, as they may put you to.
For all that lead a godly life, shall surely suffer loss;
And eke the world will seek their shame, and make them kiss the cross.
Ye shall be killed all, saith Christ, your sorrows shall not cease:
And yet, in your afflictions, I am your perfect peace.
For in the world ye shall have woe, because ye are unknown;
And for because ye hate the world, the world will love his own.
Be fervent therefore to the death, against all their decrees;
And God shall surely fight for thee against thine enemies.
Commit your cause unto the Lord: revenge not any evil,
And thou shalt see the wicked want, when thou shalt have thy will.
For all afflictions that may fall, that they can say or do,
They are not sure of the wealth, we shall attain unto.
For I have seen the sinners spread their branches like a bay,

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And yet, ere one could turn his head, were withered clean away.
Beware that money make ye not in riches to arise
Against the goodness of the Lord, among the worldly wise.
For many mischiefs it hath made, that may not be exprest;
And many evils it hath begun, which may not be redrest.
For money maketh many a one, in riches to rebel;
And he that maketh gold a god, he hath a soul to sell.
It maketh kings to kill and slay, and waste their wits in war,
In leaving of the wolf at home, to hunt the fox afar.
And where they should see justice done, and set their realm in rest
By money they be made a mean to see the poor opprest.
It maketh lords obey the laws, that they do ill and naught;
It maketh bishops suck the blood, that God hath dearly bought;
And where they should be faithful friends, and fathers to their flock,
By money they do turn about, even like a weathercock.
The priest doth make a money mean, to have again his whores,
To put away his wedded wife, and children out of doors.
It holdeth back the husbandman, which may not be forborne,
And will not suffer him to sow, and cast abroad his corn.
In like case it doth let again, when that the seed they sow;
It choketh up the corn again, so that it cannot grow.
The husband he would have a wife with nobles new and old:
The wife would have the husband hanged, that she might have his gold.
It maketh murderers many a one, and beareth much with blood:
The child would see the parents slain, to seize upon their good.
And though it be a blessed thing, created in the kind,
It is a necessary e'il, annexed to the mind.
For whoso playeth with the pitch, his fingers are defiled;
And he that maketh gold a god, shall sorely be beguiled.
Be friendly to the fatherless, and all that are opprest:
Assist them always out of hand, and see them set at rest.
In all your doings and your deeds let mercy still remain;
For with the measure that ye mete, shall ye be mette again.
Be always lowly in your life, let love enjoy her own:
The highest trees are seldom sure, and soonest overthrown.
The lions lack and suffer sore, in hunger and in thirst;
And they that do oppress the poor, continue still accurst.
The bee is but a little beast in body or in sight,
And yet she bringeth more increase, than either crow or kite.
Therefore beware in any wise, keep well your watch alway:
Be sure of oil within your lamp, let not your light decay.
For death despiseth them that lack, and hateth them that have,
And treadeth down the rich and poor together in the grave.
Exhort your children to be chaste, rebuke them for their ill,
And let them not at any wise be wedded to their will.
Laugh not with them, but keep them low; show them no merry cheer,
Lest thou do weep with them also; but bring them up in fear,
And let your light and living shine, that ye be not suspect,
To have the same within yourself, for which they are correct.
Be meek and modest in a mean: let all your deeds be done,
That they which are without the law, may see how right ye run.

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Keep well the member in your mouth, your tongue see that ye tame;
For out of little sparks of fire proceedeth out a flame.
E'en so by baptism ye are born, to live with Christ again.
Thus farewell, free and faithful friend: the Lord that is above
Increase in thee a perfect faith, and lead thee in his love.
And as I pray with perfect love, and pour out bitter tears
For you and all that are at large abroad among the briers:
E'en so I pray thee to prefer my person and my bands,
Unto the everlasting God that hath me in his hands.
That I may pass out of this pond, wherein I am opprest;
Enclosed in a clod of clay, that here can have no rest.
That as he hath begun in me his mercies many one,
I may attain to overtake my brethren that be gone.
That when the death shall do his worst where he shall point a place,
I may be able like a man to look him in the face.
For though he catch away my cloak, my body into dust,
Yet sure am I to have a soul, when death hath done his worst.
And though I leave a little dust dissolved out of blood,
I shall receive it safe again, when God shall see it good.
For my Redeemer, I am sure, doth live for evermore,
And sitteth high upon the heavens, for whom I hunger sore:
Even as the deer with deadly wounds escaped from the spoil,
Doth haste by all the means he may, to seek unto the soil.
Of whom I hope to have a crown, that always shall remain;
And eke enjoy a perfect peace, for all my woe and pain.
The God that giveth all increase, and seeketh still to save,
Abound in thee that perfect peace, which I do hope to have!
And I beseech the living God to hold thee in his hands;
And wish thee, e'en with all my heart, the blessing of my bands;
Which I esteem of higher price than pearl or precious stone,
And shall endure for evermore, when earthly things are gone.
For though the fire do consume our treasure and our store,
Yet shall the goodness of the Lord endure for evermore.
And where thou art a friend to him that is to me full dear,
That God of might make thee amends, when all men shall appear,
That hath showed mercy to the meek, and rid them out of pain;
And thus the Lord possess thy spirit, till we do meet again.

"If thou wilt have a recompence,
Abide still in obedience."

The exhortation of Robert Smith unto his children, commonly set out in the name of Master Rogers.

"Give ear, my children, to my words, whom God hath dearly bought:
Lay up my law within your heart, and print it in your thought.
For I your father have foreseen the frail and filthy way,
Which flesh and blood would follow fain, even to their own decay.
For all and every living beast their crib do know full well;
But Adam's heirs, above the rest, are ready to rebel.

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And all the creatures on the earth, full well can keep their way,
But man, above all other beasts, is apt to go astray.
For earth and ashes is his strength, his glory and his reign,
And unto ashes, at the length, shall he return again.
For flesh doth flourish like a flower, and grow up like a grass,
And is consumed in an hour, as it is brought to pass
In me the image of your years, your treasure and your trust,
Whom ye do see before your face, dissolved into dust.
For, as you see your father's flesh converted into clay,
Even so shall ye, my children dear, consume and wear away;
The sun and moon, and eke the stars, that serve the day and night,
The earth and every earthly thing, shall be consumed quite.
And all the worship that is wrought that have been heard or seen,
Shall clean consume and come to nought, as it had never been.
Therefore, that ye may follow me, your father and your friend,
And enter into that same life, which never shall have end,
I leave you here a little book, for you to look upon,
That you may see your father's face, when I am dead and gone;
Who, for the hope of heavenly things, while he did here remain,
Gave over all his golden years, in prison and in pain.
Where I, among mine iron bands, enclosed in the dark,
But a few days before my death, did dedicate this work
To you mine heirs of earthly things which I have left behind,
That ye may read and understand, and keep it in your mind:
That as you have been heirs of that which once shall wear away,
Even so ye may possess the part which never shall decay,
In following of your father's foot, in truth and eke in love;
That ye may also be his heirs for evermore above.
And, in example to your youth, to whom I wish all good,
I preach you here a perfect faith, and seal it with my blood.
Have God always before your eyes in all your whole intents:
Commit not sin in any wise, keep his commandments.
Abhor that arrant whore of Rome, and all her blasphemies;
And drink not of her decretals, nor yet of her decrees.
Give honour to your mother dear, remember well her pain;
And recompense her in her age, in like with love again;
Be always aiding at her hand, and let her not decay:
Remember well your father's fall, that should have been her stay.
Give of your portion to the poor, as riches do arise;
And from the needy naked soul turn not away your eyes.
For he that will not hear the cry of such as are in need,
Shall cry himself, and not be heard when he would hope to speed.
If God have given you great increase, and blessed well your store,
Remember ye are put in trust, to minister the more.
Beware of foul and filthy lust; let whoredom have no place;
Keep clean your vessels in the Lord, that he may you embrace.
Ye are the temples of the Lord, for ye are dearly bought,
And they that do defile the same, shall surely come to nought.
Possess not pride in any case, build not your nests too high,
But have always before your face, that ye be born to die.
Defraud not him that hired is, your labours to sustain,

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But give him always out of hand, his penny for his pain.
And as ye would that other men against you should proceed,
Do ye the same again to them, when they do stand in need.
And part your portion with the poor, in money and in meat,
And feed the fainted feeble soul, with that which ye should eat.
That when your members lacketh meat and clothing to your back,
Ye may the better think on them, that now do live and lack.
Ask counsel also at the wise; give ear unto the end;
Refuse not you the sweet rebuke of him that is your friend.
Be thankful always to the Lord, with prayer and with praise;
Desire you him in all your deeds, for to direct your ways;
And sin not like that swinish sort, whose bellies, being fed,
Consume their years upon the earth from belly unto bed.
Seek first, I say, the living God; set him always before;
And then be sure that he will bless your basket and your store.
And thus if you direct your days according to this book,
Then shall they say, that see your ways, how like me you do look.
And when you have so perfectly, upon your fingers' ends,
Possessed all within your book, then give it to your friends.
And I beseech the living God, replenish you with grace,
That I may have you in the heavens, and see you face to face.
And though the sword have cut me off contrary to my kind,
That I could not enjoy your love according to my mind,
Yet do I hope, when that the heavens shall vanish like a scroll,
I shall receive your perfect shape, in body and in soul;
And that I may enjoy your love, and ye enjoy the land,
I do beseech the living God to hold you in his hand.
Farewell, my children, from the world, where ye must yet remain:
The Lord of hosts be your defence, till we do meet again.
Farewell, my love, and loving wife, my children and my friends:
I hope to God to have you all, when all things have their ends.
And if you do abide in God, as ye have now begun,
Your course I warrant will be short; ye have not far to run.
God grant you so to end your years as he shall think it best;
That ye may enter into heaven, where I do hope to rest."

Written at the request of a lady in her book.

"If you will walk the way that Christ hath you assigned,
Then learn this little verse, which I have left behind.
Be fervent in the truth, although it bear the blame;
And eke apply your youth, to stick unto the same;
That when the age is come, and death begins to call,
The truth maybe your staff to stay you up withal.
And though it bring rebuke, and cause you kiss the cross,
Yet is it a reward, to all that suffer loss:
For here we do lay out the things that be but vain,
But we are sure to reap the things that do remain.
For all that ye do lose is but a sinful slime,
And like unto a rose, that tarrieth but a time.

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But if ye carry Christ, and walk the perfect way,
Ye shall possess the gold, that never shall decay;
And all your father's goods shall be your recompence,
If ye confess the word with double diligence,
Not only for to hear his pure and perfect word,
But also to embrace the fire, and eke the sword.
And if ye keep this path, and do not run a-crook,
Then shall ye meet the man that writ this in your book,
In that eternal joy that always shall remain.
Thus, farewell faithful friend, till we do meet again."

Legem pone.

"Teach me, O Lord, to walk thy ways, my living to amend,
And I shall keep it all my days, even to my life's end.
Give me a mind to understand, so shall I never start;
But I shall keep all thy precepts, even wholly with my heart.
Make me to go a perfect pace in that I have begun;
For all my love and my delight, is in thy ways to run.
Incline my heart unto thy ways; set thou thereon my thought;
And let me not consume my days, to covet that is naught.
O quicken me in all thy ways, the world for to despise;
And from all fond and foolish toys, turn thou away mine eyes.
O plant in me thy perfect word, which is to me so dear;
Lay up thy laws within my heart, to keep me still in fear;
And rid me of that great rebuke which I do fear full sore,
For all thy judgments and thy laws endure for evermore.
Behold, O Lord, in thy precepts, is all my whole delight:
O quicken me in all thy ways, that I may walk aright.

To his brother.

"As nature doth me bind, because thou art my blood,
According to my kind to give thee of my good,
That thou may'st have in mind how I have run my race,
Although thou bide behind but for a little space.
I give thee here a pearl, the price of all my good,
For which I leave my life, to buy it with my blood;
More worth than all the world, or aught that I can note,
Although it be yclad in such a simple coat.
For when I had obtained this pearl of such a price,
Then was I sure I gained the way for to be wise.
It taught me how to fight, my flesh for to despise,
To stick unto the light, and for to leave the lies:
In sending out my seed with bonds and bitter tears,
That I might reap with joy in everlasting years,
And have, for all my loss, my travail, and my pain,
A thousand times and more of better goods again.
And for because the good that hath been got and gained,
And that the Lord's elect hath evermore obtained,

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Is closed in this book which I do give to thee,
Wherein I have my part, as thou thyself may'st see,
In which I hope thou hast a stock also in store,
And wilt not cease to fail till God hath made it more—
I will thee to beware; be sure thou keep it well:
For if thou do it lose, thy part shall be in hell.
And here I testify before the living God,
That I detest to do the things that are forebode.
And as, in judgment, is my body to be brent,
My heart is surely set therewith to be content.
And sith it is his will to put in me his power,
Upon his holy hill to fight against this whore,
Full well I am content, if he allow it so,
To stand with all my might the whore to overthrow.
Even with a willing mind, the death I will outface:
And as I am assured, the battle do embrace;
That they which hear the truth, how I have past the pike,
May set aside their youth, and learn to do the like.
And though it be my lot, to let her suck my blood,
Yet am I well assured, it shall do her no good:
For she is set to kill the things she thinks accurst,
And shall not have her fill of blood until she burst.
And when that thou shalt see, or hear of my decease,
Pray to the living God, that I may pass in peace.
And when I am at rest, and rid out of my pain,
Then will I do the like for thee to God again.
And to my woeful wife, and widow desolate,
Whom I do leave behind in such a simple state,
And compassed with tears, and mournings many one;
Be thou her staying staff, when I am dead and gone.
My mouth may not express the dolours of my mind,
Nor yet my heaviness to leave her here behind.
But as thou art my bone, my brother and my blood,
So let her have thy heart, if it may do her good.
I took her from the world, and made her like the cross;
But, if she hold her own, she shall not suffer loss:
For where she had before a man unto her make,
That by the force of fire was strangled at a stake,
Now shall she have a King to be her helping hand,
To whom pertain all things that are within the land.
And eke my daughter dear, whom I bequeath to thee,
To be brought up in fear, and learn the A B C:
That she may grow in grace, and ruled by the rod,
To learn and lead her life within the fear of God.
And always have in mind, thy brother being dead,
That thou art left behind a father in my stead.
And thou, my brother dear, and eke my mother's son,
Come forth out of all fear, and do as I have done;
And God shall be thy guide, and give thee such increase,
That in the flames of fire thou shalt have perfect peace,
Into eternal joy, and pass out of all pain:

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Where we shall meet with mirth, and never part again.

"If thou wilt do my daughter good,
Be mindful of thy brother's blood."

"To all which love God unfeignedly, and intend to lead a godly life according to his gospel, and to persevere in his truth unto the end: grace and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ, Amen.

"Be not afraid, most dearly beloved in our Saviour Jesus Christ, at these most perilous days, wherein, by the sufferance of God, the prince of darkness is broken loose, and rageth in his members against the elect of God with all cruelty, to set up again the kingdom of antichrist: against whom, see that ye be strong in faith to resist his most devilish doctrine with the pure gospel of God, arming yourselves with patience, to abide whatsoever shall be laid to your charge for the truth's sake; knowing that thereunto ye be called, not only to believe in him, but also to suffer for him. Oh! how happy are ye, that in the sight of God are counted worthy to suffer for the testimony of Christ. Quiet therefore yourselves, O my loving brethren, and rejoice in him for whom ye suffer: for unto you do remain the unspeakable joys, which neither the eye hath seen, nor the ear hath heard, neither the heart of man is able to comprehend in any wise. Be not afraid of the bodily death, for your names are written in the book of life. And the prophets do record, that in the sight of the Lord, precious is the death of his saints. Watch, therefore, and pray, that ye be not prevented in the day of temptation. Now cometh the day of your trial, wherein the waters rage, and the stormy winds blow. Now shall it appear, whether ye have builded upon the fleeting sand, or upon the unmovable rock Christ, which is the foundation of apostles and prophets, whereon every house that is builded, groweth into a holy temple of the Lord, by the mighty working of the Holy Ghost. Now approacheth the day of your battle, wherein it is required that ye show yourselves the valiant soldiers of Christ Jesus, with the armour of God, that ye may be able to stand fast against all the crafty assaults of the devil. Christ is your Captain, and ye be his soldiers, whose cognizance is the cross, to the which he willingly humbled himself even unto the death, and thereby spoiled his enemies, and now triumpheth he over them in the glory of his Father, making intercession for them that here do remain to suffer the afflictions that are to be fulfilled in his mystical body. It behoveth therefore every one that will be counted his scholar, to take up his own cross, and follow him, as ye have him for an ensample: and I assure you that he being on your side, nothing shall be able to prevail against you. And that he will be with you even to the world's end, ye have his promise in Matt. xxviii. He will go forth with his host as a conqueror to make a conquest. He is the man that sitteth on the white horse, crowned with immortality, and ye, brethren, are his fellowship, whereof he is the Head. He hath your heart in his hand, as a bow bent after his godly will; he shall direct the same according to the riches of his glory, into all spiritual and heavenly cogitations. He is faithful, and will not suffer you to be further assaulted, than he will give you strength to overcome, and in the most danger he will make a way, that ye may be able to bear it.

"Shrink not therefore, dear hearts, when ye shall be called to answer for the hope that is in you; for we have the Comforter, even the Spirit of truth which was sent from the heavens to teach us: he shall speak in us, he shall strengthen us: what is he, then, that shall be able to confound us? nay, what tyrant is he that now boasteth himself of his strength to do mischief, whom the Lord shall not, with the same Spirit, by the mouth of his servants, strike down to hell-fire? Yea, suddenly will the Lord bring down the glory of the proud Philistines, by the hands of

his servant David. Their strength is in the spear and shield, but our help is in the name of the Lord, which made both heaven and earth. He is our buckler and wall, a strong tower of defence. He is our God, and we are his people. He shall bring the counsels of the ungodly to nought. He shall take them in their own net: he shall destroy them in their own inventions. The right hand of the Lord shall work this wonder. His power is known among the children of men. Their fathers have felt it, and are confounded. In like manner shall they know that there is no counsel against the Lord, when their secrets are opened to the whole world, and are found to be against the living God. Work they never so craftily, build they never so strongly; yet down shall their rabble fall, and the builders themselves shall then be scattered upon the face of the earth, as accursed of God. The just shall see this, and be glad, and praise the name of the Lord, that so marvellously hath dealt with his servants, as to bring their enemies under their feet. Then shall the fearful seed of Cain tremble and quake: then shall the mocking Ishmaelites be cast out of door: then shall the proud Nimrod see his labour lost: then shall the beast of Babylon be trodden under foot: then shall the scribes and Pharisees for madness fret and rage: then shall their painted wisdom be known, for extreme folly: then shall the bloody dragon be void of his prey: then shall the whore of Babylon receive double vengeance: then shall they scratch their crowns for the fall of their mistress harlot, whom they now serve for filthy lucre, when no man will buy their wares any more: then shall the popish priesthood cry weal away with care, even when the Lord shall help his servants; which day is not far off, the day wherein the kingdom of antichrist shall have an end, and never rise any more. In the mean time, abide in certain and sure hope, cleaving unto the promises of God, which in their own time shall be fulfilled.

"Acquit yourselves like men, against the enemies of God, in all humbleness of mind; be strong in spirit to acknowledge one God, one holy Saviour Jesus Christ, one only, everlasting, and sufficient sacrifice for the remission of sins, even the precious body of the Lord Jesus once offered for all and for ever; who now sitteth on the right hand of God, and from thence shall he come to judge both the quick and the dead at the last day; and until that time occupieth that blessed body none other place to dwell in, to be kept in, to be closed in, but only in the heavens, even in the glorious majesty of God, personally abiding there in the flesh, not coming down from thence till the last hour. And as he never ceaseth to be man, so doth he never lose the similitude of man; his body there hath his lineaments, he leaveth them not; so hath that body there his highness, and shrinketh not; and his manly shape he altereth not at any time. He is, in that he took of the Virgin Mary, a natural man in all conditions except sin.

"And what he took of his blessed mother, by the working of the Holy Ghost, he took it for ever, and will not exchange the same for any other. He took the shape of a man with the substance of his manhood, in one sacred womb. There were they coupled together by the Holy Ghost, never to be divided asunder. He retaineth the one with the other, inseparably. As he will not alter the substance of his flesh into the substance of bread, no more will he alter the shape of his body into the form of bread. There cannot be a greater absurdity against the truth, than to think that he would leave the shape that he took in the Virgin's womb, being an accident unto his manhood, and join unto the same a wafer-cake baked in an oven, or between a pair of irons. As he is in heaven a very man, one only mediator between God and man, even the man Christ Jesus, he it is that is the propitiation for our sins. Be bold therefore to confess this most pure and apostolical doctrine; and also that all favour, mercy, and forgiveness cometh only by him. He only of God the Father was made for us all wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and

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redemption. All these are the gifts of God the Father, freely given unto us by Christ Jesus, God and man, through faith in his blood, and not by the merits of men; gifts they are, I say, freely given unto us of favour, without our desert, by believing; and not by deserving. To this do the law and the prophets bear witness.

"This doctrine have all the blessed martyrs of Christ's church witnessed with their blood to be true. To this truth have all the consciences of all true believers subscribed ever since the ascension of Christ. This witness is not of man, but of God. What better quarrel can ye then have to give your lives for, than the truth itself? That man that giveth his life for the truth, taketh the readiest way to life. He that hath the pope's curse for the truth, is sure of Christ's blessing. Well then, my brethren, what shall now let, but that ye go forward as ye have begun? nay, rather run with the runners, that ye may obtain the appointed glory. Hold on the right way; look not back; have the eye of your heart fixed upon God; and so run, that ye may get hold of it. Cast away all your worldly pelf, and worldly respects, as the favour of friends, the fear of men, sensual affection, respect of persons, honour, praise, shame, rebuke, wealth, poverty, riches, lands, possessions, carnal fathers and mothers, wife and children, with the love of your own selves: and in respect of that heavenly treasure ye look for, let all these be denied, and utterly refused of you, so that in no condition they do abate your zeal, or quench your love towards God. In this case make no account of them, but rather repute them as vile, in comparison of everlasting life. Away with them as thorns that choke the heavenly seed of the gospel, where they be suffered to grow. They are burdens of the flesh, which encumber the soul. Exchange them therefore for advantage. Doth not he gain that findeth heavenly and immortal treasure, for earthly and corruptible riches? Loseth that man any thing, which of his carnal father and mother is forsaken, when therefore he is received of God the Father to be his child and heir in Christ? Heavenly for earthly, for mortal immortal, for transitory things permanent, is great gains to a Christian conscience?

"Therefore, as I began, I exhort you in the Lord, not to be afraid. Shrink not, my brethren, mistrust not God, be of good comfort, rejoice in the Lord, hold fast your faith, and continue to the end. Deny the world, and take up your cross, and follow him which is your loadsman, and is gone before. If you suffer with him, yea, you shall reign with him. What way can you glorify the name of your heavenly Father better, than by suffering death for his Son's sake? What a spectacle shall it be to the world, to behold so godly a fellowship as you servants of God, in so just a quarrel as the gospel of Christ is, with so pure a conscience, so strong a faith, and so lively a hope, to offer yourselves to suffer most cruel torments of the hands of God's enemies, and so to end your days in peace, to receive, in the resurrection of the righteous, life everlasting?

"Be strong therefore in your battle: the Lord God is on your side, and his truth is your cause; and against you be none, but the enemies of the cross of Christ, as the serpent and his seed, the dragon with his tail, the marked men of the beast, the offspring of the Pharisees, the congregation malignant, the generation of vipers, murderers, as their father the devil hath been from the beginning. To conclude, such are they as the Lord God hath always abhorred, and in all ages resisted and overthrown. God, from whom nothing is hid, knoweth what they are. He that searcheth the hearts of men, he hath found out them to be crafty, subtle, full of poison, proud, disdainful, stiff-necked, devourers, raveners, and barkers against the truth, filthy and shameless: and therefore doth the Spirit of God, by the mouths of his holy prophets and apostles, call them by the names of foxes, serpents, cockatrices, lions, leopards, bulls, bears, wolves, dogs, swine,

beasts; teaching us thereby to understand what their natural inclination is: to deceive, poison, and destroy, (as much as in them lieth,) the faithful and elect of God. But the Lord with his right arm shall defend his little flock against the whole rabblement of these worldlings, which have conspired against him. He hath numbered all the hairs of his children's heads, so that not one of them shall perish without his fatherly will. He keepeth the sparrows, much more will he preserve them whom he hath purchased with the blood of the immaculate Lamb. He will keep them unto the hour appointed, wherein the name of God shall be glorified in his saints. In the mean time let them work their wills, let them envy, let them malign, let them blaspheme: let them curse, ban, betray, whip, scourge, hang, and burn: for by these means God will try his elect as gold in the furnace; and by these fruits shall they also bring themselves to be known what they be, for all their sheep's skins. For as he that in suffering patiently for the gospel of God, is thereby known to be of Christ, even so likewise is the persecutor of him known to be a member of antichrist. Besides this, their extreme cruelty shall be a mean the sooner to provoke God to take pity upon his servants, and to destroy them that so tyrannously entreat his people; as we may learn by the histories, as well in the bondage of Israel under Pharaoh in Egypt, as also in the miserable captivity of Judah in Babylon: where, when the people of God were in most extreme thralldom, then did the Lord stretch forth his mighty power to deliver his servants. Though God for a time suffer them to be exalted in their own pride, yet shall they not escape his vengeance. They are his rods, and when he hath worn them to the stumps, then will he cast them into the fire: this shall be their final reward. Our duty is, the mean while, patiently to abide the will of God, which worketh all things for the best.

"Thus dealeth he with us, partly for our trial, partly also for our sins, which we most grievously have committed, to the great slander of his gospel, whereby the name of God was evil spoken of among his enemies: for the which he now punisheth us with his fatherly corrections in this world, that we should not be damned with the world. By this means seeketh he his sheep that were lost, to bring them home to the fold again. By this way seeketh he to reform us, that we may be like unto him after the image of his Son Jesus Christ, in all holiness and righteousness before him. Finally, this way useth his godly wisdom, to make us thereby to know him, and ourselves in him, that aforetime had in a manner forgotten him, praised be his name therefore. And as for these Balaamites which now do molest us, commit them to the hands of God; give him the vengeance, and he will reward them. Fall ye to prayer, and let these belly-gods prate; for he is in heaven, and sleepeth not, that keepeth Israel. He is in heaven that made the seas calm, when the disciples were afraid. Let us now faithfully call upon him, and he will hear us: let us cry unto the Lord, for he is gracious and merciful. When we are in trouble, he is with us: he will deliver us, and he will glorify us. If we come unto him, we shall find him turned unto us. If we repent us of our wickedness done against him, then shall he take away the plague that he hath devised against us.

"Let us therefore earnestly repent, and bring forth the worthy fruits of repentance. Let us study to be his: then shall we not need to fear what these hypocrites do against us, which, with their pretended holiness, deceive the hearts of the simple, and abuse the authority of God in his princes, causing them (by their procurement) to testify their ambitious prelacy, and to erect up their idol again with the Romish mass. God, in whose hands are the hearts of kings, open the heart of the queen's Highness to espy them out what they be, and so to weed them out, that they no longer be suffered to trouble the congregation of God, and to poison the realm with pope-holy

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doctrine. God Almighty, for his Son Jesus Christ's sake, deliver the queen's Highness, and this her church and realm, from these proud prelates, which are as profitable in the church of Christ as a polecat in the midst of a warren of conies.

"To conclude, my brethren, I commit you to God, and to the power of his word: which is able to establish you in all truth. His Spirit be with you, and work alway that ye may be mindful of your duties towards him, whose ye are, both body and soul; whom see that ye love, serve, dread, and obey, above all worldly powers, and for nothing under the heavens defile your conscience before God. Dissemble not with his word: God will not be mocked; nay, they that dissemble with him deceive themselves. Such shall the Lord deny, and cast out at the last day: such, I say, as bear two faces in one hood, such as play on both hands, such as deny the known truth; such as obstinately rebel against him. All such, with their partakers, shall the Lord destroy. God defend you from all such, and make you perfect unto the end. Your sorrow shall be turned unto joy."

Another letter sent to his wife.

"The God and Father eternal, which brought again from death our Lord Jesus Christ, keep thee, dear wife, now and ever, amen, and all thy parents and friends. I praise God for his mercy, I am in the same state that ye left me in, rather better than worse; looking daily for the living God, before whom I hunger full sore to appear, and receive the glory, of which I trust thou art willing to be a partaker. I give God most hearty thanks, therefore, desiring thee, of all loves, to stand in that faith which thou hast received, and let no man take away the seed that Almighty God hath sown in thee, but lay hands of everlasting life, which shall ever abide when both the earth and all earthly friends shall perish, desiring them also to receive thankfully our trouble, which is momentary and light, and, as St. Paul saith, not worthy of the things which shall be showed on us; that we, patiently carrying our cross, may attain to the place where our Saviour Christ is gone before, to the which I beseech God of his mercy bring us speedily. I have been much troubled about your deliverance, fearing much the persuasions of worldlings, and have found a friend, which will (I trust) find a mean for you, if you be not already provided, desiring you in any case to abide such order, as those my friends shall appoint in God. And bear well in mind the words which I spoke at our departing, that as God hath found us and also elected us worthy to suffer with him, we may endeavour ourselves to follow uprightly in this our vocation, desiring you to present my hearty commendations to all our friends, and in especial to your parents, keeping your matter close in any wise.

"Give most hearty thanks to my friend, which only for our cause is come to Windsor. Continue in prayer. Do well. Be faultless in all things. Beware of abominations. Keep you clean from sin. Pray for me, as I do for you. I have sent you a piece of gold for a token, and most entirely desire you to send me word if ye lack any thing. The Lord Jesus preserve you and yours. Amen.

"From Newgate, the 15th of April.

"By your husband here and in heaven,

ROBERT SMITH."

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This foresaid Robert Smith, the valiant and constant martyr of Christ, thus replenished, as ye have heard, with the fortitude of God's Spirit, was condemned at London by Bonner, there bishop, the twelfth day of July, and suffered at Uxbridge the eighth day of August; who, as he had been a comfortable instrument of God before, to all them that were in prison with him, so now, also, being at the stake, he did no less comfort the people there standing about him, willing them to think well of his cause, and not to doubt but that his body, dying in that quarrel, should rise again to life: "and," said he, "I doubt not but that God will show you some token thereof." At length, being well-nigh half burnt, and all black with fire, clustered together as in a lump like a black coal, all men thinking him for dead, he suddenly rose upright before the people, lifting up the stumps of his arms, and clapping the same together, declaring a rejoicing heart unto them; and so, bending down again, and hanging over the fire, slept in the Lord, and ended this mortal life.

A sententious letter of Robert Smith, to Anne Smith his wife, full of godly instruction.

"Seek first to love God, dear wife, with your whole heart, and then shall it be easy to love your neighbour.

"Be friendly to all creatures, and especially to your own soul.

"Be always an enemy to the devil and the world, but especially to your own flesh.

"In hearing of good things join the ears of your head and heart together.

"Seek unity and quietness with all men, but specially with your conscience; for he will not easily be entreated.

"Love all men, but especially your enemies.

"Hate the sins that are past, but especially those to come.

"Be as ready to further your enemy, as he is to hinder you, that ye may be the child of God.

"Defile not that which Christ hath cleansed, lest his blood be laid to your charge.

"Remember that God hath hedged in your tongue with the teeth and lips, that it might speak under correction.

"Be ready at all times to look to your brother's eye, but especially in your own eye: for he that warneth others of that he himself is faulty in, doth give his neighbour the clear wine, and keepeth the dregs for himself.

"Beware of riches and worldly honour: for without understanding, prayer, and fasting, it is a snare, and also poverty, all which are like to consuming fire, of which if a man take a little, it

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will warm him, but if he take too much, it will consume him. For it is hard for a man to carry fire in his bosom, and not to be burnt.

"Show mercy unto the saints for Christ's sake, and Christ shall reward you for the saints' sake. Among all other prisoners, visit your own soul: for it is enclosed in a perilous prison.

"If you will love God, hate evil, and ye shall obtain the reward of well-doing.

"Thus fare you well, good Anne. Have me heartily commended to all that love the Lord unfeignedly. I beseech you have me in your prayer while I am living, and I am assured the Lord will accept it. Bring up my children and yours in the fear of God, and then shall I not fail but receive you together in the everlasting kingdom of God, which I go unto.

"Your husband,
ROBERT SMITH."

"If ye will meet with me again,
Forsake not Christ for any pain."

Another letter sent to his wife, Anne Smith.

"The grace of Almighty God be always with you, and comfort, strengthen, and stablish you in all things, that what his blessed will is, ye may follow faithfully, to his honour, my comfort, and your own salvation, and the good ensample to our posterity.

"I have received your letter, and, I praise God, without any danger: nevertheless, if God's marvellous goodness had not brought it to my hands by Peter the keeper, there might have risen a great trouble upon the same; for well ye know George is a wicked man, utterly without all fear of God, and, if he had gotten it, the council sure had seen it; but Peter, like an honest man, never opened it. Wherefore I desire you from henceforth let your letters be delivered at Chancery-lane-end, to my sister Tankerfield, that she may deliver them safe into my hand. We are very straitly kept, I praise God of his mercy: nevertheless Almighty God is always with us. I have sent you that ye wrote for. The two nutmegs that should have gone by Nicholas to our friends, I send now, and desire them to accept them as a poor prisoner's gift, until God give more largely. Thomas Iveson sendeth you a penny; I pray you give him thanks for the same, and Dirick also. I have sent you, of that little that I have, two pieces of Spanish money. The Lord Jesus have you in his custody, and send you good speed. In any case keep yourself close: I doubt much of your walkings. Have my hearty commendations to your parents, and desire them with you to have me in their prayers. Be fervent in prayer; pray, pray, pray, that God would of his mercy put up his sword, and look on his people. Tell my brother, with commendations, that the next comer shall bring up the epistle and exhortation; I have written all this fortnight for my Lady, yea, and almost done nothing else. I would have sent him the articles of William Flower, and my talk with him, if I could have delivered it from the prison. The Holy Ghost keep you; I would ye could make a means, for your money, to send a cheese to Peter, for I find much kindness at his hands. Ye shall always hear of me at Tankerfield's house. All the congregation salute you. Fare you most heartily well.

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"I have not yet (tell my brother) spoken with the person. There hath come so strait a commandment, that no man might come to us, because Tooley cursed the pope at the gallows. They thought it to be our counsel.

"Yours, and ever yours,
ROBERT SMITH."

Another letter sent to his wife.

"Grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ, be with you, dear wife, now and ever, amen, and prevent your ways through his Holy Spirit, that ye may in all your words and works please God, and eschew evil, to his honour and your salvation, that they which see your conversation may in all things learn to do like, even to the utter shame and confusion of the wicked and ungodly. Amen.

"I sent you by Master Alexander a purse with money. I have certain tokens for you, sent by my prison-fellows to you, that is, from Master Hawkes twelve pence, from Master Simson twelve pence, from his wife four pence, from Master Wats five new groats, from Master Ardeley twelve pence, from Master Bradford twelve pence, which men be all gone to death, except Master Bradford; he abideth still. There are also gone to death Nicholas Chamberlain, Thomas Osmond, William Bamford. There are also condemned this Monday, Dirick Carver, Thomas Iveson, John Launder; and William Vassay is reprieved. Pray to God to have mercy upon his people, and bid my brother, if he can conveniently, come down on Monday next; if he cannot well do it, let him abide at home. Have me heartily commended to your parents. I have sent each of them a token, a bowed groat, and desire them for God's sake to help us with their prayers. Have little Katherine in mind. Commend me unto all good friends. Continue in prayer. Beware of vanity. Let not God be dishonoured in your conversation, but, like a good matron, keep your vessel in holiness. The peace of God rest with you for ever. Amen.

"My brother Iveson sendeth to you a token, to your mother a token, and to Katherine a token, three pence. John Launder sendeth you a piece of Spanish money. Father Herault, a piece of six pence. W. Andrews sendeth you a rase of ginger, and I send your mother one, and a nutmeg. I send Katherine comfits, for a token, to eat. I have sent you a key-clog for a token.

"Your husband,
ROBERT SMITH."

A letter sent to a friend.

"The eternal God keep you in his fear. I have hearty commendations unto you and your husband, beseeching Almighty God to preserve you in well-doing, and in perfect knowledge of Christ, that ye may be found faultless in the day of the Lord. I have heard say, that my friend is given over to vanity; it breaketh my heart, not only to hear that he so doth, but also teacheth others, that it is unhurtful to go to all the abominations, which now stand in the idol's temples. Nevertheless, dear friend, be ye not moved to follow sinners, for they have no inheritance with God and Christ: but look that, by going into the idol temple, ye defile not the temple of God; for light hath no fellowship with darkness. But look what the Lord hath commanded, that do; for if not going to church were without persecution, they would not learn you that lesson. But all

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things that are sweet to the flesh, are allowed of the fleshly. The Lord shall reward every man according to his works, and he that leadeth into captivity, shall go into captivity, and he that by the fleshly man is led in the flesh, shall of the flesh reap corruption. The Lord Jesus give thee his Holy Spirit. Amen.

"I have sent thee an epistle in metre, which is not to be laid up in thy coffer, but in thy heart.

"Seek peace, and ensue it. Fear God; love God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy strength.

"Thy friend and all men's in Christ Jesus,
ROBERT SMITH.

"Scribbled in much haste from Newgate the twelfth of May."

Robert Smith to all faithful servants of Christ, exhorting them to be strong under persecution.

"Content thyself with patience,
With Christ to bear the cross of pain,
Which can and will thee recompense,
A thousand-fold with joys again.
Let nothing cause thy heart to quail;
Launch out thy boat, hale up thy sail,
Put from the shore:
And be thou sure thou shalt attain,
Unto the port that shall remain
For evermore."

308. Stephen Harwood, Thomas Fust, William Hale, George King, Thomas Leyes, John Wade, and William Andrew.

The burning of Stephen Harwood and Thomas Fust, martyred for the testimony of the gospel.



ABOUT this time died also by cruel fire these two martyrs of God; that is to say, Stephen Harwood at Stratford, and Thomas Fust at Ware; which both two, as they were about one time burned with the forementioned Robert Smith and George Tankerfield, although in sundry places, so were they also examined and openly condemned together with them. Their process, because it was joined all in one with the process of Robert Smith and others of the said company above mentioned, I thought it superfluous again to repeat the same; save that of Thomas Fust this is to be added, that whereas he, in his last appearing the twelfth of July, was moved by the bishop to revoke his opinion, thus he answered: "No," said he, "my Lord, for there is no truth cometh out of your mouth, but all lies. Ye condemn men, and will not hear the truth. Where can ye find any anointing or greasing in God's book? I speak nothing but the truth, and I am certain that it is the truth that I speak." This answer of him only I find noted by the registrar; although how slenderly these registrars have dealt in uttering such matters, (that is, in omitting those things which most worthy were to be known,) by their doings it is easy to be seen. But to be short, after their answers made, both he and Thomas Fust were, for their faithful perseverance, condemned together by the bishop in his accustomed pity, as heretics to be burned, and so (as before ye have heard) finished they their martyrdom, the one at Stratford, and the other at Ware, in the month of August and year abovesaid.

The constant martyrdom of William Hale, burned at Barnet.

Of the same company of these ten above recorded, which were sent up to Bishop Bonner by Sir Nicholas Hare and other commissioners, in the company of George Tankerfield and Robert Smith, was also William Hale of Thorp in the county of Essex, who likewise being examined with the rest the twelfth of July, received with them also the sentence of condemnation; giving this exhortation withal to the lookers-on: "Ah, good people," said he, "beware of this idolater, and this antichrist;" pointing unto the bishop of London. And so was he delivered to the sheriffs as a heretic to be burned, who sent him to Barnet, where, about the latter end of August, he most constantly sealed up his faith with the consuming of his body by cruel fire, yielding his soul unto the Lord Jesus, his only and most sure Redeemer.

George King, Thomas Leyes, John Wade, and William Andrew, who all sickened in prison, and were buried in the fields.

Ye heard before of ten sundry persons sent out of Newgate by Master Hare and other commissioners, to be examined of Bonner, bishop of London. Of whom six already have been executed in several places, as hath been showed; whose names were Elizabeth Warne, George Tankerfield, Robert Smith, Stephen Harwood, Thomas Fust, and William Hale. Other three, to wit, George King, Thomas Leyes, and John Wade, sickening in Lollard's Tower, were so weak

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that they were removed into sundry houses within the city of London, and there departed, and were cast out into the fields, and there buried by night of the faithful brethren, when none in the day durst do it. The last that remained of this foresaid company was Joan Laysh or Layshford, the daughter-in-law to John Warne, and Elizabeth Warne, martyrs: but because she was reprieved to a longer day, her story and martyrdom we will defer till the month of January the next year following.

The like catholic charity was also showed upon William Andrew of Horsley, in the county of Essex, carpenter, who was brought to Newgate the first day of April, A. D. 1555, by John Motham, constable of Maldon in Essex. The first and principal promoter of him was the Lord Riche, who sent him first to prison. Another great doer against him also seemeth to be Sir Richard Southwell, knight, by a letter written by him to Bonner, as by the copy hereof appeareth.

"Pleaseth it your Lordship to understand, that the Lord Riche did, about seven or eight weeks past, send up unto the council one William Andrew of Thorp, within the county of Essex, an arrogant heretic. Their pleasure was to command me to commit him unto Newgate, where he remaineth, and, as I am informed, hath infected a number in the prison with his heresy. Your Lordship shall do very well, if it please you to convent him before you, and to take order with him as his case doth require. I know the council meant to have writ herein unto your Lordship, but, by occasion of other business, the thing hath been omitted. Wherefore, knowing their good pleasure, I did advise the keeper of Newgate to wait upon you with these few lines. And so, referring the rest to your virtuous consideration, I remain your good Lordship's to command, this twelfth of June, 1555.

"RICHARD SOUTHWELL."

This William Andrew, being twice brought before Bonner to examination, there manfully stood in the defence of his religion. At length, through strait handling in the prison of Newgate, he lost his life there, which else his adversaries would have taken away by fire. And so, after the popish manner, he was cast out into the field, and by night was privily buried by the hands of good men and faithful brethren.

309. Robert Samuel.

Master Foster, justice, dwelling at Cobdock in the county of Suffolk, and a little from Ipswich, being in continual hatred against the truth and the professors of the same, did not only not cease day nor night to study how to bring those in thrall and captivity, that were honest and godly inclined to religion; but also, whatsoever they were that once came in his claws, they easily escaped not without clog of conscience, or else loss of life, so greedy was he of blood. Among many whom he had troubled, there was one Samuel, in King Edward's days a very godly and right faithful preacher of God's word, who, for his valiant and constant behaviour in his sermons, seemeth worthy of high admiration. He was minister at Barfold in Suffolk, where he taught faithfully and fruitfully that flock which the Lord had committed to his charge, so long as the time would suffer him to do his duty.

At the last, being removed from the ministry, and put from his benefice, (as many other good pastors were beside,) when he could not avoid the raging violence of the time, yet would he not give over his care that he had for his flock, but would teach them privily and by stealth, when he could not openly be suffered so to do; at what time order was taken by the queen, to be published by the commissioners, that all priests which had married in King Edward's days, putting their wives from them, should be compelled to return again to their chastity and single life. This decree would not Samuel stand unto, for that he knew it to be manifestly wicked and abominable; but, determining with himself that God's laws were not to be broken for man's traditions, he kept his wife still at Ipswich, and gave his diligence in the mean time to the instructing of others which were about him, as occasion served. At last Master Foster having intelligence hereof, being a great doer in those quarters, foreslacked no time nor diligence, but eftsoons sendeth out his espials abroad, laying hard wait for Samuel, that if he came home to his wife at any time, they might apprehend him, and carry him to prison.

In conclusion, when such as should betray him espied him at home with his wife, they, bringing word to the officer, came immediately flocking about his house, and beset it with a great company, and so took him in the night season, because they durst not do it in the day time, for fear of trouble and tumult; although good Samuel did nothing withstand them at all, but meekly yielded himself into their clutches of his own accord. When they had thus caught him, they put him into Ipswich jail, where he passed his time meekly among his godly brethren, so long as he was permitted to continue there. Howbeit not long after, being taken from thence, he was carried, through the malice of the wicked sort, to Norwich, where the said bishop, Dr. Hopton—whether he, or Dr. Dunning, his chancellor—full like unmerciful prelates, exercised great cruelty against him, as indeed they were men, in that time of persecution, as had not their matches for straitness and cruel tormenting the bodies of the saints among all the rest beside, and specially through the procuring of Dunning. For although the others were sharp enough in their generation; yet could they be satisfied with imprisonment and death, and could go no further. Neither did I ever hear of any besides these, which so far exceeded all hounds of pity and compassion in tormenting their poor brethren, as this bishop did; in such sort, that many of them he perverted, and brought quite from the truth, and some from their wits also.

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The bishop therefore, or else his chancellor, thinking that he might as easily prevail with Samuel, as he had done with the other before, kept him in a very strait prison at his first coming, where he was chained bolt-upright to a great post, in such sort, that standing only on tiptoe he was fain to stay up the whole poise or weight of his body thereby. And to make amends for the cruelty or pain that he suffered, they added a far more grievous torment, keeping him without meat and drink, whereby he was unmercifully vexed through hunger and thirst; saving that he had every day allowed two or three mouthfuls of bread, and three spoonfuls of water, to the end rather that he might be reserved to further torment, than that they would preserve his life. O worthy constancy of the martyr! O pitiless hearts of papists, worthy to be complained of, and to be accused before God and nature! O the wonderful strength of Christ in his members! Whose stomach, though it had been made of adamant-stone, would not have relented at the intolerable vexations, and extreme pains above nature? &c.

At the last, when he was brought forth to be burned, which was but a trifle in comparison of those pains that he had passed, certain there were that heard him declare what strange things had happened unto him during the time of his imprisonment; to wit, that after he had been famished or pined with hunger two or three days together, he then fell into a sleep, as it were one half in a slumber, at which time one clad all in white seemed to stand before him, who ministered comfort unto him by these words: "Samuel, Samuel, be of good cheer, and take a good heart unto thee; for after this day shalt thou never be either hungry or thirsty." Which thing came even to pass accordingly; for speedily after he was burned, and from that time till he should suffer, he felt neither hunger nor thirst. And this declared he to the end, as he said, that all men might behold the wonderful works of God. Many more like matters concerning the great comfort he had of Christ in his afflictions, he could utter, he said, besides this, but that shamefacedness and modesty would not suffer him to utter it. And yet if it had pleased God, I would he had been less modest in that behalf, that the love and care that Christ hath of his, might have the more appeared thereby unto us by such present arguments, for the more plentiful comfort of the godly, though there be sufficient testimonies of the same in the Holy Scriptures already.

No less memorable it is, and worthy also to be noted, concerning the three ladders which he told to divers he saw in his sleep, set up toward heaven; of the which there was one somewhat longer than the rest, but yet at length they became one, joining (as it were) all three together. This was a forewarning revealed unto him, declaring undoubtedly the martyrdom first of himself, and then the death of two honest women, which were brought forth, and suffered in the same town anon after.

As this godly martyr was going to the fire, there came a certain maid to him, which took him about the neck and kissed him, who, being marked by them that were present, was sought for the next day after, to be had to prison and burned, as the very party herself informed me: howbeit, as God of his goodness would have it, she escaped their fiery hands, keeping herself secret in the town a good while after. But as this maid, called Rose Nottingham, was marvellously preserved by the providence of God; so there were other two honest women did fall into the rage and fury of that time. The one was a brewer's wife, the other was a shoemaker's wife, but both together now espoused to a new Husband, Christ.

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With these two was this maid aforesaid very familiar and well acquainted, who, on a time giving counsel to the one of them, that she should convey herself away while she had time and space, seeing she could not away with the queen's unjust proceedings, had this answer at her hands again: "I know well," saith she, "that it is lawful enough to fly away; which remedy you may use, if you list. But my case standeth otherwise. I am tied to a husband, and have besides a sort of young children at home; and then I know not how my husband, being a carnal man, will take my departure from him; therefore I am minded, for the love of Christ and his truth, to stand to the extremity of the matter."

And so the next day after Samuel suffered, these two godly wives, the one called Anne Potten, the other called Joan Trunchfield, the wife of Michael Trunchfield, shoemaker, of Ipswich, were apprehended, and had both into prison together, who, as they were both by sex and nature somewhat tender, so were they at first less able to endure the straitness of the prison: and especially the brewer's wife was cast into marvellous great agonies and troubles of mind thereby. But Christ, beholding the weak infirmity of his servant, did not fail to help her when she was in this necessity; so at the length they both suffered after Samuel, in 1556, February the nineteenth, as shall be, by the Lord's grace, declared hereafter. And these, no doubt, were those two ladders, which, being joined with the third, Samuel saw stretched up into heaven. This blessed Samuel, the servant of Christ, suffered the thirty-first of August, anno 1555.

The report goeth among some that were there present, and saw him burn, that his body in burning did shine in the eyes of them that stood by, as bright and white as new-tryed silver, as I am informed by some which were there and did behold the sight.

A letter or exhortation of Robert Samuel to the patient suffering of afflictions for Christ's cause.

"A man knoweth not his time, but as the fish is taken with the angle, and as the birds are caught with the snare, even so are men caught and taken in the perilous time when it cometh upon them. The time cometh; the day draweth near. Better it were to die (as the preacher saith) than to live and see the miserable works which are done under the sun; such sudden and strange mutation, such woeful, heinous, and lamentable divisions so fast approach, and none, or very few, thoroughly repent. Alas! for this sinful nation, a people of great iniquity and seed of ungraciousness, corrupting their ways. They have forsaken the Lord, they have provoked the Holy One of Israel to anger, and are gone backward. Who now liveth not in such security and rest, as though all dangers were clean overpast? Who now blindeth and buffeteth not Christ, with 'seest me?' and 'seest me not?' yea, who liveth not now in such felicity, worldly pleasures and joys, wholly seeking the world, providing and craftily shifting for the earthly clod and all carnal appetites, as though sin were clean forgotten, overthrown, and devoured? Like hoggish Gergesites, now are we more afraid and ashamed of Christ our Messias, fearing the loss of our filthy pigs, I mean our transitory goods, and disquieting of our sinful and mortal bodies in this short, uncertain, and miserable life, than of a legion of devils, seducing and driving us from hearing, reading, and believing Christ, God's eternal Son, and his holy word, the power to save our souls, unto vanities, lies, and fables, and to this bewitching world.

"O perilous abundance of goods, too much saturity of meats, wealth, and quietness, which destroyed, with so many souls, those goodly cities, Sodom and Gomorrah! Jeroboam, so

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long as he was but a poor man, not yet advanced to his dignity, lived in the laws of God without reprehension; but, brought once to wealth and prosperous state, he became a wicked and most shameful idolater. And what made the covetous young man so loth to follow Christ, when he was bidden to forsake but worldly wealth which he then enjoyed? Woe be unto these false illusions of the world, baits of perdition, hooks of the devil, which have so shamefully deceived and seduced full many from the right path unto the Lord, into the high-ways of confusion and perpetual perdition!

"We might now worthily, dear Christians, lament and bewail our heavy state, miserable condition, and sorrowful chance; yea, I say, we might well accuse ourselves, and with Job curse these our troublous, wicked, and bloody last days of this world, were it not that we both see and believe, and find in God's sacred book, that a remnant God hath in all ages reserved, I mean the faithful, as many as have been from the beginning of the world exercised, whetted, and polished with divers afflictions, troubles, and tossings, cast and dashed against all perils and dangers, as the very dross and outcasts of the earth, and yet will in no wise halt between God and Baal; for God verily abhorreth two men in one: he cannot away with them that are between both, but casteth them away as a filthy vomit. Christ will not part spoil with his mortal enemy the devil; he will have all, or lose all: he will not permit the devil to have the service of the body, and he to stand contented with the heart and mind: but he will be glorified both in your bodies and in your spirits, which are his, as St. Paul saith. For he hath made, bought all, and dearly paid for all, as St. Peter saith. With his own immaculate body hath he clean discharged your bodies from sin, death, and hell, and with his most precious blood paid your ransom and full price once for all and for ever.

"Now what harm, I pray you, or what loss sustain you by this? Why are you, O vain men, more afraid of Jesus your gentle Saviour, and his gospel of salvation, than of a legion of cruel devils, going about with false delusions utterly to destroy you, both bodies and souls? Think you to be more sure than under your Captain, Christ? Do you promise yourselves to be more quiet in Satan's service, than in Christ's religion? Esteem you more these transitory and pernicious pleasures, than God, and all his heavenly treasures? O palpable darkness, horrible madness, and wilful blindness, without comparison too much to be suffered any longer! We see and will not see; we know and will not know; yea, we smart and will not feel, and that our conscience well knoweth. O miserable and brainless souls, which would, for foolish pleasures and slippery wealth, lose the royal kingdom and permanent joys of God, with the everlasting glory which he hath prepared for them that truly love him, and renounce the world. The children of the world live in pleasure and wealth; and the devil, who is their god and prince of this world, keepeth their wealth which is proper unto them, and letteth them enjoy it. But let us which be of Christ, seek and inquire for heavenly things, which, by God's promise and mercy in Christ, shall be peculiar unto us. Let, I say, the Cretians, Epicures, and such other beastly Belials and carnal people, pass for things that be pleasant for the body, and do appertain to this transitory life: Yet shall they once, as the kingly prophet saith, run about the city of God to and fro, howling like dogs, desiring one scrap of the joys of God's elect; but all too late, as the rich glutton did.

"Let us therefore pass for those things that do pertain to the spirit, and be celestial. We must be here, saith Paul, not as inhabitants, and home-dwellers, but as strangers: not as strangers only, but, after the mind of Paul, as painful soldiers appointed of our Governor to fight against

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the governor of the darkness of this world, against spiritual craftiness in heavenly things. The time is come; we must to it; the judgment must begin first at the house of God. Began they not first with the green and sappy tree? and what followed then on the dry branches? Jeremy speaking in the person of God, saith; In the city wherein my name is invocated, will I begin to punish: but as for you, (meaning the wicked,) shall you be as innocents, and not once touched? For the dregs of God's wrath, the bottom of all sorrows, are reserved unto them in the end: but God's household shall drink the flower of the cup of his mercy. And therefore let us say with Hezekiah, Play the men, and shrink not. Let us comfort ourselves, for the Lord is with us our helper, and fighteth for us. The Lord is, saith he, with you, when you be with him; and when you seek him, he will be found of you: and again, When you forsake him, he will forsake you.

"Wherefore we ought not to be dismayed, or discourage ourselves, but rather to be of good comfort; not to be sad, but merry; not sorrowful, but joyful, in that God of his goodness will vouchsafe to take us as his beloved children, to subdue our sinful lusts, our wretched flesh and blood, unto his glory, the promoting of his holy word, and edifying of his church. What if the earthly house of this our habitation (Paul meaning the body) be destroyed? We know assuredly we shall have a building of God not made with hands, but everlasting in heaven, with such joys as faith taketh not, hope toucheth not, and charity apprehendeth not. They pass all desires and wishes. Gotten they may be by Christ; esteemed they cannot be: wherefore the more affliction and persecution the word of God bringeth, the more felicity and greater joy abide in heaven. But the worldly peace, idle ease, wealthy pleasure, and this present and pleasant transitory life and felicity, which the ungodly foolishly imagine to procure unto themselves by persecuting and thrusting away the gospel, shall turn unto their own trouble, and at last unto horrible destructions and mutations of realms and countries; and, after this life, if they repent not, unto their perpetual infelicity, perdition, and damnation. For they had rather with Nabal, and his temporal pleasures, descend to the devil, than with poor Christ, and his bodily troubles, ascend unto the kingdom of God his Father. But an unwise man, saith the psalmist, comprehendeth them not; neither doth the foolish understand them: that is, these bloody persecutors grow up and flourish like the flower and grass in the field. But unto this end do they so flourish, that they might be cut down and cast into the fire for ever. For, as Job saith, Their joy lasteth but the twinkling of an eye, and death shall lie gnawing upon them, as doth the flock upon the pasture; yea, the cruel worm, late repentance, (as in Mark is said,) shall lie gnawing, tormenting, and accusing their wretched conscience for evermore.

"Let us therefore, good Christians, be constant in obeying God, rather than men. For although they slay our sinful bodies (yea, rather our deadly enemies) for God's verity, yet they cannot do it, but by God's sufferance and good-will, to his praise and honour, and to our eternal joy and felicity. For our blood shed for the gospel shall preach it with more fruit, and greater furtherance, than did our mouths, lives, and writings, as did the blood of Abel, Stephen, with many others more. What though they laugh Christ and his word to scorn, which sit in the chair of perverse, pestilent scorners? to whom, as to the wise Gentiles of the world, the gospel of Christ is but foolishness, as it was to the Jews a slander and a stumbling-stone, whereat they now, being fallen, have provoked the wrath and vengeance of God upon them.

"These are the days of vengeance, saith Luke, that all things written may be fulfilled. And surely it shall be no less than a huge storm of evils that shall come upon us, because that a long

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and cursed obstinate maliciousness of us hath gone before, crying in the ears of the Lord God of hosts; who, so many times and so many ways, have been provoked with the unspeakable riches of his goodness, his patience and long-suffering, to amendment, and have nevertheless contemned the same, and proceeded forward to worse and worse, provoking and stirring the presence of God's majesty unto anger.

"Now therefore, saith God, by the mouth of his prophet, I will come unto thee, and I will send my wrath upon thee. Upon thee, I say, O England! and punish thee according to thy ways, and reward thee after all thine abominations. Thou hast kindled the fire of God's wrath, and hast stirred up the coals: for thou wast once lightened, and hadst tasted of the heavenly gift, and wast become partaker of the Holy Ghost, and hadst tasted of the good word of God; yea, it is yet in thy mouth, saith the prophet. Alas, O England! thou knewest thy Lord and Master's will, but didst nothing thereafter: Thou must therefore, saith he, suffer many stripes, and many sharp strokes, and walk in the glittering and hot flame of thine own fire, and in the coals that thou hast kindled. This cometh to thee from my hand, saith the Lord, namely, that thou shalt sleep in sorrow; yea, even so thou shalt. The plain truth telleth the tale; the immutable justice of the ever-living God, and the ordinary course of his plagues from the beginning, confirm the same. The joy of our heart, saith Jeremy, is gone, our glory is fallen away, our merry singing is turned into mourning, the garland of our head is fallen. Alas, and weal away, that ever we sinned so sore: woe worth all abominations and wickedness; woe worth cloaked hypocrisy; woe worth our carnal liberty; woe worth our most cursed idolatry. For, because of these things, saith the Lord, ye shall perish with sword, hunger, and pestilence.

"Wherefore, let all the wicked enemies of Christ, and all the unbelievers, look to be tormented and vexed with all hellish furies, and clean without hope at God's accounting day, which know not God in Christ to be their very righteousness, their life, their only salvation and alone Saviour, nor believe in him. They must, saith St. John, needs abide and perish with their sins in death, and in eternal damnation. But we be the children of saints, as the elder Toby did answer, and look for another life, which God shall give to all them which change not their faith, and shrink not from him. Rejoice, therefore, ye Christian afflicted brethren; for they cannot take our souls and bodies out of the hands of the Almighty, which be kept as in the bosom of our most sweet and loving Father: and if we abide fast in Christ, and turn not away like weathercocks, surely we shall live for ever. Christ affirmeth the same, saying, My sheep hear my voice; I know them; they hearken unto me, and to no strangers; and I give them everlasting life, for they shall not be lost, and no man shall pluck them out of my hands: no, nor yet this flattering world with all his vain pleasures, nor any tyrant with his great threats and stout brags, can once move them out of the way of eternal life. What consolation and comfort may we have more pleasant and effectuous than this? God is on our side, and fighteth for us; he suffereth, he smarteth, and is afflicted with us. As the world can do nothing against his might, neither in taking away or diminishing of his glory, nor putting him from his celestial throne; so can it neither harm nor hurt any one of his children, without his goodwill. For we are members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones, and as dear to him as the apple of his eye.

"Let us therefore, with an earnest faith, set fast hold and sure feeling upon the promises of God in the gospel, and let us not be sundered from the same by any temptation, tribulation, or persecution. Let us consider the verity of God to be invincible, inviolable, and immutable,

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promising and giving us his faithful soldiers life eternal. It is he only that hath deserved it for us. It is his only benefit, and of his only mere mercy; and unto him only must we render thanks. Let not therefore the vain fantasies and dreams of men, and foolish gauds and toys of the world, nor the crafty delusions of the devil, drive and separate us from our hope of the crown of righteousness, that is laid up in store for us against the last day. Oh! that happy and merry last day, (I mean to the faithful,) when Christ by his covenant shall grant and give unto them that overcome, and keep his words to the end, that they may ascend and sit in seat with him, as he hath ascended and sitteth on throne with his Father. The same body and soul that is now with Christ afflicted, shall then be with Christ glorified: now in the butcher's hands, as sheep appointed to die; then sitting at God's table with Christ in his kingdom, as God's honourable and dear children, where we shall have for earthly poverty, heavenly riches; for hunger and thirst, saturity of the pleasant presence of the glory of God; for sorrows, troubles, and cold irons, celestial joys, and the company of angels; and for a bodily death, life eternal. O happy souls! O precious death, and evermore blessed! right dear in the eyes of God: to you the spring of the Lord shall ever be flourishing. Then, as saith Isaiah, The redeemed shall return and come again into Sion, praising the Lord; and eternal mercies shall be over their heads: they shall obtain mirth and solace; sorrow and woe shall be utterly vanquished. Yea, I am he, saith the Lord, that in all things giveth you everlasting consolation. To whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost be glory and praise for ever, Amen.

"ROBERT SAMUEL."

Another letter written to the Christian congregation by Robert Samuel, wherein he declareth the confession of his faith.

"The belief of the heart justifieth, and the knowledge with the mouth maketh a man safe."

"Fear not the curse of men; be not afraid of their blasphemies and revilings; for worms and moths shall eat them up like cloth and wool; but my righteousness shall endure for ever, and my saving health from generation to generation.

"Considering with myself these perilous times, perishing days, and the unconstant and miserable state of man, the decay of our faith, the sinister report and false slander of God's most holy word, these urgent causes in conscience do constrain me to confess and acknowledge my faith and meaning in Christ's holy religion, as St. Peter teacheth me, saying, Be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the hope that is in you, and that with meekness and fear, having a good conscience; that when they backbite you as evildoers, they may be ashamed, forasmuch as they have falsely accused your good conversation in Christ."

"As touching my doctrine, for that little talent that God hath given me, God I take to record, mine own conscience and mine auditory knoweth, that I neither in doctrine nor manners willingly taught any other thing than I received of the holy patriarchs, prophets, Christ, and his apostles. For it were not only sin, but also the very part of a cursed miscreant, to deny, belie, or betray, the innocency of that heavenly doctrine, or to be ashamed to confess and stand to the defence of the same, seeing that Christ planted it with his most precious blood, and all good men have more esteemed the true and infallible word of God, than all this transitory world, or their own mortal lives. And I believe this doctrine of the patriarchs, prophets, Christ, and his apostles,

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to be sufficient and absolutely perfect to instruct and teach me and all the holy church, of our duties towards God, the magistrates, and our neighbours.

"First and principally I do assuredly believe, without any doubting, that there is one Deity or Divine essence, and infinite substance; which is both called, and is indeed God everlasting, unbodily, unpartible; unmeasurable in power, wisdom, and goodness; the Maker and Preserver of all things, as well visible as invisible: and yet there be three distinct persons, all of one Godhead or Divine being, and all of one power, coequal, consubstantial, coeternal—the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

"I believe in God the Father Almighty, &c. As touching God the Father of heaven, I believe as much as Holy Scripture teacheth me to believe. The Father is the first person in the Trinity, first cause of our salvation, which hath blessed us with all manner of blessings in heavenly things by Christ; which hath chosen us before the foundations of the world were laid, that we should be holy and without blame before him; who hath predestinated us and ordained us to be his children of adoption, through Christ Jesu; in him, as it is said, we live, we move, and have our being; he nourisheth, feedeth, and giveth meat to every creature.

"And in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord. I believe that the Word, that is, the Son of God, the second person in the Trinity, did take man's nature in the womb of the blessed Virgin Mary; so that there be in him two natures, a Divine nature, and a human nature, in the unity of one person inseparable, conjoined and knit in one Christ, truly God and truly man, the express and perfect image of the invisible God, wherein the will of God the Father shineth apparently, and wherein man, as it were in a glass, may behold what he ought to do, that he may please God the Father.

"Born of the Virgin Mary; truly suffering his passion; crucified, dead, and buried, to the intent to bring us again into favour with God the Father Almighty, and to be a sacrifice, host, and oblation, not only for original sin, but also for all actual sins of the whole generation of mankind. For all the works, merits, deservings, doings, and obedience of man towards God, although they be done by the Spirit of God, in the grace of God, yet being thus done, be of no validity, worthiness, nor merit before God, except God for his mercy and grace account them worthy for the worthiness and merits of Christ Jesus.

"The same Christ went down to the hells, and truly rose again the third day, and ascended into the heavens, that he might there still reign, and have dominion over all creatures: and from thence shall come, &c.

"I believe in the Holy Ghost, coequal with God the Father and the Son, and proceeding from them both; by whose virtue, strength, and operation, the true catholic church, which is the communion and society of saints, is guided in all truth and verity, and kept from all errors and false doctrine, the devil, and all power of sin: which church is sanctified and hallowed with the precious blood and spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ; which hath also her sign and mark, that she heareth and followeth the voice of her only and true pastor Christ, and no strangers. This church also is the house of God, the congregation of the living God, the pillar of truth, the lively body of Christ, a church both in name and in deed.

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"I believe the remission of sins, by the only means and merits of Christ's death and passion; who is made unto us, of God, that only sacrifice and oblation offered once for all and for ever, for all them that be sanctified.

"I believe the resurrection of the body, whereby in the last day all men shall rise again from death, the souls joined again to the bodies, the good to everlasting life, the wicked to everlasting pain and punishment. And nothing may more certainly establish and confirm our faith, that we shall rise again immortal both in body and soul, than the resurrection of Christ our Saviour, and first-fruits of the dead. Now that Christ our Head is risen, we, being his body and members, must follow our Head. Death, hell, and sin cannot sunder nor pluck us from him; for as the Son cannot be divided nor sundered from the Father, nor the Holy Ghost from them both, no more may we, being the faithful members of Christ, be separated from Christ. And for a confirmation of our resurrection, Christ would be seen after his resurrection in his most glorious body, his wounds being handled and felt, speaking and teaching, eating and drinking, &c. We look, saith St. Paul, for Jesus Christ our Saviour, which shall transfigure our vile bodies, and conform them to his glorious body, by the same power and virtue wherewith he is able to subdue all things: even like as the grain of wheat sown in the ground is first putrefied and brought as into a thing of nought; yet, after that, it springeth up freshly with a more goodly colour, form, and beauty than it had before. The body is sown in corruption, and riseth in incorruption; it is sown in dishonour, and riseth in honour.

"Thus I verily know, and assuredly believe, the resurrection of our bodies, and to have life eternal by Christ, and for Christ's sake. Verily, verily, I say unto you, saith Christ, he that heareth my word, and believeth on Him that sent me, hath everlasting life, and shall not come into damnation, but is escaped from death to life. It is Christ that died once for our sins, and is risen again, never more to die. It is he that swallowed up death, and hath cast it under his feet for ever. What now can death do unto us? Verily nothing else, but for a little time separate our precious souls from our wretched bodies, that divine substance from a mass of sin, that eternal life from a body of death, and so send our souls out of this miserable, wretched, and sorrowful life, cumbered with all calamities, unto that most blessed felicity, and joys eternal.

"As concerning the holy and reverend sacraments of Christ's church, which be in number two, the sacrament of baptism, and the supper of the Lord: I believe them to be as St. Paul calleth them, confirmations or seals of God's promises, which have added to them a promise of grace; and therefore they are called visible signs of invisible grace.

"The sacrament of baptism is a mark of Christ's church, a seal and confirmation of our acception into the grace and favour of God for Christ's sake. For his innocency, his righteousness, his holiness, his justice, is ours, given us of God; and our sins and unrighteousness, by his obedience and abasing of himself to the death of the cross, are his, whereof baptism is the sign, seal, and confirmation.

"Baptism is also a sign of repentance, to testify that we be born to the waves of perils, and changes of life, to the intent that we should die continually, as long as we live, from sin, and rise again like new men unto righteousness.

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"The other sacrament, which is the supper and holy Maundy of our Saviour Christ, whereby the church of Christ is known, I believe to be a remembrance of Christ's death and passion, a seal and confirmation of his most precious body given unto death, even to the vile death of the cross, wherewith we are redeemed and delivered from sin, death, hell, and damnation. It is a visible word, because it worketh the same thing in the eyes, which the word worketh in the ears. For like as the word is a mean to the ears, whereby the Holy Ghost moveth the heart to believe, so this sacrament is a mean to the eyes, whereby the Holy Ghost moveth the heart to believe: it preacheth peace between God and man; it exhorteth to mutual love and all godly life, and teacheth to condemn the world for the life to come, when Christ shall appear, which now is in heaven, and no where else as concerning his human body.

"Yet do I believe assuredly, that his very body is present in his most holy supper at the contemplation of our spiritual eyes, and so verily eaten with the mouth of our faith. For, as soon as I hear these most comfortable and heavenly words spoken and pronounced by the mouth of the minister, This is my body which is given for you; when I hear (I say) this heavenly harmony of God's infallible promises and truth, I look not upon, neither do I behold, bread and wine; for I take and believe the words simply and plainly, even as Christ spake them. For hearing these words, my senses be rapt and utterly excluded; for faith wholly taketh place, and not flesh, nor the carnal imaginations of our gross, fleshly, and unreverent eating after the manner of our bodily food, which profiteth nothing at all, as Christ witnesseth; but with a sorrowful and wounded conscience, a hungry and thirsty soul, a pure and faithful mind, do fully embrace, behold, and feed and look upon, that most glorious body of Christ in heaven, at the right hand of God the Father, very God and very man, which was crucified and slain, and his blood shed for our sins, there now making intercession, offering and giving his holy body for me, for my body, for my ransom, for my full price and satisfaction, who is my Christ, and all that ever he hath; and by this spiritual and faithful eating of this lively and heavenly bread, I feel the most sweet sap and taste of the fruits, benefits, and unspeakable joys of Christ's death and passion, fully digested into the bowels of my soul. For my mind is quieted from all worldly adversities, turmoilings, and troubles; my conscience is pacified from sin, death, hell, and damnation; my soul is full, and hath even enough, and will no more; for all things are but loss, vile dung and dross, vain vanity, for the excellent knowledge-sake of Christ Jean my Lord and Saviour.

"Thus now is Christ's flesh my very meat indeed, and his blood my very drink indeed, and I am become flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bones. Now I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me: yea, I dwell in him, and he in me; for, through faith in Christ and for Christ's sake we are one, that is, of one consent, mind, and fellowship with the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Thus am I assured and fully persuaded, and on this Rock have I builded, by God's grace, my dwelling and resting-place for body and soul, life and death. And thus I commit my cause unto Christ the righteous and just Judge, who will another day judge these debates and controversies; whom I humbly beseech to cast his tender and merciful eyes upon the afflicted and ruinous churches, and shortly to reduce them into a godly and perpetual concord. Amen.

"Thus do I believe, and this is my faith and my understanding in Christ my Saviour, and his true and holy religion. And this whosoever is ashamed to do, among this adulterous and sinful generation, of him shall the Son of man be ashamed, when he cometh in the glory of his

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Father with the holy angels.
"ROBERT SAMUEL."

310. William Allen, Roger Coe, and Thomas Cobb

The martyrdom of William Allen, September, 1555.

Next after the suffering of Robert Samuel, about the beginning of September, was burned William Allen in Walsingham, labouring man, servant some time to John Houghton of Somerton. He, being brought before the bishop, and asked the cause why he was imprisoned, answered, that he was put in prison because he would not follow the cross, saying, that he would never go on procession.

Then, being willed by the bishop to return again to the catholic church, he answered, that he would turn to the catholic church, but not to the Romish church: and said, that if he saw the king and queen, and all others follow the cross, or kneel down to the cross, he would not. For the which, sentence of condemnation was given against him the twelfth of August, and he burned at Walsingham about the beginning of September, who declared such constancy at his martyrdom, and had such credit with the justices, by reason of his upright and well-tryed conversation among them, that he was suffered to go untied to the suffering, and there, being fastened with a chain, stood quietly without shrinking until he died.

The martyrdom of Roger Coe, of Melford in Suffolk, shearman; first examined before Hopton, the bishop of Norwich, and by him condemned, August 12, anno 1555.

Roger Coe, being brought before the bishop, first was asked why he was imprisoned.

Coe.—"At the justice's commandment."

Bishop.—"There was some cause why."

Coe.—"Here is my accuser; let him declare."

And his accuser said, that he would not receive the sacrament. Then the bishop said, that he thought he had transgressed a law. But Coe answered that there was no law to transgress.

The bishop then asked, what he said to the law that then was? He answered how he had been in prison a long time, and knew it not.

"No," said his accuser, "nor will not. My Lord, ask him when he received the sacrament."

When Coe heard him say so, he said, "I pray you, my Lord, let him sit down and examine me himself."

But the bishop would not hear that, but said, "Coe, why will ye not receive?"

Coe answered him, that the bishop of Rome had changed God's ordinances, and given the people bread and wine, instead of the gospel and the belief of the same.

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Bishop.—"How prove you that?"

Coo.—"Our Saviour said, My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed. He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, abideth in me, and I in him; and the bread and wine doth not so."

Bishop.—"Well, Coo, thou dost slander our holy fathers. Did not Christ take bread, give thanks, and break it, and say, This is my body?"

"Yes," said Coo, and so he went further with the text, saying, "Which shall be given for you: do this in remembrance of me."

Bishop.—"You have said the truth."

Then Coo replied further, and said, "Christ willed to do this in remembrance of him, and not to say this in remembrance of him, neither did the Holy Ghost so lead the apostles, but taught them to give thanks, and to break bread from house to house, and not to say as the bishop said."

Bishop.—"How prove you that?"

Coo.—"It is written in the second of the Acts."

Then the bishop's chaplain said, it was true. The bishop asked him if he could say his belief.

Coo answered, "Yea," and so said part of the Creed, and then after he said, he believed more; for he believed the Ten Commandments, that it was meet for all such as look to be saved, to be obedient unto them.

Bishop.—"Is not the holy church to be believed also?"

Coo.—"Yes, if it be builded upon the word of God."

The bishop said to Coo, that he had charge of his soul.

Coo.—"Have ye so, my Lord? Then if ye go to the devil for your sins, where shall I become?"

Bishop.—"Do you not believe as your father did? Was not he an honest man?"

Coo.—"It is written, that after Christ hath suffered, there shall come a people with the prince, that shall destroy both city and sanctuary. I pray you show me whether this destruction was in my father's time, or now?"

The bishop not answering his question, asked him whether he would not obey the king's laws.

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Coo.—"As far as they agree with the word of God, I will obey them."

Bishop.—"Whether they agree with the word of God or not, we be bound to obey them, if the king were an infidel."

Coo.—"If Shadrach, Meshech, and. Abednego had so done, Nebuchadnezzar had not confessed the living God."

Then the bishop told him, that these twenty-two years we have been governed with such kings.

Coo.—"My Lord, why were ye then dumb, and did not speak or bark?"

Bishop.—"I durst not for fear of death."

"And thus they ended. But after this done, it was reported that I railed; wherefore I called it to memory, and wrote this my railing, that light should not be taken for darkness, nor sin for holiness, and the devil for God, who ought to be feared and honoured both now and ever! Amen."

This Roger Coo, an aged father, after his sundry troubles and conflicts with his adversaries, at length was committed to the fire at Yoxford, in the county of Suffolk, where he most blessedly ended his aged years, A. D. 1555, in the month of September.

Thomas Cob, butcher, of Haverhill in Suffolk, martyr.

Over and besides this foresaid Roger Coo, William Allen, James Abbes of Stokenneyland, Robert Samuel, and others, in the same year, upon the twelfth of August, was also with them condemned Thomas Cob, of Haverhill, butcher, executed in the month of September aforesaid; who, being brought and examined by Michael Dunning, the bloody chancellor of Norwich, first, whether he believed that Christ is really and substantially in the sacrament of the altar; answered, that the body of Christ, born of the blessed Virgin, was in heaven, and otherwise (he said) he would not answer, because he had read it in the Scripture, that Christ did ascend, and did never descend since; and therefore said, that he had not learned in the Scripture, that Christ should be in the sacrament.

Furthermore, being demanded whether he would obey the laws of the realm of England, made for the unity of faith, or no, he answered, that his body should be at the king and queen's commandment, so far as the law of God would suffer, &c. In fine, the said Thomas Cob, being condemned the same twelfth day of August, with the other his fellow martyrs, was burned in the town of Thetford, A. D. 1555, in the month of September.

311. George Catmer, Robert Streater, .Anthony Burward, George Brodbridge, and James Tutty; Thomas Hayward and John Goreway.

Now from Norfolk and Suffolk, to return again into the diocese of Canterbury, we have to entreat of five worthy martyrs, whose blood in the same year and month of September was spilt for the true testimony of Christ and his gospel's cause; the names of the which five martyrs were these:—George Catmer of Hythe; Robert Streater of Hythe; Anthony Burward of Calete; George Brodbridge of Bromfield; James Tutty of Brenchley; who, upon the third day of August, were brought before Thornton, the foresaid bishop of Dover, and his complices, and there were both jointly and severally examined upon certain articles, touching the sacrament of their altar, auricular confession, and other such like.

To the which the said Catmer (being first examined) made answer on this wise: "Christ," quoth he, "sitteth in heaven, on the right hand of God the Father; and therefore I do not believe him to be in the sacrament of the altar. But he is in the worthy receiver spiritually; and the sacrament, as you use it, is an abominable idol.

Next unto him was called forth Robert Streater, who, being also asked whether he did believe the real presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar, said that he did not so believe; "for you do maintain heresy and idolatry," quoth he, "in that ye teach to worship a false god in the sacrament, enclosed in a box. It is you that are the malignant church; for in your church there are twenty things used against the law of God."

The like objection was articulate also against Anthony Durward, who also said, that their sacrament was made an idol.

After him was George Brodbridge demanded what he said to those articles; who answered, that he would not be confessed of a priest, because he could not forgive his own sins. And further said, that in the sacrament of the altar there is not the real body of our Saviour Christ, but bread given in the remembrance of him. "Moreover, as for your holy bread, your holy water, and your mass, I do," quoth he, "utterly defy them."

And last of all, did also James Tutty make and confirm their said former answers. And therefore they were all five condemned to be burned as heretics, and so were they all, in one fire at Canterbury aforesaid, about the sixth day of September then next following.

Thomas Hayward and John Goreway, martyrs.

Although the rage and vehemency of this terrible persecution in Queen Mary's days did chiefly light in London, Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Kent, as hath been partly already declared; yet, notwithstanding, besides the same, we find but few parts of this realm free from this fatal storm, but some good martyrs or other there shed their blood. And first, to begin with the diocese

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of Lichfield and Coventry, there we find these two to be condemned and also burned about the midst of the said month of September at the town of Lichfield; whose names were Thomas Hayward and John Goreway.

312. Robert Glover, Gentleman, and John and William Glover, his Brothers.



Manor-house, Mancetter, the Residence of Glover



o this present time and month of September, pertaineth also the memorable martyrdom of Master Robert Glover, gentleman, in the diocese of Lichfield and Coventry; of whose apprehension and troubles because I cannot well entreat, but I must also intermix some mention of his brother John Glover, forasmuch as this privy commission was chiefly sent down for the said John, and not for Robert Glover, (albeit it pleased Almighty God, that John escaped, and Robert in his stead was apprehended,) I thought therefore in one story to comprehend them both, in describing some part of their virtuous institution and order of life. And first, to begin with John the eldest brother, who, being a gentleman born, and heir to his father, dwelling in the town of Mancetter, was endued with fair possessions of worldly goods, but yet much more plentifully enriched with God's heavenly grace and inward virtues, which grace of God so working in him, he, with his

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two other brethren, Robert and William, not only received and embraced the happy light of Christ's holy gospel, but also most zealously professed, and no less diligently in their living and conversation followed, the same; much unlike unto our table-gospellers now-a-days.

And as touching this foresaid John Glover, it pleased God so to lay his heavy hand of inward afflictions and grievous passions upon this man, that though he suffered not the pains of the outward fire, as his brother and other martyrs did, yet if we consider what inwardly in spirit and mind this man felt and suffered, and that of so long time, he may well be counted with his brother Robert for a martyr, being no less desirous with him of the same martyrdom; yea, and in comparison may seem to be chronicled for a double martyr.

For as the said Robert was speedily despatched with the sharp and extreme torments of the fire in a short time; so this no less blessed saint of God, what and how much more grievous pangs, what sorrowful torments, what boiling heats of the fire of hell in his spirit inwardly, he felt and sustained, no speech outwardly is able to express. Being young, I remember I was once or twice with him, whom partly by his talk I perceived, and partly by mine own eyes saw, to be so worn and consumed by the space of five years, that neither almost any brooking of meat, quietness of sleep, pleasure of life, yea, and almost no kind of senses was left in him. And doubtless I have greatly wondered oftentimes at the marvellous works and operation of Christ showed upon him, who, unless he had relieved betimes his poor wretched servant so far worn, with some opportune consolation now and then betwixt, it could not possible be, that he should have sustained so intolerable pains and torments. And yet the occasion thereof was not of so great moment and weight. But this we see common among holy and blessed men, how the more devout and godly they are, having the fear of God before their eyes, the more suspicion and mistrust they have of themselves; whereby it cometh to pass, that often they are so terrified and perplexed with small matters, as though they were huge mountains; whereas on the contrary, others there be whom most heinous and very sore crimes indeed do nothing touch or stir at all.

The occasion of this was, that he, being first called by the light of the Holy Spirit to the knowledge of the gospel, and having received a wondrous sweet feeling of Christ's heavenly kingdom, his mind, after that, falling a little to some cogitation of his former affairs belonging to his vocation, began by and by to misdoubt himself upon the occasion of these words written in Hebrews vii.; For it cannot be, that they which were once illumined, and have tasted the heavenly gift, &c.; upon the consideration of which words, he fully persuaded himself that he had sinned verily against the Holy Ghost; even so much, that if he had been in the deepest pit of hell, he could almost have despaired no more of his salvation. Here readily every good man may judge of himself, what terrors, boilings, and convulsions turmoiled in the mean time in his woeful breast: although it be hard for any man to judge the grievousness thereof, unless he which hath experience of the like.

In comparing now the torments of all martyrs with his pains, I pray you what pains, punishment, and flames, would not he willingly have suffered, to have had some refocillation and time of refreshing? who, in such intolerable griefs of mind, although he neither had nor could have any joy of his meat, yet was he compelled to eat against his appetite, to the end to defer the time of his damnation so long as he might, thinking with himself no less but that he must needs be thrown into hell, the breath being once out of the body. Albeit Christ, he thought,

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did pity his case, and was sorry for him; yet he could not (as he imagined) help, because of the verity of the word, which said, It cannot be, &c.

And this I rehearse of him, not so much to open his wounds and sorrows, as for that by his example all we with him may glorify the Son of God, who suffereth none to be tempted above his strength, but so tempereth and seasoneth the asperity of evils, that what seemeth to us intolerable, not only he doth alleviate the same, that we may bear it, but also turneth it to our further commodity than we can think: which well appeared in this good servant of God, (in no man more,) who, albeit, as we have said, he suffered many years so sharp temptations and strong buffetings of Satan; yet the Lord, who graciously preserved him all the while, not only at last did rid him out of all discomfort, but also framed him thereby to such mortification of life, as the like lightly hath not been seen, in such sort as he being like one placed in heaven already, and dead in this world, both in word and meditation led a life altogether celestial, abhorring in his mind all profane doings. Neither was his talk any thing discrepant from the fruits of his life, throwing out never any idle, vile, or vain language. The most part of his lands he distributed to the use of his brethren, and committed the rest to the guiding of his servants and officers, whereby the more quietly he might give himself to his godly study, as to a continual sabbath rest. This was about the latter end of King Henry's reign, and continued a great part of the time of King Edward the Sixth.

After this, in the persecuting days of Queen Mary, as soon as the bishop of Coventry heard the fame of this John aforesaid, being so ardent and zealous in the gospel of Christ, eftsoons he wrote his letter to the mayor and officers of Coventry to apprehend him as soon as might be. But it chanced otherwise by God's holy providence, disposing all things after his own secret pleasure, who, seeing his old and trusty servant so many years with so extreme and many torments broken and dried up, would in no wise heap too many sorrows upon one poor silly wretch: neither would commit him to the flames of fire, who had been already baked and scorched with the sharp fires of inward affliction, and had sustained so many burning darts and conflicts of Satan so many years. God therefore, of his Divine providence, thinking it too much that one man should be so much overcharged with so many plagues and torments, did graciously provide, that Robert his brother, being both stronger of body, and also better furnished with helps of learning to answer the adversaries, (being a Master of Arts in Cambridge,) should sustain that conflict; and even so it came to pass, as ye shall hear. For as soon as the mayor of Coventry had received the bishop's letters for the apprehending of Master John Glover, he sent forthwith a privy watch-word to the said John, to convey away himself; who with his brother William was not so soon departed out of his house, but that yet, in the sight of the sheriff and others, the searchers came and rushed in to take him, according to the bishop's commandment.

But when the said John could in no place be found, one of the officers, going into an upper chamber, found there Robert, the other brother, lying on his bed, and sick of a long disease, who was by him incontinent brought before the sheriff; which sheriff notwithstanding, favouring Robert and his cause, would indeed fain have dismissed him, and wrought what means he could, saying that he was not the man for whom they were sent: yet, nevertheless, being feared with the stout words of the officer, contending with him to have him stayed till the bishop's coming, he was constrained to carry him away against his will, and so laid him fast

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while the bishop came. And thus much by the way of preamble, first, concerning the worthy remembrance of Master John Glover.

Now to enter the matter which principally we have in hand, (that is, to consider the story and martyrdom of Master Robert Glover,) forasmuch as the whole narration of the same by his own record and testimony in writing was sent unto his wife, concerning the manner of his ordering and handling, it shall therefore seem best, for the more credit of the matter, to exhibit the said his own letter, the words and contents whereof here ensue as followeth.

"To my entirely beloved wife, Mary Glover,
"The peace of conscience which passeth all understanding, the sweet consolation, comfort, strength, and boldness of the Holy Ghost, be continually increased in your heart, through a fervent, earnest, and stedfast faith in our most dear and only Saviour Jesus Christ, Amen.

"I thank you heartily, most loving wife, for your letters sent unto me in my imprisonment. I read them with tears more than once or twice, (with tears, I say,) for joy and gladness, that God had wrought in you so merciful a work; first, an unfeigned repentance; secondly, a humble and hearty reconciliation; thirdly, a willing submission and obedience to the will of God in all things; which when I read in your letters, and judged them to proceed from the bottom of your heart, I could not but be thankful to God, rejoicing with tears for you, and these his great mercies poured upon you.

"These your letters, and the bearing of your most godly proceedings and constant doings from time to time, much relieved and comforted me at all times, and shall be a goodly testimony with you at the great day, against many worldly and dainty dames, which set more by their own pleasure and pelf in this world, than by God's glory, little regarding (as it appeareth) the everlasting health of their own souls or others'. My prayer shall be, whilst I am in this world, that God, which of his great mercy hath begun his good work in you, will finish it to the glory of his name; and, by the mighty power and inspiration of his Holy Spirit, so strengthen, stablish, and confirm you in all his ways to the end, that we may together show forth his praises in the world to come, to our unspeakable consolation everlastingly. Amen.

"So long as God shall lend you continuance in this miserable world, above all things give yourself continually to prayer, lifting up, as St. Paul saith, clean or pure hands without anger, wrath, or doubting; forgiving (as he saith also) if you have any thing against any man, as Christ forgiveth us. And that we may be the better willing to forgive, it is good often to call to remembrance the multitude and greatness of our sins, which Christ daily and hourly pardoneth and forgiveth us; and then we shall, as St. Peter affirmeth, be ready to cover and hide the offences of our brethren, be they never so many. And because God's word teacheth us, not only the true manner of praying, but also what we ought to do or not to do in the whole discourse and practice of this life, what pleaseth or displeaseth God; and that, as Christ saith, The word of God that he hath spoken shall judge in the last day: let your prayer be to this end specially, that God of his great mercy would open and reveal more and more daily to your heart the true sense, knowledge, and understanding of his most holy word, and give you grace in your living, to express the fruits thereof.

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"And forasmuch as it is, as the Holy Ghost calleth it, the word of affliction, that is, it is seldom without hatred, persecution, peril, danger of loss of life and goods, and whatsoever seemeth pleasant in this world, as experience teacheth you in this time; call upon God continually for his assistance always, as Christ teacheth, casting your accounts what it is like to cost you; endeavouring yourself, through the help of the Holy Ghost, by continuance of prayer to lay your foundation so sure, that no storm or tempest shall be able to overthrow or cast it down; remembering always (as Christ saith) Lot's wife; that is, to beware of looking back to that thing that displeaseth God. And because nothing displeaseth God so much as idolatry, (that is, false worshipping of God, otherwise than his word commandeth,) look not back (I say) nor turn your face to their idolatrous and blasphemous massing, manifestly against the word, practice, and example of Christ; as it is most manifest to all that have any taste of the true understanding of God's word, that there remaineth nothing in the Church of England at this present, profitable or edifying to the church and congregation of the Lord, all things being done in an unknown tongue, contrary to the express commandment of the Holy Ghost.

"They object that they be the church, and therefore they must be believed. My answer was, the church of God knoweth and acknowledgeth no other head but Jesus Christ, the Son of God, whom ye have refused, and chosen the man of sin, the son of perdition, enemy to Christ, the devil's deputy and lieutenant, the pope.

"Christ's church heareth, teacheth, and is ruled by his word, as he saith, My sheep hear my voice. If you abide in me, and my word in you, you be my disciples. Their church repelleth God's word, and forceth all men to follow their traditions.

"Christ's church dare not add or diminish, alter or change, his blessed Testament; but they be not afraid to take away all that Christ instituted, and go a whoring (as the Scripture saith) with their own inventions, to glory and rejoice in the works of their own hands.

"The church of Christ is, hath been, and shall be in all ages, under the cross, persecuted, molested, and afflicted; the world ever hating them, because they be not of the world. But these persecute, murder, slay, and kill, such as profess the true doctrine of Christ, be they in learning, living, conversation, and other virtues never so excellent.

"Christ and his church reserved the trial of their doctrine to the word of God, and gave the people leave to judge thereof by the same word, Search the Scriptures. But this church taketh away the word from the people, and suffereth neither learned nor unlearned to examine or prove their doctrine by the word of God.

"The true church of God laboureth by all means to resist and withstand the lusts, desires, and motions of the world, the flesh, and the devil: these for the most part give themselves to all voluptuousness, and secretly commit such things, which (as St. Paul saith) it is shame to speak of.

"By these, and such-like manifest probations, they do declare themselves to be none of the church of Christ, but rather of the synagogue of Satan. It shall be good for you oftentimes to confer and compare their proceedings and doings with the practice of those whom the word of

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God doth teach to have been true members of the church of God, and it shall work in you both knowledge, erudition, and boldness, to withstand with suffering their doings. I likened them therefore to Nimrod, whom the Scripture calleth a mighty hunter, or a stout champion, telling them that that which they could not have by the word, they would have by the sword, and be the church, whether men will or no; and called them with good conscience, as Christ called their forefathers, the children of the devil; and as their father the devil is a liar and a murderer, so their kingdom and church (as they call it) standeth by lying and murdering.

"Have no fellowship with them therefore, my dear wife, nor with their doctrine and traditions, lest you be partaker of their sins, for whom is reserved a heavy damnation, without speedy repentance. Beware of such as shall advertise you something to bear with the world, as they do, for a season. There is no dallying with God's matters. It is a fearful thing, as St. Paul saith, to fall into the hands of God. Remember the prophet Elias, 'Why halt ye on both sides? Remember what Christ saith, He that putteth his hands to the plough, and looketh back, is not worthy of me. And seeing God hath hitherto allowed you as a good soldier in the foreward, play not the coward, neither draw back to the rearward. St. John numbereth among them that shall dwell in the fiery lake, such as be fearful in God's cause. Set before your eyes always the examples of such as have behaved themselves boldly in God's cause, as Stephen, Peter, Paul, Daniel, the three children, the widow's sons, and in your days, Anne Askew, Laurence Saunders, John Bradford, with many other faithful witnesses of Christ. Be afraid in nothing, saith St. Paul, of the adversaries of Christ's doctrine, the which is to them the sign of perdition, but to you of everlasting salvation. Christ commandeth the same, saying, Fear them not. Let us not follow the example of him which asked time first, to take leave of his friends. If we so do, we shall find few of them that will encourage us to go forward in our business, please it God never so much. We read not that James and John, Andrew and Simon, when they were called, put off the time till they had known their fathers' and friends' pleasure. But the Scripture saith, They forsook all, and by and by followed Christ. Christ likened the kingdom of God to a precious pearl, the which whosoever findeth, selleth all that he hath to buy it. Yea, whosoever hath but a little taste or glimmering how precious a treasure the kingdom of heaven is, will gladly forego both life and goods for the obtaining of it. But the most part nowadays be like to Æsop's cock, which when he had found a precious stone, wished rather to have found a barley-corn. So ignorant be they how precious a jewel the word of God is, that they choose rather the things of this world, which, being compared to it, be less in value than a barley-corn.

"If I would have given place to worldly reasons, these might have moved me: first, the foregoing of you and my children; the consideration of the state of my children, being yet tender of age, and young, apt and inclinable to virtue and learning, and so having the more need of my assistance, being not altogether destitute of gifts to help them withal; possessions above the common sort of men; because I was never called to be a preacher or minister; and (because of my sickness) fear of death in imprisonment, before I should come to my answer, and so my death to be unprofitable.

"But these and such-like, I thank my heavenly Father, (which of his infinite mercy inspired me with his Holy Ghost, for his Son's sake my only Saviour and Redeemer,) prevailed not in me: but when I had, by the wonderful permission of God, fallen into their hands, at the first sight of the sheriff, nature a little abashed; yet ere ever I came to the prison, by the working

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of God, and through his goodness, fear departed. I said to the sheriff at his coming unto me, 'What matter have you, Master Sheriff; to charge me withal?' He answered, 'You shall know when you come before the masters;' and so taking me with him, I looked to have been brought before the masters, and to have heard what they could have burdened me withal: but, contrary to my expectation, I was committed forthwith to the gaol, not being called to my answer, little justice being showed therein. But the less justice a man findeth at their bands, the more consolation in conscience shall he find from God; for whosoever is of the world, the world will love him.

"After I came into prison, and had reposed myself there awhile, I wept for joy and gladness my belly full, musing much of the great mercies of God, and (as it were) saying to myself after this sort: O Lord, who am I, on whom thou shouldest bestow this thy great mercy, to be numbered among the saints that suffer for thy gospel's sake?' And so, beholding and considering on the one side my imperfection, unableness, sinful misery, and unworthiness, and on the other side the greatness of God's mercy, to be called to so high promotion, I was, as it were, amazed and overcome for a while with joy and gladness, concluding thus with myself in my heart; O Lord, thou showest power in weakness, wisdom in foolishness, mercy in sinfulness; who shall let thee to choose where and whom thou wilt? As I have zealously loved the confession of thy word, so ever thought I myself to be most unworthy to be partaker of the affliction for the same.

"Not long after came unto me Master W. Brasbridge, Master C. Phineas, Master N. Hopkins, travailing with me to be dismissed upon bonds. To whom my answer was (to my remembrance) after this sort: 'Forasmuch as the masters have imprisoned me, having nothing to burden me withal, if I should enter into bonds, I should in so doing accuse myself; and seeing they have no matter to lay to my charge, they may as well let me pass without bonds, as with bonds.'

"Secondarily, if I shall enter bonds, covenant, and promise to appear, I shall do nothing but excuse, colour, and cloak their wickedness, and endanger myself nevertheless, being bound by my promise to appear. They alleged many worldly persuasions to me to avoid the present peril, and also how to avoid the forfeiture, if I brake promise: I said unto them, I had cast up my pennyworth by God's help. They undertook also to make the bond easy.

"And when they were somewhat importunate, I said to Master Hopkins, that liberty of conscience was a precious thing; and took as it were a pause, lifting up my heart to God earnestly for his aid and help, that I might do the thing that might please him. And so, when they had let their suit fall, my heart (methought) was wonderfully comforted. Master Dudley communed with me in like manner; whom I answered in effect as I did before.

"Afterward debating the matter with myself, these considerations came into my head; I have from time to time with good conscience (God I take to record) moved all such as I had conference withal to be no dalliers in God's matters, but to show themselves, after so great a light and knowledge, hearty, earnest, constant, and stable in so manifest a truth, and not to give place one jot contrary to the same. Now thought I, if I shall withdraw myself, and make any shifts to pull my own neck out of the collar, I shall give great offence to my weak brethren in Christ, and

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advantage to the enemies to slander God's word. It will be said, He hath been a great boldener of others to be earnest and fervent, to fear no worldly perils or dangers, but he himself will give no such example.

"Wherefore I thought it my bounden duty, both to God and man, being (as it were) by the great goodness of God marvellously called and appointed hereunto, to set aside all fear, perils, and dangers, all worldly respects and considerations, and like as I had heretofore, according to the measure of my small gift within the compass of my vocation and calling, from the bottom of my heart unfeignedly moved, exhorted, and persuaded all that professed God's word, manfully to persist in the defence of the same, not with sword and violence, but with suffering and loss of life, rather than to defile themselves again with the whorish abomination of the Romish antichrist; so, the hour being come, with my fact and example to ratify, confirm, and protest the same to the hearts of all true believers: and to this end, by the mighty assistance of God's Holy Spirit, I resolved myself, with much peace of conscience, willingly to sustain whatsoever the Romish antichrist should do against me, and the rather because I understood the bishop's coming to be at hand, and considered that poor men's consciences should be then sharply assaulted. So remained I prisoner in Coventry by the space of ten or eleven days, being never called to my answer of the masters, contrary to the laws of the realm, they having neither statute, law, proclamation, letter, warrant, nor commandment for my apprehension. They would have laid all the matter upon the sumner: who being examined, denied it before their faces, (as one of my friends told me,) saying, that he had no commandment concerning me, but for my elder brother. God lay not their extreme doings against me to their charge at the great day!"

But now, because mention hath been made of the elder brother, I thought good to speak something of him; as well for that the order of this tragedy so requireth, as because his virtues and qualities were such as I could in no ways commit them to silence. This man's name was John Glover, something elder than Robert; a gentleman born, and heir to his father; a man of fair lands, but not so abounding in worldly goods and possessions, as nourished with heavenly cogitations and virtuous doings; the which, many years, had professed and acknowledged the blissful and gracious knowledge of the gospel, showing no less by his life and example the same: much unlike our gospellers, nowadays, which suppose the profession of the gospel to consist in words. But this man used another kind of professing of it far different, converting all his care that he might appear a gospeller, as well within as without; not so much that he should so seem before men, as that he might first frame his life correspondent and worthy his profession before God. He saw and perceived, as indeed it was, the sum of Christianity not to consist in stout disputations, contentions, reasonings, loud clamours, strong definitions, and ambitious pertinacity of mind, but rather in ordering and subduing affections in the quiet and silent mind, in good conscience and devout prayer; and laboured ever to this end, not so much to brag and talk of the gospel, as to show the same by example of his life: and therefore he gave not daily diligence to the reading of the gospel only, to collect thereof, as many do, common-places, but as well to be instructed, thereby, with good mind and conscience. He was a great student of divinity; the occasion whereof was not the desire of novelties, arguing and talking, or that he might seem the more learned to others, but that he himself might be the better for it; and also not so much to be the more instructed to the conflicts of idle contention, as to be the readier and meeter for the kingdom of Christ. To be short, he read the gospel of Christ, not so much to collect thereof any common-places, as to gather necessary matter of edifying, whereof he daily

sucked those things which no less made for the confirmation of his faith and godly life, than for the knowledge of Christ and his salvation. And doubtless, by this his assiduous labour, he profited marvellously, as by the singular fruits and example of his life sufficiently is declared, whose mind was always upon our Saviour Jesus Christ, and his works; even so much, that he, contemning the world, and being all wholly possessed with the earnest zeal of godliness, was, in every place, as well abroad as at home, a lantern of godly living to all the rest; and also, being as one placed in heaven, and dead in this world, he both meditated and led a life altogether celestial; [it] being a world to see how that he abhorred the profane doings. No, nor yet his talk in any wise differed from his life, throwing out never any idle, vile, or vain language. The most part of his lands he distributed among his brethren, and committed the guide of the rest to his servants and officers, that the more quietly he might give himself to his godly study, as to a continual Sabbath rest.

And besides these his great number of virtues, he was well learned, although his brother Robert was better seen in the literature which doth polish and bring a man to eloquence. But in those things which appertained to heavenliness and good conscience, he was far more exercised: like disposition and mind were in both; having wit and memory most happily grafted in them. And as concerning good zeal and love towards religion, whereunto they seemed by nature indifferently to be born, they were so matched and so like one to another, that a man could not tell who excelled the other; unless because Robert, as he was the bigger of stature, so he was a more earnest and mightier champion against the adversaries of truth: but yet John less feared peril, although this Robert suffered as a martyr; and was as much desirous of martyrdom as he, and more so. And, verily I cannot tell whether, in the case of felicity, John gave place to his brother Robert or no, who also might be counted a martyr, yea, and chronicled for a double martyr; for the said Robert was quickly, and out of hand, despatched with the sharp and extreme torments of the fire. But this, the most blessed martyr of all, what more grievous passions, boiling heats of the fire of hell, so many years both in body and in soul he suffered and sustained, no tongue can express.

Being a young man I myself was once or twice with him; whom, as part by his talk I perceived, and part by mine own eyes saw, to be so worn and consumed by the space of five years, that almost any brooking of meat, quietness of sleep, pleasure of life, yea, and almost no kind of senses, was left in him. And, doubtless, I have greatly wondered at the marvellous works and operation of Christ showed upon him; who, unless he had relieved betimes his poor wretched sheep, so many times in distress, with continual consolation, it could not be possible that he should have sustained so intolerable pains and torments; and yet the occasion thereof was not of so great moment and weight.

But this we see commonly among holy and blessed men, that the more devout and godly they are, having the fear of God before their eyes, the more suspect and mistrust they have of themselves; whereby it cometh to pass, that often they are pinched and vexed with very small sins as most grievous, when that (contrary) you may see very many whom the greatest crimes of the world do not once move or trouble. The occasion of this was, that he, being first called by the light of the Holy Spirit to the knowledge of the gospel, and then falling thence, as we commonly see, to his former trade of life, began to mistrust himself, as one that rashly and suddenly had forsaken his vocation, and thereupon was in belief that he had sinned against the Holy Ghost.

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But, thanks be to Christ our Lord, his continual Keeper, who suffereth not any man to be tempted above his strength, but so tempereth and seasoneth the asperity of evils, that not only they do not injure them, but oftentimes fall out to a further commodity than is looked for; which thing did appear as much in this John, as ever did in any one, who albeit, as we have said, suffered so many years sharp temptations, yet more happy were they to him than tongue can tell, which heaped so many and great virtues in him, with reconciliation of his tranquillity, and so vanquished him from all worldly affections of the same; insomuch that nothing could be more blessed and pure than his life, nothing more quiet or more fervent to Christ and his ways. Nor truly was it any marvel if this his ardent and vehement zeal toward the gospel of Christ, in this turbulent time of persecution, (as indeed it did not,) either could, or did, lie hid in him.

What needeth many words? As soon as the bishop of Coventry heard the fame of this John so to be spread out of hand, he wrote to the mayor and officers to apprehend him as soon as might be: but it chanced otherwise by God's holy providence, who disposeth all things according to his secret pleasure, and contrary to the expectation of man. And although this John took it more inwardly than any tongue can express, when he, being ever desirous of death, saw, in his stead, his brother to be carried to his death, yet doubtless it was provided by the singular grace and just providence of God; for he, seeing his old and trusty servant so many years, with so extreme and many torments, broken and dried up, would in no wise heap so many sorrows upon one poor silly wretch, neither would commit him to the flames of fire, who had been scorched and so consumed with the sharp sorrows of his mind, and had sustained so many darts and conflicts of Satan so many years. God of his divine providence thought this too much, whose custom was never so to deal with his servants; and therefore he provided that Robert, either for his learning-sake or soundness of his strength, should stoutly suffer and sustain this conflict; and although there lacked no stomach in the other to suffer martyrdom, yet our Lord thought rather to use this man's stomach and knowledge in refuting the adversaries' arguments, and so to be more expedient to the cause of his salvation. But, howsoever the matter stood, Robert was taken in the stead of John, and that not without the singular will and love of God to either of them; for as soon as the mayor of Coventry had received the bishop's letters, he sent forthwith a private watchword to John, to convey away himself, who, with his brother William, was not so soon departed out of his house, but that yet, in spite of the sheriff and others, the searchers came and rushed in to take him, according to the bishop's commandment; who when he could in no place be found, one of the officers, going up into an upper chamber, found there Robert, the other brother, lying on his bed, and sick of a long disease, who was by him brought before the sheriff. And although the sheriff, favouring Robert and his cause, would fain have dismissed him, saying that "he was not the man for whom they were sent," yet was he feared with the stout words of the officer, contending with him about his staying till the bishop's coming, carried him away against his will, and laid him fast till the bishop came. And this so much concerning John: now will I return to Robert's letters, from whence I have made some digression.

Robert Glover's letter continued.

"The second day after the bishop's coming to Coventry, Master Warren came to the Guildhall, and willed the chief jailer to carry me to the bishop. I laid to Master Warren's charge the cruel seeking of my death; and when he would have excused himself, I told him he could not

wipe his hands so; he was as guilty of my blood before God, as though he had murdered me with his own hands.

"And so he parted from me, saying, I needed not to fear, if I would be of his belief. God open his eyes, if it be his will, and give him grace to believe this, which he and all of his inclination shall find (I fear) too true for their parts: that is, that all they which cruelly, maliciously, and spitefully persecute, molest, and afflict the members of Christ for their conscience' sake, and for the true testimony of Christ's word, and cause them most unjustly to be slain and murdered; without speedy repentance, shall dwell with the devil and his angels in the fierce lake everlastingly, where they shall wish and desire, cry and call, but in vain, (as their right companion Epulo did,) to be refreshed of them, whom in this world they contemned, despised, disdained, as slaves, misers, and wretches.

"When I came before the bishop in one Denton's house, he began with this protestation, that he was my bishop for lack of a better, and willed me to submit myself. I said to him, 'I am not come to accuse myself; what have you to lay to my charge?' He asked me whether I was learned? I answered, 'Smally learned.' Master Chancellor, standing by, said, I was a Master of Arts. Then my Lord laid to my charge my not coming to the church. Here I might have dallied with him, and put him to his proofs, forasmuch as I had not been for a long season in his diocese, neither were any of the citizens able to prove any such matter against me. Notwithstanding I answered him, through God's merciful help, that I neither had nor would come at their church as long as their mass was used there, to save (if I had them) five hundred lives. I willed him to show me one jot or tittle in the Scriptures for the proof and defence of the mass. He answered, he came to teach, and not to be taught. I was content (I told him) to learn of him, so far as he was able to teach me by the word of God."

Bishop.—"Who shall judge the word?"

Glover.—"Christ was content that the people should judge his doctrine by searching the Scriptures, and so was Paul: methinketh ye should claim no further privilege nor pre-eminence than they had."

Thus spake Robert Glover, offering him further, that he was content the primitive church, next to the apostles' time, should judge betwixt the bishop and him: but he refused also to be judged by that. Then he said, he was his bishop, and therefore he must believe him.

"If you say black is white, my Lord," quoth Glover, "must I also say as you say, and believe the same because you say it is so?" Master Chancellor here noted me to be arrogant, because I would not give place to my bishop.

Glover.—"If you will be believed because you be a bishop, why find you fault with the people that believed Master Latimer, Master Ridley, Master Hooper, and the residue of them that were bishops."

Bishop.—"Because they were heretics."

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"And may not you err," quoth I, "as well as they?" I looked for learning at my Lord's hand to persuade me, and he oppressed me only with his authority. He said, I dissented from the church, and asked me where my church was before King Edward's time?

"I desired him to show me where their church was in Elias's time, and what outward show it had in Christ's time."

Bishop.—"Elias's complaint was only of the ten tribes that fell from David's house, whom he called heretics."

Glover.—"You be not able to show any prophets that the other two tribes had at that same time." "My Lord making no answer to that, Master Rogers, one of the masters of the city, cometh in the mean season, taking upon him as though he would answer to the text. But my Lord forthwith commanded me to be committed to some tower, if they had any besides the common gaol, saying, he would at the end of his visitation of his diocese, weed out such wolves. Master Rogers willed him to content himself for that night, till they had taken further order for me. 'Even where it pleaseth you,' said I to my Lord, 'I am content;' and so I was returned at that time to the common gaol again, from whence I came.

"On the Friday morning, being the next day after, I had warning by one of the prisoners to prepare myself to ride with my fellow prisoners the same day to Lichfield, there to be bestowed at the bishop's pleasure; which tidings at the first something discouraged me, fearing lest I should, by the means of my great sickness, through extreme handling, (which I looked for,) have died in the prison before I should come to my answer. But I rebuked immediately with God's word this infidelity in myself, and by the same corrected mine own mistrust and fantasy after this manner: 'What make I of God? Is not his power as great in Lichfield as in Coventry? Doth not his promise extend as well to Lichfield as to Coventry? Was he not with Habakkuk, Daniel, Meshech, and Jeremy, in their most dangerous imprisonments? He knoweth what things we have need of. He hath numbered all the hairs of our head. The sparrow falleth not on the ground, without our heavenly Father's will; much more will he care for us if we be not faithless, whom he hath made worthy to be witnesses of his truth. So long as we put our trust in him, we shall never be destitute of his help, neither in prison, neither in sickness nor in health, neither in life nor in death; neither before kings, nor before bishops, nor the devil himself: much less one of his ministers shall be able to prevail against us.' With such-like meditations I waxed cheerful, of good consolation and comfort; so that, hearing one say that they could not provide horses enow for us, I said, 'Let them carry us in a dung-cart for lack of horses, if they list; I am well content, for my part.'

"Notwithstanding, at the request of my friends, I wrote to Master Mayor, and his brethren, briefly requiring them that I might make answer here to such things as should be laid to my charge: the contents of which letter were these.

"I beseech you to understand, that it is not unknown, as well to the keeper of the gaol, as to the inhabitants about me where I dwell, that I am a man subject to very great sickness, and have been by the space of seven years and more; so that it is not like that I shall be removed

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without peril and danger of my life. And because I was here committed to ward by your appointment, I would gladly here answer to such things as should be laid to my charge.

If I may obtain this of you, I have cause thankfully to acknowledge your indifferency; if otherwise, I pray God it be not laid to your charge at the great day, where every man shall have just judgment without respect of person.

"Your prisoner in the Lord.

always mindful of you in my poor prayer.

ROBERT GLOVER.'

"But I received no answers of my letters to nor fro. I conjectured that when the bishop and the chancellor had seen them, it moved them the rather to have me away, being more desirous (as I suppose) to have had me despatched privily in prison, than to come openly to my answer. The manner of entreating and using me at my first coming to prison, did partly declare the same.

"Certain sergeants and constables of Coventry, being appointed to have the conveying of us to Lichfield, to be delivered there to one Jephcot the chancellor's man, sent from Coventry with us for the same purpose, we were commanded to horseback about eleven or twelve of the clock on Friday, being market-day, that we might be the more gazed and wondered at: and to kindle the people's hearts more against us, they did proclaim a letter concerning a proclamation made for calling in, and disannulling of, all such books as truly expound and interpret the Scriptures. We came to Lichfield about four of the clock at night, and had leave to repose ourselves for our supper-time. We inned at the sign of the Swan, where we were entertained friendly and gently.

"After supper Jephcot repaired to us, whom we entreated that upon sureties we might rest ourselves that night, being unprovided of any thing to help ourselves withal in the prison at that present. He was content at the first, as he seemed; but afterwards, Whether it was by persuasion, or rather (as it seemed to me) he did but of policy put off the time till he had gathered a multitude to stare and wonder upon us, and also that we should provide nothing to ease ourselves withal, he revoked his promise; and so by consent we were had to the prison, the multitude wondering at us. I willed Jephcot before to execute his office with mercy, telling him that they should have judgment without mercy that showed no mercy. And this mercy I found at his hand:-

"He put me into a prison that same night, where I continued till I was condemned, in a place next to the dungeon, narrow of rooms, strong of building, and very cold, with small light; and there allowed he me a bundle of straw, instead of my bed, without chair, form, or any other thing else to ease myself withal. God of his mercy gave me great patience through prayer that night, so that, if it had been his pleasure, I could have been contented to have ended my life; but Jephcot, and one Persey the bishop's man, which afterwards was my continual keeper for the most part, came to me in the morning, to whom I said, 'This is a great extremity; God send us patience, and no more.'

"Then they were content that I should have a bed of mine own procurement. But I was allowed no help, neither night nor day, nor company of any man, notwithstanding my great

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sickness; nor yet paper, pen, nor ink, nor books, saving my New Testament in Latin, and a Prayer-book which I privily stole in.

"Within two days after, Master Chancellor, and one Temsey, a prebendary there, came to me into my prison. Master Chancellor exhorted me to conform myself to my Lord, and to the church. He wished to my soul no more hurt than to his own; belike because I had laid to his charge at Coventry the seeking of my blood unjustly and wrongfully.

"Now thus the second time I answered Master Chancellor to his exhortation, that I refused not to be ruled by that church that was content to be ordered and governed by the word of God.

"He asked me how I knew the word of God, but by the church."

Glover.—"The church showeth which is the word of God, therefore the church is above the word of God. This is no good reason in learning," said I to Master Chancellor, "for it is like unto this: John showed the people who was Christ; ergo, John was above Christ. Or else, I have a man that knoweth not the king, and I tell him who was the king: Am I therefore above the king?"

"Master Chancellor said, he came not to reason with me, and so departed. So remained I without any further conference of any man by the space of eight days, and till the bishop's coming: in the which time I gave myself continually to prayer, and meditation of the merciful promises of God, made unto all, without exception of person, that call upon the name of his dear Son Jesus Christ. I found in myself daily amendment of health of body, increase of peace in conscience, and many consolations from God, by the help of his Holy Spirit, and sometimes as it were a taste and glimmering of the life to come; all for his only Son Jesus Christ's sake: to him be all praise for ever and ever. Amen.

"The enemy ceased not many times sundry ways to assault me, often objecting to my conscience mine own unworthiness, through the greatness of the benefit to be counted among the number of them that should suffer for Christ, or his gospel's sake. Against him I replied with the word of God on this sort, What were all those whom God had chosen from the beginning, to be his witnesses, and to carry his name before the world? Were they not men, as Paul and Barnabas said, *similiter obnoxii peccato*, as well subject to wickedness, sin, and imperfections, as other men be? Even such were Noah, Abraham, David, and all the rest; as Paul saith, Who gave first unto him? And also speaking to every man, What hast thou, that thou receivedst not? Likewise John, All have received of his fulness; they were no bringers of any goodness to God, but altogether receivers. They chose not God first, but he chose them. They loved not God first, but he loved them first. Yea, he both loved and chose them when they were his enemies, full of sin and corruption, and void of all goodness. *Est Dominus omnium, dives in omnes et super omnes invocantes eum*. He is and will be still the same God, as rich in mercy, as mighty, as able, as ready, as willing to forgive sins without respect of person, to the world's end, of all them that call upon him. *Prope est Dominus omnibus invocantibus eum*: God is near, he is at hand, he is with all; with all, (I say,) and refuseth none, excepteth none that faithfully, in true repentance, call upon him; in what hour, what place, or what time soever it be. It is no arrogancy nor presumption in any man, to burden God (as it were) with his promise, and of duty to claim and challenge his

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aid, help, and assistance in all our perils, dangers, and distress, calling upon him, not in the confidence of our own godliness, but in the trust of his promises made in Christ, in whom, and by whom, and for whose sake, whosoever boldly approacheth to the mercy-seat of the Father, is sure to receive whatsoever is expedient or necessary, either for body or soul, in more ample wise and large manner, than he can well wish or dare desire. His word cannot lie: Call upon me in the day of trouble, and I will hear thee; and thou shalt praise me.

"I answered the enemy also on this manner: I am a sinner, and therefore unworthy to be a witness of his truth. What then? Must I deny his word, because I am not worthy to profess it? What bring I to pass in so doing, but add sin to sin? What is greater sin than to deny the truth of Christ's gospel? as Christ himself beareth witness, He that is ashamed of me or of my words, of him I also will be ashamed before my Father and all his angels. I might also, by like reason, forbear to do any of God's commandments.

"When I am provoked to pray, the enemy may say to me, I am not worthy to pray, therefore I shall not pray: and so in like manner of all the commandments, I shall not forbear swearing, stealing, murdering, because I am not worthy to do any commandment of God. These be the delusions of the devil, and Satan's suggestions, which must be overcome by continuance of prayer, and with the word of God applied, according to the measure of every man's gift, against all assaults of the devil.

"At the bishop's first coming to Lichfield, after mine imprisonment, I was called into a by-chamber next to my prison, to my Lord. Before whom when I came, and saw none but his officers, chaplains, and servants, except it were an old priest, I was partly amazed, and lifted up my heart to God for his merciful help and assistance.

"My Lord asked me how I liked my imprisonment: I gave him no answer touching that question. He proceeded to persuade me to be a member of his church, which had continued so many years. As for our church, (as he called it,) it was not known, he said, but lately in King Edward's time.

"I profess myself to be a member of that church (said I) that is builded upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ being the head corner-stone; and so alleged the place of St. Paul to the Ephesians. And this church hath been from the beginning, (said I,) though it bear no glorious show before the world, being ever, for the most part, under the cross and affliction, contemned, despised, and persecuted. My Lord, on the other side, contended that they were the church."

Glover.—"So cried all the clergy against the prophets at Jerusalem, saying, 'The church, the church.'"

"And always when I was about to speak any thing, my Lord cried, 'Hold thy peace; I command thee by the virtue of obedience to hold thy peace:' calling me a proud, arrogant heretic.

"I willed my Lord to burden me with some specialties, and then to convince me with some Scriptures and good learning.

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"Then my Lord began to move certain questions. I refused to answer him in corners, requiring that I might make my answer openly. He said I should answer him there. I stood with him upon that point until he said, I should to prison again, and there have neither meat nor drink till I had answered him.

"Then I lifted up my heart to God, that I might stand and agree with the doctrine of his most holy word.

"The first question was this, How many sacraments Christ instituted to be used in the church? "The sacrament of baptism," said I, "and the sacrament that he instituted at his last supper."

"No more?" said he.

Glover.—"To all those that declare a true and unfeigned repentance, a sure hope, trust, and confidence in the death of Christ—to such, ministers (I grant) have authority to pronounce, by the power of God's word, the remission of sins."

"Here, interrupting me, he would needs bear me in hand that I called this a sacrament. I would not greatly contend with him in that point, because that matter was of no great weight or importance; although he in so doing did me wrong, for I called it not a sacrament.

"He asked me further, Whether I allowed their confession? I answered, No.

"Then he would know my mind what I thought of the presence of Christ's body in the sacrament. "I answered, that their mass was neither sacrifice nor sacrament, 'because,' said I, 'you have taken away the true institution, which when you restore again, I will tell you my judgment concerning Christ's body in the sacrament.'"

And thus much did this worthy martyr of God leave behind him by his own hand in writing concerning the manner of his using and entreating in prison, and also of his conflicts had with the bishop and his chancellor. More examinations he had, no doubt, with the bishop in the public consistory, when he was brought forth to be condemned, which also he would have left unto us, if either length of life, or leisure of time, or haste of execution, had permitted him to finish that he intended; but by reason of the writ of his burning being come down from London, lack of time neither did serve him so to do, neither yet could I get the records of his last examinations, wheresoever they are become.

Only this, which I could learn by relation of one Austen Bernher, a minister, and a familiar friend of his, concerning the going to his death, I can report, that the said blessed servant of the Lord, Master Robert Glover, after he was condemned by the bishop, and was now at a point to be delivered out of this world, it so happened, that two or three days before, his heart being lumpish, and desolate of all spiritual consolation, felt in himself no aptness nor willingness, but rather a heaviness and dulness of spirit, full of much discomfort to bear the bitter cross of martyrdom ready to be laid upon him.

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Whereupon, fearing in himself lest the Lord had utterly withdrawn his wonted favour from him, he made his moan to this Austen, his friend above remembered, signifying unto him how earnestly he had prayed day and night unto the Lord, and yet could receive no motion nor sense of any comfort from him. Unto whom the said Austen, answering again, willed and desired him patiently to wait the Lord's pleasure, and howsoever his present feeling was, yet, seeing his cause was just and true, he exhorted him constantly to stick to the same, and to play the man, nothing misdoubting but the Lord in his good time would visit him, and satisfy his desire with plenty of consolation, whereof (he said) he was right certain and sure; and therefore desired him, whensoever any such feeling of God's heavenly mercies should begin to touch his heart, that then he should show some signification thereof, whereby he might witness with him the same; and so departed from him.

The next day, when the time came of his martyrdom, as he was going to the place, and was now come to the sight of the stake, although all the night before praying for strength and courage he could feel none, suddenly he was so mightily replenished with God's holy comfort and heavenly joys, that he cried out, clapping his hands to Austen, and saying in these words, "Austen, he is come, he is come," &c., and that with such joy and alacrity, as one seeming rather to be risen from some deadly danger to liberty of life, than as one passing out of the world by any pains of death. Such was the change of the marvellous working of the Lord's hand upon that good man.

Here followeth the story how John Glover and William Glover were excommunicate and cast out after their death, and buried in the fields.

Now that we have discoursed the story of Master Robert Glover, something also would be touched of his other two brethren, John and William Glover; who, albeit they were not called to finish their course by like kind of martyrdom in the fire, as the others did, yet, because for their constant profession of God's gospel unto the latter end, they were exempted after their death, and cast out of the same church, as the other was, I thought them not unworthy therefore in the story to be joined together, who, in one cause and the same profession, were not sundered one from the other.

And first concerning Master John Glover, the eldest brother, what inward storms and agonies he sustained by the ghostly enemy, partly ye heard before described: now what his bodily enemies wrought against him, remaineth to be declared; whose rage and malice, although God so restrained that they could little prevail against him so long as his life endured, yet, after his decease, having power upon him, what they did ye shall now understand. After the martyrdom of Master Robert Glover, although John Glover, seeing his brother to be apprehended for him, had small joy of his life for the great sorrow of his heart wherewith he was sore oppressed, and would gladly have put himself in his brother's stead, if friends had not otherwise persuaded him, showing that in so doing he might entangle himself, but should do his brother no good: he thus in great care and vexation endured, yet, notwithstanding, rubbing out as well as he could, till at length, about the latter end of Queen Mary, there was a new search made for the said John Glover.

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Whereupon the sheriffs, with their under-officers and servants, being sent to seek him, came into his house where he and his wife were. It chanced as he was in his chamber by himself, the officers, bursting into the house and searching other rooms, came to the chamber-door where this John Glover was, who, being within, and holding the latch softly with his hand, perceived and heard the officers bustling about the door, amongst whom one of the said officers having the string in his hand, was ready to draw and pluck at the same.

In the mean time another coming by, (whose voice he heard and knew,) bade them come away, saying they had been there before. Whereupon they, departing thence, went to search other corners of the house, where they found Agnes Glover his wife, who being had to Lichfield, and there examined before the bishop, at length, after much ado, was constrained to give place to their tyranny. John Glover, in the mean time, partly for care of his wife, partly through cold taken in the woods where he did lie, took an ague, whereupon, not long after, he left his life, which the cruel papists so long had sought for. Thus, by the mighty protection of the Almighty Lord, how John Glover was delivered and defended from the hands of the persecuting enemies during all the time of his life, ye have heard. Now what befell after his death, both to him and William his brother, it is not unworthy to be remembered; who, after that he was dead and buried in the churchyard without priest or clerk, Dr. Dracot, then chancellor, six weeks after, sent for the parson of the town, and demanded how it chanced that he was there buried. The parson answered that he was then sick, and knew not of it. Then the chancellor commanded the parson to go home, and to cause the body of the said John Glover to be taken up, and to be cast over the wall into the highway: the parson again answered that he had been six weeks in the earth, and so smelled, that none was able to abide the savour of him. "Well," quoth Dr. Dracot, "then take this bill, and pronounce him in the pulpit a damned soul, and a twelvemonth after take up his bones, (for then the flesh will be consumed,) and cast them over the wall, that carts and horses may tread upon them; and then will I come and hallow again that place in the churchyard where he was buried." This was recorded by the parson of the town, who told the same to Hugh Burrows, dwelling at Findern in Derbyshire, and to Mr. Robert Glover's wife, by whose credible information we received the same.

Not much unlike usage was practised also by these catholic children of the mother church, upon the body of William, the third brother; whom after it had pleased Almighty God about the same season to call out of this vale of misery, the good disposed people of the town of Wem, in Shropshire, where he died, brought the body unto the parish church, intending there to have it buried. But one Bernard, being then curate of the said church, (and yet is, as I hear say, to this day,) to stop the burial thereof, rode to the bishop, named Radulph Banes, to certify him of the matter, and to have his advice therein. In the mean time the body lying there a whole day, in the night time one Richard Morice, a tailor, would have interred him. But then came John Thorlyne, of Wem, with others more, and would not suffer the body to be buried; expressing to us the contrary example of good Tobit, for as he was religious in burying the dead, so this man putteth religion in not burying the dead: so that after he had lain there two days and one night, cometh the foresaid Bernard the curate with the bishop's letter, the contents of which letter, being copied out word for word, here follow.

"Understanding that one Glover, a heretic, is dead in the parish of Wem, which Glover hath for all the time of my being in this country been known for a rebel against our holy faith and

religion, a contemner of the holy sacraments and ceremonies used in the holy church, and hath separated himself from the holy communion of all good Christian men, and never required to be reconciled to our mother holy church, nor in his last days did call for his ghostly father, but died without all rites belonging to a Christian man; I thought it good not only to command the curate of Wem, that he should not be buried in Christian man's burial, but also will and command all the parish of Wem, that no man procure, help, nor speak, to have him buried in holy ground: but I do charge and command the churchwardens of Wem, in special, and all the parish of the same, that they assist the said curate in defending, and letting, and procuring, that he be not buried either in the church, or within the wainables of the churchyard: and likewise I charge those that brought the body to the place, to carry it away again, and that at their charge, as they will answer at their peril.

"At Eccleshall, this 6th of September, anno 1558.

"By your ordinary.

RADULPH, Coventry and Lichfield."



William Glover's Body Dragged by Horses

By the virtue of this foresaid letter, so it fell out, that they which brought the corpse thither, were fain at their own charges to carry it back again. But for so much as the body was corrupted, and smelt so strongly that scarcely any man might come near it, they were forced to draw it with horses into a broom-field, and there was he buried.

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The witnesses of the godly end of the said William Glover, dying in the true faith and confession of Christ, were Master Nowell, dean of Lichfield, George Wilestone and his wife, Thomas Constantine, Roger Wydhouse, John Prynne, George Torpelley, &c.

The like example of charitable affection in these catholic churchmen, is also to be seen and noted in the burying of one Master Edward Burton, esq., who in the same diocese of Chester, departing out of this world the very day before Queen Elizabeth was crowned, required of his friends, as they would answer for it, that his body should be buried in his parish church, (which was St. Chad's in Shrewsbury,) so that no mass-monger should be present thereat; which thing being declared to the curate of that parish, named Sir John Marshall, and the body being withal brought to the burial, upon the same day when the queen was crowned, the curate, being therewith offended, said plainly, that he should not be buried in the church there. Whereunto one of his friends, named George Torpelley, answering again, said, that God would judge him in the last day, &c. Then the priest "Judge God," saith he, "or devil; the body shall not come there." And so they buried him in his own garden, where he is no doubt as near the kingdom of heaven, as if he had been buried in the midst of the church.

Note 1: The following interesting extracts are from the preface to a Narrative of Glover, Mrs. Lewes, and Augustine Bernher, by the able vicar of Mancetter, the Rev. B. Richings.

"It appears that the manor-house, with a considerable estate, was purchased by Mr. John Glover, and was the property and residence of the Glovers, from about the year 1550 to 1677. The house, though somewhat modernized, is the same building which stood in the reign of Edward the Sixth. It is constructed of a frame-work of wood, which has not undergone the slightest alteration. If the plaster were removed, its massive timber would now be seen, and would exhibit the simple architecture of the times in which it was built. The interior, also, it may be observed, has not been so much altered as might be supposed, considering the lapse of time. The old oak staircase, so often trod by the Glovers, and down the very steps of which Robert Glover descended, for the last time, in the custody of the officers, still remains; and, most happily for the lovers of antiquity, it has escaped the painter's brush. Not so, unfortunately, the oak pannels with which the passages and the rooms were wainscotted, or those massy carved beams, which bisect each other, and attract the eye of every stranger.

"On removing to Mancetter, Mr. John Glover left a relative of his, in Baxterley Hall, which he had built, and which afterwards, for a century at least, was also a residence of the Glovers, who possessed large estates in that parish and neighbourhood. The names of "Hugo," who died in "1615," and "Hugo Glover, gentleman," who died in "1648," are recorded in Baxterley church; and from the same name, which may be seen on the tower of that church, with a shield, from which time has effaced the arms, we may conclude it to have been rebuilt by that family.

"Our martyr, Robert Glover, married a niece of Bishop Latimer, and had three sons and one daughter at the time of his apprehension. His eldest son, named Hugh, inherited the Mancetter property, as heir-at-law to his uncle, John Glover, who died at Mancetter, 1558.

"In the reign of Edward the Sixth, Baxterley Hall was built by Mr. John Glover, who, from the arms and badges carved upon the timber, was at that time a retainer to Lord Ferrers. He formerly held some official situation in Merevale Abbey [Founded by Robert, earl of Ferrers, A. D. 1148.]; to which house that famous assertor of the protestant religion, Bishop Latimer, resorted. As the journeys of this venerable old man were generally performed on foot, with few attendants, and in a plain dress—his New Testament fastened to his girdle, and his uncased spectacles suspended by a string of leather from his

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neck—we may imagine we see him entering the Abbey, ready prepared to open his Testament; that, from that sacred source, holding forth the word of life, he might make known that Saviour whose all-sufficiency was denied, and whose glory was obscured, by the idolatrous worship, the pagan ceremonies, and the antichristian tenets of popery. Bishop Latimer has been styled 'the apostle of England;' and his spiritual instructions so grounded Robert Glover in the truth of the gospel, that, rather than be moved away from it, he chose to lay down his life, and to suffer all the troubles and pains of a cruel martyrdom.

"It may be inferred, that not Robert only, but his brothers John and William also, were instructed by Bishop Latimer; and if but few sons could point to such a spiritual father, few fathers could boast of three such sons in the faith, or of three brothers more closely allied to each other, in their stedfast profession of the gospel.

"Robert Glover was burnt at Coventry on the fourteenth of September, 1555; and the venerable Bishop Latimer, in the eighty-fifth year of his age, at Oxford, [with Ridley, bishop of London] on the sixteenth of October following; so that they nearly finished their course together; being called to endure the same sufferings, and to receive the same reward—ven 'a crown of glory which fadeth not away.'

"But how soon are they forgotten on earth, whose 'names are written in heaven!' Though this pious family of the Glovers endured so much persecution for their profession of the gospel, yet in the History of Mancetter no mention is made of them, in their distinguishing character, as suffering Protestants during the cruel and calamitous reign of Queen Mary. The martyrdom of Robert Glover is not recorded in that work;—an omission only to be accounted for on the supposition that the author did not know that such an event had ever occurred. Whilst we bestow the grateful suffrage of our praise and admiration on those who have signalized themselves by their courage in the field, or by their mental superiority in the cabinet; whilst the cherished names of our senators and patriots are held in perpetual veneration, and pointed out as the proudest ornaments of our national monuments; the martyrs of our religion are too frequently consigned to forgetfulness and neglect. Their names are excluded from the circles of modern taste; or, if breathed in 'ears polite,' they are pronounced with distrust, or heard with fashionable indifference. Nevertheless, they were men who stood surety for our faith in the day of her battles; and in that cause, which they advocated and adorned, have transmitted to us a glowing record of their Christian fervour and heroic fortitude.—Whilst the prowess of the warrior has wrested the spear from political tyranny, the firmness of the Christian martyr has freed us from the still more oppressive grasp of spiritual despotism. It was his moral courage that first struck off the fetters of that blind superstition, which had so long shackled the minds and degraded the altars of our country; and it was his sufferings and death which paved the way for that blessed period from which we date the triumph of national freedom, and the ascendancy of the protestant faith."

Note 2: In Seeley's most valuable reprint, Manchester is made to have the credit of giving birth to Glover, but the Rev. J. Richings, the vicar of Mancetter, has satisfactorily proved that the scene of his own pastoral labours is the birth- place of the martyr.

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Note 3: The following is a copy of each of the monuments erected recently in Mancetter church, to the memory of Glover, and of Mrs. Lewes.

TO THE SACRED MEMORY
OF
ROBERT GLOVER.
Martyr:

A Gentleman whose Family, for more than a CENTURY, resided in the manor-house of MANCETTER, and possessed extensive property in this Parish. But, above all, this pious Family were rich in Grace, and in the Knowledge and Love of CHRIST; and were well known for their devotedness to the PROTESTANT FAITH, when nothing awaited the profession of it but bonds, imprisonment, and death. What Persecutions befell his Brothers John and William, cannot be here recorded, ROBERT alone was called to endure the Sufferings and to receive the Crown of MARTYRDOM; and was burnt at COVENTRY A. D. 1555. For some days before his execution, this faithful witness for CHRIST was in great heaviness, fearing that the LORD had forsaken him; but the Promise, "I will never leave thee nor forsake thee," was so fulfilled to him, that, as he drew near to the stake, he was on a sudden so mightily replenished with holy comfort and heavenly joy, that, clapping his hands, he exclaimed to a Christian Friend, "HE IS COME—HE IS COME," whose coming gave him "the oil of joy for mourning, and the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness."

"THE NOBLE ARMY OF MARTYRS PRAISE THEE.
THOU ART THE KING OF GLORY, O CHRIST."

TO THE SACRED MEMORY
OF
MRS. LEWES.
Martyr:

A Lady who, having witnessed in the presence of her Persecutors a GOOD CONFESSION, sealed the truth with her Blood, and was burnt at LICHFIELD A. D. 1557. First led by the cruel Persecutions of the CHURCH OF ROME, to doubt whether it could be the CHURCH OF CHRIST, she was afterwards indebted to the pious Family of the Glovers for that more perfect knowledge of the Truth, which became dearer unto her than LIFE itself. Her love to CHRIST enabled her to bear with patience a very long and severe imprisonment; yea, she was not only willing to be bound, but also to die for the NAME of the LORD JESUS; meekly desiring that all the circumstances of her death might be so ordered, that her Friends might be comforted, her SAVIOUR glorified, and HIS enemies confounded. When chained to the stake, she manifested a cheerful serenity, and a countenance so unchanged as to astonish all who beheld her; and when the flames burst around her, standing unmoved, she only lifted up her hands towards Heaven, whither her triumphant spirit speedily ascended, entering into the presence and joy of her LORD.

"BE THOU FAITHFUL UNTO DEATH, AND I WILL
GIVE THEE A CROWN OF LIFE."

313. Cornelius Bungey

Fellow martyr with Master Robert Glover.

In the same fire with him was burned also Cornelius Bungey, a capper of Coventry, and condemned by the said Radulph, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield. As concerning the articles which were to him objected, the effect thereof was this.

Articles objected to Cornelius Bungey.

"First, It was articulate against him, that these three years last, in the city of Coventry and Lichfield, and other places about, he did hold, maintain, argue, and teach, that the priest hath no power here to absolve any sinner from his sins.

"Secondly, That by baptism sins be not washed away; because. he said, that the washing of the flesh purgeth the flesh outwardly, and not the soul.

"Thirdly, That there be in the church only two sacraments, that is, baptism and the Lord's supper.

"Fourthly, That in the sacrament of the popish altar, was not the real body and blood of Christ, but the substance of bread and wine there remaining still, because St. Paul calleth it bread and wine, &c.

"Fifthly, That he, within the compass of the said years and time, did hold, maintain, and defend, that the pope is not the head of the visible church here on earth, &c.

"Sixthly, That he was of the diocese and jurisdiction of the bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, &c.

"Seventhly, That the premises are true, manifest, and notorious, and that upon the same there hath been and is a public voice and fame, as well in the places above rehearsed, as in other quarters also about," &c.

His answers to the articles.

"Unto the which articles he answered again: to the first he granted, and to every part thereof; meaning after the popish manner of absolution.

"To the second he granted first, and afterwards revoked the same.

"To the third also he granted, adding withal that in Scripture there be no more contained.

"To the fourth, touching the sacrament, he granted, and to every part thereof.

"To the fifth, concerning the pope, likewise.

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"Also to the sixth he granted, and likewise to the seventh."

Upon these articles and his answers to the same, the said Radulph the bishop read the sentence, and so committed him also, after condemnation of Master Robert Glover, to the secular power.

Thus this foresaid Cornelius, falsely condemned by the bishop before mentioned, suffered at the same stake with the Christian martyr Master Robert Glover at Coventry, about the twentieth day of September.

Moreover, in the said county of Salop, I find that one Oliver Richardine of the parish of Whitchurch, was burned in Haverfordwest, Sir John Ygone being sheriff the same time, which seemeth to be about the latter year of King Henry the Eighth: whose name, because it was not mentioned before, I thought here to give some little touch of him, having now in hand to speak of the persecution within the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield.

314. William Wolsey and Robert Pygot.

After the suffering, of Master Robert Glover and Cornelius Bungey, at Coventry, followeth next the condemnation of other two blessed martyrs, which were judged and condemned at Ely, by John Fuller, the bishop's chancellor of Ely, Dr. Shaxton, his suffragan, Robert Steward, dean of Ely, John Christopherson, dean of Norwich, October the ninth, A. D. 1555; the names of which martyrs were William Wolsey and Robert Pygot, dwelling both in the town of Wisbeach, which William Wolsey being a constable, dwelling and inhabiting in the town of Wells, was there brought to death by the means and procurement of one Richard Everard, gentleman, a justice appointed for those days, who extremely handled the same William Wolsey, and bound him to the good abearing, causing him to put in sureties upon his good behaviour, until the next general sessions holden within the isle of Ely: and so the said Wolsey, being despatched of his office, and brought in trouble, removed his house and dwelling-place, coming to dwell in the town of Wisbeach. Then being called again at the next sessions, he was still constrained to put in new sureties, which at the length he refused to do, and so was commanded to the jail at the assizes holden at Ely in Lent.

In the Easter week following, there repaired to confer with him, Dr. Fuller the chancellor, with Christopherson, and one Dr. Young, who laid earnestly to his charge that he was out of the catholic faith, willing him to meddle no further with the Scriptures, than it did become such a layman as he was to do. The said William Wolsey standing still a great while, suffering them to say their pleasures, at the last answered in this wise "Good Master Doctor, what did our Saviour Christ mean, when he spake these words, written in the twenty-third chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, Woe be unto you, scribes and Pharisees, ye hypocrites, for ye shut up the kingdom of heaven before men: ye yourselves go not in, neither suffer ye them that come to enter in."

"Yea," saith Dr. Fuller, "you must understand, that Christ spake to the scribes and Pharisees."

"Nay, Master Doctor," saith Wolsey, "Christ spake even to you, and your fellows here present, and to all other such like as you be."

"Away, Master Doctor," said Christopherson, "for you can do no good with this man." "Yet," saith Dr. Fuller, "I will leave thee a book to read, I promise thee, of a learned man's doing;" that is to say, of Dr. Watson's doing, who was then bishop of Lincoln.

Wolsey, receiving the same book, did diligently read it over, which in many places did manifestly appear contrary to the known truth of God's word. At the length, a fortnight or three weeks following, the said Dr. Fuller, resorting again to the prison-house to confer with the said Wolsey, did ask him how he did like the said book (thinking that he had won him by the reading of the same): who answered him and said, "Sir, I like the book no otherwise than I thought before I should find it." Whereupon the chancellor taking his book, departed home.

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At night, when Dr. Fuller came to his chamber to look on it, he did find in many places, contrary to his mind, the book rased with a pen by the said Wolsey. The which he seeing, and being vexed therewith, said, "Oh! this is an obstinate heretic, and hath quite marred my book."

Then the assizes holden at Wisbeach drawing nigh, Dr. Fuller cometh again to the said Wolsey, and speaketh unto him on this manner "Thou dost much trouble my conscience; wherefore I pray thee depart, and rule thy tongue, so that I hear no more complaint of thee; and come to the church when thou wilt, and if thou be complained upon, so far as I may, I promise thee I will not hear of it."

"Master Doctor," quoth Wolsey, "I was brought hither by a law; and by a law I will be delivered."

Then, being brought to the sessions before named, Wolsey was laid in the castle at Wisbeach, thinking to him and all his friends, that he should have suffered there at that present time; but it proved nothing so.

Then Robert Pygot the painter, being at liberty, was there presented by some evil-disposed persons (sworn men, as they called them) for not coming to the church.

The said Pygot being called in the sessions, would not absent himself, but there did plainly appear before Sir Clement Higham, being judge, who said unto him; "Ah! are you the holy father the painter? How chance ye came not to the church?" "Sir," quoth the painter, "I am not out of the church, I trust in God."

"No, sir," said the judge "this is no church; this is a hall." "Yea, sir," said Pygot, "I know very well it is a hall: but he that is in the true faith of Jesus Christ, is never absent, but present in the church of God."

"Ah, sirrah!" said the judge, "you are too high learned for me to talk withal; wherefore I will send you to them that be better learned than I;" straightways commanding him to the jail where Wolsey lay. So the sessions being broken up and ended, the said Wolsey and Pygot were carried again to Ely into prison, where they both did remain till the day of their death.

In the mean time certain of their neighbours of Wisbeach aforesaid, being at Ely, came to see how they did. There came thither also a chaplain of Bishop Goodrike's, a Frenchman born, one Peter Valentius, who said unto the said Wolsey and Pygot, "My brethren, according to mine office, I am come to talk with you, for I have been almoner here these twenty years and above. Wherefore I must desire you, my brethren, to take it in good part that I am come to talk with you. I promise you, not to pull you from your faith; but I both require and desire in the name of Jesus Christ, that you stand to the truth of the gospel and word; and I beseech the Almighty God, for his Son Jesus Christ's sake, to preserve both you and me in the same unto the end. For I know not myself, my brethren, how soon I shall be at the same point that you now are." Thus, with many other like words, he made an end, causing all that were there present to water their cheeks, contrary to the hope they all had in him; God be praised therefore.

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Then within short time after, Pygot and Wolsey were called to judgment about the ninth day of October, before Dr. Fuller, then chancellor, with old Dr. Shaxton, Christopherson, and others in commission, who laid earnestly to their charge for their belief in divers articles, but especially of the sacrament of the altar. Whereunto their answer was, that the sacrament of the altar was an idol, and that the natural body and blood of Christ were not present really in the said sacrament; and to this opinion they said they would stick, believing perfectly the same to be no heresy that they had affirmed, but the very truth, whereupon they would stand. Then said the doctors, that they were out of the catholic faith.

Then Dr. Shaxton said unto them, "Good brethren, remember yourselves, and become new men, for I myself was in this fond opinion that you are now in, but I am now become a new man."

"Ah," said Wolsey, "are you become a new man? Woe be to thee, thou wicked new man, for God shall justly judge thee."

Dr. Fuller then spake, saying, "This Wolsey is an obstinate fellow, and one that I could never do good upon. But as for the painter, he is a man quiet and indifferent, (as far as I perceive,) and is soon reformed, and may very well be delivered for any evil opinion I find in him."

Then Christopherson called for pen and ink, and wrote these words following "I, Robert Pygot, do believe, that after the words of consecration spoken by the priest, there remaineth no more bread and wine, but the very body and blood of Christ really and substantially, the self-same that was born of the Virgin Mary;" and reading it to the painter he said thus, "Dost thou believe all this according as it is written?"

"No, sir," said the painter, "that is your faith, and not mine."

Christopherson.—"Lo, Master Dr. Fuller, you would have let this fellow go; he is as much a heretic as the other." And so immediately judgment was given upon them to die: which done, after the sentence read, they were sent again to the prison, where they did lie till the day of their death. At which day, one Peacock, bachelor of divinity, being appointed to preach, took his text out of the First Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, chapter v., of one that had lived inordinately, by abusing his father's wife; likening the said Pygot and Wolsey to the same man, oftentimes saying, that such members must be cut off from the congregation; most maliciously reporting the said Wolsey to be clean out of the faith, and in many places quite denying the Scripture.

So, his sermon being ended, the forenamed Pygot and Wolsey being brought to the place of execution, and so bound to the stake with a chain, thither cometh one Sir Richard Collinson, a priest, at that time destitute of any bidding-place or stay of benefice, who said unto Wolsey, "Brother Wolsey, the preacher hath openly reported in his sermon this day, that you are quite out of the catholic faith, and deny baptism, and that you do err in the Holy Scripture: wherefore I beseech you, for the certifying of my conscience, with others here present, that you declare in what place of the Scripture you do err or find fault."

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Wolsey.—"I take the eternal and everlasting God to witness that I do err in no part or point of God's book, the Holy Bible, but hold and believe in the same to be most firm and sound doctrine in all points most worthy for my salvation, and for all other Christians, to the end of the world. Whatsoever mine adversaries report by me, God forgive them there-for." With that cometh one to the fire with a great sheet knit full of books to burn, like as they had been New Testaments. "Oh," said Wolsey, "give me one of them;" and Pygot desired another; both of them clapping them close to their breasts, saying Psalm cvi., desiring all the people to say Amen; and so received the fire most thankfully. The witnesses and informers hereof, were, Robert Scortred, Robert Crane, Edward Story, Robert Kendall, Richard Best, &c.

Concerning the story of William Wolsey, I received moreover, from the university of Cambridge, by a credible person and my faithful friend, William Fulke, this relation, which I thought in this place not unmeet to be notified unto the reader, in order and form as followeth.

"There were burned at Ely two godly martyrs, the one called Wolsey, the other Pygot. In these two appeared divers opinions of one spirit. Pygot was mild, humble, and modest, promising that he would be conformable to his persecutors, if they could persuade him by the Scripture. The other (Wolsey) was stout, strong, and vehement, as one having πληροφοριαν [Greek: plerophorian] of the Spirit, and detested all their doings, as of whom he was sure to receive nothing but cruelty and tyranny. He was wonderful jealous over his companion, fearing lest his gentle nature would have been overcome by the flattering enticements of the world; and therefore the same day that they were burned, when they would have talked with him alone, he pulled him away from them almost by force. He was so desirous to glorify God with his suffering, that being wonderful sore tormented in the prison with the toothache, he feared nothing more than that he should depart before the day of execution (which he called his glad day) were come.

"This Wolsey being in prison at Ely, was visited by Thomas Hodilo, beer-brewer in Ely. To him he delivered certain money to be distributed, as he appointed, part to his wife, and part to his kinsfolks and friends, and especially six shillings eight pence to be delivered to one Richard Denton, smith, dwelling at Wellney in Cambridgeshire, within the jurisdiction of the isle of Ely, with his commendation, that he marvelled that he tarried so long behind him, seeing that he was the first that delivered him [Wolsey] the book of Scripture into his hand, and told him that it was the truth; desiring him to make haste after, as fast as he could.

"This Thomas Hodilo, both to avoid the danger of the time, and to have a witness of his doings herein, delivered the said sum of money to one Master Laurence, preacher in Essex, (which then resorted often to his house,) to be distributed as Wolsey had appointed; which thing he performed, riding from place to place. And when this six shillings eight pence was delivered to 'Richard Denton with the commendation aforesaid, his answer was this: I confess it is true, but alas I cannot burn.' This was almost one whole year after Wolsey was burned. But he that could not burn in the cause of Christ, was afterward burned against his will, when Christ had given peace to his church. For in the year of our Lord 1564, on Tuesday, being the eighteenth of April, his house was set on fire, and while he went in to save his goods, he lost his life; with two others that were in the same house.

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"Witnessed by
Thomas Hodilo and William Fulke."

Not much unlike to this, was also the example of Master West, chaplain to Bishop Ridley, who, refusing to die in Christ's cause with his master, said mass against his conscience, and soon after died.

315. Ridley and Latimer—Introduction.



Bishop Ridley

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Dr. Nicholas Ridley, and Master Hugh Latimer, both bishops, preachers, and martyrs of Christ; with their doings, conferences, and sufferings described.



THE same year, month, and day, which the fore-said two martyrs, William Wolsey and Thomas Pygot, suffered at Ely, which was A. D. 1555, October sixteenth, followed also at Oxford the slaughter of two other special and singular captains and principal pillars of Christ's church, Master Ridley, bishop of London, and Master Hugh Latimer, bishop sometime of Worcester, of whose famous doings and memorable learning, and incomparable ornaments and gifts of grace, joined with no less commendable sincerity of life, as all the realm can witness sufficiently; so it needeth not greatly that we should stand exactly at this time in setting forth a full description of the same, but only to comprehend briefly, in a few words, touching the order of their lives, so much as necessarily serveth to the due instruction of the reader, and maketh to the use of this present history, in declaring first their beginning and bringing up; then their studies and acts in the university; their preferments also by their studies to higher dignity; at last their trouble and travail in setting forth religion, and in maintaining the same to the shedding of their blood. And first to begin with the life of Master Ridley, whose story here ensueth.

Among many other worthy and sundry histories and notable acts of such as of late days have been turmoiled, murdered, and martyred, for the true gospel of Christ in Queen Mary's reign, the tragical story and life of Dr. Ridley, I thought good to commend to chronicle, and leave to perpetual memory; beseeching thee (gentle reader) with care and study well to peruse, diligently to consider, and deeply to print the same in thy breast, seeing him to be a man beautified with such excellent qualities, so ghostly inspired and godly learned, and now written doubtless in the book of life, with the blessed saints of the Almighty, crowned and throned amongst the glorious company of martyrs. First, descending of a stock right worshipful, he was born in Northumberlandshire, who, being a child, learned his grammar with great dexterity in Newcastle, and was removed from thence to the university of Cambridge, where he in short time became so famous, that for his singular aptness, he was called to higher functions and offices of the university, by degree attaining thereunto, and was called to be head of Pembroke Hall, and there made doctor of divinity. After this, departing from thence, he travelled to Paris, who, at his return, was made chaplain to King Henry the Eighth, and promoted afterwards by him to the bishopric of Rochester; and so from thence translated to the see and bishopric of London, in King Edward's days.

In which calling and offices he so travailed and occupied himself by preaching and teaching the true and wholesome doctrine of Christ, that never good child was more singularly loved of his dear parents, than he of his flock and diocese. Every holiday and Sunday he lightly preached in some one place or other, except he were otherwise letted by weighty affairs and business; to whose sermons the people resorted, swarming about him like bees, and coveting the sweet flowers and wholesome juice of the fruitful doctrine, which he did not only preach, but showed the same by his life, as a glittering lanthorn to the eyes and senses of the blind, in such

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pure order and chastity of life, (declining from all evil desires and concupiscences,) that even his very enemies could not reprove him in any one jot thereof.

Besides this, he was passingly well learned, his memory was great, and he of such reading withal, that of right he deserved to be comparable to the best of this our age, as can testify as well divers his notable works, pithy sermons, and sundry his disputations in both the universities, as also his very adversaries, all which will say no less themselves.

Besides all this, wise he was of counsel, deep of wit, and very politic in all his doings. How merciful and careful he was to reduce the obstinate papists from their erroneous opinions, and by gentleness to win them to the truth, his gentle ordering and courteous handling of Dr. Heath, late archbishop of York, being prisoner with him in King Edward's time in his house one year, sufficiently declareth. In fine, he was such a prelate, and in all points so good, godly, and ghostly a man, that England may justly rue the loss of so worthy a treasure. And thus hitherto concerning these public matters.

Now will I speak something further, particularly of his person and conditions. He was a man right comely and well proportioned in all points, both in complexion and lineaments of the body. He took all things in good part, bearing no malice nor rancour in his heart, but straightways forgetting all injuries and offences done against him. He was very kind and natural to his kinsfolk, and yet not bearing with them any thing otherwise than right would require, giving them always for a general rule, yea, to his own brother and sister, that they, doing evil, should seek or look for nothing at his hand, but should be as strangers and aliens unto him; and they to be his brother and sister, which used honesty, and a godly trade of life.

He, using all kinds of ways to mortify himself, was given to much prayer and contemplation; for duly every morning, so soon as his apparel was done upon him, he went forthwith to his bed-chamber, and there, upon his knees, prayed the space of half an hour; which being done, immediately he went to his study, if there came no other business to interrupt him, where he continued till ten of the clock, and then came to the common prayer, daily used in his house. The prayers being done, he went to dinner, where he used little talk, except otherwise occasion by some had been ministered, and then was it sober, discreet, and wise, and sometimes merry, as cause required.

The dinner done, which was not very long, he used to sit an hour or thereabouts, talking, or playing at the chess: that done, he returned to his study, and there would continue, except suitors or business abroad were occasion of the contrary, until five of the clock at night, and then would come to common prayer, as in the forenoon: which being finished, he went to supper, behaving himself there as at his dinner before. After supper recreating himself in playing at chess the space of an hour, he would then return again to his study; continuing there till eleven of the clock at night, which was his common hour to go to bed, then saying his prayers upon his knees, as in the morning when he rose. Being at his manor of Fulham, as divers times he used to be, he read daily a lecture to his family at the common prayer, beginning at the Acts of the Apostles, and so going through all the Epistles of St. Paul, giving to every man that could read, a New Testament, hiring them besides with money to learn by heart certain principal chapters, but especially Acts xiii., reading also unto his household oftentimes Psalm ci., being marvellous

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careful over his family, that they might be a spectacle of all virtue and honesty to others. To be short, as he was godly and virtuous himself, so nothing but virtue and godliness reigned in his house, feeding them with the food of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

Now remaineth a word or two to be declared of his gentle nature and kindly pity in the usage of an old woman called Mrs. Bonner, mother to Dr. Bonner, sometime bishop of London, which I thought good to touch, as well for the rare clemency of Dr. Ridley, as the unworthy inhumanity and ungrateful disposition again of Dr. Bonner. Bishop Ridley, being at his manor of Fulham, always sent for this said Mrs. Bonner, dwelling in a house adjoining to his house, to dinner and supper, with one Mrs. Mungey, Bonner's sister, saying, "Go for my mother Bonner;" who, coming, was ever placed in the chair at the table's end, being so gently entreated, welcomed, and taken, as though he had been born of her own body, being never displaced of her seat, although the king's council had been present; saying, when any of them were there, as divers times they were, "By your Lordship's favour, this place of right and custom is for my mother Bonner." But how well he was recompensed for this his singular gentleness and pitiful piety after, at the hands of the said Dr. Bonner, almost the least child that goeth by the ground can declare. For who afterward was more enemy to Ridley than Bonner and his? Who more went about to seek his destruction than he? recompensing this his gentleness with extreme cruelty; as well appeared by the strait handling of Ridley's own natural sister, and George Shippes her husband, from time to time: whereas the gentleness of the other did suffer Bonner's mother, sister, and other of his kindred, not only quietly to enjoy all that which they had of Bonner, but also entertained them in his house, showing much courtesy and friendship daily unto them: whereas on the other side, Bishop Bonner, being restored again, would not suffer the brother and natural sister of Bishop Ridley, and other his friends, not only not to enjoy that which they had by the said their brother Bishop Ridley, but also curiously, without all order of law or honesty, by extort power wrested from them all the livings they had.

And yet, being not therewith satisfied, he sought all the means he could to work the death of the foresaid Shippes, saying, that he would make twelve godfathers to go upon him; which had been brought to pass indeed, at what time he was prisoner at Oxford, had not God otherwise wrought his deliverance by means of Dr. Heath, then the bishop of Worcester.

Hereby all good indifferent readers notoriously have to understand, what great diversity was in the disposition of these two natures; whereof as the one excelled in mercy and pity, so the other again as much or more excelled in churlish ingratitude, and despiteful disdain. But of this matter enough.

Now concerning God's vocation, how Dr. Ridley was first called to the savouring and favouring of Christ and his gospel, partly by his disputation before, and other his treatises, it may appear that the first occasion of his conversion was by reading of Bertram's Book of the Sacrament, whom also the conference with Bishop Cranmer, and with Peter Martyr, did not a little confirm in that behalf: who now, by the grace of God, being thoroughly won and brought to the true way, as he was before blind and zealous in his old ignorance, so was he constant and faithful in the right knowledge which the Lord had opened unto him, (as well appeared by his preachings and doings during all the time of King Edward,) and so long did much good, while authority of extern power might defend and hold up the peace of the church, and proceedings of

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the gospel. But after that it so pleased the heavenly will of the Lord our God, to bereave us of that stay, and call from us King Edward, that precious prince, as the whole state of the Church of England was left desolate and open to the enemies' hand; so this Bishop Ridley, after the coming in of Queen Mary, eftsoon, and with the first, was laid hands upon, and committed to prison, as before hath sufficiently been expressed: first in the Tower, then after, translated from thence with the archbishop of Canterbury and Master Latimer to Oxford, was with them enclosed in the common gaol and prison of Bocardo, while at length, being dissevered from them, he was committed to custody in the house of one Irish, where he remained till the last day of his death and martyrdom, which was from the year of our Lord 1554, till the year 1555, and sixteenth day of October.

Furthermore, as touching his disputations and conflicts had at Oxford, and also of his determination had at Cambridge, also his travails in persuading and instructing the Lady Mary before she was queen, his reasons and conference likewise had in the Tower at the lieutenant's board, enough hath been said already. Beside this, other conferences he had in prison both with Dr. Cranmer and Master Latimer, as here followeth to be read.

316. Ridley and Latimer Debate with "Antonian."

A conference had betwixt Master Ridley and Master Latimer in prison, upon the objection of Antonian; meaning, by that name, some popish persecutor—as Winchester; alluding thereby to the History of Victor, Book III. on African Persecutions.

Ridley.—"In writing again ye have done me an unspeakable pleasure, and I pray that the Lord may requite it you in that day; for I have received great comfort at your words: but yet I am not so filled withal, but that I thirst much more now than before, to drink more of that cup of yours, wherein ye mingle unto me profitable with pleasant. I pray you, good father, let me have one draught more to comfort my stomach; for surely except the Lord assist me with his gracious aid, in the time of his service, I know I shall play but the part of a white-livered knight. But truly my trust is in him, that in mine infirmity he should try himself strong, and that he can make the coward in his cause to fight like a man.—Sir, now I daily look when Diotrephes with his warriors shall assault me; wherefore I pray you, good father, for that you are an old soldier, and an expert warrior, and God knoweth I am but a young soldier, and as yet of small experience in these feats, help me, I pray you, to buckle my harness. And now I would have you to think, that these darts are cast at my head of some one of Diotrephes' or Antonius' soldiers."

Antonian.—"All men marvel greatly, why you, after the liberty you have granted unto you, more than the rest, do not go to mass, which is a thing (as you know) now much esteemed of all men, yea, of the queen herself."

Ridley.—"Because no man that layeth hand on the plough, and looketh back, is fit for the kingdom of God, and also for the self-same cause why St. Paul would not suffer Titus to be circumcised, which is, that the truth of the gospel might remain with us uncorrupt. And again, If I build again the things which I destroyed, I make myself a trespasser. This is also another cause: lest I should seem by outward fact to allow the thing, which I am persuaded is contrary to sound doctrine, and so should be a stumbling-stock unto the weak. But woe be unto him by whom offence cometh! it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and he cast into the midst of the sea."

Latimer.—"Except the Lord help me, ye say. Truth it is: for without me, saith he, ye can do nothing; much less suffer death of our adversaries, through the bloody law now prepared against us. But it followeth, If you abide in me, and my word abide in you, ask what you will, and it shall be done for you. What can be more comfortable? Sir, you make answer yourself so well, that I cannot better it. Sir, I begin now to smell what you mean by travailing thus with me: you use me as Bilney did once, when he converted me, pretending as though he would be taught of me, he sought ways and means to teach me, and so do you. I thank you therefore most heartily. For indeed you minister armour unto me, whereas I was unarmed before and unprovided, saving that I give myself to prayer for my refuge."

Antonian.—"What is it then that offendeth you so greatly in the mass, that you will not vouchsafe once either to hear it or see it? and from whence cometh this new religion upon you? Have not you used in times past to say mass yourself?"

Ridley.—"I confess unto you my fault and ignorance; but know you that for these matters I have done penance long ago, both at Paul's Cross, and also openly in the pulpit at Cambridge, and I trust God hath forgiven me this mine offence: for I did it upon ignorance. But if you be desirous to know, and will vouchsafe to hear, what things do offend me in the mass, I will rehearse unto you those things which be most clear, and seem to repugn most manifestly against God's word, and they be these: the strange tongue; the want of the showing of the Lord's death; the breaking of the Lord's commandment of having a communion; the sacrament is not communicated to all under both kinds, according to the word of the Lord; the sign is servilely worshipped for the thing signified; Christ's passion is injured, forasmuch as this mass-sacrifice is affirmed to remain for the purging of sins: to be short, the manifold superstitions and trifling fondness which are in the mass, and about the same."

Latimer.—"Better a few things well pondered, than to trouble the memory with too much; you shall prevail more with praying, than with studying, though mixture be best, for so one shall alleviate the tediousness of the other. I intend not to contend much with them in words, after a reasonable account of my faith given: for it shall be but in vain. They will say, as their fathers said, when they have no more to say: We have a law, and by our law he ought to die. Be ye stedfast and unmovable, saith St. Paul: and again, *Persistite*, Stand fast: and how oft is this repeated, If ye abide, if ye abide, &c. But we shall be called obstinate, sturdy, ignorant, heady, and what not? so that a man hath need of much patience, having to do with such men."

Antonian.—"But you know how great a crime it is to separate yourself from the communion or fellowship of the church, and to make a schism or division. You have been reported to have hated the sect of the Anabaptists, and always to have impugned the same. Moreover, this was the pernicious error of Novatian, and of the heretics called Catharists, that they would not communicate with the church."

Ridley.—"I know that the unity of the church is to be retained by all means, and the same to be necessary to salvation. But I do not take the mass, as it is at this day, for the communion of the church, but a popish device, whereby both the commandment and institution of our Saviour Christ, for the oft-frequenting of the remembrance of his death, is eluded, and the people of God are miserably deluded. The sect of the Anabaptists, and the heresy of the Novatians, ought of right to be condemned, forasmuch as without any just or necessary cause they wickedly separated themselves from the communion of the congregation, for they did not allege that the sacraments were unduly ministered, but, turning away their eyes from themselves, wherewith according to St. Paul's rule they ought to examine themselves, and casting their eyes ever upon others, either ministers, or communicants with them, they always reprov'd something for the which they abstained from the communion, as from an unholy thing."

Latimer.—"I remember that Calvin beginneth to confute the Interim after this sort, with this saying of Hilary; The name of peace is beautiful, and the opinion of unity is fair; but who doubteth that to be the true and only peace of the church, which is Christ's? I would you had that little book; there should you see how much is to be given to unity. St. Paul, when he requireth unity, joineth strait withal, according to Jesus Christ—no further. Diotrephes now of late did ever harp upon unity, unity. 'Yea, sir,' quoth I, 'but in verity, not in popery. Better is diversity, than a unity in popery.' I had nothing again but scornful taunts, with commandment to the Tower."

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Antonian.—"But admit there be in the mass, that peradventure might be amended, or at least made better; yea, seeing you will have it so, admit there be a fault: if you do not consent thereto, why do you trouble yourself in vain? do you not know, both by Cyprian and Augustine, that communion of sacraments doth not defile a man, but consent of deeds?"

Ridley.—"If it were any one trifling ceremony, or if it were some one thing of itself indifferent, (although I would wish nothing should be done in the church, which doth not edify the same,) yet, for the continuance of the common quietness I could be content to bear it. But, forasmuch as things done in the mass tend openly to the overthrow of Christ's institution, I judge that by no means, either in word or deed, I ought to consent unto it. As for that which is objected out of the fathers, I acknowledge it to be well spoken, if it be well understood. But it is meant of them which suppose they are defiled if any secret vice be either in the ministers, or in them that communicate with them; and is not meant of them which do abhor superstition, and wicked traditions of men, and will not suffer the same to be thrust upon themselves or upon the church instead of God's word and the truth of the gospel."

Latimer.—"The very marrow-bones of the mass are altogether detestable, and therefore by no means to be borne withal: so that of necessity the mending of it is to abolish it for ever. For, if you take away oblation and adoration, which do hang upon consecration and transubstantiation, the most papists of them all will not set a button by the mass, as a thing which they esteem not, but for the gain that followeth thereon. For, if the English communion, which of late was used, were as gainful to them, as the mass hath been heretofore, they would strive no more for their mass: from thence groweth the grief."

Antonian.—"Consider into what dangers you cast yourself, if you forsake the church; and you cannot but forsake it, if you refuse to go to mass. For the mass is the sacrament of unity: without the ark there is no salvation. The church is the ark, and Peter's ship. Ye know this saying well enough, He shall not have God to be his Father, which acknowledgeth not the church to be his mother. Moreover, Without the church, saith St. Augustine, be the life never so well spent, it shall not inherit the kingdom of heaven."

Ridley.—"The holy catholic or universal church, which is the communion of saints, the house of God, the city of God, the spouse of Christ, the body of Christ, the pillar and stay of the truth; this church I believe, according to the Creed; this church I do reverence, and honour in the Lord. But the rule of this church is the word of God, according to which rule we go forward unto life. And as many as walk according to this rule, I say with St. Paul, Peace be upon them, and upon Israel which pertaineth unto God. The guide of this church is the Holy Ghost. The marks whereby this church is known unto me in this dark world, and in the midst of this crooked and froward generation, are these: the sincere preaching of God's holy word, the due administration of the sacraments, charity, and faithful observing of ecclesiastical discipline, according to the word of God. And that the church or congregation which is garnished with these marks, is in very deed that heavenly Jerusalem, which consisteth of those that be born from above. This is the mother of us all, and by God's grace I will live and die the child of this church. Forth of this (I grant) there is no salvation; and I suppose the residue of the places objected are rightly to be understood of this church only. 'In times past,' saith Chrysostom, 'there were many ways to know the church of Christ; that is to say, by good life, by miracles, by chastity, by doctrine, by

ministering the sacraments. But from that time that heresies did take hold of the church, it is only known by the Scriptures, which is the true church. They have all things in outward show, which the true church hath in truth. They have temples like unto ours.' And in the end concluded, 'Wherefore only by the Scriptures do we know which is the true church.' To that which they say, that the mass is the sacrament of unity, I answer, The bread which we break, according to the institution of the Lord, is the sacrament of the unity of Christ's mystical body. For we, being many, are one bread and one body, forasmuch as we all are partakers of one bread. But in the mass the Lord's institution is not observed; for we be not all partakers of one bread, but one devoureth all, &c. So that (as it is used) it may seem a sacrament of singularity, and of a certain special privilege for one sect of people, whereby they may be discerned from the rest, rather than a sacrament of unity, wherein our knitting together in one is represented."

Latimer.—"Yea, what fellowship hath Christ with antichrist? Therefore is it not lawful to bear the yoke with papists. Come forth from among them, and separate yourselves from them, saith the Lord. It is one thing to be the church indeed, another thing to counterfeit the church. Would God it were well known what is the forsaking of the church! In the king's days that dead is, who was the church of England? The king and his fautors, or mass-mongers in corners? If the king and the fautors of his proceedings, why be not we now the church, abiding in the same proceedings? If clanculary mass-mongers might be of the church, and yet contrary to the king's proceedings, why may not we as well be of the church, contrarying the queen's proceedings? Not all that be covered with the title of the church, are the church indeed. Separate thyself from them that are such, saith St. Paul. From whom? The text hath before, If any man follow other doctrine, &c., he is puffed up, and knoweth nothing, &c. Weigh the whole text, that ye may perceive what is the fruit of contentious disputations: but wherefore are such men said to know nothing, when they know so many things? You know the old verses: 'This is to be ignorant, to know many things without Christ. If thou knowest Christ well, thou knowest enough, though thou know no more.' Therefore would St. Paul know nothing but Jesus Christ crucified, &c. As many as are papists and mass-mongers, they may well be said to know nothing; for they know not Christ, forasmuch as in their massing they take much away from the benefit and merit of Christ."

Antonian.—"That church which you have described unto me is invisible, but Christ's church is visible and known. For else why would Christ have said, Dic ecclesi e, i. e. Tell it unto the church. For he had commanded in vain to go unto the church if a man cannot tell which it is."

Ridley.—"The church which I have described is visible, it hath members which may be seen; and also I have afore declared, by what marks and tokens it may be known. But if either our eyes are so dazzled, that we cannot see, or that Satan hath brought such darkness into the world, that it is hard to discern the true church; that is not the fault of the church, but either of our blindness, or of Satan's darkness. But yet, in this most deep darkness, there is one most clear candle, which of itself alone is able to put away all darkness: Thy word is a candle unto my feet, and a light unto my steps."

Antonian.—"The church of Christ is a catholic or universal church, dispersed throughout the whole world; this church is the great house of God; in this are good men and evil mingled together, goats and sheep, corn and chaff; it is the net which gathereth all kind of fishes: this church cannot err, because Christ hath promised it his Spirit, which shall lead it into all truth, and

that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it; that he will be with it unto the end of the world; whatsoever it shall loose or bind upon earth, shall be ratified in heaven, &c. This church is the pillar and stay of the truth; this is it for the which St. Augustine saith, he believeth the gospel. But this universal church alloweth the mass, because the more part of the same alloweth it. Therefore, &c."

Ridley.—"I grant that the name of the church is taken after three divers manners in the Scriptures. Sometimes for the whole multitude of them which profess the name of Christ, of the which they are also named Christians. But, as St. Paul saith of the Jew, Not every one is a Jew, that is a Jew outwardly, &c., neither yet all that be of Israel, are counted the seed; even so not every one which is a Christian outwardly, is a Christian indeed. For if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, the same is none of his. Therefore that church which is his body, and of which Christ is the Head, standeth only of living stones, and true Christians, not only outwardly in name and title, but inwardly in heart and in truth. But, forasmuch as this church, (which is the second taking of the church,) as touching the outward fellowship, is contained within the great house, and hath with the same, outward society of the sacraments and ministry of the word, many things are spoken of that universal church, (which St. Augustine calleth the mingled church,) which cannot truly be understood, but only of that pure part of the church: so that the rule of Tichonius concerning the mingled church, may here well take place; where there is attributed unto the whole church that which cannot agree unto the same, but by reason of the one part thereof; that is, either for the multitude of good men, which is the very true church indeed; or for the multitude of evil men, which is the malignant church and synagogue of Satan. And there is also a third taking of the church; of the which, although there be seldomer mention in the Scriptures in that signification, yet in the world, even in the most famous assemblies of Christendom, this church hath borne the greatest swinge. This distinction presupposed of the three sorts of churches, it is an easy matter, by a figure called synecdoche, to give to the mingled and universal church, that which cannot truly be understood but only of the one part thereof. But if any man will stiffly affirm that universality doth so pertain unto the church, that whatsoever Christ hath promised to the church, it must needs be understood of that, I would gladly know of the same man, where that universal church was in the times of the patriarchs and prophets, of Noah, Abraham, and Moses (at such time as the people would have stoned him); of Elias, of Jeremy; in the times of Christ, and the dispersion of the apostles; in the time of Arius, when Constantius was emperor, and Felix bishop of Rome succeeded Liberius. It is worthy to be noted, what Lyra writeth upon Matthew; 'The church,' saith he, 'doth not stand in men by reason of their power or dignity, whether it be ecclesiastical or secular. For many princes and popes, and other inferiors, have been found to have fallen away from God.' Therefore the church consisteth in those persons, in whom is true knowledge and confession of the faith, and of the truth. 'Evil men' (as it is in a gloss of the Decrees) 'are in the church in name, and not in deed.' And St. Augustine, contra Cresconium Grammaticum, saith, 'Whosoever is afraid to be deceived by the darkness of this question, let him ask counsel at the same church of it; which church the Scripture doth point out without any doubtfulness.' All my notes which I have written and gathered out of such authors as I have read in this matter, and such like, are come into the hands of such, as will not let me have the least of all my written books; wherein I am enforced to complain of them unto God: for they spoil me of all my labours, which I have taken in my study these many years. My memory was never good, for help whereof I used for the most part to gather out notes of my reading, and so to place them, that thereby I might have had the use of them when the time

required. But who knoweth whether this be God's will, that I should be thus ordered, and spoiled of the poor learning I had (as methought) in store, to the intent that I now, destitute of that, should from henceforth learn only to know, with Paul, Christ and him crucified. The Lord grant me herein to be a good young scholar, and to learn this lesson so well, that neither death nor life, wealth nor woe, &c., make me ever to forget that. Amen, amen."

Latimer.—"I have no more to say in this matter; for you yourself have said all that is to be said. That same vehement saying of St. Augustine, 'I would not believe the gospel,' &c., was wont to trouble many men; as I remember, I have read it well qualified of Philip Melancthon; but my memory is altogether slippery. This it is in effect; 'The church is not a judge, but a witness.' There were in his time that lightly esteemed the testimony of the church, and the outward ministry of preaching, and rejected the outward word itself, sticking only to their inward revelations. Such rash contempt of the word provoked and drove St. Augustine into that excessive vehemency; in the which after the bare sound of the words, he might seem to such as do not attain unto his meaning, that he preferred the church far before the gospel, and that the church hath a free authority over the same: but that godly man never thought so. It were a saying worthy to be brought forth against the Anabaptists, which think the open ministry to be a thing not necessary, if they any thing esteemed such testimonies. I would not stick to affirm, that the more part of the great house, that is to say, of the whole universal church, may easily err. And again, I would not stick to affirm, that it is one thing to be gathered together in the name of Christ, and another thing to come together with a mass of the Holy Ghost going before. For in the first Christ ruleth; in the latter the devil beareth the swinge—and how then can any thing be good that they go about? From this latter shall our Six Articles come forth again into the light, they themselves being very darkness. But it is demanded, whether the sounder or better part of the catholic church may be seen of men, or no? St. Paul saith, The Lord knoweth them that are his. What manner of speaking is this, in commendation of the Lord, if we knew, as well as he, who are his? Well, thus is the text: The sure foundation of God standeth still, and hath this seal, The Lord knoweth them that are his; and let every man that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity. Now how many are there of the whole catholic church of England which depart from iniquity? how many of the noblemen, how many of the bishops or clergy? how many of the rich men, or merchants? how many of the queen's councillors? yea, how many of the whole realm? In how small a room then, I pray you, is the true church within the realm of England? And where is it? And in what state? I had a conceit of mine own, well grounded, (as they say,) when I began, but now it is fallen by the way."

Antonian.—"General councils represent the universal church, and have this promise of Christ: Where two or three be gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them. If Christ be present with two or three, then much more where there is so great a multitude, &c. But in general councils mass hath been approved and used: therefore, &c."

Ridley.—"Of the universal church, which is mingled of good and bad, thus I think: Whensoever they which be chief in it, which rule and govern the same, and to whom the whole mystical body of Christ doth obey, are the lively members of Christ, and walk after the guiding and rule of his word, and go before the flock towards everlasting life, then, undoubtedly, councils, gathered together of such guides and pastors of the Christian flock, do indeed represent the universal church, and being so gathered in the name of Christ, they have a promise of the gift

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and guiding of his Spirit into all truth. But that any such council hath at any time allowed the mass, such a one as ours was of late, in a strange tongue, and stuffed with so many absurdities, errors, and superstitions; that I utterly deny, and affirm it to be impossible. For like as there is no agreement betwixt light and darkness, between Christ and Belial; so surely superstition and the sincere religion of Christ, will-worship and the pure worshipping of God, such as God requireth of his, (that is, in spirit and truth,) can never agree together. But ye will say, Where so great a company is gathered together, it is not credible but there be two or three gathered in the name of Christ. I answer, If there be one hundred good, and two hundred bad, (forasmuch as the decrees and ordinances are pronounced according to the greater number of the multitude of voices,) what can the less number of voices avail? It is a known thing, and a common proverb, Oftentimes the greater part overcometh the better."

Latimer.—"As touching general councils, at this present I have no more to say, than you have said. Only I refer you to your own experience, to think of our country parliaments and convocations, how and what ye have there seen and heard. The more part in my time did bring forth the Six Articles; for then the king would so have it, being seduced of certain. Afterwards the more part did repel the same, our good Josias willing to have it so. The same Articles now again, alas! another great but worse part hath restored. Oh, what an uncertainty is this! But after this sort most commonly are man's proceedings, God be merciful unto us. Who shall deliver us from such torments of mind? Therefore is death the best physician but unto the faithful, whom she together and at once delivereth from all griefs. You must think this written upon this occasion, because you would needs have your paper blotted."

Antonian.—"If the matter should go thus, that in general councils men should not stand to the more number of the multitude, (I mean of them which ought to give voices,) then should no certain rule be left unto the church, by the which controversies in weighty matters might be determined: but it is not to be believed, that Christ would leave his church destitute of so necessary a help and safeguard."

Ridley.—"Christ, who is the most loving spouse of his espouse the church, who also gave himself for it, that he might sanctify it unto himself, did give unto it abundantly all things which are necessary to salvation; but yet so, that the church should declare itself obedient unto him in all things, and keep itself within the bounds of his commandments; and further, not to seek any thing which he teacheth not, as necessary unto salvation. Now further, for determination of all controversies in Christ's religion, Christ himself hath left unto the church not only Moses and the prophets, whom he willeth his church in all doubts to go unto, and ask counsel at, but also at the Gospels, and the rest of the body of the New Testament; in the which whatsoever is heard of Moses and the prophets, and whatsoever is necessary to be known unto salvation, is revealed and opened. So that now we have no need to say, Who shall climb up into heaven, or who shall go down into the depth, to tell us what is needful to be done? Christ hath done both, and hath commended unto us the word of faith, which also is abundantly declared unto us in his word written; so that hereafter, if we walk earnestly in this way, to the searching out of the truth, it is not to be doubted, but through the certain benefit of Christ's Spirit, which he hath promised unto his, we may find it, and obtain everlasting life. Should men ask counsel of the dead for the living? saith Isaiah. Let them go rather to the law and to the testimony, &c. Christ sendeth them that be desirous to know the truth, unto the Scriptures, saying, Search the Scriptures. I remember

a like thing well spoken of Jerome: 'Ignorance of the Scriptures is the mother and cause of all errors.' And in another place, as I remember, in the same author: 'The knowledge of the Scriptures is the food of everlasting life.' But now methinketh I enter into a very broad sea, in that I begin to show, either out of the Scriptures themselves, or out of the ancient writers, how much the Holy Scripture is of force to teach the truth of our religion. But this is it that I am now about, that Christ would have the church, his spouse, in all doubts to ask counsel at the word of his Father written, and faithfully left, and commended unto it in both Testaments, the Old and New. Neither do we read, that Christ in any place hath laid so great a burden upon the members of his spouse, that he hath commanded them to go to the universal church. Whatsoever things are written, saith Paul, are written for our learning. And it is true, that Christ gave unto his church, some apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some shepherds and teachers, to the edifying of the saints, till we come all to the unity of faith, &c. But that all men should meet together out of all parts of the world, to define of the articles of our faith, I neither find it commanded of Christ, nor written in the word of God."

Latimer.—"There is diversity betwixt things pertaining to God or faith, and politic and civil matters. For in the first we must stand only to the Scriptures, which are able to make us all perfect and instructed unto salvation, if they be well understood. And they offer themselves to be well understood only to them, which have good wills, and give themselves to study and prayer: neither are there any men less apt to understand them, than the prudent and wise men of the world. But, in the other, that is, in civil or politic matters, oftentimes the magistrates do tolerate a less evil, for avoiding of a greater, as they which have this saying oft in their mouths: 'Better an inconvenience than a mischief.' And 'it is the property of a wise man,' saith one, 'to dissemble many things; and he that cannot dissemble, cannot rule.' In which sayings they bewray themselves, that they do not earnestly weigh what is just, what is not. 'Wherefore forasmuch as man's laws, if it be but in this respect only, that they be devised by men, are not able to bring any thing to perfection, but are enforced of necessity to suffer many things out of square, and are compelled sometimes to wink at the worst things: seeing they know not how to maintain the common peace and quiet otherwise, they do ordain that the more part shall take place. You know what these kind of speeches mean: I speak after the manner of men; Ye walk after the manner of men; All men are liars: and that of St. Augustine, 'If ye live after man's reason, ye do not live after the will of God.'"

Antonian.—"If ye say, that councils have sometimes erred, or may err, how then should we believe the catholic church? for that councils are gathered by the authority of the catholic church."

Ridley.—"From 'may be,' to 'be indeed,' is no good argument; but from 'being,' to 'may be,' no man doubteth but it is a most sure argument. But now that councils have sometime erred, it is manifest. How many councils were there in the east parts of the world, which condemned the Nicene council; and all those which would not forsake the same, they called by a slanderous name, (as they thought,) 'Homousians.' Were not Athanasius, Chrysostom, Cyril, Eustachius, men very well learned, and of godly life, banished and condemned as famous heretics, and that by wicked councils? How many things are there in the canons and constitutions of the councils, which the papists themselves do much mislike! But here, peradventure, one man will say unto me, 'We will grant you this in provincial councils, or councils of some one nation, that they may

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sometimes err, forasmuch as they do not represent the universal church; but it is not to be believed, that the general and full councils have erred at any time.' Here, if I had my books of the councils, or rather such notes as I have gathered out of those books, I could bring something which should serve for this purpose. But now, seeing I have them not, I will recite one place only out of St. Augustine, which (in my judgment) may suffice in this matter instead of many. 'Who knoweth not,' saith he, 'that the Holy Scripture is so set before us, that it is not lawful to doubt of it, and that the letters of bishops may be reprov'd by other men's words, and by councils; and that the councils themselves which are gathered by provinces and countries, do give place to the authority of the general and full councils; and that the former and general councils are amended by the latter, when by some experience of things either that which was shut up is opened, or that which was hid is known.' Thus much out of Augustine. But I will plead with our Antonian upon matter confessed. Here with us, when papistry reigned, I pray you how doth that book, which was called the Bishop's Book, made in the time of King Henry the Eighth, whereof the bishop of Winchester is thought to be either the first father, or chief gatherer; how doth it (I say) sharply reprove the Florentine council, in which was decreed the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, and that with the consent of the emperor of Constantinople, and of the Grecians? So that in those days our learned ancient fathers and bishops of England did not stick to affirm, that a general council might err. But me-thinketh I hear another man despising all that I have brought forth, and saying, These which you have called councils, are not worthy to be called councils, but rather assemblies and conventicles of heretics.' I pray you, sir, why do you judge them worthy of so slanderous a name? 'Because,' saith he, 'they decreed things heretical, contrary to true godliness and sound doctrine, and against the faith of Christian religion.' The cause is weighty, for the which they ought of right so to be called. But, if it be so that all councils ought to be despised, which decree any thing contrary to sound doctrine, and the true word, which is according to godliness, forasmuch as the mass, such as we had here of late, is openly against the word of God; forsooth it must follow of necessity, that all such councils, as have approved such masses, ought of right to be fled and despised, as conventicles and assemblies of men that stray from the truth.

"Another man allegeth unto me the authority of the bishop of Rome, 'without which neither can the councils,' saith he, 'be lawfully gathered, neither, being gathered, determine any thing concerning religion.' But this objection is only grounded upon the ambitious and shameless maintenance of the Romish tyranny and usurped dominion over the clergy; which tyranny we Englishmen long ago, by the consent of the whole realm, have expelled and abjured. And how rightly we have done it, a little book set forth, *De utraque potestate*, (that is, of both the powers,) doth clearly show. I grant that the Romish ambition hath gone about to challenge to itself and to usurp such a privilege of old time. But the council of Carthage, in the year of our Lord 457, did openly withstand it, and also the council at Milevis, in the which St. Augustine was present, did prohibit any appellations to be made to bishops beyond the sea."

Antonian.—"St. Augustine saith, 'the good men are not to be forsaken for the evil, but the evil are to be borne withal for the good.' Ye will not say (I trow) that in our congregations all be evil."

Ridley.—"I speak nothing of the goodness or evilness of your congregations; but I fight in Christ's quarrel against the mass, which doth utterly take away and overthrow the ordinance of Christ. Let that be taken quite away, and then the partition of the wall that made the strife shall

be broken down. Now to the place of St. Augustine, for bearing with the evil for the good's sake: there ought to be added other words, which the same writer hath expressedly in other places; that is, if those evil men do cast abroad no seeds of false doctrine, nor lead others to destruction by their example."

Antonian.—"It is perilous to attempt any new thing in the church, which lacketh example of good men. How much more perilous is it to commit any act, unto the which the example of the prophets, of Christ, and of the apostles, is contrary!" But unto this your fact, in abstaining from the church by reason of the mass, the example of the prophets, of Christ, and of the apostles, is clean contrary: therefore, &c. The first part of the argument is evident, and the second part I prove thus: In the times of the prophets, of Christ, and his apostles, all things were most corrupt. The people were miserably given to superstition, the priests despised the law of God; and yet, notwithstanding, we read not that the prophets made any schisms or divisions; and Christ himself haunted the temple, and taught in the temple of the Jews. Peter and John went up into the temple at the ninth hour of prayer; Paul, after the reading of the law, being desired to say something to the people, did not refuse to do it. Yea further, no man can show, that either the prophets, or Christ and his apostles, did refuse to pray together with others, to sacrifice, or to be partakers of the sacrament of Moses' law."

Ridley.—"I grant the former part of your argument, and to the second part I say, that although it contain many true things, as of the corrupt state in the times of the prophets, of Christ, and the apostles, and of the temple being haunted of Christ and his apostles; yet, notwithstanding, the second part of your argument is not sufficiently proved: for ye ought to have proved that either the prophets, either Christ or his apostles, did in the temple communicate with the people in any kind of worshipping, which is forbidden by the law of God, or repugnant to the word of God. But that can no where be showed. And as for the church, I am not angry with it, and I never refused to go to it, and to pray with the people, to hear the word of God, and to do all other things whatsoever may agree with the word of God. St. Augustine, speaking of the ceremonies of the Jews, (I suppose in the epistle *ad Januarium*,) although he grant they grievously oppressed that people, both for the number and the bondage of the same, yet he calleth them burdens of the law, which were delivered unto them in the word of God, not presumptions of men, which notwithstanding, if they were not contrary to God's word, might after a sort be borne withal. But now, seeing they are contrary to those things which are in the word of God written, whether they ought to be borne of any Christian or no, let him judge which is spiritual, which feareth God more than man, and loveth everlasting life more than this short and transitory life. To that which was said, that my fact lacketh example of the godly fathers that have gone before, the contrary is most evident in the history of Tobit. Of whom it is said, that when all other went to the golden calves, which Jeroboam the king of Israel had made, he himself alone fled all their companies, and got him to Jerusalem unto the temple of the Lord, and there worshipped the Lord God of Israel. Did not the man of God threaten grievous plagues both unto the priests of Bethel, and to the altar which Jeroboam had there made after his own fantasy? which plagues king Josias, the true minister of God, did execute at the time appointed. And where do we read, that the prophets or the apostles did agree with the people in their idolatry, when the people went a whoring with their hill-altars? For what cause, I pray you, did the prophets rebuke the people so much, as for their false worshipping of God after their own minds, and not after God's word; for what was so much as that was, wherefore the false prophets ceased

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not to malign the true prophets of God? Therefore they beat them, they banished them, &c. How else, I pray you, can you understand that St. Paul allegeth, when he saith, What concord hath Christ with Belial? Either what part hath the believer with the infidel? or how agreeth the temple of God with images? For ye are the temple of the living God, as God himself hath said, I will dwell among them, and will be their God, and they shall be my people. Wherefore, come out from among them, and separate yourselves from them, (saith the Lord,) and touch none unclean thing; so will I receive you, and will be a father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty. Judith, that holy woman, would not suffer herself to be defiled with the meats of the wicked. All the saints of God, which truly feared God, when they have been provoked to do any thing which they knew to be contrary to God's laws, have chosen to die, rather than to forsake the laws of their God. Wherefore the Maccabees put themselves in danger of death for the defence of the law, yea, and at length died manfully in the defence of the same. If we do praise, saith St. Augustine, the Maccabees, and that with great admiration, because they did stoutly stand even unto death, for the laws of their country; how much more ought we to suffer all things for our baptism, for the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, &c. But the supper of the Lord, such a one (I mean) as Christ commandeth us to celebrate, the mass utterly abolisheth, and corrupteth most shamefully."

Latimer.—"Who am I that I should add any thing to this which you have so well spoken? Nay, I rather thank you that have vouchsafed to minister so plentiful armour to me, being otherwise altogether unarmed, saving that he cannot be left destitute of help, which rightly trusteth in the help of God. I only learn to die in reading of the New Testament, and am ever now and then praying unto my God, that he will be a helper unto me in time of need."

Antonian.—"Seeing you are so obstinately set against the mass, that you affirm, because it is done in a tongue not understood of the people, and for other causes, (I cannot tell what,) therefore is it not the true sacrament ordained of Christ, I begin to suspect you, that you think not catholicly of baptism, also. Is our baptism, which we do use in a tongue unknown unto the people, the true baptism of Christ, or no? if it be, then doth not the strange tongue hurt the mass. If it be not the baptism of Christ, tell me, how were you baptized? or whether will ye, (as the Anabaptists do,) that all which were baptized in Latin, should be baptized again in the English tongue?"

Ridley.—"Although I would wish baptism to be given in the vulgar tongue for the people's sake which are present, that they may the better understand their own profession, and also be more able to teach their children the same, yet, notwithstanding, there is not like necessity of the vulgar tongue in baptism, as in the Lord's supper. Baptism is given to children, who, by reason of their age, are not able to understand what is spoken unto them, what tongue soever it be. The Lord's supper is, and ought to be, given to them that are waxen. Moreover, in baptism, which is accustomed to be given to children in the Latin tongue, all the substantial points (as a man would say) which Christ commanded to be done, are observed. And therefore I judge that baptism to be a perfect and true baptism; and that it is not only not needful, but also not lawful for any man so christened, to be christened again. But yet notwithstanding, they ought to be taught the catechism of the Christian faith, when they shall come to years of discretion; which catechism whosoever despiseth, or will not desirously embrace and willingly learn, in my judgment he playeth not the part of a Christian man. But in the popish mass are wanting certain

substantials, that is to say, things commanded by the word of God to be observed in the ministration of the Lord's supper; of the which there is sufficient declaration made before."

Latimer.—"Where you say, 'I would wish,' surely I would wish that you had spoken more vehemently, and to have said, It is of necessity, that all things in the congregation should be done in the vulgar tongue, for the edifying and comfort of them that are present, notwithstanding that the child itself is sufficiently baptized in the Latin tongue."

Antonian.—"Forasmuch as I perceive you are so stiffly, I will not say obstinately, bent, and so wedded to your opinion, that no gentle exhortations, no wholesome counsels, no other kind of means, can call you home to a better mind, there remaineth that which, in like cases, was wont to be the only remedy against stiff-necked and stubborn persons, that is, you must be hampered by the laws, and compelled either to obey whether ye will or no, or else to suffer that which a rebel to the laws ought to suffer. Do you not know that whosoever refuseth to obey the laws of the realm, he bewrayeth himself to be an enemy to his country? Do you not know that this is the readiest way to stir up sedition and civil war? It is better that you should bear your own sin, than that through the example of your breach of the common laws, the common quiet should be disturbed. How can you say, you will be the queen's true subject, when you do openly profess that you will not keep her laws?"

Ridley.—"O heavenly Father, the Father of all wisdom, understanding, and true strength, I beseech thee, for thy only Son our Saviour Christ's sake, look mercifully upon me, wretched creature, and send thine Holy Spirit into my breast, that not only I may understand according to thy wisdom, how this pestilent and deadly dart is to be borne off, and with what answer it is to be beaten back, but also when I must join to fight in the field for the glory of thy name, that then I, being strengthened with the defence of thy right hand, may manfully stand in the confession of thy faith, and of thy truth, and continue in the same unto the end of my life, through the same our Lord Jesus Christ, Amen.

"Now to the objection. I grant it to be reasonable, that he, which by words and gentleness cannot be made to yield to that is right and good, should be bridled by the strait correction of the laws: that is to say, he that will not be subject to God's word, must be punished by the laws. It is true that is commonly said, 'He that will not obey the gospel, must be tamed and taught by the rigour of the law.' But these things ought to take place against him which refuseth to do that is right and just according to true godliness, not against him, which cannot quietly bear superstitions and the overthrow of Christ's institutions, but doth hate and detest from his heart such kind of proceedings, and that for the glory of the name of God.

"To that which ye say, a transgressor of the common laws bewrayeth himself to be an enemy of his country, surely a man ought to look unto the nature of the laws, what manner of laws they be which are broken: for a faithful Christian ought not to think alike of all manner of laws. But that saying ought only truly to be understood of such laws as be not contrary to God's word. Otherwise, whosoever love their country in truth, (that is to say, in God,) they will always judge if at any time the laws of God and man be then contrary to the other, that a man ought rather to obey God than man. And they that think otherwise, and pretend a love to their country, forasmuch as they make their country to fight as it were against God, in whom consisteth the stay

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only of their country, surely I do think that such are to be judged most deadly enemies and traitors to their country. For they that fight against God, which is the safety of their country, what do they else but go about to bring upon their country a present ruin and destruction? But they that do so are worthy to be judged enemies to their country, and betrayers of the realm. Therefore, &c.

"But this is the readiest way,' ye say, 'to stir up sedition, to trouble the quiet of the commonwealth: therefore are these things to be repressed in time by force of laws.' Behold; Satan doth not cease to practise his old guiles, and accustomed subtleties. He hath ever this dart in readiness to hurl against his adversaries, to accuse them of sedition, that he may bring them, if he can, in danger of the higher powers: for so hath he by his ministers always charged the prophets of God. Ahab said unto Elias, Art thou he that troubleth Israel? The false prophets, also, complained to their princes of Jeremy, that his words were seditious, and not to be suffered. Did not the scribes and Pharisees falsely accuse Christ as a seditious person, and one that spake against Cæsar? did they not, at the last, cry, If you let this man go, ye are not Cæsar's friend? The orator Tertullus, how doth he accuse Paul before Felix the high deputy? We have found this man, saith he, a pestilent fellow, and a stirrer of sedition, unto all the Jews in the whole world, &c. But I pray you were these men, as they were called, seditious persons? Christ, Paul, and the prophets? God forbid! But they were of false men falsely accused. And wherefore I pray you, but because they reprov'd before the people their guiles, superstition, and deceits? And when the others could not bear it, and would gladly have had them taken out of the way, they accused them as seditious persons, and troublers of the commonwealth, that being by this means made hateful to the people and princes, they might the more easily be snatched up to be tormented, and put to death. But how far they were from all sedition, their whole doctrine, life, and conversation do well declare. For that which was objected last of all, that he cannot be a faithful subject to his prince, which professeth openly that he will not observe the laws which the prince hath made; here I would wish that I might have an indifferent judge, and one that feareth God, to whose judgment in this cause I promise I will stand. I answer therefore, a man ought to obey his prince; but in the Lord, and never against the Lord. For he that knowingly obeyeth his prince against God, doth not a duty to the prince, but is a deceiver of the prince, and a helper unto him to work his own destruction. He is also unjust, which giveth not the prince what is the prince's, and to God what is God's. Here cometh to my remembrance, that notable saying of Valentinian the emperor, for choosing the bishop of Milan: 'Set him,' saith he, 'in the bishop's seat, to whom if we (as man) do offend at any time, we may submit ourselves.' Polycarp, the most constant martyr, when he stood before the chief rulers and was commanded to blaspheme Christ, and to swear by the fortune of Cæsar, &c., he answered with a mild spirit, We are taught,' saith he, 'to give honour unto princes, and those powers which be of God: but such honour as is not contrary to God's religion.'

"Hitherunto ye see, good father, how I have in words only made as it were a flourish before the fight, which I shortly look after, and how I have begun to prepare certain kinds of weapons to fight against the adversary of Christ, and to muse with myself how the darts of the old enemy may be borne off, and after what sort I may smite him again with the sword of the Spirit. I learn also hereby to be in use with armour, and to assay how I can go armed. In Tynedale where I was born, not far from the Scottish borders, I have known my countrymen to watch night and day in their harness, such as they had, that is, in their jacks, and their spears in

their hand, (you call them northern-gads,) especially when they had any privy warning of the coming of the Scots. And so doing, although at every such bickering some of them spent their lives, yet by such means, like pretty men, they defended their country. And those that so died, I think that before God they died in a good quarrel, and their offspring and progeny all the country loved them the better for their fathers' sake. And in the quarrel of Christ our Saviour, in the defence of his own divine ordinances, by the which he giveth unto us life and immortality; yea, in the quarrel of faith, and Christian religion, wherein resteth our everlasting salvation, shall we not watch? shall we not go always armed? ever looking when our adversary, which like a roaring lion seeketh whom he may devour, shall come upon us by reason of our slothfulness? Yea, and woe be unto us, if he can oppress us unawares, which undoubtedly he will do, if he find us sleeping. Let us awake therefore: for if the good man of the house knew at what hour the thief should come he would surely watch, and not suffer his house to be broken up. Let us awake therefore, I say: let us not suffer our house to be broken up. Resist the devil, saith St. James, and he will fly from you. Let us therefore resist him manfully; and taking the cross upon our shoulders, let us follow our Captain, Christ, who by his own blood hath dedicated and hallowed the way which leadeth unto the Father, that is, to the light which no man can attain, the fountain of the everlasting joys. Let us follow, I say, whither he calleth and allureth us, that after these afflictions which last but for a moment, whereby he trieth our faith, as gold by the fire, we may everlastingly reign and triumph with him in the glory of the Father, and that through the same our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, now and for ever; Amen, Amen.

"Good father, forasmuch as I have determined with myself, to pour forth these my cogitations into your bosom, here, methinketh, I see you suddenly lifting up your head towards heaven, after your manner, and then looking upon me with your prophetic countenance, and speaking unto me, with these or like words: 'Trust not, my son (I beseech you vouchsafe me the honour of this name; for in so doing I shall think myself both honoured and beloved of you): trust not, I say, my son, to these word-weapons; for the kingdom of God is not in words but in power. And remember always the words of the Lord. Do not imagine aforehand, what and how you will speak: for it shall be given you even in that same hour what ye shall speak. For it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you.' I pray you therefore, father, pray for me, that I may cast my whole care upon him, and trust upon him in all perils. For I know, and am surely persuaded, that whatsoever I can imagine or think aforehand, it is nothing, except he assist me with his Spirit, when the time is. I beseech you therefore, father, pray for me, that such a complete harness of the Spirit, such boldness of mind, may be given unto me, that I may out of a true faith say with David, I will not trust in my bow, and it is not my sword that shall save me. For he hath no pleasure in the strength of a horse, &c.: but the Lord's delight is in them that fear him, and put their trust in his mercy. I beseech you pray, pray that I may enter this fight only in the name of God, and that when all is past, I, through his gracious aid, being not overcome, may remain and stand fast in him, till that day of the Lord, in the which to them that obtain the victory shall be given the lively manna to eat, and a triumphant crown for evermore.

"Now, father, I pray you help me to buckle on this gear a little better. For ye know the deepness of Satan, being an old soldier, and you have collared with him ere now: blessed be God that hath ever aided you so well. I suppose he may well hold you at the bay. But truly he will not be so willing, I think, to join with you, as with us younglings. Sir, I beseech you, let your servant

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read this my babbling unto you, and now and then, as it shall seem unto you best, let your pen run on my book; spare not to blot my paper, I give you good leave."

Latimer.—"Sir, I have caused my man not only to read your armour unto me, but also to write it out. For it is not only no bare armour, but also well-buckled armour. I see not how it could be better. I thank you even from the bottom of my heart for it, and my prayer shall you not lack, trusting that you do the like for me; for indeed there is the help, &c. Many things make confusion in memory; and if I were learned as well as St. Paul, I would not bestow much amongst them, further than to gall them, and spur-gall too, when and where occasion were given, and matter came to mind: for the law shall be their sheet-anchor, stay, and refuge. Therefore there is no remedy, (namely now, when they have the master-bowl in their hand, and rule the roost,) but patience. Better it is to suffer what cruelty they will put upon us, than to incur God's high indignation. Wherefore, good my Lord, be of good cheer in the Lord, with due consideration what he requireth of you, and what he doth promise you. Our common enemy shall do no more than God will permit him. God is faithful, which will not suffer us to be tempted above our strength, &c. Be at a point what ye will stand unto; stick unto that, and let them both say and do what they list. They can but kill the body, which otherwise is of itself mortal: neither yet shall they do that when they list, but when God will suffer them; when the hour appointed is come. To use many words with them it shall be but in vain, now that they have a bloody and deadly law prepared for them. But it is very requisite that ye give a reasonable account of your faith, if they will quietly hear you; else ye know, in a wicked place of judgment a man may keep silence, after the example of Christ. Let them not deceive you with their sophistical sophisms and fallacies: you know that false things may have more appearance of truth, than things that be most true: therefore Paul giveth us a watch-word, Let no man deceive you with likeliness of speech. Neither is it requisite that with the contentious ye should follow strife of words, which tend to no edification, but to the subversion of the hearers, and the vain bragging and ostentation of the adversaries. Fear of death doth most persuade a great number. Be well aware of that argument; for that persuaded Shaxton, (as many men thought,) after that he had once made a good profession openly before the judgment-seat. The flesh is weak, but the willingness of the spirit shall refresh the weakness of the flesh.

"The number of the criers under the altar must needs be fulfilled: if we be segregated thereunto, happy be we. That is the greatest promotion that God giveth in this world, to be such Philippians, to whom it is given not only to believe, but also to suffer, &c. But who is able to do these things

Surely all our ability, all our sufficiency, is of God. He requireth and promiseth. Let us declare our obedience to his will, when it shall be requisite in the time of trouble, yea, in the midst of the fire.

"When that number is fulfilled, which I ween shall be shortly, then have at the papists, when they shall say, 'Peace, all things are safe,' when Christ shall come to keep his great parliament, to the redress of all things that be amiss. But he shall not come as the papists feign him, to hide himself, and to play bo-peep as it were under a piece of bread: but he shall come gloriously, to the terror and fear of all papists; but to the great consolation and comfort of all that will here suffer for him. Comfort yourselves one another with these words.

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"Lo, sir, here have I blotted your paper vainly, and played the fool egregiously; but so I thought better than not to do your request at this time. Pardon me, and pray for me; pray for me, I say; pray for me, I say. For I am sometimes so fearful, that I would creep into a mouse-hole; sometimes God doth visit me again with his comfort. So he cometh and goeth, to teach me to feel and to know mine infirmity, to the intent to give thanks to him that is worthy, lest I should rob him of his due, as many do, and almost all the world. Fare ye well.

"What credence is to be given to papists, it may appear by their racking, writing, wrinching, and monstrously injuring of God's Holy Scripture, as appeareth in the pope's law: but I dwell here now in a school of obliviousness. Fare you well once again, and be you stedfast and unmovable in the Lord. Paul loved Timothy marvellous well, notwithstanding he saith unto him, Be thou partaker of the afflictions of the gospel; and again, Harden thyself to suffer afflictions. Be faithful unto the death, and I will give thee a crown of life, saith the Lord."

317. The Letters of The Reverend Bishop and Martyr, Nicholas Ridley.

A letter sent from Bishop Ridley and his prison-fellows, unto Master Bradford and his prison-fellows, in the King's Bench in Southwark, anno 1554.

"Well-beloved in Christ our Saviour, we all, with one heart, wish to you, with all those that love God in deed and truth, grace and health, and especially to our dearly-beloved companions which are in Christ's cause, and the cause both of their brethren, and of their own salvation, to put their neck willingly under the yoke of Christ's cross. How joyful it was to us all to hear the report of Dr. Taylor, and of his godly confession, &c., I assure you, it is hard for me to express. Blessed be God, which was and is the giver of that, and of all godly strength and stomach in the time of adversity.

"As for the rumours that have or do go abroad, either of our relenting or massing, we trust that they which know God and their duty towards their brethren in Christ, will not be too light of credence. For it is not the slanderer's evil tongue, but a man's own evil deed, that can with God defile a man; and therefore, with God's grace, ye shall never have cause to do otherwise than ye say ye do, that is, not to doubt but that we will, by God's grace, continue, &c. Like rumour as ye have heard of our coming to London, hath been here spread of the coming of certain learned men prisoners hither from London; but as yet we know no certainty whether of these rumours is or shall be more true. Know you that we have you in our daily remembrance, and wish you, and all the rest of our foresaid companions, well in Christ.

"It should do us much comfort, if we might have knowledge of the state of the rest of our most dearly beloved, which in this troublesome time do stand in Christ's cause, and in the defence of the truth thereof. Somewhat we have heard of Master Hooper's matter; but of the rest never a deal. We long to hear of Father Crome, Dr. Sands, Master Saunders, Veron, Beacon, Rogers, &c. We are in good health, thanks be to God, and yet the manner of our entreating doth change as sour ale doth in summer. It is reported to us of our keepers, that the university beareth us heavily. A coal chanced to fall in the night out of the chimney, and burnt a hole in the floor, and no more harm was done, the bailiff's servant sitting by the fire. Another night there chanced (as Master Bailiffs told us) a drunken fellow to multiply words, and for the same he was set in Bocardo. Upon these things (as is reported) there is risen a rumour in the town and country about, that we should have broken the prison with such violence, as that, if Master Bailiffs had not played the pretty men, we should have made a scape. We had out of our prison a wall that we might have walked upon, and our servants had liberty to go abroad in the town or fields; but now both they and we are restrained of both.

"My Lord of Worcester passed by through Oxford, but he did not visit us. The same day began our restraint to be more, and the book of the communion was taken from us by the bailiffs at the mayor's commandment, as the bailiffs did report to us. No man is licensed to come unto us: afore, they might, that would see us upon the wall; but that is so grudged at, and so evil reported, that we are now restrained, &c. Sir, blessed be God, with all our evil reports, grudges, and restraints, we are merry in God; all our cure and care is and shall be (by God's grace) to please and serve him, of whom we look and hope, after these temporal and momentary miseries,

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to have eternal joy and perpetual felicity with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, Peter and Paul, and all the heavenly company of the angels in heaven, through Jesus Christ our Lord. As yet there was never learned man, nor any scholar, or other that visited us since we came into Bocardo, which now in Oxford may be called a college of *Quondams*. For as ye know, we be no fewer than three, and I dare say, every one well contented with his portion, which I do reckon to be our heavenly Father's fatherly, good, and gracious gift. Thus fare you well. We shall, by God's grace, one day meet together, and be merry. The day assuredly approacheth apace; the Lord grant that it may shortly come; for, before that day come, I fear me the world will wax worse and worse. But then all our enemies shall be overthrown, and trodden under foot; righteousness and truth then shall have the victory, and bear the bell away, whereof the Lord grant us to be partners, and all that love truly the truth.

"We all pray you, as we can, to cause all our commendations to be made unto all such as ye know did visit us and you, when we were in the Tower, with their friendly remembrances and benefits. Mistress Wilkinson and Mistress Warcup have not forgotten us, but, ever since we came to Bocardo, with their charitable and friendly benevolence have comforted us: not that else we did lack (for God be blessed, he ever hitherto hath provided sufficiently for us); but that is a great comfort, and an occasion for us to bless God, when we see that he maketh them so friendly to tender us, whom some of us were never familiarly acquainted withal.

"Yours in Christ.

NICH. RIDLEY."

A letter of Ridley, sent to a cousin of his.

"God's Holy spirit be with you now and ever; Amen.—When I call to remembrance, beloved cousin, the state of those that for fear of trouble, either for loss of goods, will do in the sight of the world those things that they know and are assured are contrary to the will of God, I can do no less but lament their case, being assured the end thereof will be so pitiful, (without speedy repentance,) that I tremble and fear to have it in remembrance. I would to God it lay upon some earthly burden, so that freedom of conscience might be given unto them. I wrote (as God knoweth) not of presumption, but only lamenting the state of those, whom I thought now in this dangerous time should have given both you and me comfortable instruction. But alas! instead thereof we have persuasions to follow (I lament to rehearse it) superstitious idolatry. Yea, and that worst of all is, they will seek to prove it by the Scriptures. The Lord for his mercy turn their hearts; Amen. Commend me, &c.

"Yours.

NICHOLAS RIDLEY."

A worthy letter of Ridley to Master Bradford.

"Brother Bradford, I wish you and your company in Christ, yea, and all the holy brotherhood, that now with you in divers prisons suffereth and beareth patiently Christ's cross for the maintenance of his gospel, grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ.

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"Sir, considering the state of this chivalry and warfare, wherein I doubt not but we be set to fight under Christ's banner, and his cross, against our ghostly enemy the devil, and the old serpent Satan, methinketh I perceive two things to be his most perilous and most dangerous engines, which he hath to impugn Christ's verity, his gospel, and his faith; and the same two also to be the most massy posts, and most mighty pillars, whereby he maintaineth and upholdeth this Satanical synagogue. These two, sir, are they, in my judgment: the one, his false doctrine and idolatrical use of the Lord's supper; and the other, the wicked and abominable usurpation of the primacy of the see of Rome. By these two, Satan seemeth to me principally to maintain and uphold his kingdom; by these two he driveth down mightily (alas, I fear me) the third part of the stars in heaven. These two poisonous rotten posts he had so painted over with such a pretence and colour of religion, of unity in Christ's church of the catholic faith, and such like, that the wily serpent is able to deceive (if it were possible) even the elect God. Wherefore John saith, not without great cause, If any know not Satan's subtleties and the profundities thereof, I will wish him no other burden to be laden withal.

"Sir, because these be his principal and main posts, whereupon standeth all his falsehood, craft, and treachery, therefore, according to the poor power that God hath given me, I have bended mine artillery to shoot at the same. I know it to be but little, God knoweth, that I can do, and of my shot I know they pass not. Yet I will not (God willing) cease to do the best that I can, to shake those cankered and rotten posts. The Lord grant me good success, to the glory of his name, and the furtherance of Christ's gospel. I have now already (I thank God) for this present time spent a good part of my powder in these scribblings, whereof this bearer shall give you knowledge. Good brother Bradford! let the wicked surmise and say what they list; know you for a certainty, by God's grace, without all doubt, that in Christ's gospel's cause, against and upon the aforesaid God's enemies, I am fully determined to live and die. Farewell, dear brother; and I beseech you and all the rest of our brethren to have good remembrance of the condemned heretics (as they call them) of Oxford, in your prayers. The bearer shall certify you of our state. Farewell in the Lord.—From Bocardo.

"Yours in Christ.

NICH. RIDLEY."

Another letter of Ridley unto Master Bradford, and other his prison fellows, anno 1555.

"Dearly beloved, I wish you grace, mercy, and peace.

"According to your mind, I have run over all your papers, and what I have done (which is but small) therein may appear. In two places I have put in two loose leaves. I had much ado to read that was written in your great leaves, and I ween some where I have altered some words, because I could not read perfectly that which was written. Sir, what shall be best done with these things, now ye must consider; for if they come in sight at this time, undoubtedly they must to the fire with their father, and as for any safeguard that your custody can be unto them, I am sure you look not for it; for as you have been partner of the work, so I am sure you look for none other, but to have and receive like wages, and to drink of the same cup. Blessed be God, that hath given you liberty in the mean season, that you may use your pen to his glory, and the comfort (as I hear say) of many. I bless God daily in you, and all your whole company, to whom I beseech you commend me heartily. Now I love my countryman in deed and in truth, I mean Dr. Taylor, not

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for my earthly country's sake, but for our heavenly Father's sake, and for Christ's sake, whom, I heard say, he did so stoutly in time of peril confess, and yet also for our country's sake, and for all our mother's sake; but I mean of the kingdom of heaven, and of heavenly Jerusalem, and because of the Spirit, which bringeth forth in him, in you, and in our company, such blessed fruits of boldness in the Lord's cause, of patience and constancy. The Lord which hath begun this work in you all, perform and perfect this his own deed, until his own day come; Amen.

"As yet I perceive ye have not been baited, and the cause thereof God knoweth, which will let them do no more to his, than is his pleased will and pleasure to suffer them to do for his own glory, and to the profit of them which be truly his. For the Father, which doth guide them that be Christ's to Christ, is more mighty than all they, and no man is able to pull them out of the Father's hands: except, I say, it please our Father, it please our Master, Christ, to suffer them, they shall not stir one hair of your heads.

"My brother Punt (the bearer hereof, and Master Hooper's letters) would that we should say what we think good concerning your mind; that is, not to answer, except ye might have somewhat indifferent judges. We are, as ye know, separated, and one of us cannot in any thing consult with another, and much strait watching of the bailiffs is about us, that there be no privy conference amongst us: and yet, as we hear, the scholars bear us more heavily than the townsmen. A wonderful thing, among so many, never yet scholar offered any of us (so far as I know) any manner of favour, either for or in Christ's cause.

"Now as concerning your demand of our counsel, for my part I do not mislike that which I perceive ye are minded to do; for I look for none other. But, if ye answer afore the same commissioners that we did, ye shall be served and handled as we were, though ye were as well learned as ever was either Peter or Paul. And yet further I think, that occasion afterwards may be given you, and the consideration of the profit of your auditory may perchance move you to do otherwise.

"Finally, determinately to say what shall be best, I am not able; but I trust he, whose cause ye have in hand, shall put you in mind to do that which shall be most for his glory, the profit of his flock, and your own salvation. This letter must be common to you and Master Hooper, in whom and in his prison-fellow, good Father Crome, I bless God, even from the bottom of my heart; for I doubt not but they both do to our Master, Christ, true, acceptable, and honourable service, and profitable to his flock; the one with his pen, and the other with his fatherly example of patience and constancy, and all manner of true godliness. But what shall I need to say to you? Let this be common among your brethren, among whom (I dare say) it is with you as it is with us, to whom all things here are common, meat, money, and whatsoever one of us hath, that can or may do another good. Although, I said, the bailiffs and our hostess straitly watch us, that we have no conference or intelligence of any thing abroad, yet hath God provided for every one of us instead of our servants, faithful fellows, which will be content to hear and see, and to do for us whatsoever they can. It is God's work surely, blessed be God for his unspeakable goodness! The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communication of the Holy Ghost be with you all: Amen, Amen.

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"As far as London is from Oxford, yet thence we have received of late, both meat, money, and shirts, not only from such as are of our acquaintance, but of some (whom this bearer can tell) with whom I had never to my knowledge any acquaintance. I know for whose sake they do it; to him therefore be all honour, glory, and due thanks.

"And yet I pray you do so much as to show them, that we have received their benevolence, and (God be blessed) have plenty of all such things. This I desire you to do; for I know they be of Master Hooper's and your familiar acquaintance. Master Latimer was crazed; but I hear now (thanks be to God) that he amendeth again.

"NICHOLAS RIDLEY."

Another letter of Ridley unto Master Bradford.

"O dear brother, seeing the time is now come, wherein it pleaseth the heavenly Father, for Christ our Saviour's sake, to call upon you, and to bid you to come, happy are you that ever you were born, thus to be found awake at the Lord's calling: Well done, good and faithful servant, because thou hast been trusty in small matters, he shall set thee over great things, and thou shalt enter into the joy of thy Lord.

"O dear brother, what meaneth this, that you are sent into your own native country? The wisdom and policy of the world may mean what they will, but I trust God will so order the matter finally by his fatherly providence, that some great occasion of God's gracious goodness shall be plenteously poured abroad amongst his, our dear brethren in that country, by this your martyrdom, where the martyrs for Christ's sake shed their blood, and lost their lives. Oh! what wondrous things hath Christ afterward wrought to his glory, and confirmation of their doctrine! If it be not the place that sanctifieth the man, but the holy man doth by Christ sanctify the place, brother Bradford, then happy and holy shall be that place wherein thou shalt suffer, and which shall be with thy ashes in Christ's cause sprinkled over withal. All thy country may rejoice of thee, that it ever brought forth such a one, which would render his life again in his cause, of whom he had received it. Brother Bradford, so long as I shall understand thou art in thy journey, by God's grace I shall call upon our heavenly Father for Christ's sake, to set thee safely home: and then, good brother, speak you, and pray for the remnant which are to suffer for Christ's sake, according to that thou then shalt know more clearly.

"We do look now every day when we shall be called on, blessed be God! I ween I am the weakest many ways of our company; and yet I thank our Lord God and heavenly Father by Christ, that since I heard of our dear brother Rogers' departing, and stout confession of Christ and his truth even unto the death, my heart (blessed be God) rejoiced of it, that since that time (I say) I never felt any lumpish heaviness in my heart, as I grant I have felt sometimes before. O good brother! blessed be God in thee, and blessed be the time that ever I knew thee. Farewell, farewell.

"Your brother in Christ, NICHOLAS RIDLEY.

"Brother, farewell."

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To the brethren remaining in captivity of the flesh, and dispersed abroad in sundry prisons; but knit together, in unity of spirit and holy religion, in the bowels of the Lord Jesus.

"Grace, peace, and mercy be multiplied among you. What worthy thanks can we render unto the Lord for you, my brethren; namely, for the great consolation which through you we have received in the Lord, who, notwithstanding the rage of Satan that goeth about by all manner of subtle means to beguile the world, and also busily laboured to restore and set up his kingdom again, that of late began to decay and fall to ruin; ye remain yet still unmovable, as men surely grounded upon a strong rock. And now, albeit that Satan, by his soldiers and wicked ministers, daily (as we hear) draweth numbers unto him, so that it is said of him, that he plucketh even the very stars out of heaven, whiles he driveth into some men the fear of death, and loss of all their goods, and showeth and offereth to others the pleasant baits of the world, namely, riches, wealth, and all kind of delights and pleasures, fair houses, great revenues, fat benefices, and what not; and all to the intent they should fall down and worship, not the Lord, but the dragon, the old serpent, which is the devil, that great beast and his image, and should be enticed to commit fornication with the strumpet of Babylon, together with the kings of the earth, with the lesser beast and with the false prophets, and so to rejoice and be pleasant with her, and to be drunken with the wine of her fornication; yet blessed be God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which hath given unto you a manly courage, and hath so strengthened you in the inward man, by the power of his Spirit, that you can condemn as well all the terrors, as also the vain flatterings and allurements of the world, esteeming them as vanities, mere trifles, and things of nought: who hath also wrought, planted, and surely established in your hearts, so stedfast a faith and love of the Lord Jesus Christ, joined with such constancy, that by no engines of antichrist, be they never so terrible or plausible, ye will suffer any other Jesus, or any other Christ, to be forced upon you, besides him whom the prophets have spoken of before, the apostles have preached, the holy martyrs of God have confessed and testified with the effusion of their blood.

"In this faith stand ye fast, my brethren, and suffer not yourselves to be brought under the yoke of bondage and superstition any more. For ye know, brethren, how that our Saviour warned his beforehand, that such should come as would point unto the world another Christ, and would set him out with so many false miracles, and with such deceivable and subtle practices, that even the very elect (if it were possible) should thereby be deceived: such strong delusion to come did our Saviour give warning of before. But continue ye faithful and constant, be of good comfort, and remember that our grand Captain hath overcome the world; for he that is in us is stronger than he that is in the world, and the Lord promiseth unto us that, for the elect's sake, the days of wickedness shall be shortened. In the mean season, abide ye and endure with patience as ye have begun: 'Endure,' I say, 'and reserve yourselves unto better times,' as one of the heathen poets said; cease not to show yourselves valiant soldiers of the Lord, and help to maintain the traving faith of the gospel.

"Ye have need of patience, that after ye have done the will of God, ye may receive the promises, for yet a very little, and he that shall come, will come, and will not tarry: and the just shall live by faith; but if any withdraw himself my soul shall have no pleasure in him, saith the Lord. But we are not they which do withdraw ourselves unto damnation, but believe unto the salvation of the soul. Let us not suffer these words of Christ to fall out of our hearts by any manner of terror, or threatenings of the world. Fear not them which kill the body; the rest ye

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know: for I write not unto you as to men which are ignorant of the truth, but which know the truth; and to this end only, that we, agreeing together in one faith, may take comfort one of another, and be the more confirmed and strengthened thereby. We never had a better or more just cause either to condemn our life, or shed our blood; we cannot take in hand the defence of a more certain, clear, and manifest truth. For it is not any ceremony for the which we contend; but it toucheth the very substance of our whole religion, yea, even Christ himself. Shall we, either can we, receive and acknowledge any other Christ instead of him, who is alone the everlasting Son of the everlasting Father, and is the brightness of the glory and a lively image of the substance of the Father, in whom only dwelleth corporally the fulness of the Godhead, who is the only way, the truth, and the life? Let such wickedness, my brethren, let such horrible wickedness be far from us. For although there be that are called gods, whether in heaven or in earth, as there be many gods and many lords, yet unto us there is but one God, which is the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him, and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him; but every man hath not knowledge. This is life eternal, saith St. John, that they know thee to be the only true God, and whom thou hast sent, Jesus Christ. If any therefore would force upon us any other God, besides him whom Paul and the apostles have taught, let us not hear him, but let us flee from him, and hold him accursed.

"Brethren, ye are not ignorant of the deep and profound subtleties of Satan; for he will not cease to range about you, seeking by all means possible whom he may devour: but play ye the men, and be of good comfort in the Lord. And albeit your enemies and the adversaries of the truth, armed with all worldly force and power that may be, do set upon you; yet be ye not faint-hearted, and shrink not therefore, but trust unto your Captain, Christ; trust unto the Spirit of truth, and trust to the truth of your cause; which as it may by the malice of Satan be darkened, so can it never be clean put out. For we have (high praise be given to God there-for) most plainly, evidently, and clearly on our side, all the prophets, all the apostles, and undoubtedly all the ancient ecclesiastical writers which have written, until of late years past.

"Let us be hearty, and of good courage therefor, and thoroughly comfort ourselves in the Lord. Be in no wise afraid of your adversaries; for that which is to them an occasion of perdition, is to you a sure token of salvation, and that of God: for unto you it is given, that not only ye should believe on him, but also suffer for his sake. And when ye are railed upon for the name of Christ, remember that by the voice of Peter, yea, and of Christ our Saviour also, ye are counted with the prophets, with the apostles, and with the holy martyrs of Christ, happy and blessed there-for: for the glory and Spirit of God resteth upon you.

"On their part our Saviour Christ is evil spoken of, but on your part he is glorified: for what can they else do unto you, by persecuting you, and working all cruelty and villany against you, but make your crowns more glorious, yea, beautify and multiply the same, and heap upon themselves the horrible plagues and heavy wrath of God: and therefore, good brethren, though they rage never so fiercely against us, yet let us not wish evil unto them again, knowing that while, for Christ's cause, they vex and persecute us, they are like mad-men. most outrageous and cruel against themselves, heaping hot burning coals upon their own heads; but rather let us wish well unto them, knowing that we are thereunto called in Christ Jesus, that we should be heirs of the blessing. Let us pray therefore unto God, that he would drive out of their hearts this darkness of errors, and make the light of his truth to shine unto them, that they, acknowledging their

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blindness, may with all humble repentance be converted unto the Lord, and together with us. confess him to be the only true God, which is the Father of light, and his only Son Jesus Christ, worshipping him in Spirit and verity: Amen. The Spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ comfort your hearts in the love of God, and patience of Christ: Amen.

"Your brother in the Lord, whose name this bearer shall signify unto you, ready always by the grace of God to live and die with you."

A letter of Bishop Ridley, wherein he confirmeth the brethren in captivity; translated out of the Latin.

"To the brethren which constantly cleave unto Christ, in suffering affliction with him and for his sake.

"Grace and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ, be multiplied unto you: Amen.

"Although, brethren, we have of late heard nothing from you, neither have at this present any news to send to you; yet we thought good something to write unto you, whereby ye might understand that we have good remembrance of you continually, as we doubt not but ye have of us also. When this messenger, coming unto us from you of late, had brought us good tidings of your great constancy, fortitude, and patience in the Lord, we were filled with much joy and gladness, giving thanks to God the Father, through our Lord Jesus Christ, which hath caused his face so to shine upon you, and with the light of spiritual understanding hath so lightened your hearts, that now being in captivity and bonds for Christ's cause, ye have not ceased, as much as in you lieth, by words, but much more by deed and by your example, to stablish and confirm that thing, which when ye were at liberty in the world, ye laboured to publish and set abroad by the word and doctrine; that is to say, holding fast the word of life, ye shine as lights in the world, in the midst of a wicked and crooked nation, and that with so much the greater glory of our Lord Jesus Christ, and profit of your brethren, by how much Satan more cruelly now rageth and busily laboureth to darken the light of the gospel.

"And as for the darkness that Satan now bringeth upon the Church of England, who needeth to doubt thereof? Of late time our Saviour Christ, his apostles, prophets, and teachers, spake in the temple to the people of England in the English tongue, so that they might be understood plainly, and without any hardness, of the godly, and such as sought for heavenly knowledge in matters which of necessity of salvation pertained to the obtaining of eternal life; but now those things, which once were written of them for the edifying of the congregation, are read in a strange tongue without interpretation, manifestly against St. Paul's commandment, so that there is no man able to understand them, which hath not learned that strange and unknown tongue.

"Of late days those heavenly mysteries, whereby Christ hath ingrafted us into his body, and hath united us one to another; whereby also, being regenerate, and born anew unto God, he hath nourished, increased, and strengthened us; whereby moreover he hath taught and set forth an order amongst them which are whole, or else to the sick in soul or body hath given, as it were,

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wholesome medicines and remedies: those, I say, were all plainly set forth to the people in their own language, so that what great and exceeding good things every man had received of God, what duty every one owed to another by God's ordinance, what every one had professed in his vocation, and was bound to observe, where remedy was to be had for the wicked and feeble, he to whom God hath given a desire and willing heart to understand those things, might soon perceive and understand. But now all these things are taught and set forth in such sort, that the people redeemed with Christ's blood, and for whose sakes they were by Christ himself ordained, can have no manner of understanding thereof at all.

"Of late (forasmuch as we know not how to pray as we ought) our Lord Jesus Christ in his prayer, whereof he would have no man ignorant, and also the Holy Ghost in the psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs which are set forth in the Bible, did teach and instruct all the people of England in the English tongue, that they might ask such things as are according to the will of the Father, and might join their hearts and lips in prayer together: but now all these things are commanded to be hid and shut up from them in a strange tongue, whereby it must needs follow, that the people can neither tell how to pray, nor what to pray for; and how can they join their hearts and voice together, when they understand no more what the voice signifieth, than a brute beast?

"Finally, I hear say, that the catechism which was lately set forth in the English tongue, is now in every pulpit condemned. O devilish malice, and most spitefully injurious to the salvation of mankind, purchased by Jesus Christ! Indeed Satan could not long suffer that so great light should be spread abroad in the world; he saw well enough that nothing was able to overthrow his kingdom so much, as if children, being godly instructed in religion, should learn to know Christ whilst they are yet young; whereby not only children, but the elder sort also, and aged folks that before were not taught to know Christ in their childhood, should now, even with children and babes, be forced to learn to know him. Now therefore he roareth; now he rageth. But what else do they, brethren, which serve Satan, and become his ministers and slaves in maintaining of his impiety, but even the same which they did, to whom Christ our Saviour threateneth this curse in the gospel: Woe unto you which shut up the kingdom of heaven before men, and take away the key of knowledge from them! you yourselves have not entered in, neither have ye suffered them that would enter to come in.

"And from whence shall we say, brethren, that this horrible and mischievous darkness proceedeth, which is now brought upon the world? From whence, I pray you, but even from the smoke of the great furnace of the bottomless pit, so that the sun and the air are now darkened by the smoke of the pit? Now, even now, out of doubt, brethren, the pit is opened against us, and the locusts begin to swarm, and Abaddon now reigneth.

"Ye therefore, my brethren, which pertain unto Christ, and have the seal of God marked in your foreheads; that is to wit, are sealed with the earnest of the Spirit to be a peculiar people of God, quit yourselves like men, and be strong; for he that is in us is stronger than he which is in the world, and ye know that all that is born of God overcometh the world; and this is our victory that overcometh the world, even our faith. Let the world fret, let it rage never so much, be it never so cruel and bloody, yet be ye sure that no man can take us out of the Father's hands, for he is greater than all, who hath not spared his own Son, but hath given him to death for us all; and

therefore how shall he not with him give us all things also? Who shall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? It is God that justifieth, who then shall condemn? It is Christ that is dead, yea rather, which is risen again, who also is at the right hand of God, and maketh request also for us. Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? shall tribulation, or anguish, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? The rest ye know, brethren. We are certainly persuaded with St. Paul, by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that no kind of thing shall be able to separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord; which thing, that it may come to pass by the grace and mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ, to the comfort both of you and of us all, as we for our parts will continually (God willing) pray for you; so, dear brethren in the Lord, with all earnest and hearty request we beseech you, even in the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye will not cease to pray for us. Fare ye well, dear brethren. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all evermore: Amen."

A letter of Bishop Ridley, answering to a certain letter of one Master West, sometime his chaplain.

"I wish you grace in God, and love of the truth, without the which truly established in men's hearts by the mighty hand of the Almighty God, it is no more possible to stand by the truth in Christ in time of trouble, than it is for the wax to abide the heat of the fire. Sir, know you this, that I am (blessed be God) persuaded, that this world is but transitory, and, as St. John saith, The world passeth away, and the lust thereof. I am persuaded Christ's words to be true, Whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I confess also before my Father which is in heaven: and I believe that no earthly creature shall be saved, whom the Redeemer and Saviour of the world shall before his Father deny. This the Lord grant, that it may be so grafted, established, and fixed in my heart, that neither things present nor to come, high nor low, life nor death, be able to remove me thence. It is a goodly wish, that you wish me deeply to consider the things pertaining unto God's glory; but if you had wished also, that neither fear of death, nor hope of worldly prosperity, should let me to maintain God's word and his truth, which is his glory and true honour, it would have liked me well. You desire me, for God's sake, to remember myself. Indeed sir, now it is time so to do; for, so far as I can perceive, it standeth me upon no less danger, than of the loss both of body and soul; and I trow, then it is time for a man to awake, if any thing will awake him. He that will not fear him that threateneth to cast both body and soul into everlasting fire, whom will he fear? With this fear, O Lord, fasten thou together our frail flesh, that we never swerve from thy laws. You say, you have made much suit for me. Sir, God grant that you have not, in suing for my worldly deliverance, impaired and hindered the furtherance of God's word and his truth.

"You have known me long indeed; in the which time it hath chanced me, as you say, to mislike some things. It is true, I grant; for sudden changes without substantial and necessary cause, and the heady setting forth of extremities, I did never love. Confession unto the minister which is able to instruct, correct, comfort, and inform the weak, wounded, and ignorant conscience, indeed I ever thought might do much good in Christ's congregation, and so I assure you I think even at this day. My doctrine and my preaching, you say, you have heard often, and after your judgment have thought it godly, saving only for the sacrament, which thing although it was of me reverently handled, and a great deal better than of the rest, as you say, yet in the margin you write 'warily,' and in this world 'wisely;' and yet methought all sounding not well.

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Sir, but that I see so many changes in this world, and so much alteration, else at this your saying I would not a little marvel. I have taken you for my friend, and a man whom I fancied for plainness and faithfulness, as much, I assure you, as for your learning: and have you kept this so close in your heart from me unto this day? Sir, I consider more things than one, and will not say all that I think. But what need you to care what I think, for any thing I shall be able to do unto you, either good or harm? You give me good lessons to stand in nothing against my learning, and to beware of vain-glory. Truly, sir, I herein like your counsel very well, and by God's grace I intend to follow it unto my life's end.

"To write unto those whom you name, I cannot see what it will avail me: for this I would have you know, that I esteem nothing available for me, which also will not further the glory of God. And now, because I perceive you have an entire zeal and desire of my deliverance out of this captivity and worldly misery, if I should not bear you a good heart in God again, methinks I were to blame. Sir, how nigh the day of my dissolution and departure out of this world is at hand, I cannot tell: the Lord's will be fulfilled, how soon soever it shall come. I know the Lord's words must be verified on me, that I shall appear before the uncorrupt Judge, and be accountable to him of all my former life. And although the hope of his mercies is my sheet-anchor of eternal salvation, yet am I persuaded, that whosoever wittingly neglecteth and regardeth not to clear his conscience, he cannot have peace with God, nor a lively faith in his mercy. Conscience therefore moveth me, considering you were one of my family, and one of my household, of whom then I think I had a special cure, and of all them which were within my house; which indeed ought to have been an example of godliness to all the rest of my cure, not only of good life, but also in promoting of God's word to the uttermost of their power (but alas, now, when the trial doth separate the chaff from the corn, how small a deal it is, God knoweth, which the wind doth not blow away): this conscience, I say, doth move me to fear, lest the lightness of my family shall be laid to my charge for lack of more earnest and diligent instruction, which should have been done. But, blessed be God which hath given me grace to see this my default, and to lament it from the bottom of my heart, before my departing hence.

"This conscience doth move me also now to require both you, and my friend Dr. Harvey, to remember your promises made to me in times past, of the pure setting-forth and preaching of God's word and his truth. These promises, although you shall not need to fear to be charged with them of me hereafter before the world, yet look for none other, (I exhort you as my friends,) but to be charged with them at God's hand. This conscience, and the love that I bear unto you, biddeth me now say unto you both, in God's name, Fear God, and love not the world: for God is able to cast both body and soul into hell-fire. When his wrath shall suddenly be kindled, blessed are all they that put their trust in him. And the saying of St. John is true, All that is in the world, as the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the Father, but of the world; and the world passeth away and the lust thereof, but he that doth the will of God abideth for ever. If this gift of grace (which undoubtedly is necessarily required unto eternal salvation) were truly and unfeignedly grafted and firmly established in men's hearts, they would not be so light, so suddenly to shrink from the maintenance and confession of the truth as is now, alas! seen so manifestly of so many in these days. But here, peradventure, you would know of me, what is the truth. Sir, God's word is the truth, as St. John saith, and that even the same that was heretofore. For albeit man doth vary and change as the moon, yet God's word is stable, and

abideth one for evermore: and of Christ it is truly said, Christ yesterday and to-day; the same is also for ever.

"When I was in office, all that were esteemed learned in God's word, agreed this to be a truth in God's word written, that the Common Prayer of the church should be had in the common tongue. You know I have conferred with many, and I assure you I never found man, (so far as I do remember,) neither old nor young, gospeller nor papist, of what judgment soever he was, in this thing to be of a contrary opinion. If then it were a truth of God's word, think you that the alteration of the world can make it an untruth? If it cannot, why then do so many men shrink from the confession and maintenance of this truth received once of us all? for what is it, I pray you, else to confess or deny Christ in this world, but to maintain the truth taught in God's word, or for any worldly respect to shrink from the same? This one thing have I brought for an ensample; other things be in like case, which now particularly I need not rehearse: for he that will forsake wittingly, either for fear or gain of the world, any one open truth of God's word, if he be constrained, he will assuredly forsake God and all his truth, rather than he will endanger himself to lose or to leave that he loveth better indeed, than he doth God and the truth of his word.

"I like very well your plain speaking, wherein you say, I must either agree or die, and I think that you mean of the bodily death, which is common both to good and bad. Sir, I know I must die, whether I agree or no. But what folly were it then to make such an agreement, by the which I could never escape this death which is common to all, and also incur the guilt of death and eternal damnation? Lord, grant that I may utterly abhor and detest this damnable agreement, so long as I live! And because (I dare say) you wrote of friendship unto me this short earnest advertisement, and I think verily, wishing me to live and not to die, therefore, bearing you in my heart no less love in God, than you do me in the world, I say unto you in the word of the Lord, (and that I say to you, I say to all my friends and lovers of us in God,) that if you do not confess and maintain to your power and knowledge that which is grounded upon God's word, but will either, for fear or gain of the world, shrink and play the apostata, indeed you shall die the death: you know what I mean. And I beseech you all, my true friends and lovers in God, remember what I say; for this may be the last time, peradventure, that ever I shall write unto you.

"From Bocardo in Oxford the eighth day of April, 1555."



aster Grindal, now archbishop of Canterbury, being in the time of exile in the city of Frankfort, wrote to Dr. Ridley, then prisoner, a certain epistle, wherein, first, he lamenteth his captivity, exhorting him withal to be constant: secondly, he certifieth him of the state of the English exiles being dispersed in Germany, and of the singular providence of God in stirring up the favour of the magistrates and rulers there towards them: thirdly, he writeth to know his mind and will concerning the printing of his book against transubstantiation, and of certain other treatises and his disputations; whereunto Bishop Ridley answereth again in order, as followeth:

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An answer of Bishop Ridley to Master Grindal's letter sent from Frankfort.

"Blessed be God our heavenly Father, which inclined your heart to have such a desire to write unto me, and blessed be he again, which hath heard your request, and hath brought your letters safe unto my hands; and over all this I bless him, through our Lord Jesus Christ, for the great comfort I have received by the same, of the knowledge of your state, and of other our dearly beloved brethren and countrymen in those parts beyond the sea.

"Dearly-beloved brother Grindal, I say to you, and all the rest of our brethren in Christ with you, Rejoice in the Lord, and as you love me, and the other my reverend fathers and concaptives, (which undoubtedly are the glory of Christ,) lament not our state, but I beseech you and them all to give to our heavenly Father, for his boundless mercies and unspeakable benefits even in the midst of all our troubles given unto us, most hearty thanks. For know ye, that as the weight of his cross hath increased upon us, so he hath not nor doth cease to multiply his mercies, to strengthen us; and I trust, yea, by his grace I doubt nothing but he will so do for Christ our Master's sake even to the end. To hear that you and our other brethren do find in your exile favour and grace with the magistrates, ministers, and citizens at Zurich, Frankfort, and elsewhere, it doth greatly comfort (I dare say) all here, that do indeed love Christ and his true word. I assure you, it warmed my heart to hear you by chance to name some, as Scory, and Cox, &c. Oh! that it had come in your mind to have said somewhat also of Cheek, of Turner, of Leaver, of Sampson, of Chambers; but, I trust in God, they be all well. And sir, seeing you say, that there be in those parts with you of students and ministers so good a number, now, therefore, care you not for us, otherwise than to wish that God's glory may be set forth by us: for whensoever God shall call us home, (as we look daily for none other, but when it shall please God to say, come,) you, blessed be God! are enough, through his aid, to light and set up again the lantern of his word in England. As concerning the copies, ye say, ye have with you, I wonder how ever they did and could find the way to come to you. My disputation, except ye have that which I gathered myself after the disputation done, I cannot think ye have it truly. If ye have that, then ye have therewithal the whole manner after the which I was used in the disputation.

"As for the treatise in English, 'Contra Transubstantiationem,' vix possum adduci ut credam operæ-pretium fore ut in Latinum transferatur. Cæterum, quicquid sit, nullo modo velim ut quid-quam quocunque modo meo nomine ederetur, donec quid de nobis Dominus, constituerit fieri, vobis Arius certo constiterit; and thus much unto your letters. Now, although I suppose you know a good part of our state here, (for we are forthcoming, even as when ye departed, &c.,) you shall understand that I was in the Tower about the space of two months close prisoner, and, after that, had granted to me without my labour, the liberty of the Tower, and so continued about half a year; and then, because I refused to allow the mass with my presence, I was shut up in prison again.

"The last Lent save one, it chanced by reason of the tumult stirred up in Kent, there were so many prisoners in the Tower, that my Lord of Canterbury, Master Latimer, Master Bradford, and I, were put all together in one prison, where we remained till almost the next Easter, and then we three, Canterbury, Master Latimer, and I, were suddenly sent a little before Easter to Oxford, and were suffered to have nothing with us, but that we carried upon us. About the Whitsuntide following, were our disputations at Oxford, after the which all was taken from us, as pen, ink,

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&c. Our own servants were taken from us before, and every one had put to him a strange man, and we each one appointed to be kept in several places, as we are unto this day.

"Blessed be God, we three, at the writing hereof, were in good health, and (in God) of good cheer. We have looked long ago to have been despatched, for we were all three on one day, (within a day or two of our disputations,) of Dr. Weston, being the head commissioner, condemned for heretics; and since that time we remain as we were of him left. The Lord's will be fulfilled in us, as I do not doubt but by his grace it shall be to his glory, and our endless salvation through Jesus Christ our Lord! Likewise the Lord hath hitherto preserved above all our expectation, our dear brother, and in Christ's cause a strong champion, John Bradford. He is likewise condemned, and is already delivered to the secular power, and writs, as we have heard say, given out for his execution, and called in again."

"Thus the Lord, so long as his blessed pleasure is, preserveth whom he listeth, notwithstanding the wonderful raging of the world. Many (as we hear say) have suffered valiantly, confessing Christ's truth, and nothing yielding to the adversary, yea, not for the fear or pains of death. The names of them which I knew, and have now suffered, are these: Ferrar the bishop of St. David's, Hooper the bishop of Worcester, Rogers, (tuus olim comprehendarius,) Dr. Taylor of Hadley, Master Saunders, and one Tomkins, a weaver; and now, this last day, Master Cardmaker, with another, were burnt in Smithfield at London, and many others in Essex and Kent, whose names are written in the book of life, whom yet I do not know.

"West, your old companion, and sometime mine officer, alas, hath relented, as I have heard; but the Lord hath shortened his days, for anon after he died, and is gone. Grimbald was caught by the heel, and cast into the Marshalsea, but now is at liberty again, but I fear me he escaped not without some becking or bowing, alas, of his knee unto Baal.

"My dear friend Thomas Ridley, of the Bullhead in Cheap, which was to me the most faithful friend that I had in my trouble, is departed also unto God. My brother Shipside, that hath married my sister, hath been almost half a year in prison, for delivering (as he was accused) of certain things, I ween, from me; but now, thanks be to God, he is at liberty again, but so that the bishop hath taken from him his park.

"Of all us three concaptives at Oxford, I am kept most strait, and with least liberty, vel quia viro, in cujus ædibus ego custodior, uxor dominatur (licet modo sit præfectus civitatis)—mulier vetula, morosa, et superstitiosissima, qua etiam hoc sibi laudi ducit quod me dicatur arctissime et cautissime custodire; vir autem ipse, Irischius nomine, mitis satis est omnibus, uxori vero plusquam obsequens. Licet uxorem (uti nosti) nunquam habuerim, tamen ex hac quotidian consuetudine, quam cum istis conjugibus habeo, videor mihi nonnihil posse intelligere, quam grave malum et intolerabile jugum sit cum mala muliere in conjugio collocari. Recta ergo sapiens dixit, Uxor bona donum Dei; et iterum, Mulieris bonæ beatus vir. Vel hæc, inquam, causa est, vel quia à magnis magistratibus (nescio quas ob causas) illud est, ut ita fieret, ipsis mandatum: idque illi, si quando de mea nimia servitute apud eos conqueror, sedulo sæpe rursus mihi inculcant.

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"At Cambridge (as I hear say) omnes studiorum et statutorum reformationes nuper factæ nunc sunt denuo deformatæ et deletæ, et omnia sunt in pristinum chaos et in antiquum papismum reducta: omnes collegiorum Præfecti qui sinceritati evangelii favebant, vel qui conjugati erant, loco moti sunt; et alii papisticæ factionis in eorum loca surrogati, quod et de Sociis Collegiorum qui noluerunt flectere genu Baal factum esse audio. Nec mirum, nam idem passim factum est in universo regno Angliæ, in omnibus archiepiscopis, episcopis, decanis, prebendariis, sacerdotibus ecclesiarum, et in toto clero: and to tell you much naughty matter in few words, papismus apud nos ubique in pleno suo antiquo robore regnat.

"The Lord be merciful, and for Christ's sake pardon us our old unkindness and unthankfulness for when he poured upon us the gifts of his manifold graces and favour, alas, we did not serve him nor render unto him thanks according to the same. We pastors many of us were too cold, and bare too much, alas, with the wicked world; our magistrates did abuse, to their own worldly gain, both God's gospel and the ministers of the same. The people in many places was wayward and unkind. Thus of every side and of every sort we have provoked God's anger and wrath to fall upon us: but blessed might he be that hath not suffered his to continue in those ways which so wholly have displeased his sacred Majesty, but hath awaked them by the fatherly correction of his own Son's cross, unto his glory and our endless salvation, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

"My daily prayer is, (as God doth know,) and by God's grace shall be so long as I live in this world, for you, my dear brethen, that are fled out of your own country, because you will rather forsake all worldly things than the truth of God's word. It is even the same that I used to make to God, for all those churches abroad through the world, which have forsaken the kingdom of antichrist, and professed openly the purity of the gospel of Jesus Christ; that is, that God our eternal Father, for our Saviour Christ's sake, will daily increase in you the gracious gift of his heavenly Spirit, to the true setting-forth of his glory and of his gospel, and make you to agree brotherly in the truth of the same; that there arise no root of bitterness among you that may infect that good seed which God hath sown in your hearts already; and finally, that your life may be so pure and so honest, according to the rule of God's word, and according to that vocation whereunto we are called by the gospel of Christ our Saviour, that the honesty and purity of the same may provoke all that shall see or know it, to the love of your doctrine, and to love you for your honesty and virtue's sake; and so, both in brotherly unity of your true doctrine, and also in the godly virtue of your honest life, to glorify our Father which is in heaven.

N. R."

To Augustine Bernher.

Brother Augustine, I bless God with all my heart in his manifold merciful gifts, given unto our dear brethren in Christ, specially to our brother Rogers, whom it pleased him to set forth first, no doubt out of his gracious goodness and fatherly favour towards him. And likewise blessed be God in the rest, as Hooper, Saunders, and Taylor, whom it hath pleased the Lord likewise to set in the forefront of the battle against his adversaries, and hath endued them all (so far as I can hear) to stand in the confession of his truth, and to be content in his cause, and for his gospel's sake, to lose their life. And evermore and without end blessed be even the same our heavenly Father, for our dear and entirely beloved brother Bradford, whom now the Lord, I

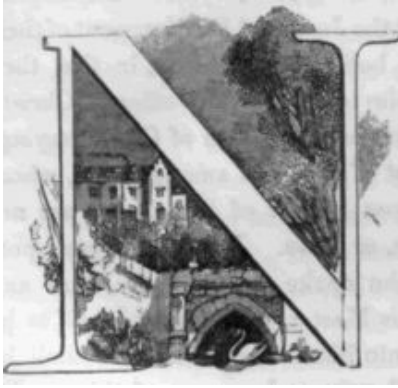
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perceive, calleth for: for I ween he will no longer vouchsafe him to abide among the adulterous and wicked generation of this world. I do not doubt but that he, for those gifts of grace which the Lord hath bestowed on him plenteously, hath holpen those which are gone before in their journey; that is, hath animated and encouraged them to keep the highway, *et sic currere, uti tandem acciperent præmium*. The Lord be his comfort, whereof I do not doubt, and I thank God heartily that ever I was acquainted with him, and that ever I had such a one in my house. And yet again I bless God in our dear brother, and of this time protomartyr, Rogers, that he was also one of my calling to be a prebendary preacher of London. And now, because Grindal is gone, (the Lord, I doubt not, hath and knoweth wherein he will bestow him,) I trust to God, it shall please him of his goodness to strengthen me to make up the trinity out of Paul's church, to suffer for Christ whom God the Father hath anointed, the Holy Spirit doth bear witness unto, Paul and all the apostles preached. Thus fare you well. I had no paper, I was constrained thus to write."

Besides these letters of Bishop Ridley, divers other tractations also were written by him, partly out of prison, partly in prison: as namely, among certain others, there remain in my hands certain notes answering to the two notable sermons of Dr. Watson, bishop of Lincoln, &c.

318. Life of Latimer.

Here beginneth the life, acts, and doings of Master Hugh Latimer, the famous preacher and worthy martyr of Christ and his gospel.



Now consequently after the life of Bishop Ridley, with other his letters, which partly we have expressed, and partly we have deferred to our latter Appendix, follow likewise the life and doings of the worthy champion and old practised soldier of Christ, Master Hugh Latimer; of whose acts and long travails even from his first years and tender age, to begin here to entreat.

First, he was the son of one Hugh Latimer, of Thurcaston, in the county of Leicester, a husbandman of right good estimation; with whom also he was brought up until he was of the age of four years, or thereabout; at which time his parents, (having him as then left for their only son, with six other daughters,) seeing his ready, prompt, and sharp wit, purposed to train him up in erudition, and knowledge of good literature; wherein he so profited in his youth, at the common schools of his own country, that at the age of fourteen years he was sent to the university of Cambridge; where, after some continuance of exercises in other things, he gave himself to the study of such school divinity, as the ignorance of that age did suffer.

Zealous he was then in the popish religion, and therewith so scrupulous, as himself confessed, that being a priest, and using to say mass, he was so servile an observer of the Romish decrees, that he thought he had never sufficiently mingled his massing wine with water: and moreover that he should never be damned, if he were once a professed friar; with divers such superstitious fantasies. And in this blind zeal he was a very enemy to the professors of Christ's gospel; as both his oration made, when he proceeded bachelor of divinity, against Philip Melancthon, and also his other works, did plainly declare. But especially his popish zeal could in no case abide in those days good Master Stafford, reader of the divinity lectures in Cambridge; most spitefully railing against him, and willing the youth of Cambridge in no wise to believe him.

Notwithstanding, such was the goodness and merciful purpose of God, that when he saw his good time, by the which way he thought to have utterly defaced the professor of the gospel and true church of Christ, he was at length himself, by a member of the same prettily caught in the blessed net of God's word. For Master Thomas Bilney, (whose story is before described,) being at that time a trier out of Satan's subtleties, and a secret overthrower of antichrist's kingdom, seeing Master Latimer to have a zeal in his ways, (although without knowledge,) was stricken with a brotherly pity towards him, and bethought by what means he might best win this zealous ignorant brother, to the true knowledge of Christ. Wherefore, after a short time, he came to Master Latimer's study, and desired him to hear him make his confession; which thing he willingly granted; by hearing whereof, he was (through the good Spirit of God) so touched, that hereupon he forsook his former studying of the school-doctors, and other such fopperies, and became an earnest student of true divinity, as he himself, as well in his conference with Master

Ridley, as also in his first sermon made upon the Paternoster, doth confess. So that whereas before he was an enemy, and almost a persecutor of Christ, he was now a zealous seeker after him, changing his old manner of cavilling and railing, into a diligent kind of conferring, both with Master Bilney and others, and came also to Master Stafford before he died, and desired him to forgive him.

After this his winning to Christ, he was not satisfied with his own conversion only, but, like a true disciple of the blessed Samaritan, pitied the misery of others, and therefore became both a public preacher, and also a private instructor, to the rest of his brethren within the university, by the space of three years, spending his time partly in the Latin tongue among the learned, and partly amongst the simple people in his natural and vulgar language. Howbeit, as Satan never sleepeth when he seeth his kingdom to begin to decay, so likewise now, seeing that this worthy member of Christ would be a shrewd shaker thereof, he raised up his impious imps to molest and trouble him.

Amongst these there was an Augustine friar, who took occasion, upon certain sermons that Master Latimer made about Christmas 1529, as well in the church of St. Edward, as also in St. Augustine's, within the university of Cambridge, to envy against him, for that Master Latimer in the said sermons (alluding to the common usage of the season) gave the people certain cards out of the fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters of St. Matthew, whereupon they might not only then, but always else, occupy their time. For the chief trump in the cards he limited the heart, as the principal thing that they should serve God withal, whereby he quite overthrew all hypocritical and external ceremonies, not tending to the necessary furtherance of God's holy word and sacraments. For the better attaining hereof, he wished the Scriptures to be in English, whereby the common people might the better learn their duties as well to God as their neighbours.

The handling of this matter was so apt for the time, and so pleasantly applied of him, that not only it declared a singular towardness of wit in the preacher, but also wrought in the hearers much fruit, to the overthrow of popish superstition, and setting up of perfect religion.

This was upon the Sunday before Christmas day: on which day coming to the church, and causing the bell to be tolled to a sermon, he entered into the pulpit, taking for his text the words of the gospel aforesaid, read in the church that day; *Tu quis es?* &c. In delivering the which cards (as is above said) he made the heart to be trump, exhorting and inviting all men thereby to serve the Lord with inward heart and true affection, and not with outward ceremonies: adding, moreover, to the praise of that trump, that though it were never so small, yet it would take up the best coat card beside in the bunch, yea, though it were the king of clubs, &c.; meaning thereby how the Lord would be worshipped and served in simplicity of heart and verity, wherein consisteth true Christian religion, and not in the outward deeds of the letter only, or in the glistening show of man's traditions, or pardons, pilgrimages, ceremonies, vows, devotions, voluntary works, and works of supererogation, foundations, oblations, the pope's supremacy, &c.; so that all these either were needless, where the other is present, or else were of small estimation, in comparison of the other.

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The tenor and effect of certain sermons made by Hugh Latimer in Cambridge, about the year of our Lord 1529.

"Who art thou? These be the words of the Pharisees, which were sent by the Jews unto St. John Baptist in the wilderness, to have knowledge of him, who he was; which words they spake unto him of an evil intent, thinking that he would have taken on him to be Christ, and so they would have had him done with their good wills, because they knew that he was more carnal, and given to their laws, than Christ indeed should be, as they perceived by their old prophecies: and also, because they marvelled much of his great doctrine, preaching, and baptizing, they were in doubt whether he was Christ or not; wherefore they said unto him, Who art thou? Then answered St. John, and confessed that he was not Christ.

"Now here is to be noted, the great and prudent answer of St. John Baptist unto the Pharisees, that when they required of him who he was, he would not directly answer of himself, what he was himself; but he said he was not Christ, by the which saying he thought to put the Jews and Pharisees out of their false opinion and belief towards him, in that they would have had him to exercise the office of Christ; and so declared further unto them of Christ, saying, He is in the midst of you, and amongst you, whom ye know not, whose latchet of his shoe I am not worthy to unloose, or undo. By this you may perceive that St. John spake much in the laud and praise of Christ his Master, professing himself to be in no wise like unto him. So likewise it shall be necessary unto all men and women of this world, not to ascribe unto themselves any goodness of themselves, but all unto our Lord God, as shall appear hereafter, when this question aforesaid, Who art thou? shall be moved unto them: not as the Pharisees did unto St. John, of an evil purpose, but of a good and simple mind, as may appear hereafter.

"Now then, according to the preacher's mind, let every man and woman, of a good and simple mind, contrary to the Pharisees' intent, ask this question, Who art thou? This question must be moved to themselves, what they be of themselves, on this fashion, 'What art thou of thy only and natural generation between father and mother, when thou earnest into the world? What substance, what virtue, what goodness art thou of, by thyself?' Which question if thou rehearse oftentimes unto thyself, thou shalt well perceive and understand, how thou shalt make answer unto it: which must be made on this wise: I am of myself, and by myself, coming from my natural father and mother, the child of the ire and indignation of God, the true inheritor of hell, a lump of sin, and working nothing of myself, but all towards hell; except I have better help of another, than I have of myself. Now we may see in what state we enter into this world, that we be of ourselves the true and just inheritors of hell, the children of the ire and indignation of Christ, working all towards hell, whereby we deserve of ourselves perpetual damnation, by the right judgment of God, and the true claim of ourselves: which unthrifty state that we be born unto is come unto us for our own deserts, as proveth well this example following:

"Let it be admitted for the probation of this, that it might please the king's Grace now being, to accept into his favour a mean man, of a simple degree and birth, not born to any possession; whom the king's Grace favoureth, not because this person hath of himself deserved any such favour, but that the king casteth his favour unto him of his own mere motion and fantasy: and, for because the king's Grace will more declare his favour unto him, he giveth unto this said man a thousand pounds in lands, to him and his heirs, on this condition, that he shall

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take upon him to be the chief captain and defender of his town of Calais, and to be true and faithful to him in the custody of the same, against the Frenchmen especially, above all other enemies.

"This man taketh on him this charge, promising his fidelity thereunto. It chanceth in process of time, that by the singular acquaintance and frequent familiarity of this captain with the Frenchmen, these Frenchmen give unto the said captain of Calais a great sum of money, so that he will but be content and agreeable, that they may enter into the said town of Calais by force of arms; and so thereby possess the same unto the crown of France. Upon this agreement the Frenchmen do invade the said town of Calais, alone by the negligence of this captain.

"Now the king's Grace, hearing of this invasion, cometh with a great puissance to defend this his said town, and so by good policy of war overcometh the said Frenchmen, and entereth again into his town of Calais. Then he, being desirous to know how these enemies of his came thither, he maketh profound search and inquiry, by whom this treason was conspired. By this search it was known and found his own captain to be the very author and the beginner of the betraying of it. The king, seeing the great infidelity of this person, dischargeth this man of his office, and taketh from him and his heirs this thousand pounds of possessions. Think you not that the king doth use justice unto him, and all his posterity and heirs? Yes truly: the said captain cannot deny himself, but that he had true justice, considering how unfaithfully he behaved himself to his prince, contrary to his own fidelity and promise. So, likewise, it was of our first father Adam. He had given unto him the spirit and science of knowledge, to work all goodness therewith; this said spirit was not given alone unto him, but unto all his heirs and posterity. He had also delivered him the town of Calais, that is to say, Paradise in earth, the most strong and fairest town in the world, to be in his custody. He nevertheless, by the instigation of these Frenchmen, i. e. the temptation of the fiend, did obey unto their desire, and so he brake his promise and fidelity, the commandment of the everlasting King his master, in eating of the apple by him inhibited.

"Now then the King, seeing this great treason in his captain, deposed him of the thousand pounds of possessions, that is to say, from everlasting life in glory, and all his heirs and posterity: for, likewise as he had the spirit of science and knowledge, for-him and his heirs; so in like manner when he lost the same, his heirs also lost it by him, and in him. So now, this example proveth, that by our father Adam we had once in him the very inheritance of everlasting joy; and by him, and in him again, we lost the same.

"The heirs of the captain of Calais, could not by any manner of claim ask of the king the right and title of their father, in the thousand pounds of possessions, by reason the king might answer and say unto them, that although their father deserved not of himself to enjoy so great possessions, yet he deserved by himself to lose them, and greater, committing so high treason, as he did, against his prince's commandments; whereby he had no wrong to lose his title, but was unworthy to have the same, and had therein true justice. Let not you think, which be his heirs, that if he had justice to lose his possessions, you have wrong to lose the same. In the same manner it may be answered unto all men and women now being, that if our father Adam had true justice to be excluded from his possession of everlasting glory in Paradise, let us not think the contrary that be his heirs, but that we have no wrong in losing also the same; yea, we have true

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justice and right. Then in what miserable estate we be, that of the right and just title of our own deserts have lost the everlasting joy, and claim of ourselves to be true inheritors of hell! for he that committeth deadly sin willingly, bindeth himself to be an inheritor of everlasting pain: and so did our forefather Adam willingly eat of the apple forbidden. Wherefore he was cast out of the everlasting joy in Paradise, into this corrupt world amongst all vileness, whereby of himself he was not worthy to do any thing laudable or pleasant to God, evermore bound to corrupt affections and beastly appetites, transformed into the uncleanest and variablest nature that was made under heaven, of whose seed and disposition all the world is lineally descended, insomuch that this evil nature is so diffused and shed from one into another, that at this day there is no man nor woman living, that can of themselves wash away this abominable vileness; and so we must needs grant of ourselves to be in like displeasure unto God, as our forefather Adam was; by reason hereof, as I said, we be of ourselves the very children of the indignation and vengeance of God, the true inheritors of hell, and working all towards hell, which is the answer to this question, made to every man and woman by themselves, Who art thou?

"And now, the world standing in this damnable state, cometh in the occasion of the incarnation of Christ; the Father in heaven, perceiving the frail nature of man, that he, by himself and of himself, could do nothing for himself, by his prudent wisdom sent down the second person in Trinity, his Son Jesus Christ, to declare unto man his pleasure and commandment: and so, at the Father's will, Christ took on him human nature, being willing to deliver man out of this miserable way, and was content to suffer cruel passion in shedding his blood for all mankind; and so left behind for our safeguard, laws and ordinances, to keep us always in the right path unto everlasting life, as the evangelies, the sacraments, the commandments, and so forth: which if we do keep and observe according to our profession, we shall answer better unto this question, Who art thou? than we did before. For before thou didst enter into the sacrament of baptism, thou wert but a natural man, a natural woman; as I might say, a man, a woman. But after thou takest on thee Christ's religion, thou hast a longer name; for then thou art a Christian man, a Christian woman. Now then, seeing thou art a Christian man, what shall be thy answer of this question, Who art thou?

"The answer of this question is, when I ask it unto myself, I must say that I am a Christian man, a Christian woman, the child of everlasting joy, through the merits of the bitter passion of Christ. This is a joyful answer. Here we may see how much we be bound, and in danger unto God, that hath revived us from death to life, and saved us that were damned; which great benefit we cannot well consider, unless we do remember what we were of ourselves before we meddled with him or his laws: and the more we know our feeble nature, and set less by it, the more we shall conceive and know in our hearts what God hath done for us: and the more we know what God hath done for us, the less we shall set by ourselves, and the more we shall love and please God; so that in no condition we shall either know ourselves or God, except we do utterly confess ourselves to be mere vileness and corruption. Well, now it is come unto this point, that we be Christian men, Christian women, I pray you what doth Christ require of a Christian man, or of a Christian woman? Christ requireth nothing else of a Christian man or woman, but that they will observe his rule: for likewise as he is a good Augustine friar that keepeth well St. Augustine's rule, so is he a good Christian man that keepeth well Christ's rule.

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"Now then, what is Christ's rule? Christ's rule consisteth in many things, as in the commandments, and the works of mercy, and so forth. And because I cannot declare Christ's rule unto you at one time as it ought to be done, I will apply myself according to your custom at this time of Christmas: I will, as I said, declare unto you Christ's rule, but that shall be in Christ's cards. And whereas you are wont to celebrate Christmas in playing at cards, I intend, by God's grace, to deal unto you Christ's cards, wherein you shall perceive Christ's rule. The game that we will play at shall be called the trump, which if it be well played at, he that dealeth shall win; the players shall likewise win; and the standers and lookers upon shall do the same; insomuch that there is no man that is willing to play at this trump with these cards, but they shall be all winners, and no losers.

"Let therefore every Christian man and woman play at these cards, that they may have and obtain the trump; you must mark also that the trump must apply to fetch home unto him all the other cards, whatsoever suit they be of. Now then, take ye this first card, which must appear and be showed unto you as followeth: you have heard what was spoken to men of the old law, Thou shalt not kill; whosoever shall kill shall be in danger of judgment. But I say unto you of the new law, saith Christ, that whosoever is angry with his neighbour, shall be in danger of judgment, and whosoever shall say unto his neighbour, Raca, that is to say, brainless, or any other like word of rebuking, shall be in danger of council; and whosoever shall say unto his neighbour, Fool, shall be in danger of hell-fire. This card was made and spoken by Christ, as appeareth in the fifth chapter of St. Matthew.

"Now it must be noted, that whosoever shall play with this card, must first, before they play with it, know the strength and virtue of the same; wherefore you must well note and mark terms, how they be spoken, and to what purpose; let us therefore read it once or twice, that we may be the better acquainted with it.

"Now behold and see, this card is divided into four parts: the first part is one of the commandments that was given unto Moses in the old law, before the coming of Christ, which commandment we of the new law be bound to observe and keep, and it is one of our commandments. The other three parts spoken by Christ, be nothing else but expositions unto the first part of this commandment: for in very effect all these four parts be but one commandment, that is to say, Thou shalt not kill. Yet nevertheless, the last three parts do show unto thee how many ways thou mayest kill thy neighbour contrary to this commandment: yet, for all Christ's exposition, in the three last parts of this card, the terms be not open enough to thee that dost read and hear them spoken. No doubt, the Jews understood Christ well enough, when he spake to them these three last sentences, for he spake unto them in their own natural terms and tongue. Wherefore, seeing that these terms were natural terms of the Jews, it shall be necessary to expound them, and compare them unto some like terms of our natural speech, that we, in like manner, may understand Christ as well as the Jews did. We will begin, first, with the first part of this card, and then, after, with the other three parts: you must therefore understand that the Jews and the Pharisees of the old law, to whom this first part, this commandment, Thou shalt not kill, was spoken, thought it sufficient and enough for their discharge, not to kill with any manner of material weapon, as sword, dagger, or with any such weapon; and they thought it no great fault whatsoever they said or did by their neighbours, so that they did not harm or meddle with their

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corporal bodies, which was a false opinion in them, as prove well the three last other sentences following the first part of this card.

"Now, as touching the three other sentences, you must note and take heed what difference is between these three manner of offences: to be angry with your neighbour; to call your neighbour 'brainless,' or any such word of disdain; or to call your neighbour 'fool.' Whether these three manner of offences be of themselves more grievous one than the other, it is to be opened unto you. Truly, as they be of themselves divers offences, so they kill diversly, one more than the other, as you shall perceive by the first of these three, and so forth: A man which conceiveth against his neighbour or brother ire or wrath in his mind, by some manner of occasion given unto him, although he be angry in his mind against his said neighbour, he will peradventure express his ire by no manner of sign, either in word or deed; yet nevertheless he offendeth against God, and breaketh this commandment in killing his own soul; and is therefore in danger of judgment.

"Now, to the second part of these three: That man that is moved with ire against his neighbour, and in his ire calleth his neighbour 'brainless,' or some other like word of displeasure—as a man might say in a fury, 'I shall handle thee well enough,' which words and countenances do more represent and declare ire to be in this man, than in him that was but angry, and spake no manner of word nor showed any countenance to declare his ire. Wherefore as he that so declareth his ire either by word or countenance, offendeth more against God, so he both killeth his own soul, and doth that in him is, to kill his neighbour's soul in moving him unto ire, wherein he is faulty himself; and so this man is in danger of council.

"Now to the third offence, and last of these three: That man that calleth his neighbour 'fool,' doth more declare his angry mind toward him, than he that calleth his neighbour but 'brainless,' or any such words moving ire: for to call a man 'fool,' that word representeth more envy in a man, than 'brainless' doth. Wherefore he doth most offend, because he doth most earnestly with such words express his ire, and so he is in danger of hell-fire: wherefore you may understand now these three parts of this card be three offences, and that one is more grievous to God than the other, and that one killeth more the soul of man than the other.

"Now peradventure there be some that will marvel that Christ did not declare this commandment by some greater faults of ire, than by these which seem but small faults, as to be angry and speak nothing of it, to declare it and to call a man 'brainless,' and to call his neighbour 'fool;' truly these be the smallest, and the least faults that belong to ire, or to killing in ire. Therefore beware how you offend in any kind of ire: seeing that the smallest be damnable to offend in, see that you offend not in the greatest. For Christ thought, if he might bring you from the smallest manner of faults, and give you warning to avoid the least, he reckoned you would not offend in the greatest and worst, as to call your neighbour thief, whoreson, whore, drab, and so forth, into more blasphemous names; which offences must needs have punishment in hell, considering how that Christ hath appointed these three small faults, to have three degrees of punishment in hell, as appeareth by these three terms, judgment, council, and hell-fire: these three terms do signify nothing else but three divers punishments in hell, according to the offences. Judgment is less in degree than council, therefore it signifieth a lesser pain in hell, and it is ordained for him that is angry in his mind with his neighbour, and doth express his malice neither by word nor countenance. Council is a less degree in hell than hell-fire, and is a greater

degree in hell than judgment; and it is ordained for him that calleth his neighbour 'brainless,' or any such word, that declareth his ire and malice; wherefore it is more pain than judgment. Hell-fire is more pain in hell than council or judgment, and it is ordained for him that calleth his neighbour 'fool,' by reason that in calling his neighbour fool, he declareth more his malice, in that it is an earnest word of ire. Wherefore hell-fire is appointed for it; that is, the most pain of the three punishments.

"Now you have heard that to these divers offences of ire and killing, be appointed punishments according to their degrees; for look as the offence is, so shall the pain be: if the offence be great, the pain shall be according: if it be less, there shall be less pain for it. I would not now that you should think, because that here are but three degrees of punishment spoken of, that there be no more in hell. No doubt Christ spake of no more here but of these three degrees of punishment, thinking they were sufficient, enough for example, whereby we might understand, that there be as divers and many pains as there be offences: and so by these three offences, and these three punishments, all other offences and punishments may be compared with another. Yet I would satisfy your minds further in these three terms of judgment, council, and hell-fire. Whereas you might say, What was the cause that Christ declared more the pains of hell by these terms, than by any other terms? I told you afore that he knew well to whom he spake them: these terms were natural and well-known amongst the Jews and the Pharisees; wherefore Christ taught them with their own terms, to the intent they might understand the better his doctrine. And these terms may be likened unto three terms which we have common and usual amongst us, that is to say, the sessions of enquirance, the sessions of deliverance, and the execution-day. Sessions of enquirance is like unto judgment; for when sessions of enquiry is, then the judges cause twelve men to give verdict of the felon's crime, whereby he shall be judged to be indicted: sessions of deliverance is much like council; for at sessions of deliverance, the judges go among themselves to council, to determine sentence against the felon: execution-day is to be compared unto hell-fire, for the Jews had amongst themselves a place of execution, named 'hell-fire;' and surely when a man goeth to his death, it is the greatest pain in this world: wherefore you may see that there are degrees in these our terms, as there be in those terms.

"These evil-disposed affections and sensualities in us are always contrary to the rule of our salvation. What shall we do now or imagine, to thrust down these Turks and to subdue them? It is a great ignominy and shame for a Christian man to be bond and subject unto a Turk: nay, it shall not be so, we will first cast a trump in their way, and play with them at cards, who shall have the better. Let us play therefore on this fashion with this card.

Whensoever it shall happen these foul passions and Turks to rise in our stomachs against our brother or neighbour, either for unkind words, injuries, or wrongs, which they have done unto us, contrary unto our mind, straightways let us call unto our remembrance, and speak this question unto ourselves, 'Who art thou?' The answer is, 'I am a Christian man.' Then further we must say to ourselves, 'What requireth Christ of a Christian man?' Now turn up your trump, your heart, (hearts is trump, as I said before,) and cast your trump, your heart, on this card; and upon this card you shall learn what Christ requireth of a Christian man, not to be angry, ne moved to ire against his neighbour, in mind, countenance, nor other ways, by word or deed. Then take up this card with your heart, and lay them together: that done, you have won the game of the Turk, whereby you have defaced and overcome him by true and lawful play. But, alas for pity, the

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Rhodes are won and overcome by these false Turks, the strong castle Faith is decayed, so that I fear it is almost impossible to win it again.

"The great occasion of the loss of this Rhodes is by reason that Christian men do so daily kill their own nation, that the very true number of Christianity is decayed; which murder and killing one of another is increased specially two ways, to the utter undoing of Christendom, that is to say, by example and silence. By example, as thus: When the father, the mother, the lord, the lady, the master, the dame, be themselves overcome with these Turks, they be continual swearers, adulterers, disposers to malice, never in patience, and so forth in all other vices: think you not when the father, the mother, the master, the dame, be disposed unto vice or impatience, but that their children and servants shall incline and be disposed to the same? No doubt, as the child shall take disposition natural of the father and mother, so shall the servants apply unto the vices of their masters and dames: if the heads be false in their faculties and crafts, it is no marvel if the children, servants, and apprentices do joy therein. This is a great and shameful manner of killing Christian men, that the fathers, the mothers, the masters, and the dames, shall not alonely kill themselves, but all theirs, and all that belongeth unto them; and so this way is a great number of Christian lineage murdered and spoiled.

"The second manner of killing is silence. By silence also is a great number of Christian men slain; which is on this fashion: Although that the father and mother, master and dame, of themselves be well-disposed to live according to the law of God, yet they may kill their children and servants in suffering them to do evil before their own faces, and do not use due correction according unto their offences. The master seeth his servant or apprentice take more of his neighbour than the king's laws, or the other, of his faculty, doth admit him; or that he suffereth him to take more of his neighbour than he himself would be content to pay, if he were in like condition: thus doing, I say, such men kill willingly their children and servants, and shall go to hell for so doing; but also their fathers and mothers, masters and dames, shall bear them company for so suffering them.

"Wherefore I exhort all true Christian men and women to give good example unto your children and servants, and suffer not them by silence to offend. Every man must be in his own house, according to St. Augustine's mind, a bishop, not alonely giving good ensample, but teaching according to it, rebuking and punishing vice; not suffering your children and servants to forget the laws of God. You ought to see them have their belief, to know the commandments of God, to keep their holy-days, not to lose their time in idleness if they do so, you shall all suffer pain for it, if God be true of his saying, as there is no doubt thereof. And so you may perceive that there be many a one that breaketh this card, 'Thou shalt not kill,' and playeth therewith oftentimes, at the blind trump, whereby they be no winners, but great losers. But who be those, now-a-days, that can clear themselves of these manifest murders used to their children and servants? I think not the contrary, but that many have these two ways slain their own children unto their damnation; unless the great mercy of God were ready to help them when they repent there-for.

"Wherefore, considering that we be so prone and ready to continue in sin, let us cast down ourselves with Mary Magdalene; and the more we bow down with her toward Christ's feet, the more we shall be afraid to rise again in sin; and the more we know and submit ourselves, the

more we shall be forgiven; and the less we know and submit ourselves, the less we shall be forgiven; as appeareth by this example following:

"Christ when he was in this world amongst the Jews and Pharisees, there was a great Pharisee whose name was Simon; this Pharisee desired Christ on a time to dine with him, thinking in himself that he was able and worthy to give Christ a dinner. Christ refused not his dinner, but came unto him. In time of their dinner it chanced there came into the house a great and a common sinner, named Mary Magdalene. As soon as she perceived Christ, she cast herself down, and called unto her remembrance what she was of herself; and how greatly she had offended God, whereby she conceived in Christ great love, and so came near unto him, and washed his feet with bitter tears, and shed upon his head precious ointment, thinking that by him she should be delivered from her sins. This great and proud Pharisee, seeing that Christ did accept her oblation in the best part, had great indignation against this woman, and said to himself, 'If this man Christ were a holy prophet, as he is taken for, he would not suffer this sinner to come so nigh him.' Christ, understanding the naughty mind of this Pharisee, said unto him, 'Simon, I have somewhat to say unto thee.' 'Say what you please,' quod the Pharisee. Then said Christ, 'I pray thee tell me this: If there be a man to whom is owing twenty pound by one, and forty by another, this man to whom this money is owing, perceiving these two men be not able to pay him, he forgiveth them both: which of these two debtors ought to love this man most?' The Pharisee said, 'That man ought to love him best that had most forgiven him.' 'Likewise,' said Christ, 'it is by this woman; she hath loved me most, therefore most is forgiven her; she hath known her sins most, whereby she hath most loved me. And thou hast least loved me, because thou hast least known thy sins: therefore, because thou hast least known thine offences, thou art least forgiven.' So this proud Pharisee had an answer to delay his pride. And think you not, but that there be amongst us a great number of these proud Pharisees, which think themselves worthy to bid Christ to dinner, which will perk, and presume to sit by Christ in the church, and have disdain of this poor woman Magdalene, their poor neighbour, with a high, disdainous, and solemn countenance. And being always desirous to climb highest in the church, reckoning themselves more worthy to sit there than another, I fear me poor Magdalene under the board, and in the belfry, hath more forgiven of Christ than they have: for it is like that those Pharisees do less know themselves and their offences, whereby they less love God, and so they be less forgiven.

"I would to God we would follow this example, and be like unto Magdalene. I doubt not but we be all Magdalenes in falling into sin, and in offending: but we be not again Magdalenes in knowing ourselves, and in rising from sin. If we be the true Magdalenes, we should be as willing to forsake our sin, and rise from sin, as we were willing to commit sin, and to continue in it.; and we then should know ourselves best, and make more perfect answer than ever we did, unto this question, 'Who art thou?' to the which we might answer, that we be true Christian men and women: and then, I say, you should understand, and know how you ought to play at this card, Thou shalt not kill, without any interruption of your deadly enemies the Turks; and so triumph at the last, by winning everlasting life in glory: Amen."

It would ask a long discourse to declare what a stir there was in Cambridge, upon this preaching of Master Latimer. Belike Satan began to feel himself and his kingdom to be touched too near, and therefore thought it time to look about him, and to make out his men-at-arms.

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First came out the prior of the Black Friars, called Buckenham, otherwise surnamed *Domine labia*, who thinking to make a great hand against Master Latimer, about the same time of Christmas, when Master Latimer brought forth his cards to deface belike the doings of the other, brought out his Christmas dice, casting there to his audience cinque and quatre; meaning by the cinque, five places in the New Testament, and the four doctors by the quatre; by which his cinque quatre, he would prove that it was not expedient the Scripture to be in English, lest the ignorant and vulgar sort, through the occasion thereof, might haply be brought in danger to leave their vocation, or else to run into some inconvenience: as for example, the ploughman, when he heareth this in the gospel, No man that layeth his hand on the plough and looketh back, is meet for the kingdom of God, might peradventure, hearing this, cease from his plough, Likewise the baker, when he heareth that a little leaven corrupteth a whole lump of dough, may percase leave our bread unleavened, and so our bodies shall be unseasoned. Also the simple man, when he heareth in the gospel, If thine eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee, may make himself blind, and so fill the world full of beggars. These with others more this clerkly friar brought out, to the number of five, to prove his purpose.

Master Latimer, hearing this friarly sermon of Dr. Buckenham, cometh again in the afternoon, or shortly after, to the church, to answer the friar, where resorted to him a great multitude, as well of the university as of the town, both doctors and other graduates, with great expectation to hear what he could say: among whom also, directly in the face of Latimer, underneath the pulpit, sat Buckenham, the foresaid friar, prior of the Black Friars, with his Black-friar's cowl about his shoulders.

Then Master Latimer, first repeating the friarly reasons of Dr. Buckenham, whereby he would prove it a dangerous thing for the vulgar people to have the Scripture in the vulgar tongue, so refuted the friar; so answered to his objections; so dallied with his bald reasons of the ploughman looking back, and of the baker leaving his bread unleavened, that the vanity of the friar might to all men appear; well proving and declaring to the people, how there was no such fear nor danger for the Scriptures to be in English, as the friar pretended; at least this requiring, that the Scripture might be so long in the English tongue, till Englishmen were so mad, that neither the ploughman durst look back, nor the baker should leave his bread unleavened. And proceeding moreover in his sermon, he began to discourse of the mystical speeches and figurative phrases of the Scripture: which phrases, he said, were not so diffuse and difficult, as they were common in the Scripture, and in the Hebrew tongue most commonly used and known "and not only in the Hebrew tongue, but also every speech," saith he, "hath its metaphors and like figurative significations, so common and vulgar to all men, that the very painters do paint them on walls and in houses."

As for example, (saith he, looking toward the friar that sat over against him,) when they paint a fox preaching out of a friar's cowl, none is so mad to take this to be a fox that preacheth, but know well enough the meaning of the matter, which is to paint out unto us, what hypocrisy, craft, and subtle dissimulation, lieth hid many times in these friars cowls, willing us thereby to beware of them. In fine, Friar Buckenham with this sermon was so dashed, that never after he durst peep out of the pulpit against Master Latimer.

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Besides this Buckenham, there was also another railing friar, not of the same coat, but of the same note and faction, a Grey Friar and a doctor, an outlandish man, called Dr. Venetus, who likewise, in his brawling sermons, railed and raged against Master Latimer, calling him a mad and brainless man, and willing the people not to believe him, &c. To whom Master Latimer answering again, taketh for his ground the words of our Saviour Christ, Thou shalt not kill, &c. But I say unto you, whosoever is angry with his neighbour shall be in danger of judgment; and whosoever shall say unto his neighbour, Raca, (or any other like words of rebuking, as brainless,) shall be in danger of council; and whosoever shall say to his neighbour, Fool, shall be in danger of hell-fire.

In discussing of which place, first he divideth the offence of killing into three branches. One to be with hand, the other with heart, the third with word. With hand, when we use any weapon drawn, to spill the life of our neighbour: with heart, when we be angry with him: with word, when in word or countenance we disdainfully rebuke our neighbour, or despitefully revile him. Words of rebuking are, when we speak any opprobrious and unseemly thing, whereby the patience of our neighbour is moved, as when we call him mad (said he) or brainless, or such like, which are guilty of council: words of spite or reviling are, when we call him fool; which Christ saith is guilty of hell-fire, &c.

Thus Master Latimer, in handling and trimming this matter, after that with the weight of Christ's words and the explaining of the same he had sufficiently borne the friar clean down, then he turned to the fifth chapter of the book of Wisdom; out of the which chapter he declared to the audience, how the true servants and preachers of God in this world commonly are scorned and reviled of the proud enemies of God's word, which count them here as mad-men, fools, brainless, and drunken: "so did they," said he, "in the Scripture call them which most purely preached and set forth the glory of God's word. But," said he, "what will be the end of these jolly fellows, or what will they say in the end? 'We mad-men, we mad fools, we, we ourselves,' &c. And that will be their end, except they repent." And thus ending his sermon, he so confounded the poor friar, that he drove him not only out of countenance, but also clean out of the university.

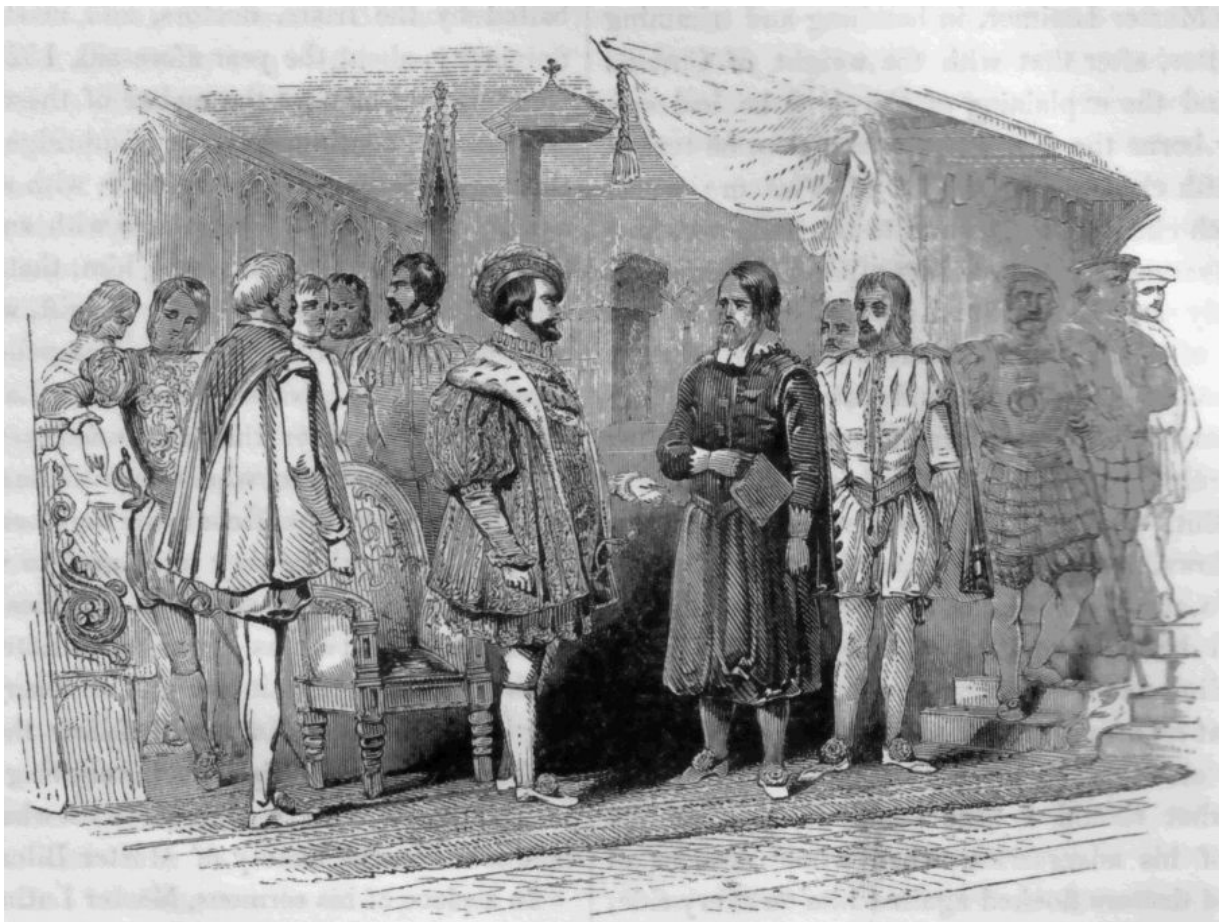
But what should I here stand deciphering the names of his adversaries, when whole swarms of friars and doctors flocked against him on every side, almost through the whole university, preaching likewise and barking against him? amongst whom was Dr. Watson, master of Christ's College, whose scholar Latimer had been afore; Dr. Notaries, master of Clare-hall; Dr. Philo, master of Michael's-house; Dr. Metecalfe, master of St. John's; Dr. Blithe of the King's-hall; Dr. Bullock, master of the Queen's College; Dr. Cliffe of Clement's hostel; Dr. Donnes of Jesus College; Dr. Palms, master of St. Nicholas's hostel; and Bain, Rud, and Greenwood, bachelor of divinity, all three of St. John's College: also Brikenden, bachelor of divinity of the same house, and scholar sometime to the said Latimer. Briefly, almost as many as were heads there of houses, so many impugnors did this worthy standard-bearer of Christ's gospel sustain.

Then came at last Dr. West, bishop of Ely, who preaching against Master Latimer at Barnwell Abbey, forbade him, within the churches of that university, to preach any more. Notwithstanding, so the Lord provided, that Dr. Barnes, prior of the Augustine friars, did license Master Latimer to preach in his church of the Augustines, and he himself preached at the church

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by, called St. Edward's church, which was the first sermon of the gospel which Dr. Barnes preached, being upon Christmas even upon a Sunday. Whereupon certain articles were gathered out of his sermon, and were commenced against him by Master Tyrell, fellow of the King's-hall, and so by the vice-chancellor presented to the cardinal, as in his story before hath been declared.

This Master Latimer, as you have heard, being baited by the friars, doctors, and masters of that university, about the year aforesaid, 1529, notwithstanding and maugre the malice of these malignant adversaries, continued yet in Cambridge, preaching the space of three years together, with such favour and applause of the godly, also with such admiration of his enemies that heard him, that the bishop himself, coming in and hearing his gift, wished himself to have the like, and was compelled to commend him upon the same. So Master Latimer, with Master Bilney, after this, continued yet in Cambridge a certain space, where he with the said Bilney used much to confer and company together, insomuch that the place where they most used to walk in the fields, was called long after, the Heretics'-hill. The society of these two, as it was much noted of many in that university, so it was full of many good examples, to all such as would follow their doings, both in visiting the prisoners, in relieving the needy, in feeding the hungry, whereof somewhat is before mentioned in the history of Master Bilney.



Latimer with King Henry VIII

In a place of his sermons, Master Latimer maketh mention of a certain history which happened about this time in Cambridge between them two, and a certain woman then prisoner in the castle or tower of Cambridge, which I thought here not unworthy to be remembered. The history is this: it so chanced, that after Master Latimer had been acquainted with the foresaid Master Bilney, he went with him to visit the prisoners in the tower of Cambridge, and being there, among other prisoners there was a woman which was accused that she had killed her own child, which act she plainly and stedfastly denied. Whereby it gave them occasion to search for the matter, and at length they found that her husband loved her not, and therefore sought all means he could to make her away. The matter was thus: a child of hers had been sick a whole year, and at length died in harvest time, as it were in a consumption; which when it was gone, she went to have her neighbours to help her to the burial: but all were in harvest abroad, whereby she was enforced, with heaviness of heart, alone to prepare the child to the burial. Her husband coming home, and not loving her, accused her of murdering the child. This was the cause of her trouble, and Master Latimer, by earnest inquisition of conscience, thought the woman not guilty. Then, immediately after, was he called to preach before King Henry the Eighth at Windsor, where, after his sermon, the king's Majesty sent for him, and talked with him familiarly. At which time Master Latimer, finding opportunity, kneeled down, opened his whole matter to the king, and begged her pardon; which the king most graciously granted, and gave it him at his return homeward. In the mean time the woman was delivered of a child in the prison, whose godfather was Master Latimer, Mistress Cheke godmother. But all the while he would not tell her of the pardon, but laboured to have her confess the truth of the matter. At length the time came when she looked to suffer, and Master Latimer came as he was wont to instruct her; unto whom she made great lamentation and moan, to be purified before her suffering, for she thought to be damned if she should suffer without purification.

Then Master Bilney, being with Master Latimer, both told her that that law was made to the Jews, and not to us, and how women be as well in the favour of God before they be purified, as after; and rather it was appointed for a civil and politic law, for natural honesty sake, than that they should any thing the more be purified from sin thereby, &c. So thus they travailed with this woman, till they brought her to a good trade; and then at length showed her the king's pardon, and let her go.

This good act among many others at this time happened in Cambridge by Master Latimer and Master Bilney. But this was not alone, for many more like matters were wrought by them, if all were known, whereof partly some are touched before, such especially as concern Master Bilney, mention whereof is above expressed. But, as it is commonly seen in the natural course of things, that as the fire beginneth more to kindle, so the more smoke ariseth withal, in much like sort it happened with Master Latimer; whose towardness the more it began to spring, his virtues to be seen, and his doings to be known, the more his adversaries began to spurn and kindle against him. Concerning these adversaries, and such as did molest him, partly their names be above expressed. Among the rest of this number was Dr. Redman, of whom mention is made before in the reign of King Edward; a man savouring at that time somewhat more of superstition, than of true religion, after the zeal of the Pharisees, yet not so malignant or harmful, but of a civil and quiet disposition, and also so liberal in well doing, that few poor scholars were in that

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university, which fared not better by his purse. This Dr. Redman being of no little authority in Cambridge, perceiving and understanding the bold enterprise of Master Latimer, in setting abroad the word and doctrine of the gospel, at this time, or much about the same, writeth to him, seeking by persuasion to revoke the said Latimer from that kind and manner of teaching; to whom Master Latimer maketh answer again in few words. The sum and effect of both their letters, translated out of Latin, here followeth to be seen:

The sum of the epistle written by Dr. Redman to Master Latimer.

"Grace be with you, and true peace in Christ Jesus.—I beseech you heartily, and require most earnestly, even for charity's sake, that you will not stand in your own conceit with a mind so indurate, nor prefer your own singular judgment in matters of religion and controversies before so many learned men; and that more is, before the whole catholic church; especially considering that you neither have any thing at all in the word of God to make for you, nor yet the testimony of any authentical writer. Nay, nay; I beseech you rather consider that you are a man, and that lying and vanity may quickly blear your eye, which doth sometimes transform itself into an angel of light.

"Judge not so rashly of us, as that wicked spirit hath tickled you in the ear. Wit you well that we are careful for you, and that we wish you to be saved, and that we are careful also for our own salvation. Lay down your stomach, I pray you, and humble your spirit, and suffer not the church to take offence with the hardness of your heart, nor that her unity and Christ's coat-without-seam (as much as lieth in you) should be torn asunder. Consider what the saying of the wise man is, and be obedient thereunto: trust not your own wisdom.—The Lord Jesus Christ," &c.

The sum of Master Latimer's answer to Dr. Redman.

"Reverend Master Redman, it is even enough for me, that Christ's sheep hear no man's voice but Christ's: and as for you, you have no voice of Christ against me, whereas, for my part, I have a heart that is ready to hearken to any voice of Christ that you can bring me. Thus fare you well, and trouble me no more from the talking with the Lord my God."

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

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

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This benefice was in Wiltshire, under the diocese of Sarum, the name of which town was called West Kington, where this good preacher did exercise himself with much diligence of teaching to instruct his flock, and not only to them his diligence extended, but also to all the country about. In fine, his diligence was so great, his preaching so mighty, the manner of his teaching so zealous, that there, in like sort, he could not escape without enemies. So true it is that St. Paul foretelleth us, Whosoever will live godly in Christ, shall suffer persecution. It so chanced, that whereas he, preaching upon the blessed Virgin, Christ's mother, (whom we call our Lady,) had thereupon declared his mind, referring and reducing all honour only to Christ our only Saviour, certain popish priests, being therewith offended, sought and wrought much trouble against him, drawing out articles and impositions which they untruly, unjustly, falsely, and uncharitably imputed unto him:

"First, That he should preach against our Lady, for that he reprov'd in a sermon the superstitious rudeness of certain blind priests, which so held together upon that blessed Virgin, as though she never had any sin, nor were saved by Christ the only Saviour of the whole world.

"Item, That he should say, that saints were not to be worshipped.

"Item, That Ave Maria was a salutation only, and no prayer.

"Item, That there was no material fire in hell.

"Item, That there was no purgatory, in saying, that he had rather be in purgatory than in Lollards' Tower."

Touching the whole discourse of which articles, with his reply and answer to the same, hereafter shall follow (by the Lord's assistance) when we come to his letters.

The chief impugnors and molesters of him, besides these country priests, were Dr. Powel of Salisbury, Dr. Wilson sometime of Cambridge, Master Hubberdin, and Dr. Sherwood; of whom some preached against him, some also did write against him, insomuch that by their procurement he was cited up and called to appear before William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, and John Stokesley, bishop of London, January the twenty-ninth, A. D. 1531.

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

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much needful to be spoken against; which all may appear by his epistle sent to a certain bishop or archbishop, whose name is not expressed.

In this epistle, he maketh mention of certain articles or propositions, whereunto he was required by the bishops to subscribe. The copy and effect of those articles, or nude propositions, (as he calleth them,) be these:—

Articles devised by the bishops, for Master Latimer to subscribe unto.

"I believe that there is a purgatory, to purge the souls of the dead after this life.

"That the souls in purgatory are holpen with the masses, prayers, and alms of the living.

"That the saints do pray as mediators now for us in heaven.

"That they are to be honoured of us in heaven.

"That it is profitable for Christians to call upon the saints, that they may pray as mediators for us unto God.

"That pilgrimages and oblations done to the sepulchres and relics of saints are meritorious.

"That they which have vowed perpetual chastity may not marry, nor break their vow, without the dispensation of the pope.

"That the keys of binding and loosing delivered to Peter, do still remain with the bishops of Rome, his successors, although they lived wickedly; and are by no means nor at any time committed to laymen.

"That men may merit and deserve at God's hand by fasting, prayer, and other good works of piety.

"That they which are forbidden of the bishop to preach, as suspect persons, ought to cease until they have purged themselves before the said bishop, or their superiors, and be restored again.

"That the fast which is used in Lent, and other fasts prescribed by the canons, and by custom received of the Christians, (except necessity otherwise require,) are to be observed and kept.

"That God in every one of the seven sacraments giveth grace to a man, rightly receiving the same.

"That consecrations, sanctifyings, and blessings by use and custom received in the church, are laudable and profitable.

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"That it is laudable and profitable, that the venerable images of the crucifix and other saints, should be had in the churches as a remembrance, and to the honour and worship of Jesus Christ, and his saints.

"That it is laudable and profitable to deck and to clothe those images, and set up burning lights before them to the honour of the saints."

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

"Hugo Latimerus, in sacra Theologia Bacchalauius in Universitate Cantabrigiæ, coram Cant. Archiepisc. Johan. Lond. Episcopo, reliquaque concione apud Westmon. vocatus, confessus est et recognovit fidem suam sic sentiendo ut sequitur in his artic. 21 die Martii, anno 1531."

If these words be true, it may be so thought that he subscribed. And whether he so did, no great matter nor marvel, the iniquity of the time being such, that either he must needs so do, or else abide the bishop's blessing, that is, cruel sentence of death, which he at that time (as he himself confessed, preaching at Stamford) was loth to sustain for such matters as these were, unless it were for articles necessary of his belief; by which his words I conjecture rather that he did subscribe at length, albeit it was long before he could be brought so to do. Yet this, by the way, is to be noted, concerning the crafty and deceitful handling of these bishops in his examinations, what subtle devices they used the same time, to entrap him in their snares. The truth of the story he sheweth forth himself in a certain sermon preached at Stamford, October the ninth, A. D. 1550: his words be these:—

"I was once," saith he, "in examination before five or six bishops, where I had much turmoiling. Every week thrice I came to examinations, and many snares and traps were laid to get something. Now God knoweth I was ignorant of the law, but that God gave me answer and wisdom what I should speak. It was God indeed: for else I had never escaped them. At the last I was brought forth to be examined into a chamber hanged with arras, where I was wont to be examined: but now, at this time, the chamber was somewhat altered. For whereas before there was wont ever to be a fire in the chimney, now the fire was taken away, and an arras hanged over the chimney, and the table stood near the chimney's end.

"There was amongst the bishops that examined me, one with whom I had been very familiar, and took him for my great friend, an aged man, and he sat next the table's end. Then, amongst all other questions he put forth one, a very subtle and crafty one, and such a one indeed, as I could not think so great danger in. And when I should make answer, 'I pray you, Master Latimer,' said one, 'speak out; I am very thick of hearing, and here be many that sit far off.' I marvelled at this, that I was bidden speak out, and began to misdeem, and gave an ear to the

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chimney; and, sir, there I heard a pen walking in the chimney behind the cloth. They had appointed one there to write all mine answers, for they made sure that I should not start from them: there was no starting from them. God was my good Lord, and gave me answer; I could never else have escaped it."

The question to him there and then objected was this "Whether he thought in his conscience, that he hath been suspected of heresy." This was a captious question. There was no holding of peace would serve; for that was to grant himself faulty. To answer it was every way full of danger; but God, which alway giveth in need what to answer, helped him, or else (as he confessed himself) he had never escaped their bloody hands. Albeit what was his answer, he doth not there express.

And thus hitherto you have heard declared the manifold troubles of this godly preacher, in the time not only of his being in the university, but especially at his benefice, as partly in his own words above mentioned, and partly by his own letters hereafter following, may better appear.

An inhibition made to Master Hugh Latimer, that he should not preach within the diocese of London.

"John, by the permission of God bishop of London, to all and singular parsons, vicars, chaplains, curates and not curates, clerks and learned men, whatsoever they be, throughout our city and diocese of London, health, grace, and benediction, &c. Whereas we, by authority granted us by the law and provincial constitutions in this behalf, of late did inhibit and forbid one Hugh Latimer, a priest, for certain just and lawful causes specially moving us in this behalf, and specially for the pernicious errors already determined by the church in the decrees, and decretals, and provincial constitutions, by the which, through his crafty flattering, and, as it is said, fraudulent and pestiferous kind of preaching, he goeth about to corrupt and infect the people, and to seduce them from the approved and received doctrine of the church, that he should not preach within our city and diocese of London, in places exempt or not exempt, except he were licensed thereunto by special licence, under pain of the law. Nevertheless, as we have heard reported, the said Hugh Latimer, despising and contemning our inhibition, hath rashly presumed to preach the third day of this present month of October, without any licence, within our diocese of London; that is to say, within the precincts of the friars Augustines, to the violating and contempt of the law and our inhibition. Therefore we command you jointly and severally, firmly enjoining and charging you that for the causes before said, again the second time by our authority, you do inhibit and forbid, or cause the said Hugh Latimer peremptorily to be inhibited and forbidden; unto whom, also, by the tenor of these presents we do inhibit and forbid, that he do not presume to take upon him the office of preaching, and to preach within our city, diocese, and jurisdiction of London, in places exempt or not exempt, until such time as, according to our just judgment, he have purged himself of his default, and be lawfully restored unto the office of preaching, and have obtained his letters testimonial according to the tenor and form of the canonical sanctions or provincial constitutions, in this behalf lawfully ordained; and that he really exhibit and show the same in what place soever he will hereafter preach, under the pain expressed and contained in the law and provincial constitutions. Also we command you and every of you, jointly and severally, that you do intimate and signify this inhibition aforesaid to be made and executed by our

authority aforesaid, unto all and singular abbots and priors of religious houses, as well exempt as not exempt, to their presidents or vicegerents, whatsoever they be; and also to all and singular parsons, vicars, priests, the clergy and people, wheresoever they be within our diocese, albeit in places exempt: and specially to the famous man, Friar George Brown, professor of divinity, and prior of the house or convent of the friars Augustines of the city and diocese of London. For the same causes and by the said authority inhibiting all the aforesaid, that they, nor any of them, do not admit the said Hugh Latimer to preach within any of their churches, or within the precinct of any of their houses, or with any of them, under the pain and penalty expressed and contained in the law and provincial constitutions, until such time as he have purged himself as is before said; and that he do really exhibit unto them his sufficient letters testimonial upon his restitution, as is aforesaid.

"Given under our seal the second day of October, A. D. 1533, and in the third year of our consecration."

This inhibition was executed against the said Hugh Latimer upon a Sunday, the fifth day of October, in the year aforesaid, within the parish of St. Thomas the Apostle, of the city of London, by Robert Hains, a learned man, &c. The which inhibition notwithstanding, the said Hugh Latimer preached the third day of October at afternoon, within the precinct of the friars Augustines of the city of London.

Thus have we discoursed, and run over hitherto, the laborious travails, the painful adventures, and dangerous hazards, and manifold plunges, which this true-hearted and holy servant of God suffered among the pope's friends and God's enemies, for the gospel's sake: in which so hard and dangerous straits, and such snares of the bishops, hard had it been for him and impossible to have escaped and continued so long, had not the almighty helping hand of the Highest, as he stirred him up, so have preserved him through the favour and power of his prince; who with much favour embraced him, and with his mere power sometime rescued and delivered him out of the crooked claws of his enemies. Moreover, at length also, through the procurement partly of Dr. Butts, partly of good Cromwell, (whose story ye heard before,) he advanced him to the dignity and degree of a bishop, making him the bishop of Worcester, who so continued a few years, instructing his diocese, according to the duty of a diligent and vigilant pastor, with wholesome doctrine and example of perfect conversation duly agreeing to the same.

It were a long matter to stand particularly upon such things as might here be brought to the commendation of his pains; as study, readiness, and continual carefulness in teaching, preaching, exhorting, visiting, correcting, and reforming, either as his ability could serve, or else the time would bear. But the days then were so dangerous and variable, that he could not in all things do that he would. Yet what he might do, that he performed to the uttermost of his strength, so that although he could not utterly extinguish all the sparkling relics of old superstition, yet he so wrought, that though they could not be taken away, yet they should be used with as little hurt, and with as much profit, as might be. As for example, in this thing, and in divers others, it did appear, that when it could not be avoided but holy water and holy bread must needs be received, yet so he prepared and instructed them of his diocese, with such informations and lessons, that in receiving thereof superstition should be excluded, and some remembrance taken thereby, teaching and charging the ministers of his diocese, in delivering the holy water and the holy bread, to say these words following:

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"Remember your promise in baptizing;
Christ his mercy and blood-shedding:
By whose most holy sprinkling.
Of all your sins you have free pardoning."

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

By this it may be considered what the diligent care of this bishop was, in doing the duty of a faithful pastor among his flock. And moreover it is to be thought that he would have brought more things else to pass, if the time then had answered to his desire; for he was not ignorant how the institution of holy water and holy bread not only had no ground in Scripture, but also how full of profane exorcisms and conjurations they were, contrary to the rule and learning of the gospel. Thus this good man behaved himself in his diocese. But, as before, both in the university and at his benefice, he was tost and turmoiled by wicked and evil-disposed persons, so in his bishopric also, he was not all clear and void of some that sought his trouble: as, among many other evil willers, one especially there was, and that no small person, which accused him then to the king for his sermons. The story, because he himself sheweth in a sermon of his, before King Edward, I thought therefore to use his own words, which be these:

"In the king's days that dead is, a great many of us were called together before him, to say our minds in certain matters. In the end, one kneeleth down and accuseth me of sedition, and that I had preached seditious doctrine. A heavy salutation, and a hard point of such a man's doing, as, if I should name, ye would not think. The king turned to me, and said, 'What say you to that, sir?'

"Then I kneeled down, and turned me first to my accuser, and required him; 'Sir, what form of preaching would you appoint me, in preaching before a king? Would you have me preach nothing as concerning a king, in the king's sermon? have you any commission to appoint me what I shall preach?' Besides this, I asked him divers other questions, and he would make no answer to any of them all: he had nothing to say.

"Then I turned me to the king, and submitted myself to his Grace, and said, I never thought myself worthy, nor did I ever sue, to be a preacher before your Grace; but I was called to it, and would be willing (if you mislike me) to give place to my betters: for I grant there be a great many more worthy of the room than I am. And if it be your Grace's pleasure so to allow them for preachers, I could be content to bear their books after them. But, if your Grace allow me for a preacher, I would desire your Grace to give me leave to discharge my conscience, give me leave to frame my doctrine according to my audience. I had been a very dolt to have preached so at the borders of your realm, as I preach before your Grace.'

"And I thank Almighty God, (which hath always been my remedy,) that my sayings were well accepted of the king; for like a gracious lord he turned into another communication. It is even as the Scripture saith, The Lord directeth the king's heart. Certain of my friends came to me with tears in their eyes, and told me they looked I should have been in the Tower the same night."

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Besides this, divers other conflicts and combats this godly bishop sustained in his own country and diocese, in taking the cause of right and equity against oppression and wrong. As for another example, there was at that time, not far from the diocese of Worcester, a certain justice of peace, whom here I will not name, being a good man afterward, and now deceased. This justice, in purchasing of certain land for his brother, or for himself, went about to wrong or damnify a poor man, who made his complaint to Master Latimer. He first hearing, then tendering, his rightful cause, wrote his letter to the gentleman, exhorting him to remember himself, to consider the cause, and to abstain from injury. The justice of peace not content withal, (as the fashion of men is when they are told of their fault,) sendeth word again in great displeasure, that he would not so take it at his hands, with such threatenings words, &c. Master Latimer, hearing this, answered again by writing to a certain gentleman; the copy whereof among his letters hereafter followeth in the sequel of this story to be seen.

It were a large and long process to story out all the doings, travails, and writings of this Christian bishop, neither yet have we expressed all that came to our hands; but this I thought sufficient for this present. Thus he continued in this laborious function of a bishop the space of certain years, till the coming in of the Six Articles. Then, being distressed through the straitness of time, so that either he must lose the quiet of a good conscience, or else forsake his bishopric, he did of his own free accord resign his pastorship. At which time Shaxton, the bishop of Salisbury, resigned likewise with him his bishopric. And so these two remained a great space unbishoped, keeping silence till the time of King Edward of blessed memory. At what time he first put off his rochet in his chamber among his friends, suddenly he gave a skip on the floor for joy, feeling his shoulder so light, and being discharged (as he said) of such a heavy burden. Howbeit neither was he so lightened, but that troubles and labours followed him wheresoever he went. For a little after he had renounced his bishopric, first he was almost slain, but sore bruised, with the fall of a tree. Then, coming up to London for remedy, he was molested and troubled of the bishops, whereby he was again in no little danger; and at length was cast into the Tower, where he continually remained prisoner, till the time that blessed King Edward entered his crown, by means whereof the golden mouth of this preacher, long shut up before, was now opened again. And so he, beginning afresh to set forth his plough again, continued all the time of the said king, labouring in the Lord's harvest most fruitfully, discharging his talent as well in divers other places of this realm, as in Stamford, and before the duchess of Suffolk, (whose sermons be extant and set forth in print,) as also at London in the convocation-house, and especially before the king at the court. In the same place of the inward garden, which was before applied to lascivious and courtly pastimes, there he dispensed the fruitful word of the glorious gospel of Jesus Christ, preaching there before the king and his whole court, to the edification of many.

In this his painful travail he occupied himself all King Edward's days, preaching for the most part every Sunday twice, to no small shame of all other loitering and unpreaching prelates, which occupy great rooms, and do little good; and that so much more to their shame, because he, being a sore bruised man by the fall of a tree, mentioned a little before, and above sixty-seven years of age, took so little ease and care of sparing himself, to do the people good. A. D. 1547.



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Now to speak here of his indefatigable travail and diligence in his own private studies, who notwithstanding both his years, and other pains in preaching, every morning orderly, winter and summer, about two of the clock in the morning, was at his book most diligently. How careful his heart was of the preservation of the church, and the good success of the gospel, his letters can testify, wherewith he admonished such as then were in authority of their duty, and assisted them with his godly counsel.

As the diligence of this man of God never ceased all the time of King Edward, to profit the church both publicly and privately, so among other doings in him to be noted, this is not lightly to be over-passed, but worthy to be observed, that God not only gave unto him his Spirit, plenteously and comfortably to preach his word unto his church, but also by the same Spirit he did so evidently foreshow and prophesy of all those kinds of plagues afore, which afterward ensued; that, if England ever had a prophet, he might seem to be one. And as touching himself, he ever affirmed that the preaching of the gospel would cost him his life, to the which he no less cheerfully prepared himself, than certainly was persuaded that Winchester was kept in the Tower for the same purpose, as the even did too truly prove the same. For after the death of the said blessed King Edward, not long after Queen Mary was proclaimed, a pursuivant was sent down

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(by the means no doubt of Winchester) into the country, to call him up, of whose coming, although Master Latimer lacked no forewarning, being premonished about six hours before by one John Careless, (whose story hereafter followeth, yet so far off was it that he thought to escape, that he prepared himself towards his journey before the said pursuivant came to his house. At the which thing when the pursuivant marvelled, seeing him so prepared towards his journey, he said unto him.

"My friend, you be a welcome messenger to me. And be it known unto you, and to all the world that I go as willingly to London at this present, being called by my prince to render a reckoning of my doctrine, as ever I was at any place in the world. I doubt not but that God, as he hath made me worthy to preach his word before two excellent princes, so will he able me to witness the same unto the third, either to her comfort, or discomfort eternally," &c.

At the which time the pursuivant, when he had delivered his letters, departed, affirming that he had commandment not to tarry for him; by whose sudden departure it was manifest that they would not have him appear, but rather to have fled out of the realm. They knew that his constancy should deface them in their popery, and confirm the godly in the truth.

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

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

Many such like answers and reasons, merry, but savoury, coming not from a vain mind, but from a constant and quiet reason, proceeded from that man, declaring a firm and stable heart, little passing for all this great blustering of their terrible threats, but rather deriding the same.

Thus Master Latimer, passing a long time in the Tower, with as much patience as a man in his case could do, from thence was transported to Oxford, with Dr. Cranmer, archbishop of

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Canterbury, and Master Ridley, bishop of London, there to dispute upon articles sent down from Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, as is before touched, the manner and order of which disputations between them and the university doctors, is also before sufficiently expressed. Where also is declared, how and by whom the said Latimer, with his other fellow prisoners, was condemned after the disputations, and so committed again to the prison, and there they continued from the month of April above mentioned, to this present month of October; where they were most godly occupied, either with brotherly conference, or with fervent prayer, or with fruitful writing.

Albeit Master Latimer, by reason of the feebleness of his age, wrote least of them all in this latter time of his imprisonment; yet in prayer he was fervently occupied, wherein oftentimes so long he continued kneeling, that he was not able to rise without help; and, amongst other things, these were three principal matters he prayed for.

First, That as God had appointed him to be a preacher of his word, so also he would give him grace to stand to his doctrine until his death, that he might give his heart blood for the same.

Secondly, That God of his mercy would restore his gospel to England once again; and these words "once again, once again," he did so inculcate and beat into the ears of the Lord God, as though he had seen God before him, and spoken to him face to face.

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

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

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

Again, concerning his third request, it seemeth likewise most effectuously granted, to the great praise of God, the furtherance of his gospel, and to the unspeakable comfort of this realm. For whether at the request of his prayer, or of other God's holy saints, or whether God was

moved with the cry of his whole church, the truth is, that when all was deplorable and in a desperate case, and so desperate that the enemies mightily flourished and triumphed, God's word was banished, Spaniards received, no place left for Christ's servants to cover their heads, suddenly the Lord called to remembrance his mercy, and, forgetting our former iniquity, made an end of all these miseries, and wrought a marvellous change of things; at the change whereof Queen Elizabeth was appointed and anointed, for whom this grey-headed father so earnestly prayed in his imprisonment: through whose true, natural, and imperial crown, the brightness of God's word was set up again to confound the dark and false-vizored kingdom of antichrist, the true temple of Christ re-edified, the captivity of sorrowful Christians released, which so long was wished for in the prayers of so many good men, specially of this faithful and true servant of the Lord, Master Latimer.

The same God, which, at the requests of his holy and faithful saints, hath poured upon us such benefits of his mercy, peace, and tranquillity, assist our most virtuous and Christian princess, and her subjects, that we may every one in his state and calling serve to his glory, and walk in our vocation, that we lose not that which they have obtained, but may proceed in all faithfulness, to build and keep up the house and temple of the Lord, to the advancing of his glory, and our everlasting comfort in him! And thus much concerning the doings and laborious travails of Master Latimer.

Articles untruly, unjustly, falsely, uncharitably imputed to me, Hugh Latimer, by Dr. Powell of Salisbury.

"First, that 'our Lady was a sinner.'—Occasioned of some, not only laymen, but also priests and beneficed men, which gave so much to our Lady of devotion without judgment, as though she had not needed Christ to save her: to prove Christ her Saviour, to make Christ a whole Saviour of all that be, or shall be saved, I reasoned after this manner: that either she was a sinner, or no sinner: there is no mean. If she were a sinner, then she was redeemed or delivered from sin by Christ, as other sinners be: if she were no sinner, then she was preserved from sin by Christ; so that Christ saved her, and was her necessary Saviour, whether she sinned or no. Now certain authors, (said I,) as Chrysostom, Theophylact, and others, write as though she had been something faulty in her time. Also I said that certain scriptures stand something to the same, unless they be the more warily understood and taken (as in Rom. iii. 10, 19): All have declined, that every mouth be stopped, and all the world be bounden or in danger to God. And after in the same chapter, All have sinned, and need the glory of God. And in the fifth, And so death passed through into all men and women, forasmuch as all have sinned. But to these scriptures I said it might be answered, that the privilege of one, or of a few, doth not derogate or minish the verity of a universal exposition in Scriptures.

"And as to the doctors, I said, that others more say otherwise; and forasmuch as now it is universally and constantly received and applied that she was no sinner, it becometh every man to stand and agree to the same, 'and so will I,' quoth I, 'nor any man that wise is, will the contrary. But to my purpose, it is neither to nor from, to prove neither this nor that; for I will have her saved, and Christ her Saviour, whether ever she was,' &c.

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"And to that, 'What need you to speak of this?' I answered, 'Great need: when men cannot be content that she was a creature saved, but as it were a Saviouress, not needing salvation, it is necessary to set her in her degree to the glory of Christ, Creator and Saviour of all that be or shall be saved.' Good authors have written that she was not a sinner; but good authors never wrote that she was not saved: for though she never sinned, yet she was not so impeccable, but she might have sinned, if she had not been preserved: it was of the goodness of God that she never sinned; it had come of her own illness if she had sinned: there was difference betwixt her and Christ: and I will give as little to her as I can, (doing her no wrong,) rather than Christ her Son and Saviour shall lack any parcel of his glory; and I am sure that our Lady will not be displeased with me for so doing, for our Lady sought his glory here upon earth; she would not defraud him now in heaven: but some are so superstitiously religious, or so religiously superstitious, so preposterously devout toward our Lady, as though there could not too much be given to her: such are zeals without knowledge and judgment, to our Lady's displeasure.

"No doubt our Lady was, through the goodness of God, a good and a gracious creature, a devout handmaid of the Lord, indued with singular gifts and graces from above, which, through the help of God, she used to God's pleasure, according to her duty; so giving us ensample to do likewise: so that all the goodness that she had, she had it not of herself, but of God, the author of all goodness; the Lord was with her favourably, and poured graces unto her plenteously, as it is in the Ave Maria. The Son of God, when he would become man, to save both man and woman, did choose her to his mother, which love he showed to her alone, and to none other, of his benign goodness, by the which she was the natural mother of Christ: and through faith in Christ she was the spiritual sister of Christ, saved by Christ, blessed by hearing Christ's word, and keeping the same. It should not have availed her to salvation, to have been his natural mother, if she had not done the will of his heavenly Father. By him she was his mother: by him she did the will of his Father: she the handmaiden, he the Lord. The handmaiden did magnify her Lord, the handmaiden would that all should magnify the Lord, to whom be honour and glory, Amen, &c.

"To honour him worthily, is not to dishonour our Lady; he is as able to preserve from sin, as to deliver from sin: he was then subject to Joseph, his father-in-law, his mother's husband; Joseph is now subject to him. He never dishonoured Joachim and Anna, his grandfather and grandmother, and yet I have not read that he preserved them from all sin.

"To say that Peter and Paul, David and Mary Magdalene, were sinners, is not to dishonour them: for then Scripture doth dishonour them. It had not been for our profit to have preserved all that he could have preserved. For remembrance of all that fall and uprising, keepeth us in our fall from despairing: both are of God, to have not sinned, and to have forsaken and left sin. And as sure is this of heaven, as that; and this more common than that, and to us that have been sinners more comfortable.

"It hath been said in times past, without sin, that our Lady was a sinner; but it never was said, without sin, that our Lady was not saved, but a Saviour: I go not about to make our Lady a sinner, but to have Christ her Saviour. When mine adversaries cannot reprove the thing that I say, then they will belie me, to say the thing that they can reprove. They will sin to make our Lady no sinner, to prove that which no man denieth: such provers, and so cold probations, saw you never. It were better unproved, than so weakly proved. But they be devout towards

honouring of our Lady, as though there was no other honouring of our Lady; but do sin in having our Lady no sinner. I would be as loth to dishonour our Lady as they: I pray God we may honour her as she would be honoured; for verily she is worthy to be honoured. To make a pernicious and a damnable lie, to have our Lady no sinner, is neither honour, nor yet pleasure to our Lady, but great sin, to the dishonour and displeasure both of God and our Lady. They should both please and honour our Lady much better, to leave their sinful living, and keep themselves from sinfulness, as our Lady did, than so sinfully to lie, to make our Lady no sinner; which if they do not, they shall go to the devil certainly, though they believe that our Lady was no sinner never so surely.

"And for the Ave Maria they lie falsely; I never denied it: I know it was a heavenly saluting or greeting of our Lady, spoken by the angel Gabriel, and written in Holy Scripture of St. Luke: but yet it is not properly a prayer, as the Pater noster is. Saluting or greeting, lauding or praising, is not properly praying. The angel was sent to greet our Lady, and to annunciate and show the good will of God towards her: and therefore it is called The Annunciation of our Lady, and not to pray her, or to pray to her, properly. Shall the Father of heaven pray to our Lady? When the angel spake it, it was not properly a prayer; and is it not the same thing now that it was then? Nor yet he that denieth the Ave Maria to be properly a prayer, denieth the Ave Maria; so that we may salute our Lady with Ave Maria, as the angel did, though we be not sent of God so to do, as the angel was. So though we may so do, yet we have no plain bidding of God so to do, as the angel had: so that the angel had been more to blame peradventure to have left it unsaid, than we be; forasmuch as he was appointed of God to say it, and not we. But as I deny not but as we may say the Pater noster and the Ave Maria together, (that to God, this to our Lady,) so we may say them sunderly, the Pater noster by itself, and the Ave by itself; and the Pater noster is a whole and a perfect prayer, without the Ave Maria; so that it is but a superstition to think that a Pater noster cannot be well said without an Ave Maria at its heel. For Christ was no fool, and when he taught the people to say a Pater noster to God, he taught them not to say neither Pater noster, neither Ave Maria to our Lady, nor yet Pater noster to St. Peter, as Master Hubberdin doth: therefore to teach to say twenty Ave Marias for one Pater noster, is not to speak 'the word of God as the word of God.' And one Ave Maria well said, and devoutly, with affection, sense, and understanding, is better than twenty-five said superstitiously. And it is not like, but our Lady said many times the Pater noster, forasmuch as her Son Christ, whom she loved and honoured over all, did make it, and taught it to be said. Whether she made an Ave Maria with all, or ten or twenty Ave Marias for one Pater noster, I will leave that to great clerks, as Hubberdin and Powell, to discuss and determine. She was not saved by often saying of the Ave Maria, but by consenting to the will of Him, that sent the angel to salute her with Ave Maria. Wherefore, if the praying of them which decline their ear from hearing the law of God is execrable in the sight of God, yea, though they say the Pater noster, I doubt not but the salutation of the same be unpleasant to our Lady in her sight; for whatsoever pleaseth not her Son, pleaseth not her: for she hath delight and pleasure in nothing but in him, and in that that delighteth and pleaseth him. Now we will be traitors to her Son by customable sinful living, and yet we shall think great perfection and holiness in numbering every day many Ave Marias to our Lady. And so we think to make her our friend and patroness, and then we care not for God: for, having our Lady of our side, we may be bold to take our pleasure. For we fantasy as though the very work and labour of flumming the Ave Maria is very acceptable to our Lady, and the more, the more acceptable, not passing how they be said, but that they be said: if the Pater noster which Christ both made,

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and bade us say it, may be said to Christ's displeasure, much more the Ave Maria, which neither Christ nor our Lady bade to be said, may be said to our Lady's displeasure, and better never once said, than often so said. So that I would have a difference betwixt well saying, and often saying, and betwixt that that Christ bid us say, and that that he bid not say. And whether Ave Maria be said in heaven or no, who can tell but Dr. Powell? And if it be said alway there without a Pater noster, why may not Pater noster be said here without Ave Maria? and whether doth our Lady say it in heaven or no? which thing I speak not to withdraw you from saying of it, but to withdraw you from superstitious and unfruitful saying of it; so that by occasion of false faith and trust that ye have in the daily saying of it, you set not aside imitation and following of holy living, which will serve at length, when superstitious greeting will neither serve nor stand in strength. It is meet that every thing be taken, esteemed, and valued as it is.

"We salute also and greet well the holy cross, or the image of the holy cross, saying, 'All hail, holy cross, which hath deserved to bear the precious talent of the world:' and yet who will say that we pray properly to the holy cross? Whereby it may appear that greeting is one thing, praying another thing. The cross can neither hear nor speak again, no more than this pulpit: therefore we do salute it, not properly pray to it.

"The angel spake also to Zachary, before he spake to our Lady: Be not afraid Zachary, for thy prayer is heard, and thy wife Elizabeth shall bring thee forth a child, which shall be called John, and great joy and gladness shall be at his birth, and he shall be great, and full of the Holy Ghost from the womb of his mother, &c.

"What if a man should say these words every day, betwixt the Pater noster and the Ave Maria, in the worship of St. Zachary, which I think is a saint in heaven, and was, ere ever our Lady came there, and therefore to be honoured: I think he might please and honour St. Zachary, as well some other way, and better too, though they be words sent from God, spoken of an angel, and written in Holy Scripture of the evangelist Luke.

"And yet if it were once begun and accustomed, I warrant some men would make it more than sacrilege to leave it off, though the devil should sow never so much superstition by process of time unto it.

"Christ made the Pater noster for a prayer, and bid his people say it to his heavenly Father, one God in Trinity of Persons, one Father and Comforter, one worker and doer of all things here in this world, saying unto us, So, or after such manner, shall ye pray, Pater noster, &c. God sent his Son amongst other things to teach his people to pray: God sent his angel to greet our Lady, not to teach his people to pray. For neither Christ nor the angel said to the people, This shall ye pray, Ave Maria. When the apostles said to Christ, Teach us to pray; Christ said, When you pray, say, Pater noster: he said not, When you pray, say, Ave Maria. I ween Christ could teach to pray, as well as Dr. Powell and Master Hubberdin. I say that the Ave Maria was before the Pater noster: Dr. Powell saith it shall endure after the Pater noster. I can prove my saying by Scripture; so cannot he his. Yet as it is no good argument, the Ave Maria was before the Pater poster, ergo it is properly a prayer; so it is no good argument, the Ave Maria shall last after the Pater noster, ergo it is properly a prayer; without the antecedent be impossible, which is not credible to come out of such a fantastical brain.

"Who was ever so mad as to think that words of Holy Scripture could not be well said? And yet we may not be so peevish as to allow the superstitious saying of Holy Scripture. The devil is crafty, and we frail and prone to superstition and idolatry. God give me grace to worship him and his, not after our own curiosity, but according to his ordinance, with all humility!

"St. Zachary is to be honoured, and in no wise to be dishonoured: so that we may leave unsaid that that the angel said, without dishonouring him. It is not necessary to our salvation to make an ordinance of honouring him with saying as the angel did. It is better for a mortal man to do the office of a man, which God biddeth him do, than to leave that undone, and do the office of an angel which God biddeth us not do: if the other be presumption, I had rather presume to pray to God, which is God's bidding and man's office, than to presume into the office of an angel without God's bidding. It is a godly presumption to presume to do the bidding of God.

"Here I neither say, that our Lady was a sinner, nor yet I deny the Ave Maria.

"*'Saints are not to be honoured.'*—I said this word 'saints' is diversely taken of the vulgar people; images of saints are called saints, and inhabitants of heaven are called saints. Now, by honouring of saints, is meant praying to saints. Take honouring so, and images for saints—so saints are not to be honoured; that is to say, dead images are not to be prayed unto; for they have neither ears to hear withal, nor tongue to speak withal, nor heart to think withal, &c.

"They can neither help me nor mine ox; neither my head nor my tooth; nor work any miracle for me, one no more than another: and yet I showed the good use of them to be laymen's books, as they be called; reverently to look upon them, to remember the things that are signified by them, &c.

"And yet I would not have them so costly and curiously gilded and decked, that the quick image of God (for whom Christ shed his blood, and to whom whatsoever is done, Christ reputeth it done to himself) lack necessities, and be unprovided for, by that occasion; for then the layman doth abuse his book.

"A man may read upon his book, though it be not very curiously gilded; and in the day-time, a man may behold it without many candles, if he be not blind.

"Now I say, there be two manner of mediators, one by way of redemption, another by way of intercession; and I said, that these saints, that is to say, images called saints, be mediators neither way.

"As touching pilgrimages, I said, that all idolatry, superstition, error, false faith, and hope in the images, must be pared away, before they can be well done; household looked upon, poor Christian people provided for, restitutions made, all ordinance of God discharged, or ever they can be well done: and when they be at best, before they be vowed, they need not to be done. They shall never be required of us, though they be never done; and yet we shall be blamed when they be all done: wives must counsel with their husbands, and husbands with their wives, both with curates, ere ever they may be vowed to be done.

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"And yet idolatry may be committed in doing of them, as it appeareth by St. Paul, in 1 Cor. x., where he biddeth the Corinthians this; to beware of idolatry, and that after they had received the true faith in Christ, which had been vain, if they could not have done idolatry; and expositors add to beware not only of the act of idolatry, but also of all occasion of that act; which is plain against Master Hubberdin, and the parson of Christ's Church, which went about to prove, that now there could be no idolatry.

"As touching the saints in heaven, I said, they be not our mediators by way of redemption; for so Christ alone is our mediator and theirs both. So that the blood of martyrs hath nothing to do by way of redemption: the blood of Christ is enough for a thousand worlds, &c.

"But by way of intercession, so saints in heaven may be mediators, and pray for us, as I think they do when we call not upon them; for they be charitable, and need no spurs, and we have no open bidding of God in Scripture to call upon them, as we have to call upon God, nor yet we may call upon them without any diffidence or mistrust in God; for God is more charitable, more merciful, more able, more ready to help than them all. So that though we may desire the saints in heaven to pray God for us, yet it is not so necessary to be done, but that we may pray to God ourselves, without making suit first to them, and obtain of him whatsoever we need, if we continue in prayer; so that whatsoever we ask the Father in the name of Christ his Son, the Father will give it us: for saints can give nothing without him, but he can without them, as he did give to them. Scripture doth set saints that be departed before our eyes for ensamples, so that the chiefest and most principal worship and honouring of them is to know their holy living, and to follow them, as they followed Christ, &c.

"God biddeth us come to him with prayer; and to do his bidding is no presuming, it is rather presuming to leave it undone, to do that that he biddeth us not do, &c. We must have saints in reverent memory; and learn at God's goodness towards them to trust in God; and mark well their faith toward God and his word, their charity toward their neighbour, their patience in all adversity; and pray to God which gave them grace so to do, that we may do likewise, for which like doings we shall have like speedings: they be well honoured when God is well pleased. The saints were not saints by praying to saints, but by believing in Him that made them saints; and as they were saints, so may we be saints; yea, there be many saints that never prayed to saints: and yet I deny not but we may pray to saints, but rather to Him, which can make us saints, which calleth us to him, biddeth us call Upon him, promiseth help, cannot deceive us and break his promise. When we pray faithfully to him we honour him, not after our own fantastical imagination, but even after his own most wise ordination, whom to honour is not to dishonour saints; therefore they lie that say, that I would not have saints to be honoured, &c.

"There is no fire in hell."—I never knew man that ever said so. I spake of divers opinions that have been written of the nature of that fire; some, that it is a spiritual fire, or at leastway a spiritual pain in the corporal fire; for as it is called a fire, so it is called a worm. Now because they think not that it is a corporal worm, but a spiritual and metaphorical worm, so they think of the fire. Some, that it is a corporal and natural fire: some have thought diversely, before the resurrection without body, and after with body: some, that the soul without body suffereth in the fire, but not of the fire; some, both in and of the fire. The scholastical authors think, that the souls before the resurrection, because they be spiritual substance, do not receive the heat of the fire

into them, which is a sensible and a corporal quality; so that Athanasius calleth their pain *tristitiam*, a heaviness or an anguish: and this opinion is probable enough. Some think that though they be alway in pain, yet they be not always in fire, but go from waters of snow to exceeding heat; but it is when their bodies be there: but whether in cold or in heat, in water or in fire, in air or in earth, they lack no pain, their torment goeth with them; for they think that the devils that tempt us, though they have pain with them, yet they have not fire with them; for then they should be known by heat of the fire.

"I am certain, saith St. Augustine, that there is a fire in hell; but what manner of fire, or in what part of the world, no man can tell, but he that is of God's privy council: I would advise every man to be more careful to keep out of hell, than trust he shall find no fire in hell. Chrysostom saith, that to be deprived of the fruition of the Godhead, is greater pain than the being in hell; there is fire burning, there is the worm gnawing, there is heat, there is cold, there is pain without pleasure, torment without easement, anguish, heaviness, sorrow, and pensiveness, which tarry and abide for all liars and hinderers of the truth.

""*There is no purgatory after this life.*"—Not for such liars that will bear me in hand to say what I said not. I showed the state and condition of them that be in purgatory. Then I denied it not, that they have charity in such sure tie that they cannot lose it, so that they cannot murmur nor grudge against God; cannot dishonour God; can neither displease God, nor be displeased with God; cannot be dis severed from God; cannot die, nor be in peril of death; cannot be damned, nor be in peril of damnation; cannot be but in surety of salvation. They be members of the mystical body of Christ as we be, and in more surety than we be. They love us charitably. Charity is not idle: if it be, it worketh and showeth itself: and therefore I say, they wish us well and pray for us. They need not cry loud to God: they be in Christ, and Christ in them: they be with Christ, and Christ with them. They joy in their Lord Christ alway, taking thankfully whatsoever God doth with them; ever giving thanks to their Lord God; ever lauding and praising him in all things that he doth; discontent with nothing that he doth, &c.

"And forasmuch as they be always in charity, and when they pray for us, they pray always in charity, and be always God's friends, God's children, brethren and sisters to our Saviour Christ, even in God's favour, even have Christ with them, to offer their prayer to the Father of heaven, to whom they pray in the name of the Son; and we many times for lack of charity, having malice and envy, rancour, hatred, one toward another, be the children of the devil, inheritors of hell, adversaries to Christ, hated of God, his angels, and all his saints; they in their state may do us more good with their prayers than we in this state. And they do us alway good, unless the lack and impediment be in us; for prayer said in charity, is more fruitful to him that it is said for, and more acceptable to God, than said out of charity; for God looketh not to the work of praying, but to the heart of the prayer. We may well pray for them, and they much better for us; which they will do of their charity, though we desire them not.

"I had rather be in purgatory, than in the bishop of London's prison; for in this I might die bodily for lack of meat; in that I could not: in this I might die ghostly for fear of pain, or lack of good counsel; in that I could not: in this I might be in extreme necessity; in that I could not, if extreme necessity be *periculum pereundi*, peril of perishing. And then you know what followeth: if we be not bounden, *per præceptum*, to help but them that be in extreme necessity, we see not

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who needeth in purgatory; but we see who needeth in this world. And John saith, If thou see thy brother, and help him not, how is the charity of God in thee? Here, either we be, or we may be, in extreme necessity,, both in body and soul; in purgatory neither one nor other. Here we be bound to help one another, as we would be holpen ourselves, under pain of damnation. Here, for lack of help, we may murmur and grudge against God, dishonour God, weary ourselves; which inconveniences shall not follow, if we do our duty one to another. I am sure the souls in purgatory be so charitable, and of charity so loth to have God dishonoured, that they would have nothing withdrawn from the poor here in this world, to be bestowed upon them, which might occasion the dishonour of God, &c.

"Therefore howsoever we do for purgatory, let us provide to keep out of hell. And had I a thousand pound to bestow, as long as I saw necessary occasion offered to me of God to dispense it upon my needy brother here in this world, according to God's commandment, I would not withdraw my duty from him for any provision of purgatory, as long as I saw dangerous ways unrepaired, poor men's daughters unmarried, men beg for lack of work, sick and sore for lack of succour. I would have difference betwixt that that may be done, and that that ought to be done; and this to go before that, and that to come after this. If God command one way, and my devotion moveth me another way, whether way should I go? I may, by no trentals, no masses, no ladders of heaven, make any foundations for myself with other men's goods. Goods wrongfully gotten must needs home again; must needs be restored to the owners, if they can be known; if not, they be poor men's goods. Debts must needs be paid; creditors satisfied and content; God's ordinance toward my neighbour here in this world discharged; all affections and lusts moving to the contrary purged. Or else, though our soul-priests sing till they be blear-eyed, say till they have worn their tongues to the stumps, neither their singings nor their sayings shall bring us out of hell, whither we shall go for contemning of God's forbiddings.

"He that purgeth all errors of false opinions, all unlustiness to do God's ordinance, provideth not for hell and purgatory. Purgatory's iniquity hath set aside restitutions, and brought poor Christians to extreme beggary, replenished hell, and left heaven almost empty.

"In purgatory there is no pain:"—that can break their charity; that can break their patience; that can dissever them from Christ; that can dissever Christ from them." That can cause them to dishonour God; that can cause them to displease God; that can cause them to be displeased with God; that can bring them to peril of death.

"That can bring them to peril of damnation; that can bring them to extreme necessity; that can cause them to be discontent with God; that can bring them from surety of salvation:—and yet it followeth not that there is no pain.

"Howbeit, if the bishop's two fingers can shake away a good part; if a friar's cowl, or the pope's pardon, or *scala cæli* of a groat, can despatch for altogether, it is not so greatly to be cared for. I have not leisure to write at large; and I wrote before such things, which in this haste come now to mind.

"They that can reclaim at this, that the souls in purgatory do pray for us—if they could get as much money for the prayer that the souls in purgatory say for us, as they have done for

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that that they have said for them, they would not reclaim. You know the wasp that doth sting them, and maketh them so swell. They that reclaim at that, do not reclaim at this: Christ's blood is not sufficient without blood of martyrs.

"Nor at this: Magdalene did not know Christ to be God, before his resurrection.

"Nor at this: There can be no idolatry.

"Nor at this: Rome cannot be destroyed.

"Nor at this: The pope is lord of all the world.

"Nor at this: Whatsoever he doth is well done.

"Nor at this: Pater noster is to be said to St. Peter.

"Nor at this: Pater noster is but a beggarly prayer.

"Nor at this: Ave Maria is infinitely better.

"Nor at this: Twenty Ave Marias for one Pater noster.

"Nor at this: It was not necessary Scripture to be written.

"Nor at this: He that leaveth father and mother, maketh for our pilgrimage. With many more."

319. Letters of Master Latimer.



OW, after these things thus finished and discoursed pertaining to the story of his life, let us come to his letters, which he wrote at divers and sundry times from the first beginning of his preaching, all which here to comprehend which he wrote both in English and Latin, lack of space and place at this present will not permit: nevertheless certain we will take, and first concerning the articles above mentioned, for the which he was troubled by the priests of the country about his benefice at West Kington; which he writeth thereof to Master Morice, the copies whereof follow.

A letter of Master Latimer to Master Morice, concerning the articles written, which were falsely and untruly laid against him.

"Right worshipful and mine own good Master Morice, *salutem in Christo Jesu*.—And I thank you for all hearty kindness, not only heretofore showed unto me, but also that now of late you would vouchsafe to write unto me, so poor a wretch, to my great comfort among all these my troubles. I trust and doubt nothing in it, but God will reward you for me, and supply abundantly mine inability, &c. Master Morice, you would wonder to know how I have been entreated at Bristol, I mean of some of the priests, which first desired me, welcomed me, made me cheer, heard what I said, and allowed my saying in all things while I was with them. When I was gone home to my benefice, perceiving that the people favoured me so greatly, and that the mayor had appointed me to preach at Easter, privily they procured an inhibition for all them that had not the bishop's licence, which they knew well enough I had not, and so craftily defeated Master Mayor's appointment, pretending that they were sorry for it; procuring also certain preachers to blatter against me, as Hubberdin and Powell, with other more, whom when I had brought before the mayor and the wise council of the town, to know what they could lay to my charge, wherefore they so declaimed against me, they said they spake of information: howbeit no man could be brought forth that would abide by any thing. So that they had place and time to belie me shamefully; but they had no place nor time to lay to my charge, when I was present and ready to make them answer. God amend them, and assuage their malice that they have against the truth and me, &c.

"*Our Lady was a sinner.*"—So they did belie me to have said, when I had said nothing so, but to reprove certain, both priests and beneficed men, which do give so much to our Lady, as though she had not been saved by Christ, a whole Saviour both of her, and of all that be and shall be saved. I did reason after this manner: that either she was a sinner, or no sinner. If a sinner, then she was delivered from sin by Christ; so that he saved her, either by delivering or preserving her from sin; so that without him neither she, nor none other, either be, or could be saved. And, to avoid all offence, I showed how it might be answered, both to certain scriptures which make all generally sinners, and how it might be answered unto Chrysostom and Theophylact, which make her namely and specially a sinner. But all would not serve, their malice was so great; notwithstanding that five hundred honest men can and will bear record. When they cannot

reprove that thing that I do say, then they will belie me to say that thing that they can reprove; for they will needs appear to be against me.

"Saints are not to be worshipped."—So they lied when I had showed divers significations of this word 'saints' among the vulgar people. First, images of saints are called saints, and so they are not to be worshipped: take worshipping of them for praying to them—for they are neither mediators by way of redemption, nor yet by way of intercession. And yet they may be well used, when they be applied to that use that they were ordained for, to be laymen's books for remembrance of heavenly things, &c.

Take saints for inhabitants of heaven, and worshipping of them for praying to them—I never denied, but that they might be worshipped, and be our mediators, though not by way of redemption, (for so Christ alone is a whole mediator, both for them and for us,) yet by the way of intercession.

"Pilgrimage."—And I never denied pilgrimage. And yet I have said that much scurf must be pared away, ere ever it can be well done; superstition, idolatry, false faith and trust in the image, unjust estimation of the thing, setting aside God's ordinance for doing of the thing; debts must be paid, restitutions made, wife and children be provided for, duty to our poor neighbours discharged. And when it is at the best, before it be vowed, it need not to be done; for it is neither under the bidding of God, nor of man, to be done. And wives must counsel with husbands, and husbands and wives with curates, before it be vowed to be done, &c.

"Ave Maria."—As for the Ave Maria, who can think that I would deny it? I said it was a heavenly greeting or saluting of our blessed Lady, wherein the angel Gabriel, sent from the Father of heaven, did annunciate and show unto her the goodwill of God towards her, what he would with her, and to what he had chosen her. But I said, it was not properly a prayer, as the Pater noster, which our Saviour Christ himself made for a proper prayer, and bade us say it for a prayer, not adding that we should say ten or twenty Ave Marias withal: and I denied not but that we may well say Ave Maria also, but not so that we shall think that the Pater noster is not good, a whole and perfect prayer, nor cannot be well said without Ave Maria. So that I did not speak against well saying of it, but against superstitious saying of it, and of the Pater noster too; and yet I put a difference betwixt that, and that which Christ made to be said for a prayer.

"No fire in hell."—Whoever could say or think so? Howbeit good authors do put a difference betwixt a suffering in the fire with bodies, and without bodies. The soul without the body is a spiritual substance, which they say cannot receive a corporal quality; and some make it a spiritual fire, and some a corporal fire. For as it is called a fire, so it is called a worm, and it is thought of some not to be a material worm, that is, a living beast, but it is a metaphor; but that is neither to nor fro: for a fire it is; a worm it is; pain it is; a torment it is; an anguish it is; a grief, a misery, a sorrow; a heaviness inexplicable, intolerable, whose nature and condition in every point who can tell, but he that is of God's privy council, saith St. Augustine? God give us grace rather to be diligent to keep us out of it, than to be curious to discuss the property of it; for certain we be, that there is little ease, yea, none at all, but weeping, wailing, and gnashing of teeth; which be two effects of extreme pain—rather certain tokens what pain there is, than what manner of pain there is.

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"*No purgatory.*"—He that showeth the state and condition of it, doth not deny it. But I had rather be in it, than in Lollards' Tower, the bishop's prison, for divers skills and causes.

"First, In this I might die bodily for lack of meat and drink: in that I could not.

"Item, In this I might die ghostly for fear of pain, or lack of good counsel: there I could not.

"Item, In this I might be in extreme necessity: in that I could not if it be peril of perishing.

"Item, In this I might lack charity: there I could not.

"Item, In this I might lose my patience: in that I could not.

"Item, In this I might be in peril and danger of death: in that I could not.

"Item, In this I might be without surety of salvation: in that I could not.

"Item, In this I might dishonour God: in that I could not.

"Item, In this I might murmur and grudge against God: in that I could not.

"Item, In this I might displease God: in that I could not.

"Item, In this I might be displeased with God: in that I could not.

"Item, In this I might be judged to perpetual prison, as they call it: in that I could not.

"Item, In this I might be craftily handled: in that I could not.

"Item, In this I might be brought to bear a faggot: in that I could not.

"Item, In this I might be discontented with God: in that I could not.

"Item, In this I might be separated and dissevered from Christ: in that I could not.

"Item, In this I might be a member of the devil: in that I could not.

"Item, In this I might be an inheritor in hell: in that I could not.

"Item, In this I might pray out of charity, and in vain: in that I could not.

"Item, In this my Lord and his chaplains might manacle me by night: in that they could not.

"Item, In this they might strangle me, and say that I hanged myself: in that they could not.

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"Item, In this they might have me to the consistory, and judge me after their fashion: from thence they could not.

"Ergo, I had rather to be there than here. For though the fire be called never so hot, yet if the bishop's two fingers can shake away a piece, a friar's cowl another part, and *scala cæli* altogether, I will never found abbey, college, nor chantry for that purpose.

"For seeing there is no pain that can break my charity, break my patience, cause me to dishonour God, to displease God, to be displeased with God, cause me not to joy in God, nor that can bring me to danger of death, or to danger of desperation, or from surety of salvation; that can separate me from Christ, or Christ from me; I care the less for it. John Chrysostom saith, that the greatest pain that damned souls have, is to be separate and cut off from Christ for ever: which pain, he saith, is greater than many hells; which pain the souls in purgatory neither have nor can have.

"Consider, Master Morice, whether provision for purgatory hath not brought thousands to hell. Debts have not been paid; restitution of evil-gotten lands and goods hath not been made; Christian people (whose necessities we see; to whom whatsoever we do, Christ reputeth done to himself; to whom we are bounden under pain of damnation to do for, as we would be done for ourself) are neglected and suffered to perish; last wills unfulfilled and broken; God's ordinance set aside; and also for purgatory, foundations have been taken for sufficient satisfaction: so we have trifled away the ordinance of God and restitutions. Thus we have gone to hell with masses, diriges, and ringing of many a bell. And who can pill pilgrimages from idolatry, and purge purgatory from robbery, but he shall be in peril to come in suspicion of heresy with them? so that they may pill with pilgrimage and spoil with purgatory. And verily the abuse of them cannot be taken away, but great lucre and vantage shall fall away from them, which had rather have profit with abuse, than lack the same with use; and that is the wasp that doth sting them, and maketh them to swell. And if purgatory were purged of all that it hath gotten, by setting aside restitution, and robbing of Christ, it would be but a poor purgatory; so poor, that it should not be able to feed so fat, and trick up so many idle and slothful lubbers.

"I take God to witness, I would hurt no man, but it grieveth me to see such abuse continue without remedy. I cannot understand what they mean by the pope's pardoning of purgatory, but by way of suffrage; and as for suffrage, unless he do his duty, and seek not his own but Christ's glory, I had rather have the suffrage of Jack of the scullery, which in his calling doth exercise both faith and charity; but for his mass. And that is as good of another simple priest as of him. For, as for authority of keys, it is to loose from guiltiness of sin and eternal pain, due to the same, according to Christ's word, and not to his own private will. And as for pilgrimage, you would wonder what juggling there is to get money withal. I dwell within half a mile of the Foss-way, and you would wonder to see how they come by flocks out of the west country to many images, but chiefly to the blood of Hayles.. And they believe verily that it is the very blood that was in Christ's body, shed upon the mount of Calvary for our salvation, and that the sight of it with their bodily eye, doth certify them, and putteth them out of doubt, that they be in clean life, and in state of salvation without spot of sin, which doth Bolden them to many things. For you would wonder if you should commune with them both coming and going, what faiths they

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have: for as for forgiving their enemies, and reconciling their Christian brethren, they cannot away withal; for the sight of that blood doth requite them for the time.

"I read in Scripture of two certifications: one to the Romans, We being justified by faith, have peace with God. If I see the blood of Christ with the eye of my soul, that is true faith that his blood was shed for me, &c.

"Another in the Epistle of John: We know that we are translated from death to life, because we love the brethren. But I read not that I have peace with God, nor that I am translated from death to life, because I see with my bodily eye the blood of Hayles. It is very probable, that all the blood that was in the body of Christ, was united and knit to his Divinity, and then no part thereof shall return to his corruption. And I marvel that Christ shall have two resurrections. And if it were that they did violently and injuriously pluck it out of his body, when they scourged him and nailed him to the cross, did see it with their bodily eye, yet they were not in clean life. And we see the self-same blood in form of wine, when we have consecrated, and may both see it, feel it, and receive it to our damnation, as touching bodily receiving. And many do see it at Hayles without confession, as they say. God knoweth all, and the devil in our time is not dead.

"Christ hath left a doctrine behind him, wherein we be taught how to believe, and what to believe; he doth suffer the devil to use his crafty fashion for our trial and probation. It were little thankworthy to believe well and rightly, if nothing should move us to false faith, and to believe superstitiously. It was not in vain that Christ, when he had taught truly, by and by bade beware of false prophets, which would bring in error slyly. But we be secure and uncareful, as though false prophets could not meddle with us, and as though the warning of Christ were no more earnest and effectual than is the warning of mothers when they trifle with their children, and bid them beware the bug, &c.

"Lo sir, how I run at riot beyond measure. When I began, I was minded to have written but half a dozen lines; but thus I forget myself ever when I write to a trusty friend, which will take in worth my folly, and keep it from mine enemy, &c.

"As for Dr. Wilson, I wot not what I should say; but I pray God indue him with charity. Neither he, nor any of his countrymen, did ever love me, since I did inveigh against their factions and partiality in Cambridge. Before that, who was more favoured of him than I? That is the bile that may not be touched, &c.

"A certain friend showed me, that Dr. Wilson is gone now into his country about Beverley in Holderness; and from thence he will go a progress through Yorkshire, Lancashire, Cheshire, and so from thence to Bristol. What he intended by this progress, God knoweth, and not I? If he come to Bristol, I shall hear tell, &c.

"As for Hubberdin, no doubt he is a man of no great learning, nor yet of stable wit. He is here *servus hominum*; for he will preach whatsoever the bishops will bid him preach. Verily, in my mind, they are more to be blamed than he. He doth magnify the pope more than enough. As for our Saviour Christ and Christian kings, they are little beholden to him. No doubt he did miss the cushion in many things. Howbeit they that did send him, men think, will defend him; I pray

God amend him and them both. They would fain make matter against me, intending so either to deliver him by me, or else to rid us both together, and so they would think him well bestowed, &c.

"As touching Dr. Powell, how highly he took upon him in Bristol, and how little he regarded the sword, which representeth the king's person, many can tell you. I think there is never an earl in this realm that knoweth his obedience by Christ's commandment to his prince, and wotteth what the sword doth signify, that would have taken upon him so stoutly. Howbeit Master Mayor, as he is a profound wise man, did twit him prettily; it were too long to write all. Our pilgrimages are not a little beholden to him; for, to occasion the people to them, he alleged this text: Whosoever leaveth father, house, wife, &c. By that you may perceive his hot zeal and crooked judgment, &c. Because I am so belied, I could wish that it would please the king's Grace to command me to preach before his Highness a whole year together every Sunday, that he himself might perceive how they belie me, saying, that I have neither learning, nor utterance worthy thereunto, &c. I pray you pardon me; I cannot make an end."

A brief digression touching the railing of Hubberdin, against Master Latimer.

Forasmuch as mention hath been made in this letter of Hubberdin, an old divine of Oxford, a right painted Pharisee, and a great strayer abroad in all quarters of the realm to deface and impeach the springing of God's holy gospel, something would be added more, touching that man, whose doings and pageants, if they might be described at large, it were as good as any interlude for the reader to behold; who, in all his life, and in all his actions, (in one word to describe him,) seemeth nothing else but a right image or a counterfeit, setting out unto us in lively colours the pattern of perfect hypocrisy. But because the man is now gone, to spare therefore the dead, (although he little deserved to be spared, which never spared to work what villany he could against the true servants of the Lord,) this shall be enough for example's sake, for all Christian men necessarily to observe, how the said Hubberdin, after his long railing in all places against Luther, Melancthon, Zuinglius, John Frith, Tyndale, Latimer, and all other like professors, after his hypocritical open alms, given out of other men's purses, his long prayers, pretended devotions, devout fastings, his woolward-going, and other his prodigious demeanour,—riding in his long gown down to the horse-heels like a Pharisee, or rather like a sloven dirted up to the horse-belly,—after his forged tales and fables, dialogues, dreams, dancings, hoppings and leapings, with other like histrionical toys and gestures used in the pulpit, and all against heretics: at last, riding by a church side, where the youth of the parish were dancing in the churchyard, suddenly this Silenus, lighting from his horse, by the occasion of their dancing came into the church, and there causing the bell to toll in the people, thought instead of a fit of mirth to give them a sermon of dancing. In the which sermon, after he had patched up certain common texts out of the Scriptures, and then coming to the doctors, first to Augustine, then to Ambrose, so to Jerome and Gregory, Chrysostom, and other doctors, had made them every one (after his dialogue manner) by name to answer to his call, and to sing after his tune for the probation of the sacrament of the altar against John Frith, Zuinglius, Ecolampadius, Luther, Tyndale, Latimer, and other heretics (as he called them); at last, to show a perfect harmony of all these doctors together—as he had made them before to sing after his tune, so now to make them dance also after his pipe—first he calleth out Christ and his apostles; then the doctors and ancient seniors of the church, as in a round ring all to dance together, with "pipe up Hubberdin." Now

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dance Christ; now dance Peter, Paul; now dance Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome. And thus old Hubberdin, as he was dancing with his doctors lustily in the pulpit against the heretics, how he stamp and took on I cannot tell, but "crash," quoth the pulpit, down cometh the dancer, and there lay Hubberdin, not dancing, but sprawling in the midst of his audience; where altogether he brake not his neck, yet he so brake his leg the same time, and bruised his old bones, that he never came in pulpit more, and died not long after the same. Whereupon when the churchwardens were called, and charged for the pulpit being no stronger, they made answer again, excusing themselves, that they had made their pulpit for preaching, and not for dancing, &c. But to spend no more paper about this idle matter, now to our purpose again.

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

Besides Latin letters, other letters also he wrote in English, as well to others, as namely to Sir Edward Baynton, knight, which letters, because they do contain much fruitful matter worthy to be read and known, I thought here presently to insert; which albeit may seem somewhat prolix in reading, yet the fruit thereof, I trust, shall recompense the length of them.

A letter sent by Master Latimer, parson of West Kington, in the county of Wiltshire, to Sir Edward Baynton, knight.

"*Salutem in Christo.*—Right worshipful sir, I recommend me unto your Mastership with hearty thanks for your so friendly, so charitable, and so mindful, remembrance of me so poor a wretch. Whereas of late I received your letters by Master Bonnam, perceiving therein both who be grieved with me, wherefore, and what behoveth me to do, in case I must needs come up: which your goodness towards me with all other such like to recompense, whereas I myself am not able, I shall not cease to pray my Lord God, which both is able, and also doth indeed reward all them that favour the favourers of his truth for his sake; for the truth is a common thing, pertaining to every man, for the which every man shall answer another day. And I desire favour neither of your Mastership, neither of any man else, but in truth, and for the truth, I take God to witness, which knoweth all. In very deed Master Chancellor did show me that my Lord bishop of London had sent letters to him for me; and I made answer that he was mine ordinary, and that both he might and should reform me as far as I needed reformation, as well and as soon as my Lord of London. And I would be very loth, now this deep winter, being so weak and so feeble, (not only exercised with my old disease in my head and side, but also with new, both the cholic and the stone,) to take such a journey; and though he might so do, yet he needed not, for he was not bound so to do. Notwithstanding I said, if he, to do my Lord of London pleasure, to my great displeasure would needs command me to go, I would obey his commandment, yea, though it should be never so great a grievance, and painful to me; with the which answer he was content, saying he would certify my Lord of London thereof, trusting his Lordship would be content with the same: but as yet I hear nothing from him. Master Chancellor also said, that my Lord of London maketh as though he were greatly displeased with me, for that I did contemn his authority, at my last being in London.

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"Forsooth I preached in Abb-church, not certain then (as I remember) whether in his diocese or no, intending nothing less than to condemn his authority: and this I did not of mine own seeing, or by mine own procuration, but at the request of honest merchantmen, (as they seemed to me,) whose names I do not know, for they were not of mine acquaintance before. And I am glad thereof for their sakes, lest, if I knew them, I should be compelled to utter them, and so their godly desire to hear godly preaching should return to their trouble: for they required me very instantly, and, to say the truth, even importunately. Whether they were of that parish or no, I was not certain; but they showed not only themselves, but also many others to be very desirous to hear me, pretending great hunger and thirst of the word of God, and ghostly doctrine. And upon consideration, and to avoid all inconveniences, I put them off, and refused them twice or thrice, till at the last they brought me word that the parson and curate were not only content, but also desired me, notwithstanding that they certified him both of my name plainly, and also that I had not the bishop's seal to show for me, but only a licence of the university; which curate did receive me, welcomed me, and, when I should go into the pulpit, gave me the common benediction; so that I had not been alone uncharitable, but also churlishly uncharitable, if I should have said nay. Now all this supposed to be truth, (as it is,) I marvel greatly how my Lord of London can allege any contempt of him in me.

"First, he did never inhibit me in my life; and if he did inhibit his curate to receive me, what pertaineth that to me, which neither did know thereof, nor yet made any suit to the curate deceitfully; nor did it appear to me very likely that the curate would so little have regarded my Lord's inhibition, which he maintaineth so vigilantly, not knowing my Lord's mind before. Therefore I conjectured with myself, that either the curate was of such acquaintance with my Lord, that he might admit whom he would, or else, (and rather,) that it was a train and a trap laid before me, to the intent that my Lord himself, or some others pertaining to him, were appointed to have been there, and to have taken me if they could in my sermon: which conjecture both occasioned me somewhat to suspect those men which desired me, though they spake never so fair and friendly, and also the rather to go. For I preach nothing, but (if it might be so) I would my Lord himself might hear me every sermon I preach. So certain I am that it is truth, that I take in hand to preach. If I had with power of my friends (the curate gainsaying and withstanding) presumed to have gone into the pulpit, there had been something wherefore to pretend a contempt. I preached in Kent also, at the instant request of a curate; yet hear I not that his ordinary layeth any contempt to my charge, or yet doth trouble the curate.

"I marvel not a little, how my Lord bishop of London, having so broad, wide, and large a diocese committed unto his cure, and so peopled as it is, can have leisure for preaching and teaching the word of God, *opportune, importune, tempestive, intempestive, privatim, publice*, to his own flock, *instando, arguendo, exhortando, monendo, cum omni lenitate et doctrina*: have leisure (I say) either to trouble me, or to trouble himself with me, so poor a wretch, a stranger to him, and nothing pertaining to his cure, but as every man pertaineth to every man's cure; so intermixing and inter-meddling himself with another man's cure, as though he had nothing to do in his own. If I would do as some men say my Lord doth, gather up my Joyce, as we call it, warily and narrowly, and yet neither preach for it in mine own cure, nor yet other where, peradventure he would nothing deny me.

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"In very deed I did monish judges and ordinaries to use charitable equity in their judgments towards such as be accused, namely, of such accusers which be as like to hear and bewray, as other be to say amiss; and to take men's words in the meaning thereof, and not to wrest them in another sense than they were spoken in: for all such accusers and witnesses be false before God, as St. Jerome saith upon the twenty-sixth chapter of St. Matthew. Nor yet do I account those judges well advised, which wittingly will give sentence after such witnesses; much less those which procure such witnesses against any man: nor do I think judges now-a-days so deeply confirmed in grace, or so impeccable, but that it may behove and become preachers, to admonish them to do well, as well as other kinds of men, both great and small. And this I did, occasioned of the Epistle which I declared, (Rom. vi.,) wherein is this sentence, Ye Christian men that believe in Christ, are not under the law.

"What a saying is this, (quoth I,) if it be not rightly understood; that is, as St. Paul did understand it? for the words sound as though he would go about to occasion Christian men to break law, seeing they be not under the law: and what if the pseudo-apostles, adversaries to St. Paul, would have so taken them, and accused St. Paul of the same to my Lord of London? If my said Lord would have heard St. Paul declare his own mind of his own words, then he should have escaped, and the false apostles have been put to rebuke; if he would have rigorously followed *utcunque allegata et probata*, and have given sentence after relation of the accusers, then good St. Paul must have borne a faggot at Paul's Cross, my Lord of London being his judge. Oh! it had been a godly sight, to have seen St. Paul with a faggot on his back, even at Paul's Cross, my Lord of London (bishop of the same) sitting under the cross. Nay, verily, I dare say, my Lord should sooner have burned him, for St. Paul did not mean that Christian men might break law, and do whatsoever they would, because they were not under the law; but he did mean, that Christian men might keep the law, and fulfil the law, if they would; .because they were not under the law, but under Christ, by whom they were divided from the tyranny of the law, and above the law, that is to say, able to fulfil the law to the pleasure of him that made the law, which they could never do of their own strength, and without Christ: so that to be under the law, after St. Paul's meaning, is to be weak to satisfy the law; and what could St. Paul do withal, though his adversaries would not so take it?

"But my Lord would say, peradventure, that men will not take the preacher's words otherwise than they mean therein. *Bona verba*: as though St. Paul's words were not otherwise taken, as it appeareth in the third chapter to the Romans, where he saith, Our unrighteousness commendeth and maketh more excellent the righteousness of God; which sounded to many as though they should be evil that good should come of it, and by unrighteousness to make the righteousness of God more excellent. So St. Paul was reported to mean; yet he did mean nothing so; but showed the inestimable wisdom of God, which can use our naughtiness to the manifestation of his unspeakable goodness; not that we should do naughtily to that end and purpose. Now my Lord will not think, I dare say, that St. Paul was to blame that he spake no more circumspectly, more warily, or more plainly, to avoid evil offence of the people; but rather he will blame the people, for that they took no better heed and attendance to Paul's speaking, to the understanding of the same: yea, he will rather pity the people, which had been so long nurseled in the doctrine of the Pharisees, and wallowed so long in darkness of man's traditions, superstitions, and trade of living, that they were unapt to receive the bright lightness of the truth, and wholesome doctrine of God, uttered by St. Paul. Nor do I think that my Lord will require

more circumspection, or more convenience to avoid offence of errors in me, than was in St. Paul, when he did not escape malevolous corrections, and slanderous reports of them that were of perverse judgments, which reported him to say whatsoever he appeared to them to say, or whatsoever seemed to them to follow of his saying.

"But what followeth? So they report us to say, saith St. Paul; so they speak evil of us: but such, whose damnation is just, saith he. And I think the damnation of all such that evil report preachers now-a-days, likewise just, for it is untruth now and then. Yea, Christ himself was misreported, and falsely accused, both as touching his words, and also as concerning the meaning of his words. First he said, Destroy you; they made it, I can destroy: he said, this temple; they added, made with hand, to bring it to a contrary sense. So they both inverted his words, and also added unto his words, to alter his sentence; for he did mean of the temple of his body, and they wrested it to Solomon's temple.

"Now I report me, whether it be a just fame raised up and dispersed after this manner. Nay verily, for there be three manner of persons which can make no credible information: first, adversaries, enemies: secondly, ignorant and without judgment: thirdly, whisperers and blowers in men's ears, which will spew out in hudder-mudder, more than they dare avow openly. The first will not, the second cannot, the third dare not: therefore the relation of such is not credible, and therefore they can make no fame lawful, nor occasion any indifferent judge to make process against any man; and it maketh no little matter what they be themselves that report of any man, whether well or evil: for it is a great commendation to be evil spoken of, of them that be naught themselves, and to be commended of the same is, many times, no little reproach. God send us once all grace to wish well one to another, and to speak well one of another!

"Me seemeth it were more comely for my Lord (if it were comely for me to say so) to be a preacher himself, having so great a cure as he hath, than to be a disquieter and a troubler of preachers, and to preach nothing at all himself. If it would please his Lordship to take so great a labour and pain at any time, as to come to preach in my little bishopric at West Kington, whether I were present or absent myself, I would thank his Lordship heartily, and think myself greatly bounden to him, that he of his charitable goodness would go so far to help to discharge me in my cure, or else I were more unnatural than a beast unreasonable; nor yet would I dispute, contend, or demand by what authority, or where he had authority so to do, as long as his predication were fruitful, and to the edification of my parishioners.

"As for my Lord, he may do as it pleaseth his Lordship. I pray God he do always as well as I would wish him ever to do: but I am sure St. Paul, the true minister of God, and faithful dispenser of God's mysteries, and right exemplar of all true and very bishops, saith in the first chapter to the Philippians, that in his time some preached Christ for envy of him, thinking thereby so to grieve him withal, and as it were to obscure him, and to bring his authority into contempt; some of good will and love, thinking thereby to comfort him: Notwithstanding, saith he, by all manner of ways, and after all fashions, whether it be of occasion or of truth, (as ye would say, for truth's sake,) so that Christ be preached and showed, I joy and will joy: so much he regarded more the glory of Christ, and promotion of Christ's doctrine, to the edification of Christian souls, than the maintenance of his own authority, reputation, and dignity; considering

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right well, (as he said,) that what authority soever he had, it was to edification, and not to destruction.

"Now I think it were no reproach to my Lord, but very commendable, rather to joy with St. Paul, and be glad that Christ be preached *quovis modo*—yea, though it were for envy, that is to say, in disdain, despite, and contempt of his Lordship (which thing no man well advised will enterprise or attempt)—than when the preaching cannot be proved justly, to demand of the preacher austerely, as the Pharisees did of Christ, *qua autoritate hæc facis, aut quis dedit tibi istam auctoritatem?* As my authority is good enough, and as good as my Lord can give me any, yet I would be glad to have his also, if it would please his Lordship to be so good a lord unto me. For the university of Cambridge hath authority apostolic to admit twelve yearly, of the which I am one: and the king's Highness (God save his Grace!) did decree that all admitted of universities should preach throughout all his realm as long as they preached well, without restraint of any man, my Lord of Canterbury, my Lord of Durham, with such other not a few, standing by, and hearing the decree, nothing gainsaying it, but consenting to the same. Now to condemn my Lord of London's authority were no little fault in me; so no less fault might appear in my Lord of London to condemn the king's authority and decree, yea, so godly, so fruitful, so commendable a decree, pertaining both to the edification of Christian souls, and also to the regard and defence of the popish grace and authority apostolic. To have a book of the king not inhibited, is to obey the king, and to inhibit a preacher of the king's admitted, is it not to disobey the king? Is it not one king that doth inhibit and admit, and hath he not as great authority to admit as to inhibit? He that resisteth the power, whether admitting or inhibiting, doth he not resist the ordinance of God? We low subjects are bound to obey powers, and their ordinances: and are not the highest subjects also, who ought to give us example of such obedience? As for my preaching itself, I trust in God, my Lord of London cannot rightfully belack it, nor justly reprove it, if it be taken with the circumstance thereof, and as I spake it; or else it is not my preaching, but his that falsely reporteth it.

"But now I hear say that my Lord of London is informed, and upon the said information hath informed the king, that I go about to defend Bilney, and his cause, against his ordinaries and his judges, which I assure you is not so: for I had nothing to do with Bilney, nor yet with his judges, except his judges did him wrong; for I did nothing else but monish all judges indifferently to do right; nor am I altogether so foolish as to defend the thing which I knew not. It might have become a preacher to say as I said, though Bilney had never been born. I have known Bilney a great while, I think much better than every did my Lord of London: for I have been his ghostly father many a time. And to tell you the truth, what I have thought always in him, I have known hitherto few such so prompt and ready to do every man good after his power, both friend and foe, noisome wittingly to no man, and towards his enemy so charitable; so seeking to reconcile them as he did, I have known yet not many; and to be short, in sum, a very simple good soul, nothing fit or meet for this wretched world, whose blind fashion and miserable state (yea, far from Christ's doctrine) he could as evil bear, and would sorrow, lament, and bewail it, as much as any man that ever I knew: as for his singular learning, as well in Holy Scripture, as in all other good letters, I will not speak of it. Notwithstanding, if he either now of late, or at any time attempted any thing contrary to the obedience which a Christian man doth owe either to his prince or to his bishop, I neither do nor will allow and approve that, neither in him, nor yet in any other man: we be all men, and ready to fall; wherefore he that standeth, let him beware he fall

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not. How he ordered or misordered himself in judgment, I cannot tell, nor will I meddle withal; God knoweth, whose judgments I will not judge. But I cannot but wonder, if a man living so mercifully, so charitably, so patiently, so continently, so studiously and virtuously, and killing his old Adam, (that is to say, mortifying his evil affections and blind motions of his heart so diligently,) should die an evil death, there is no more, but, Let him that standeth, beware that he fall not: for if such as he shall die evil, what shall become of me, such a wretch as I am?

"But let this go, as little to the purpose, and come to the point we must rest upon. Either my Lord of London will judge my outward man only, as it is said, Men see things only without, or else he will be my God, and judge mine inward man, as it is said, God looks on the heart. If he will have to do only with mine outward man, and meddle with mine outward conversation, how that I have ordered myself toward my Christian brethren, the king's liege people, I trust I shall please and content both my Lord God, and also my Lord of London: for I have preached and taught but according to Holy Scripture, holy fathers, and ancient interpreters of the same, with the which I think my Lord of London will be pacified: for I have done nothing else in my preaching, but with all diligence moved my auditors to faith and charity, to do their duty, and that that is necessary to be done.

"As for things of private devotion, mean things, and voluntary things, I have reproved the abuse, the superstition of them, without condemnation of the things themselves, as it becometh preachers to do: which thing, if my Lord of London will do himself, (as I would to God he would do,) he should be reported, no doubt, to condemn the use of such things, of covetous men which have damage, and find less in their boxes by condemnation of the abuse, which abuse they had rather should continue still, than their profit should not continue (so thorny be their hearts). If my Lord will needs coast and invade my inward man, will I, nill I, and break violently into my heart, I fear me I shall either displease my Lord of London, which I would be very loth, or else my Lord God, which I would be more loth: not for any infidelity, but for ignorance, for I believe as a Christian man ought to believe. But peradventure my Lord knoweth, and will know many things certainly, which (perchance) I am ignorant in, with the which ignorance, though my Lord of London may, if he will, be discontent, yet I trust my Lord God will pardon it, as long as I hurt no man withal, and say to him with diligent study, and daily prayer, My heart is prepared, O God, my heart is prepared, so studying, preaching, and tarrying the pleasure and leisure of God: and in the mean season, (Acts viii.,) as Apollos did, when he knew nothing of Christ but the baptism of John, teach and preach mine even christened, that and no further than I know to be true.

"There be three Creeds, one in my mass, another in my matins, the third common to them that neither say mass nor matins, nor yet know what they say, when they say the Creed: and I believe all three, with all that God hath left in holy writ, for me and all others to believe. Yet I am ignorant in things which I trust hereafter to know, as I do now know things in which I have been ignorant heretofore: ever to learn, and ever to be learned; to profit with learning, with ignorance not to annoy. I have thought in times past, that the pope, Christ's vicar, hath been lord of all the world as Christ is; so that if he should have deprived the king of his crown, or you of the lordship of Brome-ham, it had been enough: for he could do no wrong. Now I might be hired to think otherwise; notwithstanding I have both seen and heard Scripture drawn to that purpose. I have thought in times past, that the pope's dispensations of pluralities of benefices, and absence from the same, had discharged consciences before God: forasmuch as I have heard, *Ecce*

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vobiscum sum, and *Qui vos audit me audit*, bended to corroborate the same. Now I might be easily entreated to think otherwise, &c.

"I have thought in times past that the pope could have spoiled purgatory at his pleasure with a word of his mouth: now learning might persuade me otherwise; or else I would marvel why he would suffer so much money to be bestowed that way, which so needful is to be bestowed otherwise, and to deprive us of so many patrons in heaven as he might deliver out of purgatory, &c. I have thought in times past, that if I had been a friar, and in a cowl, I could not have been damned, nor afraid of death; and by occasion of the same, I have been minded many times to have been a friar, namely, when I was sore sick and diseased: now I abhor my superstitious foolishness, &c. I have thought in times past, that divers images of saints could have holpen me, and done me much good, and delivered me of my diseases: now I know that one can help as much as another; and it pitieth mine heart, that my Lord, and such as my Lord is, can suffer the people to be so craftily deceived. It were too long to tell you what blindness I have been in, and how long it were ere I could forsake such folly, it was so corporate in me: but by continual prayer, continual study of Scripture, and oft communing with men of more right judgment, God hath delivered me, &c. Yea, men think that my Lord himself hath thought in times past, that by God's law a man might marry his brother's wife, which now doth dare think and say contrary: and yet this his boldness might have chanced, in Pope Julius's days, to stand him either in a fire, or else in a faggot. Which thing deeply considered, and pondered of my Lord, might something stir him to charitable equity, and to be something remissible toward men which labour to do good as their power serveth with knowledge, and do hurt to no man with their ignorance: for there is no greater distance than between God's law and not God's law; nor is it so, or so, because any man thinketh it so, or so: but, because it is so or so indeed, therefore we must think it so or so, when God shall give us knowledge thereof: for if it be indeed either so or not, it is so, or not so, though all the world hath thought otherwise these thousand years, &c.

"And finally, as ye say, the matter is weighty, and ought substantially to be looked upon, even as weighty as my life is worth; but how to look substantially upon it, otherwise know not I, than to pray my Lord God day and night, that as he hath imboldened me to preach his truth, so he will strengthen me to suffer for it, to the edification of them which have taken, by the working of him, fruit thereby. And even so I desire you, and all other that favour me for his sake, likewise to pray: for it is not I (without his mighty helping hand) that can abide that brunt; but I have trust that God will help me in time of need, which if I had not, the ocean-sea, I think, should have divided my Lord of London and me by this day. For it is a rare thing for a preacher to have favour at his hand which is no preacher himself, and yet ought to be. I pray God that both he and I may both discharge ourselves, he in his great cure, and I in my little, to God's pleasure, and safety of our souls; Amen.

"I pray you pardon me, that I write no more distinctly, nor more truly, for my head is so out of frame, that it would be too painful for me to write it again; and, if I be not prevented shortly, I intend to make merry with my parishioners this Christmas, for all the sorrow, lest perchance I never return to them again: and I have heard say, that a doe is as good in winter as a buck in summer.

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A letter of Sir Edward Boynton, knight, answering to the letter of Master Latimer, sent to him before.

"Master Latimer, after hearty recommendations; I have communicated the effect of your letters to divers of my friends, such as for Christian charity (as they say) rather desire in you a reformation, either in your opinion, (if it swerve from the truth,) or at the least in your manner and behaviour, inasmuch as it giveth occasion of slander and trouble, in let of your good purposes, than any other inconvenience to your person or good name. And, forasmuch as your said letter misliketh them in some part, and that I have such confidence in your Christian breast, as in my judgment ye will conformably and gladly both hear what may be reformed in you, and also (as it is worthy) so acknowledge and confess the same: I have therefore desired them to take the pain to note their minds in this letter which I send to you, as aggregate of their sayings, and sent from me your assured friend and favourer, in that that is the very truth of God's word: wherein nevertheless, as I trust ye yourself will temper your own judgment, and in a soberness affirm no truth of yourself, which should divide the unity of the congregation in Christ; and the received truth agreed upon by holy fathers of the church, consonant to the Scripture of God; even so whatsoever ye will do therein, (as I think ye will not otherwise than ye should do,) I, being unlearned, and not of the knowledge to give sentence in this alteration and contention, must rather of good congruence show myself, in that you disagree with them, readier to follow their doctrine in truth, than yours, unless it may please Almighty God to inspire and confirm the hearts of such people to testify the same in some honest number, as ought to induce me to give credence unto them.

"Only God knoweth the certain truth, which is communicated to us, as our capacity may comprehend it by faith, but that it is 'per speculum in ænigmate.' And there have been 'qui zelum Dei habuerunt, sed non secundum scientiam.' Among which I repute not you, but to this purpose I write it, that to call this or that truth, it requireth a deep and profound knowledge, considering that to me, unlearned, what I take for truth may be otherwise, not having 'sensus exercitatos,' as St. Paul saith, 'ad discernendum bonum et malum:' and it is showed me, that an opinion or manner of teaching which causeth dissension in a Christian congregation, is not of God, by the doctrine of St. John in his Epistle, where he saith, 'Omnis qui confitetur Christum in carne,' &c. 'ex Deo est.' And like as the word of God hath always caused dissension among men unchristened, whereupon hath ensued and followed martyrdom to the preacher, so in Christ's congregation, among them that profess Christ's name, 'in uno Domino, uno baptismo, et una fide,' they that preach and stir rather contention than charity, though they can defend their saying, yet their teaching is not to be taken as of God, in that it breaketh the chain of Christian charity, and maketh division in the people, congregate and called by God into a unity of faith and baptism. But for this point I would pray to God, that not only in the truth may be agreement, but also such soberness and uniform behaviour used in teaching and preaching, as men may wholly express (as they may) the charity of God, tending only to the union and love of us all, to the profit and salvation of our souls."

The answer of Master Latimer to the letter of Sir Edward Baynton above prefixed.

"Right worshipful sir, and my singular good master, salutem in Christo Jesu, with due commendation, and also thanks for your great goodness towards me, &c. And whereas you have

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communicated my last letters to certain of your friends, which rather desire this or that in me, &c., what I think therein I will not now say, not for that there could be any peril or danger in the said letters, well taken, as far as I can judge, but for that they were rashly and unadvisedly scribbled, as ye might well know both by my excuse, and by themselves also, though none excuse had been made. And besides that, ye know right well, that where the bee gathereth honey, even there the spinner gathereth venom, not for any diversity of the flower, but for divers natures in them that suck the flower: as in times past, and in the beginning, the very truth, and one thing in itself, was to some offence, to some foolishness; to others otherwise disposed, the wisdom of God. Such diversity was in the redress of hearers thereof.

"But this notwithstanding, there is no more but either my writing is good, or bad. If it be good, the communicating thereof to your friends cannot be hurtful to me; if it be otherwise, why should you not communicate it to them which both could and would instruct you in the truth, and reform my error? Let this pass, I will not contend: 'had I wist' cometh ever out of season. Truly I were not well advised, if I would not either be glad of your instruction, or yet refuse mine own reformation: but yet it is good for a man to look ere he leap, and God forbid that ye should be addict and sworn to me so wretched a fool, that you should not rather follow the doctrine of your friends in truth, so great learned men as they appear to be, than the opinions of me, having never so Christian a breast.

"Wherefore do as you will; for as I would not if I could, so I cannot if I would, be noisome unto you: but yet I say, I would my letters had been unwritten, if for no other cause, at least-way inasmuch as they cause me to more writing, an occupation nothing meet for my mad head. And as touching the points which in my foresaid letters mislike your friends, I have now little leisure to make an answer thereto, for the great business that I have in my little cure, (I know not what other men have in their great cures,) seeing that I am alone without any priest to serve my cure, without any scholar to read unto me, without any book necessary to be looked upon, without learned men to come and counsel withal: all which things others have at hand abundantly. But something must be done, howsoever it be. I pray you take it in good worth, as long as I temper mine own judgment, affirming nothing with prejudice of better. First ye mislike, that I say I am sure that I preach the truth; saying in reproof of the same, that God knoweth certain truth. Indeed alonely God knoweth all certain truth, and alonely God knoweth it as of himself, and none knoweth certain truth but God, and those which be taught of God, as saith St. Paul, 'Deus enim illis patefecit;' and Christ himself, 'Erunt omnes docti a Deo.' And your friends deny not but certain truth is communicated to us, as our capacity may comprehend it by faith, which if it be truth, as it is, then there ought no more to be required of any man, but according to his capacity. Now certain it is, that every man hath not like capacity, &c.

"But as to my presumption and arrogancy; either I am certain or uncertain that it is truth that I preach. If it be truth, why may not I say so, to courage my hearers to receive the same more ardently, and ensue it more studiously? If I be uncertain, why dare I be so bold to preach it? And if your friends, in whom ye trust so greatly, be preachers themselves, after their sermon I pray you ask them whether they be certain and sure that they taught you the truth or no; and send me word what they say, that I may learn to speak after them. If they say they be sure, ye know what followeth: if they say they be unsure, when shall you be sure, that have so doubtful teachers and unsure? And you yourselves, whether are you certain or uncertain that Christ is your Saviour?

And so forth of other articles that ye be bounden to believe. Or whether be ye sure or unsure, that civil ordinances be the good works of God, and that you do God service in doing of them, if ye do them for good intent? If ye be uncertain, take heed he be your sure friend that heareth you say so, and then with what conscience do ye doubt, *cum quicquid non est ex fide, peccatum est*? But contrary say you, alonely God knoweth certain truth, and ye have it but '*per speculum in ænigmate*;' and there have been '*qui zelum Dei habuerunt, sed non secundum scientiam*.' And to call this or that truth, it requireth a deep knowledge, considering that to you unlearned, that you take for truth may be otherwise, not having '*sensus exercitatos*,' as Paul saith, '*ad discernendum bonum et malum*;' as ye reason against me, and so you do best to know surely nothing for truth at all, but to wander meekly hither and thither, '*omni vento doctrina*,' &c. Our knowledge here, you say, is but '*per speculum in ænigmate*.' What then? *ergo*, it is not certain and sure.

"I deny your argument, by your leave; yea, if it be by faith, as ye say, it is much sure, because 'the certainty of faith is the most surest certainty,' as Duns and other school doctors say, that there is a great discrepance between certain knowledge and clear knowledge; for that may be of things absent that appear not, this requireth the presence of the object, I mean of the thing known; so that I certainly and surely know the thing which I perfectly believe, though I do not clearly and evidently know it. I know your school subtleties as well as you, which dispute as though enigmatical knowledge, that is to say, dark and obscure knowledge, might not be certain and sure knowledge, because it is not clear, manifest, and evident knowledge; and yet there have been, say they, which have had a zeal, but not after knowledge. True it is, there have been such, and yet be too many, to the great hinderance of Christ's glory, which nothing doth more obscure than a hot zeal accompanied with great authority without right judgment. There have been also, which have had knowledge without any zeal of God, who holding the verity of God in unrighteousness, shall be beaten with many stripes, while they, knowing the will of God, do nothing thereafter. I mean not among Turks and Saracens, that be unchristened, but of them that be christened. And there have been also that have lost the spiritual knowledge of God's word which they had before; because they have not ensued after it, nor promoted the same; but rather with their mother-wits have impugned the wisdom of the Father, and hindered the knowledge thereof, which therefore hath been taken away from them, *ut justificetur Christus in sermonibus suis, et vincat cum judicatur*; threatening to him that hath not, that also which he hath (that is, that which he seemeth to have) shall be taken from him: because to abuse that which a man hath, or not to use it well, is as not to have it; and also seeing it is true, that God's wisdom will not dwell in a body subject to sin, albeit it abound in carnal wisdom too much; for the mere carnal and philosophical understanding of God's Scriptures is not the wisdom of God, which is hid from the wise, and is revealed to little ones. And if to call this or that truth, requireth a deep and profound knowledge, then either every man hath a deep and profound knowledge, or else no man can call this or that truth: and it behoveth every preacher to have so deep and profound knowledge, that he may call this or that truth, which this or that he taketh in hand to preach for the truth; and yet he may be ignorant and uncertain in many things, both this and that, as Apollos was: but which things, whether this or that, he will not attempt to preach for the truth. And as for myself, I trust in God, I have my senses well enough exercised to discern good and evil in those things, which (being without deep and profound knowledge in many things) I preach not; yea, there be many things in Scripture in which I cannot certainly discern '*bonum et malum*,' I mean '*verum et falsum*;' not with all the exercise that I have in Scripture, nor yet with help of all interpreters that I have, to content myself and others in all scrupulosity that may arise. But in

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such I am wont to wade no further into the stream, than that I may either go over, or else return back again; having ever respect, not to the ostentation of my little wit, but to the edification of them that hear me, as far forth as I can, neither passing mine own, nor yet their capacity.

"And such manner of argumentations might well serve the devil *contra pusillanimes*, to occasion them to wander and waver in the faith, and to be uncertain in things in which they ought to be certain: or else it may appear to make and serve against such preachers which will define great subtleties and high matters in the pulpit, which no man can be certain and sure of by God's word to be truth, 'ne sensus quidem habens ad discernendum bonum et malum exercitissimos.' As whether, if Adam had not sinned, we should have stockfish out of Iceland: how many larks for a penny if every star in the elements were a flickering hobby: how many years a man shall lie in purgatory for one sin, if he buy not plenty of the oil that runneth over our lamps to slake the sin withal; and so forget hell which cannot be slaked, to provide for purgatory.

"Such argumentation, I say, might appear to make well against such preachers; not against me, which simply and plainly utter true faith and fruits of the same, which be the good works of God, which he hath prepared for us to walk in; every man to do the thing that pertaineth to his office and duty in his degree and calling, as the word of God appointeth, which thing a man may do with soberness, having 'sensus ad discernendum bonum et malum vel mediocriter exercitatos.' For it is but foolish humility, willingly to continue always an infant still in Christ, and in infirmity: in reproof of which it was said, 'Facti estis opus habentes lacte non solido cibo.' For St. Paul saith not, 'estote humiles, ut non capiatis:' for though he would not that we should think arrogantly of ourselves, and above that that it becometh us to think of ourselves, but so to think of ourselves, 'ut simus sobrii ac modesti,' yet he biddeth us so to think of ourselves, as God hath distributed to every one the measure of faith. For he that may not with meekness think in himself what God hath done for him, and of himself as God hath done for him, how shall he, or when shall he, give due thanks to God for his gifts? And if your friends will not allow the same, I pray you inquire of them whether they may, 'cum sobrietate et modestia,' be sure they preach to you the truth, and whether we may, 'cum sobrietate et modestia,' follow St. Paul's bidding, where he saith unto us all, Be not children in understanding, but in maliciousness be infants. God give us all grace to keep the mean, and to think of ourselves neither too high nor too low; but so that we may restore unto him, 'qui peregre profectus est,' his gifts again cum usura,' that is to say, with good use of the same, so that 'ædificemus invicem' with the same, ad gloriam Dei.' Amen.

"For my life, I trust in God that I neither have, neither (by God's grace) shall I, neither in soberness, nor yet in drunkenness, affirm any truth of myself, therewith intending to divide that unity of the congregation of Christ, and the received truth agreed upon by the holy fathers of the church consonant to the Scripture of God, though it be showed you never so often, that an opinion or manner of teaching which causeth dissension in a Christian congregation, is not of God, by the doctrine of St. John in his Epistle, where he saith, Every one that confesseth Christ in the flesh, is of God. First, not every thing whereupon followeth dissension, causeth dissension, as I would that they that showed you that, would also show you, whether this opinion, that a man may not marry his brother's wife, be of God or of men: if it be of men, then, as Gamaliel said, 'dissolvetur;' if it be of God, as I think it is, and perchance your friends also, 'who can dissolve it, but shall seem to repugn against God?' And yet there be many, not heathens, but in Christendom, that dissent from the same, which could bear full evil to hear said unto them, 'Vos ex patre

diabolo estis.' So that such an opinion might seem to some to make a dissension in a Christian congregation, saving that they may say perchance with more liberty than others, that an occasion is sometimes taken and not given, which with their favour I might abuse for my defence, saving that non omnes omnibus licet in hac temporum iniquitate.

The Galatians having for preachers and teachers the false apostles, by whose teaching they were degenerate from the sweet liberty of the gospel into the sour bond of ceremonies, thought themselves peradventure a Christian congregation, when St. Paul did write his Epistle unto them, and were in a quiet trade under the dominion of masterly curates, so that the false apostles might have objected to St. Paul that his apostleship was not of God, forasmuch as there was dissension in a Christian congregation by occasion thereof, while some would renew their opinions by occasion of the Epistle, some would 'opinari,' as they were wont to do, and follow their great lords and masters, the false apostles, which were not heathen and unchristianed, but christianed, and high prelates of the professors of Christ. For your friends, I know right well what Erasmus hath said in an epistle set before the paraphrases of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, which Erasmus hath caused no small dissension with his pen in a Christian congregation, inasmuch as many have dissented from him, not alonely in cloisters, (men more than christened men,) of high perfection, but also at Paul's Cross, and St. Mary Spital, besides many that with no small zeal have written against him, but not without answer.

"And I would fain learn of your friends, whether that St. Jerome's writings were of God, which caused dissension in a Christian congregation, as it appeareth by his own words in the prologue before the canonical epistles, which be these: 'Et tu virgo Christi Eustochium, dum a me impensius Scripturæ veritatem inquiris, meam quodammodo senectutem invidorum dentibus vel morsibus corrodendam apponis, qui me falsarium corruptoremque Scripturarum pronunciant: sed ego in tali opere nec illorum invidentiam pertimesco, nec Scripturæ veritatem poscentibus denegabo.' I pray you what were they, that called St. Jerome 'falsarium,' and corrupter of Scripture, and for envy would have bitten him with their teeth? Unchristian or Christian? What had the unchristian to do with Christian doctrine? They were worshipful fathers of a Christian congregation, men of much more hotter stomachs than right judgment, of a greater authority than good charity: but St. Jerome would not cease to do good for the evil-speaking of them that were naught, giving in that an ensample to us of the same and if this dissension were in St. Jerome's time, what may be in our time? de malo in pejus scilicet.

"And I pray you what mean your friends by a Christian congregation? All those, trow ye, that have been christianed? But many of those be in worse condition, and shall have greater damnation, than many unchristianed. For it is not enough to a Christian congregation that is of God, to have been christened: but it is to be considered what we promise when we be christened, to renounce Satan, his works, his pomps: which thing if we busy not ourselves to do, let us not crack that we profess Christ's name in a Christian congregation, in one baptism.

"And whereas they add, 'in one Lord,' I read in Matt. xvii., Not every one that saith Lord, Lord, &c. And in Luke the Lord himself complaineth and rebuketh such professors and confessors, saying to them, Why call you me Lord, Lord, and do not that I bid you? Even as though it were enough to a Christian man, or to a Christian congregation, to say every day, 'Domine, dominus noster,' and to salute Christ with a double 'domine.' But I would your friends

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would take the pains to read over Chrysostom, super Matthæum, hom. 49. cap. 24, to learn to know a Christian congregation, if it will please them to learn at him. And whereas they add, in one faith. St. James saith boldly, Show me thy faith by thy works. And St. Jerome, 'If we believe, we show the truth in working.' And the Scripture saith, He that believeth God attendeth to his commandments: and the devils do believe to their little comfort. I pray God to save you and your friends from that believing congregation, and from that faithful company!

"Therefore all this toucheth not them that be unchristened, but them that be christened, and answer not unto their christendom. For St. Jerome sheweth how true preachers should order themselves, when evil priests and false preachers, and the people by them deceived, should be angry with them for preaching the truth, exhorting them to suffer death for the same, of the evil priests and false preachers, and the people deceived of them; which evil priests and false preachers, with the people deceived, be christened as well as others. And I fear me that St. Jerome might appear to some Christian congregation, as they will be called, to write seditiously, to divide the unity of a great honest number confessing Christ, 'in uno baptismo, uno Domino, una fide,' saying, 'The people which before were brought asleep by their masters, must go up to the mountains: not such mountains which smoke when they are touched, but to the mountains of the Old and New Testament, the prophets, apostles, and evangelists. And when they are occupied with reading in these mountains, if they find no instructors, (for the harvest is great, and the workmen be few,) yet shall the diligent study of the people he approved in fleeing to the mountains, and the slothfulness of the masters shall be rebuked.'

"I do marvel why our Christian congregations be so greatly grieved that lay-people would read Scripture, seeing that St. Jerome alloweth and approveth the same, which compareth not here the unchristened to the christened, but the lay-people christened to their curates christened, under the which they have been rocked and locked asleep in a subtle trade a great while full soundly, though now of late they have been waked, but to their pain; at the least-way to the pain of them that have wakened them with the word of God. And it is properly said of St. Jerome to call them masters and not servants: meaning that servants teach not their own doctrine, but the doctrine of their Master Christ, to his glory. Masters teach not Christ's doctrine, but their own, to their own glory; which masterly curates cannot be quiet till they have brought the people asleep again: but Christ the very true Master saith, 'Vigilate, et orate, ne intretis in tentationem.' 'Non cogitationes meæ cogitationes vestræ, neque viæ meæ viæ vestræ; dicit Dominus:' and there have been, 'which have gone about counsels, which they could not establish.' I pray God give our people grace so to wake, ut studium illorum comprobetur, and our masters so to sleep, ut non desidia illorum coarguatur. For who is so blind that he seeth not how far our Christian congregation doth gainsay St. Jerome, and speaketh after another fashion?

God amend that is amiss;
For we be something wide I wis.

"But now your friends have learned of St. John, that Every one that confesseth Jesus Christ in flesh, is of God and I have learned of St. Paul, that there have been, not among the heathen, but among the Christians, which confess Christ with their mouth, and deny him with their acts; so that St. Paul should appear to expound St. John, saving that I will not affirm any thing as of myself, but leave it to your friends to show you 'utrum qui factis negant Christum et vita sint ex Deo necne per solam oris confessionem:' for your friends know well enough by the

same St. John, 'qui ex Deo est, non peccat:' and there both have been and be now too many, which with mouth only confess Christ to be come in the flesh; but will not effectually hear the word of God, by consenting to the same, notwithstanding that St. John saith, 'Qui ex Deo est, verbum Dei audit; vos non auditis, quia ex Deo non estis.' And many shall hear, I never knew you, which shall not alone be christened, but also shall 'prophetare,' and do puissant things 'in nomine Christi:' and St. Paul said there should come ravening wolves which will not spare the flock; meaning it of them that should 'confiteri Christum in carne,' in their lips, and yet usurp by succession the office, which Christ calleth false prophets, and biddeth us beware of them, saying, They shall come in sheep's clothing; and yet they may wear both satin, silk, and velvet, called afterwards, naughty servants, not feeding but smiting their fellow servants, eating and drinking with the drunken, which shall have their portion with hypocrites. They are called 'servi,' servants, I trow, quod ore confitentur Christum in carne; nequam vero, quia factis negant eundem, non dantes cibum in tempore, dominium exercentes in gregem: because they confess Christ in the flesh: and naughty they are called, because they deny him in their deeds, not giving meat in due season, and exercising mastership over the flock. And yet your friends reason as though there could none bark and bite at true preachers, but they that be unchristened, notwithstanding that St. Augustine, upon the same Epistle of John, calleth such confessors of Christ, qui ore confitentur, et factis negant, 'antichristos;' a strange name for a Christian congregation. And though St. Augustine could defend his saying, yet his saying might appear not to be of God, to some men's judgment, in that it breaketh the chain of Christ's charity, so to cause men to hate antichrists, according to the doctrine of St. Paul, Hate that is evil: and so making division, not between christened and unchristened, but between Christians and antichristians, when neither pen nor tongue can divide the antichristians from their blind folly. And I would you would cause your friends to read over St. Augustine upon the Epistle of St. John; and tell you the meaning thereof, if they think it expedient for you to know it. As I remember, it is in his Tractate iii. But I am not sure nor certain of that, because I have not seen it since I was at Cambridge; and here I have not St. Augustine's works to look for it: but well I wot, that there he teacheth us to know the Christians from the antichristians, which both be christened, and both confess 'Jesum esse Christum,' if they be asked the question: and yet the one part denieth it in very deed. 'But let us not stand upon our talk, but attend to our doings and manner of life, to know whether we strive to perform the duties of our calling or not: yea, rather, we perhaps persuade ourselves that it is not necessary for us to perform them, referring them all to primitive usage; but that it is enough for us to bear rule and authority, and to bestow ourselves wholly upon secular matters, pleasures, and pomp of this world.'

"And yet as long as they minister the word of God, or his sacraments, or any thing that God hath ordained to the salvation of mankind, wherewith God hath promised to be present, to work with the ministration of the same to the end of the world, they be to be heard, to be obeyed, to be honoured for God's ordinance sake, which is effectual and fruitful, whatsoever the minister be, though he be a devil, and neither church nor member of the same, as Origen saith, and Chrysostom, so that it is not all one to honour them, and trust in them, St. Jerome saith: 'But there is required a judgment, to discern when they minister God's word and ordinance of the same, and their own, lest peradventure we take chalk for cheese, which will edge our teeth, and hinder digestion.' For as it is commonly said, 'the blind eat many a fly,' as they did which were persuaded of the high priests, to ask Barabbas, and to crucify Jesus; and ye know that to follow the blind guides, is to come into the pit with the same. 'And well you know,' saith St. Augustine,

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how aptly they resist Christ, when men begin to blame them for their misliving, and intolerable secularity and negligence? They dare not for shame blaspheme Christ himself, but they will blaspheme the ministers and preachers of whom they be blamed.'

"Therefore, whereas ye will pray for agreement both in the truth, and in uttering of the truth, when shall that be, as long as we will not hear the truth, but disquiet with crafty conveyance the preachers of the truth, because they reprove our evilness with the truth? And, to say truth, better it were to have a deformity in preaching, so that some would preach the truth of God, and that which is to be preached, without mutilation and adulteration of the word, (as Nicolas de Lyra saith in his time few did: what they do now-a-days, I report me to them that can judge,) than to have such a uniformity, that the silly people should be thereby occasioned to continue still in their lamentable ignorance, corrupt judgment, superstition, and idolatry; and esteem things, as they do all, preposterously; doing that that they need not for to do, leaving undone that they ought to do, for lack or want of knowing what is to be done; and so show their love to God, not as God biddeth, which saith, If ye love me, keep my commandments; and again, He that knoweth my precepts, and doth them, he loveth me; but as they bid, which seek their own things, not Christ's: as though to tithe mint were more than judgment, faith, and mercy.

"And what is to love in state of curates, but what he taught, who said, Peter, lovest thou me? Feed, feed, feed; which is now set aside, as though to love were to do nothing else, but to wear rings, mitres, and rochets, &c. And when they err in right loving, how can the people but err in loving, and be all of the new fashion, to his dishonour that suffered his passion, and taught the true kind of loving, which is now turned into piping, playing, and curious singing, which will not be reformed, I trow, 'nisi per manum Dei validam.' And I have both St. Augustine and St. Thomas, with divers others, that 'lex' is taken not alonely for ceremonies, but also for morals, where it is said, 'Non estis sub lege,' though your friends reprove the same. But they can make no division in a Christian congregation. And whereas both you and they would have a soberness in our preaching, I pray God send it unto us, whatsoever ye mean by it. For I see well, whosoever will be happy, and busy with 'væ vobis,' he shall shortly after come 'coram nobis.'

"And whereas your friends think that I made a lie, when I said that I have thought in times past that the pope had been lord of the world, though your friends be much better learned than I, yet am I sure that they know not what either I think, or have thought, better than I; juxta illud, nemo novit quæ sunt hominis, &c.; as though better men than I have not thought so, as Boniface (as I remember) Octavus, and the great learned man John of the Burnt Tower, presbyter cardinalis, in his book, where he proveth the pope to be above the council general, and specially where he saith that the pope is 'king of kings, and lord of lords;' and that he is 'the true lord of the whole world by good right, albeit in fact he be not so;' and that Constantine did but restore his own unto him, when he gave unto him Rome, so that, (as St. John saith Christ did,) He came unto his own, and his own received him not: and yet I hear not that any of our Christian congregations have reclaimed against him, until now of late dissension began. Who be your friends I cannot tell; but I would you would desire them to be my good masters, and if they will do me no good, at the least-way do me no harm; and though they can do you no more good than I, yet I am sure I would be as loth to hurt you as they, either with mine opinions, manner of preaching, or writing.

"And as for the pope's high dominion over all, there is one Raphael Marulphus in London, an Italian, and in times past a merchant of dispensations, which I suppose would die in the quarrel, as God's true knight, and true martyr.

"As touching purgatory, and worshipping of saints, I showed to you my mind before my ordinary; and yet I marvelled something, that after private communication had with him, ye would (as it were) adjure me to open my mind before him, not giving me warning before, saving I cannot interpret evil, your doings towards me; and yet neither mine ordinary, nor you, disallowed the thing that I said. And I looked not to escape better than Dr. Crome, but when I have opened my mind never so much, yet I shall be reported to deny my preaching, of them that have belied my preaching, as he was: I shall have need of great patience to bear the false reports of the malignant church.

"Sir, I have had more business in my little cure, since I spake with you, what with sick folks, and what with matrimonies, than I have had since I came to it, or than I would have thought a man should have in a great cure. I wonder how men can go quietly to bed, which have great cures and many, and yet peradventure are in none of them all. But I pray you tell none of your friends that I said so foolishly, lest I make a dissension in a Christian congregation, and divide a sweet and a restful union, or 'tot quot,' with 'hæc requies mea in seculum seculi.' Sir, I had made an end of this scribbling, and was beginning to write it again more truly and more distinctly, and to correct it, but there came a man of my Lord of Farley, with a citation to appear before my Lord of London in haste, to be punished for such excesses as I committed at my last being there, so that I could not perform my purpose: I doubt whether ye can read it as it is. If ye can, well be it: if not, I pray you send it me again, and that you so do, whether you can read it or not. Jesu mercy, what a world is this, that I shall be put to so great labour and pains, besides great costs, above my power, for preaching of a poor simple sermon! But I trow our Saviour Christ said true, I must needs suffer, and so enter: so perilous a thing it is to live virtuously with Christ, yea, in a Christian congregation. God make us all Christians, after the right fashion, Amen!"

A Letter of Master Latimer to King Henry the Eighth, for restoring again the free liberty of reading the Holy Scriptures.

"To the most mighty prince, king of England, Henry the Eighth, grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, by our Lord Jesus Christ:—The holy doctor, St. Augustine, in an epistle which he wrote to Casalendus, saith, that he which for fear of any power hideth the truth, provoketh the wrath of God to come upon him: for he feareth men more than God. And according to the same, the holy man St. John Chrysostom saith, that he is not only a traitor to the truth, which openly for truth teacheth a lie; but he also which doth not freely pronounce and show the truth that he knoweth. These sentences, most redoubted king, when I read now of late, and marked them earnestly in the inward parts of mine heart, they made me sore afraid, troubled, and vexed me grievously in my conscience; and at the last drave me to this strait, that either I must show forth such things as I have read and learned in Scripture, or else be of that sort that provoke the wrath of God upon them, and be traitors unto the truth: the which thing rather than it should happen, I had rather suffer extreme punishment.

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"For what other thing is it to be a traitor unto the truth, than to be a traitor and a Judas unto Christ, which is the very truth, and cause of all truth? the which saith, that whosoever denieth him here before men, he will deny him before his Father in heaven. The which denying ought more to be feared and dreaded, than the loss of all temporal goods, honour, promotion, fame, prison, slander, hurts, banishments, and of all manner of torments and cruelties, yea, and death itself, be it never so shameful and painful. But alas, how little do men regard those sharp sayings of these two holy men, and how little do they fear the terrible judgment of Almighty God! and specially they which boast themselves to be guides and captains unto others, and challenging unto themselves the knowledge of Holy Scripture, yet will neither show the truth themselves, (as they be bound,) neither suffer them that would. So that unto them may be said, that which our Saviour Christ said to the Pharisees, Woe be unto you, scribes and Pharisees, which shut up the kingdom of heaven before men, and neither will you enter in yourselves, neither suffer them that would, to enter in! And they will, as much as in them lieth, debar, not only the word of God, which David calleth, a light to direct and show every man how to order his affections and lusts, according to the commandments of God, but also by their subtle wiliness they instruct, move, and provoke in a manner, all kings in Christendom, to aid, succour, and help them in this their mischief. And especially in this your realm, they have so blinded your liege people and subjects with their laws, customs, ceremonies, and Banbury glosses, and punished them with cursings, excommunications, and other corruptions (corrections I would say). And now, at the last, when they see that they cannot prevail against the open truth, (which the more it is persecuted, the more it increaseth by their tyranny,) they have made it treason to your noble Grace to have the Scripture in English.

"Here I beseech your Grace to pardon me a while, and patiently to hear me a word or two; yea, though it be so that, as concerning your high majesty and regal power whereunto Almighty God hath called your Grace, there is as great difference between you and me, as between God and man: for you be here to me and to all your subjects, in God's stead, to defend, aid, and succour us in our right; and so I should tremble and quake to speak to your Grace. But again, as concerning that you be a mortal man, in danger of sin, having in you the corrupt nature of Adam, in the which all we be both conceived and born; so have you no less need of the merits of Christ's passion for your salvation, than I and other of your subjects have, which be all members of the mystical body of Christ. And though you be a higher member, yet you must not disdain the lesser. For, as St. Paul saith, Those members that be taken to be most vile, and had in least reputation, be as necessary as the other, for the preservation and keeping of the body. This, most gracious king, when I considered, and also your lowly, favourable, and gentle nature, I was bold to write this rude, homely, and simple letter unto your Grace, trusting that you will accept my true and faithful mind even as it is.

"First, and before all things, I will exhort your Grace to mark the life and process of our Saviour Christ, and his apostles, in preaching and setting-forth of the gospel; and to note also the words of our Master Christ, which he said to his disciples when he sent them forth to preach his gospel; and to these have ever in your mind the golden rule of our Master Christ, The tree is known by the fruit: for by the diligent marking of these, your Grace shall clearly know and perceive who be the true followers of Christ, and teachers of his gospel, and who be not. And concerning the first, all Scripture sheweth plainly, that our Saviour Jesus Christ's life was very poor.

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"Begin at his birth, and I beseech you, who ever heard of a poorer, and so poor as he was? It were too long to write how poor Joseph and the blessed Virgin Mary took their journey from Nazareth toward Bethlehem, in the cold and frosty winter, having nobody to wait upon them, but he both master and man, and she both mistress and maid. How vilely, thinks your Grace, were they entreated in the inns and lodgings by the way! and in how vile and abject place was this poor maid, the mother of our Saviour Jesus Christ, brought to bed, without company, light, or any other thing necessary for a woman in that plight! Was not here a poor beginning, as concerning this world? Yes truly. And according to this beginning was the process and end of his life in this world, and yet he might by his godly power have had all the goods and treasures of this world at his pleasure, when and where he would.

"But this he did to show us, that his followers and vicars should not regard and set by the riches and treasures of this world, but after the saying of David we ought to take them, which saith thus: If riches, promotions, and dignity happen to a man, let him not set his affiance, pleasure, trust, and heart upon them. So that it is not against the poverty in spirit, which Christ preacheth in the Gospel of St. Matthew, chapter v., to be rich, to be in dignity and in honour, so that their hearts be not fixed and set upon them so much, that they neither care for God nor good men. But they be enemies to this poverty in spirit, have they never so little, that have greedy and desirous minds to the goods of this world, only because they would live after their own pleasures and lusts. And they also be privy enemies, (and so much the worse,) which have professed, as they say, wilful poverty, and will not be called worldly men; and they have lords' lands, and kings' riches. Yea, rather than they would lose one jot of that which they have, they will set debate between king and king, realm and realm, yea, between the king and his subjects, and cause rebellion against the temporal power, to the which our Saviour Christ himself obeyed, and paid tribute, as the gospel declareth; unto whom the holy apostle St. Paul teacheth every Christian man to obey: yea, and beside all this, they will curse and ban, as much as in them lieth, even into the deep pit of hell, all that gainsay their appetite, whereby they think their goods, promotions, or dignities should decay.

"Your Grace may see what means and craft the spiritually (as they will be called) imagine, to break and withstand the acts which were made in your Grace's last parliament against their superfluities. Wherefore they that thus do, your Grace may know them not to be true followers of Christ. And although I named the spirituality to be corrupt with this unthrifty ambition; yet I mean not all to be faulty therein, for there be some good of them: neither will I that your Grace should take away the goods due to the church, but take away such evil persons from the goods, and set better in their stead.

"I name nor appoint any person or persons, but remit your Grace to the rule of our Saviour Christ, as in Matthew vii., By their fruits you shall know them. As touching the words that our Saviour Christ spake to his disciples when he sent them to preach his gospel, they be read in Matthew xv., where he sheweth, that here they shall be hated and despised of all men worldly, and brought before kings and rulers, and that all evil should be said by them, for their preaching sake. But he exhorteth them to take patiently such persecution by his own example, saying, It becometh not the servant to be above the Master. And seeing they called me Beelzebub, what marvel is it, if they call you devilish persons and heretics. Read the fourteenth chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, and there your Grace shall see that he promised to the true

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preachers no worldly promotions or dignity; but persecution and all kinds of punishment, and that they should be betrayed even by their own brethren and children. In John also he saith, In the world ye shall have oppression, and the world shall hate you: but in me you shall have peace. And in the tenth chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel saith our Saviour Christ also, Lo, I send you forth as sheep among wolves. So that the true preachers go like sheep harmless, and be persecuted, and yet they revenge not their wrong, but remit all to God; so far is it off that they will persecute any others but with the word of God only, which is their weapon. And so this is the most evident token that our Saviour Jesus Christ would that his gospel and the preachers of it should be known by, that it should be despised among those worldly-wise men, and that they should repute it but foolishness, and deceivable doctrine; and the true preachers should be persecuted and hated, and driven from town to town, yea, and at the last lose both goods and life.

"And yet they that did this persecution, should think that they did well, and a great pleasure to God. And the apostles, remembering this lesson of our Saviour Christ, were content to suffer such persecutions, as you may read in the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles. But we never read that they ever persecuted any man. The holy apostle St. Paul saith, that every man that will live godly in Christ Jesus, should suffer persecution. And also he saith further in the Epistle written to the Philippians, in the first chapter, that it is not only given to you to believe in the Lord, but also to suffer persecution for his sake.

"Wherefore take this for a sure conclusion, that there, where the word of God is truly preached, there is persecution, as well of the hearers, as of the teachers; and where is quietness and rest in worldly pleasure, there is not the truth. For the world loveth all that are of the world, and hateth all things that are contrary to it. And, to be short, St. Paul calleth the gospel, the word of the cross, the word of punishment. And the Holy Scripture doth promise nothing to the favourers and followers of it in this world, but trouble, vexation, and persecution, which these worldly men cannot suffer, nor away withal.

"Therefore pleaseth it your good Grace to return to this golden rule of our Master and Saviour Jesus Christ, which is this, By their fruits you shall know them. For where you see persecution, there is the gospel, and there is the truth; and they that do persecute, be void and without all truth, not caring for the clear light, which (as our Saviour Jesus Christ saith in the third chapter of St. John's Gospel) is come into the world, and which shall utter and show forth every man's works. And they whose works be naught, dare not come to this light, but go about to stop it and hinder it, letting as much as they may, that the Holy Scripture should not be read in our mother tongue, saying that it would cause heresy and insurrection: and so they persuade, at the least-way they would fain persuade, your Grace to keep it back. But here mark their shameless boldness, which be not ashamed, contrary to Christ's doctrine, to gather figs of thorns, and grapes of bushes, and to call light darkness, and darkness light, sweet sour, and sour sweet, good evil, and evil good, and to say, that that which teacheth all obedience, should cause dissension and strife. But such is their belly wisdom, wherewith they judge and measure every thing, to hold and keep still this wicked mammon, the goods of this world, which is their god, and hath so blinded the eyes of their hearts, that they cannot see the clear light of the sacred Scripture, though they babble never so much of it.

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"But as concerning this matter, other men have showed your Grace their minds, how necessary it is to have the Scripture in English. The which thing also your Grace hath promised by your last proclamation: the which promise I pray God that your gracious Highness may shortly perform, even today, before to-morrow. Nor let the wickedness of these worldly men detain you from your godly purpose and promise. Remember the subtle worldly-wise counsellors of Hanun the son of Nahash, king of the Ammonites, which when David had sent his servants to comfort the young king for the death of his father, by crafty imaginations counselled Hanun, not only to receive them gently, but to entreat them most shamefully and cruelly, saying that they came not to comfort him, but to espy and search his land; so that afterward they, bringing David word how every thing stood, David might come and conquer it. And they caused the young king to shear their heads, and to cut their coats by the points, and sent them away like fools; whom he ought rather to have made much of, and to have entreated them gently, and have given them great thanks and rewards. O wretched counsellors! But see what followed of this carnal and worldly wisdom. Truly nothing but destruction of all the whole realm, and also of all them that took their parts.

"Therefore good king, seeing that the right David, that is to say, our Saviour Christ, hath sent his servants, that is to say, his true preachers, and his own word also, to comfort our weak and sick souls, let not these worldly men make your Grace believe that they will cause insurrections and heresies, and such mischiefs as they imagine of their own mad brains, lest that he be avenged upon you and your realm, as was David upon the Ammonites, and as he hath ever been avenged upon them which have obstinately withstood and gainsaid his word. But peradventure they will lay this against me, and say that experience doth show, how that such men as call themselves followers of the gospel regard not your Grace's commandment, neither set by your proclamation; and that was well proved by those persons which of late were punished in London for keeping such books as your Grace had prohibited by proclamation: and so, like as they regarded not this, so they will not regard nor esteem other your Grace's laws, statutes, or ordinances. But this is but a crafty persuasion: for your Grace knoweth that there is no man living, specially that loveth worldly promotion, that is so foolish, to set forth, promote, or enhance his enemy, whereby he should be let of his worldly pleasures and fleshly desires: but rather he will seek all the ways possible that he can, utterly to confound, destroy, and put them out of the way. And so as concerning your last proclamation, prohibiting such books, the very true cause of it, and chief counsellors, (as men say, and of likelihood it should be,) were they, whose evil living and cloaked hypocrisy these books uttered and disclosed. And howbeit that there were three or four, that would have had the Scripture to go forth in English, yet it happened there, as it is evermore seen, that the most part overcometh the better. And so it might be that these men did not take this proclamation as yours, but as theirs set forth in your name, as they have done many times more, which hath put this your realm in great hinderance and trouble, and brought it in great penury, and more would have done, if God hath not mercifully provided to bring your Grace to knowledge of the falsehood and privy treason, which their head and captain was about: and be you sure not without adherents, if the matter be duly searched. For what marvel is it, that they, being so nigh of your counsel, and so familiar with your lords, should provoke both your Grace and them to prohibit these books, who before by their own authority have forbidden the New Testament, under pain of everlasting damnation: for such is their manner, to send a thousand men to hell, ere they send one to God; and yet the New Testament

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(and so I think by the other) was meekly offered to every man that would and could, to amend it, if there were any fault.

"Moreover, I will ask them the causes of all insurrections, which have been in this realm heretofore; and whence is it, that there be so many extortioners, bribers, murderers, and thieves, which daily do not break only your Grace's laws, ordinances, and statutes, but also the laws and commandments of Almighty God? I think they will not say these books, but rather their pardons, which causeth many a man to sin, in trust of them. For as for those malefactors which I now rehearsed, you shall not find one amongst a hundred, but that he will cry out both of these books, and also of them that have them, yea, and will be glad to spend the good which he hath wrongfully gotten, upon faggots, to burn both the books and them that have them.

"And as touching these men that were lately punished for these books, there is no man, I hear say, that can lay any word or deed against them that should sound to the breaking of any of your Grace's laws, this only except, if it be yours, and not rather theirs. And be it so that there be some that have these books that be evil, unruly and self-willed persons, not regarding God's laws, nor man's, yet these books be not the cause thereof, no more than was the bodily presence of Christ, and his words, the cause that Judas fell; but their own froward mind and carnal wit, which should be amended by the virtuous example of living of their curates, and by the true exposition of the Scripture. If the lay people had such curates, that would thus do their office, neither these books, nor the devil himself, could hurt them, nor make them to go out of frame: so that the lack of good curates is the destruction and cause of all mischief. Neither do I write these things because that I will either excuse these men lately punished, or to affirm all to be true written in these books, which I have not all read; but to show that there cannot such inconvenience follow of them, and specially of the Scripture, as they would make men believe should follow.

"And though it be so that your Grace may by other books, and namely by the Scripture itself, know and perceive the hypocrite-wolves clad in sheep's clothing, yet I think myself bound in conscience to utter unto your Grace such things as God put in my mind to write. And this I do (God so judge me!) not for hate of any person or persons living, nor for that I think the word of God should go forth without persecution, if your Grace had commanded that every man within your realm should have it in his mother's tongue. For the gospel must needs have persecution unto the time that it be preached throughout all the world, which is the last sign that Christ showed to his disciples should come before the day of judgment: so that if your Grace had once commanded that the Scripture should be put forth, the devil would set forth some wile or other to persecute the truth. But my purpose is, for the love that I have to God principally, and the glory of his name, which is only known by his word, and for the true allegiance that I owe unto your Grace, and not to hide in the ground of my heart the talent given me of God, but to chaffer it forth to others, that it may increase to the pleasure of God, to exhort your Grace to avoid and beware of these mischievous flatterers, and their abominable ways and counsels.

"And take heed whose counsels your Grace doth take in this matter: for there be some that, for fear of losing of their worldly worship and honour, will not leave of their opinion, which rashly, and that to please men withal by whom they had great promotion, they took upon them to defend by writing, so that now they think that all their felicity, wh eh they put in this life, should

be marred, and their wisdom not so greatly regarded, if that which they have so slanderously oppressed, should now be put forth and allowed. But, alas! let these men remember St. Paul, how fervent he was against the truth (and that of a good zeal) before he was called: he thought no shame to suffer punishment and great persecutions for that which, before, he despised and called heresy. And I am sure that their living is not more perfect than St. Paul's was, as concerning the outward works of the law, before he was converted.

"Also the king and prophet David was not ashamed to forsake his good intent in building of the temple, after that the prophet Nathan had showed him that it was not the pleasure of God that he should build any house for him; and, notwithstanding that Nathan had before allowed and praised the purpose of David, yet he was not ashamed to revoke and eat his words again, when he knew that they were not according to God's will and pleasure.

"Wherefore they be sore drowned in worldly wisdom, that think it against their worship to acknowledge their ignorance; whom I pray to God that your Grace may espy, and take heed of their worldly wisdom, which is foolishness before God; that you may do that God commandeth, and not that seemeth good in your own sight without the word of God, that your Grace may be found acceptable in his sight, and one of the members of his church; and, according to the office that he hath called your Grace unto, you may be found a faithful minister of his gifts, and not a defender of his faith; for he will not have it defended by man or man's power, but by his word only, by the which he hath evermore defended it, and that by a way far above man's power or reason, as all the stories of the Bible make mention.

"Wherefore, gracious king, remember yourself, have pity upon your soul; and think that the day is even at hand, when you shall give account of your office, and of the blood that hath been shed with your sword. In the which day that your Grace may stand stedfastly, and not be ashamed, but be clear and ready in your reckoning, and to have (as they say) your 'quietus est' sealed with the blood of our Saviour Christ, which only serveth at that day, is my daily prayer to him that suffered death for our sins, which also prayeth to his Father for grace for us continually. To whom be all honour and praise for ever, Amen. The Spirit of God preserve your Grace.—
Anno Domini 1530.



N this letter of Master Latimer to the king above prefixed, many things we have to consider: first, his good conscience to God, his goodwill to the king, the duty of a right pastor unto truth, his tender care to the commonwealth, and specially to the church of Christ. Further, we have to consider the abuse of princes' courts, how kings many times be abused with flatterers and wicked counsellors about them; and specially we may note the subtle practices of prelates, in abusing the name and authority of kings, to set forth their own malignant proceedings. We may see moreover, and rather marvel at in the said letter, the great boldness and divine stoutness in this man, who, as yet being no bishop, so freely and plainly, without all fear of death, adventuring his own life to discharge his conscience, durst so boldly, to so mighty a prince, in such a dangerous case, against the king's law and proclamation set out in such a terrible time, take upon him to write, and to admonish

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that, which no counsellor durst once speak unto him, in defence of Christ's gospel. Whose example if the bishops and prelates of this realm, for their parts, likewise in like cases of necessity would follow, (as indeed they should,) so many things peradventure would not be so out of frame as they be, and also for lack that the officers of God's word do not their duty.

Finally, this moreover in the said letter is to be noted, how blessedly Almighty God wrought with his faithful servant's bold adventure, and wholesome counsel, though it did not prevail through the iniquity of the time: yet, notwithstanding, God so wrought with his servant in doing his duty, that no danger nor yet displeasure rose to him thereby, but rather thanks and good-will of the prince, for, not long after the same, he was advanced by the king to the bishopric of Worcester, as is above declared.

Seeing Master Latimer was so bold and plain with the king, (as is afore specified,) no great marvel if he did use the like freedom and plainness toward other meaner persons in admonishing them of their disorder, especially if any such occasion were given, where truth and equity required his defence against injury and oppression: for example whereof we have another letter of his written to a certain justice of the peace in Warwickshire, who, as he is long since departed, so he shall be here unnamed. The letter, although it may seem somewhat long and tedious, yet I thought here not to overpass the same for divers and sundry respects: first that the virtue and faithful conscience of this good pastor may appear more at large; also for that all other bishops and pastors by this example may learn with like zeal and stomach to discharge their duty and conscience in reforming things amiss, and in powdering with the salt of God's word the sores of the people. Which thing if every bishop for his part within his diocese had done in King Edward's days, in redressing such corruption of that time with like diligence as this man did, verily I suppose that the persecution of Queen Mary had not so plagued the realm as it did: but where never a man almost liveth in due order, and yet never a bishop will stir to seek redress, what can become of the realm? Item, another respect is, because of the justices and all other placed in room and office, which may take heed thereby, not to abuse their authority to tread down truth, and bear down poor men with open wrong, through extortion or partiality. And finally, that all injurious oppressors whatsoever, by the said letter may take some fruit of wholesome admonition. What the argument and occasion was of this letter, I showed before. The tenor and purport thereof, as it was written to the gentleman, is this as followeth.

"Right worshipful, *salutem in Domino*. And now, sir, I understand, that you be in great admirations at me, and take very grievously my manner of writing to you, adding thereunto that 'you will not bear it at my hand, no, not if I were the best bishop in England,' &c.

"Ah sir! I see well I may say as the common saying is, 'Well, I have fished and caught a frog:' brought little to pass with much ado. 'You will not bear it with me,' you say. Why, sir? what will ye do with me? You will not fight with me, I trow. It might seem unseemly for a justice of peace to be a breaker of peace: I am glad the doting time of my foolish youth is gone and past. What will you then do with me, in that you say you will not bear it at my hand? What hath my hand offended you? Perchance you will convent me before some judge, and call me into some court. God turn it to good. I refuse no judgment. Let us accuse one another, that one of us may amend another, in the name of the Lord. Let justice proceed in judgment: and then and there, do best, have best, for club halfpenny. Or peradventure ye will set pen to paper, and all to

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rattle me in a letter, wherein, confuting me, you will defend, yourself and your brother against me. Now that would I see, quoth long Robin, *ut dicitur vulgariter*. I cannot choose but must allow such diligence: for so should both your integrities and innocencies best appear, if you be able to defend both your own proceedings, and your brother's doings, in this matter to be upright. And then will I gladly give place, confessing my fault humbly, as one conquered with just reasons. But I think it will not be.

"But now first of all let me know what it is that ye will not bear at my hand? What have I done with my hand? What hath my hand trespassed you? Forsooth, that can I tell; no man better: for I have charitably monished you in a secret letter, of your slipper-dealing, and such-like misbehaviour. What a sore matter is this! And will ye not bear so much with me? Will ye not take such a show of my good-will towards you, and toward the saving of your soul at my hand? O Lord God, who would have thought that Master N. had been so impudent, that he would not bear a godly monition for the wealth of his soul? I have in use to commit such trespass many times in a year with your betters by two or three degrees, both lords and ladies, and the best of the realm, and yet hitherto I have not heard that any of them have said in their displeasure, that they will not bear it at my hand. Are you yet to be taught what is the office, liberty, and privilege of a preacher? What is it else, but even to rebuke the world of sin, without respect of persons. Which thing undoubtedly is the peculiar office of the Holy Ghost in the church of God, so that it be practised by lawful preachers. You could but ill bear (belike) to hear your fault openly reproved in the pulpit, which cannot bear the same in a secret sealed-up letter, written both friendly, charitably, and truly: unless perhaps to rebuke sin sharply, be now to lack all charity, friendship, and truth. But, Master N., if you will give me leave to be plain with you, I fear me you be so plunged in worldly purchasings, and so drowned in the manifold dregs of this deceivable world, that I ween you have forgotten your catechism. Read therefore again the opening of the first commandment, and then tell me whether you of me, or I of you, have just cause to complain, &c.

"Item, sir, you said further, 'that I am wonderfully abused by my neighbour,' &c. How so, good Master N.? Wherein? or how will you prove it to be true, and when? So you said, that he had abused you, and given you wrong information; but the contrary is found true by good testimony of Master Chamber, which heard as well as you what my neighbour said, and hath testified the same, both to you, and against you, full like himself. Master N., to forge and feign, (which argueth an ill cause,) that is one thing; but to prove what a man doth say, that is another thing: as though you were privileged to out-face poor men, and bear them in hand what you list, as may seem to make some maintenance for your naughty cause. Trust me, Master N., I was but a very little acquainted with my neighbour when this matter began; but now I have found him so conformable to honesty, upright in his dealings, and so true in his talk, that I esteem him better than I do some others whom I have perceived and found otherways. For I will flatter no man, nor yet claw his back in his folly, but esteem all men as I find them, allowing what is good, and disallowing what is bad: among all men, either friends or enemies, according to Paul's precept, not esteemed of the children of this world, Hate you, saith he, that which is evil, and cleave to that which is good. And let us not any time, for the favour of men, call good evil, and evil good, as the children of this world are commonly wont to do, as it is every where to be seen. And now what manner of man do you make me, Master N., when you note me to be so much abused by so ignorant a man, so simple, so plain, and so far without all wrinkles? Have I lived so long in this

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tottering world, and have I been so many ways turmoiled and tossed up and down, and so much as it were seasoned with the powder of so many experiences to and fro, to be now so far bewitched and alienated from my wits, as though I could not discern cheese from chalk, truth from falsehood; but that every silly soul, and base-witted man, might easily abuse me to what enterprise he listed at his pleasure? Well, I say not nay, but I may be abused. But why do you not tell me how your brother abused me, promising before me and many more, that he would stand to your awardship, and now doth deny it? Why do you not tell me, how those two false, faithless wretches abuse me, promising also to abide your award, and do it not? Yea, why do you not tell me, how you yourself have abused me, promising me to redress the injury and wrong that your brother hath done to my neighbour, and have not fulfilled your promise? These notable abuses be nothing with you, but only you must needs burden me with my neighbour's abusing me, which is none at all, as far forth as ever I could perceive, so God help me at my need! For if he had abused me as you and others have done, I should be soon at a point with him, for any thing further doing for him, &c.

"Item, sir, you said further, that I shall never be able to prove that either your brother, or the two tenants, agreed to stand to your award, &c. No, sir, Master N., you say belike as you would have it to be, or as your brother with his adherents have persuaded you to think it to be, so inducing you to do their request to your own shame and rebuke, if you persevere in the same, beside the peril of your soul, for consenting, at least-way to the maintenance by falsehood of your brother's iniquity. For in that you would your awardship should take none effect, you show yourself nothing inclinable to the redress of your brother's unright dealing with an honest poor man, which hath been ready at your request to do you pleasure with his things, or else he had never come into this wrangle for his own goods with your brother.

"Ah, Master N.! what manner of man do you show yourself to be? or what manner of conscience do you show yourself to have? For first, as touching your brother, you know right well that Sir Thomas Coking, with a letter of his own handwriting, hath witnessed unto your brother's agreement; which letter he sent to me unsealed, and I showed the same to my neighbour, and others more ere I sealed it, and perchance have a copy of the same yet to show. With what conscience then can you say that I shall never be able to prove it? Shall not three men upon their oaths make a sufficient proof, trow you? the Lord himself saying, In the mouth of two or three, &c. Yea, you think it true, I dare say, in your conscience, if you have any conscience, though I were in my grave, and so unable to prove any thing. And as for the two tenants, they be as they be, and I trust to see them handled according as they be; for there be three men yet alive that dare swear upon a book, that they both did agree. But what should we look for at such men's hands, when you yourself play the part you do? But God is yet alive, which seeth all, and judgeth justly.

"Item, sir, you said yet further, that the justices of peace in the country think you very unnatural, in taking part with me before your brother, &c. Ah, Master N., what a sentence is this to come out of your mouth! For partaking is one thing, and ministering of justice is another thing; and a worthy minister of justice will be no partaker, but one indifferent between party and party. And did I require you to take my part, I pray you? No, I required you to minister justice between your brother and my neighbour, without any partaking with either other. But what manner of justices be they, I pray you, which would so fain have you to take part naturally with

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your brother, when you ought and should reform and amend your brother? as you yourself know, no man better. What! justices? No, jugglers you might more worthily call such as they be, than justices. Be those justices which call you unnatural, for that you will not take your brother's part against all right and conscience, whom you have picked out and appointed to have the final bearing and determining of my neighbour's cause, after your substantial and final award-making? Verily I think no less. Forsooth he is much beholden to you, and I also for his sake. Is that the wholesome counsel that you have to give your poor neighbours in their need? Indeed you show yourself a worthy juggler, oh! I would have said a justiciar, among other of your juggling and partaking justices. O good God! what is in the world? Marry, sir, my neighbour had spun a fair thread, if your partaking justices, through your good counsel, had had his matter in ordering and finishing. I pray God save me and all my friends, with all God's flock, from the whole fellowship of your so natural and partaking justices. Amen.

"Lord God! who would have thought that there had been so many partaking justices, that is to say, unjust justices, in Warwickshire, if Master N. himself, one of the same order, (but altogether out of order,) and therefore knoweth it best, had not told us the tale? But these call you, you say, very unnatural, &c. And why not rather, I pray you, too much natural. For we read of a double nature, sound, and corrupt. That was full of justice: this, unless it be restored, abideth always unjust, bringing forth the fruits of wickedness one after another: so that he that will not help his brother, having a just cause, in his need, may be justly called unnatural, as not doing according to the instinct of nature, either as it was at the beginning, or as it was restored. But he that will take his brother's part against right, as to ratify his brother's wrong deceiving, he is too much natural; as one following the disposition and inclination of corrupt nature against the will of God; and so to be natural may seem to be cater-cousin, or cousin-germain with, to be diabolical.

"I fear me we have too many justices that be too much natural, to their own perishment both body and soul. For worthy justices having ever the fear and dread of God before their eyes, (of which sort we have a fewer amongst us, than I would,) will have no respect at all in their judgments and proceedings to vicinity of blood; but altogether ad dignitatem et æquitatem causæ, ut quod justum est semper judicent intuitu Dei, non quod injustum est intuitu hominum; of which number I pray God make you one. Amen. He is just, saith St. John, that doth justice. But he that sinneth (as they all do, which do unjustly for favour and pleasure of men) is of the devil, saith he; of which sort all our partaking and natural justices be with all their partiality and naturality. Quare dignum et justum est, that as many as be such justices, be justly deprived of their offices, and further also be punished, according to the quantity or quality of their crime; so that by that means they may be cut off, as men born and bred to the hurt and detriment of the commonwealth, which trouble us, when they ought to help us. Amen.

Quare seponite justitiam, et sequimini naturam, as your naturals and diabolicals would have you to do, that is, even as just as Germain's lips, which came not together by nine miles, ut vulgo dicunt, &c.

"Item, sir, finally and last of all you added these words following: 'Well,' quoth you, 'let Master Latimer take heed how he meddleth with my brother, for he is like to find as crabbed and as froward a piece of him, as ever he found in his life,' &c. Ah, sir! and is your brother such a

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one as you speak of indeed? Merciful God! what a commendation is this for one brother to give another! Is this your glorying, my friend? And were it not possible, trow you, to make him better? It is written, 'Vexation giveth understandeth.' And again, 'It is good, O Lord, that thou hast humbled me.' At least-way, I may pray to God for him as David did for such like, after this sort: Bind fast asses with bridle and snaffle, that they approach not near unto thee. In the mean season, I would I had never known either of you both; for so should I have been without this inward sorrow of my heart, to see such untowardliness of you both to godliness, for I cannot be but heavy-hearted, to see such men so wickedly minded.

Well, let us ponder a little better your words, where you say, 'I shall find him as crabbed and as froward a piece,' &c. Mark well your own words. For by the tenor of the same it plainly appeareth, that you confess your brother's cause, wherein he so stiffly standeth, to be unjust and very naught. For he that standeth so stiffly in a good quarrel and a just cause, as many good men have done, is called a fast man, a constant, a trusty man. But he that is so obstinate and untractable in wickedness and wrong doing, is commonly called a crabbed and froward piece, as you name your brother to be. Wherefore, knowing so well your brother's cause to be so naughty, why have you not endeavoured yourself, as a worthy justice, to reform him accordingly, as I required you, and you promised me to do, now almost twelve months ago, if not altogether? Summa summarum, Master N., if you will not come off shortly, and apply yourself thereunto more effectually hereafter, than you have heretofore, be you well assured thereof, I shall detect you to all the friends that I have in England, both high and low, as well his crabbedness and frowardness, as your colourable supportation of the same; that I trust I shall be able thereby either to bring you both to some goodness, or at least-way I shall so warn my friends and all honest hearts to beware of your illness, that they shall take either no hurt at all, or at least-way less harm by you through mine advertisement; in that, knowing you perfectly, they may the better avoid and shun your company.

"You shall not stay me, Master N., no, though you would give me all the lands and goods you have, as rich as you are noted to be. I will not forsake such a just cause, neither will I communicate with other men's sins. For whether it be by detestable pride, whether by abominable avarice, or by both two linked together, it is no small iniquity to keep any poor man so long from his right and duty so stiff-neckedly and obstinately, or, whether ye will, crabbedly and frowardly. And what is it then any manner of ways to consent to the same? You know, I trow, Master N., what theft is; that is, to take or detain by any manner of way another man's good against his will that is the owner, as some define it. If he be a thief that so doth openly, what shall he be that approveth him which is the doer, defendeth, maintaineth, and supporteth him by any manner of colour? Consider with yourself, good Master N., what it is to oppress, and to defraud your brother in his business; and what followeth thereof. It is truly said, The sin is not forgiven, except the thing be restored again that is taken away. No restitution, no salvation; which is as well to be understood of things gotten by fraud, guile, and deceit, as of things gotten by open theft and robbery. Wherefore let not your brother, Master N., by cavillation, continue in the devil's possession. I will do the best I can, and wrestle with the devil, omnibus viribus, to deliver you both from him. I will leave no one stone unmoved to have both you and your brother saved. There is neither archbishop nor bishop, nor yet any learned man neither in universities or elsewhere, that I am acquainted withal, that shall not write unto you, and in their writing by their learning confute you. There is no godly man of law in this realm that I am acquainted withal, but

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they shall write unto you, and confute you by the law. There is neither lord nor lady, nor yet any noble personage in this realm, that I am acquainted withal, but they shall write unto you, and godly threaten you with their authority.

"I will do all this; yea, and kneel upon both my knees before the king's Majesty, and all his honourable council, with most humble petition for your reformation, rather than the devil shall possess you still, to your final damnation. So that I do not despair, but verily trust, one way or other, to pluck both you and also your crabbed brother (as crabbed as you say he is) out of the devil's claws, maugre the devil's heart.

"These premises well considered, look upon it, good Master N., that we have no further ado: God's plague is presently upon us; therefore let us now diligently look about us, and in no wise defend, but willingly acknowledge and amend whatsoever hath been amiss. These were the capital points of your talk, as I was informed, after you had perused that my nipping and unpleasant letter; and I thought good to make you some answer to them, if perchance I might so move you, the rather to call yourself to some better remembrance, and so more earnestly apply yourself to accomplish and perform what you have begun and promised to do, namely, the thing itself being of such sort as apparently tendeth both to your worship, and also to God's high pleasure.

"Thus, lo, with a mad head, but yet a good will, after long scribbling I wot not well what, (but I know you can read it and comprehend it well enough,) I bid you most heartily well to fare in the Lord, with good health, and long life to God's pleasure. Amen.—From Baxterley, the 15th of June.

"Yours to do you good, to his power.

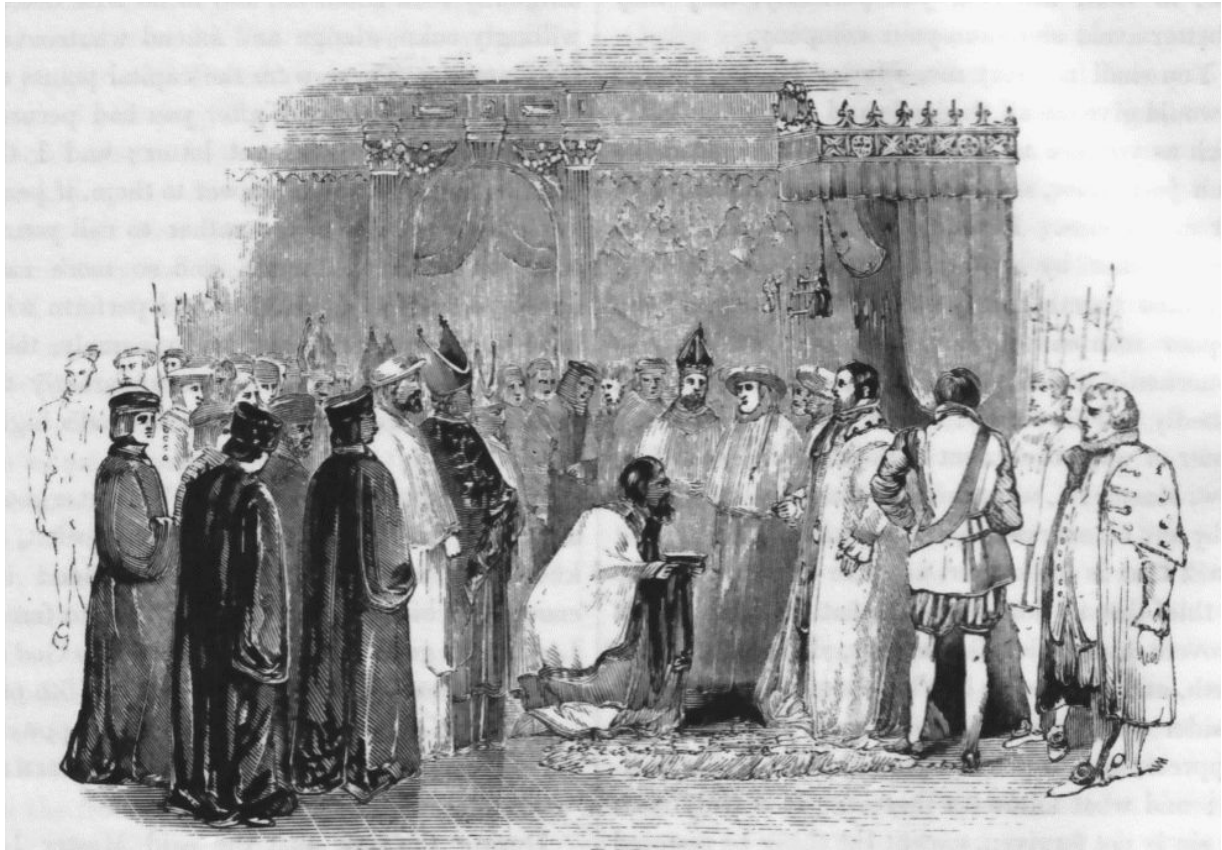
HUGH LATIMER."

During the time that the said Master Latimer was prisoner in Oxford, we read not of much that he did write, besides his conference with Dr. Ridley, and his protestation at the time of his disputation. Otherwise of letters we find very few or none that he did write to his friends abroad, save only these few lines, which he wrote to one Mrs. Wilkinson of London, a godly matron, and an exile afterward for the gospel's sake who, so long as she remained in England, was a singular patroness to the good saints of God, and learned bishops, as to Master Hooper, to the bishop of Hereford, to Master Coverdale, Master Latimer, Doctor Cranmer, with many others. The copy and effect of which his letter to Mrs. Wilkinson here followeth.

"If the gift of a pot of cold water shall not be in oblivion with God, how can God forget your manifold and bountiful gifts, when he shall say to you, I was in prison, and you visited me? God grant us all to do and suffer, while we be here, as may be to his will and pleasure. Amen.

"Yours, in Bocardo.

HUGE LATIMER."



Latimer Presenting the New Testament to King Henry VIII.

Touching the memorable acts and doings of this worthy man, among many others- this is not to be neglected, what a bold enterprise he attempted, in sending to King Henry a present, the manner whereof is this. There was then, and remaineth still, an ancient custom received from the old Romans, that upon New-year's day, being the first day of January, every bishop with some handsome New-year's gift should gratify the king; and so they did, some with gold, some with silver, some with a purse full of money, and some one thing, some another. But Master Latimer, being bishop of Worcester then, among the rest, presented a New Testament for his New-year's gift, with a napkin having this posy about it, *Fornicatores et adulteros judicabit Dominus*.

320. The Examination of Ridley and Latimer

And thus hast thou, gentle reader, the whole life, both of Master Ridley and of Master Latimer, two worthy doers in the church of Christ, severally and by themselves set forth and described, withal their doings, writings, disputations, sufferings, their painful travails, faithful preachings, studious service in Christ's church, their patient imprisonment, and constant fortitude in that which they had taught, with all other their proceedings from time to time, since their first springing years, to this present time and month of Queen Mary, being the month of October, A. D. 1555; in the which month they were brought forth together, to their final examination and execution. Wherefore, as we have heretofore declared both their lives severally and distinctly one from the other; so now jointly to couple them both together, as they were together both joined in one society of cause and martyrdom, we will, by the grace of Christ, prosecute the rest that remaineth concerning their latter examination, degrading, and constant suffering, with the order and manner also of the commissioners, which were, Dr. White, bishop of Lincoln, Dr. Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, with others; and what were their words, their objections, their orations there used; and what again were the answers of these men to the same, as in the process here followeth to be seen.

The order and manner of the examination of Doctor Ridley and Master Latimer, had the thirtieth day of September, 1555, before the queen's commissioners.



IRST, after the appearing of Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, before the pope's delegate and the queen's commissioners, in St. Mary's church at Oxford, about the twelfth day of September, whereof more shall be said (by the Lord's grace) when we come to the death of the said archbishop; shortly after, upon the twenty-eighth of the said month of September, was sent down to Oxford another commission from Cardinal Pole, legate a latere, to John White, bishop of Lincoln, to Dr. Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, and to Dr. Holyman, bishop of Bristol. The contents and virtue of which commission were, that the said John of Lincoln, James of Gloucester, and John of Bristol, they, or two of them, should have full power and authority, to ascite, examine, and judge Master Hugh Latimer, and Master Dr. Ridley, pretended bishops of Worcester and London, for divers and sundry erroneous opinions, which the said Hugh Latimer and Nicholas Ridley did hold and maintain in open disputations had in Oxford, in the months of May, June, and July, in the year of our Lord 1554, as long before, in the time of perdition, and since. The which opinions if the named persons would now recant, giving and yielding themselves to the determination of the universal and catholic church, planted by Peter in the blessed see of Rome, that then they the deputed judges, by the said authority of their commission, should have power to receive the said penitent persons, and forthwith minister unto them the reconciliation of the holy father the pope. But if the said Hugh Latimer and Nicholas Ridley would stoutly and stubbornly defend and maintain these their erroneous opinions and assertions, that then the said lords by their commission should proceed in form of judgment, according to the law of heretics, that is, degrading them from their

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promotion and dignity of bishops, priests, and all other ecclesiastical orders, should pronounce them as heretics; and therefore clean cut them off from the church, and so yield them to receive punishment due to all such heresy and schism.

Wherefore, the last of September, the said two persons, Nicholas Ridley and Hugh Latimer, were ascited to appear before the said lords, in the divinity school at Oxford, at eight of the clock. At what time thither repaired the lords, placing themselves in the high seat, made for public lectures and disputations, according to the usage of that school, being then fair set, and trimmed with cloth of tissue, and cushions of velvet. And after the said lords were placed and set, the said Latimer and Ridley were sent for; and first appeared Master Dr. Ridley, and anon Master Latimer. But because it seemed good severally to examine them, Master Latimer was kept back until Dr. Ridley was thoroughly examined. Therefore, soon after the coming of Dr. Ridley into the school, the commission was published by an appointed notary, and openly read. But Dr. Ridley, standing bareheaded, humbly expecting the cause of that his appearance, eftsongs as he had heard the cardinal named, and the pope's Holiness, put on his cap. Wherefore, after the commission was published in form and sense above specified, the bishop of Lincoln spake in sense following:

Lincoln.—"Master Ridley, although neither I, neither my Lords here, in respect to our own persons do look for cap or knee, yet because we bear and represent such persons as we do, that is, my Lord Cardinal's Grace, *legate a latere* to the pope's Holiness, as well in that he is of noble parentage, [and therewith Master Ridley moved his cap with lowly obeisance,] descending from the regal blood, as in that he is a man worthy to be revered with all humility, for his great knowledge and learning, noble virtues, and godly life, and especially in that he is here in England deputy to the pope's Holiness, it should have becamed you at this name to have uncovered your head. Wherefore, except you will of your own self take the pains to put your hand to your head, and at the nomination, as well of the said cardinal, as of the pope's Holiness, uncover the same, lest that this your contumacy, exhibited now before us, should be prejudicial to the said most reverend persons, (which thing we may in no case suffer,) you shall cause us to take the pain, to cause some man to pluck off your cap from you."

To whom Master Ridley, making his petition for licence, answered:

Ridley.—"As touching that you said, my Lord, that you of your own persons desire no cap nor knee, but only require the same in consideration that you represent the cardinal Grace's person, I do you to wit, and thereupon make my protestation, that I did put on my cap at the naming of the cardinal's Grace, neither for any contumacy that I bear towards your own persons, neither for any derogation of honour to the lord cardinal's Grace: for I know him to be a man worthy of all humility, reverence, and honour, in that he came of the most regal blood, and in that he is a man endued with manifold graces of learning and virtue. And as touching these virtues and points, I, with all humility [therewith he put off his cap, and bowed his knee] and obeisance that I may, will reverence and honour his Grace: but, in that he is legate to the bishop of Rome, [and therewith put on his cap,] whose usurped supremacy, and abused authority, I utterly refuse and renounce, I may in no wise give any obeisance or honour unto him, lest that my so doing and behaviour might be prejudicial to mine oath, and a derogation to the verity of God's word. And therefore, that I might not only by confession profess the verity in not

reverencing the renounced authority, contrary to God's word, but also in gesture, in behaviour, and all my doings, express the same, I have put on my cap; and for this consideration only, and not for any contumacy to your Lordships, neither contempt of this worshipful audience, neither derogation of any honour due to the cardinal his Grace, both for his noble parentage, and also his excellent qualities, I have kept on my cap."



The Beadle removing Dr. Ridley's cap

Lincoln.—"Master Ridley, you excuse yourself of that with the which we pressed you not, in that you protest you keep on your cap, neither for any contumacy towards us, (which look for no such honour of you,) neither for any contempt of this audience, which, although justly they may, yet (as I suppose) in this case do not require any such obeisance of you; neither in derogation of any honour due to my Lord Cardinal's Grace, for his regal descent [at which word Master Ridley moved his cap] and excellent' qualities; for although in all the premises honour be due, yet in these respects we require none of you, but only in that my Lord Cardinal's Grace is, here in England, deputy of the pope's Holiness [at which word the lords and others put off their caps, and Master Ridley put on this] and therefore we say unto you the second time, that except you take the pains yourself to put your hand to your head, and put off your cap, you shall put us to the pain, to cause some man to take it from you, except you allege some infirmity and

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sickness, or other more reasonable cause, upon the consideration whereof we may do as we think good."

Ridley.—"The premises I said only for this end, that it might as well appear to your Lordships, as to this worshipful audience, why and for what consideration I used such kind of behaviour, in not humbling myself to your Lordships with cap and knee: and as for my sickness, I thank my Lord God, that I am as well at ease, as I was this long season; and therefore I do not pretend that which is not, but only this, that it might appear by this my behaviour, that I acknowledge in no point that usurped supremacy of Rome, and therefore contemn and utterly despise all authority coming from him. In taking off my cap, do as it shall please your Lordships, and I shall be content."

Then the bishop of Lincoln, after the third admonition, commanded one of the beadles (that is, an officer of the university) to pluck his cap from his head. Master Ridley bowing his head to the officer, gently permitted him to take away his cap. After this the bishop of Lincoln in a long oration exhorted Master Ridley to recant, and submit himself to the universal faith of Christ, in this manner:

Lincoln.—"Master Ridley, I am sure you have sufficiently pondered with yourself the effect of this our commission with good advisement, considering both points thereof, how that authority is given to us, if you shall receive the true doctrine of the church, (which first was founded by Peter at Rome immediately after the death of Christ, and from him by lineal succession hath been brought to this our time,) if you will be content to renounce your former errors, recant your heretical and seditious opinions, content to yield yourself to the undoubted faith and truth of the gospel, received and always taught of the catholic and apostolic church, the which the king and queen, all the nobles of this realm, and commons of the same, all Christian people, have and do confess, you only standing alone by yourself: you understand and perceive, I am sure, that authority is given us to receive you, to reconcile you, and upon due penance to adjoin and associate you again into the number of the catholics and Christ's church, from the which you have so long strayed, without the which no man can be saved, the which thing I and my Lords here, yea, and all, as well nobles and commons of this realm, most heartily desire, and I for my part [wherewith he put off his cap] most earnestly exhort you to do.

"Remember, Master Ridley, it is no strange country whither I exhort you to return. You were once one of us; you have taken degrees in the school. You were made a priest, and became a preacher, setting forth the same doctrine which we do now. You were made bishop according to our laws; and, to be short, it is not so long ago, since you separated yourself from us, and in the time of heresy became a setter-forth of that devilish and seditious doctrine which in these latter days was preached amongst us. For at what time the new doctrine of only faith began to spring, the council, willing to win my Lord Chancellor, sent you to him, (I then being in my Lord's house, unknown as I suppose to you,) and after you had talked with my Lord secretly, and were departed, immediately my Lord declared certain points of your talk, and means of your persuasion; and amongst others this was one, that you should say, 'Tush, my Lord, this matter of justification is but a trifle, let us not stick to condescend herein to them; but for God's love, my Lord, stand stoutly in the verity of the sacrament: for I see they will assault that also.' If this be

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true, (as my Lord is a man credible enough in such a matter,) hereby it is declared of what mind you were then, as touching the truth of the most blessed sacrament.

"Also in a sermon of yours at Paul's Cross, you as effectually and as catholicly spake of that blessed sacrament, as any man might have done; whereby it appeareth that it is no strange thing, nor unknown place, whereunto I exhort you. I wish you to return thither from whence you came; that is, together with us to acknowledge the church of God, wherein no man may err, to acknowledge the supremacy of our most reverend father in God the pope's Holiness, which (as I said) lineally taketh his descent from Peter, upon whom Christ promised before his death, to build his church; the which supremacy or prerogative, the most ancient fathers in all ages, in all times did acknowledge [and here he brought a place or two out of the doctors, but especially stayed upon a saying of St. Augustine, who writeth in this manner: 'All the Christian countries beyond the sea are subject to the Church of Rome.'] Here you see, Master Ridley, that all Christendom is subject to the Church of Rome. What should stay you therefore to confess the same with St. Augustine and the other fathers?"

Then Master Ridley desired his patience, to suffer him to speak somewhat of the premises, lest the multitude of things might confound his memory; and having grant thereunto, he said in this manner:

Ridley.—"My Lord, I most heartily thank your Lordship, as well for your gentleness, as also for your sobriety in talk, and for your good and favourable zeal in this learned exhortation, in the which I have marked especially three points which you used, to persuade me to leave my doctrine and religion, which I perfectly know and am thoroughly persuaded to be grounded not upon man's imagination and decrees, but upon the infallible truth of Christ's gospel, and not to look back, and to return to the Romish see, contrary to mine oath, contrary to the prerogative and crown of this realm, and especially (which moveth me most) contrary to the expressed word of God.

"First, The first point is this, that the see of Rome, taking its beginning from Peter, upon whom you say Christ hath builded his church, hath in all ages lineally, from bishop to bishop, been brought to this time.

"Secondly, That even the holy fathers from time to time have in their writings confessed the same.

"Thirdly, That in that I was once of the same opinion, and, together with you, I did acknowledge the same.

"First, as touching the saying of Christ, from whence your Lordship gathereth the foundation of the church upon Peter, truly the place is not so to be understood as you take it, as the circumstance of the place will declare. For after that Christ had asked his disciples whom men judged him to be, and they had answered, that some had said he was a prophet, some Elias, some one thing, some another, then he said, Whom say ye that I am? Then Peter said, I say, That thou art Christ, the Son of God. To whom Christ answered, I say, Thou art Peter, and upon this stone I will build my church; that is to say, upon this stone—not meaning Peter himself, as

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though he would have constituted a mortal man, so frail and brickle a foundation of his stable and infallible church; but upon this rock-stone—that is, this confession of thine, that I am the Son of God, I will build my church. For this is the foundation and beginning of all Christianity, with word, heart, and mind, to confess that Christ is the Son of God. Whosoever believeth not this, Christ is not in him: and he cannot have the mark of Christ printed on his forehead, which confesseth not that Christ is the Son of God. Therefore Christ said unto Peter, that upon this rock, that is, upon this his confession, that he was Christ the Son of God, he would build his church; to declare, that without this faith no man can come to Christ: so that this belief, that Christ is the Son of God, is the foundation of our Christianity, and the foundation of our church. Here you see upon what foundation Christ's church is built, not upon the frailty of man, but upon the stable and infallible word of God.

"Now as touching the lineal descent of the bishops in the see of Rome, true it is, that the patriarchs of Rome in the apostles' time, and long after, were great maintainers and setters-forth of Christ's glory, in the which above all other countries and regions there especially was preached the true gospel, the sacraments were most duly ministered: and as before Christ's coming it was a city so valiant in prowess and martial affairs, that all the world was in a manner subject to it; and after Christ's passion, divers of the apostles there suffered persecution for the gospel's sake; so, after that the emperors, their hearts being illuminated, received the gospel, and became Christians, the gospel there, as well for the great power and dominion, as for the fame of the place, flourished most, whereby the bishops of that place were had in more reverence and honour, most esteemed in all councils and assemblies, not because they acknowledged them to be their head, but because the place was most revered and spoken of, for the great power and strength of the same. As now here in England, the bishop of Lincoln in sessions and sittings hath the pre-eminence of the other bishops, not in that he is the head and ruler of them; but for the dignity of the bishopric. [And therewith the people smiled.] Wherefore the doctors in their writings have spoken most reverently of this see of Rome, and in their writings preferred it; and this is the prerogative which your Lordship did rehearse the ancient doctors to give to the see of Rome. "Semblably, I cannot nor dare not but commend, reverence, and honour the see of Rome, as long as it continued in the promotion and setting-forth of God's glory, and in due preaching of the gospel, as it did many years after Christ. But, after that the bishops of that see, seeking their own pride, and not God's honour, began to set themselves above kings and emperors, challenging to them the title of God's vicars, the dominion and supremacy over all the world, I cannot but with St. Gregory, a bishop of Rome also, confess that the bishop of that place is the very true antichrist, whereof St. John speaketh by the name of the whore of Babylon, and say with the said St. Gregory, 'He that maketh himself a bishop over all the world, is worse than antichrist.'

"Now whereas you say St. Augustine should seem not only to give such a prerogative, but also supremacy to the see of Rome, in that he saith, All the Christian world is subject to the Church of Rome, and therefore should give to that see a certain kind of subjection, I am sure that your Lordship knoweth, that in St. Augustine's time, there were four patriarchs, of Alexandria, Constantinople, Antioch, and Rome, which patriarchs had under them certain countries; as in England the archbishop of Canterbury hath under him divers bishoprics in England and Wales, to whom he may be said to be their patriarch. Also your Lordship knoweth right well, that at what time St. Augustine wrote this book, he was then bishop in Africa. Further, you are not ignorant, that between Europe and Africa lieth the sea called *Mare Mediterraneum*, so that all the

countries in Europe to him which is in Africa may be called transmarine, countries beyond the sea. Hereof St. Augustine saith, 'All the Christian countries beyond the seas and far regions, are subject to the see of Rome.' If I should say all countries beyond the sea, I do except England, which to me now, being in England, is not beyond the sea. In this sense St. Augustine saith, 'All countries beyond the sea are subject to the see of Rome;' declaring thereby that Rome was one of the sees of the four patriarchs, and under it Europe. By what subjection, I pray you? only for a pre-eminence, as we here in England say, that all the bishoprics in England are subject to the archbishoprics of Canterbury and York. For this pre-eminence, also, the other doctors (as you recited) say, that Rome is the mother of churches, as the bishopric of Lincoln is mother to the bishopric of Oxford, because the bishopric of Oxford came from the bishopric of Lincoln, and they were both once one; and so is the archbishopric of Canterbury mother to the other bishoprics which are in her province. In like sort the archbishopric of York is mother to the north bishoprics; and yet no man will say, that Lincoln, Canterbury, or York, is supreme head to other bishoprics; neither then ought we to confess the see of Rome to be supreme head, because the doctors in their writings confess the see of Rome to be mother of churches.

"Now whereas you say, I was once of the same religion which you are of, the truth is, I cannot but confess the same. Yet so was St. Paul a persecutor of Christ. But to that you say, that I was one of you not long ago, in that I, doing my message to my Lord of Winchester, should desire him to stand stout in that gross opinion of the supper of the Lord; in very deed I was sent (as your Lordship said) from the council to my Lord of Winchester, to exhort him to receive also the true confession of justification; and because he was very refractorious, I said to him, 'Why, my Lord, what make you so great a matter herein? You see many Anabaptists rise against the sacrament of the altar; I pray you, my Lord, be diligent in confounding of them;' for at that time my Lord of Winchester and I had to do with two Anabaptists in Kent. In this sense I willed my Lord to be stiff in the defence of the sacrament against the detestable errors of Anabaptists, and not in the confirmation of that gross and carnal opinion now maintained.

"In like sort, as touching my sermon which I made at Paul's Cross, you shall understand that there were at Paul's, and divers other places, fixed railing bills against the sacrament, terming it 'Jack of the box,' 'the sacrament of the halter,' 'round Robin,' with such-like unseemly terms; for the which causes, I, to rebuke the unreverent behaviour of certain evil-disposed persons, preached as reverently of that matter as I might, declaring what estimation and reverence ought to be given to it, what danger ensued the mishandling thereof; affirming in that sacrament to be truly and verily the body and blood of Christ, effectually by grace and spirit: which words the unlearned, understanding not, supposed that I had meant of the gross and carnal being which the Romish decrees set forth, that a body, having life and motion, should be indeed under the shapes of bread and wine."

With that the bishop of Lincoln, somewhat interrupting him, said:—

"Well, Master Ridley, thus you wrest places to your own pleasure; for whereas St. Augustine saith, that the whole Christian world is subject to the see of Rome without any limitation, and useth these words, *In transmarinis, et longe remotis terris*, only to express the latitude of the dominion of the see of Rome, willing thereby to declare that all the world, yea, countries far distant from Rome, yet nevertheless are subject to that see, yet you would wrest it,

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and leave it only to Europe. I am sure ye will not deny, but that *totus mundus* is more than Europe."

Ridley.—"Indeed, my Lord, if St. Augustine had said, *simpliciter totus mundus*, and not added *in transmarinis*, it had been without limitation; but in that he said, *totus mundus in transmarinis partibus*, 'all the countries beyond the seas,' he himself doth limit the universal proposition, declaring how far he meant by *totus mundus*."

The bishop not staying for his answer, did proceed, saying:-

"Well, if I should stay upon this place, I could bring many more places of the fathers for the confirmation thereof; but we have certain instructions, according to the which we must proceed, and came not hither to dispute the matter with you, but only to take your answers to certain articles; and used this in the way of disputation, in the which you interrupted me: wherefore I will return thither again.

"Ye must consider that the church of Christ lieth not hidden, but is a city on the mountain, and a candle on the candlestick. Ponder with yourself, that the church of Christ is 'catholic,' which is deduced of *κατα ολον* [Greek: *kata olon*], that is, *per omnia*: so that Christ's church is universally spread throughout the world, not contained in the alligation of places, not comprehended in the circuit of England, not contained in the compass of Germany and Saxony, as your church is. Wherefore, Master Ridley, for God's love be ye not singular; acknowledge with all the realm the truth: it shall not be (as you allege) prejudicial to the crown; for the king and queen their Majesties have renounced that usurped power taken of their predecessors, and justly have renounced it. For I am sure you know that there are two powers, the one declared by the sword, the other by the keys. The sword is given to kings and rulers of countries; the keys were delivered by Christ to Peter, and of him left to all the successors. As touching our goods, possession, and lives, we with you acknowledge us subjects to the king and queen, who hath the temporal sword; but as concerning matters of religion, as touching God's quarrel and his word, we acknowledge another head: and as the king and the queen their Highnesses do in all worldly affairs justly challenge the prerogative and primacy, so in spiritual and ecclesiastical matters they acknowledge themselves not to be heads and rulers, but members of Christ's body. Why therefore should ye stick at that matter, the which their Majesties have forsaken and yielded?

"Wherefore (Master Ridley) you shall not only not do injury to the crown, and be prejudicial to their Majesties' honour, in acknowledging with all Christendom the pope's Holiness to be supreme head of Christ's church here militant in earth, but do a thing most delectable in their sight, and most desired of his Holiness. Thus if you will do, revoking together all your errors, acknowledging with the residue of the realm the common and the public fault, you shall do that all men most heartily desire; you shall bring quietness to your conscience, and health to your soul. Then shall we with great joy, by the authority committed to us from the cardinal's Grace, receive you into the church again, acknowledging you to be no longer a rotten, but a lively member of the same. But if you shall still be singular, if you shall still and obstinately persevere in your errors, stubbornly maintaining your former heresies, then we must, against our will, according to our commission, separate you from us, and cut you off from the church, lest the rottenness of one part in process of time putrefy and corrupt the whole body; then

must we confess and publish you to be none of ours; then must we yield you up to the temporal judges, of whom, except it otherwise please the king and queen's Highness, you must receive punishment by the laws of this realm, due for heretics.

"Wherefore, Master Ridley, consider you state; remember your former degrees; spare your body; especially consider your soul, which Christ so dearly bought with his precious blood. Do not you rashly cast away that which was precious in God's sight; enforce us not to do all that we may do, which is only to publish you to be none of us, to cut you off from the church; for we do not, nor cannot condemn you to die, (as most untruly hath been reported of us,) but that is the temporal judge's office, we only declare you to be none of the church; and then must you, according to the tenor of them, and pleasure of the rulers, abide their determination, so that we, after that we have given you up to the temporal rulers, have no further to do with you.

"But I trust, Master Ridley, we shall not have occasion to do that we may. I trust you will suffer us to rest in that point of our commission, which we most heartily desire, that is, upon recantation and repentance to receive you, to reconcile you, and again to adjoin you to the unity of the church."

Then Master Ridley, with often interruption, at length spake:—

Ridley.—"My Lord, I acknowledge an unspotted church of Christ, in the which no man can err, without the which no man can be saved; the which is spread throughout all the world, that is, the congregation of the faithful; neither do I alligate or bind the same to any one place, as you said, but confess the same to be spread throughout all the world; and where Christ's sacraments are duly ministered, his gospel truly preached and followed, there doth Christ's church shine as a city upon a hill, and as a candle in the candlestick: but rather it is such as you, that would have the church of Christ bound to a place, which appoint the same to Rome, that there, and no where else, is the foundation of Christ's church. But I am fully persuaded that Christ's church is every where founded, in every place where his gospel is truly received, and effectually followed. And in that the church of God is in doubt, I use herein the wise counsel of Vincentius Lyrinensis, whom I am sure you will allow, who, giving precepts how the catholic church may be in all schisms and heresies known, writeth in this manner: 'When,' saith he, 'one part is corrupted with heresies, then prefer the whole world before that one part; but if the greatest part be infected, then prefer antiquity.' In like sort now, when I perceive the greatest part of Christianity to be infected with the poison of the see of Rome, I repair to the usage of the primitive church, which I find clean contrary to the pope's decrees; as in that the priest receiveth alone, that it is made unlawful to the laity to receive in both kinds, and such like. Wherefore it requireth that I prefer the antiquity of the primitive church, before the novelty of the Romish church."

Lincoln.—"Master Ridley, these faults which you charge the see of Rome withal, are indeed no faults. For first, it was never forbidden the laity, but that they might, if they demanded, receive under both kinds. You know also, that Christ after his resurrection, at what time he went with his apostles to Galilee, opened himself by breaking of bread. You know that St. Paul, after his long sailing towards Rome, brake bread, and that the apostles came together in breaking of bread, which declareth that it is not unlawful to minister the sacrament under the form of bread

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only: and yet the church had just occasion to decree, that the laity should receive in one kind only, thereby to take away an opinion of the unlearned, that Christ was not wholly both flesh and blood under the form of bread. Therefore, to take away their opinion, and to establish better the people's faith, the Holy Ghost in the church thought fit to decree, that the laity should receive only in one kind; and it is no news for the church upon just consideration to alter rites and ceremonies. For you read in the Acts of the Apostles, that St. Paul, writing to certain of the Gentiles which had received the gospel, biddeth them to abstain, *a sufocato et sanguine*, that is from things stifled, and from blood; so that this seemeth to be an express commandment; yet who will say but that it is lawful to eat bloodings? how is it lawful, but by the permission of the church?"

Ridley.—"My Lord, such things as St. Paul enjoined to the Gentiles for a sufferance, by a little and little to win the Jews to Christ, were only commandments of time, and respected not the successors: but Christ's commandment, Do this, that is, that which he did in remembrance, which was not to minister in one kind only, was not a commandment for a time, but to persevere to the world's end."

But the bishop of Lincoln, not attending to this answer, without any stay, proceeded in this oration.

Lincoln.—"So that the church seemeth to have authority by the Holy Ghost, whom Christ said he would send after his ascension, which should teach the apostles all truth, to have power and jurisdiction to alter such points of the Scripture, ever reserving the foundation. But we came not, as I said before, in this sort to reason the matter with you, but have certain instructions ministered unto us, according to the tenor of the which we must proceed, proposing certain articles, unto the which we require your answer directly, either affirmatively or negatively to every of them, either denying them or granting them, without further disputations or reasoning; for we have already stretched our instructions, in that we suffered you to debate and reason the matter, in such sort as we have done: the which articles you shall hear now; and tomorrow, at eight of the clock, in St. Mary's church, we will require and take your answers; and then according to the same proceed. And if you require a copy of them, you shall have it, pen, ink, and paper; also such books as you shall demand, if they be to be gotten in the university."

Articles, jointly and severally ministered to Dr. Ridley and Master Latimer, by the pope's deputy.

"In Dei nomine, amen. Nos Iohannes Lincolniensis, Iacobus Glocesrensis, et Iohannes Bristollensis, episcopi, per reverendissimum dominum Reginaldum—miseratione divina, S. Mariæ in cosmedin, sancta Romanæ ecclesiæ diaconum cardinalem Polum nuncupatum, sanctissimi domini nostri papæ, et sedis apostolicæ, ad serenissimos Philippum et Mariam Angliæ reges et ad universum Angliæ regnum legatum—authoritate sufficiente delegati, ad inquirendum de quodam negotio inquisitionis hereticæ pravitatis contra et adversus Hugonem Latimerum et Nicholaum Ridleyum (pro episcopis Vigornensi et Londoniensi se respective gerentes, specialiter delegati, et contra et adversus eorum quemlibet inquirendo) proponimus, et articulamus conjunctim et divisim, prout sequitur.

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"1. We do object to thee, Nicholas Ridley, and to thee, Hugh Latimer, jointly and severally; first, that thou, Nicholas Ridley, in this high university of Oxford, anno 1554, in the months of April, May, June, July, or in some one or more of them, hast affirmed, and openly defended and maintained, and in many other times and places besides, that the true and natural body of Christ, after the consecration of the priest, is not really present in the sacrament of the altar.

"2. Item, that in the year and months aforesaid, thou hast publicly affirmed and defended, that in the sacrament of the altar remaineth still the substance of bread and wine.

"3. Item, that in the said year and months thou hast openly affirmed, and obstinately maintained, that in the mass is no propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead.

"4. Item, that in the year, place, and months aforesaid, these thy foresaid assertions solemnly have been condemned, by the scholastical censure of this school, as heretical and contrary to the catholic faith, by the worshipful Master Doctor Weston, prolocutor then of the convocation house, as also by other learned men of both the universities.

"5. Item, that all and singular the premises be true, notorious, famous, and openly known by public fame, as well to them near hand, and also to them in distant places far off."

The examination of Dr. Ridley upon the said articles.

All these articles I thought good here to place together, that as often as hereafter rehearsals shall be of any of them, the reader may have recourse hither, and peruse the same; and not to trouble the story with several repetitions thereof. After these articles were read, the bishops took counsel together. At the last the bishop of Lincoln said:

Lincoln.—"These are the very same articles which you, in open disputation here in the university, did maintain and defend. What say you unto the first? I pray you answer affirmatively, or negatively."

Ridley.—"Why, my Lord, I supposed your gentleness had been such, that you would have given me space until to-morrow, that, upon good advisement, I might bring a determinate answer."

Lincoln.—"Yea, Master Ridley, I mean not that your answers now shall be prejudicial to your answers to-morrow. I will take your answers at this time, and yet notwithstanding it shall be lawful to you to add, diminish, alter, and change of these answers to-morrow, what you will."

Ridley.—"Indeed, in like manner at our last disputations I had many things promised, and few performed. It was said, that after disputations I should have a copy thereof, and licence to change mine answers, as I should think good. It was meet, also, that I should have seen what was written by the notaries at that time. So your Lordship pretended great gentleness in giving me a time; but this gentleness is the same that Christ had of the high priest. For you, as your Lordship saith, have no power to condemn me, neither at any time to put a man to death: so, in like sort,

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the high priests said, that it was not lawful for them to put any man to death, but committed Christ to Pilate, neither would suffer him to absolve Christ, although he sought all the means therefore that he might."

Then spake Doctor Weston, one of the audience:

Weston.—"What! do you make the king Pilate?"

Ridley.—"No, Master Doctor; I do but compare your deeds with Caiaphas's deeds, and the high priest's, which would condemn no man to death, as ye will not, and yet would not suffer Pilate to absolve and deliver Christ."

Lincoln.—"Master Ridley, we mind not but that you shall enjoy the benefit of answering tomorrow, and will take your answers now as now: to-morrow you shall change, take out, add, and alter what you will. In the mean season we require you to answer directly to every article, either affirmatively or negatively."

Ridley.—"Seeing you appoint me a time to answer to-morrow, and yet will take mine answers out of hand, first, I require the notaries to take and write my protestation, that in no point I acknowledge your authority, or admit you to be my judges, in that point that you are authorized from the pope. Therefore, whatsoever I shall say or do, I protest, I neither say it, neither do it willingly, thereby to admit the authority of the pope; and, if your Lordship will give me leave, I will show the causes which move me thereunto."

Lincoln.—"No, Master Ridley, we have instructions to the contrary. We may not suffer you."

Ridley.—"I will be short; I pray your Lordships suffer me to speak in few words."

Lincoln.—"No, Master Ridley, we may not abuse the hearers' ears."

Ridley.—"Why, my Lord, suffer me to speak three words."

Lincoln.—"Well, Master Ridley, to-morrow you shall speak forty. The time is far past; therefore we require your answer determinately. What say you to the first article?"

And thereupon rehearsed the same.

Ridley.—"My protestation always saved, that by this mine answer I do not condescend to your authority in that you are legate to the pope, I answer thus: In a sense the first article is true, and in a sense it is false: for if you take *really* for *vere*, for spiritually, by grace and efficacy, then it is true that the natural body and blood of Christ is in the sacrament *vere et realiter*, indeed and really; but if you take these terms so grossly that you would conclude thereby a natural body having motion, to be contained under the forms of bread and wine, *vere et realiter*, then really is not the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament, no more than the Holy Ghost is in the element of water in our baptism."

Because this answer was not understood, the notaries wist not how to note it: wherefore the bishop of Lincoln willed him to answer either affirmatively, or negatively, either to grant the article, or to deny it.

Ridley.—"My Lord, you know that where any *equivocation* (which is a word having two significations) is, except distinction be given, no direct answer can be made; for it is one of Aristotle's fallacies, containing two questions under one, the which cannot be satisfied with one answer. For both you and I agree herein, that in the sacrament is the very true and natural body and blood of Christ, even that which was born of the Virgin Mary, which ascended into heaven, which sitteth on the right hand of God the Father, which shall come from thence to judge the quick and the dead, only we differ *in modo*, in the way and manner of being: we confess all one thing to be in the sacrament, and dissent in the manner of being there. I, being fully by God's word thereunto persuaded, confess Christ's natural body to be in the sacrament indeed by spirit and grace, because that whosoever receiveth worthily that bread and wine, receiveth effectuously Christ's body, and drinketh his blood (that is, he is made effectually partaker of his passion); and you make a grosser kind of being, enclosing a natural, a lively, and a moving body, under the shape or form of bread and wine. Now, this difference considered, to the question thus I answer, that in the sacrament of the altar is the natural body and blood of Christ *vere et realiter*, indeed and really, for spiritually, by grace and efficacy; for so every worthy receiver receiveth the very true body of Christ. But, if you mean really and indeed, so that thereby you would include a lively and a movable body under the forms of bread and wine, then, in that sense, is not Christ's body in the sacrament really and indeed."

This answer taken and penned of the notaries, the bishop of Lincoln proposed the second question or article. To whom he answered:

Ridley.—"Always my protestation reserved, I answer thus; that in the sacrament is a certain change, in that, that bread, which was before common bread, is now made a lively presentation of Christ's body, and not only a figure, but effectuously representeth his body, that even as the mortal body was nourished by that visible bread, so is the internal soul fed with the heavenly food of Christ's body, which the eyes of faith see, as the bodily eyes see only bread. Such a sacramental mutation I grant to be in the bread and wine, which truly is no small change, but such a change as no mortal man can make, but only that omnipotency of Christ's word."

Then the bishop of Lincoln willed him to answer directly, either affirmatively or negatively, without further declaration of the matter. Then he answered:

Ridley.—"That notwithstanding this sacramental mutation of the which he spake, and all the doctors confessed, the true substance and nature of bread and wine remaineth: with the which the body is in like sort nourished, as the soul is by grace and Spirit with the body of Christ. Even so in baptism, the body is washed with the visible water, and the soul is cleansed from all filth by the invisible Holy Ghost, and yet the water ceaseth not to be water, but keepeth the nature of water still: in like sort in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, the bread ceaseth not to be bread."

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Then the notaries penned, that he answered affirmatively to the second article. The bishop of Lincoln declared a difference between the sacrament of the altar and baptism, because that Christ said not by the water, This is the Holy Ghost, as he did by the bread, This is my body.

Then Master Ridley recited St. Augustine, who conferred both the sacraments the one with the other: but the bishop of Lincoln notwithstanding, thereupon recited the third article, and required a direct answer. To whom Ridley said:

Ridley.—"Christ, as St. Paul writeth, made one perfect sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, neither can any man reiterate that sacrifice of his, and yet is the communion an acceptable sacrifice to God of praise and thanksgiving. But to say that thereby sins are taken away, (which wholly and perfectly was done by Christ's passion, of the which the communion is only a memory,) that is a great derogation of the merits of Christ's passion: for the sacrament was instituted, that we, receiving it, and thereby recognising and remembering his passion, should be partakers of the merits of the same. For otherwise doth this sacrament take upon it the office of Christ's passion, whereby it might follow, that Christ died in vain."

The notaries penned this his answer to be affirmatively. Then said the bishop of Lincoln:

Lincoln.—"Indeed, as you allege out of St. Paul, Christ made one perfect oblation for all the whole world, that is, that bloody sacrifice upon the cross: yet, nevertheless, he hath left this sacrifice, but not bloody, in the remembrance of that by the which sins are forgiven; the which is no derogation of Christ's passion."

Then recited the bishop of Lincoln the fourth article. To the which Master Ridley answered, that in some part the fourth was true, and in some part false; true, in that those his assertions were condemned as heresies, although unjustly; false, in that it was said they were condemned *scientia scholastica*, in that the disputations were in such sort ordered, that it was far from any school act.

This answer penned of the notaries, the bishop of Lincoln rehearsed the fifth article. To the which Ridley answered, that the premises were in such sort true, as in these his answers he had declared. Whether that all men spake evil of them, he knew not, in that he came not so much abroad to hear what every man reported.

This answer also written of the notaries, the bishop of Lincoln said:

Lincoln.—"To-morrow, at eight of the clock, you shall appear before us in St. Mary's church; and then, because we cannot well agree upon your answer to the first article, [for it was long before he was understood,] if it will please you to write your answer, you shall have pen, ink, and paper, and books, such as you shall require: but, if you write any thing saving your answers to these articles, we will not receive it."

So he, charging the mayor with him, declaring also to the mayor that he should suffer him to have a pen and ink, dismissed Master Ridley, and sent for Master Latimer, who, being brought to the divinity school, there tarried till they called for him.

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Master Latimer appeareth before the commissioners.

Now, after Master Ridley was committed to the mayor, then the bishop of Lincoln commanded the bailiffs to bring in the other prisoner, who, eftsoons as he was placed, said to the lords:

Latimer.—"My Lords, if I appear again, I pray you not to send for me until you be ready: for I am an old man, and it is great hurt to mine old age to tarry so long gazing upon the cold walls."

Then the bishop of Lincoln:—"Master Latimer, I am sorry you are brought so soon, although it is the bailiff's fault, and not mine; but it shall be amended."

Then Master Latimer bowed his knee down to the ground, holding his hat in his hand, having a kerchief on his head, and upon it a night-cap or two, and a great cap, (such as townsmen use, with two broad flaps to button under the chin,) wearing an old thread-bare Bristol frieze-gown girded to his body with a penny leather girdle, at the which hanged by a long string of leather his Testament, and his spectacles without case, depending about his neck upon his breast. After this the bishop of Lincoln began on this manner

Lincoln.—"Master Latimer, you shall understand, that I and my Lords here have a commission from my Lord Cardinal Pole's Grace, legate *a latere* to this realm of England, from our most reverend father in God, the pope's Holiness, to examine you upon certain opinions and assertions of yours, which you, as well here openly in disputations in the year of our Lord 1554, as at sundry and at divers other times did affirm, maintain, and obstinately defend. In the which commission be specially two points; the one which we must desire you is, that if you shall now recant, revoke, and disannul these your errors, and, together with all this realm, yea, all the world, confess the truth, we, upon due repentance of your part, shall receive you, reconcile you, acknowledge you no longer a strayed sheep, but adjoin you again to the unity of Christ's church, from the which you in the time of schism fell. So that it is no new place to the which I exhort you; I desire you but to return thither from whence you went. Consider, Master Latimer, that without the unity of the church is no salvation, and in the church can be no errors. Therefore what should stay you to confess that which all the realm confesseth, to forsake that which the king and queen their Majesties have renounced, and all the realm recanted. It was a common error, and it is now of all confessed; it shall be no more shame to you, than it was to us all. Consider, Master Latimer, that within these twenty years this realm also, with all the world, confessed one church, acknowledged in Christ's church a head; and by what means and for what occasion it cut off itself from the rest of Christianity, and renounced that which in all times and ages was confessed, it is well known, and might be now declared upon what good foundation the see of Rome was forsaken, save that we must spare them that are dead, to whom the rehearsal would be opprobrious: it is no usurped power, as it hath been termed, but founded upon Peter by Christ, a sure foundation, a perfect builder, as by divers places, as well of the ancient fathers, as by the express word of God, may be proved."

With that Master Latimer, who before leaned his head to his hand, began somewhat to remove his cap and kerchief from his ears. The bishop proceeded, saying:

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"For Christ spake expressly to Peter, saying, *Pasce oves meas, et rege oves meas*, the which word doth not only declare a certain ruling of Christ's flock, but includeth also a certain pre-eminence and government; and therefore is the king called *Rex a regendo*: so that in saying, *rege*, Christ declared a power which he gave to Peter, which jurisdiction and power Peter by hand delivered to Clement, and so in all ages hath it remained in the see of Rome. This, if you shall confess with us, and acknowledge with all the realm your errors and false assertions, then shall you do that which we most desire, then shall we rest upon the first part of our commission, then shall we receive you, acknowledge you one of the church, and, according to the authority given unto us, minister unto you, upon due repentance, the benefit of absolution, to the which the king and queen their Majesties were not ashamed to submit themselves, although they of themselves were unspotted, and therefore needed no reconciliation: yet lest the putrefaction and rottenness of all the body might be noisome, and do damage to the head also, they (as I said) most humbly submitted themselves to my Lord Cardinal his Grace, by him, as legate to the pope's Holiness, to be partakers of the reconciliation. But, if you shall stubbornly persevere in your blindness; if you will not acknowledge your errors; if you, as you now stand alone, will be singular in your opinions; if by schism and heresy you will divide yourself from your church, then must we proceed to the second part of the commission, which we would be loth to do, that is, not to condemn you, for that we cannot do, (that the temporal sword of the realm, and not we, will do,) but to separate you from us, acknowledge you to be none of us, to renounce you as no member of the church, to declare that you are a lost child; and, as you are a rotten member of the church, so to cut you off from the church, and so to commit you to the temporal judges, permitting them to proceed against you, according to the tenor of their laws. Therefore, Master Latimer, for God's love consider your estate; remember you are a learned man; you have taken degrees in the school, borne the office of a bishop; remember you are an old man; spare your body, accelerate not your death, and specially remember your soul's health, quiet of your conscience. Consider, that if you should die in this state, you shall be a stinking sacrifice to God; for it is the cause that maketh the martyr, and not the death: consider, that if you die in this state, you die without grace, for without the church can be no salvation. Let not vain-glory have the upper hand, humiliate yourself, captivate your understanding, subdue your reason, submit yourself to the determination of the church, do not force us to do all that we may do, let us rest in that part which we most heartily desire, and I, for my part, [then the bishop put off his cap,] again with all my heart exhort you."

After the bishop had somewhat paused, then Master Latimer lifted up his head, (for before he leaned on his elbow,) and asked whether his Lordship had said; and the bishop answered, "Yea."

Latimer.—"Then will your Lordship give me leave to speak a word or two?"

Lincoln.—"Yea, Master Latimer, so that you use a modest kind of talk, without railing or taunts."

Latimer.—"I beseech your Lordship license me to sit down."

Lincoln.—"At your pleasure, Master Latimer, take as much ease as you will."

Latimer.—"Your Lordship gently exhorted me in many words to come to the unity of the church. I confess, my Lord, a catholic church, spread throughout all the world, in the which no man may err, without the which unity of the church no man can be saved: but I know perfectly by God's word, that this church is in all the world, and hath not its foundation in Rome only, as you say; and methought your Lordship brought a place out of the Scriptures to confirm the same, that there was a jurisdiction given to Peter, in that Christ bade him govern his people. Indeed, my Lord, St. Peter did well and truly his office, in that he was bid *regere*; but, since, the bishops of Rome have taken a new kind of *regere*. Indeed they ought *regere*, but how, my Lord? not as they will themselves: but this *regere* must be hedged in and ditched in. They must rule, but according to the word of God. But the bishops of Rome have turned the rule according to the word of God, into the rule according to their own pleasures, and as it pleaseth them best: as there is a book set forth which hath divers points in it, and, amongst others, this point is one, which your Lordship went about to prove by this word *regere*; and the argument which he bringeth forth for the proof of that matter, is taken out of Deuteronomy, where it is said, If there ariseth any controversy among the people, the priests of the order of Levi shall decide the matter according to the law of God, so it must be taken. This book, perceiving this authority to be given to the priests of the old law, taketh occasion to prove the same to be given to the bishops and others the clergy of the new law: but, in proving this matter, whereas it was said there, as the priests of the order of Levi should determine the matter 'according to God's law,' that 'according to God's law' is left out, and only is recited, as the priests of the order of Levi shall decide the matter, so it ought to be taken of the people; a large authority I assure you. What gelding of Scripture is this? what clipping of God's coin?" With the which terms the audience smiled. "This is much like the *regere* which your Lordship talked of. Nay, nay, my Lords, we may not give such authority to the clergy, to rule all things as they will. Let them keep themselves within their commission. Now I trust, my Lord, I do not rail yet."

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

Latimer.—"Yes, my Lord, the book is open to be read, and is entituled to one which is bishop of Gloucester, whom I never knew, neither did at any time see him to my knowledge."

With that the people laughed, because the bishop of Gloucester sat there in commission.

Then the bishop of Gloucester stood up and said it was his book.

Latimer.—"Was it yours, my Lord? Indeed I knew not your Lordship, neither ever did I see you before, neither yet see you now, through the brightness of the sun shining betwixt you and me." Then the audience laughed again; and Master Latimer spake unto them, saying:-

Latimer.—"Why, my masters, this is no laughing matter. I answer upon life and death."

The bishop of Lincoln commanded silence, and then said:-

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Lincoln.—"Master Latimer, if you had kept yourself within your bounds, if you had not used such scoffs and taunts, this had not been done." After this the bishop of Gloucester said, in excusing of his book, "Master Latimer, hereby every man may see what learning you have." Then Master Latimer interrupted him, saying:—

Latimer.—"Lo, you look for learning at my hands, which have gone so long to the school of Oblivion, making the bare walls my library; keeping me so long in prison, without book, or pen and ink; and now you let me loose to come and answer to articles. You deal with me as though two were appointed to fight for life and death, and over-night the one, through friends and favour, is cherished, and hath good counsel given him how to encounter with his enemy. The other, for envy or lack of friends, all the whole night is set in the stocks. In the morning, when they shall meet, the one is in strength and lusty, the other is stark of his limbs, and almost dead for feebleness. Think you, that to run through this man with a spear is not a goodly victory?"

But the bishop of Gloucester, interrupting his answer, proceeded, saying:—

Gloucester.—"I went not about to recite any place of Scripture in that place of my book; for then, if I had not recited it faithfully, you might have had just occasion of reprehension: but I only in that place formed an argument *a majore*, in this sense; that if in the old law the priests had power to decide matters of controversy, much more then ought the authority to be given to the clergy in the new law: and I pray you in this point what availeth their rehearsal *secundum legem Dei*?"

Latimer.—"Yes, my Lord, very much. For I acknowledge authority to be given to the spirituality to decide matter of religion; and, as my Lord said even now, *regere*; but they must do it *secundum verbum Dei*, and not *secundum voluntatem suam*; according to the word and law of God, and not after their own will, their own imaginations and fantasies."

The bishop of Gloucester would have spoken more, saving that the bishop of Lincoln said that they came not to dispute with Master Latimer, but to take his determinate answers to their articles; and so began to propose the same articles which were proposed to Master Ridley. But Master Latimer interrupted him, speaking to the bishop of Gloucester.

Latimer.—"Well, my Lord, I could wish more faithful dealing with God's word, and not to leave out a part, and to snatch a part here, and another there, but to rehearse the whole faithfully."

But the bishop of Lincoln, not attending to this saying of Master Latimer, proceeded in the rehearsing of the articles in form and sense as I declared before in the examination of the articles proposed to Master Ridley, and required Master Latimer's answer to the first. Then Master Latimer, making his protestation, that notwithstanding these his answers, it should not be taken that thereby he would acknowledge any authority of the bishop of Rome, saying that he was the king and queen their Majesties' subject, and not the pope's, neither could serve two masters at one time, except he should first renounce one of them; required the notaries so to take his protestation, that whatsoever he should say or do, it should not be taken as though he did thereby agree to any authority that came from the bishop of Rome.

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The bishop of Lincoln said, that his protestation should be so taken; but he required him to answer briefly, affirmatively or negatively, to the first article, and so recited the same again; and Master Latimer answered as followeth:—

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

Lincoln.—"Then, Master Latimer, you answer affirmatively."

Latimer.—"Yea, if you mean of that gross and carnal being, which you do take."

The notaries took his answer to be affirmatively.

Lincoln.—"What say you, Master Latimer, to the second article?" and recited the same.

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

With that the bishop of Lincoln smiled, saying:—

Lincoln.—"Lo, Master Latimer, see what stedfastness is in your doctrine! That which you abhorred and despised most, you now most establish: for whereas you most railed at holy bread, you now make your communion holy bread."

Latimer.—"Tush, a rush for holy bread. I say the bread in the communion is a holy bread indeed." But the bishop of London interrupted him and said:-

Lincoln.—"Oh, ye make a difference between holy bread and holy bread." [With that the audience laughed.] "Well, Master Latimer, is not this your answer, that the substance of bread and wine remaineth after the words of consecration?"

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

So the notaries penned his answer to be affirmatively.

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Lincoln.—"What say you to the third question?" and recited the same.

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

So the notaries penned his answer to this article also to be affirmatively.

Lincoln.—"What say you to the fourth, Master Latimer?"

And recited it. After the recital whereof, when Master Latimer answered not, the bishop asked him whether he heard him or no?

Latimer.—"Yes, but I do not understand what you mean thereby."

Lincoln.—"Marry, only this, that these your assertions were condemned by Master Dr. Weston as heresies; is it not so, Master Latimer?"

Latimer.—"Yes, I think they were condemned. But how unjustly, He that shall be judge of all knoweth."

So the notaries took his answer to this article also to be affirmatively.

Lincoln.—"What say you, Master Latimer, to the fifth article?" And recited it.

Latimer.—"I know not what you mean by these terms. I am no lawyer; I would you would propose the matter plainly."

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

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

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

Latimer.—"Now, my Lord, I pray you give me licence in three words, to declare the causes why I have refused the authority of the pope."

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Lincoln.—"Nay, Master Latimer, to-morrow you shall have licence to speak forty words."

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

Lincoln.—"Yes, Master Latimer, you must needs appear again to-morrow."

Latimer.—"Truly, my Lord, as for my part, I require no respite, for I am at a point; you shall give me respite in vain: therefore I pray you let me not trouble you to-morrow."

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

And forthwith the bishop charged the mayor with Master Latimer, and dismissed him, and then brake up their session for that day, about one of the clock at afternoon.

Here followeth the second day's session.



HE next day following, (which was the first day of October,) somewhat after eight of the clock, the said lords repaired to St. Mary's church, and after they were set in a high throne well trimmed with cloth of tissue and silk, then appeared Master Ridley, who was set at a framed table a good space from the bishop's feet, which table had a silk cloth cast over it, the which place was compassed about with framed seats in quadrate form, partly for gentlemen which repaired thither (for this was the session day also of gaol-delivery) and heads of the university to sit, and partly to keep off the press of the audience: for the whole body, as well of the university as of the town, came thither to see the end of these two persons. After Master Ridley's appearance, and the silence of the audience, the bishop of Lincoln spake in manner following:

Lincoln.—"Master Ridley, yesterday when that we challenged you for not uncovering your head, you excused yourself of that whereof no man accused you, in saying you did not put on your cap for any obstinacy towards us, which as touching our own persons desired no such obedience of you, but only in respect of them whose persons we bear; neither (you said) for any contempt that you bear to this worshipful audience, which although they justly may, yet in this case require no such humility of you; neither for any derogation of honour to my Lord Cardinal's Grace, in that he is descended from the regal blood, in that he is a man most noble, both for his excellent qualities and singular learning: for, as touching those points, you said, you with all humility would honour, reverence, and worship his Grace; but, in that he is legate to the most reverend father in God the pope's Holiness (with that the bishop and all then present put off their caps, but Master Ridley moved not his) you said you neither could nor would by any means be induced to give him honour: but, forasmuch as this is the point, as we told you yesterday, why we require honour and reverence of you, we tell you now as we did then, except you take the

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pains to move your bonnet, we will take the pains to cause your bonnet to be taken from you, except you pretend sickness, as yesterday you did not."

Ridley.—"I pretend now none other cause than I did yesterday; that is, only that hereby it may appear that not only in word and confession, but also by all my gesture and behaviour, in no point I agree or admit any authority or power that shall come from the pope; and not from any pride of mind, (as God is my judge,) neither for contempt of your Lordships or of this worshipful audience, neither for derogation of honour due to my Lord Cardinal's Grace as concerning those points which your Lordship spake of; that is, his noble parentage and singular graces in learning. And as for taking my cap away, your Lordship may do as it shall please you; it shall not offend me, but I shall be content with your ordinance in that behalf."

Lincoln.—"Forasmuch as you do answer now as you did yesterday, we must do also as we did then:" and forthwith one of his beaules very hastily snatched his cap from his head.

After this the bishop of Lincoln began the examination in sense following:

Lincoln.—"Master Ridley, yesterday we took your answer to certain articles, which we then proposed unto you: but because we could not be thoroughly satisfied with your answer then to the first article, neither could the notaries take any determinate answer of you, we (you requiring the same) granted you licence to bring your answer in writing, and thereupon commanded the mayor that you should have pen, paper, and ink, yea, any books also that you would require, if they were to be gotten: we licensed you then, also, to alter your former answers this day at your pleasure. Therefore we are come now hither, to see whether you are in the same mind now that you were in yesterday, (which we would not wish,) or contrary, contented to revoke all your former assertions, and in all points consent to submit yourself to the determination of the universal church; and I for my part most earnestly exhort you, [and therewith he put off his cap,] not because my conscience pricketh me, as you said yesterday, but because I see you a rotten member, and in the way of perdition. Yesterday I brought forth amongst others St. Augustine, to prove that authority hath always been given to the see of Rome, and you wrested the words far contrary to St. Augustine's meaning, in that you would have *totus mundus* to be applied only to Europe, which is but the third part of all the world: whereas, indeed, the process of St. Augustine's words will not admit that your interpretation; for he saith not *totus mundus Christianus in transmarinis*, &c., but first, 'all the Christian world is subject to the Church of Rome,' and afterwards addeth, *in transmarinis partibus*, 'beyond the sea,' but only to augment the dominion of the see of Rome."

But Master Ridley still persevered in his former answer, saying;

"I am sure, my Lord, you have some skill in cosmography, in the which you shall understand that there is a sea called *Mare Mediterraneum*, cast between Europe and Africa, in the which be meant Europe beyond the sea; even as I should say the whole world beyond the sea, excepting England in the which I stand."

And here many words were spent upon the interpretation of the same place of St. Augustine. After long disputation the bishop of Lincoln said, that the meaning of St. Augustine

might be known by the consent of other the doctors; and rehearsed divers. But Master Ridley required the rehearsal of the places, and to read the very words of the doctors, saying, that perhaps those which the bishop rehearsed, being proponed in other terms in the doctors, would admit a contrary meaning and interpretation: but in that book, out of the which the bishop rehearsed them, were none of the doctors, but only the sentences drawn out of the doctors by some studious man: he could not recite the very words of the doctors.

Then after, Lincoln came to Cyril, which (as he said) made against Master Ridley in the sacrament, even by Philip Melancthon's own alleging in his Common-Places; and forthwith he called for Melancthon, but in vain, because all such books were burned a little before—wherefore he passed it over.

"Cyril also, in another place, proving to the Jews that Christ was come, useth this reason, 'Altars are erected in Christ's name in Britain, and in far countries: ergo, Christ is come.' But we may use the contrary of that reason, 'Altars are plucked down in Britain: ergo, Christ is not come.' A good argument *a contrariis*. I will stand to it in the schools by and by with any man. Ye see what a good argument this your doctrine maketh for the Jews, to prove that Christ is not come."

"Dr. Ridley smiling, answered, 'Your Lordship is not ignorant that this word *altare*, in the Scripture, signifieth as well the altar whereupon the Jews were wont to make their burnt sacrifices, as the table of the Lord's supper. Cyril meaneth there by this word *altare*, not the Jewish altar, but the table of the Lord; and by that saying, 'Altars are erected in Christ's name: ergo, Christ is come,' he meaneth that the communion is ministered in his remembrance: ergo, Christ is come. For the strength of his argument is, because the remembrance of a thing cannot be, except itself be past; then could not all countries celebrate the communion in remembrance of Christ's passion, except Christ had been come and suffered. As for the taking down of the altars, it was done upon just considerations, for that they seemed to come too nigh to the Jews' usage: neither was the supper of the Lord at any time better ministered, more duly received, than in those latter days when all things were brought to the rites and usage of the primitive church."

Lincoln.—"A goodly receiving, I promise you, to set an oyster table instead of an altar, and to come from puddings at Westminster, to receive and yet, when your table was constituted, you could never be content, in placing the same now east, now north, now one way, now another, until it pleased God of his goodness to place it clean out of the church."

Ridley.—"Your Lordship's unreverent terms do not elevate the thing. Perhaps some men came more devoutly from puddings, than other men now do from other things."

Lincoln.—"As for that, Master Ridley, you ought to be judge of no man: but by this your reasoning you cause us to stretch and enlarge our instructions. We came not to reason, but to take your determinate answers to our articles;" and eftsoons he read the first article in manner above specified. "Now, Master Ridley, what say you to the first article? If you have brought your answer in writing, we will receive it; but if you have written any other matter, we will not receive it."

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Then Master Ridley took a sheet of paper out of his bosom, and began to read that which he had written: but the bishop of Lincoln commanded the beadle to take it from him. But he desired licence to read it, saying that it was nothing but his answer, but the bishop would in no wise suffer him.

Ridley.—"Why, my Lord, will you require my answer, and not suffer me to publish it? I beseech you, my Lord, let the audience bear witness in this matter. Your Lordships may handle it at your pleasure; therefore let the audience be witness to your doings."

Lincoln.—"Well, Master Ridley, we will first see what you have written, and then, if we shall think it good to be read, you shall have it published; but, except you will deliver it first, we will take none at all of you."

With that Master Ridley, seeing no remedy, delivered it to an officer, which immediately delivered it to the bishop of Lincoln, who, after he had secretly communicated it to the other two bishops, declared the sense, but would not read it as it was written, saying, that it contained words of blasphemy; therefore he would not fill the ears of the audience therewithal, and so abuse their patience. Notwithstanding Master Ridley desired very instantly to have it published, saying, that except a line or two, there was nothing contained but the ancient doctors' sayings, for the confirmation of his assertions.

After the said bishops had secretly viewed the whole, then the bishop of Lincoln said:—

Lincoln.—"In the first part, Master Ridley, is nothing contained but your protestation, that you would not have these your answers so to be taken as though you seemed thereby to consent to the authority or jurisdiction of the pope's Holiness."

Ridley.—"No, my Lord, I pray you read it out that the audience may hear it."

But the bishop of Lincoln would in no wise, because (he said) there were contained words of blasphemy.

Then the bishop of Lincoln recited the first article, and required Master Ridley's answer to it. Then Master Ridley said, that his answer was there in writing, and desired that it might be published: but the bishop would not read the whole, but here and there a piece of it. So the notaries took his answer, that he referred him to his answer in writing exhibited now, and also before at the time of disputation, Master Doctor Weston being prolocutor.

In like wise the bishop of Lincoln recited the second article, and required an answer, and Master Ridley referred him to his answer in writing, exhibited now, and also before at the time of disputation: and like answers were taken to all the residue of the articles.

These answers in this manner rehearsed, taken, and penned of the notaries, the bishop of Gloucester began an exhortation to move Master Ridley to turn.

Gloucester.—"If you would once empty your stomach, captivate your senses, subdue your reason, and together with us consider what a feeble ground of your religion you have, I do not doubt but you might easily be induced to acknowledge one church with us, to confess one faith with us, and to believe one religion with us. For what a weak and feeble stay in religion is this I pray you? Latimer leaneth to Cranmer, Cranmer to Ridley, and Ridley to the singularity of his own wit: so that if you overthrew the singularity of Ridley's wit, then must needs the religion of Cranmer and Latimer fall also. You remember well, Master Ridley, that the prophet speaketh most truly, saying, *Væ, Væ*, Woe be to them which are singular and wise in their own conceits!

"But you will say here, 'It is true that the prophet saith: but how know you that I am wise in mine own conceit?' Yes, Master Ridley, you refuse the determination of the catholic church; you must needs be singular and wise in your own conceit, for you bring Scripture for the probation of your assertions, and we also bring Scriptures; you understand them in one sense, and we in another. How will you know the truth herein? If you stand to your own interpretation, then you are singular in your own conceit: but, if you say you will follow the minds of the doctors and ancient fathers, semblably you understand them in one meaning, and we take them in another. How will ye know the truth herein? If you stand to your own judgment, then are you singular in your own conceit; then can you not avoid the *væ* and woe which the prophet speaketh of. Wherefore if you have no stay but the catholic church in matters of controversy, except you will rest upon the singularity and wisdom of your own brain, if the prophet most truly saith, *Væ, Væ*, Woe, woe be to them that are wise in their own conceit! then, for God's love, Master Ridley, stand not singular; be not you wise in your own conceit; please not yourself over-much. How were the Arians, the Manichees, Eutychians, with other divers heretics which have been in the church,—how I pray you were they suppressed and convinced? By reasoning and disputations? No, truly, the Arians had no more places of Scripture for the confirmation of their heresy, than the catholics for the defence of the truth. How then were they convinced? Only by the determination of the church. And, indeed, except we do constitute the church our foundation, stay, and judge, we can have no end of controversies, no end of disputations. For in that we all bring Scriptures and doctors for the probation of our assertions, who should be judge of this our controversy? If we ourselves, then, be singular and wise in our own conceits, then cannot we avoid the woe that the prophet speaketh of.

"It remaineth therefore that we submit ourselves to the determination and arbitrement of the church, with whom God promised to remain to the world's end, to whom he promised to send the Holy Ghost which should teach it the truth. Wherefore, Master Ridley, if you will avoid the woe that the prophet speaketh of, be not you wise in your judgment: if you will not be wise and singular in your own judgment, captivate your own understanding, subdue your reason, and submit yourself to the determination of the church."

This is briefly the sum of the oration of the bishop of Gloucester, by the which he endeavoured in many more words, amplifying and enlarging the matter eloquently with sundry points of rhetoric to move affections, to persuade Master Ridley to recant and forsake his religion.

To whom Master Ridley answered in few words, that he said most truly with the prophet, Woe be to him that is wise in his own conceit! but that he acknowledgeth no such singularity in

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him, nor knew any cause why he should attribute so much to himself. And whereas he, the bishop of Gloucester, said Master Cranmer leaned to him, that was most untrue, in that he was but a young scholar in comparison of Master Cranmer: for at what time he was a young scholar, then was Master Cranmer a doctor, so that he confessed that Master Cranmer might have been his schoolmaster these many years. It seemed that he would have spoken more, but the bishop of Gloucester interrupted him, saying:—

Gloucester.—"Why, Master Ridley, it is your own confession, for Master Latimer, at the time of his disputation, confessed his learning to lie in Master Cranmer's books, and Master Cranmer also said, that it was your doing."

Likewise the bishop of Lincoln, with many words, and gently holding his cap in his hand, desired him to turn. But Master Ridley made an absolute answer, that he was fully persuaded the religion which he defended to be grounded upon God's word; and, therefore, without great offence towards God, great peril and damage of his soul, he could not forsake his Master and Lord God, but desired the bishop to perform his grant, in that his Lordship said the day before, that he should have licence to show his cause why he could not with a safe conscience admit the authority of the pope. But the bishop of Lincoln said, that whereas then he had demanded licence to speak three words, he was contented then that he should speak forty, and that grant he would perform.

Then stepped forth Dr. Weston, which sat by, and said, "Why, my Lord, he hath spoken four hundred already." Master Ridley confessed he had, but they were not of his prescribed number, neither of that matter. The bishop of Lincoln bade him take his licence: but he should speak but forty, and he would tell them upon his fingers. And eftsoons Master Ridley began to speak: but before he had ended half a sentence, the doctors sitting by cried and said, that his number was out; and with that he was put to silence.

After this the bishop of Lincoln, which sat in the midst, began to speak as followeth:

Lincoln.—"Now I perceive, Master Ridley, you will not permit nor suffer us to stay in that point of our commission which we most desired: for I assure you, there is never a word in our commission more true than *dolentes et gementes*: for indeed I for my part (I take God to witness) am sorry for you."

Whereunto Master Ridley answered, "I believe it well, my Lord, forasmuch as one day it will be burdalous to your soul."

Lincoln.—"Nay, not so, Master Ridley, but because I am sorry to see such stubbornness in you, that by no means you may be persuaded to acknowledge your errors, and receive the truth. But, seeing it is so, because you will not suffer us to persist in the first, we must of necessity proceed to the other part of our commission. Therefore I pray you hearken what I shall say."

And forthwith he did read the sentence of condemnation, which was written in a long process: the tenor of which, because it is sufficiently already expressed before, we thought meet

in this place to omit, forasmuch as they are rather words of course, than things devised upon deliberation. Howbeit indeed the effect was as this:

"That forasmuch as the said Nicholas Ridley did affirm, maintain, and stubbornly defend certain opinions, assertions, and heresies, contrary to the word of God, and the received faith of the church, as in denying the true and natural body of Christ, and his natural blood, to be in the sacrament of the altar: Secondly, in affirming the substance of bread and wine to remain after the words of the consecration: Thirdly, in denying the mass to be a lively sacrifice of the church for the quick and the dead; and by no means would be induced and brought from these his heresies: they therefore (the said John of Lincoln, James of Gloucester, John of Bristol), did judge and condemn the said Nicholas Ridley as a heretic, and so adjudged him presently both by word and also in deed, to be degraded from the degree of a bishop, from priesthood, and all ecclesiastical order; declaring, moreover, the said Nicholas Ridley to be no member of the church: and therefore committed him to the secular powers, of them to receive due punishment according to the tenor of the temporal laws; and further excommunicating him by the great excommunication."

The last appearance and examination of Master Latimer before the commissioners.

This sentence being published by the bishop of Lincoln, Master Ridley was committed as a prisoner to the mayor, and immediately Master Latimer was sent for: but in the mean season the carpet or cloth which lay upon the table whereat Master Ridley stood, was removed, because (as men reported) Master Latimer had never the degree of a doctor, as Master Ridley had. But eftsoons as Master Latimer appeared, as he did the day before, perceiving no cloth upon the table, he laid his hat, which was an old felt, under his elbows, and immediately spake to the commissioners, saying:

Latimer.—"My Lords, I beseech your Lordships to set a better order here at your entrance: for I am an old man, and have a very evil back, so that the press of the multitude doth me much harm."

Lincoln.—"I am sorry, Master Latimer, for your hurt. At your departure we will see to better order."

With that Master Latimer thanked his Lordship, making a very low courtesy. After this the bishop of Lincoln began on this manner:

Lincoln.—"Master Latimer, although yesterday after we had taken your answers to those articles which we proposed, we might have justly proceeded to judgment against you, especially in that you required the same, yet we, having a good hope of your returning, desiring not your destruction, but rather that you would recant, revoke your errors, and turn to the catholic church, deferred further process till this day; and now, according to the appointment, we have called you here before us, to hear whether you are content to revoke your heretical assertions and submit yourself to the determination of the church, as we most heartily desire; and I, for my part, as I did yesterday, most earnestly do exhort you: or to know whether you persevere still the man that you were, for the which we would be sorry."

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It seemed that the bishop would have further proceeded, saving that Master Latimer interrupted him, saying:

Latimer.—"Your Lordship often doth repeat the catholic church, as though I should deny the same. No, my Lord, I confess there is a catholic church, to the determination of which I will stand; but not the church which you call catholic, which sooner might be termed diabolic. And whereas you join together the Romish and catholic church, stay there, I pray you. For it is one thing to say Romish church, and another thing to say catholic church: I must use here, in this mine answer, the counsel of Cyprian, who at what time he was ascited before certain bishops that gave him leave to take deliberation and counsel, to try and examine his opinion, he answered them thus: 'In sticking and persevering in the truth, there must no counsel nor deliberation be taken.' And again, being demanded of them sitting in judgment, which was most like to be of the church of Christ, whether he who was persecuted, or they who did persecute? 'Christ,' said he, 'hath foreshowed, that he that doth follow him, must take up his cross and follow him. Christ gave knowledge that the disciples should have persecution and trouble.' How think you then, my Lords, is it like that the see of Rome, which hath been a continual persecutor, is rather the church, or that small flock which hath continually been persecuted of it, even to death? Also the flock of Christ hath been but few in comparison to the residue, and ever in subjection" which he proved, beginning at Noah's time even to the apostles.

Lincoln.—"Your cause and St. Cyprian's is not one, but clean contrary: for he suffered persecution for Christ's sake and the gospel. But you are in trouble for your errors and false assertions, contrary to the word of God and the received truth of the church."

Master Latimer interrupting him, said: "Yes verily, my cause is as good as St. Cyprian's: for his was for the word of God, and so is mine."

But Lincoln goeth forth in his talk: "Also at the beginning and foundation of the church, it could not be but that the apostles should suffer great persecution. Further, before Christ's coming, continually, there were very few which truly served God; but, after his coming, began the time of grace. Then began the church to increase, and was continually augmented, until it came unto this perfection, and now hath justly that jurisdiction which the unchristian princes before by tyranny did resist. There is a diverse consideration of the estate of the church now in the time of grace, and before Christ's coming. But, Master Latimer, although we had instructions given us determinately to take your answer to such articles as we should propose, without any reasoning or disputations, yet we, hoping by talk somewhat to prevail with you, appointed you to appear before us yesterday in the divinity school, a place for disputations. And whereas then, notwithstanding you had licence to say your mind, and were answered to every matter, yet you could not be brought from your errors, we, thinking that from that time ye would with good advisement consider your estate, gave you respite from that time yesterday when we dismissed you, until this time; and now have called you again in this place, by your answers to learn whether you are the same man you were then or no? Therefore we will propose unto you the same articles which we did then, and require of you a determinate answer, without further reasoning" and eftsoons recited the first article.

Latimer.—"Always my protestation saved, that by these mine answers it should not be thought that I did condescend and agree to your Lordships' authority, in that you are legated by authority of the pope, so that thereby I might seem to consent to his jurisdiction—to the first article I answer now, as I did yesterday, that in the sacrament the worthy receiver receiveth the very body of Christ, and drinketh his blood by the Spirit and grace: but, after that corporal being, which the Romish church prescribeth, Christ's body and blood is not in the sacrament under the forms of bread and wine."

The notaries took his answer to be affirmatively. For the second article he referred himself to his answers made before. After this the bishop of Lincoln recited the third article, and required a determinate answer.

Latimer.—"Christ made one oblation and sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, and that a perfect sacrifice; neither needeth there to be any other, neither can there be any other, propitiatory sacrifice."

The notaries took his answer to be affirmatively. In like manner did he answer to the other articles, not varying from his answers made the day before. After his answers were penned of the notaries, and the bishop of Lincoln had exhorted him in like sort to recant, as he did Master Ridley, and revoke his errors and false assertions, and Master Latimer had answered that he neither could nor would deny his Master Christ, and his verity, the bishop of Lincoln desired Master Latimer to hearken to him: and then Master Latimer, hearkening for some new matter and other talk, the bishop of Lincoln read his condemnation; after the publication of the which, the said three bishops brake up their sessions, and dismissed the audience. But Master Latimer required the bishop to perform his promise in saying the day before, that he should have licence briefly to declare the cause, why he refused the pope's authority. But the bishop said that now he could not hear him, neither. ought to talk with him.

Then Master Latimer asked him, whether it were not lawful for him to appeal from this his judgment. And the bishop asked him again to whom he would appeal. "To the next general council," quoth Master Latimer, "which shall be truly called in God's name." With that appellation the bishop was content: but, he said, it would be a long season before such a convocation as he meant would be called.

Then the bishop committed Master Latimer to the mayor, saying, "Now he is your prisoner, Master Mayor." Because the press of the people was not yet diminished, each man looking for further process, the bishop of Lincoln commanded avoidance, and willed Master Latimer to tarry till the press were diminished, lest he should take hurt at his egression, as he did at his entrance. And so continued Bishop Ridley, and Master Latimer, in durance till the sixteenth day of the said month of October.

A communication between Dr. Brooks and Dr. Ridley, in the house of Master Irish, the 15th day of October, at which time he was degraded.

In the mean season, upon the fifteenth day in the morning, and the same year abovesaid, Dr. Brooks, the bishop of Gloucester, and the vice-chancellor of Oxford, Dr. Marshal, with

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divers other of the chief and heads of the same university, and many others accompanying them, came unto Master Irish's house, then mayor of Oxford, where Dr. Ridley, late bishop of London, was close prisoner. And when the bishop of Gloucester came into the chamber where the said Dr. Ridley did lie, he told him for what purpose their coming was unto him, saying, that yet once again the queen's Majesty did offer unto him, by them, her gracious mercy, if that he would receive the same, and come home again to the faith which he was baptized in, and revoke his erroneous doctrine that he of late had taught abroad to the destruction of many. And further said, that if he would not recant and become one of the catholic church with them, then they must needs (against their wills) proceed according to the law, which they would be very loth to do, if they might otherwise.

"But," saith he, "we have been oftentimes with you, and have requested that you would recant this your fantastical and devilish opinion, which hitherto you have not, although you might in so doing win many, and do much good. Therefore, good Master Ridley, consider with yourself the danger that shall ensue, both of body and soul, if that you shall so wilfully cast yourself away in refusing mercy offered unto you at this time."

"My Lord," quoth Dr. Ridley, "you know my mind fully herein; and as for the doctrine which I have taught, my conscience assureth me that it was sound, and according to God's word (to his glory be it spoken); the which doctrine, the Lord God being my helper, I will maintain so long as my tongue shall wag, and breath is within my body, and in confirmation thereof seal the same with my blood."

Gloucester.—"Well, you were best, Master Ridley, not to do so, but to become one of the church with us: for you know this well enough, that whosoever is out of the catholic church, cannot be saved. Therefore I say once again, that while you have time and mercy offered you, receive it, and confess with us the pope's Holiness to be the chief head of the same church."

Ridley.—"I marvel that you will trouble me with any such vain and foolish talk. You know my mind concerning the usurped authority of that Romish antichrist. As I confessed openly in the schools, so do I now, that both by my behaviour and talk I do no obedience at all unto the bishop of Rome, nor to his usurped authority, and that for divers good and godly considerations."

And here Dr. Ridley would have reasoned with the said Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, of the bishop of Rome's authority, but could not be suffered, and yet he spake so earnestly against the pope therein, that the bishop told him, if he would not hold his peace, he should be compelled against his will. "And seeing," saith he, "that you will not receive the queen's mercy now offered unto you, but stubbornly refuse the same, we must, against our wills, proceed according to our commission to degrading, taking from you the dignity of priesthood. For we take you for no bishop, and therefore we will the sooner have done with you. So, committing you to the secular power, you know what doth follow."

Ridley.—"Do with me as it shall please God to suffer you, I am well content to abide the same with all my heart."

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Gloucester.—"Put off your cap, Master Ridley, and put upon you this surplice."

Ridley.—"Not I, truly."

Gloucester.—"But you must."

Ridley.—"I will not."

Gloucester.—"You must therefore make no more ado, but put this surplice upon you."

Ridley.—"Truly, if it come upon me, it shall be against my will."

Gloucester.—"Will you not do it upon you?"

Ridley.—"No, that I will not."

Gloucester.—"It shall be put upon you by one or other."

Ridley.—"Do therein as it shall please you; I am well contented with that, and more than that; the servant is not above his master. If they dealt so cruelly with our Saviour Christ, as the Scripture maketh mention, and he suffered the same patiently, how much more doth it become us his servants."

And in saying of these words, they put upon the said Dr. Ridley the surplice, with all the trinkets appertaining to the mass. And as they were putting on the same, Dr. Ridley did vehemently inveigh against the Romish bishop, and all that foolish apparel, calling him antichrist, and the apparel foolish and abominable, yea, too fond for a vice in a play, insomuch that Bishop Brooks was exceeding angry with him, and bade him hold his peace, for he did but rail. Dr. Ridley answered him again, and said, so long as his tongue and breath would suffer him, he would speak against their abominable doings, whatsoever happened unto him for so doing.

Gloucester.—"Well, you were best to hold your peace, lest your mouth be stopped."

At which words one Edridge, the reader then of the Greek lecture, standing by, said to Dr. Brooks; "Sir, the law is, he should be gagged; therefore let him be gagged." At which words Dr. Ridley, looking earnestly upon him that so said, wagged his head at him, and made no answer again, but with a sigh said, "Oh, well, well, well!" So they proceeded in their doings, yet nevertheless Dr. Ridley was ever talking things not pleasant to their ears, although one or other bade him hold his peace, lest he should be caused against his will.

When they came to that place where Dr. Ridley should hold the chalice and the wafer-cake, called the singing-bread, they bade him hold the same in his hands. And Dr. Ridley said, "They shall not come in my hands; for, if they do, they shall fall to the ground for all me." Then there was one appointed to hold them in his hand, while Bishop Brooks read a certain thing in Latin, touching the degradation, of spiritual persons according to the pope's law.

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Afterward they put a book in his hand, and withal read (as is before said) a certain thing in Latin, the effect whereof was "We do take from you the office of preaching the gospel," &c. At which words Dr. Ridley gave a great sigh, looking up towards heaven, saying, "O Lord God, forgive them this their wickedness!" And as they put upon him the mass-gear, so they began with the uppermost garment, in taking it away again, reading a thing in Latin, according to the order contained in the said book of the pope's law. Now when all was taken from him, saving only the surplice left on his back, as they were reading and taking it away, Dr. Ridley said unto them, "Lord God, what power be you of, that you can take from a man that which he never had! I was never singer in all my life, and yet you will take from me that which I never had."

So when all this their abominable and ridiculous degradation was ended very solemnly, Dr. Ridley said unto Dr. Brooks, "Have you done? If you have done, then give me leave to talk with you a little concerning these matters." Brooks answered and said, "Master Ridley, we may not talk with you; you be out of the church, and our law is, that we may not talk with any that be out of the church." Then Master Ridley said, "Seeing that you will not suffer me to talk, neither will vouchsafe to hear me, what remedy but patience? I refer my cause to my heavenly Father, who will reform things that be amiss, when it shall please him." At which words they would have been gone, but Master Ridley said, "My Lord, I would wish that your Lordship would vouchsafe to read over and peruse a little book of Bertram's doings, concerning the sacrament. I promise you, you shall find much good learning therein, if you will read the same with an indifferent judgment." Dr. Brooks made no answer to this, but would have been gone away. Then Master Ridley said.

"Oh, I perceive that you cannot away with this manner of talk. Well! it boots not, I will say no more, I will speak of worldly affairs. I pray you therefore, my Lord, hear me, and be a mean to the queen's Majesty, in the behalf of a great many of poor men, and especially for my poor sister and her husband which standeth there. They had a poor living granted unto them by me, whiles I was in the see of London, and the same is taken away from them, by him that now occupieth the same room, without all law or conscience. Here I have a supplication to the queen's Majesty in their behalves. You shall hear the same read, so shall you perceive the matter the better."

Then he read the same and, when he came to the place in the supplication, that touched his sister by name, then he wept, so that for a little space he could not speak for weeping. After that he had left off weeping, said, "This is nature that moveth me: but I have now done." And with that read out the rest, and delivered the same to his brother, commanding him to put it up to the queen's Majesty, and to sue, not only for himself, but also for such as had any leases or grants by him, and were put from the same by Dr. Bonner, then bishop of London. Whereunto Brooks said, "Indeed Master Ridley, your request in this supplication is very lawful and honest: therefore I must needs in conscience speak to the queen's Majesty for them."

Ridley.—"I pray you, for God's sake, do so."

Gloucester.—"I think your request will be granted, except one thing let it, and that is, I fear, because you do not allow the queen's proceedings, but obstinately withstand the same, that it will hardly be granted."

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Ridley.—"What remedy? I can do no more but speak and write. I trust I have discharged my conscience therein; and God's will be done."

Gloucester.—"I will do what lieth in me."

The copy of this supplication written to the queen here followeth.

"May it please your Majesty, for Christ our Saviour's sake, in a matter of conscience (and now not for myself, but for other poor men) to vouchsafe to hear and understand this humble supplication. It is so, honourable princess, that in the time whiles I was in the ministry of the see of London, divers poor men, tenants thereof, have taken new leases of their tenantries and holdings, and some have renewed and changed their old, and therefore have paid fines and sums of money, both to me, and also to the chapter of Paul's, for the confirmation of the same.

"Now, I hear say, that the bishop which occupieth the same room now, will not allow the foresaid leases, which must redound to many poor men's utter ruin and decay. Wherefore this is mine humble supplication unto your honourable Grace, that it may please the same, for Christ's sake, to be unto the foresaid poor men their gracious patroness and defender, either that they may enjoy their foresaid leases and years renewed, as I suppose when their matter shall be heard with conscience, both justice, conscience, and equity shall require, for that their leases shall be found (I trust) made without fraud or cunning, either of their part, or of mine, and always also the old rents reserved to the see without any kind of damage thereof: or if this will not be granted, then that it may please your gracious Highness, to command that the poor men may be restored to their former leases and years, and to have rendered to them again such sums of money as they paid to me and to the chapter for their leases and years, so now taken from them. Which thing concerning the fines paid to me, may be easily done, if it shall please your Majesty to command some portion of those goods which I left in my house when I fled in hope of pardon for my trespass towards your Grace, which goods (as I have heard) be yet reserved in the same house. I suppose that half of the value of my plate that I left in mine offices, and specially in an iron chest in my bedchamber, will go nigh to restore all such fines received, the true sums and parcels whereof are not set in their leases; and therefore, if that way shall please your Highness, they must be known by such ways and means as your Majesty, by the advice of men of wisdom and conscience, shall appoint: but yet, for Christ's sake, I crave and most humbly beseech your Majesty, of your most gracious pity and mercy, that the former way may take place.

"I have also a poor sister that came to me out of the north, with three fatherless children, for her relief, whom I married after to a servant of mine own house: she is put out of that I did provide for them. I beseech your honourable Grace, that her case may be mercifully considered, and that the rather, in contemplation that I never had of him, which suffered in durance at my entrance into the see of London, not one penny of his movable goods; for it was almost half a year after his deposition, afore I entered into that place: yea and also, if any were left, known to be his, he had licence to carry it away, or there for his use it did lie safe, as his officers do know. I paid for the lead which I found there, when I occupied any of it to the behoof of the church, or of the house. And moreover, I had not only no part of his movable goods, but also (as his old receiver, and then mine, called Master Stanton, can testify) I paid for him towards his servants' common liveries and wages, after his deposition, fifty-three or fifty-five pounds, I cannot tell

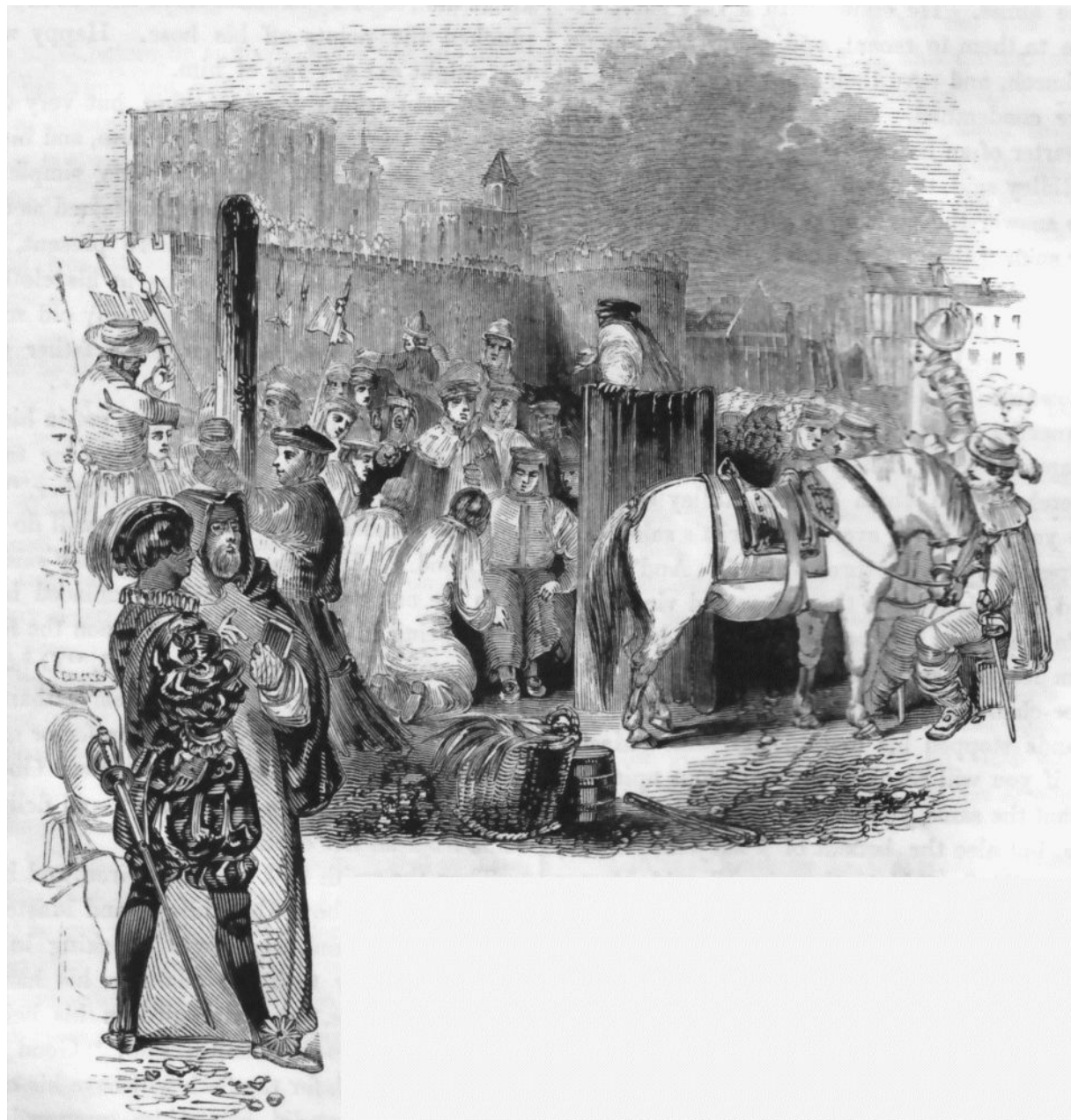
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whether. In all these matters I beseech your honourable Majesty to hear the advice of men of conscience, and in especial the archbishop of York, who, for that he was continually in my house a year and more, before mine imprisonment, I suppose is not altogether ignorant of some part of these things; and also his Grace doth know my sister, for whose succour and some relief, now unto your Highness I make most humble suit. The sixteenth of October, anno 1555.

"NICHOLAS RIDLEY."

This degradation being past, and all things finished, Dr. Brooks called the bailiffs, delivering to them Master Ridley with this charge, to keep him safely from any man speaking with him, and that he should be brought to the place of execution when they were commanded. Then Master Ridley in praising God, burst out with these words, and said, "God, I thank thee, and to thy praise be it spoken, there is none of you all able to lay to my charge any open or notorious crime: for if you could, it should surely be laid in my lap, I see very well." Whereunto Brooks said, he played the part of a proud Pharisee, exalting and praising himself. But Master Ridley said, "No, no, no, as I have said before, to God's glory be it spoken. I confess myself to be a miserable wretched sinner, and have great need of God's help and mercy, and do daily call and cry for the same: therefore, I pray you, have no such opinion of me." Then they departed, and in going away a certain warden of a college, of whose name I am not very sure, bade Dr. Ridley repent him, and forsake that erroneous opinion. Whereunto Master Ridley said, "Sir, repent you, for you are out of the truth. And I pray God (if it be his blessed will) have mercy upon you, and grant you the understanding of his word." Then the warden, being in a chafe thereat, said, "I trust that I shall never be of your erroneous and devilish opinion, neither yet to be in that place whither you shall go. He is," saith he, "the most obstinate and wilful man that ever I heard talk since I was born."

321. The Execution of Ridley and Latimer



The Execution of Ridley and Latimer

The behaviour of Dr. Ridley at his supper, the night before his suffering.

The night before he suffered, his beard was washed and his legs; and, as he sat at supper, the same night, at Master Irish's, (who was his keeper,) he bade his hostess, and the rest at the

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board, to his marriage; "for," said he, "to-morrow I must be married" and so showed himself to be as merry as ever he was at any time before. And wishing his sister at his marriage, he asked his brother, sitting at the table, whether she could find in her heart to be there or no. And he answered, "Yea, I dare say, with all her heart" at which word he said, he was glad to hear of her so much therein. So at this talk Mistress Irish wept.

But Master Ridley comforted her, and said, "O Mrs. Irish, you love me not now, I see well enough for in that you weep, it doth appear you will not be at my marriage, neither are content therewith. Indeed you be not so much my friend, as I thought you had been. But quiet yourself: though my breakfast shall be somewhat sharp and painful, yet I am sure my supper shall be more pleasant and sweet," &c.

When they arose from the table, his brother offered him to watch all night with him. But he said, "No no, that you shall not. For I mind (God willing) to go to bed, and to sleep as quietly tonight, as ever I did in my life." So his brother departed, exhorting him to be of good cheer, and to take his cross quietly, for the reward was great, &c.

The behaviour of Dr. Ridley and Master Latimer, at the time of their death, which was the sixteenth of October, 1555.

Upon the north side of the town, in the ditch over against Balliol college, the place of execution was appointed: and for fear of any tumult that might arise, to let the burning of them, the Lord Williams was commanded, by the queen's letters, and the householders of the city, to be there assistant, sufficiently appointed. And when every thing was in a readiness, the prisoners were brought forth by the mayor and the bailiffs.

Master Ridley had a fair black gown furred, and faced with fairs, such as he was wont to wear being bishop, and a tippet of velvet furred likewise about his neck, a velvet night-cap upon his head, and a corner cap upon the same, going in a pair of slippers to the stake, and going between the mayor and an alderman, &c.

After him came Master Latimer in a poor Bristol frieze frock all worn, with his buttoned cap, and a kerchief on his head, all ready to the fire, a new long shroud hanging over his hose, down to the feet: which at the first sight stirred men's hearts to rue upon them, beholding on the one side, the honour they sometime had, and on the other, the calamity whereunto they were fallen.

Master Doctor Ridley, as he passed toward Bocardo, looked up where Master Cranmer did lie, hoping belike to have seen him at the glass-window, and to have spoken unto him. But then Master Cranmer was busy with Friar Soto and his fellows, disputing together, so that he could not see him, through that occasion. Then Master Ridley, looking back, espied Master Latimer coming after, unto whom he said, "Oh, be ye there?" "Yea," said Master Latimer, "have after as fast as I can follow." So he, following a pretty way off, at length they came both to the stake, the one after the other, where first Dr. Ridley entering the place, marvellous earnestly holding up both his hands, looked towards heaven. Then shortly after espying Master Latimer, with a wondrous cheerful look he ran to him, embraced, and kissed him; and, as they that stood

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near reported, comforted him, saying, "Be of good heart, brother, for God will either assuage the fury of the flame or else strengthen us to abide it."

With that went he to the stake, kneeled down by it, kissed it, and effectually prayed, and behind him Master Latimer kneeled, as earnestly calling upon God as he. After they arose, the one talked with the other a little while, till they which were appointed to see the execution, removed themselves out of the sun. What they said I can learn of no man.

Then Dr. Smith, of whose recantation in King Edward's time ye heard before, began his sermon to them upon this text of St. Paul, If I yield my body to the fire to be burnt, and have not charity, I shall gain nothing thereby. Wherein he alleged that the goodness of the cause, and not the order of death, maketh the holiness of the person; which he confirmed by the examples of Judas, and of a woman in Oxford that of late hanged herself, for that they, and such-like as he recited, might then be adjudged righteous, which desperately sundered their lives from their bodies, as he feared that those men that stood before him would do. But he cried still to the people to beware of them, for they were heretics, and died out of the church. And on the other side, he declared their diversity in opinions, as Lutherans, Ecolampadians, Zuinglians, of which sect they were, he said, and that was the worst: but the old church of Christ, and the catholic faith, believed far otherwise. At which place they lifted up both their hands and eyes to heaven, as it were calling God to witness of the truth: the which countenance they made in many other places of his sermon, where they thought he spake amiss. He ended with a very short exhortation to them to recant, and come home again to the church, and save their lives and souls, which else were condemned. His sermon was scant; in all, a quarter of an hour.

Dr. Ridley said to Master Latimer, "Will you begin to answer the sermon, or shall I?" Master Latimer said, "Begin you first, I pray you." "I will," said Master Ridley.

Then, the wicked sermon being ended, Dr. Ridley and Master Latimer kneeled down upon their knees towards my Lord Williams of Thame, the vice-chancellor of Oxford, and divers other commissioners appointed for that purpose, who sat upon a form thereby; unto whom Master Ridley said, "I beseech you, my Lord, even for Christ's sake, that I may speak but two or three words." And whilst my Lord bent his head to the mayor and vice-chancellor, to know (as it appeared) whether he might give him leave to speak, the bailiffs and Dr. Marshal, vice-chancellor, ran hastily unto him, and with their hands stopped his mouth, and said, "Master Ridley, if you will revoke your erroneous opinions, and recant the same, you shall not only have liberty so to do, but also the benefit of a subject; that is, have your life." "Not otherwise?" said Master Ridley. "No," quoth Dr. Marshal. "Therefore if you will not so do, then there is no remedy but you must suffer for your deserts." "Well," quoth Master Ridley, "so long as the breath is in my body, I will never deny my Lord Christ, and his known truth: God's will be done in me!" And with that he rose up, and said with a loud voice, "Well then, I commit our cause to Almighty God, which shall indifferently judge all." To whose saying, Master Latimer added his old posy, "Well! there is nothing hid but it shall be opened." And he said, he could answer Smith well enough, if he might be suffered.

Incontinently they were commanded to make them ready, which they with all meekness obeyed. Master Ridley took his gown and his tippet, and gave it to his brother-in-law Master

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Shipside, who all his time of imprisonment, although he might not be suffered to come to him, lay there at his own charges to provide him necessaries, which from time to time he sent him by the serjeant that kept him. Some other of his apparel that was little worth, he gave away; other the bailiffs took.

He gave away besides, divers other small things to gentlemen standing by, and divers of them pitifully weeping, as to Sir Henry Lea he gave a new groat; and to divers of my Lord Williams's gentlemen some napkins, some nutmegs, and rases of ginger; his dial, and such other things as he had about him, to every one that stood next him. Some plucked the points off his hose. Happy was he that might get any rag of him.

Master Latimer gave nothing, but very quietly suffered his keeper to pull off his hose, and his other array, which to look unto was very simple: and being stripped into his shroud, he seemed as comely a person to them that were there present, as one should lightly see; and whereas in his clothes he appeared a withered and crooked silly old man, he now stood bolt upright, as comely a father as one might lightly behold.

Then Master Ridley, standing as yet in his truss, said to his brother, "It were best for me to go in my truss still." "No," quoth his brother, "it will put you to more pain: and the truss will do a poor man good." Whereunto Master Ridley said, "Be it, in the name of God;" and so unlaced himself. Then, being in his shirt, he stood upon the foresaid stone, and held up his hand and said, "O heavenly Father, I give unto thee most hearty thanks, for that thou hast called me to be a professor of thee, even unto death. I beseech thee, Lord God, take mercy upon this realm of England, and deliver the same from all her enemies."

Then the smith took a chain of iron, and brought the same about both Dr. Ridley's and Master Latimer's middle: and, as he was knocking in a staple, Dr. Ridley took the chain in his hand, and shook the same, for it did gird in his belly, and looking aside to the smith, said, "Good fellow, knock it in hard, for the flesh will have his course." Then his brother did bring him gunpowder in a bag, and would have tied the same about his neck. Master Ridley asked what it was. His brother said, "Gunpowder." "Then," said he, "I will take it to be sent of God; therefore I will receive it as sent of him. And have you any," said he, "for my brother;" meaning Master Latimer. "Yea, sir, that I have," quoth his brother. "Then give it unto him," said he, betime; lest ye come too late." So his brother went, and carried off the same gunpowder unto Master Latimer.

In the mean time Dr. Ridley spake unto my Lord Williams, and said, "My Lord, I must be a suitor unto your Lordship in the behalf of divers poor men, and specially in the cause of my poor sister: I have made a supplication to the queen's Majesty in their behalfs. I beseech your Lordship, for Christ's sake, to be a mean to her Grace for them. My brother here hath the supplication, and will resort to your Lordship to certify you hereof. There is nothing in all the world that troubleth my conscience, I praise God, this only excepted. Whilst I was in the see of London, divers poor men took leases of me, and agreed with me for the same. Now I hear say the bishop that now occupieth the same room, will not allow my grants unto them made, but, contrary unto all law and conscience, hath taken from them their livings, and will not suffer them

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to enjoy the same. I beseech you, my Lord, be a mean for them: you shall do a good deed, and God will reward you."

Then they brought a faggot, kindled with fire, and laid the same down at Dr. Ridley's feet. To whom Master Latimer spake in this manner "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man. We shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out."

And so the fire being given unto them, when Dr. Ridley saw the fire flaming up towards him, he cried with a wonderful loud voice, *In manus teas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum: Domine recipe spiritum meum*. And after, repeated this latter part often in English, "Lord, Lord, receive my spirit;" Master Latimer crying as vehemently on the other side, "O Father of heaven, receive my soul!" who received the flame as it were embracing of it. After that he had stroked his face with his hands, and as it were bathed them a little in the fire, he soon died (as it appeareth) with very little pain or none. And thus much concerning the end of this old and blessed servant of God, Master Latimer, for whose laborious travails, fruitful life, and constant death, the whole realm hath cause to give great thanks to Almighty God.

But Master Ridley, by reason of the evil making of the fire unto him, because the wooden faggots were laid about the gorse, and over-high built, the fire burned first beneath, being kept down by the wood; which when he felt, he desired them for Christ's sake to let the fire come unto him. Which when his brother-in-law heard, but not well understood, intending to rid him out of his pain, (for the which cause he gave attendance,) as one in such sorrow not well advised what he did, heaped faggots upon him, so that he clean covered him, which made the fire more vehement beneath, that it burned clean all his nether parts, before it once touched the upper; and that made him leap up and down under the faggots, and often desire them to let the fire come unto him, saying, "I cannot burn." Which indeed appeared well; for, after his legs were consumed by reason of his struggling through the pain, (whereof he had no release, but only his contentation in God,) he showed that side toward us clean, shirt and all untouched with flame. Yet in all this torment he forgot not to call unto God still, having in his mouth, "Lord, have mercy upon me," intermingling his cry, "Let the fire come unto me, I cannot burn." In which pangs he laboured till one of the standers-by with his bill pulled off the faggots above, and where he saw the fire flame up, he wrested himself unto that side. And when the flame touched the gunpowder, he was seen to stir no more, but burned on the other side, falling down at Master Latimer's feet; which, some said, happened by reason that the chain loosed; others said, that he fell over the chain by reason of the poise of his body, and the weakness of the nether limbs.

Some said, that before he was like to fall from the stake, he desired them to hold him to it with their bills. However it was, surely it moved hundreds to tears in beholding the horrible sight; for I think there was none that had not clean exiled all humanity and mercy, which would not have lamented to behold the fury of the fire so to rage upon their bodies. Signs there were of sorrow on every side. Some took it grievously to see their deaths, whose lives they held full dear: some pitied their persons, that thought their souls had no need thereof. His brother moved many men, seeing his miserable case, seeing (I say) him compelled to such infelicity, that he thought then to do him best service, when he hastened his end. Some cried out of the fortune, to see his endeavour (who most dearly loved him, and sought his release) turn to his greater vexation and

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increase of pain. But whoso considered their preferments in time past, the places of honour that they some time occupied in this commonwealth, the favour they were in with their princes, and the opinion of learning they had in the university where they studied, could not choose but sorrow with tears, to see so great dignity, honour, and estimation, so necessary members sometime accounted, so many godly virtues, the study of so many years, such excellent learning, to be put into the fire, and consumed in one moment. Well! dead they are, and the reward of this world they have already. What reward remaineth for them in heaven, the day of the Lord's glory, when he cometh with his saints, shall shortly, I trust, declare.

322. Treatises of Dr. Ridley

Albeit I have deferred and put over many treatises, letters, and exhortations, belonging to the story of the martyrs, unto the latter Appendix in the end of these volumes; thinking also to have done the like with these farewells and exhortations following of Bishop Ridley, yet, for certain purposes moving me thereunto, and especially considering the fruitful admonitions, wholesome doctrine, and necessary exhortations contained in the same, I thought best here to bestow, and consequently to adjoin the said tractations of that learned pastor, with the life and story of the author; whereof the two first be in a manner his farewells, the one to his kinsfolk, and generally to all the faithful of the number of Christ's congregation: the other more special to the prisoners and banished Christians in the gospel's cause: the third containeth a fruitful and a general admonition to the city of London, and to all others, with necessary precepts of Christian office, as by the tenor of them here followeth in order to be seen.

A Treatise or Letter written by Dr. Ridley, instead of his last farewell, to all his true and faithful friends in God; with a sharp admonition withal unto the papists.

"At the name of Jesus let every knee bow, both of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth; and let every tongue confess, that Jesus Christ is the Lord, unto the glory of God the Father, Amen.

"As a man minding to take a far journey, and to depart from his familiar friends, commonly and naturally hath a desire to bid his friends farewell before his departure, so likewise now I, looking daily when I should be called to depart hence from you—O all ye, my dearly beloved brethren and sisters in our Saviour Christ, that dwell here in this world—having like mind towards you all—and blessed be God for such time and leisure, whereof I right heartily thank his heavenly goodness—to bid you all, my dear brethren and sisters (I say) in Christ, that dwell upon the earth, after such manner as I can, farewell.

"Farewell, my dear brother George Shippeside, whom I have ever found faithful, trusty, and loving in all states and conditions; and now, in the time of my cross, over all others to me most friendly and stedfast, and that which liked me best over all other things, in God's cause ever hearty.

"Farewell, my dear sister Alice his wife. I am glad to hear of thee, that thou dost take Christ's cross, which is laid now (blessed be God) both on thy back and mine, in good part. Thank thou God, that hath given thee a godly and loving husband: see thou honour him and obey him, according to God's law. Honour thy mother-in-law his mother, and love all those that pertain unto him, being ready to do them good, as it shall lie in thy power. As for thy children, I doubt not of thy husband, but that he which hath given him an heart to love and fear God, and in God them that, pertain unto him, shall also make him friendly and beneficial unto thy children, even as if they had been gotten of his own body.

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"Farewell, my dearly beloved brother John Ridley of the Waltoune, and you my gentle and loving sister Elizabeth, whom, besides the natural league of amity, your tender love, which you were said ever to bear towards me above the rest of your brethren, doth bind me to love. My mind was to have acknowledged this your loving affection, and to have requited it with deeds, and not with words alone. Your daughter Elizabeth I bid farewell, whom I love for the meek and gentle spirit that God hath given her, which is a precious thing in the sight of God.

"Farewell, my beloved sister of Unthank, with all your children, my nephews and nieces. Since the departure of my brother Hugh, my mind was to have been unto them instead of their father, but the Lord God must and will be their Father, if they would love and fear him, and live in the trade of his law.

"Farewell, my well-beloved and worshipful cousins, Master Nicholas Ridley of Willymountswike, and your wife, and I thank you for all your kindness showed both to me, and also to all your own kinsfolk and mine. Good cousin, as God hath set you in our stock and kindred, (not for any respect of your person, but of his abundant grace and goodness,) to be as it were the bell-wether to order and conduct the rest, and hath also indued you with his manifold gifts of grace, both heavenly and worldly, above others: so I pray you, good cousin, (as my trust and hope is in you,) continue and increase in the maintenance of the truth, honesty, righteousness, and all true godliness; and to the uttermost of your power, to withstand falsehood, untruth, unrighteousness, and all ungodliness, which is forbidden and condemned by the word and laws of God.

"Farewell, my young cousin Ralph Whitfield. Oh! your time was very short with me. My mind was to have done you good, and yet you caught in that little time a loss: but I trust it shall be recompensed, as it shall please Almighty God.

"Farewell, all my whole kindred and countrymen; farewell in Christ altogether. The Lord, which is the searcher of secrets, knoweth that according to my heart's desire, my hope was of late that I should have come among you, and to have brought with me abundance of Christ's blessed gospel, according to the duty of that office and ministry, whereunto among you I was chosen, named, and appointed by the mouth of that our late peerless prince, King Edward, and so also announced openly in his court, by his privy council.

"I warn you all, my well-beloved kinsfolk and countrymen, that ye be not amazed nor astonished at the kind of my departure or dissolution: for I assure you, I think it the most honour that ever I was called unto in all my life: and therefore I thank my Lord God heartily for it, that it hath pleased him to call me of his great mercy unto this high honour, to suffer death willingly for his sake and his cause; unto the which honour he hath called the holy prophets, and dearly beloved apostles, and his blessed chosen martyrs. For know ye that I doubt no more, but that the causes wherefore I am put to death, are God's causes, and the causes of the truth, than I doubt that the Gospel which John wrote is the gospel of Christ, or that Paul's Epistles are the very word of God. And to have a heart willing to abide, and stand in God's cause, and in Christ's quarrel even unto death, I assure thee, O man, it is an inestimable and an honourable gift of God, given only to the true elect, and dearly beloved children of God, and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven. For the holy apostle and also martyr in Christ's cause, St. Peter, saith, If ye suffer rebuke

in the name of Christ, (that is, in Christ's cause, and for his truth's sake,) then are ye happy and blessed, for the glory of the Spirit of God resteth upon you. If for rebuke's sake, suffered in Christ's name, a man is pronounced by the mouth of that holy apostle blessed and happy; how much more happy and blessed is he that hath the grace to suffer death also! Wherefore, all ye that be my true lovers and friends, rejoice, and rejoice with me again, and render with me hearty thanks to God our heavenly Father, that for his Son's sake, my Saviour and Redeemer Christ, he hath vouchsafed to call me, being else without his gracious goodness, in myself but a sinful and vile wretch, to call me (I say) unto this high dignity of his true prophets, of his faithful apostles, and of his holy elect and chosen martyrs; that is, to die and to spend this temporal life in the defence and maintenance of his eternal and everlasting truth.

"Ye know, that be my countrymen dwelling upon the borders, (where, alas! the true man suffereth oftentimes much wrong at the thief's hand,) if it chance a man so to be slain of a thief, as it often chanceth there, which went out with his neighbour to help him to rescue his goods again, that the more cruelly he be slain, and the more stedfastly he stuck by his neighbour in the fight against the face of the thief, the more favour and friendship shall all his posterity have for the slain man's sake, of all them that be true, as long as the memory of his fact and his posterity doth endure: even so ye that be my kinsfolk and countrymen, know ye (howsoever the blind, ignorant, and wicked world hereafter shall rail upon my death, which thing they cannot do worse than their fathers did, of the death of Christ our Saviour, of his holy prophets, apostles, and martyrs): know ye, I say, that both before God, and all them that be godly, and that truly know, and follow the laws of God, ye have, and shall have, by God's grace, ever cause to rejoice, and to thank God highly, and to think good of it, and in God [to] rejoice of me, your flesh and blood, whom God of his goodness hath vouchsafed to associate unto the blessed company of his holy martyrs in heaven. And I doubt not in the infinite goodness of my Lord God, nor in the faithful fellowship of his elect and chosen people, but at both their hands in my cause, ye shall rather find the more favour and grace: for the Lord saith, that he will be both to them and theirs that love him, the more loving again in a thousand generations; the Lord is so full of mercy to them (I say) and theirs which do love him indeed. And Christ saith again, that no man can show more love, than to give his life for his friend.

"Now also know ye, all my true lovers in God, my kinsfolk and countrymen, that the cause wherefore I am put to death, is even after the same sort and condition, but touching more near God's cause, and in more weighty matters, but in the general kind all one: for both are God's cause, both are in the maintenance of right, and both for the commonwealth, and both for the weal also of the Christian brother, although yet there is in these two no small difference, both concerning the enemies, the goods stolen, and the manner of the fight. For, know ye all, that like as there, when the poor true man is robbed by the thief of his own goods truly gotten, (whereupon he and his household shall live,) he I greatly wronged, and the thief in stealing and robbing with violence the poor man's goods, doth offend God, doth transgress his law, and is injurious both to the poor man, and to the commonwealth: so, I say, know ye all that even here in the cause of my death, it is with the Church of England, I mean the congregation of the true chosen children of God in this realm of England, which I acknowledge not only to be my neighbours, but rather the congregation of my spiritual brethren and sisters in Christ, yea, members of one body, wherein, by God's grace, I am and have been grafted in Christ. This Church of England hath of late, of the infinite goodness and abundant grace of Almighty God,

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great substance, great riches of heavenly treasure, great plenty of God's true sincere word, the true and wholesome administration of Christ's holy sacraments, the whole profession of Christ's religion truly and plainly set forth in baptism, the plain declaration and understanding of the same, taught in the holy catechism, to have been learned of all true Christians.

"This church had also a true and sincere form and manner of the Lord's supper, wherein, according to Jesus Christ's own ordinance and holy institution, Christ's commandments were executed and done. For upon the bread and wine set upon the Lord's table, thanks were given; the commemoration of the Lord's death was had; the bread, in the remembrance of Christ's body torn upon the cross, was broken, and the cup, in the remembrance of Christ's blood shed, was distributed, and both communicated unto all that were present and would receive them; and also they were exhorted of the minister so to do.

"All was done openly in the vulgar tongue, so that every thing might be most easily heard, and plainly understood of all the people, to God's high glory, and the edification of the whole church. This church had of late the whole divine service, all common and public prayers ordained to be said and heard in the common congregation, not only framed and fashioned to the true vein of Holy Scripture, but also set forth according to the commandment of the Lord, and St. Paul's doctrine, for the people's edification, in their vulgar tongue.

"It had also holy and wholesome homilies in commendation of the principal virtues which are commended in Scripture: and likewise other homilies against the most pernicious and capital vices that use, alas! to reign in this realm of England. This church had in matters of controversy, articles so penned and framed after the Holy Scriptures, and grounded upon the true understanding of God's word, that in short time if they had been universally received, they should have been able to have set in Christ's church, much concord and unity in Christ's true religion, and to have expelled many false errors and heresies, wherewith this church, alas! was almost overgone.

"But, alas! of late, into this spiritual possession of the heavenly treasure of these godly riches, are entered in thieves, that have robbed and spoiled all this treasure away. I may well complain on these things, and cry out upon them with the prophet, saying, O Lord God, the Gentiles, heathen nations, are come into thy heritage: they have defiled thy holy temple, and made Jerusalem a heap of stones; that is, they have broken and beaten down to the ground thy holy city. This heathenish generation, these thieves, be of Samaria; these Sabæi and Chaldæi, these robbers, have rushed out of their dens, and have robbed the Church of England of all the foresaid holy treasure of God; they have carried it away, and overthrown it, and, instead of God's holy word, the true and right administration of Christ's holy sacraments, (as of baptism and others,) they mixed their ministry with man's foolish fantasies, and many wicked and ungodly traditions withal.

"Instead of the Lord's holy table, they give the people, with much solemn disguising, a thing which they call their mass; but, in deed and in truth, it is a very masking and mockery of the true supper of the Lord, or rather I may call it a crafty juggling, whereby these false thieves and jugglers have bewitched the minds of the simple people, so that they have brought them from the true worship of God, unto pernicious idolatry, and made them to believe that to be

Christ our Lord and Saviour, which indeed is neither God nor man, nor hath any life in itself, but, in substances, is the creature of bread and wine, and in use of the Lord's table, is the sacrament of Christ's body and blood. And for this holy use, for the which the Lord hath ordained them in his table, to represent unto us his blessed body torn upon the cross for us, and his blood there shed, it pleased him to call them his body and blood; which understanding Christ declareth to be his true meaning, when he saith, Do this in remembrance of me. And again, St. Paul likewise doth set out the same more plainly, speaking of the same sacrament, after the words of consecration, saying, As often as ye shall eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye shall set forth (he meaneth with the same) the Lord's death until his coming again. And here again these thieves have robbed also the people of the Lord's cup, contrary to the plain words of Christ, written in his gospel.

"Now for the common public prayers which were in the vulgar tongue, these thieves have brought in again a strange tongue, whereof the people understand not one word, wherein what do they else, but rob the people of their divine service, wherein they ought to pray together with the minister? And to pray in a strange tongue, what is it, but (as St. Paul calleth it) barbarousness, childishness, unprofitable folly, yea, and plain madness?

"For the godly articles of unity in religion, and for the wholesome homilies, what do these thieves place in the stead of them, but the pope's laws and decrees, lying legends, feigned fables, and miracles to delude and abuse the simplicity of the rude people? Thus this robbery and theft is not only committed, (nay, sacrilege and wicked spoil of heavenly things,) but also in the stead of the same, is brought in and placed the abominable desolation of the tyrant Antiochus, of proud Sennacherib, of the shameless-faced king, and of the Babylonical beast. Unto this robbery, this theft and sacrilege, for that I cannot consent, nor (God willing) ever shall, so long as the breath is in my body, because it is blasphemy against God; high treason unto Christ our heavenly King, Lord, Master, and our only Saviour and Redeemer; for it is plainly contrary to God's word, and to Christ's gospel; it is the subversion of all true godliness, and against the everlasting salvation of mine own soul, and of all my brethren and sisters, whom Christ my Saviour hath so dearly bought, with no less price than with the effusion and shedding forth of his most precious blood. Therefore, all ye my true lovers in God, my kinsfolk and countrymen, for this cause (I say) know ye that I am put to death, which by God's grace I shall willingly take, with hearty thanks to God there-for, in certain hope, without any doubting, to receive at God's hand again, of his free mercy and grace, everlasting life.

"Although the cause of the true man slain of the thief, while helping his neighbour to recover his goods again, and the cause wherefore I am to be put to death, in a generality are both one, (as I said before,) yet know ye that there is no small difference. These thieves against whom I do stand, are much worse than the robbers and thieves of the borders: the goods which they steal are much more precious, and their kinds of fight are far diverse. These thieves are worse, (I say,) for they are more cruel, more wicked, more false, more deceitful and crafty: for those will but kill the body, but these will not stick to kill both body and soul. Those, for the general theft and robbery, be called, and are indeed, thieves and robbers; but these, for their spiritual kind of robbery, are called sacrilegi, as ye would say, church-robbers. They are more wicked: for those go about to spoil men of worldly things, worldly riches, gold and silver, and worldly substance; these go about in the ways of the devil, their ghostly father, to steal from the universal church, and particularly from every man, all heavenly treasure, true faith, true charity, and hope of

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salvation in the blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, yea, to spoil us of our Saviour Jesus Christ, of his gospel, of his heavenly Spirit, and of the heavenly heritage of the kingdom of heaven, so dearly purchased unto us, with the death of our Master and Saviour Christ. These be the goods and godly substance whereupon the Christian before God must live, and without the which he cannot live. These goods, (I say,) these thieves, these church-robbers, go about to spoil us of: the which goods, as, to the man of God, they excel and far pass all worldly treasure; so, to withstand, even unto the death, such thieves as go about to spoil both us and the whole church of such goods, is most high and honourable service done unto God.

"These church-robbers be also much more false, crafty, and deceitful than the thieves upon the borders; for these have not the craft so to commend their theft, that they dare avouch it, and therefore, as acknowledging themselves to be evil, they steal commonly upon the night; they dare not appear at judgments and sessions, where justice is executed; and when they are taken and brought thither, they never hang any man, but they be oft-times hanged for their faults. But these church-robbers can so cloak and colour their spiritual robbery, that they can make people to believe falsehood to be truth, and truth falsehood, good to be evil, and evil good, light to be darkness, and darkness light, superstition to be true religion, and idolatry to be the true worship of God, and that which is in substance the creature of bread and wine, to be none other substance but only the substance of Christ the living Lord, both God and man. And with this their falsehood and craft, they can so juggle and bewitch the understanding of the simple, that they dare avouch it openly in court and in town, and fear neither hanging nor heading, as the poor thieves of the borders do; but, stout and strong like Nimrod, dare condemn to be burned in flaming fire, quick and alive, whosoever will go about to bewray their falsehood.

"The kind of fight against these church-robbers, is also of another sort and kind, than is that which is against the thieves of the borders. For there the true men go forth against them with spear and lance, with bow and bill, and all such kind of bodily weapons as the true men have: but here, as the enemies be of another nature, so the watchmen of Christ's flock, the warriors that fight in the Lord's war, must be armed and fight with another kind of weapons and armour. For here the enemies of God, the soldiers of antichrist, although the battle is set forth against the church by mortal men, being flesh and blood, and nevertheless members of their father the devil, yet for that their grand master is the power of darkness, their members are spiritual wickedness, wicked spirits, spirits of errors, of heresies, of all deceit and ungodliness, spirits of idolatry, superstition, and hypocrisy, which are called of St. Paul principalities and powers, lords of the world, rulers of the darkness of this world, and spiritual subtleties concerning heavenly things, therefore our weapons must be fit and meet to fight against such, not carnal nor bodily weapons, as spear and lance, but spiritual and heavenly: we must fight against such with the armour of God, not intending to kill their bodies, but their errors, their false craft and heresies, their idolatry, superstition, and hypocrisy, and to save (as much as lieth in us) both their bodies and their souls.

"And therefore, as St. Paul teacheth us, we fight not against flesh and blood; that is, we fight not with bodily weapon to kill the man, but with the weapons of God to put to flight his wicked errors and vice, and to save both body and soul. Our weapons therefore are faith, hope, charity, righteousness, truth, patience, prayer unto God; and our sword, wherewith we smite our enemies, beat and batter and bear down all falsehood, is the word of God. With these weapons,

under the banner of the cross of Christ, we do fight, ever having our eye upon our grand Master, Duke, and Captain, Christ; and then we reckon ourselves to triumph and to win the crown of everlasting bliss, when enduring in this battle without any shrinking or yielding to the enemies, after the example of our grand Captain Christ our Master, after the example of his holy prophets, apostles, and martyrs, when (I say) we are slain in our mortal bodies of our enemies, and are most cruelly, and without all mercy, murdered down like a many of sheep. And the more cruel, the more painful, the more vile and spiteful, is the kind of death whereunto we be put, the more glorious in God, the more blessed and happy we reckon, without all doubts, our martyrdom to be.

"And thus much, dear lovers and friends in God, my countrymen and kinsfolk, I have spoken for your comfort, lest of my death (of whose life you looked peradventure sometimes to have had honesty, pleasures, and commodities) ye might be abashed or think any evil: whereas ye have rather cause to rejoice, (if ye love me indeed,) for that it hath pleased God to call me to a greater honour and dignity than ever I did enjoy before, either in Rochester or in the see of London, or ever should have had in the see of Durham, whereunto I was last of all elected and named: yea, I count it greater honour before God indeed to die in his cause, (whereof I nothing doubt,) than is any earthly or temporal promotion or honour that can be given to a man in this world. And who is he that knoweth the cause to be God's, to be Christ's quarrel, and of his gospel, to be the common weal of all the elect and chosen children of God, of all the inheritors of the kingdom of heaven; who is he, (I say,) that knoweth this assuredly by God's word, and the testimony of his own conscience (as I, through the infinite goodness of God, not of myself, but by his grace acknowledge myself to do): who is he (I say) that knoweth this, and both loveth and feareth God in deed and in truth, loveth and believeth his Master Christ and his blessed gospel, loveth his brotherhood, the chosen children of God, and also lusteth and longeth for everlasting life, who is he (I say again) that would not or cannot find in his heart in this cause to be content to die? The Lord forbid that any such should be that should forsake this grace of God. I trust in my Lord God, the God of mercies and the Father of all comfort, through Jesus Christ our Lord, that he which hath put this mind, will, and affection, by his Holy Spirit, in my heart, to stand against the face of the enemy in his cause, and to choose rather the loss of all my worldly substance, yea, and of my life too, than to deny his known truth; that he will comfort me, aid me, and strengthen me evermore, even unto the end, and to the yielding up of my spirit and soul into his holy hands, whereof I most heartily beseech his most holy sacred Majesty, of his infinite goodness and mercy, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

"Now that I have taken my leave of my countrymen and kinsfolk, and the Lord doth lend me life, and giveth me leisure, I will bid my other good friends in God, of other places also, farewell. And whom first or before other, than the university of Cambridge, where I have dwelt longer, found more faithful and hearty friends, received more benefits, (the benefits of my natural parents only excepted,) than ever I did even in mine own native country wherein I was born?

"Farewell, therefore, Cambridge, my loving mother and tender nurse! If I should not acknowledge thy manifold benefits, yea, if I should not for thy benefits at the least love thee again, truly I were to be accounted too ungrate and unkind. What benefits hadst thou ever, that thou usest to give and bestow upon thy best-beloved children, that thou thoughtest too good for me? Thou didst bestow on me all thy school degrees; of thy common offices, the chaplainship of

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the university, the office of the proctorship, and of a common reader. And, of thy private commodities and emoluments in colleges, what was it that thou madest me not partner of? First to be scholar, then to be fellow; and, after my departure from thee, thou calledst me again to a mastership of a right worshipful college. I thank thee, my loving mother, for all this thy kindness, and I pray God that his laws, and the sincere gospel of Christ, may ever be truly taught and faithfully learned in thee.

"Farewell Pembroke hall, of late mine own college, my cure and my charge! What case thou art in now (God knoweth) I know not well. Thou wast ever named since I knew thee, which is not thirty years ago, to be studious, well-learned, and a great setter-forth of Christ's gospel, and of God's true word: so I found thee, and, blessed be God, so I left thee indeed. Woe is me for thee, mine own dear college, if ever thou suffer thyself by any means to be brought from that trade. In thy orchard (the walls, butts, and trees, if they could speak, would bear me witness) I learned without book almost all Paul's Epistles, yea, and I ween all the canonical epistles, save only the Apocalypse: of which study, although in time a great part did depart from me, yet the sweet smell thereof, I trust, I shall carry with me into heaven; for the profit thereof I think I have felt in all my life-time ever after; and I ween of late (whether they abide now or no, I cannot tell) there was that did the like. The Lord grant that this zeal and love toward that part of God's word, which is a key and true commentary to all the Holy Scripture, may ever abide in that college so long as the world shall endure.

"From Cambridge I was called into Kent by the archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, that most reverend father and man of God, and of him by and by sent to the vicar of Herne in East Kent. Wherefore farewell Herne, thou worshipful and wealthy parish, the first cure whereunto I was called to preach God's word. Thou hast heard of my mouth oft-times the word of God preached, not after the popish trade, but after Christ's gospel: oh that the fruit had answered to the seed! And yet I must acknowledge me to be thy debtor for the doctrine of the Lord's supper, which at that time I acknowledge God had not revealed unto me: but, I bless God, in all that godly virtue and zeal of God's word which the Lord, by preaching of his word, did kindle manifestly both in the heart and in the life and works of that godly woman there, my Lady Fiennes: the Lord grant that his word took like effect there in many others more.

"Farewell thou cathedral church of Canterbury, the metropolitane see, whereof once I was a member! To speak things pleasant unto thee I dare not, for danger of conscience, and displeasure of my Lord God; and to say what lieth in my heart were now too much, and I fear were able to do thee now but little good. Nevertheless, for the friendship I have found in some there, and for charity's sake, I wish thee to be washed clean of all worldliness and ungodliness, that thou mayest be found of God after thy name Christ's-church, in deed and in truth.

"Farewell Rochester, sometime my cathedral see, in whom (to say the truth) I did find much gentleness and obedience, and I trust thou wilt not say the contrary, but I did use it to God's glory, and unto thine own profit in God! Oh that thou hadst and mightest have continued and gone forward in the trade of God's law, wherein I did leave thee; then thy charge and burden should not have been so terrible and dangerous, as I suppose verily it is like to be, alas! in the latter day.

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"To Westminster other advertisement in God I have not now to say than I have said before to the cathedral church of Canterbury; and so God give thee of his grace, that thou mayest learn in deed and in truth to please him after his own laws: and thus fare you well!

"O London, London! to whom now may I speak in thee, or whom shall I bid farewell? Shall I speak to the prebendaries of Paul's? Alas! all that loved God's word, and were the true setters-forth thereof, are now (as I hear say) some burnt and slain, some exiled and banished, and some holden in hard prison, and appointed daily to be put to most cruel death for Christ's gospel's sake. As for the rest of them, I know they could never brook me well, nor could I ever in them delight.

"Shall I speak to the see thereof, wherein of late I was placed almost, and not fully, by the space of three years? But what may I say to it, being (as I hear say I am) deposed and expelled by judgment as an unjust usurper of that room. O judgment, judgment! Can this be just judgment, to condemn the chief minister of God's word, the pastor and bishop of the diocese, and never bring him into judgment, that he might have heard what crimes were laid to his charge, nor ever suffer him to have any place or time to answer for himself? Thinkest thou that hereafter, when true justice shall have place, this judgment can ever be allowed either of God or man? Well! as for the cause or whole matter of my deposition, and the spoil of my goods which thou possessest yet, I refer it unto God which is a just judge; and I beseech God, if it be his pleasure, that that which is but my personal wrong, be not laid to thy charge in the latter day: this only I can pray for.

"O thou now wicked and bloody see! why dost thou set up again many altars of idolatry, which by the word of God were justly taken away? Why hast thou overthrown the Lord's table? Why dost thou daily delude thy people, masking in thy masses, instead of the Lord's holy supper, which ought to be common as well (saith Chrysostom, yea, the Lord himself) to the people as to the priest? How darest thou deny to the people of Christ, contrary to his express commandment in the gospel, his holy cup? Why babblest thou to the people the common prayer in a strange tongue, wherein St. Paul commandeth in the Lord's name, that no man should speak before the congregation, except it should be by and by declared in their common tongue, that all might be edified? Nay, hearken, thou whorish bawd of Babylon! thou wicked lamb of antichrist! thou bloody wolf! why slayest thou down, and makest havoc of the prophets of God? Why murderest thou so cruelly Christ's poor silly sheep, which will not hear thy voice, because thou art a stranger, and wilt follow none other but their own pastor Christ's voice? Thinkest thou to escape, or that the Lord will not require the blood of his saints at thy hands? Thy god, which is the work of thy hands, and whom thou sayest thou hast power to make, that thy deaf and dumb god (I say) will not indeed, nor can (although thou art not ashamed to call him thy maker) make thee to escape the revenging hand of the high and Almighty God. But be thou assured, that the living Lord our Saviour and Redeemer, which sitteth on the right hand of his Father in glory, he seeth all thy wicked ways and cruelty done to his dear members, and he will not forget his holy ones; and his hands, O thou whorish drab! shalt thou never escape. Instead of my farewell to thee, now I say Fie upon thee, fie upon thee, filthy drab! and all thy false prophets.

"Yet thou, O London! I may not leave thee thus. Although thy episcopal see, now being joined in league with the seat of Satan, thus hath now both handled me and the saints of God, yet

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I do not doubt but in that great city there may be many privy mourners, which do daily mourn for that mischief, the which never did nor shall consent to that wickedness, but do detest and abhor it as the ways of Satan. But these privy mourners here I will pass by, and bid them farewell with their fellows hereafter, when the place and occasion shall more conveniently require. Among the worshipful of the city, and specially which were in the office of mayoralty, yea, and in other citizens also (whom to name now it shall not be necessary) in the time of my ministry, which was from the latter part of Sir Rowland Hills's year, unto Sir George Barnes's year, and a great part thereof, I do acknowledge that I found no small humanity and gentleness as methought: but (to say the truth) that I do esteem above all other, for true Christian kindness, which is showed in God's cause, and done for his sake. Wherefore, O Dobs, Dobs, alderman and knight! thou in thy year didst win my heart for evermore, for that honourable act, that most blessed work of God, of the erection and setting up of Christ's holy hospitals, and truly religious houses, which by thee and through thee were begun. For thou, like a man of God, when the matter was moved for the relief of Christ's poor silly members to be holpen from extreme misery, hunger, and famine, thy heart, I say, was moved with pity, and as Christ's high honourable officer in that cause, thou calledst together thy brethren the aldermen of the city, before whom thou brakedst the matter for the poor: thou didst plead their cause, yea, and not only in thine own person thou didst set forth Christ's cause, but, to further the matter, thou broughtest me into the council chamber of the city before the aldermen alone, whom thou hadst assembled there together to hear me speak what I could say as an advocate, by office and duty, in the poor men's cause. The Lord wrought with thee, and gave thee the consent of thy brethren; whereby the matter. was brought to the common council, and so to the whole body of the city; by whom, with a uniform consent, it was committed to be drawn, ordered, and devised by a certain number of the most witty citizens and politic, indued also with godliness, and with ready hearts to set forward such a noble act, as could be chosen in all the whole city; and they, like true and faithful ministers both to their city and their Master Christ, so ordered, devised, and brought forth the matter, that thousands of silly poor members of Christ, which else, for extreme hunger and misery, should have famished and perished, shall be relieved, holpen, and brought up, and shall have cause to bless the aldermen of that time, the common council, and the whole body of the city, but specially thee, O Dobs! and those chosen men, by whom this honourable work of God was begun and wrought, and that so long, throughout all ages, as that godly work shall endure; which I pray Almighty God may be ever, unto the world's end. Amen.

"And thou, O Sir George Barnes! the truth is to be confessed to God's glory, and to the good example of others, thou wast in thy year not only a furtherer and continuer of that which before thee by thy predecessor was well begun; but also didst labour so to have perfected the work, that it should have been an absolute thing and perfect spectacle of true charity and godliness unto all Christendom. Thine endeavour was to have set up a House of Occupations, both that all kind of poverty, being able to work, should not have lacked, whereupon profitably they might have been occupied to their own relief, and to the profit and commodity of the commonwealth of the city; and also to have retired thither the poor babes brought up in the hospitals, when they had come to a certain age and strength, and also all those which in the hospitals aforesaid had been cured of their diseases. And to have brought this to pass, thou obtainedst, not without great diligence and labour both of thee, and of thy brethren, and of that godly King Edward, that Christian and peerless prince's hand, his princely place of Bridewell; and what other things to the performance of the same, and under what condition, it is not

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unknown. That this thine endeavour hath not had like success, the fault is not in thee, but in the condition and state of the time, which the Lord of his infinite mercy vouchsafe to amend, when it shall be his gracious will and pleasure.

"Farewell now all ye citizens, that be of God, of what state and condition soever ye be! Undoubtedly in London ye have heard God's word truly preached. My heart's desire and daily prayer shall be for you, as for whom, for my time, I know to my Lord God I am accountable, that ye never swerve, neither for loss of life, nor worldly goods, from God's holy word, and yield unto antichrist: whereupon must needs follow the extreme displeasure of God, and the loss both of your bodies and souls into perpetual damnation for evermore.

"Now that I have gone through the places where I have dwelt any space in the time of my pilgrimage here upon earth, remembering that for the space of King Edward's reign, which was for the time of mine office in the sees of London and Rochester, I was a member of the higher house of the parliament; therefore (seeing my God hath given me leisure, and the remembrance thereof) I will bid my Lords of the temporalty farewell. They shall have no just cause (by God's grace) to take it that I intend to say, in ill part. As for the spiritual prelacy that now is, I have nothing to say to them, except I should repeat again a great part of that I have said before now already, to the see of London. To you therefore, my Lords of the temporalty, will I speak, and this would I have you first to understand, that when I wrote this, I looked daily when I should be called to the change of this life, and thought that this my writing should not come to your knowledge before the time of the dissolution of my body and soul should be expired; and therefore know ye, that I had before mine eyes only the fear of God, and Christian charity toward you, which moved me to write; for of you hereafter I look not in this world either for pleasure or displeasure. If my talk shall do you never so much pleasure or profit you cannot promote me, nor, if I displease you, can ye hurt me or harm me; for I shall be out of your reach. Now therefore, if you fear God, and can be content to hear the talk of him that seeketh nothing at your hands, but to serve God, and to do you good, hearken what I say. I say unto you, as St. Paul saith to the Galatians, I wonder, my Lords, what hath betwitched you, that ye so suddenly are fallen from Christ unto antichrist; from Christ's gospel unto man's traditions; from the Lord that bought you, unto the bishop now of Rome. I warn you of your peril: be not deceived, except you will be found willingly consenters unto your own death. For if you think thus: 'We are laymen; this is a matter of religion; we follow as we are taught and led; if our teachers and governors teach us and lead us amiss, the fault is in them, they shall bear the blame:' My Lords, this is true, I grant you, that both the false teachers, and the corrupt governor, shall be punished for the death of their subject, whom they have falsely taught and corruptly led, yea, and his blood shall be required at their hands: but yet, nevertheless, shall the subject die the death himself also, that is, he shall also be damned for his own sin; for if the blind lead the blind, Christ saith, not the leader only, but, he saith, both, shall fall into the ditch. Shall the synagogue and the senate of the Jews (trow ye) which forsook Christ, and consented to his death, therefore be excused, because Annas and Caiaphas, with the scribes and Pharisees and their clergy, did teach them amiss? (yea, and also Pilate their governor and the emperor's lieutenant by his tyranny did without cause put him to death;) forsooth no, my Lords, no. For notwithstanding that corrupt doctrine, or Pilate's washing of his hands, neither of both shall excuse either that synagogue and seigniory, or Pilate; but at the Lord's hand, for the effusion of that innocent blood, on the latter day all shall drink of the deadly

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whip. Ye are witty, and understand what I mean; therefore I will pass over this, and return to tell you how ye are fallen from Christ to his adversary the bishop of Rome.

"And lest, my Lords, ye may peradventure think, thus barely to call the bishop of Rome Christ's adversary, or (to speak in plain terms) to call him antichrist, that it is done in mine anguish; and that I do but rage, and, as a desperate man, do not care what I say, or upon whom I do rail; therefore that your Lordships may perceive my mind, and thereby understand that I speak the words of truth and sobriety, (as St. Paul said unto Festus,) be it known unto your Lordships all, that as concerning the bishop of Rome, I neither hate the person nor the place. For I assure your Lordships, (the living Lord beareth me witness before whom I speak,) I do think many a good holy man, many martyrs and saints of God, have sat and taught in that place Christ's gospel truly, which therefore justly may be called *apostolici*, that is, true disciples of the apostles; and also that church and congregation of Christians to be a right apostolic church; yea, and that, certain hundred years after the same was first erected and builded upon Christ by the true apostolic doctrine taught by the mouths of the apostles themselves. If ye will know how long that was, and how many hundred years, to be curious in pointing the precise number of the years, I will not be too bold, but thus I say; so long and so many hundred years as that see did truly teach and, preach that gospel, that religion, exercised that power, and ordered every thing by those laws and rules which that see received of the apostles, and (as Tertullian saith) the apostles of Christ, and Christ of God, so long, I say, that see might well have been called Peter and Paul's chair and see, or rather Christ's chair, and the bishop thereof *apostolicus*, or a true disciple and successor of the apostles, and a minister of Christ.

"But since the time that that see hath degenerated from the trade of truth and true religion, the which it received of the apostles at the beginning, and hath preached another gospel, hath set up another religion, hath exercised another power, and hath taken upon it to order and rule the church of Christ by other strange laws, canons, and rules than ever it received of the apostles, or the apostles of Christ, which things it doth at this day, and hath continued so doing (alas, alas) of too, too long a time: since the time (I say) that the state and condition of that see hath thus been changed, in truth it ought of duty and of right to have the names changed both of the see and of the sitter therein. For understand, my Lords, it was neither for the privilege of the place or person thereof, that that see and bishops thereof were called apostolic; but for the true trade of Christ's religion, which was taught and maintained in that see at the first, and of those godly men. And therefore, as truly and justly as that see then, for that true trade of religion, and consanguinity of doctrine with the religion and doctrine of Christ's apostles, was called apostolic; so, as truly and as justly, for the contrariety of religion, and diversity of doctrine from Christ and his apostles, that see and bishop thereof, at this day both ought to be called, and are indeed, antichristian.

"The see is the seat of Satan, and the bishop of the same, that maintaineth the abominations thereof, is antichrist himself indeed. And for the same causes this see at this day is the same which St. John calleth in his Revelation, Babylon, or the whore of Babylon, and spiritual Sodoma and Egypt, the mother of fornications, and of the abominations upon the earth. And with this whore do spiritually meddle, and lie with her, and commit most stinking and abominable adultery before God, all those kings and princes, yea, and all nations of the earth, which do consent to her abominations, and use or practise the same; that is, (of the innumerable multitude of them to rehearse some for examples' sake,) her dispensations, her pardons and

pilgrimages, her invocation of saints, her worshipping of images, her false counterfeit religion in her monkery and friarage, and her traditions, whereby God's laws are defiled; as her massing and false ministering of God's word and the sacraments of Christ, clean contrary to Christ's word and the apostles' doctrine, whereof in particular I have touched something before in my talk had with the see of London, and in other treatises more at large: wherein (if it shall please God to bring the same to light) it shall appear, I trust, by God's grace, plainly to the man of God, and to him whose rule in judgment of religion is God's word, that that religion, that rule and order, that doctrine and faith, which this whore of Babylon, and the beast whereupon she doth sit, maintain at this day with all violence of fire and sword, with spoil and banishment, (according to Daniel's prophecy,) and finally with all falsehood, deceit, hypocrisy, and all kind of ungodliness, are as clean contrary to God's word, as darkness is unto light or light unto darkness, white to black or black to white, or as Belial unto Christ or Christ unto antichrist himself.

"I know, my Lords, and foresaw when I wrote this, that so many of you as should see this my writing, not being before endued with the spirit of grace and the light of God's word, so many (I say) would at these my words lord-like stamp and spurn, and spit thereat. But sober yourselves with patience, and be still, and know ye that in my writing of this, my mind was none other, but in God (as the living God doth bear me witness) both to do you profit and pleasure. And otherwise, as for your displeasure, by that time this shall come to your knowledge, I trust by God's grace to be in the hands and protection of the Almighty, my heavenly Father and the living Lord, which is (as St. John saith) the greatest of all; and then I shall not need(I trow) to fear what any lord, no, nor what king or prince, can do unto me.

"My Lords, if in times past ye have been contented to hear me sometimes in matters of religion before the prince in the pulpit, and in the parliament-house, and have not seemed to have despised what I have said, (when as else, if ye had perceived just occasion, ye might then have suspected me in my talk, though it had been reasonable, either desire of worldly gain, or fear of displeasure,) how hath then your Lordships more cause to hearken to my word, and to hear me patiently, seeing now ye cannot justly think of me (being in this case appointed to die, and looking daily when I shall be called to come before the eternal Judge) otherwise but that I only study to serve my Lord God, and to say that thing which, I am persuaded assuredly by God's word, shall and doth please him, and profit all them to whom God shall give grace to hear and believe what I do say? And I do say even that I have said heretofore both of the see of Rome and of the bishop thereof, I mean after this their present state at this day, wherein if ye will not believe the ministers of God, and true preachers of his word, verily I denounce unto you *in verbo Domini*, except ye do repent betimes, it shall turn to your confusion, and to your smart on the latter day. Forget not what I say, my Lords, for God's sake forget not, but remember it upon your bed. For I tell you moreover, as I know I must be countable of this my talk, and of my speaking thus, to the eternal Judge, (who will judge nothing amiss,) so shall you be countable of your duty in hearing, and you shall be charged, if ye will hearken to God's word, for not obeying to the truth. Alas, my Lords, how chanceth this, that this matter is now anew again to be persuaded unto you? Who would have thought of late, but your Lordships had been persuaded indeed sufficiently, or that ye could ever have agreed so uniformly, with one consent, to the abolishment of the usurpation of the bishop of Rome? If that matter were then but a matter of policy, wherein the prince must be obeyed, how is it now made a matter wherein (as your clergy say now, and so say the pope's laws indeed) standeth the unity of the catholic church, and a matter of necessity

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for our salvation? Hath the time, being so short since the death of the two last kings, Henry the Eighth and Edward his son, altered the nature of the matter? If it have not, but was of the same nature and danger before God then, as it is now, and be now (as it is said by the pope's laws, and the instructions set forth in English to the curates of the diocese of York) indeed a matter of necessity to salvation; how then chanced it that ye were all, O my Lords, so light and so little passed upon the catholic faith, and the unity thereof, (without the which no man can be saved,) as for your princes' pleasures, which were but mortal men, to forsake the unity of your catholic faith—that is, to forsake Christ and his gospel? And furthermore, if it were both then, and now is, so necessary to salvation, how chanced it also that ye, all the whole body of the parliament agreeing with you, did not only abolish and expel the bishop of Rome, but also did abjure him in your own persons, and did decree in your acts great oaths to be taken of both the spirituality and temporality, whosoever should enter into any weighty and chargeable office in the commonwealth? But, on the other side, if the law and decree which maketh the supremacy of the see and bishop of Rome over the universal church of Christ, be a thing of necessity required unto salvation by an antichristian law, (as it is indeed,) and such instructions as are given to the diocese of York be indeed a setting-forth of the power of the beast of Babylon, by the craft and falsehood of his false prophets, (as of truth, compared to God's word, and truly judged by the same, it shall plainly appear that they be,) then, my Lords, never think other, but the day shall come when ye shall be charged with this your undoing of that, that once ye had well done, and with this your perjury and breach of your oath, which oath was done in judgment, justice, and truth, agreeable to God's law. The whore of Babylon may well for a time dally with you, and make you so drunken with the wine of her filthy stews and whoredom, (as with her dispensations and promises of pardon *a pœna et culpa*,) that for drunkenness and blindness ye may think yourselves safe. But be ye assured, when the living Lord shall try this matter by the fire, and judge it according to his word, when all her abominations shall appear what they be, then ye, my Lords, (I give your Lordships warning in time,) repent, if ye will be happy, and love your own souls' health: repent, I say, or else, without all doubt, ye shall never escape the hands of the living Lord, for the guilt of your perjury, and breach of your oath. As ye have banqueted and lain by the whore in the fornication of her whorish dispensations, pardons, idolatry, and such-like abominations; so shall ye drink with her (except ye repent betimes) of the cup of the Lord's indignation and everlasting wrath, which is prepared for the beast, his false prophets, and all their partakers. For he that is partner with them in their whoredom and abominations, must also be partner with them of their plagues, and in the latter day shall be thrown with them into the lake burning with brimstone and unquenchable fire. Thus fare ye well, my Lords all. I pray God give you understanding of his blessed will and pleasure, and make you to believe and embrace the truth, Amen."

Another farewell of Bishop Ridley to the prisoners in Christ's gospel's cause, and to all them which for the same cause are exiled and banished out from their own country, choosing rather to leave all worldly commodity, than their Master Christ.

"Farewell, my dearly beloved brethren in Christ, both ye my fellow prisoners, and ye also that be exiled and banished out of your countries, because ye will rather forsake all worldly commodity than the gospel of Christ.

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"Farewell, all ye together in Christ; farewell and be merry, for ye know that the trial of your faith bringeth forth patience, and patience shall make us perfect, whole and sound on every side; and such, after trial, (ye know,) shall receive the crown of life, according to the promise of the Lord made to his dearly beloved. Let us therefore be patient unto the coming of the Lord. As the husbandman abideth patiently the former and latter rain for the increase of his crop, so let us be patient, and pluck up our hearts, for the coming of the Lord approacheth apace. Let us, my dear brethren, take example, of patience in tribulation, of the prophets, which spake likewise God's word truly in his name. Let Job be to us an example of patience, and the end which the Lord suffered, which is full of mercy and pity. We know, my brethren, by God's word, that our faith is much more precious than any corruptible gold, and yet that is tried by the fire: even so our faith is therefore tried likewise in tribulations, that it may be found, when the Lord shall appear, laudable, glorious, and honourable. For if we for Christ's cause do suffer, that is grateful before God, for thereunto are we called; that is our state and vocation, wherewith let us be content. Christ, we know, suffered for us afflictions, leaving us an example that we should follow his footsteps; for he committed no sin, nor was there any guile found in his mouth. When he was railed upon, and all to be reviled, he railed not again; when he was evil entreated, he did not threaten, but committed the punishment thereof to Him that judgeth aright.

"Let us ever have in fresh remembrance those wonderful comfortable sentences spoken by the mouth of our Saviour Christ: Blessed are they which suffer persecution for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are ye when men revile you, persecute you, and speak all evil against you for my sake: rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven; for so did they persecute the prophets which were before you. Therefore let us always bear this in our minds, that if any incommmodity do chance unto us for righteousness' sake, happy are we, whatsoever the world doth think of us. Christ our Master hath told us beforehand, that the brother should put the brother to death, and the father the son, and the children should rise against their parents and kill them, and that Christ's true apostles should be hated of all men for his name's sake: but he that shall abide patiently unto the end, shall be saved.

"Let us then endure in all troubles patiently, after the example of our Master Christ, and be contented therewith, for he suffered being our Master and Lord: how doth it not then become us to suffer! for the disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord. It may suffice the disciple to be as his master, and the servant to be as his lord. If they have called the father of the family, the master of the household, Beelzebub, how much more shall they so call them of his household! Fear them not then, saith our Saviour, for all privities shall be made plain; there is now nothing secret, but it shall be showed in light. Of Christ's words let us neither be ashamed, nor afraid to speak them; for so Christ our Master commandeth us, saying, That I tell you privily, speak openly abroad; and that I tell you in your ear, preach it upon the house-top. And fear not them which kill the body, for the soul they cannot kill; but fear him which can cast both body and soul into hell-fire.

"Know ye that the heavenly Father hath ever a gracious eye and respect toward you, and a fatherly providence for you; so that without his knowledge and permission nothing can do you harm. Let us therefore cast all our care upon him, and he shall provide that which shall be best for us. For if of two small sparrows, which both are sold for a mite, one of them lighteth not on the ground without your Father, and all the hairs of our head are numbered, fear not them, (saith

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our Master Christ,) for ye are more worth than many small sparrows. And let us not stick to confess our Master Christ for fear of danger, whatsoever it shall be, remembering the promise that Christ maketh, saying, Whosoever shall confess me before men, him shall I confess before my Father which is in heaven: but whosoever shall deny me, him shall I likewise deny before my Father which is in heaven. Christ came not to give unto us here a carnal amity, and a worldly peace, or to knit his unto the world in ease and peace, but rather to separate and divide from the world, and to join them unto himself: in whose cause we must, if we will be his, forsake father and mother, and stick unto him. If we forsake him or shrink from him for trouble or death's sake, which be calleth his cross, he will none of us; we cannot be his. If for his cause we shall lose our temporal lives here, we shall find them again, and enjoy them for evermore: but if, in his cause, we will not be contented to leave nor lose them here, then shall we lose them so, that we shall never find them again, but in everlasting death. What though our troubles here be painful for the time, and the sting of death bitter and unpleasant, yet we know that they shall not last, in comparison of eternity, no, not the twinkling of an eye; and that they, patiently taken in Christ's cause, shall procure and get us unmeasurable heaps of heavenly glory, unto the which these temporal pains of death and troubles compared, are not to be esteemed, but to be rejoiced upon. Wonder not, saith St. Peter, as though it were any strange matter that ye are tried by the fire, (he meaneth of tribulation,) which thing, saith he, is done to prove you; nay, rather, in that ye are partners of Christ's afflictions rejoice, that in his glorious revelation ye may rejoice with merry hearts. If ye suffer rebukes in Christ's name, happy are ye, for the glory and Spirit of God resteth upon you. Of them God is reviled and dishonoured, but of you he is glorified.

"Let no man be ashamed of that he suffereth as a Christian, and in Christ's cause; for now is the time that judgment and correction must begin at the house of God: and if it begin first at us, what shall be the end of those, think ye, which believe not the gospel? And if the righteous shall be hardly saved, the wicked and the sinner, where shall they appear? Wherefore they which are afflicted according to the will of God, let them lay down and commit their souls to him by well doing, as to a trusty and faithful Maker. This, as I said, may not seem strange to us, for we know that all the whole fraternity of Christ's congregation in this world is served with the like, and by the same is made perfect. For the fervent love that the apostles had unto their Master Christ, and for the great commodities and increase of all godliness which they felt by their faith to ensue of afflictions in Christ's cause, and, thirdly, for the heaps of heavenly joys which the same do get unto the godly, which shall endure in heaven for evermore; for these causes (I say) the apostles of their afflictions did joy, and rejoiced in that they were had and accounted worthy to suffer contumelies and rebukes for Christ's name. And Paul, as he gloried in the grace and favour of God, whereunto he was brought and stood in by faith; so he rejoiced in his afflictions for the heavenly and spiritual profits which he numbered to rise upon them: yea, he was so far in love with that which the carnal man loatheth so much, that is, with Christ's cross, that he judged himself to know nothing else but Christ crucified; he will glory (he saith) in nothing else but in Christ's cross; yea, and he blesseth all those, as the only true Israelites and elect people of God, with peace and mercy, which walk after that rule and after none other.

"O Lord, what a wonderful spirit was that that made Paul,—in setting forth of himself against the vanity of Satan's pseudo-apostles, and in his claim there, that he, in Christ's cause, did excel and pass them all,—what wonderful spirit was that (I say) that made him to reckon up all his troubles, his labours, his beatings, his whippings and scourgings, his shipwrecks, his dangers

and perils by water and by land, his famine, hunger, nakedness, and cold, with many more, and the daily care of all the congregations of Christ, among whom every man's pain did pierce his heart, and every man's grief was grievous unto him! O Lord, is this Paul's primacy, whereof he thought so much good that he did excel others? Is not this Paul's saying unto Timothy his own scholar? and doth it not pertain to whosoever will be Christ's true soldiers? Bear thou, saith he, affliction like a good soldier of Jesus Christ. This is true: If we die with him, [he meaneth Christ,] we shall live with him; if we suffer with him, we shall reign with him; if we deny him, he shall deny us; if we be faithless, he remaineth faithful, he cannot deny himself. This, Paul would have known to every body; for there is none other way to heaven but Christ and his way: and all that will live godly in Christ, shall, saith St. Paul, suffer persecution. By this way went to heaven the patriarchs, the prophets, Christ our Master, his apostles, his martyrs, and all the godly since the beginning. And as it hath been of old, that he which was born after the flesh, persecuted him which was born after the Spirit (for so it was in Isaac's time); so, said St. Paul, it was in his time also. And whether it be so or no now, let the spiritual man, (the self-same man, I mean, that is indued with the Spirit of Almighty God,) let him be judge. Of the cross of the patriarchs, as ye may read in their stories; if ye read the book of Genesis, ye shall perceive. Of others, St. Paul in few words comprehendeth much matter, speaking in a generality of the wonderful afflictions, death, and torments, which the men of God, in God's cause, and for the truth's sake, willingly and gladly did suffer. After much particular rehearsal of many, lie saith, Others were racked and despised, and would not be delivered, that they might obtain a better resurrection. Others, again, were tried with mockings and scourgings, and moreover with bonds and imprisonment: they were stoned, hewn asunder, tempted, fell, and were slain upon the edge of the sword, some wandered to and fro in sheep's pilches, in goats' pilches, forsaken, oppressed, afflicted; such godly men as the world was unworthy of, wandering in wildernesses, in mountains, in caves, and in dens; and all these were commended for their faith. And yet they abide for us the servants of God, and for those their brethren which are to be slain, as they were, for the word of God's sake, that none be shut out, but that we may all go together to meet our Master, Christ, in the air at his coming, and so to be in bliss with him in body and soul for evermore.

"Therefore, seeing we have so much occasion to suffer and to take afflictions for Christ's name's sake patiently, so many commodities thereby, so weighty causes, so many good examples, so great necessity, so pure promises of eternal life and heavenly joys of him that cannot lie: Let us throw away whatsoever might let us—all burden of sin, and all kind of carnality—and patiently and constantly let us run for the best game in this race that is set before us, ever having our eyes upon Jesus Christ, the ringleader, captain, and perfecter of our faith, who for the joy that was set before him endured the cross, not passing upon the ignominy and shame thereof, and is set now at the right hand of the throne of God. Consider this, that he suffered such strife of sinners against himself, that ye should not give over, nor faint in your minds. As yet, brethren, we have not withstood unto death, fighting against sin. Let us never forget, dear brethren, for Christ's sake, that fatherly exhortation of the wise man that speaketh unto us, as unto his children, the godly wisdom of God, saying thus: My son, despise not the correction of the Lord, nor fall from him when thou art rebuked of him; for whom the Lord loveth, him doth he correct, and scourgeth every child whom he receiveth. What child is he whom the father doth not chasten? If ye be free from chastisement, whereof all are partakers, then are ye bastards and no children. Seeing then, when as we have had carnal parents which chastened us, we revered them, shall not we much more be subject unto our spiritual Father,

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that we might live? And they for a little time have taught us after their own mind; but this Father teacheth us to our commodity, to give unto us his holiness. All chastisement for the present time appeareth not pleasant but painful; but afterward it rendereth the fruit of righteousness on them which are exercised in it. Wherefore let us be of good cheer, good brethren, and let us pluck up our feeble members that were fallen or began to faint, heart, hands, knees, and all the rest, and let us walk upright and straight, that no limping nor halting bring us out of the way. Let us look, not upon the things that be present, but with the eyes of our faith let us stedfastly behold the things that be everlasting in heaven; and so choose rather in respect of that which is to come, with the chosen members of Christ, to bear Christ's cross, than for this short life-time to enjoy all the riches, honours, and pleasures of the broad world. Why should we Christians fear death? Can death deprive us of Christ, who is all our comfort, our joy, and our life? Nay forsooth, but contrary, death shall deliver us from this mortal body, which loadeth and beareth down the spirit, that it cannot so well perceive heavenly things; in the which so long as we dwell, we are absent from God.

"Wherefore, understanding our state in that we be Christians, that if our mortal body, which is our earthly house, were destroyed, we have a building, a house not made with hands, but everlasting in heaven, &c., therefore we are of good cheer, and know that when we are in the body we are absent from God; for we walk by faith, and not by clear sight. Nevertheless we are bold, and had rather be absent from the body, and present with God. Wherefore we strive, whether we be present at home, and absent abroad, that we may always please him. And who that hath true faith in our Saviour Christ, whereby he knoweth somewhat truly what Christ our Saviour is, that he is the eternal Son of God, life, light, the wisdom of the Father, all goodness, all righteousness, and whatsoever is good that heart can desire, yea, infinite plenty of all these, above that which man's heart can either conceive or think, (for in him dwelleth the fulness of the Godhead corporally,) and also that he is given us of the Father, and made of God to be our wisdom, our righteousness, our holiness, and our redemption; who (I say) is he that believeth this indeed, that would not gladly be with his Master Christ? Paul for this knowledge coveted to have been loosed from the body, and to have been with Christ, for that he counted it much better for himself, and had rather to be loosed than to live. Therefore these words of Christ to the thief on the cross, that asked of him mercy, were full of comfort and solace: This day thou shalt be with me in paradise. To die in the defence of Christ's gospel it is our bounden duty to Christ, and also to our neighbour. To Christ, for he died for us, and rose again, that he might be Lord over all. And seeing he died for us, we also (saith St. John) should jeopard, yea, give our life for our brethren. And this kind of giving and losing, is getting and winning indeed; for he that giveth or loseth his life thus getteth and winneth it forevermore. Blessed are they therefore that die in the Lord, and if they die in the Lord's cause, they are most happy of all. Let us not then fear death, which can do us no harm, otherwise than for a moment to make the flesh to smart; but that our faith, which is surely fastened and fixed unto the word of God, telleth us that we shall be anon after death in peace, in the hands of God, in joy, in solace, and that from death we shall go straight unto life. For St. John saith, He that liveth, and believeth in me, shall never die. And, in another place, He shall depart from death unto life. And therefore this death of the Christian is not to be called death, but rather a gate or entrance into everlasting life. Therefore Paul called it but a dissolution and resolution; and both Peter and Paul, a putting off this tabernacle or dwelling-house, meaning thereby the mortal body, as wherein the soul or spirit doth dwell here in this world for a small time. Yea, this my death may be called to the Christian, an end of all

miseries: for so long as we live here, we must pass through many tribulations before we can enter in the kingdom of heaven. And now, after that death hath shot his bolt, all the Christian man's enemies have done what they can; after that, they have no more to do. What could hurt or harm poor Lazarus that lay at the rich man's gate? His former penury and poverty? his misery, beggary, and horrible sores and sickness? For so soon as death had stricken him with his dart, so soon came the angels, and carried him straight up into Abraham's bosom. What lost he by death, who, from misery and pain, is set by the ministry of angels in a place both of joy and solace?

"Farewell, dear brethren! farewell, and let us comfort our hearts in all troubles, and in death, with the word of God; for heaven and earth shall perish, but the word of the Lord endureth for ever.

"Farewell, Christ's dearly beloved spouse! here wandering in this world in a strange land, far from thine own country, and compassed about on every hand with deadly enemies, which cease not to assault thee, ever seeking thy destruction.

"Farewell, farewell, O ye the whole and universal congregation of the chosen of God here living upon earth, the true church militant of Christ, the true mystical body of Christ, the very household and family of God, and the sacred temple of the Holy Ghost. Farewell!

Farewell, O thou little flock of the high heavenly pastors of Christ; for to thee it hath pleased the heavenly Father to give an everlasting and eternal kingdom. Farewell!

"Farewell, thou spiritual house of God, thou holy and royal priesthood, thou chosen generation, thou holy nation, thou won spouse. Farewell! Farewell!"

Another treatise of Bishop Ridley, wherein is contained first a lamentation for the change of religion in England: then a comparison between the doctrine of the gospel and the Romish religion; with wholesome instructions in the end to all Christians, how to behave themselves in time of trial.



las! what misery is thy church brought unto, O Lord, at this day! When, as of late the word of the Lord was truly preached, was read and heard in every town, in every church, in every village, yea, and almost in every honest man's house, alas! now it is exiled and banished out of the whole realm, Of late who was not taken for a lover of God's word, for a reader, for a ready hearer, and for a learner of the same? And now, alas, who dare bear any open countenance toward it, but such as are content, in Christ's cause and for his word's sake, to stand to the danger and loss of all they have?

"Of late there was to be found, of every age, of every degree and kind of people, that gave their diligence to learn, as they could, out of God's word, the articles of the Christian faith, the commandments of God, and the Lord's prayer. The babes and young children were taught

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these things of their parents, of their masters, and weekly of their curates in every church: and the aged folk, which had been brought up in blindness, and in ignorance of those things which every Christian is bound to know, when otherwise they could not, yet they learned the same by often hearing their children and servants repeating the same: but now (alas, and alas again!) the false prophets of antichrist, which are past all shame, do openly preach in pulpits unto the people of God, that the catechism is to be counted heresy; whereby their old blindness is brought home again: for the aged are afraid of the higher powers, and the youth are abashed and ashamed, even of that which they have learned, though it be God's word, and dare no more meddle.

"Of late in every congregation throughout all England was made prayer and petition unto God, to be delivered from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities; from all false doctrine and heresy; and now, alas! Satan hath persuaded England, by his falsehood and craft, to revoke her old godly prayer, to recant the same, and provoke the fearful wrath and indignation of God upon her own pate.

"Of late by strait laws and ordinances, with the consent of the nobles and commonalty, and full agreement and counsel of the prelates and clergy, was banished hence the beast of Babylon, with laws (I say) and with oaths and all means that then could be devised for so godly a purpose: but now, alas! all these laws are trodden under foot; the nobles, the commonalty, the prelates and clergy, are quite changed, and all those oaths, though they were made in judgment, justice, and truth, and the matter never so good, do no more hold than a bond of rushes or of a barley straw, nor public perjury no more feareth them than a shadow upon the wall.

"Of late it was agreed in England of all hands, according to Paul's doctrine, and Christ's commandment, (as Paul saith plainly,) that nothing ought to be done in the church, in the public congregation, but in that tongue which the congregation could understand, that all might be edified thereby, whether it were common prayer, administration of the sacraments, or any other thing belonging to public ministry of God's holy and wholesome word. But, alas! all is turned upside down; Paul's doctrine is put apart; Christ's commandment is not regarded: for nothing is heard commonly in the church, but a strange tongue, that the people doth nothing understand.

"Of late all men and women were taught after Christ's doctrine, to pray in that tongue which they could understand, that they might pray with heart that which they should speak with their tongue: now, alas! the unlearned people are brought into that blindness again, to think that they pray, when they speak with their tongue they cannot tell what, nor whereof their heart is nothing mindful at all; for that it can understand never a whit thereof.

"Of late the Lord's supper was duly administered and taught to be made common to all that are true Christians, with thanksgiving and setting-forth of the Lord's death and passion, until his returning again to judge both quick and dead: but now, alas! the Lord's table is quite overthrown, and that which ought to be common to all godly, is made private to a few ungodly, without any kind of thanksgiving, or any setting-forth of the Lord's death at all, that the people are able to understand.

"Of late all that were indued with the light and grace of understanding of God's holy mysteries, did bless God which had brought them out of that horrible blindness and ignorance,

whereby in times past, being seduced by Satan's subtleties, they believed that the sacrament was not the sacrament, but the thing itself whereof it is a sacrament, that the creature was the Creator, and that the thing which hath neither life nor sense (alas! such was the horrible blindness) was the Lord himself, which made the eye to see, and hath given all senses and understanding unto man. But now, alas! England is returned again like a dog to her own vomit and spewing, and is in worse case than ever she was: for it had been better never to have known the truth, than to forsake the truth once received and known. And now, not only that light is turned into darkness, and God's grace is received in vain, but also laws of death are made by high court of parliament, masterfully to maintain by sword, fire, and all kind of violence, that heinous idolatry wherein that adoration is given unto the lifeless and dumb creature, which is only due unto the ever-living God: yea, they say they can and do make of bread both man and God, by their transubstantiation. O wicked men, and Satan's own brood!

"Of late was the Lord's cup at his table distributed, according to his own commandment by his express words in the gospel, as well to the laity as to the clergy, which order Christ's church observed so many hundred years after, as all the ancient ecclesiastical writers do testify, without contradiction of any one of them, that can be showed unto this day: but now, alas! not only the Lord's commandment is broken, his cup is denied to his servants, to whom he commandeth it should be distributed, but also with the same is set up a new blasphemous kind of sacrifice to satisfy and pay the price of sins both of the dead and the quick, to the great and intolerable contumely of Christ our Saviour, his death and passion, which was and is the one only sufficient and everlasting available sacrifice satisfactory for all the elect of God, from Adam the first, to the last that shall be born in the end of the world.

"Of late the commandment of God, Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, nor any similitude or likeness of any thing in heaven above, or in earth beneath, or in the water under the earth, thou shalt not bow down to them, nor worship them: this commandment of God, I say, was graven almost every where in churches, was learned of every body, both young and old; whereupon images that provoked the simple and ignorant people unto idolatry (as the wise man saith) were taken out of the churches, and straitly forbidden that none should any where either bow down to them or worship them. But now, alas! God's holy word is blotted and rased out of churches, and stocks and stones are set up in the place thereof. God commanded his word so to be ordered, that it might be had in continual remembrance at all times, and in every place; and on the other side he forbade images and idols so to be either made or set in any place, where any should bow or worship them. But now, alas! that which God commanded is not passed upon: and that which be forbiddeth, is masterfully maintained by falsehood and craft, and wickedly upholden.

"Of late all ministers that were admitted to the public office and ministry of God's holy word, in their admission made a solemn profession before the congregation, that they should teach the people nothing, as doctrine necessary to attain eternal salvation, but that which is God's own holy word, or may be thereon grounded without any doubt; whereby vanished and melted away of themselves many vain, yea, wicked traditions of men, as wax before the fire: but now at one brunt they are revived, and are in full hope also to return again in as great strength as ever they have been. And how can any man look for any other thing, but when you have received the head, you must also receive the whole body withal, or else how can the head abide? The head,

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under Satan, of all mischief is antichrist and his brood; the same is he which is the Babylonical beast. The beast is he whereupon the whore sitteth. The whore is that city, saith John, in plain words, which hath empire over the kings of the earth. This whore hath a golden cup of abominations in her hand, whereof she maketh to drink the kings of the earth. And of the wine of this harlot have all nations drunk; yea, and kings of the earth have lien by this whore, and merchants of the earth by virtue of her pleasant merchandise have been made rich.

"Now what city is there in all the whole world, that, when John wrote, ruled over the kings of the earth; or what city can be read of in any time, that of the city itself challenged the empire over the kings of the earth, but only the city of Rome, and that since the usurpation of that see hath grown to her full strength? And is it not read, that the old and ancient writers understand Peter's former Epistle to be written at Rome, and it to be called of him in the same Epistle in plain terms Babylon? By the abominations thereof I understand all the whole trade of the Romish religion, under the name and title of Christ, which is contrary to the only rule of all true religion, that is, God's word. What word of God hath that devilish drab for the maintenance of her manifold abominations, and to set to sale such merchandise, wherewith (alas! the madness of man) the wicked harlot hath bewitched almost the whole world? Did not Peter, the very true apostle of Christ, (of whom this stinking strumpet beareth herself so high, but falsely and without all just cause,) did not he, I say, give all the world warning of her pelf and trash, of her false doctors and apostles, (for this whore and beast will be called dominus apostolicus, whosoever say nay,) after this manner in his latter Epistle? There were among the people in times past false prophets, as there shall be among you in time to come false teachers, which shall privily bring in pestilent sects, even denying the Lord which hath bought them and redeemed them, procuring to themselves swift damnation. And many shall follow their damnable ways, by whom the way of truth shall be railed upon, and through covetousness, by counterfeit tales or sermons, they shall, saith Peter, make merchandise upon you. And doth not John likewise, in his Revelation, after he hath reckoned up a great rabblement of this whore's mystical merchandise, at the last (as though he would knit up all in plain words, without any mist at all, setting out the whore's merchandise) reckon up amongst the rest, and concludeth, saying, and the souls of men too? Whereupon I pray you else rose this true proverb, 'All things for money are set to sale at Rome?' Was not that a worthy commendation of Christ's vicar in earth, that was written of our holy father, one of the Alexanders, a bishop of Rome, thus I ween?

Alexander, our holy father the pope of Rome,
Selleth for money both right and doom;
And all kind of holiness the holy father doth not stick
To set to sale, ready money for to get.
And eke Christ himself he dare be bold
To chop and change for silver and gold.
And why should any think this to be sore.
For what doth he sell but what he bought before?"

"I grant these verses to be light gear, and the verse is but rude; but, alas! such conditions were more wicked and lewd than any wit could express. If these had been but the faults of one or a few in number, they had been less pernicious, and might have been taken for personal crimes, and not to be imputed unto that see. But now, alas! the matter is more than evident to all that have godly understanding, that these crimes be grounded upon laws, be established by custom,

and set forth by all kind of wicked doctrine, falsehood, and craft; and therefore now are not to be esteemed for any one man's or a few men's personal crimes, but are now, by laws, custom, and doctrine, incorporated into that wicked see, and make indeed the body of the beast, whereupon the abominable whore doth sit.

"But you would know which be those merchandises which I said this whore setteth for to sell, for the which all her false prophets, with all their jugglings and crafty glosses, cannot bring one jot of God's word. Surely, surely, they be not only all these abominations which are come into the Church of England already, (whereof I have spoken somewhat before,) but also an innumerable rabblement of abominations and wicked abuses, which now must needs follow; as popish pardons, pilgrimages, Romish purgatory, Romish masses, *placebo* and *dirige*, with trentals and *scala cæli*, dispensations and immunities from all godly discipline, laws, and good order, pluralities, unions, and *tot quots*, with a thousand more. Now shall come in the flattering friars and the false pardoners, and play their old pranks and knavery as they were wont to do. Now shall you have (but of the see of Rome only, and that for money) canonizing of such saints as have stood stout in the pope's cause, shrining of relics, and from any kind of wickedness (if you will pay well for it) clear absolution from penalty and guilt, for thousands of years; yea, and at every poor bishop's hand and suffragan, ye shall have hallowing of churches, chapels, altars, super-altars, chalices, and of all the household stuff and adornment which shall be used in the church after the Romish guise: for all these things, they must be esteemed of such high price, that they may not be done but by a consecrated bishop only. O Lord, all these things are such as thy apostles never knew! As for conjuring (they call it hallowing, but it is conjuring indeed) of water and salt, of christening of bells, and suchlike things, what need I to speak? for every priest that can but read, hath power (they say) not only to do that, but also hath such power over Christ's body, as to make both God and man once, at the least, every day of a wafer-cake.

"After the rehearsal of the said abominations, and remembrance of a number of many more, which (the Lord knoweth) irketh me to think upon, and were too long to describe; when I consider on the other side the eternal word of God that abideth for ever, and the undefiled law of the Lord which turneth the soul from all wickedness, and giveth wisdom unto the innocent babes—I mean that milk that is without all guile, as Peter doth call it, that good word of God, that word of truth, which must be graven within the heart, and then is able to save men's souls; that wholesome seed, not mortal, but immortal, of the eternal and everlasting God, whereby the man is born anew, and made the child of God; that seed of God, whereby the man of God so being born, cannot sin, as John saith, (he meaneth so long as that seed doth abide in him,)—that Holy Scripture which hath not been devised by the wit of man, but taught from heaven by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost; which is profitable to teach, to reprove, to correct, to instruct, and to give order in all righteousness, that the man of God may be whole and sound, ready to perform every good work—when (I say) I consider this holy and wholesome true word, that teacheth us truly our bounden duty towards our Lord God in every point; what his blessed will and pleasure is; what his infinite great goodness and mercy is; what he hath done for us; how he hath given us his own dearly beloved Son to death for our salvation, and by him hath sent us the revelation of his blessed will and pleasure, what his eternal word willeth us both to believe, and also to do; and hath for the same purpose inspired the holy apostles with the Holy Ghost, and sent them abroad into all the world, and also made them and other disciples of Christ, inspired by the same Spirit, to write and leave behind them the same things that they are taught (which as they did proceed of

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the Spirit of truth, so by the confession of all them that ever were endued with the Spirit of God, were sufficient to the obtaining of eternal salvation): and likewise when I consider that all that man doth profess in his regeneration when he is received into the holy catholic church of Christ, and is now to be accounted for one of the lively members of Christ's own body, all that is grounded upon God's holy word, and standeth in the profession of that faith, and obedience of those commandments which are all contained and comprised in God's holy word: and furthermore, when I consider whom our Saviour Christ pronounceth in his gospel to be blessed, and to whom Moses giveth his benedictions in the law; what ways the law, the prophets, the psalms, and all Holy Scriptures, both New and Old, do declare to be the ways of the Lord; what is good for man to obtain and abide in God's favour; which is that faith that justifieth before God, and what is that charity that doth pass and excel all; which be the properties of heavenly wisdom, and which is that undefiled religion which is allowed of God; which things Christ himself calleth the weighty matters of the law; what thing is that which is only available in Christ, and what knowledge is that that Paul esteemed so much, that he counted himself only to know; what shall be the manner of the extreme judgment of the latter day, who shall judge, and by what he shall judge, and what shall be required at our hands at that fearful day; how all things must be tried by the fire, and that that only shall stand for ever which Christ's words shall allow; who shall be the judge of all flesh, to give sentence upon all flesh, and every living soul, either of eternal damnation, or of everlasting salvation, from which sentence there shall be no place to appeal, no wit shall serve to delude, nor any power to withstand or revoke—when (I say) I consider all these things, and confer to the same again and again all those ways wherein standeth the substance of the Romish religion, (whereof I spake before,) it may be evident and easy to perceive, that these two ways, these two religions, the one of Christ, the other of the Romish see, in these latter days be as far distant the one from the other, as light and darkness, good and evil, righteousness and unrighteousness, Christ and Belial. He that is hard of belief, let him note and weigh well with himself the places of Holy Scriptures which be appointed in the margin, whereupon this talk is grounded, and, by God's grace, he may receive some light. And unto the contemner I have nothing now to say, but to rehearse the saying of the prophet Isaiah, which Paul spake to the Jews in the end of the Acts of the Apostles. After he had expounded to them the truth of God's word, and declared unto them Christ, out of the law of Moses and the prophets, from morning to night all the day long, he said unto them that would not believe: Well, said he, spake the Holy Ghost unto our fathers, saying, Go unto this people and tell them, Ye shall hear with your ears, and not understand; and seeing you shall behold, and not see the thing: for the heart of this people is waxed gross and dull; and with their ears they are hard of hearing; and they have shut together their eyes, that they should not see, nor hear with their ears, nor understand with their hearts, that they might return, and I should heal them, saith the Lord God.

"Alas! England; alas! that this heavy plague of God should fall upon thee. Alas! my dearly beloved country, what thing is it now that may do thee good? Undoubtedly thy plague is so great, that it is utterly incurable, but by the bottomless mercy and infinite power of Almighty God. Alas! my dear country, what hast thou done, that thou hast provoked the wrath of God, and caused him to pour out his vengeance upon thee for thine own deserts? Canst thou be content to hear thy faults told thee? Alas! thou hast heard oft, and wouldst never amend. England, thy faults of all degrees and sorts of men, of magistrates, of the ministers, and of the common people, were never more plainly told since thou bearest that name, than thou didst hear them of late, even before the magistrates in King Edward's days, but thou heardest them only, and didst amend

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never a whit. For even of thy greatest magistrates, some (the king's Highness then, that innocent, that godly-hearted and peerless young Christian prince excepted) evermore unkindly and ungently, against those that went about most busily and most wholesomely to cure their sore backs, spurned privily, and would not spare to speak evil of them, even unto the prince himself; and yet would they towards the same preachers outwardly bear a jolly countenance and a fair face.

"I have heard that Cranmer, and another whom I will not name, were both in high displeasure, the one for showing his conscience secretly, but plainly and fully, in the duke of Somerset's cause; and both of late, but especially Cranmer, for repugning, as they might, against the late spoil of the church goods, taken away only by the commandment of the higher powers, without any law or order of justice, and without any request or consent of them to which they did belong. As for Latimer, Lever, Bradford, and Knox, their tongues were so sharp, they ripped in so deep in their galled backs, to have purged them, no doubt, of that filthy matter that was festered in their hearts, of insatiable covetousness, of filthy carnality and voluptuousness, of intolerable ambition and pride, of ungodly loathsomeness to hear poor men's causes, and to hear God's word, that these men, of all other, these magistrates then could never abide. Others there were, very godly men and well learned, that went about by the wholesome plasters of God's word, howbeit after a more soft manner of handling the matter: but, alas! all sped alike. For all that could be done of all hands, their disease did not minish, but daily did increase, which, no doubt, is no small occasion in that state of the heavy plague of God that is poured upon England at this day. As for the common sort of other inferior magistrates, as judges of the laws, justices of peace, serjeants, common lawyers, it may be truly said of them, as of the most part of the clergy, of curates, vicars, parsons, prebendaries, doctors of the law, archdeacons, deans, yea, and I may say, of bishops also, I fear me, for the most part (although I doubt not but God had, and hath ever, whom he in every state knew and knoweth to be his): but, for the most part, I say, they were never persuaded in their hearts, but from the teeth forward, and for the king's sake, in the truth of God's word; and yet all these did dissemble, and bear a copy of a countenance, as if they had been sound within.

"And this dissimulation Satan knew well enough, and therefore desired, and hath ever gone about, that the high magistrates by any manner of means might be deceived in matters of religion; for then he, being of counsel with the dissimulation in the worldly, knew well enough that he should bring to pass, and rule all even after his own will.

"Hypocrisy and dissimulation St. Jerome doth call well a double wickedness; for neither it loveth the truth, (which is one great evil,) and also falsely it pretendeth to deceive the simple for another thing. This hypocrisy and dissimulation with God, in matters of religion, no doubt, hath wholly also provoked the anger of God. And as for the common people, although there were many good, where they were well and diligently taught; yet (God knoweth) a great number received God's true word and high benefits with unthankful hearts. For it was great pity and a lamentable thing to have seen in many places the people so loathsomely and unreligiously to come to the holy communion and to receive it accordingly, and to the common prayers, and other divine service, which were according to the true vein of God's holy word, and in all points so godly and wholesomely set forth, in comparison of that blind zeal and indiscreet devotion which

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they had aforetimes to those things, whereof they understood never one whit, nor could be edified by them any thing at all.

"And again, as for our almsdeeds, which are taught in God's word, whereby we are certain that God is pleased with them, and doth and will require such at our hands, which are a part of true religion, as St. James saith, and such as, he saith himself, he setteth more by than by sacrifice, as to provide for the fatherless, infants and orphans, for the lame, aged, and impotent poor needy folk, and to make public provision that the poor that might labour, should have wherewith to labour upon, and so be kept from shameful beggary and stealing: in these works, I say, how wayward were many, in comparison, I mean, of that great prodigality whereby in times past they spared not to spend upon flattering friars, false pardoners, painting and gilding of stocks and stones, to be set up and honoured in churches, plainly against God's word? And yet because no place is to be defrauded of their just commendation, London, I must confess, for such godly works in Sir Richard Dobs, knight, then lord mayor, his year began marvellous well. The Lord grant the same may so likewise persevere, continue, yea, and increase, to the comfort and relief of the needy and helpless, that was so godly begun. Amen.

"All these things do minister more matter of mourning and bewailing the miserable state that now is; for by this it may be perceived, how England hath deserved this just plague of God. And also it is greatly to be feared that those good things, whatsoever they were, that had their beginning in the time when God's word was so freely preached, now, with the exile and banishment of the same, will depart again.

"But to return again to the consideration of this miserable state of Christ's church in England, and to leave further and more exquisite searching of the causes thereof unto God's secret and unsearchable judgments, let us see what is best now to be done for Christ's little flock. This is one maxim and principle in Christ's law; He that denieth Christ before men, him shall Christ deny afore his Father and all his angels in heaven. And therefore every one that looketh to have by Christ our Saviour everlasting life, let him prepare himself so that he deny not his Master Christ; or else he is but a castaway, and a wretch, howsoever he be counted or taken here in the world.

"Now then, seeing the doctrine of antichrist is returned again into this realm, and the higher powers, alas! are so deceived and bewitched, that they are persuaded it to be truth, and Christ's true doctrine to be error and heresy, and the old laws of antichrist are allowed to return with the power of their father again; what can be hereafter looked for, by reason, to the man of God and true Christian abiding in this realm, but extreme violence of death, or else to deny his Master? I grant the hearts of princes are in God's hands, and whithersoever he will he can make them bow: and also that Christian princes in old time use a more gentle kind of punishment, even to them which were heretics indeed, as degradation, and deposition out of their rooms and offices, exile and banishment out of their dominions and countries; and also (as it is read) the true bishops of Christ's church were sometime intercessors for the heretics unto princes, that they would not kill them, as is read of St. Augustine. But as yet antichrist's kingdom was not so erected at that time, nor is now accustomed so to order them that will not fall down and worship the beast and his image, but even (as all the world knoweth) after the same manner that both

John and Daniel hath prophesied before, that is, by violence of death. And Daniel declareth further, that the kind of death accustomed should be by sword, fire, and imprisonment.

"Therefore if thou, O man of God, dost purpose to abide in this realm, prepare and arm thyself to die: for both by antichrist's accustomed laws, and these prophecies, there is no appearance or likelihood of any other thing, except thou wilt deny thy Master Christ, which is the loss, at the last, both of body and soul unto everlasting death. Therefore, my good brother or sister in Christ, whatsoever thou be, to thee that canst and mayest so do, that counsel that I think is the best safeguard for thee, both for thy body, and most surety for thy soul's health, is that which I shall show thee hereafter. But first I warn thee to understand me to speak to him or her which be not in captivity, or called already to confess Christ, but are at liberty abroad.

"My counsel, I say, therefore is this, to fly from the plague, and get thee hence. I consider not only the subtleties of Satan, and how he is able to deceive by his false persuasions (if it were possible) even the chosen of God, and also the great frailty, which is oftentimes more in a man than he doth know in himself, which in the time of temptation then will utter itself: I do not only consider these things, I say, but that our Master Christ, whose life was and is a perfect rule of the Christian man's life, that he himself avoided oftentimes the fury and madness of the Jews, by departing from the country or place.

"Paul likewise, when he was sought in Damascus, and the gates of the city were laid in wait for him, was conveyed by night, being let down in a basket out at a window over the wall: and Elias the prophet fled the persecution of wicked Jezebel. And Christ our Saviour saith in the gospel, When they persecute you in one city, fly unto another: and so did many good, great, learned, and virtuous men of God, which were great and stout champions nevertheless, and stout confessors and maintainers of Christ and his truth, in due time and place. Of such was the great clerk Athanasius. But this is so plain to be lawful by God's word, and examples of holy men, that I need not to stand in it.

"Having this for my ground, I say to thee, O man of God, this seemeth to me to be the most sure way for thy safeguard, to depart and fly far from the plague, and that swiftly also: for truly before God, I think, that the abomination that Daniel prophesied of so long before, is now set up in the holy place. For all the doctrine of antichrist, his laws, rites, and religion contrary to Christ, and so to the true serving and worshipping of God, I understand to be that abomination. Therefore now is the time in England for those words of Christ, *Tunc inquit qui in Judæa sunt, fugiant ad montes*. Then, saith he, mark this Christ's 'then,' for truly I am persuaded, and I trust by the Spirit of God, that this 'then' is commanded. Then, saith Christ, they that he in Jewry, let them fly into the mountains; and he that is on the house-top, let him not come down to take away any thing out of his house; and he that is abroad in the field, let him not return to take his clothes. Woe be to the women with child, and to them that give suck! But pray, saith Christ, that your flight be not in winter, nor on the sabbath day.

"These words of Christ are mystical, and therefore had need of interpretation. I understand all those to be in Jewry' spiritually, which truly confess one true living God, and the whole truth of his word, after the doctrine of the gospel of Christ; such as they whom Christ here biddeth in the time of the reign of antichrist's abominations, to fly unto 'the mountains;' which

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signifieth places of safeguard, and all such things which are able to defend from the plague. That he biddeth him that is on the house-top 'not to come down,' and him that is in the field 'not to return to take with him his clothes;' he meaneth that they should speed them to get them away betimes, lest in their tarrying and trifling about working provision, they be trapped in the snare ere ever they be aware, and caught by the back; and, for gain of small worldly things, endanger and cast themselves into great perils of more weighty matters. And where he saith, 'Woe be to the women with child, and to them that give suck!' women great with child and nigh to their lying down, and to be brought to bed, and not able to travel; and also those women, which are brought to bed, and now give their babes suck. By these therefore Christ spiritually understandeth all such to be in extreme danger, which this word 'woe' signifieth: all such, I say, as are so letted by any manner of means, that they no ways be able to fly from the plague. And whereas Christ saith, 'Pray you that your flight be not in the winter, nor on the sabbath day;' in winter, the common course of the year teacheth us, that the ways be foul; and therefore it is a hard thing then to take a far journey, for many incommodities, and dangers of the ways in that time of the year; and on the sabbath day it was not lawful to journey, but a little way. Now Christ therefore meaning that we should have need, both to speed our journey quickly, which cannot be done in winter, for the incommodities of the ways; and also to go far, which cannot be done on the sabbath day: he biddeth us therefore pray that our flight be not in the winter, nor on the sabbath day; that is, to pray that we may fly in time, and also far enough from the danger of the plague. Now, the causes why we should fly, follow in the same place of St. Matthew's Gospel, which I now pass over; thou mayest read them there.

"And in Revelation xviii. the angel is said to have cried mightily with a loud voice, Fly, my people, out of Babylon, lest you be infected with her faults, and so be made partners of her plagues: for her offences and sins are grown so great, that they swell and are come unto the heavens! Certainly the time doth approach, and the Lord's day is at hand. Hear, I beseech you, also holy Paul, that blessed apostle. He plainly forbiddeth us to join or couple ourselves with the unfaithful. For what fellowship can there be, saith he, of righteousness with unrighteousness? what company hath light with darkness, or what agreement hath Christ with Belial? or what part can the faithful have with the unfaithful? or how doth the temple of God agree with images or idols? for you are the temple of the living God. As God hath said, I will walk and dwell in them, I will be their God, and they shall be my people. Wherefore depart from amongst them, and get you from them, saith the Lord, and touch no unclean thing; and I will receive you, and be to you in the stead of your father, and you shall be unto me as my sons and daughters, saith the Almighty God.

"This counsel to depart the realm, I do not marvel it doth seem to divers (even of them, I mean, that bear favour to God-ward) diversely. Many, I trust, that be learned shall think the counsel good. Others there be, peradventure, that will think it rather a thing to be more tolerable, and that it may be indeed by God's word lawfully done, rather than to be counselled to be done; for they will peradventure say, 'We should counsel a man always to do that which is best of all, and of most perfection: but boldly in Christ's cause to spend a man's life, is best of all, and of most perfection, and to fly it may seem to smell of cowardliness. In many things, that which is best for one at some times, is not best for all at all times, and it is not most perfection, nor meet for a child to covet to run, before he can go.' I will not make here a discourse in this matter, what

might here be objected, and what might be answered again; I leave that to the witty and eloquent men of the world.

"This is my mind, which I would thou shouldst know, O man of God: as I would wish, and I do pray to Almighty God it may be, that every true Christian, either brother or sister, after they be called, and brought into the wrestling-place, to strive in Christ's cause for the best game, (that is, to confess the truth of the gospel, and of the Christian faith, in hope of everlasting life,) should not shrink, nor relent one inch, nor give back, whatsoever shall befall; but to stand to their tackle, and stick by it even' unto death, as they will Christ shall stick by them at the latter day—so likewise I dare not wish nor counsel any, either brother or sister, of their own swinge, to start up into the stage, or to cast themselves either before or further in danger than time and need shall require: for undoubtedly when God seeth his time, and his pleasure is that his glory shall be set forth, and his church edified by thy death and confession, means shall be found by his fatherly universal providence, that thou, without thine own presumptuous provocation, shalt be lawfully called to do thy feat, and to play thy part. The miserable end that one Quintus came unto, may be a warning, and a fearful example for all men to beware of presumption and rashness in such things (as Eusebius writeth in his Ecclesiastical History) for evermore.

"But a third sort of men there be, which also will be counted favourers of God's word, and are (I fear) in number far more, and worse to be persuaded to that which is the godly mean. I mean of such as will peradventure say or think, that my former counsel, which was to fly the infection of the antichristian doctrine by departing out of the realm, is more than needeth, and other ways and means may be found, both to abide, and also to be clear out of danger of the foresaid plague. If that could be found, both to abide and also to be clear out of danger of the foresaid plague, truly, agreeable to God's word, I would be as glad to hear it, God is my witness, as they who think otherwise. 'Yes,' peradventure will some say, 'thus it may be: thou mayest keep thyself, thy faith, and thy religion close to thyself, and inwardly and privily worship God in spirit and truth, and outwardly see thou be no open meddler, nor talker, nor transgressor of common order: so mayest thou be suffered in the commonwealth, and yet use thy religion without offence of thy conscience.' In other countries, some where, this peradventure might be used, but in England what shall be, God wot; but it was never yet, so far as ever I have known or heard. And also how can it be, but either thou must transgress the common order, and the Romish laws and customs, which have been used in England in the times past of popery, and now (it is certain) they return again: I say, thou must either be a breaker of these rites, laws, and customs, and so bewray thyself, or else, if thou be indeed a man of God, thou shalt offend thy conscience; for in observing of them, thou shalt be compelled to break God's law, which is the rule of conscience to the man of God. For how canst thou resort every holy-day to the church, and bear a face to worship the creature for the Creator, as thou must do, and peradventure confess it too with thy mouth, and to sprinkle thyself with the conjured water?

"Thou must be contributor also to the charges of all their popery, as of books of antichrist's service, of lights of the rood-loft, of the sepulchre for setting-up and painting of images—nay, indeed of idols—and thou must bear a face to worship them also, or else thou must be had by the back. Thou must serve the turn, to give the holy loaves as they call it, which is nothing else but a very mockery of the Lord's holy table. Thou must be a contributor to the charges of all the disguised apparel, that the popish sacrificing priest, like unto Aaron, must play

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his part in. Yea, when the pardoner goeth about, or the flattering friar, to beg for the maintenance of superstition, except thou do as thy neighbours do, look not long to live in rest. If any of thy household die, if thou wilt not pay money for ringing and singing, for *requiem*, masses, *dirige*, and commendations, and such-like trumpery of the antichristian religion, thinkest thou that thou shalt be reckoned for a catholic man, or for *amicus Cæsaris*? A hundred things more may be reckoned, and many of more weight, and of more evident superstition and idolatry, than some of these which I have now rehearsed, which God knoweth be ill enough: but these are enow to declare, and to set before thine eyes, the thing that I intend; that is, if thou abide and wilt dwell in England, thou must either do these, and many other more, contrary to God's word, which forbiddeth not only the thing which is evil, but also saith, Abstain from all things that have any appearance of evil; or else, if thou wilt not do them, how thou canst live in England in rest safe from the stake, truly I cannot tell.

"But peradventure (as a man is ready to find and invent some colour to cloak his conscience, to do that thing that his heart desireth) thou wilt say, Though at any time I shall be forced to do any of these things and such like, yet will I have no confidence in them, but outwardly with my body. I will keep mine heart unto God, and will not do that of mine own mind willingly neither, but to avoid another inconvenience: I trust therefore God will hold me excused, for he shall have my heart: what can I do more?"

"O my friend, beware, for God's sake; and know that the subtleties of Satan are deep. He that is not able by God's word to perceive them, is heavily laden. Pray therefore with David, Lord, let me not have a mind to invent excuses to cloak my sin. Examine, my dear friend, these thy wily ways with the word of God, and if they do agree, thou mayest use them: if not, know, though they may seem never so fine and goodly, yet indeed they be of Satan's brood. God's word is certain, that forbiddeth to worship the creature for the Creator, for that is heinous idolatry, and against the first commandment of God; and it is also against the second commandment of the first table to bow down or to do worship unto any images of God, or of any other thing. And God's word requireth not only the belief of the heart, but also the confession of the mouth: and to bear part of the charges, to the maintenance of things ungodly, what is that, but, in thy so doing, a consent to the thing done? Now consenters and the doers God's word accounteth to be guilty both: and it is not lawful, by St. Paul's doctrine, which was inspired him by the Spirit of God, to do ill, that thereof the thing which is good may come.

"Thy heart, thou sayest, God shall have, and yet wilt suffer thy body to do the thing that God doth abhor. Beware, O man! take heed what thou sayest; man may be deceived, but no man may deceive God, for he is called and is truly καρδιγνωστης [Greek: kardiognostes], that is to say, 'the searcher of the heart.' Now, to give God thy heart, is to give him thy whole heart, to love him, to dread him, and to trust in him above all other things. He that hath my commandments, saith Christ, and observeth and keepeth them, it is he that loveth me: and to dread God above all others, is rather willingly to incur the danger and peril of all fearful things, than wittingly to do that thing which is contrary to his blessed will and commandment; and to trust in him above all things, is assuredly to trust to his promise of his reward, and of his tuition, and of his goodness and mercy, and to prefer that above all things in the world, seem they never so strong, so wise, or so good. Now, how canst thou say truly, that God hath thy heart after this manner of sort, (which is to have thy heart indeed,) when thy deeds do declare far another thing? Thy body, O man, is

God's, and all the parts thereof, even as thy soul is: he made them both, and Christ with his blood redeemed them both, and is Lord of both, for he hath bought them both dearly; and darest thou suffer any part of either of them to do service to Satan? Surely in so doing, thou committest sacrilege, and dost rob God; thou defilest the lively temple of the living God, if thou suffer thy body to do Satan service. Do you not know, saith St. Paul, that your body is a lively temple of God? And may a man then take and use any part thereof but in the service of God? No, surely; it is not lawful so to do for the man of God, neither with hand, tongue, nor feet, nor any part of the whole body.

"Doth not Paul command that to the Romans, which pertaineth to every Christian soul? As you have in times past, saith he, given your members to do service unto uncleanness and wickedness, from one wickedness to another; so now give your members to do service unto righteousness, that you may be sanctified. And I pray thee, good hrother, what dost thou think it is to bear the mark of the beast in the forehead, and in the hand, that St. John speaketh of? I know we ought warily to speak of God's mysteries, which he showed by the spirit of prophesying to his servant John, yet, to read them with reverence, and to pray for the same so much as God knoweth is necessary for our time to know.

I think it necessary and good. Wherefore what, I suppose, is to bear the beast's mark, I will tell thee, and commit the judgment of mine interpretation, as in all other things, to the spiritual man. I suppose he beareth the beast of Babylon's mark in his forehead which is not ashamed of the beast's ways, but will profess them openly to set forth his master, the beast of Abaddon. And likewise he beareth his mark in his hand, that will and doth practise the works of the beast with his power and hand. And likewise I will not let to tell thee what, I think, to be signed in the forehead for the servant of God is, whereof John also speaketh, reckoning up many thousands so to have been signed of every tribe. I suppose he is signed in the forehead for the servant of God, whom God hath appointed of his infinite goodness, and hath given him grace and strength, stoutly to confess him and his truth before the world. And to have grace and strength to confess Christ, and the doctrine of the cross, and to lament and mourn for the abominations of antichrist, I suppose is to be signed with *tau*, whereof Ezekiel the prophet doth speak. Thus I suppose these prophecies are spiritually to be understood: and to look for other corporal marks; to be seen in men's foreheads, or in their hands, is nothing else but to look that there should come some brute beast out of Babylon, or some elephant, leopard, lion, or camel, or some other such monstrous beast with ten horns, that should do all the wonderful things spoken in John; and yet of a beast speaketh John, but I understand him so to be called, not for that he shall be any such brute beast, but for that he is and shall be the child of perdition, which, for his cruelty and beastly manners, is well called a beast.

"The carnal Jews knew there was a promise made, that Elias should come before Christ the Messias, the anointed of God, to prepare his ways; they knew also there was a promise of Messias, that he should come, and be a king, and reign in the house of David for evermore. But they understood all so grossly, and so carnally, that they neither knew Elias, nor Messias, when they came; for they looked for Elias to come down from heaven in his own person, and for Messias to come and reign in worldly pomp, power, riches, and glory; whereas the prophecies of both were spiritually to have been understood—of Elias, that he should come not in person, but in spirit, that is, one that should be indued with the spirit and gifts of grace of Elias, which was

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indeed John Baptist, as Christ himself did declare to his apostles; and of Messias's reign, all the prophets were to be understood of the reign of his spiritual kingdom over the house of Jacob, and the true Israelites for evermore. And so by that their gross and carnal understanding, they mistook both Elias, and the true Messias; and when they came, knew neither of them both, So likewise, I fear me, nay, it is certain, the world that wanteth the light of the Spirit of God, (for the world is not able to receive him, saith John,) neither doth nor shall know the beast, nor his marks, though he rage cruelly, and live never so beastly, and though his marked men be in number like the sand of the sea. The Lord therefore vouchsafe to open the eyes of the blind with the light of grace, that they may see and perceive and understand the words of God, after the mind of his Spirit. Amen.

"Here remain two objections, which may seem weighty, and the which may peradventure move many not to follow the former counsel. The former reason is, a man will say, O sir, it is no small matter ye speak of, to depart from a man's own native country into a strange realm. Many men have so great lets, as how is it possible that they can or may do so? Some have lands and possessions, which they cannot carry with them: some have father, mother, wife, children, and kinsfolk, from whom to depart is as hard a thing (and all one almost) as to suffer death, and to go to a strange country that thou knowest not, neither the manner of the people, nor how thou mayest away either with the people or with the country: or what a hard thing it is to live among a strange people, whose tongue thou dost not understand,' &c.

"I grant here thou mayest heap a number of worldly incommunities, which are surely very like to ensue the departure out of a man's own native country, I mean out of the whole realm into a strange land: but what of all these, and a thousand more of the like sort? I will set unto them one saying of our Saviour Christ, which unto the faithful child of God, and to the true Christian, is able to countervail all these, yea, and to weigh them down. Christ our Saviour saith in Luke, If any come to me, and do not hate his father and mother, (he meaneth, and will not in His cause forsake his father and mother,) his wife, children, and brethren, yea, and his life too, he cannot be my disciple: and whosoever doth not bear my cross and come after me, he cannot be my disciple. And in the same place he declareth by the two parables, one of a builder, and the other of a king that is a warrior, that every man that will not in Christ's cause forsake all that ever he hath, he cannot be his disciple. Look the places who will: the matter is so plainly set forth, that no glosses, nor cloaking of conscience, to the man of God, can serve to the contrary. Many places there be for the same purpose, for the embracing of Christ's cross, when Christ and his cause layeth it upon our back; but this is so plain, that I need here to rehearse no more.

"This latter reason and objection, whereof I spake before, is of more force, and includeth a necessity, which, after the common saying, hath no law, and therefore it is more hard to shape for it a good answer. This may be objected of some, 'Alas! sir, I grant all these things do grieve me, and, because I understand they do not agree with God's word, which is the rule of my conscience, I loathe either to look on them, or to hear them. But, sir, alas! I am an impotent man, an aged man, a sick man, a lame man, or I have so many small infants, and a lame wife, which all live by my labour, and by my provision: if I leave them they shall starve, and I am not able to carry them with me, such is my state. Alas! sir, what shall I do? And these causes may chance to some men of God, whereby either it shall be for them utterly impossible to depart the country, or

else in departing they shall be enforced to forsake such in extreme necessities, of whom both God and nature hath committed unto them the care.

"Alas, what counsel is here to be given? O lamentable state! O sorrowful heart! that neither can depart, and without extreme danger and peril is not able to tarry still. And these are they whom our Saviour Christ saw before should be, and called them in his prophecy of the latter time, women with child, or travailing women, and women that give, after they be brought to bed, their small babes suck. Of the state of such as are not able to fly the infection of the pestiferous plague of antichrist's abominations, Christ lamenting, and not cursing, saith, Woe be to the women with child, and travailing women, and women that give suck, in those days. For these, alas! my heart mourneth the more, the less I am able to give any comfortable counsel, but this; that always, as they look for everlasting life, they abide still in the confession of his truth, whatsoever shall befall; and for the rest, to put their trust now wholly in God, which is able to save them against all appearance; and commonly in extremities, when all worldly comfort faileth, and the danger is at highest, then unto his he is wont, after his accustomed mercy, to be most ready to put his helping hand. Daniel, God suffered to be cast into the den of lions, and the three children into the hot burning furnace; and yet he saved them all. Paul was plucked out of the mouth of the lion, (as he saith of himself,) and in Asia he was brought into such trouble, that he looked for no other thing but for present death; and yet he that raiseth the dead to life again, did bring him out of all his troubles, and taught him and all others that be in troubles for Christ's cause, not to trust to themselves, but in Almighty God.

"Of God's gracious aid in extreme perils toward them that put their trust in him, all Scripture is full, both Old and New. What dangers were the patriarchs oftentimes brought into, as Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; but, of all others, Joseph; and how mercifully were they delivered again! In what perils was Moses when he was fain to fly for the safeguard of his life! And when was he sent again to deliver the Israelites from the servile bondage? Not before they were brought into extreme misery. And when did the Lord mightily deliver his people from Pharaoh's sword? Not before they were brought into such straits, that they were so compassed on every side—the main sea on the one side, and the main host on the other—that they could look for none other, (yea, what did they indeed else look for?) but either to have been drowned in the sea, or else to have fallen on the edge of Pharaoh's sword. Those judges, which wrought most wonderful things in the delivery of the people, were ever given when the people was brought to most misery before, as Othniel, Ehud, Shamgar, Gideon, Jephtha, Samson. And so was Saul endued with strength and boldness from above, against the Ammonites, Philistines, and Amalekites, for the defence of the people of God. David likewise felt God's help most sensibly ever in his extreme persecutions. What shall I speak of the prophets of God, whom God suffered so oft to be brought into extreme perils, and so mightily delivered them again; as Elias, Jeremy, Daniel, Micaiah, and Jonas, and many others, whom it were but too long to rehearse and set out at large? And did the Lord use his servants otherwise in the new law after Christ's incarnation? Read the Acts of the Apostles, and you shall see no. Were not the apostles cast into prison, and brought out by the mighty hand of God? Did not the angel deliver Peter out of the strong prison, and bring him out by the iron gates of the city, and set him free? And when, I pray you? Even the same night before Herod appointed to have brought him to judgment to have slain him, as he had a little before killed James the brother of John. Paul and Silas, when after they had been sore scourged, and were put into the inner prison, and there were laid fast in the stocks; I pray you,

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what appearance was there that the magistrates should be glad to come the next day themselves to them, to desire them to be content, and to depart in peace? Who provided for Paul, that he should be safely conducted out of all danger, and brought to Felix the emperor's deputy, when both the high priest, the Pharisees, and rulers of the Jews, had conspired to require judgment of death against him, he being fast in prison; and also more than forty men had sworn each one to another, that they would neither eat nor drink, until they had slain Paul? A thing wonderful, that no reason could have invented, no man could have looked for: God provided Paul his own sister's son, a young man, that disappointed that conspiracy, and all their former conjuration. The manner how the thing came to pass, thou mayest read in Acts xxiii. I will not be tedious unto thee with the rehearsal thereof.

"Now to descend from the apostles to the martyrs that followed next in Christ's church, and in them likewise to declare how gracious our good God ever hath been to work wonderfully with them which in his cause have been in extreme perils, it were matter enough to write a long book. I will here name but one man and one woman, that is, Athanasius, the great clerk and godly man stoutly standing in Christ's cause against the Arians, and that holy woman Blandina, standing so constantly in all extreme pains, in the simple confession of Christ. If thou wilt have examples of more, look and thou shalt have both these, and a hundred more, in the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, and in the Tripartite History.

"But for all these examples, both of Holy Scripture and of other histories, I fear me the weak man of God, encumbered with the frailty and infirmity of the flesh, will have now and then such thoughts and qualms (as they call them) to run over his heart, and to think thus: 'All these things which are rehearsed out of the Scripture I believe to be true, and of the rest truly I do think well, and can believe them also to be true; but all these, we must needs grant, were special miracles of God, which now in our days are ceased, we see; and to require them at God's hands, were it not to tempt God?

"Well-beloved brother, I grant such were great wonderful works of God, and we have not seen many of such miracles in our time, either for that our sight is not clear (for truly God worketh with his, his part in all times); or else because we have not the like faith of them for whose cause God wrought such things; or because, after that he had set forth the truth of his doctrine by such miracles then sufficiently, the time of so many miracles to be done was expired withal. Which of these is the most special cause of all others, or whether there be any other, God knoweth; I leave that to God. But know thou this, my well-beloved in God, that God's hand is as strong as ever it was; he may do what his gracious pleasure is, and he is as good and gracious as ever he was. Man changeth as the garment doth: but God our heavenly Father is even the same now that he was, and shall be for evermore.

"The world, without doubt, (this I do believe, and therefore I say,) draweth towards an end, and in all ages God hath had his own manner, after his secret and unsearchable wisdom, to use his elect, sometimes to deliver them, and to keep them safe, and sometimes to suffer them to drink of Christ's cup, that is, to feel the smart, and to feel of the whip. And though the flesh smarteth at the one, and feeleth ease in the other; is glad of the one, and sore vexed in the other: yet the Lord is all one towards them in both, and loveth them no less when he suffereth them to be beaten, yea, and to be put to bodily death, than when he worketh wonders for their marvellous

delivery. Nay, rather he doth more for them, when in anguish of the torments he standeth by them, and strengtheneth them in their faith, to suffer in the confession of the truth and his faith the bitter pangs of death, than when he openeth the prison-door and letteth them go loose: for here he doth but respite them to another time, and leaveth them in danger to fall in like peril again; and there he maketh them perfect, to be without danger, pain, or peril, after that for evermore. But this his love towards them, howsoever the world doth judge it, is all one, both when he delivereth, and when he suffereth them to be put to death. He loved as well Peter and Paul, when (after they had, according to his blessed will, pleasure, and providence, finished their courses, and done their services appointed them by him here in preaching of his gospel) the one was beheaded, and the other was hanged or crucified of the cruel tyrant Nero, as the Ecclesiastical History saith; as when he sent the angel to bring Peter out of prison, and for Paul's delivery he made all the doors of the prison to fly wide open, and the foundation of the same, like an earthquake, to tremble and shake.

"Thinkest thou, O thou man of God! that Christ our Saviour had less affection to the first martyr Stephen, because he suffered his enemies even at the first conflict to stone him to death? No surely, nor James, John's brother, which was one of the three that Paul calleth primates or principals amongst the apostles of Christ. He loved him never a whit the worse than he did the other, although he suffered Herod the tyrant's sword to cut off his head. Nay, doth not Daniel say, speaking of the cruelty of antichrist's time. And the learned [he meaneth truly learned in God's law] shall teach many, and shall fall upon the sword, and in the flame, [that is, shall be burned in the flaming fire,] and in captivity, [that is, shall be in prison,] and be spoiled and robbed of their goods for a long season. And after a little in the same place of Daniel it followeth, And of the learned there he, which shall fall or be overthrown, that they may be known, tried, chosen, and made white [he meaneth, be burnished and scoured anew, picked and chosen, and made fresh and lusty]. If that then was foreseen to be done to the godly learned, and for so gracious causes, let every one to whom any such thing by the will of God doth chance, be merry in God and rejoice, for it is to God's glory, and to his own everlasting wealth. Wherefore well is he that ever he was born, for whom thus graciously God hath provided, having grace of God, and strength of the Holy Ghost, to stand stedfastly in the height of the storm. Happy is he that ever he was born, whom God his heavenly Father hath vouchsafed to appoint to glorify him, and to edify his church by the effusion of his blood.

"To die in Christ's cause, is a high honour, to the which no man certainly shall or can aspire, but to whom God vouchsafeth that dignity: for no man is allowed to presume to take unto himself any office of honour, but he which is thereunto called of God. Therefore John saith well, speaking of them which have obtained the victory by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of his testimony, that they loved not their lives, even unto death. And our Saviour Christ saith, He that shall lose his life for my cause, shall find it. And this manner of speech pertaineth not to one kind of Christians, (as the worldly do wickedly dream,) but to all that do truly pertain unto Christ. For when Christ had called unto him the multitude together with his disciples, he said unto them, (mark that he said not to the disciples and apostles only, but he said it to all,) Whosoever will follow me, let him forsake or deny himself, and take up his cross and follow me: for whosoever will save his life, shall lose it; [he meaneth whosoever will, to save his life, forsake or leave him and his truth;] and whosoever shall lose his life for my cause and the gospel's sake, shall save it. For what shall it profit a man if he shall win the whole world, and

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lose his own soul, his own life? or what shall a man give to recompense that loss of his own life, and of his own soul? Whosoever shall be ashamed of me and my words (that is, to confess me and my gospel) before this adulterous and sinful generation, of him shall the Son of man be ashamed, when he cometh in the glory of his Father, with the holy angels. Know thou, O man of God, that all things are ordained for thy behoof, and to the furtherance of thee, towards thy salvation. All things, saith Paul, work with the good to goodness. Even the enemies of God, and such kind of punishments whereby they go about to destroy them, shall be forced by God's power, might, and fatherly providence, to do them service.

"It is not as the wicked thinketh, that poverty, adversity, sickness, tribulation, yea, painful death of the godly, be tokens that God doth not love them; but even clean the contrary, as all the whole course of Scripture doth evidently declare: for then he would never have suffered his most dearly beloved the patriarchs to have had such troubles, his prophets, his apostles, his martyrs, and chief champions and maintainers of his truth and gospel, so cruelly of the wicked to have been murdered and slain. Of the which some were racked (as the apostle saith) and would not be delivered, that they might receive a better resurrection; some were tried by mockings and scourgings, yea, moreover by bonds and imprisonment: they were stoned, they were hewn and cut asunder, they were tempted, they were slain with the sword; they wandered up and down in sheep's skins and goats' skins, being forsaken, afflicted, and tormented, such men as the world was not worthy to have, wandering in wildernesses, in mountains, in dens and caves of the earth. All these were approved by the testimony of faith, and received not the promise, because God did provide better for us, that without us they should not be consummated. They tarry for us now undoubtedly, longing for the day: but they are commanded to have patience yet (saith the Lord) a little while, until the number of their fellow servants be fulfilled, and of their brethren which are yet to be slain, as they were.

"Now, thou, O man of God, for our Lord's sake, let us not, for the love of this life, tarry then too long, and be occasion of delay of that glorious consummation in hope and expectation whereof they departed in the Lord, and the which also the living, indeed with God's Spirit, ought so earnestly to desire and to groan for with all the creatures of God. Let us all, with John the servant of God, cry in our hearts unto our Saviour Christ, Come, Lord Jesus, come. For then when Christ, which is our life, shall be made manifest, and appear in glory, then shall the children of God appear what they be, even like unto Christ: for this our weak body shall be transfigured and made like unto Christ's glorious body, and that by the power whereby he is able to subdue unto himself all things. Then, that which is now corruptible shall be made incorruptible; that which now is vile shall be made glorious; that which is now weak shall rise then mighty and strong; that which is gross and carnal shall be made fine and spiritual: for then we shall see and have the unspeakable joy and fruition of the glorious majesty of our Lord, even as he is.

"Who or what then shall let us to jeopard, yea, to spend this life which we have here, in Christ's cause? in our Lord God's cause? O thou, therefore, man of God, thou that art loaden, and so letted like unto a woman great with child, that thou canst not fly the plague, yet, if thou lust after such things as I have spoken of, stand fast, whatsoever shall befall, in thy Master's cause; and take this thy letting to fly, for a calling of God to fight in thy Master Christ's cause. Of this be thou certain, they can do nothing unto thee, which thy Father is not aware of, or hath not

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foreseen before; they can do no more than it shall please him to suffer them to do for the furtherance of his glory, edifying of his church, and thine own salvation. Let them then do what they shall, seeing to thee, O man of God, all things shall be forced to serve and to work with thee unto the best, before God. O be not afraid, and remember the end!

"All this which I have spoken for the comfort of the lamentable case of the man whom Christ called a woman great with child, I mean to be spoken likewise to the captive and prisoner in God's cause; for such I count to be as it were already summoned and pressed to fight under the banner of the cross of Christ, and as it were soldiers allowed and taken up for the Lord's wars, to do their Lord and Master good and honourable service, and to stick to him, as men of trusty service in his cause, even unto death; and to think their life lost in his cause, is to win it in eternal glory for evermore.

"Therefore, now to conclude and make an end of this treatise, I say unto all that love God our heavenly Father, that love Christ Jesus our Redeemer and Saviour, that love to follow the ways of the Holy Ghost which is our comforter and sanctifier of all, unto all that love Christ's spouse and body, the true catholic church of Christ, yea, that love life and their own soul's health; I say unto all these, hearken, my dear brethren and sisters, all you that be of God, of all sorts, ages, dignities, or degrees; hearken to the word of our Saviour Jesus Christ spoken to his apostles, and meant to all his, in St. Matthew's Gospel: Fear not them which kill the body, for they cannot kill the soul; but fear him more which may destroy and cast both body and soul into hell-fire. Are not two small sparrows sold for a mite, and one of them shall not fall or light upon the ground without your Father? All the hairs of your head be numbered. Fear them not, you are much more worth than are the little sparrows. Every one that confesseth me before men, him shall I likewise confess before my Father which is in heaven. But whosoever shall deny me before men, I shall deny him likewise before my Father which is in heaven.

"The Lord grant us therefore of his heavenly grace and strength, that here we may so confess him in this world amongst this adulterous and sinful generation, that he may confess us again at the latter day, before his Father which is in heaven, to our glory, and everlasting comfort, joy, and salvation.

"To our heavenly Father, to our Saviour and Redeemer Jesus Christ, and to the Holy Ghost, be all glory and honour now and for ever. Amen."

Thus with the death and martyrdom of these two learned pastors and constant soldiers of Christ, Master Latimer and Bishop Ridley, you have divers of their letters and other writings of theirs expressed, with the farewells also of Bishop Ridley, wherein he took his leave of the world, taking his journey to the kingdom of heaven. Divers and sundry other treatises of his remain also in my hand both in Latin and English, to be remembered by the leave of the Lord in time and place convenient.

About this time suffered William Dighel, most constantly offering his body a burnt-sacrifice unto God, forsaking the world, life, and all, for the love of his holy truth. This holy martyr suffered at Banbury in the county of Oxford.

323. The Peternot Profession.

A brief description of the profession of the Christian faith, agreed upon and made at Peternot, commonly called Prethan Plegatose, of the kingdom of Poland; the third of May, A. D. 1555: translated out of Latin into English.

"All men have their beginning and be born in sin, and all men's understandings be as darkness, so that we cannot have a thought, not only of God, but neither of ourselves; wherefore God gave the Ten Commandments of the Law, that, by them, our blind eyes, as it were, might be opened and made bright, and by the same we might know man's infirmity.

"Therefore Christ came that he might manifest God unto us, and his will: wherefore Christ is the light of this world, whom whoso followeth, and swerveth not from his word, he walketh in the eternal light.

"This only Doctor and Schoolmaster, that eternal God of the world commanded us to hear and follow, forasmuch as that Son of God cannot lie; and whosoever follow not his word, although they be most mighty and wise, they all be liars.

"He hath manifested unto us all things that seem to pertain unto eternal salvation; without him, no man may be acceptable before God

"Unto him all the prophets do ascribe and bear witness that such as believe in the Son are blessed: he alone hath made us free from the wrath of God, because, by our works, we deserve not the same, neither is there any thing under heaven that may save us besides him.

"Therefore whosoever doth attribute salvation and due praises to any other, but only to Christ, is guilty of blasphemy against God.

"This the Son of God doth attribute to the merit of his passion by the gospel, (which ought to be preached unto every person in his own mother tongue,) and, by the sacraments, unto the believers of his word: that is, by baptism, and by the use of his body and blood which was shed for the remission of our sins.

"In these sacraments the covenant of the Lord is sealed up unto us, which, whosoever will change, is accursed.

"In none other place verily we find a sacrament, but where it is tied to the word of God: for the traditions of men not agreeing to the word be idolatries; specially when they be set in God's place.

"This also we have learned out of the commandments of Christ, that only God is to be worshipped, who alone is the searcher of the hearts; which is proper to no creature; and we have a commandment in the old law: He that worshippeth another God besides this, let him suffer death. Unto this God we have none other Mediator and Intercessor, besides Jesus Christ. It is evident therefore that God is not bound by the word unto images and figures.

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"The sacrament of baptism and of the Lord's supper do offer unto the believers the remission of sins; besides these the Christians use none other.

"Other godly ordinances, as matrimony, the confirmation of the ministers of the church, [&c.,] do not bring unto us the remission of sins, which be inferior dignities; albeit we do not despise them. We deny that oblation should be made for the dead; for if, when they were alive, they knew and praised God, where they ought, they are saved; otherwise, contrary, the masses and diriges, and such other trifles, can do them no good. Of this the word of God testifieth: He that believeth in the Son of God shall not be damned.

"Paul forbiddeth us to be careful for them that be dead. While we are in this world it is certain we may help one another as well with prayers as with counsels, but when we shall come before the throne of God, neither Job, neither Daniel, neither Noah, shall pray for any person, but every man shall bear his own burden. Here life is either lost or gotten; here provision is made for us of eternal salvation, by the worship of God, and by faith: after this life there is no place of repentance, neither of any satisfaction. There is none other place but in this life to correct our affections and manners, for after this life every person shall have that, which, in the same, he hath purchased to himself.

"All the catholic faith, by the authority of Scripture, believeth the kingdom of heaven to be the first place from whence he that is not baptized is to be excluded utterly: we acknowledge no third place, yea, neither do we find it to be in the Holy Scriptures.

"We hold God's most holy word and commandment; but of the traditions of men, this God speaketh: They worship me in vain, teaching the doctrines and commandments of men. Also, Every plantation which my heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted out."

324. The Death and End of Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, the Enemy of God's Word.



HE next month after the burning of Dr. Ridley and Master Latimer, which was the month of November, Stephen Gardiner, bishop and chancellor, a man hated of God and all good men, ended his wretched life: concerning the qualities, nature, and disposition of which man, forasmuch as somewhat hath been declared before in the story of King Edward's reign, I shall need therefore the less now to stand greatly upon the same. First, this viper's bird, crept out of the town of Bury in Suffolk, was brought up most part of his youth in Cambridge; his wit, capacity, memory, and other endowments of nature were not to be complained of, if he had well used and rightly applied the same; wherein there was no great want of God's part in him, if he had not rather himself wanted to the goodness of his gifts. Through this promptness, activity, and towardness of his, he profited not a little in such studies as he gave his head unto, as first in the civil law, then in languages and such other like, especially in those arts and faculties which had any prospect to dignity and preferment to be hoped for. Besides other ornaments or helps of nature, memory chiefly seemed in him very beneficial, rather than diligence of study.

To these gifts and qualities were joined again as great or greater vices, which not so much followed him, as overtook him; not so much burdened him, as made him burdenous to the whole realm. He was of a proud stomach, and high-minded, in his own opinion and conceit flattering himself too much; in wit, crafty and subtle; towards his superiors flattering and fair spoken; to his inferiors fierce; against his equal stout and envious, namely, if in judgment and sentence he any thing withstood him, as appeared between the good Lord Cromwell and him in the reign of King Henry, being of like haughtiness of stomach as the poets write of Pelides, *cedere nescius*: who, although he would give no place to men, yet notwithstanding I wish he would have given place to truth, according as he seemed not altogether ignorant of that truth. What his knowledge was therein, it is evidently partly to understand as well by his book *De Vera Obedientia*; as also by his sermon before King Edward. Also by his answers to the council the same time, and moreover by his own words it may be gathered in sundry places, as more plainly may appear by that which hereafter followeth.

Upon his estimation and fame he stood too much, more than was meet for a man of his coat and calling, whose profession was to be crucified unto the world, which thing made him so stiff in maintaining that he had once begun to take upon him. I will not here speak of that which hath been constantly reported to me touching the monstrous making and mishaped fashion of his feet and toes, the nails whereof were said not to be like to other men's, but to crook downward, and to be sharp like the claws of ravening beasts. What his learning was in the civil and canon law I have not to say. What it was in other liberal sciences and arts, this I suppose, that neither his continuance in study nor diligence of reading was such (by reason of his too much intermeddling in princes' matters) as could truly well merit unto him the title of a deep learned

man. But what learning or cunning soever it was he had, so it fared in him, as it doth in butchers, which use to blow up their flesh: even so he with boldness and stoutness, and specially with authority, made those gifts that he had to appear much greater than they were in very deed. Whereunto, peradventure, use also, and experience abroad, brought no little helps, rather than either quickness of wit, or happiness of education.

And as touching divinity, he was so variable, wavering with time, that no constant censure can be given what to make of him. If his doings and writings were according to his conscience, no man can rightly say whether he was a right protestant or papist. If he wrote otherwise than he thought, for fear, or to bear with time, then was he a double deep dissembler before God and man, to say and unsay, to write and unwrite, to swear and forswear, so as he did. For first in the beginning of Queen Anne's time, who was so forward or so busy in the matter of the king's divorce as Stephen Gardiner, who was first sent to Rome, and then to the emperor with Edward Foxe, as chief agent in the behalf of the Lady Anne? by whom also he was preferred to the bishopric of Winchester, as Edward Bonner was preferred to the bishopric of London. Again, at the abolishing of the pope, who so ready to swear or so vehement to write against the pope as he, as not only by his sermons, but also by his book *De Obedientia* may appear? in which book *De Obedientia*, lest any should think him drawn thereunto otherwise than by his own consent, he plainly declareth how, not rashly nor upon a sudden, but upon a long deliberation and advertisement in himself about the matter, he at length uttered his judgment; whereof read before. And moreover, so he uttered his judgment in writing against the usurped supremacy of the pope, that, coming to Louvain afterward, he was there accounted for a person excommunicate and a schismatic, insomuch that he was not permitted in their church to say mass; and moreover, in their public sermons they openly cried out against him. Whereof read hereafter following.

And thus long continued he firm and forward, so that who but Winchester, during all the time and reign of Queen Anne? After her decease that time by little and little carried him away, till at length the emulation of Cromwell's estate, and especially (as it seemeth) for his so much favouring of Bonner, whom Winchester at that time in no case could abide, made him an utter enemy both against him, and also his religion: till again, in King Edward's days, he began a little to rebate from certain points of popery, and somewhat to smell of the gospel, as both by his sermon before King Edward, as also by his subscribing to certain articles, may appear. And this was a half turn of Stephen Gardiner from popery again to the gospel, and, no doubt, he would have further turned, had not the unlucky decay of the duke of Somerset clean turned him away from true divinity, to plain popery; wherein he continued a cruel persecutor to his dying day.

And thus much concerning the trade and profession of Stephen Gardiner's popish divinity. In which his popish trade, whether he followed more true judgment, or else time, or rather the spirit of ambition and vain-glory, it is doubtful to say; and so much the more doubtful, because in his doings and writings a man may see him not only contrary to himself, but also in some points contrary to other papists. And furthermore, where he agreeth with them, he seemeth therein not so much to follow his own sense, as the mind and meaning of Perseus; out of whose book the greatest part of Winchester's divinity seemeth to be borrowed.

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And therefore as in the true knowledge of God's holy word and Scripture he appeareth nobody; so in his pen and style of writing no less far is he from commendation, than he is from all plainness and perspicuity: in whose obscure and perplex kind of writing, although peradventure some sense may be found with some searching, yet shall no reader find any sweetness in his reading.

What moved him to be so sturdy against Master Cheke, and Sir Thomas Smith, for the Greek pronunciation, others may think what they please: I speak but what I think, that so he did, for that he saw it a thing rather newly begun, than truly impugned. Such was the disposition of that man, as it seemeth, that of purpose he ever affected to seem to be a patron of old customs, though they were never so rotten with age. Amongst other matters, this one thing I cannot but smile at in my mind, when I see how proudly he braggeth, and vainly vaunteth himself, (as well in his letters to the lord protector, and others of King Edward's council, as also in his long matter articulated and exhibited by him unto the archbishop of Canterbury, and other the king's commissioners,) of the high favour he had of the noble king of famous memory, King Henry the Eighth, when indeed nothing was less true; neither did the king less favour any of his council than him, affirming very often, that he greatly suspected the said bishop to be a secret maintainer of the bishop of Rome's usurped authority, and a stout disturber and hinderer of his proceedings in reformation of religion. And therefore he did so much dislike him, that he did not only mind (if the Lord had sent his Highness longer life) to have used the extremity of law against him, upon very sore and just matter of old committed by him, and yet not taken away by any pardon, commanding thereupon often the Lord Paget, then his secretary, to keep safe certain writings which he had against him; but also commanded that he should be put clean out of his last will and testament, not suffering him either to be any of his executors, or else in any case of his son's council, (no, although he were earnestly entreated to the contrary by sundry of the lords and others of his Highness's council,) saying, he was a wilful, troublesome, and headstrong man, and not meet to be about his son, or to have any thing to do by his will.

Now amongst other causes that moved the king thus to suspect his fidelity towards his godly proceedings in religion, I find this to be one. It pleased his Majesty, after his abolishing of the bishop of Rome's usurped authority, (amongst other embassages to foreign princes,) to send the said bishop of Winchester, and Sir Henry Knivet, knight, as joint ambassadors to the emperor, being then at a diet or council at Ratisbon, appointing also Sir John Barkley, Sir William Blunt, knights, and Master Andrew Beynton, esquire, (his Highness's servants,) to give their attendance upon the said Sir Henry Knivet, for the more honouring of his embassy. It happened also at that time, that Sir Henry Knivet entertained into his service, as steward of his household, one William Wolfe, who had in the same place and room before served Sir Thomas Wyat, knight, the king's former ambassador there, and by that means had good acquaintance in those parts, as well in the emperor's court, as elsewhere. This Wolfe, towards the latter end of the diet or council, happened to walk (as often he did) towards the emperor's palace to hear some news, where he met with one Ludovico, an Italian merchant, a banker, one of his old acquaintance; who, supposing the said Wolfe to have attended upon the bishop of Winchester, (not knowing of any other joint ambassador,) required Wolfe for old acquaintance to do him a pleasure; whereunto he willingly granted. Whereupon Ludovico showed him that the pope's legate or ambassador to the emperor, (which was Cardinal Contarini,) departing the day before towards Rome, and having no leisure to end his business himself, had put the said Ludovico in

trust for the accomplishing of it; and amongst all other things he had especially charged him, that he should repair to the ambassador of England, and require of him an answer of the pope's letters, which the legate did of late send unto him, addressed to him from Rome; and that upon the receipt thereof he should send them after with all speed; and therefore, if his lord ambassador would write by that courier, he prayed Wolfe to tell him that it was time to write, for the courier went away within a day or two. At this tale Wolfe being abashed, and yet partly guessing which ambassador he meant, thought it not meet to tell him whose servant he was, but by other soothing talk perceived that he meant the bishop of Winchester. And to the end that Ludovico should suspect nothing, he answered him, that he, being not the ambassador's secretary, could say little therein; howbeit he would not miss to put his secretary in remembrance of it (which thing Ludovico also desired him to do, for that he had no other acquaintance with the ambassador); and so for that time they departed. This matter seeming to Wolfe of some importance, he did straightways reveal it to Sir Henry Knivet his master; who, weighing also the greatness of the case, and what disadvantage it were upon one man's so bare report to attempt aught, in a place and time, whereby such a person was to be touched, charged Wolfe well to advise himself, that no affect of hate, displeasure, or other passion, did move him to disclose this, but truth only. Wolfe replied, that he weighed well the weightiness of the cause, meet, as to his own respect, to be passed over in silence, for avoiding of his private displeasure, if duty of allegiance bound him not otherwise. "But sir," quoth he, "if you think not my hearing thereof, one to one, to be sufficient, I warrant you to devise means, that some other of your servants shall hear the like words at Ludovico's own mouth, as well as I." Upon which talk Sir Henry Knivet devised which of his servants he might use to that purpose, and at last rested upon Master Thomas Chaloner his secretary, because he had the Italian tongue: not yet making him privy of any matter, but willed Wolfe to take him abroad with him as of his own private motion, for they were very familiar friends. Whereupon the next morning, being Sunday, Wolfe came to Chaloner's chamber, and prayed him familiarly to go walk with him abroad to the piazza, or market-stead, which he, gladly granting, so did; not knowing of any special cause why. When they came to the piazza, over against the emperor's palace, (near whereunto also the pope's legate had lodged,) and had there walked a while together, there came thither the said Ludovico, and, espying Wolfe, saluted him very friendly, and entered into talk about the Exchange, and sundry other matters, Chaloner being still with them. At last, upon occasion, they entered into talk about the former letters that the ambassador of England had received from Rome by the pope's legate, of which Ludovico had in charge to receive an answer, affirming, that the post did depart the next day, and therefore prayed Wolfe to put the ambassador's secretary in remembrance of them. Whereunto Wolfe answered, that he would willingly do it: but he did not well know which ambassador he meant, for that there were two, one the bishop of Winchester, and the other, a gentleman of the king's privy chamber. To whom Ludovico replied, that he meant not the gentleman of the privy chamber, but the bishop. By which talk, and more such-like, (as upon the former day,) Master Chaloner, being moved, (and not knowing yet of his master's and Wolfe's purpose,) after the departure of Ludovico from them said unto Wolfe, that Ludovico had had but homely talk with him, not to be passed over lightly, and therefore he would tell his master of it. To whom Wolfe answered, "Do as you will, if you think any matter therein." And therefore at his return home, he told Sir Henry Knivet what speech he had heard at Ludovico's mouth. Sir Henry Knivet, being thus further ascertained of the matter, opened the whole to Sir John Barkley, Sir William Blunt, and to Master Beynton, who all agreed yet to make a further trial thereof, and therefore devised that Wolfe should procure Ludovico to bring certain velvet, and other silks,

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unto Sir Henry Knivet's lodging, as well for himself, as for the other gentlemen; which that afternoon he did accomplish, and brought Ludovico unto Sir Henry, where also were the other gentlemen. After they had awhile viewed the silks, and had had some talk about the prices, Wolfe took occasion again to ask Ludovico, if Sir Henry were the ambassador of whom he was to demand an answer of the letters sent by the pope's legate? To whom the merchant answered, "No, it was not his seigniory, but it was a bishop," terming him reverendissimo, whereby they easily perceived whom he meant. Sir Henry Knivet hereupon, somewhat dissembling the matter, entered into further talk thereabout, whereby Ludovico opened as much in effect to them, as he had done before to Wolfe: but yet at last, perceiving that as well Sir Henry, as also the other gentlemen, did behold him somewhat fixedly, he brake off his talk; wherewith Sir Henry Knivet, making as though he had noted nothing, did lovingly dismiss him, praying him that when he had received the bishop's letters, he would also repair to him for a packet to an English gentleman of his acquaintance at Milan; which he promised to do, and so departed again. When Sir Henry had thus made sufficient trial of this matter, he forthwith wrote his letters unto the king's Majesty, signifying unto him the whole at large, as he had learned. In the mean while Ludovico the next morning repaired unto the bishop of Winchester's lodging, to demand an answer of those letters the legate had sent unto him: but how he used himself, or whether he uttered the talk he had with Sir Henry Knivet and with Wolfe, whom he supposed at the first to be the bishop's man, it is not certainly known. But the bishop, (perceiving that by mistaking one for another, and in supposing Wolfe to be the bishop's servant, Ludovico had uttered all his message from the legate unto Wolfe, and that thereby his practices would come to light,) in great hasty rage, caused Ludovico to be stayed in his own house, while in the mean time himself went to Granuella, one of the emperor's council, and so practised with him, that Ludovico was secretly committed unto prison, in the custody of one of the emperor's marshals, so as he could be no more talked withal, all the time of their abode there. And then, sending in great haste to Sir Henry Knivet to come and speak with him, (which he did,) he fell into very hot speech with him, saying, that he had poison in his dish, and that a knave was suborned to be his destruction; with many such-like words. Sir Henry told him again, how he understood it; and prayed him that Ludovico might be brought face to face, to be examined in both their presences; which the bishop would in no case agree unto, affirming that he had so declared the case to Granuella, being indifferent (as he thought) to them both, that he would not meddle with Ludovico, nor speak with him; but that the emperor's council should examine him, and try what he was, for him. To whom Sir Henry Knivet again very earnestly objected, that he marvelled that the bishop, in matter touching the king's Majesty, their master, would use the aid or means of Granuella, a foreign prince's minister, to make him privy of their question. But say and do what he could, he would never come to the speech of Ludovico any more ever after. Whereupon there rose great and long controversies between them, (both writing letters unto the king about that matter,) until at last the king's Majesty, perceiving his affairs otherwise to slack thereby, wrote unto them both, that they should lay all those things under foot, and join together in his service as before; which they did accordingly. But howsoever this matter was afterward salved here with the king's Majesty, as either by the death of Sir Henry Knivet, (which I think was not long after,) or by other friends the bishop had here at home, I know not: yet Wolfe, who within two months after died of a long cough of the lungs, upon his death-bed did again affirm the premises to be most true; and therefore, in the presence of Sir Henry Knivet, and divers other of his servants, he protested, that he had not invented, sought, or procured this at Ludovico's hands, for any malice or displeasure borne to the bishop, but only for discharge of his faith and duty unto the king's Majesty, desiring that the same his protestation

might be inserted in the end of his last will and testament, which was then presently done; and thereunto he set his hand.

Now, whether this was the matter that the king moved so often Master Secretary Paget (being after lord-keeper) to keep safe as sore matter against the bishop, I know not; but yet it appears by some depositions of the nobility, and others, in the process against him had in King Edward's days, that the king's Majesty, Henry the Eighth, had this matter ever in his mind; for in every general pardon that he granted by parliament after this practice, he did still except all treasons committed beyond the seas: meaning thereby, as it was supposed, that the bishop should not take any benefit by any general pardon, if at any time his Majesty would call him to account. And therefore, all things well weighed, he had small cause to vaunt of his great favour he had with King Henry his master. Howbeit, it seemeth he was brought into this fool's paradise by the Lord Paget; who, (as he himself reporteth in his depositions,) in his messages from the king to the said bishop, deluded him, telling him much otherwise than the king had spoken, and concealing always the king's hard speeches against him, which thing puffed up this vain-glorious Thraso not a little. All which premises appear more at large by the depositions of the nobles and others, examined in the long process against him in King Edward's reign, as appears in our first edition of Acts and Monuments, in that book at large mentioned.

But whatsoever he was, seeing he is now gone, I refer him to his Judge, to whom he shall stand or fall. As concerning his death, and manner thereof, I would they which were present thereat would testify to us what they saw. This we have all to think, that his death happened so opportunely, that England hath a mighty cause to give thanks to the Lord there-for: not so much for the great hurt he had done in times past in perverting his princes, in bringing in the Six Articles, in murdering God's saints, in defacing Christ's sincere religion, &c., also as, especially, for that he had thought to have brought to pass, in murdering also our noble queen that now is. For whatsoever danger it was of death that she was in, it did, no doubt, proceed from that bloody bishop, who was the cause thereof. And if it be certain which we have heard, that her Highness being in the Tower, a writ came down from certain of the council for her execution, it is out of controversy, that wily Winchester was the only Dædalus and framer of that engine, who (no doubt) in that one day had brought this whole realm into woeful ruin, had not the Lord's most gracious counsel, through Master Bridges, then the lieutenant, coming in haste to the queen, certified her of the matter, and prevented Achitophel's bloody devices; for the which, thanks be to the same our Lord and Saviour, in the congregation of all English churches. Amen.

Of things uncertain I must speak uncertainly, for lack of fuller information, or else peradventure they be in the realm that can say more than here I have expressed. For as Bonner, Story, Thornton, Harpsfield, Dunning, with others, were occupied in putting the poor branches of God's saints to death; so this bishop, for his part, bent all his devices, and had spent all his powder, in assailing the root, and in casting such a platform (as he himself in words at his death is said to confess) to build his popery upon, as he thought should have stood for ever and a day. But, as I said before, of things uncertain I can speak but uncertainly. Wherefore as touching the manner and order of his death, how rich he died, what words he spake, what little repentance he showed; whether he died with his tongue swollen and out of his mouth, as did Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, or whether he stank before he died, as Cardinal Wolsey did; or

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whether he died in despair, as Latomus and others did, &c.: all this I refer either to their reports of whom I heard it, or leave it to the knowledge of them which know it better.

Notwithstanding, here by the way, touching the death of this foresaid bishop, I thought not to overpass a certain hearsay, which not long since came to me by information of a certain worthy and credible gentlewoman, and another gentleman of the same name and kindred, which Mrs. Munday, being the wife of one Master Munday, secretary some time to the old Lord Thomas, duke of Norfolk, a present witness of this that is testified, thus openly reported in the house of a worshipful citizen, bearing yet office in this city, in words and effect as followeth:



Stephen Gardiner taken ill at table

The same day, when Bishop Ridley and Master Latimer suffered at Oxford, (being about the nineteenth day of October,) there came into the house of Stephen Gardiner the old duke of Norfolk, with the foresaid Master Munday his secretary above named, reporter hereof. The old aged duke, there waiting and tarrying for his dinner, the bishop, being not yet disposed to dine, deferred the time to three or four of the clock at afternoon. At length, about four of the clock,

cometh his servant, posting in all possible speed from Oxford, bringing intelligence to the bishop what he had heard and seen: of whom the said bishop diligently inquiring the truth of the matter, and hearing by his man, that fire most certainly was set unto them, cometh out rejoicing to the duke, "Now," saith he, "let us go to dinner." Whereupon, they being set down, meat immediately was brought, and the bishop began merrily to eat. But what followed? The bloody tyrant had not eaten a few bits, but the sudden stroke of God's terrible hand fell upon him in such sort, as immediately he was taken from the table, and so brought to his bed; where he continued the space of fifteen days in such intolerable anguish and torments, that all that mean while, during those fifteen days, he could not avoid, by urine or otherwise, any thing that he received: whereby his body being miserably inflamed within, (who had inflamed so many good martyrs before,) was brought to a wretched end.

And thereof, no doubt, as most like it is, came the thrusting out of his tongue from his mouth so swollen and black, with the inflammation of his body. A spectacle worthy to be noted and beholden of all such bloody burning persecutors.

But to proceed farther in the sequel of our story: I could name the man, (but I abstain from names,) who, being then present, and a great doer about the said Winchester, reported to us concerning the said bishop, that when Dr. Day, bishop of Chichester, came to him, and began to comfort him with words of God's promise, and with the free justification in the blood of Christ our Saviour, repeating the Scriptures to him, Winchester hearing that, "What, my Lord," quoth he, "will you open that gap now? then farewell altogether. To me, and such others in my case, you may speak it; but open this window to the people, then farewell altogether!"

Moreover, what Dr. Bonner then saw in him, or what he heard of him, and what words passed between them about the time of his extremity;—betwixt Gardiner and him be it. If Bonner did there behold any thing which might turn to his good example, I exhort him to take it, and to beware in time, as I pray God he may. Here I could bring in the frivolous epitaph which was made of his death, devised of a papist for a popish bishop, but I pretermitt it, and instead thereof I have here inferred certain gatherings out of his sermons, words, and writings; wherein may appear first, what an earnest and vehement enemy he was to the pope, if he would have been constant in himself; then how inconstantly he varied from himself; and thirdly, how he, standing upon a singularity of his own wit, varied also from other papists in certain points. In the gathering whereof although there be some pains, and tediousness also in reading; yet I thought not to pretermitt the same, upon certain considerations, namely, for that so many yet to this day there be, which stick so much to Gardiner's wit, learning, and religion, taking him for such a doughty pillar of the pope's church. To the intent therefore, that such as hitherto have been deceived by him, may not longer be abused therein, if they will either credit his own works, words, sermons, writings, disputations; or else will be judged by his own witnesses of his own party produced, we have manifest probations, which may notoriously declare how effectually first he withstood the pope's supremacy; and likewise afterwards may declare manifest contrariety and repugnancy of the said Gardiner, first with other writers, and lastly with himself: as in his sermon preached before King Edward, the sum and effect of which sermon has been briefly collected by Master Udall; and we have comprised the chief purpose of his sermon, with other such matter above storied, wherein may appear the double-faced doings of this bishop in matters of religion. In all which foresaid allegations it remains notorious and famous to all men,

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

how, in what points, and how far, the said bishop of Winchester agreed with the reformation of religion received, not only in King Henry's but also in King Edward's days.

And this now being sufficient for Gardiner's story, to leave him to his Judge, and to let him go, we shall return and proceed, (by the grace and leave of the Lord,) as the course of these doleful days shall lead us, to prosecute the residue of Christ's martyrs, as now in order followeth.

325. John Webbe, George Roper, Gregory Parke, William Wiseman, and James Gore

The burning of John Webbe, gentleman, George Roper, and Gregory Parke, at Canterbury, as followeth.

Next after the death and constant martyrdom of the two most worthy champions and standard-bearers of Christ's army, Dr. Nicholas Ridley, and Master Hugh Latimer, (of whom ye have heard at large,) followed three other stout and bold soldiers; that is to say, John Webbe, gentleman, George Roper, and Gregory Parke.

This John Webbe was brought before the bishop of Dover and Nicholas Harpsfield, or some other deputed in their room, long before the other two, videlicet, the sixteenth day of September; and there had propounded unto him such ordinary articles as (it seemeth) were commonly ministered by Bonner to those of his jurisdiction. And heing willed for that present to depart, and to deliberate with himself upon the matter against the next time of his appearance, he made answer that he would no otherwise say (by God's grace) than he had already said, which was this "As touching the sacrament of Christ's body, I do believe," quoth he, "it to be left unto his church (with thanksgiving) in commemoration of his death and passion, until his coming again. So that it is left in remembrance of his body; and not by the words of consecration to be made his body really, substantially, and the same body that was born of the Virgin Mary—I utterly deny that."

After this (besides sundry other times) the third day of October, the said John Webbe, and George Roper, and Gregory Parke, were brought all three together before the said judges: who there and then agreeing, and stedfastly allowing the former answer made before by Master Webbe, were by the bloody prelates adjudged heretics; and therefore, about the end of the same month of October, or else, as I otherwise find, in the latter end of November, they together were taken and brought out of prison to the place of martyrdom; who by the way, going towards the stake, said certain psalms mournfully.

Roper was a younger man of a fresh colour, courage, and complexion; the other two were somewhat more elderly, all going in white linen, with their gowns on. Roper, at his coming to the stake, putting off his gown, fetched a great leap. So soon as the flame was about him, the said Roper put out both his arms from his body like a rood, and so stood stedfast, continuing in that manner, not plucking his arms in, till the fire had consumed them, and burnt them off.

And thus these aforesaid martyrs of Christ, being brought (as I said) to the stake, and there compassed about with a chain, were burnt and consumed all three together in one fire at Canterbury, abiding most patiently their torments, and counting themselves happy and blessed of the Lord, that they were made worthy to suffer for Christ's gospel's sake.

The death of William Wiseman, in Lollards' Tower.

The thirteenth of December, in the Lollards' Tower, died William Wiseman, a clothworker of London, where he was in prison and bonds for the gospel and word of God—how

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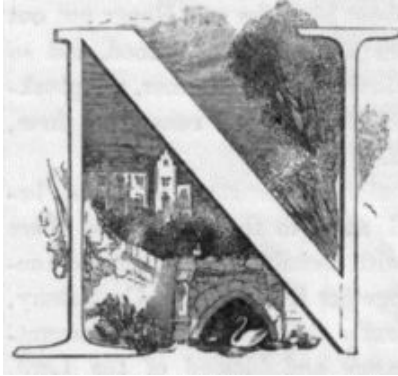
and whereupon he deceased, it is not fully certain. Some thought that either through famine, or ill handling of some murdering papists, he was made away; by reason whereof the coroner, named John Gibbes, gentleman, with an inquest of twelve men, were fain to sit upon him; who, although to the outward appearance they were said to find nothing in him else but only God's visitation, yet what other privy causes there might be of his death, the Lord knoweth; I have not to say.

After the said William was departed (as is said) in the Tower, the holy catholic churchmen cast him out into the fields, commanding that no man should bury him; according as their devout manner is to do with all such as die in like sort, whom they account as profane, and worthy of no burial, but to be cast to dogs and birds, *ιελώρια κυνεσσι* [Greek: *eloria kunessi*], as the poet saith. And yet all this their merciless commandment notwithstanding, some good Tobits there were, which buried him in the evening, as commonly they did all the rest, thrown out in like sort, whom they were wont privately by night to cover; and many times the archers in the fields standing by, and singing together psalms at their burial.

The death of James Gore, in Colchester prison.

In the same month, about the seventh day of December, deceased also James Gore in the prison at Colchester, laid there in bonds for the right and truth of God's word.

326. John Philpot



ext followeth the constant martyrdom of Master John Philpot, of whom partly ye heard before in the beginning of Queen Mary's time, in prosecuting the disputation of the convocation-house. He was of a worshipful house, a knight's son, born in Hampshire, brought up in the New College in Oxford, where he studied the civil law the space of six or seven years, besides the study of other liberal arts, especially of the tongues, wherein very forwardly he profited, namely, in the knowledge of the Hebrew tongue, &c. In wit he was pregnant and happy, of a singular courage, in spirit fervent, in religion zealous, and also well practised and exercised in the same, (which is no

small matter in a true divine,) of nature and condition plain and apert, far from all flattery, further from all hypocrisy and deceitful dissimulation. What his learning was, his own examinations penned of his own hand can declare.

From Oxford, desirous to see other countries as occasion served thereunto, he went over into Italy, and places thereabouts, where he, coming upon a time from Venice to Padua, was in danger through a certain Franciscan friar accompanying him in his journey, who, coming to Padua, sought to accuse him of heresy. At length returning into England his country again, as the time ministered more boldness to him in the days of King Edward, he had divers conflicts with Gardiner the bishop in the city of Winchester, as appeareth by divers of Winchester's letters, and his examinations; whereof read before.

After that, having an advowson by the said bishop, he was made there archdeacon of Winchester, under Dr. Poinet, who then succeeded Gardiner in that bishopric. Thus during the time of King Edward, he continued to no small profit of those parts thereabout. When that blessed king was taken away, and Mary his sister came in place, whose study was wholly bent to alter the state of religion in the woeful realm of England, first she caused a convocation of the prelates and learned men to be congregated to the accomplishment of her desire.

In the which convocation Master Philpot, being present according to his room and degree, with a few others, sustained the cause of the gospel manfully against the adversary part (as is above recited); for the which cause, notwithstanding the liberty of the house promised before, he was called to account before Bishop Gardiner, the chancellor, then being his ordinary, by whom he was first examined, although that examination came not yet to our hands. From thence again he was removed to Bonner and other commissioners, with whom he had divers and sundry conflicts, as in his examinations here following may appear.

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The first examination of Master John Philpot before the queen's commissioners, Master Cholmley, Master Roper, and Dr. Story, and one of the scribes of the Arches, at Newgate Sessions'-Hall, October the second, 1555.

Dr. Story, before I was called into an inner parlour where they sat, came out into the hall where I was, to view me among others that there were, and passing by me said, "Ha! Master Philpot;" and in returning immediately again, stayed against me, beholding me, and saying that I was well fed indeed.

Philpot.—"If I be fat, and in good liking, Master Doctor, it is no marvel, since I have been stalled up in prison this twelve months and a half, in a close corner. I am come to know your pleasure wherefore you have sent for me."

Story.—"We hear that thou art a suspect person, and of heretical opinions; and therefore we have sent for thee."

Philpot.—"I have been in prison thus long, only upon the occasion of disputation made in the convocation-house, and upon suspicion of setting forth the report thereof."

Story.—"If thou wilt revoke the same, and become an honest man, thou shalt be set at liberty, and do right well: or else thou shalt be committed to the bishop of London. How sayest thou, wilt thou revoke it or no?"

Philpot.—"I have already answered in this behalf to mine ordinary."

Story.—"If thou answerest thus, when thou comest before us anon, thou shalt hear more of our minds:" and with that he went into the parlour, and I within a little while after was called in.

The scribe.—"Sir, what is your name?"

Philpot.—"My name is John Philpot." And so he intituled my name.

Story.—"This man was archdeacon of Winchester, of Dr. Poinet's presentment."

Philpot.—"I was archdeacon indeed, but none of his presentment, but by virtue of a former advowson, given by my Lord Chancellor that now is."

Story.—"Ye may be sure that my Lord Chancellor would not make any such as he is archdeacon."

Roper.—"Come hither to me, Master Philpot. We hear say that you are out of the catholic church, and have been a disturber of the same; out of the which whoso is, he cannot be the child of salvation. Wherefore, if you will come into the same, you shall be received, and find favour."

Philpot.—"I am come before your worshipful Masterships at your appointment, understanding that you are magistrates authorized by the queen's Majesty, to whom I owe, and will do my due obedience, to the uttermost. Wherefore I desire to know what cause I have offended in, wherefore I am now called before you. And if I cannot be charged with any particular matter done contrary to the laws of this realm, I desire your Masterships that I may have the benefit of a subject, and be delivered out of my long wrongful imprisonment, where I have lien this twelve-month and this half, without any calling to answer before now, and my living taken from me without all law."

Roper.—"Though we have no particular matter to charge you withal, yet we may, by our commission and by the law, drive you to answer to the suspicion of a slander going on you: and besides this, we have statutes to charge you herein withal."

Philpot.—"If I have offended any statute, charge me therewithal; and, if I have incurred the penalty thereof, punish me accordingly. And because you are magistrates and executors of the queen's Majesty's laws, by force whereof you do now sit, I desire that if I be found no notorious transgressor of any of them, I may not be burdened with more than I have done."

Cholmley.—"If the justice do suspect a felon, he may examine him upon suspicion thereof, and commit him to prison though there be no fault done."

Story.—"I perceive whereabouts this man goeth. He is plain in Cardmaker's case, for he made the selfsame allegations. But they will not serve thee; for thou art a heretic, and holdest against the blessed mass. How sayest thou to that?"

Philpot.—"I am no heretic."

Story.—"I will prove thee a heretic. Whosoever hath holden against the blessed mass, is a heretic: but thou hast holden against the same, therefore thou art a heretic."

Philpot.—"That which I spake, and which you are able to charge me withal, was in the convocation, where, by the queen's Majesty's will and her whole council, liberty was given to every man of the house to utter his conscience, and to say his mind freely of such questions in religion, as there were propounded by the prolocutor; for the which now I thought not to be molested and imprisoned as I have been, neither now be compelled of you to answer to the same."

Story.—"Thou shalt go to the Lollards' Tower, and be handled there like a heretic, as thou art; and answer to the same that thou there didst speak; and be judged by the bishop of London."

Philpot.—"I have already been convented of this matter before my Lord Chancellor mine ordinary, who this long time hath kept me in prison. Therefore, if his Lordship will take my life away, as he hath done my liberty and living, he may; the which I think he cannot do of his conscience, and therefore hath let me lie thus long in prison: wherefore I am content to abide the end of him herein that is mine ordinary, and do refuse the auditory of the bishop of London, because he is an incompetent judge for me, and not mine ordinary."

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Story.—"But, sir, thou spakest words in the convocation-house, which is of the bishop of London's diocese, and therefore thou shalt be carried to the Lollards' Tower, to be judged by him for the words thou spakest in his diocese against the blessed mass."

Philpot.—"Sir, you know by the law, that I may have *Exceptionem fori*; and it is against all equity, that I should be twice vexed for one cause, and that by such as by the law have nothing to do with me."

Roper.—"You cannot deny, but that you spake against the mass in the convocation-house."

Story.—"Dost thou deny that which thou spakest there, or no?"

Philpot.—"I cannot deny that I have spoken there, and if by the law you may put me to death therefore, I am here ready to suffer whatsoever I shall be judged unto."

The scribe.—"This man is fed of vain-glory."

Cholmley.—"Play the wise gentleman, and be conformable; and be not stubborn in your opinions, neither cast yourself away. I would be glad to do you good."

Philpot.—"I desire you, sir, with the rest here, that I be not charged further at your hands than the law chargeth me, for that I have done, since there was then no law directly against that wherewith I am now charged. And you, Master Doctor, (of old acquaintance in Oxford,) I trust will show me some friendship, and not extremity."

Story.—"I tell thee, if thou wouldst be a good catholic man, I would be thy friend, and spend my gown to do thee good; but I will be no friend to a heretic, as thou art, but will spend both my gown and my coat, but I will burn thee. How sayest thou to the sacrament of the altar?"

Philpot.—"Sir, I am not come now to dispute with your Mastership, and the time now serveth not thereto, but to answer to that I may be lawfully charged withal."

Story.—"Well, since thou wilt not revoke that thou hast done, thou shalt be had into the Lollards' Tower."

Philpot.—"Sir, since you will needs show me this extremity, and charge me with my conscience, I do desire to see your commission, whether you have this authority so to do, and after the view thereof I shall (according to my duty) make you further answer, if you may, by the virtue thereof, burden me with my conscience."

Roper.—"Let him see the commission: is it here?"

Story.—"Shall we let every vile person see our commission?"

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Cholmley.—"Let him go from whence he came, and on Thursday he shall see our commission."

Story.—"No, let him lie in the mean while in the Lollards' Tower; for I will sweep the King's Bench, and all other prisons also, of these heretics, they shall not have that resort as they have had, to scatter their heresies."

Philpot.—"You have power to transfer my body from place to place at your pleasure; but you have no power over my soul. And I pass not whither you commit me, for I cannot be worse entreated than I am, kept all day in a close chamber: wherefore it is no marvel that my flesh is puffed up, wherewithal Master Doctor is offended."

Story.—"Marshal, take him home with you again, and see that you bring him again on Thursday, and then we shall rid your fingers of him, and afterward of your other heretics."

Philpot.—"God hath appointed a day shortly to come, in the which he will judge us with righteousness, howsoever you judge of us now."

Roper.—"Be content to be ruled by Master Doctor, and show yourself a catholic man."

Philpot.—"Sir, if I should speak otherwise than my conscience is, I should but dissemble with you: and why be you so earnest to have me show myself a dissembler both to God and you, which I cannot do?"

Roper.—"We do not require you to dissemble with us, to be a catholic man."

Philpot.—"If I do stand in any thing against that wherein any man is able to burden me with one jot of the Scripture, I shall be content to be counted no catholic man, or a heretic, as you please."

Story.—"Have we Scripture, Scripture?" and with that he rose up, saying, "Who shall be judge, I pray you? This man is like his fellow Woodman, which the other day would have nothing else but Scripture."

And this is the beginning of this tragedy.

The second examination of Master Philpot before the queen's commissioners, Master Cholmley, Roper, Dr. Story, Dr. Cook, and the Newgate the twenty-fourth of October, 1555, at Newgate Sessions'-Hall

At my coming, a man of Aldgate of mine acquaintance said unto me, "God have mercy on you, for you are already condemned in this world; for Dr. Story said, that my Lord Chancellor had commanded to do you away." After a little consultation had between them, Master Cholmley called me unto him, saying:

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Cholmley.—"Master Philpot, show yourself a wise man; and be not stubborn in your own opinion, but be conformable to the queen's proceedings, and live, and you shall be well assured of great favour and reputation."

Philpot.—"I shall do as it becometh a Christian man to do."

Story.—"This man is the rankest heretic that hath been in all my Lord Chancellor's diocese, and hath done more hurt than any man else there: and therefore his pleasure is, that he should have the law to proceed against him; and I have spoken with my Lord herein, and he willeth him to be committed to the bishop of London, and there to recant, or else burn. He howled and wept in the convocation-house, and made such ado as never man did, as all the heretics do when they lack learning to answer. He shall go after his fellows. How sayest thou; wilt thou recant?"

Philpot.—"I know nothing I have done, that I ought to recant."

Story.—"Well; then I pray you let us commit him to the Lollards' Tower, there to remain until he be further examined before the bishop of London; for he is too fine-fed in the King's Bench, and he hath too much favour there: for his keeper said at the door yesterday, that he was the finest fellow, and one of the best learned in England." And with this he rose up and went his way.

Cook.—"This man hath most stoutly maintained heresies since the queen's coming in, above any that I have heard of; therefore it is most meet he should be adjudged by the bishop of London, for the heresies he hath maintained."

Philpot.—"I have maintained no heresies."

Cook.—"No! have you not? Did you not openly speak against the sacrament of the altar in the convocation-house? Call you that no heresy? wilt thou recant that, or not?"

Philpot.—"It was the queen's Majesty's pleasure, that we should reason thereof, not by my seeking, but by other men's procuring, in the hearing of the council."

Cook.—"Did the queen give you leave to be a heretic? you may be sure her Grace will not so do. Well, we will not dispute the matter with you: my Lord of London shall proceed by inquisition upon thee, and if thou wilt not recant, thou shalt be burned."

Philpot.—"My Lord of London is not mine ordinary in this behalf, and I have already answered unto mine ordinary in this matter; and therefore (as I have said before) you shall do me great wrong, to vex me twice for one matter, since I have sustained this long imprisonment, besides the loss of my living."

Roper.—"You were a very unmeet man to be an archdeacon."

Philpot.—"I know I was as meet a man as he that hath it now."

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Cook.—"A meet man, quoth he! he troubled Master Roper and the whole country."

Philpot.—"There was never poor archdeacon so handled at your hands as I am, and that without any just cause ye be able to lay unto me."

Cook.—"Thou art no archdeacon."

Philpot.—"I am archdeacon still, although another be in possession of my living; for I was never deprived by any law."

Cook.—"No, sir; that needeth not: for a notorious heretic should have no ordinary proceeding about his deprivation; but the bishop may, upon knowledge thereof; proceed to deprivation."

Philpot.—"Master Doctor, you know that the common law is otherwise; and besides this, the statutes of this realm be otherwise, which give this benefit to every person, though he be a heretic, to enjoy his living until he be put to death for the same."

Cholmley.—"No, there thou art deceived."

Philpot.—"Upon the living I pass not: but the unjust dealing grieveth me, that I should be thus troubled for my conscience, contrary to all law."

Cholmley.—"Why, will not you agree that the queen's Majesty may cause you to be examined of your faith?"

Philpot.—"Ask you Master Doctor Cook, and he will tell you that the temporal magistrates have nothing to do with matters of faith, for determination thereof. And St. Ambrose saith, that the things of God are not subject to the power and authority of princes."

Cook.—"No! may not the temporal power commit you to be examined of your faith to the bishop?"

Philpot.—"Yea, sir, I deny not that. But you will not grant that the same may examine any of their own authority."

Cook.—"Let him be had away."

Philpot.—"Your Mastership promised me the last time I was before you, I should see your commission by what authority you do call me, and whether I by the same be bound to answer to so much as you demand."

Roper.—"Let him see the commission."

Then the scribe exhibited it to Master Roper, and was about to open the same.

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Cook.—"No, what will ye do? he shall not see it."

Philpot.—"Then do you me wrong, to call me and vex me, not showing your authority in this behalf."

Cook.—"If we do you wrong, complain on us; and in the mean while thou shalt lie in the Lollards' Tower."

Philpot.—"Sir, I am a poor gentleman; therefore I trust of your gentleness you will not commit me to so vile and strait a place, being found no heinous trespasser."

Cook.—"Thou art no gentleman."

Philpot.—"Yes, that I am."

Cook.—"A heretic is no gentleman: for he is a gentleman that hath gentle conditions."

Philpot.—"The offence cannot take away the state of a gentleman as long as he liveth, although he were a traitor; but I mean not to boast of my gentlemanship, but will put it under my foot, since you do no more esteem it."

Story.—"What! will you suffer this heretic to prate with you all this day?"

Cook.—"He saith, he is a gentleman."

Story.—"A gentleman, quoth he? he is a vile heretic knave: for a heretic is no gentleman. Let the keeper of the Lollards' Tower come in, and have him away."

The Keeper.—"Here, sir."

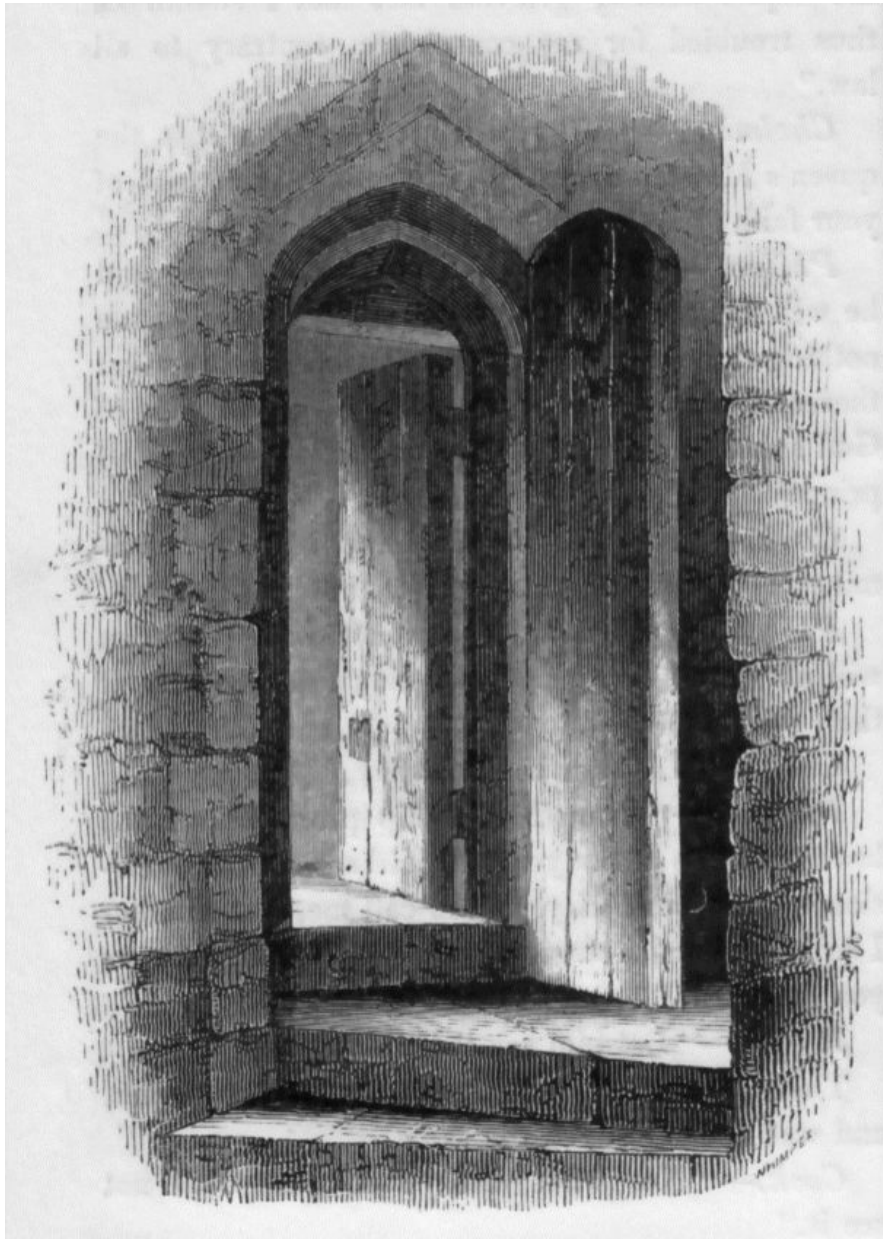
Story.—"Take this man with you to the Lollards' Tower, or else to the bishop's coal-house."

Philpot.—"Sir, if I were a dog you could not appoint me a worse and more vile place: but I must be content with whatsoever injury you do offer me. God give you a more merciful heart; you are very cruel upon one that hath never offended you. I pray you, Master Cholmley, show me some friendship, that I be not carried to so vile a place."

And Cholmley called me aside, and said, "I am not skilful of their doings, neither of their laws: I cannot tell what they mean. I would I could do you good."

Philpot.—"I am content to go whither you will have me. There was never man more cruelly handled than I am at your hands, that without any just cause known should thus be entreated."

Story.—"Shall we suffer this heretic thus to reprove us? Have him hence."



Present gateway in the Lollards' Tower, leading to the dungeon

Philpot.—"God forgive you, and give you more merciful hearts, and show you more mercy in the time of need: Do quickly that you have in hand."

Story.—"Do you not hear how he maketh us Judases?"

Philpot.—"That is after your own understanding."

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After this, I, with four others more, were brought to the keeper's house in Paternoster Row, where we supped; and after supper I was called up to a chamber by the archdeacon of London's servant, and that in his master's name, who offered me a bed for that night. To whom I gave thanks, saying, that it should be a grief to me to lie well one night, and the next worse "wherefore I will begin," said I, "as I am like to continue, to take such part as my fellows do." And with that we were brought through Paternoster Row to my Lord of London's coal-house; unto the which is joined a little blind house, with a great pair of stocks, appointed both for hand and foot. But, thanks be to God, we have not played on those organs yet, although some before us have tried them. And there we found a minister of Essex, a married priest, a man of godly zeal, with one other poor man. And this minister, at my coming, desired to speak with me, and did greatly lament his own infirmity, for that through extremity of imprisonment he was constrained by writing to yield to the bishop of London: whereupon he was once set at liberty, and afterward felt such a hell in his conscience, that he could scarce refrain from destroying himself, and never could be at quiet until he had gone unto the bishop's registrar, desiring to see his bill again, the which as soon as he had received, he tore it in pieces; and after, he was as joyful as any man might be. Of the which when my Lord of London had understanding, he sent for him, and fell upon him like a lion, and like a manly bishop buffeted him well, so that he made his face black and blue, and plucked away a great piece of his beard: but now, thanks be to God, he is as joyful under the cross as any of us, and very sorry of his former infirmity. I write this, because I would all men to take heed how they do contrary to their conscience; which is, to fall into the pains of hell. And here an end.

The manner of my calling first before the bishop of London, the second night of mine imprisonment in his coal-house.

The bishop sent unto me Master Johnson his registrar, with a mess of meat, and a good pot of drink, and bread, saying, that my Lord had no knowledge before of my being here, for which he was sorry: therefore he had sent me and my fellows that meat, knowing whether I would receive the same.

I thanked God for my Lord's charity, that it pleased him to remember poor prisoners, desiring Almighty God to increase the same in him and in all others; and therefore I would not refuse his beneficence. And therewith took the same unto my brethren, praising God for his providence towards his afflicted flock, that he stirred our adversaries up to help the same in their necessity.

Johnson.—"My Lord would know the cause of your sending hither (for he knoweth nothing thereof); and wondereth that he should be troubled with prisoners of other diocese than his own."

I declared unto him the whole cause. After the which he said, My Lord's will was, that I should have any friendship I would desire: and so departed.

Within a while after, one of my Lord's gentlemen cometh for me. And I was brought into his presence, where he sat at a table alone, with three or four of his chaplains, waiting upon him, and his registrar.

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Bonner.—"Master Philpot, you are welcome; give me your hand."

With that, because he so gently put forth his hand, I, to render courtesy for courtesy, kissed my hand, and gave him the same.

Bonner.—"I am right sorry for your trouble, and I promise you before it was within these two hours I knew not of your being here. I pray you tell me what was the cause of your sending hither; for I promise you I know nothing thereof as yet, neither would I you should think that I was the cause thereof. And I marvel that other men will trouble me with their matters; but I must be obedient to my betters; and I suppose men speak otherwise of me than I deserve."

I showed him the sum of the matter: that it was for the disputation in the convocation-house, for the which I was, against all right, molested.

Bonner.—"I marvel that you should be troubled there-for, if there was none other cause but this. But, peradventure, you have maintained the same since, and some of your friends of late have asked whether you do stand to the same, and you have said, 'Yea;' and for this you might be committed to prison."

Philpot.—"If it shall please your Lordship, I am burdened none otherwise than I have told you, by the commissioners, who sent me hither, because I would not recant the same."

Bonner.—"A man may speak in the parliament house, though it be a place of free speech, so as he may be imprisoned for it; as in case he speak words of high-treason against the king or queen. And so it might be that you spake otherwise than it became you of the church of Christ."

Philpot.—"I spake nothing which was out of the articles, which were called in question, and agreed upon to be disputed by the whole house, and by the queen's permission and the council."

Bonner.—"Why, may we dispute of our faith?"

Philpot.—"Yea, that we may."

Bonner.—"Nay, I trow not, by the law."

Philpot.—"Indeed, by the civil law I know it is not lawful, but by God's law we may reason thereof. For St. Peter saith, Be ye ready to render account unto all men of that hope which is in you, that demand of you the same."

Bonner.—"Indeed, St. Peter saith so. Why then, I ask of you, what your judgment is of the sacrament of the altar?"

Philpot.—"My Lord, St. Ambrose saith, that the disputation of faith ought to be in the congregation, in the hearing of the people, and that I am not bound to render account thereof to every man privately, unless it be to edify. But now I cannot show you my mind, but I must run

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upon the pikes, in danger of my life there-for. Wherefore, as the said doctor said unto Valentinian the emperor, so I say to your Lordship: 'Take away the law, and I shall reason with you.' And yet if I come in open judgment, where I am bound by the law to answer, I trust I shall utter my conscience as freely as any that hath come before you."

Bonner.—"I perceive you are learned: I would have such as you be about me. But you must come and be of the church; for there is but one church."

Philpot.—"God forbid I should be out of the church, I am sure I am within the same; for I know as I am taught by the Scripture, that there is but one catholic church, one dove, one spouse, one beloved congregation, out of the which there is no salvation."

Bonner.—"How chanceth it then, that you go out of the same, and walk not with us?"

Philpot.—"My Lord, I am sure I am within the bounds of the church whereupon she is builded, which is the word of God."

Bonner.—"What age are ye of?"

Philpot.—"I am four and forty."

Bonner.—"You are not now of the same faith your godfathers and godmothers promised for you, in the which you were baptized."

Philpot.—"Yes, I thank God I am: for I was baptized into the faith of Christ which I now hold."

Bonner.—"How can that be? there is but one faith."

Philpot.—"I am assured of that by St. Paul, saying, that there is but one God, one faith, and one baptism, of the which I am."

Bonner.—"You were twenty years ago of another faith than you be now."

Philpot.—"Indeed, my Lord, to tell you plain, I was then of no faith, a neuter, a wicked liver, neither hot nor cold."

Bonner.—"Why, do you not think that we have now the true faith?"

Philpot.—"I desire your Lordship to hold me excused for answering at this time. I am sure that God's word thoroughly, with the primitive church, and all the ancient writers, do agree with this faith I am of."

Bonner.—"Well, I promise you I mean you no more hurt, than to mine own person: I will not therefore burden you with your conscience as now. I marvel that you are so merry in prison

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as you be, singing and rejoicing, as the prophet saith, rejoicing in your naughtiness. Methinketh you do not well herein; you should rather lament and be sorry."

Philpot.—"My Lord, the mirth that we make is but in singing certain psalms, according as we are commanded by St. Paul, willing us to be merry in the Lord, singing together, in hymns and psalms: and I trust your Lordship cannot be displeased with that."

Bonner.—"We may say unto you, as Christ said in the gospel, *tibiis cecinimus vobis, et non planxistis.*"

Here my Lord stumbled, and could not bring forth the text, and required his chaplains to help, and to put him in remembrance of the text better; but they were mum: and I recited out the text unto him, which made nothing to his purpose, unless he would have us to mourn, because they, if they laugh, sing still sorrowful things unto us, threatening faggots and fire.

Philpot.—"We are, my Lord, in a dark, comfortless place, and therefore it behoveth us to be merry, lest, as Solomon saith, sorrowfulness eat up our heart. Therefore I trust your Lordship will not be angry for our singing of psalms, since St. Paul saith, If any man be of an upright mind, let him sing. And we therefore, to testify that we are of an upright mind to God, (though we be in misery,) do sing."

Bonner.—"I will trouble you no further as now. If I can do you any good, I will be glad to do it for you. God be with you, good Master Philpot, and give you good night. Have him to the cellar, and let him drink a cup of wine."

Thus I departed, and by my Lord's registrar I was brought to his cellar door, where I drank a good cup of wine. And my Lord's chaplain, Master Cousins, followed me, taking acquaintance, saying, that I was welcome, and wished that I would not be singular.

Philpot.—"I am well taught the contrary by Solomon, saying, Woe be to him that is alone."

After that I was carried to my Lord's coal-house again, where I with my six fellows do rouse together in straw, as cheerfully (we thank God) as others do in their beds of down.

Thus for the third fight.

The fourth examination of Master Philpot in the archdeacon's house of London, the said month of October, before the bishops of London, Bath, Worcester, and Gloucester.

Bonner.—"Master Philpot, it hath pleased my Lords to take pains here to-day, to dine with my poor archdeacon; and in the dinner time it chanced us to have communication of you, and you were pitied here of many that knew you in the New College in Oxford. And I also do pity your case, because you seem unto me, by the talk I had with you the other night, to be learned. And therefore now I have sent for you to come before them, that it might not be said hereafter, that I had so many learned bishops at my house, and yet would not vouchsafe them to

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talk with you, and at my request (I thank them) they are content so to do. Now therefore utter your mind freely, and you shall with all favour be satisfied. I am sorry to see you lie in so evil a case as you do, and would fain you should do better, as you may if you list."

Bath.—"My Lords here have not sent for you to fawn upon you, but for charity's sake to exhort you to come into the right catholic way of the church."

Worcester.—"Before he beginneth to speak, it is best that he call to God for grace, and to pray that it might please God to open his heart, that he may conceive the truth."

With that I fell down upon my knees before them, and made my prayer on this manner:—

"Almighty God, which art the giver of all wisdom and understanding, I beseech thee of thine infinite goodness and mercy in Jesus Christ, to give me (most vile sinner in thy sight!) the spirit of wisdom to speak and make answer in thy cause, that it may be to the contentation of the hearers before whom I stand, and also to my better understanding, if I be deceived in any thing."

Bonner.—"Nay, my Lord of Worcester, you did not well to exhort him to make any prayer: for this is the thing they have a singular pride in, that they can often make their vain prayers, in the which they glory much. For in this point they are much like to certain arrant heretics, of whom Pliny maketh mention, that did daily sing Antelucanos Hymnos, 'Praise unto God before dawning of the day.'"

Philpot.—"My Lord, God make me and all you here present such heretics as those were that sung those morning hymns: for they were right Christians, with whom the tyrants of the world were offended for their well doing."

Bath.—"Proceed to that he hath to say. He hath prayed I cannot tell for what."

Bonner.—"Say on, Master Philpot, my Lords will gladly hear you."

Philpot.—"I have, my Lords, been this twelvemonth and a half in prison without any just cause that I know, and my living taken from me without any lawful order, and now I am brought (contrary to right) from mine own territory and ordinary, into another man's jurisdiction, I know not why. Wherefore, if your Lordships can burden me with any evil done, I stand here before you to purge me of the same. And if no such thing may be justly laid to my charge, I desire to be released of this wrongful trouble."

Bonner.—"There is none here goeth about to trouble you, but to do you good, if we can. For I promise you, ye were sent hither to me without my knowledge. Therefore speak your conscience without any fear."

Philpot.—"My Lord, I have learned to answer in matters of religion, *in ecclesia legitime vocatus*, in the congregation being thereto lawfully called: but now I am not lawfully called, neither is here a just congregation where I ought to answer."

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Bonner.—"Indeed this man told me the last time I spake with him, that he was a lawyer, and would not utter his conscience in matters of faith, unless it were in the hearing of the people; where he might speak to vain glory."

Philpot.—"My Lord, I said not I was a lawyer, neither do I arrogate to myself that name, although I was once a novice in the same, where I learned something for mine own defence, when I am called in judgment to answer to any cause, and whereby I have been taught, not to put myself further in danger than I need; and so far am I a lawyer, and no further."

Bath.—"If you will not answer to my Lord's request, you seem to be a wilful man in your opinion."

Philpot.—"My Lord of London is not mine ordinary before whom I am bound to answer in this behalf, as Master Doctor Cole (which is a lawyer) can well tell you by the law. And I have not offended my Lord of London wherefore he should call me."

Bonner.—"Yes, I have to lay to your charge that you have offended in my diocese, by speaking against the blessed sacrament of the altar: and therefore I may call you, and proceed against you to punish you by the law."

Philpot.—"I have not offended in your diocese: for that which I spake of the sacrament was in Paul's church in the convocation-house, which (as I understand) is a peculiar jurisdiction belonging to the dean of St. Paul's, and therefore is counted of your Lordship's diocese, but not in your diocese."

Bonner.—"Is not Paul's church in my diocese? Well I wot, it costeth me a good deal of money by the year, the leading thereof."

Philpot.—"That may be, and yet be exempted from your Lordship's jurisdiction. And albeit I had so offended in your diocese, yet I ought by the law to be sent to my ordinary, if I require it, and not to be punished by you that are not mine ordinary. And already (as I have told you) I have been convented of mine ordinary for this cause, which you go about to inquire of me."

Bonner.—"How say you, Master Doctor Cole? may not I proceed against him by the law, for that he hath done in my diocese?"

Cole.—"Methinketh Master Philpot needeth not to stand so much with your Lordship in that point as he doth, since you seek not to hinder him, but to further him: therefore I think it best that he go to the matter that is laid against him of the convocation, and to make no longer delay."

Philpot.—"I would willingly show my mind of the matter; but I am sure it will be laid against me to my prejudice when I come to judgment."

Cole.—"Why then you may speak by protestation."

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Philpot.—"But what shall my protestation avail in a cause of heresy, (as you call it,) if I speak otherwise than you will have me; since that which I spake in the convocation-house, being a place privileged, cannot now help me?"

Bonner.—"But Master Doctor Cole, may not I proceed against him for that offence he hath done in my diocese?"

Cole.—"You may call him before you, my Lord, if he be found in your diocese."

Philpot.—"But I have by force been brought out of mine own diocese to my Lord's, and require to be judged of mine own ordinary: and therefore I know Master Doctor will not say of his knowledge, that your Lordship ought to proceed against me." And here Master Doctor would say nothing.

Worcester.—"Do you not think to find before my Lord here as good equity in your cause, as before your own ordinary?"

Philpot.—"I cannot blame my Lord of London's equity, with whom (I thank his Lordship) I have found more gentleness since I came, than of mine own ordinary (I speak it for no flattery) this twelvemonth and a half before, who never would call me to answer, as his Lordship hath done now twice. No man is forbid to use his own right due unto him. But I ought not to be forestalled of my right; and therefore I challenge the same for divers other considerations."

Bonner.—"Now you cannot say hereafter but that you have been gently communed withal of my Lords here, and yet you will be wilful and obstinate in your error, and in your own opinions, and will not show any cause why you will not come into the unity of the church with us."

Philpot.—"My Lords, in that I do not declare my mind according to your expectation, is (as I have said) because I cannot speak without present danger of my life. But rather than you should report me, by this, either obstinate or self-willed without any just ground, whereupon I stand; I will open unto you somewhat of my mind, or rather the whole, desiring your Lordships, which seem to be pillars of the Church of England, to satisfy me in the same: and I will refer all other causes in the which I dissent from you, unto one or two articles, or rather to one, which includeth them both; in the which if I can by the Scriptures be satisfied at your mouths, I shall as willingly agree to you as any other in all points."

Bonner.—"These heretics come always with their 'ifs,' as this man doth now, saying, 'If he can be satisfied by the Scriptures:' so that he will always have this exception, 'I am not satisfied,' although the matter be never so plainly proved against him. But will you promise to be satisfied, if my Lords take some pains about you?"

Philpot.—"I say, my Lord, I will be satisfied by the Scriptures in that wherein I stand. And I protest here, before God and his eternal Son Jesus Christ my Saviour, and the Holy Ghost, and his angels, and you here present that be judges of that I speak, that I do not stand in any opinion of wilfulness or singularity, but only upon my conscience, certainly informed by God's

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word, from the which I dare not go for fear of damnation: and this is the cause of mine earnestness in this behalf."

Bonner.—"I will trouble my Lords no longer, seeing that you will not declare your mind."

Philpot.—"I am about so to do, if it please your Lordship to hear me speak."

Bath.—"Give him leave, my Lord, to speak that he hath to say."

Philpot.—"My Lords, it is not unknown to you that the chief cause why you do count me, and such as I am, for heretics, is because we be not at unity with your church. You say you are of the true church; and we say we are of the true church. You say, that whosoever is out of your church, is damned; and we think verily on the other side, that if we depart from the true church, whereon we are grafted in God's word, we should stand in the state of damnation. Wherefore, if your Lordship can bring any better authorities for your church than we can do for ours, and prove by the Scriptures that the Church of Rome now (of the which you are) is the true catholic church, as in all your sermons, writings, and arguments you do uphold, and that all Christian persons ought to be ruled by the same, under pain of damnation, (as you say,) and that the same church (as you pretend) hath authority to interpret the Scriptures as it seemeth her good, and that all men are bound to follow such interpretations only; I shall be as conformable to the same church as you may desire me, the which otherwise I dare not: therefore I require you, for God's sake, to satisfy me in this."

Cole.—"If you stand upon this point only, you may soon be satisfied if you list."

Philpot.—"It is the thing that I require, and to this, I have said, I will stand; and refer all other controversies wherein I stand now against you; and will put my hand thereto, if you mistrust my word."

Bonner.—"I pray you, Master Philpot, what faith were you of twenty years ago? This man will have every year a new faith."

Philpot.—"My Lord, to tell you plain, I think I was of no faith: for I was then a wicked liver, and knew not God then, as I ought to do; God forgive me."

Bonner.—"No faith! that is not so. I am sure you were of some faith."

Philpot.—"My Lord, I have declared to you on my conscience what I then was, and judge of myself. And what is that to the purpose of the thing I desire to be satisfied of you?"

Bonner.—"Master Doctor Cole, I pray you say your mind to him."

Cole.—"What will you say, if I can prove that it was decreed by a universal council in Athanasius's time, that all the Christian church should follow the determination of the Church of Rome? but I do not now remember where."

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Philpot.—"If you, Master Doctor, can show me the same granted to the see of Rome by the authority of the Scripture, I will gladly hearken thereto. But I think you be not able to show any such thing: for Athanasius was president of the Nicene council, and there was no such thing decreed, I am sure."

Cole.—"Though it were not then, it might be at another time."

Philpot.—"I desire to see the proof thereof." And upon this Master Harpsfield, chancellor to the bishop of London, brought in a book of Irenæus, with certain leaves turned in, and laid it before the bishops to help them in their perplexity, if it might be: the which after the bishops of Bath and Gloucester had read together, the bishop of Gloucester gave me the book.

Gloucester.—"Take the book, Master Philpot, and look upon that place, and there may you see how the Church of Rome is to be followed of all men."

I took the book, and read the place, the which after I had read, I said it made nothing against me, but against the Arians and other heretics, against whom Irenæus wrote, proving that they were not to be credited, because they did teach and follow after strange doctrine in Europe; and that the chief church of the same was founded by Peter and Paul, and had to this time continued by faithful succession of the faithful bishops in preaching the true gospel, as they had received of the apostles, and nothing like to these late-sprung heretics, &c.; whereby he concludeth against them, that they were not to be heard, neither to be credited. "The which thing if you, my Lords, be able to prove now of the Church of Rome, then had you as good authority against me in my cause now, as Irenæus had against those heretics. But the Church of Rome hath swerved from the truth and simplicity of the gospel, which it maintained in Irenæus's time, and was then uncorrupted from that which it is now; wherefore your Lordships cannot justly apply the authority of Irenæus to the Church of Rome now, which is so manifestly corrupted from the primitive church."

Bonner.—"So will you say still, it maketh nothing for the purpose, whatsoever authority we bring, and will never be satisfied."

Philpot.—"My Lord, when I do by just reason prove that the authorities which be brought against me do not make to the purpose, (as I have already proved,) I trust you will receive mine answer."

Worcester.—"It is to be proved most manifestly by all ancient writers, that the see of Rome hath always followed the truth, and never was deceived, until of late certain heretics had defaced the same."

Philpot.—"Let that be proved, and I have done."

Worcester.—"Nay, you are of such arrogancy, singularity, and vain-glory, that you will not see it, be it never so well proved."

Philpot.—"Ha! my Lords, is it now time (think you) for me to follow singularity or vainglory, since it is now upon danger of my life and death, not only presently, but also before God to come? And I know, if I die not in the true faith, I shall die everlastingly. And again I know, if I do not as you would have me, you will kill me and many thousands more: yet had I rather perish at your hands, than to perish eternally. And at this time I have lost all my commodities of this world, and lie in a coal-house, where a man would not lay a dog, with the which I am well contented."

Cole.—"Where are you able to prove that the Church of Rome hath erred at any time? and by what history? Certain it is by Eusebius, that the church was established at Rome by Peter and Paul, and that Peter was bishop twenty-five years at Rome."

Philpot.—"I know well that Eusebius so writeth; but if we compare that which St. Paul writeth to the Galatians, Gal. i., the contrary will manifestly appear, that he was not half so long there. He lived not past thirty-five years after he was called to be an apostle; and Paul maketh mention of his abiding at Jerusalem after Christ's death more than thirteen years."

Cole.—"What! did Peter write to the Galatians?"

Philpot.—"No, I say Paul maketh mention of Peter, writing to the Galatians, and of his abiding at Jerusalem: and further, I am able to prove, both by Eusebius and other historiographers, that the Church of Rome hath manifestly erred, and at this present doth err, because she agreeth not with that which they wrote. The primitive church did use according to the gospel, and there needeth none other proof but compare the one with the other."

Bonner.—"I may compare this man to a certain man I read of which fell into a desperation, and went into a wood to hang himself; and when he came there, he went viewing of every tree, and could find none on the which he might vouchsafe to hang himself. But I will not apply it as I might. I pray you, Master Doctor, go forth with him."

Cole.—"My Lord, there be on every side on me that be better able to answer him, and I love not to fall into disputation; for that now-a-days a man shall but sustain shame and obloquy thereby of the people. I had rather show my mind in writing."

Philpot.—"And I had rather that you should do so than otherwise, for then a man may better judge of your words, than by argument, and I beseech you so to do. But if I were a rich man, I durst wager a hundred pounds, that you shall not be able to show that you have said, to be decreed by a general council in Athanasius's time. For this I am sure of, that it was concluded by a general council in Africa many years after, that none of Africa (under pain of excommunication) should appeal to Rome: the which decree I am sure they would not have made, if by the Scriptures, and by a universal council, it had been decreed, that all men should abide and follow the determination of the Church of Rome."

Cole.—"But I can show that they revoked that error again."

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Philpot.—"So you say, Master Doctor; but I pray you show me where. I have hitherto heard nothing of you for my contentation, but bare words without any authority."

Bonner.—"What, I pray you, ought we to dispute with you of our faith? Justinian in the law hath a title, *De fide Catholica*, to the contrary."

Philpot.—"I am certain the civil law hath such a constitution: but our faith must not depend upon the civil law; for, as St. Ambrose saith, Not the law, but the gospel hath gathered the church together."

Worcester.—"Master Philpot, you have the spirit of pride wherewith ye be led, which will not let you to yield to the truth: leave it for shame."

Philpot.—"Sir, I am sure I have the spirit of faith, by the which I speak at this present; neither am I ashamed to stand to my faith."

Gloucester.—"What? do you think yourself better learned than so many notable learned men as be here?"

Philpot.—"Elias alone had the truth, when there were four hundred priests against him."

Worcester.—"Oh, you would be counted now for Elias; and yet I tell thee he was deceived, for he thought there had been none good but himself, and yet he was deceived, for there were seven thousand beside him."

Philpot.—"Yea, but he was not deceived in doctrine, as the other four hundred were."

Worcester.—"By my faith you are greatly to blame, that you cannot be content to be of the church which ever hath been of that faithful antiquity."

Philpot.—"My Lord, I know Rome, and have been there, where I saw your Lordship."

Worcester.—"Indeed, I did fly from hence thither, and I remember not that I saw you there. But I am sorry that you have been there: for the wickedness which you have seen there, peradventure causeth you to do as you do."

Philpot.—"No, my Lord, I do not as I do for that cause: for I am taught otherwise by the gospel, not altogether to refuse the minister for his evil living, so that he bring sound doctrine out of God's book."

Worcester.—"Do you think the universal church may be deceived?"

Philpot.—"St. Paul to the Thessalonians prophesieth that there should come a universal departing from the faith in the latter days, before the coming of Christ; saying, Christ shall not come, till there come a departing first."

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Cole.—"Yea, I pray you, how take you the departing there in St. Paul? It is not meant of faith, but of the departing from the empire: for it is in Greek, αποστασια.[aposostasia]

Philpot.—"Marry indeed you, Master Doctor, put me in good remembrance of the meaning of St. Paul in that place, for *apostasia* is properly a departing from the faith, and thereof cometh *apostata*, which properly signifieth one that departeth from his faith: and St. Paul in the same place after, speaketh of the decay of the empire."

Cole.—"Apostasia doth not only signify a departing from the faith, but also from the empire, as I am able to show."

Philpot.—"I never read it so taken; and when you shall be able to show it (as you say in words) I will believe it, and not before."

Worcester.—"I am sorry that you should be against the Christian world."

Philpot.—"The world commonly, and such as be called Christians; for the multitude have hated the truth, and been enemies to the same."

Gloucester.—"Why, Master Philpot, do you think that the universal church hath erred, and you only to be in the truth?"

Philpot.—"The church that you are of was never universal; for two parts of the world, which is Asia and Africa, never consented to the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, as at this day they do not, neither do follow his decrees."

Gloucester.—"Yes, in the Florentine council they did agree."

Philpot.—"It was said so by false report, after they of Asia and Africa were gone home: but it was not so indeed, as the sequel of them all hitherto doth prove the contrary."

Gloucester.—"I pray you by whom will you be judged in matters of controversy which happen daily?"

Philpot.—"By the word of God. For Christ saith in St. John, The word that he spake shall be judge in the latter day."

Gloucester.—"What if you take the word one way, and I another way; who shall be judge then?"

Philpot.—"The primitive church."

Gloucester.—"I know you mean the doctors that wrote thereof."

Philpot.—"I mean verily so."

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Gloucester.—"What if you take the doctors in one sense, and I in another; who shall be judge then?"

Philpot.—"Then let that be taken which is most agreeable to God's word."

Cole.—"My Lords, why do you trouble yourselves to answer him in this matter? It is not the thing which is laid to his charge, but his error of the sacrament; and he, to shift himself off that, brought in another matter."

Philpot.—"This is the matter, Master Cole, to the which I have referred all other questions, and desire to be satisfied."

Worcester.—"It is a wonder to see how he standeth with a few, against a great multitude."

Philpot.—"We have almost as many as you: for we have Asia, Africa, Germany, Denmark, and a great part of France, and daily the number of the gospel doth increase: so that I am credibly informed, that for this religion in the which I stand, and for the which I am like to die, a great multitude doth daily come out of France through persecution, that the cities of Germany be scarce able to receive them. And therefore your Lordship may be sure, the word of God will one day take place, do what you can to the contrary."

Worcester.—"They were well occupied to bring you such news, and you have been well kept to have such resort unto you. Thou art the arrogantest fellow, and stoutest fond fellow that ever I knew."

Philpot.—"I pray your Lordship to bear with my hasty speech; for it is part of my corrupt nature to speak somewhat hastily: but for all that, I mean with humility to do my duty to your Lordship."

Bonner.—"Master Philpot, my Lords will trouble you no further at this time, but you shall go from whence you came, and have such favour as in the mean while I can show you: and upon Wednesday next you shall be called again to be heard what you can say for maintenance of your error."

Philpot.—"My Lord, my desire is to be satisfied of you in that I have required; and your Lordship shall find me, as I have said."

Worcester.—"We wish you as well as ourselves."

Philpot.—"I think the same, my Lords; but I fear you are deceived, and have a zeal of yourselves, not according to knowledge."

Worcester.—"God send you more grace."

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Philpot.—"And also God increase the same in you, and open your eyes that you may see to maintain his truth, and his true church."

Then the bishops rose up and consulted together, and caused a writing to be made, in the which I think my blood by them was bought and sold; and thereto they put their hands. And after this I was carried to my coal-house again.

Thus endeth the fourth part of this tragedy. God hasten the end thereof to his glory,
Amen.

John Philpot to certain that required him to write his examinations.

"Because I have begun to write unto you of mine examinations before the bishop and others, more to satisfy your desire than that it is any thing worthy to be written; I have thought it good to write unto you also that which had been done of late, that the same might come to light which they do in darkness and in privy corners, and that the world now and the posterity hereafter might know how unorderly, unjustly, and unlearnedly these ravening wolves do proceed against the silly and faithful flock of Christ, and condemn and persecute the sincere doctrine of Christ in us, which they are not able by honest means to resist, but only by tyranny and violence."

The fifth examination of John Philpot, had before the bishops of London, Rochester, Coventry, St. Asaph, (I trow,) and one other, whose see I know not, Dr. Story, Dr. Saverson, Dr. Pendleton, with divers other chaplains and gentlemen of the queen's chamber, and divers other gentlemen, in the gallery of my Lord of London's palace.

Bonner.—"Master Philpot, come you hither. I have desired my Lords here, and other learned men, to take some pains once again, and to do you good. And because I do mind to sit in judgment on you to-morrow, (as I am commanded,) yet I would you should have as much favour as I can show you, if you will be any thing conformable. Therefore play the wise man, and be not singular in your own opinion, but be ruled by these learned men."

Philpot.—"My Lord, in that you say you will sit on me in judgment to-morrow, I am glad thereof; for I was promised by them which sent me unto you, that I should have been judged the next day after: but promise hath not been kept with me, to my further grief. I look for none other but death at your hands, and I am as ready to yield my life in Christ's cause, as you be to require it."

Bonner.—"Lo what a wilful man is this! By my faith it is but folly to reason with him, neither with any of these heretics. I am sorry that you will be no more tractable, and that I am compelled to show extremity against you."

Philpot.—"My Lord, you need not to show extremity against me, unless you list: neither by the law (as I have said) have you any thing to do with me, for that you are not mine ordinary, albeit I am (contrary to all right) in your prison."

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Bonner.—"Why, the queen's commissioners sent you hither unto me upon your examination had before them. I know not well the cause; but I am sure they would not have sent you hither to me, unless you had made some talk to them, otherwise than it becometh a Christian man."

Philpot.—"My Lord, indeed they sent me hither without any occasion then ministered by me. Only they laid unto me the disputation I made in the convocation-house, requiring me to answer the same, and to recant it. The which because I would not do, they sent me hither to your Lordship."

Bonner.—"Why did you not answer them thereto?"

Philpot.—"For that they were temporal men, and ought not to be judges in spiritual causes whereof they demanded me, without showing any authority whereby I was bound to answer them; and hereupon they committed me to your prison."

Bonner.—"Indeed I remember now, you maintained open heresy in my diocese: wherefore the commissioners sent you unto me, that I should proceed against you, for that you have spoken in my diocese."

Philpot.—"My Lord, I stand still upon my lawful plea in this behalf; that though it were as great a heresy as you suppose it, yet I ought not to be troubled therefore, in respect of the privilege of the parliament-house, whereof the convocation-house is a member, where all men in matters propounded may frankly speak their minds. And here is present a gentlemen of the queen's Majesty's that was present at the disputation, and can testify that the questions which were then in controversy were not set forth by me, but by the prolocutor, who required, in the queen's Majesty's name, all men to dispute their minds freely in the same, that were of the house."

The queen's gentleman.—"Though the parliament-house be a place of privilege for men of the house to speak, yet may none speak any treason against the queen, or maintain treason against the crown."

Philpot.—"But if there be any matter which otherwise it were treason to speak of, were it treason for any person to speak therein, specially the thing being proposed by the speaker? I think not."

The queen's gentleman.—"You may make the matter easy enough to you yet, as I perceive, if you will revoke the same which you did there so stubbornly maintain."

St. Asaph.—"This man did not speak under reformation, as many there did, but αγωνιστικῶς [Greek: agonistikos] and κατηγορικῶς [Greek: kategorikos], which is, earnestly and persuasibly, as ever I heard any."

Philpot.—"My Lords, since you will not cease to trouble me for that I have lawfully done, neither will admit my just defence for that was spoken in the convocation-house by me,

contrary to the laws and custom of the realm; I appeal to the whole parliament-house, to be judged by the same, whether I ought thus to be molested for that I have there spoken."

Rochester.—"But have you spoken and maintained the same since that time, or no?"

Philpot.—"If any man can charge me justly therewith, here I stand to make answer."

Rochester.—"How say you to it now? will you stand to that you have spoken in the convocation-house, and do you think you said then well, or no?"

Philpot.—"My Lord, you are not mine ordinary to proceed *ex officio* against me, and therefore I am not bound to tell you my conscience of your demands."

St. Asaph.—"What say you now? Is there not in the blessed sacrament of the altar [and with that they put off all their caps for reverence of that idol] the presence of our Saviour Christ, really and substantially, after the words of consecration?"

Philpot.—"I do believe in the sacrament of Christ's body, duly ministered, to be such manner of presence, as the word teacheth me to believe."

St. Asaph.—"I pray you how is that?"

Philpot.—"As for that I will declare another time, when I shall be lawfully called to dispute my mind of this matter, but I am not yet driven to that point. And the Scripture saith, All things ought to be done after an order."

Another bishop.—"This is a froward and vainglorious man."

Bonner.—"It is not lawful for a man by the civil laws to dispute of his faith openly, as it appeareth in the title *De Summa Trinitate et fide Catholica*."

Philpot.—"My Lord, I have answered you to this question before."

Bonner.—"Why, I never asked thee of this before now."

Philpot.—"Yes, that you did at my last examination, by that token I answered your Lordship by St. Ambrose, that the church is congregated by the word, and not by man's law. Wherefore I add now further of this saying, 'That he which refuseth the word, and objecteth the law, is an unjust man, because the just shall live by faith.' And moreover, my Lord, the title which your Lordship allegeth out of the law, maketh it not unlawful to dispute of all the articles of the faith, but of the Trinity."

Bonner.—"Thou liest, it is not so: and I will show you by the book how ignorant he is." And with that he went with all haste to his study, and fetched his book and openly read the text, and the title of the law; and charged me with such words as seemed to make for his purpose, saying, "How sayest thou to this?"

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Philpot.—"My Lord, I say as I said before, that the law meaneth of the catholic faith, determined in the council of Chalcedon, where the articles of the Creed were only concluded upon."

Bonner.—"Thou art the veriest beast that ever I heard; I must needs speak it; thou compellest me thereunto."

Philpot.—"Your Lordship may speak your pleasure of me: but what is this to the purpose, which your Lordship is so earnest in? You know that our faith is not grounded upon the civil law: therefore it is not material to me whatsoever the law saith."

Bonner.—"By what law wilt thou be judged? Wilt thou be judged by the common law?"

Philpot.—"No, my Lord, our faith dependeth not upon the laws of man."

St. Asaph.—"He will be judged by no law, but as he listeth himself."

Worcester.—"The common laws are but abstracts of the Scriptures and doctors."

Philpot.—"Whatsoever you do make them, they are no ground of my faith, by the which I ought to be judged."

Bonner.—"I must proceed against thee to-morrow."

Philpot.—"If your Lordship so do, I will have exceptionem Joni; for you are not my competent judge."

Bonner.—"By what law dost thou refuse me to be thy judge?"

Philpot.—"By the civil law, *De competente judice*."

Bonner.—"There is no such title in the law. In what book is it, as cunning a lawyer as you be?"

Philpot.—"My Lord, I take upon me no great cunning in the law; but you drive me to my shifts for my defence. And I am sure, if I had the books of the law, I were able to show what I say."

Bonner.—"What? *De competente judice*? I will go etch thee my books. There is a title indeed, *De officiis judieis Ordinarii*."

Philpot.—"Verily that is the same *De competente judice*, which I have alleged." With that he ran to his study, and brought the whole course of the law between his hands, which (as it might appear) he had well occupied, by the dust they were imbrued withal.

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Bonner.—"There be the books: find it now, (if thou canst,) and I will promise to release thee out of prison."

Philpot.—"My Lord, I stand not here to reason matters of the civil law, although I am not altogether ignorant of the same; for that I have been a student in the law six or seven years: but to answer to the articles of faith, with the which you may lawfully burden me. And whereas you go about unlawfully to proceed, I challenge, according to my knowledge, the benefit of the law in my defence."

Bonner.—"Why, thou wilt answer directly to nothing thou art charged withal therefore say not hereafter but you might have been satisfied here by learned men, if you would have declared your mind."

Philpot.—"My Lord, I have declared my mind unto you and to other of the bishops at my last being before you, desiring you to be satisfied but of one thing, whereunto I have referred all other controversies: the which if your Lordships now, or other learned men, can simply resolve me of, I am as contented to be reformable in all things, as you shall require; the which is to prove that the Church of Rome (whereof you are) is the catholic church."

Coventry.—"Why, do you not believe your creed, *Credo ecclesiam catholicam*?"

Philpot.—"Yes, that I do: but I cannot understand Rome (wherewithal you burden us) to be the same, neither like to it."

St. Asaph.—"It is most evident that St. Peter did build the catholic church at Rome. And Christ said, *Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam*. Moreover, the succession of bishops in the see of Rome can be proved from time to time, as it can be of none other place sthell, which is a manifest probation of ithe cathoPhilpotch, as divers doctors do write."

Philpot.—"That you would have to be undoubted, is most uncertain, and that by the authority which you allege of Christ, saying unto Peter, Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church, unless you can prove the rock to signify Rome, as you would make me falsely believe. And although you can prove the succession of bishops from Peter, yet this is not sufficient to prove Rome the catholic church, unless you can prove the profession of Peter's faith, whereupon the catholic church is builded, to have continued in his successors at Rome, and at this present to remain."

Bonner.—"Is there any more churches than one catholic church? And I pray you tell me into what faith were you baptized?"

Philpot.—"I acknowledge one holy catholic and apostolic church, whereof I am a member, (I praise God,) and am of that catholic church of Christ whereinto I was baptized."

Coventry.—"I pray you, can you tell what this word catholic doth signify? show, if you can."

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Philpot.—"Yes that I can, I thank God. The catholic faith, or the catholic church, is not as now-a-days the people be taught, to be that which is most universal, or of most part of men received, whereby you do infer our faith to hang upon the multitude, which is not so: but I esteem the catholic church to be as St. Augustine defineth the same: 'We judge,' saith he, 'the catholic faith, of that which hath been, is, and shall be.' So that if you can be able to prove that your faith and church hath been from the beginning taught, and is, and shall be, then may you count yourselves catholic: otherwise not. And catholic is a Greek word, compounded of *κατα* [Greek: kata], which signifieth *after* or *according*, and *ολον* [Greek: olon], a sum, or principal, or whole. So that catholic church, or catholic faith, is as much to say, as the first, sound, whole, or chiefest faith."

Bonner.—"Doth St. Augustine say so as he allegeth it? or doth he mean as he taketh the same? how say you, Master Curtop?"

Curtop.—"Indeed, my Lord, St. Augustine hath such a saying, speaking against the Donatists, that the catholic faith ought to be esteemed of 'things in time past, and as they are practised according to the same, and ought to be through all ages; and not after a new manner, as the Donatists began to profess."

Philpot.—"You have said well, Master Curtop, and after the meaning of St. Augustine, and to confirm that which I have said for the signification of catholic."

Coventry.—"Let the book be seen, my Lord."

Bonner.—"I pray you, my Lord, be content, or in good faith I will break even off and let all alone. Do you think the catholic church (until it was within these few years, in the which a few upon singularity have swerved from the same) have erred?"

Philpot.—"I do not think that the catholic church can err in doctrine; but I require you to prove this Church of Rome to be the catholic church."

Curtop.—"I can prove that Irenæus (which was within a hundred years after Christ) came to Victor, then bishop of Rome, to ask his advice about the excommunication of certain heretics, the which he would not have done (by all likelihood) if he had not taken him to be supreme head."

Coventry.—"Mark well this argument. How are you able to answer the same? Answer, if you can."

Philpot.—"It is soon answered, my Lord, for that it is of no force; neither this fact of Irenæus maketh no more for the supremacy of the bishop of Rome than mine hath done, which have been at Rome as well as he, and might have spoken with the pope, if I had list: and yet I would none in England did favour his supremacy more than I."

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St. Asaph.—"You are the more to blame, (by the faith of my body,) for that you favour the same no better, since all the catholic church (until these few years) have taken him to be the supreme head of the church, besides this good man Irenæus."

Philpot.—"That is not likely, that Irenæus so took him, or the primitive church: for I am able to show seven general councils after Irenæus's time, wherein he was never so taken; which may be a sufficient proof that the catholic primitive church never took him for supreme head."

The other bishop.—"This man will never be satisfied, say what we can. It is but folly to reason any more with him."

Philpot.—"O my Lords, would you have me satisfied with nothing? Judge, I pray you, who of us hath better authority, he which bringeth the example of one man going to Rome, or I that by these many general councils am able to prove, that he was never so taken in many hundred years after Christ, as by the Nicene, the first and second Ephesine, the Chalcedonian, the Constantinopolitan, the Carthaginian, and that at Aquileia."

Coventry.—"Why will you not admit the Church of Rome to be the catholic church?"

Philpot.—"Because it followeth not the primitive catholic church, neither agreeth with the same, no more than an apple is like a nut."

Coventry.—"Wherein doth it dissent?"

Philpot.—"It were too long to recite all, but two things I will name, the supremacy and transubstantiation."

Curtop.—"As for transubstantiation, albeit it was set forth and decreed for an article of faith not much above three hundred years, yet it was always believed in the church."

Bonner.—"Yea, that was very well said of you, Master Curtop."

Philpot.—"Ye have said right, that transubstantiation is but a late plantation of the bishop of Rome, and you are not able to show any ancient writer, that the primitive church did believe any such thing" and with this Curtop shrank away. And immediately after the ambassador of Spain came in, to whom my Lord of London went, leaving the other with me. To whom I said, "My Lords, if you can show me that this Church of Rome (whereof you are members) is the true catholic church, I shall be content to be one thereof, and as conformable to the same as you can require me in all things; for I know there is no salvation but within the church."

Coventry.—"Can you disprove that the Church of Rome is not the catholic church?"

Philpot.—"Yea, that I am able, but I desire rather to hear of you for the proof thereof. And seeing I cannot have my request at your hands, neither be satisfied with any probable authority, I will show you good proof why it is not. For if the primitive church were catholic, as it was indeed, and ought to be, the form and school-mistress of the church to the world's end;

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then is not the Church of Rome now the catholic church, which dissenteth so far from the same both in doctrine and use of the sacraments."

Coventry.—"How prove you that the Church of Rome now dissenteth in doctrine and use of the sacraments from the primitive church?"

Philpot.—"Compare the one with the other, and it shall soon appear; as you may see both in Eusebius and other ecclesiastical and ancient writers."

Coventry.—"What have you to say more, why it is not the catholic church?"

Philpot.—"Because it is not (by your interpretation of catholic) universal, neither ever was, albeit you falsely persuade the people that it is so. For the world, being divided into three parts, Asia, Africa, and Europe, two parts thereof, Asia and Africa, professing Christ as well as we, did never consent to the Church of Rome, which is of Europe; which is a sufficient testimony that your faith was never universal."

Coventry.—"How prove you that?"

Philpot.—"All the historiographers, which write of the proceedings of the church, do testify the same. Besides that, this present time doth declare that to be true, which I say: for at this present the Church of Asia and Africa do not consent to the Church of Rome. Yea, and besides all this, most part of Europe doth not agree, neither allow the Church of Rome; as Germany, the kingdom of Denmark, the kingdom of Poland, a great part of France, England, and Zealand, which is a manifest probation that your church is not universal."

And after this, the bishop of London called away the other bishops, and left with me divers gentlemen, with certain of his chaplains, as Dr. Saverson, an Englishman, who had proceeded doctor at Bologna, who after began with me in this matter.

Dr. Saverson.—"Master Philpot, I remember you beyond sea since the time you reasoned with a friar, (a notable learned man,) coming from Venice to Padua in a barge."

Philpot.—"I cannot forget that; for the friar threatened me to accuse me of heresy as soon as he came to Padua, for that I talked with him so boldly of the truth. He was no such learned man as you name him to be, but only in his school points a good purgatory friar."

Dr. Saverson.—"Well, he was a learned man for all that. And I am sorry to hear that you this day, having communed with so many notable learned men, are no more conformable to them than you be."

Philpot.—"I will be conformable to all them that be conformable to Christ in his word. And I pray you, good Master Doctor, be not so conformable to please men more than God, contrary to your learning, for worldly estimation's sake."

Dr. Saverson.—"No, that I am not. Upon what occasion should you think thus of me?"

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Philpot.—"Upon no evil that I do know of you, Master Doctor; but I speak as one wishing that you should not be led away from the truth for promotion's sake, as many doctors be now-a-days."

Dr. Saverson.—"I have heard your arguments hitherto, and methinketh that a great many of the old ancient writers be against you in that you do not allow the Church of Rome, neither the supremacy; for St. Cyprian (who is an old ancient writer) doth allow the bishop of Rome to be supreme head of the church."

Philpot.—"That I am sure of he doth not: for he, writing unto Cornelius, then bishop of Rome, calleth him but his companion and fellow bishop, neither attributed to him the name either of pope, or else of any other usurped terms which now be ascribed to the bishop of Rome, to the setting forth of his dignity."

Dr. Saverson.—"You cannot be able to show that St. Cyprian calleth Cornelius his fellow bishop."

Philpot.—"I will wager with you what I am able to make, that I can show it you in Cyprian, as I have said."

Dr. Saverson.—"I will lay none other wager with you, but book for book, that it is not so."

Philpot.—"I agree thereto, and I pray you one of my Lord's chaplains to fetch us Cyprian hither for the trial hereof." And with that one of them went to my Lord's study and brought forth Cyprian, and by and by he turned to the first book of his epistles, the third epistle; and there would have seemed to have gathered a strong argument for the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, because he saith, "it goeth not well with the church when the high priest is not obeyed, which supplieth the stead of Christ, after God's word, and the consent of his fellow bishops and the agreement of the people."

Dr. Saverson.—"How can you avoid this place, which maketh so plainly for the bishop of Rome's supremacy?"

Philpot.—"It maketh not so plain, Master Doctor, on your side, as you gather; as by and by I will give you to understand. But first I challenge the wager which we made, that your book is mine: for here you may see that he calleth Cornelius his fellow bishop, as he doth also in other places. And now, for the understanding of that place, you do misconstrue it, to take the high priest only for the bishop of Rome, and otherwise than it was in his time. For there were by the Nicene council four patriarchs appointed, the patriarch of Jerusalem, the patriarch of Constantinople, the patriarch of Alexandria, and the patriarch of Rome; of which four, the patriarch of Rome was placed lowest in the council, and so continued many years, for the time of seven or eight general councils, as I am able to show. Therefore St. Cyprian, writing to Cornelius, patriarch of Rome, (whom he calleth his fellow bishop,) findeth himself offended, that certain heretics, being justly excommunicated by him, (as the Novatians were,) did flee from his diocese, who was their chief bishop, (refusing to be obedient to him, and to be reformed,) to the

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bishop of Rome, and to the patriarch of Constantinople, and there were received in communion of the congregation; in derogation of good order and discipline in the church, and to the maintaining of heresies and schisms. And that heresies did spring up and schisms daily arise hereof, that obedience was not given to the priest of God, nor that they considered him to be in the church, for the time, the priest, and, for the time, the judge in Christ's stead, (as in the decree of the Nicene council was appointed,) not meaning the bishop of Rome only, but every patriarch in his precinct; who had every one of them a college or cathedral church of learned priests, in hearing of whom by a convocation of all his fellow bishops, with the consent of the people, all heresies were determined by the word of God: and this is the meaning of St. Cyprian."

Dr. Saverson.—"You take it so, but it seemeth to me otherwise."

Philpot.—"Upon what ground it should seem otherwise unto you I know not, but this meaning which I have declared, the general councils, seven or eight one after another, confirmed it so to be, which did not allow one supreme head only."

Pendleton.—"There were not so many general councils, but four only allowed."

Philpot.—"That is not so, Master Pendleton, although there be four specially allowed for the confirmation of the Trinity; but besides these four there were many other general councils, as you may learn by many writers."

A chaplain.—"Did not Christ build his church upon Peter? St. Cyprian saith so."

Philpot.—"St. Cyprian, *De simplicitate praelatorum*, declareth in what respect he so said: 'God gave, in the person of one man, the keys to all, that he might signify the unity of all men.' And also St. Augustine saith in the tenth treatise of St. John, 'If in Peter had not been the mystery of the church, the Lord had not said unto him, I will give unto thee the keys. For if that were said to Peter, the church hath them not; if the church have them when Peter received them, he signified the whole church.' And also St. Jerome, a priest of Rome, writing to Nepotian, saith, 'That all churches do lean to their own pastors,' where he speaketh of the ecclesiastical hierarchy or regiment, where he maketh no mention of the bishop of Rome. And writing *Ad Evagium*, he saith, that wheresoever a bishop be, whether it be at Rome, or at Evagium, or at Rhegium, he is of one power and of one jurisdiction."

Dr. Saverson.—"St. Jerome, *De cœlesti Hier archia*? It was St. Dionysius you mean."

Philpot.—"I say not that Jerome wrote any book so intituled; but I say, that in the epistle by me alleged, he maketh mention of the ecclesiastical regiment."

Dr. Saverson.—"I wonder you will stand so stedfast in your error to your own destruction."

Philpot.—"I am sure we are in no error, by the promise of Christ made to the faithful once, which is, that he will give to his true church such a spirit of wisdom, that the adversaries thereof should never be able to resist. And by this I know we are of the truth, for that neither by

reasoning, neither by writing, your synagogue at Rome is able to answer. Where is there one of you all that ever hath been able to answer any of the godly learned ministers of Germany, who have disclosed your counterfeit religion? Which of you all, at this day, is able to answer Calvin's Institutions, who is minister of Geneva?"

Dr. Saverson.—"A godly minister, indeed, of receipt of cutpurses, and runagate traitors. And of late, I can tell you, there is such contention fallen between him and his own sects, that he was fain to flee the town, about predestination. I tell you truth, for I came by Geneva hither."

Philpot.—"I am sure you blaspheme that godly man, and that godly church where he is minister; as it is your church's condition, when you cannot answer men by learning, to oppress them with blasphemies and false reports. For in the matter of predestination he is in none other opinion than all the doctors of the church be, agreeing to the Scriptures."

Dr. Saverson.—"Men be able to answer him if they list. And I pray you which of you have answered Bishop Fisher's book?"

Philpot.—"Yes, Master Doctor, that book is answered and answered again, if you list to seek what hath been written against him."

And after this, Dr. Story came in. To whom I said, "Master Doctor, you have done me great injury, and without law have straitly imprisoned me, more like a dog than a man. And, besides this, you have not kept promise with me, for you promised that I should be judged the next day after."

Story.—"I am come now to keep promise with thee. Was there ever such a fantastical man as this is? Nay, he is no man, he is a beast, yea, these heretics be worse than brute beasts; for they will, upon a vain singularity, take upon them to be wiser than all men, being indeed very fools and ass-heads, not able to maintain that, which of an arrogant obstinacy they do stand in."

Philpot.—"Master Doctor, I am content to abide your railing judgment of me now. Say what you will, I am content, for I am under your feet to be trodden on as you list. God forgive it you; yet am I no heretic. Neither you nor any other shall be able to prove that I hold any jot against the word of God otherwise than a Christian man ought."

Story.—"The word of God! Forsooth, the word of God! It is but a folly to reason with these heretics, for they are incurable and desperate. But as I may reason with thee, (not that I have any hope to win thee,) whom wilt thou appoint to judge of the word whereto thou standest?"

Philpot.—"Verily the word itself."

Story.—"Do you not see the ignorance of this beastly heretic? He willeth the word to be judged of the word. Can the word speak?"

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Philpot.—"If I cannot prove that which I have said by good authority, I will be content to be counted a heretic, and an ignorant person; and further, what you please."

Story.—"Let us hear what wise authority thou canst bring in."

Philpot.—"It is the saying of Christ in St. John, (chap. xii.,) The word which I have spoken, saith Christ, shall judge in the last day. If the word shall judge in the last day, much more it ought to judge our doings now: and I am sure I have my Judge on my side, who shall absolve and justify me in another world. Howsoever now it shall please you by authority unrighteously to judge of me and others, sure I am in another world to judge you."

Story.—"What! you purpose to be a stinking martyr, and to sit in judgment with Christ at the last day, to judge the twelve tribes of Israel?"

Philpot.—"Yea, sir, I doubt not thereof, having the promise of Christ, if I die for righteousness' sake, which you have begun to persecute in me."

Story.—"I told you it was but vain to argue with this heretic; he is drowned in his heresies, without all learning."

Philpot.—"Sir, I have brought you, for that I have said, good authority out of God's book, to the which you answer nothing, but go about still to give railing judgment against me, without any cause."

Story.—"I will come to you by and by. When the judge at Westminster Hall giveth sentence, doth the word give sentence, or the judge? tell me."

Philpot.—"Civil matters be subject to civil men; and they have authority by the word, to be judges of them. But the word of God is not subject to man's judgment, but ought to judge all the wisdom, thoughts, and doings of men; and therefore your comparison disproveth nothing that I have said, neither answereth any whit thereto."

Story.—"Wilt thou not allow the interpretation of the church upon the Scriptures?"

Philpot.—"Yes, if it be according to the word of the true church: and this I say to you, as I have said heretofore, that if ye can prove the Church of Rome (whereof ye are) to be the true catholic church which I ought to follow, I will be as ready to yield thereto (as long as it can be so proved) as you may desire me."

Story.—"What a fellow is this! he will believe nothing but what he listeth himself. Are we not in possession of the church? have not our forefathers these many hundred years taken this church for the catholic church whereof we are now? and if we had none other proof but this, it were sufficient; for the prescription of time maketh a good title in the law."

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Philpot.—"You do well, Master Doctor, to allege prescription of many years, for it is all that you have to show for yourselves. But you must understand, that prescription hath no place in matters belonging unto God, as I am able to show by the testimony of many doctors."

Story.—"Well sir, you are like to go after your fathers, Latimer the sophister, and Ridley, who had nothing to allege for himself, but that he had learned his heresy of Cranmer. When I came to him with a poor bachelor of arts, he trembled as though he had had the palsy, as these heretics have always some token of fear whereby a man may know them, as you may see this man's eyes do tremble in his head. But I despatched them; and I tell thee that there hath been yet never any one burnt, but I have spoken with him, and have been a cause of his despatch."

Philpot.—"You have the more to answer for, Master Doctor, as you shall feel in another world, how much soever you do now triumph of your proceedings."

Story.—"I tell thee, I will never be confessed thereof. And because I cannot now tarry to speak with my Lord, I pray one of you tell my Lord, that my coming was to signify to his Lordship, that he must out of hand rid this heretic out of the way." And, going away, he said to me, "I certify thee, that thou mayest thank none other man but me."

Philpot.—"I thank you therefore with all mine heart, and God forgive it you."

Story.—"What! dost thou thank me? If I had thee in my study half an hour, I think I should make you sing another song."

Philpot.—"No, Master Doctor, I stand upon too sure a ground to be overthrown by you now." And thus they departed all away from me one after another, until I was left all alone. And afterwards, with my keeper going to my coal-house, as I went, I met with my Lord of London, who spake unto me gently, as he hath hitherto in words, saying.

London.—"Philpot, if there be any pleasure I may show you in my house, I pray you require it, and you shall have it."

Philpot.—"My Lord, the pleasure that I will require of your Lordship is to hasten my judgment which is committed unto you, and so to despatch me forth of this miserable world, unto my eternal rest."

And for all his fair speech I cannot attain hitherto, this fortnight's space, neither fire nor candle, neither yet good lodging. But it is good for a man to be brought low in this world, and to be counted amongst the vilest, that he may in time of reward receive exaltation and glory. Therefore, praised be God that hath humbled me and given me grace with gladness to be content therewithal. Let all that love the truth say Amen.

Thus endeth the fifth tragedy.

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The sixth examination of John Philpot, had before the right honourable lords, the lord chamberlain to the queen's Majesty, the Viscount Hereford, commonly called Lord Ferrers, the Lord Riche, the Lord St. John, the Lord Windsor, the Lord Chandos, Sir John Bridges, lieutenant of the Tower, and two other more, whose names I know not, with the bishop of London and Dr. Chedsey, the sixth day of November, Anno 1555.

Before that I [Philpot] was called afore the Lords, and whiles they were in sitting down, the bishop of London came aside to me and whispered in mine ear, willing me to use myself before the lords of the queen's Majesty's council prudently, and to take heed what I said: and thus he pretended to give me counsel, because he wished me to do well; as I might now do, if I list. And after the lords and other worshipful gentlemen of the queen's Majesty's servants were set, my Lord of London placed himself at the end of the table, and called me to him, and by the Lords I was placed at the upper end against him; where I kneeling down, the Lords commanded me to stand up, and after in this manner the bishop began to speak.

London.—"Master Philpot, I have heretofore, both privately myself, and openly before the lords of the clergy, more times than once, caused you to be talked withal to reform you of your errors, but I have not found you yet so tractable as I would wish: wherefore now I have desired these honourable lords of the temporality and of the queen's Majesty's council, who have taken pains with me this day, (I thank them there-for,) to hear you what you can say, that they may be judges whether I have sought all means to do you good or no: and I dare be bold to say, in their behalf, that if you show yourself conformable to the queen's Majesty's proceedings, you shall find as much favour for your deliverance, as you can wish. I speak not this to fawn upon you, but to bring you home into the church. Now let them hear what you can say."

Philpot.—"My Lord, I thank God of this day, that I have such an honourable audience to declare my mind before. And I cannot but commend your Lordship's equity in this behalf, which agreeth with the order of the primitive church, which was, if anybody had been suspected of heresy, as I am now, he should be called first before the archbishop or bishop of the diocese, where he was suspected; secondly, in the presence of others his fellow bishops and learned elders; and thirdly, in hearing of the laity; where, after the judgment of God's word declared, and with the assent of other bishops and consent of the people, he was condemned to exile for a heretic, or absolved. And the second point of that good order I have found at your Lordship's hands already, in being called before you and your fellow bishops, and now have the third sort of men, at whose hands I trust to find more righteousness with my cause than I have found with my Lords of the clergy. God grant I may have, at last, the judgment of God's word concerning the same."

London.—"Master Philpot, I pray you ere you go any further, tell my Lords here plainly whether you were by me, or by my procurement, committed to prison or not, and whether I have showed you any cruelty since ye have been committed to my prison."

Philpot.—"If it shall please your Lordship to give me leave to declare forth my matter, I will touch that afterward."

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Riche.—"Answer first of all to my Lord's two questions, and then proceed forth to the matter. How say you? were you imprisoned by my Lord or no? can you find any fault since, with his cruel using of you?"

Philpot.—"I cannot lay to my Lord's charge the cause of my imprisonment, neither may I say that he hath used me cruelly; but rather, for my part, I may say that I have found more gentleness at his Lordship's hands, than I did at mine own ordinary's, for the time I have been within his prison, for that he hath called me three or four times to mine answer, to the which I was not called in a twelvemonth and a half before."

Riche.—"Well, now go forth to your matter."

Philpot.—"The matter is, that I am imprisoned for the disputations had by me in the convocation-house against the sacrament of the altar, which matter was not moved principally by me, but by the prolocutor, with the consent of the queen's Majesty and of the whole house; and that house, being a member of the parliament-house, ought to be a place of free speech for all men of the house, by the ancient and laudable custom of this realm. Wherefore I think myself to have sustained hitherto great injury for speaking my conscience freely in such a place as I might lawfully do it: and I desire your honourable Lordships' judgment, which be of the parliament-house, whether of right I ought to be impeached there-for, and sustain the loss of my living, (as I have done,) and moreover of my life, as it is sought."

Riche.—"You are deceived herein; for the convocation-house is no part of the parliament-house."

Philpot.—"My Lord, I have always understood the contrary, by such as are more expert men in things of this realm than I: and again, the title of every act leadeth me to think otherwise, which allegeth the agreement of the spirituality and temporality assembled together."

Riche.—"Yea, that is meant of the spiritual lords of the upper house."

Windsor.—"Indeed the convocation-house is called together by one writ of the summons of the parliament, of an old custom; notwithstanding that house is no part of the parliament-house."

Philpot.—"My Lords, I must be contented to abide your judgments in this behalf."

Riche.—"We have told you the truth. Marry, yet we would not that you should be troubled for any thing that there was spoken, so that you, having spoken amiss, do declare now that you are sorry there-for."

London.—"My Lords, he hath spoken there manifest heresy; yea, and there stoutly maintained the same against the blessed sacrament of the altar, [and with that he put off his cap, that all the Lords might reverence and veil their bonnets at that idol as he did,] and would not allow the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the same. Yet, my Lords, God forbid that I should go about to show him extremity for so doing, in case he will repent and revoke his

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wicked sayings; and if in faith he will so do, with your Lordships' consent he shall be released by-and-by. If he will not, he shall have the extremity of the law, and that shortly."

Chamberlain.—"My Lord of London speaketh reasonably unto you. Take it whiles it is offered you."

Riche.—"How say you? Will you acknowledge the real presence of the body and blood of Christ, as all the learned men of this realm do, in the mass, and as I do, and will believe as long as I live, I do protest it?"

Philpot.—"My Lord, I do acknowledge in the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ such a presence, as the word of God doth allow and teach me."

Riche.—"That shall be no otherwise than you list."

London.—"A sacrament is the sign of a holy thing; so that there is both the sign, which is the accident, as the whiteness, roundness, and shape of bread, and there is also the thing itself, as very Christ, both God and man. But these heretics will have the sacraments to be but bare signs. How say you? declare unto my Lords here whether you do allow the thing itself in the sacrament or no."

Philpot.—"I do confess that in the Lord's supper there is in due respects both the sign and the thing signified, when it is duly ministered after the institution of Christ."

London.—"You may see how he goeth about the bush, (as he hath done before with my Lords of the clergy,) and dare not utter his mind plainly."

Riche.—"Show us what manner of presence you allow in the sacrament."

Philpot.—"If it please you, my Lord of London, to give me leave to proceed orderly thereunto, and to let me declare my mind without interruption, I will thoroughly open my mind therein."

Lord Chandos.—"I pray you, my Lord, let him speak his mind."

Philpot.—"My Lords, that at the first I have not plainly declared my judgment unto you, thereason is this, because I cannot speak hereof without the danger of my life."

Riche.—"There is none of us here that seeketh thy life, or means to take any advantage of that thou shalt speak."

Philpot.—"Although I mistrust not your honourable Lordships that be here of the temporality; yet here is one that sitteth against me [pointing to my Lord of London] that will lay it to my charge, even to the death. Notwithstanding, seeing your Honours do require me to declare my mind of the presence of Christ in the sacrament, that ye may perceive that I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ, neither do maintain any opinion without probable and sufficient authority

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of the Scripture, I will show you frankly my mind without all colour, whatsoever shall ensue unto me therefore, so that my Lord of London will not let me to utter my mind."

Riche.—"My Lord, permit him to say what he can, seeing he is willing to show his mind."

London.—"I am content, my Lords; let him say what he can, I will hear him."

Philpot.—"That which I do intend to speak unto you, right honourable lords, I do protest here, first, before God and his angels, that I speak it not of vain-glory, neither of singularity, neither of wilful stubbornness, but truly upon a good conscience, grounded on God's word, against the which I dare not do, for fear of damnation which will follow that which is done contrary to knowledge. Neither do I disagree to the proceedings of this realm in religion, for that I love not the queen (whom I love from the bottom of my heart); but because I ought to love and fear God in his word more than man in his laws, though I stand, as I seem to do, in this consideration, and for none other, as God I call to witness. There be two things principally, by the which the clergy at this day do deceive the whole realm; that is, the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and the name of the catholic church: the which both they do usurp, having indeed none of them both. And as touching their sacrament, which they term of the altar, I say now as I said in the convocation-house, that it is not the sacrament of Christ, neither in the same is there any manner of Christ's presence. Wherefore they deceive the queen's Majesty, and you of the nobility of this realm, in making you to believe that to be a sacrament which is none, and cause you to commit manifest idolatry in worshipping that for God, which is no God. And in testimony of this to be true, besides manifest proof, which I am able to make to the queen's Majesty, and to all you of her nobility, I will yield my life: the which to do, if it were not upon a sure ground, it were to my utter damnation. And whereas they take on them the name of the catholic church, (whereby they blind many folk's eyes,) they are nothing so, calling you from the true religion which was revealed and taught in King Edward's time, unto vain superstition. And this I will say for the trial hereof, that if they can prove themselves to be the catholic church, (as they shall never be able to do,) I will never be against their doings, but revoke all that I have said. And I shall desire you, my Lords, to be a mean for me to the queen's Majesty, that I may be brought to the just trial hereof. Yea, I will not refuse to stand against ten of the best of them in this realm: and if they be able to prove otherwise than I have said, either by writing or by reasoning, with good and lawful authority, I will here promise to recant whatsoever I have said, and to consent to them in all points." And in the declaration of these things more at large, which now I write in sum, the bishop of London eftsoons would have interrupted me, but the lords procured me liberty to make out my tale, to the great grief of the lord bishop of London, as it appeared by the dumps he was in.

London.—"It hath been told me before, that you love to make a long tale."

Riche.—"All heretics do boast of the Spirit of God, and every one would have a church by himself; as Joan of Kent and the Anabaptists. I had myself Joan of Kent a sevensnight in my house after the writ was out for her to be burnt, where my Lord of Canterbury and Bishop Ridley resorted almost daily unto her. But she was so high in the spirit, that they could do nothing with her for all their learning: but she went wilfully unto the fire, was burnt, and so do you now."

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Philpot.—"As for Joan of Kent, she was a vain woman, (I knew her well,) and a heretic indeed, well worthy to be burnt, because she stood against one of the manifest articles of our faith, contrary to the Scriptures. And such vain spirits be soon known from the true Spirit of God and his church, for that the same abideth within the limits of God's word, and will not go out of the same, neither stubbornly maintain any thing contrary to the word, as I have God's word thoroughly on my side to show for that I stand in."

London.—"I pray you, how will you join me these two scriptures together: *Pater major me est*; and *Pater et ego unum sumus*. I must interpret the same, because my Lords here understand not the Latin, that is to say, The Father is greater than I; and, I and the Father are one: but I cry you mercy, my Lords, I have misspoken, in saying you understand no Latin; for the most part of you understand Latin as well as I. But I speak in consideration of my Lord Chandos and Master Bridges his brother, whom I take to be no great Latin men. Now show your cunning, and join these two scriptures by the word, if you can."

Philpot.—"Yes, that I can right well. For we must understand that in Christ there be two natures, the Divinity and humanity, and in respect of his humanity it is spoken of Christ, The Father is greater than I. But in respect of his Deity he said again, The Father and I be one."

London.—"But what scripture have you?"

Philpot.—"Yes, I have sufficient scripture for the proof of that I have said. For the first, it is written of Christ in the Psalms, Thou hast made him a little lesser than angels. It is the 15th Psalm, beginning *Cæli enarrant*." And there I misreckoned, wherewithal my Lord took me:

London.—"It is in *Domine Dominus noster*. Ye may see, my Lords, how well this man is used to say his matins."

Philpot.—"Though I say not matins in such order as your Lordship meaneth; yet I remember of old, that *Domine Dominus noster*, and *Cæli enarrant*, be not far asunder. And albeit I misnamed the Psalm, it is no prejudice to the truth that I have proved."

London.—"What say you then to the second scripture? how couple you that by the word to the other?"

Philpot.—"The text itself declareth, that notwithstanding Christ did abase himself in our human nature, yet he is still one in Deity with the Father: and this St. Paul to the Hebrews doth more at large set forth. And as I have by the Scriptures joined these two scriptures together, so am I able to do in all other articles of faith which we ought to believe, and by the manifest word of God to expound them."

London.—"How can that be, seeing St. Paul saith, That the letter killeth, but it is the spirit that giveth life."

Philpot.—"St. Paul meaneth not the word of God written, in itself killeth (which is the word of life, and faithful testimony of the Lord); but that the word is unprofitable and killeth him

that is void of the Spirit of God, although he be the wisest man of the world. And therefore St. Paul said, That the gospel to some was a savour of life unto life, and to some other a savour of death unto death. Also an example hereof we have in John vi., of them who hearing the word of God without the Spirit, were offended thereby: wherefore Christ said, The flesh profiteth nothing: it is the Spirit that quickeneth."

London.—"What! do you understand that of St. Paul and of St. John so?"

Philpot.—"It is not mine own interpretation, it is agreeable to the word in other places; and I have learned the same of ancient fathers interpreting it likewise. And to the Corinthians it is written, The natural man perceiveth not the things that be of the Spirit of God; but the spiritual man, which is endued with the Spirit, judgeth all things."

London.—"You see, my Lords, that this man will have his own mind; and will wilfully cast away himself. I am sorry for him."

Philpot.—"The words that I have spoken be none of mine, but the gospel, whereon I ought to stand. And if you, my Lord of London, can bring better authority for the faith you will draw me unto, than that which I stand upon, I will gladly hear the same by you or by any other in this realm."

Wherefore I, kneeling down, besought the lords "to be good unto me, a poor gentleman, that would fain live in the world, if I might, and testify as you have heard me to say this day, that if any man can prove that I ought to be of any other manner of faith than that of which I now am, and can prove the same sufficiently, I will be neither wilful, neither desperate, as my Lord of London would make you believe me to be."

Riche.—"What countryman be you? Are you of the Philpots of Hampshire?"

Philpot.—"Yea, my Lord; I was Sir P. Philipot's son of Hampshire."

Riche.—"He is my near kinsman; wherefore I am the more sorry for him."

Philpot.—"I thank your Lordship that it pleaseth you to challenge kindred of a poor prisoner."

Riche.—"In faith I would go a hundred miles on my bare feet, to do you good."

Chamberlain.—"He may do well enough, if he list."

St. John.—"Master Philpot, you are my countryman, and I would be glad you should do well."

Riche.—"You said even now, that you would desire to maintain your belief before ten of the best in the realm. You did not well to compare with the nobility of the realm. But what if you have ten of the best in the realm to hear you, will you be tried by them?"

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Philpot.—"My Lord, your Lordship mistaketh me to think that I challenge ten of the best of the nobility in this realm. It was no part of my mind; but I meant of the best learned on the contrary side."

Riche.—"Well, I take your meaning. What if means be made to the queen's Majesty, that you shall have your request, will you be judged by them?"

Philpot.—"My Lord, it is not meet, that a man should be judged by his adversaries."

Riche.—"By whom then would you be judged?"

Philpot.—"I will make your Honours judges, that shall be hearers of us."

Riche.—"I dare be bold to procure for you of the queen's Majesty, that you shall have ten learned men to reason with you, and twenty or forty of the nobility to hear, so you will promise to abide their judgment. How say you; will you promise here, afore my Lords, so to do?"

Philpot.—"I will be contented to be judged by them."

Riche.—"Yea, but will you promise to agree to their judgment?"

Philpot.—"There be causes why I may not so do, unless I were sure they would judge according to the word of God."

Riche.—"Oh, I perceive you will have no man judge but yourself, and think yourself wiser than all the learned men in this realm."

Philpot.—"My Lord, I seek not to be mine own judge, but am content to be judged by others, so that the order of judgment in matters of religion be kept that was in the primitive church; which is, first that God's will by his word was sought, and thereunto both the spirituality and temporality was gathered together, and gave their consents and judgment. And such kind of judgment I will stand to."

London.—"My Lords, he would make you believe that he were profoundly seen in ancient writers of the judgments of the primitive church, and there was never any such manner of judgment used as he now talketh of."

Philpot.—"In the Epistles of St. Cyprian I am able to show it you."

London.—"Ah, I tell you there is no such thing; fetch me Cyprian hither."

Philpot.—"You shall find it otherwise when the book cometh." And Dr. Chedsey, his chaplain (whom he appointed to fetch his book) whispered the bishop in his ear, and fetched not the book, by likelihood that he should have sustained the reproach thereof, if the book had been fetched. "Well my Lord," quoth I, "Master Doctor knoweth it is so, or else he would have fetched the book ere this."

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Riche.—"You would have none other judge, I see, but the word."

Philpot.—"Yes, my Lord; I will be tried by the word, and by such as will judge according to the word. As for an example, if there were a controversy between your Lordship and another, upon the words of a statute, must not the words of the statute judge and determine the controversy?"

Riche.—"No marry, the judges of the law may determine of the meaning thereof."

London.—"He hath brought as good an example against himself as can be."

And here the bishop thought he had good hand-fast against me, and therefore enlarged it with many words to the judgment of the church.

The lords.—"He hath overthrown himself by his own argument."

Philpot.—"My Lords, it seemeth to your Honours that you have great advantage of me by the example I brought in to express my cause: but, if it be pondered thoroughly, it maketh wholly with me, and nothing against me, as my Lord of London hath pretended. For I will ask my Lord Riche here, whom I know to have good knowledge in the laws and statutes of this realm, albeit a judge may discern the meaning of a statute agreeable to the words, whether the same may judge a meaning contrary to the express words or no?"

Riche.—"He cannot so do."

Philpot.—"Even so say I, that no man ought to judge the word of God to have a meaning contrary to the express words thereof, as this false Church of Rome doth in many things." And with this the lords seemed to be satisfied, and made no further replication herein.

Riche.—"I marvel then why you do deny the express words of Christ in the sacrament, saying, This is my body, and yet you will not stick to say it is not his body. Is not God omnipotent? and is not he able as well by his omnipotency to make it his body, as he was to make man flesh of a piece of clay? Did not he say, This is my body which shall be betrayed for you? and was not his very body betrayed for us? therefore it must needs be his body."

London.—"My Lord Riche, you have said wonderful well and learnedly; but you might have begun with him before also in the sixth of John, where Christ promised to give his body in the sacrament of the altar, saying, The bread which I will give is my flesh. How can you answer to that?"

Philpot.—"If it please you to give me leave to answer first my Lord Riche, I will also answer this objection."

Riche.—"Answer my Lord of London first, and after come to me."

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Philpot.—"My Lord of London may be soon answered, that the saying of St. John is, that the humanity of Christ, which he took upon him for the redemption of man, is the bread of life, whereby our bodies and souls be sustained to eternal life, of the which the sacramental bread is a lively representation and an effectual coaptation, to all such as believe on his passion. And as Christ saith in the same sixth of John, I am the bread that came down from heaven; but yet he is not material natural bread neither: likewise the bread is his flesh, not natural or substantial, but by signification, and by grace in the sacrament.

"And now to my Lord Riche's argument. I do not deny the express words of Christ in the sacrament, This is my body, but I deny that they are naturally and corporally to be taken; they must be taken sacramentally and spiritually, according to the express declaration of Christ, saying that the words of the sacrament which the Capernautes took carnally, as the papists now do, ought to be taken spiritually, and not carnally, as they falsely imagine, not weighing what interpretation Christ hath made in this behalf, neither following the institution of Christ, neither the use of the apostles and of the primitive church, who never taught, neither declared, any such carnal manner of presence as is now exacted of us violently, without any ground of Scripture or antiquity, who used to put out of the church all such as did not receive the sacrament with the rest, and also to burn that which was left after the receiving, as by the canon of the apostles, and by the decree of the council of Antioch, may appear."

London.—"No, that is not so; they were only *catechumeni* which went out of the church at the celebration of the communion, and none other."

Philpot.—"It was not only of such as were novices in faith, but all others that did not receive."

London.—"What say you to the omnipotency of God? Is not he able to perform that which he spake, as my Lord Riche hath very well said? I tell thee, that God by his omnipotency may make himself to be this carpet, if he will."

Philpot.—"As concerning the omnipotency of God, I say that God is able to do (as the prophet David saith) whatsoever he willeth; but he willeth nothing that is not agreeable to his word; as that is blasphemy which my Lord of London hath spoken, that God may become a carpet. For, as I have learned of ancient writers, 'God cannot do that which is contrary to his nature,' as it is contrary to the nature of God to be a carpet. A carpet is a creature; and God is the creator; and the creator cannot be the creature. Wherefore, unless you can declare by the word, that Christ is otherwise present with us than spiritually and sacramentally by grace, as he hath taught us, you pretend the omnipotency of God in vain."

London.—"Why, wilt thou not say that Christ is really present in the sacrament? or do you deny it?"

Philpot.—"I deny not that Christ is really in the sacrament to the receiver thereof, according to Christ's institution."

London.—"What mean you by really present?"

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Philpot.—"I mean by really present, present indeed."

London.—"Is God really present every where?"

Philpot.—"He is so."

London.—"How prove you that?"

Philpot.—"The prophet Isaiah saith, that God filleth all places: and wheresoever there be two or three gathered together in Christ's name, there is he in the midst of them."

London.—"What? his humanity?"

Philpot.—"No, my Lord, I mean the Deity, according to that you demanded."

Riche.—"My Lord of London, I pray you let Master Doctor Chedsey reason with him; and let us see how he can answer him, for I tell thee he is a learned man indeed, and one that I do credit before a great many of you, whose doctrine the queen's Majesty and the whole realm doth well allow; therefore hear him."

London.—"My Lords, I pray you, will it please you to drink? you have talked a great while, and much talk is thirsty. I will leave Master Doctor and him reasoning together awhile, with your leave, and will come to you by and by again." He went (as I suppose) to make room for more drink, after the lords had drunken. My Lord Riche said to the lords, "I pray you let the poor man drink, for he is thirsty;" and with that he called for a cup of drink, and gave it me, and I drank before them all. God requite it him, for I was athirst indeed. Afterwards Dr. Chedsey began in this wise, making a great process, of the which this is the effect.

Chedsey.—"Master Philpot findeth fault with the convocation-house before your Lordships, that he hath lain thus long in prison, and that he had there a dozen arguments, whereof he could not be suffered to prosecute one thoroughly, which is not so; for he had leave to say what he could, and was answered to as much as he was able to bring; and when he had nothing else to say, he fell to weeping. I was there present and can testify thereof; albeit there is a book abroad of the report of the disputation to the contrary, in the which there is never a true word. And whereas you require to be satisfied of the sacrament, I will show you the truth thereof, both by the Scriptures, and by the doctors."

Philpot.—"It is a shrewd likelihood that you will not conclude with any truth, since you have begun with so many untruths, as to say that I was answered whiles I had any thing to say, and that I wept for lack of matter to say, and that the book of the report of the disputation is nothing true. God be praised, there were a good many of noblemen, gentlemen, and worshipful men that heard and saw the doings thereof, which can testify that you here have made an unjust report before these honourable lords. And that I wept, was not for lack of matter, as you slander me; for I thank God, I have more matter than the best of you all shall ever be able to answer, as little learning as I have. But my weeping was, as Christ's was upon Jerusalem, seeing the destruction that should fall upon her; and I, foreseeing then the destruction which you (through

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violence and unrighteousness which you there declared) would work against the true church of Christ and her faithful members, as this day beareth witness, was compelled to weep in remembrance of that which I, with infinity more, have felt and shall feel."

All these words I did not then speak out, being interrupted by my Lord Riche, saying that I should suffer him to proceed out in this matter, and afterwards I should have leisure to answer him in every article. But he promised more than he could perform, as the end did well declare, for he had not the consent of the spirituality to his promise, which now rule the roost. God shorten their cruel days, for his elect's sake. And therefore I add this, which I had purposed to have spoken, if then I might have been suffered, lest any that perfectly know not the things done in the convocation-house and now laid to my charge, if they should not be answered by me, might reckon Dr. Chedsey's sayings to be true. And as concerning the book of the report of the disputations, I wrote the same, and it is true in every argument, as Master Dean of Rochester, and Master Cheyney, archdeacon of Hertford, (yet being alive, and within the realm,) can testify.

Chedsey.—"You have of Scriptures the four evangelists for the probation of Christ's real presence to be in the sacrament after the words of consecration, with St. Paul to the Corinthians; which all say, This is my body. They say not as you would have me to believe, this is not the body. But specially the sixth of John proveth the same most manifestly, where Christ promised to give his body, which he performed in his last supper, as it appeareth by these words, The bread which I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world."

Philpot.—"My Lord Riche, with your leave, I must needs interrupt him a little, because he speaketh open blasphemy against the death of Christ. For if that promise, brought in by St. John, was performed by Christ in his last supper, then needed he not to have died, after he had given the sacrament."

Riche.—"Let Master Doctor make an end of his arguments, and afterward object to him what you can."

Chedsey.—"You must note that there is twice *dabo* in this saying of St. John, and the first is referred to the sacrament of the altar; and the second to the sacrifice upon the cross. And besides these manifest scriptures, there be many ancient doctors proving the same, as Ignatius, Irenæus, and St. Cyprian "[whose authority be recited at large, which I do omit because I was not permitted to answer the same].

Riche.—"Now answer, and object to him what you can, and you shall be heard."

Philpot.—"My Lord, the chiefest ground whereon he with the rest of his side do ground themselves against us, be these words, This is my body, with a false pretence of the omnipotency of God. And before I will come to the particular answers of all that he hath alleged, for that your Lordships may the better understand me, what I mean, and whereupon I stand, I will first require Master Doctor to answer me one question. But first of all I do protest to your Honours that I think as reverently of the sacrament as a Christian man ought to do, and that I acknowledge the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, ministered after Christ's institution, to be one of the greatest treasures and comforts that he left us on the earth: and, contrariwise, it is most

discomfort and abominable, not being ministered as it ought to be, as it is used now-adays. And now to my question, which is this: Whether these words only, This is my body, spoken by a priest over the bread and wine, may make the body and blood of Christ, as you suppose, or no?"

Staggering what he might say, at last Chedsey said, "That these words alone, pronounced by the priest, be sufficient to make the bread and the wine the very body and blood of Christ really."

Philpot.—"That is blasphemy to say, and against all the scriptures and doctors, who affirm that the form and substance in consecration must be observed which Christ used and did institute, as St. Cyprian saith, 'In the sacrifice which is Christ, only Christ is to be followed.' And by the law it is forbidden to add or take away from God's word. And St. Peter saith, If any man speak, let him speak as the word of God. Wherefore, whosoever saith that these words only, This is my body, do make a presence of Christ, without Bless, take, and eat, which be three as substantial points of the sacrament as This is my body, he is highly deceived. Therefore St. Augustine saith, 'Let the word be joined to the element, and it becometh a sacrament:' so that if the entire words of Christ's institutions be not observed in the ministration of a sacrament, it is no sacrament; as the sacrifices which the ten tribes did offer at Bethel to God, were not acceptable, because they were not in all points done according to God's word. Wherefore, except blessing be made after the word, (which is a due thanksgiving for our redemption in Christ,) and also a showing forth of the Lord's death in such wise as the congregation may be edified, and moreover a taking and eating after Christ's commandment—except (I say) these three parts be first performed, (which is not done in the mass,) these words, This is my body, which are last placed in the institution of the Lord's supper, cannot be verified. For Christ commanded as well, Take ye, eat ye, as This is my body."

Chedsey.—"Christ said, Take, eat, this is my body, and not, Take ye, eat ye."

Philpot.—"No did, Master Doctor? Be not these the words of Christ, *Accipite, manducate*? and do not these words in the plural number signify Take ye, eat ye; and not, Take thou, eat thou, as you would suppose?"

Chedsey.—"I grant it is as you say."

Philpot.—"Likewise of consequence, you, Master Doctor, must needs deny, which you have said, that these words, This is my body, being only spoken, be sufficient to make the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament, as you have untruly said."

Then came in the bishop of London again and said, "What is it that you would have Master Doctor deny?"

Philpot.—"My Lord, Master Doctor hath affirmed that these words, This is my body, spoken by the priest, only do make the sacrament."

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London.—"Indeed if Master Bridges should speak these words over the bread and wine, they would be of none effect: but if a priest speak them after a due manner, they are effectual, and make a real body."

Philpot.—"Master Doctor hath said otherwise."

London.—"I think you mistake him; for he meaneth of the words duly pronounced."

Philpot.—"Let him revoke that he hath granted, and then will I begin again with that which before was said; that, This is my body, hath no place, except bless, take, and eat, duly go before. And therefore because the same words do not go before This is my body, but preposterously follow, in your sacrament of the mass, it is not the sacrament of Christ, neither hath Christ in it present."

Chedsey.—"If This is my body only do not make the sacrament, no more do bless, take, and eat."

Philpot.—"I grant that the one without the other cannot make the sacrament. And it can be no sacrament unless the whole action of Christ doth concur together according to the first institution."

Chedsey.—"Why, then you would not have it to be the body of Christ, unless it be received?"

Philpot.—"No, verily, it is not the very body of Christ to any other, but such as condignly receive the same after his institution."

London.—"Is not a loaf a loaf, being set on the table, though nobody eat thereof?"

Philpot.—"It is not likely, my Lord; for a loaf is a loaf before it be set on the table. But so is not the sacrament a perfect sacrament before it be duly ministered at the table of the Lord."

London.—"I pray you, what is it in the mean while, before it is received?"

Philpot.—"It is, my Lord, the sign begun of a holy thing, and yet no perfect sacrament until it be received. For in the sacrament there be two things to be considered, the sign, and the thing itself, which is Christ and his whole passion; and it is that to none but to such as worthily receive the holy signs of bread and wine, according to Christ's institution."

Windsor.—"There were never any that denied the words of Christ as you do. Did not he say, This is my body?"

Philpot.—"My Lord, I pray you be not deceived. We do not deny the words of Christ: but we say, these words be of none effect, being spoken otherwise than Christ did institute them in his last supper. For an example; Christ biddeth the church to baptize in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: if a priest say these words over the water, and there be no child

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to be baptized, these words only pronounced, do not make baptism. And again, baptism is only baptism to such as be baptized, and to none other standing by."

Chamberlain.—"I pray you, my Lord, let me ask him one question. What kind of presence in the sacrament (duly ministered according to Christ's ordinance) do you allow?"

Philpot.—"If any come worthily to receive, then do I confess the presence of Christ wholly to be with all the fruits of his passion, onto the said worthy receiver, by the Spirit of God, and that Christ is thereby joined to him, and he to Christ."

Chamberlain.—"I am answered."

London.—"My Lords, take no heed of him, for he goeth about to deceive you. His similitude that he bringeth in of baptism, is nothing like to the sacrament of the altar. For if I should say to Sir John Bridges, being with me at supper, and having a fat capon, Take, eat, this is a fat capon, although he eat not thereof, is it not a capon still? And likewise of a piece of beef, or of a cup of wine; if I say, Drink, this is a cup of wine, is it not so, because he drinketh not thereof?"

Philpot.—"My Lord, your similitudes be too gross for so high mysteries as we have in hand, as if I were your equal I could more plainly declare; and there is much more dissimilitude between common meats and drinks, than there is between baptism and the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ. Like must be compared to like, and spiritual things with spiritual, and not spiritual things with corporal things. And meats and drinks be of their own natures good or evil; and your words, commending or discommending, do but declare what they are. But the sacraments be to be considered according to the word which Christ spake of them, of the which, Take ye, and eat ye, be some of the chief, concurrent to the making of the same, without the which there can be no sacraments. And therefore in Greek, the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ is called κοινωνία [Greek:koinonia], i. e. communion, and likewise in the gospel Christ commanded, saying, Divide it among you."

Chedsey.—"St. Paul calleth it a communication."

Philpot.—"That doth more expressly show, that there must be a participation of the sacrament together."

London.—"My Lords, I am sorry I have troubled you so long with this obstinate man, with whom we can do no good; I will trouble you no longer now." And with that the Lords rose up, none of them saying any evil word unto me, half amazed, in my judgment: God work it to good!

Thus endeth the sixth part of this tragedy: the seventh look for with joy.

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The seventh examination of John Philpot, had the nineteenth of November, before the bishops of London and Rochester, the chancellor of Lichfield, Dr. Chedsey, and Master Dee, bachelor of divinity.

London.—"Sirrah, come hither. How chance you come no sooner? Is it well done of you to make Master Chancellor and me to tarry for you this hour? By the faith of my body, half an hour before mass, and half an hour even at mass, looking for your coming."

Philpot.—"My Lord, it is not unknown to you that I am a prisoner, and that the doors be shut upon me, and I cannot come when I list. But as soon as the doors of my prison were open, I came immediately."

London.—"We sent for thee to the intent thou shouldst have come to mass. How say you, would you have come to mass, or no, if the doors had sooner been opened?"

Philpot.—"My Lord, that is another manner of question."

London.—"Lo, Master Chancellor, I told you we should have a froward fellow of him; he will answer directly to nothing. I have had him before both the spiritual lords and temporal, and thus he fareth still; yet he reckoneth himself better learned than all the realm. Yea, before the temporal lords, the other day, he was so foolish to challenge the best: he would make himself learned, and is a very ignorant fool indeed."

Philpot.—"I reckon, I answered your Lordship before the lords plain enough."

London.—"Why answerest thou not directly whether thou wouldst have gone to mass with us or no, if thou hadst come in time?"

Philpot.—"Mine answer shall be thus; that if your Lordship can prove your mass, whereunto you would have me to come, to be the true service of God, whereunto a Christian ought to come, I will afterward come with a good will."

London.—"Look, I pray you: the king and the queen, and all the nobility of the realm, do come to mass, and yet he will not. By my faith thou art too well handled: thou shalt be worse handled hereafter, I warrant thee."

Philpot.—"If to lie in a blind coal-house may be counted good handling, both without fire and candle, then may it be said, I am well handled. Your Lordship hath power to entreat my body as you list."

London.—"Thou art a fool, and a very ignorant fool. Master Chancellor, in good faith I have handled him and his fellows with as much gentleness as they can desire. I let their friends come unto them to relieve them. And wot you what? the other day they had gotten themselves up into the top of the leads with a many of prentices, gazing abroad as though they had been at liberty. But I will cut off your resort: and as for the prentices, they were as good not to come to you, if I take them."

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Philpot.—"My Lord, we have no such resort to us as your Lordship imagineth, and there cometh very few unto us. And of prentices I know not one, neither have we any leads to walk on over our coal-house, that I wot of: wherefore your Lordship hath mistaken your mark."

London.—"Nay; now you think, because my Lord Chancellor is gone, that we will burn no more. Yes, I warrant thee, I will despatch you shortly, unless you do recant."

Philpot.—"My Lord, I had not thought that I should have been alive now, neither so raw as I am, but well roasted to ashes."

Chancellor.—"Cast not yourself wilfully away, Master Philpot. Be content to be ruled by my Lord here, and by other learned men of this realm, and you may do well enough."

Philpot.—"My conscience beareth me record that I seek to please God, and that the love and fear of God cause me to do as I do: and I were of all other creatures most miserable, if for mine own will only I do lose all the commodities I might have in this life, and afterward be cast to damnation. But I am sure, it is not my will whereon I stand, but God's will, which will not suffer me to be cast away, I am sure."

Chancellor.—"You are not so sure, but you may be deceived."

London.—"Well, since thou wilt not be conformable by fair means, I will proceed against thee *ex officio*; and therefore hearken here to such articles as I have here written, and I charge thee to make answer to them." And with that he read a libel which he had in his hand of divers articles: and when he had done he bade me answer.

Philpot.—"Your libel, my Lord, containeth in sum two special points: the first pretendeth, that I should be of your diocese, and therefore your Lordship upon divers suspects and infamies of heresy going upon me, is moved to proceed against me by your ordinary-office: the which first is not true, for that I am not of your Lordship's diocese, as the libel doth pretend. And the second is, that I, being baptized in the catholic church, and in the catholic faith, am gone from them; the which is not so, for I am of that catholic faith and church as I was baptized unto."

London.—"What! art thou not of my diocese? Where are ye now, I pray you?"

Philpot.—"My Lord, I cannot deny but I am in your coal-house, which is in your diocese, yet I am not of your diocese."

London.—"You were sent hither unto me by the queen's Majesty's commissioners, and thou art now in my diocese: wherefore I will proceed against thee as thy ordinary."

Philpot.—"I was brought hither through violence, and therefore my present being now in your diocese is not enough to abridge me of mine own ordinary's jurisdiction, neither maketh it me willingly subject to your jurisdiction, since it cometh by force, and by such men as had no just authority so to do: no more than a sanctuary man,, being by force brought forth of his place

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of privilege, doth thereby lose his privilege, but always may challenge the same wheresoever he be brought."

Chedsey.—"Hath not the queen's Majesty authority, by her commissioners, to remove your body whither she will? and ought you not to obey herein?"

Philpot.—"I grant that the queen's Majesty (of her just power) may transpose my body, whither it shall please her Grace to command the same. But yet, by your laws, spiritual causes be not subject to the temporal power. As for example; you, Master Doctor, if the queen's Majesty would to appoint two temporal men to be judges over you in certain spiritual matters, might not you allege the privilege of a clerk, and demand competent spiritual judges in your causes?"

London.—"Doth not a man, I pray you, *sortiri forum ratione delicti*?"

Philpot.—"My Lord, your rule is true in temporal matters, but in spiritual causes it is not so, which be otherwise privileged."

London.—"What sayest thou then to the second article, and to the other?"

Philpot.—"My Lord, I say that I am not bound to answer the second, neither the rest, unless the first be proved."

London.—"Well, suppose the first may be proved, as it will be, what will you say then to the second—that you are not of the same catholic faith, neither of the same church, now, as you were baptized in?"

Philpot.—"I am of the same catholic faith, and of the same catholic church, which is of Christ, the pillar and stablishment of truth."

London.—"Nay, that you are not."

Philpot.—"Yes, that I am."

London.—"Your godfathers and godmothers were of another faith than you be now."

Philpot.—"I was not baptized either into my godfathers' faith or my godmothers', but into the faith and into the church of Christ."

London.—"How know you that?"

Philpot.—"By the word of God, which is the touchstone of faith, and the limits of the church."

London.—"How long hath your church stood, I pray you?"

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Philpot.—"Even from the beginning; from Christ and from his apostles, and from their immediate successors."

Chancellor.—"He will prove his church to be before Christ!"

Philpot.—"If I did so, I go not amiss: for there was a church before the coming of Christ, which maketh pne catholic church."

Chancellor.—"It is so indeed."

Philpot.—"I will desire no better rule than the same which is oftentimes brought in of your side, to prove both my faith and the catholic church; that is, antiquity, universality, and unity."

London.—"Do you not see what a bragging foolish fellow this is? He would seem to be very well seen in the doctors, and he is but a fool. By what doctor art thou able to prove thy church? Name him, and thou shalt have him."

Philpot.—"My Lord, let me have all your ancient writers, with pen, and ink, and paper, and I will prove both my faith and my church out of every one of them."

London.—"No, that thou shalt not have. You shall see how he lieth. St. Cyprian saith, 'There must be one high priest, to the which the residue must obey;' and they will allow no head, neither vicar-general."

Philpot.—"St. Cyprian saith not that there should be a vicar-general over all. For in his book *De Simplicitate Prælatorum*, I am sure he saith the contrary. 'There is but one bishopric, which is wholly possessed of every bishop in part.'"

London.—"Fetch hither the book; thou shalt see the manifest place against thee."

Doctor Chedsey brought the book, and turned to the place in an epistle written unto Cornelius, then bishop of Rome, and recited these words in sum, "That it went not well with the church, where the high priest was not obeyed," and so would have concluded for the confirmation of the bishop's saying.

Philpot.—"Master Doctor, you misconstrue the place of St. Cyprian: for he meaneth not there by the high priest, the bishop of Rome, but every patriarch in his precinct, of whom there were four appointed in his time. And in writing unto Cornelius he meaneth by the high priest, himself, which was then chief bishop of Africa, whose authority the heretics began to despise. Whereof he complaineth to Cornelius, and saith, 'The church cannot be well ordered, where the chief minister by order, after the judgment of the Scriptures, after the agreement of the people, and the consent of his fellow bishops, is not obeyed.'"

London.—"Hath not the bishop of Rome always been supreme head of the church, and Christ's vicar in earth, even from Peter?"

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Philpot.—"No, that he was not. For by the word of God he hath no more authority than the bishop of London hath."

London.—"Was not Peter head of the church, and hath not the bishop of Rome, which is his successor, the same authority?"

Philpot.—"I grant that the bishop of Rome, as he is the successor of Peter, hath the same authority as Peter had. But Peter had no more authority than every one of the apostles had."

Chancellor.—"Yes, that St. Peter had; for Christ said specially unto him, I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven; the which he spake to none other of his disciples singularly, but to him."

Philpot.—"St. Augustine answereth otherwise to the objection, and saith, That if in Peter there had not been the figure of the church, the Lord had not said to him, To thee I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven. The which if Peter received not, the church hath them not. If the church hath them, then Peter hath them not."

London.—"What if I can prove and show you out of the civil law, that all Christendom ought to follow the holy catholic Church of Rome, as there is a special title thereof, *De catholica fide et sancta, Romana ecclesia?*"

Philpot.—"That is nothing material, seeing the things of God be not subject to man's laws; and divine matters must be ordered by the word of God, and not of man."

A doctor.—"What will you say, if I can prove that Christ builded his church upon Peter, and that out of St. Cyprian? Will you then believe that the bishop of Rome ought to be supreme head of the church?"

Philpot.—"I know what St. Cyprian writeth in that behalf; but he meaneth nothing as you take it."

A doctor.—"St. Cyprian hath these words, 'That upon Peter was builded the church, as upon the first beginning of unity.'"

Philpot.—"He declareth that in an example, that unity must be in the church; he grounded on Peter his church alone, and not upon men. The which he doth more manifestly declare in the book *De Simplicitate Prælatorum*, saying, 'In the person of one man, God gave the keys to all, that he, in signification thereby, might declare the unity of all men.'

A doctor.—"What! will you understand St. Cyprian so? That were good indeed!"

Philpot.—"I think you cannot understand St. Cyprian better, than he doth declare himself."

London.—"I will desire you, Master Chancellor, to take some pains with Master Doctor Chedsey about his examination, for I must go to the parliament-house. And I will desire you to dine with me."

Then the doctor took again his former authority in hand for want of another, and would have made a further circumstance, digressing from his purpose. To whom I said, he knew not whereabouts he went; and therewithal he laughed. And I said his divinity was nothing but scoffing.

A doctor.—"Yea, then I have done with you:" and so went away.

Philpot.—"You are too young in divinity to teach me in the matters of my faith. Though you be learned in other things more than I, yet in divinity I have been longer practised than you, for any thing I can hear of you: therefore be not too hasty to judge that you do not perfectly know."

Chancellor.—"Peter and his successors from the beginning have been allowed for the supreme head of the church, and that by the Scriptures, for that Christ said unto him in St. John thrice, Feed my sheep."

Philpot.—"That is no otherwise to be taken, than Go ye and preach, which was spoken to all the apostles, as well as unto Peter. And that Christ said thrice, Feed my sheep, it signifieth nothing else but the earnest study that the ministers of God ought to have in preaching the word. God grant that you of the clergy would weigh your duty in this behalf more than you do. Is this a just interpretation of the Scripture, to take Pasce oyes mats, for to be Lord of the whole world?" In this mean while came in the bachelor of divinity, which is a reader of Greek in Oxford, belonging to the bishop, and he took upon him to help Master Chancellor."

Scholar.—"What will you say if I can show you a Greek author, called Theophylact, to interpret it so? Will you believe his interpretation?"

Philpot.—"Theophylact is a late writer, and one that was a favourer of the bishop of Rome, and therefore not to be credited, since his interpretation is contrary to the manifest words of the Scripture, and contrary to the determination of many general councils."

Scholar.—"In what general council was it otherwise, that the bishop of Rome was not supreme head over all?"

Philpot.—"In Nice council I am sure it was otherwise; for Athanasius was there the chief bishop and president of the council, and not the bishop of Rome."

Scholar.—"Nay, that is not so."

Philpot.—"Then I perceive you are better seen in words, than in knowledge of things: and I will gage with you what you will, it is so; as you may see in the Epitome of the Councils."

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Scholar.—"I will fetch Eusebius and show the contrary, and the book of General Councils." He went into my Lord's closet, and brought Eusebius; but the General Councils he brought not, saying (for saving of his honesty) that he could not come by them. And there he would have defended that it was otherwise in Eusebius, but was not able to show the same, and so shrank away confounded.

Chancellor.—"The Church of Rome hath been always taken for the whole catholic church; therefore I would advise you to come into the same with us. You see all the men of this realm do condemn you: and why will you be so singular?"

Philpot.—"I have said, and still do say, that if you can be able to prove it unto me, that I will be of the same. But I am sure that the church, which you make so much of, is a false church, and a synagogue of Satan. And you with the learned men of this realm do persecute the true church, and condemn such as be more righteous than you."

Chancellor.—"Do you hear, Master Doctor, what he saith, that the Church of Rome is the devil?"

Chedsey.—"I wish you did think more reverently of the Church of Rome. What will you say if I can show you out of St. Austin, in his Epistle written unto Pope Innocent, that the whole general council of Carthage did allow the Church of Rome to be chiefest over all other?"

Philpot.—"I am sure you can show no such thing." And with that he fetched the book of St. Austin, and turned to the Epistle, but he could not prove his allegation manifestly, but by conjectures in this wise:—

Chedsey.—"Here you may see, that the council of Carthage writing to Innocent the bishop, calleth the see of Rome the apostolic see. And besides this, they write to him certifying him of things done in the council for the condemnation of the Donatists, requiring his approbations in the same; which they would not have done, if they had not taken the Church of Rome for the supreme head of others. And moreover you may see how St. Austin doth prove the Church of Rome to be the catholic church by continual succession of the bishop until his time, which succession we can prove until our days. Therefore, by the same reason of St. Austin we say now, that the Church of Rome is the catholic church."

Philpot.—"Master Doctor, I have considered how you do weigh St. Augustine; and, contrary to his meaning and words, you would infer your false conclusion. As concerning that it was called by him the apostolical see, that is not material to prove the Church of Rome now to be the catholic church. I will grant it now that it is the apostolical see, in respect that Paul and Peter did once there preach the gospel, and abode there for a certain season. I would you could prove it to be the apostolical see of that true religion and sincerity, as the apostle left it, and did teach the same; the which if ye could do, you might boast of Rome as of the apostolical see: otherwise it is now of no more force, than if the Turk at Antioch and at Jerusalem should boast of the apostolic sees, because the apostles once did there abide, and founded the church of Christ.

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"And whereas the whole council of Carthage did write unto Pope Innocent, certifying him of that was done in the general council, and willing him to set his helping hand to the suppressing of the Donatists, as they had done; that fact of the council proveth nothing the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, no more than if the whole convocation-house now gathered together, and agreeing upon certain articles, might send the same to some bishop that upon certain impediments is not present, willing him to agree thereto, and to set them forth in his diocese. The which fact doth not make any such bishop of greater authority than the rest, because his consent is brotherly required.

"And touching the succession of the bishops of Rome, brought in by St. Augustine, it maketh nothing now thereby to prove the same catholic church, unless you can conclude with the same reason as St. Augustine doth. And the rehearsal of the succession of the bishops doth tend to this only, to prove the Donatists to be heretics, because they began, as well at Rome as in Africa, to found another church of their own setting up, than was grounded by Peter and Paul, and by their successors, whom he reciteth until his time, which all taught no such doctrine, neither such church as the Donatists. And if presently you be able to prove by the succession of bishops of Rome, (whereof you do glory,) that such doctrine hath not been taught by any of the successors of Peter's see, as is now taught and believed of us, you have good reason against us: otherwise it is of no force, as I am able to declare."

Chancellor.—"Well, Master Doctor, you see we can do no good in persuading of him. Let us minister the articles which my Lord hath left us, unto him. How say you, Master Philpot, to these articles? Master Johnson, I pray you write his answers."

Philpot.—"Master Chancellor, you have no authority to inquire of me my belief in such articles as you go about, for that I am not of my Lord of London's diocese; and, to be brief with you, I will make no further answer herein than I have already to the bishop."

Chancellor.—"Why then let us go our ways, and let his keeper take him away."

Thus endeth the seventh part of this tragedy.

The sum of a private conference or talk between Master Philpot and the bishop of London.

The next day, in the morning betimes, the bishop sent one of his men unto me, to call me up into his chapel to hear mass.

Bishop's man.—"Master Philpot, where be you?"

Philpot.—"Who is it that calleth me?"

Bishop's man.—"My Lord's will is, you should rise and come to hear mass. Will you come or no?"

Philpot.—"My stomach is not very good this morning: you may tell my Lord I am sick." After this the keeper was sent to bring me to my Lord.

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The keeper.—"Master Philpot, you must rise and come to my Lord."

Philpot.—"I am at your commandment, Master ter Keeper, as soon as I can." And going out of the prison, he asked me, saying:

The keeper.—"Will ye go to mass?"

Philpot.—"My stomach is too raw to digest such raw meats of flesh, blood, and bone, this morning." After this my keeper presented me to the bishop in his hall.

London.—"Master Philpot, I charge you to answer unto such articles as my chaplain, Master Dee, and my registrar, have from me to object against you; go and answer them."

Philpot.—"My Lord, all judgments ought to be public. Therefore, if your Lordship have any thing to charge me lawfully withal, let me be in judgment lawfully and openly called, and I will answer according to my duty: otherwise in corners I will not."

London.—"Thou art a foolish knave, I see well enough: thou shalt answer whether thou wilt or no; go thy ways with them, I say."

Philpot.—"I may well go with them at your Lordship's pleasure; but I will make them no further answers than I have said already."

London.—"No, wilt thou not, knave? Have him away, and set him in the stocks: What! foolish knave?"

Philpot.—"Indeed, my Lord, you handle me, with others, like fools: and we must be content to be made fools at your hands; stocks and violence be your bishop-like alms. You go about by force in corners to oppress, and be ashamed that your doings should come to light: God shorten your cruel kingdom for his mercy's sake!" And I was put by and by into the stocks, in a house alone, separate from my fellows. God be praised that he hath thought me worthy to suffer any thing for his name's sake. Better it is to sit in the stocks of this world, than to sit in the stocks of a damnable conscience.

Another conference between Bonner, bishop of London, and Master Philpot and other prisoners.

The next day after, an hour before day, the bishop sent for me again by the keeper.

The keeper.—"Master Philpot, arise, you must come to my Lord."

Philpot.—"I wonder what my Lord meaneth, that he sendeth for me thus early. I fear he will use some violence towards me: wherefore I pray you make him this answer, that if he send for me by an order of law, I will come and answer; otherwise, since I am not of his diocese, neither is he mine ordinary, I will not (without I be violently constrained) come unto him."

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Keeper.—"I will go tell my Lord what answer you make." And so he went away to the bishop, and immediately returned with two of the bishop's men, saying that I must come, whether I would or no.

Philpot.—"If by violence any of you will enforce me to go, then I must go, otherwise I will not." And therewith one of them took me with force by the arm, and led me up into the bishop's gallery.

London.—"What, thou art a foolish knave indeed; thou wilt not come without thou be fetched."

Philpot.—"I am brought indeed, my Lord, by violence unto you; and your cruelty is such, that I am afraid to come before you. I would your Lordship would gently proceed against me by the law."

London.—"I am blamed of the lords the bishops, for that I have not despatched thee ere this. And in faith I made suit to my Lord Cardinal, and to all the convocation-house, that they would hear thee. And my Lord of Lincoln stood up, and said that thou wert a frantic fellow, and a man that will have the last word. And they all have much blamed me, because I have brought thee so often before the lords openly: and they say it is meat and drink to you to speak in an open audience, you glory so of yourself. Wherefore I am commanded to take a further order with thee; and, in good faith, if you will not relent, I will make no further delay. Marry, if thou wilt be conformable, I will yet forgive thee all that is past, and thou shalt have no hurt for any thing that is already spoken or done."

Philpot.—"My Lord, I have answered you already in this behalf, what I will do. And as for the report of Master White, bishop of Lincoln, I pass not; who is known to be mine enemy, for that I, being archdeacon, did excommunicate him for preaching naughty doctrine. If Christ my Master were called a mad-man, it is no marvel though ye count me frantic."

London.—"Hadst thou not a pig brought thee the other day with a knife in it? Wherefore was it, I pray thee, but to kill thyself? or, as it is told me, (marry, I am counselled to take heed of thee,) to kill me? But I fear thee not. I trow I am able to tread thee under my feet; do the best thou canst."

Philpot.—"My Lord, I cannot deny but that there was a knife in the pig's belly that was brought me. But who put it in, or for what purpose, I know not, unless it were because he that sent the meat thought I was without a knife, and so put it in. But other things your Lordship needeth not to fear: for I was never without a knife since I came into prison. And touching your own person, you should live long, if you should live until I would go about to kill you: and I confess by violence your Lordship is able to overcome me."

London.—"I charge thee to answer to mine articles. Hold him a book. Thou shalt swear to answer truly to all such articles as I shall demand of thee."

Philpot.—"I will first know your Lordship to be mine ordinary, before I swear herein."

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London.—"What, we shall have an Anabaptist of thee, which thinketh it not lawful to swear before a judge!"

Philpot.—"My Lord, I am no Anabaptist; I think it lawful to swear before a competent judge, being lawfully required. But I refuse to swear in these causes before your Lordship, because you are not mine ordinary."

London.—"I am thine ordinary, and here do pronounce by sentence peremptory, that I am thine ordinary, and that thou art of my diocese." [And here he bade call in more to bear him witness.] "And I make thee "[taking one of his servants by the arm] "to be my notary. And now hearken to my articles:" to the which (when he had read them) he monished me to make answer, and said to the keeper, "Fetch me his fellows, and I shall make them to be witnesses against him."

In the mean while came in one of the sheriffs of London, whom the bishop (calling for two chairs) placed by him, saying, "Master Sheriff, I would you should understand how I do proceed against this man. Master Sheriff, you shall hear what articles this man doth maintain;" and so he read a rabblement of feigned articles: That I should deny baptism to be necessary to them that were born of Christian parents; that I denied fasting and prayer, and all other good deeds; and I maintained only bare faith to be sufficient to salvation, whatsoever a man did besides; and I maintained God to be the author of all sin and wickedness.

Philpot.—"Hah, my Lord! have ye nothing of truth to charge me withal, but ye must be fain to imagine these blasphemous lies against me! You might as well have said I had killed your father. The Scriptures say, that God will destroy all men that speak lies And is not your Lordship ashamed to say before this worshipful gentleman, (who is unknown to me,) that I maintain these abominable blasphemies which you have rehearsed? which if I did maintain, I were well worthy to be counted a heretic, and to be burned a hundred times, if it were possible."

London.—"I do object them unto thee, to hear what thou wilt say in them, and how thou canst purge thyself of them."

Philpot.—"Then it was not justly said of your Lordship in the beginning, that I did maintain them, since almost I hold none of these articles you have read, in form as they are written."

London.—"How sayest thou? Wilt thou answer to them or no?"

Philpot.—"I will first know you to be mine ordinary, and that you may lawfully charge me with such things; and then afterward, being lawfully called in judgment, I will show my mind fully thereof; and not otherwise."

London.—"Well, then I will make thy fellows to be witnesses herein against thee. Where are they? Come!"

Keeper.—"They be here, my Lord."

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London.—"Come hither, sirs: hold them a book. You shall swear by the contents of that book, that you shall (all manner of affections laid apart) say the truth of all such articles as you shall be demanded of concerning this man here present, which is a very naughty man. And take you heed of him, that he doth not deceive you, as I am afraid he doth you much hurt, and strengtheneth you in your errors."

Prisoners.—"My Lord, we will not swear, except we know whereto: we can accuse him of no evil, we have been but a while acquainted with him."

Philpot.—"I wonder your Lordship, knowing the law, will go about, contrary to the same, to have infamous persons to be witnesses: for your Lordship doth take them to be heretics, and by the law a heretic cannot be a witness."

London.—"Yes, one heretic against another may be well enough. And Master Sheriff, I will make one of them to be witness against another."

Philpot.—"You have the law in your hand, and you will do what you list."

Prisoners.—"No, my Lord."

London.—"No, will you not? I will make you swear, whether you will or no. I ween they be Anabaptists, Master Sheriff: they think it not lawful to swear before a judge."

Philpot.—"We think it lawful to swear for a man judicially called, as we are not now, but in a blind corner."

London.—"Why then, seeing you will not swear against your fellow, you shall swear for yourselves; and I do here in the presence of Master Sheriff object the same articles unto you as I have done unto him, and do require you, under the pain of excommunication, to answer particularly unto every one of them when ye shall be examined, as ye shall be by and by examined by my registrar and some of my chaplains."

Prisoners.—"My Lord, we will not accuse ourselves. If any man can lay any thing against us, we are here ready to answer thereto: otherwise we pray your Lordship not to burden us; for some of us are here before you, we know no just cause why."

London.—"Master Sheriff, I will trouble you no longer with these froward men." And so he rose up, and was going away, talking with Master Sheriff.

Philpot.—"Master Sheriff, I pray you record how my Lord proceedeth against us in corners, without all order of law, having no just cause to lay against us."

And after this [we] were all commanded to be put in the stocks, where I sat from morning until night; and the keeper at night upon favour let me out.

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Another private conference between the bishop of London and Master Philpot in the coal-house.

The Sunday after, the bishop came into the coal-house at night with the keeper, and viewed the house, saying that he was never here before: whereby a man may guess how he hath kept God's commandment in visiting the prisoners, seeing he was never with them that have been so nigh his nose. And he came not then for any good zeal, but to view the place, and thought it too good for me; and therefore, after supper, between eight and nine, he sent for me, saying—

London.—"Sir, I have great displeasure of the queen and the council for keeping you so long, and letting you have so much liberty. And besides that, you are yonder, and strengthen the other prisoners in their errors, as I have laid wait for your doings, and am certified of you well enough. I will sequester you therefore from them, and you shall hurt no more as you have done, and I will out of hand despatch you, as I am commanded, unless you will be a conformable man."

Philpot.—"My Lord, you have my body in your custody; you may transport it whither you please: I am content. And I would you would make as quick expedition in my judgment, as, you say, I long there-for; and as for conformity, I am ready to yield to all truth, if any can bring better than I."

London.—"Why, will you believe no man but yourself, whatsoever they say?"

Philpot.—"My belief must not hang upon men's sayings, without sure authority of God's word, the which if any can show me, I will be pliant to the same. Otherwise, I cannot go from my certain faith to that which is uncertain."

London.—"Have you then the truth only?"

Philpot.—"My Lord, I will speak my mind freely unto you, and upon no malice I bear to you, before God. You have not the truth, neither are you of the church of God; but you persecute both the truth and the true church of God, for the which cause you cannot prosper long. You see God doth not prosper your doings according to your expectations: he hath of late showed his just judgment against one of your greatest doers, who by report died miserably. I envy not the authority you are in. You that have learning should know best how to rule. And seeing God hath restored you to your dignity and living again, use the same to God's glory, and to the setting forth of his true religion; otherwise it will not continue, do what you can." With this saying he was silenced.

London.—"That good man was punished for such as thou art. Where is the keeper? Come, let him have him to the place that is provided for him. Go your way before."

And he followed me, calling the keeper aside, commanding to keep all men from me, and narrowly to search me, (as the sequel did declare,) and brought me to his privy door that goeth into the church, and commanded two of his men to accompany the keeper, and to see me placed. And afterwards I passed through Paul's, up to Lollards' Tower, and after that turned along all the west side of Paul's through the wall, and passing through six or seven doors, came to my lodging

through many straits; where I called to remembrance, that strait is the way to heaven. And it is in a tower, right on the other side of Lollards' Tower, as high almost as the battlements of Paul's, eight feet of breadth, and thirteen of length, and almost over the prison where I was before, having a window opening toward the east, by the which I may look over the tops of a great many houses, but see no man passing into them: and whoso walketh in the bishop's outer gallery going to his chapel, may see my window and me standing in the same. And as I was come to my place the keeper plucked off my gown, and searched me very narrowly,, and took away penner, inkhorn, girdle, and knife; but (as God would) I had an inkling a little before I was called, of my removing, and thereupon made an errand to the stool, where, full sore against my will, I cast away many a sweet letter and friendly: but that I had written of my last examination before, I thrust into my hose, thinking the next day to have made an end thereof, and with going it was fallen down to my leg, the which he by feeling did soon espy, and asked what that was. I said, they were certain letters: and with that he was very busy to have them out. "Let me alone," said I, "I will pluck them out." With that I put in my hand, having two other letters therein, and brought up the same writing to my pocket-hole, and there left it, giving him the other two letters that were not of any great importance; the which, to make a show that they had been weighty, I began to tear as well as I could, till they snatched them from me; and so deluded him (I thank God) of his purpose.

After this he went his way, and as he was going one of them that came with him said, that I did not deliver the writings I had in my hose, but two other letters I had in my hand before. "No did?" quoth he, "I will go search him better "the which I hearing, conveyed my examination I had written into another place beside my bed, and took all the letters I had in my purse, and was tearing of them when he came again; and as he came I threw the same out of my window, saying that I heard what he said: wherefore I did prevent his searching again, whereof I was right glad. God be praised that gave me that present shift to blind their eyes from the knowledge of my writings, the which if they had known, it would have been a great occasion of more straiter keeping and looking unto, although they look as narrowly as they may.

The eighth examination of John Philpot, before the bishop of London, the bishop of St. David's, Master Mordant, and others, in the bishop's chapel.

The next day after, my keeper came before day in the morning to call me down, and so was I brought down into his wardrobe, where with a keeper I was left, and there continued all the day. But after dinner I was called down into the chapel, before the bishop of London, the bishop of St. David's, Master Mordant, one of the queen's council, Master Archdeacon of London, and before a great many more Balaamites. And the bishop spake unto me in this wise:—

London.—"Sir, here I object and lay unto you, in the presence of my Lord of St. David's, and of Master Mordant, and of these worshipful men, these articles here in this libel contained."

And openly he read them. To whom when I would particularly have answered to some of his blasphemies, he would not permit me, but said, I should have leisure enough to say what I would when he had said. "And unto these here I add another schedule. Also I require thee to answer to the catechism set forth in the schismatical time of King Edward. Also I will thee to answer to certain conclusions agreed upon both in Oxford and Cambridge. And I here do bring

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forth these witnesses against thee in thine own presence, namely, my Lord of St. David's, Master Mordant, and Master Harpsfield, with as many of you as were present in the disputation he made in the convocation-house; willing you to testify, of your oaths taken upon a book, the stubborn and unreverent behaviour he did there use against the blessed sacrament of the altar. Give me a book! "And receiving one, he opened the same, saying, I will teach him here one trick in our law which he knoweth not; that is, my Lord of St. David's, because you are a bishop, you have this privilege, that you may swear, by looking on the gospel book, without touching of the same." And so he opened the book in his sight, and shut it again, and caused the others to put their hands on the book, and take their oath, and willed them to resort to his registrar to make their depositions when they might be best at leisure. And afterwards he turned to me and said, "Now sir, you shall answer but two words, whether you will answer to these articles which I have laid unto you, directly, yea, or nay?"

Philpot.—"My Lord, you have told a long tale against me, containing many lying blasphemies, which cannot be answered in two words. Besides this, you promised me at the beginning, that I should say what I could for my defence, and now will you not give me leave to speak? What law is this?"

London.—"Speak, yea or nay, for you shall say no more at this time."

The cause was, as I guess, that he saw so many there gathered to hear.

Philpot.—"Then my two words you would have me speak shall be, that I have appealed from you, and take you not for my sufficient judge."

London.—"Indeed, Master Mordant, he hath appealed to the king and to the queen; but I will be so bold with her Majesty, to stay that appeal in mine own hands."

Philpot.—"You will do what you list, my Lord, you have the law in your hands."

London.—"Wilt thou answer or no?"

Philpot.—"I will not otherwise than I have said."

London.—"Registrar, note his answer that he maketh."

Philpot.—"Knock me on the head with a hatchet, or set up a stake and burn me out of hand, without further law: as well you may do so, as do that you do, for all is without order of law. Such tyranny was never seen as you use now-a-days; God of his mercy destroy your cruel kingdom." And whilst I spake this, the bishop went away in haste.

St. David's.—"Master Philpot, I pray you be quiet, and have patience with you."

Philpot.—"My Lord, I thank God I have patience to bear and abide all your cruel intents against me: notwithstanding I speak this earnestly, being moved thereto justly, to notify your unjust and cruel dealing with men in corners, without all due order of law."

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After this, at night, I was conducted again by three or four into the coal-house.

The ninth examination of Master Philpot before the bishop of London, and his chaplains.

In the morning, the next day, I was called down betimes by my keeper, and brought again into the wardrobe, where I remained until the bishop had heard his mass; and afterward he sent up for me into his inward parlour, and there he called for a chair to sit down, and brought his infamous libel of his forged articles in his hand, and sat down, willing me to draw near unto him, and said:

London.—"I am this day appointed to tarry at home from the parliament-house, to examine you and your fellows upon these articles; and you stand dallying with me, and will neither answer to nor fro. I wis all your exceptions will not serve you. Will it not be a fair honesty for you, think ye, that when thou comest before my Lord Mayor and the sheriffs, and other worshipful audience, when I shall say before them all, that I have had thee these many times before me, and before so many learned men, and then thou couldst say nothing for that thou standest in, for all thy brags of learning, neither wouldst answer directly to any thing?"

Philpot.—"My Lord, I have told you my mind plain enough; but yet I do not intend to lose that privilege the law giveth me, the which is, free choice to answer where I am not bound, and this privilege will I cleave unto, until I be compelled otherwise."

London.—"Well, I perceive you will play the obstinate fool. Lay thine appellation when thou comest in judgment, and answer in the mean while to these articles."

Philpot.—"No, my Lord, by your leave I will not answer to them, until my lawful appeal be tried."

London.—"Well, thou shalt hear them."

And with that he began to read them. I shrank back into the window, and looked on a book. And after he had read them over he said unto me.

London.—"I have read them over, although it hath not pleased you to hear me. I marvel, in good faith, what thou meanest to be so wilful and stubborn, seeing thou mayest do well enough if thou list. It is but a singularity. Dost thou not see all the realm against thee?"

Philpot.—"My Lord, I speak unto you in the witness of God, before whom I stand, that I am neither wedded to mine own will, neither stand upon mine own stubbornness or singularity, but upon my conscience instructed by God's word; and if your Lordship can show better evidence than I have for a good faith, I will follow the same."

London.—"What! thou wilt not, lo, for all that! Well, all that is past shall be forgotten; and be thou conformable unto us. I wis thou mightest find as much favour as thou wouldest desire."

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Then I, perceiving that he fawned so much upon me, thought it good to give him some comfort of my relenting, to the intent I might give him and his hypocritical generation openly a further foil, perceiving that they dare reason openly with none, but with such as be unlearned, and for lack of knowledge not able to answer, or else with such as they have a hope that, for fear or love of the world, will recant: I said, "My Lord, it is not unknown to you, that I have openly, in the audience of a great number, stood to the maintenance of these opinions I am in, and by learning did offer to defend them; therefore, my Lord, I would it might openly appear to the world that I am won by learning; or else what will they say, but that, either for fear or love of the world, I am without any ground turned from the truth? And if I hear any kind of learning openly showed, I shall be as conformable as you may require me."

London.—"Yea, marry, now ye speak somewhat like a reasonable man. I wis you might have had a great deal more favour in my house, and liberty, than you have had; and you shall lack nothing that is within my house: call for it, and you shall have it. And what is it that you would openly by learning somewhat be satisfied in? tell me."

Philpot.—"My Lord, I have openly said, and do believe it also, that your sacrifice of the mass is no sacrament."

London.—"What! do you deny the presence of Christ in the sacrament?"

Philpot.—"No, my Lord, I deny not the presence of Christ in the sacrament, but I have denied the sacrament of the altar, as it is used in your mass, to be the true sacrament of Christ's institution: and first, it must be proved a sacrament, before there can be any presence granted."

London.—"Why, do you deny the mass to be a sacrament? I pray you what is a sacrament? Is it not a sign of a holy thing, as St. Austin doth define it?"

Philpot.—"Yes, verily, that it is."

London.—"Then I make this argument unto you: a sacrament is the sign of a holy thing: but the mass is the sign of a holy thing; ergo, it is a sacrament."

Philpot.—"You must add this to your major, or first proposition, as St. Augustine doth mean, that a sacrament is the sign of a holy thing instituted of God, and commanded: for otherwise it can be no sacrament, for all men cannot make a sacrament."

London.—"I grant that: and such a sign of a holy thing is the mass of Christ's institution."

Philpot.—"I deny that, my Lord."

London.—"I will prove this by St. Augustine by and by. I will go show you the book, and you shall have any book I have that you will demand. Ho! who is without there? Call me Master Doctor Chedsey, Master Archdeacon, Master Cosins, and other chaplains hither."

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"Here, my Lord. Master Doctor Chedsey is gone to Westminster, and Master Archdeacon was here even now."

London.—"Master Cosins, I pray you examine him upon these articles, and write his answer he maketh to every one of them. I will go examine his fellows, and send you St. Augustine by and by. I find this man more conformable than he was before."

Cosins.—"I trust, my Lord, you shall find him at length a good catholic man. Marry, here be a sight of heresies! I dare say you will hold none of them, nor stand in any of them. How say you to the first?"

Philpot.—"Master Cosins, I have told my Lord already, that I will answer to none of these articles he hath objected against me: but, if you will with learning answer to that which is in question between my Lord and me, I will gladly hear and commune with you."

Cosins.—"No, will you? Why, what is that, then, that is in question between my Lord and you?"

Philpot.—"Whether your mass be a sacrament, or no."

Cosins.—"What, the mass to be a sacrament? who ever doubted thereof?"

Philpot. "If it be an undoubted truth, you may the sooner prove it; for I doubt much thereof."

Cosins.—"Why, I will prove it. It is the sign of a holy thing: ergo, it is a sacrament."

Philpot.—"I deny your antecedent."

Cosins.—"What, will you so? then there is no reasoning with you."

Thus Master Cosins gave over in the plain field for want of further proof. And then the morrow-mass chaplain began to speak for his occupation; and with that Master Harpsfield came out from my Lord with St. Augustine's Epistles, saying.

Harpsfield.—"My Lord hath sent you here St. Augustine to look upon, and I pray you look what he saith in a certain epistle which he writeth: I will read over the whole. Here you may hear the celebration of the mass, and how it reproveth them that went a hawking and hunting before the celebration of the same, on the sabbath and holy-days."

Philpot.—"I perceive the contents of this epistle, and I see nothing herein against me, neither any thing that maketh for the proof of your sacrament of the mass."

Harpsfield.—"No! doth he not make mention of the mass, and the celebration thereof? what can be spoken more plain?"

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Philpot.—"St. Austin meaneth of the celebration of the communion, and of the true use of the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and not of your private mass, which you of late years have erected in the stead thereof; or this word mass' hath been an old term attributed to the communion even from the primitive church. And I pray you tell me what *missa* doth signify. I think not many that say mass can well tell."

Cosins.—"No? cannot? That is marvel."

Philpot.—"Then tell me, if you can." But Master Cosins and my morrow-mass chaplain were both dumb, looking upon Master Harpsfield for help; and at length he spake.

Harpsfield.—"You think it cometh of the Hebrew word *massah*, as though none were seen in the Hebrew but you."

Philpot.—"I have not gone so long to school, to derive the signification of *missa* out of Hebrew: but I have learned to interpret Greek words by Greek, and Latin by Latin, and Hebrew by Hebrew. I take the communion to be called *missa*, (sent,) *a mittendo*, (from sending,) of such things as at the celebration of the communion were sent by such as were of ability, to the relief of the poor, where the rich brought after their devotion and ability, and required the minister, in the celebration of the communion, to pray unto God for them, and to accept their common alms, which they at such times did send for the help of their poor brethren and sisters; and for this cause was it called *missa*, as learned men do witness. At the which celebration of the mass, all that were present did communicate under both kinds, according to Christ's institution, as they did in St. Augustine's time. But unless you can show that your mass is used as then it was, ye shall never by the name of mass (which St. Augustine attributed to the true use of the communion) prove your private mass to be a sacrament, unless ye can prove the same now to be in your masses as was then, which is clean contrary."

Harpsfield.—"What! deny you the mass to be a sacrament? for shame, speak it not."

Philpot.—"I will not be ashamed to deny it, if you cannot prove it."

Harpsfield.—"Why, it is a sacrifice, which is more than a sacrament."

Philpot.—"You may make of it as much as you list: but you shall never make it a sacrifice, as you may imagine thereof, but first it must be a sacrament, for of the sacrament you deduce your sacrifice."

Harpsfield.—"Why? doth not Christ say, This is my body? and doth not the priest pronounce the same that Christ did?"

Philpot.—"The pronunciation only is not enough, unless the words be therewithal applied to the use, as Christ spake them to. For though ye speak the words of baptism over water never so many times, yet there is no baptism unless there be a Christian person to be baptized."

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Harpsfield.—"Nay, that is not like; for *Hoc est corpus meum*, is an indicative proposition, showing a working of God in the substance of bread and wine."

Philpot.—"It is not only an indicative proposition, but also imperative or commanding. For he that said, This is my body; said also, Take ye, eat ye. And except the former part of the institution of Christ's sacrament be accomplished according to the communion, the latter, This is my body, can have no verification, take it which way you will, and how you will."

Morrow-mass chaplain.—"Why then you will make the sacrament to stand in the receiving, and that receiving maketh it a sacrament."

Philpot.—"I do not say, that the receiving only maketh it a sacrament, but I say, that a common receiving must needs be concurrent with the true sacrament, as a necessary member, without the which it cannot be a sacrament; because Christ hath made this a principal part of the sacrament, Take ye, eat ye, which you do not in your mass according to Christ's institution. Wherefore it can be no sacrament, for that it wanteth of Christ's institution."

Cosins.—"We do forbid none to come to it, but as many as list may be partakers with us at the mass, if they require it."

Philpot.—"Nay, that they shall not, though they require it; you will minister but one kind unto them, which is not after Christ's institution. Besides that, you ought, before you go to mass, to exhort all that be present, to make a sacrifice of thanksgiving, for Christ's passion with you, and exhort them to be partakers with you, according to Christ's commandment, saying unto all that be present, Take ye, eat ye: and likewise, by preaching, show forth the Lord's death, which you do not."

Cosins.—"What if all things be done even as you would have it, and whilst the minister is about to minister the sacrament, before any have received it, there rise a certain hurly-burly, that the communicants be compelled to go away: is it not a sacrament for all that none have communicated beside the priest?"

Philpot.—"In this case, where all things are appointed to be done according to God's word, if incident necessity had not let, I cannot say but it is a sacrament, and that he which hath received, hath received the true sacrament." After this the morrow-mass priest made this apish reason:

The morrow-mass priest.—"If the sacrament of the mass be no sacrament, unless all do receive it, because Christ said, Take ye, eat ye; then the sacrament of baptism is no sacrament where there is but one baptized, because Christ said to his apostles, Go preach the gospel to all creatures, baptizing all nations in the name of the Father, &c."

Philpot.—"In that saying of Christ, baptizing all nations is a commandment to the apostles, to baptize all sorts of men, and to exclude none that believe, be he Gentile or Jew; not meaning all at once, for that were impossible. And there are many examples that baptism may be singularly ministered to one person, as we have example in Christ baptized of John, and in the

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eunuch baptized of Philip, with many more such like: but so have you not of the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ; but contrariwise, by the express words of St. Paul, you are commanded to use it in a communion and participation of many together, As oft as ye come together to eat [meaning the Lord's supper] tarry one for another. And also the minister in the celebration of the sacrament speaketh unto all that be present in Christ's behalf, to communicate with him, saying, Take ye, and eat ye. Wherefore, as many as be present and do not communicate, break God's commandment in not receiving the same. And the minister is no just minister that doth not distribute the sacrament, as Christ did, to all that are present; and where God's word is transgressed, there is not Christ present, and consequently it is no sacrament."

Harpsfield.—"What! would you have it no sacrament without it be a communion?"

Philpot.—"I make it not so, but God's express word teacheth me so, yea, also all the ancient writers; as St. Chrysostom, writing upon the Epistle to the Ephesians, saith, 'that the oblation is in vain, where none doth communicate with the priest.' If by his judgment the action of the priest alone is in vain, where is no communion, how can that be a sacrament, which he calleth a vain oblation, and a vain standing at the altar?"

Cosins.—"You are such another fellow as I have not heard, that will not have the mass to be a sacrament: you are no man for me to reason withal. Come, let us go [pointing to the morrow-mass chaplain]: we will leave you, Master Archdeacon, and him together." And so they went away. Afterward the archdeacon fell into earnest persuasions with me, saying:

Harpsfield.—"Master Philpot, you and I have been of old acquaintance a long time. We were school-fellows both in Winchester and in Oxford many years. Wherefore I must wish you as well to do as myself, and I pray you so think of me."

Philpot.—"I thank you for your good will towards me. But if you be deceived, (as I am sure you are,) I shall desire you not to wish me deceived with you; for afore God, I tell you plainly, you are highly deceived, and maintain false religion, and be not those men you take yourselves for; and if you do not repent, and leave off your persecuting of Christ's truth, you will go to the devil for it. Therefore consider it in time. I give you warning, for else, in the day of judgment, I shall be a witness against you, that I told you this, here talking together."

Harpsfield.—"Fie, that is but your own vain singular opinion. I perceive you are now still that man you were in Oxford."

Philpot.—"I trust you can report no notorious evil that ever you knew by me there."

Harpsfield.—"I can say no evil of your conversation, but I knew you to be a studious man. Marry, if you remember when we met in disputation *in parvis*, you would not lightly give over; and for that cause I speak what I have said."

Philpot.—"Master Harpsfield, you know in the schools of Oxford, when we were young men, we did strive much upon vain glory, and upon contention, more than for the truth; but now, our years and our riper learning teach us to fall to a truth, which must be our portion for ever."

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And if I was then, in my time of ignorance, earnest in my own cause, I ought now to be earnest in my Master Christ's cause, and his truth. I know now that nothing done upon vain glory and singularity can please God, have it never so godly a show: wherefore I pray you judge not so of me now."

Harpsfield.—"What, will you think yourself better learned than all the learned men in this realm?"

Philpot.—"My faith hangeth not upon the learned of the world, but upon the learned of God's word."

Harpsfield.—"Well, I will talk with you no more as now, but pray to God to open your heart."

Philpot.—"I pray God open both our hearts, to do more his will, than we have done in times past."

Harpsfield.—"Ho! keeper, take him away with you."

Philpot.—"I pray you, Master Harpsfield, tell me what this pronoun *hoc* doth demonstrate and show, in this indicative proposition, as you call it, *Hoc est corpus meum*, This is my body?"

Harpsfield.—"It doth demonstrate the substance of bread, which by the words spoken by the priest, and by the omnipotency of God, is turned into the substance of Christ's very body."

Philpot.—"Is the substance of the bread, as you say, turned into Christ's body?"

Harpsfield.—"Yea, that it is."

Philpot.—"Why, then Christ's body receiveth daily a great increase of many thousand pieces of bread into his body, and that is his body become now, which was not before; and by this you would seem to make, that there is an alteration in Christ's glorified body, which is a wicked thing to think."

Then Harpsfield fetched about again, and remembering better himself, and seeing the inconvenience of his first assertion, of the transubstantiation of bread into Christ's body, he said, that the substance of bread, after the words spoken by the priest, was evacuated or vanished away by the omnipotency of God."

Philpot.—"This is another song than you sang first; and here you may see how contrary you are to yourselves: for indeed your schoolmen do hold, that the very substance of bread is really turned into the substance of Christ's body. And now, you perceiving of late the inconvenience which is objected against you in that opinion, you are driven to imagine a new shift, and say, the substance of bread is evacuated, contrary to that your church hath first believed and taught. Oh, what contrariety is there among you, and all to deface the sincere truth!"

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Harpsfield.—"Is not God omnipotent? and cannot he do as he hath said?"

Philpot.—"But his omnipotence will not do as you say, contrary to his word and to his honour. It is not God's honour to include him bodily into a piece of bread, and of necessity to tie him thereto. It is not God's honour for you to make a piece of bread God and man, which you see before your face doth putrify after a certain time. Is not God's omnipotency as able to give his body with the sacramental bread, as to make so many turnings-away of the bread as you do, and that directly against the Scripture, which calleth it bread many times after the consecration? Are you not ashamed to make so many alterations of the Lord's holy institution as you do, and to take away the substantial parts of the sacrament, as, Take ye, eat ye; Drink ye all of this; Do ye this in remembrance of me: and to place in their steads, Hear ye, gaze ye, knock ye, worship ye, offer ye, sacrifice ye for the quick and the dead? If this be not blasphemy to God and his sacraments, to add and to pluck away in this sort, and that contrary to the mind of all ancient writers, and contrary to the example of Christ and all his apostles, tell me."

Harpsfield.—"I know you have gathered the sayings of the doctors together which make for your purpose: I will talk no longer with you."

Philpot.—"I pray God open both our hearts, to do more his will, than we have done in times past."

Harpsfield.—"Ho! keeper, take him away with you."

The tenth examination of John Philpot, before the bishop of London, his registrar, and others.

The next day after dinner I was brought into my Lord's upper hall, and there he called me before him and his registrar, and before Dr. Chedsey, in the presence of two homely gentlemen, and a priest which I knew not: at what time the bishop said.

London.—"I do here lay unto this man in your presence, (requiring you to be a witness against him, as much as you know in any of them,) these articles, this book of the catechism made in King Edward's days, also these conclusions agreed upon both in Oxford and Cambridge. Also I lay unto him, that he hath despised the censures of the church, and hath stood accursed more than this twelvemonth, and never required absolution thereof. How say you, wast thou not accursed by my Lord Chancellor?"

Philpot.—"I was excommunicated by him wrongfully, and without any just cause, and without order of law; being never personally cited."

London.—"Didst thou not tell me the other day, when I required thee to come to the mass, that thou wast excommunicated, and therefore by the law couldst not hear mass? How long hast thou been thus excommunicated?"

Philpot.—"More than a twelvemonth and a half."

London.—"Lo, you may hear what he saith: write it."

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Philpot.—"But as you would have written, that I have said I have been thus long excommunicated; so also let him write, that I did require of my Lord Chancellor that did excommunicate me, my absolution, but he would not give it me, saying, that I was *excommunicatus ipso jure*, because I was a heretic, as it pleased him to call me; therefore accursed by your law: and so commanded me to prison, where I remain."

Gentleman.—"Why do you not require absolution at my Lord's hands here now?"

Philpot.—"Because he is not mine ordinary, neither hath by the law any thing to do with me of right."

London.—"What an obstinate fool is this! I tell thee I will be thine ordinary, whether thou wilt or no."

Philpot.—"And because of this your unrighteous force towards me, I have appealed from you, and require you, Master Registrar, that my appeal may be entered in writing."

London.—"Have you heard such a froward fellow as this? he seemed yesterday to be very tractable, and I had a good hope of him. I tell thee thou art of my diocese."

Philpot.—"I am of Winchester diocese, and not of London diocese."

London.—"I pray you may not a man be of two dioceses at once?"

Philpot.—"No, that he cannot."

London.—"Lo, will you see what an ignorant fool this is in the law, in the which he would seem to be seen! I tell thee a man may be of three dioceses at once: as if thou wert born in London, by reason thereof thou shouldst be of my diocese: or else if thou wert not born here, but hadst a dignity, also thou art to be counted of my diocese: or else by reason of thy habitation in my diocese."

Philpot.—"In none of these respects I am of your Lordship's diocese. But for all that, this will not follow, that I, dwelling at Winchester, am at that present of London diocese."

London.—"What wilt thou lay thereof? Wilt thou recant if I prove it?"

Philpot.—"But what shall I win, if you do not?"

London.—"I will give thee my bishopric, if I prove it not."

Philpot.—"Yea, but who shall deliver it me if I win?"

London.—"Thou art an arrogant fool. Enter their oaths, and take these witnesses' depositions. I must be gone to the parliament-house."

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After this spake unto me a priest standing by, asking me whether I was kin to my Lord Riche, or no.

Philpot.—I said, "He said so himself to me the other day, but how, I know not."

Chedsey.—"I heard him say he was his nigh kinsman."

Balaamite.—"Why, then you and I must be of kin, for he is my nigh kinsman. How chanceth it that you and I be of contrary judgments?"

Philpot.—"It is no marvel; for Christ prophesied, That the father shall be divided against the son, and the son against the father, for my truth's sake."

Balaamite.—"You do hold (as I understand) against the blessed sacrament of the altar, and against the holy mass."

Philpot.—"If you can prove it a sacrament, I will not hold against you."

Balaamite.—"What, prove it a sacrament, quoth he! Doth not St. Paul say, That such things as the eye hath not seen, neither ear heard, hath God prepared for them that love him?"

Philpot.—"That saying of St. Paul concerneth nothing your sacrament; but is meant of the heavenly joys that be prepared for all faithful believers."

Balaamite.—"Why, then I perceive you understand not St. Paul. By God, you are deceived."

Philpot.—"You ought not to swear, kinsman, if you will that I shall so call you; and without disworship of our kindred, I understand St. Paul as well as you, and know what I say." [And with that showed him a Greek Testament with Erasmus's translation, and with the old also, demanding him which text he was best acquainted withal.]

Balaamite.—"I knew Greek too once, as well as you; I care not which you read."

Philpot.—"You know them then all alike; you understand the one as well as the other." With this my Balaamite kinsman departed in a fury.

The next day after I was brought down again, after dinner, to the chapel, and there my Balaamite kinsman (to verify the Scriptures, that a man's own kinsfolks shall be his enemies) came in with the bishop as a witness against me: and there the bishop caused another that came to him about other matters, to swear also to be a witness against me, which was a priest also; saying, "You shall swear to depose all the truth of certain articles you shall be inquired of concerning this man; and here I (according to the law) do bring them forth in thy presence."

Philpot.—"My Lord, I do not agree to the production of them, but do appeal from all these and other your proceedings against me: and require you, Master Registrar, that my appeal may be entered, and I will give you for your labour."

Registrar.—"Your appeal shall be entered at leisure. Whom do you appeal unto? tell me."

Philpot.—"I appeal to a higher judge, as to the lieutenant of the archbishopric of Canterbury; for I know not who is bishop thereof at this present." With that the bishop went away, and my Balaamite kinsman, looking big upon me, but said never a word.

Thus have I in haste scribbled out all my examinations hitherto, that the same which hath been done unto me in dark, might come to light, and that the papists' unjust proceedings, and nakedness in their false religion, might be known to their confusion. Jesus is Emmanuel, that is, God with us. Amen. 1555.

The examinations of Master Philpot in open judgment, by Bishop Bonner, in the consistory at Paul's, on the thirteenth and fourteenth of December.



HE bishop, having sufficiently taken his pleasure with Master Philpot in his private talks, and seeing his zealous, learned, and immutable constancy, thought it now high time to rid his hands of him, and therefore on the thirteenth and fourteenth days of December, sitting judicially in the consistory at Paul's, he caused him to be brought thither before him and others, as it seemeth, more for order's sake, than for any good affection to justice and right judgment. The effect as well of which their two sundry proceedings, as also of one other, had the eleventh day of the same month in his chapel, appears in a manner to be all one. The bishop therefore first speaking to Master Philpot, said:—

"Master Philpot, amongst other things that were laid and objected unto you, these three things ye were especially charged and burdened withal. The first is, that you, being fallen from the unity of Christ's catholic church, do refuse and will not come to be reconciled thereunto. The second is, that you have blasphemously spoken against the sacrifice of the mass, calling it idolatry. And the third is, that you have spoken against the sacrament of the altar, denying the real presence of Christ's body and blood to be in the same. And according to the will and pleasure of the synod legative, ye have been oft by me invited and required to go from your said errors and heresies, and to return to the unity of the catholic church, which if ye will now willingly do, ye shall be mercifully and gladly received, charitably used, and have all the favour I can show you. And now, to tell you true, it is assigned and appointed me to give sentence against you, if you stand herein, and will not return. Wherefore, if ye so refuse, I do ask of you, whether you have any cause that you can show, why I should not now give sentence against you?"

Philpot.—"Under protestation, not to go from my appeal that I have made, and also not to consent to you as my competent judge, I say, touching your first objection concerning the catholic church, I neither was nor am out of the same. And as touching the sacrifice of the mass,

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and the sacrament of the altar, I never spake against the same. And as concerning the pleasure of the synod, I say, that these twenty years I have been brought up in the faith of the true catholic church, which is contrary to your church, whereunto you would have me to come: and in that time I have been many times sworn (as well in the reign of King Henry the Eighth, as in the reign of good King Edward his son) against the usurped power of the bishop of Rome, which oath I think that I am bound in my conscience to keep, *quia teneor reddere Domino juramentum*. But if you, or any of the synod, can by God's word persuade me that my said oath was unlawful, and that I am bound by God's law to come to your church, faith, and religion, whereof you be now, I will gladly yield, agree, and be conformable unto you; otherwise not."

Bonner then, not able, with all his learned doctors, to accomplish this his offered condition, fell to persuading of him, as well by his accustomed vain promises, as also by bloody threatenings, to return to their church: to the which Philpot answered, "You, and all other of your sort, are hypocrites, and I would all the world did know your hypocrisy, your tyranny, ignorance, and idolatry."

Upon these words, the bishop did for that time dismiss him, commanding that on Monday the sixteenth day of the same month, between the hours of one and three in the afternoon, he should again be brought thither, there to have the definitive sentence of condemnation pronounced against him, if he remained then in his former constancy.

The last examination of Master John Philpot; December the sixteenth.

At which day and time, Master Philpot being there presented before the bishops of London, Bath, Worcester, and Lichfield, Bonner, bishop of London, began to talk in this manner.

London.—"My Lords, Stokesley my predecessor, when he went to give sentence against a heretic, used to make this prayer: *Deus qui errantibus, ut in viam possint redire, justitiæ veritatisque tuæ lumen ostendis, da cunctis qui christiana professione censentur, et illa respirare quæ huic inimica sint nomini, et ea quæ sint apta sectari per Christum Dominum nostrum*. Amen. Which I will follow." And so he read it with a loud voice in Latin. To which Master Philpot said, "I would ye would speak in English, that all men might hear and understand you; for Paul willeth that all things spoken in the congregation to edify, should be spoken in a tongue that all men might understand."

Whereupon the bishop did read it in English: and when he came to these words, "To refuse those things which are foes to his name;" Philpot said, "Then they all must turn away from you; for you are enemies to that name, (meaning Christ's name,) and God save us from such hypocrites as would have things in a tongue that men cannot understand."

London.—"Whom do you mean?"

Philpot.—"You, and all other that be of your generation and sect. And I am sorry to see you sit in the place that you now sit in, pretending to execute justice, and to do nothing less but deceive all men in this realm." And then turning himself unto the people, he further said, "Oh! all you gentlemen, beware of these men, (meaning the bishops,) and all their doings, which be

contrary unto the primitive church. And I would know of you, my Lord, by what authority you proceed against me."

London.—"Because I am bishop of London."

Philpot.—"Well, then ye are not my bishop, nor have I offended in your diocese. And moreover I have appealed from you, and therefore by your own law you ought not to proceed against me; especially being brought hither from another place by violence."

London.—"Why, who sent you hither to me?"

Philpot.—"That did Dr. Story and Dr. Cook, with other the king and queen's commissioners. And, my Lord, is it not enough for you to worry your own sheep, but ye must also meddle with other men's sheep?"

Then the bishop delivered to Philpot two books, one of the civil law, and the other of the canon, out of the which he would have proved that he had authority to proceed against him in such sort as he did. Master Philpot then, perusing the same, and seeing the small and slender proof that was there alleged, said unto the bishop, "I perceive your law and divinity is all one; for you have knowledge in neither of them; and I would ye did know your own ignorance: but ye dance in a net, and think that no man doth see you." Hereupon they had much talk, but what it was, it is not yet known. At last Bonner spake unto him, and said, "Philpot, as concerning your objections against my jurisdiction, ye shall understand that both the civil and canon laws make against you; and as for your appeal, it is not allowed in this case; for it is written in the law, *A iudice dispositionem juris exeunte non est appellandum.*"

Philpot.—"My Lord, it appeareth by your interpretation of the law, that ye have no knowledge therein, and that ye do not understand the law: for, if ye did, ye would not bring in that text."

Hereupon the bishop recited a law of the Romans, that it was not lawful for a Jew to keep a Christian man in captivity, and to use him as a slave, laying then to the said Philpot's charge, that he did not understand the law, but did like a Jew. Whereunto Philpot answered, "No, I am no Jew, but you, my Lord, are a Jew; for you profess Christ, and maintain antichrist; you profess the gospel, and maintain superstition: and ye be able to charge me with nothing."

London and other bishops.—"With what can you charge us?"

Philpot.—"You are enemies to all truth; and all your doings be naught, full of idolatry, saving in the article of the Trinity."

Whilst they were thus debating the matter, there came thither Sir William Garret, knight, then mayor of London, Sir Martin Bowes, knight, and Thomas Leigh, then sheriffs of the same city, and sat down with the said bishops in the said consistory; where and what time Bishop Bonner spake these words in effect as followeth "Philpot, before the coming of my Lord Mayor, because I would not enter with you into the matter wherewith I have heretofore, and now intend

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to charge you withal, until his coming, I did rehearse unto you a prayer both in English and in Latin, which Bishop Stokesley, my predecessor, used when he intended to proceed to give sentence against a heretic."

And here Bonner did again read the said prayer both in English, and also in Latin: which being ended, he spake again unto him, and said, "Philpot, amongst other, I have to charge you specially with three things. First, whereas you have fallen from the unity of Christ's catholic church, you have thereupon been invited and required, not only by me, but also by many and divers other catholic bishops, and other learned men, to return and come again to the same: and also you have been offered by me, that if you would so return, and confess your errors and heresies, you should be mercifully received, and have so much favour as I could show unto you. The second is, that you have blasphemously spoken against the sacrifice of the mass, calling it idolatry and abomination. And thirdly, that you have spoken and holden against the sacrament of the altar, denying the real presence of Christ's body and blood to be in the same."

This being spoken, the bishop recited unto him a certain exhortation in English, the tenor and form whereof is this.

Bishop Bonner's exhortation to John Philpot.

"Master Philpot, this is to be told you, that if you, not being yet reconciled to the unity of the catholic church, from whence ye did fall in the time of the late schism here in this realm of England, against the see apostolic of Rome, will now heartily and obediently be reconciled to the unity of the same catholic church, professing and promising to observe and keep to the best of your power the faith and Christian religion observed and kept of all faithful people of the same: and moreover, if ye which heretofore, especially in the years of our Lord 1553, 1554, 1555, or in one of them, have offended and trespassed grievously against the sacrifice of the mass, calling it idolatry and abominable, and likewise have offended and trespassed against the sacrament of the altar, denying the real presence of Christ's body and blood to be there in the sacrament of the altar, affirming also withal, material bread and material wine to be in the sacrament of the altar, and not the substance of the body and blood of Christ: if ye, I say, will be reconciled as is aforesaid, and will forsake your heresies and errors before touched, being heretical and damnable, and will also allow the sacrament of the mass, ye shall be mercifully received, and charitably used with as much favour as may be: if not, ye shall be reputed, taken, and judged for a heretic (as ye be indeed). Now do you choose what ye will do; you are counselled herein friendly and favourably."

The bishop's exhortation thus ended, Master Philpot turned himself unto the lord mayor, and said "To you, my Lord Mayor, bearing the sword, I speak; I am glad that it is my chance now to stand before that authority that hath defended the gospel and the truth of God's word. But I am sorry to see that the authority which representeth the king and queen's persons, should now be changed, and be at the commandment of antichrist; and ye" [speaking to the bishops] "pretend to be the followers of the apostles of Christ, and yet be the very antichrists and deceivers of the people. And I am glad that Christ hath given me power to stand here this day, and to declare and defend my faith, which is founded on Christ. Therefore, as touching your first objection, I say, that I am of the catholic church, whereof I was never out, and that your church (which ye pretend

to be the catholic church) is the Church of Rome, and so the Babylonical, and not the catholic church: of that church I am not. As touching your second objection, which is, that I should speak against the sacrifice of the mass, I do say that I have not spoken against the true sacrifice, but I have spoken against your private masses that you use in corners, which is blasphemy to the true sacrifice; for your sacrifice daily reiterated is a blasphemy against Christ's death, and it is a lie of your own invention: and that abominable sacrifice which ye set upon the altar, and use in your private masses instead of the living sacrifice, is idolatry, and ye shall never prove it by God's word. Therefore ye have deceived the people with that your sacrifice of the mass, which ye make a masquing. Thirdly, whereas you lay to my charge, that I deny the body and blood of Christ to be in the sacrament of the altar, I cannot tell what altar ye mean, whether it be the altar of the cross, or the altar of stone: and if ye call it the sacrament of the altar in respect of the altar of stone, then I defy your Christ, for it is a rotten Christ. And as touching your transubstantiation, I utterly deny it, for it was brought up first by a pope.

"Now as concerning your offer made from the synod, which is gathered together in antichrist's name; prove me that to be of the catholic church, (which ye shall never do,) and I will follow you, and do as you would have me to do. But ye are idolaters, and daily do commit idolatry. Ye be also traitors; for in your pulpits ye rail upon good kings, as King Henry, and King Edward his son, which have stood against the usurped power of the bishop of Rome; against whom also I have taken an oath, which if ye can show me by God's law that I have taken unjustly, I will then yield unto you: but I pray God turn the king and queen's heart from your synagogue and church, for you do abuse that good queen."

Here the bishop of Coventry and Lichfield began to show where the true church was, saying, "The true catholic church is set upon a high hill."

Philpot.—"Yea, at Rome, which is the Babylonical church."

Coventry.—"No, in our true catholic church are the apostles, evangelists, and martyrs; but before Martin Luther, there was no apostle, evangelist, or martyr of your church."

Philpot.—"Will ye know the cause why? Christ did prophesy that in the latter days there should come false prophets and hypocrites, as you be."

Coventry.—"Your church of Geneva, which ye call the catholic church, is that which Christ prophesied of."

Philpot.—"I allow the church of Geneva, and the doctrine of the same; for it is *una, catholica, et apostolica*, and doth follow the doctrine that the apostles did preach; and the doctrine taught and preached in King Edward's days was also according to the same. And are ye not ashamed to persecute me and others for your church's sake, which is Babylonical, and contrary to the true catholic church?"

And after this they had great conference together, as well out of the Scriptures, as also out of the doctors. But when Bonner saw that by learning they were not able to convince Master Philpot, he thought then by his defamations to bring him out of credit; and therefore, turning

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himself unto the lord mayor of London, he brought forth a knife, and a bladder full of powder, and said:

"My Lord, this man had a roasted pig brought unto him, and this knife was put secretly between the skin and the flesh thereof, and so was it sent him, being in prison. And also this powder was sent unto him, under pretence that it was good and comfortable for him to eat or drink; which powder was only to make ink to write withal; for when his keeper did perceive it, he took it and brought it unto me. Which when I did see, I thought it had been gunpowder, and thereupon I put fire to it, but it would not burn. Then I took it for poison, and so gave it to a dog, but it was not so. Then I took a little water, and it made as fair ink as ever I did write withal. Therefore, my Lord, you may understand what a naughty fellow this is."

Philpot.—"Ah, my Lord! have you nothing else to charge me withal but these trifles, seeing I stand upon life and death? Doth the knife in the pig prove the Church of Rome to be a catholic church?" &c.

Then the bishop brought forth a certain instrument, containing articles and questions, agreed upon both in Oxford and Cambridge, whereof you have mention before. Also he did exhibit two books in print; the one was the catechism made in King Edward's days, anno 1552, the other concerning the true report of the disputation in the convocation-house, mention whereof is above expressed. Moreover he did bring forth, and laid to Master Philpot's charge, two letters; the one touching Bartlet Green, the other containing godly exhortations and comforts, which both were written unto him by some of his godly friends; the tenor whereof we thought here also to exhibit.

A letter exhibited by Bonner, written by some friend of Master Philpot's, and sent to him, concerning the handling of Master Green in Bishop Bonner's house at London.

"You shall understand that Master Green came unto the bishop of London on Sunday last, where he was courteously received: for what policy the sequel declareth. His entertainment for one day or two, was to dine at my Lord's own table, or else to have his meat from thence. During those days he lay in Dr. Chedsey's chamber, and was examined. Albeit in very deed the bishop earnestly and faithfully promised many right worshipful men, (who were suitors for him, but to him unknown,) that he in no case should be examined; before which, Master Fecknam would have had him in his friendly custody, if he would have desired to have conferred with him, which he utterly refused. And in that the bishop objected against him singularity and obstinacy, his answer thereunto was thus: 'To avoid all suspicion thereof, although I myself am young, and utterly unlearned in respect of the learned, (and yet I understand, I thank my Lord,) yet let me have such books as I shall require; and if I, by God's Spirit, do not thereby answer all your books and objections contrary thereto, I will assent to you.' Whereunto the bishop, and his, assented, permitting him at the first to have such books: who at sundry times have reasoned with him, and have found him so strong and rife in the Scripture and godly fathers, that since, they have not only taken from him such liberty of books, but all other books, not leaving him so much as the New Testament. Since, they have baited and used him most cruelly. This Master Fecknam reported, saying farther, that he never heard the like young man, and so perfect. What shall become further of him, God knoweth; but death I think, for he remaineth more and more willing

to die, as I understand. Concerning your bill, I shall confer with others therein, knowing that the same court is able to redress the same: and yet I think it will not be reformed, for that I know few or none that dare or will speak therein, or prefer the same, because it concerneth spiritual things. Notwithstanding, I will ascertain you thereof; committing you to the Holy Ghost, who keep you and us all, as his."

The copy of another letter, written by the faithful and Christian-hearted lady, the Lady Vane, to Master Philpot, exhibited likewise by Bishop Bonner.

"Hearty thanks rendered unto you, my well-beloved in Christ, for the book ye sent me, wherein I find great consolations, and, according to the doctrine thereof, do prepare my cheeks to the strikers, and my womanish back to the burdens of reproof. And so, in the strength of my God I trust to leap over the wall; for his sweetness overcometh me daily, and maketh all these apothecary drugs of the world even medicinal-like in my mouth. For the continuance whereof, I beseech thee, my dear fellow-soldier, make thy faithful prayer for me, that I may with a strong and gladsome conscience finish my course, and obtain the reward, though it be no whit due to my work. I am not content that you so often gratify me with thanks for that which is none worthy, but duty on my part, and small relief to you. But if you would love me so much that I might supply your lacks, then would I think ye believed my offers to be such, as agreed with my heart. And for the short charges ye speak of, the means are not so pleasant, if God (whom my trust is in) will otherwise prepare; but Solomon saith, All things here have their time; you to-day, and I to-morrow, and so the end of Adam's line is soon run out. The mighty God give us his grace, that during this time, his glory be not defaced through our weakness! Because you desire to show yourself a worthy soldier, if need so require, I will supply your request for the scarf ye wrote of, that ye may present my handy-work before your Captain, that I be not forgotten in the odours of incense, which our beloved Christ offereth for his own; to whom I bequeath both our bodies and souls.

"Your own in the Lord.

F. E."



ver and besides these letters, the bishops did also bring forth a supplication made by Master Philpot unto the high court of parliament, whereof mention is made in the first of the two letters last mentioned; the copy whereof doth here ensue as followeth "To the king and queen's Majesty's Highnesses, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons of this present parliament assembled.

"In most humble wise complaineth unto this honourable court of parliament John Philpot, clerk, that whereas there was by the queen's Highness a parliament called in the first year of her gracious reign, and after the old custom a convocation of the

clergy, your suppliant then being one of the said convocation-house, and matters there rising upon the using of the sacraments, did dispute in the same, knowing that there all men had and have free speech, and ought not to be after-troubled for any thing there spoken: and yet, that notwithstanding, not long after the said parliament, your said suppliant (without any act or matter) was commanded to prison to the King's Bench by the late lord chancellor, where he hath

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remained ever since, until now of late that my Lord the bishop of London hath sent for your said suppliant to examine him (being none of his diocese) upon certain matters, wherein they would have your orator to declare his conscience, which, the said bishop saith, he hath authority to do, by reason of an act of parliament made in the first and second years of the king and queen's Majesties' reigns, for the reviving of three statutes made against them that hold any opinion against the catholic faith: whereby be affirmeth, that every ordinary may, *ex officio*, examine every man's conscience And for that your said orator hath and doth refuse, that the said bishop of London hath any authority over your said orator, for that he is neither his diocesan, nor hath published, preached, nor held any opinion against the catholic faith, (notwithstanding the said bishop of London detaineth him in the coal-house, in the stocks, without either bed or any other thing to lie upon but straw,) and for that your said orator cannot appeal for his relief, from the said bishop, to any other judge, but the same bishop may refuse the same by their law, and therefore hath no succour and help, but by this high court of parliament, for the explanation of the said act; therefore may it please you, that it may be enacted by the king and queen's Majesties, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons of this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that no bishop nor ordinary shall commit or detain in prison any suspected person or persons for the catholic faith, except he or they have spoken, written, or done some manifest act against the catholic faith, and the same to be lawfully proved against every such person or persons, by the testimony of two lawful witnesses, to be brought before the said person or persons so accused, before he or they shall either be committed to prison, or convicted for any such offence or offences; the said former statute, made in the said first and second year of our said sovereign lord and lady notwithstanding: whereby your said orator shall not only be set at liberty, and divers others now remaining in prison; but also the blood of divers of the queen's Majesty's true and faithful subjects preserved."

The condemnation of the worthy martyr of God, John Philpot.

These books, letters, supplications, and other matters being thus read, the bishop demanded of him, If the book intituled, "The true Report of the Disputation," &c., were of his penning, or not? Whereunto Philpot answered, that it was a good and true book, and of his own penning and setting-forth.

The bishops, waxing now weary, and being not able by any sufficient ground, either of God's word, or of the true ancient catholic fathers, to convince and overcome him, fell by fair and flattering speech to persuade with him; promising, that if he would revoke his opinions, and come home again to their Romish and Babylonical church, he should not only be pardoned that which was past, but also they would, with all favour and cheerfulness of heart, receive him again as a true member thereof. Which words when Bonner saw would take no place, he demanded of Master Philpot, (and that with a charitable affection I warrant you,) whether he had any just cause to allege, why he should not condemn him as a heretic. "Well," quoth Master Philpot, "your idolatrous sacrament, which you have found out, ye would fain defend; but ye cannot, nor ever shall."

In the end the bishop, seeing his unmovable steadfastness in the truth, did pronounce openly the sentence of condemnation against him. In the reading whereof, when he came to these words, *Teque etiam tanquam hæreticum, obstinatum, pertinacem, et impœnitentem*, &c., Master

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Philpot said, "I thank God that I am a heretic, out of your cursed church; I am no heretic before God. But God bless you, and give you once grace to repent your wicked doings, and let all men beware of your bloody church."

Moreover, while Bonner was about the midst of the sentence, the bishop of Bath pulled him by the sleeve, and said, "My Lord, my Lord, know of him first whether he will recant or no." Then Bonner said, (full like himself,) "O let him alone; and so read forth the sentence."

And when he had done, he delivered him to the sheriffs; and so two officers brought him through the bishop's house into Paternoster Row, and there his servant met him, and when he saw him he said, "Ah! dear master."

Then Master Philpot said to his man, "Content thyself, I shall do well enough; for thou shalt see me again."

And so the officers thrust him away, and had his master to Newgate; and as he went, he said to the people, "Ah! good people; blessed be God for this day." And so the officers delivered him to the keeper. Then his man thrust to go in after his master, and one of the officers said unto him, "Hence, fellow! what wouldst thou have?" And he said, "I would go speak with my master." Master Philpot then turned him about, and said to him, "To-morrow thou shalt speak with me."

Then the under-keeper said to Master Philpot, "Is this your man?" and he said, "Yea." So he did license his man to go in with him: and Master Philpot and his man were turned into a little chamber on the right hand, and there remained a little time, until Alexander the chief keeper did come unto him; who, at his entering, greeted him with these words; "Ah!" said he, "hast not thou done well to bring thyself hither?" "Well," said Master Philpot, "I must be content, for it is God's appointment: and I shall desire you to let me have your gentle favour; for you and I have been of old acquaintance." "Well," said Alexander, "I will show thee gentleness and favour, so thou wilt be ruled by me." Then said Master Philpot, "I pray you show me what you would have me to do." He said, "If you would recant, I will show you any pleasure I can." "Nay," said Master Philpot, "I will never recant, whilst I have my life, that which I have spoken, for it is most certain truth; and in witness hereof I will seal it with my blood." Then Alexander said, "This is the saying of the whole pack of you heretics." Whereupon he commanded him to be set upon the block, and as many irons upon his legs as he could bear, for that he would not follow his wicked mind.

Then the clerk told Alexander in his ear, that Master Philpot had given his man money. And Alexander said to his man, "What money hath thy master given thee?" He answered, "My master hath given me none." "No!" said Alexander, "hath he given thee none? That I will know, for I will search thee." "Do with me what you list, and search me all that you can," quoth his servant "he hath given me a token or two to send his friends, as to his brother and sisters." "Ah!" said Alexander unto Master Philpot, "thou art a maintainer of heretics: thy man should have gone to some of thine affinity; but he shall be known well enough." "Nay," said Master Philpot, "I do send it to my friends: there he is, let him make answer to it. But good Master Alexander, be so much my friend, that these irons may be taken off." "Well," said Alexander, "give me my fees, and I will take them off: if not, thou shalt wear them still." Then said Master Philpot, "Sir, what is your fee?" He said four pound was his fees. "Ah," said Master Philpot, "I have not so

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much; I am but a poor man, and I have been long in prison." "What wilt thou give me then," said Alexander?" Sir," said he, "I will give you twenty shillings, and that I will send my man for; or else I will lay my gown to gage. For the time is not long (I am sure) that I shall be with you; for the bishop said I should be soon despatched."

Then said Alexander unto him, "What is that to me?" And with that he departed from him, and commanded him to be had into limbo. And so his commandment was fulfilled; but before he could be taken from the block, the clerk would have a groat.

Then one Witterence, steward of the house, took him on his back, and carried him down, his man knew not whither. Wherefore Master Philpot said to his man, "Go to Master Sheriff, and show him how I am used, and desire Master Sheriff to be good unto me." And so his servant went straightway, and took an honest man with him.

And when they came to Master Sheriff, (which was Master Macham,) and showed him how Master Philpot was handled in Newgate, the sheriff, hearing this, took his ring off from his finger, and delivered it unto that honest man which came with Master Philpot's man, and bade him go unto Alexander the keeper, and command him to take off his irons, and to handle him more gently, and to give his man again that which he had taken from him. And when they came again to the said Alexander, and told their message from the sheriff. Alexander took the ring, and said, "Ah! I perceive that Master Sheriff is a bearer with him, and all such heretics as he is: therefore to-morrow I will show it to his betters." Yet at ten of the clock he went in to Master Philpot, where he lay, and took off his irons, and gave him such things as he had taken before from his servant.

Upon Tuesday at supper, being the seventeenth day of December, there came a messenger from the sheriffs, and bade Master Philpot make him ready, for the next day he should suffer, and be burned at a stake with fire. Master Philpot answered and said, "I am ready; God grant me strength, and a joyful resurrection." And so he went into his chamber, and poured out his spirit unto the Lord God, giving him most hearty thanks, that he of his mercy had made him worthy to suffer for his truth.

In the morning the sheriffs came according to the order, about eight of the clock, and called for him, and he most joyfully came down unto them. And there his man did meet him, and said, "Ah! dear master, farewell." His master said unto him, "Serve God, and he will help thee." And so he went with the sheriffs to the place of execution; and when he was entering into Smithfield, the way was foul, and two officers took him up to bear him to the stake. Then he said merrily, "What! will ye make me a pope? I am content to go to my journey's end on foot." But first, coming into Smithfield, he kneeled down there, saying these words, "I will pay my vows in thee, O Smithfield!"

And when he was come to the place of suffering, he kissed the stake, and said, "Shall I disdain to suffer at this stake, seeing my Redeemer did not refuse to suffer a most vile death upon the cross for me?" And then with an obedient heart full meekly he said the 106th, the 107th, and the 108th Psalms. And when he had made an end of all his prayers, he said to the

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officers, "What have you done for me?" and every one of them declared what they had done; and he gave to every of them money.

Then they bound him to the stake, and set fire unto that constant martyr, who the eighteenth day of December, in the midst of the fiery flames, yielded his soul into the hands of Almighty God, and full like a lamb gave up his breath, his body being consumed into ashes.



John Philpot in Smithfield

Thus hast thou, gentle reader, the life and doings of this learned and worthy soldier of the Lord, John Philpot; with all his examinations that came to our hands: first penned and written

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with his own hand, being marvellously preserved from the sight and hand of his enemies; who by all manner of means sought not only to stop him from all writing, but also to spoil and deprive him of that which he had written; for the which cause he was many times stripped and searched in the prison, of his keeper: but yet so happily these his writings were conveyed and hid in places about him, or else his keeper's eyes so blinded, that, notwithstanding all this malicious purpose of the bishops, they are yet remaining, and come to light.

327. The Martyr's Prayer

A prayer to be said at the stake, of all them that God shall account worthy to suffer for his sake.

"Merciful God and Father, to whom our Saviour Christ approached in his fear and need by reason of death, and found comfort; gracious God and most bounteous Christ, on whom Stephen called in his extreme need, and received strength; most benign Holy Spirit! which in the midst of all crosses and death didst comfort the apostle St. Paul with more consolations in Christ, than he felt sorrows and terrors, have mercy upon me miserable, vile, and wretched sinner, which now draw near the gates of death, deserved both in soul and body eternally, by reason of manifold, horrible, old and new transgressions, which to thine eyes, O Lord, are open and known. O be merciful unto me, for the bitter death and blood-shedding of thine own only Son Jesus Christ. And though thy justice doth require (in respect of my sins) that now thou shouldst not hear me,—measuring me in the same measure with which I have measured thy Majesty, condemning thy daily calls,—yet let thy mercy, which is above all thy works, and wherewith the earth is filled, let thy mercy (I say) prevail towards me, through and for the mediation of Christ our Saviour. And for whose sake, in that it hath pleased thee to bring me forth now as one of his witnesses, and a record-bearer of thy verity and truth taught by him, to give my life there-for (to which dignity I do acknowledge, dear God, that there was never any so unworthy and so unmeet, no, not the thief that hanged with him on the cross): I most humbly therefore pray thee that thou wouldst accordingly aid, help, and assist me with thy strength and heavenly grace, that with Christ thy Son I may find comfort, with Stephen I may see thy presence and gracious power, with Paul, and all others, which for thy name's sake have suffered affliction and death, I may find so present with me thy gracious consolations, that I may by my death glorify thy holy name, propagate and ratify thy verity, comfort the hearts of the heavy, confirm thy church in thy verity, convert some that are to be converted; and so depart forth of this miserable world, where I do nothing but daily heap sin upon sin, and so enter into the fruition of thy blessed mercy; whereof now give and increase in me a lively trust, sense, and feeling, where-through the terrors of death, the torments of fire, the pangs of sin, the darts of Satan, and the dolours of hell, may never depress me, but may be driven away through the working of that most gracious Spirit; which now plenteously endue me withal, that through the same Spirit I may offer (as I now desire to do in Christ by him) myself wholly, soul and body, to be a lively sacrifice, holy and acceptable in thy sight, dear Father! whose I am, and always have been, even from my mother's womb, yea, even before the world was made; to whom I commend myself, soul and body, family and friends, country and all the whole church, yea, even my very enemies, according to thy good pleasure; beseeching thee entirely to give once more to this realm of England the blessing of thy word again, with godly peace, to the teaching and setting forth of the same. O dear Father! now give me grace to come unto thee. Purge and so purify me by this fire in Christ's death and passion through thy Spirit, that I may be a burnt-offering of a sweet smell in thy sight, which livest and reignest with the Son and the Holy Ghost, now and for evermore, world without end, Amen."

328. Letters of Master Philpot.

A letter which he sent to the Christian congregation, exhorting them to refrain from the idolatrous service of the papists, and to serve God after his word.



It is a lamentable thing to behold at this present in England the faithless departing both of men and women. from the true knowledge and use of Christ's sincere religion. which so plentifully they have been taught, and do know, their own consciences bearing witness to the verity thereof. If that earth be cursed of God. which, oftsoons, receiving moisture and pleasant dews from heaven, doth not bring forth fruit accordingly; how much more grievous judgment shall such persons receive, which, having received from the Father of heaven the perfect knowledge of his word by the ministry thereof, do not show forth God's worship after the same! If the Lord will require in

the day of judgment a godly usury of all manner of talents which he lendeth unto men and women; how much more will he require the same of his pure religion revealed unto us, (which is of all other talents the chiefest and most pertaining to our exercise in this life,) if we hide the same in a napkin, and set it not forth to the usury of God's glory, and edifying of his church by true confession! God hath kindled the bright light of his gospel, which in times past was suppressed, and hid under the vile ashes of man's traditions, and hath caused the brightness thereof to shine in our hearts, to the end that the same might shine before men to the honour of his name.

"It is not only given us to believe, but also to confess and declare what we believe in our outward conversation. For as St. Paul writeth to the Romans, The belief of the heart justifieth, and to acknowledge with the mouth maketh a man safe. It is all one before God, not to believe at all, and not to show forth the lively works of our belief. For Christ saith, Either make the tree good and his fruits good; or else make the tree evil and the fruits evil: because a good tree bringeth forth good fruits, as an evil tree doth evil fruits. So that the person which knoweth his master's will, and doth it not, shall be beaten with many stripes. And, Not all they which say, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of God, but he that doth the will of the Father. And, Whosoever in the time of trial is ashamed of me, saith Christ, and of my words, of him the Son of man will be ashamed before his Father. After that we have built ourselves into the true church of God, it hath pleased him, by giving us over into the hands of the wicked synagogues, to prove our building, and to have it known as well to the world as to ourselves, that we have been wise builders into the true church of God, upon the rock and not on the sand; and therefore now the tempest is risen, and the storms do mightily blow against us, that we might notwithstanding stand upright, and be firm in the Lord, to his honour and glory, and to our eternal felicity. There is no new thing happened unto us, for with such tempests and dangerous weathers the church of God hath continually been exercised. Now once again, as the prophet Haggai tells us, The Lord shaketh the earth, that those might abide for ever, which be not overcome.

"Therefore, my dearly beloved, be stable and immovable in the word of God, and in the faithful observation thereof, and let no man deceive you with vain words, saying, that you might

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keep your faith to yourselves, and dissemble with antichrist, and to live at rest and quietness in the world, as most men do, yielding to necessity. This is the wisdom of the flesh; but the wisdom of the flesh is death and enmity to God, as our Saviour for ensample aptly did declare in Peter, who exhorted Christ not to go to Jerusalem to celebrate the passover, and there to be slain, but counselled him to look better to himself.

"Likewise the world would not have us to forsake it, neither to associate ourselves to the true church, which is the body of Christ, whereof we are lively members, and to use the sacraments after God's word with the danger of our lives. But we must learn to answer the world as Christ did Peter, and say, Go behind me, Satan; thou savourest not the things of God. Shall I not drink of the cup which the Father giveth me? For it is better to be afflicted and to be slain in the church of God, than to be counted the son of the king, in the synagogue of false religion. Death for righteousness is not to be abhorred, but rather to be desired, which assuredly bringeth with it the crown of everlasting glory. These bloody executioners do not persecute Christ's martyrs, but crown them with everlasting felicity: we were born into this world to be witnesses unto the truth, both learned and unlearned.

"Now since the time is come that we must show our faith, and declare whether we will be God's servants in righteousness and holiness, as we have been taught, and are bound to follow, or else with hypocrisy to serve unrighteousness: let us take good heed that we be found faithful in the Lord's covenant, and true members of his church, in the which, through knowledge, we are ingrafted; from the which if we fall by transgression with the common sort of people, it will more straitly be required of us, than many yet do make account thereof. We cannot serve two masters; we may not halt on both sides, and think to please God; we must be fervent in God's cause, or else he will cast us out from him. For by the first commandment we are commanded to love God with all our heart, with all our mind, with all our power and strength. But they are manifest transgressors of this commandment, which with their heart, mind, or bodily power, do communicate with a strange religion, contrary to the word of God, in the papistical synagogue, which calleth itself the church, and is not. As greatly do they offend God now which so do, as the Israelites did in times past by forsaking Jerusalem, the true church of God, and by going to Bethel to serve God in a congregation of their own setting up, and after their own imaginations and traditions; for the which doing God utterly destroyed all Israel, as all the prophets almost do testify. This happened unto them for our ensample, that we might beware to have any fellowship with any like congregation to our destruction.

"God hath one catholic church dispersed throughout the world, and therefore we are taught in our creed to believe one catholic church, and to have communion therewith: which catholic church is grounded upon the foundation of the prophets, and of the apostles, and upon none other, as St. Paul witnesseth to the Ephesians. Therefore wheresoever we perceive any people to worship God truly after his word, there we may be certain the church of Christ to be; unto the which we ought to associate ourselves, and to desire with the prophet David, to praise God in the midst of his church. But if we behold, through the iniquity of the time, segregations to be made with counterfeit religion, otherwise than the word of God doth teach, we ought then, if we be required to be companions thereof, to say again with David, I have hated the synagogue of the malignant, and will not sit with the wicked. In the Apocalypse the church of Ephesus is highly commended, because she tried such as said they were apostles, and were not indeed, and

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therefore would not abide the company of them. Further, God commanded his people that they should not seek Bethel, neither enter into Gilgal where idolatry was used, by the mouth of his prophet Amos. Also we must consider that our bodies be the temple of God, and whosoever (as St. Paul teacheth) doth profane the temple of God, him the Lord will destroy. May we then take the temple of Christ, and make it the member of a harlot? All strange religion and idolatry is counted as whoredom with the prophets, and more detestable in the sight of God than the adulterous abuse of the body. Therefore the princes of the earth, in the Revelation of St. John, be said to go a whoring, when they are in love with false religion, and follow the same. How then by any means may a Christian man think it tolerable to be present at the popish private mass, (which is the very profanation of the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ,) and at other idolatrous worshippings and rites, which be not after the word of God, but rather to the derogation thereof, in setting man's traditions above God's precepts, since God by his word judgeth all strange religion, which is not according to his institution, for whoredom and advourtry?

"Some fondly think that the presence of the body is not material, so that the heart do not consent to their wicked doings. But such persons little consider what St. Paul writeth to the Corinthians, commanding them to glorify God as well in body as in soul. Moreover, we can do no greater injury to the true church of Christ, than to seem to have forsaken her, and disallow her by cleaving to her adversary: whereby it appeareth to others which be weak, that we allow the same, and so, contrary to the word, do give a great offence to the church of God, and do outwardly slander, as much as men may, the truth of Christ. But woe be unto him by whom any such offence cometh! Better it were for him to have a millstone tied about his neck, and to be cast into the bottom of the sea. Such be traitors to the truth, like unto Judas, who with a kiss betrayed Christ. Our God is a jealous God, and cannot be content that we should be of any other than of that unspotted church, whereof he is the Head only, and wherein he hath planted us by baptism. This jealousy which God hath towards us, will cry for vengeance in the day of vengeance, against all such as now have so large consciences to do that which is contrary to God's glory, and the sincerity of his word, except they do in time repent, and cleave unseparably to the gospel of Christ, how much soever at this present both men and women otherwise, in their own corrupt judgment, do flatter themselves. God willeth us to judge uprightly, and to allow and follow that which is holy and acceptable in his sight, and to abstain from all manner of evil, and therefore Christ commandeth us in the gospel to beware of the leaven of the Pharisees, which is hypocrisy.

"St. Paul to the Hebrews saith, If any man withdraw himself from the faith, his soul shall have no pleasure in him: therefore he saith also, that we are none such as do withdraw ourselves unto perdition, but we belong unto faith, for the attainment of life. St. John in the Apocalypse telleth us plainly that none of those who are written in the book of life, do receive the mark of the beast, which is of the papistical synagogue, either in their foreheads, or else in their hands; that is, apparently or obediently.

"St. Paul to the Philippians affirmeth, that we may not have any fellowship with the works of darkness, but in the midst of this wicked and froward generation we ought to shine like lights, upholding the word of truth. Further he saith, that we may not touch any unclean thing; which signifieth that our outward conversation in foreign things ought to be pure and undefiled

as well as the inward; that with a clean spirit and rectified body, we might serve God justly in holiness and righteousness all the days of our life.

"Finally in the Apocalypse, God biddeth us plainly to depart from the Babylonical synagogue, and not to be partakers of her trespass: St. Paul to the Thessalonians commandeth us in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, to withdraw ourselves from every brother that walketh inordinately, and not according to the institution which he hath received of him.

"Ponder ye therefore well, good brethren and sisters, these scriptures which be written for your erudition and reformation, whereof one jot is not written in vain; which be utterly against all counterfeit illusion to be used of us with the papists in their fantastical religion, and be adversaries to all them that have so light consciences in so doing. And if they do not agree with this adversary, (I mean the word of God,) which is contrary to their attempts, he will (as is signified in the gospel) deliver them to the judge, which is Christ; and the judge will deliver them to the executioner, that is, to the devil; and the devil shall commit them to the horrible prison of hell-fire, (where is the portion of all hypocrites,) with sulphur and brimstone, with wailing and gnashing of teeth, world without end. But yet many will say, for their vain excuse, 'God is merciful, and his mercy is over all.' But the Scripture teacheth us, that cursed is he that sinneth upon hope of forgiveness. Truth it is, that the mercy of God is above all his works, and yet but upon such as fear him: for it is written in the Psalms, The mercy of God is on them that fear him, and on such as put their trust in him. Where we may learn, that they only put their trust in God that serve him; and to fear God is to turn from evil and do that is good. So that such as do look to be partakers in God's mercy, may not abide in that which is known to be manifest evil, and detestable in the sight of God.

"Another sort of persons do make them a cloak for the rain, under the pretence of obedience to the magistrates, whom we ought to obey although they be wicked. But such must learn of Christ to give to Cæsar that is Cæsar's, and to God that is due to God; and with St. Peter, to obey the higher powers in the Lord, albeit they be evil, if they command nothing contrary to God's word; otherwise we ought not to obey their commandments, although we should suffer death there-for, as we have the apostles for our example herein to follow, who answered the magistrates, as we ought to do in this case, not obeying their wicked precepts, saying, Judge you whether it be more righteous that we should obey man rather than God.

"Also Daniel chose rather to be cast into the den of lions to be devoured, than to obey the king's wicked commandments. If the blind lead the blind, both fall into the ditch. There is no excuse for the transgression of God's word, whether a man doth it voluntarily or at commandment: although great damnation is to them, by whom the offence cometh. Some others there be that, for an extreme refuge in their evil doings, do run to God's predestination and election, saying, that if I be elected of God to salvation, I shall be saved, whatsoever I do. But such be great tempters of God, and abominable blasphemers of God's holy election, and cast themselves down from the pinnacle of the temple in presumption, that God may preserve them by his angels through predestination. Such verily may reckon themselves to be none of God's elect children, that will do evil that good may ensue; whose damnation is just, as St. Paul saith. God's predestination and election ought to be with a simple eye considered, to make us more warily to walk in good and godly conversation, according to God's word, and not set cock in the

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hoop, and put all on God's back, to do wickedly at large. For the elect children of God must walk in righteousness and holiness after that they be once called to true knowledge: for so saith St. Paul to the Ephesians, that God hath chosen us before the foundations of the world were laid, that we should be holy and blameless in his sight.

"Therefore St. Peter willeth us, through good works, to make our vocation and election certain to ourselves, which we know not but by the good working of God's Spirit in us, according to the rule of the gospel: and he that conformeth not himself to the same in godly conversation, may justly tremble, and doubt that he is none of the elect children of God, but of the viperous generation, and a child of darkness. For the children of light will walk in the works of light and not of darkness; though they fall, they do not lie still.

"Let all vain excusations be set apart, and while ye have light, as Christ commandeth, believe the light and abide in the same, lest eternal darkness overtake you unawares. The light is come into the world, but, alas! men love darkness more than light. God give us his pure eye-salve to heal our blindness in this behalf. Oh! that men and women would be healed, and not seek to be wilfully blinded. The Lord open their eyes, that they may see how dangerous a thing it is to decline from the knowledge of truth, contrary to their conscience.

"But what said I, conscience? Many affirm their conscience will bear them well enough to do all that they do, and to go to the idolatrous church to service; whose conscience is very large to satisfy man more than God. And although their conscience can bear them so to do, yet I am sure that a good conscience will not permit them so to do; which cannot be good, unless it be directed after the knowledge of God's word: and therefore in Latin this feeling of mind is called conscientia, which soundeth by interpretation, as much as, with knowledge.

"And therefore, if our conscience be led of herself, and not after true knowledge, yet we are not so to be excused, as St. Paul beareth witness, saying, Although my conscience accuseth me not, yet in this I am not justified. And he joineth a good conscience with these three sisters, charity, a pure heart, and unfeigned faith. Charity keepeth God's commandments; a pure heart loveth and feareth God above all; and unfeigned faith is never ashamed of the profession of the gospel, whatsoever damage he shall suffer in body thereby. The Lord, which hath revealed his holy will unto us by his word, grant us never to be ashamed of it, and give us grace so earnestly to cleave to his holy word and the true church, that for no manner of worldly respect we become partakers of the works of hypocrisy, which God doth abhor; so that we may be found faithful in the Lord's testament to the end, both in heart, word, and deed, to the glory of God and our everlasting salvation, Amen.

"John Philpot, prisoner in the King's Bench, For the testimony of the truth. 1555."

To his dear friend in the Lord, John Careless, prisoner in the King's Bench.

My dearly beloved brother Careless, I have received your loving letters full of love and compassion, insomuch that they made my hard heart to weep, to see you so careful for one that hath been so unprofitable a member as I have been and am in Christ's church. God make me worthy of that I am called unto, and I pray you cease not to pray for me, but cease to weep for him who hath not deserved such gentle tears: and praise God with me, for that I now approach to

the company of them, whose want you may worthily lament. God give your pitiful heart his inward consolation! Indeed, my dear Careless, I am in this world in hell, and in the shadow of death; but he that hath brought me for my deserts down into hell, shall shortly lift me up to heaven, where I shall look continually for your coming, and other my faithful brethren in the King's Bench. And though I tell you that I am in hell in the judgment of this world, yet assuredly I feel in the same the consolation of heaven, I praise God; and this loathsome and horrible prison is as pleasant to me, as the walk in the garden of the King's Bench.

"You know, brother Careless, that the way to heaven out of this life is very narrow, and we must strive to enter in at a narrow gate. If God do mitigate the ugliness of mine imprisonment, what will he do in the rage of the fire whereunto I am appointed? And this hath happened unto me, that I might be hereafter an ensample of comfort, if the like happen unto you, or to any other of my dear brethren with you, in these cruel days, in the which the devil so rageth at the faithful flock of Christ: but in vain (I trust) against any of us, who be persuaded that neither life, neither death, is able to separate us from the love of Christ's gospel, which is God's high treasure committed to our brittle vessels to glorify us by the same. God, of his mercy, make us faithful stewards to the end, and give us grace to fear nothing, whatsoever in his good pleasure we shall suffer for the same. That I have not written unto you erst, the cause is our strait keeping and the want of light by night: for the day serveth us but a while in our dark closet. This is the first letter that I have written since I came to prison, besides the report of mine examinations; and I am fain to scribble it out in haste.

"Commend me to all our faithful brethren, and bid them with a good courage look for their redemption, and frame themselves to be hearty soldiers in Christ. They have taken his prest money a great while, and now let them show themselves ready to serve him faithfully, and not to fly out of the Lord's camp into the world, as many do. Let them remember that in the Apocalypse the fearful be excluded the kingdom. Let us be of good cheer, for our Lord overcame the world, that we should do the like. Blessed is the servant, whom, when the Lord cometh, he findeth watching. O let us watch and pray earnestly one for another, that we be not led into temptation! Be joyful under the cross, and praise the Lord continually, for this is the whole burnt sacrifice which the Lord delighteth in. Commend me to my father Hunt, and desire him to love and continue in the unity of Christ's true church, which he hath begun, and then shall he make me more and more to joy under my cross with him. Tell my brother Clements, that he hath comforted me much by his loving token in signification of an unfeigned unity with us; let him increase my joy unto the end perfectly. The Lord of peace be with you all. Salute all my loving friends, Master Me-ring, Master Crooch, with the rest, and specially Master Marshal and his wife, with great thanks for his kindness showed unto me. Farewell, my dear Careless. I have dallied with the devil awhile, but now I am over the shoes: God send me well out.

"Out of the coal-house, by your brother,
JOHN PHILPOT."

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Another letter to John Careless, profitable to be read of all them which mourn in repentance for their sins.

"The God of all comfort, and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, send unto thee, my dear brother Careless, the inward consolation of his Holy Spirit, in all the malicious assaults and troublous temptations of our common adversary the devil, Amen.

"That God giveth you so contrite a heart for your sins I cannot but rejoice, to behold the lively mark of the children of God, whose property is to think more lowly and vilely of themselves than of any others, and oftentimes do set their sins before them, that they might the more be stirred to bring forth the fruits of repentance, and learn to mourn in this world, that in another they might be glad and rejoice. Such a broken heart is a pleasant sacrifice unto God: Oh that I had the like contrite heart! God mollify my stony heart, which lamenteth not in such wise my former detestable iniquities. Praised be God that he hath given you this sorrowful heart in respect of righteousness, and I pray you let me be partaker of these godly sorrows for sin, which be the testimony of the presence of the Holy Ghost. Did not the sword of sorrow pierce the heart of the elect and blessed mother of our Lord? Did not Peter weep bitterly for his sins, which was so beloved of Christ? Did not Mary Magdalene wash the feet of our Saviour with her tears, and received therewithal remission of her seven-fold sins?

"Be of good comfort therefore, mine own dear heart, in this thy sorrow, for it is the earnest penny of eternal consolation. In thy sorrow, laugh, for the Spirit of God is with thee: Blessed be they, saith Christ, that mourn, for they shall be comforted. They went forth and wept, saith the prophet: such shall come again, having their gripes full of gladness. And although a sorrowful heart, in consideration of his sins, be an acceptable sacrifice before God, whereby we are stirred up to more thankfulness unto God, knowing that much is forgiven us that we might love the more, yet the man of God must keep a measure in the same, lest he be swallowed up by much sorrow. St. Paul would not the Thessalonians to be sorry as other men which have no hope. Such a sorrow is not commendable, but worketh damnation, and is far from the children of God, who are continually sorrowful in God when they look upon their own unworthiness, with hope of forgiveness. For God, to this end, by his Spirit setteth the sins of his elect still before them, that where they perceive sin to abound, there they might be assured that grace shall superabound; and bringeth them down unto hell, that he might lift them up with greater joy unto heaven.

"Wherefore, mine own bowels in Christ, as long as you are not void altogether of hope, be not dismayed through your pensive heart for your sins, how huge soever they have been, for God is able to forgive more than you are able to sin: yea, and he will forgive him, which with hope is sorry for his sins.

"But know, brother, that as oft as we do go about, by the help of God's Spirit, to do that is good, the evil spirit, Satan, layeth hard wait to turn the good unto evil, and goeth about to mix the detestable dame! of desperation with the godly sorrow of a pure penitent heart. You be not ignorant of his malicious subtlety, and how that continually he assaulteth that good, which the grace of God planteth. I see the battle betwixt you and him, but the victory is yours; yea, and that daily: for you have laid hold upon the anchor of salvation, which is hope in Christ, the which will not suffer you to be made ashamed.

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"Be not discomforted that you have this conflict: but be glad that God hath given you the same to try your faith, and that you might appear daily worthy of the kingdom of God, for the which you strive. God beholdeth your striving faith against Satan, and is pleased with your mighty resistance. The Spirit which is in you, is mightier than all the adversary's power. Tempt he may, and lying await at your heels, give you a fall unawares, but overcome he shall not: yea, he cannot, for you are sealed up already with a lively faith to be the child of God for ever; and whom God hath once sealed for his own, him he never utterly forsaketh. The just falleth seven times, but he riseth again. It is man's frailty to fall, but it is the property of the devil's child to lie still.

"This strife against sin is a sufficient testimony that you are the child of God: for if you were not, you should feel no such malice as he now troubleth you withal. When this strong Goliath hath the hold, all things are in peace which he possesseth; and because he hath you not, he will not suffer you unassaulted. But stand fast, and hold out the buckler of faith, and with the sword of God's promises smite him on the scalp: that he may receive a deadly wound, and never be able to stand against you any more. St. James telleth you that he is but a coward, saying, Resist the devil, and he will fly from thee. It is the will of God that he should thus long tempt you and not go away as yet; or else he had done with you long ere this. He knoweth already that he shall receive the foil at your hands, and increase the crown of your glory: for he that overcometh shall be crowned. Therefore glory in your temptations, since they shall turn to your felicity. Be not afraid of your continual assaults which be occasions of your daily victory. The word of God abideth for ever. In what hour soever a sinner repenteth him of his sins, they be forgiven. Who can lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? Do you not perceive the manifest tokens of your election? first, your vocation to the gospel, and after your vocation the manifest gifts of the Spirit of God, given unto you above many others of your condition, with godliness which believeth and yieldeth to the authority of the Scriptures, and is zealous for the same? Seeing you are God's own dearling, who can hurt you? Be not of a dejected mind for these temptations, neither make your unfeigned friends to be more sorrowful for you than need doth require.

"Since God hath willed you at your baptism in Christ to be Careless, why do you make yourself careful? Cast all your care on him. Set the Lord before your eyes always, for he is on your right side, that you should not be then moved. Behold the goodness of God toward me. I am careless, being fast closed in a pair of stocks, which pinch me for very straitness; and will you be careful? I would not have that unseemly addition to your name. Be as your name pretendeth, for doubtless you have no other cause but so to be. Pray, I beseech you, that I may be still careless in my careful estate, as you have cause to be careless in your easier condition. Be thankful, and put away all care, and then I shall be joyful in my strait present care. Commend me to all our brethren, and desire them to pray for me, that I may overcome my temptations: for the devil rageth against me. I am put in the stocks in a place alone, because I would not answer to such articles as they would charge me withal in a corner, at the bishop's appointment, and because I did not come to mass when the bishop sent for me. I will lie all the days of my life in the stocks, by God's grace, rather than I will consent to the wicked generation. Praise God, and be joyful that it hath pleased him to make us worthy to suffer somewhat for his name's sake. The devil must rage for ten days. Commend me to Master F., and thank him for his law books: but neither law nor equity will take any place among these blood-thirsty. I would for your sake the unjust

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dealing were noted unto the parliament-house, if it might avail. God shorten these evil days. I have answered the bishop meetly plain already, and I said to him, if he will call me in open judgment, I will answer him as plainly as he will require: otherwise I have refused, because I fear they will condemn me in hugger-mugger. The peace of God be with you, my dear brother. I can write no more for lack of light, and that I have written I cannot read myself, and God knoweth it is written far uneasily. I pray God you may pick out some understanding of my mind towards you.

"Written in a coal-house of darkness, out of a pair of painful stocks, by thine own in Christ,
JOHN PHILPOT."

Another letter, to certain godly women, forsaking their own country for the gospel, full of fruitful precepts and lessons for all good women.

"The Spirit of truth, revealed unto you my dearly beloved, by the gospel of our Saviour Jesus Christ, be continually abiding with you, and augmented into a perfect building of you into the lively temple of God, through the mighty operation of his holy power. Amen.

"I read in the Evangelists, of certain godly women, that ministered unto Christ; following him in the days of his passion, and never forsook him, but being dead in his grave, brought oil to anoint him, until that he had showed himself unto them after his resurrection, and bidden them show unto his disciples, which at his passion were dispersed, and tell them that he was risen, and that they should see him in Galilee. To whom I may justly compare you, my loving sisters in Christ, who of late have seen him suffer in his members, and have ministered to their necessity, anointing them with the comfortable oil of your charitable assistance, even to the death. And now, since ye have seen Christ to live in the ashes of them whom the tyrants have slain, he willed you to go away upon just occasion offered you, and to declare to our dispersed brethren and sisters, that he is risen, and liveth in his elect members in England, and by death doth overcome infidelity; and that they shall see him in Galilee, which is by forsaking this world, and by a faithful desire to pass out of this world by those ways which he, with his holy martyrs, hath gone on before.

"God therefore, entire sisters, direct your way, as he did Abraham and Tobias, unto a strange land! God give you health both of body and soul, that ye may go from virtue to virtue, and grow from strength to strength, until ye may see face to face the God of Sion in his holy hill, with the innumerable company of his blessed martyrs and saints. Let there be continual ascensions unto heaven in your hearts: let there be no decrease of any virtue which is already planted in you. Be as the light of the just, such as, Solomon saith, increaseth to the perfect day of the Lord. Let the strength of God be commended in your weak vessels, as it is. Be examples of faith and sobriety, to all that ye shall come in company withal. Let your godly conversation speak where your tongue may not, in the congregation. Be swift to hear, and slow to speak, after the counsel of St. James. Be not curious about other men's doings, but be occupied in prayer, and continual meditation, with reverent talking of the word of God, without contentions among the saints. Let your faith shine in a strange country, as it hath done in your own, that your Father which is in heaven may be glorified by you to the end.

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"This farewell I send you, not as a thing needful, (which know already what your duty is, and be desirous to perform the same,) but as one that would have you understand that he is mindful of your godly conversation, whereof he hath had good experience, and therefore writeth this to be as a perpetual memorial betwixt you and him, until our meeting together before God, where we shall joy that we have here lovingly put one another in memory of our duty to perform it.

"Farewell again, mine own bowels in Christ! and take me with you wheresoever you go, and leave yourselves with me, that in spirit we may be present one with another. Commend me to the whole congregation of Christ, willing them not to leave their country without witness of the gospel, after that we all be slain, which already be stalled up and appointed to the slaughter; and in the mean season to pray earnestly for our constancy, that Christ may be glorified in us and in them, both by life and death. Farewell in the Lord.

"Yours for ever,
JOHN PHILPOT."

An exhortation to his own sister, constantly to stick to the truth, which she had fruitfully professed.

"God the eternal Father, who hath justified you by the blood of his Son Jesus Christ, and called you to hallow his name through a good conversation and profession of life, he sanctify you with daily increase of virtue and faith by his Holy Spirit, that you may appear a vessel of sanctification, in the midst of this wicked and perverse generation, to the laud and praise of the gospel. Amen.

"I have occasion, mine own dear sister, to praise God in you for two causes: the one, that to your ability you are ready to show yourself a natural loving sister to me your poor afflicted brother, as by your gentle tokens you have eftsoons testified being absent, as also by presently visiting me; which well declareth that you be a very natural sister indeed, and to be praised in this behalf. But in the other, that you be also a sister to me in faith after Christ's gospel, I am occasioned to thank God so much the more, how much the one excelleth the other; and the spiritual consanguinity is more perdurable than that which is of flesh and blood, and is a worker of that which is by nature: for commonly such as be ungodly, be unnatural, and only lovers of themselves, as daily experience teacheth us. The living Lord, which through the incorruptible seed of his word hath begotten you to be my liege sister, give you grace so to grow in that generation, that you may increase to a perfect age in the Lord, to be my sister with Christ for ever.

"Look therefore that you continue a faithful sister, as you are called and are godly entered, not only to me, but to all the church of Christ, yea, to Christ himself, who voucheth you, in this your unfeigned faith, worthy to be his sister. Consider this dignity to surmount all the vain dignities of the world, and let it accordingly prevail more with you than all earthly delights: for thereby you are called to an equal portion of the everlasting inheritance of Christ, if now in no wise you do show yourself an unnatural sister to him in forsaking him in trouble, which I trust you will never for any kind of worldly respect do. You are under dangerous temptations to be turned from that natural love you owe unto Christ, and you shall be tried with God's people

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through a sieve of great affliction: for so Satan desireth us to be sifted, that through fear of sharp troubles we might fall from the stableness of our faith, and so be deprived of that honour, joy, and reward, which are prepared for such as continue faithful brothers and sisters in the Lord's covenant to the end. Therefore the wise man in the book of Ecclesiasticus, biddeth them that come to the service of the Lord, to prepare themselves to suffer temptations.

"Since then that, for the glory of God and our faith, we are called now to abide the brunt of them, and that when our adversary hath done all that he can, yet we may be stable and stand, this, Christ, our first-begotten Brother, looketh for at our hands; and all our brethren and sisters in heaven desire to see our faith, through afflictions, to be perfect, that we might fulfil their number; and the universal church, here militant, rejoiceth at our constancy, whom all, by the contrary, we should make sorry, to the danger of the loss both of body and soul. Fear not therefore, whatsoever be threatened of the wicked world; prepare your back, and see it be ready to carry Christ's cross. And if you see any untowardness in you, (as the flesh is continually repugnant to the will of God,) ask with faithful prayer, that the good Spirit of God may lead your sinful flesh whither it would not: for if we will dwell in the flesh, and follow the counsel thereof, we shall never do the will of God, neither work that tendeth to our salvation.

"You are at this present in the confines and borders of Babylon, where you are in danger to drink of the whore's cup, unless you be vigilant in prayer. Take heed the serpent seduce you not from the simplicity of your faith, as he did our first mother Eve. Let not worldly fellowship make you partaker of iniquity. He that toucheth tar, cannot but be defiled thereby. With such as be perverse, a man shall soon be perverted; with the holy you shall be holy. Therefore say continually with the prophet David, Unto the saints that be on the earth, all my will is on them. You have been sanctified and made pure through the truth; take heed you be not unholied and defiled, lest the last be worse than the first. I write not this because I stand in any doubt of your sincere continuance, of the which I have had so good experience; but, because the days be evil, and in the same it is the duty of every one of us to exhort and stir up one another, I am bold to put you, my good sister, in remembrance of that which doth not a little comfort me to remember in my troubles and daily temptations. Wherefore I doubt not you will take that in good part which cometh from your brother both in spirit and body, who tendereth your salvation as earnestly as his own, that we might joy together eternally, with such joy as the world shall never be able to take from us. Thanks be unto God, you have begun to run a good and a great time well in the ways of the Lord: run out the race to the end, which you have begun, and then shall you receive the crown of glory. None shall be crowned, but such as lawfully strive. Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good, and the Lord shall make you one of those faithful virgins, that shall follow the Lamb wheresoever he goeth; the which Christ grant both you and me. Amen.

"Commend me to all them that love me in the Lord unfeignedly. God increase our faith, and give us never to be ashamed of his gospel! That same request which I have made to my brother Thomas, I make also to you, desiring you, by all means you can, to accomplish my request, that my sureties might be satisfied with that is mine own, to the contentation of my mind, which cannot be quiet until they be discharged: therefore I pray you help to purchase quietness, that I might depart out of this world in peace. My dissolution I look for daily; but the Lord knoweth how unworthy I am of so high an honour, as to die for the testimony of his truth.

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Pray that God would vouchsafe to make me worthy, as he hath done, of long imprisonment, for the which his name be praised for ever. Pray and look for the coming of the Lord, whose wrath is great over us, and I will pray for you as long as I live.

"The 9th of July, in the King's Bench.

Your own loving brother, as well in faith as in body,

JOHN PHILPOT "

Another letter of exhortation to certain godly brethren.

"The grace of God the Father, and the peace of our Saviour Jesus Christ his eternal Son, and the consolation of the Holy Ghost our Comforter, strengthen your hearts, and comfort your minds, that you may rejoice, and live in the truth of Christ's gospel to the end. Amen.

"I do much rejoice, dearly beloved in the Lord, to hear of your constant faith in the word of God, which you have so purely received; who do not with the worldlings decline from the purity thereof, albeit you suffer grief and trouble thereby; for the which I praise God most heartily: and the Lord of all strength, who hath begun this good work in you, make it perfect to the end, as I doubt not but he will, for the faithful zeal ye have to his truth and to his afflicted church. Therefore that ye may the better stand and bear the brunt of many temptations, which you are all like to be assaulted withal in these wicked and stormy days; I thought it good, as it is the duty of one Christian man to exhort another in the time of trouble, to put you in remembrance thereof, and to will you, with the wise man, to prepare yourselves to temptations; and to beware that ye, which yet do stand by the goodness of God, may not fall from your lively knowledge and hope. It is an easy thing to begin to do well, but to continue out in well doing, is the only property of the children of God, and such as assuredly shall be saved. For so saith our Saviour in his gospel: Blessed are they that persevere to the end.

"Let not therefore this certainty of your salvation, which is continuance in the sincerity of faith, slide from you. Esteem it more than all the riches and pleasures of this world, for it is the most acceptable treasure of eternal life. This is that precious stone, for the which the wise merchantman, after the gospel, doth sell all that he hath, and buyeth the same. God, in the Apocalypse, doth signify to the church, that there shall come a time of temptation upon the whole world, to try the dwellers on the earth; from the danger of which temptation all such shall be delivered as observe his word: which word there is called the word of patience; to give us to understand that we must be ready to suffer all kind of injuries and slanders for the profession thereof.

"Therefore God commandeth us there to hold it fast, that no man might bereave us of our crown of glory; and St. Peter telleth us, now we are afflicted with divers assays, as it is need it should so be, that the trial of our faith, being much more precious than gold that perisheth, and yet is tried by fire, might redound to the laud, glory, and honour of Jesus Christ. St. Paul to the Hebrews showeth us, that Christ our Saviour was in his humanity made perfect by afflictions, that we, being called to perfection in him, might more willingly sustain the troubles of the world, by the which God giveth all them that be exercised in the same for his sake, his holiness. And in the twelfth chapter of the said Epistle is written, My son, refuse not the correction of the Lord, nor shrink when thou art rebuked of him: for the Lord doth chastise every son whom he

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receiveth, &c. Christ, in the Gospel of St. John, biddeth his disciples to look after afflictions, saying, In the world ye shall have trouble, but in me ye shall have joy. And therefore in the midst of their trouble, in the twenty-first of St. Luke, he biddeth them look up and lift up their heads, for your redemption, saith he, is at hand. And in the twenty-second, he saith to all such as be afflicted for him, You are those that have abiden with me in my temptations, and therefore I appoint unto you a kingdom, as my Father hath appointed for me, to eat and drink upon my table in my kingdom.

"Oh how glorious be the crosses of Christ, which bring the bearers of them unto so blessed an end! Shall we not be glad to be partakers of such shame as may bring us to so high a dignity? God open our eyes to see all things as they be, and to judge uprightly! Then doubtless we would think with Moses, that it is better to be afflicted with the people of God, than to be counted the king of Egypt's son. Then should we joyfully say with David, in all our adversities and troubles, It is good, O Lord, thou hast brought me low, to the end I might learn thy righteousness. Therefore St. Paul would not glory in any other thing of the world, but in the cross of Christ, and in other his infirmities: we have the commandment of Christ, daily to take up his cross and follow him. We have the godly en-samples of all his apostles and holy martyrs, which with great joy and exultation have suffered the loss of all lands, goods, and life, for the hope of a better reward, which is laid up for all those in heaven, that unfeignedly cleave to the gospel, and never be ashamed thereof.

"Great is the felicity of the world to the outward man, and very pleasant are the transitory delights thereof: but the rewards of the righteous after the word of God, doth incomparably excel them all, insomuch that St. Paul to the Romans doth plainly affirm, that all the tribulations of this world cannot deserve that glory which shall be showed unto us.

"Let us therefore, good brethren and sisters, be, merry and glad in these troublesome days, the which be sent of God to declare our faith, and to bring us to the end and fruition of that which we hope for. If we would enter into the Lord's sanctuary, and behold what is prepared for us, we could not but desire the Lord to haste the day of our death, in the which we might set forth by true confession his glory. Neither should we be afraid to meet our adversaries, which so earnestly seek our spoil and death, as Christ did Judas and that wicked rout which came to apprehend him, saying, I am he whom ye seek. It is commanded us by the gospel, not to fear them that kill the body, but to fear God, who can cast both body and soul into hell-fire. So much we are bound to observe this commandment as any other which God hath given us. The Lord increase our faith, that we may fear God more than man! The Lord give us such love towards him and his truth, that we may be content to forsake all and follow him! Now will it appear what we love best; for to that we love we will stick. There is none worthy to be counted a Christian, except he can find in his heart for Christ's sake, if the confession of the truth doth require it, to renounce all which he hath, and follow him; and in so doing he gaineth a hundred-fold more in this life, (as our Saviour said to Peter,) and hereafter is assured of eternal life. Behold, I pray you, what he loseth which in this life receiveth a hundred for one, with assurance of eternal life. O happy exchange! Perchance your outward man will say, If I were sure of this great recompence here, I could be glad to forsake all: but where is this hundred-fold in this life to be found? Yes truly; for instead of the worldly riches which thou dost forsake, which be but temporal, thou hast found the everlasting riches of heaven, which be glory, honour, and praise, both before God,

angels, and men; and for an earthly habitation, hast an eternal mansion with Christ in heaven; for even now thou art of the city and household of the saints with God, as it is verified in the fourth to the Philippians. For worldly peace, which can last but a while, thou dost possess the peace of God, which passeth all understanding; and for the loss of a few friends, thou art made a fellow of the innumerable company of heaven, and a perpetual friend of all those that have died in the Lord, from the beginning of the world. Is not this more than a hundred-fold? Is not the peace of God, which we in this world have through faithful imitation of Christ, (which the world cannot take from us,) tenthousand-fold more than those things that most highly be esteemed in the world, without the peace of God? All the peace of the world is no peace, but mere anguish and a gnawing fury of hell: as of late God hath set example before our eyes, to teach us how horrible an evil it is to forsake the peace of Christ's truth, which breedeth a worm in conscience that never shall rest.

"Oh that we would weigh this with indifferent balances! Then should we not be dismayed of this troublous time, neither sorrow after a worldly manner, for the loss which we are now like to sustain, as the weak faithless persons do, which love their goods more than God, and the things visible above those which be invisible: but rather would heartily rejoice and be thankful, that it pleased God to call us to be soldiers in his cause against the works of hypocrisy, and to make us like unto our Saviour Christ in suffering, whereby we may assure ourselves of his eternal glory; for blessed are they, saith Christ, that suffer persecution for righteousness' sake. And as St. Paul witnesseth to Timothy, If we die with Christ, we shall live with Christ: and if we deny him, he will deny us.

"Oh that we would enter into the veil of God's promises! Then should we, with St. Paul to the Philippians, reject all, and count all things but for dross, so that we may gain Christ. God, which is the lightener of all darkness, and putter away of all blindness, anoint our eyes with the true eye-salve, that we might behold his glory and our eternal felicity, which is hidden with Christ, and prepared for us that do abide in his testament: for blessed is that servant, whom the master when he cometh (as Christ said) doth find faithful. Let us therefore watch and pray one for another, that we yield not in any point of our own religion to the antichristian synagogue, and that we be not overthrown of these temptations. Stand therefore, and be no cowards in the cause of your salvation; for his Spirit that is in us, is stronger than he which in the world doth now rage against us. Let us not put out the Spirit of God from us, by whose might we shall overcome our enemies; and then death shall be as great a gain to us, as it was to the blessed apostle St. Paul. Why then do ye mourn? why do ye weep? why be ye so careful, as though God hath forsaken you? He is never more present with us than when we be in trouble, if we do not forsake him. We are in his hands, and nobody can do us any injury or wrong without his good will and pleasure. He hath commanded his angels to keep us, that we stumble not at a stone without his divine providence. The devil cannot hurt any of us, and much less any of his ministers, without the good will of our eternal Father. Therefore let us be of good comfort, and continually give thanks unto God for our estate, whatsoever it be; for if we murmur against the same, we murmur against God, who sendeth the same: which if we do, we kick but against the prick, and provoke more the wrath of God against us; which, by patient suffering, otherwise would sooner be turned into our favour through faithful prayer.

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"I beseech you, with St. Paul, to give your bodies pure and holy sacrifices unto God. He hath given us bodies to bestow unto his glory, and not after our own concupiscence. If many years God hath suffered us to use our bodies, which be his temples, after the lust of the flesh, in vain delights, not according to his glory; is it not our duty in the latter end of our life, the more willingly to yield unto God's glory our bodies, with all that we have, in demonstration of true repentance of that we have evil spent before? Cannot the example of the blessed man Job, horribly afflicted, cause us to say, The Lord hath given it, the Lord hath taken it: blessed be the name of the Lord! Even as it hath pleased the Lord, so is it come to pass. If we cast our whole care likewise upon God, he will turn our misery into felicity, as well as he did to Job. God tempteth us now, as he did our father Abraham, commanding him to slay his son Isaac in sacrifice to him; which Isaac by interpretation doth signify mirth and joy; who by his obedience preserved Isaac unto long life, and offered in his stead a ram that was tied by the horns in the brambles. Semblably we are all commanded to sacrifice unto God our Isaac, which is our joy and consolation: the which if we be ready to do, as Abraham was, our joy shall not perish, but live, and be increased, although our ram be sacrificed for our Isaac: which doth signify that the pride and concupiscence of our flesh, entangled through sin with the cares of this stinging world, must be mortified for the preservation and perfect augmentation of our mirth and joy, which is sealed up for us in Christ.

"And to withstand these present temptations wherewithal we are now encumbered, ye cannot have a better remedy than to set before your eyes how our Saviour Christ overcame them in the desert, and to follow his ensample; that if the devil himself, or any other by him, willeth you to make stones bread, (that is, to take such a worldly-wise way, that you may have your fair houses, lands, and goods, to live on still,) ye must say, that man liveth not only by bread, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God.

Again, if the devil counselleth you to cast yourselves down to the earth, so as to revoke your sincere belief and godly conversation, and to be conformable to the learned men of the world, pretending that God will be well enough content herewith; ye must answer that it is written, that a man shall not tempt his Lord God.

"Further, if the devil offer you large promises of honour, dignity, and possessions, so that ye will worship idols in his synagogue, ye must say, Go behind me, Satan, for it is otherwise written, that a man must worship his Lord God, and serve him only.

"Finally, if your mother, brother, sister, wife, child, kinsman, or friend, do seek of you to do otherwise than the word of God hath taught you, ye must say with Christ, that they are your mothers, brothers, sisters, wives, children, kinsmen, which do the will of God the Father. To the which will the Lord for his mercy conform us all unfeignedly to the end. Amen.

"Your loving and faithful brother in Christ, in captivity,
JOHN PHILPOT, anno 1555."

To his friend and faithful brother in the Lord, Master Robert Harrington.

"Gentle Master Harrington, I cannot tell what condign thanks I may give unto God for you, in respect of the great gentleness and pain which you have taken for the relief of me and of

others our afflicted brethren in Christ. God be praised for his mercy, whose loving providence we have seen towards us by such faithful stewards as you have been towards a great many. Blessed be you of God, for the loving care which you have taken for his poor flock. God hath reserved your reward of thanks in heaven, and therefore I go not about to render you any, lest I might seem to judge that you looked for that here, which is reserved to a better place. I thank God for that I have found by your faithful and diligent industry, and God forgive me my unworthiness of so great benefits. God give me grace to serve him faithfully, and to run out my race with joy. Glorious is the course of the martyrs of Christ at this day. Never had the elect of God a better time for their glory than this is. Now may they be assured under the cross, that they are Christ's disciples for ever.

"Methinketh I see you desiring to be under the same. The flesh draweth back, but the Spirit saith, it must be brought whither it would not. Here is the victory of the world: here is true faith and everlasting glory. Who is he which desireth not to be found faithful to his master? And now is the time that every faithful servant of Christ hath just opportunity to show himself a glorious soldier in the Lord's fight. Now do the Amalekites invade the true Israelites, that the Israelites might with speed be glorified. I need not for want of understanding to admonish you hereof, but as a willing soldier in Christ, to exhort you so to run as you may get the victory, and that speedily with us. A man that is bid to a glorious feast, wisheth his friend to go with him, and be partaker thereof. God doth call me most unworthy, among others, to drink of the bride-cup of his Son, whereby we shall be made worthy (as many of our brethren have been before us) to sit at the right hand and at the left hand of Christ. Oh what unspeakable condition is that! May any worldly thing stay us from the desire thereof? Since we seek the kingdom of God, why do we not apprehend it, being so near offered unto us?

"Let us approach near unto God, and God will draw near unto us. God draw us after him, that we may all run after the savour of his sweet ointments. Christ anoint us, that we may be supplied in these evil days to run lightly unto the glory of the Lord. Shame, imprisonment, loss of goods, and shedding of our blood, be the just price which we must willingly bestow for the same. Wherefore, dearly beloved in the Lord, let not the great charges keep you back from buying this glory: for the reward is ten-thousand-fold greater than the price.

"Since you have married a wife, whom God bless, I cannot excuse you from this mart, but you must bring your wife for a usury to the Lord, whose pleasure is in godly yoke-fellows. I wish you to be as I am, except these horrible bands, but yet most comfortable to the spirit, assuring you that we are made worthy through Christ of the kingdom for the which we suffer. Praised be the Lord for the affliction which we suffer, and he give us strength to continue to the end!

"Commend me to Master Heath, and tell him that I would wish him with me, to prove how apt he is to carry the cross of Christ. I pray for his continuance in Christ, as for mine own: commend me to his wife, and to Mrs. Hall, certifying them that I am brought to the gates of hell, that I might never enter into the same, but be raised up from hell to heaven, through the word that sanctifieth us. Commend me to Master Elsing and his wife, and thank them that they remembered to provide me some ease in prison; and tell them, that though my Lord's coal-house be but very black, yet it is more to be desired of the faithful than the queen's palace. God make

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her a joyful mother, and preserve them both to the comfort of God's people. Thus for this time farewell, dear brother.—Written in post-haste because of strait keeping.

"This day I looked to be called before the commissioners again. Pray, dear brother, for the spirit of wisdom to remain with me. Commend me to your wife, and I thank you both for your tokens. Your token I have sent to your wife; and my token unto you, is my faithful heart with this letter. Commend me to all my friends, and tell them, I thank God I am cheerful in Christ, wishing them to fear God more than man, and to learn to despise earnestly the vanities of this world; desiring you all to pray for me, that I may end my journey with fidelity, Amen.

JOHN PHILPOT."

Here followeth another letter of Master Philpot to the Lady Vane: which because, for the length, I could not wholly insert, I have excerpted certain specialties thereof as followeth.

"The principal Spirit of God the Father, given unto us by Christ our merciful Saviour, confirm, strengthen, and stablish you in the true knowledge of the gospel, that your faithful heart, worshipful and dear sister in the Lord, may attain and taste, with all the saints, what is the height, the depth, the length, and the breadth of the sweet cross of Christ, Amen.

"O happy are you amongst all other women, that have found this precious stone which is hidden in the gospel; for the which we ought to sell all other things, and to purchase the same. O happy woman, whose heart God hath moved and enlarged to be in the profession thereof. Others seek worldly goods, honours, and delights; but you seek with a good understanding to serve God in spirit and verity. This is the gate that leadeth to heaven, this is your portion for ever. By this you shall see God face to face (which sight is unspeakable joy); by this shall ye see whatever your heart can desire; by this ye shall have a full sight of all the beautiful heavenly powers, and of all the celestial paradise; by this shall you know them that you never knew, and be joyous and glad with those which you have known here in God, world without end!

"Ah! I lament the infidelity of England, that, after so great light, is stepped into so huge darkness again. The servant that knoweth his master's will, and doth it not, shall be beaten with many stripes. Ah! great be the plagues that hang over England, yea, though the gospel should be restored again. Happy shall that person be whom the Lord shall take out of this world, not to see them. Ah! the great perjury which men have run into so wilfully against God, by receiving antichrist again and his wicked laws, which do threaten a great ruin unto England: Oh that the Lord would turn his just judgments upon the authors of the truce-breaking between God and us, that they might be brought low, (as Nebuchadnezzar was,) that his people might be delivered, and his glory exalted. God grant that that good luck which you hope shortly to come upon the house of God, be a true prophecy, and not a well-wishing only. Ah, Lord! take away thy heavy hand from us, and stretch it out upon thine enemies (those hypocrites) as thou hast begun, that they may be confounded. O let not the weak perish for want of knowledge through our sin. Although thou kill us, yet will we put our trust in thee.

"Thus, dear heart, you teach me to pray with you in writing. God hear your prayers, and give us the spirit of effectual prayer, to pour out our hearts continually together before God, that we may find mercy both for ourselves, and for our afflicted brethren and sisters. I cannot but

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praise God in you, for that pitiful heart that taketh other folks' calamities to heart, as your own. Blessed be they that mourn, for such shall be comforted. God wipe away all tears from your pitiful eyes, and sorrow from your merciful heart, that you may (as doubtless you shall do shortly) rejoice with his elect for ever. You have so armed me to the Lord's battle both inwardly and outwardly, that except I be a very coward, I cannot faint, but overcome by death. You have appointed me to so good and gracious a General of the field, to so victorious a Captain, and to so favourable a Marshal, that if I should not go on lustily, there were no sparkle of heavenly manhood in me. I will present your coat-armour before my Captain, and in the same I trust by him to overcome. The scarf I desire as an outward sign to show our enemies, who see not our glorious end, neither what God worketh inwardly in us, through the blindness of their hearts, that they persecute Christ's cross in us, whereby he hath sealed up the truth of his gospel by his death unto us, that we by our death (if need be) might confirm the same, and never be ashamed, whatsoever torment we do suffer for his name's sake; and our weak brethren, seeing the same, might be more encouraged to take up Christ's cross, and to follow him. God give us grace to do all things to his glory, Amen!

"The world wondereth how we can be merry in such extreme misery; but our God is omnipotent, which turneth misery into felicity. Believe me, dear sister, there is no such joy in the world as the people of Christ have under the cross. I speak by experience; therefore believe me, and fear nothing that the world can do unto you: for when they imprison our bodies, they set our souls at liberty with God; when they cast us down, they lift us up; yea, when they kill us, then do they bring us to everlasting life. And what greater glory can there be, than to be at conformity with Christ? which afflictions do work in us.

"God open our eyes to see more and more the glory of God in the cross of Jesus Christ, and make us worthy partakers of the same! Let us rejoice in nothing, with St. Paul, but in the cross of Jesus Christ, by whom the world is crucified unto us, and we to the world. The cross of Christ be our standard to fight under for ever! While I am thus talking with you of our common consolation, I forget how I trouble you with my rude and inordinate tediousness: but you must impute it to love, which cannot quickly depart from them whom he loveth, but desireth to pour himself into their bosoms. Therefore, though your flesh would be offended (as it might justly be) at such rudeness, yet your spirit will say nay, which taketh all things in good part that come of love. And now I am departing, yet will I take my leave ere I go, and would fain speak somewhat that might declare my sincere love to you for ever: Farewell, O elect vessel of the Lord! to the comfort of his afflicted flock: farewell on earth, whom in heaven I am sure I shall not forget. Farewell under the cross most joyfully; and, until we meet, always remember what Christ saith, Be of good cheer, for I have overcome the world, &c.

"God pour his Spirit abundantly upon you, mine own dear bowels in Christ! until you may come to see the God of all gods with his elect, in the everlasting Sion. I send to you the kiss of peace, with the which I do most entirely take my leave of you at this present. It is necessary we depart hence, or else we could not be glorified. Your heart is heavy because I say I must depart from you. It is the calling of our merciful Father, wherewithal you are content, and so am I. Be of good comfort; hold out your buckler of faith—for by the strength thereof we shall shortly meet in eternal glory to the which Christ bring both us, Amen, Amen!—The tenth of December, 1555.

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"Death! why should I fear thee? since thou canst not hurt me, but rid me from misery unto eternal glory.

"Dead to the world, and living to Christ, your own brother, sealed up in the verity of the gospel for ever.

JOHN PHILPOT "

Another letter written to the same lady, being a great supporter of him.

"I cannot but most heartily give God thanks for these his gifts in you, whose brightness many beholding, that are weak, are much encouraged to seek God likewise, and to cleave to him, having the ensample of so faithful and constant a gentlewoman before their eyes. If the queen of the south shall rise with the men of Christ's generation, and condemn them, for that she came from the end of the world to hear the wisdom of Solomon, then shall your sincere and godly conversation, thus shining in this dangerous time of the trial of Christ's people, (being a woman of right worshipful estate and wealthy condition,) condemn in the latter day a great many of these faint-hearted gospellers, which so soon be gone back and turned from the truth, at the voice of a hand-maiden; seeing that neither the fear of imprisonment, neither the possession of the world, (wherewithal you are sufficiently indued above a great many,) can separate you from the love of the truth, which God hath revealed unto you: whereby it appeareth that the seed of God's word which was sown in you, fell neither in the highway, neither among the thorns, neither upon the stones, but upon a good ground, which is blessed of God, and bringeth forth fruit with great affliction, a hundred-fold, to the glory of God and the increase of his church. In consideration whereof St. James biddeth us highly to rejoice, whensoever we fall into many temptations, knowing that it is but the trial of our faith, that we might bring forth that excellent virtue patience, by the which we are made like to our Redeemer Christ, with whom we here being like in suffering, assuredly shall hereafter be partakers of his eternal glory. Therefore St. Paul saith, God forbid that I should glory in any thing but in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ. I that am under the cross with you, (thanks be given to God therefore,) have felt in the same more true joy and consolation than ever I did by any benefit that God hath given me in my life before: for the more the world doth hate us, the higher God is unto us, and there is no perfect joy but in God. Wherefore Christ said, In me ye shall have joy, but in the world affliction. Blessed be God which sendeth us this affliction, that we might perfectly joy in him! For this cause, in the ripest time of iniquity, and in the most fervent season of persecution of the true church, which Christ in the twenty-first of Luke prophesied to come, he willeth us to be of good cheer, and to lift up our heads, for our redemption is at hand.

"Oh that the Lord would come and deliver us from this world, which is a vale of misery, unto his own kingdom, where floweth perpetual joy and consolation. And verily that is the true and only joy which is conceived, not of the creature, but of the Creator, the which when we do possess, nobody can take it away from us; to the which joy all other joys, being compared, are but mournings, all delights sorrow, all sweetness sour, all beauty filth, and finally, all other things that be counted pleasant, are tediousness. Your own self is better witness of this than I. Ask yourself, with whom you are best acquainted. Doth not the Holy Ghost speak the same in your heart? Have you not persuaded yourself this to be true, before I wrote thereof? For how should you, being a woman, and a young gentlewoman, beautiful, and at your own liberty, have

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overcome this your frail kind and age, and despised your excellent beauty and estate, unless all those things which be subject to the senses had been counted of you vile, and little to be esteemed, in comparison of those things which inwardly do comfort you to overcome the flesh, the world, and the devil.

"God increase your joy in all spiritual things, and stablish your hope to the day of eternal rest. You have forsaken darkness, and are entered into light; God grant the same may shine still in you, until the perfect day come of the Lord, in the which is all our consolation! Here we must be darkened, that there we may appear as bright as the sun in the face of the whole world, and of all them that now condemn us for our well-doing; whose judges then we shall be, to their horrible grief, though now wrongfully they judge us. Pray heartily, and that often, that God once again for his Christ's sake would be merciful to his afflicted church in England. Faithful prayer is the only remedy that we have against the fiery darts of the devil, that be kindled against us. By prayer the Amalekites shall be overcome, and the roarings of the lion which seeketh still to devour us, shall be stopped and put to silence. The Lord stop Leviathan's mouth, that he swallow not up God's silly people, according to his expectation!

"Praise the Lord for the faithful testimony and sacrifice which two of our brethren of late have, through fire, rendered to the truth of the gospel, which now triumpheth by the death of godly martyrs. Thpray.—The hand, therefore watch and pray.—The last of May, 1555. Captive in the King's Bench.

"Yours, with heart in Christ,
JOHN PHILPOT "

Another letter to the godly Lady Vane.

"God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, increase in your godly heart the faith of the gospel, which is your eternal inheritance, and the Holy Ghost comfort your spirit with all spiritual consolation, to the day of the Lord, Amen.

"I cannot but praise God most highly and earnestly, my dear and faithful lady, for the great and unfeigned love which you bear unto me in Christ, declared oftentimes, as well now as of late, by manifest and liberal tokens. Blessed be God that hath made you so worthy a member in his kingdom: for it cannot be but such shall reap with abundance in time of reward, that here do sow so plenteously in well doing; albeit I am most unworthy to receive any such benefit at your hands, as in respect of a pillar of Christ's church, which am scarce a shadow thereof. But the zeal of Christ's church in you wisheth me to be such a one as the time doth require. God fulfil your desire of me, that I may be found constant, and no wandering star! I am not worthy of the name of a prophet, or of a minister of God's word, for that I have (being letted by the iniquity of the time) little or nothing laboured therein. I am a friend of our common spouse Jesus, and do rejoice of the verity of his word, for the which (praised be his name) he hath counted me worthy to suffer; and indeed who that giveth a draught of water in the name of a disciple, as Christ promised, shall lose his reward? Therefore what your gentleness doth in the name of him, the Lord recompense unto you in all his blessings which he is accustomed to pour on them which love his flock unfeignedly.

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"Good lady, you have to joy that the kingdom of God is thus continually before your eyes, and that you are not ashamed of the bands of Christ, which you with his people in part do suffer. They may be assured of the glory everlasting, which here are not ashamed to take up the cross of Christ, and to follow him. Here we must weep and lament, while the world laugheth and triumpheth over us; but our tears shall shortly be turned into unspeakable joy, and we shall eternally be merry together, when the world shall lament their infidelity without end.

"I would I were able to do any thing that might show condign thanks for that sincere love you bear unto me in Christ: you adjure me (as it were) by your gentle letters to be bold on you in all my needs. I thank God, which ceaseth not to provide for his, I lack nothing at this present, but only ability to thank your faithful heart for your goodness towards me. I love you, and not yours, as it is meet Christians to love one another in God; and your faith which I behold in you, is more worth unto me than all your possessions. And I think I shall not need long to be chargeable unto you, for that this week I look for commissioners to sit on me and my fellow prisoners in prison, lest the spirit of our breath might blow further abroad. The will of God be done. We are not so good as John the Baptist, which was beheaded in prison. Darkness cannot abide the light. Therefore their doings must declare what they are. We are as sheep appointed for a sacrifice to the Lord. We must not fear the fire, for our Lord is a consuming fire, which will put out the fierceness of raging torments from us. Be not afraid of them that can kill the body, but fear him that can cast both body and soul into hell-fire. God forbid that we should rejoice otherwise than in the cross of Christ; and pray that he would make us worthy to suffer for his sake. God will have our faith tried and known; and therefore let us willingly humble ourselves under the mighty hand of God, that he may gloriously lift us up in his good time. There is none perfectly faithful indeed till he can say with St. Paul, I am persuaded that neither death, neither life, neither angels, neither princes, nor powers, neither things present, neither things to come, neither highness, neither lowness, neither any other creature, is able to separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord. This faith God plant both in you and in me unmovably. In this faith we have to rejoice, and in none other.

"All the tribulations of the world are not worthy of the eternal weight of glory which is prepared for them that here do with patience abide the cross. Wherefore let us be strong with the strength of him that is able to make us strong, and lament the weakness, I might say the infidelity, of our faint gospellers. Christ, whom we would pretend to have put upon us, is the strength of God, and how then may they be weak where Christ is? We have more to be glad, touching ourselves, of this time, than we have had of any time before, in the which we have so ready a way to go unto God, and so good occasion to show our duty in glorifying his holy name. For if we be imprisoned in this cause, we are blessed: if we lose all that we have, we are blessed a hundred-fold; if we die, we are blessed eternally; so that in suffering of persecutions, all is full of blessings. Be blessed therefore, O elect lady, of God, with the blessed of God, and flee (as you do) the concupiscence of the world. Embrace that which is perfect, and joyfully look for the coming and cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, &c. Thus desiring God to preserve you to his true peace, and to give you victory of that temptation which now is come to try our faith, Christ be with you, and bless you both in body and soul; and my prayer shall follow you wheresoever you go, as I desire that yours may be with me. The last week I sent your beneficence to Oxford: I could not before have a convenient messenger. As soon as I have word, you shall be satisfied of your request. Love me as you do, and the God of love be with you. The twentieth day of August.

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"By yours, with all his power in the Lord,
JOHN PHILPOT."

Another letter full of spiritual consolation to the said lady.

"The mercy of God the Father, and the consolation of the Holy Ghost, through Jesus Christ, be with you, and strengthen you, my dear mother and sister in the Lord, in these dangerous days, to the crown of eternal glory, which is now offered to all faithful soldiers in the gospel, Amen!

"As your good Ladyship doth desire to hear from me, so I am desirous to write, as your gentleness and daily goodness bindeth me. But Satan of late hath letted me, who envying all good exercises which I have had and received by mine easy imprisonment in times past, hath brought me out of the King's Bench into the bishop of London's coal-house, a dark and an ugly prison as any is about London, (but my dark body of sin hath well deserved the same, and the Lord now hath brought me into outward darkness, that I might the more be lightened by him, as he is most present with his children in the midst of darkness,) where I cannot be suffered to have any candle-light, neither ink nor paper, but by stealth. Wherefore I cannot write to you as I would, neither as my duty is. As Christ, my Master, was sent from Annas to Caiaphas, so am I sent from Winchester diocese to London, I trust, to make a speedy end of my course; God give me grace and patience to be a faithful follower of my Master! I have been already this seven-night in his coal-house, and have of late been four times called to mine answer, but hitherto not called to judgment, which I do daily look for; but I fear they will prolong me, and try me by strait imprisonment awhile, in the which God's will be done.

Pray, dear lady, that my faith faint not, which I praise God is presently more lively with me than it hath been in times past. I taste and feel the faithfulness of God in his promise, who hath promised to be with his in their trouble, and to deliver them. I thank the Lord, I am not alone, but have six other faithful companions; who in our darkness do cheerfully sing hymns and praises unto God for his great goodness. We are so joyful, that I wish you part of my joy; for you that are so careful of my bodily relief, how can I but wish your spiritual consolation, and that abundantly? Let not, dear heart, my strait imprisonment any thing molest you; for it hath added, and daily doth, unto my joy: but rather be glad and thankful unto God with me, that it hath pleased him to make me, most wretched sinner, worthy to suffer any thing for his sake. Hitherto we have not resisted unto blood. God make us never to count our blood more precious in our eyes than his truth.

"Ah, my dear sister! I thank you again for the last letter you sent me; it is a singular comfort unto me, as oft as I read the same. I have it in my bosom, and will carry the same even to the stake with me, in witness that Christ hath so constant and faithful a lady in England. God succour and keep that spirit in you; for it is the very spirit of adoption of the child of God. Such cheerful and holy spirits under the cross be acceptable sacrifices in the sight of God; for Christ came to cast fire into the earth, and looketh that it should be kindled. Be you fervent in spirit in our Christ's cause, as you have begun, for that is the principal spirit wherewithal David desired to be confirmed. Oh how do I rejoice, your Ladyship to go arm in arm with me unto Christ, or rather before me! I cannot but joy of such a worshipful fellow. Methinketh I see you to mourn,

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and desire to be loosed out of the earthly and frail habitacle of this body. Oh how amiable and pleasant is it to dwell in the Lord's tabernacle! Our Christ and his heavenly company look for us: let us haste and run thereto, for behold the Lord is ready to embrace us. Mine own bowels in the Lord! be merry in the Lord with your afflicted brother, who daily offereth your merciful alms, which most unworthily I do receive still of you, unto the Lord. But now, dear mother, you need not to burden so much yourself, (as my last letters did signify,) for that my chargeable imprisonment is cut off, and a little now serveth me: wherefore I pray you send no more until I send to you, for I have sufficient and abound. God's peace be with you for ever.

"Out of my Lord of London's coal-house, the last of October.

Your own,

JOHN PHILPOT."

Another letter to the said lady, wherein partly lie complaineth of the dissimulation and perjury of Englishmen, falling again to the pope, and partly he expresseth his joy in his afflictions.

"I cannot but joy with you, my heartily beloved in Christ, of the fall of Sennacherib: since it is to the glory of God, and to the consolation of his church, to see the fall of their enemies before their face, according as it is written, The just shall rejoice, when he seeth the vengeance of the wicked. God make this your joy perfect; for as concerning myself, I count not to see those good days whereof you have a glimmering in this life. For although the cockatrice be dead, yet his pestilent chickens, with the whore of Babylon, still live. But a great hope there is of their short confusion, because God doth not prosper their doings according to their expectation. Most happy shall he be, whom the Lord shall soonest take out of this life, that he may not see the plagues which the manifest perjury, and the manifold idolatry and detestable dissimulation, (and that of such as do know the truth,) do threaten to come.

"The Lord is just, and all unrighteousness displeaseth him, and either here, or else in another world, he will punish this gross infidelity of the world: but his elect, and such as he loveth, will he punish here, that they should not be condemned hereafter with the world eternally. We have nothing so much to rejoice in, as in the cross of Jesus Christ, and in that we are partakers of his afflictions, which be the earnest penny of that eternal kingdom, which he upon the cross for us hath purchased. For as Paul his faithful witness saith, If we suffer with him, we shall reign with him: if we die with him, we shall live with him.

"Wherefore, mine own dear bowels! praise God with me most entirely, that it hath pleased him now mercifully to visit the sins of my youth, and my huge unthankfulness, and by the same doth give me much consolation, that he assureth me of his great goodness and mercy, and turneth his fatherly castigation into my crown of glory. O good God! what am I, on whom he should show this great mercy? To Him that is immortal, invisible, and only wise, be all honour, praise, and glory there-for, Amen.

"This is the day that the Lord hath made, let us rejoice and be glad in the same. This is the way, though it be narrow, which is full of the peace of God, and leadeth to eternal bliss. Oh how my heart leapeth for joy, that I am so near the apprehension thereof! God forgive me mine unthankfulness, and unworthiness of so great glory. The swords which pierced Mary's heart in the passion of our Saviour, which daily also go through your faithful heart, be more glorious and

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to be desired than the golden sceptres of this world. O blessed be they that mourn in this world to God-ward, for they shall eternally be comforted! God make my stony heart to mourn more than it doth. I have so much joy of the reward that is prepared for me, most wretched sinner, that though I be in a place of darkness and mourning, yet I cannot lament; but both night and day am so joyful, as though I were under no cross at all: yea, in all the days of my life I was never so merry, the name of the Lord be praised there-for for ever and ever, and he pardon mine unthankfulness! Our enemies do fret, fume, and gnash their teeth to see and hear that we, under this grievous affliction in the world, can be so merry. We are of them counted as desperate persons, for the certain hope and feeling which we have of our everlasting salvation. And it is no marvel, for the worldly men cannot perceive the things of God; it is mere foolishness and abomination to them.

"Be thankful unto God, mine own dear helper, for his wondrous working in his chosen people. Pray instantly that this joy be never taken from us, for it passeth all the delights of this world. This is the peace of God which surmounteth all understanding: this peace, the more his chosen be afflicted, the more they feel; and therefore cannot faint, neither for fire, neither for water. Let us pray, for our weak brethren and sisters' sake, that it may please God to alleviate the grievous and intolerable burden of these cruel days. But, touching ourselves, let us heartily beseech our Saviour to vouchsafe to give us this glorious gift, to suffer for his gospel's sake, and that we may think the shame of the world to be our glory, as it is indeed. God increase our faith, and open our eyes to behold what is prepared for us. I lack nothing, praise be to God! I trust my marriage garment is ready. I will send you my examinations, as soon as I can get them written, if you be desirous of them.

"God of his mercy fill your merciful heart with all joy and consolation of the hope to come.

"Out of the coal-house, the 19th of November.

"Your own lover, JOHN PHILPOT. "

A letter to a friend of his, prisoner the same time in Newgate; wherein is debated and discussed the matter or question of infants to be baptized.

"The God of all light and understanding lighten your heart with all true knowledge of his word, and make you perfect to the day of our Lord Jesus Christ, whereunto you are now called, through the mighty operation of his Holy Spirit, Amen.

"I received yesternight from you, dear brother saint, and fellow prisoner for the truth of Christ's gospel, a letter, wherein you gently require my judgment concerning the baptism of infants; what is the effect thereof. And before I do show you what I have learned out of God's word, and of his true and infallible church, touching the same, I think it not out of the matter first to declare what vision I had the same night, while musing on your letter I fell asleep, knowing that God doth not without cause reveal to his people who have their minds fixed on him, special and spiritual revelations to their comfort, as a taste of their joy and kingdom to come, which flesh and blood cannot comprehend.

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"Being in the midst of my sweet rest, it seemed me to see a great beautiful city, all of the colour of azure, and white, four square, in a marvellous beautiful composition in the midst of the sky, the sight whereof so inwardly comforted me, that I am not able to express the consolation I had thereof, yea, the remembrance thereof causeth as yet my heart to leap for joy: and as charity is no churl, but would others to be partakers of his delight, so methought I called to others, (I cannot tell whom,) and while they came, and we together beheld the same, by and by, to my great grief, it faded away.

"This dream I think not to have come of the illusion of the senses, because it brought with it so much spiritual joy, and I take it to be of the working of God's Spirit for the contentation of your request, as he wrought in Peter to satisfy Cornelius. Therefore I interpret this beautiful city to be the glorious church of Christ, and the appearance of it in the sky, signifieth the heavenly state thereof, whose conversation is in heaven, and that, according to the primitive church which is now in heaven, men ought to measure and judge the church of Christ now in earth; for as the prophet David saith, The foundations thereof be in the holy hills, and glorious things be spoken of the city of God. And, the marvellous quadrature of the same, I take to signify the universal agreement in the same, and that all the church here militant ought to consent to the primitive church throughout the four parts of the world, as the prophet affirmeth, saying, God maketh us to dwell after one manner in one house. And that I conceived so wonderful joy at the contemplation thereof, I understand the unspeakable joy which they have that be at unity with Christ's primitive church; for there is joy in the Holy Ghost, and peace which passeth all understanding, as it is written in the Psalms: As of joyful persons, is the dwelling of all them that be in thee. And that I called others to the fruition of this vision, and to behold this wonderful city, I construe it by the will of God this vision to have come upon me musing on your letter, to the end, that under this figure I might have occasion to move you, with many others, to behold the primitive church in all your opinions concerning faith, and to conform yourself in all points to the same, which is the pillar and stablishment of truth, and teacheth the true use of the sacraments, and having, with a greater fulness than we have now, the first-fruits of the Holy Ghost, did declare the true interpretation of the Scriptures according to all verity, even as our Saviour promised to send them another Comforter, which should teach them all truth.

"And since all truth was taught and revealed to the primitive church, which is our mother, let us all that be obedient children of God, submit ourselves to the judgment of the church for the better understanding of the articles of our faith, and of the doubtful sentences of the Scripture. Let us not go about to show in us, by following any private man's interpretation upon the word, another spirit than they of the primitive church had, lest we deceive ourselves: for there is but one faith and one Spirit, which is not contrary to himself, neither otherwise now teacheth us than he did them. Therefore let us believe as they have taught us of the Scriptures, and be at peace with them, according as the true catholic church is at this day: and the God of peace assuredly will be with us, and deliver us out of all our worldly troubles and miseries, and make us partakers of their joy and bliss, through our obedience to faith with them.

"Therefore God commandeth us in Job, to ask of the elder generation, and to search diligently the memory of the fathers; for we are but yesterday's children, and be ignorant, and our days are like a shadow; and they shall teach thee, saith the Lord, and speak to thee, and shall utter words from their hearts. And by Solomon we are commanded, not to reject the direction of

our mother. The Lord grant you to direct your steps in all things after her, and to abhor contention with her; for as St. Paul writeth, If any man be contentious, neither we, neither the church of God, hath any such custom.

"Hitherto I have showed you, good brother S., my judgment generally of that you stand in doubt and dissent from others, to the which I wish you as mine own heart to be conformable, and then doubtless you cannot err, but boldly may be glad in your troubles, and triumph at the hour of your death, that you shall die in the church of God a faithful martyr, and receive the crown of eternal glory. And thus much have I written upon the occasion of a vision before God unfeigned. But that you may not think that I go about to satisfy you with uncertain visions only, and not after God's word, I will take the ground of your letter, and specially answer to the same by the Scriptures, and by infallible reasons deduced out of the same, and prove the baptism of infants to be lawful, commendable, and necessary, whereof you seem to stand in doubt.

Indeed if you look upon the papistical synagogue only, which had corrupted God's word by false interpretations, and hath perverted the true use of Christ's sacraments, you might seem to have good handfast of your opinion against the baptism of infants. But forasmuch as it is of more antiquity, and hath its beginning from God's word, and from the use of the primitive church, it must not in respect of the abuse in the popish church be neglected, or thought not expedient to be used in Christ's church. Auxentius, one of the Ariens' sect, with his adherents, was one of the first that denied the baptism of children, and next after him Pelagius the heretic, and some others that were in St. Bernard's time, as it doth appear by his writings, and in our days the Anabaptists, an inordinate kind of men, stirred up by the devil to the destruction of the gospel. But the catholic truth delivered unto us by the Scriptures, plainly determineth, that all such are to be baptized, as whom God acknowledgeth for his people, and voucheth them worthy of sanctification or remission of their sins. Therefore since that infants be in the number or scroll of God's people, and be partakers of the promise by their purification in Christ, it must needs follow thereby, that they ought to be baptized as well as those that can profess their faith: for we judge the people of God as well by the free and liberal promise of God, as by the confession of faith. For to whomsoever God promiseth himself to be their God, and whom he acknowledgeth for his, those no man without great impiety may exclude from the number of the faithful. But God promiseth that he will not only be the God of such as do profess him., but also of infants, promising them his grace and remission of sins, as it appeareth by the words of the covenant made unto Abraham: I will set my covenant between thee and me, (saith the Lord,) and between thy seed after thee in their generations, with an everlasting covenant, to be thy God, and the God of thy seed after thee. To the which covenant circumcision was added, to be a sign of sanctification as well in children as in men; and no man may think that this promise is abrogated with circumcision and other ceremonial laws: for Christ came to fulfil the promises, and not to dissolve them. Therefore in the gospel he saith of infants, (that is, of such as yet believe not,) Let thy little ones come unto me, and forbid them not; for of such is the kingdom of heaven. Again, It is not the will of your Father which is in heaven, that any of these little ones do perish. Also, He that receiveth one such little child in my name, receiveth me. Take heed therefore that ye despise not one of these babes, for I tell you their angels do continually see in heaven my Father's face. And what may be said more plain than this? It is not the will of the heavenly Father, that the infants should perish: whereby we may gather that he receiveth them freely unto this grace, although as yet they confess not their faith. Since then that the word of the promise,

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which is contained in baptism, pertaineth as well to children as to men, why should the sign of the promise, which is baptism in water, be withdrawn from children, when Christ himself commandeth them to be received of us, and promiseth the reward of a prophet to those that receive such a little infant, as he for an example did put before his disciples?

"Now will I prove with manifest arguments that children ought to be baptized, and that the apostles of Christ did baptize children. The Lord commanded his apostles to baptize all nations: therefore also children ought to be baptized, for they are comprehended under this word, 'all nations.' Further, whom God doth account among the faithful, they are faithful, for it was said to Peter, That thing which God hath purified, thou shalt not say to be common or unclean. But God doth repute children among the faithful: ergo, they be faithful—except we had rather to resist God, and seem stronger and wiser than he. And without all doubt the apostles baptized those which Christ commanded: but he commanded the faithful to be baptized, among the which infants be reckoned: the apostles then baptized infants.

"The gospel is more than baptism, for Paul said, The Lord sent me to preach the gospel, and not to baptize: not that he denied absolutely that he was sent to baptize, but that he preferred doctrine before baptism, for the Lord commanded both to the apostles. But children be received by the doctrine of the gospel of God, and not refused: therefore what person being of reason may deny them baptism, which is a thing lesser than the gospel? For in the sacraments be two things to be considered, the thing signified, and the sign; and the thing signified is greater than the sign; and from the thing signified in baptism, children are not excluded. Who therefore may deny them the sign, which is baptism in water? St. Peter could not deny them to be baptized in water, to whom he saw the Holy Ghost given, which is the certain sign of God's people: for he saith in the Acts, May any body forbid them to be baptized in water, who have received the Holy Ghost as well as we? Therefore St. Peter denied not baptism to infants, for he knew certainly, both by the doctrine of Christ, and by the covenant which is everlasting, that the kingdom of heaven pertained to infants.

"None be received into the kingdom of heaven, but such as God loveth, and which are endued with his Spirit: for whoso hath not the Spirit of God, he is none of his. But infants be beloved of God, and therefore want not the Spirit of God: wherefore if they have the Spirit of God as well as men, if they be numbered among the people of God as well as we that be of age, who (I pray you) may well withstand children to be baptized with water, in the name of the Lord?

"The apostles in times past, being yet not sufficiently instructed, did murmur against those which brought their children unto the Lord; but the Lord rebuked them, and said, Let the babes come unto me. Why then do not these rebellious Anabaptists obey the commandment of the Lord? For what do they now-a-days else, that bring their children to baptism, than that they did in times past, which brought their children to the Lord; and our Lord received them, and putting his hands on them, blessed them, and, both by words and by gentle behaviour towards them, declared manifestly that children be the people of God, and entirely beloved of God. But some will say, 'Why then did not Christ baptize them?' Because it is written, Jesus himself baptized not, but his disciples.

"Moreover, circumcision in the old law was ministered to infants: therefore baptism ought to be ministered in the new law unto children. For baptism oft is come in the stead of circumcision, as St. Paul witnesseth, saying to the Colossians, By Christ ye are circumcised with a circumcision which is without hands, when ye put off the body of sin of the flesh, by the circumcision of Christ; being buried together with him through baptism. Behold, Paul calleth baptism the circumcision of a Christian man, which is done without hands, not that water may be ministered without hands, but that with hands no man any longer ought to be circumcised; albeit the mystery of circumcision do still remain in faithful people. To this I may add, that the servants of God were always ready to minister the sacraments to them, for whom they were instituted. As for an example, we may behold Joshua, who most diligently procured the people of Israel to be circumcised before they entered into the land of promise; but since the apostles were the preachers of the word, and the very faithful servants of Jesus Christ, who may hereafter doubt that they baptized infants, since baptism is in place of circumcision? Item, the apostles did attemperate all their doings to the shadows and figures of the Old Testament: therefore it is certain that they did attemperate baptism according to circumcision, and baptized children; because they were under the figure of baptism; for the people of Israel passed through the Red Sea, and the bottom of the water of Jordan, with their children. And although the children be not always expressed, neither the women, in the Holy Scriptures, yet they are comprehended and understood in the same. Also the Scripture evidently telleth us, that the apostles baptized whole families or households: but the children are comprehended in a family or household, as the chiefest and dearest part thereof: therefore we may conclude, that the apostles did baptize infants or children; and not only men of lawful age. And that the house or household is taken for man, woman, and child, it is manifest in the seventeenth of Genesis, and also in that Joseph doth call Jacob with all his house, to come out of the land of Canaan into Egypt.

"Finally, I can declare out of ancient writers, that the baptism of infants hath continued from the apostles' time unto ours, neither that it was instituted by any councils, neither of the pope, nor of other men, but commanded from the Scripture by the declarers themselves. Origen, upon the declaration of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, expounding the sixth chapter saith, that the church of Christ received the baptism of infants from the very apostles. St. Jerome maketh mention of the baptism of infants, in the third book against the Pelagians, and in his Epistle to Leta. St. Augustine reciteth for this purpose a place out of John, bishop of Constantinople, in his first book against Julian, chap. ii., and he again, writing to St. Jerome, saith, that St. Cyprian, not making any new decree, but firmly observing the faith of the church, judged with his fellow bishops, that as soon as one was born, he might be lawfully baptized. The place of Cyprian is to be seen in his Epistle to Fidus. Also St. Augustine, in writing against the Donatists, saith, that the baptism of infants was not derived from the authority of man, neither of councils, but from the tradition or doctrine of the apostles.

"Cyril, upon Leviticus, approveth the baptism of children, and condemneth the iteration of baptism. These authorities of men I do allege, not to tie the baptism of children unto the testimonies of men, but to show how men's testimonies do agree with God's word, and that the verity of antiquity is on our side, and that the Anabaptists have nothing but lies for them, and new imaginations, which feign the baptism of children to be the pope's commandment.

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"After this will I answer to the sum of your arguments for the contrary. The first, which includeth all the rest, is, It is written, Go ye into all the world, and preach the glad tidings to all creatures. He that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved; but he that believeth not, shall be damned, &c.

"To this I answer, that nothing is added to God's word by the baptism of children, as you pretend, but that is done which the same word doth require; for that children are accounted of Christ in the gospel among the number of such as believe, as it appeareth by these words, He that offendeth one of these little babes which believe in me, it were better for him to have a mill-stone tied about his neck, and to be cast into the bottom of the sea. Where plainly Christ calleth such as be not able to confess their faith, believers, because of his mere grace he reputeth them for believers. And this is no wonder so to be taken, since God imputeth faith for righteousness unto men that be of riper age: for both in men and children, righteousness, acceptation, sanctification, is of mere grace and by imputation, that the glory of God's grace might be praised.

"And that the children of faithful parents are sanctified, and among such as do believe, is apparent in 1 Cor. vii. And whereas you do gather by the order of the words in the said commandment of Christ, that children ought to be taught before they be baptized, and to this end you allege many places out of the Acts proving that such as confessed their faith first were baptized after: I answer, that if the order of the words might weigh any thing in this cause, we have the Scripture that maketh as well for us; for in St. Mark we read, that John did baptize in the desert, preaching the baptism of repentance. In the which place we see baptizing go before, and preaching to follow after. And also I will declare this place of Matthew, exactly considered, to make for the use of baptism in children; for St. Matthew hath it written in this wise: All power is given me, saith the Lord, in heaven and in earth, therefore, going forth, μαθητεσατε [Greek: matheteusate], that is, disciple ye, (as I may express the signification of the word,) that is, make or gather to me disciples of all nations. And following, he declareth the way how they should gather to him disciples out of all nations, baptizing them and teaching: by baptizing and teaching ye shall procure a church to me. And both these aptly and briefly severally he setteth forth, saying, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you. Now then baptism goeth before doctrine.

"But hereby I do not gather that the Gentiles, which never heard any thing before of God, and of the Son of God, and of the Holy Ghost, ought to be baptized, neither they would permit themselves to be baptized before they knew to what end; but this I have declared to show you upon how feeble foundation the Anabaptists be grounded. And plainly it is not true which they imagine of this text, that the Lord did only command such to be baptized whom the apostles had first of all taught; neither here verily is signified who only be to be baptized: but he speaketh of such as be at perfect age, and of the first foundations of faith, and of the church to be planted among the Gentiles, which were as yet rude and ignorant of religion. Such as be of age may hear, believe, and confess, that which is preached and taught, but so cannot infants: therefore we may justly collect, that he speaketh here nothing of infants or children. But for all this they ought not to be excluded from baptism. It is a general rule, He that doth not labour must not eat; but who is so barbarous that might think hereby, that children should be famished?

"The Lord sent his apostles, at the beginning of his setting up of his true religion, unto all nations unto such as were both ignorant of God, and were out of the covenant of God: and truly such persons it behoved not first to be baptized, and afterward taught; but first to be taught, and after baptized. If at this day we should go to the Turks, to convert them to the faith of Christ, verily first we ought to teach them, and afterward baptize such as would yield to be the servants of Christ. Likewise the Lord himself in time past did, when first he renewed the covenant with Abraham, and ordained circumcision to be a seal of the covenant after that Abraham was circumcised. But he, when he perceived the infants also to pertain to the covenant, and that circumcision was the sealing up of the covenant, did not only circumcise Ishmael his son, that was thirteen years of age, but all other infants that were born in his house, among whom we reckon Isaac.

"Even so faithful people which were converted from heathen idolatry by the preaching of the gospel, and confessing the faith, were baptized: when they understood their children to be counted among the people of God, and that baptism was the token of the people of God, they procured also their children to be baptized. Therefore, as it is written, Abraham circumcised all the male children of his house; semblably we read in the acts and writings of the apostles, that after the master of the house was turned to the faith, all the whole house was baptized. And as concerning those which of old time were compelled to confess their faith before they received baptism, which were called *catechumeni*, they were such as with our forefathers came from the Gentiles into the church, whom being yet rude of faith they did instruct in the principles of their belief, and afterward they did baptize them: but the same ancient fathers, notwithstanding, did baptize the children of faithful men, as I have already partly declared.

"And because you do require a hasty answer of your letter of one that is but a dull writer, I am here enforced to cease particularly to go through your letter in answering thereto, knowing that I have fully answered every part thereof in that I have already written, although not in such order as it had been meet, and as I purposed. But forasmuch as I understand that you will be no contentious man, neither in this matter, neither in any other, contrary to the judgment of Christ's true primitive church, which is the body and fulness of Christ, I desire you in the entire love of him, or rather Christ desireth you by me, (that your joy may be perfect, whereto you are now called,) to submit your judgment to that church, and to be at peace and unity in the same; that the coat of Christ, which ought to be without seam, but now, alas! most miserably is torn in pieces by many dangerous sects and damnable opinions, may appear by you in no part to have been rent, neither that any giddy head in these dog-days might take an ensample by you to dissent from Christ's true church. I beseech thee, dear brother in the gospel, follow the steps of the faith of the glorious martyrs in the primitive church, and of such as at this day follow the same: decline from them neither to the right hand nor to the left. Then shall death, be it never so bitter, be more sweet than this life; then shall Christ with all the heavenly Jerusalem triumphantly embrace your spirit with unspeakable gladness and exaltation, who in this earth was content to join your spirit with their spirits, according as it is commanded by the word, that the spirit of the prophets should be subject to the prophets. One thing ask with David ere you depart, and require the same, that you may dwell with a full accord in his house, for there is glory and worship: and so, with Simeon in the temple embracing Christ, depart in peace. To the which peace Christ bring both you and me, and all our loving brethren that love God in the unity of faith, by such ways as shall please him, to his glory! Let the bitter passion of Christ, which he suffered for your

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sake, and the horrible torments which the godly martyrs of Christ have endured before us, and also the inestimable reward of your life to come, which is hidden yet a little while from you with Christ, strengthen, comfort, and encourage you to the end of that glorious race which you are in. Amen.

"Your yoke-fellow in captivity for the verity of Christ's gospel, to live and die with you in the unity of faith,

JOHN PHILPOT

Divers other letters were written by Master Philpot to divers, but these as most principal I have excerpted and inserted: amongst which I thought here, not much impertinent to the place, to adjoin another certain letter of a godly and zealous gospeller, (whose name in her writing doth not appear,) who, in defending and commending the quarrel of this Master John Philpot, Christ's most famous and worthy martyr, was therefore troubled and brought before Bishop Bonner; and therefore being appointed by the said bishop to appear upon a certain day to answer for herself, indeed kept not her day with the bishop, but instead of her appearance sent him this letter here following.

A godly letter addressed to Bishop Bonner, reproving his cruelty.

"Woe be unto the idolatrous shepherds of England, that feed themselves. Should not the shepherds feed the flock? But ye have eaten the fat, ye have clothed you with the wool. The best fed have ye slain, but the flock have ye not nourished; the weak have ye not holden up, the sick have ye not healed, the broken have ye not bound together, the out-casts have ye not brought again, the lost have ye not sought, but churlishly and cruelly have ye ruled them, Ezek. xxxiv.

"Forasmuch, my Lord, as my business is such that I cannot come to your Lordship, according to my promise, I have been so bold to write these few words unto you, partly to excuse mine absence, and partly to answer your Lordship's demands at my last most happy departure from you. As touching the breach of my promise with you, in not coming again at the hour appointed, your Lordship shall understand that I take the counsel of the angel, which warned the wise men not to come again to Herod, according to their promise, but to turn home again another way. Now, my Lord, I perceiving your Lordship to be a more cruel tyrant than ever was Herod, and more desirous to destroy Christ in his poor members than ever he was, who, to destroy Christ, killed his own son, I thought good to take the angel's counsel, and to come no more at you: for I see that you are set all in a rage, like a ravening wolf against the poor lambs of Christ, appointed to the slaughter for the testimony of the truth. Indeed you are called the common cutthroat and general slaughter-slayer to all the bishops of England; and therefore it is wisdom for me and all other simple sheep of the Lord, to keep us out of your butcher's stall as long as we can; especially seeing that you have such store already, that you are not able to drink all their blood, lest you should break your belly: and therefore let them lie still, and die for hunger. Therefore, my Lord, I thought it good to tarry a time until your Lordship's stomach were come to you a little better: for I do perceive by your great fat cheeks, that you lack no lamb's flesh yet, and belike you are almost glutted with supping so much blood, and therefore you will let some of the leanest die in prison, which will then be meat good enough for your barking beagles, Harpsfield and his fellows. But yet, my Lord, it were a great deal more for your Lordship's honour, if your chaplains might have the meat roasted in Smithfield at the fire of the stake, yea,

and when it is something fat and fair-liking; for now they have nothing but skin and bones, and if the dogs come hastily to it, they may chance shortly to be choked; and then your hunting will be hindered greatly, if it be not altogether marred. I hear say, my Lord, that some of the butcherly cure came of late to my house to seek their prey, and that they go round about the city (as David saith) grinning, and grudging that they have not meat enough: therefore belike they have killed my poor brethren and sisters that have lain so long upon the butcherly stall, and eaten them up: for I hear say their friends could not be suffered to see them these three days and more.

Therefore I perceive now, that if I had come again according to my promise, your Lordship, like a ravening wolf, or else some of your hellhounds, would quickly have worried me: but I see well my appointed time is not yet come, therefore I will yet live and thank Him for my deliverance, with continual songs of laud and praise. Thus have I been bold to trouble your Lordship with telling you the truth, and the very cause that I came not to you again according to my unpurposed promise. I trust your Lordship will take this in good part, and accept it as a lawful excuse; and not doubting but your Lordship would have done the like, if you had been in my case.

"Now as concerning the second part that caused me to write unto your Lordship, which is to answer unto your subtle, or rather cruel, demand of my judgment of the death of that blessed martyr of Christ Jesus, good Master John Philpot, I will answer your Lordship simply and plainly, what peril soever shall come thereof. Truly, my Lord, I do not only think, but I am also most certain and sure, that he, as a very man of God, died a true martyr and constant confessor of his dear Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, to whom he did most faithfully commit his sweet soul, who will surely keep the same with him in joy for evermore. Also, my Lord, I do verily believe and know that your Lordship hath committed a horrible and most cruel murder in the unjust condemning and killing of him; and that you shall make as heavy an account for his blood, which shortly shall be required at your hand, as ever your great grandfather cruel Cain did or shall do for his innocent brother Abel. Moreover, because I am credibly informed that your Lordship doth believe, and have in secret said, that there is no hell, I certify you, that your Lordship did never any thing in all your life that so much did redound to your Lordship's dishonour and perpetual shame and infamy, as your killing the body of this blessed prophet doth; especially seeing that he was none of your diocese, nor had offended any of your Lordship's devilish and cruel laws. Verily I hear almost every body say in all places where I come, that your Lordship is made the common slaughter-slave to all your fellows—bite-sheep bishops, I would say; yea, the very papists themselves begin now to abhor your blood-thirstiness, and speak shame of your tyranny. Like tyranny, believe me, my Lord, every child that can any whit speak, can call you by your name and say, 'Bloody Bonner is bishop of London;' and every man hath it as perfectly upon his fingers' ends, as his Pater-noster, how many you, for your part, have burned with fire, and famished in prison: they say, the whole sum surmounteth to forty persons within this three quarters of this year. Therefore, my Lord, though your Lordship believeth that there is neither heaven nor hell, nor God nor devil, yet if your Lordship love your own honesty, which was lost long ago, you were best to surcease from this cruel burning of true Christian men, and also from murdering of some in prison; for that indeed offendeth men's minds most; yea, even your old friends, the rankest papists that be. For, say they, Felix the heathen ruler did not forbid Paul's friends to visit him in prison, and to bring him necessary relief; and therefore it is a very great shame and sin, to see a bishop that beareth the name of a Christian, to be more cruel upon his poor brethren, than a heathen, Turk, or infidel. This is men's sayings in every place, not only of this realm, but also of the most part of the world, and the common talk they have of your

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Lordship; therefore I thought to be bold so with your Lordship, as to tell you of it, though perchance you will give me but small thanks for my labour. Well, as for that, I put it to your Lordship's choice, for I have as much already as I look for.

"Finally, my Lord, I will give you to understand, that the death of this constant martyr and valiant soldier of Jesus Christ hath given a greater shake towards the overthrowing of your papistical kingdom, than you shall ever be able to recover again these seven years, do the best you can, and set as many crafty daubers to patch it up with untempered clay as you will; yea, though prating Pendleton, that wicked apostate, apply all his wily wits to help them. Verily, my Lord, by all men's reports, his blessed life could never have done the like sorrow to Satan's synagogue, whereof some say your Lordship is a mighty member, as his happy death hath done. You have broken a pot indeed, but the precious nard contained therein is so notably therewithal shed abroad, that the sweet savour thereof hath wonderfully well refreshed all the true household or congregation of Christ, that they cannot abide any more the stinking savour of your filthy ware that came from the dunghill of Rome, though your Lordship's Judases do set them to sale every where to fill your bags. I put your Lordship out of doubt, that if you do break any more such pots, you will mar your own market altogether: for I promise you, most men begin to mislike your devilish doings, and wonderfully to loathe your popish pedlary wares.

"Thus have I (according to your Lordship's commandments) showed you simply what I think of that good man's death, whose blood crieth for vengeance against your Lordship's butcherly bloody proceedings in the ears of the Lord of hosts, who will shortly avenge the same upon your pilled pate, and upon the rest of all your poll-shorn brethren, the very marked cattle of the great antichrist of Rome. The measure of your iniquity is filled up to the brim, therefore will God shortly pour in double unto your deserved destruction. And then I, when your new-made proselytes will be glad to cover their crowns with cow-dung (saving your Lordship's reverence, I should have said first)—Well, I rather desire their conversion than confusion; the Lord send the one of them shortly, as may be most to his glory. Amen.

"I signify also unto your Lordship, that the railing words which your lying preacher showed forth of his filthy fountain upon Sunday against the dear servant of God, good Master Philpot, do greatly redound to your Lordship's dishonesty, and much deface your spiritual honour. Verily I see that the great wrath of God hath so blinded your eyes, that you see not what is with you, nor what is against you, but still you vomit out your own shame, and make all the world wonder upon you. Was it not enough for you to condemn him most unjustly, yea, contrary to your own laws, and to kill his innocent body most tyrannously, but you must also set a lying limb of the devil to blaspheme, slander, and belie him now he is dead? O viperous generation, seed of the serpent, and right children of the devil! Full well do you counterfeit your father's steps, whom Christ calleth a murderer, and a liar from the beginning; which two things be the only weapons of your war, wherewith you maintain all your mischief, that is to say, lying and murder. For those whom ye cannot overcome with your lying persuasions, them you kill most cruelly, and then blaspheme and belie them with railing sentences when they are dead. But all this will not blind the people of God, nor yet make them any whit the less believe the truth, nor abate their love from the true preachers thereof; yea, it is a true sign and a token that they are the very disciples of Christ, for he hath said, Blessed are ye when men revile you, and say all manner of evil sayings against you for my name's sake: rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in

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heaven. And doubtless great is that good man's reward in heaven by this time, as your Lordship's damnation shall be great in hell, except you repent and surcease from shedding innocent blood. But it is to be feared your heart is hardened as Pharaoh's was, seeing that with Judas ye have sold and betrayed your Master. Take heed, my Lord, lest you come to the same end, or a worse than he did; for verily I cannot perceive how you should escape it long. Therefore say not but a woman gave you warning, if you list to take it. And as for the obtaining of your popish purpose in suppressing the truth, I put you out of doubt, you shall not obtain it so long as you go this way to work as ye do: for verily I believe that you have lost the hearts of twenty thousand that were rank papists within this twelve months.

"It is found very true that one holy doctor saith, 'The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the gospel; when one is put to death, a thousand do rise for him.' And that this is true, you may well perceive by the hearty love that the people showed unto good Master Philpot at his going to his death. They went not about to make an idol of him, as your adder's brood would bear men in hand: but they worshipped God, which gave such strength to his dear child, to die so constantly for the testimony of his truth, unto the utter destruction of that detestable idolatry which your Lordship doth most devilishly maintain with the force of fire, faggots, and sword: yea, and rather than fail, to famish men in prison again, as ye have done already. It is reported of your own tormentors, that the six prisoners that you have in your prison, be put in six several places all the day, and every night brought together, and set in the stocks. Forsooth, my Lord, this doth get you a foul name all abroad the country, and yet all will not help your Lordship's pestilent purpose, but every way hinder the same; for Zerubbabel will be found no liar, which said, The truth shall have victory. You do but strive against the stream, and kick against the prick. The Lord doth laugh your doings to scorn, and will bring all your counsels and devices to nought, (as knoweth the Lord God,) who of his great mercy shortly convert your Lordship, or utterly confound you, and get his name a glory over you. Amen!

"Your Lordship's orator, who prayeth daily to God that he may reward you according to your deeds. Anno 1556."

END OF VOLUME 11

**THE ACTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE
CHRISTIAN CHURCH**

by
JOHN FOXE

Commonly known as
FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

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The Reign of Queen Mary I. – Part IV.

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Portrait of Thomas Cranmer as a Young Man

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329. Thomas Whittle, Bartlet Green, John Tudson, John Went, Thomas Browne; Isabel Foster, and Joan Warne, alias Lashford.

The story of seven martyrs suffering together at London, for the testimony of Christ's gospel. January 27, Anno 1556.



The Seven Martyrs at the Stake

THE catholic prelates of the pope's band, being as yet not satisfied with this their one year's bloody murdering of the reverend, learned, and principal members of Christ's church, (whereof there were now very few which either were not consumed by most cruel fire, or else, for the avoiding of their popish rage, compelled to fly their natural country,) continued still this next year also, which was anno 1556, in no less

cruelty towards the poor, simple, and inferior sort of people, (I mean in degree, though, God be praised, not in stedfastness,) having yet sometimes amongst them such as were both learned and of good estimation, as in continuance of this story shall appear. Wherefore, as the first fruits thereof, to begin this year withal, about the twenty-seventh day of January were burned in Smithfield at London these seven persons hereafter following, to wit: Thomas Whittle, priest; Bartlet Green, gentleman; John Tudson, artificer; John Went, artificer; Thomas Browne; Isabel Foster, wife; Joan Warne, alias Lashford, maid.

All which seven, as they were burned together in one fire, so were they likewise all upon one sort and form of articles condemned in one day. Howbeit, forasmuch as the gifts of God in them were diverse, (some more abounding in knowledge than others,) their dealings withal were also diverse, as shall be more plainly perceived in the discoursing of their several processes hereafter following. And therefore for the better understanding hereof, I will first, (by the leave of the Lord,) passing over their private articles and examinations had at sundry times in the bishop's house, set forth their general examinations in the public consistory, upon the bishop's articles there ministered unto them; with their answers also unto the same, according as they all agreed after one manner and sort together, as here by the words both of the articles, and their answers underwritten, may appear.

The form and words of Bonner's articles ministered to the seven persons above-mentioned in his consistory, with their answers.

And first, to behold the manner of speech in these bishops, sitting in their majesty to terrify the ears of the simple withal, let us hear the pontifical phrase of this bishop, beginning in this sort:--

"The within written articles, and every of them, and every part and parcel of them, we Edmund, by the permission of God, bishop of London, do object and minister to thee Thomas Whittle, &c., of our mere office, for thy soul's health, and for the reformation of thine offences and misdemeanours, monishing thee in the virtue of obedience, and under the pains of both censures of the church, and also of other pains of the law, to answer fully, plainly, and truly to all the same.

"1. First, that thou, N., hast firmly, stedfastly, and constantly believed in times past, and so dost now believe at this present, that there is here in earth a catholic church; in the which catholic church the faith and religion of Christ is truly professed, allowed, received, kept, and retained, of all faithful and true Christian people.

"2. Item, That thou, the said N., in times past hast also believed, and so dost believe at this present, that there are in the catholic church seven sacraments, instituted and ordained by God, and by the consent of the holy church allowed, approved, received, kept, and retained.

"3. Item, That thou, the said N., was in times past baptized in the faith of the said catholic church, professing by thy godfathers and godmother, the faith and religion of Christ, and the observation thereof, renouncing there the devil and all his

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pomps and works; and was by the said sacrament of baptism incorporate to the catholic church, and made a faithful member thereof.

"4. Item, That thou, the said N., coming to the age of fourteen years, and so to the age of discretion, didst not depart from the said profession and faith, nor didst mislike any part of the same faith or doings; but didst, like a faithful Christian person, abide and continue in all the same by the space of certain years, ratifying and confirming all the same.

"5. Item, That thou, the said N., notwithstanding the premises, hast of late, (that is to say, within these two years last past,) within the city and diocese of London, swerved at the least way from some part of the said catholic faith and religion: and amongst other things thou hast misliked and earnestly spoken against the sacrifice of the mass, the sacrament of the altar, and the unity of the church, railing and maligning the authority of the see of Rome, and the faith observed in the same.

"6. Item, That thou, the said N., hast heretofore refused, and dost refuse at this present, to be reconciled again to the unity of the church, not acknowledging and confessing the authority of the said see of Rome to be lawful.

"7. Item, That thou, the said N., misliking the sacrifice of the mass, and the sacrament of the altar, hast refused to come to thy parish church to hear mass, and to receive the said sacrament; and hast also expressly said, that in the said sacrament of the altar, there is not the very body and blood of our Saviour Christ, really, substantially, and truly; but hast affirmed expressly, that the mass is idolatry and abomination, and that in the sacrament of the altar there is none other substance, but only material bread, and material wine, which are tokens of Christ's body and blood only, and that the substance of Christ's body and blood is in nowise in the said sacrament of the altar.

"8. Item, That thou, the said N., being convented before certain judges or commissioners for thy disorder herein, and being found obstinate, wilful, and heady, wast by their commandment sent unto me and my prison, to be examined by me, and process to be made against thee for thy offence herein.

"9. Item, That all and singular the premises have been and be true and manifest, and thyself not only infamed and suspected thereof, but also culpable therein; and by reason of the same, than wast and art of the jurisdiction of me, Edmund, bishop of London; and before me, according to the order of the ecclesiastical laws, are to be convented: and also by me to be punished and reformed."

Here follow likewise their answers, in general, made to the articles above rehearsed.

Answers to Bonner's articles.

"And first, concerning the first article, on believing there is a catholic church - to the first article they, altogether agreeing, affirmed the same to be true: John Tudson, and Thomas Browne, further adding, that the Church of England, as it was at that present used, was no part of the true catholic church.

"Concerning the *second* article, that there be in the church seven sacraments -- they answered, that they acknowledged but only two sacraments in Christ's catholic church; that is to say, baptism, and the supper of the Lord: John Went and Tudson affirming, that the sacrament of the altar, as it is used, is an idol, and no sacrament at all.

"Concerning the *third* article, that they were first baptized in the faith of the catholic church, professing by their godfathers the profession of the same, &c. -- they all agreed, and confessed it to be true, that they were baptized in the faith of Christ, and of the church then taught; and afterward, during the time of King Edward the Sixth, they, hearing the gospel preached, and the truth opened, followed the order of the religion and doctrine then used and set forth in the reign of the said King Edward.

"Concerning the *fourth* article, that they for the space of certain years did ratify or allow, and not depart from any part of the profession of the same church -- to this fourth article they granted also and agreed: John Went adding moreover, that about seven years past, he (then being about twenty years of age) began to mislike certain things used in the Church of England, as the ministration of the sacrament of the altar; likewise all the ceremonies of the said church: and did likewise at that present time mislike the same as they were used, although his godfathers and godmother promised for him the contrary.

"John Tudson added also in much like sort, and said, that when he came to the years of discretion, that is, about nine years past, (being about eighteen years of age,) he did mislike the doctrine and religion then taught and set forth in the Church of England, saving in King Edward's time, in whose time the gospel was truly set forth. And further said, that the doctrine set forth in the queen's reign was not agreeable to God's word, nor yet to the true catholic church that Christ speaketh of.

"Isabel Foster with other granted, adding likewise, and saying to the said four articles, that she continued in the same faith and religion which she was baptized in, after she came to the years of discretion, as other common people did; howbeit, blindly and without knowledge, till the reign of King Edward the Sixth: at which time she, hearing the gospel truly preached and opened to the people, received thereupon the faith and religion then taught and set forth.

"Concerning the *fifth* article, that they of late years have swerved and gone away, misliked and spoken against the profession of the same church, at least some part thereof, especially the sacrifice of the mass, the sacrament of the altar, and the authority of the Church of Rome -- they answered the same to be true, according to the contents thereof: Thomas Whittle adding moreover, that he had swerved and gone away, and not in whole, but in part, not from the whole catholic church, but from the Church of Rome, in speaking against the mass, the sacrifice thereof, and the see of Rome.

"Joan Lashford, (alias Joan Warne,) granting with the other the said article, addeth moreover, that she never hitherto swerved or went away, nor yet doth, from any part of Christ's catholic faith and religion. But saith, that from the time she was eleven years of age, she hath misliked the sacrifice of the mass, the sacrament of the

altar, and the authority of the see of Rome, with the doctrine thereof, because they be against Christ's catholic church, and the right faith of the same.

"Bartlet Green, answering with the other to this article, addeth and saith, that he swerved not from the catholic faith, but only from the Church of Rome, &c.

"Concerning the *sixth* article, that they refuse to be reconciled to the unity of the said Church of Rome -- they answer and confess the same to be true, rendering the cause thereof, because (say they) the same church and doctrine, therein set forth and taught, disagreeeth from the unity of Christ's word, and the true catholic faith, &c.

"Whereunto Bartlet Green answered, that he is contented to be reconciled to the unity of Christ's catholic church, but not of the Church of Rome.

"In like manner added also John Went.

"Concerning the *seventh* article, that they refuse to come to hear mass, and to receive the said sacrament, calling it an idol, &c. -- they answer, and confess the contents thereof to be true, giving withal the reason and cause of this their so doing: for that the mass with the sacrament thereof, as it was then used and set forth in the Church of England, is dissonant to the word and teaching of the people, &c.

"John Went furthermore said, as concerning the mass, that he believed no less but the mass, which he calleth the supper of the Lord, as it is now used in the realm of England, is naught, full of idolatry, and against God's word, so far as he seeth it. Howbeit, he saith that since the queen's coronation, by chance he hath been present where the mass hath been said, whereof he is sorry.

"Isabel Foster also, answering to the said articles, with the other before, confessed moreover, that since Queen Mary's reign she hath not heard mass, nor received the sacrament, but hath refused to come in place where it was ministered: for she knoweth no such sacrament to be. And being demanded of her belief in the same, she saith, that there is but only material bread, and material wine, and not the real substance of the body of Christ in the same sacrament: for so she hath been taught to believe by the preachers in the time of King Edward, whom she believeth to have preached the truth in that behalf.

"Concerning the *eighth* article, that they were sent by the commissioners to the bishop to be examined and imprisoned -- they grant the same and the contents thereof to be so: Thomas Whittle adding and affirming, that the lord chancellor that then was sent him up to the bishop there present.

"Bartlet Green added, that he was sent up to the said bishop, but for no offence herein articulate.

"John Went said, that Dr. Story, Queen Mary's commissioner, examined him upon the sacrament; and because he denied the real presence, he [Dr. Story] presented this examine to the bishop.

"John Tudson likewise, examined by Master Cholmley and Dr. Story, upon the same matters, and for not coming to the church, and accused by the same, because he would not agree to them, was sent to the bishop.

"Thomas Browne also said, that he, for not coming to the church of St. Bride's, was brought by the constable to the bishop, &c.

"Joan Warne confessed that she was sent by Dr. Story to the bishop of London, about twelve weeks ago; since which time she hath continued with the said bishop.

"Concerning the *ninth* article -- they confess and say, that as they believe the premises before by them confessed to be true, so they deny not the same to be manifest, and that they be of the jurisdiction of London."

And thus having expressed their articles, with their answers jointly made unto the same, it remaineth further more fully to discourse the stories and handling of all the seven aforesaid martyrs severally and particularly by themselves, first beginning with Thomas Whittle.

The story of all these seven martyrs, particularly described, in order here followeth; and first of Thomas Whittle, who, first recanting, then returning again, with great constancy and fortitude stood to the defence of Christ's doctrine against the papists, to the fire.

In the story of Master Philpot, mention was made before, of a married priest, whom he found in the coal-house at his first coming thither, in heaviness of mind and great sorrow, for recanting the doctrine which he had taught in King Edward's days, whose name was Thomas Whittle of Essex; and thus lieth his story. This Thomas Whittle, after he had been expelled from the place in Essex where he served, went abroad where he might, now here and there, as occasion was ministered, preaching and sowing the gospel of Christ. At length being apprehended by one Edmund Alablaster, in hope of reward and promotion, which he miserably gaped, he was brought first as prisoner before the bishop of Winchester, who then was fallen lately sick of his disease, whereof not long after he died most strangely. But the apprehender for his proffered service was highly checked and rated of the bishop, asking if there were no man unto whom he might bring such rascals, but to him: "Hence," quoth he, "out of my sight, thou varlet! what dost thou trouble me with such matters? The greedy cormorant being thus defeated of his desired prey, yet thinking to seek and hunt further, carried his prisoner to the bishop of London, with whom what an evil mess of handling this Whittle had, and how he was by the bishop all-to beaten and buffeted about the face, by this his own narration in a letter sent unto his friend, manifestly may appear:--

"Upon Thursday, which was the tenth of January, the bishop of London sent for me, Thomas Whittle, minister, out of the porter's lodge, where I had been all night, lying upon the earth, upon a pallet, where I had as painful a night of sickness as ever I had, God be thanked. And when I came before him, he talked with me many things of

the sacrament so grossly, as is not worthy to be rehearsed. And amongst other things he asked me if I would have come to mass that morning, if he had sent for me. Whereunto I answered, that I would have come to him at his commandment, 'but to your mass,' said I, 'I have small affection.' At which answer he was displeased sore, and said, I should be fed with bread and water. And as I followed him through the great hall, he turned back and beat me with his fist, first on the one cheek, and then on the other, as the sign of my beating did many days appear. And then he led me into a little salt-house, where I had no straw nor bed, but lay two nights on a table, and slept soundly, I thank God.

"Then, upon the Friday next after, I was brought to my Lord, and he then gave me many fair words, and said he would be good to me. And so he, going to Fulham, committed me to Dr. Harpsfield, that he and I in that afternoon should commune together, and draw out certain articles, whereunto if I would subscribe, I should be dismissed. But Dr. Harpsfield sent not for me till night, and then persuaded me very sore to forsake my opinions. I answered, I held nothing but the truth, and therefore I could not so lightly turn therefrom. So I thought I should at that time have had no more ado: but he had made a certain bill, which the registrar pulled out of his bosom, and read it. The bill indeed was very easily made, and therefore more dangerous: for the effect thereof was, to detest all errors and heresies against the sacrament of the altar, and other sacraments, and to believe the faith of the catholic church, and live accordingly."

The copy of this bill here mentioned, if it please the gentle reader to peruse, so as it came to our hands, we have hereunto adjoined; written and conceived in their own words, as followeth to be seen.

The bill of submission, offered to Thomas Whittle to subscribe unto.

"I, Thomas Whittle, priest, of the diocese of London, acknowledge and confess with my mouth, agreeing with my heart before you, reverend father in God, Edmund bishop of London, my ordinary, that I do detest and abhor all manner of heresies and errors against the sacrament of the altar, or any of the sacraments of the church, which heresies and errors have heretofore been condemned in any wise by the catholic church: and I do protest and declare by these presents, that I do both now hold, and also intend by God's grace always hereafter to hold, observe, and keep, in all points the catholic faith and belief of Christ's church, according as this Church of England, being a member of the said catholic church, doth now profess and keep; and in nowise to swerve, decline, or go from the said faith, during my natural life, submitting myself fully and wholly to you, reverend father, my said ordinary, in all things concerning my reformation and amendment at all times. -- In witness whereof I the said Thomas Whittle, priest, have hereunto subscribed my name, written," &c.

"To this bill I did indeed set my hand, being much desired and counselled so to do and the flesh being always desirous to have liberty, I considered not thoroughly the inconvenience that might come thereupon; and respite I desired to have had, but earnestly they desired me to subscribe. Now when I had so done, I had little joy thereof: for by and by my mind and conscience told me by God's word that I had done

evil, by such a sleighty means to shake off the sweet cross of Christ: and yet it was not my seeking, as God knoweth, but altogether came of them. Oh the crafty subtlety of Satan in his members! Let every man that God shall deliver into their hands, take good heed, and cleave fast to Christ; for they will leave no corner of his conscience unsought, but will attempt all guileful and subtle means to corrupt him, to fall both from God and his truth. But yet let no man despair of God's help, for Peter did fall and rise again. And David saith, A righteous man, though he fall, he shall not be cast away: for the Lord upholdeth him with his hand. For I, for my part, have felt my infirmities, and yet have I found God's present help and comfort in time of need, I thank him there-for.

"The night after I had subscribed, I was sore grieved, and for sorrow of conscience could not sleep. For in the deliverance of my body out of bonds, which I might have had, I could find no joy nor comfort, but still was in my conscience tormented more and more; being assured by God's Spirit and his word, that I, through evil counsel and advisement, had done amiss. And both with disquietness of mind, and with my other cruel handling, I was sickly, lying upon the ground when the keeper came; and so I desired him to pray Dr. Harpsfield to come to me, and so he did.

"And when he came, and the registrar with him, I told him that I was not well at ease; but especially I told him I was grieved very much in my conscience and mind, because I had subscribed. And I said that my conscience had so accused me, through the just judgment of God and his word, that I had felt hell in my conscience, and Satan ready to devour me: 'and therefore I pray you, Master Harpsfield,' said I, 'let me have the bill again, for I will not stand to it.' So he gently commanded it to be fetched, and gave it me, and suffered me to put out my name, whereof I was right glad when I had so done, although death should follow. And hereby I had experience of God's providence and mercy towards me, who trieth his people, and suffereth them to fall, but not to be lost: for in the midst of this temptation and trouble, he gave me warning of my deed, and also delivered me, his name be praised for evermore, Amen.

"Neither devil nor cruel tyrant can pluck any of Christ's sheep out of his hand; of the which flock of Christ's sheep I trust undoubtedly I am one, by means of his death and blood-shedding, which shall at the last day stand at his right hand, and receive with others his blessed benediction. And now, being condemned to die, my conscience and mind, I praise God, are quiet in Christ; and I, by his grace, am very well willing and content to give over this body to the death, for the testimony of his truth and pure religion, against antichrist and all his false religion and doctrine. They that report otherwise of me, speak not truly. And as for Fountain, I saw him not all this while.

"By me, THOMAS WHITTLE, minister."

Concerning the troubled mind of this godly man, and tearing his name out of the bill, here followeth the report of the same, written in the letters both of the said Harpsfield, and also of Johnson the registrar, being then present thereat, and reporters of the same unto the bishop, as in their letters hereto annexed is to be seen.

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

The copy of Nicholas Harpsfield's letter, written to Bonner, bishop of London, declaring how Thomas Whittle rent his subscription out of the bishop's register.

"Pleaseth your good Lordship to understand, that yesterday I dined with my Lord of Exeter, who soon after my first coming to him, asked me what news? I answered, none but good, that I had heard. 'No!' saith he: 'why, it is a rumour in the city, that to-morrow the queen's Grace will take her journey towards the king.' I answered, that I thought it not to be any whit true, but an invention of heretics. 'Yea, and further,' saith he, 'there is a report made abroad of my Lord your master, that he is in discomfort, and therefore will suffer no man to come unto him.' When I heard thus much, I began to laugh, and to declare how untrue this report was: so that my Lord (who before was very sad) afterward knowing the truth, rejoiced much to hear that all was well with your Lordship, and desired me to have his hearty commendations to your Lordship.

"One of my Lord Pembroke's retinue, a very handsome man, and, as far as I can yet learn, a catholic, is a suitor to your Lordship to have licence to erect a school; and the order which he intendeth to use, is contained in this printed paper, which I send herein enclosed to your Lordship. I would be glad, for my Lord of Pembroke's sake, that he understood, that upon my motion your Lordship were content he should teach as he intendeth. Master Johnson and I have travailed with the priest, and he hath subscribed his name to this draft which is herein enclosed, and hath promised he will stand to the same before your Lordship.

"When I had written thus much, suddenly came tidings to me, that *Jordanis conversus est retrorsum*. Cluney coining to the priest, found him lying prostrate, and groaning as though he should have died forthwith. Then Cluney took him up, and set him upon a stool, and came to me, and told me of this revel. It chanced that Master Johnson was with me, and we went to this fond heretic, and found him lying all along, holding his hands up, and looking hypocritically towards heaven. I caused Thomas More and Cluney to set him on the stool, and with much ado at length he told me, that Satan had been with him in the night, and told him that he was damned: and weeping he prayed Master Johnson and me, to see the bill whereunto he subscribed; and when he saw it, he tore out his name, *e libro scilicet viventium*. Methinketh by him, he will needs burn a faggot, neither is there any other likelihood of the young woman.

"I have inquired of the two persons which sue to have a licence to eat flesh. And the woman of Christ's church is indeed very much diseased, and hath been long diseased, and she and her husband both catholic: of the other, yet, I can learn nothing. -- Thus Jesus evermore preserve your good Lordship, and my mistress your Lordship's sister, with all yours. -- This present Saturday.

"Your Lordship's most bounden servant,
NICHOLAS HARPSFIELD "

Here followeth another letter of Robert Johnson, registrar, touching Thomas Whittle, written to Bonner, bishop of London.

"My bounden duty premised, pleaseth your Lordship to understand, that this last Friday in the afternoon, Master Archdeacon of London did diligently travail with Sir Thomas Whittle. I being present, and perceiving his conformity, as outwardly appeared, devised this submission, and he being content therewith did subscribe the same. But now, this Saturday morning, Master Archdeacon and I, upon Cluney's report, declaring that he feigned himself to be distracted of his senses, went unto him, to whom he declared that Satan in the night-time appeared unto him, and said that he was damned, for that he had done against his conscience in subscribing to the said submission; with other like words, &c. And then Master Archdeacon, at his earnest request, delivered unto him the submission. And thereupon the said Whittle did tear out his subscription, made in the foot of the same, as your Lordship shall perceive by the submission sent now unto your Lordship by Master Archdeacon; wherewith the said Whittle was somewhat quieted.

"And as touching Joan Lashford, Master Archdeacon did likewise travail with her, and showing her Sir Thomas's submission, which I read unto her two times, demanded if she could be content to make the like submission, and she desired respite until this morning. And being now eftsoons demanded, in like wise saith, that she will not make any thing in writing, nor put any sign thereunto. Master Archdeacon and I intend this afternoon to examine the said Sir Thomas upon articles: for as yet there doth appear nothing in writing against him, as knoweth Almighty God, who preserve your Lordship in prosperity long with honour to endure! From London this Saturday,
 "By your Lordship's daily beads-man, and bounden servant,
 ROBERT JOHNSON."

The condemnation, martyrdom, and death of Thomas Whittle.

Concerning the words and answers of the said Thomas Whittle at his last examination before the bishop, upon the fourteenth day of January, the year above-expressed, Bonner, with other his fellow Bonnerlings, sitting in his consistory at afternoon, first called forth Thomas Whittle, with whom he began in effect as followeth: "Because ye be a priest," saith he, "as I and other bishops here be, and did receive the order of priesthood after the right and form of the catholic church, ye shall not think but I will minister justice as well unto you as unto others." And then the said Bonner in further communication did charge him, that whereas in times past he had said mass according to the order then used, the same Whittle now of late had spoken and railed against the same, saying that it was idolatry and abomination. Whereunto Thomas Whittle answering again said, that at such time as he so said mass, he was then ignorant, &c.: adding more over, that the elevation of the sacrament at the mass, giveth occasion of idolatry to them that be ignorant and unlearned.



The Examination of Thomas Whittle

After this the bishop, making haste to the articles, (which in all his examinations ever he harped upon, came to this article,) "That thou wast in times past baptized in the faith of the catholic church."

To this the said Whittle inferred again, "I was baptized in the faith of the catholic church, although I did forsake the Church of Rome. And ye, my Lord, do call these heresies, that be no heresies, and do charge me therewith as heresies; and ye ground yourself upon that religion, which is not agreeable to God's word," &c.

Then the said victorious soldier and servant of our Saviour, constant in the verity received and professed, was again admonished, and with persuasions entreated by the bishop; who because he would not agree unto the same, the bishop forthwith proceeded, first to his actual degradation, that is, to unpriest him of all his priestly trinkets and clerkly habit. The order and manner of which their popish and most vain degradation, before, in the story of Bishop Hooper, is to be seen. Then Whittle, in the midst of the ceremonies, when he saw them so busy in degrading him after their father the pope's pontifical fashion, said unto them, "Paul and Titus had not so much ado with their priests and bishops." And further, speaking to the bishop, he said unto him, "My Lord, your religion standeth most with the Church of Rome, and not with the catholic church of Christ."

The bishop after this, according to his accustomed and formal proceedings, assayed him yet again with words, rather than with substantial arguments, to conform him to his religion: who then denying so to do, said, "As for your religion, I cannot be persuaded that it is according to God's word."

The bishop then asked, what fault he found in the administration of the sacrament of the altar.

Whittle answered and said, "It is not used according to Christ's institution, in that it is privately and not openly done: and also for that it is ministered but in one kind to the lay people, which is against Christ's ordinance. Further, Christ commanded it not to be elevated nor adored: for the adoration and elevation cannot be approved by Scripture."

"Well," quoth Bonner, "my Lords here and other learned men have showed great learning for thy conversion, wherefore if thou wilt yet return to the faith and religion of the catholic church, I will receive thee thereunto, and not commit thee to the secular power," &c. To make short, Whittle, strengthened with the grace of the Lord, stood strong and unmovable in that he had affirmed. Wherefore the sentence being read, the next day following he was committed to the secular power, and so, in few days after, brought to the fire with the other six aforenamed, sealing up the testimony of his doctrine with his blood, which he willingly and cheerfully gave for the witness of the truth.

LETTERS OF THOMAS WHITTLE.

A letter to John Careless, prisoner in the King's Bench.

"The peace of God in Christ be with you continually, dearly beloved brother in Christ, with the assistance of God's grace and Holy Spirit, to the working and performing of those things which may comfort and edify his church (as ye daily do) to the glory of his name, and the increase of your joy and solace of soul in this life, and also your reward in heaven with Christ our Captain, whose faithful soldier ye are, in the life to come, Amen.

"I have greatly rejoiced, my dear heart, with thanks to God for you, since I have heard of your faith and love which you bear towards God and his saints, with a most godly ardent zeal to the virtue of Christ's doctrine and religion, which I have heard by the report of many, but specially by the declaring of that valiant captain in Christ's church, that stout champion in God's cause, that spectacle to the world, I mean our good brother Philpot, who now lieth under the altar, and sweetly enjoyeth the promised reward. And specially I and my condemned fellows give thanks to God for your loving and comfortable letter in the deepness of our trouble (after the flesh) sent unto us to the consolation of us all, but most specially to me, most sinful miser, on mine own behalf, but happy, I hope, through God's loving-kindness in Christ showed unto me; who suffered me to faint and fail through human infirmity, by the

working of the arch-enemy in his sworn soldiers, the bishops and priests. In whom so lively appeareth the very visage and shape of Satan, that a man (if it were not prejudice to God's word) might well affirm them to be devils incarnate, as I by experience do speak. Wherefore, whoso shall for conscience-matters come in their hands, had need of the wiliness of the serpent to save his head, though it be with the wounding of his body, and to take diligent heed how he consenteth to their wicked writings, or setteth his hand to their conveyances.

"So did they assault me and craftily tempt me to their wicked ways, or at least to a denegation of my faith and true opinions, though it were but by colour and dissimulation. And, alas, something they did prevail. Not that I did any thing at all like their opinions and false papistical religion, or else doubted of the truth wherein I stand, but only the infirmity of the flesh beguiled me, desiring liberty by an unlawful means: God lay it not to my charge at that day! and so I heartily desire you to pray. Howbeit, uncertain I am whether more profit came thereby: profit to me, in that God suffered Satan to buffet me by his foresaid minister of mischief, showing me mine infirmity, that I should not boast nor rejoice in myself, but only in the Lord; who when he had led me to hell in my conscience, through the respect of his fearful judgments against me for my fearfulness, mistrust, and crafty cloaking in such spiritual and weighty matters, (in the which agony and distress I found this old verse true, *Non patitur ludum fama, fides, oculus,*) yet he brought me from thence again to the magnifying of his name, suspecting of flesh and blood, and consolation of mine own soul; or else that I might feel disprofit in offending the congregation of God, which peradventure will rather adjudge my fall to come of doubtfulness in my doctrine and religion, than of human imbecility.

"Well, of the importune burden of a troubled conscience for denying or dissembling the known verity, I by experience could say very much more, which perhaps I will declare by writing, to the warning of others, if God grant time: for now am I and my fellows ready to go hence even for Christ's cause: God's name be praised, who hath hereto called us. Pray, I pray you, that we may end our course with joy, and at your appointed time you shall come after. But as the Lord hath kept you, so will he preserve your life still, to the intent you should labour (as you do) to appease and convince these ungodly contentions and controversies, which now do too much reign, brawling about terms to no edification. God is dishonoured, the church disquieted, and occasion to speak evil of the gospel ministered to our adversaries. But such is the subtlety of Satan, that whom he cannot win with gross idolatry in open religion, them he seeketh to corrupt and deceive in opinions, in a private profession. But here I will abruptly leave, lest with my rude and simple vein I should be tedious unto you, desiring you, my loving brother, if it shall not seem grievous unto you, to write unto me and my fellows yet once again, if you have leisure, and we time to the same.

"Provide me Master Philpot's nine examinations for a friend of mine, and I shall pay you there-for, by the leave of Almighty God our heavenly Father, who correcteth all his dear children in this world, that they should not be damned with the world, and trieth the faith of his saints through many tribulations, that being found constant to the end, he may crown his own gifts in them, and in heaven highly reward them; whither I trust to go before, looking for you to follow, my faithful friend, that we may sing perpetual praise to our loving Lord God for victory over Satan and sin,

won for us by Jesus Christ, God and man, our only and sufficient Saviour and Advocate, Amen. Farewell, and pray in faith.

"Yours, THOMAS WHITTLE, minister, and now condemned to die for the gospel's sake, 1556, Jan. 21.

"All my fellows salute you. Salute all our faithful brethren with you."

To my dear friend and brother John Went, and other his prison fellows in Lollards' Tower.

"He that preserved Joseph prisoner in Egypt, fed Daniel in the lions' den, and delivered Paul, Peter, and the apostles out of prison, vouchsafe of his goodness to keep, feed, and deliver you, my good brother Went, with the other our fellow soldiers your prison-fellows, as may be most to his glory, to your consolation, and the edification of his church.

"I cannot but praise God most earnestly, when I hear of your constancy in the faith, and joy in the cross of Christ, which you now bear and suffer together, with many other good members of Christ, which is a token that by Christ you are counted worthy the kingdom of God, as Paul saith. And though the world counteth the yoke and cross of Christ as a most pernicious and hurtful thing, yet we which have tasted how friendly the Lord is, cannot but rejoice in this persecution as touching ourselves; inasmuch as the cause for the which we suffer is the Lord's cause and not ours, at whose hand, if we endure to the end, we shall receive, through his liberal promise in Christ, not only a great reward in heaven, but also the kingdom of heaven itself, and also in the mean season be sure to be defended and cared for, so that we shall lack no necessary things, neither a hair of our heads shall perish without his knowledge. O what is he that would mistrust, or not gladly serve, so loving a Father? O how unhappy are they that forsake him and put their trust in man! But how blessed are they that for his love and for his holy word's sake, in these troublesome days, do commit their souls and bodies into his hands with well doing, counting it greater happiness and riches to suffer rebuke with Christ and his church, than to enjoy the pleasures of this life for a little short season! This cross that we now bear, hath been common to all the faithful from Abel hitherto, and shall be to the end; because the devil, having great wrath against God and his Christ, cannot abide that he should for his manifold mercies be lauded and magnified, and Christ to be taken and believed upon for our only sufficient Redeemer, Saviour, and Advocate: and therefore, because we will not deny Christ, nor dissemble with our faith, but openly protest and profess the same before the world, he seeketh by all means to stir up his wicked members, to persecute and kill the bodies of the true Christians: as St. John saith, The devil shall cast some of you into prison. And David saith, I believed, and therefore have I spoken, but I was sore troubled. This notwithstanding, go forward, dear brethren, as ye have begun, to fight the Lord's battle, considering Christ the Captain of your war, who will both fight for you, give you victory, and also highly reward your pains. Consider to your comfort the notable and chief shepherds and soldiers of Christ, which are gone before us in these days; I mean those learned and godly bishops, doctors, and other ministers of God's word, whose faith and examples we that be inferiors ought to follow, as St. Paul saith: Remember them that have declared unto you the word of God, the end of whose conversation see that ye look upon, and follow their faith. The grace and

blessing of God, with the ministry of his holy angels, be with you for ever; Amen. All my prison-fellows greet you.

"From the coal-house, this fourth of December; by your poor brother Thomas Whittle, an unworthy minister of Christ, now his prisoner for the gospel's sake. Amen."

To all the true professors and lovers of God's holy gospel within the city of London.

"The same faith for the which Abraham was counted righteous, and Mary blessed, the Lord God increase and make stable in your hearts, my dear and faithful brethren and sisters of London, for ever and ever; Amen.

"Dearly beloved, be not troubled in this heat which is now come amongst you to try you, as though some strange thing had happened unto you, but rejoice inasmuch as ye are partakers of Christ's passion; that when his glory appeareth, ye may be merry and glad, &c. Out of these words of St. Peter, I gather most specially these four notes. First, that persecution happeneth to Christ's church for their trial, that is, for the probation and proof of their faith. Which faith, like as it is known with God in the depth of our hearts, so will he have it made manifest to the whole world through persecution; that so it may evidently appear that he hath such a church and people upon earth, which so trusteth in him and feareth his holy name, that no kind of persecution, pains, nor death, shall be able to separate them from the love of him. And thus was Abraham tried and Job tempted, that their faith, which before lay hid almost in their hearts, might be made known to the whole world to be so stedfast and strong, that neither the devil, natural love, nor any other enemy, could be able to bereave them thereof. Whereby also God was to be magnified, who hath tried his people by many tribulations, and also standeth by them in the midst of their troubles, to deliver them by life or death as he seeth best: like as he assisted Lot, and delivered him out of his enemies' hands; Joseph out of the hands of his brethren and out of prison; Paul from his enemies in Damascus; and the apostles out of the stocks and prison.

"These with many more he delivered to life; and also he delivered Abel, Eleazar, Stephen, and John Baptist, with many others, by death, and hath also by the trial of their faith made them good presidents, and examples to us and all that come after, to suffer affliction in the like cause; as St. James saith, Take, my brethren, saith he, the prophets for an ensample of suffering adversity and of long patience, which spake unto you in the name of the Lord. Behold, we count them happy which endure. Ye have heard of the patience of Job, and have known what end the Lord made with him, for the Lord is very pitiful and merciful. Also the Lord trieth us, to let us see our own hearts and thoughts, that no hypocrisy nor ambition deceive us, and that the strong in Christ may pray that he fall not, but endure to the end; and that those that fall through fearful infirmity, might speedily repent and rise again with Peter, and also that the weak ones might bewail their weakness, and cry with David, Have mercy upon me, O Lord, for I am weak. O Lord, heal me, for all my bones are vexed.

"Of this opening of the heart by persecution, spake holy Simeon to Mary, Christ's mother, when he said, The sword (that is, the cross of persecution) shall pierce thy soul, that the thoughts of many hearts may be opened. For like as a king

that should go to battle, is compelled to look in his coffers what treasure he hath, and also what number and puissance of men and weapons he hath, so that if he himself be unready and unarmed to bicker with his enemy, he surceaseth and taketh truce for a time: even so we, by persecutions, have our hearts opened, that we may look therein to see what faith in Christ we have, and what strength to withstand the enemies, and to bear the cross, that if we be rich in these treasures, we might rejoice, and valiantly go to battle; or if we want these things, we might with all speed cry and call upon him which giveth all good gifts to those that ask them. Item, the cross trieth the good people from the bad, the faithful from the worldlings and hypocrites, and also cleanseth and scoureth the faithful hearts from all corruption and filthiness both of the flesh and the spirit. And even as iron, except it be often scoured, will soon wax rusty; so except our sinful hearts and flesh be often scoured with the whetstone of the cross, they will soon corrupt and overgrow with the rust of all filthiness and sin. And therefore it is meet and good for us, as the wise man saith, that as gold and silver is tried in the fire, so should the hearts of acceptable men be tried in the furnace of adversity. Abide the trial, dear friends, that ye may obtain the crown of life. Fight manfully in this the Lord's cause, that ye may obtain a glorious victory here, and receive a great reward in heaven hereafter.

"As ye are called Christians, and would be angry to be called Jews or Turks, so declare your Christianity by following the steps of Christ, whose name ye bear. Suffer with him and for his gospel's sake, rather than to deny him or to defile your faith and conscience with false worshipping of Romish religion.

"Take up your cross my dear hearts, now when it is offered you, and go up with Christ to Jerusalem amongst the bishops, priests, and rulers, (if God call you thereto,) and they will anon send you to Calvary; from whence, (dying in the cause of the gospel, wherein our good preachers and brethren have given their lives,) your souls, I warrant you, through Christ Jesus shall ascend to God that gave them, and the body shall come after at the last day; and so shall ye dwell with the Lord for ever in unspeakable joy and bliss. O blessed are they that suffer persecution for righteousness' sake, as Christ's people in this Jewish England now do; for theirs is the kingdom of heaven! O my beloved, set your minds on this kingdom where Christ our Head and King is; considering that as the brute beast looketh downwards with the face towards the earth, so man is made contrariwise with his face looking upwards towards the heavens, because his conversation should be in heaven and heavenly things, and not upon the earth and earthly things, as St. Paul saith, Set your minds on things which are above, where Christ is. And again he saith, Our conversation is in heaven, from whence we look for our Saviour, who will change our vile bodies, and make them like to his glorious body. Oh the glorious estate that we be called unto! The Lord preserve us harmless to his eternal kingdom through Christ Jesus our Lord; Amen.

"The second thing that I note in the foresaid words of Peter, is, that he calleth persecution no strange thing. And truth it is, for which of the prophets were not persecuted with Christ and his apostles, and some of them in the end cruelly killed for the truth's sake? Cain killed Abel, Isaac was persecuted of Ishmael, Jacob was hated of Esau, Joseph was prisoned and set in the stocks, the prophet Isaiah was cut in two with a saw, Jeremiah was stoned, Micaiah was buffeted and fed with bread and water, Elias was sore persecuted, Eleazar and the woman with her seven sons were cruelly killed. What Christ and the apostles suffered it is well known. So that by many

tribulations (as Paul saith) we must enter into the kingdom of heaven. All the holy prophets, Christ, and his apostles, suffered such afflictions -- not for evil doing, but for preaching God's word, for rebuking of the world of sin, and for their faith in Jesus Christ.

"This is the ordinance of God, my friends, this is the high-way to heaven, by corporal death to eternal life; as Christ saith, He that heareth my words, and believeth in him that sent me, hath eternal life, and shall not come into judgment, but is escaped from death to life. Let us never fear death, which is killed by Christ, but believe in him and live for ever; as Paul saith, There is no damnation to them that are in Christ Jesus, which walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit. And again Paul saith, Death, where is thy sting? Hell, where is thy victory? Thanks be to God which hath given us victory through Jesus Christ.

"Besides this, ye have seen, and daily do see, the blood of your good preachers and brethren, which hath been shed in the gospel's cause in this sinful Sodom, this bloody Jerusalem, this unhappy city of London. Let not their blood be forgotten, nor the blood of your good bishop Ridley, who like a shepherd, to your comfort and example, hath given his life for his sheep. Good St. Paul saith, Remember them that have spoken to you the word of God, and look upon the end of their conversation, and follow their faith.

"The devil ever stirreth up false teachers, as he hath done now over all England, as Peter, Paul, and Jude prophesied it should be, to poison and kill our souls with the false doctrine. And when he faileth of his purpose that way, then moveth he his members to persecute the silly carcasses of the saints, because they will not deny nor dissemble their pure faith in our living Christ, and confess a dead bready Christ, and honour the same as Christ, God and man, contrary to God's commandment.

"This is the working of Satan, who, knowing his own just damnation, would all mankind to be partakers with him of the same; such a mortal hatred beareth he against God and his people. And therefore when this wicked tempter could not kill Christ with subtle temptation to fall down and worship him, then he stirred up his servants the bishops and Pharisees to kill his body, whereby notwithstanding the devil lost his title and interest which he had to man's soul, and man by his precious passion and death was ransomed from the devil, death, and hell, to immortality and life everlasting. And so when Satan thought to have won all in killing of Christ, he lost all. And so shall he do in us, if we abide constant and strong in the faith of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ unto the end. God grant it for his mercy's sake in Christ. Blessed are all they that put their trust in him. Amen.

"Wherefore, my heartily beloved brethren and sisters, be of good comfort through Jesus Christ, for he that is in us is stronger than he that is in the world. Therefore draw ye near to God, and he will draw near to you. Resist the devil, and he will, as James saith, flee from you. Beware of the leaven of the Pharisees. Touch not pitch, lest you be defiled therewith; eat no swine's flesh, for it is against the law: I mean, defile not yourselves either inwardly or outwardly with this false and wicked religion of antichrist; for it is nothing else but pitch, and swine's flesh. Beware of the beast's mark, lest ye drink of the cup of God's wrath. If God have given you knowledge and faith, dissemble not therewith. Deny not the known verity before men,

lest Christ deny you before his Father. Come away from Babylon, as John biddeth you; and touch no unclean thing, but separate yourselves from the company of the ungodly, as Paul commandeth you. Whatsoever you have done amiss heretofore, now repent ye and amend: for with the Lord there is mercy and plenteous redemption.

"The third thing and note which I gather out of the foresaid words of Peter, is this, that he saith, Rejoice because ye are partakers of Christ's passion. Our sufferings, my well-beloved, are Christ's sufferings; and that injury that is done to us for his sake, he reckoneth it to be done to himself, as he said to St. Paul, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? Therefore we ought to rejoice in our sufferings, as Paul writeth, which we suffer with Christ and one with another, as Peter saith, and so to fulfil that which is behind of the passions of Christ in our flesh; which Christ hath, by his passion, fully redeemed and saved us in his own person: howbeit his elect must suffer with him and for him unto the world's end, that he may be glorified in them, and they thereby corrected and cleansed from sin in this world, and be made more meet temples for the Holy Ghost, and also obtain a great reward in heaven for their suffering for righteousness' sake, according to his promise. And therefore I say, my brethren, rejoice in the Lord always, and again I say, Rejoice. Let us rejoice in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, whereby the world is crucified to us, and we to it.

"And why should we so greatly rejoice in the cross of Christ, which we now suffer? Because, saith Peter, when his glory appeareth, we may be merry and glad. And this is the fourth note that I gather out of his words above written: wherein is set out the reward of suffering, not to be had in this world; but at his coming to judgment, when we shall be raised again. And then shall they that have sown in tears, reap in joy; as Christ saith, Blessed are they that weep here; for they shall laugh. Blessed are ye when men hate you, and thrust you out of their company, railing on you, and abhorring your name as an evil thing for the Son of man's sake: rejoice ye in that day and be glad, for your reward is great in heaven.

"Wherefore, my dearly beloved, through the hope of this heavenly joy and reward, which he that cannot lie hath promised, (which joy is so great that no ear hath heard, no eye hath seen, nor the heart can think, where we shall dwell for ever in the heavenly city, the celestial Jerusalem, in the presence of God the Father, and Jesus Christ our Mediator, as Paul saith, and in the company of innumerable angels, and with the spirits and souls of all faithful and just men,) rejoice and be glad. And seeing ye be called to so great glory, see that you make your election and vocation sure by good works, and specially by suffering adversity for the gospel's sake: for it is given us of God (saith Paul) not only to believe in Christ, but also to suffer for his sake. Continue in prayer, and pray for me that I may end my course with joy. Have brotherly love amongst yourselves, which is a token that ye be Christ's disciples. Edify and comfort one another in the word of the Lord, and the God of peace and love be with you always. Amen.

"For your liberality and kindness showed upon the prisoners and afflicted people of God in this time of persecution, the Lord will reward you when he cometh to reward every man according to his deeds, and will not leave a cup of cold water bestowed upon his faithful people unrewarded. God make you rich in all grace, that ye always having sufficient, may be rich unto all manner of good works.

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

"The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with you always. Amen.

"Your brother now in bonds for the gospel,

THOMAS WHITTLE."

To my loving and faithful brother John Careless, prisoner in the King's Bench.

"The same faith for the which Abraham was accounted just, and Mary blessed, whereby also all just men live, the Lord God our loving Father increase and stablish in you and me, to the obtaining of eternal life in our alone and sweet Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.

"I cannot worthily and sufficiently praise God, my heartily beloved brother, for the consolation and joy that I have received by reason of your loving letters, repenting me much that I, being so long so near you, did not enterprise to stir up familiarity and communication between us by writing, to mutual consolation in Christ. For what is there upon earth wherein to rejoice, (where all things are transitory and vain, yea, man himself, respecting this life,) but, as David saith, the saints that dwell upon the earth, and such as excel in virtue? But here now I consider, that if the fellowship, love, and joy, of faithful men and children of God, (being as we now be in double bondage, the body within clay walls, and the soul within these frail earthly bodies,) be so great and comfortable; how unspeakable will these joys be, when we shall be delivered from all corruption into the glorious liberty of the sons of God, where we shall be present together continually in our glorified bodies beholding the face of our Father presently, (whom now we see but in the glass of faith,) with his dear Son Christ our Redeemer and Brother, and the blessed company of angels and all faithful saved souls!

"Oh the incomparable good things and heavenly treasures laid up for us in heaven by Christ Jesus! For the obtaining whereof, we ought to set light by all temporal grief and transitory afflictions, so much the more, in that our good God is faithful, and will not suffer us to be tempted above our strength; and that namely in the end of our life, when the tree where it falleth lieth still, as the preacher saith, when every one, *causa sua dormit, et causa sua resurget*. For else, before the end, he suffereth him sometime to fall, but not finally to perish: as Peter sank upon the sea, but yet was not drowned; and sinned grievously upon the land through infirmity denying his Master, but yet found mercy: for the righteous falleth oftentimes. And Christ's holy apostles are taught to say, *Remitte nobis debita nostra*. Yea, though the righteous fall, saith David, he shall not be cast away, for the Lord upholdeth him with his hand. Oh the bottomless mercy of God towards us, miserable sinners! He vouchsafe to plant in my heart true repentance and faith, to the obtaining of remission of all my sins in the mercies of God, and merits of Christ his Son! And thereto I pray you say, Amen.

"O my dearly beloved, it grieveth me to see the spoil and havoc that Saul maketh with the congregation of Christ. But what remedy? This is God's will and ordinance, that his people shall here both be punished in the flesh and tried in their

faith; as it is written, Many are the troubles of the righteous, but the Lord delivereth them out of all: for by a strait path and narrow door must we enter. Whither? Into the joyful kingdom of heaven! Therefore blessed are you and others that suffer persecution for Christ's sake, for the profession of the same. Pray for me and my fellows, good brother, that we may fight a good fight, that we may keep the faith, and end our course with joyful gladness; for now the time of our deliverance is at hand. The Lord guide, defend, and keep us and you and all his people in our journey, that we may safely, through a short death, pass to that long lasting life.

"Farewell, my dear and loving brother and fellow soldier in Christ! farewell, I say, in him, who receive our souls in peace when they shall depart from these tabernacles, and grant us a joyful resurrection, and a merry meeting at the last day, and continual dwelling in his eternal heavenly kingdom, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen!

"Yours with my poor prayer; other pleasure can I do you none,

THOMAS WHITTLE, minister."

To my dear brethren Master Filles and Cutbert.

"My dear and well-beloved brethren in Christ, Master Filles and Cutbert, I wish you all welfare of soul and body. Welfare to the soul, is repentance of sin, faithful affiance in Christ Jesus, and a godly life. Welfare to the body, is the health of the same, with all necessary things for this body-life. The soul of man is immortal, and therefore ought to be well kept, lest immortality to joy should turn to immortality of sorrow. As for the body, be it never so well kept and much made of, yet shortly by nature will it perish and decay; but those that are ingrafted and incorporated into Christ by true faith, feeling the motion of God's Holy Spirit as a pledge of their election and inheritance, exciting and stirring them not only to seek heavenly things, but also to hate vice, and embrace virtue, will not only do these things, but also, if need require, will gladly take up their cross and follow their Captain, their King, and their Saviour Jesus Christ, (as his poor afflicted Church of England now doth,) against that false and antichristian doctrine and religion now used, and specially that blasphemous mass, wherein Christ's supper and holy ordinance is altogether perverted and abused, contrary to his institution and to Paul's proceedings: so that that which they have in their mass, is neither sacrament of Christ, nor yet sacrifice for sin, as the priests falsely pretend. It is a sacrament, that is, as St. Augustine saith, a visible sign of invisible grace, when it is ministered to the communicants according to Christ's example, and as it was of late years in this realm. And as for sacrifice, there is none to be made now for sin: for Christ with one sacrifice hath perfected for ever those that are sanctified.

"Beware of false religion, and men's vain traditions, and serve God with reverence and godly fear according to the doctrine of his gospel, whereto cleave ye that ye may be blessed, though of wicked men ye be hated and accursed. Rather drink of the cup of Christ with his church, than of the cup of that rose-coloured whore of Babylon, which is full of abominations. Rather strive ye to go to heaven by the path

which is strait to flesh and blood, with the little flock, than to go in the wide way, following the enticements of the world and the flesh, which lead to damnation.

"Like as Christ suffered in the flesh, saith St. Peter, so arm ye yourselves with the same mind: for Christ suffered for us, leaving us example to follow his footsteps. Blessed are they that suffer for his sake; great is their reward in heaven. He that overcometh, saith St. John, shall eat of the tree of life: he shall have a crown of life, and not to be hurt of the second death; he shall be clothed with white array, and not to be put out of the book of life: yea, I will confess his name, saith Christ, before my Father and before his angels, and he shall be a pillar in the house of God, and sit with me on my seat. And thus I bid you farewell, mine own brethren and dear fellows in Christ; whose grace and peace be alway with you. Amen.

"This world I do forsake; to Christ I me betake;
And, for his gospel's sake, patiently death I take.
My body to the dust now to return it must;
My soul, I know full well, with my God it shall dwell.

"THOMAS WHITTLE."

Another letter written to a certain godly woman.

"O my dear and loving sister in Christ! be not dismayed in this storm of persecution: for Paul calleth the gospel the word of the cross, because it is never truly taught, but the cross and cruel persecution immediately and necessarily do follow the same; and therefore it is a manifest token of God's truth, and hath been here and is still abroad; and that is the cause of the rage and cruelty of Satan against Christ and his members, which must be corrected for their sins in this world: their faith must be tried, that after trial and patient suffering the faithful may receive the crown of glory. Fear not therefore, my well-beloved! but proceed in the knowledge and fear of God, and he will keep you from all evil. Call upon his holy name, and he will strengthen you and assist you in all your ways: and if it please him to lay his cross upon you for his gospel's sake, refuse it not, neither shake it off by unlawful means, lest you should (as God forbid) find a more grievous cross and torment of conscience, if you should dissemble and deny the known verity, than is any persecution or death of body. Oh how happy are they that suffer persecution for righteousness' sake! Their reward is great in heaven. The momentary afflictions of this life are not worthy of the glory that shall be showed upon us. O remember the godly women of the Old Testament and New, which lived in God's service and fear, and therefore are now in bliss and commended for ever: and namely Judith, Esther, Abigail, the mother of the seven sons, Mary, Elizabeth, Susanna, Lydia, and Phoebe, and others. Set their examples before your eyes, and fear nothing, for Satan is conquered by our Saviour Christ; sin is put to flight, and the gate of immortality and eternal life is set wide open: God grant we may enter therein through the door Jesus Christ. Amen!

"THOMAS WHITTLE."

The story of Master Bartlet Green, ,gentleman and lawyer, martyr.



AFTER the martyrdom of Thomas Whittle, next followed in order to speak of Bartlet Green, who, the next day after the foresaid Whittle, was likewise condemned.

This Green was of a good house, and had such parents as both favoured learning, and were also willing to bring up this their child in the same; who, after some entrance in other inferior schools, was by them sent unto the university of Oxford, where through exercise and diligent study he so profited, that within short time he attained, as well to the knowledge of sundry profane sciences, as also now, in his last years, unto the godly understanding of divinity; whereunto (through ignorance in which he was trained up from his youth) he was at the first an utter enemy, until such time as God of his mercy had opened his eyes, by his often repairing unto the common lectures of Peter Martyr, reader of the divinity lecture in the same university, so that thereby (as by God's instrument) he saw the true light of Christ's gospel. Whereof when he had once tasted, it became unto him as the fountain of lively water, that our Saviour Christ spake of to the woman of Samaria, so as he never thirsted any more, but had a well springing unto everlasting life; insomuch as when he was called by his friends from the university; and was placed in the Temple at London, there to attain to the knowledge of the common laws of the realm, he yet continued still in his former study and earnest profession of the gospel; wherein also he did not a little profit. Howbeit, (such is the frailty of our corrupt nature, without the special assistance of God's Holy Spirit,) through the continual accompanying and fellowship of such worldly (I will not say too much youthful) young gentlemen, as are commonly in that and the like houses, he became by little and little a compartner of their fond follies and youthful vanities, as well in his apparel, as also in banquetings, and other superfluous excesses: which he afterward (being again called by God's merciful correction) did sore lament and bewail, as appeareth by his own testimony, notified and left in a book of a certain friend of his, a little before his death, written with his own hand, in manner as followeth.

The writing of Master Bartlet Green, in Master Bartram Calthorp's book.

"Two things have very much troubled me whilst I was in the Temple, pride and gluttony; which, under the colour of glory and good fellowship, drew me almost from God. Against both there is one remedy, by prayer, earnest and without ceasing. And forsomuch as vain-glory is so subtle an adversary, that almost it woundeth deadly ere ever a man can perceive himself to be smitten, therefore we ought so much the rather, by continual prayer, to labour for humbleness of mind. Truly gluttony beginneth under a charitable pretence of mutual love and society, and hath in it most uncharitableness. When we seek to refresh our bodies, that they may be the more apt to serve God, and perform our duties towards our neighbours, then stealeth it in as a

privy thief, and murdereth both body and soul, that now it is not apt to pray, or serve God, apt to study, or labour for our neighbour. Let us therefore watch and be sober; for our adversary the devil walketh about like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour. And remember what Solomon saith, A patient man is better than a strong warrior, and he that conquereth his own stomach, is better than he that conquereth towns and cities.

"BARTLET GREEN."

"Agreement of minds joining in unity of faith, and growing up in charity, is true and stedfast amity. Farewell, my Bartram, and remember me, that ever we may be like together. Farewell. At Newgate, Jan. 20, anno 1556.

"Set sober love against hasty wrath.

"BARTLET GREEN "

Thus we see the fatherly kindness of our most gracious and merciful God, who never suffereth his elect children so to fall, that they lie still in security of sin, but oftentimes quickeneth them up by some such means as perhaps they think least of, as he did here this his strayed sheep. And now therefore to return to our history: for the better maintenance of himself in these his studies, and other his affairs, he had a large exhibition of his grandfather, Master Doctor Bartlet, who, during the time of Green's imprisonment, made unto him large offers of great livings, if he would recant, and (forsaking the truth and gospel of Christ) come home again to the church and synagogue of Rome. But those his persuasions (the Lord be therefore praised) took small effect in his faithful heart, as the sequel did declare. He was a man beloved of all men (except of the papists, who love none that love the truth); and so he well deserved, for he was of a meek, humble, discreet, and most gentle behaviour to all. Injurious he was to none, beneficial to many, especially to those that were of the household of faith; as appeared amongst other, by his friendly dealing with Master Christopher Goodman, being at that present a poor exile beyond the seas; with whom this Bartlet Green (as well for his toward learning, as also for his sober and godly behaviour) had often society in Oxford, in the days of good King Edward; which now, notwithstanding his friend's misery and banishment, he did not lightly forget: and that turned as it chanced (not without the providence of Almighty God) to the great grief of both; the one of heart, for the loss of his friend, and the other of body, in suffering the cruel and murdering rage of papists. The cause hereof was a letter which Green did write unto the said Goodman, containing as well the report of certain demands or questions, which were cast abroad in London, (as appeareth hereafter in a letter of his own penning, which he meant to have sent unto Master Philpot, wherein he declareth his full usage before the bishop of London and others,) as also an answer to a question made by the said Christopher Goodman, in a letter written unto him, in which he required to have the certainty of the report which was spread amongst them on the other side of the seas, that the queen was dead. Whereunto Master Green answered simply, and as the truth then was, that she was not dead.

These letters, with many others, written to divers of the godly exiles, by their friends here in England, being delivered to a messenger to carry over, came, by the apprehension of the said bearer, unto the hands of the king and queen's council; who, at their convenient leisure, (which in those days by some of them was quickly found out for such matters,) perused the whole number of the said letters, and amongst them

espied this letter of Master Green's, written unto his friend Christopher Goodman; in the contents whereof (amongst other news and private matters) they found these words: "The queen is not yet dead." Which words were only written as an answer, to certify Master Goodman of the truth of his former demand; howbeit (to some of the council) they seemed very heinous words, yea, treason, they would have made them, if the law would have suffered. Which when they could not do, (and being yet very loth to let any such depart freely, whom they suspected to be a favourer of the gospel,) they then examined him upon his faith in religion; but upon what points it is not certainly known.

Nevertheless (as it seemeth) his answers were such as little pleased them (especially the anointed sort); and therefore, after they had long detained him in prison, as well in the Tower of London as elsewhere, they sent him at last unto Bonner, bishop of London, to be ordered according to his ecclesiastical law; as appeareth by their letters sent unto the bishop, with the said prisoner also, wherein it may appear, that Sir John Bourne (then secretary to the queen) was a chief stirrer in such cases, yea, and an enticer of others of the council; who otherwise (if for fear they durst) would have been content to have let such matters alone. The Lord forgive them their weakness (if it be his good pleasure) and give them true repentance. Amen.

A letter sent unto Bonner, bishop of London, by the queen's council, dated the eleventh day of November, 1555; but not delivered until the seventeenth of the same month.

"After our right hearty commendations to your good Lordship, we send to the same herewith the body of one Bartlet Green, who hath of good time remained in the Tower for his obstinate standing in matters against the catholic religion, whom the king's and queen's Majesties' pleasures are, (because he is of your Lordship's diocese,) ye shall cause to be ordered according to the laws in such cases provided. And thus we bid your Lordship heartily farewell.

"From St. James's, the eleventh of November, 1555.

"Your good Lordship's loving friends,

Winchester,

Pembroke,

Thomas Ely,

William Haward,

John Bourne,

Thomas Wharton.

"Postscript. -- I, Sir John Bourne, will wait upon your Lordship, and signify further the king's and queen's Majesties' pleasure herein."

Now that ye may the better understand the certainty of his handling, after this his coming unto Bonner's custody, I have thought it good to put forth his own letter, containing at large the discourse of the same; which letter he wrote, and did mean to have sent unto Master Philpot, but was prevented belike either by Philpot's death, or else (and rather) by the wily watching of his keeper: for it came (by what means I

know not certainly) unto the bishop's hands, and being delivered unto his registrar, was found in one of his books of record, the copy whereof here followeth.

A letter of Bartlet Green, written unto John Philpot, containing, besides other particular matter betwixt him and Master Philpot, a brief rehearsal of his handling, and certain his conferences with Bonner and others, at his first coming to the bishops.

"I marvel much that you will raise such slanders of me: for, what else is a slander than an untrue report of a man, to the hurt of a man? And though you will not seem to hurt me herein, nor did it there-for, yet, being a false report of me to the hurt of other men, methinketh I may count myself slandered therein. Is not the heart offended when the foot is slandered? is not the body troubled when the tongue is belied? is not the hand ready to revenge the dishonour of the head, or hurt of the least part of the body? are we not members all of one body? are we not members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones? If you think them not of one body with us, yet should you not have spoken evil of any man, yet should you not have slandered the rulers. But you have sought my hurt ignorantly: remember you not what happened to Moses and Aaron at the waters of strife, because of the over-great estimation that the people had in them? Were not the people plagued by David, in whom they overmuch gloried? *quippe per qua peccat quis, per eadem punietur*. None had such praise as had Josiah; and what was the end? The people had Josiah in reverence, and he spake, and it came not to pass! Peter's boldness deserved a fall; Paul had the messenger of Satan sent him; to Peter, after the preferment was given to him, were a foul fall and sharp rebuke; to the same, after the feeding of sheep; Paul withstood him in the face. Let him that standeth take heed he fall not; for if any man seem unto himself to be somewhat when he is nothing, he deceiveth himself. Would God you saw my heart, and the sorrows that I sustained thereby; God knoweth whether it were with the desire to be revenged of such lies, or to be delivered from the occasion of vain-glory thereby, (for I must say with David, *Delicta quis intelligit? ab occultis, &c.*) that I had almost fallen on the other side, to have swerved from the truth thereby. And this say I in truth, *coram Domino*; for I am not ashamed to confess my own weakness, to the praise of the glory of God. Would God you were not carnal, to prefer your friend with lies, to esteem friendship above truth, yea, above God, the author of all truth. *Qui gloriatur, in Domino gloriatur absit mihi gloriari nisi in cruce Domini Christi, &c.* Is this your friendship, O my friend?

"That which was wanting in talk (through my default) at your being here, I have supplied by writing in your absence, now at the length getting some opportunity and leisure. The seventeenth day of November, being brought hither by two of the clock at afternoon, I was presented before my Lord of London and other two bishops, Master Deane, Master Roper, Master Welch, Dr. Harpsfield, archdeacon of London, and other two or three, all sitting at one table. There were also present Dr. Dale, Master George Mordant, Master Dee. Then after the bishop of London had read unto himself the letter that came from the council, he spake with more words, but (as I remember) to this effect; that the cause of their assembly was: to hear mine examination, whereunto he had authority by the council; and had provided Master Welch, and another whose name I know not, (but well I remember, though he obtained it not, yet desired he my Lord, that I might hear the council's letters,) to be

there if any matters of the common law should arise, to discuss them: he entreated my Lord to determine all controversies of Scriptures; and as for the civil law, he and Dr. Dale should take it on them. Wherefore he demanded of me the cause of mine imprisonment. I said, that the occasion of mine apprehension was a letter which I wrote to one Christopher Goodman, wherein (certifying him of such news as happened here) among the rest, I wrote that there were certain printed papers of questions scattered abroad. Whereupon, being suspected to be privy unto the devising or publishing of the same, I was committed to the Fleet; but since heard I nothing thereof, after the commissioners had received my submission. The sum whereof was, that as I was sure there neither could he any true witness, nor probable conjecture against me in that behalf; so refused I no punishment, if they of their consciences would judge me privy to the devising, printing, or publishing of those questions. But my Lord, affirming that there was another cause of mine imprisonment since, demanded if I had not after, since I was committed to the Fleet, spoken or written somewhat against the natural presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar.

"Then desired I his Lordship to be good unto me, trusting that he would put me to answer to no new matters, except I were first discharged of the old. And when I stood long on that, Master Welch answered, that it was procured that I should so do, right well. For albeit I were imprisoned for treason, if during the time of endurance I had maintained heresy, that were no sufficient allegation against the ordinary; neither, whether I were before him acquitted or condemned, should it take away the former fault. Then, my Lord affirming that I was not brought before him but for heresy, and the other gentleman saying that doubtless I was discharged of my former matter; my desire was, that I might be charged according to the order of the law, to hear my accusers.

"Then Dr. Chedsey was sent for, who reported that in the presence of Master Mosley and the lieutenant of the Tower, I spake against the real presence and the sacrifice of the mass; and that I affirmed that their church was the church of antichrist.

"Is not this true?" quoth my Lord. I said, 'Yea.' 'Will you continue therein?' quoth he. 'Yea,' said I. 'Wilt thou then maintain it by learning?' said he. 'Therein,' quoth I, 'I should show myself to have little wit, knowing mine own youth and ignorance, if I would take on me to maintain any controversy against so many grave and learned men. But my conscience was satisfied in the truth, which was sufficient to my salvation.' 'Conscience!' quoth Master Roper; 'so shall every Jew and Turk be saved.'

"We had hereafter much talk to no purpose, and especially on my part, who felt in myself, through cold and open air, much dulness of wit and memory. At the length I was asked what conscience was: and I said, 'The certifying of the truth.'

"With that Master Welch rose up, desiring leave to talk with me alone. So he taking me aside into another chamber, said, that he was sorry for my trouble, and would gladly see me at liberty: he marvelled that I, being a young man, would stand against all the learned men of the realm, yea, and contrary to the whole determination of the catholic church from Christ's time, in a matter wherein I could have no great learning: I ought not to think mine own wit better than all men's, but should believe them that were learned. 'I promise you,' quoth he, 'I have read all Peter Martyr's book,

and Cranmer's, and all the rest of them, and have conferred them with the contrary, as Roffensis, and the bishop of Winchester, &c., and could not perceive but that there was one continual truth, which from the beginning had been maintained; and those that at any time severed from this unity, were answered, and answered again.' This was the sum of his tale, which lacked neither wit nor eloquence.

"Then spake I: 'Forasmuch as it pleaseth your Mastership to use me so familiarly, (for so he behaved himself towards me, as though I had been his equal,) I shall open my mind freely unto you, desiring you to take it in good worth. I consider my youth, lack of wit and learning, which would God it were but a little under the opinion that some men have of me! But God is not bound to time, wit, or knowledge, but rather chooseth *infirmi mundi, ut confunderet fortia*, neither can men appoint bounds to God's mercy: for, I will have compassion, saith he, on whom I will show mercy. There is no respect of persons with God, whether it be old or young, rich or poor, wise or foolish, fisher or basket-maker. God giveth knowledge of his truth through his free grace, to whom he list. Neither do I think myself only to have the truth, but stedfastly believe that Christ hath his spouse, the catholic and universal church, dispersed in many realms where it pleaseth him, *Spiritus ubi vult spirat*: no more is he addicted to any one place, than to the person and qualities of one man. Of this church I nothing doubt myself to be a member, trusting to be saved by the faith that is taught in the same. But how this church is known, is in a manner the end of all controversy; and the true marks of Christ's church are the true preaching of his word and ministering of his sacraments. These marks were sealed by the apostles, and confirmed by the ancient fathers, till at the length they were, through the wickedness of men and the devil, sore worn, and almost utterly taken away. But God be praised that he hath renewed the print, that his truth may be known in many places. For myself, I call God to witness, I have none hope in mine own wit and learning, which is very small; but I was persuaded thereto by him, as by an instrument that is excellent in all good learning and living. And God is my record, that chiefly I sought it of him by continual prayer with tears. Furthermore, what I have done herein, it is not needful for me to speak: but one thing (I say) I wish of God with all my heart -- that all men which are of contrary judgment, would seek the truth in like manner. Now I am brought hither before a great many of bishops and learned men, to be made a fool and a laughingstock; but I weigh it not a rush, for God knoweth that my whole study is to please him. Besides that, I care not for man's pleasure, or displeasure.'

"No, Master Green,' quoth Welch, 'think not so uncharitably of any man, but judge rather that men labour for your soul's health, as for their own. But, alas, how will you condemn all our forefathers! or how can you think yourself to be of the catholic church, without any continuance, and contrary to the judgment of all learned men?'

"Then I said, 'Sir, I have none authority to judge any man: nevertheless, I doubt not but that I am of the true catholic church, howsoever our learned men here judge of me.'

"Why then,' said Welch, do you suppose your own wit and learning better than all theirs? if you do not give credit only to them, other learned men shall resort unto you, that shall persuade you by the Scriptures and doctors.'

"Sir,' quoth I, 'God knoweth that I refuse not to learn of any child, but I would embrace the truth from the mouth of a natural fool, in any thing wherein I am ignorant, and that in all things -- saving my faith. But concerning the truth, wherein I am thoroughly persuaded, I cannot submit myself to learn; unless it be, as your Mastership said, that I perused the books on both sides. For so might I make myself an indifferent judge: otherwise I may be seduced.'

"And here we fell out again in a long talk of the church, wherein his learning and wit were much above mine: but in the end I told him I was persuaded, and that he did but lose his labour.

"Why then,' quoth Welch, 'what shall I report to my Lord?'

"Even as pleaseth you,' quoth I; 'or else you may say that I would be glad to learn, if I had books on both sides.'

"So he going in, the bishops (even then risen, and ready to depart) asked how he liked me? He answered, 'In faith, my Lord, he will be glad to learn.' Which words when they were taken, lest they should mistake his meaning and mine, I said, 'Yea, my Lord, so that I may have books on both sides, as Calvin, and my Lord of Canterbury's books, and such others.' 'Well,' quoth my Lord, 'I will satisfy thy mind therein also.' And they all were in great hope that shortly I should become a good catholic, as they call it.

"Then was I brought into my Lord's inner chamber, (where you were,) and there was put in a chamber with Master Dee, who entreated me very friendly. That night I supped at my Lord's table, and lay with Master Dee in the chamber you did see. On the morrow I was served at dinner from my Lord's table, and at night did eat in the hall with his gentlemen where I have been placed ever since, and fared wonderful well. Yea, to say the truth, I had my liberty within the bounds of his Lordship's house: for my lodging and fare, scarce have I been at any time abroad in better case so long together, and have found so much gentleness of my Lord, and his chaplains, and other servants, that I should easily have forgotten that I was in prison, were it not that this great cheer was often powdered with unsavoury sauces of examinations, exhortations, posings, and disputations.

"For, shortly after supper, the first Monday at night, I was had into my Lord's bed-chamber, and there he would know of me how I came first into these heresies. I said I was persuaded thereto by the Scriptures, and authorities of the doctors, alleged by Peter Martyr in his lectures upon 1 Cor. xi., while he entreated there on that place, *De cæna Domini*, by the space of a month together. But then my Lord enforced the plainness of Christ's words, and his almighty power, demanding of me, what reason should move me from the literal sense of the words. But I, having no lust to those matters, would have alleged that there were books sufficient of that matter, as Peter Martyr, Cranmer, and Ecolampadius: nevertheless when this shift would not serve, but I was constrained to say somewhat, I said I was moved from the literal sense by the manner of speaking, by the circumstance, and by conference of other places of the Scriptures. It is evident that Christ took bread, and that he showed them (they seeing it) bread, which he affirmed to be his body.

"Christ affirmed that bread was his body.

"But that affirmation taken literally, can by no means be true:

"Ergo, the words, if they be taken according to the letter, cannot be true.

"For this predication, *Panis est corpus Christi*, or *corpus Christi est panis*, is neither *identica*, nor *accidentalis*, nor *essentialis prædicatio*. Wherefore of necessity I must say it was spoken in the like sense, as Christ was a door, a vine, and a way. Neither can it serve to say, that it was not of bread that he affirmed to be his body; and that for two causes.

"For whatsoever he showed, that was bread; for nought else was seen.

"But that which he showed he affirmed to be his body:

"Ergo, he affirmed of bread that it was his body.

"The second reason is: for that it was not changed before, seeing *benedixit*, is *gratias edit*, or else Christ affirmed no true proposition, and you are without authority.

"In the end of this letter, there were noted these sentences following, collected for confirmation of his former assertions, videlicet, --

"The same phrase is used and spoken upon the cup.

"It is called bread in the same place afterward.

"By the same reason as it may be denied to be bread, it may be denied to be the body.

"His body ascended into heaven.

"In body he was like to us in all things after his nativity (sin excepted). Seeing then our body cannot be in two places at once:

"Ergo, Neither his.

"His disciples took it as no miracle nor wonder."

The last examination and condemnation of Master Green.

Thus (as it seemeth) for this time they left off. But not long after, the bishop, perceiving Green's learning and constancy to be such as neither he, nor any of his doctors and chaplains, could by the Scriptures refel, began then to object and put in practice his chief and strongest argument against him; which was the rigour of the law, and cruelty of execution: an argument, I assure you, which without the special grace of our God to flesh is importable. And therefore, using laws as a cloak of his

tyranny, the twenty-seventh day of November, the said bishop examined him upon certain points of Christian religion: whereunto, when he had answered, the bishop appointed the registrar (as their most common manner is) to draw thereout an order of confession; which, being afterwards read unto Green, was also subscribed by him, as a confirmation of his former assertions. -- The tenor whereof here ensueth.

The confession and saying of Bartlet Green.

"Bartlet Green -- born in the city of London, in the parish of Basing-hall, of the diocese of London, and of the age of twenty-five years, -- being examined in the bishop's palace, the twenty-seventh day of November, anno 1555, upon certain articles, answered as followeth, viz.: that neither in the time of King Edward, after the mass by him was put down, neither in the time of Queen Mary, after the mass was restored again, he hath heard any mass at all; but he saith that in the reign of the said queen's Majesty he, (the said Bartlet,) two times, to wit, at two Easter-tides, or days, in the chamber of John Pulline, one of the preachers in King Edward's time, within the parish of St. Michael's, Cornhill, of the diocese of London, did receive the communion with the said Pulline, and Christopher Goodman, some time reader of the divinity lecture in Oxford, now gone beyond the sea; and the second time with the said Pulline and with one Ritneger, Master of Arts of Magdalene College in Oxford. And this examine also saith, that at both the said communions he, and the others before named, did take and receive bread and wine, which bread and wine he called sacramental bread, and sacramental wine, which, he saith, were used there by them, Pulline only reading the words of the institution, expressed in the book of communion. In which receiving and using, this examine saith, that the other aforementioned did receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and that they received material bread and material wine, no substance thereof changed, and so no real presence of the body and blood of Christ there being, but only grace added thereto. And further, this examine saith, that he had heretofore, during the reign of the queen's Majesty aforesaid, refused, and so now doth refuse, to come and hear mass, and to receive the sacrament of the altar, as they are now used and ministered in this Church of England, because, he saith, that concerning the mass, he cannot be persuaded in his conscience, that the sacrifice pretended to be in the same, is agreeable to God's word, or maintainable by the same, and that without deadly offence he cannot worship the body and blood of Christ, that is pretended to be there. And as concerning this sacrament of the altar, this examine saith, that he heretofore, during the said reign, hath refused, and now doth refuse, to receive the same as is now used in this Church of England, because it is not used according to the institution of Christ, but both in a strange tongue, and also not ministered in both kinds; and, besides that, contrary to God's word it is there taught, that the thing there ministered is to be adored as the real and true body of Christ. And furthermore this examine saith, that during the said reign he hath not been confessed to the priest, nor received absolution at his hands, because he is not bound by God's word to make auricular confession.

BARTLET GREEN."

Many other sundry conferences and public examinations they brought him unto. But in the end, (seeing his stedfastness of faith to be such, as against the which

neither their threatenings, nor yet their flattering promises, could prevail,) the fifteenth day of January the bishop caused him, with the rest above named, to be brought into the consistory in Paul's; where, being set in his judgment-seat, accompanied with Fecknam, then dean of the same church, and other his chaplains, after he had condemned the other six, he then, calling for Bartlet Green, began with these, or the like words:

"Honourable audience, I think it best to open unto you the conversation of this man, called Bartlet Green. And because you shall not charge me that I go about to seek any man's blood, here you shall hear the council's letters, which they sent with him unto me. The effect whereof is, that whereas he had been of long time in the Tower of London for heresy, they have now sent him unto me to be ordered according to the laws therefore provided. And now to thee, Bartlet Green, I propose these nine articles."

Then he read the articles above mentioned, which were generally objected to all these seven prisoners, to wit, Thomas Whittle, John Tudson, John Went, Thomas Brown, Isabel Foster, Joan Lashford, Bartlet Green.

But when Master Green would have answered them particularly, he was put to silence, with promise that he should have time to answer sufficiently; and therefore the bishop proceeding said, that when Green came first to his house, he desired to have the books of the ancient doctors of the church to read, which he said he granted him. Whereunto Green answered and said, that if the doctors were with indifferent judgment weighed, they made more a great deal with him, than they did with them. Upon which words Fecknam, dean of St. Paul's, stood up, and marvelling why he said so, asked him if he would be content to stand to the judgment of the doctors. Green then said, that he was content to stand to the doctors' judgment.

"I will then propound unto you," quoth Fecknam, "the doctors, and interpret them yourself." So he alleged a place of Chrysostom, *Ad populum Antiochiæ*, which was this, "Elias going up, left his cloak behind him: but Christ ascending up, took his flesh, and also left it behind him." And he demanded Green, how he understood the place.

Then Green prayed him that he would confer the doctors' sayings together; and therefore alleged the same doctor again, writing upon 1 Cor. x., Is not the bread which we bless the communication of the Lord's body? whereby he proved that this doctor called this sacrament but a sign of the Lord's body. Many other words of probation and denial were betwixt them.

At last Fecknam demanded of him how long he had been of this opinion "for, Master Green," said he, "you confessed once to me, that when you were at Oxford at school, you were called the rankest papist in that house; and being compelled to go to the lecture of Peter Martyr, you were converted from your old doctrine." And Green confessed the same.

Then again he said, that Green told him, that the said Peter Martyr was a papist in his first coming to Oxford. Whereupon he made an exclamation, and prayed the people to consider how vain his doctrine that he professed was, which was

grounded upon one man, and that upon so unconstant a man as Peter Martyr, which perceiving the wicked intent of the council, was content to please them, and forsake the true and catholic faith.

Green said that he grounded not his faith upon Martyr, nor any other, nor did believe so because Martyr believed the same, but because that he had heard the Scriptures, and the doctors of the church, truly and wholesomely expounded by him; neither had he any regard of the man, but of the word which he spake. And further he said, that he heard the said Master Peter say often, that he had not as yet, while he was a papist, read Chrysostom upon 1 Cor. x., nor many other places of the doctors: but when he had read them, and well considered them, he was content to yield to the doctors, having first humbled himself in prayer, desiring God to illuminate him, and bring him to the true understanding of the Scripture: "which thing," said Green, "if you, my Lord, would do, I do not doubt, but God would open your eyes, and show you his truth, no more than I do doubt his words to be true that saith, Ask, and it shall be given to you; knock, and it shall be opened unto you, &c."

Then Fecknam asked him, what he thought of this article, *Sanctam ecclesiam catholicam*. And Green answered, that he did believe one holy and universal church throughout all the world.

Then Fecknam said, that he would fain have a sure mark and token, whereby he might know this church; and therefore he prayed Green to define unto him this church. Green answered, that this church did agree in verity of the true doctrine of Christ, and was known by the true administration of his sacraments.

Whereupon Fecknam said, that he would prove the church whereof he was, to be never agreeing in doctrine, but always to have been in controversy in their religion: "for," said he, "Luther and Zuinglius could never agree in their writings or sayings, nor Ecolampadius with Carolostadius, nor Carolostadius with either Zuinglius or Luther, &c., for Luther writing upon the sacrament of the altar, said, that *In hoc pane, vel sub hoc pane corpus Domini accipimus*. Zuinglius controlling him, said, *Sub signo panis corpus Domini accipimus*. And the other controlled him in like case."

Then Master Green proved their opinions of the sacrament to be one in effect, being rightly weighed: and though their words did not sound all one, yet they meant one thing; and their opinions were all one, as he proved by divers other examples.

Then Fecknam desired him that he would not so wilfully cast himself away, but to be rather conformable to reason, and that my Lord Bishop there present would be good unto him, and would grant him respite (if he would demand it) for a fortnight or three weeks, and that he should choose any learned man whom he would, and should go with him home to his house; and that he whom he would choose willingly take the pains to read and confer the doctors with him, and open the doctors' minds and meanings unto him.

Then Bonner said, that he was proud, and an obstinate boy; and therefore he bade Fecknam to hold his peace, and to call him no more Master Green: "for," said he, "you ought not to call a heretic Master."

After this Dr. Pendleton alleged to him this text out of Luke xxii., *Ex hoc non manducabo illud donec impleatur in regno Dei*. "Here," said he, "you must confess your opinion to be false; else you must say that Christ was a liar: for Christ said, I will eat no more of this, while it be fulfilled in my Father's kingdom. If Christ did eat no more the bread when he spake these words, then must you say that he was a liar; for he did eat bread after, with his disciples, before he ascended. But if you say he did eat his body then, and after but bread, it will not agree with the Scriptures, nor with good reason." Then Green answered and said, that this was spoken by an anticipation, as one of their own bishops, (which is now dead,) did say.

Then Dr. Pendleton said, that that was no sufficient discharge, nor no sufficient answer for him in this case; "for," said he, "it is well known that the bishop was of a contrary opinion to you, and that he died a good Christian man." To which words Green said, "I do not call him to witness in this case, as though he were a sufficient man, to prove my saying to be true in this matter; but I do allege him against you, as Paul did the scripture, which he found graven in the altar of the Athenians, against themselves, *Ignoto Deo*."

These with many other words were between them, which I do overpass, because it were too long to stand upon recital of every thing. Last of all the bishop asked him, if he would recant. He said nay, he would not. "But, my Lord," said he, "in old time there were no men put to death for their conscience, until such times as bishops found the means to make it death to believe contrary to them; but excommunication, my Lord, was the greatest penalty which men had for their conscience; yea, insomuch that St. Augustine wrote and commanded, that no man should be put to death for his opinion."

Then Bonner said, that when St. Augustine saw what inconveniences followed of that commandment, he wrote again to the temporal rulers, commanding them to punish their bodies also. "But," said Green, "he bade not put them to death." "He bade punish them," quoth Bonner. "Yea," said Green, "but not put them to death." "That they should be punished," quoth Bonner again.

This talk ended, he asked Green if he would recant, and return to their Romish mother: which when he denied, the bishop pronounced the sentence definitive against him, and so committed him to the sheriffs of London, who caused him to be carried to Newgate. And as he was going thither, there met with him two gentlemen, being both his special friends, minding belike to comfort this their persecuted brother: but at their meeting, their loving and friendly hearts (not able any longer to hide themselves) were manifested by the abundance of their pitiful tears. To whom, when Green saw them, he said in these or like words, "Ah, my friends! is this your comfort you are come to give me, in this my occasion of heaviness? Must I, who needed to have comfort ministered to me, become now a comforter of you?" And thus declaring his most quiet and peaceable mind and conscience, he cheerfully spake to them and others, until he came to the prison door, into the which he joyfully entered, and there remained always either in prayer, (whereunto he much gave himself,) or else in some other godly meditations and exercises, unto the twenty-seventh day of January, when he, with his other above-mentioned brethren, went most cheerfully unto the place of their torments, often repeating, as well by the way, as also at the stake, these verses following --

"O Christ, my God, sure hope of health, besides thee have I none:
The truth I love, and falsehood hate, be thou my Guide alone."

During the time of his imprisonment in Newgate, divers of his friends had access unto him, to whom he gave sundry godly exhortations, wherewith they were not only well contented, but for better remembrance as well of the same, his instructions, as also of his own good and godly person, they desired him to write somewhat in their books, which request he willingly granted, as in manner here ensueth.

These verses were written in a book of Master Hussey of the Temple:

"Behold thyself by me; such one was I, as thou:
And thou in time shalt be, even dust as I am now.
BARTLET GREEN."

These verses were also written in a book of Master William Fleetwood, of the same house:

My resting-road is found, vain hope and hap adieu:
Love whom you list with change, death shall me rid from you.
BARTLET GREEN."



Greene Visited in Prison

Amongst other divers and singular good virtues of this good man, specially in him was to be noted such a modest nature, so humbly thinking of himself as in few men is to be found, ever dejecting himself under that was in him, and ever seeming to be less than he was, so that nothing less he could abide, than to hear of his praise or commendation; as well declareth not only his letter written to Master Philpot, wherein he doth earnestly expostulate with him, for slandering him with praise of his wit and learning, and other manifold virtues of great excellency; but also by his own speech and answers in his examination, wherein he casteth from him all knowledge of learning and cunning, when notwithstanding he had more in him, than to any man's eyes did appear.

So great and admirable was this gift of modesty grafted in the nature of him, so far abhorring from all pride and arrogancy, that as he could not abide any thing that was spoken to his advancement or praise; so neither did there appear in him any show or brag in those things wherein he might justly glory, which were his punishments and sufferings for the cause and quarrel of Christ. For when he was beaten and scourged with rods by Bishop Bonner, (which scarce any man would believe, nor I neither, but that I heard it of him, which heard it out of his mouth,) and he greatly rejoiced in the

same, yet his shamefaced modesty was such, that never he would express any mention thereof, lest he should seem to glory too much in himself, save that only he opened the same to one Master Cotton of the Temple, a friend of his, a little before his death.

Moreover, to this rare and maidenly modesty in him was also adjoined the like nature of mercy and pitiful compassion; which affection though it seemeth to be little regarded of some, yet in my mind is there no other thing wrought in nature, wherein man resembleth more truly the image of the high majesty of Almighty God, than this. And as in this respect of merciful tenderness, man only excelleth all other beasts; so almost no less may this man seem to pass many other men, whose customable property and exercise was to visit the poor prisoners with him in prison both with bodily relief, and also with spiritual comfort: and finding many of them (I mean such as were there for theft and other naughty facts) very penitent and sorry for their evil demeanours, in hope of their amendment, did not only by mouth, but also by his letters require, yea, as it were of duty in love did charge, his friends to travail for their deliverances: such was the pity and charitable mercy of this godly and most true member of Christ's church, as appeareth by this letter here following.

To my very loving friends and masters, Master Goring, Master Fernham, Master Fleetwood, Master Russel, Master Bell, Master Hussey, Master Calthorp, Master Bowyer, and others my masters of the Temple, Bartlet Green wisheth health of body and soul.

"Very friends are they which are knit together with the knot of charity; charity doth not decay, but increase in them that die faithfully: whereof it followeth, that though we be absent in body, yet are we present in the spirit, coupled together with the unity of faith in the bond of peace, which is love. How is he worthy the name of a friend, that measureth his friendship with the distance of a place, or parting of persons? If thy friend be out of sight, is thy friendship ended? if he be gone into the country, wilt thou cease to love him? if he be passed the seas, will you so forsake him? if he be carried into heaven, is charity hindered thereby? On the one side we have the use of the fathers from the primitive church, that gave thanks for their friends that died in the faith, to prove that charity died not with death. On the other side, saith Horace, *Cælum non animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt*.

"What speak I of Horace? Saith not St. Paul the same thing? For we are members of his body, of his flesh, and of his blood, yea, we are members one of another. Is the hand or arm, foot or leg, a member, when it is dissevered from the body? How can we be members, except we be joined together? What is the line that coupleth us, but love? When all things shall fail, love faileth never. Hope hath this end, when we get that he hoped for. Faith is finished in heaven, love endureth for ever: love (I say) that proceedeth of charity; for carnal love, when that which he loveth is lost, doth perish with the flesh. Neither was that ever but fleshly love, which by distance of place, or severing of bodies, is parted asunder. If love be the end or sum of the law, if heaven and earth shall perish, yet one jot of God's word shall not decay, why should we think that love lasteth not for ever?

"I need not to write much to you, my friends, neither can I have leisure now that the keepers are risen; but this I say: If we keep Christ's commandment in loving each other, as he loved us, then should our love be everlasting. This friendship Paul felt when it moved him to say, that neither length nor breadth, (meaning no distance of place,) neither height nor depth, should sever him from the love of Christ. Weigh well this place, and mete it with Paul's measures; so shall we find, that if our love be unfeigned, it can never be ended. Now may you say, 'Why writest thou this?' Certainly to the end that if our friendship be stable, you may accomplish this the last request of your friend, and perform after my death the friendship we began in our life, that amity may increase until God make it perfect at our next meeting together.

"Master Fleetwood, I beseech you remember Wittrance and Cook, two singular men amongst common prisoners; Master Fernham and Master Bell, with Master Hussey (as I hope) will despatch Calthorp and Richardson with his companions. I pray you, Master Palmer, think on John Grove, an honest poor man, Traiford and Rice Apprice his accomplices: my cousin Thomas Witton, a scrivener in Lombard Street, hath promised to further their delivery: at the least he can instruct you which way to work. I doubt not but that Master Bowyer will labour for the good wife Cooper, (for she is worthy to be holpen,) and Berard the Frenchman. There be also divers other well disposed men, whose deliverance if ye will not labour for, yet I humbly beseech you to seek their relief, as you shall see cause: namely, of Henry Apprice, Launcelot, Hobbes, Lothar, Homes, Carre, and Bockingham, a young man of goodly gifts in wit and learning, and (saving that he is somewhat wild) likely to do well hereafter. There be also two women, Coningham and Alice Alexander, that may prove honest. For these and all other poor prisoners here I make this my humble suit and prayer to you all, my masters, and especial good friends, beseeching you of all bonds of amity, for the precious blood of Jesus Christ, in the bowels of mercy, to tender the causes of miserable captives; help to clothe Christ, visit the afflicted, comfort the sorrowful, and relieve the needy. The very God of peace guide your hearts to have mercy on the poor, and love faithfully together. Amen. -- This present Monday, when I look to die, and live for ever.

"Yours as ever,
BARTLET GREEN "

Another letter of Master Green to Mistress Elizabeth Clark.

"Would God (if it were his pleasure) that with this letter I might send you my heart and mind, and whatsoever there is in me else, that pertaineth to God: so should I think it the best message, and happiest letter, that ever I could write. But though I obtain not my desire, yet shall I not cease with continual prayer to labour for you, desiring Almighty God; to increase that which he hath long since begun in you, of sober life and earnest zeal towards his religion. In faith, as saith St. Paul, she that is a true widow and friendless, putteth her trust in God, continuing day and night in supplication and prayer; but she that liveth in pleasure is dead, even yet alive. And verily a true widow is she that hath married Christ, forsaking the vanities of the world, and lust of the flesh. For as the married woman careth how to love, please, and serve her husband; so ought the widow to give all her heart and soul, thoughts and words,

studies and labours, faithfully to love God, virtuously to bring up her children and household, and diligently to provide for the poor and oppressed.

"Therefore St. Paul first instructeth a widow how to behave herself, that is, not to live in pleasure. Then to watch unto prayer, is the only means to obtain all our desires, stedfastly laying up all our trust in God, as David right well saith, First eschew evil; then do good. Of Anna the praise was written, that she never went out of the temple, but served God with fasting and prayer night and day: so well had she espoused Christ. Judith wore a smock of hair, continuing in fasting, and had good report of all men.

"The next care that belongeth to a widow, is, that she bring up her children and household godly, in the nurture and information of the Lord; whereof St. Paul saith, If any have children or nephews, let them learn first to rule their own house godly, and to recompense their elders. The incontinency and covetousness of Phinehas and Hophni, uncorrected by Eli their father, provoked God's vengeance upon him and all his kindred; the over-tender love of Absalom expelled David from his kingdom; the unrebuked sins of Amnon encouraged Absalom to slay his brother: most manifest examples against the parents, for the offences of their children.

"Contrariwise, how greatly might Hannah rejoice over Samuel her son, whom she had brought up in the house of the Lord! What thanks might Tobias's wife give for her son Toby! How happy was Solomon to be taught by the prophet Nathan! But above all widows, thrice blessed was the happy mother of the seven sons, that so had instructed them by the fear of God, that by no torments they would shrink from the love of his truth.

"Of the last part, St. Paul showeth that a widow should be chosen: If she have nourished her children, if she have been liberal to strangers, if she have washed the saints' feet, and if she have ministered to them in adversity. Herein it is evident how earnestly St. Paul would have widows bent towards the poor; for that (as though they only had been therefore meet) he appointed only widows to minister to the saints, and to gather for the poor: which use also continued almost throughout the primitive church, that widows had the charge and gathering for the poor men and strangers.

"Of your neighbours I need not to put you in remembrance, seeing you daily feed them with good hospitality, by which means also many foreigners are of you relieved; but of the poor alms-houses, and miserable prisoners here in London, many lacking their liberty without cause, some under the colour of religion, some only kept for fees, and some on private men's displeasure. Alas, that Christ so hungereth, and no man will feed him; is sore oppressed with thirst, and no man will give him drink; destitute of all lodging, and not relieved; naked, and not clothed; sick, and not visited; imprisoned, and not seen.

"In times past men could bestow large sums of money on copes, vestments, and ornaments of the church. Why rather follow we not St. Ambrose's example, which sold the same for the relief of the poor, or Chrysostom's commandment, which willed first to deck and garnish the living temple of God? But alas, such is the wickedness of these our last days, that nothing moveth us; neither the pure doctrine, the godliness of life, nor good examples of the ancient fathers. If in any thing they

erred, if they have written any thing that serveth for sects and dissension, that will their charitable children embrace, publish, and maintain with sword, faggot, and fire. But all in vain; they strive against the stream. For though in despite of the truth, by force of the cares of crafty persuasion, they may bring themselves into the haven of hell; yet can they not make all men believe that the banks move whilst the ship saileth, nor ever shall be able to turn the direct course of the stream of God's truth.

"Our Lord Jesus Christ strengthen you in all pure doctrine and upright living, and give you grace virtuously to bring up your children and family, and carefully to provide for the poor and oppressed. Amen.

"At Newgate the 20th of January, anno 1556. "Your assured,
BARTLET GREEN."

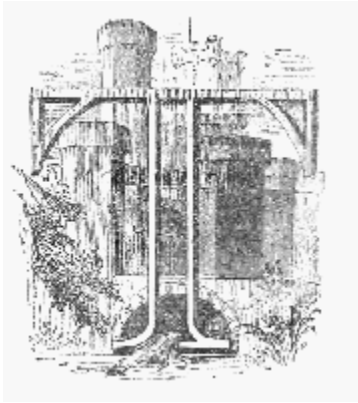
Another certain writing of Master Bartlet Green.

"Better is the day of death, saith Solomon, than the day of birth. Man that is born of a woman, liveth but a short time, and is replenished with many miseries; but happy are the dead that die in the Lord. Man of woman is born in travail, to live in misery: man through Christ doth die in joy, and live in felicity. He is born to die, and dieth to live. Straight as he cometh into the world, with cries he uttereth his miserable estate; straight as he departeth, with songs he praiseth God for ever. Scarce yet in his cradle, three deadly enemies assault him: after death no adversary may annoy him. Whilst he is here, he displeaseth God: when he is dead, he fulfilleth his will. In this life here he dieth through sin: in the life to come he liveth in righteousness. Through many tribulations in earth he is still purged: with joy unspeakable in heaven is he made pure for ever. Here he dieth every hour: there he liveth continually. Here is sin: there is righteousness. Here is time: there is eternity. Here is hatred: there is love. Here is pain: there is pleasure. Here is misery: there is felicity. Here is corruption: there is immortality. Here we see vanity: there shall we behold the majesty of God with triumphant and unspeakable joy in glory everlasting. Seek therefore the things that are above, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God the Father; unto whom, with the Son and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, world without end, Amen.

"Yours in Christ,
BARTLET GREEN."

Divers other letters and matters there were besides, which this servant of God did write, as namely certain notes and extracts in Latin out of the doctors and other authors for his memory, whereby is declared how studious he was in the searching and knowledge of the law of God, although his profession was the temporal law; where I would to God he were not among the lawyers such a phoenix, that he had very few or no fellows to fly with him, or to follow his steps. But God is to be praised, that although we read of few or none among that sort that died as he did, yet good witness doth spring up daily of the same profession, to such towardness and godly zeal, that some hope already appeareth shortly to come to pass, that this godly phoenix shall not fly alone. These aforesaid notes and gatherings of his, out of the doctors, were taken from him by Bonner, being found about him, which was to him no little grief. He among the rest was first apprehended, but last of them condemned,

which was the fifteenth day of January, and afterward burned with the other martyrs, the twenty-seventh of the same month.



Thomas Brown, martyr.

HOMAS BROWN, born in the parish of Histon, within the diocese of Ely, came afterwards to London, where he dwelled in the parish of St. Bride's in Fleet Street, a married man, of the age of thirty-seven years; who, because he came not to his parish church, was presented by the constable of the parish to Bonner. As touching whose articles, whereupon he was examined by the said Bonner, with his answers also annexed to the same, mention goeth before, as in the general process of him and of the rest may appear. This Thomas Brown being had to Fulham with the others there to be examined, was required upon Thursday, being the twenty-sixth day of September, to come into the chapel to hear mass, which he, refusing to do, went into the warren, and there kneeled among the trees. For this he was greatly charged of the bishop, as for a heinous matter, because he said it was done in despite and contempt of their mass; which seemed to the bishop and his chaplains no small offence. At length, being produced to his last examination before the said bishop the fifteenth day of January, there to hear sentence definitive against him; first he was required with many fair words and glosing promises to revoke his doctrine, to whom the foresaid bishop, speaking these words, said, "Brown, ye have been before me many times and oft, and I have travailed with thee, to win thee from thine errors; yet thou, and such like, have and do report, that I go about to seek thy blood," &c. To whom the said Thomas Brown answered again; "Yea, my Lord," saith he, "indeed ye be a blood-sucker, and I would I had as much blood as is water in the sea, for you to suck."

Bonner then proceeding to the articles, when he had read them unto him again, as he had done divers times before, asked him whether he was content and willing to relinquish those his heresies and erroneous opinions, (as he called them,) and return again unto the unity of the catholic faith. Whereunto he made answer again, saying, If they were heresies, he would forsake them. "They be heresies," quoth the bishop. "How will ye prove it?" said Brown, "for I will not go from mine answer, except you can prove them to be heresies, which ye shall never do: for that which you call heresy, is no heresy." With that Bonner, not able, or else not disposed, to supply the part of a sufficient teacher, in proving that which the other had denied by good authority and doctrine of the Scripture, went about with words and promises of pardon to allure him to renounce those his heresies, as he called them, and to return unto the unity of his mother the catholic church, &c. To whom the said Thomas inferred again, as followeth: "Prove it," said he, "to be heresy, that I do hold and maintain, and I will turn to you. But you condemn me, because I will not confess and believe the bread in the sacrament of the altar (as you call it) to be the body of Christ, and therefore ye spill mine and such-like innocents' blood, being the queen's true subjects; for which you shall answer, and that shortly."

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

After this being spoken, Bonner (as he had done to the other before) read in writing the sentence definitive against him: the copy and form of which sentence wherewith the papists were wont to condemn all the innocent saints of Christ, is above expressed. And so this done, he was committed to the sheriffs to be had away, and burned the twenty-seventh day of the said month of January, constantly abiding with the other the pope's torments, for the true confession of his Christian faith.

John Tudson, martyr.

The same day and time, when the foresaid Thomas Brown with his fellows was condemned, (as is above rehearsed,) being the fifteenth day of January, was also produced John Tudson, with the rest of the said company, unto the like condemnation. This John Tudson was born in Ipswich, in the county of Suffolk, after that apprentice in London, dwelling with one George Goodyear, of the parish of St. Mary Botolph, within the diocese of London, who, being complained of to Sir Richard Cholmley and Dr. Story, was by them sent unto Bonner, bishop of London, and was divers times before him in examination.

The articles and interrogatories ministered unto him, as unto the rest, before are specified, with his answers also to the same annexed, &c. After this he was brought unto the open consistory; where the said blessed and true servant of the Lord, John Tudson, appearing before the said bishop and his complices, was moved with sundry persuasions (as their manner is) to go from his opinion, (which they named heresy,) and to persist in the unity of the church which they were of. But he, constantly persisting in that which he had received by the preachers in King Edward's time, refused so to do, saying, there was no heresy in his answers: "for I," said he, "defy all heresy." The bishop yet still used his old accustomed persuasions to remove him, promising moreover all his offences and errors (as he called them) to be forgiven him, if he would return, &c. Then said Tudson, "Tell me wherein I have offended, and I will return." Then said the bishop, "In your answers." "No," said Tudson again, "I have not therein offended: and ye, my Lord, pretend charity; but nothing thereof appeareth in your works." Thus after a few words, the bishop did likewise promulgate against him sentence of condemnation; which being read, the godly and constant martyr was committed to the secular power, and so with much patience finished this life with the others above named, the twenty-seventh day of January.

John Went, Martyr.

John Went, born in Longhorn, in Essex, within the diocese of London, of the age of twenty-seven, and a sheerman by occupation, first was examined (as partly is touched before) by Dr. Story upon the sacrament of his popish altar; and because the poor man did not accord with him thoroughly in the real presence of the body and blood of Christ, the said Story did send him up to Bonner, bishop of London; who likewise, after divers examinations upon the articles aforesaid in the consistory, attempted the like manner of persuasions with him, as he did to the other, to recant and return. To whom, in few words, the said Went answered again, he would not; but

that, by the leave of God, he would stand firm and constant in that he had said. And when the bishop yet notwithstanding did still urge and call upon him with words and fair glosses, to give over himself to their opinion, he could have no other answer of him but this, "No, I say as I have said," &c. Whereupon, being condemned by the bishop's sentence, he was committed unto the sheriffs, (whom that shameless shaveling at that time abused for his servile butchers,) and so brought to his martyrdom, which he with no less constancy suffered to the end, with the rest of that blessed society of martyrs above named.

Isabel Foster, martyr.

With these five persons above recited and condemned, were also two women in the said company condemned the same time, and likewise burned for the same cause; the one a wife, called Isabel Foster; the other a maid, named Joan Warne, or otherwise Lashford.

This foresaid Isabel was born in Greystock, in the diocese of Carlisle, and afterwards married to one John Foster, cutler, of the parish of St, Bride's in Fleet Street, being of the age of five and fifty years. She likewise, for not coming unto the church, being sent unto Bonner, and so imprisoned, was sundry times examined by the said bishop, but never overcome, nor removed from the constant confession of Christ's gospel.

At length, coming unto her final examination before the bishop in the consistory the fifteenth day of the said month of January, she was moved again, whether she would yet go from her former answers; whereunto she gave a resolute answer in few words: "I will not," saith she, "go from them, by God's grace:" and thereunto did adhere, neither being cast down by the menacing threats of the bishop, nor yet yielding through his alluring enticements, promising both life and liberty, if she would associate herself in the unity of the catholic church. Whereunto she said again in this wise, that she trusted she was never out of the catholic church, &c. And so persisting in the same, she continued constant till the sentence definitive was pronounced, and then she was committed by commandment of the bishop to the secular power, and so brought a few days after to the stake, the twenty-seventh day of the foresaid month; where she, like a faithful witness of the Lord's truth, (with the other five aforesaid,) ended her troubles here, to find a better rest in the kingdom of Christ our Saviour.

Joan Lashford, alias Joan Warne, martyr.

In a certain place of these Acts and Monuments heretofore, mention was made of one Elizabeth Warne, who with her husband John, (as is aforesaid,) in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, was apprehended in Bow Churchyard for being there at a communion; and both suffered for the same, first the man in the month of May, then the wife in July after; and now the daughter in the month of January followed her parents in the same martyrdom. Furthermore, in the same place

following mention was made also of Dr. Story, who there (we said) was somewhat near unto the said parties, either in kindred or alliance: albeit, as I understand since of some, there was no kindred between them, but only that she was his servant. Yet, notwithstanding, the said Dr. Story, (as it is above specified,) before he was commissioner, made intercession for the parties to Dr. Martyn, then commissioner: but afterward, being placed in commission himself, he so far forgot himself, and his old servant, that he became no small procurer of their deaths. I will not here expostulate with the hard heart of that man, nor with his inconstancy, who yet notwithstanding, after he had brought them to death, was arrested himself for threescore pounds, charged with debt in their behalf; which if it be true, it may thereby appear that he was in some piece of kindred joined or allied unto them. But leaving that person unto the good pleasure of the Lord, let us return unto that we have in hand.

This Joan Lashford, born in the parish of Little Allhallows in Thames Street, was the daughter of one Robert Lashford, cutler, and of the foresaid Elizabeth, who afterward was married to John Warne, upholsterer, who (as is said) was persecuted for the gospel of God to the burning fire; and after him his wife; and after her, this Joan Lashford, her daughter; who, about the age of twenty years, ministering to her father and mother in prison, suspected and known to be of the same doctrine and religion, was sent to Bonner, bishop of London, by Dr. Story, (as is above in her answers to the articles declared,) and so committed to the Compter in the Poultry, where she remained the space of five weeks, and from thence had to Newgate, where she continued the space of certain months.

After that, remaining prisoner in the custody of the said Bonner, her confession was, being examined, that the whole twelve-month before, and more, she came unto no popish mass service in the church, neither would do, either to receive the sacrament of the altar, or to be confessed, because her conscience would not suffer her so to do; confessing and protesting, that in the sacrament of the altar there is not the real presence of Christ's body and blood; nor that auricular confession or absolution after the popish sort, was necessary; nor the mass to be good, or according unto the Scripture; but said that both the said sacrament, confession, absolution, and the mass, with all other their superfluous sacraments, ceremonies, and divine service, as then used in this realm of England, were most vile, and contrary to Christ's words and institution; so that neither they were at the beginning, nor shall be at the latter end. This godly damosel, feeble and tender of age, yet strong by grace, in this her confession and faith stood so firm, that neither the flattering promises nor the violent threats of the bishops, could turn her; but, being moved and exhorted by the bishop to return to the catholic unity of the church, said boldly to him again, "If ye will leave off your abomination, so I will return; and otherwise, I will not."

Whereupon the bishop yet again promised her pardon of all her errors (as he called them) if she would be conformed. To this she answered again, saying unto the bishop, "Do as it pleaseth you; and I pray God that you may do that which may please God."

And thus she, constantly persevering in the Lord's holy truth, was by the sentence definitive condemned, and committed unto the sheriffs, by whom the foresaid twenty-seventh day of January she with the rest being brought unto the stake,

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there washed her clothes in the blood of the Lamb, dying most constantly for his word and truth, to whom most lovingly she espoused herself.

And thus much concerning the life, story, and condemnation of these seven martyrs, afore specified.

**330. John Lomas, Anne Albright, Joan Catmer, Agnes Snoth,
and Joan Sole.**

*Five other martyrs in Canterbury, four women and one man, at two stakes and one
fire, all burned together.*

After these seven before rehearsed, martyred together in Smithfield, shortly after in the same month, the thirty-first day of January, followed another like fellowship of godly martyrs at Canterbury, four women and one man, whose names be these: -- John Lomas, a young man; Anne Albright, Joan Catmer, Agnes Snoth, widow; and Joan Sole, a wife.

John Lomas, martyr.

John Lomas, of the parish of Tenterden, detected and presented of that religion which the papists call heresy, and cited upon the same to appear at Canterbury, examined there of the first article, whether he believed the catholic church or no, answered thus; that he believed so much as is contained in God's book, and no more.

Then being assigned to appear again under the pain of the law the next Wednesday sevensnight after, which was the seventeenth day of January, the said Lomas, examined whether he would be confessed of a priest or no, answered and said, that he found it not written that he should be confessed to any priest, in God's book; neither would be confessed, unless he were accused by some man of sin. Again, examined whether he believed the body of Christ to be in the sacrament of the altar really, under the forms of bread and wine, after the consecration, or no, he answered that he believed no reality of Christ's body to be in the sacrament; neither found he written, that he is there under form or tressel, but he believed so much as is written. Being then demanded whether he believed that there is a catholic church or no, and whether he would be content to be a member of the same, he answered thereunto, that he believed so much as was written in God's book; and other answer than this he refused to give, &c.: whereupon the sentence was given and read against him the eighteenth day of January. And so committed to the secular power, he constantly suffered for the conscience of a true faith, with the other four women here following.

Agnes Snoth, martyr.

Agnes Snoth, widow, of the parish of Smarden, likewise accused and cited for the true profession of Christ's religion, was divers times examined before the Pharisaical fathers; who there, compelled to answer to such articles and interrogatories as should be ministered unto her, first denied to be confessed to a

priest: notwithstanding, she denied not to confess her offences as one to another, but not auricularly to any priest. And as touching the sacrament of the altar, she protested that if she or any other did receive the sacrament so as Christ and his apostles after him did deliver it, then she and they did receive it to their comfort: but as it is now used in the church, she said that no man could otherwise receive it than to his damnation, as she thought. Afterward being examined again concerning penance, whether it were a sacrament or no, she plainly denied the same, and that the popish manner of their absolution was not consonant to the word, nor necessary to be taken; with such other like, agreeing with the answers and confession of John Lomas before mentioned. Whereupon the sentence being likewise read, she was committed to the sheriffs of Canterbury, and so suffering martyrdom with the rest, declared herself a perfect and constant witness of Christ and of his truth the thirty-first day of January.

Anne Albright, alias Champnes, martyr.

Against Anne Albright, likewise appearing before the judge and his colleagues, it was also objected concerning the same matter of confession: whereunto she answered in these words, saying, "that she would not be confessed of a priest; "and added moreover, speaking unto the priests, "You priests," said she, "are the children of perdition, and can do no good by your confession." And likewise speaking unto the judge and his assistants, she told them that they were subverters of Christ's truth.

And as touching the sacrament of the altar, she said it was a naughty and abominable idol, and so utterly denied the same sacrament. Thus, persisting and persevering in her former sayings and answers, she was condemned the said eighteenth day of the said month, with the others above mentioned; with whom also she suffered quietly, and with great comfort, for the right of Christ's religion.

Joan Sole.

In the like manner Joan Sole, of the parish of Horton, was condemned of the same Pharisees and priests, for not allowing confession auricular, and for denying the real presence and substance of Christ to be in the sacrament of the altar: who, after their Pharisaical sentence being promulgated, was brought by the sheriffs to the stake with the other four, and sustained the like martyrdom with them, through the assistance of God's holy grace and Spirit mightily working in her, to the glory of his name, and confirmation of his truth.

Joan Catmer.

The fifth and last of this heavenly company of martyrs, was Joan Catmer, of the parish of Hythe, wife (as it should seem) of George Catmer, burned before, who being asked what she said to confession made to a priest, denied to be confessed to

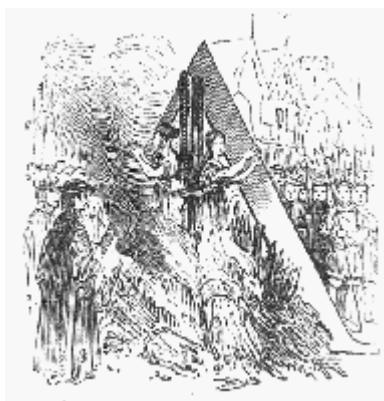
any such priest. And moreover, the judge speaking of the sacrament of the altar, she said and affirmed, that she believed not in that sacrament, as it was then used; for that it was made, said she, a very idol. In this her confession she, remaining and persisting, was by the like sentence cruelly of them condemned; and so suffered with the foresaid John Lomas, and the other three fellow martyrs, ratifying and confessing with their blood the true knowledge and doctrine of the glorious gospel of Christ Jesus our Saviour.

These five persons were burnt at two stakes and one fire together, at Canterbury, as is before said: who, when the fire was flaming about their ears, did sing psalms. Whereat the good knight, Sir John Norton, being there present, wept bitterly at the sight thereof.

The judges and other assistants which sat upon her, and the other four above mentioned, were Richard Faucet, John Warren, John Mills, Robert Collins, and John Baker the notary.

331. Thomas Cranmer

The life, state, and story of the reverend pastor and prelate, Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, martyr; burned at Oxford, for the confession of Christ's true doctrine, under Queen Mary, A. D. 1556, March 21.



S concerning the life and estate of that most reverend father in God, and worthy prelate of godly memory, Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury, and of the original cause and occasion of his preferment unto his archiepiscopal dignity, who of many hath been thought to have procured the same by friendship only, and of some others esteemed unworthy so high a vocation: it is first therefore to be noted and considered, that the same Thomas Cranmer, coming of an ancient parentage, from the Conquest to be deducted, and continuing since in the name and

family of a gentleman, was born in a village called Aslacton in Nottinghamshire, of whose said name and family there remaineth at these days one manor and mansion-house in Lincolnshire, called Cranmer Hall, &c., sometime a heritage of the said stock and family. Cranmer being from his infancy kept at school, and brought up not without much good civility, came in process of time unto the university of Cambridge; and there prospering in right good knowledge amongst the better sort of students, was chosen fellow of Jesus College in Cambridge. It was at that time when, all good authors and fine writers being neglected, filthy barbarousness was embraced in all schools and universities. The names and numbers of liberal arts did only remain; the arts themselves were clean lost. Logic was gone out of kind, into sophistical trifles; philosophy, both moral and natural, was miserably defaced with infinite questions and subtleties; the use of tongues and eloquent learning was either small, or none at all; yea, and divinity itself was fallen into the state, that, being laden with articles and distinctions, it served rather for the gain of a few, than for the edification of many. Unluckily therefore so good a wit, falling into these unhappy times, was constrained to spend a great part of his youth (worthy of better instruction) in the peevish questions of Duns and other masters of the same sort, until he was twenty years old. At length, after so long darkness of barbarism, the tongues and other good learning began, by little and little, to spring up again, and the books of Faber and Erasmus began to be much occupied and had in good estimation, with a number of good authors besides. In whom the same Cranmer, taking no small pleasure, did daily rub away his own rustiness on them, as upon a whetstone, until at length, when Martin Luther was risen up, the more bright and happy days of God's knowledge did waken men's minds to the clear light of the truth; at which time, when he was about thirty years old, omitting all other studies, he gave his whole mind to discuss matters of religion, on both parts. And, because he saw that he could not judge of these matters unless he first considered and beheld the very fountains thereof, before he would

addict his mind to any opinion, he spent three whole years in reading over the books of Holy Scriptures. After he had laid this foundation no less wisely than happily, when he thought himself sufficiently prepared, and being now instructed with more ripeness of judgment, like a merchant greedy of all good things, he gave his mind to read all kind of authors. In the mean while, being addicted to no party or age, but, as a considering beholder or scholar of Pythagoras, he weighed all men's opinions with secret judgment. He read the old writers, so as he despised not the new, and, all this while, in handling and conferring writers' judgments, he was a slow reader, but an earnest marker. He never came to any writer's book without pen and ink, but yet so that he exercised his memory no less than his pen. Whatsoever controversy came he gathered every author's sentence, briefly, and the diversity of their judgments, into commonplaces, which he had prepared for that purpose; or else, if the matter were too long to write out, he noted the place of the author and the number of the leaf, whereby he might have the more help for his memory. And so, being master of arts, and fellow of Jesus College, it chanced him to marry a gentleman's daughter: by means whereof he lost and gave over his fellowship there, and became the reader in Buckingham College. And for that he would with more diligence apply that his office of reading, he placed his said wife in an inn, called the Dolphin, in Cambridge, the wife of the house being of affinity unto her. By reason whereof, and for that his often resort unto his wife in that inn, he was much marked of some popish merchants: whereupon rose the slanderous noise and report against him, after he was preferred to the archbishopric of Canterbury, raised up by the malicious disdain of certain malignant adversaries to Christ and his truth, bruited abroad every where, that he was but an hosteler, and therefore without all good learning. Of whose malicious reports, one of their practices in that behalf shall hereafter be declared, as place and time shall serve.

But in the mean time to return to the matter present: whilst this said Master Cranmer continued as a reader in Buckingham College, his wife died in childbed. After whose death, the masters and fellows of Jesus College, desirous again of their old companion, namely, for his towardliness in learning, chose him again fellow of the same college. Where he, remaining at his study, became in few years after the reader of divinity lecture in the same college, and in such special estimation and reputation with the whole university, that, being doctor of divinity, he was commonly appointed one of the heads (which are two or three of the chiefest learned men) to examine such as yearly proceed in commencement, either bachelors or doctors of divinity, by whose approbation the whole university licenseth them to proceed unto their degree; and again, by whose disallowance the university also rejecteth them for a time, to proceed until they be better furnished with more knowledge. A. D. 1526.

Now Dr. Cranmer, ever much favouring the knowledge of the Scripture, would never admit any to proceed in divinity, unless they were substantially seen in the story of the Bible: by means whereof certain friars, and other religious persons, who were principally brought up in the study of school authors without regard had to the authority of Scriptures, were commonly rejected by him; so that he was greatly, for that his severe examination, of the religious sort much hated, and had in great indignation. And yet it came to pass in the end, that divers of them being thus compelled to study the Scriptures, became afterwards very well learned and well affected; insomuch, that when they proceeded doctors of divinity, they could not overmuch extol and commend Master Doctor Cranmer's goodness towards them, who had for a time put them back, to aspire unto better knowledge and perfection. Among

whom Dr. Barret, a White Friar, who afterwards dwelt at Norwich, was after that sort handled, giving him no less commendation for his happy rejecting of him for a better amendment. Thus much I repeat, that our apish and popish sort of ignorant priests may well understand that this his exercise, kind of life, and vocation, was not altogether hosteler-like.

Well, to go forwards: like as he was neither in fame unknown, nor in knowledge obscure, so was he greatly solicited by Dr. Capon, to have been one of the fellows in the foundation of Cardinal Wolsey's college in Oxford, which he utterly refused, not without danger of indignation. Notwithstanding, foreseeing that which after chanced, to the utter confusion of many well-affected learned men there, without consideration, (because man's glory was there more sought for than God's,) he stood to the danger of the said indignation, which chanced more prosperously unto him within few years after than he looked for. For, while he thus continued in Cambridge, the great and weighty cause of King Henry the Eighth, his divorce with the Lady Katharine, dowager of Spain, came into question; which being many ways by the space of two or three years amongst the canonists, civilians, and other learned men diversely disputed and debated, it came to pass that this said Dr. Cranmer, by reason that the plague was in Cambridge, resorted to Waltham Abbey, to one Master Cressy's house there, whose wife was of kin to the said Master Cranmer. And for that he had two sons of the said Cressy with him at Cambridge as his pupils, he rested at Waltham Cross, at the house of the said Master Cressy, with the said two children, during that summer-time while the plague reigned. A. D. 1529.

In this summer-time Cardinal Campeius and Cardinal Wolsey, being in commission from the pope to hear and determine that great cause in controversy between the king and the queen, his pretended wife, dallied and delayed all the summer-time until the month of August came, in hearing the said cause in controversy debated. When August was come, the said cardinals little minding to proceed to sentence giving, took occasion to finish their commission, and not further to determine therein, pretending that it was not permitted by the laws to keep courts of ecclesiastical matters in harvest-time: which sudden stay and giving over of the said commission by both the cardinals, being unknown to the king, it so much moved him, that he, taking it as a mock at the cardinals' hands, commanded the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk to despatch forthwith Cardinal Campeius home again to Rome; and so in haste removed himself from London to Waltham for a night or twain, while his household removed to Greenwich: by means whereof it chanced that the harbingers lodged Dr. Stephen, secretary, and Dr. Foxe, almoner, (who were the chief furtherers, preferers, and defenders on the king's behalf of the said cause,) in the house of the said Master Cressy, where the said Dr. Cranmer was also lodged and resident. When supper-time came, they all three doctors met together; Dr. Stephen and Dr. Foxe much marvelling of Dr. Cranmer's being there; who declared to them the cause of his there being, namely, for that the plague was in Cambridge. And as they were of old acquaintance, so the secretary and the almoner right well entertained Dr. Cranmer, minding to understand part of his opinion touching their great business they had in hand. And so as good occasion served, while they were at supper, they conferred with Dr. Cranmer concerning the king's cause, requesting him of his judgment and opinion what he thought therein.

Whereto Dr. Cranmer answered, that he could say little to the matter, for that he had not studied nor looked for it. Notwithstanding he said to them, that in his opinion they made more ado in prosecuting the law ecclesiastical, than needed. "It were better, as I suppose," quoth Dr. Cranmer, "that the question, whether a man may marry his brother's wife, or no? were decided and discussed by the divines, and by the authority of the word of God, whereby the conscience of the prince might be better satisfied and quieted, than thus from year to year by frustratory delays to prolong the time, leaving the very truth of the matter unbolted out by the word of God. There is but one truth in it, which the Scripture will soon declare, make open, and manifest, being by learned men well handled, and that may be as well done in England in the universities here, as at Rome, or elsewhere in any foreign nation, the authority whereof will compel any judge soon to come to a definitive sentence: and therefore, as I take it, you might this way have made an end of this matter long since." When Dr. Cranmer had thus ended his tale, the other two well liked of his device, and wished that they had so proceeded aforetime, and thereupon conceived some matter of that device to instruct the king withal, who then was minded to send to Rome again for a new commission.

Now the next day, when the king removed to Greenwich, like as he took himself not well handled by the cardinals in thus deferring his cause, so his mind being unquieted, and desirous of an end of his long and tedious suit, he called unto him these his two principal doers in his said cause, namely, the said Dr. Stephen and Dr. Foxe, saying unto them, "What now, my masters," quoth the king, "shall we do in this infinite cause of mine? I see by it there must be a new commission procured from Rome; and when we shall have an end, God knoweth, and not I."

When the king had said somewhat his mind herein, the almoner, Dr. Foxe, said unto the king again, "We trust that there shall be better ways devised for your Majesty, than to make travel so far as to Rome any more in your Highness's cause, which by chance was put into our heads this other night being at Waltham." The king being very desirous to understand his meaning, said, "Who hath taken in hand to instruct you by any better or shorter way to proceed in our said cause?" Then said Dr. Foxe, "It chanced us to be lodged at Waltham in Master Cressy's house this other night, your Highness being there, where we met with an old acquaintance of ours, named Dr. Cranmer, with whom having conference concerning your Highness's cause, he thought that the next way were, first to instruct and quiet your Majesty's conscience by trying your Highness's question out by the authority of the word of God, and thereupon to proceed to a final sentence." With this report the secretary was not content with the almoner, for that he did not utter this device as of their own invention. And when the secretary would have seemed by colourable words to make it appear to the king, that they of themselves had devised that means; the king then said, "Where is this Dr. Cranmer? Is he still at Waltham?" They answered that they left him there. "Marry," said the king, "I will surely speak with him, and therefore let him be sent for out of hand. I perceive," quoth the king, "that that man hath the sow by the right ear: and if I had known this device but two years ago, it had been in my way a great piece of money, and had also rid me out of much disquietness."

Whereupon Dr. Cranmer was sent for, and being removed from Waltham to Cambridge, and so towards his friends in Nottinghamshire, a post went for him. But when he came to London, he began to quarrel with these two his acquaintances, that

he, by their means, was thus troubled and brought thither to be cumbered in a matter, wherein he had nothing at all travailed in study; and therefore most instantly entreated them, that they would make his excuse in such sort, that he might be despatched away from coming in the king's presence. They promised, and took the matter upon them so to do, if by any means they might compass it. But all was in vain: for the more they began to excuse Dr. Cranmer's absence, the more the king chid with them, for that they brought him not out of hand to his presence; so that, no excuse serving, he was fain undelayedly to come to the court unto the king, whom the gentle prince benignly accepting, demanded his name, and said unto him, "Were you not at Waltham such a time, in the company of my secretary and my almoner?" Dr. Cranmer affirming the same, the king said again, "Had you not conference with them concerning our matter of divorce now in question after this sort? repeating the manner and order thereof. "That is right true, if it please your Highness," quoth Dr. Cranmer. "Well, said the king, "I well perceive that you have the right scope of this matter. You must understand," quoth the king, "that I have been long troubled in conscience; and now I perceive that by this means I might have been long ago relieved one way or other from the same, if we had this way proceeded. And therefore, Master Doctor, I pray you, and nevertheless, because you are a subject, I charge and command you, (all your other business and affairs set apart,) to take some pains to see this my cause to be furthered according to your device, as much as it may lie in you, so that I may shortly understand whereunto I may trust. For this I protest before God and the world, that I seek not to be divorced from the queen, if by any means I might justly be persuaded that this our matrimony were inviolable, and not against the laws of God; for otherwise there was never cause to move me to seek any such extremity: neither was there ever prince had a more gentle, a more obedient and loving companion and wife than the queen is, nor did I ever fancy woman in all respects better, if this doubt had not risen; assuring you that for the singular virtues wherewith she is endued, besides the consideration of her noble stock, I could be right well contented still to remain with her, if so it would stand with the will and pleasure of Almighty God." And thus, greatly commending her many and singular qualities, the king said, "I therefore pray you with an indifferent eye, and with as much dexterity as lieth in you, that you for your part do handle the matter for the discharging of both our consciences."

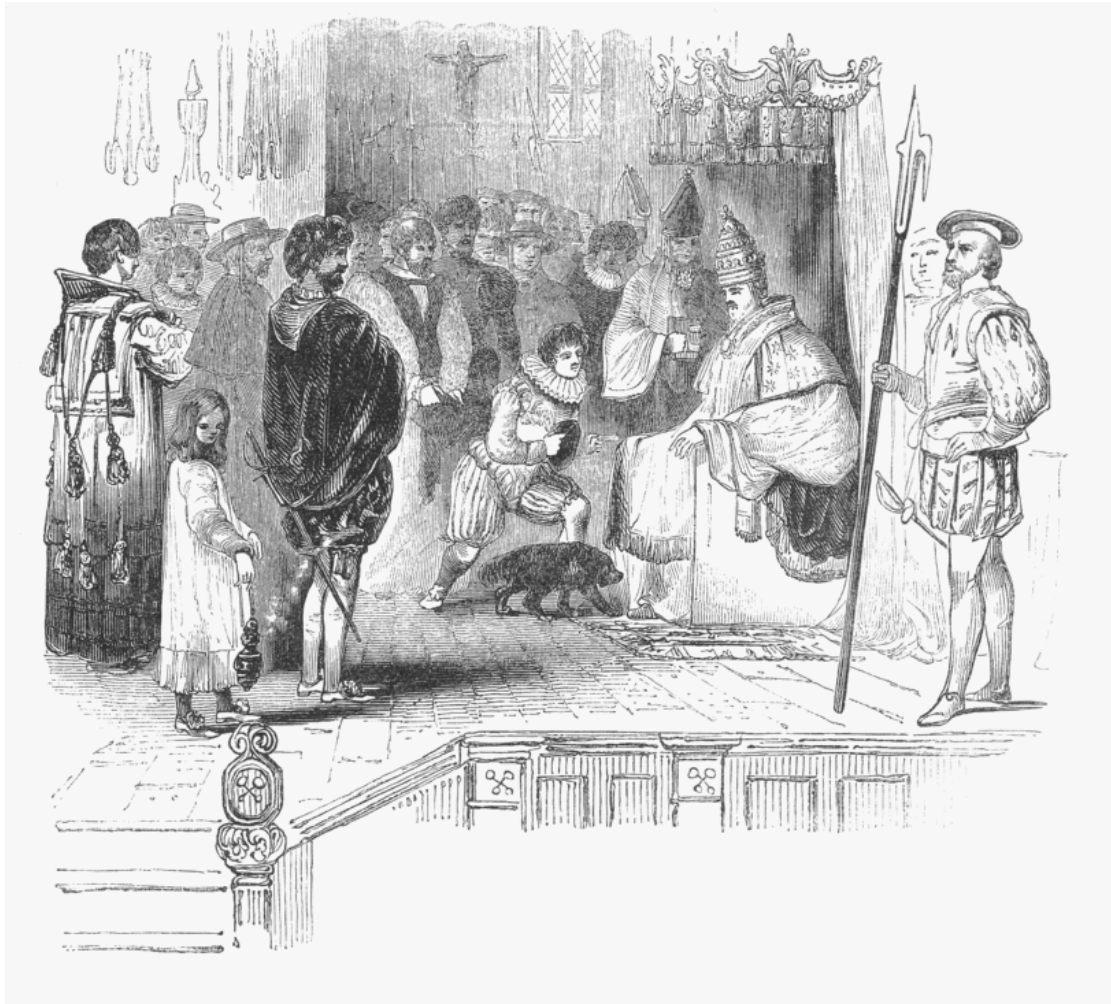
Dr. Cranmer, much disabling himself to meddle in so weighty a matter, besought the king's Highness to commit the trial and examining of this matter by the word of God, unto the best learned men of both his universities, Cambridge and Oxford.

You say well," said the king, "and I am content therewith. But yet nevertheless, I will have you specially to write your mind therein." And so calling the earl of Wiltshire to him, said, "I pray you, my Lord, let Dr. Cranmer have entertainment in your house at Durham Place for a time, to the intent he may be there quiet to accomplish my request, and let him lack neither books, nor any thing requisite for his study. And thus, after the king's departure, Dr. Cranmer went with my Lord of Wiltshire unto his house, wherein he incontinently wrote his mind concerning the king's question; adding to the same, besides the authorities of the Scriptures, of general councils, and of ancient writers, also his opinion, which was this: That the bishop of Rome had no such authority, as whereby he might dispense with the word of God and the Scripture.

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

When Dr. Cranmer had made this book, and committed it to the king, the king said to him, "Will you abide by this that you have here written before the bishop of Rome?" "That will I do by God's grace," quoth Dr. Cranmer, "if your Majesty do send me thither." "Marry," quoth the king, "I will send you even to him in a sure ambassage."

And thus by means of Dr. Cranmer's handling of this matter with the king, not only certain learned men were sent abroad to the most part of the universities in Christendom, to dispute the question, but also the same being, by commission disputed by the divines in both the universities of Cambridge and Oxford, it was there concluded, that no such matrimony was by the word of God lawful. Whereupon a solemn ambassage was then prepared and sent to the bishop of Rome, then being at Bologna, wherein went the earl of Wiltshire, Dr. Cranmer, Dr. Stokesley, Dr. Carne, Dr. Bennet, and divers other learned men and gentlemen. A. D. 1530.



The Earl of Wiltshire's Spaniel Biting the Pope in the Foot

And when the time came that they should come before the bishop of Rome to declare the cause of their ambassage, the bishop, sitting on high in his cloth of estate and in his rich apparel, with his sandals on his feet, offering as it were his foot to be kissed of the ambassadors; the earl of Wiltshire, disdainning thereat, stood still, and made no countenance thereunto, so that all the rest kept themselves from that idolatry. Howbeit, one thing is not here to be omitted, as a prognosticate of our separation from the see of Rome, which then chanced by a spaniel of the earl of Wiltshire. For he, having there a great spaniel which came out of England with him, stood directly between the earl and the bishop of Rome, when the said bishop had advanced forth his foot to be kissed. Now whether the spaniel perceived the bishop's foot of another nature than it ought to be, and so taking it to be some kind of repast -- or whether it was the will of God to show some token by a dog unto the bishop of his inordinate pride, that his feet were more meet to be bitten of dogs, than kissed of Christian men the spaniel, (I say,) when the bishop extended his foot to be kissed, no man regarding the same, straightway (as though he had been of purpose appointed thereunto) went directly to the pope's feet, and not only kissed the same unmannerly with his mouth, but, as some plainly reported and affirmed, took fast with his mouth the great toe of the pope, so that in haste he pulled in his glorious feet from the spaniel: whereat our men smiling in their sleeves, what they thought, God knoweth. But in fine, the pontifical bishop after that sought no more at that present for kissing his feet, but without any further ceremony gave ear to the ambassadors what they had to say; who, entering there before the bishop, offered on the king's behalf to be defended, that no man *jure divino*, could or ought to marry his brother's wife, and that the bishop of Rome by no means ought to dispense to the contrary. Divers promises were made, and sundry days appointed, wherein the question should have been disputed; and when our part was ready to answer, no man there appeared to dispute in that behalf. So in the end, the bishop making to our ambassadors good countenance, and gratifying Dr. Cranmer with the office of the penitentiaryship, dismissed them undisputed withal.

Whereupon the earl of Wiltshire, and the other commissioners, saving Dr. Cranmer, returned home again into England. And forthwith Dr. Cranmer went to the emperor, (being in his journey towards Vienna, in expedition against the Turk,) there to answer such learned men of the emperor's council, as would or could say any thing to the contrary part. Where amongst the rest, at the same time was Cornelius Agrippa, a high officer in the emperor's court, who having private conference with Dr. Cranmer in the question, was so fully resolved and satisfied in the matter, that afterwards there was never disputation openly offered to Dr. Cranmer in that behalf. For through the persuasion of Agrippa, all other learned men there were much discouraged: insomuch that after Dr. Cranmer was returned into England, Agrippa fell into such displeasure with the emperor, as some men thought, that because of the hindering and discouraging so much the contrary part, he was committed to prison, where he for sorrow ended his life, as it was reported. In the mean space, while the emperor returned home from Vienna through Germany, Dr. Cranmer in that voyage had conference with divers learned men of Germany concerning the said question, who, very ambiguously heretofore conceiving the cause, were fully resolved and satisfied by him.

This matter thus prospering on Dr. Cranmer's behalf, as well touching the king's question, as concerning the invalidity of the bishop of Rome's authority, Bishop

Warham, then archbishop of Canterbury, departed this transitory life, whereby that dignity then being in the king's gift and disposition, was immediately given to Dr. Cranmer, as worthy for his travail of such a promotion. Thus much touching the preferment of Dr. Cranmer unto his dignity, and by what means he achieved unto the same (not by flattery, nor by bribes, nor by any other unlawful means); which thing I have more at large discoursed, to stop the railing mouths of such, who, being themselves obscure and unlearned, shame not to detract so learned a man most ignominiously with the surname of an hosteler, whom for his godly zeal unto sincere religion they ought with much humility to have had in regard and reputation.

Not long after, as one occasion bringeth in another; so upon this question of the marriage riseth another question of the pope's authority; insomuch that in the parliament it was doubted of the primacy of the Church of Rome. And here the new archbishop was not a little helped by his old collections and notes, which he used in studying: for all the weight of the business was chiefly laid on his shoulders. He therefore alone received, and answered, and confuted, all the objections of all the papists. And whereas the saying is, as Not Hercules against two," he alone encountered with so many ensigns and armies of divines; he alone sustained all the force of all his adversaries; he opened from the very foundations abundantly and readily what was to be judged and determined of the bishop of Rome and all his authority; he showed that the pope's lordship was brought in by no authority of the Scripture, but by affected and ambitious tyranny of men; and that the chiefest power in earth belonged to the emperor, to kings, and to other potentates, to whom the bishops, priests, popes, and cardinals, by God's commandment, were no less subject than other men of the commonwealth: and therefore there was no cause why the bishop of Rome should excel other bishops in authority, who should be subject to their own magistrates, and of them be kept in order: and although authority be granted him over his own, yet so insolent and immoderate advancing of that see, by no right could be borne withal, but rather it should be made equalwith the rest.

And therefore it were even best that by consent of the king and the other estates the ambitious lordship of this bishop, being driven out of England, should keep itself within its own Italy, as a river is kept within its banks.

These matters being thus done and passed in the parliament, soon after the king and queen, by the ecclesiastical law, were cited at Dunstable before the archbishop of Canterbury and Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, as judges, to hear the sentence of God's word concerning this matter. The king refused not to appear at the censure of God's law; but the queen, refusing to stand to their judgment, appealed to the bishop of Rome. But forasmuch as the pope's authority being banished out of the realm, and by public authority it was enacted that no man should appeal out of the realm to Rome for any matter, the judges, making no delay, out of God's word pronounced the marriage to be unlawful, and so made divorce.

But Winchester, although he had openly sworn before all the states in the parliament, and in special words, against the pope's domination, yet inwardly in his fox's heart he bare a secret love to the bishop of Rome. But contrariwise, the archbishop perceiving (as it was indeed) that there was no hope to reform the church, so long as the bishop of Rome's laws and power remained, now that his name was driven out, sought all occasions to bring his intent to pass. By little and little he called

home and conformed the churches into a more wholesome discipline of Christ, and example of the primitive church: and as the pope's name and title were now abolished, so he laboured also to banish out of the realm his errors, heresies, and corruptions. And not content therewith, he obtained of the king, partly by his own suit, and partly by other men's suit, that certain learned bishops, being chosen out, should by their common consent make a book of ecclesiastical institutions, which should be better purged from all popish superstitions. In this number were chosen Stokesley bishop of London, Gardiner bishop of Winchester, Sampson bishop of Chester, Repse bishop of Norwich, Goodrich bishop of Ely, Latimer bishop of Worcester, Shaxton bishop of Salisbury, and Barlow bishop of St. David's. Winchester in this while (according to the love that he bare to the bishop of Rome, with three or four of the bishops as good as he) laboured diligently and subtly, that all the laws and customs of old idolatry and superstition (as much as could be) should be confirmed and established. Yet being overcome by the authority of the ancient fathers, of the more ancient church, and of the most ancient word of God, he gave place and subscribed to the book, which, by the title of the authors, they called "The Bishops' Book." By that book it appeareth that the archbishop of Canterbury was not then well instructed in the doctrine of the sacrament, because there is granted a real presence. There was added also concerning worshipping of images, which article was none of the bishop's, but added and written by the king's hand, and (as it is suspected) through the secret persuasion of the bishop of Winchester.

These matters thus ordered, the abolishing of monasteries began to be talked of. The king's desire was, that all the abbey-lands should come to his coffers; and contrariwise the archbishop, and other men of the church, thought it pertained more to Christian religion and duty, that all the goods of monasteries (which were very great) should be put to the necessary use of the poor, and erecting of schools. For which cause the king's will being somewhat bent against the archbishop and other maintainers of his doctrine, (specially by the instigation of Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, which sought all occasions to let and hinder the gospel,) he set forth the Six Articles, more than man-quellers, containing the sum of popish religion, and by full consent of parliament established them. What a slaughter by the space of eight years these Six Articles made, because we have showed in another place, it were superfluous to repeat it here again; although the king afterward (foregoing his anger, and considering, as it was indeed, that the archbishop and others of his sort, did it not for that he was offended with them, of stubbornness of mind, but rather of simplicity of conscience) began to be more favourable to him and them; and thought (as it is said) to have mitigated the rigour and cruelty of certain of the said articles, and minded to have reformed more things, if he had lived.

Now as concerning his behaviour and trade of life towards God and the world, being now entered into his said dignity, and forasmuch as the apostle St. Paul, writing to two bishops, Timothy and Titus, setteth out unto us a perfect description of a true bishop, with all the properties and conditions belonging to the same, unto the which exemplar it shall be hard in these strange days to find the image of any bishop correspondent; yet, for example's sake, let us take this archbishop of Canterbury, and try him by the rule thereof, to see either how near he cometh to the description of St. Paul, or else how far off he swerveth from the common course of others in his time, of his calling. The rule of St. Paul is to be found, 1 Tim. iii., also in his Epistle to Titus, chap. i. in these words: A bishop must be faultless, as becometh the minister of God.

Not stubborn, nor angry, no drunkard, no fighter, nor given to filthy lucre; but harbourous, one that loveth goodness, sober-minded, righteous, holy, temperate, and such as cleaveth unto the true word and doctrine, that he may be able to exhort, &c.

Unto this rule and touchstone, to lay now the life and conversation of this archbishop, we will first begin with that which is thus written: "*A bishop must be faultless, as becometh the minister of God.*" Like as no man is without sin, and every man carrieth with him his especial vice and fault: so yet nevertheless, the apostle meaneth, that the bishop and minister must be faultless, in comparison of the common conversation of men of the world, which seem more licentious to live at their own liberties and pleasures, than the bishop or minister ought to do, having small regard unto good example giving: which a bishop and minister most carefully ought to consider, lest by his dissolute life the word of God be slandered and evil spoken of. Which thing to avoid, and the better to accomplish this precept of the apostle, this worthy man evermore gave himself to continual study, not breaking that order that he in the university commonly used, that is, by five of the clock in the morning at his book, and so consuming the time in study and prayer until nine of the clock. He then applied himself (if the prince's affairs did not call him away) until dinner time to hear suitors, and to despatch such matters as appertained unto his special cure and charge, committing his temporal affairs, both of his household and other foreign business, unto his officers; so that such things were never impediments either to his study, or to his pastoral charge, which principally consisted in reformation of corrupt religion, and in setting forth of true and sincere doctrine. For the most part always being in commission, he associated himself with learned men for sifting and bolting out of one matter or other, for the commodity and profit of the church of England; by means whereof, and what for his private study, he was never idle: besides that, he accounted it no idle point to bestow one hour or twain of the day in reading over such works and books as daily came from beyond the seas.

After dinner, if any suitors were attendant, he would very diligently hear them, and despatch them in such sort as every man commended his lenity and gentleness, although the case required that some while divers of them were committed by him to prison. And having no suitors after dinner, for an hour or thereabout he would play at the chess, or behold such as could play. That done, then again to his ordinary study, at the which commonly he for the most part stood, and seldom sat; and there continuing until five of the clock, bestowed that hour in hearing the common prayer, and walking or using some honest pastime until supper time. At supper, if he had no appetite, (as many times he would not sup,) yet would he sit down at the table, having his ordinary provision of his mess furnished with expedient company, he wearing on his hands his gloves, because he would (as it were) thereby wean himself from eating of meat, but yet keeping the company with such fruitful talk as did repast and much delight the hearers, so that by this means hospitality was well furnished, and the alms-chest well maintained for relief of the poor. After supper, he would consume one hour at the least in walking, or some other honest pastime, and then again until nine of the clock, at one kind of study or other; so that no hour of the day was spent in vain, but the same was so bestowed, as tended to the glory of God, the service of the prince, or the commodity of the church; which his well-bestowing of his time procured to him most happily a good report of all men, to be in respect of other men's conversation faultless, as became the minister of God.

Secondly, it is required, *"that a bishop ought not to be stubborn:"* with which kind of vice, without great wrong, this archbishop in no wise ought to be charged; whose nature was such as none more gentle, or sooner won to an honest suit or purpose; specially in such things, wherein by his word, writing, counsel, or deed, he might gratify either any gentle or noble man, or do good to any mean person, or else relieve the needy and poor. Only in causes pertaining to God or his prince, no man more stout, more constant, or more hard to be won; as in that part his earnest defence in the parliament house above three days together, in disputing against the Six Articles of Gardiner's device, can testify. And though the king would needs have them upon some politic consideration to go forward, yet Cranmer so handled himself as well in the parliament house, as afterwards by writing, so obediently and with such humble behaviour in words towards his prince, protesting the cause not to be his, but Almighty God's, who was the author of all truth, that the king did not only well like his defence, (willing him to depart out of the parliament house, into the council chamber, whilst the act should pass and be granted, for safeguard of his conscience; which he with humble protestation refused, hoping that his Majesty in process of time would revoke them again,) but also, after the parliament was finished, the king, perceiving the zealous affection that the archbishop bare towards the defence of his cause, which many ways by Scriptures and manifold authorities and reasons he had substantially confirmed and defended, sent the Lord Cromwell, then vicegerent, with the two dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and all the lords of the parliament, to dine with him at Lambeth; where it was declared by the vicegerent, and the two dukes, that it was the king's pleasure, that they all should in his Highness's behalf, cherish, comfort, and animate him, as one that for his travail in that parliament had showed himself both greatly learned, and also discreet and wise: and therefore they willed him not to be discouraged for any thing that was passed contrary to his allegations. He most humbly thanked the king's Majesty of his great goodness towards him, and them for all their pains, saying, "I hope in God, that hereafter my allegations and authorities shall take place to the glory of God and the commodity of the realm; in the mean time I will satisfy myself with the honourable consent of your Honours, and the whole parliament."

Here is to be noted, that this man's stout and godly defence of the truth herein so bound the prince's conscience, that he would not permit the truth in that man to be clean overthrown with authority and power; and therefore this way God working in the prince's mind, a plain token was declared hereby, that all things were not so sincerely handled in the confirmation of the said Six Articles as it ought to have been; for else the prince might have had a just cause to have borne his great indignation towards the archbishop. Let us pray that both the like stoutness may be perceived in all ecclesiastical and learned men, where the truth ought to be defended, and also the like relenting and flexibility may take place in princes and noblemen, when they shall have occasion offered them to maintain the same, so that they utterly overwhelm not the truth by self-will, power, and authority. Now in the end this archbishop's constancy was such towards God's cause, that he confirmed all his doings by bitter death in the fire, without respect of any worldly treasure or pleasure. And as touching his stoutness in his prince's cause, the contrary resistance of the duke of Northumberland against him proved right well his good mind that way; which chanced by reason that he would not consent unto the dissolving of chantries, until the king came of age, to the intent that they might then better serve to furnish his royal estate, than to have so great treasure consumed in his nonage: which his stoutness,

joined with such simplicity, surely was thought to divers of the council a thing incredible: specially in such sort to contend with him, who was so accounted in this realm, as few or none would or durst gainstand him.

So dear was to him the cause of God and of his prince, that for the one he would not keep his conscience clogged, nor for the other lurk or hide his head. Otherwise (as it is said) his very enemies might easily entreat him in any cause reasonable; and such things as he granted, he did without any suspicion of upbraiding or meed therefor: so that he was altogether void of the vice of stubbornness, and rather culpable of overmuch facility and gentleness.

Then followeth "*not angry*." Surely if overmuch patience may be a vice, this man may seem peradventure to offend rather on this part than on the contrary. Albeit for all his doings I cannot say: for the most part, such was his mortification that way, that few we shall find in whom the saying of our Saviour Christ so much prevailed, as with him, who would not only have a man to forgive his enemies, but also to pray for them: that lesson never went out of his memory. For it was known that he had many cruel enemies, not for his own deserts, but only for his religion's sake: and yet whatsoever he was that sought his hinderance, either in goods, estimation, or life, and upon conference would seem never so slenderly any thing to relent or excuse himself, he would both forget the offence committed, and also evermore afterwards friendly entertain him, and show such pleasure to him, as by any means possible he might perform or declare, insomuch that it came into a common proverb, "Do unto my Lord of Canterbury displeasure, or a shrewd turn, and then you may be sure to have him your friend while he liveth." Of which his gentle disposition in abstaining from revengement, amongst many examples thereof, I will repeat here one:--

It chanced an ignorant priest and parson in the north parts, (the town is not now in remembrance, but he was a kinsman of one Chersey, a grocer, dwelling within London, being one of those priests that use more to study at the ale-house, than in his chamber or in his study,) to sit on a time with his honest neighbours at the ale-house within his own parish, where was communication ministered in commendation of my Lord Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury. This said parson, envying his name only for religion's sake, said to his neighbours, "What make you of him," quoth he, "he was but an hosteler, and hath no more learning than the goslings that go yonder on the green;" with suchlike slanderous and uncomely words. These honest neighbours of his, not well bearing those his unseemly words, articulated against him, and sent their complaint to the Lord Cromwell, then vicegerent in causes ecclesiastical, who sent for the priest, and committed him to the Fleet, minding to have had him recant those his slanderous words at Paul's Cross. Howbeit the Lord Cromwell having great affairs of the prince then in hand, forgot his prisoner in the Fleet. So that this Chersey, the grocer, understanding that his kinsman was in durance in the Fleet only for speaking words against my Lord of Canterbury, consulted with the priest, and between them devised to make suit rather unto the archbishop for his deliverance, than to the Lord Cromwell, before whom he was accused; understanding right well that there was great diversity of natures between those two estates, the one gentle and full of clemency, and the other severe and somewhat intractable, namely, against a papist: so that Chersey took upon him first to try my Lord of Canterbury's benignity, namely, for that his cousin's accusation touched only the offence against him, and none other. Whereupon the said Chersey came to one of the archbishop's gentlemen, (whose

father bought yearly all his spices and fruit of the said Chersey, and so thereby of familiar acquaintance with the gentleman,) who, opening to him the trouble wherein his kinsman was, requested that he would be a means to my Lord his master, to hear his suit in the behalf of his kinsman.

The matter was moved. The archbishop, like as he was of nature gentle, and of much clemency, so would he never show himself strange unto suitors, but incontinently sent for the said Chersey. When he came before him, Chersey declared, that there was a kinsman of his in the Fleet, a priest of the north country, "and as I may tell your Grace the truth," quoth Chersey, "a man of small civility, and of less learning. And yet he hath a parsonage there, which now -- by reason that my Lord Cromwell hath laid him in prison -- being in his cure, is unserved; and he hath continued in durance above two months, and is called to no answer, and knows not when he shall come to any end, so that this his imprisonment consumeth his substance, and will utterly undo him, unless your Grace be his good Lord." "I know not the man," said the archbishop, "nor what he hath done, why he should be thus in trouble." Said Chersey again, "He only hath offended against your Grace, and against no man else, as may well be perceived by the articles objected against him;" the copy whereof the said Chersey then exhibited to the said archbishop of Canterbury, who, well perusing the said articles, said, "This is the common talk of all the ignorant papistical priests in England against me. Surely," said he, "I was never made privy to this accusation, and of his endurance I never heard before this time. Notwithstanding, if there be nothing else to charge him withal against the prince or any of the council, I will, at your request, take order with him, and send him home again to his cure to do his duty:" and so thereupon sent his ring to the warden of the Fleet, willing him to send the prisoner unto him, with his keeper, that afternoon.

When the keeper had brought the prisoner at the hour appointed, and Chersey had well instructed his cousin in any wise to submit himself to the archbishop, confessing his fault, whereby that way he should most easily have an end, and win his favour; thus the parson being brought into the garden at Lambeth, and there the archbishop, sitting under the vine, demanded of the parson, what was the cause of his endurance, and who committed him to the Fleet. The parson answered and said, that the Lord Cromwell sent him thither, for that certain malicious parishioners of his parish had wrongfully accused him of words which he never spake nor meant. Chersey, hearing his foolish cousin so far out of the way from his former instruction, said, "Thou dastardly dolt and varlet! is this thy promise that thou madest to me? Are there not a great number of thy honest neighbours' hands against thee, to prove thee a liar?" "Surely my Lord," quoth Chersey, "it is pity to do him good. I am sorry that I have troubled your Grace thus far with him." "Well," said the archbishop unto the parson, "if you have not offended me, I can do you no good; for I am entreated to help one out of trouble that hath offended against me. If my Lord Cromwell hath committed you to prison wrongfully, that lieth in himself to amend, and not in me. If your offence only hath touched me, I will be bold to do somewhat for your friend's sake here. If you have not offended against me, then have I nothing to do with you, but that you may go, and remain from whence you came." Lord, what ado his kinsman Chersey made with him, calling him all kind of opprobrious names! In the end my Lord of Canterbury, seeming to rise and go his ways, the fond priest fell on his knees, and said, "I beseech your Grace to forgive me this offence, assuring your Grace that I spake those words being drunk, and not well advised." "Ah," said my

Lord, "this is somewhat, and yet it is no good excuse: for drunkenness evermore uttereth that which lieth hid in the heart of man when he is sober;" alleging a text or twain out of the Scriptures concerning the vice of drunkenness, which cometh not now to remembrance. "Now therefore," said the archbishop, "that you acknowledge somewhat your fault, I am content to commune with you, hoping that you are at this present of an indifferent sobriety. Tell me then," quoth he, "did you ever see me, or were you ever acquainted with me, before this day?" The priest answered and said that never in his life he saw his Grace. "Why then," said the archbishop, "what occasion had you to call me an hosteler, and that I had not so much learning as the goslings which then went on the green before your face? If I have no learning you may now try it, and be out of doubt thereof; therefore I pray you appose me, either in grammar or in other liberal sciences; for I have at one time or other tasted partly of them. Or else, if you are a divine, say somewhat that way."

The priest being amazed at my Lord's familiar talk, made answer and said, "I beseech your Grace to pardon me. I am altogether unlearned, and understand not the Latin tongue, but very simply. My only study hath been to say my service and mass, fair and deliberate, which I can do as well as any priest in the country where I dwell, I thank God." "Well," said the other, "if you will not appose me, I will be so bold to appose you, and yet as easily as I can devise; and that only in the story of the Bible now in English, in which I suppose that you are daily exercised. Tell me therefore who was King David's father," said my Lord. The priest stood still, pausing a while, and said, "In good faith, my Lord, I have forgotten his name." Then said the other again to him, "If you cannot tell that, I pray you tell me then, who was Solomon's father?" The fond foolish priest, without all consideration what was demanded of him before, made answer, "Good my Lord, bear with me, I am no further seen in the Bible, than is daily read in our service in the church."



Cranmer, Chersey and the Priest

The archbishop then answering, said, "This my question may be found well-answered in your service. But I now well perceive, howsoever ye have judged heretofore of my learning, sure I am that you have none at all. But this is the common practice of all you that be ignorant and superstitious priests, to slander, backbite, and hate all such as are learned and well-affected towards God's word and sincere religion. Common reason might have taught you what an unlikely thing it was, and contrary to all manner of reason, that a prince, having two universities within his realm of well-learned men, and desirous to be resolved of as doubtful a question as in these many years the like was not moved within Christendom, should be driven to that necessity for the defence of his cause, to send out of his realm an hosteler, being a man of no better knowledge than is a gosling, in an embassy to answer all learned men, both in the court of Rome and the emperor's court, in so difficult a question as toucheth the king's matrimony, and the divorce thereof. I say, if you were men of any reasonable consideration, you might think it both unseemly and uncomely for a prince so to do. But look, where malice reigneth in men, there reason can take no place; and therefore I see by it, that you all are at a point with me, that no reason or authority can persuade you to favour my name, who never meant evil to you, but both for your commodity and profit. Howbeit, God amend you all, forgive you, and send you better minds!" With these words the priest seemed to weep, and desired his Grace to pardon his fault and frailty, so that by his means he might return to his cure again, and he would sure recant those his foolish words before his parishioners so soon as he came home, and would become a new man. "Well," said the archbishop, "so had you need:" and giving him a godly admonition to refuse the haunting of the alehouse, and to

bestow his time better in the continual reading of the Scriptures, he dismissed him from the Fleet.

The Lord Cromwell, perceiving within a fortnight after that his prisoner was sent home without any open punishment, came to Lambeth unto the archbishop, and in a great heat said to him, "My Lord, I understand that you have despatched the northern priest, that I of late sent to the Fleet, home again, who dishonestly railed of you, and called you an hosteler." "Indeed I have so done," said he again, "for that in his absence the people of his cure wanted their divine service." "It is very devout divine service that he saith," quoth the Lord Cromwell. "It were more meet for him to be an hosteler than a curate, who stuck not to call you an hosteler. But I thought so much what you would do, and therefore I would not tell you of his knavery when I sent him to prison. Howbeit, henceforth they shall cut your throat, before that I say any thing more to them on your behalf." "Why, what would you have done with him?" quoth the archbishop. "There was nothing laid to his charge, other than words spoken against me; and now the man is repentant and well-reconciled, and hath been at great charges in prison: it is time therefore that he were rid out of his trouble." "Well," said my Lord Cromwell, "I meant that he should have preached at Paul's Cross a recantation before he had gone home." "That had been well done," quoth the other, "for then you would have had all the world as well to wonder at me as at him." "Well, well," said the Lord Cromwell, "we shall so long bear with these popish knaves, that at length they will bring us indeed to be wondered at of the whole world."

This example, among others, serveth to declare that there remained small desire of revenging in the said archbishop. But what should I say more? his quietness and mortification this way was such, that it is reported of all that knew him, that he never raged so far with any of his household servants, as once to call the meanest of them varlet or knave in anger, much less to reprove a stranger with any reproachful words. Much unlike, in this part, to the property (as it seemeth) of some other inferior bishops of this realm, which have not spared to fly in the faces, to pluck off the beards, to burn the hands, to beat and scourge with rods the bodies, of both gentlemen, married men, and others, having almost nothing else in their mouth, but "fools" and "knaves," &c.: and yet, after all this, think themselves good perfect bishops, after the rule which followeth and saith,

"No striker, no fighter." -- From which kind of vice, the nature of this archbishop was so far off, as was his doctrine which he professed, and death which he suffered, far off from all condition and example of blind popery. After the prohibition of these foresaid vices, succeedeth the mother of all good virtues necessarily required of all true Christians, but chiefly of a spiritual prelate, which is,

"Not given to filthy lucre, but harborous," &c. The contrary whereof was so odious unto St. Paul, that he esteemed the same no less than a kind of idolatry, in that it maketh men forget their duty to God so far, and, instead of him, to worship their treasure. How little this prelate we speak of was infected with this vice, and how he was no niggard, all kind of people that knew him (as well learned beyond the seas and on this side, to whom yearly he gave in exhibition no small sums of money, as others, both gentlemen, mean men, and poor men, who had in their necessity that which he could conveniently spare, lend, or make) can well testify. And albeit such was his liberality to all sorts of men, that no man did lack whom he could do for, either in

giving or lending; yet nevertheless such was again his circumspection, that when he was apprehended and committed by Queen Mary to the Tower, he owed no man living a penny, that could or would demand any duty of him, but satisfied every man to the uttermost: whereas no small sums of money were owing him of divers persons, which by breaking their bills and obligations he freely forgave and suppressed before his attainer. Insomuch that when he perceived the fatal end of King Edward should work to him no good success touching his body and goods, he incontinently called for his officers, his steward and others, commanding them in any wise to pay where any penny was owing, which was out of hand despatched. And then he said, "Now I thank God, I am mine own man, and in conscience, with God's help, able else to answer all the world and worldly adversities;" which some men suppose he might also have avoided, if he would have been counselled by some of his friends.

It followeth, moreover, "harborous." -- And as touching this word harborous, whereby is meant the good maintenance of hospitality; so little was this property lacking in him, that some men, misliking the same, thought it rather a house of over-much lavishing and unprofitable expense. But as nothing can be so well done, which by some one or other shall not be maligned and detracted; so neither did this man lack his cavillers, some finding fault with his over-much prodigality, some, on the contrary part, repining and complaining of his spare house and strait order, much under the state of his revenues and calling. Of which two, the first sort must consider the causes which moved him to that liberal and large kind of expenses; wherein here cometh to be considered, the time wherein he served, which was when reformation of religion first began to be advanced, in which time the whole weight and care of the same most chiefly depended upon his hand; during which season, almost for the space of sixteen years together, his house was never lightly unfurnished of a number both of learned men and commissioners, from time to time appointed for deciding of ecclesiastical affairs. And thus, as he seemed to some over-large and lavishing more than needed in hospitality; so on the other side there wanted not some of whom he was much noted and accused again, yea, and also complained of to King Henry the Eighth, for too slender and niggardly housekeeping, as not worthy to be accounted the hospitality of a mean gentleman, as here following shall appear.

After that the ample and great possessions, revenues, jewels, rich ornaments, and other treasures of the abbeys were dissolved and brought into the king's hands, in the dissolving whereof many cormorants were fed and satisfied, and yet not so fully satisfied, but that within a few years they began to wax hungry again: and forasmuch as no more could be scraped now out of abbeys, they began to seek how by some other prey to satisfy their appetites, which was to tickle the king's ears with the rich revenue of the bishops' lands. And to bring this device to pass, they procured Sir Thomas Seymour, knight of the privy chamber, to be a promoter of the matter; who not in all points much favouring the archbishop, having time and a convenient occasion, declared to the king that my Lord of Canterbury did nothing else but sell his woods, and let his leases by great and many fines, making havoc of all the royalties of the archbishopric; and that only to the intent to gather up treasure for his wife and children, keeping no manner of hospitality, in respect of so great a revenue: advertising the king further, that it was the opinion of many wise men, that it were more meet for the bishops to have a sufficient yearly stipend in money out of the exchequer, than to be cumbered with those temporal affairs of their royalties, being impediments unto their study and pastoral charge; and his Highness to have their

lands and royalties converted to his proper use, which besides their honest stipends, would be unto his Majesty no small commodity and profit.

When the king had heard his fair tale, he said little thereunto, other than this: "Well," quoth he, "we will talk more of this matter at another time." Now, within a fortnight after, or thereabout, (whether by chance, or of set purpose, it is not known,) it came to pass, that one day when his Highness going to dinner had washed, Sir Thomas Seymour then holding the ewer, said to the said Sir Thomas, "Go you out of hand to Lambeth, unto my Lord of Canterbury, and bid him to be with me at two of the clock at afternoon, and fail not." Sir Thomas straightways went to Lambeth, and as he came to the gate the porter being in the lodge came out, and conveyed him to the hall, which was thoroughly furnished and set, both with the household servants and strangers, with four principal head messes of officers, as daily it was accustomed to be. When Sir Thomas saw that stately large hall so well set and furnished, being therewith abashed, and somewhat guilty of an untruth told to the king before, he retired back, and would needs have gone to the archbishop of Canterbury by the chapel, and not through the hall. Richard Neville, gentleman, then steward of the household, perceiving his retire, came by and by unto him, and after gentle entertainment demanded of him whether he would speak with my Lord or no? Sir Thomas said, that he must needs do so from the king's Highness, saying unto him, "and this way I am going to my Lord's Grace." "Sir," said the steward, "you cannot go that way, for the door is fast shut, in the dinner time:" and so, by gentle means, brought him up to my Lord's chamber through the hall, who then was at dinner: with whom he dined, after he had done his message, whose ordinary fare might always well beseem a right honourable personage. When dinner was scarce done, Sir Thomas took his leave of my Lord, and went again to the court.

So soon as the king's Highness saw him, he said to him; "Have you been with my Lord of Canterbury?" Sir Thomas answered, "That I have, if it please your Majesty, and he will be with your Highness straightways." "Dined you not with him?" said the king. "Yes, sir," said he, "that have I done." And with that word, whether he espied by the king's countenance, or by his words, any thing tending to displeasure, he straightway without delay kneeled down upon his knee, and said, "I beseech your Majesty to pardon me: I do now well remember and understand, that of late I told your Highness a great untruth concerning my Lord of Canterbury's housekeeping: but from henceforth I intend never to believe that person which did put that vain tale into my head; for I assure your Highness that I never saw so honourable a hall set in this realm (besides your Majesty's hall) in all my life, with better order, and so well furnished in each degree. If I had not seen it myself, I could never have believed it, and himself also so honourably served." "Ah sir," quoth the king's Highness, "have you now espied the truth? I thought you would tell me another tale when you had been there. He is a very varlet," quoth the king, "that told you that tale: for he spendeth, (ah, good man!)" said the king, "all that he hath in housekeeping. But now I perceive which way the wind bloweth. There are a sort of you to whom I have liberally given of the possessions and revenues of the suppressed monasteries, which like as you have lightly gotten, so have you more unthriftilly spent, some at dice, other some in gay apparel, and other ways worse, I fear me: and now that all is gone, you would fain have me make another chevance with the bishops' lands, to accomplish your greedy appetites. But let no other bishops bestow their revenues worse than my

Lord of Canterbury doth: then shall you have no cause to complain of their keeping of house."

And thus the tale being shut up, and ended by the king's Highness, neither Sir Thomas Seymour, nor any other on his behalf, ever after durst renew or revive that suit, or any more in King Henry's days; so that it may be evident to all indifferent men, the liberality of the archbishop in housekeeping what it was, which being defended and commended by the prince himself, rather may give a good example to his posterity to follow, than was then to be depraved of any private subject, such as knew him not.

In which archbishop this moreover is to be noted, with a memorandum touching the relief of the poor, impotent, sick, and such as then came from the wars at Boulogne, and other parts beyond the seas, lame, wounded, and destitute: for whom he provided, besides his mansion-house at Beaksbourne in Kent, the parsonage-barn, well furnished with certain lodgings for the sick and maimed soldiers; to whom were also appointed the almoner, a physician, and a surgeon, to attend upon them, and to dress and cure such as were not able to resort to their countries, having daily from the bishop's kitchen hot broth and meat: for otherwise the common alms of the household was bestowed upon the poor neighbours of the shire. And when any of the impotent did recover and were able to travel, they had convenient money delivered to bear their charges, according to the number of miles from that place distant. And this good example of mercy and liberal benignity, I thought here good not in silence to he suppressed, whereby others may be moved, according to their vocation, to walk in the steps of no less liberality, than in him in this behalf appeared.

Now followeth together these virtues, *"one that loveth goodness, sober-minded, righteous, holy, and temperate."* As concerning these qualities, the trade of his life before, joined with his benign and gentle disposition, doth testify that he could not be void of these good virtues reigning in him, who was so abundantly adorned with the others, which above we have declared.

Then concludeth St. Paul with the most excellent virtue of all others to be wished in a prelate of the church. For if this constancy be not in him to this end, that is, *"to cleave fast unto the true word of doctrine, that he may be able to exhort with wholesome learning, and to reprove them that say against it;"* if he be void (I say) of these gifts and graces, he is worthy of no commendation, but shall be seen an idol, and a deceiver of the world. Neither shall he deserve the name of a bishop, if either for dread or meed, affection or favour, he do at any time or in any point swerve from the truth. As in this behalf the worthy constancy of this said archbishop never, for the most part, shrank from any manner of storm; but was so many ways tried, that neither favour of his' prince, nor fear of the indignation of the same, nor any other worldly respect, could alienate or change his purpose, grounded upon that infallible doctrine of the gospel. Notwithstanding, his constant defence of God's truth was ever joined with such meekness toward the king, that he never took occasion of offence against him.

At the time of setting forth the Six Articles, mention was made before in the story of King Henry the Eighth, how adventurously this archbishop Thomas Cranmer did oppose himself, standing, as it were, post alone, against the whole parliament,

disputing and replying three days together against the said Articles: insomuch that the king, when neither he could mislike his reasons, and yet would needs have these Articles to pass, required him to absent himself for the time out of the chamber, while the act should pass, and so he did; and how the king afterward sent all the lords of the parliament unto the archbishop to Lambeth to cheer his mind again, that he might not be discouraged, all which appeareth above expressed: and this was done during yet the state and time of the Lord Cromwell's authority.

And now that it may appear likewise, that after the decay of the Lord Cromwell, yet his constancy in Christ's cause did not decay, you shall hear what followeth after. For after the apprehension of the Lord Cromwell, when the adversaries of the gospel thought all things sure now on their side, it was so appointed amongst them, that ten or twelve bishops, and other learned men, joined together in commission, came to the said archbishop of Canterbury for the establishing of certain articles of our religion, which the papists then thought to win to their purpose against the said archbishop. For having now the Lord Cromwell fast and sure, they thought all had been safe and sure for ever: as indeed to all men's reasonable consideration, that time appeared so dangerous, that there was no manner of hope that religion reformed should any one week longer stand, such account was then made of the king's untowardness thereunto; insomuch, that of all those commissioners there was not one left to stay on the archbishop's part, but he alone against them all stood in the defence of the truth; and those that he most trusted to, namely Bishop Heath, and Bishop Skip, left him in the plain field, who then so turned against him, that they took upon them to persuade him to their purpose; and, having him down from the rest of the commissioners into his garden at Lambeth, there by all manner of effectual persuasions entreated him to leave off his over-much constancy, and to incline unto the king's intent, who was fully set to have it otherwise than he then had penned, or meant to have set abroad.

When those two his familiars, with one or two others his friends, had used all their eloquence and policy, he, little regarding their inconstancy and remissness in God's cause or quarrel, said unto them right notably, "You make much ado to have me come to your purpose, alleging that it is the king's pleasure to have the articles, in that sort you have devised them, to proceed; and now that you do perceive his Highness by sinister information to be bent that way, you think it a convenient thing to apply unto his Highness's mind. You be my friends both, especially the one of you I did put to his Majesty as of trust. Beware (I say) what you do. There is but one truth in our articles to be concluded upon, which if you do hide from his Highness by consenting unto a contrary doctrine, and then after in process of time, when the truth cannot be hidden from him, his Highness shall perceive how that you have dealt colourably with him, I know his Grace's nature so well," quoth the archbishop, "that he will never after trust and credit you, or put any good confidence in you. And as you are both my friends, so therefore I will you to beware thereof in time, and discharge your consciences in maintenance of the truth." But all this would not serve, for they still swerved; and in the end, by discharging of his conscience and declaring the truth unto the king, God so wrought with the king, that his Highness joined with him against the rest, so that the Book of Articles passing on his side, he won the goal from them all, contrary to all their expectations, when many wagers would have been laid in London, that he should have been laid up with Cromwell at that time in the Tower, for his stiff standing to his

tackle. After that day there could neither councillor, bishop, nor papist win him out of the king's favour.

Notwithstanding, not long after that, certain of the council, whose names need not to be repeated, by the enticement and provocation of his ancient enemy the bishop of Winchester, and others of the same sect, attempted the king against him, declaring plainly, that the realm was so infected with heresies and heretics, that it was dangerous for his Highness further to permit it unreformed, lest peradventure by long suffering, such contention should arise and ensue in the realm among his subjects, that thereby might spring horrible commotions and uproars, like as in some parts of Germany it did not long ago: the enormity whereof they could not impute to any so much, as to the archbishop of Canterbury, who by his own preaching, and his chaplains', had filled the whole realm full of divers pernicious heresies. The king would needs know his accusers. They answered, that forasmuch as he was a councillor, no man durst take upon him to accuse him; but, if it would please his Highness to commit him to the Tower for a time, there would be accusations and proofs enow against him; for otherwise, just testimony and witness against him would not appear, "and therefore your Highness," said they, "must needs give us the counsel, liberty, and leave to commit him to durance."

The king, perceiving their importunate suit against the archbishop, (but yet meaning not to have him wronged, and utterly given over into their hands,) granted unto them that they should the next day commit him to the Tower for his trial. When night came, the king sent Sir Anthony Denny about midnight to Lambeth to the archbishop, willing him forthwith to resort unto him at the court. The message done, the archbishop speedily addressed himself to the court, and coming into the gallery where the king walked, and tarried for him, his Highness said, "Ah, my Lord of Canterbury! I can tell you news. For divers weighty considerations it is determined by me, and the council, that you to-morrow, at nine of the clock, shall be committed to the Tower, for that you and your chaplains (as information is given us) have taught and preached, and thereby sown within the realm, such a number of execrable heresies, that it is feared, the whole realm being infected with them, no small contentions and commotions will rise thereby amongst my subjects, as of late days the like was in divers parts of Germany: and therefore the council have requested me, for the trial of the matter, to suffer them to commit you to the Tower, or else no man dare come forth as witness in these matters, you being a councillor."

When the king had said his mind, the archbishop kneeled down and said, "I am content, if it please your Grace, with all my heart, to go thither at your Highness's commandment. And I most humbly thank your Majesty that I may come to my trial; for there be [those] that have many ways slandered me; and now this way I hope to try myself not worthy of such report."

The king, perceiving the man's uprightness, joined with such simplicity, said, "O Lord, what manner of man be you! What simplicity is in you! I had thought that you would rather have sued to us to have taken the pains to have heard you and your accusers together for your trial, without any such endurance. Do you not know, what state you be in with the whole world, and how many great enemies you have? Do you not consider what an easy thing it is, to procure three or four false knaves to witness against you? Think you to have better luck that way, than your Master Christ had? I

see by it you will run headlong to your undoing, if I would suffer you. Your enemies shall not so prevail against you, for I have otherwise devised with myself to keep you out of their hands. Yet notwithstanding to-morrow, when the council shall sit, and send for you, resort unto them, and if in charging you with this matter, they do commit you to the Tower, require of them, because you are one of them, a councillor, that you may have your accusers brought before them, and that you may answer their accusations before them, without any further endurance, and use for yourself as good persuasions that way as you may devise; and if no entreaty or reasonable request will serve, then deliver unto them this my ring," (which then the king delivered unto the archbishop,) "and say unto them, 'If there be no remedy, my Lords, but that I must needs go to the Tower, then I revoke my cause from you, and appeal to the king's own person by this his token unto you all,' for" (said the king then unto the archbishop) "so soon as they shall see this my ring, they know it so well, that they shall understand that I have resumed the whole cause into mine own hands and determination, and that I have discharged them thereof."

The archbishop, perceiving the king's benignity so much to him-wards, had much ado to forbear tears. "Well," said the king, "go your ways, my Lord, and do as I have bidden you." My Lord, humbling himself with thanks, took his leave of the king's Highness for that night.

On the morrow about nine of the clock before noon, the council sent a gentleman-usher for the archbishop, who when he came to the council-chamber door, could not be let in; but of purpose (as it seemed) was compelled there to wait among the pages, lackeys, and serving-men all alone. Dr. Butts the king's physician resorting that way, and espying how my Lord of Canterbury was handled, went to the king's Highness, and said, "My Lord of Canterbury, if it please your Grace, is well promoted; for now he is become a lackey or a serving-man: for yonder he hath stood this half-hour at the council-chamber door amongst them." "It is not so," quoth the king, "I trow; the council hath not so little discretion as to use the metropolitan of the realm in that sort, specially being one of their own number. But let them alone," said the king, "and we shall hear, more soon."

Anon the archbishop was called into the council-chamber, to whom was alleged, as before is rehearsed. The archbishop answered in like sort as the king had advised him; and in the end, when he perceived that no manner of persuasion or entreaty could serve, he delivered them the king's ring, revoking his cause into the king's hands. The whole council being thereat somewhat amazed, the earl of Bedford with a loud voice, confirming his words with a solemn oath, said, "When you first began this matter, my Lords, I told you what would come of it. Do you think that the king will suffer this man's finger to ache? Much more, I warrant you, will he defend his life against brabbling varlets! You do but cumber yourselves to hear tales and fables against him." And so incontinently upon the receipt of the king's token, they all arose, and carried the king his ring, surrendering that matter, as the order and use was, into his own hands.

When they were all come to the king's presence, his Highness with a severe countenance said unto them, "Ah, my Lords! I thought I had had wiser men of my council than now I find you. What discretion was this in you, thus to make the primate of the realm, and one of you in office, to wait at the council-chamber door amongst

serving-men? You might have considered that he was a councillor as well as you, and you had no such commission of me so to handle him. I was content that you should try him as a councillor, and not as a mean subject. But now I well perceive that things be done against him maliciously, and if some of you might have had your minds, you would have tried him to the uttermost. But I do you all to wit, and protest, that if a prince may be beholden unto his subject, [and so, solemnly laying his hand upon his breast, said,] by the faith I owe to God, I take this man here, my Lord of Canterbury, to be of all other a most faithful subject unto us, and one to whom we are much beholden;" giving him great commendations otherwise. And with that one or two of the chiefest of the council, making their excuse, declared, that in requesting his endurance, it was rather meant for his trial, and his purgation against the common fame and slander of the world, than for any malice conceived against him. "Well, well, my Lords," quoth the king, "take him and well use him, as he is worthy to be, and make no more ado." And with that every man caught him by the hand, and made fair weather of altogether, which might easily be done with that man.



Cranmer and his Accusers before King Henry VIII

And it was much to be marvelled, that they would go so far with him, thus to seek his undoing, understanding this well before, that the king most entirely loved him, and always would stand in his defence, whosoever spake against him; as many other times the king's patience was by sinister informations against him tried. Insomuch that the Lord Cromwell was evermore wont to say unto him, "My Lord of Canterbury, you are most happy of all men; for you may do and speak what you list: and, say what all men can against you, the king will never believe one word to your

detriment or hinderance. I am sure I take more pains than all the council doth, and spend more largely in the king's affairs, as well beyond the seas, as on this side, yea, I assure you, even very spies in other foreign realms, at Rome and elsewhere, cost me above one thousand marks a year: and do what I can to bring matters to knowledge, for the commodity of the king and the realm, I am every day chidden, and many false tales now and then believed against me; and therefore you are most happy, for in no point can you be discredited with the king." To this the archbishop again answering, "If the king's Majesty were not good to me that way, I were not able to stand and endure one whole week; but your wisdom and policy is such, that you are able to shift well enough for yourself."

Now when the king's Highness had thus benignly and mercifully despatched the said archbishop from this sore accusation by the council laid against him, all wise men would have thought that it had been mere folly afterwards to have attempted any matter against him: but yet look, where malice reigneth, there neither reason nor honesty can take place. Such therefore as had conceived deep rancour and displeasure against him, ceased not to persecute him by all possible means. Then brought they against him a new kind of accusation, and caused Sir John Gostwike, knight, a man of a contrary religion, to accuse the archbishop openly in the parliament house, laying to his charge his sermons preached at Sandwich, and his lectures read at Canterbury, wherein should be contained manifest heresies against the sacrament of the altar, &c.: which accusation came to the king's ear. "Why," quoth the king, "where dwelleth Gostwike? As I take it, either in Bedfordshire or Buckinghamshire: and hath he so open an ear that he can hear my Lord of Canterbury preaching out of Kent? This is very likely," said the king. "If he had been a Kentish man, there had been something worthy of consideration; but as for Gostwike, I know him well enough, and what good religion he is of. Go to him and tell him," said the king to one of his privy chamber, "if he go not to my Lord of Canterbury, and so reconcile himself to him, that he may become his good lord, I will pull the gosling's feathers so, that hereafter he shall have little lust to slander the metropolitan, or any other learned man." When Sir John Gostwike heard these words, it was no need to bid him haste himself to Lambeth unto the metropolitan, making to him as many friends as possibly he might. When he came to the archbishop he was fain to disclose unto him, by what means he was procured to do that he did, requesting his clemency to be his good lord, or else he took himself utterly undone, being so in the king's indignation, as he understood he was by that afore declared; which suit was soon won at his hand. And so the archbishop, casting into the satchel behind him all those Sir John Gostwike's ingratitude, went to the king, and won to Sir John his prince's favour again. And thus the king made a short end of this accusation. A. D. 1544.

Well, here you may perceive that malicious invention went not the wisest way to work, to procure a stranger dwelling afar off; to accuse the archbishop of his doctrine preached in his diocese; and therefore hath blind malice learned some more wisdom now to accuse their archbishop in such sort as he shall never be able to avoid it. And therefore it was procured by his ancient enemies, that not only the prebendaries of his cathedral church in Canterbury, but also the most famous justices of peace in the shire, should accuse him, and article against him; which in very deed was most substantially brought to pass, and the articles, both well written and subscribed, were delivered to the king's Highness, as a thing of such effect, that there must needs follow to the said archbishop both indignation of the prince, and condign

punishment for his grievous offence committed by him and his chaplains, in preaching such erroneous doctrine as they did within his diocese of Canterbury, whereof they being such witnesses of credit, no man had cause to doubt of their circumspect doings. This accusation, particularly set out, was delivered to the king by some of the council's means. When the king had perused the book, he wrapt it up, and put it in his sleeve; and finding occasion to solace himself upon the Thames, came with his barge furnished with his musicians along by Lambeth bridge towards Chelsea. The noise of the musicians provoked the archbishop to resort to the bridge to do his duty, and to salute his prince: whom when the king had perceived to stand at the bridge, eftsoons he commanded the watermen to draw towards the shore, and so came straight to the bridge. "Ah, my chaplain!" said the king to the archbishop, "come into the barge to me." The archbishop declared to his Highness, that he would take his own barge and wait upon his Majesty. "No," said the king, "you must come into my barge, for I have to talk with you." When the king and the archbishop, all alone in the barge, were set together, said the king to the archbishop, "I have news out of Kent for you, my Lord." The archbishop answered, "Good, I hope, if it please your Highness." "Marry," said the king, "they be so good, that I now know the greatest heretic in Kent;" and with that pulled out of his sleeve the book of articles against both the said archbishop and his preachers, and gave the book to him, willing him to peruse the same. When the archbishop had read the articles, and saw himself so uncourteously handled of his own church whereof he was head, (I mean of the prebendaries of his cathedral church, and of such his neighbours as he had many ways gratified, I mean the justices of the peace,) it much grieved him; notwithstanding he kneeled down to the king, and besought his Majesty to grant out a commission to whomsoever it pleased his Highness, for them to try out the truth of this accusation. "In very deed," said the king, "I do so mean; and you yourself shall be chief commissioner, to adjoin to you such two or three more as you shall think good yourself." "Then it will be thought," quoth the archbishop to the king, "that it is not indifferent, if it please your Grace, that I should be mine own judge, and my chaplains' also." "Well," said the king, "I will have none other but yourself, and such as you will appoint: for I am sure that you will not halt with me in any thing, although you be driven to accuse yourself. And I know partly how this gear proceedeth, and if you handle the matter wisely, you shall find a pretty conspiracy devised against you." "Whom will you have with you?" said the king. "Whom it shall please your Grace to name," quoth the archbishop. "I will appoint Dr. Belhouse for one, name you the other," said the king, "meet for that purpose." "My chancellor, Dr. Coxe, and Hussey, my registrar," said the archbishop, "are men expert to examine such troublesome matters." "Well," said the king, "let there be a commission made forth, and out of hand get you into Kent, and advertise me of your doings."

They came into Kent, and there they sat about three weeks to bolt out who was the first occasion of this accusation; for thereof the king would chiefly be advertised. Now the inquisition being begun by the commissioners, every man shrunk in his horns, and no man would confess any thing to the purpose: for Dr. Coxe and Hussey, being friendly unto the papists, handled the matter so, that they would permit nothing material to come to light. This thing being well perceived by one of the archbishop's servants, his secretary, he wrote incontinently unto Dr. Butts and Master Denny, declaring that if the king's Majesty did not send some other to assist my Lord, than those that then were there with him, it were not possible that any thing should come to light: and therefore wished that Dr. Lee, or some other stout man that had been

exercised in the king's ecclesiastical affairs in his visitations, might be sent to the archbishop. Upon these letters Dr. Lee was sent for to York by the king, and having the king's further mind declared unto him, when he came to the court, he resorted incontinently into Kent, so that on All-hallow even he delivered to the archbishop the king's ring, with a declaration of his Highness's further pleasure: and by and by upon his message done, he appointed the archbishop aforesaid to name him a dozen or sixteen of his officers and gentlemen, such as had both discretion, wit, and audacity, to whom he gave in commission from the king, to search both the purses, chests, and chambers of all those that were deemed or suspected to be of this confederacy, both within the cathedral church and without, and such letters or writings as they could find about them, to bring them to the archbishop and him.

These men thus appointed, went in one hour and instant to the person's houses and places, that they were appointed unto; and within four hours afterwards the whole conspiracy was disclosed by finding of letters, some from the bishop of Winchester, some from Dr. London at Oxford, and from justices of the shire, with others; so that the first beginning, the proceeding, and what should have been the end of their conspiracy, was now made manifest. Certain chambers and chests of gentlemen of the shire were also searched, where also were found letters serving to this purpose. Amongst all others came to my Lord's hands two letters, one of the suffragan of Dover, and another of Dr. Barber, a civilian, whom continually the archbishop retained with him in household for expedition of matters in suit before him, as a counsellor in the law when need required. These two men being well promoted by the archbishop, he used ever in such familiarity, that when the suffragan, being a prebend of Canterbury, came to him, he always set him at his own mess, and the other never from his table, as men in whom he had much delight and comfort, when time of care and pensiveness chanced. But that which they did was altogether counterfeit, and the devil was turned into the angel of light, for they were both of this confederacy.

When my Lord had gotten these their letters into his hands, he on a day, when it chanced the suffragan to come to him to his house at Beaksbourne, called to him into his study the said suffragan of Dover and Dr. Barber, saying, "Come your ways with me, for I must have your advice in a matter." When they were with him in his study all together, he said to them, "You twain be men in whom I have had much confidence and trust: you must now give me some good counsel, for I am shamefully abused with one or twain to whom I have showed all my secrets from time to time, and did trust them as myself. The matter is so now fallen out, that they not only have disclosed my secrets, but also have taken upon them to accuse me of heresy, and are become witnesses against me. I require you therefore, of your good advice, how I shall behave myself towards them. You are both my friends, and such as I always have used when I needed counsel. What say you to the matter?" quoth the archbishop. "Marry," quoth Dr. Barber, "such villains and knaves (saving your Honour) were worthy to be hanged out of hand without any other law." "Hanging were too good," quoth the suffragan, "and if there lacked one to do execution, I would be hangman myself." At these words, the archbishop cast up his hands to heaven, and said, "O Lord, most merciful God, whom may a man trust now-a-days? it is most true which is said, *Maledictus qui confidit in homine, et ponit carnem brachium suum*. here was never man handled as I am: but, O Lord, thou hast evermore defended me, and lent me one great friend and master, [meaning the king,] without whose protection I were not able to stand upright one day unoverthrown, I praise thy holy name there-for!

"And with that he pulled out of his bosom their two letters, and said, "Know ye these letters, my masters?" With that they fell down upon their knees, and desired forgiveness, declaring how they a year before were tempted to do the same; and so, very lamentably weeping and bewailing their doings, besought his Grace to pardon and forgive them. "Well," said the gentle archbishop, "God make you both good men! I never deserved this at your hands: but ask God forgiveness, against whom you have highly offended. If such men as you are not to be trusted, what should I do alive? I perceive now that there is no fidelity or trust amongst men. I am brought to this point now, that I fear my left hand will accuse my right hand. I need not much marvel hereat, for our Saviour Christ truly prophesied of such a world to come in the latter days. I beseech him of his great mercy to finish that time shortly." And so departing, he dismissed them both with gentle and comfortable words, in such sort that words after appeared in his countenance or words any remembrance thereof.

Now, when all those letters and accusations were found, they were put into a chest, the king's Majesty minding to have perused some of them, and to have partly punished the principals of it. The chest and writings were brought to Lambeth, at what time began the parliament. Lord, what ado there was to procure the king's subsidy, to the intent that thereupon might ensue a pardon, which indeed followed; and so nothing was done, other than their falsehood known. This was the last push of the pike that was inferred against the said archbishop in King Henry the Eighth's days; for never after thirst any man move matter against him in his time.

And thus have ye both the working and disclosing of this popish conspiracy against this worthy archbishop and martyr of Christ, Thomas Cranmer. In the which conspiracy, for so much as complaint was also made unto the king of his chaplains and good preachers in Kent, it shall not be out of the story something likewise to touch thereof, especially of Richard Turner, then preacher the same time in this archbishop's diocese, and curate to Master Morice the archbishop's secretary, in the town of Chatham, by whose diligent preaching a great part of this heart-burning of the papists took its first kindling against the archbishop. Touching the description of which story, because by me nothing shall be said either more or less than is the truth, ye shall hear the very certainty thereof truly compiled in a letter sent the same time to Dr. Butts and Sir Anthony Denny, to be showed unto the king; and so it was, written by the foresaid Master Morice, secretary then to the archbishop, farmer of the same benefice of Chatham, and patron to Master Turner, there minister and preacher aforesaid.

A letter or apology of Master Morice, sent to Sir William Butts and Sir Anthony Denny, defending the cause of Master Richard Turner, preacher, against the papists, written A. D. 1544.

[The letter first beginneth in these words, "I am certain, right worshipful, that it is not unknown to your discreet wisdom," &c And after a few lines, coming to the matter, thus the said letter proceedeth: --]

"As your Worships well know, it was my chance to be brought up under my Lord of Canterbury, my master, in writing of the ecclesiastical affairs of this realm, as well touching reformation of corrupt religion, as concerning the advancement of that pure and sincere religion received by the doctrine of the gospel; which I take to be so substantially handled and builded upon the doctrine of the prophets and apostles, that hell-gates shall never prevail against it. The consideration whereof compelled me, being a farmer of the parsonage of Chatham in Kent, to retain with me one named Master Richard Turner, a man not only learned in the Scriptures of God, but also in conversation of life towards the world irreprehensible, whom for discharging of my conscience I placed at Chatham aforesaid, to be curate there. This man, because he was a stranger in the country there, and so thereby void of grudge or displeasure of any old rancour in the country, I thought it had been a mean to have gotten him the better credit in his doctrine; but, where malice once taketh fire against truth, no policy I see is able to quench it. Well, this man, as he knew what appertained to his office, so he spared not weekly, both Sundays and holidays, to open the gospel and epistle unto his audience after such a sort, (when occasion served,) that as well by his vehement inveighing against the bishop of Rome's usurped power and authority, as in the earnest setting forth and advancing of the king's Majesty's supremacy, innumerable of the people of the country resorting unto his sermons, changed their opinions, and favoured effectually the religion received. The confluence of the people so daily increased, that the church being a fair, ample, and large church, was not now and then able to receive the number, The fame of this new instruction of the people was so blazed abroad, that the popish priests were wonderfully amazed and displeased to see their pope so to be defaced, and their prince so highly advanced.

"Now, thought they, it is high time for us to work, or else all will here be utterly lost by this man's preaching: some of them went with capons, some with hens, some with chickens, some with one thing, some with another, unto the justices, such as then favoured their cause and faction, and such as are no small fools, as Sir John Baker, Sir Christopher Hales, Sir Thomas Moile, knights; with other justices. The prebendaries of Christ's church in Canterbury were made privy hereof, giving their succour and aid thereunto: so that, in conclusion, poor Turner, and other preachers, were grievously complained of unto the king's Majesty. Whereupon my Lord of Canterbury, and certain other commissioners, were appointed at Lambeth to sit upon the examination of these seditious preachers. Howbeit, before Turner went up to his examination, I obtained of Sir Thomas Moile, that he in Easter week was content to hear Turner preach a rehearsal sermon in his parish church at Westwell, of all the doctrine of his sermons preached at his cure in Chatham: which he most gently granting, heard Turner both before noon and afternoon on the Wednesday in Easter week last past, and (as it seemed) took all things in good part, remitting Turner home to his said cure with gentle and favourable words. I supposed by this means to have stayed Master Turner at home from further examination, hoping that Sir Thomas Moile would have answered for him at Lambeth before the commissioners. Notwithstanding, after Master Moile's coming to London, such information was laid in against Turner, that he was sent for to make answer himself before the said commissioners; and there appearing before them, he made such an honest, perfect, and learned answer unto the articles objected, that he was with a good exhortation discharged home again, without any manner of recantation or other injunction.

"Now when the pope-catholic clergy of Kent understood of his coming home without controlment, so that he preached as freely as he did before, against their blind and dumb ceremonies, straightway by the help of the bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner, they found a new means to put him to utter confusion, devising that he came home from examination in such glorious pomp by the highway's side in the woods adjoining, that five hundred persons met him then with banqueting dishes to welcome him home, stirring the people rather to an uproar and commotion, than to keep them in any quiet obedience: when in very deed, contrary to this surmise, (as God would,) on this side Rochester a mile or two, for avoiding all such light and glorious talk with any his familiars or acquaintance, he of purpose left the high-way, and came through the woods all alone above eighteen miles together on foot, so wearied and meagred for want of sustenance, that when he came into my house at Chatham, he was not well able to stand or speak for faintness and thirst.

"This malicious tale being reported to the king's Highness, his Majesty was so sore aggrieved therewith, that he sent for the archbishop of Canterbury, willing him to cause Turner to be whipt out of the country; by means whereof, the archbishop of Canterbury sent again for Turner. I, hearing thereof, made incontinently report by my letters, with such vehemency proving it mere malice, that the archbishop understanding the truth, pacified again the king's Majesty's wrath. Home cometh Turner once again to his cure without blot; which so wrung the papists, in that they could not prevail, that they thought it all in vain any further to attempt against him concerning any accusation for matters in Kent, the archbishop of Canterbury being his ordinary. Well, yet would they not thus leave him undiscredited. Then was there one new matter devised, how that he had preached erroneous doctrine in other countries before he came into Kent, laying to his charge that he had both translated the mass into English, and said, or ministered the same, and that he had preached against purgatory, pilgrimages, and praying for the dead, &c.: by means whereof, he was now convented before the whole council by the bishop of Winchester, who sent Syriake Petite, gentleman, for him, who brought him up to London bound, (as I heard say,) and being examined before the said bishop of Winchester and others, he was committed to ward for a season. In the which mean time, (the archbishop of Canterbury being in Kent, about the trial of a conspiracy purposed against himself by the justices of the shire and the prebendaries of Christ's church,) Turner is now sent down to the archbishop, to the intent he should recant that doctrine which long ago he in other places out of Kent had preached, to the utter subversion and defacing of all that he had most godly and earnestly here in Kent taught both to the glory of God, and the furtherance and setting forth of the king's Highness's proceedings. If his Majesty will thus permit learned honest men thus daily to be overcrowded and trodden under-foot with a sort of tyrannous, or rather traitorous papists, (who cannot abide to hear his Majesty's supremacy advanced, nor the sincere word of God preached,) it were better for men to dwell amongst the infidels and miscreants than in England.

"What reason is this, that Turner should recant here in Kent the doctrine which in other countries he hath taught, to the wounding and overthrowing most desperately of five hundred men's consciences and above, (I dare say,) who lately, by his sincere preaching, have embraced a right good opinion both of the king's supremacy, and also of the reformed religion received? All good subjects may well lament the king's Majesty's estate in this behalf, that no man may dare to be so bold to advance his Highness's title, but that every ignorant and malicious papist shall spurn against him,

seeking his utter undoing, and that by the aid of papistical justices set in authority. I beseech your Worships to pardon me of my rude and homely terms. They herein deserve worse, if worse may be devised: for what honest man can bear with this, that so noble a prince's ears shall be thus impudently abused with manifest lies and fables as this one is, of Turner's coming home in such a triumph as they craftily and falsely had devised? It is easily to be spied what they mean and go about, that (the prince being alive) dare take in hand so uncourteously to abuse both the gentle nature of the prince, and his godly preacher, the advancer and extoller of his just authority.

"What think your Worships they would attempt, if his Majesty were at God's mercy, (as God forbend that ever any of us should see that day, without better reformation,) that can thus daily with his Highness, blinding his eyes with mists, whilst he liveth and reigneth amongst us in most prosperity? As for my Lord of Canterbury, he dare nothing do for the poor man's delivery, he hath done so much for him already. And his Grace hath told me plainly, that it is put into the king's head, that he is the maintainer and supporter of all the heretics within the realm; nor will he permit me or my neighbours to resort unto the council for his purgation while he was at Chatham; saving only I have obtained this at his hand, that I may become a suitor in writing to my friends and good masters in the court, for his delivery. And therefore it is, right worshipful, that I have now taken pen in hand, thus to discourse and open our misery unto you concerning the extreme handling of this honest poor man, Master Turner; that if it may possibly be brought to pass by your godly wisdom, the poor man may be released and discharged of his recantation. You cannot do to God and your prince a more acceptable service in my poor opinion; for otherwise, if he should be driven to recant, (as I am sure he will sooner die,) both God's cause and the king's shall suffer no small detriment amongst his poor loving subjects here. For if there be no better stay for the maintenance of these godly preachers, the king's authority concerning his supremacy shall lie post alone, hidden in the act of parliament, and not in the hearts of his subjects.

"If they can bring to pass that Turner may recant, to the defacing of his good doctrine preached here, then have they that for which they have thus long travailed: and yet in effect shall not Turner recant, but King Henry the Eighth, in Turner's person, shall most odiously recant, to the wounding of all men's consciences here. If the king's Majesty do not esteem his authority given to his Highness by God's word and his parliament, it were well done, that the preachers had good warning to talk no more to the people thereof, rather than thus to be tossed and turmoiled for doing their duties, by the members of antichrist.

"And now to the intent that they might effectually for ever slander Turner's doctrine here, they have indicted him for offending against the Six Articles, this last sessions, by the witness of two papists of the parish of Chatham, his utter enemies, Sanders and Brown by name, for a sermon preached at Chatham on Passion Sunday, which chanced on St. Gregory's even, they both being absent that day at Wye Fair, as it is well proved, namely, for that he preached against the mass: saying, that our Saviour Christ was the only sole priest which sung mass on the altar of the cross, there sacrificing for the sins of the world once for ever; and that all other masses were but remembrances and thanksgiving for that one sacrifice: or such words in effect.

"Wherefore, to conclude, right worshipful, knowing your godly zeals, as well towards the preferment of sincere religion, as your no less affection, towards the king's Majesty's person and his godly proceedings, I most humbly beseech you, in the bowels of our Saviour Christ, so to ponder the weighty consideration of the premises, as by your travails unto the king's Majesty or to the honourable council, we here in Kent that have now of late our hearts bent towards the observation of the law of God and the prince through Turner's godly persuasions, may receive from your Worships some comfortable words of his deliverance, or else certainly many an honest and simple man, lately embracing the truth, may perhaps fall away desperately from the same, not without danger of their souls. In accomplishing whereof your Worships shall not only do unto Almighty God and the prince most true and acceptable service, but also bind the said Master Turner, with all others to whom this cause doth appertain, both daily to pray for your prosperities; and also to be at your commandments during their lives. -- From Canterbury the 2d day of November.

"Your Worships' evermore at commandment,
R. MORICE."

And thus much containeth the letter sent (as is said) by Master Morice to Dr. Buts and Sir Anthony Denny. Now, what success and speed this letter had, it followeth to be declared. For Dr. Buts, the king's physician aforesaid, after the receipt of these letters, considering the weighty contents of the same, as he was ever a forward friend in the gospel's cause, so he thought not to foreslack this matter to the uttermost of his diligence; and so spying his time, when the king was in trimming and in washing, (as his manner was at certain times to call for his barber,) Dr. Buts (whose manner was at such times ever to be present, and with some pleasant conceits to refresh and solace the king's mind) brought with him in his hand this letter. The king asking what news, Dr. Buts pleasantly and merrily beginneth to insinuate unto the king the effect of the matter, and so, at the king's commandment, read out the letter; which when the king had heard, and paused a little with himself upon the same, he commanded again the letter to be read unto him: the hearing and consideration whereof so altered the king's mind, that whereas before he commanded the said Turner to be whipped out of the country, he now commanded him to be retained as a faithful subject. And here of that matter an end.

Let us now return to the archbishop again; who although he was compassed about (as is said) with mighty enemies and by many crafty trains impugned, yet, through God's more mighty providence working in the king's heart so to favour him, he rubbed out all King Henry's time without blemish or foil, by means of the king's supportation; who not only defended the said archbishop against all his conspired adversaries, but also extended such special favour unto him in such sort, that he being not ignorant of his wife, whom he had married before at Nuremburg, (being niece to the wife of Osiander.) keeping her all the Six Articles' time contrary to the law, notwithstanding, he both permitted the same, and kept his counsel.

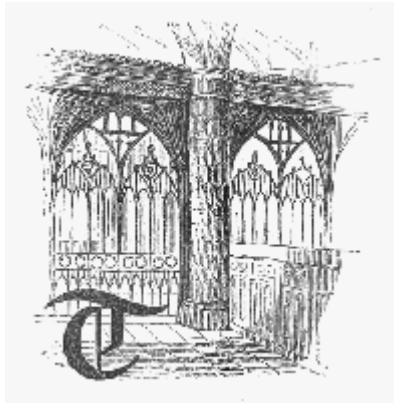
Then after the death of King Henry, immediately succeeded his son King Edward, under whose government and protection the state of this archbishop, being his godfather, was nothing impaired, but rather more advanced.

During all this mean time of King Henry aforesaid, until the entering of King Edward, it seemed that Cranmer was scarcely yet thoroughly persuaded in the right

knowledge of the sacrament, or at least, was not yet fully ripened in the same; wherein shortly after he, being more groundedly confirmed by conference with Bishop Ridley, in process of time did so profit in more ripe knowledge, that at last he took upon him the defence of that whole doctrine, that is, to refute and throw down first the corporal presence; secondly, the phantastical transubstantiation; thirdly, the idolatrous adoration; fourthly, the false error of the papists, that wicked men do eat the natural body of Christ; and lastly, the blasphemous sacrifice of the mass. Whereupon in conclusion he wrote five books for the public instruction of the Church of England, which instruction yet to this day standeth, and is received in this Church of England.

Against these five books of the archbishop, Stephen Gardiner, the arch-enemy to Christ and his gospel, being then in the Tower, slubbered up a certain answer, such as it was, which he in open court exhibited up at Lambeth, being there examined by the archbishop aforesaid, and other the king's commissioners in King Edward's days, which book was intituled, An Explication and Assertion of the true Catholic Faith, touching the blessed Sacrament of the Altar, with a Confutation of a Book written against the same.

Against this explication, or rather a cavilling sophistication of Stephen Gardiner, doctor of law, the archbishop of Canterbury learnedly and copiously replying again, maketh answer, which also he published abroad to the eyes and judgments of all men in print. All which writings and books as well of the one part as of the other, our present story would require here to be inferred, but because to prosecute the whole matter at length will not be comprehended in a small room, and may make too long tarriance in our story, it shall therefore be best to put off the same unto the place of the appendix following, wherein (the Lord willing) we intend to close up both these and divers other treatises of these learned martyrs, as to this our story shall appertain.



he unquiet spirit of Stephen Gardiner being not yet contented, after all this thrusteth out another book in Latin of the like popish argument, but after another title, named "Marcus Antonius Constantinus," whereunto first the archbishop again intending a full confutation, had already absolved three parts of his answer lying in prison, of the which parts two perished in Oxford; the other yet remaineth in my hands ready to be seen and set forth, as the Lord shall see good. Also Bishop Ridley, lying likewise the same time in prison, having there the said book

of Marcus Antonius, for lack of pen and paper, with a lead of a window, in the margin of the book wrote annotations, as straitness of time would serve him, in refutation of the same book. And finally, because these worthy martyrs had neither liberty nor leisure to go through with that travail, that which lacked in them, for accomplishment of that behalf, was supplied shortly after by Peter Martyr, who abundantly and substantially hath overthrown that book in his learned defense of the right truth, against the false sophistication of Marcus Antonius aforesaid.

Besides these books above cited of this archbishop, divers other things there were also of his doing, as the Book of Reformation, the Catechism, with the Book of Homilies, whereof part was by him contrived, part by his procurement approved and published. Whereunto also may be adjoined another writing or confutation of his against eighty-eight articles by the convocation devised and propounded, but yet not ratified nor received in the reign and time of King Henry the Eighth. And thus much hitherto concerning the doings and travails of this archbishop of Canterbury, during the lives both of King Henry and of King Edward his son: which two kings so long as they continued, this archbishop lacked no stay of maintenance against all his maligners.

Afterward, this King Edward, a prince of most worthy towardness, falling sick, when he perceived that his death was at hand, and the force of his painful disease would not suffer him to live longer, and knowing that his sister Mary was wholly wedded to popish religion, bequeathed the succession of the realm to the Lady Jane, (a lady of great birth, but of greater learning, being niece to King Henry the Eighth by his sister,) by consent of all the council and lawyers of this realm. To this testament of the king's, when all the nobles of the realm, states and judges, had subscribed; they sent for the archbishop, and required him that he also would subscribe. But he excusing himself on this manner, said, that it was otherwise in the testament of King Henry his father, and that he had sworn to the succession of Mary, as then the next heir; by which oath he was so bound, that without manifest perjury he could not go from it. The council answered, that they were not ignorant of that, and that they had consciences as well as he; and moreover, that they were sworn to that testament, and therefore he should not think there was any danger therein, or that he should be in more peril of perjury than the rest. To this the archbishop answered, that he was judge of no man's conscience but his own: and therefore, as he would not be prejudicial to others, so he would not commit his conscience unto other men's facts, or cast himself into danger, seeing that every man should give account of his own conscience, and not of other men's. And as concerning subscription, before he had spoken with the king himself, he utterly refused to do it.

The king therefore, being demanded of the archbishop concerning this matter, said, that the nobles and lawyers of the realm counselled him unto it, and persuaded him that the bond of the first testament could nothing let, but that this Lady Jane might succeed him as heir, and the people without danger acknowledge her as their queen. Who then demanding leave of the king, that he might first talk with certain lawyers that were in the court; when they all agreed that by law of the realm it might be so, returning to the king, with much ado he subscribed.

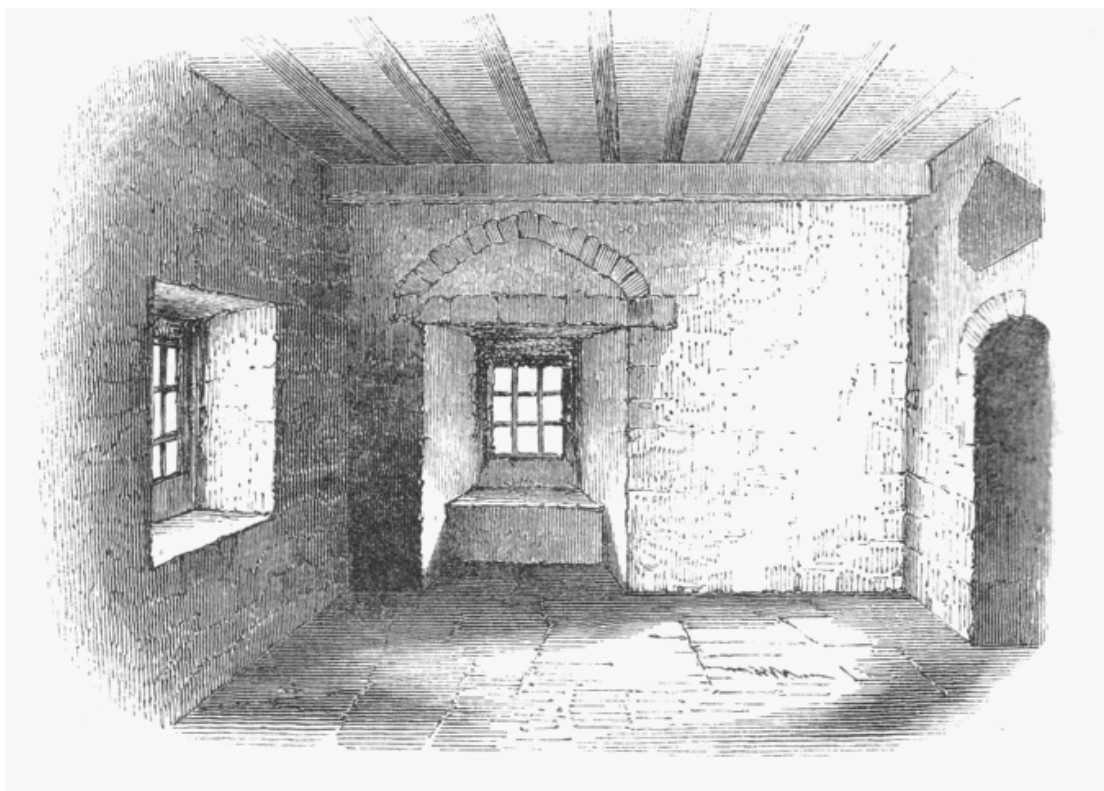
Well, not long after this King Edward died, A. D. 1553, being almost sixteen years old, to the great sorrow, but greater calamity, of the whole realm. After his decease immediately it was commanded that the Lady Jane, which was unwilling thereunto, should be proclaimed queen: which thing much misliked the common people, not that they did so much favour Mary, before whom they saw the Lady Jane preferred, as for the hatred conceived against some, whom they could not favour.

Besides this, other causes there happened also of discord between the nobles and the commons the same time: for what injuries of commons and enclosures wrongfully holden, with other inordinate pollings and uncharitable dealing between the landlords and tenants, I cannot tell. But in fine, thus the matter fell out, that Mary, hearing of the death of her brother, and shifting for herself, was so assisted by the commons, that eftsoons she prevailed; who, being established in the possession of the realm, not long after came to London; and after she had caused first the two fathers, the duke of Northumberland and the duke of Suffolk, to be executed, (as is above remembered,) likewise she caused the Lady Jane, being both in age tender, and innocent from this crime, after she could by no means be turned from the constancy of her faith, together with her husband, to be beheaded.

The rest of the nobles, paying fines, were forgiven, the archbishop of Canterbury only excepted; who, though he desired pardon, (by means of his friends,) could obtain none, insomuch that the queen would not once vouchsafe to see him: for as yet the old grudge against the archbishop for the divorcement of her mother, remained hid in the bottom of her heart. Besides this divorce, she remembered the state of religion changed; all which was imputed to the archbishop, as the cause thereof.

While these things were in doing, a rumour was in all men's mouths, that the archbishop, to curry favour with the queen, had promised to say a dirige mass after the old custom, for the funeral of King Edward her brother: neither wanted there some which reported that he had already said mass at Canterbury; which mass indeed was said by Dr. Thornton. This rumour Cranmer thinking speedily to stay, gave forth a writing of his purgation: the tenor whereof being before expressed, I need not here again to recite. This bill being thus written, and lying openly in a window in his chamber, cometh in by chance Master Story, bishop then of Rochester, who, after he had read and perused the same, required of the archbishop to have a copy of the bill. The archbishop when he had granted and permitted the same to Master Story, by the occasion thereof Master Story lending it to some friend of his, there were divers copies taken out thereof, and the thing published abroad among the common people; insomuch that every scrivener's shop almost was occupied in writing and copying out the same: and so at length some of these copies coming to the bishops' hands, and so brought to the council, and they sending it to the commissioners, the matter was

known, and so he commanded to appear. Whereupon Dr. Cranmer, at his day prefixed, appeared before the said commissioners, bringing a true inventory, as he was commanded, of all his goods. That done, a bishop of the queen's privy council, being one of the said commissioners, after the inventory was received, bringing in mention of the bill, "My Lord," said he, "there is a bill put forth in your name, wherein you seem to be aggrieved with setting up the mass again: we doubt not but you are sorry that it is gone abroad." To whom the archbishop answered again, saying, "As I do not deny myself to be the very author of that bill or letter, so must I confess here unto you, concerning the same bill, that I am sorry that the said bill went from me in such sort as it did; for when I had written it, Master Story got the copy of me, and it is now come abroad; and, as I understand, the city is full of it. For which I am sorry, that it so passed my hands; for I had intended otherwise to have made it in a more large and ample manner, and minded to have set it on Paul's church door, and on the doors of all the churches in London, with mine own seal joined thereto." At which words, when they saw the constantness of the man, they dismissed him, affirming they had no more at that present to say unto him, but that shortly he should hear further.



The Room in the Tower Where Cranmer was Imprisoned

The said bishop declared afterwards to one of Dr. Cranmer's friends, that notwithstanding his attainder of treason, the queen's determination at that time was, that Cranmer should only have been deprived of his archbishopric, and have had a sufficient living assigned him, upon his exhibiting of a true inventory, with commandment to keep his house without meddling in matters of religion. But how

true that was, I have not to say. This is certain, that not long after this, he was sent to the Tower, and soon after condemned of treason. Notwithstanding the queen, when she could not honestly deny him his pardon, seeing all the rest were discharged, and specially, seeing he last of all others subscribed to King Edward's request, and that against his own will, released to him his action of treason, and accused him only of heresy; which liked the archbishop right well, and came to pass as he wished, because the cause was not now his own, but Christ's; not the queen's, but the church's.

Thus stood the cause of Crammer; till at length it was determined by the queen and the council, that he should be removed from the Tower where he was prisoner, to Oxford, there to dispute with the doctors and divines. And privily word was sent before to them of Oxford, to prepare themselves, and make them ready to dispute. And although the queen and the bishops had concluded before, what should become of him, yet it pleased them that the matter should be debated with arguments, that under some honest show of disputation, the murder of the man might be covered: neither could their hasty speed of revengement abide any long delay; and therefore in all haste he was carried to Oxford.

What this disputation was, and how it was handled, what were the questions and reasons on both sides, and also touching his condemnation by the university and the prolocutor, because sufficiently it hath been declared, we mind now therefore to proceed to his final judgment and order of condemnation, which was the twelfth day of September, anno 1555, and seven days before the condemnation of Bishop Ridley and Master Latimer, as is above foretouched. The story whereof here followeth, faithfully corrected by the report and narration (coming by chance to our hands) of one who, being both present thereat, and also a devout favourer of the see and faction of Rome, can lack no credit, I trow, with such which seek what they can to discredit whatsoever maketh not with their phantasied religion of Rome.

This one thing by the way let us consider: how unjustly these three poor prisoned bishops were handled, which when they were compelled to dispute, yet were not suffered to speak, but at their adversary's appointment. And if they began to make any preface, or to speak somewhat largely for themselves, by and by were commanded from the high chair of Master Prolocutor, to go to the matter. If they prosecuted their arguments anything narrowly, straightway they heard, "Short arguments, Master Doctor! short arguments, Master Doctor!" In fine, what the equity of theologians was, and what was the end of the disputation, it needeth not now to be repeated, being already set forth at large. To conclude, whereas three questions were appointed to be disputed upon, and the divines had scarce disputed with the archbishop of one of them, by and by they condemned him as convicted in all three; and, so condemned, they carried him to prison with a great number of spearmen and billmen. And thus was Cranmer vanquished, convicted, and condemned.

What remaineth now, but that in praise of these divines, these noble conquerors with their prolocutor, we must sing this noble anthem of victory, *Vicit veritas*, -- "The truth hath the upper hand:" for so the prolocutor, when the disputation was ended, commanded all men to cry. O victorious and triumphant conquerors! Well, if these glorious champions cannot come down from the stage without a triumph of their victory, I will tell them (if they will give me leave) *what* had there the upper hand: *Vicit insania. Vis vicit et tumultus*. Madness, fury, tumult, with flattery

and violence, won the field: and to speak most modestly, not the truth, but the time had the victory. For else, if they had gotten this conquest not by the time, but by their own puissance, in the time of King Edward, when liberty was given to all men to show learning and truth, where did this marvellous learning of these divines then appear? where was this triumphant chariot of their glory, and this conquering verity? Why did none of you come forth in those times, which would take the weapon in hand? Where was this ruffling prolocutor, with his jug at his elbow?

Moreover there is extant yet, and was then abroad in men's hands, Cranmer's book of the Sacrament, against Winchester, wherein the matter itself doth plainly cry, and always will cry, "The truth hath won." Why do you not here, you worthy warriors! fight hand to hand in open field, and prove in the face of the whole world, that your truth hath got the upper hand? The truth, as you say, doth overcome: but error doth more oftentimes overcome; and more often the greater part overcometh the lesser; but this way that you use, is not to win but to oppress. And yet truth doth win sometimes, but by favouring and suffering; not by drinking, by indifferent reasons, nor by exclamations: it winneth by virtue and time; not by violence and improbity. Finally truth so winneth, that she trumpeth forth no praise of her victory, neither setteth up her comb; but is always merciful and joined with gentleness; and never more gentle, than when she winneth most. Contrariwise, nothing is more cruel, nothing more intolerable, than error and violence. So did the high priests and Pharisees overcome Christ and crucify him; contrariwise, Christ, rising again into eternal victory, overcometh, and freely offereth salvation to his enemies. The same example the persecutions of the apostles and martyrs of all times do follow. So many years was Christianity oppressed under the Jews and heathen men; but when the truth of the gospel had the upper hand, who ever heard that the Jews and heathen were slain of them? For this is the nature and disposition of God's truth, that when it overcometh, the victory is healthful to all men, hurtful to none; and not very grievous to them that are overcome.

And thus much concerning this matter, as touching Dr. Cranmer. And because this story presently concerneth him, let us prosecute the same, of whom we have hitherto discoursed already; first his parentage, his bringing up and education in learning; also his laborious and diligent study at the university; his travail in the cause of the king's divorce; and after, how he was promoted by the said king to be archbishop. Then, after the decease of King Edward, of his imprisonment, and sending to Oxford, and of his disputations there.

Now, after these things thus declared, concerning his outward doings, it shall seem no less requisite likewise to consider somewhat touching those things which nature inwardly ingrafted in the manners and disposition of that man, of whom many domestical examples of virtue may be taken; as first, of the meekness and mildness of his nature, which in such a dignity the more rare it is among many, the more commendable it may seem in him. But especially from greedy avarice he was so far, that as money never mastered him, so he never lacked that which was necessary; and as he was never greedy, so he was never needy; in adversity constant, in prosperity again no less liberal, as by examples in him may well be testified -- as when at Canterbury his house was on fire, the great adversity did not a little discourage him, that when he had great riches and much substance consumed, he was nothing therewith dismayed, but when others ran about amazedly, he did but quietly, without

sign of grief, go up and down advising men to beware of taking any harm. Neither appeared any less constancy in him when his second and last house was on fire, the house of his own body, where he lost not only his goods, but life and all!

And as in his adversity he ever showed himself constant and like himself, so in prosperity he was no less free and bountiful, which virtue so flowed in him toward all men, especially towards the maintenance of learned men and of schools, that when, after the receipt of his rents, there came to him certain good men to receive his reward for poor scholars, he used to deliver the first bag that came to his hand without choosing or counting, &c.; well observing therein the rule of God's law, Exodus xxii., and the prophet Malachi, chap. iii., where we are willed willingly to tithe unto the poor of all that which we receive at the hands of God, whose example after the rule of God's commandment, if men now-a-days would follow, not only the poor should better be provided for, but also the wealth of the rich should many times both increase the rather, and continue the longer. For as all increase of things dependeth upon God's blessing above, so many times it happeneth that St. Augustine saith: that he oftentimes loseth nine parts, which refuseth to give the tenth. And how can he require much to be given him of God, who for God grudgeth to give again a little?

Again, as he was no niggard abroad, so he was no less liberal in his housekeeping at home. Besides these and other virtues in him, what should I speak of his painful and indefatigable study at his book, who, rising many times at two or three of the clock in the morning, parted almost no less part of the night to his study than to his sleep. In judging of causes circumspect, and such as no bribes could corrupt in ministering justice: or if he were at any time more sharp and rigorous to any, it was more by other men's setting on, than by himself.

Among many things which we have spoken of concerning that man, this is moreover to be added, that in King Henry's time, at the oppression of the good Lord Cromwell, it was also appointed and fully determined, that Cranmer the same time should be committed to prison; which thing indeed had so happened, had he not in time prevented the fraudulent circumvention of his enemies, which stood waiting for him at the common stairs or court-gate; but he, preventing the matter, suddenly shot into the privy stair, and so entered to the king's speech, and there upon his knees lamentably declared his innocency in the matter, desiring the king that he might not be condemned before he were suffered to purge himself according as he was promised by the king at his first entering to his office. Whereupon the king granted his request, and delivered him his signet from off his finger, commanding him notwithstanding to make his appearance before the council, and to hear all such matter as they charged him withal: which being done, if they would needs commit him, then to show the said signet, in certifying them of the king's pleasure to the contrary. And thus escaped he that present danger.

The saying is constantly affirmed of divers, that the said archbishop, with the Lord Wriothesley, kneeling and weeping at the king's bed-side, saved the life of Queen Mary, daughter to the princess dowager, divorced as is aforesaid from the king, whose determination then was to have off her head, for certain causes of stubbornness, had not the intercession and great persuasion of this archbishop come betwixt: whereupon the king afterward, speaking of the said archbishop, (whom commonly he called his priest,) said that he made intercession for her, which would

his destruction, and would trouble them all. What recompence the queen rendered again for that benefit received, let the world consider and judge!

He was of stature mean; of complexion he was pure and somewhat sanguine, having no hair upon his head, at the time of his death; but a long beard, white and thick. He was of the age of sixty-five when he was burnt; and yet, being a man sore broken in studies, in all his time never used any spectacles. He was married at Nuremberg, being there at that time ambassador for the king's Majesty of famous memory, King Henry the Eighth, being with Charles the emperor. His wife was a Dutchwoman, kin to the wife of Osiander, of whom he had a son and a daughter, both yet alive; the daughter being married; the son being yet but young. After his ambassadorship, being made archbishop of Canterbury, notwithstanding the law of the Six Articles to the contrary, yet, having the secret consent of the king's Majesty thereunto, he was permitted and suffered withal, in those dangerous and perilous days.

In the small time of respite between King Edward's death and his own imprisonment, he sold his plate, and paid all his debts, so that no man could ask him a groat; although thereby, and by the spoil of his goods, after his attainder, he left his wife and children unprovided.



fter the disputations done and finished in Oxford between the doctors of both universities, and the three worthy bishops, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, ye heard then how sentence condemnatory immediate upon the same was ministered against them by Dr. Weston and others of the university; whereby they were judged to be heretics, and so committed to the mayor and sheriffs of Oxford. But, forasmuch as the sentence given against them was void in law, (for at that time the authority of the pope was not yet received into the land,) therefore was a new commission sent from Rome, and a new process framed for the conviction of these reverend and godly learned

men aforesaid. In which commission, first was Dr. James Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, the pope's sub-delegate, with Dr. Martin and Dr. Story, commissioners in the king and queen's behalf, for the execution of the same. Of the which three commissioners above named, as touching Dr. Martin, this by the way is to be understood, that although he was used for an instrument of the pope's side, to serve a turn, (whose book also is extant against the lawful marriage of priests,) yet notwithstanding neither was he so bitter an enemy in this persecution, as other commissioners were; and also in this time of Queen Elizabeth, whereas divers other doctors of the arches refused to be sworn against the pope, he denied not the oath; and yet notwithstanding not altogether here to be excused. But to the purpose of this story; whereof first it shall be requisite to declare the circumstance, and the whole state of the matter, as in a general description, before we come to their orations, according as in a parcel of a certain letter touching the same, it came to our hands.

Imprimis, here is to be understood, that at the coming down of the foresaid commissioners, which was upon Thursday, the twelfth of September, anno 1555, in the church of St. Mary, and in the east end of the said church at the high altar, was erected a solemn scaffold with cloth of state very richly and sumptuously adorned for

Bishop Brooks aforesaid, the pope's legate, apparelled in pontificalibus, representing the pope's person, &c. The seat was made ten feet high, that he might sit under the sacrament of the altar. And on the right hand of the pope's delegate beneath him sat Dr. Martin, and on the left hand sat Dr. Story, the king and queen's commissioners, which were both doctors of the civil law, and underneath them other doctors, scribes, and pharisees also, with the pope's collector, and a rabblement of such other like.

And thus these bishops being placed in their pontificalibus, the bishop of Canterbury was sent for to come before them. He having intelligence of them that were there, thus ordered himself. He came forth of the prison to the church of St. Mary, set forth with bills and gloves for fear he should start away, being clothed in a fair black gown, with his hood on both shoulders, such as doctors of divinity in the university used to wear, and in his hand a white staff; for he was now left only to the stay and succours of virtue and learning, which, after the loss of all his worldly honours and dignities, only remained to him: so appointed he himself thereafter. Who, after he was come into the church, and did see them sit in their pontificalibus, he did not put off his cap to any of them, but stood still till that he was called. And anon one of the proctors for the pope, or else his doctor, called "Thomas archbishop of Canterbury! appear here and make answer to that shall be laid to thy charge; that is to say, for blasphemy, incontinency, and heresy; and make answer here to the bishop of Gloucester, representing the pope's person."

Upon this he being brought more near unto the scaffold, where the foresaid bishop sat, he first well viewed the place of judgment, and spying where the king and queen's Majesty's proctors were, putting off his cap, he (first humbly bowing his knee to the ground) made reverence to the one, and after to the other.

That done, beholding the bishop in the face, he put on his bonnet again, making no manner of token of obedience towards him at all: whereat the bishop, being offended, said unto him, that it might beseem him right well, weighing the authority he did represent, to do his duty unto him. Whereunto Dr. Cranmer answered and said, that he had once taken a solemn oath, never to consent to the admitting of the bishop of Rome's authority into this realm of England again; and that he had done it advisedly, and meant by God's grace to keep it; and therefore would commit nothing either by sign or token, which might argue his consent to the receiving of the same; and so he desired the said bishop to judge of him: and that he did it not for any contempt to his person, which he could have been content to have honoured as well as any of the other, if his commission had come from as good an authority as theirs. This answered he both modestly, wisely, prudently, and patiently, with his cap on his head, not once bowing or making any reverence to him that represented the pope's person; which was wondrously of the people marked that were there present and saw it, and marked it as nigh as could be possible. When, after many means used, they perceived that the archbishop would not move his bonnet, the bishop proceeded with studied eloquence and painted art, in these words following:

The oration of Dr. Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, unto Dr. Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, in the church of St. Mary at Oxford.

"My Lord, at this present we are come to you as commissioners, and for you, not intruding ourselves by our own authority, but sent by commission, partly from the pope's Holiness, partly from the king and queen's most excellent Majesties, not to your utter discomfort, but to your comfort, if you will yourself. We come not to judge you, but to put you in remembrance of that you have been, and shall be. Neither come we to dispute with you, but to examine you in certain matters; which being done, to make relation thereof to him that hath power to judge you. The first being well taken, shall make the second to be well taken; for if you, of your part, be moved to come to a conformity, then shall not only we of our side take joy of our examination, but also they that have sent us.

And first, as charity doth move us, I would think good somewhat to exhort you, and that by St. John in the Apocalypse, Remember from whence thou art fallen, and do the first works; or if not: -- and so as ye know what followeth. Remember yourself from whence you have fallen. You have fallen from the universal and catholic church of Christ, from the very true and received faith of all Christendom; and that by open heresy. You have fallen from your promise to God, from your fidelity and allegiance; and that by open preaching, marriage, and adultery. You have fallen from your sovereign prince and queen by open treason. Remember therefore from whence you have fallen. Your fall is great, the danger cannot be seen. Wherefore when I say, remember from whence you are fallen, I put you in mind not only of your fall, but also of the state you were in before your fall. You were sometime, as I and other poor men, in a mean estate, God I take to witness, I speak it to no reproach or abasement of you, but to put you in memory, how God hath called you from a low to a high degree, from one degree to another, from better to better; and never gave you over, till he had appointed you *legatum natum, metropolitanum Angliæ, pastorem gregis sui*. Such great trust did he put you in, in his church: what could he do more? For even as he ordained Moses to be a ruler over his church of Israel, and gave him full authority upon the same, so did he make you over his church of England. And when did he this for you? Forsooth when you gave no occasion or cause of mistrust either to him, or to his magistrates. For although it be conjectured, that in all your time ye were not upright in the honour and faith of Christ, but rather set up of purpose as a fit instrument whereby the church might be spoiled and brought into ruin; yet may it appear by many your doings otherwise, and I, for my part, as it behoveth each one of us, shall think the best. For who was thought as then more devout? who was more religious in the face of the world? who was thought to have more conscience of a vow-making, and observing the order of the church, more earnest in the defence of the real presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar, than ye were? And then all things prospered with you; your prince favoured you; yea, God himself favoured you. Your candlestick was set up in the highest place of the church, and the light of your candle was over all the church; I would God it had so continued still!

"But after ye began to fall by schism, and would not acknowledge the pope's Holiness as supreme head, but would stoutly uphold the unlawful requests of King Henry the Eighth, and would bear with what should not be borne withal, then began you to fancy unlawful liberty; and when you had exiled a good conscience, then ensued great shipwreck in the sea, which was out of the true and catholic church cast into the sea of desperation; for as he saith, 'Without the church there is no salvation.' When ye had forsaken God, God forsook you, and gave you over to your own will,

and suffered you to fall from schism to apostacy, from apostacy to heresy, and from heresy to perjury, from perjury to treason, and so in conclusion, into the full indignation of your sovereign prince; which you may think a just punishment of God, for your other abominable opinions.

"After that, ye fell lower and lower, and now to the lowest degree of all, to the end of honour and life. For if the light of your candle be, as it hath been hitherto, dusky, your candlestick is like to be removed, and have a great fall, so low, and so far out of knowledge, that it be quite out of God's favour, and past all hope of recovery: 'For in hell there is no redemption.' The danger whereof being so great, very pity causeth me to say, 'Remember from whence thou hast fallen.' I add also, and whither you fall!

"But here, peradventure, you will say to me, 'What, sir? my fall is not so great as you make it. I have not yet fallen from the catholic church; for that is not the catholic church that the pope is head of: there is another church.' But as touching that, I answer, you are sure of that as the Donatists were, for they said they had the true church, and that the name of true Christians remained only in Africa, where only their seditious sect was preached: and as you think, so thought Novatus, that all they that did acknowledge their supreme head at the see of Rome, were out of the church of Christ. But here St. Cyprian, defending Cornelius against Novatus, saith on this wise, *Ecclesia una est, quæ cum sit una, intus et foris esse non potest*. So that if Novatus were in the church, then was not Cornelius, who indeed by lawful succession succeeded Pope Fabian. Here St. Cyprian intendeth by the whole process to prove, and concludeth thereupon, that the true church was only Rome. Gather you then what will follow of your fall. But you will say peradventure, that you fell not by heresy: and so said the Arians, alleging for themselves that they had Scripture, and going about to persuade their schism by Scripture; for indeed they had more places by two and forty, which by their tortures seemed to depend upon Scripture, than the catholics had. So did the Martians provoke their heresy to Scripture. But those are no Scriptures; for they are not truly alleged, nor truly interpreted, but untruly wrested and wrong, according to their own fantasies. And therefore were they all justly condemned for their wrong taking of the Scriptures, and the church replieth against them, saying, *Qui estis vos? quando? quid agitis in meo, non mei?* The church saith, 'What make you here in my heritage? From whence came you? The Scripture is mine inheritance. I am right heir thereof: I hold it by true succession of the apostles; for as the apostles required me to hold, so do I hold it. The apostles have received me, and put me in my right, and have rejected you as bastards, having no title thereunto.'

"Also ye will deny that ye have fallen by apostacy by breaking your vow; and so Vigilantius said, insomuch that he would admit none to his ministry, but those that had their wives bagged with children. What now? Shall we say that Vigilantius did not fall therefore? Did not Donatus and Novatus fall, because they said so, and brought Scripture for their defence? Then let us believe as we list, pretending well, and say so: nay, there is no man so blind that will say so; for except the church, which condemneth them for their say so, do approve us for to do so, then will she condemn you also. So that your denial will not stand. And therefore I tell you, remember from whence ye are fallen, and how low ye shall fall, if you hold on as you do begin. But I trust you will not continue, but revoke yourself in time, and the remedy followeth: *Age pœnitentiam, et prima opera fac*; for by such means as ye have fallen, ye must

rise again. First your heart hath fallen, then your tongue and your pen; and besides your own damage, have caused many more to fall. Therefore, first your heart must turn, and then shall the tongue and the pen be quickly turned: *Sin minus, veniam tibi cito, et movebo candelabrum tuum de loco suo.*

"I need not teach you a method to turn: you know the ready way yourself. But I would God I could but exhort you to the right and truth: then the way should soon be found out. For if ye remember how many ye have brought by abominable heresy into the way of perdition, I doubt not but very conscience would move you, as much for them as for yourself, to come again; and so would you spare neither tongue nor pen, if heart were once reformed. For as touching that point, the Holy Ghost toucheth their hearts very near by the mouth of his holy prophet Ezekiel, when he requireth the blood of his flock at the priest's hands, for lack of good and wholesome food. How much more should this touch your guilty heart, having over-much diligence to teach them the way of perdition, and feeding them with baggage and corrupt food, which is heresy. He that shall convert a sinner from his wicked life, shall save his soul from death, and shall cover the multitude of sins. So that if it be true that he who converteth a sinner, saveth a soul; then the contrary must needs be true, that he that perverteth a soul, and teacheth him the way of perdition, must needs be damned.

"Origen, on the Epistle of Paul to the Romans, said, 'The damnation of those that preach heresy, doth increase to the day of judgment. The more that perish by heretical doctrine, the more grievous shall their torment be, that minister such doctrine.' Berengarius, who seemed to fear that danger, provided for it in his life-time, but not without a troubled and disquiet conscience. He did not only repent, but recant, and not so much for himself, as for them whom he had with most pestilent heresies infected. For as he lay in his death-bed upon Epiphany-day, he demanded of them that were present, 'Is this,' quoth he, 'the day of Epiphany, and appearing of the Lord?' They answered him, 'Yea.' 'Then,' quoth he, 'this day shall the Lord appear to me, either to my comfort, or to my discomfort.' This remorse argueth, that he feared the danger of them whom he had taught, and led out of the faith of Christ. Origen, upon St. Paul, saith in this wise, Although his own blood was not upon his head, for that he did repent, and was sorry for his former errors, yet, being converted, he feared the blood of them whom he had infected, and who received his doctrine.'

"Let this move you even at the last point. Insomuch as your case is not unlike to Berengarius, let your repentance be like also. And what should stay you (tell me) from this godly return? Fear that ye have gone so far, ye may not return? Nay, then I may say as David said, Ye fear where ye have no cause to fear. For if ye repent and be heartily sorry for your former heresy and apostacy, ye need not to fear: for, as God of his part is merciful and gracious to the repentant sinner, so is the king, so is the queen merciful; which ye may well perceive by your own case, since ye might have suffered a great while ago for treason committed against her Highness, but that ye have been spared and reserved upon hope of amendment, which she conceived very good of you: but now (as it seemeth) it is but a very desperate hope. And what do you thereby? According to the hardness of your heart, ye treasure up to yourself anger in the day of wrath.

"Well, what is it then, if fear do not hinder you? Shame, to unsay that you have said? Nay, it is no shame, unless you think it shame to agree with the true and

the catholic church of Christ. And if that be shame, then blame St. Paul, who persecuted the disciples of Christ with the sword; then blame St. Peter, who denied his Master Christ with an oath, that he never knew him. St. Cyprian before his return being a witch; St. Austin being nine years out of the church; they thought it no shame after their return, of that they had returned. Shall it then be shame for you to convert and consent with the church of Christ? No, no.

"What is it then that doth let you? Glory of the world? Nay, as for the vanity of the world, I for my part judge not in you, being a man of learning, and knowing your estate.

"And as for the loss of your estimation, it is ten to one that whereas you were archbishop of Canterbury, and metropolitan of England, it is ten to one (I say) that ye shall be as well still, yea, and rather better.

"And as for the winning of good men, there is no doubt but all that be here present, and the whole congregation of Christ's church also, will more rejoice of your return, than they were sorry for your fall. And as for the others, ye need not to doubt, for they shall all come after; and, to say the truth, if you should lose them for ever, it were no force: ye should have no less thereby at all. I do not here touch them which should confirm your estimation: for as St. Paul, after his conversion, was received into the church of Christ, with wonderful joy to the whole congregation, even so shall you be. The fame of your return shall be spread abroad throughout all Christendom, where your face was never known.

"But you will say perhaps, your conscience will not suffer you. My Lord, there is a good conscience; and there is a bad conscience. The good conscience have not they, as St. Paul declareth to Timothy concerning Hymeneus and Alexander. The evil and bad conscience is (saith St. Cyprian) well to be known by its mark. What mark? This conscience is marked with the print of heresy: this conscience is a naughty, filthy, and a branded conscience, which, I trust, is not in you. I have conceived a better hope of you than so, or else would I never go about to persuade or exhort you. But what conscience should stay you to return to the catholic faith, and universal church of Christ? What conscience doth separate you to that devilish and several church, to a liberty which never had ground in the Holy Scriptures? If you judge your liberty to be good, then judge you all Christendom to do evil besides you.

"Oh what a presumptuous persuasion is this, upon this utterly to forsake the church of Christ! Under what colour or pretence do you this? for the abuses? as though in your church were no abuses: yes, that there were. And if you forsake the universal church for the abuses, why do you not then forsake your particular church, and so be flitting from one to another? That is not the next way, to slip from the church for the abuses; for if you had seen abuses, you should rather have endeavoured for a reformation, than for a defection. He is a good chirurgeon, who for a little pain in the toe will cut off the whole leg! He helpeth well the toothache, which cutteth away the head by the shoulders! It is mere folly to amend abuses by abuses. Ye are like Diogenes; for Diogenes on a time, envying the cleanliness of Plato, said on this wise, Ecce calco fastum Platonis: Plato answered, Sed aliofastu. So that Diogenes seemed more faulty of the two.

"But when we have said all that we can, peradventure you will say, 'I will not return.' And to that I say, I will not answer. Nevertheless, hear what Christ saith to such obstinate and stiffnecked people in the parable of the supper. When he had sent out his men to call them in that were appointed, and they would not come, he bade his servants go into the ways and streets, to compel men to come in, *Cogite intrare*. If then the church will not lose any member that may be compelled to come in, ye must think it good to take the compulsion, lest you lose your part of the supper which the Lord hath prepared for you; and this compulsion standeth well with charity.

"But it may be perhaps, that some have animated you to stick to your tackle, and not to give over, bearing you in hand that your opinion is good, and that ye shall die in a good quarrel, and God shall accept your oblation. But hear what Christ saith of a meaner gift: If thou come to the altar to offer thy oblation, and knowest that thy brother hath somewhat to lay against thee, leave there thy gift, and go and be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer up thy gift; or else thy brother will make thy offering unsavoury before God. This he said unto all the world, to the end they should know how their offerings should be received, if they were not according.

"Remember you therefore, before you offer up your offering, whether your gift be qualified or no. Remember the Church of Rome, and also of England, where not one only brother, but a number have matter against you, so just, that they will make your burnt-offering to stink before God, except you be reconciled. If you must needs appoint upon a sacrifice, make yet a mean first to them that have to lay against you. I say no more than the church hath allowed me to say; for the sacrifice that is offered without the church is not profitable. The premises therefore considered, for God's sake, I say, *Memor esto unde excideris, et age pœnitentiam, et prima opera fac. Sin minus, &c.* Cast not yourself away, spare your body, spare your soul, spare them also whom you have seduced, spare the shedding of Christ's blood for you in vain. Harden not your heart, acknowledge the truth, yield to the prescript word of God, to the catholic Church of Rome, to the received verity of all Christendom. Wed not yourself to your own self-will. Stand not too much in your own conceit, think not yourself wiser than all Christendom is besides you. Leave off this unjust cavil. How? leave what? Leave reason, leave wonder, and believe as the catholic church doth believe and teach you. Persuade with yourself, that 'without the church there is no salvation.' And thus much have I said of charity. If this poor simple exhortation of mine may sink into your head, and take effect with you, then have I said as I would have said; otherwise not as I would, but as I could for this present."

12 April

And thus Bishop Brooks finishing his oration, sat down. After whom Dr. Martin, taking the matter in hand, beginneth thus:

"Albeit there be two governments, the one spiritual, and the other temporal, the one having the keys, the other the sword, yet in all ages we read that for the honour and glory of God both these powers have been adjoined together. For if we read the Old Testament, we shall find that so did Josias and Hezekiah. So did the king of the Ninevites compel a general fast through all the whole city: so did Darius in breaking the great idol, Bel, and delivering godly Daniel out of the den of lions: so did Nebuchadnezzar make and institute laws against the blasphemers of God. But let pass

these examples, with a great number more, and to come to Christ's time, it is not unknown what a great travail they took to set forth God's honour: and although the rule and government of the church did only appertain to the spirituality, yet for the suppression of heresies and schisms, kings were admitted as aiders thereunto. First, Constantine the Great called a council at Nice for the suppression of the Arians' sect, where the same time was raised a great contention among them. And after long disputation had, when the fathers could not agree upon the putting down the Arians, they referred their judgment to Constantine. 'God forbid,' quoth Constantine; 'you ought to rule me, and not I you.' And as Constantine did, so did Theodosius against the Nestorians; so did Marcian against Manicheus. Jovinian made a law, that no man should marry with a nun, that had wedded herself to the church.

"So had King Henry the Eighth the title of Defender of the Faith, because he wrote against Luther and his complices. So these nine hundred years the king of Spain had that title of Catholic, for the expulsion of the Arians; and to say the truth, the king and queen's Majesties do nothing degenerate from their ancestry, taking upon them to restore again the title to be Defender of the Faith, to the right heir thereof, the pope's Holiness.

"Therefore these two princes, perceiving this noble realm, how it hath been brought from the unity of the true and catholic church, the which you and your confederates do and have renounced; perceiving also that you do persist in your detestable errors, and will by no means be revoked from the same, have made their humble request and petition to the pope's Holiness, Paul the Fourth, as supreme head of the church of Christ, declaring to him, that whereas you were archbishop of Canterbury, and metropolitan of England, and at your consecration took two solemn oaths, for your due obedience to be given to the see of Rome, to become a true preacher or pastor of his flock, yet contrary to your oath and allegiance, for unity have sowed discord; for chastity, marriage and adultery; for obedience, contention; and for faith, ye have been the author of all mischief. The pope's Holiness, considering their request and petition, hath granted them, that, according to the censure of this realm, process should be made against you.

"And whereas in this late time, you both excluded charity and justice, yet hath his Holiness decreed, that you shall have both charity and justice showed unto you. He willeth you should have the laws in most ample manner to answer in your behalf, and that you shall here come before my Lord of Gloucester, as high commissioner from his Holiness, to the examination of such articles as shall be proposed against you, and that we should require the examination of you in the king's and queen's Majesties' behalf. The king and queen as touching themselves, because by the law they cannot appear personally, *quia sunt illustrissimæ personae*, have appointed as their attorneys, Dr. Story and me. Wherefore here I offer to your good Lordship our proxy, sealed with the broad seal of England, and offer myself to be proctor in the king's Majesty's behalf. I exhibit here also certain articles, containing the manifest adultery and perjury. Also books of heresy made partly by him, partly set forth by his authority. And here I produce him as party principal, to answer to your good Lordship."

Thus, when Dr. Martin had ended his oration, the archbishop beginneth, as here followeth:

"My Lord, I do not acknowledge this session of yours, nor yet *you*, my mislawful judge; neither would I have appeared here this day before you, but that I was brought hither as a prisoner. And therefore I openly here renounce you as my judge, protesting that my meaning is not to make any answer, as in a lawful judgment, (for then would I be silent,) but only for that I am bound in conscience to answer every man of that hope which I have in Jesus Christ, by the counsel of St. Peter; and lest, by my silence, many of those who are weak, here present, might be offended. And so I desire that my answers may be accepted as *extra judicialia*."

And when he had ended his protestation he began as followeth

Cranmer.--"Shall I then make my answer?"

Martin.--"As you think good; no man shall let you."

And here the archbishop, kneeling down on both knees towards the west, said first the Lord's Prayer. Then, rising up, he reciteth the articles of the creed. Which done, he entereth with his protestation in form as followeth:

Cranmer.--"This I do profess as touching my faith, and make my protestation, which I desire you to note. I will never consent that the bishop of Rome shall have any jurisdiction within this realm."

Story.--"Take a note thereof."

Martin.--"Mark, Master Cranmer, how you answer for yourself. You refuse and deny him, by whose laws ye do remain in life; being otherwise attainted of high treason, and but a dead man by the laws of the realm."

Cranmer.--"I protest before God I was no traitor, but indeed I confessed more at my arraignment than was true."

Martin.--"That is not to be reasoned at this present. Ye know ye were condemned for a traitor. But proceed to your matter."

Cranmer.--"I will never consent to the bishop of Rome, for then should I give myself to the devil; for I have made an oath to the king, and I must obey the king by God's laws. By the Scripture the king is chief, and no foreign person in his own realm above him. There is no subject but to a king. I am a subject, I owe my fidelity to the crown. The pope is contrary to the crown. I cannot obey both; for no man can serve two masters at once, as you in the beginning of your oration declared by the sword and keys, attributing the keys to the pope, and the sword to the king. But I say the king hath both. Therefore he that is subject to Rome, and the laws of Rome, he is perjured, for the pope's and the judge's laws are contrary, they are uncertain and confounded.

"A priest indebted by the laws of the realm, shall be sued before a temporal judge: by the pope's laws contrary.

"The pope doth the king injury in that he hath his power from the pope. The king is head in his own realm: but the pope claimeth all bishops, priests, curates, &c. So the pope in every realm hath a realm.

"Again, by the laws of Rome the benefice must be given by the bishop; by the laws of the realm, the patron giveth the benefice. Herein the laws be as contrary as fire and water.

"No man can by the laws of Rome proceed in a *præmunire*, and so is the law of the realm expelled, and the king standeth accursed in maintaining his own laws: Therefore in consideration that the king and the queen take their power of him, as though God should give it to them, there is no true subject, unless he be abrogate, seeing the crown is holden of him being out of the realm.

"The bishop of Rome is contrary to God, and injurious to his laws; for God commanded all men to be diligent in the knowledge of his law, and therefore hath appointed one holy day in the week at the least, for the people to come to the church and hear the word of God expounded unto them; and, that they might the better understand it, to hear it in their mother tongue which they know. The pope doth contrary; for he willeth the service to be had in the Latin tongue, which they do not understand. God would have it to be perceived: the pope will not. When the priest giveth thanks, God would that the people should do so too, and God willeth them to confess all together: the pope will not.

"Now as concerning the sacrament, I have taught no false doctrine of the sacrament of the altar; for if it can be proved by any doctor above a thousand years after Christ, that Christ's body is there really, I will give over. My book was made seven years ago, and no man hath brought any authors against it. I believe that whoso eateth and drinketh that sacrament, Christ is within them, whole Christ, his nativity, passion, resurrection, and ascension; but not that corporally that sitteth in heaven. Now Christ commanded all to drink of the cup: the pope taketh it away from the laymen. And yet one saith, that if Christ had died for the devil, that he should drink thereof.

"Christ biddeth us to obey the king. The bishop of Rome biddeth us to obey himself: therefore unless he be antichrist, I cannot tell what to make of him. Wherefore if I should obey him, I cannot obey Christ.

"He is like the devil in his doings; for the devil said to Christ, If thou wilt fall down and worship me, I will give thee all the kingdoms of the world. Thus he took upon him to give that which was not his own. Even so the bishop of Rome giveth princes their crowns, being none of his own; for where princes either by election, either by succession, either by inheritance, obtain their crown, he saith that they should have it from him.

"Christ saith, that antichrist shall be. And who shall he be? Forsooth he that advanceth himself above all other creatures. Now if there be none already that hath advanced himself after such sort besides the pope, then in the mean time, let him be antichrist."

Story.--"Pleaseth it you to make an end?"

Cranmer.--"For he will be the vicar of Christ, he will dispense with the Old and New Testament also, yea, and with apostacy.

"Now I have declared why I cannot with my conscience obey the pope. I speak not this for hatred I bear to him that now supplieth the room, for I know him not. I pray God give him grace not to follow his ancestors. Neither say I this for my defence, but to declare my conscience, for the zeal that I bear to God's word trodden under foot by the bishop of Rome. I cast fear apart, for Christ said to his apostles, that in the latter days they should suffer much sorrow, and be put to death for his name's sake: Fear them not, saith he, but fear him which when he hath killed the body, hath power to cast the soul into fire everlasting. Also Christ saith, He that will live shall die, and he that loseth his life for my name's sake, he shall find it again. Moreover he said, Confess me before men, and be not afraid; for if you do so, I will stand with you: if you shrink from me I will shrink from you. This is a comfortable and terrible saying; this maketh me to set all fear apart. I say therefore, the bishop of Rome treadeth under foot God's laws and the king's.

"The pope would give bishoprics: so would the king. But at the last the king got the upper hand; and so are all bishops perjured, first to the pope, and then to the king.

The crown hath nothing to do with the clergy. For if a clerk come before a judge, the judge shall make process against him, but not to execute any laws: for if the judge should put him to execution, then is the king accursed in maintaining his own laws. And therefore say I, that he is neither true to God, neither to the king, that first received the pope. But I shall heartily pray for such counsellors, as may inform her the truth; for the king and queen, if they be well informed, will do well."

Martin.--"As you understand then, if they maintain the supremacy of Rome, they cannot maintain England too."

Cranmer.--"I require you to declare to the king and queen what I have said, and how their oaths do stand with the realm and the pope. St. Gregory saith, He that taketh upon him to be head of the universal church, is worse than the antichrist. If any man can show me, that it is not against God's word to hold his stirrup when he taketh his horse, and kiss his feet, (as kings do,) then will. I kiss his feet also. -- And you for your part, my Lord, are perjured; for now ye sit judge for the pope, and yet you did receive your bishopric of the king. You have taken an oath to be adversary to the realm: for the pope's laws are contrary to the laws of the realm."

Gloucester.--"You were the cause that I did forsake the pope, and did swear that he ought not to be supreme head, and gave it to King Henry the Eighth, that he ought to be it: and this you made me to do."

"To this I answer," said Cranmer, "you report me ill, and say not the truth; and I will prove it here before you all. The truth is, that my predecessor, Bishop Warham, gave the supremacy to King Henry the Eighth, and said that he ought to have it before the bishop of Rome, and that God's word would bear him. And upon the same was

there sent to both the universities, Oxford and Cambridge, to know what the word of God would do touching the supremacy, and it was reasoned upon, and argued at length. So at the last both the universities agreed, and set to their seals, and sent it to King Henry the Eighth to the court, that he ought to be supreme head, and not the pope. Whereupon you were then doctor of divinity at that time, and your consent was thereunto, as by your hand doth appear. Therefore you misreport me, that I was the cause of your falling away from the pope, but it was yourself. All this was in Bishop Warham's time, and whilst he was alive, so that it was three quarters of a year after ere ever I had the bishopric of Canterbury in my hands, and before I might do any thing. So that here ye have reported of me that which ye cannot prove, which is evil done." -- All this while his cap was on his head.

Gloucester. -- "We come to examine you, and you, methinks, examine us."

Dr. Story's oration to Cranmer.

"Pleaseth it your good Lordship, because it hath pleased the king and queen's Majesties to appoint my companion and me to hear the examination of this man before your good Lordship, to give me leave somewhat to talk in that behalf. Although I know that in talk with heretics there cometh hurt to all men; for it wearieth the stedfast, troubleth the doubtful, and taketh in snare the weak and simple: yet, because he saith he is not bound to answer your Lordship sitting for the pope's Holiness, because of a *præmunire*, and the word of God, as be termeth it; I think good somewhat to say, that all men may see how he runneth out of his race of reason into the rage of common talk, such as here, I trust, hath done much good. And as the king and queen's Majesties will be glad to hear of your most charitable dealing with him, so will they be weary to hear the blundering of this stubborn heretic. And whereas he allegeth divinity, mingling *fas nefasque* together, he should not have been heard; for shall it be sufficient to him to allege, the judge is not competent? Do we not see that in the common law it is not lawful for a man in Westminster Hall to refuse his judge? and shall we dispute *contra eum qui negat principia*? Although there be here a great company of learned men, that know it unmeet so to do, yet have I here a plain canon, wherein he declareth himself convicted *ipso facto*. The canon is this: 'Sit ergo ruinæ suo dolore prostratus quisquis apostolicis voluerit contraire decretis, nec locum deinceps inter sacerdotes habeat, sed exors a sancto fiat ministerio, nec de ejus judicio quisquam posthac curam habeat, quoniam jam damnatus a sancta et apostolicæ ecclesia, sua inobedientia ac præsumptione, a quoquam esse non dubitetur. Quia majoris excommunicationis dejectione est abjiciendus, cui sancta ecclesia commissa fuerit disciplina, qui non solum jussionibus prælatæ sanctæ ecclesie parere debuit, sed etiam aliis ne præterirent insinuare. Sitque alienus a divinis et pontificalibus officiis, qui noluerit præceptis apostolicis obtemperare.'

"He hath alleged many matters against the supremacy, but maliciously. Ye say that the king in his realm is supreme head of the church. Well, sir, you will grant me that there was a perfect catholic church before any king was christened. Then if it were a perfect church, it must needs have a head, which must needs be before any king was member thereof: for you know Constantine was the first christened king that ever was. And although you are bound (as St. Paul saith) to obey your rulers, and

kings have rule of the people, yet doth it not follow that they have cure of souls: for *a fortiori*, the head may do that the minister cannot do; but the priest may consecrate, and the king cannot, therefore the king is not head.

"It was licensed by Christ to every man to bring into the sheepfold, and to augment the flock, but not to rule; for that was only given to Peter.

"And whereas the apostles do call upon men to obey their princes, *cui tributum, tributum; cui vectigal, vectigal*; they, perceiving that men were bent to a kind of liberty and disobedience, were enforced to exhort them to obedience and payment of their tribute, which exhortation extendeth only to temporal matters.

"And again, whereas you say that the bishop of Rome maketh laws contrary to the laws of the realm, that is not true; for this is a maxim in the law, *Quod in particulari excipitur, non facit universale falsum*.

"Now as touching that monstrous talk of your conscience, that is no conscience that ye profess; it is but *privata scientia, electio et secta*. And as yet, for all your glorious babble, you have not proved by God's laws that ye ought not to answer the pope's Holiness.

"The canons which be received of all Christendom compel you to answer, therefore you are bound so to do. And although this realm of late time, through such schismatics as you were, hath exiled and banished the canons, yet that cannot make for you: for you know yourself, that *par in parem, nec pars in totem aliquid statuere potest*. Wherefore this isle, being indeed but a member of the whole, could not determine against the whole. That notwithstanding, the same laws, being put away by a parliament, are now received again by a parliament, and have as full authority now as they had then; and they will now, that ye answer to the pope's Holiness: therefore, by the laws of this realm ye are bound to answer him. Wherefore, my good Lord, all that this Thomas Cranmer (I can no otherwise term him, considering his disobedience) hath brought for his defence, shall nothing prevail with you, nor take any effect. Require him therefore to answer directly to your good Lordship; command him to set aside his trifles, and to be obedient to the laws and ordinances of this realm. Take witness here of his stubborn contempt against the king and queen's Majesties, and compel him to answer directly to such articles as we shall here lay against him; and in refusal, that your good Lordship will excommunicate him."

As soon as Dr. Story had thus ended his tale, beginneth Dr. Martin again to enter speech with the archbishop; which talk I thought here likewise not to let pass, although the report of the same be such as the author thereof seemeth, in his writing, very partial; for as he expresseth the speech of Dr. Martin at full, and to the uttermost of his diligence, leaving out nothing in that part, that either was or could be said more; so again, on the other part, how raw and weak he leaveth the matter, it is easy to perceive, who neither comprehendeth all that Dr. Cranmer again answered for his defence, nor yet in those short speeches which he expresseth, seemeth to discharge the part of a sincere and faithful reporter. Notwithstanding, such as it is, I thought good to let the reader understand, who in perusing the same, may use therein his own judgment and consideration.

"Master Cranmer, ye have told here a long glorious tale, pretending some matter of conscience in appearance; but in verity you have no conscience at all. You say that you have sworn once to King Henry the Eighth against the pope's jurisdiction; and therefore you may never forswear the same; and so ye make a great matter of conscience in the breach of the said oath. Here will I ask you a question or two: What if ye made an oath to a harlot, to live with her in continual adultery; ought you to keep it?"

Cranmer.--"I think no."

Martin.--"What if you did swear never to lend a poor man one penny; ought you to keep it?" *Cranmer.*--"I think not."

Martin.--"Herod did swear whatsoever his harlot asked of him he would give her, and he gave her John Baptist's head: did he well in keeping his oath?"

Cranmer.--"I think not."

Martin.--"Jephtha, one of the judges of Israel, did swear unto God, that if he would give him victory over his enemies, he would offer unto God the first soul that came forth of his house; it happened that his own daughter came first, and he slew her to save his oath. Did he well?"

Cranmer.--"I think not."

Martin.--"So saith St. Ambrose de Officiis, 'It is a miserable necessity, which is paid with parricide.' Then, Master Cranmer, you can no less confess by the premises but that you ought not to have conscience of every oath, but if it be just, lawful, and advisedly taken."

Cranmer.--"So was that oath."

Martin.--"That is not so, for first it was unjust, for it tended to the taking away of another man's right. It was not lawful; for the laws of God and the church were against it. Besides, it was not voluntary; for every man and woman were compelled to take it."

Cranmer.--"It pleaseth you to say so."

Martin.--"Let all the world be judge. But, sir, you that pretend to have such a conscience to break an oath, I pray you did you never swear and break the same?"

Cranmer.--"I remember not."

Martin.--"I will help your memory. Did you never swear obedience to the see of Rome?"

Cranmer.--"Indeed I did once swear unto the same."

Martin.--"Yea, that you did twice, as appeareth by records and writings here ready to be showed."

Cranmer.--"But I remember I saved all by protestation that I made by the counsel of the best learned men I could get at that time."

Martin.--"Hearken, good people! what this man saith. He made a protestation one day, to keep never a whit of that which he would swear the next day: was this the part of a Christian man? If a Christian man would bargain with a Turk, and before he maketh his bargain solemnly, before witness, readeth in his paper that he holdeth secretly in his hand, or peradventure protesteth before one or two, that he mindeth not to perform whatsoever he shall promise to the Turk; I say, if a Christian man should serve a Turk in this manner, that the Christian man were worse than the Turk. What would you then say to this man, that made a solemn oath and promise unto God and his church, and made a protestation before quite contrary?"

Cranmer.--"That which I did [I did] by the best learned men's advice I could get at that time."

Martin.--"I protest before all the learned men here, that there is no learning will save your perjury herein; for there be two rules of the civil law clean contrary against you." And so he brought forth his rules, which being done he proceeded further. "But will you have the truth of the matter: King Henry the Eighth even then meant the lamentable change which after you see came to pass; and to further his pitiful proceedings from the divorcement of his most lawful wife, to the detestable departing from the blessed unity of Christ's church, this man made the foresaid protestation: and, on the other side, he letted not to make two solemn oaths quite contrary; and why? for otherwise, by the laws and canons of this realm, he could not aspire to the archbishopric of Canterbury."

Cranmer.--"I protest before you all, there was never man came more unwillingly to a bishopric, than I did to that: insomuch that when King Henry did send for me in post, that I should come over, I prolonged my journey by seven weeks at the least, thinking that the would be forgetful of me in the mean time."

Martin.--"You declare well by the way that the king took you to be a man of good conscience, who could not find within all his realm any man that would set forth his strange attempts, but was enforced to send for you in post to come out of Germany. What may we conjecture hereby, but that there was a compact between you, being then Queen Anne's chaplain, and the king: Give me the archbishopric of Canterbury, and I will give you licence to live in adultery."

Cranmer.--"You say not true."

Martin.--"Let your protestation, joined with the rest of your talk, give judgment: *hinc prima mali labes*. Of that your execrable perjury, and his coloured and too shamefully suffered adultery, came heresy and all mischief to this realm. And thus have I spoken as touching the conscience you make for breaking your heretical oath made to the king: but to break your former oath, made at two sundry times both to God and his church, you have no conscience at all. And now to answer another part of

your oration, wherein you bring in God's word, that you have it on your side and no man else, and that the pope hath devised a new scripture contrary to the Scripture of God, ye play herein as the Pharisees did, which cried always, The word of the Lord, the word of the Lord, when they meant nothing so. This bettereth not your cause, because you say, you have God's word for you; for so Basilides and Photinus the heretics said, that they had God's word to maintain their heresy. So Nestorius, so Macedonius, so Pelagius, and briefly, all the heretics that ever were, pretended that they had God's word for them; yea, and so the devil, being the father of heresies, alleged God's word for him, saying, It is written: so said he to Christ, Cast thyself downward, which you applied most falsely against the pope. But, if you mark the devil's language well, it agreed with your proceedings most truly: for, Cast thyself downward, said he, and so taught you to cast all things downward. Down with the sacrament, down with the mass, down with the altars, down with the arms of Christ, and up with a lion and a dog; down with the abbeys, down with chantries, down with hospitals and colleges, down with fasting and prayer, yea, down with all that good and godly is. All your proceedings and preachings tended no other, but to fulfil the devil's request, *Mitte te deorsum*. And therefore tell not us that you have God's word: for God hath given us by his word a mark to know that your teaching proceeded not of God, but of the devil, and that your doctrine came not of Christ, but of antichrist. For Christ foresaid, there should come against his church ravening wolves and false apostles. But how should we know them? Christ teacheth us, saying, By their fruits ye shall know them. Why, what be their fruits? St. Paul declareth, After the flesh they walk in concupiscence and uncleanness; they contemn potentates. Again, In the latter days there shall be perilous times: then shall there be men loving themselves, covetous, proud, disobedient to parents, treason-workers. Whether these be not the fruits of your gospel, I refer me to this worshipful audience; whether the said gospel began not with perjury, proceeded with adultery, was maintained with heresy, and ended in conspiracy.

"Now sir, two points more I marked in your raging discourse that you made here: the one against the holy sacrament; the other against the pope's jurisdiction, and the authority of the see apostolic. Touching the first, ye say you have God's word with you, yea, and all the doctors. I would here ask but one question of you: whether God's word be contrary to itself, and whether the doctors teach doctrine contrary to themselves, or no? For you, Master Cranmer, have taught in this high sacrament of the altar three contrary doctrines, and yet you pretended in every one, *verbum Domini*.

Cranmer.--"Nay, I taught but two contrary doctrines in the same."

Martin.--"What doctrine taught you when you condemned Lambert the sacramentary, in the king's presence in Whitehall?"

Cranmer.--"I maintained then the papists' doctrine."

Martin.--"That is to say, the catholic and universal doctrine of Christ's church. And how when King Henry died? did not you translate Justus Jonas's book?"

Cranmer.--"I did so."

Martin.--"Then there you defended another doctrine touching the sacrament, by the same token that you sent to Lynn your printer; that whereas in the first print there was an affirmative, that is to say, Christ's body, really in the sacrament, you sent then to your printer to put in a not, whereby it came miraculously to pass, that Christ's body was clean conveyed out of the sacrament."

Cranmer.--"I remember there were two prints of my said book, but where the same not was put in, I cannot tell."

Martin.--"Then from a Lutheran ye became a Zuinglian, which is the vilest heresy of all in the high mystery of the sacrament; and for the same heresy you did help to burn Lambert the sacramentary, which you now call the catholic faith, and God's word."

Cranmer.--"I grant that then I believed otherwise than I do now; and so I did, until my Lord of London, Dr. Ridley, did confer with me, and by sundry persuasions and authorities of doctors, drew me quite from my opinion."

Martin.--"Now sir, as touching the last part of your oration, you denied that the pope's Holiness was supreme head of the church of Christ."

Cranmer.--"I did so."

Martin.--"Who say you then is supreme head?"

Cranmer.--"Christ."

Martin.--"But whom hath Christ left here in earth his vicar and head of his church?"

Cranmer.--"Nobody."

Martin.--"Ah! why told you not King Henry this when you made him supreme head? and now nobody is. This is treason against his own person as you then made him."

Cranmer.--"I mean not but every king in his own realm and dominion is supreme head, and so was he supreme head of the church of Christ in England."

Martin.--"Is this always true? and was it ever so in Christ's church?"

Cranmer.--"It was so."

Martin.--"Then what say you by Nero? He was the mightiest prince of the earth after Christ was ascended: was he head of Christ's church?"

Cranmer.--"Nero was Peter's head."

Martin.--"I ask whether Nero was head of the church or no? If he were not, it is false that you said before, that all princes be, and ever were, heads of the church within their realms."

Cranmer.--"Nay, it is true, for Nero was head of the church; that is, in worldly respect of the temporal bodies of men, of whom the church consisteth; for so he beheaded Peter and the apostles. And the Turk too is head of the church in Turkey."

Martin.--"Then he that beheaded the heads of the church, and crucified the apostles, was head of Christ's church; and he that was never member of the church, is head of the church, by your newfound understanding of God's word."

It is not to be supposed, contrary, but much other matter passed in this communication between them, especially on the archbishop's behalf; whose answers I do not think to be so slender, nor altogether in the same form of words framed, if the truth, as it was, might be known. But so it pleased the notary thereof, being too much partially addicted to his mother see of Rome in favour of his faction, to diminish and drive down the other side, either in not showing all, or in reporting the thing otherwise than it was; as the common guise is of most writers, to what side their affection most weigheth, their oration commonly inclineth. But let us proceed further in the story of this matter.

"It followed then," saith this reporter, "when the archbishop thus had answered, and the standers-by began to murmur against him; the judges, not content with his answers, willed him to answer directly to the interrogatories: which interrogatories articulated against him in form of law, were these under following.

"1. First was objected, that he, (the foresaid Thomas Cranmer,) being yet free, and before he entered into holy orders, married one Joan, surnamed Black or Brown, dwelling at the sign of the Dolphin in Cambridge.

"Answer. Whereunto he answered, that whether she was called Black or Brown, he knew not; but that he married there one Joan, that he granted.

"2. That after the death of the foresaid wife, he entered into holy orders, and after that was made archbishop by the pope.

"Answer. He received (he said) a certain bull of the pope, which he delivered unto the king, and was [made] archbishop by him.

"3. Item, that he, being in holy orders, married another woman as his second wife, named Anne, and so was twice married.

"Answer. To this he granted.

"4. Item, in the time of King Henry the Eighth, he kept the said wife secretly, and had children by her.

"Answer. Hereunto he also granted; affirming that it was better for him to have his own, than to do like other priests, holding and keeping other men's wives.

"5. Item, in the time of King Edward, he brought out the said wife openly, affirming and professing publicly the same to be his wife.

"Answer. He denied not, but he so did, and lawfully might do the same, forasmuch as the laws of the realm did so permit him.

"6. Item, that he shamed not openly to glory himself, to have had his wife in secret many years.

"Answer. And though he so did, (he said,) there was no cause why he should be ashamed thereof.

"7. Item, that the said Thomas Cranmer, falling afterward into the deep bottom of errors, did fly and refuse the authority of the church, did hold and follow the heresy concerning the sacrament of the altar, and also did compile and caused to be set abroad divers books.

"Answer. Whereunto when the names of the books were recited to him, he denied not such books which he was the author of. As touching the treatise of Peter Martyr upon the sacrament, he denied that he ever saw it before it was abroad, yet did approve and well like of the same. As for the Catechism, the book of Articles, with the other book against Winchester, he granted the same to be his doings.

"8. Item, that he compelled many, against their wills, to subscribe to the same articles.

"Answer. He exhorted (he said) such as were willing to subscribe; but, against their wills, he compelled none.

"9. Item, forasmuch as he surceased not to perpetrate enormous and inordinate crimes, he was therefore cast into the Tower, and from thence was brought to Oxford, at what time it was commonly thought that the parliament there should be holden.

"Answer. To this he said, that he knew no such enormous and inordinate crimes that ever he committed.

"10. Item, that in the said city of Oxford he did openly maintain his heresy, and there was convicted upon the same.

"Answer. He defended (he said) there the cause of the sacrament; but, that he was convicted in the same, that he denied.

"11. Item, when he persevered still in the same, he was by the public censure of the university pronounced a heretic, and his books to be heretical.

"Answer. That he was so denounced, he denied not; but that he was a heretic, or his books heretical, that he denied.

"12. Item, that he was and is notoriously infamed with the note of schism, as who not only himself receded from the catholic church and see of Rome, but also moved the king and subjects of this realm to the same.

"Answer. As touching the receding, that he well granted; but that receding or departing (said he) was only from the see of Rome, and had in it no matter of any schism.

"13. Item, that he had been twice sworn to the pope; and withal Dr. Martin brought out the instrument of the public notary, wherein was contained his protestation made when he should be consecrated, asking if he had any thing else protested.

"Answer. Whereunto he answered, that he did nothing but by the laws of the realm.

"14. Item, that he the said archbishop of Canterbury did not only offend in the premises, but also in taking upon him the authority of the see of Rome, in that, without leave or licence from the said see, he consecrated bishops and priests.

"Answer. He granted, that he did execute such things as were wont to be referred to the pope, at what time it was permitted to him by the public laws and determination of the realm.

"15. Item, that when the whole realm had subscribed to the authority of the pope, he only still persisted in his error.

"Answer. That he did not admit the pope's authority, he confessed to be true. But that he erred in the same, that he denied.

"16. Item, that all and singular the premises be true.

"Answer. That likewise he granted, excepting those things whereunto he had now answered. "

After he had thus answered to the objections aforesaid, and the public notary had entered the same, the judges and commissioners, as having now accomplished that wherefore they came, were about to rise up and depart. But the bishop of Gloucester, thinking it not the best so to dismiss the people, being somewhat stirred with the words of the archbishop, began in his oration in the hearing of the people, thus to declaim.

"Master Cranmer, (I cannot otherwise term you, considering your obstinacy,) I am right sorry, I am right heartily sorry, to hear such words escape your mouth so unadvisedly. I had conceived a right good, hope of your amendment. I suppose that this obstinacy of yours came not of a vain-glory, but rather of a corrupt conscience, which was the occasion that I hoped so well of your return. But now I perceive by your foolish babble, that it is far otherwise. Ye are so puffed up with vain-glory, there is such *cauteria* of heresy crept into your conscience, that I am clean void of hope, and my hope is turned into wan hope. But who can stay him that willingly runneth

into perdition? Who can save that will be lost? God would have you to be saved; and you refuse it. Thy perdition is only upon thyself, O Israel! only in me is thy salvation, saith the Lord by his prophet. You have uttered so erroneous talk, with such open malice against the pope's Holiness, with such open lying against the Church of Rome, with such open blasphemy against the sacrament of the altar, that no mouth could have expressed more maliciously, more lyingly, more blasphemously.

"To reason with you, although I would of myself to satisfy this audience, yet may I not by our commission, neither can I find how I may do it with the Scriptures: for the apostle doth command that such a one should not only not be talked withal, but also shunned and avoided, saying, An heretical person after once or twice conferring, shun, knowing that he is perverse and sinneth, being of his own judgment condemned. Ye have been conferred withal not once or twice, but oftentimes; ye have oft been lovingly admonished ye have been oft secretly disputed with. And the last year in the open school, in open disputations, ye have been openly convict; ye have been openly driven out of the school with hisses. Your book, which ye brag you made seven years ago, and no man answered it, Marcus Antonius hath sufficiently detected and confuted, and yet ye persist still in your wonted heresy.

"Wherefore, being so oft admonished, conferred withal, and convicted, if ye deny you to be the man whom the apostle noteth, hear then what Origen saith, who wrote above thirteen hundred years ago, and interpreteth the saying of the apostle in this wise, 'Hæreticus est omnis ille habendus, qui Christo se credere profitetur, et aliter de Christi veritate sentit quam se habet ecclesiastica traditio.' Even now ye professed a kind of Christianity and holiness unto us, for at your beginning you fell down upon your knees, and said the Lord's Prayer (God wot like a hypocrite); and then, standing up upon your feet, you rehearsed the articles of your faith; but to what end I pray you else, but to cloak that inward heresy rooted in you, that you might blind the poor, simple, and unlearned people's eyes? For what will they say or think, if they do not thus say -- 'Good Lord, what mean these men to say, that he is a heretic? They are deceived; this is a good Christian, he believeth as we believe.'

"But is this sufficient to escape the name of a heretic? To the simple and unlearned it is sufficient: but for you, that have professed a greater knowledge and higher doctrine, it is not enough to recite your belief. For unless (as Origen saith) ye believe all things that the church hath decreed besides, you are no Christian man. In the which because you do halt, and will come to no conformity; from henceforth ye are to be taken for a heretic, with whom we ought neither to dispute, neither to reason: whom we ought rather to eschew and avoid.

"Nevertheless, although I do not intend to reason with you, but to give you up as an abject and outcast from God's favour, yet because ye have uttered, to the annoying of the people, such pestilent heresies as may do harm among some rude and unlearned, I think meet, and not *abs re*, somewhat to say herein; not because I hope to have any good at your hands, which I would willingly wish, but that I may establish the simple people which be here present, lest they, being seduced by your diabolical doctrine, may perish thereby.

"And first, (as it behoveth every man to purge himself first before he enter with any other,) whereas you accuse me of an oath made against the bishop of Rome,

I confess it, and deny it not, and therefore do say with the rest of this realm, good and catholic men, the saying of the prophet, We have sinned with our fathers, we have done unjustly and wickedly. The sins of my youth, and my ignorances, O Lord, do not remember! I was then a young man, and as young a scholar here in the university. I knew not then what an oath did mean, and yet to say the truth, I did it compelled, compelled I say by you, Master Cranmer; and here were you the author and cause of my perjury, you are to be blamed herein, and not I. Now whereas you say I made two oaths, the one contrary to the other, it is not so, for the oath I made to the pope's Holiness appertaineth only to spiritual things: the other oath that I made to the king, pertaineth only to temporal things; that is to say, that I do acknowledge all my temporal livings to proceed only from the king, and from none else. But all men may see, as you agree in this, so ye agree in the rest of your opinions.

"Now, sir, as concerning the supremacy which is only due to the see of Rome, a word or two. Although there be a number of places which do confirm that Christ appointed Peter head of the church, yet this is a most evident place. When Christ demanded of his apostles whom men called him; they answered, Some Elias, some a prophet, &c. But Christ replied unto Peter, and said, Whom sayest thou, Peter, that I am? Peter answered, *Tu es Christus, filius Dei*: and Christ replied, *Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam*. The doctors interpreting this place, *super hanc petram*, expound it, *id est, non solum super fidem Petri, sed super te, Petre*. And why did Christ change his name from Simon to Peter, which in Latin is a stone, but only to declare that he was only the foundation and head of the church?

"Again, whereas Christ demanded of Peter, being amongst the rest of his apostles, three times a row, *Petre, amas me?* he gave him charge over his sheep, *Pasce oves meas, pasce agnos meos*. Which place Chrysostom interpreting, saith, *Pasce, hoc est, loco mei esto præpositus et caput fratrum tuorum*. To conclude, when they came that required didrachmæ of Christ, he commanded Peter to cast his net into the sea, and to take out of the fish's mouth that he took; *Stateram, hoc est, duplex didrachma; et da, inquit, pro te et me, Petre*. Which words do signify, that when he had paid for them two, he had paid for all the rest. For as in the old law there were appointed two heads over the people of Israel, Moses and Aaron; Moses as chief, and Aaron next head under him: so in the new law there were two heads of the church, which were Christ and Peter. Christ is head of all, and Peter next under him. 'Our Saviour Christ,' saith St. Augustine, 'commanding the tribute to be given for him and for Peter, meant thereby the same to be given for all others, for he appointed him to be head of them.' What can be more plain than this? but I will not tarry upon this matter.

"Now as touching the pope's laws, whereas you say they be contrary, because the service which should be (as you say) in English, is in Latin; I answer, whosoever will take the pains to peruse the chapter, which is in 1 Cor. xiv., shall find that his meaning is concerning preaching, and *obiter* only of praying.

"Again, whereas you say that the pope's Holiness doth take away one part of the sacrament from the laymen, and Christ would have it under both, ye can say no more but this, Drink ye all of this. And what followeth? And all drank thereof. Now if a man would be so proterve with you, he might say that Christ gave it only to his apostles, in whose places succeeded priests, and not laymen.

And admit that Christ commanded it to be received under both kinds, yet the church hath authority to change that as well as other. Ye read, that Christ calling his apostles together, said unto them, Go and preach the gospel to every nation, baptizing them in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. But the apostles, being desirous to publish Christ's name every where, did baptize only in Christ's name. Again, Christ before his last supper washed his apostles' feet, saying, If I have washed your feet, being your lord and master, also you ought to wash the feet one of another. I have given you example. This was a precept, yet hath the church altered it, lest the simple people should not think a rebaptization in it. So because, saith the apostle, I have received of the Lord the same which I have delivered to you, that our Lord the same night in which he was betrayed, &c. Notwithstanding that this was a precept that the sacrament should be ministered after supper, the church hath altered it, and commanded it to be received fasting: and whereas Christ did break the bread, we receive the whole host. Christ ministered sitting at the table, we standing at the altar.

"It was also commanded in Acts xv., that Christian men should abstain from strangled and blood. But the church perceiving it to be a precept but for a time, hath altered it. Christ commanded to keep holy the sabbath day, and the church hath altered it to Sunday. If then the church may change things that be so expressed in the Scriptures, she may also change the form of receiving of laymen under both kinds, for divers occasions. First, that in carrying it to the sick, the blood may not be shed, lost, or misused. And next, that no occasion might be given to heretics to think that there is not so much under one kind, as under both.

"But why would you have it under both kinds, I pray you else, but only to pervert and contrary the commandment of the church? For when you had it under both kinds, you believed in neither: and we having but one, believe both kinds.

"Now sir, as concerning the sacrament of the altar, whereas you say, you have a number of doctors of your side, and we none of our side, (that is to say, to confirm the real presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar,) indeed one to stop your mouth I think it not possible to find. Nevertheless, whereas your request is to have one showed unto you, and then you will recant, I will show you two.

"St. Augustine, upon Psalm xxxiii. *Ferebatur manibus suis*; 'I find not how this is true in David,' saith he, 'literally that he was borne in his own hands; but in Christ I find it literally, when he gave his body to his apostles at his last supper.'

Again St. Cyprian, *De cæna Domini*, saith, *Panis quem Dominus poster discipulis suis porrigebat, non effigie, sed natura mutatus, omnipotentia verbi factus est caro*. What can be more plain than this? yet to your exposition it is not plain enough. But give me your figurative, significative, and other such-like terms, and I will defend that Christ hath not yet ascended; no, nor yet that he was incarnate, &c. Wherefore I can do no other but put you in the number of them, whom Chrysostom spake of in this wise, saying, *Audi, homo fidelis, qui contra hæreticum contendis, si Pharisei convicti, et non placati et hæretici*, &c. Hear, O thou Christian man, wilt thou do more than Christ could do? Christ confuted the Pharisees, yet could he not put them to silence. And art thou stronger than Christ? Wilt thou go about to bring them to silence that will receive no answer? as who should say, thou canst not.

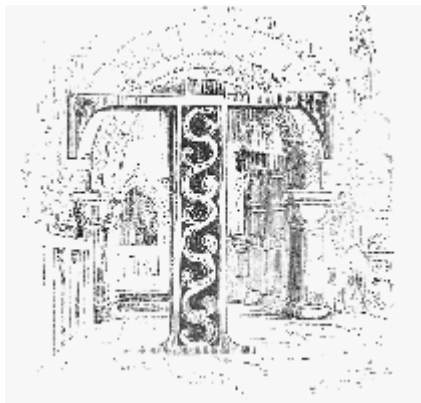
"Thus much I have said, not for you, Master Cranmer, for my hope that I conceived of you is now gone and past; but somewhat to satisfy the rude and unlearned people, that they, perceiving your arrogant lying, and lying arrogancy, may the better eschew your detestable and abominable schism."

And thus ended this prelate his worshipful tale. After whom Dr. Story taketh the matter, and thus inferred in words as followeth:--

Dr. *Story*.--"Master Cranmer, you have made a goodly process concerning your heretical oath made to the king, but you forget your oath made to the see apostolic. As concerning your oath made to the king, if you made it to him only, it took an end by his death, and so it is released; if you made it to his successors, well sir, the true successors have the empire, and they will you to dissolve the same, and become a member of Christ's church again, and it standeth well with charity."

"To this the archbishop answered again," saith the reporter: but what his answer was, that he suppresseth, and returneth to the words of Dr. Story, who imperiously turning his speech again to the archbishop, said as followeth:--

"Hold your peace, sir, and so shall it right well become you, considering that I gave you licence before, to say your fancy. Your oath was no oath: for it lacked the three points of an oath, that is to say, *judicium, justiciam, et veritatem*."



hese, with the like words to the same effect, being uttered by Dr. Story, seeking to break up and make an end of that session, he eftsoons called for witnesses to be produced who should be sworn upon the book, to utter and declare the next day whatsoever they knew, or could remember to be inferred against Dr. Cranmer's heresy. The names of the witnesses are these: Dr. Marshall, commissary, and dean of Christ's church; Dr. Smith, under-commissary; Dr. Tresham, Dr. Crooke, Master London, Master Curtop, Master Warde, Master Serles.

After the depositions of which witnesses being taken, Dr. Story admonished the archbishop, permitting him to make his exceptions, if he thought any of the said witnesses were to be refused: who then would admit none of them all, being men perjured, and not in Christian religion. "For if to swear," said he, "against the pope were unlawful, they should rather have given their lives, than their oath. But if it were lawful, then they are perjured, to defend him whom they forswore before." Nevertheless, this answer of the archbishop being lightly regarded, as little to the purpose appertaining, he was commanded again to the place from whence he came; who, at his departing out, like as at his first coming in, showed low obedience to Dr. Martin, and to Dr. Story, the queen's commissioners. Then Dr. Story pointing him to the bishop of Gloucester, said, that he ought rather to give reverence unto him. So the reverend archbishop departing without any obeisance exhibited to the bishop, all the others rose up, and departed every one to his own. And thus brake up the session for that day, about two of the clock at afternoon.

And thus much hitherto concerning the summary effect of this action or session, with the orations, discourses, and articles commenced against the archbishop of Canterbury, also with the reasons and answers of the said archbishop to their objections and interrogatories. Touching which his answers, forasmuch as they, being recited by report of a papist (as is aforesaid) seem to be not indifferently handled, it shall therefore not greatly be out of our matter, as ye have heard the orations of Bishop Brooks, with the reasons and talk of the other commissioners, amplified and set forth at large on the one side; so now in repeating the words and answers of the other part, to declare and set forth somewhat more amply and effectually, what speech the said archbishop used for himself in the same action, by the faithful relation and testimony of certain others, who were likewise there present, and do thus report the effect of the archbishop's words, answering to the first oration of Bishop Brooks in manner as followeth:

"My Lord, you have very learnedly and eloquently in your oration put me in remembrance of many things touching myself, wherein I do not mean to spend the time in answering of them. I acknowledge God's goodness to me in all his gifts, and thank him as heartily for this state wherein I find myself now, as ever I did for the time of my prosperity; and it is not the loss of my promotions that grieveth me. The greatest grief I have at this time is, and one of the greatest that ever I had in all my life, to see the king and queen's Majesties by their proctors here to become my accusers; and that in their own realm and country, before a foreign power. If I have transgressed the laws of the land, their Majesties have sufficient authority and power, both from God, and by the ordinance of the realm, to punish me; whereunto I both have, and at all times shall be content to submit myself.

"Alas! what hath the pope to do in England? whose jurisdiction is so far different from the jurisdiction of this realm, that it is impossible to be true to the one, and true to the other. The laws also are so diverse, that whosoever sweareth to both, must needs incur perjury to the one: which as oft as I remember, even for the love that I bear to her Grace, I cannot but be heartily sorry to think upon it, how that her Highness the day of her coronation, at which time she took a solemn oath to observe all the laws and liberties of this realm of England, at the same time also took an oath to the bishop of Rome, and promised to maintain that see. The state of England being so repugnant to the supremacy of the pope, it was impossible but she must needs be forsworn in the one. Wherein if her Grace had been faithfully advertised by her council, then surely she would never have done it.

"The laws of this realm are, that the king of England is the supreme and sole governor of all his countries and dominions; and that he holdeth his crown and sceptre of himself, by the ancient laws, customs, and descents of the kings of the realm, and of none other. The pope saith, that all emperors and kings hold their crowns and regalities of him, and that he may depose them when he list; which is high treason for any man to affirm and think, being born within the king's dominions.

"The laws of England are, that all bishops and priests offending in cases of felony or treason, are to be judged and tried by the laws and customs of the realm. The pope's laws are, that the secular power cannot judge the spiritual power, and that they are not under their jurisdiction; which robbeth the king of the one part of his people.

"The laws also of England are, that whosoever hindereth the execution or proceeding of the laws of England for any other foreign laws ecclesiastical or temporal, incurreth the danger of a *præmunire*. The pope's laws are, that whosoever hindereth the proceedings or executions of his laws, for any other laws, of any other king or country, both the prince himself, his council, all his officers, scribes, clerks, and whosoever give consent or aid to the making or executing of any such laws, stand accursed. A heavy case, (if his curse were any thing worth,) that the king and queen cannot use their own laws, but they and all theirs must stand accursed.

"These things and many more examples he alleged, which (he said) stirred him that he could not give his consent to the receiving of such an enemy into the realm, so subverting the dignity and ancient liberties of the same.

"And as for the matter of heresy and schism, wherewith he was charged, he protested and called God to witness, that he knew none that he maintained. But if that were a heresy to deny the pope's authority, and the religion which the see of Rome hath published to the world these latter years, then all the ancient fathers of the primitive church, the apostles, and Christ himself, taught heresy. And he desired all then present to bear him witness, that he took the traditions and religion of that usurping prelate to be most erroneous, false, and against the doctrine of the whole Scripture; which he had oftentimes well proved by writing, and the author of the same to be very antichrist, so often preached of by the apostles and prophets, in whom did most evidently concur all signs and tokens whereby he was painted out to the world to be known. For it was most evident that he had advanced himself above all emperors and kings of the world, whom he affirmeth to hold their estates and empires of him, as of their chief, and to be at his commandment to depose and erect at his good will and pleasure; and that stories make mention of his intolerable and insolent pride and tyranny, used over them in such sort, as no king would have used to his Christian subjects, nor yet a good master to his servants, setting his feet on the emperor's neck; affirming that to be verified in him, which was spoken only of our Saviour Jesus Christ, in these words, *Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis, et conculcabis leonem et draconem*. Other some had he made to hold his stirrup, others he had displaced and removed from their empires and seats royal: and not content herewithal, more insolent than Lucifer, he hath occupied not only the highest place in this world, above kings and princes, but hath further presumed to sit in the seat of Almighty God, which only he reserved to himself, which is the conscience of man; and to keep the possession thereof, he hath promised forgiveness of sins *toties quoties*.

"He hath brought in gods of his own framing, and invented a new religion, full of gain and lucre, quite contrary to the doctrine of the Holy Scripture, only for the maintaining of his kingdom, displacing Christ from his glory, and holding his people in a miserable servitude of blindness, to the loss of a great number of souls, which God at the latter day shall exact at his hand; boasting many times in his canons and decrees, that he can dispense 'against Peter, against Paul, against the Old and New Testament:' and 'of the fulness of power may do as much as God.' O Lord, whoever heard such blasphemy? If there be any man that can advance himself above him, let him be judged antichrist!

"This enemy of God and of our redemption, is so evidently painted out in the Scriptures by such manifest signs and tokens, which all so clearly appear in him, that

except a man will shut up his eyes and heart against the light, he cannot but know him: and therefore, for my part, I will never give my consent to the receiving of him into this Church of England. And you, my Lord, and the rest that sit here in commission, consider well and examine your own consciences; you have sworn against him, you are learned, and can judge of the truth. I pray God you be not wilfully blind. As for me, I have herein discharged mine own conscience toward the world, and I will write also my mind to her Grace, touching this matter."

The copy of which letter sent to the queen, ye shall find after in the end of his story. While he in this sort made his answer, ye heard before how Drs. Story and Martin divers times interrupted him with blasphemous talk, and would fain have had the bishop of Gloucester to put him to silence; who notwithstanding did not, but suffered him to end his tale at full. After this ye heard also how they proceeded to examine him of divers articles, whereof the chief was, that at the time of his creating archbishop of Canterbury, he was sworn to the pope, and had his institution and induction from him, and promised to maintain then the authority of that see; and therefore was perjured: wherefore he should rather stick to his first oath, and return to his old fold again, than to continue obstinately in an oath forced in the time of schism.

To that he answered, saving his protestation, (which term he used before all his answers,) that at such time Archbishop Warham died, he was ambassador in Germany for the king, who sent for him thereupon home; and having intelligence by some of his friends who were near about the king, how he meant to bestow the same bishopric upon him, and therefore counselled him in that case to make haste home, he, feeling in himself a great inability to such a promotion, and very sorry to leave his study, and especially considering by what means he must have it, which was clean against his conscience, which he could not utter without great peril and danger, devised an excuse to the king of matter of great importance, for the which his longer abode there should be most necessary, thinking by that means in his absence, that the king would have bestowed it upon some other, and so remained there, by that device, one half year after the king had written for him to come home. But after that no such matter fell out, as he seemed to make suspicion of, the king sent for him again; who, after his return, understanding still the archbishopric to be reserved for him, made means by divers of his best friends to shift it off, desiring rather some smaller living, that he might more quietly follow his book.

To be brief, when the king himself spake with him, declaring that his full intention, for his service' sake, and for the good opinion he conceived of him, was to bestow that dignity upon him, after long disabling of himself, perceiving he could by no persuasions alter the king's determination, he brake frankly his conscience with him, most humbly craving first his Grace's pardon, for that he should declare unto his Highness. Which obtained, he declared, that if he accepted the office, then he must receive it at the pope's hand, which he neither would nor could do, for that his Highness was only the supreme governor of this Church in England, as well in causes ecclesiastical as temporal; and that the full right and donation of all manner of bishoprics and benefices, as well as of any other temporal dignities and promotions, appertained to his Grace, and not to any other foreign authority, whatsoever it was; and therefore, if he might in that vocation serve God, him, and his country, seeing it was his pleasure so to have it, he would accept it, and receive it of his Majesty, and of none other stranger, who had no authority within this realm, neither in any such gift,

nor in any other thing. "Whereat the king," said he, "staying a while and musing, asked me how I was able to prove it. At which time I alleged many texts out of the Scriptures, and the fathers also, approving the supreme and highest authority of kings in their realms and dominions, disclosing therewithal the intolerable usurpation of the pope of Rome. Afterwards it pleased his Highness," quoth the archbishop, "many and sundry times to talk with me of it, and perceiving that I could not be brought to acknowledge the authority of the bishop of Rome, the king himself called Dr. Oliver, and other civil lawyers, and devised with them how he might bestow it upon me, enforcing me nothing against my conscience: who thereupon informed him, that I might do it by the way of protestation, and so one to be sent to Rome, who might take the oath, and do every thing in my name. Which when I understood, I said, he should do it, *super animam suam*: and I indeed *bona fide* made my protestation, that I did not acknowledge his authority any further than as it agreed with the express word of God, and that it might be lawful for me at all times to speak against him, and so to impugn his errors, when time and occasion should serve me. And this my protestation did I cause to be enrolled, and there I think it remaineth."

Then both the doctors professed it to be true that his protestation was enrolled, but said, it was a mere fraud of him. Then the Archbishop Cranmer asked them what he could do more in the case, who thereunto made him no answer at all. Many marvelled at this declaration of his, that so long ago, in so perilous a time, he had so sincerely proceeded; and that, even then, when he most might have advanced himself to honour and rule, which things chiefly men most desire in this world, he chose rather to venture the loss of his life, and all this glorious pomp, than to do any thing, for ambition's sake, that might once spot and stain his conscience. They charged him further that he had conspired with the duke of Northumberland for the disinheriting of the queen; whereunto he made answer as is contained in his letter written to the queen, the copy and tenor of which here followeth.

"Most lamentably mourning and moaning himself unto your Highness, Thomas Cranmer, although unworthy either to write or speak unto your Highness, yet, having no person that I know to be mediator for me, and knowing that your pitiful ears are ready to hear all pitiful complaints, -- and seeing so many before to have felt your abundant clemency in like case, -- I am now constrained most lamentably, and with most penitent and sorrowful heart, to ask mercy and pardon for my heinous folly and offence, in consenting to and following the testament and last will of our late sovereign lord King Edward the Sixth, your gracious brother; which will God knoweth, God He knoweth, I never liked, nor ever any thing grieved me so much, that your Grace's brother did; and if by any means it had been in me to have letted the making of that will, I would have done it. And what I said therein, as well to his council as to himself, divers of your Majesty's council can report; but not so well as the marquis of Northampton and the Lord Darcy, then lord chamberlain to the king's Majesty, which two were present at the communication between the king's Majesty and me.

"I desired to talk with the king's Majesty alone, but I could not be suffered: and so I failed of my purpose. For if I might have communed with the king alone, and at good leisure, my trust was that I should have altered him from that purpose; but, they being present, my pain was in vain. Then, when I could not dissuade him from the said will, and both he and his privy council informed me that the judges and his

learned council said, that notwithstanding the act of entailing of the crown, made by his father, yet that act could not be prejudicial to him, but that he, being in possession of the crown, might make his will thereof: this seemed very strange to me, but, it being the sentence of the judges and other his learned counsel in the laws of this realm, as both he and his counsel informed me, methought it became not me, being unlearned in the law, to stand against my prince therein. And so at length being required, by the king's Majesty himself, to set to my hand to his will, saying, that he trusted that I alone would not be more repugnant to his will than the rest of the council were; which words surely grieved my heart very sore, and so I granted him to subscribe his will and to follow the same; which when I had set my hand unto, I did it unfeignedly, without dissimulation. For the which I submit myself most humbly unto your Majesty, acknowledging mine offence with most grievous and sorrowful heart, and beseeching your mercy and pardon; which, my heart giveth me, shall not be denied unto me, being granted before to so many who travailed not so much to dissuade both the king and his council as I did.

"And whereas it is contained in two acts of parliament, as I understand, that I, with the duke of Northumberland, should devise and compass the deprivation of your Majesty from your royal crown, surely it is untrue: for, the duke never opened his mouth to me, to move me to any such matter, nor I him, nor was his heart such towards me, (seeking long time my destruction,) that he would either trust me in any such matter, or think that I would be persuaded by him. It was others of the council moved me, and the king himself, the duke of Northumberland not being present. Neither before, neither after, had I ever any privy communication with the duke of that matter, saving that openly at the council-table, the duke said unto me, that it became not me to say to the king as I did; when I went about to dissuade him from the said will.

"Now, as concerning the state of religion as it is used in this realm of England at this present, if it please your Highness to license me, I would gladly write my mind unto your Majesty. I will never, God willing, be author of sedition, to move subjects from the obedience of their heads and rulers, which it is an offence most detestable. If I have uttered my mind unto your Majesty, being a Christian queen and governor of this realm, (of whom I am most assuredly persuaded that your gracious intent is, above all things, to prefer God's true word, his honour and glory,) if I have uttered, I say, my mind unto your Majesty, then I shall think myself discharged. For it lieth not in me, but in your Grace only, to see the reformation of things that be amiss. To private subjects it appertaineth not to reform things, but quietly to suffer what they cannot amend; yet, nevertheless, to show your Majesty my mind in things appertaining unto God, methinks it my duty, knowing what I do, and considering the place which in times past I have occupied: yet will I not presume thereunto without your Grace's pleasure first known, and your licence obtained, whereof I, most humbly prostrate to the ground, do beseech your Majesty. And I shall not cease daily to pray to Almighty God for the good preservation of your Majesty from all enemies, bodily and ghostly, and for the increase of all goodness, heavenly and earthly, during my life, as I do and will do, whatsoever come of me."

And thus much concerning this letter sent to the queen: now to return to the story of the examination again.

They objected to him also that he was married, which he confessed. Whereupon Dr. Martin said, that his children were bondmen to the see of Canterbury. At which saying the archbishop smiled, and asked him if a priest at his benefice kept a concubine, and had by her bastards, whether they were bondmen to the benefice or no, saying, "I trust you will make my children's causes no worse."

After this Dr. Martin demanded of him, who was supreme head of the Church of England? "Marry," quoth my Lord of Canterbury, "Christ is head of this member, as he is of the whole body of the universal church." "Why," quoth Dr. Martin, "you made King Henry the Eighth supreme head of the church." "Yea," said the archbishop, "of all the people of England, as well ecclesiastical as temporal." "And not of the church?" said Martin. "No," said he, "for Christ is only the head of his church, and of the faith and religion of the same. The king is head and governor of his people, which are the visible church." "What?" quoth Martin; "you never durst tell the king so." "Yes, that I durst," quoth he, "and did in the publication of his style, wherein he was named supreme head of the church; there was never other thing meant." A number of other fond and foolish objections were made, with repetition whereof I thought not to trouble the reader.

Thus after they had received his answers to all their objections, they cited him (as is aforesaid) to appear at Rome within fourscore days, to make there his personal answers: which he said, if the king and queen would send him, he would be content to do. And so thence he was carried to prison again, where he continually remained, notwithstanding that he was commanded to appear at Rome. Wherein all men that have eyes to see, may easily perceive the crafty practice of these prelates, and the visored face of their justice, as though the court of Rome would condemn no man before he answered for himself, as all law and equity required. But the very same instant time, the holiness of that unholy father, contrary to all reason and justice, sent his letter executory unto the king and queen to degrade and deprive him of his dignity: which thing he did not only before the eighty days were ended, but before there were twenty days spent! Furthermore, whereas the said archbishop was first detained in strait prison, so that he could not appear, (as was notorious both in England and also in the Romish court,) and therefore had a lawful and most just excuse of his absence by all laws, both popish and other: yet in the end of the said fourscore days, was that worthy martyr decreed *contumax*, that is, sturdily, frowardly, and wilfully absent, and in pain of the same his absence condemned, and put to death.

Dr. Thirleby, and Dr. Bonner, coming with a new commission to sit upon the archbishop the fourteenth day of February.

This letter or sentence definitive of the pope, was dated about the first day of January, and was delivered here in England about the midst of February. Upon the receipt of which letters another session was appointed for the archbishop to appear the fourteenth day of February, before certain commissioners directed down by the queen, the chief whereof was the bishop of Ely, Dr. Thirleby. Concerning which Dr. Thirleby by the way here is to be noted, that albeit he was not the said archbishop's household chaplain, yet he was so familiarly acquainted with him, so dearly beloved, so inwardly accepted and advanced of him, (not like a chaplain, but rather like a natural brother,)

that there was never any thing in the archbishop's house so dear, were it plate, jewels, horse, maps, books, or any thing else, but if Thirleby did never so little commend it, (a subtle kind of begging,) the archbishop by and by, either gave it to him, or else sent it after him to his house: so greatly was the archbishop enamoured with him, that whosoever would obtain any thing of him, most commonly would make their way before by Dr. Thirleby. This by-matter of the said Dr. Thirleby I thought here to recite; not so much to upbraid the man with the vice of un-thankfulness, as chiefly and only for this, to admonish him of old benefits received, whereby he may the better remember his old benefactor; and so to favour the cause and quarrel of him whom he was so singularly bounden unto.

With the said Dr. Thirleby, bishop of Ely, was also assigned in the same commission Dr. Bonner, bishop of London, which two, coming to Oxford upon St. Valentine's day, as the pope's delegates, with a new commission from Rome, by the virtue thereof commanded the archbishop aforesaid to come before them, in the choir of Christ's church, before the high altar, where they sitting (according to their manner) in their pontificalibus, first began, as the fashion is, to read their commission; wherein was contained, how that in the court of Rome all things being indifferently examined, both the articles laid to his charge, with the answers made unto them, and witnesses examined on both parts, and counsel heard as well on the king and queen's behalf, his accusers, as on the behalf of Thomas Cranmer, the party guilty, so that he wanted nothing appertaining to his necessary defence, &c. Which fore-said commission, as it was in reading, "O Lord," said the archbishop, "what lies be these, that I, being continually in prison, and never could be suffered to have counsel or advocate at home, should produce witness and appoint my counsel at Rome? God must needs punish this open and shameless lying." They read on the commission which came from the pope, *plenitudine potestatis*, supplying all manner of defects in law or process committed in dealing with the archbishop, and giving them full authority to proceed to deprivation and degradation of him, and so upon excommunication to deliver him up to the secular power.

When the commission was read thus, they proceeding thereupon to his degradation, first clothed and disguised him, putting on him a surplice, and then an albe; after that the vestment of a sub-deacon, and every other furniture, as a priest ready to mass.

When they had apparelled him so far, "What," said he, "I think I shall say mass." "Yea," said Cosins, one of Bonner's chaplains, "my Lord, I trust to see you say mass for all this." "Do you so?" quoth he; "that shall you never see, nor will I ever do it."

Then they invested him in all manner of robes of a bishop and archbishop, as he is at his installing, saving that as every thing then is most rich and costly, so every thing in this was of canvass and old clouts, with a mitre and a pall of the same suit done upon him in mockery; and then the crosier-staff was put in his hand.

This done after the pope's pontifical form and manner, Bonner, who by the space of many years had borne, as it seemed, no great good will towards him, and now rejoiced to see this day wherein he might triumph over him, and take his pleasure

at full, began to stretch out his eloquence, making his oration to the assembly after this manner of sort.

"This is the man that hath ever despised the pope's Holiness, and now is to be judged by him: this is the man that hath pulled down so many churches, and now is come to be judged in a church: this is the man that contemned the blessed sacrament of the altar, and now is come to be condemned before that blessed sacrament hanging over the altar: this is the man that like Lucifer sat in the place of Christ upon an altar to judge others, and now is come before an altar to be judged himself."

Whereunto the archbishop interrupting him said, that in that he belied him, as he did in many other things; for that which he would now seem to charge him withal, was his own fault, if it was any, and none of his: "for the thing you mean was in Paul's church," said he, "where I came to sit in commission, and there was a scaffold prepared for me and others, by you and your officers. And whether there were any altar under it or not, I could not perceive it, nor once suspected it, wherefore you do wittingly evil, to charge me with it."

But Bonner went on still in his rhetorical repetition, lying and railing against the archbishop, beginning every sentence with, "This is the man, this is the man," till at length there was never a man but was weary of his unmannerly usage of him in that time and place: insomuch that the bishop of Ely, aforesaid, divers times pulled him by the sleeve to make an end, and said to him afterward, when they went to dinner, that he had broken promise with him; for he had entreated him earnestly to use him with reverence.

After all this done and finished, they began then to bustle toward his degrading, and first to take from him his crosier-staff out of his hands, which he held fast and refused to deliver, and withal, imitating the example of Martin Luther, pulled an appeal out of his left sleeve under the wrist, which he there and then delivered unto them, saying, "I appeal to the next general council; and herein I have comprehended my cause and form of it, which I desire may be admitted; "and prayed divers of the standers-by, by name, to be witnesses, and especially Master Curtop, to whom he spake twice, &c.

The copy of which his appellation, because it was not printed before, I thought here to exhibit, *ad rei memoriam*, as in form here followeth.

"In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

"First, my plain protestation made, that I intend to speak nothing against one holy catholic and apostolical church, or the authority thereof (the which authority I have in great reverence, and to whom my mind is in all things to obey); and if any thing peradventure, either by slipperiness of tongue, or by indignation of abuses, or else by the provocation of mine adversaries, be spoken or done otherwise than well, or not with such reverence as becometh me, I am most ready to amend it.

"Although the bishop of Rome (whom they call pope) beareth the room of Christ in earth, and hath authority of God, yet by that power or authority he is not become unsinnable, neither hath he received that power to destroy, but to edify the

congregation. Therefore if he shall command any thing that is not right to be done, he ought to take it patiently and in good part, in case he be not therein obeyed. And he must not be obeyed, if he command any thing against the precepts of God: no, rather he may lawfully be resisted, even as Paul withstood Peter. And if he, being aided by help of princes, deceived perchance by false suggestion or with evil counsel, cannot be resisted, but the remedies of withstanding him be taken away, there is nevertheless one remedy of appealing (which no prince can take away) uttered by the very law of nature: forasmuch as it is a certain defence, which is meet for every body by the law of God, of nature, and of man.

"And whereas the laws do permit a man to appeal, not only from the griefs and injuries done, but also from such as shall be done hereafter, or threatened to be done, insomuch that the inferior cannot make laws of not appealing to a superior power; and since it is openly enough confessed, that a holy general council, lawfully gathered together in the Holy Ghost, and representing the holy catholic church, is above the pope, especially in matters concerning faith; that he cannot make decrees that men shall not appeal from him to a general council: therefore I, Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, or in time past ruler of the metropolitan church of Canterbury, doctor in divinity, do say and publish before you the public notary, and witnesses here present, with mind and intent to challenge and appeal from the persons and griefs underneath written, and to proffer myself, in place and time convenient and meet, to prove the articles that follow. And I openly confess, that I would lawfully have published them before this day, if I might have had either liberty to come abroad myself, or licence of a notary and witnesses. But further than I am able to do, I know well is not required of the laws.

"First, I say and publish, that James, by the mercy of God priest, called cardinal of the Pit, and of the title of our Lady in the way of the Church of Rome, judge and commissary specially deputed of our most holy lord the pope, (as he affirmed,) caused me to be cited to Rome, there to appear fourscore days after the citation served on me, to make answer to certain articles touching the peril of my state and life: and whereas I was kept in prison with most strait ward, so that I could in no wise be suffered to go to Rome, nor to come out of prison, (and in so grievous causes concerning state and life, no man is bound to send a proctor,) and though I would never so fain send my proctor, yet by reason of poverty I am not able, (for all that ever I had, wherewith I should bear my proctor's costs and charges, is quite taken from me,) nevertheless the most reverend cardinal aforesaid doth sore threaten me, that whether I shall appear or not, he will nevertheless yet proceed in judgment against me. Wherein I feel myself so grieved, that nothing can be imagined more mischievous or further from reason.

"Secondly, The reverend father, James Brooks, by the mercy of God bishop of Gloucester, judge and under-deputy (as he affirmeth) of the most reverend cardinal, caused me to be cited at Oxford, (where I was then kept in prison,) to answer to certain articles, concerning the danger of my state and life. And when I, being unlearned and ignorant in the laws, desired counsel of the learned in the law, that thing was most unrighteously denied me, contrary to the equity of all laws both of God and man. Wherein again I feel me most wrongfully grieved.

"Thirdly, And when I refused the said bishop of Gloucester to be my judge, for most just causes, which I then declared, he nevertheless went on still, and made process against me, contrary to the rule of the laws of appealing, which say, 'A judge that is refused ought not to proceed in the cause, but to leave off.' And when he had required of me answers to certain articles, I refused to make him any answer: I said, I would yet gladly make answer to the most renowned king and queen's deputies or attorneys then present, with this condition notwithstanding, that mine answer should be extra judicial: and that was permitted me. And with this my protestation made and admitted, I made answer. But mine answer was sudden and unprovided for; and therefore I desired to have a copy of mine answers, that I might put to, take away, change, and amend them; and this was also permitted me. Nevertheless, contrary to his promise made unto me, no respect had to my protestation, nor licence given to amend mine answer, the said reverend father, bishop of Gloucester, (as I hear,) commanded mine answers to be enacted, contrary to the equity of the law. In which thing again I feel me much grieved.

"Fourthly, Furthermore, I could not for many causes admit the bishop of Rome's usurped authority in this realm, nor consent to it, for my solemn oath letting me, which I made in the time of King Henry the Eighth, of most famous memory, according to the laws of England: secondly, because I knew the authority of the bishop of Rome, which he usurpeth, to be against the crown, customs, and laws of this realm of England, insomuch that neither the king can be crowned in this realm, without the most grievous crime of perjury; nor may bishops enjoy their bishoprics, nor judgments to be used according to the laws and customs of this realm; except, by the bishop of Rome's authority, be accursed both the king and queen, the judges, writers, and executors of the laws and customs, with all that consent to them. Finally, the whole realm shall be accursed.

"Fifthly, Moreover, that heinous and usurped authority of the bishop of Rome, through reservations of the bishoprics, provisions, annuities, dispensations, pardons, appellations, bulls, and other cursed merchandise of Rome, was wont exceedingly to spoil and consume the riches and substance of this realm; all which things should follow again by recognising and receiving of that usurped authority, unto the unmeasurable loss of this realm.

"Sixthly, Finally, it is most evident by that usurped authority, not only the crown of England to be under yoke, the laws and customs of this realm to be thrown down and trodden under foot, but also the most holy decrees of councils, together with the precepts both of the gospel and of God.

"When in times past, the Sun of Righteousness being risen in the world, Christian religion by the preaching of the apostles began to be spread very far abroad, and to flourish, insomuch that their sound went out into all the world; innumerable people which walked in darkness, saw a great light; God's glory every where published did flourish; the only care and cure of the ministers of the church was purely and sincerely to preach Christ; the people to embrace and follow Christ's doctrine. Then the Church of Rome, as it were lady of the world, both was, and also was counted worthily, the mother of other churches, forasmuch as then she, first begat to Christ, nourished with the food of pure doctrine, did help them with their riches, succoured the oppressed, and was a sanctuary for the miserable; she rejoiced with

them that rejoiced, and wept with them that wept. Then by the examples of the bishops of Rome, riches were despised, worldly glory and pomp were trodden under foot, pleasures and riot nothing regarded. Then this frail and uncertain life, being full of all miseries, was laughed to scorn, while through the example of Romish martyrs, men did every where press forward to the life to come. But afterwards, when the ungraciousness of damnable ambition, never-satisfied avarice, and the horrible enormity of vices, had corrupted and taken the see of Rome; there followed, every where almost, the deformities of all churches, growing out of kind into the manners of the church their mother, leaving their former innocency and purity, and slipping into foul and heinous usages.

"For the aforesaid and many other griefs and abuses, (which I intend to prove, and do proffer myself in time convenient to prove hereafter,) since reformation of the above-mentioned abuses is not to be looked for of the bishop of Rome, neither can I hope, by reason of his wicked abuses and usurped authority, to have him an equal judge in his own cause; therefore I do challenge and appeal in these writings from the pope, having no good counsel, and from the above-named pretences, commissions, and judges, from their citations, processes, and from all other things that have or shall follow thereupon, and from every one of them; and from all their sentences, censures, pains, and punishments of cursing, suspension, and interdicting, and from all others whatsoever their denouncings and declarations (as they pretend) of schism, of heresy, adultery, deprivation, degrading by them or by any of them, in any manner-wise attempted, done, and set forward, and to be attempted to be done and to be set forward hereafter, (saving always their Honours and Reverences,) as unequal and unrighteous, most tyrannical and violent, and from every grief to come, which shall happen to me, as well for myself as for all and every one that cleaveth to me, or will hereafter be on my side -- unto a free general council, that shall hereafter lawfully be, and in a sure place, to the which place I, or a proctor deputed by me, may freely and with safety come, and to him or them, to whom a man may, by the law, privilege, custom, or otherwise, challenge and appeal.



Dr. Cranmer on Trial

And I desire the first, the second, and third time, instantly, more instantly, and most instantly, that I may have messengers, if there be any man that will and can give me them. And I make open promise of prosecuting this mine appellation, by the way of disannulling abuse, inequality, and unrighteousness, or otherwise as I shall be better able: choice and liberty reserved to me, to put to, diminish, change, correct, and interpret my sayings, and to reform all things after a better fashion, saving always to me every other benefit of the law, and to them that either be, or will be, on my part.

"And touching my doctrine of the sacrament, and other my doctrine, of what kind soever it be, I protest that it was never my mind to write, speak, or understand any thing contrary to the most holy word of God, or else against the holy catholic church of Christ, but purely and simply to imitate and teach those things only, which I had learned of the sacred Scripture, and of the holy catholic church of Christ from the beginning, and also according to the exposition of the most holy and learned fathers and martyrs of the church.

"And if any thing hath peradventure chanced otherwise than I thought, I may err, but heretic I cannot be, forasmuch as I am ready in all things to follow the judgment of the most sacred word of God, and of the holy catholic church; desiring none other thing than meekly and gently to be taught, if any where (which God forbid) I have swerved from the truth.

"And I protest and openly confess, that in all my doctrine and preaching, both of the sacrament, and of other my doctrine, whatsoever it be, not only I mean and judge those things, as the catholic church, and the most holy fathers of old, with one accord have meant and judged; but also I would gladly use the same words that they used, and not use any other words, but to set my hand to all and singular their speeches, phrases, ways, and forms of speech, which they do use in their treatises upon the sacrament, and to keep still their interpretation. But in this thing I only am accused for a heretic, because I allow not the doctrine lately brought in of the sacrament, and because I consent not to words not accustomed in Scripture, and unknown to the ancient fathers, but newly invented and brought in by men, and belonging to the destruction of souls, and overthrowing of the pure and old religion. -- Given," &c.

This appeal being put up to Thirleby, the bishop of Ely, he said, "My Lord, our commission is to proceed against you, all appeal being removed, and therefore we cannot admit it."

"Why," quoth he, "then you do me the more wrong; for my case is not as every private man's case. The matter is between the pope and me immediate, and none otherwise: and I think no man ought to be a judge in his own cause."

"Well," quoth Ely, "if it may be admitted, it shall," and so received it of him. And then began he to persuade earnestly with the archbishop to consider his state, and to weigh it well, while there was time to do him good, promising to become a suitor to the king and queen for him: and so protested his great love and friendship that had been between them, heartily weeping, so that for a time he could not go on with his tale. After going forward, he earnestly affirmed, that if it had not been the king and queen's commandment, whom he could not deny, else no worldly commodity should have made him to have done it; concluding that, to be one of the sorrowfullest things that ever happened unto him. The archbishop gently seeming to comfort him, said, he was very well content withal. And so proceeded they to his degradation.

Here then, to be short, when they came to take off his pall, (which is a solemn vesture of an archbishop,) then said he, "Which of you hath a pall, to take off my pall;" which imported as much as they, being his inferiors, could not degrade him. Whereunto one of them said, in that they were but bishops, they were his inferiors, and not competent judges; but being the pope's delegates, they might take his pall. And so they did, and so proceeding took every thing in order from him, as it was put on. Then a barber clipped his hair round about, and the bishop scraped the tops of his fingers where he had been anointed, wherein Bishop Bonner behaved himself as roughly and unmannerly, as the other bishop was to him soft and gentle. Whilst they were thus doing, "All this," quoth the archbishop, "needed not; I had myself done with this gear long ago." Last of all they stripped him out of his gown into his jacket, and put upon him a poor yeoman-beadle's gown, full bare and nearly worn, and as evil-favouredly made as one might lightly see, and a townsman's cap on his head; and so delivered him to the secular power.

After this pageant of degradation, and all was finished, then spake Lord Bonner, saying to him, "Now are you no lord any more." And so when soever he spake to the people of him, (as he was continually barking against him,) ever he used

this term, "This gentleman here," &c. And thus, with great compassion and pity of every man, in this evil-favoured gown was he carried to prison: whom there followed a gentleman of Gloucestershire with the archbishop's own gown, who, standing by, and being thought to be toward one of the bishops, had it delivered unto him, who by the way talking with him, said the bishop of Ely protested his friendship with tears. "Yet," said he, "he might have used a great deal more friendship towards me, and never have been the worse thought on, for I have well deserved it." And going into the prison up with him, asked him if he would drink; who answered him, saying, if he had a piece of salt fish, that he had better will to eat; for he had been that day somewhat troubled with this matter, and had eaten little: "but now that it is past, my heart," said he, "is well quieted." Whereupon the gentleman said, he would give him money with all his heart, for he was able to do it. But he, being one toward the law, and fearing Master Farmer's case, durst therefore give him nothing, but gave money to the bailiffs that stood by, and said, that if they were good men, they would bestow it on him, "for my Lord of Canterbury had not one penny in his purse to help him," and so left him; my Lord bidding him earnestly farewell, commending himself to his prayers and all his friends. That night this gentleman was stayed by Bonner and Ely, for giving him this money, and but for the help of friends he had been sent up to the council. Such was the cruelty and iniquity of the time, that men could not do good without punishment.

In this mean time, while the archbishop was thus remaining in durance, (whom they had kept now in prison almost the space of three years,) the doctors and divines of Oxford busied themselves all that ever they could about Master Cranmer, to have him recant, essaying by all crafty practices and allurements they might devise, how to bring their purpose to pass. And to the intent they might win him easily, they had him to the dean's house of Christ's church in the said university, where he lacked no delicate fare, played at the bowls, had his pleasure for walking, and all other things that might bring him from Christ. Over and besides all this, secretly and sleightly they suborned certain men, which when they could not expugn him by arguments and disputation, should by entreaty and fair promises, or any other means, allure him to recantation; perceiving otherwise what a great wound they should receive, if the archbishop had stood stedfast in his sentence: and again on the other side, how great profit they should get, if he, as the principal standard-bearer, should be overthrown. By reason whereof the wily papists flocked about him, with threatening, flattering, entreating, and promising, and all other means; specially Henry Sydal, and Friar John, a Spaniard de Villa Garcia, to the end to drive him, to the uttermost of their possibility, from his former sentence to recantation.

First, they set forth how acceptable it would be both to the king and queen, and especially how gainful to him, and for his soul's health, the same should be. They added moreover, how the council and the noblemen bare him good will. They put him in hope, that he should not only have his life, but also be restored to his ancient dignity, saying it was but a small matter, and so easy that they required him to do, only that he would subscribe to a few words with his own hand; which if he did, there should be nothing in the realm that the queen would not easily grant him, whether he would have riches or dignity; or else if he had rather live a private life in quiet rest, in whatsoever place he listed, without all public ministry, only that he would set his name in two words to a little leaf of paper. Bur if he refused, there was no hope of health and pardon; for the queen was so purposed, that she would have Cranmer a

catholic, or else no Cranmer at all. Therefore he should choose whether he thought it better to end his life shortly in the flames and fire-brands now ready to be kindled, than with much honour to prolong his life, until the course of nature did call him; for there was no middle way.

Moreover, they exhorted him that he would look to his wealth, his estimation and quietness, saying, that he was not so old, but that many years yet remained in this his so lusty age; and if he would not do it in respect of the queen, yet he should do it for respect of his life, and not suffer that other men should be more careful for his health, than he was himself: saying, that this was agreeable to his notable learning and virtues, which, being adjoined with his life, would be profitable both to himself and to many others; but, being extinct by death, should be fruitful to no man: that he should take good heed that he went not too far; yet there was time enough to restore all things safe, and nothing wanted, if he wanted not to himself. Therefore they would him to lay hold upon the occasion of his health, while it was offered, lest, if he would now refuse it while it was offered, he might hereafter seek it, when he could not have it.

Finally, if the desire of life did nothing move him, yet he should remember that to die is grievous in all ages, and especially in these his years and flower of dignity it were more grievous; but to die in the fire and such torments, is most grievous of all. With these and like provocations, these fair flatterers ceased not to solicit and urge him, using all means they could to draw him to their side; whose force his manly constancy did a great while resist. But at last, when they made no end of calling and crying upon him, the archbishop, being overcome, whether through their importunity, or by his own imbecility, or of what mind I cannot tell, at length gave his hand.

It might be supposed that it was done for the hope of life, and better days to come; but, as we may since perceive by the letter of his sent to a lawyer, the most cause why he desired his time to be delayed, was that he would make an end of Marcus Antonius, which he had already begun. But howsoever it was, plain it was, to be against his conscience. But so it pleaseth God, that so great virtues in this archbishop should not be had in too much admiration of us without some blemish, or else that the falsehood of the popish generation, by this means, might be made more evident, or else to minish the confidence of our own strength, that in him should appear an example of man's weak imbecility. The form of which recantation made by the friars and doctors, whereto he subscribed, was this:

"I, Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury, do renounce, abhor, and detest all manner of heresies and errors of Luther and Zuinglius, and all other teachings which be contrary to sound and true doctrine. And I believe most constantly in, my heart, and with my mouth I confess, one holy and catholic church visible, without the which there is no salvation; and thereof I acknowledge the bishop of Rome to be supreme head in earth, whom I acknowledge to be the highest bishop and pope, and Christ's vicar, unto whom all Christian people ought to be subject.

"And as concerning the sacraments, I believe and worship in the sacrament of the altar the very body and blood of Christ, being contained most truly under the forms of bread and wine; the bread through the mighty power of God being turned into the body of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and the wine into his blood.

"And in the other six sacraments also, like as in this, I believe and hold as the universal church holdeth, and the Church of Rome judgeth and determineth.

"Furthermore, I believe that there is a place of purgatory, where souls departed be punished for a time, for whom the church doth godly and wholesomely pray, like as it doth honour saints and make prayers to them.

"Finally, in all things I profess, that I do not otherwise believe, than the catholic church and Church of Rome holdeth and teacheth: I am sorry that ever I held or thought otherwise. And I beseech Almighty God, that of his mercy he will vouchsafe to forgive me, whatsoever I have offended against God or his church; and also I desire and beseech all Christian people to pray for me. And all such as have been deceived either by mine example or doctrine, I require them by the blood of Jesus Christ, that they will return to the unity of the church, that we may be all of one mind, without schism or division.

"And to conclude, as I submit myself to the catholic church of Christ, and to the supreme head thereof, so I submit myself unto the most excellent Majesties of Philip and Mary, king and queen of this realm of England, &c., and to all other their laws and ordinances, being ready always as a faithful subject ever to obey them. And God is my witness, that I have not done this for favour or fear of any person, but willingly, and of mine own mind, as well to the discharge of mine own conscience, as to the instruction of others."

This recantation of the archbishop was not so soon conceived, but the doctors and prelates without delay caused the same to be imprinted, and set abroad in all men's hands; whereunto, for better credit, first was added the name of Thomas Cranmer, with a solemn subscription; then followed the witnesses of this recantation, Henry Sydal and Friar John de Villa Garcia. All this while Cranmer was in uncertain assurance of his life, although the same was faithfully promised to him by the doctors; but after that they had their purpose, the rest they committed to all adventure, as became men of that religion to do. The queen, having now gotten a time to revenge her old grief, received his recantation very gladly; but of her purpose to put him to death, she would nothing relent.

Now was Cranmer's cause in a miserable taking, who neither inwardly had any quietness in his own conscience, nor yet outwardly any help in his adversaries.

Besides this, on the one side was praise, on the other side scorn, on both sides danger, so that neither he could die honestly, nor yet dishonestly live. And whereas he sought profit, he fell into double disprofit, that neither with good men he could avoid secret shame, nor yet with evil men the note of dissimulation.

In the mean time, while these things were adoring (as I said) in the prison amongst the doctors, the queen, taking secret counsel how to despatch Cranmer out of the way, (who as yet knew nothing of her secret hate, and looked for nothing less, than death,) appointed Dr. Cole, and secretly gave him in commandment, that against the twenty-first of March, he should prepare a funeral sermon for Cranmer's burning; and, so instructing him orderly and diligently of her will and pleasure in that behalf, sendeth him away.

Soon after, the Lord Williams of Thame, and the Lord Chandos, Sir Thomas Bridges, and Sir John Brown, were sent for, with other worshipful men and justices, commanded in the queen's name to be at Oxford at the same day, with their servants and retinue, lest Cranmer's death should raise there any tumult.

Cole the doctor having this lesson given him before, and charged by her commandment, returned to Oxford, ready to play his part; who, as the day of execution drew near, even the day before, came into the prison to Cranmer, to try whether he abode in the catholic faith wherein before he had left him. To whom, when Cranmer had answered, that by God's grace he would daily be more confirmed in the catholic faith; Cole, departing for that time, the next day following repaired to the archbishop again, giving no signification as yet of his death that was prepared. And therefore in the morning, which was the twenty-first day of March, appointed for Cranmer's execution, the said Cole, coming to him, asked if he had any money; to whom when he answered that he had none, he delivered him fifteen crowns to give to the poor to whom he would: and so exhorting him so much as he could to constancy in faith, departed thence about his business, as to his sermon appertained.

By this partly, and other like arguments, the archbishop began more and more to surmise what they went about. Then because the day was not far past, and the lords and knights that were looked for were not yet come, there came to him the Spanish friar, witness of his recantation, bringing a paper with articles, which Cranmer should openly profess in his recantation before the people, earnestly desiring him that he would write the said instrument with the articles with his own hand, and sign it with his name: which when he had done, the said friar desired that he would write another copy thereof which should remain with him; and that he did also. But yet the archbishop being not ignorant whereunto their secret devices tended, and thinking that the time was at hand in which he could no longer dissemble the profession of his faith with Christ's people, he put secretly in his bosom his prayer with his exhortation written in another paper, which he minded to recite to the people, before he should make the last profession of his faith, fearing lest, if they had heard the confession of his faith first, they would not afterward have suffered him to exhort the people.

Soon after, about nine of the clock, the Lord Williams, Sir Thomas Bridges, Sir John Brown, and the other justices, with certain other noblemen that were sent of the queen's council, came to Oxford with a great train of waiting men. Also of the other multitude on every side (as is wont in such a matter) was made a great concourse, and greater expectation. For first of all, they that were of the pope's side were in great hope that day to hear something of Cranmer that should stablish the vanity of their opinion: the other part, which were endued with a better mind, could not yet doubt, that he which by continual study and labour for so many years had set forth the doctrine of the gospel, either would or could now in the last act of his life forsake his part. Briefly, as every man's will inclined either to this part or to that, so, according to the diversity of their desires, every man wished and hoped for. And yet, because in an uncertain thing the certainty could be known of none what would be the end, all their minds were hanging between hope and doubt. So that the greater the expectation was in so doubtful a matter, the more was the multitude that was gathered thither to hear and behold.

In this so great frequency and expectation, Cranmer at length cometh from the prison of Bocardo unto St. Mary's church, (the chief church in the university,) because it was a foul and rainy day, in this order: the mayor went before; next him the aldermen in their place and degree; after them was Cranmer brought between two friars, who, mumbling to and fro

certain psalms in the streets, answered one another until they came to the church door, and there they began the song of Simeon, *Nunc dimittis*, and entering into the church, the psalmsaying friars brought him to his standing, and there left him. There was a stage set over against the pulpit, of a mean height from the ground, where Cranmer had his standing, waiting until Cole made him ready to his sermon.

The lamentable case and sight of that man gave a sorrowful spectacle to all Christian eyes that beheld him. He that late was archbishop, metropolitan, and primate of England, and the king's privy councillor, being now in a bare and ragged gown and illfavouredly clothed, with an old square cap, exposed to the contempt of all men, did admonish men not only of his own calamity, but also of their state and fortune. For who would not pity his case, and bewail his fortune, and might not fear his own chance, to see such a prelate, so grave a councillor, and of so longcontinued honour, after so many dignities, in his old years to be deprived of his estate, adjudged to die, and in so painful a death to end his life, and now presently from such fresh ornaments, to descend to such vile and ragged apparel?

In this habit, when he had stood a good space upon the stage, turning to a pillar near adjoining thereunto, he lifted up his hands to heaven, and prayed unto God once or twice, till at the length Dr. Cole coming into the pulpit, and beginning his sermon, entered first into mention of Tobias and Zachary. Whom after he had praised in the beginning of his sermon for their perseverance in the true worshipping of God, he then divided his whole sermon into three parts, (according to the solemn custom of the schools,) intending to speak, first, of the mercy of God: secondly, of his justice to be showed: and last of all, how the prince's secrets are not to be opened. And proceeding a little from the beginning, he took occasion by and by to turn his tale to Cranmer, and with many hot words reproved him, that once he, being indued with the favour and feeling of wholesome and catholic doctrine, fell into the contrary opinion of pernicious error; which he had not only defended by writings, and all his power, but also allured other men to do the like, with great liberality of gifts, as it were appointing rewards for error; and after he had allured them, by all means did cherish them.

It were too long to repeat all things, that in long order were pronounced. The sum of his tripartite declamation was, that he said God's mercy was so tempered with his justice, that he did not altogether require punishment according to the merits of offenders, nor yet sometimes suffered the same altogether to go unpunished, yea, though they had repented. As in David, who when he was bidden choose of three kinds of punishment which he would, and he had chosen pestilence for three days; the Lord forgave him half the time, but did not release all: and that the same thing came to pass in him also, to whom although pardon and reconciliation was due according to the canons, seeing he repented him of his errors, yet there were causes why the queen and the council at this time judged him to death; of which, lest he should marvel too much, he should hear some. First, that being a traitor, he had dissolved the lawful matrimony between the king her father, and [her] mother; besides the driving out of the pope's authority, while he was metropolitan. Secondly, that he had been a heretic, from whom, as from an author and only fountain, all heretical doctrine and schismatical opinions that so many years have prevailed in England did first rise and spring; of which he had not been a secret favourer only, but also a most earnest defender even to the end of his life, sowing them abroad by writings and arguments, privately and openly, not without great ruin and decay of the catholic church. And further, it seemed meet, according to the law of equality, that as the death of the duke of Northumberland of late, made even with Thomas More, chancellor, that died for the church, so there should be one that should make even with

Fisher of Rochester; and because that Ridley, Hooper, Ferrar, were not able to make even with that man, it seemed meet that Cranmer should be joined to them to fill up their part of equality.

Besides these there were other just and weighty causes, which seemed to the queen and council, which were not meet at that time to be opened to the common people.

After this, turning his tale to the hearers, he bade all men beware by this man's example, that among men nothing is so high, that can promise itself safety on the earth, and that God's vengeance is equally stretched against all men, and spareth none: therefore they should beware and learn to fear their prince. And seeing the queen's Majesty would not spare so notable a man as this, much less in the like cause she would spare other men; that no man should think to make thereby any defence of his error, either in riches or any kind of authority. They had now an example to teach them all, by whose calamity every man might consider his own fortune; who, from the top of dignity, none being more honourable than he in the whole realm, and next the king, was fallen into so great misery, as they might now see, being a man of so high degree, sometime one of the chiefest prelates in the church, and an archbishop, the chief of the council, the second person in the realm of long time, a man thought in greatest assurance, having a king on his side; notwithstanding all his authority and defence, to be debased from high estate to a low degree, of a councillor to become a caitiff, and to be set in so wretched a state, that the poorest wretch would not change condition with him: briefly, so heaped with misery on all sides, that neither was left in him any hope of better fortune, nor place for worse.

The latter part of his sermon he converted to the archbishop, whom he comforted and encouraged to take his death well, by many places of Scripture, as with these and such like; bidding him not to mistrust, but he should incontinently receive that the thief did, to whom Christ said, This day thou shalt be with me in paradise: and out of St. Paul he armed him against the terror of the fire, by this, The Lord is faithful, which will not suffer you to be tempted above your strength: by the example of the three children, to whom God made the flame to seem like a pleasant dew: adding also the rejoicing of St. Andrew in his cross, the patience of St. Laurence on the fire; assuring him, that God, if he called on him, and to such as die in his faith, either would abate the fury of the flame, or give him strength to abide it.

He glorified God much in his conversion, because it appeared to be only his work, declaring what travail and conference had been with him to convert him, and all prevailed not, till that it pleased God of his mercy to reclaim him, and call him home. In discoursing of which place, he much commended Cranmer, and qualified his former doings, thus tempering his judgment and talk of him, that all the time (said he) he flowed in riches and honour, he was unworthy of his life; and now that he might not live, he was unworthy of death. But lest he should carry with him no comfort, he would diligently labour, (he said,) and also he did promise in the name of all the priests that were present, that immediately after his death there should be diriges, masses, and funerals executed for him in all the churches of Oxford for the succour of his soul.

Cranmer in all this mean time, with what great grief of mind he stood hearing this sermon, the outward shows of his body and countenance did better express, than any man can declare; one while lifting up his hands and eyes unto heaven, and then again for shame letting them down to the earth. A man might have seen the very image and shape of perfect sorrow

lively in him expressed. More than twenty several times the tears gushed out abundantly, dropping down marvellously from his fatherly face. They which were present do testify that they never saw in any child more tears, than burst out from him at that time, all the sermon while; but especially when he recited his prayer before the people. It is marvellous what commiseration and pity moved all men's hearts, that beheld so heavy a countenance, and such abundance of tears in an old man of so reverend dignity.

Cole, after he had ended his sermon, called back the people that were ready to depart, to prayers. "Brethren," said he, "lest any man should doubt of this man's earnest conversion and repentance, you shall hear him speak before you; and therefore I pray you, Master Cranmer, that you will now perform that you promised not long ago, namely, that you would openly express the true and undoubted profession of your faith, that you may take away all suspicion from men, and that all men may understand that you are a catholic indeed." "I will do it," said the archbishop, "and that with a good will; "who by and by rising up, and putting off his cap, began to speak thus unto the people: "I desire you, wellbeloved brethren in the Lord, that you will pray to God for me, to forgive me my sins, which above all men, both in number and greatness, I have committed. But among all the rest, there is one offence which most of all at this time doth vex and trouble me, whereof in process of my talk you shall hear more in its proper place." And then, putting his hand into his bosom, he drew forth his prayer, which he recited to the people in his sense.

Cranmer.—"Good Christian people, my dearly-beloved brethren and sisters in Christ, I beseech you most heartily to pray for me to Almighty God, that he will forgive me all my sins and offences, which be many without number, and great above measure. But yet one thing grieveth my conscience more than all the rest, whereof, God willing, I intend to speak more hereafter. But how great and how many soever my sins be, I beseech you to pray God of his mercy to pardon and forgive them al."

And here kneeling down he said,

Cranmer.—"O Father of heaven, O Son of God, Redeemer of the world, O Holy Ghost, three persons and one God, have mercy upon me most wretched caitiff and miserable sinner. I have offended both against heaven and earth, more than my tongue can express. Whither then may I go, or whither shall I flee? To heaven I may be ashamed to lift up mine eyes, and in earth I find no place of refuge or succour. To thee therefore, O Lord, do I run; to thee do I humble myself, saying, O Lord my God, my sins be great, but yet have mercy upon me for thy great mercy. The great mystery that God became man, was not wrought for little or few offences. Thou didst not give thy Son, O heavenly Father, unto death for small sins only, but for all the greatest sins of the world, so that the sinner return to thee with his whole heart, as I do here at this present. Wherefore have mercy on me, O God, whose property is always to have mercy; have mercy upon me, O Lord, for thy great mercy. I crave nothing for mine own merits, but for thy name's sake, that it may be hallowed thereby, and for thy dear Son Jesus Christ's sake. And now therefore, Our Father of heaven, hallowed be thy name," &c.

And then he, rising, said:

Cranmer.—"Every man, good people, desireth at the time of his death to give some good exhortation that others may remember the same before their death, and be the better

thereby: so I beseech God grant me grace, that I may speak something at this my departing, whereby God may be glorified, and you edified.

"First, it is a heavy case to see, that so many folk so much dote upon the love of this false world, and be so careful for it, that of the love of God, or the world to come, they seem to care very little or nothing. Therefore this shall be my first exhortation: that you set not your minds overmuch upon this glozing world, but upon God, and upon the world to come; and to learn to know what this lesson meaneth, which St. John teacheth, That the love of this world is hatred against God.

"The second exhortation is, that next under God you obey your king and queen willingly and gladly, without murmuring or grudging; not for fear of them only, but much more for the fear of God; knowing that they be God's ministers, appointed by God to rule and govern you: and therefore whosoever resisteth them, resisteth the ordinance of God.

"The third exhortation is, that you love altogether like brethren and sisters. For, alas! pity it is to see what contention and hatred one Christian man beareth to another, not taking each other as brother and sister, but rather as strangers and mortal enemies. But I pray you learn and bear well away this one lesson, to do good unto all men, as much as in you lieth, and to hurt no man, no more than you would hurt your own natural loving brother or sister. For this you may be sure of, that whosoever hateth any person, and goeth about maliciously to hinder or hurt him, surely, and without all doubt, God is not with that man, although he think himself never so much in God's favour.

"The fourth exhortation shall be to them that have great substance and riches of this world, that they will well consider and weigh three sayings of the Scripture. One is of our Saviour Christ himself, who saith, It is hard for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven. A sore saying, and yet spoken of him that knoweth the truth.

"The second is of St. John, whose saying is this, He that hath the substance of this world, and seeth his brother in necessity, and shutteth up his mercy from him, how can he say that he loveth God?

"The third is of St. James, who speaketh to the covetous rich man after this manner: Weep you and howl for the misery that shall come upon you: your riches do rot, your clothes be moth-eaten, your gold and silver doth canker and rust; and their rust shall bear witness against you, and consume you like fire. You gather a hoard or treasure of God's indignation against the last day. Let them that be rich, ponder well these three sentences; for if they ever had occasion to show their charity, they have it now at this present, the poor people being so many, and victuals so dear.

"And now, forasmuch as I am come to the last end of my life, whereupon hangeth all my life past, and all my life to come, either to live with my Master Christ for ever in joy, or else to be in pain for ever with wicked devils in hell, and I see before mine eyes presently either heaven ready to receive me, or else hell ready to swallow me up: I shall therefore declare unto you my very faith how I believe, without any colour of dissimulation: for now is no time to dissemble, whatsoever I have said or written in times past.

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

"First, I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, &c. And I believe every article of the catholic faith, every word and sentence taught by our Saviour Jesus Christ, his apostles and prophets, in the New and Old Testament.

"And now I come to the great thing, which so much troubleth my conscience, more than any thing that ever I did or said in my whole life, and that is the setting abroad of a writing contrary to the truth: which now here I renounce and refuse, as things written with my hand, contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and written for fear of death, and to save my life if it might be; and that is, all such bills and papers which I have written or signed with my hand since my degradation; wherein I have written many things untrue. And forasmuch as my hand offended, writing contrary to my heart, my hand shall first be punished therefor; for, may I come to the fire, it shall be first burned.

"And as for the pope, I refuse him, as Christ's enemy, and antichrist, with all his false doctrine.



Cranmer Making his Speech

"And as for the sacrament, I believe as I have taught in my book against the bishop of Winchester, the which my book teacheth so true a doctrine of the sacrament, that it shall stand

at the last day before the judgment of God, where the papistical doctrine contrary thereto shall be ashamed to show her face."

Here the standers-by were all astonished, marvelled, were amazed, did look one upon another, whose expectation he had so notably deceived. Some began to admonish him of his recantation, and to accuse him of falsehood. Briefly, it was a world to see the doctors beguiled of so great a hope. I think there was never cruelty more notably or better in time deluded and deceived; for it is not to be doubted but they looked for a glorious victory and a perpetual triumph by this man's retractation; who, as soon as they heard these things, began to let down their ears, to rage, fret, and fume; and so much the more, because they could not revenge their grief -- for they could now no longer threaten or hurt him. For the most miserable man in the world can die but once; and whereas of necessity he must needs die that day, though the papists had been never so well pleased, now, being never so much offended with him, yet could he not be twice killed of them. And so, when they could do nothing else unto him, yet, lest they should say nothing, they ceased not to object unto him his falsehood and dissimulation.

Unto which accusation he answered, "Ah! my masters," quoth he, "do not you take it so. Always since I lived hitherto, I have been a hater of falsehood, and a lover of simplicity, and never before this time have I dissembled: "and in saying this, all the tears that remained in his body appeared in his eyes. And when he began to speak more of the sacrament and of the papacy, some of them began to cry out, yelp, and bawl, and specially Cole cried out upon him, "Stop the heretic's mouth, and take him away."

And then Cranmer, being pulled down from the stage, was led to the fire, accompanied with those friars, vexing, troubling, and threatening him most cruelly. "What madness," say they, "hath brought thee again into this error, by which thou wilt draw innumerable souls with thee into hell?" To whom he answered nothing, but directed all his talk to the people, saving that to one troubling him in the way, he spake, and exhorted him to get him home to his study, and apply his book diligently; saying, if he did diligently call upon God, by reading more he should get knowledge.

But the other Spanish barker, raging and foaming, was almost out of his wits, always having this in his mouth, "Didst thou it not?"

But when he came to the place where the holy bishops and martyrs of God, Hugh Latimer and Nicholas Ridley, were burnt before him for the confession of the truth, kneeling down, he prayed to God; and not long tarrying in his prayers, putting off his garments to his shirt, he prepared himself to death. His shirt was made long, down to his feet. His feet were bare; likewise his head, when both his caps were off, was so bare, that one hair could not be seen upon it. His beard was long and thick, covering his face with marvellous gravity. Such a countenance of gravity moved the hearts both of his friends and of his enemies.

Then the Spanish friars, John and Richard, of whom mention was made before, began to exhort him, and play their parts with him afresh, but with vain and lost labour. Cranmer, with stedfast purpose abiding in the profession of his doctrine, gave his hand to certain old men, and others that stood by, bidding them farewell.

And when he had thought to have done so likewise to Ely, the said Ely drew back his hand, and refused, saying, it was not lawful to salute heretics, and specially such a one as

falsely returned unto the opinions that he had forsworn. And if he had known before that he would have done so, he would never have used his company so familiarly: and chide those sergeants and citizens which had not refused to give him their hands. This Ely was a priest lately made, and student in divinity, being then one of the fellows of Brasennose.

Then was an iron chain tied about Cranmer, whom when they perceived to be more stedfast than that he could be moved from his sentence, they commanded the fire to be set unto him.

And when the wood was kindled, and the fire began to burn near him, stretching out his arm, he put his right hand into the flame, which he held so stedfast and immovable, (saving that once with the same hand he wiped his face,) that all men might see his hand burned before his body was touched. His body did so abide the burning of the flame with such constancy and stedfastness, that standing always in one place without moving his body, he seemed to move no more than the stake to which he was bound; his eyes were lifted up into heaven, and oftentimes he repeated "his unworthy right hand," so long as his voice would suffer him; and using often the



The Execution of Cranmer

words of Stephen, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit," in the greatness of the flame he gave up the ghost.

This fortitude of mind, which perchance is rare, and not used among the Spaniards, when Friar John saw, thinking it came not of fortitude, but of desperation, although such manner of examples, which are of like constancy, have been common here in England, ran to the Lord Williams of Thame, crying that the archbishop was vexed in mind, and died in great desperation. But he, which was not ignorant of the archbishop's constancy, being unknown to the Spaniards, smiled only, and (as it were) by silence rebuked the friar's folly. And this was the end of this learned archbishop, whom, lest by evil-subscribing he should have perished, by well-recanting God preserved; and lest he should have lived longer with shame and reproof, it pleased God rather to take him away, to the glory of his name and profit of his church. So good was the Lord both to his church, in fortifying the same with the testimony and blood of such a martyr; and so good also to the man with this cross of tribulation, to purge his offences in this world, not only of his recantation, but also of his standing against John Lambert and Master Allen, or if there were any other, with whose burning and blood his hands had been before any thing polluted. But especially he had to rejoice, that dying in such a cause, he was to be numbered amongst Christ's martyrs, much more worthy the name of St. Thomas of Canterbury, than he whom the pope falsely before did canonize.

And thus have you the full story concerning the life and death of this reverend archbishop and martyr of God, Thomas Cranmer, and also of divers other the learned sort of Christ's martyrs burned in Queen Mary's time, of whom this archbishop was the last, being burnt about the very middle time of the reign of that queen, and almost the very middle man of all the martyrs which were burned in all her reign besides.

Divers books and treatises he wrote both in prison and out of prison; among the which especially he had a mind to the answer which he made to Marcus Antonius Constantius, which book was the chief cause why he made his appeal, (as he, writing to the lawyer, confesseth himself,) and peradventure was some cause why he recanted; to have leisure and time to finish that book, of the which two parts be yet extant, and peradventure if God give time and life, may hereafter be published. The third part some say also was written, and afterwards lost at Oxford, which, if it be so, it is a great pity.

Now after the life and story of this foresaid archbishop discoursed, let us adjoin withal his letters, beginning first with his famous letter to Queen Mary, which he wrote unto her incontinent after he was cited up to Rome by Bishop Brooks and his fellows, the tenor whereof here followeth.

To the Queen Mary.

"May it please your Majesty to pardon my presumption, that I dare be so bold to write to your Highness; but very necessity constraineth me, that your Majesty may know my mind rather by mine own writing, than by other men's reports. So it is, that upon Wednesday, being the twelfth day of this month, I was cited to appear at Rome the eightieth day after, there to make answer to such matters as should be objected against me upon the behalf of the king and

your most excellent Majesty; which matters the Thursday following were objected against me by Dr. Martin and Dr. Story, your Majesty's proctors before the bishop of Gloucester, sitting in judgment by commission from Rome. But, alas! it cannot but grieve the heart of a natural subject, to be accused of the king and queen of his own realm, and specially before an outward judge, or by authority coming from any person out of this realm: where the king and queen, as if they were subjects within their own realm, shall complain and require justice at a stranger's hands against their own subject, being already condemned to death by their own laws -- as though the king and queen could not do or have justice within their own realms against their own subjects, but they must seek it at strangers' hands in a strange land -- the like whereof, I think, was never seen. I would have wished to have had some meaner adversaries; and, I think, that death shall not grieve me much more, than to have my most dread and most gracious sovereign lord and lady, to whom under God I do owe all obedience, to be mine accusers in judgment within their own realm, before any stranger and outward power. But, forasmuch as in the time of the prince of most famous memory, King Henry the Eighth, your Grace's father, I was sworn never to consent that the bishop of Rome should have or exercise any authority or jurisdiction in this realm of England; therefore, lest I should allow his authority contrary to mine own oath, I refused to make answer to the bishop of Gloucester sitting here in judgment by the pope's authority, lest I should run into perjury.

"Another cause why I refused the pope's authority, is this, that his authority, as he claimeth it, repugneth to the crown imperial of this realm, and to the laws of the same; which every true subject is bound to defend. First, for that the pope saith, that all manner of power, as well temporal as spiritual, is given first to him of God; and that the temporal power he giveth unto emperors and kings, to use it under him, but so as it be always at his commandment and beck.

"But contrary to this claim, the imperial crown and jurisdiction temporal of this realm is taken immediately from God, to be used under him only, and is subject unto none, but to God alone.

"Moreover, to the imperial laws and customs of this realm the king in his coronation, and all justices when they receive their offices, be sworn, and all the whole realm is bound to defend and maintain. But contrary hereunto, the pope by his authority maketh void, and commandeth to blot out of our books, all laws and customs being repugnant to his laws, and declareth to be accursed all rulers and governors, all the makers, writers, and executors of all such laws or customs; as it appeareth by many of the pope's laws, whereof one or two I shall rehearse. In the Decrees is written thus: 'The constitutions or statutes enacted against the canons and decrees of the bishops of Rome or their good customs, are of none effect.' Also, 'We excommunicate all heretics of both sexes, what name soever they be called by, and their fautors, and receptors, and defenders; and also them that shall hereafter cause to be observed the statutes and customs made against the liberty of the church, except they cause the same to be put out of their records and chapters within two months after the publication thereof. Also we excommunicate the statutemakers and writers of those statutes, and all the potentates, consuls, governors, and councillors of places where such statutes and customs shall be made or kept; and also those that shall presume to give judgment according to them, or shall notify in public form the matter so adjudged.'

"Now by these laws, if the bishop of Rome's authority, which he claimeth by God, be lawful, all your Grace's laws and customs of your realm, being contrary to the pope's laws, be

naught; and as well your Majesty, as your judges, justices, and all other executors of the same, stand accursed amongst heretics, which God forbid. And yet this curse can never be avoided (if the pope have such power as he claimeth) until such times as the laws and customs of this realm (being contrary to his laws) be taken away and blotted out of the law books. And although there be many laws of this realm contrary to the laws of Rome, yet I named but a few; as to convict a clerk before any temporal judge of this realm for debt, felony, murder, or for any other crime; which clerks by the pope's laws be so exempt from the king's laws, that they can be no where sued, but before their ordinary.

"Also the pope by his laws may give all bishoprics and benefices spiritual; which by the laws of this realm can be given but only by the king and other patrons of the same, except they fall into the lapse.

"By the pope's laws, *Jus patronatus* shall be sued only before the ecclesiastical judge; but by the laws of the realm it shall be sued before the temporal judge.

"And to be short, the laws of this realm do agree with the pope's laws like fire and water. And yet the kings of this realm have provided for their laws by the *præmunire*; so that if any man have let the execution of the laws of this realm by any authority from the see of Rome, he falleth into the *præmunire*.

"But to meet with this, the popes have provided for their laws by cursing. For whosoever letteth the pope's laws to have full course within this realm, by the pope's power standeth accursed. So that the pope's power treadeth all the laws and customs of this realm under his feet, cursing all that execute them, until such time as they do give place unto his laws.

"But it may be said, that notwithstanding all the pope's decrees, yet we do execute still the laws and customs of this realm. Nay, not all quietly without interruption of the pope. And where we do execute them, yet we do it unjustly, if the pope's power be of force; and for the same we stand excommunicate, and shall do, until we leave the execution of our own laws and customs. Thus we be well reconciled to Rome, allowing such authority, whereby the realm standeth accursed before God, if the pope have any such authority.

"These things (as I suppose) were not fully opened in the parliamenthouse, when the pope's authority was received again within this realm; for if they had, I do not believe that either the king or queen's Majesties, or the nobles of this realm, or the commons of the same, would ever have consented to receive again such a foreign authority, so injurious, hurtful, and prejudicial as well to the crown as to the laws and customs and state of this realm, as whereby they must needs acknowledge themselves to be accursed. But none could open this matter well but the clergy, and such of them as had read the pope's laws, whereby the pope had made himself as it were a God. These seek to maintain the pope, whom they desired to have their chief head, to the intent they might have, as it were, a kingdom and laws within themselves, distinct from the laws of the crown, and wherewith the crown may not meddle; and so being exempted from the laws of the realm, might live in this realm like lords and kings, without damage or fear of any man, so that they please their high and supreme head at Rome. For this consideration (I ween) some that knew the truth, held their peace in the parliament; whereas if they had done their duties to the crown and whole realm, they should have opened their

mouths, declared the truth, and shown the perils and dangers that might ensue to the crown and realm.

"And if I should agree to allow such authority within this realm, whereby I must needs confess, that your most gracious Highness, and also your realm, should ever continue accursed, until ye shall cease from the execution of your own laws and customs of your realm; I could not think myself true either to your Highness, or to this my natural country, knowing that I do know. Ignorance, I know, may excuse other men; but he that knoweth how prejudicial and injurious the power and authority which he challengeth every where is, to the crown, laws, and customs of this realm, and yet will allow the same, I cannot see in any wise how he can keep his due allegiance, fidelity, and truth, to the crown and state of this realm.

Another cause I alleged, why I could not allow the authority of the pope, which is this: That by his authority he subverteth not only the laws of this realm, but also the laws of God; so that whosoever be under his authority, he suffereth them not to be under Christ's religion purely, as Christ did command. And for one example I brought forth, that whereas by God's laws all Christian people be bounden diligently to learn his word, that they may know how to believe and live accordingly, for that purpose he ordained holydays, when they ought, leaving apart all other business, to give themselves wholly to know and serve God. Therefore God's will and commandment is, that when the people be gathered together, ministers should use such language as the people may understand and take profit thereby, or else hold their peace. For as a harp or lute, if it give no certain sound that men may know what is stricken, who can dance after it? for all the sound is in vain; so is it in vain and profiteth nothing, saith Almighty God by the mouth of St. Paul, if the priest speak to the people in a language which they know not; for else he may profit himself; but profiteth not the people, saith St. Paul. But herein I was answered thus; that St. Paul spake only of preaching, that the preacher should preach in a tongue which the people did know, or else his preaching availed nothing: but, if the preaching availed nothing, being spoken in a language which the people understand not, how should any other service avail them, being spoken in the same language? And yet that St. Paul meant not only of preaching, it appeareth plainly by his own words: for he speaketh by name expressly of praying, singing, and thanking of God, and of all other things which the priests say in the churches, whereunto the people say 'Amen,' which they use not in preaching, but in other Divine service; that whether the priests rehearse the wonderful works of God, or the great benefits of God unto mankind above all other creatures, or give thanks unto God, or make open profession of their faith, or humble confession of their sins, with earnest request of mercy and forgiveness, or make suit or request unto God for any thing; then all the people, understanding what the priests say, might give their minds and voices with them, and say 'Amen;' that is to say, allow what the priests say; that the rehearsal of God's universal works and benefits, the giving of thanks, the profession of faith, the confession of sins, and the requests and petitions of the priests and of the people, might ascend up into the ears of God all together, and be as a sweet savour, odour, and incense in his nose; and thus was it used many hundred years after Christ's ascension. But the aforesaid things cannot be done when the priests speak to the people in a language not known, and so they (or their clerk in their name) say 'Amen,' but they cannot tell whereunto. Whereas St. Paul saith, How can the people say 'Amen' to thy well saying, when they understand not what thou sayest? And thus was St. Paul understood of all interpreters, both the Greeks and Latins, old and new, school authors and others that I have read, until above thirty years past; at which time Eckius, with others of his sort, began to devise a new exposition, understanding St. Paul of preaching only.

"But when a good number of the best learned men reputed within this realm, some favouring the old, some the new learning, as they term it, (where indeed that which they called the old, is the new, and that which they call the new, is indeed the old,) but when a great number of such learned men of both sorts were gathered together at Windsor, for the reformation of the service of the church, it was agreed by both, without controversy, (not one saying contrary,) that the service of the church ought to be in the mother tongue, and that St. Paul in 1 Cor. xiv. was so to be understood. And so is St. Paul to be understood in the civil law, more than a thousand years past, where Justinian, a most godly emperor, in a synod writeth on this manner:-- 'We command that all bishops and priests celebrate the holy oblation and prayers used in holy baptism, not after a still and close manner, but with a clear loud voice, that they may be plainly heard of the faithful people, so that the hearers' minds may be lifted up thereby with the greater devotion, in uttering the praises of the Lord God. For so Paul teacheth also in the Epistle to the Corinthians, If the spirit do only bless, (or say well,) how shall he that occupieth the place of a private person say Amen to thy thanksgiving? for he perceiveth not what thou sayest. Thou dost give thanks well, but the other is not edified.' And not only the civil law, and all other writers a thousand and five hundred years continually together, have expounded St. Paul not of preaching only, but of other service said in the church; but also reason giveth the same, that if men be commanded to hear any thing, it must be spoken in a language which the hearers understand; or else (as St. Paul saith) what availeth it to hear? So that the pope giving a contrary commandment, that the people coming to the church shall hear they wot not what, and shall answer they know not whereto, taketh upon him to command, not only against reason, but also directly against God.

"And again I said, whereas our Saviour Christ ordained the sacrament of his most precious body and blood to be received of all Christian people under the forms of bread and wine, and said of the cup, Drink ye all of this; the pope giveth a clean contrary commandment, that no layman shall drink of the cup of their salvation, as though the cup of salvation by the blood of Christ pertained not to laymen. And whereas Theophilus of Alexandria (whose works St. Jerome did translate about eleven hundred years past) saith, That if Christ had been crucified for the devils, his cup should not be denied them;' yet the pope denieth the cup of Christ to Christian people, for whom Christ was crucified. So that if I should obey the pope in these things, I must needs disobey my Saviour Christ.

"But I was answered hereunto, (as commonly the papists do answer,) that under the form of bread is whole Christ's flesh and blood: so that whosoever receiveth the form of bread, receiveth as well Christ's blood as his flesh. Let it be so, yet in the form of bread only, Christ's blood is not drunken, but eaten; nor is it received in the cup under the form of wine, as Christ commanded, but eaten with the flesh under the form of bread. And moreover, the bread is not the sacrament of his blood, but of his flesh only; nor is the cup the sacrament of his flesh, but of his blood only. And so the pope keepeth from all laypersons the sacrament of their redemption by Christ's blood, which Christ commandeth to be given unto them.

"And furthermore, Christ ordained the sacrament in two kinds, the one separated from the other, to be a representation of his death, where his blood was separated from his flesh, which is not represented in one kind alone; so that the laypeople receive not the whole sacrament whereby Christ's death is represented as he commanded.

"Moreover, as the pope taketh upon him to give the temporal sword, by royal and imperial power, to kings and princes, so doth he likewise take upon him to depose them from

their imperial states, if they be disobedient to him; and commandeth the subjects to disobey their princes, assailing the subjects as well of their obedience, as of their lawful oaths made unto their true kings and princes, directly contrary to God's commandment, who commandeth all subjects to obey their kings, or their rulers under them.

"One John, patriarch of Constantinople in the time of St. Gregory, claimed superiority above all other bishops. To whom St. Gregory wrote, that therein he did injury to his three brethren, which were equal with him, that is to say, the bishop of Rome, the bishop of Alexandria, and the bishop of Antioch; which three were patriarchal sees, as well as Constantinople, and were brethren one to another. 'But,' saith St. Gregory, 'if any one shall exalt himself above all the rest, to be the universal bishop, the same passeth in pride.' But now the bishop of Rome exalteth himself not only above all kings and emperors, and above all the whole world, but takes upon him to give and take away, to set up and pull down, as he shall think good. And as the devil, having no such authority, yet took upon him to give unto Christ all the kingdoms of the world, if he would fall down and worship him; in like manner the pope taketh upon him to give empires and kingdoms, being none of his, to such as will fall down and worship him, and kiss his feet.

"And moreover, his lawyers and glozers so flatter him, that they feign he may command emperors and kings to hold his stirrup when he lighteth from his horse, and to be his footmen: and that, if any emperor and king give him any thing, they give him nothing but that is his own; and that he may dispense against God's word, against both the Old and New Testament, against St. Paul's Epistles, and against the Gospel. And furthermore, whatsoever he doth, although he draw innumerable people by heaps with himself into hell, yet may not mortal man reprove him, because he, being judge of all men, may be judged of no man. And thus he sitteth in the temple of God, as if he were a God; and nameth himself God's vicar, and yet he dispenseth against God. If this be not to play antichrist's part, I cannot tell what is antichrist, which is no more to say, but Christ's enemy and adversary; who shall sit in the temple of God, advancing himself above all others, yet by hypocrisy and feigned religion, shall subvert the true religion of Christ, and under pretence and colour of Christ's religion, shall work against Christ, and therefore hath the name of antichrist. Now if any man lift himself higher than the pope hath done, who lifteth himself above all the world; or can be more adversary to Christ, than to dispense against God's laws; and where Christ hath given any commandment, to command directly the contrary; that man must needs be taken for antichrist. But until the time that such a person may be found, men may easily conjecture where to find antichrist. Wherefore, seeing the pope thus to overthrow both God's laws and man's laws, taketh upon him to make emperors and kings to be vassals and subjects unto him, especially the crown of this realm, with the laws and customs of the same; I see no mean how I may consent to admit his usurped power within this realm, contrary to mine oath, mine obedience to God's laws, mine allegiance and duty to your Majesty, and my love and affection to this realm.

"This that I have spoken against the power and authority of the pope, I have not spoken (I take God to record and judge) for any malice I owe to the pope's person, whom I know not, but I shall pray to God to give him grace, that he may seek above all things to promote God's honour and glory, and not to follow the trade of his predecessors in these latter days. Nor have I spoken it for fear of punishment, and to avoid the same, thinking it rather an occasion to aggravate than to diminish my trouble; but I have spoken it for my most bounden duty to the crown, liberties, laws, and customs of this realm of England; but most specially to

discharge my conscience in uttering the truth to God's glory, casting away all fear by the comfort which I have in Christ, who saith, Fear not them that kill the body, and cannot kill the soul; but fear him that can cast both body and soul into hellfire. He that for fear to lose this life will forsake the truth, shall lose the everlasting life: and he that for the truth's sake will spend his life, shall find everlasting life. And Christ promiseth to stand fast with them before his Father, which will stand fast with him here. Which comfort is so great, that whosoever hath his eyes fixed upon Christ, cannot greatly pass on this life, knowing that he may be sure to have Christ stand by him in the presence of his Father in heaven.

"And as touching the sacrament, I said, forasmuch as the whole matter standeth in the understanding of these words of Christ, This is my body, This is my blood; I said that Christ in these words made demonstration of the bread and wine, and spake figuratively, calling bread his body, and wine his blood, because he ordained them to be sacraments of his body and blood. And whereas the papists say in those two points contrary unto me, that Christ called not bread his body, but a substance uncertain, nor spake figuratively; herein, I said, I would be judged by the old church; and which doctrine could be proved the elder, that I would stand unto. And forasmuch as I have alleged in my book many old authors, both Greeks and Latins, which above a thousand years after Christ continually taught as I do: if they could bring forth but one old author, that saith in these two points as they say, I offered six or seven years ago, and do offer yet still, that I will give place unto them. But when I bring forth any author that saith in most plain terms as I do, yet say the other part, that the authors meant not so; as who should say, that the authors spake one thing, and meant clean contrary. And upon the other part, when they cannot find any one author that saith in words as they say; yet say they, that the authors meant as they say. Now, whether I or they speak more to the purpose herein, I refer me to the judgment of all indifferent hearers; yea, the old Church of Rome, above a thousand years together, neither believed nor used the sacrament, as the Church of Rome hath done of late years; for in the beginning, the Church of Rome taught a pure and a sound doctrine of the sacrament. But after that the Church of Rome fell into a new doctrine of transubstantiation; with the doctrine they changed the use of the sacrament contrary to that Christ commanded, and the old Church of Rome used above a thousand years. And yet to deface the old, they say that the new is the old: wherein for my part I am content to stand to the trial. But their doctrine is so fond and uncomfortable, that I marvel that any man would allow it, if he knew what it is. But, howsoever they bear the people in hand, that which they write in their books hath neither truth nor comfort. For by their doctrine, of one body of Christ is made two bodies: one natural, having distance of members, with form and proportion of man's perfect body, and this body is in heaven: but the body of Christ in the sacrament, by their own doctrine, must needs be a monstrous body, having neither distance of members, nor form, fashion, or proportion of a man's natural body. And such a body is in the sacrament (teach they) and goeth into the mouth with the form of bread, and entereth no further than the form of bread goeth, nor tarrieth longer than the form of bread is by natural heat in digesting: so that when the form of bread is digested, that body of Christ is gone. And forasmuch as evil men be as long in digesting as good men, the body of Christ (by their doctrine) entereth as far and tarrieth as long in wicked men as in godly men. And what comfort can be herein to any Christian man, to receive Christ's unshapen body, and it to enter no further than the stomach, and to depart by and by as soon as the bread is consumed?

"It seemeth to me a more sound and comfortable doctrine, that Christ hath but one body, and that hath form and fashion of a man's true body; which body spiritually entereth

into the whole man, body and soul: and though the sacrament be consumed, yet whole Christ remaineth, and feedeth the receiver unto eternal life, if he continue in godliness; and never departeth until the receiver forsake him. And as for the wicked, they have not Christ within them at all, who cannot be where Belial is. And this is my faith, and (as meseemeth) a sound doctrine, according to God's word, and sufficient for a Christian to believe in that matter. And if it can be showed unto me, that the pope's authority is not prejudicial to the things before mentioned, or that my doctrine in the sacrament is erroneous, (which I think cannot be showed,) then I never was nor will be so perverse to stand wilfully in mine own opinion, but I shall with all humility submit myself unto the pope, not only to kiss his feet, but, &c.

"Another cause why I refused to take the bishop of Gloucester for my judge, was the respect of his own person, being more than once perjured. First, for that he, being divers times sworn never to consent that the bishop of Rome should have any jurisdiction within this realm, but to take the king and his successors for supreme heads of this realm, as by God's laws they be: contrary to that lawful oath, the said bishop sat then in judgment by authority from Rome; wherein he was perjured, and not worthy to sit as a judge.

"The second perjury was, that he took his bishopric both of the queen's Majesty and of the pope, making to each of them a solemn oath, which oaths be so contrary, that the one must needs be perjured. And furthermore in swearing to the pope to maintain his laws, decrees, constitutions, ordinances, reservations, and provisions, he declareth himself an enemy to the imperial crown, and to the laws and state of this realm; whereby he declareth himself not worthy to sit as a judge within this realm. And for these considerations I refused to take him for my judge."

Extract of another letter to the Queen Mary.

"I learned by Dr. Martin, that at the day of your Majesty's coronation, you took an oath of obedience to the pope of Rome, and the same time you took another oath to this realm, to maintain the laws, liberties, and customs of the same. And if your Majesty did make an oath to the pope, I think it was according to the other oaths which he useth to minister to princes; which is, to be obedient to him, to defend his person, to maintain his authority, honour, laws, lands, and privileges. And if it be so, (which I know not but by report,) then I beseech your Majesty to look upon your oath made to the crown and realm, and to expend and weigh the two oaths together, to see how they do agree, and then do as your Grace's conscience shall give you: for I am surely persuaded, that willingly your Majesty will not offend, nor do against your conscience for any thing. But I fear me that there be contradictions in your oaths, and that those which should have informed your Grace thoroughly, did not their duties therein. And if your Majesty ponder the two oaths diligently, I think you shall perceive you were deceived; and then your Highness may use the matter as God shall put in your heart.

"Furthermore, I am kept here from company of learned men, from books, from counsel, from pen and ink, saving at this time to write unto your Majesty, which all were necessary for a man being in my case. Wherefore I beseech your Majesty, that I may have such of these as may stand with your Majesty's pleasure. And as for my appearance at Rome, if your Majesty will give me leave, I will appear there. And I trust that God shall put in my

mouth to defend his truth there, as well as here. But I refer it wholly to his Majesty's pleasure."

To Dr. Martin and Dr. Story.

"I have me commended unto you: and, as I promised, I have sent my letters unto the queen's Majesty unsigned, praying you to sign them, and deliver them with all speed. I might have sent them by the carrier sooner, but not surer. But hearing Master Bailiff say, that he would go to the court on Friday, I thought him a meet messenger to send my letters by: for better is later and surer, than sooner and never to be delivered. Yet one thing I have written to the queen's Majesty enclosed and sealed; which I require you may be so delivered without delay, and not be opened until it be delivered unto her Grace's own hands. I have written all that I remember I said, except that which I spake against the bishop of Gloucester's own person, which I thought not meet to write. And in some places I have written more than I said, which I would have answered to the bishop, if you would have suffered me.

"You promised I should see mine answers to the sixteen articles, that I might correct, amend, and change them where I thought good, which your promise you kept not. And mine answer was not made upon my oath, nor repeated, nor made *in judicio*, but *extra judicium*; as I protested; nor to the bishop of Gloucester as judge, but to you the king and queen's proctors. I trust you deal sincerely with me without fraud or craft, and use me as you would wish to be used in like case yourselves. Remember, that what measure you mete, the same shall be measured to you again. Thus fare you well, and God send you his Spirit, to induce you into truth."

Ye heard before how the archbishop Dr. Cranmer in the month of February was cited up to Rome, and in the month of March next following was degraded by the bishop of Ely and Bishop Bonner. In time of which his degradation he put up his appellation. In this his appellation, because he needed the help of some good and godly lawyer, he writeth to a certain friend of his about the same:--

"The law of nature requireth of all men, that so far forth as it may be done without offence to God, every one should seek to defend and preserve his own life: which thing when I about three days ago bethought myself of, and therewithal remembered how that Martin Luther appealed in his time from Pope Leo the Tenth, to a general council, (lest I should seem rashly and unadvisedly to cast away myself,) I determined to appeal in like sort to some lawful and free general council. But seeing the order and form of an appeal pertaineth to the lawyers, whereof I myself am ignorant, and seeing that Luther's appeal cometh not to my hand, I purposed to break my mind in this matter to some faithful friend and skilful in the law, whose help I might use in this behalf, and you only among others came to my remembrance, as a man most meet in this university for my purpose. But this is a matter that requireth great silence, so that no man know of it before it be done. It is so that I am summoned to make mine answer at Rome, the sixteenth day of this month; before the which day I think it good, after sentence pronounced, to make mine appeal. But whether I should first appeal from the judge delegate to the pope, and so afterward to the general council, or else, leaving the pope, I should appeal immediately to the council, herein I stand in need of your counsel.

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

"Many causes there be, for the which I think good to appeal. First, because I am by an oath bound never to consent to the receiving of the bishop of Rome's authority into this realm. Besides this, whereas I utterly refused to make answer to the articles objected unto me by the bishop of Gloucester, appointed by the pope to be my judge, yet I was content to answer Martin and Story, with this protestation, that mine answer should not be taken as made before a judge, nor yet in place of judgment, but as pertaining nothing to judgment at all: moreover, after I had made mine answer, I required to have a copy of the same, that I might either by adding thereunto, or by altering or taking from it, correct and amend it as I thought good. The which, though both the bishop of Gloucester, and also the king and the queen's proctors, promised me, yet have they altogether broken promise with me, and have not permitted me to correct my said answers according to my request, and yet notwithstanding have (as I understand) registered the same, as acts formally done in place of judgment.

"Finally, forasmuch as all this my trouble cometh upon my departing from the bishop of Rome, and from the popish religion, so that now the quarrel is betwixt the pope himself and me, and no man can be a lawful and indifferent judge in his own cause; it seemeth (methinks) good reason, that I should be suffered to appeal to some general council in this matter; specially seeing the law of nature (as they say) denieth no man the remedy of appeal in such cases.

"Now, since it is very requisite that this matter should be kept as close as may be, if perhaps for lack of perfect skill herein you shall have need of further advice; then I beseech you, even for the fidelity and love you bear to me in Christ, that you will open to no creature alive whose the case is. And forasmuch as the time is now at hand, and the matter requireth great expedition, let me obtain thus much of you, I beseech you, that laying aside all other your studies and business for the time, you will apply this my matter only, till you have brought it to pass. The chiefest cause in very deed (to tell you the truth) of this mine appeal is, that I might gain time (if it shall so please God) to live until I have finished mine answer against Marcus Antonius Constantius, which I have now in hand. But if the adversaries of the truth will not admit mine appeal, (as I fear they will not,) God's will be done; I pass not upon it, so that God may therein be glorified, be it by my life, or by my death. For it is much better for me to die in Christ's quarrel and to reign with him, than here to be shut up, and kept in the prison of this body, unless it were to continue yet still awhile in this warfare, for the commodity and profit of my brethren, and to the further advancing of God's glory. To whom be all glory for evermore. Amen.

"There is also yet another cause why I think good to appeal, that whereas I am cited to go to Rome to answer there for myself, I am notwithstanding kept here fast in prison, that I cannot there appear at the time appointed. And moreover, forasmuch as the state I stand in is a matter of life and death, so that I have great need of learned counsel for my defence in this behalf; yet when I made my earnest request for the same, all manner of counsel and help of proctors, advocates, and lawyers, was utterly denied me.

"Your loving friend.,

THOMAS CRANMER."

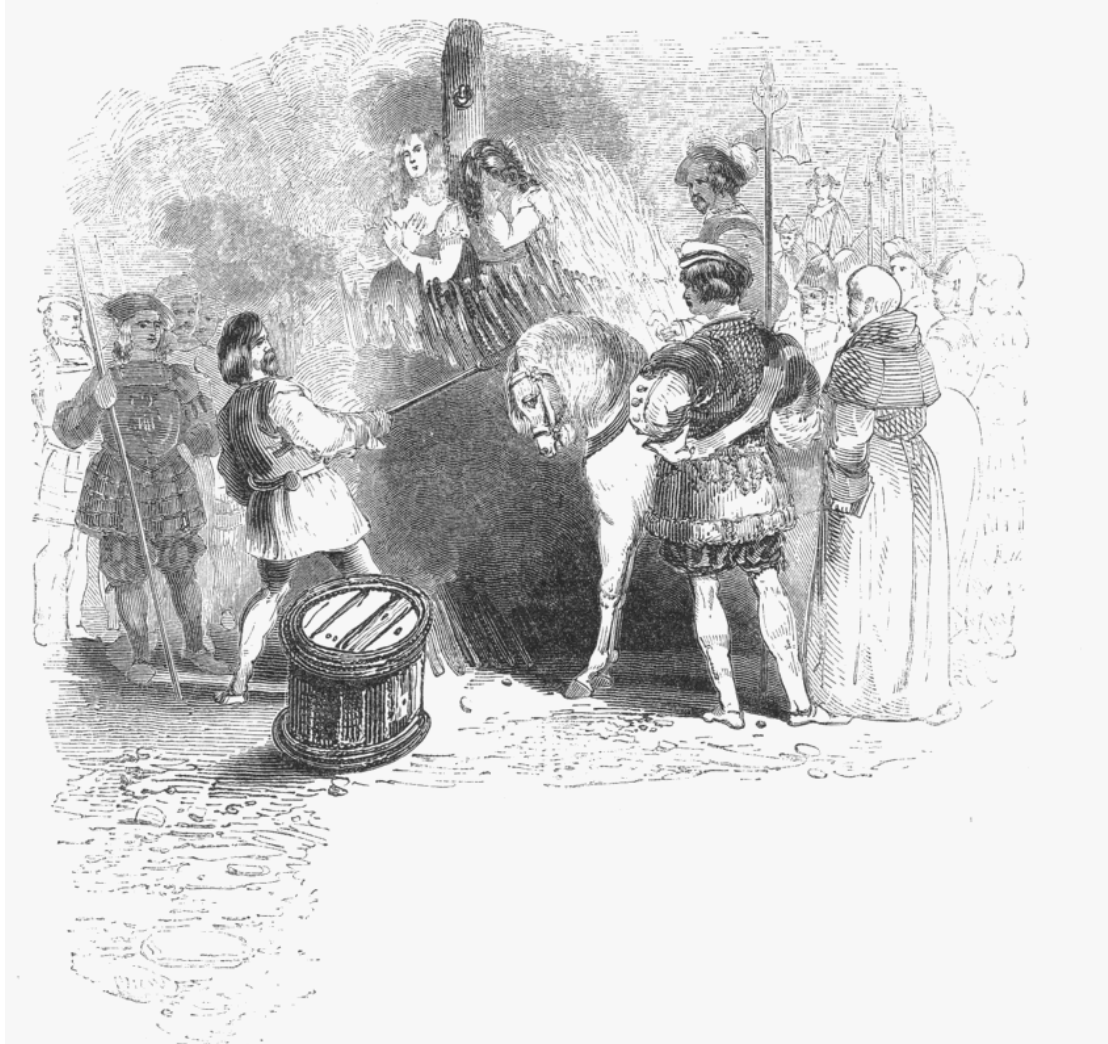
To Mrs. Wilkinson, exhorting her to fly in the time of persecution.

"The true comforter in all distress is only God, through his Son Jesus Christ; and whosoever hath him, hath company enough, although he were in a wilderness all alone: and he that hath twenty thousand in his company, if God be absent, is in a miserable wilderness and desolation. In him is all comfort, and without him is none. Wherefore I beseech you seek your dwelling there, where you may truly and rightly serve God, and dwell in him, and have him ever dwelling in you. What can be so heavy a burden as an unquiet conscience, to be in such a place as a man cannot be suffered to serve God in Christ's true religion? If you be loth to depart from your kin and friends, remember that Christ calleth them his mother, sisters, and brothers, that do his Father's will. Where we find, therefore, God truly honoured according to his will, there we can lack neither friend nor kin.

"If you be loth to depart for slandering of God's word, remember that Christ, when his hour was not yet come, departed out of his country into Samaria, to avoid the malice of the scribes and Pharisees; and commanded his apostles, that if they were pursued in one place, they should fly to another. And was not Paul let down by a basket out at a window, to avoid the persecution of Aretas? And what wisdom and policy he used from time to time to escape the malice of his enemies, the Acts of the Apostles do declare. And after the same sort did the other apostles, albeit, when it came to such a point that they could no longer escape danger of the persecutors of God's true religion, then they showed themselves, that their flying before came not of fear, but of godly wisdom to do more good; and that they would not rashly, without urgent necessity, offer themselves to death; which had been but a temptation of God. Yea, when they were apprehended, and could no longer avoid, then they stood boldly to the profession of Christ; then they showed how little they feared of death; how much they feared God more than men; how much they loved and preferred the eternal life to come, above this short and miserable life.

"Wherefore I exhort you as well by Christ's commandment, as by the example of him and his apostles, to withdraw yourself from the malice of yours and God's enemies, into some place where God is most purely served; which is no slandering of the truth, but a preserving of yourself to God, and the truth, and to the society and comfort of Christ's little flock. And that you will do, do it with speed, lest by your own folly you fall into the persecutors' hands. And the Lord send his Holy Spirit to lead and guide you wheresoever you go; and all that be godly will say, Amen."

332. Agnes Porter and Joan Trunchfield.



Execution of Porter and Trunchfield

IN the story of Robert Samuel, mention was made before of two godly women in the same town of Ipswich, which shortly after him suffered likewise, and obtained the crown of martyrdom, the names of whom were Agnes, the wife of Robert Potten, and another, Joan, wife of Michael Trunchfield, a shoemaker, both dwelling in one town: who, about the same time that the archbishop aforesaid was burned at Oxford suffered likewise in the foresaid town of Ipswich, either in the same month of March, or, as some say, in the end of February the next month before.

Their opinion or persuasion was this, that in the sacrament was the memorial only of Christ's death and passion: "for," said they, "Jesus Christ is ascended up into heaven, and is on the right hand of God the Father, according to the Scriptures, and not in the sacrament, as he was born of the Virgin Mary." For this they were burned. In whose suffering their

constancy worthily was to be wondered at, who being so simple women, so manfully stood to the confession and testimony of God's word and verity; insomuch that when they had prepared and undressed themselves ready to the fire, with comfortable words of the Scripture they earnestly required the people to credit and to lay hold on the word of God, and not upon man's devices and inventions; despising the ordinances and institutions of the Romish antichrist, with all his superstitions and rotten religion. And so continuing in the torment of fire, they held up their hands, and called unto God constantly so long as life did endure.

This Potten's wife, in a night a little before her death, being asleep in her bed, saw a bright burning fire, right up as a pole, and on the side of the fire she thought there stood a number of Queen Mary's friends looking on. Then being asleep, she seemed to muse with herself whether her fire should burn so bright or no; and indeed her suffering was not far unlike to her dream.

This also I thought further to note, how these two being always together in prison, the one which was Michael's wife seemed to be nothing so ardent and zealous as Potten's wife was, although (God be thanked) they did stoutly stand to the confession of the truth both. But when the said Michael's wife came to the stake, and saw nothing but present death before her, she much exceeded the other in joy and comfort: albeit both of them did so joyfully suffer, as it was marvelled at of those that knew them, and did behold their end. And thus these two martyrs ended their lives with great triumph: the Lord grant we may do the like. Amen.

333. John Maundrel, William Coberley, and John Spicer.

Three martyrs suffering at Salisbury

After these two women of Ipswich, succeeded three men, which were burnt the same month at one fire in Salisbury, who, in the like quarrel with the others that went before them and led the dance, spared not their bodies, to bring their souls to the celestial felicity, whereof they were thoroughly assured in Christ Jesus by his promises, as soon as the furious flames of fire had put their bodies and souls asunder. Their names were, John Spicer, freemason; William Coberley, tailor; John Maundrel, husbandman.

First, John Maundrel, who was the son of Robert Maundrel of Rowde, in the county of Wiltshire, farmer, was from his childhood brought up in husbandry; and after he came to man's state, did abide and dwell in a village called Buchampton, in the parish of Keevil, within the county of Wiltshire aforesaid, where he had wife and children, being of good name and fame. Which John Maundrel, after that the Scripture was translated into English by the faithful apostle of England, William Tyndale, became a diligent hearer, and a fervent embracer of God's true religion, so that he delighted in nothing so much as to hear and speak of God's word, never being without the New Testament about him, although he could not read himself. But when he came into any company that could read, his book was always ready, having a very good memory, so that he could recite by heart most places of the New Testament; his conversation and living being very honest and charitable, as his neighbours are able to testify.

So it was, that in the days of King Henry the Eighth, at what time Dr. Trignonion and Dr. Lee did visit abbeys, the said John Maundrel was brought before Dr. Trignonion at an abbey called Edington, within the county of Wiltshire aforesaid; where he was accused that he had spoken against the holy water and holy bread, and suchlike ceremonies; and for the same did wear a white sheet, bearing a candle in his hand about the market, in the town of Devizes, which is in the said county. Nevertheless, his fervency did not abate, but by God's merciful assistance he took better hold, as the sequel hereof will declare. For in the days of Queen Mary, when popery was restored again, and God's true religion put to silence, the said John Maundrel left his own house, and departed into the county of Gloucester, and into the north part of Wiltshire, wandering from one to another to such men as he knew feared God, with whom as a servant to keep their cattle he there did remain with John Bridges or some other at Kingswood; but after a time he returned to his country, and there coming to the Vyes, to a friend of his named Anthony Clee, had talk and conference with him in a garden, of returning home to his house. And when the other exhorted him by the words of Scripture, to fly from one city to another, he replying again by the words of the Apocalypse, of them that be fearful, &c., said that he needs must go home, and so did: where he, with Spicer and Coberley, used at times to resort and confer together. At length, upon the Sunday following, they agreed together to go to the parish church called Keevil, where the said Maundrel and the other two, seeing the parishioners in the procession to follow and worship the idol there carried, advertised them to leave the same, and to return to the living God, namely, speaking to one Robert Barksdale, headman of the parish; but he took no regard to their words.

After this the vicar came into the pulpit, who there being about to read his beadroll, and to pray for the souls in purgatory; the said John Maundrel, speaking with an audible voice, said, "That was the pope's pinfeld," the other two affirming the same. After which words, by commandment of the priest, they were had to the stocks, where they remained till their service was done, and then were brought before a justice of peace, and so the next day carried to Salisbury all three, and presented before Bishop Capon, and W. Geffrey being chancellor of the diocese; by whom they were imprisoned, and oftentimes examined of their faith in their houses, but seldom openly.

And at the last examination these were the articles which the chancellor alleged against them, being accompanied with the sheriff of the shire, one Master St. John, and other popish priests in the parish church of Fisherton Anger, demanding how they did believe.

They answered, "As Christian men should and ought to believe:" and first they said, they believed in God the Father, and in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost, the twelve articles of the creed, the Holy Scripture from the first of Genesis to the last of the Apocalypse.

But that faith the chancellor would not allow. Wherefore he apposed them in particular articles: first, Whether that they did not believe that in the sacrament of the altar, (as he termed it,) after the words of consecration spoken by the priest at mass, there remained no substance of bread nor wine, but Christ's body, flesh and blood, as he was born of the Virgin Mary? Whereunto they answered negatively, saying that the popish mass was abominable idolatry, and injurious to the blood of Christ; but confessing that in a faithful congregation, receiving the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, being duly ministered according to Christ's institution, Christ's body and blood are spiritually received of the faithful believer.

Also, being asked whether the pope was supreme head of the church, and Christ's vicar on earth; they answered negatively, saying, that the bishop of Rome doth usurp over emperors and kings, being antichrist, and God's enemy.

The chancellor said, "Will you have the church without head?" They answered, "Christ was Head of his church, and, under Christ, the queen's Majesty." "What," said the chancellor, "a woman head of the church?" "Yea," said they, "within her Grace's dominions."

Also, whether the souls in purgatory were delivered by the pope's pardons, and the suffrages of the church. They said, they believed faithfully the blood of Christ had purged their sins, and the sins of them that were saved, unto the end of the world, so that they nothing feared the pope's purgatory, nor esteemed his pardons.

Also, whether images were necessary to be in the churches, as laymen's books, and saints to be prayed unto and worshipped. They answered negatively; John Maundrel adding that wooden images were good to roast a shoulder of mutton, but evil in the church; whereby idolatry was committed.

Those articles thus answered, (for their articles were one, and their answers in manner like,) the chancellor read their condemnation, and so delivered them to the sheriff: Then spake John Spicer, saying; "O Master Sheriff, now must you be their butcher, that you may be guilty also with them of innocent blood before the Lord." This was the twenty-hird day of March, anno 1556; and the twenty-fourth day of the same month they were carried out of the

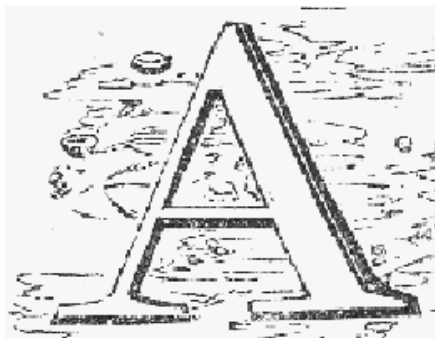
common gaol to a place betwixt Salisbury and Wilton, where were two posts set for them to be burnt at: which men coming to the place, kneeled down, and made their prayers secretly together; and then, being disclothed to their shirts, John Maundrel spake with a loud voice, "Not for all Salisbury;" which words men judged to be an answer to the sheriff, which offered him the queen's pardon if he would recant. And after that in like manner spake John Spicer, saying, "This is the joyfullest day that ever I saw." Thus were they three burnt at two stakes; where most constantly they gave their bodies to the fire, and their souls to the Lord, for testimony of his truth.

As touching William Coberley, this moreover is to be noted, that his wife also, called Alice, being apprehended, was in the keeper's house the same time detained, while her husband was in prison: where the keeper's wife, named Agnes Penicote, had secretly heated a key firehot, and laid it in the grass in the backside. So speaking to Alice Coberly to fetch her the key in all haste, the said Alice went with speed to bring the key, and so taking up the key in haste, did piteously burn her hand. Whereupon she, crying out at the sudden burning of hand, "Ah! thou drab," quoth the other, "thou that cant not abide the burning of the key, how wilt thou be able to abide burning thy whole body?" and so she afterward revoked. But to return again to the story of Coberley, who, being somewhat learned, and being at the stake, was somewhat long a-burning as the wind stood: after his body was scorched with the fire, and his left arm drawn and taken from him by the violence of the fire, the flesh being burnt to the white bone, at length he stooped over the chain, and with the right hand, being somewhat sturkened, knocked upon his breast softly, the blood and matter issuing out of his mouth. Afterward, when they all thought he had been dead, suddenly he rose right up with his body again. And thus much concerning these three Salisbury martyrs.

**334. Robert Drakes, William Tyms, Richard Spurge,
Thomas Spurge, John Cavel, George Ambrose**



The Six Martyrs at Their Execution



ABOUT the 23d day of April, A. D. 1556, were burned in Smithfield at one fire, these six constant martyrs of Christ, suffering for the profession of the gospel, namely, Robert Drakes, minister; William Tyms, curate; Richard Spurge, shearman; Thomas Spurge, fuller; John Cavel, weaver; George Ambrose, fuller.

They were all of Essex, and so of the diocese of London, and were sent up, some by the Lord Riche, and some by others at sundry times, unto

Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, then lord chancellor of England, about the twenty-second day of March, anno 1555; who, after small examination, sent them, some unto the King's Bench, and others unto the Marshalsea, where they remained almost all the whole year, until the death of the said bishop of Winchester; and had during that time nothing said unto them. Whereupon, after that Dr. Heath, archbishop of York, was chosen to the office of lord chancellorship, four of these persecuted

brethren, being now weary of this their long imprisonment, made their supplication unto the said Dr. Heath, requiring his favour and aid for their deliverance: the copy whereof ensueth.

"May it please your honourable good Lordship, for the love of God to tender the humble suit of your Lordship's poor orators, whose names are subscribed, which have lain in great misery in the Marshalsea by the space of ten months and more, at the commandment of the late lord chancellor, to their utter undoing, with their wives and children. In consideration whereof, your Lordship's said orators do most humbly pray and beseech your good Lordship to suffer them to be brought before your Honour; and there, if any man of good conscience can lay any thing to our charge, we trust either to declare our innocency against their accusations, or if otherwise their accusations can be proved true and we faulty, we are ready (God helping us) with our condign punishments to satisfy the law according to your wise judgment, as we hope, full of fatherly mercy toward us and all men, according to your godly office; in the which we pray for your godly success to the good pleasure of God. Amen."

This supplication was sent (as is said) and subscribed with the names of these four under following:-- Richard Spurge, Thomas Spurge, George Ambrose, John Cavel.

Upon the receipt and sight hereof, it was not long after, but Sir Richard Read, knight, then one of the officers of the court of the chancery, the sixteenth day of January, was sent unto the Marshalsea to examine the said four prisoners; and therefore beginning first with Richard Spurge upon certain demands, received his answers thereunto: the effect whereof was, that he with others were complained upon by the parson of Bocking unto the Lord Riche, for that they came not unto their parish church of Bocking, where they inhabited; and thereupon was by the said Lord Riche sent unto the late chancellor, about the twenty-second day of March last past, viz. anno 1555.

And further, he said, that he came not to the church since the first alteration of the English service into Latin (Christmas day then a twelvemonth only excepted); and that, because he misliked both the same and the mass also, as not consonant and agreeing with God's holy word.

Moreover, he required that he might not be any more examined upon the matter, unless it pleased the lord chancellor that then was, to know his fault therein, which to him he would willingly utter.

Thomas Spurge being then next examined, made the same answer in effect that the other had done; confessing, that he absented himself from the church, because the word of God was not there truly taught, nor the sacraments of Christ duly ministered in such sort as was prescribed by the same word. And being further examined of his belief concerning the sacrament of the altar, he said that if any could accuse him thereof, he would then make answer as God had given him knowledge therein.

The like answer made George Ambrose, adding moreover, that after he had read the late bishop of Winchester's book, entitled, De Vera Obedientia, with Bonner's

preface thereunto annexed, inveighing (both) against the authority of the bishop of Rome, he did much less set by their doings than before.

John Cavel, agreeing in other matters with them, answered, that the cause why he did forbear the coming to the church was, that the parson there had preached two contrary doctrines. For first, in a sermon that he made at the queen's first entry to the crown, he did exhort the people to believe the gospel; for it was the truth, and if they did not believe it, they should be damned. But in a second sermon, he preached that the Testament was false in forty places; which contrariety in him was a cause amongst others of his absenting from the church.

About the fourth day of March next after, Robert Drakes also was examined, who was parson of Thundersley in Essex, and had there remained the space of three years. He was first made deacon by Dr. Taylor of Hadley, at the commandment of Dr. Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury. And within one year after, (which was the third year of King Edward,) he was by the said archbishop and Dr. Ridley, bishop of London, admitted minister of God's holy word and sacraments, not after the order then in force, but after such order as was after established; and was presented unto the said benefice of Thundersley by the Lord Riche, at the suit of Master Causton and Master Treheron; and now, notwithstanding, was sent up by the said Lord Riche, with the others before mentioned: and at his coming to the bishop of Winchester, was by him demanded whether he would conform himself like a subject to the laws of this realm then in force. To the which he said he would abide all laws that stood with the laws of God; and thereupon was committed to prison, where he and the rest abovenamed did remain ever since.

Now remaineth likewise to declare the examination of William Tyms, deacon and curate of Hockley in Essex. But before I come to his examination, first here is to be opened and set forth the order and manner of his trouble, how and by whom he was first apprehended in Essex, and from thence sent up to London; the story whereof followeth in this manner.

"There were at Hockley in Queen Mary's days two sermons preached in the woods, the which woods were appertaining to Master Tyrrel; and the name of the one wood was called Plumborough-wood, and the other Beaches-wood: and there was at the same sermons an honest man and his wife with him, whose name was John Gye, the which Gye was Master Tyrrel's servant, and did dwell under him, being his herd at a farm of his called Plumborough. Shortly after, it was known to Master Tyrrel, how that his woods were polluted with sermons, the which he did take very evil, and much matter did arise about it, as an unlawful assembly; the which was laid to John Gye's charge, because he did not disclose that unlawful act to his master, being then in the commission of peace, appointed at that time to keep down the gospel; the which he did to the uttermost, as it may appear in many of his acts. Good God, give him repentance, if it be thy will!

"Shortly after it pleased Master Tyrrel to come to Hockley, to sift out this matter, and to know who was at these preachings. Well, there were found many faulty; for it is supposed there were a hundred persons at the least. So it pleased Master Tyrrel to begin first with John Gye, and asked him where that naughty fellow was, that served their parish, one Tyms; 'for it is told me,' said he, 'that he is the cause

to bring these naughty fellows into the country. Therefore I charge thee, Gye, to fetch me this naughty fellow Tyms, for thou knowest where he is.' 'No,' said Gye, 'I do not know.' So in no wise could he make him fetch him.

"Then stepped forth another of Master Tyrrel's men, willing to show his master pleasure, whose name was Richard Sheriff, and said to his master, 'Sir, I know where he is.' 'Well,' said Master Tyrrel, 'go to the constables and charge them to bring him to me.'

"So this Sheriff being diligent, made sure work, and had him brought before his master with the constables, whose names be these, Edward Hedge and John James.

"So when he came before the said Master Tyrrel, then Master Tyrrel commanded all men to depart; and it was wisely done, for he was not able to open his mouth against Tyms without reproach; and there he kept him about three hours. But there were some that listened at the walls, and heard Master Tyrrel say thus to Tyms

"'Methinketh,' said Tyrrel, 'that when I see the blessed rood it maketh me think of God.'

"'Why sir,' said Tyms, 'if an idol that is made with man's hands doth make you remember God, how much more ought the creatures of God, as man being his workmanship, or the grass, or the trees that bring forth fruit, make you remember God!'

"So Master Tyrrel ended his talk with Tyms it should seem in a heat, for he burst out and called him traitorly knave.

"'Why sir,' said Tyms, 'in King Edward's days you did affirm the truth that I do now.'

"'Affirm?' quoth Tyrrel; 'nay, by God's body, I never thought it with my heart.'

"'Well,' said Tyms, 'then I pray you, Master Tyrrel, bear with me; for I have been a traitor but a while, but you have been a traitor six years.'

"After this, Tyms was sent to London to the bishop, and from him to the bishop of Winchester, and so from him to the King's Bench; and then was Master Tyrrel's rage ceased with them that were in the woods at the sermons. So Master Tyrrel took away Gye's coat, and gave it to John Traiford; and sent him to St. Osyth's to see good rule kept there.

"When Tyms came before the bishop of London, there was at that time the bishop of Bath, and there was William Tyms examined of his faith before them both. So mightily God wrought with this true-hearted man, that he had wherewith to answer them both; for the constables did say that brought him before the bishop, that they never heard the like. Then the bishop (as though he would have had Tyms to turn from the truth) said to the constables, 'I pray you,' said he, 'give him good counsel, that he may turn from his error.' 'My Lord,' said the constables, 'he is at a point, for he will not turn.'

"Then both the bishops waxed weary of him, for he had troubled them about six or seven hours. Then the bishops began to pity Tymes' case, and to flatter him, saying, 'Ah! good fellow,' said they, 'thou art bold, and thou hast a good fresh spirit; we would thou hadst learning to thy spirit.' 'I thank you, my lords,' said Tymes, 'and both you be learned, and I would you had a good spirit your learning.' So thus they broke up, and sent Tymes to the bishop of Winchester, and there were Edward Hedge and John James the constables afore-named discharged, and Tymes was commanded to the King's Bench, where he was mightily strengthened with the good men that he found there."

And thus hitherto ye have heard, first upon what occasion this William Tymes was apprehended, how he was entreated of Master Tyrrel the justice, and by him sent up to the ordinary of the diocese, which was Bishop Bonner; who, after certain talk and debating he had with the said Tymes, at length directed him to the bishop of Winchester, being then lord chancellor, and yet living, and so was commanded by him upon the same to the King's Bench.

Here by the way is to be understood, that Tymes, as he was but a deacon, so he was but simply, or at least not priestly, apparelled, forasmuch as he went not in a gown, but in a coat; and his hosen were of two colours, the upper part white, and the nether stocks of sheep's russet. Whereupon the proud prelate, sending for him to come before him, and seeing his simple attire, began to mock him, saying, "Ah, sirrah! are you a deacon?" "Yes, my Lord, that I am," quoth Tymes. "So methinketh," said the bishop, "ye are decked like a deacon." "My Lord," said Tymes, "my vesture doth not so much vary from a deacon; but methinketh your apparel doth as much vary from an apostle."

So then there spake one of the bishop's gentlemen: "My Lord," said he in mockage, "give him a chair, a toast and drink, and he will be lusty." But the bishop bade, have him away, and commanded him to come before him again the next day at an hour appointed.

But Winchester, for lack of leisure, or because of sickness growing upon him, or for what cause else I know not, either would not, or could not attend unto him, but returned him again to his ordinary bishop from whence he came. So William Tymes, being put off again to Bishop Bonner, was placed together and coupled with the other five martyrs above named, and with them brought together to public examination before the bishop the twenty-first day of March, first in the bishop's palace of London, where the said bishop after his accustomed manner proceeding against them, inquired of them their faith upon the sacrament of the altar. To whom they answered, that the body of Christ was not in the sacrament of the altar really and corporally, after the words of consecration spoken by the priest: of the which opinion they had been of long time, some later, some sooner, even as God of his mercy did call them unto the knowledge of his gospel.

Then the bishop's chaplains began to reason with them, but with no great authorities either of the Scriptures, or of the ancient fathers, ye may be sure, as other their large conferences with the learned do already declare.

Another examination of Tyms and Drakes, and the rest, before the bishop of London.

"The twenty-third day of the same month next after, the bishop sent again for Tyms and Drakes, and *ex officio* did object unto them certain articles, the sum and manner whereof were the same which before were objected to Whittle, Greene, Tudson, Went, Brown, Elizabeth Foster, Joan Lashford: which see before. And the twenty-sixth day of the same month, he sent for the other four, ministering unto them also the same general articles: unto the which they all in effect answered in matters touching their faith, as did the said Bartlet Greene and the rest.

"Other appearings they had, as the bishop's common manner of proceeding was, more (as I have often said) for order and form of law, than for any zeal of justice. But in conclusion, the twenty-eighth day of this month of March, William Tyms, and Robert Drakes, with the other four above named, were brought to the open consistory in Paul's, before the said bishop of London, to be condemned for heresy.

"The bishop first began in this or like sort: 'Tyms,' quoth he, 'I will begin with thee first, for thou art and hast been the ringleader of these thy companions; thou hast taught them heresies, and confirmed them in their erroneous opinions, and hast endeavoured, as much as in thee lieth, to make them like unto thyself. If thy fault had not tended to the hurt of others, I would then have used thee more charitably, and not have brought thee to this open rebuke. I would, according to the rule of Christ in Matt. xviii., have told thee thy fault between me and thee; if thou wouldst not have heard me, I would not so have left thee, but I, with two or three others, would have exhorted thee; and if that would not have served, then would I have told the church, &c. But for that thy fault is open and manifest to the world, and thou thyself remainest stout in thine error, this charitable dealing is not to be extended towards thee: I have therefore thought good to proceed by another rule, whereof St. Paul speaketh, Such as sin, rebuke them openly, that others may fear. For this cause art thou brought before me in the face of this people, to receive judgment according to thy deserts. Let me see what thou canst say, why I should not proceed against thee as thine ordinary.'

"'My Lord,' quoth Tyms, 'will you now give me leave to speak?' 'Yea,' quoth the bishop. Then, said Tyms, 'my Lord, I marvel that you will begin with a lie. You call me the ringleader and teacher of this company; but how untruly you have said, shall shortly appear: for there is none of all these my brethren, which are brought hither as prisoners, but when they were at liberty and out of prison, they dissented from you and your doings, as much as they do at this present; and for that cause they are now prisoners. So it is evident, that they learned not their religion in prison. And as for me, I never knew them, until such time as I by your commandment was prisoner with them: how could I then be their ringleader and teacher? So that all the world may see how untruly you have spoken. And as for my fault which you make so grievous, whatsoever you judge of me, I am well assured that I hold none other religion than Christ preached, the apostles witnessed, the primitive church received, and now of late the apostolical and evangelical preachers of this realm have faithfully taught; for the which you have cruelly burned them, and now you seek our blood also. Proceed on hardly by what rule you will, I force not; I do not refuse you for my ordinary.'

"Then,' said the bishop, 'I perceive thou wilt not be counted their ringleader. How sayest thou, wilt thou submit thyself to the catholic church, as an obedient child? In so doing thou shalt be received and do well enough: otherwise thou shalt have judgment as a heretic.'

"Then one of the prisoners (whose name is not certainly known) said, 'My Lord! you are no upright judge, for you judge after your own lust. But if you will judge us according to the holy Testament of Christ, which is the word of truth, we will accord to your judgment; for unto that word we wholly submit ourselves. But as for your judgment without the truth, God shall condemn.' And this prisoner was very earnestly in hand with the bishop, that they might be judged by the word of God. With this the bishop was offended, calling him busy knave, and commanded him to hold his tongue; or else he should be had away to a place of smaller ease.

"Then Tyms answered and said, 'My Lord, I doubt not but I am of the catholic church, whatsoever you judge of me. But as for your church, you have before this day renounced it, and by corporal oath promised never to consent to the same. Contrary to the which you have received into this realm the pope's authority, and therefore you are falsely perjured and forsworn, all the sort of you. Besides this, you have both spoken and written very earnestly against that usurped power, and now you do burn men that will not acknowledge the pope to be supreme head.'

"Have I?' quoth the bishop; 'where have I written any thing against the Church of Rome?'

"My Lord,' quoth Tyms, 'the bishop of Winchester wrote a very learned oration, entituled, De Vera Obedientia, which containeth worthy matter against the Romish authority. Unto the which book you made a preface, inveighing against the bishop of Rome, reproving his tyranny and falsehood, calling his power false and pretended. The book is extant, and you cannot deny it.'

"Then was the bishop somewhat abashed, and looking upon such as were present, spake very gently, saying, 'Lo! here is goodly matter indeed. My Lord of Winchester, being a great learned man, did write a book against the supremacy of the pope's Holiness, and I also did write a preface before the same book, tending to the same effect. And thus did we, because of the perilous world that then was: for then was it made treason by the laws of this realm to maintain the pope's authority, and great danger it was to be suspected a favourer of the see of Rome; and therefore fear compelled us to bear with the time, for otherwise there had been no way but one. You know when any uttered his conscience in maintaining the pope's authority, he suffered death for it.' And then turning his tale unto Tyms, he said, 'But since that time, even since the coming in of the queen's Majesty, when we might be bold to speak our conscience, we have acknowledged our faults, and my Lord of Winchester himself shamed not to recant the same at Paul's Cross. And also thou thyself seest that I stand not in it, but willingly have submitted myself. Do thou also as we have done.'

"My Lord,' quoth Tyms, 'that which you have written against the supremacy of the pope, may be well approved by the Scriptures. But that which you now do, is against the word of God, as I can well prove.'

"Then another (I suppose it was Dr. Cooke) said, Tyms, I pray thee let me talk with thee a little, for I think we two are learned alike. Thou speakest much of the Scripture, and yet understandest it not. I will tell thee to whom thou mayest be compared. Thou art like to one which intending to go on hunting, riseth up early in the morning, taketh his hounds, and forth he goeth, up to the hills, and down into the valleys; he passeth over the fields, over hedge and ditch; he searcheth the woods and thickets: thus laboureth he all the whole day, without finding any game. At night, home he cometh, weary of his travail, not having caught any thing at all: and thus fareth it by thee. Thou labourest in reading of the Scriptures; thou takest the letter, but the meaning thou knowest not; and thus thy reading is as unprofitable unto thee, as hunting was unto the man I spake of even now.'

"Sir,' quoth Tyms, 'you have not well applied your similitude; for I praise God, I have not read the Scriptures unprofitably: but God, I thank him, hath revealed unto me so much as I doubt not is sufficient for my salvation.'

"Then said the bishop, 'You brag much of knowledge, and yet you know nothing: you speak much of Scripture, and you know not what Scripture is. I pray thee tell me; how knowest thou that thing to be the word of God, which thou tallest Scripture?'

"To this answered Robert Drakes, that he did know it to be the word of God, for that it doth show unto men their salvation in Christ; and doth revoke and call back all men from wicked life, unto a pure and undefiled conversation.

"The bishop replied, that the heathen writers have taught precepts of good living, as well as the Scripture, and yet their writings are not esteemed to be God's word.

"To this answered Tyms, saying, 'The Old Testament beareth witness of those things which are written in the New, for,' quoth he, 'there is nothing taught in the New Testament, but it was fore-shewed in the law and prophets.'

"I will deny all,' quoth the bishop, 'I will deny all; what sayest thou then?' Then Robert Drakes alleged a sentence in Latin out of the prophet Isaiah, in the fifty-ninth chapter of his prophecy, My. Spirit which is in thee, and my words which I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of the seed of thy seed, from henceforth even for ever; meaning thereby to prove, that he which had the Spirit of God, could thereby discern and judge truly which was God's word. But before he could explicate his mind, he was interrupted by the bishop, who spake unto Dr. Pendleton, saying, 'Master Doctor, I pray you say somewhat unto these folks that may do them some good.' Then Dr. Pendleton, as he leaned near unto the bishop, covered his face with both his hands, to the end he might the more quietly devise what to say; but other talk was presently ministered, so that for that time he said nothing."

And thus much William Alsbury, witness hereof, being present thereat, so far as he heard, hath faithfully recorded and reported. What more was spoken and there said, (for they made not yet an end a good while after,) because he departed then out of the house, he doth not know, nor did hear.

Then the bishop, after this and such-like communication thus passed between them, proceeding at length in form of law, caused both his articles and answers to the same, there and then to be openly read: the sum of which his confession recorded and left by his own hand-writing, tended to this effect as followeth:--

"First, I did truly confess and believe, that I was baptized into the true catholic church of Christ; for when I was baptized, there was the element and the word of God, according to Christ's institution. And my godfathers and godmothers did promise for me, that I should forsake the devil, and all his works, and that I should keep God's commandments, and believe all the articles of the Christian faith; the which I do believe at this day, and with God's help I trust to do while I live; for it was not the wickedness of the minister that made the sacrament of none effect, &c.

"Item, I confessed two sacraments, and but two in Christ's true church; that is, the sacrament of baptism, and the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ; and that Christ is present with his sacraments, as it pleaseth him.

"Item, I confessed that Christ hath a visible church, wherein the word of God is truly preached, and the sacraments truly ministered.

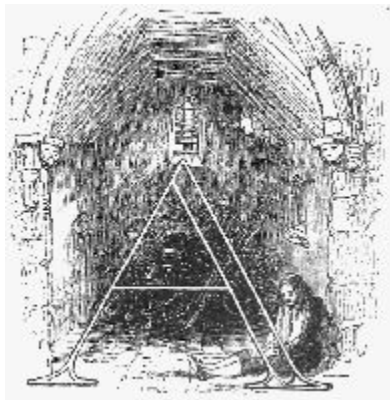
"Item, I confessed the see of Rome to be as the late bishop of Winchester hath written in his book, *De Vera Obedientia*, to the which I said unto the bishop of London, that he had made a godly preface; and also John Bale hath plainly declared in his book, called '*The Image of both Churches*,' even so much as I believe thereof.

"Item, I confessed the mass to be blasphemy to Christ's death and passion.

"Item, I confessed that in the sacrament of the altar Christ is not present either spiritually or corporally; but, as they use it, it is an abominable idol.

"Last of all, I confessed the bishop of London to be mine ordinary."

*The condemnation of Tyms, Drakes, Spurge, and
three others.*



AFTER this the bishop, falling to entreating and persuasions earnestly exhorted Tyms to revoke his heresies, (as he termed them,) and to reform himself unto the church of Rome, and not to stick so much to the literal sense of the Scriptures, but to use the interpretation of the old fathers. To the which he answered, "I will not reform myself thereunto. And I thank God for this day; for I trust he will turn your cursings into blessings."

And furthermore, asking this question, Tyms said, "And what have you to maintain the real presence of Christ in the sacrament, but only the bare letter?" "We have," quoth the bishop, "the catholic church." "No," said Tyms,

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"you have the popish church of Rome for you, for which you be perjured and forsworn. And the see of Rome is the see of antichrist; and therefore to that church

I will not conform myself, nor once consent unto it."

Then the bishop, seeing his constant boldness to be unmovable, proceeding to his condemnation, pronounced the sentence definitive upon him, and gave him over to the secular power.

After calling for Robert Drakes, he used towards him the like manner of exhortation that he did before. To whom Drakes said, "As for your Church of Rome, I utterly defy and deny it, with all the works thereof, even as I deny the devil and all his works."

The bishop then using his accustomed order of law, with his like exhortations, at last gave him the like blessing that Tyms had, and so charged the sheriff with him.

Thomas Spurge, being next demanded if he would return to the catholic church, said as followeth: "As for your Church of Rome, I do utterly deny it: but to the true catholic church I am content to return, and continue in the same, whereof I believe the Church of Rome to be no part or member."

Then in fine, calling the rest in their courses, and upon the like demands receiving the like answers, the said bishop gave unto each of them their several judgments, and so ridding his bloody hands, committed them unto the custody of the sheriffs of London, who sent them unto Newgate, whither they went all most joyfully, abiding there the Lord's good time, wherein they should seal this their faith with the shedding of their blood; which they most stoutly and willingly performed the fourteenth day of April, as before is mentioned.

LETTERS OF WILLIAM TYMS.

To his faithful sister in the Lord, parishioner in the town of Hockley, named Agnes Glascock.

"The grace, mercy, and peace of God our Father through Jesus Christ our Lord and only Saviour, with the sweet comfort of his holy and mighty Spirit, to the performance of his will, to your everlasting comfort, be with you, my dear sister Glascock, both now and evermore. Amen.

"My most dear and entirely beloved sister, yea, mother I may rightly well call you, for the motherly care which you have always had for me, I have me most heartily commended unto you, giving God most hearty thanks for you, that he hath given you so loving a heart to Christ's poor gospel, and his poor afflicted flock for the same: and as you have full godly begun, so I beseech God to give you power to go forward in

the same, and never more to look back, fearing neither fire, neither sword; and then I warrant you, you have not far to run.

"And now, my dear heart! remember well what I have taught you when I was present with you, and also written being absent, and no doubt we shall shortly meet again with a most joyful meeting. I go upon Friday next to the bishop of London's coal-house, which is the twentieth day of March, where I think it will be hard for any of my friends to speak with me. Howbeit I trust I shall not long tarry there, but shortly after be carried up after my dear brethren and sisters, which are gone before me into heaven in a fiery chariot: therefore now I take my leave of you, till we meet in heaven; and hie you after! I have tarried a great while for you, and seeing you be so long a making ready, I will tarry no longer for you. You shall find me, merrily singing, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of sabaoth, at my journey's end. Therefore now, my dear heart! make good haste, and loiter not by the way, lest night take you, and so ye be shut out of the gate with the foolish virgins. And now, my sister, in witness that I have taught you nothing but the truth, here I write my name with my blood for a testimonial unto you, that I will seal the simple doctrine which I have taught you, with the rest. And thus fare you well: and God defend you from antichrist, and all his ministers, the false priests. Amen."

These words following were written with his own blood:

"Continue in prayer.

Ask in faith

And obtain your desire

By me, William Tyms, in the King's Bench for the gospel of Christ."

Another letter, wherein he doth comfort his sister Glascock, being in great sorrow and repentance for going to the mass.

"God be merciful unto you, pardon and forgive all your sins, and send you faith to believe the same, that you may be partaker of his heavenly kingdom. Amen.

"My dear sister, I have me most heartily commended unto you: and as I have lamented your falling from God, by being partaker with that idolatrous priest; so have I, since I heard of your earnest repentance, very much rejoiced, and also praised Almighty God for his mercy showed unto you, in that he hath not left you to yourself, but since your denial, he hath showed his mercy on you, by looking back on you as he did on Peter, and so caused you to repent as Peter did, and bitterly to weep for your sins: whereas if God had left you to yourself, you had run forward from one evil to another, till at length your heart should either have been hardened, or else you should have despaired of the mercy of God. And seeing that God hath been so merciful unto you as he hath been, be you not unthankful unto him for the same. For I certify you that your sorrowful heart that you have had, doth declare unto me that God hath pardoned and forgiven all your sins for the blood-shedding of that immaculate Lamb, Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour.

"Therefore as Peter, after the time that Christ had forgiven him his sin, did boldly confess Christ before all his enemies; even so, my dear heart in the Lord, seeing that God hath so mercifully pardoned and forgiven you your sins, now cleave unto him and be at defiance with his enemies the papists: and as they do bear witness with their father the devil, by going to the church, and shedding the innocent blood of all those that will not go with them; even so do you bear witness with Christ, by not coming there: for all those that do go thither shall be partakers of their brethren's blood, that is shed for the testimony of Christ, except they repent and amend; which grace that they may so do, I beseech the eternal God for his Christ's sake, if it be his good will, to give them in his good time. And the same good God that hath been so merciful unto you to call you to repentance, him I beseech to keep you in his fear and love, that you may have always affiance in him, and evermore seek his honour and glory, to your everlasting comfort in Christ. Amen. Thus fare you well.

"From the King's Bench this 28th of August. "By me,
WILLIAM TYMS."

Another letter to certain godly yeomen of his parish, followers of the gospel.

"Grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, through our Lord Jesus Christ, be with you both now and evermore. Amen.

"Dear sisters, I have me most heartily commended unto you, thanking you for the great kindness showed unto me in this time of mine imprisonment, and not only unto me, but also unto my poor wife and children; and also for the great kindness that you show unto all the living saints that be dispersed abroad, and are fain to hide their heads for fear of this cruel persecution.

"Dear sisters, when I do remember your constancy in Christ, I call to remembrance the constancy of divers godly women, as Susannah, Judith, Esther, and the good wife of Nabal, that through her godly conditions saved both her husband's life, and all her household, when David had thought to have slain him for his churlish answer that he sent him. Also I do remember Rahab, that lodged the Lord's spies, how God preserved her and her whole household for her faithfulness that she bare to God's people. So I do believe that when the Lord shall send his angel to destroy these idolatrous Egyptians here in England, and shall find the blood of the Lamb sprinkled on the door-post of your hearts, he will go by, and not hurt you, but spare your whole households for your sakes. Also I do remember Mary Magdalene, how faithful she was; for she was the first that preached the resurrection of Christ. Remember the blessed martyr Anne Askew in our time, and follow her example of constancy. And for the love of God take heed that in no case you do consent to idolatry, but stand fast to the Lord, as the good woman did that had her seven sons put to death before her face, and she always comforting them; yea, and last of all suffered death herself, for the testimony of her God, which is the living God. Thus I beseech God to send you grace and strength to stand fast to the Lord, as she did, and then you shall be sure of the same kingdom that she is sure of; to the which kingdom I pray God bring both you and me. Amen.

"By me, WILLIAM TYMS, prisoner in the King's Bench."

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

Another letter to his friends in Hockley.

"The grace of God the Father, through the merits of his dear Son Jesus, our Lord and only Saviour, with the continual aid of his holy and mighty Spirit, to the performance of his will, to our everlasting comfort, be with you, my dear brethren, both now and evermore. Amen.

"My dearly beloved, I beseech God to reward the great goodness that you have showed unto me, sevenfold into your bosoms; and as you have always had a most godly love unto his word, even so I beseech him to give you grace to love your own souls; and then I trust you will flee from all those things that should displease our good and merciful God, and hate and abhor all the company of those that would have you to worship God any otherwise than is contained in his holy word. And beware of those masters of idolatry; that is, these papistical priests. My dear brethren, for the tender mercy of God, remember well what I have said unto you, and also written, the which I am now ready to seal with my blood. I praise God that ever I lived to see the day, and blessed be my good and merciful God, that ever he gave me a body to glorify his name. And, dear hearts! I do now write unto you for none other cause, but to put you in remembrance, that I have not forgotten you, to the end that I would not have you forget me, but to remember well what I have simply by word of and writing taught you; the which although it were most simply done, yet truly, as your own conscience beareth me record: and therefore in any case take good heed that you do not that thing which your own conscience doth condemn. Therefore come out of Sodom, and go to heaven-ward with the servants and martyrs of God, lest you be partakers of the vengeance of God that is coming upon this wicked nation, from the which the Lord God defend you, and send us a joyful meeting in the kingdom of heaven; unto the which God bring you all, Amen. Thus now I take my leave of you for ever in this world, except I be burned amongst you, which thing is uncertain unto me, as yet.

"By me your poorest and most unworthy brother in Christ, W. Tyms, in Newgate, the twelfth day of April, condemned to die for Christ's verity."

Another letter, giving thanks to his parishioners, for their charity showed to his wife, being brought to bed of a child in his captivity.

"The everlasting peace of our dear Lord and only Saviour Jesus Christ, with the sweet comfort of his holy and mighty Spirit, to the increase of your faith, to the performance of his will, and to your eternal comfort in the everlasting kingdom of heaven, be with you, my dear brethren and sisters, both now and ever, Amen.

"My most dear brethren and sisters in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ! I have me most heartily commended unto you, with hearty thanks for all the great liberality that you have showed unto me, and especially now in this time of my necessity, when that God hath sent my poor wife a child in my captivity; which is no little care to me, so to provide, that I might keep both the child and my wife from the antichristian church: the which thing, I thank my good God, through his most gracious providence, I have yet done, though it be (as ye know) great charge, not to me, but to

the congregation of God: and it grieveth me that I have been so chargeable to them as I have been, and specially you, my dear brethren, I being so unworthy a member as I have been, and also of so small acquaintance; but such is the merciful goodness of God, so to move your hearts with charity towards me. And as he hath moved your hearts so to do, even so I beseech God to give you power to forsake and refuse all things which be displeasing in his sight, and to do all things which be requisite to a Christian; and send you grace to go forwards in the same as you have godly begun, neither fearing fire nor sword. And my most dear hearts! remember well the simple plain doctrine the which I have taught you, and also written unto you, which was the truth; and for a testimony of the same, I trust that you shall shortly hear, or else see, that I will seal the same with my blood. And in the mean time I desire you all to remember me in your prayers, as I know you do, and as with God's help I will do for you, that God, for his dear Son Christ's sake, will so finish the days of our pilgrimage, that we may rest together with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the everlasting kingdom of heaven; to the which I beseech the eternal God for his Christ's sake to bring both you and all yours. Amen.

"By me,
WILLIAM TYMS."

Another letter to his sister Colfox and Agnes Glascock.

"Grace and peace from God the Father of all mercy, through the merits of our dear Saviour Jesus Christ, be perceived and felt in the hearts of you, my dearly beloved sisters in the Lord, by the mighty working of the Holy Ghost the Comforter, both now and evermore. Amen.

"My most dear and entirely beloved sisters in the Lord, after my most hearty commendations, according to my most bounden duty, I do as I am accustomed, or at least bound to do; that is, I give you warning of your enemies, which be the papists: and take good heed to them, for they serve a crafty master: yea, and, as St. Peter saith, he sleepeth not, but goeth about like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour. For your old familiar friends, or worldly companions, when they see that you will not run to the idol's temple with them, it will seem a strange thing unto them, that ye run not to the same excess of riot, as St. Peter saith; and therefore they will speak evil of you, rail on you, and persecute you.

"But, my dear sisters, let it not trouble you, for it is but to try you, and let it not seem a strange thing unto you. But when they do so, remember wherefore it is, and for whose sake; even because you will not forsake God as they do. For the hatred they bear you, is for the word of God, and then it is God's cause, and I tell you he will revenge it. And therefore if ye be railed on, and troubled for his sake, think yourselves most happy: for if you suffer with the patriarchs, prophets, and apostles, then shall ye be sure to be partakers of the same joy that they are in. Yea, you have heard by the word of God, how cruelly the tyrants always have persecuted the true members of Christ, as he himself hath promised that they shall do unto the end of the world.

"By the way I will bring to your remembrance the holy martyr St. Stephen, who, for favouring, maintaining, and defending the same doctrine that we now suffer

for, was called a blasphemer, and stoned to death at Jerusalem. And Christ's apostles were diversely afflicted all the world over for the same, by this viperous generation. Antipas, the faithful witness of Christ, was slain at Pergamos. Jason, for receiving Paul and Silas, with other disciples and teachers of the gospel, was brought before the council of Thessalonica, and accused for a seditious traitor against Caesar. No marvel therefore though at this day we be vexed on the same sort, maintaining the same cause, and favouring the teachers thereof. Is there any other reward following the true servants of God now, than hath been afore-times? No surely, for so hath Christ promised. And if they have persecuted him, needs must they persecute his members; if they have called the master of the house, Beelzebub, so will they do his household; You shall be hated of all men (saith Christ) for my name's sake.

"It is no new thing, my dear hearts! to see the true members of Christ handled as in our days they be, as it is not unknown to you, how they be cruelly entreated, and blasphemed without any reasonable cause. For heretics must they be taken, which follow not their traditions. And then they may as well call Christ a heretic, for he never allowed their dirty ceremonies: he never went a procession with a cope, cross, or candlestick: he never censed image, nor sang Latin service: he never sat in confession: he never preached of purgatory, nor of the pope's pardons: he never honoured saints nor prayed for the dead: he never said mass, matins, nor even-song: he never commanded to fast Friday nor vigil, Lent nor Advent: he never hallowed church nor chalice, ashes nor palms, candles nor bells: he never made holy water nor holy bread, with such like. But such dumb ceremonies, not having the express commandment of God, he calleth the leaven of the Pharisees, and damnable hypocrisy admonishing his disciples to beware of them. He curseth all those that add to his word such beggarly shadows, wiping their names clean out of the book of life. St. Paul saith, They have no portion with Christ, which wrap themselves again with such yokes of bondage.

"Therefore, my dear hearts, seeing that our good God hath by the light of his holy word delivered us from all such dark, blind, dumb, beggarly traditions of men, stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made you free, and wrap not yourselves again in the yoke of bondage. But let us always be ready, looking for the coming of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, which, as St. Peter saith, will come as a thief in the night. And our Captain Christ saith, If the good man of the house knew what hour the thief would come, he would surely watch.

"Therefore, my dear hearts, be of good comfort, although the world rage never so sore against you. And for your comfort mark well the great mercy of God, who, according to his promise, for the weakness of our nature hath so assuaged the heat of the fire, that our dear brethren which are gone before us, to the sight of all men, have found it rather to be joy than pain. And think you surely God will be as merciful unto you, as he hath been unto them; and say with St. Paul, Who shall separate us from the love of God? shall tribulation, or anguish, or persecution, either hunger, either nakedness, either peril, either sword? as it is written, For thy sake are we killed all the day long, &c.

"Therefore, my dear sisters, if, to save your lives, any dissembling gospellers would have you to go to the idol's temple with them, say unto them, 'No, for my Master Christ saith, He that would save his life shall lose it. And in another place to

comfort us he saith, There shall not one hair fall from your head, without it be your heavenly Father's will.' And therefore say you, that you will not be of that sort that be neither hot nor cold, lest God should spew you out of his mouth. But make them this answer, saying, 'St. Paul saith, Bear no strange yoke with the unbelievers: for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness, what company hath light with darkness, what concord hath Christ with Belial, either what part hath he that believeth with an infidel? How agreeth the temple of God with images? And ye are the temple of God, as God saith, I will dwell among them, walk among them, and will be their God, and they shall be my people. Wherefore come out from among them, and separate yourselves, saith the Lord, and touch no unclean thing so will I receive you, and will be a Father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord.'

"Thus, mine own bowels in the Lord! as I began, so make I an end, bidding you beware of your enemies, and take up your cross, and follow your Captain Christ in at the narrow gate here by persecution, and then you shall be sure to reign and rejoice with him in his everlasting kingdom, which he himself hath purchased with his own most precious blood: to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honTYMSboth now and for ever. Amen.

"By me,
WILLIAM TYMB."

Another letter, with an exhortation to all God's faithful servants to eschew the society of idolaters, and God's enemies.

"Grace be with you, and peace from the Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ.

"I thank my God with all remembrance of you always in my prayers for you, and pray with gladness, because of the fellowship which ye have in the gospel, from the first day that I knew you, until this day; and I am surely certified of this, that he which hath begun a good work in you, shall go forth with it until the day of Jesus Christ, as it becometh me to judge of you; whom I have in my heart, and as companions of grace with me, even in my bonds. And thus I pray, that your love may increase more and more in knowledge. Good brethren, I most heartily desire God, that as you have a willing mind to comfort my vile earthly body in this time of persecution, so he will strengthen you with his Holy Spirit, that my imprisonment do not discomfort, but rather strengthen and comfort you, to see the goodness of God showed unto me, in that being a man without learning, and brought before three such bishops concerning worldly wisdom, he gave me both mouth and wisdom; insomuch that the bishop of London went away in a great haste from me, and after that, he sent his man with a Bible, turning to Heb. ix., and the bishop of Bath looking on it, said, 'What meaneth my Lord? this maketh nothing for his purpose.' Then I looked on it, and said, 'My Lord seeth that I was weak, and therefore he hath holpen me: for here he hath condemned the sacrifice of your mass. For you say that you offer a daily sacrifice in your mass, both for the quick and the dead; and here St. Paul saith, Without blood-shedding there is no forgiveness of sins, therefore that is here condemned.' He answered, 'Yea, saith he so? So say all such heretics;' and so forth, with many like arguments, which my neighbours that heard them can declare;

therefore I leave them. This have I written, that you should not be afraid, but call upon God, as he hath commanded us to ask, and we shall have: Seek, and you shall find, knock, and it shall be opened unto you. Also he hath commanded us to call on him in the day of trouble, and he hath promised to hear us. Therefore if we have not both mouth and wisdom at his hand, the fault is in us, that either we will not repent us of our wickedness, and amend our lives, or else we be unfaithful, and believe not the promises of God; and so we ourselves are the cause that this wisdom is lacking in us. Therefore let us repent and amend our lives, and God is merciful. And in any case, as I have always said unto you, since I first knew you, so say I now: beware of idolatry, and of your own good intents; if not, mark what hath followed upon them that have left God's commandments, and done their own good intents. Remember when the children of Israel had made them a golden calf, did not God say they had marred all; and would have destroyed them, had not Moses earnestly prayed for them? I let many other places alone that prove the wrath of God to come upon the people for idolatry; therefore as we will avoid the wrath of God, let us keep us unstained from it. You have example out of the Old Testament, how loth the godly fathers were to be partakers with the wicked: and yet to see how little we regarded it, it would make any Christian man's heart to weep. God send us more grace. First look in Genesis xi. and xii.: Abraham, because he would not be partaker of their idolatry, fled from the people of Chaldea, being his native country. And in Genesis xix. Lot, at the commandment of the angels, departed from Sodom, lest he, tarrying with the Sodomites, should have been consumed with them. In Genesis xxi. Sarah would not suffer Ishmael, which was given to mocking, to keep company with her son Isaac, lest he should also become a mocker. Look in Numbers xvi. Moses at God's appointment commanded the people to depart from the dwelling-places of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, lest they also should be all wrapped in their sins, and so perish among them. So do I, even as Moses commanded them that they should not keep company with those wicked people, lest the vengeance of God should light on them, so do I give you warning that you should not keep company with the idolaters in their idolatrous temples, lest the wrath of God come upon you to destroy you.

"Look what St. Paul saith in 2 Cor. vi. Set yourselves, saith he, therefore at large, and bear no strange yoke with the unbelievers: for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? what company hath light with darkness? what concord hath Christ with Belial? either what part hath he that believeth with an infidel? How agreeth the temple of God with images? And ye are the temple of God, as saith God, I will dwell among them, and walk among them, and will be their God, and they shall be my people. Wherefore come out from among them, and separate yourselves, saith the Lord, and touch no unclean thing.

"Good brethren, mark what cometh of keeping company with the wicked. Syrach saith, He that toucheth pitch, shall be defiled withal: and be that keepeth company with the proud, shall clothe himself with pride. Even so he that is familiar with idolaters cannot be unstained from idolatry, except he do it to win them to Christ, as there he but a few that do: yea, it may not be where idolatry is openly committed, as for an example, Peter, so long as he continued with Christ and Christ's disciples, he continued in the truth, preached the truth, confessed openly Christ to be the Son of the living God, and promised that he would not only go to prison, but also to very death with him: but when he came once into the court into the bishop's house, he straightway was stricken with such fear, that a poor maiden and simple ruffian, (such

a one as my Lord of London hath, that said, 'By God's blood, if I meet with any of these vile heretics, I will thrust an arrow in him,') when Peter, I say, was amongst them, he denied his Master, and swore that he never knew him, whom he, before he came there, boldly confessed before all men: and again, after that he had repented him of his wicked deed, he boldly preached to the believing Jews, commanding them, among other his godly exhortations, to save themselves from that untoward generation. How many of our priests before this storm of persecution, when the gospel was freely preached, were bold, and could say, they would die rather than deny their Master! But when they come once into the bishops' houses, they preach no more Christ, but utterly deny him: therefore I pray God keep them from thence, or else send them more grace and strength. It is needful to pray; therefore watch in prayer.

"Paul, all the while he was among the bishops, was a cruel persecutor; but after he was called of God from the bishops, he became a true preacher: therefore God keep all Christian men out of the hands of our bishops. St. Paul, in Romans xv., saith, I dare not speak any of those things that Christ hath not wrought by me. He saith also, I beseech you, brethren, mark them that make division, and give occasion of evil, contrary to the doctrine that ye have learned, and them avoid: for they that are such serve not the Lord Jesus Christ, but their own bellies, and with sweet and flattering words deceive the hearts of the simple. Our Master Christ himself hath given us warning which they be: for he hath set the plain mark on them, in Matthew xxiv., If they say here is Christ, or there is Christ, believe them not, saith Christ: If they say, he is in the desert, go not forth. If they say, he is in the secret place, believe them not. And I pray you, where can he be more secret, than in so small a piece of bread? For my Lord of London, like a liar, said to me, that after the words be spoken, there remaineth neither bread nor wine. Then I asked him what he said to David, where he saith, Thou shalt not suffer thy Holy One to see corruption. 'How say you to that? Will not your sacrament of the altar putrify or corrupt?' He answered, 'Yes.' I asked him what it was that did corrupt, if there were neither bread nor wine. He answered, and said, 'The accidents.' I said unto him, it was a mad accident without substance: for you say, there is neither bread nor wine, and then there is nothing to corrupt: with many such-like arguments.

"Therefore beware of them, for they go about to deceive you with such arguments. Say not but ye be warned, and a great deal the more worthy of your damnation, if they deceive you, because you have had so much warning. Repent you betimes of your sinful lives, and amend, and then no doubt but God will either turn their hearts, or else take them away; or else he will give us that, that he promised to his disciples, if we be contented to take the same reward they had. And if we disdain the one, let us not look for the other: for he that will be his father's heir, must be contented to receive his father's correction. For St. Paul saith in Heb. xii., If we be not under correction, whereof all are partakers, then are we bastards and not sons.

"And you know what belongeth to a bastard: he shall not be his father's heir. And if we remember ourselves well, (how negligent we have been to our Father's commandment,) we shall find ourselves worthy to be corrected at his hand. If we refuse his correction, he will refuse us to be his sons. I pray you look what he promised to his disciples, and I pray you also look how willingly they received it. And so must we do, if we will be partakers with them. First let us see what Christ promised to his disciples. Look in Matt. x., and there shall you see these words, Behold, I send

you forth as sheep among wolves. Be wise therefore as serpents, and innocent as doves. Beware of men, for they shall deliver you up to the councils, and shall scourge you in their synagogues: ye shall be brought before the head rulers and kings for my name's sake. But when they put you up, take ye no thought, how or what ye shall speak; for it shall be given you in the same hour what ye shall speak. For it is not you that speak, but the Spirit of my Father which speaketh in you, &c. Read the whole chapter, for it is very comfortable to a Christian man; and mark it well, and you shall find what we ought to do in the time of persecution. Also look in 2 Cor. iv.; St. Paul saith, For we which live are always delivered unto death for Jesus' sake, that the life also of Jesus might appear in our mortal flesh. Thus have you heard that St. Paul doth boast of persecution; even so should we, for it is the way to bring us to rest.

"Therefore let us strive to enter in at the narrow gate, and let us remember the saying of St. Paul in Acts xxi., when he was going to Jerusalem. When he was in the house of Philip the evangelist, there came in a prophet, and took off his girdle, and bound his hands and his feet, saying, Thus shall they do with the man that owneth this girdle, when he cometh to Jerusalem. When the disciples heard that, they would have persuaded him that he should not go thither. Here you shall see what answer this pastor made them; he was a faithful shepherd: What do ye weeping and breaking of my heart? I am not ready to be bound only, but also to die at Jerusalem, for the name of the Lord Jesus.

"Yet I think there be some that will say, that I needed not to have been taken, if I would have kept me out of the way. But I say unto them, that the shrinking away of so many of our shepherds as be gone, maketh so many of the flock to scatter; which will be required at their hands, of the Master of the sheep. What will he say to them at the day of account, when they shall come to receive their wages? He shall say to them, Depart from me, ye wicked hirelings, for when ye saw the wolf come, ye ran away, and left my sheep in the wilderness. If you had been good shepherds, you would rather have lost your lives, than have lost one sheep committed to your charge, through your fault. And I pray you, what case be the sheep in, when their shepherd runneth away from them? I need not tell you, you know the danger that followeth so well.

"Therefore let us pray to God to send us faithful shepherds, and also obedient sheep, that will not hear a stranger's voice. I would all men would mark well the saying of St. Paul in Rom. viii., where he saith in these words, Who shall separate us from the love of God? Shall tribulation, or anguish, or persecution, either nakedness, either peril, either sword? As it is written, For thy sake are we killed all the day long, and are counted as sheep appointed to be slain: nevertheless we overcome strongly through his help that loved us. Yea, I am sure that neither death, neither life, neither angels, neither rule, neither power, neither things present, neither things to come, neither height, neither depth, neither any other creature shall be able to separate us from the love of God; and so forth. Also he saith in another place, All that will live godly in Christ Jesus, must suffer persecution. Thus I prove it to be our heavenly Father's rod: therefore let us thankfully receive it like obedient children, and then our Father will love us.

"Yet hear what St. Peter saith in his First Epistle, chap. iv. Dearly beloved, saith he, be not troubled in this heat which is now come among you to try you, as

though some strange thing had happened unto you: but rejoyce inasmuch as ye are partakers of Christ's passions, that when his glory appeareth you may be merry and glad. If ye be railed on for the name of Christ, happy are ye, for the Spirit of glory and the Spirit of God resteth upon you. On their part he is evil spoken of, but on your part he is glorified. Here St. Peter saith, It is no strange thing; and that I have partly proved before, because we have nothing else promised us in this world. Therefore let us call on God for grace. Be ye sure that they can do nothing to us, till God permit it. As for ensample, look in 1 Sam. xix., you shall see how Saul persecuted David, purposing to kill him: but his labour was in vain. Also in 1 Kings xix. Jezebel threatened and sware to slay Elias, but the Lord preserved him. Also in Job ii. you see that Satan could do nothing to Job, till God suffered him, neither exercise his cruelty any further than God had appointed him. The godly woman Susannah, in Dan. xiii., through the false accusation of the wicked judges, was even at a point to die, yet God wonderfully delivered her. These have I written to put you in remembrance, that man can do no more than is the will of God: therefore let us not resist his will, but refer all to him: and let us be doing that thing that God hath commanded us in his holy word.

"Dear brethren, for the blood of Christ refuse not the cross of Christ, but remember the saying of the godly man David in his Psalm cxix., where he saith, It is good for me that I have been in trouble, that I may learn thy statutes. In the same place he saith, Before I was in trouble, I went wrong; but now I have kept thy word. Even so it is in trouble with us, for the word of God was never so sweet and comfortable as it is now that we be in trouble. Also St. Paul saith in Rom. v., We rejoyce in tribulation: for we know that tribulation bringeth patience, patience bringeth experience, experience bringeth hope, and hope maketh not ashamed.

"Also I pray you remember the saying of St. Paul, in 2 Tim., where he saith, Be not ashamed to testify the Lord: neither be ashamed of me. Even so I say unto you, dear brethren, be not ashamed of my imprisonment, neither sorry, but rejoyce with me, that it hath pleased God of his goodness to call me to such a dignity as this shall be unto me, if I may have his grace to lose my life (which I regard as most vile) for his name's sake: for then I shall be sure to find it again with advantage. Therefore I desire you all that you will pray with me unto Almighty God, that he of his merciful goodness will send me his grace and strength, that I may continue unto the end; as I will pray for you, that God will preserve you from all the wicked ways of antichrist, and strengthen and comfort you, if it be his good pleasure that you shall suffer any thing for his name's sake, as he hath faithfully promised to do. And I certify you, that if all men knew the comfort they should receive at the hand of God, being in prison, I think there would come more to prison than there do. For surely we find such comfort at the hand of God since we have been in prison, that we had rather die than be abroad to see the idolatry that is committed among them that be abroad; beside the seeking one of another's blood, with other wickedness too much; God send me more grace! But, I trust, among you there be none such: and if there be, repent, and amend, lest it be verified on you, that is spoken by the prophet Jeremiah, chap. ii., where he saith, My people have committed two great evils: they have forsaken me, the fountain of the living waters, and digged them pits: pits (I say) that are broken, and can hold no water. Also in chap. viii. he saith, Hear not the words of the prophets that preach their own dreams. Good brethren, beware of those false prophets that I have given you warning of.

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

"Dearly beloved, here I make an end for this time, desiring the same health both of body and soul unto you all, that I would have myself, and I end with the same that St. Peter saith in his First Epistle, chap. v., Submit yourselves therefore under the mighty hand of God, that he may exalt you when the time is come. Cast all your care on him, for he careth for you. Be sober and watch, for your adversary the devil like a roaring lion walketh about, seeking whom he may devour, whom resist stedfast in faith: remembering that ye do but fulfil the same afflictions that are appointed to your brethren that are in the world. The God of all grace, that called you unto his eternal glory by Christ Jesus, shall his own self, after you have suffered a little affliction, make you perfect; shall settle, strengthen, and stablish you. To him be glory and dominion for ever, and while the world endureth. Amen.

"Greet one another with a holy kiss of love. Peace be with you all which are in Christ Jesus. I pray you all say, Amen.

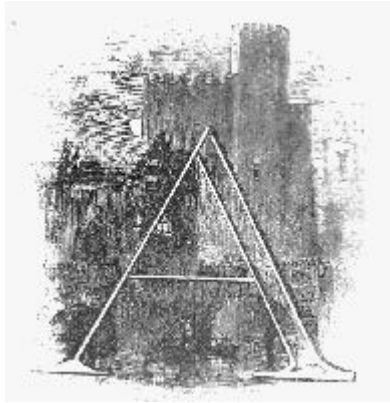
"These be in the same prison where I am: the bishop of St. David's, Dr. Taylor of Hadley, Master Philpot, and my singular good father Master Bradford, with five other of Sussex, laymen.

"I desire some good brother to write this anew, for I wrote it (as I do many times) with fear. For if the keepers had found me, they would have taken it from me, and my pen and ink also.

"Good brethren, I am kept alone, and yet I thank God he comforteth me, past all the comfort of any man: for, I thank him, I was never merrier in Christ.

"By me, WILLIAM TYMS,
prisoner in the King's Bench."

335. The Norfolk Supplication



ABOUT this time, or somewhat before, came down certain commissioners assigned by the queen and council, to Norfolk and Suffolk, (as to other countries else besides,) to inquire of matters of religion: unto the which commissioners there was a supplication then exhibited by some good and well-disposed men (as by the same may appear) dwelling about those parts: which supplication, as I thought it not unworthy to be read, bearing the date of this present year, to be printed; so I thought it was not to be omitted, nor unworthy here to be placed, in consideration of the fruit which thereof might ensue to the reader.

A certain godly supplication exhibited by certain inhabitants of the count of Norfolk, to the commissioners come down to Norfolk and Suffolk, fruitful to be read and marked of all men.

"In most humble and lowly wise, we beseech your Honours, right honourable commissioners, to tender and pity the humble suit of us poor men, and true, faithful, and obedient subjects, who as we have ever heretofore, so intend we, with God's grace, to continue in Christian obedience unto the end, and (according to the word of God) with all reverend fear of God, to do our bounden duty to all those superior powers, whom God hath appointed over us, doing as St. Paul saith: Let every soul be subject to the superior powers; for there is no power but of God; but those powers that are, are ordained of God. Wherefore whosoever resisteth the powers, the same resisteth God; and they that resist, get themselves judgment.

"These lessons, right honourable commissioners, we have learned of the holy word of God, in our mother tongue. First, that the authority of a king, queen, lord, and other their officers under them, is no tyrannical usurpation, but a just, holy, lawful, and necessary estate for man to be governed by; and that the same is of God, the fountain and author of righteousness. Secondly, that to obey the same in all things not against God, is to obey God; and to resist them, is to resist God. Therefore, as to obey God in his ministers and magistrates bringeth life; so to resist God in them, bringeth punishment and death. The same lesson have we learned of St. Peter, saying, Be ye subject to all human ordinances for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the king, as to the most highest, or to the lieutenants sent from him, to the punishment of evil-doers, but to the praise of such as do well. For so is the will of God, that with well-doing ye should stop the mouths of foolish and ignorant men; as free, and not as having the liberty to be a cloak to malice, but as the servants of God.

"Wherefore, considering with ourselves, both that the magistrates' power is of God, and that for the Lord's sake we be bound to Christian obedience unto them, having now presently a commandment, as though it were from the queen's Majesty; with all humble obedience due to the regal power and authority ordained of God, (which we acknowledge to stand wholly and perfectly in her Grace,) and with due reverence unto you her Grace's commissioners, we humbly beseech you with patience and pity to receive this our answer unto this commandment, given unto us.

"First, right honourable commissioners, we have considered ourselves to be not only Englishmen, but also Christians, and therefore bound by the holy vow made to God in our baptism, to prefer God's honour in all things, and that all obedience (not only of us mortal men, but even of the very angels and heavenly spirits) is due unto God's word; insomuch that no obedience can be true and perfect, either before God or man, that wholly and fully agreeth not with God's word.

"Then have we weighed the commandment concerning the restitution of the late abolished Latin service, given unto us, to dissent and disagree from God's word, and to command manifest impiety, and the overthrow of godliness and true religion, and to import a subversion of the regal power of this our native country and realm of England, with the bringing in of the Romish bishop's supremacy, with all errors, superstitions, and idolatry, wasting of our goods and bodies, destroying of our souls, bringing with it nothing but the severe wrath of God, which we already feel, and fear lest the same shall be more fiercely kindled upon us. Wherefore we humbly protest, that we cannot be persuaded that the same wicked commandment should come from the queen's Majesty, but rather from some other, abusing the queen's goodness and favour, and studying to work some feat against the queen, her crown, and the realm, to please with it the Roman bishop, at whose hands the same thinketh hereafter to be advanced.

"As the Agagite Haman wrought maliciously against the noble king Ahasuerus, and as the princes of Babel wrought against the good king Darius; so think we the queen's most gentle heart to be abused of some, who, seeking themselves and their own vainglory, procure such commandments as are against the glory of God. For we cannot have so evil an opinion in her Majesty, that she should subvert the most godly and holy religion, (so accordingly to God's word set forth by the most noble, virtuous, and innocent king, a very saint of God, our late most dear King Edward, her Grace's brother,) except she were wonderfully abused; who, as hating reformation, will rather the destruction of all others, than acknowledge their errors, and to be according to God's word reformed. For truly, the religion lately set forth by King Edward, is such in our consciences as every Christian man is bound to confess to be the truth of God; and every member of Christ's church here in England must needs embrace the same in heart, and confess it with mouth, and (if need require) lose and forsake, not only house, land, and possessions, riches, wife, children, and friends; but also (if God will so call them) gladly to suffer all manner of persecution, and to lose their lives in the defence of God's word and truth set out amongst us. For our Saviour Christ requireth the same of us, saying, Whosoever shall be ashamed of me and my word before this adulterous and sinful generation, the Son of man will also be ashamed of him, when he shall come in the glory of his Father with the holy angels. And again saith he, Whosoever will confess me before men, I will confess him before my Father that is in heaven. And whosoever will deny me before men, I will also deny

him before my Father that is in heaven. And, Whosoever shall speak a word against the Son of man, it shall be forgiven him, but whosoever shall rail against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him.

"We humbly beseech the queen's Majesty, and you her honourable commissioners, be not offended with us, for confessing this truth of God, so straitly given us in charge of Christ; neither bring upon us that great sin that never shall be forgiven, and shall cause our Saviour Jesus Christ in the great day of judgment, before his heavenly Father and all his angels, to deny us, and to take from us the blessed price and ransom of his bloodshed, wherewith we are redeemed. For in that day, neither the queen's Highness, neither you, nor any man, shall be able to excuse us, nor to purchase a pardon of Christ for this horrible sin and blasphemy of casting aside and condemning his word. We cannot agree nor consent unto this so horrible a sin; but we beseech God for his mercy to give us and all men grace, most earnestly to flee from it, and rather (if the will of God be so) to suffer all extremity and punishment in this world, than to incur such damnation before God.

"Manasseh, who restored again the wickedness of idolatrous religion, (before put down by Hezekiah his father,) brought the wrath of God upon the people; so that the Scripture saith, Notwithstanding the reformation made by Josias, the Lord turned not from the fierceness of his great wrath wherewith he was angry against Judah, because of the provocation with which Manasseh provoked him. And the Lord said, Even Judah will I take away from my presence, as I cast away Israel: and I will cast away this city of Jerusalem, and the house whereof I said, My name shall be there. Jeroboam, who at Bethel and Dan erected up a new-found service of God, and not only sinned himself, but also made all Israel to sin with him, so that not only he was damned for commanding, but the wrath of God came upon all Israel for obeying that his ungodly commandment; yet was it not so heinous an offence to bring in an idolatry never yet heard of, as after reformation made by the godly kings and princes, by the virtuous and holy bishops, by the prophets and servants of God, to reject and cast off the word and true religion of God, and to receive again a damned impiety.

"This most heinous offence is now offered unto us, although the same be painted and coloured with the name of reformation, restoring of religion, ancient faith, with the name of the catholic church, of unity, catholic truth, and with the cloak of feigned holiness. These are sheepskins, under the which (as Christ saith) ravening wolves cover themselves. But Christ willeth us to look upon their fruits, whereby we may know them: and truly that is no good fruit, to cast aside God's word, and to banish the English service out of the churches; and in the place of it to bring in a Latin tongue, unknown unto the people, which as it edifieth no man, so it hath been occasion of all blindness and error among the people. For afore the blessed reformation, (begun by the most noble prince of godly memory the queen's good father, and by our late holy and innocent king her good brother finished,) it is not unknown what blindness and error we were all in, when not one man in all this realm unlearned in the Latin, could say in English the Lord's prayer, or knew any one article of his belief, or [could] rehearse any one of the ten commandments. And that ignorance, mother of mischief, was the very root and well-spring of all idolatry, sodomitical monkery, and whorish chastity of unmarried priests, of all whoredom, drunkenness, covetousness, swearing, and blasphemy, with all other wicked sinful living. These brought in the severe wrath and vengeance of God, plaguing sin, with

famine and pestilence; and at last the sword consumed and avenged all their impiety and wicked living, as it is greatly to be feared the same or more grievous plagues shall now again follow.

"We cannot therefore consent nor agree that the word of God and prayers in our English tongue, which we understand, should be taken away from us, and for it a Latin service, (we wot not what, for none of us understand it,) to be again brought in amongst us, specially seeing that Christ hath said, My sheep hear my voice, and follow me; and I give to them everlasting life. The service in English teacheth us that we are the Lord's people, and the sheep of his pasture, and commandeth that we harden not our hearts, as when they provoked the Lord's wrath in the wilderness; lest he swear unto us, as he did swear unto them, that they should not enter into his rest.

"The service in Latin is a confused noise; which if it be good, (as they say it is,) yet unto us that lack understanding, what goodness can it bring? St. Paul commandeth, that in the churches all things should be done to edifying, which we are sure is God's commandment. But in the Latin service nothing is done to edifying, but contrarily all to destroy those that are already edified, and to drive us from God's word and truth, and from believing of the same; and so to bring us to believe lies and fables, that, tempting and provoking God, we should be brought into that judgment that blessed Paul speaketh of, saying, Antichrist shall come according to the working of Satan, with all manner of power and signs, and lying wonders, in all deceivableness of unrighteousness in those that perish: because they have not received the love of the truth, that they might be saved. And therefore God will send them strong delusion, that they should believe lies and be damned; as many as have not believed the truth, but have approved unrighteousness.

"Thus, altogether drawn from God, we shall fall into his wrath through unbelief, till he swear unto us as he did unto the unfaithful Jews, that such infidels shall not enter into his rest.

"In the administration of the Lord's supper, which we confess to be the holy communion, and partaking with Christ and his holy congregation, we have learned God's holy commandments; and, at the rehearsal of every one of them, to ask God mercy for our most grievous transgressions against them; and to ask grace of God, to keep them in time to come, that the same may not only outwardly sound in our ears, but also inwardly by the Holy Ghost be written in our hearts.

"We have learned also the holy prayer made for the queen's Majesty, wherein we learn that her power and authority is of God; therefore we pray to God for her, that she, and all magistrates under her, may rule according to God's word, and we her subjects obey according to the same.

"Truly, most honourable commissioners, we cannot think these things evil, but think them most worthy to be retained in our churches; and we would think ourselves not to have true subjects' hearts, if we should go about to put away such godly prayers, as put us perpetually in memory of our bounden obedience and duty to God and our rulers. For, as we think, at this present the unquiet multitude had more need to have these things more often and earnestly beaten and driven into them, (specially

given in many places to stir and trouble,) than to take from them that blessed doctrine, whereby only they may to their salvation be kept in quiet.

"Furthermore, we cannot forsake that blessed partaking of the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ's institution, ministered with such godly prayers, exhortations, and admonitions, teaching us the knowledge of God, the exceeding love and charity of our loving Redeemer Christ, breaking his body upon the cross for our sins, and shedding his most precious blood for our redemption; which we, in eating of that blessed bread and drinking of the blessed cup, assuredly believe that we receive, and be perfectly joined with Christ and his holy catholic church into one body, and into one unity and brotherly love, whereby each member faithfully embraceth other. We must needs confess this institution of Christ to be most holy and godly, whereof we have the only comfort in conscience against sin, and damnation, with the assurance of salvation, and whereof hath ensued reformation of many heinous sins; much lawing, strife, and contention is ended; drunkenness, whoredom, and other vices, in some reformed; goodness and virtue increased and nourished.

"In the Latin mass we never had no such edifying, but only we saw a great many of ceremonies and strange gestures; as turning of the priest, crossings, blessings, breathings, washing of hands, and spreading abroad of his arms, with like ceremonies that we understand not. And concerning the Latin tongue, wherein the priest prayeth, we wot not whether he blesseth or curseth us. We are not partakers of the sacrament, as Christ's institution appointeth we should be.

"In the ministering of the sacrament, the priests alter the institution of Christ, committing theft and sacrilege, robbing us of the cup of Christ's blood, contrary to Christ's commandment, saying, Drink ye all of this.

"They rob us also of God's word, speaking all things in Latin, which nothing edifieth us either in faith or manners. Christ commandeth not that his supper should be ministered in an unknown tongue; but forasmuch as faith cometh by hearing, and hearing cometh of God's word, how can we believe Christ's word and promise made unto us in this holy sacrament, saying, This is my body broken for you, and this is my blood of the new testament, which is shed for you, for the remission of sins, if the same promises of Christ either be not at all recited, or else so recited in Latin, that the congregation understandeth not, nor heareth not what is spoken? St. Paul saith thus, reciting the saying of Isaiah, As truly as I live, saith the Lord, all knees shall bow unto me, all tongues shall give praise unto God. Also he saith, All tongues must confess, that Jesus Christ is the Lord, unto the glory of God the Father. The Holy Ghost came upon the apostles in fiery tongues, so that they spake the tongues of all nations under heaven. St. Paul ministered to the Corinthians, and preached to them in their own mother tongue, and rebuked the bringing in of strange tongues into the congregations. We cannot think it to be well, that so holy an apostle rebuked. And whatsoever virtue the Latin tongue hath to such as understand it, to us Englishmen not understanding it, it is altogether without virtue and edifying, and therefore unmeet for our churches.

"The priests complain that we laymen love them not, nor have them in honour; but it is their own fault, for how should we love them, that only seek to keep us in blindness and ignorance, to damn our souls, to destroy our bodies, to rob and spoil our goods and substance under a colour of pretended holiness? We know, right

honourable commissioners, what honour is due to such wolves, and how, by the authority of God's word, such are to be fled, as pestilences to the Lord's lambs, whom they miserably daily murder.

"But we have rather chosen by this our meek supplication, humbly to desire the queen's Majesty, and you her honourable commissioners, to render God's word again unto the churches, and to permit us freely to enjoy the same. For we certainly know, that the whole religion lately set out by the holy saint of God, our late most dear King Edward, is Christ's true religion written in the Holy Scripture of God, and by Christ and his apostles taught unto his church. Wherefore we cannot allow with safe consciences this refusal of it, and casting of it out of our churches; forasmuch as to refuse, cast off, and to reject it, is to cast off Christ himself, and to refuse our part in his blessed body broken for our sins, and his blood shed for our redemption; which thing whoso doth, the same without repentance can look for no sacrifice for his sins, but most fearfully waiteth for the judgment, and for that vehement fire that shall destroy Christ's adversaries. For if he that despiseth the law of Moses, is without mercy put to death under two or three witnesses, how much more grievous torments shall he suffer, that treadeth under foot the Son of God, and esteemeth the blood of the testament (whereby he was sanctified) as a profane thing, and contumeliously useth the Spirit of grace?

"Wherefore, we most humbly pray and beseech the queen's gracious Majesty, to have mercy and pity upon us her poor and faithful subjects, and not to compel us to do the thing that is against our consciences, and shall so incurably wound us in heart, by bringing into the church the Latin mass and service that nothing edifieth us, and casting out of Christ's holy communion and English service, so causing us to sin against our redemption. For such as willingly and wittingly against their consciences shall so do, (as it is to be feared many a one doth,) they are in a miserable state, until the mercy of God turn them; which if he do not, we certainly believe that they shall eternally be damned; and as in this world they deny Christ's holy word and communion before men, so will Christ deny them before his heavenly Father and his angels.

"And whereas it is very earnestly required, that we should go in procession, (as they call it,) at which time the priests say in Latin such things as we are ignorant of, the same edifieth nothing at all unto godliness, and we have learned that to follow Christ's cross, is another matter, namely, to take up our cross, and to follow Christ in patient suffering for his love, tribulations, sickness, poverty, prison, or any other adversity, whensoever God's holy will and pleasure is to lay the same upon us. The triumphant passion and death of Christ, whereby in his own person he conquered death, sin, hell, and damnation, hath most lively been preached unto us, and the glory of Christ's cross declared by our preachers; whereby we have learned the causes and effects of the same more lively in one sermon, than in all the processions that ever we went in, or shall ever go in.

"When we worshipped the divine Trinity kneeling, and, in the litany, invoking the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, asking mercy for our sins, and desiring such petitions as the need of our frail estate and this mortal life requireth, we were edified, both to know unto whom all Christian prayers should be directed, and also to know that of God's hand we receive all things, as well to the salvation of our

souls, as to the relief of our mortal necessities. And we humbly beseech the queen's Majesty, that the same most holy prayers may be continued amongst us; that our ministers praying in our mother tongue, and we understanding their prayers and petitions, may answer 'Amen' unto them. At evening service we understood our ministers' prayers; we were taught and admonished by the Scriptures then read, which in the Latin even-song is all gone.

"At the ministration of holy baptism, we learned what league and covenant God had made with us, and what vows and promises we upon our part had made; namely, to believe in him, to forsake Satan and his works, and to walk in the way of God's holy word and commandments.

"The Christian catechism continually taught and called to remembrance the same, whereas before no man knew any thing at all. And many good men of forty years, that had been godfathers to thirty children, knew no more of the godfather's office, but to wash their hands ere they departed the church, or else to fast five Fridays with bread and water.



A Romish Funeral Procession by Moonlight

"O merciful God, have pity upon us! shall we be altogether cast from thy presence? We may well lament our miserable estate, to receive such a commandment, to reject and cast out of our churches all these most godly prayers, instructions, admonitions, and doctrines, and thus to be compelled to deny God, and Christ our Saviour, his holy word, and all his doctrine of our salvation, the candle to our feet, and the light to our steps, the bread coming down from heaven that giveth life, which whoso eateth, it shall be in him a wellspring streaming unto eternal life; whereby we have learned all righteousness, all true religion, all true obedience towards our governors, all charity one towards another, all good works that God would us to walk

in, what punishment abideth the wicked, and what heavenly reward God will give to those that reverently walk in his ways and commandments.

Wherefore, right honourable commissioners, we cannot without impiety refuse and cast from us the holy word of God which we have received, or condemn any thing set forth by our most godly late King Edward and his virtuous proceedings, so agreeable to God's word; and our most humble suit is, that the commandment may be revoked, so that we be not constrained thereunto. For we protest before God, we think if the holy word of God had not taken some root amongst us, we could not in times past have done that poor duty of ours, which we did in assisting the queen, our most dear sovereign, against her Grace's mortal foe, that then sought her destruction. It was our bounden duty, and we thank God for the knowledge of his word and grace, that we then did some part of our bounden service.

"And we meekly pray and beseech the queen's Majesty for the dear passion of Jesus Christ, that the same word be not taken away out of her churches, nor from us her loving, faithful, and true subjects; lest if the like necessity should hereafter chance, (which God for his mercy's sake forbid, and ever save and defend her Grace, and us all,) the want of knowledge and due remembrance of God's word may be occasion of great ruin to an infinite number of her Grace's true subjects. And truly we judge this to be one subtle part of the devil, (enemy to all godly peace and quietness,) that by taking God's word from among us, and planting ignorance, he may make a way to all mischief and wickedness; and by banishing the holy gospel of peace, he may bring upon us the heavy wrath of God, with all manner of plagues; as death, strange sickness, pestilence, murrain, most terrible uproars, commotions, and seditious. These things did the Lord threaten unto the Jews for refusing his word, saying, Go, and thou shalt say unto this people; Ye shall hear indeed, but ye shall not understand; ye shall plainly see, and not perceive. Harden the heart of this people, stop their ears, and shut their eyes, that they see not with their eyes, hear not with their ears, and understand not with their hearts, and convert and be healed. And I said, How long, Lord? And he answered, Until the cities be destroyed, utterly wasted without inhabitants, and the houses without men, till the land also be desolate and lie unbuilt. And the prophet Micah, considering the contempt of God's word among the Israelites, threatened them thus, When the day that thy preachers warned thee of, cometh, thou shalt be wasted away. And let no man believe his friend, or put confidence in his brother. Keep the door of thy mouth from her that lieth in thy bosom; for the son shall put his father to dishonour, and the daughter shall rise against her mother, the daughter-in-law against the mother-in-law, and a man's foes shall be even they of his own household. The same plague threatened Christ unto the Jews, for refusing his peace proffered them in the gospel; and he wept on the city Jerusalem, which murdered the prophets, and stoned such as were sent unto her.

"The same plagues, we are afraid, will also fall upon us. For whereas heretofore with the receiving of Christ's word and peaceable gospel, we had great benedictions of God, especially this Christian concord and holy peace, so that all were at a full and perfect stay in religion, no man offended with another, but as the sons of peace, each of us with Christian charity embraced other; now, alas for pity! the devil (riding upon the red horse, showed unto St. John in the Revelation) is come forth, and power is given unto him to take peace from the earth. For now a man can go to no place, but malicious busybodies curiously search out his deeds, mark his words, and if

he agree not with them in despising God's word, then will they spitefully and hatefully rail against him and it, calling it error and heresy, and the professors thereof heretics and schismatics, with other odious and spiteful names, as 'traitors,' and 'not the queen's friends,' 'not favourers of the queen's proceedings,' as if to love God's word were heresy, and as though to talk of Christ were to be schismatic; as though none could be true to the queen, that were not false to God; as though none were the queen's friends, but such as despitefully rail on her Grace's father and brother, and on God's word that they set forth; as though none favoured the queen's Majesty, but such as hate all godly knowledge.

"And in very deed these things that all this turmoil is made for, are mere inventions of popes, brought into the church of their own imaginations, without commandment or ensample either of Christ, or of his apostles; and there is not one word in the Bible that, being truly alleged, maintaineth them, nor any doctor of antiquity before St. Augustine's days, as it hath been divers times sufficiently proved before all the whole parliament and convocation of this realm. Yet these, being mere traditions of bishops, are set out for God's commandments; and the queen's authority (given to her of God to maintain his word) must be abused to put down God's word. And you, right honourable justices, and keepers of laws and righteousness, are also abused and made the bishop's apparitors, to set forth such Romish trash as is to Christ's dishonour, and against the supreme authority of the regal estate of this realm. And we poor subjects, for speaking of that which is truth, and our bounden allegiance, are daily punished, railed upon, and noted for seditious, and not the queen's friends.

"But God, who is blessed for ever, knoweth that they slander us, and pull the thorn out of their own foot, and put it in ours; for the Searcher of hearts knoweth, that we bear a faithful and true heart unto her Grace, and unto all her proceedings, that are not against God and his holy word. And we daily pray unto the heavenly Father, to enlighten her Grace's royal heart with the glorious light of the gospel, that she may establish and confirm that religion, that her Grace's brother, our most dear king, did set out amongst us; and so governing and ruling this her realm in the fear and true way of God, she may long live, and with prosperity, peace, and honour reign over us.

"But we cannot think that those men do seek either God's honour, or her Grace's prosperity, or wealth of the realm, that take from her Grace's faithful subjects God's word, which only is the root of all love and faithful obedience under her Grace, and of all honesty, good life, and virtuous concord among her commons. And this we fear, lest the root being taken away, the branches will soon wither and be fruitless; and when the Philistines have stopped up the well-spring, the fair streams that should flow shall soon be dried up. All our watchmen, our true preachers, have taught us, that as long as we retained God's word, we should have God our gracious merciful Father; but, if we refused and cast off the Lord's yoke of his doctrine, then shall we look for the Lord's wrath and severe visitation to plague us, as he did the Jews for the like offences. And Paul saith, God gave to them the spirit of unquietness and uproar, eyes wherewith they should not see, and ears wherewith they should not hear, until this day. And as David said; Let their table be made a snare to take themselves withal, a trap to catch them, and a stumbling-block to fall at. Let their eyes be blinded that they see not, and bow thou down their hacks always.

"O merciful God, all this is now come upon us, and daily more and more increased, and we fear at last it will so bow down our backs, that we shall utterly be destroyed. The troublesome spirit of uproar and unquietness daily troubleth men's hearts, and worketh such unquietness in all places, that no man that loveth quietness, can tell where to place himself. Men have eyes, and see not how grievous an offence it is to cast off the yoke of God's doctrine, and to bear the heavy burden that unfaithful hypocrites lay upon us. We have ears, and hear not the warning of God's word, calling us to true repentance, nor his threats against our impiety. Our most sweet table of Christ's word and most holy communion is taken away, and turned to a most perilous snare, through the brawling disputations of men. And as the idol of abomination betokened final subversion unto the Jewish nation; so we fear, this setting aside of the gospel and holy communion of Christ, and the placing in of a Romish religion, betokeneth desolation of this noble realm of England to be at hand.

"For the plagues of hunger, pestilence, and sword, cannot long tarry; but except we repent, and turn again to the Lord, our backs shall be so bowed, that the like horrible plagues were never seen. And no marvel; for the like offence was never committed, as to reject and cast off Christ and his word, and in plain English to say, We will not have him to reign over us. O Lord, how terrible is it that followeth in the gospel! Those mine enemies that would not have me to reign over them, bring them hither, and slay them before me. God be merciful unto us, and move the queen's Majesty's heart, and the hearts of her honourable council, and your hearts, right honourable commissioners, to weigh these dangers in due time; and to call God's word into your council, and then you shall see how it agreeth with this bishoplike commandment; and to be as wary to avoid the contempt of the eternal God, and dangers of the same, as you are prudent and wise in matters of the world; lest, if the Almighty be contemned, he stretch forth his arm which no man can turn, and kindle his wrath, that no man can quench.

"We have humbly opened unto you our consciences, doubtless sore wounded and grieved by this commandment; and we meekly pray and beseech the queen's Majesty, for the precious death and bloodshedding of Jesus Christ our Saviour, to have mercy and pity upon us her Grace's poor commons, faithful and true subjects, members of the same body politic, whereof her Grace is supreme head. All our bodies, goods, lands, and lives are ready to do her Grace faithful obedience and true service of all commandments that are not against God and his word; but in things that import a denial of Christ, and refusal of his word and holy communion, we cannot consent nor agree unto it. For we have bound ourselves in baptism to be Christ's disciples, and to keep his holy word and ordinances. And if we deny him before men, he will deny us before his heavenly Father and his holy angels in the day of judgment; which we trust her benign Grace will not require of us.

"And we humbly beseech her Majesty, that we be not enforced unto it; but as we serve her Grace with body and goods, and due obedience, according to God's commandment; so we may be permitted freely to serve God and Christ our Saviour, and keep unto him our souls, which he hath with his precious blood redeemed, that so (as Christ teacheth) we may render to Caesar that which is due to Caesar, and to God that which is due to God.

"For we think it no true obedience unto the queen's Highness, or to any other magistrate ordained of God under her, to obey in the things contrary to God's word, although the same be never so straitly charged in her Grace's name. The bishop of Winchester hath truly taught in that point, in his book of True Obedience, that true obedience is in the Lord, and not against the Lord; as the apostles answered before the council at Jerusalem, commanding them no more to preach in the name of the Lord Jesus; 'Judge you,' said they, 'whether it be right in the sight of God, to hear you rather than God.' And again they said, 'We must obey God rather than man.' Wherefore we learn, that true obedience is to obey God, King of all kings, and Lord of all lords; and for him, in him, and not against him and his word, to obey the princes and magistrates of this world, who are not truly obeyed when God is disobeyed, nor yet disobeyed when God is faithfully obeyed.

"Tobias disobeyed not his king, although, contrary to his commandment, and contrary to the usage of all other, when they went to Dan and Bethel, he went unto Jerusalem, and worshipped in the temple of the Lord. The three young men in Babylon, refusing king Nebuchadnezzar's commandment, pleased God more than the whole multitude that obeyed. And Daniel, that prayed to the God of heaven, contrary to king Darius's commandment, bare a more true and faithful heart to the king, than those wicked counsellors that procured that wicked law, or those that for fear or flattery obeyed it; which two pestilences, fear and flattery, have ever destroyed true obedience to God and man; when wicked godless men (that care not if the devil were worshipped, so they might get and obtain riches, promotions, and dignity, and worldly glory) turn to and fro, as every wind bloweth; and weak and frail men, fearing loss of goods, punishment, or death, do outwardly in body that thing, that their hearts and consciences inwardly abhor, and so outwardly disobey God, and in heart dissemble with man, which dissimulation we think worthy hate of all men, and most uncomely for Christian men.

"Wherefore, we humbly beseech the queen's Majesty with pity and mercy to tender the lamentable suit of us her poor subjects, which be by this commandment sore hurt and wounded in our consciences, and driven to many miseries; and by the malicious attempts of wicked men suffer great wrongs and injuries, slanders, loss of goods, and bodily vexations. We think not good, by any unlawful stir or commotion to seek remedy; but intend, by God's grace, to obey her Majesty in all things -- not against God and his holy word; but unto such ungodly bishoplike commandments, as are against God, we answer with the apostles, God must be obeyed rather than man. If persecution shall ensue, (which some threaten us with,) we desire the heavenly Father, according to his promise, to look from heaven; to hear our cry; to judge between us and our adversaries; and to give us faith, strength, and patience to continue faithful unto the end, and to shorten these evil days, for his chosen's sake; and so we faithfully believe be will.

"Notwithstanding, we trust the queen's gracious and merciful heart will not suffer such tyranny to be done against her poor, innocent, faithful, and obedient subjects, that daily pray unto God for her; which have no remedy in this world, but to sue unto her Highness, our most gracious and benign sovereign whom we pray and beseech, for the dear blood of Christ, to pity our lamentable case and hurt of conscience, and to call back all such commandments as are against God's honour, as the good king Darius, Ahasuerus, Trajan, and Theodosius, and divers other have done,

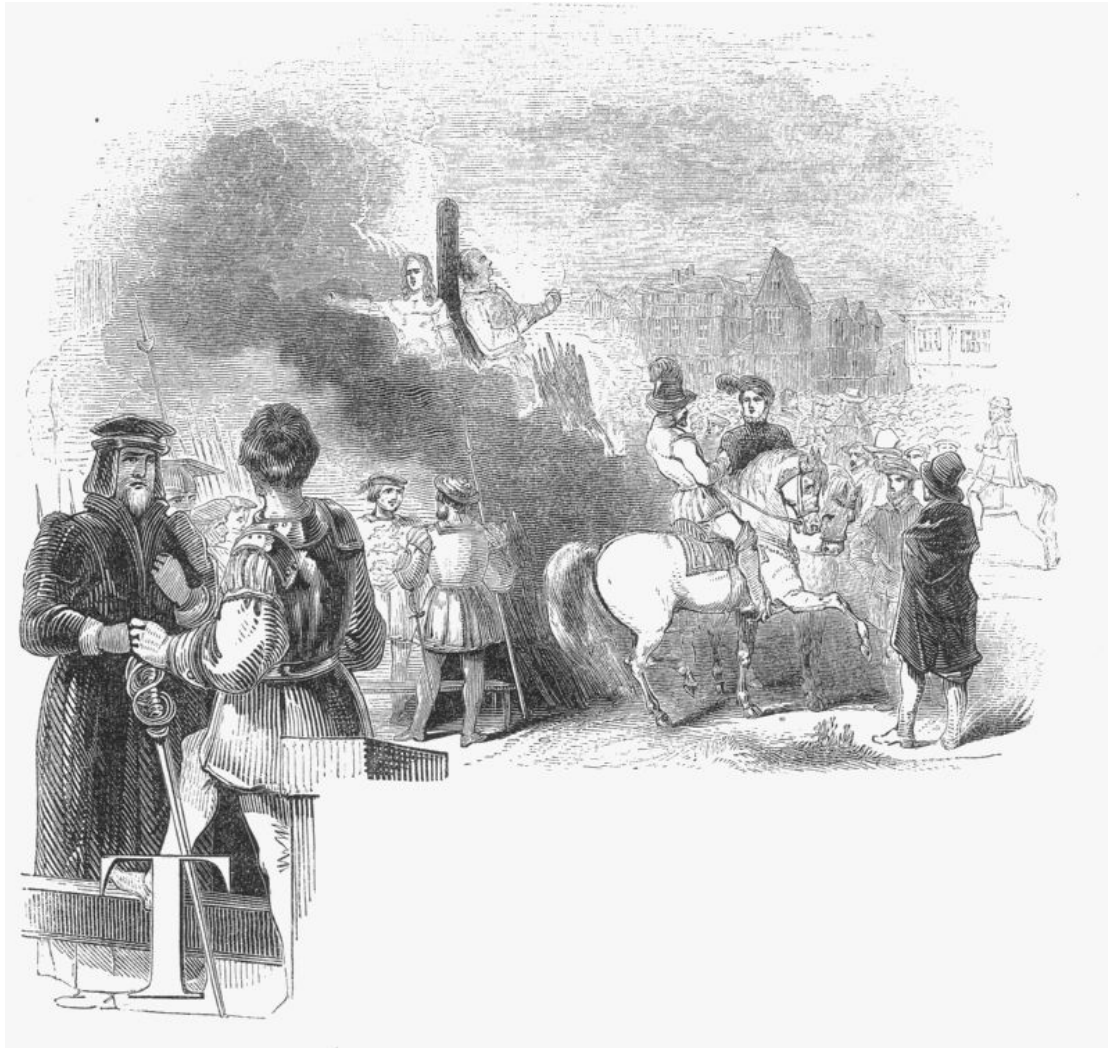
and permit the holy word of God and true religion (set forth by our most holy and innocent King Edward, a very saint of God) to be restored again unto our churches, to be frequented amongst us. So shall we grow and increase in the knowledge of God and of Christ, in true repentance and amendment of life; so shall we exhibit true obedience to our lawful magistrates and all superiors ordained of God; so shall love and charity (of late through this commandment so decayed) be again restored, the honour of her regal estate the more confirmed and established, and godliness and virtuous life among her loving subjects increased and maintained.

"And we most heartily pray you, right honourable commissioners, to be means unto the queen's Highness, and to her honourable council, that this our humble suit may be favourably tendered, and graciously heard and granted. And we shall not cease day and night to pray unto the heavenly Father long to preserve her Grace and all other magistrates in his fear and love, and in prosperous peace and wealth, with long life and honour. Amen.

"Your poor suppliants, the lovers of Christ's true religion in Norfolk and Suffolk."

336. John Harpole and Joan Beach

The story of John Harpole, of the parish of St. Nicholas in Rochester, and Joan Beach, widow, of Tunbridge; with their examinations, answers, condemnation, and martyrdom.



Beach and Harpole at the Stake

TOUCHING the examination of Joan Beach, widow, and of John Harpole, within the diocese of Rochester, by Maurice, bishop of the said diocese, remembrance was made before in the story of Nicholas Hall, wherein were declared the four articles consistorial of the bishop, objected and laid, as unto the said Nicholas Hall and his company, so also to this Joan Beach, widow; whereof the first was this;

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

"1. That she was of the parish of Tunbridge, in the diocese of Rochester.

"2. Item, That all persons which preach, teach, believe, or say otherwise or contrary to that their mother holy catholic church of Christ, are excommunicate persons and heretics.

"3. Item, That the said Joan Beach hath, and yet doth affirm, maintain, and believe contrary to the said mother church of Christ, videlicet, that in the blessed sacrament of the altar, under form of bread and wine, there is not the very body and blood of our Saviour in substance, but only a token and memorial thereof; that the very body and blood of Christ is in heaven, and not in the sacrament.

"4. Item, That she hath been, and yet is, amongst the parishioners of Tunbridge, openly noted, and vehemently suspected, to be a sacramentary and heretic."

To the which foresaid articles, her answers were these;

"1. That she was and is of the said parish of Tunbridge, in the diocese of Rochester.

2. That all persons which do preach and hold otherwise and contrary to that which the holy catholic church of Christ doth, are to be reputed for excommunicate and heretics; adding withal, that nevertheless she believeth not the holy catholic church to be her mother, but believeth only the Father of heaven to be her Father.

"3. That she hath, and yet doth verily believe, hold, and affirm, in the sacrament of the altar under forms of bread and wine, not to be the very body and blood of our Saviour in substance, but only a token and remembrance of his death to the faithful receiver; and this his body and substance is only in heaven, and not in the sacrament.

"Lastly, as touching how she hath been or is noted and reputed among the parishioners of Tunbridge, she said, she could not tell: howbeit she believed, she was not so taken and reputed."

The like matter and the same four articles were also the same present time and place ministered to John Harpole, by the foresaid Bishop Maurice; who, after the like answers received of him as of the other before, adjudged and condemned them both together to death, by one form of sentence, according to the tenor and course of their several sentence; which ye may read before in Master Rogers' story.

And thus these two Christian martyrs, coupled in one confession, being condemned by the bishop, suffered together at one fire, in the town of Rochester, where they together ended their lives about the first day of this present month of April.

337. John Hullier.

Next after these ensueth the martyrdom of John Hullier, minister, who, being first brought up in the school of Eton, was afterward scholar, and then conduct in the King's College, at Cambridge; who suffered under Dr. Thirleby, bishop of Ely, and his chancellor, for the sincere setting out of the light of God's gracious gospel revealed in these our days; in whose behalf this is to be lamented, that among so many fresh wits and stirring pens in that university, so little matter is left unto us touching the process of his judgment, and order of his suffering, who so innocently gave his life in such a cause among the midst of them. By certain letters which he himself left behind, it appeareth that he was zealous and earnest in that doctrine of truth, which every true Christian man ought to embrace. His martyrdom was about the second day of this present month of April.

John Hullier was brought up at Eton College; and after, according to the foundation of that house, for that he was ripe for the university, he was elected scholar in the King's College, where also, not tarrying full three years of probation before he was fellow of the college, he after a little season was one of the ten conducts in the King's College, which was anno 1539.

Then at length, in process of time, he came to be curate of Babraham, three miles from Cambridge, and so went afterward to Lynn; where he, having divers conflicts with the papists, was from thence carried to Ely, to Dr. Thirleby, then bishop there; who, after divers examinations, sent him to Cambridge castle, where he remained but a while. From thence he was conveyed to the town prison, commonly called the Tolbooth, lying there almost a quarter of a year, while at length he was cited to appear at Great St. Mary's on Palm Sunday eve, before divers doctors, both divines and lawyers, amongst whom was chiefest Dr. Shaxton; also Dr. Young, Dr. Segewick, Dr. Scot, Mitch, and others; where after examination had, for that he would not recant, he was first condemned, the sentence being read by Dr. Fuller.

Then consequently he was degraded after their popish manner, with scraping crown and hands. When they had degraded him, he said cheerfully, "This is the joyfullest day that ever I saw; and I thank you all, that ye have delivered and lightened me of all this paltry."

In the mean time, whilst it was doing, one standing by asked Hullier what book he had in his hand; who answered, "A Testament:" whereat this man in a rage took it and threw it violently from him. Then was he given over to the secular powers, Brasey being mayor, who, carrying him to prison again, took from him all his books, writings, and papers.

On Maundy-Thursdays coming to the stake, he exhorted the people to pray for him, and after holding his peace, and praying to himself, one spake to him, saying, "The Lord strengthen thee:" whereat a sergeant, named Brisley, stayed and bade him hold his tongue, or else he should repent it. Nevertheless Hullier answered and said either thus or very like, (the effect was all one,) "Friend, I trust that as God hath hitherto begun, so also he will strengthen me, and finish his work upon me. I am

bidden to a Maundy, whither I trust to go, and there to be shortly. God hath laid the foundation, as I by his aid will end it."



Hullier at the Stake

Then going to a stool, (prepared for him to sit on,) to have his hosen plucked off, he desired the people to pray for him again, and also to bear witness that he died in the right faith, and that he would seal it with his blood; certifying them, that he died in a just cause, and for the testimony of the verity and truth, and that there was no other rock but Jesus Christ to build upon, under whose banner he fought, and whose soldier he was; and yet speaking, he turned himself about toward the east, and exhorted the people there likewise.

Now it chanced on a bank to stand three arch-papists, George Boyes, Henry Barley, and Gray, all three of Trinity College. This Boyes was one of the proctors of the university that year; to whom Master Gray spake, saying, "Hear ye not, Master Proctor, what blasphemy this fellow uttereth? Surely it is evil done to suffer him." At whose words, this Boyes spake with a loud voice: "Master Mayor! what mean ye? If ye suffer him thus to talk at liberty, I tell ye the council shall hear of it, and we take you not to be the queen's friend. He is a pernicious person, and may do more harm than you wot of." Whereat simple Hullier, as meek as a lamb, taking the matter very patiently, made no answer, but made him ready, uttering his prayer. Which done, he went meekly himself to the stake, and with chains being bound, was beset with reed and wood, standing in a pitch-barrel; and the fire being set to, not marking the wind, it blew the flame to his back. Then he feeling it, began earnestly to call upon God. Nevertheless his friends, perceiving the fire to be ill-kindled, caused the sergeants to turn it, and fire it to that place where the wind might blow it to his face.

That done, there was a company of books which were cast into the fire; and by chance a communion-book fell between his hands, who received it joyfully, opened it, and read so long till the force of the flame and smoke caused him that he could see no more. And then he fell again to prayer, holding his hands up to heaven, and the book betwixt his arms next his heart, thanking God for sending him it. And at that time, the day being a very fair day and a hot, yet the wind was somewhat up, and it caused the fire to be the fiercer; and when all the people thought he had been dead, he suddenly uttered these words, "Lord Jesus! receive my spirit;" dying very meekly.

The place where he was burned, is called Jesus Green, not far from Jesus College. Seagar gave him certain gunpowder, but little to the purpose; for he was dead before it took fire. All the people prayed for him, and many a tear was shed for him; which the papists seeing, cried, "he was not to be prayed for; and being but a damned man, it could profit him nothing." Nevertheless they continued praying; whereat the papists fell into such a rage, that they menaced them with terrible threatenings to ward.

His flesh being consumed, his bones stood upright even as if they had been alive. Of the people, some took what they could get of him, as pieces of bones. One had his heart, the which was distributed so far as it would go; one took the scalp, and looked for the tongue, but it was consumed except the very root.-- One rounded him in the ear, and desired him to be constant to the end; at which he spake nothing, but showed a joyful countenance, and so continued both constant and joyful to the end.

A letter of John Hullier to the Christian congregation, exhorting them faithfully to abide in the doctrine of the Lord.

"It standeth now most in hand, O dear Christians, all them that look to be accounted of Christ's flock at the great and terrible day, when a separation shall be made of the sort that shall be received, from the others which shall be refused, faithfully in this time of great afflictions to hear our Master

Christ's voice, the only true Shepherd of our souls, which saith, Whosoever shall endure to the end shall be safe. For even now is that great trouble in hand (as here in England we may well see) that our Saviour Christ spake of so long before, which should follow the true and sincere preaching of his gospel. Therefore in this time we must needs either show that we be his faithful soldiers, and continue in his battle unto the end, putting on the armour of God, the buckler of faith, the breastplate of love, the helmet of hope and salvation, and the sword of his holy word, (which we have heard plentifully,) with all instance of supplication and prayer; or else, if we do not work and labour with these, we are apostates and false soldiers, shrinking most unthankfully from our gracious and sovereign Lord and Captain Christ, and leaning to Belial. For as he saith, plainly, Whosoever beareth not my cross and followeth me, he cannot be my disciple. And, No man can serve two masters; for either he must hate the one and love the other, or else he shall lean to the one and despise the other. The which thing the faithful prophet Elias signified, when he came to the people and said, Why halt ye between two opinions? If the Lord be God, follow him, or if Baal be he, then follow him.

"Now let us not think, but that the same was recorded in writing for our instruction, whom the ends of the world are come upon, as the apostle St. Paul saith, Whatsoever things are written aforehand, they are written for our learning. If Christ be that only good and true Shepherd that gave his life for us, then let us that bear his mark, and have our consciences sprinkled with his blood, follow altogether, for our salvation, his heavenly voice and calling, according to our profession and first promise. But if we shall not so do, certainly, (say what we can,) although we bear the name of Christ, yet we be none of his sheep indeed. For he saith very manifestly, My sheep hear my voice, and follow me; a stranger they will not follow, but will flee from him, for they know not the voice of a stranger.

"Therefore let every man take good heed in these perilous days, (whereof we have had so much warning aforehand,) that he be not beguiled by the goodly outward show and appearance, as Eve was of our old subtle enemy, whose craft and wiliness is so manifold and diverse, and so full of close windings, that if he cannot bring him directly and the plain straight way to consent to his suggestions, then he will allure him and wind him in by some other false ways, (as it were by a train,) that he shall not perceive it; to deceive him withal, and to steal from him that goodly victory of the incorruptible and eternal crown of glory, which no man else can have, but he that fighteth lawfully; as at this present day, if he cannot induce him thoroughly, as others do, to favour his devilish religion, and of good will and free heart to help to uphold the same, yet he will inveigle him to resort to his wicked and whorish school-house; and at the leastwise to be conversant and keep company with his congregation there, and to hold his peace and say nothing, whatsoever he think, so that he be not a diligent soldier and a good labourer on Christ's side, to further his kingdom; by that subtle means flattering him that he shall both save his life, and also his goods, and live in quiet. But if we look well on Christ's holy will and testament, we shall perceive that he came not to make any such peace upon earth, nor yet that he gave any such peace to his disciples; I leave peace with you, saith he, my peace I give you, not as the world giveth it, give I unto you. Let not your heart be troubled, nor fearful. These things have I spoken unto you, that in me ye should have peace. In the world ye shall have affliction; but be of good cheer, I have overcome the world. The servant is not greater than his Lord and Master. If they have persecuted me, they shall also persecute you. If any man come to me, and hateth not his own father and mother, wife, children, sisters, yea, and moreover his own life, it is not possible for him to be my disciple. Blessed be ye that now weep, for ye shall laugh; and woe be unto you that now laugh, for ye shall mourn and weep. He that will find his life shall lose it.

"Therefore the God of that true peace and comfort, preserve and keep us, that we never obey such a false flattering, which at length will pay us home once for all, bringing for temporal peace and quietness, everlasting trouble, vexation, and disquietness; for these vain and transitory goods, extreme loss and utter damage of the eternal treasure and inheritance; for this mortal life, deprivation of the most joyful life immortal; finally, the entrance into endless death most miserable, unmeasurable pain and torment both of body and soul.

"Now conferring these two schoolmasters together, let us consider the thing well, and determine with ourselves which way we ought to take, and not to take the common broad way which seemeth here most pleasant, and that the most part of the people take. Surely I judge it to be better, to go to school with our Master Christ, and

to be under his ferula and rod, (although it seemeth sharp and grievous for a time,) that at the length we may be inheritors with him of everlasting joy, rather than to keep company with the devil's scholars, the adulterous generation, in his school that is all full of pleasure for a while; and at the end to be paid with the wages of continual burning in the most horrible lake, which burneth evermore with fire and brimstone without any end. What shall then these vain goods and temporal pleasures avail? Who shall then help when we cry incessantly, Woe, woe, alas, and weal away, for unmeasurable pain, grief, and sorrow? O let us therefore take heed betimes, and rather be content to take pains in this world for a time, that we may please God. Our Saviour Christ the true teacher saith, Every branch that bringeth not forth fruit in me, my Father will take away.

"It is also not written in vain, The children of the ungodly are abominable children; and so are they that keep company with the ungodly. What doth he else, I pray you, that resorteth to the ministration and service that is most repugnant and contrary to Christ's holy testament; there keeping still silence, and nothing reproving the same; but in the face of the world, by his very deed itself, declare himself to be of a false, fearful, dissembling, feigned, and unfaithful heart, and to have laid away from him the armour of light, discouraging as much as lieth in him all the residue of Christ's host, and giving a manifest offence to the weak, and also confirming, encouraging, and rejoicing the hearts of the adversaries in all their evil doing? By which example he doth show himself neither to love God, whom he seeth to be dishonoured and blasphemed of an antichristian minister, nor yet his neighbour, before whom he should rebuke the evil, as it is expressly commanded in God's holy law, where it is said, Thou shalt in any wise rebuke thy neighbour, that thou bear not sin for his sake. Wherefore let such a one never fantasy to deceive himself, that his name is registered in the book of life, to have the stipend of Christ's soldier, except he do the duty and perform the part of a faithful and right true soldier, as others have done before. For such fearfulness cometh not from God, as testifieth St. Paul, saying, God hath not given us the spirit of fear, but of power and love. Be not ashamed, saith he, to testify our Lord, but suffer adversity also with the gospel, through the power of God, which saved us, and called us with an holy calling.

"To be now fearful, when most need is that we should be of strong hearts, is utterly the rejecting of the fear of God, and plain unfaithfulness and disobedience to the express commandment of our Saviour Christ, which saith in his holy gospel, Fear not them that kill the body, &c.; for what faithfulness do we express towards him, when he saith thus to us? and yet we declare in our doings the very contrary, being ever fearful, even as the unbelieving Israelites, which unfaithfully feared God's enemies the heathen Canaanites, whereas he had oftentimes given them commandment by his true prophet Moses, to do the contrary; for the which cause, all the whole number of that sect were destroyed in process of time in the wilderness, and enjoyed not the pleasant land of promise; which was a bodily figure showed before, and now agreeing to the promise of the heavenly inheritance, which shall be given to none other, but only to all such as with love unfeigned be wholly bent, without any fear of man, to fulfil God's holy will and pleasure. But all they that pertain to the lively faith, to the winning of the soul, will faithfully stick to the commandment, trusting most firmly and faithfully that he that gave the same, will also give strength plentifully to perform it, even in the weakest vessels of all, even as we have heard and seen by many and divers examples; he only be praised there-for.

"St. Peter saith, Fear not though they seem terrible unto you, neither be troubled; but sanctify the Lord God in your hearts. Only, saith St. Paul, let your conversation be as it becometh the gospel of Christ. Continue in one spirit, and in one soul; labouring as we do, to maintain the faith of the gospel, and in nothing fearing your adversaries, which is to them a token of damnation, and to you of salvation, and that of God; for unto you it is given, that not only ye should believe in Christ, but also suffer for his sake. Wherefore let us be right well assured, that we shall yield a most strait reckoning and account, if we transgress the said most wholesome precepts given us of our Master Christ, and of his apostles, and now, in this troublesome time, wherein the gospel is persecuted, show ourselves fearful soldiers; as it is manifestly declared in the Revelation of St. John, where it is written, That the fearful shall have their part with the unbelieving and abominable, in the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone, which is the second death. Again, it is written in the same book for our warning, Because thou art betwixt both, and neither cold nor hot, I will spew thee out of my mouth.

"Now, therefore, good Christians, these true testimonies of God's lively word deeply considered and weighed, let us chiefly stand in awe of his most terrible judgments, and be not as they that presumptuously tempt him. Let him always be our fear and dread. He now chasteneth, he now nurtureth us for our profit, delighting in us even as a loving father in his beloved child, to make us perfect, and to have us to be partakers of his holiness. He now judgeth us, (not utterly taking away his everlasting love and mercy from us, as he doth from the malignant and wicked.) that we should not be condemned with the wicked world. But if we now refuse his most loving chastising, and follow the world, we must needs have our portion with the world. Wide is the gate, and broad is the way which leadeth to destruction, and many there be which go in thereat; but strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, that leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it. O how much better is it to go this narrow way with the people of Gad, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a time! In consideration whereof, let us, without any more slacking and further delays in this great warning by God's loving visitation, submit ourselves betimes under his mighty hand, that he may exalt us when the time is come.

"And thus I wholly commit you to him, and to the word of his grace, which is able to build further; beseeching you most heartily to pray for me, that I may be strong through the power of his might, and stand perfect in all things, being always prepared and ready, looking for the mercy of our Lord unto eternal rest; and I will pray for you, as I am most bound. So I trust he will graciously hear us for his promise' sake made unto all the faithful in his dearly beloved Son Christ, our alone Saviour, whose grace be with your spirit, most dear Christians, for ever. So be it.

"By your Christian brother, a prisoner of the Lord, JOHN HULLIER."

To the congregation of Christ's faithful followers.

"John Hullier, being of long time prisoner, and now openly judged to die for the testimony of the Lord Jesus, wisheth heartily to the whole congregation of God, the strength of his Holy Spirit, to their everlasting health both of body and soul.

"I now, most dear Christians, having the sweet comfort of God's saving health; and, being confirmed with his free Spirit, (be he only praised therefor,) am constrained in my conscience, thinking it my very duty to admonish you, as ye tender the salvation of your souls, by all manner of means to separate yourselves from the company of the pope's hirelings, considering what is said in the Revelation of St. John, by the angel of God, touching all men. The words be these; If any man worship the beast and his image, and receive his mark in his forehead, or in his hand, the same shall drink the wine of the wrath of God, which is poured into the cup of his wrath, and he shall be punished with fire and brimstone before the holy angels, and before the Lamb; and the smoke of their torment ascendeth up evermore. Mark well here, good Christians, who is this beast, and worshippers that shall be partakers of that unspeakable torment. The beast is none other but the carnal and fleshly kingdom of antichrist, the pope with his rabble of false prophets and ministers, as it is most manifest; which, to maintain their high titles, worldly promotions, and dignities, do with much cruelty, daily more and more set forth and establish their own traditions, decrees, decretals, contrary to God's holy ordinances, statutes, laws, and commandments, and wholly repugnant to his sincere and pure religion and true worshipping.

"Now, what do they else, but worship this beast and his image, who, after they had once already escaped from the filthiness of the world, through the knowledge of the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, are yet again tangled therein and overcome, using dissimulation unfaithfully for fear of their displeasure, doing one thing outwardly, and thinking inwardly another; so having them in reverence under a cloak and colour, to whom they ought not so much as to say, God speed, and adjoining themselves to the malignant congregation, which they ought to abhor as a den of thieves and murderers, and as the brothel-house of most blasphemous fornicators; whose voices being contrary to Christ's voice, if they were of his flock, they would not know, but would flee from them; as he himself; being the good Shepherd of our souls, doth full well in his holy gospel testify. Again, what do they else, I pray you, but receive the beast's mark in their foreheads and in their hands, which do bear a fair face and countenance outwardly in supporting them as others do, being ashamed openly to confess Christ and his holy gospel? But this feignedness and dissimulation Christ and his gospel will in no wise allow; of whom it is said, Whosoever shall be ashamed of me and of my words in this adulterous and sinful generation, of him also shall the Son of man be ashamed, when he shall come in the glory of his Father with his holy angels. Therefore saith Almighty God by his prophet Malachi, Cursed be the dissemblers. Ye were once lightened, and tasted of the heavenly gift, and were become partakers of the Holy Ghost, and tasted of the word of God, and of the power of the world to come. And our Saviour Christ saith, No man that putteth his hand to the plough, and looketh back, is apt for the kingdom of God. Therefore St. John the apostle useth this for a manifest token, that the backsliding of the true preachers of God's word declareth evidently, that they be not of the number of them. For, saith he, They went out from us, but they were not of us; for if they had been of us, no doubt they would have continued with us. Surely, so long as we use dissimulation, and do play on both hands, we are not in the light. For whatsoever is manifest, the same is light, as the elect vessel of God, St. Paul, witnesseth.

"Wherefore, good Christians, for God's most dear love, deceive not yourselves through your own wisdom, and through the wisdom of the world, which is foolishness

before God; but certify and stay your own conscience with the sure truth and faithful word of God, and with the infallible testimonies of Holy Scripture. For although God's mercy is over all his works, yet it doth not extend but only to them that hold fast the confidence and rejoicing of hope unto the end, not being weary in well-doing, but rather waxing every day stronger and stronger in the inward man. Therefore in the Revelation of St. John, where it is entreated of the beast and his image, it is also said, Here is the sufferance of saints, and here are they that keep the commandments, and the faith of Jesus Christ. Whereby Almighty God Both show plainly, that he doth use those wicked men as instruments for a time, to try the patience and faith of his peculiar people, without the performance whereof we can have no part among the living; but as it is said in the same Revelation, The fearful shall have their part in the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone, which is the second death.

"But peradventure ye will object and say unto me, What shall we do? shall we cast ourselves headlong to death? I say not so. But this I say, that we are all bound (if ever we look to receive salvation at God's hand) in this case wholly to be obedient to his determinate counsel and foreknowledge, expressed by the gift of the Spirit in Holy Scripture; and then to cast all our care upon him, who worketh all in all for the best, unto them that love him; and thus he giveth commandment, saying, Come away from her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues. Now who, hearing this terrible voice of God, which must needs be fulfilled, will not with all speed and diligence apply himself to do thereafter, except such as will presumptuously tempt him? And as touching such, the wise man saith, He that loveth peril and danger, shall perish therein. But they that be of the faith of Abraham, even as he did, so will they in all essays and trials be obedient to the heavenly voice, howsoever it seemeth contrary to their own natural will and carnal reason, according to the sure word of faith, which saith, Hope thou in the Lord, and keep his way; hold thee still in the Lord, and abide patiently upon him. Let not thy jealousy move thee also to do evil. Come out from among them, and join not yourselves to their unlawful assemblies; yea, do not once show yourselves with the least part of your body to favour their wicked doings, but glorify God (as most right is) as well in your whole body outwardly, as inwardly in your spirit, or else you can do neither of both well; for your body Both belong to God as well as your spirit. At the dreadful day of judgment we shall all receive the works of our bodies, according to that we have done, whether it be good or bad.

"Therefore whatsoever we do, we may not bring the spirit in bondage to the body, but contrariwise we must subdue the body and the will of the flesh to the spirit, that the spirit may freely accomplish the will of God in all things; for otherwise, we shall never be partakers of his promise, with the true children of Abraham. For as St. Paul saith, They which are the children of the flesh, are not the children of God. If we shall live according to the flesh, we shall die. For to be carnally-minded is death; but to be spiritually-minded is life and peace; because that the fleshly mind is enmity to God; for it is not obedient to the law of God, neither can be. So then they that are in the flesh, cannot please God. Now choose you which way you will take; either the narrow way that leadeth unto life, which Christ himself, and his faithful followers, have gone through before; or else the broad pathway that leadeth to destruction, which the wicked worldlings take their pleasure in for a while. I for my part have now written this short admonition unto you of good will, (as God is my witness,) to exhort you to that way which at length you yourselves shall prove and find to be best, yea,

and rejoice thereof. And I do not only write this, but I will also (with the assistance of God's grace) ratify and confirm and seal the same' with the effusion of my blood, when the full time shall be expired that he hath appointed, which (so far forth as I may judge) must needs be within these few days. Therefore I now bid you all most heartily farewell in the Lord, whose grace be with your spirit, Amen. Watch and pray, watch and pray, pray, pray. So be it.

"JOHN HULLIER."

Besides these letters, the said John Hullier left also a godly prayer.

A prayer of John Hullier.

"O Lord, open thou my lips, and my mouth shall speak forth thy praise," with Paternoster, the articles of his belief, and then to this prayer.

"O God Almighty, O most merciful God and heavenly Father, for whose love alone, as thou knowest, O Lord, I now relinquish and most willingly forsake my loving and well-beloved, yea, and my most lawful wife, my dear and lawfully begotten children, and all my friends, with all delights, pomps, and pleasures of the world, yea, and mine own life, being contented most gladly to leave them all; and now in thy trial, O good Lord, not to regard them, but joyfully to give my life, and to die for thee and thy gospel's sake, whom I most wholly love above all other. I beseech thee, of thy fatherly pity, with humble and content heart, now most chiefly to strengthen me with thy Holy Spirit, most merciful Lord; and at this present time, when most need is, to send down thine holy angel to comfort, assist, aid, and succour me; to prosper my journey, and safely to bring me through the strait gate and narrow way, into thy most joyful, heavenly, and everlasting rest; the which gate and way thy only begotten and dear Son, and our alone Saviour Jesus Christ, hath most victoriously, for our comfort, run through before, making passage and entrance only thereby to all others that constantly, with a quick and a lively faith, believe in him, that is, to all such as not only be professors of the gospel with their mouth, but also do here live according to the gospel, and be earnest followers of Christ, being made like and conformable to his image in faithfulness, in love, in sufferance, in goodness, in pureness, and in all godliness, honesty, and truth. Wherefore I now wholly submit myself to thee, O God, having trust and confidence in none other but in thee, O heavenly Father, and in the cross, passion, death, and bloodshedding of thy Son Jesus Christ, whereby the world is crucified in me, O Lord, and I to the world; hungering and thirsting for nothing else but the health and salvation of my soul, and to live with Christ, who is my life, my joy, my hope, and all my whole delight, solace, and treasure.

"The sight of this great fire shall seem ugly and terrible, O Lord; but let thy right hand and almighty power give now unto me sufficient ability and strength to sustain and abide it. O merciful Lord, keep my soul! O Lord, be merciful unto me; and speedily deliver me, O thou most mighty God and Maker of all things, and Ruler of all the kings of the earth! forasmuch as of thy most bountiful goodness thou hast now surely grafted in my heart to fear thee above all men, and only to put my whole trust and confidence in thy mercy. O heavenly Father, I now clearly before all this

assembly of people, even from the very bottom of my heart, forgive all the world as I desire forgiveness at thy hand. O Lord, therefore now have mercy upon me, after thy great goodness; and according to the multitude of thy great mercy, do away, O Lord, all my sins and offences of my youth, O God, thou that art the God of my salvation. Yea, and from my hid and secret faults now thoroughly cleanse me, I most heartily beseech thee, good Lord, for Christ's most precious death and bloodshedding; for as for our merits and deservings, they be nothing before thee, O thou most just and righteous God. But yet, good Lord! the good works that thou halt appointed for us to walk in, we are most bound, for the sure confirmation of our faith, always to do to the uttermost of our power, under pain of damnation. Notwithstanding, O heavenly Father, when we have done all that we can do, yet are we unprofitable servants, doing but our duties, and must even then be fain to say, yea, even the best of us all, with the lowly and penitent publican, God be merciful to me a sinner, desiring mercy in thy sight through Christ for our justification and salvation. And therefore, for this mine own death's sake, good Lord, I challenge and claim no merit at all, but only thereby perform my most bounden duty and reasonable service for thee, upon confession and testimony of thy truth, rendering wholly to thy almighty name, O everlasting God, grace and thanks, of whom alone I received freely the gift to stand to the same unto this day. My strength do I ascribe unto thee, O God; for thou art my defence. Wherefore even now also, I beseech thee likewise, O heavenly Father, for thine infinite mercy and faithfulness' sake, make perfect my ways in thy paths, that my goings slide not; but that now I may depart hence, and end my course in thy peace.

"Pour down the perfect gift of patience upon me, O heavenly Father, which art the God of all humility and patience, even as thou knowest now, O Lord, to be most expedient for me; for into thy merciful defence I commend my whole spirit, soul, mind, [and body, desiring only thy goodness to direct and guide all my whole thought and mind,] so long as there remaineth any manner of life or breath within me, according to thy heavenly will and pleasure. And now, O good Lord, to do all that lieth in me, I lift up my heart, mind, and hands, unto thy heavenly throne of grace, crying and calling unto thee for help in this my distress and extreme trouble, as thou, O Lord, hast commanded me to do.

"Now, O most merciful Lord, according to thy most faithful and loving promise made therein, let thy great power and exceeding virtue be made perfect through mine infirmity and weakness, that I may this day most quietly, meekly, and stedfastly suffer death, and, with a constant and perfect faith, give a strong witness to the world, even as my Christian brethren have done before me, for thy word's sake, and for the most true and infallible testimony of thy dear Son Jesus Christ.

"O thou mighty God, that madest heaven and earth, the sea and all that therein is, of nothing; O thou mighty God, that safely broughtest the children of Israel, thy people, through the midst of the Red Sea, as it had been a most dry land; thou most mighty God, that didst send thine angel before them, to vanquish the great and terrible giants; thou that didst most gloriously deliver those three children out of the mighty burning oven; thou that stoppedst the mouths of the cruel and ramping lions, and didst wondrously deliver thy true servant Daniel, being cast into the midst of them; thou that always triest the people through the fire of affliction, even as the pure [and fine] gold is tried in the furnace, that they may be found laudable in thy sight; and yet of thy goodness, O Lord, wilt not suffer them to be tried above their strength; but, even

in the midst of their temptation, O Lord, according to thy very faithfulness, makest a way that they may be able to bear it; for there is nothing wonderful unto thee; for thou, Lord, who didst strengthen the first martyr Stephen, being stoned to death for the true confession of thy Son Christ; thou most righteous God, who art rich in compassion and mercy towards all men that faithfully call upon thee; thou most gracious God -- God I say, that from the beginning always strengthenedst thy prophets, and all other thy faithful servants that ever have suffered before, for thy name's sake now vouchsafe, O Lord, I beseech thee, to extend thine accustomed goodness and mercy in comforting me, thy poor servant; regard thy truth, and defend thine own rightful cause, O Lord, that thy Son Christ may be magnified in my mortal and corruptible body.

"O God, I put no trust, at all in myself, but in thee alone, which mightily raisest the dead to life, to the declaring and setting forth of thine incorruptible and everlasting glory, to the commodity of thy congregation, and to their everlasting comfort in Christ. For in Christ, and by Christ, which is the author and finisher of our faith, I now give unto thee, as most worthy, O heavenly Father, all that whole praise, honour, and glory, for evermore, and world without end, in all things praising thy holy name. And to this, let all people, with one voice and godly consent together, only for the love of thee and thy truth's sake, say Amen. Now, heavenly Father, glorify thine own name.

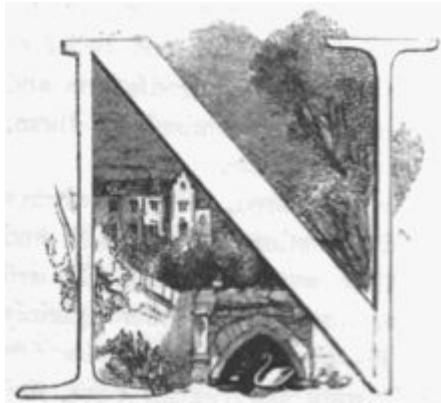
"I remember what our Saviour Christ himself saith in the gospel, to the comfort of all his true and faithful servants; Ye are they which have bidden with me in my temptation; and I appoint unto you a kingdom, as my Father hath appointed to me; that ye may be with me, and eat and drink at my table in my kingdom. Enter in at the strait gate; for wide is the gate, and broad is the way, that leadeth to destruction, and many there be that go in thereat; but strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, which leadeth to life, and few there be that find it. What doth it profit a man, if he win all the whole world, and lose his own soul? Be ye ready, for the Son of man will come in such an hour as you think not. Through many tribulations we must enter into the kingdom of God. Whosoever denieth me before men, him will I deny before my Father which is in heaven. He that findeth his life, shall lose it, and he that loseth his life for my sake, shall find it. Every one that forsaketh house or land, brother or, sister, father or mother, wife or children, for my name's sake, shall receive a hundred-fold, and shall inherit everlasting life. I say with the godly man, Eleazar, that thou, O God, which hast the whole knowledge, knowest openly, that whereas I might be delivered from death, I suffer these sore pains of my body, but in my mind am well contented to suffer them, because I fear thee; and as for me, like as my brethren have done, I offer my body for thy truth's sake, calling upon God, that he will soon be merciful unto his people, yea, and by a showing forth his Almighty power may make their adversaries to know, that He only is to be feared above all the rulers of the world. It is better to suffer affliction as children of God, than to enjoy the pleasure of sin for a while. It was said unto them that were under the altar, and were killed for the word of God, that they should rest from their labours for a little time or season, until the number of their fellows and brethren which should be killed as they were, were fulfilled. Blessed are the dead which die hereafter in the Lord: Amen. So saith the Spirit, that they rest from their labours! It is a true saying, If we be dead with Christ, we shall also live with him; if we suffer with him, we shall also reign with him; if we deny him, he shall also deny us. I am sure that my Redeemer liveth, [and I shall be

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clothed again with this skin, and see God in my flesh; yea, I myself shall behold him, not with other eyes, but with these same eyes.] And I believe verily to see the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living. Lord Jesu, receive my spirit. Lord, lay not this sin to their charge. My soul is joyful in the Lord, and I rejoice in his help. Amen.

338. Christopher Lyster, John Mace, John Spencer, Simon Joyne, Richard Nichols and John Hamond.

The death and martyrdom of six constant professors of Christ, burned at Colchester, for the testimony of the gospel, the twenty-eighth day of April.



NOT long after the death of Robert Drakes, William Tyms, and the other Essex martyrs, executed in Smithfield, as is above specified, followed in the same order likewise of martyrdom, at one like fire in the town of Colchester, (where the most part of them did inhabit,) six other blessed martyrs, whose names be these:

Christopher Lyster of Dagenham, husbandman; John Mace of Colchester, apothecary; John Spencer of Colchester, weaver; Simon Joyne, sawyer; Richard

Nichols of Colchester, weaver; and John Hamond of Colchester, tanner.

With these six was also joined another, whose name was Roger Grasbroke, but he afterward submitted himself. Of these above named, the bishop, because he (as it seemed by the short process recorded by his registrar) waxed now weary, made a very quick despatch. For soon after that, they were delivered unto one John Kingstone, bachelor of civil law, and then commissary to the bishop, by the earl of Oxford and other commissioners, (as appeareth by a bill indented, made between the commissioners and the said commissary, for the receipt of the said prisoners, dated the twenty-eighth day of March, in the second and third year of the king and queen, Philip and Mary, which is 1556,) and by him sent up unto his lord and master, the bishop caused them to be brought unto his house of Fulham; where, in the open church, judicially were ministered unto them the same articles that were propounded unto Bartlet Greene and others, mentioned before. To the which they made their several answers, agreeing altogether in one truth, as by the sum and effect thereof here ensuing, more plainly appeareth.

"To the first article they all consented and agreed; John Spencer adding further thereto, that the church malignant (which is the Church of Rome) is no part of Christ's catholic church; and that he neither hath nor doth believe the doctrine and religion taught and set forth in the said Romish and malignant church.

"To the second they answered, that they believed that in the true catholic church of Christ there be but two sacraments; that is to say, the sacrament of baptism, and the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ.

"To the third article they all agreed, confessing that they were baptized in the faith and belief of the catholic church, and that their godfathers and godmothers had professed and promised for them, as is contained in the same article.

"To the fourth they answered, that they always were, and yet then did continue in the faith and profession wherein they were baptized; Richard Nichols adding also, that he had more plainly learned the truth of his profession by the doctrine set forth in King Edward the Sixth's days, and thereupon he had builded his faith, and would continue in the same to his life's end, God assisting him.

"To the fifth they answered, that they neither swerved nor went away from the catholic faith of Christ. Howbeit they confessed, that within the time articulate, (and before,) they had misliked, and spoken against, the sacrifice of the mass, and against the sacrament of the altar, affirming that they would not come to hear or be partakers thereof, because they had and then did believe, that they were set forth and used contrary to God's word and glory. And moreover they did grant, that they had spoken against the usurped authority of the bishop of Rome, as an oppressor of Christ's church and gospel, and that he ought not to have any authority in England. For all which sayings they were no whit sorry, but rather rejoiced and were glad.

"To the sixth they answered, that they never refused, nor yet then presently did refuse, to be reconciled to the unity of Christ's catholic church; but they said they had, and then did, and so ever would hereafter, utterly refuse to come to the Church of Rome, or to acknowledge the authority of the see thereof; but did utterly abhor the same, for putting down the book of God, the Bible, and setting up the Babylonical mass, with all other of antichrist's merchandise.

"To the seventh article, the effect thereof they all granted. And Simon Joyne declared further, that the cause of his refusing to be partaker of their trumpery was, for that the commandments of God were there broken, and Christ's ordinances changed and put out, and the bishop of Rome's ordinances instead thereof put in. Moreover, as touching the sacrament of Christ's body, Christopher Lyster affirmed, that in the said sacrament there is the substance of bread and wine, as well after the words of consecration as before, and that there is not in the same the very body and blood of Christ really, substantially, and truly, but only sacramentally and spiritually by faith in the faithful receivers, and that the mass is not propitiatory for the quick or for the dead, but mere idolatry and abomination.

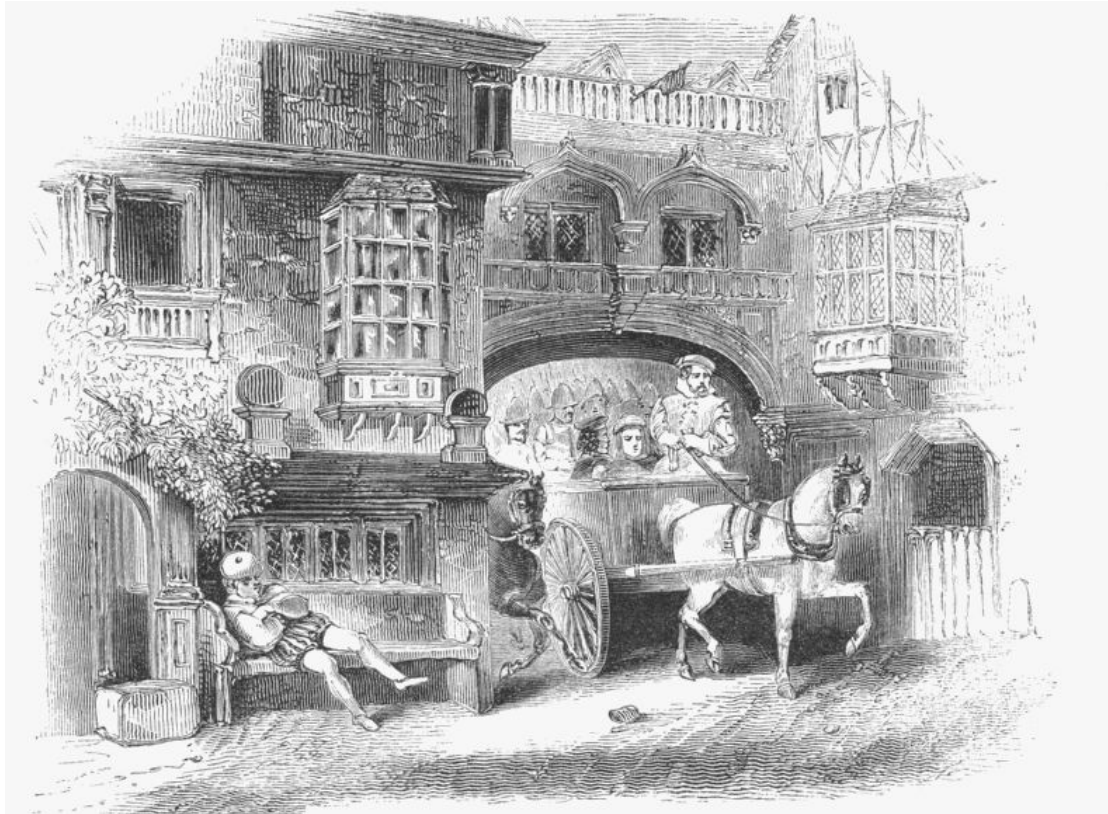
"To the eighth they said, that they were sent to Colchester prison by the king and queen's commissioners, because they would not come to their parish churches, and by them sent unto the bishop of London, to be thereof further examined.

"To the ninth they all generally agreed, that that which they had said in the premises was true, and that they were of the diocese of London."

These answers thus made, the bishop did dismiss them for that present until the afternoon. At which time, having first their articles and answers read unto them again, and they standing most firmly unto their Christian profession, they were by divers ways and means assayed and tried if they would revoke the same their professed faith, and return to the unity of antichrist's church; which thing when they

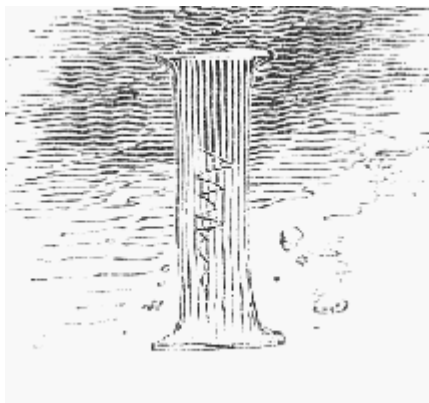
refused, the bishop stoutly pronounced the sentence of condemnation against them, committing them unto the temporal power; which, upon the receipt of the king and queen's writ, sent them unto Colchester, where, the twenty-eighth day of April, most cheerfully they ended their lives, to the glory of God's holy name, and the great encouragement of others.

**339. Hugh Laverock, John Apprice, Katharine Hut,
Elizabeth Thackvel, and Joan Horns**



Laverock and Apprice Brought to Execution in a Cart

*Hugh Laverock, a lame old man, of the parish of Barking, painter, aged sixty-eight,
and John Apprice, a blind man, martyrs; burned at Stratford-le-Bow.*



I N the discourse of this parcel or part of history, I know not whether more to marvel at the great and unsearchable mercies of God, (with whom there is no respect in degrees of persons, but he chooseth as well the poor, lame, and blind, as the rich, mighty, and healthful, to set forth his glory,) or else to note the unreasonable or rather unnatural doing of these unmerciful catholics, (I mean Bishop Bonner and his complices,) in whom was so little favour or mercy to all sorts and kinds of men, that also they spared neither impotent age, neither lame nor blind, as may well appear by these two poor creatures, whose stories hereunder follow. These two poor and simple creatures, being belike accused by some

promoting neighbour of theirs unto the bishop and other of the king and queen's commissioners, were sent for by their officer; and so, being brought and delivered into the hands of the said bishop, were, the first day of May, examined before him in his palace at London; where he first propounded and objected against them those nine articles, whereof mention is made before, ministered as well unto Bartlet Greene, as also unto many others. To the which they answered in effect, as Christopher Lyster, John Mace, and others before mentioned had done.

Whereupon they were again sent to prison, and (beside other times) the ninth day of the same month, in the consistory of Paul's, were again openly produced; and there (after the old order) travailed withal to recant their opinions against the sacrament of the altar. Whereunto Hugh Laverock first said, "I will stand to mine answers, and to that I have confessed; and I cannot find in the Scriptures, that the priests should lift up over their head a cake of bread."

The bishop then turned him unto John Apprice, and asked what he would say. To whom he answered, "Your doctrine," said he, "that ye set forth and teach, is so agreeable with the world, and embraced of the same, that it cannot be agreeable with the Scripture of God. And ye are not of the catholic church; for ye make laws to kill men, and make the queen your hangman." At which words the bishop, belike somewhat tickled, and therefore very loth to delay their condemnation any longer, (such was now his hot burning charity,) commanded that they should be brought after him unto Fulham, whither he before dinner did go; and there in the afternoon, after his solemn manner, in the open church, he pronounced the definitive sentence of condemnation against them; and so, delivering them into the hands of the temporal officer, thought to despatch his hands of them, but could not so despatch his conscience before the judgment of God, from the guiltiness of innocent blood.

The poor men, being now in the temporal officer's hands, might not there be suffered long to remain; and therefore the fifteenth day of May, very early in the morning, they were carried from Newgate in a cart to Stratford-le-Bow, and most quietly in the fire, praising God, yielded up their souls into his hands, through a lively faith in Jesus Christ, whom unto the end they did most constantly confess.

At their death, Hugh Laverock, after he was chained, cast away his crutch; and comforting John Apprice, his fellow martyr, said unto him, "Be of good comfort, my brother; for my Lord of London is our good physician. He will heal us both shortly; thee of thy blindness, and me of my lameness." And so patiently these two good saints of God together suffered.

Three women the same time burned in Smithfield; Katharine Hut, Elizabeth Thackvel, and Joan Horns.

The next day after martyrdom of this lame and blind man above specified, in the said month of May, were brought to the fire three women, with whom also was adjoined another, who being in the same constancy with them, was likewise partaker of the said condemnation. The names of these were; Katharine Hut of Bocking,

widow; Joan Horns of Billericay, maid; Elizabeth Thackvel of Great Burstead, maid; Margaret Ellis of Billericay, maid.

How these, with divers other more, were persecuted and sent up, especially by Sir John Mordant, and Edmund Tyrrel, esquire, justices of peace, this their letter following will declare.

"Our humble commendations to your Lordship; these shall be to advertise you, that we have sent unto your good Lordship Joan Potter, the wife of Hugh Potter, James Harris, servant of William Harris of Bromhill, and Margaret Ellis, for that they be not conformable to the orders of the church, nor to the real presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar, to use your Lordship's pleasure with them, as you think good; not doubting with the punishment of these and others before sent to your Lordship, but that the parishes of Great Burstead and Billericay shall be brought to good conformity. Thus, committing your good Lordship to the tuition of the Almighty God, we take our leave.-- From Great Burstead, this present second day of March, 1556.

"Your Lordship's to command,
JOHN MORDANT, EDMUND TYRREL."

After the receipt of these letters, Bishop Bonner, entering to examination of these four women above-named, laid and objected the like articles to them as after his usual form he used to minister, and are before expressed; whereunto the same women likewise agreeing in the same unity of spirit and doctrine, accorded in their answers, much agreeing unto the others before them.

"As first, to the article in the first place objected, they consented and granted, believing the said article to be true in every part thereof.

"To the second, partly they answered, they could not tell what a sacrament is; Elizabeth Thackvel and Katharine Hut adding moreover, that matrimony, and baptism, and the Lord's supper, were sacraments ordained in the church; but whether the other specified in this article be sacraments (as they heard them called) ordained by God or not, they could not tell. Margaret Ellis being examined severally, as the others were, upon the same, it was demanded of her, where she had borne her candle on Candlemas-day, and where she received ashes upon Ash-Wednesday. Item, Where she was confessed, and where she received the sacrament of the altar at Easter last before. To the which she answered, that neither had she borne candles, nor received ashes; neither yet had been confessed, nor received the sacrament of the altar, because her conscience did not suffer nor permit her to approve or allow any of those things. But she confessed that about two years then last past, one Sir John, the vicar of Much Burstead, did minister unto her in the church there, the communion in English; at which time he did give her a piece of bread, which she received in remembrance of Christ's death and passion. And further, being demanded how many sacraments there were, answered, (as a young maid unskilled,) in her simple ignorance, that she could not tell. Howbeit she had heard (she said) that there was one sacrament, but what it was called she could not tell. Notwithstanding this her simplicity and small knowledge, (which had more need to have been charitably and favourably instructed, than thus cruelly to be condemned,) she was yet, in the end, after divers and sundry open examinations, denounced and adjudged a heretic; and thereupon was delivered

to the sheriffs of London, who sent her to Newgate, there to abide her appointed hour of burning; which the Lord, in his secret yet merciful judgment, prevented; calling her, in the mean while, in his mercy, out of this her miserable life, by sickness, into his eternal joy and rest, before that she could seal her faith with the shedding of her blood, which willingly she would have done, if the Lord's good will had so been.

"To the third likewise they granted, that they were baptized by their godfathers and godmothers, 'which godfathers and godmothers,' said Margaret Ellis, 'did not then know so much, as she doth now know.' Katharine Hut adding withal and saying, that she was baptized; but what her godfathers and godmothers did then promise for her in her name, she could not tell, &c.

"To the fourth article Margaret Ellis and Elizabeth Thackvel did grant thereunto: Katharine Hut said moreover, that she, being of the age of fourteen years, was of the faith wherein she was christened; and yet nevertheless the said faith in that age (she said) was but a dead faith, because she did not then understand what she did believe. Joan Horns added, that she, being eleven years of age, began to learn the faith set forth in King Edward's days, in the which faith and religion (she said) she hath hitherto, and yet doth, and so will hereafter continue, God so assisting her.

"To the fifth article they answered and confessed, according all in this effect, that as touching the mass, they knew no goodness in it; and as touching the sacrament of the altar, they believed that Christ's natural body is in heaven, and not in the sacrament of the altar; and as concerning the see of Rome, they acknowledged no such supremacy in that see, neither have they any thing to do therewith.

"In answering the sixth article, they did all generally refuse to be reconciled or united to the Church of Rome, or any other church, contrary to that wherein they now stood and did profess.

"To the seventh article they answered likewise, that they had so done and said in all things, as it is in this article contained: Katharine Hut adding moreover the reason why; for that (said she) neither the service in Latin, mass, matins, and even-song, nor the sacraments, were used and ministered according to God's word: and furthermore, that the mass is an idol, neither are the true body and blood of Christ in the sacrament of the altar, as they make men believe.

"The answer to the eighth article, declared that they were all and every one sent up to Bonner by Sir John Mordant, knight, and justice of peace in Essex, (the Lord of his mercy send us better justices, I beseech him,) for that they could not affirm the presence of Christ's body and blood to be truly and really in the sacrament, and for that they came not to their popish parish church.

"To the ninth article, they answered and confessed the premises thereof to be true, and denied not the same; save that Katharine Hut said, that she was of Booking in Essex, of the peculiar jurisdiction of Canterbury, and not of the diocese and jurisdiction of London."

After these their answers received, they were produced again about the thirteenth of April to further examination, and so at length to their final judgment;

where Katharine Hut, widow, standing before the bishop, boldly and constantly stood to that which she had said before, neither yielding to his fair promises, nor overthrown with his terror: who being required of the sacrament to say her mind, and to revoke herself unto the fellowship of the catholic faith, openly protested, saying, "I deny it to be God; because it is a dumb god, and made with men's hands." Wherein the good and faithful martyr of Christ firmly persisting, so received her sentence, being condemned of Bonner to the fire; which she with great constancy sustained by the grace and strength of the Lord, and did abide for the cause and love of Christ.

Joan Horns, maid, being produced likewise to her judgment and condemnation, with like firmness and Christian fortitude declared herself a true martyr and follower of Christ's testament, giving no place to the adversary. But being charged that she did not believe the sacrament of Christ's body and blood to be Christ himself, of the which sacrament (contrary to the nature of a sacrament) the adversaries are wont to make an idol-service; to this she, protesting openly her mind, said as followeth: "If you can make your god to shed blood, or to show any condition of a true lively body, then will I believe you: but it is but bread, as touching the substance thereof," meaning the matter whereof the sacrament consisteth; "and that which you call heresy, I trust to serve my Lord God in," &c. And as concerning the Romish see, she said, "My Lord," speaking to Bonner, "I forsake all its abominations; and from them, good Lord deliver us." From this her stable and constant assertion, when the bishop was too weak to remove her, and too ignorant to convince her, he knocked her down with the butcherly axe of his sentence. And so the holy virgin and martyr, committed to the shambles of the secular sword, was offered up with her other fellows a burnt sacrifice to the Lord, "in the savour of a sweet and pleasant smell."

As touching Margaret Ellis, she likewise, persevering in her foresaid confession, and resisting the false catholic error and heresies of the papists, was by the said Bonner adjudged and condemned; but before the time of her burning came, prevented by death in Newgate prison, departed and slept in the Lord.

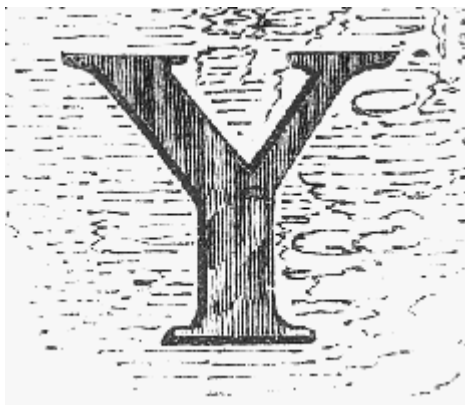
No less strength in the grace of the Lord appeared in the other maid, Elizabeth Thackvel, whose heart and mind the Lord had so confirmed in his truth, so armed with patience, that as her adversaries could by no sufficient knowledge of Scripture convince her affirmation, so by no forcible attempts they could remove her confession. Whereupon she, standing to the death, being in like sort condemned by the said unbishoplike persecutor, gave her life willingly and mildly for the confirmation and seal-ing up of the sincere truth of God's word.

These three innocent and godly women, thus falsely and wrongfully by men condemned for the just quarrel and cause of God's gospel, were had to Smithfield, and there, cruelly bound to the stake, gave their bodies to the tormentors: their spirits they commended to God, for whose glory they were willing and ready to suffer whatsoever the cruel hands of their enemies should work against them, dying more joyfully in the flaming fire, than some of them that burned them did, peradventure, in their beds. Such a Lord is God, glorious and wonderful in all his saints. The martyrdom of these saints of God was the sixteenth of May.

340. Thomas Drowry and Thomas Croker.



Croker and Drowry at the Stake



Y E heard a little before of two men, the one blind, the other lame, which suffered about the fifteenth of May. And here is not to be forgotten another as godly a couple, which suffered the like passion and martyrdom for the same cause of religion at Gloucester: of the which two, the one was a blind boy, named Thomas Drowry, mentioned before in the history of Bishop Hooper, whom the said virtuous bishop confirmed then in the Lord, and in the doctrine of his word. With him also was burned another in the same place, and at the same fire in Gloucester, about the fifteenth of May, whose name was Thomas Croker, bricklayer.

Concerning the which blind boy, how long he was in prison, and in what year he suffered, I am not certain. Of this, credible intelligence I have received by the

testimony of the registrar then of Gloucester, named John Taylor, alias Barker, that the said blind boy, at his last examination and final condemnation, was brought, by the officers under whose custody he had remained, before Dr. Williams, then chancellor of Gloucester, sitting judicially with the said registrar in the consistory, near unto the south door, in the nether end of the church of Gloucester; where the said chancellor then ministered unto the boy such usual articles as are accustomed in such cases, and are sundry times mentioned in this book. Amongst which he chiefly urged the article of transubstantiation, saying in effect as followeth: --

Chancellor.--"Dost thou not believe, that after the words of consecration spoken by the priest, there remaineth the very real body of Christ in the sacrament of the altar?"

To whom the blind boy answered, "No, that I do not."

Chancellor.--"Then thou art a heretic, and shalt be burned. But who hath taught thee this heresy?"

Thomas.--"You, Master Chancellor."

Chancellor.--"Where, I pray thee?"

Thomas.--"Even in yonder place;" pointing with his hand, and turning towards the pulpit, standing upon the north side of the church.

Chancellor.--"When did I teach thee so?"

Thomas.--"When you preached there [naming the day] a sermon to all men, as well as to me, upon the sacrament. You said, the sacrament was to be received spiritually by faith, and not carnally and really, as the papists have heretofore taught."

Chancellor.--"Then do as I have done, and thou shalt live as I do, and escape burning."

Thomas.--"Though you can so easily dispense with yourself, and mock with God, the world, and your conscience, yet will I not so do."

Chancellor.--"Then God have mercy upon thee; for I will read the condemnation sentence against thee."

Thomas.--"God's will be fulfilled."

The registrar being herewith somewhat moved, stood up, and said to the chancellor:

Registrar.--"Fie for shame, man! will you read the sentence against him, and condemn yourself? Away, away, and substitute some other to give sentence and judgment."

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

Chancellor.--"No, registrar, I will obey the law, and give sentence myself, according to mine office."

And so he read the sentence condemnatory against the boy, (with an unhappy tongue, and a more unhappy conscience,) delivering him over unto the secular power; who the said fifteenth day of May, brought the said blind boy to the place of execution at Gloucester; together with one Thomas Croker a bricklayer, condemned also for the like testimony of the truth, where both together, in one fire, most constantly and joyfully yielded their souls into the hands of the Lord Jesus.

341. Persecution in Suffolk

After the death of these above rehearsed, were three men burnt at Beccles in Suffolk, in one fire, about the twenty-first of May, anno 1556, whose names are here specified: Thomas Spicer of Winston, labourer; John Denny, and Edmund Poole. This Thomas Spicer was a single man, of the age of nineteen years, and by vocation a labourer, dwelling in Winston in the county of Suffolk, and there taken in his master's house in summer, about or soon after the rising of the sun, (being in his bed,) by James Ling and John Keretch of the same town, and William Davies of Debenham in the said county.

The occasion of his taking was, for that he would not go to their popish church to hear mass and receive their idol, at the commandment of Sir John Tyrrel, knight, of Gipping-hall in Suffolk, and certain other justices there, who sent both him and them to Eye dungeon in Suffolk, till at length they were all three together brought before Dunning, then chancellor of Norwich, and Master Mings the registrar, sitting at the town of Beccles, to be examined.

And there the said chancellor, persuading what he could to turn them from the truth, could by no means prevail of his purpose. Wherefore, minding in the end to give sentence on them, he burst out in tears, entreating them to remember themselves, and to turn again to the holy mother church, for that they were deceived and out of the truth, and that they should not wilfully cast away themselves, with such-like words.

Now as he was thus labouring them, and seemed very loth to read the sentence, (for they were the first that he condemned in that diocese,) the registrar there sitting by, being weary belike of tarrying, or else perceiving the constant martyrs to be at a point, called upon the chancellor in haste to rid them out of the way, and to make an end. At the which words the chancellor read the condemnation over them with tears, and delivered them to the secular power.

The articles, whereupon they were condemned.

"The articles objected to these, and commonly to all others condemned in that diocese by Dr. Hopton bishop of Norwich, and by Dunning his chancellor, were these:

"First, It was articulate against them, that they believed not the pope of Rome to be supreme head immediately under Christ in earth of the universal catholic church.

"2. Item, That they believed not holy bread and holy water, ashes, palms, and all other like ceremonies used in the church, to be good and laudable for stirring up the people to devotion.

"3. Item, That they believed not, after the words of consecration spoken by the priest, the very natural body of Christ, and no other substance of bread and wine, to be in the sacrament of the altar.

"4. Item, That they believed it to be idolatry to worship Christ in the sacrament of the altar.

"5. Item, That they took bread and wine in remembrance of Christ's passion.

"6. Item, That they would not follow the cross in procession, nor be confessed to a priest.

"7. Item, That they affirmed no mortal man to have in himself free-will to do good or evil."

For this doctrine and articles above prefixed, these three, as is aforesaid, were condemned by Dr. Dunning and committed to the secular power, Sir John Silliard being the same time high sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk. And the next day following upon the same, they were all burnt together in the said town of Beccles. Whereupon it is to be thought, that the writ *De comburendo* was not yet come down, nor could be, the lord chancellor, Bishop Heath, being the same time at London: which if it be true, then it is plain, that both they went beyond their commission, that were the executioners, and also the clergy, which were the instigators thereof, cannot make good that they now pretend; saying, that they did nothing but by law. But this let the Lord find out when he seeth his time.

In the mean time, while these good men were at the stake, and had prayed, they said their belief; and when they came to the reciting of the catholic church, Sir John Silliard spake to them: "That is well said, sirs," quoth he, "I am glad to hear you say, you do believe the catholic church. That is the best word I have heard of you yet." To the which his sayings Edmund Poole answered, that though they believed the catholic church, yet did they not believe in their popish church, which is no part of Christ's catholic church, and therefore no part of their belief.

When they rose from prayer, they all went joyfully to the stake; and being bound thereto, and the fire burning about them, they praised God in such an audible voice, that it was wonderful to all those which stood by and heard them.

Then one Robert Bacon, dwelling in the said Beccles, a very enemy of God's truth, and a persecutor of his people, being there present within hearing thereof, willed the tormentors to throw on faggots to stop the knaves' breaths, as he termed them; so hot was his burning charity. But these good men, not regarding their malice, confessed the truth, and yielded their lives to the death for the testimony of the same, very gloriously and joyfully. The which their constancy in the like cause the Lord grant we may imitate and follow unto the end, (whether it be death or life,) to glorify the name of Christ, Amen!

And forasmuch as we have here entered into the persecution of Norfolk and Suffolk, it cometh therefore to mind, by occasion hereof, briefly to touch, by the way, some part (for the whole matter cannot be so expressed as it was done) touching the troubles of the towns of Winston and Mendlesham in Suffolk, raised and stirred by the said Sir John Tyrrel and other justices there of the like affinity. The sum and effect of which briefly is thus signified to me by writing.

By the procurement of Sir John Tyrrel, knight, and others of his colleagues, there were persecuted out of the town of Winston in Suffolk, these persons hereafter following, anno 1556: Mrs. Alice Twaites, gentlewoman, of the age of threescore years and more, and two of her servants; Humphrey Smith and his wife; William Catchpoole and his wife; John Mauling and his wife; Nicholas Burlingham and his wife; and one Rought and his wife.

Such as were persecuted and driven out of the town of Mendlesham in the county of Suffolk:

Simon Harlstone, and Katharine his wife, with his five children: William Whitting, and Katharine his wife: Thomas Dobson, and his wife; Thomas Hubbard, and his wife; John Doncon, and his wife and maid; William Doncon; Thomas Woodward the elder; one Konnold's wife; a poor widow; one Mother Semon's maid: besides those that were constrained to do against their conscience, by the help of the parish priest, whose name was Sir John Brodish.

These be the chief causes why those above-named were persecuted:

"First, They did hold and believe the holy word of God to be the sufficient doctrine unto their salvation.

"Secondly, They denied the pope's usurped authority, and did hold all that church of antichrist to be Christ's adversaries. And further, they refused the abused sacraments, defied the mass and all popish service and ceremonies, saying they robbed God of his honour, and Christ of his death and glory, and would not come at the church, without it were to the defacing of that they did there.

"Thirdly, They did hold that the ministers of the church, by God's word, might lawfully marry.

"Fourthly, They held the queen to be as chief head, and wicked rulers to be a great plague sent of God for sin, &c.

"Fifthly, They denied man's free-will, and held that the pope's church did err, and many others in that point with them; rebuking their false confidence in works, and their false trust in man's righteousness. Also, when any rebuked those persecuted for going so openly, and talking so freely, their answer was, They knowledged, confessed, and believed, and therefore they must speak: and that their tribulation was God's good will and providence, and that his judgments were right, to punish them with others for their sins; and that of very faithfulness and mercy God had caused them to be troubled, so that one hair of their heads should not perish before the time, but all things should work unto the best to them that love God. And that Christ Jesus was their life and only righteousness, and that only by faith in him, and for his sake, all good things were freely given them; also forgiveness of sins and life everlasting."

Many of these persecuted were of great substance, and had possessions of their own: give God the praise!

342. Sailors Saved Through the Power of Faith.



The Rescue of Gregory Crowe

Forasmuch as we are now in the month of May, before we overpass the same, and because the story is not long, and not unworthy peradventure of noting, it shall not grieve the studious reader, a little to give the hearing thereof, whereby to learn to marvel and muse at the great works of the Lord. They that go down, saith the psalmist, into the sea, labouring upon the water, have seen the works of the Lord, and his mighty wonders upon the deep, &c. The truth whereof may well appear in this story following: which story, as it is signified and written to me by relation of the party himself, which was doer thereof, called Thomas Morse, so I thought to purport the same as followeth:

"Upon Tuesday after Whitsunday, which was the twenty-sixth day of May, in this present year, 1556, (or else, as he rather thinketh, in the year next before, which was 1555,) a certain poor man whose name was Gregory Crow, dwelling in Malden, went to the sea, minding to have gone into Kent for fulling earth; but by the way, being foul weather, was driven upon a sand, where presently the boat sank, and was

full of water, so that the men were forced to hold themselves by the mast of the boat, and all things that would swim did swim out of her: amongst which Crow saw his Testament in the water, and caught it and put it in his bosom. Now it was ebbing water, so that within one hour the boat was dry, but broken so as they could not save her: but they went themselves upon the sand, (being ten miles at the least from the land,) and there made their prayers together, that God would send some ship that way to save them, (being two men and one boy in all,) for they might not tarry upon the sand but half an hour, but it would be flood; in the which time they found their chest, wherein was money to the sum of five pound six shillings and eight pence, the which money the man which was with the said Crow (whose name I know not) took and gave it unto Crow, who was owner thereof, and he cast it into the sea, saying, 'If the Lord will save our lives, he will provide us a living.' And so they went upon the mast there, hanging by the arms and legs for the space of ten hours, in the which time the boy was so weary and beaten with the sea, that he fell off and was drowned.

"And when the water was gone again, and the sand dry, Crow said to his man, 'It were best for us to take down our masts, and when the flood cometh, we will sit upon them, and so it may please God to bring us to some ship that may take us up.' Which thing they did, and so at ten of the clock in the night of the same Tuesday, the flood did bear up the mast whereupon they sat.

"And upon the Wednesday, in the night, the man died, being overcome with hunger and watching. So there was none left but this Crow, who, driving up and down in the sea, called upon God as he could, and might not sleep, for fear that the sea would have beaten him off.

"So at length, I myself (said Thomas Morse) being laden to Antwerp with my crayer, going from Leigh upon Friday, having within my crayer, of mariners and merchants, to the number of forty-six persons; and so coming to the Foreland, the wind was not very good, so that I was constrained to go somewhat out of my way, being in the afternoon about six of the clock, where at the last we saw a thing afar off, appearing unto us like a small buoy, that fishermen do use to lay with their hooks.

"When we saw it, some said, 'Let us have some fish.' And I said to him that was at the helm, Keep your course away, for we shall but hinder the fisherman, and have no fish neither;' and so at my commandment he did. But at length he at the helm standing higher than all we did, said, 'Methink, master, it is a man.' But yet they, being in doubt that it was but a fisher's buoy, returned the ship from him again to keep their course.

"Crow, beholding the ship to turn from him, being then in utter despair, and ready now to perish with watching and famine, and moreover miserably beaten with the seas, at last took his mariner's cap from his head, and holding up the same with his arm, as high as he could, thought by shaking it as well as he might, to give them some token of better sight. Whereupon the steersman more sensibly perceiving a thing to move, advertised us again, declaring how he did see plainly a man's arm; and with that we all beheld him well, and so came to him and took him up. And as soon as we had him in our ship, he began to put his hand in his bosom; and one asked him if he had money there. 'No,' said he, 'I have a book here, I think it be wet;' and so drew out his Testament, which we then dried. But the sea had so beaten him, that his eyes,

nose, and mouth were almost closed with salt, that the heat of his face and the weather had made. So we made a fire and shifted him with dry clothes, and gave him aqua composite to drink, and such meat as was in the ship; and then let him sleep.

"The next day we awaked him about eight of the clock in the morning, and his blood began somewhat to appear in his flesh, (for when we took him up, his flesh was even as though it had been sodden, or as a drowned man is,) and then we talked with him of all the matter before rehearsed. And so, sailing to Antwerp, the merchants, which saw the thing, published the same in Antwerp; and because it was wonderful, the people there, both men and women, came to the ship to see him, many of them. Some gave him a petticoat, and some a shirt, some hosen, and some money (always noting how he cast away his money, and kept his book). And many of the women wept when they heard and saw him. And Master Governor of the English nation there had him before him, and talked with him of all the matter; and, pitying his case, commanded the officer of the English house to go with him to the free post-houses amongst the English merchants, and I with them; and at three houses there was given him six pound ten shillings. And so from thence he went with me to Rouen, where the people also came to him to see him, marvelling at the great works of God."

And thus much concerning this poor man with his New Testament preserved in the sea (which Testament the pope's clergy condemneth on the land) ye have heard, as I received by the relation of the party above-named, who was the doer thereof, and yet alive dwelling in Leigh, well known to all merchants of London. In which story this by the way understand, good reader, (which rightly may be supposed,) that if this poor man, thus found and preserved in the sea with a New Testament in his bosom, had had instead of that a pix with a consecrated host about him, no doubt it had been rung ere this time all Christendom over for a miracle, so far as the pope hath any land. But to let the pope with his false miracles go, let us return again to our matter begun, and adjoin another history of much like condition, testified likewise by the information of the said Thomas Morse above mentioned, to the intent to make known the worthy acts of the Almighty, that he may be magnified in all his wondrous works. The story is thus declared, which happened anno 1556, about Michaelmas.

Another like story of God's providence upon three men delivered upon the sea.

"There was a ship," (saith the said Thomas Morse,) "whereof I had a part, going towards the Bay for salt, with two ships of Brightlingsea, which were all together going for salt, as before is said. At what time we were within ten miles of the North Foreland, otherwise called Thanet, the wind did conue so contrary to our ship, that we were forced to go clean out of the way; and the other two ships kept their course still, until our ship was almost out of sight of them. And then they saw a thing driving upon the sea, and hoisted out their boat and went unto it; and it was three men sitting upon a piece of their ship, who had sitten so two days and two nights.

"There had been in their ship eight men more, which were drowned, being all Frenchmen, dwelling in a place in France called Oleron. They had been at Dantzic, and lost their ship about Orfordness, as might be learned by their words. They were men that feared God; the one of them was owner of the ship. Their exercise, while

they were in our ship, was, that after their coming in, they gave thanks for their deliverance. Both morning and evening they exercised prayer, and also before and after meat. And when they came into France, our ships went to the same place where these men dwelt; and one of them did sell unto our men their ship's lading of salt, and did use them very courteously and friendly; and not at that time only, but always whensoever that ship cometh thither, (as she hath been there twice since,) he always doth for them, so that they can lack nothing. I should have noted, that after our ship had taken up those three men out of the sea, they had the wind fair presently, and came and overtook the other two ships again, and so they proceeded in their voyage together."

For the more credit of this story above recited, to satisfy either the doubtful, or to prevent the quarreller, I have not only alleged the name of the party which was the doer thereof, but also expressed the matter in his own words, as I of him received it; the party and reporter himself being yet alive, and dwelling at Leigh, a man so well known amongst the merchants of London, that whosoever heareth the name of Thotnas Morse, will never doubt there-of. And again, the matter itself being so notoriously known to merchants as well here as at Antwerp, that though his name were not expressed, the story can lack no witnesses.

343. Other Martyrs, June 1556.

The death of William Sleek in the King's Bench.

The last day of the said month of May, in the year aforesaid, William Sleek, being in prison for the said doctrine of the Lord's gospel, and the confession of his truth, died in the King's Bench, and was buried on the back side of the said prison; for that the Romish catholic spirituality thought him not worthy to come within their pope-holy churchyards, neither in any other Christian burial, as they call it.

In June next following, about the sixth day of the same month, four martyrs suffered together at Lewes, whose names were these: Thomas Harland, of Woodmancott, carpenter; John Oswald, of Woodmancott, husbandman; Thomas Avington, of Ardingley, turner; Thomas Read.

To Thomas Harland I find in the bishop of London's registers, to be objected for not coming to church. Whereunto he answered, that after the mass was restored, he never had will to hear the same, because (said he) it was in Latin, which he did not understand, and therefore as good (quoth he) never a whit as never the better. John Oswald denied to answer any thing, until his accusers should be brought face to face before him; and neverthe-less said, that fire and faggots could not make him afraid: but as the good preachers which were in King Edward's time have suffered and gone before, so was he ready to suffer and come after, and would be glad thereof.

These four, after long imprisonment in the King's Bench, were burned together at Lewes in Sussex, in one fire, the day of the month aforesaid.

The martyrdom of Thomas Whood and Thomas Milles

In the same town of Lewes, and in the same month likewise, were burned Thomas Whood, minister, and Thomas Milles, about the twentieth day of the same month, for resisting the erroneous and heretical doctrine of the pretended catholic Church of Rome.

Two dead in the King's Bench.

In the which month likewise, William Adherall, minister, imprisoned in the King's Bench, there died the twenty-fourth day of the same month, and was buried in the back side: also John Clement, wheelwright, who, dying in the said prison, in like sort upon the dunghill was buried, in the back side, two days after, viz. the twenty-sixth day of June.

A merchant's servant burned at Leicester.

The next day following of the said month of June, we read of a certain young man, a merchant's servant, who for the like godliness suffered cruel persecution of the papists, and was burnt at Leicester the twenty-sixth day of the month of June above-named.

344. Thirteen Martyrs Burned at Stratford-Le-Bow.



The Thirteen Martyrs of Stratford-le-Bow

Not long after the death of the merchant's servant before mentioned, there followed in this happy and blessed order of martyrs burnt in one fire at Stratford-le-Bow by London, eleven men and two women, whose dwellings were in sundry places in Essex, and whose names hereafter follow:-- Henry Adlington, Laurence Pernam, Henry Wye, William Halliwell, Thomas Bowyer, George Searles, Edmund Hurst, Lyon Cawch, Ralph Jackson, John Derifall, John Routh, Elizabeth Pepper, and Agnes George.

Unto whom the sixth of June, anno 1556, Dr. Darbyshire, Bonner's chancellor, in form of law ministered the same articles that were pronounced unto Thomas Whittle and his company, mentioned before; to the which they made their several answers, in simplicity and in a good conscience, the sum and effect whereof ensueth.

Their answers to the articles.

"To the first, they all answered affirmatively; but Lyon Cawch added further, that he believed that the true faith and religion of Christ is wheresoever the word of God is truly preached.

"To the second article they all answered in effect, denying that there be seven sacraments; some affirming that in the church of Christ there be but two sacraments, that is to say, baptism and the Lord's supper. Others referring themselves to believe as the Scripture teacheth them: and other some refused to make answer because of their simplicity.

"To the third article they all answered affirmatively.

"To the fourth article they all answered affirmatively, saving John Routh, who said he would make no answer thereunto. But Lyon Cawch added, that he believed the article to be true; but it was because he had no better knowledge. And Agnes George added, that in King Edward the Sixth's time she went from her old faith and religion, and believed in the faith and religion that was then taught and set forth.

"To the fifth, they all answered in effect affirmatively, saving John Routh, whose answer was, that the mass is such a thing, which neither can nor will enter into his conscience. And Henry Adlington answered, that for nine or ten years before, he misliked the mass, and also the sacrament of the altar, because they cannot be proved by the Scriptures. And as touching the authority of the see of Rome, he, being but fourteen years of age, took an oath against the same, which oath (he said) he intended to keep by the grace of God.

"To the sixth they all answered affirmatively, saving John Routh, and William Halliwell, who both refused to answer, because they knew not what they meant by this article. But the two women added, that they refused to be reconciled to the faith and religion that was then used in the realm of England. And Laurence Pernam added, that he never refused to be reconciled and brought to the unity of the catholic church of Christ.

"To the seventh article they all answered affirmatively; but William Halliwell denied that ever he called the mass idolatry and abomination. And Henry Wye affirming the article to be true, yet he confessed his infirmity, that he went to his parish church and received, before he was put in prison.

"To the eighth article Edmund Hurst, Ralph Jackson, and George Searles answered affirmatively. Henry Wye said he was brought before certain justices of peace in Essex, concerning one Higbed his late master, and thereupon he was committed to Colchester castle, and from thence sent to London to the bishop to be further examined. William Halliwell affirmed the like confession as Henry Wye did, only Higbed excepted. John Derifall said he was called before the Lord Riche, and Master Mildmay of Chelmsford, and was by them sent to Bonner, bishop of London, to be further by him examined. Thomas Bowyer said he was brought before one

Master Wiseman of Felstead, and by him was sent to Colchester castle, and from thence was carried to Bonner, bishop of London, to be by him further examined. Lyon Cawch said that he was sent to come before the king and queen's Majesties' commissioners, and there before them appearing three times, was sent to Bonner, bishop of London, to be by him further examined. Henry Adlington said, that he, coming to Newgate to speak with one Gratwike there, being prisoner for the testimony of Jesus Christ, was apprehended and brought before Dr. Story, and by him sent to Bonner, bishop of London, to be by him further examined. John Routh said, that he was conveyed before the earl of Oxford, and by him sent to the castle of Colchester, and from thence conveyed to Bonner, bishop of London, to be by him further examined. Laurence Pernam said, that he was committed to Hertford prison, because he would not go to church, and from thence sent to Bonner, bishop of London, to be by him further examined. Agnes George said, that she was committed to prison in Colchester, at the commandment of one Master Maynard, an alderman of the town, because she would not go to church, and from thence she was sent to Bonner, bishop of London, to be by him further examined. Elizabeth Pepper said she was apprehended by two constables and an alderman, for that she would not come to church, and by them was sent to Bonner, bishop of London, to be by him further examined.

"To the ninth article, they all believed the premises to be true above by them confessed, and that they were of the diocese and jurisdiction of London. But Elizabeth Pepper added, that she was of the town of Colchester.

"And Agnes George added, that she was of the parish of Barefold. And Lyon Cawch added, that he was then of the city of London, by reason that he was at that present a merchant there.

"Henry Wye, brewer, was of the parish of Stanford-le-Hope, and of thirty-two years of age.

"William Halliwell was a smith, of the parish of Waltham Holy Cross, and of the age of twenty-four years, or thereabouts.

"Ralph Jackson was a servingman, of Chipping Ongar, and of the age of twenty-four years.

"Laurence Pernam was a smith of Hoddesdon, within the parish of Amwell, in the county of Hertford, and of the age of twenty-two years.

"John Derifall was a labourer, of the parish of Rettendon in Essex, and of the age of fifty years.

"Edmund Hurst was a labourer, of the parish of St. James's, Colchester, and of the age of fifty years and above.

"Thomas Bowyer was a weaver of Great Dunmow, and of the age of thirty-six years.

"George Searles was a tailor, between twenty or twenty-one years of age, of the parish of White Notley, where he was taken and carried to the Lord Riche, who sent him to Colchester castle, with a commandment that no friend he had should speak with him. There he lay six weeks, and was sent up to London, where he was sometime in the bishop's coal-house, sometime in Lollards' Tower, and last of all in Newgate. He was apprehended in Lent, about a fortnight before Easter, in the place aforesaid.

"Lyon Cawch was a broker, born in Flanders, and then resident, at his taking, in the city of London, and of the age of twenty-eight years or thereabouts.

"Henry Adlington was a sawyer, and of Grinstead in the county of Sussex, and of the age of thirty years.

"John Routh was a labourer, and of the parish of Wickes in Essex, and of the age of twenty-six years.

"Elizabeth Pepper was the wife of Thomas Pepper, weaver, of the parish of St. James's in the town of Colchester, and of the age of thirty years, or thereabouts, who, when she was burned at Stratford, was eleven weeks gone with child, as she then testified to one Bosom's wife, who then unloosed her neckerchief; saying, moreover, when she was asked why she did not tell them; and answering, 'Why,' quoth she, 'they knew it well enough.' Oh such be the bloody hearts of this cruel generation, that no occasion can stay them from their mischievous murdering of the saints of the Lord, which truly profess Christ crucified only and alone, for the satisfaction of their sins.

Agnes George was the wife of Richard George, husbandman, of West Barefold in the county of Essex, and of the age of twenty-six years. This Richard George had another wife burned beside her in the Postern at Colchester, and himself lay in prison until Queen Elizabeth came to the crown, and then was delivered."

When these thirteen were condemned, and the day appointed they should suffer, which was the twenty-seventh day of June, anno 1556, they were carried from Newgate in London the said day to Stratford-le-Bow, (which was the place appointed for their martyrdom,) and there divided into two parts, in two several chambers.

Afterward the sheriff, who there attended upon them, came to the one part, and told them that the other had recanted, and their lives therefore should be saved, willing and exhorting them to do the like, and not to cast away themselves: unto whom they answered, that their faith was not builded on man, but on Christ crucified.

Then the sheriff, perceiving no good to be done with them, went to the other part, and said (like a liar) the like to them, that they whom he had been with before, had recanted, and should therefore not suffer death, counselling them to do the like, and not wilfully to kill themselves, but to play the wise men, &c.; unto whom they answered as their brethren had done before, that their faith was not builded on man, but on Christ and his sure word, &c.

Now when he saw it bootied not to persuade, (for they were, God be praised, surely grounded on the

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Rock, Jesus Christ,) he then led them to the place where they should suffer: and being all there together, most earnestly they prayed unto God, and joyfully went to the stake, and kissed it, and embraced it very heartily.

The eleven men were tied to three stakes, and the two women loose in the midst without any stake; and so they were all burnt in one fire, with such love to each other, and constancy in our Saviour Christ, that it made all the lookers-on to marvel. The Lord grant us the like grace in the like need, according to the good pleasure of his will, Amen.

In the company of these foresaid thirteen, were three more condemned to die; whose names are hereunder specified: Thomas Freeman, William Stannard, and William Adams; which three answered to those articles that were propounded unto the said thirteen, in effect as they did: And being thus in the hands of the secular power, Cardinal Pole sent his dispensation for their lives, by what occasion I cannot safely say, but by means thereof they then escaped.

The Sunday after these aforesaid sixteen were condemned, Fecknam, dean of Paul's, preached at Paul's Cross, where he declared, that they had as many sundry opinions as they were sundry persons. At the hearing whereof they drew out their faith, and set to their hands as hereafter followeth, and directed the same to their friends and the faithful congregation, as followeth.

"Unto all our dearly beloved friends, and the holy congregation of Jesus Christ, even so many as love God, grace be with you, and peace from God our Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ. So be it.

"Be it manifest to all by whom this our certificate shall be seen, that whereas upon Sunday, being the thirteenth day of June, at Fulham, before the bishop of London, sixteen of us (whose names hereunder are subscribed) were condemned to die for the most pure and sincere truth of Christ's verity; which most godly truth hath been from the beginning with the wicked adversaries thereof continually defaced, and is by the devil and his imps even at this present likewise daily slandered: upon this occasion, dearly beloved brethren, we are moved, yea, constrained, in the ears of all men to manifest our belief, and also briefly the articles whereof we are condemned, for the avoiding of false reports and slanderous tongues, which might happen by the most ungodly and uncharitable sermon lately preached at Paul's Cross, the fourteenth of the said month, being Sunday, by Master Fecknam, now dean of the same church; where he in that most worthy audience defamed us to be in sixteen sundry opinions, which were a thing prejudicial to all Christian verity; and for a testimonial thereof, this hereunder written shall answer our cause: and therefore we pray you that are of God to judge.

"The first: We believe we were baptized in the faith of Christ's church, and incorporate unto him, and made members of his church, in the which faith we continue. And although we have erred for a certain time, yet the root of faith was preserved in us by the Holy Ghost, which hath reduced us into a full certainty of the same; and we do persist, and will, by God's assistance, to the end.

"Now mark, that although the minister were of the church malignant, yet his wickedness did not hurt us, for that he baptized us in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. There was both the word and the element, and our godfathers and godmothers renouncing for us the devil and all his works, and confessing the articles of the Christian faith for us, and also witnesses that we are baptized, not in the faith of the Church of Rome, but in the faith of Christ's church.

"1. Item, There are but two sacraments in Christ's church, that is, the sacrament of baptism, and the Lord's supper. For in these are contained the faith of Christ's church; that is, the two testaments, the law and the gospel. The effect of the law is repentance, and the effect of the gospel remission of sins.

"2. Item, We believe that there is a visible church, wherein the word of God is preached, and the holy sacraments truly ministered, visible to the wicked world, although it be not credited, and by the death of saints confirmed, as it was in the time of Elias the prophet, as well as now.

"3. The see of Rome is the see of antichrist, the congregation of the wicked, &c., whereof the pope is head, under the devil.

"4. Item, The mass is not only a profanation of the Lord's supper, but also a blasphemous idol.

"5. Item, God is neither spiritually nor corporally in the sacrament of the altar, and there remaineth no substance in the same, but only the substance of bread and wine.

"For these the articles of our belief, we being condemned to die, do willingly offer our corruptible bodies to be dissolved in the fire, all with one voice assenting and consenting thereunto, and in no one point dissenting or disagreeing from any of our for-mer articles.

"Apparent also let it be and known, that being of the former articles before the bloody bishop ex-amined the said day and dine, we affirmed to believe all that he or they would approve by the Scriptures. But he ,said that he would not stand to prove it with heretics, but said they themselves were the holy church, and that we ought to believe them, or else to be cut off like withered branches."

Their names subscribed to the same.

"Ralph Jackson.

Henry Adlington.

Lyon Cawch.

William Halliwell.

George Searles.

John Routh.

John Derifall.

Henry Wye.

Edmund Hurst.

Laurence Pernam.

Thomas Bowyer.

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Elizabeth Pepper.
Agnes George.
Thomas Freeman.
William Stannard.
William Adams."

345. Trouble and Business in the Diocese of Lichfield and Elsewhere, June-July 1556

In the diocese of Lichfield, about the fourteenth of June, in the saLe year, John Colstock, who was lately come from London before, and now dwelling at Wellington, though he suffered no martyrdom, yet sustained some trouble, being attached and examined by the bishop, named Ralph Banes, for his religion, especially for two points; in holding against the reality of Christ in the sacrament, and against auricular confession to be made to the priest. For the which cause being compelled to recant, he was enjoined in the church of St. Cedde to bear a faggot before the cross, bare-headed, having in the one hand a taper, and in the other a pair of beads, &c.

Amongst divers others which in the same diocese and the same time were suspected and troubled for the like, was Thomas Flier of Uttoxeter, shoemaker, Nicholas Ball of Uttoxeter, capper, Thomas Pyot of Cheadle.

Item, Henry Crimes for marrying his wife on Palm-Sunday even, &c. Some others also there were which had the like penance enjoined them, as Thomas Johnson about the twenty-sixth day of this month of June, because he sware by the holy mass before the bishop sitting in judgment; who for the same was driven to go before the cross with his taper and beads, &c.

Concerning the which Thomas Flier above named, being a godly and a zealous man, this furthermore is to be noted, and not unworthy of grateful memory, that whereas in the town of Uttoxeter, commandment was directed unto him amongst others from the ordinary, for pulling down monuments of superstition, and namely, the rood-loft; he, being one of the churchwardens or sidemen, on a time had talk upon the same with certain of his neighbours, where one wished them ill to thieve, that should go about such an act. What passed else amongst them, ministering matter of further provocation, it is not perfectly known. In fine, the said Flier being offended, and afterward meeting with him that had used such words before, began to commune with him of the matter; but in the end the man so little repented him of those sayings, that he added yet more fierce words, and at length strokes also, in such wise, that at that conflict the said Thomas Flier was slain; and yet so was the matter handled, and such amends were made with money by the murderer and his friends, to the said Flier's wife, that he suffered little or nothing for the same, save only that he was banished the town, and sworn and bound never to come in it so long as the said Flier's wife should live.

Three men dead in the prison of the King's Bench.

After the burning of these in Stratford, the same month died in the prison of the King's Bench in Southwark, one Thomas Parret, and was buried in the postern, the twenty-seventh day of the month above-said. Also Martin Hunt (as is reported) in the same prison was famished the twenty-ninth day: at which time likewise died in the

same prison, as I find recorded, one John Norice; and, after the same sort as the other, was buried on the back side of the said prison, the day above mentioned.

The story of Roger Bernard, Adam Foster, and Robert Lawson, three martyrs, suffering at St. Edmund's Bury, with two examinations of Bernard before Dr. Hopton, bishop of Norwich.

After the death of the aforesaid Thomas Parret, Martin Hunt, and John Norice, were three martyred at St. Edmund's Bury, in Suffolk, in one fire, whose names are above specified.

When Roger Bernard came before the bishop, first he was asked whether he had been with the priest at Easter to be shriven, and whether he had received the blessed sacrament of the altar, or no? Unto whom Roger Bernard answered, "No, I have not been with the priest, nor confessed myself unto him; but I have confessed my sins to Almighty God, and I trust he hath forgiven me: wherefore I shall not need to go to the priest for such matters, who cannot help himself."

Bishop.--"Surely, Bernard, thou must needs go, and confess thyself unto him."

Roger.--"That shall I not do (by God's grace) while I live."

Bishop.--"What a stout boyly heretic is this! How malapertly he answereth!"

Roger.--"My Lord, it grieveth me no whit (I thank God) to be called heretic at your hands: for so your forefathers called the prophets and confessors of Christ, long before this time."

At these words the bishop rose up in a great heat, and bade Bernard follow him. Then the bishop went and kneeled before that they call the sacrament of the altar; and as he was in his prayers kneeling, he looked back, and asked Bernard why he came not, and did not as he did. Unto whom Bernard answered, "I cannot tell why I should so do." "Why," quoth the bishop, "thou lewd fellow, whom seest thou yonder?" pointing to the pix over the altar.

Roger.--"I see nobody there. Do you, my Lord?"

Bishop.--"Why, naughty man, dost thou not see thy Maker?"

Roger.--"My Maker! No, I see nothing but a few clouts hanging together on a heap."

With that the bishop rose up sore displeased, and commanded the jailer to take him away, and to lay irons enough on him: "for," quoth he, "I will tame him ere he go from me, I trow so:" and so he was carried away.

The next day Bernard was brought again before the bishop, who asked him if he did not remember himself since the day before, that he was before him.

Roger.--"Yes, my Lord, I have remembered myself very well; for the same man I was yesterday, I am this day, and I hope shall be all the days of my life, concerning the matter you talked with me of."

Then one of the guard standing by, said, "My Lord, I pray you trouble not yourself any more with him, but let me have the examining of him: I shall handle him after another sort, I trow, and make him a fair child ere be go, you shall see."

So he was committed to him, and brought by him to an inn, where were a great many of priests assembled together, and there they fell all in flattering him, and persuading him with gay enticing words what they could. But when therein they might not prevail, for that the Lord assisted the good poor man, then began they to threaten him with whipping, stocking, burning, and such like, that it was wonderful the do they made with him. Unto whom Bernard said, "Friends, I am not better than my Master Christ and the prophets, which your fathers served after such sort; and I for his name's sake am content to suffer the like at your hands, if God shall so permit, trusting that he will strengthen me in the same according to his promise, in spite of the devil and all his ministers." So when they could not make him to relent or yield, they said, "Behold a right scholar of John Fortune;" whom they had then in prison. Then carried they him to the bishop, who immediately condemned him as a heretic, and delivered him to the secular power.

This Roger Bernard was a single man; and by his vocation a labourer, dwelling in Framsdén in Suffolk, who was taken in the night by Master Tamage's men, because he would not go to church to hear their unsavoury service, and so by them carried to prison.

Adam Foster.

Adam Foster, of the age six-and-twenty years, husbandman, being married, dwelling in Mendlesham, in the county of Suffolk, was taken at home in his house a little before the sun going down by the constables of the said town, George Revet and Thomas Mouse, at the commandment of Sir John Tyrrel of Gipping-hall in Suffolk, knight, because he would not go to church and hear mass, and receive at Easter, except he might have it after Christ's holy ordinance. When they came for him, they told him he must go with them unto the justice: unto whom Adam Foster said, for Christ's cause, and to save his conscience, he was well contented. And so they led him to Sir John Tyrrel, and he sent him to Eye dungeon in Suffolk, from whence at length he was sent to Norwich, and there condemned by Bishop Hopton.

Now after his taking, the said Thomas Mouse and George Revet were stricken with a great fear and sickness, whereby Mouse pined and consumed away even unto death, although he was a man of young and lusty age. But George Revet, who was the said Mouse's fellow, and a great reader of the Scripture, or (as a man may term it) a talkative gospeller, would not be premonished by the works of God, but set his son to help the priest say mass, and to be clerk of the same town of Mendlesham for lucre's sake; yet was there a fair warning given him of God, although he had not the grace so to consider it, the which thing was this.

A young man of the same parish newly married, called Robert Edgore, being of a ripe wit and sound, was clerk in the said church before the said Revet set his son in that room, and executed the office a little, yea, alas! too long, against his own conscience; whereby at length the Lord so took away his wits, that many years after, his poor and woeful wife, good woman! was compelled to keep him chained, and bound continually, lest he should unawares do himself or some other some mischief, as many times (the more pity) he was ready enough to do.

This (as I said) would not admonish Revet, but needs he must persist in his wicked purpose. Notwithstanding at the length, as many men were offended with him in the parish, so honest women especially (being mightily grieved at his ungodly doings) came to him and said, "Neighbour Revet, are ye not afraid to let your son help the naughty priest to say mass, and to serve that abominable idol?" and he said, "No." Then said they, "We fear not to go to church and hear mass, seeing you, being a man that so much profess Christianity, will let your son help the priest say mass," &c.

At which words Revet waxed angry, and in his rage immediately made his prayer unto God after this manner, or with such-like words, saying, "O Lord, if it be not thy will that my son should so do, then I beseech thee send some strange token to let me understand what thy good pleasure is therein," &c. So according to his petition, within short space after, his neighbour's bull came into his pasture, and there he, having a very proper gelding, which was his felicity above any thing he had, the bull running upon him, did so wound and gore him, that immediately thereof his gelding died, and he thereby no-thing amended. For although he knew and confessed, that it was the Lord's hand upon him for the sufferance of his son in that wicked vocation; yet would he not take him from it, but permitted him still to use and frequent the same against his own conscience.

At the last, the Lord justly sent upon him a great swelling in his legs, which did so grievously vex and trouble him by reason it swelled upward, that at length, having thereby brought upon him a very strange sickness, he died most miserably, in so impatient manner, that it terrified all good hearts to hear thereof. The Lord grant, for Christ's sake, that we may observe his judgments better, to his glory and our comfort, Amen.

Robert Lawson.

Robert Lawson was a single man of the age of thirty years, and by vocation a linen-weaver, who was apprehended in the night by one Robert Kereth, at the commandment of Sir John Tyrrel of Gipping-hall in Suffolk, knight, and so was immediately carried to Eye dungeon in Suffolk, where he remained a certain time, and after was led to Bury. The cause of his taking was, for that he would not go to church to hear mass, and receive their popish idol.

When these three foresaid martyrs were carried to their deaths, viz. Roger Bernard, Adam Foster, and Robert Lawson, at Bury, after they had made their prayer, being at the stake, and the tormentors attending the fire, they most triumphantly ended their lives, in such happy and blessed condition, as did notably set forth their

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constancy and joyful end, to the great praise of God, and their commendation in him, and also to the encouragement of others in the same quarrel to do the like. The Lord of strength fortify us to stand as his true soldiers in what standing soever he shall think it good to place us. Amen.

346. John Fortune, Otherwise Cutler.



IN the examination of Roger Bernard, ye heard a little before, how he was compared by the priests there, to John Fortune, and called his scholar. This John Fortune, otherwise called Cutler, of Hintlesham in Suffolk, was by his occupation a blacksmith, whom they had before them in examination a little before the twentieth day of April. In spirit he was zealous and ardent, in the Scriptures ready, in Christ's cause stout and valiant, in his answers marvellous, and no less patient in his wrongful suffering than constant in his doctrine. Whether he was burned, or died in prison, I cannot certainly find; but rather I suppose that he was burned. Certain it is,

howsoever he was made away, he never yielded. What his answers and examinations were before Dr. Parker and the bishop, ye shall hear him, although not with his own mouth speaking, yet with his own hand you shall see written, what he did say, as followeth.

First, Dr. Parker asked me how I believed in the catholic faith. And I asked him, which faith he meant; whether the faith that Stephen had, or the faith of them that put Stephen to death. Dr. Parker being moved said, "What a naughty fellow is this! you shall see anon he will deny the blessed sacrament of the altar."

Then said Master Foster, "I know you well enough. You are a busy merchant. How sayest thou by the blessed mass?" And I stood still and made no answer.

Then said Master Foster, "Why speakest thou not, and makest the gentleman an answer?" And I said, "Silence is a good answer to a foolish question."

Then said the doctor, "I am sure he will deny the blessed sacrament of the altar also." And I said, "I know none such, but only the sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ."

Then said he, "You deny the order of the seven sacraments. And why dost thou not believe in the sacrament of the altar?" And I said, "Because it is not written in God's book."

Then said he, "You will not believe unwritten verities." And I said, "I will believe that those unwritten verities that agree with the written verities, be true: but those unwritten verities that be of your own making, and invented of your own brain, I do not believe."

"Well," said Master Foster, "you shall be whipped and burned for this gear, I trow." Then said I, "If you knew how these words rejoice my heart, you would not have spoken them."

Foster.--"Away, thou fool! dost thou rejoice in whipping?"

"Yea," said I, "for it is written in the Scriptures, and Christ saith, Thou shalt be whipped for my name's sake; and since the time that the sword of tyranny came into your hands, I heard of none that was whipped. Happy were I, if I had the maiden-head of this persecution."

"Away with him then," said he. "for he is ten times worse than Samuel: "and so I was carried to prison again.

Three examinations of John Fortune, before Dr. Hopton, bishop of Norwich.

When I came before the bishop he asked me if I did not believe in the catholic church. I said, "I believe that church whereof Christ is the Head."

Then said the bishop, "Dost thou not believe that the pope is supreme head of the church?" And I said, "No, Christ is the Head of the true church."

Bishop.--"So do I believe also: but the pope is God's vicar upon earth, and the head of the church; and I believe that he hath power to forgive sins also."

Then said I, "The pope is but a man, and the prophet David saith, that no man can deliver his brother, nor make agreement for him unto God: for it cost more to redeem their souls, so that he must let that alone for ever."

And the bishop again fetching about a great circumstance said, Like as the bell-wether weareth her bell, and is the head of the flock of sheep, so is the pope our head. And as the hives of bees have a master-bee that bringeth the bees to the hive again, so doth our head bring us home again to our true church."

Then I asked him, whether the pope were a spiritual man: and he said, "Yea." And I said again, "They are spiteful men; for in seventeen months there were three popes, and one poisoned another for that presumptuous seat of antichrist."

"It is maliciously spoken," said he, "for thou must obey the power, and not the man." And thus was the pope denied to be supreme head.

"Well," said he, "what sayest thou to the ceremonies of the church?"

And I answered, "All things that are not planted by my heavenly Father, shall be plucked up by the roots, saith Christ. For they are not from the beginning, neither shall they continue to the end."

Bishop.--"They are good and godly, and ne-cessary to be used."

Fortune.--"St Paul called them weak and beggarly."

Bishop.--"No, that is a lie."

Fortune.--"I hearing that, said, that "St. Paul writeth thus in Gal. iv., You foolish Galatians, saith he, who hath bewitched you, that ye seek to be in bondage to these weak and beggarly ceremonies? Now which of you do lie? you or St. Paul? And also it is said, that works instituted and enjoined without the commandment of God, pertain not to the worship of God, according to the text, Matt. xv., In vain do men worship me with men's traditions and commandments. And St Paul saith, Wherefore do ye carry us away from the grace of Christ to another kind of doctrine? And Christ openly rebuked the scribes, lawyers, Pharisees, doctors, priests, bishops, and hypocrites, for making God's commandments of none effect, to support their own tradition."

Bishop.--"Thou liest! there is not such a word in all the Scriptures, thou naughty heretic. Thou art worse than all other heretics: for Hooper," said he, "and Bradford allow them to be good, and thou dost not. Away with him!"

Here you may perceive, how that the catholic church cannot err, but whatsoever they say must needs be true. And so my Lord Bishop cannot lie, as it may appear to all men most plainly in the text.

The next day I was brought before the said bishop again, where he made a sermon upon the sixth chapter of St. John's Gospel, of Christ's words, I am the bread that came down from heaven, &c. And thereupon had a great bibble-babble to no purpose. So in the end I was called before him, and he said to me:

Bishop.--"How believest thou in the sacrament of the altar? Dost thou not believe, that after the consecration, there is the real substance of the body of Christ?" And I answered him, "That is the greatest plague that ever came into England."

Bishop.--"Why so?"

I said, "If I were a bishop, and you a poor man as I am, I would be ashamed to ask such a question: for a bishop should be apt to teach, and not to learn."

Bishop.--"I am appointed by the law to teach: so are not you."

And I said, "Your law breaketh out very well; for you have burned up the true bishops and preachers, and maintained liars to be in their stead."

Bishop.--"Now you may understand that he is a traitor: for he denieth the higher powers."

Fortune.--"I am no traitor; for St. Paul saith, All souls must obey the higher powers; and I resist not the higher powers, concerning my body, but I must resist your evil doctrine wherewith you would infect my soul."

Then said a doctor, "My Lord, you do not well; let him answer shortly to his articles."

Bishop.--"How sayest thou? make an answer quickly to these articles."

Fortune.--"St. Paul saith, Christ did one sacrifice once for all; and sat him down on the right hand of his Father, triumphing over hell and death, making intercession for sins."

Bishop.--"I ask thee no such question, but make answer to this article."

Fortune.--"If it be not God before the consecration, it is not God after: for God is without beginning and without ending."

Then said he, "Lo what a stiff heretic is this! he hath denied altogether. How sayest thou? Is it idolatry to worship the blessed sacrament, or no?"

Fortune.--"God is a Spirit, and will be worshipped in spirit and truth."

Bishop.--"I ask thee no such question: answer me directly."

Fortune.--"I answer that this is the god Mauzzim, that robbeth God of his honour."

Bishop.--"It is pity that the ground beareth thee, or that thou hast a tongue to speak." Then said the scribe; "Here are a great many more articles."

Then said the bishop, "Away with him! for he hath spoken too much."

And when I came to mine examination again, the bishop asked me if I would stand unto mine answer that I had made before: and I said, Yea: for I had spoken nothing but the truth. And after that he made a great circumstance upon the sacrament.

Then I desired him to stand to the text; and he read the gospel on Corpus Christi day, which said, I am the bread which came down from heaven: "Believest thou not this?" And I said, "Yea, truly."

And he said, "Why dost thou deny the sacrament?" "Because your doctrine is false," said I.

Then said he, "How can that be false which is spoken in the Scriptures?" And I said, "Christ said, I am the Bread, and you say, the bread is He. Therefore your doctrine is false," said I.

And he said, "Dost thou not believe that the bread is He? And I said, "No."

Bishop.--"I will bring thee to it by the Scriptures."

Fortune.--"Hold that fast, my Lord: for that is the best argument that you have yet."

Bishop.--"Thou shalt be burnt like a heretic."

Fortune.--"Who shall give judgment upon me."

Bishop.--"I will judge a hundred such as thou art, and never be shriven upon it."

Fortune.--"Is there not law for the spirituality, as well as for the temporality?" And Sir Clement Higham said, "Yes. What meanest thou by that?"

Fortune.--"When a man is perjured by the law, he is cast over the bar, and sitteth no more in judgment. And the bishop is a perjured man, and ought to sit in judgment of no man."

Bishop.--"How provest thou that?"

Fortune.--"Because you took an oath in King Henry's days to resist the pope. So both spiritual and temporal are perjured, that here can be no true judgment."

Bishop.--"Thinkest thou to escape judgment by that? No, for my chancellor shall judge thee. He took no oath, for he was then out of the realm."

Master Higham.--"It is time to weed out such fellows as you be, indeed."

Bishop.--"Good fellow, why believest not thou in the sacrament of the altar?"

Fortune.--"Because I find it not in God's book, nor yet in the doctors. If it were there, I would believe it with all my heart."

Bishop.--"How knowest thou it is not there?"

Fortune.--"Because it is contrary to the second commandment. And seeing it is not written in God's book, why do you then rob me of my life?"

Then the bishop having no more to say, commanded the bailiff to take him away. And thus much touching the examinations of this man.

Now whether he died in fire, or was otherwise prevented with death, as I said before, I am uncertain. In the register of Norwich this I do find, that his sentence of condemnation was drawn and registered; but whether it was pronounced, in the said register it is not expressed, according as the usual manner of the notary is to declare, in the end of the sentence. Nevertheless this is most certain, that he never abjured nor recanted, howsoever it pleased the Lord by death to call him out of the world.

347. The Death of John Careless, in the King's Bench.



John Careless Dying in Prison

About this time, the first day of July, amongst divers other prisoners which died the same year in the King's Bench, was also one John Careless, of Coventry, a weaver: who though he were by the secret judgment of Almighty God prevented by death, so that he came not to the full martyrdom of his body, yet is he no less worthy to be counted in honour and place of Christ's martyrs, than others that suffered most cruel torments, as well for that he was for the same truth's sake a long time imprisoned, as also for his willing mind and zealous affection he had thereunto, if the Lord had so determined it, as well may appear by his examination had before Dr. Martin:--

"When I came into his chamber, Master D. called me to him, saying, "Come you hither, sirrah; what is your name?" "Forsooth," quoth I, "my name is John Careless."

Dr. *Martin*.--"Careless! by my faith I think the same; and so I ween it will appear by thy conditions, by that time we have done with thee."

Careless.--"Though my name be Careless, yet perchance you shall not find me so careless in my conditions, as your Mastership doth pre-suppose."

Martin.--"No! that I shall prove anon. I pray thee of what church art thou, or of what faith? for I hear say that you have divers churches and faith in the King's Bench; and here I have two of your faiths which you sent to Newgate. Come hither; look upon them; and I pray thee tell me which is thy faith; for the one of them is thine, and thine own hand-writing."

With that I came near him, saying, "If your Mastership have any thing of my hand-writing, show it me, and I will not deny it."

Martin.--"Nay marry, thou canst not deny it. Lo! here is thy own name at it." And so he began to read it, but suddenly he stayed, saying, "How sayest thou to it? Canst thou deny that this is thy faith, fact, and deed, and this is thine own hand?"

Careless.--"If it please your Mastership, it is not of my hand-writing, but the tenor of it was of my first drawing indeed, howsoever you came by it; and it is the very truth in all points, as I am able to prove by the word of God. And if your Mastership, or any other, can reprove any thing in it by the same, I shall be glad to be reformed; for I will maintain nothing further than I have the word of God for my warrant."

Martin.--"Yea, so you will say all the sort of you, and yet ye be of divers faiths. But whose hand is this, if it be not thine? Here is thy name, but methinks it is blotted out."

Careless.--"I do not know in whose handwriting it is, but well I wot the thing itself is my fact and deed, though my name be blotted forth, for what purpose I cannot tell."

Then he turned the other side of the paper, where Henry Hart had wickedly written against my true articles, whose hand and name I knew as soon as I had seen it; for indeed my good brother Tyms had sent me a copy of the same before. Then he said, "Lo! here is another of thy fellows' faith, clean contrary to thine; whose faith is this? Dost thou know this hand?"

Careless.--"No, forsooth, I do not know whose faith, nor yet whose hand it is, neither will I make me any thing to do with other men's faiths. I stand here to make answer to your Mastership for mine own; and if any man have wrote against the same, I would I might come to talk with him face to face, to see how he were able to prove his party good."

Martin.--"Prove! a wise proof that you would make. You will prove yourselves a sort of fools before you have all done." And many other mocks and taunts he gave me all the time of our talk, the which I will leave out for brevity's sake. Then he said, "Dost thou not know one Henry Hart, or hast thou not heard of him?"

Careless.--"No forsooth; I do not know any such, nor have I heard of him, that I wot of."

But yet I lied falsely; for I knew him indeed, and his qualities too well. And I have heard so much of him, that I dare say it had been good for that man if he had never been born: for many a simple soul hath he shamefully seduced, beguiled, and deceived with his foul Pelagian opinion, both in the days of that good King Edward and since his departure, and with other things which I will forbear to name for divers considerations. But I would wish all men that be godly-wise, to beware of that man, whose opinions in many points are very noisome and wicked: God convert him, or confound him shortly, for his name's sake, Amen.

Martin.--"No have, forsooth; and it is even he that hath written against thy faith. Lot here is his name at his faith." And then he read Hart's most blasphemous articles against those which I had written and sent to Newgate, whereunto all those twelve godly men that were last condemned had set to their hands, whom Hart, Kemp, and M. Gypson, would have persuaded from the same again: but, thanks be unto God, the serpent prevailed not.

Then Martin said, "Host thou not know one Master Chamberlain?"

Careless.--"No forsooth; I know him not."

Martin.--"No dost! and he hath written a book against thy faith also."

Careless.--"Well, as for that I know not, neither pass I what they write. I stand here to make answer to that which I have written myself: and as for this writing of Hart's, I think your Mastership will not allow it for good yourself."

Martin.--"No indeed, he is a rank heretic as any can be, and so art thou; but yet I note this, to see how you are one against the other, and both against the catholic church." And upon this he dilated his tale to the marshal with great triumphing, the which grieved my poor heart not a little: therefore I said, "Alas, Master Doctor! why do you so triumph against me, which am of the true church, and have the truth on my side, as by these articles which you have of mine it doth plainly appear, and though the Arians, Anabaptists, or any other kind of heretic, as you confess those to be, do write against the truth which I hold, doth it therefore follow that I am a heretic as they be? No, I trow not; but it is rather a plain demonstration that I am a true Christian, in that these heretics do so contend against [me]; and, if I did intend to be singular, it is like that I would soon be of their sect."

Martin.--"Sect, quotha! In good faith you are heretics, sectaries, and schismatics, all the sort of you."

Careless.--"Sir, that shall you never prove; for I abhor all heretics, sectaries, and schismatics, from the bottom of my heart. I am of the true catholic church of Christ, and a quiet member of the same, and I so intend to continue."

Martin.--"Yea, so you say, all the sort of you, and yet you be of divers faiths. But I pray thee, where canst thou point me out the church that thou art a member of; canst thou tell me where that church is?"

Careless.--"Yea, forsooth, that I can, I praise God for it; and it was here also in England in the days of good King Edward, though it be now so persecuted of such as think they do God good service thereby."

Martin.--"Yea, marry, as you say, that was your church, and therefore you have made it one of the articles of your faith of the second book, see you, Master Marshal; for they had two books of Common Prayer: but this man saith the second book was in all points agreeable to God's word, that was then used."

Careless.--"Yea, forsooth, I say so indeed."

Martin.--"But, I pray thee, how sayest thou now? Thy second book is also in divers points condemned of heresy at Frankfort, among the brethren there: which book will you allow you

Careless.--"I am sure that it is not there in any point condemned of heresy, unless it be of the Anabaptists, as it is here. And I do not think but there be some as well there as in England; and it is like enough that such do find fault with it."

Martin.--"Nay, even of Master Cox himself, and others that were preachers in King Edward's time; they have disproved your second book in divers points, and you have now made a third book. How say you, which of these three books will you allow now?

Careless.--"Forsooth, I say still as I have written, that the second book is good and godly, and in all points agreeing to the word of God. And I am sure that neither Master Cox, nor any other of our godly preachers that be fled unto Frankfort, have condemned that book in any point as repugnant to the word of God, though perchance they have altered something therein, according to the usage of that country where they now are. And I have not denied in my article but the church of Christ hath authority to enlarge or diminish any thing in the same good book, so far forth as is agreeable to the Scriptures."

Martin.--"But what authority have you, or how durst you be so bold, to make an article of the faith concerning that book to be believed of all men under pain of damnation?"

Careless.--"Ah, Master Doctor, have I bound any man to believe that article under pain of damnation, as you do charge me? I am sure there is no such word in all my articles. I have there written what I do hold and believe myself, as I am bound to do in conscience. And now I will add thus much more, that the same book, which is so consonant and agreeable to God's word, being set forth by common authority both of the king's Majesty that dead is and the whole parliament-house, ought not to be despised of me, or of any other private man, under pain of God's curse and high displeasure, and damnation, except they repent."

Martin.--"Well, let it pass. I pray thee tell me what is the cause of so much contention between you that lie in the King's Bench for religion?"

Careless.--"Forsooth there is no contention amongst us, that I know of."

Martin.--"What! wilt thou lie to me? Is there not great contention between thee and one Trew that was here with me erewhile? Yes, that there is; and I can tell thee by what token well enough. I hear say one of your matters is about predestination. How dost thou believe about predestination?"

Careless.--"According to the doctrine of the Holy Scriptures, and none otherwise."

Martin.--"How is that? Trew told me that thou dost affirm that God hath predestinated some to salvation that cannot be damned, live they never so wickedly, and some to damnation that cannot be saved, live they never so godly, well, and virtuously."

Careless.--"This is not the first lie that he hath made on me, (God forgive him!) but indeed I do not, nor ever did so affirm. For I am sure that such as God hath elected he doth guide and govern by his grace and Holy Spirit, in such sort, that they do love his laws, and always seek to do his will; and full sorry are they when they do speak or think any thing contrary to the same."

Martin.--"Well then, none that be elected shall be damned, you say?"

Careless.--"Sir, I did not say so yet. But now I put your Mastership out of doubt that I say it, and verily believe it, because the Holy Scriptures do plainly affirm it."

Martin.--"What! that all shall be saved by election, and none be damned?"

Careless.--"No, sir, I speak of God's elect children only, according to your Mastership's former question."

Martin.--"Well then, the rest must needs be damned: there is no remedy."

Careless.--"I say with St. Paul, I have nothing to do with them that are without. I will leave them to God, whose judgments are just. My whole desire is to feel the depth of God's mercy towards his elect; of which blessed number my sure belief is, that I am one, though of myself I am most unworthy so to be."

Martin.--"What other things do you contend for in the King's Bench? I pray thee, Careless, tell me the truth."

Careless.--"Surely we have no contention there, nor ever had but for this matter of predestination; and that is ended between us, many a day ago." This I spake to make the best of the matter; for I was sorry that the papists should hear of our variance.

Martin.--"What! will you lie indeed? I know there are a great many of other matters between you. Tell me the truth, I pray thee; for I promise thee I do ask thee for no hurt, but to do you good: for I think you will be burned all the sort of you. But yet I would send some man to you, to reform you of some of your errors."

Careless.--"If you send any man to me, he shall be welcome, but I trust he shall not find me a maintainer of any errors, neither can your Mastership prove any of these articles that I have written to be heresy; if you can, I pray you do here, before Master Marshal."

Martin.--"But what if I should examine you of the sacrament, and other things: should I not find thee a heretic? Yes, I trow I should; but I have no commission to examine you of any such things, but I am commanded by the council to know of thee what opinions are amongst you in the King's Bench, for the which you do strive amongst yourselves; therefore look that you tell me."

Careless.--"Surely, Master Doctor, I do know no man's conscience but my own; neither will I meddle with other men's matters. Your Mastership may send for them that be there, or send somebody to them, and so you may know every man's faith and opinions."

Martin.--"Yea, but I command thee to tell me; for thou canst do it well enough."

Careless.--"Your Mastership shall pardon me herein; for I will recite no man's faith or opinions but mine own; neither can I, if I would."

Martin.--"Lo! what a stubborn fellow is this. Dost thou pass so little upon the council's commandment? I promise thee that they shall know it, and be thou sure that thou shalt fare the worse for it."

Careless.--"Why, Master Doctor, would your Mastership have me to become any other man's accuser? That will I never do whilst I live, whatsoever come of it! I have more need to answer such accusations as shall be brought against myself. Therefore I pray you do not will me to tangle myself with other men's matters."

Martin.--"Why, thou canst not deny but there is contention amongst you, and wilt not thou declare wherefore it is? What a fellow art thou! "

Careless.--"Indeed I do not deny but there hath been some earnest reasoning amongst us, but not a great while; for Master Marshal hath shut us asunder for the same as much as he can, so that we can neither come nor speak together."

Then Martin said to his clerk, Write that he saith, he doth not deny but that there is contention amongst them in the King's Bench; but he will not tell wherefore it is. But first write, that he doth confess the articles which were sent to Newgate, to be of his drawing forth first, but not of his hand-writing. "To whom didst thou send it in Newgate?"

Careless.--"Forsooth to my bed-fellow Tyms, that was burned yesterday."

Martin. -- "Tyms! who is that? I know him not."

Scribe.--"It was one of the six that were burned yesterday."

Martin.--"Ah, very well. Was he thy bedfellow? Where was he thy bedfellow?"

Careless.--"Forsooth he was one of my fellow prisoners in the King's Bench."

Martin.--"Hast thou any more copies of these articles?"

Careless.--"No, forsooth."

Martin.--"Write that he saith he sent his articles to his bed-fellow Tymes, that was burned yes.. terday, and that he hath no more copies of them." So that was written.

Careless.--"Nay, you should have written him my couch-fellow, for we lay in no bed almost these three years, but upon a poor couch of straw." This I said for a good consideration; though indeed it was otherwise--God be praised for his providence!

Martin.--"Well, write him his couch-fellow; for I think they will couch together one day. I am sure thou dost intend to be burned as he was. How sayest thou? dost thou not?"

Careless.--"I hold nothing worthy of death, neither have I done any thing wherefore I should be burned. Therefore I trust neither your Mastership, nor the queen's Majesty's council, will be guilty of mine innocent blood. But if there be no remedy for the truth, but I must be fain to do as other good men have done before me, the Lord's will be fulfilled! And verily, to say the truth, it were better to be burned out of hand, than for to lie two years longer in a miserable prison, as we have done." And this I set forth with many words for the nonce.

Martin.--"Why, wouldst thou so fain be burned? hast thou no wife and children?"

Careless.--"Yes, forsooth, that I have; and such as I love full well, and would full fain live with them to see them brought up in the fear of God, so that I might keep a safe conscience; neither would I have your Mastership think that I am weary of my life, though I have lain long in prison, but would yet rather choose to lie two years more there, than be burned so cruelly as my brethren be. And though I have now spent up all that I had of mine own to find me, yet I dare say mine honest neighbours would gladly bear a pain with me, to keep me in prison, rather than I should perish. For I praise God I have the love of them, although they favour not my religion all of them."

Martin.--"Where dost thou dwell?"

Careless.--"Forsooth in Coventry."

Martin.--"At Coventry? what so far, man? How tamest thou hither? Who sent thee to the King's Bench to prison?"

Careless.--"I was brought thither by a writ, I trow; what it was I cannot tell. I think Master Marshal can tell you."

Marshal.--"In good faith I cannot tell what the matter is; but indeed my Lord Chief Justice sent him from the bar."

Martin.--"Well Careless, I would thou shouldst play the wise man's part. Thou art a handsome man, and it is pity but thou shouldst do well, and save that which God hath bought."

Careless.--"I thank your good Mastership most heartily: and I put you out of doubt, that I am most sure and certain of my salvation by Jesus Christ, so that my soul is safe already, whatsoever pains my body suffer here for a little time."

Martin.--"Yea marry, you say truth; for thou art so predestinate to life, that thou canst not perish, in whatsoever opinion thou dost die."

Careless.--"That God hath predestinated me to eternal life in Jesus Christ, I am most certain; and even so am I sure that his Holy Spirit (wherewith I am sealed) will so preserve me from all heresies and evil opinions, that I shall die in none at all."

Martin.--"Go to, let me hear your faith in predestination. For that shall be written also."

Careless.--"Your Mastership shall pardon me herein: for you said yourself erewhile, that you had no commission to examine my conscience. I will trouble myself with answering no more matters than I needs must, until I come before them that shall have more authority further to examine me."

Martin.--"I tell thee then I have commission, yea, and commandment from the council, to examine thee, for they delivered me thy articles."

Careless.--"Yea, I think indeed that your Mastership is appointed to examine me of my articles, which you have there in writing, and I have told you the truth. I do confess them to be mine own fact and deed: but you do now examine me of predestination, whereof my articles speak nothing at all."

Martin.--"I tell thee yet again, that I must also examine thee of such things as be in controversy between thee and thy fellows in the King's Bench, whereof predestination is a part, as thy fellow Trew hath confessed, and thyself dost not deny it."

Careless.--"I do not deny it. But he that first told you that matter, might have found himself much better occupied."

Martin.--"Why? what if he had not told me? thinkest that I would not have known it? Yes, or else thou shouldst have withstood my commission. For I tell thee truth, I may now examine thee of the blessed sacrament, or any other thing that I list, but that I would show thee favour, and not be too hasty with thee at the first."

Marshal.--"Yea indeed, Careless, Master Doctor hath commission to examine you, or any other of your fellows."

Martin.--"Yea marry have I, I tell thee the truth of it."

Careless.--"Then let your scribe set his pen to the paper, and you shall have it roundly, even as the truth is. I believe that Almighty God, our most dear loving Father, of his great mercy and infinite goodness, did elect in Christ."

Martin.--"Tush, what need all that long circumstance? Write, I believe God elected, and make no more ado."

Careless.--"No, not so, Master Doctor. It is a high mystery, and ought reverently to be spoken of. And if my words may not be written as I do utter them, I will not speak at all."

Martin.--"Go to, go to, write what he will. Here is more business than needeth."

Careless.--"I believe that Almighty God, our most dear loving Father, of his great mercy and infinite goodness (through Jesus Christ) did elect and appoint in him before the foundation of the earth was laid, a church or congregation, which he doth continually guide and govern by his grace and Holy Spirit, so that not one of them shall ever finally perish."

When this was written, Master Doctor took it in his hand, and read it, saying, "Why, who will deny this?"

Careless.--"If your Mastership do allow it, and other learned men when they shall see it, I have my heart's desire."

Martin.--"And do you hold none otherwise than is there written?"

Careless.--"No verily, nor ever did."

Martin.--"Write what he saith: otherwise he holdeth not." So that was written. "It was told me also that thou dost affirm, that Christ did not die effectually for all men."

Careless.--"Whatsoever hath been told you, it is not much material unto me: let the tellers of such tales come before my face, and I trust to make them answer. For indeed I do believe that Christ did effectually die for all those that do effectually repent and believe, and for no other." So that was written also.

Martin.--"Now sir, what is Trew's faith of predestination? He believeth that all men be predestinate, and that none shall be damned. Doth he not?"

Careless.--"No forsooth, that he doth not."

Martin.--"How then?"

Careless.--"Truly I think he doth believe as your Mastership and the rest of the clergy do believe of predestination, that we be elected in respect of our good works, and so long elected as we do them, and no longer."

Martin.--"Write that he saith, that his fellow Trew believeth of predestination, as the papists do believe."

Careless.--"Ah, Master Doctor! did I so term you? Seeing that this my confession shall come before the council, I pray you place my terms as reverently as I speak them."

Martin.--"Well, well, write that Trew is of the same faith as the catholics be."

Careless.--"I did not so call you neither; I wonder what you mean?"

Marshal.--"You said, the clergy, did you not, Careless?"

Careless.--"Yes, forsooth, did I." So then it was written of the clergy.

Martin.--"Now, sir, what say you more?"

Careless.--"Forsooth I have no further to say in this matter."

Martin.--"What, have you any other matter? How say you to the two brethren that are in the King's Bench which deny the Divinity of Christ? How say you to their opinion?"

Careless.--"O Lord! I perceive your Mastership knoweth that which of all other things I wish to have been kept from you: verily he was to blame that told you of that. Truly, sir, these be two simple poor men, for whom I am sorry at my very heart. They did indeed deny the Divinity of Jesus Christ; but whether they do so still or no I cannot say; for I spake with neither of them this quarter of a year and more, as Master Marshal can tell, who keepeth me as a close prisoner from them and all the rest, except it be sometimes at a chink of the door. But as for their opinion, if they do hold it still, I do most heartily detest and abhor it."

Martin.--"Write that he saith, he doth detest the opinion of the two brethren against the Divinity of Christ."

Careless.--"As for the two brethren, I know not whether they hold it still or no: they may be converted since I saw them, and I trust they be. But that I do abhor that opinion it appeareth plainly in my first and second articles, as your Mastership may perceive."

Martin.--"It is truth: but how art thou able to prove it, if thou wert put to it? Truly, not by the Scripture, but by the general councils."

Careless.--"If I were not able to prove the same most evidently by the Holy Scriptures, I would not believe it though all the general councils in the world had determined it; and yet I bear as much reverence to the determinations of the general

councils as any poor man can do in the world, so that the same be agreeable to the word of God, as I am sure the article of Christ's Divinity is, as I will prove before you by and by, if it please you to hear me."

Martin.--"Well, it shall not need now. I pray thee prove thyself a wise man, and do not cast away thy life wilfully."

Careless.--"Now the Lord he knoweth, good Master Doctor, I would full gladly live, so that I might do the same with a safe conscience. And your Mastership shall right well perceive that I will be no wilful man, but in all things that I stand upon, I will have sure ground."

Martin.--"Now the Lord knoweth, good Careless, that I would gladly make some means to preserve thy life. But thou speakest so much of the Lord, the Lord -- wilt thou be content to go with my Lord Fitzwalter into Ireland? methinks thou art a goodly tall fellow to do the queen service there. How sayest thou?"

Careless.--"Verily Master Doctor, whether I be in Ireland, France, or Spain, or any place else, I am ready to do her Grace the best service that I can, with body, goods, and life, so long as it doth last."

Martin.--"That is honestly said, I promise thee; every man will not say so. How say you, Master Marshal? This man is meet for all manner of service. Indeed thou art worthy, Careless, to have the more favour."

Careless.--"Indeed sir, I hope to be meet and ready unto all things that pertain unto a true Christian subject to do. And if her Grace or her officers under her do require me to do any thing contrary to Christ's religion, I am ready also to do my service in Smithfield for not observing it, as my bedfellow and other brethren have done, praised be God for them."

Martin.--"By my troth thou art a pleasant fellow as ever I talked with of all the protestants, except it were Tomson. I am sorry that I must depart with thee so soon; but I have such business now, that I can tarry with thee no longer. Well, yet thou canst not deny, but you are at jar amongst yourselves in the King's Bench, and it is so throughout all your congregation: for you will not be a church."

Careless.--"No, Master Doctor, that is not so. There is a thousand times more variety in opinions among your doctors, which you call of the catholic church, yea, and that in the sacrament, for the which there is so much blood shed now-a-days -- I mean of your latter doctors and new writers; as for the old, they agree wholly with us."

Martin.--"No, Careless, this is not so; there thou art deceived."

Careless.--"Verily it is so, Master Doctor; I am not deceived therein any thing at all, as it hath been and is evidently proved by such as God hath indued with great learning." Then he turned to the marshal, and whispered with him a while.

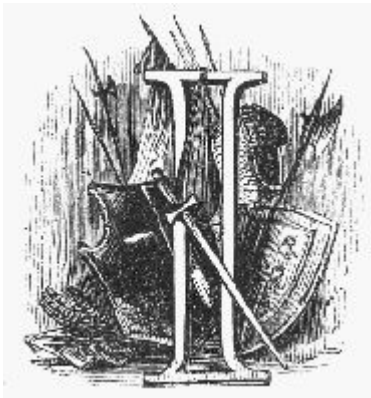
Turning unto me again, Martin said, "Farewell, Careless; for I can tarry no longer with thee now, my business is such."

Careless.--"God be with you, good Master Doctor; the Lord give your Mastership health of body and soul."

Martin.--"God have mercy, good Careless, and God keep thee from all errors, and give thee grace to do as well as I would wish myself."

Careless.--"I thank your good Mastership; I pray God I may do always that is acceptable in his sight." Whereunto they all said, "Amen." And so I departed with a glad heart; God only have the whole praise. Amen.

It appeareth by the examination of the foresaid John Careless, that he endured prisoner the space of two whole years, having wife and children: in the which his captivity, first being in Coventry jail, he was there in such credit with his keeper, that upon his word he was let out to play in the pageant about the city with his companions. And that done, keeping touch with his keeper, he returned again into prison at his hour appointed. And after that, being brought up to London, he was indued with such patience and constant fortitude, that he longed for nothing more earnestly than to come to that promotion to die in the fire for the profession of his faith: and yet it so pleased the Lord to prevent him with death that he came not to it, but died in the prison, and afterwards was buried in the fields, in a dunghill.



In the mean time, while he was in prison in the King's Bench, it chanced he was in great heaviness and perturbation of mind and conscience, whereupon he wrote to Master Philpot, being then in the coal-house. Upon the occasion hereof Master Philpot sent an epistle consolatory unto him, specified before among Master Philpot's letters. Unto the which epistle John Careless maketh answer again as followeth.

"A faithful friend is a strong defence; whoso findeth such a one, findeth a treasure.

"A faithful friend hath no peer; the weight of gold and silver is not to be compared to the goodness of his faith.

"A faithful friend is a medicine of life, and they that fear the Lord shall find him.

"The Father of mercy and God of all consolation comfort you with his eternal Spirit, my most dear and faithful-loving friend, good Master Philpot, as you have comforted me by the mighty operation of the same; the everlasting God be praised therefor for ever. Amen.

"Ah, my dear heart and most loving brother! if I should do nothing else day and night so long as the days of heaven do endure, but kneel on my knees, and read psalms, I can never be able to render unto God condign thanks, for his great mercy, fatherly kindness, and most loving compassion extended unto me, most vile, sinful, wicked, and unworthy wretch. O that the Lord would open my mouth and give me a thankful heart, that from the bottom of the same might flow his continual praise. O that my sinful flesh (which is the cause of sorrow) were clean separated from me, that I might sing psalms of thanksgivings unto the Lord's name for ever; that with good Samuel's mother I might continually record this noble verse following, the which by good experience I have found most true, praised be my good God there-for. 'The Lord,' saith that good woman, 'killeth and maketh alive; he bringeth down to hell, and fetcheth up again.' Praised be the Lord for ever, yea, and praised be his name for that he hath given me true experience and lively feeling of the same. Blessed be the Lord God, whose mercy endureth for ever, which hath not dealt with me according to my deep deserts, nor destroyed me in his displeasure when I had justly deserved it. O what reward shall I give again unto the Lord for all the great benefits that he hath done for my soul! I will gladly receive the cup of salvation at his hand, and will worship his name with prayer and with praise.

"Ah, my dear heart! yea, most dear unto me in the Lord, think not this sudden change in me to be some fickle phantasy of my foolish head, (as indeed some others would surely suspect it to be,) for doubtless it is the marvellous doing of the Lord, most merciful unto me, his unworthy creature. God for his great mercies' sake give me grace to be more thankful unto him than I heretofore have been, and keep me that I never fall forth of his favour again.

"And now, my dear brother and most blessed messenger of the Lord, whose beautiful feet have brought much glad tidings to my soul, what shall I do or say unto you, in the least part to recompense the fatherly affection and godly care that you continually keep for me? O that God would give me the spirit of fervent prayer, that I might yet that way supply some little part of my duty toward you. Ah, my true loving friend! how soon did you lay aside all other business, to make a sweet plaster for my wounded conscience, yea, and that out of a painful pair of stocks, which place must needs be uneasy to write in! But God hath brought you into a strait place, that you might set my soul at liberty. Out of your pinching and painful seat, you have plentifully poured upon me your precious nard, the sweet savour whereof hath greatly refreshed my tried soul. The Lord likewise refresh you, both body and soul, by pouring the oil of his gracious Spirit into your sweet heart.

"Ah, good Jeremy! hath Pashur put thee into the stocks? Why, now thou hast the right reward of a prophet. Thy glory never began to appear until now. I doubt not but shortly, instead of Ahikam the son of Shaphan, Jesus the Son of the living God will come and deliver thee forth of the hands of all thine enemies, and will also make good against them and their antichristian synagogue, all the words that thou hast spoken in his name. The Lord hath made thee here, this day, a strong defenced tower, an iron pillar, and a brazen wall against the whole rabble of antichrist; and though they fight against thee never so fiercely, yet shall they not overcome thee, for the Lord himself is with thee, to help and deliver thee; and he will rid thee out of the hands of the wicked, and will deliver thee out of the hands of the tyrants. And in that you are not busy in casting pearls before swine, nor in giving the holy things unto dogs, you

are much to be commended, in my simple judgment. And sure I am, that your circumspect and modest behaviour hitherto hath been as much to God's glory, and to the shame and confusion of your enemies, as any men's doings that are gone before you. Wherefore mine advice and most earnest desire is, with all other of your loving friends, that you still keep that order with those bloodthirsty bite-sheeps (bishops, I should say) that you have begun. For though in conclusion they will surely have your blood, yet shall they come by it with shame enough, and to their perpetual infamy while the world doth endure. They would indeed condemn you in hugger-mugger, to darken God's glory, if it might be; but Satan's thoughts are not unknown to you, and the depth of his subtlety is by you well foreseen. Therefore let them do whatsoever God shall suffer them to do: for I know all things shall turn to your best. Though you lie in the dark, slorried with the bishops' black coal-dust, yet shall you be shortly restored unto the heavenly light, and made as white as snow in Salmon, and as the wings of a dove that is covered with silver wings, and her feathers like gold. You know the vessel, before it be made bright, is soiled with oil, and other things, that it may scour the better.

"O how happy be you that you be now in the scouring house for shortly you shall be set upon the celestial shelf as bright as angels. Therefore, my dear heart, I will now, according to your loving request, cast away all care, and rejoice with you, and praise God for you, and pray for you day and night; yea, I will now with God's grace sing psalms of praise and thanksgiving with you. For now my soul is turned to her old rest again, and hath taken a sweet nap in Christ's lap. I have cast my care upon the Lord, which careth for me, and will be careless, according to my name, in that respect you would have me. I will leave out my unseemly addition as long as I live: for it can take no place where true faith and hope is resident. So soon as I had read your most godly and comfortable letter, my sorrows vanished away as smoke in the wind; my spirit revived, and comfort came again, whereby I am sure the Spirit of God was author of it.

"O my good Master Philpot, which art a principal pot indeed, filled with most precious liquor, as it appeareth by the plenteous pouring forth of the same -- O pot most happy, of thy high Potter ordained to honour, which dost contain such heavenly treasure in thy earthen vessel; O pot thrice happy, in whom Christ hath wrought a great miracle, altering thy nature, and turning water into wine, and that of the best, whereout the Master of the feast hath filled my cup so full, that I am become drunken in the joy of the Spirit through the same. When martyrdom shall break thee, O vessel of honour, I know the fragrant savour of thy precious nard will much rejoice the heavy hearts of Christ's true members, although the Judases will grudge and murmur at the same; yea, and burst out into words of slander, saying, 'It is but lost and waste.'

"Be not offended, dear heart, at my metaphorical speech; for I am disposed to be merry, and with David to dance before the ark of the Lord: and though you play upon a pair of organs not very comely or easy to the flesh, yet the sweet sound that came from the same, causeth me thus to do. O that I were with you in body, as present I am in spirit, that I might sing all care away in Christ: for now the time of comfort is come. I hope to be with you shortly, if all things happen right. For my old friends of Coventry have put the council in remembrance of me not six days ago, saying, that I am more worthy to be burned than any that was burned yet. God's blessing on their

hearts for their good report! God make me worthy of that dignity, and hasten the time, that I might set forth his glory!

"Pray for me, dear heart, I beseech you, and will all your company to do the same; and I will pray God for you all, so long as I live. And now farewell in Christ, thou blessed of God's own mouth. I will for a time take my leave, but not my last farewell. Blessed be the time that ever I came into the King's Bench, to be joined in love and fellowship with such dear children of the Lord. My good brother Bradford shall not be dead whiles you be alive: for verily the spirit of him doth rest on you in most ample wise. Your letters of comfort unto me in each point do agree, as though the one were a copy of the other. He hath planted in me, and you do water; the Lord give good increase! My dear brethren and fellow prisoners here, have them humbly and heartily commended unto you and your company, mourning for your misery, but yet rejoicing for your plenteous consolation and comfort in Christ. We are all cheerful and merry under our cross, and do lack no necessities, praised be God for his providence and great mercy towards us for evermore, Amen."

To his wife.

"As by the great mercy of God, at the time of his good-will and providence appointed, my dearly beloved wife, you and I were joined together in the holy and Christian state of godly matrimony, as well to our great joy and comfort in Christ, as also to the increase of his blessed church and faithful congregation, by having lawful children by and in the same, with the which God of his mercy hath blessed us, praised be his name there-for: even so now, by his merciful will and divine ordinance, the time is come, (so far as I can perceive,) wherein he will, for his glory and our eternal comfort, dissolve the same, and separate us asunder again for a time. Wherefore I thought it good, yea, and my bounden duty, by this simple letter to provoke, stir, and admonish you, to behave yourself in all your doings, sayings, and thoughts, most thankfully unto our good God for the same. And therefore, my dear wife, as you have heartily rejoiced in the Lord, and oftentimes given God thanks for his goodness in bringing us together in his holy ordinance: even so now I desire you, when this time of our separation shall come, to rejoice with me in the Lord, and to give him most hearty thanks, that he hath (to his glory and our endless commodity) separated us again for a little time, and hath mercifully taken me unto himself, forth of this miserable world, into his celestial kingdom; believing and hoping also assuredly, that God of his goodness, for his Son Christ's sake, will shortly bring you and your dear children thither to me, that we may most joyfully together sing praises unto his glorious name for ever. And yet once again I desire you for the love of God, and as ever you loved me, to rejoice with me, and to give God continual thanks for doing his most merciful will upon me.

"I hear say that you do oftentimes use to repeat this godly saying, 'The Lord's will be fulfilled.' Doubtless it rejoiceth my poor heart to hear that report of you; and, for the Lord's sake, use that godly prayer continually, and teach your children and family to say the same day and night: and not only say it with your tongues, but also with your heart and mind, and joyfully submit your will to God's will in very deed, knowing and believing assuredly, that nothing shall come to you or any of yours

otherwise than it shall be his almighty and fatherly good-will and pleasure, and for your eternal comfort and commodity. Which thing to be most true and certain, Christ testifieth in his holy gospel, saying, Are not two little sparrows sold for a farthing, and yet not one of them shall perish without the will of our heavenly Father? and he concludeth saying, Fear not ye therefore, for ye are better than many sparrows. As though he should have said, If God have such respect and care for a poor sparrow, which is not worth one farthing, that it shall not be taken in the lime-twigg, net, nor pitfall, until it be his good will and pleasure; you may be well assured, that not one of you (whom he so dearly loveth, that he hath given his only dear Son for you) shall perish, or depart forth of this miserable life without his almighty good-will and pleasure.

"Therefore, dear wife, put your trust and confidence wholly and only in him, and ever pray that his will be fulfilled, and not yours, except it be agreeing to his will; the which I pray God it may ever be, Amen. And as for worldly things, take you no care, but be you well assured the Lord, your dear God and Father, will not see you nor yours lack, if you continue in his love and childly fear, and keep a clear conscience from all kind of idolatry, superstition, and wickedness, as my trust is that you will do, although it be with the loss and danger of this temporal life. And, good Margaret, fear not them that can but kill the body, (and yet can they not do that until God give them leave,) but fear to displease him that can kill both body and soul, and cast them into hell-fire. Let not the remembrance of your children keep you from God. The Lord himself will be a father and a mother, better than ever you or I could have been unto them. He himself will do all things necessary for them; yea, as much as rock the cradle, if need be. He hath given his holy angels charge over them, therefore commit them unto him. But if you may live with a clear conscience, (for else I would not have you to live,) and see the bringing up of your children yourself, look that you nurture them in the fear of God, and keep them far from idolatry, superstition, and all other kind of wickedness. And for God's sake help them to some learning, if it be possible, that they may increase in virtue and godly knowledge, which shall be a better dowry to marry them withal, than any worldly substance. And when they be come to age, provide them such husbands as fear God, and love his holy word. I charge you take heed that you match them with no papists; and if you live and marry again yourself, (which thing I would wish you to do, if need require, or else not,) good wife, take heed how you bestow yourself, that you and my poor children be not compelled to wickedness. But if you shall be able well to live God's true widow, I would counsel you so to live still, for the more quietness of yourself and your poor children. Take heed, Margaret, and play the wise woman's part. You have warning by others, if you will take an example. And thus I commit you and my sweet children unto God's most merciful defence. The blessing of God be with you, and God send us a merry meeting together in heaven. Farewell in Christ, farewell mine own dear hearts all. Pray, pray.

To my good brother, Master John Bradford.

"The peace of God in Jesus Christ, the eternal comfort of his sweet Spirit, which hath surely sealed you unto eternal salvation, be with you and strengthen you in your joyful journey towards the celestial Jerusalem, my dear friend and most faithful

brother, Master Bradford, to the setting forth of God's glory, and to your eternal joy in Christ. Amen.

"Ever since that good Master Philpot showed me your last letter, my dear heart in the Lord, I have continued in great heaviness and perplexity: not for any hurt or discommodity that I can perceive coming towards you, unto whom doubtless death is made life and great felicity, but for the great loss that God's church here in England shall sustain by the taking away of so godly, worthy, and necessary an instrument, as the Lord hath made you to be. O that my life and a thousand such wretched lives more might go for yours! O, why doth God suffer me and such other caterpillars to live, that can do nothing but consume the alms of the church; and take away you, so worthy a workman and labourer in the Lord's vineyard? But woe be to our sins and great unthankfulness, which is the greatest cause of the taking away of such worthy instruments of God, as should set forth his glory, and instruct his people. If we had been thankful unto God for the good ministers of his word, we had not been so soon deprived both of it and them. The Lord forgive our great ingratitude and sins, and give us true repentance and faith, and hold his hand of mercy over us, for his dear Son Christ's sake. Take not away all thy true preachers forth of this realm, O Lord, but leave us a seed, lest England be made like unto Sodom and Gomorrah, when thy true Lots be gone.

"But what go I about to mingle your mirth with my mourning, and your just joy with my deserved sorrow? If I loved you indeed, as I have pretended, I should surely rejoice with you most heartily, and praise God on your behalf from the very bottom of my heart; I should praise God day and night for your excellent election in and through his great mercy, and should give him most humble thanks for your vocation by his gospel, and your true knowledge in the same; I should earnestly praise him for your sweet justification, whereof you are most certain by God's grace and Spirit, and should instantly pray unto him for your glorification, which shall shortly ensue; I should rejoice and be glad to see you so dignified by the crown of martyrdom, and to be appointed to that honour, to testify his truth, and to seal it with your blood; I should highly extol the Lord, who hath given you a glorious victory over all your enemies visible and invisible, and hath given you grace and strength to finish the tower that you have begun to build. Finally, if I loved you, I should most heartily rejoice and be glad to see you delivered from this body of sin, and vile prison of the flesh, and brought into that heavenly tabernacle where you shall be safely kept, and never offend him more.

"This and much more should I do, if I had a good heart towards God, or you his dear child. But, alas! I am a hypocrite, and do seek nothing but mine own commodity. I would have God's everlasting providence give place to my peevish will and purpose, although it were to the hinderance of his glory and your sweet commodity. God forgive me my horrible ingratitude, sins, and offences against him! and, good brother, do you forgive me my great negligence and unthankfulness toward you; and henceforth, I promise you, I will put my will to God's will, and pray that the same may be fulfilled in you, as long as you be on this earth; and when you are taken hence, I will most heartily praise the Lord for you, so long as I have my being in this world. Ah, my dear heart! now I must take my leave of you, and, as I think, my *ultimum vale* in this life; but in the life to come I am right well assured we shall merrily meet together, and that shortly I trust. And in taking of my leave of you, my

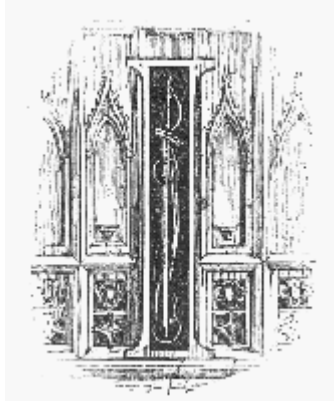
dear heart in the Lord, I shall desire you faithfully to remember all the sweet messages that the Lord our good God and most dear loving Father hath sent you to me his most unworthy servant, which as they are most true, so shall they be most truly accomplished upon you eternally; and for the more assurance and certificate thereof to your godly conscience, he hath commanded me to repeat the same unto you again, in his own name and word.

"Therefore now give ear and faithful credence. Hearken, O ye heavens, and thou earth, give ear, and bear me witness at the great day, that I do here faithfully and truly the Lord's message unto his dear servant, his singularly beloved and elect child John Bradford. John Bradford, thou man so specially beloved of God, I pronounce and testify unto thee in the word and name of the Lord Jehovah, that all thy sins, whatsoever they be, be they never so many, so grievous, or so great, be fully and freely pardoned, released, and forgiven thee, by the mercy of God in Jesus Christ, thine only Lord and sweet Saviour, in whom thou Bost undoubtedly believe. Christ hath cleansed thee with his blood, and clothed thee with his righteousness, and hath made thee in the sight of God his Father, without spot or wrinkle; so that when the fire doth his appointed office, thou shalt be received (as a sweet burnt sacrifice) into heaven, where thou shalt joyfully remain in God's presence for ever, as the true inheritor of his everlasting kingdom, unto the which thou wast undoubtedly predestinate and ordained by the Lord's infallible purpose and decree, before the foundation of the world was laid. And that this is most true that I have said, I call the whole Trinity, the almighty and eternal majesty of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, to my record at this present; whom I humbly beseech to confirm and stablish in thee the true and lively feeling of the same. Amen. Selah.

"Now with a merry heart and joyful spirit, something mixed with lawful tears, I take my farewell of you, mine own dear brother in the Lord; who send us shortly a merry meeting in his kingdom, that we may both sing praises together unto him with his holy angels and blessed spirits for ever and ever! Farewell, thou blessed in the Lord, farewell in Christ; depart unto thy rest in the Lord; and pray for me for God's sake.

"As I had made an end of this simple letter, I heard some comfort both of good Master Philpot's servant and yours: but, alas! I do scarcely believe them. Well, I will hope in God, and pray all night that God will send me some comfort to-morrow, and if the Lord give you sparing to-morrow, let me hear four words of comfort from you, for God's sake. The blessing of God be with you now and for ever. Amen.

"Yours for ever in the Lord Jesus,
John CARELESS, living in hope against hope."



N reading this letter of John Careless to Master Bradford above prefixed, wherein he maketh so much mention of a certain letter of his sent to him, and of the great exceeding consolation he received of the same, thou wilt wish peradventure, good loving reader, in thy mind, to have some sight also of the said letter of Master Bradford; wherein to satisfy thy desire, or rather to prevent thy petition, I have hereunto annexed the same, to the intent thou mayest not only understand the contents thereof, but also receive fruit thereof to thy consolation likewise. The purport of the letter here followeth.

"Almighty God our dear Father, through and for the merits of his dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ, be merciful unto us, pardon us our offences, and under the wings of his mercy protect us from all evil, from henceforth and for ever. Amen.

"Dear brother Careless, I heartily pray you to pray to God for me, for the pardon of my manifold sins and most grievous offences, which need none other demonstration unto you than this, namely, that I have behaved myself so negligently in answering your godly triple letters, which are three witnesses against me. God lay not them, nor any other thing, to my charge to condemnation, though to correction not my will, but his will be done. Concerning your request of absolution, my dearest brother, what shall I say, but even as truth is? that the Lord of all mercy, and Father of all comfort, through the merits and mediation of his dear Son thy only Lord and Saviour, hath clearly remitted and pardoned all thy offences whatsoever they be, that ever hitherto thou hast committed against his majesty: and therefore he hath given to thee as to his child, dear brother John Careless, in token that thy sins are pardoned, he (I say) hath given thee a penitent and believing heart, that is, a heart which desireth to repent and believe; for such a one is taken of him (he accepting the will for the deed) for a penitent and believing heart indeed.

"Wherefore, my good brother, be merry, glad, and of good cheer, for the Lord hath taken away thy sins; thou shalt not die. Go thy ways; the Lord hath put away thy sins. The east is not so far from the west, as the Lord hath now put thy sins from thee. Look how the heavens be in comparison of the earth: so far hath his mercy prevailed towards thee his dear child, John Careless, through Christ the Beloved. Say therefore with David, Praise the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me, praise his holy name: for he hath forgiven all thy sins; as truly he hath. And hereof I desire to be a witness. God make me worthy to hear from you the like true message for myself. Mine own dearly beloved, you have great cause to thank God most heartily that he hath given you such repentance and faith: the Lord increase the same in you and me a most miserable wretch, whose heart is harder than the adamant-stone, or else I could not thus long have stayed from writing unto you. If I live and may, I purpose and promise you to make amends. Pray for me, my most dear brother, I heartily beseech you, and forgive me my long silence. God our Father be with us for ever, Amen.

"Yours in the Lord,
J. BRADFORD."

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

To my most dear and faithful brethren in Newgate, condemned to die for the testimony of God's everlasting truth.

"The everlasting peace of God, in Jesus Christ, the continual joy, strength, and comfort of his most pure, holy, and mighty Spirit, with the increase of faith and lively feeling of his eternal mercy, be with you, my most dear and faithful loving brother Tyms, and with all the rest of my dear hearts in the Lord, your faithful fellow soldiers, and most constant companions in bonds, yea, of men condemned most cruelly for the sincere testimony of God's everlasting truth, is the full finishing of that good work, which he hath so graciously begun in you all, that the same may be to his glory, the commodity of his poor afflicted church and to your everlasting comfort in him, Amen.

"Ah, my most sweet and loving brethren, and dearest hearts in the Lord! what shall I say, or how shall I write unto you, in the least point or part to utter the great joy that my poor heart hath conceived in God, through the most godly example of your Christian constancy and sincere confession of Christ's verity? Truly my tongue cannot declare, nor my pen express, the abundance of spiritual mirth and gladness that my mind and inward man hath felt, ever since I heard of your hearty boldness and modest behaviour before that bloody butcher, in the time of all your crafty examinations, especially at your cruel condemnation, in their cursed consistory place. Blessed be God the Father of all mercy, and praised be his name, for that he hath so graciously performed upon you, his dear darlings, his most sweet and comfortable promises, in not only giving you the continual aid, strength, and comfort of his holy and mighty Spirit to the faithful confession of his Christ, for whose cause, O most happy men, ye are condemned to die; but also in giving you such a mouth and wisdom as all your wicked enemies were not able to resist, but were fain to cry, 'Peace, peace,' and not suffer you to speak. As truly as God liveth, my dear brethren, this is not only unto you a most evident probation that God is on our side, and a sure certainty of your everlasting salvation in him, but also to your cruel adversaries (or rather God's cursed enemies) a plain demonstration of their just eternal woe and damnation, which they shall be full sure shortly to feel, when ye shall full sweetly possess the place of felicity and pleasure prepared for you from the beginning.

"Therefore, my dearly beloved, cease not, so long as ye be in this life, to praise the Lord with a lusty courage, for that of his great mercy and infinite goodness he hath vouched you worthy of this great dignity, to suffer for his sake not only the loss of goods, wife, and children, long imprisonment, cruel oppression, &c.; but also the very deprivation of this mortal life, with the dissolution of your bodies in the fire. The which is the greatest promotion that God can bring you or any other unto in this vale of misery; yea, so great an honour as the highest angel in heaven is not permitted to have; and yet hath the Lord for his dear Son Christ's sake reputed you worthy of the same, yea, and that before me and many others, which have both long looked and longed for the same.

"Ah, my most dear brother Tyms! whose time resteth altogether in the hands of the Lord, in a full and happy time earnest thou into this troublesome world, but in a much more blessed hour shalt thou depart out of the same; so that the sweet saying of Solomon, or rather of the Holy Ghost, shall be full well verified upon thee, yea, and all thy faithful fellows, Better is the day of death, saith he, than the day of birth. This saying cannot be verified upon every man, but upon thee, my dear brother, and such

as thou art, whose death is most precious before God; and full dear shall your blood be in his sight. Blessed be God for thee, my dear brother Tyms, and blessed be God again that ever I knew thee, for in a most happy time I came first into thy company. Pray for me, dear brother, pray for me, that God will once vouch me worthy of that great dignity whereunto he hath brought you.

"Ah, my loving brother Drake! whose soul now draweth nigh unto God, of whom ye have received the same, full glad may you be that ever God gave you a life to leave for his sake: full well will be restore it to you again in a thousand-fold more glorious wise. Praise God, good brother, as you have a great cause; and pray for me, I beseech you, which am so much unworthy (so great are my sins) of that great dignity whereunto the Lord hath called you, and the rest of your godly brethren, whom I beseech you to comfort in the Lord as you can full well; praised be God for his gifts, which you have heartily applied to the setting forth of his glory, and the commodity of his poor afflicted church: which thing shall surely redound to your everlasting joy and comfort, as you shall most effectually feel ere ever it be long, though the wicked of the world judge far otherwise.

"Ah, mine own hearts, and most dearly beloved brethren, Cavel, Ambrose, and both the Spurges, blessed be the Lord on your behalf, and praised be his name, which hath given you such a glorious victory: full valiant have you showed yourselves in the Lord's fight, and full faithful in your painful service. Faint not, but go on forward as ye have most godly begun, for great shall your reward be at the end of this your travail. Ah, my good faithful brethren all! what shall I say, or what shall I write unto you? but even the same Mary, the Elizabeth did say to her godly kinswoman Mary, the blessed mother of Christ, Happy art thou, quoth that good woman, which hast believed: for all things which the Lord hath spoken to thee, shall be fulfilled. So I say to you, my dear hearts in the Lord, happy are ye all, yea, twice happy shall you be for evermore, because ye have stedfastly believed the most sweet promises which God the Father hath made unto you with his own mouth, in that he hath promised you, (which are the faithful seed of the believing Abraham,) that ye shall be blessed ever, world without end. The promises of God your sweet Father, as ye do believe, so do ye bear record that God is true. The testimony whereof ye have full worthily borne to the world, and, shortly, will full surely seal the same with your blood, yea, even tomorrow, I do understand. O constant Christians! O valiant soldiers of the high Captain Jesus Christ! who for your sake hath conquered the devil, death, sin, and hell, and hath given you full victory over them for evermore. O worthy witnesses, and most glorious martyrs! whose invincible faith hath overcome that proud, sturdy, bragging prince of the world, and all his wicked army, over whom ye shall shortly triumph for evermore. Ah, my sweet hearts! the everlasting treasures are full surely laid up for you in heaven. The immaccessible and most glorious crown of victory is already made and prepared for you, to be shortly clapt upon all your happy heads. The holy angels of your heavenly Father are already appointed to conduct your sweet souls into Abraham's bosom. All the heavenly host rejoiceth already, for that they shall shortly receive you with joy and felicity, into their blessed fellowship. Selah.

"Rejoice with double joy, and be glad, my dear brethren, for doubtless ye have more cause than can be expressed. But, alas! I that for my sins am left behind, may lie and lament with the holy prophet, saying, Woe is me that the days of my joyful rest are prolonged. Ah, cursed Satan! which hath caused me so sore to offend my most

dear loving Father, whereby mine exile and banishment is so much prolonged. O Christ, my dear Advocate! pacify thy Father's wrath, which I have justly deserved, that he may take me home to him in his sweet mercy. O that I might now come home unto thee, with my blessed brethren. Well, thy will, O Lord! be effectuously fulfilled; for it is only good, and turneth all things to the best, for such as thou in thy mercy hast chosen.

"And now farewell, my dear hearts, most happy in the Lord. I trust in my good God, yet shortly to see you in the celestial city, whereof undoubtedly the Lord hath already made you free citizens. Though you be yet with us for a little time, your very home is in heaven, where your treasure doth remain with your sweet Lord and Redeemer Jesus Christ, whose calling you have heard with the ears of your hearts, and therefore ye shall never come into judgment, but pass from death to life. Your sins shall never be remembered, be they never so many, so grievous, or so great: for your Saviour hath cast them all into the bottom of the sea; he hath removed them from you, as far as the east is from the west, and his mercy hath much more prevailed over you, than is distance between heaven and earth: and he hath given you for an everlasting possession of the same, all his holiness, righteousness, and justification, yea, and the Holy Ghost into your hearts, wherewith ye are surely sealed unto the day of redemption, to certify you of your eternal election, and that ye are his true adopted sons, whereby ye may boldly cry unto God, Abba, dear Father, for evermore: so that now no creature in heaven, earth, nor hell, shall be able to accuse you before the throne of the heavenly King. Satan is now cast out from you; he himself is judged, and hath no part in you. He will once more bite you by the heel, and then he hath done; for at that time you shall squeeze his head through your own good Christ, and so have you final victory for evermore. In joyful triumph whereof, ye shall sweetly ascend into the place of eternal rest, whither your eldest brother Christ is gone before you to take possession for you, and to prepare your place under the holy altar, with Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, Rogers, Hooper, Saunders, Ferrar, Taylor, Bradford, Philpot, with many others, who will be full glad of your coming, to see six more of their appointed number, that their blood may so much the sooner be revenged upon them that dwell on the earth.

"Thus I make an end, committing you all to God's most merciful defence, whose quarrel ye have defended, whose cause ye have promoted, whose glory ye have set forth, and whose name ye have constantly confessed. My farewell for a while, my dear hearts in the Lord; I will make as much haste after you as I may. All our dear brethren salute you. They pray for you, and praise God for you continually. Blessed be the dead that die in the Lord, for they rest from their labours, saith the Holy Ghost, and their works follow them.

"Your own JOHN. CARELESS,
a most unprofitable servant of the Lord.
Pray, pray, pray."

Ye heard before the letter of Thomas Whittle, written to John Careless, wherein he yieldeth great thanks unto him for the singular joy and consolation received by his letters. The copy of which letters sent unto him, if any be disposed to peruse, hereunder followeth to satisfy his desire.

To Master Green, Master Whittle, and certain other prisoners in Newgate, condemned, and ready to be burnt for the testimony of our Lord Jesus.

"The everlasting peace in Jesus Christ, the continual comfort of his most pure and Holy Spirit, be with you, my dear and faithful brethren and sisters of Newgate, the Lord's appointed sheep unto the slaughter, to the good performance of the great and notable work of the Lord, which he hath so graciously begun in you all; that the same may redound to the setting forth of his glory, and to the commodity of his church, and to your own everlasting comfort in him. So be it.

"Ah, my dear hearts, and most faithful brethren and sisters in the Lord! what high lauds and praise, yea, what humble and continual thanks, am I bound to give to God our Father for you and on your most happy behalf, who so mightily hath magnified himself in you thus far forth, in giving you his holy and mighty Spirit, to the constant confessing of Christ's verity, even to the cruel condemnation; and I doubt not but he will do the same to the death. O happy and blessed are you that ever you were born, that the Lord will ruche you worthy of this great dignity, to die for his sake. Doubtless it is the greatest honour that God can give you in this life. Yea, if they be so blessed of God that die in the Lord, (as the Holy Ghost saith they be,) how much more blessed and happy then are you that die not only in the Lord, but also for the Lord. O that it were the good will of God, that the good hour were now come, that I might go with you. Ah that my sins made me not unworthy of such an excellent dignity!

"Be thankful, dear hearts, be thankful and rejoice in the Lord; for mighty is his mercy towards you, and great is your reward in heaven, the which you, like faithful persons, have plucked to you with a godly violence of an invincible faith. O worthy warriors of the most high Captain! O constant confessors of the everlasting verity! how glorious a crown of victory shall you shortly receive, which is prepared for all such as do continue to the end! O you sweet saints of the Lord, how precious shall your death be in his sight! O how dear are your souls to your Redeemer, in whose hand they shall most joyfully rest, and the pains of death shall never touch you! O how blessed shall you be, when Christ shall appear, at the which time you shall receive your bodies again full of immortality! O how joyful shall you be, when Christ, according to his promise, shall know ledge you before his Father and his holy angels, as you have most constantly confessed him to be your Lord and only Saviour before men!

"O blessed Green, thou meek and loving lamb of the Lord, how happy art thou to be appointed to die for his sake! a full dainty dish art thou for the Lord's own tooth. Fresh and green shalt thou be in the house of the Lord, and thy fruits shall never wither nor decay. Although thou go here forth sowing thy good fruit with tears, the time shall come that thou shalt reap with joy and gladness the fruits of everlasting life, and that without ceasing. Be merry therefore and fear not, for it is thy Father's will to give thee a kingdom, whereunto he hath chosen thee before the foundations of the world were laid.

"O happy minister, thou man of God, how glad mayest thou be of God's most precious favour, which hath prevented thee in the day of thy trial! O happy Peter, whose part thou hast well played; therefore thy reward and portion shall be like unto

his. Now hast thou good experience of man's infirmity, but much more proof and taste, yea, sense and feeling, of God's abundant bottomless mercy. Although Satan desired to sift thee, yet Christ thy good Captain prayed that thy faith should not fail. God's strength is made perfect by thy weakness, and his grace is sufficient for thee his dear child. Thine example did so encourage and strengthen thy poor brethren, that God is every way glorified by thee; and shortly will he glorify thee with himself, with that glory which he hath prepared for thee his elect dearling before the world was made. Therefore rejoice and be glad, for thou hast good occasion, in finding such favour in his sight.

"This is most true, O my other brethren, whom I do not know, neither have I heard much of you, happy are you that ever you were born, and blessed be our God which hath given you such victory over the bloody beast: shortly shall you be clothed in large white garments, and fine robes of righteousness; and so shall you follow the Lamb on Mount Sion with new songs of mirth and melody, for your delivery forth of Satan's power and tyranny. God for evermore be blessed for you, and strengthen you to the end, as I doubt not but he will: for he never failed them that put their trust in him.

"O my dear and faithful sister, Joan Warne, what shall I say to thee? Thy trial hath been great; thy victory in Christ hath been notable. Thou hast overcome many a sharp shower and storm. Shortly shalt thou arrive at the haven of quiet rest, and receive a reward due to a constant martyr. Thou shalt go home to thy heavenly Father, and possess for ever the inheritance which Christ hath purchased for thee, where thy earthly parents be, still looking for thee, which have triumphed over antichrist most victoriously. O blessed parents of happy children, which have showed such an example as the like hath been seldom seen! I salute thee, dear sister of like constant mind, whose constant example is worthy of continual memory. Praised be God for you, mine own sweet sisters; which hath made you play such wise virgins' parts. He hath plentifully poured the oil of his Spirit into the lamps of your faith, so that the light thereof shall never be extinct. You shall enter with your Bridegroom into everlasting joy, whereunto you were chosen in him from the beginning.

"O my dear brethren and sisters, you blessed saints of the Lord, how much and how deeply am I bound to praise God for you, both day and night. Pray, pray for me, my dear hearts, for the tender mercy of God, that I may be made worthy to follow your trace. O that I had run the race of my life as far as you have done yours, and were as nigh my journey's end as you be unto yours. But, alas, I lie like the lame man at the pool's side by Solomon's porch, and every man goeth into the place of health before me. But God will appoint me one, one day to put me in. I trust my Lord of London's coal-house is empty, and all his officers idle. Therefore they must shortly fetch more sheep to the shambles; for he is the common slaughter-slave of all England. But happy are you that are passed through the pikes, and delivered out of his hands, and from all the angels of the darkness of this world, which long tempted you in the wilderness of the same: but now shall the angels of God come and minister unto you; for they are your servants to hold you up in their hands, that you shall not hurt your foot, no, nor one hair of your head shall perish. They shall carry you up to heaven in a fiery chariot, though you leave your mantle behind you for a time, until God restore the same again in a more ample and glorious sort.

"Thus in haste, as it doth appear, I am constrained to make an end, committing you all to God's most merciful defence, who ever have you in his blessed keeping; desiring you all to remember me in your godly and faithful prayers, as I will not forget you in mine, by God's grace. The blessing of God be with you all, my dear brethren and sisters. All our brethren and fellow prisoners here have them most heartily commended unto you, and pray for you without ceasing. God send us a merry meeting in his kingdom. Amen.

"By your brother and unfeigned lover, JOHN CARELESS, prisoner, abiding his most merciful will and pleasure. Pray, pray, pray."

To my dear and faithful brother William Tyms, prisoner in Newgate.

"The everlasting peace of God in Jesus Christ, with the continual joy, comfort, and strength of his sweet Spirit, be multiplied, and daily more and more increased in your good heart, my most faithful and dear brother Tyms, to the full quieting of your conscience, and beating back of all the fiery darts of the wicked, that you may shortly receive the glorious crown of victory, and in the same triumph over all your enemies for evermore. Amen.

"I cannot express the exceeding great joy and consolation of my poor heart, considering the marvellous works of God most graciously wrought upon you, not only in proving you and trying your faith by his great and huge crosses both inwardly and outwardly, but also in giving you so great consolation and constancy in the midst of the same. Faithful is God, and true of his promises, who hath said, that he will never suffer his chosen children to be tempted above their strength, but in the midst of their temptation will make an out-scape for them, by such means as may make to his glory and their everlasting consolation. My dear heart, great cause have you to be of good comfort; for I see in you as lively a token of God's everlasting love and favour in Jesus Christ, as ever I perceived in any man. In respect whereof, I do even with my heart love, honour, and reverence you, beseeching God for his glorious name's sake, in the bowels and blood of our Lord and only Saviour Jesus Christ, to finish his good work in you, as I doubt not but he will do, according to his infallible promises; yea, I am well assured thereof, forasmuch as you have so effectually received his Holy Spirit into your heart, as a pledge and a sure seal of your eternal redemption, and a testimony of your adoption in Christ Jesus. For which cause Satan so sore envieth you, that he hath now bent all his fierce ordnance against you, thinking thereby utterly to destroy the invincible fort of your faith, founded most firmly upon the unmovable Rock Christ, against the which neither the devil, sin, nor yet hell-gates, shall ever prevail. Selah.

"Therefore, mine own bowels in the Lord, be not discomfited for this your conflict, which doubtless shall greatly increase your crown of glory, triumph, and victory; but take a good heart unto you, and buckle boldly with Satan, both in himself and his subtle members. It is the very divine ordinance of God, that all his regenerate people shall be tempted, proved, and tried, as we see by the example of our Saviour Christ; who as soon as he was baptized, was straightways led of the Holy Ghost into the wilderness, there to be tempted of the devil. But there got he such a glorious victory of Satan, that he could never since finally prevail against any of his poor

members, but in every assault that he maketh, either inwardly or outwardly, he getteth a foil, and taketh shame; so that now he rageth with all the spite possible, specially because he knoweth his time is but short. St. James testifieth that he is but a very coward, that will soon flee, if he be faithfully resisted. And as for his tempting tools, the Lord hath made them manifest unto us, so that he cannot deceive us though he assault us; for, as St. Paul saith, his very thoughts are not unknown to us, as it doth in you largely appear, praised be the Lord's name there-for.

"You see, dear brother, that now to molest you and such as you are, that be even passing from this vale of misery, he hath but two ways, or two pieces of ordnance to shoot at you, with the which he cannot hurt you, because you have two bulwarks to defend you. The first of these terrible guns that Satan hath shot at you, is the very same that he continually shooteth at me, that is to say, fear and infidelity; for the uglisomeness of sin, and horror of my sins, which be so many, grievous, and great. But this pellet is easily put away with the sure shield of faith, in the most precious death and blood-shedding of our dear Lord and only Saviour Jesus Christ, whom the Father hath given unto us wholly to be ours for evermore, and with him hath given us all things, as Paul saith; so that though we be never so great sinners, yet Christ is made unto us holiness, righteousness, and justification. He hath clothed us with all his merits, mercies, and most sweet sufferings, and hath taken unto him all our misery, wretchedness, sin, and infirmity: so that if any should now be condemned for the same, it must needs be Jesus Christ, which hath taken them upon him. But indeed he hath made satisfaction for them to the uttermost jot; so that for his sake they shall never be imputed to us, if they were a thousand times so many more as they be. This do you most effectuously feel and know, dear brother, a great deal better than I can tell you, blessed be God there-for.

"And now Satan, seeing that he cannot prevail with his boisterous battery against this bulwark of faith, which doth so quench all his fiery darts that they can do you no harm, but rather do you good service to cast you down, under the mighty hand of God, that he may take you up by his only grace and power, and so you may render him all the glory by Jesus Christ, (which thing the enemy can in no wise abide,) therefore he shooteth off his other piece most pestilent, to provoke you to put some part of your trust and confidence in yourself, and in your own holiness and righteousness, that you might that way rob God of his glory, and Christ of the honour and dignity of his death. But blessed be the Lord God, you have also a full strong bulwark to beat back this pestiferous pellet also, even the pure law of God, which proveth the best of us all damnable sinners in the sight of God, if he would enter into judgment with us according to the severity of the same, and that even our best works are polluted and defiled in such sort as the prophet describeth them. With which manner of speaking our freewill Pharisees are much offended; for it felleth all man's righteousness to the ground, (I had like to have said to the bottom of hell,) and extolleth only the righteousness of Jesus Christ, which is allowed before God, and is freely given to all those that firmly believe, as blessed be God you do.

"Ah, my good brother Tymes, Satan hath put his hand in a wrong box when he beginneth to tempt you, either to vain-glory or mistrust: for you are an old beaten soldier, and have had good experience of this manner of temptations, both by yourself and others, whom you know well were beloved of God. Be of good cheer therefore, dear heart; be of good cheer, for now Satan hath wrought all his malice; he hath done

all that he can, and hath shot off all his last pieces, wherewith he hath thought to have done most mischief. But now he seeth he cannot prevail, (the strong Tower of your faith being so invincible,) he will pluck up all his tents, and get him to some other place to practise the like assaults, and then will the angels of God come and minister unto you the most sweet and heavenly consolations of the Holy Ghost. To him therefore who is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that ever we can desire or think, I do most heartily commit you, with all the rest of your godly prison-fellows, who comfort, strengthen, and defend you with his grace and mighty operation of his Holy Spirit, as he hath hitherto done; that you, having a most glorious victory over the subtle serpent and all his wicked seed, may also receive the crown of glory and immortality prepared for you before the foundations of the world were laid, and so surely kept for you in the hands of him whose promise is infallible, that the devil, sin, death, or hell, shall never be able to deprive you of the same. The blessing of God be with you now and for evermore: Amen. Pray, pray, pray for me.

"Your own for ever,
JOHN CARELESS "

To my good sister, Mrs. Cotton.

"The peace of God in Jesus Christ, and the eternal comforts of his sweet Spirit, be with you, my dear and faithful sister, to the full accomplishment of that good work which he hath most graciously begun in you, that the same may be effectual to the setting forth of his glory, and to your everlasting consolation in him. Amen.

"My loving and faithful sister in the Lord, I thank you for all your loving-kindness showed unto me, but specially for your godly remembrance of me in your fervent and faithful prayers, and for your most godly and comfortable letter, whereby you do not only much increase my joy and comfort, but also put me in remembrance of my duty towards you.

"Blessed be the Lord God, which of his great mercy hath so beautified his church in these our days, that even unto many godly women he hath given most excellent gifts of knowledge and understanding of his truth, so that they are not only well able to inform their own consciences in all things necessary to salvation, but also most sweetly comfort their sorrowful brethren and sisters that sustain any trouble for the testimony of God's truth, yea, and that which is more, even in the midst of their great conflicts of conscience: of which most happy number of godly and virtuous women, my dear heart, you are one, and that of the chiefest, being plentifully indued with the gifts of God's most gracious Spirit, as it doth full well appear in your daily doings: God only have the praise there-for!

"Forasmuch then as God hath given you the gift to write, I shall most heartily desire you to let me hear from you sometimes, be it never so little, for truly I take great comfort and courage thereby; specially in my poor conscience, which is sore assaulted of subtle Satan, and in a manner oppressed of my sins. Pray, dear sister, that God may give me true, hearty, and earnest repentance, and increase my faith; for they are both the good gifts of God only, and far pass the reach of my power to take at my pleasure.

"Therefore, dear sister, if you help me to beg the same of our dear-loving Father, I am sure that he both can and will give them me in his good time. As for the fear of death, or terror of the fire, I most heartily thank my good God, I feel it not; only it is mine own sins and unthankfulness which hold hard battle, and wage strong war against me, which only go about to separate me from my good Captain, Christ, that I should not enjoy his glorious victory; but God being on my side, (as I am sure he is,) that cannot continually prevail against me. Though God for a time permit Satan to take his pleasure on me, as he did upon Job, yet I doubt not but in the end all shall turn to my profit, through the merits of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, to whose most merciful defence I commit you, dear sister, with all the rest of the Lord's elect. Farewell in Christ.

"Yours unfeignedly,

JOHN CARELESS.

"Pray, pray, pray, pray."

To my dear brother, T. V.

The everlasting peace of God in Jesus Christ, the continual comforts of his most pure and Holy Spirit, be with you, my most dear friend and faithful brother V., to the increase of your faith, and comfort of your sorrowful spirit, which is to the Father a sweet sacrifice through Christ, for whose sake he will never despise your humble and contrite heart, but doth favourably accept the same, and will in most ample wise perform the desire thereof, to his glory and your eternal comfort in him.

"In the midst of my manifold crosses and troubles, wherein I am constrained to flee unto God for refuge and succour by earnest and faithful prayer, I cannot forget you, my dear heart in the Lord, but esteeming your state for mine own, I do pour forth my complaint for you, as I do for myself, and rather more, as I think present need doth require, desiring most heartily to hear the good success of the same in you. The Lord God, for his great mercies' sake, accomplish my desire, as I doubt not but he will, when he seeth it good and most to his glory, and to your comfort and commodity. O that I might once see you so merry in Christ as you have just cause to be, that you might say with David, Awake my glory, awake lute and harp. Bring forth the psalter with the merry song, that I might sing a new song of praise and thanksgiving unto the Lord, for the light of his favourable countenance, his help and deliverance. Oh! that would refresh me as a most precious oil, and gladden my poor heart, which is assaulted with sorrow more ways than one. I doubt not but the same shall by your means receive much comfort, though for a time it doth mourn with you, that we may be made both glad together, yea, and that with such gladness, as shall continue for ever. But in the mean space (I say) most happy are you, that so heartily mourn for the absence of the Bridegroom. If you were not a wedding child, you could never do it. Only Christ's true disciples do mourn for his absence: therefore shall they doubtless rejoice at his presence, which will be so much more joyful, by how much the absence is more sorrowful.

"Therefore, my good brother, take a good heart unto you, and be of good cheer. Say with the prophet David, O my soul, why art thou so heavy, and why art thou so disquieted within me? O put thy trust in God, for I will yet give him thanks

for the help of his loving countenance, and because he is my God. Read Psalms xli. and xlii. for your comfort, and consider that the holy king and prophet, at the making and first saying of them, was even in the same case that you are now in; but he still comforted himself with the sweet promises of God. And so do you, my dear heart, for to you they do as well pertain as they did to him, and as surely shall they be performed upon you, as they were upon him: for he is one God and dear Father unto you both, and for his mercy, truth, and promise sake, he must needs make good unto you all that he hath said. If his love towards you stood in the respect of your own merit and worthiness, you might well mourn, lament, and complain; yea, you had good cause to doubt, fear, and mistrust. But, seeing he loveth you only for and in Jesus Christ, who is your whole holiness, righteousness, and redemption; lay away all mourning, lamenting, and complaining; banish from you all fear, mistrust, and infidelity, and know that as long as Christ doth continue God's Son, so long must the love of the Father continue towards you immutable, and his good-will unchangeable, and cannot be altered through any of your infirmities. For this is most true, that as long as the cause of any thing doth last, so long must the effect remain. But Christ is the whole cause why the Father loveth you, and he also continueth for ever: then must I needs conclude, that the love of the Father continueth towards you for ever, and (as the psalmist most joyfully so often singeth) his mercy endureth for ever and ever.

"This is most true, mine own dear heart, although the Lord for a time hide it from your senses, that you might be the more earnest in prayer to him for the feeling of it, and also the more thankful for it when he doth give the lively taste of it, as doubtless he will do, ere ever it be long; and then shall you be well able to comfort others in the same state that you are now in, with the same comfort wherewith you are, and further shall be, comforted of God.

"Therefore lift up your hands that are now a little fallen down, and stretch forth the weak knees of your troubled mind, which now mourneth with a godly mourning, and therefore shall it be full well comforted with that sweet peace of God which passeth all understanding: and you are sure already to enjoy the blessing that Christ gave unto the godly mourners of Sion upon the mount, at the first sermon that be made. O happy V., in whose mourning company I had rather be, than in the house of mirth and banqueting of such as see not what cause they have to mourn and be sorry. But yet, my good brother, use a measure in this your godly mourning, and make not your faithful friends too much sorry for you. Let the persuasions of such godly lovers as you do daily company withal, or rather the persuasions of the Holy Ghost by them, move you to some godly mirth and rejoicing. Consider that you are commanded of God by the mouth of St. Paul thereto: Rejoice in the Lord, saith he, and I say again, Rejoice. Mark how he doubleth the sentence, that we may perceive it is a most earnest and necessary thing he requireth. Obey the commandment of God in this behalf; wherein, as you cannot but highly please him, so I assure you, you shall very much rejoice my poor heart, and the hearts of others which pray for you with mourning tears, and make that cruel enemy Satan and all your adversaries sorry, which will rejoice and laugh to see you mourn. O my good brother, let it manifestly appear, that the Lord of his great mercy hath heard our faithful and hearty requests for you. O how would that rejoice me in the midst of my troubles!

"Therefore now to conclude, because the darkness constraineth me to make an end for this time, I say, my dear and faithful brother V., in respect of the great cause

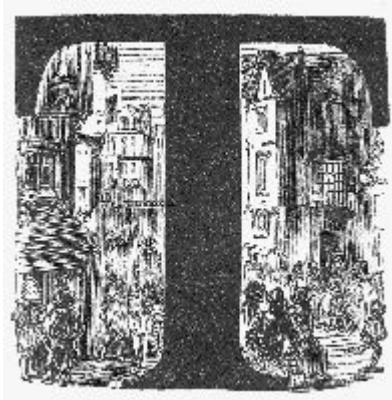
you have of your own part through Christ, and for the glory and honour of Almighty God, the comfort, joy, and rejoicing of your dear brethren and sisters in Christ, also your own duty by the commandment of God; and last of all, to vex, molest, and grieve Satan withal, rejoice in the Lord, and be most heartily glad in him, who is wholly yours, and you are his, and shall be for evermore. Selah.

"Farewell, mine own bowels in the Lord! and praise God with joyful lips and a merry heart, and pray for me his most unprofitable servant, which have more cause concerning myself to lament, than any one man living. But my good Bridegroom is present, and biddeth me cast away my mourning garments, and therefore I must needs be merry with him: and so he biddeth you to be, by my mouth; for he is present with you, although for sorrow you cannot know him, as Magdalene could not in the garden, until he spake unto her. The Lord God speak these words of comfort in your heart, and open the eyes of your mind, that you may perfectly perceive and feel his blessed presence, and so rejoice in the same for evermore. Amen. Comfort your heart in Christ, and cast your care upon him, for he careth for you.

"Your brother in the Lord, abiding his good pleasure,

JOHN CARELESS "

To my dear and faithful brother, Augustine Bernher.



HE peace of God in Jesus Christ, the help, comfort, and assistance of his eternal Spirit, be with you, my dear and faithful brother Augustine, and with all the rest of my good brethren and sisters of the houses of Baxterley and Mancetter, (which mourn for the misery of God's people,) to your everlasting consolation in him. Amen.

"Right glad I am to hear, my dear and faithful brother Augustine, that God of his great mercy and infinite goodness hath yet so graciously delivered and preserved you out of your enemies' hands, beseeching Almighty God also, from the bottom of my heart, to be your continual defence unto the end, as hitherto he hath most graciously been, that you may live and die both to God's glory, the commodity of his church, and to the increase of your own everlasting joy and comfort in him.

"Know you, dear brother, that I have received your letter, for the which I heartily thank you. Indeed I think it very short, although it seemeth something sharply to rebuke me in the beginning, for the breach of my promise in not writing to you of this long time. Well, brother, I am content to bear it with patience, considering that you are troubled otherwise (the Lord comfort you and all heavy hearts): neither will I spend ink and paper for my purgation in this point. God he knoweth whether I be so mindless of my promise, as it appeareth in your sight I am. Your request I will truly perform to the uttermost of my power, as gladly as any poor wretch shall do in the world, and I thank God I have done no less of long time. And as my poor prayer shall be a handmaid to wait upon you which way soever you ride or go; so I beseech you that my simple counsel may take some place in you, in this time of your pilgrimage, which you pass in no small peril. God keep and preserve you for his name's sake!

"I do not disallow, but much praise and commend, your hearty boldness in putting yourself in press, when any one of God's people needeth your help in any point. But yet I would not have you thrust yourself in danger, when you can do them no good, or at leastwise when they may well enough spare that good you would do them: for if you should then chance to be taken, you shall not only be no comfort unto them, but also a great discomfort, adding sorrow unto their sorrow.

"I do not persuade you to absent yourself from any place where your presence of necessity is required; for in all such places, I know, God will preserve you as he hath hitherto wonderfully done, praised be his name there-for: or if it shall please him to permit you in any such place to be taken, I know he will most sweetly comfort your conscience with this consideration, that it is the very providence and appointment of God, that you should there and then be taken up for a witness of his truth unto the world: but I cannot allow, nor be contented, that you should rashly or negligently thrust yourself into that place where your wicked enemies do continually haunt, yea, and lay wait for you, when no necessity of yourself, nor of any other of God's people, doth require your company. If they need any of your godly counsel, you may write

unto them that thing that you think good; which, I dare say, will be sufficient unto them. For (continual thanks and praises be given unto the everlasting God!) there is none of those that be cruelly condemned for God's truth, that now be weaklings; for they have manfully passed through the pikes, and they have boldly abiden the brunt of the battle; and therefore I reckon the worst is passed with them already. So that now and then a godly letter from you to them shall do as much good as your company shall do, and perchance more too; for writing sticketh longer in the memory than words do, yea, though your letters were as short to them, as your last was to me, so that the same be something sweeter, and not all-thing so sharp.

"This, dear brother, is the simple counsel which I would gladly have you observe, partly for that I heartily pray for your preservation to the commodity of Christ's church, and partly for that I unfeignedly wish the peace, comfort, and tranquillity of your own conscience, which I know will be quickly ready to accuse you, if you do any thing wherein you have not the word of God for your warrant. For as in a glass that is clear, a small mote will soon appear; even so the good conscience of God's chosen children, being more clear than crystal, will quickly accuse them at the least fault they do commit: whereas the wicked worldlings have their conscience so clogged and corrupted through the custom of sin, that they cannot once see or perceive their shameful deeds and wicked works, until God set the same before them for their utter destruction; and then despair they immediately. But, seeing that God hath given you a clear conscience, and a pure, sharp, quick, and lively sight in your soul, I would wish you to beware that you do nothing unadvisedly, but upon a good ground: for an accusing conscience is a sore thing when death doth approach; and then Satan will not stick to tell you that you have too much tempted God, when peradventure you have done nothing so at all. For this cause (I say) partly, I have thought it good to admonish you, as I have done often, to be circumspect, according to the counsel of Christ, which biddeth you beware of men. Other things I have not to write, for I know this bearer can certify you of all things at large, better than I can declare it by writing.

"I beseech you, good Augustine, help me forwards with your hearty prayers, for I trust I have but a small time to tarry in this troublesome world. Dr. Story told our marshal that we should be all despatched so soon as he came from Oxford, whither he and other bloody butchers be gone to make slaughter of Christ's sheep that lie there appointed to be slain. God for Christ's sake put them and such-like beside their cruel purpose, if it be his good will and pleasure! Amen, good Lord. I pray you do my most hearty commendations to my dear sister and faithful friend, good Mistress Mary Glover. I beseech God be her comfort, as I doubt not but he is. I am very glad to hear that she doth so joyfully and so patiently bear this great cross that God hath laid upon her. I pray God strengthen her, and all other his dear saints unto the end, Amen. Commend me unto my dear and faithful sister Elizabeth B. I thank her most heartily for my napkin, and so I do your dear brother, for my shirt. Truly that day that we were appointed to come to our answer before the commissioners, (which had sent word the same morning that they would come to the King's Bench by eight of the clock, and the house and all things were trimmed and made ready for them,) I got that shirt on my back, and that napkin in my hand, and methought they did help to harness me, and weapon me well to go fight against that bloody beast of Babylon. And trust me, truly, if they had come, I would have stricken three strokes the more for your two sakes, as well as God would have abled me to have set them on, as by God's grace I will not

fail to do at the next skirmish that I come to. Wherefore I pray you pray for me, that I may be strong and hardy to lay on good load. O that I might so strike him down, that he should never be able to rise again! But that stroke belongeth only unto the Lord, to strike at his coming, the which I trust will be shortly. O hasten it, good Lord, and shorten these sorrowful and sinful days, for thy great mercies' sake!

Farewell, my dear and faithful loving brother! The Lord defend, keep, and preserve you from the power of your enemies visible and invisible, and send us a most joyful and merry meeting here or elsewhere, as it shall please his goodness to appoint us!

"In the mean space I shall most earnestly desire you to pray for me, for I never had more need in my life; and doubtless you shall never want my poor prayer, if it shall please God to accept the prayer of so sinful a wretch as I am. The Lord impute not my sins to me, for Jesus Christ's sake; unto whose most merciful defence I do most heartily commit you. The blessing of God be with you now and ever, Amen. I pray you do my most hearty commendations unto Master John Glover. I do not forget him in my daily prayers, and I trust he doth remember me.

"Your poor brother, always mindful of you in my prayer, JOHN CARELESS, prisoner abiding God's pleasure.

To my dear brother, Harry Adlington, prisoner in the Lollards' Tower.

"The everlasting peace of God in Jesus Christ, the continual aid, strength, joy, and comfort of his most pure, holy, and mighty Spirit, with the increase of faith, and lively feeling of his mercies, be most effectuously wrought in your heart, my dear and faithful loving brother Adlington, and in the hearts of all your other godly prison-fellows, to the full finishing of that good work, which the Lord hath most graciously begun in you; that the same may be to the advancing and setting forth of his glory, the commodity of his poor afflicted church, and to your own eternal joy and comfort in him, Amen.

"My most dear and faithful loving brother in the Lord, I, with all the rest of my loving brethren here with me, do most humbly and heartily commend us unto you, with all faithful remembrance of you in our daily prayers, giving God earnest thanks on your most happy behalf, for that he hath given you such hearty boldness and Christian constancy in the faithful confession of his everlasting verity. Blessed be God for thee, my dearly beloved brother, which hath vouched thee worthy of so great dignity as to suffer for his sake, and setting forth of his glory. Oh! glad in heart mayest thou be, to whom it is given, not only to believe in thy Lord and Christ most lively, but also to suffer for his sake, as one of his silly sheep appointed to the slaughter. Be of good comfort therefore, my good brother; for your calling unto the cross of Christ was after a marvellous sort. Surely, it was only the Lord's appointment, and therefore he will well perform his own work in and upon you, to the great magnifying of his glory, and comfort of your brethren, whose hearts are mightily refreshed to hear how heartily you have behaved yourself hitherto.

"This present day I received a letter from you, at the reading whereof my brethren and I were not a little comforted, to see your conscience so quieted in Christ and your continuance so stedfast in him; which things be the special gifts of God, not given unto every man, but to you his dear darling, elect and chosen in Christ, and such as you be. And whereas you do require to know my simple mind concerning your answer unto Dr. Story and the chancellor, truly I say you did answer them very well: for there are but two sacraments indeed, that is to say, the sacrament of baptism, and the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, as you have full well answered them, praised be God for his good gifts, who chooseth the weak to confound the strong, and the foolish to confound the worldly wise. If, when you come before them again, they do ask you what a sacrament is, say you that a sacrament, being ministered according to Christ's institution, is a visible sign of an invisible grace, and hath the promise of God's mercy annexed unto it, available to all such as do worthily receive it, and not unworthily worship it, as they would have us to do, contrary to God's commandment. And these properties belonging to Christ's true sacraments, cannot be applied unto any of those five sacraments which they have invented of their own brain, since antichrist began to reign, to blind the people withal.

"I perceive, dear heart, that upon Friday they do intend to condemn you, and give you your judgment. Therefore I think they will have no great reasoning with you, but bid you answer them directly, either yea or nay, to all such things as they have to charge you withal, which they have gathered of you since you came into their cruel hands. But if they will needs make many words with you, because you are but a simple man, and therefore perchance they will be the busier with you to trouble you with many questions, to cumber your knowledge, and then seem to triumph over you and that truth that you do bold -- if, I say, they do this, (as perhaps for some evil purpose they will,) then be you so plain and as short as you can, saying roundly unto them these or such-like words, as nigh as you can:

"Be it known unto you, that I in all points do believe as it becometh a true Christian, and as I have been truly taught in the days of that good King Edward, of such godly preachers and prophets sent of God, as have sealed their doctrine with their blood, from whom I will dissent in no point: for I am a poor man without learning, but am commanded of God to follow the counsel of his constant preachers; and so do I intend to do, God giving me grace and assistance thereto!

"As for you, I know you to be none of Christ's shepherds, but ravening wolves, which come to kill and scatter the flock of Christ, as the Lord said you should; and doth will us to beware of you and your poisoned doctrine, bidding us to judge you according to your fruits, whereby all men may see and know what ye be, that will not be wilfully blind. But the good shepherds have given their lives for the defence of Christ's flock; and I am commanded to follow their faithful and godly example, and to confess with them one truth, even to the fire, if God shall see it good. And this as a true Christian I have hitherto done, and henceforth by God's grace intend to do. And if, for the same, God shall suffer you to take away my life, as you have done theirs, I am contented therewith: his will be done, for that only is good. But of this be you sure, the Lord will shortly call you to account for all the innocent blood that is shed within this realm; which you have brought into a most woeful case, and made many a heavy heart in the same; and more I perceive you will make, so long as the Lord for our sins will suffer you to prosper, and until the time that your iniquities

shall be full ripe. But then, be you sure, the Lord will sit in judgment upon you, as well as you do now upon his saints, and will reward you according to your deservings; to whom with my whole heart I commit my cause: and he will make answer for me, when the full time of my refreshing cometh.

"In the mean space, I will keep silence with this that I have said, trusting that I have sufficiently discharged my conscience in confessing my faith and religion to you, declaring of what church I am, even of the catholic church of Jesus Christ, which was well known to be here in England in our late good King Edward's days, by two special tokens which cannot deceive me, nor yet suffer me to be deceived; that is to say, the pure preaching of his holy word, and the due administration of his holy sacraments, which is not to be seen in your Romish church, and therefore it cannot justly be called the church and spouse of Christ. I believe in the holy Trinity, and all the other articles of the Christian faith contained in the three creeds; and finally, all the canonical Scripture to be true in every sentence. And I detest all sects both of the Arians and Anabaptists, or any others that divide themselves from the true church of Christ, which is his mystical body, the ground and pillar of truth, and the very house of the living God. And if for these things you take away my life, and make yourselves guilty of my blood, you may; for I am in your hands as the sheep brought to the shambles, abiding the grace of the butcher. And be you sure your judgment sleepeth not, but when you cry, Peace, peace, and, All is safe, then shall your plagues begin like the sorrow of a woman travailing with child, according to Christ's infallible promise.'

"This kind of answer, my dear heart, it shall be best for you to make: and by God's grace I do intend to take the same order myself in time to come, when the Lord shall vouch me worthy of that great dignity, whereunto he hath called you. And if they shall laugh you to scorn, as I know they will, saying, 'Thou art a fool, and an unlearned ass-head, and art able to make answer to nothing,' &c., care you not for it, but still commit your cause unto God, who will make answer for you; and tell them that they have been answered again and again of divers godly and learned men: but all will not help; for you have one solution of all manner of questions, even a fair fire and faggots; this will be the end of your disputations. Therefore I pray you to trouble me no more, but do that which you are appointed, when God shall permit the time. I am no better than Christ, his apostles, and other of my good brethren that are gone before me.'

"This kind of answer will cut their combs most, and edify the people that stand by, so that the same be done coldly, with sobriety, meekness, and patience; as I heard say our sweet brethren Thomas Harland and John Oswald did at Lewes in Sussex, to the great rejoicing of the children of God that were in those parts. And I hear say, that they were dissolved from this earthly tabernacle at Lewes, on Saturday last, and were condemned but the Wednesday before; so that we may perceive the papists have quick work in hand, that they make such haste to have us home to our heavenly Father. Therefore let us make ourselves ready to ride in the fiery chariot, leaving these sorry mantles and old cloaks behind us for a little time, which God shall restore to us again in a more glorious wise.

"My good brother Harry, you shall understand that bragging John T. hath beguiled his keepers, (who trusted him too well,) and is run away from them, and hath

brought the poor men into great danger by the same. The one of them is cast by the council's commandment into the Gate-house at Westminster, the other is fled forth of the country for fear. Thus you may see the fruits of our freewill men, that made so much boast of their own strength. But that house which is not builded surely upon the unmovable Rock, will not long stand against the boisterous winds and storms, that blow so strongly in these days of trouble.

"But, my dearly beloved brother, blessed be God for you, and such as you be, which have played the parts of wise builders. You have digged down past the sand of your own natural strength, and beneath the earth of your own worldly wisdom, and are now come to the hard stone and unmovable Rock Christ, who is your only keeper; and upon him alone have you builded your faith most firmly, without doubting, mistrust, or wavering. Therefore neither the storms nor tempests, winds nor weathers, that Satan and all his wily workmen can bring against you, with the very gates of hell to help them, shall ever be able once to move your house, much less to overthrow it; for the Lord God himself, and no man, is the builder thereof, and hath promised to preserve and keep the same for ever. Unto his most merciful defence therefore I do heartily commit you and all your good company, desiring him for his sweet Son Jesus Christ's sake to confirm and strengthen you all, that you may be constant unto the very end; that after the final victory is once gotten, you may receive the immarcescible crown of glory, of God's free gift, through his great mercy in Jesus Christ our only Saviour. To whom, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour, glory, praise, thanks, power, rule, and dominion, for ever and evermore, Amen. -- The blessing of God be with you all.

"JOHN CARELESS."

To my most clear and faithful brother T. V.

"The everlasting peace of God in Jesus Christ, the continual joy and comfort of his most pure, holy, and mighty Spirit, with the increase of faith, and lively feeling of his mercy, be with you, my dear heart in the Lord, and faithful loving brother T. V., to the full accomplishing of that good work which he hath so graciously begun in you, that the same by all means may be to the setting forth of his glory, to the commodity of his poor afflicted congregation, and to the sweet comfort and quietness of your conscience in him now and evermore, Amen.

"With such due honour, love, and reverence, as it becometh me to bear unto the sweet saints and dearly beloved children of God, I have me most heartily commended unto you, my dear brother V.; with all earnest and faithful remembrance of you in my daily prayers, thanking God right heartily that you do likewise remember me in yours; assuring you that my poor heart doth daily feel great consolation thereby, God only have the praise for the same and all other his benefits. Ah, my dear heart in the Lord! well is me that ever I was born, that God of his great mercy and infinite goodness hath used me, most miserable wretch, at any time, as his instrument to minister any thing unto you either by word or writing, that might be an occasion of your joy and comfort in the Lord, and a provoking of you to praise and thanksgiving unto God for the same, as your most loving and godly letter seemeth to import. Oh! happy am I that the Lord hath appointed me unto so good a ground to sow

his seed upon; but much more happy are you, whose heart the Lord hath prepared and made so meet to receive the same so effectuously, giving thereto the sweet showers and heavenly dews of his grace and Holy Spirit, that it may bring forth fruit in due season accordingly; the increase whereof we shall shortly reap together with perfect joy and gladness, and that continually.

"Therefore, my dear brother, I say unto you as good Elizabeth did to her dear cousin Mary, Happy are you, and happy shall you be for evermore, because you have believed. The most sweet and faithful promises of your Redeemer, Jesus Christ, you have surely laid up in the treasury of your heart; his comfortable callings you have faithfully heard; his loving admonitions you have humbly obeyed: and therefore you shall never come into judgment. Your sins shall never be remembered; for your Saviour hath cast them all into the bottom of the sea. He hath removed them from you as far as the east is from the west, and hath given you for an everlasting possession, his justification and holiness; so that now no creature, neither in heaven nor in earth, shall be able to accuse you before the throne of the heavenly King.

"Satan is now judged; he is now cast out from you; he hath no part in you; you are wholly given unto Christ, which will not lose you. Your stedfast faith in him hath overcome the sturdy and bragging prince of the world; Christ hath given you the final victory over him and all his army, that they shall never hurt you.

"What would you have more? Oh, my dear heart, how great treasures are laid up in store for you, and how glorious a crown is already made and prepared for you!

"And albeit the Holy Ghost doth bear witness of all these things in your heart, and maketh you more sure and certain thereof, than if you had all the outward oracles in the world; yet I, being certainly persuaded and fully assured by the testimony of God's Spirit in my conscience, of your eternal and sure salvation in our sweet Saviour Jesus Christ, have thought it good, yea, and my bounden duty, not only at this time to write unto you, and to show you my joyful heart in that behalf, but also, by the word and commandment of Christ, to pronounce and affirm in the name and word of the heavenly King Jehovah, and in the behalf of his sweet Son Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom all knees shall bow, whom all creatures shall worship, and also by the impulsion of the Holy Ghost, by whose power and strength all the faithful be regenerate -- I do (I say) pronounce to thee, my dear brother T. V., that thou art already a citizen of heaven.

"The Lord thy God, in whom thou dost put all thy trust, for his dear Son's sake, in whom thou dost also undoubtedly believe, hath freely forgiven thee all thy sins, clearly released all thine iniquities, and fully pardoned all thy offences, be they never so many, so grievous, or so great, and will never remember them any more to condemnation. As truly as he liveth, he will not have thee die the death, but hath verily determined, purposed, and eternally decreed, that thou shalt live with him for ever. Thy sore shall be healed and thy wounds bound up even of himself, for his own name's sake. He doth not nor will he look upon thy sins in thee; but he respecteth and beholdeth thee in Christ, into whom thou art lively grafted by faith in his blood, and in whom thou art most assuredly elected and chosen to be a sweet vessel of his mercy and salvation, and wast thereto predestinated in him before the foundation of the world was laid: in testimony and earnest whereof he hath given thee his good and

Holy Spirit, which worketh in thee faith, love, and unfeigned repentance, with other godly virtues contrary to the corruption of thy nature. Also he hath commanded me this day (although a most unworthy wretch) to be a witness thereof by the ministry of his holy word, grounded upon the truth of his most faithful promises; the which thou believing shalt live for ever. Believest thou this, my dear heart? I know well thou dost believe. The Lord increase thy faith, and give thee a lively feeling of all his mercies, whereof thou art warranted and assured by the testimony of the Holy Ghost, who confirm in thy conscience (to the utter overthrowing of Satan, and those his most hurtful dubitations, whereby he is accustomed to molest and vex the true children of God) all that I have said: and by God's grace I will, as a witness thereof, confirm and seal the same with my blood, for a most certain truth.

"Wherefore, my good brother, praise the Lord with a joyful heart, and give him thanks for this his exceeding great mercy, casting away all dubitation and wavering, yea, all sorrow of heart, and pensiveness of mind: for this, the Lord your God, and most dear and loving Father, commandeth you to do by me, nay, rather by his own mouth and word pronounced by me. But now, my dear brother, after that I have done my message, or rather the Lord's message, indeed I could find in my heart to write two or three sheets of paper, declaring the joy I bear in my heart for you, mine own bowels in the Lord: yet the time being so short, (as you do well know,) I am here constrained to make an end, desiring you to pardon my slackness, and to forgive my great negligence towards you; promising you still, that so long as my poor life doth last, my prayer shall supply that my pen doth want, as knoweth the Almighty God, to whose most merciful defence I do heartily commit you and all other his dear children, as well as though I had rehearsed them by name, desiring them most heartily to remember me in their hearty and daily prayers, as I know right well they do; for I feel the daily comfort and commodity thereof, and therefore I neither will nor can forget them, nor you, nor any such-like. The blessing of God be with you all, Amen.

"Yours, for ever unfeignedly,
JOHN CARELESS."

A letter of thanks to a faithful friend of his, by whom he had received much comfort in his inward troubles.

"Blessed be God, the Father of all mercy, for the great comfort and Christian consolation which he hath so mercifully ministered unto my poor afflicted heart by your means, my most dear and faithful brother. Truly methinketh your words, or rather God's words by you uttered, have a wonderful power and efficacy working in my heart at the hearing and reading of them. Rejoice therefore, my dear brother, and be thankful unto God; for verily he both is and will be mightily magnified in you, and that divers and many ways, both to the strengthening of them that stand in his truth, and also to the raising up of such as are fallen from the same. God make me thankful for you, and on your behalf; for verily great is the goodness of God towards me, in giving me acquaintance in faithful love and amity with you; God's name be praised for ever there-for, and he perform all his merciful promises upon you, as I doubt not but he will, for his sake in whom you trust.

"I thank my God most heartily, and also you, my good brother, for that you are careful for me in your faithful prayers, remembering my just deserved sorrows, as though they were your own, and labouring so much to solace the same. Ah, my gracious good God! what am I, for whom thou and thy dear children should be so careful? O sweet Lord, forgive me my great ingratitude and sin, and grant that I never abuse thy great benefits! O let the love of thine elect, which love me for thy sake, be a sure sign and token, yea, a most firm testimony and seal to my sinful conscience, of thine everlasting love and mercy towards me in Christ; as verily it would and ought to be, if mine infidelity did not let it. O circumcise therefore the foreskin of my heart, that I may with lively faith behold thy great love towards me in all thine elect; that I may always be thankful for the same, and love thee and them again most heartily and unfeignedly.

"Ah, my dear heart! how sweetly and how truly, yea, how godly and how comfortably, have you rehearsed the sweet saying of Solomon concerning prosperity with true and godly friends! I will join with it the sentence which goeth a little before, for doubtless it may be well verified on you. A sure friend, saith the wise man in Ecclesiasticus vi., will be unto thee even as thine own soul, and deal faithfully with thy household-folk. If thou suffer trouble and adversity, he is with thee, and hideth not his face from thee. A faithful friend is a strong defence: whoso findeth such an one, findeth a treasure. A faithful friend hath no peer: the weight of gold is not to be compared to the goodness of his faith. A faithful friend is a medicine of life, and they that fear the Lord shall find him, &c. Lo, my dear heart in the Lord, here is a lively image or description of you; for verily such an one have I always found you unto me, not only sorrowing for my great sorrow, but also oftentimes making me merry and joyful, with such joys as the world cannot feel. Now let the World brag of his feigned friendship; but I will boast of this true friendship in God, and esteem it a more treasure than all transitory things. And as for my mourning, dear brother, God hath made you to turn it unto mirth; for God hath put you instead of them to be my comfort, whom he hath in his great mercy taken away. I trust henceforth to leave the mourning for my great loss, and to praise God for gaining unto himself so great glory by his chosen children. God make me a true mourner of Sion, both for mine own sin and wickedness, and also to see his honour defaced, that I may be made meet and apt to bear the joyful and comfortable message that your beautiful feet shall bring me. God bless thee, my dear heart, and faithful loving brother, and increase his good gifts of grace in thee, as he hath most happily begun, that you may daily more effectually feel and lively perceive the certainty of God's grace wherein you stand, and firmly testify the same to the conversion or confounding of all gainsayers, and to the comfort and confirmation of all God's dear children, Amen. Farewell, mine own sweet brother, farewell as mine own heart!

"Your own in Christ,
JOHN CARELESS."

Another letter to a certain godly faithful sister, by the name of E. K.

"The grace and free mercy of God in Jesus Christ, the sweet consolations of the Holy Ghost, the guide of all God's dear children, be with you, strengthen and comfort you, my dearly beloved sweet sister, E. K., now and ever. Amen.

"Albeit, my dearly beloved sister in Christ, as yet we did never see one another personally to any knowledge, yet by the virtuous report that I have heard of you, and also by the large loving token that I have received from you, methinks that I do even presently see you, and behold your person faithfully walking in the fear and love of God, joying and rejoicing with you in the Spirit, as though we were sweetly talking together of Christ's verity. The Lord God do I humbly beseech, in the bowels and blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, that he will strengthen us both with his holy and mighty Spirit, that we may constantly continue in the confession of his truth unto the end; that like as we now see one another presently in spirit, we may also see one another personally in the glorious presence of God and his holy angels, where undoubtedly we shall know one another's personage, to our great joy, felicity, and endless comfort.

"And now therefore, dear sister K., be strong in the Lord our God, for doubtless the time of trial is at hand; a great persecution, with cruel murdering of God's dear saints, is like to be very shortly in this woeful wicked realm of England. Therefore, dear sister, for the love of God prepare you to the cross with all diligence, and make yourself ready to die with Christ, that you may also, live with him for ever. There is no remedy: if you will be Christ's disciple, you must needs take up your cross and follow him; for the disciple must not look to be above his Master, nor the servant to be better entreated than his Lord. If we were of the world, good sister, no doubt the world would love us. But forasmuch as Christ hath chosen us out of the world to serve God in spirit and verity, let us be well assured the world will hate us and persecute us, as it hath done our Lord and Master Christ. But yet let us be of good cheer, for Christ hath overcome the world. The pain is but short that we can feel here, but the pleasure is perpetual that we shall feel elsewhere.

"Let us set before us the example of Christ, which abode the cross, and despised the shame, in respect of the joy that was set before him: even so let us consider for whose sake we suffer, whose cause we defend, and what glorious reward we shall have at the day of our victory; and then doubtless the consolation of these things will make sweet all our sufferings, and soon swallow up all the sorrows that we are soursed in for God's sake. I could recite divers texts of the Scriptures to confirm this point; but I need not, for I am well assured that you do know them most perfectly already. The Lord give you strength, and assist you with his Holy Spirit, that you may continually walk in all points according to your godly knowledge: and then shall you not do as the most part of our gospellers do now-a-days, the more is the pity.

"There are a great many in England that do perfectly know that the idolatrous mass is abominable, devilish, and detestable in the sight of God. And yet, alas, they be not afraid to pollute and defile their bodies, which ought to be the temples of the Holy Ghost, with being present at it; so sinning against God and their own conscience.

"But, dear sister K., do you fly from it both in body and soul, as you would fly from the very devil himself. Drink not of the whore of Babylon's cup by any means; for it will infect the body, and poison the soul. Be not partakers of her sins, saith the angel, lest ye be partakers of the plagues that shall shortly be poured upon her. O what an array is this, that so many that know God's truth, will now turn again and defile themselves in the filthy puddle of antichrist's stinking religion! They go about to save their lives with their double dissimulation; but, doubtless, they shall lose everlasting

life by it, if they do not repent in time, and turn unto the Lord. But, dear sister, my trust is, that you do utterly abhor the coming to any such thing. I hope that you will not by any means turn back into Egypt now, but that you will boldly venture through the wilderness of trouble and persecution, that you may come into the land that floweth with all kind of heavenly pleasures and joyful delectations, and possess the same for ever.

"Let us consider, how that every one of us doth owe unto God a death by nature; and, how soon the Lord will require it of us, we know not. O how happy are we then, if God of his goodness appoint us to pay nature's debt with suffering for his truth and gospel's sake; and so making us his faithful witnesses with the prophets, apostles, martyrs, and confessors, yea, with his dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ, to whom he doth here begin to fashion us like in suffering, that we might be like him also in glory. Thus, my dearly beloved sister, I have been bold to trouble you a little with my rude and simple letter, being made in haste, as it doth appear yet I desire you to take it in good worth, as a token of my poor zeal unto you, and to accept my good will; and if it please God to spare me life and liberty, I trust hereafter to write unto you more largely. Fare ye well, dear sister E. K.; the Lord bless you and all yours, and pour upon you the heavenly dew of his grace. The Lord endue you with plentiful knowledge of his verity; and fill you with his holy and mighty Spirit, that you may continually rejoice in the comforts of the same now and ever. Amen.-- Pray, pray, pray, with stedfast faith.

"Your daily orator, JOHN CARELESS, prisoner of the Lord."



In the letters of William Tymes, ye heard before much mention made of Agnes Glascock. This Agnes Glascock, through infirmity, and her husband's persuasions, was allured to go to mass. For which cause she, falling into great sorrow and repentance, was raised up again by the comfortable letters of William Tymes and John Careless, as before you may read; and, after that, was constant in the sincere profession of the verity, and in danger for the same of persecution; unto whom John Careless writeth therefore his letter, as followeth.

"The everlasting peace of God in Jesus Christ, the continual aid, strength, and comforts of his most pure, holy, and mighty Spirit, be with you, my dear and faithful sister Glascock, to the good performance of that good work which God hath so graciously begun in you, to his glory, the commodity of his poor afflicted church, and to your own eternal comfort in him. Amen.

"In our Lord I have my most humble and hearty commendations unto you, my dear sister and most faithful mother Glascock, with all remembrance of you in my daily prayers, giving God most hearty laud, praise, and thanks for you, and on your behalf, in that he of his great mercy hath hitherto so mightily strengthened you, constantly to cleave unto your Captain Christ, notwithstanding the great assaults and manifold temptations that you have had to the contrary. Doubtless, dear heart, it cannot be expressed what joy and comfort it is unto my very soul, to see how mightily

the Lord hath magnified himself in you, and other his dear elect darlings, whom he will shortly glorify with himself, as he hath done other of his sweet saints that are gone before you. Rejoice therefore, and be glad; for verily you have good cause, if you diligently consider the great dignity that God hath called you unto, even now in your old age, to be one of his worthy witnesses unto the world: and I think you shall, with me and other your brethren in bonds, seal the Lord's verity with the testimony of your blood. Surely, sweet sister, this is the greatest promotion that God can bring you or any other unto, in this life; and an honour that the highest angel in heaven is not permitted to have.

"Therefore happy are you, O faithful daughter of Abraham! that the Lord will now prefer you before many others, yea, or any other of your age, that I do know in England. O faithful and virtuous matron, which wilt not be moved from the sure Rock Christ, upon whom you have so firmly built your house, that neither storms nor tempests, neither yet hell-gates, or any other temptations, shall ever be able once to prevail against it. Full well doth it appear by your constant continuance, that you have played the part of a wise builder, in counting the cost aforehand, belonging to the finishing of your tower. And I doubt not but (through God's gift) you have sufficient to the performance thereof, that the hypocrites of their part shall have no just cause to triumph against you, or to mock you, saying, Lo, this woman began to build, but is not able to make an end. Therefore go on boldly and fear not; for God is faithful, (as St. Paul saith,) which will not suffer you to be tempted above your strength, but either he will give you grace and strength to stand unto the death, (which is the gate and entrance into life,) or else he will make such an outscape for you, as shall be to the setting forth of his glory; the which, above all other things, we that are his chosen children ought to seek, yea, even with the loss of our own lives, being yet well assured that the same shall not be shortened one minute of an hour before the time that God hath appointed.

"Cast therefore, dear sister, all your care upon the Lord, which (as St. Peter saith) careth for you. Great is his providence for you, and mighty is his love and mercy towards you. With his grace he will defend you, and with his Holy Spirit he will evermore guide you, wherewith he hath surely sealed you unto the day of redemption: he hath also given you the same in earnest for the recovery of the purchased possession, which he hath prepared for you before the foundation of the world was laid. Be strong therefore, and take a good heart, as I hear say you be. God for ever be blessed for you, which hath grafted his love in your good heart, that nothing is able to separate you from the same, but will rather choose to suffer adversity with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a little season. O happy woman, that canst find in thy heart to esteem the rebukes of Christ to be greater riches than all the treasures of the world, as good Moses did. Doubtless great is your reward in heaven; which you shall shortly receive of his free gift, and not of any deserving.

"Thus, dear mother Glascock, I have been bold to trouble you with my rude and simple letters, desiring you to take them in good worth, being done in great haste, as it doth appear, but yet proceeding from a poor heart which floweth over in love towards you, as my daily prayers for you can testify; which I trust shall supply that part of my duty towards you, that my pen now wanteth. I thank you, dear heart, for all your loving tokens, and for the great kindness you have hitherto showed unto my poor

brother Tyms and his wife and children, with all other of God's people, to whom you daily do good: the Lord recompense the same sevenfold into your bosom, as I doubt not but he will, according to his infallible promises! I pray you have my hearty commendations unto your husband. I beseech the Lord strengthen him in the confession of his truth, (as my trust is that he will,) that we may all joyfully rest with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of God; unto the which he bring us, that with his most precious blood hath bought us! The blessing of God be with you now and ever. Amen.

"Your daily orator and unfeigned lover, JOHN CARELESS, prisoner of the Lord. Pray, pray, pray."

A brief admonition written to Mistress Agnes Glascock, in a book of hers, when she came to the prison to visit him.

"There is nothing that the Holy Scripture throughout doth so much commend unto us, as true faith and stedfast trust in the promises of God's eternal mercies towards us in Jesus Christ. For from the same, as forth of the chief fountain and well-spring of life, do flow all kind of virtues and godly fruits, specially true love towards God, in the which we ought purely to serve him all the days of our life; and also Christian charity towards our neighbours, as well to help them at all needs, as also not to hurt them by any means. Therefore pray earnestly for the increase of faith and lively feeling of God's mercy; for all things are possible unto him that can undoubtedly believe. Faith is that thing which assureth us of God's mercy, and whereby we vanquish all the fiery darts of the devil; our victory that overcometh the world; the knife that killeth and mortifieth the flesh: and finally that which setteth us at peace with God, and quieteth our consciences always before him, and maketh us merry and joyful under the cross, with many more things than I can now express. Pray therefore for faith, in faith: and, for the Lord's sake, beware of popery and popish idolatry, the idol of the wicked mass, and other idolatrous service. Make not your body, which is a member of Christ, a member of antichrist. Remember that we shall receive of God according to that we do in the body, be it good or evil. Therefore glorify God in your body, which is dearly bought. Betray not the truth, lest the Lord deny you. If God be God, follow him. You cannot serve two masters. I write not this as doubting you, but by the way of admonition. God keep you from all evil.

"My sister dear, God give you grace,
With stedfast faith in Christ his name,
His gospel still for to embrace,
And live according to the same.
To die there-for think it no shame,
But hope in God with faithful trust;
And he will give you praise with fame,
When you shall rise out of the dust.
For which most sweet and joyful day,
To God with faith your prayer make;
And think on me, I do you pray,

The which did write this for your sake.
And thus to God I you betake,
Who is your Castle and strong Rock;
He keep you, whether you sleep or wake;
Farewell, dear Mistress A. Glascock! "

Another letter to Mistress Agnes Glascock, to comfort her in her repentance, after she had been at mass; fruitful for all them to read, which have fallen, and are to be raised up again.

"The peace of God in Jesus Christ, the eternal comforts of his sweet Spirit, be with you, and strengthen and comfort you, my dear and faithful sister. Amen.

"Although the perilous days be come, whereof Christ prophesied that if it were possible the very elect should be deceived; yet let the true faithful Christians rejoice and be glad, knowing that the Lord himself is their Keeper, who will not suffer one hair of their heads to perish without his almighty good will and pleasure, neither will suffer them to be further tempted than he will give them strength to bear; but will in the midst of their temptation make a way for them to escape out: so good and gracious a God is he to all his chosen children. And though sometimes he do let his elect stumble and fall, yet (no doubt) he will raise them up again, to the further increase of their comfort, and to the setting forth of his glory and praise. Which thing, my dear and faithful loving sister, I trust shall be well verified on you: for I do hear say, that by the manifold allurements, enticements, procurements, yea, and enforcements, that you, dear heart, have had, your foot hath chanced to slip forth of the way, to the great discomfort of your soul, and the heaviness of your heart. But, my good sister, be of good cheer, for the Lord will not so leave you, but he will raise you up again, and make you stronger than ever you were; so that your fall shall turn to his glory and your profit. For if you had not by this proved the experience of your own strength, or rather your own weakness, you would have stood too much in your own conceit, or perchance have gloried in yourself, and have despised and condemned other weak persons that have committed the like offence. Therefore now you may see what the best of us all can do, if God leave us to ourselves. Which thing ought to move you to be diligent to call earnestly upon God for his grace and the strength of his Holy Spirit, (without the which we are not able to stand one hour,) and to be most thankful for the same when you have it; and then to be more circumspect in time to come.

"Therefore, dear sister, seeing that you have done otherwise than the word of God and your own conscience would allow; yet, dear heart, do you not think that God therefore will cast you clean away, but know that he hath mercy enough in store for all them that truly repent and believe in him, although the sins of them were as many in number as the sands in the sea, and as great as the sins of the whole world. It is a greater sin to mistrust the mercy and promises of God, than to commit the greatest offence in the world. Therefore, good sister, beware in any wise, that you do not once mistrust the promises of God's mercy towards you; but know for a very surety, that all your sins be utterly forgiven you for Christ's sake, be they never so many, so grievous, or so great.

"But now, dear heart, take heed and beware that you do not cloak that sin, and increase the same daily, in communicating with the wicked in their idolatry, and devilish doings at their den of thieves. Do not, I say, dear sister, come at any of their antichristian service, lest by little and little you utterly lose a good conscience, and at length esteem it for no offence; as, alas! a great number do at this day, to the great peril of their souls. The Lord be merciful to them, and give them grace to repent in time and turn to the Lord, and then they shall be sure to find mercy at the Lord's hand, as doubtless you have done, praised be his name there-for.

"Ah, my dear sister! you may now see the words of Christ verified upon yourself, that a man's greatest foes shall be they of his own household; for your husband hath gotten you to do that, which all the tyrants in the world could never have made you to do. Doubtless he may be sorry for it. God give him grace to repent, or else, without doubt, it will be laid to his charge one day, when he would not, by his will, hear it for all the goods in the world. Well, I think my brother Tyms will write him a letter shortly that shall touch his conscience, if he have any conscience at all.

"But now again to you, dear sister. The thing that is done cannot be undone, and you are not the first that hath offended, neither are you so good and so holy, as hath at a time slipped forth of the way. Therefore I would not have you to be so much discomfited as I hear say you be, as though God were not as able to forgive you your offence, as he was to forgive his dear saints that offended him in times past; or as though God were not as merciful now as ever he was. Whereas in very deed, there is with the Lord, as the prophet saith, mercy and plentiful redemption, and his mercy far surmounteth all his works; and he never faileth any that put their whole trust and confidence in him, how great an offender or how wicked a trespasser soever he be. No, he maketh their falls and backslidings many times to turn to their profit and commodity, and to the setting forth of his glory; as doubtless, dear sister, yours shall do, if you put your whole faith, hope, and trust, only in his infinite and eternal sweet mercies.

"O what a subtle, crafty, lying serpent is that Satan our old enemy! that when he seeth that he cannot make us to continue in our wickedness to do him service, would then bring us into a doubting and mistrusting of the mercy of God, which is the greatest offence that can be; yea, infidelity is the root and original of all other sins. Therefore, my sweet sister, give no place to that cruel adversary of mankind, who hath been a liar and a murderer from the beginning; but stedfastly believe the Lord, who hath sent you word by me his most unworthy servant, that all your sins be pardoned, forgiven, and clean released for Jesus Christ's sake our only Lord and Saviour. To whom, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour, glory, praise, thanks, power, rule, and dominion, for ever and for ever, Amen. Farewell, my dear sister; be of good cheer. Believe in the Lord, and you shall live for ever. The Lord increase your faith, Amen, Amen.

"Your poor brother, and daily faithful orator,
JOHN CARELESS, prisoner of the Lord.
Pray for me."

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

Another letter of John Careless to A. B., a faithful minister of the Lord; containing certain fruitful precepts of matrimony.

"I beseech the same everlasting Lord, my dear and faithful brother, (that blessed young Tobias with his wife Sarah, and brought them together in due time with reverence and fear,) preserve and bless you both, and your seed after you, that they may increase the number of the faithful by thousands and thousands. And as the Lord, of his great mercy and fatherly providence, hath been always careful for you, and now hath for your comfort accomplished his good work in coupling you with a faithful mate; so see that you be thankful for his providence towards you, that it may every way in you be an increase of love and godliness, yea, of Christian joy and gladness in these sorrowful days,-- but yet so, that you mourn with the true mourners of Sion, and be sorry (yet in measure) for the hurt of the same. Pray also in faith for her prosperity, that the Lord may build up the walls of Jerusalem again.

"O that the Lord would turn Sion's captivity as the rivers into the south: then should our hearts be made glad, and our mouths filled with laughter. Then would the heathen hypocrites say, the Lord hath done much for them. Oh, the Lord hath done great things for us already, whereof let us heartily rejoice and praise his name there-for. For though we now sow with tears, yet shall we be sure to reap with gladness; and as we now go forth weeping, hearing forth good seed, so shall we come again with joy, and bring our sheaves full of corn. Yea, the death of the martyrs (which is most precious in his sight) shall be the life of the gospel, spite of the papists' hearts.

"Pray for me, dear heart, that I may be counted worthy to sow some seed amongst the sweet saints of the Lord, that I may reap the same again, without ceasing, at the harvest. It is now sowing time of the year, men say in the country, and I think that I shall make an end of sowing before all March be past; for I hear say that I shall prove how my plough will enter into the stony ground of the hardhearted papists, within these four days. I hope to hold fast, and not to look back, neither for fear nor flattery, until I have made an end of sowing; and then will I set me down and rest me, and ask them all no leave, and look for the lively fruit and increase thereof with joy and gladness.

"My dear brother, the time approacheth near (I praise God there-for) that I must put off this sinful tabernacle, and go home to my heavenly Father, where divers of my dear brethren are already looking and wishing for me. I beseech you therefore, that you will help me forward with your faithful prayers, as I know you do, for I do feel the comfort and commodity thereof.

"That you have observed my simple counsel I am right glad; and I trust in the Lord God, you shall find comfort in the same. And that you may so do indeed, I have been so bold to write these few words unto you, because I shall see you no more in this corruptible life; therefore mark them well. First, and above all things, you must be very circumspect to keep the band of love, and beware that there never spring up the root of bitterness between you. If at any time there happen to rise any cause of unkindness between you, (as it is impossible always to be free from it,) see that you weed up the same with all lenity, gentleness, and patience; and never suffer yourself, nor your wife, to sleep in displeasure.

"If you have cause to speak sharply, and sometimes to reprove, beware that you do not the same in the presence of others, but keep your words until a convenient time, (which is the point of a wise man, saith Solomon,) and then utter them in the spirit of meekness, and the groaning spirit of perfect love; which you must also let sometimes to cover faults, and wink at them if they be not intolerable. Whatsoever loss and mischance shall happen unto you, take it patiently, and bear it merrily; and though the same should come partly through your wife's negligence, yet let it rather be a loving warning to take heed in time to come, than a cause of sorrow for that which is past and cannot be holpen. I know by mine own experience, that we are in this life subject to many inconveniences, and that of nature we are prone to displeasure, and ready to think unkindness for every little trifle, and specially with our best friends, yea, soonest with our loving wives, which be most loth to displease us.

"But let us beware of this cankered corruption, and consider that we ought most of all in love to bear with them, according to Christ's example towards his congregation, for whom he gave himself to cleanse it, &c. I had thought to have treated this matter at large, but even now I am interrupted and otherwise letted. I doubt not but you know your duty therein a great deal better than I can declare it unto you; and as you know it, so will do it: but I love to be bold with you. I intend to write also to your wife very shortly, and so take my last farewell of you for ever in this world. And thus in great haste I am now constrained to make an end. The blessing of God be always with you.

"Your own for ever, JOHN CARELESS.

Pray, pray, pray with faith."

Another letter of John Careless, to Elizabeth, wife of the said A. B., containing certain godly precepts of matrimony pertaining to her duty.

"The everlasting peace of God in Jesus Christ, the continual aid, strength, and comfort of his most holy and mighty Spirit, with increase of knowledge, faith, and perfect feeling of God's eternal mercy, be with you, my dear and faithful loving sister E. B., and with your godly loving husband, my dear and faithful brother, to the full performance of that good which he hath so graciously begun in you, that in all things you may be made rich and blessed in him, and your seed after you, now and ever, Amen.

"As I have been long desirous to write unto you, my dear heart in the Lord, not only being thereto bound of duty, but also often provoked of him, to whom I owe myself and all that I am able to do, (I mean even that blessed of the Lord's own mouth, whom God hath joined with you in that holy and Christian state of matrimony,) even so at the last I have obtained time and occasion, in some part, to perform that which I have long purposed. And forasmuch as the Lord, of his great mercy and fatherly care and providence over you his dear child, hath now graciously accomplished that good work, amongst many others, which I (as a friend of the Bridegroom) have full heartily wished and often prayed for; I think it good, yea, and my bounden duty, to treat of such things as may be profitable to preserve mutual love and faithful amity between you, which I know Satan will chiefly labour to diminish, (if he cannot altogether destroy the same,) lest by many joyful occasions you should

be provoked continually to praise God for his good gift, which that enemy hath by all means sought to hinder from you.

"As for all other things, I know you are sufficiently instructed, and also have a most learned companion, who is well able further to teach you, if need do require. But in this thing I know my experience is more than his. Therefore, my good sister, first and before all things see that you do diligently consider, that as every good and perfect gift, pertaining to soul and body, is given from above, and cometh from the Father of light, even so to whomsoever the Lord dealeth any of his benefits, of them he doth chiefly require always a thankful heart for the same. For else he will either take away his good gifts again, or turn the same to their great discommodity, and in the end to the increase of their damnation: so detestable in his sight is the sin of ingratitude. But to such as be thankful for his benefits, he doth not only to the old ever add new, but also maketh the commodity of his former gifts ever more and more to increase, until by them they are fully persuaded and thoroughly certified of his everlasting love in Christ Jesus, which is eternal life itself: so much doth he of his great mercy delight in a thankful heart.

"Therefore I do yet once again earnestly require you, that above all things you be thankful to God for his benefits; not only for your election, creation, redemption, and preservation; but also for his other temporal gifts, wherewith he hath indued you: amongst the which the chief and most excellent is (as testifieth the Holy Ghost) your good, godly, and faithful loving husband. For, as the wise man saith, goods and possessions may come to a man by the death of his friends; but a good wife is the gift of God, which the Lord will give for a good portion to such as fear him.

"And the like is of a good husband, as the Lord hath now given you, praised be his name therefor. He hath not given you an ignorant, froward, churlish, brawling, wasteful, rioting, drunken husband, wherewith he hath plagued many others (as he might also have done you); but he hath given you a most godly, learned, gentle, loving, quiet, patient, thrifty, diligent, and sober husband, by whom he will nourish, cherish, keep, and defend you, instruct and teach you, yea, care and provide for you and your children (the which he will also by him give you) such things as be necessary for you. He hath not dealt so with every body, and yet he hath done this and much more for you, my dear sister; and will thereto increase joy and love between you. For as he delighteth in the love and godly agreement of man and wife together; so is it he only that maketh them and all the whole household to be of one mind: unto the which his gracious work he requireth your diligence, and will use you as his instrument and mean, the more effectuously to accomplish the same. And therefore I now require you to observe this my simple counsel, the which I have here written as a testimonial of my good-will towards you, because I think in this life I shall never more see you.

"Now as I have showed you how you should be thankful unto God for his good gifts, so I exhort you, and (as much as in me lieth) charge you, to be evermore thankful unto your dear loving husband, who hath given himself unto you; which is a more precious jewel in the church of God, than perchance you are yet aware of. Think yourself unworthy to be matched with such an instrument of God; and also reverence evermore the gifts of God in him, and seek with true obedience and love to serve him, in recompence of his true and painful heart towards you. Be loth in any wise to offend

him, yea, rather be careful and diligent to please him, that his soul may bless you. If at any time you shall chance to anger him, or to do or speak any thing that shall grieve him, see that you never rest until you have pacified him, and made him merry again.

"If at any time he shall chance to blame you without a cause, or for that you cannot do therewith, (which thing happeneth sometimes to the best man living,) see that you bear it patiently, and give him no uncomely or unkind word for it; but evermore look upon him with a loving and cheerful countenance; and rather take the fault upon you, than seem to be displeased.

"Be always merry and cheerful in his company, but not with too much lightness. Beware in any wise of swelling, pouting, or louting; for that is a token of a cruel and unloving heart -- except it be in respect of sin, or in the time of sickness.

"Be not sorrowful for any adversity that God sendeth; but beware that nothing be spilt or go to waste through your negligence. In any wise see that you be quick and cleanly about his meat and drink, and prepare him the same according to his diet in due season. Go cleanly and well-favouredly in your apparel, but beware of pride in any wise.

"Finally, in word and deed show yourself wise, humble, merry, and loving towards him, and also towards such as he doth love, and then shall you lead a blessed life. I could speak of many things, the which I have learned and proved true by experience; but I know that you will do in all things much better than I can teach you, because you have that anointing that teacheth you all things, which hath also given you a heart to obey and serve him. Yet I trust you will not be offended for this which I have written, but rather accept my good-will towards you, whom I love in the Lord, as well as I do my daughter Judith.

"Thus as mine own soul I commend you both to God, desiring him to bless you with all manner of spiritual blessings in heavenly things, and also with the dew of heaven, and fatness of the earth, that in all things you may be made rich in Jesus Christ, our Lord and only Saviour. The Lord increase and bless the fruit of your bodies, that your children may stand round about your table, thick, fresh, and lusty, like the olive branches. God give you both a long life, that you may see and bless your children's children unto the third and fourth generation, and teach them the true fear and love of God, and that faith for the which they shall be accepted in his sight.

God let you see the prosperity of Sion, for whose lying in the dust let your hearts mourn. The Lord make perfect your love together in him, and always increase the same, and bring you both in peace to your graves, at a good age. And now I bid you both most heartily farewell; and I think I shall now take my leave of you for ever in this life. I beseech you both to aid me with your continual prayers, (as I will not forget you in mine,) that I may have a joyful victory through Jesus Christ: to whose most merciful defence I do most heartily for ever commend you to be kept unblamable until his coming. The which I beseech him to hasten for his mercy's sake.

"Your own unfeignedly, JOHN CARELESS, prisoner of the Lord."

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

Another letter of John Careless to Mistress Cotton.

"The everlasting peace of God in Jesus Christ, the eternal comfort of his most pure, holy, and mighty Spirit, with the increase of faith in his sweet mercies, be with you, my dear sister, good Mistress Cotton, to the full increase of your joy in Christ, now and ever. Amen.

"As, from the very bottom of my poor heart, I wish unto you health both of body and of soul, my dear loving sister in the Lord, so will I never cease praying unto God for the same, according unto my most bounden duty. Howbeit of your body upon condition, but of your soul without any condition, being well assured that the Lord, for his dear Son's sake, will perfectly grant me the same, so far forth as shall be most for your profit; so that, if the health of your body will stand with the wealth of your soul, I am sure I shall have my petition granted for the health of the same. But if the sickness of your body be for the health of your soul, as I am sure it is, then have I also my desire granted, because I ask the same no further than it may stand with the other: but for the everlasting health of your soul do I heartily pray without the addition of any condition; for it is the Lord's good will I should so do. Therefore I am sure my request is already granted therein, for his sake who hath redeemed the same with his most precious blood, yea, in whom you were elected before the foundation of the world was laid. This is most true, and therefore let nothing persuade you to the contrary. Rest upon this rock, and you are sure the gates of hell shall not prevail against you. I know, dear heart, that you have done much good to the poor for Jesus Christ's sake; yet beware you do not put any trust or confidence in your good deeds, merits, or deservings, but only in Jesus Christ, who hath given himself wholly to be yours, with all his holiness, righteousness, justification, and redemption, and all that ever he may.

"On the other side, he hath taken upon himself all your sins, miseries, and infirmity, and hath made a full satisfaction for them, with the sacrifice of his own body and blood offered once for all; this I do know, my good sister, you do constantly confess and believe, as the godly fruits of your Christian faith do daily testify. I trust to be a witness with you, at the great day, that your faith is unfeigned and full of godly charity: the Lord increase the same. I am constrained to make an end, full sore against my will. My poor prayers shall supply that which my pen doth lack. The blessing of God be with you now and ever, Amen.

"Your daily orator,
JOHN CARELESS "

A prayer to be said of every true Christian.

"Verily, verily, I say unto you, whatsoever ye shall ask the Father in my name, he will give it you.

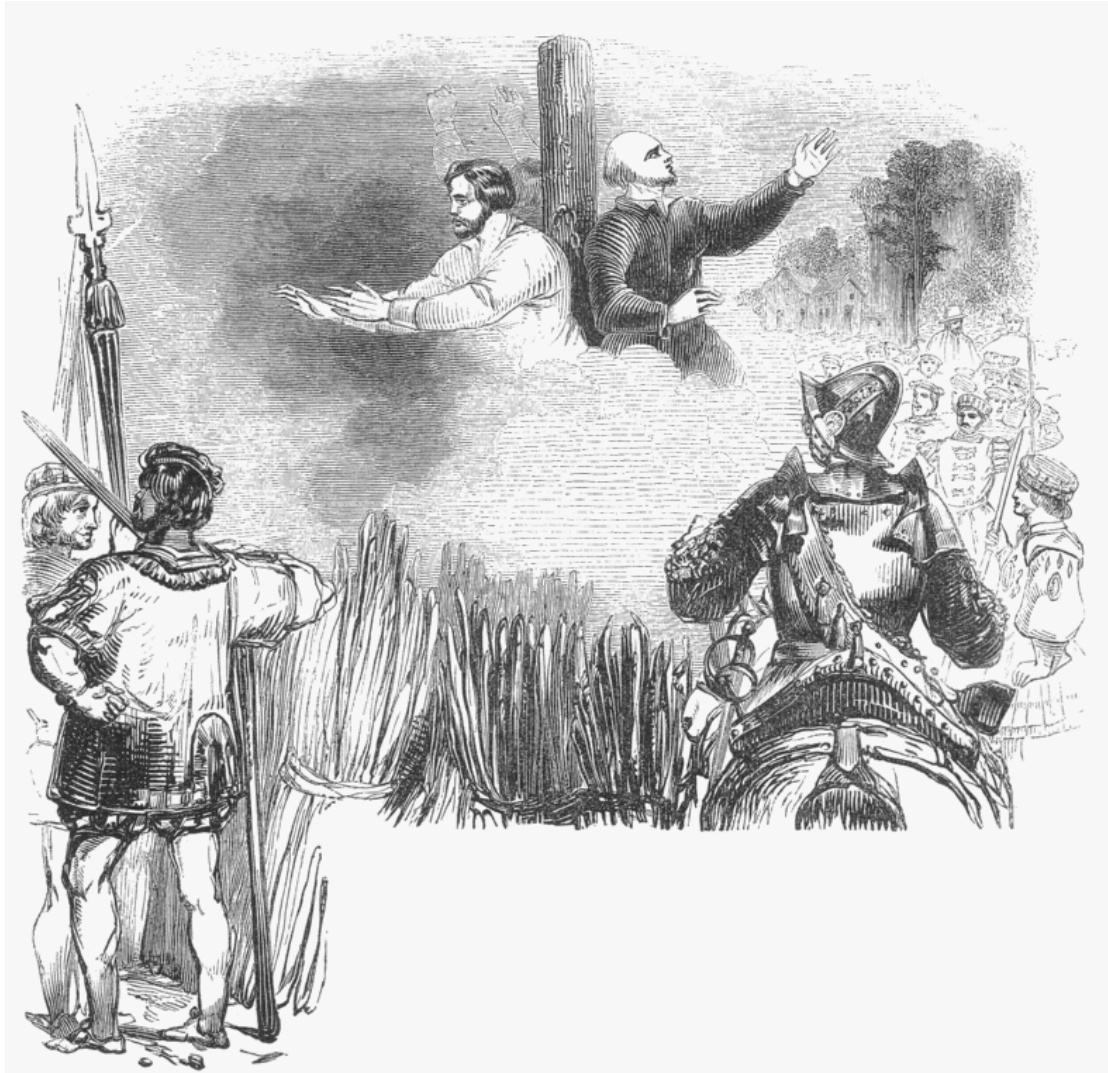
"O almighty, everlasting God, and most gracious dear loving Father! I beseech thee for Jesus Christ's sake, thy most dear and only Son, to have mercy, pity, and compassion upon me, a most vile, wretched, and miserable sinner; whose innumerable

offences, both old and new, be most horrible, grievous, and great, where-through I have justly deserved thy grievous wrath and everlasting damnation.

"But now, good Lord, here I do appeal to thy great mercy only, which far surmounteth all thy works, as thou hast promised the same in thy holy and infallible word, where thou hast said, yea, and sworn as truly as thou livest, that thou wouldest not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should convert and live. Ah! dear Lord, I confess that I am a great and a puissant sinner, and yet now, by the grace and good working of thy Holy Spirit, something turned unto thee. O let me live, and not die the everlasting death of the soul, which I have so deeply deserved; but make me a vessel of thy great mercy, that I may live and praise thy name among thy chosen children for ever. O let not my horrible sins separate me from the sweet sight of thy Majesty, but let thy great power and mercy be magnified in me, as it is in David, in Peter, in Magdalene, and in the notable thief, who was crucified with Christ thy dear Son; in whose most precious death and bloodshedding only, O Lord, I put my whole trust and confidence, for he only hath taken away the sins of the world. He came not to condemn the world, but to save it, that none that truly believe in him should perish, but have life everlasting. He saith, he came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance. Oh! gracious God, give me true, hearty, earnest, and unfeigned repentance, that I may, from the very bottom of my heart, continually lament my manifold sins and wickedness, my great ingratitude and unthankfulness towards thee, for all thy merciful benefits so abundantly poured upon me through Jesus Christ, who wouldest vouchsafe (he being thine own only dear darling, in whom was and is all thy whole pleasure and delight) to give him for me to the very death of the cross, (yea, and that when I was thine utter enemy,) of mercy inestimable and love incomprehensible.

"Who ever saw such a thing? God became man and was crucified for me, that, by his death, I might live. Alas! that ever I should become so wicked a wretch and so unkind a creature, to displease so loving, kind, and merciful a God and Father. Oh, forgive me! Forgive me for thy great mercy's sake, for thy truth and promise' sake, and I will never trespass again against thy divine Majesty any more, but will gladly serve thee in true holiness and righteousness all the days of my life, by the grace and assistance of thy true and Holy Spirit: the which I beseech thee to give me also, that he may govern me, and guide my heart in thy true faith, fear, and love; that in all my works, words, and thoughts, I may glorify thy holy name, who livest and reignest one God and three persons, to whom be all honour, glory, praise, thanks, power, rule, and dominion, for ever and ever, Amen."

348. Julius Palmer, John Gwin and Thomas askin



Palmer, Gwin and Askin at the Stake

The history and martyrdom of a learned and virtuous young man, called Julius Palmer, sometime fellow of Magdalene College in Oxford, with two other martyrs, to wit, John Groin, and Thomas Askin; burned together in Newbury, at a place there called the Sand pits.

THE same month of July, in which Careless, as before is declared, was released out of prison by death, in short time after, about the sixteenth day of the same month of July, suffered these three godly and constant martyrs above mentioned, at Newbury, in which number was Julius Palmer, sometime student and fellow of Magdalene College in Oxford, and afterwards schoolmaster in the town of Reading. Concerning whose story and martyrdom here followeth, although not so much as he

deserveth to have said, yet so much as sufficiently may set forth the great working of God in this young man.

As all God's works are wondrous, in calling of all sorts of men to confirm his truth, and to bear witness unto his assured and infallible word, which the adversaries have depraved and corrupted with their false glosses, to establish the fleshly kingdom of antichrist, and to purchase security in the world, which they seek to keep in their possession by all means possible, rather cursing with the thunderbolt of excommunication, burning, hanging, drowning, racking, scourging, and persecuting by secret practice and open violence, the simple sheep of our Saviour Christ, than that their false forged packing should be detected, their estimation impaired, their kitchen cooled, their rents, revenues, goods, lands, and possessions abated: I say, as God's works be wonderful, which chooseth some of all sorts to confess his gospel; so there is no one example in the whole godly fellowship of martyrs, more to be marked, yea, more to be wondered at, than this; that one which, in all King Edward's days, was a papist within the university of Oxford, and so obstinate, as that he did utterly abhor all godly prayer and sincere preaching, and almost of all them with whom he lived was therefore likewise abhorred, and (as I may say) pointed at with the finger, did yet after, in Queen Mary's time, suffer most cruel death at the papists' hands at Newbury in Berkshire, for the most ready and zealous profession of the blessed truth.

His name was Julius Palmer, born in Coventry, where also his parents dwelt. His father had sometime been mayor of the city, and occupied merchandise, albeit he was an upholsterer by his mystery. How he was brought up in his young and tender years, from his first entering, we know not, but, as we have learned, he was sometime scholar to Master Harley, which taught the free scholars of Magdalene College in Oxford; by whose diligence, and the goodness of his own capacity, he became a toward young scholar in prose and verse: for he had a very prompt and ready memory, a wit sharp and pregnant. He spake Latin with great facility of utterance, and wanted not competent knowledge in the Greek tongue; insomuch that divers times he supplied the room of the Greek reader in his house. He was a subtle disputer, both in the public schools, and also at home. He used to say, that he was never so pleasantly occupied, as when he came to the hard debating of profound questions in philosophy; so that he hath oftentimes watched and spent the whole night in the discussing and searching out the truth of deep and diffuse questions. And this used he to do sundry times, with divers of his equals.

In familiar talk he greatly delighted, for the exercise of his learning, to defend the contrary to that which was affirmed; yet with modesty, and without all ostentation: for he greatly abhorred all overthwart cavilling, all frivolous talk, and unsavoury brabbling. He was not captious, but would reason so soberly, and with such probability, that even his adversaries would no less marvel at the dexterity of his invention, than at his comely and decent behaviour in prosecuting the same. And although he applied divinity very lately, it appeareth that he recompensed the small time of his study with the greatness of his diligence bestowed in the same, and his late coming to the truth, with his earnest and zealous proceeding therein. For by the secret inspiration of God's Holy Spirit, inwardly working in his heart, he gave an apparent signification in his young years, that if God had spared his life to age, he would have grown to such maturity and ripeness of judgment, as whereby he should have been an ornament to Christ's church, and an honour to his country.

And somewhat to speak of his civil behaviour, he was of manners courteous without curiosity, of countenance cheerful without high looks, of speech pleasant without affectation; he was affable and lowly as any child, and yet quick-spirited, and vehement in reasoning. He practised no deceit toward any man; for he was of such simplicity, that he was apter to be deceived than to deceive; and he was so great a contemner of all reproaches and injuries, that he would say, None were to be counted valiant, but such as could despise injury.

In private study he was so indefatigable, that he arose ordinarily every morning at four of the clock, and went not lightly to bed before ten at night. Insomuch that as he grew in years and understanding, so he came to be a bachelor of arts; and at length, for the hope appearing in him, to the preferment of a fellowship in Magdalene College, where also he was admitted to the office of a reader in logic, anno 1550. Now, if he had, at the first, favoured sincere religion so much as he followed his book, then had we had the less matter to note in him. But indeed he was so much (as is aforesaid) addicted to the Romish faith, that his company and conversation in the same house were altogether with such as were utter enemies to the gospel of Christ. If he came to common prayer at any time, it was by violence and compulsion; for otherwise he came not. Sermons would he hear none himself, nor yet suffer his scholars to resort unto them by his good will; for he was fully persuaded that they might be better occupied at home. The preachers themselves he did both disdain and despise, and all such as were setters-forth of sound doctrine beside: for the which contumacy and stubbornness, he was so oft called before the officers of the college, and punished sometimes by the purse, sometimes by the lack of his commons, and otherwhile by certain tasks and exercises of learning, enjoined unto him, that divers supposed him to have endeavoured, of set purpose, continually to seek occasion whereby he might be counted a sufferer for that fantasied religion of the Romish church.

In the end, not long before the death of King Edward, that godly prince, certain slanderous libels and railing verses were privily fixed to the walls and doors in sundry places of the college, against the president, which was then Dr. Haddon, whereby was ministered further matter of trouble to Palmer. For whereas it was well known that he, and some of his companions, had a very little while before spoken contumelious words against the president; it could not be now avoided, but that thereby arose a vehement surmise and suspicion, that he, conspiring with others, had contrived, made, and scattered abroad, the said slanderous writings. Great inquisition was made in the college, to search out the author of so malicious and spiteful a deed; but nothing could be found and proved against Palmer, or any of his companions. Now Palmer, being hereupon examined by the officers, did not only with stout courage deny the fact to have been his, but also spake further many reproachful words touching the said officers, and sent the same to them in writing, whereby he was by them adjudged to be an unworthy member of that society. And so for this, and other popish pranks, (continuing obstinate still,) he was expelled the house.

After he was thus despatched of his room, he was fain, for his own maintenance, to apply himself to be a teacher of children in the house of Sir Francis Knolles, in the which trade he continued until the coming-in of Queen Mary. And when her visitors were sent to Magdalene College, under a title of reformation, (whereas all things were better afore,) I mean, to displace divers of the fellows that

were learned, and to put right catholics (as they called them) in their rooms; then came this Julius Palmer, waiting, as a dog for his bone, to be restored to his living again, of which he had been deprived before; thinking by good right to be restored of them, whose faith and religion (as he said) he did to the uttermost of his power defend and maintain. And indeed at length he obtained the same. Then after he was restored again to his house in Queen Mary's reign, God dealt so mercifully with him, that in the end he became of an obstinate papist, an earnest and zealous gospeller.

Concerning whose conversion to the truth, for the more credit to be given to the same, we have here put down a letter written by one Master Bullingham, fellow in some part of King Edward's time with the said Palmer, then also of the same faction of religion with him, and toward the latter end of the said king's reign, a voluntary exile in France for papistry: in Queen Mary's days, likewise, a chaplain unto Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester; and after the coming in of Queen Elizabeth, such a one as for his obstinacy was quite and clean despatched from all his livings by her Majesty's commissioners, and yet now (God be praised therefor!) a most constant professor, and earnest teacher of the word of God. This man, at the request of a certain friend of his in London, being desirous to know the certain truth thereof, wrote unto him concerning this Julius. The copy of which letter we thought good here to insert, for that the parties, being alive, can testify the same to be true and certain, if any man shall doubt thereof.

The letter of Master Bullingham.

"Master Bullingham, I wish you and all yours continual health in the Lord. Hitherto have I not written any thing unto you concerning Julius Palmer, that constant witness of God's truth, for that his doings and sayings known unto me, were worn out of my remembrance: and to write an untruth, it were rather to deface and blemish, than to adorn and beautify him. After his conversion to the most holy gospel, I never saw his face: wherefore the less have I to certify you of. Bt so much as seemeth to me to serve most unto the purpose, here I commend unto you; and in witness that my sayings are true I subscribe my name, willing, praying, and beseeching you to publish the same to the whole world, &c.

"At what time I, Bullingham, intended to forsake England, and to fly into France for the wicked pope's sake, (which came to pass indeed, for in Rouen I was for a time,) this Julius Palmer and Richard Duck brought me outwards in my journey till we came to London; where on a day Julius Palmer and I walked to St. James's, the queen's palace; and as we leaned at the great gate of that place, Palmer spake thus unto me: 'Bullingham, you know in what misery and calamities we are fallen for the pope and his religion. We are young men, abhorred of all men now presently, and like to be abhorred more and more. Let us consider what hangeth over our heads. You are departing into a strange country, both friendless and moneyless, where I fear me you shall taste of sourer sauces than hitherto you have done. And as for me, I am at my wits' end. The face of hell itself is as amiable unto me as the sight of Magdalene College; for there I am hated as a venomous toad. Would God I were raked under the earth! And as touching our religion, even our consciences bear witness that we taste not such an inward sweetness in the profession thereof, as we understand the

gospellers to taste in their religion: yea, to say the truth, we maintain we wot not what, rather of will than of knowledge. But what then? Rather than I will yield unto them, I will beg my bread.' So Palmer bequeathed himself to the wide world, and I passed over into Normandy. At my return into England again my chance was to meet Palmer in Paul's, where a rood was set up. This our meeting was in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, and our miserable departing not long before the end of King Edward's days. Then after our greeting, thus said Palmer, 'Bullingham, is this our god, for whom we have smarted?' 'No, Palmer,' quoth I, 'it is an image of him.' 'An image!' quoth he. 'I tell thee plainly, Bullingham, John Calvin (whose Institutions I have perused since our departure) telleth me plainly, by God's word, that it is an idol; and that the pope is antichrist, and his clergy the filthy sink-hole of hell. And now I believe it; for I feel it sensibly. O that God had revealed these matters unto me in times past! I would have bequeathed this Romish religion (or rather irreligion) to the devil of hell, from whence it came. Believe them not, Bullingham. I will rather have these knees pared off, than I will kneel to yonder jackanapes [meaning the rood]. God help me, I am born to trouble and adversity in this world?' 'Well, Palmer,' said I, 'is the wind in that corner with you? I warrant you it will blow you to Little Ease at the end. I will never have to do with you again.' So I left Palmer walking in Paul's, who, through the element of fire, is exalted above the elements, where eternal rest is prepared for persecuted martyrs. Thus much is true, and let it be known that I, Bullingham, affirm it to be true. More I have not to say. In these words and deeds it appeareth that God had elected him.

"From Bridgewater, April 26, anno 1562.

"By me, JOHN BULLINGHAM."

When he was by the visitors restored to his college, although he began something to savour and taste of God's truth, by conference and company of certain godly and zealous men abroad, in time of his expulsion, especially at the house of Sir Francis Knolles; yet was he not thoroughly persuaded, but in most points continued for a while either blind, or else doubtful. Neither could he choose but utter himself in private reasoning from time to time, both in what points he was fully resolved, and also of what points he doubted. For such was his nature alway, both in papistry and in the gospel, utterly to detest all dissimulation, insomuch that by the means of his plainness, and for that he could not flatter, he suffered much woe, both in King Edward's, and also in Queen Mary's time. Whereas he might at the first have lived in great quietness, if he could have dissembled, and both done and spoken against his conscience, as many stirring papists then did. And likewise he might have escaped burning in Queen Mary's time, if he would either have spoken, or kept silence, against his conscience, as many weak gospellers did. But Palmer could in nowise dissemble.

Now within short space, God so wrought in his heart, that he became very inquisitive and careful to hear and understand, how the martyrs were apprehended, what articles they died for, how they were used, and after what sort they took their death. Insomuch that he spared not at his own charges to send over one of his scholars, in the company of a bachelor of that house, to Gloucester, to see and understand the whole order of Bishop Hooper's death, and to bring him true report thereof: which thing some think he the rather did, because he was wont in King Edward's time to say, that none of them all would stand to death for their religion. Thus he learned with what great, extreme, and horrible cruelty the martyrs of God were tried, and how valiantly they overcame all kind of torments to the end; whereof

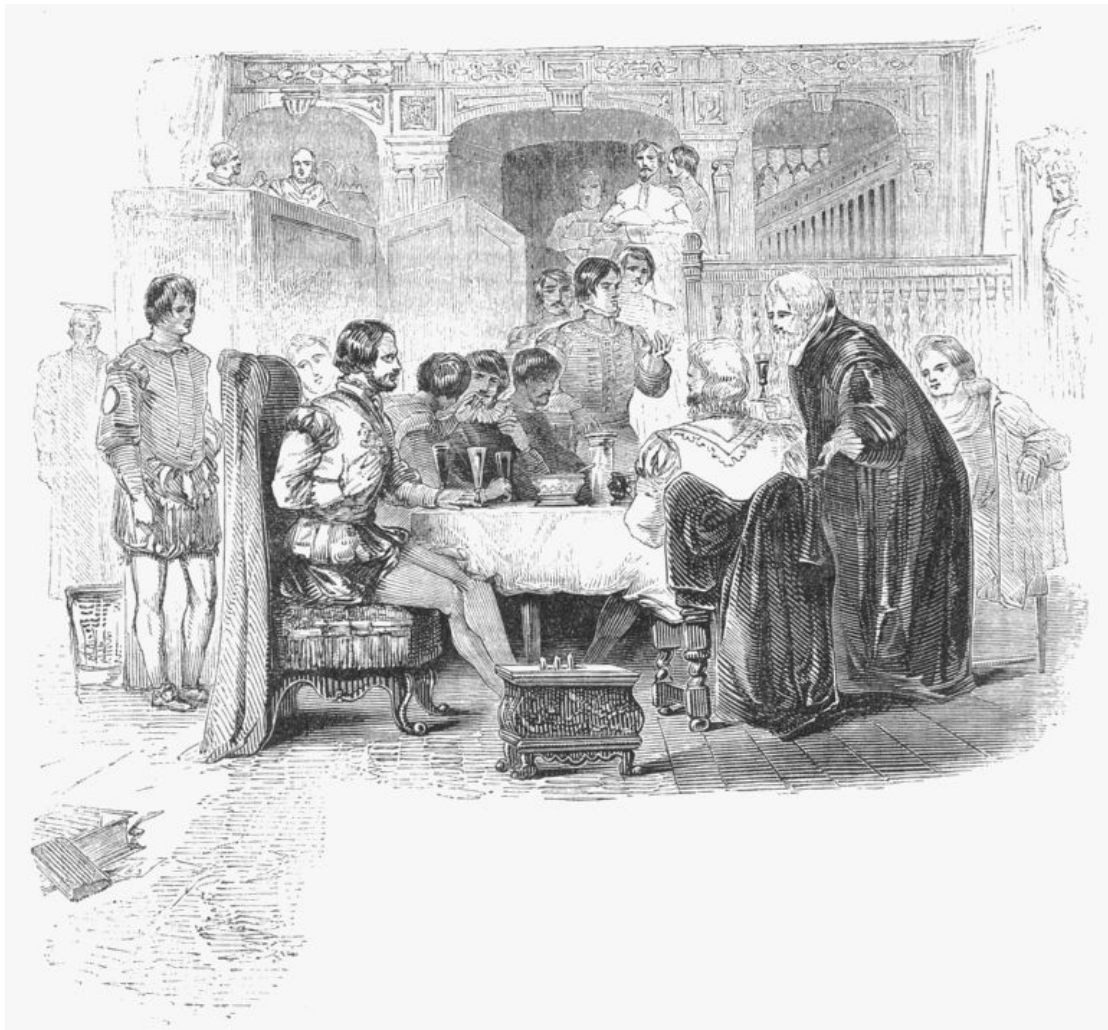
he himself also did see more experience afterward, at the examination and death of those holy confessors and martyrs which were burned at Oxford before his eyes; insomuch that the first hope which the godly conceived of him, was at his return from the burning of Bishop Ridley and Bishop Latimer, at what time, in the hearing of divers of his friends, he brast out into these words and such like: "O raging cruelty! O tyranny tragical, and more than barbarous! "

From that day forward he studiously sought to understand the truth, and therefore with all speed he borrowed Peter Martyr's Commentaries upon the First to the Corinthians, of one of Magdalene, yet alive, and other good books of other men. And so, through hearty prayer and diligent search and conference of the Scriptures, at length he believed and embraced the truth with great joy; and so profited in the same, that daily more and more he declared it both in word and deed, in such sort as he never hated the truth more stubbornly before, than afterward he willingly embraced the same, when it pleased God to open his eyes, and to reveal unto him the light of his word. And now again when he should come to church, in those days of popery, there to be occupied among the rest, in singing of s, reading of legends, and such-like stuff allotted unto him, he had as much pleasure, he said, to be at them, as a bear to be baited and worried with dogs. When he came, it was (as it appeared) more to avoid displeasure and danger, than for any good-will and ready affection.

At length, through God's grace, he grew up to such maturity and ripeness in the truth, that he spared not to declare certain sparks thereof in his outward behaviour and doings. For when he should keep his bowing measures at *Confiteor*, (as the custom there was,) in turning himself to and fro, sometimes eastward, sometimes westward, and afterward knock his breast at the elevation time; against these idolatrous adorations his heart did so vehemently rise, that sometimes he would absent himself from them, and sometimes, being there, he would even at the sacring time (as they termed it) get him out of the church to avoid those ungodly gestures, and idolatrous adoration. To be short, perceiving, after a while, that he was greatly suspected and abhorred of the president then being, which was Master Cole, and of divers others which before were his friends, and therewithal feeling great conflict and torment of conscience daily to grow with his conversation with idolaters; seeing also that his new life and old living might not well nor quietly stand together, he addressed himself to depart the house. For he thought it not best to abide the danger of expulsion, as he did at the first; seeing the weather was now waxed warmer. And being demanded at that time of a special friend (who would gladly have persuaded him to stay there longer) whither he would go, or how he would live, he made this answer, "*Domini est terra, et plenitudo ejus*," that is, The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof. "Let the Lord work; I will commit myself to God and the wide world."

Here I think it expedient, before I write of the painful surges that he suffered after he came abroad into the perilous gulfs and deep sea of this wretched wide world, first, to rehearse one or two examples of his outward behaviour, at such times as he had recourse to the college, after his last departure, whereby the reader may yet better understand of his simplicity and plainness, and how far wide he was from all cloaked dissimulation in God's cause, which certain godless persons have sought maliciously to charge him withal. Being at Oxford on a certain time in Magdalene College, and having knowledge, that the Spanish friar John (who succeeded Dr. Peter Martyr, in

the office of divinity lecture) would preach there that present Sunday, he would not, at the first, grant to be present at it. At length a friend of his, a fellow of that house, persuaded so much with him, that he was content to accompany his said friend to the church. But suddenly, as the friar vehemently inveighed against God's truth, in defending certain popish heresies, Palmer, having many eyes bent and directed towards him, departed from amongst the midst of the auditory, and was found in his friend's chamber weeping bitterly. Afterward, being demanded why he slipt away upon such a sudden, 'Oh,' said he, 'if I had not openly departed I should have openly stopt mine ears: for the friar's blasphemous talk, in disproving, or rather depraving the verity, made mine ears not to glow, but my heart worse to smart, than if mine ears had been cut from my head.'



Palmer at dinner in Bursar Shipper's House

It chanced another time, that the same friend of his, called Master Shipper, being then bursar of the house, bade him to dinner in his chamber. Palmer, not knowing what guests were also thither invited and bidden, happened there (contrary to his expectation) to meet with the foresaid friar, with whom were present Dr. Smith,

Dr. Tresham, and divers other papists, whose company Palmer could not well bear; and therefore, whispering a friend in the ear, he said he would be gone, for that was no place for him: "I will," saith he, "to the bursar's table in the great hall." The bursar understanding his mind, desired him of all friendship not so to depart, alleging that it were the next way to bewray himself, and as it were of purpose to cast himself into the briers; with many other persuasions, as the shortness of time would permit. In the end he condescended to his request and tarried. Now as he came to the fire-side, the friar saluted him cheerfully in Latin, for he could not speak English. Palmer with an amiable countenance re-saluted him gently: but when the friar offered him his hand, he, casting his eye aside, as though he had not seen it, found matter of talk to another standing by, and so avoided it; which thing was well marked of some, not without great grudge of stomach.

After they were set and had well eaten, the friar, with a pleasant look, offering the cup, said, "I drink to you, learned young man." Palmer, at that word blushing as red as scarlet, answered, "I knowlege no such name, O sir." And therewith taking the cup at his hand, he set it down by him, as though he would have pledged him anon after, but in the end it was also well marked, that he did it not. When dinner was done, being sharply rebuked of the said bursar his friend, for his so unwise, uncivil, and unseemly behaviour, (as he termed it,) he made answer for himself, and said, "The oil of these men doth not supple, but breaketh my head."

Another time, which was also the last time of his being at Oxford, not long before his death, one Barwick, an old acquaintance of his, being sometime clerk of Magdalene's, and then fellow of Trinity College, a rank papist, began to reason with him in his friend's chamber aforesaid, and perceiving him to be zealous and earnest in defence of the verity, he said unto him in the hearing of Master Thomas Parry, and others there present: "Well, Palmer! well, now thou art stout, and hardy in thy opinion; but if thou wert once brought to the stake, I believe thou wouldst tell me another tale. I advise thee beware of the fire, it is a shrewd matter to burn!" "Truly," said Palmer, "I have been in danger of burning once or twice, and hitherto (I thank God) I have escaped it. But I judge verily, it will be my end at the last: welcome be it, by the grace of God! Indeed it is a hard matter for them to burn, that have the mind and soul linked to the body, as a thief's foot is tied in a pair of fetters: but if a man be once able, through the help of God's Spirit, to separate and divide the soul from the body, for him it is no more mastery to burn, than for me to eat this piece of bread."

Thus much, by the way, concerning his plainness, without dissimulation, and how he feared not openly to show himself more grieved in heart to hear the word of God blasphemed, than to suffer any worldly pains. Now let us proceed in our story, and faithfully declare both the occasion and manner of his death.

Within short space after he had yielded up his fellowship in Oxford, he was, through God's providence, (who never faileth them that first seek his glory,) placed schoolmaster by patent in the grammar-school of Reading, where he was well accepted of all those that feared God, and favoured his word, as well for his good learning and knowledge, as also for his earnest zeal, and profession of the truth. But Satan, the enemy of all godly attempts, envying his good proceedings and prosperous success in the same, would not suffer him there long to be quiet. Wherefore he stirred up against him certain double-faced hypocrites, which by dissimulation and crafty

insinuation had crept in, to understand his secrets, under the pretence of a zeal to the gospel; which men he (suspecting no deceit) right joyfully embraced, making them privy of all his doings. For as he himself was then fervently inflamed with the love of heavenly doctrine; so had he an incredible desire by all means possible to allure and encourage others to the profession of the same.

These faithful and trusty brethren, so soon as they had found good opportunity, spared not in his absence to rifle his study of certain godly books and writings; amongst the which was his replication to Morewine's verses, touching Winchester's epitaph, and other arguments both in Latin and English, written by him against the popish proceedings, and specially against their unnatural and brutish tyranny, executed toward the martyrs of God. When they had thus done, they were not ashamed to threaten him that they would exhibit the same to the council, unless he would without delay depart out of their coasts, and give over the school to a friend of theirs. The truth of this story appeareth in part by a letter written, with his own hand, out of prison, eight days before he was burned; which because it is of certain credit, and came to our hands, therefore we are the bolder to avouch it for a truth.

Thus then was this silly young man, for the safeguard of his life, forced to depart upon the sudden from Reading, leaving behind him in the hands of his enemies his stuff, and one quarter's stipend; and so he took his journey toward Ensham, where his mother then dwelt, hoping to obtain at her hands certain legacies due to him by his father's last will, which he should have received certain years before; and taking his journey by Oxford, he requested certain of his friends to accompany him thither. His mother, understanding his state and errand by Master Shipper and his brother, (whom he had sent before to entreat for him,) as soon as she beheld him on his knees, asking her blessing as he had been accustomed to do: "Thou shalt," said she, "have Christ's curse and mine, wheresoever thou go." He pausing a little, as one amazed at so heavy a greeting, at length said, "O mother! your own curse you may give me, which God knoweth I never deserved; but God's curse you cannot give me, for he hath already blessed me." "Nay," saith she, "thou wentest from God's blessing into the warm sun, when thou wast banished for a heretic out of that worshipful house in Oxford; and now, for the like knavery, art driven out of Reading too." "Alas, mother!" saith he, "you have been misinformed. I was not expelled nor driven away, but freely resigned of mine accord. And heretic I am none, for I stand not stubbornly against any true doctrine, but defend it to my power. And you may be sure, they use not to expel nor banish, but to burn heretics (as they term them)." "Well," quoth she, "I am sure thou dost not believe as thy father and I, and all our forefathers have done; but as we were taught by the new law in King Edward's days, which is damnable heresy." "Indeed, I confess," said he, "that I believe that doctrine which was taught in King Edward's time, which is not heresy but truth: neither is it new, but as old as Christ and his apostles." "If thou be at that point," saith she, "I require thee to depart from my house, and out of my sight, and never take me more for thy mother hereafter. As for money and goods, I have none of thine, thy father bequeathed nought for heretics: faggots I have to burn thee: more thou gettest not at my hands." "Mother," saith he, "whereas you have cursed me, I again pray God to bless you, and prosper you all your life long;" and with like soft talk, sweet words, and abundance of tears trickling down his cheeks, he departed from her, wherewith he so mollified her hard heart, that she hurled an old angel after him, and said, "Take that, to keep thee a true man."

Thus poor Palmer, being destitute of worldly friendship, and cruelly repelled of her whom he took to have been his surest friend, wist not which way to turn his face. Soon after, when he had be thought himself, it came to his mind to return secretly to Magdalene College, upon the assured trust and affiance, that he had a privy friend or two in that house. At what time, by the suit of one Allan Cope, then fellow of the house, he obtained letters commendatory, from Master Cole, president there, for his preferment to a school in Gloucestershire. So he getteth him away, committed by his friends to God's divine protection, of whom some accompanied him as far as Ensham Ferry, and some to Burtford.

Afterward as he went alone, musing and pondering of matters, it came in his head (as he writeth in an epistle to one of his friends) to leave his appointed journey, and to return closely to Reading, trusting there, by the help of friends, to receive his quarter's stipend, and convey his stuff to the custody of some trusty body. To Reading he cometh, and taketh up his lodging at the Cardinal's Hat, desiring his hostess instantly to assign him a close chamber, where he might be alone from all resort of company. He came not so closely, but that this viperous generation had knowledge thereof: wherefore without delay they laid their heads together, and consulted what way they might most safely proceed against him, to bring their old cankered malice to pass. And soon it was concluded, that one Master Hampton, (which then bare two faces in one hood, and under the colour of a brother played the part of a dissembling hypocrite,) should resort to him under the pretence of friendship, to feel and fish out the cause of his repair to Reading.

Palmer, as he was a simple man, and without all wrinkles of cloaked collusion, opened to him his whole intent. But Hampton earnestly persuaded him to the contrary, declaring what danger might ensue if this were attempted. Against his counsel Palmer replied very much, and as they waxed hot in talk Hampton flung away in a fury, and said, as he had fished, so should he fowl, for him. Palmer not yet suspecting such pretended and devised mischief as by this crooked and pestiferous generation was now in brewing against him, called for his supper, and went quietly to bed: but quietly he could not long rest there. For within short space after, the officers and their retinue came rushing in with lanterns and bills, requiring him in the king and queen's name to make ready himself, and quietly to depart with them. So this silly young man, perceiving that he was thus Judasly betrayed without opening his lips, was led away as a lamb to the slaughter, and was committed to ward; whom the keeper, as a ravening wolf greedy of his prey, brought down into a vile, stinking, and blind dungeon, prepared for thieves and murderers. And there he left him for a time, hanging by the hands and feet in a pair of stocks, so high, that well near no part of his body touched the ground.

In this cave or dungeon he remained about ten days under the tyranny of this unmerciful keeper.

Here by the way, gentle reader, I have by a little digression to give thee to understand, concerning one Thomas Thackham; for that the said Thomas Thackham, in the story of this Julius Palmer, was noted and named in our former book, to be a doer and a worker against the said blessed martyr: he therefore, being not a little grieved, made his reply again in writing, for purgation and defence of himself against the false information of his slanderer. Albeit his confutation in writing I pass not

much upon, either what he hath written, or can write. Only the thing that moveth me most is this; for that the said Thomas Thackham not long since, coming to me himself, hath so attested and deposed against the information, with much swearing and deep adjuration, taking the name of the Lord God to witness, and appealing to His judgment to the utter perdition of his soul, if it were not false which by information was reported of him, and he faultless in the matter: which being so, I could not otherwise refuse, but to give credit to his oath, and upon the same to alter and correct so much as appertaineth to the defamation (as he calleth it) of his name, referring the truth of the matter to his own conscience, and the judgment of the Lord God; to whom either he standeth if it be true, or falleth if it be false.

And now to our story again, concerning the process and accusation of Julius Palmer, omitting by the way the names of Thomas Thackham, and Downer.

The first examination and accusation of Julius Palmer, at Reading.

After this he was brought before the mayor, and there by the procurement of certain false brethren, (the Lord knoweth what they were,) who had been conversant with Palmer, and robbed his study, divers grievous and enormous crimes were laid to his charge, as treason, sedition, surmised murder, and adultery.

To whom Palmer answered, that if such horrible and heinous crimes might be proved against him; he would patiently submit himself to all kind of torments that could be devised. "But, O ye cruel blood-suckers," saith he, "ye follow the old practices of your progenitors, the viperous and wolfish generation of Pharisees and papists; but be ye well assured, that God always seeth your subtle devices and crafty packing, and will not suffer the outrageous fury of your venomous tongues and fiery hearts to escape unpunished." All this while no mention was made of heresy, or heretical writings.

Their greatest proofs against him were these:--

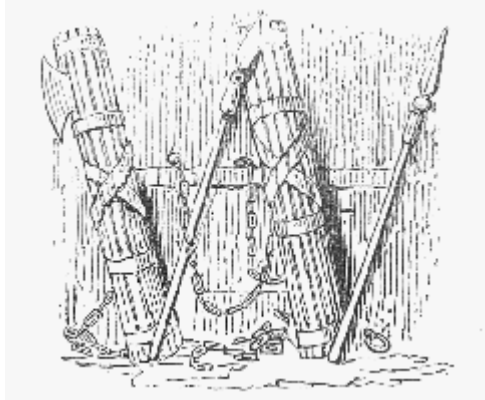
"First, That Palmer said, the queen's sword was not put in her hand to execute tyranny, and to kill and murder the true servants of God.

"Item, That her sword was too blunt toward the papists, but toward the true Christians it was too sharp.

"Item, That certain servants of Sir Francis Knolles and others, resorting to his lectures, had fallen out among themselves, and were like to have committed murder; and therefore he was a sower of sedition, and a procurer of unlawful assemblies.

"Item, That his hostess had written a letter unto him, (which they had intercepted,) wherein she required him to return to Reading, and sent him her commendations, by the token that the knife lay hid under the beam; whereby they gathered that she had conspired with him to murder her husband!

"Item, That they found him alone with his hostess by the fire-side in the hall, the door being shut to them forsooth."



HEN the evidence was given up, the mayor dismissed them and went to dinner, commanding Palmer to the cage, to make him an open spectacle of ignominy to the eyes of the world. And Thackham, the better to cover his own shame, caused it to be bruited, that he was so punished, for his evil life and wickedness already proved against him.

In the afternoon Palmer came to his answer, and did so mightily and clearly deface their evidence, and defend his own innocency, proving also that the said letters were by themselves forged, that the mayor himself was much ashamed that he had given such credit unto them, and so much borne with them, so that he sought means how they might convey him out of the country privily.

But here among other things this is not with silence to be passed over, that one John Galant, a zealous professor of the gospel, a little after this came to the prison and found him somewhat better entreated than before. When he beheld him, "O Palmer," saith he, "thou hast deceived divers men's expectation: for we hear that you suffer not for righteousness' sake, but for your own demerits."

"O brother Galant," saith he, "these be the old practices of that Satanical brood. But be you well assured, and God be praised for it, I have so purged myself, and detected their falsehood, that from henceforth I shall be no more molested therewith." And there, having pen and ink, he did write somewhat whereby part of his story here rehearsed is well confirmed. But now to these bloody adversaries.

After this, when they saw the matter frame so ill-favouredly, fearing that if he should escape secretly, their doing would tend no less to their shame and danger, than to the mayor's dishonesty; they devised a new policy to bring to pass their long hidden and festered malice against him, which was by this extreme refuge. For, whereas before they were partly ashamed to accuse him of heresy, seeing they had been counted earnest brethren themselves; and partly afraid because they had broken up his study, and committed theft; yet now, lest their iniquity should have been revealed to the world, they put both fear and shame aside, and began to reflicate and rip up the old sore, the scar whereof had been but superficially cured, as you have heard; and so, to colour their former practices with the pretence of his reformation in religion, they charged him with the writings that they had stolen out of his study.

Thus Palmer was once again called out of the prison to appear before the mayor, and Bird the official, and two other justices, to render an account of his faith before them; to answer to such articles and informations, as were laid against him. And when they had gathered of his own mouth sufficient matter to entrap him, they devised a certificate, or bill of instructions against him, to be directed to Dr. Jeffrey,

who had determined to hold his visitation the next Tuesday at Newbury, which was the sixteenth of July. And thus were the false witnesses and bloody accusers winked at, and the innocent delivered to the lion to be devoured. When it was therefore concluded that Palmer should be sent over to Newbury, the said letters testimonial were conveyed over together with him, the contents whereof shall partly appear hereafter. In the mean time I think it good here to rehearse one example among others, both of charitable affection toward him, and of his modesty correspondent to the same.

Master Rider of Reading, a faithful witness of God's truth, hearing how cruelly Palmer had been dealt withal in prison, and pined away for lack of necessities, and how evidently he had proved himself innocent before the officers, of such crimes as were objected him, he sent to him his servant secretly the night before his departure to Newbury, with a bowed groat in token of his good heart toward him, requiring him to let him understand if he lacked necessities, and he would provide for him. Palmer answered, "The Lord reward your master for his benevolence toward me, a miserable abject in this world, and tell him that (God be praised) I lack nothing."

In the morning before they took their journey, Thomas Askin, alias Roberts, being fellow prisoner with him in Christ's cause, sitting at breakfast, and beholding Palmer very sad, leaning to a window in the corner of the house, asked why he came not to breakfast. "Because I lack money;" saith Palmer, "to discharge the shot." "Come on, man," quoth he, "God be praised for it, I have enough for us both." Which thing when Master Rider heard of, it cannot be expressed, how much it grieved him that Palmer had deceived him with so modest an answer.

Thus to Newbury they came on Monday night, and forthwith they were committed to the comfortable hostelry of the blind-house, where they found John Gwin, their faithful brother in the Lord. Now how they came before the consistory of Dr. Jeffrey, and how Palmer was examined, it doth in part appear by this examination hereunto annexed, which, although it be not perfectly and orderly penned, as the report goeth that it was spoken, nor perchance altogether in such form of words, yet is as exactly as we are able to compact and dispose it; being gathered out of several notes of Richard Shipper, John Hunt, John Kirry of Newbury, Richard White of Marlborough, which were *oculati testes*, and present at the hearing thereof.

The second examination and accusation of Julius Palmer, at Newbury, in the hearing of more than three hundred persons.

In the year 1556, the sixteenth of July, four or five seats were prepared in the choir of the parish church of Newbury for the visitors, whose names here ensue: Dr. Jeffrey, for the bishop of Sarum; Sir Richard Abridges, knight, and then high sheriff of the shire; Sir William Rainsford, knight; Master John Winchcomb, esquire; and the parson of Englefield.

After the prisoners were presented, the commission read, and other things done in order accordingly, Dr. Jeffrey called to Palmer and said:--

Jeffrey.--"Art thou that jolly writer of three halfpenny books, that we hear of."

Palmer.--"I know not what you mean."

Jeffrey.--"Have you taught Latin so long that now you understand not English?"

To this he answered nothing.

Then Dr. Jeffrey standing up said, "We have received certain writings and articles against you, from the right worshipful the mayor of Reading, and other justices; whereby we understand, that being convented afore them, you were convict of certain heresies. First, that you deny the pope's Holiness's supremacy. Next, that there are but two sacraments. Thirdly, that the priest showeth up an idol at mass; and therefore you went to no mass, since your first coming to Reading. Fourthly, that there is no purgatory. Last of all, that you be a sower of sedition, and have sought to divide the unity of the queen's subjects."

The sheriff.-- "You were best see first what he will say to his own handy-work."

Jeffrey.--"Ye say truth. Tell me, Palmer, art thou he that wrote this fair volume? Look upon it."

Palmer.--"I wrote it indeed, and gathered it out of the Scripture."

Jeffrey.--"Is this doggish rhyme yours also? Look?"

Palmer. -- "I wrote this, I deny not."

Jeffrey.--"And what say you to these Latin verses, intituled Epicedion, &c. Are they yours too?"

Palmer.--"Yea, sir."

Jeffrey.--"Art thou not ashamed to affirm it? It came of no good spirit, that thou didst both rail at the dead, and slander a learned and catholic man yet alive."

Palmer.--"If it be a slander, he hath slandered himself: for I do but report his own writing, and open the folly therein declared. And I reckon it no railing to inveigh against Annas and Caiaphas being dead."

Jeffrey.--"Sayest thou so? I will make thee recant it, and wring *peccavi* out of your lying lips, ere I have done with thee."

Palmer.--"But I know, that although of myself I be able to do nothing, yet if you and all mine enemies, both bodily and ghostly, should do your worst, you shall not be able to bring that to pass; neither shall ye prevail against God's mighty Spirit, by whom we understand the truth, and speak it so boldly."

Jeffrey.--"Ah, are you full of the Spirit? are you inspired with the Holy Ghost?"

Palmer.--"Sir, no man can believe, but by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost. Therefore, if I were not a spiritual man, and inspired with God's Holy Spirit, I were not a true Christian. He that hath not the Spirit of Christ, is none of his."

Jeffrey.--"I perceive you lack no words."

Palmer.--"Christ hath promised not only to give us store of words necessary, but with them, such force of matter, as the gates of hell shall not be able to confound, or prevail against it."

Jeffrey.--"Christ made such a promise to his apostles: I trow you will not compare with them."

Palmer.--"With the holy apostles I may not compare, neither have I any affiance in mine own wit or learning, which I know is but small: yet this promise I am certain pertaineth to all such as are appointed to defend God's truth against his enemies in the time of their persecution for the same."

Jeffrey.--"Then it pertaineth not to thee."

Palmer.--"Yes, I am right well assured, that through his grace it appertaineth at this present to me, as it shall (I doubt not) appear, if you give me leave to dispute with you before this audience, in the defence of all that I have there written."

Jeffrey.--"Thou art but a beardless boy, started up yesterday out of the schools; and darest thou presume to offer disputation, or to encounter with a doctor?"

Palmer.--"Remember, Master Doctor, The Spirit breatheth where it pleaseth him, &c. Out of the mouth of infants, &c. And, Thou hast hidden these things from the wise, &c. God is not tied to time, wit, learning, place, nor person: and although your wit and learning be greater than mine, yet your belief in the truth, and zeal to defend the same, is no greater than mine."

Registrar.--"Sir, if you suffer him thus impudently to trifle with you, he will never have done."

Jeffrey.--"Well, ye shall understand that I have it not in commission at this present to dispute with you, neither were it meet that we should call again into question such articles as are already discussed, and perfectly defined by our mother the holy church, whom we ought to believe without why or wherefore, as the creed telleth us. But the cause why ye be now called hither, is that ye might be examined upon such articles as are ministered against you, and such matter as is here contained in your hand-writing, that it may be seen whether you will stand to it, or nay. How say you to this?"

Palmer.--"By your holy church you mean the synagogue of Rome, which is not universal, but a particular church of shavelings. The catholic church I believe; yet

not for her own sake, but because she is holy, that is to say, a church that grounded her belief upon the word of her spouse Christ."

Jeffrey.--"Leave railing, and answer me directly to my question. Will you stand to your writing, or will you not?"

Palmer.--"If you prove any sentence therein comprised, not to stand with God's word, I will presently recant it."

Jeffrey.--"Thou impudent fellow! have I not told thee that I came not to dispute with thee, but to examine thee?"

Here the parson of Englefield, pointing to the pix, said, "What seest thou yonder?"

Palmer.--"A canopy of silk, broidered with gold."

Parson.--"Yea, but what is within it?"

Palmer.--"A piece of bread in a clout, I trow."

Parson.--"Thou art as froward a heretic as ever I talked withal." Here was much spoken of *Confiteor*, and other parts of the mass.

Parson.--"Do you not believe that they which receive the holy sacrament of the altar, do truly eat Christ's natural body?"

Palmer.--"If the sacrament of the Lord's supper be ministered as Christ did ordain it, the faithful receivers do indeed spiritually and truly eat and drink in it Christ's very natural body and blood."

Parson.--"The faithful receivers; ye cannot blear our eyes with such sophistry. Do not all manner of receivers, good and bad, faithful and unfaithful, receive the very natural body in form of bread?"

Palmer.--"No, sir."

Parson.--"How prove you that?"

Palmer.--"By this place, He that eateth me, shall live for me."

Parson.--"See that fond fellow, whilst he taketh himself to be a doctor of the law, you shall see me prove him a stark foolish daw. Do you not read likewise, Whosoever invocateth the name of the Lord, shall be saved? Ergo, Do none but the godly call upon him? Therefore you must mark how St. Paul answereth you. He saith, that the wicked do eat the true body to their condemnation."

As Palmer was bent to answer him at the full, the parson interrupted him, crying still, "What sayest thou to St. Paul?"

Palmer.--"I say, that St. Paul hath no such words?"

Parson.--"See, the impudent fellow denieth the plain text, He that eateth and drinketh the body of the Lord unworthily, is guilty of judgment!"

Palmer.--"I beseech you lend me your book."

Parson.--"Not so."

The sheriff.--"I pray you lend him your book." So the book was given over to him.

Palmer.--"Your own book hath, He that eateth this bread."

Parson.--"But St. Jerome's translation hath corpus."

Palmer.--"Not so, Master Parson; and God be praised that I have, in the mean season, shut up your lips with your own book."

Jeffrey.--"It skilleth no matter whether ye write bread or body, for we be able to prove that he meant the body. And whereas you say, they ate it spiritually, that is but a blind shift of descant."

Palmer.--"What should I say else?"

Jeffrey.--"As holy church saith: really, carnally, substantially."

Palmer.--"And with as good scripture I may say, grossly or monstrously."

Jeffrey.--"Thou speakest wickedly. But tell me, Is Christ present in the sacrament or no?"

Palmer.--"He is present."

Jeffrey.--"How is he present?"

Palmer.--"The doctors say, modo ineffabili: therefore why do ye ask me? Would God ye had a mind ready to believe it, or [I] a tongue able to express it unto you."

Jeffrey.--"What say you to the baptism of infants?"

Palmer.--"I say, that it standeth with God's word, and therefore it ought of necessity to be retained in the church."

Jeffrey.--"Ye have forgotten yourself, I wis; for ye write that children may be saved without it."

Palmer.--"So I write, and so I say."

Jeffrey.--"Then it is not necessary to be frequented and continued in the church."

Palmer.--"Your argument is not good, Master Doctor."

Jeffrey.--"Will you stand to it?"

Palmer.--"Yea, Master Doctor, God willing."

Jeffrey.--"Note it, registrar."

More of his examination in that time and place is not yet come to our hands: whensoever God sendeth it, I will impart and communicate the same to the reader. In the mean season we are credibly informed of this, that Sir Richard Abridges, the same day after dinner, sent for him to his lodging; and there, in the presence of divers persons yet alive in Newbury and elsewhere, friendly exhorted him to revoke his opinion, to spare his young years, wit, and learning. "If thou wilt be conformable, and show thyself corrigible and repentant, in good faith," said he, "I promise thee before this company, I will give thee meat and drink, and books, and ten pound yearly, so long as thou wilt dwell with me. And if thou wilt set thy mind to marriage, I will procure thee a wife and a farm, and help to stuff and fit thy farm for thee. How sayest thou?"

Palmer thanked him very courteously, and made him further answer concerning his religion somewhat at large, but very modestly and reverently, concluding in the end, that as he had already in two places renounced his living for Christ's sake, so he would with God's grace be ready to surrender and yield up his life also for the same, when God should send time.

When Sir Richard perceived that he would by no means relent: "Well, Palmer," saith he, "then I perceive one of us twain shall be damned: for we be of two faiths, and certain I am there is but one faith that leadeth to life and salvation."

Palmer.--"O sir, I hope that we both shall be saved."

Sir Richard.--"How may that be?"

Palmer.--"Right well, sir. For as it hath pleased our merciful Saviour, according to the gospel's parable, to call me at the third hour of the day, even in my flowers, at the age of four-and-twenty years, even so I trust he hath called, and will call you at the eleventh hour of this your old age, and give you everlasting life for your portion."

Sir Richard.--"Sayest thou so? Well, Palmer, well, I would I might have thee but one month in my house: I doubt not but I would convert thee, or thou shouldst convert me."

Then said Master Winchcomb, "Take pity on thy golden years, and pleasant flowers of lusty youth, before it be too late."

Palmer.--"Sir, I long for those springing flowers, that shall never fade away."

Winchcomb.--"If thou be at that point, I have done with thee."

Then was Palmer commanded again to the blind-house; but the other two silly men were led again the same afternoon to the consistory, and there were condemned, and delivered to the secular power of the sheriff there present, by name Sir Richard Abridges.

It is reported also, that Dr. Jeffrey offered Palmer a good living, if he would outwardly show himself conformable, keeping his conscience secret to himself, or at least declare that he doubted which was the truest doctrine. But I cannot affirm it for a surety.

The next morning, the sixteenth of July, Palmer was required to subscribe to certain articles which they had drawn out, touching the cause of his condemnation; in the front whereof, were heaped together many heinous terms, as horrible, heretical, damnable, devilish, and execrable doctrine. To these words Palmer refused to subscribe, affirming that the doctrine which he professed, was not such, but good and sound doctrine.

Jeffrey.--"Ye may see, good people, what shifts these heretics seek, to escape burning, when they see justice ministered unto them. But I tell thee, this style is agreeable to the law, and therefore I cannot alter it."

Palmer.--"Then I cannot subscribe to it."

Jeffrey.--"Wilt thou then crave mercy, if thou like not justice, and revoke thy heresy?"

Palmer.--"I forsake the pope, and his popelings, with all popish heresy."

Jeffrey.--"Then subscribe to the articles."

Palmer.--"Alter the epithets, and I will subscribe."

Jeffrey.--"Subscribe, and qualify the matter with thine own pen."

So he subscribed. Whereupon Dr. Jeffrey proceeded to read the popish sentence of his cruel condemnation, and so was he delivered to the charge of the secular power, and was burnt the same day in the afternoon, about five of the clock.

Within one hour before they went to the place of execution, Palmer, in the presence of many people, comforted his fellows with these words.

"Brethren," saith he, "be of good cheer in the Lord, and faint not. Remember the words of our Saviour Christ, where he saith, Happy are you when men revile you and persecute you for righteousness' sake. Rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven. Fear not them that kill the body, and be not able to touch the soul. God is faithful, and will not suffer us to be tempted further than we shall be able to

bear it. We shall not end our lives in the fire, but make a change for a better life. Yea, for coals, we shall receive pearls: for God's Holy Spirit certifieth our spirit, that he hath even now prepared for us a sweet supper in heaven, for his sake which suffered first for us."

With these and such-like words, he did not only comfort the hearts of his silly brethren that were with him appointed as sheep to be slain, but also wrested out plentiful tears from the eyes of many that heard him. And as they were singing a psalm, came the sheriff Sir Richard Abridges and the bailiffs of the town, with a great company of harnessed and weaponed men, to conduct them to the fire. When they were come to the place where they should suffer, they fell all three to the ground, and Palmer with an audible voice pronounced the 31st Psalm; but the other two made their prayers secretly to Almighty God.

And as Palmer began to arise, there came behind him two popish priests, exhorting him yet to recant and save his soul. Palmer answered and said, "Away, away, tempt me no longer! Away, I say, from me, all ye that work iniquity: for the Lord hath heard the voice of my tears." And so forthwith they put off their raiment, and went to the stake and kissed it. And when they were bound to the post, Palmer said, "Good people, pray for us, that we may persevere to the And for Christ's sake beware of popish teachers, for they deceive you."

As he spake this, a servant of one of the bailiffs threw a faggot at his face, that the blood gushed out in divers places: for the which fact the sheriff reviled him, calling him cruel tormentor, and with his walking-staff brake his head, that the blood likewise ran about his ears. When the fire was kindled, and began to take hold upon their bodies, they lifted up their hands towards heaven, and quietly and cheerily, as though they had felt no smart, they cried, "Lord Jesus, strengthen us, Lord Jesus, assist us, Lord Jesus, receive our souls! "And so they continued without any struggling, holding up their hands, and knocking their hearts, and calling upon Jesus until they had ended their mortal lives.



Palmer and his companions at the place of execution

Among other things this is also to be noted, that after their three heads, by force of the raging and devouring flames of fire, were fallen together in a lump or cluster, which was marvellous to behold, and that they all were judged already to have given up the ghost, suddenly Palmer, as a man waked out of sleep, moved his tongue and jaws, and was heard to pronounce this word, "Jesus!" So, being resolved into ashes, he yielded to God as joyful a soul, (confirmed with the sweet promises of Christ,) as any one that ever was called beside to suffer for his blessed name. God grant us all to be moved with the like spirit, working in our hearts constantly to stand in defence and confession of Christ's holy gosphepaxasticonend. Amen.

De Martyrio Palmero, hexasticon.

Palmerus flammis Christi pro dogmate passus,
Impositum pondus, ceu bona palmas, tulit.
Non retrocessit, sed, contra, audientior ivit,
Illæsam retinens fortis in igne fidem.
Propterea in cælum nunc Palmifer iste receptus,
Justitiæ Palmam non pereuntis habet.
"Justus ut palma florebit."

349. Persecution in Ipswich.



Ipswich

A memorable story of one Agnes Wardall in the town of Ipswich, pursued for the true faith of Christ's gospel.

About the said month of July, in this present year, 1556, there was one Richard Argentine, doctor of physic, otherwise called Richard Sexten, with certain others dwelling in the town of Ipswich, not many in number, but in heart and purpose mightily bent to impugn and impeach the growing of Christ's gospel and favourers of the same; in the number of whom were Philip Ulmes, Edmund Leach, John Steward; and Matthew Butler, apothecary, a curious singing man, a fine player of the organs, a perfect papist, and a diligent promoter of good men. This Butler being then constable in the town of Ipswich, as he was in the watch by night upon Corn Hill, cometh to him Dr. Argentine in great haste, giving him intelligence of one Agnes Wardall, being then lately come home to her house in Ipswich. Whereupon immediately such a way

was contrived between them, that the said Agnes Wardall forthwith should be apprehended: but God, in whose providence the direction of all things consisteth, by whose disposition they have their operation, so graciously provided for his servant, and so prevented their malignant devices, that they came to no great effect in working, although on the contrary part there wanted no good will, as here consequently you shall further understand.

This Agnes Wardall was a woman that lived in God's fear, and was at defiance with their Romish trash, desiring rather with hard fare and evil lodging to be abroad, than to be at home in her house, and among the tents of the ungodly: her husband also, being a man living in the fear of God, and for the testimony of his conscience being also hunted, by force of the law was constrained to avoid his house, and got into a crayer with an honest man, serving as a sailor, a faculty not of him before frequented, nor he a man nimble for that trade, because God had given him an impediment by reason of a stumped foot, unfit to climb to top and yard; yet so it pleased God to enable him with his strength, that he was strong and lusty to do good service, as they can well witness that were of his company.

The said Agnes Wardall chanced on a day to come home to see her poor house and children, which was under the guiding of a young maid and being espied, news was borne to Dr. Argentine, who having knowledge thereof, as is aforesaid, went speedily unto the apothecary, the constable aforesaid, and informed him what a notable cure was to be wrought on Wardall's wife, in the apprehending of her; which was more like to speed than miss, had not the mighty providence of God wrought contrary to their expectation.

This being known to the constable, the watch was charged speedily, and each company sent to his place. And Argentine and Butler took unto them a good number, and forth they go unto the house of this poor woman, to lay hands upon her, and beset the house on the foreside and backside, lying open in the fields; and other some were sent to the house of his mother, which was not far from his house. This done, one knocked at the street door, where Argentine and Butler were, with one of their weapons, and no answer was made; the second time somewhat harder, but had no answer. In the mean time they, fearing that some conveyance was made, knocked a third time more hard than before.

There was not far from the door where they knocked, a certain day-window, where one might look out and speak; and so at the third knocking a woman who at that time was tenant to R. Wardall's mother, and had but two nights before lien in the house, speaking out hard by their ears, asked who was there?

"Ah, sirrah! "quoth Argentine, "are you so nigh and will not speak? How fortun'd it that ye spake not at the first, being so nigh?" "How fortun'd it?" quoth the woman. "Marry I shall tell you: I am but a stranger here, and I have heard say that there be spirits walking here about, which if a man do answer at the first call or second, he stands in great danger, and I was never so afraid of my life." At this her answer they laughed, and commanded her to open the door in the queen's name, for they were the queen's watch.

Agnes Wardall, being at that time in bed in an inner chamber, having her maid with her, and her two children, she being at that time very heavy asleep, heard not the knocking. Her maid, hearing at the second knock, called and shogged her dame, and with much ado awaked her, and said, "The watch is at the door." "What? thou liest," said she. "Yes, truly," said the maid, "and hath knocked twice." With that she arose with all speed, and put on her clothes very slightly, and took with her a buckram apron, which afterward she cast on her head, when she was fain to creep in a ditch with nettles; and so passed down into a parlour, wherein stood a cupboard with a fair press, into the which the maid did lock her. And immediately the maid went up to a chamber which was hard by the street, where she might see and speak to the watch, and said, "Who is there?" Then they bade her open the door; and she said, "We have no candle." And they said, "Open the door, or we will lay it on the floor." With that she came down and opened the door. Then asked they the maid, "Who is within?" And she said, "None but a woman that dwelleth with us, and two children." Then said they, "Where is thy dame?" "Truly," said she, "I cannot tell; she is not within." "She was here in the evening," said they. "Yea," said the maid, "but she went forth I know not whither!" Notwithstanding they charged her that she knew where she was, which she denied. Then got they a candle light at one of the neighbour's houses, and came in, and in the entry met the woman which had answered them at the window, and said, she was afraid of spirits. Argentine, looking upon her, clapped her on the back, and said, "Thou art not the woman whom we seek for."

So entered they the house, and searched a parlour next the street, where the woman lay which was his mother's tenant, and a young child that sucked on her breast, and not only in the bed, turning it down past all honest humanity, but also under the bed, behind the painted clothes, and in the chimney, and up into the chimney; and finding the bed hot, said, "Who lay here in the bed?" The woman said, "I and the child." "And none else?" quoth they. "No," said the woman. When they could find nothing there for their purpose, from thence they went into an inner parlour, in the which stood the cupboard wherein she was, and searched the parlour, which was but a little one. And one of the company, laying his hand on the cupboard, said, "This is a fair cupboard, she may be here, for any thing that is done." "That is true," saith another of them. Notwithstanding, they looked no further, but went from that into the chamber aloft, wherein the said Agnes had lien with her maid and children, with all other rooms and chambers.

At length they came down into the yard, where they found a horse tied at a pale, eating of shorn grass. Then asked they the maid, "Whose horse is this?" She answered, "It is her horse indeed, and she came in before night, and went abroad again, but I know not whither." Then were they in good hope to find their prey, and bestirred them with speed, and went into an out-chamber that was in the yard, in which was a boy in bed, of twelve or fourteen years old. And being in his dead sleep, they suddenly awaked him and examined him for his dame; who answered he knew not where she was; and unto that stood firmly, although their threats were vehement, not only to the poor silly boy, but also to the good, simple, plain maid. Then caused they him to arise and dress him, and sent both maid and boy up to the cage, where they put the maid, but kept the boy among their trusty soldiers, so that one of them should not speak with another.

Now while some were on the Corn Hill, and other some were searching the neighbours' houses and back-sides, the wife of Wardall being in the press fast locked up, and almost smothered for want of breath, desired the woman, her mother's tenant, when she heard her in the parlour, to let her out. She asked her where the keys were; who answered they were in a hamper; which she found, and essayed to unlock the press, and of a long time could not. Then desired she her to break it open; "for," said she, "I had rather fall into their hands, than to kill myself." Then went she to her mother's tenant, and sought for her husband's hammer and chisel, to break it open, but could not find it, nor any thing else to break it open withal, and came again, and told her she could find nothing to break it open with.

Then said she, "Essay again to open it, for I trust God will give you power to open it." And being within in much extremity, she heartily prayed unto God, who heard her prayer and helped her; for, at the first essay and turn of the key, it opened easily. When she came out, she looked as pale and as bleak as one that were laid out dead by the wall, and as she herself looked afterward when she was dead, as the same woman reported, which then let her out, and was also at her death long after in the queen's Majesty's reign that now is; and all on a vehement sweat was she, like drops of rain.

Then went she out into the back-side, where was a pale towards the fields for the defence of the garden, wherein was one or two loose pales, by the which both she and her husband had divers times used to come and go in and out; so went she out into the fields. And passing one little field, and over a stile, shrouded herself in a low ditch with nettles, and covered her head with the buckram apron aforementioned; and so crept low, and lay in the ditch. After long search, when they could not find her in the town, certain of the watch returned again to the field's side; among whom was one George Manning, with John Bate, the crier of the same town, coming together. This Manning was a simple, honest, plain man, but Bate a very enemy, and one that in Queen Mary's time would have been a priest, as it was reported, but that he was married.

Manning, espying where she lay, gave a hem, and made a noise with his bill, he being before Bate; at the which she lay still, and at the last they departed to the street side to the constable. All this time the maid was in the cage, and the boy with the others of the watch, until perfect daylight. Then went they up, and let out the maid, and sent her home, and the boy also; but they made the maid believe they had found her dame, who answered, "If ye have her, keep her fast."

On the morrow, Manning sent her word to beware that she should hide herself no more so near.

Thus by the might and power of God was his faithful servant delivered from their cruelty, and they known to be his adversaries, not only at that time, but divers times after and before. Notwithstanding, the said Argentine, at his first coming to Ipswich, came in a serving-man's coat. And then, being in the days of King Henry the Eighth, he would accustomably use the reading of lectures himself; in the which he was well commended at that time: after, obtained the office of usher of the free grammar school, and the master being dead, got to be master himself; and being married to a very honest woman, remained there the days of King Edward. And when

God took him from us for our just-deserved plague, and Queen Mary came to her reign, none more hot in all papistry and superstition than he, painting the posts of the town with *Vivat Regina Maria*, and in every corner.

Furthermore, after the death of his wife, (which was an honest woman,) he was made a priest, taking upon him divers times to preach (but never without his white minever-hood) such doctrine as was shameful to hear, saying mass, and carrying about the pix in high processions. Furthermore, leading the boy St. Nicholas with his minever-hood about the streets, for apples and belly-cheer. And whoso would not receive him, he made them heretics, and such also as would not give his faggot to the bonfire for Queen Mary's child. And thus continued he at Ipswich the most part of Queen Mary's days, molesting their good men, some for not going to the church, some for not being confessed, some for not receiving, &c., till at length, toward the end of Queen Mary, he came to London, and in this queen's time began to show himself again a perfect protestant. And thus much of Argentine.

The trouble of Peter Moon and his wife, and of other godly Protestants, at Bishop Hopton's visitation in Ipswich.

In the year of our Lord God 1556, the scene or visitation being kept before Whitsuntide in the town of Ipswich in Suffolk, by Dr. Hopton, being then bishop of Norwich, and Miles Dunning, being then his chancellor, divers sundry godly protestants, through the accusation of evil men, were sore troubled and presented before him: among whom were accused one Peter Moon, a tailor, and Anne his wife, for their disobedience to the law, in not showing their readiness to come to the church, and to be partakers of such Romish observances as at that time were used. And first the said Peter Moon was commanded to come before the bishop, where he was examined of three sundry articles, to wit, First, whether the pope were supreme head; secondly, whether King Philip and Queen Mary were right inheritors to the crown; and thirdly, whether in the sacrament of the altar was the very body of Christ substantially and really there present.

Unto the which the said Peter, being timorous and weak, fearing more the face of man than the heavy wrath of God, affirmed, and in manner granted unto, their demands. Whereupon the bishop being in good hope, that although he had not come to the church, nor received the sacrament of the altar, nor been ready to do his duty as the law had commanded; yet there showing his mind, said, that he liked well the man: "for such as have been," said he, "earnest in evil things, will also be earnest in that that is good and godly, if once they be won."

Thus as this spiritual father was commending his carnal child, and rather preferring him to hell-fire, than unto the sincere word and commandments of God, it chanced amongst many others in the chamber, was one of the portmen of the same town, named Smart, an earnest member of their Romish law, doing of a very good conscience that he did, who, after the death of Queen Mary, lived not many years, but rendered his life in godly repentance, protesting that if God should suffer him to live, he would never be the man he had been before, what laws soever should come again: so that before the time of his sickness he, frequenting earnestly the sermons in the

same town, made by divers godly learned men, would weep as it had been a child, being notwithstanding of courage as stout a man as any was in Ipswich. Such is the marvellous mercy of God in calling to his kingdom whom, and when, he pleaseth.

"This portman aforesaid, perceiving the bishop thus, as it were, at an end with the said Moon, and so he like to be discharged, said unto the bishop, "My Lord, indeed I have good hope in the man, and that he will be conformable; but, my Lord, he hath a perilous woman to his wife. For I will tell you, my Lord, she never came to church yet, since the queen's reign, except it were at evensong, or when she was churched. And not then until mass were done. Wherefore your good Lordship might do a good deed to cause her to come before you, and to see if you could do any good. And therefore I beseech your good Lordship to command him to pray her to come before your Lordship."

At the which words Moon was somewhat stirred, in that he said, "Command him to pray her to come before your Lordship:" and he said unto him, "Under my Lord's correction I speak, I am as able to command her to come before my Lord, as ye are to command the worst boy in your house." "Yea, my Lord," said the other, "I cry your Lordship mercy: I have informed your Lordship with an untruth, if this be so. But if he be so able as he saith, he might have commanded her to have come to church in all this time, if it had pleased him." "Well," said the bishop, "look you come before me at afternoon, and bring your wife with you; I will talk with her."

As my Lord's dinner at that time was serving up, Moon departed, and tarried not to take part thereof, having such a hard breakfast given him before to digest. At afternoon Moon delayed and waited his time, bethinking when he might most conveniently come, especially when his accuser and his wife's should not have been there. And according to the commandment came with his wife; which was not so secretly done, but his accuser had knowledge thereof, and came with all expedition, in such post speed that in manner he was windless, entering into the bishop's chamber.

The bishop, hearing that Moon and his wife were come, called for them, and said to Moon, "Is this your wife, Moon?" "Yea, my Lord," said he. "O good Lord!" said the bishop, "how a man may be deceived in a woman! I promise you a man would take her for as honest a woman, by all outward appearance, as can be." "Why, my Lord," said Moon's wife, "I trust there is none that can charge me with any dishonesty, as concerning my body: I defy all the world in that respect."

"Nay," quoth the bishop, "I mean not as concerning the dishonesty of thy body: but thou hadst been better to have given the use of thy body unto twenty sundry men, than to do as thou hast done. For thou hast done as much as in thee lieth, to pluck the king and the queen's Majesties out of their royal seats through thy disobedience, in showing thyself an open enemy unto God's laws, and their proceedings."

Then began the bishop to examine the said Moon again, with the aforesaid articles, and his wife also. And she, hearing her husband relent, did also affirm the same, which turned unto either of them to no small trouble of mind afterward; but yet neither were they like thus to escape, but that in the mean time Dunning, the bishop's chancellor, came up in great haste, and brought news to the bishop, that there were

such a number of heretics come, of which some came from Boxford, some from Lavenham, and about from the cloth country, that it would make a man out of his wits to hear them: "and there are among them both heretics and Anabaptists," said he. And thus Dr. Dunning, with his blustering words interrupting Moon's examination, went down again as the devil had driven him, to keep his stir among them, and to take order what should be done with them.

The bishop beginning to bewail the state of the country, in that it was so infected with such a number of heretics, and rehearsing partly their opinions to those that were at that time in the chamber, Moon's wife had a young child, which she herself nursed, and the child being brought into the yard under the bishop's chamber, cried, so that she heard it, and then said, "My Lord, I trust ye have done with me: my child crieth beneath; I must go give my child suck;" with such-like words. And the bishop being (as it were) out of mind to talk with them any more, said, "Go your way, I will talk with you in the morning; look ye be here again in the morning." With this they both departed.

And beneath in the stone-hall of the same house, the chancellor Dunning being very busy about his bloody business, espied Moon and his wife coming, and must needs pass by the place where he stood, and said, "Nay, soft: I must talk with you both, for ye are as evil as any that are here to-day." To whom Moon's wife answered, "My Lord hath had us in examination, and therefore ye shall have nought to do with us." "Nay," quoth he, "ye shall not so escape, I must talk with you also." Unto whom Moon answered, "In the presence of the more, the less hath no power: my Lord hath taken order with us, and therefore we are as his Lordship hath appointed, and must repair before him again to-morrow." At the which he let them go, although he was earnestly procured by the party above specified to have showed his quality, which was nothing else but tyranny.

So departed Moon and his wife without hurt of body: but afterward, when they, with Peter the apostle, beheld the face of Christ, they were sore wounded in their consciences, ashamed of their doings, and also at the door of desperation: insomuch, that when the said Moon came home to his house, and entering into a parlour alone by himself, considering his estate, and seeing where a sword of his did hang against a wall, he was earnestly allured by the enemy Satan to have taken it down, and therewith to have slain himself. But God, who casteth not away the penitent sinner repenting his fall with heart, defended his unworthy servant from that temptation, and hath (I trust) left him to the amendment of life by the assistance of his Holy Spirit, and to make him one among the elect that shall be saved.

The morrow they both remained and kept house with no small grief of conscience, waiting and looking with fear, when to be sent for to the bishop, rather than offering their diligence to keep the bishop's appointment. But God so wrought, that when the time drew near that they feared calling forth, the bells rung for the bishop's departure out of the town; for the which they were not only glad, but also many a good heart in Ipswich rejoiced and gave thanks to God. God for his mercy grant, that our sin never deserve to provoke God's ire, that the like days come again! And if it so do, God make them, with all other weaklings, strong and worthy soldiers to encounter with the ghostly enemies, the world, the flesh, and the devil; and boldly to stand to the confession of Christ, and of his gospel, saying with the apostles,

Whether it be right in the sight of God, that we should obey you more than God, judge ye.

350. Katharine Cawches, Guillemine Gilbert, Perotine Massey, and An Infant, the Son of Perotine Massey.

A tragical, lamentable, and pitiful history, full of most cruel and tyrannical murder, done by the pretended eatholics upon three women and an infant; to wit, the mother, her two daughters, and the child, in the isle of Guern-sey , for Christ's true religion, July the 18th, the year of our Lord 1556.

Amongst all and singular histories touched in this book before, as there be many pitiful, divers lamentable, some horrible and tragical; so is there none almost either in cruelty to be compared, or so far off from all compassion and sense of humanity, as this merciless fact of the papists, done in the isle of Guernsey, upon three women and an infant, whose names be these as follow:-- Katharine Cawches, the mother; Guillemine Gilbert, the daughter; Pe-rotine Massey, the other daughter; an infant, the son of Perotine.

But before I cotne to the purpose of this story, it shall be necessary for the better explaining of the matter, to begin first with the circumstances where-upon the first original and occasion did rise of this tragical cruelty: the case was this: --

The seventeenth day of May, anno 1556, in the isle of Guernsey, which is a member of England, in a town there called St. Peter's Port, was a naughty woman named Vincent Gosset, who, being evil disposed, went, the day aforesaid, to the house of one Nicholas le Conronney, dwelling in the town of the said St. Peter's Port, about ten of the clock at night; and there, taking the key of the house, (lying under the door,) entered into a chamber toward the street; where she, espying a cup of silver within a cupboard, took it away, and so conveyed herself out of the house again: who, immEdiately after this fact done, (whether by counsel or by what occasion else I have not to say,) brought the said cup to one Perotine Massey, an honest woman, dwelling in the said town, desiring her to lend her sixpence upon the same.

Perotine, seeing the cup or goblet, and suspecting (as truth was) the same to be stolen, answered, that she would not take it: yet nevertheless, having knowledge of the owner thereof, took it to restore it again to whom it did appertain; and to the end she should not carry it to another, gave her then presently sixpence. Where moreover is to be noted, that Thomas Effart saith and testifieth, that knowledge was given by the said Perotine to Conronney touching the stealing of this piece, who eftsoons, upon the misliking thereof, attached the said Vincent Gosset of the trespass; who, being apprehended and examined upon the same, immediately confessed the fact, desiring to have one sent with her (which was Collas de Loutre) with sixpence to fetch again the goblet, where it was; and so she did.

The next day following, the king's officers being informed of the premises by one Nicholas Cary, of the said town, constable, assembled the justices there to inquire and examine further, as well upon that fact of Vincent Gosset, as upon other griefs

and things there amiss. So that after declaration made by the officers and constable before the justices, for that the said constable did report to have found a certain vessel of pewter in the house of the foresaid Perotine Massey, (who then dwelt with her mother Katharine Cawches, and her sister Guillemine Gilbert,) the which vessel did bear no mark; and especially for that there was a pewter dish, whereof the name was scraped out; their bodies upon the same were attached, and put in prison, and their movable goods taken by inventory. Within a few days after these things thus done and past, these three silly women, abiding thus in durance in the castle, made their supplication to the justices to have justice ministered unto them, viz., If they had offended the law, then to let them have the law; if not, beseeching to grant them the benefit of subjects. Which supplication put up, thereupon they were appointed to come to their answer the fifth day of June, in the year aforesaid: upon which day; after strait examining of the matter, and the honest answering of the cause by the said good women, at the last they submitted themselves to the report of their neighbours, that they were no thieves, nor evil-disposed persons, but lived truly and honestly, as became Christian women to do, the false and untrue report of their accusers notwithstanding.

So the cause being thus debated, after the inquiry made by the king's officers, they were found by the said neighbours not guilty of that they were charged with, but had lived always as honest women among them; saving only that to the commandments of holy church they had not been obedient, &c. Upon this trial and verdict of their neighbours, it was in fine adjudged, first, that the said Vincent Gosset, being attainted of felony and condemned for the same, should be whipped, and after, her ear being nailed to the pillory, should so be banished out of the isle without further punishment. And as touching the other three women, the mother with her two daughters, for their not coming to the church they were returned prisoners again into the castle the first of July.

And thus far concerning the true discourse of this matter, with all the circumstances and appurtenances of the same in every point as the case stood, according to the faithful tenor and testimony of the Guernsey men, written with their own hands both in the French and English tongue wherein you see what false surmised matter was pretended against these women, and nothing proved; and how by the attestation of their neighbours they were fully cleared of the fact, and should by the temporal court have been dismissed, had not the spiritual clergymen, picking matter of religion against them, exercised such extremity in persecuting these miserable prisoners, that in no case they should escape their bloody hands, till at length they had brought them (as you shall hear) to their final end. For after the time of this declaration above mentioned made by the neighbours, whereby they were purged of all other things, and being then known of their not coming to the church, the bailiff, the lieutenant, and the jurats, thinking the matter not to pertain to them, but to the clergy, forthwith wrote their letters or mandate under their signets to the dean, whose name was Jaques Amy, and to the curates of the said isle: the contents whereof here follow.

"Master Dean and justices in your court and jurisdiction, after all amiable recommendations, pleaseth you to know that we are informed by the depositions of certain honest men, passed before us in manner of an inquiry; in the which inquiry Katharine Cawches and her two daughters have submitted themselves in a certain

matter criminal: wherein we be informed that they have been disobedient to the commandments and ordinances of the church, in contemning and forsaking the mass and the ordinances of the same, against the will and commandment of our sovereign lord the king and the queen. Whereof we send you the said matter, forasmuch as the matter is spiritual, to the end you may proceed therein after your good discretions, and as briefly as you possibly can, and also for that it pertained to your office; recommending yo to God, the which give you grace to do.that which pertaineth to right and justice.-- Written the first day of the month of July, in the year of our Lord 1556.

After these letters and information thus addressed to Jaques Amy, dean, and to others of the clergy, the said women were again convented before the justice aforesaid with his assistants: in the presence of whom they, being examined of their faith concerning the ordinances of the Romish church, made their answer that they would obey and keep the ordinances of the king and queen, and the commandments of the church, notwithstanding that they had said and done the contrary in the time of King Edward the Sixth, in showing obedience to his ordinances and commandments before. After which answer taken, they were returned again to prison, until the others had an answer of their letter from the dean and his complices. During which time, the dean and curates gave their information touching the said women, and delivered the same to the bailiff and jurats, condemning and reputing them for heretics, the women neither hearing of any information, neither yet being ever examined at any time before of their faith and religion. Whereupon, when the said bailiff and jurats understood that the said dean and curates had not examined the women of their faith, they would not sit in judgment on that day, but ordained the women to come first before the dean and curates to be ex-amined of their faith. And so the officers, at the commandment of the justices, did fetch and present them before the said dean and curates. The which being accomplished and done, they were examined apart severally one from another: after which examination, they incontinently were returned again into prison.

Then the fourteenth day of the said month of July, in the year aforesaid, after the examination above specified before Helier Gosselin, bailiff, in the presence of Richard Devicke, Pierre Martin, Nicholas Cary, John Blundel, Nicholas de Lisle, John le Marchant, John le Fevre, Pierre Bonamy, Nicholas Martin, John de la March, jurats; Sir Jaques Amy, dean, and the curates, did deliver before the justice, under the seal of the dean and under the signs of the curates, a certain act and sentence, the sum whereof was, that Katharine Cawches and her two daughters were found heretics, and such they reputed them, and have delivered them to justice, to do execution according to the sentence.

When this was done, commandment was given to the king's officers to go to the castle to fetch the said women, to hear the sentence against them in the presence aforesaid. And they, appearing before them, said in the ears of all the auditory, that they would see their accusers, and know them that have deposed against them, because they might make answers to their sayings and personages, and to have their libel accordingly; for they knew not that they had offended the Majesties of the king and queen, nor of the church, but entirely would obey, serve, and keep the ordinances of the king and queen, and of the church, as all good and true subjects are bound to do. And for any breach of the king and queen's laws that they had done, they required justice. All which their reasons and allegations notwithstanding, the said poor women

were condemned, and adjudged to be burnt, until they were consumed unto ashes, according to a sentence given by Helier Gosselin, bailiff: of the which sentence the tenor hereafter followeth.

"The seventeenth, or some others think the twenty-seventh, day of the month of July, 1556, Helier Gosselin, bailiff, in the presence of Richard Devicke, Pierre Martin, Nicholas Cary, John Blundel, Nicholas de Lisle, John le Marchant, John le Fevre, Pierre Bonamy, Nicholas Martin, and John de la March, jurats: Katharine Cawches, Perotine Massey, Guillernine Gilbert, (the said Perotine and Guillemine, daughters to the said Katharine,) are all condemned and judged this day to be burned, until they be consumed to ashes, in the place accustomed, with the confiscation of all their goods, movables, and heritages, to be in the hands of the king and queen's Majesties, according and after the effect of a sentence delivered in justice by Master Dean and the curates, the thirteenth day of the month of July, in the year aforesaid, in the which they have been approved heretics."

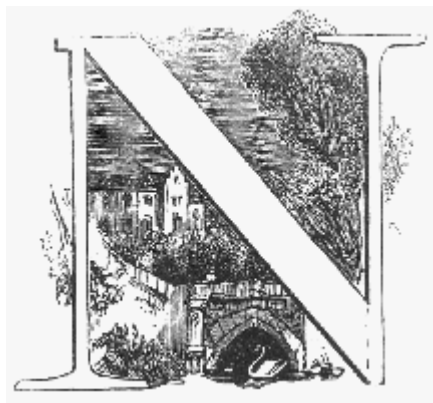
After which sentence pronounced, the said women did appeal unto the king and queen, and their honourable council, saying, that against reason and right they were condemned, and for that cause they made their appeal; notwithstanding, they could not be heard, but were delivered by the said bailiff to the king and queen's officers, to see the execution done on them according to the said sentence.



The Three Guernsey Women at the Stake

The time then being come, when these three good servants and holy saints of God, the innocent mother with her two daughters, should suffer, in the place where they should consummate their martyrdom were three stakes set up. At the middle post was the mother, the eldest daughter on the right hand, the youngest on the other. They were first strangled, but the rope brake before they were dead, and so the poor women fell in the fire. Perotine, who was then great with child, did fall on her side, where happened a rueful sight, not only to the eyes of all that there stood, but also to the ears of all true-hearted Christians that shall read this history. For as the belly of the woman burst asunder by the vehemence of the flame, the infant, being a fair man-child, fell into the fire, and eftsoons being taken out of the fire by one W. House, was laid upon the grass. Then was the child had to the provost, and from him to the bailiff, who gave censure that it should be carried back again, and cast into the fire. And so the infant, baptized in his own blood, to fill up the number of God's innocent saints, was both born and died a martyr, leaving behind to the world, which it never saw, a spectacle wherein the whole world may see the Herodin cruelty of this gracelesmeeoutation of catholic tormentors.

ow forasmuch as this story percase, for the horrible strangeness of the fact, will be hardly



believed of some, but rather thought to be forged, or else more amplified of me than truth will bear me out, therefore to discharge my credit herein, I have not onlt foretold thee a little before, how I received this story by the faithful relation both in the French and English, of them which were there present witnesses and lookers upon; but also have hereto annexed the true supplication of the said inhabitants of Guernsey, and of the brother to the mother of the said two sisters, complaining to the queen and her commissioners concerning the horribleness of the act; which

supplication, for the more evidence, hereunder followeth to be seen.

"To the right honourable, and the queen's Highness's most gracious commissioners, for the hearing and determining of matters of religion and causes ecclesiastical.

"Most lamentably and woefully complaining, showeth unto your gracious and honourable Lordships your poor and humble orator Matthew Cawches, of the isle of Guernsey, that whereas Jaques Amy, clerk, dean of the isle aforesaid, assisted by the curates there, against all order, law, and reason, by colour of a sentence of heresy pronounced against Katharine Cawches, the sister of your Honours' said supplicant, and Perotine and Guillemine her two daughters, did cause the said Katharine, being a poor widow, and her said two daughters, most cruelly to be burnea; although neither the said persons, nor any of them, did hold, maintain, or defend any thing directly against the ecclesiastical laws then in place, under the reign of the late Queen Mary, but in all things submitted themselves obediently to the laws then in force: and yet the cruelty of the said dean and his accomplices, in perpetrating such murder as aforesaid, raged so far, that whereas, whilst the said persons did consume with violent fire, the womb of the said Perotine being burned, there did issue from her a goodly man-child, which by the officers was taken up and handled, and after, in a most despitiful

manner, thrown into the fire, and there also with the silly mother most cruelly burnt. In tender consideration whereof, and forasmuch as this bloody murder was not in due order of any law, or in any manner according to justice, but of mere malicious hatred, as the true copy of the whole proceedings in this matter, by the said dean and his accomplices, here ready to be showed to your Honours, will make very plain and manifest: may it therefore please your good and gracious Lordships, of the zeal that you bear to justice, and for our Lord Jesus Christ's sake, to have due consideration in justice of such horrible murder, so cruelly committed as aforesaid, according to the right demerit thereof. And may it please your honourable Lordships to order and decree also, that all the goods of all the said parties, by pretence aforesaid wrongfully taken as confiscate, may be delivered to your said poor beseecher, to whom of right they do belong. And your Honours' said suppliant will daily pray to God for your long preservation, to his glory, and your everlasting health."

This supplication being presented in manner aforesaid to the queen's honourable commissioners in the year 1562, such order therein was taken, that the matter being returned again down to the said country, further to be examined, the dean thereupon was committed to prison, and dispossessed of all his livings. So that in conclusion, both he, and all other partakers of that bloody murder, whether of conscience, or for fear of the law, were driven not long after to acknowledge their trespass, and to submit themselves to the queen's pardon.

A defence of this Guernsey story against Master Harding.

And thus have you the true narration of this history, discoursed without corrupting or falsifying any part or sentence thereof; no less faithfully of my part reported, than I received of them, who, dwelling in the same isle, and being present the same time, were best acquainted with the matter, and have given sufficient evidence, not only to me, but also to the queen's Highness's commissioners, concerning the same, as both by the letter of the bailiff, by the sentence of the dean, by the supplication of the plaintiff, and submission of the parties, and likewise by the queen's pardon granted unto them), may well appear.

By all which proofs and circumstances thus debated, it remaineth manifest for all men to perceive, what cruelty and wrong were wrought against these poor women above specified, and no less matter offered, in a case so unjust, justly to expostulate, or rather to wonder at the hard hearts of these men, but especially of the catholic clergy of Guernsey, who, professing the gospel of peace and charity, should after the example of Christ walk in the steps of meekness and mercy, and yet, contrary not only to all Christian charity and mansuetude, but also against all order of equity or humanity, were so extreme and rigorous to condemn them to the burning fire, under the pretended colour of heresy; who, if they had been heretics indeed, yet mercy would have corrected the error, and saved life; equity would have considered man's weak fragility; at least true justice would have heard both the parties advisedly, and also substantially have surveyed the cause, and not have rushed out the sentence of death so hastily as they did: yea, and though they had been heretics indeed, yet true Christian charity would have stretched further, and at least have given them leisure and respite of time to reclaim themselves. But now what is here to be said, they being

no heretics at all, as neither it could then, nor yet can, be proved? For if King Edward's religion (which was objected to them) were heresy, yet were they then no heretics, when they revoked the same; and if Queen Mary's religion were heresy, then were they much more heretics themselves, which condemned them of heresy.

But, most of all, we have herein to wonder at Master Harding, who in his late Rejoinder, written against the bishop of Salisbury, notwithstanding all these evidences and demonstrations so certain and manifestly appearing, yet goeth about first to deny the story, terming it to be a fable; and afterward, being forced to fly, *a statu inficiali*, to admit the story, he removeth *ad translationem criminis*; and there, seeking by all means to clear the clergy from the spot of cruelty, transferreth the whole blame only upon the women that suffered; but principally upon poor Perotine, whom he specially charged with two capital crimes; to wit, whoredom and murder.

And first, touching his accusation of whoredom, let us hear how he proveth this matter: "because," he saith, "by story it is granted, that she was with child; and yet the historiographer doth not declare (neither durst for shame) who was her husband, or father to the child," &c. As though that historiographers, being occupied in setting forth the persecution of God's people suffering death for religion and doctrine of Christ, were bound, or had nothing else to do but to play the sumner, and to bring forth who were husbands to their wives, and fathers to their children; which new-found law of history, being never required before, nor observed of any story writers, if Master Harding now shall exact of me, first let him begin with himself, and show us (as wise as he is) who was his own father, if he can. And yet I think not contrary, but his mother was an honest woman. And no less also do I think of this Perotine aforesaid; whereof more shall be said (God willing) hereafter.

But in the mean time here cometh in the cavilling objection of Master Harding, who beareth the reader in hand, as though for shame I durst not, or of purpose would not, express it, &c. My answer whereunto is this: First, to express every minute of matter in every story occurrent, what story writer in all the world is able to perform it? Secondly, although it might be done, what reasonable reader would require it? Thirdly, albeit some curious readers would so require, yet I suppose it neither requisite, nor convenient to be observed. And, fourthly, what if it were not remembered of the author? what if it were to him not known? what if it were of purpose omitted, as a matter not material to the purpose? Many other causes besides might occur, which the reader knoweth not of. And shall it then by and by be imputed to shame and blame, whatsoever in every narration is not expressed? or doth Master Harding himself, in all his sermons, never pretermit any thing that conveniently might be inferred? Who was the husband of this Perotine, the historiographer hath not expressed, I grant: and what thereof? Ergo, thereupon concludeth he, that for shame I durst not. Nay, I may marvel rather, that he durst for shame utter such untidy arguments, or so asseverantly pronounce of another man's mind and purpose, which is as privy to him, as then it was to me unknown, what was her husband's name. And though it had been known, what was that material in the story to be uttered? or what had it relieved the cruel parts of them, which burned both the mother and infant together, though the infant's father had been expressed? And how then did I for shame conceal that which was not in my knowledge at that time (if I would) to express, nor in my suspicion to misdeem?

Nevertheless, if he be so greatly desirous (as he pretendeth) to know of me, who was this infant's father, I will not stick with Master Harding, although I cannot swear for the matter, yet to take so much pain for his pleasure, to go as near as I may. For precisely and determinately to point out the right father, either of this, or any child, I trow, neither will Master Harding require it of me, neither is he able peradventure himself, being asked, to demonstrate his own. And yet, as much as I may, to satisfy his dainty desire herein, and partly to help the innocency of the woman, touching this demand, Who should be the infant's father? who, say I, but his own mother's husband? the name of which husband was David Jores, a minister, and married to the said Perotine in King Edward's time, in the church of our Lady's-castle parish at Guernsey; the party which married them being called Master Noel Regnet, a Frenchman, and yet alive, witness hereunto, and now dwelling in London, in St. Martin's-le-grand.

Thus then, after my knowledge, I have showed forth, for Master Harding's pleasure, the right husband of this Perotine, and what was his name, who was also alive, his wife being great with child, and partaker of the persecution of the same time, and a schoolmaster afterward in Normandy, &c. Now, if Master Harding can take any such advantage hereof to disprove that I have said, or be so privy to the begetting of this child, that he can prove the said David Jores, which was the right husband to this wife, not to be the right father to this infant, let him show herein his cunning by what mighty demonstrations he can induce us to deem the contrary; and as I shall see his reason, I shall shape him an answer in such sort (I trust) that he will perceive, that whoredom, wheresoever I may know it, shall find no bolstering by me -
- I wish it might find as little amongst the chaste catholics of Master Harding's church.



The Bones of Infants found in a Wall in Lenton Abbey

From this I proceed now to the second part of his infamous accusation, wherein he chargeth her of murder. A strange case, that she which was murdered herself, with her child, and died before him, should yet be accused to murder the child. Murder doubtless is a horrible iniquity in any person; but the mother to be murderer of her own infant, it is a double abomination, and more than a monster; so far disagreeing Om all nature, that it is not lightly to be surmised of any, without vehement causes of manifest probation.

Wherefore, to try out this matter more thoroughly, touching this murdering mother, let us see, first, what hand did she lay upon the child? None. What weapon had she? None. Did she then drown it, or cast it in some pond, as we read of the strumpets at Rome, whose children's heads were taken up in Pope Gregory's moat by hundreds, what time priests began first to be restrained of a lawful wedlock -- witness the epistle of Volusianus?

Or else did she throw it by the walls into some private corner, as I am credibly certified, that in the eighth year of Queen Elizabeth, certain scalps and other young infants' bones were found and taken out with a stick in the hole of a stone wall, in Lenton Abbey, by certain gentlemen within the county of Nottingham, (James Barusse, Richard Loveit, and W. Lovelace,) walking in the prior's chamber; witness the said W. Lovelace, with others which saw the bones aforesaid? Or otherwise did she take any hurtful drink to impotionate the child within her, as commonly it is reported few nunneries to have been in England, wherein such a tree hath not been growing within their ground, meet for practising of such a purpose? Neither so nor so. What then? did she purposely and wittingly thrust herself in jeopardy, to the destruction of her child, when she needed not, as Pope Joan, when she might have kept her bed, would needs adventure forth in procession, where both she herself and her infant perished in the open street?

Well then, thus much by this hitherto alleged and granted, we have gotten this woman here to be accused of murdering her child, which neither laid hand upon it, nor used weapon against it; neither used any other practice in drowning, hanging, breaking, burying, poisoning, or any other wilful means, whereby to destroy it. And how then? by what manner of way was this woman a murderer of her young babe? Forsooth, saith Master Harding, "When she was accused and condemned to be burned, she did not claim the benefit of her condition; whereby the life both of herself for the time might have been delayed, and the child preserved,"

Whether she did or no, I have not perfectly to say; no more, I ween, hath Master Harding. Howbeit this is certain, and by witness known, that she uttered no less to her ghostly father in confession. And what if she had opened the same to the judges? "They would," saith he, "have spared her life for the time, and so the innocent had been preserved." And how is Master Harding sure of this, more than was the life spared of the young lady, and mistress sometime of Master Harding, who suffered, not withstanding she was reported of some to be with child?

"Because the law," saith he, "is beneficial to women in her case, claiming the benefit thereof." The law so giveth, I grant. But it followeth not therefore, whatsoever the law giveth or prescribeth, the same to be put by and by in execution: but many times the law goeth as it pleaseth them which have the handling of the law. As for example: the law willeth none to be condemned by sentence of death for heresy, which the first time revoke their opinion, and yet contrary to this law they condemned her unlawfully. Again, the like law prescribeth none to be executed for heresy, before the writ be sent down *de comburendo*; and yet contrary to this law, without any such writ, (as far as I yet understand,) they burned her most cruelly. And what law then was here to be looked for of these men, who in their doings herein seemed neither to observe law, nor to regard honesty, nor much to pass for charity? And albeit she had claimed never so much the privilege of the law, what had that availed with those men, whose hunting altogether (as by their own proceedings may appear) seemeth to be for the household goods of these women, which after death immediately they encroached into their own hands.

But be it admitted, that neither she demanded this benefit of the law, nor that the judges would ever have denied her, if she had so done; yet it had been the part of a grave accuser, before he had been descended into such a railing action of murder

against a poor woman now dead and gone, first to have advised wisely with himself, whether it might be, that she had no such intelligence what benefit the law would have given, in case it had been required. For not unlike it is, and well may be thought rather yea than no, that the simple woman, brought up all her life long in her mother's house in an obscure island, and in such an out-corner of the realm, far off from the court, and practice of English laws, never heard before of any such benefit of the law; and therefore upon mere simplicity, and for lack of skill, required it not, because she knew not what to require. Peradventure also her senses might be so astonished with the greatness and suddenness of the fear, that it was out of her remembrance. Certes, it had been the duty of the judges, which knew the law, and, having of the woman before them, could not be ignorant of her case, to have questioned with her hereof, and to have holpen her simplicity in that behalf. Or at least, if they had disdained, yet it had been the priest's part, who was her ghostly father, and made privy thereunto, either to have instructed her, or to have stayed the execution of her death for safeguard of the child.

But all this denieth Master Harding, and to aggravate the matter, inferreth that she, not of any simple unskilfulness of the law, "but only of mere wilfulness, for avoiding of worldly shame, concealed her own turpitude, and so became a murderer of her babe," &c. These be the words of Master Harding, written by him not of any sure ground, but only upon his catholic conjecture; for other demonstration certainly to prove this true, he bringeth none. Wherefore to answer conjecture by conjecture, thus I reply to him again: that in case she had been asked the question of the judges and inquisitors, whether she had been with child, and then had denied the same; or else if she by any other colourable means had cloaked her being with child, whereby it should not appear, this accuser might have some probable advantage against the woman. Now, as she was never demanded of their parts any such question, nor did ever deny any such matter; so, to answer this man with as good probability, I hold that in case they had required that matter of her, she would never have denied it. And therefore whereas she is accused for her not uttering of her being with child; why may she not, by as good reason again, be defended for not denying the same?

"But she should have uttered it," saith he. It had been well done, say I; and I would she had: but yet that is not the question between him and me, what she should have done, but why she did it not. Master Harding, wandering in his blind surmises, fantasieth the cause only to be, "for hiding her dishonesty, and for that she would not shame the gospel." So that *in summa*, to this effect tendeth all his accusation.

Perotine, being with child at her condemnation, did not show it to the judges.

Ergo, She did it to conceal her turpitude, and because she would not shame the gospel.

But here this accuser must understand, if he have not forgot his logic, that such arguments which do truly hold *a signis*, do always presuppose, that the signs which go before the things signified, must be necessary, perpetual, and firm, as is between causes natural and their effects. Otherwise, if the signs be doubtful, voluntary, or accidental, there is no firm consequent can proceed thereof.

Now, if the said accuser should be put to his proof, how to justify this his sequel to be true by evident demonstration, that she did it only for covering her dishonesty; I suppose verily he should be found to say more than he is able to make good, and in conclusion should be brought into the like case as were the Pharisees, who, coming to accuse the adulteress before Christ, went away mute, with as much shame out of the temple, as the woman herself came in, having not one word to answer. For a man to pronounce assuredly upon the secret cogitation and intent either of man or woman, further than by utterance of speech is to him signified, passeth his capacity, and is to be left only to Him, who is *scrutans corda et renes Deus*.



UT forasmuch as Master Harding worketh (as I said) by surmises, constru-ing every thing, to the worst, let us see what may be surmised as much again to the contrary, concerning the quality of this surmised murder; wherein divers things are to be considered, as hereunder followeth.

The first conjecture is this: that such manner of women, which for worldly shame are disposed to murder their children, have other ways to compass that wickedness, than by silence-keeping. Now, as touching this Perotine going to be burned, neither could this silence save her, if she would, from worldly shame, neither is it to be thought any such intent ever to be in her, to murder her child; as might well appear in her mother's house, where if she might have continued her whole time out, she intended no less but honestly to be brought to bed, and to nurse up her child; neither caring for shame of the world, nor fearing any slander to the gospel. Whereby may be argued, that no such intent of murder was ever in her thought. For how is it like that she, which had gone so long with child, almost to the full time of her deliverance, and never thought nor wrought any hurt to the infant all that while, should now, going to her own death, mind more hurt to her child, than she did before, hoping herself to live?

Secondly, how knoweth Master Harding to the contrary, but that she was known in the town to be with child, and went boldly abroad without note of any shame, before the time she came in trouble? Which being true, shame then could be no cause why she could conceal her child more now, after her condemnation, than she did before she was condemned.

Thirdly, admit the case, it was not known before, what advantage thereby should rise to her, being now appointed to die, by concealing her being with child? "She should have eschewed," saith Master Harding, "the public shame and obloquy of the world, in that none should have known her to be with child." First, what shame was it for a married wife to be noted to be with child? Again, what gain had that been to her, to avoid the shame and fame of the world, which had not to live in the world, being now condemned to die?

Fourthly, how is it likely that for shame she meant to conceal that from the world, who both knew she should not live in the world, and also suffer that kind of death whereby her child could not be hidden from the sight of the world, though she had gone about, herself, never so much to conceal it?

Fifthly, how is it to be thought that any woman, going to such a sharp punishment of fire to be consumed, would let for any worldly shame to rescue her own life from so bitter torment, at least so long as she might -- besides the safeguard also of her child, if by any means she had known any remedy?

Sixthly, forasmuch as Master Harding doth so heinously charge her with the wilful murdering of her own natural child, let all indifferent consciences this consider with themselves, what was the cause that moved her so willingly to recant as she did, but partly to save her own life, and especially the poor innocent? Whereby it is manifest to be understood, what a motherly affection she had to save her infant, if the fathers of the spirituality had not been so cruel, against all order of law to cast both her and her child away, all this her said recantation notwithstanding.

Seventhly and lastly, when Master Harding hath inveighed all that ever he can against this poor Perotine, yet is all the same but a by-matter from this principal purpose pretended, supposing thereby, through his depraving of her, to justify and excuse the pope's holy clergy, which wrought her death. Which will not be; for whatsoever her life was besides, yet forasmuch as the cause of her death and condemnation was neither for theft, whoredom, nor murder, but only and merely for religion, which deserved no death; I therefore having in my story no further to deal, as I said before, so do I say again, that the cause of her condemning was wrongful, her death was cruel, the sight of the babe was rueful, the proceeding of the judges was unlawful, the whole story is pitiful, and of all this the priest and clergy were the authors principal. All which being considered, and well expended, Master Harding, I trust, may stand sufficiently contented. Or if he think murder to be a thing which ought not (as it ought not indeed) lightly to be passed over, let him then find out murder where it is, and tell us truly, without affection of partiality, where the true murder lieth; whether in the poor woman, which together with her child was murdered, or in them which, without all law and conscience, brought them both to death.

Briefly, and finally, to conclude with this man; whatsoever the woman was, she is now gone. To bite so bitterly against the dead is little honesty. And though the accusation had in it some truth, yet this accusation here needed not. Now the same being false, it is too much unmerciful. At least, being doubtful and to him unknown, charity would have judged the best. Humanity would have spared the dead. And if he could not afford her his good word, yet he might have left her cause unto the Lord, which shall judge both her and him. To pray for the dead, he findeth in his mass; but to back-bite the dead, he neither findeth in his mass, matins, nor even-song. And no doubt but in his dirige and commendations he commendeth many a one, less deserving to be commended than this woman, let catholic affection be set aside. And though the merits of her cause deserved not his commendations, yet did she never deserve this at Master Harding's hand to give her such a Kyrie eleison (as they say) after her departure. Cruelty she suffered enough alive, though Master Harding had not added this cruel invective to her former afflictions: wherein notwithstanding he hurteth not her, but hurteth peradventure himself; neither so much distaineth her honesty as he blemisheth his own. It hath been the manner of learned men in time past, with their defending oration ever to be more ready, than to accuse. And if they did at any time accuse, yet never but enforced; neither did they accuse any but such

only as were alive, and that neither but in such matters wherein either the commonwealth or themselves were vehemently touched.

Now if this grieve him so greatly, that in my story I have termed her to be a martyr, let him consider the cause wherefore she suffered, which was neither for felony, murder, nor whoredom, but only for the religion in King Edward's time received; and when he hath confuted that religion, I shall cross her out of the book and fellowship of martyrs. In the mean time my exhortation shall be this to Master Harding:

First, that if he will needs become a writer in these so furious and outrageous days of ours, he will season his vein of writings with more mildness and charity, and not give such example of railing to others.

Secondly, that he will moderate his judging and condemning of others with more equity and indifferency, and not to be so rash and partial. For if she be to be accounted a murderer, which so carefully went about by recantation to save both herself and her child from the fire, what is to be said of them which condemned her so cruelly, and caused both her and the infant to be burned, notwithstanding that she, for safeguard of their lives, had (as I said) recanted. And yet so partial is he, that in all this invective, crying out so intemperately against the woman and the child that were burned, he speaketh never a word of their condemners and true murderers indeed.

Thirdly, forasmuch as Master Harding is here in hand with infanticide, and with a casting away young children's lives, I would wish, that as he hath sifted the doings of this woman to the uttermost, who was rather murdered than a murderer; so he would with an indifferent eye look on the other side a little, upon them of his own clergy, and see what he could find there, amongst those wilful contemnors of immaculate marriage. Not that I do accuse any of incontinency, whose lives I know not, but there is One above that well knoweth and seeth all things, be they never so secret to man, and most certainly will pay home at length with fire and brimstone, when he seeth his time.

I say no more, and not so much as I might; following herein the painters, which when their colours will not serve to express a thing that they mean, they shadow it with a veil. But howsoever the matter goeth with them, whether they may or may not be suspected touching this crime aforesaid of infanticide; most sure and manifest it is, that they are more than worthily to be accused of homicide, in murdering the children and servants of God, both men and women, wives and maids, old and young, blind and lame, mad and unmad, discreet and simple innocents, learned with the unlearned, and that of all degrees, from the high archbishop to the clerk and sexton of the church, and that most wrongfully and wilfully; with such effusion of innocent Christian blood, as crieth up daily to God for vengeance.

And therefore Master Harding, in my mind, should do well to spare a little time from these his invectives, wherewith he appeacheth the poor Protestants of murder, whom they have murdered themselves, and exercise his pen with some more fruitful matter, to exhort these spiritual fathers first to cease from murdering of their own children, to spare the blood of innocents, and not to persecute Christ so cruelly in his members as they do: and furthermore, to exhort in like manner these agamists, and

wilful rejecters of matrimony, to take themselves to lawful wives, and not to resist God's holy ordinance, nor encounter his institution with another contrary institution of their own devising, lest perhaps they, prevented by fragility, may fall into danger of such inconveniences above touched, which if they be not in them, I shall be glad; but if they be, it is neither their railing against the poor protestants, nor yet their secret auricular confession, that shall cover their iniquities from the face of the Lord, when he shall come to reveal abscondita tenebrarum, et judicare seeculum per ignem.

And thus, for lack of further leisure, I end with Master Harding; having no more at this time to say unto him, but wish him to fear God, to embrace his truth, to remember himself, and to surcease from this uncharitable railing and brawling, especially against the dead, which cannot answer him; or if he will needs continue still to be such a vehement accuser of others, yet that he will remember what belongeth to the part of a right accuser: first, that his accusation be true; secondly, that no blind affection of partiality be mixt withal: thirdly, whosoever taketh upon him to carp and appeach the crimes of others, ought themselves to be sincere and upright, and to see what may be written in their own foreheads.

Whoredom and murder be grievous offences, and worthy to be accused. But to accuse of murder the parties that were murdered, and to leave the other persons untouched which were the true murderers, it is the part of an accuser, which deserveth himself to be accused of partiality. As verily I think by this woman, that if she had been a catholic papist, and a devout follower of their church, as she was a protestant, she had neither been condemned then alive of them, nor now accused, being dead, of Master Harding. But God forgive him, and make him a good roan, if it be his will!

351. Other Martyrs in 1556

Three martyrs burned at Grinstead in Sussex.

Near about the same time that these three women with the infant were burnt at Guernsey, suffered other three likewise at Grinstead in Sussex, two men and one woman; the names of whom were Thomas Dugate, John Foreman, and Mother Tree, who for righteousness' sake gave themselves to death and torments of the fire, patiently abiding what the furious rage of man could say or work against them; at the said town of Grinstead ending their lives, the eighteenth of the said month of July, and in the year aforesaid.

The burning and martyrdom of Thomas Moor, a simple innocent, in the town of Leicester.

As the bloody rage of this persecution spared neither man, woman, nor child, wife nor maid, lame, blind, nor cripple; and so through all men and women, as there was no difference either of sex or age considered, so neither was there any condition or quality respected of any person, but whosoever he were, that held not as they did on the pope, and sacrament of the altar, were he learned or unlearned, wise or simple innocent, all went to the fire, as may appear by this simple poor creature and innocent soul, named Thotnas Moor, retained as a servant to a man's house in the town of Leicester, about the age of twenty-four, and, after, in manner of a husbandman; who, for speaking certain words, that his Maker was in heaven, and not in the pix, was thereupon apprehended in the country, being with his friends; who coming before his ordinary, first was asked, whether he did not believe his Maker there to be (pointing to the high altar): which he denied.

Then asked the bishop, "How then," said he, "dost thou believe?"

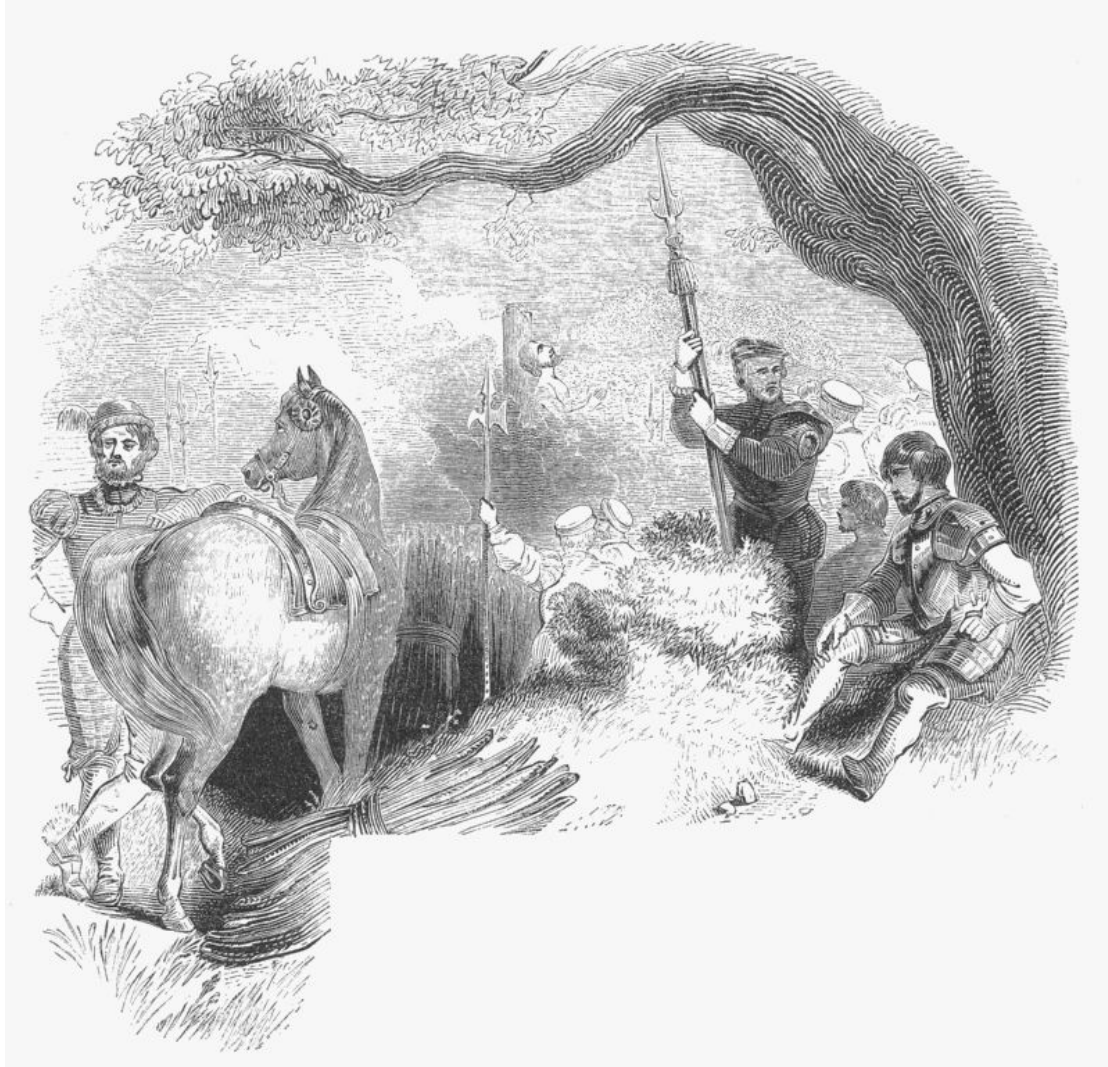
The young man answered again: As his creed did teach him.

To whom the bishop said, "And what is yonder that thou seest above the altar?" He answering said, "Forsooth I cannot tell what you would have me to see. I see there fine clothes, with golden tassels, and other gay gear hanging about the pix what is within I cannot see."

"Why, dost thou not believe," said the bishop, "Christ to be there, flesh, blood, and bone?" No, that I do not," said he.

Whereupon the ordinary, making short with him, read the sentence, and so condemned the true and faithful servant of Christ to death, in St. Margaret's church in Leicester; who was burnt, and suffered a joyful and glorious martyrdom, for the testimony of righteousness, in the same town of Leicester, the year of our Lord above mentioned, 1556, about the twenty-sixth of June.

To this Thomas Moor, we have also annexed the answers and examination of one John Jackson, be-fore Dr. Cook, one of the commissioners, for that it belongeth much unto the same time.



The Martyrdom of John Jackson

The examination of John Jackson, had before Dr. Cook, the eleventh day of March, anno 1556.

"First, when I came before him, he railed on me, and called me heretic. I answered and said, 'I am no heretic.'

"'Yes,' quoth he: 'for Master Read told me, that thou wast the rankest heretic of all them in the King's Bench.' I said, I knew him not. 'No?' quoth he: 'yes, he examined thee at the King's Bench.' I answered him, and said, 'He examined five others, but not me.'

"Then answer me," quoth he, "what sayest thou to the blessed sacrament of the altar? tell me." I answered, "It is a diffuse question, to ask me at the first dash, you promising to deliver me."

"What a heretic is this!" quoth he. I said, "It is easier to call a man heretic, than to prove him one."

"Then said he, 'What church art thou of?' 'What church?' quoth I; 'I am of the same church that is builded on the foundation of the prophets and the apostles, Jesus Christ being the head cornerstone.'

Thou art a heretic," quoth he. "Yea," quoth I: "how can that be, seeing that I am of that church? I am sure that you will not say that the prophets and apostles were heretics."

"No," quoth he; "but what sayest thou to the blessed sacrament of the altar again? tell me." I answered him, and said, "I find it not written." "No?" quoth he: "keeper, away with him."

"Yet I tarried there long, and did talk with him, and I said, 'Sir, I can be content to be tractable, and obedient to the word of God.'

"He answered and said to me, that I knew not what the word of God meant, nor yet whether it were true or not. I answered, and said to him, Yea, that I do."

"Whereby?" quoth he. "Hereby," said I. Our Saviour Christ saith, Search the Scriptures, for in them you think to have eternal life. For they be they that testify of me."

"This is a wise proof," quoth he. "Is it so?" quoth I: "what say you then to these words that the prophet David said, Whatsoever he be that feareth the Lord, he will show him the way that he hath chosen: his soul shall dwell at ease, and his seed shall possess the land. The secrets of the Lord are among them that fear him, and he sheweth them his covenant?"

"Well," quoth he, "you shall be rid shortly one way or other."

"Then said I to him, My life lieth not in man's hands; therefore no man shall do more unto me than God will suffer him."

"No?" quoth he: thou art a stubborn and naughty fellow."

"You cannot so judge of me," quoth I, except you did see some evil by me."

"No?" quoth he: why may not I judge thee, as well as thou and thy fellows judge us, and call us papists?"

"Why," quoth I, that is no judgment: but Christ saith, If you refuse me, and receive not my word, you have one that judgeth you. The word that I have spoken unto you now, shall judge you in the last day."

"I pray thee tell me, who is the head of the congregation?" I answered and said, Christ is the head.'

"But who is head in earth? 'I said, Christ hath members here in earth.'

"Who are they? 'quoth he. 'They,' quoth I, that are ruled by the word of God.'

"You are a good fellow,' quoth he. 'I am that I am,' quoth I.

"Then he said to my keeper, Have him to prison again." I am contented with that,' quoth I; and so we departed.

"I answered no further in this matter, because I thought he should not have my blood in a corner. But I hope in the living God, that when the time shall come, before the congregation I shall shake their building after another manner of fashion. For they build but upon the sand, and their walls be daubed with untempered mortar, and therefore they cannot stand long. Therefore, good brothers and sisters, be of good cheer: for I trust in my God, I and my other prison-fellows shall go joyfully before you, praising God most heartily, that we are counted worthy to be witnesses of his truth. I pray you accept my simple answer, at this time, committing you unto God."

Of this John Jackson, besides these his foresaid answers and examination before Dr. Cook, one of the commissioners, no more as yet came unto our hands.

The examination of John Newman, martyr, which, is to be referred to his story before.

John Newman was first apprehended in Kent, dwelling in the town of Maidstone, and there was examined before Dr. Thornton, suffragan, and others at Tenterden. From thence he was brought to Bonner, and there condemned with Master Denley and Packingham, and burned at Saffron Walden, as is before storied. But because his examinations and answers before the suffragan came not then to my hands, I thought here in this place to bestow them, rather than they should utterly be suppressed. And first what his answers were by writing to the said suffragan after his apprehension, you shall hear by the tenor of his own words, as followeth.

"It may please you to understand, that for the space of all the time of King Edward's reign, we were diligently instructed with continual sermons, made by such men, whose faith, wisdom, learning, and virtuous living were commended unto all men, under the king's hand and seal, and under the hands of the whole council. These men taught diligently a long time, persuading us by the allegations of God's word, that there was no transubstantiation, nor corporal presence in the sacrament. Their doctrine was not believed of us suddenly; but by their continual preaching, and also by our continual prayer unto God, that we might never be deceived, but, if it were true, that God would incline our hearts unto it; and if it were not true, that we might never believe it.

"We weighed that they laboured with God's word, and we asked the advice of our friends; neither could we find that they preached false doctrine. We considered

also, as we did learn, that the king's Grace and his council, and the most part of all the whole realm, believed as they taught, because no man preached the contrary. Also we know, that the preachers were commanded by the king, and the laws of the realm, to preach unto us such doctrine, as was to the authority of God's word agreeable, and none other. And by their diligent setting forth of it, by the king's commandment, and the consent of the whole council, and by the authority of the parliament, we embraced it, and received it, as a very infallible truth taught unto us, for the space of seven years. Wherefore until such time as our consciences are otherwise taught and instructed by God's word, we cannot with safeguard of our consciences take it, as many suppose at this time. And we trust in God, neither that the queen's merciful Highness, nor yet her most honourable council, will, in a matter of faith, use compulsion or violence, because faith is the gift of God, and cometh not of man, neither of man's laws, neither at such time as men require it, but at such time as God giveth it."

The examination and answers of John Newman, martyr, before Dr. Thornton, suffragan of Dover, and others.

First, one of the doctors, or one of the bench, either the archdeacon or Fauces, or some other, whose name John Newman doth not express, beginneth, asking in this wise:

Doctor.--"How say you to this? This is my body, which is given for you."

Newman.-- "It is a figurative speech; one thing spoken, and another meant; as Christ saith, I am a vine, I am a door, I am a stone, &c. Is he therefore a material stone, a vine, or a door?"

Doctor.--"This is no figurative speech; for he saith, This is my body which is given for you. And so saith he not of the stone, vine, or door; but that is a figurative speech."

Newman.--"Christ saith, This cup is the new testament in my blood. If ye will have it so meant, then let them take and eat the cup."

Doctor.--"Nay, that is not so meant: for it is a common phrase of speech among ourselves. We say to our friend, Drink a cup of drink, and yet we mean he should drink the drink in the cup."

Newman.--"Why, if ye will have the one so understood, ye must so understand the other."

Doctor.--"Nay, it is a common use of speech, to say, Drink a cup of ale or beer: and therefore it is no figurative speech."

Newman.--"The often using of a thing doth not make that thing otherwise than it is; but wheresoever one thing is spoken and another meant, it is a figurative speech."

Doctor.--"Well, we will not stand hereabout. How say ye by the real presence? is not Christ's natural body there that was born of the Virgin Mary?"

Newman.--"No, I do not so believe, neither can I so believe; for the soul of man doth not feed upon natural things, as the body doth."

Doctor.--"Why, how then doth it feed?"

Newman.--"I think the soul of man doth feed as the angels in heaven, whose feeding is only the pleasure, joy, felicity, and delectation that they have of God; and so the soul of man doth feed and eat, through faith, the body of Christ."

Collins.--"Yea, but if the body do not feed upon natural things, the soul cannot continue with the body: therefore the body must needs feed upon natural things, that both may live together."

Newman.--"I grant it to be true: but yet the soul doth live otherwise than the body, which doth perish; therefore natural things do but feed the body only. I pray you what did Judas receive at the supper?"

Collins.--"Marry, Judas did receive the very body of Christ, but it was to his damnation."

Newman.--"Why, was the devil entered into him before? Then he had both the devil and Christ in him at one time."

Collins.--"Nay, the devil did enter into him afterward."

Newman.--"Yea, and before too: what do you think? had he but one devil? Nay, I think he had rather a legion of devils at the latter end."

Collins.--"Well, put case it be so, what say you to that?"

Newman.-- "Marry, if Christ and the devil were both in Judas at once, I pray you how did they two agree together?"

Collins.--"We grant they were both in Judas at that time; for Christ may be where the devil is, if he will: but the devil cannot be where Christ is, except it please Christ."

Newman.--"Christ will not be in an unclean person that hath the devil."

Thornton.-- "Why, will ye not believe that Christ was in hell? yet ye will grant that the devil is there; and so might he be in Judas if it pleased him."

Newman.--"Christ would not suffer Mary Magdalene to touch him, which sought him at his grave, and did love him entirely; much less he will suffer an ungodly man to receive him into his unclean body."

Thornton.--"Yes, seeing God may do all things he may do what he list, and be where he will: and doth not the psalmist say, he is in hell, and in all places? Why should we then doubt of his being there?"

Newman.--"Though his Godhead be in all places, yet that is not sufficient to prove that his humanity is in all places."

Thornton.--"No! do you not believe that God is omnipotent, and may do all things?"

Hewman.--"I do believe that God is almighty, and may do all that he will do."

Thornton.--"Nay, but if he be omnipotent, he may do all things, and there is nothing impossible for him to do."

Nenyman.--"I know God is almighty, and can do all that he will: but he cannot make his Son a liar, he cannot deny himself, nor can he restore virginity once violated and defiled."

Thornton.--"What is that to your purpose? God doth not defile virginity; we speak but of things that God doth."

Newman.--"Why, will ye have the humanity of Christ in all places, as the Deity is?"

Thornton.--"Yea, he is in all places, as the Deity is, if it please him."

Newman.--"I will promise you that seemeth to me a very great heresy; for heaven and earth are not able to contain the divine power of God: for it is in all places, as here and in every place; and yet ye will say, that wheresoever the Deity is, there is also the humanity; and so ye will make him no body, but a phantastical body, and not a body indeed."

Thornton.--"Nay, we do not say he is in all places, as the Deity is; but, if it please him, he may be in all places with the Deity."

Newman.--"I promise you that seemeth to me as great a heresy as ever I heard of in my life; and I dare not grant it, lest I should deny Christ to be a very man, and that were against all the Scriptures."

Thornton.--"Tush, what shall we stand reasoning with him? I dare say he doth not believe that Christ came out of his mother, not opening the matrice. Do you believe that Christ rose from death, and came through the stone?"

Newman.--"I do believe that Christ rose from death; but I do not believe that he came through the stone, neither doth the Scripture so say."

Thornton.--"Lo, how say you? he doth not believe that Christ came through the stone: and if he doth not believe this, how shall he believe the other? If he could believe this, it were easy for him to believe the other."

Newman.--"The Scripture doth not say he went through the stone, but it saith the angels of God came down, and rolled, away the stone, and for fear of him the keepers became even as dead men."

Thornton.--"Ah fool, ah fool! that was because the women should see that he was risen again from death."

Newman.--"Well, the Scripture maketh as much for me, as it doth for you, and more too."

Thornton.--"Well, let us not stand any longer about him. Back again to the real presence. How say ye? is the body of Christ really in the sacrament, or no?"

Newman.--"I have answered you already."

Thornton.--"Well, do ye not believe that he is there really?"

Newman.--"No, I believe it not."

Thornton.--"Well, will ye stand to it?"

Newman.--"I must needs stand to it, till I be persuaded to a further truth."

Thornton.--"Nay, ye will not be persuaded, but stand to your own opinion."

Newman.--"Nay, I stand not to mine own opinion, God I take to witness, but only to the Scriptures of God, and that can all those that stand here witness with me, and nothing but the Scriptures: and I take God to witness, that I do nothing of presumption, but that which I do is only in regard of my conscience; and if there be a further truth than I see, except it appear a truth to me, I cannot receive it as a truth. And seeing faith is the gift of God, and cometh not of man, (for it is not you that can give me faith, nor any man else,) therefore I trust ye will bear the more with me, seeing it must be wrought by God; and when it shall please God to open a further truth to me, I shall receive it with all my heart, and embrace it."

"Thornton had many other questions, which I did not bear away; but as I do understand, these are the chiefest; as for taunts, foolish and unlearned, he lacked none. Praise God for his gifts, and God increase in us strength! "

The arguments of John Newman.

"If the body of Christ were really and bodily in the sacrament, then whosoever received the sacrament, received also the body.

"The wicked, receiving the sacrament, receive not the body of Christ:

"Ergo, The body of Christ is not really in the sacrament."

"They which eat the flesh and drink the blood of Christ, dwell in him, and he in them.

"The wicked dwell not in Christ, nor he in them:

"Ergo, The wicked eat not the flesh, nor drink the blood of Christ."

"They that have Christ dwelling in them, bring forth much fruit. He that dwelleth in me, and I in him, bringeth forth much fruit, &c.

"The wicked bringeth forth no fruit of goodness:

"Ergo, They have not Christ's body dwelling in them."

"Where remembrance is of a thing, there is imported the absence thereof.

"Remembrance of Christ's body is in the sacrament; Do this in remembrance of me, &c.:

"Ergo, Christ body there is imported to be absent."

"Marry they will say, 'We see him not with our outward eyes; but he is commended under the forms of bread and wine: and that we see, is nothing but a quality or an accident.' But let them show me a quality or an accident without a substance, and I will believe them."

And thus much concerning Newman's examinations and arguments, whose martyrdom is before expressed.

The martyrdom of Joan Waste, a blind woman, in the town of Derby.

THE first day of August, in the year above specified, suffered likewise at the town of Derby a certain poor honest godly woman, being blind from her birth, and unmarried, about the age of twenty-two, named Joan Waste, of the parish of All-hallows. Of them that sat upon this innocent woman's blood, the chiefest were Ralph Banes, bishop of the diocese, Dr. Draicot, his chancellor, Sir John Port, knight, Henry Vernon, esquire, Peter Finch, official of Derby, with the assistance also of divers others; Richard Ward and William Bainbridge the same time being bailiffs of the town of Derby, &c. First, after the above-named bishop and Dr. Draicot had caused the said Joan Waste to be apprehended in the town of Derby, suspecting her to be guilty of certain heresies, she was divers times privily examined, as well in prison as out of prison, by Finch, the official aforesaid; after that, brought to public examination before the bishop; at last, was there burnt in Derby, as is abovesaid. Touching whose life, bringing up, and conversation, somewhat more amply we mind to discourse, as by faithful relation hath come to our hands.

First, this Joan Waste was the daughter of one William Waste, an honest poor man, and by his science a barber, who sometime also used to make ropes. His wife had the same Joan and one other at one birth, and she was born blind. And when she was about twelve or fourteen years old, she learned to knit hosen and sleeves, and other things, which in time she could do very well. Furthermore, as time served, she would help her father to turn ropes, and do such other things as she was able, and in no case would be idle. Thus continued she with her father and mother, during their lives. After whose departure, then kept she with one Roger Waste her brother, who in the time of King Edward the Sixth, of blessed memory, gave herself daily to go to the church to hear divine service read in the vulgar tongue. And thus, by hearing homilies and sermons, she became marvellously well affected to the religion then taught. So at length, having by her labour gotten and saved so much money as would buy her

a New Testament, she caused one to be provided for her. And though she was of herself unlearned, and by reason of her blindness unable to read, yet for the great desire she had to understand, and have printed in her memory the sayings of the Holy Scriptures contained in the New Testament, she acquainted herself chiefly with one John Hurt, then prisoner in the common hall of Derby for debts.

The same John Hurt being a sober grave man, of the age of threescore and ten years, by her earnest entreaty, and being a prisoner, and many times idle and without company, did for his exercise daily read unto her some one chapter of the New Testament. And if at any time he were otherwise occupied or letted through sickness, she would repair unto one John Pemerton, clerk of the parish church of All-saints in the same town of Derby, or to some other person which could read, and sometimes she would give a penny or two (as she might spare) to such persons as would not freely read unto her; appointing unto them aforehand how many chapters of the New Testament they should read, or how often they should repeat one chapter, upon a price.

Moreover, in the said Joan Waste this was notorious, that she being utterly blind, could notwithstanding, without a guide, go to any church within the said town of Derby, or at any other place or person, with whom she had any such exercise. By the which exercise she so profited, that she was able not only to recite many chapters of the New Testament without book, but also could aptly impugn, by divers places of Scriptures, as well sin, as such abuses in religion, as then were too much in use in divers and sundry persons.

As this godly woman thus daily increased in the knowledge of God's holy word, and no less in her life expressed the virtuous fruits and exercise of the same: not long after, through the fatal death of blessed King Edward, followed the woeful ruin of religion, in the reign of Queen Mary his sister. In which alteration, notwithstanding the general backsliding of the greatest part and multitude of the whole realm into the old papism again, yet this poor blind woman, continuing in a constant conscience, proceeded still in her former exercise, both being zealous in that she had learned, and also refusing to communicate in religion with those which taught contrary doctrine-to that she before had learned in King Edward's time, as it is above declared. For the which she was called and convented before the aforesaid bishop and Dr. Draicot, with divers other called in to bear witness.

Articles ministered unto Joan Waste.

The articles ministered unto her, and wherewith she was charged, were these:

"First, That she did hold the sacrament of the altar to be but only a memory or representation of Christ's body, and material bread and wine, but not his natural body, unless it were received. And that it ought not to be reserved from time to time over the altar, but immediately to be received.

"Item, That she did, hold, in the receiving of the sacrament of the altar, she did not receive the same body that was born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered upon the cross for our redemption.

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

"Item, She did hold, that Christ at his last supper did not bless the bread that he had then in his hands, but was blessed himself; and, by the virtue of the words of consecration, the substance of the bread and wine is not converted and turned into the substance of the body and blood of Christ.

"Item, That she did grant that she was of the parish of All-hallows in Derby.

"Item, That all and singular the premises are true and notorious by public report and fame."

Whereunto she answered, that she believed therein so much as the Holy Scriptures taught her, and according to that she had heard preached unto her by divers learned men; whereof some suffered imprisonment, and other some suffered death for the same doctrine. Amongst whom she named, beside others, Dr. Taylor, who, she said, took it of his conscience, that that doctrine which he taught was true; and asked of them, if they would do so in like case for their doctrine: which if they would not, she desired them for God's sake not to trouble her, being a blind, poor, and unlearned woman, with any further talk, saying, that (by God's assistance) she was ready to yield up her life in that faith, in such sort as they should appoint.

And yet notwithstanding, being pressed by the said bishop and Dr. Draicot, with many arguments of Christ's omnipotency, as, why was not Christ able as well to make the bread his body, as to turn water into wine, raise Lazarus from the dead, and such other like arguments; and many times being threatened with grievous imprisonments, torments, and death: the poor woman thus being, as it were, half astonished through their terrors and threats, and desirous (as it seemed) to prolong her life, offered unto the bishop then present, that if he would before that company, take it upon his conscience, that that doctrine which he would have her to believe concerning the sacrament was true, and that he would at the dreadful day of judgment answer for her therein, (as the said Dr. Taylor in divers of his sermons did offer,) she would then further answer them.

Whereunto the bishop answered, he would. But Dr. Draicot, his chancellor, hearing that, said, "My Lord, you know not what you do; you may in no case answer for a heretic." And immediately. he asked the poor woman whether she would recant or no, and said she should answer for herself: unto whose sayings the bishop also reformed himself.

The poor woman perceiving this, answered again, that if they refused to take of their conscience that it was true they would have her to believe, she would answer no further, but desired them to do their pleasure: and so, after certain circumstances, they pronounced sentence against her, and delivered her unto the bailiffs of the said town of Derby aforementioned; who after they had kept her about a month or five weeks, at length there came unto them a writ *De hæretico comburendo*; by virtue whereof they were appointed by the said bishop to bring her to the parish church of All Saints at a day appointed, where Dr. Draicot should make a sermon.

When the day and time were come that this innocent martyr should suffer, first cometh to the church Dr. Draicot, accompanied with divers gentlemen, as Master Thomas Pow thread, Master Henry Vernon, Master Dethick of Newhall, and divers other. This done, and all things now in a readiness, at last the poor blind creature and servant of God was brought and set before the pulpit, where the said doctor, being entered into his sermon, and

there inveighing against divers matters, which he called heresies, declared unto the people that that woman was condemned for denying the blessed sacrament of the altar to be the very body and blood of Christ really and substantially, and was thereby cut off from the body of the catholic church; and said, that she was not only blind of her bodily eyes, but also blind in the eyes of her soul. And he said, that as her body should be presently consumed with material fire, so her soul should be burned in hell with everlasting fire, as soon as it shall be separated from the body, and there to remain world without end; and said, it was not lawful for the people to pray for her. And so with many terrible threats he made an end of his sermon, and commanded the bailiffs and those gentlemen to see her executed. And the sermon thus ended, eftsoons the blessed servant of God was carried away from the said church, to a place called the Windmill pit, near unto the said town, and holding the foresaid Roger Waste her brother by the hand she prepared herself, and desired the people to pray with her, and said such prayers as she before had learned, and cried upon Christ to have mercy upon her, as long as life served. In this mean season, the said Dr. Draicot went to his inn, for great sorrow of her death, and there laid him down, and slept, during all the time of her execution! And thus much of Joan Waste.

Now, forasmuch as I am not ignorant, faithful reader! that this, and other stories more, set forth of the martyrs, shall not lack carpers and markers enow, ready to seek all holes and corners how to defame the memory of God's good saints, and to condemn these histories of lies and untruths, especially histories wherein they see their shameful acts and unchristian cruelty detected and brought to light, therefore, for better confirmation of this history above written, and to stop the mouths of such momes, this shall be to admonish all and singular readers hereof, that the discourse of this poor blind woman's life and death, in such sort as is above pre-fixed, hath been confessed to be very true, by divers persons of worthy credit, and yet living; and also hath been specially perused and examined by William Bainbridge, before mentioned, bailiff then of Derby; who as well of his own knowledge, as by special inquiry and conference by him made, with divers others, hath certified us the same to be undoubted; beside the testimonial of John Cadman, curate of the said town, and of others also, upon whose honesty well known, and their report herein nothing differing from such as were best acquainted with that matter, I have been here the more bold to commit this story to posterity, for all good men to consider and judge upon.

The martyrdom of Edward Sharp at Bristol.

About the beginning of the next month following, which was September, a certain godly, aged, devout person, and zealous of the Lord's glory, born in Wiltshire, named Edward Sharp, of the age of forty years or thereabout, was condemned at Bristol to the like martyrdom, where he, constantly and manfully persisting in the just quarrel of Christ's gospel, for misliking and renouncing the ordinances of the Romish church, was tried as pure gold, and made a lively sacrifice in the fire: in whose death, as in the death of all his other saints, the Lord be glorified and thanked for his great grace of constancy; to whom be praise for ever, Amen.

Four who suffered at Mayfield, in Sussex.

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Next after the martyrdom of Edward Sharp, abovesaid, followed four, which suffered at Mayfield, in Sussex, the twenty-fourth day of September, anno 1556; of whose names, two we find recorded, and the other two we yet know not, and therefore, according to our register, hereunder they be specified, as we find them: John Hart, Thomas Ravensdale, a shoemaker, and a currier; which said four, being at the place where they should suffer, after they had made their prayer, and were at the stake ready to abide the force of the fire, they constantly and joyfully yielded their lives for the testimony of the glorious gospel of Jesus Christ, unto whom be praise for ever and ever. Amen.

The day after the martyrdom of these aforesaid at Mayfield, which was the twenty-fifth of September, anno 1556, was a young man (which by science was a carpenter, whose name we have not) put to death, for the like testimony of Jesus Christ, at Bristol, where he, yielding himself to the torments of the fire, gave up his life into the hands of the Lord, with such joyful constancy and triumph, as all the church of Christ have just cause to praise God for him.

The martyrdom of John Horn and a woman, at Wootton-under-Edge, in Gloucestershire.

Now not long after the death of the said young man at Bristol, in the same month were two more godly martyrs consumed by fire at Wootton-under-Edge, in Gloucestershire, whose names are above specified, which died very gloriously in a constant faith, to the terror of the wicked, and comfort of the godly. So gloriously did the Lord work in them, that death unto them was life, and life with a blotted conscience was death.

A pitiful story concerning the unmerciful handling of William Dangerfield, and Joan his wife, being in child-bed; taken out of her house, with her sucking infant of fourteen days old, and laid in the common jail amongst thieves and murderers.

When I had written and finished the story of the Guernsey women, with the young infant there with them burned, and also had passed the burning of the poor blind woman Joan Waste at Derby, I well hoped I should have found no more such stories of unmerciful cruelty showed upon silly women with their children and young infants: but now, coming to the persecution of Gloucestershire, about the parts of Bristol, I find another story of such unmercifulness showed against a woman in child-bed, as far from all charity and humanity as hath been any other story yet hitherto rehearsed, as by the sequel hereof may appear.

In the parish of Wootton-under-Edge, not far from Bristol, was dwelling one William Dangerfield, a right honest and godly poor man, who by Joan Dangerfield his wife had nine children, and she now lying in child-bed of the tenth. This William, after he had been abroad from his house a certain space for fear of persecution, hearing that his wife was brought to bed, repaired home to visit her, as natural duty required, and to see his children, she being now delivered four days before.

The return of this man was not so soon known to some of his unkind and uncharitable neighbours, but they, incensed with the spirit of papistry, eftsoons beset the house about, and there took the same William Dangerfield, and carried him to prison; and so at length he was

brought to the bishop, being then Brooks, in whose cruel handling he remained a certain space, so long, till his legs almost were fretted off with irons.

After the apprehension of the husband, the wife likewise was taken, with her young-born child, being but fourteen days old, (as is said,) out of her child-bed, and carried into the common jail, and there placed amongst thieves and murderers, where both she and her poor innocent found so small charity amongst the catholic men, that she never could come to any fire, but was driven to warm the clothes that she should put about the child in her bosom.

In the mean season while they lay thus enclosed in several prisons, the husband and the wife, the bishop beginneth to practise not with the woman first, as the serpent did with Eve, but with the man, craftily deceiving his simplicity with fair glozing words, falsely persuading him that his wife had recanted, and asking him, wherefore he should more stand in his own conceit than she, being as well learned as he, and so subtilely drew out a form of recantation, wherewith he deceived the simple soul: whereunto after that he had once granted that he would consent, although he had not yet recanted they suffered him to go to his wife, where she lay in the common jail.

Then they, with melting hearts opening their minds one to another, when he saw his wife not released, and perceiving that he had not done well, he declared unto her the whole matter, how falsely he was circumvented by the subtle flatterings of the bishop, bearing him in hand that certainly she had recanted: "and thus deceiving me," said he, "brought this unto me;" and so plucked out of his bosom the copy of the recantation, whereunto he had granted his promise. At the sight whereof the wife, hearing what her husband had done, her heart slave asunder, saying, "Alack! thus long have we continued one, and hath Satan so prevailed, to cause you to break your first vow made to Christ in baptism?" And so parted the said William and Joan his wife, with what hearts the Lord knoweth. Then began he not a little to bewail his promise made to the bishop, and to make his prayer to Almighty God, desiring him that he might not live so long as to call evil good, and good evil; or light darkness, or darkness light; and so departed he home toward his house, where, by the way homeward (as it is affirmed) he took his death, and shortly after departed, according to his prayer, after he had endured in prison twelve weeks.

After this, Joan his wife continued still in prison with her tender infant, till at last she was brought before the bishop to be examined; whereunto what her answers were, it is not certainly known. Howbeit most like it is, whatsoever they were, they pleased not the bishop, as appeared by his ire increased against the poor woman, and her long continuance in the prison, together with her tender babe, which also remained with her in the jail, partaker of her martyrdom, so long as her milk would serve to give it suck, till at length the child, being starved for cold and famine, was sent away when it was past all remedy, and so shortly after died; and not long after the mother also followed. Besides, the old woman, which was mother of the husband, of the age of eighty years and upward, who, being left in the house after their apprehension, for lack of comfort, there perished also.

And thus have ye in one story the death of four together; first of the old woman, then of the husband, after that of the innocent child, and lastly of the mother. What became of the other nine children, I am not perfectly sure, but that I partly understand, that they were all undone by the same.

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This story is reported and testified as well by others, as namely by Mrs. Bridges, dwelling in the same town, and partaker then of the like afflictions, and who hardly escaped with her life.

A shoemaker burnt in Northampton, &c.

In the month of October following, was burned at the town of Northampton, a shoemaker, a true witness and disciple of the Lord, who, according to the grace of God given unto him, cleaving fast to the sound doctrine and preaching of God's word, renounced the untrue and false-coloured religion of the Romish sea, wherein many a good man hath been drowned.

After whom not long after, in the same month of October, died also in the castle of Chichester three godly confessors, being there in bonds for the like cause of Christ's gospel, who also should have suffered the like martyrdom, had not their natural death, or rather (as it is to be suspected) the cruel handling of the papists, made them away before, and afterward buried them in the field.

I read moreover that in this present year, to wit, anno 1556, was burnt one called Hooke, a true witness of the Lord's truth at Chester.

Five prisoners famished in Canterbury castle, by the unmerciful tyranny of the papists.

As among all the bishops, Bonner, bishop of London, principally excelled in persecuting the poor members and saints of Christ; so of all archdeacons, Nicholas Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury, (as may by man's sight appear,) was the sorest, and of least compassion, (only Dunning of Norwich excepted,) by whose unmerciful nature and agrest disposition very many were put to death in that diocese of Canterbury, not only in the bloody time of that queen, but some also in the blessed begin-ning of this our most renowned queen that now is, as by the grace of Christ hereafter shall appear.

Of those that suffered in Queen Mary's time within the aforesaid diocese of Canterbury, some be recited already, with the order and form set down of such articles as then were most commonly minis-tered to the examinares by Thornton, suffragan of Dover, and the said Nicholas Harpsfield, and others, as before in the vourne of this history may appear.

Now to proceed in the order and course of time where we left, next followeth the month of November.

In the beginning of November were together in the castle of Canterbury fifteen godly and innocent martyrs, of which number none escaped with their lives, but they were either burned, or else famished in prison; of the which two sorts, which is the easier death, God knoweth; it is hard to judge. Notwithstanding, the truth is, that of these fifteen, ten were burned and suffered in the fire, of whom in the next book more shall follow hereafter, the Lord willing. The other five were pined and famished most unmercifully in the strait prison, of whom we have here presently to entreat; whose names were these: John Clark, and Dunston Chittenden (which two were yet uncondemned): also William Foster, of Stone; Alice

Potkins, wife, of Staplehurst; and John Archer, of Cranbrooke, weaver: these were condemned to be burnt.

Of these five prisoners, the first two were uncondemned; the other three last were condemned, and should have been burned, but suffered no less torments than if they had abided the fire, being macerated and pined to death by famine. What their articles and answers were, I need not here to recite, seeing all they, in the time of Queen Mary, commonly suffered for one manner and sort of cause, that is, for holding against the seven sacraments; against the reality of Christ's being in his supper; for speaking against the Church of Rome, and determinations of the same; against images set up and worshipped in the church; for not coming to church, and other like, &c.

First, William Foster, answering to these and like articles, said, that he believed well in all the articles of the creed; but to believe that there be more sacraments than two, and to pray to saints either to profit us, or to pray for souls in purgatory to profit them, that faith and works do justify, or to allow the popish ceremonies in the church, that he denied. Moreover he said, to carry candles upon Candlemas-day, were as good for him, as to carry a dung-fork, and that it is as necessary to carry the gallows about, if his father were hanged, as the cross. To come to the church he cannot, said he, with a safe conscience. Concerning fish-days and flesh-days, he granted it good to put difference therein, except where necessity required the contrary. This William Foster was a labouring man, of the age of forty years. He was apprehended and imprisoned by Sir Thomas Moyle, knight.

Alice Potkins, for the like confession, was condemned to be burned, for that she was not, neither would be, confessed to the priest; for that she received not the sacrament of the altar; because she would not pray to saints, nor creep to the cross, &c. Being demanded of her age, she said that she was forty-nine years old, according to her old age; and according to her young age, since she learned Christ, she was of one year's age; and was committed by Master Roberts to prison.

The answer and confession of John Archer of Cranbrooke was much in like sort. And although certain of these, upon ignorant simplicity, swerved a little in the number of sacraments, some granting one sacrament, that is, the body of Christ hanging upon the cross, some more, some less; yet in the principal matter touching the doctrine of salvation for faith to stay upon, and in disagreeing from the dreaming determinations of the popish church, they most agreed. Concerning the not praying to saints, and for the dead in purgatory, for not creeping to the cross, for faith only to justify, for taking of an oath, and other such like, he granted as the others had done. This father Archer, by his occupation a weaver of the town of Cranbrooke, of the age of fifty years, was attached and imprisoned by Sir John Gilford, knight.

And thus have ye the cause and imprisonment of these five godly prisoners. Now as touching the cruelty of their death, that ye shall not surmise the suspicion or relation thereof to proceed of myself, you shall hear their own testimony and certification by their own letter, thrown out of the prison, concerning the unmerciful dealing of the catholic tyrants in famishing them, as is aforesaid. The words and copy of their letter is this.

"Be it known to all men that shall read, or hear read these our letters, that we the poor prisoners of the castle of Canterbury for God's truth, are kept and lie in cold irons, and our

keepers will not suffer any meat to be brought to us to comfort us. And if any man do bring us any thing, as bread, butter, cheese, or any other food, the said keeper will charge them that so bring us any thing, (except money or raiment,) to carry it them again; or else if he do receive any food of any for us, he doth keep it for himself, and he and his servants do spend it, so that we have nothing thereof; and thus the keeper keepeth away our victuals from us: insomuch that there are four of us, prisoners there for God's truth, famished already, and thus is it his mind to famish us all. And we think he is appointed thereunto by the bishops and priests, and also of the justices, so to famish us; and not only us of the said castle, but also all other prisoners in other prisons for the like cause, to be also famished. Notwithstanding, we write not these our letters to that intent we might not afford to be famished for the Lord Jesus' sake, but for this cause and intent, that they, having no law so to famish us in prison, should not do it privily, but that the murderers' hearts should be openly known to all the world, that all men may know of what church they are, and who is their father. -- Out of the castle of Canterbury."



Heretics bearing Faggots and Candles

The trouble and vexation of good people in the diocese of Lichfield and Coventry.

These foresaid months of September, November, and December, as they were troublesome to divers other places, and especially to the diocese of Canterbury, by reason of the archdeacon above named; so likewise they brought no little business in the country to Lichfield and Coventry, by a cruel bishop there, called Ralph Banes, and a more cruel chancellor, named Dr. Draicot, through the fierce inquisition of whom great stir was there among the people, being called to examination of their faith, and many caused to bear faggots; who, although they were not put to the torment of death, yet because it may appear what a number there are in the countries of England abroad, which in their hearts have a

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misliking of the pope's Romish laws and religion, if for fear they durst utter their minds, I thought to make a rehearsal of their names, which in the foresaid diocese of Coventry and were taken in suspicion, and examined for their religion.

And first amongst them that were detected and enjoined to the popish penance, that is, to bear a faggot, candle, and beads about in procession, were Agnes Foreman, detected, examined, and by witness convicted, and bare a faggot the twelfth of September. Likewise Margery Kirry, Thomas Norris, Thomas Stiffe, William Kaime, Robert Katrenes, Thomas Smith, John Borsley the younger. Item, John Waterhouse, against whom came in witnesses and accusers Richard Caerbanke, J. Edge, William Smith, Robert Cooke, laying against him for seldom coming to the church, for giving no reverence at the elevation of the sacrament, but looking upon his book, for not kissing the pax, &c. Robert Bissel, Leonard West, Richard Baily of the parish of Whitacre.

These were deprived: Nicholas Cartwright, doctor; Richard Jurdian, priest; Edmund Crockel, priest; Thomas Whitehead, priest; William Taylor, priest; Anselme Sele, priest; Richard Slavy, priest, married; Edward Hawkes, priest, married; Robert Aston, priest, deprived; Henry Tecka, priest, deprived; Robert Mossey, priest, married and deprived.

Beside these were divers other, which in like sort were detected, accused, and examined, although they bare no faggot, but were dismissed; as Richard Kempe, John Frankling, William Marler, Julius Dudley, Eustache Bysacre, William Shene, Antony Afterwhittle, Thomas Steilbe, Henry Birdlim, William Mosley, John Leach, John Richardson, Antony Jones alias Pulton, Thomas Wilson, Thomas Lynacres, and Hugh Lynacres his son, Isabel Parker, Martin Newman, William Enderby, Cicely Preston, Thomas Saulter, John Stamford, shoemaker, Richard Woodburne, Thomas Arnal, shoemaker, John Robinson, Hugh Moore, shoemaker, John Adale, Thomas Arch, Frances Ward, John Avines, Richard Foxal, Thomas Underdonne, Richard Weaver.

The next month following, being October, came under examination Joyce Lewes, gentlewoman, of whom we defer to speak until the next year, at what time she was burned.

These forenamed persons, with many more following in the next year after, although they did subscribe and relent through fear of death; yet for this cause I do here recite them, that by them it might appear, what a number there were, not only in the county of Lichfield, but also in other parts, in heart set against the pope's proceedings, if that fear rather than conscience had not compelled them to the contrary.

The conclusion of this eleventh book, with a brief story of Sir John Cheke, &c.

And thus have ye the whole persecution of this year declared, which was the year of the Lord 1556, and the fourth of Queen Mary's reign, with the names and causes of all them which suffered martyrdom within the compass of the said year: the number of all which, slain and martyred in divers places of England at sundry times this year, came to above eighty-four persons, whereof many were women, wives, widows, and maidens; besides them which otherwise by secret practice were made away, or driven out of goods and houses, or out of the realm, or else within the realm were put to penance and coacted by forcible violence to recant: save only that I have omitted the story of Sir John Cheke, knight, and schoolmaster sometime

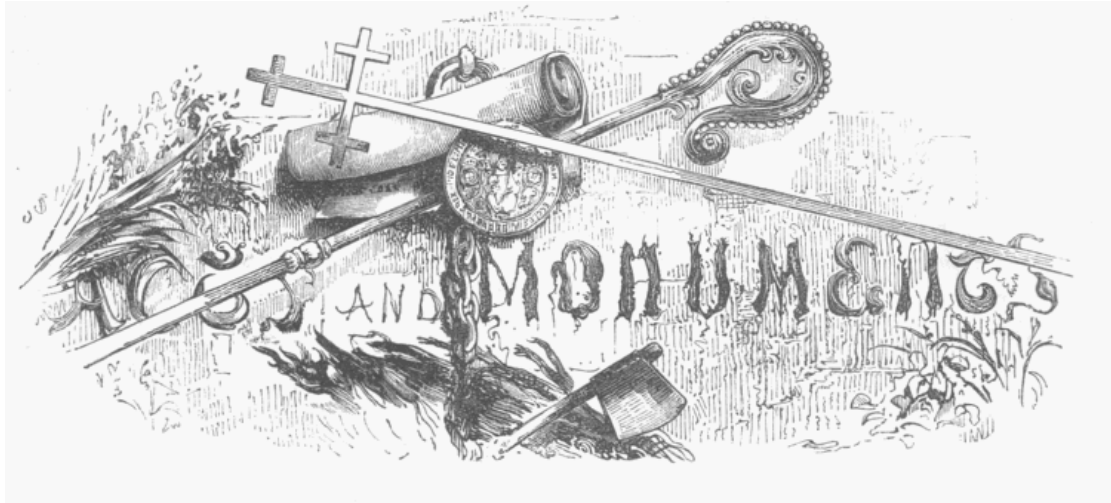
of King Edward; the worthiness of which man deserveth much to be said of him, but his fall would rather be covered in silence and oblivion. Only to note a word or two of a few things to the present story most principally appertaining it shall suffice.

First, Master Cheke being in the country of Germany, out of all danger of persecution, with many more of his own countrymen and acquaintance, was not only in safety, but also with reputation accordingly esteemed among the Germans, and also well placed in the city of Strasburg; where if he had contented himself to have remained, rather giving place to time, than to presume upon adventures, peradventure it had been better with him. But what fatal instigation wrought in his mind I know not. In the end so it fell, that he would needs take his journey with Sir Peter Carew, from High Germany unto Brussels, and that (as I have credibly heard of them which knew somewhat) not without the forecasting of his adventured journey by the constellation of the stars, and disposition of the heavens above. For as he was a man famously expert and travailed in the knowledge of sundry arts and sciences; so was he a little too much addicted to the curious practising of this star-divinity, which we call astrology. But howsoever it was, or whatsoever it was that the stars did promise him, truth was, that men here in earth kept little promise with him. For having, as it is said, King Philip's safe-conduct to pass and repass, and that by the means, as I find, of the Lord Paget and Sir John Mas, pledging for his safeguard King Philip's fidelity, he came to Brussels to see the queen's ambassadors; and having brought the Lord Paget on his way toward England, in the return between Brussels and Antwerp, he was taken with Sir Peter Carew by the provost-marshal, spoiled of their horses, and clapped into a cart, their legs, arms, and bodies tied with halters to the body of the cart, and so shipped, being blindfold, under the hatches, and so brought to the Tower of London.

Thus the good man being entrapped, and in the hands now of his enemies, had but one of these two ways to take, either to change his religion, or to change his life: other remedy with those holy catholics there was none. Neither could his conscience excuse him, nor truth defend him, nor learning help him.

Albeit Master Fecknam, whether by the queen suborned, or upon his own devotion or friendship toward his old acquaintance, took upon him the defence and commendation of Master Cheke, speaking in his behalf, yet no mercy could be had with the queen, but he must needs recant, and so did he; the copy of whose recantation prescribed unto him, because it is known and in the hands of divers, it needeth not here to be expressed.

Then after this recantation, he was, through the crafty handling of the catholics, allured first to dine and company with them; at length drawn unawares to sit in place, where the poor martyrs were brought before Bonner and other bishops to be condemned; the remorse whereof so mightily wrought in his heart, that not long after he left this mortal. life; whose fall, although it was full of infirmity, yet his rising again by repentance was great, and his end comfortable; the Lord be praised.



The Twelfth Book.

**Containing the Bloody Doings and Persecutions of the
Adversaries, Against the Faithful and True Servants of
Christ, with the Particular Processes and Names of Such as
Were Put To Slaughter From the Beginning of January,
1557, and the Fifth Year of Queen Mary.**

352. The Visitation at Cambridge; Exhumations and Burnings.

The order and manner of the cardinal's visitation in Cambridge, with the condemning, taking up, and burning of the bones and books of Martin Bucer and Paulus Phagius anno 1557, January the ninth.

CARDINAL POLE, three years after his return into England, having somewhat withdrawn his mind from other affairs of the realm, and having in all points established the Romish religion, began to have an eye to the university of Cambridge, which place among others specially seemed to have need of reformation out of hand. To perform this charge were chosen Cuthbert Scot, not long before consecrated bishop of Chester, Nicholas Ormanet an Italian, arch-priest of the people of Bozolo, in the diocese of Verona, professed in both the laws, and bearing the name of the pope's datary, Thomas Watson, elected bishop of Lincoln, John Christopherson, elected bishop of Chichester, and Henry Cole, provost of the college of Eton. There was good cause why the matter was especially committed to these persons; for as touching Ormanet, it is well known that he was a man of much estimation with Julius the Third, at that time bishop of Rome, and was appointed to come into England with Cardinal Pole, because, without his knowledge, (as in whom he put his chief trust and confidence,) the bishop would have nothing done that was of any importance or weight.

The residue were sent thither either for experience in matters of the university, or else they seemed of all others most meet to be put in trust with the handling of that case, because they were taken for most stout champions and earnest defenders of the Romish religion, and of things appertaining to the establishment of the same. Some were of opinion that Scot, Watson, and Christopherson busily procured this journey of their own hands, because there was a grudge between them and divers of the university, at whose hands they thought themselves, lately before, to have received displeasure, and that now time and occasion served to be revenged upon them, as they listed themselves.

These persons thus appointed (in the mean while as the visitors were addressing themselves to their journey) sent their letters with the cardinal's citation before to Dr. Andrew Perne, vice-chancellor then of Cambridge, with the other commissioners associate, commanding him to warn all the graduates of the university, in their name, to be in a readiness against the eleventh day of January, betwixt eight and ten of the clock, in the church of St. Mary the Virgin: willing him especially to be there himself in presence, and also to set forward all the residue, to whose charge it belonged, that they should search out all statutes, books, privileges, and monuments appertaining to the university, or to any of the colleges, or finally to any of themselves; and these to present the same before them at the day appointed, and every man to appear there personally: for they would not fail but be there at the same time, to lay before them such things as should seem necessary to this charge of reforming the university; and further to give charge of all such things as should seem most for the profit and behoof of the same, together with such things as were to be done on their part, according as should seem most agreeable to the decrees of the canon law.

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This citation of the cardinal, being brought to Cambridge by Master Bullock, was first exhibited in the convocation house of regents, and there openly read by the orator of the university the eleventh of December.

These letters the vice-chancellor caused to be set up in places convenient. This reformation was looked for certain months before, but now, when it was once certainly known that it should be indeed, every man's mind was marvellously moved. Some greatly rejoiced that the time was come, wherein they thought that they might not only freely speak, but also do what they listed against their adversaries, who, beforetimes, had rejected the baubles of the Romish bishop. Other some, perceiving in what peril they stood, looked narrowly about them how to wind themselves out of the briers. Many sought the good will and friendship of such as were known to be in favour with the terrible commissioners. Other certain made themselves guilty, and desired forgiveness of them at whose hands they themselves had taken wrong before.

There were also divers to be found, who, in time past, counterfeited to be very earnest embracers of the true doctrine, but, in their living and conversation, had greatly defaced it; applying to their own fleshly lusts, the liberty that appertained of right to the spirit, so that they thought it lawful to do what they listed. These men supposed there was no way but one to purge themselves of their misbehaviour, namely, if they became accusers of those whose friendship they had ere whiles embraced: and to the intent to make men believe that they professed the Romish religion from the bottom of their hearts, and to curry favour with the commissioners, they promised to take upon them the order of priesthood without delay; for they knew the commissioners would like them very well, who already were in such wise minded, that as they would withhold no man from that order, that would offer himself thereunto, so would they by all means endeavour to bring every man thereto that was any thing witty or learned.

After this, upon the twenty-fourth of December, which was Christmas-even, the vice-chancellor with the heads of the houses, meeting together in the schools, it was there concluded, that the visitors' charges should be borne by the university and colleges, (which then cost the university a hundred pounds thick,) and also that no master of any college should suffer any of the fellows, scholars, or ministers to go forth of the town, but to return before the visitation.

On Friday, the eighth of January, the queen's commissioners, namely, Dr. Perne, vice-chancellor, Dr. Segewick, Dr. Harvy, Master Frank, Rust, and another who is here nameless, also with Sir James Dyer the recorder, Master Chapman and Evered sitting together in the hall, certain were there called by the appointment of L. Hawes, and charge given what should be done. And first the commission was read. Then were all the high-constables called to bring in their precepts, and sworn. Also two of every parish of ten or twelve hundreds, were sworn to inquire of heresy, Lollardy, conspiracy, seditious words, tales, and rumours against the king and queen, Item, For heretical and seditious books, for negligences and misdemeanour in the church, for observation of ceremonies, for ornaments, and stock of the church.

We said at the first, that the cardinal thought the university to have need of reformation. The reason why he should think so, was this; either because the same of long continuance, since any man could remember, had cast off the yoke of the bishop of Rome, and cleaved to the wholesome doctrine of the gospel; or else by reason that both for the late

schism, not yet worn out of memory, and for the doctrine of Martin Bucer, who not long before openly in the said university interpreted Holy Scripture, they saw many so sore corrupted and spotted with this infection, that (even as when fire is spread in a town) unless a speedy remedy were adhibited out of hand, it were not possible, to their thinking, to quench it many years after; who also feared (if it were not looked to in time) lest this mischief should take root, and by little and little infect all the members next unto it, which yet were whole and sound.

This was the year of our Lord 1556. To the intent therefore to make a salve for this sore, the inquisitors, of whom we spake before, came unto Cambridge the ninth day of January. And as they were yet in their journey, and not far from the town, divers of the masters and presidents of the colleges met them, and brought them courteously, first into the town, and after to their lodgings. They were entertained in Trinity College by Master John Christopherson, master of the same house, and lately before elected bishop of Chichester. Notwithstanding they were desired, some to one place, and some to another, as occasion served, either to do their duties, or to show their good will; Cole to the King's College, and Dr. Watson to St. John's. But whether it were for the acquaintance of Christopherson, or for the largeness of the house, which, forasmuch as it was able to receive them all, seemed therefore most meet and convenient to take their conference in, and stood well for all comers to have access unto them, they all took up their lodgings in the said college with Master Christopherson.

At their coming thither an oration was made by a fellow of the house, who in the name of all the rest, with long protestation declared that they were most heartily welcome thither; and that he and his fellows gave them great thanks, that it had pleased their Lordships to have so good opinion of them, as to choose their house especially to lodge in, whereby they had both encouraged them to stand in hope of some further benevolence towards them, and also done great worship to their college by their being there: wherefore they should look at their hands again for as much duty and reverence, as lay in their power to perform.

To this oration Watson made answer, that this forward and earnest good will and mind of theirs in doing such courtesy, was right thankfully taken, both of him and his, exhorting them to continue stedfastly in the same, and to proceed also when need should require: for it was so far from any of their thoughts, to stop them in this their race, that they would rather haste them forward to run through more speedily, being not without good cause persuaded to conceive good hope of their benevolence towards them, inasmuch as they would do for them whatsoever might turn to their profit and commodity.

This day, forasmuch as it was toward evening ere they came, and the sun was going down, was nothing else done. The next day, being the tenth of January, they bestowed in recreating themselves after their journey, and in setting other things at a stay. Nevertheless, to the intent the same should not escape altogether without doing somewhat, they interdicted the two churches, namely, St. Mary's, where Master Bucer, and St. Michael's, where Paulus Phagius, lay buried.

These men were dead a good while before. Paulus Phagius had scarce yet showed the proof of his wit and learning, when he departed to God, 1549. Bucer lived but a little after. During which time somewhat by writing, but chiefly by reading and preaching openly, (wherein the old man, being painful in the word of God, never spared himself, nor regarded

his health,) he brought all men into such admiration of him, that neither his friends could sufficiently praise him, neither his enemies in any point find fault with his singular life and sincere doctrine. A most certain token whereof may be his sumptuous burial, solemnized with so great assistance and gladness of all the degrees of the university, that it was not possible to devise more to the setting out and amplifying of the same. The whole manner and order of the doing whereof being written by Master Nicholas Carre, a learned man, in a little treatise to Sir John Cheke, knight, with an epistle full of consolation as concerning his departure added thereunto, was sent afterward unto Peter Martyr, then abiding at Oxford.

From the burial of Bucer and Phagius, unto the coming of these visitors, were passed about three or four years, more or less. And from the time that that blessed King Edward the Sixth deceased, unto that day, the priests never ceased to celebrate their masses and other kind of ceremonies in those places, and that without scruple of conscience, as far as men could perceive. But, after the time that these commissioners came thither, those things that before were accounted for sacred and holy, began to be denounced for profane and unholy. For they commanded that all those assemblies that should hereafter be made for the executing of holy ceremonies, should be removed to the King's chapel, which is a place far more stately than all the others.

Now was come the eleventh day, in which the vice-chancellor of the university, with the masters and presidents of colleges, and all the other graduates of every house, were commanded to appear before the said commissioners in their habits. It was commanded that the scholars also should come in their surplices; but that was not done. They assembled in great number to Trinity College, having the university cross borne before them, and in the Gatehouse a form was set and covered, with cushions and carpet on the ground, for the visitors; where the vice-chancellor, having on a tissue cope, sprinkled holy water on them, and purposed to cense them, but they refused it there; which notwithstanding afterward, in the Queen's College and elsewhere, they refused not.

There Master John Stokes, common orator of the university, one of the popish superstition, (for none other but such, in those days, might be promoted to any worship,) made an oration in the name of all the rest.

The answer of Master Scot, bishop of Chester, to the oration of John Stokes.

When Master Stokes had made an end of speaking, the bishop of Chester answered thereunto as follows:

"That they took in right good part, that the[ir] mother the university had made so open a declaration of her good will toward them; for the which he gave most hearty thanks, desiring her to perform, in deed and in her works, the things that she had so largely promised of herself in words and communication. As concerning their good wills, there was no cause to mistrust: for their coming thither was not to deal any thing roughly with such as fell to the amendment; but both the cardinal himself, and they also, were fully minded to show favour, devising how to bring all things to peace and tranquillity, desiring nothing more earnestly, than that they which have erred and gone astray, should return into the right path again. The right reverend father, the lord cardinal, whom he wished to have been present, wished the selfsame thing also, desiring nothing so much as with his own hands to sustain and hold up,

now ready to fall, or rather to raise up already fallen to the ground, the university, his ward -- for he gladly taketh upon him the name and duty of her guardian -- whom it greatly grieved that the infections of the times past had spread abroad so grievous diseases, that even the university itself was touched with the contagious air thereof. For he would gladlier have come thither to visit and salute it, than to correct it, if the weightier affairs of the realm would have permitted it. But now, seeing he could not do so, he had appointed this commission, in the which he had assigned them to be his deputies, which, because they knew him to set so much store by the university, should extend the more favour to it; and (because they themselves had been there brought up) would the more earnestly embrace it. The chief matter that they came for tended to this end, that such as had erred should confess their faults, and return into the right way again: for they were in good forwardness of healing, that acknowledged themselves to have offended. And therefore it was wisely propounded on his part, that he would not altogether excuse the faults of the university, nor of other men, but [that they must] confess and acknowledge their crime, for that there were many things had need to be corrected and amended.

"The cause why they were sent thither was to raise up them that were fallen, and to receive into favour such as were sorry and would amend, wherein, if (contrary to their expectation) they should not be able to do so much with some men as they would; yet notwithstanding, according to their duty, they would show themselves so diligent for their part, as that no lack might be found in them. For it was more openly known, than that it could be denied, that many men did divers things of a froward wilfulness, and took stoutly upon them: wherewith as they were greatly moved and aggrieved, (as reason was,) so they coveted to remedy the mischief. Against whom, if any thing should seem hereafter to be straitly determined, it was to be imputed to their own deserts, and not to the wills of them. Neither ought such as are whole and sound to be moved at the chastisement of others, forasmuch as it pertained not only to the wiping out of the foul blot which now stuck on the university, but also to the health of many others which had taken much hurt by the infection of them. For their own parts, they more inclined unto mercy than rigour. Howbeit, considering that so great diseases could not by gentle medicines be healed, they were driven of necessity to use stronger. And yet if they would be contented to be brought again to their right minds, which thing they chiefly coveted, (for they wished that all should amend and be led by wholesome counsel,) and would yet at length wax weary of their errors, and instead of them frequent again the ancient customs of themselves and of their forefathers, they might boldly look for all kind of humanity and gentleness at their hands, in all this their business of reformation, which they had now entered and begun, requesting no more of the university, but to do as became them; which being performed, he promised that their benevolence, neither in any public nor in any private person's case, should in any wise be behind-hand."

These things being finished, they were brought *proccessionaliter* to King's College, by all the graduates of the university, where was sung a mass of the Holy Ghost with great solemnity, nothing wanting in that behalf that might make to the setting-forth of the same. In this place it was marked that Nicholas Ormanet, commonly surnamed Datary, (who albeit he were inferior in estate unto Chester, being a bishop, yet was superior to them all in authority,) while the mass was celebrating, eft standing, eft sitting, and sometimes kneeling on his knees, observed certain ceremonies, which afterward were required of all others to be observed, as in process hereof was to be seen.

From thence they attended all upon the legates to St. Mary's church, which we declared before to have been interdicted; in the which place, forasmuch as it was suspended, although no mass might be sung, yet there was a sermon made in open audience by Master Peacock in the Latin tongue, preaching against heresies and heretics, as Bilney, Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, &c. The which being ended, they proceeded eftsoons to the visitation, where first Dr. Harvy did, in the cardinal's name, exhibit the commission to the bishop of Chester with a few words in Latin. Which being accepted, and by Master Clerk openly read to the end, then the vice-chancellor with an oration did exhibit the certificate under his seal of office with the cardinal's citation annexed, containing every man's name in the university and colleges, with the officers and all the masters of houses. Among whom was also Robert Brassey, master of King's College, a worthy old man, both for his wisdom and his hoar hairs; who, hearing his own name recited next after the vice-chancellor's, said, he was there present, as all the others were: nevertheless, forasmuch as the reformation of his house was wholly reserved to the discretion of the bishop of Lincoln, not only by the king's letters patent, but also by grant of confirmation from the bishop of Rome himself, under a penalty, if he should suffer any strangers to intermeddle, he openly protested in discharge of his duty, that unless their commission gave them authority and jurisdiction upon that college, either by express words or manifest sense, he utterly exempted himself from being present. This his exception they took all in great displeasure; alleging that they were fully authorized for the order of the matter by the cardinal, out of whose jurisdiction no place nor person was exempted: wherefore he had done evil to call into question their authority, so well known to all men. Chester seemed to be more moved with the matter than all the others; and that was because Brassey had a little before obtained the worship of that room, even utterly against his will, and maugre his head; he doing the worst he could against him.

After the formal solemnity of these things thus accomplished, the commission being read, and the citation exhibited, all the masters of houses being only cited, every man for a while departed home to his own house, with commandment to be at the common schools of the said university at one of the clock the same day. When the degrees of the university, commonly called regents and non-regents, were assembled thither, they spent the rest of the day in reading over of charters, granted to the university by kings and princes, in searching out of bulls and pardons from the pope, and in perusing of other monuments pertaining to the university.

The next day following, being the twelfth of January, they resorted to the King's College to make inquisition, either because the same for the worthiness thereof was chief and sovereign of all the residue, or else because that that house specially before all others had been counted, time out of mind, never to be without aa heretic (as they termed them) or twain. And at that present time, albeit that many now of late had withdrawn themselves from thence, yet they judged there were some remaining still.

The order and manner how they would be entertained of every college, when they should come to make inquisition, they themselves appointed, which was in this sort. They commanded the master of every house, together with the residue, as well fellows as scholars, apparelled in priest-like garments, (which they call habits,) to meet them at the uttermost gate of their house towards the town: the master himself to be dressed in like apparel as the priest when he harnesseth himself to mass; saving that he should put on uppermost his habit, as the rest did. The order of their going they appointed to be in this wise: the master of the house to go foremost; next unto him, every man in his order as he was of degree, seniority, or of years.

Before the master should be carried a cross and holy water to sprinkle the commissioners withal; and then, after that, the said commissioners to be censed. And so after this meeting, and mumbling of a few devotions, they determined with this pomp and solemnity to be brought to the chapel.

Many thought they took more honour upon them than belonged to the state of man. Others (forasmuch as at that time they not only pretended the jurisdiction of the cardinal, but also represented the power and authority of the bishop of Rome himself, who was accounted to be more than a mortal man) said, it was far less than of duty appertained to his Holiness, in that the honour that was done to his legates, was not done to them but to his Holiness. Now was the hour come, at which they appointed to meet; and being entered the King's College gate, where they looked for the master and fellows of the house, seeing no man came to meet them, they proceeded forth to the church-door, where they stayed. There, perceiving how the master and the rest of the house were dressing themselves as fast as they could, in such order as was appointed before, they came in suddenly upon them, before they had set out any foot out of their places.

Then the master first excused himself that he was ready no sooner, acknowledging that it had been his duty to have been in a readiness. Secondly, he said he was very glad of their coming, promising. first in his own name, and after in the name of all the rest, as much reverence as might be, in all matters concerning their common utility, the which he doubted not but should be performed at their hands, according to his expectation. But like as he had done the other day in St. Mary's church, the same exception he made to them now also; the which his doing he besought them not to be offended withal; for, seeing he did it only for the discharge of his duty, he had juster cause to be held excused.

He had scarcely yet finished his tale, but the bishop of Chester, with a frowning look and an angry countenance, interrupting him of his talk, said, he needed not to repeat the things he had protested before, nor they to make answer any more to those things wherein they had sufficiently informed him before. He rather feared that their quarrel was not good, that they made such ado about it, and sought such starting-holes: for so were diseased persons oftentimes wont to do, when, for the pain and grief, they are not able to abide a strong medicine. As though that any man were able to grant so strong a privilege, as to withstand the pope's authority. As for the pope's letters, he said, they must needs make on his side, and with such as were with him, and could not in any wise be alleged against him. Therefore he admonished him to desist from his unprofitable altercation, and to conform himself and his to such things as then were in doing.

After this they went to mass: which finished, with great solemnity, first they went to the high altar of the church, and having there saluted their god, and searching whether all were well about him or no, they walked through all the inner chapels of the church. The church-goods, the crosses, the chalices, the mass-books, the vestments, and whatsoever ornaments were besides, were commanded to be brought out unto them. When they had sufficiently viewed all things, and had called forth by name every fellow and scholar of the house, they went to the master's lodging, where first and foremost swearing them upon a book to answer all such interrogatories as should be propounded unto them, (as far as they knew,) they examined first the master himself, and afterward all the residue, every man in his turn. But there were some that refused to. take this oath, because they had given their faith to the college before, and also because they thought it against all right and reason to swear against

themselves: for it was contrary to all law, that a man should be compelled to bewray himself, and not to be suffered to keep his conscience free, when there is no manifest proof to be laid to his charge; but much more unjust it is, that a man should be constrained perforce to accuse himself. Nevertheless these persons also, after much altercation, at length (conditionally, that their faith given before to the college were not impeached thereby) were contented to be sworn.

Three days long lasted the inquisition there. This was now the third day of their coming, and it was thought that the case of Bucer and Phagius was delayed longer than needed: for they looked to have had much altercation and business about the matter. Now, forasmuch as the present state of the case required good deliberation and advisement, the vice-chancellor and masters of the colleges assembled at the common schools, where every man gave his verdict what he thought meet to be done in this matter of Bucer. After much debating, they agreed altogether in this determination: that forasmuch as Martin Bucer, while he lived, had not only sowed pernicious and erroneous doctrine among them, but also had himself been a sectary and famous heretic, erring from the catholic church, and giving others occasion to fall from the same likewise, a supplication should be made to the lords commissioners, in the name of the whole university, that his dead carcass might forthwith be digged up, (for so it was needful to be done,) to the intent that inquisition might be made as touching his doctrine, the which being brought in examination, if it were not found to be good and wholesome, the law might proceed against him: for it was against the rule of the holy canons, that his body should be buried in Christian burial. Yea, and besides that, it was to the open derogation of God's honour, and the violating of his holy laws, with the great peril of many men's souls, and the offence of the faithful, especially in so difficult and contagious a time as that was. Wherefore it was not to be suffered, that they which utterly dissented from all other men in the trade of their living, laws, and customs, should have any part with them in the honour of burial. And therefore the glory of God, first and before all things, ought to be defended; the infamy, (which through this thing riseth on them,) with all speed put away; no room at all left unto those persons to rest in, who even in the same places where they lay, were injurious and noisome to the very elements, but the place ought to be purged, and all things so ordered as might be to the satisfying of the consciences of the weak. In executing whereof so notable an example ought to be given to all men, that no man hereafter should be so bold to attempt the like.

They gave the same verdict by common assent upon Phagius also. Unto this writing they annexed another, by the which they lawfully authorized Andrew Perne, the vice-chancellor, to be the common factor for the university. He was a man meetest for the purpose, both for the office that he bare, and also because that by the testimony of Christopherson he was deemed to be the most catholic of all others. This supplication, confirmed by the consent of all the degrees of the university and signed with their common seal, the next day, which was the thirteenth of January, the vice-chancellor put up to the commissioners. Note here, good reader, what a feat of conveyance this was, to suborn the university under a colourable pretence to desire this thing of them by way of petition: as who should say, if they had not done so, the other would never have gone about it of themselves. commissioners was soon found out; for the commissioners had given the vice-chancellor instructions in writing before. But now peradventure they thought by this means to remove the envy of this act from themselves.

Thus the vice-chancellor came unto the commissioners, according to the appointment made the day before, about seven of the clock in the morning. He had scarce declared the cause of his coming, but that he had not only obtained his suit, but also even at the very same time received the sentence of condemnation, for taking up Bucer and Phagius, fair copied out by Ormanet the datary himself. This was to be confirmed by the consent of the degrees of the university. Whereupon a solemn convocation, called, *Congregatio regentium et non regentium*, for the same purpose was appointed to be at nine of the clock; where the graduates being assembled together, the demand was propounded concerning the condemnation of Bucer and Phagius, and the grace asked, which was this: "Pleaseth it you that Martin Bucer, for the heresies now recited, and many others by him written, preached, and taught, wherein he died without repentance, and was buried in Christian burial, may be exhumate and taken up again? "

After this grace eftsoons being granted, then the sentence of condemnation, drawn by the datary, openly read, and immediately another grace asked, that the same might be signed with the common seal; the which request was very lightly and easily obtained. And it was no marvel; for now after the death of King Edward, since the time that the government of the realm came to the hand of Queen Mary, all such persons being driven away as had rejected the Romish religion, (in whom well nigh alone rested whatsoever wit and learning were in the whole university besides,) such a sort of rascals were put in their room, that all places now swarmed with unlearned and unnurtured chaplains; to whom nothing was greater pleasure, than to cause all men to speak slander and reproach of Bucer. There were divers yet left among them to speak against their demands. But they (because, as it commonly cometh to pass, that might overcometh right) could nothing avail. For this is a common custom in all such matters and ordinances, that look what the greater number decreeth, is published in the name of all; and that which the better part disallowed, seemeth as though no man at all disallowed it.

The next day, being the fourteenth of January, all the visitors (only Christopherson, elect of Chichester, excepted) came to the King's College; where, first going into the church, and there making their prayers at the greetings, they so proceeded into the stalls, there sitting all the mass time, the company standing in their copes, and singing a solemn in honour of the visitors. After the done, the provost in the best cope made to them his protestation, unto whom the bishop of Chester made answer also in Latin, declaring that he could not perceive to what purpose his protestation was, notwithstanding they would accept it and bear with him. Then went they to mass, which ended, the catholic visitors approached up to the altar, and took down the sacrament, and searched the pix, but first the two bishops tensed the sacrament.

Then they went unto the revestry, and opened the chalices, corporas cases, and chrismatory, and viewed all those things. And so returning into the provost's chamber, divided themselves in examination of the provost, vice-provost, and the rest of the company. The same day Dr. Bacon, master of Gonville-hall, bade the vice-chancellor, Dr. Young, Dr. Harvy, Swinborne, Maptide, with others, home to dinner. These men, immediately after dinner, caused the common seal of the university to be put to the aforesaid instrument of condemnation, according as was determined the day before by the general consent of the graduates of the university. And by and by after, they carried the same to the commissioners to their lodging; the which when they had received, forasmuch as (after more diligent perusing thereof) it liked them not in all points, some things they rased out, some they

interlined, other some they changed; so that in fine, they were faine to take the pain to engross it new again.

About this time almost, one of the King's College, (of the number of them that chanced to be there at such time as the commissioners took a view of the ornaments of the church, and of other things that the priests occupy at their ceremonies,) hearing Ormanet call for the oil, wherewith sick folks were wont to be annealed, (which, as it should seem, he had never seen before,) after his departure, being desirous to see what gear it was, came to the place; but it was kept under lock and key. Then he inquired where it stood; and when he saw where, he demanded to have a sight of the thick milk and a little oil, wherewithal men were wont to be annealed. When it was brought before him, and that he had well considered it, it was rank of savour, so that he was faine to turn away his nose, bidding them make that milk into cheese betimes, or else it would stink so that no man would be able to abide it. But ere it was long after, he bought that word dearly; for there never yet wanted some Doeg of Edom or other, to bear word of such things to Saul: for they had their spies in every corner, who ever crept in among company.

St. Mary's church was not yet reconciled, nor the place purged from the dead bones and withered carcass of Martin Bucer; by means whereof, the trentals, obits, and anniversaries that were customably wont to be done for Sir R. Read, knight, were appointed to be done at the King's College, the commissioners being present at the same. The bishop of Chester, or ever service was fully done, going out, called to him one of them that were there, whom he began to undermine with such kind of talk.

"It is not unknown to thee that the time draweth nigh, when Bucer's carcass, according to the decrees of the canon law, must be digged up, and that which remaineth of him (to the intent that all men may take ensample thereby) be put to the fire, (for so the holy canons have enacted,) and the memorial of him be utterly condemned to oblivion for ever. Now, forasmuch as he was buried with great pomp and solemnity, we think it necessary that his burning be executed with no less solemnity and furniture. This assuredly is our meaning, and this toucheth all the degrees of the university; for it is a foul shame and not to be borne with, that so great reverence should be done unto heretics. Wherefore it behoveth every man by all means, to show evident tokens of the alteration of his mind: and it ought not to be thought a strange matter that this inquisition is extended upon a dead man; for if so be that in cases of high treason it be lawful to attain a person that is dead, it standeth with reason that these persons, being more pestiferous and hurtful than those that are guilty of treason, should abide like judgment. When they were buried, orations were made before the degrees of the university, and sermons preached to the people; the like thing now also, when they shall be burned, do we purpose to have. Now because I understand that thou art an expert orator, and canst handle thyself well in that feat, I would choose thee before all others to do the thing, which, forasmuch as it shall be greatly to thy praise and commendation, I know thou wilt not refuse to take upon thee: and, for my part, I assure thee, I have the gladlier called thee hereunto, because I court thy preferment. There is but one in all the university, that, when he was a young man, was my pupil, Nicholas Carre by name, whom, for the good will I bear him in that respect, I will join fellow with thee in this matter; to the intent thou mayest well perceive thereby, that I commit this charge unto thee to do thee honour."

The man, having this oration in mistrust, answered in this wise:

"He wished, with all his heart, that the judgment as concerning this case should be reserved to his betters, saying that he was not desirous of that honour; for men would not give credit to his words, neither was he able to devise what to say against so worthy a person, especially that might seem to have any likelihood in that behalf. For he knew not the man's living and conversation; but, as far as he could gather by other men's talk, he was a man of such integrity and pureness of living, that not even his enemies could find any thing blameworthy in him. As for his doctrine, it passed his power to judge of it, howsoever he were deemed to be of a corrupt religion; whereof he was not able to determine, considering it was a doubtful question among so great learned clerks. But this was manifestly apparent, that Bucer undoubtedly was a man of singular knowledge and dexterity of wit, which for him to abuse, he thought it an intolerable unshamefacedness.

"Finally, for the estimation of so weighty a matter, it was requisite to put some meet persons to the defence of it; for, neither in years was he grave and ancient enough, neither in wit prompt nor ready enough, neither in eloquence sufficiently furnished to take that matter upon him: and, if so be that he were able to do any good, he might serve their turn in another matter."

The bishop was still more earnest upon him: and when he saw that it availed not to use this kind of persuasion with him, he fell into a rage, and, at length, bewrayed himself in all his pretence. For all this earnest entreatance was not to have had him say somewhat against Bucer, (albeit it was part of his desire as occasion should serve,) but to the intent that such as he suspected for religion should speak against themselves. And therefore he added moreover, saying:

"Thou, at his burial, didst blaze and set him out marvellously with epitaphs and sententious metres, wherefore now also thou shalt neither will nor choose but speak in the contrary part; and this to do, I straitly charge thee in mine own name, and in the name of my fellow commissioners."

After many words the other answered, that no man was able to show any thing of his doing; and, if any could be brought before him, he would condescend to satisfy their pleasure, otherwise he would not by any means be induced to speak against him. At length, when none of his writings could be showed, the bishop desisted from his purpose.

By this time, the sentence of condemnation was engrossed again; to the signing whereof, a congregation was afterwards called of all the graduates of the university against the next day, which there being read over, a new grace again was asked and granted for setting the seal. Then were the graduates dismissed, with commandment to resort forthwith to St. Mary's church, whither the commissioners also repaired. When they had taken their places, Dr. Harvy presented to them before all the company, a new commission, to make inquest upon heresy, then newly sent from the lord cardinal, which was read immediately by Vincent of Noally, Ormanet's clerk, with a loud voice, that all men might hear it. This done, Dr. Perne, who, as ye heard, was factor for the university, exhibited to the commissioners in the name of the university the sentence of the foresaid condemnation; the copy and tenor whereof, hereafter (God willing) shall follow. This condemnation being openly read, then Dr. Perne aforesaid desired to send out process to cite Bucer and Phagius to appear, or

any others that would take upon them to plead their cause, and to stand to the order of the court against the next Monday; to the intent that when they had exhibited themselves, the court might the better determine what ought to be done to them by order of law.

The commissioners condescended to his request, and the next day process went out to cite the offenders. This citation Vincent of Noally, their common notary, having first read it over before certain witnesses appointed for the same purpose, caused to be fixed up in places convenient, to wit, upon St. Mary's church door, the door of the common schools, and the cross in the market-stead of the same town. In this was specified, that whosoever would maintain Bucer and Phagius, or stand in defence of their doctrine, should at the eighteenth day of the same month, stand forth before the lord commissioners in St. Mary's church, which was appointed the place of judgment, and there every man should be sufficiently heard what he could say. This commandment was set out with many words.

Shortly after, the matter drew toward judgment. Therefore the day next before the day limited, which was the seventeenth of January, the vice-chancellor called to him to Peterhouse, (whereof he was master,) Dr. Young, Dr. Segewick; and with them Bullock, Taylor, Parker, and Redman, Whitlock, Mitch, and certain others. These men cast their heads together how they might bear witness against Bucer and Phagius to convince them of heresy. For seeing the matter was brought in face of open court, and because it might so come to pass, that some patrons of their cause would come out, they thought it needful to have witnesses to depose of their doctrine: what came of this their consultation, it is not perfectly known.

The commissioners, for they were marvellously conscionable men in all their doings, had great regard, in their expenses, of every college where they should make inquisition. Wherefore, to the intent that none of them should stretch their liberality beyond measure, or above their power, they gave charge, at the beginning, that there should not in any place be prepared for their repast above three kinds of meat at the most; the like order the cardinal himself, in a certain provincial synod, appointed in his diets a little before, to all his priests and chaplains.

Therefore when they came to the King's College, the eighteenth day, to sit upon inquiry, and that one capon chanced to be served to the table, more than was prescribed by the order taken, they thrust it away in great displeasure. These thriving men that were so sore moved for the preparing of one capon, within little more than one month, beside their private refectations, wasted, in their daily diet, well nigh a hundred pounds of the common charges of the colleges; so that the university may worthily allege against them this saying of our Saviour, Woe unto you that strain out a gnat, and swallow up a camel!

The eighteenth day, the vice-chancellor, going to the inquisitors sitting at the King's College, did put them in remembrance, that the same was the day in which, by their process sent forth the sixteenth day before, they had commanded to appear in St. Mary's church, such as would take upon them to defend Bucer and Phagius by the law. He desired therefore that they would vouchsafe to sit there, if perchance any man would try the adventure of the law. They lightly condescended thereunto. When the vice-chancellor had brought them thither, he exhibited unto them the process of the

citation which he had received of them to publish a little before, saying, that he had diligently executed whatsoever the contents of the same required. After that they had taken their places, and that no man put forth himself to answer for the offenders, the judges called aside Dr. Young, Dr. Segewick, Bullock, Taylor, Maptide, Hunter, Parker, Redman, above mentioned. Also Brown, Gogman, Rud, Johnson, Mitch, Raven, and Carre, who had before written out the burial of Bucer, with a singular commendation of him, and sent it to Sir John Cheke, knight. These men, taking first their oath upon a book, were commanded to bear witness against the heresies and doctrine of Bucer and Phagius. The twenty-second day of the same month was limited to this jury to bring in their verdict.

In the mean while, Ormanet and Dr. Watson abode at home in their lodging to take the deposition of them whom we showed you before to have been called to Peterhouse, and to have communicated with the vice-chancellor as concerning that matter, whose depositions (as I told you) never came to light. The bishop of Chester and Dr. Cole this day visited them of Katharine-hall, where, as far as could be learned, nothing was done worthy of rehearsal.

As Ormanet the pope's datary was sitting at Trinity College, John Dale, one of the Queen's College, came to him, whom he had commanded before to bring with him the pix, wherein the bishop of Rome's god of bread is wont to be enclosed. For Ormanet told them he had a precious jewel; the same was a linen clout that the pope had consecrated with his own hands, which he promised to bestow upon them for a gift. But Dale, misunderstanding Ormanet, instead of the pix brought a chalice and a singing cake called the host, the which he had wrapped up and put in his bosom. When he was come, Ormanet demanded if he had brought him the thing he sent him for: to whom he answered, he had brought it. "Then give it me," quoth he. Dale pulled out the chalice and the singing cake. When Ormanet saw that, he stepped somewhat back as it had been in a wonder, calling him blockhead, and little better than a madman, demanding what he meant by those things, saying; he willed him to bring none of that gear, and that he was unworthy to enjoy so high a benefit: yet notwithstanding, forasmuch as he had promised before to give it them, he would perform his promise. Whereupon, with great reverence and ceremony, he pulled out the linen cloth, and laid it in the chalice, and the bread with it, commanding them, both for the holiness of the thing, and also for the author of it, to keep it among them with such due reverence as belonged to so holy a relic.

About the same time the commissioners had given commandment to the masters of the colleges, that every man should put in writing what books he had, with the authors' names; and to the intent that every man should execute it without deceit, they took a corporal oath of them. For they said, it was not lawful for any man to have, read, or copy out of those ungodly books of wicked heretics, written against the reverend sect of the catholics and the decrees of the most holy canons; therefore they should diligently search them out, to the intent they might be openly burned. They said, they gave them warning of these things which they ought not to look for; for these things ought rather to have been done of their own free will, than extorted by force. Which thing not only the canons commanded, but also the most noble and worthy emperors Theodosius and Valentinian made in certain places decrees, as concerning the writings of heretics, and especially against the books of Nestorius.

This commandment some executed exactly and diligently; other some, forasmuch as they deemed it wrongful, executed it slack enough.

We declared before that the eighteenth day was limited for the day of judgment. When the day came, and that neither Bucer nor Phagius would appear at their call in the court, nor that any put forth himself to defend them; yet the courteous commissioners would not proceed to judgment; which nevertheless, for their contumacy in absenting themselves, they might have done, considering how that day was peremptory. But these men, being bent altogether to equity and mercy, had rather show some favour, than to do the uttermost they might by the law. Whereupon Vincent published the second process, and set it up in the same places, as in manner before. The meaning thereof varied not much from the first, but that it put off the judgment day unto the twenty-sixth of the same month; upon the which day the vice-chancellor was sent for to their lodging, with whom they agreed concerning the order of publishing the sentence. And because there should want no solemnity in the matter, they commanded him further to warn the mayor of the town to be there at the day appointed with all his burgesses, which the vice-chancellor did speed with all readiness.

While these things were a working against Bucer and Phagius, in the mean while they foreslowed not to make inquisition in some places as the matter required. Therefore, at almost the same time they came into Clare-hall, and entered into the chapel, which was their ordinary custom to do first of all, wheresoever they came, they perceived there was no sacrament, as they call it, hanging over the altar. The which thing being taken in great displeasure, Ormanet, calling to him the master of the house, told him what a great wickedness he had, by so doing, brought upon himself and all his house: for, although he were so unwise as to think it no shame at all, yet unto them it seemed an inexpiable offence. The old man being amazed and looking about him how he might answer the matter, while he went about to purge himself thereof, made the fault double: he said it was a profane place never as yet hallowed, nor consecrated with any ceremonies. At that word the commissioners were yet more astonished, demanding whether he himself, or any other, had used to sing mass there or no. When he had confessed that both he himself and others also had oftentimes said mass there: "O thou wretched old man," quoth Ormanet, "thou hast cast both thyself and them in danger of the grievous sentence of excommunication." Ormanet, being sore amazed at the beginning, searched the man narrowly: how many benefices he had? where they lay? by whose favour or licence he held so many at once? what excuse he had to be so far and so long from them? for, as it should seem, he spent the most part of the whole year in the university, far from the charge that he had taken upon him. Swinborne was so sore astonished at this so sudden disquietness of Ormanet, that, being more disquieted himself, he was not able to answer one word, neither to these things, nor to any other things, appertaining to the state of his house. Wherefore one of the fellows, who was the senior of all the rest, was fain to take upon him the master's turn in that business. This was now the twenty-second day, which I told you was limited to the jury, Young, Segewick, &c., to give up their verdict; who nevertheless, during the time that the inquisitors, sat in St. Mary's church, neither appeared that day, nor put up any thing openly against them that were accused: whether they objected any thing secretly against them or no, I am not able to say, for, by like oath they were exhibited to publish their depositions, as they were bound to bear witness.

In this session nothing was done, saving that the vice-chancellor restored again the process for appearance, that he had received of them two days ago, the tenor whereof he said he had published, upon the contumacy of them that were cited, according as they had commanded him; whereupon he requested them to appoint the fourth day next following to pronounce the sentence of condemnation, which, without any difficulty, he obtained. For I showed you before that so it was agreed among themselves; and yet these bloody butchers would, for all that, seem meek and merciful men; insomuch that they would seem to determine nothing of their own heads, before that this most filthy executioner of other men's wicked lusts had earnestly sued to them for the same: as though no man had been able to espy out their colourable conveyance, or as if we had cast from us both our minds and eyes, that we should neither understand nor see their crafty packing. Even so they, setting a fair gloss upon all their doings, sought to bring themselves in credit with men, to the intent that, when opportunity should serve, they might, to their own most advantage, deceive men unawares. Surely they might not in any wise seem to do those things which they were most chiefly bent upon, and therefore they sought all means possible to blear men's eyes, that they should not see them; but they could not so escape unspied. About this time they sent out a commandment that the master of every college, by the advice of his house, should cause to be put in writing how much every house had of ready money, how much of yearly revenue, how much thereof had been bestowed about necessary uses of the college, how much went to the stipends of the fellows and the daily diet of the house, how much was allowed for other extraordinary expenses, how much remained from year to year, what was done with the overplus; with a due account of all things belonging to that purpose: which thing (because that, for the strangeness and novelty thereof, it should not make men to muse and break their brains about it) they said that, before them, the colleges of Eton and Winchester had done the like. The cause why they coveted to be certified therein, was for none other purpose but to the intent that they themselves might see whether that they, to whose charge the custody and administration of those goods were committed, had behaved themselves so truly and faithfully, as, by their oath, they were bound to do: this pretence made these diligent and curious stewards of other men's goods. But it was known well enough that this was rather a feigned allegation than a true tale; for it was their mind to search what power the clergy were of, of which, forasmuch as they made an assured account, [they were] willing to take their parts; who were the chief heads in this business they coveted to know beforehand, and to put them in a readiness against all hazards and adventures of fortune. And no man ought to surmise that this conjecture is vain, or that it dependeth upon a light ground, considering what a deal of armour, what a deal of artillery and furniture for the wars, the whole body of the clergy, but especially the prelates, (who at that time bare all the sway,) had laid up in store at home in their own houses, or else put in custody of their confederates; which, forasmuch as they could be construed to tend to none other purpose than to open force, (especially in so cankered a time as that was,) is it not a good likelihood, that to the same intent and purpose, inquisition should be made of the strength of the university, which itself, to the uttermost of her power, was ready to sustain any danger or burden for the maintenance of that filthy superstition? But God hath looked mercifully upon us, and pulled their swords from our necks. But let us return to Bucer and Phagius.

Now was come the day of judgment: which day, as I said, was the twenty-sixth of January, which being now come, first all degrees of the mother university

were assembled. And to fill up this pageant, thither came also the mayor and his townsmen; and all met together in St. Mary's church, to behold what there should be determined upon these men. After long attendance, at length the commissioners came forth, and went up to a scaffold that was somewhat higher than the residue, prepared for the same purpose. When they had taken their places, Dr. Perne, the vice-chancellor, the player of this interlude, fashioning his countenance with great gravity, reached to them the process that was lately published, to cite them, saying these words: "I bring forth again," quoth he, "to you, right reverend fathers, and commissioners of the most reverend my Lord Cardinal Pole," painting out the rest of his style, "this citation executed according to the purport and effect of the same:"--omitting nothing for his part that might make to the commendation of this matter. When he had thus finished his tale, by and by the bishop of Chester, after he had a little viewed the people, began in manner as followeth.

"Ye see "(quoth he) "how sore the university presseth upon us, how earnest intercession it maketh unto us, not only to denounce Bucer and Phagius, which these certain years past have spread most pernicious doctrine among you, to be heretics, (as they be indeed,) but also that we will command their dead carcasses, which unto this day have obtained honourable burial among you, to be digged up, and as it is excellently ordained by the canon law, to be cast into fire, or whatsoever is more grievous than fire, if any can be. For the degrees of the university deal not slightly nor slackly with us in this case, but do so press upon us, and follow the suit so earnestly, that they scarce give us any respite of delay. And I assure you, albeit this case of itself be such, as that even the unworthiness of those persons (though there were no further cause) ought to induce us to the doing thereof; much the rather moved with these so wholesome petitions, it is meet and convenient we should grant it. For howsoever we of ourselves are inclined to mercy in our hearts, (than the which we protest there is nothing under the sun to us more dear and acceptable,) yet, notwithstanding, the very law riseth up to revengement; so that the common salvation of you all, which the law provideth for, must be preferred before the private charity of our minds. Neither ought any such negligence to overtake us for our parts, that we, being scarce yet escaped out of the shipwreck of our former calamity, should now suffer this unexpiable mischief to disquiet any longer the consciences of the weak.

"Moreover, it is but reason that we should do somewhat at so earnest entreatance and suit of the university. I need not to speak much of ourselves; for if we had been desirous to enterprise this matter, it had been lawful after the first citation to have proceeded to judgment: but because we were willing that their defenders should be heard, and that the matter should be denounced and tried by law, we sent out the second process.

"If we had desired revengement, we might have showed cruelty upon them that are alive: of the which (alas! the more pity) there are too many that embrace this doctrine. If we thirsted for blood, it was not so to be sought in withered carcasses and dry bones. Therefore ye may well perceive, it was no part of our wills that we now came hither; but partly induced at the entreaty of the university; partly moved with the unworthiness of the case itself; but especially for the care and regard we have of your health and salvation, which we covet by all means to preserve. For you yourselves are the cause of this business; you gave occasion of this confession, among whom this day ought to be a notable example, to remain, as a memorial to them that shall come

after, as in that which ye may learn not only to shake off the filth which ye have taken of these persons; but also to beware hereafter that ye fall no more so shamefully as ye have done. But I trust God will defend you, and give you minds to keep yourselves from it.

"As concerning the parties themselves, whose case now hangeth in law, they bare about the name of the gospel, whereas indeed they wrought nothing else than thievery and deceit. And so much the wickeder were they, in that they sought to cover so shameful acts with the cloak of so fair and holy a name. Wherefore it is not to be doubted but that God will punish this despite, of itself wicked, to you pernicious; but the authors thereof shameful and abominable.

"But if God, as he is slow to wrath and vengeance, will wink at it for a time, yet notwithstanding if we, upon whom the charge of the Lord's flock leaneth, should permit so execrable crimes to escape unpunished, we should not live in quiet one hour."

When he had thus spoken, he recited the sentence out of a scroll, and condemned Bucer and Phagins of heresy.

After the sentence read, the bishop commanded their bodies to be digged out of their graves, and being degraded from holy orders, delivered them into the hands of the secular power: for it was not lawful for such innocent persons as they were, abhorring from all bloodshed, and detesting all desire of murder, to put any man to death! Oh unworthy and abominable act! for which the university shall never be able to make satisfaction. How unworthy a thing was it, to do all the spite that might be to him being dead, to whom, being alive, she exhibited all the honour and reverence she could devise! How intolerable a thing was it, to detest and abhor him as a wicked deceiver and leader out of the right way, being dead, whom, in his lifetime, she had followed and revered with all humility and obeisance, as her master and chief guide of her life! What a monstrous thing is it not to spare him when he was dead, who, during his life, being aged and always sickly, yet never spared himself, to the intent he might profit them! Nothing grieved him more, all the time he lay sick and bedridden, than that he was unprofitable both to them and to the church of God; and yet when he was deceased, he neither found obedience among his disciples nor burial among Christian men. If manhood and reason could not have obtained so much at our hands, as to spare his memorial or reverence his ashes, yet nature and the common law of all nations, (by which, upon promise made by the body of the realm, he came thither,) ought to have withheld this so great cruelty and extreme barbarousness, or savageness, from his bones. Notwithstanding this infamy of the university so openly gotten, Andrew Perne, with his slanderous talk, more increased for, over and besides this oration and sentence of Dr. Scot, came in also Perne, vice-chancellor, with his sermon which he made before the people, tending to the same effect, to the depraving of Master Bucer, taking for his theme, the place of Psalm cxxxiii., Behold how good and pleasant a thing it is, &c.

The effect of Dr. Perne's sermon against Martin Bucer.

"Where, beginning first with the commendation of concord, and of the mutual knitting together of the minds, he alleged, that it was not possible to hold together, unless the concord were derived out of the head, the which he made to be the bishop of Rome, and that it also rested in the same.

"After he had made a long protestation hereof, he passed forth to Bucer, upon whom he made such a shameful railing, that it is not possible to defame a man more than he did, saying, that his doctrine gave occasion of division in the commonwealth; and that there was not so grievous a mischief, which by his means had not been brought into the realm.

"Although all men might perceive by the books he had compiled, what manner of doctrine it was; yet, notwithstanding, (he said,) he knew it more perfectly himself, than any did, and that he had learned it apart at the author's hand himself. For at such time as they had communication secretly among themselves, Bucer (said he) would oftentimes wish he might be called by some other name, than by the name he had; for this purpose, as though knowing himself guilty of so grievous a crime, he might by this means escape unknown to the world, and avoid the talk that went among men of him.

"Moreover, among other things he told how Bucer held opinion, (which thing he should confess to him his own self,) that God was the author and wellspring, not only of good, but also of evil; and that whatsoever was of that sort, flowed from him, as from the head-spring and maker thereof. The which doctrine he upheld to be sincere; howbeit, for offending divers men's consciences, he durst not put it into men's heads."

Many other things he patched together of like purport and effect, as of the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, of the marriage of priests, of divorcements; and of shameful usury also, as though he had deemed the same lawful to be used among Christian people; with divers other of the like sort. In all which his allegations, considering how lewdly, without all shame, he lied upon Bucer, (as his writings evidently declare,) he did not so much hinder his name with railing upon him, as win unto himself an inexpressible infamy, by forging so shameful leasings upon so worthy a man.

But what needeth witness to prove him a liar? his own conscience shall make as much against him, as a number of men. It was reported for a truth, and that by his own familiar friends testified, that the said Dr. Perne himself, either immediately after his sermon, or else somewhat before he went to it, striking himself on the breast, and in manner weeping, wished (at home at his house) with all his heart, that God would grant his soul might even then presently depart and remain with Bucer's. For he knew well enough that his life was such, that if any man's soul were worthy of heaven, be thought his in especial to be most worthy.

Whiles he was thus talking to the people, in the mean time the leaves of the church doors were covered over with verses, in the which the young men, to show their folly, which scarce knew him by sight, blazed Bucer's name with most reproachful poetry.

Divers also that were somewhat more grown in years, and yet more fools than the young men, like eager curs, (who had been well served if their legs had been broken for their labour,) barked all that they could against him. And to the intent it might seem to be done by a great number, wherein the papists greatly vaunt themselves, they enticed unto the same business many that by all means favoured Bucer, and that revered his name, as it became them; who, notwithstanding, to the intent that under this pretext they might escape their cruelty, full sore against their wills, faintly and slenderly pricked at him.

These things being despatched, Perne (as though he had sped his matter marvellously well) was, for his labour, of courtesy bidden to dinner to Trinity College by the commissioners; where, after the table was taken up, they caused the sentence of condemnation to be copied out with all speed: which, being signed with the bishop of Chester's seal, the next day following was for a triumph sent to London, with divers of those verses and slanderous libels. Besides this, they sent also their own letters, wherein they both advertised the cardinal how far they had proceeded in that matter, and also desired his Grace, that he would cause to be sent out of hand to Smith, the mayor of the town, the commandment commonly called a writ, for the burning of heretics. For unless he had the queen's warrant to save him harmless, he would not have to do in the matter; and that which remained to be done in that case, could not be despatched till that warrant came.

While this pursuivant went on his journey, they willed to be brought unto them the books that they commanded before to be searched out: for they determined to throw them into the fire with Bucer and Phagius.

About the same time Dr. Watson, taking occasion upon the day, because it was a high feast, in the which was wont to be celebrated the memorial of the purification of the blessed Virgin, made a sermon to the people upon that psalm, We have received thy mercy, O Lord, in the midst of thy temple, &c.; in the which sermon he spake much reproach of Bucer and Phagius, and of their doctrine.

The effect of Watson's sermon upon Candlemas day.

"He said that these men, and all the heretics of our time that were of the same opinion, (the which for the most part, he said, we budded out of Germany,) among other things which they had perniciously put into men's heads, taught to cast away all ceremonies. Whereas, notwithstanding, the apostle himself commanded all things to be done in due order. And upon that deed of the blessed Virgin and Joseph, which was done by them as upon that day, it was manifestly apparent, that they with our Saviour, being then a little babe, observed these rites and ceremonies for catholic men to teach. For he said that they came to the temple the same time with wax candles in their hands, after the manner of procession, (as they term it,) in good order, with much reverence and devotion; and yet we were not ashamed to laugh and mock at these things with the heretics and schismatics."

As he was telling his tale of Christ, Mary, and Joseph, one of them that heard him, a pleasant and merry-conceited fellow, turning himself to him that stood next

him; "And if it be true," quoth he "that this man preacheth, which of them I pray you (if a man might spur him a question) bare the cross before them? for that might not be missing in such solemn ceremonies." Not only this man jested at the preacher's folly, but divers others also laughed at his manifest unshamefacedness, in preaching these so vain and foolish superstitions.

While he was thus talking to his audience, John Christopherson, elected bishop of Chichester, being stricken with a sudden sickness, fell down in a swoon among the press; and with much ado, being scarce able a good while to come to himself again, in the mean time babbled many things unadvisedly, and as though he had been out of his wits. Some thought it came upon this occasion, because he had been greatly accused before the commissioners for mispending and misordering the goods of the college, and therefore was grieved with the matter, knowing that they had been offended with him by this, that Ormanet had cancelled before his face a lease of his, by the which he had let to farm to his brother-in-law a certain manor of that college, because the covenants seemed unreasonable.

By this time was returned again the pursuivant, who (as we before told) was sent to London with the commissioners' letters, and brought with him a warrant for the burning of these men. Upon the receipt whereof, they appointed the sixth day of February for the accomplishment of the matter; for it had hanged already a great while in hand.

Therefore when the said day was come, the commissioners sent for the vice-chancellor, demanding of him in what case things stood; whether all things were in a readiness for the accomplishment of this business, or no. Understanding by him that all things were ready, they commanded the matter to be broached out of hand.



Phagius's Body Exhumed in St. Michael's Churchyard

The vice-chancellor therefore, taking with him Marshal the common notary, went first to St. Michael's church, where Phagius was buried. There he called forth Andrew Smith, Henry Sawyer, and Henry Adams, men of the same parish, and bound them with an oath, to dig up Phagius's bones, and to bring them to the place of execution. Marshal took their oaths, receiving the like of Roger Smith and William Hasell, the town-sergeants, and of John Capper, warden of the same church, for doing the like with Bucer. Smith, the mayor of the town, which should be their executioner, (for it was not lawful for them to intermeddle in cases of blood,) commanded certain of his townsmen to wait upon him in harness, by whom the dead bodies were guarded; and being bound with ropes, and laid upon men's shoulders, (for they were enclosed in chests, Bucer in the same that he was buried, and Phagius in a new,) they were borne into the midst of the market-stead, with a great train of people following them. This place was prepared before, and a great post was set fast in the ground to bind the carcasses to, and a great heap of wood was laid ready to burn them withal. When they came thither, the chests were set up on end with the dead bodies in them, and fastened on both sides with stakes, and bound to the post with a long iron chain, as if they had been alive. Fire being forthwith put to, as soon as it began to flame round about, a great sort of books that were condemned with them, were cast into the same.

There was that day gathered into the town a great multitude of country folk, (for it was market day,) who, seeing men borne to execution, and learning by inquiry that they were dead before, partly detested and abhorred the extreme cruelty of the commissioners toward the rotten carcasses, and partly laughed at their folly in making

such preparation: "for what needeth any weapon," said they, "as though they were afraid that the dead bodies, which felt them not, would do them some harm? or to what purpose serveth that chain wherewith they are tied, since they might be burnt loose without peril? For it was not to be feared that they would run away."

Thus, every body that stood by found fault with the cruelty of the deed, either sharply or else lightly, as every man's mind gave him. There were very few (and those not of sound and wholesome religion) that liked their doing therein.

In the mean time that they were a roasting in the fire, Watson went into the pulpit in St. Mary's church, and there, before his audience, railed upon their doctrine, as wicked and erroneous, saying, that it was the ground of all mischief that had happened of a long time in the commonweal.

The purpose of Dr. Watson's sermon against Bucer and Phagius.

"For behold," said he, "as well the prosperity, as the adversity, of these years that have ensued, and ye shall find that all things have chanced unluckily to them that have followed this new-found faith; as contrarily all things have happened fortunately to them that have eschewed it. What robbing and polling (quoth he) have we seen in this realm, as long as religion was defaced with sects; the common treasure (gathered for the maintenance of the whole public weal) and the goods of the realm shamefully spent in waste for the maintenance of a few folks' lusts; all good order broken, all discipline cast aside; holidays appointed to the solemnizing of ceremonies neglected; and that more is, the places themselves beaten down; flesh and other kind of prohibited sustenance eaten every where upon days forbidden, without remorse of conscience; the priests had in derision; the mass railed upon; no honour done to the sacraments of the church; all estates and degrees given to such a licentious liberty without check, that all things may seem to draw to their utter ruin and decay.

"And yet in the mean time, the name of the gospel was pretended outwardly, as though that for it men ought of duty to give credit to their erroneous opinions; whereas indeed there is nothing more discrepant, or more to the slander of God's word, than the same. For what other thing taught they to remain in that most blessed and mystical sacrament of the body of our Lord, than bare unleavened bread? And what else do the remnant of them teach unto this day? whereas Christ by express words doth assure it to be his very body. How perilous a doctrine is that which concerneth the fatal and absolute necessity of predestination? and yet they set it out in such wise, that they have left no choice at all in things. As who should say, it skilled not what a man purposed of any matter, since he had not the power to determine otherwise than the matter should come to pass. The which was the peculiar opinion of them that made God the author of evil, bringing men, through this persuasion, into such a careless security of the everlasting eternity, that in the mean season it made no matter either toward salvation, or damnation, what a man did in this life. These errors (which were not even among the heathen men) were defended by them with great stoutness."

These and many other such things he slanderously and falsely alleged against Bucer, whose doctrine (in such sort as he himself taught it) either he would not understand, or else he was minded to slander. And yet he was not ignorant, that Bucer taught none other things than the very same whereunto both he and Scot, in the reign of King Edward the Sixth, had willingly assented, by subscribing thereto with their own hands. While he talked in this wise before the people, many of them that had written verses before, did set up others new, in the which, like a sort of water-frogs, they spewed out their venomous malice against Bucer and Phagius. This was the last act of this interlude, and yet there remained a few things to be done, among the which was the reconciling of two churches, of our Lady and of St. Michael, which we declared to have been interdicted before.

This was done the next day following, by the aforesaid bishop of Chester, with as much ceremonial solemnity as the law required. But that impanate god, whom Bucer's carcass had chased from thence, was not yet returned thither again; neither was it lawful for him to, come there any more, unless he were brought thither with great solemnity. As I suppose, during all the time of his absence, he was entertained by the commissioners at Trinity College, and there continued as a sojourner. For thither came all the graduates of the university, the eighth of February, of gentleness and courtesy, to bring him home again. Amongst the which number, the bishop of Chester (worthy for his estate to come nearest to him, because he was a bishop) took and carried him clad in a long rochet, and a large tippet of sarcenet about his neck, wherein he wrapped his idol also. Ormanet the datary had given the same a little before to the university, for that and such-like purposes.

When this idol should return home, he went not the straightest and nearest way, as other folks are wont to go; but he fetched a compass about the most part of the town, and roamed through so many of the streets, that it was a large hour and more ere he could find the way into this church again. (I believe the ancient Romans observed a custom not much unlike this in their procession, when they made supplications at the shrines of all their gods.) The order of which procession was this; the masters regents went before, singing with a loud voice, *Salva festa dies*, &c. Next them followed the bishop of Chester; about him went Ormanet and his fellow commissioners, with the masters of the colleges, bearing every man a long taper-light in his hand. After whom, a little space off, followed other degrees of the university. Last, behind came the mayor and his townsmen. Before them all went the beadles, crying to such as they met, that they should bow themselves humbly before the host. If any refused so to do, they threatened to send them forthwith to the toll-booth. Their god being led with this pomp, and pacified with great sacrificed hosts of Bucer and Phagius, at length settled himself again in his accustomed room.

Scot of Chester prayed with many words, that that day might be lucky and fortunate to himself, and to all that were present, and that from that day forward (now that God's wrath was appeased, and all other things set in good order) all men should make themselves conformable to peace and quietness, namely, in matters appertaining to religion. After this, they bestowed a few days in punishing and amercing such as they thought had deserved it. Some they suspended from giving voices either to their own preferment, or to the preferment of any other. Some they forbade to have the charge of pupils, lest they should infect the tender youth (being pliable, to take what print soever should be laid upon them) with corrupt doctrine and heresy. Others they

chastised wrongfully without any desert; and many a one they punished, contrary to all right and reason.

Last of all they set forth certain statutes, by the which they would have the university hereafter ordered. Wherein they enacted many things as concerning the election of their offices of the university, of keeping and administering the goods of the university, and of many other things. But especially they handled the matter very circumspectly for religion, in the which they were so scrupulous, that they replenished all things either with open blasphemy, or with ridiculous superstition. For they prescribed at how many masses every man should be day by day, and how many Pater-nosters and Aves every man should say when he should enter into the church; and in his entrance, after what sort he should bow himself to the altar, and how to the master of the house; what he should do there, and how long he should tarry; how many, and what prayers he should say; what, and how he should sing; what meditations others should use while the priest is in his memento, mumbling secretly to himself; what time of the mass a man should stand, and when he should sit down; when he should make courtesy, when exclusively, when inclusively; and many other superstitious toys they decreed, that it was a sport then to behold their superstitions, and were tedious now to recite them.

Moreover these masters of good order, for fashion's sake, ordained that every man should put on a surplice, not torn nor worn, but clean, forbidding them in any wise to wipe their noses thereon; and these are the things which we told you before, that some noted Ormanet, how devoutly he observed them in the king's chapel.

These things thus set at a stay, when the commissioners were now ready to go their ways, the university, for so great benefits, (which she should not suffer to fall out of remembrance many years after,) coveting to show some token of courtesy towards them again, dignified Ormanet and Cole with the degree of doctorship; for all the residue (saving Christopherson, who now, by reason he was elected bishop, prevented that degree) had received that order before. Thus at length were sent away these peace-makers, that came to pacify strifes and quarrels, who, through provoking every man to accuse one another, left such gaps and breaches in men's hearts at their departure, that to this day they could never be closed nor joined together again.

These commissioners, before they departed out of the university, gave commandment, that the masters of every house should copy out their statutes, the which, besides common ordinances, contained in them certain rules of private order for every house particularly. Swinborne (who, as I said, was master of Clare-hall) being demanded whether he would have those things engrossed in parchment or in paper, answered, that it made no matter wherein they were written; for the paper, or slighter thing that were of less continuance than paper, would serve the turn well enough: for, he said, a slenderer thing than that would last a great deal longer than those decrees should stand in force. Neither was the man deceived in his conjecture; for within two years after, God, beholding us with mercy, called Queen Mary (which princess the cardinal, and the rest of the bishops of England, miserably abused to the utter destruction of Christ's church) out of this life the seventeenth of November, anno 1558; after whom her sister Elizabeth succeeded in the kingdom; raised to life again the true religion, being not only sore appalled and commanded to seek her a new dwelling-place, but in a manner burnt up and consumed to ashes; which, after the time

she once began to recover strength again, and by little and little to lift up her head, the filthy dregs of the Romish juggling-casts began forthwith to melt away. Whereupon the church of God began to be edified again in England, the building whereof the Sanballats and Tobias did not only as then hinder and waste, but, even in this day also, (as Satan is a most subtle slanderer,) work all the policies they can devise, that the truth (which is not dark unless men be blinded wilfully) should not come abroad and be seen in the light. While the broken and decayed places in this work were in repairing, it came to remembrance how the right reverend father, sometime our schoolmaster, Martin Bucer, with Paulus Phagius, being taken with the violent tempest of the former times, were thrown down out of their standing which they had in the wall of this building; whom the most reverend fathers in Christ, Matthew Parker, now archbishop of Canterbury and primate of all England, (who before, at his burial, preached honourably of him,) and Edmund Grindall, bishop of London, (who among the rest did him that service, that he did help to bear him in his coffin to burial on his shoulders,) and other both honourable and worshipful persons -- among whom was Walter Haddon, master of the Requests to the queen's Highness, who made a funeral oration of the death of Bucer, being himself half dead -- these having received commission of the queen's Majesty to make a reformation of religion in the university of Cambridge and other parts of the realm, decreed that they should be set in their places again. For the performance hereof, the aforesaid right reverend fathers addressed their letters to the vice-chancellor and the graduates of the university. Andrew Perne bare still that office; who, by his good will, could not abide to hear one word spoken as touching the full restitution of Bucer and Phagius. When he had perused these letters, he propounded the matter to the degrees of the university, whether it pleased them that the degrees and titles of honour, taken away from Martin Bucer and Paulus Phagius by the verdict of the whole university, should, by the same, be fully restored again; and that all acts done against them and their doctrine should be repealed and disannulled: which demands were openly consented unto by all the graduates of the university. This was about the twenty-second day of July, in the year of our Lord, 1560.

Albeit that this had been sufficient to restore them lawfully again, nevertheless, forasmuch as it seemed not enough in consideration of the dignity of so worthy men, and in satisfaction of the duty of the university, they that were the chief doers in this matter called a congregation in St. Mary's church, at the last day of the same month saving one: in which place consultation was had concerning Bucer and Phagius, not with so great furniture and gloriousness, (which things the truth seeketh not greedily for,) but with honest comeliness, to the intent to reconcile men's hearts again. An oration was made by Acworth, the common orator of the university, whose words I will rehearse in order as he spake them.

"I am in doubt whether I may entreat of the praise and commendation of so great a clerk for the celebrating whereof, this assembly and concourse of yours is made this day); or of vices and calamities, out of the which we be newly delivered; or of them both, considering the one cannot be mentioned without the other. In the which times ye felt so much anguish and sorrow, my right dear brethren, that if I should repeat them, and bring them to remembrance again, I fear me, I should not so much work a just hatred in us towards them, for the injuries received in them, as renew our old sorrow and heaviness. Again, men must needs account me unadvised and foolish in my doing, if I should think myself able to make him which hath lived before our

eyes in praise and estimation, more famous and notable by my oration, which he, by his living and conversation, hath oftentimes polished. But the wickedness of the times, which endeavoured to wipe clean out of remembrance of men the name that was so famous and renowned in every man's mouth, did much profit him: insomuch, that both in his lifetime all things redounded to his continual renown, and especially after his decease, nothing could be devised more honourable, than with so solemn furniture and ceremonies, to have gone about to hurt the memorial of such a worthy man, and yet could not bring to pass the thing that was so sore coveted; but rather brought that thing to pass, which was chiefly sought to be avoided. For the desire that men have of the dead, hath purchased to many men everlasting fame, and hath not taken away immortality, but rather amplified and increased the same. By means whereof it cometh to pass, that he that will entreat of those things that pertain to the praise of Bucer after his death, cannot choose but speak of the crabbedness of the times past, upon the which riseth a great increase and augmentation of his praise. But his life so excellently set forth, not only by the writings of the clerks, Cheke and Carre, and by the lively voice of the right famous Dr. Haddon, uttered in this place to the great admiration of all the hearers, when his body should be laid into his grave to be buried; and after his burial, by the godly and most holy preachings of the right reverend father in Christ the archbishop of Canterbury that now is, and of Dr. Redman, the which, for the worthiness and excellency of them, ought to stick longer in our minds unwritten, than many things that are penned and put in print; but also by the great assembly of all the degrees of the university the same day, in bringing him to his grave, and, the next day after, by the industry of every man that was indued with any knowledge in the Greek or Latin tongues; of the which, there was no man but set up some verses, as witness of his just and unfeigned sorrow upon the walls of the church: that neither at that time any reverence or duty which is due to the dead departing out of this life, was then overslipped, or now remaine overwhelmed that may seem to pertain either to the celebrating of the memorial of so holy or famous a person, or to the consecrating of him to everlasting memory.

"We, at that time, saw with our eyes this university flourishing by his institutions, the love of sincere religion not only engendered, but also confirmed and strengthened through his continual and daily preaching. Insomuch, that at such time as he was suddenly taken from us, there was scarce any man that for sorrow could find in his heart to bear with the present state of this life, but that either he wished with all his heart to depart out of this life with Bucer into another, and by dying to follow him into immortality, or else endeavoured himself with weeping and sighing to call him again, being despatched of all troubles, into the prison of this body, out of the which he is escaped, lest he should leave us, as it were, standing in battle-array without a captain, and he himself, as one cashed, depart with his wages; or, as one discharged out of the camp, withdraw himself to the everlasting quietness and tranquillity of the soul. Therefore all men evidently declared at that time, both how sore they took his death to heart, and also how hardly they could away with the misture of such a man.

"As long as the ardent love of his religion (wherewith we were inflamed) flourished, it wrought in our hearts an incredible desire of his presence among us. But after the time that the godly man ceased to be any more in our sight and in our eyes, that ardent and burning love of religion by little and little waxed cold in our minds, and according to the times that came after, (which were both miserable, and to our utter undoing,) it began little and little to be darkened, but it altogether vanished

away, and turned into nothing. For we fell again into the troublesomeness of the popish doctrine; the old rites and customs of the Romish church were restored again, not to the garnishment and beautifying of the Christian religion (as they surmised); but to the utter defacing, violating, and defiling of the same. Death was set before the eyes of such as persevered in the Christian doctrine that they had learned before. They were banished the realm that would not apply themselves to the time, and do as other men did. Such as remained, were enforced either to dissemble, or to hide themselves, and creep into corners; or else, as it were by drinking of the charmed cup of Circe, to be turned and altered, not only from the nature of man into the nature of brute beasts, but (that far worse and much more monstrous is) from the likeness of God and his angels, into the likeness of devils; and all England was infected with this malady. But I would to God the corruption of those times, which overwhelmed all the whole realm, had not at leastwise yet pierced every heart and member thereof; of the which there confirmed but that (besides the grief that it felt, with the residue of the body, by reason of the sickness and contagion spread into the whole) had some sorrow and calamity peculiarly by itself.

"And to omit the rest, (of the which to entreat this place is not appointed, nor the time requireth aught to be spoken,) this dwelling-place of the Muses (which we call the university) may be a sufficient witness what we may judge of all the rest of the body; for certainly, my brethren, the thing is not to be dissembled, that cannot be hidden. We, applying ourselves to those most filthy times, have most shamefully yielded, like faint-hearted cowards which had not the stomachs to sustain the adversities of poverty, banishment, and death, which in our living and conversation kept neither the constancy taught us by philosophy, nor yet the patience taught us by Holy Scripture, which have done all things at the commandment of others. And therefore that which the poet (although in another sense) hath trimly spoken, may well be thought to have been truly prophesied upon us:

'The times and seasons changed be,
And changed in the same are we.'

"Divers of them that were of a pure and sincere judgment as concerning religion, being driven from hence and distroubled, the rest that remained tasted and felt of the inhumanity of them in whose hands the authority of doing things here consisted; although, to say the truth, I have used a gentler term than behoved. For it is not to be accounted inhumanity, but rather immanity and beastly cruelty; the which when they had spent all kinds of torments and punishments upon the quick, when they had cruelly taken from such as constantly persevered, life, from others, riches, honours, and all hope of promotion, yet they could not be so satisfied, but that, incensed and stirred with a great fury, it began to outrage even against the dead. Therefore, whereas in every singular place was executed a singular kind of cruelty, insomuch that there was no kind of cruelty that could be devised, but it was put in use in one place or other, this was proper or peculiar to Cambridge, to exercise the cruelty upon the dead, which in other places was extended but to the quick. Oxford burnt up the right reverend fathers, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, the noble witnesses of the clear light of the gospel. Moreover at London perished these two lanterns of light, Rogers and Bradford; in whom it is hard to say, whether there were more force

of eloquence and utterance in preaching, or more holiness of life and conversation. Many others without number, both here and in other places, were consumed to ashes for bearing record to the truth. For what city is there that hath not flamed, I say not with burning of houses and buildings, but with burning of holy bodies? But Cambridge, after there were no more left alive upon whom they might spew out their bitter poison, played the mad bedlam against the dead! The dead men, whose living no man was able to find fault with, whose doctrine no man was able to reprove, were by false slanderous accusers indicted; contrary to the laws of God and man, sued in the law; condemned; their sepulchres violated and broken up; their carcasses pulled out and burnt with fire! A thing surely incredible, if we had not seen it with our eyes; and a thing that hath not lightly been heard of. But the heinousness of this wicked act was spread abroad as a common talk in every man's mouth, and was blown and dispersed through all Christendom.

"Bucer, by the excellency of his wit and doctrine known to all men, of our countrymen in manner craved, of many others entreated and sent for, to the intent he might instruct our Cambridge men in the sincere doctrine of the Christian religion, being spent with age, and his strength utterly decayed, forsook his own country; refused not the tediousness of that long journey; was not afraid to adventure himself upon the sea, but had more regard of the dilating and amplifying of the church of Christ, than of all other things. So in conclusion he came: every man received and welcomed him. Afterward he lived in such wise, as it might appear he came not hither for his own sake, but for ours: for he sought not to drive away the sickness that he had taken by troublesome travail of his long journey; and albeit his strength were weakened and appalled, yet he regarded not the recovery of his health, but put himself to immoderate labour and intolerable pain, only to teach and instruct us. And yet toward this so notable and worthy a person, while he lived, were showed all the tokens of humanity and gentleness, reverence and courtesy, that could be; and when he was dead, the most horrible cruelty and spite that might be imagined. For what can be so commendable, as to grant unto the living, house and abiding place, and to the dead, burial? or what is he that will find in his heart to give entainment, and to cherish that person in his house with all kind of gentleness that he can devise, upon whom he could not vouchsafe to bestow burial when he is dead?

"Again, what an inconstancy is it, with great solemnity, and with much advancement and commendation of his virtues, to bury a man honourably; and anon after to break up his tomb, and pull him out spitefully, and wrongfully to slander him being dead, who, during his lifetime, always deserved praise! All these things have happened unto Bucer, who, whilst he lived, had free access into the most gorgeous buildings and stately palaces of the greatest princes, and when he was dead, could not be suffered to enjoy so much as his poor grave: who being laid in the ground nobly, to his eternal fame, was afterward, to his utter defacing, spitefully taken up and burned. The which things, albeit they did no harm to the dead, (for the dead carcasses feel not pain, neither doth the fame of godly persons depend upon the report of vulgar people, and the light rumours of men, but upon the rightful censure and just judgment of God,) yet it reproveth an extreme cruelty and unsatiable desire of revengement in them which offer such utter wrong to the dead. These persons, therefore, whom they have pulled out of their graves and burned, I believe (if they had been alive) they would have cast out of house and home; they would have driven out of all men's company, and in the end with most cruel torments have torn them in pieces, being

nevertheless aliens, being strangers, and being also fetched hither by us out of such a country, where they not only needed not to fear any punishment, but contrariwise were always had in much reputation, as well among the noble and honourable, as also among the vulgar and common people.

"But yet how much more gentle than these men was Bishop Gardiner, otherwise an earnest defender of the popish doctrine! who, against his own countrymen, let pass no cruelty whereby he might extinguish with fire and sword the light of the gospel; and yet he spared foreigners, because the right of them is so holy, that there was never nation so barbarous that would violate the same. For when he had in his power the renowned clerk, Peter Martyr, then teaching at Oxford, he would not keep him to punish him, but (as I have heard reported) when he should go his way, he gave him wherewith to bear his charges. So that the thing which he thought he might of right do to his countrymen, he judged unlawful to do to strangers. And whom the law of God could not withhold from the wicked murdering of his own countrymen, him did the law of man bridle from killing of strangers, the which hath ever appeased all barbarous beastliness, and mitigated all cruelty. For it is a point of humanity for man and man to meet together, and one to come to another, though they be never so far separated and set asunder, both by sea and by land, without the which access there can be no intercourse of merchandise, there can be no conference of wits, which first of all engendered learning, nor any commodity of society long to continue. To repulse them that come to us, and to prohibit them our countries, is a point of inhumanity. Now to entreat them evil that by our sufferance dwell among us, and have increase of household and household-stuff, it is a point of wickedness. Wherefore this cruelty hath far surmounted the cruelty of all others, the which, to satisfy the unsatiable greediness thereof, drew to execution not only strangers, brought hither at our entreatance and sending for, but even the withered and rotten carcasses digged out of their graves; to the intent that the immeasurable thirst which could not be quenched with shedding the blood of them that were alive, might at the least be satisfied in burning of dead men's bones. These, my brethren, these, I say, are the just causes which have so sore provoked the wrath of God against us, because that in doing extreme injury to the dead, we have been prone and ready; but in putting the same away, we have been slow and slack. For verily I believe, if I may have liberty to say freely what I think, (ye shall bear with me, if I chance to cast forth any thing unadvisedly in the heat and hasty discourse of my oration,) that even this place, in the which we have so oftentimes assembled, being defiled with that new kind of wickedness, such as man never heard of before, is a let and hinderance unto us when we call for the help of God, by means whereof our prayers are not accepted, which we make to appease the Godhead, and to win him to be favourable unto us again.

"The blood of Abel shed by Cain, calleth and crieth from the earth that sucked it up: likewise the undeserved burning of these bodies calleth upon Almighty God to punish us; and crieth, that not only the authors of so great a wickedness, but also the ministers thereof, are impure, the places defiled in which these things were perpetrated, the air infected which we take into our bodies, to the intent that by sundry diseases and sicknesses we may receive punishment for so execrable wickedness. Look well about ye, my dear brethren, and consider with yourselves the evils that are past; and ye shall see how they took their beginning at Bucer's death, following one in another's neck even unto this day. First and foremost, when we were even in the chiefest of our mourning, and scarcely yet comforted of our sorrow for his death, the

sweating sickness lighted upon us, the which passed swiftly through all England, and as it were in haste despatched an innumerable company of men. Secondly, the untimely death of our most noble King Edward the Sixth, (whose life in virtue surmounted the opinion of all men, and seemed worthy of immortality,) happened contrary to men's expectation in that age in which, unless violence be used, few do die. The conversion of religion, or rather the eversion and turning thereof into papacy: the incursion and domination of strangers, under whose yoke our necks were almost subdued: the importunate cruelty of the bishops against the Christians, which executed that wickedness, for making satisfaction whereof we are gathered together this day: these are the things that ensued after his death. But after his burning ensued yet grievous things, namely, new kinds of plagues, and contagious diseases unknown to the very physicians, whereby either every man's health was impaired, or else they were brought to their graves, or else very hardly recovered. Bloody battles without victory, whereof the profit redounded to the enemy, and to us the slaughter with great loss. The which things do evidently declare, that God is turned from us, and angry with us, and that he giveth no ear to our prayers, and that he is not moved with our cries and sighs, but that he looketh that this our meeting and assembly should be to this end, that forasmuch as we have violated their corpses, we should do them right again; so that the memorial of these most holy men may be commended unto posterity unhurt and undefamed.

"Wherefore amend yet at length, my brethren, which hitherto, by reason of the variableness and inconstancy of the times, have been wavering and unstedfast in your hearts; show yourselves cheerful and forward in making satisfaction for the injury you have done to the dead, whom with so great wickedness of late ye endamaged and defiled; not censuring them with the perfumes of those odours and spices now worn out of use and put to flight; but with a true and unfeigned repentance of the heart, and with prayer, to the intent that the heavenly Godhead, provoked by our doings to be our enemy, may by our humble submission be entreated to be favourable and agreeable to all our other requests."

When Acworth had made an end of his oration, Master James Pilkington, the queen's reader of the divinity lecture, going up into the pulpit, made a sermon upon Psalm cxii., the beginning whereof is, Blessed is the man that feareth the Lord. Where, intending to prove that the remembrance of the just man shall not perish, and that Bucer is blessed, and that the ungodly shall fret at the sight thereof, but yet that all their attempts shall be to no purpose, to the intent this saying may be verified, I will curse your blessings, and bless your cursings, he took his beginning of his own person:

The effect of Dr. James Pilkington's sermon.

"That albeit he were both ready and willing to take that matter in hand, partly for the worthiness of the matter itself, and especially for certain singular virtues of those persons for whom that congregation was called, yet notwithstanding, he said, he was nothing meet to take that charge upon him. For it were more reason that he, which before had done Bucer wrong, should now make him amends for the displeasure. As for his own part, he was so far from working any evil against Bucer,

either in word or deed, that for their singular knowledge almost in all kind of learning, he embraced both him and Phagius with all his heart. But yet he somewhat more favoured Bucer, as with whom he had more familiarity and acquaintance. In consideration whereof, although that it was scarce convenient that he at that time should speak, yet notwithstanding he was contented, for friendship and courtesy' sake, not to fail them in their business.

"Having made this preface, he entered into the pith of the matter, wherein he blamed greatly the barbarous cruelty of the court of Rome, so fiercely extended against the dead. He said it was a more heinous matter than was to be borne with, to have showed such extreme cruelty to them that were alive; but for any man to misbehave himself in such wise toward the dead, was such a thing as had not lightly been heard of: saving that he affirmed this custom of excommunicating and cursing of dead folk to have come first from Rome. For Evagrius reporteth in his writings, that Eutychius was of the same opinion, induced by the example of Josias, who slew the priests of Baal, and burnt up the bones of them that were dead, even upon the altars: whereas, before the time of Eutychius this kind of punishment was well near unknown, neither afterward usurped of any man (that ever he heard of) until nine hundred years after Christ. In the latter times, (the which how much the further they were from the golden age of the apostles, so much the more they were corrupted,) this kind of cruelty began to creep further: for it is manifestly known, that Stephen, the sixth pope of Rome, digged up Formosus, his last predecessor in that see, and, spoiling him of his pope's apparel, buried him again in a layman's apparel, (as they call it,) having first cut off and thrown into the Tiber his two fingers, with which, according to their accustomed manner, he was wont to bless and consecrate. The which his unspeakable tyranny used against Formosus, within six years after, Sergius the Third increased also against the same Formosus. For taking up his dead body, and setting it in a pope's chair, he caused his head to be smitten off, and his other three fingers to be cut from his hand, and his body to be cast into the river of Tiber, abrogating and disannulling all his decrees; which thing was never done by any man before that day. The cause why so great cruelty was exercised (by the report of Nauclerus) was this: because that Formosus had been an adversary to Stephen and Sergius when they sued to be made bishops.

"This kind of cruelty (unheard of before) the popes awhile exercised one against another. But now, ere ever they had sufficiently felt the smart thereof themselves, they had turned the same upon our necks. Wherefore it was to be wished, that seeing it began among them, it might have remained still with the authors thereof, and not have been spread over thence unto us. But such is the nature of all evil, that it quickly passeth into example, for others to do the like. For about the year of the Lord 1400, John Wickliff was in like manner digged up, and burnt into ashes, and thrown into a brook that runneth by the town where he was buried. Of the which selfsame sauce tasted also William Tracy of Gloucester, a man of a worshipful house, because he had written in his last will, that he should be saved only by faith in Jesus Christ; and that there needed not the help of any man thereto, whether he were in heaven or in earth; and therefore bequeathed no legacy to that purpose, as all other men were accustomed to do. This deed was done since, we may remember, about the twenty-second year of the reign of King Henry the Eighth, in the year of our Lord 1530.

"Now seeing they extended such cruelty to the dead, (he said,) it was an easy matter to conjecture what they would do to the living; whereof we have had sufficient trial by the examples of our own men, these few years past: and if we would take the pains to peruse things done somewhat longer ago, we might find notable matters out of their own chronicles. Howbeit, it was sufficient for the manifest demonstration of that matter, to declare the beastly butchery of the French king, executed upon the Waldenses at Cabriers, and the places near thereabout, by his captain Mineries, about the year of our Lord 1545, than the which there was never thing read of more cruelty done, no, not even of the barbarous pagans. And yet for all that, when divers had showed their uttermost cruelty both against these and many others, they were so far from their purpose, in extinguishing the light of the gospel, which they endeavoured to suppress, that it increased daily more and more. The which thing Charles the Fifth (than whom all Christendom had not a more prudent prince, nor the church of Christ almost a sorer enemy) easily perceived; and therefore, when he had in his hand Luther dead, and Melancthon and Pomerane with certain other preachers of the gospel alive, he not only determined not any thing extremely against them, nor violated their graves, but also entreating them gently, sent them away, not so much as once forbidding them to publish openly the doctrine that they professed. For it is the nature of Christ's church, that the more that tyrants spurn against it, the more it increaseth and flourisheth.

"A notable proof assuredly of the providence and pleasure of God in sowing the gospel, was that coming of the Bohemians unto us, to the intent to hear Wickliff, of whom we spake before, who at that time read openly at Oxford; and also the going of our men to the said Bohemians, when persecution was raised against us. But much more notable was it, that we have seen come to pass in these our days; that the Spaniards, sent for into this realm of purpose to suppress the gospel, as soon as they were returned home replenished many parts of their country with the same truths of religion, to the which before they were utter enemies. By the which examples it might evidently be perceived, that the princes of this world labour in vain to overthrow it, considering how the mercy of God hath sown it abroad, not only in those countries that we spake of, but also in France, Poland, Scotland, and almost all the rest of Europe. For it is said that some parts of Italy, although it be under the pope's nose, yet do they of late incline to the knowledge of the heavenly truth. Wherefore sufficient argument and proof might be taken by the success and increasement thereof, to make us believe that this doctrine is sent us from heaven, unless we will wilfully be blinded.

"And if there were any that desired to be persuaded more at large in the matter, he might advisedly consider the voyage that the emperor and the pope, with both their powers together, made jointly against the Bohemians; in the which the emperor took such an unworthy repulse of so small a handful of his enemies, that he never almost in all his life took the like dishonour in any place. Hereof also might be an especial example of the death of Henry, king of France, who, the same day that he had purposed to persecute the church of Christ, and to have burned certain of his guard whom he had imprisoned for religion, at whose execution he had promised to have been himself in proper person, in the midst of his triumph at a tourney, was wounded so sore in the head with a spear by one of his own subjects, that ere it was long after he died. In the which behalf, the dreadful judgments of God were no less approved in our own countrymen; for one that was a notable slaughter-man of Christ's saints, rotted alive, and ere ever he died, such a rank savour steamed from all his

body, that none of his friends were able to come at him, but they were ready to vomit. Another, being in utter despair well nigh of all health, howled out miserably. The third ran out of his wits; and divers other that were enemies to the church perished miserably in the end. All the which things were most certain tokens of the favour and defence of the divine Majesty towards his church, and of his wrath and vengeance towards the tyrants.

"And forasmuch as he had made mention of the Bohemians, he said it was a most apt example that was reported of their captain, Zisca; who, when he should die, willed his body to be flayed, and of his skin to make a parchment to cover the head of a drum. For it should come to pass, that when his enemies heard the sound of it, they should not be able to stand against them. The like counsel (he said) he himself now gave them as concerning Bucer; that like as the Bohemians did with the skin of Zisca, the same should they do with the arguments and doctrine of Bucer. For as soon as the papists should hear the noise of him, their gewgaws would forthwith decay. For saving that they used violence to such as withstood them, their doctrine contained nothing that might seem to any man (having but mean understanding in Holy Scripture) to be grounded upon any reason.

"As for those things that were done by them against such as could not play the mad-men as well as they, some of them savoured of open force, and some of ridiculous foolishness. For what was this, first of all? Was it not frivolous, that by the space of three years together, mass should be sung in those places where Bucer and Phagius rested in the Lord, without any offence at all? and as soon as they took it to be an offence, straightway to be an offence, if any were heard there? or that it should not be as good then as it was before? as if that then upon the sudden it had been a heinous matter to celebrate it in that place, and that the fault that was past should be counted the grievouser, because it was done of longer time before. Moreover, this was a matter of none effect, that Bucer and Phagius only should be digged up, as who should say, that they only had embraced the religion which they called heresy. It was well known how one of the burgesses of the town had been minded toward the popish religion; who, when he should die, willed neither ringing of bells, diriges, nor any other such kind of trifles to be done for him in his anniversary, as they term it, but rather that they should go with instruments of music before the mayor and council of the city, to celebrate his memorial, and also that yearly a sermon should be made to the people, bequeathing a piece of money to the preacher for his labour. Neither might he omit in that place to speak of Ward the painter, who albeit he were a man of no reputation, yet was he not to be despised for the religion's sake which he diligently followed. Neither were divers other more to be passed over with silence, who were known of a certainty to have continued in the same sect, and to rest in other church-yards in Cambridge, and rather through the whole realm, and yet defiled not their masses at all. All the which persons (forasmuch as they were all of one opinion) ought all to have been taken up, or else all to have been let lie with the same religion: unless a man would grant that it lieth in their power to make what they list lawful and unlawful, at their own pleasure.

"In the condemnation of Bucer and Phagius, to say the truth, they used too much cruelty, and too much violence. For howsoever it went with the doctrine of Bucer, certainly they could find nothing whereof to accuse Phagius, inasmuch as he wrote nothing that came abroad, saving a few things that he had translated out of the

Hebrew and Chaldee tongues into Latin. After his coming into the realm he never read, he never disputed, he never preached, he never taught; for he deceased soon after, so that he could in that time give no occasion for his adversaries to take hold on, whereby to accuse him whom they never heard speak. In that they hated Bucer so deadly, for the allowable marriage of the clergy, it was their own malice conceived against him, and a very slander raised by themselves: for he had for his defence in that matter (over and besides other helps) the testimony of Pope Pius the Second, who in a certain place saith, that upon weighty considerations priests' wives were taken from them, but for more weighty causes were to be restored again. And also the statute of the emperor, they call it the Interim, by the which it is enacted, that such of the clergy as were married, should not be divorced from their wives.

"Then, turning his style from this matter to the university, he reprov'd in few words their unfaithfulness towards these men. For if the Lord suffered not the bones of the king of Edom, being a wicked man, to be taken up and burnt without revengement, (as saith Amos,) let us assure ourselves he will not suffer so notable a wrong done to his godly preachers, unrevenged.

"Afterward, when he came to the condemnation, (which we told you in the former action was pronounced by Perne, the vice-chancellor, in the name of them all,) being somewhat more moved at the matter, he admonished them how much it stood them in hand, to use great circumspectness, what they decreed upon any man by their voices, in admitting or rejecting any man to the promotions and degrees of the university. For that he which should take his authority from them, should be a great prejudice to all the other multitude, which (for the opinion that he had of their doctrine, judgment, allowance, and knowledge) did think nothing but well of them. For it would come to pass, that if they would bestow their promotions upon none but meet persons, and let the unmeet go as they come, both the commonwealth should receive much commodity and profit by them, and besides that, they should highly please God. But, if they persisted to be negligent in doing thereof, they should grievously endamage the commonweal, and worthily work their own shame and reproach. Over and besides that, they should greatly offend the majesty of God, whose commandment, not to bear false witness, they should in so doing break and violate."

In the mean while that he was speaking these and many other things before his audience, many of the university, to set out and defend Bucer withal, beset the walls of the church and church-porch on both sides with verses; some in Latin, some in Greek, and some in English; in the which they made a manifest declaration how they were minded both toward Bucer and Phagius. Finally, when his sermon was ended, they made common supplication and prayers. After thanks rendered to God for many other things, but in especial for restoring of the true and sincere religion, every man departed his way.

The despiteful handling and madness of the papists toward Peter Martyr's wife at Oxford, taken up from her grave at the commandment of Cardinal Pole, and after buried in a dunghill.



ND because the one university should not mock the other, like cruelty was also declared upon the dead body of Peter Martyr's wife at Oxford, an honest, grave, and sober matron, while she lived, and of poor people always a great helper, as many that be dwelling there can right well testify. In the year of our Lord 1552 she departed this life, with great sorrow of all those needy persons, whose necessities many times and often she had liberally eased and relieved. Now when Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, Nicholas Ormanet, datary, Robert Morewen, president of Corpus-Christi College, Cole and Wright, doctors of the civil law, came thither as the cardinal's visitors, they, among other things, had in commission to take up this good woman again out of her grave, and to consume her carcass with fire, not doubting but that she was of the same religion that her husband had professed before, when he read the king's lecture there. And to make a show that they would do nothing disorderly, they called all those before them, that had any acquaintance with her or her husband. They ministered an oath unto them, that they should not conceal whatsoever was demanded. In fine, their answer was, that they knew not what religion she was of, by reason they understood not her language:

To be short, after these visitors had sped the business they came for, they gat them to the cardinal again, certifying him that, upon due inquisition made, they could learn nothing upon which by the law they might burn her. Notwithstanding the cardinal did not leave the matter so, but wrote down his letters a good while after to Marshal, then dean of Frideswide's, that he should dig her up, and lay her out of Christian burial, because she was interred nigh unto St. Frideswide's relics, sometime had in great reverence in that college. Dr. Marshal, like a pretty man, calling his spades and mattocks together in the evening, when he was well whittled, caused her to be taken up and buried in a dunghill.



Peter Martyr's Wife Exhumed

Howbeit, when it pleased God under good Queen Elizabeth to give quietness to his church, long time persecuted with prison and death, then Dr. Parker, archbishop of Canterbury, Edmund Grindall, bishop of London, Richard Goodrick, with divers others her Majesty's high commissioners in matters of religion, (nothing ignorant how far the adversaries of the truth had transgressed the bounds of all humanity, in violating the sepulchre or grave of that good and virtuous woman,) willed certain of that college in the which this uncourteous touch was attempted or done, to take her out of that unclean and dishonest place where she lay, and solemnly, in the face of the whole town, to bury her again in a more decent and honest monument. For though the body being once dead, no great estimation were to be had, how or where the bones were laid; yet was some reverence to be used towards her for sex and womanhood sake. Besides, to say the truth, it was great shame, that he which had travelled so far, at King Edward's request, from the place wherein he dwelt quietly, and had taken so earnest pains (being an old man) in reading and setting forth the truth all he could, with learning to teach and instruct, and so well deserved of that university, should, with so ungentle a recompence of ingratitude, be rewarded again, as to have his wife, that was a godly woman, a stranger, good to many, especially to the poor, and hurtful to none, either in word or deed, without just deserving, and beside their own law, not proceeding against her according to the order thereof, spitefully to be laid in a stinking dunghill.

To all good natures the fact seemed odious, and of such as be endued with humanity, utterly to be abhorred. Wherefore Master James Calfield, then sub-dean of the college, diligently provided, that from Marshal's dunghill she was restored and translated to her proper place again, yea, and withal coupled her with Frideswide's bones, that in case any cardinal will be so mad hereafter to remove this woman's bones again, it shall be hard for them to discern the bones of her from the other. And to the intent the same might be notified to the minds of men the better, the next day after, which was Sunday, Master Rogerson preached unto the people, in which sermon by the way he declared the rough dealing of the adversaries, which were not contented to practise their cruelty against the living, but that they must also rage against one that was dead, and had lain two years in her grave. God grant them once to see their own wickedness. Amen.

353. Persecution in Canterbury.

And thus much touching the noble acts and strangeness of this worthy cardinal in both the universities; whereunto it shall not be impertinent, here also consequently to adjoin and set forth to the eyes of the world, the blind and bloody articles set out by Cardinal Pole, to be inquired upon, within his diocese of Canterbury; whereby it may the better appear what yokes and snares of fond and fruitless traditions were laid upon the poor flock of Christ, to entangle and oppress them with loss of life and liberty; by the which, wise men have to see what godly fruits proceeded from that catholic church and see of Rome. In which, albeit thou seest, good reader, some good articles interspersed withal, let that nothing move thee; for else how could such poison be ministered, but it must have some honey to relish the reader's taste.

Here follow the articles set forth by Cardinal Pole, to be inquired in his ordinary visitation, within his diocese of Canterbury.

Cardinal Pole's articles touching the clergy.

"First,. Whether the divine service in the church at times, days, hours, be observed and kept duly, or no.

"2. Item, Whether the parsons, vicars, and curates do comely and decently in their manners and doings behave themselves, or no.

"3. Item, Whether they do reverently and duly minister the sacraments or sacramentals, or no.

"4. Item, Whether any of their parishioners do die without ministration of the sacraments, through the negligence of their curates, or no.

"5. Item, Whether the said parsons, vicars, or curates, do haunt taverns or alehouses, increasing thereby infamy and slander, or no.

"6. Item, Whether they be diligent in teaching the midwives how to christen children in time of necessity, according to the canons of the church, or no.

"7. Item, Whether they see that the font be comely kept, and have holy water always ready for children to be christened.

"8. Item, If they do keep a book of all the names of them that be reconciled to the duty of the church.

"9. Item, Whether there be any priests, that late unlawfully had women under pretended marriage, and hitherto are not reconciled; and to declare their names and dwelling-places.

"10. Item, Whether they do diligently teach their parishioners the articles of the faith, and the ten commandments.

"11. Item, Whether they do decently observe those things that do concern the service of the church, and all those things that tend to a good and Christian life, according to the canons of the church.

"12. Item, Whether they do devoutly in their prayers pray for the prosperous estate of the king and queen's Majesties.

"13. Item, Whether the said parsons and vicars do sufficiently repair their chancels, rectories, and vicarages, and do keep and maintain them sufficiently

repaired and amended.

"14. Item, Whether any of them do preach or teach any erroneous doctrine, contrary to the catholic faith and unity of the church.

"15. Item, Whether any of them do say the divine service, or do minister the sacraments in the English tongue, contrary to the usual order of the church.

"16. Item, Whether any of them do suspiciously keep any women in their houses, or do keep company with men suspected of heresies, or of evil opinion.

"17. Item, Whether any of them that were under pretence of lawful matrimony married, and now reconciled, do privily resort to their pretended wives, or that the said women do privily resort unto them.

18. Item, Whether they do go decently apparelled, as it becometh sad, sober, and discreet ministers; and whether they have their crowns and beards shaven.

"19. Item, Whether any of them do use any unlawful games, as dice, cards, and other like, whereby they grow to slander and evil report.

"20. Item, Whether they do keep residence and hospitality upon their benefices, and do make charitable contributions, according to all the laws ecclesiastical.

"21. Item, Whether they do keep the book of registers of christenings, buryings, and marriages, with the names of the godfathers and godmothers."

His articles touching the lay people.

"First, Whether any manner of person, of what estate, degree, or condition soever he be, do hold, maintain, or affirm any heresies, errors, or erroneous opinions, contrary to the laws ecclesiastical, and the unity of the catholic church.

"2. Item, Whether any person do hold, affirm, or say that in the blessed sacrament of the altar there is not contained the real and substantial presence of Christ; or that by any manner of means do condemn and despise the said blessed sacrament, or do refuse to do reverence or worship thereunto.

"3. Item, Whether they do condemn or despise by any manner of means any other the sacraments, rites, or ceremonies of the church, or do refuse or deny auricular confession.

"4. Item, Whether any do absent or refrain, without urgent and lawful impediment, to come to the church, and reverently to hear the divine service upon Sundays and holy days.

"5. Item, Whether, being in the church, they do not apply themselves to hear the divine service, and to be contemplative in holy prayer; and not to walk, jangle, or talk, in the time of the divine service.

"6. Item, Whether any be fornicators, adulterers, or do commit incest, or be bawds, and receivers of evil persons, or be vehemently suspected of any of them.

"7. Item, Whether any do blaspheme and take the name of God in vain, or be common swearers.

"8. Item, Whether any be perjured, or have committed simony or usury, or do still remain in the same.

"9. Item, Whether the churches and churchyards be well and honestly repaired and enclosed.

"10. Item, Whether the churches be sufficiently garnished and adorned with all ornaments and books necessary, and whether they have a rood in their church of a decent stature, with Mary and John, and an image of the patron of the same church.

"11. Item, Whether any do withhold, or do draw from the church, any manner of money or goods, or that do withhold their due and accustomed tithes from their parsons and vicars.

"12. Item, Whether any be common drunkards, ribalds, or men of evil living, or do exercise any lewd pastimes, especially in the time of divine service.

"13. Item, If there be any that do, practise, or exercise, any arts of magic or necromancy, or do use or practise any incantations, sorceries, or witchcraft, or be vehemently suspected thereof.

"14. Item, Whether any be married within the degrees of affinity or consanguinity prohibited by the laws of holy church, or that do marry, the bans not asked, or do make any privy contracts.

"15. Item, Whether in the time of Easter last any were not confessed, or did not receive the blessed sacrament of the altar, or did irreverently behave themselves in the receiving thereof.

"16. Item, Whether any do keep any secret conventicles, preachings, lectures, or readings, in matter of religion, contrary to the laws.

"17. Item, Whether any do now not duly keep the fasting and embering days.

"18. Item, Whether the altars in the churches be consecrated, or no.

"19. Item, Whether the sacrament be carried devoutly to them that fall sick, with light, and with a little sacring bell.

"20. Item, Whether the common schools be well kept; and that the schoolmasters be diligent in teaching, and be also catholic, and men of good and upright judgment, and that they be examined and approved by the ordinary.

"21. Item, Whether any do take upon them to administer the goods of those that be dead, without authority from the ordinary.

"22. Item, Whether the poor people in every parish be charitably provided for.

"23. Item, Whether there do burn a lamp or a candle before the sacrament. And if there do not, that then it be provided for with expedition.

"24. Item, Whether infants and children be brought to be confirmed in convenient time.

"25. Item, Whether any do keep, or have in their custody, any erroneous or unlawful books.

"26. Item, Whether any do withhold any money or goods bequeathed to the amending of the highways, or any other charitable deed.

"27. Item, Whether any have put away their wives, or any wives do withdraw themselves from their husbands, being not lawfully divorced.

"28. Item, Whether any do violate or break the Sundays and holy-days, doing their daily labours and exercises upon the same.

"29. Item, Whether the [keepers of] taverns or alehouses, upon the Sundays and holy-days, in the time of mass, matins, and evensong, do keep open their doors, and do receive people into their houses to drink and eat, and thereby neglect their duties in coming to the church.

"30. Item, Whether any have or do deprave or condemn the authority or jurisdiction of the pope's Holiness, or the see of Rome.

"31. Item, Whether any minstrels, or any other persons, do use to sing any songs against the holy sacraments, or any other rites and ceremonies of the church.

"32. Item, Whether there be any hospitals within your parishes, and whether the foundations of them be duly and truly observed and kept; and whether the charitable contributions of the same be done accordingly.

"33. Item, Whether any goods, plate, jewels, or possessions be taken away, or withholden, from the said hospitals, and by whom."

A history of ten martyrs condemned and burned within the diocese of Canterbury, for the testimony of Jesus Christ, and truth of his gospel.

Mention was made a little before of the persecution in Kent; wherefore we declared, that fifteen were in the castle of Canterbury imprisoned and condemned for God's word. Of the which fifteen, moreover, we showed and declared five to be famished unto death within the said castle, and buried by the highway, about the beginning of November. The other ten, in the first month of the next year following, which was the year of our Lord 1557, were committed unto the fire, and there consumed to ashes, by Thornton, called bishop or suffragan of Dover, otherwise called Dick of Dover, and by Nicholas Harpsfield, the archdeacon of the said province.

The names of these ten godly and Christian martyrs be these: John Philpot of Tenterden, William Waterer of Biddenden, Stephen Kempe of Norgate, William Hay of Hythe, Thomas Hudson of Selling, Matthew Bradbridge of Tenterden, Thomas Stephens of Biddenden, Nicholas Final of Tenterden, William Lowick of Cranbrooke, William Prowting of Thornham.

Of these ten godly martyrs of Christ, six were burned at Canterbury, about the fifteenth of January, that is, Kempe, Waterer, Prowting, Lowick, Hudson, and Hay. Other two, that is, Stephens and Philpot, at Wye, about the same month. Other two, which were Final and Bradbridge, were burned both together at Ashford, the sixteenth of the same.

What the ordinary articles were, commonly objected to them of Canterbury diocese, is before rehearsed, save only that to some of these, as to them that follow after, as the time of their persecution did grow, so their articles withal did increase to the number of two and twenty, containing such-like matter as served to the maintenance of the Romish see.

To these articles what their answers were likewise, needeth here no great rehearsal, seeing they all agreed together, though not in the same form of words, yet in much-like effect of purposes; first, granting the church of Christ, and denying the Church of Rome; denying the seven sacraments; refusing the mass, and the hearing of Latin service, praying to saints, justification of works, &c. And though they did all answer uniformly in some smaller things, as their learning served them, yet in the most principal and chiefest matters they did not greatly discord, &c.

354. A Bloody Commission Given Forth By King Philip and Queen Mary, To Persecute the Poor Members of Christ.

The next month following, which was February, came out another bloody commission from the king and queen, to kindle up the fire of persecution, as though it were not hot enough already; the contents of which commission I thought here not to pretermitt, not for lack of matter, whereof I have too much, but that the reader may understand how kings and princes of this world, like as in the first persecutions of the primitive church under Valerian, Decius, Maximian, Dioclesian, Licinius, &c., so now. also in these latter perilous days, have set out all their main force and power, with laws, policy, and authority to the uttermost they could devise, against Christ and his blessed gospel. And yet, notwithstanding all these laws, constitutions, injunctions, and terrible proclamations provided against Christ and his gospel, Christ yet still continueth, his gospel flourisheth, and truth ,prevaileth; kings and emperors in their own purposes overthrown, their devices dissolved, their counsels confounded; as examples both of this and of all times and ages do make manifest. But now let us hear the intent of this commission, in tenor as followeth.

"Philip and Mary, by the grace of God king and queen of England, &c.: to the right reverend father in God our right trusty and well-beloved councillor Thomas, bishop of Ely; and to our right trusty and well-beloved William Windsor, knight, Lord Windsor; Edward North, knight, Lord North; and to our trusty and well-beloved councillor, J. Bourne, knight, one of our chief secretaries; J. Mordaunt, knight; Francis Englefield, knight, master of our wards and liveries; Edward Walgrave, knight, master of our great wardrobe; Nicholas Hare, knight, master of the rolls and our high court of chancery; and to our trusty and well-beloved Thomas Pope, knight; Roger Cholmley, knight; Richard Rede, knight; Rowland Hill, knight; William Rastal, sergeant at law; Henry Cole, clerk, dean of Paul's; William Roper and Ralph Cholmley, esquires; William Cook, Thomas Martin, John Story, and John Vaughan, doctors of the law, greeting.

"Forasmuch as divers devilish and slanderous persons have not only invented, bruited, and set forth, divers false rumours, tales, and seditious slanders against us, but also have sown divers heresies and heretical opinions, and set forth divers seditious books, within this our realm of England, meaning thereby to stir up division, strife, contention, and sedition, not only amongst our loving subjects, but also betwixt us and our said subjects, with divers other outrageous misdemeanours, enormities, contempts, and offences, daily committed and done, to the disquieting of us and our people, we minding the due punishment of such offenders, and the repressing of such-like offences, enormities, and misbehaviours from henceforth, having special trust and confidence in your fidelities, wisdoms, and discretions, have authorized, appointed, and assigned you to be our commissioners; and by these presents do give full power and authority unto you, and three of you, to inquire as well by the oaths of twelve good and lawful men, as by witnesses and all other means and politic ways you can devise, of all and singular heretical opinions, lollardies, heretical and seditious books, concealments, contempts, conspiracies, and all false rumours, tales, seditious and slanderous words or sayings, raised, published, bruited, invented, or set forth against

us, or either of us, or against the quiet governance and rule of our people and subjects, by books, lies, tales, or otherwise, in any county, key, bowing, or other place or places, within this our realm of England or elsewhere, in any place or places beyond the seas, and of the bringers-in, utterers, buyers, sellers, readers, keepers, or conveyers of any such letter, book, rumour, and tale, and of all and every their coadjutors, counsellors, comforters, procurers, abettors, and maintainers, giving unto you, and three of you, full power and authority, by virtue hereof, to search out and take into your hands and possessions, all manner of heretical and seditious books, letters, and writings, wheresoever they or any of them shall be found, as well in printers' houses and shops, as elsewhere, willing you and every of you to search for the same in all places, according to your discretions. And also to inquire, hear, and determine all and singular enormities, disturbances, misbehaviours, and negligences committed in any church, chapel, or other hallowed place, within this realm; and also for and concerning the taking away or withholding any lands, tenements, goods, ornaments, stocks of money or other things, belonging to every of the same churches and chapels, and all accounts and reckonings concerning the same. And also to inquire and search out all such persons as obstinately do refuse to receive the blessed sacrament of the altar, to hear mass, or to come to their parish churches or other convenient places appointed for divine service; and all such as refuse to go on procession, to take holy bread or holy water, or otherwise do misuse themselves in any church or other hallowed place, wheresoever any of the same offences have been, or hereafter shall be, committed within this our said realm.

"Nevertheless, our will and pleasure is, that when and as often as any person or persons, hereafter being called or convented before you, do obstinately persist or stand in any manner of heresy, or heretical opinion, that then ye, or three of you, do immediately take order, that the same person or persons, so standing or persisting, be delivered and committed to his ordinary, thereto be used according to the spiritual and ecclesiastical laws. And also we give unto you, or three of you, full power and authority, to inquire and search out all vagabonds, and masterless men, barrators, quarrellers, and suspect persons, abiding within our city of London, and ten miles' compass of the same, and all assaults and affrays done and committed within the same city and compass. And further to search out all wastes, decays, and ruins of churches, chancels, chapels, parsonages, and vicarages in the diocese of the same, being within this realm; giving you and every of you full power and authority by virtue hereof to hear and determine the same, and all other offences and matters above specified and rehearsed, according to your wisdoms, consciences, and discretions, willing and commanding you, or three of you, from time to time, to use and devise all such politic ways and means for the trial and searching out of the premises, as by you, or three of you, shall be thought most expedient and necessary: and upon inquiry and due proof had, known, perceived, and tried out, by the confession of the parties, or by sufficient witnesses before you, or three of you, concerning the premises, or any part thereof, or by any other ways or means requisite, to give and award such punishment to the offenders, by fine, imprisonment, or otherwise, and to take such order for redress and reformation of the premises, as to your wisdoms, or three of you, shall be thought meet and convenient.

"Further, willing and commanding you, and every three of you, in case you shall find any person or persons obstinate or disobedient, either in their appearance before you, or three of you, at your calling or assignment, or else in not

accomplishing, or not obeying, your decrees, orders, and commandments, in any thing or things touching the premises or any part thereof, to commit the same person or persons so offending to ward, there to remain, till by you, or three of you, he be discharged or delivered: and we give you, and every three of you, full power and authority by these presents, to take and receive, by your discretion, of every offender or suspect person to be convented and brought before you, a recognisance or recognisances, obligation or obligations, to our use, of such sum or sums of money as to you, or three of you, shall seem convenient; as well for the personal appearance before you of every such suspected person, as for the performance and accomplishment of your orders and decrees, in case you shall so think convenient: or for the true and sure payment of all and every such fine and fines, as shall hereafter be by you, or three of you, taxed or assessed, upon any offender that shall be before you, or three of you, duly convinced as is aforesaid, to our use, to be paid at such days and times as by you, or three of you, shall be called, limited, and appointed: and you are to certify every such recognisance or obligation, so being taken for any fine or fines, (not fully and wholly paid before you,) under your hands and seals, or the hands or seals of three of you, into our court of chancery; to the intent we may be thereof duly answered, as appertaineth.

"And furthermore we give to you, and three of you, full power and authority by these presents, not only to call before you all and every offender and offenders, and all and every suspected person and persons, in any of the premises, but also all such and so many witnesses as ye shall think meet to be called; and them, and every of them, to examine, and compel to answer and swear upon the holy evangelists to declare the truth, of all such things whereof they or any of them shall be examined, for the better trial, opening, and declaration of the premises, or of any part thereof.

"And further, our will and pleasure is, that you, or three of you, shall name and appoint one sufficient person to gather up and receive all such sums of money as shall be assessed and taxed by you, or any three of you, for any fine or fines upon any person, for their offences; and you, or three of you, by bill or bills assigned with your hands, shall and may assign and appoint, (as well to the said person for his pains in receiving the said sums, as also to your clerks, messengers, and attendants upon you, for their travail, pains, and charges to be sustained for us, about the premises or any part thereof,) such sum and sums of money for their rewards, as by you, or three of you, shall be thought expedient: willing and commanding also all our auditors and other officers, (upon the sight of the said bills signed with the hands of you, or three of you,) to make to the said receiver due allowance according to the said bills, upon this account. Wherefore we will and command you, our said commissioners, with diligence to execute the premises, any of our laws, statutes, proclamations, or other grants, privileges, or ordinances, which be, or may seem to be, contrary to the premises, notwithstanding.

"And moreover, we will and command all and singular justices of peace, mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, constables, and all other our officers, ministers, and faithful subjects, to be aiding, helping, and assisting you at your commandment, in due execution hereof; as they may tender our pleasure, and will answer to the contrary at their uttermost perils. And we will and grant, that these our letters patent shall be sufficient warrant and discharge for you, and every of you, against us, our heirs and successors; and all and every other person and persons, whatsoever they be, of, for,

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and concerning, the premises or any parcel thereof, or for the execution of this our commission or any part thereof. In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters patent to be made, and to continue and endure for one whole year next coming after the date hereof.

"Witness ourselves at Westminster, the eighth of February, the third and fourth year of our reigns."

355. The Apprehension of Two and Twenty Prisoners, Sent Up Together For God's Word, To London, From Colchester.



The Prisoners Marching through a Town

After this bloody proclamation or commission thus given out at London, which was February the eighth, in the third and fourth years of the king and queen's reign, these new inquisitors, especially some of them, began to ruffle, and to take upon them not a little; so that all quarters were full of persecution, and prisons almost full of prisoners, namely, in the diocese of Canterbury, whereof (by the leave of Christ) we will say more anon.

In the mean time, about the town of Colchester, the wind of persecution began fiercely to rise; insomuch that three and twenty together, men and women, were apprehended at one clap; of the which twenty-three, one escaped: the other twenty-

two were driven up like a flock of Christian lambs to London, with two or three leaders with them at most, ready to give their skins to be plucked off for the gospel's sake. Notwithstanding the bishops, afraid belike of the number, to put so many at once to death, sought means to deliver them, and so they did, drawing out a very easy submission for them, or rather suffering them to draw it out themselves: notwithstanding divers of them afterward were taken again and suffered, as hereafter ye shall hear (God willing) declared. Such as met them by the way coming up, saw them in the fields, scattering in such sort, as that they might easily have escaped away. And when they entered into the towns their keepers called them again into array, to go two and two together, having a band or line going between them, they holding the same in their hands, having another cord every one about his arm, as though they were tied.

And so were these fourteen men and eight women carried up to London, the people by the way praying to God for them, to give them strength. At their entering into London, they were pinioned, and so came into the city, as the picture here shortly before-going, with their names also subscribed, doth describe. But first let us declare concerning their taking and their attachers, contained in the commissary's letter written to Bonner; then the indenture made between the commissioners and the popish commissary. The letter of the commissary is this.

The letter of the commissary, called John Kingston, written to Bishop Bonner.

"After my duty done in receiving and accomplishing your honourable and most loving letters, dated the seventh of August, be it known unto your Lordship, that the twenty-eighth of August, the Lord of Oxenford, Lord Darcy, Henry Tyrrel, Anthony Brown, William Bendelows, Edmund Tyrrel, Richard Weston, Roger Appleton, published their commission, to seize the lands, tenements, and goods of the fugitives, so that the owners should have neither use nor commodity thereof, but by inventory remain in safe keeping, until the cause were determined.

"And also there was likewise proclaimed the queen's Grace's warrant for the restitution of the church goods within Colchester and the hundreds thereabout, to the use of God's service. And then were called the parishes particularly, and the heretics partly committed to my examination; and that divers persons should certify me of the ornaments of their churches, betwixt this and the justices' next appearance, which shall be on Michaelmas-even next. And the parishes which had presented at two several times, to have all ornaments with other things in good order, were exonerated for ever, till they were warned again; and others to make their appearance from time to time. And those names blotted in the indenture, were indicted for treason, fugitives, or disobedients, and were put forth by Master Brown's commandment. And before the sealing, my Lord Darcy said unto me (apart) and Master Bendelows, that I should have sufficient time to send unto your Lordship, yea, if need were, the heretics to remain in durance till I had an answer from you, yea, till the lord legate's Grace's commissioners come into the country.

"And Master Brown came unto my Lord Darcy's house and parlour belonging unto Master Barnaby, before my said Lord and all the justices, and laid his hand on

my shoulder, with a smiling countenance, and desired me to make his hearty commendations to your good Lordship, and asked me if I would; and I said, Yea, with a good will. Wherefore I was glad, and thought that I should not have been charged with so sudden carriage.

"But after dinner, the justices counselled with the bailiffs, and with the jailers; and then after took me unto them, and made collation of the indentures, and sealed them; and then Master Brown commanded me this afternoon, being the thirtieth of August, to go and receive my prisoners by and by. And then I said, 'It is an unreasonable commandment, for that I have attended on you here these three days, and this Sunday early I have sent home my men. Wherefore I desire you to have a convenient time appointed, wherein I may know whether it will please my Lord and Master to send his commissioners hither, or that I shall make carriage of them unto his Lordship.' Then Master Brown: 'We are certified, that the council have written to your master, to make speed, and to rid these prisoners out of hand: therefore go receive your prisoners in haste.' Then I: 'Sir, I shall receive them within these ten days.' Then Master Brown: 'The limitation lieth in us, and not in you: wherefore get you hence.'

"Sir, ye have indicted and delivered me by this indenture, whose faith or opinions I know not, trusting that ye will grant me a time to examine them, lest I should punish the catholics.' 'Well,' said Master Brown, 'for that cause, ye shall have time betwixt this and Wednesday. And I say unto you, Master Bailiffs, if he do not receive them at your hands on Wednesday, set open your doors, and let them go.'

"Then I: 'My Lord and Masters all, I promise to discharge the town and country of these heretics, within ten days.' Then my Lord Darcy said, 'Commissary, we do and must all agree in one: wherefore do ye receive them on or before Wednesday.'

"Then I: 'My Lord, the last I carried, I was going betwixt the castle and St. Katharine's chapel, two hours and a half, and in great press and danger: wherefore this may be to desire your Lordship, to give in commandment unto my Master Sayer, bailiff, here present, to aid me through his liberties, not only with men and weapons, but that the town-clerk may be ready there with his book to write the names of the most busy persons, and this upon three hours' warning:' all which both my Lord and Master Brown commanded.

"The thirty-first of August, William Goodwin of Much Birch, husbandman, this bringer, and Thomas Alsey of Copford, your Lordship's apparitor of your consistory in Colchester, covenanted with me, that they should hire two other men at the least, whereof one should be a bowman, to come to me the next day about two of the clock at afternoon, so that I might recite this bargain before Master Archdeacon, and pay the money, that is, forty-six shillings and eightpence. Wherefore they should then go forth with me unto Colchester, and on Wednesday before three of the clock in the morning receive there at my hand within the castle and moat-hall, fourteen men and eight women, ready bound with gyves and hemp; and drive, carry, or lead, and feed with meat and drink, as heretics ought to be found continually, unto such time that the said William and Thomas shall cause the said two and twenty persons to be delivered unto my Lord of London's officers, and within the safe keeping of my said

Lord; and then to bring unto me again the said gyves, with a perfect token of or from my said Lord, and then this covenant is void; or else, &c.

"Master Bendelows said unto me in my Lord of Oxenford's chamber at the King's Head, after I had said mass before the lords, that on the morrow after Holyrood day, when we shall meet at Chelmsford for the division of these lands, 'I think, Master Archdeacon, you, and Master Smith, shall be fain to ride with certain of the jury to those portions and manors in your part of Essex, and in like case divide yourselves, to tread and view the ground with the quest; or else I think they will not labour the matter.' And so do you say unto Master Archdeacon.

"Alice the wife of William Walley of Colchester, hath submitted herself, abjured her erroneous opinions, asked absolution, promised to do her solemn penance in her parish church of St. Peter's on Sunday next, and to continue a catholic and a faithful woman, as long as God shall send her life. And for these covenants, her husband standeth bound in five pounds. Which Alice is one of the nine women of this your indenture; and she is big with child: wherefore she remaineth at home. And this done in the presence of the bailiffs, aldermen, and town-clerk. And for that Master Brown was certified, there was no curate at Lexden, he inquired who was the farmer. The answer was made, 'Sir Francis Jobson.' 'Who is the parson?' They of the questmen answered, 'Sir Roger Gostlow.' 'When was he with you?' 'Not these fourteen years.' 'How is your cure served?' 'Now and then.' 'Who is the patron?' 'My Lord of Arundel.' And within short time after, Sir Francis Jobson came with great courtesy unto my Lord Darcy's place: and of all gentlemen about us, I saw no more come in. Sir Robert Smith, priest, sometime canon of Bridlington, now curate of Appledore in the wild of Kent, came to Colchester the twenty-eighth day of August, with his wife big with child, of late divorced, taken on suspicion, examined of the lords; and Master Brown told me, that they have received letters from the council for the attachment of certain persons, and especially of one priest, whose name is Pullen, (but his right name is Smith,) doubting this priest to be the said Pullen, although neither he nor his wife would confess the same. Wherefore he lieth still in prison, but surely this is not Pullen.

"If it please your Lordship to have in remembrance, that the householders might be compelled to bring every man his own wife to her own seat in the church in time of divine service, it would profit much. And also there be yet standing hospitals, and other of like foundation about Colchester, which I have not known to appear at any visitation; as the masters and lazars of Mary Magdalene in Colchester, the proctor of St. Katharine's chapel in Colchester, the hospital or breadhouse of the foundation of the Lord H. Marney in Layer-Marney, the hospital and beadman of Little Horkesley. Thus presuming of your Lordship's goodness, I am more than bold ever to trouble you with this worldly business, beseeching Almighty God to send your honourable Lordship a condign reward.

"From Easthorp this present 20th day of August.

"We found a letter touching the marriage of priests in the hands of the foresaid Sir Robert Smith. Also I desired Master Brown, the doer of all things, to require the audience to bring in their unlawful writings and books; who asked me, if I had proclaimed the proclamation. I said, 'Yea.' Then he said openly upon the bench, that they should be proclaimed every quarter once. And then take the constables and

officers; and they alone take and punish the offenders accordingly.

"By your poor beadman,
JOHN KINGSTON, priest."

*An indenture made between the lords and the justices within specified, and Bonner's
commissary, concerning the delivery of the prisoners above named.*

"This indenture, made the twenty-ninth day of August, in the third and fourth years of the reigns of our sovereign lord and lady, Philip and Mary, by the grace of God king and queen of England, Spain, France, both Sicilies, Jerusalem, and Ireland, defenders of the faith, archdukes of Austria, dukes of Burgundy, Milan, and Brabant, counts of Hamburg, Flanders, and Tyrol, between the right honourable Lord John de Vere, earl of Oxford, lord high chamberlain of England; Thomas Lord Darcy of Chichester; Henry Tyrrel, knight; Anthony Brown, the king and queen's Majesties' sergeant-at-law; William Bendelows, sergeant-at-law; Edmund Tyrrel, Richard Weston, Roger Appleton, esquires, justices of oyer and determiner, and of the peace within the said county of Essex, to be kept of the one party; and John Kingston, clerk, bachelor at law, commissary to the bishop of London, of the other party; witnesseth, that Robert Colman, of Walton in the county of Essex, labourer; Joan Winseley, of Horkesley Magna in the said county, spinster; Stephen Glover, of Rayleigh in the county aforesaid, glover; Richard Clerke, of Much Holland in the said county, mariner; William Munt, of Much Bentley in the said county, husbandman; Thomas Winseley, of Much Horkesley in the said county, sawyer; Margaret Field, of Ramsey in the said county, spinster; Agnes Whitelock, of Dover-court in the said county, spinster; Alice Munt, of Much Bentley in the said county, spinster; Rose Allin, of the same town and county, spinster; Richard Bongeor, of Colchester in the said county, currier; Richard Atkin, of Halstead in the said county, weaver; Robert Barcock, of Wiston in the county of Suffolk, carpenter; Richard George, of West Bergholt in the county of Essex, labourer; Richard Jolley, of Colchester in the said county, mariner; Thomas Feeresanne, of the same town and county, mercer; Robert Debnam, late of Dedham in the said county, weaver; Cicely Warren, of Coggeshall in the said county, spinster; Christian Pepper, widow, of the same town and county; Allin Simpson; Ellen Ewring; Alice, the wife of William Wallis, of Colchester, spinster; and William Bongeor, of Colchester in the said county, glazier; being indicted of heresy, are delivered to the said John Kingston, clerk, ordinary to the bishop of London, according to the statute in that case provided.

"In witness whereof to the one part of this indenture remaining with the said earl, lord, and other the justices, the said ordinary hath set to his hand and seal, and to the other part remaining with the said ordinary, the said earl, lord, and other the justices, have set to their several hands and seals, the day and year above written.

"Oxenford.

William Bendelows.

Thomas Darcy.

Edmund Tyrrel.

Henry Tyrrel.

Richard Weston.

Anthony Brown.
Roger Appleton."

The twenty-two aforesaid prisoners, thus sent from Colchester to London, were brought at length to Bishop Bonner.

"Behold more sheep hereby, addrest to Bonner's stall,
Whose thirsty throat, so dry, for more blood still doth call."

As touching the order and manner of their coming and bringing, the said Bonner himself writeth to Cardinal Pole, as you shall hear.

A letter of Bishop Bonner to Cardinal Pole, concerning the prisoners aforesaid.

"May it please your good Grace, with my most humble obedience, reverence, and duty, to understand, that going to London upon Thursday last, and thinking to be troubled with Master Germaines's matter only, and such other common matters as are accustomed, enough to weary a right strong body, I had the day following (to comfort my stomach withal) letters from Colchester, that either that day, or the day following, I should have sent thence twenty-two heretics, indicted before the commissioners; and indeed so I had, and compelled to bear their charges as I did of the others, which both stood me above twenty nobles, a sum of money that I thought full evil bestowed. And these heretics, notwithstanding they had honest catholic keepers to conduct and bring them up to me, and, in all the way from Colchester to Stratford of the Bow, did go quietly and obediently; yet coming to Stratford they began to take heart of grace, and to do as pleased themselves, for they began to have their guard, which generally increased till they came to Aldgate, where they were lodged Friday night.

"And albeit I took order that the said heretics should be with me very early on Saturday morning, to the intent they might quietly come and be examined by me, yet it was between ten and eleven of the clock before they would come, and no way would they take but through Cheapside, so that they were brought to my house with about a thousand persons. Which thing I took very strange, and spake to Sir John Gresham, then being with me, to tell the mayor and the sheriffs that this thing was not well suffered in the city. These naughty heretics, all the way they came through Cheapside, both exhorted the people to their part, and had much comfort *e promiscua plebe*, and being entered into my house, and talked withal, they showed themselves desperate and very obstinate; yet I used all the honest means I could, both of myself and others, to have won them, causing divers learned men to talk with them; and finding nothing in them but pride and wilfulness, I thought to have had them all hither to Fulham, and here to give sentence against them. Nevertheless, perceiving by my last doing that your Grace was offended, I thought it my duty, before I any thing further proceeded herein, to advertise first your Grace hereof, and know your good pleasure, which I beseech your Grace I may do by this trusty bearer. And thus most humbly I take my leave of your good Grace, beseeching Almighty God always to preserve the same. -- At Fulham, *postridie Nativitatis* 1556.

"Your Grace's most bounden beadsman and servant,
EDMUND BONNER."

By this letter of Bishop Bonner to the cardinal is to be understood, what goodwill was in this bishop to have the blood of these men, and to have past with sentence of condemnation against them, had not the cardinal somewhat (as it seemed) stayed his fervent headiness. Concerning the which cardinal, although it cannot be denied by his acts and writings, but that he was a professed enemy, and no otherwise to be reputed but for a papist; yet again it is to be supposed, that he was none of the bloody and cruel sort of papists, as may appear, not only by staying the rage of this bishop, but also by the solicitous writing, and long letters written to Cranmer, also by the complaints of certain papists accusing him to the pope, to be a bearer with the heretics, and by the pope's letters sent to him upon the same, calling him up to Rome, and setting Friar Peto in his place, had not Queen Mary, by special entreaty, kept him out of the pope's danger. All which letters I have (if need be) to show; and besides, also, that it is thought of him that toward his latter end, a little before his coming from Rome to England, he began somewhat to favour the doctrine of Luther, and was no less suspected at Rome: yea, and furthermore, did there at Rome convert a certain learned Spaniard from papism to Luther's side; notwithstanding the pomp and glory of the world afterward carried him away to play the papist thus as he did. But of this cardinal enough.

To return now to this godly company again; first, how they were brought up in bands to London, ye have heard: also how Bonner was about to have read the sentence of death upon them, and how he was stayed by the cardinal, ye understand. As touching their confession, which they articulated up in writing, it were too tedious to recite the whole at length. Briefly touching the article of the Lord's supper, (for the which they were chiefly troubled,) thus they wrote, as here followeth.

"Whereas Christ at his last supper took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it to his disciples, and said, Take, eat, this is my body; and likewise took the cup and thanked, &c.; we do understand it to be a figurative speech, as the most manner of his language was in parables and dark sentences, that they which are carnally-minded should see with their eyes, and not perceive; and hear with their ears, and not understand; signifying this, that as he did break the bread among them, being but one loaf, and they all were partakers thereof, so we through his body, in that it was broken, and offered upon the cross for us, are all partakers thereof; and his blood cleanseth us from all our sins, and hath pacified God's wrath towards us, and made the atonement between God and us, if we walk henceforth in the light, even as he is the true light.

"And in that he said further, Do this in remembrance of me, it is a memorial and token of the suffering and death of Jesus Christ; and he commanded it for this cause, that the congregation of Christ should come together to show his death, and to thank and laud him for all his benefits, and magnify his holy name; and so to break the bread, and drink the wine, in remembrance that Christ had given his body and shed his blood for us.

Thus you may well perceive, though Christ called the bread his body, and the wine his blood, yet it followeth not that the substance of his body should be in the

bread and wine; as divers places in Scripture are spoken by Christ and the apostles in like phrase of speech, as in John xv., I am the true Vine. Also in John x., I am the Door. And as it is written in Hebrews ix. and in Exodus xxiv., how Moses took the blood of the calves, and sprinkled both the book and all the people, saying, This is the blood of the covenant or testament. And also in Ezekiel vi., how the Lord said unto him concerning the third part of his hair, saying, This is Jerusalem, &c.

"Thus we see the Scriptures how they are spoken in figures, and ought to be spiritually examined, and not as they would have us to say, that the bodily presence of Christ is in the bread, which is a blasphemous understanding of the godly word, and is contrary to all Holy Scriptures. Also we do see that great idolatry is sprung out of the carnal understanding of the words of Christ, This is my body; and yet daily springeth, to the great dishonour of God; so that men worship a piece of bread for God, yea, and hold that to be their maker."

After this confession of their faith and doctrine being written and exhibited, they also devised a letter withal, in a manner of a short supplication, or rather an admonition to the judges and commissioners, requiring that justice and judgment, after the rule of God's word, might be ministered unto them; the copy of which their letter I thought here also to show unto the reader in form as followeth..

"To the right honourable audience, before whom these our simple writings and the confession of our faith shall come to be read or seen, we poor prisoners, being fast in bands upon the trial of our faith, which we offer to be tried by the Scriptures, pray most heartily, that forasmuch as God hath given you power and strength over us as concerning our bodies, under whom we submit ourselves as obedient subjects in all things due, ye being officers and rulers of the people, may execute true judgment, keep the laws of righteousness, govern the people according to right, and hear the poor and helpless in truth, and defend their cause.

"God, for his Son Jesus Christ's sake, give you the wisdom and understanding of Solomon, David, Hezekiah, Moses, with divers other most virtuous rulers, by whose wisdom and most godly understanding, the people were justly ruled and governed in the fear of God, all wickedness was by them overthrown and beaten down, and all godliness and virtue did flourish and spring. O God, which art the most highest, the Creator and Maker of all things, and of all men both great and small, and rarest for all alike, which dost try all men's works and imaginations, before whose judgment-seat shall come both high and low, rich and poor; we most humbly beseech thee to put into our rulers' hearts the pure love and fear of thy name, that even as they themselves would be judged, and as they shall make answer before thee, so they may hear our causes, judge with mercy, and read over these our requests and confessions of our faith, with deliberation and a godly judgment.

"And if any thing here seemeth to your honourable audience to be erroneous or disagreeing to the Scripture, if it shall please your Lordships to hear us patiently, which do offer ourselves to the Scriptures, thereby to make answer, and to be tried, in so doing we poor subjects, being in much captivity and bondage, are most bound to pray for your noble estate and long preservation."

The request of these men being so just, and their doctrine so sound, yet all this could not prevail with the bishop and other judges, but that sentence should have proceeded against them incontinent, had not the goodness of the Lord better provided for his servants, than the bishop had intended. For as they were now under the edge of the axe, ready to be condemned by sentence, it was thought otherwise by the cardinal, and some other wiser heads; fearing belike, lest by the death of so many together, some disturbance might rise peradventure among the people; and so it was decreed among themselves, that rather they should make some submission or confession, such as they would themselves, and so be sent home again, as they were indeed; howbeit divers of them afterward were apprehended and put to death. But in the mean space, as touching their submission which they made, this it was, as in form here followeth.

"Because our Saviour Christ at his last supper took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it unto his disciples, and said, Take, eat, this is my body which is given for you, this do in remembrance of me; therefore, according to the words of our Saviour Jesus Christ, we do believe in the sacrament to be Christ's body. And likewise he took the cup, gave thanks, and gave it to his disciples, and said, This is my blood of the new testament, which is shed for many.

"Therefore likewise we do believe that it is the blood of Christ, according as Christ's church doth minister the same; unto the which catholic church of Christ we do in this, like as in all other matters, submit ourselves, promising therein to live as it becometh good Christian men, and here in this realm to use ourselves as it becometh faithful subjects unto our most gracious king and queen, and to all other superiors both spiritual and temporal, according to our bounden duties."

The names of them which subscribed to this submission, were these:--

"John Atkin, Alyn Symson, Richard George, Thomas Firefanne, William Munt, Richard Joly, Richard Gratwicke, Thomas Winsley, Richard Rothe, Richard Clark, Stephen Glover, Robert Colman, Thomas Merse, William Bongeor, Robert Bercock, Margaret Hide, Elyn Euring, Christian Pepper, Margaret Feld, Alice Munt, Joan Winsly, Cysly Warren, Rose Alyn, Ann Whitelocke, George Barker, John Saxby, Thomas Locker, Alice Locker."

**356. Thomas Loseby, Henry Ramsey, Thomas Thirtel,
Margaret Hide, and Agnes Stanley**

Five other godly martyrs burned at one fire in Smithfield, with their answers to the articles.



The Five Martyrs led to Execution

The learned being at this time, in a manner, all despatched in this furious rage of persecution, we now have little or small matter to write, touching the other silly sheep and simple lambs of Christ's flock, yet remaining behind; upon whom they satisfied still their blood-thirsty and slaughterous affections. I thought it therefore not beside the matter to admonish the reader, to judge of them, and of such others, before specified, as of the dear elect children and true martyrs of God; by whose simplicity the merciful wisdom and mighty power of God were more manifested and showed,

who hath chosen in them the foolish and weak things of this world to confound the wise and mighty ones, and things that are not, to bring to nought things that are.

And as touching those of whom there is no matter mentioned in this history, as occasions of their death, (for that none as yet came to my hands,) this one sure and only cause is certainly to be adjudged generally to them, that it was for the sincere profession of Christ's gospel: and as for the rest, of whom out of the registrar's notes somewhat is and shall be said, though there may sometimes appear in their answers and confessions to the bishops and others, before whom they were examined, a certain ignorance and lack of knowledge in some points, (which, for the most part, is made worse by the unfaithful dealings of the registrars,) nevertheless this is to be weighed and truly considered, that, in the chief and principal ground and foundation of their religion and faith, they swerved not, laying Jesus Christ for their corner-stone, as the most perfect prop and sure foundation of their building: upon whom albeit it seemeth they built sometimes, through their ignorance, stubble or hay, (and, the rather, through the papists' crafty couching of the interrogatories,) yet, that being consumed by the fire of God's Holy Spirit, they themselves, through the same Spirit, abide both safe and sure. And therefore, in hope of this charitable and true judgment, I will proceed in the prosecuting of our history.

In this story of persecuted martyrs, next in order follow five others burned at London, in Smithfield, in the aforesaid year of the Lord 1557, April the twelfth, whose names were these:-- Thomas Loseby, Henry Ramsey, Thomas Thirtel, Margaret Hide, and Agnes Stanley: who being, some by the Lord Riche, some by other justices of peace, and constables, (their old neighbours,) at the first accused and apprehended for not coming to their parish churches, were in the end sent unto Bonner, bishop of London, and by his commandment the twenty-seventh day of January were examined before Dr. Darbyshire, then chancellor to the said bishop, upon the former general articles mentioned. Whose answers thereunto were, that as they confessed there was one true and catholic church, whereof they stedfastly believed, and thought the Church of Rome to be no part or member; so in the same church they believed there were but two sacraments, that is to say, baptism and the supper of the Lord. Howbeit some of them attributed the title and honour of a sacrament to the holy estate of matrimony, which undoubtedly was done rather of simple ignorance, than of any wilful opinion, and are thereof to be adjudged as before is admonished. Moreover, they acknowledged themselves to be baptized into the faith of that true church, as in the third article is specified.

And here in reading as well of these articles, as also of the rest, mark, I beseech you, the crafty subtlety of these catholic companions, who, intermixing certain points of faith, and of the true church, with the idolatrous and superstitious maumetry of their Romish synagogue, cause the poor and simple people, for lack of knowledge, oftentimes to fall into their crafty nets. For after they have made them grant a true church with the sacraments of the same, though not in such number as they would have them, and also that they were christened into the faith thereof, that is, in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, they craftily now in the other their objections, descending as it were from the faith of the Trinity unto their idolatrous mass and other superstitious ceremonies, would make them grant, that now in denying thereof they have severed themselves from the faith of the true church, whereunto they were baptized; which is most false. For though the true light of God's

gospel and holy word was marvellously darkened, and in a manner utterly extinguished; yet the true faith of the Trinity, by the merciful providence of God, was still preserved; and into the faith thereof were we baptized, and not into the belief and profession of their horrible idolatry and vain ceremonies.

These things, not thoroughly weighed by these poor, yet faithful and true members of Christ, caused some of them ignorantly to grant, that when they came to the years of discretion, and understood the light of the gospel, they did separate themselves from the faith of the church, meaning none other but only to separate themselves from the admitting or allowing of such their popish and erroneous trash as they now had defiled the church of Christ withal, and not from their faith received in baptism, which in express words in their answers to the other articles they constantly affirmed, declaring the mass and sacrament of the altar to be most wicked blasphemy against Christ Jesus, and contrary to the truth of his gospel; and therefore utterly they refused to assent unto and to be reconciled again thereunto.

These answers in effect of them thus taken by the said chancellor, they were for that time dismissed; but the bishop, taking the matter into his own hands, the sixth day of March, propounded unto them certain other new articles, the copy whereof followeth.

"First, That thou hast thought, believed, and spoken, within some part of the city and diocese of London, that the faith, religion, and ecclesiastical service here observed and kept, as it is in the realm of England, is not a true and a laudable faith, religion, and service, especially concerning the mass and the seven sacraments, nor is agreeable to God's word and Testament; and that thou canst not find in thy heart without murmuring, grudging, or scruple to receive and use it, and to conform thyself unto it, as other subjects of this realm customably have done and do.

"2. Item, That thou hast thought, &c., that the English service set forth in the time of King Edward the Sixth, here in this realm of England, was and is good and godly, and catholic in all points, and that it alone ought here in this realm to be received, used, and practised, and none other.

"3. Item, Likewise thou hast thought, &c., that thou art not bound to come to thy parish church, and there to be present, and hear matins, mass, even-song, and other divine service, sung or said there.

"4. Item, Thou hast thought, &c., that thou art not bound to come to procession to the church, upon days and times appointed, and to go in the same with others of the parish, singing or saying then the accustomed prayers used in the church; nor to bear a taper or candle on Candlemas day; nor take ashes upon Ash Wednesday; nor bear palms upon Palm Sunday; nor to creep to the cross upon days accustomed; nor to receive and kiss the pax at mass-time; nor to receive holy water or holy bread; nor to accept and allow the ceremonies and usages of the church, after the manner and fashion, as they are used in this realm.

"5. Item, Thou hast thought, &c., that thou art not bound at any time to confess thy sins to any priest, and to receive absolution at his hands, as God's minister, nor to

receive at any time the blessed sacrament of the altar, especially as it is used in this church of England.

"6. Item, Thou hast thought, &c., that in matters of religion and faith, thou must follow and believe thine own conscience only, and not give credit to the determination and common order of the catholic church, and the see of Rome, nor to any member thereof.

"7. Item, Thou hast thought, &c., that all things do chance of an absolute and precise mere necessity; so that whether man do well or evil, he could not choose but do so; and that therefore no man hath any free-will at all.

"8. Item, Thou hast thought, &c., that the fashion and manner of christening of infants, is not agreeable to God's word; and that none can be effectually baptized, and thereby saved, except he have years of discretion to believe himself, and so willingly accept or refuse baptism at his pleasure.

"9. Item, thou hast thought, &c., that prayers to saints, or prayers for the dead, are not available, and not allowable by God's word, or profitable in any wise; and that the souls departed do straight-ways go to heaven or hell, or else do sleep till the day of doom, so that there is no place of purgation at all.

"10. Item, Thou hast thought, &c., that all such as in the time of King Henry the Eighth, or in the time of Queen Mary, in England, have been burned as heretics, were no heretics at all, but faithful and good Christian people; especially Barnes, Garret, Jerome, Frith, Rogers, Hooper, Cardmaker, Latimer, Taylor, Bradford, Philpot, Cranmer, Ridley, and such like; and that thou didst and dost allow, like, and approve all their opinions, and dost mislike their condemnations and burnings.

"11. Item, Thou hast thought, &c., that fasting, and prayers used in this church of England, and the appointing of days for fasting, and the abstaining from flesh upon fasting days, and especially in the time of Lent, is not laudable or allowable by God's word, but is hypocrisy and foolishness; and that men ought to have liberty to eat at all times all kinds of meat.

"12. Item, Thou hast taught, &c., that the sacrament of the altar is an idol, and to reserve and keep it, or to honour it, is plain idolatry and superstition: and likewise of the mass and elevation of the sacrament.

13. "Item, Thou hast thought, &c., that thou or any else, convented before an ecclesiastical judge concerning matters of belief and faith, art not bound to make answer at all, especially under an oath upon a book."

Their answers to the articles before objected.

"Their answers to these objections were, that as touching the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, ninth, tenth, and twelfth, they generally granted unto, saving that

they denied the souls of the departed to sleep till the day of judgment, as is mentioned in the ninth article.

"And as concerning the sixth objection, they thought themselves bound to believe the true catholic church, so far forth as the same doth instruct them according to God's holy word; but not to follow the determinations of the erroneous and Babylonical church of Rome.

"As for the seventh, eighth, and thirteenth, they utterly denied, that ever they were of any such absurd opinions as are contained therein, but they granted that man of himself, without the help and assistance of God's Holy Spirit, hath no power to do any good thing acceptable in God's sight.

"To the eleventh they said, that true fasting and prayer, used according to God's word, are allowable and available in his sight; and that by the same word every faithful man may eat all meats at all times, with thanksgiving to God for the same."

After this, the first day of April, they were again convented before the bishop in his palace at London, where little appeareth to be done, except it were to know whether they would stand to their answers, and whether they would recant or no. But when they refused to recant and deny the received and infallible truth, the bishop caused them to be brought into the open consistory, the third day of the same month of April, in the forenoon, where first understanding by them their immutable constancy and stedfastness, he demanded particularly of every one, what they had to say, why he should not pronounce the sentence of condemnation.

To whom Thomas Loseby first answered, "God give me grace and strength to stand against you, and your sentence, and also against your law, which is a devouring law, for it devoureth the flock of Christ. And I perceive there is no way with me but death, except I would consent to your devouring law, and believe in that idol the mass."

Next unto him answered Thomas Thirtel, saying, "My Lord, I say thus, if you make me a heretic, then you make Christ and all the twelve apostles heretics: for I am in the true faith and right belief; and I will stand in it, for I know full well I shall have eternal life there-for."

The bishop then asked the like question of Henry Ramsey, who said again, "My Lord, will you have me to go from the truth that I am in? I say unto you, that my opinions be the very truth, which I will stand unto, and not go from them: and I say unto you further, that there are two churches upon the earth, and we," meaning himself, and other true martyrs and professors of Christ, "be of the true church, and ye be not."

Unto this question next answered Margaret Hide, saying, "My Lord, you have no cause to give sentence against me; for I am in the true faith and opinion, and will never forsake it; and I do wish that I were more strong in it than I am."

Last of all answered Agnes Stanley, and said, "I had rather every hair of my head were burned, if it were never so much worth, than that I will forsake my faith and opinion, which is the commanded."

The time being now spent, they were commanded to appear again at afternoon in the same place: which commandment being obeyed, the bishop first called for Loseby, and after his accustomed manner willed his articles and answers to be read; in reading thereof, when mention was made of the sacrament of the altar, the bishop with his colleagues put off their caps. Whereat Loseby said, "My Lord, seeing you put off your cap, I will put on my cap;" and therewithal did put on his cap. And after, the bishop continuing in his accustomed persuasions, Loseby again said unto him, "My Lord, I trust I have the spirit of truth, which you detest and abhor; for the wisdom of God is foolishness unto you." Whereupon the bishop pronounced the sentence of condemnation against him: and delivering him unto the sheriff, called for Margaret Hide, with whom he used the like order of exhortations. To whom notwithstanding she said, "I will not depart from my sayings till I be burned: and my Lord," quoth she, "I would see you instruct me with some part of God's word, and not to give me instructions of holy bread and holy water, for it is no part of the Scripture." But he, being neither himself, nor any of his, able rightly to accomplish her request, to make short work, used his final condemnation; which was the sentence of condemnation; and therefore leaving her off, called for another, viz. Agnes Stanley, who upon the bishop's like persuasions made this answer: "My Lord, whereas you say I am a heretic, I am none; neither yet will I believe you, nor any man that is wise will believe as you do. And as for these that ye say be burnt for heresy, I believe they are true martyrs before God: therefore I will not go from my opinion and faith as long as I live."

Her talk thus ended, she received the like reward that the other had. And the bishop then turning his tale and manner of enticement unto Thomas Thirtel, received of him likewise this final answer: "My Lord, I will not hold with your idolatrous ways, as you do; for I say, the mass is idolatry, and will stick to my faith and belief, so long as the breath is in my body." Upon which words he was also condemned as a heretic.

Last of all was Henry Ramsey demanded if he would (as the rest) stand unto his answers, or else, recanting the same, come home again, and be a member of their church. Whereunto he answered, "I will not go from my religion and belief as long as I live; and my Lord," quoth he, "your doctrine is naught, for it is not agreeable to God's word."

After these words, the bishop, to conclude, pronouncing the sentence of condemnation against him and the rest, as ye have heard, charged the sheriff of London with them; who being thereunto commanded, the twelfth day of the same month of April, brought them into Smithfield, where all together in one fire most joyfully and constantly they ended their temporal lives, receiving there-for the life eternal.

357. Stephen Gratwick

The story of Stephen Gratwick, and two other martyrs, burned in St. George's Fields, in Southwark.

After these moreover, in the month of May, followed three others that suffered in St. George's Fields in Southwark: William Morant, Stephen Gratwick, with one King, who suffered at the same time.

Among other histories of the persecuted and condemned saints of God, I find the condemnation of none more strange nor unlawful than of this Stephen Gratwick: who first was condemned by the bishop of Winchester and the bishop of Rochester, which were not his ordinaries. Secondly, when he did appeal from those incompetent judges to his right ordinary, his appeal could not be admitted. Thirdly, when they had no other shift to colour their inordinate proceedings withal, they suborned one of the priests to come in for a counterfeit and a false ordinary, and sit upon him. Fourthly, being openly convinced and overturned in his own arguments, yet the said bishop of Winchester, Dr. White, neither would yield to the force of truth, nor suffer any of the audience assistant once to say, God strengthen him. Fifthly, as they brought in a false ordinary to sit upon him; so they pretended false articles against him which were no part of his examinations, but of their devising, to have his blood. Sixthly and lastly, having no other ground nor just matters against him, but only for saying these words, "That which I said I have said," they read the sentence of death upon him.

And this was the dealing of these men, which needs will be reputed for catholic fathers of the spirituality, succeders of the apostles, disciples of Christ, pillars of the holy church, and leaders of the people: of whose doings and proceedings, how agreeable they are to the example of Christ and his apostles, I leave to discuss, referring the judgment hereof to them which know the institution of Christ's religion and doctrine.

Now lest, peradventure, the disordered misrule of these Christmas lords will not be credited upon the simple narration of the story, ye shall hear the whole discourse of this process, registered by the hand of the martyr himself, who as he could tell best what was done, so I am sure would not testify otherwise than the truth was, according as you shall hear by his own declaration here following.

"Upon the twenty-fifth day of May, in the year of our Lord 1557, I, Stephen Gratwick, came before the bishop of Winchester, Dr. White, into St. George's church in Southwark, at eight of the clock in the morning, and then he called me before him, and said unto me,

"Stephen Gratwick, how standeth the matter with thee now? Art thou contented to revoke thy heresies, the which thou hast maintained and defended here within my diocese, oftentimes before me? And also upon Sunday last ye stood up in the face of the whole church maintaining your heresies; so that you have offended

within the liberty of my diocese. And now, I being your ordinary, you must answer to me directly, whether you will revoke them or not, the which I have here in writing: and if so be that you will not revoke them, then I will excommunicate you. And therefore note well what you do, for now I read here the articles against you.' And so when he had ended, he bade me answer unto them.

Gratwick.--"My Lord, these articles which you have here objected against me, are not mine, but of your own making: for I never had any of mine examinations written at any time. And therefore these be objections that you lay against me as a snare, to get my blood. Wherefore I desire your lawful favour, to allow my lawful appeal unto mine ordinary; for I have nothing to do with you. And whereas you do burden me, that I have offended within your diocese, it is nothing so; for I have not enterprised either to preach or teach within your diocese, but was apprehended by mine own bishop and sent prisoner into your diocese, by the consent of the council and mine own ordinary; and therefore I so being in your diocese, you have no cause to let my lawful appeal.'

"And with that there came the bishop of Rochester, and was received at the bishop of Winchester's hands with much gladness, according to their determinate purpose before invented. And so followed the archdeacon of Canterbury. And then the bishop again started up as a man half ravished of his wits for joy, embracing him with many gentle words, and said, that he was very glad of his coming; making himself ignorant thereof, as he thought it should appear to me.

"Then said Winchester, 'Sir, I am very glad of your coming. For here I have one before me, who hath appealed unto you, being his ordinary.' Then said the archdeacon of Canterbury, 'I know this man very well. He hath been divers times before me.' And then I answered and said, 'My Lord, I am not of his diocese, not by five miles: for his diocese reacheth on that part but to the cliffs of Lewes, and I dwell at Brighthelmstone, five miles beyond, in the diocese of the bishop of Chichester; and therefore I am not of his diocese.'

"Then the bishop of Winchester, the bishop of Rochester, and the archdeacon of Canterbury, cast their heads together, and laughed: and then they said, my ordinary would be here by and by. And so they sent forth for a counterfeit, instead of mine ordinary; and then I saw them laugh, and I spake unto them and said, Why do ye laugh? are ye confederate together for my blood, and therein triumph? You have more cause to look weightily upon the matter; for I stand here before you upon life and death. But you declare yourselves what you are; for you are lapped in lamb's apparel, but I would to God ye had coats according to your assembly here, which are scarlet gowns; for I do here perceive you are bent to have my blood.'

"And then came rushing in their counterfeited bishop, who was the hired servant to deliver me into the hands of the high priest; and the bishop hearing him come, with haste inquired of his man, who was there; and he said, 'My Lord of Chichester.' Then the bishop of Winchester with haste rose up and said, 'Ye are most heartily welcome;' and required him to sit down; and then said the bishop of Winchester to me, 'Lo! here is your ordinary: what have you now to say unto him?'

Gratwick.--"I have nothing to say unto him. If ye have nothing to say unto me, I pray you let me depart.' Then answered my counterfeit ordinary and said, 'Here you stand before my Lords and me in trial of your faith; and if you bring the truth, we shall by compulsion give place unto you, as it is to be proved by the word; and your doctrine to be heard and embraced for a truth.'

"Then I demanded of him whether he meant 'by authority, or by the judgment of the Spirit of God in his members.' And he answered me, 'By authority as well as by the Spirit.'

"Then I said, 'Now will I turn your own argument upon you; for Christ came before the high priests, scribes, and Pharisees, bringing the truth with him; being the very truth himself, which truth cannot lie; yet both he and his truth was condemned, and took no place with them, and also the apostles, and all the martyrs that died since Christ. Therefore I turn your own argument upon you; answer it if you can!'

"Then he, with a great heat of choler, said unto the bishop of Winchester, 'Object some articles against him, for he is obstinate, and would fain get out of our hands, therefore hold him to some particular:' so that other answer could I not have of his argument.

"Then the bishop of Winchester began to read his objections of his own making against me, and bade me answer unto them. And I said, No, except you would set the law apart, because I see you are mindful of my blood.'

Winchester.--"Now you may see he will not answer to these, but as he hath aforesaid.'

"Then spake the counterfeit ordinary again, and said, 'My Lord, ask him what he saith to the sacrament of the altar.' Then the bishop asked me, as my counterfeit ordinary required him.

Gratwick.--"My Lord, I do believe that in the sacrament of the supper of the Lord, truly ministered in both kinds, according to the institution of Christ, unto the worthy receiver, he eateth mystically by faith the body and blood of Christ.' Then I asked him if it were not the truth. And he said, 'Yes.' Then said I, 'Bear witness of the truth.'

"Then the bishop of Winchester, whose head being subtilest to gather upon my words, said, 'My Lord, see you not how he creepeth away with his heresies, and covereth them privily? Note, how he here separateth the sacrament of the altar from the supper of the Lord, meaning it not to be the true sacrament; and also how he condemneth our ministration in one kind, and alloweth that the unworthy receiver doth not eat and drink the body and blood of Christ; which be sore matters truly weighed, being covered very craftily with his subtle shifts and sophistry; but he shall answer directly or ever he depart.'

Gratwick.--"My Lord, this is but your gathering of my words, for you before confessed the same sayings to be the truth; and thus you catch at me, and fain would have a vantage for my blood. But seeing you judge me not to mean the sacrament of

the altar, now come to the probation of the same sacrament, and prove it to be the true sacrament, and I am with you; or else if you can prove your church to be the true church, I am also with you.'

"But then he called to memory the last probation of the church and sacraments, how he before was driven to forsake the Scriptures, and to show me by good reason how they might minister the sacrament in one kind. And his reason was this:-- Like as a man or woman dieth on a sudden, and so when we have given him the body of Christ, in the mean time the party dieth, and so he eateth the body of Christ, and not drinketh his blood. And this was his simple shift in the proving of their sacraments: so that he was now half abashed to begin that matter again. But yet a little subtle shift he brought in, and said, 'What sayest thou by the administration of the priests every day for themselves, and they minister in both kinds?' To that I answered, You have two administrations; for I am sure at Easter you minister but in one kind, and therefore it is not according to the institution of Christ, but after your own imaginations.'

Winchester.--"Why, then what sayest thou to these words, Take, eat; this is my body. These are the words of Christ. Wilt thou deny them?'

Gratwick.--"My Lord, they are the words of Scripture, I affirm them, and not deny them.'

Rochester.--"Why, then thou dost confess in the sacrament of the altar to be a real presence, the selfsame body that was born of the Virgin Mary, and is ascended up into heaven.'

Gratwick.--"My Lord, what do you now mean? Do you not also mean a visible body? for it cannot be but of necessity -- if it be a real presence, and a material body, it must be a visible body also.'

Winchester.--"Nay, I say unto thee, it is a real presence, and a material body, and an invisible body too.'

Gratwick.--"My Lord, then it must needs be a fantastical body; for if it should be a material and invisible, as you affirm, then it must needs be a fantastical body: for it is apparent, that Christ's human body was visible and seen.'

"Then the bishop of Winchester brake out and said, 'When didst thou see him? I pray thee tell me.' To that I answered and said, 'A simple argument it is: because our corporal eyes cannot comprehend Christ, doth that prove or follow, that he is invisible, because we cannot see him?'

"And with that the bishop of Winchester began to wax weary of his argument, and removed his talk to Judas in eating the sacrament, and said, 'He ate him wholly, as the apostles did.'

"And then I asked him, if he meant Christ's flesh and blood, the which he speaketh of in John vi., and saith, 'He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life in me.' To that the bishop of Winchester answered and said, 'Yea.'

"Then said I, 'Of necessity Judas must needs be saved, because he did eat the flesh and drink the blood of Christ, as you have affirmed; and also all the ungodly that die without repentance, because they have eaten your sacrament, which you say is the flesh and blood of Christ; therefore of necessity they shall receive the benefit thereof, that is, eternal life; which is a great absurdity to grant. And then of necessity it must follow, that all that eat not and drink not of your sacrament, shall finally perish and be damned; for Christ saith, Except ye eat my flesh and drink my blood, you can have no life in you. And you have afore said that your sacrament is the same flesh and blood that Christ speaketh of. And here I prove, that all children, then, that die under age to receive the sacrament, by your own argument must be damned; which is horrible blasphemy to speak. Now here I turn your own argument upon you; answer it if you can!'

Winchester.--"My Lord, do you not see what deceitful arguments he bringeth in here against us, mingled with sophistry, and keepeth himself in vantage, so that we can get no hold upon him? But I say unto thee, thou perverse heretic, I see now thou art a perverse fellow. I had a better opinion of thee; but now I see we lose our time about thee. Yet I answer thee, St. Paul doth open John vi. plainly, if thou wilt see; for he saith, 'They eat Christ's body and drink his blood unworthily, and that was the cause of their damnation.'

Gratwick.--"My Lord, take heed ye do not add to the text; for he that addeth unto the text, is accursed of God. And I am sure here you have brought more than Paul hath spoken; for he saith not, because they have eaten his body and drunk his blood unworthily; but St. Paul saith, Whosoever shall eat of this bread and drink of the cup unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of Christ. Note, my Lord, he saith not as you have affirmed, but clean contrary.'

"And with that they were all in a great rage. And the bishop of Winchester said, I belied the text. And then I called for the text.

"And he said, I asked thee even now, if thou understoodest Latin, and thou saidst, 'Whether I can or no, the people shall bear witness in English.'

"And so I called again for the Testament, whether it were Latin or English, for the trial of the text.

"And then when the bishop of Winchester saw that I cared not whether of the translations I had, he stood up, thinking to beguile some simple man that had a book there, and bade him that had an English Testament to bring it in, that he might get some hold at him that should bring a Testament. But God disappointed him thereof, and so he flew away from his matter, and began to rail upon me, and said my subtle Gratwick should not serve; for if I would not answer directly, I should nevertheless be excommunicated. 'For,' said he, 'I see a mad toy in thine head: thou gloriest much in thy talk, and thinkest now the people are come about thee, that thou shalt encourage them with thy constant heretical opinion. For the last day, when thou wast before me upon Sunday, in St. Mary Overy's church, thou there reprovdest my sermon, and hadst a thousand by thee at the least, to bid God strengthen thee: but now let me see him here, that dare open his mouth to bid God strengthen thee; he shall die the death that thou shalt die.'

"To that I answered, 'My Lord, I know your cruelty doth extend more largely than your pity. Good experience so I have to say, for you keep men in prison a year or two, taking their books from them, permitting them not so much as a Testament to look upon for their soul's comfort, the which all men ought to have; and so you entreat them more like brute beasts than Christian men.'

Winchester.--"No, sir; we will use you as we will use the child: for if the child will hurt himself with the knife, we will keep the knife from him. So, because you will damn your souls with the word, therefore you shall not have it.'

Gratwick.--"My Lord, a simple argument you bring to maintain and cover your fault. Are you not ashamed to make the word the cause of our damnation? I never knew any man but only you, that did not affirm our sins to be the cause of our damnation, and not the word, as you say; and therefore if your argument be good, then this is good also: because that some men do abuse drink, therefore the benefit of drink should be taken from all men, or any other such-like good gift.'

Winchester.--"My Lords, here we lose much time, for this fellow is perverse, speaking nothing but sophistry and perverse questions; so that we can get no advantage upon him.'

"Then spake my counterfeit ordinary, as one half asleep all this while; yet somewhat with haste, when he was awaked, he began to tell his tale, and said, 'Read these articles against him once more, and if he will not answer them, take him upon his first words: That which I said, that I have said.'

"Then the bishop of Winchester began to read them again. But I said unto him, I would not answer them, because they were none of mine examinations, but objections of their own making, because they would have my blood. But yet I said, if they would set the law apart, I would talk my conscience freely to them.

"Then my counterfeit ordinary began to speak again, charging me with the saying of St. Peter, that I should render account of such hope as was in me.

Gratwick.--"So can I do, and yet I shall not please you; for here I now render my hope as St. Peter willeth me: I believe only in Jesus Christ to have my whole salvation in him, by him, and through him; but I perceive you would have me render my faith in such sort, as you may have my blood, and therefore you bring good Scriptures, and evil apply them.'

Winchester.--"Why, this fellow is perverted, and we shall get no more at his hands than we have already; therefore let us pronounce sentence against him, for we do but lose our time.'

Gratwick.--"Nay, good my Lord, seeing you will needs have my blood, let me say a little more for myself. Upon Sunday last, when I was before you, you preached this which was a truth, and agreeable to the doctrine of the apostle St. James, and said, If any man think himself a religious man, and in the mean time seduce his tongue or his heart, the same man's religion is a vain religion. And so, my Lord, you, standing there in the pulpit, in the mean time seduced your tongue to slander us poor prisoners,

being there present, in iron bonds, burdening us with the sect of Arians, and with the sect of Herodians, and with the sect of Anabaptists, and with the sect of Sacramentaries, and with the sect of Pelagians. And when we stood up to purge ourselves thereof, you said you would cut out our tongues, and cause us to be pulled out of the church by violence. But there you gave yourself a shrewd blow, for your tongue in the mean time slandered your neighbour. For I, my Lord, will give my life against all these heresies, the which you there burdened us withal, even as I will give my life against that wherein I now stand before you.'

"And with that he was raging angry, and caught my condemnation, and said, 'Thou wilt grant here no more, but this word; That I have said, I have said. And here I gather matter enough to condemn thee, for this is a confirmation of all that thou hast heretofore said.'

"Then I answered, 'If you can prove that ever any of mine examinations were written, it were enough; but you have nothing against me, but objections of your own making.'

Winchester.--'"Have at thee now. If thou wilt not yield, I will pronounce sentence against thee.' And so he proceeded forth onward apace, cursing and banning in Latin; so that I told him, 'If the people might hear it in English, they would think you an uncharitable bishop.' And then I said, 'Stay, my Lord, and note what you do; for you have neither temporal law, nor spiritual, here against me in any just cause.'

"Then stepped forth a gentleman, and said unto my Lord, 'Take heed what ye do; for he doth here say, that you have no title nor cause, why you should condemn him.'

"Then the bishop looked about him again, and asked me if I would recant. I asked him, whereof I should recant.

"Then said the bishop, 'Are you there? Nay, then I know what I have to do.' And so he proceeded forth in reading my condemnation. And there was another gentleman which began to snap and snatch at me: and then said I, 'I would God I had known this, ere ever I had come from home; I would surely have put on my breech, and not had my skin thus torn.' And all this while the bishop read forth still.

"At last his chaplains cried, 'Stop, stop, my Lord: for now he will recant.' And then the bishop asked me again. And I answered and said, 'My Lord, my faith is grounded more stedfastly than to change in a moment; it is no process of time can alter me, unless my faith were as the waves of the sea.' And so the bishop made an end, and delivered me into the hands of the sheriff, to be carried prisoner to the Marshalsea again.

"And when I was condemned, I desired God with a loud voice, that he would not lay my blood to their charge, if it were his good will; and so then they refused my prayer, and sent me away. Then I began to talk as I went, and they cried, 'Cut out his tongue, or stop his mouth,' and so I was brought to the Marshalsea, and lapped in iron bands. Therefore I pray unto God, that they unto whom this present writing shall

come, may take example by my death and soldier-fare. So be it.

"By me, STEPHEN GRATWICK, condemned for God's everlasting truth."

Stephen Gratwick to the reader.

"Here, for want of time, I have left out many matters, because the Lord hath hastened the time, so that I have written but the briefness of the matter in probation of faith, and the reward of faith, the which the bishop of Rochester and I debated upon; the which matter I would have been very glad to have set down in writing.

"Also much more talk there was, that the bishop of Winchester and I had concerning my worldly friends and personal estate; for he played Satan with me. He carried me up to the mountains, and there told me, my learning was good, and my eloquence, and also my knowledge; save that I did abuse it, said he. And then he fell to praising of my person, that it was comely, and worthy to serve a prince. Thus Satan flattered with me, to make me answer unto such objections as he would lay against me, that I might fall into his diocese."

Thus Stephen Gratwick, this Christian martyr, being wrongfully condemned by the bishop of Winchester, (as ye have heard,) was burned with William Morant, and one King, in St. George's Fields, about the latter end of May.

358. Edmund Allin and Others, Martyred in Kent.

Seven godly martyrs, five women and two men, burned at Maidstone, for the word of truth, and professing the sincere religion of Christ, June the eighteenth.

I showed a little before, how after the universal proclamation was sent and set forth by the king and queen in the month of February last, the storm of persecution began in all places to rise (whereof some part also is declared before): but yet in no place more than in the country and diocese of Canterbury, by reason of certain the aforesaid inquisitors, being now armed with authority, but especially by reason of Richard Thornton, suffragan of Dover, and Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury, who of their own nature were so furious and fiery against the harmless flock of Christ, that there was no need of any proclamation to stir up the coals of their burning cruelty, by reason whereof many a godly saint lieth slain under the altar; as in divers places of this book well may appear.

And now to return to the said diocese of Canterbury again, in the next month following, being the month of June, the eighteenth day of the same, were seven Christian and true faithful martyrs of Christ burned at Maidstone, whose names here follow: Joan Bradbridge of Staplehurst, Walter Appleby of Maidstone, Petronil his wife, Edmund Allin of Frittenden, Katharine his wife, John Manning's wife of Maidstone, and Elizabeth a blind maiden.

As concerning the general articles commonly objected to them in the public consistory, and the order of their condemnation, it differeth not much from the usual manner expressed before, neither did their answers in effect much differ from the others that suffered under the same ordinary in the foresaid diocese of Canterbury.

Now as touching their accusers and manner of apprehension, and their private conflicts with the adversaries, I find no great matter coming to my hands, save only of Edmund Allin some intimation is given me, how his troubles came, and what was his cause and answers before the justices, as here consequently ye shall understand.

The story of Edmund Allin.

This Allin was a miller, of the parish of Frittenden in Kent, and in a dear year, when many poor people were like to starve, he fed them, and sold his corn better cheap by half than others did; and did not that only, but also fed them with the food of life, reading to them the Scriptures, and interpreting them. This being known to the popish priests thereabout dwelling, by the procurement of them, namely, of John Tailor, parson of Frittenden, and Thomas Henden, parson of Staplehurst, he was eftsoons complained of to the justices, and brought before Sir John Baker, knight; who, first sending for them, committed both him and his wife to ward; but not long after they were let out, I know not how, and so went over unto Calais, where, after

that he had continued a certain space, he began to be troubled in conscience; and there meeting with one John Webbe, of the same parish of Frittenden, (who was likewise fled from the tyranny of Sir John Baker and parson Tailor,) said unto him, that he could not be in quiet there, whatsoever the cause was; "for God," said he, "had something to do for him in England." And thus shortly he returned home again to the parish of Frittenden, where was a cruel priest, there parson, called John Tailor.

This parson Tailor, being informed by his brother sexton, that Edmund Allin the miller, and his wife, were returned, and were not at mass-time in the church; as he was the same time in the midst of his mass, upon a Sunday, a little before the elevation, (as they term it,) even almost at the lifting up of his Romish god, he turned him to the people in a great rage, and commanded them with all speed to go unto their house, and apprehend them, and he would come to them with as much haste as might be possible. Which promise he well performed; for he had not so soon made an end of *Ite, missa est*, and the vestments off his back, but by and by he was at the house; and there laying hand of the said Allin, caused him again to be brought to Sir John Baker, with a grievous complaint of his exhorting and reading the Scriptures to the people: and so were he and his wife sent to Maidstone prison.-- Witnessed by Richard Fletcher, vicar of Cranbrooke, and John Webbe of Frittenden.

They were not so soon in prison, but Master Baker immediately sent unto their house certain of his men, John Dove, Thomas Best, Thomas Linley, Percival Barber, with the aforesaid John Tailor, parson of Frittenden, and Thomas Henden, parson of Staplehurst, to take an inventory of all the goods that were in the house, where they found, in the bedstraw, a casket locked with a padlock; and so, cutting the wist thereof, opened it, and found therein a sackcloth bag of money, containing the sum of thirteen or fourteen pounds, partly in gold and partly in silver; which money after they had told, and put in the bag again, like good carvers for themselves, they carried it away with them.

Besides also they found there certain books, as Psalters, Bibles, and other writings; all which books, with the money, were delivered to the foresaid priest, Thomas Henden, parson of Staplehurst; and after, in the reign of this queen, were by right law recovered from him again, as in records remaineth to be seen.

Thus good Edmund Allin and his wife, being maliciously accused, wrongfully imprisoned, and cruelly spoiled and robbed of all their goods, were brought (as is aforesaid) before Sir John Baker the justice, to be examined; who, taunting and reviling him without all mercy and pity, asked him if those were the fruits of his gospel, to have conventicles to gather people together, to make conspiracies to sow sedition and rebellion. And thus he began with him to reason.

Baker.--"Who gave thee authority to preach and interpret? Art thou a priest? Art thou admitted thereunto? Let me see thy licence."

Martin Collins, Sir John Baker's schoolmaster, said, "Surely he is an arrant heretic, and worthy to be burned."

Allin.--"And it may please your Honour to give me leave to answer in the cause of my faith; I am persuaded that God hath given me this authority, as he hath

given to all other Christians. Why are we called Christians, if we do not follow Christ, if we do not read his law, if we do not interpret it to others that have not so much understanding? Is not Christ our Father? Shall not the son follow the Father's steps? Is not Christ our Master, and shall the scholar be inhibited to learn and preach his precepts? Is not Christ our Redeemer, and shall not we praise his name, and serve him that hath redeemed us from sin and damnation? Did not Christ, being but twelve years of age, dispute with the doctors, and interpret the prophet Isaiah? and yet notwithstanding he was neither of the tribe of Levi, which were priests, but of the royal tribe of Judah; neither had taken any outward priesthood: wherefore, if we be Christians, we must do the same."

Collins.--"And it shall like your Honour, what a knave is this, that compareth himself with Christ!"

Baker.--"Let him alone, he will pump out anon an infinite heap of heresies. Hast thou any more to say for thyself?"

Allin.--"Yea, that I have. Adam was licensed of God, and Abraham was commanded to teach his children and posterity. And so David teacheth in divers Psalms. And Solomon also preached to the people, as the book of the Preacher proveth very well, where he teacheth that there is no immortal felicity in this life, but in the next. And Noah taught them that were disobedient in his days, and therefore is called the eighth preacher of righteousness, in the Second Epistle of Peter. Also in Numbers xi., where Moses had chosen seventy elders to help him to teach and rule the rest, Eldad and Medad preached in the tents; wherefore Joshua, being offended, complained to Moses that Eldad and Medad did preach without licence. To whom Moses answered, and wished that all the people could do the like. Why should I be long? Most of the priests were not of the tribe of Levi and Aaron."

Collins.--"These are authorities of the Old Testament, and therefore abrogated; but thou art a fool, and knowest no school-points. Is not the law divided into the law ceremonial, moral, and judicial?"

Allin.--"I grant that the ceremonies ceased when Christ came, as St. Paul proveth to the Hebrews; and to the Colossians, where he saith, Let no man judge you in any part of the sabbath-day, new moon, or other ceremonies, which are figures of things to come; for Christ is the body."

Collins.--"And are not the judicials abrogated by Christ?"

Allin.--"They are confirmed both by Christ in Matthew v., and by Paul in 1 Tim. iv.: The law, saith he, is not set forth for the virtuous and godly; but for men-slayers, perjured, adulterers, and such-like."

Collins.--"Thou art a heretic. Wilt thou call the judicials of Moses again? Wilt thou have adultery punished with death? disobedient children to their parents to be stoned? Wilt thou have *legem talionis*? But thou art an ass. Why should I speak Latin to thee, thou erroneous rebel? Shall we now smite out eye for eye, tooth for tooth? Thou art worthy to have thy teeth and tongue plucked out."

Allin.--"If we had that law, we should neither have disobedient children, neither adulterers, neither false witness-bearers, neither ruffians."

Baker.--"Master Collins, let us return to our first matter. Why didst thou teach the people, whom thou saidst [thou] didst feed both bodily and spiritually, being no priest?"

Allin.--"Because that we are all kings to rule our affections, priests to preach out the virtues and word of God, as Peter writeth, and lively stones to give light to others. For as out of flint stones cometh forth that which is able to set all the world on fire, so out of Christians should spring the beams of the gospel, which should inflame all the world. If we must give a reckoning of our faith to every man, and now to you demanding it, then must we study the Scriptures, and practise them. What availeth it a man to have meat, and will eat none; and apparel, and will wear none; or to have an occupation, and to teach none; or to be a lawyer, and utter none? Shall every artificer be suffered, yea, and commended, to practise his faculty and science, and the Christian forbidden to exercise his? Doth not every lawyer practise his law? Is not every Christian a follower of Christ? Shall ignorance, which is condemned in all sciences, be practised of Christians? Doth not St. Paul forbid any man's spirit to be quenched? Doth he prohibit any man that hath any of these gifts, which he repeateth, (1 Cor. xiv.) to practise the same? Only he forbiddeth women, but no man. The Jews never forbade any. Read the Acts of the Apostles. And the restraint was made by Gregory, the ninth pope of that name, as I heard one, a learned man, preach in King Edward's days."

Collins.--"This villain (and it like your Honour) is mad. By my priesthood, I believe that he will say, that a priest hath no more authority than another man. Doth not a priest bind and loose? "

Allin.--"No, my sin bindeth me, and my repentance looseth. God forgiveth sin only, and no priest: for every Christian, when he sinneth, bindeth himself, and when he repenteth, looseth himself. And if any other be loosed from his sin by my exhortation, I am said to loose him; and if he persevere in sin, notwithstanding my exhortation, I am said to bind him, although it is God that bindeth and looseth, and giveth the increase. Therefore saith Christ, Wheresoever two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them; and whose soever sins they forgive, they are forgiven; and whose soever they retain, they are retained. Neither hath the pope any keys save the keys of error; for the key that openeth the lock to God's mysteries and to salvation, is the key of faith and repentance. And as I have heard learned men reason, St. Augustine and Origen, with others, are of this opinion."

Then they reviled him, and laid him in the stocks all the night; wherewith certain that were better minded, being offended with such extremity, willed Allin to keep his conscience to himself, and to follow Baruch's counsel in the sixth chapter: Wherefore when ye see the multitude of people worshipping them behind and before, say ye in your hearts, O Lord, it is thou that ought only to be worshipped. Wherewith he was persuaded to go to hear mass the next day; and suddenly, before the sacring, went out; and considered in the churchyard with himself, that such a little cake between the priest's fingers could not be Christ, nor a material body, neither to have soul, life, sinews, bones, flesh, legs, head, arms, nor breast; and lamented that he was

seduced by the place of Baruch, which his conscience gave him to be no Scripture, or else to have another meaning. And after this he was brought again before Sir John Baker, who asked why he did refuse to worship the blessed sacrament of the altar.

Allin.--"It is an idol."

Collins.--"It is God's body."

Allin.--"It is not."

Collins.--"By the mass it is."

Allin.--"It is bread."

Collins.--"How provest thou that?"

Allin.--"When Christ sat at his supper, and gave them bread to eat."

Collins.--"Bread, knave?"

Allin.--"Yea, bread, which you call Christ's body. Sat he still at the table, or was he both in their mouths and at the table? If he were in their mouths and at the table, then had he two bodies, or else had a fantastical body; which is an absurdity to say it."

Baker.--"Christ's body was glorified, and might be in more places than one."

Allin.--"Then had he more bodies than one, by your own placing of him."

Collins.--"Thou ignorant ass! the schoolmen say, that a glorified body may be every where."

Allin.--"If his body was not glorified till it rose again, then was it not glorified at his last supper; and therefore was not at the table and in their mouths, by your own reason."

Collins.--"A glorified body occupieth no place."

Allin.--"That which occupieth no place, is neither God, nor any thing else. But Christ's body, say you, occupieth no place; therefore it is neither God, nor any thing else. If it be nothing, then is your religion nothing. If it be God, then have we four in one Trinity, which is the person of the Father, the person of the Son, the person of the Holy Ghost, the human nature of Christ. If Christ be nothing, which you must needs confess, if he occupieth no place, then is our study in vain, our faith frustrate, and our hope without reward."

Collins.--"This rebel will believe nothing but Scripture. How knowest thou that it is the Scripture, but by the church? and so saith St. Augustine."

Allin.--"I cannot tell what St. Augustine saith, but I am persuaded, that it is Scripture by divers arguments: first, that the law worketh in me my condemnation. The law telleth me that of myself I am damned; and this damnation, Master Collins, you must find in yourself, or else you shall never come to repentance. For as this grief and sorrow of conscience, without faith, is desperation; so is a glorious and Romish faith, without the lamentation of a man's sins, presumption. The second is the gospel, which is the power and Spirit of God. This Spirit, saith St. Paul, certifieth my spirit, that I am the son of God, and that these are the Scriptures. The third are the wonderful works of God, which cause me to believe that there is a God, though we glorify him not as God. The sun, the moon, the stars, and other his works, (as David discourseth in Psalm xix.,) declare that there is a God, and that these are the Scriptures, because that they teach nothing else but God, and his power, majesty, and might; and because the Scripture teacheth nothing dissonant from this prescription of nature. And fourthly, because that the word of God gave authority to the church in paradise, saying, that the seed of the woman should break down the serpent's head. This seed is the gospel; this is all the Scriptures, and by this we are assured of eternal life; and these words, The seed of the woman shall break the serpent's head, gave authority to the church, and not the church to the word."

Baker.--"I heard say, that you spake against priests and bishops."

Allin.--"I spake for them; for now they have so much living, and especially bishops, archdeacons, and deans, that they neither can nor will teach God's word. If they had a hundred pounds a piece, then would they apply their study: now they cannot for other affairs."

Collins.--"Who will then set his children to school?"

Allin.--"Where there is now one set to school for that end, there would be forty, because that one bishop's living, divided into thirty or forty parts, would find so many as well learned men as the bishops be now, who have all this living; neither had Peter or Paul any such revenue."

Baker.--"Let us despatch him; he will mar all."

Collins.--"If every man had a hundred pounds, as he saith, it would make more learned men."

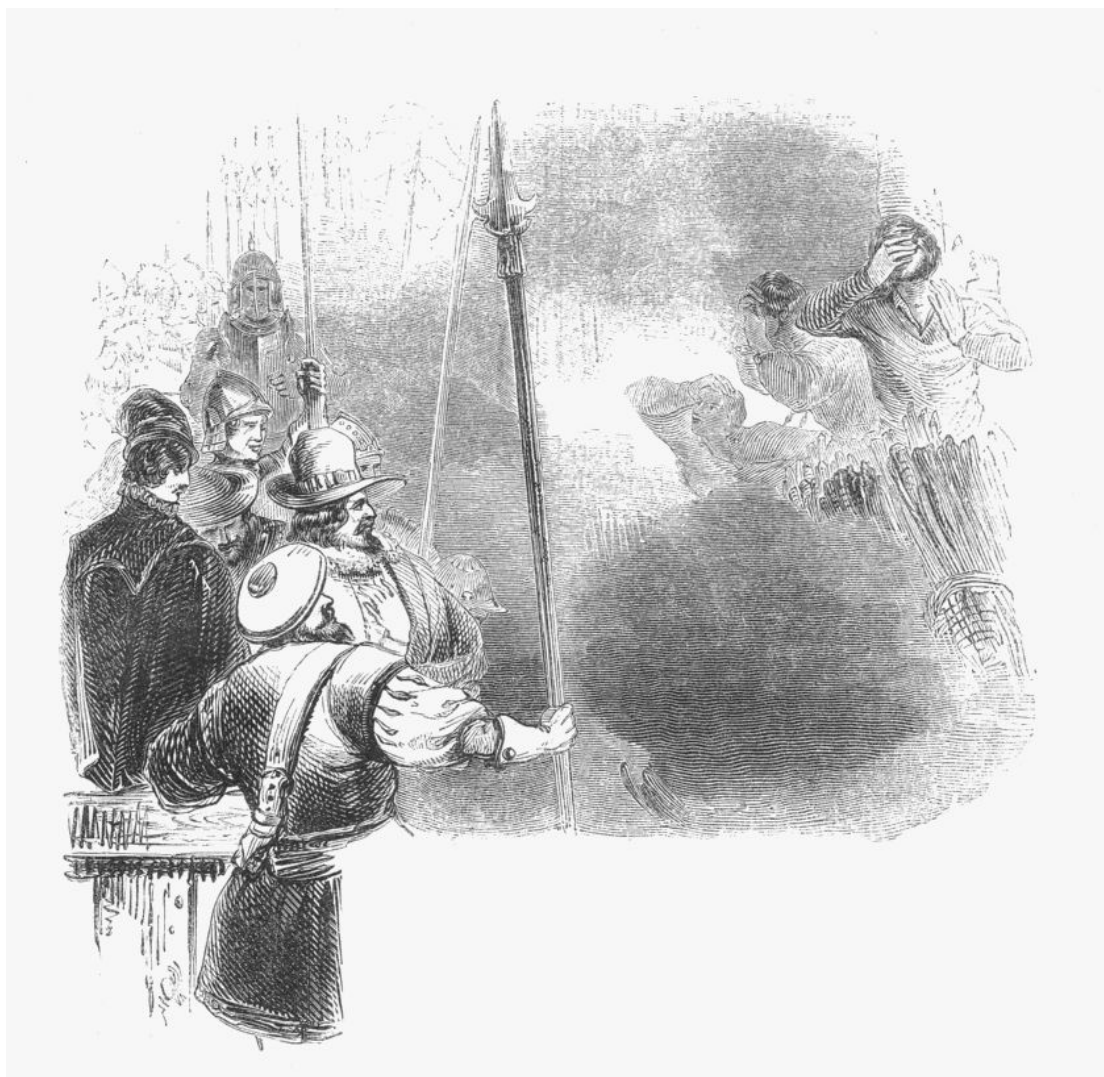
Baker.--"But our bishops would be angry, if that they knew it."

Allin.--"It were for a commonwealth to have such bishoprics divided, for the further increase of learning."

Baker.--"What sayest thou to the sacrament?"

Allin.--"As I said before."

Baker.--"Away with him."



The Maidstone Martyrs at the Stake

And thus was he carried to prison, and afterwards burned. And thus much touching the particular story of Edward Allin and his wife; who, with the five other martyrs above named, being seven, (to wit, five women and two men,) were all together burned at Maidstone the year and month aforementioned, and the eighteenth day of the same month.

Another story of like cruelty, showed upon other seven martyrs, burnt at Canterbury; three men and four women.

Among such infinite seas of troubles in these most dangerous days, who can withhold himself from bitter tears, to see the madding rage of these pretended catholics, who, being never satisfied with blood to fountain their carnal kingdom, presume so highly to violate the precise law of God's commandments, in slaying the simple poor lambs of the glorious congregation of Jesus Christ, and that for the true testimony of a good conscience, in confessing the immaculate gospel of their

salvation? What heart will not lament the murdering mischief of these men, who for want of work do so wreak their time on silly poor women, whose weak imbecility, the more strength it lacketh by natural imperfection, the more it ought to be helped, or at least pitied; and not oppressed of men that be stronger, and especially of priests that should be charitable.

But blessed be the Lord Omnipotent, who supernaturally hath endued from above such weak creatures with such manly stomach and fortitude, so constantly to withstand the uttermost extremity of these pitiless persecutors: as he did before strengthen the mother of the seven sons in the Maccabees, and as he hath done since with divers and sundry other godly women in these our latter days, partly before mentioned, and partly to be mentioned hereafter, as here presently may appear by the martyrdom of seven hereunder following, of the which were four women and three men, burnt together at Canterbury the nineteenth of the said month of June, in the year aforesaid, whose names are these: John Fishcock, Nicholas White, Nicholas Pardue, Barbara Final, widow, Bradbridge's widow, Wilson's wife, Benden's wife.

As it were too tedious exactly and particularly to prosecute the several story of every one of these godly martyrs; so I cannot pass over untouched the cruel and unchristian handling of Alice Benden during her imprisonment; according as I have received by the faithful relation of them which best were acquainted with her, and partly also of some doers in the matter, being her own natural brethren. The story is thus:

"First, Alice Benden was brought before one Master Roberts, of Cranbrooke, in said county, the fourteenth day of October, in the year of our Lord 1556, of whom she was demanded why she would not go to the church. And she answered, that she could not so do with a good and clear conscience, because there was much idolatry committed against the glory of God. For the which with many mocks and taunts she was sent to prison, where she lay fourteen days; for on the twentieth day of October her husband required his neighbours, the wealthy men of Staplehurst, to write to the bishop of Dover, who had the chief government of the tyrannical sword in Kent for those days, which they did, desiring him to send her home.

"Wherefore the bishop called her before him, and asked her if she would go home, and go to the church. Whereunto she answered, 'If I would have so done, I need not have come hither.' 'Then wilt thou go home, and be shriven of thy parish priest?' And she said, No, that would she not.

"'Well,' said he, 'go thy ways home, and go to the church when thou wilt.' Whereunto she answered nothing; but a priest that stood by, said, 'She saith, she will, my Lord.' Wherefore he let her go, and she came forthwith home.

"On the Saturday following, her husband willed her to go to the church; which she both then and elsewhen refused to do. Wherefore on the Sunday, fourteen days after, he, going to the church, came into the company of divers inhabitants of the same parish; among whom, through his fond talk and behaviour, he procured her to be sent to Sir John Guilford, who commanded her to prison again; yea, and the more to utter his own shame, he said her husband took money of the constable to carry her to prison, the price of his wife's blood, meaning indeed to carry her to prison himself.

But she, having much more care of his honest and good report, than he had regard (as it is easy to see) of his own infamy, and no less ashamed of his so rude and unnatural doings, chose rather to commit herself willingly into the hands of her enemies, than that the world should witness against her husband of so facinorous a fact. Wherefore she went to the constable, desiring him to go with her. But he answered that he could not so do, but granted her his boy to go with her, with whom she went to prison, namely, the castle of Canterbury, according to the commandment given.

Where this one thing is worthy to be noted, that while she was in this prison, she practised with a prison-fellow of hers, the wife of one Potkin, to live both of them with twopence-halfpenny a day, to try thereby how well they could sustain penury and hunger, before they were put to it. For they had heard, that when they should be removed from thence to the bishop's prison, their livings should be but three farthings apiece a day, and did indeed both so live for fourteen days ere she was from thence removed.

"The twenty-second day of January following, her husband went again to the bishop, desiring him to deliver his wife out of prison; but he said she was an obstinate heretic, and would not be reformed; and therefore said that he could not deliver her.

"Then said he, 'My Lord, she hath a brother, whose name is Roger Hall, that resorteth unto her. If your Lordship could keep him from her, she would turn; for he comforteth her, giveth her money, and persuadeth her not to return or relent.'

"This occasion was not so soon given, but it was as quickly taken, and as cruelly put in execution. For the bishop commanding her upon the same to a prison, called Monday's Hole, there also he gave a strait charge, that if at any time her brother came, he should be taken and apprehended. The prison was within a court where the prebend's chambers were, being a vault beneath the ground, and being before the window enclosed with a pale, of height, by estimation, four feet and a half, and distant from the same three feet, so that she, looking from beneath, might only see such as stood at the pale. After this her brother sought often for her, with no less danger of life than diligence. But for the unknown situation of the place, it being also but rarely used for a prison, and the matter as closely kept as it was secretly done, he could never come to understand of her being there, until, through God's merciful will and unsearchable providence, he coming thither very early in the morning, her keeper being then gone to the church to ring, (for he was a bell-ringer,) chanced to hear her voice, as she poured out unto God her sorrowful complaints, saying the psalms of David. And then could he no otherwise relieve her, but by putting money in a loaf of bread, and sticking the same on a pole, and so reached it unto her; for neither with meat nor drink he could sustain her. And this was five weeks after her coming thither; all the which time no creature was known to come at her, more than her keeper.

"Her lying in that prison was only upon a little short straw between a pair of stocks and a stone wall; being allowed three farthings a day, that is, half-penny bread, and a farthing drink, neither could she get any more for her money. Wherefore she desired to have her whole allowance in bread, and used water for her drink. Thus did she lie nine weeks; during all which time she never changed her apparel, whereby she became at the last a most piteous and loathsome creature to behold.

"At her first coming into this place, she did grievously bewail with great sorrow and lamentation, and reasoned with herself, why her Lord God did with his so heavy justice suffer her to be sequestered from her loving fellows into so extreme misery.

"In these dolorous mournings did she continue, till on a night as she was in her sorrowful supplications, rehearsing this verse of the psalm, Why art thou so heavy, O my soul? and again, The right hand of the Most High can change all; she received comfort in the midst of her miseries, and after that continued very joyful until her delivery from the same.

"About the twenty-fifth day of March, in the year of our Lord 1557, she was called before the bishop, who demanded of her, whether she would now go home, and go to the church or no, promising her great favour, if she would be reformed and do as they did.

"To whom she answered, 'I am throughly persuaded by the great extremity that you have already showed me, that you are not of God, neither can your doings be godly; and I see,' saith she, that you seek my utter destruction; '-- showing how lame she then was of cold taken, and for lack of food, whilst she lay in that painful prison; whereby she was not able to move herself without great pain.

"Then did the bishop deliver her from that filthy hole and sent her to Westgate, where, after she had been changed, and for a while been clean kept, her skin did wholly so peel and scale off, as if she had been with some mortal venom poisoned. Here she continued till the latter end of April; at which time they called her before them, and with others condemned her, committing her then to the prison called the Castle; where she continued till the slaughter-day, which was the nineteenth day of June, when by terrible fire they took away her life.

"When she was at the stake, she cast her handkerchief unto one John Banks, requiring him to keep the same in memory of her, and from about her middle she took a white lace, which she gave to the keeper, desiring him to give the same to her brother Roger Hall, and to tell him that it was the last band that she was bound with, except the chain. A shilling also of Philip and Mary she took forth, which her father had bowed and sent her when she was first sent to prison, desiring that her said brother should with obedient salutations render the same to her father again, and show him that it was the first piece of money that he sent her after her troubles began, which (as she protested) she had kept, and now sent him to do him to understand, that she never lacked money while she was in prison."

With this Alice Benden were burned also the residue of the other blessed martyrs above named, being seven in number; who, being brought to the place where they should suffer for the Lord's cause at Canterbury, wadressed themselves joyfully to the fire; and being ready thereto, they all (like the communion of saints) kneeled down, and made their humble prayers unto the Lord with such zeal and affection as even the enemies of the cross of Christ could not but like it. When they had made invocation together, they rose and went to the stake, where, being compassed with horrible flames of fire, they yielded their souls and lives gloriously into the hand of the Lord; unto whose eternity the Son of God bring. us all. Amen.

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Bradbridge's wife, when she was condemned of the bishop to be burned, had two children, named Patience and Charity; who then said to the bishop, that if he would needs burn her, yet she trusted, that he would take and keep Patience and Charity; meaning her two children. Nay," quoth the bishop, "by the faith of my body I will meddle with neither of them both."

359. Matthew Plaise

The troubles and examinations of Matthew Plaise, weaver, of the parish of Stone, in the county of Kent.

Unto these holy martyrs of Kent above specified, whereof seven suffered at Maidstone, and seven at Canterbury, I thought not unmeet here also to be adjoined the examination of Matthew Plaise, a weaver, of the same county of Kent, and a faithful Christian; who being apprehended and imprisoned likewise, for the testimony of a good conscience, in the castle of Canterbury, was brought to examination before the bishop of Dover, and Harpsfield the archdeacon, as here is to be read and seen.

The examination and answers of Matthew Plaise, before Thornton, bishop of Dover; Harpsfield, archdeacon; Collins, commissary, and other inquisitors, anno 1557.

"First, when I came before the bishop, he asked me whether I were not of that diocese, and where I dwelt; for that was my first article. I answered, I was of the parish of Stone, in Kent, and subject unto the king and queen of England.

"Then he said, I was indicted by twelve men at Ashford, at the sessions, for heresy. I said, that was sooner said than proved.

"Then he said, it was the truth that he had spoken to me, for he had whereby to prove it. Then I desired him to let me hear it, and I would answer to it.

"But he said he would not do so, but I should answer to my article, yea or nay. I said, he could not; for I was not at Ashford, and therefore he had nothing to lay to my charge. But now I perceive you go about to lay a net, to have my blood.

"After many words betwixt the bishop and me, the archdeacon said, 'Peace, peace, we do not desire thy blood, but we are glad to hear that thou art no heretic;' with many flattering words: and said, yet I was suspected of heresy, and if I would be content to confess how I did believe as concerning those articles, they would gladly teach me.

"But I said, 'I do not think so, for I talked with one of your doctors, and after long talk, he would needs know how I did believe in the sacrament; and I recited unto him the text, and because I would not make unto him an exposition, he would teach me nothing. Yet I prayed him for my learning to write his mind; and if it were the truth, I would believe him. And this I did desire him for the love of God, but it would not be.'

"Then said he, it was not so, he durst swear upon a book. I said it would be so proved.

"Then he stood up, with a long process, and said, he would tell me the truth, and was sure that the same doctor did believe as he did. I asked him how he knew that, seeing St. Paul doth say, that no man knoweth what is in man, but the Spirit which dwelleth in him: 'but if you wist what Christ meant by these words, I require mercy and not sacrifice, you would not kill innocents.'

"The bishop began with me again, and charged me in the king and queen's name, and the lord cardina's, to answer yea or nay to the articles that followed.

"Then I commanded, in His name that should come in flaming fire with his mighty angels to render vengeance to the disobedient, and to all those that believed not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, which should be punished with everlasting damnation, that he should speak nothing but the truth grounded upon Christ and his apostles, and then I would answer him, or else not.

"Then he was very angry, and said, if I would not answer, he would condemn me indeed, unless I would answer every article. 'Well,' said I, 'if you do, you shall be guilty of my blood, and prove yourself a murderer.'

"Then the archdeacon took the articles in his hand, and read the second article, which was, that I was a Christian man, and did believe in their mother the catholic church, and the determination thereof. I said, I was a Christian man indeed, and therefore they had nothing against me.

"Then said he, 'What sayest thou to the catholic church, which hath so long continued, except it were nine or ten years that this heresy hath sprung up here in this realm?' I said, 'No man can accuse me of any thing spoken against the catholic church of Christ.'

"Then said the bishop, 'Dost thou not believe the Creed?'

Plaise.--"Yes, verily, I believe my Creed, and all that is written in the Testament of Christ, with the rest of the Scriptures.'

"Then,' saith he, 'thou dost confess that there is a catholic church; I am glad of that. But tell me, are the king and queen of that church, or no?'

"Well,' said I, 'now I perceive you go about to be both mine accuser and also my judge, contrary to all right. I confess Christ hath a church upon earth, which is built upon the apostles and prophets, Christ being the head thereof. And as touching the king and queen, I answer, I have nothing to do with any man's faith but mine own; neither came I hither to judge, for I judge not myself, but the Lord must judge me.'

"Then said he, 'Is there no part of that church here in England?'

Plaise.--"Well, I perceive you would fain have something to lay to my charge: I will tell you where. Christ saith, Where two or three be gathered together in his name, there is he in the midst among them.'

"Then the archdeacon stood up with his mocks, to put me out of comfort; and said to the people, that I had no wit, but that I thought all they were deceived so long time, that half a dozen of us should have the truth in a corner, and that all they should be deceived; with suchlike taunts and mocks, but would not suffer me to speak one word.

"Then he read the article of the sacrament, and said, I did deny the real presence to be in the sacrament after it was once consecrated; and that I said, Christ's body was in heaven, and no where else; and that the bread was nothing but a sign, token, or remembrance.

"Then I said, 'You have to show where and what my words were.' And hereof we talked a great while.

"At the last the bishop was so angry, that he charged me in the king's, queen's, and cardinal's name, before the mayor and his brethren, taking them to witness, if I did not say yea or nay, he would condemn me.

"Then I said, 'Seeing you have nothing to accuse me of, wherefore should I so answer? '

"Then the archdeacon said, I was guilty; and said I was like a thief at the bar, which would not confess his fault, because his accusers were not present; with a great many words, and would not let me open my mouth against him.

"Then I saw whereabout they went, granting to answer them by the word, or else I think they would have condemned me for holding of my peace; and this was my beginning: 'I believe that Christ took bread, and when he had given thanks he brake it, and gave it to his disciples, and said, Take, eat, this is my body, which is given for you; this do in remembrance of me.' •

Archdeacon.--"Dost thou believe that Christ meant even as he said?"

"I said, 'Christ was no dissembler, but he spake the very truth.'

Archdeacon."Thou hast very well said, we will make the best of thy words.' Then he praised me with many words, going about to prove it his body real and substantial, and said, 'Christ called himself bread. And this to prove: when Christ said, This is my body, the bread was his body indeed, [said he,] real and substantial; not so long and so big as it hung on the cross, as the Capernaïtes did think; but we eat it, as man's weak nature can eat Christ. Therefore when he had said, This is my body, the bread was his body in very deed.'

"Then I asked him, what Christ meant by these words, which is given for you.

"He said, 'Christ spake that by the bread also; but it was not written in Matthew, but Luke had those words.'

"Then I asked him, If Christ's body were made of bread, whether that was given for our redemption, or whether the bread was crucified for us, or not?

"Then he said, 'No, by St. Mary, I say not so.'

Plaise.--"'You have said the truth indeed, and even as I believe.'

"Then he stood up with a great many of words, and said, that I did think it but bare bread still, as other bread is: but he was sure Christ called it his body, and then it was his body indeed; for he would believe Christ.

"When he had spoken his pleasure by me, thinking to have condemned me by their law, I said he had not judged right of me, for I had not so spoken, but did believe the words of Christ as well as he, and as much as he could prove by the word.

"Then he would hear what I did say it was. I said, I did believe it was that he gave them.

"Then he asked me, what was that he gave them. I said, that which he brake.

"Then he asked me, what was that he brake. I said, that he took.

Archdeacon.--"'What was it that he did take?'

"I said, 'The text saith he took bread.'

Archdeacon.--"'Well then, thou sayest it was but bread that his disciples did eat, by thy reason.'

Plaise.--"'Thus much I say: 'Look, what he gave them, they did eat in deed.'

Archdeacon.--"'Why, then, was not that his body that they did eat? '

Plaise.--"'It was that which he brake.'

"Well,' said he, I perceive thy meaning well enough; for thou dost think it is but bread still, and that he was not able to make it his body.'

Plaise.--"'That is your exposition upon my mind.'

"Then said be, What didst thou receive, when thou didst receive last?'

"I said, I do believe that I did eat Christ's flesh, and drink his blood: for he saith, My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed.'

"Then he said, I had well answered, thinking to have had some advantage at my hand; and prayed me to tell him, how I did eat his flesh and drink his blood. Then I said, 'I must answer you by the word which Christ saith, He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him.'

"Then he faced out the matter with sophistry, and said I did eat Christ, as that church was in his eye; with many such mocks, but would not let me answer one word.

"Then the commissary did ask me, if I did not remember St. Paul, which did rebuke the Corinthians for their evil behaviour, and because they made no difference of the Lord's body, and brought in to prove his matter, how he called himself bread in John vi. So Paul saith, So oft as ye eat of this bread [meaning Christ's body] unworthily, ye eat and drink your own damnation, because ye make no difference of the Lord's body. For thus saith Christ, The bread that I will give you is my flesh. Now it is no bread, but it is his flesh.' And thus he alleged every scripture false, to make up the matter.

"Then I said, I did believe the words of St. Paul very well, even as he had spoken them: for thus he saith, He that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation, because he maketh no difference of the Lord's body.

Commissary.--"What is the cause that he eateth his own damnation? "

"I said, 'St. Paul declareth it plainly with these words, If ye had judged yourselves, ye should not have been judged of the Lord.'

"Then the archdeacon said, he marvelled why I would not say that he called the bread his body, seeing Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, with many others, said, he called it his body.

"I said, 'You have condemned them as heretics, and you would have me say with them, because you would kill me.'

"Then he said, In that they said it was his body, they did say the truth.'

"I asked, wherefore they were killed, seeing they said the truth.

"Then said the bishop, that he had all their answers, and that they did not believe as they said. For they said, Christ called it his body, but it was not his natural body; but thou shalt answer me by and by, whether it be his body or not, or else I will anger thee.'

"Then I said I had answered him by the word, already, and did believe it also; therefore if he did condemn me for that, my life was not dear unto me, and I was sure he should not scape unpunished; for God will be revenged upon such murderers.

"Then the archdeacon entreated me to be ruled by him, and take mercy while it was offered; for if I were condemned, I must needs be burned. Yet he would not say but my soul might be saved;-- with many more words. And desired me that I would believe him, for he would speak the truth: beginning how Christ fed five thousand people with four loaves, and how he turned the water into wine; even so Christ took bread and blessed it, and when he had done, he brake it and said, This is my body; and then he commanded them to eat it, and therefore it must needs be his body.

"Then I desired him to speak the text right, or else I would not believe him.

"Then he stood up, and put off his cap, and thanked me for teaching of him; and said, I was a stubborn fellow, and took scorn to be taught.

"I said, I ought to hold him accursed, if he taught doctrine contrary to Christ and his apostles.

"Then he asked me, whether I did believe that Christ did give that he took, or not? I said, 'I do believe as much as can be proved by the Scripture, and more I will not believe.'

"Then he began with Moses's rod, how God commanded him to lay it down, and it was turned into a serpent. Seeing that this was by Moses, being but a man, how much more Christ, being both God and man, took one thing, and gave to his disciples another?

"I said, his comparison was nothing like, for Moses's rod when it was laid down, he saw that it was turned into a very serpent indeed; but in this sacrament no man can see either quality or yet quantity to be changed.

"Then said the bishop, that mine opinion and faith was like unto the Capernaïtes'. I said, theirs was more like their opinion, than mine.

"The archdeacon asked me, whether Christ took one thing, and gave another? I said, 'Look, what he brake he gave unto them, and bade them eat; and other answer I will make none, contrary to the word.'

Then he said, he marvelled why I would not believe them, seeing this learning had continued this fifteen hundred years; neither yet did say, as others had before, how Christ did call it his body.

"Then I said, 'When Cranmer, which was here bishop, was in authority, he said, that he did hold the truth, and commanded us to believe him; and he hath given his life for his opinion; and would you have me to believe you, because you say that you hold the truth? And that which makes me believe chiefly, is the Scripture, which I am sure is the truth indeed.'

"The bishop said, he had spoken the truth, and that I would not believe. I said, if he did not now speak the truth, I was sure he had spoken the truth; for he had preached before doctrine clean contrary unto this.

"Then were the rest of my articles read, which I answered; and in every article he had up this broaden god. And they sent for a candle-light, and I thought they would have condemned me; but God would not suffer their cruel hearts to have their pleasure that time, blessed be his name for evermore, Amen.

"Then the archdeacon was angry, and began to chide with me, because I would not desire a day of the bishop; and said I was a naughty, stubborn fellow; and said, It had been my duty to have desired him to have been good to me, that I might have a day. Then I said, 'I have spoken the truth; and therefore I would ask him no day, except he would give me a day of his own mind.'

"Then said the commissary, 'Dost thou not think that thou mayest be deceived, seeing he may be deceived that hath gone to study all the days of his life?' I said, 'Yea,

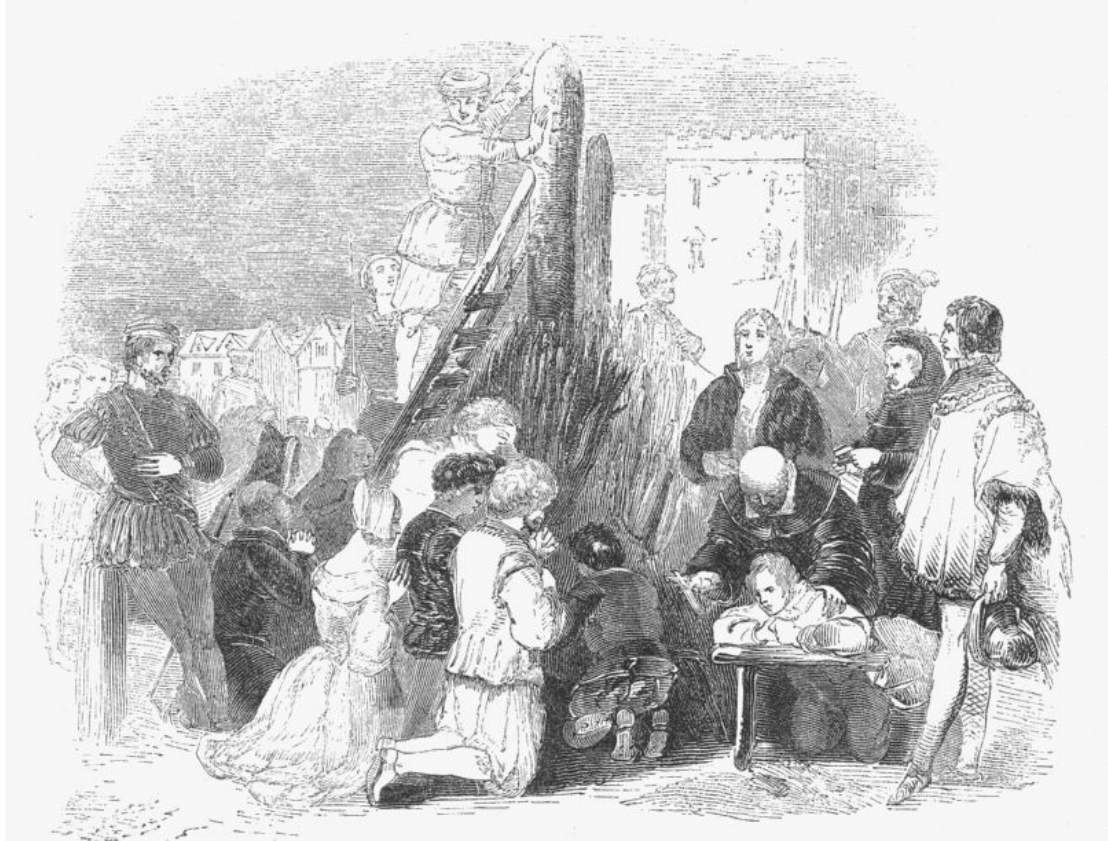
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I might be deceived, in that I was a man; but I was sure God's word could not be deceived.'

"Then he prayed me to be content, and confessed that I might learn, and said, They would be glad to teach me. And I said, I would be as glad to learn as any man.-- And thus they rose up and went away, saying nothing."

What became of this Matthew Plaise after, whether he died in prison, or was executed, or delivered, I have as yet no certain knowledge.

360. Richard Woodman and Nine Others.



The Martyrs of Lewes

The history of ten true godly disciples and martyrs of Christ, burnt together in one fire at Lewes, anno 1557, June twenty-second.

In the town of Lewes were ten faithful servants of God put in one fire, the twenty-second day of June, whose names follow: Richard Woodman, George Stevens, W. Mainard, Alexander Hosman, his servant; Thomasin à Wood; Mainard's maid; Margery Moris; James Moris, her son; Dennis Burgis, Ashdon's wife, Grove's wife.

Of the which number Richard Woodman was the first; concerning whose apprehension, first by his enemies, and of his deliverance out of Bishop Bonner's hands; then of his second taking again by the procurement of his father, brother, kinsfolks, and friends; also of his sundry examinations and courageous answers before the bishops; and lastly of his condemnation, and of his letters sent to his faithful friends, here followeth to be declared by his own words and relation reported. Which Richard Woodman, by his occupation, was an iron-maker, dwelling in the parish of Warbleton, in the county of Sussex, and diocese of Chichester, of the age of thirty years and somewhat more.

The occasion of his first apprehension was this: There was one Fairebanke, who sometimes had been a married priest, and served the cure of Warbleton, where he had often persuaded the people not to credit any other doctrine but that which he then preached, taught, and set forth, in King Edward's days: and afterward, in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, the said Fairebanke, turning head to tail, preached clean contrary to that which he had before taught.

Whereupon Richard Woodman, hearing him in the church of Warbleton so to preach contrary to himself, admonished him of his inconstancy, how before-time he had taught them one thing, and now another, and desired him to teach them the truth. For the which words he was apprehended, and brought before Master John Ashbornham, Master Tonston, and Master Culpepper, and Master Roberts, justices of peace in the county of Sussex, and by them committed to the King's Bench, where he continued from June, the space almost of a year and half; and from thence was transferred by Dr. Story into Bonner's coal-house, where he remained the space of a month before he came to examination.

At length, the same day when Master Philpot was burned, which was the eighteenth of December, he with four other prisoners was delivered and set at liberty by Bonner himself. Notwithstanding, shortly after he was sought for again, and at last found out and taken by means of his father, brother, and certain other his acquainted friends, and so was sent up again to London to Bishop Bonner, where he remained in the coal-house eight weeks. He was there six times examined, and twenty-six times before, so that his examinations were in all thirty-two, from his first apprehension to his condemnation. Touching the whole discourse whereof, forasmuch as the matter is something strange, and will peradventure scarce find credit upon my narration, with them which deny all things that like them not to believe, ye shall hear himself speak and testify both of the manner of his troubles, and also his own examinations by himself recorded, in order as followeth.

"Gentle reader, here you shall perceive how the Scriptures be partly fulfilled on me, being one of the least of his poor lambs. First, you shall understand, that since I was delivered out of the bishop of London's hands, which was in the year of our Lord 1555, and the same day that Master Philpot was burned, which was the eighteenth of December, I lay in his coal-house eight weeks lacking but one day: and, before that, I was a year and a half almost in the King's Bench after my first apprehension, for reproving a preacher in the pulpit, in the parish of Warbleton, where I dwelt. Wherefore I was at two sessions before I was sent to prison, and carried to two more sessions while I was in prison, twice before the bishop of Chichester, and five times before the commissioners; and then sent to London's coal-house, and many times called before him, as it appeareth by my examinations which I have wrote, the which examinations the bishop of Chichester now hath, for they were found in my house when I was taken; wherein is contained all the talk which I had before them aforementioned. Also there be in London that had copies of the same of me, when I was in the coal-house.

"And it pleased God to deliver me with four more out of the butchers' hands, requiring nothing else of us but that we should be honest men, and members of the true catholic church that was builded upon the prophets and apostles, Christ being the head of the true church, the which all we affirmed that we were members of the true

church, and purposed by God's help therein to die. And hereupon we were delivered; but he willed us many times to speak good of him. And no doubt he was worthy to be praised, because he had been so faithful an aid in his master the devil's business; for he had burnt good Master Philpot the same morning, in whose blood his heart was so drunken, (as I supposed,) that he could not tell what he did, as it appeared to us both before and after. For but two days before, he promised us that we should be condemned that same day that we were delivered; yea, and the morrow after that he had delivered us, he sought for some of us again, yea, and that earnestly. He waxed dry after his great drunkenness, wherefore he is like to have blood to drink in hell as he is worthy, if he repent it not with speed. The Lord turn all their hearts, if it be his will!

"This have I written, chiefly to certify all people how we were delivered, because many carnal gospellers and papists have said, that it was prescribed that we should be so delivered, because they think that God is subject to man, and not man to God; for if they did, they would not blaspheme him as they do, or if they thought they should give account for it. Have not many of them read how God delivered Israel out of Egypt? Daniel out of the lions' den? Shadrach, Meshech, and Abednego, out of the burning oven? with divers other suchlike examples; yea, God is the same God that he was then. He is no older, nor less in power, as some count him in wondering at his works. Now to the matter.

"After I was delivered, the papists said that I had consented to them, whereof they made themselves glad; the which was the least part of my thought, (I praise God therefore,) as they well perceived and knew the contrary within a while. For I went from parish to parish, and talked with them, to the number of thirteen or fourteen, and that of the chieftest in all the country; and I angered them so, that they with the commissioners complained on me to my Lord Chamberlain that was then to the queen, Sir John Gage, showing him that I baptized children, and married folks, with many such lies, to bring me into their hands again. Then the commissioners sent out certain citations to bring me to the court. My Lord Chamberlain had directed out four or five warrants for me, that if I had come there, I should have been attached and sent to prison straightway; which was not God's will; for I had warning of their laying await for me, and came not there, but sent my deputy, and he brought me word that the bailiffs waited for me there; but they missed of their prey for that time, whereupon they were displeased.

"Then, within three days after, my Lord sent three of his men to take me, whose names were Deane, Jeffrey, and Frances. I, being at plough with my folks, right in the way as they were coming to my house, least mistrusting them of all other, came to them and spake to them, asking them how they did: And they said, they arrested me in the king and queen's name, and that I must go with them to their master the lord chamberlain; which words made my flesh to tremble and quake, because of that sudden. But I answered them, that I would go with them. Yet I desired them, that they would go to my house with me, that I might break my fast, and put on some other gear; and they said, I should. Then I remembered myself, saying in my heart, 'Why am I thus afraid? they can lay no evil to my charge. If they kill me for well doing, I may think myself happy.' I remembered how I was contented gladly before to die in that quarrel, and so had continued ever since; and should I now fear to die? God forbid that I should; for then were all my labour in vain.

"So by and by I was persuaded, I praise God; considering it was but the frailty of my flesh, which was loth to forego my wife and children, and goods: for I saw nothing but present death before mine eyes. And as soon as I was persuaded in my mind to die, I had regard of nothing in this world, but was as merry and glad and joyful, I praise God, as ever I was. This battle lasted not a quarter of an hour; but was sharper than death itself for the time, I dare say.

"So when I had my breakfast, I desired them to show me their warrant, thinking thereby I should have seen wherefore I was arrested, to the intent I might the better answer for myself, when I came before their master. And one of them answered, they had not their warrant there; which words made me astonished, and it was put in my mind by God, that I need not go with them, unless they had their warrant. Then said I to them, 'That is marvel, that you will come to take a man without a warrant. It seemeth to me, that you come of your own mind to get thank of your master; for indeed I heard say,' said I, 'that there were four or five warrants out for me, but they were called in again, because I had certified my Lord and the commissary, by a letter that I had sent to the commissary's court, that I was not faulty in that they laid to my charge, which was for baptizing of children, and marrying of folks; the which I never did, for I was never minister appointed to do any such thing: wherefore set your hearts at rest, I will not go with you,' said I, 'unless you will carry me by force; and if you will, do so, at your own adventures.' And so I rose from the board, and stepped into my chamber, meaning to go from them if I could possibly, seeing God had made the way so open for me. I meant to play Peter's part with them, but God would not it should be so, but sent a fear amongst them, that as soon as I was gone into my chamber, ere ever I could come out again, they were gone out of my house.

"When I saw that, I knew it was God's doing, to set me at liberty once again. Yet I was compelled to speak to them, and said, 'If you have a warrant, I desire you for God's sake to show it me, and I will go with you with all my heart: if not, I desire you to depart in God's peace and the king's: for surely I will not go with you without the order of the law; for I have been too simple in such things already. For before I was sent to prison first, I went to the justices, to two sessions, without any warrant or commandment, but had word by one of their men, and I went justly to them; and they sent me to prison, and kept me there almost a year and three quarters, without all right or equity, as it is openly known, not hearing my cause gently debated. And it seemeth strange to me, that I should be thus evil handled; and therefore I will go to none of them all henceforth, without the extremity of the law.'

"Then one of them answered me, and said, 'We have not the warrant here, but it is at home at my house; the worst is, you can but make us fetch it.' Then I said, 'Fetch it, if you will; but if you come in my house before you have it, at your own adventure be it.' So I shut my door, and went my way out at the other door. So they got help to watch my house, whilst one of them fetched the constable and many more, thinking to have had me in my house, and to have taken me in my house, and carried me away with a licence; but I was gone before, as God would have it. Notwithstanding they sought every corner of my house, but could not prevail. I mistrusted they would search it again that night, and kept me abroad; and indeed there came seven of his men and the constable, and searched my house. And when they saw that they could not meet with me, they were ready to rend their coats, that I had escaped them so, knowing they should have such a check of their master. When I

heard that they had sought so for me again, I, perceiving that they were greedy of their prey, came home, and my wife told me all things.

"Then I supposed that they would lay all the country for me, and the sea-coast, because I should not go over, and then I thought that they would not mistrust that I would dare be nigh home. So I told my wife, that I would make my lodging in a wood not past a flight-shot from my house; as I did indeed, even under a tree, and there had my Bible, my pen, and mine ink, and other necessities, and there continued six or seven weeks, my wife bringing me meat daily as I had need. Yea, I thought myself blessed of God, that I was counted worthy to lie in the woods for the name of Christ. Then there came word into the country, that I was seen and spoken to in Flanders; whereupon they left laying in wait for me; for they had laid all the country for me, and the sea-coast from Portsmouth to Dover, even as God put in my mind they would.

"So when all was hushed, I went abroad among our friends and brethren; and at length I went beyond the sea both into Flanders and in France: but I thought every day seven years or ever I were at home again. So I came home again as soon as it was possible. I was there but three weeks; but as soon as I was come home, and it was once known among Baal's priests, they could not abide it, but procured out warrants against me, causing my house to be searched sometimes twice in a week.

"This continued from St. James's tide to the first Sunday in Lent. Otherwhile I went privily, otherwhile openly, otherwhile I went from home a fortnight or three weeks, otherwhile I was at home a month or five weeks together, living there most commonly and openly, doing such works as I had to do; and yet all mine enemies could lay no hands on me, till the hour was full come: and then, by the voice of the country, and by manifest proofs, mine own brother, as concerning the flesh, delivered me into their hands, by that he knew that I was at home. For my father and he had as much of my goods in their hands, as I might have fifty-six pounds for, by the year, clear, and thereunto prayed. It was a lordship and an honour, and half an honour, that I had delivered into their hands to pay my debts, and the rest to remain to my wife and children. But they had reported that it would not pay my debts, which grieved me sore; for it was two hundred pounds better than the debts came to: which caused me to speak to some of my friends, that they would speak to them to come to some reckoning with me, and to take all such money again of me as they were charged with, and to deliver me such writings and writs as they had of mine again, or to whom I would appoint them.

"So it was agreed betwixt my father and me, that I should have it again, and the day was appointed that the reckoning should be made and sent to me that same day that I was taken; my brother supposing that I should have put him out of most of all his occupying, that he was in; for it was all mine in a manner that he occupied, as all the country can, and do well know. Whereon (as it is reported) he told one Cardillar, my next neighbour, and he told some of Master Gage's men, or to Master Gage himself. And so he sent to his brother, and his brother sent twelve of his men (he being sheriff) in the night before I was taken, and lay in the bushes not far from my house, till about nine of the clock, even the hour that was appointed amongst themselves; for about the same time they thought to have had me within my house.

"They had taken a man of mine, and two of my children that were abroad in the land, and kept them with them till their hour was appointed to come in; and then a little girl, one of my children, saw them come together, and came running in, and cried, 'Mother, mother, yonder cometh twenty men!' I, sitting in my bed, and making of shoe-thongs, heard the words, and suspecting straightway that I was betrayed, I stirred out of my bed, and whipt on my hose, thinking to have gone out of the doors or ever they had been come. My wife, being amazed at the child's words, looked out at the door, and they were hard by. Then she clapped to the door, and barred it fast, even as I came out of my chamber into the hall, and so barred the other: so the house was beset round straightway, and they bade open the doors, or else they would break them in pieces. Then I had no shift, but either I must show myself openly, or make some other remedy.

"So there was a place in my house that was never found, which was at the least, I dare say, twenty times, and sometimes almost of twenty men, searched at once, both by night and day; into which place I went. And as soon as I was in, my wife opened the door, whereby incontinent they came and asked for me; and she said I was not at home. Then they asked her wherefore she shut the door, if I were not at home. She said, because she had been made afraid divers times with such as came to search us; and therefore she shut the door. 'For it is reported,' saith she, 'that whosoever can take my husband, shall hang him or burn him straightway; and therefore I doubt they will serve me or my children so; for I think they may do so unto us, as well as to him,' she said. 'Well,' said they, 'we know he is in the house, and we must search it, for we be the sheriff's men; let us have a candle. It is told us, there be many secret places in your house.' So she lighted a candle, and they sought up and down in every corner that they could find, and had given over; and many of them were gone out of my house into the church-yard, and were talking with my father, and with some that he had brought with him.

"Now when they could not find me, one of them went to him that gave them word that I was at home, and said, 'We cannot find him.' Then he asked them whether they had sought over a window that was in the hall (as it was known afterward); for that same place I had told him of myself. For many times when I came home, I would send for him to bear me company; yet, as it chanced, I had not told him the way into it. Then they began to search anew. One looked up over the window, and spied a little loft, with three or four chests, and the way went in betwixt two of the chests, but there could no man perceive it. Then he asked my wife which was the way into it. 'Here is a place that we have not sought yet.' When she thought they would see it by one means or other, she said the way was into it out of a chamber they were in even now. So she sent them up, and cried, 'Away, away.' Then I knew there was no remedy, but made the best shift for myself that I could. The place was boarded over, and fast nailed, and if I had come out that way that I went in, I must needs come amongst them all in the hall. Then I had no shift, but set my shoulders to the boards that were nailed to the rafters to keep out the rain, and brake them in pieces, which made a great noise; and they that were in the other chamber, seeking for the way into it, heard the noise, and looked out of a window, and spied me, and made an outcry. But yet I got out, and leaped down, having no shoes on. So I took down a lane that was full of sharp cinders, and they came running after, with a great cry, with their swords drawn, crying, 'Strike him, strike him!' which words made me look back, and there was never a one nigh me by a hundred foot: and that was but one, for all the rest were a great way behind. And

I turned about hastily to go my way, and stepped upon a sharp cinder, with one foot; and saving of it, I stepped into a great miry hole, and fell down withal; and ere ever I could arise and get away, he was come in with me. His name is Parker the Wild, as he is counted in all Sussex. But if I had had on my shoes, they had been like to have gone away errandless, if there had been five hundred more, if I had caught the plain ground once, to the which I had not a stone's cast. But it was not God's will; for if it had, I should have escaped from them all, if there had been ten thousand of them.

"Then they took me and led me home again to put on my shoes, and such gear as I had need of. Then said John Fauconer, 'Now your master hath deceived you. You said you were an angel; and if you had been an angel, why did you not fly away from us?' Then said I, 'What be they that ever heard me say that I was angel? It is not the first lie by a thousand that they have made of me. Angels were never begotten of men, nor born of women; but if they had said, they had heard me say, that I do trust I am a saint, they had not said amiss.' 'What, do you think to be a saint?' 'Yea, that I do, and am already in God's sight, I trust in God; for he that is not a saint in God's sight already, is a devil. Therefore he that thinketh scorn to be a saint, let him be a devil.' And with that word they had brought me to mine own door; where met with me my father, and willed me to remember myself. To whom I answered, 'I praise God, I am well remembered whereabout I go. This way was appointed of God for me to be delivered into the hands of mine enemies, but woe unto him by whom I am betrayed! it had been good for that man that he had never been born, if he repent not with speed. The Scriptures are now fulfilled on me; for the father shall be against the son, and the brother shall deliver the brother to death, as it is this day come to pass. Then said one, 'He doth accuse his father; a good child indeed!' 'I accuse him not, but say my mind: for there was no man knew me at home, but my father, my brother, and one more, the which I dare say would not hurt me for all the goods in this town.'

"There was one George Beching, that married one of my sisters, and he thought that I had meant him, that he had betrayed me; and he said, 'Brother, I would you should not think that I was the cause of your taking.' To whom I answered, that I meant him not; I meant one that was nearer of my blood than he was. Then said one of Lewes, that had been a gospeller, and stood from them when I was brought to a sessions to Lewes, and he said, 'I thought you would have been an honest man when you were at Lewes, and I offered Hussey the sheriff to be bound for you, that you should go home to your wife, and come to him again.' Then I remembered what he was, and said, 'Be you the pewterer?' And he said, 'Yea.' Then said I, 'It is happened to you according to the true proverb, as saith St. Peter, The dog is turned to his vomit again, and the sow that is washed to wallow in the mire, and the end of all such will be worse than the beginning.' Then his mouth was stopped, so that he had nothing to say.

"All this while I stood at my door without; for they would not let me go in. So I put on my shoes and my clothes. Then they put on a harness about my arms, made of a dog's slip, which rejoiced my heart, that I was counted worthy to be bound for the name of God. So I took my leave of my wife and children, my father, and other of my friends, never thinking to see them more in this world. For it was so thought of all the country, that I should not live six days after my taking; for they had so reported. But yet I knew it was not as they would, unless God would grant it. I know what God can do; but what he will do I know not: but I am sure he will work all things for the best,

for them that love and fear him. So we drank and went our way, and came to Fide about three of the clock."

And thus much touching the causes and effect of the troubles of Richard Woodman. Now let us see his examinations, which follow in this order.

The first examination of Richard Woodman, before Dr. Christopherson, bishop of Chichester, Dr. Story, Dr. Cooke, and others: the fourteenth day of April, 1557.

First, you shall understand, that I was sent from the sheriffs to London, the twelfth day of April, in the year of our Lord 1557; and afterward, upon the fourteenth day of the same month, I was brought before the bishop of Chichester, and Dr. Story, and Dr. Cooke. So the sheriff's men delivered my warrant and me to the bishop. Then the bishop asked me what my name was. "My name," quoth I, "is Richard Woodman."

Chichester.--"I am sorry for you, and so are all the worshipful men of your country; for it hath been reported to me, that you have been a man of good estimation in all the country, amongst the poor and rich, till now of late. Wherefore look well upon yourself, your wife and children, your father, and other of your friends, and be ruled. Think not yourself wiser than all the realm. Be informed, and you shall have their favours all, as much as ever you had."

Woodman.--"You have charged me with many things wherein I have never offended; and, if you will give me leave, I will show you."

Chichester.--"Yes, I pray you, say your mind."

Woodman.--"If it please you, you have charged me as though I made myself wiser than all the realm: God doth know, I stand to learn of every man that will or can teach me the truth. And whereas you say, I have been well esteemed both of the poor and rich, God doth know, I know not that I have given any just offence, either to rich or poor. And as for my wife and children, God doth know how I love them in him, and my life also. My life, my wife, and my children, are all in God's hands; and I have them all as I had them not, I trust, according to St. Paul's words. But if I had ten thousand pounds of gold, I had rather forego it all, than them, if I might be in choice, and not displease God."

Chichester.--"The sheriff took pains to come to me of love, he said, which he bare to you, as to himself; and said you were desirous to speak with me."

Woodman.--"I thought it meet to appeal to mine ordinary; for they go about to shed my blood unrighteously: for they have laid many unjust things to my charge. Wherefore I thought it meet to appeal to you, that if you can find any fault in me meet to be reformed by God's word, I stand to be reformed; and likewise if my blood shall be shed unrighteously, that it might be required at your hands, because you have taken upon you to be the physician of our country."

Story.--"Is not this a perverse fellow, to lay to your charge, that his blood shall be required at your hands? Thinkest thou that thou shalt be put to death unjustly, that thy blood should be required? No, if he should condemn a hundred such heretics as thou art. I helped to rid a good sort of you; and I promise thee, I will help to rid thee too, the best that I can."

Then I would have answered him, but the bishop desired us both to give him place.

Chichester.--"Well, neighbour Woodman; I call you neighbour, because ye be one of my diocese; and you are sent to me, that I should give you spiritual counsel: for I am your spiritual pastor. Therefore hear what I shall say to you."

Woodman.--"First, I desire you to hear me a few words. You have said, you will give me spiritual counsel. Be you sure that you have the Spirit of God?"

Chichester.--"No, I am not sure of that."

Woodman.--"No! be you not sure of that?"

Chichester.--"No, by St. Mary, I dare not be so bold to say so; I doubt of that."

Woodman.--"Then you be like the waves of the sea, as saith St. James, that be tossed about with the wind, and be unstable in all your ways, and can look for no good thing at the Lord's hand: yea, ye are neither hot nor cold, and therefore God will spew you out of his mouth, as saith St. John."

Then they were in a great fury, especially Dr. Story, saying, "What a perverse fellow is this! He hath the devil within him, and is mad. He is worse than the devil. Now I perceive that it is true that is reported by thee, and it is the pride of all such heretics to boast themselves."

Chichester.--"Yea surely, he is sent to me to learn, and taketh upon him to teach me."

I seeing their blindness and blasphemy, it made my heart melt, and mine eyes gush out with tears, saying, "The Jews said to Christ, he had the devil, and was mad; as you have said here by me. But I know the servant is not above his Master. And God forbid that I should learn of him, that confesseth that he hath not the Spirit of God."

Chichester.--"Why, do you think that you have the Spirit of God?"

Woodman.--"I believe verily that I have the Spirit of God."

Chichester.--"You boast more than ever Paul did, or any of the apostles, the which is great presumption."

Woodman.--"I boast not in myself, but in the gift of God, as Paul did; for he said, he believed verily that he had the Spirit of God, (making thereof no doubts,) in 1 Cor. vii."

Chichester.--"It is not so; you belie the text."

Woodman.--"If it be not so, let me be burned to-morrow."

Story.--"Thou shalt not be burned to-morrow; but thou shalt be burned within these six days, I promise thee."

Chichester.--"If it be so, it is wrong translated, as it is in a thousand places more."

Then one looked in a Latin Testament, and another in a Greek Testament, and they said, it was in them both, that Paul supposed that he had the Spirit of God, but he was not sure.

Chichester.--"Even so I hope and suppose that I have the Spirit of God, but I am not sure."

Woodman.--"If that place be wrong translated, and so many places of the Bible as you say, then I may say with Christ, It cannot be avoided, but offences must be given; but woe unto them by whom they come! I may say, Woe unto false translators! for cursed are they that add or take away. But take you heed that you belie not the translators. I believe they had the fear of God more before their eyes than you report of them. And yet if that place be wrong translated, I can prove by places enough, that Paul had the Spirit of God; as I myself, and all God's elect, have."

Chichester.--"How prove you that?"

Woodman.--"No man can believe that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost. I do believe that Jesus Christ is my Redeemer; and that I shall be saved from all my sins by his death and bloodshedding, as Paul and all the apostles did, and as all faithful people ought to do; which no man can do without the Spirit of God. And as there is no damnation to them that are in Christ Jesus; so is there no salvation to them that are not in Christ Jesus. For he that hath not the Spirit of Christ, is none of his, but is a castaway, as he saith in the same text. And again, We have not received the spirit of bondage, to fear any more; but we have received the Spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father. The same Spirit certifieth our spirits, that we are the sons of God. Here are proofs enough, that Paul was sure that he had the Spirit of God. Also St. John saith, He that believeth not that Christ is come in the flesh, is an antichrist, and denieth both the Father and the Son: which is sin against the Holy Ghost, which shall never be forgiven in this world, nor in the world to come. Beside all this, He that believeth in God, dwelleth in God, and God in him. So is it impossible to believe in God, unless God dwell in us. O good God! what more injury can be done unto thee, than to mistrust that we have received thy Holy Spirit by thy gift? Thus may all men see their blindness, and whose servants they be, as they do declare themselves, both by their words and deeds."

Story.--"O, my Lord, what a heretic is this same! Why hear you him? Send him to prison, to his fellows in the Marshalsea, and they shall be despatched within these twelve days."

When I heard him say so, I rejoiced greatly in my heart, desiring God, if it were his will, to keep him in that mind. For I looked surely to have gone to the bishop of London's coal-house, or Lollards' Tower, yea, I thought myself happy, if I might have gone to Lollards' Tower: but it pleased God to put it in the hearts of them to send me to the Marshalsea amongst our brethren, and my old prison-fellows: so mercifully hath God dealt with me, in easing of my burden that I looked for. So when they perceived that I feared not imprisonment, but rather rejoiced, as they well perceived, then said the bishop, "Methinks he is not afraid of the prison."

Woodman.--"No, I praise the living God."

Story.--"This is a heretic indeed! He hath the right terms of all heretics; 'the living God:' I pray you be there dead gods, that you say the living God?"

Woodman.--"Be you angry with me, because I speak the words which are written in the Bible?"

Story.--"Bible-babble, bible-babble! What speakest thou of the Bible? There is no such word written in all the Bible."

Woodman.--"Then I am much to blame, if it be not so written: Behold, for the offences that you have done, you shall be carried away captive by Nebuchadnezzar to Babylon, and there ye shall be seven generations. And when you be there, you shall see gods of gold, of silver, of wood, and of stone, borne before you and behind you upon men's shoulders, to cast out a fear among the heathen. When you shall see all these abominations, then say you in your heart, It is the living God that ought to be worshipped. Here I prove my saying true, both that there is a living God, and that there be dead gods. Also David saith in the Psalms, My soul hath a desire and longing to enter into the courts of the Lord: my heart and my flesh rejoice in the living God: with divers other places that I could recite. Wherefore I marvel that you rebuke me for speaking the truth."

Chichester.--"I do not deny but it is written, and is the truth, and I know it as well as you; but such is the speech of all heretics."

Story.--"My Lord, I will tell you how you shall know a heretic by his words, because I have been more used to them than you have been; that is, they will say, 'the Lord,' and 'we praise God,' and 'the living God:' by these words you shall know a heretic."

Woodman.--"All these words are written for our learning, and we are commanded of the prophets to use them daily, as this: The Lord's name be praised from the rising up of the sun, unto the going down of the same. Also, As many as fear the Lord, say always, The Lord be praised."

Story.--"My Lord, send him to prison, you shall do no good with him. I will go to church, and leave you here. This is an old heretic. Wast thou never before me ere now?"

Woodman.--"Yes, forsooth, that I have."

Story.--"Yea, I trow so; and I sent thee to the bishop of London, and he released thee; and thou promisedst him to be an honest man, and that thou wouldst be of the true catholic church; which thou hast not fulfilled."

Woodman.--"I promised him nothing but I have fulfilled it. No man shall be able to prove the contrary."

Story.--"Well, it will be tried well enough. My Lord, I will take my leave, I fear me you shall do this man no good."

Chichester.--"I would not have you to use such speeches as you do, as 'the Lord be praised,' and 'the living God,' with such-like words. Can you not say as well, 'our Lord,' or 'our God,' as otherwise?"

Woodman.--"I marvel why you should reprove me there-for, seeing they be the words of God. I do not refuse to say 'our God,' or 'our Lord,' when I talk of the Scripture where it is written. If I should, it must follow, that I denied the words of God, and must needs be a heretic; but I do not. Wherefore, I marvel what you mean to find fault therein. It seemeth to me, that you mistrust that I believe not as you do."

Chichester.--"Yea, that is my meaning indeed."

Woodman.--"I believe in the living God: if you do not so, then our beliefs be not alike indeed. But if it please you to examine me upon any particular matter, now, or at any other time, I will make you answer thereto, by God's help."

Chichester.--"Though you believe in God, I can prove you believe not as you ought to do, as I can show you by your hand-writing. You have denied the catholic church; wherefore he that erreth from the church, it cannot be said that his faith is good. Wherefore be ruled by the church, from the which ye have erred. I can show you perilous things of your writing, if it should be known; but ye shall not be hurt for me, if you will come to any good order. But I promise you I would not for three thousand pounds some had so much against me, as I can show against you of your own handwriting, which you cannot deny."

Woodman.--"I will not deny my hand, by God's help; for I know well, I have written nothing at any time but the truth. There may be things written against me, reporting it to be mine, and yet be not; but my hand cannot well be counterfeited; there be enough that know my hand."

Chichester.--"Do you know it yourself, if you see it?"

Woodman.--"Yea, that I do."

Then he arose and fetched a great bundle of writings, and opened them, and bade me come see. I looked on them, and it was my hand indeed.

Chichester.--"How say you? Is it not your own writing?"

Woodman.--"Yes, surely it is."

Chichester.--"How say you to this, is not this your hand also?"

I looked, and it was. And I said, "Yes, verily is it."

Chichester.--"Well, you know what it meaneth, I dare say."

Woodman.--"Yea, I know it very well. Here is a great deal, the which I had thought had been in my house, but I thank God that it is here; for in this you shall try whether it be true or not. For in this is contained all the talk that was betwixt the commissioners and me, when I was before them five times, and also before the bishop of London divers times: and I am sure, neither you nor they shall find any words false therein written. And I think the sheriff's men, when they searched my house for me, when I was taken, found this, and carried it with them: but I never knew it before now. But I am not sorry for it, but am rather glad: for herein you may see all the wrong that I have received at their hands; and how long I was in prison; and how I was tossed up and down; and how I was delivered at length; and by this you may try whether it be so or not. I dare say they that found it, and they that brought it to you, had thought it would have turned me to displeasure; but in very deed all things work for the best, to them that fear God."

Chichester.--"Indeed, I find no great fault in this; but here is perilous gear, here is sedition. This was set up upon the church door; you know it well enough."

Woodman.--"Indeed I wrote it to the priest, and to others that took upon them to fetch my child out of my house without my leave, and used it at their pleasure, when they knew it was baptized already, as they were well certified before. Wherefore my conscience compelled me to show them my mind in writing, wherein is contained nothing but the Scriptures of God, rebuking them for their folly."

Chichester.--"Yea, but it is terribly meant, and uncharitably. It is such gear coupled together, I promise you, as I never saw the like. But I promise you, I will make the best of it. And I protest before God, I would you should do as well as mine own soul and body. Be contented to be reformed. God hath done his part on you. Cast not yourself away. Remember your wife and children, and the poor that lack your occupying. Mean to follow your vocation. Remember you are not called to be a teacher nor a preacher. St. Paul saith, Let every man walk wherein he is called, and therein abide. Remember you are called to another vocation; for God's sake, walk therein. It is not your office, to do as you have done. You might do as much good (by the report of worshipful men) as any man might do in all the country, by your example; and if you would follow the laws of the catholic church, it would be an occasion to bring a great many into the true church, that are out, as you are."

Woodman.--"I would not that you should say, that I am out of the church of God; for I am not, but do allow the church of God according to his word. Yea, if I were abroad, if I could win any into the true church, that be out, by any means that I could use, I would be very glad. For God knoweth I love all people as myself. And whereas you say I have been a preacher, it is not so. I never took any such thing upon me, as it is well known. But as for teaching, I cannot deny; for it becometh every man to teach and instruct his household in the fear of God, and all others as far as he can, that desire it of him. And whereas you have blamed me for reading the Scripture, and

leaving my vocation, (as you say,) I left not my vocation in reading the Scripture; for I trust I followed my vocation the better there-for. And the greatest cause that I was compelled to read the Scriptures, was, because the preachers and teachers were so changeable."

Chichester.--"No? Did you not preach at a fair?"

Woodman.--"No, surely; but it was so reported. I was at a fair, indeed. Whilst I was in prison, I had leave of the council to go home to pay my debts; and then I went to a fair to sell cattle, and there met with me divers poor men that I had set a-work, and of love asked me how I did, and how I could away with imprisonment. And I showed them how God had dealt with me, and how he would deal with all them that put their trust in him; and this they called preaching. And, since that, it hath been reported that I have baptized children, and married folks, the which I never did; for I was never minister. Wherefore if I had so done, I had done contrary to the order of the apostles, as God forbid I should."

Chichester.--"I am well apaid, if you be faultless in those things; for I have heard say the contrary."

Woodman.--"I have showed you the truth, and that no man living shall be able to prove the contrary."

Chichester.--"You said, you do not disallow the true catholic church?"

Woodman.--"No, that I do not."

Chichester.--"Why do you not then go to the church? You come not there, it is informed me."

Woodman.--"I trust I am in the true church every day. But to tell you the truth, I come not at the church where the most do resort: for if I should, I should offend, and be offended. For at the last time that I was there, I offended many, and was offended myself. Wherefore, for conscience' sake, I would not come there. For I was sent to prison for my coming there, and now I am sent to you for hiding thence. So they will not be pleased any way with me, for they seek my life. Wherefore look you to it, for I am now in your hands, and you ought to be a house of defence against mine enemies. For if you suffer them to kill me, my blood shall be required at your hands. If you can find any just cause in me worthy of death by God's word, you may condemn me yourself, and not offend God. Wherefore look to it; the matter is weighty; deliver me not into their hands, and think so to be discharged."

Chichester.--"I tell you truth, I can do little in the matter; for I have not full authority as yet of mine office; but I will send for you and talk with you, if I wist I should do you any good."

Woodman.--"I would be glad to talk with you, and to show you my mind in any thing that you shall demand of me, now, or at any other time."

So then he desired the sheriff's men to tarry dinner with him; "that this man," said he, "may dine with me also: for it is possible that he may have no great store of meat whither he shall go."

So we tarried dinner with him, and had no further talk, neither how to prove where the true church of God is, nor of the sacraments, nor of any other thing pertaining to me-ward, not for the space of two hours or more: but he entered in talk with me, how I understood many scriptures; and for bishops' and priests' marriages; and whether Paul had a wife or not. To whom I answered, "It is a thing that I have little to do with, as concerning marriages; but I am very well content to talk with you in the matter, as far as my poor learning will serve." So when he had talked with me of divers scriptures, he liked my talk well. He asked me how I said by St. Paul, whether he were married or not? To whom I answered, "I can prove by the Scriptures that he was never married."

Chichester.--"How prove you that?"

Woodman.--"I will prove it well enough, by God's help. But yet I will prove that Paul might have had a wife, as well as the other apostles had."

Chichester.--"Why, had the apostles wives?"

Woodman.--"Yes, all, saving Paul and Barnabas, as I understand it. For these are Paul's words in 1 Cor. ix.: Am I not an apostle? Am I not free? have I not seen Jesus Christ? are not ye my work in the Lord? And if I be not an apostle to others, yet to you I am an apostle: for you are the seal of my apostleship in the Lord. Mine answer to them that ask me, is this: Have we not power to eat and to drink? either have we not power to lead about a sister to wife, as well as the other apostles have, and as the brethren of the Lord? Either have not Barnabas and I power thus to do? So this text proveth that Paul and Barnabas were unmarried. But Paul declareth that the rest had wives, and that they had power likewise so to have, but they found no need thereof. But Paul declareth in 1 Cor. vii., that he that hath no power over his own flesh, may marry: for it is better to marry than to burn. Wherefore to avoid fornication, saith he, let every man have his wife. He. saith, Let every man have his wife, and every woman her husband. By this place of Scripture I understand, that bishops and priests may have wives, because they are men; rather than burn, or commit fornication. But I think verily, he that can abstain, having power of his own will, doth best; but if he marry he sinneth not."

So then he debated the Scriptures with me divers ways, that a bishop or a priest ought not to have a wife. But I proved by divers scriptures, both in the old law, and in the new, that women were at first made for the help of men, the which was spoken generally to all men. "Wherefore," said I, "every man may have a woman, and sin not, in honest matrimony; as well bishops and deacons, as other men, which you call priests, if they be true ministers of Jesus Christ, and of that order that bishops and deacons were, in Paul's time. For Paul declareth to Timothy, 1 Tim. iii., that a bishop should be the husband of one wife, and how they should be honestly apparelled, and how they should bring up their children; and likewise the deacons. This," said I, "proveth most plainly, that both bishops and deacons had wives in the apostles' time;" the which he could not deny. But then he alleged, that no bishop nor priest might take

a wife, after he had taken upon him that office, but if he had a wife before he took the office, tried meet for the purpose, for his life and for his learning, he might keep his wife, and bring up his children, according to St. Paul's meaning to Timothy; or else might they have no wives.

Then said I, "I think Paul's meaning in that place was, that a man that hath had two wives, might not be made a bishop nor a deacon, if he had never so much learning. But that place maketh not that a bishop or a deacon may not marry after they be made bishops and deacons: for I am sure that Paul was in the state of a bishop, when he said, he had power to lead about a sister to wife, as well as the other apostles had. Here Paul declareth that it was in his power to have a wife, after he had the office of a bishop; which was not in his power, if he had been forbidden of God. Thus have I showed you my mind in this behalf, both of Paul, and also for the marriages of bishops and priests, as I understand the Scriptures. Howbeit, it is a thing the which I have little to do withal; but as you required me to say my mind in that matter, so I have done."

Chichester.--"Marry, I am glad that you have said as you have done. Many do affirm boldly, that Paul had a wife, and yet cannot prove whether he had or had not, by the Scriptures; but you have said very well. I am glad that ye are contented to be ruled by God's word; and if you will be contented likewise in other matters, no doubt you shall do well: therefore, gentle goodman Woodman, be ruled. God hath given you a good wit. I protest before God, I would you should do as well as mine own soul and my body, and so would (I dare say) all the worshipful men in the country, as they have reported to me."

Woodman.--"Why, my Lord, I take God to record (whom I trust to serve) that I would be as glad to live in rest and peace, as any man in all the world, if I might. And I stand to learn, and am contented to be reformed of any thing that I hold, if it can be proved that it be not agreeable to God's word. And the truth is so, I have talked with a dozen priests at the least, since I was delivered out of prison, of certain matters, and they have not been able to certify me in any thing that I have asked them: and therefore they have complained on me to the sheriff and justices; making tales and lies on me, to turn me to displeasure, as much as in them lieth. I promise you, there be as many unlearned priests in your diocese, as in any one diocese in England, I think; the more it is to be lamented."

Chichester.--"I promise you, I do much lament it myself: for I hear say no less but it is true, that you say. I would I could remedy it, but I cannot; but I will do the best that I can, when I come into the country, and I will be glad to talk with you some other time, when I am somewhat better at ease. You see, I am very tender now, as I have been this half year and more. Come to dinner; our dinner is ready. I caused you not to tarry for any great cheer that you shall have, nor would I you should think that I go about to win you with my meat: but you be welcome with all my heart. Come, sit down."

I thanked him, and went to dinner; and there dined with him a merchantman, one of the sheriff's men, and I, and no more; and we had good cheer, God be praised there-for. We had no talk of the Scriptures all the dinner while; but when dinner was done, the bishop said, "Now call Master Story's man. For the commissioners have

committed you to prison; but I will send for you or ever it be long; and I pray God I may do you good. I would be very glad of it."

Woodman.--"If it please you to send for me, I would be very glad to talk with you, for I like your talk well. And then if it please your Lordship to examine me upon any particular matter, I will show you my mind therein, by God's grace, without dissimulation. But I pray you, let me have nothing to do with Master Story, for he is a man without reason, methinketh."

Chichester.--"Well, or ever you go, how say you to the seven sacraments? Let me hear what you say to them, that I may be the willinger to send for you again."

Woodman.--"I know not seven sacraments."

Chichester.---"Then what shall I talk with you? How many do you know?"

Woodman.--"I know but two; one the sacrament of baptism, and the other the supper of the Lord. But if you can justly prove by God's word, that there be more than two, I stand to be reformed."

Chichester.--"If I prove not seven by God's word, then believe me not." And so he bade me farewell.

Then the sheriff's two men, and one of Dr. Story's men, carried me to Dr. Cooke's house, which Dr. Cooke commanded them to carry me to the sheriff's prison in Southwark, saying, "He shall be called before us again shortly, and all his fellows; and we shall despatch them from troubling the country any more."

And so I was brought to the Marshalsea, where I now am merry, (God be praised there-for,) looking for judgment of my flesh: for they intend to despatch me shortly, if God will give them leave; but God hath their hearts in his hands, and they can do nothing to me, but as God will give them leave. Wherefore I commit my cause to God only, and I am sure there shall not one hair of my head perish without my heavenly Father's will, although I bide never so much trouble. Job perished not for all his trouble, although God gave the devil leave to trouble and try him divers and many ways, as God hath suffered his members to trouble and try me divers and many ways, I praise God. They shall all as little prevail against my faith (I have no mistrust) as the devil prevailed against Job, whatsoever they do with my goods, life, or body. For he that kept Job in all his trouble, neither slumbereth nor sleepeth, but keepeth me, and all his elect; that whether we live or die, it shall be to the praise and glory of God. For if we live, we live at the Lord's will, and if we die, we die to the Lord's will: so, whether we live or die, we are the Lord's, blessed be his name there-for.

Wherefore, dear brethren and sisters, to whom this my writing shall come, be of good cheer, and fear not what man can do unto you; for they can but kill the body: but fear him that hath power to kill both body and soul. And yet once again I bid you be of good cheer; for the sheriff, with divers other gentlemen and priests, whilst I was at the sheriff's house, said to me, that all the heretics in the country hung on me, as the people did in times past upon St. Augustine or St. Ambrose, or suchlike. Wherefore said they, "Look well on it; you have a great thing to answer for." To the which I

answered; "I pray God lay nothing more to my charge, than he will do for heresy;" as I am sure he will not. For he hath set my sins as far from me, as it is from the east to the west: so that I am sure they shall never come near to me any more. Yea, and that they call heresy, we serve God withal. And I am sure there is no man nor woman that bangeth on me, but on God. But yet that is their imaginations and thoughts, that if they might win me to them, they should win a great many likewise; and thinking to kill me, if they cannot win me, as I trust in God, and am sure, they never shall, by God's grace, if it were possible for them to kill me ten times. For I am so linked to Christ in a chain by faith, that it is impossible for men to loose us asunder, neither for life nor death, I praise my Lord God there-for. And no doubt their full intent and purpose is to kill me, thinking thereby to make others afraid; which death of my body were best of all for me, if God were so pleased. But if I may live for the comfort of others, his name be praised therefor. I know what he *can* do; but what he *will* do, I know not. But if death be offered me, so that I cannot refuse it without displeasing of God, I trust in God I shall not offend my brethren in receiving of death, but shall be rather an occasion of the strengthening of their faith, by choosing and receiving of it, and that with joy. For as Christ hath given his life for us, so ought we to give our lives for the defence of the gospel, and comfort of our brethren. And whereas the bishop saith, he will prove seven sacraments, be you out of doubt he shall never be able to do it, no more than he hath proved other arguments with me already.

Thus fare ye well, from the Marshalsea, where I now am, as a sheep appointed to be slain, God be praised there-for.

The second examination of Richard Woodman, before the bishop of Chichester, and two of his chaplains; and Dr. Story at the last came to us, the twenty-seventh day of April.

First, I was sent for to the Marshalsea by Dr. Story, and was carried to his house besides St. Nicholas' Shambles; and when I had spoken to him, he sent me to the bishop of Chichester, and said he would come to him himself straightway. And when we were in the bishop's hall, we had not tarried long but the bishop sent for me: and when I came before him I did my duty to him as much as I could.

Then said the bishop, "You be welcome: how do you now?"

Woodman.--"Well, I praise God, thanking your Lordship for the gentle talk that you had with me at my last departing from you."

Chichester.--"Well, goodman Woodman, I have sent for you of love and goodwill that I bear to you, to talk with you; and I would have you tell me your mind in few words. For indeed the last time that I talked with you, our talk was so long, that I fell into a great drought thereby, and have been the worse in my body ever since. Wherefore I pray you show me your mind briefly in those particular matters that I shall demand of you, according to your promise that you made when you were with me the last time. How say you, will you?"

Woodman.--"Yea, forsooth; I will answer to any thing that you shall demand of me (by God's help) as well as I can."

Chichester.--"How say you by the seven sacraments? for there we left off, and there we will begin again. You said then there were but two. How say you now to it? will you deny all saving two

Woodman.--"I say now, as I said then. You said there be seven sacraments; and I said, I knew but two; but if you could approve seven by God's word, when I came before you again, I must needs grant them. And you said, if you could not prove them by God's word, I should not believe them. And now I am come to see how well you can prove them." Herewith he was moved and all his chaplains.

Chichester.--"By God and my troth, I ween he thinketh I cannot prove them. How say you to the sacrament of matrimony?"

Woodman.--"Why, my Lord, St. Paul saith to Timothy, a bishop should be faultless, and you use much swearing, which is a great fault in a bishop of all others, that should be an example to the flock." Then he and his prelates were in a great rage with me, because I reprov'd him for his swearing.

Chichester.--"What! I perceive this man is worse than he was the last day; what! he taketh upon him to teach me to speak, as though I could not tell what I had to do?"

Priest.--"So methinketh, my Lord; he is a stout fellow indeed, as we have seen."

Woodman.--"Yea, I am stout, because I do that I am commanded. I dare not for my life hold my peace: for I should bear your sin, the which I will not do for any of you all, I tell you plainly."

Chichester.--"Where find you, that you are commanded to reprove me."

Woodman.--"If thou see thy brother sin, reprove him: if he repent, thou hast won thy brother. But you repent it not, methinketh, but rather go about to maintain the same. Christ saith, He that breaketh one of the least of my commandments, and teacheth men so, shall be called least in the kingdom of heaven; and you go about to teach men so, so far as I see."

Priest.--"Why, my Lord, this man is past cure. I see no hope in him."

Chichester.--"No, so methinketh. I will never talk with him more. Go, call Master Story: let him do with him what he will. He hath been with his fellows in the Marshalsea, and now he is worse than he was before. I had some hope in him the other day; but now I see none."

Woodman.--"No, I praise God, my faith hangeth upon no men, but upon God."

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

Priest.--"Nay, my Lord, I think he is not the worse for them; but I fear me they be the worse for him. I know this man of old, before mine old Lord."

Woodman.--"Well, my Lord, look well to it; will you deliver me to other men to shed my blood, and so think to wash your hands of me, as Pilate did by Christ? Nay, you cannot be so discharged."

Chichester.--"I have nothing to do with you; but of my gentleness I have sent for you, because you said, you would declare your mind in any particular matter I would demand of you."

Woodman.--"Why, I do not deny but I will do so, if you do demand it of me. But you go about to deliver me to others to kill me; and I know that there is none that hath to do with me but you."

Chichester.--"I am not consecrated yet: wherefore my Lord Cardinal may examine you, and condemn you, or my Lord of London: for you are now in his diocese."

Woodman.--"Yea, my Lord, is the matter even so? Then I perceive whereabouts you go. Nay, I will talk no more with you then, if you be at that point. Ask me what you will, but I will show you nothing of my mind. I promise you I will not answer in particular matters, and so you to accuse me to others, and they to kill me."

Chichester.--"I go not about to kill you, but would be glad to hear your mind in the sacraments; and if you understand them not aright, I would be glad with all my heart to show you my mind, how I understand them. For I would you should do as well as mine own self."

Woodman.--"If you would talk with me to do me good, I would be content to hear you, and show you my mind; otherwise I would be loth."

Chichester.--"Nay, I will promise you, if I can do you no good, I will do you no harm, for if I meant to do you harm, I could lay your own handwriting against you; but I will not: wherefore be in no doubt of me. How say you to the sacrament of matrimony? is it a sacrament or no? How think you by it?"

Woodman.--"I think it is a holy institution, ordained of God in paradise, and so to continue to the world's end."

Chichester.--"Lo, now you shall see how you be deceived in that, as you be in all the rest. Come hither. You can read Latin, I am sure."

Woodman.--"Yea, I can read Latin, but I understand very little."

Chichester.--"Come to me; you shall see that Paul calleth it a holy sacrament: for these be the words, For this cause shall a man leave father and mother, and shall be joined to his wife; and two shall be made one flesh. This is a great sacrament."

Woodman.--"I remember such a saying, but St. Paul calleth it not a sacrament; but he saith, It is a great mystery."

Chichester.--"Where saith he so?"

Woodman.--"I am not sure in what text it is, but I am sure these be St. Paul's words; and that he calleth it not a sacrament in all his writings."

Chichester.--"What! the last day ye were full of Scriptures; 'here it is written,' and 'there it is written.' What! we can rehearse the Scriptures as well as you. Wherefore, if we be sure it is written, it is no great matter for the place. Come hither; I will show you the place, I think, that you mean."

I looked, and it was written, *sacramentum*: "I know," said I, "it is 'a great mystery,' in the English translation."

Chichester." I permit it to be 'a mystery.' What is a mystery?"

Woodman.--"A mystery is (I take it) unseen; for he saith, he speaketh betwixt Christ and the congregation. So the great mystery that he speaketh of, I take to be the faith of them that be married, which is hid in Christ; the which we see not, but Christ. But the deed which is in the congregation, which is the outward marriage, we see; but the inward marriage of the heart we see not. Wherefore Paul calleth it a mystery. And therefore if it be a sacrament, it is invisible to us: it is not seen, as other sacraments be."

Chichester.--"Nay, I tell you it is a visible sacrament, seen as the others be: for is not the marriage seen? is not the man and woman seen?"

Woodman.--"My Lord, I pray you, what is a sacrament?"

Chichester.--"It is the sign of a holy thing."

Woodman.--"Methinks you have certified me very well. There need not be a sign of a holy thing, where the holy thing is itself." Then his chaplains would have interrupted me, but I desired my Lord I might say out my mind in the matter. So, with much ado, he bade me say what I could.

"There need not to be a sign of a thing, where the thing is itself. Matrimony is a holy thing itself, and is ended outwardly, and such need no more signs but themselves: wherefore it cannot be a sacrament, as others be."

Chichester.--"Lo, how much you speak against yourself. And for an example, I come by a hosier, and there hangeth a pair of hose, the which be hose, and be a sign of hose that be to sell within."

Priest.--"How say you to this? Now my Lord hath hit you home indeed."

Woodman.--"He hath hit me perilously, I tell you, with sophistry, to blind mine eyes withal. I marvel you be not all ashamed of it. I can answer that to all your shames, if I might be justly heard, I tell you plainly."

Priest.--"What, you be angry methinks."

Woodman.--"I am not angry; but I am earnest, I tell you, to see your blindness and folly. I talked of the Scriptures that be written, and it is God's word, to prove my matter true by; and you will prove your matter true by a pair of hose. And as well can you prove it by that, as by God's word?"

Priest.--"Why, is there nothing true, but that is written in the Bible?"

Woodman.--"St. Paul saith to the Galatians, If an angel come from heaven, and preach any other doctrine than may be proved by God's word, hold him accursed: and so do I, I tell you plainly."

Priest.--"Here is a Testament in my hand: if I hurl him in the fire and burn him, have I burned God's word, or not? I will buy a new one for sixteen-pence."

Woodman.--"I say, you have burned God's word, and I believe he that will burn a Testament willingly, would burn God himself, if he were here, if he could: for he and his word are all one."

Then they made a great laughing at it.

Woodman.--"Laugh on," quoth I. "Your laughing will be turned to weeping, and all such joy will be turned to mourning, if you repent it not with speed."

Then the bishop began to cloak the priest's folly, saying, "Why, if my counting-house were full of books, and if my house should be on fire by chance, and be so burned, were God's word burned?"

Woodman.--"No, my Lord, because they were burned against your will; but yet if you should burn them willingly, or think it well, and not be sorry for it, you burn God's word, as well as he. For he that is not sorry for a shrewd turn, doth allow it to be good."

Chichester.--"Follow your vocation; you have a little learning. We have an altar, whereof you may not eat. What meaneth St. Paul thereby?"

Woodman.--"There is no man so foolish to eat stones, I trow."

Chichester.--"What mockers and scorners be you, to say no man will be so foolish to eat stones! it is a plain mock."

Woodman.--"Why, my Lord, you said I had no learning, nor knowledge, nor understanding, wherefore it becometh you to make things more plain to me, and not to ask me such dark questions, and yet blame me too; methinks it is too much."

Chichester.--"I dare say, you know what it meaneth well enough. The most fool in my house will understand my meaning better than you do."

There stood some of his men not far off, talking together beside a window. He called one of them by his name.

Chichester.--"Come hither. I say to thee, Thou shalt not eat of this table. What do I mean thereby?"

The man.--"Forsooth, my Lord, you would not have me eat of this table;" laying his hand thereupon.

With this answer he made all them in the house to fall on laughing; and I could not hold it in, but burst out with laughter, and said, "He hath expounded the matter almost as well as I."

Chichester.--"He meaneth well enough, if you would understand him.-- Answer me again, to make it more plain. I say to thee, Thou shalt not eat of this table. What mean I thereby?"

The man.--"Forsooth you would not have me eat this table."

These words made them all laugh: wherewith the bishop was almost angry, because the answer proved no better, and said, "He meaneth that I would not have him eat any of the meat that is set upon this table. How sayest thou? dost thou not mean so?"

The man.--"Yes forsooth, my Lord, that was my meaning indeed."

Woodman.--"Yea, my Lord, now you have told him what you mean, he can say so too; and so could I have done, (as little wit as I have,) if you had said, Paul meant that no man might eat of that which was offered upon, the altar, but the priests."

Chichester.--"Yea, I perceive you understand the meaning of Paul well enough, but that you list to cavil with me."

Woodman.--"Why, my Lord, do you think I understand such dark places of the Scripture, without learning? You said even now, I had no knowledge nor learning; wherefore I answered you, as you judged of me."

Chichester.--"Well, let this matter pass, and let us turn to the principal again. How say you by the sacrament of the altar?"

Woodman.--"You mean the sacrament of the body and blood of Jesus Christ."

Chichester.--"I mean the sacrament of the altar, and so I say."

Woodman.--"You mean Christ to be the altar, do you not?"

Chichester.--"I mean the sacrament of the altar in the church. What! is it so strange to you?"

Woodman.--"It is strange to me indeed, if you mean the altar of stone."

Chichester.--"It is that altar that I mean."

Woodman.--"I understand not the altar so."

Chichester.--"No, I think so indeed; and that is the cause that you he deceived. I pray you, how do you understand the altar then?"

Woodman.--"If you will give me leave till I have done, I will show you how I understand the altar, and where it is."

Chichester.--"Yes, you shall have leave to say your mind, as much as you will."

Woodman.--"It is written in Matthew xviii., That wheresoever two or three be gathered together in Christ's name, there is he in the midst among them: and whatsoever they ask the Father upon earth, it shall be granted them in heaven. Agreeing to the fifth of Matthew, saying, When thou comest to offer thy gift at the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee, leave there thy offering, and go first and be reconciled to thy brother, and then offer thy gift." The priests would have interrupted me, but the bishop bade them let me alone.

Chichester.--"You shall hear a pretty conclusion anon."

Woodman.--"I pray you let me make an end, and then find fault with me, if you can. Now to the matter. In these two places of Scripture, I prove that Christ is the true altar, whereon every Christian man and woman ought to come and offer their gifts. First, wheresoever the people are gathered together in Christ's name, there is he in the midst; and where he is, there is the altar: so that we may be bold to come and offer our gift, if we be in love and charity. If we be not, we must leave there our offering, and go first and be reconciled to our brother, and agree with him quickly, and so forth; and then come and offer the gift. Some will say, How shall I agree with my adversary, when he is not nigh by a hundred miles? may I not pray till I have spoken with him? To all such I answered, If thou presume to pray among the faithful, wishing any evil to any man, woman, or child, thou askest vengeance upon thyself; for no such asketh any thing else of the Lord in his prayer. Wherefore agree with thy adversary, that is, make thy life agreeable to God's word. Say in thy heart without dissimulation, that thou askest God and all the world forgiveness from the bottom of thy heart, intending never to offend them any more. Then all such may be bold to come and offer their gift, their prayer on the altar, where the people of God be gathered together. Thus have I showed you my mind, both of the altar, and of the offering, as I understand it."

Chichester.--"Do you understand the offering and the altar so? I never heard any man understand it so; no, not Luther the great heretic, that was condemned by a general council, and his picture burned."

Woodman.--"If he were a heretic, I think he understood it not so indeed; but I am sure all Christians ought to understand it so."

Chichester.--"Oh! what vain-glory is in you, as though you understood all things, and other men nothing. Hear me: I will show you the true understanding, both of the altar, and the offering on the altar. We have an altar, said Paul, that ye may not eat of: meaning thereby, that no man might eat of that which was offered on the altar, but the priest. For in Paul's time, all the living that the priest had, the people came and offered it on the altar, money, or other things: and when the people came to offer it, and then remembered that they had any thing against their brother, then they left their offering upon the altar, and went and were reconciled to their brother: and they came again and offered their gift, and the priest had it. This is the true understanding of the place that you have rehearsed: wherefore you be deceived."

Woodman.--"My Lord, that was the use in the old law. Christ was the end of that. But indeed I perceive by Paul's words, the sacrifice was offered in Paul's time; yet that maketh not that it was well done, but he rebuked it. Wherefore it seemeth to me, that you be deceived."

Chichester.--"Who shall be judges betwixt us in this matter?"

Woodman.--"The twelfth of John declareth who shall be judge in the last day."

Chichester.--"You mean the word shall judge the word. How can that be?"

Woodman.--"St. Peter saith, The Scripture hath no private interpretation: but one scripture must be understood by another."

Chichester.--"You will understand it one way, and I will understand it another way; and who shall be judges betwixt us then?"

Woodman.--"The true church of God is able to discuss all doubts; to whom I refer it."

Chichester.--"I am glad you say so, if you will say so indeed."

Woodman.--"My Lord, I never meant otherwise."

Chichester.--"The church of God doth allow the sacrament of the altar."

Woodman.--"What do you offer now upon the altar?"

Chichester.--"We offer up, in the blessed sacrament of the altar, the body of Christ, to pacify the wrath of God the Father;" and therewith they all put off their caps to the abominable idol.

Woodman.--"St. Paul saith to the Hebrews, We are sanctified by offering of the body of Jesus Christ upon the cross once for all: and every priest is daily ministering, and oftentimes offereth one manner of offering, which can never take away sins; and that is the offering that you use to offer. As far as I can see, you be

priests after the order of Aaron, that offered up sacrifice for their own sins, and the sins of the people."

Chichester.--"Nay, Aaron's sacrifice was with blood, which signifieth the death of Christ, the which was ended upon the cross by his bloodshedding: but we are priests after the order of Melchizedech, the which offereth bread to the king in remembrance, and signifieth the giving of Christ's body in bread and wine at the last supper, the which he gave to his disciples, and commanded it to be used to the end of the world. This is the sacrifice that we offer, according to his word."

Woodman.--"Methinketh you have made the matter very plain to me, that as Christ was the end of all sacrifices, so was he the beginning of the sacraments, willing them to be used in the remembrance of him, to the world's end."

Chichester.--"What, in remembrance of him, and not himself, as his word saith, Take, eat, this is my body! It is not the sign only, but the thing itself. How say you? Is it not his body, after the words be spoken by the priest? How say you? Go briefly to work, for I cannot long tarry with you."

Woodman.--"My Lord, if you will answer me to one sacrament, I will answer you to another."

Chichester.--"Yes, I am very well contented with that."

Woodman.--"If you say the words of baptism over the water, and there be no child there, is there true baptism?"

Chichester.--"No, there must be the water, the word, and the child; and then it is baptism."

Woodman.--"Very well. Then if a child be baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, it is not truly baptized."

Chichester.--"No: the child must be baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and the Holy Ghost; or else it is not truly baptized."

Woodman.--"Then there may be nothing added nor taken away from the sacraments: may there?"

Chichester.--"No," said the bishop.

Woodman.--"Now, my Lord, I will answer to you, if it please you."

Chichester.--"Well, how say you, Take, eat; this is my body: is it not Christ's body, as soon as the words be said?"

Woodman.--"My Lord, I will answer you by your own words, that you answered me, which is true: the water, the word, and the child, all these together make baptism; the bread, wine, and the word make the sacrament; and the eater, eating in true faith, maketh it his body. Here I prove it is not Christ's body, but to the faithful

receiver: for he said, Take, eat, this my body. He called it not his body before eating, but after eating. And St. Augustine saith, 'Believe, and thou hast eaten.' And St. John saith, He that believeth in God, dwelleth in God, and God in him: wherefore it is impossible to dwell in God, and to eat his body, without a true faith."

Priest.--"Then the faith of the receiver maketh it his body, and not his word, by your saying. I pray you what did Judas eat?"

Woodman.--"Judas did eat the sacrament of Christ, and the devil withal."

Priest.--"He ate the body of Christ unworthily, as St. Paul saith."

Woodman.--"Nay, St. Paul saith no such thing. He speaketh not of eating of his body unworthily, but of the sacrament unworthily. For he saith, Whosoever eateth of this bread and drinketh of this cup unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation, because he maketh no difference of the Lord's body; and not because he eateth the Lord's body. If Judas had ate Christ's body, it must needs follow, that Judas is saved. For Christ saith in John vi., Whosoever eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life, and I will raise him up again at the last day."

Priest.--"My Lord, this man is an interpreter after his own mind."

Chichester.--"I see it is but folly to talk with you: it is but lost labour. How say you? do you not believe that after the words be said, there remaineth neither bread nor wine, but the very body of Christ. really? Make me a plain answer, for I will talk no more with you."

Woodman.--"I will make you a direct answer, how I believe of the true sacrament. I do believe that if I come to receive the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ truly ministered, believing that Christ was born for me, and that he suffered death for me, and that I shall be saved from my sins by his blood-shedding, and so receive the sacrament in that remembrance, then I believe I do receive wholly Christ, God and man, mystically by faith: this is my belief."

Chichester.--"Why, then it is no body without faith! God's word is of no force, as you count it."

Woodman.--"My Lord, I have told you my mind without dissimulation, and more you get not of me, without you will talk with me by the Scriptures; and if you will do so, I will begin anew with you, and prove it more plainly three or four manner of ways, that you shall not say nay, to that I have said, yourself."

Then they made a great laughing, and said, "This is a heretic indeed; it is time he were burned:" which words moved my spirit, and I said to them, "Judge not, lest you be judged: for as you judge me, you shall be judged yourselves. For that you call heresy, I serve God truly with, as you all shall well know, when you shall be in hell, and have blood to drink, and shall be compelled to say for pain, This was the man that we jested on, and whose talk we thought foolishness, and his end to be without honour: but now we may see how he is counted among the saints of God, and we are

punished. These words shall you say, being in hell, if you repent not with speed, if you consent to the shedding of my blood: wherefore look to it, I give you counsel."

Priest.--"What! you be angry, methinks. Now I will say more to you than I thought to have done. You were at Bexhill a twelvemonth ago, and sent for the parson and talked with him in the churchyard, and would not go into the church; for you said, it was the idol's temple. Yea, I was with mine old Lord, when he came to the King's Bench to you; and you said many stout words to him."

Woodman.--"That I said, I said; and whereas you said, I was angry, I take God to my record, I am not, but am zealous in the truth, and speak out of the Spirit of God, with cheerfulness."

Priest.--"The Spirit of God? hough, hough, hough! think you that you have the Spirit of God?"

Woodman.--"I believe surely that I have the Spirit of God, I praise God therefor: and you be deceivers, mockers, and scornors before God, and be the children of hell, all the sort of you, as far as I can see."

And therewith came in Dr. Story, pointing at me with his finger, speaking to the bishop in Latin, saying at the length, "I can say nothing to him, but he is a heretic. I have heard you talk this hour and a half, and can hear no reasonableness in him."

Woodman.--"Judge not, lest you be judged: for as you judge, you shall be judged yourself."

Story.--"What! be you a preaching? you shall preach at a stake shortly with your fellows. My Lord, trouble yourself no more with him."

With these words, one brought word that the abbot of Westminster was come to dine with the bishop, and many other gentlemen and women. Then there was rushing away with speed to meet him. Then said Dr. Story to my keeper, "Carry him to the Marshalsea again, and let him keep close; and let nobody come to speak with him." And so they departed.

Then one of the priests began to flatter with me, and said, "For God's sake remember yourself. God hath given you a good wit: you have read the Scriptures well, and have borne them well in memory. It were great pity you should do amiss."

Woodman.--"What a flatterer be you, to say my wit is good, and that I have read the Scriptures well; and but even now you said I was a heretic and despised me. If I be a heretic, I can have no good wit as you have confessed. But I think your own conscience doth accuse you. God give you grace to repent, if it be his will."

Priest.--"I call it a good wit, because you are expert in all questions."

Woodman.--"You may call it a wicked wit, if it agree not with God's word." Then one cried, "Away, away, here come strangers!" So we departed, and I came again to the Marshalsea, with my keeper.

The third examination of Richard Woodman, (copied with his own hand,) before Dr Langdale, parson of Buxsted, in Sussex, and chaplain to my Lord Montague, and Master James Gage, at my Lord Montague's house, beside St. Mary Overy's, in Southwark, the twelfth day of May.

The twelfth day of May the marshal came to the Marshalsea, and sent for me to speak with him. When I came before him, and had done my duty, he asked my name, and what countryman I was. I showed him both. Then he asked me, when I was abroad in the city. To whom I answered, "If it shall please your Mastership, I was abroad in the city on Monday was sevensnight."

Marshal.--"What made you abroad?"

Woodman.--"The bishop of Chichester sent for me, to talk with me at home, at his house beside St. Nicholas' Shambles."

Marshal.--"Were you abroad no otherwise than so?"

Woodman.--"No forsooth; I was never abroad since I was sent hither, but then; for I have nothing to do abroad, unless they send for me."

Marshal.--"This is a marvellous matter. I promise you I was not so rebuked these seven years, as I was for you within these three days. It is reported that you were abroad in the city at certain taverns, and spake seditious words both in the taverns and streets, as you went."

Woodman.--"Sir, the truth is, I was in never a house nor tavern whiles I was abroad, but in the bishop's house, as my keeper can, and will (I am sure) testify: nor did I ever talk with any man in the streets as I came, but with my keeper, saving with one man, indeed, of the parish of Framfield, in Sussex, where Master James Gage dwelleth. His name is Robert Smith, being one of my worst enemies; who stood in a wain as we came by, and was unlading of cheese (methought) but a little way from the Marshalsea. Indeed I bade him God speed, and asked him how he did: and he said, Well, he thanked me. And he asked me, how I did: and I said, Well, I praise God: and that was all the talk that we had. And these words were spoken as I came by him. I promise you, sir, I stood not still while I spake them, as my keeper can tell: and I think these words were not seditious words, but might be spoken well enough, (I think,) or else it were very strait."

Marshal.--"Then is it to be thought, that that man reported otherwise than it was. I am glad it is as you say. Well, make you ready: for you must go forth straightway, where you shall be examined of that and of other things, where you shall answer for yourself. Go make haste, for I will tarry till you be ready."

So I departed from him, and went to my prison-fellows, and took my leave of them, desiring them to pray for me; for I thought verily to come no more to them: for I supposed I should have gone before the council, because the marshal said, he would tarry for me himself. And especially because he said, it was reported that I had spoken

sedition words, it made me think it is possible that there may be some false things imagined upon me, to bring me to my end. I remember what Christ said, The servant is not above his lord. Seeing the Jews brought false witness against Christ, I thought they would do much more, or at the least do so to me, if God would suffer them; which made me cast the worst. But I was, and am sure, (I praise my Lord God,) that all the world is not able to accuse me justly of any such thing. Which thing considered, made me merry and joyful: and I was surely certified, that they could do no more against me, than God would give them leave. And so I bade my prison-fellows farewell, and went into the porter's lodge to the marshal; and he delivered me to one of his own men, and to one of my Lord Montague's men, and bade me go with them: and they carried me to my Lord Montague's place in Southwark, not far from St. Mary Overy's; and brought me into a chamber in Lord Montague's house; and there was one Dr. Langdale, chaplain to my Lord. My keepers said to the doctor, "This is the man that we went for."

Langdale.--"Is your name Woodman?"

Woodman.--"Yea, forsooth, that is my name."

Then he began with a great circumstance, and said, "I am sorry for you, that you will not be ruled, but stand so much in your own conceit, displeasing your father and others, judging that all the realm doth evil, save a few that do as you do:" with many such words, which be too long to rehearse, but I will declare the substance of them.

Langdale.--"What think you of them that died long ago -- your grandfathers, with their fathers before them? You judge them to be damned, and all others that use the same that they did throughout all Christendom, unless it be in Germany, and here in England a few years, and in Denmark; and yet they are returned again. Thus we are sure this is the truth; and I would you should do well. Your father is an honest man, and one of my parish, and hath wept to me divers times, because you would not be ruled; and he loveth you well, and so doth all the country, both rich and poor, if it were not for those evil opinions that you hold, with many such-like tales of Robin Hood."

Woodman.--"I pray you give me leave to speak a few words to you."

Langdale.--"Yes, say your mind."

Woodman.--"You have told a great tale, and a long, as it were against me, (as you think,) saying, I hold this and that; I judge my father and my grandfather, and almost all the world, without it be a few that be of our sect. But I judge no man. But the twelfth of John declareth who it is that judgeth, and shall judge in the last day. The father shall not bear the son's offences, nor the son the father's offences: but that soul that sinneth shall die, as saith the prophet. And again, We may not follow a multitude to do evil, as saith the prophet; for the most go the wrong way. And Christ saith in Luke xii., that his flock is a little flock. Here be places enow to discharge me, although I do not as the most do. But can any man say that I do not as I ought to do? Where be my accusers?"

Langdale.--"What! you be full of Scriptures methinks, and call for your accusers, as though you were afraid to utter your mind to me. But I would have you not be afraid to talk with me. For I mean no more hurt to you, than I do to myself, I take God to be my record."

Woodman.--"I cannot tell: it is hard trusting of fair words. When a man cannot trust his father nor brother, nor others that have been his familiar friends, but they deceive him: a man may lawfully follow the example of Christ towards them that he never saw before, saying, Be as wise as serpents, and as innocent as doves: Beware of men, for they go about to betray you. And it maketh me to suspect you much, because you blame me for answering with the Scriptures. It maketh me to doubt that you would take vantage of me, if I should speak mine own words. Wherefore I will take as good heed as I can, because I have been deceived already by them I trusted most. Wherefore blame me not, though I answer circumspectly. It shall not be said, by God's help, that I will run wilfully into mine enemies' hands; and yet I praise God, my life is not dear to myself, but it is dear with God: wherefore I will do the uttermost that I can to keep it."

Langdale.--"You be afraid where no fear is; for I was desired of Master Sheriff and his brother, and of other of your friends, to talk with you; and they told me, that you were desirous to talk with me. And now ye make the matter as though you had nothing to do with me, and as though you were sent to prison for nothing: for you call for your accusers, as though there were no man to accuse you. But if there were no man to accuse you, your own hand-writing did accuse you enough, that you set upon the church-door, (if you be remembered,) and other letters that you let fall abroad, some at one place and some at another. Wherefore you need not to call for your accusers. Your own hand will accuse you enough, I warrant you; it is kept safe enough. I would not for two hundred pounds there were so much against me."

Woodman.--"I will not deny mine own hand, by God's help; for it cannot be lightly counterfeited. I do not deny but I wrote a letter to the priest and others of the parish, declaring to them their folly and presumption to come into my house without my love or leave, and fetch out my child, and use it at their pleasures; which moved me to write my mind to them: and because I could not tell how to convey it to them, I set it on the church-door. Which letter my Lord of Chichester hath, for he showed it me when I was before him: wherein is contained nothing but the very Scriptures, to their reproach. Let it be laid before me when you or he will, I will answer to it by the help of God, to all their shames that I wrote it to. And as for any other letters, I wrote none, as you said I did; neither had I wrote that, if they had done like honest neighbours. Wherefore if they be offended with me for that, I will answer them with Christ's words, in Matt. xviii., Woe unto themselves, because they gave me the occasion.

"And whereas you said I was desirous to speak with you; and that Master Sheriff and his brother, and other of my friends, willed me to talk with you; and that I fare now as though I had nothing to do with you, and as though I were sent to prison for nothing; the truth is, I know no more wherefore I am sent to prison, than the least child in this town knoweth. And as for me, I desired not Master Sheriff to speak with you; but indeed he desired me that I would speak with you, and utter my faith to you. For he supposed that I did not believe well, and he reported you to be learned. But I

refused to talk with you at the first; for I remembered not that you were the parson at Buxted: wherefore I said to him, I would not utter my faith to any but the bishop. I said, He is mine ordinary: wherefore I appeal unto him. I am commanded by St, Peter, to render account of my hope that I have in God, to him that hath authority: wherefore I will talk with none in that matter, but with him. Wherefore send me to him, if you will; or else there shall no man know my faith, I tell you plainly. These words then made the sheriff angry, and he went his way. And when he was gone from me, I remembered that it was you, that he would have me to talk with. And then I remembered that I had made a promise to my father, and goodman Day of Uckfield, not past a fortnight before I was taken, that whensoever you came into the country, I would speak with you by God's help, because they praised you so much, that ye were learned, and they would fain hear us talk.

"So all these things called to remembrance, I desired my keeper, which was the sheriff's man, to show his master, that I would fain speak with him, for I had remembered things that were not in my mind before, when I spake to him. So he went to his master, and showed him the matter; and he came to me. And then I told him my mind, and what promise I had made: and he said, he would send for you on the morrow, as he did. And the messenger brought word, you could not come; you preached before the queen, he said. Whereupon the sheriff came up himself, and spake to the bishop that he should come down, but he was sick. So when he came home again, he sent me to the bishop, and I have talked with him twice already; and I am sure he can find no fault in me, if he say justly; and yet I know not wherefore I was sent to prison. For I was not guilty of that which was laid to my charge, that I had baptized children, the which I never did, as God knoweth: wherefore I have wrong to be thus handled."

Dr. Langdale.--"Indeed it hath been reported, that you have christened children; and that you christened your own child. But since, I heard say, you would not have the child christened; which is a damnable way, if you deny baptism. And they said your child was not christened in a fortnight or three weeks after it was born, and the chieftest of the parish were fain to fetch it out of your house against your will. Wherefore you wrote railing words against the priest and them for their good-will; the which declareth that you allow not baptizing of children. And if the child had died, it had been damned, because it was not christened; and you should have been damned, because you were the let thereof."

Woodman.--"What abominable lies have you told! Be you not ashamed to speak such words as you have done? First you say, I christened mine own child; and by and by you said, I denied baptizing of children, and that my child was a fortnight or three weeks old ere it was baptized. What abominable lies be these! I neither baptized my child myself, neither held against the baptizing of it, but did most gladly allow it; for it was baptized as soon as it was born, and I was glad thereof. Therefore you you be to blame to report so of me."

Langdale.--"I pray you, who baptized it? some unthrift of your providing?"

Woodman.--"Nay surely, the midwife baptized it."

Langdale.--"But it was your mind, that it should be so."

Woodman.--"Nay sure, I was not nigh home by almost twenty miles, nor heard that my wife was brought to bed four days after the child was christened. For it was not like to live; and therefore the midwife baptized it."

Langdale.--"Would you have had it to church to have been christened, if it had not been christened?"

Woodman.--"That is no matter, what I would have done. I am sure you cannot deny but it is sufficiently done, if the midwife do it; and I hold not against the doing of it, neither did I it myself, as you said I did."

Langdale.--"Wherefore were you displeased with them that fetched it to church?"

Woodman.--"First tell me whether the child were not truly baptized by the midwife?"

Langdale.--"Yes, it was truly baptized, if she baptized it in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

Woodman.--"Yes, that I am sure she did; and you grant that was sufficient. And the cause that I blamed them for, was because they did more to it than need was, by your own saying. Yea, they fetched it out of my house without my leave: the which was not well done."

Langdale.--"They had it to church, to confirm that was done."

Woodman.--"Yea, but that was more than needs. But God forgive them, if it be his will. But let that matter pass. But I would you should not say, that I hold against baptizing of children: for I do not, I take God to record; but do allow it to be most necessary, if it be truly used. But methought you spake words even now, that were uncomely to be spoken: if a child die, and be not baptized, it is damned. How think you? be all damned that receive not the outward sign of baptism?"

Langdale.--"Yea, that they be."

Woodman.--"How prove you that?"

Langdale.--"Go, saith Christ, and baptize in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: and he that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved; and he that believeth not shall be damned. These be the words of Christ, which are my warrant."

Woodman.--"Then by your saying, baptism bringeth faith, and all that be baptized in the water shall be saved, shall they? how say you?"

Langdale.--"Yea, that they shall: if they die before they come to discretion, they shall be saved, every one of them: and all that be not baptized, shall be damned, every one of them."

Then my spirit was moved with him to reprove him sharply, because I had manifest scriptures fresh in my mind against his saying. Then said I, "O Lord God! how dare you speak such blasphemy against God and his word, as you do? How dare you for your life take upon you to preach, and teach the people, and understand not what you say? For I protest before God, you understand not the Scriptures, but as far as natural reason can comprehend. For if you did, you would be ashamed to speak as you do."

Langdale.--"Wherein have I spoken amiss? Take heed, you have a toy in your head will make you despair. I dare say you cannot tell what you say. Wherefore reprove you me as you do?"

Woodman.--"Because you blaspheme God: and as for despairing, take heed to yourself, for I cannot see but you be out of your wit already; and as for me, I praise God, I can tell what I say, and what you have said: the which shall turn to your shame, if you will talk the Scriptures with me."

So when he perceived that I spake earnestly, and challenged him to talk by the word, his colour began to change, and his flesh began to tremble and quake. And I said, "Prove your sayings true, if you can: for I will prove them false, by God's help. You said, 'All children or others, that be not baptized with water, shall be damned.' I dare not say so for all, the good in the world. And you brought in the saying of Christ for your warrant. In Mark xvi. it is written, Whoso believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved; which words be very true: and who-so believeth not shall be damned; which words be very true also. He saith, He that believeth not shall be damned. Yea, St. John saith, He that believeth not is condemned already, because he believeth not. But neither of these two scriptures, nor any other scripture in all the New Testament, saith that he that is not baptized shall be damned, or is damned already. But if he believe not he shall be damned, and is damned already, as is aforesaid."

Then he would have interrupted me, and would have laid to my charge, that I was an Anabaptist. But I would give him no place to speak, but said, "Let me make an end, and then say what you can. You shall have as much to do, by God's help, with this matter, as ever you had to answer thing in your life. You know, (I am sure,) it is no manners to pluck a tale out of a man's mouth; nor is it the order of reasoning, as you know that, better than I can tell you." Then Dr. Langdale bade me say on.

Woodman.--"My saying was, that they that believe not, shall be damned, and be damned already. But I dare not say for all the goods under heaven, that all they that receive no material baptism by the water shall be damned, as you have said: yet I would you should not gather of these words, that I deny baptism, as you were about to lay to my charge, ere ever I had half told out my tale. But I would not have you, nor any man, so rash in judgment to condemn the thing that they are not able to prove by the word, and to make it seem to the simple, that the outward washing of the water were the cause of faith."

Langdale.--"Why, is it not so? will you deny it? How say you? will you deny it? I say, the child hath no faith before it is baptized; and therefore the baptizing bringeth the faith. How say you to it? make me a plain answer to this question."

Woodman.--"Now I perceive you go about nothing else, but to take vantage of my words: but, by God's help, I will answer you so, that you shall well see your sayings untrue. And yet I will not speak mine own words, but the words of the Holy Ghost, out of the mouth of the prophets and apostles: and then ask them whether they will deny it. You said, that faith cometh by baptism, had by the use of material water. I must be so bold to ask you, whether Jacob was baptized, before he had faith. St. Paul saith in Romans ix., Ere ever the children were born, ere ever they had done either good or bad, that the purpose of God, which is by election, might stand, not by the reason of works, but by the grace of the caller, the elder shall serve the younger: Jacob have I loved, and Esau have I hated. How think you, Had this child faith or ever he were born, or no? answer to this, if you can!"

Langdale.--"What? you speak of the old law. Jacob was not christened, but circumcised. I speak of baptism, and you are gone from baptizing, to the time of circumcision: answer me to the baptizing. And methinks, by your talk, you deny original sin, and free-will, by the words that you brought in of St. Paul: for if children can be saved without baptism, then it must needs follow, that children have no original sin, the which is put away in the baptizing. But I think you know not what original sin is, nor free-will neither, methinks, by your talk."

Woodman.--"Yes, I praise God, I think I can tell them all better than you can; methinks even by your words. First, I pray you, what free-will hath man to do good of himself? Tell me this first, and then I will answer to all your other questions that you have objected against me."

Langdale.--"I say, that all men have as much free-will now, as Adam had before his fall."

Woodman.--"I pray you how prove you that?"

Langdale.--"Thus I prove it, that as sin entered into the world, and by the means of one that sinned, all men became sinners, the which was by Adam: so by the obedience of one man, righteousness came upon all men that had sinned, and set them as free as they were before their fall; the which was by Jesus Christ."

Woodman.--"O Lord! what an overthrow have you given yourself here in original sin, and yet cannot see it! for in proving that we have free-will, you have denied quite original sin. For here you have declared that we be set as free by the death of Christ, as Adam was before his fall, and I am sure that Adam had no original sin before his fall. If we be as free now as he was then, I marvel wherefore Paul complained thrice to God, to take away the sting of it, God making him answer, and saying, My grace is sufficient for thee. These words, with divers others, prove original sin in us; but not that it shall hurt God's elect people, but that his grace is sufficient for all his. But you say in one place, it is not without baptism; and in another place, you put it away quite, by the death of Christ; and in very deed you have spoken truer in the matter than you are aware of. For all that believe in Christ are baptized in the blood of Christ that he shed on the cross, and in the water that he sweat for pain, and putting away of our sins at his death. And yet I say with David, in Psalm li., In sin was I born, and in sin hath my mother conceived me: but in no such sin that shall be imputed, because I am born of God by faith, as St. John saith. Therefore I am blessed,

as saith the prophet, because the Lord imputeth not my sin, and not because I have no sin; but because God hath not imputed my sins. Not of our own deserving, but of his free mercy he hath saved us.

"Where is now your free-will become, that you speak of? If we have free-will, then our salvation cometh of our own selves, and not of God; the which is a great blasphemy against God and his word. For St. James saith, Every good gift and every perfect gift cometh from above, from the Father of light, with whom is no variableness, neither is he changed into darkness. Of his own will he begat us. For the wind bloweth where it listeth, and we hear the sound thereof, as saith St. John; but we cannot tell from whence it cometh, neither whither it goeth: even so is it with every one that is born of God. For St. Paul saith, It is God that worketh in us the will, and also the deed, even of good will. Seeing then that every good and perfect gift cometh from above, and lighteth upon whom it pleaseth God, and that he worketh in us both the will and the deed; methinks all the rest of our own will is little worth, or nought at all, unless it be wickedness. So methinks here be places enow, to prove that a man hath no free-will to do good of himself; with a hundred places more that I could recite, if time did serve. And as for original sin, I think I have declared my mind therein, how it remaineth in man; which you cannot deny, unless you deny the word of God. Now, if you will suffer me, I will prove my saying of Jacob and Esau, that I brought in to prove that faith was before baptism, and you refused it, because (you said) Jacob was not baptized. If you will give me leave, you shall see what I can say therein: for me-thinks you think my talk long." This I said, be-cause I saw he was sore offended at my sayings.

Langdale.--"Say what you can; for it availeth me to say nothing to you. For I was desired to send for you, to teach you, and there will no words of mine take place in you; but you go about to reprove me. Say what you will, for me."

Woodman.--"I take not upon me to teach you, but to answer to such things as you lay to my charge; and I speak not mine own mind, but the mind of the Holy Ghost, written by the prophets and apostles. Will you give me leave to answer briefly in that matter, that you may report to others what I hold?" And he said he was contented. But I think it was for nothing but to have caught vantage of my words.

Woodman.--"First, if you be remembered, you said that if my child had died without baptism, if I had been the cause that it had not been baptized, the child should have been damned, and I too. How say you?"

Langdale.--"Yea, that you should."

Woodman.--"That is most untrue; for the prophet saith, The father shall not bear the child's offences, nor the child the father's offences: but the soul that sinneth shall die. What could the child have done withal, if it had died without baptism? the child could not do withal. How say you unto this? And I am sure, that which I brought in, in the old law, to prove that faith is before baptism, is not disagreeable unto the word: for circumcision was a figure of baptism. And that I may bring to prove baptism by, as well as St. Peter did; for he brought in Noah's flood, which was a long time before Jacob and Esau, to prove baptism, saying, While the ark was a preparing, wherein few (that is to say, eight souls) were saved by water; like as baptism also now

saveth us, not in putting away of the filth of the flesh, but that there is a good conscience consenting to God. Here Peter proveth, that water had not saved Noah and the other seven, no more than it saved all the rest, if it had not been for their faith, which faith now saveth us; not in putting away of the filthy soil of the flesh, by the washing of the water, but by a good conscience consenting unto God. But you said, If they be baptized with the water, if they die before they come to years of discretion, they be all saved; the which St. Peter is clean against, unless you grant that children have faith before they be baptized. Now I ask you, what consent of conscience the children have, being infants? For you say they believe not before they be baptized: ergo, then, they consent not to be baptized, because they believe not. And by this it followeth, that none shall be saved, although they be baptized. I would fain see how you can answer this."

Langdale.--"You are the most perverse man that ever I knew. You wot not what you say. The children are baptized in their godfathers' and godmothers' faith, and that is the good conscience that St. Peter speaketh of; and the christening is the keeping of the law, that St. Paul speaketh of, saying, Neither is circumcision any thing worth, nor uncircumcision any thing worth, but keeping of the law is altogether. Like as the circumcision was the keeping of the old law, so is baptism the keeping of the new law."

Woodman.--"Ah! methought if you would talk with me, you should be fain to bring in the old law to maintain your sayings by; for all that you refused it, when I brought it in. But yet it serveth not for your purpose, so much as you think for. For here you have confessed, that neither circumcision availeth, nor uncircumcision, the which you yourself have coupled with baptism, proving that none of them both prevaieth, but keeping of the law is altogether; the which law is kept (you say) by the outward signs: the which is nothing so; for Abraham believed God, and that was counted to him for righteousness; and this was before he was circumcised. So the children believe before they be either circumcised or baptized, according to my first saying of Jacob and Esau, Jacob I loved, but Esau I hated. These words declare that Jacob had faith in his mother's womb; also John Baptist was sanctified in his mother's womb, and therefore it was counted to them for righteousness. And I am sure, if they had died before they had either received circumcision or baptism as concerning the outward deed, they should have been saved; for God's gifts and callings are such, that he cannot repent him of them. But, by your saying, he doth both repent and change; for you say, keeping of the outward law is altogether. But a bad excuse is as good as none at all. And whereas you said the children be baptized in their godfathers' and godmothers' faith, they being all unbelievers, in what faith is that child baptized then? In none at all, by your own saying." Which words made him stamp and stare.

Langdale.--"What! then you would count that there were very few believers, if there be not one of three that believeth. You enter into judgment against the people. Belike you think there be none that believe well, unless they be of your mind. Indeed, then Christ's flock were a very little flock."

Woodman.--"Indeed these be Christ's words in Luke xii., the which we may see to be very true. Yea, you said, if there were not one amongst three, that were very few. But there is not one amongst three hundred, for any thing that I can see: for if

there were, there would not be so many that would seek their neighbours' goods and lives as there be."

Langdale.--"Is the flock of Christ such a little flock as you speak of? You may call it a great flock. How many be there of them, can you tell me?"

Woodman.--"A pretty question, I promise you, it is that you ask me: as though I did make myself equal with God. No, no, you shall catch no such vantage of my words, nor do I know how many there be: but I will tell you as nigh as I can; for therefore you look, I am sure, that I should enter into judgment."

Langdale.--"Yea, I pray you tell me as much as you can, seeing you be so cunning."

Woodman.--"You shall see my judgment in it by and by. First the prophet saith, Follow not a multitude to do evil, for the most go the wrong way. For the most go the wrong way: there is one point to know them. Then Christ saith in Matthew vii., Broad is the way, and wide is the gate, that leadeth unto destruction, and many there be that go in thereat: and strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, that leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it. And in Luke xii. it is written, (which words were spoken of Christ,) Come, you little flock, it is my Father's will to give you a kingdom. The third point is this: in Mark ii. and Matthew iii., You, saith Christ, shall know the tree by the fruits. A good tree bringeth forth good fruits, and a bad tree bringeth forth bad fruits: so by fruits I know them; for every tree that bringeth not forth good fruits, must be hewn down, and cast into the fire, (into hell I think Christ meant,) and your fruits declare that you be one of them. Thus have I proved four ways, that the people that shall be saved is but a small company in comparison of the rest. But if that be not enough for the proof thereof, I have twenty ways more to prove it by, and you were never the nearer of your purpose."

Langdale.--"What a naughty man are you! you would make the patientest man in the world angry with you. I think your talk is nothing but pride and vain-glory, with frumps, and mocks, and despising and judging of men. It was time such a fellow were taken indeed. Such a one is enough to trouble a whole country. I think he is blest of God that took you; for you are not meet to be in a commonwealth." With divers other such-like words that I cannot recite, they came out so thick, with stamping, and staring, and chafing, as though he had been out of his wit.

I held my peace until he had made an end of his tormentor's talk, and then I spake: "Wherein have I said amiss? or have I not answered you unto every question that you have demanded of me? What fault can you find in one word that I have said? I dare say you can find none. I marvel why you take on thus against me, having no cause so to do."

Langdale.--"No, no, you have not answered me to original sin; you deny original sin."

With these words came in at the door Master James Gage; and I think he stood at the door a good while before he came in, and that Dr. Langdale saw him; for his face was to the door-ward, and my face was from it.

Gage.--"Ah, Woodman! methinks Master Doctor and you cannot agree."

Woodman.--"Yes, sir, methinks we agree very well."

Langdale.--"Without doubt, sir, he is the naughtiest man that ever I talked with in all my life; for he will have his own way in all things."

Gage.--"Woodman, leave that pride. Do not trust so much to your own wit. Harken to this man; this is a learned man, I tell you. He is known to be learned; for else he should not be allowed to preach before the queen's Majesty: and I dare say, he will tell thee nothing, nor will thee to do any thing, but that he will do himself; and I dare say, he will not go to the devil to bring thee thither. How say you, Master Doctor? Thou mightest think us mad, if we would hurt ourselves to hurt thee. No, I promise thee, my brother, neither I, nor any gentleman in the country, I think of my conscience, but would thou shouldest do as well as their own bodies and souls, as a great many of them have said to thy face, whilst thou wast at my brother's, and which thou canst not deny."

Woodman.--"Sir, I can say none otherwise but I was gently entreated at your brother's, both with meat and. drink and gentle words, both of you and him, and divers other gentlemen; and I am sure neither you nor they can say, that you found me unreasonable at any time. For I said, I was contented to learn of them that were able to teach me; and so I am, as God knoweth. And here, Master Doctor (I think) can say no otherwise; for I dare say he can find no fault in the talk that we have had."

Langdale.--"No marry? I can find nothing else in you. I promise you, Master Gage, if you had been here, you would have said so yourself. He took me up indeed, and said, he marvelled how I durst preach. For he said, I understood not the Scripture, but as far as natural reason comprehended: as though he understood all, and I nothing." With divers other such-like words he made a great complaint to him on me, and said to Master James Gage, "He would make you believe, that I could find no fault in him. Yes, I wis: he denieth original sin; meaning thereby that he is without sin."

Gage.--"Yea; doth he so? by St. Mary that is a great matter. Woodman! leave that pride. That pride will come to naught. Can ye live without sin?"

Woodman.--"Sir, now I perceive he will soon lie on me behind my back, when he will not stick to lie before my face. He saith, I denied original sin; and it was he himself, as I will let you be judge in the matter. For as he went about to prove, that man hath free-will, he said, we were set as free by the death of Christ, as Adam was before his fall: which words prove plainly, that we have no original sin. And I took him withal, and said, Had Adam original sin before his fall? And then he could not tell what to say, but cavilled with words, and said he meant not so; and therefore I marvel he is not ashamed to make such lies to my face." These words made them both astonished.

Gage.--"Master Doctor, he said even now, you could find no fault in all his talk. I will bid you ask him a question, and I will warrant you, you shall find fault

enough. I pray you ask him, how he believeth in the sacrament of the altar. I think he will make but a bad account thereof."

Woodman.--"Yes, I will make account good enough of that, by God's help.

Langdale.--"Well, how say you to the sacrament of the altar?"

Woodman.--"I say, I know no such sacrament, unless Christ be the altar that you mean."

Gage.--"Lo, I told you, you should soon find fault in him, if you came to that point with him. You should have begun with that first, and never have talked with him about other things. What! know you not the sacrament of the altar?"

Woodman.--"No, sure; I know no such, unless Christ be the altar that you mean; for Christ is the altar of all goodness. And if you mean Christ to be the altar of the sacrament you speak of, you shall soon hear my mind and belief therein."

Langdale.--"Well, we mean Christ to be the altar. Say your mind, and go briefly to work; for I think it almost dinner-time."

Gage.--"I pray you go roundly to work, that you may make an end before dinner."

Woodman.--"Yes, you shall soon hear my mind therein, by God's help. I do believe, that whensoever I come to receive the sacrament of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, being truly ministered according to Christ's institution, I believing that Christ was born of the Virgin Mary, and that he was crucified on the cross, and shed his blood for the remission of my sins, and so take and eat the sacrament of bread and wine in that remembrance; that then I do receive wholly Christ, God and man, mystically by faith. This is my belief of the sacrament, the which no man is able to disprove."

Gage.--"By St. Mary, I can find no fault in this. How say you, Master Doctor?"

Langdale.--"Sir, you see not so much in it as I do: for he goeth craftily to work, I tell you, as I have heard. For though he hath granted that the faithful receiver receiveth the body of Christ, God and man, yet he hath not granted that it is the body of Christ before it be received, as you shall see by and by, I warrant you, by his own words. How say you? Is it the body of Christ as soon as the words be spoken by the priest, or not? for these words will try him more than all the rest."

Woodman.--"Doth the word say that it is his body before it is received? if it do, I will say so too."

Gage.--"Why, then we shall agree well enough if you will be tried by the word."

Woodman.--"Yes forsooth, that I will; God forbid else."

Gage.--"Why, the word saith, it is his body before it is eaten."

Woodman.--"Those words would I fain hear; but I am sure they be not in the Bible."

Langdale.--"No! that you shall see by and by, Master Gage," quoth he, and turned to Luke xxii., and there he read, "When supper was done, Christ took bread, gave thanks, and brake it, and gave to his disciples, and said, Take, eat, this is my body." Then they spake both at once, "Here he saith, it is his body."

Woodman.--"Master Gage, I do not deny but he called it his body; but not before eating, as I said before: wherefore I pray you mark the words. Christ said, Take, eat: I pray you, sir, mark these words that he said, Take and eat; and then he said, it was his body. So you see, eating goeth before: for he said, Eat, this is my body. So according to the very word, I do believe it is his body." Which words made them both astonied.

Langdale.--"Why then, by your saying, Judas ate not the body of Christ. How say you? did he not?"

Woodman.--"Nay, I ask you. Did he?"

Langdale.--"I ask you."

Woodman.--"And I ask you."

Langdale.--"And I ask you."

Woodman.--"Marry, I ask you. And I bid you answer, if you dare, for your life. For whatsoever you answer, unless you say as I have said, you will damn your own soul. For Master Gage, I protest before God, I would you should do as well as mine own soul and body; and it lamenteth my heart to see how you be deceived with them: they be deceivers all the sort of them. He cannot answer to this, but either he must prove Judas to be saved, or else he must prove that it is no body before it be received in faith, as you shall well perceive, by God's help, if he dare answer the question."

Gage.--"Yes, I dare say he dareth. What! you need not to threaten him so."

Woodman.--"Then let him answer, if he can." Then he said, he knew what I would say to him; therefore he was much in doubt to answer the question.

Langdale.--"Master Gage, I will tell you in your ear what words he will answer me, or ever I speak to him."

Then he told Master Gage a tale in his ear, and said, "I have told Master Gage what you will say."

Gage.--"Yea, and I will tell the truth for both parties."

Woodman. -- "Well, how say you? did Judas eat the body of Christ, or not?"

Langdale.--"Yea, I say Judas did eat the body of Christ."

Woodman.--"Then it must needs follow, that Judas hath everlasting life; for Christ saith in John vi., Whoso eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life, and I will raise him up at the last day. If Judas did eat Christ's body, I am sure you cannot deny but that he did both eat his flesh, and drink his blood, and then is Judas saved, by Christ's own words. Therefore now you are compelled to say that it was not Christ's body, or else that Judas is saved."

Gage.--"Surely these be the very words that Master Doctor told me in mine ear, that you would say to him."

Woodman.--"Well, let us see how well he can avoid this argument."

Langdale.--"Judas is damned, and yet he ate the body of Christ: but he ate it unworthily; and therefore he is damned."

Woodman.--"Where find you that Judas did eat the body of Christ unworthily?"

Langdale.--"They be St. Paul's words, 1 Cor. xi."

Woodman.--"Master Gage, I desire you for God's sake mark my words well, what I say. If St. Paul speak any such words there, or in any other place; if there be any such words written in all the whole Bible, that ever any man ate the body of Christ unworthily, then say, that I am the falsest man that ever you heard speak with tongue. But indeed, these be the words of St. Paul, Whoso eateth of this bread and drinketh of this cup unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation, because he maketh no difference of the Lord's body; that is, because he presumeth to eat the sacrament of the Lord's body without faith, making no difference betwixt the sacrament, and other bread and drink. And that is St. Paul's meaning; and not that any man doth or can eat the body of Christ unworthily. For whosoever eateth the body of Christ, hath everlasting life, as is afore said in John vi." With these words one came for them to dinner in all haste.

Gage.--"I am sorry, I would fain hear more of this talk; but we shall have another day well enough."

Langdale.--"Nay, Master Gage, I will never talk with him more; for he is the unreasonablest man that ever I talked with in all my life."

Then Master Gage put off his cap, and desired him that he would not refuse to talk with me, and that it might not be grievous to him. For he said, "We will seek all the means possible to make him an honest man, and to keep him from burning, if we could: for if my brother and I had not been, he had been burned ere this time." Then there was great courtesy betwixt them.

Langdale.--"Sir, for your sake, and for my master your brother's sake, and for his father's sake, and other of his friends' sakes, that have spoken to me many times with weeping tears, I will do the best to him that I can; but for no love nor favour that I bear to him, I tell you truth."

Gage.--"Woodman, you hear what Master Doctor saith. When will you come again?"

Woodman.--"Even when you will send for me; for I am a prisoner, and cannot come when I would. Or if I should desire to come, it should cost me money, and I have none to give. But, if you send for me, it shall cost me none."

Gage.--"Well, I will send for you on Friday or Saturday, at the furthest; for to-morrow I must ride forth of town, and I would fain hear your talk."

Woodman.--"Sir, I would be very glad you should hear our talk alway; and I trust in God you shall hear me say nothing, but the word of God shall be my warrant."

So Master Gage took his leave, and went his way to his lodging, which was right in my way as I went unto prison-ward again. And when he came with.. out my Lord Montague's gates, there we met one Hood of Bursted, a smith. Then said Master Gage, "Woodman, I had forgot one thing, that Hood hath brought me in remembrance of as soon as I saw him; for he heard when the tale was told me;" so he added, "Hood, did not you hear when Smith of Framfield told me, that he saw Woodman abroad in the city, at liberty?"

Hood.--"Yea, forsooth, that I did."

Gage.--"Yea, surely, and I was very glad; for I had well hoped you had been conformable. But I heard otherwise afterward again, that you had leave of the keeper to go abroad and speak openly in the streets, as you went up and down."

Woodman.--"Indeed so the marshal told me to-day. But indeed I was never abroad since I came to prison, but when I was sent for, and indeed the same time I was abroad with my keeper, coming from the bishop. And as I was coming, even not far from the Marshalsea, I saw goodman Smith stand in a wain, unlading of cheese, and I asked him how he did, even as I went by, and never staid for the matter, and thereupon it did rise." So I departed from them, with my keeper, to the Marshalsea again, where I now am merry, I praise God there-for, as a sheep appointed to be slain.

The fourth examination of Richard Woodman, had before the bishop of Winchester, the bishop of Rochester, and a certain doctor, with divers other priests and gentlemen, the twenty-fifth day of May.

I was fetched from the Marshalsea to the said bishops and priests, sitting in St. George's church in Southwark, by one of the marshal's men and one of the sheriff's men. When I came before them, and had done my duty to them as nigh as I could, then said the bishop of Winchester, "What is your name?"

Woodman.--"My name is Richard Woodman, forsooth."

Winchester.--"Ah Woodman! you were taken and apprehended for heresy about three years ago, and were sent to prison in the King's Bench, and there remained a long time. Mine old Lord of Chichester, being a learned famous man, well known in this realm of England, and almost throughout all Christendom, I think, came to prison to you; and there, and at other places, called you before him divers times, travailing and persuading with you many times (because he was your ordinary) to pluck you from your heresies that you held; but he could by no means advertise you. Whereupon you were delivered to the commissioners; and they could do no good with you neither. Then they sent you unto my Lord of London. My Lord of London calling you before him divers times, labour was made unto him of your friends, that you might be released, my Lord having a good hope in you, that you would become an honest man, because he had heard so of you in times past, yea, and you yourself promising him, that you would go home and recant your heresies that you held, delivered you; sending also a letter of your recantation to the commissary, that he should see it done. But as soon as you were out of his hands, you were as bad as ever you were, and would never fulfil your promise, but have hid yourself in the woods, bushes, dens, and caves; and thus have you continued ever since, till it was now of late. Then the sheriff of that shire, (being a worshipful man,) hearing thereof, sent certain of his men, and took you in a wood, and so carried you to his house. I cannot tell his name. What is your sheriff's name?"

Woodman.--"Forsooth, his name is Sir Edward Gage."

Winchester.--"Well, you were apprehended for heresy; and being at Master Gage's three weeks or more, ye were gently entreated there; he and other gentlemen persuading with you divers times, little prevailed. Then you appealed to the bishop of Chichester that now is. The sheriff; like a worshipful man, sent you to him, and he hath travailed with you, and others also, and can do no good with you; whereupon we have sent for you."

Then I spake to him; for I thought he would be long before he would make an end. I thought he was a year in telling of those lies that he had told there against me already. Yea, I kept silence from good words, but it was great pain and grief unto me, as David said. At length the fire was so kindled within my heart, that I could not choose but speak with my tongue; for I feared lest any of the company should have departed or ever I had answered to his lies, and so the gospel to have been slandered by my long silence-keeping. So I spake, I praise God there-for, and said, "My Lord, I pray you let me now answer for myself, for it is time."

Winchester.--"I permit you to answer to these things that I have said."

Woodman.--"I thank God there-for. And I think myself happy (as Paul said, when he was brought before King Agrippa) that I may this day answer for myself. My Lord! I promise you there is never a word of your sayings true, that you have alleged against me."

Winchester.--"I cannot tell, but thus it is reported of you. As for me, I never did see you before this day; but I am sure it is not all lies that I have said, as you report."

Woodman.--"Yes, my Lord, there is never a true word of that you have said. And further, whereas you said you never saw me before this day, you have both heard me, and seen me, I dare say, before this day."

Winchester.--"I think I heard you indeed on Sunday, where you played the malapert fellow; but I cannot tell that I saw you. But I pray you, were you not taken in the woods by the sheriff's men?"

Woodman.--"No sure, I was taken beside my house, I being in my house when they came: wherefore that is not true."

Winchester.--"Were not you at the sheriff's three weeks?"

Woodman.--"Yes, that I was, a month just, and was gently entreated of him, I can say no otherwise; for I had meat and drink enough, and fair words."

Winchester.--"Ah! I am well apaid; it is not all lies then, as it chanced. For I spake but of three weeks, and you confess a month yourself."

Woodman.--"Yet your tale is never the truer for that. For you said, I was there three weeks for heresy, the which is not so. For I was not ap-prehended for heresy at the first, neither did mine old Lord of Chichester travail with me to pull me from heresy, as you said; for I held none then, neither do I now, as God knoweth; neither was I sent to the commissioners, nor to the bishop of Lon-don, for heresy; neither was I delivered to him for any such thing, nor promised him to recant, as you said I did. Wherefore I marvel you be not ashamed to tell so many lies, being a bishop, that should be an ensample to others."

Winchester.--"Lo, what an arrogant heretic this same is! He will deny God; for he that denieth his own hand, denieth God."

Woodman.--"My Lord, judge not lest you be judged yourself. For as you have judged me, you shall be judged; if you repent not. And if I have set my hand to any recantation, let it be seen to my shame, before this audience; for I will never deny mine own hand, by God's help."

Winchester.--"It is not here now, but I think it will be had well enough; but if it cannot be found, by whom will you be tried?"

Woodman.--"Even by my Lord of London; for he dealt like a good man with me in that matter that I was sent to prison for. For it was upon the breach of a statute, as Master Sheriff here can tell; for he was sheriff then, as he is now, and can tell how I was tossed up and down from sessions to sessions. And because I would not consent that I had offended therein, they sent me to prison again. Then my Lord of Chichester, being mine ordinary, and I being his tenant, came to me, to persuade with me that I should have consented to them, and to find myself in fault, where I was in none. To

the which I would not agree, but I desired him that he would see me released of my wrong; but he said he could not, but willed me or my friends to speak to the commissioners for me, because it was a temporal matter. And when I came before them, they sent me to my Lord of London; and my Lord of London was certified by the hands of almost thirty men, both esquires, gentlemen, and yeomen, the chiefest in all the country where I dwelt, that I had not offended in the matter that I was sent to prison for. Whereupon he delivered me, not willing me to recant heresies, for I held none, (as God knoweth,) neither do I now; nor do I know wherefore I was sent to prison, no more than any man here knoweth; for I was taken away from my work."

Winchester.--"No? wherefore appealed you then to my Lord of Chichester, if it were not for heresy?"

Woodman.--"Because there was laid to my charge that I had baptized children, and married folks; the which I never did, for I was no where minister. Wherefore I appealed to mine ordinary, to purge myself thereof; as I have. Wherefore, if any man have any thing against me, let him speak; for I came not hither to accuse myself, neither will I."

Winchester.--"Master Sheriff, can you tell upon what breach of the statute he was sent to prison first?"

The sheriff.--"Yea, forsooth, my Lord; that I can."

Woodman.--"My Lord, if you will give me leave, I will show you the whole matter."

Winchester.--"Nay, Master Sheriff, I pray you tell the matter, seeing you know it."

The sheriff.--"My Lord, it was for speaking to a curate in the pulpit, as I remember."

Winchester.--"Ah, like enough, that he would not stick to reprove a curate: for did you not see how he fashioned himself to speak to me in the pulpit on Sunday? He played the malapert fellow with me; and therefore it was no great marvel though he played that part with another."

Woodman.--"Why, you will not blame me for that, I am sure: for we spake for no other cause, but to purge ourselves of those heresies that you laid to our charge. For these were your words: 'Good people! these men that be brought before us, being here, deny Christ to be God, and the Holy Ghost to be God,' (pointing to us with your left hand,) the which might seem to the whole audience, that you meant us all. Wherefore, to clear our-selves thereof, we spake and said, we held no such thing. And you said, you would cut out our tongues. But I am sure you have no such law."

Winchester.--"Yes, that we have, if you blaspheme; and as it chanced, I found such amongst you."

Woodman.--"Indeed, after we spake, you declared who they were, but not before; for you spake generally. Wherefore we blasphemed not, but purged ourselves."

Winchester.--"But I pray you, how can you purge yourself for speaking to the curate, that it is not heresy?"

Woodman.--"Forsooth these be the words of the statute: 'Whosoever doth interrupt any preacher or preachers, lawfully authorized by the queen's Majesty, or by any other lawful ordinary, that all such shall suffer three months' imprisonment, and furthermore be brought to the quarter-sessions, there (being sorry for the same) to be released, upon his good abearing one whole year.' But I had not so offended, as it was well proved: for he that I spake to, was not lawfully authorized, nor had put away his wife. Wherefore it was not lawful for him to preach, by your own law; and therefore I brake not the statute, though I spake to him."

Winchester.--"I am glad, I perceive this man speaketh against priests' marriages; he is not contented with priests that have wives. He is an honest man than I took him for, Master Sheriff: have him away! I am glad he loveth not priests' marriages."

Then I would have answered to his sayings, but he would in no wise hear me, but bade the sheriff have me away. So the sheriff took me by the hand, and plucked me away, and would not let me speak; but going out of the chancel door, I said, "I would show him the whole matter, if he would have given me leave; but seeing he will not, if he will let me go so, they shall see whether I will not go home to my wife and children, and keep them, as my bounden duty is, by the help of God." So I was sent to the Marshalsea again, where I am now merry, I praise God there-for, as a sheep appointed to be slain.

Moreover, I was credibly informed by one of our brethren that heard our talk, that the bishop said when I was gone, that they would take me whilst I was somewhat good: which words seemed to many of the people that were there, that I spake against priests' marriages; but I did not, but did only answer to such questions as he asked me, as you shall perceive well by the words, if you mark them, which words were these: "How can you purge yourself from heresy, for talking to the curate in the pulpit, and not offend the statute?" said the bishop; meaning thereby, I think, to have taken vantage of my words; but it was not God's will that he should at that time. For I answered him by the words of the statute, which words be as hereafter followeth, (that is,) "Whosoever doth interrupt any preacher or preachers, lawfully authorized by the queen's Majesty, or by any other lawful ordinary, that all such shall suffer three months' imprisonment." But I proved that this man was not lawfully authorized to preach, by their own law, because he had not put away his wife. For their law is, that no priest may say mass, nor preach with the mass, but he must first be separated from his wife. That is, because honest marriages be good and commendable, and theirs naught and abominable; therefore they cannot dwell together.

Now I give you all to understand, that I did not reprove this priest because he had a wife, but because he taught false doctrine, which grieved my soul, because he had been a fervent preacher against the mass, and all the idolatry thereof, seven years

before, and then came and held with it again; for the which cause I reprov'd him in the pulpit. And the words that I spake to him, are written in divers of my examinations at my first imprisonment for that same. But in very deed, I knew not of the statute when I reprov'd him. But because I was sent to prison upon the breach of it, I bought a statute book; and when I had perused it, I perceived I had not offended, by their own law; and therefore still, when I was called to answer, I answered them with their own law. But yet they kept me in prison a year and almost three quarters, or ever I was released. I was at mine answer for that eighteen times. If any think I do not allow bishops' and priests' marriages, let them look in my first examination before the bishop of Chichester that now is, during this my imprisonment, and there they shall find what I have said in the matter. The truth is, I looked to be condemned with my brother that same day; but we may all see, that they can do nothing but as God will permit them to do. But when the time is full come, I trust in God I shall run that joyful race that my brethren have done. Thus I commit you all into the hands of God, who is the preserver, defender, and keeper of all his elect for evermore, Amen.

The fifth examination of Richard Woodman, had before the bishop of Winchester, the archdeacon of Canterbury, Dr. Langdale, with a fat-headed priest, and others, whose names I know not, with certain also of the commissioners, at St. Mary Overy's church in Southwark, in the presence of three hundred people at the least, the fifteenth day of June, anno 1557.

Winchester.--"Woodman, you were before us the last day, and would not be known in any wise that you were sent to prison for heresy; and called for your accusers, and stood stoutly in defending of yourself. And, in your departing, I had thought you had spoken against priests' marriages, thinking by your words we should have found you an honest man, and conformable, when we had called you before us again. You told such a fair tale for yourself, as though you had been free from all that was laid to your charge: for you said it was all lies that I told against you. But since, I have proved the contrary, as here is your own hand to show; by the which I have proved, that you reprov'd not the priest for lacking of authority, and because he had not put away his wife, but because you liked not his preaching. For indeed I took it, that you reprov'd him because he was not lawfully authorized; but I have proved the contrary since."

Woodman.--"I told you not, that I did either reprove him for lack of authority, or because I liked not his preaching; but I told you wherefore I was first sent to prison. For you said I was sent to prison for heresy; and made a long tale against me. And indeed I told you that there was never a word of your sayings true, but was all lies; as it was indeed. For I never was sent to prison for heresy, neither held I any then, nor do now, I take heaven and earth to witness. But I told you I was sent to prison upon the breach of a statute, which was for speaking to a priest in the pulpit; and for that cause the justices of that country had thought I had offended the statute, and called me before them; and would have had me to have been bound to my good abearing; and because I refused it, they sent me to prison. And these be the words of the statute, as I told you the last day: If any man do interrupt any preacher or preachers, lawfully authorized by the queen's Majesty, or by any other lawful ordinary, that then every party that so offendeth, shall suffer three months' imprisonment, and furthermore be

brought to the quarter-sessions; and there being sorry for the same, and also bound for his good abearing one whole year, to be released, or else to remain to prison again.' And when I was in prison I bought a statute-book, which when I had perused over, I found by the words thereof, that I had not offended, because he was not lawfully authorized, as the bishop of London was certified by the hands almost of thirty men, both esquires, gentlemen, and yeomen, the chiefest in all that country. For he had not put away his wife, and therefore the statute took no place on me, as I told you the other day. Wherefore my Lord of London, seeing me have so much wrong, did like a good man to me in that matter, and released me. Now when I had told you this matter, you bade the sheriff have me away; you said, you were glad I held against priests' marriages, because I answered to the question you asked me."

The fat priest.--"My Lord, do you not hear what he said by my Lord of London? He saith he is a good man in that he released him; but he meaneth that he is good in nothing else."

Woodman.--"What! can you tell what I mean? Let every man say as he findeth; he did justly to me in that matter. I say, if he be not good in any thing else, as you say, he shall answer for it, and not I: for I have nothing to do with other men's matters."

Winchester.--"Well, how say you? how liked you his preaching? I pray you tell us."

Woodman.--"That is no matter how I liked it. Howsoever I liked it, I offended not the statute. Wherefore you have nothing to say to me for that, I am sure."

Winchester.--"Well, how like you this then? Here is your own hand-writing. I am sure you will not deny it. Will you look on it?"

Woodman.--"It is mine own handiwork indeed, the which, by God's help, I will never deny, nor ever did yet, I praise God there-for."

Winchester.--"And here is good gear I tell you. I pray you hearken well to it. These be the words before the commissioners: How say you? Do not you believe that, as soon as the words be spoken by the priest, there remaineth neither bread nor wine, but only the very body of Christ, both flesh and blood, as he was born of the Virgin Mary?' These were the words of the commissioners. And then thou saidst, thou durst not say otherwise than the Scripture saith. 'I cannot find,' say you, 'that it is the body of Christ before it is received by faith,' bringing in Luke xxii., saying, 'Christ said, Take, eat, this is my body, so I cannot prove it is his body before it is eaten.' Then said the commissioners, 'Did not Judas eat Christ's body?' 'And if you can prove that Judas is saved,' said you, 'I must grant that he ate his body. For Christ saith in John vi., Whoso eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life, and I will raise him up at the last day; which words prove,' said you, 'that if Judas ate the body of Christ, he must needs be saved.' How say you now? did Judas eat the body of Christ, or not?"

Then I perceived he went about nothing but to catch words of me in his diocese, to condemn me with. Though I should confound him never so much, I perceived that he was fully bent thereto. To whom I answered and said, "I will answer

you to no such thing, for I am none of your diocese; wherefore I will not answer to you."

Winchester.--"Thou art within my diocese, and thou hast offended within my diocese; and therefore I will have to do with thee."

Woodman.--"Have to do with me if you will; but I will have nothing to do with you, I tell you plainly. For though I be now in your diocese, I have not offended in your diocese: if I have, show me wherein."

Winchester.--"Marry, here is thine own hand-writing, the which thou affirmedst in my diocese."

Woodman.--"I do not deny but it is mine own hand-writing; but that proveth never the more that I have offended in your diocese; for that doth but declare what talk there was betwixt the commissioners and me; the which you have nothing to do withal."

Winchester.--"No? hold him a book! And thou shalt swear whether thou holdest it now, or not, and whether thou wrotest it not in my diocese, as I think thou didst. Lay thy hand on the book!"

Woodman.--"I will not be sworn for you; for I am not of your diocese; and therefore you have nothing to do with me. And as for the writing of the same, I never wrote [one] word of it in your diocese."

Langdale.--"No! did you not? My Lord, let me see; I will find where you wrote it."

Then he took it and looked on it, and anon he found that I was sent for out of the King's Bench, to come before the commissioners.

Langdale.--"My Lord, here you may see it was in the King's Bench, the which is in your diocese."

Woodman.--"Although I were fetched out of the King's Bench, that proveth not that I wrote it there; nor did I, I promise you truly."

The fat priest.--"Where wrote you it then?"

Woodman.--"Nay, I owe you not so much service as to tell you; find it out as well as you can; for I perceive you go about to shed my blood."

Winchester.--"It is no great matter where it was written: it is here, and he denieth not but he wrote it. You shall hear more of it. Here the commissioners asked you, whether Judas did eat any more than bare bread, and you answered that he ate more than bare bread. Whereupon they sent you away back to the King's Bench again, and asked you not, What more? for the which cause (as you have written here) you had a hell burning in your conscience. For you had thought they would have sent a discharge to the King's Bench: 'and so let me go,' said you, 'and register my name in

their books, that I had granted that Judas did eat the body of Christ; and so the gospel should have been slandered by me. For the which cause I was in such case, I could scanty eat, drink, or sleep for that space; as all my prison-fellows can testify. If all you, I say, that go to the church of Satan, and there hear the detestable doctrine, that they spit and spew out in their churches and pulpits, to the great dishonour of God; if all you, I say, that come there, had such a hell burning in your conscience for the time, as I had till I came before them again, and had uttered my conscience more plainly, I dare say you would come there no more.' All this is your writing; is it not? How say you

Woodman.--"I do not deny but it was mine own deed."

Winchester.--"And I pray you, where is there such spitting and spewing out of false doctrine as you speak of?"

Woodman.--"In the synagogue of Satan, where God is dishonoured with false doctrine."

Winchester.--"And I pray you, where is one of them?"

Woodman.--"Nay, that judge yourself; I came not hither to be a judge."

Winchester.--"Well, here you have affirmed, that Judas, your master, ate more than bread; but yet he ate not the body of Christ, as you have declared by your words. For you had a hell burning in your conscience, because you were in doubt that the commissioners understood by your words, that Judas had eaten the body of Christ, because you said, he ate more than bare bread. Therefore thou hadst a great sort of devils in thee; for in hell be many devils: and therefore the devil and Judas is thy master, by thine own words."

Woodman.--"Nay, I defy Judas and the devil, and his servants; for they be your masters, and you serve them, for any thing that I can see; I tell you truth."

Winchester.--"Nay, they be thy masters. For the devil is master where hell is, and thou saidst thou hadst a burning hell in thee. I pray thee tell me, how thou canst avoid it, but that the devil was in thee, by thine own saying?"

Woodman.--"The hell that I had, was the loving correction of God toward me, to call me to repentance, that I should not offend God and his people in leaving things so dark, as I left that. For the which cause my conscience bare me record, I had not done well, as at all times I have felt the sting of it, when I have broken the commandments of God by any means, as all God's people do, I dare say; and it is the loving-kindness of God towards them, to drive them to repentance. But it is to be thought, that your conscience is never troubled, how wickedly soever you do: for if it were, it should not be so strange to you as you make it, which declareth plainly whose servant you be."

Winchester.--"What a naughty fellow is this! This is such a perverse villain as I never talked with in all my life. Hold him a book, I will make him swear, to answer

directly to such things as I will demand of him; and if he will not answer, I will condemn him."

Woodman.--"Call you me a fellow! I am such a fellow, I tell you, that will drive you all to hell, if you consent to the shedding of my blood, and you shall have blood to drink, as saith St. John in his Revelation, the ninth chapter. And being in hell, you shall be compelled to say, for pain of conscience, This is the man that we have had in derision, and thought his life madness, and his end to be without honour; but now we may see how he is counted among the saints of God, and we are punished. This shall you say in hell, if you repent it not, if you do condemn me. This you shall find in the fifth chapter of the Book of Wisdom: and therefore take heed what you do, I give you counsel."

Winchester.--"Wisdom! what speakest thou of wisdom? thou never hadst it; for thou art as very a fool as ever I heard speak."

Woodman.--"Do you not know, that the foolish things of this world must confound the wise things? Wherefore it grieveth me not to be called a fool at your hands."

Winchester.--"Nay, thou art none of those fools; thou art an obstinate fool, and a heretic. Lay hand on the book, and answer to such things as I will lay against thee."

Woodman.--"I will lay hand on the book for none of you all. You be not my bishop; and therefore I will have nothing to do with you."

Winchester.--"I will have to do with you. This man is without law, he careth not for the king nor queen, I dare say; for he will not obey their laws. Let me see the king's commission. I will see whether he will obey that, or not."

Woodman.--"I would you loved the king and queen's Majesty no worse than I do, if it pleased God: you would not do as you do then."

Winchester.--"Hold him a book; he is a rank heretic. Thou shalt answer to such things as I will demand of thee."

Woodman.--"I take heaven and earth to record I am no heretic, neither can I tell wherefore I am brought to prison, no more than any man here can tell." And therewith I looked round about on the people, And said to the bishop, "If you have any just cause against me worthy of death, lay it against me, and let me have it; for I refuse not to die (I praise God) for the truth's sake, if I had ten lives. If you have no cause, let me go home, I pray you, to my wife and children to see them kept, and other poor folk that I would set awork by the help of God. I have set on work a hundred persons ere this, all the year together, and was unjustly taken from them: but God forgive them that did it, if it be his will."

Winchester.--"Do you not see how he looketh about for help? But I would see any man show thee a cheerful countenance, and especially you that be of my diocese. If any of you bid God strengthen him, or take him by the hand, or embrace him, or

show him a cheerful countenance, you shall be excommunicated, and shall not be received in again, till you have done open penance; and therefore beware of it! "

Woodman.--"I look for no help of men, for God is on my side, I praise him there-for; and therefore I need not to care who be against me, neither do I care."

Then they cried, "Away with him, and bring us another." So I was carried again to the Marshal-sea, where I am now merry, (I praise God there-for,) as a sheep appointed to be slain.-- But for lack of time, I have left out much of our talk; but this is the chiefest of it.

The sixth and last examination of Richard Woodman, written and copied with his own hand.

Be it known unto all men by this present writing, that I Richard Woodman, sometime of the parish of Warbleton, in the county of Sussex, was condemned for God's everlasting truth, anno 1557, July the sixteenth, by the bishop of Winchester, in the church of St. Mary Overy's, in Southwark, there sitting with him the same time the bishop of Chichester, the archdeacon of Canterbury, Dr. Langdale, Master Roper, with a fat-headed priest, I cannot tell his name. All these consented to the shedding of my blood, upon this occasion, as hereafter followeth.

I affirmed, that Judas received the sacrament with a sop, and the devil withal; and because I would not be sworn upon a book, to answer directly to such articles as he would declare to me; and because I would not believe that there remained neither bread nor wine after the words of consecration, and that the body of Christ could not be received of any but of the faithful, for these articles I was condemned, as hereafter shall follow more at large, by the help of God.

First, the bishop of Winchester said when I came before him, "You were before us on Monday last past; and there you affirmed certain heresies. How say you now? Do you hold them still, or will you revoke them?"

Woodman.--"I held no heresies then, neither do I now, as the Lord knoweth."

Winchester.--"No? did you not affirm, that Judas received bread? which is no heresy, unless you tell what more than bread."

Woodman.--"Is it heresy to say, Judas received no more than bread? I said, he received more than bare bread, for he received the same sacrament that was prepared to show forth the Lord's death; and because he presumed to eat without faith, he ate the devil withal, as the words of Christ declare; after he ate the sop, the devil entered into him, as you cannot deny."

Winchester.--"Hold him a book. I will have you answer directly, whether Judas did eat the body of Christ or no."

Woodman.--"I will answer no more, for I am not of your diocese; wherefore I will have nothing to do with you."

Winchester.--"No? you be in my diocese; and you be of my diocese, because you have offended in my diocese."

Woodman.--"I am not of your diocese, although I am in your diocese, and I was brought into your diocese against my will: and I have not offended in your diocese: if I have, tell me wherein."

Winchester.--"Here, in your own hand-writing, the which is heresy. These be the words: 'I cannot find,' say you, 'that it is the body of Christ to any, before it is received in faith.' How say you? is not this your own hand-writing?"

Woodman.--"Yea, I do not deny but it is mine own hand-writing. But when or where was it written, or where were the words spoken?"

Winchester.--"Before the commissioners, and here is one of them. Master Roper! the words were spoken before you: were they not?"

Roper.--"Yes indeed, that they were. Woodman, I am sure you will not deny them; for you have written the words even as you spake them."

Woodman.--"No sir, indeed I will not deny but that I spake them, and I am glad that you have seen it: for you may see by that, whether I lie, or not."

Roper.--"Indeed the words be written word by word as ye spake them."

Winchester.--"Well, here you affirm, that it is your own deed. How say you now? will you be sorry for it, and become an honest man?"

Woodman.--"My Lord, I trust no man can say, but that I am an honest man; and as for that, I marvel that you will lay it to my charge, knowing that my Lord of London discharged me of all matters that were laid against me, when I was released of him."

Winchester.--"You were released, and it might fortune it was not laid to your charge then; therefore we lay it to your charge now, because you be suspected to be a heretic: and we may call you before us, and examine you upon your faith upon suspicion."

Woodman.--"Indeed St. Peter willeth me to render account of my hope that I have in God; and I am contented so to do, if it please my bishop to hear me."

Chichester.--"Yes, I pray you let us hear it."

Woodman.--"I do believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and of earth, and of all things visible and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus Christ my Saviour, very God, and very man. I believe in God the Holy Ghost, the Comforter of all God's elect people, and that he is equal with the Father and the Son. I believe the true

catholic church, and all the sacraments that belong thereto. Thus have I rendered account of my hope that I have of my salvation."

Winchester.--"And how believe you in the blessed sacrament of the altar?" And with that word they all put off their caps to that abominable idol.

Woodman.--"I pray you be contented, for I will not answer to any more questions; for I perceive you go about to shed my blood."

Winchester.--"No? Hold him a book. If he refuse to swear, he is an Anabaptist, and shall be excommunicated."

Woodman.--"I will not swear for you, excommunicate me if you will; for you be not meet to take an oath; for you laid heresies to my charge in yonder pulpit, the which you are not able to prove: wherefore you be not meet to take an oath of any man. And as for me, I am not of your diocese, nor will have any thing to do with you."

Winchester.--"I will have to do with thee, and I say thou art a strong heretic."

Woodman.--"Yea, all truth is heresy with you; but I am content to show you my mind, how I believe on the sacrament of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, without flattering: for that you look for, I am sure. But I will meddle no further, but what I hold myself of it. I will not meddle of any other man's belief on it."

Harpsfield.--"Why? I am sure all men's faith ought to be alike."

Woodman.--"Yea, I grant you so, that all true Christians' faith ought to be alike. But I will answer for myself."

Harpsfield.--"Well, let us hear what you say to it."

Woodman.--"I do believe, that when I come to receive the sacrament of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, if it be truly ministered according to Christ's institution, I coming in faith, as I trust in God I will, whensoever I come to receive it, I believing that Christ was born for me, and that he suffered death for the remission of my sins, and that I shall be saved by his death and blood-shedding, and so receive the sacrament of bread and wine in that remembrance, that then I do receive whole Christ, God and man, mystically by faith: this is my belief on the sacrament."

Then they spake all at once, saying, "Mystically by faith! "

The fat priest.--"What a fool art thou: 'mystically by faith!' Thou canst not tell what 'mystically' is?"

Woodman.--"If I be a fool, so take me. But God hath chosen such fools of this world, to confound such wise things as you are."

The fat priest.--"I pray thee, what is 'mystically?'"

Woodman.--"I take 'mystically' to be the faith that is in us; that the world seeth not, but God only."

Winchester.--"He cannot tell me what he saith. Answer to the sacrament of the altar, whether it be not the body of Christ before it be received, and whether it be not the body of Christ to whomsoever [he be that] receiveth it? Tell me, or else I will excommunicate thee."

Woodman.--"I have said as much as I will say. Excommunicate me if you will: I am none of your diocese. The bishop of Chichester is mine ordinary. Let him do it, if you will needs have my blood, that it may be required at his hands."

Chichester.--"I am not consecrated yet; I told you when you were with me."

Woodman.--"No indeed! your kind bring forth nothing but cow-calves, as it chanceth now;" meaning thereby he had not his bulls from Rome.

Then they were all in a great rage with me, and called me all to naught; and said I was out of my wits, because I spake fervently to every man's question; all the which I cannot remember, but I said, "So Festus said to Paul, when he spake the words of soberness and truth out of the Spirit of God, as I do. But as you have judged me, you be yourselves. You will go to hell, all the sort of you, if you condemn me, if you repent it not with speed."

Then my keeper, and the sheriff's deputy Fuller, rebuked me, because I spake so sharply to them. And I said, "I pray you let me alone; I must answer for my life." Then there was much ado that I should keep silence, and so I held my peace.

Then spake the bishop of Winchester and the archdeacon of Canterbury, saying, "We go not about to condemn thee, but go about to save thy soul, if thou wilt be ruled, and do as we would have thee."

Woodman.--"To save my soul! Nay, you cannot save my soul. My soul is saved already: I praise God there-for. There can no man save my soul, but Jesus Christ; and he it is that hath saved my soul, before the foundation of the world was laid."

The fat priest.--"What a heresy is that, my Lord! here is another heresy! He saith his soul was saved before the foundations of the world were laid. Thou canst not tell what thou sayest. Was thy soul saved before it was?"

Woodman.--"Yes, I praise God, I can tell what I say, and I say the truth. Look in Ephesians and there you shall find it, where Paul saith, Blessed be God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which hath blessed us with all manner of spiritual blessings in heavenly things, by Christ, according as he hath chosen us in himself before the foundation of the world was laid, that we should be holy and without blame before him, through love; and thereto were we predestinated. These be the words of Paul, and I believe they be most true. And therefore it is my faith, in and by Jesus Christ, that saveth; and not you, or any man else."

The fat priest.--"What! faith without works? St. James saith, Faith without works is dead, and we have free-will to do good works."

Woodman.--"I would not that any of you should think that I disallow good works: for a good faith cannot be without good works. Yet not of ourselves, but it is the gift of God, as saith St. Paul to the Philippians, chap. ii., It is God that worketh in us both the will and also the deed, even of good will."

Winchester.--"Make an end: answer to me. Here is your ordinary, the archdeacon of Canterbury: he is made your ordinary by my Lord Cardinal, and he hath authority to examine you of your faith upon a book, to answer to such articles as he will lay to you. And I pray you refuse it not; for the danger is great, if you do. Wherefore we desire you to show yourself a subject in this matter."

Then they spake all, and said, "Lo! my Lord desireth you gently to answer to him, and so we do all. For if you refuse to take an oath, he may excommunicate you. For my Lord Cardinal may put whom he will in the bishop's office, until he is consecrated."

Woodman.--"I know not so much. If you will give me time to learn the truth of it, (if I can prove it to be as you say,) I will tell you my mind in any thing that he shall demand of me, without any flattering."

Priest.--"My Lord, and all we, tell thee it is true; and therefore answer to him."

Woodman.--"I will believe none of you all, for you be turncoats and changelings, and be wavering-minded, as saith St. James; you be neither hot nor cold, as saith St. John, therefore God will spew you out of his mouth. Wherefore I can believe none of you all, I tell you truth."

Winchester.--"What! be we turncoats and changelings; what meanest thou by that?"

Woodman.--"I mean, that in King Edward's time, you taught the doctrine that was set forth then, every one of you, and now you teach the contrary; and therefore I call you turncoats and changelings, as I may well enough:" which words made the most part of them to quake.

Winchester.--"Nay, not all, as it chanced."

Woodman.--"No! I pray where were you then?"

Winchester.--"I was in the Tower, as the lieutenant will bear me record."

Woodman.--"If you were in the Tower, it was not there-for, I dare say; it was for some other matter."

Then they all took heart of grace, and said, "My Lord, he cometh to examine you, we think: if he will not answer to the articles, you were best to excommunicate him."

Winchester.--"He is the naughtiest varlet-heretic that ever I knew. I will read the sentence against him."

Then they spake all at once, and I answered them as fast as I could. But I cannot remember it all, the words came out so thick. I spared them not, I praise God there-for; for I spake freely.

Then they that stood by rebuked me, and said, "You cannot tell to whom you speak, I think."

Woodman.--"No! think you so? They be but men. I am sure I have spoken to as good as they be, and better than they will ever be, for any thing that I can see, if they repent not with speed."

Winchester.--"Give ear; for I will read sentence against you."

Woodman.--"Will you so? wherefore will you? You have no just cause to excommunicate me; and therefore if you do condemn me, you will be condemned in hell, if you repent not; and I praise God, I am not afraid to die for God's sake, if I had a hundred lives."

Winchester.--"For God's sake? nay, for the devil's sake! Thou sayest thou art not afraid to die: no more was Judas that hanged himself, as thou wilt kill thyself wilfully, because thou wilt not be ruled."

Woodman.--"Nay, I defy the devil, Judas, and all their members. And Judas's flesh was not afraid, but his spirit and conscience were afraid, and therefore [he] despaired and hung himself. But I praise God, I feel no loathsomeness in my flesh to die, but a joyful conscience, and a willing mind thereto. Wherefore my flesh is subdued to it, I praise God; and therefore I am not afraid of death."

Chichester.--"Woodman, for God's sake be ruled. You know what you said to me at my house. I could say more, if I would."

Woodman.--"Say what you can; the most fault that you found in me was, because I praised the living God, and because I said, I praise God, and the Lord: which you ought to be ashamed of, if you have any grace; for I told you where the words were written."

Winchester.--"Well, how say you? will you confess that Judas received the body of Christ unworthily? tell me plainly."

Woodman.--"My Lord, if you, or any of you all, can prove before all this audience, in all the Bible, that any man ever ate the body of Christ unworthily, then I will be with you in all things that you will demand of me; of the which matter I desire all this people to be witness."

Priest.--"Will you so? then we shall agree well enough. St. Paul saith so."

Woodman.--"I pray you where saith he so? rehearse the words."

Priest.--"In 1 Cor. xi. he saith, Whoso eateth of this bread and drinketh of this cup unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation, because he maketh no difference of the Lord's body."

Woodman.--"Do these words prove that Judas ate the body of Christ unworthily? I pray you let me see them." They were contented. Then said I, "These be the words even that you said, (good people, hearken well to them,) Whoso eateth of this bread and drinketh of this cup unworthily. He saith not, Whoso eateth of this body unworthily, or drinketh of this blood unworthily: but he saith, Whoso eateth of this bread and drinketh of this cup unworthily, (which is the sacrament,) eateth and drinketh his own damnation, because he maketh no difference between the sacrament which representeth the Lord's body, and other bread and drink. Here, good people! you may all see they are not able to prove their sayings true. Wherefore I cannot believe them in any thing that they do."

Winchester.--"Thou art a rank heretic indeed. Art thou an expounder? Now I will read sentence against thee."

Woodman.--"Judge not, lest you be judged: for as you have judged me, you be yourself." Then he read the sentence. "Why," said I, "will you read the sentence against me, and cannot tell wherefore?"

Winchester.--"Thou art a heretic, and therefore thou shalt be excommunicated."

Woodman.--"I am no heretic, I take heaven and earth to witness; I defy all heretics; and if you condemn me, you will be damned, if you repent not. But God give you grace to repent all, if it be his will."

And so he read forth the sentence in Latin, but what he said, God knoweth, and not I. God be judge between them and me! When he had done, I would have talked my mind to them, but they cried, "Away! away with him! "So I was carried to the Marshalsea again, where I am, and shall be as long as it shall please God. And I praise God most heartily, that ever he hath elected and predestinated me to come to so high dignity as to bear rebuke for his name's sake; his name be praised there-for, for ever and ever. Amen.

And thus have you the examinations of this blessed Woodman, or rather Goodman; wherein may appear as well the great grace and wisdom of God in that man, as also the gross ignorance and barbarous cruelty of his adversaries, especially of Dr. White, bishop of Winchester. Now followeth likewise the effect of his letter.

A godly letter of Richard Woodman, written to a Christian woman, Mistress Roberts of Hawkhurst.

"Grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, and from his Son our alone Saviour Jesus Christ, by the operation and working of the Holy Ghost, be multiplied plenteously upon you, dear sister Roberts, that you may the more joyfully bear the

cross of Christ that ye are under, unto the end, to your only comfort and consolation, and to all our brethren and sisters that are round about you, both now and ever. Amen.

"In my most humble wise I commend me unto you, and to all our brethren and sisters in those parts, that love our Lord unfeignedly, certifying you, that I and all my brethren with me are merry and joyful, we praise God there-for, looking daily to be dissolved from these our mortal bodies, according to the good pleasure of our heavenly Father; praising God also for your constancy, and gentle benevolence, that you have showed unto God's elect people, in this troublesome time of persecution, which may be a sure pledge and token of God's good will and favour towards you, and to all others that hear thereof: for blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy. Wherefore the fruits declare alway what the tree is; for a good man or woman, out of the good treasure of their heart, bring forth good things.

"Wherefore, dear sister, it is not as many affirm in these days, (the more it is to be lamented,) that say God asketh but a man's heart; which is the greatest injury that can be devised against God and his word. For St. James saith, Show me thy faith by thy deeds, and I will show thee my faith by my deeds; saying, the devils have faith, and tremble for fear, and yet shall be but devils still, because their minds were never to do good. Let us not therefore be like them, but let our faith be made manifest to the whole world by our deeds; and in the midst of a crooked and perverse nation, as St. Paul saith, let our light shine as in a dark place.

"O dear hearts! now is the gospel of God overwhelmed with many black and troublesome clouds of persecution, for the which cause very few go about to have their eyes made clear by the true light of the gospel, for fear of losing of the treasures of this world, which are but vain and shall perish. Let not us therefore be like unto them which light their candle, and put it under a bushel; but let us set our candle upon a candlestick, that it may give light unto all them that are in the house; that is to say, let all the people of the household of God see our good works, in suffering all things patiently that shall be laid upon us for the gospel's sake, if it be death itself. For Christ died for us, leaving us an example, that we should follow his steps; and as he hath given his life for us, so ought we to give our lives for the defence of the gospel, to the comfort of our brethren.

"How is it, then, that some will say that their faith is good; and yet they do all the deeds of antichrist the devil, and be not ashamed to allege certain scriptures to maintain their wickedness? St. Paul saith, to believe with the heart justifieth, and to confess with the mouth maketh a man safe. O good God! here may all men see, that no man or woman can have a true faith, unless they have deeds also; and he that doubteth, is like the waves of the sea tossed about of the wind, and can look for no good thing at the Lord's hands. May not a man judge all such to be like those which St. John speaketh of, that be neither hot nor cold; and therefore God will (he saith) spew them out of his mouth? If we judge evil of such, have not they given us occasion? Had it not been better for them to have had a millstone tied about their necks, and to have been cast into the sea, than they should give such offences to God's elect people in condemning them as they do, in going to the synagogues of Satan, and there to receive the mark of the beast: in that they see and hear God blasphemed there, and hold their peace? Doth not that declare to the whole world, that they allow their doings to be good? And these do not only defile themselves, but also be an occasion

to confirm the papists in their papistry, and so be an occasion of our weak brother's falling, the which will be all required at their hands; which will be too heavy a burden for them to bear, if they repent it not with speed. For they that know their Master's will, and do it not, shall be beaten with many stripes. Oh! do not we perceive, that now is the acceptable time that Christ speaketh of? yea, even now is the axe put to the roots of the trees, so that every tree that bringeth not forth good fruits now, must be hewn down, and cast into the fire.

"Now is the Lord come with his fan in his hand, to try the wheat from the chaff. The wheat will he gather into his barn, and the chaff he will burn, as is aforesaid. Now is the time come, that we must go meet the Bridegroom with oil in our lamps. We are also bidden to the feast; let us make no excuses. Yea, our Master hath delivered his talents unto us, God give us grace to occupy them well, that at his coming he may receive his own with vantage. Yea, now is the Lord come, to see if there be any fruit upon his trees: so that if the Lord come and find none, he will serve us as he did the wild fig tree; that is, never fruit shall grow on him more. Also, if we go to meet the Bride-groom without oil in our lamps, and should go to buy, the doubt is, we should be served as were the foolish virgins; that was, God said to them, Depart, I know you not. Or if we should make excuses to come to the feast, others shall be bidden in our rooms. If we occupy not our talents well, they shall be taken from us and given to others, and all such unprofit-able servants shall be cast into prison in hell, where shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.

"O good God! what a sort of fearful sayings are here contained! what Christian heart will not hearken diligently hereto! O may not all people well perceive now, that this is the time that our Master Christ speaketh of, that the father should be against the son, and the son against the father, and one brother against another, that the brother shall deliver the brother to death: yea, and that the wicked shall say all manner of wicked sayings against us for his name's sake? the which I have well found by experience, I praise God therefor, that hath given me strength to bear it: for I think there can be no evil devised, but it hath been imagined against me, and that of my familiar friends, as David saith. But I praise my Lord God, they are not able to prove any of their sayings true, but that they go about to find fault in them that God hath chosen, because they themselves list not to take up their cross and follow Christ; and therefore they speak evil of the thing that they know not, the which shall give account for it before Him that is ready to judge both the quick and the dead.

"But my trust is, that all the people of God will be ruled by the counsel of St. John, saying, My sheep will hear my voice; strangers they will not hear: meaning thereby, that ye should not believe strangers; counting them strangers that go about to subvert the gospel. Wherefore mark well what they be, and try them well or ever you give credit to them, according to St. John's counsel, in his Epistle, saying, "Believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they be of God, or not; meaning thereby, that they that be not of God, will speak good of none but of them that be as they be. Wherefore, dear sister, be of good cheer, and give no credit to such people, whatsoever ye hear them say. For I have no mistrust by God's help, but that all the world shall see and know that my blood shall not be dear in mine own sight, whensoever it shall please God to give my adversaries leave to shed it. I do earnestly believe, that God which hath begun this good work in me, will perform it to the end,

as he hath given me grace, and will alway, to bear this easy yoke and light burden; the which I have always found, I praise my Lord God.

"For when I have been in prison, wearing one while bolts, otherwhile shackles, otherwhile lying on the bare ground; sometime sitting in the stocks; sometime bound with cords, that all my body hath been swollen; much like to be overcome for the pain that hath been in my flesh; sometime fain to lie without in the woods and fields, wandering to and fro; few, I say, that durst keep my company for fear of the rulers; sometime brought before the justices, sheriffs, lords, doctors, and bishops; sometime called dog, sometime devil, heretic, whore-monger, traitor, thief, deceiver, with divers other such like; yea, and even they that did eat of my bread, that should have been most my friends by nature, have betrayed me. Yet, for all this, I praise my Lord God that hath separated me from my mother's womb, all this that hath happened unto me hath been easy, light, and most delectable and joyful of any treasure that ever I possessed; for I praise God they are not able to prove one jot or tittle of their sayings true. But that way that they call heresy, I serve my Lord God; and at all times, before whomsoever I have been brought, God hath given me mouth and wisdom, where-against all my adversaries have not been able to resist, I praise God there-for.

"Wherefore, dear sister, be of good comfort, with all your brethren and sisters; and take no thought what you shall say, for it shall be given you the same hour, according to the promises, as I have always found, and as you and all other of God's elect shall well find, when the time is full come. And whereas I and many others have hoped, that this persecution would have been at an end ere this time, now I perceive, God will have a further trial to root out all dissemblers, that no man should rejoice in himself, but he that rejoiceth shall rejoice in God. Wherefore if prophecy should fail, and tongues should cease, yet love must endure. For fear hath painfulness, but a perfect love casteth out all fear; which love I have no mistrust but God hath poured it upon you so abundantly, that nothing in the world shall be able to separate you from God. Neither high nor low, rich nor poor, life nor death, shall be able to put you from Christ; but by him I trust you shall enter into new Jerusalem, there to live for ever, beholding the glory of God with the same eyes that you now have, and all other faithful people that continue to the end. Give all honour and glory to God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, three Persons and one God, to be honoured now and ever, Amen."

After these examinations thus had and commenced between Richard Woodman and the bishops, he was (as is afore told) judged by sentence of condemnation, and so deprived of his life.

With Woodman also were burnt nine others; to wit, five men and four women, which were taken not past two or three days before their judgment; the names of all which being also before expressed, here again follow in this order: Richard Woodman, George Stevens, William Mainard, Alexander Hosman, his servant, Thomasin h Wood, his maid, Margery Moris, James Moris, her son, Dennis Burgis, Ashdon's wife, Grove's wife. These persons here above-named, and blessed martyrs, were put to death at Lewes the twenty-second of June. Of the which number the eight last were apprehended (as is said) either the same day, or the second or third day before, and so with the said Woodman and Stevens were together committed to the fire; in which space no writ could come down from London to the justices, for their

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burning. Wherefore what is to be said to such justices, or what reckoning they will make to God and to the laws of this realm, I refer that to them that have to do in the matter. The like whereof is to be found also of other justices, who, without any lawful writ of discharge or order of law, have unlawfully and disorderly burnt the servants of Christ, (whose blood the law both may and also ought to revenge,) especially at Salisbury, and at Canterbury, and Guernsey. But concerning these matters, though man's law do wink, or rather sleep, at them, yet they shall be sure God's law will find such murderers out at length. I pray God the doers may repent betime.

END OF VOLUME 12

**THE ACTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE
CHRISTIAN CHURCH**

by
JOHN FOXE

Commonly known as
FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

Volume 13

The Reign of Queen Mary I. – Part V.

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Portrait of Queen Mary

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361. Ambrose (first name unknown), Richard Lush, Thomas Read, Simon Miller and Elizabeth Cooper

One Ambrose, a confessor, who died in Maidstone prison.

After these ten above-named, burnt at Lewes, about the same time and month one Ambrose died in Maidstone prison, who else should have been burnt in the like cause and quarrel as the others were.

The condemnation and martyrdom of Richard Lush.

In the registers of Gilbert, bishop of Bath and Wells, I find a certificate made to King Philip and Queen Mary, of one Richard Lush, there condemned and given to the secular power to be burnt for the cause of heresy, whose affirmations in the said certificate be expressed in tenor and effect as followeth:--

"First, For denying the verity of the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament of the altar.

"2. Item, For denying auricular confession to be made to the priest.

"3. Item, For affirming only to be three sacraments; to wit, of baptism, of the supper, and of matrimony.

"4. Item, For refusing to call the Lord's supper by the name of the sacrament of the altar.

"5. Item, For denying purgatory; and that prayer and alms profit not the dead.

"6. Item, That images are not to be suffered in the church; and that all that kneel to images at the church be idolaters.

"7. Item, That they which were burnt of late for religion, died God's servants and good martyrs.

"8. Item, For condemning the single life of priests, and other votaries.

"9. Item, For denying the universal and catholic church; meaning belike the church of Rome."

For these assertions, as there are expressed, he was condemned and connnitted to the sheriffs, and also a certificate directed by the bishop aforesaid, to the king and queen: whereby we have apparently to understand, that the said Richard Lush, thus condemned by Bishop Bourn, was there burnt and executed, unless peradventure in the mean season he died, or was made away in the prison; whereof I have no certainty to express.

A note of Thomas Read.

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Thomas Read, (who was burnt at Lewes, as it appeareth above,) before he was in prison, determined with himself to go to church. The night following he saw a vision, a company of tall young men in white, very pleasant to behold; to whom he would have joined himself, but it would not be. Then he looked on himself, and he was full of spots: and therewith waked, and took hold, and stood to the truth; God be thanked there-for! And so constantly was burned with his fellows, as is above specified.

The burning of Simon Miller and Elizabeth Cooper, at Norwich.

In the month of July, next ensued the martyrdom of Simon Miller and Elizabeth Cooper. This Simon dwelling in the town of Lynn, a godly and zealous man in the knowledge of the Lord and of his truth, detesting and abhorring the contrary enforced religion then set forth, came from Lynn to Norwich, where he, standing in the press, and hearing of the people, coming out the same time from their popish service ended in the church, began to ask them coming out of the church, where he might go to have the communion. At which words, divers much marvelling to hear and see his boldness, one that was an evil-disposed papist bearing the same, said, that if he would needs go to a communion, he would go bring him thither where he should be sped of his purpose. Whereupon, shortly after, he was brought to the chancellor of Norwich, whose name was Dunning, who, after a few words, and small talk passed with this examinee, committed him to ward.

In the mean while as he was in examination, he had in his shoe his confession, written in a certain paper, whereof a piece appearing above his shoe, was spied and taken out. The chancellor asking if he would stand to the confession of the same faith therein contained, he constantly affirmed the same; whereupon, as is said, he was committed. Thus the said Simon being in the bishop's house, under custody of the keeper there, called Master Fellow, how it happened it is not certain, whether by gentleness of the keeper, (who was somewhat gentle that ways,) or by leave given of the bishop, or else whether he had condescended of a purpose to their articles, he was dismissed, and went home to his house at Lynn; where he continued a certain space, while he had disposed and set there all things in order.

That done, he returned again to the bishop's house to his prison and keeper, till the time. At length he, constantly abiding in his professed purpose, and defence of God's truth, was, by the said bishop and his chancellor, condemned and committed to the fire about the thirteenth day of July.

With this Simon Miller also was burnt one Elizabeth Cooper, (as is aforesaid,) a pewterer's wife, dwelling in St. Andrew's parish, in Norwich, where she had before recanted; and being unquiet for the same, and greatly troubled inwardly, at the last she came into the said St. Andrew's church, the people being at their popish service; and there standing in the same, said she revoked her recantation before made in that place, and was heartily sorry that ever she did it, willing the people not to be deceived, neither to take her doings before for an example, &c. These, or such-like words, she spake in the church.

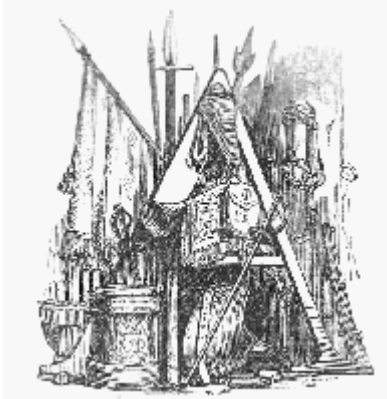
Then cried one Bacon of the said parish, laying his arms abroad, saying, "Master Sheriff! will you suffer this?" and repeating the same, urged him to go from the church to her house, at whose knocking she came down, and was taken and sent to prison.

The sheriff (named Master Thomas Sutton) and she had been servants together before in one house, and for the friendship he bare unto her, and the more for the gospel's sake, he was very loth to do it, but that he was enforced by those other persons before specified, much against his own conscience, which he now earnestly repenteth.

This good woman being condemned, and at the stake with Simon Miller, to be burnt, when the fire came unto her, she a little shrank thereat, with a voice crying, "Hah!" When the said Simon Miller heard the same, he put his hand behind him toward her, and willed her to be strong and of good cheer: "for, good sister," said he, "we shall have a joyful and a sweet supper: "whereat she, being as it seemed thereby strengthened, stood as still and as quiet as one most glad to finish that good work which before most happily she had begun. So, in fine, she ended her life with her companion joyfully, committing her soul into the hands of Almighty God.

362. Ten Colchester Martyrs

The martyrdom of ten faithful and blessed martyrs, five men and five women, burnt at Colchester, five in the forenoon, and five in the afternoon, for the testimony and witness of Christ Jesus and his glorious gospel.



So it is no new thing in those whom we call prelates and priests of the church, to be raisers-up of persecution against Christ and his poor flock; so it is much to be marvelled, or rather lamented, that noble persons, and men of honour and worship, would be made such ministers, to serve the affections of these tyrants, as commonly, as well in all the sorrowful days of the late Queen Mary, as namely in this present story is to be marked.

And first thou rememberest, gentle reader, how mention was made a little before of twenty-two, which were sent up prisoners together from Colchester to London by the earl of Oxford, the Lord Darcy, Master Tyrrel of St. Osyth's, and other commissioners and justices, &c.; the which twenty-two, as is aforesaid, through a gentle submission put unto them, were afterward released and delivered.

In the number of these foresaid twenty-two, was one William Mount, of Much Bentley, in Essex, husbandman, with Alice his wife, and Rose Allin, maid, the daughter of the said Alice Mount; which coming home again to their house at Much Bentley aforesaid, refrained themselves from the unsavoury service of the popish church, and frequented the company of good men and women, which gave themselves diligently to reading, invoking and calling upon the name of God through Christ; whereby they so fretted the wicked priest of the town, called Sir Thomas Tye, and others like unto him, that casting their heads together, they made a pestilent supplication to the Lord Darcy, in the name of the whole parish, the tenor whereof hereafter followeth.

"Pleaseth it your honourable Lordship to be advertised, that we confess, whilst your good Lordship lay here in the country, the people were stayed in good order, to our great comfort. But, since your Lordship's departure, they have made digression from good order in some places, and namely in the parish of Much Bentley, by reason of three seditious persons, William Mount and his wife, and Rose, her daughter, who, by their colourable submission, (as it doth appear,) were dismissed and sent down from the bishop of London; and since their coming home they have not only in their own persons showed manifest signs and tokens of disobedience, in not coming to the church, nor yet observing other good orders, but also most maliciously and seditiously have seduced many from coming to the church, and from obeying all other good orders; mocking also those that frequent the church, and calling them church owls, and blasphemously calling the blessed sacrament of the altar a blind god, with divers such-like blasphemies. In consideration whereof, may it please your Honour (for the

love of God, and for the tender zeal your good Lordship beareth to justice, and the common peace and quietness of the king and queen's Majesties' loving subjects) to award out your warrant for the said William Mount, his wife, and Rose, her daughter, that they being attached and brought before your good Lordship, we trust the rest will fear to offend, (their ringleaders of sedition being apprehended,) to the quietness of their obedient subjects.

"Your daily orators, the parishioners of Much Bentley, Thomas Tye, priest, John Carter, Thomas Candler, John Barker, Richard Mere, J. Painter, William Harris, John Richard, with others."

This being done, the said Sir Thomas Tye bethought with himself, where the persecuted did resort. For, in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, for a twelvemonth and more he came not to the church, but frequented the company of godly men and women, which abstained from the same; and as they thought, he laboured to keep a good conscience: but the sequel showed him to be a false brother.

Now, as I said, he, partly knowing the places of refuge for honest men, did further inquire of other men about the same: and, being thereof sufficiently (as he thought) instructed to his purpose, immediately about the time the supplication above specified was exhibited to the said Lord Darcy, wrote secretly a letter to Bonner, bishop of London, wherein he maketh his account how he had bestowed his time, and complained of divers honest men, among which was the said William Mount and his company; the tenor of which letter hereafter followeth.

"Right honourable Lord, after my bounden duty done in most humble wise, these shall be to signify unto your Lordship the state of our parts, concerning religion. And first, since the coming down of the twenty-two rank heretics dismissed from you, the detestable sort of schismatics were never so bold since the king and queen's Majesties' reign, as they are now at this present. In Much Bentley, where your Lordship is patron of the church, since William Mount, and Alice, his wife, with Rose Allin, her daughter, came home, they do not only absent themselves from the church and service of God, but do daily allure many other away from the same, which before did outwardly show signs and tokens of obedience.

"They assemble together upon the sabbath day in the time of divine service, sometimes in one house, sometimes in another, and there keep their privy conventicles, and schools of heresy. The jurats say, the lords' commission is out, and they are discharged of their oath. The questmen in your archdeacon's visitation alleged, that forasmuch as they were once presented, and now sent home, they have no more to do with them nor any other. Your officers say, (namely, Master Boswell,) that the council sent them not home without a great consideration. I pray God some of your officers prove not favourers of heretics. The rebels are stout in the town of Colchester.

"The ministers of the church are hemmed at in the open streets, and called knaves. The blessed sacrament of the altar is blasphemed and railed upon in every house and tavern. Prayer and fasting are not regarded. Seditious talks and news are rife, both in town and country, in as ample and large manner, as though there had no honourable lords and commissioners been sent for reformation thereof. The occasion riseth partly by reason of John Love, of Colchester heath, a perverse place; which

John Love was twice indicted of heresy; and thereupon fled with his wife and household, and his goods seized within the town of Colchester, to the king and queen's Majesties' use. Nevertheless the said John is come home again, and nothing said or done to him. Whereupon the heretics are wonderfully encouraged, to the no little discomfort of good and catholic people, which daily pray to God for the profit, unity, and restoration of his church again: which thing shall come the sooner to pass, through the travail and pains of such honourable lords and reverend fathers as your Lordship is, unto whom I wish long life and continuance, with increase of much honour. From Colchester, the eighteenth of December.

"Your humble beadsman, THOMAS TYE, priest.

"The second Sunday after the feast of the blessed Trinity, I heard Master Feckenham preach at Paul's Cross; the next day after I departed out of London towards Much Wakering. The third Sunday after Trinity I preached at Much Wakering. The fourth Sunday I preached at Harwich, and reconciled, there, twelve persons to the unity of the church. The fifth Sunday I preached at Great Wakering; the sixth Sunday at Great Wakering; the seventh Sunday at Langenhoe; the eighth Sunday at Peldon; the ninth Sunday at Great Wakering; the tenth Sunday the aches took me; the eleventh Sunday I preached at Much Bentley."

Here followeth a mischievous information of a wicked priest to Bonner against good men.

The principal teachers of heretical doctrine in London, by Stephen Morris's confession.

"The first, Master Laurence of Barnhall, John Barry, his servant; and John Jeffrey, brother-in-law to Master Laurence: these three do lie and abide, when they be in London, at an alehouse in Cornhill, over against the conduit: the man's name is John Dudman. These three are the greatest, and do most harm in persuading the people.

"Robert Coles and his wife, John Ledley and his wife, William Punt, a bachelor: these three do lie at the sign of the Bell in Gracechurch Street, in a common inn. And two of them, namely, John Ledley and Robert Coles, are great counsellors, and do resort much unto the King's Bench, unto the prisoners, about matters of religion. The other, namely, William Punt, is and hath been a great writer of devilish and erroneous books of certain men's doings; and doth convey them over, and causeth them there to be imprinted, to the great hurt of ignorant people; as it is to be proved. For upon Palm Sunday last, he had in his bosom a certain book against the sect of the Anabaptists, and, as he was arriving upon the Thames towards Gray's, there he did read it; and had shipped at that present, by report, and as due proof is to be had by these two men, Robert Coles and John Ledley, (for they were his council in conveying them over,) to the value of a barrel-full of books. These I do know; for I partly know all their doings in that viage. And the said Robert and John went over at the same time, about questions of religion, to the learned men that were over, to know their counsel in those matters, and so to turn back again upon the same. Thus much I know to be their doings.

"John Kempe and Henry Hart: these two do lie at the bridge-foot, in a cutler's house whose name is Curle; and namely, Henry Hart is the principal of all those that are called free-will men: for so they are termed of the Predestinators. And he hath drawn out thirteen articles to be observed amongst his company, and, as far as I do learn, there come none into their brotherhood except he be sworn. The other is a great traveller abroad into Kent, and what his doctrine is I am not able to say.

"Master Pulleyne, otherwise called Smith, Simon Harlestone, and William, a Scot. These three were preachers in King Edward's days, and their most abiding is at Colchester in Essex; and most commonly they do lie at the King's Head in Colchester. And these two, namely, Master Pulleyne and the Scot, do often travel over to the duchess of Suffolk, (for they were her chaplains,) and what their doings are there I know not. And as for Simon Harlestone, his abiding is always at a place in Essex called Dedham, four miles from Colchester, at one Harris's house, a tucker, and he is a great persuader of the people, and they do mightily build upon his doctrine. If these, or any other, do resort unto London, at the ale-house in Cornhill there will be news of them, for there is much resort unto that house."

When Judasly this wicked priest had thus wrought his malice against the people of God, within a while after the storms began to arise against those poor poor persecuted, William Mount and his company, whereby they were enforced to hide themselves from the heat thereof. And continuing so a little space, at last, the seventh day of March, anno 1557, being the first Sunday in Lent, and by two of the clock in the morning, one Master Edmund Tyrrel (who came of the house of those Tyrrels which murdered King Edward the Fifth and his brother) took with him the bailiff of the hundred, called William Simnel, dwelling in Colchester, and the two constables of Much Bentley aforesaid, named John Baker and William Harris, with divers others a great number; and besetting the house of the said William Mount round about, called to them at length to open the door: which being done, Master Tyrrel with certain of his company went into the chamber where the said father Mount and his wife lay, willing them to rise: "for," said he, "you must go with us to Colchester castle." Mother Mount, hearing that, being very sick, desired that her daughter might first fetch her some drink; for she was (she said) very ill at ease.

Then he gave her leave and bade her go. So her daughter, the forenamed Rose Allin, maid, took a stone pot in one hand, and a candle in the other, and went to draw drink for her mother: and as she came back again through the house, Tyrrel met her, and willed her to give her father and mother good counsel, and advertise them to be better catholic people.

Rose--"Sir, they have a better instructor than I; for the Holy Ghost doth teach them, I hope, which I trust will not suffer them to err."

"Why," said Master Tyrrel, "art thou still in that mind, thou naughty housewife? Marry, it is time to look upon such heretics indeed."

Rose--"Sir, with that which you call heresy, do I worship my Lord God; I tell you troth."

Tyrrel.--"Then I perceive you will burn, gossip, with the rest, for company's sake."

Rose.--"No, sir, not for company's sake, but for my Christ's sake, if so I be compelled; and I hope in his mercies, if he call me to it, he will enable me to bear it."

So he, turning to his company, said, "Sirs, this gossip will burn: do you not think it?" "Marry, sir," quoth one, "prove her, and you shall see what she will do by and by."

Then that cruel Tyrrel, taking the candle from her, held her wrist, and the burning candle under her hand, burning cross-wise over the back thereof so long, till the very sinews cracked asunder. Witness hereof William Candler, then dwelling in Much Bentley, who was there present and saw it. Also Mistress Bright of Romford, with Ann Starkey, her maid, to whom Rose Allin also both declared the same; and the said Mistress Bright also ministered salve for the curing thereof, as she lay in her house at Romford, going up towards London with other prisoners. In which time of his tyranny, He said often to her, "Why, whore! wilt thou not cry? Thou young whore! wilt thou not cry?" Unto which always she answered, that she had no cause, she thanked God, but rather to rejoice. He had (she said) more cause to weep than she, if he considered the matter well. In the end, when the sinews (as I said) brake, that all the house heard them, he then thrust her from him violently, and said, "Ah! strong whore; thou shameless beast! thou beastly whore!" &c., with such-like vile words.



Tyrrel torturing Rose Allin

But she, quietly suffering his rage for the time, at the last said, "Sir, have ye done what ye will do?" And he said, "Yea, and if thou think it be not well, then mend it."

"Mend it!" said Rose; "nay, the Lord mend you, and give you repentance, if it be his will. And now, if you think it good, begin at the feet, and burn to the head also. For he that set you a-work, shall pay you your wages one day, I warrant you." And so she went and carried her mother drink, as she was commanded.

Furthermore, after the searching of the house for more company, at the last they found one John Thurston and Margaret his wife there also, whom they carried with the rest to Colchester castle immediately.

And this said Rose Allin being prisoner, told a friend of hers this cruel act of the said Tyrrel; and showing him the manner thereof, she said, "While my one hand," quoth she, "was a burning, I, having a pot in my other hand, might have laid him on the face with it, if I had would; for no man held my hand to let me therein. But, I thank God," quoth she, "with all my heart, I did it not."

Also being asked of another, how she could abide the painful burning of her hand, she said, at first it was some grief to her, but afterward, the longer she burned, the less she felt, or well near none at all.

And because Master Tyrrel shall not go alone in this kind of cruelty, you shall hear another like example of a blind harper's hand burnt by Bishop Bonner, as is testified by the relation of Valentine Dingley, sometime gentleman to the said bishop, who declared before credible witness as followeth. How the said Bishop Bonner, having this blind harper before him, spake thus unto him: that such blind abjects which follow a sort of heretical preachers, when they come to the feeling of the fire, will be the first that will fly from it.

To whom the blind man said, that if every joint of him were burnt, yet he trusted in the Lord not to fly. Then Bonner, signifying privily to certain of his men about him what they should do, they brought to him a burning coal; which coal being put into the poor man's hand, they closed it fast again, and so was his hand piteously burnt. Amongst the doers whereof was the said Master Valentine Dingley, witness and reporter hereof, as is declared.

We read in the story of Titus Livius of King Porsena, who, after the burning of the right hand of Mucius Scævola, which came purposely to kill him, being only contented therewith, sent him home to Rome again. But thus to burn the hands of poor men and women which never meant any harm unto them, and yet not contented with that, but also to consume their whole bodies without any just cause, we find no example of such barbarous tyranny, neither in Titus Livius, neither in any other story amongst the heathen.

But to return to our Colchester martyrs again, as touching William Mount and his wife, and burning of their daughter Rose Allin's hand, sufficient hath been declared. With the said William Mount and his family, was joined also in the same prison at Colchester another faithful brother, named John Johnson, alias Alikier, of

Thorpe, in the county of Essex, labourer, of the age of four and thirty years, having no wife alive, but three young children, who also were with them indicted of heresy, and so all these four lay together in Colchester castle.

The other six prisoners lay in Mote hall, in the said town of Colchester, whose names were: first, William Bongeor, of the parish of St. Nicholas, in Colchester, glazier, of the age of sixty years.

2. Thomas Benold, of Colchester, tallow-chandler.

3. William Purcas, of Bocking, in the county of Essex, fuller, a young man, of the age of twenty years.

4. Agnes Silverside, alias Smith, dwelling in Colchester, widow, of the age of forty years.

5. Helen Ewring, the wife of John Ewring, miller, dwelling in Colchester, of the age of forty-five years or thereabouts, who was one of the twenty-two prisoners mentioned before, sent up in bands from Colchester to London; and after being delivered with the rest, repaired home to Colchester again to her husband, where notwithstanding she enjoyed her liberty not very long; for shortly after her return, met with her one Robert Mainard, then bailiff of Colchester, a special enemy to God's gospel, who, spying her, came to her, and kissed her, and bade her welcome home from London. Unto whom she considerably answered again, and said, that it was but a Judas' kiss: "for in the end," quoth she, "I know you will betray me;" as indeed it came to pass, for immediately after that talk she was apprehended by him again, and there lodged with the rest in the town prison, (as is aforesaid,) called the Mote hall; where she remained till her death.

6. The sixth of this company was Elizabeth Folkes, a young maid, and servant in Colchester, of the age of twenty years. These six were imprisoned in the town prison of Colchester, called Mote hall, as the other four, above specified, were in the castle.

In the time of the persecution of those persons above named, were certain constant faithful brethren and sisters examined in Mote hall, in Colchester, by Sir John Kingston, commissary, Master Roper, and one Master Boswell, the bishop's scribe, the twenty-ninth day of October, anno 1556; whose depositions the said Boswell penned after his manner, and, in a letter close-sealed, sent them to Bonner, bishop of London, the twenty-fourth day of the said month, in the year aforesaid. The tenor of which letter hereafter followeth, with their depositions and answers that stood faithfully unto the same, as they were written to the bishop, verbatim. The others I leave, and think it sufficient that the letter speaketh, for oppressing the book with such frivolous matter.

"My duty and my most humble commendations premised unto your honourable good Lordship, certifying the same, that Master Kingston, Master Roper, and I, according to your Lordship's letters, dated the fifth of October, have been at Colchester, and there taken the names, dwelling-places, and opinions, of certain wretched heretics, as by their depositions here enclosed appear; which heretics were delivered to Master Kingston by indenture, which he keepeth, as he saith, for his indemnity. If your Lordship's letters had not come in time, he had sent them up to London, for, when my servant came to him with the letters, he was then setting them forward; whereupon the king and queen's Majesties' honourable council wrote unto

your Lordship, in their letters dated the first of October, that there were delivered to your Lordship's officers twenty-three persons, obstinately persisting in detestable heresies, Master Kingston desired me to certify your Lordship, that he received but twelve since the twenty-ninth of September last; of which number he hath reconciled six, namely, Elizabeth Wood, Christian Hare, Rose Fletcher, Joan Kent, Agnes Stanley, and Margaret Simson, so that there are no more remaining but six, whose names and depositions are here enclosed, of whom I suppose there are but three, namely, Purcas, Downes, and Johnson, that will persist in their obstinacy. The other three are delivered after a sort, mentioned in their said depositions, and I suppose they will be reconciled.

"It may please your good Lordship to be advertised, that I do see by experience, that the sworn inquest for heresies do, most commonly, indict the simple, ignorant, and wretched heretics, and do let the arch-heretics go; which is one great cause that moveth the rude multitude to murmur, when they see the simple wretches (not knowing what heresy is) to burn. I wish, if it may be, that this common disease might be cured amongst the jurats of Essex; but, I fear me, it will not be, so long as some of them be, as they are, infected with the like disease. My duty had been, and my mind was, to have come unto your Lordship myself with these things, but being prevented with an ague, (daring not, as yet, to take upon me so great a journey,) I do send them by Master Staunton, your Lordship's receiver; trusting that he will safely deliver them. And, upon further knowledge of your Lordship's pleasure, all things shall be accomplished and done accordingly, to the best of my little power: as knoweth Almighty God, who send your Lordship prosperous health and long life, with increase of honour to his pleasure. Amen. From Maldon, this twenty-fourth day of October, anno 1556.

"Your Lordship's poor officer and daily bead-man,
JOHN BOSWELL."

Divers examinations these good men had at sundry times before divers justices, priests, and officers, as Master Roper, John Kingston, commissary, John Boswell, priest, and Bonner's scribe, and others more, whereof the said Boswell made relation to Bishop Bonner, certifying him of their depositions, as is here to be read.

The depositions, mord for word, as Boswell wrote them to Bonner.

"Robert Purcas, of Bocking, in the county of Essex, where he was born, single man, a fuller by his occupation, lettered, twenty years of age, indicted of heresy, being examined saith: that he was not confessed of a long time, nor will he be confessed to any priest. He saith that priests have no power to remit sin. He will not come to the church, nor will he hear mass; for all that is idolatry. He saith he did receive the supper of the Lord, (otherwise called the sacrament of the altar,) in King Edward's time, as it was then set forth; but since that time, he hath not and will not receive it, except it be ministered to him as it was then. He saith that the sacrament of the altar is an idol, as it is now ministered, and they that do worship it are idolaters: for it is but bread and wine only. This fellow is obstinate, and a glorious prating heretic.

"Agnes Downes, alias May, alias Smith, alias Silverside, the relict of one Silverside, married priest, deceased, dwelling in Colchester, sixty years of age, and above, indicted for heresy, being examined saith: that the supper of the Lord (otherwise called the sacrament of the altar) is but bread and wine before it is received; and when it is received in faith, and ministered by a worthy minister, (as they be but few,) then it is Christ's flesh and his blood spiritually, and no otherwise. She saith that the sacrament is an idol, and ought not to be worshipped with knocking, kneeling, nor holding up of hands; for all that is idolatry. She will not come to the church; she will not hear mass; she will not be confessed of any priest; she saith that none can remit sin but only God; she is a froward, obstinate heretic, and willing to burn her old rotten bones.

"John Johnson, alias Alike, of Thorpe, in the soke and county of Essex, labourer, where he was born; having no wife, but three young children; thirty-four years of age, and can read a little; indicted of heresy, being examined saith: that he will not come to the church, nor will he hear mass; he will not confess his sins to a priest; he saith that no priest can remit sin; he saith that the sacrament of the altar is an idol, and can be but bread and wine, as well after the consecration as before: he saith that to hear mass, or to worship the sacrament, is idolatry. All this he heard, as he saith, one Trodgon preach, and he believeth that the said Trodgon is a true prophet, and his sayings true. This is a very simple obstinate heretic, and a stout foolish daw, without reason.

"Elizabeth Folkes, servant with one Nicholas Clere, of Colchester, clothier, maid; born, as she saith, in Stoke Neyland, in Suffolk, being of the age of twenty years, presented, but not indicted, of heresy, being examined saith: that she will not come to the church; she will not hear mass; she will not confess her sins to any priest; she saith that the sacrament of the altar is no better than bread and wine; she saith that no priest hath power to remit sin; she is a tall, well-favoured young wench, and willing to be reformed: whereupon, at the request of certain of her friends, she is delivered, and committed to the safe keeping of one Henry Ashby, of Colchester, a good catholic man; who hath taken upon him to reconcile her accordingly, or else to feed her with barley bread until she be reconciled."

Here hast thou, good reader, the depositions which the said Boswell sent to Bishop Bonner, as is aforesaid. Now, forasmuch as occasion compelleth me to be brief, for sundry considerations, I will therefore return again to the order of our time, anno 1557; and so go forward with the said persecuted in Colchester, with others their poor prison-fellows, to the number of ten, who, last of all, were examined again in Mote hall, the twenty-fourth day of June, by Dr. Chedsey, John Kingston, commissary, with other priests, and Boswell the scribe, in the presence of the two bailiffs of Colchester, Robert Brown and Robert Mainard, with divers other justices both of the town and country, and other gentlemen a great sort; at which time and place, and before the said persons, they had sentence of condemnation read against them, chiefly for not affirming the real presence in the sacrament of their altar. The effect of their words therein was this, or such-like, as here followeth.

First, the Lord's faithful prisoners in Mote hall.

William Bongeor of the parish of St. Nicholas in Colchester, glazier, said, that the sacrament of the altar was bread, is bread, and so remaineth bread; and for the consecration it is not the holier, but rather the worse. To this he did stand, as also against all the rest of their papistical doctrine: and so had sentence read against him.

Thomas Benold of Colchester, tallow-chandler, affirmed the like in effect that the said William Bongeor did; and so had sentence also read against him.

W. Purcas of Bocking said, that when he received the sacrament, he received bread in a holy use, that preacheth the remembrance that Christ died for him. To this he stood, and against other their popish matters: and so also had sentence read against him.

Agnes Silverside, alias Smith, said, that she loved no consecration. For the bread and wine is rather worse than better thereby, she said. This good old woman answered them with such sound judgment and boldness, to every thing they asked her, that it rejoiced the hearts of many, and especially to see the patience of such a reverend old age, against the taunts and checks of her enemies. To this she also stood, and had sentence read against her in like manner.

Helen Ewring answered the like in effect as the others did, clearly denying all the laws set forth by the pope, with her whole heart. This good woman was somewhat thick of hearing, but yet quick in understanding the Lord's matters, his name therefor be praised! Against her also there was sentence read.



The Examination of Elizabeth Folkes

Elizabeth Folkes, the young maiden, being examined whether she believed the presence of Christ's body to be in the sacrament substantially and really, or no: answered that she believed that it was a substantial lie, and a real lie. At which words the priests and others chafed very much, and asked her again, whether after the consecration there remained not the body of Christ in the sacrament. And she answered, that before consecration and after, it is but bread; and that man blesseth without God's word, is cursed and abominable by the word, &c. Then they examined her of confession to the priest, of going to church to hear mass, of the authority of the bishop of Rome, &c.; unto all which she answered, that she would neither use nor frequent any of them all, by the grace of God, but utterly detest and abhor them from

the bottom of her heart, and all such trumpery. Then read they the sentence of condemnation against her; in which time Dr. Chedsey wept, that the tears trickled down his cheeks. So the sentence being read, she kneeled down on both her knees, lifting up her hands and eyes unto heaven, with fervent prayer in an audible voice, praising God that ever she was born to see that most blessed and happy day, that the Lord would count her worthy to suffer for the testimony of Christ: "and, Lord," said she, "if it be thy will, forgive them that thus have done against me; for they know not what they do." Then rising up, she exhorted all those on the bench to repentance, especially those who brought her to prison, as Robert Mainard the bailiff, and such like; which Mainard commonly, when he sat in judgment upon life and death, would sit sleeping on the bench many times, so careful was his mind on his office.

Further, she willed halting gospellers to beware of blood, for that would cry for vengeance, &c. And in the end she told them all, laying her hand upon the bar, if they did not repent their wicked doings therein, that undoubtedly the very bar would be a witness against them at the day of judgment, that they had there that day shed innocent blood.

This Elizabeth Folkes, the day before she was condemned, was examined only upon this article, Whether she believed that there was a catholic church of Christ or no. Unto which she answered, "Yea." Then was she immediately, by Boswell's means, (the scribe,) delivered unto her uncle Holt of the same town of Colchester to keep, who carried her home unto his house: and she being there, might have departed thence many times, if she had willed; for there were means offered to convey her away. But she, hearing that some doubted that she had yielded to the pope, (although it was most untrue,) would in nowise content herself, but wept, and was in such anguish of mind and terror of conscience, that (no remedy) she would to the papists again, for any persuasion that could be. And coming before them at Cosin's house at the White Hart in Colchester, she was at utter defiance with them and their doctrine; and so had, as you have heard, in the end a papistical reward, as the rest of her brethren had.

The Lord's faithful prisoners in Colchester castle.

William Mount, of Much Bentley in Essex, of the age of sixty-one years, said, that the sacrament of the altar was an abominable idol; and that if he should observe any part of their popish proceedings he should displease God, and bring his curse upon him; and therefore for fear of his vengeance he durst not do it. This good father was examined of many things; but, God be thanked, he stood to the truth, and in the end therefore had sentence of condemnation read against him.

John Johnson, of Thorpe, in Essex, widower, of the age of thirty-four years, was examined as the rest, and made answer in such sort as the papists counted him none of theirs, and therefore condemned him with their bloody sentence, as they had done the rest before. This John Johnson affirmed, that in the receiving of the sacrament, according to Christ's institution, he receiveth the body of Christ spiritually, &c.

Alice Mount, the wife of the said William Mount, of the age of one and forty years, being also examined as the rest, said and confirmed the same in effect as her husband did, and was therefore also condemned by their bloody sentence in like manner.

Rose Allin, maid, the daughter of the said Alice Mount, of the age of twenty years, being examined of auricular confession, going to the church to hear mass, of the popish seven sacraments, &c., answered stoutly, that they stank in the face of God, and she durst not have to do with them for her life: neither was she (she said) any member of theirs; for they were the members of antichrist, and so should have (if they repented not) the reward of antichrist. Being asked further, what she could say of the see of the bishop of Rome, whether she would obey his authority or no, she answered boldly, that she was none of his. "As for his see," quoth she, "it is for crows, kites, owls, and ravens to swim in, such as you be; for by the grace of God I shall not swim in that see while I live, neither will I have any thing to do therewith." Then read they the sentence of condemnation against her, and so sent her unto prison again unto the rest, where she sang with great joy, to the wonder of many.

Thus these poor condemned lambs, being delivered into the hands of the secular power, were committed again every one unto the prison from whence they came, where they remained with much joy and great comfort, (in continual reading, and invoking the name of God,) ever looking and expecting the happy day of their dissolution; in which time the cruel papists left not their mischievous attempts against them (although they would seem now to have no more to do with them); for bloody Bonner, whose throat never cried, "Ho," shortly after got a writ for the burning of the foresaid ten good creatures; and to show the more diligence in the cause, he sent his own trusty man down with it, named Edward Cosin, and with him also his letter for the furtherance of the matter, the thirtieth day of July, the next month after the condemnation.

The writ being thus received of the said bailiffs, and they having then no leisure thereabouts, appointed the day of the execution thereof, to be the second day of August next following. And because the faithful souls were in two several prisons, as the castle was for the country, and Mote hall for the town; therefore, it was agreed among them, that they in Mote hall should be burnt in the forenoon, and those at the castle by the sheriff of the shire, in the afternoon, as here thou mayest see it more plain how it came to pass accordingly.

The second day of August, 1557, betwixt six and seven of the clock in the morning, were brought from Mote hall unto a plat of ground hard by the town-wall of Colchester, on the outward side, William Bongeor, William Purcas, Thomas Benold, Agnes Silverside, alias Smith, Helen Ewring, and Elizabeth Folkes, afore-named; which being there, and all things prepared for their martyrdom, at the last these said constant martyrs kneeled down, and made their humble prayers to God; but not in such sort as they would, for the cruel tyrants would not suffer them; especially one Master Clere, among the rest, (who sometime had been a gospeller,) showed himself very extreme unto them: the Lord give him repentance, if it be his good will, and grace to be a better man! When they had made their prayers, they rose, and made them ready to the fire. And Elizabeth Folkes, when she had plucked off her petticoat, would have given it to her mother, (which came and kissed her at the stake, and

exhorted her to be strong in the Lord,) but the wicked there attending, would not suffer her to give it. Therefore, taking the said petticoat in her hand, she threw it away from her, saying, "Farewell, all the world! farewell faith! farewell hope!" and so taking the stake in her hand, said, "Welcome love!" &c. Now she, being at the stake, and one of the officers nailing the chain about her, in the striking of the staple he missed the place, and struck her with a great stroke of the hammer on the shoulder-bone; whereat she suddenly turned her head, lifting up her eyes to the Lord, and prayed, smilingly, and gave herself to exhorting the people again.

When all the six were also nailed likewise at their stakes, and the fire about them, they clapped their hands for joy in the fire, that the standers-by, which were, by estimation, thousands, cried generally almost, "The Lord strengthen them; the Lord comfort them; the Lord pour his mercies upon them;" with such-like words, as was wonderful to hear.

Thus yielded they up their souls and bodies into the Lord's hands, for the true testimony of his truth. The Lord grant we may imitate the same in the like quarrel, (if he so vouch us worthy,) for his mercy's sake. Amen.

In like manner the said day in the afternoon, were brought forth into the castle-yard, to a place appointed for the same, William Mount, John Johnson, Alice Mount, and Rose Allin, aforesaid: which godly constant persons, after they had made their prayers, and were joyfully tied to the stakes, calling upon the name of God, and exhorting the people earnestly to flee from idolatry, suffered their martyrdom with such triumph and joy, that the people did no less shout thereat to see it, than at the others that were burnt the same day in the morning.

Thus ended all these glorious ten souls that day, their happy lives unto the Lord, whose ages all did grow to the sum of four hundred and six years, or thereabouts. The Lord grant we may well spend our years and days, likewise, to his glory. Amen.

John Thurston, died in Colchester castle.

Before, you have heard of the taking of John Thurston at Much Bentley, in the house of one William Mount of the same town which said John Thurston afterward, about the month of May, in the year aforesaid, died in Colchester castle, a constant confessor of Jesus Christ.

363. George Eagles

The story and death of George Eagles, other termed Trudgeover, a most painful traveller in Christ's gospel, who, for the same gospel, most cruelly was martyred by the cruel papists.

Among other martyrs of singular virtue and constancy, one George Eagles deserveth not the least admiration, but is so much the more to be commended, for that he, having little learning or none, most manfully served and fought under the banner of Christ's church. For oftentimes the will and pleasure of God is, to beautify and adorn his kingdom with the weak and simple instruments of this world; such as, in the Old Testament, Amos was, who, with many others of obscure and unknown names, were called from the herds and folds to the honour of prophets; as likewise we read of the apostles, that were called from fishermen's craft, and put into churches. Wherefore this George Eagles is not to be neglected for his base occupation, whom Christ called thence to set forth and declare abroad his gospel. Rather we ought to glorify God the more thereby in his holiness, which in so blind a time inspired him with the gift of preaching, and constancy of suffering; who, after a certain time he had used the occupation of a tailor, being eloquent and of good utterance, gave and applied himself to the profit of Christ's church.

Which man, as before, in those most bright and clear days of King Edward the Sixth, he had not unfruitfully showed and preached the power and force of the Lord, so afterward, in the tempestuous time and fall of the church, (at what time the confessors of Christ and his gospel were turmoiled, divers of them murdered, part banished, and others constrained for fear not to show their heads,) he expressed and uttered his manly stomach. For he, wandering abroad into divers and far countries where he could find any of his brethren, did there most earnestly encourage and comfort them, now tarrying in this town, and sometime abiding in that, certain months together, as occasion served, lodging sometimes in the country, and sometimes, for fear, living in fields and woods, who, for his immoderate and unreasonable going abroad, was called Trudgeover. Oftentimes he did lie abroad in the night without covert, spending the most part thereof in devout and earnest prayer.

His diet was so above measure spare and slender, that for the space of three years, he used for the most part to drink nothing but very water, whereunto he was compelled through necessity of the time of persecution: and after, when he perceived that his body, by God's providence, proved well enough with this diet, he thought best to inure himself therewithal against all necessities.

Now when he had profited Christ's church in this sort, by going about and preaching the gospel a year or two, and especially in Colchester and the quarters thereabout, that privy enemy which envieth always the salvation and blessed estate of the good, lurked and laid wait by all means possible for him, so that there were divers spies sent out, who had in commandment, wheresoever they found him, to bring him either quick or dead.

But when this their attempt could not prevail, but all was in vain, (the said Eagles with his brethren keeping in close, and hiding themselves in out and dark places, as in barns, thickets, holes, and privy closets,) his adversaries went about another way to compass this their enterprise of taking him.

For in the queen's name a grievous edict was proclaimed throughout four shires, Essex, Suffolk, Kent, and Norfolk, promising the party that took him, twenty pounds for his pains; doubtless a worthy hire to entice any Jew to treachery. For being inflamed with greedy desire of the money, they devised and invented all ways and reasons they could possibly to be enriched with the hurt and destruction of this silly man.

At length it came to pass, that this George, being seen by chance at Colchester upon Mary Magdalene's day, at which time they kept a fair in the town, should have forthwith been delivered to his adversaries, if he, perceiving the same, (as God would have it,) had not conveyed himself away as fast as he could, a great multitude pursuing after, and seeking diligently for him: who first hid himself in a grove, and then from thence he stole into a corn-field there by, and so lay secretly couched from the violence of his enemies, insomuch as they were all, saving one, past hope of taking him, and therefore ready to depart their way. This one, having more subtlety and wicked craft in his head than the rest, would not depart thence with his fellows, but climbed up into a high tree, there to view and espy if he might see Eagles any where stir or move.

The poor man, thinking all sure enough by reason that he heard no noise abroad, rose up on his knees, and lifting up his hands, prayed unto God. And whether it were for that his head was above the corn, or because his voice was heard, the lurker, perceiving his desired prey that he hunted after, forthwith came down, and suddenly laying hands on him, brought him as prisoner to Colchester. Notwithstanding, the greedy and Judas knave, which had so much promised him, was fain to be contented with a very small reward, and glad to take that too, lest he should have had nothing at all.

This George Eagles, not without great lamentation of divers good men, and great lack unto the church of God, (of which to his power he was a worthy instrument,) was committed to prison there, and from thence within four days after conveyed to Chelmsford, where he abode all that night in devout prayer, and would not sleep, neither would eat or drink but bread and water. The next day he was carried to London to the bishop or the council, and there remained a certain time; and then was brought down to Chelmsford to the sessions, and there was indicted and accused of treason, because he had assembled companies together, contrary to the laws and statutes of the realm in that case provided. For so it was ordained a little before, to avoid sedition, that if men should flock secretly together above the number of six, they should be attached of treason: which strait law was the casting away of the good duke of Somerset before mentioned.

And albeit it was well known, that poor Eagles did never any thing seditiously against the queen, yet to cloak an honest matter withal, and to cause him to be the more hated of the people, they turned religion into a civil offence and crime; and though he defended his cause stoutly and boldly, making a full declaration of his

religion or faith, before the judges, yet could he not bring it to pass by any means, but that he must needs be indicted (as is said) of treason; whose indictment did run much after this fashion:

"George Eagles, thou art indicted by the names of George Eagles, otherwise Trudgeover-the-World, for that thou didst such a day make thy prayer, that God should turn Queen Mary's heart, or else take her away."

He denied that he prayed that God should take her away, but he confessed, he prayed that God would turn her heart, in his prayer. Well, notwithstanding, he was condemned for a traitor, although the meaning thereof was for religion.

This thing done, he was carried to the new inn, called the sign of the Crown, in Chelmsford, by the beastly bailiffs, which (some of them) were they that before did their best to take him. And being in the inn, one Richard Potto the elder, an innholder, dwelling at the sign of the Cock in the same town, did much trouble him, in persuading him to confess he had offended the queen in his prayer, (which he was condemned for,) and to ask her forgiveness. To whom he said, he had not offended her Grace in that behalf.

So in process of time, he was laid upon a sledge, with a hurdle on it, and drawn to the place of execution, being fast bound, having in his hand a Psalmbook, of the which he read very devoutly all the way with a loud voice, till he came there. And being on the ladder, this foresaid Potto did much trouble him with the matter aforesaid, when he would have uttered other things, till such time as the sheriff commanded Potto to hold his peace, and trouble him no more: so he made his confession, and stood very constant still; then he was turned off the ladder.

With him were cast certain thieves also [the day before]; and [now] the next day, when they were brought out to be executed with him, there happened a thing that did much set forth and declare the innocency and godliness of this man. For being led between two thieves to the place where he should suffer, when as he exhorted both them and all others to stand stedfastly to the truth, one of these turned the counsel he gave into a jesting matter, and made but a flout at it. "Why should we doubt to obtain heaven," saith he, "forasmuch as this holy man shall go before us, as captain and leader unto us in the way. We shall flee thither straight, as soon as he hath once made us the entry."

In this, George Eagles and that other did greatly reprove him; who, on the other side, gave good heed to George's exhortation, earnestly bewailing his own wickedness, and calling to Christ for mercy. But the more that the first was bid to be still, and to leave off his scoffing, the more perverse he did continue in his foolishness, and his wicked behaviour.

At length he came to the gallows where they should be hanged, but George was carried to another place there by, to suffer. Between the two it was the godlier's chance to go the foremost, who being upon the ladder, after he had exhorted the people to beware and to take heed to themselves, how they did transgress the commandments of God, and then had committed his soul into God's hands, he ended his life after a godly and quiet manner. The mocker's turn cometh next, which would

have said likewise somewhat, but his tongue did fumble and falter in his head, that he was not able to speak a word. Fain would he have uttered his mind, but he could not bring it out. Then did the under sheriff bid him say the Lord's Prayer, which he could not say neither, but stutteringly, as a man would say, one word to-day, and another to-morrow. Then one did begin to say it, and so bade him say after. Such as were there, and saw it, were very much astonished, especially those that did behold the just punishment of God against him that had mocked so earnest a matter.

George Eagles in the mean while, after he had hanged a small time, having a great check with the halter, immediately one of the bailiffs cut the halter asunder, and he fell to the ground being still alive, although much amazed with the check he had off the ladder. Then one William Swallow of Chelmsford, a bailiff, did draw him to the sled that he was drawn thither on, and laid his neck thereon, and with a cleaver (such as is occupied in many men's kitchens, and blunt) did hackle off his head, and sometimes hit his neck, and sometimes his chin, and did foully mangle him, and so opened him. Notwithstanding this blessed martyr of Christ abode constant in the very midst of his torments, till such time as this tormentor William Swallow did pluck the heart out of his body. The body being divided in four parts, and his bowels burnt, was brought to the foresaid Swallow's door, and there laid upon the fish-stalls before his door, till they had made ready a horse to carry his quarters, one to Colchester, and the rest to Harwich, Chelmsford, and St. Osyth's. His head was set up at Chelmsford on the market-cross, on a long pole, and there stood, till the wind did blow it down; and lying certain days in the street tumbled about, one caused it to be buried in the church-yard in the night.

Also a wonderful work of God was it that he showed on this wicked bailiff Swallow, who, within short space after this, was so punished, that all the hair went well near off his head; his eyes were as it were closed up, and could scantily see; the nails of his fingers and toes went clean off. He was in such case of his body, as though he had been a leper, and now in his last age almost a very beggar; and his wife, which he a little after married, God hath punished with the falling-sickness, or a disease like unto that: which may be a warning or glass for all men and women to look in, that be enemies to God's true servants.

No less token of his marvellous judgment did God show upon the foresaid Richard Potto, which did so much trouble this George Eagles in the inn, and at the place of execution, as is above specified. He lived till the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, all which time he little joyed: and being on a time in a great chafe with two or three of his neighbours in his own house, feeling himself not well, he said to one of his servants, "Go with me into the chamber." And when he came there, he fell down on a low bed, as heavy as he had been lead, and lay there foaming at the mouth, and could never speak after, neither yet understand what was said to him, as by all means was tried by his neighbours with signs to him made, but lay as senseless as it had been a very dumb beast, and within three or four days died. God grant that this token, sent of God, with many more like, may be a warning to us ever hereafter while we shall live, unto the world's end!

Thus the godly and blessed man, more worthy of heaven than earth, suffered great extremity after a most unworthy manner, being counted but as an outcast of the world, yet, at the hands of Christ and his church, a most worthy martyr; whose

remembrance shall shine so freshly among posterity, that it shall never decay while the world standeth. Besides that, God hath wonderfully declared his just judgment upon that man that did first betray him. His name was Rafe Lardin, dwelling in the town of Colchester; who, in the year of our Lord 1561, was attached of felony and brought to the sessions at Chelmsford, and there condemned to be hanged. Being at the bar, he said these words before the judges there, and a great multitude of people: "This is most justly fallen upon me," saith he, "for that I betrayed the innocent blood of a good and just man, George Eagles; who was here condemned in the time of Queen Mary's reign, through my procurement, who sold his blood for a little money." By this all persecutors may learn to beware how they seek the life of any simple man that profeseth the truth, lest God show his displeasure against them likewise, and measure to them as they have measured to others before.

Besides this, God hath wonderfully showed his work: for at a time when they laid great wait for this George Eagles, so that it was thought that it was impossible but that he should be taken, being so beset, his friends did put him into apprentice-apparel, viz. watchet-hose, (as there manner is,) and an old cloak, and set him on a pack of wool, as though he had ridden to carry wool to the spinners. So he rode amongst the midst of his adversaries, and escaped them all for that time.

Another troubler of the said George Eagles was also Justice Brown, who enjoyed not his cruelty many years after, &c. Also when he was at the sessions at Chelmsford, there was a rumour raised, that he had accused divers honest men that did keep him in their houses, and was conversant with him; and all to discredit him: which rumour was very false and utterly untrue.-- Witness one Reynold, with divers others dwelling in Chelmsford.

One Frier, and a certain godly woman, burnt at Rochester, who was the sister of George Eagles.

About the same time and month, one named Frier, with a woman accompanying him, who was the sister of George Eagles, in the like cause of righteousness, suffered the like martyrdom by the unrighteous papists, whose tyranny the Lord of his mercy abate and cut short, turning that wicked generation, if it be his will, to a better mind.

364. Richard Crashfield

The martyrdom and examinations of Richard Crashfield, of Wymondham, condemned to death for the testimony of Jesus Christ.

About this time suffered at Norwich a godly man and a constant martyr of Christ, called Richard Crashfield, whose examinations before the chancellor, named Dunning, as he penned them with his own hand, so have we faithfully recorded the same.

"How say you, sirrah!" said the chancellor, 'to the ceremonies of the church?'

"Then said I, 'What ceremonies?' He said unto me, 'Do you not believe that all the ceremonies of the church are good and godly?'

"My answer was, 'I do believe so many as are grounded in the Testament of Jesus Christ.'

"Tush,' said he, 'do you believe in the sacrament of the altar?' I said, I knew not what it was.'

"Then said he, 'Do you not believe that Christ took bread, gave thanks, brake it, and said, Take, eat, this is my body?' 'Yes, verily,' said I, 'and even as Christ did speak, so did he perform the work.'

"Tush,' said he, 'do you not believe this, that after the words be spoken by the priest, there is the substance of Christ's body, flesh and blood? How say you, do you not believe this? Speak, man!'

Crashfield.--"I do believe that Christ's body was broken for me upon the cross, and his blood shed for my redemption, whereof the bread and the wine are a perpetual memory, the pledge of his mercy, the ring or seal of his promise, and a perpetual memory for the faithful unto the end of the world.' So then I was commanded into prison until the next day.

"The day following I was brought forth. Then the chancellor said unto me, 'Richard, how say you? Are you otherwise minded than you were yesterday?' He, rehearsing all the words that we had afore, said, 'Are not these your words?' Whereunto I answered, 'Yes.'

"Then said he, 'How say you, can you not find in your heart, when you come to church, to kneel down before the rood, and make your prayer?' I answered and said, 'No;' rehearsing the commandment of God forbidding the same.

"He said, 'Have you not read or heard, that God commanded an image to be made?' I answered, 'What image?' He said, 'The brazen serpent?'

"I said, 'Yes, I have heard it read, how that God did command it to be made, and likewise to be broken down.'

"Then Dr. Brydges said, 'Wherefore did God command the seraphim and cherubim to be made?' I said, I could not tell; I would fain learn.

"Then said the chancellor, 'But how say you to this? Can you find in your heart to fall down before the picture of Christ, which is the rood?' I said, 'No, I fear the curse of God: for it is written, that God curseth the hands that make them, yea, and the hands that make the tools wherewith they are carved.'

"Then Dr. Brydges raged and said, 'List now what a piece of Scripture he hath here gotten to serve his purpose, for he will not allow but where he listeth.'

"Then said the chancellor, 'How say you to confession to the priest? when were you confessed?' I said, 'I confess myself daily unto the eternal God, whom I most grievously offend.'

"Then the chancellor said, 'Do you not then take confession to the priest to be good?' I answered, 'No, but rather wicked.'

"Then the chancellor said, 'How say you by yonder gear, yonder singing, and yonder playing on the organs? Is it not good and godly?' I said, 'I could perceive no godliness in it.'

"Then he said, 'Why, is it not written in the Psalms, That we should praise God with hymns and spiritual songs?' I said, 'Yes, spiritual songs must be had; but yonder is of the flesh, and of the spirit of error: for to you it is pleasant and glorious, but to the Lord it is bitter and odious.'

"Then said the chancellor, 'Why, is it not written, My house is a house of prayer?' I said, 'Yes. It is written also, That you have made my house of prayer a den of thieves.'

"With that the chancellor looked, and said, 'Have we?' I answered and said, 'Christ said so.' Then was I commanded to ward.

"Then Thursday next following was Dr. Brydges sent to me, to examine me of my faith. And he said, 'Countryman, my Lord Bishop (for love he would have you saved) hath sent me unto you, because to-morrow is your day appointed: therefore my Lord hath thought it meet, that you should declare unto me your faith: for to-morrow my Lord will not have much ado with you.' I answered and said, 'Hath my Lord sent you? It is not you to whom I am disposed to show my mind.'

"Then he said to me, 'I pray you, show me your mind concerning the sacrament of the altar.' I answered, 'Are you ignorant what I have said?' He said, 'No, for it was well written. Except you believe,' saith he, 'as the church hath taught, you are damned both body and soul.'

"I answered and said, 'Judge not, lest you be judged: condemn not, lest you be condemned.' And he said, 'Lo, we shall have a traitor as well as a heretic: for he will disallow the king's judgment.'

"I said, 'No, I do not disallow the king's judgment; but yours I do disallow. For I pray you tell me, how came you by this judgment?' He answered and said, 'By the church; for the church hath power to save and condemn: for if you be condemned by the church, be ye sure, that you be damned both body and soul.'

"Then I answered, 'If you have this power, I am sore deceived: for I believe that Christ shall be our judge. But now I perceive that you will do [so] much for him, that you will not put him to the pain.'

"Then he said, 'Stand nearer, countryman: why stand ye so far off?' I said, 'I am near enough, and a little too near.'

"Then he said, 'Did not Christ say, Is not my flesh meat, and my blood drink indeed?' I said, 'To whom spake Christ those words?' He said, 'To his disciples.'

"I (intending to rehearse the text) said, 'Whereat did Christ's disciples murmur inwardly?' He said, 'No, they did not murmur: but they were the infidels,' saith he; 'for the disciples were satisfied with those words.'

"I said, 'Did not Christ say thus, as he taught at Capernaum? Whereat his disciples murmured, saying, 'This is a hard saying; who can abide the hearing of it? Jesus perceiving their thoughts, said, Doth this offend you?'

"Then he raged, and said, 'Oh! thou wrestest the text for thine own purpose: for the disciples did never murmur, but the unbelievers, as thou art.' I said, 'Yes, but I perceive you know not the text.'

"Then said he, with much raging, 'I will lay my head thereon, it is not so.' Then said I, 'I have done with you.'

"Then said he, 'What shall I tell my Lord of you?' 'If you have nothing to tell him, your errand shall be the sooner done,' said I. And so he departed.

"Then on Friday I was brought forth to receive judgment. Then the chancellor said unto me, 'Are you a new man, or are you not?' I answered and said, 'I trust I am a new man, born of God.'

"'God give grace you be so,' said he. So he rehearsed all my examination, and said, 'How say you, are not these your words?' I said, 'Yes, I will not deny them.'

"Then he said to Dr. Pore, standing by, 'I pray you talk with him.' Then he, alleging to me many fair flattering words, said, 'Take, eat, this is my body. How say you to this? Do you not believe that it is Christ's body? speak.' I said, 'Have you not my mind? Why do you trouble me?'

"He said, 'What did Christ give you? was it bread, or was it not?' I said, 'Christ took bread, and gave thanks, and gave it; and they took bread, and did eat. And St. Paul maketh it more manifest, where he saith, So oft as ye shall eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye shall show forth the Lord's death until he come. St. Paul saith not here as you say: for he saith, So oft as ye shall eat of this bread. He doth not say body.'

"So they, intending that I should go no further in the text, said, 'Tush, you go about the bush. Answer me to the first question. Let us make an end of that. What say you to the bread that Christ gave? Let me have your mind in that.' I answered, 'I have said my mind in it.'

"Then the chancellor said, 'No, we will have your mind in that.' I answered, 'I have said my mind in it.'

"Then said the chancellor, 'No, we will have your mind more plainly: for we intend not to have many words with you.' I said, 'My faith is fully grounded and stablished, that Christ Jesus, the Easter-lamb, hath offered his blessed body a sacrifice to God the Father, the price of my redemption. For by that only sacrifice are all the faithful sanctified, and he is our only Advocate and Mediator, and he hath made perfect our redemption. This hath he done alone, without any of your daily oblations.'

"Then Dr. Brydges started up and said, 'Truth! your words are true indeed. You take well the literal sense: but this you must understand, that like as you said that Christ offered his body upon the cross, which was a bloody sacrifice, and a visible sacrifice; so likewise we daily offer the selfsame body that was offered upon the cross, but not bloody and visible, but invisible, unto God the Father.' 'Do you offer Christ's body?' I said; 'why then Christ's sacrifice was not perfect. But Christ is true, when all men shall be liars.'

"Then he said, 'Thou shalt not fear him that hath power to kill the body; but thou shalt fear him that hath power to kill both body and soul.' I answered and said, 'It is not so. But the text is thus, Thou shalt not fear them that have power to kill the body, and then have done what they can. But thou shalt fear him that hath power to kill both body and soul, and cast them both into hell-fire, and not them.'

"He answered and said, 'Yes; for it is the church.' I answered and said, 'Why, Christ saith, I give my life for the redemption of the world. No man taketh my life from me, saith he, but I give it of my own power; and so I have power to take it again. Therefore Christ the Son of God did offer his body once for all. And if you will presume to offer his body daily, then your power is above Christ's power.' With that he chafed and said, 'What, shall we have doctrine? Ye are not hereto appointed.'

"Then the chancellor stood up and said, 'Will ye turn from this wicked error, and be an example of goodness, as you have been an example of evil, (for by your wicked reading, you have persuaded simple women to be in this error,) and ye shall have mercy.' And I said, 'It is of God that I do crave mercy, whom I have offended, and not of you.'

"Then said the chancellor, 'When were you at your parish church? These two years and more you have stood excommunicate: wherefore you are condemned!' And so I was condemned."

Thus hast thou, gentle reader! the examinations of this godly young man, set forth and written with his own hand, who, not long after his condemnation, was, by the sheriffs and officers there, brought to the stake, on August the fifth, where with much patience and constancy he entered his blessed martyrdom. At the burning of which Christian martyr, one Thomas Carman the same time was apprehended (by what occasion it is not yet to us fully certain, whether it was for words, or for praying with him, or for pledging him at his burning); concerning which Thomas Carman, his story hereafter followeth in his order and place, further to be seen.

365. Joyce Lewes.

The apprehension and death of Mistress Joyce Lewes, the wife of Thomas Lewes, of Mancetter, most constantly suffering for God's word at Lichfield.



The sumner forced to eat his citation of Mary Lewes

Mistress Joyce Lewes, a gentlewoman born, was delicately brought up in the pleasures of the world, having delight in gay apparel, and such-like foolishness, with the which follies the most part of the gentlefolks of England were then, and are yet, infected; who was married first to one called Appleby, and afterward to one Thomas Lewes of Mancetter. In the beginning of Queen Mary's time she went to the church and heard mass as others did, but when she heard of the burning of that most godly and learned martyr, Laurence Saunders, who suffered in Coventry, she began to take more heed to the matter, and inquired earnestly, of such as she knew feared God, the

cause of his death. And when she perceived it was because he refused to receive the mass, she began to be troubled in conscience, and waxed very unquiet. And because her house was even hard by Master John Glover's house, of whom mention was made before, (a man of blessed memory, and a singular example, for his unfeigned godliness and manifold troubles which he suffered for the gospel,) she did oftentimes resort to him, and desired him to tell her the faults that were in the mass, and other things that at that time were urged as necessary to salvation.

Now he, perceiving both her unquiet mind, and also the desire she had to know the truth, did most diligently instruct her in the ways of the Lord, approving unto her, out of God's holy word, that the mass, with all other papistical inventions, was odious in God's sight; and besides this, reprov'd her, for that she delighted in the vanities of this world so much. By the which godly counsel given by him, it happened that she began to wax weary of the world, thoroughly sorrowful for her sins, being inflamed with the love of God, desirous to serve him according to his word, purposing also to flee from those things the which did displease the Lord her God. And because she had learned the mass to be evil and abominable, she began to hate it. And when at a time she was compelled by the furiousness of her husband to come to the church, at the same time when the holy water was cast, she turned her back towards it, and showed herself to be displeased with their blasphemous holy water, injurious to the blood of Christ. Whereupon she was accused before the bishop for the despising of their sacramentals.

Immediately a citation was sent for her to her husband's house, to appear before the bishop incontinently. The sumner that brought the citation, delivered it to her husband, who, looking upon it, and perceiving what it was, was moved with anger, willing the sumner to take the citation with him again, or else he would make him to eat it. The sumner refused to take it again, for he thought no man durst have been so bold to trouble him: but in the end Lewes compelled the said sumner to eat the citation indeed, by setting a dagger to his heart; and when he had eaten it, he caused him to drink to it, and so sent him away. But immediately after, the said Lewes with his wife were commanded to appear before the bishop, where the said Lewes by and by submitted himself, and, desiring the bishop to be good to him, excused himself after the best fashion he could. Whereupon the bishop was content to receive his submission, with condition that his wife should submit herself also. But she stoutly told the bishop, that by refusing of the holy water, she had neither offended God, nor any part of his laws. At the which words the bishop being grievously offended, yet because she was a gentlewoman, and he would not take her at the worst, (as he said,) he gave her one month's respite, binding her husband in a hundred pounds, to bring her again unto him at the month's end: and so they were both let go.

When they came to their own house, the said Mistress Joyce Lewes gave herself to most diligent prayer, and invoking of the name of God, resorting continually to the abovenamed man of God, Master John Glover, who did most diligently instruct her with God's word, willing her in any case not to meddle with that matter in respect of vainglory, or to get herself a name, showing her the great dangers she was like to cast herself in, if she should meddle in God's matters otherwise than Christ doth teach.

When the month was now almost expired, and the time at hand that she should be brought before the said bishop, her husband being advertised by the said Master John Glover and others not to carry her to the bishop, but to seek some ways to save her, or, if the worst should come, to be content to forfeit so much money, rather than to cast his own wife into the fire; he answered, he would not lose or forfeit any thing for her sake. And so, like a murderer of his own wife, he carried her to the bloody bishop, where she was examined, and found more stout than she was before death was threatened. And to begin withal, she was sent to such a stinking prison, that a certain maid which was appointed to keep her company, did swoon in the same prison.

Being thus kept in prison, and oftentimes examined, and ever found stout, at the length she was brought in judgment, and pronounced a heretic worthy to be burnt. When the bishop reasoned with her, why she could not come to the mass, and receive the sacraments and sacramentals of the holy church: she answered, "Because I find not these things in God's word, which you so urge and magnify as things most needful for men's salvation. If these things were in the same word of God commanded, I would with all my heart receive, esteem, and believe them." The bishop answered, "If thou wilt believe no more than is in the Scripture, concerning matters of religion, thou art in a damnable case." At which words she was wonderfully amazed, and being moved by the Spirit of God, told the bishop that his words were ungodly and wicked.

After her condemnation, she continued a whole twelvemonth in prison, because she was committed to the sheriff that was of late chosen, who could not be compelled to put her to death in his time, as he affirmed: for the which thing, after her death, he was sore troubled, and in danger of his life. All that time she was in prison, her behaviour was such both in words and deeds, that all they that had any spark of godliness or civil honesty, did greatly lament her case, that she should be put to death.

Now when the time did draw near the which God had appointed for her deliverance, the writ *de comburendo* (as they term it) being brought down from London, she desired certain of her friends to come to her, with whom, when they came, she consulted how she might behave herself, that her death might be more glorious to the name of God, comfortable to his people, and also most discomfortable unto the enemies of God. "As for death," said she, "I do not greatly pass. When I behold the amiable countenance of Christ, my dear Saviour, the uglisome face of death doth not greatly trouble me." In the which time also she reasoned most comfortably out of God's word, of God's election and reprobation.

In the evening, before the day of her suffering, two of the priests of the close of Lichfield came to the under-sheriff's house where she lay, and sent word to her by the sheriff, that they were come to hear her confession: for they would be sorry she should die without. She sent them word again, she had made her confession to Christ her Saviour, at whose hands she was sure to have forgiveness of her sins. As concerning the cause for the which she should die, she had no cause to confess that, but rather to give unto God most humble praise, that he did make her worthy to suffer death for his word: and as concerning that absolution that they were able to give unto her, being authorized by the pope, she did defy the same, even from the bottom of her heart. The which thing when the priests heard, they said to the sheriff, "Well, to-morrow her stoutness will be proved and tried: for although perhaps she hath now some friends that whisper her in her ears, to-morrow we will see who dare be so hardy

as to come near her." And so they went their ways with anger, that their confession and absolution was nought set by.

All that night she was wonderfully cheerful and merry, with a certain gravity, insomuch that the majesty of the Spirit of God did manifestly appear in her, who did expel the fear of death out of her heart; spending the time in prayer, reading, and talking with them that were purposely come unto her, to comfort her with the word of God.

About three of the clock in the morning, Satan (who never sleepeth, especially when death is at hand) began to stir himself busily, shooting at her that fiery dart, the which he is wont to do against all that are at defiance with him, questioning with her, how she could tell that she was chosen to eternal life, and that Christ died for her: "I grant that he died: but that he died for thee how canst thou tell?" With this suggestion when she was troubled, they that were about her did counsel her to follow the example of Paul, where he saith, which hath loved me, and given himself for me. Also that her vocation and calling to the knowledge of God's word was a manifest token of God's love towards her, especially that same Holy Spirit of God working in her heart that love and desire towards God to please him, and to be justified by him through Christ, &c. By these and like persuasions, and especially by the comfortable promises of Christ, brought out of the Scripture, Satan was put to flight, and she comforted in Christ.

About eight of the clock, Master Sheriff came to her into her chamber, saying these words, "Mistress Lewes, I am come to bring you tidings of the queen's pleasure, the which is, that you shall live no longer but one hour in this world: therefore prepare yourself thereunto, it standeth you in hand." At which words, being so grossly uttered, and so suddenly by such an officer as he was, she was somewhat abashed. Wherefore one of her friends and acquaintance standing by, said these words, "Mistress Lewes, you have great cause to praise God, who will vouchsafe so speedily to take you out of this world, and make you worthy to be a witness of his truth, and to bear record unto Christ, that he is the only Saviour."

After the which words spoken thus, she said, "Master Sheriff, your message is welcome to me, and I thank my God, that he will make me worthy to adventure my life in his quarrel." And thus Master Sheriff departed. And within the space of one hour he came again, *cum gladiis et fustibus*; and when he came up into the chamber, one of her friends desired him to give him leave to go with her to the stake, and to comfort her, the which the sheriff granted at that time; but afterwards he was sore troubled for the same, when she was dead.

Now when she was brought through the town with a number of bill-men, a great multitude of people being present, she, being led by two of her friends, (which were Master Michael Reniger, and Master Augustine Bernher, [see note 1 below]) she was brought to the place of execution. And because the place was far off, and the throng of the people great, and she not acquainted with the fresh air, (being so long in prison,) one of her friends sent a messenger to the sheriff's house for some drink; and after she had prayed three several times, in the which prayer she desired God most instantly to abolish the idolatrous mass, and to deliver this realm from papistry; (at the end of which prayers the most part of the people cried, Amen; yea, even the sheriff

that stood hard by her, ready to cast her in the fire for not allowing the mass, at this her prayer said with the rest of the people, Amen;) when, she had thus prayed, she took the cup into her hands, saying, "I drink to all them that unfeignedly love the gospel of Jesus Christ, and wish for the abolishment of papistry." When she had drunk, they that were her friends drank also. After that a great number, specially the women of that town, did drink with her; which afterward were put to open penance in the church by the cruel papists, for drinking with her.

When she was tied to the stake with a chain, she showed such a cheerfulness that it passed man's reason, being so well coloured in her face, and being so patient, that the most part of them that had honest hearts did lament, and even with tears bewail the tyranny of the papists. When the fire was set upon her, she neither struggled nor stirred, but only lifted up her hands towards heaven, being dead very speedily: for the under-sheriff at the request of her friends had provided such stuff, by the which she was suddenly despatched out of this miserable world.

This amongst other things may not be forgotten, that the papists had appointed some to rail upon her openly, and to revile her, both as she went to the place of execution, and also when she was at the stake. Amongst others there was an old priest, which had a pair of writing-tables, to note both the names of the women that drank of her cup, (as before you heard,) and also described her friends by their apparel, for presently he could not learn their names, and afterwards inquired for their names. And so, immediately after, process was sent out for them, both to Coventry and other places. But God, whose providence sleeps not, did defend them from the hands of these cruel tyrants. Unto the which God, with the Son and the Holy Ghost, be honour and glory forever. Amen. [see note 2]

Note 1: "Augustine Bernher -- that faithful friend was to both our martyrs 'their companion in tribulation;' and had the boldness to be present when they suffered.

"Of such a man, it is to be regretted that we know so little. He was a Swiss; and, from being an attendant on his venerable and aged master, Bishop. Latimer, became a minister of Christ, and was a preacher of the gospel in the reigns of Edward VI., Queen Mary, and Elizabeth. Between Bishop Latimer and his pious and faithful Swiss there subsisted an affectionate familiarity;-- a circumstance not unfrequent in those days of primitive simplicity. To Bishop Latimer, Augustine Bernher was 'above a servant -- a brother beloved;' and the more intimate and unreserved their intercourse, the greater was Bernher's veneration for one, whom he calls 'my most dear master.' How, indeed, could Bernher otherwise regard such a man, than with feelings of the deepest veneration and pious regard, whom he styles 'a holy man of God,' and 'a faithful servant of God?' These were the sacred characters in which he delighted to contemplate his 'most dear master,' and in which he himself desired to be like him. It is Augustine Bernher who has recorded his aged master's long continuance in prayer, when his outward man was so decayed that he had not power of himself to rise again from his bended knees. It is he who has told us, also, what was the grand subject-matter of his prayers, when, on the death of Edward and the accession of Mary, he saw popery rising again in all its subtlety and power. He tells us, his constant prayer was 'for the speedy re-establishment of the protestant religion;' for which, as he often

wished he might, 'he shed his heart's blood.' How soon the prayers of this apostolic man were answered, both in the circumstances of his death and in the accession of Elizabeth, it is unnecessary to remind our readers.

"During the Marian persecution, the principal refuge of Augustine Bernher was at Baxterley, an obscure village in this county, about four miles from Mancetter. He was, however, for a while, during the height of that fierce persecution, the minister of a congregation in London, which assembled privately, first in one secret place, and then another; and not unfrequently, for their greater security, on board some vessel on the Thames. Of this little flock, some were apprehended and burnt; and, among others, one of their ministers, John Rough. This eminent minister, as he once returned from the spectacle of a martyrdom, said to a friend, he had been to learn the way.' After he had entered heaven by that fiery way, every step of which he was so soon called to tread, Augustine Bernher became, in those perilous times, the minister of his congregation."

Note 2: Of Mrs. Lewes and her martyrdom the writer had never heard, until, to his surprise, he met with an account of her sufferings in Fox's Martyrology; and was delighted to find that two of the noble army of martyrs' had been enrolled from his own village;-- an honour far surpassing that for which it is chiefly renowned, as the Manduessedum of the Romans.

'Their blood is shed
In confirmation of the noblest claim,--
Our claim to feed upon immortal truth;
To walk with God; to be divinely free;
To soar, and to anticipate the skies:
Yet few remember them!'

"Mr. Thomas Lewes, her husband, and his family, from about the year 1547 to 1625, possessed the estate, and that portion of the manor, which is now the property of T. C. Hincks, Esq.; and there is no doubt that the house, in which Mrs. Lewes lived, was nearly in the same situation as that which is now in the occupation of Mr. Charles Weetman; for, besides some traces of it, which remain unto this day, the historian says, 'It was even hard by Mr. John Glover's;' which enabled her to hold frequent conversations with him on religious subjects." -- *Rev. B. Richings, A. M., vicar of Mancetter.*

366. Ralph Allerton, James Austoo, Margery Austoo, and Richard Roth

The martyrdom of Ralph Allerton, James Austoo, Margery Austoo, and Richard Roth, burnt at Islington.



Ralph Allerton at the stake

In searching out the certain number of the faithful martyrs of God that suffered within the time and reign of Queen Mary, I find, that about the seventeenth day of September were burned at Islington, nigh unto London, these four constant professors of Christ, Ralph Allerton, James Austoo, Margery Austoo, his wife, and Richard Roth. Among the which, it first appeareth that this Ralph Allerton was, more than a year before his condemnation, apprehended and brought before the Lord Darcy of Chiche; and was there accused, as well for that he would not consent and come unto the idolatry and superstition which then was used, as also that he had by preaching enticed others to do the like.

Being then hereupon examined, he confessed that he, coming into his parish church of Bentley, and seeing the people sitting there, either gazing about, or else talking together, he exhorted them that they would fall unto prayer, and meditation of

God's most holy word, and not sit still idly: whereunto they willingly consented. Then, after prayer ended, he read unto them a chapter of the New Testament, and so departed. In the which exercise he continued until Candlemas, and then, being informed that he might not so do by the law, (for that he was no priest or minister,) he left off, and kept himself close in his house until Easter then next after, at what time certain sworn men for the inquiry of such matters came unto his house, and attached him for reading in the parish of Weeley. But when they understood that he had read but once, and that it was of obedience, (whereunto he earnestly moved the people,) they let him for that time depart. Notwithstanding, for fear of their cruelty, he was not long after constrained to forsake his own house, and keep himself in woods, barns, and other solitary places, until the time of his apprehension.

After this examination, the Lord Darcy sent him up to the council; but they (not minding to trouble themselves with him) sent him unto Bonner, who, by threatenings and other subtle means, so abused the simple and fearful heart of this man, (as yet not thoroughly staid upon the aid and help of God,) that within short time he won him to his most wicked will, and made him openly at Paul's Cross to revoke and recant his former profession, and thereupon set him at liberty of body; which yet brought such a bondage and terror of soul and conscience, and so cast him down, that except the Lord (whose mercies are immeasurable) had supported and lifted him up again, he had perished for ever. But the Lord, who never suffereth his elect children utterly to fall, casting his pitiful eyes upon this lost sheep, with his merciful and fatherly chastisements did (with Peter) raise him up again, giving unto him not only hearty and unfeigned repentance, but also a most constant boldness to profess again (even unto the death) his most holy name and glorious gospel. Wherefore, at the procurement of one Thomas Tye, priest, sometime an earnest professor of Christ, but now a fierce persecutor of the same, (as appeareth more at large before, in the history of William Mount and his wife,) he was again apprehended, and sent up again unto Bonner, before whom he was, the eighth day of April and sundry other times else, examined. The report of which examination, written by his own hand, with blood for lack of other ink, hereafter followeth.

Bonner.--"Ah sirrah! how chanceth it that you are come hither again on this fashion? I dare say thou art accused wrongfully."

Ralph.--"Yea, my Lord, so I am. For if I were guilty of such things as I am accused of, then I would be very sorry."

Bonner.--"By St. Mary that is not well done. But let me hear, art thou an honest man? for if I can prove no heresy by thee, then shall thine accusers do thee no harm at all. Go to, let me hear thee: for I did not believe the tale to be true."

Ralph.--"My Lord, who did accuse me? I pray you let me know, and what is mine accusation, that I may answer thereunto."

Bonner.--"Ah, wilt thou so? Before God, if thou hast not dissembled, then thou needest not be afraid nor ashamed to answer for thyself. But tell me in faith, hast thou not dissembled?"

Ralph.--"If I cannot have mine accusers to accuse me before you, my conscience doth constrain me to accuse myself before you: for I confess that I have grievously offended God in my dissimulation, at my last being before your Lordship, for the which I am right sorry, as God knoweth."

Bonner.--"Wherein, I pray thee, didst thou dissemble, when thou wast before me?"

Ralph.--"Forsooth, my Lord, if your Lordship remember, I did set my hand upon a certain writing, the contents whereof (as I remember) were, 'That I did believe in all things as the catholic church teacheth,' &c. In the which I did not disclose my mind, but shamefully dissembled, because I made no difference between the true church and the untrue church."

Bonner.--"Nay, but I pray thee let me hear more of this gear; for I fear me thou wilt smell of a heretic anon. Which is the true church, as thou sayest? Dost thou not call the heretics' church the true church, or the catholic church of Christ? Now, which of these two is the true church, sayest thou? Go to, for in faith I will know of thee ere I leave thee."

Ralph.--"As concerning the church of heretics, I utterly abhor the same, as detestable and abominable before God, with all their enormities and heresies: and the church catholic is it that I only embrace, whose doctrine is sincere, pure, and true."

Bonner.--"By St. Augustine, but that is well said of thee, for, by God Almighty, if thou hadst allowed the church of heretics, I would have burned thee with fire for thy labour."

Then said one Morton a priest, "My Lord, you know not yet what church it is, that he calleth catholic. I warrant you he meaneth naughtily enough."

Bonner.--"Think you so? Now by our blessed Lady, if it be so, he might have deceived me. How say you, sirrah! which is the catholic church?"

Ralph.--"Even that which hath received the wholesome sound, spoken of Isaiah, David, Malachi, and Paul, with many other more. The which sound, as it is written, hath gone throughout all the earth in every place, and unto the ends of the world."

Bonner.--"Yea, thou sayest true before God: for this is the sound that hath gone throughout all Christendom. And he that believeth not the sound of the holy church, as St. Cyprian saith, doth err: for he saith, that whosoever is out of the church, is like unto them that were out of Noah's ship when the flood came upon all the whole world; so that the ark of Noah is likened unto the church. And therefore thou hast well said in thy confession: for the church is not alone in Germany, nor was here in England in the time of the late schisms, as the heretics do affirm. For if the church should be there alone, then were Christ a liar: for he promised that the Holy Ghost should come to us, and lead us unto all truth, yea, and remain with us unto the end of the world. So now, if we will take Christ for a true sayers, then we must needs affirm,

that the way which is taught in France, Spain, Italy, Flanders, Denmark, Scotland, and all Christendom over, must needs be the true catholic church."

Ralph.--"My Lord, if you remember, I spake of all the world, as it is written, and not of all Christendom only, as methinks your Lordship taketh it, the which kind of speaking you do not find in all the Bible. For sure I am, that the gospel hath been both preached and persecuted in all lands; first, in Jewry by the scribes and Pharisees, and since that time by Nero, Dioclesian, and such like, and now here, in these our days, by your Lordship knoweth whom. For truth it is that the church which you call catholic, is none otherwise catholic than was figured in Cain, observed of Jeroboam, Ahab, Jezebel, Nebuchadnezzar, Antiochus, Herod, with innumerable more of the like; and as both Daniel and Esdras make mention of these last days by a plain prophecy, and now fulfilled, as appeareth, and affirmed by our Saviour Christ and his apostles, saying, There shall come grievous wolves to devour the flock."

Bonner.--"Now, by the blessed sacrament of the altar, Master Morton, he is the rankest heretic that ever came before me. How say you? have you heard the like?"

Morton.--"I thought what he was, my Lord, at the first, I --"

Bonner.--"Now, by All-hallows, thou shalt be burnt with fire for thy lying, thou whoreson varlet and prick-louse, thou! Dost thou find a prophecy in Daniel of us? Nay, you knave, it is of you that he speaketh, and of your false pretended holiness. Go to, let me hear what is the saying of Esdras, and take heed ye make not a lie, I advise you."

Ralph.--"The saying of Esdras is this: The heat of a great multitude is kindled over you, and they shall take away certain of you, and feed the idols with you. And he that consenteth unto them, shall be had in derision, laughed to scorn, and trodden under foot. Yea, they shall be like mad-men, for they shall spare no man; they shall spoil and waste such as fear the Lord, &c."

Bonner.--"And have you taken this thing to make your market good? Ah sirrah, wilt thou so? by my faith, a pretty instruction, and a necessary thing to be taught among the people. By my troth, I think there be more of this opinion. I pray thee tell me: is there any that understandeth this scripture on this fashion? Before God, I think there be none in all England, but thou."

Ralph.--"Yes, my Lord, there are in England three religions."

Bonner.--"Sayest thou so? Which be those three?"

Ralph.--"The first is that which you hold; the second is clean contrary to the same; and the third is a neuter, being indifferent -- that is to say, observing all things that are commanded outwardly, as though he were of your part, his heart being set wholly against the same."

Bonner.--"And of these three, which art thou? for now thou must needs be of one of them."

Ralph.--"Yea, my Lord, I am of one of them; and that which I am of, is even that which is contrary to that which you teach to be believed under pain of death."

Bonner.--"Ah sir, you were here with me at Fulham, and had good cheer, yea, and money in your purse when you went away; and by my faith I had a favour unto thee, but now I see thou wilt be a naughty knave. Why, wilt thou take upon thee to read the Scripture, and canst understand never a word? for thou hast brought a text of Scripture, the which maketh clean against thee. For Esdras speaketh of the multitude of you heretics, declaring your hate against the catholic church, making the simple or idle people believe, that all is idolatry that we do; and so entice them away until you have overcome them."

Ralph.--"Nay, not so, my Lord: for he maketh it more plain, and saith on this wise: They shall take away their goods, and put them out of their houses; and then shall it be known who are my chosen, saith the Lord, for they shall be tried, as the silver or gold is, in the fire. And we see it so come to pass, even as he hath said: for who is not now driven from house and home, yea, and his goods taken up for other men that never sweat for them, if he do not observe as you command and set forth? Or else, if he be taken, then must he either deny the truth, as I did, in dissembling, or else he shall be sure to be tried, as Esdras saith, even as the gold is tried in the fire. Whereby all the world may know, that you are the bloody church, figured in Cain the tyrant, neither yet are ye able to avoid it."

Morton.--"I promise you, my Lord, I like him better now than ever I did, when he was here before you the other time; for then he did but dissemble, as I perceived well enough; but now methinks he speaketh plainly."

Bonner.--"Marry, sir, as you say indeed, he is plain: for he is a plain heretic, and shall be burned. Have the knave away! Let him be carried to Little-ease, at London, until I come."

And so was I carried to London unto Little-ease, and there remained that night. And on the next morrow I appeared before him again; the dean of Paul's and the chancellor of London being present. Then were brought forth certain writings that I had set my hand unto.

Bonner.--"Come on your ways, sirrah! Is not this your hand, and this, and this?"

Ralph.--"Yea, they are my hand, all of them; I confess the same, neither yet will I deny any thing that I have set my hand unto. But if I have set my hand to any thing that is not lawful, there-for am I sorry. Nevertheless, my hand I will not deny to be my doing."

Bonner.--"Well said. Now ye must tell me, Were you never at the church since you went from me, at mass, matins?" &c.

Ralph.--"No, my Lord; not at mass, matins, nor any other strange worshipping of God."

Bonner.--"Yea, sayest thou so? Wast thou neither at thine own parish church, nor at any other? And dost thou also say, that it is a strange worshipping? Why, I pray thee, wilt thou not believe the Scripture to be true?"

Ralph.--"Yea, my Lord, I believe the Scripture to be true, and in the defence of the same I intend to give my life, rather than I will deny any part thereof, God willing."

Dean.--"My Lord, this fellow will be an honest man, I hear by him. He will not stand in his opinion; for he showeth himself gentle and patient in his talk."

Bonner.--"Oh, he is a glorious knave! His painted terms shall no more deceive me. Ah, whoreson prick-louse! doth not Christ say, This is my body? and how darest thou deny these words, for to say, as I have a writing to show, and thine own hand at the same? Let me see, wilt thou deny this? Is not this thine own hand?"

Ralph.--"Yes, my Lord, it is my own hand; neither am I ashamed thereof, because my confession therein is agreeable to God's word. And whereas you do lay unto my charge that I should deny the words of our Saviour Jesus Christ; O good Lord! from whence cometh this rash, hasty, and untrue judgment? Forsooth not from the Spirit of truth; for he leadeth men into all truth, and is not the father of liars. Whereupon should your Lordship gather or say of me so diffamously? Wherefore, I beseech you, if I deny the Scriptures canonical, or any part thereof, then let me die."

Tye, the priest.--"My Lord, he is a very seditious fellow, and persuadeth other men to do as he himself doth, contrary to the order appointed by the queen's Highness and the clergy of this realm. For a great sort of the parish will be gathered one day to one place, and another day to another place, to hear him; so that very few come to the church to hear divine service. And this was not only before that he was taken and brought unto the council, but also since his return home again, he hath done much harm: for where both men and women were honestly disposed before, by St. Anne now are they as ill as he almost. And furthermore, he was not ashamed to withstand me before all the parish, saying, that we were of the malignant church of antichrist, and not of the true church of Christ, alleging a great many of scriptures to serve for his purpose, saying, 'Good people, take heed, and beware of these blood-thirsty dogs,' &c. And then I commanded the constable to apprehend him, and so he did. Nevertheless, after his apprehension, the constable let him go about his business all the next day; so that without putting in of sureties, he let him go into Suffolk and other places, for no goodness, I warrant you, my Lord. It were alms to teach such officers their duty, how they should not let such rebels go at their own liberty, after that they be apprehended and taken; but to keep them fast in the stocks until they bring them before a justice."

Ralph.--"As I said before, so say I now again; thou art not of the church of Christ; and that will I prove, if I may be suffered. And whereas you said, that you commanded the constable to apprehend me; you did so indeed, contrary to the laws of this realm, having neither to lay unto my charge treason, felony, nor murder; no, neither had you precept, process, nor warrant to serve on me; and therefore I say, without a law was I apprehended. And whereas you seek to trouble the constable, because he kept me not in the stocks three days and three nights, it doth show in part

what you are. And my going into Suffolk was not for any evil, but only to buy half a bushel of corn for bread for my poor wife and children, knowing that I had no long time to tarry with them. But if I had run away, then you would surely have laid somewhat to his charge."

Bonner.--"Go to, thou art a merchant, indeed. Ah, sirrah! before God, thou shalt be burnt with fire. Thou knowest Richard Roth, dost thou not? Is he of the same mind that thou art of, or no? Canst thou tell?"

Ralph.--"He is of age to answer, let him speak for himself; for I hear say that he is in your house."

Bonner.--"Lo, what a knave here is! Go, Cluney, fetch me Roth hither. By my troth he is a false knave; but yet thou art worse than he. Ah, sirrah! did you not set your hand to a writing, the tenor whereof was, that if thou should at any time say or do heretically, then it should be lawful for me to take thee with a relapse, and to proceed in sentence against thee?"

Ralph.--"Yea, that is so. But here is to be asked, whether it be sufficient, that my hand or name in writing be able to give authority to you or to any other to kill me; for if I, by writing my name, can do so much, then must my authority be greater than yours. Nevertheless, I have neither said nor done heretically, but like a true Christian man have I behaved myself."

And so I was committed unto prison again; and the twenty-fourth day of the same month, I was brought before the bishop, the Lord North, Dr. Story, and others; and after a long talk in Latin amongst themselves, (unto the which I gave no answer, because they spake not to me, although they spake of me,) at the last the bishop said, "How say you, sirrah? tell me briefly at one word: Wilt thou be contented to go to Fulham with me, and there to kneel thee down at mass, showing thyself outwardly as though thou didst it with a good will? Go to, speak."

Ralph.--"I will not say so."

Bonner.--"Away with him, away with him!"

The second day of May I was brought before the bishop, and three noblemen of the council, whose names I do not remember.

Bonner.--"Lo, my Lords! this same is the fellow that was sent unto me from the council, and did submit himself, so that I had half a hope of him: but, by St. Anne, I was always in doubt of him. Nevertheless, he was with me and fared well, and when I delivered him, I gave him money in his purse. How sayest thou? was it not so as I tell my Lords here?"

Ralph.--"Indeed, my Lord, I had meat and drink enough; but I never came in bed all the while. And at my departing you gave me twelve-pence, howbeit I never asked none, nor would have done."

A lord.--"Be good to him, my Lord. He will be an honest man."

Bonner.--"Before God, how should I trust him? he hath once deceived me already. But ye shall hear what he will say to the blessed sacrament of the altar. How say you, sirrah? After the words of consecration be spoken by the priest, there remaineth no bread, but the very body of our Saviour Jesus Christ, God and man, and none other substance, under the form of bread?"

Ralph.--"Where find you that, my Lord, written?"

Bonner.--"Lo, sir! Why? Doth not Christ say, This is my body? How sayest thou? Wilt thou deny these words of our Saviour Christ? Or else was he a dissembler, speaking one thing, and meaning another! Go to; now I have taken you."

Ralph. -- "Yea, my Lord, you have taken me indeed, and will keep me until you kill me. Howbeit, my Lord, I marvel why you leave out the beginning of the institution of the supper of our Lord; for Christ said, Take ye, and eat ye; this is my body. And if it will please you to join the former words to the latter, then shall I make you an answer: for sure I am, that Christ was no dissembler, neither did he say one thing, and mean another."

Bonner.--"Why? Then must thou needs say, that it is his body; for he saith it himself, and thou confessest that he will not lie."

Ralph.--"No, my Lord; he is true, and all men are liars. Notwithstanding, I utterly refuse to take the words of our Saviour so phantastically as you teach us to take them; for then should we conspire with certain heretics called the Nestorians: for they deny that Christ had a true natural body; and so methinks you do, my Lord. If you will affirm his body to be there, as you say he is, then must you needs also affirm, that it is a phantastical body, and not a true natural body; and therefore look to it, for God's sake, and let these words go before, Take ye, and eat ye; without which words the rest are not sufficient. But when the worthy receivers do take and eat, even then are fulfilled the words of our Saviour unto him, or every of them, that so receiveth."

Bonner.--"Ah! I see well thou canst not understand these words: I will show thee a parable. – If I should set a piece of beef before thee, and say, Eat, it is beef; and then take part of it away, and send it to my cook, and he shall change the fashion thereof, and make it look like bread, what! wouldst thou say that it were no beef, because it hath not the fashion of beef?"

Ralph.--"Let me understand a little further, my Lord. Shall the cook add nothing thereunto, nor take any thing therefrom?"

Bonner.--"What is that to the matter, whether he do or no, so long as the shape is changed into another likeness?"

Ralph.--"Ah! will you so, my Lord? your sophistry will not serve. The truth will have the victory nevertheless, as Isaiah saith: He that restraineth himself from evil, must be spoiled. And Amos hath such-like words also: For the wise must be fain to hold their peace; so wicked a time it is, saith he. Nevertheless, he that can speak the truth, and will not, shall give a strait account for the same."

A doctor.--"By my Lord's leave, here methinks thou speakest like a fool: wilt thou be a judge of the Scripture? Nay, thou must stand to learn, and not to teach, for the whole congregation hath determined the matter long ago."

A priest.--"No, by your leave, we have a church, and not a congregation. You mistake that word, Master Doctor."

Then said I to my fellow-prisoners standing by: "My brethren, do ye not hear how these men help one another? Let us do so also." But we never came all in together after that time, but severally one after another. Then was I carried away for that time.

The nineteenth day of May I was brought before the bishops of Rochester and Chichester, with others.

Rochester.--"Were you a companion of George Eagles, otherwise called Trudgeover? My Lord of London telleth me that you were his fellow companion."

Ralph.--"I know him very well, my Lord."

Rochester.--"By my faith, I had him once, and then he was as drunk as an ape; for he stank so of drink, that I could not abide him; and so sent him away."

Ralph.--"My Lord, I dare say you took your marks amiss. It was either yourself, or some of your own company; for he did neither drink wine, ale, nor beer, in a quarter of a year before that time, and therefore it was not he forsooth."

"The rest of mine examinations you shall have when I am condemned, if I can have any time after my coming into Newgate, the which I trust shall touch the matter a great deal more plainly; for the pithy matters are yet unwritten. Thus fare you well, good friends all; yea, I say, farewell for ever in this present world. Greet ye one another, and be joyful in the Lord. Salute the good widows among you, with all the rest of the congregation in Bardfield, and Dedham, and Colchester."

This promise of his, being either not performed, for that he might not thereto be permitted, or else, if he did write, the same not coming to my hands, I am fain in the rest of his examinations to follow the only report of the registrar; who witnesseth that, the fifteenth day of May, anno 1557, in the bishop's palace at London, he was examined upon certain interrogatories, the contents whereof be these:--

"1. That he was of the parish of Much Bentley, and so of the diocese of London.

"2. That the tenth day of January then last past, Master John Morant preaching at Paul's, the said Ralph Allerton did there openly submit himself unto the Church of Rome, with the rites and ceremonies thereof.

"3. That he did consent and subscribe as well unto the same submission, as also to one other bill, in the which he granted, that if he should at any time turn again

unto his former opinions, it should be then lawful for the bishop immediately to denounce and adjudge him as a heretic.

"4. That he had subscribed to a bill, wherein he affirmed, that in the sacrament, after the words of consecration be spoken by the priest, there remaineth still material bread and material wine; and that he believeth that the bread is the bread of thanksgiving, and the memorial of Christ's death; and that when he receiveth it, he receiveth the body of Christ spiritually in his soul, but material bread in substance.

"5. That he had openly affirmed, and also advisedly spoken, that which is contained in the said former fourth article last before specified.

"6. That he had spoken against the bishop of Rome, with the church and see of the same, and also against the seven sacraments and other ceremonies and ordinances of the same church, used then within this realm.

"7. That he had allowed and commended the opinions and faith of Master Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, and others of late burnt within this realm; and believed that their opinions were good and godly.

"8. That he had divers times affirmed, that the religion used within this realm, at the time of his apprehension, was neither good, nor agreeable to God's word, and that he could not conform himself thereunto.

"9. That he had affirmed that the book of Common Prayer set forth in the reign of King Edward the Sixth, was in all parts good and godly; and that the said Ralph and his company, prisoners, did daily use amongst themselves in prison some part of the same book.

"10. That he had affirmed, that if he were out of prison, he would not come to mass, matins, nor evensong; nor bear taper, candle, or palm; nor go in procession; nor would receive holy water, holy bread, ashes, or pax, or any other ceremony of the church then used within this realm.

"11. That he had affirmed, that if he were at liberty, he would not confess his sins to any priest, nor receive absolution of him; nor yet would receive the sacrament of the altar, as it was then used.

12. That he had affirmed, that praying to saints and prayers for the dead, were neither good nor profitable; and that a man is not bound to fast and pray, but at his own will and pleasure; neither that it is lawful to reserve the sacrament, or to worship it.

"13. That the said Allerton hath, according to these his affirmations, abstained and refused to come unto his parish church ever since the tenth day of January last, or to use, receive, or allow any ceremonies, sacraments, or other rites then used in the church."

To all the articles he answered affirmatively. denying precisely none of them; saving to this clause contained in the twelfth article, that a man is not bound to fast

and pray but at his own will and pleasure, he said that he had affirmed no such thing, but he confessed that he had not fasted nor prayed so oft as he was bound to do. And unto this answer he also subscribed in this sort:

"Except it be proved otherwise by the Holy Scripture, I do affirm these articles to be true.-- By me, Ralph Allerton."

The next examination was the fourth day of July; the acts whereof, because they do appear more amply in his other examination, had the tenth day of September, I do here omit, giving you further to understand, that upon the seventh day of the same month of July, he was brought before Dr. Darbishire in the bishop's palace, who examined him again upon the former articles, and after persuaded him to recant, threatening him that, otherwise, he should be burnt. To whom he boldly answered, "I would I might be condemned even to-morrow; for I perceive my Lord," meaning Bonner, "doth nothing but seek men's blood:" upon which saying Darbishire committed him again to prison.

And the tenth day of September the bishop caused him (with the other three above named) to be brought unto Fulham, and there, in his private chapel within his house, he judicially propounded unto him certain other new articles, of the which the tenors of the first, fifth, sixth, and seventh are already mentioned in the second, third, and fourth former objections. As for the rest, the contents thereof here follow:--

"Thou, Ralph Allerton, canst not deny but that the information given against thee, and remaining now in the acts of this court of thine ordinary, Edmund, bishop of London, was and is a true information."

This information was given by Thomas Tye, curate of Bentley, (of whom you have already heard,) and certain other of the same parish and affinity; as namely, John Painter, William Harris, John Barker, John Carter, Thomas Candler, Jeffery Bestwood, John Richard, Richard Mere. The effect whereof was, that one Lawrence Edwards, of Bentley aforesaid, had a child that was unchristened; and being demanded by the said Tye, why his child was not baptized, he made answer, it should be when he could find one of his religion (meaning a true professor of Christ's gospel). Whereat the curate said, "Ah! ye have had some instructor that hath schooled you of late." "Yea," quoth the said Edwards, "that I have; and if your doctrine be better than his, then I will believe you." And therewithal fondly offered to fetch him. Whereupon the constable going with him, they brought before the said curate the said Ralph Allerton; of whom in this information they make this report, that he was a seditious person, who, since his coming down from the bishop, had set upon the constable's door certain seditious letters, moving and persuading thereby the people to follow his malicious disobedience; and that these his persuasions had taken effect in many. And further, that the said Ralph Allerton, (the curate asking him whether he had instructed this Lawrence Edwards, that it was against God's commandment to enter into the church,) casting abroad his hands, should say, "O good people! now is fulfilled the saying of the godly priest and prophet Esdras, who saith, The fire of a multitude is kindled against a few: they have taken away their houses, and spoiled their goods, &c. Which of you all have not seen this, this day? who is he here amongst you, that seeth not all these things done upon us this day? The church which they call us unto, is the church of antichrist, a persecuting church and the church malignant."

With these and many more words, (said they,) most maliciously and falsely alleged out of the Scriptures, he thus persuaded a great multitude there present, as much as in him lay, unto disobedience: for the which cause the constables did then apprehend him.

"3. Item, Thou, Ralph Allerton, canst not deny but that the letter sent unto me by my Lord Darcy, beginning with these words, 'Pleaseth it your Lordship,' &c., was thine own letter, and was subscribed by thine own hand."

The contents of the letter mentioned in this article, and written by Allerton unto the Lord Darcy, was a confession of his demeanour before his first apprehension, the effect and purport whereof, because it appeareth in the beginning of this his history, I do here omit.

"4. Item, Thou, Ralph Allerton, canst not deny, but that the other letter, sent also to me from my said Lord Darcy, beginning thus, 'Pleaseth it your Lordship,' &c., and ending with those words, 'Whensoever it be,' is thine own very letter, and subscribed with thine own hand."

This was also another letter written by him unto the Lord Darcy, the contents whereof were, that whereas the said Lord had commanded him to declare where he had been ever since Whitsuntide last, before his first apprehension, this was to certify his Lordship, that he was not able so to do, otherwise than as he had already showed him by his former letters. And moreover, whereas he charged him to have read unto the people abroad in the woods, he certified him that he did never read any thing abroad, saving once, when he was in the company of George Eagles and others, Richard Roth took a writing out of his bosom, and desired the said Ralph to read it, which request he then accomplished. And demanding of him whose doing the same was, the said Roth told that it was Master Cranmer's, late archbishop of Canterbury; and further he could not show him. Nevertheless, he was ready and willing to suffer such punishment as his Lordship should think meet, desiring yet that the same might be with favour and mercy, although he feared neither punishment nor death; praying the Lord, that it might be in his fear, whensoever it should be.

"8. Item, Thou, Ralph Allerton, canst not deny but that the letters written with blood, beginning with these words, 'Grace, mercy, and peace,' &c., and ending thus, 'Farewell in God,' remaining now registered in the acts of this court, were written voluntarily with thine own hand."

He wrote this letter in the prison with blood for lack of other ink, and did mean to send the same unto Agnes Smith, alias Silverside, at that time imprisoned, and afterwards burnt, at Colchester, for the testimony of the gospel of Christ, as before is mentioned; the copy of which letter here ensueth.

"Grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ, with the assistance of God's Holy Spirit, and the abundant health both of soul and body, I wish unto you, as to my own soul, as God knoweth, who is the searcher of all secrets.

"Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God of his infinite mercy to call me to the state of grace, to suffer martyrdom for Jesus Christ's sake, although heretofore I have most negligently dallied therewith, and therefore far unworthy I am of such a high benefit, to be crowned with the most joyful crown of martyrdom: nevertheless, it hath pleased God not so to leave me, but hath raised me up again according to his promise, which saith, Although he fall, yet shall he not be hurt; for the Lord upholdeth him with his hand. Whereby we perceive God's election to be most sure, for undoubtedly he will preserve all those that are appointed to die. And as he hath begun this work in me, even so do I believe that he will finish the same, to his great glory, and to my wealth, through Jesus Christ. So be it!

"Dearly beloved sister, (I am constrained so to call you, because of your constant faith and love unfeigned,) consider, that if we be the true servants of Christ, then may not we in any wise make agreement with his enemy, antichrist. For there is no concord and agreement between them, saith the Scriptures, and a man cannot serve two masters, saith Christ. And also it is prefigured unto us in the old law, where the people of God were most straitly commanded that they should not mingle themselves with the ungodly heathen, and were also forbidden to eat, drink, or to marry with them: for as often as they did either marry unto their sons, or take their daughters unto them, or to their sons, even so oft came the great and heavy wrath of God upon his own people, to overthrow both them and all their cities, with the holy sanctuary of God; and brought in strange princes to reign over them, and wicked rulers to govern them, so that they were snre of hunger, sword, pestilence, and wild beasts to devour them; which plagues never ceased, until the good people of God were clean separated from the wicked idolatrous people.

"O dearly beloved! this was written for our learning, that we, through patience and comfort of the Scriptures, might have hope. And has it not in like case happened now in this realm of England? for now are the people of God had in derision, and trodden under foot; and the cities, towns, and houses where they dwelt, are inhabited with them that have no right thereunto, and the true owners are spoiled of their labours: yea, and the holy sanctuary of God's most blessed word is laid desolate and waste, so that the very foxes run over it, &c. Yet is it the food of our souls, the lantern of our feet, and the light unto our paths; and where it is not preached, there the people perish. But the prophet saith, He that refraineth himself from evil, must be spoiled. Why should men then be abashed to be spoiled, seeing that it is told us before, that it must so happen unto them that refrain from evil? And thus I bid you farewell in God.

R. A."

"9. Item, Thou, Ralph Allerton, canst not deny but that the letters written with blood, beginning with these words in the over part thereof, 'The angel of God,' &c., and ended thus, 'Be with you, Amen;' and having also this postscript, 'Do ye suppose that our brethren,' &c., remaining now registered in the acts of this court, are thine own hand-writing."

For the better understanding of this article, I have also here inserted the copy of the letter mentioned in the same; which letter he wrote (by his own confession) unfo Richard Roth, then in danger of the subtle snares of that bloody wolf, Bonner.

"The angel of God pitch his tent about us, and defend us in all our ways; Amen, Amen!

"O dear brother, I pray for you; for I hear say that you have been divers times before my Lord in examination. Wherefore take heed for God's sake what the wise man teacheth you, and shrink not away when you are enticed to confess an untruth for hope of life, but be ready always to give an answer of the hope that is in you. For whosoever confesseth Christ before men, him will Christ also confess before his Father: but he that is ashamed to confess him before men, shall have his reward with them that do deny him. And therefore, dear brother, go forward. Ye have a ready way, so fair, as ever had any of the prophets or apostles, or the rest of our brethren, the holy martyrs of God. Therefore covet to go hence with the multitude, while the way is full. Also, dear brother, understand that I have seen your letter; and although I cannot read it perfectly, yet I partly perceive your meaning therein, and very gladly I would copy it out, with certain comfortable additions thereunto annexed; the which as yet will not be brought to pass for lack of paper, until my Lord be gone from hence; and then your request shall be accomplished, God willing, without delay. Thus fare ye well in God. Our dear brother and fellow in tribulation, Robert Allin, saluteth you; and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost be with you; Amen.

"RALPH ALLERTON.

"Do ye suppose that our brethren and sisters are not yet despatched out of this world? I think that either they are dead, or shall be within these two days."

As for the other objections yet remaining, and not specified, if it were not more somewhat to show the folly of these bloody tyrants, (which of so small trifles take occasions to quarrel with the saints of God,) than for any weighty thing therein contained, I would neither trouble you with the reading thereof, nor yet myself with writing. But that ye may judge of them as their doings do give occasion, I will now proceed in the matter.

"Item, Thou, Ralph Allerton, canst not deny, but confessest, that the writing of letters in a little piece of paper on both sides of it, with this sentence following on the one side, 'Look at the foot of the stocks, for a knife,' and with this sentence following upon the other side, 'Look between the post and the wall, for two books and two epistles; leave them here when ye go,' remaining now in the register and acts of this court, is voluntarily written by thee, Ralph Allerton, with thine own hand.

"Item, Thou, Ralph Allerton, canst not deny but that thou art privy to a certain writing remaining now in the registry and acts of this court; the beginning whereof is with these words, 'I would have men wise,' &c., and ending thus, 'from house to house.'

"Item, Thou, Ralph Allerton, canst not deny but that thou art privy, and of consent and maintenance of a certain great wood-knife, a long sword, a hook, a stone, and of a trencher written upon with chalk, having this sentence, 'All is gone and lost, because of your folly;' of two boards written upon with chalk, the one having this sentence, 'Under the stone look,' and the other having this sentence, 'Whereas you bid me take heed, I thank you, I trust in God that I shall be at peace with him shortly,' remaining now registered in the acts of this court."

For answer unto all these articles, he granted that the first nine were true, as the registrar recordeth: howbeit, I find noted in the backside of the information, specified in the second article, (although crossed out again,) that he denied such things as were there in the same informed against him. Wherefore it is not likely that he did simply grant unto the contents of the second article, but rather that he only affirmed, that such an information was given against him, and not that the same was true. Thus much I thought to warn the reader of, lest that in mistaking his answers, it might seem, that he granted himself to be a seditious and a rebellious person; of which fact he was most clear and innocent.

And being further demanded upon the contents of the eighth article, where he had the blood he wrote that letter withal; he said that Richard Roth, sometime his prison-fellow, did make his nose bleed, and thereby he got the blood wherewith he did then write. The bishop again asked him, to whom he would have sent the same. He answered, unto one Agnes Smith, alias Silverside, of Colchester. "Why," quoth the bishop, "Agnes Smith was a heretic, and is burnt for heresy." "Nay," said Allerton, "she is in better case than either I myself, or any of us all."

Then being again demanded upon the ninth objection, to whom he would have sent the letter mentioned in the same; he answered, that he meant to have sent it unto Richard Roth, at that present separated from him. Whereupon the bishop further inquired, what he meant by these words, "Brethren and sisters," specified in the said letter? He answered, that he meant thereby, such as were lately condemned at Colchester, and were like (at the writing thereof) shortly to be burned.

Now as for the contents of the tenth and the eleventh articles, he utterly denied them; but to the twelfth he confessed, that he wrote upon the said trencher and other boards the words mentioned in the said article, and that he did leave the same in the prison-house, to the intent that Richard Roth should read them. Bonner also, bringing out the wooden sword mentioned in the said article, asked him who made it, and for what purpose: whereunto he answered, that he was the maker thereof, howbeit for no evil purpose; but being idle in the prison, and finding there an old board, he thought the time better spent in making thereof, than to sit still, and do nothing at all.

The forenoon being now spent, the rest of this tragedy was deferred until the afternoon; wherein was ministered unto him yet certain other objections, the tenor whereof was this.

"1. First, That he had misliked the mass, calling npon saints, and carrying the cross in procession, with other their ceremonies, calling them idolatry, and also had dissuaded them there-from.

"2. Item, That he was much desirous to have the people believe as he did; and therefore, being in prison with his fellows, did sing psalms and other songs against the sacrament of the altar and other ordinances of the church, so loud that the people abroad might hear them and delight in them.

"3. Item, That he had divers times conspired against his keeper, and had provided things to kill him; and so to break the prison, and escape away.

"4. Item, That he had railed against the bishop, being his ordinary, calling him a bloody butcher, tyrant, and ravening wolf; and also against his officers, especially Cluney his Sumner, calling him butcher's cur, with other such names.

"5. Item, That he had murmured, grudged, disdained, and disliked, that the bishop had proceeded against certain of his diocese, and had condemned them as heretics, or that he should proceed now against him and others yet remaining in errors, notwithstanding that he and his chaplains had charitably admonished and exhorted them from the same.

"6. Item, That he ought faithfully to believe, that there is one catholic church, without the which there is no salvation; of the which church Jesus Christ is the very priest and sacrifice, whose body and blood are really and truly contained in the sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine; the bread and wine being by the Divine power transubstantiated into his body and blood.

"7. Item, That he had kept himself, and also distributed to others, certain heretical and corrupt books, condemned and reprov'd by the laws of this realm.

"8. Item, That he had, contrary to the orders and statutes of this realm, kept company with that seditious heretic and traitor, George Eagles, commonly called Trudgeover, and had beard him read in woods and other places; yet not accusing, but allowing and praising him."

Unto which articles, because they were for the most part so foolish and full of lies, he would in a manner make no answer, saving he granted that he did dislike their mass and other ceremonies, because they were wicked and naught. And moreover, he told the bishop, that he and his complices did nothing but seek how to kill innocents.

The bishop then asked him, whether he would believe in all points touching the sacrament of the altar, as is contained in the general council holden and kept under Innocent the Third; and therewithal he did read the decree of the said council touching the sacrament. Whereunto Allerton again made answer and said, "I believe nothing contained in the same council, neither have I any thing to do therewith; and it were also very necessary, that no man else should have to do therewith."

"Then," quoth Bonner, "thou art of the opinion that the heretics lately burnt at Colchester were of." "Yea," said he, "I am of their opinion, and I be-lieve that they be saints in heaven."

This done, the bishop, perceiving that he would not recant, demanded what he had to say, why he should not pronounce the sentence of condemnation against him: to whom he answered, "Ye ought not to condemn me as a heretic, for I am a good Christian. But now go to, do as you have already determined; for I see right well, that right and trnth be suppressed, and cannot appear upon the earth."

These words ended, the bishop pronounced the sentence of condemnation, and so delivered him unto the temporal officers; who reserved him in their custody until the seventeenth day of September, at which time both he, and the other three before mentioned, were all burnt, as ye have already heard. Of which other three, because as

yet little is said, I will therefore now proceed to declare such cause of their cruel deaths, as in the register is recorded.

The story of James Austoo, and Margery, his wife.

Touching the first apprehension of these two persons, I find neither occasion why, neither time, nor manner how: howbeit, as the days then served, it was no hard or strange matter to fall into the hands of such as with cruelty persecuted the true professors of God's gospel, especially having so many promoters and unneighbourly neighbours, to help them forwards. By which kind of people, it is not unlike these two godly yoke-fellows were accused and taken: and being once delivered into the pitiless handling of Bonner, their examinations (ye may be sure) were not long deferred; for, the sixteenth day of July, 1557, they were brought before him into his place at London, where first he demanded of the said James Austoo, (amongst other questions,) Where he had been confessed in Lent, and whether he received the sacrament of the altar at Easter, or not? To whom he answered, that indeed he had been confessed of the curate of All-hallows Barking, nigh to the Tower of London: but that he had not received the sacrament of the altar; for he defied it from the bottom of his heart.

"Why," quoth the bishop, "dost thou not believe, that in the sacrament of the altar there is the true body and blood of Christ?" "No," said Austoo, "not in the sacrament of the altar; but in the supper of the Lord, to the faithful receiver, is the very body and blood of Christ by faith."

Bonner not well pleased with this talk, asked then the wife, how she did like the religion then used in this church of England? She answered, that she believed that the same was not according to God's word, but false and corrupted; and that they which did go thereunto, did it more for fear of the law, than otherwise.

Then he again asked her, if she would go to the church and hear mass, and pray for the prosperous estate of the king, being then abroad in his affairs. Whereunto she said, that she defied the mass with all her heart, and that she would not come into any church wherein were idols.

After this the bishop objected unto them certain articles, to the number of eighteen; the tenor whereof (because they touch only such common and trifling matters as are already mentioned in divers and sundry places before) I do here for brevity's sake omit and pass over, giving you yet this much to understand, that in matters of faith they were as sound and answered as truly (God be therefore praised) as ever any did, especially the woman, to whom the Lord had given the greater knowledge, and more ferventness of spirit. Notwithstanding, according to the measure of grace that God gave them, they both stood most firmly unto the truth. And therefore to conclude, the tenth day of September they were (with Ralph Allerton, of whom ye have heard) brought again before the bishop within his chapel at Fulham, where he, speaking unto them, said first on this wise: "Austoo! dost thou know where thou art now, and in what place, and before whom, and what thou hast to do?" Yea," quoth Austoo, "I know where I am; for I am in an idol's temple."

After which words, their articles being again read, and their constancy in faith perceived, Bonner pronounced against either of them severally the sentence of condemnation, and delivering. Them unto the sheriff there present, did rid his hands (as he thought) of them: but the Lord in the end will judge that; to whom I refer his cause.

It so happened upon a night, that as this Margery Austoo was in the bishop's prison, (which prison I suppose was his dog-kennel; for it was, as is reported, under a pair of stairs,) by the bishop's procurement there was sent a stout champion (as appeared) about twelve of the clock at night, who suddenly opened the door, and with a knife drawn, or ready prepared, fell upon her, to the intent to have cut her throat, which she, by reason of the clearness of the moon, perceiving, and calling unto God for help, he, (but who it was she knew not,) giving a grunt, and fearing belike to commit so cruel a deed, departed his ways without any more hurt-doing.

The next night following, they caused a great rumbling to be made over her head, which seemed to her to have been some great thunder, which they did, to have feared her out of her wits; but yet, thanks be to God, they missed of their purpose.

Richard Roth.

In the godly fellowship of the forenamed three martyrs, was also this Richard Roth, as is already specified; who, being apprehended, and brought up unto the bishop of London, was by him examined the fourth day of July; at what time the bishop did earnestly travail to induce him to believe that there were seven sacraments in Christ's church; and that in the sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration duly spoken, there remained the very substance of Christ's body and blood, and none other. Whereunto, at that present, he made only this answer; that if the Scripture did so teach him, and that he might be by the same so persuaded, he would so believe; otherwise not. But at another examination, which was the ninth day of September, he declared plainly that in the said sacrament of the altar; as it was then used, there was not the very body and blood of Christ, but that it was a dead god; and that the mass was detestable, and contrary to God's holy word and will, from the which faith and opinion he would not go or decline.

The next day, being the tenth day of the same month of September, the bishop at his house at Fulham (by way of an article) laid and objected against him, that he was a comforter and boldener of heretics; and therefore had written a letter to that effect unto certain that were burnt at Colchester, the copy whereof ensueth.

"O dear brethren and sisters, how much have you to rejoice in God, that he hath given you such faith to overcome this blood-thirsty tyrant thus far! And no doubt he that hath begun that good work in you, will fulfil it unto the end. O dear hearts in Christ, what a crown of glory shall ye receive with Christ in the kingdom of God! O that it had been the good will of God, that I had been ready to have gone with you: for I lie in my Lord's Little-ease in the day, and in the night I lie in the coal-house, from Ralph Allerton, or any other; and we look every day when we shall be condemned. For he said, that I should be burnt within ten days before Easter; but I lie still at the

pool's brink, and every man goeth in before me: but we abide patiently the Lord's leisure, with many bonds, in fetters and stocks, by the which we have received great joy in God. And now fare you well, dear brethren and sisters, in this world; but I trust to see you in the heavens face to face.

"O brother Mount, with your wife and my dear sister Rose, how blessed are you in the Lord, that God hath found you worthy to suffer for his sake, with all the rest of my dear brethren and sisters known and unknown! O be joyful even unto death. Fear it not, saith Christ; for I have overcome death, saith he. O dear hearts! seeing that Jesus Christ will be our help, O tarry you the Lord's leisure. Be strong, let your hearts be of good comfort, and wait you still for the Lord. He is at hand. Yea, the angel of the Lord pitcheth his tent round about them that fear him, and delivereth them which way he seeth best. For our lives are in the Lord's hands; and they can do nothing unto us before God suffer them. Therefore give all thanks to God.

"O dear hearts! you shall be clothed with long white garments upon the mount Sion, with the multitude of saints, and with Jesus Christ our Saviour, which will never forsake us. O blessed virgins! ye have played the wise virgins' part, in that you have taken oil in your lamps, that ye may go in with the Bridegroom, when he cometh, into the everlasting joy with him. But as for the foolish, they shall be shut out, because they made not themselves ready to suffer with Christ, neither go about to take up his cross. O dear hearts, how precious shall your death be in the sight of the Lord! for dear is the death of his saints. O fare you well, and pray. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all: Amen, Amen. Pray, pray, pray.

"By me,

RICHARD ROTH, written with my own blood."

This letter he confessed indeed, upon the said examination, to have written with his blood, and that he meant to have sent the same unto such as were condemned at Colchester for the gospel of Jesus Christ, and were afterwards burnt there, as ye have already heard.

The bishop then further asked him, what he thought his prison-fellow Ralph Allerton to be. He answered, that he thought him to be one of the elect children of God; and that if at any time here-after he happened to be put to death for his faith and religion, he thought he should die a true martyr.

And moreover, finding himself aggrieved with the bishop's privy and secret condemning of God's people, he said unto him in this sort: "My Lord, because the people should not see and behold your doings, ye cause me and others to be brought to our examinations by night, being afraid, belike, to do it by day."

The bishop not greatly caring for this talk, pro-ceeded to examine him of other matters, amongst which this high and weighty thing was one; viz., how he did like the order and rites of the church then used here in England. To whom he said, that he ever had and yet then did abhor the same with all his heart.

Then divers of the bishop's complices entreated and persuaded him to recant and ask mercy of the bishop. "No," quoth Roth, "I will not ask mercy of him that cannot give it." Whereupon he was (as the rest before mentioned) condemned and

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delivered unto the sheriff, and the seventeenth day of September they all most joyfully ended their lives in one fire at Islington, for the testimony of Christ, as before is declared.

367. Agnes Bongeor, Margaret Thurston and John Kurde

Agnes Bongeor and Margaret Thurston, two godly Christian women, burnt at Colchester for the sincere profession of Christ's gospel.



little before, gentle reader, was mention made of ten, that suffered martyrdom at Colchester; at which time there were two other women also, one called Margaret Thurston, and the other Agnes Bongeor, that should have suffered with them, and were likewise condemned at the same time and place that the other above-named ten were, for the like cause, and answered also in their examinations the like in effect as the others did. But the one, namely Margaret Thurston, that morning she should suffer with those that went from the castle, was for that time deferred. What the cause was, the testimony of Joan Cook shall declare unto us; which Joan Cook, the wife now of John Spark, being then in the castle of Colchester for religion, did demand of this widow Thurston, whose husband died in the prison, being imprisoned for religion, wherefore the said Margaret, being a condemned woman, should be reserved when the others suffered in the castle-bailly: she answered, that it was not for any fear of death, but being prepared as the rest were that suffered the same day, she felt in herself a great shivering and trembling of the flesh; whereupon, forsaking the company, she went aside to pray. And whilst she was a praying, she thought that she was lifted up with a mighty wind, that came round about her. Even at that instant came in the gaoler and company with him, and whilst she turned herself to fetch her Psalter, they took the other prisoners, and left her alone. Shortly after she was removed out of the castle, and put into the town-prison, where she continued until Friday sevensight after her company were burnt. That day, not two hours before her death, she was brought to the castle again, where she declared thus much to the foresaid Joan Cook.

The other, named Agnes Bongeor, who should have snffered in like manner with the six that went out of Mote hall, was also kept back at that time, but not in like sort, because her name was wrong written within the writ, as in the bailiff's letter of Colchester, sent to Bonner about the same, more plainly doth appear, the tenor whereof hereafter follow eth.

"After our humble commendations unto you, right reverend father, accordingly considered, these are to certify your honourable Lordship, that upon Friday the thirtieth of July last past, in the afternoon of the same day, we received by the hands of Edward Cosin, your Lordship's servant, your loving letters, and also the king's and queen's Majesties' writ *de hæreticis comburendis*, for the real burning of certain persons, convicted and condemned of heresy, then remaining in our custody: which to have executed the next day immediately following, we then purposed and much desired; but could not well and conveniently then do, not only for want of necessary provision then immediately to be had, but also by reason of other occasions and impediments. Whereupon we ordered the execution thereof to be done this

present Monday, the second of August; at which time we, by virtue of the writ, have, according to the tenor and purport thereof, really burned six persons of those which are named in the said writ: that is to say, William Bongeor, Robert Purcase, Thomas Benold, Agnes Silverside, alias Smith, widow; Ellen Ewring, the wife of Thomas Ewring; and Elizabeth Folkes.

"And as touching the seventh person named in the said writ, by the name of Agnes Bower, the wife of Richard Bower, for that we have no such person of that name, nor known nor called by that name, in our custody, neither any of that name or so known or called hath been before us presented or indicted, we could not therefore, by virtue of the writ, proceed unto the real burning of any other person than those six, who were rightly named in the said writ. Howbeit for that we have also a seventh person convicted and condemned of heresy, yet remaining in our custody, called and known by the name of Agnes Bongeor, the wife of Richard Bongeor; who was indicted and convicted of heresy with the other six before named, and for that the same writ, so misnaming her by another name than she hath ever heretofore been called or known [by], is no sufficient warrant in law for us to proceed unto the real burning of her, we have thought it good, therefore, to stay the execution and real burning of her, and thought it good also to certify your honourable Lordship thereof. Wherefore, if it may please your good Lordship to signify the same her name unto the right reverend father in God, the lord chancellor of England, and further to send unto us another writ of the king's and queen's Majesties, for our warrant to burn really the same Agnes Bongeor, the wife of Richard Bongeor; and by that name, we shall forthwith, and with like diligence, execute the same; as we have already done upon those six persons before named. Thus we commend your Lordship to Almighty God, who preserve your honourable estate, in much honour long to continue!-- From Colchester, the said third day of August, 1557.

"Your Lordship's assured at command,
ROBERT MAINARD,
ROBERT BROWN,
bailiffs.

The same morning, the second of August, that the said six in Mote hall were called out to go to their martyrdom, was Agnes Bongeor also called with them, by the name of Agnes Bower. Wherefore the bailiffs, understanding her (as I said) to be wrong named within the writ, commanded the said Agnes Bongeor to prison again, as ye have heard in the letter before named; and so from Mote hall that day sent her to the castle, where she remained until her death.

But when she saw herself so separated from her said prison-fellows in that sort, O good Lord! what piteous moan that good woman made, how bitterly she wept, what strange thoughts came into her mind, how naked and desolate she esteemed herself, and into what plunge of despair and care her poor soul was brought, it was piteous and wonderful to see; which all came because she went not with them to give her life in the defence of her Christ; for of all things in the world, life was least looked for at her hands. For that morning in which she was kept back from burning, had she put on a smock, that she had prepared only for that purpose. And also having a child, a little young infant sucking on her, whom she kept with her tenderly all the time that she was in prison, against that day likewise did she send away to another nurse, and prepared herself presently to give herself for the testimony of the glorious gospel of

Jesus Christ. So little did she look for life, and so greatly did God's gifts work in her above nature, that death seemed a great deal better welcome than life. But this took not effect at that time, as she thought it would; and therefore (as I said) was she not a little troubled.

Being in this great perplexity of mind, a friend of hers came to her, and required to know whether Abraham's obedience was accepted before God, for that he did sacrifice his son Isaac, or in that he would have offered him? Unto which she answered thus "I know," quoth she, "that Abraham's will before God was allowed for the deed, in that he would have done it, if the angel of the Lord had not stayed him: but I," said she, "am unhappy, the Lord thinketh me not worthy of this dignity: and therefore Abraham's case and mine are not alike."

"Why," quoth her friend, "would ye not willingly have gone with your company, if God should so have suffered it?" "Yes," said she, "with all my heart; and because I did not, it is now my chief and greatest grief."

Then said her friend, "My dear sister, I pray thee consider Abraham and thyself well, and thou shalt see thou dost nothing differ with him in will at all." "Alas," quoth she, "there is a far greater matter in Abraham than in me; for Abraham was tried with the offering of his own child, but so am not I: and therefore our cases are not alike."

"Good sister," quoth her friend, "weigh the matter but indifferently. Abraham, I grant," said he, "would have offered his son: and have not you done the like, in your little sucking babe? But consider further than this, my good sister," said he, "whereas Abraham was commanded but to offer his son, you are heavy and grieved because you offer not yourself, which goeth somewhat more near you, than Abraham's obedience did; and therefore before God, assuredly, is no less accepted and allowed in his holy presence: which further the preparing of your shroud also, doth argue full well," &c.

After which talk between them, she began a little to stay herself, and gave her whole exercise to reading and prayer, wherein she found no little comfort.

In the time that these foresaid two good women were prisoners, one in the castle, and the other in Mote hall, God by a secret mean called the said Margaret Thurston unto his truth again; who, having her eyes opened by the working of his Spirit, did greatly sorrow and lament her backsliding before, and promised faithfully to the Lord, in hope of his mercies, never more while she lived to do the like again, but that she would constantly stand to the confession of the same, against all the adversaries of the cross of Christ. After which promise made, came in a short time a writ from London for the burning of them, which according to the effect thereof was executed the seventeenth day of September, in the year aforesaid.

Now, when these foresaid good women were brought to the place in Colchester where they should suffer, the seventeenth day of September in the year aforesaid, they fell down upon both their knees, and made their humble prayers unto the Lord: which thing being done, they rose and went to the stake joyfully, and were immediately thereto chained; and after the fire had compassed them about, they with

great joy and glorious trinnph gave up their souls, spirits, and lives, into the hands of the Lord, under whose government and protection, for Christ's sake, we beseech him to grant us his holy defence and help for evermore, Amen!

Thus, gentle reader! God chooseth the weak things of the world, to confound mighty things.

John Kurde, martyr.

In the story before, was something touched of a certain shoemaker suffering at Northampton, being unnamed, whom because we understand by a letter sent from the said parties, that he suffered in this year 1557, and in the month of September, therefore we thought there to place him. His name was John Kurde, a shoemaker, late of the parish of Syresham, in Northamptonshire, who was imprisoned in Northampton castle for denying the popish transubstantiation, for the which cause William Binsley, bachelor of law, and chancellor unto the bishop of Peterborough, and now archdeacon of Northampton, did pronounce sentence of death against the said Kurde, in the church of All Saints in Northampton, in August, anno 1557. And in September following, at the commandment of Sir Thomas Tresham, sheriff then of the shire, he was led by his officers without the north gate of Northampton, and in the stone pits was burnt. A popish priest standing by, whose name was John Rote, vicar of St. Giles's, in Northampton, did declare unto him, that if he would recant, he was authorized to give him his pardon. His answer was, that he had his pardon by Jesus Christ, &c.

368. John Noyes

A true certificate of the taking of one John Noyes, of Laxfield, in the county of Suffolk, shoemaker, who was taken the nineteenth day of April, in the year of our Lord God 1557, as hereafter followeth.



John Noyes at the Stake

In the month of September this present year, or (as some report) in the year past, suffered the blessed martyr, John Noyes, whose story here followeth:--

"First, Master Thomas Lovel, being then chief constable of Hoxne hundred, in the county aforesaid, and one John Jacob, and William Stannard, then being under constables of the foresaid town of Laxfield, and Wolfren Dowsing, and Nicholas Stannard, of the same town, being then accounted faithful and catholic Christians, though undoubtedly they proved most cruel hinderers of the true professors of Christ and his gospel, with others, were commanded to be that present day before the

justices, whose names were Master Thurston, Sir John Tyrrel, and Master Kene, and Sir John Silliard being high sheriff.

"These sitting at Hoxne, in the county of Suffolk aforesaid, and there the said townsmen aforesaid having commandment of the said justices to inquire in their town, if there were any that would neglect to come to their service and mass; further, to examine the cause why they would not come, and thereupon to bring the true certificate to the said justices within fourteen days then next ensning; they then coming homeward, being full of hatred against the truth, and desirous to get promotion, without any such commandment of the justices, (as far as we can learn,) took counsel one with another how to attach the said John Noyes without any more delay.

"This devilish enterprise agreed upon, chiefly through the counsel of Master Thomas Lovel, Wolfren Dowsing, and Nicholas Stannard aforesaid, with expedition his house was beset on both sides. This done, they found the said John Noyes on the backside of the said house going outward; and Nicholas Stannard called to the said John, and said, 'Whither goest thou?' And he said, 'To my neighbours.' And the said Nicholas Stannard said, 'Your master hath deceived you; you must go with us now.' But the said John Noyes answered, 'No, but take you heed your master deceive not you.' And so they took him and carried him to the justices the next day. After his appearance, and sundry causes alleged, the justices and the sheriff together cast him into Eye dungeon, and there he lay a certain time, and then was carried from thence to Norwich, and so came before the bishop, where were ministered unto him these positions following:--

"1. Whether he believed that the ceremonies used in the church were good and godly to stir up men's minds to devotion.

"2. Item, Whether he believed the pope to be supreme head of the church here in earth.

"3. Item, Whether he believed the body of our Lord Jesus Christ to be in the sacrament of the altar under the forms of bread and wine, after the words of consecration.

"Whereunto he answered, that he thought the natural body of Christ to be only in heaven, and not in the sacrament, &c. For the which, sentence at last was read by the bishop against him, in the presence of these there sitting the same time: Dr. Dunning, chancellor, Sir W. Woodhouse, Sir Thomas Woodhouse, Master George Heyden, Magter Spenser, W. Farrar, alderman of Norwich, Master Thurston, Winesden, with divers other."

More of his examination than this came not to our hands.

In the mean time his brother-in-law, one Nicholas Fisk, of Dennington, going to comfort him at such time as he remained prisoner in the Guildhall of Norwich, after Christian exhortation, asked him if he did fear death when the bishop gave judgment against him, considering the terror of the same: and the said Noyes answered, he thanked God he feared death no more at that time, than he or any other did, being at

liberty. Then the said Nicholas required him to show the cause of his condemnation: upon which request the said John Noyes wrote with his own hand as followeth --

"I said," quoth he, "that I could not believe that in the sacrament of the altar there is the natural body of Christ, the same body that was born of the Virgin Mary. But I said that the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ is received of Christian people in the remembrance of Christ's death, as a spiritual food, if it be ministered according to Christ's institution.

"But they said, I could not tell what spiritual meant.

"The bishop said, that the sacrament was God, and must be worshipped as God. So said the chancellor also.

"Then answered I, 'My Lord, I cannot so believe.'

"Then," quoth the bishop, 'why? Then say thou dost believe.' Notwithstanding these collusions could not prevail."

Now being condemned, he was sent, again from Norwich to Eye prison; and upon the twenty-first day of September, in the year aforesaid, about midnight, he was brought from Eye to Laxfield, to be burnt; and on the next-day morning was brought to the stake, where were ready against his coming the foresaid justice, Master Thurston, one Master Waller, then being under-sheriff, and Master Thomas Lovel, being high-constable, as is before expressed; the which commanded men to make ready all things meet for that sinful purpose. Now the fire in most places of the street was put out, saving a smoke was espied by the said Thomas Lovel proceeding out from the top of a chimney, to which house the sheriff and Grannow his man went, and brake open the door, and thereby got fire, and brought the same to the place of execution. When John Noyes came to the place where he should be burnt, he kneeled down and said the fiftieth Psalm, with other prayers; and then they, making haste, bound him to the stake. And being bound, the said John Noyes said, "Fear not them that can kill the body, but fear him that can kill both body and soul, and cast it into everlasting fire."

When he saw his sister weeping, and making moan for him, he bade her that she should not weep for him, but weep for her sins.

Then one Nicholas Cadman, being hastler, a valiant champion in the pope's affairs, brought a faggot and set against him; and the said John Noyes took up the faggot and kissed it, and said, "Blessed be the time that ever I was born to come to this."

Then he delivered his Psalter to the under-sheriff, desiring him to be good to his wife and children, and to deliver to her that same book: and the sheriff promised him that he would, notwithstanding he never as yet performed his promise. Then the said John Noyes said to the people, "They say, they can make God of a piece of bread; believe them not!"

Then said he, "Good people, bear witness that I do believe to be saved by the merits and passion of Jesus Christ, and not by mine own deeds." And so the fire was kindled, and burnt about him. Then he said, "Lord, have mercy upon me! Christ, have mercy upon me! Son of David, have mercy upon me!"

And so he yielded up his life. And when his body was burned, they made a pit to bury the coals and ashes, and amongst the same they found one of his feet that was unburnt, whole up to the ankle, with the hose on; and that they buried with the rest.

Now while he was a burning, there stood one John Jarvis by, a man's servant of the same town, a plain fellow, which said, "Good Lord, how the sinews of his arms shrink up!" And there stood behind him one Grannow, and Benet, being the sheriff's men, and they said to their master that John Jarvis said, "What villain wretches are these!" And their master bade lay hand on him, and they took him and pinioned him, and carried him before the justice that same day; and the justice did examine him of the words aforesaid; but he denied them, and answered that he said nothing but this, "Good Lord, how the sinews of his arms shrink up!" But, for all this, the justice did bind his father and his master in five pounds apiece, that he should be forthcoming at all times.

And on the Wednesday next he was brought again before the justices, Master Thurston and Master Kene, they sitting at Fressingfield in Hoxne hundred; and there they did appoint and command, that the said John Jarvis should be set in the stocks the next market-day, and whipt about the market, naked. But his master, one William Jarvis, did after crave friendship of the constables; and they did not set him in the stocks till Sunday morning. And in the afternoon they did whip him about the market with a dog-whip, having three cords; and so they let him go.-- Some do give out, that John Jarvis was whipt for saying that Nicholas Cadman was Noyes's hastler; that is, such an one as maketh and hasteth the fire.

The copy of a certain letter that John Noyes sent to comfort his wife, at such time as he lay in prison.

"Wife, you desired me that I would send you some tokens that you might remember me. As I did read in the New Testament, I thought it good to write unto you certain places of the Scripture for a remembrance. St. Peter saith, Dearly beloved, be not troubled with this heat that is now come among you to try you, as though some strange thing had happened unto you; but rejoice, insomuch as ye are partakers of Christ's sufferings, that when his glory appeareth, ye may be merry and glad. If ye be railed on for the name of Christ, happy are ye; for the Spirit of glory and the Spirit of God resteth upon you.

"It is better, if the will of God be so, that ye suffer for well-doing, than for evil-doing.

"So I Pet. iv., See that none of you suffer as a murderer, or as a thief, or an evil-doer, or as a busy-body in other men's matters. But if any man suffer as a Christian man, let him not be ashamed, but let him glorify God in this behalf; for the

time is come that judgment must begin at the house of God. If it first begin at us, what shall the end of them be, that believe not the gospel of God? Wherefore let them that suffer according to the will of God, commit their souls to him in well-doing.

"St. Paul saith, All that will live godly in Christ Jesus, must suffer persecution.

"St. John saith, See that ye love not the world, neither the things that are in the world. If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him: for all that is in the world, as the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the Father, but is of the world, which vanisheth away and the lust thereof; but he that fulfilleth the will of God, abideth for ever.

"St. Paul saith, If ye be risen again with Christ, seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God. Set your affection on things that are above, and not on things which are on earth.

"Our Saviour Christ saith, Whosoever shall offend one of these little ones that believe in me, it were better for him that a mill-stone were hanged about his neck, and that he were cast into the sea.

"The prophet David saith, Great are the troubles of the righteous, but the Lord delivereth them out of all.

"Fear the Lord, ye his saints: for they that fear him lack nothing.

"When the righteous cry, the Lord heareth them, and delivereth them out of all their troubles: but misfortune shall slay the ungodly, and they that hate the righteous shall perish.

"Hear, O my people! I assure thee, O Israel! if thou wilt hearken unto me, there shall no strange god be in thee, neither shalt thou worship any other God. Oh that my people would obey me! for if Israel would walk in my ways, I should soon put down their enemies, and turn my hand against their adversaries.

"Our Saviour Christ saith, The disciple is not above his master, nor yet the servant above his lord. It is enough for the disciple to be as his master is, and that the servant be as his lord is. If they have called the Master of the house Beelzebub, how much more shall they call them of his household so; fear not them therefore.

"St. Paul saith, Set yourselves therefore at large, and bear not a stranger's yoke with the unbelievers: for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? what company hath light with darkness? either what part hath the believer with the infidel, &c.? Wherefore come out from among them, and separate yourselves now, (saith the Lord,) and touch none unclean thing; so will I receive you, and I will be a Father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty.

"For neither eye hath seen, nor the ear hath heard, neither can it enter into the heart of man, what good things the Lord hath prepared for them that love him.

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"Ye are bought neither with silver nor gold, but with the precious blood of Christ.

"There is none other name given to men, wherein we must be saved.

"So fare ye well, wife and children! and leave worldly care, and see that ye be diligent to pray.

"Take no thought, saith Christ, saying, What shall we eat, or What shall we drink, or Wherewith shall we be clothed? for after all these things seek the Gentiles; for your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things. But seek ye first the kingdom of heaven, and the righteousness thereof; and all these things shall be ministered unto you."

369. Cicely Ormes.

The martyrdom and sufferings of Cicely Ormes, burnt at Norwich for the testimony and witness of Christ's gospel.

About the twenty-third day of the said month of September, next after the other above mentioned, suffered at Norwich, Cicely Ormes, wife of Edmund Ormes, worsted-weaver, dwelling in St. Laurence's parish in Norwich. She, being of the age of thirty-two years or more, was taken at the death of Simon Miller and Elizabeth Cooper above mentioned, in a place called Lollards'-pit without Bishop's-gate, at the said Norwich, for that she said she would pledge them of the same cup that they drank on. For so saying, one Master Corbet, of Sprouston by Norwich, took her and sent her to the chancellor. When she came before him, he asked her what she said unto the sacrament of Christ's body; and she said she did believe that it was the sacrament of the body of Christ.--"Yea," said the chancellor, "but what is that that the priest holdeth over his head?" She answered him and said, "It is bread: and if you make it any better, it is worse." At which words the chancellor sent her to the bishop's prison, to the keeper, called Fellow, with many threatening and hot words, as a man being in a great chafe.

The twenty-third day of July she was called before the chancellor again, who sat in judgment with Master Bridges and others. The chancellor offered her, if she would go to the church and keep her tongue, she should be at liberty, and believe as she would. But she told him she would not consent to his wicked desire therein, do with her what he would; for if she should, she said, God would surely plague her. Then the chancellor told her, he had showed more favour to her than ever he did to any, and that he was loth to condemn her, considering that she was an ignorant, unlearned, and foolish woman. But she, not weighing his words, told him, if he did, he should not be so desirous of her sinful flesh, as she would (by God's grace) be content to give it in so good a quarrel. Then rose he and read the bloody sentence of condemnation against her; and so delivered her to the secular power of the sheriffs of the city, Master Thomas Sutherton, and Master Leonard Sutherton, brethren, who immediately carried her to the Guildhall in Norwich, where she remained until her death.

This Cicely Ormes was a very simple woman, but yet zealous in the Lord's cause, being born in East Dereham, and was there the daughter of one Thomas Haund, tailor. She was taken the fifth day of July, and did for a twelvemonth before she was taken recant; but never after was she quiet in conscience, until she was utterly driven from all their popery. Between the time that she recanted, and that she was taken, she had gotten a letter made to give to the chancellor, to let him know that she repented her recantation from the bottom of her heart, and would never do the like again while she lived: but before she exhibited her bill, she was taken and sent to prison, as is before said. She was burnt the twenty-third day of September, between seven and eight of the clock in the morning, the said two sheriffs being there, and of people to the number of two hundred. When she came to the stake, she kneeled down, and made her prayers to God: that being done, she rose up and said,

"Good people! I believe in God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, three persons and one God. This do I not, nor will I recant: but I recant utterly from the bottom of my heart the doings of the pope of Rome, and all his popish priests and shavelings. I utterly refuse and never will have to do with them again, by God's grace. And, good people! I would you should not think of me that I believe to be saved in that I offer myself here unto the death for the Lord's cause, but I believe to be saved by the death and passion of Christ; and this my death is and shall be a witness of my faith unto you all here present. Good people! as many of you as believe as I believe, pray for me."

Then she came to the stake, and laid her hand on it, and said, "Welcome the cross of Christ." Which being done, she, looking on her hand, and seeing it blacked with the stake, wiped it upon her smock; for she was burnt at the same stake that Simon Miller and Elizabeth Cooper was burnt at. Then, after she had touched it with her hand, she came and kissed it, and said, "Welcome the sweet cross of Christ;" and so gave herself to be bound therefo. After the tormentors had kindled the fire to her, she said, "My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit rejoiceth in God my Saviour." And in so saying, she set her hands together right against her breast, casting her eyes and head upward; and so stood, heaving up her hands by little and little, till the very sinews of her arms did break asunder, and then they fell. But she yielded her life unto the Lord as quietly as if she had been in a slumber, or as one feeling no pain; so wonderfnlly did the Lord work with her: his name therefore be praised for evermore. Amen!

370. Persecution in Lichfield and Chichester.

The trouble and disturbance among good men and women at Lichfield.

After the death and martyrdom of Mistress Joyce Lewes, a little above specified, divers good men and women in the same town of Lichfield were vexed and in trouble before the bishop and his chancellor, for kissing the said Joyce Lewes, and drinking with her about the time of her death; the names of which persons were these: Joan Love, Elizabeth Smith, Margaret Biddel, Helen Bowring, Margaret Cootesfote, Nicholas Bird, John Harlstone and his wife, Agnes Glyn, Agnes Glover, Agnes Penifather, &c. These with others were produced to their examination before the bishop and his chancellor for the cause above-named, and there-for adjudged for heretics, for that they did pray and drink with the said Mistress Lewes; but especially Agnes. Penifather sustained the most trouble, for that she accompanied the said Joyce Lewes going to her death; which Agnes, being examined further of the said bishop, what words she had spoken to two priests of the church of Lichfield, called John Ady and James Foxe, concerning the said Joyce Lewes after her burning, said as followeth: that she being asked by the said two priests, being at her father's house in the city of Lichfield, at such time as she came from the burning of the said Joyce Lewes, wherefore, she (the said Agnes) did weep for such a heretic, meaning Joyce Lewes, whose soul they said was in hell; the said Agnes Penifather to their demand made this answer -- that she thought the said blessed martyr to be in better case than the said two priests were.

With the which words being charged, and willed to submit herself, as the others had done above rehearsed, to such penance as they should enjoin unto her, she refused so to do, and therefore was commanded to close prison, the sheriffs being charged with her under pain of one hundred pounds, that none should have any access unto her. At length, at the persuasion of her friends, she was compelled to do as the others had done before. And thus much concerning things done at Lichfield.

The persecution and cruelty exercised by the papists in the diocese of Chichester.

And now from Lichfield to come to Chichester, although we have but little to report thereof, for lack of certain relation and records of that country, yet it seemeth no little trouble and persecution there also to have raged, as in other countries. For what place was there almost in all the realm, where the pope's ministers did not bestir them, murdering some or other, as in the Acts of this Ecclesiastical History may sufficiently appear? Wherefore, as this plague of the pope's tyranny was general to all other people and countries of England, so likewise in the diocese of Chichester, divers and many there were condemned and martyred for the true testimony of righteousness, within the compass of Queen Mary's reign, in the number of whom were these:-- John Foreman of East Grinstead, John Warner of Bourne, Christian Grover of the archdeaconry of Lewes, Thomas Athoth, priest, Thomas Avington of Ardingley, Dennis Burgis of Buxted, Thomas Ravensdale of Rye, John Milles of Hellingley, Nicholas Holden of Withyham, John Hart of Withy-ham, Margery Morice

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of Heathfield, Anne Try of East Grinstead, John Oseward of Woodmancott, Thomas Harland of Woodmancott, James Morice of Heathfield, Thomas Dougate of East Grinstead, John Ashedon of Cattesfield: martyrs.

The greatest doers against these godly and true faithful martyrs, and setters-upon their condemna-tion, were these: Christopherson (the bishop after Day); Richard Briesly, doctor of law, and chancellor of Chichester; Robert Tailor, bachelor of the law, his deputy; Thomas Paccard, civilian; Anthony Clarke, Albane Langdale, bachelor of divinity, &c.

371. Thomas Spurdance

The examination of Thomas Spurdance, one of Queen Mary's servants, before the chancellor of Norwich.

"The bishop's chancellor did ask me if I had been with the priest, and confessed my sins unto him. And I said, 'No, I had confessed my sins to God, and God saith, In what hour soever a sinner doth repent, and be sorry for his sins, and ask him forgiveness, willing no more so to do, he will no more reckon his sin unto him; and that is sufficient for me.'

"Then said the chancellor, 'Thou deniest the sacrament of penance.' I said, 'I deny not penance; but I deny that I should show my sins unto the priest.'

"Then said the chancellor, 'That is a denying of the sacrament of penance. Write this article.'

"'Have you received the blessed sacrament of the altar,' said he, at this tune of Easter?' 'And I said, No.'

"And why have you not? 'saith he. 'I said, I dare not meddle with you in it, as you use it.'

"Why, do we not use it truly?' said he. I said, 'No: for the holy supper of the Lord serveth for the Christian congregation, and you are none of Christ's members; and therefore I dare not meddle with you, lest I be like unto you.'

"Why are we none of Christ's members?' said the chancellor. I said, 'Because you teach laws contrary to God's laws.'

"What laws are those?' said he. I said, 'These three articles that you swear the people unto here be false and untrue; and you do evil to swear the people unto them.'

"Then said he, 'Good people! take no heed unto his words, for he is a heretic, and teacheth you disobedience:' and so he would no more speak of that matter.

"Then said he, 'How believest thou in the blessed sacrament of the altar? Dost thou not believe that after it is consecrated, it is the very same body that was born of the Virgin Mary?' I said, 'No, not the same body in substance: for the same body hath a substance in flesh, blood, and bones, and was a bloody sacrifice; and this is a dry sacrifice.'

"And I said, 'Is the mass a sacrifice?' Unto, which a doctor answered that sat by him, 'It is a sacrifice both for the quick and the dead.'

"Then said I, 'No, it is no sacrifice; for St. Paul saith that Christ made one sacrifice once for all: and I do believe in none other sacrifice, but only in that one sacrifice that our Lord Jesus Christ made once for all.'

"Then said the doctor, 'That sacrifice that Christ made, was a wet sacrifice, and the mass is a dry sacrifice.' Then said I, 'That same dry sacrifice is a sacrifice of your own making, and it is your sacrifice; it is none of mine.'

"Then said the chancellor, 'He is a heretic: he denieth the sacrament of the altar.'

"Then said I, 'Will ye know how I believe in the holy supper of our Lord?' And he said, 'Yea.'

"Then said I, 'I believe that if I come rightly and worthily, as God hath commanded me, to the holy supper of the Lord, I receive him by faith, by believing in him. But the bread, being received, is not God; nor the bread, that is yonder in the pike, is not God. God dwelleth not in temples made with hands, neither will be worshipped with the works of men's hands. And therefore you do very evil to cause the people to kneel down and worship the bread: for God did never bid you hold it above your heads, neither had the apostles such use.'

"Then said the chancellor, 'He denieth the presence in the sacrament. Write this article also. He is a very heretic.' Then said I, 'The servant is not greater than his master: for your predecessors killed my Master Christ, the prophets and apostles, and holy virtuous men; and now you also kill the servants of Christ: so that all the righteous blood that hath been shed, even from righteous Abel until this day, shall be required at your hands.'

""Well,' said the chancellor, 'have him away!'"

Another examination of Spurdance, before the bishop in his house.

"The bishop said, 'Sirrah, dost thou not believe in the catholic faith of holy church?' And I said, 'I believe Christ's catholic church.'

"Yea,' said he, 'in Christ's church, of the which the pope is the head? Dost thou not believe that the pope is supreme head of the catholic church?'

"And I said, 'No, I believe not that he should be above the apostles, if he take them to be his predecessors. For when there came a thought among the apostles, who should be the greatest when their Master was gone, Christ answered them unto their thoughts, The kings of the earth bear domination above other: but ye shall not so do; for he that will be greatest among you, shall become servant unto you all. How is it then,' said I, 'that he will climb so high above his fellows? And also we were sworn in my master King Henry's time, that we should to the uttermost of our power never consent to him again. And therefore as he hath nothing to do here in England, so neither in his own country, more than a bishop hath in his diocese.'

""Yea,' said the bishop, 'what of that? We were then in error and sin; now we are in the right way again. And therefore thou must come home again with us, and

knowledge thy fault, and become a Christian man, and be sworn unto the pope as our supreme head.-- Wilt thou be sworn unto the pope? How sayest thou?"

"Then I said, 'No, I warrant you, by the grace of God, not as long as I live! For you cannot prove by the Scripture that the pope is head of the church, and may do therein what him listeth.'

"'No!' said he; 'yes, I trow: for as the bellwether which weareth the bell, is head of the flock of sheep, even so is the pope the head of the church of Christ. And as the bees in the hive have a master-bee, when they are gone out, to bring them home again to the hive; even so the pope, when we be gone astray and wandered from the fold, from the hive, &c., then is ordained our head by succession of Peter, to bring us home again to the true church; as thou now, my good fellow, hast wandered long out of the way, like a scattered sheep, &c. Hear therefore that bell-wether, the master-bee, &c., and come home with us to thy mother the true church again.'

"Unto whom I answered, 'My Lord, all this is but natural reason, and no Scripture. But since ye cannot prove the pope to be authorized by Scripture, ye answer not me as I thought ye would.'

"'Hah!' said he, 'I see well ye be stout, and will not be answered: therefore ye shall be compelled by law, whether ye will or no.'

"'My Lord,' said I, 'so did your forefathers entreat Christ and his apostles. They had a law, and by their law they put him to death; and so likewise you have a law, which is tyranny, and by that would ye enforce me to believe as you do. But the Lord, I trust, will assist me against all your beggarly ceremonies, and make your foolishness known to all the world one day.'

"Then said he, 'When were ye at church, and went in procession, and did the ceremonies of the church?' And I said, 'Never since I was born.' No! 'said he: 'how old are you?' And I said, 'I think about forty.'

"'Why,' said he, 'how did you use yourself at church twenty years ago?' I said, 'As you do now.' 'And even now,' said he, 'you said you did not use the ceremonies since you were born.' 'No more I did,' said I, 'since I was born anew; as Christ said unto Nicodemus, Except ye be born anew, ye cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven.'

"Then said a doctor that sat by, 'He is very Anabaptist; for that is their opinion plain.' 'No sir, you say falsely,' said I; 'for I am no Anabaptist: for they deny children to be baptized, and so do not I.'

"'Well,' said the bishop, 'why dost thou not go to church, and do the ceremonies?' And I said, 'Because they be contrary to God's word and laws, as you yourself have taught: but now you say, it is good again. And I think if there were a return tomorrow, you would say that is false again, which you hold now: therefore, I may well say, there is no truth in you.'

"Then said the bishop, 'Thou art a stubborn fellow, and a heretic, and a traitor.'

"'No,' said I, I am no traitor for I have done, I think, better service to the crown imperial of England, than you.'

'If you had done so good service,' said he, 'you would be obedient to the laws of the realm.' 'So I am,' said I. There is no man alive (I thank God) that can accuse me justly, that ever I was disobedient to any civil laws. But you must consider, my Lord, that I have a soul and a body, and my soul is none of the queen's, but my body and my goods are the queen's. And I must give God my soul, and all that belongeth unto it; that is, I must do the laws and commandments of God: and whosoever commandeth laws contrary to God's laws, I may not do them for losing of my soul, but must rather obey God than man.'

"And he said, Why dost thou not these laws then? are they not agreeable to God's law?' And I said, 'No, you cannot prove them to be God's laws.' 'Yes,' saith he, 'that I can.'

"Then said I, If you can prove me by the word of God, that you should have any graven images made to set in your churches for laymen's books, or to worship God by them, or that you should have any ceremonies in your church as you have, prove them by the word of God, and I will do them.'

"Then said he, It is a good and decent order to furnish the church: as when you shall go to dinner, you have a cloth upon the table, to furnish the table before the meat shall come upon it; so are these ceremonies a comely, decent order to be in the church among Christian people.'

"'These,' said I, are inventions and imaginations out of your own brain, without any word of God to prove them. For God saith, Look what you think good in your own eyes, if I command the contrary, it is abominable in my sight. And these ceremonies are against God's laws. For St. Paul saith, they be weak and beggarly, and rebuketh the Galatians for doing them. 'Well,' said he, 'if you will not do them, seeing they be the laws of the realm, you are a heretic and disobedient: and therefore come home again, and confess your fault with us, that you have been in error. Will you do so?' And I said, 'No, I have been in no error: for the spiritual laws were never trulier set forth than in my master King Edward's time, and I trust unto God I shall never forsake them while I live.'

"Then came a gentleman to me and said, 'Are ye wiser than all men? and have ye more knowledge than all men? Will ye cast away your soul willingly? My Lord, and other men also, would fain you would save yourself: therefore choose some man where you will, either spiritual or temporal, and take a day; my Lord will give it you.'

"Then said I, If I save my life, I shall lose it; and if I lose my life for Christ's sake, I shall find it in life everlasting. And if I take a day, when the day cometh, I must say then even as I do now, except I will lie, and therefore that needeth not.'

"'Well, then have him away,' said the bishop."

This above-named Thomas Spurdance was one of Queen Mary's servants, and was taken by two of his fellows, the said queen's servants, named John Haman,

otherwise called Barker, and George Looson, both dwelling in Coddendam, in the county of Suffolk, who carried him to one Master Gosnall, dwelling in the said Coddendam, and by him he was sent to Bury, where he remained in prison; and afterwards burnt in the month of November.

372. John Hallingdale, William Sparrow, and Richard Gibson

The story and martyrdom of John Hallingdale, William Sparrow, and Richard Gibson, three constant witnesses of Christ.

Not long after the martyrdom of the two good women at Colchester above named, were three faithful witnesses of the Lord's testament tormented and put to death in Smithfield at London, the eighteenth of November, in the year aforesaid, whose names hereafter follow: John Hallingdale, William Sparrow, and Richard Gibson.

Which three were produced before Bonner, bishop of London, the fifth day of November, 1567, and had by him and his officers certain articles ministered unto them; the sum whereof hereafter followeth:

"First, That the said John Hallingdale is of the diocese of London, and so subject to the jurisdiction of the bishop of London.

"2. That the said John before the time of the reign of King Edward the Sixth, late king of England, was of the same faith and religion that was then observed, believed, taught, and set forth in the realm of England.

"3. That during the reign of the said King Edward the Sixth, the said John Hallingdale, upon occasion of the preaching of certain ministers in that time, did not abide in his former faith and religion, but did depart from it, and so did and doth continue till this present day, and so determineth to do (as he saith) till his life's end.

"4. That the said John Hallingdale hath thought, believed, and spoken, divers times, that the faith, religion, and ecclesiastical service received, observed, and used now in this realm of England, is not good and laudable, but against God's commandment and word, especially concerning the mass and the seven sacraments; and that he the said John will not in any wise conform himself to the same, but speak and think against it during his natural life.

"5. That the said John absenteth himself continually from his own parish church of St. Leonard, neither hearing matins, mass, nor evensong, nor yet confessing his sins to the priest, or receiving the sacrament of the altar at his hands, or using other ceremonies as they are now used in this church and realm of England; and as he remembereth, he never came but once into the said parish church of St. Leonard, and careth not (as he saith) if he never come there any more, the service being as it is there, and so many abuses being there, as he saith there are, especially the mass, the sacraments, and the ceremonies and service set forth in Latin.

" 6. That the said John, when his wife, called Alice, was brought in bed of a man-child, caused the said child to be christened in English, after the same manner and form, in all points, as it was used in the time of the reign of King Edward the

Sixth aforesaid, and caused it to be called Josue; and would not have the said child christened in Latin after the form and manner as it is now used in the church and realm of England, nor will have it by his will (as he saith) to be confirmed by the bishop."

John Hallingdale's answers to the articles.

"Unto all which articles the said John Hallingdale made answer, confessing them all, and every part of them, to be true, and saying, that he would not revoke his said answers, but stand unto them according as it was in every article above written.

"Furthermore, the said John Hallingdale, being demanded by the said Bonner, whether he did firmly believe that in the sacrament, commonly called the sacrament of the altar, there is really and truly the very body and blood of our Saviour Christ, or no; made answer, that he neither in the time of the said King Edward the Sixth, nor at that present, did believe, that in the said sacrament there is really the very body and blood of Christ. For he said, that if he had so believed, he would (as others had done) have received the same; which he did not, because he had and then did believe, that the very body of Christ is only in heaven, and no where else.

"And furthermore the said John Hallingdale said, that Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, Hooper, and generally all that of late have been burnt for heretics, were no heretics at all, because they did preach truly the gospel: upon whose preaching he grounded his faith and conscience, as he said, according to the saying of St. John, in the eighteenth chapter of his Revelation, where he saith, that the blood of the prophets, and of the saints, and of all that were slain upon earth, was found in the Babylonical church; by the which, he said, is understood the church where the pope is the head."

After which examination, the said John was sent unto prison again. And the next day, being the sixth day of the said month, he was called before the bishop again, who persuading him with some wrested sentences of the Scripture, the said John Hallingdale answered, "Because I will not," saith he, "come to your Babylonical church, therefore," speaking unto Bonner, "you go about to condemn me." And being of Bonner further demanded, whether he would persevere and stand in his opinions or no; he made answer that he would continue and persist in them unto the death. Then Bonner read the bloody sentence of condemnation; at which time the said John affirmed openly, that (thanking God) he never came into the church since the abomination came into it. And so he was sent to prison again.

Upon the same sixth day also, in the forenoon, was produced before the bishop the forenamed William Sparrow, and had laid unto him certain articles, which hereafter follow.

"First, That thou, William Sparrow, wast in times past detected and presented lawfully unto thy ordinary the bishop of London, called Edmund, who also is now thine ordinary of the said diocese, and thou wast presented and detected unto him for heresy, errors, and unlawful opinions, which thou didst believe, set forth, and hold.

"2. That thou before the said ordinary didst openly and judicially confess the said heresies, errors, and unlawful opinions, as appeareth plainly in the acts of the court, had and made before the said ordinary.

"3. That thou, after the premises, didst make thy submission in writing, and didst exhibit and deliver the same as thy deed, to thy said ordinary; openly confessing and recognising thy heresies, errors, unlawful opinions, and thine offences and transgressions in that behalf.

"4. That thou, after the premises, didst promise unto thy said ordinary voluntarily and of thine own mind, that always after the said submission, thou wouldst in all points conform thyself unto the common order of the catholic church, observed and kept here in this realm of England, and in no wise fall again to heresies, errors, or unlawful opinions.

"5. That thou, since thy said submission, hast willingly fallen into certain heresies and errors, and hast holden and set forth divers unlawful opinions, to the right great hurt of thine own soul, and also to the great hinderance and loss of divers others; especially against the sacrament of the altar, against confession auricular, with other the sacraments of the catholic church.

"6. That thou, since the said commission, hast willingly gone about divers places within the diocese of London, and sold divers heretical, erroneous, and blasphemous ballets about, and wast apprehended and taken with the said ballets about thee, and committed to prison."

Unto all which articles the said William Sparrows answered in effect as hereafter followeth:

"To the first, second, third, and fourth articles he answered affirmatively, as thus: that he was presented and detected to Bonner, unto whom he made his submission, &c., as in the articles.

"To the fifth he answered, that if he had spoken against them, he had spoken but the truth; for they be naught (meaning the contents of the said article).

"To the sixth, he granted to the article, adding, that he did sell the said ballets then showed and read before him, and that the same did contain God's word."

After which answers, the said William Sparrow was sent unto prison. And the same day in the afternoon, being produced before the bishop again, and there charged with his said submission, made the year before unto the bishop, he answered thus: "I am sorry," said he, "that ever I made it, and it was the worst deed that ever I did:" adding further unto them, "Hold up your abomination so long as you can." Also being laid unto him, and charged by the bishop that he went to church, and there was confessed and heard mass, the said William Sparrow made answer and confessed, that he did so, "but with a troubled conscience," he said, "God knoweth." And speaking further to the bishop, he said, "That which you call truth, I do believe," said he, "to be heresy." And also the bishop charging him again with the contents of the fifth article above named, he answered that he had so done, as is contained in the same article,

and so will do again, if he were at liberty. And being further demanded of Bonner, whether he would persist and continue in the same, or no; he made answer, that he would not go from his opinions. And adding thereunto, he said, "That which you call heresy," (speaking to the bishop,) "is good and godly; and if every hair of my head were a man," said he, "I would burn them all, rather than go from the truth."

Then being demanded what ground of learning he had to cleave to his opinions, he made answer and said, that all the laws now used (meaning the ecclesiastical laws) are naught and abominable. And further thereunto he said, that the mass is naught and abominable, &c.: which words being spoken, the bishop immediately read the sentence of condemnation upon him; and so delivered him to the secular power, by whom he was sent to prison again.

Richard Gibson, martyr.

With the other two above named, suffered also in the same fire Richard Gibson, who first was cast into the Compter in the Poultry, (where he had been prisoner by the space of two years for suretyship in a matter of debt, and then stood upon his deliverance,) then upon suspicion and evil will was accused to Bonner, for that in the prison he was never confessed, nor received at the popish altar: by reason whereof he was called for, and sustained divers and sundry conflicts and examinations in the cause of his faith and religion. But first he seemed to make a certain submission, which also he exhibited with the other twenty-eight above mentioned: but because it seemed something to differ in words from the other, it appeareth not to be received; or whether it was received or no, it is not fully certain. This is certain, that although his submission was in the bishop's register recorded, yet he was not delivered out from imprisonment till the day of his burning. The articles first objected and ministered unto him by the bishop, were these:--

"First, That the said Richard Gibson, prisoner in the Compter in the Poultry, in the diocese of London, hath otherwise than became a faithful Christian man, and a good subject of this realm of England, behaved himself in words and deeds, in divers conditions and points, contrary to the order, religion, and faith of Christ's catholic church, and contrary to the order of this realm, to the pernicious and evil example of the inhabitants of the city of London, and the prisoners of the prison of the said Compter in the Poultry, and greatly to the hurt and damage of his own soul, offending especially in the articles following: by reason whereof the said Richard Gibson was and is of the jurisdiction of the said bishop of London, and subject to the said jurisdiction, to make answer to his offences and transgressions underwritten, according to the order of the law.

"2. That the said Richard Gibson hath unreverently spoken against the pope, and see, and church of Rome, and likewise against the whole church of this realm of England, and against the seven sacraments of the catholic and whole church of Christendom, and against the articles of the Christian faith here observed in this realm of England, and against the commendable and laudable ceremonies of the catholic church.

"3. That the said Richard Gibson hath commended, allowed, defended, and liked, both Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, and also all other heretics here in this realm of England, according to the ecclesiastical laws condemned for heretics; and also liked all their heretical and erroneous, damnable, and wicked opinions, especially against the sacrament of the altar, and the authority of the pope and see of Rome, with the whole religion thereof.

"4. That the said Richard Gibson hath comforted, aided, assisted, and maintained, both by words and otherwise, heretics and erroneous persons, or at the least suspected and infamed of heresies and errors condemned by the catholic church, to continue in their heretical and erroneous opinions aforesaid, favouring and counselling the same unto his power.

"5. That the said Gibson hath affirmed and said, that the religion and faith commonly observed, kept, and used now here, in this realm of England, is not good and laudable, nor in any wise agreeable unto God's word and commandment.

"6. That the said Gibson hath affirmed, that the English service, and the books commonly called the Books of Communion, or Common Prayer, here set forth in this realm of England in the time of King Edward the Sixth, were in all parts and points good and godly; and that the same only, and no other, ought to be observed and kept in this realm of England.

"7. That the said Gibson hath affirmed, that if he may once be out of prison and at liberty, he will not come to any parish church, or ecclesiastical place, to hear matins, mass, evensong, or any divine service now used in this realm of England, nor come to procession upon times and days accustomed, nor bear at any time any taper or candle, nor receive at any time ashes, nor bear at any time palm, nor receive pax at mass-time, nor receive holy water, nor holy bread, nor observe the ceremonies or usages of the catholic church, here observed or kept commonly in this realm of England.

"8. That the said Gibson hath affirmed, that he is not bound at any time, though he have liberty, and the presence of a priest convenient and meet, to confess his sins to the said priest, nor to receive the absolution of his sins at his hands, nor to receive of him the sacrament, commonly called the sacrament of the altar, after such form as is now used within this realm of England.

"9. That the said Gibson hath affirmed, that prayer unto saints, or prayers for the dead, are not laudable, available, or profitable; and that no man is bound at any time or in any place to fast or pray, but only at his own will and pleasure; and that it is not lawful to reserve or keep the said sacrament of the altar, nor in any wise to adore and worship it."

As these aforesaid articles were ministered unto him the eighth day of May, so was there another article objected against him by the said Bonner, the sixth day of November the same year; the tenor whereof here followeth.

"That thou, being both notably suspected of heresy, errors, and evil opinions, and also (by the common report and fame amongst the worshipful, grave, and honest

persons of this city of London in a notable number) culpable and faulty, hast not lawfully purged and cleared thyself from the said suspicion; but rather day by day continually, by thy acts and deeds, hast augmented and increased the said suspicion, refusing to be confessed to the priest, refusing to receive the sacrament of the altar at the priest's hands, refusing to hear mass when thou hadst opportunity, and wast thereunto required by thy ordinary, the bishop of London, in whose diocese thou wast then abiding -- refusing also to give an oath on a book, and to make answer to such articles, as, by the said ordinary, were lawfully and duly objected against thee, concerning the said heresies, errors, and ill opinions -- and as, by thy said ordinary, thou wast upon just and reasonable causes commanded and required, and on thy behalf, without just or reasonable cause, contemptuously and wilfully refused: thereby, in law, bringing thyself to be taken and reputed, in those articles and matters, for a person confessing the same."

Concerning his answers unto the said articles, because he did not swear to answer to their interrogatories, therefore, without further answer-making, Bonner declared him *pro confesso*.

The greatest matter which he was charged withal, was for not coming to confession, being thereunto required, for not receiving of the sacraments of the popish making, and for that he would not swear to answer unto their interrogatories laid against him.

Notwithstanding, after these his first examinations, he continued in the foresaid prison of the Compter a good space, from the month of May unto November, at what time he was again produced unto the final examination judiciary. Where is to be noted, that Master Gibson, being a very big and tall man, of a personable and heroical stature, was sent for of Bonner by a little and short person, a promoter, like Robin Papist, called Robin Caley, if it were not he himself.

This Robin Caley, having the conducting of the said gentleman from the Poultry, would needs hale him through Cheapside, the gentleman desiring him to turn some other way. But the more the gentleman entreated, the more fierce was this silly Jack upon him; and drawing and holding him by the arm, would needs hale him through the High Street, that all the world might see what he could do in his office. Master Gibson, desirous to be led without holding, willed and entreated him to let his arm loose: he would go quietly of his own accord with him whither he would, only craving that he might go by him freely, without noting of the people.

The saucy and impotent miser the promoter, hearing this, who was scarce able to reach to his shoulders, "Nay," saith he, "thou shalt not escape me so, come on thy ways: thou shalt not choose but come!" And so, reaching at his arm, would needs drag him unto the bishop. The gentleman content to go, yet loth to be notified in the streets, gently requested again and again, that, refraining his hold, he would suffer him to go of his own free and voluntary will; he should not need to fear him, for he would not start from him. To whom the caitiff, looking up to his face, "Come on thy way," saith he, "I will hold thee fast, spite of thy beard, and whether thou wilt or no."

Master Gibson, seeing and beholding the intolerable bragging of the wretched miser, and moved therewith not a little, could bear no longer, but said, "Wilt thou?"

said he; and added moreover, bitterly looking down towards him, that if he did not incontinently pluck away his hand (and so staid withal) he would immediately wring his neck from his body. Whereupon Robin Papist the promoter was fain to pluck away his hold, and so proceeded they unto the bishop, there to be examined again before him.

I should have declared before, how Bonner, as his manner was commonly with divers, had received and procured against him for witnesses, William Wood, John Babington, Thomas Hawes, Thomas Cornish, Richard Lawkenor, Nicholas Grave, and Owen Claydon: to whom interrogatories were also ministered to depose upon against the said Gibson. The tenor of the interrogatories was this.

"1. Whether ye know of certain, or else credibly are informed and believe, that Richard Gibson, now prisoner in the Compter in the Poultry, within the city and diocese of London, hath ever, at all sundry times and places, in prison or elsewhere, behaved himself in words, behaviour, and deeds, in all conditions and points, as all the catholic and true subjects of this realm ought to do, and to behave themselves therein according to their duty.

"2. Whether ye so know, or are so informed and believe, that the said Richard Gibson hath, during all the time of his said imprisonment, reverently spoken of the pope, and of the see and church of Rome, and likewise of the whole church of this realm of England, and of the seven sacraments of the catholic church, and other points of the catholic religion.

"3. Whether ye have heard the said Richard Gibson, at any time during his said imprisonment, speak against the said pope and his authority, and against the church of Rome and the faith thereof, or against this church of England and the faith and service thereof, or against any of the said seven sacraments of the said catholic church, or against the common order of the ecclesiastical church, or any of the ceremonies thereof.

"4. Whether ye have heard the said Richard Gibson, at any time during his said imprisonment, allow, commend, defend, and like, any the articles that Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, &c., or any other, were condemned for as heretics, by the ecclesiastical authority and laws of this realm of England.

"5. Whether ye have heard this said Richard Gibson, at any the said times, to comfort, aid, and assist, by words or otherwise, any heretic, or any erroneous person, or person suspected of heresy, to continue or persist in any their heretical and erroneous opinions.

"6. Whether have ye heard the said Gibson at any time, in prison or elsewhere, in talk, utter and say that the religion and faith commonly observed and used here now, in this realm of England, is not good nor laudable, nor agreeable unto God's word and commandment; and that he will be contented in all points to conform himself, without any murmuring or grudging, unto the same.

"7. Whether ye have heard the said Gibson at any time, in prison or elsewhere, affirm and say that the English service, and the books commonly called the Books of

Communion, set forth in this realm of England in the time of King Edward the Sixth, were in all parts good and godly, and the same only to be observed and kept, and none other.

"8. Whether ye have heard the said Gibson at any time, in prison or elsewhere, affirm or say that he, being at liberty, is not bound to come to any his parish church, there to hear matins, mass, evensong, or any other divine service now used in this realm of England.

"9. Whether ye have heard the said Gibson at any time, in prison or elsewhere, affirm and say that he, being at liberty, is not bound to come unto procession upon days and times accustomed; nor to bear at any time any taper or candle, nor to receive at any time ashes, or to bear at any time palm, or to receive or kiss the pax at mass-time, or to receive holy bread or holy water, or to observe the ceremonies and usages of the church.

"10. Whether have ye heard the said Gibson at any time, in prison or elsewhere, say and affirm that he is not bound, at any time, to confess his sins unto any priest, and to receive absolution at the priest's hands; or to receive, at any time, at the priest's hands, the sacrament, commonly called the sacrament of the altar, after such form and manner as it is now used in this realm of England.

"11. Whether ye have heard the said Gibson at any time, in prison or elsewhere, to affirm and say that prayers unto saints, or prayers for the dead, are not laudable nor profitable; and that a man is not bound, at any time, to fast or pray, (but at his pleasure,) at any time appointed by the church; and that it is not lawful to reserve the sacrament of the altar, nor to adore and worship it.

"The witnesses above named, being upon these interrogatories deposed, do attest and witness, some in his excuse, some contrary: of whom two of them, that is, John Babington his bedfellow, and Thomas Hawes, make answer and say; that they never knew nor saw, either in word or deed, by him, otherwise than well. The others, William Wood, Thomas Cornish, Richard Lawkenor, Owen Claydon, and Nicholas Grove, deposing against him, gave witness in this effect as followeth: namely, that the said Gibson, for two years before, was not confessed unto any priest, neither in that space did receive the sacrament of the altar, as they so term it. Whereunto Master Gibson granting, and not denying the same, gave thanks unto God for that he had so done."

Bonner, receiving these depositions of the witnesses above named, began to charge him with the same, objecting further and laying more matter unto his charge: that the said Gibson, being on a time in the bishop's house, and being required by the said bishop to go into his chapel with him to hear mass, refused so to do. To which Master Gibson answered again, that he had neither said nor done any thing therein, whereof he was sorry, or which he would revoke; but that he would stand therein, and seal it with his blood.

Among others who were at this examination, there was also there present John, bishop of Winchester, who, amongst other communication, had these words, saying, that it was no pity to burn a heretic. To whom Gibson replied again and said,

he thought it not requisite nor lawful to burn them as heretics. And then the bishop of Winchester said, that he would not commune or talk any further with the same Gibson, because he perceived him to be a heretic, and thereby excommunicate. Then Gibson said, "Yea, my Lord," quoth he, "yours, and other bishops' cursings, be blessings unto me," &c.

After this, another day being assigned him to appear again, much talk passed between him and Darbshire, then chancellor. But in fine, being required to swear that he should answer unto all they would demand, he denied to answer unto all things the bishop should command him as ordinary: "for he is not," saith he, "mine ordinary;" and so bade him go tell the bishop. Before the which bishop he, being then commanded to appear the Friday next following, was brought unto the justice-hall without Newgate, where he had the like conflicts with the foresaid bishop and divers other justices. At length he was assigned the Saturday following, to be present in the bishop's consistory court, to hear his final sentence: at which day and place, the said examine appearing as he was commanded, the bishop, after other matter of communication, asked him if he knew any cause why the sentence should not be read against him. To whom the said Master Gibson answered, that the bishop had nothing wherefore justly to condemn him. The bishop's reason was again objected to him, that men said he was an evil man. To whom Gibson replying again; "Yea," saith he, "and so may I say of you also." To be short, after this and such other talk, the bishop hastened unto the sentence; which being read, Gibson being yet again admonished to remember himself, and to save his soul, said that he would not hear the bishop's babbling; and said moreover, (boldly protesting and affirming,) that he was contrary and an enemy to them all, in his mind and opinion, although he had aforetime kept it secret in mind, for fear of the law. And speaking to the bishop, "Blessed," said he, "am I, that am cursed at your hands. We have nothing now, but, Thus will I: for as the bishop saith, so must it be. And no heresy is to turn the truth of God's word into lies; and that do you," meaning the bishop and his fellows.

Thus this valiant soldier, fighting for the gospel and sincere doctrine of Christ's truth and religion against falsehood and error, was committed, with his fellows, to the secular power.



Hallingdale, Gibson and Sparrow led to execution

And so these three godly men, John Hallingdale, William Sparrow, and Master Gibson, being thus appointed to the slaughter, were, the twelfth day after their condemnation, (which was the eighteenth day of the said month of November,) burnt in Smithfield in London. And being brought thither to the stake, after their prayer made, they were bound thereunto with chains, and wood set unto them; and, after wood, fire; in the which being compassed about, and the fiery flames consuming their flesh, at the last they yielded gloriously and joyfully their souls and lives into the holy hands of the Lord, to whose tuition and government I commend thee, good reader. Amen.

It is a little above declared, in this story of Richard Gibson, how Bonner ministered unto the said Gibson certain articles, to the number of nine. Now let us see likewise the articles which the said Gibson ministered again to Bonner, according to the same number of nine, for him to answer unto, as by the same hereunder written may appear.

"1. Whether the Scriptures of God, written by Moses and other holy prophets of God, through faith that is in Christ Jesus, be available doctrine, to make all men in all things unto salvation learned, without the help of any other doctrine, or no?

"2. What is authority, and from whence it cometh, and to whom it appertaineth, and to what end it tendeth?

"3. Whether the holy word of God, as it is written, doth sufficiently teach all men, of what dignity, estate, or calling by office soever he or they be, their full, true, and lawful duty in their office: and whether every man, of what dignity, estate, or

calling by office soever he or they be, are bound upon the pain of eternal damnation, in all things to do as they are hereby taught and commanded, and in no wise to leave undone any thing that is to be done, being taught and commanded by the same?

"4. Whether any man, the Lord Jesus Christ (God and man) only except, by the holy ordinance of God ever was, is, or shall be, lord over faith? and by what lawful authority of any man, of what dignity, estate, or calling by office soever he or they be, may use lordship or power over any man for faith's sake, or for the service of his conscience?

"5. By what lawful authority or power any man, of what dignity, estate, or calling soever he or they be, may be so bold as to alter or change the holy ordinances of God, or any of them, or any part of them?

"6. By what evident tokens antichrist in his ministers may be known; seeing it is written, that Satan can change himself into the similitude of an angel of light, and his ministers fashion themselves as though they were the ministers of righteousness? And how it may be known to him that is desirous thereof, when he is one of that number, or in the danger thereof, or when he is otherwise?

"7. What the beast is, the which maketh war with the saints of God, and doth not only kill them, but also will suffer none to buy or sell, but such as worship his image, or receive his mark in their right hands, or in their foreheads, his name, or the number of his name, or do worship his image, which, by the just and terrible sentence of God already decreed, shall be punished in fire and brimstone, before the holy angels, and before the Lamb; and they shall have no rest day nor night, but the smoke of their torment shall ascend up for evermore? Also what the gorgeous and glittering whore is, the which sitteth upon the beast, with a cup of gold in her hand full of abominations; with whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication, and the inhabitants of the earth; and she herself also is drunken with the blood of the saints, which is the wine of her fornication; whose flesh the horns of the beast shall tear in pieces, and burn her with fire: for God hath put in their hearts to do his will?

"8. Whether a king over all those people which are born and inhabit within his own dominions, regions, and countries, or any part of them, of what dignity, estate, or calling by office soever they be, here upon this earth immediately under Christ, by the holy ordinance of God, is lawful, supreme, and chief governor, or no? And whether a king over all those people within his dominions, regions, and countries, and every part of them, by holy ordinance of God, lawfully may, and ought not otherwise to do, nor suffer otherwise to be done, than in his own name, power, and authority, (the name of God only except,) as lawful, supreme, and chief head in all things that belong to rule, without exception, to govern and rule? And whether all those people, of what dignity, estate, or calling soever they be, are bound by the holy ordinance of God, to owe their whole obedience and service in all things without exception (their duty to God only excepted) to their king only, as to the supreme and chief governor upon earth immediately under Christ? And whether a king, without offence against God and his people, may give away, and not himself use that his authority and power given him of God; or lawfully may, without offence to God and his people, (after knowledge thereof had,) suffer himself by fraud or guile, or by any other unlawful mean, to be beguiled, defrauded, and despoiled thereof? and whether any subject, of what dignity,

estate, or calling soever he or they be, without offence to God and to his king, to the minishing or derogation of the supreme prerogative-royal of his king, or of any part thereof, may do aught? or, after knowledge thereof had, without offence to God, and to his king, may conceal the same?

"9. Whether the holy written law of God be given of God unto all men, of what dignity, estate, or calling by office soever they be, as well thereby to govern all their dominions, regions, and countries, and their people there inhabiting, as themselves: and whether any law or laws (the holy law of God only excepted) not being made within any dominion, region, or country where it or they be used, may be lawfully used before it or they be, as the lawful law or laws of the same dominion, region, or country, by public and common order of the same dominion, region, or country, lawfully allowed: and whether any subject, without offence against God and his king, within the dominion of his king, may lawfully use any such law or laws not so allowed?"

Emanuel.

"Ascribe unto the Lord, O ye mighty, ascribe unto the Lord worship and strength: give unto the honour of his name, and bow yourselves to the majesty of the Lord."

What manner of man a bishop ought to be, and the duty of him in his office; as the Holy Scriptures of God most truly do teach.

"A bishop, as the steward of God, must be blameless, the husband of one wife, and one that ruleth well his own house, and that hath faithful children in subjection with all reverence; and one that is diligent, prudent, sober, discreet, righteous, godly, temperate, a keeper of hospitality, not stubborn, not angry, not given to over-much wine, no fighter, not greedy of filthy lucre; but one that loveth goodness, abhorring fighting, abhorring covetousness. He may not be a young scholar, but such a one as is apt to teach, and that cleaveth to the true word of doctrine, that he may be able to exhort by wholesome learning, and to improve them that say against it. He must have a good report of them that are without. He may not be a lord over the faithful, of them that are committed unto his charge, neither may he use any lordship over them for the same, but must become as one of them, that, through his humbleness, he may win the more to well doing. Neither may he be so bold as to speak any other thing, to make any man obedient to the same, than he himself hath learned of Christ. Neither may he do or teach any thing to tangle or to snare any man withal. He may not walk in craftiness, neither use the cloak of dishonesty, neither handle the word of God deceitfully, neither chop nor change with the same; but in the singleness thereof, so open the truth, to the advancement of the truth thereby, as that he may report himself to every man's conscience in the sight of God. He may not reject the weak in faith, in disputing and troubling their conscience, but must bear their frailty, and, in the spirit of meekness, must be ready to help him that is overtaken with any fault; and not to stand in his own conceit, lest he himself also be tempted.

"He not only lawfully may, but also ought, by the virtue of his office, to preach the word; sincerely to minister, so as no man may be able to reprove him; and to expel, put ont, or excommunicate from among the remnants of his charge, all open wilful malefactors, who will not by any other means be reformed; and yet to fare fair with all men, and not to be rigorous: because his office is given him to edify, not to destroy. And he not only lawfully may, but also ought, by the virtue of his office, of virtuous able men, well known, and of honest report, within his charge, to appoint sufficient number to help him in the discharge thereof. And he, in no case, by violence, may compel any man to be of his church and fellowship, or to be partaker of any thing that is done therein. And for his due administration, as one worthy of double honour, he may not only receive of his charge what is necessary, but also ought of them, as of duty, without requests, (if need require,) to be provided of the same.

"If the bishop of London be such a manner of man as yet doth teach, and hath done, and daily doth, his duty therein as he is taught by the same, (as of duty he ought to do,) then doubtless, as he is a meet and worthy man for his office, so am I worthy of the punishment I have -- yea, if it were more. But, if it be otherwise, (as wherein, for the tender mercy of Christ Jesu, I most humbly require righteous judgment,) then, as I have unworthily sustained long punishment, so is he not only most unworthy of his office, but also hath most worthily deserved to be recompensed blood for blood, as equity requireth.

"I will hearken what the Lord God will say: for he shall speak peace unto his people, that they turn not themselves unto foolishness.

"This sixth of April, 1557.

By me, RICHARD GIBBON."

373. John Rough and Margaret Mearing

The death and martyrdom of John Rough, minister, and Margaret Mearing, burnt at London the twenty-second of December.

In this furious time of persecution, were also burned these two constant and faithful martyrs of Christ, John Rough, a minister, and Margaret Mearing.

This Rough was born in Scotland, who, (as himself confesseth in his answers to Bonner's articles,) because some of his kinsfolk would have kept him from his right of inheritance which he had to certain lands, did at the age of seventeen years, in despite, (and the rather to displease his friends,) profess himself into the order of the Black Friars at Stirling, in Scotland; where he remained the space of sixteen years, until such time as the Lord Hamilton, earl of Arran, and governor of the realm of Scotland aforesaid, (casting a favour unto him,) did sue unto the archbishop of St. Andrews, to have him out of his professed order, that as a secular priest he might serve him for his chaplain. At which request the archbishop caused the provincial of that house, having thereto authority, to dispense with him for his habit and order.

This suit being thus by the earl obtained, the said Rough remained in his service one whole year, during which time it pleased God to open his eyes, and to give him some knowledge of his truth; and thereupon was by the said governor sent to preach in the freedom of Ayr, where he continued four years; and then, after the death of the cardinal of Scotland, he was appointed to abide at St. Andrews, and there had assigned unto him a yearly pension of twenty pounds from King Henry the Eighth, king of England. Howbeit, at last, weighing with himself his own danger, and also abhorring the idolatry and superstition of his country, and hearing of the freedom of the gospel within this realm of England, he determined with himself not to tarry any longer there and therefore, soon after the battle of Musselborough, he came first unto Carlisle, and from thence unto the duke of Somerset, then Lord protector of England; and by his assignment had appointed unto him out of the king's treasury twenty pounds of yearly stipend, and was sent as a preacher, to serve at Carlisle, Berwick, and Newcastle; from whence (after he had there, according to the laws of God and also of this realm, taken a country-woman of his to wife) he was called by the archbishop of York that then was, unto a benefice nigh, in the town of Hull, where he continued until the death of that blessed and good King Edward the Sixth.

But in the beginning of the reign of Queen Mary, (perceiving the alteration of religion, and the persecution that would thereupon arise, and feeling his own weakness,) he fled with his wife into Friesland, and dwelt there at a place called Norden, labouring truly for his living, knitting of caps, hose, and suchlike things, till about the end of the month of October last before his death. At which time, lacking yarn, and other such necessary provision for the maintenance of his occupation, he came over again into England, here to provide for the same, and the tenth day of November arrived at London; where, hearing of the secret society, and holy congregation of God's children there assembled, he joined himself unto them; and afterwards, being elected their minister and preacher, did continue most virtuously exercised in that godly fellowship, teaching and confirming them in the truth of the

gospel of Christ. But in the end, (such was the providence of God, who disposeth all things to the best,) the twelfth day of December, he, with Cutbert Symson and others, through the crafty and traitorous suggestion of a false hypocrite and dissembling brother, called Roger Sergeant, a tailor, was apprehended by the vice-chamberlain of the queen's house, at the Saracen's Head in Islington; where the congregation had then purposed to assemble themselves to their godly and accustomable exercises of prayer, and hearing the word of God: which pretence, for the safeguard of all the rest, they yet, at their examinations, covered and excused by hearing of a play, that was then appointed to be at that place. The vice-chamberlain, after he had apprehended them, carried Rough and Symson unto the council, who charged them to have assembled together to celebrate the communion or supper of the Lord: and therefore, after sundry examinations and answers, they sent the said Rough unto Newgate; but his examinations they sent unto the bishop of London, with a letter signed with their hands, the copy whereof followeth.

"After our hearty commendations to your good Lordship, we send you here enclosed, the examination of a Scottish man named John Rough, who, by the queen's Majesty's commandment, is presently sent to Newgate; being of the chief of them that upon Sunday last, under the colour of coming to see a play at the Saracen's Head in Islington, had prepared a communion to be celebrated and received there, among certain other seditious and heretical persons. And forasmuch as by the said Rough's examination, containing the story and progress of his former life, it well appeareth of what sort he is; the queen's Highness hath willed us to remit him nnto your Lordship, to the end that being called before you out of prison, as oft as your Lordship shall think good, ye may proceed, both to his further examination, and otherwise ordering of him according to the laws, as the case shall require. And thus we bid your Lordship heartily well to fare. -- From St. James, the fifteenth day of December, 1557.

"Your Lordship's loving friends,

Nicholas Ebor,
Anthony Montague,
F. Shrewsbury,
John Bourne,
Edward Hastings,
Henry Jernegam."

Bonner, now minding to make quick despatch, did within three days after the receipt of the letter, the eighteenth day of December,) send for this Rough out of Newgate, and in his palace at London ministered unto him twelve articles: many whereof, because they contain only questions of the profession and religion of that age, wherein both he and his parents were christened, (which in sundry places are already mentioned,) I do here for brevity omit; minding to touch such only, as pertain to matters of faith now in controversy, and then chiefly objected against the martyrs and saints of God, which in effect are these:

Articles against John Rough.

"First, That thou, John Rough, didst directly speak against the seven sacraments, used commonly and reverently, as things of estimation and great

worthiness, in the catholic church: and also didst reprove and condemn the substance of the said sacraments, but especially the sacrament of the altar, affirming that in that same is not really and truly the very body and blood of Christ: and that confession to the priest, and absolution given by him, (as the minister of Christ,) for sins, is not necessary or available in any wise.

"2. Item, Thou hast misliked and reprov'd the religion and ecclesiastical service, as it is now used in this realm, and hast allowed the religion and service used in the latter years of King Edward the Sixth; and, so much as in thee hath lain, hast by word, writing, and deed, set forwards, taught, and preached the same openly; and in sundry places affirmed, that the said English service and doctrine therein contained, is agreeable in all points to God's word, and unto the truth; condemning utterly the Latin service now used in the queen's reign, and inducing others by thine example to do the like.

"3. Item, Thou hast, in sundry places within this realm, commended and approved the opinion and doctrine of Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury, Nicholas Ridley, and Hugh Latimer, concerning the sacrament of the altar; affirming that in the sacrament there remaineth, after the words of consecration, material bread and material wine, without any transubstantiation.

"4. Item, Thou hast in sundry places of this realm, since the queen's reign, ministered and received the communion as it was used in the late days of King Edward the Sixth; and thou knowest, or credibly hast heard of divers, that yet do keep books of the said communion, and use the same in private houses out of the church, and are of opinion against the sacrament of the altar.

"5. Item, That thou, in sundry places of this realm, hast spoken against the pope of Rome, and his apostolic see, and hast plainly contemned and despised the authority of the same, misliking and not allowing the faith and doctrine thereof, but directly speaking against it; and by thine example hast induced other the subjects of this realm, to speak and do the like.

"6. Item, Thou dost know, and hast been conversant with all or a great part of such Englishmen, as have fled out of this realm for religion, and hast consented and agreed with them in their opinions, and hast succoured, maintained, and holpen them, and hast been a conveyer of their seditious letters and books into this realm.

"7. Item, That thou hast said, that thou hast been at Rome, and tarried there about thirty days or more, and that thou hast seen little good or none there, but very much evil. Amongst the which thou sawest one great abomination, that is to say, a man [or the pope] that should go on the ground, to be carried upon the shoulders of four men, as though he had been God, and no man: also a cardinal to have his harlot riding openly behind him: and thirdly, a pope's bull, that gave express licence to have and use the stews, and to keep open bawdry by the pope's approbation and authority.

"8. Item, That thou, since thy last coming into England out of the parts beyond the sea, hast perniciously allured and comforted divers of the subjects of this realm, both young men, old men, and women, to have and use the Book of Communion, set forth in this realm in the latter days of King Edward the Sixth; and hast also thyself

read and set forth the same, causing others to do the like, and to leave their coming to the parish churches to hear the Latin service now used.

"9. Item, That thou, on the third Sunday of Advent, the twelfth day of this December, 1557, wast apprehended at the Saracen's Head at Islington, in the county of Middlesex and diocese of London, by the queen's vice-chamberlain, with one Cutbert, a tailor, Hugh Foxe, a hosier, and divers others there assembled, under the colour of hearing a play, to have read the Communion Book, and to have used the accustomed fashion, as was in the latter days of King Edward the Sixth."

The answer of John Rough, to the foresaid articles.

"To the first, he said and confessed that he had spoken against the number of the said sacraments, being fully persuaded that there be but only two sacraments, to wit, baptism, and the supper of the Lord; and as for the other five, he denied them to be sacraments, and therefore hath spoken against them. And as concerning the sacrament of the altar, (which he then called the supper of the Lord,) he confessed that he had spoken and taught, that in the said sacrament there is not really and substantially the very body and blood of Christ, but that the substance of bread and wine doth remain in the said sacrament, without any transubstantiation at all. Further, as touching confession of sins to the priest, he answered that he thought it necessary, if the offence were done unto the priest; but, if the offence were done to another, then confession made to the priest is not necessary, but reconciliation only to be made to the party so offended.

"To the second, he answered that he then did and had before disliked the order of Latin service then used; and also did allow the service used in the latter time of King Edward's reign, for that the Holy Scripture doth the same; and therefore he granted that he did teach and set forth the said English service, as in the same article is objected.

"To the third, he granted that he had approved the doctrine of the parties articulate as agreeable to God's word; and that they were godly learned men, and such as had perfect understanding in the contents of the same article.

"To the fourth, he answered that he did well like the communion used in King Edward's days; but he said that he had not ministered or received the same here in England since the queen's reign, neither yet knew any that had the books thereof. But, on the other side, he knew many that had those books, and that there also he had received the communion in sundry places.

"The contents of the fifth he granted to be true.

"To the sixth, he confessed that he had been familiar with divers English men and women, being in Friesland, and agreed with them in opinion, as Master Scory, Thomas Young, George Roe, and others, to the number of one hundred persons, which fled thither for religion, using there the order set forth in the reign of King Edward; and otherwise he denieth the contents of this article.

"The contents of the seventh he granted in every point to be true.

"To the eighth, he answered and confessed that since his last coming into England, (which was about the tenth day of November,) he had, in sundry places in the suburbs of London, prayed and read such prayers and service as are appointed in the Book of the Communion; and willed others to do the like, both men and women, which he did know by sight, but not by name. Howbeit he did never cause any to withdraw themselves from the Latin service; but he said, it were better to pray in a tongue that they did understand, than in an unknown tongue.

"To the ninth, he confessed at the time and place articulate he was present to hear and see a play, and there was apprehended by the queen's Majesty's vice-chamberlain, with one Cutbert, a tailor, and one Hugh, a hosier, and divers others both men and women, whose names he knew not; and by him was brought before the council, who sent him unto Newgate; and from thence he was brought to the bishop. And otherwise he denieth the contents of this article."

Upon these answers he was dismissed, and the next day, being the nineteenth of December, he was again brought before the said bishop and others; who, when they perceived his constantness, determined the next day after to bring him openly into the consistory, there to adjudge and condemn him as a heretic. Which purpose they accomplished, for, the twentieth day at afternoon, in the presence of the bishops of London and St. David's, with Fecknam, abbot of Westminster, and others, he was there produced; where, after much and many fair persuasions, Bonner read unto him the articles and answers before mentioned, in the which they charged him to have received the orders of the church, and therefore might not marry; and that he had refused to consent unto the Latin service then used in the church. Whereunto he then answered, and said that their orders were nothing at all, and that he, being a priest, might lawfully marry, and that his children which he had by his wife, were lawful. And as touching the service then used, he utterly detested it, saying that if he should live as long as Methuselah, yet he would never come to the church to hear the abominable mass, and other service, being as it was then. Upon which words the bishop proceeded to the actual degradation of the said Rough, exempting him from all the benefits and privileges of their church; and after condemning him as a heretic, committed his body to the secular power, who, taking him into their charge and custody, carried him unto Newgate.

Moreover, as touching the said Master Rough, this is further to be noted, that he, being in the north country in the days of King Edward the Sixth, was the mean to save Dr. Watson's life, (who in Queen Mary's time was bishop of Lincoln,) for a sermon that he had made there. The said Watson after that, in the said days of Queen Mary, being with Bonner at the examination of the said Master Rough, to requite the good turn in saving his life, detected him there to be a pernicious heretic, who did more hurt in the north parts than a hundred besides of his opinion. Unto whom Master Rough said again, "Why, sir, is this the reward I have for saving your life, when you preached erroneous doctrine in the days of King Edward the Sixth?" This Master Rough said, he had lived thirty years, and yet had never bowed his knee to Baal. And being before Bonner, among other talk, he affirmed that he had been twice at Rome, and there had seen plainly with his eyes, which he had many times heard of before, namely, that the pope was the very antichrist; for there he saw him carried on men's

shoulders, and the false-named sacrament borne before him: yet was there more reverence given to him, than to that which they counted to be their god. When Bonner heard this, rising up, and making as though he would have torn his garments, "Hast thou," said he, "been at Rome, and seen our holy father the pope, and dost thou blaspheme him after this sort?" And with that flying upon him, he plucked off a piece of his beard; and after, making speedy haste to his death, he burnt him half an hour before six of the clock in the morning, because the day, belike, should not be far spent, before he had done a mischievous deed.

Furthermore note, that this Master Rough, being at the burning of Austoo in Smithfield, and returning homeward again, met with one Master Farrar, a merchant of Halifax, who asked him, where he had been. Unto whom he answered, "I have been," saith he, "where I would not for one of mine eyes but I had been." "Where have you been?" said Master Farrar. "Forsooth," said he, "to learn the way." And so he told him he had been at the burning of Austoo, where shortly after he was burnt himself.

From Newgate he wrote immediately a letter unto his godly friends yet abroad and out of the danger of the unmerciful persecutors, confirming and strengthening them in the truth which he had taught them; the copy of which letter here followeth.

"The comfort of the Holy Ghost make you able to give consolation to others in these dangerous days, when Satan is let loose, but to the trial only of the chosen, when it pleaseth our God to sift his wheat from the chaff. I have not leisure and time to write the great temptations I have been under. I speak to God's glory; my care was to have the senses of my soul open, to perceive the voice of God, saying, Whosoever denieth me before men, him will I deny before my Father and his angels. And to save the life corporal, is to lose the life eternal. And he that will not suffer with Christ, shall not reign with him. Therefore, most tender ones, I have by God's Spirit given over the flesh, with the fight of my soul, and the Spirit hath the victory. The flesh shall now, ere it be long, leave off to sin; the Spirit shall reign eternally. I have chosen the death, to confirm the truth by me taught. What can I do no more? Consider with yourselves, that I have done it for the confirmation of God's truth. Pray that I may continue unfo to the end. The greatest part of the assault is past, I praise my God. I have in all my assaults felt the present aid of my God, I give him most hearty thanks therefor. Look not back, nor be ye ashamed of Christ's gospel, nor of the bonds I have suffered for the same; thereby ye may be assured it is the true word of God. The holy ones have been sealed with the same mark. It is no time, for the loss of one man in the battle, for the camp to turn back. Up with men's hearts; blow down the daubed walls of heresy. Let one take the banner, and the other the trumpet; I mean not to make corporal resistance; but pray, and ye shall have Elias's defence, and Elizeus's company to fight for you. The cause is the Lord's. Now, my brethren, I can write no more; time will not suffer, and my heart with pangs of death is assaulted: but I am at home with my God yet alive. Pray for me, and salute one another with the holy kiss. The peace of God rest with you all, Amen.-- From Newgate prison in haste, the day of my condemnation.

"JOHN ROUGH."

Another letter of John Rough, written unto the congregation two days before he suffered.

"The Spirit of all consolation be with you, aid you, and make you strong to run to the fight that is laid before you, wherewithal God in all ages hath tried his elect, and hath found them worthy of himself, by coupling to their head, Jesus Christ, in whom, whoso desireth to live godly, the same must needs suffer persecution: for it is given unto them, not only to believe, but also to suffer. And the servant or scholar cannot be greater than his Lord or Master; but by the same way the Head is entered, the members must follow. No life is in the members which are cut from the body: likewise we have no life, but in Christ; for by him we live, move, and have our being. My dear sons, now departing this life to my great advantage, I make change of mortality with immortality, of corruption to put on incorruption, to make my body like to the corn cast into the ground, which except it die first, it can bring forth no good fruit. Wherefore death is to my great advantage; for thereby the body ceaseth from sin, and, after, turneth into the first original: but after shall be changed, and made brighter than the sun or moon. What shall I write of this corporal death, seeing it is decreed of God, that all men shall once die? Happy are they that die in the Lord, which is to die in the faith of Christ, professing and confessing the same before many witnesses. I praise my God I have passed the same journey by many temptations. The devil is very busy to persuade, the world to entice, with promises and fair words; which I omit to write, lest some might think I did hunt after vain-glory, which is furthest from my heart. Lastly, the danger of some false brethren, who before the bishop of London purposed to confess an untruth to my face; yet the God that ruled Balaam, moved their hearts: where they thought to speak to my accusation, he made them speak to my purgation. What a journey (by God's power) I have made these eight days before this day, it is above flesh and blood to bear; but, as Paul saith, I may do all things in him which worketh in me, Jesus Christ. My course, brethren, have I run; I have fought a good fight; the crown of righteousness is laid up for me; my day to receive it is not long to. Pray, brethren, for the enemy doth yet assault. Stand constant unto the end; then shall you possess your souls. Walk worthily in that vocation wherein you are called. Comfort the brethren. Salute one another in my name. Be not ashamed of the gospel of the cross, by me preached, nor yet of my suffering; for with my blood I affirm the same. I go before; I suffer first the baiting of the butchers' dogs; yet I have not done what I should have done: but my weakness, I doubt not, is supplied in the strength of Jesus Christ; and your wisdoms and learning will accept that small talent, which I have distributed unto you (as I trust) as a faithful steward: and what was undone, impute that to frailty and ignorance, and with your love cover that which is and was naked in me. God knoweth ye are all tender unto me; my heart bursteth for the love of you. Ye are not without your great Pastor of your soul, who so loveth you, that if men were not to be sought out, (as, God be praised, there is no want of men,) he would cause stones to minister unto you. Cast your care on that Rock; the wind of temptation shall not prevail. Fast and pray, for the days are evil. Look up with your eyes of hope, for the redemption is not far off (but my wickedness hath deserved that I shall not see it). And also that which is behind of the blood of our brethren, which shall also be laid under the altar, shall cry for your relief. Time will not now suffer me to write longer letters. The Spirit of God guide you in and out, rising and sitting; cover you with the shadow of his wings; defend you against the tyranny of the wicked; and bring you happily unto the port of eternal

felicity, where all tears shall be wiped from your eyes, and you shall always abide with the Lamb.

"JOHN ROUGH."

{Illustration: John Rough in Smithfield 411}

The story of Margaret Mearing, martyr.

It is before declared that, in the company of John Rough, was burnt one Margaret Mearing, who, as the register maketh mention, was at one time and day brought with the said Rough forth to examinaton; where the bishop having no private matters to charge her withal, did the eighteenth day accustomable of December mentioned against her those common and accustomable articles mentioned before: to which she answered as followeth.

"First,. That there is here in earth a catholic church, and that there is the true faith of Christ observed and kept in the same church.

2: Item, That there were only two sacraments in the church, namely, the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and the sacrament of baptism.

"3. Item, That she was baptized in the faith and belief of the said church, renouncing there, by her godfathers and godmothers, the devil and all his works, &c.

"4. Item, That when she came to the age of fourteen years, she did not know what her true belief was, because she was not then of discretion to. understand the same, neither yet was taught it.

"5. Item, That she had not gone from the catholic faith at any time; but she said, that the mass was abominable before the sight of God, and before the sight of all true Christian people; and that it is the plain cup of fornication, and the whore of Babylon. And as concerning the sacrament of the altar, she said, she believed there was no such sacrament in the catholic church. Also she said, that she utterly abhorred the authority of the bishop of Rome, with all the religion observed in the same antichrist's church.

"6. Item, She answered to the sixth article, as to the first, before specified.

"7. Item, That she hath refused to come to her parish church, because the true religion of Christ was not then used in the same: and further said, that she had not come unto the church by the space of one year and three quarters then last past, neither yet did mean any more to come unto the same, in these idolatrous days.

"8. Item, As touching the manner of her apprehension, she said that Cluney, the bishop's sumner, did fetch her to the bishop."

These answers being then registered, they were again (with the said articles) propounded against her the twentieth day of December; and there being demanded if she would stand unto those her answers, she said, "I will stand to them unto the death; for the very angels of heaven do laugh you to scorn, to see your abomination that you use in the church." After the which words, the bishop pronounced the sentence of condemnation against her; and then delivering her unto the sheriffs, she was, with the fore-named John Rough, carried unto Newgate; from whence they were both together led unto Smithfield, the twenty-second day of the same month of December, and there most joyfully gave their lives for the profession of Christ's gospel.

When the latter end of this history of Master Rough and Margaret Mearing was in finishing, there came to our hands one necessary thing of the said Margaret Mearing, which we thought not good to omit. The matter is this: Master Rough being chief pastor to the congregation in the said time of Queen Mary, as before you have heard, (of which company this Margaret Mearing was one,) did not well like the said Margaret, but greatly suspected her, as many others of them did besides, because she would oftentimes bring in strangers among them, and in her talk seemed (as they thought) somewhat too busy, &c. Now, what they saw or understood further in her, we know not, but this followed the evil suspicion conceived of her. Master Rough, the Friday before he was taken, in the open face of the congregation, did excommunicate her out of the same company; and so seemed with the rest to exclude and cut her off from their fellowship and society; whereat she being moved, did not well take it, nor in good part, but thought herself not indifferently handled among them: whereupon, to one of her friends, in a heat, she threatened to remove them all. But the providence of God was otherwise; for the Sunday after, Master Rough, being taken by the information of one Roger Sergeant to the bishop of London, (as hereafter thou shalt hear,) was laid in the Gate-house at Westminster, where none of his friends could come to visit him. Then this said Margaret, hearing thereof, got her a basket, and a clean shirt in it, and went to Westminster, where she, feigning herself to be his sister, got into the prison to him, and did there to her power not a little comfort him.

Then coming abroad again, she understanding that the congregation suspected the said Sergeant to be his promoter, went to his house, and asked whether Judas dwelt not there: unto whom answer was made, there dwelt no such. "No!" said she; "dwelleth not Judas here, that betrayed Christ? his name is Sergeant." When she saw she could not speak with him, she went her way. So the Friday after, she, standing at Mark-lane end in London, with another woman, a friend of hers, saw Cluney, Bonner's sumner, coming in the street towards her house: whom when she saw, she said to the other woman standing with her, "Whither goeth yonder fine fellow?" said she: "I think surely he goeth to my house." And in viewing him still, at the last she saw him enter in at her door. So immediately she went home, and asked him whom he sought: whereunto Cluney made answer and said, "For you; you must go with me." "Marry," quoth she, "here I am; I will go with you." And coming to the bishop, she was laid in prison, and the Wednesday after, burnt with Master Rough in Smithfield, as ye have heard.

Whereas mention and declaration was made before, that Bonner, the sooner to delude the simple and ignorant people, in the month of May, anno 1555, did cause Dr. Chedsey to publish openly at Paul's Cross, certain letters sent from the king and queen -- minding thereby to excuse and cloak his malignant murders of the saints of God,

and thereby, through that colour, to cloak himself -- did protest that he was never so cruel and blood-thirsty as he was slanderously reported and charged withal, but rather compelled thereunto, (having commandment given from the higher powers,) must and would show himself ready to do his duty therein: I thought it therefore now expedient, upon so good an occasion here serving unto the same, somewhat to debate, and further to try out, this his visored obedience falsely by him pretended. And although it may seem not greatly needful, (his other wicked acts already sufficiently uttering the same,) yet, altogether ter being so manifest, I may not altogether pass it over in silence. And therefore if Bonner, thus standing to the defence of his pretended obedience, would needs have us conceive of him, that he is not so cruel and hasty to seek thereunto of these men, but rather enforced thereunto through the commandment of the higher powers, then let him answer unto his own handy-work, and his own commission, so spitefully conceived, so cruelly given forth, of his own motion and proper authority, and, as they term it, *ex suo officio*; not only to inquire, but also to proceed in condemnation against all and singular such persons as should be found within his jurisdiction, not conformable unto that idolatrous and malignant church.

What doth or can this declare, but a mind not only thirsty, but also greedy and almost insatiable, of blood? I have heard it so reported that Bonner, sitting at the board with his claret wine before him, hath said, that whereas he hath been noted to be a blood-sucker, he never sucked any other blood, but that only in the goblet. If that be so, what meaneth then this unmerciful proclamation to hunt and chase out the poor innocents, and to bring them unto the fire? The sharp commission and proclamation set forth a little before by the king and queen, might it not seem enough and sufficient unto Bonner for that purpose, but he must also add to it his? If that of theirs was not sharp and cruel enough, what more sharpness could Bonner put unto it? if it were, what then needed this commission of Bonner to stir up the coals? If he did it not without their wills and commandment, why doth it not so appear among his records? if he did give it thus abroad upon his own head and motion, how can he defend himself from cruelty and blood-thirstiness?

Anno 1558.

374. Cutbert Symson, Hugh Foxe and John Devenish.



Cutbert Symson at the stake

The suffering and cruel torments of Cutbert Symson, deacon of the Christian congregation in London, in Queen Mary's days, most patiently abiding the cruel rage of the papists for Christ's sake.

NEXT after the martyrdom of Master Rough, minister of the congregation above mentioned, succeeded in like martyrdom the deacon also of that said godly company or congregation in London, named Cutbert Symson, being committed to the fire the year of our Lord 1558, the twenty-eighth day of March.

This Cutbert Symson was a man of a faithful and zealous heart to Christ and his true flock, insomuch that he never ceased labouring and studying most earnestly, not only how to preserve them without corruption of the popish religion; but also his care was ever vigilant, how to keep them together without peril or danger of persecution. The pains, travail, zeal, patience, and fidelity of this man, in caring and

providing for this congregation, as it is not lightly to be expressed, so is it wonderful to behold the providence of the Lord by vision, concerning the troubles of this faithful minister and godly deacon, as in this here following may appear.

The Friday at night before Master Rough, minister of the congregation, (of whom mention is made before,) was taken, being in his bed, he dreamed that he saw two of the guard leading Cutbert Symson, deacon of the said congregation; and that he had the book about him, wherein were written the names of all them which were of the congregation. Whereupon being sore troubled, he awaked, and called his wife, saying, "Kate, strike a light, for I am much troubled with my brother Cutbert this night." When she had so done, he gave himself to read in his book awhile, and then, feeling sleep to come upon him, he put out the candle, and so gave himself again to rest. Being asleep, he dreamed the like dream again; and, awaking therewith, he said, "Oh! Kate, my brother Cutbert is gone." So they lighted a candle again, and rose. And as the said Master Rough was making him ready to go to Cutbert, to see how he did, in the mean time the said Cutbert came in with the book containing the names and accounts of the congregation: whom when Master Rough had seen, he said, "Brother Cutbert, ye are welcome; for I have been sore troubled with you this night;" and so told him his dream. After he had so done, he willed him to lay the book away from him, and to carry it no more about him. Unto which Cutbert answered, he would not so do: for dreams, he said, were but fantasies, and not to be credited. Then Master Rough straitly charged him, in the name of the Lord, to do it. Whereupon the said Cutbert took such notes out of the book, as he had willed him to do, and immediately left the book with Master Rough's wife.

The next day following, in the night, the said Master Rough had another dream in his sleep concerning his own trouble; the matter whereof was this. He thought in his dream, that he was carried himself forcibly to the bishop, and that the bishop plucked off his beard, and cast it into the fire, saying these words, "Now I may say I have had a piece of a heretic burned in my house:" and so accordingly it came to pass.

The said Master Rough, having a child in his bed with him at that time, of two years of age, yet alive, called Rachel, suddenly she awoke in the night, and cried: "Alas, alas, my father is gone, my father is gone;" and, for all that they could do or speak, long it was ere she could be persuaded that he was there. A candle being lighted, and she, coming better to herself, saw him, and took him about the neck. and said, "Father, now I will hold you, that you go not away:" and so twice or thrice repeated the same. Then they fell asleep again the same night, and so Master Rough's wife, being troubled in like case, dreamed that she saw one James Mearing's wife (who also was burned at the same stake with Master Rough) going down the street with a bloody banner in her hand, and a fire-pan on her head. Then suddenly she arising to go to see her, she thought she stumbled on a great hog, and had a mighty fall thereby; through the sudden fear she awoke, and said, "I am never able to rise again."

Now to return to Cutbert again; as we have touched something before concerning his visions, so now remaineth to story also of his pains and sufferings upon the rack, and otherwise, like a good Laurence, for the congregation's sake, as he wrote it with his own hand.

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

A letter of Cutbert Symson to certain of his friends.

"A true report how I was used in the Tower of London, being sent thither by the council, the thirteenth day of December.--

"On the Thursday after, I was called into the warehouse, before the constable of the Tower and the recorder of London, Master Cholmley: they commanded me to tell, whom I did will to come to the English service. I answered, I would declare nothing. Whereupon I was set in a rack of iron, the space of three hours as I judged.

"Then they asked me if I would tell them. I answered as before. Then was I loosed, and carried to my lodging again. On the Sunday after I was brought into the same place again before the lieutenant and the recorder of London, and they examined me. As before I had said, I answered. Then the lieutenant did swear by God I should tell. Then did they bind my two fore-fingers together, and put a small arrow betwixt them, and drew it through so fast that the blood followed, and the arrow brake.

"Then they racked me twice. Then was I carried to my lodging again, and ten days after the lieutenant asked me, if I would not confess that which before they had asked me. I said, I had said as much as I would. Then, five weeks after, he sent me unto the high priest, where I was greatly assaulted, and at whose hand I received the pope's curse, for bearing witness of the resurrection of Jesus Christ. And thus I commend you unto God, and to the word of his grace, with all them that unfeignedly call upon the name of Jesus, desiring God of his endless mercy, through the merits of his dear Son Jesus Christ, to bring us all to his everlasting kingdom, Amen. I praise God for his great mercy showed upon us. Sing Hosanna unto the highest, with me, Cutbert Symson. God forgive me my sins! I ask all the world forgiveness, and I do forgive all the world, and thus I leave this world, in hope of a joyful resurrection."

A note of Cutbert Symson's patience.

Now as touching this Cutbert Symson, this further is to be noted, that Bonner in his consistory, speaking of Cutbert Symson, gave this testimony of him there to the people, saying, "Ye see this man," saith he, "what a personable man he is:" and after he had thus commended his person, added moreover, "And furthermore concerning his patience, I say unto you, that if he were not a heretic, he is a man of the greatest patience that yet ever came before me: for I tell you, he hath been thrice racked upon one day in the Tower. Also in my house he hath felt some sorrow, and yet I never saw his patience broken," &c.

It is thought and said of some, that that arrow which was grated betwixt his fingers, being tied together, was not in the Tower, but in the bishop's house.

The day before the blessed deacon and martyr of God, Cutbert Symson, after his painful racking, should go to his condemnation before Bonner, to be burnt, being in the bishop's coal-house there in the stocks, he had a certain vision or apparition

very strange, which he himself with his own mouth declared to the godly learned man, Master Austen, to his own wife, and Thomas Symson, and to others besides, in the prison of Newgate, a little before his death; the relation whereof I stand in no little doubt whether to report abroad or not, considering with myself the great diversity of men's judgments in the reading of histories, and variety of affections. Some I see will not believe it; some will deride the same; some also will be offended with setting forth things of that sort uncertain, esteeming all things to be uncertain and incredible, whatsoever is strange from the common order of nature: others will be perchance aggrieved, thinking with themselves, or else thus reasoning with me, that although the matter were as is reported, yet forasmuch as the common error of believing rash miracles, fantasies, visions, dreams, and apparitions, thereby may be confirmed, more expedient it were the same to be unset forth.

These, and such like, will be, I know, the sayings of many. Whereunto briefly I answer, granting first, and admitting with the words of Basil, "Not every dream is straightway a prophecy." Again, neither am I ignorant that the papists, in their books and legends of saints, have their prodigious visions and apparitions of angels, of our Lady, of Christ, and other saints; which as I will not admit to be believed for true, so will they ask me again, why should I then more require these to be credited of them, than theirs of us.

First, I write not this, binding any man precisely to believe the same, so as they do theirs, but only report it as it hath been heard of persons known, naming also the parties who were the hearers thereof, leaving the judgment thereof, notwithstanding, free unto the arbitrement of the reader. Albeit, it is no good argument, proceeding from the singular or particular, to the universal, to say, that visions be not true in some; ergo, they be true in none. And if any shall muse, or object again, Why should such visions be given to him, or a few other singular persons, more than to all the rest, seeing the others were in the same cause and quarrel, and died also martyrs as well as he? to this, I say, concerning the Lord's times and doings I have not to meddle nor make, who may work where and when it pleaseth him. And what if the Lord thought chiefly above the others with singular consolation to respect him, who, chiefly above the others, and singularly, did suffer most exquisite torments for his sake? What great marvel herein? But, as I said, of the Lord's secret times I have not to reason. This only which hath out of the man's own mouth been received, so as I received it of the parties, I thought here to communicate to the reader, for him to judge thereof as God shall rule his wind. The matter is this.

The day before this Symson was condemned, he being in the stocks, Cluney his keeper cometh in with the keys about nine of the clock at night, (after his usual manner,) to view his prison, and see whether all were present, who, when he espied the said Cutbert to be there, departed again, locking the doors after him. Within two hours after, about eleven of the clock toward midnight, the said Cutbert (whether being in a slumber, or being awake, I cannot say) heard one coming in, first opening the outward door, then the second, after the third door, and so looking in to the said Cutbert, having no candle or torch that he could see, but giving a brightness and light most comfortable and joyful to his heart, saying, "Hah!" unto him, and departed again. Who it was he could not tell, neither I dare define. This that he saw, he himself declared four or five times to the said Master Austen, and to others; at the sight

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whereof he received such joyful comfort, that he also expressed no little solace in telling and declaring the same.

Articles severally ministered to Cutbert Symson, the nineteenth day of March, with his answers also to the same annexed.

"First, That thou, Cutbert Symson, art at this present abiding within the city and diocese of London, and not out of the jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome.

"Item, That thou, within the city and diocese of London, hast uttered many times and spoken deliberately, these words and sentences following: videlicet, that though thy parents, ancestors, kinsfolks, and friends, yea, and also thyself, before the time of the late schism here in this realm of England, have thought and thoughtest, that the faith and religion observed in times past here in this realm of England, was a true faith and religion of Christ, in all points and articles, though in the church it was set forth in the Latin tongue, and not in English, yet thou believest and sayest, that the faith and religion, now used commonly in this realm, not in the English, but in the Latin tongue, is not the true faith and religion of Christ, but contrary and expressly against it.

"Item, That thou, within the said city and diocese of London, hast willingly, wittingly, and contemptuously done, and spoken against the rites and the ceremonies commonly used here through the whole realm, and observed generally in the church of England.

"Item, That thou hast thought and believed certainly, and so within the diocese of London hast affirmed and spoken deliberately, that there be not in the catholic church seven sacraments, nor of that virtue and efficacy as is commonly believed in the church of England them to be.

"Item, That thou hast likewise thought and believed, yea, and hast so within the city and diocese of London spoken, and deliberately affirmed, that in the sacrament of the altar there is not really, substantially, and truly, the very body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

"Item, That thou hast been, and to thy power art at this present, a favourer of all those, that either have been here in this realm heretofore called heretics, or else convented and condemned by the ecclesiastical judges for heretics.

"Item, That thou, contrary to the order of this realm of England, and contrary to the usage of the holy church of this realm of England, hast at sundry times and places within the city and diocese of London, been at assemblies and conventicles, where there was a multitude of people gathered together to hear the English service said, which was set forth in the latter years of King Edward the Sixth, and also to hear and have the Communion Book read, and the communion ministered, both to the said multitude, and also to thyself; and thou hast thought, and so thinkest, and hast spoken, that the said English service and Communion Book, and all things contained in either

of them, were good and laudable, and for such thou didst and dost allow and approve either of them, at this present."

The answer of the said Cutbert to the foresaid articles.

"Unto all which articles the said Cutbert Symson answered thus, or the like in effect.

"To the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth articles, he confessed them to be true in every part thereof.

"To the seventh article he said, that he was not bound to answer unto it, as he believeth."

The information of Roger Sergeant, given to the bishop of London and his officers: where he accuseth divers persons, and, in the end, betrayed the congregation into the hands of the bloody butcher, as here in this information he promised to do; whereby many were apprehended also, brought into trouble, and examined, whose informations also hereafter follow.

"Roger Sergeant, born in Buckinghamshire, tailor, of the age of forty years or above, now of the parish of St. Edmund's, in Lombard Street, saith: that at the Swan at Limehouse, or else at St. Katharine's at one Frogg's, or at the King's Head at Ratcliffe, the assembly shall be *dominica tertia Adventus*, between nine and eleven aforenoon, and from one till four at afternoon. And sometimes the meeting is at Horsleydown, beyond Battle-bridge. Commonly the usage is, to have all the English service without any diminishing, wholly as it was in the time of King Edward the Sixth; neither praying for the king nor the queen; despising the sacrament of the altar, and the coming to church, saying that a man cannot come to the church, except he be partaker of all the evils there.

"They have reading and preaching, and the minister is a Scotchman, whose name he knoweth not; and they have two deacons that gather money, which is distributed to the prisoners in the Marshalsea, King's Bench, Lollards' Tower, Newgate, and to the poor that come to the assembly: some women be childbearing, and some women above sixty years of age, and divers coming more for money than aught else. This informer hath been there twice and no more but he will go thither again, that such as shall be sent" to apprehend the malefactors, may know the places and persons. Frogg a Dutchman, dwelling at St. Katharine's, is one of the assembly. Item, one Hammerton, a smith, lately dwelling in St. Katharine's. Item, one James, a cobbler, dwelling in Budge Row in Well Alley, having also a shop at St. Austin's gate in Paul's churchyard. Item, a young fellow, a butcher, dwelling in Shoreditch, whose name he knoweth not. Item, one William Ellerby, tailor, dwelling in St. Clement's Lane, by Lombard Street, in St. Edmund's parish. Item, one John Osborne, dwelling at Lambeth town, a silk-dyer."

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All these did this wicked man, the said Roger Sergeant, accuse to be of this congregation; who wretchedly, according to his promise in this information, went, like Judas with Herod's soldiers, to Islington, and there most falsely betrayed Master Rough, and Cutbert Symson, with five others, into the hands of their enemies, the day mentioned in their stories; for there it was seen of some good people that be yet alive.

The information of James Mearing.

"Cutbert is an officer or deacon in the assembly, a rich man dwelling in London. Cluney doth know him. He is paymaster to the prisoners in the Marshalsea, Ludgate, Lollards' Tower, and in other places of prison, as the Compter, &c., and executor to the prisoners that die, and collector of the assembly when the reading is done; and had the goods of James and his wife, that were burned at Islington. And likewise one Brook in Queen-hythe, salter, and seller of earthen pots; a rich man, not coming to church; a collector also, and keeper of the money for the prisoners. Mistress Barber in Fish Street, a fishmonger's wife; Cluney knoweth her; she is also a collector for the said prisoners. The meeting sometimes is at Wapping, at one Church's house, hard by the water-side; sometimes at a widow's house at Ratcliffe, at the King's Head there; sometimes at St. Katharine's, at a shoemaker's house, a Dutchman, called Frogg. The assembly, *dominica tertia Adventus*, either at St. Katharine's, in Frogg's house; either at Wapping, at the said Church's house. Sometimes the assembly beginneth at seven in the morning, or at eight; sometimes at nine; and then, or soon after, they dine, and tarry till two of the clock, and, amongst other things, they talk and make officers. Sometimes the assembly is at Battle-bridge, at a dyer's house, betwixt two butchers there; despising the sacrament of the altar, the pope, the coming to church, and the priest. In that assembly there are a minister and two priests that gather money."

The information of William Ellerby, tailor.

"William Ellerby, tailor, in St. Clement's Lane, in St. Edmund's parish, in Lombard Street, confesseth that he knoweth a Scotchman, called John Rongh, and that he hath been at the assembly kept at Ratcliffe, at the King's Head, at the widow's house there; where one Coste did read, in English, three psalms, that is to wit, *Confitemini, Magnificat, Nunc dimittis*, upon a Sunday, after evensong. At which assembly there were about thirty men and women whom he knew not, saving one Roger Sergeant, his own man, that went thither with him. And he saith that one Osborne, of Lambeth town, gave this examine knowledge of the said assembly, which assembly lasted about half an hour, some sitting at the table, some standing to hear the said Scot, having three or four pots of beer before the said Scot came to the assembly at Frogg's and went to the said play. And this examine had found in his house at Lambeth town, when the search went for him, two English books, the one a 'Psalter in English,' and the other an 'Instruction of a Christian Man.'"

The information of Elizabeth Churchman.

"Elizabeth Churchman, the wife of John Churchman of Wapping, being examined the seventeenth day of December, 1557, before the bishop of London, at his palace at Paul's, saith, that upon a holy-day about ten days ago, there were about ten persons that came to her husband's house there, and had there a shoulder of mutton and a piece of pork roasted; and also of her they had bread and drink, and two or three faggots; coming thither before ten of the clock aforenoon, and departed about twelve of the clock. And at their departure, and the coming home of her husband, she saith, she told him of a company that had been there, who, after their refection, said grace, and one called another 'brother;' one of them having in his hand a book: and she also, as she saith, said to her husband, asking who they were; and also, that she judged that they were Scripture men, and that they were learned, and also that they should come no more thither if they were not good; and her said husband therein so concluded and agreed with her in the same.'

The information of Alice Warner, widow,.

"Alice Warner, widow, of Ratcliffe, in the parish of Stepney, testifieth and saith: that upon a Sunday, six weeks ago, a certain company of Frenchmen, Dutchmen, and other strangers, and, amongst them, Englishmen, appearing to be young merchants, to the number of a score, resorted to her house of the King's Head at Ratcliffe; requesting to have a pig roasted, and half a dozen faggots to be burnt. In the mean time, the said company went into a back house, where they were two sundry times; the first time, between twelve and one, they were reading, but what, she cannot tell, whether it was a Testament or some other book; and they tarried there about two hours. The second time was three weeks past, upon a holy-day, about the middle of the week; at which time they repaired to her house about seven o'clock in the morning, who had a fire and beer within the said back house. And then this examinee, going abroad, did see the said multitude, and perceived that they also then did read, but what, she cannot tell; and the said multitude did tarry there from seven till ten before noon, and, at their departure, they laboured to this examinee that they might always have the said back house at their pleasure, to make good cheer at their repairing thither. Unfo which demand this examinee, as she saith, made then answer unto them, that they should pardon her, for she perceiveth that they were not able to justify their doings after that sort, and she would not bring herself into danger for none of them all. And she saith that her maid said that she judged them to be the same that were first there; and how the said multitude called one another 'brother,' and did every one, to his ability, cast money down upon the table, which was two pence a-piece. And this examinee saith, that she asked of one of the said multitude, how the said money was disposed; answer being to her by him given, that it was to the use and relief of the poor. And this examinee thinketh it was a Frenchman, or some other outlandish man, because he spake evil English."

Thus have you the notes of such depositions as the cruel papists did extort out of poor and ignorant people by force of their oath, to complain of their innocent and harmless neighbours. Now followeth the letter of Cutbert Symson to his godly wife.

A letter of Cutbert Symson, written to his wife out of the coal-house.

"Dearly beloved in the Lord Jesus Christ, I cannot write as I do wish unto you.

"I beseech you with my soul, commit yourself under the mighty hand of our God, trusting in his mercy, and he will surely help us as shall be most unto his glory and our everlasting comfort; being sure of this, that he will suffer nothing to come unto us, but that which shall be most profitable for us. For it is either a correction for our sins, or a trial of our faith, or to set forth his glory, or for all together; and therefore must needs be well done. For there is nothing that cometh unto us by fortune or chance, but by our heavenly Father's providence: and therefore pray unto our heavenly Father, that he will ever give us his grace to consider it. Let us give him most hearty thanks for these his fatherly corrections; for as many as he loveth, he correcteth. And I beseech you now be of good cheer, and count the cross of Christ greater riches than all the vain pleasures of England. I do not doubt (I praise God for it) but that you have supped with Christ at his Maundy, I mean, believed in him: for that is the effect, and then must you drink of his cup, I mean his cross (for that doth the cup signify unto us). Take the cup with a good stomach in the name of God; and then shall you be sure to have the good wine, Christ's blood, to thy poor thirsty soul. And when you have the wine, you must drink it out of this cup: learn this when you come to the Lord's supper. Pray continually. In all things give thanks.

"In the name of Jesus shall every knee bow.

"CUTBERT SYMSON."

Hugh Foxe and John Devenish, fellow martyrs with Cutbert Symson.

With Cutbert likewise were apprehended and also suffered (as is before mentioned) Hugh Foxe and John Devenish; who, being brought unto their examinations with the said Cutbert, before Bonner, bishop of London, the nineteenth day of March, had articles and interrogatories to them ministered by the said officer, albeit not all at one time. For first to the said Cutbert several articles were propounded; then other articles in general were ministered to them all together. The order and manner of which articles, now jointly to them ministered, here follow, with their answers also to the same annexed to be seen.

Articles generally ministered by the bishop to Foxe, Devenish, and Symson, the said nineteenth day of March, with their answers to the same annexed.

After these articles thus ministered and laid to Cutbert Symson, with his answers likewise unto the same, the bishop, calling them all together, objected to them other positions and articles, the same which before are mentioned in the story of Bartlet Green; only the eighth article out of the same omitted and excepted: which articles, because they are expressed in the place above mentioned, we need not here make any new report thereof, but only refer the reader to the place assigned.

Their answers in general to the articles.

"To the first article they all answered affirmatively: but John Devenish added, that that church is grounded upon the prophets and apostles, Christ being the head corner-stone; and how in that church there is the true faith and religion of Christ.

"To the second they all confessed and believed, that in Christ's catholic church there are but two sacraments, that is to wit, baptism and the supper of the Lord: otherwise they do not believe the contents of this article to be true in any part thereof.

"To the third they all answered affirmatively.

"To the fourth they all answered affirmatively.

"To the fifth they all answered affirmatively, that they do believe, and have spoken and will speak, against the sacrifice of the mass, the sacrament of the altar, and likewise against the authority of the see of Rome; and are nothing sorry for the same, but will do it still, while they live.

"To the sixth they all answered, and denied to acknowledge the authority of the see of Rome to be lawful and good, either yet his religion.

"To the seventh they all answered affirmatively, that they have and will do so still while they live; and John Devenish, adding thereto, said, that the sacrament of the altar, as it is now used, is no sacrament at all.

"To the eighth they all confessed, and believed all things, above by them acknowledged and declared, to be true; and that they be of the diocese of London, and jurisdiction of the same."

These three above-named persons, and blessed witnesses of Jesus Christ, Cutbert, Foxe, and Devenish, as they were all together apprehended at Islington, as is above declared, so the same all three together suffered in Smithfield, about the twenty-eighth day of March, in whose perfect constancy the same Lord, in whose cause and quarrel they suffered, (giver of all grace, and governor of all things,) be exalted for ever: Amen.

375. William Nichol.

The suffering and martyrdom of William Nichol, put to death by the wicked hands of the papists at Haverford-west in Wales.

We find in all ages from the beginning, that Satan hath not ceased at all times to molest the church of Christ with one affliction or other, to the trial of their faith; but yet never so apparently at any time to all the world, as when the Lord hath permitted him power over the bodies of his saints, to the shedding of their blood, and perverting of their religion; for then sleepeth he not, I warrant you, from the murdering of the same, unless they will fall down with Ahab and Jezebel to worship him, and so kill and poison their own souls eternally; as in these miserable latter days of Queen Mary we have felt, heard, and seen practised upon God's people. Among whom we find recorded an honest, good, simple poor man, one William Nichol, who was apprehended by the champions of the pope, for speaking certain words against the cruel kingdom of antichrist, and the ninth day of April, anno 1558, was butcherly burnt and tormented at Haverford-west in Wales, where he ended his life in a most happy and blessed state, and gloriously gave his soul into the hands of the Lord, whose goodness be praised for ever! Amen.

This William Nichol (as we are informed) was so simple a good soul, that many esteemed him half foolish. But what he was, we know not; but this we are sure, he died a good man, and in a good cause, whatsoever they judge of him. And the more simplicity and feebleness of wit appeared in him, the more beastly and wretched doth it declare their cruel and tyrannical act therein. The Lord give them repentance therefore, if it be his blessed will! Amen, Amen.

376. William Seaman, Thomas Carman, and Thomas Hudson.

Immediately after William Nichol, succeeded in that honourable and glorious vocation of martyrdom, three constant godly men at Norwich, in Norfolk; who were cruelly and tyrannically put to death for the true testimony of Jesus Christ, the nineteenth of May, anno 1558, whose names be these: William Seaman, Thomas Carman, and Thomas Hudson.

The said William Seaman was a husbandman, of the age of twenty-six years, dwelling in Mendlesham, in the county of Suffolk, who was sundry times sought for by the commandment of Sir John Tyrrel, knight, and at last he himself in the night searched his house and other places for him; notwithstanding he somewhat missed of his purpose, God be thanked. Then he gave charge to his servants, Robert Baulding and James Clarke, with others, to seek for him; who, having no officer, went in the evening to his house, where he being at home, they took him and carried him to their master, Sir John Tyrrel. This Baulding, being Seaman's nigh neighbour, and whom the said Seaman greatly trusted as a special friend, notwithstanding, (to do his master a pleasure,) now became enemy to his chief friend, and was one of the busiest in the taking of him. Now as they were going to carry him to their master Sir John Tyrrel in the night, it is credibly reported that there fell a light between them out of the element, and parted them, this Baulding being in company with the rest when the light fell; and albeit he was then in his best age, yet after that time never enjoyed good day, but pined away even to death.

Well, for all that strange sight, (as I said,) they carried him to their master; who, when he came, asked him why he would not go to mass, and receive the sacrament, and so to worship it? Unto which William Seaman answered, denying it to be a sacrament, but said it was an idol, and therefore would not receive it. After which words spoken, Sir John Tyrrel shortly sent him to Norwich, to Hopton, then bishop, and there, after conference and examination had with him, the bishop read his bloody sentence of condemnation against him; and afterward delivered him to the secular power, who kept him unto the day of martyrdom.

This said William Seaman left behind him when he died, a wife and three children very young: and with the said young children his wife was persecuted out of the said town also of Mendlesham, because that she would not go to hear mass: and all her corn and goods [were] seized and taken away by Master Christopher Coles's officers, he being lord of the said town.

Thomas Carman, (who, as is said, pledged Richard Crashfield at his burning, and thereupon was apprehended,) being prisoner in Norwich, was, about one time with the rest, examined and brought before the said bishop, who answered no less in his Master's cause than the other; and therefore had the like reward that the other had, which was the bishop's bloody blessing of condemnation; and [was] delivered also to the secular power, who kept him with the other until the day of slaughter, which hastened on, and was not long after.

Thomas Hudson was of Aylsham, in Norfolk, by his occupation a glover, a very honest poor man, having a wife and three children, labouring always truly and diligently in his vocation, being of thirty years of age; and hearing so good a will to the gospel, that he in the days of King Edward the Sixth, two years before Queen Mary's reign, learned to read English of Anthony and Thomas Norgate, of the same town, wherein he greatly profited about the time of alteration of religion. For when Queen Mary came to reign, and had changed the service in the church, putting in for wheat, draff and darnel, and for good preaching, blasphemous crying out against truth and godliness; he then, avoiding all their ceremonies of superstition, absented himself from his house, and went into Suffolk a long time, and there remained travelling from one place to another, as occasion was offered. At the last he returned back again to Norfolk, to his house at Aylsham, to comfort his wife and children, being heavy, and troubled with his absence.

Now when he came home, and perceived his continuance there would be dangerous, he and his wife devised to make him a place among his faggots to hide himself in, where he remained all the day (instead of his chamber) reading and praying continually, for the space of half a year, and his wife, like an honest woman being careful for him, used herself faithfully and diligently towards him.

In the mean time came the vicar of the town, named Berry, (who was one of the bishop's commissaries, a very evil man,) and inquired of this said Thomas Hudson's wife, for her husband: unto whom she answered, as not knowing where he was. Then the said Berry rated her, and threatened to burn her, for that she would not bewray her husband where he was. After that when Hudson understood it, he waxed every day more zealous than other, and continually read and sang psalms to the wonder of many, the people openly resorting to him, to hear his exhortations and vehement prayers.

At the last he walked abroad for certain days openly in the town, crying out continually against the mass and all their trumpery, and in the end, coming home in his house, he sat him down upon his knees, having his book by him, reading and singing psalms continually without ceasing for three days and three nights together, refusing meat and other talk, to the great wonder of many.

Then one John Crouch, his next neighbour, went to the constables Robert Marsham and Robert Lawes, in the night, to certify them thereof; for Berry commanded openly to watch for him: and the constables, understanding the same, went cruelly to catch him in the break of the day, the twenty-second of the month of April, anno 1558.

Now when Hudson saw them come in, he said, "Now mine hour is come. Welcome friends, welcome! You be they that shall lead me to life in Christ. I thank God there-for, and the Lord enable me thereto for his mercy's sake." For his desire was, and ever he prayed, (if it were the Lord's will,) that he might suffer for the gospel of Christ.

Then they took him, and led him to Berry, the commissary, which was vicar of the town; and the said Berry asked him first, where he kept his church for four years

before; to the which the said Hudson answered thus: Wheresoever he was, there was the church.

"Dost thou not believe," said Berry, "in the sacrament of the altar? what is it "It is worms' meat: my belief," saith Hudson, "is Christ crucified." "Dost thou not believe the mass to put away sins? "No, God forbid! it is a patched monster, and a disguised puppet; more longer a piecing than ever was Solomon's temple."

At which words Berry stamped, fumed, and showed himself as a mad-man, and said, "Well, thou villain, thou! I will write to the bishop my good lord: and, trust unto it, thou shalt be handled according to thy deserts." "Oh! sir," said Hudson, "there is no Lord but God, though there be many lords and many gods." With that Berry thrust him back with his hand. And one Richard Cliffar, standing by, said, "I pray you, sir, be good to the poor man." At which words Berry was more mad than before, and would have had Cliffar bound in a recognisance of forty pounds, for his good abearing both in word and deed; which his desire took no effect. Then he asked the said Hudson, whether he would recant, or no. Unto the which words Hudson said, "The Lord forbid! I had rather die many deaths than to do so."

Then, after long talk, the said Berry, seeing it booteth not to persuade with him, took his pen and ink, and wrote letters to the bishop thereof, and sent this Hudson to Norwich bound like a thief to him, which was eight miles from thence, who with joy and singing-cheer went thither, as merry as ever he was at any time before. In prison he was a month, where he did continually read, and invoke the name of God.

These three Christians and constant martyrs, William Seaman, Thomas Carman, and Thomas Hudson, after they were (as ye have heard) condemned the nineteenth day of May, anno 1558, were carried out of prison to the place where they should suffer, which was without Bishop's-gate at Norwich, called Lollard's Pit; and, being all there, they made their humble petitions unto the Lord. That being done, they rose and went to the stake; and standing all there with their chains about them, immediately this said Thomas Hudson cometh forth from them under the chain, to the great wonder of many; whereby divers feared and greatly doubted of him. For some thought he would have recanted; other judged rather that he went to ask further day, and to desire conference; and some thought he came forth to ask some of his parents' blessing. So some thought one thing, and some another: but his two companions at the stake cried out to comfort him what they could, exhorting him in the bowels of Christ to be of good cheer, &c. But this sweet Hudson felt more in his heart and conscience than they could conceive in him for, alas, good soul! he was compassed (God knoweth) with great dolour and grief of mind, not for his death, but for lack of feeling of his Christ: and therefore, being very careful, he humbly fell down upon his knees, and prayed vehemently and earnestly unto the Lord, who at the last (according to his old mercies) sent him comfort; and then rose he with great joy, as a man new changed even from death to life, and said: "Now, I thank God, I am strong, and pass not what man can do unto me." So, going to the stake to his fellows again, in the end they all suffered most joyfully, constantly, and manfully, the death together, and were consumed in fire, to the terror of the wicked, the comfort of God's children, and the magnifying of the Lord's name, who be praised there-for for ever; Amen.

Commissary Berry's wickedness and God's judgment on him.

After this, the foresaid commissary Berry made great stir about others which were suspected within the said town of Aylsham, and caused two hundred to creep to the cross at Pentecost, besides other punishments which they sustained.

On a time this Berry gave a poor man of his parish of Marsham a blow with the swingel of a flail, for a word-speaking, that presently thereon he died; and the said Berry, as is said, held up his hand at the bar there-for.

Then, after that, in his parish of Aylsham also, anno 1557, there was one Alice Oxes came to his house, and going into the hall, he, meeting her, (being before moved,) smote her with his fist, whereby she was fain to be carried home, and the next day was found dead in her chamber.

To write how many concubines and whores he had, none would believe it, but such as knew him in the country where he dwelt. He was rich, and of great authority, a great swearer, altogether given to women, and persecuting the gospel, and compelling men to idolatry.

One John Norgate, a man learned, godly, and zealous, who would not go to their trash, but rather die, being sore hunted by the said Berry, prayed heartily to God, and the Lord shortly after in a consumption delivered him.

Notwithstanding the rage of this wicked man waxed fiercer and fiercer. He troubled sundry men, burnt all good books that he could get, and divorced many men and women for religion.

When he heard say that Queen Mary was dead, and the glory of their triumph quailed, the Sunday after, being the nineteenth of November, anno 1558, he made a great feast, and had one of his concubines there, with whom he was in his chamber after dinner, until even-song. Then went he to church, where he had ministered baptism; and in going from church homeward after even-song, between the churchyard and his house, being but a little space, (as it were a churchyard breadth asunder,) he fell down suddenly to the ground with a heavy groan, and never stirred after, neither showed any one token of repentance.

This happened his neighbours being by, to the example of all others. The Lord grant we may observe his judgments! And those that had his great riches, since his death have so consumed with them, that they be poorer now, than they were before they had his goods: such judgment hath the Lord executed to the eyes of all men.

At that time one Dunning, chancellor of Lincoln, (which in some part of Queen Mary's days was chancellor of Norwich, and a very merciless tyrant as lived,) died in Lincolnshire of as sudden a warning as the said Berry did.

Thus have I showed thee, good reader, the constancy, boldness, and glorious victory, of these happy martyrs; as also the tyrannical cruelty of that unfortunate commissary, and his terrible end.

The Lord grant we may all effectually honour the judgments of God, and fear to displease his holy Majesty, Amen.

The persecution of Mother Seaman.

About this time, or somewhat before, was one Joan Seaman, mother to the aforesaid William Seaman, being of the age of threescore and six years, persecuted of the said Sir John Tyrrel also, out of the town of Mendlesham aforesaid, because she would not go to mass and receive against her conscience; which good old woman being from her house, was glad sometimes to lie in bushes, groves, and fields, and sometimes in her neighbour's house, when she could. And her husband being at home, about the age of eighty years, fell sick; and she, hearing thereof, with speed returned home to her house again, not regarding her life, but considering her duty; and showed her diligence to her husband most faithfully, until God took him away by death. Then by God's providence she fell sick also, and departed this life within her own house shortly after.

And when one Master Symonds the commissary heard of it, dwelling thereby in a town called Thorndon, he commanded straitly that she should be buried in no Christian burial, (as they call it,) where-through her friends were compelled to lay her in a pit, under a moat's side. Her husband and she kept a good house, and had a good report amongst their neighbours, willing always to receive strangers, and to comfort the poor and sick; and lived together in the holy estate of matrimony very honestly above forty years. And she departed this life willingly and joyfully, with a stedfast faith, and a good remembrance of God's promises in Christ Jesus.

377. Mother Benet.

In the said time of Queen Mary, there dwelt in the town of Wetheringset by Mendlesham aforesaid, a very honest woman called Mother Benet, a widow, which was persecuted out of the same town, because she would not go to mass, and other their beggarly ceremonies; but, at the last, she returned home again secretly to her house, and there departed this life joyfully. But Sir John Tyrrel, and Master Symonds the commissary, would not let her be buried in the churchyard: so was she laid in a grave by the highway side.

The same good old woman Mother Benet, in the time of persecution, met one of the said Mother Seaman's neighbours, and asked her how the said Mother Seaman did; and she answered, that she did very well, God be thanked. "Oh!" said she, "Mother Seaman hath stept a great step before me; for she was never covetous, that I could perceive."

Her husband in his mirth would say unto her, "O woman! if thou wert sparing, thou mightest have saved me a hundred marks more than thou hast:" to the which she would answer again gently, and say, "O man! be content, and let us be thankful; for God hath given us enough, if we can see it. Alas, good husband!" would she say, "I tell you truth; I cannot firkin up my butter, and keep my cheese in the chamber and wait a great price, and let the poor want, and so displease God. But, husband, let us be rich in good works, and so shall we please the Lord, and have all good things given us," &c. This good woman, of that vice of covetousness, of all that knew her, was adjudged least to be spotted, of any infirmity she had. The Lord root it out of the hearts of them that be infected therewith, Amen!

378. Three Colchester Martyrs.

Thou hast heard, good reader, of the forenamed three that were burnt at Norwich, whose blood quenched not the persecuting thirst of the papists: for immediately after, even the same month, upon the twenty-sixth day, was seen the like murder also at Colchester in Essex of two men and a woman, lying there in prison appointed ready to the slaughter; who were brought forth the same day unto a place prepared for them to suffer, and accordingly gave their lives for the testimony of the truth, whose names likewise hereafter follow: William Harris, Richard Day, and Christian George, martyrs.

These three good souls were brought unto the stake, and there joyfully and fervently had made their prayers unto the Lord.

At the last, being settled in their places, and chained unto their posts, with the fire flaming fiercely round about them, they like constant Christians triumphantly praised God within the same, and offered up their bodies a lively sacrifice unto his holy Majesty; in whose habitation they have now their everlasting tabernacles: his name therefore be praised for evermore, Amen.

The said Christian George's husband had another wife burnt before this Christian, whose name was Agnes George, which suffered, as you have heard, with the thirteen at Stratford-le-Bow. And after the death of the said Christian, he married an honest godly woman again; and so they both (I mean the said Richard George and his last wife) in the end, were taken also, and laid in prison, where they remained till the death of Queen Mary, and at last were delivered by our most gracious sovereign lady Queen Elizabeth, whom the Lord grant long to reign among us, for his mercies' sake, Amen.

379. Proclamation against Godly Books.

In the month of June came out a certain proclamation, short but sharp, from the king and the queen, against wholesome and godly books, which, under the false title of heresy and sedition, here in the said proclamations were wrongfully condemned.

"Whereas divers books, filled both with heresy, sedition, and treason, have of late, and be daily brought into this realm out of foreign countries and places beyond the seas, and some also covertly printed within this realm, and cast abroad in sundry parts thereof, whereby not only God is dishonoured, but also an encouragement given to disobey lawful princes and governors: the king and queen's Majesties, for redress hereof, do by this their present proclamation declare and publish to all their subjects, that whosoever shall, after the proclaiming hereof, be found to have any of the said wicked and seditious books, or finding them, do not forthwith burn the same, without showing or reading the same to any other person, shall in that case be reputed and taken for a rebel, and shall without delay be executed for that offence, according to the order of martial law.

"Given at our manor of St. James's the sixth day of June.

"JOHN CAWOOD, printer."

380. Thirteen Islington Martyrs.



The Islington Assembly

Secretly, in a back close, in the field by the town of Islington, were collected and assembled together, a certain company of godly and innocent persons, to the number of forty men and women, who there sitting together at prayer, and virtuously occupied in the meditation of God's holy word, first cometh a certain man to them unknown; who, looking over unto them, so stayed, and saluted them, saying, that they looked like men that meant no hurt. Then one of the said company asked the man, if he could tell whose close that was, and whether they might be so bold there to sit. "Yea," said he, "for that ye seem unto me such persons as intend no harm; "and so departed. Within a quarter of an hour after, cometh the constable of Islington named King, warded; with six or seven others accompanying him in the same business, one with a bow, another with a bill, and others with their weapons likewise; the which six or seven persons the said constable left a little behind him in a close place, there to be ready if need should be, while he, with one with him, should go view them before; who, so doing, came through them, looking and viewing what they were doing, and what books they had; and so, going a little forward, and returning back again, bade them deliver their books. They, understanding that he was constable, refused not so to

do. With that cometh forth the residue of his fellows above touched, who bade them stand and not depart. They answered again, they would be obedient and ready to go whithersoever they would have them; and so were they first carried to a brewhouse but a little way off, while that some of the said soldiers ran to the justice next at hand: but the justice was not at home; whereupon they were had to Sir Roger Cholmley. In the mean time some of the women, being of the same number of the foresaid forty persons, escaped away from them, some in the close, some before they came to the brewhouse. For so they were carried, ten with one man, eight with another; and with some more, with some less, in such sort as it was not hard for them to escape that would. In fine, they that were carried to Sir Roger Cholmley, were twenty-seven; which Sir Roger Cholmley and the recorder taking their names in a bill, and calling them one by one, so many as answered to their names he sent to Newgate. In the which number of them that answered, and that were sent to Newgate, were twenty-and-two.

These two-and-twenty were in the said prison of Newgate seven weeks before they were examined, to whom word was sent by Alexander the keeper, that if they would hear a mass, they should all be delivered. Of these foresaid two-and-twenty, were burnt thirteen; in Smithfield seven, at Brentford six.

In prison two died in Whitsun-week, the names of whom were Matthew Wythers and T. Taylor.

Seven of them which remained, escaped with their lives hardly, although not without much trouble, yet (as God would) without burning; whose names were these: John Willes, Thomas Hinshaw, R. Baily, woolpacker; Robert Willes, * * * Hudleys, T. Coast, haberdasher; and Roger Sandy.

The first seven were brought forth to examination before Bonner; and so having their condemnation, were burnt (as is said) in Smithfield. The other six followed not long after, and suffered at Brentford, whereof specially here followeth now in order of story to be seen.

The examination and condemnation of seven godly and faithful martyrs of Christ, burnt in Smithfield.

Concerning the examination and condemnation of these abovesaid, which were apprehended and taken at Islington, seven were first produced before Bonner the fourteenth of June, to make answer to such articles and interrogatories as by the said bishop should be ministered unto them. The names of these seven were Henry Pond, Reinald Eastland, Robert Southam, Matthew Ricarby, John Floyd, John Holiday, Roger Holland: and to these seven constant and godly martyrs, produced before Bonner, certain articles were ministered in this effect as followeth.

"First, That ye, being within the city and diocese of London, have not, according to the common custom of the catholic church of this realm of Eng. land, come to your own parish church, nor yet to the cathedral church of this city and diocese of London, to hear devoutly and Christianly the matins, the mass, the

evensong, sung or said there in the Latin tongue, after the common usage and manner of the church of this realm.

"2. That ye have not come to any of the said churches to pray, to go in procession, or to exercise yourselves there in godly and laudable exercises.

"3. That you have not conformed yourselves duly to all the laudable customs, rites, and ceremonies of any the said churches.

"4. Ye have not been confessed at due times and places to your own curate, of your sins.

"5. Ye have not received at your said curate's hands (as of the minister of Christ) absolution of your sins.

"6. You have not at due times and places of your curate received reverently and duly the sacrament of the altar.

"7. Ye have not faithfully and truly believed, that in the said sacrament of the altar, there is really and truly the very body and blood of Christ.

"8. Ye have not by your mouth, nor otherwise by your deed, expressed or declared in any wise, that ye without wavering or doubting do think and believe, that the faith and religion now observed in the church of England, is a true faith and religion in all points.

"9. Ye have not made any signification that you do indeed approve, or allow in any wise, the common service in Latin, here observed and kept in the church of this realm of England.

"10. Ye have not believed, nor do believe at this present, that the service in Latin, commonly used and observed in the church of this realm, is good and lawful, and not against the word of God.

"11. Ye have in times past liked, allowed, and approved as good and godly, and so do like, allow, and approve at this present, the service in English, the Books of Common Prayer, the Books of Communion, the religion set forth and used in the time of King Edward the Sixth; especially as it was set forth and used in the latter days of the said King Edward.

"12. Ye have in times past been very desirous, and so are at this present, that the said English service, the said Book of Common Prayer, the said Book of Communion, and the said religion and faith so set forth and used in King Edward's time, might now again be restored, set forth, and used, and yourself freely at your liberty, without any restraint or lets to use it; and also in all points and things to do therein, as ye did, especially in the latter days of the said Edward the Sixth.

"13. Ye have of late been charitably sent to from me the bishop of London, and also by mouth exhorted, that whereas of late you did leave your churches, and went in the time of divine service into the fields and profane places, to read English

Psalms, and certain English books, ye would leave off that; and, being out of prison, and at your liberty, come into your own parish churches, there to hear matins, mass, and evensong, after the common order of the churches of this realm; and to make due confession of your sins to your own curate, and receive at his hands (as of the minister of Christ, having therein sufficient authority) absolution of your sins; hear mass; receive the sacrament of the altar with a true faith, according to the belief of the catholic church; and observe all other the rites and customs of the said catholic church used in this realm of England, as well in going in procession after the cross, as also otherwise generally.

"14. Ye, being so required, have refused and do refuse so to do, saying, amongst other vain and light words, that forasmuch as ye were imprisoned by the space of six weeks, not knowing wherewith ye were charged, your petition should be and was, that ye might first answer to your former cause, and then ye would be ready to answer me (the said bishop) to all that by me should be laid to your charge."

Unto the which articles all the forenamed seven, only Reinald Eastland excepted, made answer in effect as hereafter followeth.

The answers of the forenamed persons to the articles aforesaid.

"To the first article they answered affirmatively; Roger Holland adding, that he came not to their Latin service these two years before.

"Matthew Ricarby added, that he came not to the church since Latin service was renewed, because it is against the word of God, and idolatry is committed in creeping to the cross.

"Henry Pond added, if he had licence then to go to church, he would not.

"To the second they all answered affirmatively; Henry Pond adding as in the first article. John Floyd added, that the Latin service then used, was set up by man, and not by God: and this he learned (he said) in King Edward's days, which be believed to be true. Robert Southam added, that he refused to come to church, because it is furnished with idols, and because the sacrament of the altar he believed to be an idol.

"To the third they all answered affirmatively: for they said, that the customs, rites, and ceremonies of the church then used, are not agreeable to God's word.

"To the fourth and fifth they all answered affirmatively, adding, that they believed no priest hath power to remit sin.

"To the sixth John Holiday, Henry Pond, and Robert Southam answered, that since the queen's Majesty's reign (but Robert Southam added, not for ten years before) they had [not] received the sacrament of the altar, either at their curate's hands, or any other priest's. John Floyd, Matthew Ricarby, and Roger Holland answered

affirmatively, adding, in effect, that the sacrament of the altar is no sacrament approved by the word of God, &c.

"To the seventh, they all confessed the contents thereof to be true in every part; Henry Pond adding, that he knoweth not, nor believeth any such sacrament, called the sacrament of the altar; but confesseth the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and believeth that to be approved. John Floyd added, that those that kneel to and worship the sacrament of the altar, commit idolatry, &c.

"To the eighth, ninth, and tenth, they all confessed the contents of those articles to be true. But John Holiday, Henry Pond, and John Floyd added, that they do allow the Latin service for them that understand the same, so far as it agreeth with God's word: for some part thereof is not agreeable to God's word (they said); but to such as do not understand the said service in Latin, they do not allow it, for it doth not profit them. Robert Southam added and said, that it was a fond question to ask a simple man, whether the Latin service be good and lawful. Matthew Ricarby and Roger Holland denied the service in Latin to be good.

"To the eleventh, they all confessed the same to be true in every part; saving Henry Pond and Matthew Ricarby, who answered in effect, that they could not judge thereof, but leave them to be tried by the word of God.

"To the twelfth, they granted and confessed the same to be true, and desired of God that the service were in the English again.

"To the thirteenth, they all granted and confessed the same to be true.

"To the fourteenth article, they all granted and confessed the same to be true in every part."

Thus have ye the answers of these men to the foresaid articles, save that Reinald Eastland, required to answer thereunto, refused so to do, alleging that he knoweth that to end a strife an oath is lawful, but to begin a strife an oath is not lawful; and therefore he now refuseth to take his oath in the beginning of this matter against him. Whereupon being charged by the bishop, he said for his not answering to the articles, he was content to stand unto the order of the law for his punishment; whatsoever it should be.

The seventeenth day after of the said month of June, the said Eastland appeared again before the bishop, who, standing firm in that he had said before, denied to make any answer in that case, &c.; whereupon the said Eastland, with the other six, his fellow prisoners, were assigned by the bishop to repair again to the same place at afternoon, who being there present in the foresaid consistory as they were commanded, and standing all together before the said bishop, he, beginning thus with them, asked them, if he had committed them to prison: they said, No; but Master Cholmley and the recorder of London committed them to Newgate.

Then being demanded further by the bishop, if he had done any thing or act to keep them in prison, or to hinder their liberty from prison; to this they answered, they could not tell. Then the foresaid articles being again recited to them, all they answered

and knowledged them to be the articles, and that they would stand to their answers made to the same. Whereupon the bishop, dissevering them apart one from another, proceeded with them severally, first beginning with Reinald Eastland, who there declared that he had been uncharitably handled and talked withal since his first imprisonment in that behalf. Then being required to reconcile himself again to the catholic faith, and go from his opinions, he said, that he knew nothing why he should recant; and therefore would not conform himself in that behalf. And so the sentence was read against him, and he given to the secular power.

After him was called in John Holiday, who likewise being advertised to renounce his heresies, (as they called them,) and to return to the unity of their church, said, that he was no heretic, nor did hold any heresy, neither any opinion contrary to the catholic faith, and so would offer himself to be judged therein. Whereupon he likewise persisting in the same, the sentence was pronounced against him, condemning him to be burnt.

Next to him was condemned, with the like sentence, Henry Pond, because he would not submit to the Romish church, saying to Bonner, that he had done or spoken nothing whereof he was or would be sorry; but that he did hold the truth of God, and no heresy, &c.

After whom next followed John Floyd, who likewise denied to be of the pope's church, and said his mind of the Latin service, that the prayers made to saints are idolatry, and that the service to Latin is profitable to none, but only to such as understand the Latin. Moreover, being charged by Bonner of heresy, and saying, that whatsoever he and such others now-a-days do, all is heresy; for this he was condemned with the same butcherly sentence, and so by the secular power was sent away.

Then Robert Southam, after him Matthew Ricarby, and last of all Roger Holland, were severally produced.

Thus Roger Holland with his fellows (as ye heard) standing to their answers, and refusing to acknowledge the doctrine of the Romish church, were all together condemned, the sentence being read against them; and so all seven, by secular magistrates being sent away to Newgate the seventeenth of June, not long after, about the twenty-seventh day of the said month, were had to Smithfield, and there ended their lives in the glorious cause of Christ's gospel; whose particular examinations came not to our hands; saving only the examinations of Roger Holland, which here follow in order and manner as we received them by the information of certain who were present at the same.

The examinations and condemnation of Roger Holland, martyr.



Roger Holland with the maid Elizabeth

THIS Roger Holland, a merchant-tailor of London, was first an apprentice with one Master Kempton, at the Black Boy in Watling Street, where he served his apprenticeship with much trouble unto his master in breaking him from his licentious liberty, which he had before been trained and brought up in, giving himself to riot, as dancing, fencing, gaming, banquetiwandfong wanton company; and besides all this, being a stubborn and an obstinate papist, far unlike to come to any such end as God called him unto; the which was as followeth:--

His master, notwithstanding this his lewdness, putting him in trust with his accounts, he had received for him certain money, to the sum of thirty pounds; and falling into ill company, lost the said money every groat at dice, being past all hope which way to answer it; and therefore he purposed to convey himself away beyond the seas, either into France or into Flanders.

Now having determined with himself thus to do, he called betimes in the morning to a servant in the house, an ancient and discreet maid, whose name was Elizabeth, which professed the gospel, with a life agreeing unto the same, and at all times much rebuking the wilful and obstinate papistry, as also the licentious living of this Roger Holland: to whom he said, Elizabeth, I would I had followed thy gentle persuasions and friendly rebukes; which if I had done, I had never come to this shame and misery which I am now fallen into; for this night have I lost thirty pounds of my master's money, which to pay him, and to make up mine accounts, I am not able. But thus much I pray you, desire my mistress, that she would entreat my master to take this bill of my hand, that I am thus much indebted unto him; and if I be ever able, I will see him paid: desiring him that the matter may pass with silence, and that none of my kindred nor friends may ever understand this my lewd part; for if it should come unto my father's ears, it would bring his grey hairs over-soon unto his grave." And so was he departing.

The maid considering that it might be his utter undoing, "Stay," said she; and having a piece of money lying by her, given unto her by the death of a kinsman of hers, (who, as it was thought, was Dr. Redman,) she brought unto him thirty pounds, saying, "Roger, here is thus much money; I will let thee have it, and I will keep this bill. But since I do thus much for thee, to help thee, and to save thy honesty, thou shalt promise me to refuse all lewd and wild company, all swearing and ribaldry talk; and if ever I know thee to play one twelve-pence at either dice or cards, then will I show this thy bill unto my master And furthermore, thou shalt promise me to resort every day to the lecture at All-hallows, and the sermon at Paul's every Sunday, and to cast away all thy books of papistry and vain ballads, and get thee the Testament and Book of Service, and read the Scriptures with reverence and fear, calling unto God still, for his grace to direct thee in his truth. And pray unto God fervently, desiring him to pardon thy former offences, and not to remember the sins of thy youth; and ever be afraid to break his laws, or offend his majesty. Then shall God keep thee, and send thee thy heart's desire."

After this time, within one half year God had wrought such a change in this man, that he was become an earnest professor of the truth, and detested all papistry and evil company; so that he was in admiration to all them that had known him, and seen his former life and wickedness.

Then he repaired into Lancashire unto his father, and brought divers good books with him, and bestowed them upon his friends, so that his father and others began to taste of the gospel, and to detest the mass, idolatry, and superstition; and in the end his father gave him a stock of money to begin the world withal, to the sum of fifty pounds.

Then he repaired to London again, and came to the maid that lent him the money to pay his master withal, and said unto her, "Elizabeth, here is thy money I borrowed of thee; and for the friendship, good will, and the good counsel I have received at thy hands, to recompense thee I am not able, otherwise than to make thee my wife." And soon after they were married, which was in the first year of Queen Mary. And having a child by her, he caused Master Rose to baptize his said child in his own house. Notwithstanding he was bewrayed unto the enemies, and he being gone into the country to convey the child away, that the papists should not have it in

their anointing hands, Bonner caused his goods to be seized upon, and most cruelly used his wife.

After this he remained closely in the city, and in the country, in the congregations of the faithful, until the last year of Queen Mary. Then he, with the six others aforesaid, were taken in, or not far from, St. John's Wood, and so brought to Newgate upon May-day, in the morning, anno 1558.

Then being called before the bishop, Dr. Chedsey, both the Harpsfields, and certain others, after many other fair and crafty persuasions of Dr. Chedsey, to allure him to their Babylonical church, thus the bishop began with him.

"Holland, I for my part do wish well unto thee, and the more for thy friends' sake. And, as Dr. Standish telleth me, you and he were both born in one parish, and he knoweth your father to be a very honest catholic gentleman. And Master Doctor told me, that he talked with you a year ago; and found you very wilfully addict to your own conceit. Divers of the city also have showed me of you, that you have been a great procurer of men's servants to be of your religion, and to come to your congregations. But since you be now in the danger of the law, I would wish you to play a wise man's part; so shall you not want any favour I can do or procure for you, both for your own sake, and also for your friends', which be men of worship and credit, and wish you well: and by my troth, Roger, so do I."

Then said Master Eglestone, a gentleman of Lancashire, and near kinsman to Roger, being there present, "I thank your good Lordship; your Honour meaneth good unto my cousin; I beseech God he have the grace to follow your counsel."

Holland.--"Sir, you crave of God you know not what. I beseech God to open your eyes to see the light of his word."

Eglestone.--"Roger, hold your peace, lest you fare the worse at my Lord's hands." *Holland.*--"No, I shall fare as it pleaseth

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ASTICAL HISTORY. [A. D. 1558.

God; for man can do no more than God doth permit him."

Then the bishop and the doctors, with Johnson the registrar, casting their heads together, in the end saith Johnson, "Roger, how sayest thou? wilt thou submit thyself unto my Lord, before thou be entered into the book of contempt?"

Holland.--"I never meant but to submit myself unto the magistrate, as I learn of St. Paul to the Romans, chap. xiii.; "and so he recited the text.

Chedsey.--"Then I see you are no Anabaptist."

Holland.--"I mean not yet to be a papist; for they and the Anabaptists agree in this point, not to submit themselves to any other prince or magistrate than those that must first be sworn to maintain them and their doings."

Chedsey.--"Roger, remember what I have said, and also what my Lord hath promised he will perform with further friendship. Take heed, Roger, for your ripeness of wit hath brought you into these errors."

Holland.--"Master Doctor, I have yet your words in memory, though they are of no such force to prevail with me."

Then they whispered together again, and at the last said Bonner, "Roger, I perceive thou wilt be ruled by no good counsel, for any thing that either I, or your friends, or any others can say."

Holland.--"I may say to you, my Lord, as Paul said to Felix and unto the Jews, as doth appear in Acts xxii., and in 1 Cor. xv. It is not unknown unto my master whom I was apprentice withal, that I was of this your blind religion that now is taught, and therein did obstinately and wilfully remain, until the latter end of King Edward, in a manner; having that liberty under your auricular confession, that I made no conscience of sin, but trusted in the priest's absolution, he for money doing some penance also for me, which after I had given, I cared no further what offences I did, no more than he passed, after he had my money, whether he tasted bread and water for me, or no; so that lechery, swearing, and all other vices I accounted no offence of danger, so long as I could for money have them absolved. So straitly did I observe your rules of religion, that I would have ashes upon Ash Wednesday, though I had used never so much wickedness at night. And albeit I could not of conscience eat flesh upon the Friday, yet in swearing, drinking, or dicing all the night long, I made no conscience at all. And thus was I brought up, and herein have I continued till now of late, that God hath opened the light of his word, and called me by his grace to repentance of my former idolatry and wicked life: for in Lancashire their blindness and whoredom is over-much more than may with chaste ears be heard. Yet these my friends, which are not clear in these notable crimes, think the priest with his mass can save them, though they blaspheme God, and keep concubines besides their wives, as long as they live. Yea, I know some priests very devout, my Lord, yet such as have six or seven children by four or five sundry women.

"Master Doctor, now to your antiquity, unity, and universality," for these Dr. Chedsey alleged as notes and tokens of their religion, "I am unlearned. I have no sophistry to shift my reasons withal; but the truth I trust I have, which needeth no painted colours to set her forth. The antiquity of our church is not from Pope Nicholas, or Pope Joan! but our church is from the beginning, even from the time that God said unto Adam, that the seed of the woman should break the serpent's head; and so to faithful Noah; to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, to whom it was promised, that their seed should multiply as the stars in the sky; and so to Moses, David, and all the holy fathers that were from the beginning, unto the birth of our Saviour Christ. All they that believed these promises, were of the church, though the number were oftentimes but few and small; as in Elias's days, when he thought there were none but he that had not bowed their knees to Baal, when God had reserved seven thousand that never had bowed their knees to that idol: as I trust there be seven hundred thousand more than I

know of, that have not bowed their knees to the idol your mass, and your god Maozim; the upholding whereof is your bloody cruelty, whiles you daily persecute Elias and the servants of God, forcing them (as Daniel was in his chamber) closely to serve the Lord their God; and even as we by this your cruelty are forced in the fields to pray unto God, that his holy word may be once again truly preached amongst us, and that he would mitigate and shorten these idolatrous and bloody days, wherein all cruelty reigneth. Moreover, our church hath been the apostles and evangelists, the martyrs and confessors of Christ, that have at all times and in all ages been persecuted for the true testimony of the word of God. But for the upholding of your church and religion, what antiquity can you show? Yea, the mass, that idol and chief pillar of your religion, is not yet four hundred years old; and some of your masses are younger, as that mass of St. Thomas Becket the traitor, wherein you pray that you may be saved by the blood of St. Thomas. And as for your Latin service, what are we of the laity the better for it? I think he that should hear your priests mumble up their service, although he did well understand Latin, yet should he understand few words thereof; the priests do so champ them and chew them, and post so fast, that neither they understand what they say, nor they that hear them; and in the mean time the people, when they should pray with the priest, are set to their beads to pray our Lady's Psalter. So crafty is Satan to devise these his dreams (which you defend with faggot and fire) to quench the light of the word of God; which, as David saith, should be a lantern to our feet. And again, Wherein shall a young man direct his ways, but by the word of God? and yet you will hide it from us in a tongue unknown. St. Paul had rather in the church to have five words spoken with understanding, than ten thousand in an unknown tongue; and yet will you have your Latin service and praying in a strange tongue, whereof the people are utterly ignorant, to be of such antiquity?

"The Greek church, and a good part of Christendom besides, never received your service in an unknown tongue, but in their own natural language, which all the people understand; neither yet your transubstantiation, your receiving all alone, your purgatory, your images, &c.

"As for the unity which is in your church, what is it else but treason, murder, poisoning one another, idolatry, superstition, wickedness? What unity was in your church, when there were three popes at once? Where was your head of unity, when you had a woman-pope?"...

Here he was interrupted, and could not be suffered to proceed; but, saith the bishop, "Roger, these thy words are very blasphemy, and by the means of thy friends thou hast been suffered to speak, and art over malapert to teach any here. Therefore, keeper, take him away." lation, I think. It is of your own translation, it is according to the great Bible."

Bonner.--"How say you? How do you know it is the Testament of Christ, but only by the church? for the church of Rome hath and doth preserve it, and out of the same hath made decrees, ordinances, and true expositions." -

"No," saith Roger, "the church of Rome hath and doth suppress the reading of the Testament. And what a true exposition (I pray you) did the pope make thereof, when he set his foot on the emperor's neck, and said, Thou shalt walk upon the lion and the asp: the young lion and the dragon shalt thou tread under thy foot?"

The day that Henry Pond and the rest were brought forth to be again examined, Dr. Chedsey said, "Roger, I trust you have now better considered of the church than you did before."

Holland.--"I consider thus much: that out of the church there is no salvation, as divers ancient doctors say."

Bonner.--"That is well said. Master Eglestone, I trust your kinsman will be a good catholic man. But Roger, you mean, I trust, the church of Rome?"

Holland.--"I mean that church which hath Christ for her Head; which also hath his word, and his sacraments according to his word and institution."

Then Chedsey interrupted him, and said, "Is that a Testament you have in your hand?"

Holland.--"Yea, Master Doctor, it is the New Testament. You will find no fault with the translation, I think. It is of your own translation, it is according to the great Bible."

Bonner.--"How say you? How do you know it is the Testament of Christ, but only by the church? for the church of Rome hath and doth preserve it, and out of the same hath made decrees, ordinances, and true expositions."

"No," saith Roger, "the church of Rome hath and doth suppress the reading of the Testament. And what a true exposition (I pray you) did the pope make thereof, when he set his foot on the emperor's neck, and said, Thou shalt walk upon the lion and the asp: the young lion and the dragon shalt thou tread under thy foot?"

Then said the bishop, "Such unlearned wild heads as thou and others, would be expositors of the Scripture. Would you then the ancient learned (as there be some here, as well as I) should be taught of you?"

Holland.--"Youth delighteth in vanity. My wildness hath been somewhat the more by your doctrine, than ever I learned out of this book of God. But, my Lord, I suppose some of the old doctors say, If a poor layman bring his reason and argument out of the word of God, he is to be credited afore the learned, though they be never so great doctors: for the gift of knowledge was taken from the learned doctors, and given to poor fishermen. Notwithstanding, I am ready to be instructed by the church."

Bonner.--"That is very well said, Roger: but you must understand that the church of Rome is the catholic church. Roger, for thy friends' sake, (I promise thee,) I wish thee well, and I mean to do thee good.-- Keeper! see he want nothing. Roger, if thou lack any money to pleasure thee, I will see thou shalt not want."

This he spake unto him alone, his fellows being apart, with many other fair promises; and so he was sent to prison again.

[The last examination of Roger Holland was, when he with his fellow prisoners were brought into the consistory, and there excommunicated all, saving Roger, and ready to have their sentence of judgment given, with many threatening words to fear them withal: the Lord Strange, Sir Thomas Jarret, Master Eglestone, esquire, and divers other of worship both of Cheshire and Lancashire, that were Roger Holland's kinsmen and friends, being there present, which had been earnest suitors to the bishop in his favour, hoping for his safety of life. Now the bishop, hoping yet to win him with his fair and flattering words, began after this manner:]

Bonner.--"Roger, I have divers times called thee before home to my house, and have conferred with thee; and being not learned in the Latin tongue, it doth appear unto me thou art of a good memory, and of a very sensible talk, but something over-hasty, which is a natural disease to some men. And surely they are not the worst-natured men: for I myself shall now and then be hasty, but mine anger is soon past. So, Roger, surely I have a good opinion of you, that you will not with these lewd fellows cast yourself headlong from the church of your parents and your friends that are here (very good catholics, as it is reported unto me). And as I mean thee good, so, Roger, play the wise man's part, and come home with the lost son, and say, 'I have run into the church of schismatics and heretics, from the catholic church of Rome;' and you shall, I warrant you, not only find favour at God's hands, but the church, that hath authority, shall absolve you, and put new garments upon you, and kill the fatling to make thee good cheer withal; that is, in so doing, as meat doth refresh and cherish the mind, so shalt thou find as much quietness of conscience in coming home to the church, as did the hungry son that had been fed afore with the hogs, as you have done with these heretics that sever themselves from the church. I give them a homely name, but they be worse," putting his hand to his cap for reverence sake, "than hogs: for they know the church, and will not follow it. If I should say thus much to a Turk, he would (I think) believe me. But, Roger, if I did not bear thee and thy friends good will, I would not have said so much as I have done, but I would have let mine ordinary alone with you."

At these words, his friends that were there gave the bishop thanks for his good will and pains that he had taken in his and their behalf.

Bonner.--"Well, Roger, how say you? Do you not believe that after the priest hath spoken the words of consecration, there remaineth the body of Christ really and corporally under the forms of bread and wine? I mean the selfsame body that was born of the Virgin Mary, that was crucified upon the cross, that rose again the third day."

Holland.--"Your Lordship saith, the same body which was born of the Virgin Mary, which was crucified upon the cross, which rose again the third day: but you leave out, which ascended into heaven; and the Scripture saith, he shall there remain until he come to judge the quick and the dead! Then he is not contained under the forms of bread and wine, by *Hoc est corpus meum*, &c."

Bonner.--"Roger, I perceive my pains and good-will will not prevail, and if I should argue with thee, thou art so wilful, (as all thy fellows be, standing in thine own singularity and foolish conceit,) that thou wouldst still talk to no purpose this seven

years, if thou mightest be suffered. Answer whether thou wilt confess the real and corporal presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, or wilt not."

Holland.--"My Lord, although God by his sufferance hath here placed you, to set forth his truth and glory in us his faithful servants; notwithstanding, your meaning is far from the zeal of Christ: and for all your words, you have the same zeal that Annas and Caiaphas had, trusting to their authority, traditions, and ceremonies, more than to the word of God."

Bonner.--"If I should suffer him, he would fall from reasoning to railing, as a frantic heretic."

"Roger!" saith the Lord Strange, "I perceive my Lord would have you tell him whether you will submit yourself to him, or no."

"Yea," saith Bonner, "and confess this presence that I have spoken of."

With this, Roger, turning him to the Lord Strange and the rest of his kinsmen and friends, very cheerfully kneeled down upon his knees, and said, "God, by the mouth of his servant St. Paul, hath said, Let every soul submit himself unto the higher powers, and he that resisteth receiveth his own damnation: and as you are a magistrate appointed by the will of God, so do I submit myself unto you, and to all such as are appointed for magistrates."

Bonner.--"That is well said; I see you are no Anabaptist. How say you then to the presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar?"

Holland.--"I say, and beseech you all to mark and bear witness with me (for so you shall do before the judgment-seat of God) what I speak; for here is the conclusion; and ye, my dear friends, (turning him to his kinsmen,) I pray you show my father what I do say, that he may understand I am a Christian man. I say and believe, and am therein fully persuaded by the Scriptures, that the sacrament of the supper of our Lord, ministered in the holy communion according to Christ's institution, I being penitent and sorry for my sins, and minding to amend and lead a new life, and so coming worthily unto God's board in perfect love and charity, do there receive by faith the body and blood of Christ. And though Christ in his human person sit at the right hand of his Father, yet (by faith, I say) his death, his passion, his merits are mine, and by faith I dwell in him, and he in me. And as for the mass, transubstantiation, and the worshipping of the sacrament, they are mere impiety and horrible idolatry."

"I thought so much," said Bonner, suffering him to speak no more, "how he would prove a very blasphemous heretic as ever I heard. How unreverently doth he speak of the blessed mass! "And so read his bloody sentence of condemnation, adjudging him to be burnt.

All this while Roger was very patient and quiet: and when he should depart, he said, "My Lord, I beseech you suffer me to speak two words." The bishop would not hear him, but bade him away. Notwithstanding, being requested by one of his friends, he said, "Speak, what hast thou to say?"

Holland.--"Even now I told you that your authority was from God, and by his sufferance. And now I tell you, God hath heard the prayer of his servants, which hath been poured forth with tears for his afflicted saints, which daily you persecute, as now you do us. But this I dare be bold in God to speak, (which by his Spirit I am moved to say,) that God will shorten your hand of cruelty, that for a time you shall not molest his church. And this shall you in short time well perceive, my dear brethren, to be most true; for after this day, in this place, shall there not be any by him put to the trial of fire and faggot."

And after this day there was none that suffered in Smithfield for the testimony of the gospel, God be thanked.

After these words spoken, said Bonner, "Roger, thou art, I perceive, as mad in these thy heresies as ever was Joan Boucher. In anger and fume thou wouldst become a railing prophet. Though thou and all the sort of you would see me hanged, yet I shall live to burn, yea, I will burn all the sort of you that come in my hands, that will not worship the blessed sacrament of the altar, for all thy prattling." And so he went his way.

Then Roger Holland began to exhort his friends to repentance, and to think well of them that suffered for the testimony of the gospel; and with that the bishop came back, charging the keeper that no man should speak to them without his licence; and and if they did, they should be committed to prison. In the mean season Henry Pond and Roger spake still unto the people, exhorting them to stand in the truth; adding moreover, that God would shorten these cruel and evil days for his elect's sake.

The day they suffered, a proclamation was made that none should be so bold to speak or talk any word unto them, or receive any thing of them, or to touch them, upon pain of imprisonment, without either bail or mainprize; with divers other cruel threatening words, contained in the same proclamation. Notwithstanding the people cried out, desiring God to strengthen them; and they, likewise, still prayed for the people, and the restoring of his word. At length Roger, embracing the stake and the reeds, said these words:

"Lord, I most humbly thank thy Majesty, that thou hast called me from the state of death, unto the light of thy heavenly word, and now unto the fellowship of thy saints, that I may sing and say, Holy, holy, holy Lord God of hosts! And Lord, into thy hands I commit my spirit. Lord, bless these thy people, and save them from idolatry."

And so he ended his life, looking up into heaven, praying and praising God, with the rest of his fellow saints: for whose joyful constancy the Lord be praised!

The martyrdom of six which suffered at Brentford, for the true testimony of Jesus Christ.

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

Not long after the death of the forenamed seven godly martyrs that suffered in Smithfield, were six other faithful witnesses of the Lord's true testament martyred at Brentford, seven miles from London, the fourteenth day of July, 1558; which said six were of that company that were apprehended in a close hard by Islington, (as is above specified,) and sent to prison; whose names and articles proponed to them, with their answers unto the same, hereafter follow: Robert Mills, Stephen Cotton, Robert Dynes, Stephen Wight, John Slade, and William Pikes, or Pikes, a tanner, martyrs.

These six forenamed martyrs, gentle reader, had their articles ministered unto them by Thomas Darbyshire, Bonner's chancellor, at sundry times; as Robert Mills the twentieth day of June, Stephen Wight the twenty-first day of the said month, Stephen Cotton and John Slade the twenty-second day, and Robert Dynes and William Pikes the twenty-third day. At which said times, though they were severally examined, yet had they all one manner of articles ministered to them, yea, and the selfsame articles that were ministered to John Holiday, Henry. Pond, and their company aforesaid; which said articles I leave the reader to look for above in their story, and think it not necessary any more to rehearse them, but only to proceed with their answers to the same, which briefly and in sum hereafter follow.

"To the first article, they all granted the same; and added thereto for going to church, that Robert Mills and Stephen Wight came not there for three quarters of a year before, and John Slade and William Pikes not since the queen's reign, Stephen Cotton not for a twelvemonth before, and Robert Dynes not for two years before.

"The second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth, they all answered in effect, as the forenamed John Holiday, Henry Pond, and their company did, saving they added, that as their rites, customs, and ceremonies are against the word of God, so will they observe and keep no part of the same. Stephen Wight added further, that he received not their sacrament of the altar for two years before, nor John Slade and William Pikes since Queen Mary's reign, nor Stephen Cotton for a twelvemonth before, nor Robert Dynes for three years before.

"To the seventh, they all granted the same in every part like unto the aforesaid Henry Pond and his company; saving that Robert Dynes added, that it was no part of his belief.

"To the eighth, they all granted the same in every part as the forenamed William Holiday and his company: but Robert Mills added thereto, that he will not come to church, nor allow their religion, so long as the cross is crept to, and worshipped, and images are in the church. John Slade affirmed in effect as Robert Mills did; adding further, that there be not seven sacraments, but two sacraments, which are baptism and the supper of the Lord. Stephen Cotton would no further allow the popish religion, than it agreeth with God's word: and Robert Dynes affirmed in effect the like to Stephen Cotton also.

"To the ninth and tenth, Robert Mills, John Slade, and Stephen Cotton answered, that they do not allow the popish service then set forth, because it is against the truth, and in a strange language which the common people understand not. Robert Dynes and William Pikes will neither allow nor disallow the Latin service, because they understand it not. And Stephen Wight would make no direct answer to the

articles at all, and to the eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth articles we find no answers recorded of the said Stephen Wight, but of the rest of his fellow prisoners we find answers to those articles which hereafter follow.

"To the eleventh, Robert Mills, John Slade, and Stephen Cotton answered, that concerning the books, faith, and religion specified in this article, they do allow them so far forth, as they agree with God's word, &c. Robert Dynes would make no answer thereto, because he thought himself unmeet to judge thereof: and William Pikes doth not remember that he hath misliked the service, and the faith and religion set forth in King Edward the Sixth's time.

"To the twelfth they grant, that if they might receive the sacrament as they did in King Edward the Sixth's days, they would with all their hearts so do.

"To the thirteenth and fourteenth articles, they confess and grant the contents of them to be true in every, part."

When, at the days before specified, these good men were produced before Bonner's chancellor, Thomas Derbyshire, and had the foresaid articles ministered unto them, and they (as ye have heard) had made answer unto the same; in the end the chancellor commanded them to appear before him again the eleventh day of July after, in the said place at Paul's. Where when they came, he required of them, whether they would turn from their opinions to the mother holy church; and if not, that then, whether there were any cause to the contrary, but that he might proceed with the sentence of condemnation, Whereunto they all answered, that they would not go from the truth, nor relent from any part of the same while they lived.

Then he charged them to appear before him again the next day in the afternoon, between one and two of the clock, to hear the definitive sentence read against them, according to the ecclesiastical laws then in force. At which time, he sitting in judgment, talking with these godly and virtuous men, at last came into the said place Sir Edward Hastings and Sir Thomas Cornwallis, knights, two of Queen Mary's officers of her house; and being there, they sat them down over against the chancellor, in whose presence the said chancellor condemned those good poor lambs, and delivered them over to the secular power, who received and carried them to prison immediately, and there kept them in safety, till the day of their death.

In the mean time this naughty chancellor slept not, I warrant you, but that day in which they were condemned, he made certificate into the lord chancellor's office, from whence the next day after was sent a writ to burn them at Brentford aforesaid, which accordingly was accomplished in the same place, the said fourteenth day of July; whereunto they being brought, made their humble prayers unto the Lord Jesus, undressed themselves, went joyfully to the stake, (whereunto they were bound,) and the fire flaming about them, they yielded their souls, bodies, and lives into the hands of the omnipotent Lord, for whose cause they did suffer, and to whose protection I commend thee, gentle reader, Amen.

Among these six was one William Pikes, (as ye have heard,) who sometime dwelt in Ipswich in Suffolk, by his occupation a tanner, a very honest godly man, and of a virtuous disposition, a good keeper of hospitality, and beneficial to the persecuted

in Queen Mary's days. This said William Pikes, in the third year of Queen Mary's reign, a little after Midsummer, being then at liberty, went into his garden, and took with him a Bible of Rogers's translation, where he, sitting with his face towards the south, reading on the said Bible, suddenly fell down upon his book, between eleven and twelve o'clock of the day, four drops of fresh blood, and he knew not from whence it came. Then he, seeing the same, was sore astonished, and could by no means learn (as I said) from whence it should fall: and wiping out one of the drops with his finger, he called his wife and said, "In the virtue of God, wife, what meaneth this? will the Lord have four sacrifices? I see well enough the Lord will have blood: his will be done, and give me grace to abide the trial! Wife, let us pray," said he. "for I fear the day draweth nigh." Afterward, he daily looked to be apprehended of the papists; and it came to pass accordingly, as ye have heard. Thus much thought I good to write thereof, to stir up our dull senses in considering the Lord's works, and reverently to honour the same. His name there-for be praised for evermore. Amen.

Here is to be noted, by the way, amongst those that suffered at Brentford, one there was of the said company, who, at his burning, desired of God some token to be given, whereby the people might know that they died in the right. After, coming to the place of execution, and being in the fire, there appeared in him that so prayed, in his breast, a miraculous white cross, as white as the paper; the breadth whereof extended from the one shoullder to the other, the length being as much as the breadth. The compass thereof in every place was as broad as a hand. This cross appeared so long till he fell down flat to the fire. Master Dean, aforesaid, did see it with his eyes; and he that saw, did justify it; and himself declared it to me with his own mouth, anno 1561, October 14th.

Moreover, concerning the said William Pikes, as he was in Newgate sore sick and at the point of death, so that no man looked he should live six hours, he declared to them that sfood by, that he had been twice in persecution before, and that now he desired the Lord, if it were his will, that he might glorify his name at the stake; and so, as he prayed, it came to pass at Brentford.

Ye heard before, that of those two-and-twenty taken at Islington, thirteen were burnt, and six escaped, albeit very hardly, and some of them not without scourging by the hands of the bishop; in the which number was Thomas Hinshaw and John Milles.

The scourging of Thomas Hinshaw.

Hinshaw and Bonner in the Garden

In the godly number above mentioned, which were apprehended at Islington, there congregated together, for their exercise of prayer and reading, was this Thomas Hinshaw above named, a young man of the age of nineteen or twenty years; prentice in Paul's churchyard with one Master Pugson, who with the rest, was carried to the constables of Islington, and there every one of them searched, and led forthwith to the chief justice Master Cholmley, dwelling in the Old Bailey in London; and by him then the said Thomas Hinshaw was sent to Newgate, and there remaining prisoner without conference with any about eight weeks, at the last was sent for to Bonner, bishop of London, and by him, Harpsfield, and Cole, examined. After which examination he was sent to Newgate again, where he remained three weeks following; which time being overpassed, he was sent for again before the said bishop, the day being Saturday, and with him had much talk to little purpose. The next day after also, which was Sunday, they persuaded with him very much in like manner, and perceiving they could not bend him unto their bow, in the afternoon the bishop, going unto Fulham, took him with him, where, immediately after his coming, he was set in the stocks, remaining there all the first night with bread and water. The next morning the bishop came and examined him himself, and perceiving no yielding to his mind, he sent Master Harpsfield to talk with him; who, after long talk, in the end fell to raging words, calling the said Thomas Hinshaw "peevish boy," and asked him whether he

thought he went about to damn his soul, or no, &c.: unto which the said Thomas answered, that he was persuaded that they laboured to maintain their dark and devilish kingdom, and not for any love to truth. Then Harpsfield, being in a mighty rage, told the bishop thereof; whereat the bishop fumed and fretted, that scant for anger being able to speak, he said, "Dost thou answer my archdeacon so, thou naughty boy? I shall handle thee well enough, be assured." So he sent for a couple of rods and caused him to kneel against a long bench in an arbour in his garden, where the said Thomas, without any enforcement of his part, offered himself to the beating, and did abide the fury of the said Bonner, so long as the fat-paunched bishop could endure with breath, and till for weariness he was fain to cease, and give place to his shameful act. He had two willow rods, but he wasted but one, and so left off.

Now after this scourging the said Thomas Hinshaw notwithstanding did sustain divers conflicts and examinations sundry times. At last, being brought before the said bishop in his chapel at Fulham, there he had procured witnesses, and gathered articles against him, which the young man denied, and would not affirm, or consent to any interrogatory there and then ministered, do what they could; the articles were these.

Concerning palms, ashes, holy bread, holy water, auricular confession, receiving the sacrament at Easter, hearing divine service then set forth, &c.

"Whether he had received all these, or whether he would receive them or no.

"Item, What he thought of the service set forth in King Edward's time, in his latter days; and, in especial, what he thought of the verity of Christ's body in the sacrament. In all which his answers, the said Thomas Hinshaw kept an upright conscience, and entangled himself with none of their ceremonies, so merciful was the Lord unto him."

Not long after this his examination, (about a fortnight or such a thing,) the foresaid examinee fell sick of a burning ague, whereby he was delivered upon entreaty unto his master, Martin Pugson, in Paul's churchyard aforesaid; for the bishop thought verily he was more likely to die than to live. The which his sickness endured a twelvemonth or more, so that in the mean time Queen Mary died. Then he, shortly after, recovered health, and escaped death, being at the writing of this yet alive, both witness and reporter of the same; the Lord therefor be praised! Amen.

The scourging of John Milles by Bishop Bonner.

Besides the above named, was scourged also by the hands of the said Bonner, one John Milles, a capper, a right faithful and true honest man in all his dealings and conditions; who was brother to the foresaid R. Milles, burnt before at Brentford, as is above signified: who also was apprehended in the same number with them at Islington, as is mentioned also before; and being brought before Bonner, and there examined, was commanded to the coal-house, with the foresaid Thomas Hinshaw, where they remained one night in the stocks. From thence he was sent to Fulham, where he, with the said Hinshaw, remained eight or ten days in the stocks, during

which time he sustained divers conflicts with the said Bonner, who had him oftentimes in examination, urging him, and, with a stick which he had in his hand, oftentimes rapping him on the head, and flirting him under the chin, and on the ears, saying, he looked down like a thief. Moreover, after he had assayed all manner of ways to cause him to recant, and could not, at length having him to his orchard, there within a little arbour, with his own hands he beat him first with a willow rod; and that being worn well-nigh to the stumps, he called for a birchen rod, which a lad brought out of his chamber. The cause why he so beat him was this: Bonner asked him when he had crept to the cross. He answered, not since he came to the years of discretion, neither would, though he should be torn with wild horses. Then Bonner bade him make a cross in his forehead, which he refused to do; whereupon he had him incontinently to his orchard, and there calling for rods, showed his cruelty upon him, as he did upon Thomas Hinshaw, as is above declared.

This done, he had him immediately to the parish church at Fulham, with the said Thomas Hinshaw and Robert Milles, to whom, there being severally called before him, he ministered certain articles, asking if he would subscribe to the same: to the which the said John Milles made his answer according to his conscience, denying them all, except one article, which was concerning King Edward's service in English. Shortly after this beating, Bonner sent to him in prison a certain old priest lately come from Rome, to conjure out the evil spirit from him, who laying his hand upon his head, began with certain words pronounced over him, to conjure as he had been wont before to do. Milles, marvelling what the priest was about to do, said, he trusted no evil spirit to be within him; and laughed him to scorn, &c.

As this John Milles was divers times and oft called before Bonner, so much communication and talk passed between them; which to recite all, it were too long. And yet it were not unpleasant for the reader that lusteth to laugh, to see the blind and unsavoury reasons of that bishop, which he used to persuade the ignorant withal. As in the process of his other talk with this Milles, Bonner, going about to persuade him not to meddle with matters of the Scripture, but rather to believe other men's teaching, which had more skill in the same, first asked if he did believe the Scripture.

"Yea," said Milles, "that I do."

Then the bishop: "Why," quoth he, "St. Paul saith, If the man sleep, the woman is at liberty to go to another man. If thou wert asleep, having a wife, wouldest thou be content thy wife to take another man? and yet this is the Scripture. Item, If thou wilt believe Luther, Zuinglius, and such, then thou canst not go right. But if thou wilt believe me, &c., thou canst not err. And if thou shouldst err, yet thou art in no peril: thy blood should be required at our hands. As if thou shouldst go to a far country, and meet with a fatherly man, as I am," (for these were his terms,) "and ask the way to the head city, and he should say, 'Go this way;' and thou wilt not believe him, but follow Luther and other heretics of late days, and go a contrary way; how wilt thou come to the place thou askest for? So, if thou wilt not believe me, but follow the leading of other heretics, so shalt thou be brought to destruction, and burn both body and soul. As truly as thou seest the bodies of them in Smithfield burnt, so truly their souls do burn in hell, because they err from the true church."

Ofttimes speaking to the said John Milles, he would say, "They call me bloody Bonner. A vengeance on you all! I would fain be rid of you, but you have a delight in burning. But if I might have my will, I would sew your mouths, and put you in sacks and drown you."

Now somewhat to say concerning the deliverance of the said John Milles. The same day that he was delivered, Bonner came unto the stocks where he lay, and asked him how he liked his lodging, and his fare. "Well," said Milles, "if it would please God I might have a little straw to lie or sit upon."

Then said Bonner, "Thou wilt show no token of a Christian man." And upon this his wife came in, unknown unto him, being very great with child, and looking every hour for her lying down, entreating the bishop for her husband, and saying, that she would not go out of the house, but there would lay herself in the bishop's house, unless she had her husband with her. "How sayest thou," quoth Bonner, "thou heretic? If thy wife miscarry, or thy child, or children, if she be with one or two, should perish, the blood of them would he require at thy hands." Then to this agreement he came, that he should hire a bed in the town of Fulham, and her husband should go home with her the morrow after, upon this condition, that his kinsman there present (one Robert Rouse) should bring the said Milles unto his house at Paul's the next day. Whereunto the said Milles said, he would not agree, except he might go home by and by. At length his wife being importunate for her husband, and seeing that she would go no further, but there remain, unless she had her husband with her, the bishop, fearing belike the rumour which might come upon his house thereby, bade the said Milles make a cross, and say, *In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, Amen.*"

Then the said Milles began to say, "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen" "No, no," saith Bonner, "say it me in Latin, *In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, Amen.*" Mailles, understanding the matter of that Latin to be but good, said the same, and so went home with his wife, his foresaid kinsman being charged to bring him the next day unto Paul's: "else," said Bonner, "if thou dost not bring him, thou art a heretic, as well as he." Notwithstanding, the charge being no greater, his kinsman did not bring him, but he of his own voluntary accord came to the said bishop within a few days after, where the bishop put unto him a certain writing in Latin to subscribe unto, containing (as it seemed to him) no great matter that he needed greatly to stick at; albeit, what the bill was, he could not certainly tell: so subscribed he to the bill, and returned home. And thus much concerning the twenty-two taken at Islington.

381. Richard Yeoman.

The story and cruel handling of Richard Yeoman, Doctor Taylor's curate at Hadley, constantly suffering for the gospel's sake, July the tenth.

After the story of these twenty-two taken at Islington, proceeding now, (the Lord willing,) we will prosecute likewise the taking and cruel handling of Richard Yeoman, minister; which Yeoman had been, before, Dr. Taylor's curate, a godly devout old man of seventy years, which had many years dwelt in Hadley, well seen in the Scriptures, and giving godly exhortations to the people. With him Dr. Taylor left his cure at his departure: but as soon as Master Newall had gotten the benefice, he drove away good Yeoman, as is before said, and set in a popish curate to maintain and continue their Romish religion, which now they thought fully stablished. Then wandered he long time from place to place, moving and exhorting all men to stand faithfully by God's word, earnestly to give themselves unto prayer, with patience to bear the cross now laid upon them for their trial, with boldness to confess the truth before the adversaries, and with an undoubted hope to wait for the crown and reward of eternal felicity. But when he perceived his adversaries to lie in wait for him, he went into Kent, and with a little packet of laces, pins, and points, and such-like things, he travelled from village to village, selling such things; and by that poor shift got himself somewhat to the sustaining of himself, his poor wife, and children.

At the last a justice of Kent, called Master Moyle, took poor Yeoman, and set him in the stocks a day and a night; but having no evident matter to charge him with, he let him go again. So came he secretly again to Hadley, and tarried with his poor wife, who kept him secretly in a chamber of the town house, commonly called the Guildhall, more than a year; all the which time the good old father abode in a chamber, locked up all the day, and spent his time in devout prayer, and reading the Scriptures, and in carding of wool, which his wife did spin. His wife also did go and beg bread and meat for herself and her children, and by such poor means sustained they themselves. Thus the saints of God sustained hunger and misery, while the prophets of Baal lived in jollity, and were costly pampered at Jezebel's table.

At the last parson Newall (I know not by what means) perceived that Richard Yeoman was so kept by his poor wife, and, taking with him the bailiff's deputies and servants, came in the night-time, and brake up five doors upon Yeoman, whom he found in a bed with his poor wife and children: whom when he had so found, he irefully cried, saying, "I thought I should find a harlot and a whore together." And he would have plucked the clothes off from them; but Yeoman held fast the clothes, and said unto his wife, "Wife, arise, and put on thy clothes." And unto the parson he said, "Nay, parson, no harlot, nor whore, but a married man and his wife, according unto God's ordinance; and blessed be God for lawful matrimony. I thank God for this great grace, and I defy the pope and all his popery." Then led they Richard Yeoman unto the cage, and set him in the stocks until it was day.

There was then also in the cage an old man named John Dale, who had sitten there three or four days, because when the said parson Newall with his curate executed the Romish service in the church, he spake openly unto him, and said, "O

miserable and blind guides, will ye ever be blind leaders of the blind? will ye never amend? will ye never see the truth of God's word? will neither God's threats nor promises enter into your hearts? will the blood of martyrs nothing mollify your stony stomach? O indurate, hard-hearted, perverse, and crooked generation! O damnable sort, whom nothing can do good unto!"

These and like words he spake in ferventness of spirit against the superstitious religion of Rome. Wherefore, parson Newall caused him forthwith to be attached, and set in the stocks in the cage. So was he there kept till Sir Henry Doyle, a justice, came to Hadley.

Now when poor Yeoman was taken, the parson called earnestly upon Sir Henry Doyle to send them both to prison. Sir Henry Doyle earnestly laboured and entreated the parson, to consider the age of the men, and their poor estate; they were persons of no reputation, nor preachers; wherefore he would desire him to let them be punished a day or two, and so to let them go -- at the least John Dale, who was no priest; and therefore, seeing he had so long sitten in the cage, he thought it punishment enough for this time. When the parson heard this, he was exceeding mad, and in a great rage called them pestilent heretics, unfit to live in the commonwealth of Christians. "Wherefore, I beseech you, sir," quoth he, "according to your office, defend holy church, and help to suppress these sects of heresies which are false to God, and thus boldly set themselves, to the evil example of others, against the queen's gracious proceedings." Sir Henry Doyle, seeing he could do no good in the matter, and fearing also his peril, if he should too much meddle in this matter, made out the writ, and caused the constables to carry them forth to Bury gaol. For now were all the justices, were they never so mighty, afraid of every shaven crown, and stood in as much awe of them, as Pilate did stand in fear of Annas and Caiaphas, and of the Pharisaical brood, which cried, Crucify him, Crucify him! If thou let him go, thou art not Cæsar's friend. Wherefore, whatsoever their consciences were, yet, if they would escape danger, they must needs be the popish bishop's slaves and vassals. So they took Richard Yeoman and John Dale, pinioned; and bound them like thieves, set them on horseback, and bound their legs under the horses' bellies, and so carried them to the gaol at Bury, where they were tied in irons; and for that they continually rebuked popery, they were thrown into the lowest dungeon, where John Dale, through sickness of the prison, and evil keeping, died in prison, whose body, when he was dead, was thrown out and buried in the fields. He was a man of forty-six years of age, a weaver by his occupation, well learned in the Holy Scriptures, faithful and honest in all his conversation, stedfast in confession of the true doctrine of Christ set forth in King Edward's time; for the which he joyfully suffered prison and chains, and from this worldly dungeon he departed in Christ to eternal glory, and the blessed paradise of everlasting felicity.

After that John Dale was dead, Richard Yeoman was removed to Norwich prison, where, after strait and evil keeping, he was examined of his faith and religion. Then he boldly and constantly confessed himself to be of the faith and confession that was set forth by the late king of blessed memory, holy King Edward the Sixth; and from that he would in no wise vary. Being required to submit himself to the holy father the pope, "I defy him," quoth he, "and all his detestable abominations: I will in no wise have to do with him, nor any thing that appertaineth to him." The chief articles objected to him, were his marriage, and the mass sacrifice.

Wherefore when he continued stedfast in confession of the truth, he was condemned, degraded, and not only burnt, but most cruelly tormented in the fire. So ended he his poor and miserable life, and entered into the blessed bosom of Abraham, enjoying with Lazarus the comfortable quietness that God hath prepared for his elect saints.

382. John Alcock.



A Romish Procession

There was also in Hadley a young man, named John Alcock, which came to Hadley seeking work, for he was a shearman by his occupation. This young man after the martyrdom of Dr. Taylor, and taking of Richard Yeoman, used first in the church of Hadley to read the service in English, as partly is above fouched.

At length, after the coming of parson Newall, he, being in Hadley church upon a Sunday, when the parson came by with procession, would not once move his cap, nor show any sign of reverence, but stood behind the font. Newall, perceiving this, when he was almost out of the church door, ran back again, and caught him, and called for the constable.

Then came Robert Rolfe, with whom this young man wrought, and asked, "Master Parson! what hath he done, that ye are in such a rage with him?"

"He is a heretic and a traitor," quoth the parson, "and despiseth the queen's proceedings. Wherefore I command you, in the queen's name, have him to the stocks, and see he be forthcoming." "Well," quoth Rolfe, "he shall be forthcoming: proceed you in your business, and be quiet."

"Have him to the stocks," quoth the parson. "I am constable," quoth Rolfe, "and may bail him, and will bail him; he shall not come in the stocks, but he shall be forthcoming." So went the good parson forth with his holy procession, and so to mass.

At afternoon Rolfe said to this young man, "I am sorry for thee, for truly the parson will seek thy destruction, if thou take not good heed what thou answerest him." The young man answered, "Sir, I am sorry that it is my hap to be a trouble to you. As for myself, I am not sorry, but I do commit myself into God's hands, and I trust he will give me mouth and wisdom to answer according to right." "Well," quoth Rolfe, "yet beware of him; for he is malicious and a bloodsucker, and beareth an old hatred against me; and he will handle you the more cruelly because of displeasure against me." "I fear not," quoth the young man. "He shall do no more to me than God will give him leave; and happy shall I be, if God will call me to die for his truth's sake."

After this talk, they then went to the parson, who at the first asked him, "Fellow, what sayest thou to the sacrament of the altar?" "I say," quoth he, "as ye use the matter, ye make a shameful idol of it, and ye are false idolatrous priests, all the sort of you." "I told you," quoth the parson, "he was a stout heretic."

So after long talk, the parson committed him to ward, and the next day rode he up to London, and carried the young man with him, and so came the young man no more again to Hadley, but, after long imprisonment in Newgate, where, after many examinations and troubles, for that he would not submit himself to ask forgiveness of the pope, and to be reconciled to the Romish religion, he was cast into the lower dungeon, where, with evil keeping and sickness of the house, he died in prison. Thus died he a martyr for Christ's verity, which he heartily loved and constantly confessed, and received the garland of a well-foughten battle at the hand of the Lord. His body was cast out, and buried in a dunghill; for the papists would in all things be like themselves. Therefore would they not so much as suffer the dead bodies to have honest and convenient sepulture.

383. Thomas Benbridge, Gentleman and Martyr

Thomas Benbridge, a gentleman, single and unmarried, in the diocese of Winchester, although he might have lived a pleasant and a gentleman's life in the wealthy possessions of this world, yet to follow Christ had rather enter into the strait gate of persecution, to the heavenly possession of life in the Lord's kingdom, than here to enjoy pleasures present, with unquietness of conscience. Wherefore manfully standing against the papists for the defence of the sincere doctrine of Christ's gospel, he spared not himself to confirm the doctrine of the gospel. For the which cause he being apprehended for an adversary of the Romish religion, was forthwith had to examination before Dr. White, bishop of Winchester, where he sustained sundry conflicts for the truth, against the said bishop and his colleagues. The articles of the bishop ministered to him, with his answers to the same annexed, be here following.

"First, We articulate against you, that the church of God ministereth rightly, according to the rite apostolical."

To this he answered, that baptism is not administered at this present, so as it was in the apostles' time, for that it is not ministered in the English tongue.

"2. Item, We articulate that the church of God doth believe and hold, that in the sacrament of thanksgiving, after the words of consecration pronounced of the priest, the true and natural body of Christ is present really."

He answered, that he believeth not that in the sacrament is contained the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, saying, "This is the mark that ye shoot at."

"3. Item, We articulate that the church holdeth and believeth, that confirmation is a sacrament in the church, and that by imposition of hands of a bishop cometh grace."

He answered, that he knoweth not whether that confirmation be a sacrament or not, and whether the bishop giveth grace or not; he knoweth not the order and fashion of ministration.

"4. Item, We articulate that penance is a sacrament in the church, and that by auricular confession and absolution, pronounced by the priest, sins be forgiven."

He answered negatively, denying sins to be forgiven by absolution pronounced of a priest; and that it is not necessary for a man to recite all his sins to a priest.

5. "Item, We articulate against thee, that the church doth believe and hold the same authority to be now in the church, which Christ gave to his apostles."

He answered negatively, for that the church hath not the same power and strength to work.

"6. Item, we articulate that the church believeth and holdeth, that the order of ministers, now being in the church of Christ, is instituted of Christ himself."

He answered, he believed not the bishops to be the successors of the apostles, for that they be not called as they were, nor have that grace.

"7. Item, We articulate that the church believeth and holdeth the pope to be supreme head in the church, and the vicar of Christ in earth."

He answered, that it is not the pope, but it is the devil, that is supreme head of the church which you speak of.

"8. Item, We articulate that the church doth hold and believe that it is necessary to be baptized." He denied not the same.

"9. Item, We articulate that the church doth hold and believe that there is purgatory, and that the souls of the dead be relieved with the alms and prayers of the living."

He answered and saith, as touching purgatory, he will not believe as their church doth believe.

"10. Item, We articulate that the church holdeth and believeth that matrimony is a sacrament of the church."

He answered, that he will not say that matrimony is a sacrament, but to be a sacred order and sign of a holy thing, &c.

Moreover, happening into the mention of Martin Luther, he said, that the said Martin Luther died a good Christian man, whose doctrine and life he did approve and allow.

Thus have ye the articles ministered by the bishop, and also the answers of the said Master Benbridge unto the same, for the which he was then condemned, and after brought to the place of martyrdom by the sheriff, called Sir Richard Pecksal; where he, standing at the stake, began to untie his points, and to prepare himself. Then he gave his gown to the keeper, being belike his fee. His jerkin was laid on with gold lace, fair and brave, which he gave to Sir Richard Pecksal the high sheriff. His cap of velvet he took off from his head, and threw it away. Then lifting his mind to the Lord, he made his prayers.

That done, being now fastened to the stake, Dr. Seaton willed him to recant, and he should have his pardon. But when he saw it prevailed not to speak, the said dreaming and doltish doctor willed the people not to pray for him unless he would recant, no more than they would pray for a dog.

Master Benbridge, standing at the stake with his hands together in such manner as the priest holdeth his hands in his memento, the said Dr. Seaton came to him again, and exhorted him to recant: unto whom he said, "Away, Babylonian, away!"

Then said one that stood by, "Sir, cut out his tongue;" and another, being a temporal man, railed on him worse than Dr. Seaton did a great deal, who, as is thought, was set on by some other.

Then when they saw he would not yield, they bade the tormentors to set to fire; and yet he was nothing like covered with faggots. First, the fire took away a piece of his beard, whereat he nothing shrank at all. Then it came on the other side, and took his legs; and the nether stockings of his hose being leather, made the fire to pierce the sharper, so that the intolerable heat thereof made him to cry, "I recant." And suddenly therewith he thrust the fire from him; and having two or three of his friends by, that wished his life, they stept to the fire, and helped to take it from him also; who for their labour were sent to prison. The sheriff also of his own authority took him from the stake, and sent him to prison again, for the which he was sent unto the Fleet, and there lay a certain time. But before he was taken from the stake, the said Seaton wrote articles to have him to subscribe unto them, as touching the pope, the sacrament, and such other trash. But the said Master Benbridge made much ado ere he could subscribe them, insomuch that Dr. Seaton willed them to set to fire again. Then with much pain and grief of heart he subscribed to them upon a man's back. That being done, he had his gown given him again, and so was led to prison. Being in prison he wrote a letter to Dr. Seaton, and recanted those words he spake at the stake, unto which he had subscribed; for he was grieved that ever he did subscribe unto them. Whereupon expressing his conscience, he was, the same day seven-night after, burnt indeed, where the vile tormentors did rather broil him than burn him. The Lord give his enemies repentance!

384. The Unjust Execution and Martyrdom of Four, Burnt at St. Edmund's Bury.

In this year aforesaid, which was the last of Queen Mary's reign, Dr. Hopton being bishop of Norwich, and Dr. Spenser bearing the room of his chancellor, about St. James's tide, at St. Edmund's Bury, were wrongfully put to death four Christian martyrs, to wit, John Cooke, a sawyer; Robert Miles, alias Plummer, a shearman; Alexander Lane, a wheelwright; and James Ashley, bachelor.

The examination of these forenamed persons, being severally called before the bishop of Norwich, and Sir Edward Walgrave, with others, was partly upon these articles following.

"First, Sir Edward Walgrave called John Cooke to him, and said, 'How fortuneth it, that you go not to church?'

"John Cooke said, 'I have been there.'

"Sir Edward said, 'What is the cause that you go not thither now, in these days?'

"John Cooke said, 'Because the sacrament of the altar is an abominable idol, and,' saith he, 'the vengeance of God will come upon all them that do maintain it.'

"Sir Edward said, 'O thou rank traitor! if I had as good commission to cut out thy tongue as I have to sit here this day, thou shouldst be sure to have it cut out.'

"Then commanded he the constable to have him away, saying, he was both a traitor and a rebel.

"Then he called Robert Miles, and said, 'How fortuneth it, that you go not to the church?'

"Robert Miles answered, 'Because I will follow no false gods.'

"Then said the bishop, 'Who told thee that it is a god?'

"Then said Miles, 'Even you, and such as you are.'

"Then the bishop commanded him aside, and to appear before him the next day.

"Then he called Alexander Lane before him, and asked him, how it chanced, that he would not go to the church?

"He said, that his conscience would not serve him so to do.

"Then Sir Edward said, 'How dost thou believe?' "Then said Lane, 'Even as it is written in God's book.'

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

"Then Sir Edward commanded him to say his belief.

"Then the said Lane being somewhat abashed, said his belief to these words, which he missed unawares, 'Born of the Virgin Mary.'

"Then Sir Edward said, 'What! was he not born of the Virgin Mary?'

"'Yes,' said Lane, 'I would have said so.'

"'Nay,' said Sir Edward, 'you are one of Cooke's scholars! 'And so commanded him away, and to come before him the next day.

"After the like manner they passed also with James Ashley, whom they warned the next day likewise to appear before them again. So in fine they, appearing again, had their condemnation. And thus these four blessed martyrs and servants of Christ innocently suffered together at St. Edmund's Bury, as is aforesaid, about the beginning of August, not long before the sickness of Queen Mary."

385. Alice Driver and Alexander Gouch.

Master Noone, a justice in Suffolk, dwelling in Martlesham, hunting after good men to apprehend them, (as he was a bloody tyrant in the days of trial,) at the length had understanding of one Gouch of Woodbridge, and Driver's wife of Grundisburgh, to be at Grundisburgh together, a little from his house; and immediately took his men with him, and went thither, and made diligent search for them, where the poor man and woman were compelled to step into a hay-golph, to hide themselves from their cruelty. At the last they came to search the hay for them, and by gauging thereof with pitchforks, at the last found them: so they took them and led them to Melton gaol, where they, remaining a time, at the length were carried to Bury, against the assize at St. James's tide; and being there examined of matters of faith, did boldly stand to confess Christ crucified, defying the pope with all his papistical trash. And among other things

Driver's wife likened Queen Mary in her persecution to Jezebel; and so in that sense calling her Jezebel, for that Sir Clement Higham, being chief judge there, adjudged her ears immediately to be cut off, which was accomplished accordingly, and she joyfully yielded herself to the punishment, and thought herself happy that she was counted worthy to suffer any thing for the name of Christ.

After the assize at Bury, they were carried to Melton gaol again, where they remained a time. This Alexander Gouch was a man of the age of thirty-six years, or thereabouts, and by his occupation was a weaver of shredding-coverlets, dwelling at Woodbridge in Suffolk, and born at Ufford in the same county. Driver's wife was a woman about the age of thirty years, and dwelt at Grundisburgh, where they were taken, in Suffolk: her husband did use husbandry. These two were carried from Melton gaol to Ipswich, where they remained and were examined; the which their examination, as it came to our hands, hereafter followeth.

First, she coming into the place where she should be examined with a smiling countenance, Dr. Spenser said, "Why, woman, dost thou laugh us to scorn?"

Alice.--"Whether I do or no, I might well enough, to see what fools ye be."

Then the chancellor asked her wherefore she was brought before him, and why she was laid in prison.

Alice.--"Wherefore? I think I need not tell you; for ye know it better than I."

Spenser.--"No, by my troth, woman, I know not why."

"Then have ye done me much wrong," quoth she, "thus to imprison me, and know no cause why: for I know no evil that I have done, I thank God; and I hope there is no man that can accuse me of any notorious fact that I have done, justly."

Spenser.--"Woman, woman, what sayest thou to the blessed sacrament of the altar? dost thou not believe that it is very flesh and blood, after the words be spoken of consecration?"

Driver's wife at those words held her peace, and made no answer. Then a great chuff-headed priest that stood by spake, and asked her, why she made not the chancellor an answer. With that, the said Driver's wife looked upon him austerely, and said, "Why, priest, I come not to talk with thee, but I come to talk with thy master: but, if thou wilt I shall talk with thee, command thy master to hold his peace." And with that the priest put his nose in his cap, and spake never a word more. Then the chancellor bid her make answer to that he demanded of her.

"Sir," said she, "pardon me though I make no answer, for I cannot tell what you mean thereby: for in all my life I never heard nor read of any such sacrament in all the Scripture."

Spenser.--"Why, what Scriptures have you read, I pray you?"

Alice.--"I have (I thank God) read God's book."

Spenser.--"Why, what manner of book is that you call God's book?"

Alice.--"It is the Old and New Testament. What call you it?"

Spenser.--"That is God's book indeed, I cannot deny."

Alice.--"That same book have I read throughout, but yet never could find any such sacrament there; and for that cause I cannot make you answer to that thing I know not. Notwithstanding, for all that, I will grant you a sacrament, called the Lord's supper; and therefore, seeing I have granted you a sacrament, I pray you show me what a sacrament is."

Spenser.--"It is a sign." And one Dr. Gascoine, being by, confirmed the same, that it was the sign of a holy thing.

Alice.--"You have said the truth, sir," said she: "it is a sign indeed, I must needs grant it; and therefore seeing it is a sign, it cannot be the thing signified also. Thus far we do agree; for I have granted your own saying."

Then stood up the said Gascoine, and made an oration with many fair words, but little to purpose, both offensive and odious to the minds of the godly. In the end of which long tale, he asked her if she did not believe the omnipotency of God, and that he was almighty, and able to perform that he spake. She answered, "Yes;" and said, "I do believe that God is almighty, and able to perform that he spake and promised."

Gascoine.--"Very well. Then he said to his disciples, Take, eat, this is my body: ergo, it was his body. For he was able to perform that he spake, and God useth not to lie."

Alice.--"I pray you did he ever make any such promise to his disciples, that he would make the bread his body?"

Gascoine.--"Those be the words. Can you deny it?"

Alice.--"No, they be the very words indeed, I cannot deny it: but I pray you, was it not bread that he gave unto them?"

Gascoine.--"No, it was his body."

Alice.--"Then was it his body that they did eat overnight?"

Gascoine.--"Yea, it was his body."

Alice.--"What body was it, then, that was crucified the next day?"

Gascoine.--"It was Christ's body."

Alice.--"How could that be, when the disciples had eaten him overnight, except he had two bodies, as by your argument he had? one they did eat overnight, and another was crucified the next day. Such a doctor, such doctrine! Be you not ashamed to teach the people, that Christ had two bodies? In Luke xxii., He took bread and brake it to his disciples, saying, Take, &c. and do this in remembrance of me. St. Paul saith, 1 Cor. xi., Do this in remembrance of me; for as often as ye shall eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye shall show the Lord's death till he come: and therefore I marvel you blush not before all this people to lie so manifestly as ye do." With that Gascoine; held his peace, and made her no answer; for, as it seemed, he was ashamed of his doings. Then the chancellor lift up his head off from his cushion, and commanded the gaoler to take her away.

"Now," said she, "ye be not able to resist the truth, ye command me to prison again. Well, the Lord in the end shall judge our cause, and to him I leave it. I wis, I wis, this gear will go for no payment then." So went she with the gaoler away.

Another examination before Drs. Spenser and Gascoine.

The next day she came before them again, and the chancellor then asked her, What she said to the blessed sacrament of the altar.

Alice.--"I will say nothing to it; for you will neither believe me nor yourselves. For yesterday I asked you what a sacrament was, and you said it was a sign, and I agreed thereto, and said it was the truth, confirming it by the Scriptures; so that I went not from your own words: and now ye come and ask me again of such a sacrament as I told you I never read of in the Scriptures."

Spenser.--"Thou liest, naughty woman! we did not say that it was a sign."

Alice.--"Why, masters, be ye not the men that you were yesterday? Will ye eat your own words? Are ye not ashamed to lie before all this multitude here present, who heard you speak the same?"

Then stood up Dr. Gascoine, and said, she was deceived; for there are three churches -- the malignant church, the church militant, and the church triumphant. So he would fain have made matter, but he could not tell which way.

Alice.--"Sir, is there mention made of so many churches in the Scripture?"

Gascoine.--"Yea."

Alice.--"I pray you where find you this word 'church' written in the Scripture?"

Gascoine.--"It is written in the New Testament."

Alice.--"I pray you, sir, show the place where it is written."

Gascoine.--"I cannot tell the place, but there it is." With that she desired him to look in his Testament. Then he fumbled and sought about him for one: but, at that time, he had none; and that he knew well enough, though he seemed to search for it. At the last she said, "Have ye none here, sir?"

Gascoine.--"No."

Alice.--"I thought so much indeed, that ye were little acquainted withal. Surely, you be a good doctor. You say you sit here to judge according to the law, and how can you give judgment, and have not the book of the law with you?" At which words Gascoine was out of countenance, and asked her if she had one.

Alice.--"No," said she.

Then said he, "I am as good a doctor as you."

Alice.--"Well, sir, I had one, but you took it from me (as you would take from me Christ, if you could); and since, would ye not snffer me to have any book at all, so burning is your charity. But you may well know, (I thank God,) that I have exercised the same; else could I not have answered you (to God's glory be it spoken) as I have." Thus she pnt them all to silence, that one looked on another, and had not a word to speak.

Alice.--"Have you no more to say? God be honoured! You be not able to resist the Spirit of God in me, a poor woman. I was an honest poor man's daughter, never brought up in the nniversity, as you have been, but I have driven the plough before my father many a time (I thank God): yet, notwithstanding, in the defence of God's truth, and in the cause of my Master Christ, by his grace I will set my foot against the foot of any of you all, in the maintenance and defence of the same, and if I had a thousand lives, they should go for payment thereof."

So the chancellor rose up, and read the sentence in Latin of condemnation, and committed her to the secular power: and so went she to prison again as joyful as the bird of day, praising and glorifying the name of God.

Alexander Gouch, martyr.

At which time Alexander Gouch also was examined, who was taken with her, as before is said, whose examination hereafter followeth.

This Alexander Gouch was examined chiefly of the sacrament and other ceremonies of the popish church; and for that his belief was, that Christ was ascended into heaven, and there remaineth, and that the sacrament was the remembrance of his death and passion, and for refusing the mass, and the pope to be the supreme head of Christ's church. For these causes was he condemned, and died with Alice Driver at Ipswich, the fourth of November, which was the Monday after All Saints, 1558, Dr. Miles Spenser being chancellor; they both ending their lives with earnest zeal, nothing fearing to speak their conscience, when they were commanded to the contrary.

These two godly persons being come to the place where the stake was set, by seven of the clock in the morning, (notwithstanding they came the selfsame morning from Melton gaol, which is six miles from Ipswich,) being in their prayers, and singing of psalms both of them together, Sir Henry Dowell, then being sheriff, was very much offended with them, and willed the bailiffs of Ipswich to bid them make an end of their prayers (they kneeling upon a broom-faggot): one of the bailiffs, whose name was Richard Smart, commanded them to make an end, saying, "On, on, have done; make an end; nail them to the stake;" yet they continued in prayer.

Then Sir Henry sent one of his men, whose name was Richard Cove, that they should make an end.

Then Gouch stood up and said unto the sheriff, "I pray you, Master Sheriff, let us pray a little while, for we have but a little time to live here."

Then said the bailiff, "Come off, have them to the fire."

Then the said Gouch and Alice Driver said, "Why, Master Sheriff and Master Bailiff, will you not suffer us to pray?"

"Away," said Sir Henry, "to the stake with them!"

Gouch answered, "Take heed, Master Sheriff. If you forbid prayer, the vengeance of God hangeth over your heads." Then they, being tied to the stake, and the iron chain being put about Alice Driver's neck, "Oh!" said she, "here is a goodly neckerchief; blessed be God for it."

Then divers came, and took them by the hands, as they were bound, standing at the stake. The sheriff cried, "Lay hands on them, lay hands on them!" With that a great number ran to the stake. The sheriff seeing that, let them all alone, so that there was not one taken.

There was one Bate, a barber, a busy doer about them, who, having then a frieze gown upon him, sold it immediately, saying, It stank of heretics, with other foul words more. After this, within three or four weeks, God's hand was upon him, and so he died very miserably in Ipswich.

386. Philip Humfrey, and John and Henry David.

Although our history hasteth apace (the Lord be praised) to the happy death of Queen Mary, yet she died not so soon, but some there were burnt before, and more should have been burnt soon after them, if God's provision had not prevented her with death. In the number of them which suffered in the same month when Queen Mary died, were three that were burnt at Bury, whose names were these: Philip Humfrey, John David, and Henry David, his brother.

Concerning the burning of these three, here is to be noted, that Sir Clement Higham, about a fortnight before the queen died, did sue out a writ for the burning of these three aforesaid godly and blessed martyrs, notwithstanding that the queen was then known to be past remedy of her sickness.

387. Prest's Wife, a Godly Poor Woman which Suffered at Exeter.

Although in such an innumerable company of godly martyrs, which in sundry quarters of this realm were put to forments of fire in Queen Mary's time, it be hard so exactly to recite every particular person that suffered, but that some escape us, either unknown or omitted; yet I cannot pass over a certain poor woman, and a silly creature, burnt under the said queen's reign, in the city of Exeter, (whose name I have not yet learned,) who dwelling sometime about Cornwall, having a husband and children there much addicted to the superstitious sect of popery, was many times rebuked of them, and driven to go to the church, to their idols and ceremonies, to shrift, to follow the cross in procession, to give thanks to God for restoring antichrist again in this realm, &c.: which when her spirit could not abide to do, she made her prayer unto God, calling for help and mercy; and so, at length, lying in her bed, about midnight she thought there came to her a certain motion and feeling of singular comfort. Whereupon, in short space, she began to grow in contempt of her husband and children; and so taking nothing from them, but even as she went, departed from them, seeking her living by labour and spinning as well as she could, here and there for a time. In which time, notwithstanding, she never ceased to utter her mind as well as she durst; howbeit she at that time was brought home to her husband again, where at last she was accused by her neighbours, and so brought to Exeter, to be presented to the bishop and his clergy. The name of the bishop which had her in examination, was Dr. Turberville: his chancellor (as I gather) was Blackstone. The chiefest matter whereupon she was charged and condemned, was for the sacrament, (which they call of the altar,) and for speaking against idols, as by the declaration of those which were present, I understand, which report the talk between her and the bishop on this wise.

"Thou foolish woman," quoth the bishop, "I hear say, that thou hast spoken certain words against the most blessed sacrament of the altar, the body of Christ. Fie for shame! Thou art an unlearned person, and a woman. Wilt thou meddle with such high matters, which all the doctors of the world cannot define? Wilt thou talk of so high mysteries? Keep thy work, and meddle with that thou hast to do. It is no woman's matter, at cards and tow to be spoken of. And if it be as I am informed, thou art worthy to be burned."

"My Lord," said she, "I trust your Lordship will hear me speak." "Yea, marry," quoth he; "therefore I sent for thee."

Woman.--"I am a poor woman, and do live by my hands, getting a penny truly; and of that I get, I give part to the poor."

Bishop.--"That is well done. Art thou not a man's wife?" And here the bishop entered into talk of her husband. To whom she answered again, declaring that she had a husband and children; and had them not. So long as she was at liberty, she refused neither husband nor children: "But now, standing here as I do," said she, "in the cause of Christ and his truth, where I must either forsake Christ or my husband, I am contented to stick only to Christ my heavenly spouse, and renounce the other."

And here she, making mention of the words of Christ, "He that leaveth not father or mother, sister or brother, husband," &c., the bishop inferred, that Christ spake that of the holy martyrs, which died because they would not do sacrifice to the false gods.

Woman.--"Surely, sir, and I will rather die than I will do any worship to that foul idol, which with your mass you make a god."

Bishop.--"Yea, you callet, will you say that the sacrament of the altar is a foul idol?"

"Yea truly," quoth she, "there was never such an idol as your sacrament is made of your priests, and commanded to be worshipped of all men, with many fond fantasies; whereas Christ did command it to be eaten and drunken in remembrance of his most blessed passion for our redemption."

Bishop.--"See this prattling woman. Dost thou not hear, that Christ did say over the bread, This is my body, and over the cup, This is my blood?"

Woman.--"Yes, forsooth, he said so; but he meant that it is his body and blood, not carnally, but sacramentally."

Bishop.--"Lo, she hath heard prattling among these new preachers, or heard some peevish book. Alas, poor woman! thou art deceived."

Woman.--"No, my Lord, that I have learned was of godly preachers, and of godly books which I have heard read. And if you will give me leave, I will declare a reason, why I will not worship the sacrament."

Bishop.--"Marry, say on, I am sure it will be goodly gear."

Woman.--"Truly such gear, as I will lose this poor life of mine for."

Bishop.--"Then you will be a martyr, good wife."

Woman.--"Indeed, if the denying to worship that breadly god be my martyrdom, I will suffer it with all my heart."

Bishop.--"Say thy mind."

"You must bear with me, a poor woman," quoth she.

"So I will," quoth he.

Woman.-- "I will demand of you, whether you can deny your creed, which doth say, that Christ perpetually doth sit at the right hand of his Father, both body and soul, until he come again; or whether he be there in heaven our advocate, and do make prayer for us unto God his Father? If it be so, he is not here in the earth, in a piece of bread. If he be not here, and if he do not dwell in temples made with hands, but in heaven, what, shall we seek him here? If he did offer his body once for all, why make

you a new offering? If with once offering he made all perfect, why do you, with a false offering, make all unperfect? If he be to be worshipped in spirit and truth, why do you worship a piece of bread? If he be eaten and drunken in faith and truth; if his flesh be not profitable to be among us, why do you say, you make his body and flesh, and say it is profitable for body and soul? Alas! I am a poor woman, but rather than I would do as you do, I would live no longer. I have said, sir."

Bishop.--"I promise you, you are a jolly protestant! I pray you, in what schools have you been brought up?"

Woman.--"I have upon the Sundays visited the sermons; and there have I learned such things as are so fixed in my breast, that death shall not separate them."

Bishop.--"O foolish woman! who will waste his breath upon thee, or such as thou art? But how chanceth it that thou wentest away from thy husband? If thou wert an honest woman, thou wouldest not have left thy husband and children, and run about the country like a fugitive."

Woman.--"Sir, I laboured for my living; and, as my Master Christ counselled me, when I was persecuted in one city, I fled into another."

Bishop.--"Who persecuted thee?"

Woman.--"My husband and my children. For when I would have them to leave idolatry, and to worship God in heaven, he would not hear me; but he with his children rebuked me, and troubled me. I fled not for whoredom, nor for theft; but because I would be no partaker with him and his of that foul idol the mass. And wheresoever I was, as oft as I could, upon Sundays and holy days, I made excuses not to go to the popish church."

Bishop.--"Belike then you are a good housewife, to fly from your husband, and also from the church."

Woman.--"My housewifery is but small; but God give me grace to go to the true church."

Bishop.--"The true church! what dost thou mean?"

Woman.--"Not your popish church, full of idols and abominations, but where two or three are gathered together in the name of God, to that church will I go, as long as I live."

Bishop.--"Belike then you have a church of your own. Well, let this mad woman be put down to prison, until we send for her husband."

Woman.--"No, I have but one husband, which is here already in this city and in prison with me, from whom I will never depart." And so their communication for that day brake off.

Blackstone and others persuaded the bishop that she was a mazed creature, and not in her perfect wit (which is no new thing, for the wisdom of God to appear foolishness to carnal men of this world); and therefore they consulted together, that she should have liberty, and go at large. So the keeper of the bishop's prison had her home to his house, where she fell to spinning and carding, and did all other work as a servant in the said keeper's house, and went about the city, when and whither she would, and divers had delight to talk with her. And ever she continued talking of the sacrament of the altar, which of all things they could least abide. Then was her husband sent for, but she refused to go home with him, with the blemish of the cause and religion, in defence whereof she there stood before the bishop and the priests.

Then divers of the priests had her in handling, persuading her to leave her wicked opinion about the sacrament of the altar, the natural body and blood of our Saviour Christ. But she made them answer, that it was nothing but very bread and wine, and that they might be ashamed to say, that a piece of bread should be turned by a man into the natural body of Christ, which bread doth waste, and mice oftentimes do eat it, and it doth mould, and is burned: "And," said she, "God's own body will not be so handled, nor kept in prison, or boxes. Let it be your god, it shall not be mine; for my Saviour sitteth on the right hand of God, and doth pray for me. And to make that sacramental or significative bread instituted for a remembrance, the very body of Christ, and to worship it, it is very foolishness and devilish deceit."

"Now truly," said they, "the devil hath deceived thee."

"No," said she, "I trust the living God hath opened mine eyes, and caused me to understand the right use of the blessed sacrament, which the true church doth use, but the false church doth abuse."

Then stept forth an old friar, and asked her what she said of the holy pope.

"I," said she, "say, that he is antichrist and the devil." Then they all laughed. "Nay," said she, "you have more need to weep than to laugh, and to be sorry that ever you were born, to be the chaplains of that whore of Babylon: I defy him and all his falsehood. And get you away from me: you do but trouble my conscience. You would have me follow your doings: I will first lose my life. I pray you depart."

"Why, thou foolish woman," said they, "we come to thee for thy profit and soul's health."

"O Lord God," said she, "what profit riseth by you that teach nothing but lies for truth? How save you souls, when you preach nothing but damnable lies, and destroy souls?"

"How provest thou that?" said they.

"Do you not damn souls," said she, "when you teach the people to worship idols, stocks and stones, the works of men's hands? and to worship a false god of your own making, of a piece of bread? and teach that the pope is God's vicar, and hath power to forgive sins? and that there is a purgatory, when God's Son hath by his passion purged all? and say, you make God, and sacrifice him, when Christ's body

was a sacrifice once for all? Do you not teach the people to number their sins in your ears, and say, they be damned if they confess not all; when God's word saith, Who can number his sins? Do you not promise them trentals and diriges, and masses for souls, and sell your prayers for money, and make them buy pardons, and trust to such foolish inventions of your own imaginations? Do you not altogether against God? Do ye not teach us to pray upon beads, and to pray unto saints, and say they can pray for us? Do you not make holy water and holy bread to fray devils? Do you not a thousand more abominations? and yet you say, you come for my profit and to save my soul! No, no; one hath saved me. Farewell you with your salvation!"

Much other talk there was between her and them, which here were too tedious to be expressed.

In the mean time, during this her month's liberty granted to her by the bishop, which we spake of before, it happened that she, entering into St. Peter's church, beheld there a cunning Dutchman, how he made new noses to certain fine images which were disfigured in King Edward's time: "What a mad-man art thou," said she, "to make them new noses, which within a few days shall all lose their heads!" The Dutchman accused her, and laid it hard to her charge. And she said unto him, "Thou art accursed, and so are thy images." He called her "whore." "Nay," said she, "thy images are whores, and thou art a whore-hunter; for doth not God say, You go a whoring after strange gods, figures of your own making? And thou art one of them." Then was she sent for, and clapped fast; and from that time she had no more liberty.

During the time of her imprisonment, divers resorted to her to visit her, some sent of the bishop, some of their own voluntary will; amongst whom was one Daniel, a great doer and preacher sometime of the gospel, in the days of King Edward, in those parts of Cornwall and Devonshire: whom after that she perceived by his own confession to have revolted from that which he preached before, through the grievous imprisonments, as he said, and fear of persecution, which he had partly sustained by the cruel justices in those parts, earnestly she exhorted him to repent with Peter, and to be more constant in his profession.

Moreover, there resorted to her a certain worthy gentlewoman, the wife of one Walter Raleigh, a woman of noble wit, and of a good and godly opinion; who coming to the prison, and talking with her, she said her creed to the gentlewoman; and when she came to the article, "He ascended," there she stayed, and bade the gentlewoman to seek his blessed body in heaven, and not in earth; and told her plainly that God dwelleth not in temples made with hands; and that sacrament to be nothing else but a remembrance of his blessed passion; "and yet," said she, "as they now use it, it is but an idol, and far wide from any remembrance of Christ's body; which," said she, "will not long continue; and so take it, good mistress." So that as soon as she came home to her husband, she declared to him, that in her life she never heard a woman (of such simplicity to see to) talk so godly, so perfectly, so sincerely, and so earnestly; insomuch, that if God were not with her, she could not speak such things, "to the which I am not able to answer her," said she, "who can read, and she cannot."

Also there came to her one William Kede, and John his brother, not only brethren in the flesh, but also in the truth, and men in that country of great credit, whose father, R. Kede, all his life suffered nothing but trouble for the gospel. These

two good and faithful brethren were present with her, both in the hall, and also at the prison, and (as they reported) they never heard the like woman, of so godly talk, so faithful or so constant; and such godly exhortations as she gave them.

Thus this good matron, the very servant and handmaid of Christ, was by many ways tried, both by hard imprisonment, threatenings, taunts, and scorns; called an Anabaptist, a mad woman, a drunkard, a whore, a runagate. She was proved by liberty to go whither she would; she was tried by flattery, with many fair promises; she was tried with her husband, her goods and children; but nothing could prevail, her heart was fixed; she had cast her anchor, utterly contemning this wicked world; a rare ensample of constancy to all professors of Christ's gospel.

In the bill of my information, it is so reported to me, that albeit she was of such simplicity, and without learning, yet you could declare no place of Scripture, but she would tell you the chapter; yea, she would recite you the names of all the books of the Bible. For which cause one Gregory Basset, a rank papist, said she was out of her wit, and talked of the Scripture, as a dog rangeth far off from his master when he walketh in the fields, or as a stolen sheep out of his master's hands, she wist not whereat, as all heretics do; with many other such taunts, which she utterly defied. Whereby as Almighty God is highly to be praised, working so mightily in such a weak vessel, so men of stronger and stouter nature have also to take example how to stand in like case, when as we see this poor woman, how manfully she went through with such constancy and patience.

At the last, when they perceived her to be past remedy, and had consumed all their threatenings, that neither by prisonment nor liberty, by menaces nor flattery, they could bring her to sing any other song, nor win her to their vanities and superstitious doings, then they cried out, "An Anabaptist, an Anabaptist!" Then, at a day, they brought her from the bishop's prison to the Guildhall; and after that delivered her to the temporal power, according to their custom, where she was by the gentlemen of the country exhorted yet to call for grace, and to leave her fond opinions: "and go home to thy husband," said they; "thou art an unlearned woman; thou art not able to answer to such high matters." "I am not," said she, "yet with my death I am content to be a witness of Christ's death: and I pray you make no longer delay with me. My heart is fixed; I will never otherwise say, nor turn to their superstitious doings."

Then the bishop said, the devil did lead her.

"No, my Lord," said she, "it is the Spirit of God which leadeth me, and which called me in my bed, and at midnight opened his truth to me." Then was there a great shout and laughing among the priests and others.

During the time that this good poor woman was thus under these priests' hands, amongst many other baitings and sore conflicts which she sustained by them, here is moreover not to be forgotten, how that Master Blackstone aforesaid, being the treasurer of the church, had a concubine, which sundry times resorted to him with other of his gossips; so that always when they came, this said good woman was called forth to his house, there to make his minion with the rest of the company some mirth, he examining her with such mocking and grinning, deriding the truth, that it would have vexed any Christian heart to have seen it. Then when he had long used his

foolishness in this sort, and had sported himself enough in deriding this Christian martyr, in the end he sent her to prison again, and there kept her very miserably, saving that sometimes he would send for her, when his aforesaid guest came to him, to use with her his accustomed folly aforesaid. But in fine, these vile wretches, (after many combats and scoffing persuasions,) when they had played the part of the cat with the mouse, at length, condemned her, and delivered her over to the secular power.

Then the indictment being given and read, which was, that she should go to the place whence she came, and from thence be led to the place of execution, then and there to be burned with flames till she should be consumed; she lifted up her voice, and thanked God, saying, "I thank thee, my Lord, my God; this day have I found that which I have long sought." But such outcries as there were again, and such mockings, were never seen upon a poor silly woman; all which she most patiently took. And yet this favour they pretended after her judgment, that her life should be spared, if she would turn and recant. "Nay, that I will not," said she: "God forbid that I should lose the life eternal, for this carnal and short life. I will never turn from my heavenly Husband to my earthly husband; from the fellowship of angels, to mortal children. And if my husband and children be faithful, then am I theirs. God is my Father, God is my Mother; God is my Sister, my Brother, my Kinsman; God is my Friend most faithful."

Then was she delivered to the sheriff, and innumerable people beholding her, she was led by the officers to the place of execution, without the walls of Exeter, called Southernhay, where again these superstitious priests assaulted her; and she prayed them to have no more talk with her, but cried still, "God be merciful to me a sinner, God be merciful to me a sinner!" And so, while they were tying her to the stake, thus still she cried, and would give no answer to them, but with much patience took her cruel death, and was with the flames and fire consumed. And so ended this mortal life, as constant a woman in the faith of Christ, as ever was upon the earth. She was as simple a woman to see to, as any man might behold; of a very little and short stature, somewhat thick, about fifty-four years of age. She had a cheerful countenance, so lively, as though she had been prepared for that day of her marriage to meet the Lamb; most patient of her words and answers; sober in apparel, meat and drink, and would never be idle; a great comfort to as many as would talk with her; good to the poor; and in her trouble, money, she said, she would take none; "for," she said, "I am going to a city, where money beareth no mastery; while I am here God hath promised to feed me." Thus was her mortal life ended: for whose constancy God be everlastingly praised, Amen.

Touching the name of this woman, (as I have now learned,) she was the wife of one called Prest, dwelling in the diocese of Exeter, not far from Launceston.

388. Richard Sharp, Thomas Benion, and Thomas Hale



Thomas Hale arrested at night

In writing of the blessed saints which suffered in the bloody days of Queen Mary, I had almost over-passed the names and story of three godly martyrs, which with their blood gave testimony likewise to the gospel of Christ, being condemned and burnt in the town of Bristol. The names of whom were these: Richard Sharp, Thomas Benion, and Thomas Hale.

First, Richard Sharp, weaver, of Bristol, was brought the ninth day of March, anno 1556, before Master Dalby, chancellor of the town or city of Bristol; and after examination, concerning the sacrament of the altar, was persuaded by the said Dalby and others to recant; and the twenty-ninth of the same month was enjoined to make his recantation before the parishioners in his parish church. Which when he had done, he felt in his conscience such a tormenting hell, that he was not able quietly to work in his occupation, but decayed and changed both in colour and liking of his body; who shortly after, upon Sunday, came into his parish church, called Temple, and after high mass, came to the choir-door, and said with a loud voice, "Neighbours! bear me record that yonder idol," and pointed to the altar, "is the greatest and most abominable that ever was; and I am sorry that ever I denied my Lord God." Then the constables were commanded to apprehend him; but none stepped forth, but suffered him to go out of the church. After, by night, he was apprehended and carried to Newgate; and shortly after he was brought before the lord chancellor, denying the sacrament of the

altar to be the body and blood of Christ; and said, it was an idol; and therefore was condemned to be burnt, by the said Dalby. He was burnt the seventh of May, 1557; and died godly, patiently, and constantly, confessing the articles of our faith.

The Thursday in the night before Easter, anno 1557, came one Master David Herris, alderman, and John Stone, to the house of one Thomas Hale, a shoemaker of Bristol, and caused him to rise out of his bed, and brought him forth of his door. To whom the said Thomas Hale said, "You have sought my blood these two years, and now much good do you with it:" who, being committed to the watchmen, was carried to Newgate the twenty-fourth of April, the year aforesaid, was brought before Master Dalby the chancellor, committed by him to prison, and after by him condemned to be burnt, for saying the sacrament of the altar to be an idol. He was burned the seventh of May with the foresaid Richard Sharp, and godly, patiently, and constantly embraced the fire with his arms.

Richard Sharp and Thomas Hale were burnt both together in one fire, and bound back to back.

Thomas Benion, a weaver, at the commandment of the commissioners, was brought by a constable, the thirteenth day of August, anno 1557, before Master Dalby, chancellor of Bristol, who committed him to prison for saying there was nothing but bread in the sacrament, as they used it. Wherefore, the twentieth day of the said August, he was condemned to be burnt by the said Dalby, for denying five of their sacraments, and affirming two, that is, the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and the sacrament of baptism. He was burnt the twenty-seventh of the said month and year, and died godly, constantly, and patiently, with confessing the articles of our Christian faith.

389. The Last Martyrs

The martyrdom of five constant Christians, which suffered the last of all others in the time of Queen Mary.

The last that suffered in Queen Mary's time, were five at Canterbury, burnt about six days before the death of Queen Mary, whose names follow hereunder written: John Corneford, of Wrotham; Christopher Brown, of Maidstone; John Herst, of Ashford; Alice Snoth; and Katharine Knight, otherwise called Katharine Tynley, an aged woman.

These five, (to close up the final rage of Queen Mary's persecution,) for the testimony of that word, for which so many had died before, gave up their lives meekly and patiently, suffering the violent malice of the papists: which papists, although they then might have either well spared them, or else deferred their death, knowing of the sickness of Queen Mary; yet such was the implacable despite of that generation, that some there be that say, the archdeacon of Canterbury the same time being at London, and understanding the danger of the queen, incontinently made all post-haste home to despatch these, whom, before then, he had in his cruel custody.

The matter why they were judged to the fire, was this:--

"For believing the body not to be in the sacrament of the altar, unless it be received; saying moreover, that we receive another thing also besides Christ's body, which we see, and is a temporal thing, according to St. Paul, The things that be seen, be temporal, &c.

"Item, For confessing that an evil man doth not receive Christ's body, Because no man hath the Son, except it be given him of the Father.

"Item, That it is idolatry to creep to the cross; and St. John forbidding it, saith, Beware of images.

"Item, For confessing that we should not pray to our Lady, and other saints, because they be not omnipotent."

For these and other such articles of Christian doctrine, were these five committed to the fire. Against whom when the sentence should be read, and they excommunicate, after the manner of the papists, one of them, John Corneford by name, stirred with a vehement spirit of the zeal of God, proceeding in a more true excommunication against the papists, in the name of them all, pronounced sentence against them, in these words as follow:

"In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of the most mighty God, and by the power of his Holy Spirit, and the authority of his holy catholic and apostolic church, we do here give into the hands of Satan to be destroyed, the bodies of all those blasphemers and heretics, that do maintain any error against his most holy word, or do condemn his most holy truth for heresy, to the maintenance of any false church

or feigned religion; so that by this thy just judgment, O most mighty God, against thy adversaries, thy true religion may be known to thy great glory and our comfort, and to the edifying of all our nation. Good Lord, so be it. Amen."

This sentence of excommunication, being the same time openly pronounced and registered, proceeding so, as it seemeth, from an inward faith and hearty zeal to God's truth and religion, took such effect against the enemy, that within six days after Queen Mary died, and the tyranny of all English papists with her. Albeit, notwithstanding the sickness and death of that queen, whereof they were not ignorant; yet the archdeacon, with others of Canterbury, thought to despatch the martyrdom of these men before. In the which fact, the tyranny of this archdeacon seemeth to exceed the cruelty of Bonner; who, notwithstanding he had certain the same time under his custody, yet he was not so importune in haling them to the fire, as appeareth by father Living and his wife, and divers others, who, being the same time under the custody and danger of Bonner, were delivered by the death of Queen Mary, and remain yet some of them alive.

These godly martyrs, in their prayers which they made before their martyrdom, desired God that their blood might be the last that should be shed, and so it was.

This Katharine Tynley was the mother of one Robert Tynley, now dwelling in Maidstone, which Robert was in trouble all Queen Mary's time; to whom his mother, coming to visit him, asked him how he took this place of Scripture which she had seen, not by reading of the Scripture, (for she had yet in manner no taste of religion,) but had found it by chance in a book of prayers: I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh, and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy; your old men shall dream dreams, and your young men shall see visions. And also upon the servants, and upon the maids, in those days, will I pour my Spirit, &c.: which place after that he had expounded to her, she began to take hold on the gospel, growing more and more in zeal and love thereof; and so continued unto her martyrdom.

Among such young women as were burnt at Canterbury, it is recorded of a certain maid, and supposed to be this Alice Snotth here in this story mentioned, or else to be Agnes Snotth above storied, (for they were both burnt,) that when she was brought to be executed, she being at the stake, called for her godfather and godmothers. The justice, hearing her, sent for them, but they durst not come. Notwithstanding the justices willed the messenger to go again, and to show them that they should incur no danger thereof.

Then they, hearing that, came to know the matter of their sending for. When the maid saw them, she asked them what they had promised for her; and so she immediately rehearsed her faith, and the commandments of God; and required of them, if there were any more that they had promised in her behalf, and they said, No.

"Then," said she, "I die a Christian woman, bear witness of me." And so cruelly in fire was she consumed, and gave joyfully her life up for the testimony of Christ's gospel, to the terror of the wicked, and comfort of the godly; and also to the stopping of the slanderous mouths of such as falsely do quarrel against the faithful

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martyrs, for going from that religion wherein by their godfathers and godmothers they were first baptized.

390. John Hunt and Richard White

The story and condemnation of John Hunt and Richard White, ready to be burnt, but who, by the death of Queen Mary, escaped the fire.

Besides these martyrs above named, divers there were in divers other places of the realm imprisoned, whereof some were but newly taken and not yet examined; some begun to be examined, but were not yet condemned; certain were both examined and condemned, but for lack of writ they escaped.

Others there were also, both condemned, and the writ also was brought down for their burning, and yet by the death of the chancellor, the bishop, and of Queen Mary happening together about one time, they most happily and marvellously were preserved, and lived many years after; in the number of whom was one John Hunt and Richard White, imprisoned at Salisbury: touching which history something here is to be showed.

First, these two good men and faithful servants of the Lord above named, to wit, John Hunt and Richard White, had remained long time in prison at Salisbury, and other places thereabout, the space of two years and more. During which time, oft-times they were called to examination, and manifold ways were impugned by the bishops and the priests. All whose examinations, as I thought not much needful here to prosecute or to search out, for the length of the volume; so neither again did I think it good to leave no memory at all of the same, but some part to express, namely, of the examination of Richard White, before the bishop of Salisbury, the bishop of Gloucester, with the chancellor and other priests, not unworthy, perchance, to be rehearsed.

The bishop of Salisbury at that time was Dr. Capon. The bishop of Gloucester was Dr. Brooks. These, with Dr. Geffery, the chancellor of Salisbury, and a great number of priests sitting in judgment, Richard White was brought before them; with whom first the bishop of Gloucester, who had the examination of him, beginneth thus.

Bishop Brooks.--"Is this the prisoner?"

The Chancellor.--"Yea, my Lord."

Brooks.--"Friend, wherefore comest thou hither?"

White.--"My Lord, I trust to know the cause: for the law saith, In the mouth of two or three witnesses, things must stand."

Dr. Capon.--"Did not I examine thee of thy faith, when thou tamest hither?"

White.--"No, my Lord, you did not examine me, but commanded me to the Lollards' Tower, and that no man should speak with me. And now I do require mine accuser."

Then the registrar said, "The mayor of Marlborough did apprehend you for words that you spake there; and, for that, I commanded you to be conveyed hither to prison."

White.--"You had the examination of me in Marlborough. Say what I have said; and I will answer you."

Geffery.--"Thou shalt confess thy faith ere thou depart; and therefore say thy mind freely, and be not ashamed so to do."

White.--"I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ, because it is the power of God to salvation unto all that believe: and St. Peter saith, If any man do ask thee a reason of the hope that is in thee, make him a direct answer, and that with meekness. Who shall have the examination of me?"

Chancellor.--"My Lord of Gloucester shall have the examination of thee."

White.--"My Lord, will you take the pains to wet your coat in my blood? Be not guilty thereof; I warn you beforehand!"

Brooks.--"I will do nothing contrary to our law."

White.--"My Lord, what is it that you do request at my hands?"

Brooks.--"I will appose thee upon certain articles, and principally upon the sacrament of the altar: How dost thou believe of the blessed sacrament of the altar? Believest thou not the real, carnal, and corporal presence of Christ in the same, even the very same Christ that was born of the Virgin Mary, that was hanged on the cross, and that suffered for our sins?" And at these words they all put off their caps, and bowed their bodies.

White.--"My Lord, what is a sacrament?"

Brooks.--"It is the thing itself the which it representeth."

White.--"My Lord, that cannot be; for he that representeth a prince, cannot be the prince himself."

Brooks.--"How many sacraments findest thou in the Scriptures, called by the name of sacraments?"

White.--"I find two sacraments in the Scriptures, but not called by the names of sacraments. But I think St. Augustine gave them the first name of sacraments."

Brooks.--"Then thou findest not that word sacrament in the Scriptures?"

White.--"No, my Lord."

Brooks.--"Did not Christ say, This is my body? and are not his words true?"

White.--"I am sure the words are true; but you play by me, as the devil did by Christ, for he said, If thou be, &c., for it is written, &c. But the words that followed after he clean left out, which are these: Thou shalt walk upon the lion and asp, &c. These words the devil left out, because they were spoken against himself; and even so do you recite the Scriptures."

Brooks.--"Declare thy faith upon the sacrament."

White.--"Christ and his sacraments are like, because of the natures; for in Christ are two natures, a divine and a human nature: so likewise in the sacraments of Christ's body and blood there be two natures, the which I divide into two parts, that is, external and internal. The external part is the element of bread and wine, according to the saying of St. Augustine: the internal part is the invisible grace, which by the same is represented. So is there an external receiving of the same sacrament, and an internal. The external is with the hand, the eye, the mouth, and the ear: the internal is by the Holy Ghost in the heart, which worketh in me faith. Whereby I apprehend all the merits of Christ, applying the same wholly unto my salvation. If this be truth, believe it; and if it be not, reprove it."

Dr. Hoskins.--"This is Ecolampadius's doctrine, and Hooper taught it the people."

Brooks.--"Dost thou not believe, that after the words of consecration there is the natural presence of Christ's body?"

White.--"My Lord, I will answer you, if you will answer me to one question. Is not this article of our belief true: 'He sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty?' If he be come from thence to judgment, say so."

Brooks.--"No: but if thou wilt believe the Scriptures, I will prove to thee that Christ was both in heaven and in earth at one time."

White.--"As he is God, he is in all places; but as for his manhood, he is but in one place."

Brooks.--"St. Paul saith, Last of all he was seen of me, &c. Here St. Paul saith he saw Christ; and St. Paul was not in heaven."

White.--"St. Paul's chief purpose was by this place to prove the resurrection. But how do you prove that Christ, when he appeared to St. Paul, was not still in heaven; like as he was seen of Stephen sitting at the right hand of God? St. Augustine saith, the Head that was in heaven did cry for the body and members which were on the earth, and said, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? And was not Paul taken up into the third heaven, where he might see Christ? as he witnesseth in 1 Cor. xv. For there he doth but only say he saw Christ, but concerning the place he speaketh nothing. Wherefore this place of Scripture proveth not that Christ was both in heaven and earth at one time."

Brooks.--"I told you before, he would not believe. Here be three opinions, the Lutherans, the Ecolampadians, and we the catholics. If you the Ecolampadians have

the truth, then the Lutherans, and we the catholics, be out of the way. If the Lutherans have the truth, then you the Ecolampadians, and we the catholics, be out of the way. But if we the catholics have the truth, as we have indeed, then the Lutherans, and you the Ecolampadians, are out of the way; as you are indeed, for the Lutherans do call you heretics."

White.--"My Lord, ye have troubled me greatly with the Scriptures."

Brooks.--"Did I not tell you it was not possible to remove him from his error? Away with him to the Lollards' Tower, and despatch him as soon as ye can?"

"This was the effect of my first examination. More examinations I had after this, which I have no time now to write ont."

Amongst many other examinations of the foresaid Richard White, at divers and sundry times sustained, it happened one time, that Dr. Blackstone, chancellor of Exeter, sat upon him with divers other, who, alleging certain doctors (as Chrysostom, Cyprian, Tertullian) against the said Richard, and being reproved by him for his false patching of the doctors, fell in such a quaking and shaking, (his conscience belike remorsing him,) that he was fain, stooping down, to lay both his hands upon his knees to stay his body from trembling.

Then the said John Hunt and Richard White, after many examinations and long captivity, at length were called for, and brought before Dr. Geffery, the bishop's chancellor, there to be condemned; and so they were. The high sheriff at that present was one named Sir Anthony Hungerford, who being then at the sessions, was there charged with these two condemned persons, with other malefactors there condemned likewise the same time, to see the execution of death ministered unto them.

In the mean time Master Clifford of Boscombe in Wiltshire, son-in-law to the said Sir Anthony Hungerford the sheriff, cometh to his father, exhorting him and counselling him earnestly in no case to meddle with the death of these two innocent persons; and if the chancellor and priests would needs be instant upon him, yet he should first require the writ to be sent down de comburendo, for his discharge.

Sir Anthony Hungerford hearing this, and understanding Justice Brown to be in the town the same time, went to him to ask his advice and counsel in the matter; who told him that without the writ sent down from the superior powers, he could not be discharged; and if the writ were sent, then he must by the law do his charge.

The sheriff, understanding by Justice Brown how far he might go by the law, and having at that time no writ for his warrant, let them alone, and the next day after, taking his horse, departed.

The chancellor all this while marvelling what the sheriff meant, and yet disdainng to go unto him, but looking rather the other should have come first to him, at last hearing that he was ridden away, taketh his horse and rideth after him; who, at length overtaking the said sheriff, declared unto him how he had committed certain condemned prisoners to his hand, whose duty had been to see execution done: the

matter he said was great, and therefore willed him to look well unto it, how he would answer the matter. And thus began he fiercely to lay to his charge.

Wherein note, gentle reader! by the way, the close and covert hypocrisy of the papists in their dealings; who, in the form and style of their own sentence condemnatory, pretend a petition unto the secular power, "that the rigour of the law may be mitigated, and their life may be spared." And how standeth this now with their own doings and dealings, when this chancellor (as ye see) is not only contented to give sentence against them, but also hunteth after the officer, not suffering him to spare them, although he would? What dissimulation is this of men, going and doing contrary to their own words and profession! But let us return to our matter again.

Dr. Geffery the chancellor, thus sent away from the sheriff, went home, and there fell sick upon the same; for anger belike, as they signified unto me, which were the parties themselves, both godly and grave persons, who were then condemned, the one of them, which is Richard White, being yet alive.

The sheriff hearing the chancellor's words, and seeing him so urgent upon him, told him again that he was no babe, which now was to be taught of him. If he had any writ to warrant and discharge him in burning those men, then he knew what he had to do. "Why," saith the chancellor, "did I not give you a writ, with my hand, and eight more of the close, set unto the same?" "Well," quoth the sheriff, "that is no sufficient discharge for me; and therefore, as I told you, if ye have a sufficient writ and warrant from the superior powers, I know then what I have to do in my office: otherwise, if you have no other writ but that, I tell you, I will neither burn them for you, nor any of you all," &c.

Where note again, good reader! how by this it may be thought and supposed, that the other poor saints and martyrs of God, such as had been burnt at Salisbury before, were burnt belike without any authorized or sufficient writ from the superiors, but only upon the information of the chancellor and of the close, through the uncircumspect negligence of the sheriffs, which should have looked more substantially upon the matter. But this I leave and refer unto the magistrates. Let us return to the story again.

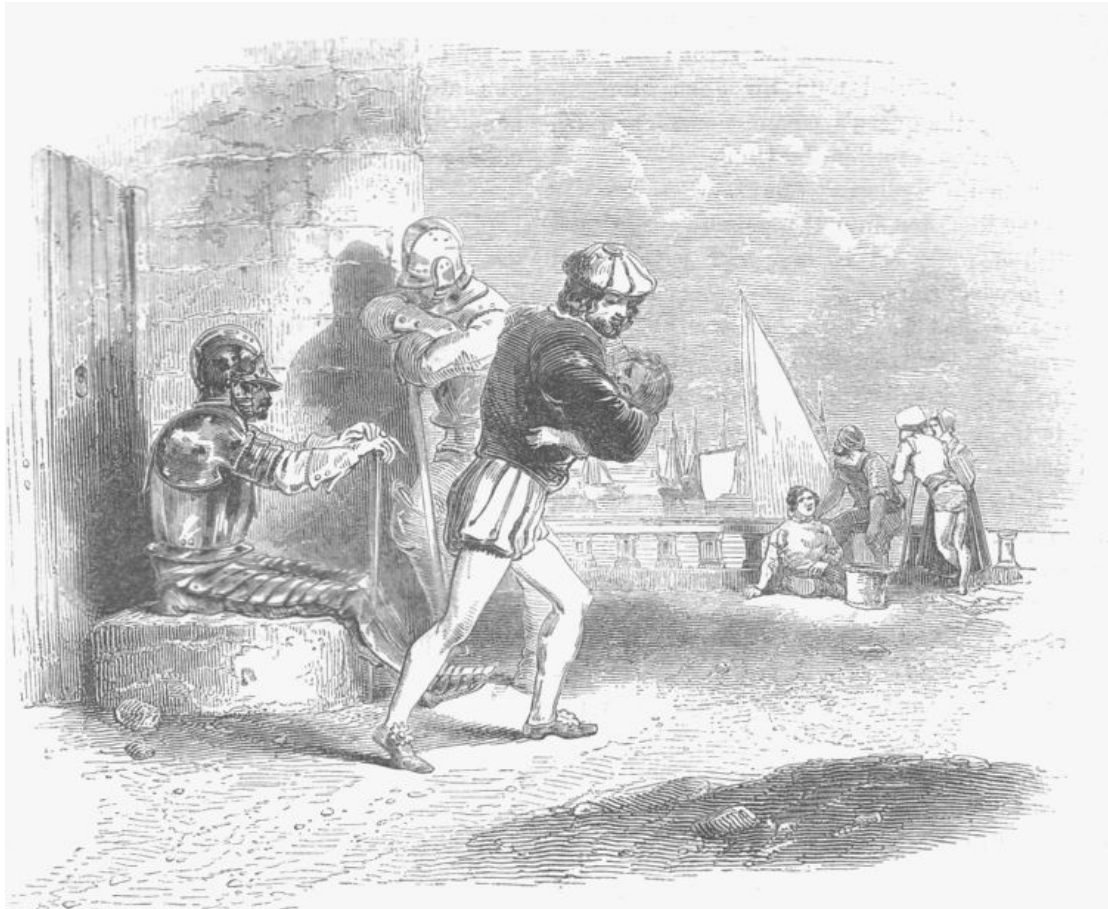
The under-sheriff to this Sir Anthony Hungerford above named, was one Master Michel, likewise a right and a perfect godly man. So that not long after this came down the writ to burn the above-named Richard White and John Hunt: but the under-sheriff, receiving the said writ, said, "I will not be guilty," quoth he, "of these men's blood;" and immediately burnt the writing, and departed his way. Within four days after the chancellor died; concerning whose death this cometh by the way to be noted, that these two foresaid, John Hunt and Richard White, being the same time in a low and dark dungeon, being Saturday, toward evening (according to their accustomed manner) fell to evening prayer; who, kneeling there together, as they should begin their prayer, suddenly fell both to such a strange weeping, and tenderness of heart, (but how, they could not tell,) that they could not pray one word, but so continued a great space, bursting out in tears. After that night was past, and the morning come, the first word they heard was, that the chancellor their great enemy was dead; the time of whose death they found to be the same hour when as they fell in

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such a sudden weeping. The Lord in all his works be praised, Amen. Thus much concerning the death of that wicked chancellor.

This Richard White and the said John Hunt, after the death of the chancellor, the bishop also being dead a little before, continued still in prison till the happy coming in of Queen Elizabeth; and so were at liberty.

391. Will Fetty, a Young Lad of eight years old, Scourged to Death in Bishop Bonner's House in London.



Cluney carrying Will Fetty



F bloody torments and cruel death of a poor innocent, suffering for no cause of his own, but in the truth of Christ and his religion, do make a martyr, no less deserveth the child of one John Fetty to be reputed in the catalogue of holy martyrs, who in the house of Bishop Bonner unmercifully was scourged to death, as by the sequel of this story here following may appear.

Amongst those that were persecuted and miserably imprisoned for the profession of Christ's gospel, and yet mercifully delivered by the providence of God, there was one John Fetty, a simple and godly poor man, dwelling in the parish of Clerkenwell, and was by vocation a tailor, of the age of forty-two years or thereabout, who was accused and complained of unto one Brokenbury, a priest and parson of the same parish, by his own wife, for that he would not come unto the church, and be partaker of their idolatry and superstition; and therefore, through the said priest's procurement, he was apprehended by Richard Tanner and his fellow constables there, and one Martin the

headborough. Howbeit immediately upon his apprehension, his wife (by the just judgment of God) was stricken mad, and distract of her wits; which declared a marvellous example of the justice of God against such unfaithful and most unnatural treachery. And although this example, perhaps for lack of knowledge and instruction in such cases, little moved the consciences of those simple poor men to surcease their persecution; yet natural pity towards that ungrateful woman wrought so in their hearts, that for the preservation and sustentation of her and her two children, (like otherwise to perish,) they for that present let her husband alone, and would not carry him to prison, but yet suffered him to remain quietly in his own house; during which time, he, as it were forgetting the wicked and unkind fact of his wife, did yet so cherish and provide for her, that within the space of three weeks, (through God's merciful providence,) she was well amended, and had recovered again some stay of her wits and senses.

But such was the power of Satan in the malicious heart of that wicked woman, that notwithstanding his gentle dealing with her, yet she, so soon as she had recovered some health, did again accuse her husband; whereupon he was the second time apprehended, and carried unto Sir John Mordant, knight, one of the queen's commissioners, and he, upon examination, sent him by Cluney the bishop's sumner unto the Lollards' Tower, where he was (even at the first) put into the painful stocks, and had a dish of water set by him, with a stone put into it: to what purpose God knoweth, except it were to show that he should look for little other sustenance; which is credible enough, if we consider their like practices upon divers before mentioned in this history, as, amongst others, upon Richard Smith, who died through their cruel imprisonment; touching whom, when a godly woman came to Dr. Story, to have leave that she might bury him, he asked her if he had any straw or blood in his mouth: but what he meant thereby, I leave to the judgment of the godly wise.

After the aforesaid Fetty had thus lain in the prison by the space of fifteen days, hanging in the stocks, sometimes by the one leg, and the one arm, sometimes by the other, and otherwhiles by both, it happened that one of his children, (a boy of the age of eight or nine years,) came unto the bishop's house, to see if he could get leave to speak with his father. At his coming thither, one of the bishop's chaplains met with him, and asked him what he lacked and whom he would have. The child answered, that he came to see his father. The chaplain asked again, who was his father. The boy then told him, and pointing towards Lollards' Tower, showed him that his father was there in prison. "Why," quoth the priest, "thy father is a heretic." The child, being of a bold and quick spirit, and also godly brought up, and instructed by his father in the knowledge of God, answered and said, "My father is no heretic; for you have Balaam's mark."

With that the priest took the child by the hand, and carried him into the bishop's house, (whether to the bishop or not, I know not, but like enough he did,) and there, amongst them, they did most shamefully and without all pity so whip and scourge, being naked, this tender child, that he was all in a gore-blood; and then, in jolly brag of their catholic tyranny, they caused Cluney, having his coat upon his arm, to carry the child in his shirt unto his father being in prison, the blood running down by his heels.

At his coming unto his father the child fell down upon his knees, and asked his blessing. The poor man then beholding his child, and seeing him so cruelly arrayed, cried out for sorrow, and said, "Alas, Will! who hath done this to thee?" The boy answered, that as he was seeking how to come to see his father, a priest with Balaam's mark took him into the bishop's house, and there was he so handled. Cluney therewith violently plucked the child away out of his father's hands, and carried him back again into the bishop's house, where they kept him three days after. And at the three days' end, Bonner (minding to make the matter whole, and somewhat to appease the poor man, for this their horrible fact) determined to release him; and therefore caused him early in a morning to be brought out of Lollards' Tower into his bed-chamber, where he found the bishop basting of himself against a great fire; and at his first entering into the chamber, Fetty said, "God be here, and peace." "God be here, and peace!" quoth Bonner; "that is neither God speed, nor Good morrow." "If ye kick against this peace," said Fetty, "then this is not the place that I seek for."

A chaplain of the bishop's standing by, turned the poor man about, and thinking to deface him, said in mocking-wise, "What have we here, a player?" Whilst this Fetty was standing in the bishop's chamber, he espied hanging about the bishop's bed a great pair of black beads: whereupon he said, "My Lord, I think the hangman is not far off; for the halter" (pointing to the beads) "is here already." At which words the bishop was in a marvellous rage.

Then, immediately after, he espied also standing in the said bishop's chamber in the window, a little crucifix (before which, belike, Bonner used to kneel in the time of his hypocritical prayers). Then he asked the bishop what it was; and he answered that it was Christ. "Was he handled so cruelly as he is here pictured?" quoth Fetty.

"Yea, that he was," said the bishop.

"And even so cruelly will you handle such as come before you. For you are unto God's people, as Caiaphas was unto Christ."

The bishop being in a great fury, said, "Thou art a vile heretic; and I will burn thee, or else I will spend all that I have, unto my gown." "Nay, my Lord," said Fetty, "ye were better to give it a poor body, that he may pray for you."

But yet Bonner, bethinking in himself of the danger that the child was in by their whipping, and what peril might ensue thereupon, thought better to discharge him; which thing was accomplished. Whereupon, after this and such-like talk, the bishop at last discharged him, willing him to go home, and carry his child with him; which he so did, and that with a heavy heart, to see his poor boy in such extreme pain and grief. But within fourteen days after, the child died, whether through this cruel scourging, or any other infirmity, I know not; and therefore I refer the truth thereof unto the Lord, who knoweth all secrets, and also to the discreet judgment of the wise reader. But howsoever it was, the Lord yet used their cruel and detestable fact as a means of his providence for the delivery of this good poor man and faithful Christian: his name be ever praised there-for. Amen.

392. The Bishops' Certificate

And thus hast thou, gentle reader, through the merciful aid and supportation of Christ our Lord most favourably assisting us in the same, the full history and discourse, with the names and places, of all the godly martyrs who suffered, both in the time of Queen Mary, and also before, for the true reformation of Christ's church; which, after the blood of so many saints, the Lord at length hath given us, to whom there-for be praise for ever, Amen.

This done, next followeth consequently now to be seen, the general and ordinary certificatory of the bishops, which they used to send up to the prince, at their condemning of Christ's innocent servants to death.

A certificate from the bishop to the prince.

"Excellentissimis et illustrissimis in Christo principibus, Philippo et Mariæ, Dei gratia regi et reginæ Angliæ, Franciæ, Neapolis, Hierusalem, et Hibernia, fidei defensoribus, principibus Hispaniarum et Siciliæ, archiducibus Austriæ, ducibus Mediolani, Burgundiæ, et Brabantiae, comitibus Haspurgi, Flandriæ, et Tyrolis, , servus vester humilis et devotus, permissione divina episcopus N., reverentiam, obedientiam, ac salutem in Eo, per quem reges regnant et principes dominantur. Quia per acta inactitata coram nobis in quodam hereticæ pravitatis negotio contra R. P., nostrarum diæcesis et jurisdictionis, nuper, et per seas confessiones, in hæc parte in judicio respective habita, facta, et emissas, comperimus et invenimus luculenter eundum fuisse et esse hereticum et hereticæ pravitatis scelere innodatum et involutum, eo præsertim quod contra veram Christi corporis in eucharistia præsentiam multipliciter et sæpe damnata dogmata tenuisset et defendisset, ac in eodem scelere pertinaciter stetisset et continuasset, nulla pœnitentiæ signa in ea parte aliquo modo ostendendo; ac ob id eundem manifestum, obstinatum et pertinacem, incorrigibilem et impœnitentem hæreticum fuisse et esse, ac pœna hæresis puniendum et seculari potestati tradendum fore, inter cætera, per nostram sententiam diffinitivam in ea parte judicialiter in scriptis latam et promulgatam pronunciavimus et declaravimus; necnon ipsum provido viro M., uni vicecomitem vestræ civitatis N., ad hoc una nobiscum et cum majore dictæ vestræ civitatis N. in judicio personaliter presenti, juxta juris exigentiam reliquimus et tradidimus:-- vestræ igitur Regis Majestati excellentissimæ tenore præsentium significamus, innotescimus, et certificamus, omnia et singula præmissa sic per nos fuisse et esse gesta et facta, et veritatem in se omnino habere et continere: supplicantes nihilominus, et in visceribus Jesu Christi obsecrantes, ut severitatis ultio et severa executio, quæ ex legibus et more regni vestri in hoc casu fieri at haberi solet et consuevit, sic mitigetur, ut idem charitative reformetur, et ejus delicta (quatenus fieri potest) cum omni mansuetudine et lenitate corrigantur; sic quod rigor non sit valde rigidus, et quod dementia omnino sit ad salutem, metumque aliis incutiat a similibus sceleribus abstinendi, potius quam fiduciam præbeat dicta scelera perpetrandi. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum nostrum præsentibus apponi fecimus. Datum N. die mensis , anno Domini secundum computationem ecclesia Anglicans?, etc."

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

A note or scholium upon this certificate.

Note, good reader, in this certificate above written, the crafty and cruel hypocrisy and hypocritical cruelty of these dissembling prelates. First, by their sentence, they condemn the poor innocents, and give them to the secular power; then, by their canon, they themselves prescribe the secular power to burn them; and yet here, in this certificate before the king and queen, they put on a visor of clemency, making as though they, from the inward bowels of their heart, would make intercession for their lives, when they mean nothing else indeed but their death.

If the pope, with his popelings, would not the rigour of the law to be showed, why doth he so charge them in his canon to burn them? why be the prelates so busy to attach them? so inquisitive to entrap them? so hasty to condemn them? so insulting and insolent upon them being condemned, as Bonner was to Tankerfield and to a jerkin-maker -- bidding one of them now go make pies, the other to make jerkins, when he had condemned them?

Contrary, if the pope with his papists do, (as they do indeed,) and mean nothing else than to make havoc of God's people, why then would they have the world believe as though they wrought all with clemency and pity, desiring the superior powers to remit the rigour and sharpness of their swords? -- when, in very deed, they themselves thrust them violently upon the sword, for them to chop off their necks.

393. Martyrs in Spain and Portugal.

The cruel handling and burning of Nicholas Burton, Englishman and merchant, in Spain; also the trouble of John Fronton there.

Forasmuch as in our former book of Acts and Monuments mention was made of the martyrdom of Nicholas Burton, I thought here also not to omit the same; the story being such as is not unworthy to be known, as well for the profitable example of his singular constancy, as also for the noting of the extreme dealing and cruel ravening of those catholic inquisitors of Spain, who, under the pretended visor of religion, do nothing but seek their own private gain and commodity, with crafty defrauding and spoiling of other men's goods, as by the noting of this story may appear.

The fifth day of the month of November, about the year of our Lord God 1560, this Nicholas Burton, citizen sometime of London, and merchant, dwelling in the parish of Little St. Bartholomew, peaceably and quietly following his traffic in the trade of merchandise, and being in the city of Cadiz, in the parts of Andalusia in Spain, there came into his lodging a Judas, or (as they term them) a familiar of the fathers of the inquisition; who in asking for the said Nicholas Burton, feigned that he had a letter to deliver to his own hands; by which means he spake with him immediately. And having no letter to deliver to him, then the said promoter or familiar, at the motion of the devil, his master, whose messenger he was, invented another lie, and said, that he would take lading for London in such ships as the said Nicholas Burton had freighted to lade, if he would let any; which was partly to know where he laded his goods, that they might attach them, and chiefly to detract the time until the alguazil or sergeant of the said inquisition might come and apprehend the body of the said Nicholas Burton; which they did incontinently. Burton then, well perceiving that they were not able to burden nor charge him, that he had written, spoken, or done any thing there, in that country, against the ecclesiastical or temporal laws of the same realm, boldly asked them what they had to lay to his charge that they did arrest him, and bade them to declare the cause, and he would answer them. Notwithstanding they answered nothing, but commanded him with cruel threatening words to hold his peace, and not to speak one word to them.

And so they carried him to the cruel and filthy common prison of the town of Cadiz, where he remained in irons fourteen days amongst thieves. All which time he so instructed the poor prisoners in the word of God, according to the good talent which, God had given him in that behalf, and also in the Spanish tongue to utter the same, that in short space he had well reclaimed sundry of those superstitious and ignorant Spaniards to embrace the word of God, and to reject their popish traditions. Which being known unto the officers of the inquisition, they conveyed him, laden with irons, from thence to a city called Seville, into a more cruel and straiter prison called Triana, where the said fathers of the inquisition proceeded against him secretly, according to their accustomable cruel tyranny, that never after he could be suffered to write or to speak to any of his nation; so that to this day it is unknown who was his accuser.

Afterward, the twentieth day of December, in the foresaid year, they brought the said Nicholas Burton, with a great number of other prisoners, for professing the true Christian religion, into the city of Seville, to a place where the said inquisitors sat in judgment, which they called the Auto, with a canvass coat, whereupon in divers parts was painted the huge figure of a devil, tormenting a soul in a flame of fire, and on his head a coping tank of the same work. His tongue was forced out of his mouth with a cloven stick fastened upon it, that he should not utter his conscience and faith to the people; and so he was set with another Englishman of Southampton, and divers other men condemned for religion, as well Frenchmen as Spaniards, upon a scaffold over against the said inquisition, where their sentences and judgments were read and pronounced against them. And immediately after the said sentences given, they were carried from thence to the place of execution without the city, where they most cruelly burnt him: for whose constant faith, God be praised.

This Nicholas Burton, by the way and in the flames of the fire, made so cheerful a countenance, embracing death with all patience and gladness, that the tormentors and enemies which stood by, said that the devil had his soul before he came to the fire; and therefore they said his senses of feeling were past him.

It happened that after the arrest of this Nicholas Burton aforesaid, immediately all the goods and merchandise which he brought with him into Spain by the way of traffic, were (according to their common usage) seized and taken into the sequester; among the which they also rolled up much that appertained to another English merchant, wherewith he was credited as factor; whereof so soon as news was brought to the merchant, as well of the imprisonment of his factor, as of the arrest made upon his goods, he sent his attorney into Spain, with authority from him, to make claim to his goods, and to demand them; whose name was John Fronton, citizen of Bristol.

When his attorney was landed at Seville, and had showed all his letters and writings to the Holy House, requiring them that such goods might be redelivered into his possession, answer was made him that he must sue by bill, and retain an advocate (but all was doubtless to delay him); and they forsooth, of courtesy, assigned him one to frame his supplication for him, and other such bills of petition as he had to exhibit into their holy court, demanding for each bill eight rials, albeit they stood him in no more stead, than if he had put up none at all. And for the space of three or four months this fellow missed not twice a day, attending every morning and afternoon at the inquisitor's palace, suing unto them upon his knees for his despatch, but especially to the bishop of Tarragona, who was at that very time chief in the inquisition at Seville, that he, of his absolute authority, would command restitution to be made thereof; but the booty was so good and so great, that it was very hard to come by it again.

At the length, after he had spent four whole months in suits and requests, and all to no purpose, he received this answer from them, that he must show better evidence, and bring more sufficient certificates out of England for proof of his matter, than those which he had already presented to the court: whereupon the party forthwith posted to London, and with all speed returned to Seville again with more ample and large letters testimonial, and certificates, according to their request, and exhibited them to the court.

Notwithstanding the inquisitors still shifted him off, excusing themselves by lack of leisure, and for that they were occupied in greater and more weighty affairs; and with such answers delayed him other four months after.

At the last, when the party had well-nigh spent all his money, and therefore sued the more earnestly for his despatch, they referred the matter wholly to the bishop; of whom, when he repaired unto him, he made this answer: That for himself, he knew what he had to do; howbeit he was but one man, and the determination of the matter appertained unto the other commissioners as well as unto him: and thus by posting and passing it from one to another, the party could obtain no end of his suit. Yet, for his importunity' sake, they were resolved to despatch him. It was on this sort: one of the inquisitors, called Gasco, a man very well experienced in these practices, willed the party to resort unto him after dinner. The fellow, being glad to hear these news, and supposing that his goods should be restored unto him, and that he was called in for that purpose, to talk with the other that was in prison, to confer with him about their accounts, the rather through a little misunderstanding, hearing the inquisitor cast out a word, that it should be needful for him to talk with the prisoner; and being thereupon more than half persuaded, that at the length they meant good faith, did so, and repaired thither about the evening. Immediately upon his coming, the gaoler was forthwith charged with him, to shut him up close in such a certain prison, where they appointed him. The party, hoping at the first that he had been called for about some other matter, and seeing himself contrary to his expectation cast into a dark dungeon, perceived at the length that the world went with him far otherwise than he supposed it would have done. But within two or three days after, he was brought forth into the court, where he began to demand his goods; and because it was a device that well served their turn, without any more circumstance they bade him say his Ave Maria. The party began, and said it after this manner: *Ave Maria, gratiæ plena, Dominus tecum, benedicta tu in mulieribus, et benedictus fructus ventris tui Jesus. Amen.*

The same was written word by word as he spake it; and without any more talk of claiming his goods, because it was bootless, they command him to prison again, and enter an action against him as a heretic, forasmuch as he did not say his Ave Maria after the Romish fashion, but ended it very suspiciously: for he should have added moreover, *Sancta Maria mater Dei, ora pro nobis peccatoribus*; by abbreviating whereof, it was evident enough (said they) that he did not allow the mediation of saints.

Thus they picked a quarrel to detain him in prison a longer season, and afterwards brought him forth into their stage disguised after their manner; where sentence was given, that he should lose all the goods which he sued for, (though they were not his own,) and besides this, suffer a year's imprisonment.

The martyrdom of another Englishman in Spain.

At what time this blessed martyr of Christ suffered, which was the year of our Lord 1560, December the twenty-second, there suffered also another Englishman,

with other thirteen, one of them being a nun, another a friar, both constant in the Lord, of which thirteen read before.

John Baker and William Burgate, martyrs in Spain.

John Baker and William Burgate, both Englishmen in Cadiz, in the country of Spain, were apprehended, and, in the city of Seville, burnt the second day of November.

Mark Burges, martyr in Portugal, and William Hoker.

Mark Burges, an Englishman, master of an English ship, called the Minion, was burnt in Lisbon, a city in Portugal, anno 1560.

William Hoker, a young man, about the age of sixteen years, being an Englishman, was stoned to death of certain young men there in the city of Seville, for the confession of his faith, anno 1560.

But of these and such other acts and matters past in Spain, because they fell not within the compass of Queen Mary's reign, but since her time, another place shall serve hereafter, (the Lord willing,) to entreat more at large of the same, when we come to the years and reign of the queen that now is, where we have more conveniently to infer not only of these matters of the martyrs, (whereof somewhat also hath been touched before,) but also of the whole inquisition of Spain, Picardy, and of Flanders, with the tragical tumults and troubles happening within the last memory of these our later days, according as it shall please the mercy of the Lord to enable our endeavour with grace and space to the accomplishment thereof.

394. Scourgings and Beatings.

And thus, through the merciful assistance and favourable aid of Christ our Saviour, thou hast, as in a general register, good reader, the story collected, if not of all, yet of the most part; or at least, not many I trust omitted, of such good saints and martyrs as have lost their lives, and given their blood, or died in prison, for the testimony of Christ's true doctrine and sacraments, from the time of the cruel statute *ex officio*, first given out by King Henry the Fourth, unto this present time; and especially under the reign of Queen Mary.

Now after this bloody slaughter of God's good saints and servants thus ended and discoursed, let us proceed (by the good pleasure of the Lord) somewhat likewise to entreat of such as for the same cause of religion have been, although not put to death, yet whipped and scourged by the adversaries, of God's word, first beginning with Richard Wilmott and Thomas Fairfax, who, about the time of Anne Askew, were pitifully rent and tormented with scourges and stripes for their faithful standing to Christ, and to his truth, as by the story and examination both of the said Richard Wilmot and Thomas Fairfax, now following, may appear.

After the first recantation of Dr. Crome for his sermon which he made the fifth Sunday in Lent at St. Thomas of Acres, being the Mercer's chapel, his sermon was on the epistle of the same day, written in Heb. x.; wherein he proved very learnedly by the same place of Scripture and others, that Christ was the only and sufficient sacrifice unto God the Father for the sins of the whole world, and that there was no more sacrifice to be offered for sin by the priests, forasmuch as Christ had offered his body on the cross, and shed his blood for the sins of the people, and that once for all: for the which sermon he was apprehended of Bonner, and brought before Stephen Gardiner and others of the council, where he promised to recant his doctrine at Paul's Cross, the second Sunday after Easter. And accordingly he was there and preached, Bonner with all his doctors sitting before him: but he so preached and handled his matter, that he rather verified his former saying, than denied any part of that which he before had preached; for the which, the protestants praised God, and heartily rejoiced. But Bishop Bonner with his champions were not therewith pleased, but yet notwithstanding they had him home with them, and so handled him among that wolfish generation, that they made him come to the Cross again that next Sunday. And because the magistrates should now hear him, and be witnesses of this recantation, which was most blasphemous, to deny Christ's sacrifice to be sufficient for penitent sinners, and to say that the sacrifice of the mass was good, godly, and a holy sacrifice, propitiatory and available both for the quick and the dead: because (I say) that they would have the nobles to hear this blasphemous doctrine, the viperous generation procured all the chief of the council to be there present.

Now to come to our matter, at this time, the same week, between his first sermon and the last, and while Dr. Crome was in durance, one Richard Wilmot, being apprentice in Bow Lane, being of the age of eighteen years, and sitting at his work in his master's shop, the Tuesday, in the month of July, one Lewes a Welshman, being one of the guard, came into the shop, having things to do for himself.

One asked him, what news at the court, and he answered, that the old heretic Dr. Crowe had recanted now indeed before the council, and that he should on Sunday next be at Paul's Cross again, and there declare it.

Then Wilmot, sitting at his master's work, and hearing him speak these words, and rejoicing in the same, began to speak unto him, saying, that he was sorry to hear these news: "for," said he, "if Crome should say otherwise than he hath said, then is it contrary to the truth of God's word, and contrary to his own conscience, which shall before God accuse him."

Lewes answered and said, that he had preached and taught heresy; and therefore it was meet that he should in such a place revoke it.

Wilmot told him that he would not so say, neither did he hear him preach any doctrine contrary to God's word written, but that he proved his doctrine, and that sufficiently by the Scriptures.

Lewes then asked him how he knew that.

Wilmot answered, by the Scriptures of God, wherein he shall find God's will and pleasure, what he willeth all men to do, and what not to do; and also by them he should prove and try all doctrines, and the false doctrine from the true.

Lewes said it was never merry since the Bible was in English; and that he was both a heretic and a traitor that caused it to be translated into English, (meaning Cromwell,) and therefore was rewarded according to his deserts.

Wilmot answered again, what his deserts and offences were to his prince, a great many do not know, neither doth it force whether they do or no; only he was sure that he lost his life for offending his prince, and the law did put it in execution; adding moreover, concerning that man, that he thought it pleased God to raise him up from a low estate, and to place him in high authority, partly unto this -- that he should do that which all the bishops in the realm yet never did, in restoring again God's holy word, which being hid long before from the people in a strange tongue, and now coming abroad amongst us, will bring our bishops and priests (said he) in less estimation among the people.

Lewes asked, Why so?

Wilmot said, Because their doctrine and living were not according to his word.

Then said Lewes, "I never heard but that all men should learn of the bishops and priests, because they are learned men, and have been brought up in learning all the days of their lives: wherefore they must needs know the truth. And our fathers did believe their doctrine and learning; and I think they did well, for the world was far better then, than it is now."

Wilmot answered, "I will not say so; for we must not believe them because they are bishops, neither because they are learned, neither because our forefathers did follow their doctrine. For I have read in God's book, how that bishops and learned

men have taught the people false doctrine, and likewise the priests from time to time; and indeed those people our forefathers believed as they taught; and as they did think, so did the people think. But for all this, Christ calleth them false prophets, thieves, murderers, blind leaders of the blind; willing the people to take heed of them, lest they should both fall into the ditch. Moreover we read, that the bishops, priests, and learned men have been commonly resisters of the truth from time to time, and have always persecuted the prophets in the old law, as their successors did persecute our Saviour Christ and his disciples in the new law. We must take heed, therefore, that we credit them no further than God will have us, neither follow them nor our forefathers otherwise than he commandeth us. For Almighty God hath given to all people, as well to kings and princes, as bishops, priests, learned and unlearned men, a commandment and law, unto the which he willeth all men to be obedient. Therefore if any bishop or priest preach or teach, or prince or magistrate command, any thing contrary to his commandment, we must take heed how we obey them: for it is better for us to obey God than man."

"Marry, sir," quoth Lewes, "you are a holy doctor indeed. By God's blood, if you were my man, I would set you about your business a little better, and not suffer you to look upon books; and so would your master, if he were wise." And with that in came his master, and a young man With him, which was servant with Master Daubney in Watling Street.

His master asked, What the matter was.

Lewes said, that he had a knavish boy here to his servant; and how that if he were his, he would rather hang him, than keep him in his house.

Then his master, being somewhat moved, asked his fellows what the matter was.

They said, "They began to talk about Dr. Crome."

Then his master asked him what he had said; swearing a great oath, that he would make him to tell him.

He said, that he trusted he had said nothing, whereby either he or Master Lewes might justly be offended. "I pray you," quoth Wilmot, "ask him what I said."

"Marry, sir," said Lewes, "this he said, that Dr. Crome did preach and teach nothing but the truth, and how that if he recant on Sunday next, he would be sorry to hear it; and that if he do, he is made to do it against his conscience. And more he saith, that we must not follow our bishops' doctrine and preaching; for (saith he) they be hinderers of God's word, and persecutors of that: and how Cromwell did more good (that traitor!) in setting forth the Bible, than all our bishops have done these hundred years:" thus reporting the matter worse than he had said.

Then said Wilmot, that in many things he made his tale worse than it was. His master hearing of this, was in a great fury, and rated him, saying, that either he would be hanged or burnt; swearing that he would take away all his books, and burn them.

The young man (Master Daubney's servant) standing by hearing this, began to speak on his part unto Lewes: and his talk confirmed all the sayings of the other to be true.

This young man was learned, his name was Thomas Fairfax. Lewes hearing this man's talk as well as the others, went his way in a rage unto the court.

On the morrow they heard news, so that the said Wilmot and Thomas Fairfax were sent for, to come to the lord mayor. The messenger was Master Smart, swordbearer of London. They came before dinner to the mayor's house, and were commanded to sit down at dinner in the hall; and when the dinner was done, they were both called into a parlour, where the mayor and Sir Roger Cholmley were, who examined them severally, the one not hearing the other.

The effect of their talk with them was this; Sir Roger Cholmley said unto the foresaid Wilmot, that my Lord Mayor and he had received a commandment from the council, to send for him and his companion, and to examine them of certain things which were laid unto their charge. Then said Master Cholmley to him, "Sirrah, what countryman art thou?" He answered, that he was born in Cambridgeshire, and in such a town. Then he asked him, how long he had been in the city. He told him. Then he asked what learning he had. He said, "Little learning and small knowledge."

Then, deridingly, he asked how long he had known Dr. Crome. He said, But a while; about two years. He said that he was a lying boy, and said he (the said Wilmot) was his son. The other said unto him, That was unlike, for that he never saw his mother, nor she him. Cholmley said, he lied. Wilmot said, he could prove it to be true. Then he asked him how he liked his sermon, that he made at St. Thomas of Acres' chapel, in Lent. He said that indeed he heard him not. He said, Yes, and the other, Nay. Then said he, "What say you to his sermon made at the Cross, the last day? heard you not that?"

Wilmot.--"Yes, and in that sermon he deceived a great number of people."

Cholmley.--"How so?"

Wilmot.--"For that they looked that he should have recanted his doctrine that he taught before; and did not, but rather confirmed it."

Cholmley.--"Yea, sir, but how say you now to him? for he hath recanted before the council; and hath promised on Sunday next to be at the Cross again; how think ye in that?"

Wilmot.--"If he so did, I am the more sorry to hear it;" and said, he thought he did it for fear and safeguard of his life.

Cholmley.--"But what say you? was his first sermon heresy or not?"

Wilmot.--"No, I suppose it was no heresy: for if it were, St. Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews was heresy, and Paul a heretic that preached such doctrine. But God

forbid that any Christian man should so think of the holy apostle; neither do I so think."

Cholmley.--"Why, how knowest thou that St. Paul wrote those things that are in English now, to be true, whereas Paul never wrote English or Latin?"

Wilmot.--"I am certified that learned men of God, that did seek to advance his word, did translate the same out of the Greek and Hebrew into Latin and English, and that they durst not presume to alter the sense of the Scripture of God, and last will and testament of Christ Jesus."

Then the lord mayor, being in a great fury, asked him what he had to do to read such books, and said that it was pity that his master did suffer him so to do, and that he was not set better to work; and, in fine, said unto him, that he had spoken evil of my Lord of Winchester and Bonner, those reverend and learned fathers and councillors of this realm, for the which his fact he saw no other but he must suffer as was due to the same. And Master Cholmley said, "Yea, my Lord, there are such a sort of heretics and traitorly knaves taken now in Essex by my Lord Riche, that it is too wonderful to hear. They shall be sent up to the bishop shortly, and shall be hanged and burnt all."

Wilmot.--"I am sorry to hear that of my Lord Riche, for that he was my godfather, and gave me my name at my baptism."

Cholmley asked him when he spake with him. He said, not these twelve years.

Cholmley.--"If he knew that he were such a one, he would do the like by him; and in so doing he should do God great service."

Wilmot.--"I have read the same saying in the gospel, that Christ said to his disciples, The time shall come, saith he, that whosoever killeth you, shall think that he shall do God high service."

"Well, sir," said Cholmley, "because you are so full of your Scripture, and so well learned, we consider you lack a quiet place to study in. Therefore you shall go to a place where you shall be most quiet, and I would wish you to study how you will answer to the council of those things which they have to charge you with, for else it is like to cost you your best joint. I know my Lord of Winchester will handle you well enough, when he heareth thus much."

Then was the officer called in, to have Wilmot to the Compter in the Poultry, and Fairfax to the other Compter, one of them not to see another. And thus remained they eight days; in the which time their masters made great labour unto the lord mayor and to Sir Roger Cholmley to know their offences, and that they might be delivered.

At length they procured the wardens of the company of Drapers, to labour with him in their suit to the mayor. The mayor went with them to the council; but at that time they could find no grace at Winchester's hand, and Sir Anthony Browne's, but that they had deserved death, and that they should have the law.

At length, through entreatance, he granted them thus much favour, that they should not die as they had deserved, but should be tied to a cart's tail, and be whipped three market days through the city. Thus they came home that day, and went another day; and the mayor and the wardens of the company kneeled before them to have this open punishment released, forasmuch as they were servants of so worshipful a company, and that they might be punished in their own hall before the wardens and certain of the company. At length it was granted, but with condition, as some said, as shall be hereafter declared.

Then were they sent before the masters the next day to the hall, both their masters being also present, and there were laid to their charge the heinous offences by them committed, how they were both heretics and traitors, and have deserved death for the same. And this was declared with a long process by the master of the company, whose name was Master Brooks, declaring what great labour and suit the mayor and the wardens had made for them, to save them from death, which they (as he said) had deserved, and from open shame, which they should have had, being judged by the council to have been whipped three days through the city at a cart's tail; and from these two dangers had they laboured to deliver them, but not without great suit and also charge. "For," saith he, "the company hath promised unto the council for this their mercy and favour showed towards them, being of such a worshipful company, a hundred pounds: notwithstanding we must see them punished in our hall, within ourselves, for those their offences." After these and many other words, he commanded them to address themselves to receive their punishment.

Then were they put asunder, and stripped from the waist upward one after another, and had into the hall; and in the midst of the hall, where they use to make their fire, there was a great ring of iron, to the which there was a rope tied fast, and one of their feet thereto fast tied. Then came two men down, disguised in mummers' apparel, with visors on their faces, and they beat them with great rods until the blood did follow in their bodies. As concerning this Wilmot, he could not lie in his bed six nights after, for Brooks played the tyrant with them.

So it was, that with the beating, and the flight, and fear, they were never in health since, as the said Wilmot with his own mouth hath credibly ascertained us, and we can no less but testify the same. Thus have we briefly rehearsed this little tragedy, wherein ye may note the malice of the enemies at all times to those which profess Christ, and take his part, of what estate or degree soever they be, according to the apostle's saying, It is given unto you not only to believe, but also to suffer with him. To whom be honour and glory, Amen.

Next after these two above specified, followeth the beating of one Thomas Green; who, in the time of Queen Mary, was caused likewise to be scourged and beaten by Dr. Story. What the cause was, here followeth in the story and examination to be seen, which he penned with his own hand, as the thing itself will declare to the reader. The copy and words of the same, as he wrote them, here follow; wherein as thou mayest note, gentle reader, the simplicity of the one, I pray thee mark the cruelty of the other part.

The scourging of Thomas Green.

"In the reign of Queen Mary, I Thomas Green being brought before Dr. Story by my master, whose name is John Wayland, a printer, for a book called Antichrist, which had been distributed to certain honest men, he asked me where I had the book, and said I was a traitor. I told him I had the book of a Frenchman. Then then he asked me more questions, but I told him I would tell him no more, nor could not. Then he said, It was no heresy, but treason; and that I should be hanged, drawn, and quartered. And so he called for Cluney, the keeper of the Lollards' Tower, and bade him set me fast in the stocks.

"I was not in the Lollards' Tower two hours, but Cluney came and took me out, and carried me to the coal-house; and there I found a Frenchman lying in the stocks; and he took him out, and put on my right leg a bolt and a fetter, and on my left hand another, and so he set me cross-fettered in the stocks, and took the Frenchman away with him, and there I lay a day and a night. On the morrow after, he came and said, 'Let us shift your hand and leg, because you shall not be lame;' and he made as though he pitied me, and said, 'Tell me truth, and I will be your friend.'

"And I said, I had told the truth, and would tell no other. Then he put no more but my leg in the stocks, and so went his way; and there I remained six days, and could come to no answer.

"Then Dr. Story sent for me, and asked whether I would tell him the truth, where I had the book. I said I had told him, of a Frenchman. He asked me where I came acquainted with the Frenchman, where he dwelt, and where he delivered me the book. I said, 'I came acquainted with him in Newgate. I, coming to my friends which were put in for God's word and truth's sake, and the Frenchman coming to his friends also, there we did talk together, and became acquainted one with another, and did eat and drink together there with our friends, in the fear of God.'

"Then Story scoffed at me, and said, 'Then there was brother in Christ, and brother in Christ,' and reviled me, and called me a heretic, and asked me if I had the book of him in Newgate. I said, no; and I told him, as I went on my business in the street I met him, and he asked me how I did, and I told him also: so, falling in communication, he showed me that book, and I desired him that he would let me have it.

"In this examination Story said, it was a great book, and asked me whether I bought it, or had it given me. I told him I bought it. Then said he, I was a thief, and had stolen my master's money. And I said, 'A little money served, for I gave him but fourpence; but I promised him that, at our next meeting, I would give twelvepence more.' And he said that was boldly done, for such a book as spake both treason and heresy.

"Then Story required me to bring him two sureties, and watch for him that I had the book of, and I should have no harm. I made him answer, I would bring no sureties, nor could I tell where to find them. Then said he, 'This is but a lie;' and so called for Cluney, and bade him lay me fast in the coal-house, saying, he would make

me tell another tale at my next coming. And so I lay in the stocks day and night, but only when I eat my meat; and there remained ten days before I was called for again.

"Then Dr. Story sent for me again, and asked if I would yet tell him the truth. I said, I could tell him no other truth than I had, nor would. And while I was there standing, there were two brought, which I took to be prisoners.

"Then Mistress Story fell in a rage, and swore a great oath, that it were a good deed to put a hundred or two of these heretic knaves in a house, and I myself,' said she, 'would set it on fire.' So I was committed to prison again, where I remained fourteen days, and came to no answer.

"Then Story sent for me again, and called me into the garden, and there I found with him my Lord of Windsor's chaplain, and two gentlemen more; and he told them all what they had said and done. They said, The book was a wondrous evil book, and had both treason and heresy in it. Then they asked me what I said by the book. And I said, 'I know no evil by it.'

"At which words Story chafed, and said, he would hang me up by the hands with a rope; and said also, he would cut out my tongue, and mine ears also from my head. After this they alleged two or three things unto me out of the book. And I answered, I had not read the book throughout, and therefore I could give no judgment of the book.

"Then my Lord of Windsor's chaplain and the other two gentlemen took me aside, and entreated me very gently, saying, Tell us where you had the book, and of whom, and we will save you harmless. I made them answer, I had told all that I could to Dr. Story: and began to tell it them again, but they said, they knew that already. So they left that talk, and went again to Story with me.

"Then Story burdened me with my faith, and said I was a heretic: whereupon the chaplain asked me how I did believe. Then I began to rehearse the articles of my belief, but he bade me let that alone. Then he asked me how I believed in Christ. I made him answer, that I believed in Christ which died and rose again the third day, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father. Whereupon Story asked me mockingly, 'What is the right hand of God?' I made him answer, 'I thought it was his glory.' Then said he, 'So they say all.' And he asked me when he would be weary of sitting there. Then inferred my Lord of Windsor's chaplain, asking me what I said by the mass. I said, I never knew what it was, nor what it meant; for I understood it not, because I never learned any Latin. And since the time that I had any knowledge, I had been brought up in nothing but in reading of English, and with such men as have taught the same; with many more questions, which I cannot rehearse.

"Moreover he asked me if there were not the very body of Christ, flesh, blood, and bone, in the mass, after the priest had consecrated it. And I made him answer, 'As for the mass, I cannot understand it; but in the New Testament I read, that as the apostles stood looking after the Lord when he ascended up into heaven, an angel said to them, Even as you see him ascend up, so shall he come again.' And I told them another sentence, where Christ saith, 'The poor shall you have always with you, but me ye shall not have always.'

"Then Master Chaplain put to me many questions more, to the which I could make him no answer. Among all others, he brought Chrysostom and St. Jerome for his purpose. To whom I answered, that I neither minded nor was able to answer their doctors, neither knew whether they alleged them right, or no; but to that which is written in the New Testament I would answer. Here they laughed me to scorn, and called me fool, and said, they would reason no more with me.

"Then Dr. Story called for Cluney, and bade him take me away, and set me fast, and let no man speak with me. So I was sent to the coal-house, where I had not been a week, but there came in fourteen prisoners: but I was kept still alone without company, in a prison called the Salthouse, having upon my leg a bolt and a fetter, and my hands manacled together with irons; and there continued ten days, having nothing to lie on, but bare stones or a board.

"On a time, while I lay there in prison, the bishop of London coming down a pair of stairs on the backside untrussed, in his hose and doublet, looked in at the grate, and asked wherefore I was put in, and who put me in.

"I made him answer, that I was put in for a book called Antichrist, by Dr. Story. And he said, 'You are not ashamed to declare wherefore you were put in;' and said it was a very wicked book, and bade me confess the truth to Story. I said, I had told the truth to him already; and desired him to be good unto me, and help me out of prison, for they had kept me there long. And he said, he could not meddle with it; Story hath begun it, and he must end it.

"Then I was removed out of the Salthouse to give place to two women, and carried to the Lollards' Tower, and put in the stocks; and there I found two prisoners, one called Lyon, a Frenchman, and another with him: and so I was kept in the stocks more than a month both day and night, and no man to come to me, or to speak with me, but only my keeper which brought me meat.

"Thus we three being together, Lyon the Frenchman sang a psalm in the French tongue, and we sang with him, so that we were heard down into the street; and the keeper, coming up in a great rage, swore that he would put us all in the stocks; and so took the Frenchman, and commanded him to kneel down upon his knees, and put both his hands in the stocks, where he remained all that night till the next day.

"After this, I being in the Lollards' Tower seven days, at my last being with Story, he swore a great oath, that he would rack me, and make me tell the truth. Then Story sending for me, commanded me to be brought to Walbrook, where he and the commissioners dined; and by the way my keeper told me that I should go to the Tower, and be racked. So when they had dined, Story called for me in, and so there I stood before them; and some said, I was worthy to be hanged for having such heretical books. After I had staid a little while before them, Story called for the keeper, and commanded him to carry me to the Lollards' Tower again; and said, 'I have other matters of the queen's to do with the commissioners, but I will find another time for him.' Whilst I lay yet in the Lollards' Tower, the woman which brought the books over, being taken, and her books, was put in the Clink in Southwark, by Hussey, one of the Arches; and I, Thomas Green, testify before God, now, that I neither descried the man nor the woman, the which I had the books of.

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

"Then I, lying in the Lollards' Tower, being sent for before Master Hussey, he required of me, wherefore I was put into the Lollards' Tower, and by whom: to whom I made answer, that I was put there by Dr. Story, for a book called Antichrist. Then he made as though he would be my friend, and said he knew my friends, and my father and mother; and bade me tell him of whom I had the book, and said, 'Come on, tell me the truth.' I told him as I had told Dr. Story before.

"Then he was very angry, and said, I love thee well, and therefore I sent for thee:' and looked for a further truth, but I would tell him no other; whereupon he sent me again to the Lollards' Tower.

At my going away, he called me back again, and said that Dixon gave me the books, being an old man, dwelling in Birchin Lane; and I said, he knew the matter better than I. So he sent me away to the Lollards' Tower, where I remained seven days and more.

"Then Master Hussey sent for me again, and required of me to tell him the truth. I told him I could tell him no other truth than I had told Dr. Story before.

"Then he began to tell me of Dixon, of whom I had the books, the which had made the matter manifest afore; and he told me of all things touching Dixon and the books, more than I could myself, insomuch that he told me how many I had, and that he had a sack full of the books in his house, and knew where the woman lay, better than I myself. Then I saw the matter so open and manifest before my face, that it profited not me to stand in the matter. He asked me where I had done the books; and I told him I had but one, and that Dr. Story had. He said I lied, for I had three at one time, and he required me to tell him of one.

"Then I told him of one that John Beane had of me, being Prentice with Master Tottle. So he promised me before and after, and as he should be saved before God, that he should have no harm. And I, kneeling down upon my knees, desired him to take my blood, and not to hurt the young man. Then he said, 'Because you have been so stubborn, the matter being made manifest by others and not by you, being so long in prison, tell me if you will stand to my judgment.' I said, 'Yea; take my blood, and hurt not the young man.'

"Then he made me answer, I should be whipped like a thief and a vagabond; and so I thanked him, and went my way with my keeper to the Lollards' Tower, where I remained two or three days; and so was brought by the keeper, Cluney, by the commandment of the commissioners, to Christ's hospital, sometime the Grey Friars; and accordingly had there, for the time, the correction of thieves and vagabonds; and so was delivered to Trinian the porter, and put into a stinking dungeon.

"Then after a few days, I, finding friendship, was let out of the dungeon, and lay in a bed in the night, and walked in a yard by the dungeon in the daytime, and so remained prisoner a month and more.

"Thither at length Dr. Story came, and two gentlemen with him, and called for me; and so I was brought into a countinghouse before them. Then he said to the gentlemen, 'Here cometh this heretic, of whom I had the book called Antichrist:' and

began to tell them how many times I had been before him, and said, 'I have entreated him very gently, and he would never tell me the truth, till that it was found out by others.' Then said he, 'It were a good deed to cut out thy tongue, and thy ears off thy head, to make thee an example to all other heretic knaves.' And the gentlemen said, 'Nay, that were pity.' Then he asked, if that I would not become an honest man; and I said, 'Yes, for I have offended God many ways.' Whereupon he burdened me with my faith. I told him that I had made him answer of my faith before my Lord Windsor's chaplain, as much as I could.

"So in the end he commanded me to be stripped, he standing by me, and called for two of the beadles and the whips to whip me; and the two beadles came with a cord, and bound my hands together, and the one end of the cord to a stone pillar. Then one of my friends, called Nicholas Priestman, hearing them call for whips, hurled in a bundle of rods, which seemed something to pacify the mind of his cruelty; and so they scourged me with rods. But as they were whipping of me, Story asked me, if I would go unto my master again; and I said, Nay. And he said, 'I perceive now he will be worse than ever he was before: but let me alone,' quoth he, 'I will find him out, if he be in England.' And so, with many other things which I cannot rehearse, when they had done whipping of me, they bade me pay my fees, and go my ways."

Dr. Story commanded that he should have a hundred stripes, but the gentlemen so entreated, that he had not so many; Story saying, "If I might have my will, I would surely cut out his tongue."

Of the scourging of Master Bartlet Green, also of John Milles, and of Thomas Hinshaw, ye heard before. In like manner was ordered Stephen Cotton, burnt before at Brentford, who testifieth himself to be twice beaten by Bonner, in a letter of his written to his brother, as by the same, here following, for the more evidence may appear.

"Brother, in the name of the Lord Jesus I commend me unto you; and I do heartily thank you for your godly exhortation and counsel in your last letter declared to me. And albeit I do perceive by your letter, you are informed, that as we are divers persons in number, so we are of contrary sects, conditions, and opinions, contrary to the good opinion you had of us at your last being with us in Newgate; he you most assured, good brother, in the Lord Jesus, we are all of one mind, one faith, one assured hope in the Lord Jesus, whom I trust we all together, with one spirit, one brotherly love, do daily call upon for mercy and forgiveness of our sins, with earnest repentance of our former lives; and by whose precious blood-shedding we trust to be saved only, and by no other means. Wherefore, good brother, in the name of the Lord, seeing these impudent people, whose minds are altogether bent to wickedness, envy, uncharitableness, evil speaking, do go about to slander us with untruth, believe them not, neither let their wicked sayings once enter into your mind. And I trust one day to see you again, although now I am in God's prison, which is a joyful school to them that love their Lord God, and to me being a simple scholar most joyful of all.

"Good brother, once again I do, in the name of our Lord Jesus, exhort you to pray for me, that I may fight strongly in the Lord's battle, to be a good soldier to my Captain, Jesus Christ our Lord, and desire my sister also to do the same. And do not ye mourn or lament for me, but be ye glad and joyful of this my trouble; for I trust to

be loosed out of this dungeon shortly, and to go to everlasting joy, which never shall have end. I heard how ye were with the commissioners for me, and how you were suspected to be one of our company: I pray you sue no more for me, good brother. But one thing I shall desire you, to be at my departing out of this life, that you may bear witness with me that I shall die, I trust in God, a true Christian, and (I hope) all my companions in the Lord our God: and therefore believe not these evil-disposed people, who are the authors of all untruths.

"I pray you provide me a long shirt against the day of our deliverance: for the shirt you gave me last, I have given to one of my companions, who had more need than I; and as for the money and meat you sent us, the bishop's servants delivered none to us, neither he whom you had so great trust in. Brother, there is none of them to trust to, for *qualis magister, talis servus*. I have been twice beaten, and threatened to be beaten again, by the bishop himself. I suppose we shall go into the country to Fulham, to the bishop's house, and there be arraigned. I would have you to hearken as much as you can: for when we shall go, it shall be suddenly done. Thus fare you well.

"From the coal-house, this present Friday.

"Your brother,

"STEPHEN COTTON."

The scourging of James Harris.

In this society, of the scourged professors of Christ, was also one James Harris, of Billericay in Essex, a stripling of the age of seventeen years; who, being apprehended and sent up to Bonner, in the company of Margaret Ellis, by Sir John Mordant, knight, and Edmund Tyrrel, justices of peace, (as appeareth by their own letters before mentioned,) was by Bonner divers times straitly examined; in the which examinations he was charged not to have come to his parish church by the space of one year or more. Whereunto he granted, confessing therewithal, that once, for fear, he had been at the church, and there had received the popish sacrament of the altar; for the which he was heartily sorry, detesting the same with all his heart.

After this and such-like answers, Bonner (the better to try him) persuaded him to go to shrift. The lad, somewhat to fulfil his request, consented to go, and did. But when he came to the priest, he stood still, and said nothing. "Why," quoth the priest, "sayest thou nothing?" "What shall I say?" said Harris. "Thou must confess thy sins," said the priest. "My sins," saith he, "be so many that they cannot be numbered." With that the priest told Bonner what he had said; and he, of his accustomed devotion, took the poor lad into his garden, and there, with a rod, gathered out of a cherry-tree, did most cruelly whip him.

The scourging of Robert Williams, a smith.

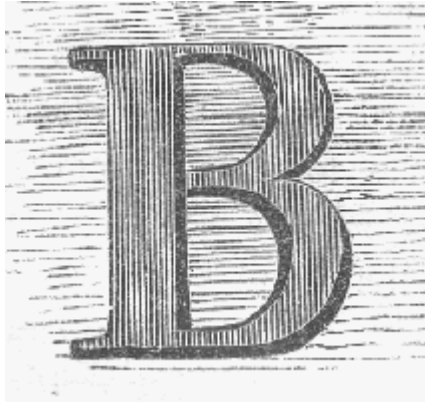
Over and besides these above mentioned, was one Robert Williams, who, being apprehended in the same company, was also tormented after the like maner with rods, in Bonner's arbour, who, there subscribing and yielding himself by promise to obey the laws, after being let go, refused so to do; whereupon he was earnestly sought for, but could not be found, for that he kept himself close, and went not abroad but by stealth. And now in the mean time of this persecution, this Robert Williams departed this life, and so escaped the hands of his enemies. The Lord therefore be honoured for ever, Amen.

And forasmuch as I have begun to write of Bonner's scourging, by the occasion thereof cometh to mind to infer by the way, his beating of other boys and children, and drawing them naked through the nettles, in his journey rowing toward Fulham. The story, although it touch no matter of religion, yet because it toucheth something the nature and disposition of that man, and may refresh the reader, wearied percase with other doleful stories, I thought not here to omit.

Bonner causeth certain boys to be beaten.



Bonner and the boys bathing in the Thames



onner, passing from London to Fulham by barge, having John Milles and Thomas Hinshaw above mentioned with him, both prisoners for religion, by the way as he went by water, was saying evensong with Harpsfield his chaplain in the barge, and being about the middle of their devout orisons, they espied a sort of young boys swimming and washing themselves in the Thames over against Lambeth, or a little above: unto whom he went, and gave very gentle language and fair speech, until he had set his men a land. That done, his men ran after the boys to get them, as the bishop commanded them before, beating some with nettles, drawing some through bushes of nettles naked; and some they made leap into the Thames to save themselves, that it was marvel they were not drowned.

Now as the children for fear did cry, and as this skirmishing was between them, immediately came a greater lad thither, to know what the matter meant, that the boys made such a noise; whom when the bishop espied, he asked him whether he would maintain them in their doings or no. Unto whom the young fellow made answer stoutly, Yea. Then the bishop commanded him to be taken also; but he ran away with speed, and thereby avoided the bishop's blessing. Now when the bishop saw him to flee away, and another man sitting upon a rail in the way where he ran, he willed him likewise to stop the boy; and because he would not, he commanded his men to fetch that man to him also: but he, hearing that, ran away as fast as he could, and by leaping over the ditch, escaped the bishop in like manner.

Then the bishop, seeing the success of his battle to prove no better, cried to a couple of ferry-boys to run, and hold him that last ran away. And for that they said they could not, (as indeed it was true,) therefore he caused his men by and by to take and beat them. The boys, hearing that, leapt into the water to save themselves; notwithstanding they were caught, and in the water, by the bishop's men, were holden and beaten.

Now, after the end of this great skirmish, the bishop's men returned to their master again into the barge, and he, and Harpsfield his chaplain, went to their evensong afresh, where they left and so forsooth the rest of their service, as clean without malice, as an egg without meat. The Lord give him repentance, (if it be his will,) and grace to become a new man! Amen.

The whipping of a beggar at Salisbury.

Unto these above specified, is also to be added the miserable whipping of a certain poor starved beggar, who, because he would not receive the sacrament at Easter in the town of Collingborough, was brought to Salisbury with bills and glaves to the chancellor, Dr. Jeffery, who cast him into the dungeon, and after caused him miserably to be whipped of two catchpoles; the sight whereof made all godly hearts to rue it, to see such tyranny to be showed upon such a simple and silly wretch: for they

which saw him have reported, that they never saw a more simple creature. But what pity can move the hearts of merciless papists?

Besides these above named, divers others also suffered the like sconrgings and whippings in their bodies, for their faithful standing in the truth; of whom it may be said, as it is written of the apostles in the Acts, Which departed from the council, rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer for the name of Jesus.

Some Who Escaped Martyrdom

395. William Living and John Lithall

Although the secret purpose of Almighty God, which disposeth all things, suffered a great number of his faithful servants, both men and women, and that of all ages and degrees, to fall into the enemies' hands, and to abide the brunt of this persecution, to be tried with rods, with whips, with racks, with fetters, famine, with burning of hands, with plucking of beards, with burning also both hand, beard, and body, &c.; yet, notwithstanding, some there were again, and that a great number, who miraculously, by the merciful providence of God, against all men's expectation, in safety were delivered out of the fiery rage of this persecution, either by voiding the realm, or shifting of place, or the Lord so blinding the eyes of the persecutors, or disposing the opportunity of time, or working some such means or other for his servants, as not only ought to stir them up to perpetual thanks, but also may move all men both to behold and magnify the wondrous works of the Almighty.

About what time it began to be known that Queen Mary was sick, divers good men were in hold in divers quarters of the realm; some at Bury; some at Salisbury, as John Hunt and Richard White, of whom we have storied before; and some at London, amongst whom were William Living with his wife, and John Lithall, of whom something remaineth now compendiously to be touched.

The trouble and deliverance of William Living with his wife, and of John Lithall, ministers.

About the time of the latter end of Queen Mary, she then being sick, came one Cox, a promoter, to the house of William Living, about six of the clock, accompanied with one John Launce of the Greyhound. They being not ready, they demanded for buttons, saying they should be as well paid for them, as ever was any; and he would come again, about three hours after, for them. In the mean while he had gotten the constable, called Master Dean, and George Hancock, the beadle of that ward, and searching his books, found a book of astronomy, called "The work of Johannis Jacobus Manlius de Bosco, 'de Sphere,'" with figures, some round, some triangular, some quadrilateral; which book, because it was gilt, seemed to him the chiefest book there; and that he carried open in the street, saying, "I have found him at length. It is no marvel the queen be sick, seeing there be such conjurers in privy corners; but now, I trust, he shall conjure no more: "and so brought him and his wife from Shoe Lane, through Fleet Street, into Paul's churchyard, with the constable, the beadle, and two others following them, till they were entered into Darbshire's house, who was Bishop Bonner's chancellor: and after the constable and they had talked with Darbshire, he came forth, and walked in his yard, saying these words:

Darbshire.--"What is your name?"

Living.--"William Living."

Darbishire.--"What are you? a priest?"

Living.--"Yea."

Darbishire.--"Is this your wife, that is come with you?"

Living.--"That she is."

Darbishire.--"Where were you made priest?"

Living.--"At Aubourn."

Darbishire.--"In what bishop's days?"

Living.--"By the bishop of Lincoln, that was King Henry's ghostly father in Cardinal Wolsey's time."

Darbishire.--"You are a schismatic and a traitor."

Living.--"I would be sorry that were true. I am certain I never was traitor, but always have taught obedience, according to the tenor of God's word; and when tumults and schisms have been stirred, I have preached God's word, and suaged them, as in the time of King Edward."

Darbishire.--"What, you are a schismatic. You be not in the unity of the catholic church: for you pray not as the Church of Rome doth. You pray in English."

Living.--"We are certain we be in the true church."

Darbishire.--"There be that doubt thereof, forasmuch as there is but one true church. Well, you will learn against I talk with you again, to know the Church of Rome, and to be a member thereof."

Living.--"If the Church of Rome be of that church whereof Christ is the head, then am I a member thereof; for I know no other church but that."

Darbishire.--"Well, Cluney, take him with thee to the coal-house."

Then called he Cluney again, and spake secretly to him; what, I know not.

Then said Cluney, "Wilt thou not come?" and so plucked me away violently, and brought me to his own house in Paternoster Row, where he robbed me of my purse, my girdle, and my Psalter, and a New Testament of Geneva; and then brought me to the coal-house, to put me in the stocks, saying, "Put in both your legs and your hands also; and except you fine with me, I will put a collar about your neck." "What is the fine?" quoth I. "Forty shillings," quoth he. "I am never able to pay it," said I.

"Then," said he, "you have friends that be able." I denied it; and so he put both my legs into the stocks till supper time, which was six of the clock; and then a cousin of my wife's brought me meat, who, seeing me to sit there, said, "I will give you forty pence, and let him go at liberty." And he took her money, and presently let me forth in her sight, to eat my supper. And at seven of the clock, he put me into the stocks again; and so I remained till two of the clock the next day, and so he let me forth till night. This woman above mentioned, was Griffin's first wife, a brother dwelling then in Aldermanbury, and yet alive in Cheapside.

The Thursday following at afternoon was I called to the Lollards' Tower, and there put in the stocks, having the favour to put my leg in that hole that Master John Philpot's leg was in; and so lay all that night, nobody coming to me, either with meat or drink.

At eleven of the clock on the Friday, Cluney came to me with meat, and let me forth, and about one of the clock he brought me to Darbshire's house, who drew forth a scroll of names, and asked me if I knew none of them: I said, I know none of them but Foster. And so I kneeled down upon my knees, and prayed him that he would not inquire thereof any further. And with that came forth two godly women, which said, "Master Darbshire, it is enough;" and so became sureties for me, and paid to Cluney fifteen shillings for my fees, and bade me go with them.

And thus much concerning William Living. After this came his wife to examination, whose answers to Darbshire the chancellor, here likewise follow.

Darbshire.--"Ah, sirrah; I see by your gown, you be one of the sisters."

Julian.--"I wear not my gown for sisterhood, neither for nunnery, but to keep me warm."

Darbshire.--"Nun! No, I dare say you be none. Is that man your husband?"

Julian.--"Yea."

Darbshire.--"He is a priest."

Julian.--"No, he saith no mass."

Darbshire.--"What then? he is a priest. How darest thou marry him?"

Then he showed me a roll of certain names of citizens. To whom I answered, I knew none of them.

Then said he, "You shall be made to know them."

Then said I, "Do no other but justice and right; for the day will come, that you shall answer for it."

Darbshire.--"Why, woman, thinkest thou not that I have a soul?"

Julian.--"Yes, I know you have a soul: but whether it be to salvation or damnation, I cannot tell."

Darbishire.--"O, Cluney! have her to the Lollards' Tower." And so he took me, and carried me to his house, where was one Dale, a promoter, which said to me, "Alas, good woman, wherefore be you here?" "What is that to you?" said I.

"You be not ashamed," quoth Dale, "to tell wherefore you came hither." "No," quoth I, "that I am not; for it is for Christ's testament."

"Christ's testament!" quoth he, "it is the devil's testament." "O Lord," quoth I, "God forbid that any man should speak any such word."

"Well, well," quoth he, "you shall be ordered well enough. You care not for burning," quoth he, "God's blood! there must be some other means found for you." "What," quoth I, "will you find any worse than you have found?"

"Well," quoth he, "you hope, and you hope: but your hope shall be aslope. For though the queen fail, she that you hope for shall never come at it: for there is my Lord Cardinal's Grace, and many more between her and it." "Then," quoth I, "my hope is in none but God."

Then said Cluney, "Come with me;" and so went I to the Lollards' Tower. On the next day Darbishire sent for me again, and inquired again of those citizens that he inquired of before. I answered, I knew them not.

"Where were you," quoth he, at the communion on Sunday was a fortnight?" and I said, "In no place."

Then the constable of St. Bride's, being there, made suit for me; and Darbishire demanded of him, if he would be bound for me. He answered, Yea, and so he was bound for my appearance betwixt that and Christmas.

Then Darbishire said, "You be constable, and should give her good counsel." "So do I," quoth he, "for I bid her go to mass, and to say as you say. For, by the mass, if you say the crow is white, I will say so too."

And thus much concerning the examination of William Living and his wife, whom although thou seest here delivered, through the request of women, his sureties; yet it was no doubt, but that the deadly sickness of Queen Mary abated and bridled then the cruelty of those papists, which otherwise would never have let them go.

But yet the archdeacon of Canterbury would remit none of his extreme tyranny, in burning those five, above named, at Canterbury.

The trouble and deliverance of John Lithall.

At the taking of William Living, it happened that certain of his books were in the custody of one John Lithall; which known, the constable of the ward of Southwark, with other of the queen's servants, were sent to his house, who, breaking open his doors and chests, took away not only the book of the said William Living, but also all his own books, writings, and bills of debts, which he never had again. All this while Lithall was not at home.

The next Saturday after, as he was returned, and known to be at home, John Auales and certain of the queen's servants beset his house all the night with such careful watch, that as he in the morning issued out of doors, thinking to escape their hands, John Auales, suddenly bursting out upon him, cried, "Stop the traitor! stop the traitor!" whereat Lithall being amazed, looked back.

And so John Auales came running to him, with other that were with him, saying, "Ah, sirrah! you are a pretty traitorly fellow indeed; we have had somewhat to do to get you." To whom he answered, that he was a truer man to the queen's Majesty than he: "for you," said he, "are commanded by God to keep holy the sabbath day, and you seek to shed your neighbour's blood on the sabbath day. Remember that you must answer there-for to God." But he said, "Come on, you villain! you must go before the council." So was Lithall brought into Paul's churchyard to the bishop's chancellor, by John Auales, saying, that he had there caught the captain of these fellows; and so caused him to be called to examination before Dr. Darbishire, who entered talk with him in this wise:

Bishop's Chancellor.--"What countryman are you?"

Lithall.--"I am an Englishman, born in Staffordshire."

Chancellor.--"Where were you brought up?"

Lithall.--"In this our country of England."

Chancellor.--"In what university?"

Lithall.--"In no university, but in a free-school."

Chancellor.--"We have had certain books from your house, and writings, wherein are both treason and heresy."

Lithall.--"Sir, there is neither treason nor heresy in them."

Then he asked for certain other men that I knew.

Lithall.--"If you have aught to lay to my charge, I will answer it: but I will have no other man's blood upon my head."

Chancellor.--"Why come you not to the church? Of what church be you, that you come not to your own parish church?"

Lithall.--"I am of the church of Christ, the fountain of all goodness."

Chancellor.--"Have you no ministers of your church, but Christ?"

Lithall.--"We have others."

Chancellor.--"Where be they?"

Lithall.--"In the whole world, dispersed, preaching and professing the gospel and faith only in our Saviour Jesus, as he commanded them."

Chancellor.--"You boast much, every one of you, of your faith and belief; let me hear therefore the effect, how you believe."

Lithall.--"I believe to be justified really by Christ Jesus, according to the saying of St. Paul to the Ephesians, without either deeds or works, or any thing that may be invented by man."

Chancellor.--"Faith cannot save without works."

Lithall.--"That is contrary to the doctrine of the apostles."

Chancellor.--"John Auales! you and the keeper have this fellow to prison."

Then John Auales and Cluney the keeper had me into Paul's, and would have had me to have seen the apostles' mass.

Lithall.--"I know none the apostles had, and therefore I will see none."

Cluney and John Auales.--"Come and kneel down before the rood, and say a Paternoster, and an Ave in the worship of the five wounds."

Lithall.--"I am forbidden by God's own mouth to kneel to any idol or image; therefore I will not."

Then they pulled me with great extremity, the one having me by one arm, and the other by the other; but God gave me at that present time more strength than both these, his name be praised for it.

Then, when they could not make me to kneel before the rood, neither to see the mass, there gathered a great company about us, and all against me. Some spat on me, and said, "Fie on thee, heretic!" and others said, It was pity I was not burned already.

Then they carried me to Lollards' Tower, and hanged me in a great pair of stocks, in which I lay three days and three nights, till I was so lame that I could neither stir nor move.

Then I offered the keeper certain money and gold that I had about me, to release me out of the stocks: and he said, I would not be ruled by him, either to see mass, or to kneel before the rood, and therefore I should lie there still. But I said, I would never do the thing that should be against my conscience: and though you have

lamed my body, yet my conscience is whole, I praise God for it. So, shortly after, he let me out of the stocks, more for the love of my money (as it may be thought) than for any other affection; and within four or five days my wife got leave of Master Chancellor to come to me, to bring me such things as were needful for me; and there I lay five weeks and odd days, in the which time divers of my neighbours and friends made suit to the chancellor for my deliverance: the bishop, as they said, at that time being at Fulham, sick. So my neighbours being there, about twenty of them, the chancellor sent for me out of the Lollards' Tower to his own house, and said as followeth:

Chancellor.--"Lithall! here be of thy neighbours which have been with me to entreat for thee; and they have informed me, that thou hast been a very honest and quiet neighbour among them, and I think it be God's will that I should deliver thee before my Lord come home. For if he come, and thou go home again, I will be burned for thee: for I know his mind already in that matter."

Lithall.--"I give you hearty thanks for your gentleness, and my neighbours for their good report."

Chancellor.--"Lithall, if thy neighbours will be bound for thy forthcoming whensoever thou shalt be called for; and also if thou wilt be an obedient subject, I shall be content to deliver thee."

Neighbours.--"If it please your Worship, we will be bound for him in body and goods."

Chancellor.--"I will require no such bond of you, but that two of you will be bound in twenty pounds a piece, that he shall come to answer when he shall be called."

Lithall.--"Where find you, Master Chancellor, in all the Scriptures, that the church of God did bind any man for the profession of his faith? which profession you have heard of me, that all our justification, righteousness, and salvation, cometh only and freely by the merits of our Saviour Jesus Christ; and all the inventions and works of men, be they never so glorious, be altogether vain, as the wise man saith."

Chancellor.--"Lo, where he is now! I put no such matter to you; for in that I believe as you do: but yet St. James saith, that a man is justified by works."

Lithall.--"St. James spake to them that boasted themselves of faith, and showed no works of faith: but, O Master Chancellor! remember, I pray you, how all the promises and prophecies of the Holy Scripture, even from the first promise that God made to Adam, and so even to the latter end of the Revelation of St. John, do testify that in the name of Jesus, and only by his merits, all that believe shall be saved from all their sins and offences. Esaias saith, I am found of them that sought me not, and am manifest to them that asked not after me: but against Israel he saith, All day long have I stretched out my hand to a people that believe not. And when the jailer asked St. Paul, what he should do to be saved, the apostle said, Believe on the Lord Jesus, and thou shalt be saved, and all thy household. Again, St. John saith in the Revelation, that there was none, neither in heaven nor in earth, neither under the earth,

that was able to open the book or the seals thereof, but only the Lamb Jesus, our only Saviour. And St. Paul saith, With one offering hath he made perfect for ever them that are sanctified."

Chancellor.--"With vain-glory you rehearse much Scripture, as all the sort of you do; but you have no more understanding than a many of sheep. But to the purpose: Will you that your neighbours shall enter into bonds for you, or not?"

Lithall.--"By my mind, they shall not. Wherefore I desire you that you would not bind me, but let me serve God with my conscience freely; for it is written, They that lead into captivity shall go into captivity; and they that strike with the sword shall perish with the sword. Also it is written in the gospel of our Saviour Jesus Christ, That whoso doth offend one of these little ones which believe in me, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were cast into the depth of the sea: of the which I am assured by his Holy Spirit that I am one. Wherefore be you well assured that such mercy as you show, unto you shall be showed the like."

Chancellor.--"You are a mad-man. I would not bind you, but that I must needs have somewhat to show for your deliverance." Then he called two of my neighbours, Thomas Daniel and Saunders Maybe, which offered themselves to be bound; and called me before them, and said, "I have a letter of his own handwriting, with his name and seal at it, with a book also against the regiment of women, for the which I could make him to be hanged, drawn, and quartered; but, on my faith, I will him no more hurt, than I mean to my own soul."

Lithall.--"I desire you that be my neighbours and friends, that you will not enter into bonds for me; for you know not the danger thereof, neither I myself. It goeth against my conscience that ye should so do."

Chancellor.--"Why, I will not bind you to do any thing against your conscience."

Then they made the bond and sealed to it, and willed me that I should seal to it also; and I said that I would not, neither could I observe the bond, and therefore I would not set to my hand.

Chancellor.--"It is pity that thou hast so much favour showed thee: yet for these honest men's sakes I will discharge thee."

Notwithstanding all these dissembling words of Master Darbishire, pretending for favour of his sureties to set him at liberty, it was no such thing, nor any zeal of charity that moved him so to do; but only fear of the time, understanding the dangerous and unrecoverable sickness of Queen Mary, which then began somewhat to assuage the cruel proceed, ing of these persecutors, whereby they durst not do that they would: for else, Lithall was not like to have escaped so easily.

396. Edward Grew and William Browne

Edward Grew, a priest.

Moreover, there was one Edward Grew, priest, and Appline, his wife, compelled to fly from their dwelling at a town called Broke; and the man, being very aged, travelled abroad to keep a good conscience.

At the last, he was taken and laid in Colchester castle, where he remained till Queen Elizabeth came to her regal seat, and by the alteration of religion he was delivered. His wife (good woman) was in great care for him, and to her power did what she could to succour him.

William Browne, parson of Little Stonham.

William Browne, parson of Little Stonham, in the county of Suffolk, made a sermon in the said town, incontinently after the burial of our good King Edward, and in his sermon he said, "There goeth a report that our good king is buried with a mass by the bishop of Winchester, he having a mitre upon his head. But if it were so," saith he, "they are all traitors that so do; because it is both against the truth, and the laws of this realm; and it is great idolatry and blasphemy, and against the glory of God; and they are no friends either to God, the king, or yet unto the realm, that so do." For this his preaching, one Robert Blomefield, an adversary to the truth, being then constable of the said town, and bailiff unto Sir John Jerningham, knight, (the chief lord of the town,) immediately rode forth, and brought home with him one Edward Golding, which was then under-sheriff, Sir Thomas Cornwallis being then high-sheriff.

So the said Golding and Blomefield sent for certain men of the said town, and examined them for the sermon; whereunto they made but a small answer. Then the sheriff made a bill, and so feared the men, that two or three of them set to their hands, and one of them never joyed after, but it was a grief to him till he died.

Then did they take men with them unto the parson's house, and in the night they took him, and with watchmen kept him until it was day. Then should he have been carried the next day to the council; but the said Robert Blomefield was taken so sick, that he was like to die, so that he could not carry him for his life. Then the said sheriff sent him to Ipswich again, and there he was for a time. Then he was sent to Bury prison, and from thence to the council, and then into the Fleet: and so he lay in prison from the beginning of harvest till it was nigh Christmas, and said, God gave him such answers to make when he was examined, that he was delivered with quietness of conscience. And having his liberty, he came again unto the aforesaid town; and because he would not go to mass, his living was taken away, and he and his wife were constrained to fly here and there for life and conscience. In the last year of Queen Mary's reign God did take him out of this life in peace.

Where moreover is to be noted, that this Robert Blomefield above-named, immediately after he had apprehended the said Browne, fell very sick; and although at that time he was a wealthy man and of great substance, (beside his land, which was better than twenty pounds a year,) after this time, God so plagued his household, that his eldest son died, and his wife had a pining sickness till she departed this life also.

Then married he another, a rich widow; but all would not help, and nothing would prosper: for he had a sore pining sickness, being full of botches and sores, whereby he wasted away both in body and goods,. till he died.

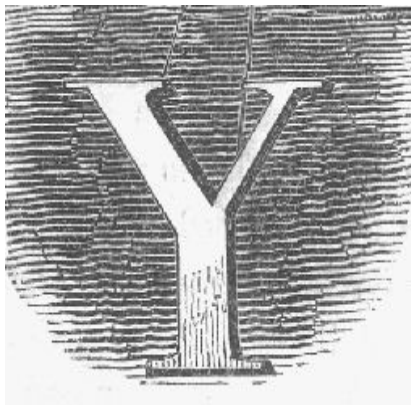
So when he died he was above ninescore pounds in debt, and it was never heard of any repentance he had. But a little before his death he bragged, and threatened a good man, one Simon Harlston, to put him forth to the officers, because he did wear no surplice when he said service: wherefore it is pity such baits of popery are left to the enemies, to take Christians in. God take them away, or ease us from them! for God knoweth they be the cause of much blindness and strife amongst men.

Furthermore, out of the said town were constrained to fly Robert Boela and John Trapne, because they would not go to mass and receive their sacrament of the altar.

397. Elizabeth Young.



The Examination of Elizabeth Young



Ye heard before, in the treatise of the scourging of Thomas Green, how he was troubled and beaten by Dr. Story, for a certain book called "Antichrist," which he received of a woman, because in no case he would detect her. This woman was one Elizabeth Young, who, coming from Embden to England, brought with her divers books, and dispersed them abroad in London; for the which she, being at length espied and laid fast, was brought to examination thirteen times before the catholic inquisitors of heretical pravity: of the which her examinations, nine have come to our hands; wherein how fiercely she was assaulted, how shamefully she was reviled, how miserably handled, and what answers she made unto the adversaries in her own defence; and finally, after all this, how she escaped and passed through the pikes, (being yet, as I hear say, alive,) as I thought to give the reader here to see and understand.

The first examination of Elizabeth Young, before Master Hussey.

Master Hussey examined her of many things: first, where she was born, who was her father and mother.

Elizabeth Young.--"Sir, all this is but vain talk, and very superfluous. It is to fill my head with phantasies, that I should not be able to answer unto such things as I came for. Ye have not (I think) put me in prison to know who is my father and mother. But I pray you go to the matter that I came hither for."

Hussey.--"Wherefore wentest thou out of the realm?"

Elizabeth.--"To keep my conscience clean."

Hussey.--"When wast thou at mass?"

Elizabeth.--"Not these three years."

Hussey.--"Then wast thou not there three years before that?"

Elizabeth.--"No, sir, nor yet three years before that: for if I were, I had evil luck."

Hussey.--"How old art thou?"

Elizabeth.--"Forty and upwards."

Hussey.--"Twenty of those years thou wentest to mass."

Elizabeth.--"Yea, and twenty more I may, and yet come home as wise as I went thither first; for I understand it not."

Hussey.--"Why wilt thou not go to the mass?"

Elizabeth.--"Sir, my conscience will not suffer me; for I had rather all the world should accuse me, than mine own conscience."

Hussey.--"What if a louse or a flea stick upon thy skin, and bite thy flesh? thou must make a conscience in taking her off: is there not a conscience in it?"

Elizabeth.--"That is but an easy argument to displace the Scriptures, and especially in such a part as my salvation dependeth upon for it is but an easy conscience, that a man can make."

Hussey.--"But why wilt thou not swear upon the evangelists before a judge?"

Elizabeth.--"Because I know not what a book-oath is?"

Then he began to teach her the book-oath.

Elizabeth.--"Sir, I do not understand it, and therefore I will not learn it."

Then said he, "Thou wilt not understand it: "and with that he rose up and went his way.

The second examination, before Dr. Martin.

Dr. Martin said to her, "Woman, thou art come from beyond the sea, and hast brought with thee books of heresy and treason, and thou must confess to us, who translated them, printed them, and who sent them over, (for once I knew thee to be but a messenger,) and in so doing the queen's Highness will be good to thee, (for she hath forgiven greater things than this,) and thou shalt find as much favour as is possible. But if thou be stubborn, and wilt not confess, thou wilt be wondrous evil handled; for we know the truth already: but this we do, only to see whether thou wilt be true of thy word or no."

Elizabeth.--"Sir, ye have my confession, and more than that I cannot say."

Martin.--"Thou must say more, and shalt say more. Dost thou think that we will be fully answered by this examination that thou hast made? Thou rebel whore and traitor heretic! thou dost refuse to swear upon the evangelists before a judge, I hear say. Thou shalt be racked inch-meal, thou traitorly whore and heretic! but thou shalt swear before a judge before thou go: yea, and thou shalt be made to confess how many books thou hast sold, and to whom."

Elizabeth.--"Sir, I understand not what an oath is, and therefore I will take no such thing upon me. And no man hath bought any books of me as yet, for those books that I had, your commissioners have them all."

Martin.--"Thou traitorly whore! we know that thou hast sold a number of books, yea, and to whom; and how many times thou hast been here, and where thou liest, and every place that thou hast been in. Dost thou think that thou hast fools in hand?"

Elizabeth.--"No, sir, ye be too wise for me; for I cannot tell how many places I have been in myself. But if it were in Turkey, I should have meat and drink and lodging for my money."

Martin.--"Thou rebel whore! thou hast spoken evil words by the queen, and thou dwellest amongst a sort of traitors and rebels, that cannot give the queen a good word."

Elizabeth.--"I am not able to accuse any man thereof, neither yet is there any man that can prove any such things by me, as ye lay unto my charge. For I know by God's word, and God's book hath taught me, what is my duty to God, and unto my

queen, and therefore (as I said) I am assured that no man living upon the earth can prove any such things by me."

Martin.--"Thou rebel and traitorly whore, thou shalt be so racked and handled, that thou shalt be an example to all such traitorly whores and heretics; and thou shalt be made to swear by the holy evangelists, and confess to whom thou hast sold all and every one of these heretical books that thou hast sold: for we know what number thou hast sold and to whom; but thou shalt be made to confess in spite of thy blood."

Elizabeth.--"Here is my carcass: do with it what you will. And more than that you cannot have, Master Martin; ye can have no more but my blood."

Then fared he as though he had been stark mad, and said, "Martin! why callest thou me Martin?"

Elizabeth.--"Sir, I know well enough: for I have been before you ere now. Ye delivered me once at Westminster."

Martin.--"Where didst thou dwell then?"

Elizabeth.--"I dwelt in the Minories."

Martin.--"I delivered thee and thy husband both; and I thought then, that thou wouldest have done otherwise than thou dost now. For if thou hadst been before any bishop in England, and said the words that thou didst before me, thou hadst fried a faggot: and though thou didst not burn then, thou art like to burn or hang now,"

Elizabeth.--"Sir, I promised you then, that I would never be fed with an unknown tongue, and no more will I yet."

Martin.--"I shall feed thee well enough. Thou shalt be fed with that (I warrant thee) which shall be smally to thine ease."

Elizabeth.--"Do what God shall suffer you to do: for more ye shall not." And then he arose and so departed, and went to the keeper's house, and said to the wife, "Whom hast thou suffered to come to this vile traitorly whore and heretic, to speak with her?" Then said the keeper's wife, "As God receive my soul, here came neither man, woman, nor child, to ask for her."

Martin.--"If any man, woman, or child, come to ask for her, I charge thee, in pain of death, that they be laid fast; and give her one day bread, and another day water."

Elizabeth.--"If ye take away my meat, I trust that God will take away my hunger."

And so he departed and said, "that was too good for her: "and then was she shnt up under two locks in the Clink where she was before.

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

The third examination, before Dr. Martin again.

Then was she brought before him in his chamber, within my Lord Chancellor's house, who asked her, saying, "Elizabeth, wilt thou confess these things that thou hast been examined upon? for thou knowest that I have been thy friend; and in so doing, I will be thy friend again:" giving her many fair words, and then demanding of her how many gentlemen were beyond the seas.

Elizabeth.--"It is too much for me to tell you how many there are on the other side."

Martin.--"No, I mean but in Frankfort and Embden, where thou hast been."

Elizabeth.--"Sir, I did never take account of them; it is a thing that I look not for."

Martin.--"When shall I hear a true word come out of thy mouth?"

Elizabeth.--"I have told you the truth; but because that it soundeth not to your mind, therefore ye will not credit it."

Martin.--"Wilt thou yet confess? and if thou wilt, that that I have promised, I will do: and if thou wilt not, I promise thee thou must go even hence to the rack; and therefore confess."

Elizabeth.--"I can say no more than I have said."

Martin.--"Well, forasmuch as she will confess no more, have her away to the rack, and then she will be marred." Then answered a priest that sat there, and said, "Woman, take an oath; and confess. Wilt thou be hurt for other men?"

Elizabeth.--"I can confess no more than I have. Do with my carcass what ye will."

Martin.--"Did ye ever hear the like of this heretic? What a stout heretic is this! We have the truth, and we know the truth, and yet look whether she will confess. There is no remedy but she must needs to the rack, and therefore away with her: "and so commanded her out of the door, and called her keeper unto him, and said to him, "There is no remedy but this heretic must be racked;" and talked with him more, but what it was she heard not.

Then he called her in again, and said, "Wilt thou not confess, and keep thee from the rack? I advise thee so to do: for if thou wilt not, thou knowest not the pain thereof yet, but thou shalt do."

Elizabeth.--"I can confess no more. Do with my carcass what ye will."

Martin.--"Keeper, away with her; thou knowest what I said: let her know the pain of the rack! "And so she departed, thinking no less, but that she should have gone to the rack, till she saw the keeper turn toward the Clink again.

And thus did God alienate their hearts and diminish their tyrannous power, unto the time of further examinations; for she was brought before the bishop, the dean, and the chancellor, and other commissioners, first and last, thirteen times.

The fourth examination, before the bishop of London, Sir Roger Cholmley, Dr. Cooke the recorder of London, Dr. Roper of Kent, and Dr. Martin.

First, she being presented by Dr. Martin before the bishop of London, Dr. Martin began to declare against her, saying, "The lord chancellor hath sent you here a woman, which hath brought books over from Embden, where all these books of heresy and treason are printed, and hath therewith filled all the land with treason and heresy, neither yet will she confess who translated them, nor who printed them, nor yet who sent them over: wherefore my Lord Chancellor committeth her unto my Lord of London, he to do with her as he shall think good. For she will confess nothing, but that she bought these said books in Amsterdam, and so brought them over to sell for gain."

Dr. Cooke.--"Let her head be trussed in a small line, and make her to confess."

Martin.--"The book is called Antichrist, and so may it be well called; for it speaketh against Jesus Christ and the queen. Besides that, she hath a certain spark of the Anabaptists, for she refuseth to swear upon the four evangelists before a judge: for I myself and Master Hussey have had her before us four times, but we cannot bring her to swear. Wherefore my Lord Chancellor would that she should abstain and fast, for she hath not fasted a great while; for she hath lien in the Clink a good while, where she had too much her liberty."

Then said the bishop, "Why wilt thou not swear before a judge! That is the right trade of the Anabaptists."

Elizabeth.--"My Lord, I will not swear that this hand is mine."

"No!" said the bishop, "and why?"

Elizabeth.--"My Lord, Christ saith, that whatsoever is more than yea, yea, or nay, nay, it cometh of evil. And moreover, I know not what an oath is; and therefore I will take no such thing upon me."

Then said Cholmley, "Twenty pounds, it is a man in a woman's clothes! twenty pounds, it is a man!"

Bonner.--"Think you so, my Lord?"

Cholmley.--"Yea, my Lord," &c.

Elizabeth.--"My Lord, I am a woman."

Bishop.--"Swear her upon a book, seeing it is but a question asked."

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

Then said Cholmley, "I will lay twenty pounds, it is a man."

Then Dr. Cooke brought her a book, commanding her to lay thereon her hand.

Elizabeth.--"No, my Lord, I will not swear; for I know not what an oath is. But I say that I am a woman, and have children."

Bishop.--"That know not we: wherefore swear."

Cholmley.--"Thou ill-favoured whore, lay thy hand upon the book; I will lay on mine:" and so he laid his hand upon the book.

Elizabeth.--"So will not I mine."

Then the bishop spake a word in Latin, out of St. Paul, as concerning swearing.

Elizabeth.--"My Lord, if you speak to me of St. Paul, then speak English, for I understand you not."

Bishop.--"I dare swear that thou dost not."

Elizabeth.--"My Lord, St. Paul saith, that five words spoken in a language that may be understood, are better than many in a foreign or strange tongue, which is unknown."

Dr. Cooke.--"Swear before us, whether thou be a man or a woman."

Elizabeth.--"If ye will not believe me, then send for women into a secret place, and I will be tried."

Cholmley.--"Thou art an ill-favoured whore." Then said the bishop, "How believest thou in the sacrament of the altar?"

Elizabeth.--"My Lord, if it will please you that I shall declare mine own faith, I will."

The *bishop.*--"Tell me, how believest thou in the sacrament of the altar?"

Elizabeth.--"Will it please you that I shall declare my faith? And if it be not good, then teach me a better, and I will believe it."

Dr. Cooke.--"That is well said: declare thy faith."

Elizabeth.--"I believe in God the Father Almighty, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, three Persons and one God. I believe all the articles of my Creed. I believe all things written in the Holy Scripture, and all things agreeable with the Scripture, given by the Holy Ghost unto the church of Christ, set forth and taught by the church of Christ. I believe that Jesus Christ, the only Son of God, that immaculate Lamb, came into the world to save sinners; and that in him, by him, and through him, I am made

clean from my sins; and without him I could not. I believe that in the holy sacrament of Christ's body and blood, which he did institute and ordain, and left among his disciples that night before he was betrayed, when I do receive this sacrament in faith and spirit, I do receive Christ."

Bishop.--"No more, I warrant you, but the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, received but in spirit and faith, with these heretics."

Cholmley.--"Ah whore! spirit and faith, whore!"

Elizabeth.--"This sacrament never man could or did make, but only He, that did what no man could do."

Martin.--"Then thou must allow that grass is a sacrament; for who could make grass, but he only?"

Elizabeth.--"Sir, he hath suffered, and made a sufficient sacrifice once for all, and so hath he made his sacrament sufficient once for all; for there was never man that could say, Take, eat; this is my body, that is broken for you; but only Jesus Christ, who had his body broken for the sins of the world; which sacrament he hath left here amongst us for a testimonial of his death, even to the world's end."

Martin.--"Who taught thee this doctrine? did Scory?"

Elizabeth.--"Yea, Bishop Scory and others that I have heard."

Bishop.--"Why, is Scory bishop now?"

Elizabeth.--"If that do offend you, call him Dr. Scory, if ye will."

Roper.--"I knew when he was but a poor doctor."

Martin.--"What do ye call Scory?"

Elizabeth.--"Our superintendent."

Bishop.--"Lo! their superintendent."

Martin.--"And what are ye called?"

Elizabeth.--"Christ's congregation."

Bishop.--"Lo! Christ's congregation, I warrant you."

Dr. Cooke.--"What living hath Scory?"

Elizabeth.--"Sir, as far as I do know, he liveth by his own, for I know no man that giveth him aught."

Recorder.--"Yes, I warrant you, he hath enough sent him out of England."

Elizabeth.--"Sir, I know no such thing."

Cholmley.--"Hark! whore, hark! hark! how I do believe."

Elizabeth.--"My Lord, I have told you my belief."

Cholmley.--"Hark, thou ill-favoured whore, how I do believe. When the priest hath spoken the words of consecration, I do believe that there remaineth the very body that was born of the Virgin Mary, was hanged on the cross, was dead and buried, and descended into hell, and rose again on the third day, and ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God. The same body, when the priest hath spoken the words, cometh down, and when the priest lifteth up his body on this wise," he, lifting up his hands, said, "there it is."

Elizabeth.--"I have told you also how I do believe."

Martin.--"Away with her."

Cholmley.--"Ah, evil-favoured whore! nothing but spirit and faith, whore! "

Martin.--"Away with her, we have more to talk withal."

Then was she carried into the coal-house, and searched for books, and then put into the stock-house, and her knife, girdle, and apron taken from her.

The fifth examination, before the bishop of London's chancellor.

Then was she brought out of the stock-house, and brought before the bishop's chancellor, who required of her, what age she was of.

Elizabeth.--"Sir, forty years and upwards."

The bishop's Chancellor.--"Why, thou art a woman of fair years what shouldst thou meddle with the Scriptures? It is necessary for thee to believe, and that is enough. It is more fit for thee to meddle with thy distaff, than to meddle with the Scriptures. What is thy belief? I would hear it; for it cannot be good, in that thou art brought into prison."

Elizabeth.--"Sir, if it will please you to hear, I will declare it unto you. But I pray you that you will take your pen and write it, and then examine it; and if ye find any thing therein that is not fit for a Christian woman, then teach me better, and I will learn it."

Chancellor.--"Well said. But who shall judge between thee and me?"

Elizabeth.--"The Scripture."

Chancellor.--"Wilt thou stand by that?"

Elizabeth.--"Yea, sir."

Chancellor.--"Well, go thy way out at the door a little while, for I am busy, and I will call for thee anon again."

Then he called me again, and said, "Now woman, the time is too long to write. Say thy mind, and I will bear it in my head."

Then Elizabeth began, and declared her faith to him, as she had done before the bishop.

Chancellor.--"Woman, spirit and faith I do allow; but dost not thou believe that thou dost receive the body of Christ, really, corporally, and substantially?"

Elizabeth.--"These words, really and corporally, I understand not; as for substantially, I take it, ye mean I should believe that I should receive his human body (which is upon the right hand of God, and can occupy no more places at once); and that believe not I."

Chancellor.--"Thou must believe this, or else thou art damned."

Elizabeth.--"Sir, can ye give me belief or faith?"

Chancellor.--"No, God must give it thee."

Elizabeth.--"God hath given me no such faith or belief."

The chancellor then declared a text of St. Paul in Latin, and then in English, saying, I could make thee believe, but that thou hast a cankered heart, and wilt not believe. Who then can make thee to believe?"

Elizabeth.--"You said even now, that faith or belief cometh of God; and so believe I, and then may not I believe an untruth to be a truth."

Chancellor.--"Dost thou not believe that Christ's flesh is flesh in thy flesh?"

Elizabeth.--"No, sir, I believe not that; for my flesh shall putrefy and rot."

Chancellor.--"Christ said, My flesh is flesh in flesh."

Elizabeth.--"Whoso receiveth him fleshly, shall have a fleshly resurrection."

Chancellor.--"Christ saith in the sixth of John, My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed."

Elizabeth.--"Christ preached to the Capernaïtes, saying, Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye shall not have life in you: and the Capernaïtes murmured at it. And his disciples also murmured, saying among themselves, This is a hard saying, and who can abide it? Christ understood their meaning, and said, Are ye also offended? will ye also go away? What and if ye shall

see the Son of man ascend up to heaven, from whence he came? will that offend you? It is the Spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing. I pray you, sir, what meaneth Christ by that?"

Chancellor.--"O, God forbid. Would ye have me to interpret the Scriptures? We must leave that for our old ancient fathers, which have studied Scriptures a long time, and have the Holy Ghost given unto them."

Elizabeth.--"Why, sir, have you not the Holy Ghost given and revealed unto you?"

Chancellor.--"No, God forbid that I should so believe; but I hope, I hope. But ye say, ye are of the Spirit: will you say that ye have no profit in Christ's flesh?"

Elizabeth.--"Sir, we have our profit in Christ's flesh, but not as the Capernaïtes did understand it; for they understood, that they must eat his flesh as they did eat ox-flesh and other, and drink his blood as we drink wine or beer out of a bowl. But so we must not receive it. But our profit that we have by Christ, is to believe that his body was broken upon the cross, and his blood shed for our sins: that is the very meaning of Christ, that so we should eat his flesh, and drink his blood, when he said, My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed."

Chancellor.--"How doth thy body live, if Christ's flesh is not flesh in thy flesh?"

Elizabeth.--"Sir, I was a body before I had a soul; which body God had created, and yet it could not live, till God had breathed life into me, and by that life doth my body live. And when it shall please God to dissolve my life, my flesh will offer itself unto the place from whence it came; and through the merits of Christ, my soul will offer itself to the place from whence it came."

Chancellor.--"Yea, but if thou do not believe that Christ's flesh is flesh in thy flesh, thou canst not be saved."

Elizabeth.--"Sir, I do not believe that."

Chancellor.--"Why, doth not Christ say, My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed? Canst thou deny that?"

Elizabeth.--"I deny not that; for Christ's flesh and blood is meat and drink for my soul, the food of my soul. For whosoever believeth that Jesus Christ the Son of God hath died and shed his blood for his sins, his soul feedeth thereon for ever."

Chancellor.--"When thou receivest the sacrament of the altar, dost thou not believe that thou dost receive Christ's body?"

Elizabeth.--"Sir, when I do receive the sacrament which Christ did institute and ordain the night before he was betrayed, and left among his disciples, as often (I say) as I receive it, I believe that spiritually, and by faith, I receive Christ. And of this

sacrament, I know Christ himself to be the author, and none but he. And this same sacrament is an establishment to my conscience, and an augmenting to my faith."

Chancellor.--"Why, did not Christ take bread, and give thanks, and break it, and give it to his disciples, and say, Take, eat; this is my body that is given for you? Did he give them his body, or no?"

Elizabeth.--"He also took the cup, and gave thanks to his Father, and gave it unto his disciples, saying, Drink ye all hereof: for this is the cup of the new testament in my blood, which shall be shed for many. Now I pray you, sir, let me ask you one question: Did he give the cup the name of his blood, or else the wine that was in the cup?"

Then was he very angry, and said, "Dost thou think that thou hast a hedge-priest in hand?"

Elizabeth.--"No, sir, I take you not to be a hedge-priest. I take you for a doctor."

Chancellor.--"So methinketh. Thou wilt take upon thee to teach me."

Elizabeth.--"No, sir; but I let you know what I know; and by argument, one shall know more. Christ said, As oft as ye do this, do it in the remembrance of me: but a remembrance is not of a thing present, but absent. Also St. Paul saith, So oft as ye shall eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye shall show forth the Lord's death till he come: then we may not look for him here, until his coming again at the latter day. Again, is not this article of our belief true, 'He sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty; from thence he shall come to judge both the quick and the dead?' But if he shall not come before he come to judgment, then how is he here present in your sacrament of the altar? Wherefore I believe that the human body of Christ occupieth no more but one place at once; for when he was here, he was not there."

The sixth examination, before the bishop's chancellor.

The bishop's chancellor said unto her, "Woman, the last time that thou wast before me, our talk was concerning the sacrament."

Elizabeth.--"Sir, true it is, and I trust that I said nothing that ye can deny by the Scriptures."

Chancellor.--"Yes, thou wilt not believe that Christ's flesh is flesh in thy flesh."

Elizabeth.--"No, sir; God hath given me no such belief; for it cannot be found by the Scriptures."

Chancellor.--"Wilt thou believe nothing but what is in the Scripture? Why, how many sacraments dost thou find in the Scripture?"

Elizabeth.--"The church of Christ doth set down twain."

Chancellor.--"I will as well find seven by the Scripture, as thou shalt find twain."

Elizabeth.--"Sir, I talk not to you thereof; but I say that the church of Christ setteth out twain, and I have been taught no more."

Chancellor.--"What are those twain?"

Elizabeth.--"The sacrament of Christ's body and blood, and the sacrament of baptism."

Chancellor.--"What sayest thou by the sacrament of wedlock?"

Elizabeth.--"I have not heard it called a sacrament, but the holy estate of matrimony, which ought to be kept of all men that take it upon them."

Chancellor.--"How sayest thou by priests? Is it good that they should marry? is it to be kept of them?"

Elizabeth.--"I come not hither to reason any such matters, for I am no divine; and also it is no part of my faith."

Chancellor.--"Can ye not tell? ye shall tell or ever you go."

Elizabeth.--"Sir, then must ye keep me a good while: for I have not studied the Scriptures for it."

Chancellor.--"No! why, ye will not be ashamed to flee unto the highest mystery, even to the sacrament, at the first dash; and ye are not afraid to argue with the best doctor in the land."

Elizabeth.--"God's mysteries I will not meddle with; but all things that are written, are written for our edification."

Chancellor.--"What say you by prayer for the dead? Is it not meet that if a man's friend be dead, his friend commend his soul unto God?"

Elizabeth.--"There is no Christian man that will commend his friend or his foe unto the devil. And whether it be good for him when he is dead or no, sure I am, that it is good when he is alive."

Chancellor.--"Then thou allowest not prayer to be good for them when they be dead, and lying in purgatory. Is it not meet that prayer be made unto God for them?"

Elizabeth.--"Sir, I never heard in the Scriptures of purgatory; but in the Scriptures I have heard of heaven and hell."

Chancellor.--"Why, ye have nothing but the skimming of the Scriptures. Our ancient fathers could find out in the bottom of the Scriptures that there is a purgatory. Yea, they could find it in the New Testament, that a priest shall take the sacrament, and go to the altar, and make an oblation, and offer it up every day."

Elizabeth.--"Sir, that could never be found in the Bible, nor Testament, as far as I could hear."

Chancellor.--"Whom dost thou hear read either the Bible or Testament, but a sort of schismatics, bawdy bishops, and hedge-priests, (which have brought into the church a stinking communion, which was never heard of in any place in the world, but here in England,) which have deceived the king, and all the nobility, and all the whole realm?"

Elizabeth.--"Sir, it is a vile name that ye give them all."

Chancellor.--"Where are all the hedge-knaves become now, that they come not to their answer?"

Elizabeth.--"Answer, sir? why, they have answered both with the Scriptures, and also with their blood. And then where were you, that ye came not forth to answer in their times? I never knew any of you that were troubled, but twain, and that was not for God's word; it was for their disobedience."

Chancellor.--"No, I pray you? did ye not know that we were killed, hanged, burnt, and headed?"

Elizabeth.--"Sir, I never knew that any of you ever were either hanged, killed, burnt, or headed."

Chancellor.--"No! did ye never hear that the bishop of Rochester lost his head, for the supremacy of the bishops of Rome?"

Elizabeth.--"Then he died not for God's word."

Chancellor.--"Well, thou wilt believe nothing but that which is written in God's word. Where canst thou find the sabbath written in the Scripture, by the name of the sabbath? for the right sabbath day will I prove to be Saturday: or where canst thou find the articles of the Creed in the Scripture by the name of the articles? or where canst thou find in the Scripture, that Christ went down into hell?"

Elizabeth.--"What place or part in the Scripture can ye find to disprove any of these things?"

Chancellor.--"What priest hast thou lien withal, that thou hast so much Scripture? Thou art some priest's woman, I think, for thou wilt take upon thee to reason, and teach the best doctor in all the land, thou!"

Elizabeth.--"I was never yet priest's wife, nor yet priest's woman."

Chancellor.--"Have I touched your conscience?"

Elizabeth.--"No, sir, ye have not touched my conscience; but beware ye hurt not your own."

Chancellor.--"Thou hast read a little in the Bible or Testament, and thou thinkest that thou art able to reason with a doctor that hath gone to school thirty years; and, before God, I think if I had talked thus much with a Jew, as I have done with thee, he would have turned ere this time. But I may say by you, as Christ said by Jerusalem, saying, O Jerusalem, Jerusalem! how oft would I have gathered thee together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens, but thou wouldest not. And so would we gather you together in one faith, but ye will not: and therefore your own blood be upon your own heads; for I can do no more but teach you. Thou art one of the rankest heretics that ever I heard; for thou believest nothing but what is in the Scripture: and therefore thou art damned."

Elizabeth.--"I do believe all things written in the Scripture, and all things agreeable with the Scripture, given by the Holy Ghost unto the church of Christ, set forth and taught by the church of Christ; and shall I be damned because I believe the truth, and will not believe an untruth?"

Then the chancellor called the keeper, saying, "Cluney, take her away! thou knowest what thou hast to do with her."

And so she departed, and was brought again to the stock-house, and there she lay certain days, and both her hands manacled in one iron; and afterward she was removed into the Lollards' Tower, and there she remained with both her feet in the stocks and irons, till the next time of examination.

The seventh examination, before the chancellor and the bishop's scribe.

When she was brought before the said chancellor and the scribe, the chancellor said unto her; "Woman, thou hast been twice before me, but thou and I could not agree; and here be certain articles that my Lord the bishop of London would that thou shouldst make answer unto me, which are these: First, how many sacraments thou dost allow."

Elizabeth.--"Sir, as many as Christ's church doth allow, and that is twain."

Then said the scribe, "Thou wast taught seven, before King Edward's days."

Chancellor.--"Which two sacraments be those that thou dost allow?"

Elizabeth.--"The sacrament of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, and the sacrament of baptism."

Chancellor.--"Dost thou not believe that the pope of Rome is the supreme head of the church, immediately under God in earth?"

Elizabeth.--"No, sir, no man can be the head of Christ's church; for Christ himself is the head, and his word is the governor of all that be of that church, wheresoever they be scattered abroad."

Chancellor.--"Dost thou not believe that the bishop of Rome can forgive thee all thy sins, heretical, detestable, and damnable, that thou hast done from thine infancy unto this day?"

Elizabeth.--"Sir, the bishop of Rome is a sinner as I am, and no man can forgive me my sins, but he only that is without sin; and that is Jesus Christ, which died for my sins."

Chancellor.--"Dost thou not know that the pope sent over his jubilees, that all that ever would fast and pray, and go to the church, should have their sins forgiven them?"

The scribe.--"Sir, I think that she was not in the realm then."

Chancellor.--"Hast thou not desired God to defend thee from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities?"

Elizabeth.--"Yes, that I have."

Chancellor.--"And art thou not sorry for it?"

Elizabeth.--"No, sir, not a whit."

Chancellor.--"Hast thou not said, that the mass was wicked, and the sacrament of the altar most abominable?"

Elizabeth.--"Yes, that I have."

Chancellor.--"And art thou not sorry for it?"

Elizabeth.--"No, sir, not a whit."

Chancellor.--"Art thou not content to go to the church, and hear mass?"

Elizabeth.--"I will not go to the church, either to mass or matins, till I may hear it in a tongue that I can understand: for I will be fed no longer in a strange language." And always the scribe did write every of these articles, as they were demanded, and answered unto.

Then the scribe asked her from whence she came.

The chancellor said, "This is she that brought over all these books of heresy and treason."

Then said the scribe to her, "Woman, where hadst thou all these books?"

Elizabeth.--"I bought them in Amsterdam, and brought them over to sell, thinking to gain thereby."

Then said the scribe, "What is the name of the book?"

Elizabeth.--"I cannot tell."

The scribe.--"Why wouldst thou buy books, and know not their names?"

Then said Cluney the keeper, "Sir, my Lord Bishop did send for her by name, that she should come to mass, but she would not."

Chancellor.--"Yea, did my Lord send for her by name, and would she not go to mass?"

Elizabeth.--"No, sir, I will never go to mass, till I do understand it, by the leave of God."

Chancellor.--"Understand it! Why, who the devil can make thee to understand Latin, thou being so old?"

Then the scribe commanded her to set her hand to all the said things.

Elizabeth said, "Sir, then let me hear it read first."

Then said the scribe, "Master Chancellor! shall she hear it read?"

Chancellor.--"Yea, let the heretic hear it read." Then she heard it read, and so she set to her hand.

The eighth examination, before the bishop.

When she was brought before the bishop, he asked the keeper, "Is this the woman that hath the three children?" And the keeper said, "Yea, my Lord."

Bishop.--"Woman, here is a supplication put unto my hands for thee. In like case there was another supplication put up to me for thee afore this, in the which thou madest as though that I should keep thy children."

Elizabeth.--"My Lord, I did not know of this supplication, nor yet of the other."

Then said the bishop, "Master Dean, is this the woman you have sued so earnestly for?"

Dean.--"Yea, my Lord."

Dean.--"Woman, what remaineth in the sacrament of the altar, when and after that the priest hath spoken the words of consecration?"

Elizabeth.--"A piece of bread. But the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, which he did institute and leave amongst his disciples the night before he was betrayed, ministered according to his word, that sacrament I do believe."

Dean.--"How dost thou believe concerning the body of Christ? where is his body, and how many bodies hath he?"

Elizabeth.--"Sir, in heaven, he sitteth on the right hand of God."

Dean.--"From whence came his human body?"

Elizabeth.--"He took it of the Virgin Mary."

Dean.--"That is flesh, blood, and bones, as mine is. But what shape hath his spiritual body? hath it face, hands, and feet?"

Elizabeth.--"I know no other body that he hath, but that body whereof he meant when he said, This is my body which is given for you; and this is my blood which shall be shed for you. Whereby he plainly meaneth that body, and no other, which he took of the Virgin Mary, having the perfect shape and proportion of a human body."

Then said Story, "Ye have a wise body; for ye must go to the stake."

Dean.--"Art thou content to believe in the faith of Christ's church? But to ask of thee what Christ's church is, or where it is, I let it pass."

Elizabeth.--"Sir, to that church I have joined my faith, and from it I purpose never to turn, by God's help."

Dean.--"Wouldst thou not be at home with thy children with a good will?"

Elizabeth.--"Sir, if it please God to give me leave."

Dean.--"Art thou content to confess thyself to be an ignorant and foolish woman, and to believe as our holy father the pope of Rome doth, and as the lord cardinal's Grace doth, and as my Lord the bishop of London thine ordinary doth, and as the king's Grace, and the queen's Grace, and all the nobility of England do; yea, and the emperor's Grace, and all the noble princes of Christendom?"

Elizabeth.--"Sir, I never was wise, but in few words I shall make you a brief answer how I do believe. I do believe all things that are written in the Scriptures given by the Holy Ghost unto the church of Christ, set forth and taught by the church of Christ. Hereon I ground my faith, and on no man."

Then said Story, "And who shall be judge?"

Elizabeth.--"Sir, the Scripture."

Story.--"And who shall read it?"

Elizabeth.--"He unto whom God hath given the understanding."

Bishop.--"Woman, be reformable; for I would thou wert gone; and Master Dean here hath earnestly sued for thee."

Dean.--"Woman, I have sued for thee indeed, and I promise thee, if thou wilt be reformable, my Lord will be good unto thee."

Elizabeth.--"I have been before my Lord Bishop, and before Master Chancellor three times, and have declared my faith."

Dean.--"And yet I know that Master Chancellor will say, that thou art a rank heretic."

Story.--"Away with her."

Bishop.--"Master Dean, ye know that I may not tarry, nor you neither: Let her keeper bring her home to your own chamber soon, at four o'clock at afternoon; and if that ye find her reasonable, then let her go, for I would that she were gone." Then said the dean, "With a good will, my Lord."

And so she was sent unto the place from whence she came, until it was four of the clock at afternoon.

The ninth examination, before the dean, by whom it pleased God to deliver her.

When it was four of the clock at afternoon, as the hour was appointed, and the dean was set, he asked her, "Art thou a fool now, as thou wast today?"

Elizabeth.--"Sir, I have learned but small wisdom since."

Dean.--"Dost thou think that I am better learned than thou?"

Elizabeth.--"Yes, sir, that I do."

Dean.--"Thinkest thou that I can do thee good?"

Elizabeth.--"Yea, sir, and if it please God that ye will."

Dean.--"Then I will do thee good indeed. What dost thou receive, when thou receivest the sacrament which Christ left among his disciples the night before he was betrayed?"

Elizabeth.--"Sir, that that his disciples did receive."

Dean.--"What did they receive?"

Elizabeth.--"Sir, that that Christ gave them, they received."

Dean.--"What answer is this? was Christ there present?"

Elizabeth.--"Sir, he was there present; for he instituted his own sacrament."

Dean.--"He took bread; and he brake it, and he gave it to his disciples, and said, Take, eat; this is my body which shall be broken for you. When thou receivest it, dost thou believe that thou receivest his body?"

Elizabeth.--"Sir, when I receive, I believe that through faith I do receive Christ."

Dean.--"Dost thou believe that Christ is there?"

Elizabeth.--"Sir, I believe that he is there to me, and by faith I do receive him."

Dean.--"He also took the cup, and gave thanks, and gave it to his disciples, and said, Drink ye all hereof: this is the cup of the new testament in my blood, which is shed for many for the remission of sins. When thou dost receive it after the institution that Christ ordained among his disciples, the night before he was betrayed, dost thou believe that Christ is there?"

Elizabeth.--"Sir, by faith I believe that he is there, and by faith I do believe that I do receive him."

Dean.--"Now thou hast answered me. Remember that thou sayest, that when thou dost receive according to the institution of Christ, thou dost receive Christ."

Elizabeth.--"Sir, I believe Christ not to be absent from his own sacrament."

Dean.--"How long wilt thou continue in that belief?"

Elizabeth.--"Sir, as long as I do live, by the help of God: for it is, and hath been, my belief."

Dean.--"Wilt thou say this before my Lord?"

Elizabeth.--"Yea, sir."

Dean.--"Then I dare deliver thee. Why, thou calf! why wouldst thou not say so to-day?"

Elizabeth.--"Sir, ye asked me no such question."

Dean.--"Then ye would stand in disputation how many bodies Christ had."

Elizabeth.--"Sir, indeed that question ye did ask me."

Dean.--"Who shall be thy sureties that thou wilt appear before my Lord of London and me upon Friday next?"

Elizabeth.--"Sir, I have no sureties, nor know I where to have any."

Then spake the dean unto two women that stood there, who had earnestly sued for her, saying, "Women, will ye be her sureties, that she shall appear before my Lord of London and me upon Friday next."

The women.--"Yea, sir, and it please you."

Dean.--"Take heed that I find you no more a brabblers in the Scripture."

Elizabeth.--"Sir, I am no brabblers in the Scripture, nor yet any man can burden me therewith."

Dean.--"Yes, I have heard of you well enough, what ye are."

Then said he to the two women, "What if a man should touch your conscience; do ye not smell a little of heresy also?"

The women.--"No, sir."

Dean.--"Yes, a little of the frying-pan, or else wherefore have ye twain so earnestly sued for her?"

The one woman answered, "Because that her children were like to perish, and therefore God put me in mind to sue for her."

Then said the other woman, "And I gat her child a nurse, and I am threatened to stand to the keeping of her child; and therefore it standeth me in hand to sue to have her out."

Dean.--"Woman, give thanks unto these honest women, who have so earnestly sued for thee, and I promise thee so have I. These great heretics will receive nothing but in spirit and faith." And so he rose and departed.

Elizabeth.--"Sir, God be praised, and I thank you for your goodness and theirs also."

And so he went away; and upon the Friday next, because she was accused, her two sureties went thither, and were discharged.

398. Elizabeth Lawson.

In the town of Bedfield, and in the county of Suffolk, was dwelling an ancient godly matron, named Elizabeth Lawson, about the age of sixty years. This Elizabeth was apprehended as a heretic by the constables of the same town, named Robert Kitrich, and Thomas Elas, in the year of our Lord 1556, because she would not go to church, to hear mass, and receive the sacrament and believe in it. First, they laid her in a dungeon; and, after that, she was carried unto Norwich, and from thence to Bury gaol, where at last she was condemned to be burnt. In the mean time Sir John Sylliard had her home unto his house, he being high sheriff that year; where she was hardly kept, and wrapped in irons, till at length, when they by no means could move her to recant, she was sent to prison again with shameful revilings.

Thus she continued in prison the space of two years and three quarters. In the mean time there was burnt her son, and many more, whereby she would often say, "Good Lord, what is the cause that I may not yet come to thee with thy children? Well, good Lord! thy blessed will be done, and not mine."

Not long after this (most happily) followed the death of Queen Mary, after whom succeeded our queen that now is; at which time this Elizabeth Lawson remained yet still in Bury prison, till at last she was bailed upon sureties, or else she could not be delivered. For she being a condemned person, neither temporalty, nor yet spiritual authority, would discharge her without sureties.

Now, she being abroad, and her sureties made afraid by wicked men, they said, they would cast her again in prison, except she would see them discharged.

Then she got a supplication to go unto the queen's Majesty, and came to a friend of hers, to have his counsel therein; who willed her to stay a while, because she was old, the days short, and the expenses great, and winter foul, (for it was a little before Christmas,) and to tarry until summer. In the mean time God brake the bond, and shortened her journey; for he took her home to himself out of this life in peace.

This good old woman, long before she went to prison, had the falling-sickness, and told a friend of hers, one Simon Harlston, after she was apprehended, that she never had it more, but lived in good health and joy of heart, through our Lord Christ.

She had a very unkind man to her husband, who, while she was in prison, sold away her raiment, and would not help her; and after she was out of prison, she returned home unto him, yet would he show her no kindness, nor help her neither; and yet the house and land that he dwelt in, he had by her: wherefore, as long as she lived, she was found of the congregation.

The said Elizabeth Lawson also had a sister, wife to one Robert Hollon in Mickfield in the same county of Suffolk, which likewise was persecuted and driven out from house to house, and a young man her son with her, because they would not go to church to hear mass, and receive the sacrament of the altar.

399. Thomas Christenmass and William Wats.

In this perilous rage of Queen Mary's reign were two men persecuted, one called Thomas Christenmass, the other William Wats, of Tunbridge in Kent. As these travelled from place to place, not resting two nights in one place, it happened them on a time to come to Rochester in Kent, where, as they [were] entering into the town, even at the town's end, [they] met with a little damsel of eight years of age; but whither she went they knew not. It was then night, and they weary; and fain therefore would have lien in the same town, but could not tell where, they feared so the bloody catholics. At last they devised to ask the damsel, whether there were any heretics in the town, or no? and she said, Yea. They asked her, Where? She answered them, At such an inn: telling them the name, and where the inn was. Shortly after, as they were gone from her, they bethought themselves better, and God so moving their hearts, they went to the child again, and asked her how she knew that the innkeeper (of whom she spake before) was a heretic. "Marry," quoth she, "well enough, and his wife also." "How knowest thou, pretty maiden?" said they: "I pray thee tell us." "How know I?" said she; "marry, because they go to the church; and those that will not hold up their hands there, they will present them. And he himself goeth from house to house, to compel them to come to church." When these two men heard this they gave God praise, and avoided that house, taking the warning of that maid, (of good bringing-up, as it should seem,) to be God's marvellous providence towards them.

Another escape of William Wats.

The foresaid William Wats, dwelling in Queen Mary's days at Seal in Kent, the last year of her reign save one, was apprehended by his enemies, and brought by the constables before the bishop and justices of Tunbridge, where the bishop and justices would have persuaded him all they could, to turn from the truth; howbeit in vain, for they could not remove him, although they spent all the forenoon thereabout, with many flattering words; so merciful was the Lord unto him.

Now when dinner-time was come, as they should rise, they committed the prisoner to the constables again, and so rose up to go to dinner. The constables took Wats, and led him to a victualling-house, where, after they had well filled themselves, they fell asleep, supposing their prisoner to be sure enough under their hands. Wats's wife being then in the house with her husband, and very careful for his well doing, seeing the constables thus fast asleep, desired her husband to depart and go thence, forasmuch as the Lord had made such a way for him; unto which her words he would not consent, although she persuaded him all that she could.

At the last, (they replying one against another,) a stranger heard them, and asked her what the matter was, that she was so earnest with her husband. The wife told him. Then said the stranger unto Wats these words, "Father! go thy ways in God's name, and tarry no longer: the Lord hath opened the way unto thee." Whereupon the said Wats went his way, and his wife departed from him, and went home to her house at Seal, thinking her husband had gone another way. Now as she was going in at her door, telling her friends of his deliverance, immediately came the said Wats in also,

and they all being amazed thereat, willed him in all haste to get him away; for they thought there would be search for him immediately.

Then Wats said, he would eat meat first, and also pray; which he did, and afterward departed thence. So soon as he was out of the doors, and had hid himself in a holly-hush, immediately came the said constables with thirty persons into the said house to search for him, where they pierced the featherbeds, broke up his chests, and made such havoc, that it was wonderful. And ever anon as they were searching, the constable cried, "I will have Wats, I will have Wats; I tell thee, I will have Wats." But (God be thanked) Wats could not be found. And when they saw it booteth not to search for him, in the end they took his wife, and set her in a pair of stocks, where she remained two days; and she was very bold in the truth, and at the last delivered, through the providence of God; whose name be glorified in all his works, Amen.

400. John Glover of Mancetter, Gentleman.

What a fatherly and manifest providence of the Lord likewise did appear in the preserving of Master John Glover, of the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield, in the town of Mancetter, first, at the taking of Robert, his brother: at which time, although the commission came down for him, yet so God ordered the matter, that his brother being sick was apprehended, and yet he, being whole, escaped, whereof mention is made before.

And again, another time how miraculously the merciful providence of the Lord wrought his escape out of his enemies' hands, they being at his chamber-door, and drawing the latch to search for him; and how his wife the same time was taken and sent to Lichfield, read before.

401. One Dabney, a Painter.

There was at London a certain honest godly person, a painter, named Dabney, whom John Auales, in the time of Queen Mary, had brought before Bonner, to be examined for his faith. It happened the same time, as the said Dabney was there, that the bishop was occupied with the examination of others, so that he was bid to stand by, and to wait the bishop's leisure. Upon the same, or not long after, suddenly cometh word to the bishop to prepare him in all speed; the general procession tarried for him. The bishop hearing that, setting all business apart, bustleth himself with all speed possible to the church, there to furnish the procession; by reason whereof Dabney, who newly came to the house, was there left alone, while every man else was busied in preparing and setting themselves forward, according as the case required.

To be short, as the time called on, Bonner with his household maketh haste so fast as they can, out of the doors to the procession. Dabney, being left alone, cometh down to the outward court next the gate, there walking with himself all heavy, looking for nothing less than to escape that danger. The porter, who was only left at home, seeing the man to walk alone, supposing he had been some citizen there left behind and waiting for opening the gate, went and opened the wicket, asking if he would go out. "Yea," said he, "with a good will, if ye will let me out." "With all my heart," quoth the porter, "and I pray you so do."

And thus the said Dabney, taking the occasion offered of God, being let out by the porter, escaped out of the wolf's mouth. The procession being done, when the bishop returned home, Dabney was gone, and could not be found: whereupon search was made. But especially John Auales laid much privy wait for him; who, after long searching, when he could not get him, at length received fifteen crowns of his wife, to let him alone when he should see him; and so that good man escaped.

402. Alexander Wimshurst, Minister.

A like example of God Almighty's goodness towards his afflicted servants in that dangerous time of persecution, may also appear evidently in one Alexander Wimshurst, a priest sometime of Magdalene College, in Oxford, and then the pope's own knight, but since an earnest enemy to antichrist, and a man better instructed in the true fear of God. It happened that one had promoted him to Bonner for religion, upon what occasion I do not understand. According to the old manner in such cases provided, he sent forth Robin Caly, otherwise called Robin Papist, one of his whelps, to bring in the game, and to cause this silly poor man to appear before him. Little Robin, like a proper man, bestirreth him in his business, and smelleth him out; and when he had gotten him, bringeth him along by Cheapside, not suffering him to talk with any of his acquaintance by the way, though there were of his old friends of Oxford that offered to speak unto him.

When they came into Paul's, it happened this Alexander to espy Dr. Chedsey, there walking up and down; to whom, because he was able in such a case to do pleasure, and for that he had been of his old acquaintance in Oxford, he was very desirous to speak to him ere he went through. Chedsey, perceiving that Robin Caly did attend upon him, said that he durst not meddle in the matter. "Yes," saith little Robin, "you may talk with him if it please you, Master Doctor! "To be short, Alexander openeth his case, and in the end desireth, for old acquaintance' sake, that he would find means he might be rather brought before Dr. Martin to be examined, than any other. "Nay," saith he, (alleging the words of Christ unto Peter in the last chapter of St. John,) "you remember, brother, what is written in the gospel: When thou wast young, thou didst gird thyself, and wentest whither thou wouldest: but being aged, other men shall gird thee, and lead thee whither thou wouldest not." Thus abusing the Scripture to his private meaning, whereas notwithstanding he might easily have accomplished so small a request, if it had liked him.

Thence was he carried to Story and Cook, commissioners, there to learn what should become of him: before them he did use himself boldly and stoutly, as they on the other side did urge him with captious questions very cruelly. When they had baited the poor man their fill, they asked him where his whore was. "She is not my whore," said he, "but my lawful wife." "She is thy whore," said they. "She is not my whore," said he again, "but my wife, I tell you." So when they perceived that he would not give place unto them, nor attribute to them so much as they looked for at his hand, according to the ordinary manner, they commanded him to prison.

And now mark well the providence of God in his preservation. He was brought into Cluney's house at Paternoster Row, thence to be carried to Lollards' Tower out of hand, but that Cluney, (as it happened,) his wife, and his maid, were so earnestly occupied about present business, that as then they had not leisure to lock up their prisoner. In the hall where Alexander sat, was a strange woman, whose husband was then presently in trouble for religion, which perceived by some one occasion or other, that this man was brought in for the like cause. "Alack, good man," saith she, "if you will, you may escape the cruel hands of your enemies, forasmuch as they be all away, that should look unto you. God hath opened the way unto you for a deliverance, and therefore lose not the opportunity thereof, if you be wise." With those and such-like words being then persuaded, he gat out of the doors, and went

away without any haste-making at all; so that if any had followed, he might have been easily recovered again. But undoubtedly it was God's will that he should so escape the fury of his adversaries, and be preserved from all dangers of death and imprisonment.

403. The Story of one Bosome's Wife.

As the works of the Lord are not to be kept secret, whatsoever the persons be in whom it pleaseth him to work; so cometh to remembrance the story of one Bosome's wife, not unworthy to be considered. This good woman, being at Richmond with her mother, was greatly called upon, and urged to come to church. At length, through importunate crying and calling upon, she granted unto them, and came. Being in the church, and sitting with her mother in the pew, contrary in all things to the doings of the papists, she behaved herself: to wit, when they kneeled she stood; when they turned forward she turned backward, &c.

This being notorious in the church, at length the constable, and churchwarden named Sanders, attached her in the queen's name, charging her, with her mother, the next day to appear at Kingston, who, at their command, so did.

The next day, according as they were assigned, they came to Kingston to appear before the foresaid officers, who, at the same time, (as it chanced,) were going over the ferry, and meeting them by the way, saluted them by their names; but at that time had no further power to speak unto them. Afterward, as they were in the boat going over, they knocked their hands, stamped and stared, lamenting that they had let them so pass their hands. This the ferry-man declared unto them, and what they said in the boat. Whereupon the good woman, taking her journey to London, escaped their cruelty, through the secret working (no doubt) of the Lord, who in all his works, and evermore, be praised; Amen.

404. The Lady Knevet, of Wymondham, in Norfolk.

Among the number of the godly, that were kept under the providence of the Lord in those perilous days, I may not forget an ancient good lady of much worship, called Lady Anne Knevet, who, till her death, dwelt in Norfolk, in a town named Wymondham, six miles from Norwich; which said good lady, in Queen Mary's days, being judged by the common people to be more than a hundred years of age, and by her own estimation well toward a hundred, kept herself from their popish church, or having any papistical trash ministered in her house, but only the service that was used in the latter days of King Edward the Sixth, which daily she had said before her, either by one Master Tollin, who was then by God's providence preserved in her house, or else by one of her gentlewomen or household servants, that could serve the place in the said Master Tollin's absence.

Now this worshipful lady continuing in this manner of true serving of God, she and her family were many times threatened by messengers, that the bishop would visit her there-for. Unto which messengers she would always answer, that if his Lordship sent word before what day he would come, he should thereafter be entertained at her hand. But God, whose providence ruleth the raging seas, never suffered them all that toiling time to molest her: although oftentimes, when she had service before her, there were very great enemies to the truth, and of much authority, that came in, and kneeled to prayer among them, and yet had no power to trouble her there-for.

This good lady, gentle reader, kept good hospitality, as any in that country, of her living. She also succoured many persecuted, that came to her house in the said Queen Mary's days. Were they never so simple, they were esteemed of her as the friends of the gospel, and departed not from her without money and meat. Born she was long before King Edward the Fourth died, and ended her life in the Lord Jesus's peace, about the beginning of the second year of our most sovereign lady Queen Elizabeth's reign, as one in blessed peace, falling into a most sweet sleep. Unto whom not unworthily may be compared the Lady Elizabeth Vane, who likewise, being a great harbourer and supporter of the afflicted martyrs and confessors of Christ, was in great hazards and dangers of the enemies, and yet notwithstanding, through the merciful providence of the Lord, remained still unfouched. But of this Lady Vane thou hast read before.

405. John Davis, a Child Under Twelve Years of Age.



John Davis Arrested

Anno Domini 1546, and the last year of King Henry the Eighth, John Davis, a child of twelve years and under, who, dwelling in the house of Master Johnson, apothecary, in the town of Worcester, his uncle, (using sometimes to read of the Testament and other good English books,) was complained of by Alice Johnson his mistress; which Alice, being an obstinate person, consulted with one Thomas Parton, and one Alice, wife to Nicholas Brooke, organ-maker, with certain of the canons, and Master Johnson, chancellor to Dr. Heath, their bishop. The means whereby he was entrapped were wrought by the foresaid Alice Brooke, who procured Oliver her son, school-fellow with the said John Davis, to feign friendship with him, and, under pretence to be instructed, to see his English books, and especially to get something of his writing against the Six Articles; which being had, was soon brought to the canons of the church, and the chancellor. Whereupon Thomas Parton, whether being sent, or of his own mind, came to apprehend him, and his uncle was forced, against his will, to bind the poor boy's arms behind him; and so he was brought to the officers of the town, where he lay from the fourteenth of August till the last of September. Then was he commanded to the freeman's prison, where one Richard Hawborough, coming to persuade him from burning, willed him to prove first with a candle; who then holding his finger, and the other a candle under it, a good space, yet (as the party himself to me assureth) felt no burning thereof; neither would the other that held the candle

believe him a great while, till he had looked, and saw no scorching of the candle at all appeared.

Then was the child removed from thence to an inner prison, called Peephole, where the low bailiff, called Robert Yould, laid upon him a pair of bolts, so that he could not lift up his small legs, but leaning on a staff, slipt them forward upon the ground; the coldness of which irons he feeleth yet in his ancles, and shall so long as he liveth: with these bolts his lying was upon the cold ground, having not one lock of straw nor cloth to cover him, save only two sheepskins; neither durst father or mother, or any of his friends, come at him. Besides this, and many great threats of the papists, there was a mad-man put to him in the prison, with a knife about him, wherewith he oftentimes, in his frantic rage, proffered to thrust him in.

After this came to him one Joyliff and N. Yewer, two canons, which had his writings against the Six Articles, and his ballad, called, "Come down, for all your shaven crown," to see whether he would stand to that he had written. Which done, with many great raging words, not long after sat Master Johnson, the chancellor, in the Guildhall, upon the poor lad; where first were brought in his accusers, and sworn. Then were sworn also twenty-four men which went on his quest, and found him guilty; but he never came before the chancellor. Upon this he was sent to the common gaol among thieves and murderers, there to tarry the coming of the judges, and so to be had straight to execution. But the mighty mercy of the Lord, who helpeth the desolate and miserable when all other help is past, so provided for this silly condemned lad, that the purpose of all his hard-hearted enemies was disappointed; for before the judges came, God took away Henry the Eighth out of this life, by reason whereof the force of the law was then stayed. Howbeit he was nevertheless arraigned, being holden up in a man's arms at the bar before the judges, who were Portman and Marven; who, when they perceived that they could not burn him, would have him presently whipped; but Master John Bourne, esquire, declared to the judges, how he had whipping enough. After that he had lain a week more in prison, he had him home to his house, his wife anointed his legs herself with ointment, which then were stiff and numbed with irons, till at length, when Master Bourne and his wife saw they could not win him to the belief of their sacrament, they put him away, lest he should infect their son Anthony, as they thought, with heresy.

Thus John Davis, of the age aforesaid, in what damage he was for the gospel ye see, and how the Lord preserved him ye understand. He endured in prison from the fourteenth day of August, till within seven days of Easter; who is yet alive, and a profitable minister this day in the church of England: blessed be the Lord.

406. Mistress Roberts, of Hawkhurst, in Kent.

Furthermore, to both these may be also associate another gentlewoman, to make the third, named Mrs. Roberts, yet living and dwelling (as I understand) in the town of Hawkhurst, in Kent. She, being earnestly addicted to the truth of Christ's gospel, and no less constant in that which she had learned therein, so kept herself during all the brunt of Queen Mary's time, that she never came to their popish service, nor would pollute her conscience with hearing their idolatrous mass. There dwelt the same time not far off a justice, called Sir John Guildford, who, being as fervent on the contrary side to set forward the proceedings of Queen Mary, thought to prove masteries with this gentlewoman, in forcing her into the church. And first, sending his wife, he attempted her by fair words and gentle persuasions to conform herself to the prince's laws, and to come, as other Christian people did, to the church. Notwithstanding she, constantly persisting in the sincerity of the truth, would by no persuasions be won to do therein against her conscience; and so kept at home a certain space, till again, the second time, Master Guildford, thinking not to give her over so, sent his officers and servants to her, by force and power to hale her out of her house to the church; and so did: where, by the way, she for grief of conscience swooned, and so of necessity was brought home again, and falling into an ague, was for that time dispensed withal.

The third time, yet the unquiet spirit of Master Guildford being not content, after the time that she recovered health again, he would needs come in his own person to compel her, will'd she, nill'd she, to the church. But, as the proverb goeth, "Who can let that, God would have done?" for when Master Guildford had purposed as pleased him, the Lord so disposed for his servant, that as the said Master Guildford was coming up the stairs toward her chamber, suddenly his old disease the gout so took him, and terribly tormented him, that he could go no further. And so he, that purposed to carry her to the church against her will, was fain himself to be carried home to his house to his pain; protesting and swearing that he would never from henceforth trouble that gentlewoman more; and no more he did.

407. Mistress Anne Lacy, a Widow in Nottinghamshire.

In this number of good gentlewomen being in tronble and danger for God's word, is not to be omitted the memory of one Mistress Anne Lacy, widow in Nottinghamshire, who was in great danger in Queen Mary's time, insomuch that the process was forth against her, and she ready to have been apprehended, being so nearly pursued, that she was driven to hide her Bible and other books in a dunghill. Master Lacy her brother was then justice of peace; but to whom (as I have heard) she was but smally beholden. Nevertheless, where kindred faileth, yet God's grace never faileth such as stick to him; for in this mean time, as the process came out against her, Queen Mary died, and so she escaped.

408. Crossman's Wife, of Tibenham, in Norfolk.

One Crossman's wife, of Tibenham Long Row in Norfolk, in Queen Mary's time, for not going to church, was sought for at her house by one Barber of the said town, then constable of the hundred, who when he came to her house, she, being at home, with a child sucking in her arms, stepped into a corner on the one side of the chimney; and they seeking the chambers, the child never cried (although before they came it did) as long as they were there: and so by this means the Lord preserved her.

409. The Congregation at Stoke, in Suffolk.

There were some likewise which avoided the violent rage of the adversaries by means only of their number, and mutual concord in godliness, wherein they did so hold together, that without much ado, none well could be troubled: whereof we have example in a certain town of Suffolk called Stoke. After the three sharp years of Queen Mary's persecution being past, yet, notwithstanding, the inhabitants of the town aforesaid, especially the women, came not to their church to receive, after the popish manner, the sacrament; who, if they had been but few, they could by no means have escaped imprisonment, but because there were so many, the papists thought it best not to lay hands upon them: only they appointed them sixteen days' respite after Easter, wherein as many as would, should receive the sacrament; those that would not, should stand to the peril that would follow. Of this company, which were many, giving their hands together, the chiefest doers were these: Eve, an old woman of sixty years; Alice Coker, her daughter; Elizabeth Foxe, Agnes Cutting, Alice Spencer, Henry Cauker, Joan Fouke, Agnes Spaulding, John Steyre and his brother, and John Foxe, confessors.

These, after the order was taken for their not coming to the church, took advisement among themselves what was best to be done, and at length concluded by promise one to another, that they would not receive at all. Yet some of them afterward, being persuaded with fair promises that the communion should be ministered unto them according to King Edward's book, gat them unto the parish priest, (whose name was Cotes,) and asked him after which sort he would minister the sacrament. He answered to such as he favoured, that he would give it after the right sort; the rest should have it after the papistical order.

To be short, none did communicate so, but only John Steyre and John Foxe; of whom the one gave his wife leave to do as she thought best, the other went about with threats to compel his wife, saying, that otherwise he would divorce himself from her. As for the rest, they did withdraw themselves from church, resorting to their wonted company. Only Foxe's wife tarried still at home, all in her dumps and heaviness, whose husband practised with the curate in the mean time, that, the next day after, he should give her the sacrament, which was the seventeenth day after Easter. But the very same day, unknown unto her husband, she gat herself secretly to her company, and with tears declared how violently her husband had dealt with her. The other women bade her notwithstanding to be of a good cheer, and said, that they would make their earnest prayers unto the Lord, both for her and her husband. And indeed, when they had so done, the matter took very good success; for the next day after, Goodman Foxe came of his own accord unto them, a far other man than he was before, and bewailed his own headiness and rashness, praying them that they would forgive him, promising ever after to be more strong in faith, to the great rejoicing both of them and his wife.

About half a year after this, the bishop of Norwich sendeth forth certain of his officers or apparitors thither, which gave them warning every one to come to the church the next Sunday following. If they would not come, they should appear before the commissary out of hand, to render account of their absence. But the women, having secret knowledge of this before, kept themselves out of the way for the nonce, to avoid the summons or warning. Therefore, when they were not at the church at the

day appointed, the commissary did first suspend them, according to the bishop of Rome's law, and within three weeks after, did excommunicate them. Therefore, when they perceived that an officer of the town was set to take some of them, they, conveying themselves privily out of the town, escaped all danger.

410. The Preservation of the Congregation at London.

No less marvellous was the preservation of the congregation in London, which from the first beginning of Queen Mary, to the latter end thereof, continued, notwithstanding whatsoever the malice, device, searching, and inquisition of men, or strictness of laws, could work to the contrary. Such was the merciful hand of the Lord, according to his accustomed goodness, ever working with his people. Of this great bountiful goodness of the Lord, many and great examples appeared in the congregation which now I speak of. How oft, and in what great danger, did he deliver them!

First, at the Black-friars, when they should have resorted to Sir Thomas Carden's house, privy watch was laid for them; but yet, through the Lord's vigilant providence, the mischief was prevented, and they delivered.

Again, how narrowly did they escape about Aldgate, where spies were laid for them; and had not Thomas Simson the deacon espied them, and bid them disperse themselves away, they had been taken. For within two hours the constable, coming to the house after they were gone, demanded of the wife, what company had been there. To whom she, to excuse the matter, made answer again, saying, that half a dozen good fellows had been there at breakfast, as they went a Maying.

Another time also, about the great Conduit, they, passing there through a very strait alley into a cloth-worker's loft, were espied, and the sheriffs sent for: but before they came, they, having privy knowledge thereof, immediately shifted away out of the alley, John Auales standing alone in the mercer's chapel staring at them.

Another like escape they made in a ship at Billingsgate, belonging to a certain good man of Leigh, where in the open sight of the people they were congregated together, and yet, through God's mighty power, escaped.

Betwixt Ratcliffe and Rotherhithe, in a ship called Jesus ship, twice or thrice they assembled, having there closely, after their accustomed manner, both sermon, prayer, and communion; and yet, through the protection of the Lord, they returned, although not unespied, yet untaken.

Moreover, in a cooper's house in Pudding Lane, so near they were to perils and dangers, that John Auales, coming into the house where they were, talked with the goodman of the house, and after he had asked a question or two, departed; God so working, that either he had no knowledge of them, or no power to apprehend them.

But they never escaped more hardly, than once in Thames Street in the night time, where the house being beset with enemies, yet, as the Lord would, they were delivered by the means of a mariner, who being at that present in the same company, and seeing no other way to avoid, plucked off his slops and swam to the next boat, and so rowed the company over, using his shoes instead of oars; and so the jeopardy was despatched.

I have heard of one, who being sent to them to take their names, and to espy their doings, yet, in being amongst them, was converted, and cried them all mercy.

What should I speak of the extreme and present danger which that godly company was in at the taking of Master Rough their minister, and Cutbert Symson their deacon, had not the Lord's providence given knowledge before to Master Rough in his sleep, that Cutbert Symson should leave behind him at home the book of all their names, which he was wont to carry about with him; whereof mention is made before.

In this church or congregation there were sometimes forty, sometimes a hundred, sometimes two hundred, sometimes more and sometimes less. About the latter time of Queen Mary it greatly increased. From the first beginning, which was about the first entry at Queen Mary's reign, they had divers ministers; first Master Seamier, then Thomas Foule, after him Master Rough, then Master Augustine Bernher, and last Master Bentham; concerning the deliverance of which Master Bentham, (being now bishop of Coventry and Lichfield,) God's mighty providence most notably is to be considered. For how is it possible, by man's estimation, for the said Master Bentham to have escaped, had not the present power of the Lord, passing all men's expectation, been pressed and ready to help his servant in such a strait! The story and case is this:

At what time the seven last burnt in Smithfield, mentioned in this book before, were condemned and brought to the stake to suffer, came down in the name of the king and queen a proclamation, being twice pronounced openly to the people, (first at Newgate, then at the stake where they should suffer,) straitly charging and commanding, that no man should either pray for them, or speak to them, or once say, God help them.

It was appointed before, of the godly there standing together, which was a great multitude, that so soon as the prisoners should be brought, they should go to them to embrace and to comfort them; and so they did. For as the said martyrs were coming towards the place in the people's sight, being brought with bills and gloves, (as the custom is,) the godly multitude and congregation with a general sway made toward the prisoners, in such manner that the bill-men and the other officers, being all thrust back, could nothing do, nor any thing come nigh. So the godly people meeting, and embracing and kissing them, brought them in their arms (which might as easily have conveyed them clean away) unto the place where they should suffer.

This done, and the people giving place to the officers, the proclamation with a loud voice was read to the people, containing (as is before said) in the king and queen's name, that no man should pray for them, or once speak a word unto them, &c. Master Bentham, the minister then of the congregation, not sparing for that, but as zeal and Christian charity moved him, and seeing the fire set to them, turning his eyes to the people, cried and said, "We know they are the people of God, and therefore we cannot choose but wish well to them, and say, God strengthen them:" and so boldly he said, "Almighty God, for Christ's sake, strengthen them!" With that all the people, with a whole consent and one voice, followed and said, "Amen, Amen! ", The noise whereof was so great, and the cries thereof so many, that the officers could not tell what to say, or whom to accuse. And thus much concerning the congregation of the faithful assembling together at London, in the time of Queen Mary.

The said Master Bentham another time, as he passed through St. Katharine's, intending to walk and take the air abroad, was enforced by two or three men, approaching upon him, needs to go with them to a place whither they would lead him. Master Bentham, astonied at the suddenness of the matter, and marvelling what the thing should be, required what their purpose was, or whither they would have him. They answered, that by the occasion of a man there found drowned, the coroner's quest was called, and charged to sit upon him, of the which quest he must of necessity be one, &c. He again, loth to meddle in the matter, excused himself, alleging that in such kind of matters he had no skill, and less experience: if it would please them to let him go, they should meet with others more meet for their purpose. But when with this they would not be satisfied, he alleged further, that he was a scholar of Oxford, and thereby was privileged from being of any inquest. The coroner demanded the sight of his privilege. He said, if he would give him leave, he would fetch it. Then said the coroner, the queen must be served without all delay; and so constrained him notwithstanding to be with them in hearing the matter.

Being brought to the house where the coroner and the rest of the quest were sitting, as the manner is, a book was offered to him to swear upon. Master Bentham, opening the book, and seeing it was a papistical primer, refused to swear thereupon, and declared moreover what superstition in that book was contained. "What!" said the coroner; "I think we shall have here a heretic among us." And upon that, after much reasoning amongst them, he was committed to the custody of an officer, till further examination: by occasion whereof, to all men's reason, hard it had been and inevitable for Master Bentham to have escaped, had not the Lord helped, where man was not able. What followed? Incontinent as they were thus contending and debating about matters of heresy, suddenly cometh the coroner of the admiralty, disannulling and repealing the order and calling of that inquest, for that it was (as he said) pertaining to his office; and therefore the other coroner and his company in that place had nothing to do. And so the first coroner was discharged and displaced; by reason whereof Master Bentham escaped their hands, having no more said unto him.

411. Englishmen Preserved at the Taking of Calais.

The worthy works of the Lord's mercy toward his people be manifold, and cannot be comprehended, so that who is he living in the earth almost, who hath not experienced the helping hand of the Lord at some time or other upon him? Amongst many others, what a piece of God's tender providence was showed of late upon our English brethren and countrymen, what time Calais was taken by the tyrant Guise, a cruel enemy both to God's truth and our English nation! and yet, by the gracious provision of the Lord, few, or none at all, of so many that favoured Christ and his gospel, in that terrible spoil, miscarried. In the number of whom there was a godly couple, one John Thorp and his wife, which feared the Lord, and loved his truth, who, being sick the same time, and cast out in the wild fields, harbourless, desolate, and despairing of all hope of life, having their young infant moreover taken from them in the said fields, and carried away of the soldiers; yet the Lord so wrought, that the poor woman, being almost past recovery of life, was set and carried the space well nigh of a mile, by strangers whom they never knew, into a village, where both she was recovered for that night, and also the next day, coming toward England, they chanced into the same inn at the next town, where they found their young child sitting by the fire-side.

412. Edward Benet.

One Edward Benet, about the second year of the reign of Queen Mary, then dwelling at Queenhithe with one Grynocke a baker, was desired of one Tingle, prisoner then in Newgate, to bring him a New Testament. He, procuring one of Master Coverdale's translation, wrapped it in a handkerchief, saying to George the keeper, which asked him what he had, that it was a piece of powdered beef. "Let me see it," said he. Perceiving what it was, he brought him to Sir Roger Cholmley, who examined him why he did so, saying that book was not lawful; and so committed him to the Compter in Wood Street, where he continued twenty-five weeks.

Dr. Story coming to the prison to examine other prisoners, this Benet, looking out at the grate, spake to him, desiring him to be good unto him, and to help him out; for he had lien long in prison. To whom Dr. Story then answering: "What!" said he, "wast thou not before me, in Christ's Church?" "Yes, forsooth," said Benet. "Ah," said Story, "thou dost not believe in the sacrament of the altar! Marry, I will help thee out. Come," said he to the keeper, "turn him out, I will help him:" and so took Benet with him, and brought him to Cluney in Paternoster Row, and bade him bring him to the coal-house, and there he was in the stocks a week.

Then the bishop sent for him to talk with him, and first asked him if he were shriven? "No," said Benet. He asked him if he would be shriven? "No," said he. Then he asked him if the priest could take away his sins? "No," said Benet, "I do not so believe." Then he and Harpsfield laughed at him, and mocked him, asking him if he did not believe that whatsoever the priest here bound in earth, should be bound in heaven, and whatsoever he looseth in earth, should be loosed in heaven. "No," quoth Benet, "but I believe that the minister of God, preaching God's word truly, and ministering the sacraments according to the same, whatsoever he bindeth in earth, should be bound in heaven, and whatsoever he looseth," &c. Then the bishop, putting him aside, said, he should go to Fulham and be whipped.

Then came to him Master Buswell a priest, lying in the coal-house, in the stocks, and brought Cranmer's recantation, saying that he had recanted. "My faith," saith the other, "lieth in no man's book, but in him which hath redeemed me." The next Saturday, Benet, with five others, was called for to come to mass in the chapel. The mass being done, and they coming out, five of them went to prison, and were after burnt. Benet being behind, and coming toward the gate, the porter, opening to a company going out, asked if there were no prisoners there. "No," said they. Benet, standing in open sight before him, with other serving-men which were there, by reason that Bonner made many priests that day, (having one of his sleeves and half the forepart of his coat burnt off in the prison, being more like a prisoner than any of the others,) when the gates were opened, went out amongst them, and so escaped.

Again, in the last year of Queen Mary, the same Benet being taken again with the twenty-four beyond Islington, and brought to Sir Roger Cholmley's, the people coming very thick did cut off some of them, to the number of eight, which were behind, among whom was Benet. Then he knocking at the gate to come in, the porter said, that he was none of the company. He said, "Yes," and knocked again. Then there stood one by of the congregation, named Johnson, dwelling now at Hammersmith,

which said, "Edward, thou hast done well, do not tempt God: go thy way." And so he, taking the warning as sent of God, with a quiet conscience eschewed burning.

413. Jeffery Hurst, Brother-in-Law to George Marsh the Martyr.

In the town of Shakerley in Lancashire dwelled one Jeffery Hurst, the son of an honest yeoman, who had, besides him, eleven children, the said Jeffery being the twelfth and eldest of the rest: and for that their father was willing to bring them up, so that they should be able another day to help themselves, he did bind this Jeffery prentice unto the craft of nailing, to make all kind of nails, which occupation he learned, and served out the time of seven years; the which years being expired, he gave himself at times to learn of his other brethren which went to school; and as he was very willing to the same, so God sent him knowledge, wherein he did persevere and go forwards in such sort, that he could write and read indifferently; and in longer continuance came by more knowledge; and so, having the Bible and divers other books in his house, did come by pretty knowledge in the Scripture. After this he took unto him a wife, being the sister of Master George Marsh, of whose martyrdom mention is made before; and being much familiar with him, did mend his knowledge not a little. Now when Queen Mary was entered the first year of her reign, he kept himself away from their doings and came not at the church; whereupon he was laid in wait for, and called heretic, and Lollard; and so, for fear of further danger, he was compelled to leave his wife and child, and all, and fled into Yorkshire; and there, being not known, did lead his life, returning sometimes by night to his house, to comfort his wife, and bringing with him some preacher or other, who used to preach unto them so long as the time would serve; and so departed by night again. The names of the preachers were Master Reneses, Master Best, Master Brodbanke, Master Russel: and every time they came thither they were about twenty, or twenty-four sometimes, but sixteen at least, who had there also sometimes a communion. And thus in much fear did he with others lead his life, till the last year of the reign of Queen Mary. Then it chanced that the said Jeffery Hurst, after the death of his father, came home, and kept himself close for seven or eight weeks.

There dwelt not far off, at Morless, a certain justice of peace, and of the quorum, named Master Thomas Lelond, who, hearing of him, appointed a time to come to his father's house, where he, then dwelt, to rifle the house for books, and to search for him also; and so did. Jeffery and his company, having knowledge of his coming, took the books which were in the house, as the Bible, the communion-book, and the New Testament of Tyndale's translation, and divers others, and threw them all underneath a tub or vat, conveying also the said Jeffery under the same, with a great deal of straw underneath him; for, as it chanced, they had the more time, because that when the justice came almost to the door, he staid and would not enter the house till he had sent for Hurst's mother's landlady, Mistress Shakerley; and then, with her consent, intended to go forwards. In the mean time, Jeffery, by such as were with him, was willed to lay in his window the Testament of Tyndale's translation, and a little book containing the third part of the Bible, with the book of Ecclesiasticus, to try what they would say unto them.

This done, Mistress Shakerley came; unto whom eftsoons the justice declared the cause of his coming, and how he was sorry to attempt any such thing against any of her tenants for her sake, but notwithstanding, he must needs execute his office. "And again you must," said he, "note this, that a scabbed sheep is able to infect a great

number; and especially having, as he hath, so many brethren and sisters, he is able to mar them all, if he be not looked unto in time." And thus concluding, Master Lelond entered into the house; and being come in, set himself in a chair in the middle of the house; and, sending Sir Ralph Parkinson his priest, and one of his men, and one of Mistress Shakerley's men, about the house, to search and rife the chests for books, (which so did,) in the mean time he talked with Hurst's mother, being of the age almost of sixty years: and chiding with her that she would suffer her son so to order and behave himself like a heretic, said, "Thou old fool, I know myself that this new learning shall come again; but for how long?-- even for three months or four months, and no longer. But I will lay thee, old fool, in Lancaster dungeon, for this gear; and well worthy."

Now as concerning the searchers, they found nothing but Latin books, as grammar, and such like. "These be not they that we look for," said they, "we must see further:" and so looked into Hurst's chamber, where they found the foresaid books. Then Sir Ralph, taking up the Testament, looked on it, and smiled. His master seeing that, said, "Now, Sir Ralph, what have we here?" "Forsooth," saith he, "a Testament of Tyndale's translation, plain heresy, and none worse than it." "Then are all their goods," saith he, "lost to the queen, and their bodies to prison:" and was wonderfully hasty; notwithstanding, through Mistress Shakerley, for a space, he was content to see farther.

Then the priest looked on the other book: "What say ye to that, Sir Ralph; is that as evil as the other?" "No," said he, "but it is not good that they should have such English books to look on; for this and such others may do much harm." Then he asked his mother where her eldest son was, and her daughter Alice. She answered, she could not tell: they were not with her of long time before. And he swore by God's body, he would make her tell where they were, or he would lay her in Lancaster dungeon; and yet he would have them notwithstanding too. To be short, for fear, he had his brother John Hurst and his mother bound in a hundred pounds, to bring the parties before him within fourteen days. And so departed he; and the priest put both the books in his bosom, and carried them away with him. Then John Hurst went after them, desiring that he might have the book which the priest found no fault with: but he said, they should answer to them both; and whichsoever was the better, was not good.

As this passed on, when the time was come that Jeffrey Hurst and his sister should be examined, the justice sent for them betimes in the morning, and had prepared a mass to begin withal, asking Jeffrey Hurst if he would first go and see his Maker, and then he would talk further with him. To whom when Jeffery answered and said; "Sir, my Maker is in heaven, and I am assured in going to your mass I shall find no edification thereby; and therefore I pray you hold me excused." "Well, well," said he, "I perceive I shall find you a heretic, by God! But I will go to mass, and I will not lose it, for all your prattling."

Then into his chapel he went; and when mass was done, he sent for them, and caused his priest to read a scroll unto them, as concerning the seven sacraments. And ever as he spake of the body and blood of Christ, he put off his cap, and said, "Lo! ye may see, you will deny these things, and care not for your prince; but you shall feel it ere I have done with you, and all the faculty of you:" with other talk more between them, I know not what. But in the end they were licensed to depart under sureties to

appear again before him within three weeks, and then go to Lancaster. Howbeit, in the mean while it so pleased God, that within four days of the day appointed, it was noised that the queen was dead, and within fourteen days after, the said Jeffery Hurst had his two books sent home, and nothing was said unto him.

It followed after this, that God's word began to take place, and the queen's visitors came down into that country, who did choose four men in the parish, to wit, Simon Smith, Jeffery Hurst, Henry Brown, George Eccersly, which four were protestants, to see the queen's proceedings to take place; who, according to their power, did the same. Notwithstanding it did little prevail; and therefore the said Jeffery, being sore grieved with the office, fell sick; in which sickness it pleased God to call him, making a very godly end -- God have the praise for it!

Now to return to the foresaid Thomas Lelond again, be, continuing in his office still, did very few times come to the church, but said he was aged, and might not labour: and there kept with him Sir Ralph Parkinson his priest, which could (as it was said) minister the communion unto the people, and sing mass unto his master: yes, and (as fame reported) did a prettier feat than all that; for he begat two children by a servant in a house, his master knowing it, and saying nothing, for that he would not lose his good mass-priest.

Furthermore, this was noted in the same Justice Lelond's behaviour at service-time, that he had a little dog which he would play with all service-time, and the same dog had a collar full of bells, so that the noise of them did molest and trouble others, as well as himself, from hearing the service. Also, in the same justice it was noted and observed, that as he sat in his chapel at service-time, his manner was on a willow bark to knit knots, for that he could not be suffered to have his beads, and to put the same upon a string also.-- Witness hereof Edward Hurst, with others.

Furthermore, as concerning Henry Brown, one of the four chosen men above mentioned, this is also to be added, that the said Henry Brown, dwelling in the town of Pennington in the same parish, A. D. 1564, had a little boy, who, as he was playing in the town, one Glave's wife gave unto the boy a pair of beads made of wood, for him to play withal. The little boy, being glad thereof to have such a trim thing, went home and showed his father of them. His father, seeing the beads, took them and burnt them; and when he had so done, went forth and asked who had given unto his little boy that pair of beads.

"That did I," said Glave's wife. "Well," said he, "I have burnt them " "Hast thou so?" said she, and thrust him from her. "They shall be the dearest beads that ever thou sawest;" and incontinent went and complained unto the said justice, how Brown had burnt her beads.

This matter the justice took sore to snuff, and was very angry, and did direct his letter unto the constables of the same town, by his own hand subscribed; the title of which superscription on the back side was this; "To the Constables of Pennington give this."

This done, the constables, according to this their charge, did bring him afore the justice at the time appointed; and when the justice came to talk with him, he was

in such a heat, that he called him "thief;" and said, that he had robbed his neighbour in burning of her beads, and that there were rings and other jewels on them, and that he might as well have picked her purse; "wherefore," said he, "I will lay thee in Lancaster dungeon for this gear."

Whilst they were thus talking, there came all his servants about them from their work, saying, "Is this Master Dr. Brown, that will burn beads? I pray you, sir, let us have him here and preach." "I will give you a quarter's wages," saith one: "and I will give money," said another: "and he shall be Master Doctor;" with much derision and scoffing at this poor man.

He, hearing this, spake again boldly, and said; "Did you send for me to make a laughing-stock of me? You be in office, and ought rather to come to the church, and see such papistry abolished yourself, than thus to trouble me for doing my duty: but, I tell you plainly, that you do not come to church as you ought to do, and therefore (with more things that I have to charge you withal) I say, you do not well." When all this misdemeanour of the justice laid to his charge would not prevail, and also witness came in of the papists, which did know the beads, and testified that they were plain, and cost but a halfpenny, he then went into his parlour in a chafe, and one Master Exberston a papist with him; which Exberston turned back, and said, "Is it you, Henry Brown, that keepeth this stir? You are one of them that pulled down crosses in the church, and pulled down the rood-sollor, and all the saints; you were best now to go paint a black devil, and set him up and worship him, for that will serve well for your religion." And thus, under suretiship, he did depart till July following, and then he said he should go to Lancaster prison; and so came he away.

The time drew on that he should appear, but God stayed the matter, and in July, as the foresaid Thomas Lelond sat in his chair talking with his friends, he fell down suddenly dead, not much moving any joint. And thus was his end: from such God us defend!

414. William Wood of Kent.

The examination of William Wood, baker, dwelling in the parish of Strood, in the county of Kent, before Dr. Kenall chancellor of the diocese of Rochester, Dr. Chedsey, the mayor of Rochester, and Master Robinson the scribe, the nineteenth day of October, and in the second year of Queen Mary, in St. Nicholas' church in Rochester.

Robinson.--"William Wood! you are presented, because you will not come to the church, nor receive the blessed sacrament of the altar. How say you? have you received, or have you not?"

Wood.--"I have not received it, nor dare I receive it, as you now minister it."

Kenall.--"Thou heretic! what is the cause that thou hast not received the blessed sacrament of the altar?" And at this word all they put off their caps, and made low obeisance.

Wood.--"There be three causes that make my conscience afraid, that I dare not receive it. The first; Christ did deliver it to his twelve apostles, and said, Take, eat, and drink ye all of this, &c.; and ye eat and drink up all alone. The second cause is, you hold it to be worshipped, contrary to God's commandment, Thou shalt not bow down nor worship. The third cause is, you minister it in a strange tongue, contrary to St. Paul's doctrine, I had rather have five words with understanding, than ten thousand with tongues: by reason whereof the people be ignorant of the death of Christ."

Kenall.--"Thou heretic, wilt thou have any plainer words than these: Take, eat, this is my body? Wilt thou deny the Scripture?"

Wood.--"I will not deny the Holy Scriptures, God forbid! but with my heart I do faithfully believe them. St. Paul saith, God calleth those things that are not, as though they were: and Christ saith, I am a vine, I am a door. St. Paul saith, The rock is Christ: all which are figurative speeches, wherein one thing is spoken, and another thing is understood."

Robinson.--"You make a very long tale of this matter: learn, Wood, learn."

Kenall.--"Nay, these heretics will not learn: look how this heretic glorieth in himself. Thou fool! art thou wiser than the queen and her council, and all the learned men of this realm?"

Wood.--"And please you, Master Chancellor, I think you would be loth to have such glory, to have your life and goods taken away, and to be thus called upon, as you rail upon me: but the servant is not greater than his Master. And whereas you do mock me, and say that I am wiser than the queen and her council, St. Paul saith, The wisdom of the wise of this world, is foolishness before God; and he that will be wise in this world, shall be accounted but a fool."

Kenall.--"Dost not thou believe that after these words spoken by a priest, This is my body, there remaineth no more bread and wine, but the very flesh and blood of

Christ, as he was born of the Virgin Mary, really and substantially, in quantity and quality, as he did hang upon the cross?"

Wood.--"I pray you, Master Chancellor, give me leave, for my learning, to ask you one question, and I will answer you after."

Kenall.--"It is some wise question, I warrant you."

Wood.--"God spake to the prophet Ezekiel, saying, Thou son of man, take a razor, and shave off the hair of thy head and of thy beard. And take one part, and cast into the air; take the second part, and put it into thy coat-lap; and take the third part, and cast it into the fire: and this is Jerusalem. I pray you, Master Chancellor, was this hair that the prophet did cast into the fire, or was it Jerusalem?"

Kenall.--"No; it did signify Jerusalem."

Wood.--"Even so in this word of Christ, This is my body, is not to be understood, that Christ's carnal, natural, and real body is in the same, in quantity and quality, as it was born of the Virgin Mary, and as he was crucified upon the cross, is present or enclosed in the sacrament: but it doth signify Christ's body, as St. Paul saith, So oft as ye do eat of this bread and drink of this cup, ye shall show forth the Lord's death till he come. What should the apostle mean by this word, till he come, if he were here carnally, naturally, corporally, and really, in the same quantity and quality as he was born of the Virgin Mary, and as he did hang on the cross, as you say? But St. Paul saith, You shall show the Lord's death till he come. This doth argue, that he is not here, as you would have us to believe."

Chedsey.--"I will prove that Christ is here present under the form of bread: but not in quantity and quality."

Dr. Kenall said, "Yes, he is present in quantity and quality."

Chedsey.--"He is here present under a form, and not in quantity and quality."

"Yes!" said Kenall.

"No!" said Chedsey.

"I will prove him here in quantity and quality" said Kenall.

"I will prove the contrary," said Chedsey.

And these two doctors were so earnest in this matter, the one to affirm, the other to deny, contending and raging so sore one at the other, that they foamed at the mouth, and one was ready to spit in another's face; so that in great fury and rage the two doctors rose up from the judgment-seat, and Dr. Kenall departed out of the church in great rage and fury immediately.

Wood.--"Behold, good people, they would have us to believe, that Christ is naturally, really, in quantity and quality, present in the sacrament; and yet they cannot tell themselves, nor agree within themselves, how he is there! "

At these words the people made a great shout, and the mayor stood up, and commanded the people to be quiet, and to keep silence. And the God that did deliver St. Paul out of the hands of the high priests, by the contention that was between the Pharisees and Sadducees, did even so deliver me at that time out of the mouths of the bloody papists, by the means of the contention of these two doctors. Blessed be the name of the Lord, which hath promised to lay no more upon his, than he will make them able to bear, and in the midst of temptation he can make way for his (how, and when it pleaseth him) to escape out of all dangers.

415. Simon Grinæus.

Many other like examples of God's helping hand have been declared upon his elect saints and children, in delivering them out of danger by wonderful and miraculous ways, some by one means, some by another. What a notable work of God's mighty hand was seen in Simon Grinæus, mentioned in the commentary of Melancthon upon Daniel; who, having a sudden warning by a certain old man, who was not seen after, nor known then of any what he was, avoided the peril of taking and burning, as by the relation of Melancthon, writing and witnessing the same, may appear in the words of his own story here following.

"When I was, saith he, at the assembly holden at Spire, in the year of our Lord 1539, by chance Simon Grinæus came thither unto me from the university of Heidelberg, where he heard Faber, the bishop of Vienna, in a sermon, defend and maintain certain detestable errors. When the sermon was done, he followed Faber going out of the church, and saluted him reverently, declaring unto him that he was moved of a goodly zeal and intent, somewhat to say unto him. Faber was contented to talk with him.

"Then Grinæus said unto him, that he was very sorry that a man of such learning and authority should openly maintain such errors as were both contumelious against God, and also might be refuted by the manifest testimonies of the Scriptures. 'Irenæus writeth,' said he, 'that Polycarp was wont to stop his ears, whensoever he heard any erroneous and wicked doctrine. With what mind then (think you) would Polycarp have heard you argue and reason what it is that the mouse eateth, when he gnaweth the consecrated host? Who would not bewail such ignorance and blindness of the church?' With this Faber brake off his talk, as he was about to say more, and asked his name. This man, dissembling nothing, gently told him that his name was Grinæus.

"This Faber, as many well know, was also timorous and fearful in the company of learned men. Wherefore he, fearing the learning, eloquence, and fervent zeal of Grinæus, specially in such a matter as this was, feigned as though he had been sent for by the king, and that he had no leisure now to reason upon this matter. He pretended that he was very desirous of acquaintance and longer talk with Grinæus, entreating him, that both for his own private cause, and also for the commonwealth, he would come again the next day unto him; and so showed him his lodging, and appointed him an hour when he should come. Grinæus, thinking that he had spoken unfeignedly, promised so to do.

"When he was departed from Faber, he came straightway unto us, and was scarcely set at the table, (for it was supper time,) reciting a part of his talk with Faber unto me and others there present, when I, sitting with my company, was suddenly called out of the parlour by a certain ancient fatherly man, who, showing a singular gravity in his countenance, words, and behaviour, spake unto me, and said, that the sergeants would by and by come unto our lodging, being sent by the king's commandment, to carry Grinæus to prison, whom Faber had accused to the king: commanding that Grinæus should straightways depart out of the town; and exhorted me, that we should in no case delay the time. And so, bidding me farewell, departed. But what old man this was, neither did I know then, nor afterward could I understand.

I, returning again unto my company, bade them rise, and told them what the old man had said unto me.

"By and by, we, taking Grinæus in the midst of us, carried him through the street to the river Rhine, where after we had staid upon the hither bank awhile, until Grinæus with his companion were carried over in a small boat, returning again to our lodging, we understood that the sergeants had been there, when we were but a little way gone out of the house. Now in what great danger Grinæus should have been, if he had been carried to prison by this cruelty of Faber, every man easily may conjecture: wherefore we judged, that that most cruel intent and purpose of him, was disappointed by God's merciful providence. And as I cannot say what old man it was, that gave me that warning, even so likewise the sergeants made such quick speed, that except Grinæus had been covered and defended by the angels, through the marvellous providence of God, he could never have escaped.

"Concerning the truth of this matter, there be many good men yet alive, which know both the same, and also were present at the doing thereof. Therefore let us give thanks unto God, which hath given us his angels to be our keepers and defenders, whereby with more quiet minds we may fulfil and do the office of our vocation."

With such-like examples of God's mighty and merciful custody, the church of Christ in all ages doth abound, as by manifold experiences may appear, as well among the Germans, as also in other places and ages; but in no place more, nor in any time more plentiful, than in this persecuting time of Queen Mary, in this our realm of England, as partly hath been already historied, and part yet remaineth, (the Lord willing,) moreover, hereunto to be added.

416. The Lady Katharine, Duchess of Suffolk.

Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, surmising the Lady Katharine, baroness of Willoughby and Eresby, and duchess dowager of Suffolk, to be one of his ancient enemies, because he knew he had deserved no better of her, devised, in the holy time of the first Lent in Queen Mary's reign, a holy practice of revenge, first touching her in the person of her husband, Master Richard Berty, esquire, for whom he sent an attachment (having the great seal at his devotion) to the sheriff of Lincolnshire, with a special letter commanding most straitly the same sheriff to attach the said Richard immediately, and without bail to bring him up to London, to his great Lordship. Master Berty her husband, being clear in conscience, and free from offence toward the queen, could not conjecture any cause of this strange process, unless it were some quarrel for religion, which he thought could not be so sore as the process pretended.

The sheriff, notwithstanding the commandment, adventured only to take the bond of Master Berty, with two sureties in a thousand pounds, for His appearance to be made before the bishop on Good Friday following, at which day Master Berty appeared, the bishop then lying at his house by St. Mary Overy's. Of whose presence when the bishop understood by a gentleman of his chamber, in a great rage he came out of his gallery into his dining-chamber, where he found a press of suitors, saying he would not that day hear any, but came forth only to know of Master Berty, how he, being a subject, durst so arrogantly set at light two former processes of the queen.

Master Berty answered, that albeit my Lord's words might seem to the rest somewhat sharp toward him, yet he conceived great comfort of them. For whereas he, before, thought it extremity to be attached, having used no obstinacy or contumacy, now he gathered of those words, that my Lord meant not otherwise but to have used some ordinary process; albeit indeed none came to his hands.

"Yea marry," quoth the bishop, "I have sent you two subpoenas, to appear immediately: and I am sure you received them, for I committed the trust of them to no worse man but to Master Solicitor. And I shall make you an example to all Lincolnshire, for your obstinacy!"

Master Berty, denying the receipt of any, humbly prayed his Lordship to suspend his displeasure and the punishment till he had good trial thereof; and then, if it please him, to double the pain for the fault, if any were.

"Well," quoth the bishop, "I have appointed myself this day (according to the holiness of the same) for devotion, and I will not further trouble me with you: but I enjoin you in a thousand pounds not to depart without leave, and to be here again tomorrow at seven of the clock."

Master Berty well observed the hour, and no jot failed; at which time the bishop had with him Master Sergeant Stampford, to whom he moved certain questions of the said Master Berty, because Master Sergeant was towards the Lord Wriothesley, late earl of Southampton and chancellor of England, with whom the said Master Berty was brought up. Master Sergeant made very friendly report of Master Berty, of his own knowledge, for the time of their conversation together. Whereupon

the bishop caused Master Berty to be brought in, and first making a false train (as God would, without fire) before he would descend to the quarrel of religion, he assaulted him in this manner:

"The queen's pleasure is," quoth the bishop, "that you shall make present payment of four thousand pounds, due to her father by Duke Charles, late husband to the duchess your wife, whose executor she was."

"Pleaseth it your Lordship," quoth Master Berty, "that debt is estalled, and is according to that estallment truly answered."

"Tush!" quoth the bishop, "the queen will not be bound to estallments in the time of Kett's government: for so I esteem the late government."

"The estallment," quoth Master Berty, "was appointed by King Henry the Eighth: besides, the same was by special commissioners confirmed in King Edward's time; and the lord treasurer, being an executor also to the Duke Charles, solely and wholly, took upon him, before the said commissioners, to discharge the same."

"If it be true that you say," quoth the bishop, "I will show you favour. But of another thing, Master Berty, I will admonish you, as meaning you well. I hear evil of your religion; yet I hardly can think evil of you, whose mother I know to be as godly and catholic as any within this land; yourself brought up with a master, whose education if I should disallow, I might be charged as author of his error. Besides, partly I know you myself, and understand of my friends enough to make me your friend: wherefore I will not doubt of you. But, I pray you, if I may ask the question of my Lady your wife, is she now as ready to set up the mass, as she was lately to pull it down, when she caused in her progress, a dog in a rochet to be carried, and called by my name? or doth she think her lambs now safe enough, which said to me, when I veiled my bonnet to her out of my chamber-window in the Tower, that it was merry with the lambs, now the wolf was shut up? Another time, my Lord her husband, having invited me and divers ladies to dinner, desired every lady to choose him whom she loved best, and so place themselves. My Lady your wife, taking me by the hand, for that my Lord would not have her to take himself, said, that forasmuch as she could not sit down with my Lord whom she loved best, she had chosen him whom she loved worst."

"Of the device of the dog," quoth Master Berty, "she was neither the author, nor the allower. The words, though in that season they sounded bitter to your Lordship, yet if it would please you without offence to know the cause, I am sure the one will purge the other. As touching setting up of mass, which she learned not only by strong persuasions of divers excellent learned men, but by universal consent and order whole six years past, inwardly to abhor, if she should outwardly allow, she should both to Christ show herself a false Christian, and to her prince a masking subject. You know, my Lord, one by judgment reformed, is more worth than a thousand transformed temporizers. To force a confession of religion by mouth, contrary to that in the heart, worketh damnation, where salvation is pretended."

"Yea marry," quoth the bishop, "that deliberation would do well, if she were required to come from an old religion to a new. But now, she is to return from a new

to an ancient religion: wherein, when she made me her gossip, she was as earnest as any."

"For that, my Lord," said Master Berty, "not long since, she answered a friend of hers, using your Lordship's speech, that religion went not by age, but by truth: and therefore she was to be turned by persuasion, and not by commandment.

"I pray you," quoth the bishop, "think you it possible to persuade her?"

"Yea verily," said Master Berty, "with the truth: for she is reasonable enough."

The bishop thereunto replying, said, "It will be a marvellous grief to the prince of Spain, and to all the nobility that shall come with him, when they shall find but two noble personages of the Spanish race within this land, the queen, and my Lady your wife; and one of them gone from the faith."

Master Berty answered, that he trusted they should find no fruits of infidelity in her.

So the bishop persuaded Master Berty to travail earnestly for the reformation of her opinion; and, offering large friendship, released him of his bond from further appearance.

The duchess and her husband, daily more and more by their friends understanding that the bishop meant to call her to an account of her faith, whereby extremity might follow, devised ways how, by the queen's licence, they might pass the seas. Master Berty had a ready mean; for there rested great sums of money due to the old duke of Suffolk (one of whose executors the duchess was) beyond the seas, the emperor himself being one of those debtors. Master Berty communicated this his purposed suit for licence to pass the seas, and the cause, to the bishop, adding, that he took this time most meet to deal with the emperor, by reason of likelihood of marriage between the queen and his son.

"I like your device well," quoth the bishop; "but I think it better that you tarry the prince's coming, and I will procure you his letters also to his father."

"Nay," quoth Master Berty, "under your Lordship's correction and pardon of so liberal speech, I suppose the time will then be less convenient: for when the marriage is consummate, the emperor hath his desire; but, till then, he will refuse nothing, to win credit with us."

"By St. Mary," quoth the bishop, smilingly, "you guess shrewdly. Well, proceed in your suit to the queen, and it shall not lack my helping hand."

Master Berty found so good success, that he in few days obtained the queen's licence, not only to pass the seas, but to pass and repass them so often as to him seemed good, till he had finished all his business and causes beyond the seas. So he passed the seas at Dover about the beginning of June, in the first year of her reign, leaving the duchess behind, who, by agreement and consent betwixt her and her

husband, following, taking barge at Lion Quay, very early in the morning, on the first day of January next ensuing, not without some peril.

There were none of those that went with her made privy to her going till the instant, but an old gentleman, called Master Robert Cranwell, whom Master Berty had specially provided for that purpose. She took with her her daughter, (an infant of one year,) and the meanest of her servants, for she doubted the best would not venture that fortune with her. They were in number four men, one a Greek born, which was a rider of horses, another a joiner, the third a brewer, the fourth a fool; one of the kitchen, one gentlewoman, and a laundress.

As she departed her house called the Barbican, betwixt four and five of the clock in the morning, with her company and baggage, one Atkinson a herald, keeper of her house, hearing noise about the house, rose; and came out with a torch in his hands as she was yet issuing out of the gate: wherewith being amazed, she was forced to leave a mail with necessaries for her young daughter, and a milk-pot with milk in the same gatehouse, commanding all her servants to speed them away before, to Lion Quay. And taking with her only the two women and her child, so soon as she was forth of her own house, perceiving the herald to follow, stept in at Charter-house hard by. The herald, coming out of the duchess's house, and seeing nobody stirring, nor assured (though by the mail suspecting) that she was departed, returned in; and while he stayed ransacking parcels left in the mail, the duchess issued into the streets, and proceeded in her journey, she knowing the place only by name, where she should take her boat, but not the way thither, nor any with her. Likewise her servants having divided themselves, none but one knew the way to the said quay.

So she apparelled like a mean merchant's wife, and the rest like mean servants, walking in the streets unknown. She took the way that led to Finsbury Field, and the others walked the city streets as they lay open before them, till by chance, more than discretion, they met all suddenly together a little within Moorgate, from whence they passed directly to Lion Quay, and there took barge in a morning so misty, that the steerman was loth to launch out, but that they urged him. So soon as the day permitted, the council was informed of her departure; and some of them came forthwith to her house, to inquire of the manner thereof, and took an inventory of her goods, besides further order devised for search and watch to apprehend and stay her.

The fame of her departure reached to Leigh, a town at the Land's End, before her approaching thither. By Leigh dwelt one Gosling, a merchant of London, an old acquaintance of Cranwell's, whither the said Cranwell brought the duchess, naming her Mistress White, the daughter of Master Gosling; for such a daughter he had, which never was in that country. There she reposed her, and made new garments for her daughter, having lost her own in the mail at Barbican.

When the time came that she should take ship, being constrained that night to lie at an inn in Leigh, (where she was again almost bewrayed,) yet, notwithstanding, by God's good working she escaped that hazard. At length, as the tide and wind did serve, they went aboard, and being carried twice into the seas, almost into the coast of Zealand, by contrary wind were driven to the place from whence they came; and, at the last recoil, certain persons came to the shore, suspecting she was within that ship; yet having examined one of her company that was a-land, and finding, by the

simplicity of his tale, only the appearance of a mean merchant's wife to be a-shipboard, he ceased any further search.

To be short, so soon as the duchess had landed in Brabant, she and her women were apparelled like the women of the Netherlands with hooks; and so she and her husband took their journey towards Cleveland, and being arrived at a town therein called Santon, took a house there, until they might further devise of some sure place, where to settle themselves.

About five miles from Santon, is a free town called Wesell, under the said duke of Cleve's dominion, and one of the Hans towns, privileged with the company of the Steelyard in London, whither divers Walloons were fled for religion, and had for their minister one Francis Perusell, then called Francis de Rivers, who had received some courtesy in England at the duchess's hands. Master Berty, being yet at Santon, practised with him to obtain a protection from the magistrates for his abode and his wife's at Wesell; which was the sooner procured, because the state of the duchess was not discovered, but only to the chief magistrate, earnestly bent to show them pleasure, while this protection was in seeking.

In the mean while, at the town of Santon was a muttering that the duchess and her husband were greater personages than they gave themselves forth; and the magistrates not very well inclined to religion, the bishop of Arras also being dean of the great minster, order was taken, that the duchess and her husband should be examined of their condition and religion upon the sudden. Which practice discovered by a gentleman of that country to Master Berty, he without delay, taking no more than the duchess, her daughter, and two others with them, as though he meant no more but to take the air, about three of the clock in the afternoon in February, on foot, without hiring of horse or waggon for fear of disclosing his purpose, meant to get privily that night to Wesell, leaving his other family still at Santon.

After the duchess and he were one English mile from the town, there fell a mighty rain of continuance, whereby a long frost and ice, before congealed, was thawed, which doubled more the weariness of those new lacqueys. But, being now on the way, and overtaken with the night, they sent their two servants (which only went with them) to villages as they passed, to hire some car for their ease, but none could be hired. In the mean time Master Berty was forced to carry the child, and the duchess his cloak and rapier. At last, betwixt six and seven of the clock in the dark night, they came to Wesell, and repairing to the inns for lodging, and some repose after such a painful journey, found hard entertainment; for going from inn to inn offering large money for small lodging, they were refused of all the innholders, suspecting Master Berty to be a lance-knight, and the duchess to be his woman. The child for cold and sustenance cried pitifully; the mother wept as fast; the heavens rained as fast as the clouds could pour.

Master Berty, destitute of all other succour of hospitality, resolved to bring the duchess to the porch of the great church in the town, and so to buy coals, victuals, and straw for their miserable repose there that night, or at least till by God's help he might provide her better lodging. Master Berty at that time understood not much Dutch, and by reason of evil weather and late season of the night, he could not happen upon any that could speak English, French, Italian, or Latin; till at last going towards the

church-porch, he heard two striplings talking Latin, to whom he approached, and offered them two stivers to bring him to some Walloon's house.

By these boys, and God's good conduct, he chanced at the first upon the house where Master Perusell supped that night, who had procured them the protection of the magistrates of that town. At the first knock, the good man of the house himself came to the door, and opening it, asked Master Berty what he was. Master Berty said, "An Englishman, that sought for one Master Perusell's house." The Walloon willed Master Berty to stay a while, who went back, and told Master Perusell, that the same English gentleman, of whom they had talked the same supper, had sent by likelihood his servant to speak with him. Whereupon Master Perusell came to the door, and beholding Master Berty, the duchess, and their child, their faces, apparels, and bodies so far from their old form, deformed with dirt, weather, and heaviness, could not speak to them, nor they to him, for tears. At length recovering themselves, they saluted one another, and so together entered the house, God knoweth full joyfully; Master Berty changing his apparel with the good man, the duchess with the good wife, and their child with the child of the house.

Within few days after, by Master Perusell's means, they hired a very fair house in the town, and did not let to show themselves what they were, in such good sort as their present condition permitted. It was by this time through the whole town what discourtesy the innholders had showed unto them at their entry, insomuch as on the Sunday following, a preacher in the pulpit openly, in sharp terms, rebuked that great incivility toward strangers, by allegation of sundry places out of Holy Scriptures, discoursing how not only princes sometimes are received in the image of private persons, but angels in the shape of men; and that God of his justice would make them strangers one day in another land, to have more sense of the afflicted heart of a stranger.

The time thus passing forth, as they thought themselves thus happily settled, suddenly a watchword came from Sir John Mason, then Queen Mary's ambassador in the Netherlands, that my Lord Paget had feigned an errand to the baths that way: and whereas the duke of Brunswick was shortly with ten ensigns to pass by Wesell, for the service of the house of Austria against the French king, the said duchess and her husband should be with the same charge and company intercepted. Wherefore, to prevent the cruelty of these enemies, Master Berty with his wife and child departed to a place called Windsheim, in high Dutchland, under the Palsgrave's dominion; where, under his protection, they continued till their necessities began to fail them, and they, almost fainting under so heavy a burden, began to fail of hope.

At that time, in the midst of their despair, there came suddenly letters to them from the palatine of Wilna, and the king of Poland, (being instructed of their hard estate by a baron, named John Alasco, that was sometime in England,) offering them large courtesy. This provision unlooked for, greatly revived their heavy spirits; yet, considering they should remove from many their countrymen and acquaintance, to a place so far distant, a country not haunted with the English, and perhaps upon their arrival not finding as they looked for, the end of their journey should be worse than the beginning; they devised thereupon with one Master Barlow, late bishop of Chichester, that if he would vouchsafe to take some pains therein, they would make him a fellow of that journey. So, finding him prone, they sent with him letters of great

thanks to the king and palatine; and also with a few principal jewels, (which only they had left of many,) to solicit for them, that the king would vouchsafe under his seal, to assure them of the thing which he so honourably by letters offered.



Master Berty Defending Himself

That suit, by the forwardness of the palatine, was as soon granted as uttered; upon which assurance the said duchess and her husband, with their family, entered the journey in April, 1557, from the castle of Windsheim, where they before lay, towards Frankfort: in the which their journey, it were long here to describe what dangers fell by the way upon them and their whole company, by reason of their landgrave's captain, who, under a quarrel pretended for a spaniel of Master Berty's, set upon them in the highway with his horsemen, thrusting their boar-spears through the waggon where the children and women were, Master Berty having but four horsemen with him. In the which brabble it happened the captain's horse to be slain under him.

Whereupon a rumour was sparsed immediately through towns and villages about, that the land-grave's captain should be slain by certain Walloons, which incensed the ire of the countrymen there more fiercely against Master Berty, as afterward it proved. For as he was motioned by his wife to save himself by the swiftness of his horse, and to recover some town thereby for his rescue, he, so doing,

was in worse case than before; for the townsmen and the captain's brother, supposing no less but that the captain had been slain, pressed so eagerly upon him, that he had been there taken and murdered among them, had not he, (as God would,) spying a ladder leaning to a window, by the same got up into the house, and so gone up into a garret in the top of the house, where he with his dagger and rapier defended himself for a space; but at length, the burgomaster coming thither with another magistrate which could speak Latin, he was counselled to submit himself to the order of the law. Master Berty, knowing himself clear, and the captain to be alive, was the more bold to submit himself to the judgment of the law, upon condition that the magistrate would receive him under safe-conduct, and defend him from the rage of the multitude. Which being promised, Master Berty putteth himself and his weapon into the magistrate's hand, and so was committed to safe custody, while the truth of his cause should be tried.

Then Master Berty, writing his letters to the landgrave, and to the earl of Erpach, the next day early in the morning the earl of Erpach, dwelling within eight miles, came to the town whither the duchess was brought with her waggon, Master Berty also being in the same town, under custody.

The earl, who had some intelligence of the duchess before, after he was come and had showed such courtesy as he thought to her estate was seemly, the townsmen perceiving the earl to behave himself so humbly unto her, began to consider more of the matter; and further, understanding the captain to be alive, both they, and especially the authors of the stir, shrank away, and made all the friends they could to Master Berty and his wife, not to report their doings after the worst sort.

And thus Master Berty and his wife, escaping that danger, proceeded in their journey toward Poland, where in conclusion they were quietly entertained of the king, and placed honourably in the earldom of the said king of Poland, in Sanogelia, called Crozan, where Master Berty with the duchess, having the king's absolute power of government over the said earldom, continued both in great quietness and honour, till the death of Queen Mary.

417. A Story of Thomas Horton, Minister.

As ye have heard of the dangerous trouble of the duchess of Suffolk in the time of her exile for religion' sake, whom notwithstanding the Lord's present protection still delivered in all distresses, as well from her enemies in England, as in Dutchland from the lance-knights there.: so have we no less to behold and magnify the Lord's merciful goodness in preserving of Thomas Horton from the like perils of the same country; which Thomas Horton, what a profitable instrument he was to the church of Christ in Queen Mary's time, all our Englishmen almost, beyond the seas then, did both know and feel.

This good Thomas Horton, as he used oftentimes to travel between Germany and England, for the behoof and sustenance of the poor English exiles there: so he, journeying upon a time between Maestricht and Cologne, chanced to be taken there by certain rovers; and so, being led by them away, was in no little danger: and yet this danger of his was not so great, but the present help of the Lord was greater to aid and deliver him out of the same.

418. Thomas Sprat, of Kent, Tanner.



Sprat escaping pursuit

Unto these afore-rehearsed examples of God's blessed providence towards his servants, may also be added the happy deliverance of Thomas Sprat and William Porrege his companion, now minister; whose story briefly to course over, is this.

This Thomas Sprat had been servant sometime to one Master Brent, a justice, and a heavy persecutor; and therefore, forsaking his master for religion' sake, he went to Calais, from whence he used often with the said William Porrege, for their necessary affairs, to have recourse into England.

It so happened, about the fourth year of Queen Mary's reign, that they, landing upon a time at Dover, and taking their journey together toward Sandwich, suddenly, upon the way, within three miles of Dover, met with the foresaid Master Brent, the two Blachendens, and other gentlemen more, with their servants, to the number of ten or twelve horses: of the which two Blachendens, being both haters and enemies of God's word and people, the one had perfect knowledge of William Porrege; the other had not seen him, but only had heard of his name before.

Thus they, being in the way where this justice with his mates should meet them directly in the face, Thomas Sprat, first espying Master Brent, was sore dismayed, saying to his companion, "Yonder is Master Brent, William Porrege; God

have mercy upon us!" "Well," quoth the other, "seeing now there is no remedy, let us go on our way." And so thinking to pass by them, they kept themselves aloof, as it were a score off from them, Thomas Sprat also shadowing his face with his cloak.

Notwithstanding, one of Master Brent's servants advising him better than his master did, "Yonder," said he to his master, "is Thomas Sprat:" at which words they all reined their horses, and called for Thomas Sprat to come to them. "They call you," said William Porrege. "Now here is no remedy but we are taken." And so persuaded him to go to them being called, for that there was no escaping from so many horsemen in those plains and downs, where was no wood near them by a mile, nor hedge neither, but only one, which was a bird-bolt shot off.

All this notwithstanding, Sprat staid, and would not go. Then they called again, sitting still on horseback. "Ah, sirrah," quoth the justice, "why come ye not hither?" And still his companion moved him to go, seeing there was no other shift to flee away. "Nay," said Sprat, "I will not go to them;" and therewithal took to his legs, running to the hedge that was next him. They, seeing that, set spurs to their horses, thinking by and by to have him, and that it was impossible for him to escape their hands; as it was indeed, they being on horseback, and he on foot, had not the Lord miraculously delivered his silly servant from the gaping mouth of the lion ready to devour him. For as God would, so it fell out, that he had got over the hedge, scrawling through the bushes, when they were even at his heels, striking at him with their swords; one of the Blachendens crying cruelly, "Cut off one of his legs!"

Thus Sprat had scarcely recovered the hedge from his enemies, when one of Master Brent's servants, which had been fellow sometime in house with him, followed him in his boots; and certain rode up at one side of the hedge, and certain at the other, to meet him at the upper end.

Now while they were following the chase after Thomas Sprat, only one remained with William Porrege, (who was one of the Blachendens; not he which knew him, but the other,) who began to question with him, not asking what was his name, (as God would,) for then he had been known and taken: but from whence he came, and how he came into Sprat's company, and whither he went? Unto whom he answered and said, From Calais, and that Sprat came over with him in the passage-boat, and they two were going to Sandwich; and so without any more questions he let him depart.

Anon, as he kept along the hedge, one of the horsemen which rode after Sprat, returning back, and meeting with the said William Porrege, demanded the very same questions as the other had done, to whom he made also the like answer as afore; and so departed, taking another contrary way from the meeting of the other horsemen. And thus William Porrege escaped.

Now concerning Thomas Sprat, he being pursued on the one side by horsemen, and on the other side by his own fellow, who followed after him in his boots, crying, "You were as good to tarry, for we will have you, we will have you." Yet, notwithstanding, he kept still on his course, till at length he came to a steep down-hill at the hedge-end, down the which hill he ran from them; for they could not

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ride down the hill, but must fetch a great compass about. And so this Thomas Sprat ran almost a mile, and (as God would) got into a wood.

By that time he came to the wood, they were even at his heels : but the night drew on, and it began to rain, and so the malice of these persecutors was at an end, the Lord working for his servants, whose name be praised for ever and ever, Amen.

Not long after this, one of the two Blachendens aforesaid, which so cruelly sought the destruction of others, was cruelly murdered by his own servants.

419. The Trouble of John Cornet.

Here might also be recited the hard adventures and sufferings of John Cornet, and at length his deliverance, by God's good working, out of the same; who, being a prentice with a minstrel at Colchester, was sent by his master, about the second year of Queen Mary's reign, to a wedding in a town there by, called Rough-hedge, where he, being requested by a company there of good men, the constables also of the parish being present thereat, to sing some songs of the Scripture, chanced to sing a song called "News out of London," which tended against the mass, and against the queen's mis-proceedings.

Whereupon the next day he was accused by the parson of Rough-hedge, called Yacksley; and so committed, first to the constable, where both his master gave him over, and his mother forsook and cursed him. From thence he was sent to the next justice, named Master Cannall, and then to the earl of Oxford, where he was first put in irons and chains, and after that so manacled, that the blood spirted out of his fingers' ends, because he would not confess the names of them which allured him to sing.

And marvel it was that the cruel papists were so contented, that they sent him not also to Bishop Bonner, to suffer the extremity of the fire. But God's gracious providence disposed otherwise for his servant : for after he was manacled, the earl commanded him to be brought again to the town of Rough-hedge, and there to be whipped till the blood followed, and to be banished the town for ever: and so he was, during all the time of Queen Mary.

420. Thomas Bryce.

If our story should proceed so wide and so large, as did the exceeding mercy of God's providence in helping his servants out of wretchedness and thralldom of those bloody days, our treatise (I think) would extend to an endless process. For what good man or woman was there almost in all this time of Queen Mary, who either in carrying a good conscience out of the land, or tarrying within the realm, could well escape the papists' hands, but by some notable experience of the Lord's mighty power and helping hand working for him? What should I here speak of the miraculous deliverance of Thomas Bryce? who, being in the house of John Seal, in the parish of Horting, and the bailiff with other neighbours coming in, sent by Sir John Baker to search and apprehend him, and knowing perfectly both his stature and colour of his garments, yet had no power to see or know him standing before their faces. So mightily the Lord did blind their eyes, that they asking for him, and looking upon him, yet, notwithstanding, he quietly took up his bag of books, and so departed out of the house without any hand laid upon him.

Also another time, about the second year of Queen Mary, the said Thomas Bryce, with John Bryce his elder brother, coming then from Wesell, meeting together at their father's house, as they journeyed towards London, to give warning there to one Springfield, which else was like to be taken unawares by his enemies, waiting for him upon Gad'shill, fell in company with a promoter, who dogged them and followed them again to Gravesend, into the town, and laid the house for them where they were, and all the ways as they should go to the water's side; so that it had not been possible for them to have avoided the present danger of those persecutors, had not the Lord's provident care otherwise disposed for his servants, through the hosteler of the inn, covertly to convey them by a secret passage; whereby they took barge a mile out of the town, and so in the end both the lives of them and also of Springfield were preserved, through the Lord's gracious protection.

421. Gertrude Crockhay.

Gertrude Crockhay, dwelling at St. Katharine's by the Tower of London, and being then in her husband's house, it happened in the year 1556, that the pope's childish St. Nicholas went about the parish; which she understanding, shut her door against him, not suffering him to enter into her house.

Then Dr. Mallet hearing thereof, and being then master of the said St. Katharine's, the next day came to her with twenty at his tail, thinking belike to fray her, and asked why she would not the night before let in St. Nicholas, and receive his blessing, &c. to whom she answered thus: "Sir, I know no St. Nicholas," said she, "that came hither." "Yes," quoth Mallet, "here was one that represented St. Nicholas."

"Indeed, sir," said she, "there was one that was my neighbour's child, but not St. Nicholas; for St. Nicholas is in heaven. I was afraid of them that came with him, to have had my purse cut by them: for I have heard of men robbed by St. Nicholas's clerks," &c. So Mallet, perceiving that nothing could be gotten at her hands, went his way as he came, and she for that time so escaped.

Then, in the year 1557, a little before Whitsuntide, it happened that the said Gertrude answered for a child that was baptized of one Thomas Saunders, which child was christened secretly in a house after the order of the service-book in King Edward's time: and that being shortly known to her enemies, she was sought for; which, understanding nothing thereof, went beyond the sea into Gelderland, to see certain lands that should come to her children in the right of her first husband, who was a stranger born: and being there about a quarter of a year, at the length coming homeward by Antwerp, she chanced to meet with one John Johnson, a Dutchman, alias John de Villa, of Antwerp, shipper, who, seeing her there, went of malice to the margrave, and accused her to be an Anabaptist, whereby she was taken and carried to prison. The cause why this naughty man did thus, was, for that he claimed of Master Crockhay her husband a piece of money which was not his due, for a ship that Master Crockhay bought of him; and for that he could not get it, he wrought this displeasure. Well, she being in prison, lay there a fortnight; in the which time she saw some that were prisoners there, who privily were drowned in Rhenish wine-vats, and after secretly put in sacks, and cast into the river. Now she, good woman, thinking to be so served, took thereby such fear, that it brought the beginning of her sickness, of the which at length she died.

Then at the last she was called before the margrave, and charged with Anabaptistry; which she there utterly denied, and detested the error, declaring before him in Dutch her faith boldly, without any fear. So the margrave, hearing the same, in the end being well pleased with her profession, at the suit of some of her friends delivered her out of prison, but took away her book; and so she came over into England again.

422. William Mauldon.

I lightly pass over here the tedious afflictions of William Mauldon, how in the dangerous time of the Six Articles, before the burning of Anne Askew, he was scourged, being young, of his father, for professing and confessing of true religion; and afterward, being examined in auricular confession by the priest, his books were searched for; and so at length he was presented up by the same priest, in a letter written to the bishop, which letter, had it not been burnt by another priest, to whose hands it came, (as the Lord would have it,) it had undoubtedly cost him his life.

This one thing in the same William Mauldon is to be noted, that being young in those days of King Henry when the mass most flourished, the altars with the sacrament thereof being in their most high veneration, that to man's reason it might seem impossible that the glory and opinion of that sacrament and sacramentals, so highly worshipped, and so deeply rooted in the hearts of so many, could by any means possible so soon decay and vanish to nought: yet notwithstanding, he being then so young, under the age of seventeen years, by the spirit (no doubt) of prophecy, declared then unto his parents, that they should see it shortly even come to pass, that both the sacrament of the altar, and the altars themselves, with all such plantations which the heavenly Father did not plant, should be plucked up by the roots. And even so, within the space of very few years, the event thereof followed accordingly : the Lord therefore be praised for his most gracious reformation!

423. Robert Horneby.

I let pass, likewise, the dangerous escape of Robert Horneby, servant sometime and groom of the chamber to Lady Elizabeth, she being then in trouble in Queen Mary's days; who, being willed to come to mass, refused so to do, and therefore coming afterward from Woodstock to Hampton Court, was called before the council, and by them committed to the Marshalsea, and not unlike to have sustained further danger, had not the Lord's goodness better provided for him, who at length by Dr. Martin was delivered.

424. Mistress Sands.

The like, also, may be testified and recorded of Mistress Sands, now wife to Sir Morrice Bartlet, then gentlewoman-waiter to the said Lady Elizabeth, being in the Tower; which Mistress Sands denied in like manner to come to mass, and therefore, beside the heavy displeasure of her father, was not only displaced from her room, and put out of the house, but also was in great jeopardy of further trial. But the Lord, who disposeth for every one as he seeth best, wrought her a way out of her enemies' hands by flying over the seas, where she continued amongst other banished exiles in the city of Geneva and of Basle, till the death of Queen Mary.

425. Thomas Rose.

The story of Thomas Rose, yet living, a preacher of the age of seventy-six years, of the town of Luton, and in the county of Bedford.



his Thomas Rose, a Devonshire man, was born in Exmouth, and being made priest in that country, was brought out of it by one Master Fabian, to Polstead, in Suffolk, where the said Master Fabian was parson; and in short time after, by his means, was placed in the town of Hadley, where he, first coming to some knowledge of the gospel, began first there to treat upon the creed; and thereupon to take occasion to inveigh against purgatory, praying to saints, and images, about the time that Master Latimer began first to preach at Cambridge, in the time of Bilney

and Arthur, forty-seven years ago, or thereabout; insomuch that many embracing the truth of Christ's gospel, against the said purgatory and other points, and the number of them daily increasing, the adversaries began to stir against him, insomuch that Master Bale (who afterward became a godly zealous man) was then brought to preach against the said Thomas Rose, and so did. This notwithstanding, he continued still very vehemently against images; and the Lord so blessed his labours, that many began to devise how to deface and destroy them, and especially four men, whose names were Robert King, Robert Debnam, Nicholas Marsh, and Robert Gardner, which usually resorted to his sermons, and upon his preaching were so inflamed with zeal, that shortly after they adventured to destroy the rood of Dovercourt, which cost three of them their lives, as appeareth before. The three persons which suffered, and were hanged in chains, were offered their lives to have accused the said Thomas Rose, as of counsel with them; which refused so to do, and therefore suffered. The said Thomas Rose had the coat of the said rood brought unto him afterward, who burnt it. The rood was said to have done many great miracles, and great wonders wrought by him, and yet, being in the fire, could not help himself, but burned like a block, as in very deed he was. At this time there were two sore enemies in Hadley, Walter Clerk and John Clerk, two brethren : these complained to the council, that a hundred men were not able to fetch the said Thomas Rose out of Hadley, who then was, upon examination of his doctrine, committed to the commissary's keeping. And indeed such was the zeal of a number then in that town towards the truth, that they were much offended that their minister was so taken from them, and had therefore by force fetched him from the commissary, if certain wise men had not otherwise persuaded, which at length also, with more quiet, did set him in his office again; which thing so angered the two brethren, Walter Clerk and John Clerk, that they complained to the council, as is aforesaid; whereupon a serjeant-at-arms, named Cartwright, was sent from the council, who arrested the said Thomas Rose, and brought him before the council. Then his adversaries being called, they laid to his charge, that he was privy of the burning of the rood of Dovercourt; and upon this he was committed to prison in the bishop of Lincoln's house in Holborn -- Bishop Langley, the king's confessor; and

there remained he in prison, from Shrovetide to Midsummer, very sore stocked till after Easter.

The stocks were very high and great, so that day and night he did lie with his back on the ground, upon a little straw, with his heels so high, that by means the blood was fallen from his feet, his feet were almost without sense for a long time; and he herewith waxed very sick, insomuch that his keeper, pitying his estate, and hearing him cry sometimes, through the extremity of pain, went to the bishop, and told him that he would not keep him to die under his hand; and upon this he had some more ease and liberty. Now at this time his mother was come from Hadley to see him, but she might not be suffered to speak with the said Thomas Rose her son (such was their cruelty); but the bishop flattered her, and gave her a pair of pardon-beads, and bade her go home and pray, for she might not see him; which thing pierced the heart both of the mother and son, not a little. At this time also certain men of Hadley, very desirous to see him, travailed to speak with him, but might not be suffered, till at length they gave the keeper four shillings; and yet then might not speak to him, or see him, otherwise than through a grate. And thus continued he till Midsummer, in prison there.

Then was he removed to Lambeth, in the first year of Dr. Cranmer's consecration, who used him much more courteously than ever the bishop of Lincoln did, and at length wrought his deliverance, and set him at liberty; but yet so, that he was bound not to come within twenty miles of Hadley. After this he came to London, and there preached the gospel half a year, till Hadley men, hearing thereof, laboured to have him to Hadley again, and indeed, by means of Sir John Rainsford, knight, obtained at the archbishop's hand to have him thither. Howbeit, by means one was placed in the cure at Hadley, he could not enjoy his office again there, but went to Stratford, three miles off, and there continued in preaching the word three years, till at length the adversaries procured an inhibition from the bishop of Norwich, to put him to silence. But a great number travailed to have him continue in preaching, and subscribed a supplication to the archbishop, with sevenscore hands, who, under their seals, also testified of his honest demeanour; so that the adversaries this way not prevailing, they indicted him at Bury in Suffolk, so that he was constrained to flee to London, and to use the aid of the Lord Audley, then lord chancellor, who removed the matter from them, and called it before him, and after certain examination of the matter, did set him free, and did send him by a token to the Lord Cromwell, then lord privy seal, for a licence from the king to preach: which thing obtained by the Lord Cromwell's means, (who hereupon also had admitted the said Thomas Rose his chaplain,) forthwith he was sent into Lincolnshire and to York.

In the mean time such complaint was made to the duke of Norfolk, for that he preached against auricular confession, transubstantiation, and such other points contained in the Six Articles, (which then to have done, by law was death,) that the duke, in his own person, not only sought him at Norwich, but also beset all the havens for him, from Yarmouth to London; and, being lieutenant, commanded that whosoever could take the said Thomas Rose, should hang him on the next tree. Howbeit, the said Thomas Rose, at his coming home, having warning hereof by certain godly persons, was conveyed away, and passed over into Flanders, and so to Germany unto Zurich, where a time he remained with Master Bullinger; and afterward went to Basle, and there hosted with Master Grinæus, till letters came that

Master Dr. Barnes should be bishop of Norwich, and things should be reformed and he restored. But when he came into England again, it was nothing so, and therefore forthwith fled again beyond the seas, being so beset, as, if the mighty providence of God had not sent him, in a readiness to receive him, the selfsame man, boat, and boy, that before carried him over, it had not been possible for him to have escaped. But such was the goodness of God towards him, that he safely was conveyed, and lived at Arrow the space of three years, till at length, purposing to come over into England, about business that he had, he, his wife, and their child, (being but a year and three quarters old,) upon the sea, the ship being in great danger wherein they sailed, (for the mast being hewn down in that peril, they were carried whithersoever the waves tossed them,) they with divers others made a full account of death. Howbeit, at length they were taken prisoners, and carried into Dieppe in France, having all their stuff taken from them, and forty pounds in money. There they remained prisoners from Michaelmas till Hallowtide, in great heaviness, not knowing what would become of them, but depending only upon God's providence.

It pleased God at the same time, that one Master Young, of the town of Rye, (who had heard him preach before,) came thither for the redeeming of certain Englishmen there taken prisoners. This Master Young, moved to see them in this case, much pitied them, and comforted them, and told them he would pay their ransom; and so he did, had them away, and brought them to Rye; and from thence by stealth came they to London. At length the honourable earl of Sussex, hearing of the said Thomas Rose, sent for him, his wife, and his child, and had them to his house at Attleborough, where they continued till at length it was blazed abroad, that the earl was a maintainer of such a man to read in his house, as had preached against the catholic faith (as they term it). The earl, being at the parliament, and hearing thereof, wrote a letter to warn him to make shift for himself, and to avoid: so that from thence he passed to London, making strait shift for a year there, and somewhat more, till the death of King Henry.

After the king's death, he and others who, in the king's general pardon, were excepted, (and therefore dead men, if they had been taken whilst King Henry lived,) by certain of the council were set at liberty; and at length, after King Edward was crowned, were licensed to preach again by the king; who gave unto the said Thomas Rose the benefice of West Ham, by London. But at the death of that virtuous and noble prince, he was deprived of all, and so should also have been of his life, had not God appointed him friends, who received him in London secretly, as their teacher in the congregation, among whom, for the poor prisoners, at their assemblies forty-one a night oftentimes were gathered. And thus he continued amongst them, and with the Lady Vane, almost a year in the reign of Queen Mary. But although he oftentimes escaped secretly, whilst he read to the godly in sundry places of London, yet at length, through a Judas that betrayed them, he, with thirty-five that were with him, were taken in Bow Churchyard, at a shear-man's house, on New-year's day at night, being Tuesday. The residue being committed to prisons, the said Thomas Rose was had to the bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner; but would not speak with him that night, but committed him to the Clink till Tuesday after.

The first examination of Thomas Rose, before Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, at St. Mary Overy's.

On Thursday, being brought before the bishop of Winchester, at St. Mary Overy's, the said Thomas Rose spake as followeth.

"It maketh me to marvel, my Lord," quoth he, "that I should be thus troubled for that which by the word of God hath been established, and by the laws of this realm allowed, and by your own writing so notably in your book; *De Vera Obedientia*, confirmed."

Winchester.--"Ah, sirrah! hast thou gotten that?"

Rose.--"Yea, my Lord, I thank God, and do confess myself much thereby confirmed: for as touching the doctrine of the supremacy, against the bishop of Rome's usurped authority, no man hath said further. And, as I remember, you confess in it, that when this truth was revealed unto you, you thought the scales to fall from your eyes."

Winchester.--"Thou liest like a varlet; there is no such thing in my book, but I shall handle thee, and such as thou art, well enough. I have long looked for thee, and at length have caught thee. I will know who be thy maintainers, or else I will make thee a foot longer."

Rose.--"My Lord, you shall do as much as pleaseth God, and no more; yet the law is in your hand: but I have God for my maintainer, and none other." At these words, one of his servants stepped forth, and said, "My Lord, I heard this man preach by Norwich, in Sir John Robster's house; and in his prayer he desired God to turn Queen Mary's heart, or else to take her out of the world; and this was in King Edward's time."

Rose.--"My Lord, I made no such prayer, but next after the king I prayed for her after this sort, saying, 'Ye shall pray for my Lady Mary's Grace, that God will vouchsafe to endue her with his Spirit, that she graciously may perceive the mysteries contained within his holy laws; and so render unto him her heart purified with true faith, and true and loyal obedience to her sovereign lord and king, to the good ensample of the inferior subjects.' And this, my Lord, is already answered in mine own handwriting to the council." Unto this he said little, but turning his face to certain that were by him, "This is he," quoth the bishop, "that my Lord of Norwich told me, had begotten his maid with child."

Rose.--"This is no heresy, my Lord, although it be a lie. Indeed certain wicked persons raised this report of me, for the hatred they bare to the doctrine which I preached; but for purgation of myself herein, I had no less than six of the council's hands, that there might be due and diligent examination for this matter in the country by men of worship appointed for that purpose, who can all testify, (I thank God,) that I am most clear from such wickedness; and indeed they have cleared me from it. And therefore I doubt not, but all good men will espy the mischievous device of mine adversaries, which (when other ways failed) by such sinister means went about to draw me into discredit and hatred. But God, which is the helper of the innocent, and searcher of men's hearts, hath and doth defend me, and hath laid open things that were hid, to their shame. One of the chief reporters of this, that I should so abuse myself, was one Master Clark, servant, and in some estimation, with the old lord treasurer of

England, reputed and taken for a conjuror, who afterward, for his good demerits, hanged himself in the Tower."-- Then the bishop commanded that I should be carried to the Tower, and kept safely, where I did lie till it was the week before Whitsuntide; after which time I was twice called, when the bishop came to the Tower about other prisoners. Notwithstanding, the bishop had no great talk with me, but spake friendly. Howbeit, one Sir Richard Southwell, knight, still accused me for my prayer, and said I did put a difference betwixt Lady Mary and Lady Elizabeth, for that I prayed in King Edward's faith, and prayed that he would confirm Lady Elizabeth in that which was well begun in her. Unto this the bishop said little. But in the week before Pentecost, I was conveyed from the Tower to Norwich, there to be examined by the bishop and his clergy, as concerning my faith, the manner whereof here followeth.

The second examination of Thomas Rose, before the bishop of Norwich, Hopkins by name, in his own palace, in the presence of Sir W. Woodhouse, knight, Master Steward the chancellor, Dr. Barret, with divers others, the Wednesday in Whitsun-week, A.D. 1553.

After I was presented by my keeper, the bishop immediately asked me what I was. I told him I had been a minister.

Bishop.--"What is this to the purpose; were ye a friar or a priest?"

Rose.--"Friar was I never; but a priest have I been, and beneficed by the king's Majesty."

Bishop.--"Where were ye made priest?"

Rose.--"In Exeter, in the county where I was born."

Then the bishop required of me my letters of orders. I told him I knew not where they were become, for they were things of me not greatly regarded.

Bishop.--"Well, you are sent to me to be examined; what say you, will you submit yourself to the order of the Church of England?"

Rose.--"My Lord, I trust I am not out of the order of Christ's church in England, neither do I know myself an offender there-against."

Bishop.--"What! yes, ye have here preached most damnable and devilish doctrine."

Rose.--"Not so, my Lord. The doctrine by me here preached, was both true, sincere, and holy. But indeed the doctrine that is now set forth, is most wicked and damnable, yea, and that both against God's laws and man's. But as for the doctrine by me preached, it is grounded upon the word of God, set out also by the authority of two most mighty kings, with the consent of all the nobility and clergy of the same; so that I preached nothing but their lawful proceedings, having their lawful authority under their broad seals, for confirmation of the same, for which my doing ye cannot justly

charge me. For why, since the law ceased, I have kept silence, so that the council which sent me unto you, have not charged me therewith. Wherefore ye do me open wrong, to burden me with that wherein I am free."

Chancellor.--"What, sir? ye are very captious; answerest thou my Lord after such a sort?"

"Sir," said I, "I answer for myself, and according to the truth: wherewith ye ought not to be offended, if ye be of God."

Chancellor.--"Thou art an evil man. Wast thou not abjured before now?"

Rose.--"No, ye untruly report me, and are in no wise able to prove that which ye have spoken: so that your words appear to proceed altogether of malice, which I have not deserved at your hands. But in this I well perceive ye are made an instrument to utter other men's malice, conceived of old."

Chancellor.--"What say you to the real presence in the sacrament?"

Rose.--"I wist right well ye were made an instrument to seek innocent blood: well, ye may have it, if God permit; it is present at hand, for I have not come hither to lie, but to die (if God see it good) in defence of that which I have said. Wherefore ye may begin when ye shall think good, for I have said nothing but the truth, and that which in those days was of all men allowed for truth, and against the which ye at that time durst not once whisper, although ye now brag never so much."

"Well, father Rose," said the bishop, "whatsoever hath been done in times past, shall not now be called in question, so that ye now submit yourself. For not only you, but all the whole realm hath been out of the right way, both high and low, spiritual and temporal: but all, notwithstanding, have submitted themselves, and acknowledged their faith. Wherefore, if ye will be accounted for an Englishman, ye must likewise submit yourself."

Rose.--"My Lord, I am an Englishman born, and do most humbly require of the Christian congregation of England, to be counted as a particular member of the same, and with all due reverence submit myself as in the form and manner following: That whatsoever law or laws shall be set forth in the same, for the establishment of Christ's true religion, and that according to the faith and doctrine of the holy patriarchs and prophets, Jesus Christ, and his holy apostles, with the faithful fathers of Christ's primitive church, I do not only hold it and believe it, but also most reverently obey it." At which my assertion, the bishop seemed to be greatly rejoiced, and said, "Well, then, we shall soon be at a point. But," said he, "you shall take this for no day of examination, but rather of communication, so that ye shall now depart and pause yourself, until we call for you again." And so ended our first meeting.

The third examination of Thomas Rose.

On the Friday following, I was called again into Christ's-church within their Lady's chapel, (as they termed it,) where was gathered a great part of the whole city of Norwich. And after I was by my keeper presented, the bishop began with a great protestation; and after many words demanded of me, whether, according to my former promise, I would submit myself or no. I answered as before I had done, that according to my former protestation, I would most gladly obey. Then said the chancellor, (to utter his gentleness,) "I think you do but feign."

"The fault then," said I, "shall be in yourself, and not in me. For if ye burden me with nothing but Scriptures, and the fathers of Christ's primitive church, then, as I said before, so I say again, I shall most gladly obey."

Chancellor.--"Well then, seeing you challenge to be a member of the Church of England, your mother here, for a trial of obedience, provoketh you, as mothers are wont to allure you, to receive this little gift at her hand."

"Forsooth," said I, "if she offer it me as received of God my Father, I shall gladly receive it, as from the hand of my very true and ghostly mother."

Chancellor.--"What say you to ear-confession? Is it not a law ecclesiastical, and necessary for the Church of England?"

Rose.--"Some ways it might be permitted, and some ways not; and that because it had not its original of God and his blessed word. And yet I deny not, but that a man, being troubled in his conscience, and resorting to a discreet, sober, and Christian learned man, for the quieting of his mind, might well be permitted. But to bind a man under pain of damnation, once every year, to number his sins into the ears of a filthy lecherous priest, is not of God, neither can be approved by his word."

Bishop.--"Ah, sirrah! ye will admit nothing but Scripture, I see well."

Rose.--"No truly, my Lord, I admit nothing but Scripture for the regiment of the soul: for why, faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God; and where the word of God is not, there ought no belief to be given. For whatsoever is not of faith is sin." And here they left off speaking any more of that matter.

But then Master Chancellor began to whet his teeth at me, saying, "Yea, but you have preached, that the real, natural, and substantial presence of Christ is not in the sacrament of the altar: what say ye to that?"

Rose.--"Verily, I say, that you are a bloody man, and seek to quench your thirst with the blood of an innocent; and therefore, to satisfy you in that behalf, I say verily unto you, that even so I have here preached. And although, contrary to law, you charge me with the same, yet will I in no wise deny it, though justly I might do it, but stand thereunto, even to seal it with my blood, desiring all that be here present, to testify the same, and believe it as the only truth."

Bishop.--"I charge you all to believe it not."

"Yea, but my Lord," said I, "if ye will needs have credence given you, you must bring God's word to maintain your sayings."

Bishop.--"Why, doth not Christ say, This is my body? and can there be any plainer words spoken?"

Rose.--"It is true, my Lord, the words be as plain as can be, and even so be these, where it is said, I am a door, a vine. And Christ is called a stone, a lion, and yet is he naturally none of these: for they be all figurative speeches, as both the Scriptures and fathers do sufficiently prove."

At which my saying, the bishop would have had me stay, saying, I should have another day, wherein I might take better advisement.

"Not so, my Lord," said I, "for I am at a full point with myself in that matter, and am right well able to prove both your transubstantiation, with the real presence, to be against the Scriptures and the ancient fathers of the primitive church. For Justin, which is one of the ancientest writers that ever wrote upon the sacraments, writeth in his second Apology, that the bread, water, and wine in the sacrament, are not to be taken as other meats and drinks, but be meats purposely ordained to give thanks unto God, and therefore be called *eucharistia*, and also have the names of the body and blood of Christ; and that it is not lawful for any man to eat and drink of them, but such as profess the religion of Christ, and live also according to their profession. And yet (saith he) the same bread and drink is changed into our flesh and blood, and nourisheth our bodies. By which saying it is evident that Justin meant, that the bread and wine remain still, or else they could not have been turned into our flesh and blood, and nourish our bodies." At which my saying they were not a little troubled, but enforced themselves to have denied the doctor, and would suffer me to speak no more, but straightway was I carried away unto my lodging. And so ended the second day of mine appearance, which was the Friday in Whitsunweek; and then was I appointed to appear again on the Monday following. Howbeit, upon what occasion I know not, it was deferred unto the Wednesday, which was Corpus-Christi even.

His talk with the earl of Sussex, Sir William Woodhouse, and the bishop's chaplains.

"In the mean time the bishop sent two of his chaplains to me, with whom I had communication about the real presence: and after long reasoning to and fro, concerning this point, at length I drave them to this issue: whether they did confess that Christ, in the selfsame body which was conceived of the Virgin Mary, and wherein he suffered and rose again, doth, in the selfsame body, naturally, substantially, and really, sit at the right hand of God the Father, without return from thence, until the day of the general judgment, or not? Whereunto they answered, 'Yes, truly,' said they, 'we confess it, hold it, and believe it.' Then I again demanded of them, whether they did affirm, after the words pronounced by the minister, there to remain flesh, blood, bones, hair, nails, as is wont most grossly to be preached, or not? And they with great deliberation answered, that they did not only abhor the teaching of such gross doctrine, but also would detest themselves, if they should so think.

"At which two principal points, wherein they fully confirmed my doctrine which I ever taught, I was not a little comforted and rejoiced, but marvellously encouraged. Whereupon I demanded again of them, what manner of body they then affirmed to be in the sacrament? 'Forsooth,' said they, 'not a visible, palpable, or circumscribable body, for that is always at the Father's right hand: but in the sacrament it is invisible, and can neither be felt, seen, nor occupy any place, but is there by the omnipotency of God's word, they know not how. And for this they brought in St. Augustine, although of them not truly understood, yet would they admit none other sense than their own, but would take upon them to confirm it with Martin Luther, Melancthon, Bucer, and Calvin: so that I, perceiving their obstinacy in that behalf, gave them over for that time, and afterward talked with Dr. Barret, whom I also found of the same judgment in that behalf: 'for,' said he, 'if ye should dissent from the fathers of the primitive church in this behalf, of which St. Augustine is one, ye shall be counted to die out of the favour of God.'" Well, all this their obstinacy and blasphemous errors imprinted and deeply weighed in my mind, I gave them all over. And the more quietly to bring them to confess that openly, which they unto me had granted privately, I granted them according to the Scriptures, and my former protestation, a presence, although not as they supposed.

"After all this, came there unto me the honourable earl of Sussex, and that gentle knight, Sir William Woodhouse, with great persuasions: unto whom I said, after long talk, that I would do all that I might, saving my conscience, which I would in no wise pollute; and no more I have, as knoweth God, by whom all men must be judged."

His last appearance before the bishop.

"Now, to come to my last appearance, after I was before the bishop presented, he forthwith demanded of me, whether I were resolved, as he had heard say. To whom I answered, that even as always I had said before, even so I was now. Unto whom, by low bowing my knee, I gave my due reverence, and the rather for that the honourable earl of Sussex was there; wherewith some which would be counted great gospellers, were (contrary to all Christianity) sore offended. Then I said, that whatsoever laws were set forth for the establishment of Christ's true religion, and that according to the doctrine of Christ's holy apostles, and the faithful fathers of the primitive church, I did not only obey them, but must earnestly embrace and believe them. Yea, and yet, to the further blinding of their eyes, I said, that if any thing could justly be proved by God's holy word, by me heretofore preached or taught untruly, either for lack of learning, slide of tongue, or of ignorance; yet by better knowledge, when it shall justly be tried and examined by the same, I shall not refuse (the thing perfectly approved) to revoke the same: provided always, the word of God herein to be judge.

"All this spake I (as God knoweth) to keep them from suspecting that which I went about, and that they should have none occasion to judge me of obstinacy. Then said I moreover, 'All you must of force confess, that the doctrine by me heretofore preached, had, besides the authority of God's eternal verity, the authority of two most noble and mighty princes, with the advice and counsel of all the nobility and clergy of the same, and that with great deliberation from time to time, with open disputations in

both the universities, enacted also by parliament with the consent of the whole body and commons of the same, and that without any resistance or gainsaying established, as a religion most pure and perfect, most earnestly and sincerely preached by the principal bishops and doctors, and that before the king's Majesty's person. And I, as one being called to that office, did the like with all the rest, and, in the zeal of God and with a pure conscience, did set forth the same, as the only and absolute truth of God, and the just and most true proceedings of my sovereign lord and king. And I had then my head, at that present, even where it now standeth, betwixt mine ears, altogether applying the same, to apprehend with all diligence that which then was established and taught, as the only and absolute truth, and a thing unto me most desirable, and well liking, without any desire to hear the contrary, till now, through this my captivity, I am compelled to hear the contrary part speak, who are even here present, and which my Lord sent unto me.

"Of whom, after long disputations privately to and fro before this time had betwixt us, at length I have heard of them a contrary doctrine, which I never before had heard; and therefore must confess mine own ignorance in the same. For,' quoth I, 'after I had enforced these men here present,' (meaning the bishop's two chaplains,) 'to confess Jesus Christ's natural body, with his full complete members in due order and proportion of a perfect man's body, to be present at the right hand of God the Father, and that without return from thence, until the last judgment, and also that, after the words pronounced by the priest, there remaineth no such gross presence of flesh, blood, bones, hair, and nails, as was wont to be preached; but that, after I had demanded of them what manner of body they affirmed to be present, they said, A body invisible by the omnipotency of God's word, which neither can be felt nor seen, nor that hath any distinction of members, but such a body as occupieth no place, but is there they know not how. Necessity compelled me to confess mine ignorance in that behalf, although in very deed they perceived not my meaning therein, neither was it in my thought they should so do. For by this their confession, and my silence, afterward I perceived their horrible blasphemies.

"And methought in this I had well discharged at that time my conscience, in causing them in open audience to confess the same; and so I granted a presence, but not as they supposed. For only I said, that Christ, after the words pronounced, is present in the lawful use and right distribution of his holy supper; which thing I never denied, or any godly man that ever I heard of. For, said I, Eusebius Emissenus, a man of singular fame and learning, about three hundred years after Christ's ascension, saith, that the conversion of the visible creatures of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, is like unto our conversion in baptism, where nothing is outwardly changed, but all the change is inwardly, by the mighty working of the Holy Ghost, which fashioneth and frameth Christ in the heart and mind of man, as by the example of Peter preaching to the people, by which he so pierced their consciences, that they openly, with most earnest repentance, confessed their sins, saying, Men and brethren, what shall we do? Repent, and be baptized every one of you, said Peter, in the name of Jesus Christ. So that at this sermon there were turned unto Christ three thousand persons; in whom Christ was so fashioned and framed, as that he did dwell in every one of them, and they in him. And after the like manner (said I) is Christ present in the lawful use and right distribution of his holy supper, and not otherwise. For although I said, according to the truth, that Christ dwelt in every one of these persons rehearsed, yet meant I nothing less, than that he in them should have a gross, carnal,

or fleshly dwelling. And no more meant I (as God knoweth) him carnally or naturally to be in the sacrament, but according to the Scriptures, and my former protestation, that is, to the spiritual nourishment of all such as worthily come unto that holy supper, receiving it according to his holy institution.' And thus I ended; which the papists most maliciously and slanderously named a recantation; which I never meant, nor thought (as God knoweth).

"Now, after I had thus concluded my speech, the bishop, taking me by the hand, said, 'Father Rose, you may be a worthy instrument in God's church, and we will see to you at our coming home:' for he was about to take his journey in visitation of his diocese; and they feared much at this very time, lest Queen Mary should have miscarried in child-travail, which was looked for, being then accounted very great with child, so that they were not so fierce as they had been, and doubted very much of some stir, if I should have suffered; and therefore were glad to be rid of me, so that by any colourable means for their own discharge it might be: so, the night following, was I only committed to mine own lodging.

"On the morrow, when the bishop was ready to ride forth in visitation, he called me before him, and perceiving that Sir William Woodhouse did bear me great favour, said, he was sorry for me and my expenses; and therefore wished that I were some where, where I might spend no more money, till his return. 'Why, my Lord,' quoth Sir William Woodhouse, 'he shall have meat, and drink, and lodging, with me, till you return again, seeing you now break up house.' And hereupon I went home with Sir William, that good knight, who most gently entertained me, and I had great liberty. Upon this, the papistical priests of the college of Christ's Church in Norwich, for that they saw me at liberty in Sir William's absence, (who also was then from home a fortnight,) blazed it abroad that Sir William was bounden for me in body and lands. At his coming home, therefore, I asked Sir William if he were so bounden for me; and he denied it. Then said I, 'Sir, but for the reverence I bear to you, I might have been a hundred miles from you ere this. But I trust now, sir, seeing you be not bound for me, I may go visit my friends.' 'Go where you will,' said Sir William; 'for,' quoth he, 'I told the bishop I would not be his jailer, but promised only meat, drink, and lodging for you.' Shortly after, upon the device of some friends, I was closely conveyed to a friend's house, where almost a month I was secretly kept, till rumours were over: for at the bishop's return, searching was for me; insomuch as all houses, where it was known I had been acquainted, were searched, and the ships at Yarmouth.

"At length the bishop sent to a conjuror, to know of him which way I was gone; and he answered, that I was gone over a water, and in the keeping of a woman. And in very deed I was passed over a small water, and was hid by a blessed woman and godly woman, which lived in a poor cottage, the space of three weeks, till all the great heat was over.

"Then was I conveyed to London, and from thence passed over the seas, where I lived till the death of Queen Mary, and till it had pleased God, for the comfort of his church, and restoring of all poor exiles and prisoners for his name's sake, to bless this realm with the government of our noble queen, whom God, to the glory of his own name, and the defence of his church, according to his good will and pleasure, long preserve and continue over us."

426. Dr. Sands

A brief discourse concerning the troubles and happy deliverance of the reverend father in God, Dr. Sands, first bishop of Worcester, next of London, and now archbishop of York.

King Edward dead, the world being unworthy of him, the duke of Northumberland came down to Cambridge with an army of men, having commission to proclaim Lady Jane queen, and by power to suppress Lady Mary, who took upon her that dignity, and was proclaimed queen in Norfolk. The duke sent for Dr. Sands, being vice-chancellor, for Dr. Parker, for Dr. Bill, and Master Leaver, to sup with him. Amongst other speeches, he said, "Masters, pray for us, that we speed well: if not, you shall be made bishops, and we deacons." And even so it came to pass, Dr. Parker and Dr. Sands were made bishops, and he and Sir John Gates, who was then at the table, were made deacons, ere it was long after, on the Tower Hill. Dr. Sands, being vice-chancellor, was required to preach on the morrow. The warning was short for such an auditory, and to speak of such a matter; yet he refused not the thing, but went into his chamber, and so to bed. He rose at three of the clock in the morning, took his Bible in his hand, and, after that he had prayed a good space, he shut his eyes, and holding his Bible before him, earnestly prayed to God, that it might fall open where a most fit text should be, for him to entreat of. The Bible, as God would have it, fell open upon the first chapter of Joshua, where he found so convenient a piece of Scripture for that time, that the like he could not have chosen in all the Bible. His text was this: "Responderuntque Josuæ atque dixerunt, Omnia quæ præcepisti nobis faciemus, et quocunque miseris ibimus: sicut obedivimus in cunctis Mose, ita obediemus et tibi, tantum sit Dominus Deus tuus tecum sicut fuit cum Mose: qui contradixerit ori tuo, et non obedierit cunctis sermonibus quos præceperis ei, moriatur; tu tantum confortare et viriliter age." Who shall consider what was concluded by such as named themselves the state, and withal, the auditory, the time, and other circumstances, he shall easily see that this text most fitly served for the purpose. And as God gave the text, so gave he him such order and utterance, as pulled many tears out of the eye of the biggest of them.

In the time of his sermon one of the guard lifted up to him into the pulpit a mass-book and a grail, which Sir George Haward, with certain of the guard, had taken that night in Master Hurlestone's house, where Lady Mary had been a little before, and there had mass. The duke, with the rest of the nobility, required Dr. Sands to put his sermon in writing, and appointed Master Leaver to go to London with it, and to put it in print. Dr. Sands required one day and a half for writing of it. At the time appointed he had made it ready, and Master Leaver was ready booted to receive it at his hands, and carry it to London.. As he was delivering of it, one of the beadles, named Master Adams, came weeping to him, and prayed him to shift for himself, for the duke was retired, and Queen Mary proclaimed. Dr. Sands was not troubled herewithal, but gave the sermon written to Master Layfield. Master Leaver departed home, and he went to dinner to one Master Mores, a beadle, his great friend. At the dinner Mistress More, seeing him merry and pleasant, (for he had ever a man's courage, and could not be terrified,) drank unto him, saying: "Master Vice-chancellor, I drink unto you, for this is the last time that ever I shall see you." And so it was ; for

she was dead before Dr. Sands returned out of Germany. The duke that night retired to Cambridge, and sent for Dr. Sands to go with him to the market-place, to proclaim Queen Mary. The duke cast up his cap with others, and so laughed, that the tears ran down his cheeks for grief. He told Dr. Sands, that Queen Mary was a merciful woman, and that he doubted not thereof; declaring that he had sent unto her to know her pleasure, and looked for a general pardon. Dr. Sands answered, "My life is not dear unto me, neither have I done or said any thing that urgeth my conscience. For that which I spake of the state, hath instructions warranted by the subscription of sixteen councillors; neither can speech be treason, neither yet have I spoken further than the word of God and the laws of the realm do warrant me, come of me what God will. But be you assured, you shall never escape death; for if she would save you, those that now shall rule, will kill you."

That night the guard apprehended the duke, and certain grooms of the stable were as busy with Dr. Sands, as if they would take a prisoner. But Sir John Gates, who lay then in Dr. Sands' house, sharply rebuked them, and drave them away. Dr. Sands, by the advice of Sir John Gates, walked in the fields. In the mean time the university, contrary to all order, had met together in consultation, and ordered that Dr. Mouse and Dr. Hatcher should repair to Dr. Sands' lodging, and fetch away the statute-book of the university, the keys, and such other things that were in his keeping, and so they did: for Dr. Mouse, being an earnest protestant the day before, and one whom Dr. Sands had done much for, was now become a papist, and his great enemy. Certain of the university had appointed a congregation at afternoon. As the bell rang to it, Dr. Sands cometh out of the fields, and sending for the beadles, asketh what the matter meaneth, and requireth them to wait upon him to the schools, according to their duty. So they did. And so soon as Dr. Sands, the beadles going before him, came into the regent-house, and took his chair, one Master Mitch, with a rabble of unlearned papists, went into a by-school, and conspired together to pull him out of his chair, and to use violence unto him. Dr. Sands began his oration, expostulating with the university, charging them with great ingratitude, declaring, that he had said nothing in his sermon, but that he was ready to justify, and their case was all one with his; for they had not only concealed, but consented to that which he had spoken.

And thus, while he remembered unto them how beneficial he had been to the university, and their unthankfulness to him again, in cometh Master Mitch with his conspirators, about twenty in number. One layeth hand upon the chair, to pull it from him, another told him that that was not his place, and another called him "traitor." Whereat he, perceiving how they used violence, and being of great courage, groped to his dagger, and had despatched some of them as God's enemies, if Dr. Bill and Dr. Blith had not fallen upon him, and prayed him for God's sake to hold his hands, and be quiet, and patiently to bear that great offered wrong. He was persuaded by them; and after that tumult was ceased, he ended his oration, and having some money of the university's in his hand, he there delivered the same, every farthing. He gave up the books, reckonings, and keys pertaining to the university; and withal yielded up his office, praying God to give the university a better officer, and to give them better and more thankful hearts; and so repaired home to his own college.



Dr. Sands Speaking at Cambridge

On the morrow after, there came unto him one Master Jerningham, and one Master Thomas Mildmay. Jerningham told him that it was the queen's pleasure that two of the guard should attend upon him, and that he must be carried prisoner to the Tower of London, with the duke. Master Mildmay said, he marvelled that a learned man would speak so unadvisedly against so good a prince, and wilfully run into such danger. Dr. Sands answered, "I shall not be ashamed of bonds, but if I could do as Master Mildmay can, I needed not to fear bonds. For he came down in payment against Queen Mary, and armed in the field, and now he returneth in payment for Queen Mary; before a traitor, and now a great friend. I cannot, with one mouth, blow hot and cold after this sort."

Upon this, his stable was robbed of four notable good geldings; the best of them Master Huddleston took for his own saddle, and rode on him to London in his sight. An inventory was taken of all his goods, by Master More, beadle, for the university. He was set upon a lame horse that halted to the ground; which thing a friend of his perceiving, prayed that he might lend him a nag. The yeomen of the guard were contented. As he departed forth at the town's end, some papists resorted thither to jeer at him; some of his friends to mourn for him. He came in the rank to London, the people being full of outcries. And as he came in at Bishopsgate, one like a milkwife hurled a stone at him, and hit him on the breast, with such a blow, that he was like to fall off his horse. To whom he mildly said, "Woman, God forgive it thee!" Truth is, that journey and evil entreating so mortified him, that he was more ready to die, than to live.

As he came through Tower-hill Street, one woman standing in her door cried, "Fie on thee, thou knave! thou knave, thou traitor, thou heretic!" whereat he smiled. "Look, the desperate heretic," said she, "laughed at this jeer." A woman on the other side of the street answered, saying; "Fie on thee, neighbour, thou art not worthy to be called a woman; railing upon this gentleman whom thou knowest not, neither yet the cause why he is thus entreated." Then she said: "Good gentleman, God be thy comfort, and give thee strength to stand in God's cause, even to the end." And thus he passed through fire and water into the Tower, the first prisoner that entered in that day, which was St. James's day. The yeomen of the guard took from him his borrowed nag, and what else soever he had. His man, one Quinting Swainton, brought after him a Bible, and some shirts, and such-like things. The Bible was sent in to him; but the shirts, and such like, served the yeomen of the guard.

After he had been in the Tower three weeks in a bad prison, he was lifted up into Nun's-bower, a better prison, where was put to him Master John Bradford.

At the day of Queen Mary's coronation, their prison door was set open, ever shut before. One Master Mitchell, his old acquaintance, which had been prisoner before in the same place, came in to him, and said, "Master Sands, there is such a stir in the Tower, that neither gates, doors, nor prisoners are looked to this day. Take my cloak, my hat, and my rapier, and get you gone; you may go out of the gates without questioning; save yourself, and let me do as I may." A rare friendship; but he refused the offer, saying, "I know no just cause why I should be in prison; and thus to do, were to make myself guilty. I will expect God's good will, yet must I think myself most bounden unto you:" and so Master Mitchell departed.

While Dr. Sands and Master Bradford were thus in close prison together twenty-nine weeks, one John Bowler was their keeper, a very perverse papist; yet by often persuading of him, for he would give ear, and by gentle using of him, at the length he began to mislike popery, and to favour the gospel, and was so persuaded in true religion, that on a Sunday, when they had mass in the chapel, he bringeth up a service-book, a manchet, and a glass of wine, and there Dr. Sands ministered the communion to Bradford and to Bowler. Thus Bowler was their son begotten in bonds. When Wyatt was in arms, and the old duke of Norfolk sent forth with a power of men to apprehend him; that room might be made in the Tower for him, and other his complices, Dr. Cranmer, Dr. Ridley, and Master Bradford were cast into one prison, and Dr. Sands, with nine other preachers, were sent unto the Marshalsea.

The keeper of the Marshalsea appointed to every preacher a man to lead him in the street; he caused them to go far before, and he and Dr. Sands came behind, whom he would not lead, but walked familiarly with him. Yet Dr. Sands was known, and the people every where prayed to God to comfort him, and to strengthen him in the truth. By that time the people's minds were altered; popery began to be unsavoury. After they passed the bridge, the keeper, Thomas Way, said to Dr. Sands, "I perceive the vain people would set you forward to the fire. Ye are as vain as they, if you, being a young man, will stand in your own conceit, and prefer your own knowledge before the judgment of so many worthy prelates, ancient, learned, and grave men, as be in this realm. If you so do, you shall find me as strait a keeper, as one that utterly misliketh your religion." Dr. Sands answered, "I know my years young, and my learning small; it is enough to know Christ crucified, and he hath learned nothing, that

seeth not the great blasphemy that is in popery. I will yield unto God, and not unto man. I have read in the Scriptures of many godly and courteous keepers: God may make you one. If not, I trust he will give me strength and patience to bear your hard dealing with me." Saith Thomas Way, "Do ye then mind to stand to your religion?" "Yea," saith Dr. Sands, "by God's grace." "Truly," saith the keeper, "I love you the better; I did but tempt you. What favour I can show you, ye shall be sure of; and I shall think myself happy, if I may die at the stake with you." The said keeper showed Dr. Sands ever after all friendship; he trusted him to go into the fields alone, and there met with Master Bradford, who then was removed into the Bench, and there found the like favour of his keeper: he laid him in the best chamber in the house; he would not suffer the knight-marshal's man to lay fetters on him, as others had; and at his request he put Master Saunders in to him, to be his bed-fellow, and sundry times suffered his wife, who was Master Sands' daughter of Essex, a gentlewoman beautiful both in body and soul, to resort to him. There was great resort to Dr. Sands and Master Saunders; they had much money offered them, but they would receive none. They had the communion there three or four times, and a great sort of communicants. Dr. Sands gave such exhortation to the people, (for at that time, being young, he was thought very eloquent,) that he moved many tears, and made the people abhor the mass, and defy all popery.

When Wyat with his army came into Southwark, he sent two gentlemen into the Marshalsea to Dr. Sands, saying, that Master Wyat would be glad of his company and advice, and that the gates should be set open for all the prisoners. He answered, "Tell Master Wyat, if this his rising be of God, it will take place; if not, it will fall. For my part, I was committed hither by order: I will be discharged by like order, or I will never depart hence." So answered Master Saunders, and the rest of the preachers, being there prisoners.

After that Dr. Sands had been nine weeks prisoner in the Marshalsea, by the mediation of Sir Thomas Holcroft, then knight-marshal, he was set at liberty. Sir Thomas sued earnestly to the bishop of Winchester, Dr. Gardiner, for his deliverance, after many repulses: but he could not prevail, except Dr. Sands would be one of their sect; and then he could want nothing. He wrung out of him at last, that if the queen could like of his deliverance, he would not be against it; for that was Sir Thomas's last request. In the mean time he had procured two ladies of the privy-chamber to move the queen in it, who was contented if the bishop of Winchester would like of it. The next time that the bishop went into the privy chamber to speak with the queen, Master Holcroft followed, and had his warrant for Dr. Sands' remission ready; and prayed the two ladies, when the bishop should take his leave, to put the queen in mind of Dr. Sands. So they did, and the queen said, "Winchester, what think you by Dr. Sands, is he not sufficiently punished?" "As it please your Majesty," saith Winchester. That he spake, remembering his former promise to Master Holcroft, that he would not be against Dr. Sands, if the queen should like to discharge him. Saith the queen, "Then, truly, we would that he were set at liberty." Immediately Master Holcroft offered the queen the warrant; who subscribed the same, and called Winchester to put to his hand, and so he did. The warrant was given to the knight-marshal again, Sir Thomas Holcroft. As the bishop went forth of the privy-chamber door, he called Master Holcroft to him, commanding him not to set Dr. Sands at liberty, until he had taken sureties of two gentlemen of his county with him, each one bound in five hundred pounds, that Dr. Sands should not depart out of the realm without licence. Master

Holcroft, immediately after, met with two gentlemen of the north, friends and cousins to Dr. Sands, who offered to be bound in body, goods, and lands for him. After dinner, the same day, Master Holcroft sent for Dr. Sands to his lodging at Westminster, requiring the keeper to company with him. He came accordingly, finding Master Holcroft alone, walking in his garden. Master Holcroft imparted his long suit, with the whole proceeding, and what effect it had taken, to Dr. Sands, much rejoicing that it was his good hap to do him good, and to procure his liberty; and that nothing remained but that he would enter into bonds with his two sureties, for not departing out of the realm. Dr. Sands answered, "I give God thanks, who hath moved your heart to mind me so well, and I think myself most bound unto you. God will requite, and I shall never be found unthankful. But as you have dealt friendly with me, I will also deal plainly with you. I came a freeman into prison; I will not go forth a bondman. As I cannot benefit my friends, so will I not hurt them. And if I be set at liberty, I will not tarry six days in this realm, if I may get out. If therefore I may not get free forth, send me to the Marshalsea again, and there ye shall be sure of me."

This answer much misliked Master Holcroft. He told Dr. Sands that the time would not long continue, a change would shortly come; the state was but a cloud, and would soon shake away; and that his cousin, Sir Edward Bray, would gladly receive him and his wife into his house, where he should never need to come at church; and how the Lady Bray was a zealous gentlewoman, who hated popery. Adding, that he would not so deal with him, to lose all his labour. When Dr. Sands could not be removed from his former saying, Master Holcroft said, "Seeing you cannot be altered, I will change my purpose, and yield unto you. Come of it what will, I will set you at liberty; and seeing you mind to go over sea, get you gone so quickly as you can. One thing I require of you, that while you are there you write nothing to come hither, for so you may undo me." He friendly kissed Dr. Sands, bade him farewell, and commanded the keeper to take no fees of him, saying, "Let me answer Winchester as I may." Dr. Sands, returning with the keeper to the Marshalsea, tarried all night there. On the morrow, he gave a dinner to all the prisoners, bade his bedfellow and sworn stakefellow, (if it had so pleased God,) Master Saunders, farewell, with many tears and kissings, the one falling on the other's neck; and so departed, clearly delivered without examination or bond. From thence he went to the Bench, and there talked with Master Bradford and Master Ferrar, bishop of St. David's, then prisoners. Then he comforted them, and they praised God for his happy deliverance. He went by Winchester's house, and there took boat, and came to a friend's house in London, called William Banks, and tarried there one night. On the morrow at night he shifted to another friend's house, and there he learned that search was made for him.

Dr. Watson and Master Christopherson, coming to the bishop of Winchester, told him that he had set at liberty the greatest heretic in England, and one that had of all others most corrupted the university of Cambridge, Dr. Sands. Whereupon the bishop of Winchester, being chancellor of England, sent for all the constables of London, commanding them to watch for Dr. Sands, who was then within the city, and to apprehend him; and whosoever of them should take him and bring him to him, he should have five pounds for his labour. Dr. Sands, suspecting the matter, conveyed himself by night to one Master Bartly's house, a stranger, who was in the Marshalsea prisoner with him a while; he was a good protestant, and dwelt in Mark Lane. There he was six days, and had one or two of his friends that repaired unto him. Then he repaired to an acquaintance of his, one Hurlestone, a skinner, dwelling in Corn Hill;

he caused his man Quinting to provide two geldings for him, minding on the morrow to ride into Essex, to Master Sands his father-in-law, where his wife was.

At his going to bed in Hurlestone's house, he had a pair of hose newly made that were too long for him: for while he was in the Tower, a tailor was admitted him to make him a pair of hose. One came unto him, whose name was Benjamin, a good Protestant, dwelling in Birchin Lane: he might not speak to him, or come unto him to take measure of him, but only look upon his leg: he made the hose, and they were two inches too long. These hose he prayed the good wife of the house to send to some tailor to cut them two inches shorter. The wife required the boy of the house to carry them to the next tailor to cut. The boy chanced (or rather God so provided) to go to the next tailor, which was Benjamin that made them, which also was a constable, and acquainted with the lord chancellor's commandment. The boy required him to cut the hose. He said, "I am not thy master's tailor." Saith the boy, "Because you are our next neighbour, and my master's tailor dwelleth far off, I came to you; for it is far night, and he must occupy them timely in the morning." Benjamin took the hose, and looking upon them, he knew his handy-work, and said, "These are not thy master's hose, but Dr. Sands'; them I made in the Tower." The boy yielded and said, "It was so." Saith he, "Go to thy mistress: pray her to sit up till twelve of the clock, and then I will bring the hose, and speak with Dr. Sands to his good."

At midnight the goodwife of the house, and Benjamin the tailor, cometh into Dr. Sands' chamber: the wife prayeth him not to be afraid of their coming. He answered, "Nothing can be amiss: what God will, that shall be done." Then Benjamin telleth him that he made his hose, and by what good chance they now came to his hands. God used the means, that he might admonish him of his peril, and advise him how to escape it, telling him that all the constables of London, whereof he was one, watched for him, and some were so greedily set, that they prayed him, if he took him, to let them have the carriage of him to the bishop of Winchester, and he should have the five pounds. Saith Benjamin, "It is known that your man hath provided two geldings, and that you mind to ride out at Aldgate to-morrow, and there then you are sure to be taken. Follow mine advice, and by God's grace ye shall escape their hands. Let your man walk all the day to-morrow in the street where your horses stand, booted and ready to ride. The goodman's servant of the house shall take the horses, and carry them to Bethnal Green. The goodman shall be booted, and follow after as if he would ride. I will be here with you to-morrow about eight of clock: it is both term and parliament time. Here we will break our fast; and when the street is full, we will go forth. Look wildly, and if you meet your brother in the street, shun him not, but outface him, and know him not." Accordingly Dr Sands' did, clothed like a gentleman in all respects; and looked wildly, as one that had been long kept in prison out of the light. Benjamin carried him through Birchin Lane, and from one lane to another, till he came to Moorgate. There they went forth until they came to Bethnal Green, where the horses were ready, and Master Hurlestone, to ride with him as his man. Dr. Sands pulled on his boots, and taking leave of his friend Benjamin, with tears they kissed each other. He put his hand in his purse, and would have given Benjamin a great part of that little he had, but Benjamin would take none; yet, since, Dr. Sands hath remembered him thankfully. He rode that night to his father-in-law, Master Sands, where his wife was: he had not been there two hours, but it was told Master Sands, that there were two of the guard, which would that night apprehend Dr. Sands; and so they were appointed.

That night Dr. Sands was guided to an honest farmer near the sea, where he tarried two days and two nights in a chamber without all company. After that he shifted to one James Mower, a shipmaster, who dwelt at Milton Shore, where he expected wind for the English fleet ready into Flanders. While he was there, James Mower brought to him forty or fifty mariners, to whom he gave an exhortation they liked him so well, that they promised to die for it, ere that he should be apprehended.

The sixth of May, being Sunday, the wind served. He took his leave of his host and hostess, and went towards the ship. In taking his leave of his hostess, who was barren, and had been married eight years, he gave her a fine handkerchief and an old royal of gold in it, thanking her much, and said, "Be of good comfort; ere that one whole year be past, God shall give you a child, a boy." And it came to pass, for that day twelve-month, lacking one day, God gave her a fair son.

At the shore Dr. Sands met with Master Isaac of Kent, who had his eldest son there, who, upon the liking he had to Dr. Sands, sent his son with him, who afterward died in his father's house in Frankfort. Dr. Sands and Dr. Coxe were both in one ship, being one Cockrel's ship. They were within the kenning, when two of the guard came thither to apprehend Dr. Sands. They arrived at Antwerp, being bid to dinner to Master Locke. And at dinner time one George Gilpin, being secretary to the English house, and kinsman to Dr. Sands, came to him, and rounded him in his ear, and said, "King Philip hath sent to make search for you, and to apprehend you." Hereupon they rose from their dinner in a marvellous great shower, and went out at the gate toward the land of Cleves. They found a waggon, and hasted away, and came safe to Augsburg in Cleveland, where Dr. Sands tarried fourteen days, and then journeyed towards Strasburg, where, after he had lived one year, his wife came unto him. He fell sore sick of a flux, which kept him nine months, and brought him to death's door. He had a child which fell sick of the plague, and died. His wife at length fell sick of a consumption, and died in his arms; no man had a more godly woman to his wife.

After this, Master Sampson went away to Emanuel, a man skilful in Hebrew; Master Grindall went into the country to learn the Dutch tongue. Dr. Sands still remained in Strasburg, whose sustentation then was chiefly from one Master Isaac, who loved him most dearly, and was ever more ready to give than he to take. He gave him in that space above a hundred marks, which sum the said Dr. Sands paid him again, and by his other gifts and friendliness showed himself to be a thankful man. When his wife was dead, he went to Zurich, and there was in Peter Martyr's house for the space of five weeks. Being there, as they sat at dinner, word suddenly came that Queen Mary was dead, and Dr. Sands was sent for by his friends at Strasburg. That news made Master Martyr, and Master Jarret, then there, very joyful; but Dr. Sands could not rejoice, it smote into his heart, that he should be called to misery.

Master Bullinger and the ministers feasted him, and he took his leave and returned to Strasburg, where he preached; and so Master Grindall and he came towards England, and came to London the same day that Queen Elizabeth was crowned.

427. The Faithful of Ipswich

A complaint against such as favoured the gospel in Ipswich, exhibited to Queen Mary's council, sitting in commission at Beccles in Suffolk, the eighteenth of May, anno 1556, by Philip Williams, alias Footman, John Steward, and Matthew Butler, sworn for the purpose.

The names of such as fled out of the town, and lurked in secret places.

St. Mary Tower:

Robert Patrick.

Rose Nottingham, daughter of William Nottingham the elder.

St. Laurence:

Anne Fenne, servant to Robert Nottingham.

Andrew Ingforby, his wife and daughter.

Thomas Thompson, shoemaker, supposed to have received but twice these seventeen years.

Martin Algate, locksmith, his wife.

St. Margaret's:

William Pickess, tanner.

John Whoodles, coverlet weaver, and his wife. William Harset, bricklayer.

Thomas Flower, shoemaker.

William Wright's wife, at the windmill.

Laurence Waterward, late curate, born in a town called Chorley, in Lancashire.

St. Nicholas:

Widow Swaine.

Matthew Bird and his wife.

Stephen Greenwich and his wife.

William Coleman, servant to the said Stephen.

Robert Coleman and his wife.

Roger Laurence, alias Sparrow.

John Carlton, saddler.

William Coleman.

James Hearst's wife.

St. Peter's:

Richard Hover, apprentice with Nicholas Nottingham.

Richard Hedley, a seller of heretical books.

St. Stephen's: James Bocking, shoemaker: his wife.

John Rawe, late servant to James Ashley.

William Palmer, Richard Rich-man, John Deersley, servants to Stephen Green, shoemaker.

Richard Richman, shoemaker: his wife, daughter to mother Fenkel, midwife.

St. Clement's: Mistress Tooly, which departed to Dersham in Suffolk.

Agnes Wardall the elder, widow.

Robert Wardall her son.

St. Matthew's:

John Shoemaker and his wife.

The names of such as have not received the sacrament.

St. Clement's:

Robert Bray.

John Nottingham.

Agnes Wardall, wife of Robert Wardall.

Nicholas Nottingham.

Richard Mitchell.

William Jordane's wife.

Richard Butterall.

Robert Brown.

St. Peter's:

John Read.

Thomas Spurdance.

St. Peter's:

John, servant to Stephen Grinleff.

St. Stephen's:

Robert Scolding.

St. Margaret's:

John Greenwich and his wife.

St. Nicholas:

Thomas Sturgeon, mariner.

St. Mary Key:

John Finn's wife.

Robert Branstone, brother and servant to William Branstone.

St. Mary Tower:

Martin Johnson, who lieth bedrid.

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

St. Laurence:

Agnes, his keeper, and Bent Alceed, servants to Robert Nottingham.

St. Mary at Elms:

Robert Sylke's son.

John Ramsey and his wife, now in prison.

Names of such as observe not ceremonies.

St. Clement's:

Robert Cambridge refused the pax.

Robert Brage his wife refused to suffer any child to be dipped in the font.

Joan Barber, widow, and Thomasine her daughter, refused to behold the elevation of the sacrament.

Mistress Ponder, mother to Joan Barber, in the same fault.

Tye, a mariner's wife.

St. Mary at Elms:

Richard Haward refused the pax at mass in St. Laurence.

St. Peter's:

Master Lyons, at mass at St. Mary-Stoke, refused the pax.

Mother Fenkel, and Joan Ward, alias Bentley's wife, refused to have children dipped in the fonts.

St. Stephen's: Mother Beriff, midwife, refused to have children dipped in fonts.

St. Nicholas:

George Bush's wife rejected the host after receipt of it.

Names of priests' wives, that have access to their husbands.

Ralph Carlton's wife, curate of St. Matthew's, and St. Mary at Elms.

Elizabeth Cantrel, wife to Ralfe Cantrel.

Jane Barker, wife to Robert Barker, priest, late of Bury.

Latimer's wife, curate of St. Laurence and St. Stephen's.

William Gleark's wife, late curate of Barkham, and St. Mary at Elms.

Names of maintainers against this complaint.

Robert Sterop, customer to Queen Mary.

Gilbert Sterop, deputy to Edward Grimston, esquire, for his butlerage.

Master Butler the elder, searcher.

Mistress Tooly, swelling by too much riches into wealth.
Margaret Bray, who also presumeth upon the office of a midwife, not called.

St. Clement's:

Joan Barber, widow, and Mistress Bird, practising much wholesome counsel.

St. Mary Quay:

Bastian Man's wife; and he himself more rich than wise.

*The requests to punish and convent certain, whose ensample might reverse others
from their opinions: as,*

"To convent Richard Bird, jailer, who by evil counsel doth animate his prisoners of his sect. Also for that he with his wife did check us openly with unseemly words, tending almost to a tumult.

"To convent Thomas Sadler, for certain words spoken to John Bate, the crier of the town, the sixth of May. That it may please the bishop to wish his commissary and official to be upright and diligent in their office, and to appoint a curate of more ability to feed his cure with God's word.

"That none may be suffered to be midwives, but such as are catholic, because of evil counsel at such times as the necessity of women's travail shall require a number of women assembled.

"That Ralph Carlton, curate, may be convented, whether by corruption of money he hath crossed his book of any that are there named, and hath not received indeed, as it is reported."

428. The Lady Elizabeth

The miraculous preservation of the Lady Elizabeth, now Queen of England, from extreme calamity and danger of life; in the time of Queen Mary, her sister.



Interior of the White Tower (Tower of London)

Having thus, by the power of the Almighty, plainly and truly displayed the cruel practices and horrible persecutions of Queen Mary's reign, freely and boldly describing her tragical story, (where view is to be had of many things no less marvellous than miserable, no less dangerous than dolorous, no less uncharitable than unnatural,) and now, orderly coming to the flourishing and long-wished for reign of the most noble, virtuous, and renowned sister of the said Mary, this our dread and sovereign mistress and governess, Queen Elizabeth, I thought my travelled pen not a little refreshed with ease and gladness; not so much, for that having now overpassed the bitter and sorrowful matters of such terrible burning, imprisoning, murdering, famishing, racking, and tormenting, and spiteful handling, of the pitiful bodies of Christ's blessed saints, as also for that we are now entering into the time and reign of such a worthy princess and queen; the remembrance and story whereof ministereth not so much unto me matter to write upon, as also delectation to labour and travail about the same. For what man, reputed with himself the singular ornaments and noble graces given of God to this so princely a lady and puissant princess, the mildness of her nature, the clemency of her royal estate and majesty, the peaceableness of her reign, who, a virgin, so mildly ruleth men, governeth her subjects, keepeth all things in order, quieteth foreign nations, recovereth towns, enlargeth her kingdom, nourisheth and concilieth amity, uniteth hearts and love with foreign enemies, helpeth neighbours, reformeth religion, quencheth persecution, redresseth the dross, frameth things out of joint, so feared with such love, and so loved with such fear,-- what man, considering this, I say, either can hold his pen, though he never wrote before, or, being never so much wearied with writing, will not shake off all tediousness; entering into a matter so pleasant and delectable to entreat upon. For what can be more delectable and pleasant, than to run into such a field, to give virtue his commendation, which in all persons, as Plato saith, stirreth up great love, but especially in a prince; and, in such a prince, what natural subject will it not delight, not only to behold, but also to extend his travail and diligence in extolling and setting forth the same.

And first, to begin with our thanks, most due, to Almighty God, what cause have we all Englishmen so to do, that is, to render most ample thanksgiving to the mercifulness of God, who hath granted, conserved, and advanced, to the seat-regal of this realm, so good, godly, and virtuous a queen; such a chosen instrument of his clemency, so virtuously natured, so godly disposed, so merciful without marring, so humble without pride, so moderate without prodigality, so maidenly without pomp, through whom we cannot deny, as amends and recompence, now to be made to England, for the cruel days that were before. For as then moderation had no place, but all was ruled by rigour, contrary now, clemency hath all the operation; and, as then was no end of butcherly killing, and bloody murdering, so now is no beginning yet found of spilling any drop of blood. In prosecuting the matter, I might here speak of the heady hastiness in Queen Mary's days, in proceeding without, and before, any law, by mere affection. Bishops that were married, thrust out of parliament, and all married deans and archdeacons out of the convocation; many put out of their livings, and others restored before any law. Yea, some noblemen and gentlemen deprived of their lands given them by the king, for Winchester to be inducted. Many churches changed, many altars set up, many masses said, many diriges sung, before the law was repealed; all was done in post haste. Now we see things done with more advisement and less haste, no man now presuming to violate orders godly taken, or to stir the people to change what they list, before order be published by law. And as we have

seen the coming in, the proceeding, and the ending, of the one, so let us compare, withal, the conditions of the other. She cometh in like a mother, not like a step-dame; like a lamb, not like a lion; she rusheth not in to bang and draw; her Majesty beheadeth none, burneth none, spoileth none, forgiveth all; well considering the counsel of the poet, denying *gravius esse imperium vi quod fit quam quod amicitia adjungitur*, that is, "that kingdom to be more firm and sure, which standeth by coaction, than what is governed with gentleness." Wherefore what cause we have to render thanks and supplications for this so worthy and excellent a prince, let all Englishmen's hearts examine and consider with themselves.

And thus our duties first premised, and thanks considered, which we justly owe to Almighty God for his blessed preservation and happy advancement of this our queen and governor, now, forasmuch as we have to enter to the time of this her Majesty's reign, the order and course of the history so requireth, before we proceed in other affairs, first, a little to persist in setting forth some part of her princely life, and singular worthiness; albeit I am not ignorant how hard a matter it is to intermeddle with princes' lives, themselves yet being alive; lest, either for flattery a man shall seem to say too much, or, saying no more than truth, to say too little. Whereof, like as I am not ignorant, so neither am I greatly afraid, first, and chiefly, considering with myself her Majesty's clemency; secondly, for that the sequel of the history so provoked me; thirdly, and moreover, for that necessity also somewhat inciteth me unto the same; fearing lest, as it happened to King Edward, her Grace's brother, the like may happen to her Majesty also; that, as he being alive, every man could extol him, but, being now gone, it is not yet seen any to have taken the pains to furnish his story; so likewise if now, in her lifetime, nothing be spoken, peradventure, when nature shall finish her course, less will be said hereafter.

First therefore, to begin with her princely birth; being born at Greenwich, anno 1533, of the famous and victorious prince, King Henry the Eighth, and of the noble and most virtuous Lady, Queen Anne, her mother -- sufficient is committed to the story before; also of the solemn celebration of her baptism, in the said town, and Grey Friars' church, of Greenwich; having to her godfather, Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury. After that, she was committed to godly tutors and governors, under whose institution her Grace did so greatly increase, or rather excel, in all manner of virtue and knowledge of learning, that I stand in a doubt, whether is more to be commended in this behalf, the studious diligence of them that brought her up, or the singular towardness of her own princely nature, to all virtuous dispositions so apt and inclinable; being, notwithstanding, both the gifts of God, for which we are all bound to give him thanks. What tongue is it that her Grace knoweth not? what language can she not speak? what liberal art or science hath not she learned? and what virtue, wherewith her noble breast is not garnished? In counsel and wisdom, what counsellor will go beyond her Majesty? If the goodness of nature, joined with the industry of her Grace's institution, had not been in her marvellous, how many things were there, besides the natural infirmity of that sex, the tenderness of youth, the nobility of estate, allurements of the world, persuasions of flatterers, abundance of wealth and pleasures, examples of the court, enough to carry her Grace away, (after the common fashion and rule of many other ladies,) from gravity to lightness, from study to ease, from wisdom to vanity, from religion to superstition, from godliness to gawishness, to be pricked up in pride, to be garish in apparel, to be fierce in condition! Eloquently it is spoken, and discreetly meant, of Tully, the eloquent orator: "To live," saith he, "a

good man in other places, is no great matter; but in Asia, to keep a sober and temperate life, that is a matter indeed praiseworthy:"-- so here, why may I not affirm, without flattery, what every man's conscience can testify? In that age, that sex, in such state and fortune, in so great occasions, so many incitements, in all these to retain so sober conversation, so temperate condition, such mildness of manners, such humbleness of stomach, such clemency in forgiving, such travailing in study, briefly, in the midst of Asia, so far to degenerate from all Asia, it hath not lightly been seen in Europe. Hitherto it hath been seen in very few, whereby it may appear, not only what education or what nature may do, but what God, above nature, hath wrought in her noble breast; adorning it with so worthy virtues, of which her princely qualities and virtuous dispositions, such as have been conversant with her youth, can better testify.

That which I have seen and read, I trust I may boldly repeat without suspicion, either of feigning or flattery. For so I have read, written and testified of her Grace, by one both learned, and also that can say something in this matter; who, in a certain book, by him set forth, entreating of her Grace's virtuous bringing up, what discreet, sober, and godly women she had about her, namely, speaketh of two points in her Grace to be considered; one, concerning her moderate and maidenly behaviour; the other, concerning her training up in learning and good letters. Declaring first, for her virtuous moderation of life; that seven years after her father's death, she had so little pride of stomach, so little delight in glistering gazes of the world, in gay apparel, rich attire, and precious jewels, that, in all that time, she never looked upon those that her father left her, (and which other ladies commonly be so fond upon,) but only once, and that against her will. And moreover, after that, she so little gloried in the same, that there came neither gold nor stone upon her head, till her sister enforced her to lay off her former soberness, and bear her company in her glistering gains; yea, and then she so wore it, as every man might see, that her body bore that which her heart misliked; wherein the virtuous prudence of this princess, not reading, but following, the words of Paul and Peter, well considered true nobility to consist, not in circumstances of the body, but in substance of the heart; not in such things which deck the body, but in that which dignifieth the mind; shining and blazing more bright than pearl or stone, be it never so precious. Again, the said author, further proceeding in the same matter, thus testifieth: that he knew a great man's daughter, receiving from Lady Mary, before she was queen, goodly apparel of tinsel cloth of gold, and velvet laid on with parchment lace of gold; when she saw it she said, "What shall I do with it?" "Marry," said a gentlewoman, "wear it." "Nay," quoth she, "that were a shame to follow my Lady Mary against God's word, and leave my Lady Elizabeth which followeth God's word." Let noble ladies and gentlewomen here learn, either to give or to take good example given; and if they disdain to teach their inferiors in well-doing, yet let it not shame them to learn of their betters. Likewise also at the coming in of the Scottish queen, when all the other ladies of the court flourished in their bravery, with their hair frowsened, and curled, and double curled, yet she altered nothing, but, to the shame of them all, kept her old maidenly shamefacedness.

Let us now come to the second point, declaring how she hath been trained in learning, and that, not vulgar and common, but the purest and the best, which is most commended at these days; as the tongues, arts, and God's word; wherein she so exceedingly profited, as the aforesaid author doth witness, that, being under twenty years of age, she was not, in the best kind of learning, inferior to those that all their lifetime had been brought up in the universities, and were counted jolly fellows. And,

that you may understand that there hath not been nor is in her learning only without nature, and knowledge without towardness to practise, I will tell what hath been heard of her first schoolmaster, a man very honest and learned, who reported of her to a friend of his, that he learned every day more of her than she of him; which, when it seemed to him a mystery, (as indeed it was,) and therefore desired to know his meaning therein, he thus expounded it: "I teach her words," quoth he, "and she me, things. I teach her the tongues to speak, and her modest and maidenly life teacheth me words to do; for" saith he, "I think she is the best inclined and disposed of any in all Europe." It seemed to me a goodly commendation of her, and a witty saying of him. Likewise an Italian which taught her his tongue (though that nation lightly praise not out of their own country) said once to the said party, that he found in her two qualities which are never, lightly, yokefellows in one woman; which were, a singular wit, and a marvellous meek stomach.

If time and leisure would serve to peruse her whole life past, many other excellent and memorable examples of her princely qualities and singular virtues might here be noted; but none in my mind more worthy of commendation, or that shall set forth the fame of her heroical and princely renown more to all posterity, than the Christian patience and incredible clemency of her nature, showed in her afflictions, and towards her enemies declared. Such was then the wickedness and rage of that time, wherein what dangers and troubles were among the inferior subjects of this realm of England may be easily gathered, when such a princess of that estate, being both a king's daughter, a queen's sister, an heir apparent to the crown, could not escape without her cross; and therefore, as we have hitherto discoursed the afflictions and persecutions of the other poor members of Christ, comprehended in this history before, so likewise I see no cause why the communion of her Grace's afflictions also, among the other saints of Christ, ought to be suppressed in silence, especially seeing that the great and marvellous working of God's glory, chiefly in this story, appeareth above all the rest. And though I should, through ingratitude or silence, pass over the same, yet the thing itself is so manifest, that, what Englishman is he which knoweth not the afflictions of her Grace, to have been far above the condition of a king's daughter? for there was no more behind to make a very Iphigenia of her, but her offering up upon the altar of the scaffold; in which her storms and tempests, with what patience her Highness behaved herself, although it be best known to those who, then being her adversaries, had the mewing of her, yet this will I say by the way, that, then, she must needs be in her affliction marvellous patient, who showed herself now, in this prosperity, to be utterly without desire of revenge; or else would she have given some token, ere this day, of remembrance how she was handled. It was no small injury that she suffered in the lord protector's days, by certain venomous vipers. But, to let that pass, was it no wrong, think you, or small injury that she sustained, after the death of King Edward, when they sought to defeat both her and her sister, from her natural inheritance and right of the crown.

But when all hath been said and told, whatsoever can be recited touching the admirable working of God's present hand in defending and delivering any one person out of thralldom, never was there, since the memory of our fathers, any example to be showed, wherein the Lord's mighty power hath more admirably and blessedly showed itself, to the glory of his own name, and to the comfort of all good hearts, and to the public felicity of this whole realm, than in the miraculous custody and out-scape of

this OUR SOVEREIGN LADY, now QUEEN, then Lady Elizabeth, in the strait time of Queen Mary her sister.

In which story we first have to consider in what extreme misery, sickness, fear, and peril her Highness was; into what care, what trouble of mind, and what danger of death she was brought: first, with great routs and bands of armed men, (and happy was he that might have the carrying of her,) being fetched up as the greatest traitor in the world, clapped in the Tower, and again tossed from thence, and from house to house, from prison to prison, from post to pillar, at length also prisoner in her own house, and guarded with a sort of cut-throats, which ever gaped for the spoil, whereby they might be fingering of somewhat.

Secondly, we have to consider again, all this notwithstanding, how strangely, or rather miraculously, she was delivered from danger, what favour and grace she found with the Almighty; who, when all help of man and hope of recovery was past, stretched out his mighty protection, and preserved her and placed her in this princely seat of rest and quietness, wherein now she sitteth; and long may she sit, the Lord of his glorious mercy grant, we beseech him.

In which story, if I should set forth, at large and at full, all the particulars and circumstances thereunto belonging, and as just occasion of the history requireth; besides the importunate length of the story discoursed, peradventure it might move offence to some being yet alive, and truth might get me hatred. Yet notwithstanding, I intend (by the grace of Christ) therein to use such brevity and moderation, as both may be to the glory of God, the discharge of the story, the profit of the reader, and hurt to none; suppressing the names of some, whom here, although I could recite, yet I thought not to be more cruel in hurting their names, than the queen hath been merciful in pardoning their lives.

Therefore now, to enter into the discourse of this tragical matter, first here is to be noted, that Queen Mary, when she was first queen, before she was crowned, would go no whither, but would have her by the hand, and send for her to dinner and supper: but, after she was crowned, she never dined nor supped with her, but kept her aloof from her, &c. After this it happened, immediately upon the rising of Sir Thomas Wyatt, (as before was mentioned,) that the Lady Elizabeth and the Lord Courteney were charged with false suspicion of Sir Thomas Wyatt's rising. Whereupon Queen Mary, whether for that surmise, or for what other cause I know not, being offended with the said Lady Elizabeth her sister, at that time lying in her house at Ashridge, the next day after the rising of Wyatt, sent to her three of her councillors, to wit, Sir Richard Southwell, Sir John Williams, Sir Edward Hastings, (then master of the horse,) and Sir Thomas Cornwallis, with their retinue and troop of horsemen, to the number of two hundred and fifty; who at their sudden and unprovided coming, found her at the same time sore sick in her bed, and very feeble and weak of body. Whither when they came, ascending up to her Grace's chamber, they willed one of her ladies, whom they met, to declare unto her Grace, that there were certain come from the court, which had a message from the queen.

Her Grace, having knowledge thereof, was right glad of their coming: howbeit, being then very sick, and the night far spent, (which was at ten of the clock,) she requested them by the messenger, that they would resort thither in the morning.

To this they answered, and by the said messenger sent word again, that they must needs see her, and would so do, in what case soever she were. Whereat the lady being aghast, went to show her Grace their words, but they, hastily following her, came rushing as soon as she into her Grace's chamber, unbidden. At whose so sudden coming into her bedchamber, her Grace, being not a little amazed, said unto them, "Is the haste such, that it might not have pleased you to come to-morrow in the morning?" They made answer, that they were right sorry to see her in that case. "And I," quoth she, "am not glad to see you here, at this time of the night." Whereunto they answered, that they came from the queen to do their message and duty, which was to this effect, that the queen's pleasure was, that she should be at London the seventh day of that present month. Whereunto she said, "Certes, no creature more glad than I to come to her Majesty, being right sorry that I am not in case at this time to wait on her, as you yourselves do see, and can well testify." "Indeed we see it true," quoth they, "that you do say; for which we are very sorry. Albeit, we let you to understand, that our commission is such, and so straiteneth us, that we must needs bring you with us, either quick or dead." Whereat she, being amazed, sorrowfully said, that their commission was very sore; but yet, notwithstanding, she hoped it to be otherwise, and not so strait. "Yes, verily," said they. Whereupon they, calling for two physicians, Dr. Owen and Dr. Wendy, demanded of them whether she might be removed from thence with life, or no; whose answer and judgment was, that there was no impediment in their judgment to the contrary, but that she might travel without danger of life.

In conclusion, they willed her to prepare against the next morning at nine of the clock, to go with them, declaring that they had brought with them the queen's litter for her. After much talk, the messengers declaring how there was no prolonging of times and days, so departed to their chamber, being entertained and cheered, as appertained to their Worships.

On the next morrow at the time prescribed, they had her forth as she was, very faint and feeble, and in such case that she was ready to swoon three or four times between them. What should I speak here, that cannot well be expressed, what a heavy house there was to behold the unreverent and doleful dealing of these men, but especially the carnal fear and captivity of their innocent lady and mistress.

Now to proceed in her journey from Ashridge, all sick in the litter, she came to Redbourn, where she was guarded all night. From thence to St. Alban's, to Sir Ralph Rowlet's house, where she tarried that night, both feeble in body and comfortless in mind. From that place they passed to Master Dodde's house at Mimms, where also they remained that night: and so from thence she came to Highgate, where she, being very sick, tarried that night and the next day; during which time of her abode, there came many pursuivants and messengers from the court; but for what purpose I cannot tell. From that place she was conveyed to the court, where by the way came to meet her many gentlemen, to accompany her Highness, which were very sorry to see her in that case. But especially a great multitude of people there were standing by the way, who then flocking about her litter, lamented and bewailed greatly her estate.

Now when she came to the court, her Grace was there straightways shut up, and kept as close prisoner a fortnight, which was till Palm Sunday, seeing neither king nor queen, nor lord nor friend, all that time, but only the then lord chamberlain, Sir John Gage, and the vice-chamberlain, which were attendant unto the doors. About

which time Sir William Sentlowe was called before the council; to whose charge was laid, that he knew of Wyatt's rebellion, which he stoutly denied, protesting that he was a true man both to God and his prince, defying all traitors and rebels. But, being straitly examined, he was in conclusion committed to the Tower.

The Friday before Palm Sunday, the bishop of Winchester, with nineteen other of the council, (who shall be here nameless,) came unto her Grace from the queen's Majesty, and burdened her with Wyatt's conspiracy, which she utterly denied, affirming that she was altogether guiltless therein. They, being not contented with this, charged her Grace with business made by Sir Peter Carew, and the rest of the gentlemen of the west country: which also she utterly denying, cleared her innocency therein.

In conclusion, after long debating of matters, they declared unto her, that it was the queen's will and pleasure that she should go unto the Tower, while the matter were further tried and examined. Whereat she, being aghast, said, that she trusted the queen's Majesty would be a more gracious lady unto her, and that her Highness would not otherwise conceive of her but that she was a true woman: declaring furthermore to the lords, that she was innocent in all those matters wherein they had burdened her, and desired them therefore to be a further mean to the queen her sister, that she, being a true woman in thought, word, and deed, towards her Majesty, might not be committed to so notorious and doleful a place; protesting that she would request no favour at her hand, if she should be proved to have consented unto any such kind of matter as they laid unto her charge; and therefore, in fine, desired their Lordships to think of her what she was, and that she might not so extremely be dealt withal for her truth. Whereunto the lords answered again, that there was no remedy, for that the queen's Majesty was fully determined that she should go unto the Tower: wherewith the lords departed, with their caps hanging over their eyes.

But not long after, within the space of an hour or little more, came four of the foresaid lords of the council, which were the lord treasurer, the bishop of Winchester, the lord steward, the earl of Sussex, with the guard; who, warding the next chamber to her, secluded all her gentlemen and yeomen, ladies and gentlewomen; saving that for one gentleman-usher, three gentlewomen, and two grooms of her chamber, were appointed, in their rooms, three other men of the queen's, and three waiting women to give attendance upon her, that none should have access to her Grace. At which time there were a hundred of northern soldiers in white coats, watching and warding about the gardens all that night; a great fire being made in the midst of the hall, and two certain lords watching there also, with their band and company.

Upon Saturday following, two lords of the council (the one was the earl of Sussex, the other shall be nameless) came and certified her Grace, that forthwith she must go unto the Tower, the barge being prepared for her, and the tide now ready, which tarrieth for nobody. In heavy mood her Grace requested the lords that she might tarry another tide, trusting that the next would be better and more comfortable. But one of the lords replied, that neither time nor tide was to be delayed. And when her Grace requested him that she might be suffered to write to the queen's Majesty, he answered, that he durst not permit that; adding, that in his judgment it would rather hurt, than profit her Grace, in so doing. But the other lord, more courteous and favourable, (who was the earl of Sussex,) kneeling down, told her Grace that she

should have liberty to write, and, as he was a true man, he would deliver it to the queen's Highness, and bring an answer of the same, whatsoever came thereof. Whereupon she wrote, albeit she could in no case be suffered to speak with the queen, to her great discomfort, being no offender against the queen's Majesty.

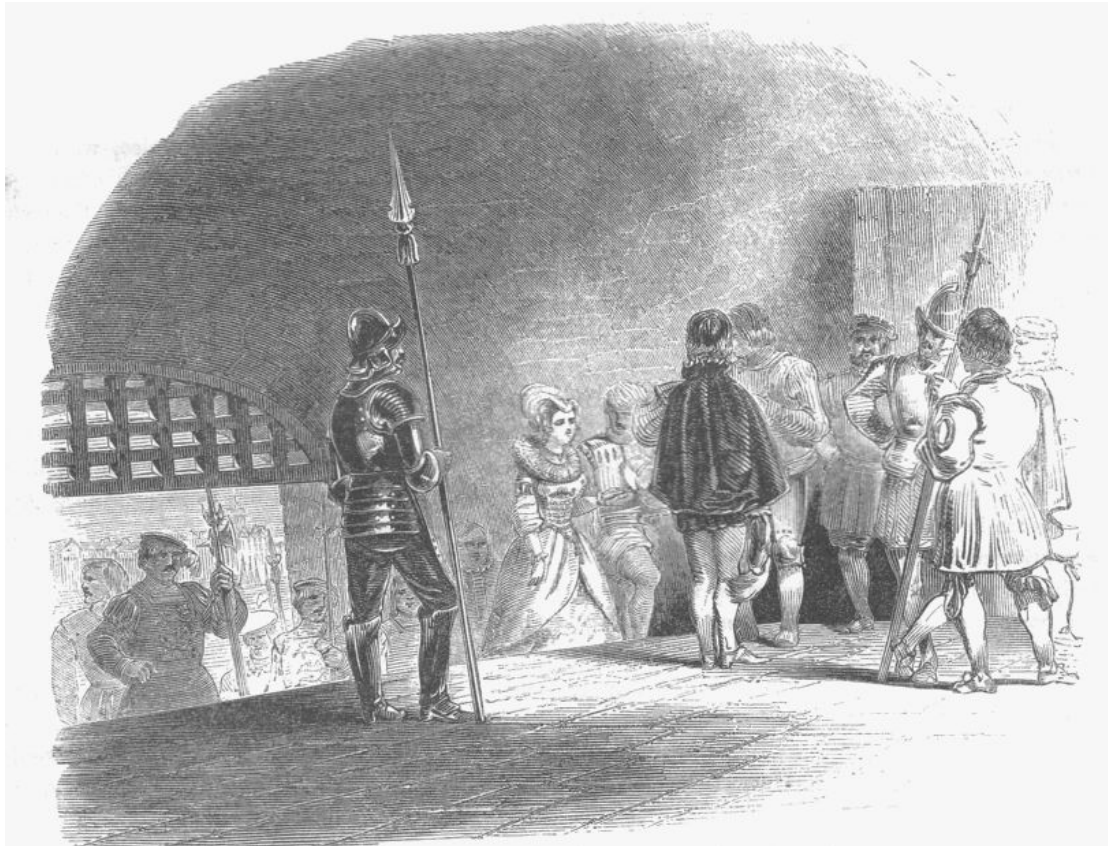
And thus the time and tide passed away for that season, they privily appointing all things ready that she should go the next tide, which fell about midnight; but for fear she should be taken by the way, they durst not. So they staid till the next day, being Palm Sunday, when, about nine of the clock, these two returned again, declaring that it was time for her Grace to depart. She answered, "If there be no remedy, I must be contented;" willing the lords to go on before. Being come forth into the garden, she did cast her eyes towards the window, thinking to have seen the queen, which she could not: whereat she said, she marvelled much what the nobility of the realm meant, which in that sort would suffer her to be led into captivity, the Lord knew whither, for she did not. In the mean time, commandment was given in all London, that every one should keep the church, and carry their palms, while in the mean season she might be conveyed without all recourse of people into the Tower.

After all this, she took her barge with the two foresaid lords, three of the queen's gentlewomen, and three of her own, her gentleman-usher, and two of her grooms, lying and hovering upon the water a certain space, for that they could not shoot the bridge, the bargemen being very unwilling to shoot the same so soon as they did, because of the danger thereof: for the stern of the boat struck upon the ground, the fall was so big, and the water was so shallow, that the boat being under the bridge, there staid again awhile. At landing she first stayed, and denied to land at those stairs where all traitors and offenders customably used to land, neither well could she, unless she should go over her shoes. The lords were gone out of the boat before, and asked why she came not. One of the lords went back again to her, and brought word she would not come. Then said one of the lords, which shall be nameless, that she should not choose: and because it did then rain, he offered to her his cloak, which she, putting it back with her hand with a good dash, refused. So she coming out, having one foot upon the stair, said, "Here landeth as true a subject, being prisoner, as ever landed at these stairs; and before thee, O God! I speak it, having no other friends but thee alone." To whom the same lord answered again, that if it were so, it was the better for her.

At her landing there was a great multitude of their servants and warders standing in their order. "What needed all this?" said she. "It is the use," said some, "so to be, when any prisoner comes thither." "And if it be," quoth she, "for my cause, I beseech you that they may be dismissed." , Whereat the poor men kneeled down, and with one voice desired God to preserve her Grace; who the next day were released of their cold coats.

After this, passing a little further, she sat down upon a cold stone, and there rested herself. To whom the lieutenant then being said, "Madam, you were best to come out of the rain; for you sit unwholesomely." She then replying, answered again, "It is better sitting here, than in a worse place; for God knoweth, I know not whither you will bring me." With that her gentleman-usher wept: she demanding of him what he meant so uncomfortably to use her, seeing she took him to be her comforter, and

not to dismay her; especially for that she knew her truth to be such, that no man should have cause to weep for her. But forth she went into the prison.



Elizabeth Arriving at the Tower

The doors were locked and bolted upon her, which did not a little discomfort and dismay her Grace: at what time she called to her gentlewoman for her book, desiring God not to suffer her to build her foundation upon the sands, but upon the rock, whereby all blasts of blustering weather should have no power against her. The doors being thus locked, and she close shut up, the lords had great conference how to keep ward and watch, every man declaring his own opinion in that behalf, agreeing straitly and circumspectly to keep her.

Then one of them, which was the lord of Sussex, swearing, said, "My Lords, let us take heed, and do no more than our commission will bear us out in, whatsoever shall happen hereafter. And further, let us consider that she was the king our master's daughter: and therefore let us use such dealing, that we may answer it hereafter, if it shall so happen: for just dealing," quoth he, "is always answerable." Whereunto the other lords agreed that it was well said of him, and thereupon departed. Being in the Tower, within two days commandment was, that she should have mass within her house. One Master Young was then her chaplain, and because there were none of her men so well learned to help the priest to say mass, the mass staid for that day.

The next day two of her yeomen, who had gone long to school before, and were learned, had two abecies provided, and delivered them; so that upon the abecies they should help the priest. One of the said yeomen, holding the abecie in his hand, pretending ignorance at Kyrie Eleison, set the priest, making as though he could answer no further.

It would make a pitiful and a strange story, here by the way to touch and recite what examination and rackings of poor men there were, to find out that knife that should cut her throat; what gaping among my lords of the clergy, to see the day wherein they might wash their goodly white rockets in her innocent blood; but especially the bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner, then lord chancellor, ruler of the roost, who then, within five days after, came unto her, with divers other of the council, and examined her of the talk that was at Ashridge, betwixt her and Sir James Croft, concerning her removing from thence to Donnington castle, requiring her to declare what she meant thereby.

At the first she, being so suddenly asked, did not well remember any such house; but within awhile, well advising herself, she said, "Indeed," quoth she, "I do now remember that I have such a place, but I never lay in it in all my life. And as for any that hath moved me thereunto, I do not remember."

Then, to enforce the matter, they brought forth Sir James Croft. The bishop of Winchester demanded of her, what she said to that man. She answered, that she had little to say to him, or to the rest that were then prisoners in the Tower. "But my Lords," quoth she, "you do examine every mean prisoner of me, wherein, methinks, you do me great injury. If they have done evil, and offended the queen's Majesty, let them answer to it accordingly. I beseech you, my Lords, join not me, in this sort, with any of these offenders. And as concerning my going unto Donnington castle, I do remember that Master Hobby and mine officers, and you, Sir James Croft, had such talk; but what is that to the purpose, my Lords, but that I may go to mine own houses at all times?"

The lord of Arundel, kneeling down, said, "Your Grace saith true, and certainly we are very sorry that we have so troubled you about so vain matters." She then said, "My Lords, you do sift me very narrowly; but well I am assured, you shall not do more to me than God hath appointed; and so God forgive you all."

At their departure Sir James Croft kneeled down, declaring that he was sorry to see the day in which he should be brought as a witness against her Grace. "But I assure your Grace," said he, "I have been marvellously tossed and examined touching your Highness, which (the Lord knoweth) is very strange to me: for, I take God to record before all your Honours, I do not know any thing of that crime that you have laid to my charge, and will thereupon take my death, if I should be driven to so strict a trial.

That day, or thereabouts, divers of her own officers, who had made provision for her diet, brought the same to the outer gate of the Tower, the common rascal soldiers receiving it; which was no small grief unto the gentlemen, the bringers thereof. Wherefore they required to speak with the lord chamberlain, being then constable of the Tower; who, coming before his presence, declared unto his Lordship,

that they were much afraid to bring her Grace's diet, and to deliver it unto such common and desperate persons as they were, which did receive it, beseeching his Honour to consider her Grace, and to give such order, that her viands might at all times be brought in by them which were appointed thereunto. "Yea, sirs," said he, "who appointed you this office?" They answered, "Her Grace's council." "Council!" uoth he; "there is none of them which hath to do either in that case, or any thing else, within this place. And I assure you, for that she is a prisoner, she shall be served with the lieutenant's men, as other the prisoners are." Whereat the gentlemen said, that they trusted for more favour at his hands, considering her personage; saying, that they mistrusted not, but that the queen and her council would be better to her Grace than so. And therewith showed themselves to be offended at the ungrateful words of the lord chamberlain towards their lady and mistress. At this he sware by God, (striking himself upon the breast,) that if they did either frown or shrug at him, he would set them where they should see neither sun nor moon. Thus taking their leave, they desired God to bring him into a better mind toward her Grace, and departed from him.

Upon the occasion whereof, her Grace's officers made great suit unto the queen's council, that some might be appointed to bring her diet unto her, and that it might no more be delivered unto the common soldiers of the Tower; which being reasonably considered, was by them granted. And thereupon were appointed one of her gentlemen, her clerk of her kitchen, and her two purveyors, to bring in her provision once a day: all which was done, the warders ever waiting upon the bringers thereof.

The lord chamberlain himself, being always with them, circumspectly and narrowly watched and searched what they brought, and gave heed that they should have no talk with any of her Grace's waiting servants; and so warded them both in and out. At the said suit of her officers, were sent by the commandment of the council, to wait upon her Grace, two yeomen of her chamber, one of her robes, two of her pantry and every, one of her buttery, another of her cellar, two of her kitchen, and one of her larder; all which continued with her the time of her trouble.

Here the constable, being at the first not very well pleased with the coming-in of such a company against his will, would have had his men still to have served with her Grace's men; which her servants at no hand would suffer, desiring his Lordship to be contented, for that order was taken, that no stranger should come within their offices. At which answer being sore displeased, he brake out into these threatening words: "Well," said he, "I will handle you well enough." Then went he into the kitchen, and there would needs have his meat roasted with her Grace's meat, and said that his cook should come thither and dress it. To that her Grace's cook answered, "My Lord, I will never suffer any stranger to come about her diet, but her own sworn men, so long as I live." He said, they should. But the cook said, his Lordship should pardon him for that matter. Thus did he trouble her poor servants very stoutly; though afterward he was otherwise advised, and they more courteously used at his hands. And good cause why; for he had good cheer, and fared of the best, and her Grace paid well for it. Wherefore he used himself afterward more reverently toward her Grace.

After this sort, having lien a whole month there in close prison, and being very evil at ease there-withal, she sent for the lord chamberlain, and the Lord Chandos, to come and speak with her; who coming, she requested them that she might have liberty

to walk in some place, for that she felt herself not well. To the which they answered, that they were right sorry that they could not satisfy her Grace's request; for that they had commandment to the contrary, which they durst not in any wise break. Furthermore she desired of them, if that could not be granted, that she might walk but into the queen's lodging. No, nor yet that (they answered) could by any means be obtained without a further suit to the queen and her council. "Well," said she, "my Lords, if the matter be so hard, that they must be sued unto for so small a thing, and that friendship be so strict, God comfort me." And so they departed, she remaining in her old dungeon still, without any kind of comfort but only God.

The next day after the Lord Chandos came again unto her Grace, declaring unto her, that he had sued unto the council for further liberty. Some of them consented thereunto, divers other dissented, for that there were so many prisoners in the Tower. But, in conclusion, they did all agree that her Grace might walk into those lodgings, so that he and the lord chamberlain, and three of the queen's gentlewomen, did accompany her, the windows being shut, and she not suffered to look out at any of them: wherewith she contented herself, and gave him thanks for his good will in that behalf.

Afterwards there was liberty granted to her Grace to walk in a little garden, the doors and gates being shut up, which notwithstanding was as much discomfort unto her, as the walk in the garden was pleasant and acceptable. At which times of her walking there, the prisoners on that side straitly were commanded not to speak or look out at the windows into the garden, till her Grace were gone out again, having, in consideration thereof, their keepers waiting upon them for that time. Thus her Grace, with this small liberty, contented herself in God, to whom be praise there-for.

During this time, there used a little boy, a man's child in the Tower, to resort to their chambers, and many times to bring her Grace flowers, which likewise he did to the other prisoners that were there. Whereupon, naughty and suspicious heads, thinking to make and wring out some matter thereof, called on a time the child unto them, promising him figs and apples, and asked of him when he had been with the earl of Devonshire, not ignorant of the child's wonted frequenting unto him. The boy answered, that he would go by and by thither. Further, they demanded of him, when he was with the Lady Elizabeth's Grace. He answered, "Every day." Furthermore, they examined him, what the lord of Devonshire sent by him to her Grace. The child said, "I will go know, what he will give to carry to her." Such was the discretion of the child, being yet but four years of age. "This same is a crafty boy," quoth the lord chamberlain: "how say you, my Lord Chandos?" "I pray you, my Lord," quoth the boy, "give me the figs you promised me." "No, marry," quoth he, "thou shalt be whipped, if thou come any more to the Lady Elizabeth, or the Lord Courteney." The boy answered, "I will bring my Lady my mistress more flowers." Whereupon the child's father was commanded to permit the boy no more to come up into their chambers.

The next day, as her Grace was walking in the garden, the child, peeping in at a hole in the door, cried unto her, saying, "Mistress, I can bring you no more flowers." Whereat she smiled, but said nothing, understanding thereby what they had done. Wherefore afterwards the chamberlain rebuked highly his father, commanding him to

put him out of the house. "Alas, poor infant!" quoth the father. "It is a crafty knave," quoth the lord chamberlain; "let me see him here no more."

The fifth day of May, the constable of the Tower was discharged of his office of the Tower, and one Sir Henry Benifield placed in his room, a man unknown to her Grace, and therefore the more feared; which so sudden mutation was unto her no little amaze. He brought with him a hundred soldiers, in blue coats, wherewith she was marvellously discomfited, and demanded of such as were about her, whether the Lady Jane's scaffold were taken away or no; fearing, by reason of their coming, lest she should have played her part. To whom answer was made, that the scaffold was taken away, and that her Grace needed not to doubt of any such tyranny; for God would not suffer any such treason against her person. Wherewith being contented, but not altogether satisfied, she asked who Sir Henry Benifield was; and whether he was of that conscience, or no, that if her murdering were secretly committed to his charge he would see the execution thereof. She was answered, that they were ignorant what manner of man he was. Howbeit they persuaded her that God would not suffer such wickedness to proceed. "Well," quoth she, "God grant it be so. For thou, O God, canst mollify all such tyrannous hearts, and disappoint all such cruel purposes; and I beseech thee to hear me, thy creature, which am thy servant and at thy commandment, trusting by thy grace ever so to remain."

About which time it was spread abroad, that her Grace should be carried from thence by this new jolly captain and his soldiers; but whither, it could not be learned: which was unto her a great grief, especially for that such a company was appointed to her guard; requesting rather to continue there still, than to be led thence with such a sort of rascals. At last, plain answer was made by the Lord Chandos, that there was no remedy, but from thence she must needs depart to the manor of Woodstock, as he thought. Being demanded of her, for what cause: "For that," quoth he, "the Tower is like further to be furnished." She being desirous to know what he meant thereby, demanded, "Wherewith?" He answered, with such matter as the queen and council were determined in that behalf, whereof he had no knowledge; and so departed.

In conclusion, on Trinity Sunday, being the nineteenth day of May, she was removed from the Tower, the lord treasurer being then there, for the lading of her carts, and discharging the place of the same; where Sir Henry Benifield (being appointed her jailer) did receive her, with a company of rake-hells to guard her, besides the lord of Derby's band, waiting in the country about, for the moonshine in the water. Unto whom at length came my Lord of Tame, joined in commission with the said Sir Henry, for the safe guiding of her to prison; and they together conveyed her Grace to Woodstock, as hereafter followeth. The first day they conducted her to Richmond, where she continued all night, being restrained of her own men, which were lodged in out-chambers, and Sir Henry Benifield's soldiers appointed in their rooms to give attendance on her person. Whereat she being marvellously dismayed, thinking verily some secret mischief to be a-working towards her, called her gentleman-usher, and desired him with the rest of his company to pray for her: "For this night," quoth she, "I think to die."

Wherewith he being stricken to the heart, said, "God forbid that any such wickedness should be pretended against your Grace." So, comforting her as well as he

could, at last he burst out into tears, and went from her down into the court, where were walking the lord of Tame, and Sir Henry Benifield.

Then he, coming to the lord of Tame, (who had proffered to him much friendship,) desired to speak with him a word or two; unto whom he familiarly said, he would with all his heart. Which when Sir Henry, standing by, heard, he asked what the matter was. To whom the gentleman-usher answered, "No great matter, sir," said he, "but to speak with my Lord a word or two."

Then when the lord of Tame came to him, he spake on this wise: "My Lord," quoth he, "you have been always my good Lord, and so I beseech you to remain. The cause why I come to you at this time is, to desire your Honour unfeignedly to declare unto me, whether any danger is meant towards my mistress this night, or no; that I and my poor fellows may take such part as shall please God to appoint: for certainly we will rather die, than she should secretly and innocently miscarry." "Marry," said the lord of Tame, "God forbid that any such wicked purpose should be wrought; and rather than it should be so, I with my men are ready to die at her foot also." And so (praised be God) they passed that doleful night, with no little heaviness of heart.

Afterwards, passing over the water at Richmond, going towards Windsor, her Grace espied certain of her poor servants standing on the other side, which were very desirous to see her. Whom when she beheld, turning to one of her men standing by, she said, "Yonder I see certain of my men: go to them and say these words from me, Like a sheep to the slaughter."

So she passing forward to Windsor, was lodged there that night in the dean of Windsor's house, a place more meet indeed for a priest than a princess.

And from thence her Grace was guarded and brought the next night to Master Dormer's house, where, much people standing by the way, some presented to her one gift, and some another, so that Sir Henry was greatly moved therewith, and troubled the poor people very sore, for showing their loving hearts in such a manner, calling them rebels and traitors, with such-like vile words.

Besides, as she passed through the villages, the townsmen rang the bells, as being joyful of her coming, thinking verily it had been otherwise than it was indeed, as the sequel proved after to the said poor men. For immediately the said Sir Henry, hearing the same, sent his soldiers thither, who apprehended some of the ringers, setting them in the stocks, and otherwise uncourteously misusing other some for their good wills.

On the morrow, her Grace, passing from Master Dormer's, (where was, for the time of her abode there, a strait watch kept,) came to the lord of Tame's house, where she lay all the night, being very princely entertained both of knights and ladies, gentlemen and gentlewomen. Whereat Sir Henry Benifield grunted, and was highly offended, saying unto them, that they could not tell what they did, and were not able to answer their doings in that behalf; letting them to understand, that she was the queen's Majesty's prisoner, and no otherwise; advising them therefore to take heed and beware of after-claps. Whereunto the lord of Tame answered in this wise: that he was well advised of his doings, being joined in commission as well as he, adding with

warrant, that her Grace might and should in his house be merry. The next day, as she should take her journey from Ricot toward Woodstock, the lord of Tame with another gentleman being at tables, playing, and dropping vie crowns, the Lady Elizabeth, passing by, stayed and said she would see the game played out, which Sir Henry Benifield would scarce permit. The game running long about, and they playing drop vie crowns, "Come on," saith he. "I will tarry," saith she, "and will see this game out."

After this, Sir Henry went up into a chamber, where were appointed for her Grace a chair, two cushions, and a foot-carpet, very fair and princelike, wherein presumptuously he sat and called one Barwick, his man, to pull off his boots: which as soon as it was known among the ladies and gentles, every one mused thereat, and laughed him to scorn, observing his indiscreet manners in that behalf, as they might very well. When supper was done, he called my Lord, and willed him that all the gentlemen and ladies should withdraw themselves every one to his lodging, marvelling much that he would permit there such a company, considering so great a charge committed to him. "Sir Henry," quoth my Lord, "content yourself, all shall be voided, your men and all." "Nay, my soldiers," quoth Sir Henry, "shall watch all night." The lord of Tame answered, "It shall not need." "Well," said he, "need or need not, they shall so do;" mistrusting belike the company, which God knoweth was without cause.

The next day her Grace took her journey from thence to Woodstock, where she was enclosed, as before in the Tower of London, the soldiers guarding and warding both within and without the walls, every day to the number of threescore, and, in the night, without the walls, forty, during the time of her imprisonment there.

At length she had gardens appointed for her walk, which was very comfortable to her Grace. But always, when she did recreate herself therein, the doors were fast locked up, in as strict manner as they were in the Tower, being at the least five or six locks between her lodging and her walks; Sir Henry himself keeping the keys, and trusting no man therewith. Whereupon she called him her jailer; and he, kneeling down, desired her Grace not to call him so, for he was appointed there to be one of her officers. "From such officers," quoth she, "good Lord, deliver me!"

And now by the way, as digressing, or rather refreshing the reader, if it be lawful in so serious a story, to recite a matter incident, and yet not impertinent, to the same; occasion here moveth, or rather enforceth me, to touch briefly what happened in the same place and time by a certain merry-conceited man, being then about her Grace, who, noting the strait and strange keeping of his lady and mistress by the said Sir Henry Benifield, with so many locks and doors, with such watch and ward about her, as was strange and wonderful, spied a goat in the ward where her Grace was: and whether to refresh her oppressed mind, or to notify her strait handling by Sir Henry, or else both, he took it upon his neck, and followed her Grace therewith, as she was going into her lodging. Which when she saw, she asked him what he would do with it, willing him to let it alone. Unto whom the said party answered, "No, by St. Mary, (if it like your Grace,) will I not; for I cannot tell, whether he be one of the queen's friends, or no. I will carry him to Sir Henry Benifield, (God willing,) to know what he is." So leaving her Grace, he went with the goat on his neck, and carried it to Sir Henry Benifield, who, when he saw him coming with it, asked him, half angrily, what he had there. Unto whom the party answered, saying, "Sir," quoth he, "I cannot tell

what he is. I pray you examine him, for I found him in the place where my Lady's Grace was walking, and what talk they have had I cannot tell: for I understand him not. But he should seem to me to be some stranger, and I think verily a Welshman, for he hath a white frieze coat on his back. And forasmuch as I, being the queen's subject, and perceiving the strait charge committed to you of her keeping, that no stranger should have access to her without sufficient licence, I have here found a stranger (what he is I cannot tell) in the place where her Grace was walking; and therefore, for the necessary discharge of my duty, I thought it good to bring the said stranger to you, to examine, as you see cause;" and so he set him down. At which his words Sir Henry seemed much displeased, and said, "Well, well; you will never leave this gear I see:" and so they departed.

Now to return to the matter from whence we have digressed, after her Grace had been there a time, she made suit to the council that she might be suffered to write to the queen; which at last was permitted. So Sir Henry Benifield brought her pen, ink, and paper; and standing by her while she wrote, (which he straitly observed,) always, she being weary, he would carry away her letters, and bring them again when she called for them. In the finishing thereof, he would have been messenger to the queen of the same; whose request her Grace denied, saying, one of her own men should carry them; and that she would neither trust him nor any of his therein. Then he answered again, saying, "None of them durst be so bold," he trowed, "to carry her letters, being in that case." "Yes," quoth she, "I am assured I have none so dishonest that would deny my request in that behalf, but will be as willing to serve me now as before." "Well," said he, "my commission is to the contrary, and I may not so suffer it." Her Grace, replying again, said, "You charge me very often with your commission; I pray God, you may justly answer the cruel dealing you use towards me." Then he, kneeling down, desired her Grace to think and consider how he was a servant, and put in trust there by the queen to serve her Majesty; protesting that if the case were hers, he would as willingly serve her Grace, as now he did the queen's Highness. For the which his answer her Grace thanked him, desiring God that she might never have need of such servants as he was: declaring further to him, that his doings towards her were not good nor answerable; but more than all the friends he had would stand by. To whom Sir Henry replied and said, that there was no remedy but his doings must be answered, and so they should, trusting to make good account thereof. The cause which moved her Grace so to say, was for that he would not permit her letters to be carried four or five days after the writing thereof. But, in fine, he was content to send for her gentleman from the town of Woodstock, demanding of him whether he durst enterprise the carriage of her Grace's letters to the queen, or no: and he answered, "Yea, sir, that I dare; and will with all my heart:" whereupon Sir Henry, half against his stomach, took them unto him.

Then about the eighth of June came down Dr. Owen and Dr. Wendy, sent by the queen to her Grace, for that she was sickly; who, ministering to her, and letting her blood, tarried there and attended on her Grace five or six days. Then she, being well amended, they returned again to the court, making their good report to the queen and the council of her Grace's behaviour and humbleness toward the queen's Highness; which her Majesty hearing, took very thankfully: but the bishops thereat repined, looked black in the mouth, and told the queen, they marvelled that she submitted not herself to her Majesty's mercy, considering that she had offended her Highness.

About this time, her Grace was requested by a secret friend, to submit herself to the queen's Majesty, which would be very well taken, and to her great quiet and commodity. Unto whom she answered, that she would never submit herself to them, whom she never offended. "For," quoth she, "if I have offended and am guilty, I then crave no mercy, but the law; which I am certain," quoth she, "I should have had ere this, if it could be proved by me. For I know myself (I thank God) to be out of the danger thereof, wishing that I were as clear out of the peril of my enemies; and then I am assured I should not so be locked and bolted up within walls and doors as I am. God give them a better mind when it pleaseth him."

About this time there was a great consulting among the bishops and gentlemen, touching a marriage for her Grace, which some of the Spaniards wished to be with some stranger, that she might go out of the realm with her portion; some saying one thing, and some another. A lord, who shall be here nameless, being there, at last said, that the king should never have any quiet commonwealth in England, unless her head were stricken from the shoulders. Whereunto the Spaniards answered, saying, God forbid that their king and master should have that mind, to consent to such a mischief.

This was the courteous answer of the Spaniards to the Englishmen, speaking after that sort against their own country. From that day the Spaniards never left off their good persuasions to the king, that the like honour he should never obtain, as he should in delivering the Lady Elizabeth's Grace out of prison; whereby at length she was happily released from the same. Here is a plain and evident example of the good clemency and nature of the king and his counsellors toward her Grace (praised be God there-for! who moved their hearts therein). Then hereupon she was sent for shortly after, to come to Hampton Court.

But before her removing away from Woodstock, we will a little stay to declare in what dangers her life was, during this time she there remained; first, through fire, which began to kindle between the boards and ceiling under the chamber where she lay, whether by a spark of fire gotten into a cranny, or whether of purpose by some that meant her no good, the Lord doth know. Nevertheless a worshipful knight of Oxfordshire, which was there joined the same time with Sir Henry Benifield in keeping that lady, (who then took up the boards and quenched the fire,) verily supposed it to be done of purpose.

Furthermore it is thought, and also affirmed (if it be true) of one Paul Peny, a keeper of Woodstock, a notorious ruffian and a butcherly wretch; that he was appointed to kill the said Lady Elizabeth; who both saw the man, being often in her sight, and also knew thereof.

Another time, one of the privy-chamber, a great man about the queen, and chief darling of Stephen Gardiner, named Master James Basset, came to Bladon Bridge, a mile from Woodstock, with twenty or thirty privy coats, and sent for Sir Henry Benifield to come and speak with him. But as God would, which disposeth all things after the purpose of his own will, so it happened, that a little before, the said Sir Henry Benifield was sent for by post to the council, leaving strait word behind him with his brother, that no man, whatsoever he were, though coming with a bill of the queen's hand, or any other warrant, should have access to her before his return again.

By reason whereof it so fell out, that Master Benifield's brother, coming to him at the bridge, would suffer him in no case to approach in, who otherwise (as is supposed) was appointed violently to murder the innocent lady.

In the life of Stephen Gardiner we declared before, how that the Lady Elizabeth being in the Tower, a writ came down, subscribed with certain hands of the council, for her execution: which, if it were certain, as it is reported, Winchester (no doubt) was deviser of that mischievous drift. And, doubtless, the same Ahithophel had brought his impious purpose that day to pass, had not the fatherly providence of Almighty God (who is always stronger than the devil) stirred up Master Bridges, lieutenant the same time of the Tower, to come in haste to the queen, to give certificate thereof, and to know further her consent, touching her sister's death. Whereupon it followed, that all that device was disappointed, and Winchester's devilish platform, which he said he had cast, through the Lord's great goodness came to no effect.

Where moreover is to be noted, that during the imprisonment of this lady and princess, one Master Edmund Tremain was on the rack, and Master Smithwike and divers others in the Tower were examined, and divers offers made to them to accuse the guiltless lady, being in her captivity.

Howbeit, all that notwithstanding, no matter could be proved by all examinations, as she, the same time lying at Woodstock, had certain intelligence by the means of one John Gayer; who, under a colourable pretence of a letter to Mistress Cleve from her father, was let in, and so gave them secretly to understand of all this matter. Whereupon the Lady Elizabeth, at her departing out from Woodstock, wrote these verses with her diamond in a glass window.

"Much suspected by me:
Nothing proved can be.
Quoth Elizabeth, prisoner."

And thus much touching the troubles of Lady Elizabeth at Woodstock. Whereunto this is more to be added, that during the same time, the lord of Tame had laboured to the queen, and became surety for her, to have her from Woodstock to his house; and had obtained grant thereof. Whereupon preparation was made accordingly, and all things ready in expectation of her coming. But, through the procurement either of Master Benifield, or by the doing of Winchester her mortal enemy, letters came over-night to the contrary; whereby her journey was stopped.

Thus this worthy lady, oppressed with continual sorrow, could not be permitted to have recourse to any friends she had, but still in the hands of her enemies was left desolate, and utterly destitute of all that might refresh a doleful heart, fraught full of terror and thralldom. Whereupon no marvel if she, hearing upon a time, out of her garden at Woodstock, a certain milkmaid singing pleasantly, wished herself to be a milkmaid as she was; saying that her case was better and life more merry than was hers, in that state as she was.

Now, after these things thus declared, to proceed further there where we left before, Sir Henry Benifield and his soldiers, with the lord of Tame, and Sir Ralph Chamberline, guarding and waiting upon her, the first night from Woodstock she came to Ricot; in which journey such a mighty wind did blow, that her servants were fain to hold down her clothes about her: insomuch that her hood was twice or thrice blown from her head. Whereupon she, desiring to return to a certain gentleman's house there near, could not be suffered by Sir Henry Benifield so to do, but was constrained, under a hedge, to trim her head as well as she could.

After this, the next night they journeyed to Master Dormer's, and so to Colnbrooke, where she lay all that night at the George, and by the way, coming to Colnbrooke, certain of her Grace's gentlemen and yeomen met her, to the number of threescore, much to all their comforts, which had not seen her Grace of long season before: notwithstanding they were commanded in the queen's name, immediately to depart the town, to both their and her Grace's no little heaviness, who could not be suffered once to speak with them. So that night all her men were taken from her, saving her gentleman-usher, three gentlewomen, two grooms, and one of her wardrobe, the soldiers watching and warding about the house, and she close shut up within her prison.

The next day following, her Grace entered Hampton Court on the back side, into the prince's lodging, the doors being shut to her; and she, guarded with soldiers as before, lay there a fortnight at the least, ere any had recourse unto her. At length came the Lord William Haward, who marvellous honourably used her Grace. Whereat she took much comfort, and requested him to be a mean, that she might speak with some of the council; to whom, not long after, came the bishop of Winchester, the lord of Arundel, the lord of Shrewsbury, and Secretary Peter, who, with great humility, humbled themselves to her Grace. She again, likewise, saluting them, said, "My Lords, I am glad to see you: for methinks I have been kept a great while from you desolately, alone. Wherefore I would desire you to be a mean to the king and queen's Majesties, that I may be delivered from prison, wherein I have been kept a long space, as to you, my Lords, it is not unknown."

When she had spoken, Stephen Gardiner, the bishop of Winchester, kneeled down, and requested that she would submit herself to the queen's Grace; and in so doing he had no doubt but that her Majesty would be good to her. She made answer, that rather than she would so do, she would lie in prison all the days of her life; adding, that she craved no mercy at her Majesty's hand, but rather desired the law, if ever she did offend her Majesty in thought, word, or deed. "And besides this, in yielding," quoth she, "I should speak against myself, and confess myself to be an offender, which I never was, towards her Majesty, by occasion whereof the king and the queen might ever hereafter conceive of me an evil opinion. And therefore I say, my Lords, it were better for me to lie in prison for the truth, than to be abroad and suspected of my prince." And so they departed, promising to declare her message to the queen.

On the next day the bishop of Winchester came again unto her Grace, and kneeling down declared, that the queen marvelled that she would so stoutly use herself, not confessing that she had offended: so that it should seem that the queen's Majesty had wrongfully imprisoned her Grace. "Nay," quoth the Lady Elizabeth, "it

may please her to punish me as she thinketh good." "Well," quoth Gardiner, "her Majesty willeth me to tell you, that you must tell another tale ere that you be set at liberty." Her Grace answered, that she had as lieve be in prison with honesty and truth, as to be abroad, suspected of her Majesty:" and this that I have said, I will," said she, "stand unto; for I will never belie myself." Winchester again kneeled down, and said, "Then your Grace hath the vantage of me, and other the lords, for your wrong and long imprisonment." "What vantage I have," quoth she, "you know: taking God to record, I seek no vantage at your hands for your so dealing with me; but God forgive you and me also!" With that the rest kneeled, desired her Grace that all might be forgotten, and so departed, she being fast locked up again.

A sevensnight after, the queen sent for her Grace at ten of the clock in the night to speak with her: for she had not seen her in two years before. Yet, for all that, she, amazed at the sudden sending for, thinking it had been worse than afterwards it proved, desired her gentlemen and gentlewomen to pray for her; for that she could not tell whether ever she should see them again or no. At which time Sir Henry Benifield with Mistress Clarencius coming in, her Grace was brought into the garden, unto a stair's foot that went into the queen's lodging, her Grace's gentlewomen waiting upon her, her gentleman-usher and her grooms going before with torches; where her gentlemen and gentlewomen being commanded to stay all, saving one woman, Mistress Clarencius conducted her to the queen's bed-chamber, where her Majesty was. At the sight of whom her Grace kneeled down, and desired God to preserve her Majesty, not mistrusting but that she should try herself as true a subject towards her Majesty, as ever did any; and desired her Majesty even so to judge of her: and said, that she should not find her to the contrary, whatsoever report otherwise had gone of her. To whom the queen answered, "You will not confess your offence, but stand stoutly to your truth: I pray God it may so fall out." "If it doth not," quoth the Lady Elizabeth, "I request neither favour nor pardon at your Majesty's hands." "Well," said the queen, "you stiffly still persevere in your truth. Belike you will not confess but that you have been wrongfully punished." "I must not say so, if it please your Majesty, to you." "Why then," said the queen, "belike you will to others." "No, if it please your Majesty," quoth she, "I have borne the burden, and must bear it. I humbly beseech your Majesty to have a good opinion of me, and to think me to be your true subject, not only from the beginning hitherto, but for ever, as long as life lasteth." And so they departed with very few comfortable words of the queen, in English: but what she said in Spanish, God knoweth. It is thought that King Philip was there behind a cloth, and not seen, and that he showed himself a very friend in that matter.

Thus her Grace departing, went to her lodging again, and that day sevensnight was released of Sir Henry Benifield, (her jailer, as she termed him,) and his soldiers. And so her Grace, being set at liberty from imprisonment, went into the country, and had appointed to go with her Sir Thomas Pope, one of Queen Mary's counsellors, and one of her gentlemen-ushers, Master Gage; and thus straitly was she looked to, all Queen Mary's time. And this is the discourse of her Highness's imprisonment.

Then there came to Lamheyre, Master Jerningham, and Master Norris, gentleman-usher, Queen Mary's men, who took away from her Grace, Mistress Ashley to the Fleet, and three other of her gentlewomen to the Tower; which thing was no little trouble to her Grace, saying, that she thought they would fetch all away at the end. But, God be praised, shortly after was fetched away Gardiner, through the

merciful providence of the Lord's goodness, by occasion of whose opportune decease, (as is partly touched in this story before,) the life of this excellent princess, the wealth of all England, was preserved. For this is credibly to be supposed, that the said wicked Gardiner of Winchester had long laboured his wits, and to this only most principal mark bent all his devices, to take this our happy and dear sovereign out of the way, as both by his words and doings before notified may sufficiently appear.

But such was the gracious and favourable providence of the Lord, to the preservation not only of her royal Majesty, but also of the miserable and woeful state of this whole island, and poor subjects of the same, whereby the proud platforms and peevish practices of this wretched Ahithophel prevailed not; but, contrariwise, both he, and all the snares and traps of his pernicious counsel laid against another, were turned to a net to catch himself, according to the proverb, *Malum consilium consultori pessimism*.

After the death of this Gardiner, followed the death also, and dropping away, of other her enemies, whereby, by little and little, her jeopardy decreased, fear diminished, and hope of comfort began to appear as out of a dark cloud; and, albeit as yet her Grace had no full assurance of perfect safety, yet more gentle entertainment daily did grow unto her, till at length, in the month of November, and the seventeenth day of the same, three years after the death of Stephen Gardiner, followed the death of Queen Mary, as hereafter, God granting, shall be more declared.

Although this history following be not directly appertaining to the former matter, yet the same may here not unaptly be inserted, for that it doth discover and show forth the malicious hearts of the papists towards this virtuous queen, our sovereign lady, in the time of Queen Mary her sister; which is reported, as a truth credibly told, by sundry honest persons, of whom some are yet alive, and do testify the same. The matter whereof is this.

Soon after the stir of Wyat, and the troubles that happened to this queen for that cause, it fortun'd one Robert Farrer, a haberdasher of London, dwelling near unto Newgate-market, in a certain morning to be at the Rose tavern, (from whence he was seldom absent,) and falling to his common drink, as he was ever accustomed, and having in his company three other companions like to himself, it chanced the same time one Laurence Sheriff, grocer, dwelling also not far from thence, to come into the said tavern, and, finding there the said Farrer, (to whom of long time he had borne good will,) sat down in the seat to drink with him; and Farrer, being in his full cups, and not having consideration who were present, began to talk at large, and namely, against the Lady Elizabeth, and said, "That jill hath been one of the chief doers of this rebellion of Wyat; and before all be done, she and all the heretics her partakers shall well understand of it. Some of them hope that she shall have the crown; but she and they (I trust) that so hope, shall hop headless, or be fried with faggots, before she come to it."

The foresaid Laurence Sheriff, grocer, being then servant unto the Lady Elizabeth, and sworn unto her Grace, could no longer forbear his old acquaintance and neighbour Farrer, in speaking so irreverently of his mistress, but said unto him, "Farrer, I have loved thee as a neighbour, and have had a good opinion of thee: but, hearing of thee that I now hear, I defy thee; and I tell thee I am her Grace's sworn

servant, and she is a princess, and the daughter of a noble king, and it evil becometh thee to call her a jill; and for thy so saying, I say thou art a knave, and I will complain upon thee." "Do thy worst," said Farrer, "for that I said, I will say again." And so Sheriff came from his company.

Shortly after, the said Sheriff, taking an honest neighbour with him, went before the commissioners to complain; the which commissioners sat then at Bonner the bishop of London's house, beside Paul's; and there were present Bonner, (then being the chief commissioner,) the Lord Mordant, Sir John Baker, Dr. Darbishire, chancellor to the bishop, Dr. Story, Dr. Harpsfield, and others. The aforesaid Sheriff, coming before them, declared the manner of the said Robert Farrer's talk against the Lady Elizabeth. Bonner answered, "Peradventure you took him worse than he meant." "Yea, my Lord," said Dr. Story, "if you knew the man as I do, you would say there is not a better catholic, nor an honest man, in the city of London." "Well," said Sheriff, "my Lord, she is my gracious lady and mistress, and it is not to be suffered that such a varlet as he is, should call so honourable a princess by the name of a jill. And I saw yesterday, in the court, that my Lord Cardinal Pole, meeting her in the chamber of presence, kneeled down on his knees, and kissed her hand: and I saw also, that King Philip meeting her, made her such obeisance, that his knee touched the ground. And then methinketh it were too much to suffer such a varlet as this is, to call her jill; and to wish them to hop headless that shall wish her Grace to enjoy the possession of the crown, when God shall send it unto her, as in the right of her inheritance." "Yea! stay there," quoth Bonner, "when God sendeth it unto her, let her enjoy it. But truly," said he, "the man that spake the words that you have reported, meant nothing against the Lady Elizabeth, your mistress; and no more do we. But he, like an honest and zealous man, feared the alteration of religion, which every good man ought to fear: and therefore," said Bonner, "good man, go your ways home, and report well of us toward your mistress; and we will send for Farrer and rebuke him for his rash and undiscreeit words, and we trust he will not do the like again." And thus Sheriff came away, and Farrer had a flap with a fox-tail.

Now that ye may be fully informed of the aforesaid Farrer, whom Dr. Story praised for so good a man, ye shall understand that the same Farrer, having two daughters being handsome maidens, the elder of them for a sum of money he himself delivered to Sir Roger Cholmley, to be at his commandment; the other he sold to a knight called Sir William Godolphin, to be at his commandment, whom he made his lackey, and so carried her with him, being apparelled in man's apparel, to Boulogne; and the said Farrer followed the camp. He also was a great and a horrible blasphemer of God, and a common accuser of honest and quiet men; also a common drunkard. And now I refer the life of these catholics to your judgment, to think of them as you please. But of this matter enough, and too much.

Now let us return where we left before, which was at the death of Queen Mary; after whose decease succeeded her foresaid sister, Lady Elizabeth, into the right of the crown of England, who, after so long restraintment, so great dangers escaped, such blusterous storms overblown, so many injuries digested, and wrongs sustained, by the mighty protection of our merciful God, to our no small comfort and commodity, hath been exalted and erected out of thrall to liberty, out of danger to peace and quietness, from dread to dignity, from misery to majesty, from mourning to ruling: briefly, of a prisoner made a princess, and placed in her throne royal,

proclaimed now queen, with as many glad hearts of her subjects, as ever was any king or queen in this realm before her, or ever shall be (I dare say) hereafter. Touching whose flourishing state, her princely reign, and peaceable government, with divers and sundry other things incident to the same, and especially touching the great stirs and alterations which have happened in other foreign nations, and also partly among ourselves here at home, forasmuch as the tractation hereof requireth another volume by itself, I shall therefore defer the reader to the next book or section ensuing; wherein (if the Lord so please to sustain me with leave and life) I may have to discourse of all and singular such matters done and achieved in these our latter days and memory, more at large.

Now then, after these so great afflictions falling upon this realm, from the first beginning of Queen Mary's reign, wherein so many men, women, and children were burnt, many imprisoned and in prison starved, divers exiled, some spoiled of goods and possessions, a great number driven from house and home, so many weeping eyes, so many sobbing hearts, so many children made fatherless, so many fathers bereft of their wives and children, so many vexed in conscience, and divers against conscience constrained to recant; and, in conclusion, never a good man almost in all the realm but suffered something during all the time of this bloody persecution: after all this (I say) now we are come at length (the Lord be praised!) to the seventeenth day of November, which day, as it brought to the persecuted members of Christ rest from their careful mourning, so it easeth me somewhat likewise of my laborious writing, by the death, I mean, of Queen Mary; who, being long sick before, upon the said seventeenth day of November, in the year abovesaid, about three or four o'clock in the morning, yielded life to nature, and her kingdom to Queen Elizabeth her sister. As touching the manner of whose death, some say that she died of a tympany, some (by her much sighing before her death) supposed she died of thought and sorrow. Whereupon her council, seeing her sighing, and desirous to know the cause, to the end they might minister the more ready consolation unto her, feared, as they said, that she took that thought for the king's Majesty her husband, which was gone from her. To whom she answering again, "Indeed," said she, "that may be one cause, but that is not the greatest wound that pierceth my oppressed mind:" but what that was, she would not express to them. Albeit, afterward, she opened the matter more plainly to Master Rise and Mistress Clarencius (if it be true that they told me, which heard it of Master Rise himself); who then, being most familiar with her, and most bold about her, told her, that they feared she took thought for King Philip's departing from her. "Not that only," said she, "but when I am dead and opened, you shall find Calais lying in my heart." And here an end of Queen Mary, and of her persecution.

Of Queen Mary this truly may be affirmed, and left in story for a perpetual memorial or epitaph for all kings and queens that shall succeed her, to be noted -- that before her, never was read in story of any king or queen of England, since the time of King Lucius, under whom, in time of peace, by hanging, beheading, burning, and prisoning, so much Christian blood, so many Englishmen's lives, were spilled within this realm, as under the said Queen Mary for the space of four years was to be seen, and I beseech the Lord never may be seen hereafter.

429. The Failure of Queen Mary's Persecution.

A brief declaration, showing the unprosperous success of Queen Mary in persecuting God's people, and how mightily God wrought against her in all her affairs.

Now, forasmuch as Queen Mary, during all the time of her reign, was such a vehement adversary and persecutor against the sincere professors of Christ Jesus and his gospel: for the which there be many which do highly magnify and approve her doings therein, reputed her religion to be sound and catholic, and her proceedings to be most acceptable and blessed of Almighty God: to the intent, therefore, that all men may understand, how the blessing of the Lord God did not only not proceed with her proceedings, but, contrariwise rather, how his manifest displeasure ever wrought against her, in plaguing both her and her realm, and in subverting all her counsels and attempts, whatsoever she took in hand, we will bestow a little time therein, to perpend and survey the whole course of her doings and chievances, and consider what success she had in the same. Which being well considered, we shall never find any reign of any prince, in this land or any other, which did ever show in it (for the proportion of time) so many arguments of God's great wrath and displeasure, as were to be seen in the reign of this Queen Mary; whether we behold the shortness of her time, or the unfortunate event of all her purposes, who seemed never to purpose any thing that came luckily to pass, neither did any thing frame to her purpose, whatsoever she took in hand, touching her own private affairs.

Of good kings we read in the Scripture, in showing mercy and pity, in seeking God's will in his word, and subverting the monuments of idolatry, how God blessed their ways, increased their honours, and mightily prospered all their proceedings; as we see in king David, Solomon, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, with such others. Manasseh made the streets of Jerusalem to swim with the blood of his subjects; but what came of it the text doth testify.

Of Queen Elizabeth, who now reigneth among us, this we must needs say, which we see: that she, in sparing the blood, not only of God's servants, but also of God's enemies, hath doubled now the reign of Queen Mary her sister, with such abundance of peace and prosperity, that it is hard to say, whether the realm of England felt more of God's wrath in Queen Mary's time, or of God's favour and mercy in these so blessed and peaceable days of Queen Elizabeth.

Gamaliel, speaking his mind in the council of the Pharisees concerning Christ's religion, gave this reason: that if it were of God, it should continue, whosoever said nay; if it were not, it could not stand. So may it be said of Queen Mary and her Romish religion; that if it were so perfect and catholic as they pretend, and the contrary faith of the gospellers were so detestable and heretical as they make it, how cometh it then, that this so catholic a queen, such a necessary pillar of his spouse the church, continued no longer, till she had utterly rooted out of the land this heretical generation? yea, how chanced it rather, that Almighty God, to spare these poor heretics, rooted out Queen Mary so soon from her throne, after she had reigned but only five years and five months?

Now furthermore, how God blessed her ways and endeavours in the mean time, until she thus persecuted the true servants of God, remaineth to be discussed: where this is first to be noted, that when she first began to stand for the title of the crown, and yet had wrought no resistance against Christ and his gospel, but had promised her faith to the Suffolk men, to maintain the religion left by King Edward her brother, so long God went with her, advanced her, and, by the means of the gospellers, brought her to the possession of the realm. But after that she, breaking her promise with God and man, began to take part with Stephen Gardiner, and had given over her supremacy unto the pope, by and by God's blessing left her, neither did any thing well thrive with her afterward, during the whole time of her regiment.

For first, incontinently, the fairest and greatest ship she had, called Great Harry, was burnt; such a vessel as in all these parts of Europe was not to be matched.

Then would she needs bring in King Philip, and by her strange marriage with him, to make the whole realm of England subject unto a stranger. And, all that notwithstanding, (that she either did, or was able to do,) she could not bring to pass to set the crown of England upon his head. With King Philip also came in the pope and his popish mass; with whom also her purpose was to restore again the monks and nuns unto their places: neither lacked there all kind of attempts to the uttermost of her ability; and yet therein also God stopped her of her will, that it came not forward.

After this, what a dearth happened in her time here in her land! the like whereof hath not lightly in England been seen, insomuch that in sundry places her poor subjects were fain to feed off acorns, for want of corn.

Furthermore, where other kings are wont to be renowned by some worthy victory and prowess by them achieved, let us now see what valiant victory was gotten in this Queen Mary's days. King Edward the Sixth, her blessed brother, how many rebellions did he suppress in Devonshire, in Norfolk, in Oxfordshire, and elsewhere! What a famous victory in his time was gotten in Scotland, by the singular working (no doubt) of God's blessed hand, rather than by any expectation of man! King Edward the Third (which was the eleventh king from the Conquest) by princely puissance purchased Calais unto England, which had been kept English ever since, till at length came Queen Mary, the eleventh likewise from the said King Edward, which lost Calais from England again; so that the winnings of this queen were very small -- what the losses were let other men judge.

Hitherto the affairs of Queen Mary have had no great good success, as you have heard. But never worse success had any woman, than had she in her child-birth. For seeing one of these two must needs be granted, that either she was with child or not with child: if she were with child and did travail, why was it not seen? if she were not, how was all the realm deluded! And in the mean while, where were all the prayers, the solemn processions, the devout masses of the catholic clergy? why did they not prevail with God, if their religion were so godly as they pretend. If their masses be able to fetch Christ from heaven, and to reach down to purgatory, how chanced then they could not reach to the queen's chamber, to help her in her travail, if she had been with child indeed? if not, how then came it to pass that all the catholic Church of England did so err, and was so deeply deceived?

Queen Mary, after these manifold plagues and corrections, which might sufficiently admonish her of God's disfavour provoked against her, would not yet cease her persecution, but still continued more and more to revenge her catholic zeal upon the Lord's faithful people, setting fire to their poor bodies by half dozens and dozens together. Whereupon, God's wrathful indignation increasing more and more against her, ceased not to touch her more near with private misfortunes and calamities. For after that he had taken from her the fruit of children, (which chiefly and above all things she desired,) then he bereft her of that, which of all earthly things should have been her chief stay of honour, and staff of comfort, that is, withdrew from her the affection and company even of her own husband, by whose marriage she had promised before to herself whole heaps of such joy and felicity. But now the omnipotent Governor of all things so turned the wheel of her own spinning against her, that her high buildings of such joys and felicities came all to a castle-come-down; her hopes being confounded, her purposes disappointed, and she now brought to desolation; who seemed neither to have the favour of God, nor the hearts of her subjects, nor yet the love of her husband; who neither had fruit by him while she had him, neither could now enjoy him whom she had married, neither yet was at liberty to marry any other whom she might enjoy. Mark here, Christian reader, the woeful adversity of this queen, and learn withal what the Lord can do, when man's wilfulness will needs resist him, and will not be ruled.

At last, when all these fair admonitions would take no place with the queen, nor move her to revoke her bloody laws, nor to stay the tyranny of her priests, nor yet to spare her own subjects, but that the poor servants of God were drawn daily by heaps most pitifully, as sheep to the slaughter, it so pleased the heavenly majesty of Almighty God, when no other remedy would serve, by death to cut her off, which in her life so little regarded the life of others; giving her throne, which she abused to the destruction of Christ's church and people, to another, who more temperately and quietly could guide the same, after she had reigned here the space of five years and five months. The shortness of which years and reign, scarce we find in any other story of king or queen since the Conquest or before, (being come to their own government,) save only in King Richard the Third.

And thus much here, as in the closing up of this story, I thought to insinuate, touching the unlucky and rueful reign of Queen Mary; not for any detraction to her place and state royal, whereunto she was called of the Lord, but to this only intent and effect: that forasmuch as she would needs set herself so confidently to work and strive against the Lord and his proceedings, all readers and rulers may not only see how the Lord did work against her therefor, but also by her may be advertised and learn what a perilous thing it is for men and women in authority, upon blind zeal and opinion, to stir up persecution in Christ's church, to the effusion of Christian blood, lest it prove in the end with them, (as it did here,) that while they think to persecute heretics, they stumble at the same stone as did the Jews, in persecuting Christ and his true members to death, to their own confusion and destruction.

430. The Severe Punishment of God Upon Persecutors and Blasphemers

Leaving now Queen Mary, being dead and gone, I come to them which, under her, were the chief ministers and doers in this persecution, the bishops and priests of the clergy, I mean, to whom Queen Mary gave all the execution of her power, as did Queen Alexandra to the Pharisees, after the time of the Maccabees; of whom Josephus thus writeth: "She only retained to herself the name and title of the kingdom, but all her power she gave to the Pharisees to possess." Touching which prelates and priests here is to be noted, in like sort, the wonderful and miraculous providence of Almighty God, which as he abridged the reign of their queen, so he suffered them not to escape unvisited; first beginning with Stephen Gardiner, the arch-persecutor of Christ's church, whom he took away about the midst of the queen's reign. Of whose poisoned life, and stinking end, forasmuch as sufficient hath been touched before, I shall not need here to make any new rehearsal thereof.

After him, dropped others away also, some before the death of Queen Mary, and some after; as Morgan, bishop of St. David's; who, sitting upon the condemnation of the blessed martyr, Bishop Ferrar, and unjustly usurping his room, not long after was stricken by God's hand after such a strange sort, that his meat would not go down, but rise and pick up again, sometimes at his mouth, sometimes blown out at his nose, most horrible to behold; and so he continued till his death. Where note moreover, that when Master Leyson, being then sheriff at Bishop Ferrar's burning, had fetched away the cattle of the said bishop from his servant's house, called Matthew Harbottle, into his own custody, the cattle, coming into the sheriff's ground, divers of them would never eat meat, but lay bellowing and roaring, and so died.

This foresaid Bishop Morgan above mentioned, bringeth me also in remembrance of Justice Morgan, who sat upon the death of the Lady Jane, and not long after the same fell mad, and was bereft of his wits; and so died, having ever in his mouth, "Lady Jane, Lady Jane."

Before the death of Queen Mary, died Dr. Dunning, the bloody and wretched chancellor of Norwich, who, after he had most rigorously condemned and murdered so many simple and faithful saints of the Lord, continued not long himself, but, in the midst of his rage in Queen Mary's days, died in Lincolnshire, being suddenly taken, as some say, sitting in his chair.

The like sudden death fell also upon Berry, commissary in Norfolk, who, (as is before showed in the story of Thomas Hudson,) four days after Queen Mary's death, when he had made a great feast, and had one of his concubines there, coming home from the church after evensong, where he had ministered baptism the same time, between the churchyard and his house suddenly fell down to the ground with a heavy groan, and never stirred after, neither showed any one token of repentance.



The Death of Berry

What a stroke of God's hand was brought upon the cruel persecutor of the holy and harmless saints of the Lord, Bishop Thornton, suffragan of Dover, who, after he had exercised his cruel tyranny upon so many godly men at Canterbury, at length coming upon a the chapter-house at Canterbury to Bourne and there, upon Sunday following, looking upon his men playing at the bowls, fell suddenly in a palsy, and so had to bed, was willed to remember God: "Yea, so I do," said he, "and my Lord Cardinal too," &c.

After him succeeded another bishop or suffragan ordained by the foresaid cardinal. It is reported that he had been suffragan before to Bonner, who, not long after being made bishop or suffragan of Dover, brake his neck, falling down a pair of stairs in the cardinal's chamber at Greenwich, as he had received the cardinal's blessing.

Among other plentiful and sundry examples of the Lord's judgment and severity practised upon the cruel persecutors of his people, that is not the least that followeth, concerning the story of one William Fenning, the effect and circumstance of which matter is this:--

John Cooper, of the age of forty-four years, dwelling at Wattisham in the county of Suffolk, being by science a carpenter, a man of very honest report and a good housekeeper, a harbourer of strangers that travelled for conscience, and one that

favoured religion and those that were religious, was of honest conversation and life, hating all popish and papistical trash.

This man being at home in his house, there came unto him one William Fenning, a serving-man, dwelling in the said town of Wattisham; and understanding that the said Cooper had a couple of fair bullocks, did desire to buy them of him; which Cooper told him that he was loth to sell them, for that he had brought them up for his own use, and if he should sell them, he then must be compelled to buy others; and that he would not do.

When Fenning saw he could not get them, (for he had often essayed the matter,) he said, he would sit as much in his light; and so departed, and went and accused him of high treason. The words Cooper was charged with were these: How he should pray, if God would not take away Queen Mary, that then the devil would take her away. Of these words did this Fenning charge him before Sir Henry Doile, knight, (unto whom he was carried by Master Timperley of Hintlesham in Suffolk, and one Grimwood of Lawshall, constable,) which words Cooper flatly denied; and said he never spake them. But that could not help.

Notwithstanding, he was arraigned there-for at Bury before Sir Clement Higham, at a Lent assize; and there this Fenning brought two naughty men that witnessed the speaking of the foresaid words, whose names were Richard White of Wattisham, and Grimwood of Hitcham, in the said county of Suffolk; whose testimonies were received as truth, although this good man John Cooper had said what he could, to declare himself innocent therein, but to no purpose, God knoweth. For his life was determined, as in the end appeared by Sir Clement Higham's words, who said he should not escape, for an example to all heretics; as indeed he thoroughly performed. For immediately he was judged to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, which was executed upon him very shortly after, to the great grief of many a good heart. Here good Cooper is bereft of his life, and leaves behind him alive his wife and nine children, with goods and cattle, to the value of three hundred marks, the which substance was all taken away by the said Sir Henry Doile, sheriff, but his wife and poor children left to the wide world in their clothes, and suffered not to enjoy one penny of that they had sore laboured for, unless they made friends to buy it with money of the said sheriff, so cruel and greedy were he and his officers, upon such things as were there left.

Well, now this innocent man is dead, his goods spoiled, his wife and children left desolate and comfortless, and all things hushed, and nothing feared of any part: yet the Lord, who surely doth revenge the guiltless blood, would not still so suffer it, but began at the length to punish it himself. For in the harvest after, the said Grimwood of Hitcham, (one of the witnesses before specified,) as he was in his labour stacking up a goff of corn, having his health, and fearing no peril, suddenly his bowels fell out of his body, and immediately most miserably he died. Such was the terrible judgment of God, to show his displeasure against his bloody act, and to warn the rest, by these his judgments, to repentance. The Lord grant us to honour the same, for his mercy's sake. Amen.

This foresaid Fenning, who was the procurer of this tyranny against him, is yet alive, and is now a minister; which if he be, I pray God he may so repent that fact, that

he may declare himself hereafter such a one as may well answer to his vocation accordingly.

But since we have heard that he is no changeling, but continueth still in his wickedness, and therefore presented before the worshipful Master Humerston, esquire, and justice of peace and quorum, for that he had talk with some of his friends, (as he thought,) how many honest women (to their great infamy) were in the parish of Wenhaston, wherein he is now vicar, resident: wherefore he was commanded the next Sunday ensuing, to ask all the parish forgiveness upon his knees openly in service-time, which he did in Wenhaston church before-said; and moreover the abovesaid Fenning is reported to be more like a shifter than a minister.

To these examples also may be added the terrible judgment of God upon the parson at Crundale in Kent, who, upon Shrove Sunday, having received the pope's pardon from Cardinal Pole, came to his parish, and exhorted the people to receive the same, as he had done himself; saying that he stood now as clear in conscience as when he was first born, and cared not now if he should die the same hour, in the clearness of his conscience: whereupon being suddenly stricken by the hand of God, and leaning a little on the one side, immediately shrank down in the pulpit, and so was found dead, speaking not one word. Read more before.

Not long before the death of Queen Mary, died Dr. Capon, bishop of Salisbury. About the which time also followed the unprepared death of Dr. Jeffrey, chancellor of Salisbury, who in the midst of his buildings, suddenly being taken by the mighty hand of God, yielded his life, which had so little pity of other men's lives before. Concerning whose cruelty partly mention is made before.

As touching moreover the foresaid chancellor, here is to be noted, that he departing upon a Saturday, the next day before the same he had appointed to call before him ninety persons, and not so few, to examine them by inquisition, had not the goodness of the Lord, and his tender providence, thus prevented him with death, providing for his poor servants in time.

And now, to come from priests to laymen, we have to find in them also no less terrible demonstration of God's heavy judgment upon such as have been vexers and persecutors of his people.

Before, in the story of Master Bradford, mention was made of Master Woodroffe, who, being then sheriff, used much to rejoice at the death of the poor saints of Christ; and so hard he was in his office, that when Master Rogers was in the cart going toward Smithfield, and in the way his children were brought unto him, the people making a lane for them to come; Master Woodroffe bade the carman's head should be broken, for staying his cart. But what happened? He was not come out of his office the space of a week, but he was stricken by the sudden hand of God, the one half of his body; in such sort, that he lay benumbed and bedridden, not able to move himself but as he was lifted of others; and so continued in that infirmity the space of seven or eight years, till his dying day.

Likewise touching Ralph Lardin, the betrayer of George Eagles, it is thought of some, that the said Ralph afterward was attached himself, arraigned, and hanged.

Who, being at the bar, had these words before the judges there, and a great multitude of people: "This is most justly fallen upon me," saith he, "for that I have betrayed the innocent blood of a good and just man, George Eagles, who was here condemned in the time of Queen Mary's reign, through my procurement, who sold his blood for a little money."

Not much unlike stroke of these severally was showed upon William Swallow of Chelmsford, and his wife; also upon Richard Potto, and Justice Brown, cruel persecutors of the said George Eagles, concerning whose story read before.

Among other persecutors also came to our hands the cruelty of one Master Swingfield, an alderman's deputy about Thames Street, who, hearing one Angel's wife, a midwife that kept herself from their popish church, to be at the labour of one Mistress Walter at Crooked Lane-end, took three others with him, and beset the house about, and took her, and carried her to Bonner's officers, big with child, eight and twenty weeks gone, who laid her in Lollards' Tower; where, the same day she came in, through fear, and a fall at her taking, she was delivered of a man-child, and could have no women with her in that needful time. Lying there five weeks, she was delivered under sureties by friendship, and Dr. Story, hearing thereof, charged her with felony, and so sent her to Newgate. The cause was, for that she had a woman at her house in her labour that died, and the child also; and so he charged her with their death. But when Sir Roger Cholmley heard her tell her tale, he delivered her; and not much more than ten weeks after, if it were so long, died the said Master Swingfield and the other three that came to take her.

Because some there be, and not a few, which have such a great devotion in setting up the popish mass, I shall desire them to mark well this story following. There was a certain bailiff, of Crowland in Lincolnshire, named Burton, who, pretending an earnest friendship to the gospel in King Edward's days, in outward show at least, (although inwardly he was a papist or atheist, and well known to be a man of a wicked and adulterous life,) set forth the king's proceedings lustily, till the time that King Edward was dead and Queen Mary placed quietly in her estate. Then, perceiving by the first proclamation concerning religion, how the world was like to turn, the bailiff turned his religion likewise; and so he moved the parish to show themselves the queen's friends, and to set up the mass speedily. Nevertheless, the most substantial of the parish, marvelling much at the bailiff's inconstant lightness, considering also his abominable life, and having no great devotion unto his request, knowing moreover that their duty and friendship to the queen stood not in setting up the mass, spared to provide for it, as long as they might: but the bailiff called on them still in the queen's name.

At last, when he saw his words were not regarded, and purposing to win his spurs by playing the man in the mass's behalf and the queen's, he got him to church upon a Sunday morning; and when the curate was beginning the English service, according to the statute set forth by King Edward the Sixth, the bailiff cometh in a great rage to the curate, and saith, "Sirrah! will you not say mass? Buckle yourself to mass, you knave, or, by God's blood, I shall sheath my dagger in your shoulder." The poor curate, for fear, settled himself to the mass.

Not long after this, the bailiff rode from home upon certain business, accompanied with one of his neighbours; and as they came riding together upon the fen-bank homeward again, a crow, sitting in a willow-tree, took her flight over his head, singing after her wonted note, "Knave, knave!" and withal let fall upon his face, so that her excrements ran from the top of his nose down to his beard.

The poisoned scent and savour whereof so noyed his stomach, that he never ceased vomiting until he came home, wherewith his heart was so sore and his body so distempered, that for extreme sickness he got him to bed; and so lying, he was not able for the stink in his stomach and painful vomiting, to receive any relief of meat or drink, but cried out still, sorrowfully complaining of that stink, and with no small oaths cursed the crow that poisoned him. To make short, he continued but a few days, but with extreme pain of vomiting and crying, he desperately died, without any token of repentance of his former life. This was reported and testified, for a certainty, by divers of his neighbours, both honest and credible persons.

Of James Abbes, martyr, ye heard before. In the time of whose martyrdom, what befell upon a wicked railer against him, now ye shall further understand; whereby all such railing persecutors may learn to fear God's hand, and to take heed how or what they speak against his servants. As this James Abbes was led by the sheriff toward his execution, divers poor people stood in the way, and asked their alms. He then, having no money to give them, and desirous yet to distribute something amongst them, did pull off all his apparel saving his shirt, and gave the same unto them, to some one thing, to some another; in the giving whereof he exhorted them to be strong in the Lord, and, as faithful followers of Christ, to stand stedfast unto the truth of the gospel, which he (through God's help) would then in their sight seal and confirm with his blood. While he was thus charitably occupied, and zealously instructing the people, a servant of the sheriff's going by, and hearing him, cried out aloud unto them, and blasphemously said, "Believe him not, good people: he is a heretic and a madman, out of his wit; believe him not, for it is heresy that he saith." And as the other continued in his godly admonitions, so did this wicked wretch still blow forth his blasphemous exclamations, until they came unto the stake where he should suffer; unto the which this constant martyr was tied, and in the end cruelly burnt, as in his story more fully is already declared.

But immediately after the fire was put unto him, (such was the fearful stroke of God's justice upon this blasphemous railer,) that he was there presently, in the sight of all the people, stricken with a frenzy, wherewith he had before most railingly charged that good martyr of God, who, in this furious rage and madness, casting off his shoes, with all the rest of his clothes, cried out unto the people, and said, "Thus did James Abbes, the true servant of God, who is saved; but I am damned." And thus ran he round about the town of Bury, still crying out, that James Abbes was a good man, and saved; but he was damned.

The sheriff then, being amazed, caused him to be taken and tied in a dark house, and by force compelled him again to put on his clothes, thinking thereby within a while to bring him to some quietness. But he, (all that notwithstanding,) as soon as they were gone, continued his former raging; and casting off his clothes, cried as he did before, "James Abbes is the servant of God, and is saved; but I am damned."

At length he was tied in a cart, and brought home unto his master's house, and within half a year or thereabouts, he being at the point of death, the priest of the parish was sent for; who, coming unto him, brought with him the crucifix, and their houseling host of the altar: which gear when the poor wretch saw, he cried out of the priest, and defied all that baggage, saying, that the priest, with such others as he was, was the cause of his damnation; and that James Abbes was a good man and saved. And so, shortly after, he died.

Clarke, an open enemy to the gospel and all godly preachers, in King Edward's days, hanged himself in the Tower of London.

The great and notable papist, called Trolling Smith, of late fell down suddenly in the street, and died.

Dale the promoter was eaten into his body with lice, and so died; as it is well known of many, and confessed also by his fellow John Avaes, before credible witness.

Coxe, an earnest protestant in King Edward's days, and in Queen Mary's time a papist and a promoter, going well and in health to bed, (as it seemed,) was dead before the morning. This was testified by divers of the neighbours.

Alexander, the keeper of Newgate, a cruel enemy to those that lay there for religion, died very miserably, being so swollen that he was more like a monster than a man, and so rotten within, that no man could abide the smell of him. This cruel wretch, to hasten the poor lambs to the slaughter, would go to Bonner, Story, Cholmley, and others, crying out, "Rid my prison; rid my prison. I am too much pestered with these heretics."

The son of the said Alexander, called James, having left unto him by his father great substance, within three years wasted all to nought: and when some marvelled how he spent those goods so fast, "O!" said he, "evil gotten, evil spent." And shortly after, as he went in Newgate-market, he fell down suddenly, and there wretchedly died.

John Peter, son-in-law to this Alexander, and a horrible blasphemer of God, and no less cruel to the said prisoners, rotted away, and so most miserably died; who commonly when he would affirm any thing, were it true or false, used to say, "If it be not true, I pray God I rot ere I die."-- Witness the printer hereof, with divers others.

With these I might infer the sudden death of Justice Lelond, persecutor of Jeffrey Hurst, mentioned before.

Also the death of Robert Baulding, stricken with lightning at the taking of William Seaman, whereupon he pined away and died: the story of the which William Seaman see before.

Likewise the wretched end of Beard the promoter.

Moreover the consuming away of Robert Blomfield, persecutor of William Brown, specified before.

Further, to return a little backward to King Henry's time, here might be induced also the example of John Rockwood, who, in his horrible end, cried, "All too late," with the same words which he had used before, in persecuting God's poor people of Calais.

Also the judgment of God upon Lady Honor, a persecutor, and of George Bradway, a false accuser, both bereft of their wits.

And what a notable spectacle of God's revenging judgment have we to consider in Sir Ralph Ellerker, who, as he was desirous to see the heart taken out of Adam Damlip, whom they most wrongfully put to death; so, shortly after the said Sir Ralph Ellerker being slain of the Frenchmen, they all to mangling him, after they had cut off his privy members, would not so leave him, before they might see his heart cut out of his body.

Dr. Foxford, chancellor to Bishop Stokesley, a cruel persecutor, died suddenly.

{Illustration: Pavier Hanging Himself 430}

Pavier or Pavy, town-clerk of London, and a bitter enemy to the gospel, hanged himself. Stephen Gardiner, hearing of the pitiful end of Judge Hales, after he had drowned himself, taking occasion thereby, called the following and profession of the gospel, a doctrine of desperation. But as Judge Hales never fell into that inconvenience before he had consented to papistry, so whoso well considereth the end of Dr. Pendleton, (which at his death full sore repented that ever he had yielded to the doctrine of the papists as he did,) and likewise the miserable end of the most part of the papists besides, and especially of Stephen Gardiner himself, (who after so long professing the doctrine of papistry, when there came a bishop to him in his death-bed, and put him in remembrance of Peter denying his Master; he answering again, said that he had denied with Peter, but never repented with Peter -- and so both stinkingly and unrepentantly died,) will say as Stephen Gardiner also himself gave an evident example of the same to all men, to understand that popery rather is a doctrine of desperation, procuring the vengeance of Almighty God to them that wilfully do cleave unto it.

John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More, in King Henry's time, after they had brought John Frith, Bayfield and Bainham, and divers others to their death, what great reward won they thereby with Almighty God? Did not the sword of God's vengeance light upon their own necks shortly after, and they themselves made a public spectacle at the Tower Hill of bloody death, which before had no compassion of the lives of others? Thus ye see the saying of the Lord to be true, "He that smiteth with the sword, shall perish with the sword."

So was Heliodorus, in the old time of the Jews, plagued by God's hand in the temple of Jerusalem.

So did Antiochus, Herod, Julian, Valerian the emperor, Decius, Maxentius, with infinite others, after they had exercised their cruelty upon God's people, feel the like striking hand of God themselves also, in revenging the blood of his servants.

And thus much concerning those persecutors, as well of the clergy-sort as of the laity, which were stricken, and died before the death of Queen Mary. With whom also are to be numbered in the race of persecuting bishops, which died before Queen Mary, these bishops following.

Cotes, bishop of Chester.
Parfew, bishop of Hereford.
Glyn, bishop of Bangor.
Brookes, bishop of Gloucester.
King, bishop of Tame.
Petow, elect of Salisbury.
Day, bishop of Chichester.
Holyman, bishop of Brisfol.

Now, after the queen, immediately followed, or rather waited upon her, the death of Cardinal Pole, who the next day departed: of what disease, although it be uncertain to many, yet by some it is suspected, that he took some Italian physic, which did him no good. Then followed these bishops in order:

John Christopherson, bishop of Chichester.
Hopton, bishop of Norwich.
Morgan, bishop of St. David's.
John White, bishop of Winchester.
Ralph Bayne, bishop of Lichfield and Coventry.
Owen Oglethorpe, bishop of Carlisle.
Cuthbert Tonnall, bishop of Durham.
Thomas Reynolds, elect of Hereford, after his deprivation, died in prison.

Besides these bishops above named, first died at the same time,

Dr. Weston, dean of Westminster, afterwards dean of Windsor; chief disputer against Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer.
Master Slethurst, master of Trinity college in Oxford, who died in the Tower.
Seth Holland, dean of Worcester, and warden of All Souls' college, in Oxford.
William Copinger, monk of Westminster, who bare the great seal before Stephen Gardiner, after the death of the said Gardiner, made himself monk in the house of Westminster; and shortly after fell mad, and died in the Tower.
Dr. Steward, dean of Winchester.

To behold the working of God's judgments, it is wondrous. In the first year of Queen Mary, when the clergy were assembled in the convocation-house, and also afterward, when the disputation was in Oxford against Drs. Cranmer and Ridley, and Master Latimer, he that had seen then Dr. Weston the prolocutor in his ruff, how highly he took upon him in the schools, and how stoutly he stood in the pope's quarrel against simple and naked truth, full little would have thought, and less did he think himself, (I dare say,) that his glory and lofty looks should have been brought down so soon, especially by them of his own religion, whose part he so doughtily defended.

But such is the reward and end commonly of them, who presumptuously oppose themselves to strive against the Lord, as by the example of this doctory prolocutor right well may appear. For not long after, the disputation above mentioned against Bishop Cranmer and his fellows, God so wrought against the said Dr. Weston, that he fell in great displeasure with Cardinal Pole and other bishops, because he was unwilling to give up his deanery, and house of Westminster, unto the monks and religious men, whom indeed he favoured not, although in other things he maintained the Church of Rome: who notwithstanding, at last, through importunate suit, gave up Westminster, and was dean of Windsor; where, not long after, he was apprehended in adultery, and for the same was by the cardinal put from all his spiritual livings. Wherefore he appealed to Rome, and purposed to have fled out of the realm, but was taken by the way, and committed to the Tower of London; there remained until Queen Elizabeth was proclaimed queen, at which time he, being delivered, fell sick and died. The common talk was, that if he had not so suddenly ended his life, he would have opened and revealed the purpose of the chief of the clergy, (meaning the cardinal,) which was to have taken up King Henry's body at Windsor, and to have burned it. And thus much of Dr. Weston,

The residue that remained of the persecuting clergy, and escaped the stroke of death, were deprived, and committed to prisons; the catalogue of whose names here followeth.

Nicholas Heath, archbishop of York, and lord chancellor.

Thomas Thirlby, bishop of Ely.

Thomas Watson, bishop of Lincoln.

Gilbert Bourne, bishop of Bath and Wells.

Richard Pate, bishop of Worcester.

Turberville, bishop of Exeter.

John Fecknam, abbot of Westminster.

John Boxall, dean of Windsor and Peterborough.

Of David Pole, bishop of Peterborough, I doubt whether he was in the Tower, or in some other prison.

Persecuting bishops who ran away.

Goldwell, bishop of St. Asaph.
Maurice, elect of Bangor.
Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, in the Marshalsea.
Thomas Wood, bishop elect, in the Marshalsea.
Cuthbert Scott, bishop of Chester, was in the Fleet; from whence he escaped to Louvain, and there died.

Persecutors committed to the Fleet.

Henry Cole, dean of Paul's.
John Harpsfield, archdeacon of London, and dean of Norwich.
Nicholas Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury.
Anthony Draycot, archdeacon of Huntingdon.
William Chedsey, archdeacon of Middlesex.

Concerning which Dr. Chedsey here is to be noted, that in the beginning of King Edward's reign, he recanted, and subscribed to the thirty-four articles, wherein he then fully consented and agreed, with his own hand-writing, to the whole form of doctrine approved and allowed then in the church, as well concerning justification by faith only, as also the doctrine of the two sacraments then received, denying as well the pope's supremacy, transubstantiation, purgatory, invocation of saints, elevation and adoration of the sacrament, the sacrifice and veneration of the mass, as also all other like excrements of popish superstition, according to the king's book then set forth.

Wherefore the more marvel it is, that he, being counted such a famous and learned clerk, would show himself so fickle and unstable in his assertions, so double in his doings, to alter his religion according to time, and to maintain for truth, not what he thought best, but what he might most safely defend. So long as the state of the lord protector and of his brother stood upright, what was then the conformity of this Dr. Chedsey, his own articles in Latin, written and subscribed with his own hand, do declare, which I have to show, if he will deny them. But after the decay of the king's uncles, the fortune of them turned not so fast, but his religion turned withal, and eftsoons he took upon him to dispute against Peter Martyr, in upholding transubstantiation, at Oxford, which, a little before, with his own hand-writing he had overthrown.

After this ensued the time of Queen Mary, wherein Dr. Chedsey, to show his double diligence, was so eager in his commission to sit in judgment, and to bring poor men to their death, that in the last year of Queen Mary, when the lord chancellor, Sir Thomas Cornwallis, Lord Clinton, and divers other of the council had sent for him, by a special letter, to repair unto London out of Essex, he, writing again to the bishop of London, sought means not to come at the council's bidding, but to continue still in his persecuting progress. The copy of whose letter I have also in my hands (if need were) to bring forth William

Mention was made not long before, of one William Maldon, who, in King Henry's time, suffered stripes and scourgings for confessing the verity of God's true

religion. It happened in the first year of Queen Elizabeth, that the said William Maldon was bound servant with one named Master Hugh Aparry, then a wheat-taker for the queen, dwelling at Greenwich; who being newly come unto him, and having never a book there to look upon, being desirous to occupy himself virtuously, looked about the house, and found a Primer in English, whereon he read in a winter's evening. While he was reading, there sat one John Apowel, that had been a serving-man, about thirty years of age, born toward Wales, whom the said Master Hugh gave meat and drink unto, till such time as he could get a service. And as the foresaid William Maldon read on the book, the said John Apowel mocked him after every word, with contrary gauds and flouting words irreverently, insomuch that he could no longer abide him for grief of heart, but turned unto him and said, "John, take heed what thou dost; thou dost not mock me, but thou mockest God: for in mocking of his word, thou mockest him; and this is the word of God, though I be simple that read it; and therefore beware what thou dost."

Then Maldon fell to reading again, and still he proceeded on in his mocking; and when Maldon had read certain English prayers, in the end he read, "Lord have mercy upon us, Christ have mercy upon us," &c.

And as Maldon was reciting these words, the other with a start suddenly said, "Lord have mercy upon me."

With that Maldon answered and said, "What ailest thou, John?"

He said, "I was afraid." "Whereof wast thou afraid?" said Maldon. "Nothing now," said the other; and so he would not tell him.

After this, when Maldon and he went to bed, Maldon asked him, whereof he was afraid? He said, "When you read, 'Lord have mercy upon us, Christ have mercy upon us,' methought the hair of my head stood upright, with a great fear which came upon me."

Then said Maldon, "John, thou mayest see, the evil spirit could not abide that Christ should have mercy upon us. Well, John," said Maldon, "repent and amend thy life, for God will not be mocked. If we mock and jest at his word, he will punish us. Also you use ribaldry words, and swearing very much: therefore for God's sake, John, amend thy life." "So I will," said he, "by the grace of God; I pray God I may." "Amen," said the other, with other words; and so went to bed.

On the morrow, about eight of the clock in the morning, the foresaid John came running down out of his chamber, in his shirt, into the hall, and wrestled with his mistress, as if he would have thrown her down. Whereat she shrieked out, and her servants helped her, and took him by strength and carried him up into his bed, and bound him down to his bed; for they perceived plainly that he was out of his right mind.

After that, as he lay, almost day and night his tongue never ceased, but he cried out of the devil of hell, and his words were ever still, "O the devil of hell; now the devil of hell; I would see the devil of hell. Thou shalt see the devil of hell; there he was, there he goeth; "with other words, but most of the devil of hell.

Thus he lay without amendment about six days, that his master and all his household were weary of that trouble and noise. Then his master agreed with the keepers of Bedlam, and gave a piece of money, and sent him thither. It seemeth that he was possessed with an evil spirit, from the which God defend us all.

This is a terrible example to you that be mockers of the word of God: therefore repent and amend, lest the vengeance of God fall upon you in like manner. -- Witness hereof William Maldon, of Newington.

The same William Maldon chanced afterward to dwell at a town six miles from London, called Walthamstow, where his wife taught young children to read, which was about the year of our Lord 1563, and the fourth year of Queen Elizabeth's reign. Unto this school, amongst other children, came one Benfield's daughter, named Dennis, about the age of twelve years.

As these children sat talking together, they happened among other talk (as the nature of children is to be busy with many things) to fall into communication of God, and to reason among themselves, after their childish discretion, what he should be. Whereunto some answered one thing, some another. Among whom, when one of the children had said, that he was a good old Father; the foresaid Dennis Benfield, casting out impious words of horrible blasphemy, "What! he," said she, "is an old doting fool."

What wretched and blasphemous words were these, ye hear. Now mark what followed. When William Maldon heard of these abominable words of the girl, he willed his wife to correct her for the same; which was appointed the next day to be done. But when the next morrow came, her mother would needs send her to the market to London, the wench greatly entreating her mother that she might not go, being marvellously unwilling thereunto. Howbeit, through her mother's compulsion, she was forced to go, and went. And what happened? Her business being done at London, as she was returning again homeward, and being a little past Hackney, suddenly the young girl was so stricken, that all the one side of her was black, and she speechless. Whereupon immediately she was carried back to Hackney, and there the same night was buried. -- The witness of the same story was William Maldon and his wife; also Benfield her father, and her mother, which yet be all alive.

A terrible example, no doubt, both to old and young, what it is for children to blaspheme the Lord their God, and what it is for parents to suffer their young ones to grow up in such blasphemous blindness, and not to nurture them betimes in the rudiments of the Christian catechism, to know first their creation, and then their redemption in Christ our Saviour, to fear the name of God, and to reverence his majesty. For else what do they deserve but to be taken away by death, which contemptuously despise him, of whom they take the benefit of life?

And therefore let all young maids, boys, and young men, take example by this wretched silly wench, not only not to blaspheme the sacred majesty of the omnipotent God their Creator, but also not once to take his name in vain, according as they are taught in his commandments.

Secondly, let all fathers, godfathers, and godmothers, take this for a warning, to see to the instruction and catechizing of their children, for whom they have bound themselves in promise both to God and to his church. Which if the father and godfather, the mother and godmothers had done to this young girl, verily it may be thought this destruction had not fallen upon her.

Thirdly, let all blind atheists, epicures, mammonists, belly-gods of this world, and sons of Belial, hypocrites, infidels, and mockers of religion, which say in their hearts, There is no God, learn also hereby, not only what God is, and what he is able to do, but also in this miserable creature here punished in this world, behold what shall likewise fall on them in the world to come, unless they will be warned betimes, by such examples as the Lord doth give them.

Fourthly and lastly, here may also be a spectacle for all them which be blasphemers and abominable swearers, or rather tearers of God, abusing his glorious name in such contemptuous and despiteful sort as they use to do; whom if neither the word and commandment of God, nor the calling of the preachers, nor remorse of conscience, nor rule of reason, nor their withering age, nor hoary hairs will admonish; yet let these terrible examples of God's strict judgment somewhat move them to take heed to themselves. For if this young maiden, who was not fully twelve years old, for her irreverent speaking of God, (and that but at one time,) did not escape the stroke of God's terrible hand, what then have they to look for, which, being men grown in years and stricken in age, being so often warned and preached unto, yet cease not continually with their blasphemous oaths, not only to abuse his name, but also most contumeliously and despitefully to tear him (as it were) and all his parts in pieces?

About the year of our Lord 1565, at Brightwell, in the county of Berks, upon certain communication as touching the right reverend martyrs in Christ, Bishop Cranmer, Bishop Ridley, and Master Hugh Latimer, there came into a house in Abingdon, one whose name is Levar, being a ploughman, dwelling in Brightwell aforesaid; and said, that he saw that ill-favoured knave Latimer when he was burnt; and also in despite said, that he had teeth like a horse. At which time and hour, as near as could be gathered, the son of the said Levar most wickedly hanged himself, at Shipton in the county aforesaid, within a mile of Abingdon.

Did not Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, give sentence against the Lord Cobham, and died himself before him, being so stricken in his tongue, that neither he could swallow nor speak for a certain space before his death?

Friar Campbel, the accuser of Patrick Hamilton in Scotland, what a terrible end he had, read before.

Harvey, a commissary, that condemned a poor man in Calais, was shortly after hanged, drawn, and quartered.

William Swallow, the cruel tormentor of George Eagles, was shortly after so plagued of God, that all the hair of his head and nails of his fingers and toes went off, his eyes well near closed up, that he could scant see. His wife also was stricken with the falling sickness, with the which malady she was never infected before.

Likewise Richard Potto, another troubler of the said George Eagles, upon a certain anger or chafe with his servants, was so suddenly taken with sickness, that falling upon his bed like a beast, there he died and never spake word.

Richard Denton, a shrinker from the gospel, while he refused to suffer the fire in the Lord's quarrel, was afterward burnt in his own house with two more.

The wife of John Fetty, being the cause of the taking of her husband, how she was, immediately upon the same, by God's hand stricken with madness, and was distract out of her wits, read before.

Thomas Mouse and George Revet, two persecutors, were stricken miserably with the hand of God, and so died.

Also Robert Edgore, for that he had executed the office of a parish clerk against his conscience, through anguish and grief of conscience for the same, was so bereft of his wits, that he was kept in chains and bonds many years after.

As touching John Plankney, fellow of New College in Oxford, civilian, and one Havington, both fellows of the same house aforesaid, and both stubborn papists, the matter is not much worthy the memory; yet the example is not unworthy to be noted, to see what little comfort and grace commonly followeth the comfortless doctrine and profession of papistry, as in these two young men, amongst many other, may well appear. Of whom the one, which was Plankney, scholar sometime to Marshal, (who wrote the Book of the Cross,) is commonly reported and known to them of that university, to have drowned himself in the river about Rewley, at Oxford, anno 1556; the other in a well about Rome, or as some do say at Padua; and so being both drowned, were both taken up with crucifixes (as it is said of some) hanging about their necks; the more pity that such young students did so much addict their wits, rather to take the way of papistry, than to walk in the comfortable light of the gospel, now so brightly spreading his beams in all the world; which if they had done, I think not contrary, but it had proved much better with them.

Albeit (I trust) the gospel of Christ, being now received in the queen's court amongst the courtiers and servants of her guard, hath framed their lives and manners so to live in the due fear of God, and temperance of life, with all sobriety, and merciful compassion toward their own Christians, that they need not greatly any other instructions to be given them in this story: yet forasmuch as examples many times do work more effectually in the minds and memories of men; and also partly considering with myself, how these, above all other sorts of men in the whole realm, in time past ever had most need of such wholesome lessons and admonitions, to leave their inordinate riot of quaffing and drinking, and their heathenish profanity of life; I thought here to set before their eyes a terrible example, not of a strange and foreign person, but of one of their own coat, a yeoman of the guard, not feigned by me, but brought to me by God's providence, for a warning to all courtiers; and done of very truth no longer ago than in the year of our Lord 1568. And as the story is true, so is the name of the party not unknown, being called Christopher Landesdale, dwelling in Hackney, in Middlesex; the order of whose life, and manner of his death, being worthy to be noted, is this, as in story hereunder followeth.

This foresaid Landesdale being married to an ancient woman yet living, having by her both goods and lands, notwithstanding lived long in filthy whoredom with a younger woman, by whom he had two children, a son and a daughter, and kept them in his house unto the day of his death. Also, when he should have been in, serving of God on the sabbath day, he used to walk or ride about his fields, and seldom he or any of his house came to the church after the English service was again received. Besides this, he was a great swearer; and a great drunkard, and had great delight also in making other men drunken; and would have them whom he had made drunkards, to call him father, and he would call them his sons; and of these sons, by report, he had above forty. And if he had seen one that would drink freely, he would mark him, and spend his money with him liberally in ale or wine, but most in wine, to make him the sooner drunken. These blessed sons of his should have great cheer oftentimes, both at his own house and at taverns: and, not long before his death, he was so beastly drunken in a tavern, over against his door, that he fell down in the tavern yard, and could not rise alone, but lay grovelling, till he was holpen up, and so carried home.

This father of drunkards, as he was a great feaster of the rich and wealthy of Hackney, and others; so his poor neighbours and poor tenants fared little better for him: except it were with some broken meat which after his feasts his wife would carry and send unto them, or some alms given at his door.

Besides all this, he did much injury to his poor neighbours, in oppressing the commons near about him, which was a special relief unto them; so that his cattle did eat up all without pity or mercy.

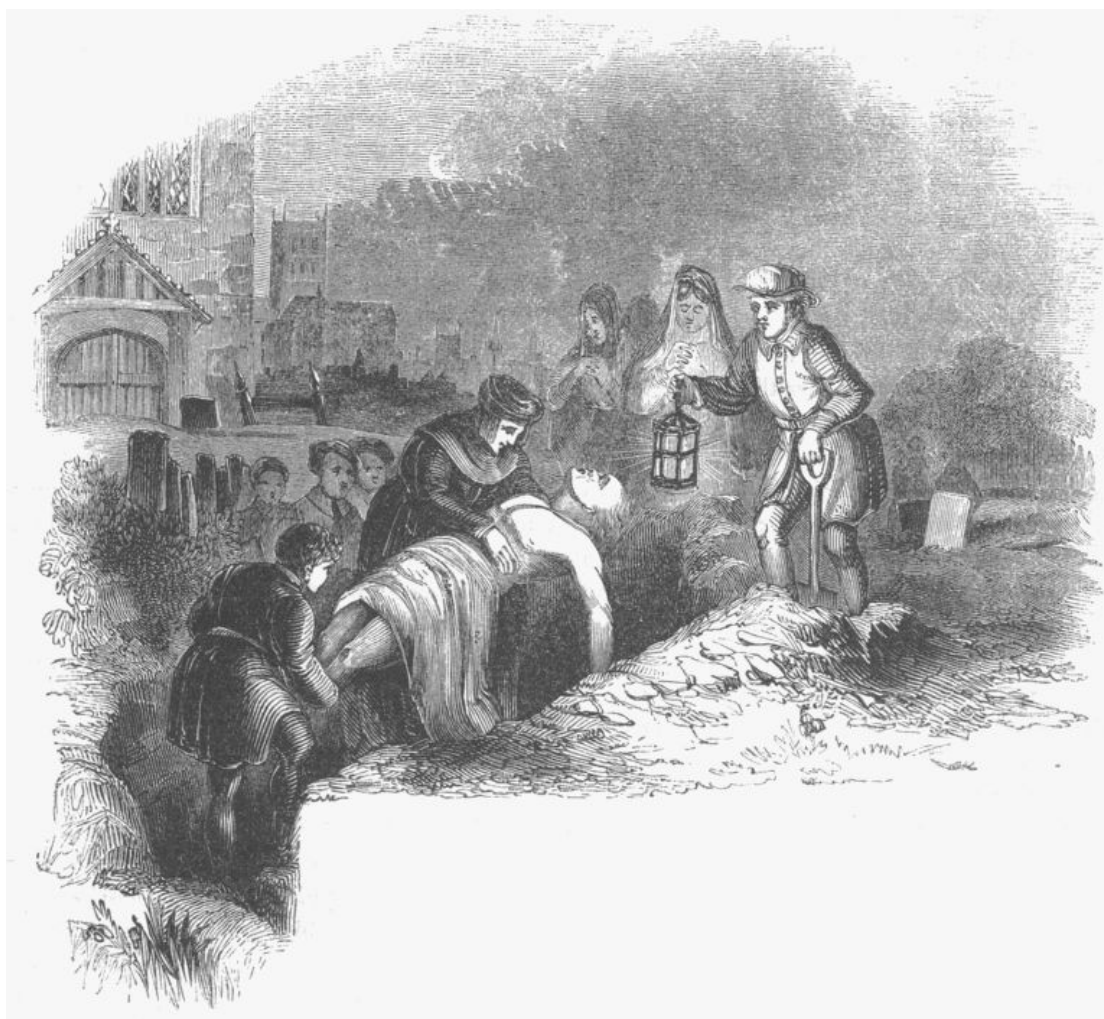
There chanced after this, about two years before he died, a poor man, being sick of the bloody flux, for very weakness to lie down in a ditch of the said Landesdale's, not a stone's cast from his house, where he had a little straw brought him: notwithstanding the said Landesdale had back houses and barns enough, to have laid him in, but would not show him so much pity. And thus poor Lazarus there lay night and day, about six days ere he died. Certain good neighbours, hearing of this, procured things necessary for his relief; but he was so far spent, that he could not be recovered; who lay broiling in the hot sun, with a horrible smell, most pitiful to behold.

This poor man, a little before he died, desired to be removed to another ditch, into the shadow; whereupon, one of the neighbours coming to Landesdale's wife for a bundle of straw for him to lie upon, she required to have him removed to Newington side, because, she said, if he should die, it would be very far to carry him to the church.

Besides this, there was a marriage in this Landesdale's house, and the guests that came to the marriage gave the poor man money as they came and went by hint, but Landesdale disdained to contribute any relief unto him, notwithstanding that he had promised to Master Searles, one of the queen's guard, (who had more pity of him,) to minister to him things necessary.

To be short, the next day poor Lazarus departed this life, and was buried in Hackney churchyard; upon whom Landesdale did not so much as bestow a winding-

sheet, or any thing else towards his burial. And thus much concerning the end of poor Lazarus. Now let us hear what became of the rich glutton.



The Burial of Poor Lazarus

About two years after, the said Landesdale, being full of drink, (as his custom was,) came riding in great haste from London on St. Andrew's day, anno 1568, and, (as is reported by those that saw him,) reeling to and fro like a drunkard with his hat in his hand, and coming by a ditch-side, there tumbled in headlong into the ditch. Some say that the horse fell upon him, but that is not like. This is true; the horse, more sober than the master, came home, leaving his master behind him. Whether he brake his neck with the fall, or was drowned, (for the water was scarcely a foot deep,) it is uncertain; but certain it is, that he was there found dead. Thus he, being found dead in the ditch, the coroner (as the manner is) sat upon him: and how the matter was handled for saving his goods, the Lord knoweth; but in the end so it fell out, that the goods were saved, and the poor horse indicted for his master's death. The neighbours, hearing of the death of this man, and considering the manner thereof, said it was justly

fallen upon him, that as he suffered the poor man to lie and die in the ditch near unto him, so his end was to die in a ditch likewise.

And thus hast thou in this story, Christian brother and reader, the true image of a rich glutton and poor Lazarus set out before thine eyes; whereby we have all to learn, what happeneth in the end to such voluptuous epicures and atheists, who, being void of all sense of religion, and fear of God, yield themselves over to all profanity of life, neither regarding any honesty at home, nor showing any mercy to their needy neighbours abroad.

Christ our Saviour saith, Blessed be the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy: but judgment without mercy shall be executed on them which have showed no mercy, &c. And St. John saith, He that seeth his brother have need, and shutteth up his compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him? &c. Again, Isaiah, against such profane drunkards and quaffers, thus crieth out: Woe be unto them that rise up early to follow drunkenness, and to them that so continue until night, till they be set on fire with wine. In those companies are harps and lutes, tabrets and pipes and wine: but they regard not the works of the Lord, and consider not the operation of his hands, &c. Woe be unto them that are strong to spue out wine, and expert to set up drunkenness.

The punishments of them that be dead, be wholesome documents to them that be alive. And therefore, as the story above exemplified may serve to warn all courtiers and yeomen of the guard; so, by this that followeth, I would wish all gentlemen to take good heed and admonition betimes, to leave their outrageous swearing and blaspheming of the Lord their God.

In the time and reign of King Edward, there was in Cornwall a certain lusty young gentleman, which did ride in company with other more gentlemen, together with their servants, being about the number of twenty horsemen. Among whom this lusty younker entering into talk, began to swear most horribly, blaspheming the name of God, with other ribaldry words besides. Unto whom one of the company, (who is yet alive, and witness hereof,) not able to abide the hearing of such blasphemous abomination, in gentle words speaking to him, said he should give answer and account for every idle word.

The gentleman, taking snuff thereat; "Why," said he, "takest thou thought for me? take thought for thy winding-sheet." "Well," quoth the other, "amend; for death giveth no warning; for as soon cometh a lamb's skin to the market, as an old sheep's." "God's wounds!" saith he, "care not thou for me:" raging still after this manner worse and worse in words, till at length, passing on their journey, they came riding over a great bridge, standing over a piece of an arm of the sea; upon the which bridge this gentleman-swearer spurred his horse in such sort, as he sprang clean over with the man on his back, who, as he was going, cried, saying, "Horse and man, and all to the devil." This terrible story happening in a town in Cornwall, I would have been afraid amongst these stories here to recite, were it not that he which was then both reprehender of his swearing, and witness of his death, is yet alive, and now a minister, named Heynes. Besides this, Bishop Ridley, then bishop of London, preached and uttered even the same fact and example at Paul's Cross. The name of the gentleman I

could by no means obtain of the party and witness aforesaid, for dread of those (as he said) which yet remain of his affinity and kindred in the said country.

Having now sufficiently admonished, first the courtiers, then the gentlemen; now thirdly, for a brief admonition to the lawyers, we will here insert the strange end and death of one Henry Smith, student of the law.

This Henry Smith, having a godly gentleman to his father, and an ancient protestant, dwelling in Campden in Gloucestershire, was by him virtuously brought up in the knowledge of God's word, and sincere religion; wherein he showed himself in the beginning such an earnest professor, that he was called of the papists, prattling Smith. After these good beginnings, it followed that he, coming to be a student of the law in the Middle Temple at London, there, through sinister company of some, and especially as it is thought of one Gifford, began to be perverted to popery; and afterward going to Louvain, was more deeply rooted and grounded in the same; and so continuing a certain space among the papists, of a young protestant at length was made a perfect papist. Insomuch that, returning from thence, he brought him with pardons, a crucifix, with an Agnus Dei, which he used commonly to wear about his neck; and had in his chamber images, before which he was wont to pray, besides divers other popish trash, which he brought with him from Louvain. Now what end followed after this I were loth to utter in story, but that the fact so lately done this present year, anno 1559, remaineth yet so fresh in memory, that almost all the city of London not only can witness, but also doth wonder thereat. The end was this.

Not long after the said Henry Smith, with Gifford his companion, was returned from Louvain, being now a foul jeerer and a scornful scoffer of that religion which before he professed; in his chamber where he lay in a house in St. Clement's parish without Temple-bar, in the evening as he was going to bed, and his clothes put off, (for he was found naked,) he had tied his shirt (which he had torn to the same purpose) about his middle, and so with his own girdle, or riband garter as it seemed, fastened to the bed-post, there strangled himself. They that were of his quest, and others which saw the manner of his hanging, and the print where he sat upon his bed's side, do record, that he thrust himself down from the bed's side where he sat; the place where he had fastened the girdle being so low, that his hips well near touched the floor, his legs lying across, and his arms spread abroad. And this was the manner of his hanging, having his Agnus Dei in a silver tablet, with his other idolatrous trash in the window by him. And thus being dead, and not thought worthy to be interred in the churchyard, he was buried in a lane, called Foskew-lane.

This heavy and dreadful end of Henry Smith, although it might seem enough to gender a terror to all young popish students of the law; yet it did not so work with all, but that some remained as obstinate still as they were before; amongst whom was one named Williams, a student of the Inner Temple, who being some time a favourer of the gospel, fell in like manner from that to be an obstinate papist, and a despiteful railer against true religion, and in conclusion, was so hot in his catholic zeal, that in the midst of his railing he fell stark mad, and so yet to this present day remaineth. The Lord of his mercy turn him to a better mind, and convert him if it be his pleasure; Amen.

The miserable end of Twyford is here no less to be remembered, a busy doer sometime, in King Henry's days, by Bonner's appointment, in setting up of stakes for the burning of poor martyrs; who, when he saw the stakes consume away so fast; "Yea," said he, "will not these stakes hold? I will have a stake, I trow, that shall hold." And so provided a big tree, and cutting off the top, set it in Smithfield. But thanks be to God, ere the tree was all consumed, God turned the state of religion, and he fell into a horrible disease, rotting alive above the ground before he died. Read more of him before. But because the story both of him, and of a number such other like, is to be found in sundry places of this history sufficiently before expressed, it shall be but a double labour again to recapitulate the same.

The strange and fearful death of Dr. Williams.

Ye have heard before of the condemnation and martyrdom of a certain boy called Thomas Drowry, condemned by Williams, chancellor of Gloucester, contrary to all right and counsel of the registrar then present, called Barker. Now what punishment fell after, upon the said chancellor, followeth to be declared.

When God, of his inestimable mercy having pity of us, and pardoning our sins, for his Son Christ Jesus's sake, had now taken from us that bloody princess, and sent us this jewel of joy, the queen's Majesty that now reigneth (and long may she reign) over us; and that the commissioners for restitution of religion were coming toward Gloucester; the same day Dr. Williams, the chancellor, dined with Master Jennings, the dean of Gloucester, who with all his men were booted ready at one of the clock to set forward to Chipping Norton, about fifteen miles from Gloucester, to meet the commissioners which were at Chipping Norton, and said to him, "Chancellor, are not thy boots on?"

Chancellor.--"Why should I put them on?"

"To go with me," quoth the dean, "to meet these commissioners."

Chancellor.--"I will neither meet them, nor see them."

Dean.--"Thou must needs see them, for now it is past twelve of the clock, and they will be here before three of the clock: and therefore, if thou be wise, on with thy boots, let us go together, and all shall be well."

Chancellor.--"Go your ways, Master Dean, I will never see them."

As I said, W. Jennings, the dean, set forward with his company toward the commissioners; and by and by cometh one upon horseback to the dean, saying, "Master Chancellor lieth at the mercy of God, and is speechless." At that word, the dean with his company pricked forward to the commissioners, and told them the whole matter and communication between them two, as above. And they sent one of their men, with the best words they could devise, to comfort him with many promises. But, to be short; albeit the commissioners were now nearer Gloucester than the dean and his company thought, making very great haste, especially after they had received

these news, yet Dr. Williams, though false of religion, yet true of his promise, kept his ungracious covenant with the dean; for he was dead ere they came to the city, and so never saw them indeed.

A note of Christopher Parker.

Christopher Parker, called Parker the Wild, mentioned before in this Book of Monuments, who, being a persecutor of Richard Woodman, did manacle his hands with a cord, did cast himself into a pond, and so drowned himself at Herstmonceaux, in Sussex, the eighth of September, 1575.

The story of one Drainer of Kent, commonly called Justice Nine-holes.

I may not in this place omit the tragedy of one Drainer of Smarden in the county of Kent, esquire, who bearing grudge against one Gregory Dods, parson of the said town, for reproving his vicious life, sent for him by two men, which took him and brought him before him, where he was had into a parlour, as it were to breakfast; in which, behind the door, he had placed one Roger Matthew secretly, to bear witness what he should say, no more being in sight but the said Drainer and one of his men, who willed and persuaded him to speak freely his mind, for that there was not sufficient record of his words to hurt him. But the Lord kept his talk without peril, whereby the said Drainer sent him to the next justice, called Master George Dorell; who, perceiving it to be done more of malice than otherwise, delivered him upon sureties, to appear at the next sessions at Canterbury, and at length he was banished the country.

This said Drainer afterward, being chosen justice, to show himself diligent in seeking the trouble of his neighbours, made in the rood-loft nine holes, that he might look about the church in mass time. In which place alway, at the sacring thereof, he would stand to see who looked not, or held not up his hands thereto; which persons not so doing he would trouble and punish very sore. Whereby he purchased a name there, and is called to this day, Justice Nine-holes, who now (God be thanked) is John-out-of-office, and glad of his neighbour's good will.

It so fell out, that since this was published, the said Drainer came to the printer's house, with other associates, demanding, "Is Foxe here?" To whom answer was given, that Master Foxe was not within. "Is the printer within?" quoth Drainer. It was answered, Yea. Whereupon, being required to come up into his house, he was asked what his will was. "Marry," saith he, "you have printed me false in your book." "Why," saith the printer, "is not your name Master Drainer, otherwise called Justice Nine-holes?" "It is false," saith he, "I made but five with a great auger, and the parson made the rest." It was answered, "I have not read that a justice should make him a place in the rood-loft, to see if the people held up their hands." He said, "Whereas you allege, that I did it to see who adored the sacrament, or who not, it is untrue; for I set as little by it, as the best of you all." "Indeed," saith the printer, "so we understand now; for you being at supper in Cheapside among certain honest company, and there burdened with the matter, said then, that you did it rather to look upon fair wenches, than otherwise." He, being in a great rage, sware, saying to this purpose: "Can a man

speak nothing but you must have understanding thereof? But," saith he, "did I do any man any hurt?" It was answered, that he meant little good to Master Dods aforesaid, especially procuring a secret witness behind his door, to catch some words that might tend to Dods's destruction: which thing Drainer sware, as before, was not true. To whom the printer replied, that it was most true, for that the party there secretly hidden, hath since, upon his knees, asking forgiveness for his intent, confessed the same to Dods himself. "I will hang that knave," saith he. And so he departed in a rage; and since is deceased, whose death, and order thereof, I refer to the secret Judge.

431. Foreign Examples of Persecutors Plagued by God's Hand.

Wherefore to pass over our own domestical examples of English persecutors plagued by God's hand, (wherewith this our present story doth abound,) I will stretch my pen a little further, to adjoin withal a few like examples in foreign countries.

Hoimeister, the great arch-papist, and chief master-pillar of the pope's falling church, as he was in his journey going toward the council of Ratisbon, to dispute against the defenders of Christ's gospel, suddenly in his journey, not far from Ulm, was prevented by the stroke of God's hand; and there miserably died, with horrible roaring and crying out.

What a pernicious and pestilent doctrine is this of the papists, which leadeth men to seek their salvation by merits and works of the law, and not by faith only in Christ the Son of God, and so to stay themselves by grace! And what inconvenience this doctrine of doubting and desperation bringeth men to at length, if the plain word of God will not suffuciently admonish us, yet let us be warned by examples of such as have been either teachers or followers of this doctrine, and consider well what end commonly it hath and doth bring men unto. To recite all that may be said in this behalf, it were infinite. To note a few examples for admonition's sake, it shall be requisite.

In the university of Louvain was one named Guarlacus, a learned man, brought up in that school, who at length was reader of divinity to the monks of St. Gertrude's order; where, after he had stoutly maintained the corrupt errors of such popish doctrine, at last falling sick, when he perceived no way with him but death, he fell into a miserable agony and perturbation of spirit, crying out of his sins, how wickedly he had lived, and that he was not able to abide the judgment of God; and so, casting out words of miserable desperation, said, his sins were greater than that he could be pardoned; and in that desperation wretchedly he ended his life.

Another like example we have of Arnoldus Bomelius, a young man of the said university of Louvain, well commended for his fresh flourishing wit and ripeness of learning, who, so long as he favoured the cause of the gospel, and took part with the same against the enemies of the truth, he prospered and went well forward; but after that he drew to the company of Tyleman, master of the pope's college in Louvain, and framed himself after the rule of his unsavoury doctrine, that is, to stand in fear and doubt of his justification, and to work his salvation by merits and deeds of the law, he began more and more to grow in doubtful despair and discomfort of mind; as the nature of that doctrine is, utterly to pluck away a man's mind from all certainty and true liberty of spirit, to a servile doubtfulness, full of discomfort and bondage of soul.

Thus the young man, seduced and perverted through this blind doctrine of ignorance and dubitation, fell into a great agony of mind, wandering and wrestling in himself a long space, till at length, being overcome with despair, and not having in the popish doctrine wherewith to raise up his soul, he went out of the city on a time to walk, accompanied with three other students of the same university, his special familiars; who as they returned home again after their walk, Arnoldus for weariness,

as it seemed, sat down by a spring side to rest him awhile. The others, supposing none other but that he for weariness there rested to refresh himself, went forward a little past him. In the mean time what doth Arnoldus, but suddenly taketh out his dagger, and struck himself into the body,

His fellows, seeing him shrinking down, and the fountain to be all coloured with the blood which issued out of the wound, came running to him to take him up; and so searching his body where the wound should be, at length found what he had done, and how he had stricken himself with his dagger into the breast. Whereupon they took him and brought him into a house next at hand, and there exhorted him, as well as they could, to repent his fact; who then, by outward gesture, seemed to give some show of repentance. Notwithstanding, the said Arnoldus, espying one of his friends there busy about him to have a knife hanging at his girdle, violently plucked out the knife, and with main force stabbed himself to the heart.

By these Louvanian examples, as we have all to learn, no man to be sure of his life, but that he always needeth to crave and call unto the Lord to bless him with his truth and grace; so especially would I wish our English Louvanians, which now make forts in that university against the open truth of Christ's gospel, to be wise in time, and not to spurn so against the prick.

Or if they think yet these examples not enough for sufficient admonition, let them join hereunto the remembrance also of James Latomus, a chief and principal captain of the same university of Louvain; who, after he had been at Brussels, and there, thinking to do a great act against Luther and his fellows, made an oration before the emperor so foolishly and ridiculously, that he was laughed to scorn almost of the whole court: then, returning from thence to Louvain again, in his public lecture he fell in an open fury and madness, uttering such words of desperation and blasphemous impiety, that the other divines which were there, and namely, Ruardus Anchusianus, were fain to carry him away, as he was raving, and so shut him into a close chamber. From that time unto his last breath, Latomus had never any thing else in his mouth, but that he was damned, and rejected of God, and that there was no hope of salvation for him, because that wittingly, and against his knowledge, he withstood the manifest truth of his word.

Thus Almighty God, not only by his word, but by examples in divers and sundry wise, doth warn us, first to seek to know the perfect will and decree of the Lord our God, appointed in his word. The perfect will and full testament of the Lord in his word, is this, that he hath sent and given his only Son unto us, being fully contented to accept our faith only upon him for our perfect justification and full satisfaction for all our transgressions; and this is called in Scripture, *justitia Dei*. To this will and righteousness of God, they that humble themselves, find such peace and rest in their souls, as no man is able to express, and have strength enough against all the invasions and temptations of Satan. Contrariwise, they that will not yield their obedience unto the will and ordinance of God expressed in his word, but will seek their own righteousness, which is of man, labouring by their merits and satisfaction to serve and please God; these not only do find with God no righteousness at all, but, instead of his favour, procure to themselves his horrible indignation; instead of comfort, heap to themselves desperation; and in the end what inconvenience they come to, by these above-recited examples of Guarlacus, Bomelius, and Latomus, it is

evident to see. And out of this fountain spring not only the punishments of these men, but also all other inconveniences, which happen amongst men, wheresoever this pernicious and erroneous doctrine of the papists taketh place.

A Dominic friar of Munster, as he was inveighing in the pulpit against the doctrine of the gospel then springing up, was struck with a sudden flash of lightning, and so ended his life.

Manlius, in his book, *De Dictis Philippi Melancthonis*, maketh mention of a certain tailor's servant in Leipsic, who, receiving first the sacrament in both kinds with the gospellers, afterward, being persuaded by the papists, received with them under one kind. Whereupon, being admonished of his master to come to the communion again in the church of the gospellers, he stood a great while, and made no answer. At last, crying out upon a sudden, he ran to the window thereby, and so cast himself out, and brake his neck.

In the same Manlius mention is also made of a certain gentleman of name and authority, but he nameth him not, who bearing these words in a song, "Our only hold or fortress is our God," answered and said, "I will help to shoot against thy stay or fort; or else I will not live." And so, within three days after, he died without repentance, or confessing his faith.

Of Sadolet, the learned cardinal, likewise, it is reported of some, that he died not without great torments of conscience and desperation.

The commendator of St. Anthony, who sat as spiritual judge over that godly learned man, Wolfgangus, burnt in Lorraine, in Germany, and gave sentence of his condemnation, fell suddenly dead shortly after. Read before.

Also his fellow, the abbot of Clarilocus, and suffragan to the bishop of Mentz, at the crack of guns, suddenly fell down and died.

David Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrews in Scotland, shortly after the condemning of Master George Wishart, how he by the just stroke of God was slain, and wretched ended his life within his own castle, in the discourse of his story is evident to see, whoso listeth further to read of that matter.

John Sleidan, in his 23d book, maketh relation of Cardinal Crescentius, the chief president and moderator of the council of Trent, anno 1552. The story of whom is certain, the thing that happened to him was strange and notable, the example of him may be profitable to others, such as have grace to be warned by other men's evils. The narration is this.

The twenty-fifth day of March, in the year aforesaid, Crescentius, the pope's legate and vicegerent in the council of Trent, was sitting all the day long until dark night, in writing letters to the pope.

After his labour, when night was come, thinking to refresh himself, he began to rise; and at his rising, behold there appeared to him a mighty black dog, of a huge bigness, his eyes flaming with fire, and his ears hanging low down well near to the

ground, to enter in, and straight to come toward him, and so to couch under the board. The cardinal, not a little amazed at the sight thereof, somewhat recovering himself, called to his servants, who were in the outward chamber next by, to bring in a candle, and to seek for the dog. But when the dog could not be found, neither there, nor in any other chamber about, the cardinal, thereupon stricken with a sudden conceit of mind, immediately fell into such a sickness, whereof his physicians, which he had about him, with all their industry and cunning could not cure him. And so in the town of Verona died this popish cardinal, the pope's holy legate, and president of this council; wherein his purpose was, (as Sleidan saith,) to recover and heal again the whole authority and doctrine of the Romish see, and to set it up for ever.

There were in this council, besides the pope's legates and cardinal of Trent, twenty-four bishops, doctors of divinity sixty-two. And thus was the end of that popish council, by the provident hand of the Almighty, despatched and brought to nought.

This council of Trent, being then dissolved by the death of his cardinal, was afterward, notwithstanding, re-collected again about the year of our Lord 1562; against the erroneous proceedings of which council, other writers there be that say enough. So much as pertaineth only to story, I thought hereunto to add, concerning two filthy adulterous bishops to the said council belonging, of whom the one, haunting to an honest man's wife, was slain by the just stroke of God, with a boar-spear. The other bishop, whose haunt was to creep through a window, in the same window was subtly taken, and hanged in a gin laid for him of purpose; and so conveyed, that in the morning he was seen openly in the street hanging out of the window, to the wonderment of all that passed by.

Amongst all the religious orders of papists, who was a stouter defender of the pope's side, or a more vehement impugner of Martin Luther, than John Eckius; who, if his cause wherein he so travailed had been godly, had deserved (no doubt) great favour and condign retribution at the hands of the Lord. Now, forasmuch as we cannot better judge of him than by his end, let us consider the manner of his departing hence, and compare the same with the end of Master Luther.

In the which Master Luther, being such an adversary as he was to the pope, and having no less than all the world upon him at once, first, this is to be noted; that after all these travails, the Lord gave him to depart both in great age, and in his own native country where he was born. Secondly, he blessed him with such a quiet death, without any violent hand of any adversary, that it was counted rather a sleep than a death. Thirdly, as the death of his body was mild, so his spirit and mind continued no less godly unto the end, continually invoking and calling upon the name of the Lord; and so commending his spirit to him with fervent prayer, he made a blessed and a heavenly ending. Fourthly, over and besides these blessings, Almighty God did also add unto him such an honourable burial, as to many great princes scarce happeneth the like. And this briefly concerning the end of Martin Luther, as ye may read before more at large.

Now let us consider, and confer with this, the death of John Eckius, and the manner thereof, which we find in the English translation of the history of John Carion, folio 250, in these words expressed. "This year," saith he, "died at Ingoldstadt, Dr.

Eckius, a faithful servant and champion of the pope, and a defender of the abominable papacy. But as his life was full of all ungodliness, uncleanness, and blasphemy; so was his end miserable, hard, and pitiful, insomuch that his last words (as it is noted of many credible persons) were these: 'in case the four thousand guilders were ready, the matter were despatched,' &c. (dreaming belike of some cardinalship that he should have bought). Some say that the pope had granted him a certain deanery, which he should have redeemed from the court of Rome with the foresaid sum." Now what a heavenly end this was of Master Eckius, I leave it to the reader's judgment.

In the city of Antwerp was (as they term him there) a shoulterd, (that is to say, the next officer to the margrave,) one named John Vander Warfe, bastard son of a stock or kindred called Warfe, of good estimation amongst the chiefest in Antwerp; who, as he was of nature cruel, so was he of judgment perverse and corrupt, and a sore persecutor of Christ's flock, with greediness seeking and shedding innocent blood; and had drowned divers good men and women in the water, for the which he was much commended of the bloody generation. Of some he was called a blood-hound or bloody dog. Of other he was called shilpad, that is to say, shelt-toad; for that he, being a short grundy, and of little stature, did ride commonly with a great broad hat, as a churl of the country. This man, after he was weary of his office, (wherein he had continued above twenty years,) he gave it over; and because he was now grown rich and wealthy, he intended to pass the residue of his life in pleasure and quietness. During which time, about the second year after he had left his office, he came to Antwerp, to the feast called our Lady's Oumegang, to make merry; which feast is usually kept on the Sunday following the Assumption of our Lady. The same day in the afternoon, about four of the clock, he being well laden with wine, rode homewards in his waggon, with his wife, and a gentlewoman waiting on her, and his fool. As soon as the waggon was come without the gate of the city, called Cronenberg-gate, upon the wooden bridge, being at that time made for a shift with rails or barriers on both sides for more surety of the passengers, (half a man's height and more,) the horses stood still, and would by no means go forward, whatsoever the guider of the waggon could do.

Then he, in a drunken rage, cried out to him that guided the waggon, saying, "Ride on, in a thousand devils' names; ride on!" Whereat the poor man answered, that he could not make the horses to go forward. By and by, while they were yet thus talking, suddenly rose, as it were, a mighty whirlwind, with a terrible noise, (the weather being very fair, and no wind stirring before,) and tossed the waggon over the bar into the town ditch, the ropes whereat the horses had been tied, being broken asunder in such sort, as if they had been cut with a sharp knife; the waggon also being cast upside down, with the fore end thereof turned toward the town again, and he drowned in the mire: and when he was taken up, it was found that his neck also was broken. His wife was taken up alive, but died also within three days after. But the gentlewoman and the fool, by God's mighty providence, were preserved and had no harm. The fool, hearing the people say his master was dead, said, "And was not I dead? was not I dead too?" This was done, anno 1553.-- Witness hereof not only the printer of the same story in Dutch, dwelling then in Antwerp, whose name was Francis Fraet, a good man, and afterward for hatred put to death of papists, but also divers Dutchmen here now in England, and a great number of English merchants, which then were at Antwerp, and are yet alive.

Of the sudden death of Bartholomew Chassanees, or Chassanus, persecutor, read before.

Of Minerius, the bloody persecutor, or rather tormenter of Christ's saints, how he died with bleeding in his lower parts, ye heard before.

And what should I speak of the judge which accompanied the said Minerius in his persecution, who, a little after, as he returned homeward, was drowned; and three more of the same company killed one another, upon a strife that fell amongst them?

Johannes de Roma, a cruel monk, whom we may rather call a hell-hound than persecutor, what hellish torments he had devised for the poor Christians of Angrogne, the contents of the story before doth express. Again, with what like torments afterward, and that double-fold, the Lord paid him home again, who, in his rotting and stinking death neither could find any enemy to kill him, nor any friend to bury him; who neither could abide his own stinking carrion, nor could any man else abide to come near him. Hereof read also before.

Such a like persecutor also the same time was the lord of Revest, who likewise escaped not the revenging hand of God's justice, being stricken, after his furious persecution, with a like horrible sickness, and such a fury and madness, that none durst come near him, and so most wretchedly died whereof read before.

Touching the like grievous punishment of God upon one John Martin, a persecutor, read before.

Erasmus, in an Epistle, or Apology, written in defence of his Colloquies, inferreth mention of a certain noble person of great riches and possessions, who, having wife and children, with a great family at home, (to whom, by St. Paul's rule, he was bound in conscience principally above all other worldly things to attend,) had purposed before his death to go see Jerusalem. And thus all things being set in order, this nobleman, about to set forward on his journey, committed the care of his wife, (whom he had left great with child,) and of his lordships and castles, to an archbishop, as to a most sure and trusty father. To make short, it happened in the journey this nobleman to die; whereof so soon as the archbishop had intelligence, instead of a father, he became a thief and a robber, seizing into his own hands all his lordships and possessions. And moreover, not yet contented with all this, he laid siege against a strong fort of his, (unto the which his wife, for safeguard of herself, did flee,) where, in conclusion, she, with the child that she went withal, was pitifully slain, and so miserably perished. Which story was done (as testifieth Erasmus) not so long before his time, but that there remained the nephews of the nobleman then alive, to whom the same inheritance should have fallen, but they could not obtain it.

What cometh of blind superstition, when a man, not containing himself within the compass of God's word, wandereth in other by-ways of his own, and not contented with the religion set up of the Lord, will bind his conscience to other ordinances, prescriptions, and religions devised by men, leaving God's commandments undone for the constitutions and precepts of men, what end and reward (I say) cometh thereof at length, by this one example, beside infinite others of the like sort, men may learn by experience: and therefore they that yet will defend idolatrous pilgrimage and rash

vows, let them well consider hereof. It is rightly said of St. Jerome, "To have been at Jerusalem is no great matter; but to live a godly and virtuous life, that is a great matter in very deed."

In the year of our Lord 1565, there was in the town of Ghent in Flanders, one William de Wever, accused and imprisoned by the provost of St. Peter's in Ghent (who had in his cloister a prison and a place of execution); and the day when the said William was called to the place of judgment, the provost sent for Master Giles Brackleman, principal advocate of the council of Flanders, and borough-master and judge of St. Peter's in Ghent, with other of the rulers of the town of Ghent, to sit in judgment upon him; and as they sat in judgment, the boroughmaster, named Master Giles Brackleman, reasoned with the said William de Wever upon divers articles of his faith. The one whereof was, why the said William de Wever denied that it was lawful to pray to saints: and he answered, (as the report goeth,) for three causes. The one was, that they were but creatures, and not the Creator. The second was, that if he should call upon them, the Lord did both see it, and hear it; and therefore he durst give the glory to none other, but to God. The third and chiefest cause was, that the Creator had commanded in his holy word to call upon him in troubles, unto which commandment he durst neither add nor take from it.

The boroughmaster, Master Giles Brackleman, also demanded, whether he did not believe that there was a purgatory which he should go into after this life, where every one should be purified and cleansed. He answered, that he had read over the whole Bible, and could find no such place, but the death of Christ was his purgatory: with many other questions proceeding after their order, until he came to pronounce his condemnation. But ere the said condemnation was read forth, the judgment of God was laid upon the said boroughmaster, who suddenly at that present instant was struck with a palsy, that his mouth was drawn up almost to his ear; and so he fell down, the rest of the lords by and by standing up and shadowing him, that the people could not well see him; and also the people were willed to depart, who, being still called upon to depart, answered, the place was so small to go out, that they could go no faster. Then the borough-master of the town, being taken up, was carried to his house, and it is not yet understood, nor commonly known, that ever he spake word after he was first struck, but was openly known to be dead the next day following. And yet, notwithstanding that this was done about ten of the clock, they burnt the said William de Weyer within three hours after, on the same day.

The fourth day of March, 1566, the like example of the Lord's terrible judgment was showed upon Sir Garret Triest, knight, who had long before promised to the regent to bring down the preaching: for the which act, (as the report goeth,) the regent promised again to make him a 'grave, which is an earl. Of the which Sir Garret it is also said, that he, coming from Brussels towards Ghent, brought with him the death of the preachers; and being come to Ghent, the said Sir Garret with other of the lords having received from the regent a commission to swear the lords and commons unto the Romish religion, the said Sir Garret, the fourth day of March above noted, at night being at supper, willed the lady his wife to call him in the morning, one hour sooner than he was accustomed to rise, for that he should the next day have much business to do in the town-house, to swear the lords and people to the Romish religion. But see what happened. The said Sir Garret, going to bed in good health, (as it seemed,) when the lady his wife called him in the morning, according to his

appointment, was found dead in the bed by her, and so unable to prosecute his wicked purpose.

The fifth of March, 1556, which was the day that Sir Garret Triest appointed to be there, and the lords of Ghent were come into the town-house, (as they had afore appointed,) to proceed and to give the oath, according as they had their commission, and Master Martin de Pester, the secretary, being appointed and about to give the oath, as the first man should have sworn, the said Martin de Pester was struck of God with present death likewise, and fell down, and was carried away in a chair or settle, and never spake after. Witnesses hereof: Peter de Bellemaker, Abraham Rossart, Maerke de Mil, Liven Hendrickx, Jahn Coucke, Rogeyr Van Hulle, Joys Neuehans, Lyavin Neuehens, William Vanden Boegarde, and Joys de Pytte.

About the borders of Suabia in Germany, not far from the city of Uberlingen, there was a certain monastery of Cistercian monks called Salmesville, founded in the days of Pope Innocent the Second, by a noble baron named Guntherame, about the year of our Lord 1130. This cell thus being erected, in process of time was enlarged with more ample possessions, finding many and great benefactors and endowers liberally contributing unto the same; as emperors, dukes, and rich barons. Amongst whom most especial were the earls of Montfort, who had bestowed upon that monastery many new liberties and great privileges, upon this condition, that they should receive with free hospitality any stranger, both horseman or footman, for one night's lodging, whosoever came. But this hospitality did not long so continue, through a subtle and devilish device of one of the monks, who took upon him to counterfeit to play the part of the devil, rattling and raging in his chains, where the strangers should lie, after a terrible manner in the night-time, to fray away the guests; by reason whereof no stranger nor traveller durst there abide; and so continued this a long space.

At length (as God would) it so happened, that one of the earls of the said house of Montfort, benefactors to that abbey, coming to the monastery, was there lodged, whether of set purpose, or by chance, it is not known. When the night came, and the earl was at his rest, the monk after his wonted manner beginneth his pageant, to play the tame, yea, rather the wild devil. There was stamping, ramping, spitting of fire, roaring, thundering, bouncing of boards, and rattling of chains, enough to make some men stark mad. The earl, hearing the sudden noise, and being somewhat, peradventure, afraid at the first, although he had not then the feat of conjuring, yet taking a good heart unto him, and running to his sword, he laid about him well favouredly, and following still the noise of the devil, so conjured him at last, that the monk which counterfeited the devil in jest, was slain, in his own likeness, in earnest.

After the imprisonment of the congregation, which were taken hearing God's word in St. James's Street in Paris, anno 1558, (as is above storied,) was a letter written to the king, which was divulgate abroad, proving and declaring by divers histories, what afflictions and calamities from time to time, by God's righteous judgment, have fallen upon such as have been enemies to his people, and have resisted the free passage of his holy word. In which letter, forasmuch as besides the said examples much other good fruitful matter is contained, worthy of all men to be read, and especially of princes to be considered, I thought good here to copy out the

whole, as the French book doth give it; the translation of the which letter into English, is after this tenor, as followeth.

"Consider, I pray you, sir, and you shall find that all your afflictions have come upon you, since you have set yourself against those which are called Lutherans. When you made the edict of Chateau-Briant, God sent you wars; but when you ceased the execution of your said edict, and as long as ye were enemy unto the pope, and going into Almaney for the defence of the Germans afflicted for religion, your affairs prospered as ye would wish or desire. On the contrary, what hath become upon you since you were joined with the pope again, having received a sword from him for his own safeguard, and who was it that caused you to break the truce? God hath turned in a moment your prosperities into such afflictions, that they touch not only the state of your own peison, but of your kingdom also. To what end became the enterprise of the duke of Guise in Italy, going about the service of the enemy of God, and purposing after his return to destroy the valleys of Piedmont, to offer or sacrifice them to God for his victories? The event hath well declared, that God can turn upside down our counsels and enterprises; as he overturned of late the enterprise of the constable of France at St. Quintin's; having vowed to God, that at his return he would go and destroy Geneva, when he had gotten the victory. Have you not heard of L. Ponchet, archbishop of Tours, who made suit for the erection of a court called Chamber-Ardent, wherein to condemn the protestants to the fire? who afterwards was stricken with a disease, called the fire of God, which began at his feet, and so ascended upward, that one member after another had to be cut off, and so died miserably without any remedy. Also one Castellane, who having enriched himself by the gospel, and forsaking the pure doctrine thereof to return unto his vomit again, went about to persecute the Christians at Orleans, and by the hand of God was stricken in his body with a sickness unknown to the physicians, the one half of his body burning as hot as fire, and the other as cold as ice; and so most miserably crying and lamenting, ended his life.

"There be other infinite examples of God's judgments worthy to be remembered; as the death of the chancellor and legate Du Prat, which was the first that opened to the parliament the knowledge of heresies, and gave out the first commissions to put the faithful to death, who afterwards died at his house at Natoillet, swearing and horribly blaspheming God, and his stomach was found pierced and gnawn asunder with worms. Also John Ruse, councillor in the parliament, coming from the court, after he had made report of the process against the poor innocents, was taken with a burning in the lower part of his belly, and, before he could be brought home to his house, the fever invaded all his inward parts; and so he died miserably, without any sign or token of the acknowledging of God. Also one named Claude de Asses, a councillor in the said court, the same day that he gave his opinion and consent to burn a faithful Christian, (albeit it was not done in deed as he would have it,) after he had dined, committed whoredom with a servant in the house, and even in doing the act he was stricken with a disease called apoplexy, whereof he died out of hand. Peter Liset, chief president of the said court, and one of the authors of the foresaid burning chamber, was deposed from his office, for being known to be out of his right wit, and bereaved of his understanding. Also John Morin, lieutenant-criminal of the provost of Paris, after he had been the cause of the death of many Christians, was finally stricken with a disease in his legs, called the wolves, whereby he lost the use of them, and died also out of his wits, many days before denying and blaspheming

God. Likewise John Andrew, bookbinder of the palace, a spy for the President Liset and of Bruseard the king's solicitor, died in a fury and madness. The inquisitor, John de Roma, in Provence, his flesh fell from him by piecemeal, so stinking that no man might come near him. Also John Minerius of Provence, who was the cause of the death of a great number of men, women, and children, at Cabriers and at Merindol, died with bleeding in the lower parts, the fire having taken his belly, blaspheming and despising God: besides many others whereof we might make recital, which were punished with the like kind of death.

"It may please your Majesty to remember yourself, that ye had no sooner determined to set upon us, but new troubles were by and by moved by your enemies, with whom ye could come to no agreement; which God would not suffer, forasmuch as your peace was grounded upon the persecution which ye pretended against God's servants: as also your cardinals cannot let through their cruelty the course of the gospel, which hath taken such root in your realm, that if God should give you leave to destroy the professors thereof, you should be almost a king without subjects.

"Tertullian hath well said, that 'the blood of martyrs is the seed of the gospel.' Wherefore, to take away all these evils coming of the riches of the papists, which cause so much whoredom, sodomitry, and incest, wherein they wallow like hogs, feeding their idle bellies, the best way were to put them from their lands and possessions, as the old sacrificing Levites were, according to the express commandment which was given to Joshua: for as long as the ordinances of God took place, and that they were void of ambition, the purity of religion remained whole and perfect; but when they began to aspire to principalities, riches, and worldly honours, then began the abomination of desolation that Christ foretold.

"It was even so in the primitive church, for it flourished and continued in all pureness as long as the ministers were of small wealth, and sought not their particular profit, but the glory of God only. But since the pope began to be princelike, and to usurp the dominion of the empire under the colour of a false donation of Constantine, they have turned the Scriptures from their true sense, and have attributed the service to themselves, which we owe to God. Wherefore your Majesty may seize with good right upon all the temporalities of the benefices, and that with a safe conscience, to employ them to their true and right use.

"First, for the finding and maintaining of the faithful ministers of the word of God, for such livings as shall be requisite for them, according as the case shall require. Secondly, for the entertainment of your justices that give judgment. Thirdly, for the relieving of the poor, and maintenance of colleges to instruct the poor youth in that which they shall be most apt unto. And the rest, which is infinite, may remain for entertainment of your own estate and affairs, to the great easement of your poor people, which alone bear the burden, and possess in manner nothing.

"In this doing, an infinite number of men, and even of your nobility, which live of the crucifix, should employ themselves to your service and the commonwealth's so much the more diligently, as they see that ye recompense none but those that have deserved; whereas now there is an infinite number of men in your kingdom, which occupy the chiefest and greatest benefices, which never deserved any part of them," &c. And thus much touching the superfluous possession of the pope's

lordly clergy. Now proceeding further in this exhortation to the king, thus the letter importeth:

"But when the papists see that they have not to allege for themselves any reason, they essay to make odious to your Majesty the Lutherans, (as they call us,) and say: 'If their sayings take place, ye shall be fain to remain a private person; and that there is never change of religion, but there is also change of principedom.' A thing as false as when they accuse us to be sacramentaries, and that we deny the authority of magistrates, under the shadow of certain furious Anabaptists, which Satan hath raised in our time, to darken the light of the gospel. For the histories of the emperors which have begun to receive the Christian religion, and that which is come to pass in our time, show the contrary.

"Was there ever prince more feared and obeyed, than Constantine in receiving the Christian religion? was he therefore put from the empire? No, he was thereby the more confirmed and established in the same, and also his posterity which ruled them selves by his providence. But such as have fallen away, and followed men's traditions, God hath destroyed, and their race is no more known in earth: so much doth God detest them that forsake him.

"And in our time the late kings of England and Germany, were they constrained, in reprovng superstitions which the wickedness of the time had brought in, to forsake their kingdoms and principedoms? All men see the contrary; and what honour, fidelity, and obedience the people in our time that have received the reformation of the gospel, do, under their princes and superiors. Yea, I may say, that the princes knew not before what it was to be obeyed at that time when the rude and ignorant people received so readily the dispensations of the pope, to drive out their own kings and natural lords.

"The true and only remedy, sir, is, that ye cause to be holden a holy and free council, where ye should be chief, and not the pope and his, who ought but only to defend their causes by the Holy Scriptures; that in the mean while ye may seek out men not corrupted, suspected, nor partial, whom ye may charge to give report faithfully unto you, of the true sense of Holy Scriptures. And this done, after the example of the good kings, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, and Josias, ye shall take out of the church all idolatry, superstition, and abuse, which is found directly contrary to the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament; and by that means ye shall guide your people in the true and pure service of God, not regarding in the mean time the cavilling pretences of the papists, which say that any such questions have been already answered at general councils: for it is known well enough, that no council hath been lawful since the popes have usurped the principality and tyranny upon men's souls; but they have made them serve to their covetousness, ambition, and cruelty; and the contrariety which is among those councils, maketh enough for their disproof, besides a hundred thousand other absurdities against the word of God, which be in them. The true proof for such matters, is in the true and Holy Scriptures, to the which no times nor age hath any prescription to be alleged against them; for by them we received the councils founded upon the word of God, and also by the same we reject that doctrine which is repugnant.

"And if ye do thus, sir, God will bless your enterprise; he will increase and confirm your reign and empire, and your posterity. If otherwise, destruction is at your gate, and unhappy are the people which shall dwell under your obedience. There is no doubt but God will harden your heart, as he did Pharaoh's, and take off the crown from your head, as he did to Jeroboam, Nadab, Baasha, Ahab; and to many other kings, which have followed men's traditions, against the commandment of God; and give it to your enemies, to triumph over you and your children.

"And if the emperor Antoninus the meek, although he were a pagan and idolater, seeing himself bewrapt with so many wars, ceased the persecutions which were in his time against the Christians, and determined in the end to hear their causes and reasons, how much more ought you, that bear the name of the most Christian king, to be careful and diligent to cease the persecutions against the poor Christians, seeing they have not troubled, nor do trouble in any wise, the state of your kingdom and your affairs; considering also that the Jews be suffered through all Christendom, although they be mortal enemies of our Lord Jesus Christ, which we hold by common accord and consent for our God, Redeemer, and Saviour; and that until ye have heard lawfully debated and understand our reasons, taken out of the Holy Scriptures; and that your Majesty have judged, if we be worthy of such punishments. For if we be not overcome by the word of God, neither the fires, the swords, nor the cruellest torments, shall make us afraid. These be exercises that God hath promised to his, the which he foretold should come in the last times, that they should not be troubled when such persecutions shall come upon them."

[Translated out of the French book, intituled, Commentaries of the State of the Church and Public Weal, &c. page 7.]

The story and the end of the French king.

Whosoever was the author or authors of this letter above prefixed, herein thou seest, good reader, good counsel given to the king. If he had had the grace to receive it, and had followed the same, no doubt but, God's blessing working with him, he had not only set that realm in a blessed state from much disturbance, but also had continued himself in all flourishing felicity of princely honour and dignity. For so doth the Lord commonly bless and advance such kings and princes as seek his honour, and submit their wills to his obedience. But commonly the fault of kings and potentates of this world is, that being set about with parasites, either they seldom hear the truth told them, or, if they do, yet will they not lightly be put from their own wills, disdaining to be admonished by their inferiors, be their counsel never so wholesome and godly; which thing many times turneth them to great plagues and calamities, as by plentiful examples of kings destroyed, wounded, imprisoned, deposed, drowned, poisoned, &c., may well, to them that read histories, appear. But especially this present example of Henry the French king, the second of that name, is in this our age notoriously to be considered; who, being well warned before, (as may seem,) would not yet surcease his cruel persecution against the Lord's people, but rather was the more hardened in heart, and inflamed against them; insomuch that he said to Anne du Bourg, one of the high court of parliament in Paris, threatening him, that he would see him burn with his own eyes.

Further, how his purpose was to extend his power and force likewise against other places more, in persecuting the gospel of Christ, and professors thereof, to the uttermost of his ability, I leave it to the report of them, which in this matter know more than I here will utter.

But notwithstanding all these cracks and threatenings of the king, (to see what the Lord can do in making high kings to stoop,) even the same day when the king was in his most rage against these good men, Almighty God, taking the cause in hand to fight for his church, so turned the matter, that he made the great enemy of his, both with his mouth and with his hand to work his own destruction; with his mouth in commanding, with his hand in giving him the lance into his hand, which the same day gave him his death's wound, as by the sequel hereof in reading, ye may understand.

King Henry being in the parliament house which was kept at the Friar Augustines at Paris, because the palace was in preparing against the marriage of his daughter and his sister, and having heard the opinion in religion of Anne du Bourg, counsellor in the law, a man eloquent and learned, he caused the said Anne du Bourg, and Loys du Faux, counsellors, to be taken prisoners by the constable of France, who apprehended them, and delivered them into the hands of the count of Montgomery, the which carried them to prison. Against whom the king being wrathful and angry, among other talk, said to the said Anne du Bourg, "These eyes of mine shall see thee burnt." And so, on the nineteenth of June, commission was given to the judges to make his process.

During this mean while, great feasts and banquets were preparing in the court, for joy and gladness of the marriage that should be of the king's daughter and sister, against the last day of June save one. So, when the day and time above prefixed were come, the king employed all the morning in examining as well the presidents as counsellors of the said parliament against these prisoners, and other their companions that were charged with the same doctrine; which being done, they went to dinner.

The king, after he had dined, for that he was one of the defendants at the tourney, which was solemnly made in St. Antony's Street, near to the prison where the foresaid prisoners were committed, entered into the lists; and therein jousting, as the manner is, had broken many staves right valiantly as could be, running as well against the count of Montgomery, as others more. Whereupon he was highly commended of the lookers-on. And because he had done so valiantly, and was thought now to have done enough, he was desired to cease with praise. But he, being the more inflamed with the hearing of his praise, would needs run another course with Montgomery; who then, refusing to run against the king, and kneeling upon his knees for pardon not to run, the king being eagerly set, commanded him upon his allegiance to run, and (as some affirm) did also himself put the staff in his hand, unto whose hands he had committed the foresaid prisoners a little before. Montgomery, thus being enforced, whether he would or no, to run against the king, addressed himself after the best wise to obey the king's commandment. Whereupon he and the king met together so stoutly, that in breaking their spears the king was stricken with the counter-blow, so right in one of his eyes, by reason that the visor of his helmet suddenly fell down at the same instant, that the shivers entered into his head; so that the brains were perished, and thereupon so festered, that no remedy could be found, although physicians and surgeons were sent for from all places in the realm, as also from Brabant by King

Philip; but nothing availed, so that the eleventh day after, that is, the tenth of July, 1559, he ended his life in great dolour, having reigned twelve years, three months, and ten days.



King Henry II of France Killed at a Joust

Some report, that among other words he said, that he feared he was stricken for casting the poor Christians wrongfully in prison but the cardinal of Lorraine, standing by, (as he was always at hand,) said unto him, that it was the enemy that tempted him, and that he should be stedfast in the faith. By this means the hall, which was prepared for a place of joy and gladness, did now serve for a chapel to keep the corpse, being dressed with black mourning cloth, and night and day there was nothing heard but mourning and lamenting for the space of forty days.

About a year after this, which was the year of our Lord 1560, there were certain gentlemen put to death at Amboise, for taking arms against the house of Guise; touching which gentlemen this is to be noted, that as one of them should be brought to the place of execution, where the other lay dead before him, he thrust his hands into the blood of two of his companions which were there beheaded, and then, lifting them up to heaven, cried with a loud voice, "Lord! behold the blood of thy children: thou wilt in time and place revenge it."

Not long after the same, the chancellor Olivier, who was condemner of them, at the instigation and pursuit of the cardinal of Lorrain, through great remorse of conscience fell sick, and in a frenzy casting out sighs incessantly, and afflicting himself after a fearful and strange fashion for his unrighteous sentence, and more than barbarous cruelty, shrieked upon a sudden with a horrible cry, and said, "O cardinal! thou wilt make us all to be damned." And within a very few days after he died.

Francis, the second of that name, king of France, at the persuasion of the cardinal of Lorrain, and of certain others, caused an assembly of the estates of the realm in the town of Orleans, among other things to maintain the papal see, to the overthrow of those which would live after the sincerity of the gospel: but being fallen sick, shortly after, in the foresaid place, of a fever, through an imposthume in his left ear, he died the 5th of December, 1560, having reigned but one year and about five months.

It was said of this King Francis, (as the author above mentioned reporteth,) that when he was drawing toward his end, the cardinal of Lorrain made him to say and pronounce these words which follow: "Lord! forgive me my trespasses, and impute not unto me the faults which my ministers have done, under my name and authority."

Neither is it unworthy of observation, that, after the father, it happened in much like sort (by God's mighty judgment) unto Charles IX., his second son, and brother to Francis above mentioned, in these our later days; who, after the horrible and bloody murder of the admiral, and other true professors of Christ's gospel, both men, women, and children, to the number of many thousands of divers cities, insomuch that the prisons and streets are said to be coloured with blood, smoking after such a cruel sort, as in our time or country the like hath not hitherto been seen; by the stroke of God's just revenge, the same king, by credible report of story, is said to die of bleeding, not only at his ears and nose, but in all other places of his body, where blood might have any issue.

Unto these afore-recited histories of King Henry and his two sons, might also be added the death of the emperor Charles V., who, in like manner, being an enemy, and a great terror to the gospel, was cut off likewise from doing any more hurt to the church, much about the same time, anno 1558; which was but three months before the death of Queen Mary, and ten months before the death of the said Henry II.

Not long after Anne du Bourg's death, the president Minard, who was a sore persecutor, and the condemner of the said Anne du Bourg, as he returned from the palace or council-chamber to his own house, being upon his mule, even hard by his house, was slain with a dag; but who was the doer thereof, or for what cause he was slain, for all the inquisition and diligent search that could be made, it was never known.

Among many other examples worthy to be noted, let us also consider the end of the king of Navarre, brother to the worthy prince of Conde, who, after he had sustained a certain time the cause of the gospel, at length being allured by the flattering word of the duke of Guise, and the cardinal of Lorrain his brother, and upon hope to have his lands restored again, which the king of Spain retained from him, was

contented to alter his religion, and to join side with the papists; and so, being in camp with the duke of Guise, at the siege of Rouen, was there shot with a pellet. After which wound received, being brought to a town three miles from the camp, called Preaux, he did vehemently repent and lament his backsliding from the gospel, promising to God most earnestly, that if he might escape that hurt, he would bring to pass that the gospel should be preached freely through all France: notwithstanding, within five or six days after he died.

Neither did the duke of Guise himself, the great arch-enemy of God and his gospel, continue in life long after that, but both he and the whole triumvirate of France, that is, three [of] the greatest captains of popery, were cut off from doing any more hurt, to wit, the duke of Guise before Orleans, the constable before Paris, the marshal of St. Andrew before Dreux.

Of the emperor Sigismund.

Amongst others, here is not to be past over nor forgotten, the notable example of God's just scourge upon Sigismund the emperor, of whom mention is made before, in the condemnation of John Huss, and Jerome of Prague. After the death and wrongful condemnation of which blessed martyrs, nothing afterward went prosperously with the said emperor, but all contrary; so that he both died without issue, and in his wars he ever went to the worst. And not long after, Ladislaus, his daughter's son, king of Hungary, fighting against the Turk, was slain in the field. So that in the time of one generation all the posterity and offspring of this emperor perished. Besides this, Barbara his wife came to such ruin by her wicked lewdness, that she became a shame and slander to the name and state of all queens; whereby all Christian princes and emperors may sufficiently be admonished, if they have grace, what it is to defile themselves with the blood of Christ's blessed saints and martyrs.

432. John Whitman

A lamentable story of John Whitman, shoemaker, who suffered most cruel torments at Ostend in Flanders, for the testimony of Jesus Christ, and the truth of his gospel, anno 1572.

John Whitman, shoemaker, being about the age of forty-nine years, born in Tienen, a town in Brabant, after his coming over into England, dwelt in Rye in the county of Sussex, being married twenty-three years: always a professor of the gospel, as well in the time of the freedom thereof, as in time of persecution. About Candlemas, in the year 1572, unknown to his friends in Rye, understanding of shipping in Rye, which was ready bound for Ostend in Flanders, he went aboard the Saturday morning, and arrived at Ostend that night, where he lodged with one of his kinsmen there dwelling. The next day being Sunday, in the morning he, accompanied with his said kinsman, took his journey as it were to have passed higher into the country.

When they were about three miles on their way out of the town, suddenly Whitman staid and would go no further; but immediately returned back again to Ostend, whither so soon as he was come, it being service-time in their church, he forthwith addressed himself thither, and at the time of the heave-offering stept to the sacrificer, and took from over his head his idol, saying these words in the Dutch tongue: "Is this your god?" and so breaking it, cast it down under his feet, and trod thereon. Forthwith the people in an uproar came to lay hold on him, and hardly in the church escaped he death by the soldiers there present; but, being rescued by some to the intent to be further examined and made a public spectacle, he was carried immediately to prison. Upon the next day, being Monday, the judges and other counsellors being assembled he was brought forth into the common hall, and examined of his fact, the intent, the counsel and abettors thereof, and also of his faith: where he very constantly, in defence of his Christian faith, and great detestation of idolatry, demeaned himself in such sort, that he wrung tears from the eyes of divers, both of the chief, and others present. So was he committed again to prison.

The next day, being Tuesday, he was brought out again before the judges into the same place. And being examined as before, he no whit abated, but increased in his constancy: whereupon sentence was given upon him to have his hand cut off, and his body scorched to death, and after to be hanged up. So the day following, being Wednesday, he was brought out of prison to the town-hall, standing in the market-place, all things belonging to execution being made ready there; which when they were all ready, the hangman went into the hall, and with a cord tied the hands of Whitman, and came out leading him thereby. So soon as Whitman was out of the house, he made such haste, and, as it were, ran so to the place of execution, that he drew the hangman after him. There was a post set up with spars from the top thereof, aslope down to the ground, in manner of a tent, to the end that he should be only scorched to death, and not burned. When he was come to the place, the hangman commanded him to lay down his right hand upon a block, which he immediately with a hatchet smote off: the good man still continuing constant, the hangman stepped behind him, and bid him put out his tongue, which he forthwith did, as far as he could out of his mouth, through the which he thrust a long instrument like a pack-needle, and so let it stick. Then the judges, standing by in the common-hall, read again his

fact and sentence. Whereto he could make no answer, his tongue hanging out of his head: so was he stripped out of his cassock, his hose being put off in prison, and put within his tent, and made fast with two chains; and fire was put round about, which broiled and scorched his body most miserably, all black, he not being seen, but heard to make a noise within the tent. When he was dead, he was carried out to be hanged upon a gibbet, beside the town.



Whitman's Hand Cut Off

433. Admonition to the Reader, Concerning the Examples Above Mentioned.

It hath been a long persuasion, gendered in the heads of many men these many years, that to ground a man's faith upon God's word alone, and not upon the see and Church of Rome, following all the ordinances and constitutions of the same, was damnable heresy, and to persecute such men to death, was high service done to God; whereupon have risen so great persecutions, slaughters, and murders, with such effusion of Christian blood through all parts of Christendom, by the space of these seventy years, as hath not before been seen. And of these men Christ himself doth full well warn us long before, truly prophesying of such times to come, when they that slay his ministers and servants should think themselves to do good service unto God. Now what wicked service, and how detestable before God this is, which they falsely persuade themselves to be godly, what more evident demonstrations can we require, than these so many, so manifest, and so terrible examples of God's wrath pouring down from heaven upon these persecutors, whereof part we have already set forth; for to comprehend all (which in number are infinite) it is impossible. Wherefore, although there be many which will neither hear, see, nor understand, what is for their profit, yet let all moderate and well-disposed natures take warning in time. And if the plain word of God will not suffice them, nor the blood of so many martyrs will move them to embrace the truth, and forsake error, yet let the desperate deaths and horrible punishments of their own papists persuade them, how perilous is the end of this damnable doctrine of papistry. For if these papists, which make so much of their painted antiquity, do think their proceedings to be so catholic, and service so acceptable to God, let them join this withal, and tell us how come then their proceedings to be so accursed of God, and their end so miserably plagued, as by these examples above specified, is here notoriously to be seen? Again, if the doctrine of them be such heresy, whom they have hitherto persecuted for heretics unto death; how then is Almighty God become a maintainer of heretics, who hath revenged their blood so grievously upon their enemies and persecutors?

The putting out of the French king's eyes, which promised before with his eyes to see one of God's true servants burnt, who seeth not with his eyes to be the stroke of God's hand upon him? Then his son Francis after him, not regarding his father's stripe, would yet needs proceed in burning the same man: and did not the same God, which put out his father's eyes, give him such a blow on the ear, that it cost him his life?

If the platform of Stephen Gardiner had been a thing so necessary for the church, and so grateful unto God, why then did it not prosper with him, nor he with it, but both he and his platform lay in the dust, and none left behind him to build upon it?

After the time of Stephen Gardiner, and at the council of Trent, what conspiracies and policies were devised! what practices and trains were laid, through the secret confederacy of princes and prelates, for the utter subversion of the gospel and all gospellers! which if God had seen to have been for his glory, why then came they to none effect? yea, how or by whom were they disclosed and foreprised, but by the Lord himself, which would not have them come forward?

The vehement zeal of Queen Mary was like to have set up the pope here again in England for ever, if it had so much pleased the Lord God as it pleased herself; or if it had been so godly as it was bloody, no doubt but God's blessing would have gone withal. But when was the realm of England more barren of all God's blessings? what prince ever reigned here a shorter time, or less to his own heart's ease, than did Queen Mary?

The constable of France, when he covenanted with God, that if he had the victory of St. Quentin's, he would set upon Geneva, thought (no doubt) that he had made a great good bargain with God; much like unto Julian the emperor, who going against the Persians, made his vow, that if he sped well, he would offer the blood of Christians. But what did God? came not both their vows to like effect?

The examples of such as revolted from the gospel to papistry be not many; but as few as they were, scarce can any be found which began to turn to the pope, but the Lord began to turn from them, and to leave them to their ghostly enemy; as we have heard of Francis Spira, a lawyer of Italy, of the king of Navarre in France, of Henry Smith and Dr. Shaxton in England, with others in other countries, of whom some died in great sorrow of conscience, some in miserable doubt of their salvation, some stricken by God's hand, some driven to hang or drown themselves.

The stinking death of Stephen Gardiner, of John de Roma, of Twyford, of the bailiff of Crowland; the sudden death of Thornton, the suffragan of Dover, called Dick of Dover; of Dr. Dunning, of Dr. Jeffrey, of Beard the promoter; the miserable and wretched end of Poncher, archbishop of Tours, of Cardinal Crescentius, Castellan; the desperate disease of Rockwood, of Latomus, of Guarlacus; the earthly ending of Henry Beaufort, cardinal of Winchester, of Eckius; the wilful and self-murder of Pavier, of Richard Long, of Bomelius, besides infinite others; the dreadful taking away and murrain of so many persecuting bishops, so many bloody promoters and malicious adversaries, in such a short time together with Queen Mary, and that without any man's hand, but only by the secret working of God's just judgment.

To these add also, the stinking death of Edmund Bonner, commonly named the bloody bishop of London; who, not many years ago, in the time and reign of Queen Elizabeth, after he had long feasted and banqueted in durance at the Marshalsea, as he wretchedly died in his blind popery, so as stinkingly and blindly, at midnight, was he brought out and buried in the outside of all the city, amongst thieves and murderers, a place right convenient for such a murderer; with confusion and derision both of men and children, who, trampling upon his grave, well declared how he was hated both of God and man.



The Burial of Bishop Bonner

What else be all these, I say, but plain visible arguments, testimonies, and demonstrations even from heaven, against the pope, his murdering religion, and his bloody doctrine? For who can deny their doings not to be good, whose end is so evil? If Christ bid us to know men by their fruits, and especially seeing by the end all things are to be tried, how can the profession of that doctrine please God, which endeth so ungodly? Esaias, prophesying of the end of God's enemies, which would needs walk in the light of their own setting up, and not in the light of the Lord's kindling, threateneth to them this final malediction, "In sorrow shall ye sleep."

Let us now take a survey of all those persecutors, which of late have so troubled the earth, (and almost have burned up the world with faggots and fire, for maintenance of the pope's religion,) and see what the end hath been of them that are now gone, and whither their religion hath brought them, but either to destruction, or desperation, or confusion and shame of life. So many great doctors and bishops have cried out of late so mightily against priests' marriage; and have they not, by God's just judgment, working their confusion, been detected themselves, and taken the most part of them in sinful adultery, and shameful fornication? Cardinal John de Crema, the pope's legate here in England, after he had set a law that priests should have no wives, was he not the next day after, being taken with his whores, driven out of London with confusion and shame enough, so that afterwards he durst not show his face here any more? besides the two bishops in the late council of Trent most shamefully taken in adultery, mentioned before. Also, besides innumerable other like foreign stories, which I let pass, to come now to our own domestical examples, I could well name half

a score at least of famous doctors, and some bishops, with their great masters of popery, who, in standing earnestly against the marriages of priests, have afterward been taken in such dishonest facts themselves, that not only they have carried the public shame of adulterous lecherers, but some of them the marks also of burning fornication with them in their bodies to their graves: whose names although I suffer here to be suppressed, yet the examples of them may suffice to admonish all men that be wise, and which will avoid the wrath of God's terrible vengeance, to beware of popery.

And thus, having hitherto recited so many shameful lives and desperate ends of so many popish persecutors stricken by God's hand; now let us consider again, on the contrary side, the blessed ends given of Almighty God unto them, which have stood so manfully in the defence of Christ's gospel, and the reformation of his religion; and let the papists themselves here be judges. First, what a peaceable and heavenly end made the worthy servant and singular organ of God, Martin Luther!

To speak likewise of the famous John, duke of Saxony and prince elector, of the good palsgrave, of Philip Melancthon, of Pomerane, Urbane Regius, Berengarius, of Ulricus Zuinglius, Ecolampadius, Pellicane, Capito, Munster, John Calvin, Peter Martyr, Martin Bucer, Paulus Phagius, John Musculus, Bibliander, Gesner, Hofman, Augustine Marloratus; Lewis of Bourbon, prince of Conde, and his godly wife before him; with many more, which were known to be learned men, and chief standards of the gospel side against the pope; and yet no man able to bring forth any one example either of these, or of any other true gospeller, that either killed himself, or showed forth any signification or appearance of despair; but full of hope and constant in faith, and replenished with the fruit of righteousness in Christ Jesus, so yielded they their lives in quiet peace unto the Lord.

From these foreigners, let us come now to the martyrs of England, and mark likewise the end both of them, and semblably of all others of the same profession. And first, to begin with the blessed and heavenly departure of King Edward the Sixth, that first put down the mass in England, and also of the like godly end of his good uncle the duke of Somerset, which died before him, with an infinite number of other private persons besides, of the like religion, in whose final departing no such blemish is to be noted, like to the desperate examples of them above recited. Let us now enter the consideration of the blessed martyrs, who although they suffered in their bodies, yet rejoiced they in their spirits; and albeit they were persecuted of men, yet were they comforted of the Lord with such inward joy and peace of conscience, that some, writing to their friends, professed they were never so merry before in all their lives, some leaped for joy, some for triumph would put on their scarfs, some their wedding garment, going to the fire; others kissed the stake, some embraced the faggots, some clapt their hands, some sang psalms; universally they all forgave and prayed for their enemies; no murmuring, no repining was ever heard amongst them: so that most truly might be verified in them, which their persecutors were wont to sing in their hymns,

Cæduntur gladiis more bidentium,
Non murmur resonat, nec querimonia:

Sed corde tacito mens bene conscia
Conservat patientiam, &c.

Briefly, so great was their patience, or rather so great was God's Spirit in them, that some of them, in the flaming fire, moved no more than the stake whereunto they were tied. In fine, in them most aptly agreed the special tokens which most certainly follow the true children of God; that is, outward persecution, and inward comfort in the Holy Ghost. In the world (saith Christ our Saviour) ye shall have affliction; but in me ye shall have peace, &c.

And likewise the words of St. Paul be plain: Whosoever, saith he, studieth to live godly in Christ, shall suffer persecution.

But then, what followeth with this persecution? The said apostle again thus declareth, saying, As the passions of Christ abound in us, so aboundeth also our consolation by Christ, &c.; according as by the examples of these godly martyrs right perfectly we may perceive. For as their bodies outwardly lacked no persecutions by the hands of the wicked, so, amongst so many hundreds of them that stood and died in this religion, what one man can be brought forth, which either hath been found to have killed himself, or to have died otherwise than the true servant of God, in quiet peace, and much comfort of conscience?

Which being so, what greater proof can we have to justify their cause and doctrine against the persecuting Church of Rome, than to behold the ends of them both? first, of the protestants, how quietly they took their death, and cheerfully rested in the Lord; and contrariwise, to mark these persecutors, what a wretched end commonly they do all come unto. Experience whereof we have sufficient in the examples above declared, and also of late in Bonner, who albeit he died in his bed unrepentant, yet was it so provided by God, that as he had been a persecutor of the light, and a child of darkness, so his carcass was tumbled into the earth in obscure darkness, at midnight, contrary to the order of all other Christians; and as he had been a murderer, so was he laid amongst thieves and murderers, a place by God's judgment rightly appointed for him.

And albeit some peradventure, that have been notable persecutors in times past, do yet remain alive, who, being in the same cause as the others were, have not yet felt the weight of God's mighty hand, yet let not them think, that because the judgment of God hath lighted sooner upon others, therefore it will never light upon them; or because God of his mercy hath granted them space to repent, let not them therefore of God's lenity build to themselves an opinion of indemnity. The blood of Abel cried long, yet wrought at length. The souls of the saints slain under the altar were not revenged at the first. But read forth the chapter, and see what followed in the end. Blood, especially of Christ's servants, is a perilous matter, and crieth sore in the ears of God, and will not be stilled with the laws of men.

Wherefore let such blood-guilty homicides beware, if not by counsel, at least by the examples of their fellows. And though princes and magistrates, under whose permission they are suffered, do spare their lives, let them not think therefore, (as some of them shame not to say,) that man hath no power to hurt them; and so think to escape unpunished, because they be not punished by man; but rather let them fear so

much the more. For, oftentimes, such as have been persecutors and tormentors to God's children, God thinketh them not worthy to suffer by man, but either reserveth them to his own judgment, or else maketh them to be their own persecutors, and their own bands most commonly hangmen to their own bodies.

So Saul, after he had persecuted David, it was unneedful for David to pursue him again: for he was revenged of him, more than he desired. It was needless to cause Ahithophel to be hanged; for he himself was the stifler or strangler of his own life.

Neither for the apostles to pursue Judas that betrayed their Master; for he himself was his own hangman, and no man else, that his body burst, and his guts burst out.

Sennacherib, had he not for his persecutors his own sons, and it cost Hezekiah nothing to be revenged of him for his tyranny.

Antiochus and Herod, although the children of God, whom they so cruelly persecuted, laid no hands upon them, yet they escaped not unpunished of God's hand, who sent lice and worms to be their tormentors, which consumed and eat them up.

Pilate, after he had crucified Christ our Saviour, within few years after was he not driven to hang himself?

Nero, after his cruel murders and persecutions stirred up against the Christians, when he should have been taken by the Romans, God thought him not so worthy to be punished by the hands of them, but so disposed the matter, that Nero himself, when he could find no friend nor enemy to kill him, made his own hands to be his own cut-throat.

Dioclesian, with Maximinian his fellow emperor, which were the authors of the tenth and last persecution against the Christians, being in the midst of their furious tyranny against the name of Christ, needed no man's help, to bridle them and pluck them back: for God, of his secret judgment, put such a snaffle in the mouths of these tyrants, that they themselves, of their own accord, deposed and disposes themselves of their imperial function, and lived as private persons all their lives after: and notwithstanding that Maximinian, after that, sought to resume his imperial state again, yet by Maxentius his son he was resisted, and shortly after slain.

What should I here speak of the cruel emperor Maximinus? who, when he had set forth his proclamation engraven in brass, for the utter abolishing of Christ and his religion, was not punished by man, but had lice and vermin gushing out of his entrails, to be his tormentors; with such a rotten stench laid upon his body, that no physicians could abide to come near, and was caused to be slain for the same.

Maxentius the son of Maximinian, and Pharaoh the King of Egypt, as they were both like enemies against God and his people, so drank they both of one cup, not perishing by any man's hand, but both in like manner, after, were drowned with their harness in the water. Furthermore, and briefly in this matter to conclude, if the kings among the Jews, which were bloody and wicked, were not spared, as Ahaz, Ahab, Jezebel, Manasseh, Jehoiakim, Zedekiah, with many others, but had at length,

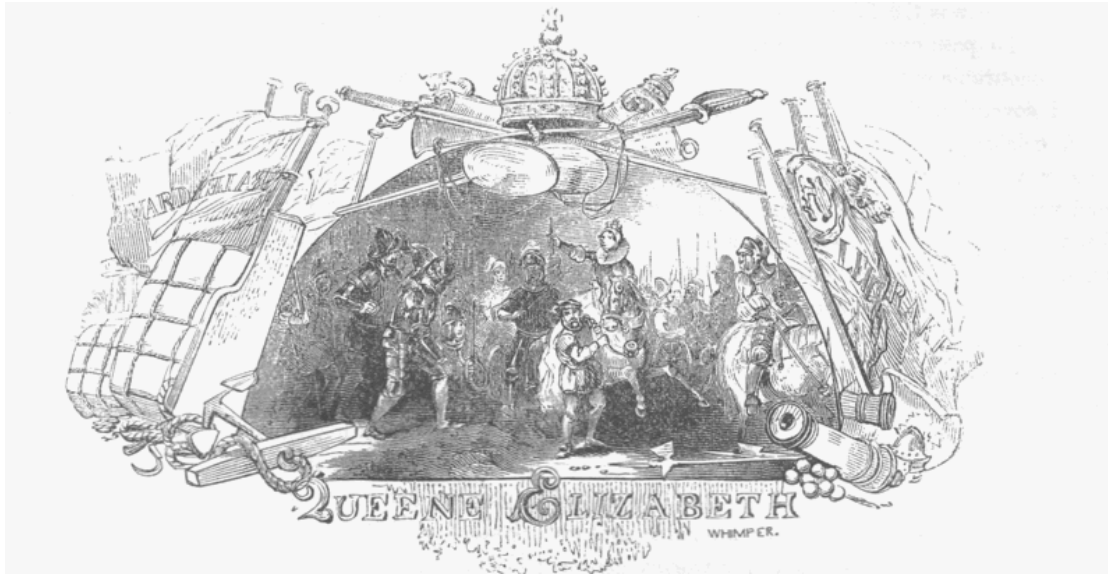
although it were long, the hire of their iniquity: let not these bloody catholics then think, which have been persecutors of Christ's saints, that they, being in the same cause as the others above recited were, shall escape the same judgment, which the longer it is deferred, the sorer many times it striketh, unless by due repentance it be prevented in time; which I pray God it may.

Innumerable examples more to the same effect and purpose might be inferred, whereof plentiful store we have in all places, and in all ages of men, to be collected. But these hitherto for this present may suffice, which I thought here to notify unto these our bloody children of the murdering mother Church of Rome, of whom it may well be said, "Your hands be full of blood," &c.; to the intent that they, by the examples of their other fellows before mentioned, may be admonished to follow the prophet's counsel which followeth, and biddeth, "Be you washed, and make yourselves clean," &c.; and not to presume too far upon their own security, nor think themselves the further off from God's hand, because man's hand forbeareth them.

I know and grant, that man hath no further power upon any, than God from above doth give. And what the laws of this realm could make against them, as against open murderers, I will not here discuss, nor open that I could say (because they shall not say that we desire their blood to be spilt, but rather to be spared): but yet this I say, and wish them well to understand, that the sparing of their lives, which have been murderers of so many, is not for want of power in magistrates, nor for lack of any just law against them, whereby they might justly have been condemned, if it had so pleased the magistrates to proceed (as they might) against them; but because Almighty God, peradventure, in his secret purpose, having something to do with these persecutors, hath spared them hitherto; not that they should escape unpunished, but that peradventure he will take his own cause into his own hand, either by death to take them away, (as he did by Bonner, and by all promoters in a manner of Queen Mary's time,) or else to make them to persecute themselves with their own hands; or will stir up their conscience to be their own confusion, in such sort as the church shall have no need to lay any hands upon them.

Wherefore, with this short admonition to close up the matter, as I have exhibited in these histories the terrible ends of so many persecutors plagued by God's hand; so would I wish all such whom God's lenity suffereth yet to live, this wisely to ponder with themselves: that as their cruel persecution hurteth not the saints of God, whom they have put to death, so the patience of Christ's church, suffering them to live, doth not profit them, but rather heapeth the greater judgment of God upon them in the day of wrath, unless they repent in time; which I pray God they may.

434. Queen Elizabeth.



Queen Elizabeth riding in Triumph

And now to re-enter again to the time and story of Queen Elizabeth, where we left before.

In her advancement and this her princely governance, it cannot sufficiently be expressed, what felicity and blessed happiness this realm hath received in receiving her at the Lord's almighty and gracious hand. For as there have been divers kings and rulers over this realm, and I have read of some, yet I could never find in English chronicle the like that may be written of this our noble and worthy queen, whose coming in was not only so calm, so joyful, and so peaceable, without shedding any blood, but also her reign hitherto, (reigning now twenty-four years and more,) hath been so quiet, that yet (the Lord have all the glory) to this present day, her sword is a virgin spotted and polluted with no drop of blood. In speaking whereof, I take not upon me the part here of the moral or of the divine philosopher, to judge of things done, but only keep me within the compass of an historiographer, declaring what hath been before, and comparing things done with things now present, the like whereof, as I said, is not to be found lightly in chronicles before. And this, as I speak truly, so I would to be taken without flattery to be left to our posterity, *ad sempiternam clementiae illius memoriam*. In commendation of which her clemency, I might also here add how mildly her Grace, after she was advanced to her kingdom, did forgive the foresaid Sir Henry Benifield without molestation, suffering him to enjoy goods, life, lands, and liberty. But I let this pass.

Thus hast thou, gentle reader, simply but truly described unto thee the time, first of the sorrowful adversity of this our most sovereign queen that now is, also the miraculous protection of God, so graciously preserving her in so many straits and distresses, which I thought here briefly to notify, the rather for that the wondrous works of the Lord ought not to be suppressed, and that also her Majesty, and we

likewise, her poor subjects, having thereby a present matter always before our eyes, be admonished both how much we are bound to his Divine Majesty, and also to render thanks to him condignly for the same. Now remaineth likewise, in prosecuting the order of this, as of other histories before, to notify and discourse of things memorable especially in the church, such as happened in the time of this her Majesty's quiet and joyful government. And first, here I let pass by the way the death of Cardinal Pole, which was the next day after the death of Queen Mary; the death also of Christopherson bishop of Chichester, and Hopton bishop of Norwich; omitting also to speak of Dr. Weston, who, being chief disputer against Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, as is before declared, first fell in displeasure with the cardinal and other bishops, because he was unwilling to part from his deanery and house of Westminster unto the monks, whom indeed he favoured not, although in other things a maintainer of the Church of Rome. Then, being removed from thence, he was made dean of Windsor, where he, being apprehended in advowtry, was by the same cardinal put from all his spiritual livings. Wherefore he appealed to Rome, and, flying out of the realm, was taken by the way and clapped in the Tower of London, where he remained until this time that Queen Elizabeth was proclaimed; at which time being delivered, he fell sick and died.

Also I let pass the coronation of this our most noble and Christian princess, and the order of the same, which was the fifteenth day of January, anno 1559. To pass over also the triumphant passage and honourable entertainment of the said our most dread sovereign through the city of London, with such celebrity, prayers, wishes, welcomings, cries, tender words, pageants, interludes, declamations, and verses set up, as the like hath not commonly been seen, arguing and declaring a wonderful earnest affection of loving hearts toward their sovereign. Item, To pretermitt in silence the letters gratulatory, sent to her Majesty from divers and sundry foreign places, as from Zurich, Geneva, Basil, Bern, Wittenburg, Strasburg, Frankfort, &c.: these, I say, with many other things to let pass, we will now (God willing) begin with the disceptation or conference between the popish bishops, and the learned men exiled in Germany, had at Westminster; after that first we have inserted a certain oration of a worthy gentleman, called Master John Hales, sent and delivered to the said Queen Elizabeth in the beginning of her reign, the copy whereof is this.

To the noble Queen Elizabeth.

"Albeit there be innumerable gifts and benefits of Almighty God, whereof every one would wonderfully comfort any person, on whom it should please his goodness to bestow it; yet is none of them, either separate by itself, or joined with any other, or yet all mingled together, to be compared to this one: that it hath pleased God of his mercy to deliver this realm, our country, from the tyranny of malicious Mary, and to commit it to the government of virtuous Elizabeth. For if a man had all the treasure of Solomon, and might not be suffered to have the use thereof, in what better case were he, than miserable Tantalus, over whose head the apples continually hung, yet, being hunger-starved, he could never touch them? If a man had as strong a body as had Samson, and besides, were as whole as a fish, as the proverb is, yet, if he were kept in bands, what should it avail him? Yea, rather, if it be well considered, it is a hurt to him, if continuance of torment and pains may be a hurt.

"If a man had as many children as had Gideon the judge, and might not be so suffered to bring them up in the fear of God, and good knowledge and manners, had he not been more happy to be without them, than to have them? If a man had as much knowledge of God as had St. Paul, and durst not profess it openly with mouth, as he is commanded, but for fear of death should declare the contrary in deed, slander the word of God, and deny Christ, which is forbidden, should it not rather be a furtherance to his damnation than otherwise?

And, to be short, if any one man had all these gifts together, or generally all the gifts of fortune, the body, the mind, and of grace, yet if he might not have the use of them, what should they profit him? Verily, nothing at all. For felicity is not in having, but in using; not in possessing, but in occupying; not in knowledge, but in doing.

"But alas! our natural mother England, which hath been counted to be the surest, the richest, and of late also the most godly nation of the earth, hath been these whole five years most violently by tyrants forced to lack the use of all the gifts and benefits wherewith God and nature hath endued her. Her natural and loving children could not be suffered to enjoy their right inheritance, whereby they might relieve and succour her or themselves; but whatsoever they had was, either by open force, or by crafty dealing, pulled from them. And surely this had been tolerable, if none other mischief had been therewith intended.

"He is a gentle thief, (if thieves may be counted gentle,) that only robbeth a man of his goods, and refraineth violent hands from his person: for such loss, with labour and diligence, may be recovered. He may be called a merciful murderer, that only killeth the aged parents, and useth no force on the children. For nature hath made all men mortal, and that in like space; and to kill the parents, is as it were but a prevention of a short time, if it were to the uttermost enjoyed. But these tyrants were more ungentle than common thieves, more empty of mercy than common murderers. For they were not only not contented to have the goods of the people, but they would have it delivered to them by the owners' own hands, that it might be said to the world, they gave it with their heart; and were not therewith pleased, but they would have their lives, that they should not bewray them; and yet herewith they were not satisfied, but they meant to root out the whole progeny and nation of Englishmen, that none should be left to revenge and cry out on their extremities, and to bring our country into the Spaniards' dominion.

"It is a horrible cruelty for one brother to kill another, much more horrible for the children to lay violent and murdering hands on their parents, but most horrible of all to murder the children in the sight of their parents, or the parents in the sight of their children, as these most cruel tormentors have done.

"But what do I stand in these things, which have some defence, because the Turks perchance use so to do; and ethnics kill one another, to make sacrifice of men to their fantastical gods?

"It was not enough for these unnatural English tormentors, tyrants, and false Christians, to be the lords of the goods, possessions, and bodies of their brethren and countrymen: but, being very antichrist, and enemies of Christ's cross, they would be

gods, and reign in the consciences and souls of men. Every man, woman, and child, must deny Christ in word openly, abhor Christ in their deeds, slander his gospel with word and deed, worship and honour false gods, as they would have them, and themselves did, and so give body and soul to the devil their master, or secretly flee; or, after inward torments, be burnt openly. O cruelty, cruelty! far exceeding all cruelties committed by those ancient and famous tyrants and cruel murderers, Pharaoh, Herod, Caligula, Nero, Domitian, Maximinian, Dioclesian, Decius, whose names, for their cruel persecution of the people of God, and their own tyranny practised on the people, have been, be, and ever shall be in perpetual hatred, and their souls in continual torment in hell. If any man would take upon him to set forth particularly all the acts that have been done these full five years, by this unnatural woman, (no, no woman, but a monster, and the devil of hell covered with the shape of a woman,) as it is most necessary for the glory of God, and the profit of his church and this realm, it should be done; he shall find it a matter sufficient for a perfect great history, and not to be contained in an oration, to be uttered at one time by the voice of man. But to comprehend the sum of all their wickedness in few words: behold, whatsoever malice in mischief, covetousness in spoil, cruelty in punishing, tyranny in destruction could do, that all this poor English nation, this full five years, suffered already; or should have suffered, had not the great mercy of God prevented it.

"And albeit there have been many that have hazarded and lost their lives to shake off this most rough break (wherewith this virago, rather than virgin, as she would be called and taken, boasted herself to be sent of God, to ride and tame the people of England); albeit there have been many that have gone about to loose their brethren out of the yoke of this most miserable captivity; and albeit some have proved to break the bands of this most cruel tyranny: yet could they never bring to pass that, which they so earnestly laboured, and so manfully attempted.

"And it is nothing to be wondered, let the papists boast thereof what it pleaseth them. For Almighty God, being a most indifferent Governor, punishing evil, and rewarding good, could not of his justice suffer his scourge so soon to be taken from this our land, if he meant the salvation of the people, as most manifestly it appeareth he did. For having once given to this realm the greatest jewel that might be, that is, the free use of his lively word, (which if they had embraced and followed, it would have reformed all disorders and sins for which his wrath was kindled and provoked,) the people nothing regarded it, but either utterly contemned it, or abused it; and many made it a cloak and colour to cover their mischief. So that if he should suddenly have withdrawn this plague, as tyrants and evil governors be the plague of God, they would neither have passed on his justice, nor yet should they have felt the sweetness of his mercy. For commonly the people regard but things present, and neither remember things past, nor yet pass on things to come, unless they be warned by exceeding extremities.

"Besides this, it is most evident, that he had determined to make this noble conquest alone, with his own hand and mighty power; and would not that it should be done by man, lest man should impute any part of the glory of this victory to his own strength, or to his own policy; or that fortune should seem to bear any stroke in so glorious a conquest, and so be partaker, in men's opinions, of the triumph so worthy.

"Neither did his almighty power work this when man would have it despatched, that is, as soon as the enemy began to gather their force; for it is not so great a victory to discomfit a few dispersed people, as it is to destroy a perfectly united army: but he suffered them to make their force as great as was possible, to work whatsoever mischiefs by spoil, banishment, prisonment, hanging, heading, burning, or otherwise could be imagined.

"Neither would his most provident wisdom do it out of season; but, as the good husbandman doth not crop his tree till he hath rendered his fruit, so would he not root out these pestilent tyrannies, till the most profit might be taken thereof.

"When he had given sufficient leisure to all kind of men to declare themselves; who were crocodiles, sometimes lying in water, sometimes on land, that is, both gospellers and papists; who were sponges, suspected whether they had life or not life, whether they were Christians or epicures; who were cameleons, that could turn themselves into all colours; with protestants, protestants; with papists, papists; with Spaniards, Spaniards; with Englishmen, Englishmen: who were gnathos, that could apply themselves to every man's appetite that was in authority; who were marigolds, that followed Mary's mad affections; who were weather-cocks, that did turn with every wind; who were mastiffs, that could bite, and bark not; who were curs, ever barking; who were foxes, that would promise much, and perform nothing; who could bind themselves with many oaths, and do clean contrary; who were Cains, that sought the innocent Abels' deaths; who were the wolves, that worried the lambs. And finally, when he had suffered the spiritual shavelings to spew out their venom, and every man plainly to declare outwardly what he was inwardly, then doth he work this most victorious conquest. And with his works he seemeth plainly to say thus unto us: 'Ye see, my people, what I have done for you, not for your sakes, which nothing regarded the benefits that I most plenteously poured on you, and have deserved most grievous punishment for your unthankfulness; but of mine infinite mercy, and for my glory's sake, which I will have opened to all the world in these latter days, to the fear of evildoers, and to the comfort of the well-doers. Provoke no more my wrath: ye see what will follow it. Be hereafter more prudent and wise than ye were before. Ye may, if ye will, be more circumspect in time to come, than ye have been in the time past: ye may, if ye list, put me to less trouble, and keep yourselves in more safety. I have not only discovered mine, yours, and my land of England's enemies, and all the crafts, subtleties, and policies that have been, or may be used by them, or any like hereafter; but I have also taken away their head and captain, and destroyed a great number of them, that ye should not be troubled with them; and some of them have I left, that ye may make them spectacles and examples, to the terror and fear of their posterity. Love me, and I will love you: seek my honour and glory, and I will work your commodity and safety: walk in my ways and commandments, and I will be with you for ever.'

"Surely, if we consider the wonderful mercy that it hath pleased God to use towards us, in the delivering of the realm, and us his people, out of the hands of those most cruel tyrants, as we cannot but do, unless we will declare ourselves to be the most unthankful people that ever lived, we must needs judge it not only worthy to be compared to, but also far to exceed, the deliverance of the children of Israel out of Egypt from the tyranny of Pharaoh, and from the powers of Holofernes and Sennacherib: for it is not read, that either Pharaoh, or the other two, sought any other

thing, than to be the lords of the goods and bodies of the Israelites: they forced them not to commit idolatry, and to serve false gods, as these English tyrants did.

"But besides, if we will note the wonderful works of God in handling this matter, we shall well perceive, that far much more is wrought to his glory, and to the profit of his church and people, than perchance all men at the first do see. For he hath not only despatched the realm of the chief per sonages and head of these tyrants, but also as it were declareth, that he minded not that either they or their doings should continue. For, albeit that all acts done by tyrants tyrannously, be by all laws, reason, and equity, of no force, yet, because no disputation should follow on this -- what is tyrannously done, and what is not tyrannously done, he hath provided that this question needeth not to come in question; for he utterly blinded their eyes, and suffered them to build on false grounds, which can no longer stand than they be propt up with rope, sword, and faggot. For her first parliament, whereon they grounded and wrought a great part of their tyranny, and wherein they meant to overthrow whatsoever King Edward had for the advancement of God's glory brought to pass, was of no force or authority. For she, perceiving that her enemy's stomach could not be emptied, nor her malice spewed on the people by any good order, she committeth a great disorder. She, by force and violence, taketh from the commons their liberty, that, according to the ancient laws and customs of the realm, they could not have their free election of knights and burgesses for the parliament: for she well knew, that if either Christian men, or true Englishmen, should be elected, it was not possible [for] that to succeed, which she intended. And therefore in many places divers were chosen by force of her threats, meet to serve her malicious affections. Wherefore that parliament was no parliament, but may be justly called a conspiracy of tyrants and traitors. For the greater part, by whose authority and voices things proceeded in that court, by their acts most manifestly declared themselves so: the rest, being both Christians and true Englishmen, although they had good wills, yet were not able to resist or prevail against the multitude of voices and suffrages of so many evil, false to God, and enemies to their country.

"Also divers burgesses being orderly chosen, and lawfully returned, as in some places the people did what they could to resist her purposes, were disorderly and unlawfully put out, and others, without any order of law, in their places placed. Dr. Taylor, bishop of Lincoln, a Christian bishop and a true Englishman, being lawfully and orderly called to the parliament, and placed in the lords' house in his degree, was, in his robes, violently thrust out of the house. Alexander Nowell with two others, all three being burgesses for divers shires, and Christian men and true Englishmen, and lawfully chosen, returned, and admitted, were, by force, put out of the house of the commons: for the which cause the said parliament is also void, as by a precedent of the parliament holden at Coventry, in the thirty-eighth year of King Henry the Sixth, it most manifestly appeareth. And the third parliament, called in the name of her husband, and of her evil Grace, wherein they would have undone that her noble father and the realm had brought to pass for the restitution of the liberty of the realm, and for extinguishment of the usurped authority of the bishop of Rome, is also void, and of none authority; for that the title and style of supreme head of the Church of England, which by a statute made in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of the said King Henry, was ordained, that it should be united and annexed for ever to the imperial crown of this realm, was omitted in the writs of summoning. Wherefore, as a woman can bring forth no child without a man, so cannot those writs bring forth good and sure fruit,

because this part of the title, which was ordained by the parliament for the form to be always used in the king's style, was left out. For greater error is in lack of form, than in lack of matter; and where the foundation is naught, there can nothing builded thereon be good. There is no law spiritual nor temporal, (as they term them,) nor any good reason, but allows these rules for infallible principles. And if any man will say, that it was in the free choice, liberty, and pleasure of the king of this realm, and the queen, whether they would express the said title in their style, or not, -- as that subtle serpent Gardiner, being chancellor of the realm, and traitorously sending out the writs of parliament without the same style, perceiving he had over-shot himself in calling the parliament, and having committed many horrible murders and most mischievous acts, would have excused it, as appeareth by a piece of a statute made in the same parliament, in the eighth chapter and two-and-twentieth leaf, it may be justly and truly answered, that they could not so do. For although every person may by law renounce his own private right, yet may he not renounce his right in that which toucheth the commonwealth, or a third person.

"And this title and style more touched the commonwealth and realm of England, than the king. For, as I said before, it was ordained for the conservation of the liberty of the whole realm, and to exclude the usurped authority of the bishop of Rome. And therefore no king nor queen alone could renounce such title: but it ought (if they would have it taken away) to be taken away orderly and formally by act of parliament, sufficiently called and summoned. For the natural and right way to loose and undo things, is to dissolve them by that means they were ordained. And so it most manifestly appeareth, that all their doings, from the beginning to the end, were and be of none effect, force, or authority: but all that they have done, hath been mere tyranny. O most marvellous providence of Almighty God, that always, and in all things, doth that is best for the wealth of his people! O most mighty power, that so suddenly overthroweth the counsels of the wicked, and bringeth their devices to nought! O infinite mercy, that so gently dealeth with his people, that he saveth them whom he might most justly destroy! O most joyful, most merry, and never to be forgotten 'Hope-Wednesday,' in which it hath pleased thee, O God, to deliver thy church, this realm, and thy people from so horrible tyranny! No tongue can express, no pen can indite, no eloquence can worthily set out, much less exornate these thy marvellous doings. No, no heart is able to render unto thy goodness sufficient thanks for the benefits we have received. Who could ever have hoped this most joyful time? Yea, who did not look rather for thy most sharp visitation, and utter destruction of this realm, as of Sodom, Gomorrah, and Jerusalem? But we see and feel, good Lord, that thy mercy is greater than all men's sins, and far above all thy works.

"And albeit there is no Christian and natural Englishman, woman, or child, either present, or that shall succeed us, which is not or shall not be partaker of this most exceeding mercy and wonderful benefit of Almighty God, and therefore is bound continually to praise and thank him; yet there is not one creature that is more bound so to do, than you, noble Queen Elizabeth! For in this horrible tyranny, and most cruel persecution, your Grace hath been more hunted for than any other. Divers times they have taken you; sometimes they have had you in stronghold, secluded from all liberty; sometimes at liberty, but not without most cruel gaolers' custody; and many times they determined, that without justice ye should be murdered privily. They thought, if your Grace had been suppressed, they should have fully prevailed: if ye had been destroyed, their doings for ever should be established: if ye had been taken

out of the way, there were none left that would or could undo that they had ordained. But He that sitteth on high, and laugheth at their madness, would not suffer that the malicious purposes and most cruel devised injustice should have success. He took upon him the protection of you. He only hath been our Jehosheba, that preserved you from this wicked Athaliah: he only was the Jehoiada, that destroyed this cruel Athaliah: he only hath made you queen of this realm, instead of this mischievous Marana. No earthly creature can claim any piece of thanks there-for; no man's force, no man's counsel, no man's aid, hath been the cause thereof. Wherefore, the greater his benefits have been toward you, the more are you bound to seek his glory, and to set forth his honour. Ye see his power, what he is able to do: he alone can save, and he can destroy; he can pull down, and he can set up. If ye fear him, and seek to do his will, then will he favour you, and preserve you to the end from all enemies, as he did King David. If ye now fall from him, or juggle with him, look for no more favour than Saul had showed to him. But I have a good hope, that both his justice and benefits be so printed in your heart, that ye will never forget them; but seek by all means to have the one, and to fear to fall into the other. I trust, also, your wisdom will not only consider the causes of this late most sharp visitation, but also to your uttermost power endeavour to out-root them.

"And forasmuch as, besides this infinite mercy poured on your Grace, it hath pleased his Divine providence to constitute your Highness to be our Deborah, to be the governess and head of the body of this realm, to have the charge and cure thereof, it is requisite above all things, as well for his glory and honour, as for your discharge, quietness, and safety, to labour that the same body now at the first be cleansed, made whole, and then kept in good order. For as, if the body of man be corrupted and diseased, he is not able to manage his things at home, much less to do any thing abroad; so, if the body of a realm be corrupt and out of order, it shall neither be able to do any thing abroad, if necessity should require, nor yet prosper in itself. But this may not be done with piecing and patching, cobbling and botching, as was used in time past, whilst your most noble father and brother reigned. For as if a man cut off one head of the serpent Hydra, and destroy not the whole body, many will grow instead of that one; and as in a corrupt body that hath many diseases, if the physician should labour to heal one part, and not the whole, it will in short time break out afresh: so, unless the body of a realm or commonwealth be clean purged from corruption, all the particular laws and statutes that can be devised, shall not profit it. We need no foreign examples to prove it: look upon this realm itself, it will plainly declare it. And as it is not enough to cleanse the body from its corruption, but there must be also preservatives ministered to keep it from putrefaction; for naturally of itself it is disposed to putrefy; so, after the body of a realm is purged, unless there be godly ordinances for the preservation thereof ordained and duly ministered, it will return to the old state. For this body, which is the people, is universally, naturally, disposed to evil, and without compulsion will hardly do that is its duty.

"Thus must your Grace do, if ye mind the advancement of God's glory, your own quietness and safety, and the wealth of this your body politic. And they be not hard to bring to pass, where goodwill will vouchsafe to take to her a little pain. The realm will soon be purged, if vice and self-love be utterly condemned. It will be in good state preserved, if these three things -- God's word truly taught and preached, youth well brought up in godly and honest exercises, and justice rightly ministered -- may be perfectly constituted. And without this foundation, let men imagine what it

pleaseth them, the spiritual house of God shall never be well-framed nor builded, nor the public state of your realm well-ordered. For in what body God's word lacketh, the unity and charity that ought to be among the members thereof, and which knitteth them together, is soon extinguished. Where the youth are neglected, there can no good success be hoped, no more than the husbandman can look for a good crop where he sowed no good seed. And where justice is not truly and rightly ministered, there the more laws and statutes be heaped together, the more they be contemned. And surely if this thing could not without exceeding charges be compassed, as God forbid that charges should be weighed, be they never so great, where God's glory and the wealth of the realm may be furthered; yet ought it not to be neglected. What charges did King David the father, and King Solomon his son, employ to build the stony house of God! How much more charges should a Christian employ to build and set up the lively house of God! But verily, I am fully persuaded that it shall not be chargeable to do this. No, a great deal of superfluous charges, which otherwise your Grace shall be forced to sustain, shall be thus clean cut away, and so your revenues by a mean most profitable, and to no good person hurtful, increased.

"Wherefore, for God's sake, noble queen, let not the opportunity, now by God offered, be by your Grace omitted. A physician can in nothing so much declare his good will and cunning, nor purchase himself so great estimation, as when he findeth his patient thoroughly sick and weakened, and doth restore him to his perfect health and perfection. Likewise, if a prince should desire of God a thing whereby he might declare the zeal that he beareth to God, or whereby he might win fame and glory, he could desire nothing so much, as to come into a state corrupted, as this realm of England at this present is; not to destroy it, as did Caesar, but to make it, as did Romulus.

"If your Grace can bring this to pass, as I am out of all doubt ye may quickly, ye shall do more than any of your progenitors did before you. All men shall confess, that you are not only for proximity of blood preferred, but rather of God specially sent and ordained. And as the queen of Sheba came from far off, to see the glory of King Solomon, a woman to a man, even so shall the princes of our time come, men to a woman, and kings marvel at the virtue of Queen Elizabeth. Thus shall we your subjects be most bound to praise God, and to think ourselves most happy, that coming so suddenly from the worse, be forthwith preferred to the best, rid from extremest calamity, and brought to the greatest felicity; and it shall be besides an example for all evil princes, to leave their persecution of Christ and his members, to cease from their tyranny, wherewith they continually oppress their poor subjects. And so all people, not only we of this your realm, but of all other nations, shall have just cause to pray for your Grace's health, and increase of honour."

435. The Disputation at Westminster.

This oration of Master Hales being premised, now let us prosecute, the Lord willing, that which we promised, concerning the disputation or conference had at Westminster. The copy whereof here followeth.

So it pleased the queen's most excellent Majesty, having heard of the diversity of opinions in certain matters of religion amongst sundry of her loving subjects, and being very desirous to have the same reduced to some godly and Christian concord, (by the advice of the lords and others of the privy council,) as well for the satisfaction of persons doubtful, as also for the knowledge of the very truth in certain matters of difference, to have a convenient chosen number of the best learned of either part, and to confer together their opinions and reasons, and thereby to come to some good and charitable agreement. And hereupon by her Majesty's commandment, certain of her privy council declared this purpose to the archbishop of York, (being also one of the same privy council,) and required him that he would impart the same to some of the bishops, and to make choice of eight, nine, or ten of them, and that there should be the like number named of the other part. And further also they declared to him (as then was supposed) what the matter should be. And as for the time, it was thought meet to be as soon as possibly might be agreed upon. And then, after certain days past, it was signified by the said archbishop, that there were appointed, by such of the bishops to whom he had imparted this matter, eight persons, that is to say, four bishops and four doctors: the names of whom here follow underwritten.

THE PAPISTS.

The bishop of Winchester.

The bishop of Lichfield.

The bishop of Chester.

The bishop of Carlisle.

The bishop of Lincoln.

Dr. Cole.

Dr. Harpsfield.

Dr. Langdale.

Dr. Chedsey.

THE PROTESTANTS.

Dr. Scory, bishop of Chichester.

Dr. Coxe.

Master Whitehead.

Master Grindall.

Master Home.

Master Dr. Sands.

Master Guest.

Master Ælmer.

Master Jewell.

They were content, at the queen's Majesty's commandment, to show their opinions; and, as the said archbishop termed it, render account of their faith in those matters which were mentioned, and that especially in writing; although, he said, they thought the same so determined, as there was no cause to dispute upon them.

The matter which they should talk upon, was comprehended in these three propositions, hereunder specified.

"1. It is against the word of God, and the custom of the ancient church, to use a tongue unknown to the people, in common prayers, and the administration of the sacraments.

"2. Every church hath authority to appoint, take away, and change ceremonies and ecclesiastical rites, so the same be to edification.

"3. It cannot be proved by the word of God, that there is, in the mass, offered up a sacrifice propitiatory for the quick and the dead."

It was hereupon fully resolved by the queen's Majesty, with the advice aforesaid, that, according to their desire, it should be in writing on both parts, for avoiding of much altercation in words; and that the said bishops would, because they were in authority of degree superiors, first declare their minds and opinions to the matter, with their reasons in writing. And the other number, being also nine men of good degree in schools, and some having been in dignity in the Church of England, if they had any thing to say to the contrary, should the same day declare their opinions in like manner; and so each of them should deliver their writings to the other, to be considered what were to be improved therein, and the same to declare again in writing at some other convenient day, and the like order to be kept in all the rest of the matters. All this was fully agreed upon with the archbishop of York, and so also signified to both parties.

And immediately hereupon, divers of the nobility and states of the realm understanding that such a meeting and conference should be, and that in certain matters, whereupon (the court of parliament consequently following) some laws might be grounded; they made earnest means to her Majesty, that the parties of this conference might put and read their assertions in the English tongue, and that in the presence of them of the nobility and others of her parliament house, for the better satisfaction and enabling of their own judgments, to treat and conclude of such laws as might depend hereupon.

This also, being thought very reasonable, was signified to both parties, and so fully agreed upon, and the day appointed for the first meeting, to be the Friday in the forenoon, being the last of March, at Westminster church. At which foresaid day and place, both for good order and for honour of the conference, by the queen's Majesty's commandment, the lords and others of the privy council were present, and a great part of the nobility also. And notwithstanding this former order appointed, and consented unto by both parties, yet the bishop of Winchester and his colleagues alleged they had mistaken that their assertions and reasons should be written, and so only recited out of the book, saying their book was not then ready written, but they were ready to argue

and dispute, and therefore they would, for that time, repeat in speech, that which they had to say to the first probation.

This variation from the former order, and especially from that which themselves had by the said archbishop in writing before required, adding thereto the reason of the apostle, that to contend with words is profitable to nothing, but to subversion of the hearer, seemed to the queen's Majesty's council somewhat strange; and yet was it permitted without any great reprehension, because they excused themselves with mistaking the order, and agreed that they would not fail but put it in writing, and, according to the former order, deliver it to the other part; and so the said bishop of Winchester and his colleagues appointed Dr. Cole, dean of Paul's, to be the utterer of their minds; who, partly by speech only, and partly by reading of authorities written, and at certain times being informed of his colleagues what to say, made a declaration of their meanings and their reasons to their first proposition: which being ended, they were asked by the lord keeper, if any of them had any more to be said, and they said, No. So, as the other part was licensed to show their minds, they did it according to the first order, exhibiting all that which they meant to be propounded, in a book written; which, after a prayer and invocation, made most humbly to Almighty God for the enduing of them with his Holy Spirit, and a protestation also to stand to the doctrine of the catholic church, builded upon the Scriptures, and the doctrine of the prophets and the apostles, was distinctly read by one Robert Horne, bachelor in divinity, late dean of Durham, and afterwards bishop of Winchester. The copy of which their protestation here followeth, according as it was by them penned and exhibited, with their preface also before the same.

"Forasmuch as it is thought good unto the queen's most excellent Majesty, (unto whom in the Lord all obedience is due,) that we should declare our judgment in writing upon certain propositions; we, as becometh us to do herein, most gladly obey.

"Seeing that Christ is our only Master, whom the Father hath commanded us to hear; and seeing also his word is the truth, from the which it is not lawful for us to depart, no, not one hair's breath, and against the which (as the apostle saith) we can do nothing; we do in all things submit ourselves unto this truth, and do protest, that we will affirm nothing against the same.

"And forasmuch as we have for our mother the true and catholic church of Christ, which is grounded upon the doctrine of the apostles and prophets, and is of Christ the Head in all things governed; we do reverence her judgment, we obey her authority as becometh children; and we do devoutly profess, and in all points follow the faith which is contained in the three creeds, that is to say, of the apostles, of the council of Nice, and of Athanasius.

"And seeing that we never departed, neither from the doctrine of God which is contained in the holy canonical Scriptures, nor yet from the faith of the true and catholic church of Christ; but have preached truly the word of God, and have sincerely ministered the sacraments according to the institution of Christ, unto the which our doctrine and faith the most part also of our adversaries did subscribe not many years past, (although now, as unnatural, they are revolted from the same,) we desire that they render account of their backsliding, and show some cause wherefore they do not only resist that doctrine which they have before professed, but also

persecute the same by all means they can. We do not doubt, but through the equity of the queen's most excellent Majesty, we shall in these disputations be entreated more gently than in years late past, when we were handled most unjustly and scantily after the common manner of men. As for the judgment of the whole controversy, we refer unto the most Holy Scriptures, and the catholic church of Christ (whose judgment unto us ought to be most sacred): notwithstanding by the catholic church we understand not the Romish church, whereunto our adversaries attribute such reverence, but that which St. Augustine and other fathers affirm ought to be sought in the Holy Scriptures, and, which is governed and led by the Spirit of Christ.

"It is against the word of God, and the custom of the primitive church, to use a tongue unknown to the people in common prayers and administration of the sacraments.

"By these words, 'the word of God,' we mean only the written word of God, or canonical Scriptures: and by 'the custom of the primitive church,' we mean the order most generally used in the church for the space of five hundred years after Christ, in which times lived the most notable fathers, as Justin, Irenæus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Basil, Chrysostom, Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine, &c.

"This assertion above written hath two parts. First, that the use of the tongue not understood of the people, in common prayers of the church, or in the administration of the sacraments, is against God's word.

"The second, that the same is against the use of the primitive church.

"I. The first part is most manifestly proved by the 14th chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, almost throughout the whole chapter; in the which chapter St. Paul entreateth of this matter, *ex professo*, purposely. And although some do cavil that St. Paul speaketh not in that chapter of praying, but of preaching, yet is it most evident to any indifferent reader of understanding, and appeareth also by the exposition of the best writers, that he plainly there speaketh not only of preaching and prophesying, but also of prayer and thanksgiving, and generally of all other public actions, which require any speech in the church or congregation. For of praying he saith: I will pray with my spirit, and I will pray with my mind; I will sing with my spirit, and I will sing with my mind. And of thanksgiving, (which is a kind of prayer,) Thou givest thanks well, but the other is not edified. And how shall he which occupieth the room of the unlearned, say Amen, to thy giving of thanks, when he understandeth not what thou sayest? And in the end, descending from particulars to a general proposition, concludeth, that all things ought to be done to edification. Thus much is clear by the very words of St. Paul; and the ancient doctors, Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome, and others, do so understand this chapter, as it shall appear by their testimonies which shall follow afterward.

"Upon this chapter of St. Paul we gather these reasons following.

"1. All things done in the church or congregation, ought so to be done as they may edify the same.

"But the use of an unknown tongue, in public prayer or administration of sacraments, doth not edify the congregation.

"Therefore the use of an unknown tongue, in public prayer or administration of sacraments, is not to be had in the church.

"The first part of this reason is grounded upon St. Paul's words, commanding all things to be done to edification.

"The second part is also proved by St. Paul's plain words. First by this similitude: If the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall be prepared to battle? Even so likewise, when ye speak with tongues, except ye speak words that have signification, how shall it be understood what is spoken? for ye shall but speak in the air, that is to say, in vain, and consequently without edifying. And afterwards, in the same chapter he saith, How can he that occupieth the place of the unlearned, say Amen, at thy giving of thanks, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest? for thou verily givest thanks well, but the other is not edified. These be St. Paul's words, plainly proving, that a tongue not understood doth not edify. And therefore both the parts of the reason thus proved by St. Paul, the conclusion followeth necessarily.

"2. Secondly, Nothing is to be spoken in the congregation in an unknown tongue, except it be interpreted to the people, that it may be understood. For saith Paul, If there be no interpreter to him that speaketh in an unknown tongue, let him hold his peace in the church. And therefore the common prayers and administration of sacraments, neither done in a known tongue, neither interpreted, are against the commandment of Paul, and not to be used.

"3. The minister, in prayer or administration of sacraments, using language not understood of the hearers, is to them barbarous, and alien; which of St. Paul is accounted a great absurdity.

"4. It is not to be counted a Christian common prayer, where the people present declare not their assent unto it by saying Amen; wherein is implied all other words of assent.

"But St. Paul affirmeth, that the people cannot declare their assent in saying Amen, except they understand what is said, as afore.

"Therefore it is no Christian common prayer where the people understand not what is said.

"5. Paul would not suffer, in his time, a strange tongue to be heard in the common prayer in the church, notwithstanding that such a kind of speech was then a miracle, and a singular gift of the Holy Ghost, whereby infidels might be persuaded and brought to the faith; much less is it to be suffered now, amongst Christian and faithful men; especially being no miracle nor especial gift of the Holy Ghost.

"6. Some will peradventure answer, that to use any kind of tongue, in common prayer or administration of sacraments, is a thing indifferent.

"But St. Paul is to the contrary: for he commandeth all things to be done to edification; he commandeth to keep silence if there be no interpreter; and in the end of the chapter he concludeth thus: If any man be spiritual or a prophet, let him know that the things which I write are the commandments of the Lord. And so shortly to conclude, the use of a strange tongue, in prayer and administration, is against the word and commandment of God.

"To these reasons, grounded upon St. Paul's words, which are the most firm foundation of this assertion, divers other reasons may be joined, gathered out of the Scriptures, and otherwise.

"1. In the Old Testament all things pertaining to the public prayer, benedictions, thanksgivings, or sacrifices, were always in their vulgar and natural tongue. In 2 Chron. xxix. it is written, that Hezekiah commanded the Levites to praise God with the Psalms of David and Asaph the prophet, which doubtless were written in Hebrew, their vulgar tongue. If they did so in the shadows of the law, much more ought we to do the like, who, as Christ saith, must pray *in spiritu at veritate*.

"2. The final end of our prayer, as David saith, is, *Ut populi at convenient in unum, at annuncient nomen Domini in Sion, at laudes ejus in Hierusalem*, Psal. cii.

"But the name and praises of God cannot be set forth to the people, unless it be done in such a tongue as they may understand: therefore common prayer must be had in the vulgar tongue.

"3. The definition of public prayer out of the words of St. Paul, *Orabo spiritu, orabo et mente*, 1 Cor. xiv. Common prayer is to lift up our common desires to God with our minds, and to testify the same outwardly with our tongues; which definition is approved by St. Augustine, (De Magistro, cap. i.) *Nihil opus est, inquit, locutione, nisi forte ut sacerdotes faciunt, significandæ mentis causal ut populus intelligat*.

"4. The ministration of the Lord's supper and baptism are as it were sermons of the death and resurrection of Christ.

"But sermons to the people must be had in such language as the people may perceive; otherwise they should be had in vain.

"5. It is not lawful for a Christian man to abuse the gifts of God: but he that prayeth in the church in a strange tongue, abuseth the gifts of God. For the tongue serveth only to express the mind of the speaker to the hearer. And Augustine saith, 'There is no cause why we should speak, if they for whose cause we speak understand not our speaking.'

"6. The heathen and barbarous nations of all countries and sorts of men, were they never so wild, evermore made their prayers and sacrifices to their gods in their own mother tongue. Which is a manifest declaration that it is the very light and voice of nature.

"Thus much upon the ground of St. Paul and other reasons out of the Scriptures, joining therewith the common usage of all nations, as the testimony of the law of nature.

"II. Now for the second part of the assertion, which is, that the use of a strange tongue in public prayer and administration of sacraments, is against the custom of the primitive church; it is a matter so clear, that the denial of it must needs proceed either of great ignorance, or else of wilful malice.

"For first of all Justin Martyr, describing the order of the communion in his time, saith thus: 'Upon the Sunday, assemblies are made both of the citizens and countrymen, where the writings of the apostles and of the prophets are read, as much as may be. Afterwards, when the reader doth cease, the head minister maketh an exhortation, exhorting them to follow so honest things. After this we rise all together and offer prayers; which being ended, (as we have said,) bread and water are brought forth. Then the head minister offereth prayers and thanksgiving, as much as he can, and the people answer Amen.'

"These words of Justin, who lived about one hundred and sixty years after Christ, considered with their circumstance, declare plainly, that not only the Scriptures were read, but also that the prayers and administration of the Lord's supper were done, in a tongue understood.

"The liturgies both of Basil and Chrysostom declare, that in the celebration of the communion, the people were appointed to answer to the prayer of the minister, sometimes 'Amen;' sometimes, 'Lord have mercy upon us;' sometimes, 'And with thy spirit,' and, 'We have our hearts lifted up unto the Lord,' &c.: which answers they could not have made in due time, if the prayer had not been made in a tongue understood.

"And for further proof, let us hear what Basil writeth in this matter to the clerks of Neocæsarea: As touching that is laid to our charge in psalmodies and songs, wherewith our slanderers do fray the simple, I have thus to say: that our customs and usages in all churches be uniform and agreeable. For in the night the people with us rise, go to the house of prayer, and in travail, tribulation, and continual tears, they confess themselves to God; and at the last, rising again, go to their songs or psalmody, where being divided into two parts, they sing by course together, both deeply weighing and confirming the matter of the heavenly sayings, and also stirring up their attention and devotion of heart, which by other means be alienated and plucked away. Then appointing one to begin the song, the rest follow, and so with divers songs and prayers passing over the night, at the dawning of the day, all together, even as it were with one mouth and one heart, they sing unto the Lord a song of confession, every man framing to himself meet words of repentance.'

"If you will fly us from henceforth for these things, ye must fly also the Egyptians, and the Libyans; ye must eschew both the Thebans, Palestines, Arabians, the Phoenicians, and the Syrians, and those that dwell beside the Euphrates; and, to be short, all those with whom watchings, prayers, and common singing of psalms, are had in honour."

Testimonies of St. Ambrose, written upon 1 Cor. xiv., Super illud, Qui enim loquitur linguis.

"This is it that he saith, He which speaketh in an unknown tongue, speaketh to God: for he knoweth all things; but men know not, and therefore there is no profit of this thing.'

"Upon these words, If thou bless or give thanks with the spirit, how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned say Amen, at thy giving of thanks, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest? *Hoc est, si laudem Dei lingua loquaris ignoto,* &c. 'That is,' saith Ambrose, 'if thou speak the praise of God in a tongue unknown to the hearers. For the unlearned, hearing that which he understandeth not, knoweth not the end of the prayer, and he answereth not Amen, that is as much as to say, true, that the blessing or thanksgiving may be confirmed. For the confirmation of the prayer is fulfilled by them which do answer Amen. That all things spoken might be confirmed in the minds of the hearers, through the testimony of the truth.'

"Afterward in the same place, upon these words, If any infidel or unlearned come in, &c.

"For when he understandeth, and is understood, hearing God to be praised, and Christ to be worshipped, he seeth perfectly that the religion is true, and to be revered, wherein he seeth nothing to be done colourably, nothing in darkness, as among the heathen, whose eyes are covered, that they, seeing not the things which they call holy, might perceive themselves to be deluded with divers vanities. For all falsehood seeketh darkness, and sheweth false things for true. Therefore with us nothing is done privily, nothing covertly, but one God is simply praised, of whom are all things, and one Lord Jesus, by whom are all things. For if there be none which can understand, or of whom he may be tried, he may say, there is some deceit and vanity, which is therefore sung in tongues not understood; he meaneth, because it is a shame to open it.'

"Let all things be done to edify.

"This is the conclusion, that nothing should be done in the church in vain, and that this thing ought chiefly to be laboured for, that the unlearned also might profit, lest any part of the body should be dark through ignorance.'

"Again, *Si non fuerit interpretes, taceat in ecclesia.*

"Hoc est, intra se tacite oret aut loquatur Deo, qui audit muta omnia. In ecclesia enim ille debet loqui qui omnibus prosit.

"If there be no interpreter, let him keep silence in the church.

"That is, let him pray secretly, or speak to God within himself, which heareth all dumb things: for in the church he ought to speak which may profit all men.'

Testimonies out of St. Jerome, upon that place of Paul, Quomodo, qui supplet locum idiotæ, &c.

"It is the layman, which hath no ecclesiastical office,' saith he, 'whom Paul here understandeth to be in the place of the ignorant man. How shall he answer Amen, to the prayer that he understandeth not?'

"This is Paul's meaning,' saith Jerome: 'If any man speaketh in strange and unknown tongues, his mind is not to himself without fruit and profit, but he is not profited that heareth him.'

"And in the end of his commentary upon the Epistle to the Galatians, he saith thus: 'That Amen signifieth the consent of the hearer, and is the sealing up of the truth, Paul in the First Epistle to the Corinthians teacheth, saying, But if thou shalt bless in spirit, how shall he who supplieth the place of the ignorant, at thy prayer answer Amen, seeing he knoweth not what thou sayest? Whereby he declareth that the unlearned man cannot answer, although that which is spoken is true, unless he understand what is said.'

The same Jerome saith in the preface of St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, that the noise of Amen soundeth in the Roman church, like a heavenly thunder.

Testimonies out of Basil, Chrysostom, Dionysius, Cyprian, Augustine, and Justinian.

"As Jerome compareth this sound of common prayer to thunder, so Basil compareth it to the sound of the sea, in these words: 'If the sea be fair, how is not the assembly of the congregation much fairer? in the which a joined sound of men, women, and children, as it were of the waves beating on the shore, is sent forth in our prayers unto our God.'

"When the people once hear these words, World without end, they all forthwith answer, Amen.'

"And the same writer upon the same chapter, upon these words, How shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned, say Amen? *En rursus amussi (quod dicitur) saxum applicat, ecclesiæ ædificationem ubique requirens, &c.* 'Behold again, he applieth the stone unto the square, (as the proverb is,) requiring the edifying of the congregation in all places.' The unlearned he calleth the common people, and sheweth that it is no small discommodity, if they cannot say Amen.

"And again, the same Chrysostom, 'Yea, in prayers you may see the people offer largely, both for the possessed and the penitents. For the priests and the people pray all together commonly, and all one prayer, a prayer full of mercy and pity. And excluding out of the priests' limits all such as cannot be partakers of the holy table, another prayer must be made, and all after one sort lie down upon the earth, and all again after one sort rise up together. Now when the peace is given, we all in like

manner salute one another, and the priest in the reverend mysteries wisheth well to the people, and the people unto him: for, and with thy spirit,' is nothing else but this. All things that belong to the sacrament of thanksgiving, are common to all. But he giveth not thanks alone, but all the people with him.'

"Hereby it may appear, that not the priest alone communicated nor prayed alone, nor had any peculiar prayer, but such as was common to them all, such as they all understood, and all were able to say with the priest; which could not have been, if he had used a strange tongue in the ministration of the sacraments.

"Dionysius, describing the manner of the ministration of the Lord's supper, saith, 'that hymns were said of the whole multitude of the people.'

"Cyprian saith, 'The priest doth prepare the minds of the brethren, with a preface before the prayer, saying, Lift up your hearts: that while the people doth answer, We have our hearts lifted up to the Lord, they may be admonished that they ought to think of none other thing than of the Lord.'

"St. Augustine, What this should be we ought to understand, that we may sing with reason of man, not with chatting of birds. For ousels, and popinjays, and ravens, and pies, and other such-like birds, are taught by men to prate they know not what. But to sing with understanding, is given by God's holy will to the nature of man.'

"The same Augustine: 'There needeth no speech when we pray, saving perhaps as the priests do, to declare their meaning; not that God, but that men may hear them; and so, being put in remembrance by consenting with the priests, may hang upon God.'

"To these testimonies of the ancient writers, we will join one constitution of Justinian the emperor, who lived 527 years after Christ: 'We command that all bishops and priests do celebrate the holy oblation, and the prayers used in holy baptism, not speaking low, but with a clear and loud voice, which may be heard of the people, that thereby the minds of the hearers may be stirred up with greater devotion, in uttering the praises of the Lord God. For so the holy apostle teacheth in his First Epistle to the Corinthians, saying, Truly, if thou only bless or give thanks in spirit, how doth he which occupieth the place of the unlearned say Amen, at the giving of thanks unto God? for he understandeth not what thou sayest. Thou verily givest thanks well, but another is not edified. And again, in the Epistle to the Romans, he saith, With the heart a man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation.

"Therefore for these causes it is convenient, that amongst other prayers those things also which are spoken in the holy oblation, be uttered and spoken of the most religious bishops and priests unto our Lord Jesus Christ, our God with the Father and the Holy Ghost, with a loud voice. And let the most religious priests know this, that if they neglect any of these things, neither will the dreadful judgment of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, neither will we, when we know it, rest, and leave it unrevenged.'

"Out of this constitution of Justinian the emperor, three things are worthy to be noted.

"1. That the common prayer and ministration done with a loud voice, so as may be heard and understood of the people, is a mean to stir up devotion in the people; contrary to the common assertion of Eckius and other adversaries, who affirm that ignorance maketh a great admiration and devotion.

"2. That Justinian maketh this matter of not ordering common ministration and prayers, so as it may be understood of the people, not a matter of indifferency, but such a thing as must be answered for at the day of judgment.

"3. That this emperor, being a Christian emperor, doth not only make constitution of ecclesiastical matters, but also threateneth revenge and sharp punishment to the violaters of the same.

"These are sufficient to prove that it is against God's word, and the use of the primitive church, to use a language not understood of the people, in common prayer and ministration of the sacraments. Wherefore it is to be marvelled at, not only how such an untruth and abuse crept at the first into the church, but also, how it is maintained so stiffly at this day; and upon what ground these that will be thought guides and pastors of Christ's church, are so loth to return to the first original of St. Paul's doctrine, and the practice of the primitive catholic church of Christ.

"The God of patience and consolation, give us grace to be like-minded one towards another in Christ Jesus; that we all, agreeing together, may with one mouth praise God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Amen.

"John Scory.
John Jewell.
Richard Coxe.
Robert Horne.
David Whitehead.
John Ælmer.
Edmund Grindall.
Edmund Guest."

And the same being ended with some likelihood, as it seemed, that the same was much allowable to the audience; certain of the bishops began to say, contrary to their former answer, that they had now much more to say to this matter: wherein although they might have been well reprehended for such manner of cavillation, yet, for avoiding of any more mistaking of orders in this colloquy or conference, and for that they should utter all that which they had to say, it was both ordered and thus openly agreed upon of both parts, in the full audience, that upon the Monday following, the bishops should bring their minds and reasons in writing to the second assertion, and the last also, if they could; and first read the same: and that done, the other part should bring likewise theirs to the same. And being read, each of them should deliver to other the same writings. And in the mean time, the bishops should put in writing, not only all that which Dr. Cole had that day uttered, but all such other matters as they any otherwise could think of for the same: and as soon as they

possibly could, to send the same book touching that first assertion to the other part, and they should receive of them that writing which Master Home had there read that day; and upon Monday it shall be agreed what day they should exhibit their answers touching the first proposition. Thus both parts assented thereto, and the assembly was quietly dismissed.

The order of the second day's talk.

The lord keeper of the great seal, the archbishop of York, the duke of Norfolk, and all the council, being set, the bishops on the one side, and the protestants, that is, the late banished preachers, on the other side, thus began the lord keeper.

"My Lord and Masters, I am sure ye remember well, what order of talk and writing was appointed to be had this day in this assembly, at our last meeting, which I will not refuse now to repeat again for the shortness of it; which was, that ye appointed that on both sides ye should bring in English writing, what ye had to say in the second question, and in this place appointed to read the same. Therefore begin, my Lords."

Winchester.--"I am determined, for my part, that there shall be now read, that which we have to say for the first question."

Lord Keeper.--"Will ye not then proceed in the order appointed you?"

Winchester.--"I am, as I said, provided for the first question or proposition; and we should suffer prejudice, if ye permit us not to entreat of that first; and so we would come to the second question, and this is the order we would use. I judge all my brethren are so minded."

Bishops.--"We are so determined."

Lord Keeper.--"I know not what you would do for your determined order, but ye ought to look what order is appointed you to keep, which ye by this means do break, and little regard."

Winchester.--"Sith our adversaries' part, if it please your Grace and Honours, have so confirmed their assertion and purpose, we suffer a prejudice or damage, if ye permit us not the like." Hereat Dr. Watson, bishop of Lincoln, being at this talk very desirous to have spoken, said now to the bishop of Winchester, "I pray you let me speak:" which was permitted him. "We are not used indifferently, since that you allow us not to open in present writing what we have to say for the declaration of the first question, insomuch as that which ye take for the infirmation of the same, was meant nothing to that purpose; for that which Master Cole spake in this last assembly, was not prepared to strengthen our cause, but he made his oration of himself, and *ex tempore*, that is, with no fore-studied talk."

At such the bishop's words, the nobility and others of the audience much frowned and grudged, sith that they all well knew, that Master Cole spake out of a

writing which he held in his hand, and often read out of the same; and that in the same places which the bishops informed him, and appointed him unto with their fingers; all which things do well declare the matter to be premeditate, and not done *ex tempore*, for that Master Cole was appointed by them to be their speaker. Whereupon this of the bishop of Lincoln was the worse taken, notwithstanding he went onward complaining, and said, "We are also evil-ordered as touching the time, our adversaries' part having warning long before, and we were warned only two days before the last assembly in this place. What with this business, and other trouble we have been driven to, we have been occupied the whole last night. For we may in no wise betray the cause of God, nor will do, but sustain it to the uttermost of our powers; as we ought so to endeavour by all manner of means. But hereunto we want presently indifferent using."

Lord Keeper.--"Take ye heed that ye deceive not yourselves when it shall come to just trial of the matter, and that then it be not proved against you, that ye complain without cause, when the order and your manner towards it shall be duly weighed. I am willing and ready to hear you after the order taken and appointed for you to reason therein; and further or contrary to that I cannot deal with you."

The bishop of Lichfield and Coventry.--"Let us suffer no disorder or injury herein, but be heard with indifferency, that is convenient and meet we should have here."

Lord Keeper.--"I pray you, sirs, hear me, and mark it you well. It was concluded on by my Lords of the council, of whom you well know, that their writing, which ye are now so willing to have heard, should have been read the first day; and then did we understand that Master Cole had said what you would have him, and as much as you willed him to say; and, upon that indifferency among us, I judge ye were asked in the end of Master Cole's rehearsal, whether that which he spake, was it ye would have him say; and ye granted it. Then, whether ye would, that he should say any more in the matter: ye answered no. Whereupon the other part was heard, which you hearing, then indeed, without all good indifferency or plain dealing, ye pretended that ye had more to say. So mark you with how small equity you used yourselves."

The bishops.--"We had indeed more to say, if we might have been indifferently heard."

Lord Keeper.--"Give me leave, I say, and look what gains you should have, if your present request should be granted you, that call so much of indifferent using, how you should use those other men?"

For many who are here present, were then away; so would you have your writing now read to them, which heard not this. Mark ye whether it had not been more fit that ye had provided it against the first day, when they orderly read theirs, sith to my knowledge, and as far as I have had to do in the matter, you were of both sides (I am sure) warned at one time. Howbeit, to satisfy your importunity and earnestness of this crying out to have your first writing heard, I might well allow, if it so pleased the rest of the queen's most honourable council, that you despatch the work of the second question, appointed for this day, and give us up your writing for the first; so that when the day cometh that each of you shall answer the other in confirmation of the first

question, then the same day ye shall have time to read this your first writing, which ye now would so fain read." To this order all the council willingly condescended.

Lichfield and Coventry.--"Nay, my Lords, they reading one, and we two books in one day, we should not have time enough to read them both. It would occupy too much time."

Lord Keeper.--"For my part, I might well stay at the hearing of them both, and so I judge would the rest of the council, and likewise the whole audience." At which saying there was a shout, crying on all sides, "Yea, yea, we would hear it gladly."

Lincoln.--"We cannot read them both at one time; for their writing, I am sure, would require an hour and a half, if so be it be so long as their last was; and then our answer would require no less time after the first question."

Lord Keeper.--"I have showed you we could be well contented to tarry out the time when it cometh thereunto: therefore ye need not to be therein so curious. And we granting you thus much, and yet ye will obey no orders, I cannot tell what I shall say unto you."

Lincoln.--"We have been wonderfully troubled in the order of this disputation: for first it was appointed us by my Lord the archbishop, that we should dispute, and that in Latin. And then had we another commandment that we should provide a Latin writing, and now at last we are willed to bring forth our writings in English."

At these words the lord keeper of the great seal, the archbishop, with all the council, much mused, and many murmured at such his wrong report of the order well taken. Whereupon, with an admiration, the lord keeper answered, "I marvel much of the using of yourself in this point, sith I am assured the order was never otherwise taken, than that you should bring forth in English writing, what you had to say for your purpose."

Hereupon the bishops of Lichfield and Chichester, to excuse my Lord of Lincoln, said, "We so understood the order, my Lords."

Lord Keeper.--"How likely is that, sith that it was so plainly told you? But to end these delays, I pray you follow the order appointed, and begin to entreat of the second question."

Lichfield and Coventry.--"We were appointed this day, by your Honours, to bring in what we had to say in the first question." At the which saying the audience much grudged, who heard the former talk, contrary to such his report.

Lord Keeper.--"The order was taken, for that your writings were not ready the last time, that ye should yield the same to these men, meaning the protestants, as soon as ye might; and upon the receipt of your writings, you should have theirs. And this day you should entreat of the second question, and of the third, if that ye had leisure enough. This was the order, my Lords, except my memory much fail me." The same all the council affirmed.

Lincoln.--"We were willed then to bring in this day our writing for the first question also."

Lord Keeper.--"Ah sirs! if ye be so hard to be satisfied, and to incline to the truth, let my Lords here say what was then determined."

Archbishop of York.--"Ye are to blame to stand in this issue, for there was a plain decreed order taken, for you to entreat of the second question. Wherefore leave you your contention herein, and show what ye have to say in the second question."

Lord Keeper.--"Go to now, begin, my Lords."

Lichfield and Coventry.--"It is contrary to the order in disputations, that we should begin."

Chester.--"We have the negative, they the affirmative; therefore they must begin."

Lichfield and Coventry.--"They must first speak what they can bring in against us, sith we are the defending part."

Chester.--"So is the school manner; and likewise the manner in Westminster Hall is, that the plaintiff's part should speak first, and then the accused party to answer."

Lichfield and Coventry.--"I pray you let the proposition be read, and then let us see who hath the negative part, and so let the other begin."

Lord Keeper.--"The order was taken that ye should begin."

Lichfield and Coventry.--"But then we should do against the school order."

Lord Keeper.--"My masters, ye enforce much the school orders. I wonder much at it, sith divers of those orders are oftentimes taken for the exercise of youth, and ought to maintain a fashion, and many prescriptions, which we need not here to recite, much less observe. We are come hither to keep the order of God, and to set forth his truth, and hereunto we have taken as good order as we might, which lieth not in me to change."

Carlisle.--"We are of the catholic church, and abide therein, and stand in the possessions of the truth; and therefore must they say what they have to allege against us; and so we to maintain and defend our cause."

Lichfield and Coventry.--"Yea, even so must the matter be ordered."

Chester.--"When they bring any thing against us, it is sufficient for us to deny it: therefore must they begin."

Lichfield and Coventry.--"And when they affirm any thing, and we say nay, the proof belongeth to them, and so it behoveth them to show first, what they affirm, and for what cause and purpose."

Lord Keeper.--"Here resteth our purpose and whole matter, whether you will begin; if they do not, sith it was determined ye should begin."

Lichfield and Coventry.--"We heard of no such order."

Lord Keeper.--"No did? Yes, and in the first question ye began willingly. How cometh it to pass that ye will not now do so?"

Chester.--"Then had we the affirmation, which sith that our adversaries have now, they should presently begin."

This the protestants denied, saying, that they in the first day had the negative, wherein they did not yet refuse to begin.

Lord Keeper.--"If you have any thing to say, my Lords, to the purpose, say on."

Lichfield and Coventry.--"A particular sort of men can never break a universal church, which we now maintain: and as for these men, our adversary part, I never thought that they would have done so much as have named themselves to be of the catholic church, challenging the name as well as we."

Protestants.--"We do so, and we are of the true catholic church, and maintain the verity thereof."

Lincoln.--"Yet would ye overthrow all catholic order."

Horne.--"I wonder that ye so much stand in who should begin."

Lincoln.--"You count it requisite that we should follow your orders, as we have taken the questions at your hands, in that sort as you have assigned them."

Lichfield and Coventry.--"Yea, even so are we driven to do now."

Lord Keeper.--"Nay, I judge, if ye mark the matter well, the questions are neither of their propounding them to you, nor of your device to them, but offered indifferently to you both."

Horne.--"Indeed, my Lords of the queen's most honourable council, these questions or propositions were proposed unto us by your Honours; and they then having the pre-eminence, chose to themselves the negative, and yet freely began first. Now, again, why do they not the like?"

Lichfield being angry that he should so straitly speak against them, went quite from the matter, saying, "My Lord Keeper of the great seal, and you the rest of the queen's most honourable council, I hope that you all, and the queen's Majesty herself,

are inclined to favour the verity in all things, and the truth of the catholic church, which we must, will, or can do no otherwise, but earnestly maintain to the uttermost of our power; and to this purpose let us now well weigh who are of the true catholic church, they, or we."

Lord Keeper.--"Tarry now, you go from the matter, and make questions of your own."

Lichfield, yet not straying from his digression, said thus: "We must needs go to work, and try that first, what church they be of: for there are many churches in Germany. Master Horne, Master Horne, I pray you which of these churches are you of?"

Horne.--"I am of Christ's catholic church."

Lord Keeper.--"Ye ought not thus to run into voluntary talk of your own inventing, nor to devise new questions of your own appointment, and thereby enter into that talk: ye ought not so to do. But say on, if you have any thing to say in this matter."

Lichfield and Coventry.--"Nay, we must first thus go to work with them as I have said, if that we will search a truth: howbeit of the truth we have no doubt, for that we assuredly stand in it. These men come in, and they pretend to be doubtful. Therefore they should first bring what they have to impugn or withstand us withal."

Winchester.--"Let them begin; so will we go onward with our matter."

Chester.--"Otherwise, my Lords, if they should not begin, but end the talk, then should the verity on our sides be not so well marked; for they should depart speaking last, with the rejoicing triumph of the people."

Winchester.--"Therefore I am resolved that they shall begin ere that we say any thing."

Chester.--"I am sorry, my Lords, that we should so long stand in the matter with your Honours, and make so many words, and so much ado with you, whom we ought to obey: howbeit there is no in differency if they begin not; and surely we think it meet, that they should, for their parts, give us place."

Lichfield.--"Yea, that they should, and ought to do, where any indifferency is used."

Elmer.--"We give you the place: do we not? and deprive you not of the pre-eminence, because you are bishops; therefore I pray you begin."

The *bishop.*--"A goodly giving of place, I assure you: yea marry, ye gave place." Such words they used, with more scoffs.

Lord Keeper.--"If ye make this assembly gathered in vain, and will not go to the matter, let us rise and depart."

Winchester.--"Contented, let us be gone; for we will not in this point give over. I pray you, my Lords, require not at our hands that we should be any cause of hinderance or let to our religion, or give any such evil example to our posterity, which we should do, if we gave over to them; which in no wise we may, or will do."

Lord Keeper.--"Let us then break up, if you be thus minded." With these, words the bishops were straightways rising. But then said the lord keeper, "Let us see whether every one of you be thus minded. How say you, my Lord of Winchester, will you not begin to read your writing?"

Winchester.--"No surely, I am fully determined and fully at a point therein, howsoever my brethren do."

Then the lord keeper asked how the bishop was called, who sat next to Winchester in order. It was the bishop of Exeter, who, being inquired his mind herein, answered that he was none of them. Then the lord keeper asked the others, in order: and first Lincoln, who said he was of the same mind that Winchester was: and so likewise answered Lichfield and Coventry, Cole, and Chedsey. Then Chester, being asked his sentence, said, "My Lords, I say not that I will not read it, if ye command us; but we ought not to do it: yet I desire your Honours not so to take it, as though I would not have read it. I mean not so."

Lord Keeper.--"How say you to it, my Lord of Carlisle?"

Carlisle.--"If they should not read theirs this day, so that our writing may be last read, so am I contented that ours shall be first read."

Lord Keeper.--"So would ye make orders yourselves, and appoint that we should spend one day in hearing you."

Then the abbot of Westminster was asked his mind; who said, "If it please your Honours, I judge that my Lords here stay most on this point, that they fear when they shall begin first, and the other answer thereupon, there shall be no time given to them to speak; which my Lord misliketh."

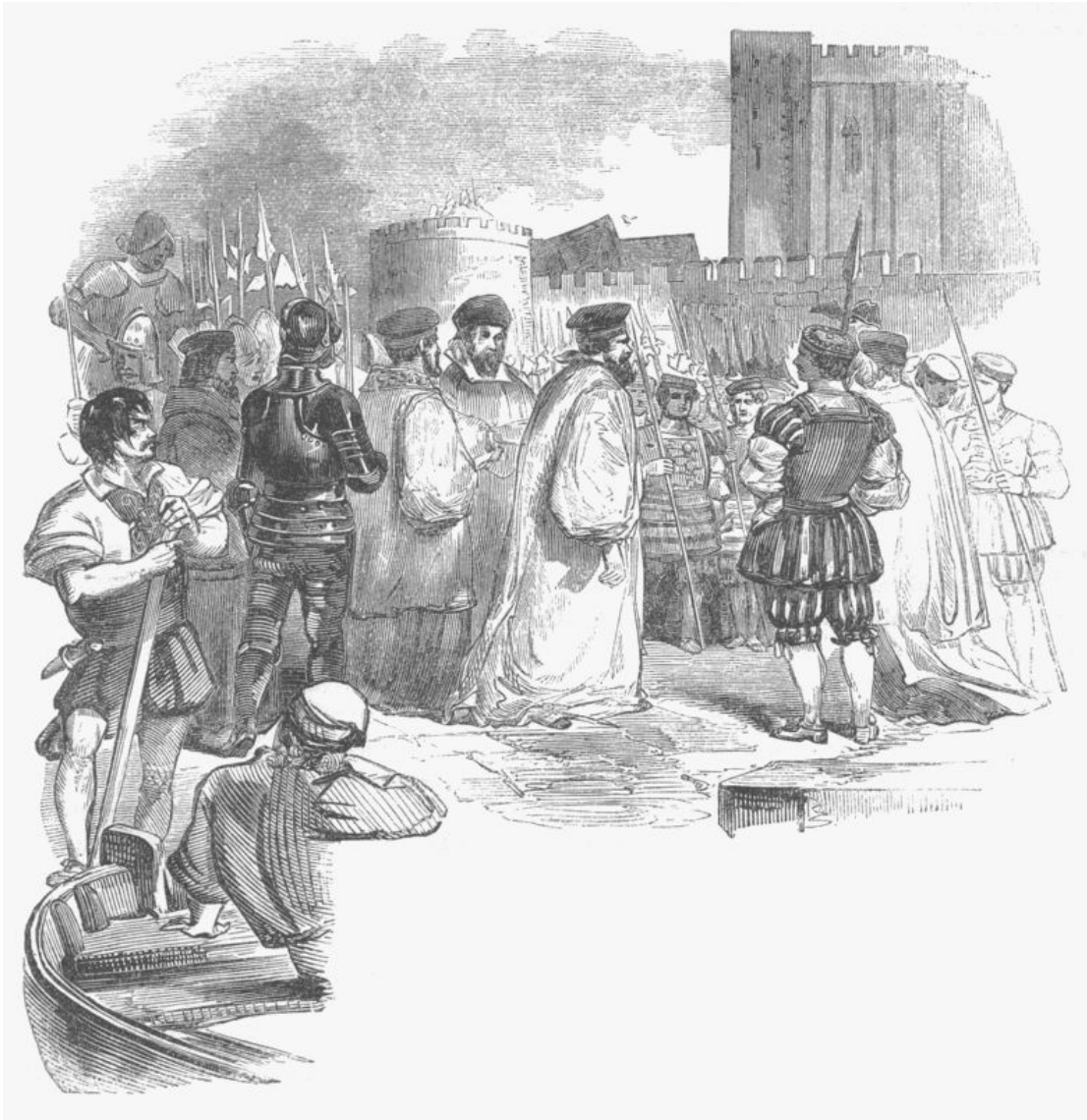
Lord Keeper.--"How can it otherwise be in talk appointed in such assembly and audience: think you that there can be continual answering one another? when should it after that sort have an end?"

Lichfield and Coventry.--"It must be so in disputation, to seek out the truth."

Lord Keeper.--"But how say you, my Lord Abbot, are you of the mind it shall be read?"

Abbot.--"Yea forsooth, my Lord, I am very well pleased withal."-- Harpsfield being inquired his mind, thought as the other did.

Lord Keeper.--"My Lord, sith that ye are not willing, but refuse to read your writing after the order taken, we will break up and depart: and for that ye will not that we should hear you, you may perhaps shortly hear of us."



The Bishops of Winchester and Lincoln Brought to the Tower of London

Thus have we declared the order and manner of this communication or conference at Westminster, between these two parties, wherein if any law or order were broken, judge, good reader, where the fault was; and consider withal what these papists be, from whom if ye take away their sword and authority, you see all their cunning, how soon it lieth in the dust; or else why would they not abide the trial of writing? Why would they, or durst they, not stand to the order agreed upon? Whether should we say ignorance or stubbornness to be in them more, or both together? who first being gently (as is said) and favourably required to keep the order appointed, they would not. Then being, secondly, (as appeared by the lord keeper's words,) pressed more earnestly, they neither regarding the authority, &c., of that place, nor their own reputation, nor the credit of the cause, utterly refused that to do. And finally, being again particularly every of them apart distinctly by name required to understand their opinions therein, they all, saving one, (which was the abbot of Westminster, having some more consideration of order and his duty of obedience than the others,) utterly and plainly denied to have their book read, some of them, as more earnestly than others, so also some others more indiscreetly and unreverently than others. Whereupon giving such example of disorder, stubbornness, and self-will, as

hath not been seen and suffered in such an honourable assembly, being of the two estates of this realm, the nobility and the commons, besides the presence of the queen's Majesty's most honourable privy council, the same assembly was dismissed, and the godly and most Christian purpose of the queen's Majesty made frustrate. And afterward, for the contempt so notoriously made, the bishops of Winchester and Lincoln, having most obstinately both disobeyed common authority, and varied manifestly from their own order, and specially Lincoln, who showed more folly than the other, were condignly committed to the Tower of London, and the rest (saving the abbot of Westminster) stood bound to make daily their personal appearance before the council, and not to depart the city of London and Westminster, until further order were taken with them for their disobedience and contempt.

Besides the former protestation or libel written and exhibited by the protestants concerning the first question, there was also another like writing of the said protestants made of the second question, but not published, which, if it come to our hand, we will likewise impart it unto thee.

As these bishops above named were committed to the Tower, so Bonner, bishop of London, about the same time was commanded to the Marshalsea, where he both in his blind bloody heresy, and also in his deserved captivity, long remained, abiding the queen's pleasure. God's pleasure, I beseech him, so be wrought on that person, that the church of Christ's flock, if they can take or look for no goodness of that man to come, yet they may take of him and of others no more harm hereafter, than they have done already. We all beseech thee this, O Lord eternal, through Christ our Lord, Amen.

436. Protestantism Re-Established.

About this time, at the beginning of the flourishing reign of Queen Elizabeth, was a parliament summoned and holden at Westminster, wherein was much debating about matters touching religion, and great study on both parties employed, the one to retain still, the other to impugn, the doctrine and faction which before, in Queen Mary's time, had been established. But especially here is to be noted, that though there lacked no industry on the papists' side, to hold fast that which they most cruelly from time to time had studied, and by all means practised to come by; yet, notwithstanding, such was the providence of God at that time, that for lack of the other bishops, whom the Lord had taken away by death a little before, the residue that there were left, could do the less; and in very need, God be praised there-for, did nothing at all, in effect: although yet, notwithstanding, there lacked in them neither will nor labour to do what they could, if their cruel ability there might have served. But, namely, amongst all others, not only the industrious courage of Dr. Story, but also his words in this parliament, are worthy to be known of posterity; who, like a stout and furious champion of the pope's side, to declare himself how lusty he was, and what he had and would do in his master's quarrel, shamed not openly, in the said parliament-house, to burst out into such an impudent sort of words, as was a wonder to all good ears to hear, and no less worthy of history. The sum of which his shameless talk was uttered to this effect:--

"First, beginning with himself, he declared, that whereas he was noted commonly abroad, and much complained of, to have been a great doer, and a setter-forth of such religion, orders, and proceedings, as of his late sovereign that dead is, Queen Mary, were set forth in this realm, he denied nothing the same; protesting, moreover, that he therein had done nothing, but that both his conscience did lead him thereunto, and also his commission did as well then command him, as now also doth discharge him for the same, being no less ready now also to do the like, and more, in case he, by this queen, were authorized likewise, and commanded thereunto: 'wherefore, as I see,' saith he, 'nothing to be ashamed of, so less I see to be sorry for;' but rather said, that he was sorry for this, because he had done no more than he did, and that in executing those laws, they had not been more vehement and severe. Wherein he said there was no default in him, but in them, whom he both oft and earnestly had exhorted to the same, being therefore not a little grieved with them, for that they laboured only about the young and little sprigs and twigs, while they should have stricken at the root, and clean have rooted it out, &c. And concerning his persecuting and burning them, he denied not, but that he was once at the burning of an ear-wig (for so he termed it) at Uxbridge, where he tossed a faggot at his face, as he was singing psalms, and set a whin-bush of thorns under his feet, a little to prick him; with many other words of like effect. In the which words he named, moreover, Sir Philip Hobby, and another knight of Kent, with such other of the richer and higher degree, whom his counsel was to pluck at, and bring them under coram, wherein (said he) if they had followed my advice, then had they done well and wisely."

This, or much like, was the effect of the shameless and tyrannical excuse of himself, more meet to speak with the voice of a beast, than a man.

Although in this parliament some diversity there was of judgment and opinion between parties, yet, notwithstanding, through the merciful goodness of the Lord, the

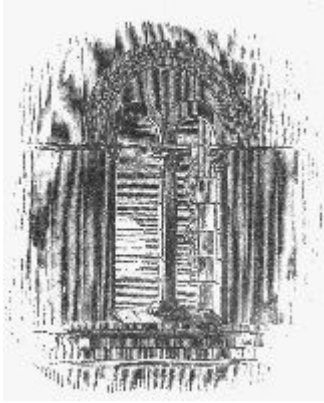
FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

true cause of the gospel had the upper hand, the papists' hope was frustrate, and their rage abated, the order and proceedings of King Edward's time concerning religion were revived again, the supremacy of the pope abolished, the articles and bloody statutes of Queen Mary repealed; briefly, the furious fire-brands of cruel persecution, which had consumed so many poor men's bodies, were now extinct and quenched.

Finally, the old bishops were deposed, for that they refused the oath in renouncing the pope, and not subscribing to the queen's just and lawful title: in whose rooms and places, first, for Cardinal Pole succeeded Dr. Matthew Parker, archbishop of Canterbury. In the place of Heath succeeded Dr. Young. Instead of Bonner, Edmund Grindall was bishop of London. For Hopton, Thirlby, Tonstall, Pates, Christopherson, Petow, Cotes, Morgan, Voysey, White, Oglethorpe, &c., were placed Dr. John Parkhurst in Norwich, Dr. Coxe in Ely, Jewell in Salisbury, Pilkinton in Durham, Dr. Sands in Worcester, Master Downham in West-Chester, Bentham in Coventry and Lichfield, Davies in Si. David's, Alley in Exeter, Horne in Winchester, Scory in Hereford, Best in Carlisle, Bulling-ham in Lincoln, Scambler in Peterborough, Barkley in Bath, Guest in Rochester, Barlow in Chichester, &c.

The Appendix of Such Notes and Matters, as Either Have Been in This History Omitted, or Newly Inserted.

437. Of Sir Roger Acton and Others



IN the story of Sir Roger Acton above mentioned, I find that with him were taken many other persons, that all the prisons in and about London were replenished with people. The chief of them, which were twenty and nine, were condemned of heresy; and attainted of high treason, as movers of war against their king, by the temporal law in the Guildhall, the twelfth day of December; and adjudged to be drawn and hanged for treason, and for heresy to be consumed with fire, gallows and all: which judgment was executed in January following on the said Sir Roger Acton, and twenty-eight others.

Some say that the occasion of their death was the conveyance of the Lord Cobham out of prison. Others write, that it was both for treason (as the adversaries termed it) and heresy.

Certain affirm, that it was for feigned causes surmised by the spirituality, more of displeasure than truth, as seemeth more near to the truth.

438. John Frith.

First, this John Frith was born in the town of Westerham in Kent, who after, by diligent espials, was taken in Essex, flying beyond the seas, and brought before the council, Sir Thomas More then being chancellor; and so from then committed unto the Tower, where he remained prisoner the space of a quarter of a year, or thereabout. It chanced that Dr. Currein, ordinary chaplain unto King Henry the Eighth, preached a sermon in Lent before his Majesty and there, very sore inveighing against the sacramentaries (as they them termed and named) which favoured not the gross opinion. that Christ's body was carnally real in the sacrament, he so far discoursed in that matter, that at the length he brake out thus far and said, "It is no marvel though this abominable heresy do much prevail amongst us; for there is one now, in the Tower of London, so bold as to write in the defence of that heresy, and yet no man goeth about his reformation:" meaning John Frith, who then had answered Sir Thomas More in writing against a confutation of that erroneous opinion, which of late, before, the said Master More had written against John Frith's assertion in that behalf. This sermon of purpose was devised and appointed by the bishop of Winchester and others, to seek the destruction of Frith, by putting the king in remembrance that the said Frith was in the Tower there staid, rather for his safeguard than for his punishment, by such

as favoured him; as the Lord Cromwell, who, being vicegerent in causes ecclesiastical, came then into suspicion there-for: for in such sort was the matter handled before the king, that all men might well understand what they meant. The king then, being in no point resolved of the true and sincere understanding of the doctrine of that article, but rather a perverse stout adversary to the contrary, called to him my Lord of Canterbury and my Lord Cromwell, and willed them forthwith to call Frith unto examination, so that he might either be compelled to recant, or else by the law, to suffer condign punishment.



Frith and the Gentleman Meeting in The Tower

Frith's long protract in the Tower without examination, was so heinously taken of the king, that now my Lord of Canterbury, with other bishops, (as Stokesley, then bishop of London, and other learned men,) were undelayedly appointed to examine Frith. And for that there should be no concourse of citizens at the said examination, my Lord of Canterbury removed to Croydon, unto whom resorted the rest of the commissioners. Now, before the day of execution appointed, my Lord of Canterbury sent one of his gentlemen, and one of his porters, whose name was Perlebeane, a Welshman born, to fetch John Frith from the Tower unto Croydon. This gentleman had both my Lord's letters and the king's ring unto my Lord Fitzwilliam, constable of the Tower, then lying in Cannon Row at Westminster in extreme anguish and pain of the strangury, for the delivery of the prisoner. Master Fitzwilliam, more passionate

than patient, understanding for what purpose my Lord's gentleman was come, banned and cursed Frith and all other heretics, saying, "Take this my ring unto the lieutenant of the Tower, and receive your man your heretic with you; and I am glad that I am rid of him." When Frith was delivered unto my Lord of Canterbury's gentleman, (they twain, with Perlebeane, sitting in a wherry, and rowing towards Lambeth,) the said gentleman, much lamenting in his mind the infelicity of the said Frith, began in this wise:

He exhorted him to consider in what estate he was, a man altogether cast away in the world, if he did not look wisely to himself. And yet, though his cause were never so dangerous, he might somewhat (in relenting to authority and so giving place for a time) help both himself out of the trouble, and when opportunity and occasion should serve, prefer his cause which he then went about to defend: declaring further, that he had many well-willers and friends, which would stand on his side so far forth as possibly they were able and durst do; adding hereunto, that it were a great pity that he, being of such singular knowledge both in the Latin and Greek, and both ready and ripe in all kind of learning, and that namely as well in the Scriptures, as in the ancient doctors, should now suddenly suffer all those singular gifts to perish with him, with little commodity or profit to the world, and less comfort to his wife and children, and other his kinsfolk and friends. "And as for the verity of your opinion in the sacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ, it is so untimely opened here among us in England, that you shall rather do harm than good: wherefore be wise, and be ruled by good counsel, until a better opportunity may serve."

"This I am sure of," quoth the gentleman, "that my Lord Cromwell, and my Lord of Canterbury, much favouring you, and knowing you to be an eloquent learned young man, and now towards the felicity of your life, young in years, old in knowledge, and of great forwardness and likelihood to be a most profitable member of this realm, will never permit you to sustain any open shame, if you will somewhat be advised by their counsel. On the other side, if you stand stiff to your opinion, it is not possible to save your life: for like as you have good friends, so have you mortal foes and enemies."

"I most heartily thank you," quoth Master Frith unto the gentleman, "both for your good will and for your counsel; by the which I well perceive that you mind well unto me. Howbeit my cause and conscience is such, that in no wise I either may or can, for any worldly respect, without danger of damnation, start aside and fly from the true knowledge and doctrine which I have conceived of the supper of the Lord, or the communion, otherwise called the sacrament of the altar: for if it be my chance to be demanded what I think in that behalf, I must needs say my knowledge and my conscience, as partly I have written therein already, though I should presently lose twenty lives, if I had so many. And this you shall well understand, that I am not unfurnished, either of Scriptures or ancient doctors, schoolmen, or others, for my defence; so that if I may be indifferently heard, I am sure that mine adversaries cannot justly condemn me or mine assertion, but that they shall condemn with me both St. Augustine, and the most part of the old writers; yea, the very bishops of Rome of the oldest sort shall also say for me, and defend my cause."

"Yea marry," quoth the gentleman, "you say well; if you might be indifferently heard. But I much doubt thereof, for that our Master Christ was not indifferently

heard, nor should be, as I think, if he were now present again in the world; specially in this your opinion, the same being so odious unto the world, and we so far off from the true knowledge thereof."

"Well, well," quoth Frith then unto the gentleman, "I know very well, that this doctrine of the sacrament of the altar, which I hold, and have opened contrary to the opinion of this realm, is very hard meat to be digested both of the clergy and laity. But this I will say to you," taking the gentleman by the hand, "that if you live but twenty years more, whatsoever become of me, you shall see this whole realm of mine opinion concerning this sacrament of the altar; namely, the whole estate of the same, though some sort of men particularly shall not be fully persuaded therein. And if it come not so to pass, then account me the vainest man that ever you heard speak with tongue. Besides this, you say that my death would be sorrowful and uncomfortable to my friends. I grant," quoth he, "that for a small time it would so be. But if I should so mollify, qualify, and temper my cause in such sort, as to deserve only to be kept in prison, that would not only be a much longer grief unto me, but also to my friends would breed no small disquietness both of body and mind. And therefore, all things well and rightly pondered, my death in this cause shall be better unto me and all mine, than life in continual bondage and penuries. And Almighty God knoweth what he hath to do with his poor servant, whose cause I now defend, and not mine own; from the which I assuredly do intend (God willing) never to start, or otherwise to give place, so long as God will give me life."

This communication, or like in effect, my Lord of Canterbury's gentleman and Frith had, coming in a wherry upon the Thames from the Tower to Lambeth.

Now when they were landed, after some repast by them taken at Lambeth, the gentleman, the porter, and Frith, went forward towards Croydon on foot. This gentleman, still lamenting with himself the hard and cruel destiny towards the said Frith (namely, if he once came amongst the bishops); and now also perceiving the exceeding constancy of Frith, devised with himself some way or means to convey him clean out of their hands; and thereupon considering that there were no more persons there to convey the prisoner but the porter and himself, he took in hand to win the porter to his purpose.

Quoth the gentleman unto Perlebeane the porter, (they twain privately walking by themselves without the hearing of Frith,) "You have heard this man, I am sure, and noted his talk since he came from the Tower." "Yea, that I have right well marked him," quoth the porter, "and I never heard so constant a man, nor so eloquent a person."

"You have heard nothing," quoth the gentleman, "in respect both of his knowledge and eloquence: if he might liberally either in university or pulpit declare his learning, you would then much more marvel at his knowledge. I take him to be such a one of his age, in all kind of learning and knowledge of tongues, as this realm never yet in mine opinion brought forth; and yet those singular gifts in him are no more considered of our bishops, than if he were a very dolt or an idiot; yea, they abhor him as a devil there-for, and covet utterly to extinguish him, as a member of the devil, without any consideration of God's special gifts."

"Marry," quoth the porter, "if there were nothing else in him but the consideration of his personage, both comely and amiable, and of natural disposition, gentle, meek, and humble, it were pity he should be cast away." "Cast away!" quoth the gentleman, "he shall be sure cast away, if we once bring him to Croydon; and surely," quoth the gentleman, "before God I speak it, if thou, Perlebeane, wert of my mind, we would never bring him thither."

"Say you so?" quoth the porter; "I know that you be of a great deal more credit than I am in this matter; and therefore if you can devise honestly, or find some reasonable excuse, whereby we may let him go and provide for himself, I will, with all my heart, condescend to your device."

"As for that," quoth the gentleman, "it is already invented how and which ways he shall convey himself without any great danger or displeasure taken towards us, as the matter shall be handled. You see," quoth the gentleman, "yonder hill before us, named Bristow Cawsie, two miles from London; there are great woods on both sides. When we come there, we will permit Frith to go into the woods on the left hand of the way, whereby he may convey himself into Kent among his friends (for he is a Kentish man born); and when he is gone, we will linger an hour or twain about the highway, until that it somewhat draw towards the night. Then in great haste we will approach unto Streatham, which is a mile and a half off, and make an outcry in the town that our prisoner is broken from us into the woods on the right hand towards Waynesworth, so that we will draw as many as we may, of the town, to search the country that way for our prisoner, declaring that we followed above a mile or more, and at length lost him in the woods, because we had no more company. And so we will, rather than fail, lie out one night in searching for him, and send word from Streatham to my Lord of Canterbury at Croydon in the evening of the prisoner's escape, and to what coast he is fled: so that by the morning, if he have any good luck at all, he will so provide for himself, that the bishops shall fail of their purpose." "I assure you," quoth Perlebeane, "I like very well the device herein; and therefore go ye to Frith, and declare what we have devised for his delivery: for now we are almost at the place."

When my Lord of Canterbury's gentleman came nigh to the hill, he joined himself in company with the said Frith, and calling him by his name, said, "Now, Master Frith, let us twain commune together another whiles. You must consider, that the journey which I have now taken in hand thus in bringing you to Croydon, as a sheep to the slaughter, so grieveth me, and as it were overwhelmeth me in cares and sorrows, that I little pass what danger I fall in, so that I could find the means to deliver you out of the lion's mouth. And yet yonder good fellow and I have so devised a means, whereby you may both easily escape from this great and imminent danger at hand, and we also be rid from any vehement suspicion." And thereupon declared unto Frith the full process discoursed before, how every thing in order should be handled.

When Frith had diligently heard all the matter concerning his delivery, he said to the gentleman, "O good Lord," with a smiling countenance; "is this the effect of your secret consultation, thus long between you twain? Surely, surely, you have lost a great deal more labour in times past, and so are you like to do this; for if you should both leave me here, and go to Croydon, declaring to the bishops, that you had lost Frith, I would surely follow after as fast as I might, and bring them news that I had

found and brought Frith again. Do you think," quoth he, "that I am afraid to declare my opinion unto the bishops of England, in a manifest truth?"

"You are a fond man," quoth the gentleman, "thus to talk; as though your reasoning with them might do some good. But I do much marvel, that you were so willing to fly the realm before you were taken, and now so unwilling to save yourself."

"Marry, there was and is a great diversity of escaping between the one and the other," quoth Frith. "Before, I was indeed desirous to escape, because I was not attached, but at liberty; which liberty I would fain have enjoyed for the maintenance of my study beyond the sea, where I was reader in the Greek tongue, according to St. Paul's counsel. Howbeit now, being taken by the higher power, and as it were by Almighty God's permission and providence delivered into the hands of the bishops, only for religion and doctrine's sake, (namely, such as in conscience, and under pain of damnation, I am bound to maintain and defend,) if I should now start aside and run away, I should run from my God, and from the testimony of his holy word, worthy then of a thousand hells. And therefore I most heartily thank you both, for your good wills towards me, beseeching you to bring me where I was appointed to be brought; for else I will go thither all alone." And so with a cheerful and merry countenance he went with them, spending the time in pleasant and godly communication, until they came to Croydon; wherefore that night he was well entertained in the porter's lodge.

On the morrow Frith was called before certain bishops and other learned men, sitting in commission with my Lord of Canterbury, to be examined, where he showed himself passing ready and ripe in answering to all objections, as some then reported, incredibly and contrary to all men's expectations. And his allegations, both out of St. Augustine, and other ancient fathers of the church, were such, that some of them much doubted of St. Augustine's authority in that behalf: insomuch, that it was reported of such as were nigh and about the archbishop of Canterbury, (who then was not fully resolved of the sincere truth of that article,) that when they had finished their examination of Frith, the archbishop, conferring with Dr. Heath, privately between themselves, said, "This man hath wonderfully travailed in this matter, and yet, in mine opinion, he taketh the doctors amiss." "Well, my Lord," should Dr. Heath say, "there was no man that could avoid his authorities of St. Augustine." "Wherein?" said my Lord. Then Dr. Heath began to repeat the said authorities of St. Augustine again, inferring and applying them so straitly against my Lord of Canterbury, that my Lord was driven to this sheet-anchor, and said, "I see by it," quoth he to Heath, "that you, with a little more study, will be easily brought to Frith's opinion;" or suchlike words in effect. And some chaplains there were of my Lord of Canterbury's, which openly reported, that Dr. Heath was as able to defend Frith's assertions in the sacrament, as Frith was himself.

This learned young man being thus thoroughly sifted at Croydon, to understand what he could say or do in his cause, there was no man willing to prefer him to answer in open disputation as poor Lambert was. But now, without regard of learning or good knowledge, he was sent and detained unto the butcher's stall, (I mean Bishop Stokesley's consistory,) there to hear, not the opinion of St. Augustine, and other ancient fathers of Christ's primitive church, of the said sacrament, but either to be instructed and to hear the maimed and half-cut-away sacrament of antichrist, the

bishop of Rome, with the gross and fleshly imagination thereof, or else to perish in the fire, as he most constantly did, after he had, before the bishop of London, Winchester, and Chichester, in the consistory in Paul's church, most plainly and sincerely confessed his doctrine and faith in this weighty matter, &c.

439. William Plane.

In the latter days of King Henry the Eighth, about that time Anne Askew was in trouble, one Dr. Crome was travailed withal to recant, for that he had preached somewhat against things maintained of the papists in the church. And one Master Tracy, hearing thereof, brought a letter secretly to one Plane, dwelling in Budge Row, and desired him to carry it to Dr. Crome, which letter tended to the end to persuade him not to recant, but to stand in the truth. When this good man, William Plane, had it, as he was ever willing to further the truth, so he gladly delivered the same to Dr. Crome which when he had received, and read it, he laid it down upon the table. And after the said William Plane was gone, an arch-papist came thither to persuade him to recant; and, in travailing with him, he found the said letter on the board, which when he had read, he examined him from whence it came; so, what through flattery and threatening, he declared who was the messenger that brought it. Then was William Plane sent for, and cast in the Tower, where he lay miserably thirteen weeks, none admitted to come to him; in which time he was extremely racked, within half a finger breadth as far as Anne Askew: but they could never get of him of whom he had the letter, nor for all their extremity would he accuse any man; so in the end he was delivered out of the Tower, and lived about three years after, and so godly ended his life. But unto this day would that Tracy never inquire in what condition his wife and children were left, although he was his messenger in carrying the letter. But (good Lord!) the strange disease that grew upon him by that extreme racking, as it is odious to rehearse, so I will wish them to repent that were the instruments of his torments, if they be alive, and warn other papists to the same, in whom any cruelty hath been in the like cause.

440. A Note of Lady Jane.

The Lady Jane, she whom the Lord Guilford married, being on a time, when she was very young, at Newhall in Essex, at the Lady Mary's, was by one Lady Anne Wharton desired to walk: and they passing by the chapel, the Lady Wharton made low curtesy to the popish sacrament hanging on the altar; which when the Lady Jane saw, she marvelled why she did so, and asked her whether the Lady Mary were there, or not. Unto whom the Lady Wharton answered, No: but she said, that she made her curtesy to him that made us all. "Why," quoth the Lady Jane, "how can he be there, that made us all, and the baker made him?" This her answer coming to the Lady Mary's ear, she did never love her after, as credibly reported, but esteemed her as the rest of that Christian profession.

441. A Letter of Queen Mary to the Duke of Norfolk.

"Right trusty and right entirely beloved cousin, we greet you well; and having by the assistance of God, and our loving subjects, discomfited Wyat and the other rebels of our county of Kent, who having passed the river at Kingston, came back again towards London, and were encountered above Charing Cross, and there were overthrown, and the most part of them were there slain; Wyat and three of the Cobhams, Bret, Knevet, Rudstone, Iseley, and other the chief captains, taken prisoners: We have thought good as well to give you knowledge hereof, to the end ye may with us, and the rest of our loving subjects, rejoice, and give God thanks for this our victory, as also further to signify unto you, that whereas the said rebel did alway pretend the matter of our marriage to be the cause of this unlawful stir, now plainly appeareth, by good and substantial examinations of divers of the said traitors, that whatsoever they pretended, the final meaning was to have deprived us from our estate and dignity royal, and consequently, to have destroyed our person. Which thing, as we do ascertain you of our honour to be matter of truth, so we pray you to cause the same to be published in all places of those our counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, to the intent our good and loving subjects thereof be no more abused with such false pretences, or other untrue rumours or tales, by whomsoever the same shall be set forth. And now, things being in this sort quieted, we cannot but give you thanks for the readiness that you have been in with the force of our said country, to have served us, if need had been; praying you to do the like on our behalf to all the gentlemen and others with you, with whom nevertheless we require you to take such orders as the force of our said country may be still in like readiness, to be employed under good and substantial captains, to be chosen of the gentlemen inheritors within the said shire, for our further service upon one hour's warning, whensoever we shall require the same. And in the mean time our pleasure is, that ye have good regard to the quietness and good order of the country, specially to the apprehension of spreaders of false and untrue tales and rumours, whereby ye shall both deserve well of your whole country, and also do acceptable service, which we will not fail to remember accordingly.

"Given under our signet at our palace of Westminster, the eighth of February, the first year of our reign.

"In haste."

442. Ridley's Treatise Against Images.

A treatise of Master Nicholas Ridley, in the name, as it seemeth, of the whole clergy, to King Edward the Sixth, concerning images not to be set up, nor worshipped in churches.

"Certain reasons which move us that we cannot with safe consciences give our assent, that the images of Christ, &c., should be placed and erected in churches.

"First, the words of the commandment, Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, &c. And the same is repeated more plainly, Cursed is the man which maketh a graven or molten image, &c., and setteth it in a secret place. And all the people shall say, Amen.

"In the first place, these words are to be noted: Thou shalt not make to thyself, that is, to any use of religion. In the latter place, these words, and setteth it in a secret place; for no man durst then commit idolatry openly. So that conferring the places, it doth evidently appear, that images, both for use of religion and in place of peril for idolatry, are forbidden.

"God, knowing the inclination of man to idolatry, showeth the reason why he made this general prohibition, Lest peradventure thou, being deceived, shouldst bow down to them and worship them.

"This general law is generally to be observed, notwithstanding that, peradventure, a great number cannot be hurt by them; which may appear by the example following. God forbade the people to join their children in marriage with strangers, adding the reason, For she will seduce thy son, that he shall not follow me.

"Moses was not deceived nor seduced by Jethro's daughter, nor Boaz by Ruth, being a woman of Moab. And yet for all that, the general law was to be observed, Thou shalt join no marriage with them. And so likewise, Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, &c.

"God giveth a special charge to avoid images. Beware, saith he, that thou forget not the covenant of the Lord thy God which he made with thee, and so make to thyself any graven image of any thing which the Lord hath forbidden thee; for the Lord thy God is a consuming fire, and a jealous God. If thou have children and nephews, and do well in the land, and being deceived, do make to yourselves any graven image, doing evil before the Lord your God, and provoke him to anger, I do this day call heaven and earth to witness, that you shall quickly perish out of the land which ye shall possess; ye shall not dwell in it any longer time, but the Lord will destroy you, and scatter you amongst all nations.

"Note, what solemn obtestation God useth, and what grievous punishments he threateneth, to the breakers of the second commandment.

"In the tabernacle and temple of God no image was by God appointed openly to be set, nor by practice afterwards used or permitted, so long as religion was purely observed; so that the use and execution of the law is a good interpreter of the true meaning of the same.

"If by virtue of the second commandment images were not lawful in the temple of the Jews, then, by the same commandment, they are not lawful in the churches of Christians: for, being a moral commandment, and not ceremonial, (for by consent of writers, only a part of the precept of observing the sabbath is ceremonial,) it is a perpetual commandment, and bindeth us, as well as the Jews.

"The Jews by no means would consent to Herod, Pilate, or Petronius, that images should be placed in the temple at Jerusalem, but rather offered themselves to the death, than to assent unto it; who, besides that they are commended by Josephus for observing the meaning of the law, would not have endangered themselves so far, if they had thought images had been indifferent in the temple of God. For, as St. Paul saith, *Quid templo Dei cum simulacris*, &c.

"God's Scripture doth in no place commend the use of images, but in a great number of places doth disallow and condemn them.

"They are called in the book of Wisdom, The trap and snare of the feet of the ignorant. It is said that the invention of them was the beginning of spiritual fornication; and that they were not from the beginning, neither shall they continue to the end. In the 15th chapter of the same book it is said, *Umbra pictura, labor sine fructu*, &c. And again, They are worthy of death, both that put their trust in them, and that make them, and that love them, and that worship them.

"The Psalms and prophets are full of like sentences; and how can we then praise the thing which God's Spirit doth always dispraise?

"Furthermore, an image made by a father (as appeareth in the same book) for the memorial of his son departed, was the first invention of images, and occasion of idolatry. How much more then shall an image made in the memory of Christ, and set up in the place of religion, occasion the same offence? Images have their beginning from the heathen, and of no good ground; therefore they cannot be profitable to Christians. Whereunto Athanasius agreeth, writing of images against the Gentiles: The invention of images came of no good, but of evil; and whatsoever hath an evil beginning, can never in any thing be judged good, seeing it is wholly naught.

"St. John saith, My little children, beware of images. But to set them in the churches, which are places dedicated to the service and invocation of God, and that over the Lord's table, being the highest and most honourable place, where most danger of abuse both is, and ever hath been, is not to beware of them, nor to flee from them, but rather to embrace and receive them. Tertullian expounding the same words, writeth thus: 'Little children, keep yourselves from the shape itself, or form of them.'

"Images in the church either serve to edify or to destroy. If they edify, then there is one kind of edification which the Scriptures neither teach nor command, but always disallow: if they destroy, they are not to be used; for in the church of God all things ought to be done to edify.

"The commandment of God is, Thou shalt not lay a stumbling-block or a stone before the blind: and cursed is he that maketh the blind wander in his way.

"The simple and unlearned people, who have been so long under blind guides, are blind in matters of religion, and inclined to error and idolatry. Therefore to set images before them to stumble at, (they be snares and traps for the feet of the ignorant,) or to lead them out of the true way, is not only against the commandment of God, but deserveth also the malediction and curse of God.

"The use of images is, to the learned and confirmed in knowledge, neither necessary nor profitable: to the superstitious, a confirmation in error: to the simple and weak, an occasion of fall, and very offensive and wounding of their consciences; and therefore very dangerous. For St. Paul saith, offending the brethren, and wounding their weak consciences, they sin against Christ. And, Woe be to him by whom offence or occasion of falling cometh: it were better that a millstone were tied about his neck, and he cast into the sea, than to offend one of the little ones that

believe in Christ. And whereas objection may be made, that such offence may be taken away by sincere doctrine and preaching; it is to be answered, that that is not sufficient; as hereafter more at large shall appear.

"And though it should be admitted as true, yet should it follow, that sincere doctrine and preaching should always, and in all places, continue as well as images; and so wheresoever an image to offend were erected, there should also of reason a godly and sincere preacher be continually maintained: for it is reason that the remedy be as large as the offence, the medicine as general as the poison; but that is not possible in the realm of England, that images should be generally allowed, as reason and experience may teach.

"As good magistrates, which intend to banish all whoredom, do drive away all naughty persons, specially out of such places as be suspected; even so images, being meretrices, i. e. whores, for that the worshipping of them is called in the prophets fornication and adultery, ought to be banished; and especially out of churches, which is the most suspected place, and where the spiritual fornication hath been most committed. It is not expedient to allow and admit the thing which is hurtful to the greatest number; but in all churches and commonwealths the ignorant and weak are the greatest number, to whom images are hurtful, and not profitable. And whereas it is commonly alleged, that images in churches do stir up the mind to devotion, it may be answered, that contrariwise they do rather distract the mind from prayer, hearing of God's word, and other godly meditations; as we read that in the council-chamber of the Lacedemonians no picture or image was suffered, lest in consultation of weighty matters of the commonweal, their minds, by the sight of the outward image, might be occasioned to be withdrawn, or to wander from the matter.

"The experience of this present time doth declare, that those parts of the realm, which think and are persuaded that God is not offended by doing outward reverence to an image, do most desire the restitution of images, and have been most diligent to set them up again: restitution, therefore, of them by common authority, shall confirm them more in their error to the danger of their souls, than ever they were before. For as one man writeth, *Nihil magis est cerium, quam quod ex dubio actum est certum*: that is to say, 'Nothing is more certain or sure, than that which of doubtful is made certain.'

"The profit of images is uncertain; the peril, by experience of all ages and states of the church, (as afore,) is most certain. The benefit to be taken of them (if there be any) is very small; the danger in seeing of them, which is the danger of idolatry, is the greatest of all other. Now, to allow a most certain peril for an uncertain profit, and the greatest danger for the smallest benefit, in matters of faith and religion, is a tempting of God, and a grievous offence."

Probations out of the fathers, councils, and histories.

"First, it is manifest, that in the primitive church images were not commonly used in churches, oratories, and places of assembly for religion; but they were

generally detested and abhorred, insomuch that the want of imagery was objected to the Christians for a crime.

"Origen reporteth, that Celsus objected to the lack of images.

"Arnobius saith also, that the ethnics accused the Christians, that they had neither altars nor images.

"Zephrus, in his Commentary upon the Apology of Tertullian, gathereth thus of Tertullian's words: 'Which place of persuasion were very cold, and to no purpose at all, except we hold this always: that Christians in those days did hate most of all images, with their trim decking and ornaments.'

"Irenæus reproveth the heretics called Gnostici, for that they carried about the image of Christ made in Pilate's time after his own proportion (which were much more to be esteemed than any that can be made now); using also, for declaration of their affection towards it, to set garlands upon the head of it.

"Lactantius affirmeth plainly, 'It is not to be doubted, that there is no religion, wheresoever is any image.' If Christians then had used images, he would not have made his proposition so large.

"St. Augustine commendeth Varro the Roman in these words: 'When Varro thought religion might be kept more purely without images, who doth not see how near he came to the truth?' So that not only by M. Varro's judgment, but also by St. Augustine's approbation, the most pure and chaste observation of religion, and nearest the truth, is to be without images.

"The same St. Augustine hath these words: Images have more force to bow down and crook the silly soul than to teach it.'

"And upon the same psalm he moveth this question: 'Every child, yea every beast, knoweth that it is not God which they see: why then doth the Holy Ghost so oft give warning to beware of that thing which all do know?'

"St. Augustine's answer [is this]: 'For when they are set in churches, and begin once to be worshipped of the multitude or common people, straightway springeth up a most filthy affection of error.'

"This place of St. Augustine doth well open how weak a reason it is to say, images are a thing indifferent in chambers and in churches. For the alteration of the place, manner, and other circumstances, doth alter oftentimes the nature of the thing. It is lawful to buy and sell in the market, but not so in churches. It is lawful to eat and drink, but not so in churches. And therefore saith St. Paul, Have you not houses to eat and drink in? Do you condemn the church of God?

"Many other actions there be, which are lawful and honest in private places, which are neither comely nor honest, not only in churches, but also in other assemblies of honest people.

"Tertullian saith, he used sometimes to burn frankincense in his chamber, which was then used of idolaters, and is yet in the Romish churches. But he joineth withal, But not after such a rite or ceremony, nor after such a fashion, nor with such preparation or sumptuousness, as it is done before the idols.'

"So that images placed in churches, and set 'in an honourable place of estimation,' as St. Augustine saith, and especially over the Lord's table, which is done (using the words of Tertullian) 'after the same manner and fashion,' which the papists did use, especially after so long continuance of abuse of images, and so many being blinded with superstitious opinion towards them, cannot be counted a thing indifferent, but a most certain ruin of many souls.

"Epiphanius, in his epistle to John, bishop of Jerusalem, (which epistle was translated out of the Greek by St. Jerome, being a likelihood that Jerome misliked not the doctrine of the same,) doth write a fact of his own, which doth most clearly declare the judgment of that notable learned bishop concerning the use of images. His words are these: 'When I came to a village called Anablatha; and saw there, as I passed by, a candle burning, and inquiring what place it was, and learning that it was a church, and had entered into the same to pray, I found there a veil or cloth hanging at the door of the same church, dyed and painted; having on it the image of Christ as it were, or of some saint (for I remember not well whose it was). Then when I saw this, that in the church of Christ, against the authority of the Scriptures, the image of a man did hang, I cut it in pieces, &c., and commanded that such manner of veils or clothes, which are contrary to our religion, be not hanged in the church of Christ.'

"Out of this place of Epiphanius divers notes are to be observed.

"First, that by the judgment of this ancient father, to permit images in churches is against the authority of the Scriptures, meaning against the second commandment, Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, &c.

"Secondly, that Epiphanius doth reject not only graven and molten, but also painted images; forasmuch as he cut in pieces the image painted in a veil banging at the church door; what would he have done, if he had found it over the Lord's table?

"Thirdly, that he spareth not the image of Christ: for no doubt that image is most perilous in the church of all others.

"Fourthly, that he did not only remove it, but with a vehemency of zeal cut it in pieces, following the example of the good King Hezekias, who brake the brazen serpent, and burnt it to ashes.

"Last of all, that Epiphanius thinketh it the duty of vigilant bishops to be careful, that no such kind of painted images be permitted in the church.

"Serenus, bishop of Marseille, broke down images, and destroyed them, when he did see them begin to be worshipped.

"Experience of the times since hath declared, whether of these two sentences were better. For since Gregory's time, the images standing in the West church, it hath

been overflowed with idolatry, notwithstanding his or other men's doctrine; whereas, if Serenus's judgment had universally taken place, no such thing had happened: for if no images had been suffered, none could have been worshipped; and consequently, no idolatry committed by them.

"To recite the process of histories and councils about the matter of images, it would require a long discourse; but it shall be sufficient here briefly to touch a few.

"It is manifest to them that read histories, that not only emperors, but also divers and sundry councils in the East church, have condemned and abolished images both by decrees and examples.

"Petrus Crinitus, in his Book of Honest Discipline, wrote out of the emperor's books these words: 'Valens and Theodosius the emperors wrote to the high marshal or lieutenant in this sort: Whereas we are very careful that the religion of Almighty God should be in all things kept, we permit no man to cast, grave, or paint the image of our Saviour Christ, either in colours, stone, or other matter; but wheresoever it be found, we command it to be taken away, punishing them most grievously that shall attempt any thing contrary to our decrees and empire.'

"Leo the Third, a man commended in histories for his excellent virtues and godliness, who (as is judged of some men) was the author of the book *De Re Militari*, that is, *Of the Feat of War*, being translated out of the Greek by Sir John Cheeke, and dedicated to King Henry the Eighth, your Highness's father, by public authority commanded abolishing of images; and in Constantinople caused all the images to be gathered together on a heap, and burned them unto ashes.

"Constantine the Fifth, his son, assembled a council of the bishops of the East church, in which council it was decreed as followeth: 'It is not lawful for them that believe in God through Jesus Christ, to have any images, either of the Creator, or of any creatures set up in temples to be worshipped; but rather that all images by the law of God, and for the avoiding of offence, ought to be taken out of churches:' which decree was executed in all places where any images were, either in Greece or in Asia. But in all these times, the bishops of Rome rather maintaining the authority of Gregory, weighing like Christian bishops the peril of the church, always in their assemblies allowed images.

"Not long after, the bishop of Rome, practising with Tharasius patriarch of Constantinople, obtained of Irene the empress, (her son Constantine being then young,) that a council was called at Nice, in the which the pope's legates were presidents, which appeared well by their fruits: for in that council it was decreed, that images should not only be permitted in churches, but also worshipped: which council was confuted by a book written by the emperor Charlemagne, calling it a foolish and an arrogant council.

"Soon after this council, arose a sharp contention between Irene the empress, and her son Constantine the Sixth, the emperor, who destroyed images. And in the end, as she had before wickedly burned the bones of her father in law, Constantine the Fifth, so afterward unnaturally she put out the eyes of her son Constantine the Sixth. About which time, as Eutropius writeth, the sun was darkened most terribly for the

space of seventeen days, God showing, by that dreadful sign, how much he disliked those kinds of proceedings.

"To be short, there was never thing that made more division, or brought more mischief into the church, than the controversy of images: by reason whereof, not only the East church was divided from the West, and never since perfectly reconciled, but also the empire was cut asunder and divided, and the gate opened to the Saracens and Turks, to enter and overcome a great piece of Christendom. The fault whereof most justly is to be ascribed to the patrons of images, who could not be contented with the example of the primitive church, being most simple and sincere, and most agreeable to the Scripture; for, as Tertullian saith, 'What is first, that is true, and that which is later is counterfeit:' but with all extremity maintained the use of images in churches, whereof no profit nor commodity did ever grow to the church of God. For it is evident, that infinite millions of souls have been cast into eternal damnation by the occasion of images used in place of religion; and no history can record, that ever any one soul was won unto Christ by having of images. But lest it might appear that the West church had always generally retained and commended images, it is to be noted, that in a council holden in Spain, called the council of Elvira, the use of images in churches was clearly prohibited in this form of words: 'We decree, that pictures ought not to be in churches, lest that be painted upon the walls, which is worshipped or adored.'

"But this notwithstanding, experience hath declared, that neither assembling in councils, neither writings, preachings, decrees, making of laws, prescribing of punishments, hath holpen against images, to the which idolatry hath been committed, nor against idolatry whilst images stood. For these blind books and dumb schoolmasters (which they call laymen's books) have more prevailed by their carved and painted preaching of idolatry, than all other written books and preachings in teaching the truth, and the horror of that vice.

"Having thus declared unto your Highness a few causes of many which do move our consciences in this matter; we beseech your Highness most humbly not to strain us any further, but to consider that God's word doth threaten a terrible judgment unto us, if we, being pastors and ministers in his church, should assent unto the thing which in our learning and conscience we are persuaded doth tend to the confirmation of error, superstition, and idolatry: and finally, to the ruin of the souls committed to our charge, for the which we must give an account to the Prince of pastors at the last day. We pray your Majesty also not to be offended with this our plainness and liberty, which all good and Christian princes have ever taken in good part at the hands of godly bishops.

"St. Ambrose, writing to Theodosius the emperor, useth these words: 'But neither is it the part of an emperor to deny free liberty of speaking, nor yet the duty of a priest not to speak what he thinketh.' And again: 'In God's cause whom wilt thou hear, if thou wilt not hear the priest, to whose great peril the fault should be committed? Who dare say the truth unto thee, if the priest dare not?' These and such-like speeches of St. Ambrose, Theodosius and Valentinian the emperors did always take in good part, and we doubt not but your Grace will do the like, of whose not only clemency, but also beneficence, we have largely tasted.

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

"We beseech your Majesty also, in these and suchlike controversies of religion, to refer the discussion and deciding of them to a synod of your bishops and other godly learned men, according to the example of Constantine the Great, and other Christian emperors, that the reasons of both parts being examined by them, the judgment may be given uprightly in all doubtful matters.

"And to return to this present matter, we most humbly beseech your Majesty to consider, that besides weighty causes in policy, which we leave to the wisdom of your honourable councillors, the stablishment of images by your authority shall not only utterly discredit our ministers, as builders up of the things which we have destroyed, but also blemish the fame of your most godly father, and such notable fathers as have given their life for the testimony of God's truth, who by public law removed all images.

"The almighty and everliving God plentifully endue your Majesty with his Spirit and heavenly wisdom, and long preserve your most gracious reign and prosperous government over us, to the advancement of his glory, to the overthrow of superstition, and to the benefit and comfort of all your Highness's loving subjects."

443. A Note of Master Ridley.

Master Doctor Ridley, sometime bishop of London, of whom mention is made, was a man so revered for his learning and knowledge in the Scripture, that even his very enemies have reported him to have been an excellent clerk, whose life, if it might have been reedemed with the sum of ten thousand marks, yea, ten thousand pounds, the Lord Dacres of the north, being his kinsman, would have given it to Queen Mary, rather than he should have been burned. And yet was she so unmerciful, for all his gentleness in King Edward's days, that it would not be granted for any suit that could be made. Oh that she had remembered his labour for her to King Edward the Sixth with Cranmer before mentioned, in such sort that even she had yielded but the reward of a publican; then had the earth not so been bereft of him as it was. But the Lord forgive us our sins which were the cause thereof, and grant that we never so provoke his anger again, if it be his blessed will, Amen.

Another note of Master Ridley.

Master Ridley, late bishop of London, being prisoner in the Tower, had there given him the liberty of the same, to prove belike whether he would go to mass or no, which once he did. And Master Bradford being there prisoner also the same time, and hearing thereof, taketh his pen and ink, and writeth to him an effectual letter to persuade him from the same, and sheweth the occasion that thereby should ensue, which (God be honoured) did Master Ridley no little good: for he repented his fact therein, as he himself maketh mention, writing again in the latter end of the book of Marcus Antonius, which he sent to Master Bradford, and never after that polluted himself with that filthy dregs of antichristian service.

444. A Note Concerning Dr. Cranmer in His Disputation.

That day wherein Dr. Cranmer, late bishop of Canterbury, answered in the divinity school at Oxford, there was alleged unto him by Dr. Weston, that he (the said Cranmer) in his book of the sacrament falsely falsified the saying of the doctors, and specially the saying of St. Hilary, in these words, *vero* for *vere*, showing a print or two thereof, to have defaced his doings therein: but Dr. Cranmer, with a grave and fatherly sobriety, answered, that the print of St. Hilary's works, whereout he took his notes, was verbatim according to his book; and that could his books testify, if they were there to be seen: saying further, that he supposed Dr. Smith in that order rehearsed it in his book of the sacrament: to the which Dr. Smith there present (though he were demanded the answer thereof) stood in silence. But by and by Dr. Weston, without shame, to shadow Dr. Smith's silence, spitefully said to Cranmer, "Belike you took your learning out of Master Dr. Smith's book."

There chanced, at that present, to be in the school one William Holcot, gentleman, then a sojourner in the University college. He, hearing the same untruth, and remembering that he had amongst his books in his study the said book of Dr. Smith, at his return to his said study desirous to see the truth therein, found it agreeable to the writing and affirmation of Dr. Cranmer. And the said Holcot, then and there better remembering himself, found amongst his books the book of Stephen Gardiner, intituled *The Devil's Sophistry*, in which book was the said saying of St. Hilary alleged by the said Stephen verbatim, both in Latin and English, according to Dr. Cranmer's confirmation. Then the said William Holcot intending (for the manifest opening and trial of the truth therein) to have delivered the said Gardiner's book to Dr. Cranmer, brought it to Bocardo the prison of Oxford, where Dr. Cranmer then remained: but there, in the delivery thereof, he was apprehended by the bailiffs, and by them brought before Dr. Weston and his colleagues, then at dinner at Corpus Christi college, who straightways laid treason to the charge of the said William Holcot for the maintenance of Cranmer in his naughtiness (as they called it); and so, upon strait examination to know who were privy to his doings in delivery of the said Gardiner's book, committed him to the said prison of Bocardo, where he sojourned and slept in the straw that night.

And in the morrow in the morning, Dr. Cole, yet alive, then dean of Paul's, and Dr. Jeffery, two of them then visitors, further examined the said Holcot of that his doings; threatening him to lay treason to his charge, and so to send him to the trial thereof to the then lord chancellor Stephen Gardiner, willing him presently to subscribe to the articles then in question; but he refused, desiring respite until the laws of the realm had determined the same, And so was he again committed to the said prison. And after three days Dr. Weston and the residue of the visitors solemnly, in St. Mary's church, pronouncing sentence against the late bishops, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer; amongst others called there before them the said Holcot, willing him to subscribe to their three articles. He demanding them then these demands, first, whether they thought in their consciences that the articles, whereunto they willed him to subscribe, were according to the Scriptures, and that the religion then they went about to plant, were the true religion of Christ: they answered all with one voice, "Yea, yea." Then asked he them whether they thought themselves able to answer, and would answer before God for him, if he subscribed thereunto as they willed him. And they likewise answered, "Yea, yea." And so he, the said Holcot, through fear and

frailty of the flesh, (as being a novice,) upon their threats subscribed. Then they with many fair and flattering words delivered him, but would not let him have again his book brought to Bocardo, lest (as it seemed) he should show it to their shame And they privily willed the master and the fellows of the said University college to see the said William Holcot forthcoming: and if they, within a fortnight after, did not hear from the then lord chancellor what should be done with him, that then they, at the fortnight's end, should expel him out of the said college; which they would have done, if the then vice-chancellor had not willed them to the contrary. This Holcot, though then an apostate, is yet now a penitent preacher.

445. A Note of Bishop Ferrar.

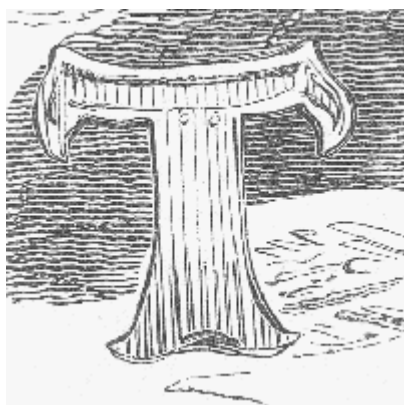
Dr. Leyson, doctor of law, a civilian, a justice of peace, the same who is mentioned before, would not suffer Bishop Ferrar, when he was at the stake to be burnt, to speak his mind; and about half a year after the said Dr. Leyson died; and when he would have spoke himself, he could not.

446. Thomas Hitton, Martyr

The trouble of Thomas Hitton, martyr, with his examinations, answers, condemnation, and martyrdom, anno 1529, the twentieth of February.



Hitton Taken in Rochester



HOMAS HITTON of Martham in the diocese of Norwich, an honest poor man and religious, ever fearing God from his youth, and loving his word; when persecution for the same word in the days of King Henry the Eighth grew to be somewhat hot, took his journey toward Rochester in Kent, intending to have gone to Dover, and so to have crossed the seas into France and other countries for a time, where, reposing himself a while, he might be free from the heat of persecution. As he was going on his intended journey, one Thomas Swainesland, bailiff to William Warham archbishop of Canterbury, meeting him by the way, and suspecting him to be (as they called them) a heretic, caused him to be staid and brought before the said William archbishop of Canterbury, his master; who demanded of him from whence he came, and whither he intended to have gone, if he had not been intercepted? The same Thomas answered, that he came out of the diocese of

Norwich, and purposed to have gone beyond the seas, if God had so permitted. Then the bishop asked him, if he had ever been beyond the seas before, and what books he had brought over. He answered, that he had been once beyond the seas before, and had brought certain books with him from thence, namely, two New Testaments, and one Primer in English. The bishop asked him to whom he gave the said books. He answered, he would not declare: "for," saith he, "such is your bloody cruelty, that you would never sleep quietly till you have sucked their blood, as you mean to do mine." The bishop, seeing he could extort no more out of him, and perceiving his constant spirit and fervent zeal to the truth, commanded him to prison till further opportunity might serve for the shedding of his blood.

The second appearance of Thomas Hitton, before Warham, archbishop of Canterbury.

Within a while after, the bishop commanded the said Thomas to be brought before him again, who demanded of him how he judged and believed of the religion then in force, and of the authority of the bishop of Rome. The said Thomas answered, that the religion then used, was most abominable idolatry, and contrary to the holy word of God: "And as for the pope," quoth he, "he is antichrist, the first-born of Satan, and hath no more power or authority than any other bishop hath in his own diocese, nor so much neither." The bishop hearing this, was in such a pelting chafe, that at that time he would talk no more with him, but returned him from whence he came, namely to Bocardo, with commandment to appear before him again upon the thirteenth day of the same month following, at his manor of Knoll, to answer to such articles and interrogatories as should be objected ex officio against him.

His third appearance, &c.

The said Thomas Hitton, at the day prefixed, made his personal appearance before the bishop at the place appointed; to whom the bishop ministered certain articles and interrogatories for him to answer unto, commanding him to swear to answer truly and unfeignedly unto them, and every part of them. The said Thomas Hitton refused to swear, saying, "It is against God's laws and good conscience, for any man to swear to shed his own blood, for so he should be a murderer of himself, and become guilty of his own death." But notwithstanding that he refused to swear to answer, yet he answered truly and directly to every particular article and interrogatory propounded unto him; but so as was small to their contentation, yet no doubt to the great glory of God, and comfort of the godly.

This done, the bishop brake off his session for that time, and commanded him to prison again, and to appear before him in the place aforesaid upon the Friday next following, to answer further as should be demanded of him, granting him liberty withal to add to or subtract from his former answers, or else utterly to deny and revoke the same.

His fourth appearance, &c.

The day and time approaching, the said Thomas Hitton appeared again accordingly, and having heard his former answers and confessions distinctly by the notary read unto him, he reformed them in certain points; to some he added, from other some he subtracted, but none he denied. Then the bishop, perceiving his unmovable constancy in the truth, setting learning and reason apart, being not able to convince him by arguments and truth, nor yet to reprove the spirit which spake in him, fell to exhorting of him to have respect to his soul's health, and not so wilfully (as he termed it) to cast away himself for ever, but to repent, and abjure his errors, and in so doing, he would be good unto him, he said.

When the bishop with all his persuasions could do no good with him to withdraw him from the truth of God's word, then the doctors and other the assistants attempted the like: all which notwithstanding, the said Thomas Hitton would not desist nor shrink one jot from the truth, but both affirmed and confirmed his former articles and confessions to the end; inferring withal, that they sinned against the Holy Ghost, inasmuch as they knew that God's word was the truth, and that the mass and all popish religion is nothing but idolatry, lies, and open blasphemy against the majesty of God and his word, and contrary to God's word in every respect, and yet they would allow and maintain the same, contrary to their own consciences: whereat all the bench was greatly offended, and commanded him to prison again, assigning him a day to come before them again.

His fifth appearance, &c.

At the day appointed, the said Thomas Hitton appeared, to whom the bishop said, "Thomas, dost thou believe that any man, either spiritual or temporal, is of sufficient authority to set forth any law or sanction of himself, the breach whereof is mortal or venial sin?" To whom Thomas Hitton answered, that no man, either spiritual or temporal, might make any law or sanction, the breach whereof is mortal or venial sin, except the same law or sanction be drawn out of the word of God, or else grounded upon the same with a good conscience; and therefore the church cannot set forth any law, the breach whereof is mortal or venial sin, unless it be grounded upon the word of God also. But if any man, or the church of God itself, do set forth any law grounded upon the word of God and good conscience, the breach thereof to the violater is mortal and deadly sin. After all manner of ways and means attempted to draw this poor man from Christ and his truth, the bishop, seeing that he could not prevail, determined to send him to the bishop of Rochester, and so he did; who assayed by all means possible to remove him from his former professed truth. But seeing all his endeavours frustrate, and that he profited nothing, he signified the same to the archbishop, and withal both went himself unto him, and carried the poor prisoner with him thither also.

In the afternoon of the same day, the said archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Rochester, and divers other assistants, called the said poor man before them again, and caused all the former articles, interrogatories, and demands to be read unto him in English, to the end he should either have revoked the same, or else recanted

them altogether, using both threats and fair promises, to the performance thereof, but all in vain: for his faith was built upon the rock Christ Jesus, and therefore unable to be removed with any storms of persecution whatsoever.

In fine, the archbishop, (with mature judgment you must believe,) consulting with the bishop of Rochester, and others, proceeded to his condemnation, reading the bloody sentence of death against him; and so was he, being condemned, delivered to the secular power, who carried him to the prison; and soon after he was burnt for the testimony of Jesus Christ, as you may see more at large in his story, for whose constancy in the truth, the everlasting God be praised, Amen.

447. William Hastlen.

A certain good man troubled in Boulogne the first year of King Edward the Sixth, for the gospel.

"The examination of me, William Hastlen, gunner, in the castle of High Boulogne, in the year of our Lord 1547, and the first year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth. As I was in the church of Boulogne, called the Stale, upon the twelfth of April, being Easter Tuesday, reading of a godly book, called The Lamentation of a Christian against the Citizens of London, between the hours, of three and four at afternoon, there came certain men to me as I stood at an altar in the church reading to myself, and asked me what good book I had; and I said, they should hear if they pleased. Then they desired me to read out that they might hear, and so did I very gladly; but I had not read long (the priests and clerks were at their Latin evensong, I reading mine English book) but there came a tip-staff for me, taking my two books from me, and commanded me to go with him; for he said I must go before the council of the town.

"Then went I forthwith with him; and a little without the church-door Sir John Bridges met us, and bade the tipstaff carry me to Sir Leonard Beckwith, knight, to be examined; and coming before his presence, he asked me what books they were that I had at the church, and was reading of one of them openly in the church to the people. And I said, so far as I had read them they were good godly books. And he said, they were heresy. And with that he asked me how I did believe of the sacrament of the altar, whether I did not believe that to be the very body of Christ, flesh, blood, and bones: and I asked him whether he meant that that was in the pix or no? and he said, Yea, even that in the pix. And I said, that since I had sure knowledge of Scriptures, I did not believe it to be the body of Christ, but a bare piece of bread; nor by God's help will I ever believe it otherwise to be. Then he said, I was a heretic, and asked me what I made of the sacrament; and I said, if it were duly ministered according to Christ's institution, that then I did believe that the faithful communicants, in receiving that blessed sacrament, did receive into their inward man or soul, the very body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ. Then said he, 'Dost thou not believe it to remain the very body of Christ after the words of consecration pronounced by the priest?' And I said, No. Then said he, 'What dost thou make of the church?' I said, 'As it is now used, it is a den of thieves, and the synagogue of Satan.' 'Thou heretic,' said he, 'there remaineth the very body of Christ.' But I said, that Christ being God and man, dwelleth not in the temples made with men's hands. Much other communication had we at that time, but this was the effect that day. Then he asked me whether I would be forthcoming till to-morrow. And I said, 'Sir, if you think that I will not, you may lay me where I shall be so.' Then he let me go for that night, and said, 'We shall talk further with thee to-morrow;' so I departed home.

"And about the space of two hours after, Master Huntingdon the preacher (which did much good with his preaching in Boulogne at that time) came to me, and said, that he heard me spoken of at my Lord Gray's, who was then lord deputy of the town and country of Boulogne; 'and I perceive,' said he, 'that you are in great danger of trouble, if you escape with your life: for there are some of the council marvellously

bent against you.' I said, 'The Lord's will be done.' 'Well,' said he, 'without you feel in yourself a full purpose, by God's help, to stand earnestly to the thing that ye have spoken, you shall do more hurt than good. Wherefore,' said he, 'if you will go to Calais, I will send you where you shall be well used, and be out of this danger.' Then I thanked Master Huntingdon, saying, 'I purpose by God's assistance to abide the uttermost that they can do unto me.' 'Well then,' said he, 'I can tell you you will be sent for tomorrow betimes before the whole council.' 'That is,' said I, 'the thing that I look for.'

"Then rose I betimes in the morning and went into the market-place, that I might spy which way the officer should come for me. I had not tarried there long, but I spied a tipstaff, and went toward him, and asked him whom he sought; and he said, 'A gunner of the great ordnance in the castle of Boulogne:' and I said, 'I am he:' then said he, 'You must go with me to my Lords:' and I said, 'There-for I looked.'

"When I came there, I saw my Lord and the whole council were assembled together in a close parlour. Doing my duty to them, my Lord said to me, 'It is informed me that thou hast seditiously congregated a company together in the church, and there in the time of service thou didst read unto them an heretical book, and hast not reverently used silence in the time of the divine service. What sayest thou to this?'

"I said, 'If it please your Honour, I was in the church a good while before any service began, and nobody with me, reading to myself alone, upon a book that is agreeable to God's word, and no heresy in it that I read; and when it drew toward service time, there came men to the church, and, some of them coming to me whom I knew not, asking me what good book I had, I said it was a new book that I had not yet read over. Then they prayed me that I should read so that they might hear some part with me; and so I did, not calling, pointing, nor assembling any company to me. And the service being in Latin, that for the strangeness of the tongue, besides much superstition joined with it, was not understood of the most part of them that said or sung it, much less of them that stood by and did hear it; whereas, by the word of God, all things in the church or congregation should be done to the edifying of the people; and seeing I could have no such thing by their service, I did endeavour to edify myself, and others that were desirous of reading godly books. And because the church is so abused contrary to the word of God, being beset round about with a sort of abominable idols, before whom no man ought to kneel, nor do any manner of reverence, because the Scriptures do curse both the idol and the idol-maker, and all that do any worship or reverence unto them, or before them, for that cause I used no reverence there.'

"'Well,' said my Lord, 'I would thou couldst answer to the rest, as well as thou hast done to this; but I fear me thou canst not: for it is told me that thou hast spoken against the blessed sacrament.' And I said, 'If it please your Lordship, that did I never in all my life, nor ever will do, by the grace of God.'

"With that my chief accuser, Sir Leonard Beckwith, knight, said to me, 'Didst thou not say to me yesterday, that thou didst not believe the sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration by the priest, to be the very body of Christ, flesh, blood, and bones, as it was born of the Virgin Mary?'

"It is true indeed that I said so; for neither do I believe it to remain Christ's body, nor ever will by the grace of God believe it so to be: for I believe that Christ, with that body that was conceived and born of the Virgin Mary, did ascend up into heaven; and there (according to our belief) he sitteth on the right hand of God the Father; and from thence that body shall come at the day of judgment to judge the quick and the dead. And yet, in the mean while, I believe, that (the sacrament duly ministered according to Christ's institution) all the faithful receivers of this sacrament, lifting up the eyes of their mind into heaven where Christ's body is, do receive in that sacrament into their soul or inward man the very body of our Saviour Jesus Christ: yea, and I believe further, that Christ, concerning his Divine power, or the power of his Godhead, is wheresoever two or three be gathered together in his name, that he is in the midst even amongst them; and that he is so with his faithful flock even to the world's end.'

"Then they laid their heads together and had privy talk. After that two of them said to me, that it was rank heresy, that I did believe it to remain bare bread after the priest had consecrated it; and not believing it to be the very body of Christ, I was worthy to be burned. Then said I earnestly unto them, 'Think you not, though I be a vile object in your sight, and he that is most busy among you to seek my blood, but that my blood shall be required at his or their hands?'

"Then had they privy talk together again, after the which my Lord said unto me, 'Thou hearest that they here lay heresy to thy charge, and I am a man of war, and have no skill in such high mysteries; wherefore thine accusers say, that thou must suffer here as a heretic, that all the rest of the garrison may beware by thee, that they fall not into the like heresy, and so cast away themselves.' Then said I, I appeal from this council to the council of England.' Then said my Lord, 'I am very glad that thou hast appealed to the council of England, for there are learned men and divines that can skill of such matters: thither shalt thou be sent ere it be long.'

"Then was I carried to Sir John Bridges' house; and having pen and ink, I was bidden to write mine articles, which were in effect those points of religion which you have heard before in my examination. Then on the morrow, being Thursday, and the fourteenth of April, I was brought to the prison in the town, called the Marshalsea, where I was very gently used: for a good gentleman, one Master Waghan, was the keeper there at that time. But surely, when I was apprehended, I had not so much as one penny to help myself with, for we had been long unpaid. Furthermore, I thought in that town of war, that there were very few or none that favoured the word of God; for I looked for no help there, but to be hated and despised of all men there: for I knew not past two or three there that had any love to the gospel till I was in prison; and then there came very many soldiers unto me that I never knew before, and gave me money, so that I had as good as three pounds given me in a small time that I was in prison. The fourteenth day of May, foward night, I was sent into England; one Master Messenger and one other man brought me to London even the same day, being Sunday at night and the fifteenth day of May. There was a great talk over all the city of one Dr. Smith that recanted that day. They brought me to the Marshalsea and there left me, I hearing no more of them that brought me thither: but Master Huntingdon, as a faithful minister of Jesus Christ, that gave me warning before of all this trouble, came from Boulogne to London, causing my articles to be seen, so that by his painful

diligence to the council for me, after that I had been there little more than one month, I was discharged out of prison, and bid get me home to Boulogne, to my living again.

"But surely if I had not appealed to the council of England, I had been burnt in Boulogne; for it was told me of them that knew much in that matter, that it was already determined shortly to have been accomplished, if I had not appealed: for the which deliverance I give praise to the everliving God."

**448. Verses Laid in Queen Mary's Closet Upon Her Desk,
against Her Coming Unto Her Prayers.**

"O lovesome rose, most redolent,
Of fading flowers most fresh,
In England pleasant is thy scent,
For now thou art peerless.
This rose which beareth such a smell
Doth represent our queen;
O listen, that I may you tell
Her colours fresh and green.
The love of God within her heart
Shall beautify her Grace:
The fear of God on the other part,
Shall stablish her in place.
This love and fear her colours are,
Whereby if she be known,
She may compare both nigh and far,
Unable to be overthrown.
The love of God, it will her cause
(Unfeigned if it be)
To have respect unto his laws,
And hate idolatry.
If that she have the fear of God,
And be thereto right bent,
She will do that that he her bode,
And not her own intent.
O noble queen, take heed, take heed,
Beware of your own intent:
Look ere you leap; then shall you speed:
Haste maketh many shent.
Remember Saul, that noble king,
What shame did him befall,
Because that unto the Lord's bidding
He had no lust at all.
The Lord hath bid you shall love him,
And other gods defy:
Alas, take heed! do not begin
To place idolatry.
What greater disobedience
Against God may be wrought,
Than this, to move men's conscience
To worship things of nought?
What greater folly can you invent
Than such men to obey?
How can you serve your own intent,
Not foreseeing your own decay?

And whereas first ye should maintain
 Your realm in perfect unity:
 To rent the people's hearts in twain
 Through false idolatry.
 Is this the way to get you fame,
 Is this to get you love?
 Is this to purchase you a name,
 To fight with God above?
 Is this your care to set up mass,
 Your subjects' souls to 'stroy?
 Is this your study no more to pass,
 God's people to annoy?
 Is this to reign, to serve your will,
 Good men in bonds to keep;
 And to exalt such as be evil,
 And for your Grace unmeet?
 Such as made that fond divorce,
 Your mother to deface;
 Are nighest you in power and force,
 And bounden most unto your Grace.
 Well, yet take heed of 'had-I-wist,'
 Let God's word bear the bell:
 If you will reign, learn to know Christ,
 As David doth you tell.
 What great presumption doth appear,
 Thus in a week or twain,
 To work more shame than in seven year
 Can be redrest again!
 All is done without a law,
 For will doth work in place:
 And thus all men may see and know
 The weakness of your case.
 That miserable masking mass,
 Which all good men do hate;
 Is now by you brought up again,
 The root of all debate.
 Your ministers that love God's word,
 They feel this bitter rod;
 Who are robbed from house and goods,
 As though there were no God.
 And yet you would seem merciful
 In the midst of tyranny,
 And holy, whereas you maintain
 Most vile idolatry.
 For fear that thou shouldst hear the truth,
 True preachers may not speak;
 But on good prophets you make ruth,
 And unkindly them entreat.
 Him have you made lord chancellor,
 Who did your blood most stain:

That he may suck the righteous blood,
 As he was wont, again.
 Those whom our late king did love,
 You do them most disdain;
 These things do manifestly prove
 Your colours to be but vain.
 God's word you cannot abide,
 But as your prophets tell:
 In this you may be well compared
 To wicked Jezebel,
 Who had four hundred prophets false,
 And fifty on a rout:
 Through whose false preaching poor Eli
 Was chased in and out.
 God's prophets you do evil entreat,
 Baal's priests defend your Grace:
 Thus did the Jews put Christ to death,
 And let go Barrabas.
 Hath God thus high exalted you,
 And set you on a throne,
 That you should prison and deface
 His flock that maketh moan?
 The Lord which doth his flock defend,
 As the apple of an eye;
 Of this full quickly will make an end,
 And banish cruelty.
 Therefore my counsel pray you take,
 And think thereof no scorn:
 You shall find it the best counsel,
 Ye had since you were born.
 Put away blind affection;
 Let God's word be umpire,
 To try our true religion,
 From this evil-favoured gear."

449. An Instruction of King Edward the Sixth

The instruction of King Edward the Sixth, given to Sir Anthony St. Leger, knight of his privy chamber; being of a corrupt judgment of the eucharist, upon this saying of an ancient doctor of the catholic church: "Dicimus eucharistiam panem vocari in Scripturis. Panis in quo gratiæ actæ sunt,"

"In eucharist then there is bread,
 Whereto I do consent:
 Then with bread are our bodies fed,
 But further what is meant?
 I say that Christ in flesh and blood
 Is there continually,
 Unto our soul a special food,
 Taking it spiritually.
 And this transubstantiation I
 Believe as I have read:
 That Christ sacramentally
 Is there in form of bread.
 St. Austin saith, 'The Word doth come
 Unto the element:
 And there is made,' he saith, 'in sum
 A perfect sacrament.'
 The element doth then remain;
 Or else must needs ensue,
 St. Austin's words be nothing plain,
 Nor cannot be found true.
 For, if the Word, as he doth say,
 Come to the element,
 Then is not the element away,
 But bides there verament.
 Yet, whoso eateth that lively food,
 And hath a perfect faith,
 Receiveth Christ's flesh and blood,
 For Christ himself so saith.
 Not with our teeth his flesh to tear,
 Nor take blood for our drink:
 Too great an absurdity it were,
 So grossly for to think.
 For we must eat him spiritually,
 If we be spiritual;
 And whoso eats him carnally,
 Thereby shall have a fall.
 For he is now a spiritual meat,
 And spiritually we must
 That spiritual meat spiritually eat,

And leave our carnal lust.
 Thus by the Spirit, I spiritually
 Believe, say what men list:
 None other transubstantiation I
 Believe -- of the eucharist;
 But that there is both bread and wine,
 Which we see with our eye:
 Yet Christ is there, by power divine,
 To those that spiritually
 Do eat that bread and drink that cup,
 Esteeming it but light;
 As Judas did, which eat that sop,
 Not judging it aright.
 For I was taught not long ago,
 I should lean to the Sprite;
 And let the carnal flesh alone,
 For it doth not profit.
 God save him that teaching me taught,
 For I thereby did win,
 To put from me that carnal thought,
 That I before was in:
 For I believe Christ corporally
 In heaven doth keep his place:
 And yet Christ sacramentally
 Is here with us by grace.
 So that in this high mystery
 We must eat spiritual meat,
 To keep his death in memory,
 Lest we should it forget.
 This do I say, this have I said;
 This saying say will I:
 This saying though I once denied,
 I will no more to die."

"This young prince became a perfect schoolmaster unto old erroneous men, so as no divine could amend him; and therefore this piece is worthy of perpetual memory to his immortal fame and glory.

"When Queen Mary came to her reign, a friend of Master St. Leger charged him with this his pamphlet. 'Well,' quoth he, 'content yourself: I perceive that a man may have too much of God's blessing. And even Peter began to deny Christ; such is men's frailty.'"

By W. M., as it is supposed.

450. A Letter of One John Melvyn, Prisoner in Newgate.

"Christi electis salutem.

"The Almighty Lord hath made this world for many; but the world or life to come, but for a few.

"Most certain it is, dearly beloved, that Christ's elect be but few in comparison of that great number which go in the broad way into everlasting perdition, which live after the flesh, loving this present evil world, deny God in word and deed, whose eyes are blinded, and their hearts hardened.

"Most certain it is also, that our Saviour Jesus Christ hath and knoweth his own, whose names are written in the book of life, redeemed with the most precious blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ. So that the eternal Father knoweth them that be his.

"The almighty and eternal God grant, that we may have the testimony of our conscience, and the Spirit of God to bear record with our spirits, that we be his elect children, walking in the Spirit, not fulfilling the lusts of the flesh, but as Christ's members, having Christ Jesus fixed before our eyes, he being to us the true way, the infallible verity, and the eternal life. Christ hath given us example; let us follow him as dear children, for God's delight is to behold his saints which be in the earth. Let us put on the whole armour of God, and walk in the light in these evil days, in the which Satan, with his angels, seeketh whom he may devour. The almighty Lord deliver us from the mouths of those unshamefaced dogs! They truly seek ours, and not us unto the Lord. Esdras saith and writeth truly, 'The world is made for them, and they for the world.' Dearly bought, let us remember Christ which saith: 'I have chosen you out of the world; you shall be hated of all worldly men.' Did ever the covetous, idolaters, oppressors, or whoremongers, love us? Nay, they love mass-mongers, which say, Peace, peace, when there is no peace. Nay, either they flatter the ears, or else they say nothing, as dumb dogs not able to bark, of whom be you ware; for though they come in sheep's clothing, they be ravening wolves, whose damnation sleepeth not, from whose captivity the holy will of God save and preserve you, Amen!

"Dearly beloved, we having the record of our conscience, that we be very members in Christ's body, separate from that malignant antichrist's church: let us rejoice in conscience, and in the Lord, having heavenly hope in all his promises, which be eternal and most sure to us in Christ our Saviour, who loseth none of all them, whom the eternal Father hath given him, but at his appearing to be our merciful Judge, shall raise us up at the last day; for the trumpet of God shall blow, and be heard of all Adam's posterity, sounding, *Venite ad judicium*, Come unto judgment, come and be judged. Let us therefore be prepared, having the wedding garment, yea, the whole armour of God, the marriage garment, clear lamps, that is, pure hearts, and burning heavenly light in the same. Let us prepare ourselves richly to restore to our Lord and Master our talents, with the increase of heavenly living and occupying. Then, without all doubt, we shall hear that most blessed wish of our alone Saviour Jesus Christ, who shall then say, Rejoice, good servants, I will make you stewards over many things: enter into the everlasting rest and kingdom, which hath been prepared for you from the beginning. This is the kingdom of Jesus Christ, which at this present is in Babylon, and banished to the desert, the troublesome waters of Satan

in the antichrist and his shavelings, spewed out of Christ's mouth. The Lord be our aid, avenger, and deliverer, when his holy will is, Amen!

"Dearly bought with the most precious blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ! that we be not deceived by the antichrist, let us ponder, weigh, mark, and study, the heavenly doctrine of our Saviour Christ in his last supper: the text is, *Benedixit, dixit bene, gratias egit*; he spake heavenly and well; he gave thanks; he took bread, brake it and gave it to his disciples, saying, 'Take, eat this sacramental bread, and me the bread of life which came down from heaven, which giveth life to the world. Take true faith, heavenly hope kindled with Christian charity, thanksgiving for my death. Let these heavenly virtues enter into your souls; then enter I. This is my body: this is the true eating of my body, which is given to the death of the cross, for the ransom and sins of God's elect.' Likewise after supper he took the cup, he spake well, gave thanks, and gave it them, saying, 'Drink ye all of this: drink, I say, by this infallible verity and everlasting word joined and annexed with this cup, my blood, which is shed from before the beginning of the world, for many, in remission of sins: he or she that thus dwelleth in me, and I in him, eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood.' St. Augustine saith, 'Why preparest thou thy tooth and belly? believe, and thou hast eaten.' St. Bernard saith, 'When faith, hope, Christian love, and thanksgiving for Christ's death enter into a Christian, Christ entereth.' And again St. Augustine saith, upon these words of Christ, You shall always have the poor with you, but me shall ye not have always with you: 'the church had him but a few days touching his humanity; now they have him by faith, with these eyes they do not see him.' O Jesus Christ, thou Son of the living God, which art in the bosom of thy Father, God with God, the very image of God the Father eternal, give us victory over this antichrist in thy most precious blood. Be faithful to the end, and our Saviour shall crown us in glory: let us sanctify the name of God in thought, word, and deed.

"I say unto the papist, and will not flatter,
 Our God is in heaven whom they will not see:
 And is no such little pretty matter,
 As their god the pope feigneth him to be.
 Pray for all the preachers of the verity,
 That God may give us grace and constancy.
 They sing and say, they have him in a string:
 Tie not the dog so, for fear of hanging.
 To all the faithful, whose names in general,
 In the book of life, by Christ are written all;
 The godly thought and patient mind,
 Doth liberty in prison find.
 Whoso to patience can attain,
 Shall find in prison is no pain.
 Thrall, trouble, bound or free,
 As pleaseth God, so shall all be.
 Wherefore I never will forsake
 What pleaseth God lay on my back.
 JOHN MELVYN,
 preacher, and prisoner in Newgate."

451. A Note Concerning the Trouble of Julius Palmer, lately come to my Hands.

To his assured friend and brother in Christ, Master Perry, preacher at Beverstone.

"Master Perry, after my hearty commendations in the Lord Jesus Christ unto you and your wife, &c. Whereas you have written unto me for my help in stopping the malicious and envious mouth of Thomas Thackam, I would be as glad as any man to testify the truth, both for that I know of the shameless malice of the said party against the members of Christ, as also the godly and virtuous behaviour of Palmer, both before he was in prison, and after in prison, with the credit of that good and godly work of that history: but surely many things are out of my head, which I cannot as yet remember. And for those things I know, I write unto you. And first, as touching the friendship showed unto the Lady Vane, and his zeal therein uttered, truth it is that he received her into his house for money for a small space, in the which time they two did not well agree, for that she could not suffer his wickedness of words and gestures unreprieved, but that his wife many times, being of more honesty, made the matter well again: but to be short, such was his friendship in the end towards that good lady, being out of his house, that she feared no man more for her life than him. And I being her man, she gave me great charge always to beware of him. As touching his friendship towards John Bolton in prison, I am sure he never found any, as they that used to visit him can somewhat say: except you account this friendship, that he, being bereft of his senses, Thackam wrought him to yield unto the papists, and as a right member of them became his surety, that he should be obedient unto them. And he, being burdened in conscience therewith, fled away unto Geneva: for the which flying Thackam had nothing said unto him, which showeth that he was their instrument. And this friendship to John Bolton: for Downer, I have heard no evil of him: for Gately, and Radley now vicar of St. Lawrence, and Bowyer a tanner, they three left no means unpractised to catch and persecute the members of Christ, as I myself can well prove.

"As touching Palmer, for that I many times frequented his company in his lodging, he would utter sometimes unto me the grief of his mind. Among other things once he told me, that for that he heard he was somewhat suspected with the woman of the house, he was much grieved withal, the which he uttered with many tears. I then counselling him to depart thence to avoid the occasion of offence, he said No, but the Lord should try him ere it were long: for, said he, Thackam hath let me his school, and now would have it again, and because I will not let him have it, this he hath brought upon me; but God forgive him! Afterward, being in prison, I talking with him at the grate, he showed me his judgment of the Scriptures, and delivered it unto me: what became of it, I know not now. He praised God highly for his estate, and then he said, he trusted it would appear whether Thackam had said of him well or not. And further he said, that now Thackam hath his will to have his school again: for if I would have yielded up the school, he would have sent me away. I never trusted him so well, said he, to communicate my mind unto him before witness, but sometimes alone; and therefore he hath devised a letter in my name, and brought it to light, to cause me to be examined of my conscience. This is as much as I can say at this time. Thus fare you well in the Lord, Amen. -- From Corsley, this eighteenth of May.

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

"Yours to command in Christ,

JOHN MOYER, minister.

"Have me commended, I pray you, to all my friends at Reading."

Another note of Julius Palmer.

Also being at Magdalene college about a month before he was burned, and reasoning against one Barwick, master of arts, sometime his familiar friend and old acquaintance in the said college; after much talk Barwick said unto him, "Well, Palmer, now thou talkest boldly and stoutly at thy pleasure; if thou wert brought to a stake, thou wouldst tell me another tale. Take heed, it is a hard matter to burn." Hereunto Palmer answered, "Indeed it is a hard matter for him to burn, that hath his soul linked to his body, as a thief's foot is tied in a pair of fetters. But if a man be once able, through God's help, to separate and divide the soul from the body, for him it is no harder thing to burn, than for me to eat this crumb of bread."

452. The Confession of Patrick Patingham,

"I, Patrick Patingham, being condemned for the verity of God's truth, that is to say, in confessing of one God, which was the Creator of all things visible and invisible, and also that he made those by his Son, whom he hath made heir of all things. And also I confess, that he is the only begotten Son of God, in whom we have redemption, even the forgiveness of sins. And also in confessing God's most holy church, being builded upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Christ Jesus being the head corner-stone. In whom, saith St. Paul, every building coupled together groweth to a holy temple in the Lord, in whom I believe I am builded together as a member, and made a habitation for God in the Spirit. And also I confess, that Christ is the head of the holy church, as St. Paul saith, and that God is Christ's head.

"And also I had ten articles, that is to say, against their wicked traditions and commandments which they use, which are against the commandments of God, whereof they did condemn me, not suffering me to speak in the consistory-house, but condemning me, my cause not heard. But yet I did protest unto them, that their church or synagogue is of Satan, that is to say, Satan being the head thereof. Furthermore, my friend or friends unknown, I have received your letter, and read it over, wherein you say, that I am in a blasphemous error. Indeed, friends, I confess, that it is an error: if you will make my belief, that is to say, that Christ is the Son of the living God, to be an error, and to believe that there is one God, as St. Paul saith, and one Mediator betwixt God and man, even the man Christ Jesus. And although there be that are called gods, whether in heaven or in earth, as there be gods many, and lords many, yet unto us there is but one God, which is the Father, of whom are all things, and we it, him, and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him. I believe that there is but one Lord, one faith, one baptism, and one God in all, and above all, and through all; which only God, as St. Paul saith, worketh in all creatures that believe in him; and speaketh in them, as, St. Paul saith, God in times past diversely, and many ways, spake unto the fathers by prophets, but in these last days he spake unto us by his Son, whom he hath made heir of all things. My friend or friends, be it known unto you, that this is no error, as ye suppose, but it is the truth of God's will, that we should believe, as St. John saith, that Christ Jesus is the Son of the living God; and in so believing, we should have everlasting life. Thus with love I write unto you, praying God night and day to deliver you from evil which is in you, and to keep you from it. Wherefore, my friend or friends, you are not crucified with Christ, you are not dead with him as concerning sin, you are not grafted with him in baptism, nor do you know God, or his Son whom he hath sent, or his commandments which he hath commanded; and yet will ye teach others. With most hearty prayer praying to God for you continually;

PATRICK PATINGHAM."

453. A Certain Letter of William Tymes.

"Grace, mercy, and peace, from God the Father, through the mercies of his dear Son Jesus Christ, our Lord and only Saviour, with the comfort of his Holy Spirit, that as you have full godly begun, even so you may continue to the end to the glory of God and your everlasting comfort, which thing to do I pray God to give you grace, who is the giver of all good and perfect gifts, to the glory of his holy name. Amen.

"My dear sisters, after most hearty commendations unto you, and also most hearty thanksgiving unto you for all the great kindness that you have always showed unto me, most unworthy of the same; I certify you that I am very glad to hear of your good health, which I pray God long to continue to his glory. And especially I do much rejoice in your most godly constancy in the gospel of Christ, which is the power of God unto salvation, unto so many as believe it. Therefore, my dear hearts, go forward as you have godly begun: for the time will come that these cruel tyrants, which now so cruelly persecute the true members of Christ, shall say for very anguish of mind, 'These are they, whom we sometime had in derision, and jested upon. We fools thought their life to have been very madness, and their end to have been without honour: but lo, how they are counted among the children of God, and their portion is amongst the saints. Therefore we have erred from the way of truth. The light of righteousness hath not shined unto us, and the Sun of understanding rose not upon us. We have wearied ourselves in the way of wickedness and destruction. Tedious ways have we gone, but as for the way of the Lord, we have not known it. What good hath our pride done unto us? or what profit hath the pomp of riches brought us? All these things have passed away as a shadow, or as a messenger running before: as a ship that passeth over the waves of the water, which when it is gone, by the trace thereof cannot be found, neither the path in the floods, &c. For as soon as we were born, we began inordinately to draw to our end, and have showed no token of virtue, but are consumed in our own wickedness.' Such words shall they that thus have sinned speak in the hell. But the righteous shall live for evermore; their reward is also with the Lord, and remembrance with the Highest: therefore shall they receive a glorious kingdom, and a beautiful crown at the Lord's hands; for with his right hand shall he cover them, and with his holy arm shall he defend them,' &c. 'The souls of the righteous are in the hands of God, and the pains of death shall not touch them; but in the sight of the unwise they appear to die, and their end is taken for very destruction, but they are in rest. And though they suffer pain before men, yet is their hope full of immortality. They are punished but in few things, nevertheless in many things shall they be well rewarded; for God proveth them, and findeth them meet for himself: yea, as the gold in the furnace doth he try them, and receiveth them as a burnt-offering; and when the time cometh, they shall be looked upon, the righteous shall shine as the sparks that run through the red bush; they shall judge the nations, and have dominion over the people, and their Lord shall reign for ever. They that put their trust in him shall understand the truth, and such as be faithful will agree unto him in love.' 'And he shall be a pillar in the temple of God, and shall no more go out, and there shall be written upon him the name of God. And they shall lie under the altar (which is Christ) crying with a loud voice, saying: How long tarriest thou, Lord! holy and true! to judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth? And they shall have long white garments given unto them, and it shall be said unto them, that they should rest yet for a little season, till the number of their fellows and brethren of them that should be killed as they were, were fulfilled.' For, as St. John saith, they are worthy that thus

overcome, to be clothed in white array, and their names shall not be put out of the book of life, but shall be separated from the goats, and set on Christ's right hand, hearing his sweet and comfortable voice, when he shall say, Come, ye blessed of my Father, and possess the kingdom prepared for you from the beginning of the world. And the very ready way to obtain the same, is, as our Master Christ saith, to forsake ourselves, taking up our cross, following our Master Christ, which for the joy that was set before him abode the cross, and despised the shame, and is set down on the throne, at the right hand of God. Therefore let us follow his example in suffering for his word, seeing that he, of his merciful goodness, suffered so much for us when we were his enemies: for it was our sin that killed Christ, and he by his death hath made us alive. Therefore with joy (seeing all these his merciful benefits purchased for us only by his death and blood-shedding) let us with boldness confess his holy word before this wicked generation, even to death, when we be called thereto; and so be well assured, that our lives be not in the hands of men, but in God's hands. Therefore, my dear sisters, as you have godly begun, so go forward even through many tribulations, even into the everlasting kingdom of heaven. To the which, God, the Father of all mercy, for his dear Son Christ's sake, bring both you and all yours, Amen.

"Yours to command, to my poor power,
WILLIAM TYMS.

"Continue in prayer, ask in faith, and obtain your desire: praying for you, as I know that you do for me."

454. A Note of William Gie.

One William Gie, servant with Master Revet, merchant, bought a Bible and Service-book of Richard Waterson, who then dwelt with Master Duixile in Paul's Churchyard, and one Spilman bound the book: and when the said Gie had inquired for the said Richard to have his book at Duixile's, answer was made that he was not within; and so the said Gie went his way to Spilman's for the book; and because he found it not done, he left it there, and immediately search was made in Spilman's house, and the said Bible and Service-book was found and carried to Bonner, then bishop of London. He having the books, commanded Spilman for the binding thereof to Lollard's Tower; and as Cluney went for the key thereof Spilman conveyed himself away. After that, Waterson and Gie being apprehended by Robin Calie, John Hill, and John Auales, and being two days in the Compter, were brought before Bonner and other commissioners. Being examined, Dr. Story demanded Gie, wherefore he bought the Bible? He answered, "To serve God withal." Then said Bonner, "Our Lady Matins would serve a Christian man to serve God." "The Bible," said Story, "would breed heresies; a bible-babble were more fit for thee." So they concluded that either of them should have forty stripes lacking one; and Bonner said, it was the law. And they said to Waterson, if he would pay forty pounds, he should be released of his stripes. At length they came to ten pounds; and when they saw he would not, they made a warrant to Master Grafton, and sent Waterson and Gie to Bridewell, to be beaten upon the cross. And because the matter should not be slightly handled, Story was sent with them to see it done. Gie being whipped upon the cross, intercession was made, that he might be forgiven part of his penance.

455. A Note of Michael's Wife.

Michael's wife aforementioned, being prisoner in Ipswich for religion, resorted daily from the prison to her husband's house, and returned again, keeping faith and promise. And her husband thereat being fearful, she would comfort him, saying, she came not to trouble him, neither should he sustain trouble by her. Wherefore she would will him to be of good cheer, for her coming was of good will to see him and her children, and not to bring them into trouble, but to show her duty therein, while she might have liberty.

456. A Note of John Spicer.

In Queen Mary's time, there was one John Spicer, of whom mention is made before, he being at the stake, ready to give his life for the truth, a bag of gunpowder was brought him by his son. And another standing by (one named Master Beckingham) took the gunpowder of his son, and put it under the girdle of the said Spicer, and exhorted him to be strong in the Lord; also divers of the sheriff's servants comforted him in like manner, and desired him not to faint. Unto whom Spicer answered, "Doubt you not of me," saith he, "my soul is quiet: but be ye strong and stand fast in the Lord Jesus, and commit yourselves to him in the confession of his holy name, and profession of his truth."

457. A Note of Mandrel.

Mandrel, standing at the stake, as is mentioned before, Dr. Jeffery the chancellor spake to him, wishing him to yield to the doctors, who many hundred years had taught otherwise than he doth believe, &c. To whom Mandrel answered, "Master Chancellor," said he, "trouble me with none of your doctors, whatsoever they say; but bring me the book of God, the Old Testament and the New, and I will answer you." "What sayest thou, Mandrel," quoth he, "by the saints in the church, the image of our Lady, of the crucifix, and other holy saints? be they not necessary?" &c. "Yes, Master Chancellor," said he, "very necessary to roast a shoulder of mutton." Then Dr. Billing, a friar once, standing by, said: "Master Chancellor," quoth he, "hear how these heretics speak against the crucifix, and the holy cross; and yet the holy cross is mentioned in all the tongues, both Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. For in Latin it is called T, in Greek Tau," &c. Whereupon one Thomas Gilford, a merchant of Poole, standing by, said: "Ah merciful Lord," said he, "is not this a marvellous matter, for a poor man thus to be charged, and put to the pains of fire, for 'T, Tau?'"

When Mandrel and Spicer were examined before the chancellor, the chancellor called them, saying, "Come on, come on," saith he; "thou, Spicer, art to blame, for thou hast taught Mandrel these heresies. Thou art by thy occupation a bricklayer." "Yea, that I am." "And can sing in the choir." "Yea, that I can," saith he. "And can play on the organs." "True," saith he. "Well then," said the chancellor, "and thou hast marred this poor man, and hast taught him all these heresies." "No, Master Chancellor," quoth he, "I have not taught him, but I have read him. He is able, thanks be to God, to teach both you and me."

458. A Note of Elizabeth Pepper.

Elizabeth Pepper, before mentioned, when she was burnt at Stratford, was eleven weeks gone with child, as she then testified to one Bosom's wife, who then unloosed her neckerchief: and moreover, when she was asked why she did not tell them, answered, "Why," quoth she, "they knew it well enough." Oh, such are the bloody hearts of this cruel generation, that no occasion can stay them from their mischievous murdering of the saints of the Lord, that truly profess Christ crucified only and alone, for the satisfaction of their sins.

459. A Note of One Confessing God's Truth at the Gallows.

A notorious felon, one Dick Adams, being npon the gallows, making his confession, and ready to be cast down from the ladder, was desired at that instant by one Mistress Harris, the grammar-schoolmaster's wife, to remember the blessed sacrament before he died; to whom the said Adams said, "Marry, mistress, never in better time;" who went up to the top of the ladder, and said it was the most abominable idol that ever was, and willed all men to take it so; "for we have been greatly deceived thereby." Whereupon the sheriff caused him to hold his peace, and to take his death patiently. He went down to his place, and was cast from the ladder, speaking to his last word, that it was an abominable idol: his body, therefore, was buried out of the churchyard by the highway; who although he was a thief in his life, yet he earnestly repented thereof, so that I doubt not but he died the child of God, and not unworthy to be put in the register of the Lord's accepted confessors.

460. A Note of Gertrude Crockhay.

In the late days of Queen Mary, among other strange dealings of the papists with the faithful, this is not with the rest to be forgotten, that a godly matron named Gertrude Crockhay, the wife of Master Robert Crockhay, dwelling then at St. Katharine's by the Tower of London, abstained herself from the popish church. And she, being in her husband's house, it happened in anno 1556, that the foolish popish St. Nicholas went about the parish; which she understanding shut her doors against him, and would not suffer him to come within her house. Then Dr. Mallet hearing thereof, (and being then master of the said St. Katharine's,) next day came to her with twenty at his tail, thinking belike to fray her; and asked why she would not the night before let in St. Nicholas, and receive his blessing, &c. To whom she answered thus: "Sir, I know no St. Nicholas," said she, "that came hither." "Yes," quoth Mallet, "here was one that represented St. Nicholas." "Indeed, sir," said she, "here was one that is my neighbour's child, but not St. Nicholas: for St. Nicholas is in heaven. I was afraid of them that came with him to have had my purse cut by them, for I have heard of men robbed by St. Nicholas's clerks," &c. So Mallet, perceiving that nothing could be gotten at her hands, went his way as he came, and she for that time so escaped.

Then, in anno 1557, a little before Whitsuntide, it happened that the said Gertrude answered for a child that was baptized of one Thomas Saunders, which child was christened secretly in a house, after the order of the Service-book in King Edward's time; and that being shortly known to her enemies, she was sought for, which understanding nothing thereof, went beyond the sea into Gelderland, to see certain lands that should have come to her children in the right of her first husband, who was a stranger born. And being there about a quarter of a year, at the length coming homeward by Antwerp, she chanced to meet with one John Johnson, a Dutchman, alias John de Wille of Antwerp, shipper, who, seeing her there, went of malice to the margrave, and accused her to be an Anabaptist; whereby she was taken and carried to prison. The cause why this naughty man did thus, was for that he claimed of Master Crockhay her husband a piece of money, which was not his due, for a ship, that the said Master Crockhay bought of him; and for that he could not get it, he wrought this displeasure. Well, she being in prison, lay there a fortnight; in which time she saw some that were prisoners there, who privily were drowned in Rhenish wine-fats, and after secretly put in sacks, and cast into the river. Now she, good woman, thinking to be so served, took thereby such fear, that it brought the beginning of her sickness, of the which at length she died.

Then at the last she was called before the mar-grave, and charged with Anabaptistry which she there utterly denied, and detested the error, declaring before him in Dutch her faith boldly, without any fear. So the margrave hearing the same, in the end being well pleased with her profession, at the suit of some of her friends delivered her out of prison, but took away her book; and so she came over into England again. And being at home in her husband's house, he thinking to find means to get her to go abroad, made one Vicars, a yeoman of the Tower, a friend of his, who was great with Bonner, to work that liberty for her. Now this Vicars making means to Bonner for the same, Bonner put the matter over to Darbishire his chancellor, who enjoined her to give certain money to poor folks, and to go on the Wednesday and Sunday after to church to evensong; which she so did, and afterward had such trouble

in her conscience thereby, that she thought verily God had cast her off, and that she should be damned, and never be saved.

So, not long after this, it happened that Master Rough, of whom mention is made before, came to her house, unto whom she made moan of her unquietness for going to church, and desired his counsel what she might do, that should best please God, and ease her troubled soul, &c. Unto whom Master Rough replied many comfortable sentences of Scripture to comfort her; and, in the end, gave her counsel to go to the Christian congregation, which secretly the persecuted had, and confess her fault unto them, and so to be received into their fellowship again; which, hearing that, was glad, and intended so to do; and so would have done, if sore sickness had not immediately prevented the same. But when Dr. Mallet heard by one Robert Hemmings, woodmonger, that she lay very sick indeed, which Hemmings was her great enemy, he came to her twice, to persuade her to recant, and to receive (as the papists term it) the rites of the church. Unto whom she answered, she could not, nor would, for that she was subject to vomit; and therefore he would not (she was sure, she said) have her to cast up their god again; as she should do, if she did receive it. And so immediately vomited, indeed! Wherefore he, seeing that, went from her into the hall to her daughter named Clare Sacke, and told her, if her mother would not receive, she should not be buried in Christian burial, as he termed it. Then Clare went and told her sick mother what he said unto her; which, hearing the same, spake these words following: "Oh," said she, "how happy am I, that I shall not rise with them, but against them. Well," quoth she, "the earth is the Lord's, and all that therein is; and therefore I commit the matter to him."

Shortly hereupon, that is, the twenty-seventh day of March, 1558, the said Dr. Mallet came again to her with one Dr. West, Queen Mary's chaplain. And coming in, he saluted her, and told her that he had brought her a good learned man to persuade her, who was one of the queen's chaplains, &c., and therefore he desired her to hear and believe him in that he should say, &c. Then Dr. West exhorted her to receive their sacrament, and to be annealed, for he said, she was strong enough for it, &c. Unto whom she answered, that she was able and strong enough to receive it indeed; but she would not, for that it was abominable, &c. Then said West, "Ye be in an ill mind; do ye think to die a Christian woman?" "Yea," said she, "that I do." "I pray you," said West, "how came you first into that opinion?" "Marry," said she, "there is he that first taught it me," meaning Dr. Mallet, "at the marriage of my brother and his sister, where I heard him earnestly preach this doctrine, which I now do hold. And if God shall lay our sins to our charge, if we repent not, much more damnable is his offence, being once a public preacher of the same, and now to turn from it."

Then Mallet told her he was then deceived by little new-fangled two-penny books, "as you be now," said he; "but now I am otherwise persuaded, as I would have you, and to receive the sacrament, which if you would, you should, I warrant you, be saved, my soul for yours. At whose words she earnestly desired them to be content: "for," saith she, "ye be come to rob and to draw me from my Christ, which, I tell you truth, you shall not do; for I will never consent to you while I live." When West heard her say so, he drew his stool nigher to hear her speak, and being drunken, he fell down, whereby Mallet was fain to help him up again; and so immediately after they departed thence. And the thirteenth day of April next after that, she died constantly in the Lord, and yielded her soul and life into his holy hands, with these words: "O Lord,

into thy hands receive my soul!" and so immediately gave up her life unto the Lord, to whom be praise for ever, Amen.

While she was beyond sea, as it is said before, Master Crockhay her husband, by the procurement of Dr. Mallet, was cited to come before Master Hussey the commissary, who (had it not been for that he made means unto the said Hussey before) would have sent him to prison, and bound him in recognisance to seek her out. But he more easily escaped their hands by friendship, as before I have said.

Now, when Dr. Mallet heard of her death, Master Crockhay, and one Robert Hemmings, bailiff of St. Katharine's, being before him for the burying of her, he said plainly, she should be buried nigh to some highway, and a mark set up, in token that a heretic was buried there. Then the said Hemmings told him, the hogs would scrape her up, which were not decent, nor best; and Master Crockhay entreated she might be buried in his garden; which at length he granted, and willed the said Hemmings to see it done, and that he should be sure he buried her there indeed.

After, when the corpse was brought to the said garden, the said Robert Hemmings the bailiff would needs see it opened: which when the cover was taken off, the wife of the said Hemmings put her hand within the sheet, and felt the hair of the said dead corpse, saying, "Now will I justify that she is here;" and so she did, telling Mallet that those her hands did feel her. This is the effect of this story.

Now, since the coming in of Queen Elizabeth, the said Dr. Mallet came to the said Master Crockhay, and asked him forgiveness, alleging this verse of the poet:

"Amantium iræ amoris integratio est."

The Lord give him repentance and grace to seek perfect friendship with him, if it be his blessed will, Amen.

461. A Note of William Wood.

"According as I have sent unto you the true record of my examination before the doctors above mentioned, so I thought it not inconvenient to send you likewise certain notes of my other two deliverances in Queen Mary's time; and this I do not (as God knoweth) to get any praise to myself, or to reproach any other, but that God may be glorified in his works, and that our brethren may know, that though there be many times but little help on earth, yet that there is more in heaven.

"About a month after my examination, one Apleby and his wife (that were persecuted from Maidstone in Kent) came to my house in Stroud, and desired me that he might have a place in my house for him and his wife for a time, because persecution was so hot, that he could no longer stay there; and I, at his instance, let him have a place with me. But, within a fortnight after, the papists espied him, and complained of him to the bishop of Rochester; and the bishop sent his chief man, called Ralph Crowch, and he carried him to Rochester, before the bishop. And the said Apleby stood in the defence of the truth boldly, and the bishop sent both him and his wife to the jail of Maidstone, and there they were burnt for the testimony of the gospel of God.

"And the Friday fortnight after, I was in the market at Rochester talking with another man, and the said Ralph Crowch was sent for me; and he coming within a stone's cast of me where I was talking with my neighbour George Smally, one William Stanley a papist, dwelling also in Stroud, met with the said Crowch, and they two talked together a while, and I doubted that they talked of me, because many times in their talk they looked on me; and then the said Ralph Crowch went over the street to another officer or constable which knew not me, and sent the said constable for me, and coming for me, knowing my neighbour George Smally, took him instead of me, and carried him to the bishop. And when he came before him, the bishop said to the officers, 'This is not the knave; this is not the knave.' And the bishop checked the mayor and his officers, and said that they mocked him, because he carried the other man for me: such was the mighty providence of God to defend me. And the mayor the same night sent forty bills, and men with other weapons to beset my house, to take me; but the Lord kept me from them, and delivered me out of their hands; to him be glory therefor, Amen.

"The third time that the Lord delivered me, was on Easter day next after. I had been at London all the Lent; and on Easter even at night, I came home to Stroud to my wife; and a child of three years old told one of the neighbours, that her father was come home. And on Easter day, after their popish even-song was done, came Master Reade, Thomas Crowch, (brother to the abovesaid Ralph Crowch,) William Stanley, Thomas Bets, Lionel Newman, and Roger Braunch, with threescore people or thereabouts, and searched my house very straitly for me: but as God's providence was, there was malt a-drying upon the kiln; and they searched so narrowly for me, that I was glad to heave up a corner of the hair whereon the malt lay, and went into the kiln hole, and there stood till they were gone, and so I escaped from them. But within an hour after, there came a woman to my wife to borrow a brush, and spied me through the keyhole of the door; and there she carrying tidings abroad, immediately came a great company of men and beset my house round about; and I said to my wife, 'You see that these four men seek for my life, that is, Master Reade, Thomas Crowch,

William Stanley, and Thomas Bets: for I do think that none of the rest will lay hands on me; and therefore I pray thee, wife, follow these four men, and talk loud to them that I may hear, and so escape; and if they search on the back side, I may avoid on the street side. And be of good comfort, for our lives are in God's hand, and though there be little help here on earth, yet there is help enough from heaven. And when these men were searching on the back side, I went into the street, among (as I guess) a hundred people, and none of them laid hands on me, neither said they any thing to me; so I went out of the town, and lay there at an honest man's house at the parish of Cobham that night.

"And at the same time also two of my neighbours, honest men and of good wealth, the one called John Pemmet, a fisherman, the other named John Baily a glover, because they came not to their popish church, to buy some of their idolatrous wares, were complained of to the justices, who did bind them to answer for their faith before the judges at the assizes which were holden at Midsummer after, (as I remember,) at Rochester in the Palace-yard; and there was at that time a sail-cloth of a ship tied to the top of the bishop's palace-wall, to keep away the sun from the judges, because it was hot, and the wind blew and shook the sail, so that when these two men were called to be examined, and when they should have answered, there fell from the top of the wall three or four great stones upon the judges' necks, so that some of them which sat on the bench were sore hurt and maimed, so that they arose suddenly all amazed, and departed, and the two men were delivered.-- From Tuddenham in Suffolk, the twenty-fifth day of July, 1583.

"Per me Gulielmum Wood, Vicarium de Tuddenham."

462. John Alcocke.



his John Alcocke, or Aucocke, of whom mention is made before, was a very faithful honest man, by his occupation a woad-setter, singularly well learned in the Holy Scriptures, and in all his conversation a just and righteous man, that feared God, and studied to do indeed that thing that he had learned in the Scriptures. Now, after that Sir Richard Yeoman was driven away, and the people on Sundays and other days came to the church, and had no man to teach them any thing: for as yet Parson Newel was not come to Hadley to dwell, nor had gotten any curate -- besides that, the

laws made by King Edward were in force, and the Latin mumblings not received every where -- John Alcocke therefore took the English book used by King Edward, exhorting the people to pray with him, and so read certain prayers in English before them. And moreover, he gave them godly lessons and exhortations out of chapters that he read unto them. For this the bishop of Winchester (Stephen Gardiner) sent for him, and cast him into Newgate at London; where, after many examinations and troubles, for that he would not submit himself to ask forgiveness of the pope, and to be reconciled to the Romish religion, he was cast into the lower dungeon, where, with evil keeping and sickness of the house, he died in prison. Thus died he a martyr of Christ's verity, which he heartily loved and constantly confessed, and received the garland of a well-foughten battle at the hand of the Lord. His body was cast out, and buried in a dunghill; for the papists would in all things be like themselves. Therefore would they not so much as suffer the dead bodies to have honest and convenient sepulture.

He wrote two epistles to Hadley, which follow here.

The first epistle of John Alcocke.

"Grace be with you, and peace from the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, which gave himself for our sins, that he might deliver us from this present evil world, according to the will of God our Father, to whom be praise for ever and ever, Amen.

"O my brethren of Hadley! why are you so soon turned from them which called you in the grace of Christ, unto another doctrine? which is nothing else but that there be some which trouble you, and intend to pervert the gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Nevertheless, though these should come unto you that have been your true preachers, and preach another way of salvation, than by Jesus Christ's death and passion, hold them accursed. Yea, if it were an angel come from heaven, and would tell you that the sacrifice of Christ's body upon the cross once for all, for all the sins of all those which shall be saved, were not sufficient; accursed be he. If he were an angel, or whatsoever he were, that would say that our service in English were not God's right service, but will better allow the most wicked mumming that you now have; those, whatsoever they be, except they do repent and allow the gospel of Jesus

Christ, they shall never come into that kingdom, that Christ hath prepared for those that be his. Wherefore, my dearly beloved brethren of Hadley, remember you well what you have been taught heretofore, of the Lord God's true and simple prophets, that only did wish your health and consolation.

"Do not, my good brethren, I pray you, forget the comfortable word of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, Come unto me, all you that are troubled and laden with the dangers that ye are in these stormy days. Israel hear my words, and believe Israel; and you shall see the unspeakable comfort that you shall receive. The Lord is my shepherd, saith the prophet David, so that I can want nothing. He feedeth his sheep in green pastures, and leadeth them unto clear and wholesome waters of comfort. I am that good Shepherd, saith our Saviour Jesus Christ, for I give my life for my sheep; and I know my sheep, and my sheep know me. But my sheep will not know an hireling: for he careth not but only for his god the belly, and so seeketh the destruction of their souls. Therefore beware of hirelings, you that count yourselves the sheep of Jesus Christ. Be sure that ye know his voice and obey it; and be not deceived through strange voices, but go from them, and earnestly abide by your profession that you have made in your baptism, and shrink not from it: for if you do, you shall declare yourselves to be a vain people, and without understanding. And for this cause doth God plague his people, and suffereth them to be deceived with false prophets and wicked men. I pray you note what the prophet Isaiah saith to the people of those days, because they were slipping from the Lord their God, which had done so marvellous works for them, as you well do know in the histories of the Bible: Hear, O heaven, saith he, and hearken, thou earth, for the Lord hath spoken: I have nourished and brought up children, but they have done wickedly against me. The ox hath known his owner, and the ass his master's crib; but Israel hath received no knowledge, my people hath no understanding. Alas 'for this sinful nation, a people of great iniquity, a froward generation, unnatural children. They have forsaken the Lord, they have provoked his wrath, and are gone backward. Hearken also what the prophet Jeremiah saith: Be astonished, ye heavens; be afraid and ashamed at such a thing, saith the Lord, for my people hath done two evils: they have forsaken me, the well of the waters of life, and digged them broken pits, that can hold no water. Is Israel a bond-servant, or one of the household of the Lord? Why then is he so spoiled? Why then do they roar and cry upon him as a lion? Understand those things now in these days that the prophet spake of them. O my brethren of Hadley! why cometh this plague upon us, that we have now, in these days and other times? Hearken what the prophet saith, Cometh not this upon thee because thou hast forsaken the Lord thy God? Thine own wickedness shall reprove thee, and thy turning away shall condemn thee, that thou mayest know and understand how evil and hurtful a thing it is, that thou hast forsaken the Lord thy God, and not feared him, saith the Lord of hosts, the Holy One of Israel; that is to say, he that maketh Israel holy. And understand by Israel the children of God; and those things that were spoken to the carnal Israel, are spoken unto us, that are or should be the spiritual Israel. Grace be with you all, Amen.

"YOUYS, JOHN ALCOCKE,
Prisoner for God's word in Newgate, at London."

The second epistle of John Alcocke.

"My brethren of Hadley, note well what St. Paul said, in the 10th chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians: Brethren, I would you should not be ignorant of this, that our fathers were all under the cloud, and all passed through the sea, and were baptized under Moses in the cloud and in the sea; and did eat one spiritual meat, and drank of one spiritual drink. They drank of that spiritual rock that followed them, which rock was Christ: nevertheless in many of them had God no delight, for they were over-smitten in the wilderness. These are examples unto us, that we should not lust after evil things as they lusted; that is to say, we should stand forth to defend the verity of God, which we would do right well, alas, were it not for loss of goods: we do so much lust after them, that we will rather say there is no God, than we will profess his word to be truth, to the losing of our goods. And our Saviour Christ saith, He that is not content to forsake father and mother, wife and children, house and land, corn and cattle, yea, and his own life, for my truth's sake, is not meet for me. And if we be not for our Lord God, then we must needs be meet for the devil; and we must needs be servants to one of them. If we be not ashamed of the gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, but earnestly confess it to the uttermost of our power, then are we sure to be confessed of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and that before the angels in heaven, to be his servants. But if we will so lust to keep our goods, and rather deny him than to lose our goods, then doth it follow whose servants we are. Therefore, my dear brethren of Hadley, beware that you do not consent to any thing against your conscience: for if you do, beware of God's great wrath.

"I exhort you therefore, my beloved brethren in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, to stand fast in your profession, and become not manifest runaways from the truth of our Lord God, but stick earnestly to it; and doubt not but our God will be unto you a strong defence and refuge in the needful time. Bow down thine ear, O Lord, (saith David, Psalm lxxxvi.) and hear me: for I am poor and in misery. Be merciful unto me, O Lord, for I will call daily upon thee: comfort the soul of thy servant; for unto thee, O Lord, do I lift up my soul. For thou, Lord, art good and gracious, and of great mercy unto all them that call upon thee. Give ear, Lord, unto my prayer, and ponder the voice of my humble petition. All nations whom thou hast made shall come and worship thee, O Lord, and shall glorify thy name: for thou art great, and dost wonderful things; thou art God alone. Teach me thy ways, O Lord, and I will walk in thy truth. O knit my heart unto thee, that I may fear thy name. I will thank thee, O my God, with all my heart, and will praise thy name for ever. O you Christian people of Hadley, comfort yourselves one another in these notable Psalms of David, and the whole Bible. Embrace the noble jewel of our Lord God, the Bible, and endeavour yourselves to walk the way that it doth teach you. My good brethren, we as helpers, saith St. Paul, do exhort you, that you receive not the grace of God in vain. For, behold, now is the accepted time, now is the day of salvation. Let us beware that we take sure hold while we have time; for time will away. While ye have the light walk in it, lest when ye would desire it ye cannot have it. Understand the light, to be the knowledge of Christ; and to obey, that is, to have the light. For that cause came our Saviour Jesus Christ, to make himself known; Unto those that did receive him, he gave power to be the sons of God; and so to be made inheritors of his kingdom, which shall never end. Who would not be glad to become the king's son, that he thereby might be partaker of the kingdom that never shall have end? O vain man! what art thou, that wilt refuse everlasting life for a day or two, or an hour, thou canst not tell how short? Open thine eyes, and see thine own comfort and refuge to Christ. O fly, and refuse this worldly wisdom; for worldly wisdom doth shut out the wisdom of

God. For the word of the cross is foolishness unto them that perish; but unto us which are saved, it is the power of God: for it is written, I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and will cast away the understanding of the prudent. Where are the wise? where are the scribes? where are the disputers of this world? hath not God made the wisdom of this world foolishness? For insomuch as the world, by the wisdom thereof, knew not God in his wisdom, it pleased God, through foolishness of preaching, to save them that believe. For the Jews require tokens, and the Greeks ask after wisdom; but we preach Christ crucified, saith St. Paul, to the Jews an occasion of falling, and unto the Greeks, (a people that are wise in their own conceits,) to them is the preaching of Christ crucified foolishness. But unto them that are called, both Jews and Greeks, we preach Christ, the power of God and the wisdom of God. For the foolishness of God is wiser than men, and the weakness of God is stronger than men.

"Brethren, look upon your calling, how that not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many of high degree are called. But that which is foolish before the world hath God chosen, that he might confound the wise; and that which is despised before the world hath he chosen, and that which is nothing, that he might destroy that which is aught, that no flesh should rejoice. Of the same are ye also in Christ Jesus, which is made of God unto us wisdom and righteousness, and sanctifying and redemption, according as it is written, He that rejoiceth, should rejoice in the Lord, &c.; that your faith should not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God. We speak of this wisdom among them that are perfect -- not the wisdom of this world, nor the rulers of this world, which go to nought -- but we speak of the wisdom of God, which the carnal man doth not understand. The natural man perceiveth nothing of the Spirit of God: it is foolishness with him. But God hath opened it to us by his Spirit; for the Spirit searcheth out all things. Wherefore, my dear brethren, try yourselves well, whether you have the Spirit of Christ, or no. If you have the Spirit of Christ, then are ye dead concerning sin; but ye are alive unto God through Jesus Christ. If this Spirit dwell in you, then will ye increase and go forward in your profession, and not fear what flesh may do unto the carcass. Therefore stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made you free, and be not wrapped up again in the yoke of bondage; that is to say, to go from God by wicked life, or serve God another way than he hath commanded in his holy word. I trust you go forward, my dear brethren and sisters, in your promise that you made to your Lord God in your baptism. I pray God open unto you the knowledge of himself, and lighten the eyes of your understanding, that you may know what is the hope of your calling, and what the riches of his glorious inheritance are upon the saints. For ye are the chosen generation, the kingly priesthood, that holy nation, that peculiar people, that should show the virtues of Him which hath called you out of darkness into his marvellous light; that is to say, to fear God, and to work righteousness, and so to receive the end of your faith, the salvation of your souls. This is a true saying: If we be dead with Christ, we shall live with him also. If we be patient, we shall also reign with him. If we deny him, he also will deny us. If we believe not, yet he abideth faithful, he cannot deny himself. The very God of peace sanctify you throughout, and I pray God that your spirit, soul, and bodies be kept blameless, unto the coming of our Lord Jesus. Faithful is he that hath called you, which will also do it. Brethren, pray for us, and greet all the brethren among you.

"By me, your brother in the Lord and Saviour Christ, John Alcock prisoner of the Lord at Newgate.

"Give glory to God.

"God be merciful to thee, O England, and send thee a great number of such faithful fathers and godly pastors, as Dr. Taylor was, to guide thee, feed thee, and comfort thee after thy great miseries and troubles, that thou hast suffered under the tyrannous captivity and rage of the Roman antichrist, and such ravening wolves, as have, without all mercy, murdered thy godly and learned preachers; and give all men grace to consider that such horrible plagues and mutations have justly fallen upon this realm for sin; and with unfeigned hearts to turn to God, who, as he hath scourged us with less plagues than we deserved, so he calleth us again by his undeserved and unspeakable mercy unto repentance and amendment of our living. It is doubtless now high time to turn unfeignedly to God, and to correct our sinful livings, and to remember what St. John Baptist saith: The axe is now set to the root of the tree, and every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit shall be hewn down and cast into the fire. For this may all men assure themselves of, both rich and poor, high and low, old and young, that the almighty, jealous, and righteous God, will not suffer the sinful and wicked life of the ungodly unrepentant, that contemn his mercy now proffered unto them, to be unpunished; but, as he hath from the beginning of the world showed himself a righteous judge, and punisher of wickedness, even so will he do still now.

"God expelled our first parents, Adam and Eve, from Paradise, and laid upon them and upon us all, these miseries, sickness, calamities, and death, that we daily feel, and miserably are oppressed withal. God in Noah's days drowned the whole world; only eight persons were preserved. God burnt up Sodom and Gomorrah with fire and brimstone from heaven, and destroyed those cities and all the country about. God gave over Jerusalem, called the holy city of God, and delivered his own people the Jews into perpetual captivity. If we seek the cause of these punishments, was it not sinful living and unrepentant hearts?

"What should I recite the calamity of other lands, seeing God's judgments have not been unexecuted upon this realm of England for sinful living? The old Britons were, with Cadwallader their king, constrained to flee and leave this land, because of pestilence and famine: what miseries and destructions brought the Danes in with them! and what troubles sustained the inhabitants of this realm afore the same were again driven out! What bloodshed was here in King William the Conqueror's days! were not the noblemen slain, and gentlemen brought into bondage? were not their matrons defiled, and their daughters given to be kitchen-drudges under the Normans' proud ladies? were not their lands, houses, and possessions divided by lot unto strangers? Their gold and silver wherein they trusted, was the bait that their enemies hunted after. What a plague was the civil war between the king and barons! what horrible bloodshed was in this realm! till at the last God's merciful providence ended those miseries by the happy joining of the two regal houses together, in the marriage of King Henry the Seventh. What miseries have chanced in our time, we have not only seen and heard, but we have felt them; and, God be praised, had our parts of them. Doubtless this all hath chanced for the sins of the people, as the prophet Jeremiah plainly teacheth, saying, Who is a wise man that understandeth this? and to whom shall the word of the Lord's mouth come, that he may preach it forth? Why hath the land perished, and is burnt like a wilderness, so that no man may pass through it? And the Lord saith, Because they have forsaken my law, which I have given them, and they have not heard my voice, and have not walked in them; and have gone after the vanity of their own hearts, after Baalim, and the images of Baal, which they have learned of their fathers. We see here plainly the contempt of God's word,

and of the preachers of the same, walking after their covetous minds and lewdness of their hearts, and following of their idolatrous inventions, brought the wrath of God upon the people, as witnessed also Jesus Sirach, saying, Because of unrighteous dealing, wrong, blasphemies, and divers deceits, a realm shall be translated from one people to another. And a little after he saith, The Lord hath brought the congregation of the wicked to dishonour, and destroyed them unto the end. God hath destroyed the seats of proud princes, and set up the meek in their stead. God hath withered the root of proud nations, and planted the lowly among them. God hath overthrown the lands of the heathen, and destroyed them unto the ground. He hath caused them to wither away: he hath brought them to nought, and made the memorial of them to cease from the earth. But what availeth it to read such threats of God, if we believe them not; or, if we believe them to be God's threats, and despise them? Doubtless, the Lord is righteous, a jealous God, a punisher of sin, as he himself saith: I punish the sins of the fathers upon their children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me. God give us grace to remember this, and with speedy and unfeigned repentance to turn unto God. I say unfeigned repentance, and not, alas! as we have done in times past, like hypocrites to dissemble with God and man, making God's holy word nothing else but a cloak to cover our malice, covetousness, whoredom, pride, excess, gluttony, wrath, envy, hatred, murder, with all other wicked living, most detestable in the sight of God. If men will well consider themselves, they have long enough dissembled, and heaped the wrath of God heavy enough upon their heads. It is now high time to become a new people, to amend indeed, and to follow the counsel of the Holy Ghost, saying unto us by the prophet Jeremy, Why do mortal men murmur against God? let them murmur against their own sins. Let us search our own ways, and let us seek and return unto the Lord. Let us lift up our hearts and hands unto the Lord in heaven, for we have done wickedly, and provoked the Lord to wrath: and therefore wilt thou not be entreated. Doubtless, the Lord will not be entreated, except men very earnestly turn unto him. We have felt in ourselves, and seen before our eyes, that when God striketh, no man can be able to abide the heavy stroke of his fist. He hath hitherto corrected us with mercy, as a Father; let us thank him, and return unfeignedly; so will he not extend his wrath as a Judge. His will is, that we should return and live, and not perish with the wicked. I live, saith the Lord, and will not the death of a sinner, but that he be converted and live. Here the godly oath certifieth us of forgiveness; and requireth an unfeigned conversion unto God, that is, that men acknowledge in heart their wicked living, and be sorry that ever they have with wicked living offended against that so good and loving a Father; and trust to have forgiveness through Christ's blood, and fully and firmly set their hearts to serve God, and to walk the ways of his commandments all the days of their life. Then shall we be true Christians, built upon the corner-stone Christ, not wavering or changing at every puff of wind, not seeking an epicurish life in all voluptuous and vain vanity: not ravening, extortioning, or with usury oppressing the poor and needy; but steadfast, unmovable, living in the fear of God's judgments, and trust upon his mercy, mortifying our brutish and carnal lusts, being merciful and helpful to the poor and needy, waiting for the blessed time when Christ shall call us, to be ready and accepted before him. Our merciful Lord and good Father grant us grace so to do, for the love of his dear Son Jesus Christ, our certain and most dear Saviour, to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour for ever and ever, Amen.

"Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints.

VOLUME 13

"These are they which are come out of great troubles; and have washed their clothes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb."

463. Certain Cautions of the Author to the Reader, of Things to Be Considered in Reading This Story.

Amongst other escapes and oversights in the edition of this story committed, part of them we leave to thine own gentle castigation, gentle reader: certain other specialties there be, whereof we thought it good and expedient to give thee warning, as hereafter followeth.

First, when mention is made of Peter's being at Rome, and suffering at Rome, following certain authors; yet forasmuch as other writers there be, and reasons to prove that he was not at Rome, I desire therefore that this my affirmation may not prejudice other men's judgments, if any see or can say further in that matter.

Touching the story of the Turks, whereas I, in following our Christian authors writing of the Turks, have noted Solyman to be the twelfth Turk after Ottoman, as they do all record; I have found since, by the computation of the Turks set forth in the table of their own descent, the said Solyman to be the sixth emperor of the Turks; and this Solyman his son, which now reigneth, to be but the twelfth. Which I thought here to signify unto thee, because of their own Turkish prophecy noted before, lest, in construing of that prophecy, being in the same place expounded, thou be deceived.

Item, Where Master George Blage is named to be one of the privy-chamber; here is to be noted also, that although he were not admitted as one of the privy chamber, yet his ordinary resort thither, and to the king's presence there, was such, as, although he were not one of them, yet was he so commonly taken.

Item, In the story of the duke of Somerset, where it is said, that at the return of the earl of Warwick out of Norfolk, there was a consultation amongst the lords assembling themselves together in the house of Master York, &c., against the duke of Somerset; here is to be noted, that the coming of the lords to the said house of Master York, was not immediately upon the duke of Northumberland's return; but first he went to Warwick, and from thence, after a space, came to the house aforesaid.

Item, Here is also to be noted touching the said duke of Somerset, that albeit at his death relation is made of a sudden falling of the people, as was at the taking of Christ, this is not to be expounded, as though I compared in any part the duke of Somerset with Christ.

And though I do something more attribute to the commendation of the said duke of Somerset, which died so constantly in his religion, yet I desire thee, gentle reader, so to take it, not that I did ever mean to derogate or impair the martial praise or facts of other men, which also are to be commended in such things where they well deserved.

Item, Touching the same duke of Somerset, where the story saith, he was "attainted," read "indicted."

Item, Where mention is made of one Nicholas Underwood to be the betrayer of the duke of Suffolk; join with the said Underwood also Nicholas Laurence, alias

Nicholas Ethel, keeper of Astleypark; who, taking upon him and promising to keep the duke for two or three days, until he might find some means to escape, conveyed him into a hollow tree, and after most traitorously betrayed him.

Item, In the story of Sir Thomas Wyatt there is also to be corrected, that whereas the story saith, that he was taken by Sir Clement Parson, which was not so, and he no such knight, amend it thus: "that he first came to Clarencius, being sent unto him, and afterward yielded him to Sir Maurice Barkley." Briefly and in general, besides these castigations above noted, if thou find any other committed in the printing hereof, gently I desire thee, gentle reader, to bestow a little pains with thine own hand to amend them.

464. Notes omitted of them that were Burnt at Bristol.

The eighth day of August was brought William chancellor, weaver, of Bristol, before one Dalby, chancellor of Bristol aforesaid; and by him committed to prison, and also condemned, for holding that the sacrament was a sign of a holy thing: also he denied, that the flesh and blood of Christ is there after their words of consecration. He was burnt the eighteenth of September, anno 1556, and as he went to the fire, he sung psalms. The sheriff, John Griffith, had prepared green wood to burn him; but one Master John Pikes, pitying the man, caused divers to go with him to Ridland, half a mile off, who brought good store of helme-sheaves, which indeed made good despatch with little pain, in comparison to that he should have suffered with the green wood. In the mean space, whilst they went for the sheaves, the said Sarton made many good exhortations to the people, and after died constantly and patiently with great joyfulness.

465. A Note of Prest's Wife, of Exeter.

In Cornwall, not far from Launceston, within the diocese of Exeter, in Queen Mary's days, dwelt a poor man, whose name was Prest; his wife being an honest woman, very simple, but of good zeal and upright life, being taught by God in hearing of his word, (albeit it was in those days very seldom preached any where,) and feeling a sweet taste thereof, framed her life anew after the rule of the same; and banished quite from her all the popish herself superstition and hypocrisy, and gave herself wholly to prayer, and invoking the name of God, both for the afflicted church of Christ, in those days very dangerously tossed and turmoiled; as also for her own inward contentation and spiritual consolation, which she not a little felt to her unspeakable joy and incomparable comfort. And when some, who before had known her, saw that marvellous change in her, and (as the cruel serpent) envied her felicity, they went upon the same immediately, and accused her to certain justices of the shire, being extreme enemies to the truth, and very persecutors of the same; who, taking the matter in hand, as very glad of such occasion, sent for her to the place where she was, and began at the second, if not at the first dash, to demand her belief in their popish sacrament of the altar.

The good door woman, who had learned not to be ashamed to confess her Master Christ before men, and to render account of her faith when it was asked, told freely and frankly her opinion therein, and hid back nothing that either she thought might profit them, if they had any grace to receive it, or else might sound to God's glory and praise, though it were never so much by them threatened and rebuked. Whereupon she was forthwith committed to the gaol of Launceston, where she remained a quarter of a year, or thereabouts; and afterwards was despatched of that vile and filthy prison, and delivered over to the hands of two champions of the pope's, the one called Dr. Raynolds, dean of Exeter, and the other named Master Blaxton, treasurer of the same church; men surely fervent hot in the furtherance of the Romish affairs, and in withstanding the truth of the pure evangelical gospel. So the time that this good poor woman was under their hands, she had many sore conflicts by them. And the said Blaxton having a concubine, which sundry times resorted to him with other of his gossips, always when they came, this said good woman was called forth to his house; and there, to make his minion with the rest of his company some mirth, he would examine her with such mocking manner, deriding the truth, that it would have vexed any Christian soul to have seen it. Then when he had long used his foolishness in this sort, and had sported himself enough in deriding this Christian martyr, in the end he sent her to prison again, and there kept her very miserably, saving sometimes he would send for her, when his foresaid guest came to him, to use with her his accustomed folly aforesaid. But in fine, the vile wretches, (after many combats and scoffing persuasions,) wherein they played the part of a cat with a mouse, at length they condemned her, and delivered her over to the secular power, who within short space after most cruelly brought her forth to the place where she should suffer; and there, in great contempt of the truth, (which she most constantly confessed,) they consumed her carcass immediately with fire into ashes; which she very patiently suffered and most joyfully received, yielding her soul and life unto the Lord, and her body to the tormentors; for the which the Lord's name therefore be praised, Amen.

466. The Martyrdom of One Snel, Burnt About Richmond in Queen Mary's Time, Omitted in This History.

At Bedale, a market town in Yorkshire, were two men in the latter days of Queen Mary, the one named John Snel and the other Richard Snel; who, being suspected for religion, were sent unto Richmond, where Dr. Dakins had commission from the bishop of Chester, to have the examination of them.

This Dr. Dakins many times conferred with them, sometimes threatening fire and faggot if they would not recant, and sometimes flattering them with fair fables if they would return into the holy catholic church. But they stood constantly to the sure rock Jesus Christ, in whom they put their whole trust and confidence, whilst at last, being so sore imprisoned that their toes rotted off, and the one of them could not go without crutches, they brought them to the church by compulsion, where the one of them heard their abominable mass, having a certain sum of money given him by the benevolence of the people, and so departed thence: but the first news that was heard of him within three or four days, was, that he had drowned himself in a river running by Richmond, called Swaile.

Immediately; after, Dr. Dakins giving sentence that the other should be burnt, came home to his house and never joyed after, but died. The commissary of Richmond, named Hillings, preached at his burning, exhorting him to return to the church; but his labour was in vain, the constant martyr standing strongly to the faith which he professed.

Then, being brought to the stake, whereunto he was tied by a girdle of iron, there was given unto him gunpowder, and a little straw was laid under his feet and set round about with small wood and tar-barrels; the fire was put in the straw, which by and by flaming about his head, he cried thrice together, "Christ help me:" insomuch that one Robert Atkinson, being present, said, "Hold fast there, and we will all pray for thee!" Thus this blessed martyr ended his life.

467. A Story of One Laremouth, Omitted in This History.

Albeit I am loth to insert any thing in this book which may seem incredible or strange to ordinary working for quarrelling adversaries, which do nothing but spy what they may cavil: yet, forasmuch as, besides other reporters, the person is yet alive, called Thorne, a godly minister, which heard it of the mouth of the party himself, I thought therefore, first, for the incredible strangeness thereof, neither to place this story in the body of these Acts and Monuments, and yet in some out-corner of the book not utterly to pass it untouched, for the reader to consider it, and to credit it as he seeth cause. The story is this: There was one Laremouth, otherwise called Williamson, chaplain to the Lady Anne of Cleve, a Scottishman, to whom, being in prison in Queen Mary's days, it was said, (as he thought,) thus sounding in his ears, "Arise and go thy ways." Whereunto when he gave no great heed at the first, the second time it was said to him again, in the same words. Upon this, as he fell to his prayers, it was said the third time likewise to him, "Arise and go thy ways;" which was about half an hour after. So he arising upon the same, immediately a piece of the prison wall fell down, and as the officers came in at the outward gate of the castle or prison, he, leaping over the ditch, escaped, and in the way, meeting a certain beggar, changed his coat with him, and coming to the sea-shore, where he found a vessel ready to go over, was taken in, and escaped the search, which was straitly laid for him in all the country over.

468. A Letter of William Hunter

A little short letter of William Hunter, sent out of prison to his mother a little before his martyrdom, to be referred and placed in his story.

"Most reverend and loving mother, after my most humble wise I have me most heartily commended unto you, desiring you to pray unto God most heartily for me, that I may have his blessing and yours, the which I esteem more worth unto me than any worldly treasure. In this present letter you shall understand the cause of my writing unto you at this time, that I am in good health and prosperity, as ever I was in this present life. Wherefore I render thanks unto Almighty God for it, who alone is most worthy of all praise, trusting in God you be in health also. Furthermore, I certify you wherefore my father continueth here, to the intent to hear some godly and joyful tidings both for soul and body, which I trust it shall be to your singular comfort and consolation, and to the great rejoicing of all other of my friends. Therefore I desire you, gentle mother, to admonish my brother unto a godly life with diligent attendance, and to pray for me, considering his bounden duty, that God may, by your faithful prayer, aid and strengthen me in this my prosperous journey and course which I run, trusting to obtain a crown of everlasting life, which doth ever endure. -- No more unto you at this time, but God preserve you unto everlasting life. So be it."

469. An Oration of Nicholas Bacon

The oration in effect of Sir Nicholas Bacon, knight, lord keeper of the great seal of England, spoken in the Star Chamber the twenty-ninth of December, in the tenth year of the reign of our sovereign Lady Elizabeth, by the grace of God of England, France, and Ireland, queen, defender of the faith, &c. And in the year of our Lord God 1567; then being present as under: --

Matthew, archbishop of Canterbury.
William, marquis of Northampton.
Francis, earl of Bedford.
Lord Clinton, admiral of England.
William Howard, lord chamberlain.
The bishop of London.
Lord Grey of Wilton.
Sir Edward Rogers, knight.
Sir Ambrose Cave, knight, chancellor of the duchy.
Sir William Cecil, knight, principal secretary.
Sir Francis Knollis, knight, vice-chamberlain.
Sir Walter Mildmay, knight, chancellor of the Exchequer.
Lord Cattelene, chief justice of the King's Bench.
Lord Dyer, chief justice of the Common Pleas.
Sir William Cordell, knight, master of the Rolls.
Justice Western, Justice Welsh, Justice Southcote, Justice Carrus.

"It is given to the queen's Majesty to understand, that certain of her subjects, by their evil dispositions, do sow and spread abroad divers seditions, to the derogation and dishonour, first of Almighty God, in the state of religion stablished by the laws of this realm, and also to the dishonour of her Highness, in disproving her lawful right of supremacy amongst her subjects. And this that they do, is not done as in secrecy or by stealth, but openly avouched, and in all companies disputed on. And thus, by their bold attempts, they seem not to obey or regard the authority of laws, nor the quiet of her subjects. As for example, by bringing in and spreading abroad divers lewd libels and seditious books from beyond the seas; and in such boldness, that they do commend those writers in their seditious books, containing manifest matter against the estate established. Which boldness of men, so universally and every where seen and heard, cannot be thought to be done but by the comfort and aid, or at the least way winked at by them whom the queen's Highness hath placed in authority to repress these insolencies. And the queen's Highness cannot more justly charge any for this disorder, than such who be in commissions chosen to repress these disorders.

"If it be answered me, that they cannot see such open boldness and factious disorders, I must say that they have no eyes to see; and if they hear not of such contemptuous talk and speech, I may say that they have no ears. I would have those men judge what will come of these unbridled speeches in the end, if reformatations be not had thereof. What cometh of factions and seditions, we have been taught of late

years, and what the fruits thereof be, which I beseech God long to defend us from. If such disorders be not redressed by law, then must force and violence reform: which when they take place, may fortune to fall as soon on them that seem to have least consideration in this matter. If force and violence prevail, then ye know that law is put to silence, and cannot be executed, which should only maintain good order. If it be replied against me, that to the suppressing of these open talks there is no law, which by special letter can charge any man offender; I must say, that whatsoever the letter of the law be, the meaning of the law was and is clean contrary to the liberty of these doings. If it be said, that no man can be charged by the law, except it can be proved against him, that his speech and deeds be done maliciously; what ye call malice, I cannot tell. But, if the bringing in of these seditious books make men's minds to be at variance one with another, distraction of minds maketh seditions, seditions bring in tumults, tumults work insurrections and rebellion, insurrections make depopulations and desolations, and bring in utter ruin and destruction of men's bodies, goods, and lands: and if any sow the root whereof these men come, and yet it can be said that he hath no malice, or that he doth not maliciously labour to destroy both public and private wealth, I cannot tell what act may be thought to be done maliciously.

"And further, if it be said to me, that the man which should be charged with offence, must be proved to have done his act advisedly: to that I answer, If any bring in those books, distribute them to others, commend and defend them, and yet cannot be charged to have done advisedly, I have no skill of their advisedness. If it be said, that the law entreateth of such acts as be directly derogatory, and of none other; what is direct overthwarting the law, when the contrary thereof is plainly treated, holden, and defended, and the truth by arguments condemned? It may be said again, that the world doth not now like extremity in laws penal, and calleth them bloody laws. As for extreme and bloody laws, I have never liked of them; but where the execution of such laws toucheth half a dozen offenders, and the non-execution may bring in danger half a hundred, I think this law nor the execution thereof may justly be called extreme and bloody. In such-like comparison I may utter my meaning, as to make a difference between whipping and hanging. Indeed, though whipping may be thought extreme, yet if, by whipping, a man may escape hanging, in this respect, not whipping bringeth in this bloodiness and extremity, and not the execution of the law; and better it were, a man to be twice whipped, than once hanged: the pains do differ, but wise men will soon consider the diversity. The truth is, to suffer disobedient subjects to take boldness against the laws of God and their prince, to wink at the obstinate minds of such as be unbridled in their affections; to maintain a foreign power of the bishop of Rome, directly against the prince's prerogative stablished by laws, is not this to hatch dissension, and to cherish sedition? To extol the writings of such, who, by all their wits, devise to supplant the prince's lawful authority? If these doings be not means to the disturbance and utter ruin of this realm, I know not what is good governance. If these be not the sparks of rebellion, what be they?

"Thus much having spoken to your Wisdoms, I doubt not of your assenting with me; the rather also because I utter them unto you as from the queen's Majesty by commandment, who doth require of us all a more diligence in execution of laws, than is spied commonly abroad: whereby we shall do our duties to Almighty God the better, declare our allegiance to our sovereign, regard the majesty of the laws, love the quiet of our country, and procure the safety of ourselves.

"God save the queen."

470. Richard Atkins.

And here, I trust, we are now come to an end of all our English martyrs which hitherto have been burnt for the verity of the gospel, if we add besides to the same a godly countryman of ours, one named Richard Atkins, a Hertfordshire man, who of late, about two years past, in the reign of this our gracious queen, anno 1581, most miserably was tormented at Babylon, that is, in the city of Rome. The cause and manner of whose suffering and martyrdom here ensue, taken out of a certain late printed story, and testified by such as were present, witnesses and beholders of the same most tragical execution. The purport of which story in words, as it is put down by the said reporter, hereunder followeth.

"About the month of July, anno 1581, one Richard Atkins, born in Hertfordshire, an Englishman, came to Rome, and having found the English college, knocked at the door; to whom divers of the students there came out, to welcome him, understanding that he was an Englishman. Among other talk had with him they willed him to go to the hospital, and there to receive his meat and lodging, according as the order was appointed: whereunto he answered, 'I come not, my countrymen, to any such intent, as you judge; but I come lovingly to rebuke the great disorder of your lives, which I grieve to hear, and pity to behold. I come likewise to let your proud antichrist understand, that he doth offend the heavenly Majesty, rob God of his honour, and poisoneth the whole world with his abominable blasphemies; making them do homage to stocks and stones, and that filthy sacrament, which is nothing else but a foolish idol.' When they heard these words, one Hugh Griffin, a Welshman, and student in the college, caused him to be put in the inquisition; where, how they examined him, and how he answered them, I know not, but after certain days he was set at liberty again. And one day, going in the street, he met a priest carrying the sacrament, which offending his conscience, to see the people so crouch and bow down to it, he caught at it to have thrown it down; but missing of his purpose, and it being judged by the people, that he did catch at the holiness that (they say) cometh from the sacrament, upon mere devotion, he was let pass, and nothing said to him. A few days after he came to St. Peter's church, where divers gentlemen and others were hearing mass, and the priest at the elevation; he using no reverence, stepped among the people to the altar, and threw down the chalice with the wine, striving likewise to have pulled the cake out of the priest's hands; for which divers rose up and beat him with their fists, and one drew his rapier, and would have slain him: so that, in brief, he was carried to prison, where he was examined wherefore he had committed such a heinous offence: whereunto he answered, that he came purposely for that intent, to rebuke the pope's wickedness, and their idolatry. Upon this he was condemned to be burned; which sentence, he said, he was right willing to suffer, and the rather because the sum of his offence pertained to the glory of God.

"During the time he remained in prison, sundry Englishmen came unto him, willing him to be sorry for that he had done, and to recant from his damnable opinion; but all the means they used were in vain, he confuted their dealings by divers places of Scripture, and willed them to be sorry for their wickedness, while God did permit them time; else they were in danger of everlasting damnation. These words made the Englishmen depart; for they could not abide to hear them.

"Within a while after, he was set upon an ass without any saddle, he being from the middle upward naked, having some English priests with him to talk with him; but he regarded them not, but spake to the people in so good language as he could, and told them they were in a wrong way, and therefore willed them, for Christ's sake, to have regard to the saving of their souls. All the way as he went, there were four that did nothing else but thrust at his body with burning torches, whereat he never moved, nor shrunk one jot, but with a cheerful countenance laboured to persuade the people, often bending his body to meet the torches, as they were thrust at him; and would take them in his own hand, and hold them burning still upon his body, whereat the people not a little wondered. Thus he continued almost the space of half a mile, till he came before St. Peter's, where the place of execution was.

"When he was come to the place of execution, there they had made a device, not to make the fire about him, but to burn his legs first, which they did, he not dismayed any whit, but suffering all marvellously cheerfully; which moved the people to such a quandary as was not in Rome many a day. Then they offered him a cross, and willed him to embrace it, in token that he died a Christian; but he put it away with his hand, telling them that they were evil men, to trouble him with such paltry, when he was preparing himself to God, whom he beheld in majesty and mercy, ready to receive him into eternal rest. They seeing him in this mind, departed, saying, Let us go and leave him to the devil, whom he serves.' Thus ended this faithful soldier and martyr of Christ, who is, no doubt, in glory with his Master: whereunto God grant us all to come, Amen."

This is faithfully avouched by John Young, who was at that time and a good while after in Rome, in service with Master Doctor Morton; who seeing the martyrdom of this man, when he came home to his house, in presence of Master Smith his son, Master Creed, and the said John Young, spake as followeth:

"Surely this fellow was marvellous obstinate, he nothing regarded the good counsel which was used to him, nor shrank all the way when the torches were thrust at his naked body. Beside, in the place of execution he did not faint nor cry one jot in the fire, albeit they tormented him very cruelly, and burnt him by degrees, as his legs first, to put him to the greater pain; yet all this he did but smile at. Doubtless, but that the word of God cannot but be true, else we might judge this fellow to be of God; for who could have suffered so much pain as he did? but truly I believe the devil was in him."

471. Dr. Story, Persecutor

The cursed life, and bloody end, of Dr. Story, a cruel persecutor of Christ in his members.

I had thought, Christian reader, here to have made an end, and to have concluded the volume of this book, had not the remembrance of Dr. Story, an arch-enemy to Christ's gospel, and bloody persecutor of God's people, come into my mind. The discourse of whose life and doings, I thought good here briefly to lay open to the view of the world, as followeth. This Dr. Story, being an Englishman by birth, and from his infancy not only nursed in papistry, but also even as it were by nature earnestly affected to the same, and growing somewhat to riper years, in the days of Queen Mary became a bloody tyrant, and cruel persecutor of Christ in his members; as all the stories in this book almost do declare. Thus he raging all the reign of the foresaid Queen Mary against the infallible truth of Christ's gospel, and the true professors thereof, never ceased till he had consumed to ashes two or three hundred blessed martyrs, who willingly gave their lives for the testimony of his truth. And thinking their punishment in the fire not cruel enough, he went about to invent new torments for the holy martyrs of Christ, such was his hatred to the truth of Christ's gospel. But, in the end, the Lord God, looking upon the affliction and cruel bloodshedding of his servants, took away Queen Mary, the great pillar of papistry. After whom succeeded Lady Elizabeth, now queen of England, who staying the bloody sword of persecution from raging any further, caused the same Dr. Story to be apprehended, and committed to ward, with many other his complices, sworn enemies to Christ's glorious gospel. The said Story, having been a while detained in prison, at the last, by what means I know not, brake forth of hold, and conveyed himself over the seas, where he continued a most bloody persecutor, still raging against God's saints with fire and sword. Insomuch as he, growing to be familiar and right dear to the duke of Alva in Antwerp, received special commission from him to search the ships for goods forfeited, and for English books, and such like.

And in this favour and authority he continued there for a space, by the which means he did much hurt, and brought many a good man and woman to trouble and extreme peril of life through his bloodthirsty cruelty: but at the last the Lord (when the measure of his iniquity was full) proceeded in judgment against him, and cut him off from the face of the earth, according to the prayers of many a good man; which came to pass in order as followeth. It being certainly known (for the bruit thereof was gone forth into all lands) that he not only intended the subversion and overthrow of his native country of England, by bringing in foreign hostility, if by any means he might compass it, but also daily and hourly murdered God's people, there was this platform laid, (by God's providence no doubt,) that one Master Parker, a merchant, should sail unto Antwerp, and by some means convey Story into England.

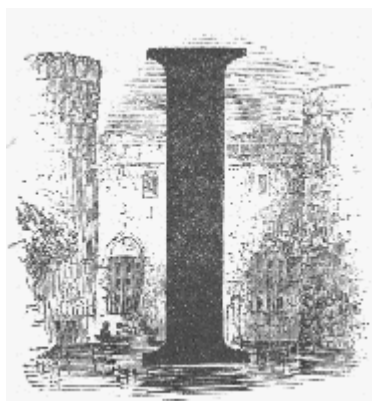
This Parker arriving at Antwerp, suborned certain to repair to Dr. Story, and to signify unto him that there was an English ship, fraught with merchandise, and that if he would make search thereof himself, he should find store of English books, and other things for his purpose. Story, hearing this, and suspecting nothing, made haste towards the ship, thinking to make the same his prey; and coming aboard, searched

for English heretical books (as he called them); and going down under the hatches, because he would be sure to have their blood if he could, they clapped down the hatches, hoisted up their sails, having (as God would) a good gale, and sailed away into England; where they arriving, presented this bloody butcher, and traitorous rebel Story, to the no little rejoicing of many an English heart. He, being now committed to prison, continued there a good space: during all which time he was laboured and solicited daily by wise and learned fathers, to recant his devilish and erroneous opinions, to conform himself to the truth, and to acknowledge the queen's supremacy. All which he utterly denied to the death, saying, that he was sworn subject to the king of Spain, and was no subject to the Queen of England, nor she his sovereign queen; and therefore (as he well deserved) he was condemned as a traitor to God, the queen's Majesty, and the realm, to be drawn, hanged, and quartered; which was performed accordingly, he being laid upon a hurdle, and drawn from the Tower along the streets to Tyburn, where he, being hanged till he was half dead, was cut down and stripped; and (which is not to be forgotten) when the executioner had performed his last office, he, rushing up upon a sudden, gave him a blow upon the ear, to the great wonder of all that stood by. And thus ended this bloody Nimrod his wretched life, whose judgment I leave to the Lord.

472. Queen Mary's Scourge of Persecution.

Considering the great and terrible scourge of persecution in the time of Queen Mary, and recounting the number of them that, under some part or other of the cross, were at that time afflicted and molested, I suppose from the highest to the lowest under the queen herself, no condition, state, degree, age, or calling of person or persons, can be reckoned, which at the same time escaped free and untouched without some print of the Lord's cross upon them. In the number and catalogue of whom, first, to begin with the most noble and renowned, the only sister of the queen herself, also the only and next heir then, now just possessor of the crown of England, Queen Elizabeth, (whose shoulders sustained then no small portion of that cross of Christ,) and so, from her Majesty, descending to all and singular states inferior; what vocation or condition here was excepted! whether he or they were archbishop, duchess, bishops, archdeacons, deans, priests, ministers, deacons, gentlemen, lawyers, merchants, artificers, soldiers, rich, poor men, women, wife, widow, virgin, old men, young men, boys, infants, blind, halt, and lame -- and what state else can be reckoned of men, which, from some touch of this scourge, was exempted -- and so, what condition, I say, of men escaped the papists' hands, in the time of Queen Mary, without affliction and danger, insomuch that, coming to the lowest of all other, one poor hermit (being but one then, as I think, in all the realm) could not pass their hands without open penance and other molestations, as, in the story here following, to the reader may appear.

473. Thomas Parkinson



N the last year of Queen Mary, anno 1558, Thomas Parkinson, of the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield, being of the sect of Anchorite, was produced before Dr. Draycot, upon the suspicion to have a wife: he was examined as followeth. Being asked what age he is now of, he saith, that he shall be, at Whitsuntide next, seventy years old, and was born and christened in a town called Bedale in Yorkshire; and was son to one Thomas Parkinson, bailiff of Thirsk in the same county of York; and when he was twelve years old, he was set to the tailor's craft, to one Thomas Dent, of Thirsk, and served him for seven or eight years, as his apprentice: and, after that, before he was twenty years old, he took to wife one Agnes, the daughter of Hugh Hallywell, dwelling in the franchise of Ripon, being a maid of twenty-four years; and was married to her in Thirsk, by one Sir William Day, then curate there; and, within two years after their marriage together, his wife was delivered of a man-child, which, although while it was in her body, did stir and live, (as she and other perceived,) yet, after the birth, it was dead, so as it could not be christened; insomuch as the midwife, and other women with her, buried the said child, as they said, in the fields -- where, he (this examine) cannot tell. And, within three weeks after, it chanced that a raven had gotten up the said child out of the ground, and torn the clothes from about the same child, and had begun to break into the said child, to feed upon it; and had brought it into a tree, near unto the churchyard of Thirsk, upon a Saturday, a little before even-song time. And, as the people and the priest before named saw the same child, they made means to drive away the raven, and to get the child from him; so that they, reasoning among themselves whose child it should be, did judge that it was this examine's child that was dead-born, and buried in the fields. "And the said William Day came home to this examine and asked him for his child, and he showed him that the women had buried it in the fields, which the priest also examined of the women, and found it to be true; and then he showed this examine of the bringing of the child by the raven. Whereupon this examine and his wife were there-withal stricken with repentance to God-ward, and each of them vowed themselves from thenceforth to live chaste and solitary, insomuch as, this examine, when he was but twenty-two or twenty-three years old, professed the order of Saint Francis at Richmond, five miles from Madlam, and was a hermit or penitentiary at Thirsk, and kept the chapel of Saint Giles at the end of the town of Thirsk. And his wife also was sister of Saint Francis's order, and had a bead-woman's room at Northallerton, by the help of Sir James Strangeways, knight; and after he had kept the order of Saint Francis two or three years, he determined to live a more hard and strait life, and to be an Anchorite, and to seclude himself from the company of the world. And, thereupon, he was first closed up in a little house in the church-porch at Thirsk, where he lived, by the help of good people, two years, before he was professed; and when it was perceived that he liked that kind of life and could endure the same, there was a chapel and a place provided for him in the Mount of Grace, above the Charter-house, by Queen Katharine, and he was professed in that house by one Dr. Makerel, then suffragan to Cardinal Wolsey, and the suffragan had of this examine's friends, for

his profession, five pounds; and there this examine remained twelve years and more in that house, and his wife would sometimes take one of his sisters, and come over and see how this examine did; but she died six or seven years before this examine came out of his house, and, after this, came Doctor Lee, and he pulled this examine out of his house, and the monks also out of the charter-house, so as this examine was driven to go abroad to get his living of good people; and when he could get any work to get a penny, to take it: howbeit he kept his habit still. Then he went to London, and there was amongst his friends, that had seen him at Mount Grace, and thence he went to Lincolnshire, thinking to have the Anchorite's house at Stamford, but it would not be as then. He was counselled by Sir John Harrington, then sheriff, to change his habit from grey, which he then wore, to black; and so he wandered from place to place in a black habit like a priest. And at length, about nine years past, he came into Shropshire, to Bridgenorth, and there, by chance, fell in acquaintance with one Elizabeth, which was wife to one William Romney, a tinker, that died there. And, forasmuch as he had in these days both punishment and trouble, for declaring himself a professed man to the order of an Anchorite, and was plainly showed that it was against God's commandment that any man should make any such vow, he therefore, in that point, being partly persuaded, and crediting the same, was the rather moved to desire the said Elizabeth Romney to be his wife; and she thereunto agreeing, they were married together about six years past in the chapel, within the castle of Bridgenorth, by one Sir William Malpas, that is now dead. And so they dwelled together in the lower town of Bridgenorth, this examine using the tailor's craft, and going abroad into the country to get his living and his wife's, and came not home some time, for a month together. Being asked what moved him to marry, he said that he was foul troubled with vermin, and had no help of washing and tending, as was requisite, nor had any house to be in; and so made his moan to this woman; and then she being troubled, as she said, with certain unruly children of hers, and could not be quiet for them, was content to go with this examine, and to be his wife. Being asked if he knew her not carnally, as men do their wives, he utterly denieth the same; and sayeth that it was not meant of any of them. Being asked how he chanced to come to this town, he saith that he was moved in conscience to the observance of his former profession, now, since the queen's reign; and the hiring of this house here at Stow, where an Anchorite had been before, made means to my Lady Gifford of his intent, not declaring any thing that he was married; and the said Lady Gifford wrote to Sir T. Fitzherbert, to move the lord bishop in his favour, and so the said Sir Thomas did, and gat my Lord's favour in that behalf. Being asked, if my Lord did, of new, profess him into the religion, he saith, nay; but did put him into the house, and restored him to his former religion and profession. Being asked where his wife was, when he came hither to be closed up, he said, she was at Bridgenorth, and knew nothing of his mind that he purposed to return to his religion; howbeit he showed her that he would go to Lichfield; -and then about Whitsuntide last she came hither to hearken for this examine. And he said, that it was communed between him and her, that she should go to Worcester and be an Anchoress there, but that she fell sick and was not able to go. Again, being asked when she was last with him, he said that she was with him upon Palm Sunday last, and had nothing to do or say to him, but asked him how he did. They asked moreover what moved her to come to town that day: to whom he said, that she came for her clothes that were in the town there. Furthermore, they asked him whether he showed Sir Thomas Fitzherbert that he was married. He said, nay, but he showed him that he had a sister, who was a poor woman, and was desirous that she should attend him; which was the said Elizabeth that he married at

Bridgenorth." For this cause the papists, suspecting the poor hermit to have a wife, (as he had indeed,) therefore, after other molestations, enjoined him penance:-- to go before the cross barefoot, and bare-legged, in the cathedral church of Lichfield, with a taper, and I cannot tell what, in his hand, &c.; and, at Easter, cast him into a close cabin, there to remain, till he heard more of the bishop's pleasure.

474. A Note of Ralph Lurdane, Persecutor of George Eagles.

In the history of George Eagles, alias Trudgeover-the-World, mention is made of his apprehension in a corn-field, where, by the benefit of the height of the corn, and breadth of the field, he had escaped, had not one of his persecutors, with more malicious craft, climbed a high tree to view over the place, and so descried him. This persecutor, named Ralph Lurdane, (as we have since learned,) a lewd fellow of life for theft and whoredom, was, within few years after he had apprehended the foresaid George Eagles for gain of money, attached of felony for stealing a horse, condemned, and hanged in the same place and town of Chelmsford, where George Eagles before suffered martyrdom.

475. A Brief Note Concerning the Horrible Massacre in France, anno 1572.



The Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Eve

Here, before the closing up of this book, in no case would be unremembered the tragical and furious massacre in France, wherein were murdered so many hundreds and thousands of God's good martyrs. But because the true narration of this lamentable story is set forth in English at large, in a book by itself, and extant in print already, it shall the less need now to discourse that matter with any new repetition; only a brief touch of summary notes for remembrance may suffice. And first, for brevity' sake to overpass the bloody butchery of the Romish catholics in Orange against the protestants, most fiercely and unawares breaking into their houses, and there, without mercy, killing man, woman, and child; of whom some being spoiled and naked, they threw out of their lofts info the streets, some they smothered in their houses with smoke, with sword and weapon sparing none, the carcasses of some they threw to dogs; which was anno 1570, in the reign of Charles the Ninth. Likewise to

pass over the cruel slaughter at Rouen, where the protestants being at a sermon without the city-walls, upon the king's edict, the catholics in fury ran upon them coming home, and slew of them above forty at least; many more they wounded. This example at Rouen stirred up the papists in Dieppe to practise the like rage also against the Christians there returning from the sermon; whose slaughter had been the greater, had they not more wisely before been provided of weapons for their own defence at need: all which happened about the same year aforesaid, anno 1570. But these with such like I briefly overslip, to enter now into the matter above promised, that is, briefly to entreat of the horrible and most barbarous massacre wrought in Paris, such as I suppose was never heard of before, in any civil dissension amongst the very heathen. In few words to touch the substance of the matter:

After long troubles in France, the catholic side, foreseeing no good to be done against the protestants by open force, began to devise how by crafty means to entrap them, and that by two manner of ways: the one by pretending a power to be sent into the lower country, whereof the admiral to be the captain; not that the king so meant indeed, but only to understand thereby what power and force the admiral had under him, who they were, and what were their names. The second was by a certain marriage suborned, between the prince of Navarre and the king's sister. To this pretended marriage, it was devised that all the chiefest protestants of France should be invited, and meet in Paris. Among whom first they began with the queen of Navarre, mother to the prince that should marry the king's sister, attempting by all means possible to obtain her consent thereunto. She, being then at Rochelle, and allured by many fair words to repair unto the king, consented at length to come, and was received at Paris; where she, after much ado, at length being won to the king's mind, and providing for the marriage, shortly upon the same fell sick, and within five days departed, not without suspicion, as some said, of poison. But her body being opened, no sign of poison could there be found, save only that a certain apothecary made his brag, that he had killed the queen by certain venomous odours and smells by him confected.

After this, notwithstanding, the marriage still going forward, the admiral, the prince of Navarre, Conde, with divers other chief states of the protestants, induced by the king's letters and many fair promises, at last were brought to Paris; where with great solemnity they were received, but especially the admiral. To make the matter short, the day of the marriage came, which was the eighteenth of August, anno 1572. Which marriage being celebrated and solemnized by the cardinal of Bourbon upon a high stage set up of purpose without the church walls, the prince of Navarre and Conde came down, waiting for the king's sister being then at mass. This done, they resorted all together to the bishop's palace to dinner. At evening they were had to a palace in the middle of Paris to supper. Not long after this, being the twenty-second of August, the admiral, coming from the council-table, by the way, was struck with a pistolet, charged with three pellets, in both his arms. He being thus wounded, and yet still remaining in Paris, although the vidame gave him counsel to flee away, it so fell out that certain soldiers were appointed in divers places of the city to be ready at a watchword at the commandment of the prince; upon which watchword given, they burst out to the slaughter of the protestants, first beginning with the admiral himself, who, being wounded with many sore wounds, was cast out of the window into the street, where, his head being first struck off, and embalmed with spices to be sent to the pope, the savage people raging against him, cut off his arms and privy members.

And so, drawing him three days through the streets of Paris, they dragged him unto the place of execution out of the city, and there hanged him up by his heels, to the greater show and scorn of him.

After the martyrdom of this good man, the armed soldiers with rage and violence ran upon all other of the same profession, slaying and killing all the protestants they knew or could find within the city gates enclosed. This bloody slaughter continued the space of many days, but especially the greatest slaughter was in the three first days, in which were numbered to be slain, as the story writeth, above ten thousand men, women, old and young, of all sorts and conditions. The bodies of the dead were carried in carts to be thrown in the river: so that not only the river was all stained therewith, but also whole streams, in certain places of the city, did run with gore blood of the slain bodies. So great was the outrage of that heathenish persecution, that not only the protestants, but also certain, whom they thought indifferent papists, they put to the sword instead of protestants. In the number of them that were slain of the more learned sort, was Petrus Ramus, also Lambinus, another notorious learned man; Plateanus, Lomenius, Chapusius, with others.

And not only within the walls of Paris this uproar was contained, but it extended further into other cities and quarters of the realm, especially Lyons, Orleans, Toulouse, and Rouen: in which cities it is almost incredible, nor scarce ever heard of in any nation, what cruelty was showed, what numbers of good men were destroyed; insomuch that within the space of one month thirty thousand, at least, of religious protestants are numbered to be slain, as is credibly reported and storied in the commentaries of them which testify purposely of the matter.

Furthermore here is to be noted, that when the pope first heard of this bloody stir, he, with his cardinals made such joy at Rome, with their procession, with their gunshot, and singing of Te Deum, that in honour of that festival act, a jubilee was commanded by the pope with great indulgence, and much solemnity. Whereby thou hast here to discern and judge, with what spirit and charity these catholics are moved to maintain their religion, which otherwise would fall to the ground without all hope of recovery. Likewise in France, no less rejoicing there was upon the twenty-eighth day of the said month, the king commanding public processions through the whole city to be made, with bonfires, ringing, and singing; where the king himself, with the queen his mother, and his whole court resorting together to the church, gave thanks and laud to God, for that so worthy a victory achieved upon St. Bartholomew's day against the protestants, whom they thought to be utterly overthrown and vanquished in all the realm for ever.

And in very deed, to man's thinking it might appear no less after such a great destruction of the protestants, having lost so many worthy and noble captains as then were cut off, whereupon many, for fear revoking their religion, returned to the pope, divers fled out of the realm, such as would not turn, keeping themselves secret, durst not be known nor seen, so that it was past all hope of man, that the gospel should ever have any more place in France. But such is the admirable working of the Lord, where man's help and hope most fail, there he most showeth his strength and helpeth, as here is to be seen and noted. For whereas the little small remnant of the gospel side, being now brought to utter desperation, were now ready to give over unto the king, and many were gone already against conscience, yielding to time, yet the Lord of his

goodness so wrought, that many were stayed and reclaimed again through the occasion, first, of them in Rochelle; who, hearing of the cruel massacre in Paris, and slaughter at Toulouse, most constantly, with valiant hearts, (the Lord so working,) thought to stand to their defence against the king's power; by whose example certain other cities, hearing thereof, took no little courage to do the like: as namely Montalban, the city called Nismes, Sancerre in Occitania, Millaud, Mirebeau, Foix, with other towns and cities more: who being confederate together, exhorted one another to be circumspect, and take good heed of the false dissembling practices not to be trusted of the merciless papists, intending nothing but blood and destruction.

These things thus passing at Rochelle, the king hearing thereof, giveth in commandment to Captain Strozzi and Garde to see to Rochelle. After this he sendeth a nobleman, one Biron, requiring of the Rochelle men to receive him for their governor under the king. Of this great consultation being had, at length the Rochelle men began to condescend upon certain conditions; which being not easily granted unto, and especially they hearing, in the mean time, what was done to other of their fellows, which had submitted themselves, thought it so better to stand to the defence of their lives and consciences, and to adventure the worst. Whereupon began great siege and battery to be laid against Rochelle both by land and sea, which was anno 1572, about the fourth day of December.

It would require another volume to describe all things, during the time of this siege, that passed on either side, between the king's part, and the town of Rochelle. Briefly to run over some parts of the matter: In the beginning of the next year following, which was in 1573, in the month of January, commandment was given out by the king to all and sundry nobles and peers of France, upon great punishment, to address themselves in most forcible wise to the assaulting of Rochelle. Whereupon a great concourse of all the nobility, with the whole power of France, was there assembled, amongst whom was also the prince of Anjou, the king's brother, (who there not long after was proclaimed king of Poland,) accompanied with his other brother the duke of Alençon, Navarre, Conde, and other a great number of states besides. Thus, the whole power of France being gathered against one poor town, had not the mighty hand of the Lord stood on their side, it had been impossible for them to escape.

During the time of this siege, which lasted about seven months, what skirmishes and conflicts were on both sides, it would require a long tractation.

To make short, seven principal assaults were given to the poor town of Rochelle, with all the power that France could make: in all which assaults ever the pope's catholic side had the worst. Concerning the first assault thus I find written, that within the space of twenty-six days were charged against the walls and houses of Rochelle, to the number of thirty thousand shot of iron bullets and globes, whereby a great breach was made for the adversary to invade the city: but such was the courage of them within, (not men only, but also of women, matrons, and maidens, with spits, fire, and such other weapon as came to hand,) that the adversary was driven back, with no small slaughter of their soldiers: only of the townsmen were slain and wounded to the number of sixty persons. Likewise in the second assault two thousand great field-pieces were laid against the town; whereupon the adversary attempted the next day to invade the town, but through the industry of the soldiers and citizens, and

also of the women and maids, the invaders were forced at length to fly away faster than they came. No better success had all the assaults that followed: whereby consider, gentle reader, with thyself, in what great distress these good men were, not of Rochelle only, but of other cities also, during these seven months above mentioned, had not the mighty hand of the Lord Almighty sustained them: concerning whose wondrous operation for his servants in these hard distresses, three memorable things I find in history to be noted.

The one concerning the siege of Sancerre; which city being terribly battered and razed with gunshot of great cannons and field-pieces (having at one siege no less than three thousand bullets and gun-stones flying upon them, wherewith the crests of their helmets were pierced, their sleeves, their hose, their hats pierced, their weapons in their hands broken, their walls shaken, their houses rent down); yet not one person slain or wounded with all this, save only at the first a certain maiden, with the blast of the shot flying by her, was struck down, and died.

The second thing to be noted is this, that in the same city of Sancerre, during all the time of the siege, which lasted seven months and a half, for all the ordnance and battering-pieces discharged against them, which are numbered to six thousand, not so much as twenty-five persons, in all, were slain!

The third example, no less memorable, was at Rochelle: whereas the poorer sort began to lack corn and victual, there was sent to them every day in the river (by the hand of the Lord no doubt) a great multitude of fish, called surdones, which the poorer people did use instead of bread; which fish, the same day as the siege brake up, departed and came no more.-- Testified by them which were present there in Rochelle all the time.

What number was lost on both sides during all this seven months' war, it is not certainly known. Of the king's camp what number was slain, by this it may be conjectured, that one hundred and thirty-two of their captains were killed and slain, of whom the chiefest was duke D'Aumale.

To close up this tragical story, concerning the breaking up of this seven months' siege, thus it fell out: that shortly after the seventh assault given against Rochelle, which was anno 1573, about the month of June, word came to the camp, that the duke of Anjou, the king's brother, was proclaimed king of Poland: whereat great joy was in the camp. By occasion whereof the new king, more willing to have peace, entered talk with them of Rochelle; who, as he showed himself to them not ungentle, so found he them again to him not unconformable. Whereupon a certain agreement pacificatory was concluded between them upon conditions: which agreement the new Polish king eftsoons preferred to the French king his brother, not without some suit and intercession to have it ratified. The king also himself, partly being weary of these chargeable wars, was the more willing to assent thereunto. And thus at length, through the Lord's great work, the king's royal consent under form of an edict was set down in writing, and confirmed by the king, containing twenty-five articles: in which also were included certain other cities of the protestants, granting to them benefit of peace and liberty of religion. This edict or mandate, sent down from the king by his herald-at-arms, Biron, in the king's name, caused to be solemnly proclaimed at Rochelle, in the year 1573, the tenth day of June.

The next year following, 1574, for two things seemeth fatal and famous; for the death first of Charles the Ninth, the French king, also most of all for the death of Charles, cardinal of Lorraine, brother to Guise. Of the manner of the cardinal's death, I find little mention in stories. Touching the king's death, although Richard Dinothus saith -- nothing, for fear belike, because he being a Frenchman, his name is expressed and known: but another story, (whom the said Dinothus doth follow,) bearing no name, saith thus: that he died the twenty-fifth day of May, upon Whitsun-even, being of the age of twenty-five years; and addeth more: "Certain it is, that his sickness came of bleeding." And saith further: "The constant report so goeth, that his blood gushing out by divers parts of his body, he, tossing in his bed, and casting out many horrible blasphemies, laid upon pillows with his heels upward and head downward, voided so much blood at his mouth, that in few hours he died:" which story, if it be true, as is recorded and testified, may be a spectacle and example to all persecuting kings and princes polluted with the blood of Christian martyrs. And thus much briefly touching the late terrible persecution in France.

476. The Conclusion of the Work.

And thus to conclude, good Christian reader, this present tractation, not for lack of matter, but to shorten rather the matter for largeness of the volume, I here stay for this present time, without further addition of more discourse, either to overweary thee with longer tediousness, or overcharge the book with longer prolixity; having hitherto set forth the acts and proceedings of the whole church of Christ, namely, of the church of England, although not in such particular perfection, that nothing hath overpassed us; yet in such general sufficiency, that I trust not very much hath escaped us, necessary to be known, touching the principal affairs, doings, and proceedings of the church and churchmen. Wherein may be seen the whole state, order, descent, course, and continuance of the same, the increase and decrease of true religion, the creeping in of superstition, the horrible troubles of persecution, the wonderful assistance of the Almighty in maintaining his truth, the glorious constancy of Christ's martyrs, the rage of the enemies, the alteration of times, the travails and troubles of the church, from the first primitive age of Christ's gospel, to the end of Queen Mary, and the beginning of this our gracious Queen Elizabeth. During the time of her happy reign, which hath hitherto continued (through the gracious protection of the Lord) the space now of twenty-four years, as my wish is, so I would be glad the good will of the Lord were so, that no more matter of such lamentable stories may ever be offered hereafter to write upon. But so it is, I cannot tell how, the elder the world waxeth, the longer it continueth, the nearer it hasteneth to its end, the more Satan rageth; giving still new matter of writing books and volumes: insomuch that if all were recorded and committed to history, that within the said compass of this queen's reign hitherto hath happened, in Scotland, Flanders, France, Spain, Germany, besides this our own country of England and Ireland, with other countries more, I verily suppose one Eusebius, or Polyhistor, which Pliny writeth of, would not suffice thereunto.

But of these incidents and occurrents hereafter more, as it shall please the Lord to give grace and space. In the mean time, the grace of the Lord Jesus work with thee, gentle reader, in all thy studious readings. And while thou hast space, so employ thyself to read, that by reading thou mayest learn daily to know that which may profit thy soul. may teach thee experience, may arm thee with patience, and instruct thee in all spiritual knowledge more and more to thy perpetual comfort and salvation in Christ Jesus our Lord; to whom be glory *in secula seculorum*, Amen.



THE END

END OF VOLUME 13

**THE ACTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE
CHRISTIAN CHURCH**

by
JOHN FOXE

Commonly known as
FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

Volume 14

Addenda.

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Glossary

Of obsolete words, or words used in an obsolete sense

Abearing	Behaviour
Abecie	An ABC i.e. a child's primer for the alphabet
Abrenounce	To renounce or repudiate
Abroach	<i>To set abroach</i> = to start something one cannot or will not stop
Acception	Acceptance
Accombred	Burdened
Accompt	Account
Accustomably	Normally
Acoluthes	Acolytes
Addict	Bound by oath or obligation
Adhibited	Applied
Adjure	To bind under penalty of an oath
Admiration	Astonishment
Advertise	To warn or advise
Advertisement	Formal notification or warning
Advocation	Praying to the saints
Advouterer	Adulterer
Advoutry, advowtry	Adultery
Advowson	The right of appointment to a benefice
Affection	A disposition or emotional attitude towards something
Affiance	Trust
Affray	To frighten

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After-clap	A blow struck unexpectedly at an opponent who had thought the fight was over.
Againstond, againstand	Withstand, defeat
Agamist	One who opposes the institution of marriage
Agnize	To acknowledge
Agrest	Rustic, wild
Ale-stake	An alehouse sign
Allegation	Argument
Allege	To cite in argument
Alligation	Attachment
All-to	Very much
Almany	Germany
Almose	Alms
Almous	Of or relating to almsgiving or charity
Ambage	Roundabout or deceitfully ambiguous speech; legal technicalities
Ambassade	Ambassadorship
Ambassage	A diplomatic mission
Amerce	To fine or tax heavily
Amice	A shawl of white linen, part of a priest's vestments
Amplect	To embrace
Ampliated	Enlarged or extended
Anences	Relating to; <i>as anences</i> = as regards
Annat	The income of a diocese or benefice for the first year of a new appointee's tenure, which was given to the Pope.

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Annealed	Annointed
Annoiling	Anointing with sacred oil
Annuates	Instructions given by signs or gestures
Antelation	A right of preference or precedence
Apaid	Satisfied
Apertly	Openly
Apostoil	The pope
Apostule	A marginal comment or footnote
Appair	To damage or weaken
Apparitor	An official, or civil or ecclesiastical servant
Appellatores	One who makes a false accusation for a reward
Applausion	Applause, mass shouting or cheering
Appliable to their beck	Ready to obey them
Appone	To make use of
Appose	To examine or question
Appose	To interrogate or question in court
Arectet	Raised up
Arrear	To gather and prepare an army
Articulate	Said, mentioned
Ascited	Summoned
Assay	Formally tasting food before giving it to a king or other important person
Assize	To impose or assess a tax; or, to set the price of a staple foodstuff etc.
Assoil	To pardon, absolve
Assuage	To reduce

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Astonied	Astonished
Astonyings	Astonishment, confusion
At jar	Of different opinions
Attainder	Forfeiture of all property rights, which was a penalty for treason or felony;
Attemperate	To adapt
Auditory	Audience
Austin	St. Augustine of Hippo
Auter	Altar
Avoid	1. To depart 2. To discharge or excrete
Avouch	To declare publicly
Avowe	Vow
Awmbry	A storehouse
Ayens	Against
Baily	Bailiff, steward
Ballet	A ballad, especially a scurrilous or satirical one.
Ballets	Ballads
Band	Agreement, contract
Ban-dog	A big savage dog
Barrator	A ruffian or hired bully
Basin	A cymbal
Bassa	A Turkish general or pasha
Bate	Debate, strife
Battledore	A flat wooden club used to beat cloth when washing it
Beadman, Beadsman	A person employed or appointed to pray

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	for others
Beadroll	A list of people to be prayed for.
Bead-roll	A long list of names
Bearing sheet	A winding-sheet or shroud in which a corpse is wrapped for burial
Bearward	A keeper or trainer of performing bears
Beck	Call
Bedlamite	A madman
Beetle	A mallet
Beetle-brow	A person with shaggy eyebrows, a low sullen scoundrel
Beguily	In <i>wily beguily</i> = trying to be clever but only succeeding in deceiving oneself; being "too clever by half"
Behanged	Decorated with hanging tapestries etc.
Behewed	Hacked with an axe
Behight	Gave, given
Bell-wether	The best sheep in a flock
Belly-cheer	Gluttony
Bene, ben	Are
Benemen, Benomin	Deprive, take away from
Bestead	Beset
Beth	Are, is
Bewray	To betray
Bill	A weapon resembling a pike, with a spear blade, and a hook sharpened on the inside of the curve.
Bird-bolt	A short arrow with a broad, flat head, used for shooting birds.

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Birth-poison	Original sin; in Christian theology an inherent inclination to sinfulness which is part of human nature
Bite-sheep	A bishop who ill-treats his flock
Blaze	To proclaim or declare
Blemished	Disconcerted
Blue	Believe
Bobbed	Beaten
Bolt	To sift
Bonchief	Good fortune, benefit
Bonhomme	One of an order of begging friars
Borsholder	A parish constable
Bosom sermon	A sermon learned by heart and recited
Bounce	To thump
Boyly	Boyish
Brabbling	Quarrelling,
Brable	To quarrel loudly
Brary	One who brays or talks nonsense
Brast	Burst
Brenn	Burn
Brennen	Burn
Brent	Burnt
Bribe	To steal
Brickle	Fragile, brittle
Brim	Brightly shining
Bristow	Bristol
Broom-faggot	A bundle of the broom plant (<i>Genista</i>

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	<i>scoparius</i>) used for kindling
Bruit	A noise or rumour. <i>Bruited abroad</i> = rumoured
Brunt	A blow
Buckle	Struggle with
Buckler	A shield
Bug	A ghost, monster or other terrifying thing
Bulk	A beam, baulk of timber
Bushment	An ambush
Buskle	To work busily, bustle about
Butt	An archery range; a target
Buxom	Obedient
Buxumnesse	Obedience
By-cavillation	Legal quibbling or trickery
Byelden	Build
Byhoten	Promised
Byneme, Bynome	Deprive, take away from
Caitiff	A miserable person
Callet	An immoral woman
Camping cure	A benefice which involves serving God by warfare
Canicular	In canicular days: dog-days, early August
Canivise	Apparently a nonce-word invented by Foxe; presumably "To make into a dog"
Canning	Ability
Canning	Memorizing
Canvassed	Beaten, knocked about, defeated

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Capernaïtical	Believing in the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation; <i>Capernaïtes</i> = those who believe it
Capper	A cap-maker
Cark	Responsibility
Carle	A low churl or villain
Casule	A chasuble
Catchpole	Contemptuous word for a debt- or tax-collector
Cater-cousin	A very close friend
Caterpillar	A robber or extortionist
Cautel	A quibble or reservation
Cavillations	Legal quibbles or trickery
Cecity	Blindness, poor eyesight
Celsitude	High rank, majesty; <i>your celsitude</i> = your highness
Cense	To bless with incense
Certes	Certainly
Chafe	A fit of temper; fury
Chaffare	Merchandise
Chambering	Sexual sin, lewdness
Channel	Gutter
Chantries, Chantry-masses	Masses performed daily or at set intervals as one of the conditions of a legacy or endowment
Chap-men	Merchants
Chaps	Fissures
Chargeous	Dependent upon

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Chart	A charter or official decree. <i>Blank chart</i> = a blank royal decree to be filled in with the names etc. of those it will refer to
Cheeping	Flattering words
Cheer	Facial expression
Chequer	In chequer matters: Lawsuits relating to the collection of royal revenue
Chesille	A chasuble
Chevance	A way of raising money
Chievance	Success, accomplishments
Child-travail	Childbirth, labour
Chimer, chimere	A loose gown with red sleeves, worn by a bishop
Chisil	A chasuble
Chrismatory	1) A sacred anointing 2) A jar containing the anointing oil called <i>chrism</i> .
Chrisoms	Chrism, a holy oil used for anointing
Chuff-headed	Having a big fat head
Cipher in Agrime	The zero in the Arabic numerals
Circumscriptible	Capable of being measured; subject to limits of size or space
Civilian	A lawyer specialising in civil law
Civilian	A lawyer specialising in civil law.
Clamper	To botch together
Clanculary	Secret
Clenner	To clean, absolve
Clepe	Call

FOXES' BOOK OF MARTYRS

Cloisterer	A monk or nun who stays in a monastery or convent; opposed to a friar, who wanders around begging.
Closter	An enclosure
Clout	N) A cloth or wrapping V) To wrap up
Coact	To coerce
Coactive	Coercive
Coadjutor	An assistant
Coast	To attack
Coat card	A court or picture card in a pack of playing cards
Cock in the hoop	To <i>set cock in the hoop</i> = to act boastfully or presumptuously
Cockle	A weed of corn fields (<i>Lychnis githago</i>)
Cog	To foist or publish a forged document
Coll	To embrace, cuddle
Collar	To wrestle
Collateral	Of equal rank; one of the joint holders of an office
Collation	1) Appointment of a clergyman to a benefice 2) A commentary on scripture 3) Comparison
Collect	A prayer said before the Epistle reading in the Mass
Colleginer	A fellow of a college
Collyrium	Eye-salve
Colourable	Superficially convincing, but in fact false
Comfortable	Comforting

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Commencement	1) A conference 2) At a university, the formal conferring of degrees.
Commendations	Prayers for the dead
Comminatory	1) Threatening punishment or revenge 2) A sealed-off place, a cloister
Commissary	The appointed deputy of a bishop
Commixion	Mingling, mixing together; in the Mass, the act of putting a small part of the host into the wine.
Commodity	Advantage
Commonly	A public meeting
Commorant	Officially resident
Communed	Discussed
Companied	Associated with
Compass	A circle, hence: roundabout way; circular or other enclosure; boundaries or limits
Compline	A church service held in the evening
Compter	A lock-up
Con	To study
Con-captives	Fellow-prisoners
Concion	A public speech
Concomitaton	Consubstantiation, i.e. the co-existence of bread and wine, and the body and blood of Christ, in the Eucharist
Concupiscence	Overpowering desire (not necessarily sexual)
Concupiscentious	Lustful, unchaste
Conduct	A chaplain

FOXES' BOOK OF MARTYRS

Confer	To compare
Confute	To prove wrong
Congrue, Congruent	Appropriate, suitable
Conject	To conjecture or suppose
Conjunction adversative	A phrase (beginning with e.g. but or however) qualifying or contradicting the one before
Conning	Wisdom
Consistory	A court presided over by a bishop, for trying religious or ecclesiastical cases
Conspurate	Filthy, defiled
Constitute proctors	To appoint lawyers to represent oneself in court
Contemn	To despise
Contentation	Contentment, satisfaction
Continue	Contents
Control	To contradict or object to some statement
Contumacy	Contemptuous refusal to obey
Contumelious	Degrading or insulting
Contumely, Contumelies	Insults
Convent	(V) To summon before a court
Conventicle	A clandestine or illegal religious meeting
Conveyance	A cunning deceitful action
Cope	1) A long silken cloak worn as an ecclesiastical vestment 2) A senior churchman, such as might wear one.
Coping tank	A tall narrow conical hat
Copulative	Forming a connected whole

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Cormorant	A greedy or rapacious person
Cornleader	A carter of grain
Corporace, corporas	A cloth laid on the altar on which the chalice and paten are placed
Corporal	N) A cloth on which consecrated hosts are laid or which is used to wrap them A) -- 1) of the body, physical; <i>Corporally</i> = physically. 2) in <i>Corporal oath</i> , one taken while holding a physical object, such as a Bible, relic, or consecrated host.
Coste	Breast
Couetice	Covetousness
Courser	A war-horse
Courtesan	A member of the Papal Curia
Cousin-germain, Cousin-german	A first cousin
Covetise	Covetousness
Cowcher	A very large book, which can only be read on a table or lectern
Craker	A blowhard or boaster
Cramp-ring	A ring blessed by the King on Good Friday, believed to be a protection against cramps, fits etc.
Crayer	A small trading ship
Criminous	Criminal; relating to crime
Croised	Marked with a cross; having take the cross as a crusader
Croisy	To bestow the cross upon someone, i.e. to declare him a crusader
Croysies	Crusaders

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Crudelity	Cruelty
Cullen	Cologne, in Germany
Cumber	Burden
Currier	One whose trade is the preparation and dyeing of leather
Customable	Customary or habitual
Customer	A customs officer or collector of customs duties
Dag	A pistol
Damnified	Damaged or injured
Damp	A state of stupefaction
Darnel	A weed of cornfields, (<i>Lolium temulentum</i>), also known as cockle or tares, and referred to by Jesus in Matthew c. 13 v.24-30.
Dastard	A coward
Datary	A papal officer; originally one whose function was to register and date Papal documents
Decretal	Originally, a letter written by a Pope in response to a query; later, any papal decree or document
Deduce	1) To declare or describe 2) To bring
Deducted	Traced or described from a date.
Deface	To abash, humiliate, put out of countenance.
Defension	The formal public defence of his dissertation by a candidate for a university degree
Dehort	To advise or exhort against something

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Deject	To throw down. <i>Deject oneself</i> = humble oneself
Delated	Denounced to the authorities, informed against
Deme, Demen	Judge
Demi-lance	A short-shafted lance
Demurrer	In law, a plea that the facts alleged do not amount to a tort or crime; loosely, any legal objection
Denizen	A naturalized citizen
Depeach	To despatch a messenger
Descant	In <i>shift of descant</i> = changing the argument
Detour	Debtor
Detour	Debtor
Deturbate	To cast down or thrust out
Devotion	<i>At his devotion</i> = at his command, free for his use.
Deyeden	Died
Dial	A watch
Didrachma	A two-drachma coin
Dignation	The act of a superior honouring or recognizing an inferior
Dimissory	A letter from a bishop recommending someone as fit for ordination or ecclesiastical office
Ding	To strike, beat
Dirige	The matins of the Service for the dead, beginning <i>Dirige, Domine, Deus meus, in conspectu tuo viam meam.</i>
Dirt-dauber	A plasterer esp. one who uses mud to make

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	wattle-and-daub walls
Disceptation	Debate
Discommodity	Disadvantage
Disgarnish	To deprive of
Dishonest	To defile
Disme	A 10% tax or charge
Disparkle, disperkle	To scatter or disperse
Dispensator	One who dispenses or distributes goods
Disperkle	To scatter, disperse
Disple	To punish
Disseize	To dispossess
Dissever	To separate
Dissimule	To deceive by hiding one's true feelings or intentions
Distain	Dishonour
Distinction	A division or section of a book or document
Divers	Many, several
Doctress	A woman scholar
Dome	Judgement
Domesmen	Judges
Donates	An honorary or temporary member of a religious order
Donative	A benefice which can be bestowed by the founder or patron without reference to the bishop or abbot.
Dotipole	A dotty-headed person
Dought	Strongly

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Draff	Spent brewer's grains, sometimes used as animal feed.
Draft	Spent brewing grains used as animal feed
Draught	A privy (US: bathroom)
Dromedary	An incompetent thief
Drumflade	A kind of trumpet
Dry-fats	A large basket or barrel for holding dry goods
Dubitation	Doubt
Dump	A state of bewilderment; <i>In his dumps</i> = reduced to silence
Durance	Imprisonment
Ear	To plough
Earlich	Early
Eft . . . eft . .	First . . . then . .
Eftsoons	Soon afterwards, immediately
Eghenen	Eyes
Embassage	A diplomatic mission
Emblemish	To damage or disfigure
Embull	To seal
Emmet	An ant
Empery	Government or dominion
Endue	To grant or bestow something; <i>to be endued with</i> = to have
Enduing	Endowing
Enervate	To destroy
Enfeoff	To assign a fief of property or office to someone

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Engrieve	To say that something is grievous
Engrossed	Written down
Enmious	Hostile
Enow	Enough
Ensample	Example
Ensue	To follow
Ententive	Assiduous in learning
Entitle	To write down a properly edited version of something
Environ	To surround
Epicure	An atheist
Essay	The prophet Isiah
Escheat	Riches obtained by plunder
Eschew	Renounce, reject
Escript	A written decree or writ
Espie	Spy
Estall	To pay by installments
Ethnics	Pagans
Evacuate	To nullify
Evangelie, Evangelies	The Gospels
Even	The day before a feast day
Even-christened	Fellow-Christians
Everichone	Each one
Examine	A person under examination, either as witness or accused
Excerpt	Summarize
Excheat	Confiscation of property, or encroachment

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	on the privileges of another
Excoriate	To flay
Exeden	Asked
Exhibition	A pension or allowance of money
Exonerate	To remove an office or responsibility from someone
Exorable	Capable of being moved by pity or prayer
Exornate	To embellish or exaggerate
Experiment	To examine or test
Expugn	To conquer or overcome
Extravagant	A papal decree not included in the standard list
Face	A façade or sham
Facinorous	Extremely wicked
Fact	Deed
Factor	An agent or deputy
Faggot	A bundle of firewood
Faled	Broken or destroyed
Fane	A shrine
Fardel	A bundle or parcel
Farmary	An infirmary
Farmer	1) A bailiff 2) a tenant or lessee
Fatigation	Weariness, long drawn-out effort
Fatue	A taboo word in Biblical times; "Whosoever shall say, Fatue, shall be in danger of hell fire." (Matt. 5. 23)
Fautor	A patron, supporter or abettor

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Fedity	Filthiness
Feile	Many
Feoffer	In <i>feoffer's hold</i> : Literally, held as a feudal possession; metaphorically, as here, borrowed from someone else
Feoffment	Under the feudal system, the action of assigning lands to someone; or, the legal right to the lands so assigned
Ferial	A weekday
Ferula	A flat piece of wood used for punishing schoolchildren
Fet	Fetch
Fetch	(V) To steal by fraud or cunning (N) Such an act of theft or dishonest trick
Figurate	To symbolize
Fire-house	A house in which a fire is regularly lit (i.e. a dwelling-house)
Flagitious	Very wicked
Fleen	Fled from
Fleer	To sneer or mock
Flewet	A blow
Flight-shot	The distance an arrow can be shot from a bow
Floten	Flown
Flung	Rushed
Foil	A defeat
Foins	Trimmings of marten fur
Fond	(A) Foolish (V) To speak foolishly
Fore-elder	An ancestor

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Foreface	Preface
Forefact	A criminal accusation
Forefend	To prevent
Foreshield	To prevent, avert
Foreslack	To neglect
Foreslow	To delay
Forfend	To prevent
Form	A bench
Forward	A contract or agreement
Founder	A maker of moulded metal objects
Foundment	Basis, foundation
Frail	A basket
Frater wall	The wall of the refectory in a monastery
Fraught	Filled with; (of a ship) fully laden.
Fray	To frighten
Fray-bug	An imaginary object of fear, bogey-man, etc.
Freedom	An area in or around a city, whose inhabitants had certain privileges or exemptions from taxation which prevailed elsewhere.
Frele	Frail
Fretted	1) Worn, rubbed 2) Inlaid with precious metal or stones
Frisk	A dance step or caper
Frowes	A dress in Dutch or German style
Frump	A sneer
Fulleden	Baptised

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Fullen	To baptise
Fuller	A person whose occupation is the cleaning and preparation of newly-woven cloth
Fumish	Angry, irascible
Furniture	Equipment
Fustian	A coarse cloth of cotton and linen mixed
Fustigation	Flogging
Gage	(V) To pledge (N)An object given as a pledge
Gains	Gaudy jewellery, clothing etc.
Gainstand	To oppose
Gang-Monday	The Monday before Ascension Thursday (which is forty days after Easter)
Gape	To gag at or be unable to swallow
Gar	To make something happen
Garboil	Commotion, disturbance
Gardeviance	A treasure chest, or collection of valuables
Garner	A granary
Gat	Got
Gaud	A worthless trinket
Gaude	A public performance or display
Gawishness	Ostentatious display of foolish fripperies
Gazingstock	Something people stare at
Gear	A whim or fit of passion
Ghostly	Spiritual, spiritually
Gif	If
Gile	Guile, dishonesty

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Gilten	To offend against
Gin	A mechanism
Glave	A weapon consisting of a short, broad blade fixed to a long handle
Glaverer	A flattering deceiver
Glavering	Flattering, deceiving
Gleer	To smear with paint
Gleve	The winning-post of a race
Glose, Gloze	To explain, or more often distort, the meaning of a text; to speak deceitfully
Glossary	A commentary or explanation
Gloss-writer	A writer of commentaries, or a spin-doctor
Gnatho	A flattering parasite
Goff	In a barn which is divided into bays by internal projections from the walls, a <i>goff</i> is the amount of grain which will fit into one of the bays
Gossopry	The relationship of God-parent and God-child
Graffed	Set firmly, grafted
Gra-mercies	Thank you very much
Groat	A fourpenny piece
Grope	To find out someone's business or secrets by cunning
Groundsel	A door-sill or threshold
Grundy	A short person
Gyves	Leg-irons, fetters
Hale	To drag away
Hanaper	An office of the court of chancery, which collected fees for sealing and registration

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	of documents
Handfast	A firm grasp
Hand-fast	To hold tightly
Hanger	A short sword hung from the belt
Harborous	Generous, hospitable
Hardly	1) With great hardness and cruelty 2) With great difficulty
Harness	Armour
Hastler	A cook's assistant, who turned the spit for roasting meat.
Hay-golph	A haystack
Hearse	A wooden framework carrying a large number of candles, hangings etc., borne over a coffin.
Heave-offering	An offering which is held up high by the priest for the people to see
Helme-sheaves	Bundles of straw
Hem	Them
Her	Their
Heren	Theirs
Hery	To worship
Hest	Commandment
Hight	Was named
Hobby	A kind of falcon (<i>Falco subbuteo</i>)
Holden	Held
Holocaust	A sacrifice where the entire animal is burnt (not just the inedible bits, as was more usual)

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Holp, Holpen	Helped
Holydeme	Holiness
Homely	Friendly, familiar, over-familiar
Honest	To confer honour on something
Hoorehouse	A Brothel
Horen	Whores
Horsed up	Pulled up on a man's back or a frame, to be whipped
Hosen	Hose, stockings
Hostelar	The landlady of an inn
Housel	(N) The Eucharist (V) To administer the Eucharist
Hudder-mudder	Secret, secrecy
Huddipeak	A blockhead
Hundred	A subdivision of a county
Hutching	Literally: crouching or bowing low. Figuratively: with abject humility
Hylden	Hold
Hyperbolismum	An instance of dishonest exaggeration
Hypotyposis	A vivid description of a scene
Ich	I
Ides	The thirteenth or fifteenth day of the month
Ignavy	Negligence or laziness
Illude	To jeer or mock
Imbecility	Helplessness
Imbrued	Stained with blood

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Imitation	Adoption as a heir
Immanity	Monstrous cruelty
Immarcessible	Incorruptible
Immission	Insertion
Imp	A child
Impanate	Embodied in bread
Importable	Unbearable
Importable	Unbearable
Imposthume	An abscess
Impotent	Enfeebled
Impotionate	To poison
Improprate	Assigned
Inabilitation	Unfitness, disqualification
Incensive	Full of anger
Incommodity	Disadvantage
Incontinency	Lechery
Incontinent, Incontinently	Immediately
Indent	To make a formal promise or contract
Indiction	A period of fifteen years
Indifferency	Impartiality
Indurate	Hardened, stubborn or callous
Induration	Hardening
Inedge	To slip in edgeways
Infame	To make infamous
Infect	Imperfect
Infeoff	To assign a fief of property or office to

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	someone
Infer	To state or bring forward as an argument
Infestine	Troublesome, annoying
Infirmation	Disproof
Inspiral	Giving life to
Instant	Insistent
Instantly	Insistently
Interdictment	An interdict, i.e. a punishment laid by the church on a town etc., prohibiting any church service from being held there
Intermit	To interrupt
Interrogatory	A question formally put to a witness.
Interturb	To disturb or interrupt
Intestine	Internal
Invade	To attack
Invitory	A prayer or verse of the Bible recited at the beginning of a church service
Inwrap	Involve
Isay	The prophet Isaiah
Jack	A jacket with metal plates or chain-mail sewn to it
Jakes	A privy (U.S: bathroom)
Jangler	A story-teller
Javel	A low scoundrel
Jill	An immoral woman
Jouresse	Duress, punishment
Juggling-casts	Conjuring tricks
Jurate, Jurat	A lay magistrate or alderman, A sworn

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	witness
Kalends	The first day of the month
Kele	To satisfy hunger or thirst
Kenning	A distance of twenty miles from shore
Key-clog	A piece of wood tied to a key
Knack	A small or trifling article
Knapskal	A kind of helmet
Ladypsalter	The rosary, usually the full 15 decades
Lance-knight	A mercenary soldier, often one who has deserted and is living by banditry.
Landloper	A renegade or fugitive
Lanthorn	A lantern
Lapped	Wrapped, clothed
Latten	Brass or bronze
Laud	Praise
Lavatories	Ceremonial washings which were part of a royal levée
Laystall	A cesspit
Lean	Lend
Leasing	Lying
Lection	A reading
Leefen	Believe
Leefull	Lawful
Leese	To surrender or be deprived of
Leet	A court held by the lord of a manor to try minor offences and disputes between tenants
Leeue	<i>A leeue Lord</i> = O Lord in whom we

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	believe
Lefull	Lawful
Legantine	Of or relating to a Papal legate
Legerdemain	Trickery
Leman	A lover
Leper	Leaper
Lesew, Lessewe	Pasture
Lesing	(A) False (V) Lying
Lesser Britain	Brittany
Let	To hinder or prevent (also past tense and noun)
Letter reverential	A letter from a bishop recommending someone as fit for ordination or ecclesiastical office
Leven	Faith or confidence
Lewd	Ignorant or futile
Libard	A leopard
Libel	A document or certificate
Lictor	In Roman times, an official who attended a magistrate and carried out his orders to arrest, flog, execute etc. malefactors
Lie for the whetstone	To tell outrageous lies
Lieger	The holder of a feudal lordship or office
Lieutenant-criminal	A chief of police
Lifelot	Livelihood
Lig	Lie
Like	Likely
Limbus	Limbo, in Catholic theology a state without either the torments of Hell or the

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	bliss of Heaven, occupied by the souls of unbaptized children and virtuous pagans.
Limiting	Begging
Limitour	A begging friar
List	1. (N) A strip of cloth 2. (A) To want to do
Little Britain	Brittany
Little Ease	A prison cell too small to sit, stand or lie down in. Confinement in one was a form of torture.
Livelode	Livelihood
Lock	A handful of hay or straw; by extension a quantity of anything (OED); in modern Irish slang, a large quantity; which seems to be closer to the meaning here.
Losel	A low scoundrel
Lotion	Ritual washing
Low Sunday	The Sunday after Easter
Lucrified	Gained, profited
Lust	Powerful desire – not necessarily sexual
Lying for the whetstone	Telling outrageous lies
Macerate	To mash or chop up
Mail	A travelling-bag
Mainprise, Mainprize	1) A surety or guarantor 2) The act of bailing a prisoner
Make-bait	A trouble-maker
Makebate	A lie designed to stir up trouble for someone
Malapert	Insolent
Mall	A heavy hammer

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Mammering	A state of doubt or perplexity
Manchet	Fine white bread
Manducation	Nourishment; usually spiritual, via the Eucharist
Maniple	1) A troop of soldiers 2) A strip of cloth worn hanging from the cuff
Manqueller	A murderer
Mansuetude	Gentleness
Maozim, Mauzzim	Hebrew name of a false god mentioned in Dan. xi 38.
Maritage	A tax paid by a vassal to his lord on the marriage of his (i.e. the vassal's) daughter
Mark	Silver, or unspecified: Thirteen shillings and fourpence in money Gold: Eight ounces
Market-stead	Market-place
Marmoset	A grotesque painting or statue
Mary Magdalene's day	22 nd July
Masses-trecenaries	Series of three hundred masses
Maugre	Despite
Maumet, Mawmet	An idol
Maundement	Commandment
Maundy	The Last Supper
Mawmetry, Maumetry	Idolatry
Maze	Confusion
Mazed	Crazy
Meagred	Starved
Mecock	An effeminate weakling

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Meed	Any valuable item or reward
Meet	Suitable
Meiny	Household
Mentz	Mainz
Merce	To fine
Mercement	A fine or imposition
Mercery-ware	Fine cotton, velvet or silk goods; the stock-in-trade of a <i>mercier</i>
Mere	Pure, complete or unmixed
Merilich	Merrily
Mess	A group of people sitting together at a meal
Mete	<i>Mete done</i> = should do
Mewing	Imprisoning
Mickle	Great
Millian	Milan, in Italy
Minever	A kind of fur used for trimming or edging clothing
Minish	To diminish
Ministratoriously	In the capacity of an administrator.
Misallege	To distort the meaning of something in support of an argument
Miser	A wretch
Misprision	Under an Act of Parliament of 1534, misprision was the crime of refusing to swear an oath acknowledging the King as head of the church
Misture	Loss
Mo	More

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Monish	To admonish or warn
Monition	Instruction, warning
Monitory	Containing a warning or admonishment
Morrow-mass	A Mass said first thing in the morning
Mote	1) May 2) Must
Mowe, Mow	May
Mulet	A young mule
Mumpsimus	A long-established but false belief, an old but mistaken custom (opposed to <i>sumpsimus</i>)
Muniment	A document proving ownership or entitlement to something
Munition	A fortification
Murrain	Cattle plague or other epidemic animal disease
Murrey	A purplish-red colour
Mychel	Great
Namely	Especially
Nard	An aromatic oil extracted from the spikenard plant (<i>Nardostachys grandiflora</i>)
Nasturcium	Watercress (the flower now called nasturtium was not known in England in Foxe's time)
Naught	Wicked
Naverne	Navarre
Ne	No, not, nor, neither
Neatherd	A cow-herd
Nele	Will not

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Neme	To take
Nene	Destruction
Nice	1) Silly, foolish. 2) <i>Council of Nice</i> = Council of Nicæa (525 A.D)
Nip	<i>Nipped a great number so near</i> = squeezed many people so painfully
Nocive	Harmful
Nole	Will not
Nonage	The period of childhood
Nones	The 7th of March, May, July, or October; the 5th of any other month.
Note	A mark or characteristic
Nother	Neither
Nousle	To train or educate
Noyous	Annoying, troublesome
Nursled	Nourished, brought up
Obits	Masses for the dead
Oblation	Literally, an offering, which can signify: 1) An animal offered for sacrifice; the sacrifice itself 2) Money given to the church 3) One of two parts of the Mass; either the Offertory, or the presentation of the consecrated bread and wine with the words "Behold the Lamb of God, etc"
Oblocutor	One who contradicts or abuses someone
Obsignation	Formal sealing or approval of a contract or other such document
Obtestation	Calling on God to witness that what you say is true

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Obtrectation	Abuse, calumny
Occurrent	Happening
Offendicle	Something which leads or causes a person to commit sin
Offension	Injury or damage
Onerate	To lay an obligation on someone
Onychinus	Onyx
Opprobry	1) Infamy, shame 2) Insults
Oppugn	To fight against
Orator	A person who prays
Ordinal	A book of rules and regulations
Ordinary	The ecclesiastical chief of an area i.e. the parish priest in a parish, the bishop in a diocese, etc.; also , the bishop having authority over a particular priest.
Ornature	Personal adornment, fine clothing, jewellery etc.
Ostent	A wondrous event or miracle
Ouch	A gold or jewelled brooch or buckle
Outlandish	Foreign
Out-scape	A way of escape
Overthwart	Crosswise, either literally or figuratively
Oyster-board	A table or stall for selling oysters – used contemptuously for a communion table because it was the same shape
Pack	A scoundrel
Packing	Fraudulent dealing
Paction	An alliance

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Page	A canton of Switzerland
Painful	Painstaking
Pair	To impair or harm
Pale	A fence or fence-board
Palfrey	A small horse
Pall	A kind of scarf or stole worn by a bishop; used figuratively to mean the office of bishop.
Palsgrave	A Count Palatine, i.e. a ruler who has been granted full powers in his fief by the Holy Roman Emperor
Panim	A pagan or other non-Christian
Pantofle	Expensive, highly decorated slippers; <i>Stood upon their pantofles</i> = Stood on their dignity
Paralipomena	Alternative name for the two books of Chronicles, in the Bible (in some editions, called the third & fourth books of Kings)
Parcel	A part
Pardon-beads	Rosary beads blessed so that those using them would have an indulgence
Parochian	A parish priest
Partlet	An article of clothing worn about the neck or upper chest; a bib or dickey.
Paschal	Passover feast
Pash	To smash
Pasquil	A satire or lampoon
Patch	1) A fool 2) A botch, shoddy work, distortion
Patin, patine, paten	A dish on which the communion bread is

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	placed
Pattens	Wooden overshoes
Paunch	To cut open the belly
Pax	A small bas-relief of the crucifixion on a handle, kissed by the officiating priest and then the congregation at Mass
Paynim	A pagan or Muslim
Pelagian	One who holds the belief that it is possible to attain salvation entirely through one's own efforts, without the special grace of God.
Pelf	1) Worthless baubles 2) Contemptuous word for money, regarded as the source of all evil.
Pelt	To address with insults or reproaches
Penitentiary	1) A penitent 2) A priest specially appointed to hear confessions of reserved sins (very serious ones which cannot be absolved by ordinary priests)
Penner	A case for holding writing pens
Percase	Perhaps
Perdurable	Long-lasting
Peregrine	A pilgrim
Perfitlich	Perfectly
Perk	To behave presumptuously
Permixt	Unified
Perpend	To consider
Person	A parson
Phylacteries	Hypocritical displays of virtue

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Pictavia	Poitou, in France
Pike	A toll barrier
Pilch	A coat made of animal skins or coarsely tanned leather
Pill	To rob, pillage
Pilled	Tonsured i.e. having the top of the head shaved
Pinbank	The rack or similar instrument of torture
Pin-fold	A pound for stray animals
Pix	A small box in which consecrated hosts are carried about.
Plackard	An official document or proclamation
Plaice-mouth	A pursing of the lips
Plat	A) A plough B) A plot of land
Plenar	Complete
Plete	To argue one's case
Plumbat	A lead ball on a cord
Plumps	A compact group of people
Point-maker	A maker of laces for fastening clothes
Points	Laces for fastening clothes
Poising	Weighing
Poll	To extort money from
Polling	Shaving the top of the head
Pontifical, Pontificalibus	The robes of a bishop or cardinal
Popple	The corn-cockle (Lychnis githago), a weed of wheat fields
Porket	A pig

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Port	Appearance
Porthose	To canonize as a saint
Portmen	Members of the town council
Portues	A breviary or book of liturgy
Portuous	(Of a saint) Included in the standard breviary or calendar
Position	A question or proposal
Post	A post-rider i.e. a man who carried letters from one post station to the next
Post alone	Entirely alone
Postcommon	The postcommunion, a prayer of thanksgiving said near the end of the mass, after the communion
Postil	A note or comment on a document
Potestate	A ruler, potentate
Pounced	Of a metal object, decorated by embossing or engraving
Practised	Worked on
Præmunire	The crime in English law of appealing to, or acknowledging, a power outside England (usually the Papacy) in defiance of the monarch.
Pravity	Wickedness
Prebend	The revenue of a specific plot of land belonging to an ecclesiastical foundation; a <i>prebendary</i> was the priest to which a prebend was allocated or <i>prebendated</i>
Prefe	Proof
Pregnancy	Fullness
Premonish	To speak of beforehand, to warn

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Preparature	Preparation
Prepense	Inclined towards
Prescript	A written command
President	An example to be followed
Prest money	Money given to a recruit on enlistment; "the King's shilling"
Presul	A prelate or bishop
Pretensed	Pretended, falsely claimed
Pretermit	To leave out, omit
Preue, preve	Proof
Prick	To shoot an arrow
Prick-louse	A tailor
Prick-song	Vocal music in more than one part or with an accompaniment
Primer and accidence	The elements of reading and writing
Priuilich	Privately
Privation	Deprivation, removal from office
Privily	Secretly
Privy	1) Secret 2) <i>made privy of/unto something</i> = told about it in confidence 3) <i>privy chamber</i> = private quarters 4) <i>privy council</i> = a committee of notables appointed by the King to advise him. 5) <i>Lord privy seal</i> = An officer of state whose formal duty is to keep and apply the King's seal to documents; he is usually a member of the cabinet or privy council
Probably	Plausibly, convincingly
Probation	Conclusive argument, proof

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Problem	To <i>keep a problem</i> = to discuss an academic proposition
Proclive	Inclined towards
Proditiion	Treachery
Proem	A prologue or introduction
Profect	Profit
Professor	One who proclaims his faith in the true religion
Prolation	A phrase or sentence spoken continuously, without a pause
Prolix	Long-winded
Proll	To prowl or rob
Prolocutor	1) a spokesman 2) The chairman of a parliament or congress
Promoter	An informer or unofficial prosecutor
Prompt	<i>Prompt with</i> = armed with, and very ready to use
Prone	Willing or inclined to do something.
Proper	Special, particular
Propone	To propose
Proprietary	The holder of an ecclesiastical benefice
Prorogations	Postponements
Prorogue	To postpone
Proscript	Proscribed
Prosopopœia	An orator's trick of speaking as if in the voice or person of someone else
Proterve	Stubborn, petulant
Protonotary	A senior papal clerk or envoy

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Prototypon	The first or original version of a document etc.
Prove	To test
Provisor	A person holding the right to be appointed to an office or benefice when it becomes vacant
Provoke	To invite
Psalmograph	Writer of Psalms; a title of King David of Israel and Judah
Puissance	Power
Puissant	Powerful
Pung	To peck
Pursue	To persecute
Pursuivant	A messenger or agent
Quadrant-place	A quadrangle or courtyard
Quail	To quell, suppress
Quarrel	A cross-bow arrow
Querell	To dispute or demur
Quest	A court or commission of enquiry
Questionary	At the University of Cambridge, an undergraduate in his final term
Questmen	Members of a commission of enquiry
Quick	Alive, living
Quier	A book
Quindecim	A fifteenth part
Quire	1) A choir 2) A book or document
Quondam	Former, formerly

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Rabbin	A Jewish Rabbi; used contemptuously to refer to other religious leaders
Raca	An offensive word in Biblical times; "Whosoever shall say to his brother, Raca, shall be in danger of the council." (Matt. 5. 22)
Ranging-wise	At random
Rap	To plunder or destroy
Rase	A measure
Rashful	Rash
Rate, Ratle	To scold, abuse verbally
Readie	Quick-witted and eloquent
Reave	To rob
Receitor, Receptor	A harbourer of criminals
Recluse	A prison cell
Recordative	Commemorative
Recule	To retreat
Recure	To restore to health
Recusation	An appeal based on the alleged partiality of a judge
Recuse	To reject someone's authority to do something
Reed	Advise
Refel	Disprove
Refocillation	Revival, refreshment
Refract, Refractorious	Stubborn
Refricate	To open up a wound
Refuse	To reject

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Regiment	Rule
Register	A keeper of records, registrar.
Reiterate	Repeat, repeated
Relent	To return to one's original beliefs
Replication, Replication duplic	Stages in the arguing of a case before a court i.e. The prosecutor makes a charge, then The defendant makes a reply, then The prosecutor makes a <i>replication</i> , then The defendant makes a <i>replication duplic</i>
Repugn	To oppose, fight against
Rescript	Strictly, the decision of the Roman emperor on a case referred to him by a governor or judge; more loosely, any formal written command by a person in authority
Residentiary	The canons of a cathedral
Resperse	To accuse
Respond	A responsary, i.e. a hymn or prayer sung or spoken by a single voice and the choir or congregation in turn
Retcheth	Reck, care themselves with
Retract	A military retreat
Revest	To don vestments for a religious ceremony
Revestry	The vestry of a church
Rhodanus	The River Rhône
Rochet	A linen surplice
Rocker	A child's nurse, who rocks the cradle
Rode, Rood	A crucifix
Rogation	Chanting the litany of the saints during a procession

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Rood	A crucifix
Rood-loft	A loft gallery above and behind a rood-screen
Rood-screen	A screen, usually richly decorated or carved, at the end of the nave of a church before the altar.
Rood-sollor	A rood-loft (qv).
Room	Place, position of authority
Rooten	Dig up with the snout, like a pig in filth
Rounding	Trimming the hair to the same length all the way around
Rouse	To rest or sleep
Rown	To whisper
Royal	An English gold coin, worth ten shillings
Ruff	A state of excitement or pride
Ruffler	A fine-clothed but useless fellow
Ruffling	Showing off
Runagate	A fugitive scoundrel or vagrant ruffian
Sabaoth	<i>Lord of Sabaoth</i> = Lord of Hosts, a title of God
Sacramentals	In Catholic practice, various things which resemble sacraments but are not one of the seven; as, the sign of the Cross; blessing of holy water etc.
Sacramentary	One who holds "heretical" (i.e. not Catholic) views on the Eucharist
Sacring	The consecration of the Mass
Sale	To assail
Sarcenet	A fine silk cloth
Saturity	Repletion

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Sauter	The Book of Psalms
Say	A fine cloth of silk and wool woven together
Scathe	Injury, damage
Schone	Shall
Scurrier	A soldier sent out to see what the enemy is doing, a scout
Scutage	A tax paid instead of military service
Seam	Eight bushels
Searcher	A minor customs official, who searches for contraband
Sechen	Seek
Secluding	Prohibiting
Seggen	Say
Seigniory	Lordship or dominion; or the lands over which this is held
Sein	Say
Seised	Of land or property: assigned or granted to someone
Seizin-taking	Taking possession of a token of ownership e.g. the keys of a house.
Seker	Certain
Semblable Semblably	Similar, similarly
Sententially	As a judicial sentence
Sententiary	A person who has compiled a compendium of theological opinions.
Sepulture	A tomb
Sequestration	Confiscation of the income of a benefice
Seraphical	Angel-like, a title specifically given to St.

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	Bonaventure (1221-1274)
Servage	Bondage, serfdom
Several	Separate or individual
Severally	Separately or individually
Sewer	A servant who lays the table, serves the meal etc.
Seyen	See
Shad	Shed
Share-Thursday	Holy, or Maundy Thursday – the Thursday before Easter
Shaveling	A tonsured monk
Shawm	A musical instrument resembling an oboe.
Shearman	A cloth-shearer
Sheave	To collect, gather up
Shelt-toad	A toad from the river Scheldt
Shent	Ruined, destroyed
Shere-Thursday	Maundy or Holy Thursday, i.e. the Thursday before Easter
Shew-bread	Special loaves of bread which were placed on a table in the Temple of Jerusalem every Sabbath and eaten by the priests at the end of the week. See Exod. xxv. 30.
Shifter	An idle worthless fellow
Shog	To shake vigorously
Shone	Shoes
Shrewd	False and malicious
Shrift	Absolution
Shriuing	Confession

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Shrove Sunday	The Sunday seven weeks before Easter
Shullen	Shall
Shulne	Shall
Sideman	An assistant churchwarden
Siege	Seat
Silly	Innocent
Sink	A sewer or drain
Sith	Since
Sith that	Provided that
Sithe	Times
Sithen	So that
Sithence	Since
Skill	To be of importance
Slander-giving	Encouraging others to sin by bad example
Slaughter-slave	An executioner
Sle	Slay
Slean	Slay
Sleight, sleighty	Deceitful
Slipper-dealing	Deceitful practices
Slops	Baggy trousers
Slorried	Smeared with dirt
Slowen	Slain
Smaragd	An emerald
Smit	Struck
Snaffle	A kind of horse-bridle
Snaffle	A horse bridle

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Snag	To jeer at, nag, abuse
Snarled	Strangled, or tortured with a twisted rope
Snuff	<i>To take snuff</i> = to take offence
Sod, Sodden	Boiled
Soke	The area within which a particular court or grand jury had authority
Soldan	Sultan
Soldier-fare	Military service
Solicitor	An agent or deputy
Solution	An answer or explanation
Somoner, Somnor	A bailiff of an ecclesiastical court, who summons people to attend
Sooth-deacon	A formally appointed deputy or representative
Soothfastness	Constancy in holding to the truth
Sop	A piece of bread dipped in wine or other liquid
Sophistry	False or dishonest arguments
Sorbonical	After the fashion of the Sorbonne, or University of Paris
Souter	A cobbler or shoemaker
Spar	To bolt down, fasten tightly
Sparsed	Spread
Specialty	A particular point of argument
Speed	To succeed
Spinster	A woman whose occupation was spinning thread
Spirituality	The clergy or hierarchy

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Splent	The elbow-piece in a suit of armour
Spouse-breach	Adultery
Spoushod	Marriage
Springall	A young man
Spur-gall	To injure a horse by excessive use of spurs
Spurging	Oozing of matter, fæces etc. from the body
Spurn	Kick or trample underfoot
St. James's tide	25 th July
Staple	A, or the only, legally licensed market for wool for purchase by foreigners
Starting-hole	Literally, a hole in which a hunted animal can hide; metaphorically, a loophole, or "get-out"
Stellify	To place among the stars
Sternship	Haughtiness
Stied	Went (the word is principally used to describe Christ's ascension into heaven)
Stiver	A Dutch coin, worth about one English penny
Stocks	The name of a market for meat and fish in the City of London
Stover	Fodder, animal food
Strait	Strict, rigorous, narrow, closely confined.
Strumpet	A whore
Sturdy	Obstinate
Suffice	To serve
Suffragan	An assistant or subordinate bishop
Suffrage	1) An assistant 2) Help, assistance of any kind

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Sugge	To say
Sugget	A saying
Suit	Requirement
Sumner	A bailiff of an ecclesiastical court, who summons people to attend
Sum-papal	A summary of papal edicts on a particular topic
Sumpsimus	A new but correct belief or custom (opposed to <i>mumpsimus</i>)
Sumpter	A pack-horse
Super-altar	A slab of stone consecrated for use as an altar when placed on a table etc.
Supertare	The ritual of profession as a Benedictine monk
Supererogation	In <i>works of supererogation</i> : in Catholic theology, the performance of good works beyond what God commands or requires; this builds up a store of grace which the Church can dispense in the form of indulgences etc.
Supple	To soften
Supposition	An argument for a proposition
Supputation	A system of calculation
Surname	A nickname
Sustentation	Provision of food, drink and other necessities
Sweat	A disease marked by high fever and copious sweating
Sweuen	A false vision or fake miracle
Swill	Liquid filth
Swinge	Power or authority; in phrase <i>To bear the</i>

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	<i>swinge</i> = to have power or authority
Swingel of a flail	A flail was an implement for threshing corn, consisting of a long handle or staff and a shorter stick, the swingle, loosely tied to the end of the staff so it could swing freely. The thresher held the flail by the staff and beat the sheaves of corn with the swingle to dislodge the grains from the straw.
Synagogue	A church or abbey notorious for corrupt practices or false doctrines, blasphemy etc.; An assembly of false religion or blasphemy
Synecdoche	A figure of speech where the part is taken for the whole, or vice versa
Tabret	A small drum
Tallage	An arbitrary tax levied by special order
Tally for his own cates	To obtain food and other necessities on credit
Tarriance	Delay
Teende	Attend with
Temerarious	Rash, reckless
Temporalty	The laity
Tender	To treat with tenderness or affection
Tent	To clean a wound with a small roll of cloth
Tenths	Tithes
Tergiversation	Changing sides; denying what one has previously asserted or vice versa
Term probatory	A period of time given to a litigant to prepare his case
Terrene	Of the earth in the sense (1) as opposed to heavenly or (2) peasant-like, low-class

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Tertian	A fever recurring every third day
The land of behest	The Promised Land
Thicker	A fuller, i.e. a person whose occupation is the cleaning and preparation of newly-woven cloth
Thilke	This
Tho	Then
Thoore	Unharmd
Thrall	A slave
Thrasonical	Boastful [like Thraso, a character in the play Eunuchus by the Roman playwright Terence]
Threnes of Jeremy	The book of Lamentations, in the Old Testament
Thurify	To bless with incense
Tickle	Unstable, ready to fall at a touch ; Credulous, easily persuaded
Tied his points	Fastened his laces
Tippet	A hood or hooded cloak
Tipstaff , Tipstave	A court usher or bailiff
Tithed to death	Decimated (i.e. every tenth man killed)
Titiviller	The name of a demon in a morality play; hence, a scoundrel
Tituled	Named
To lie for the whetstone	To tell outrageous lies
To-brast	Completely destroy
To-broken	Destroyed, torn up
Tofore	In front of
Tollage	Money paid in tolls or taxes

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Toll-booth	The name of the town prison in Cambridge and Edinburgh
Tonsure	A shaven patch on the top of the head
Tose	To card wool
Totquots	A papal dispensation allowing the holder to have any number of benefices
Towardness	Exceptional aptitude.
Toy	A trifle or bauble, a whimsy
Tractation	Written discussion or discourse
Trade	A way of life, moral attitude towards living
Train	A deception or fraud
Transumpt	(N) A transcript or formal copy of a record or decree (V) To copy, transfer or transform
Trael	Labour
Travail	1) Labour 2) Suffering
Travell	Suffering
Traverse, Travise	A dispute or controversy
Treen shoes	Wooden shoes, clogs
Trencher	A wooden dish
Trental	A series of thirty requiem masses
Trim-couched	Well-chosen to deceive
Trindles	A wax taper rolled into a coil
Trope	A figure of speech
Tropical	Metaphorical
Trought	Truth

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Trow	To believe
Tucker	A cloth-fuller or finisher
Tuition	Protection, guardianship
Tunably	Harmoniously
Tunned	Got drunk with
Tympany	A swelling of the abdomen caused by gas in the intestines or stomach.
Uiker, Uicar	Vicar, in the sense of appointed representative
Unconning	Foolish
Unlefull	Unlawful
Unmeet	Unsuitable
Unwitty	Foolish, stupid
Unworshipped	Disrespected
Usance	Lending or borrowing at (usually usurious) interest
Utas	The eighth day after the specified feast day
Vail	An extra payment or profit, a perk
Vantage	Advantage
Vastation	Devastation, destruction
Vaumure	An outer fortification
Vaward	The vanguard
Verament	Truly
Verilich	Truly
Very	True, truly; pure
Viage	Voyage
Vicegerent	A person appointed by the king with full authority to act on his behalf

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Vidame	A layman who acted for a bishop in legal and business matters
Vie crowns	A gambling game by tossing coins for double or quits
Vilipend	To regard, or treat, a person as being vile or worthless
Vility	Vileness
Vineat	An ornamental border of vine leaves in a manuscript
Visor	A mask or outward show
Vitiate	To spoil or wear out
Vocable	A spoken word
Void	To depart from
Waits	The members of a municipal band, employed by the city to play on public occasions
Walisch	Welsh
Wan hope	Despair
Wanyand	An imprecation or curse
Ward	A lock; prison
Warren	An area of land enclosed for breeding game animals or birds.
Wast	Year, day and <i>wast</i> = "a prerogative whereby the sovereign was entitled to the profits for a year and a day of a tenement held by a person attainted of petty treason or felony, with the right of wasting the tenement" (OED)
Waster	A wooden sword used for fencing practice
Watchet-hose	Pale blue stockings
Waxen	Grown up

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Weasand	The throat
Web	A piece of woven cloth, as it comes from the loom
Weed	A cloak or costume
Ween	Suppose, believe
Weet	To know
Wele	Prosperity
Wete, weten	1) to know 2) to ask of someone
Wheeler	A wheel-maker
Where-through	Through which
Whirlpit	A whirlpool
Whist	To whisper
Whittled	Drunk
Wild he, nild he	Whether he wanted or not
Will-works	Works performed by the human will, without divine grace
Will-worship	Worship of God in a form or way not authorised by Him (i.e. different from those of the speaker)
Wimble	An auger or gimlet
Wis	1) To know 2) To declare
Wist	Knew
Wit	To know
Witty	Sensible, intelligent
Wolden	Would
Wonnyer, Wonnier	Inhabitant

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

Wood-knife	A short sword or large knife, used by huntsmen for disembowelling and cutting up game
Woodness	Madness, violent anger
Woolward	<i>To go woolward</i> = to wear coarse woollen cloth next the skin, as a penance or punishment
Wot	Know
Wracke	Revenge
Wrakers	Those who wreak vengeance
Wreke	To work, do something
Writhe	To distort
Wyllingly	Thankfully
Ybeden	Bade
Ybore	Born
Ych	I
Year-mind	A Mass said on the anniversary of someone's death
Yeve	To give
Yift	A gift
Ylich	Equally
Younker	A young gentleman
You-ward	Towards you
Yuill	Evil
Ywit	Know
Zif	Thus; or as phrase <i>zif all</i> = although

Life Of John Fox

(From The Dictionary of National Biography, 1885)

FOX, JOHN (1516-1587), martyrologist, was born at Boston, Lincolnshire, in 1516. The date is supplied by a grant of arms made to his family on 21 Dec. 1598 (MAITLAND, Notes, pt. i. 8-10). He is there said to be lineally connected with Richard Foxe, bishop of Winchester, but this relationship is improbable. The father, of whom nothing is known, died while his sons were very young. Foxe had at least one brother. The mother married a second husband, Richard Melton, to whom Foxe dedicated an early work, 'An Instruccyon of .Christen Fayth,' with every mark of affection. He was a studious youth, and attracted the notice of one Randall, a citizen of Coventry, and of John Harding or Hawarden, fellow of Brasenose College, Oxford. His stepfather's means were small, and these friends sent him to Oxford about 1532, when he was sixteen years old. According to the untrustworthy biography of 1641, attributed to Foxe's son Samuel, Foxe entered at Brasenose College, where his patron Hawarden was tutor. He is not mentioned in the college books. It must, however, be admitted that Foxe, when dedicating his 'Syllogisticon' (1563) to Hawarden, writes of him as if he had been his tutor; and that Alexander Nowell, afterwards dean of St. Paul's (stated in the biography of 1641 to have been Foxe's chamber-fellow at Oxford), was a member of Brasenose, and was one of Foxe's lifelong friends. Foxe also refers to Brasenose thrice in his 'Actes and Monuments,' but the absence of any comment indicating personal association with the place does not give this circumstance any weight. If he resided at Brasenose at all, it was probably for a brief period as Hawarden's private pupil. He must undoubtedly have attended Magdalen College School at the same time. A close connection with both Magdalen School and College is beyond question. The matriculation register for the years during which Foxe would have been 'in statu pupillari' is unfortunately lost. But he became probationer fellow of Magdalen in July 1538, and full fellow 25 July 1539, being joint lecturer in logic with Baldwin Norton in 1539-1540, and proceeding B.A. 17 July 1537 and M.A. in July 1543 (Oxf. Univ. Reg., Oxf. Hist. Soc., i. 188). Foxe repeatedly identifies himself with Magdalen in his works and private letters. 'For which foundation,' he writes in the 'Actes,' iii. 716, 'as there have been and be yet many students bound to yield grateful thanks unto God, so I must needs confess to be one, except I will be unkind.' About 1564, when one West (formerly of Magdalen) was charged in the court of high commission with making rebellious speeches, Foxe used his influence to procure the offender's pardon, on the sole ground that he had belonged to the same school and college at Oxford as himself. As fellow of Magdalen Foxe had his difficulties. His intimate friends and correspondents at Oxford included, besides Nowell, Richard Bertie, John Cheke of Cambridge, Hugh Latimer, and William Tindal, and like them he strongly favoured extreme forms of protestantism.

His colleagues at Magdalen were divided on doctrinal questions, and the majority inclined to the old forms of religious belief. He was bound by the statutes to attend the college chapel with regularity, and to proceed to holy orders within seven years of his election to his fellowship. He declined to conform to either rule. Complaint was made to the president, Dr. Owen Oglethorp, and Foxe defended himself in a long letter (Lansd. MS. 388). He expressly objected to the enforcement of celibacy on the fellows. Finally, in July 1545, he and five of his colleagues resigned their fellowships. There was no expulsion, as Foxe's biographer of 1641 and most of his successors have asserted. The college register records that '*ex honesta causa recesserunt sponte a collegio*,' and Foxe's future references to his college prove that he bore it no ill-will.

Before leaving Oxford, Foxe mentioned in a letter to Tindal that he had derived much satisfaction from a visit to the Lucy family at Charlecote, Warwickshire. Thither he now directed his steps. William Lucy seems to have given him temporary employment as tutor to his son Thomas. On 3 Feb. 1546-7 Foxe married, at Charlecote Church, Agnes Randall, daughter of his old friend of Coventry, a lady who seems to have been in the service of the Lucys. He thereupon came up to London to seek a livelihood. The biographer of 1641 draws a dreary picture of his disappointments and destitution, and relates how an unknown and anonymous benefactor put a purse of gold into his hand, while in a half-dying condition in St. Paul's Cathedral, and how he received soon afterwards an invitation to visit Mary Fitzroy, duchess of Richmond, at her residence, Mountjoy House, Knight rider Street. The latter statement is well founded. It is undoubted that Foxe and his friend Bale, whose acquaintance he first made at Oxford, were both, early in 1548, entertained by the duchess, who was at one with them on religious questions (*Actes*, iii. 705). Through the joint recommendation of his hostess and of Bale, Foxe was moreover appointed before the end of the year tutor to the orphan children of Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, who had been executed 19 Jan. 1546-7. The duchess was the earl's sister, and Bale was intimate with Lord Wentworth, who had been the children's guardian since their father's death. There were two boys, Thomas, afterwards duke of Norfolk (b. 1536), and Henry Howard, afterwards earl of Northampton (b. 1539), together with three girls. Foxe joined his pupils at the castle of Reigate, a manor belonging to their grandfather, the Duke of Norfolk. He remained there for five years.

In that interval Foxe published his earliest theological tracts. All advocated advanced reforming views. Their titles are: '*De non plectendis morte adulteris consultatio Ioannis Foxi*,' London, per Hugonem Syngletonum, 1548, dedicated to Thomas Picton; '*A Sarmon of Jhon Oecolampadius to Yong Men and Maydens*,' dedicated to 'Master Segrave,' London? 1550?; '*An Instruccyon of Christen Fayth*,' London, Hugh Syngleton, 1550? dedicated to Melton, his stepfather, a translation from Urbanus Regius; and '*De Censura, sive Excommunicatione Ecclesiastica, Interpellatio ad archiepiscopum Cantabr.*,' London, Stephen Mierdmannus, 1551. The first work was reissued in 1549 under the new title '*De lapsis in Ecclesiam recipiendis consultatio*,' with a '*Præfaciuncula ad lectorem*' substituted for the dedication to Picton

(MAITLAND D, *Early Hooks in Lambeth Library*, pp. 223-4). Furthermore, he prepared a school book, 'Tables of Grammar,' London, 1552. According to Wood, eight lords of the privy council subscribed to print this work, but its brevity disappointed its patrons. Meanwhile Foxe was reading much in church history with a view to an elaborate defence of the protestant position. On 24 June 1550 he was ordained deacon by Ridley, bishop of London, in St. Paul's Cathedral. He stayed for the purpose in Barbican, at the house of the Duchess dowager of Suffolk, who became the wife of; his friend, Richard Bertie.. Subsequently he preached as a volunteer at Reigate, being the first to preach protestantism there.

The accession of Mary in July 1553 proved of serious import to Foxe. One of the queen's I earliest acts was to release from prison the old Duke of Norfolk (d. 1554), the grandfather of Foxe's pupils. The duke was a catholic, and promptly dismissed Foxe from his tutorship. It is probable that Foxe thereupon took up his residence at Stepney, whence he dates the dedication of 'A Fruitfull Sermon of the moost Euangelicall wryter, M. Luther, made of the Angelles '(London, by Hugh Syngleton, 1554?). The elder lad, Thomas, had formed a strong affection for his teacher, and when he was sent from Reigate to be under the care of Bishop Gardiner at Winchester House, he contrived that Foxe should pay him secret visits. Foxe was soon alarmed by the obvious signs of a catholic revival. A rumour that parliament was about to re-enact the six articles of 1539 drew from him a well-written Latin petition denouncing any change in the religious establishment. It is reported by the biographer of 1641 that early in 1554 Foxe was visiting his pupil at Gardiner's house, when the bishop entered the room, and was told that Foxe was the lad's physician. Gardiner paid Foxe an equivocal compliment, which raised his suspicions. The majority of his friends had already left England for the continent at the first outbreak of persecution, and he determined to follow them. With his wife, who was expecting her confinement, he hurried to Ipswich, and arrived at Nieuport after a very stormy passage. He travelled to Strasburg by easy stages, and met his friend Edmund Grindal there in July. He had brought with him in manuscript the first part of a Latin treatise on the persecutions of reformers in Europe from the time of Wycliffe to his own day. A Strasburg printer, Wendelin Richelius, hurriedly put it into type in time for the great Frankfort fair. The volume, a small octavo of 212 leaves, is now of great rarity. It forms the earliest draft of the 'Actes and Monuments;' but only comes down to 1500, and deals mainly with the lives of Wycliffe and Huss. Some notes of Bishop Pecock are added, together with an address to the university of Oxford, deploring the recent revival there of the doctrine of transubstantiation. The dedication, dated from Strasburg 31 Aug. 1554, was addressed to Christopher, duke of Württemberg, and is said to have displeased the duke, a well-known patron of protestants. The title usually runs: 'Commentarii rerum in ecclesia gestarum maximarumque per totam Europam persecutionum a Vuicleui temporibus ad hanc usque ætatem descriptio. Liber primus. . . . Anno MDLIII.' But copies are met with with a title-page beginning 'Chronicon Ecclesiæ continens historiam rerum,' &c., where the date is given as MDLXIII, and the printer's name as Josias instead of Wendelinus Richelius. Dr. Maitland suggested

that this date was an error due to the hasty production, but it seems more probable that the second title belongs to a later reprint.

By the end of 1554 Foxe had joined the protestant refugees at Frankfort, and was lodging with a well-known puritan, Anthony Gilby. Foxe found a heated controversy as to forms of worship raging among his countrymen at Frankfort. Some wished to adhere to Edward VI's second prayer-book, others desired a severer liturgy, and denounced the surplice and viva-voce responses. The civic authorities had meanwhile directed the adoption of the service-book of the French protestants. Various modifications were suggested, but all failed to pacify the contending factions. Knox had lately been summoned from Geneva by a portion of the English at Frankfort to act as their minister. He proposed that the dispute should be referred to Calvin. Foxe, who at once took a prominent place among Knox's supporters, encouraged this course. Calvin recommended a compromise between the Anglican and Genevan forms of prayer. Foxe offered, in conjunction with Knox and others, to give the suggestion practical effect. The offer was rejected, but a temporary settlement was effected by Knox without Foxe's aid. In the middle of 1555 the quarrel broke out anew. Dr. Richard Cox reached Frankfort, and at once headed the party in favour of an undiluted anglican ritual. Knox attacked Cox from his pulpit. But Cox and his friends had influence with the civic authorities; serious charges were brought against Knox, and he was directed to quit the town. The controversy was not ended. Foxe suggested arbitration, but he was overruled. On 1 Sept. 1555 he and Whittingham, now the leaders of the Genevan party, announced their intention of abandoning Frankfort. They gave Knox's expulsion as their chief reason for this step. Whittingham straightway left for Geneva. Foxe remained behind, reluctant to part with Nowell and other friends. As a final attempt at reconciling the rival parties he wrote (12 Oct.) entreating Peter Martyr, whom he had met at Strasburg, to come and lecture on divinity to the English at Frankfort. Despite the controversy, he spoke of the kind reception with which he had met there. But Martyr declined the invitation, and in the middle of November Foxe removed to Basle. Foxe suffered acutely from poverty while at Basle. He wrote to Grindal soon after his arrival that he was reduced to his last penny, and was thankful for a gift of two crowns. He begged his pupil, now Duke of Norfolk, and his new patron, the Duke of Württemberg, to help him. But his destitution did not blunt his energies. He found employment as a reader of the press in the printing office of Johann Herbst or Oporinus, an enthusiastic protestant and publisher of protestant books. Foxe was henceforth closely connected with the trade of printing. According to the 'Stationers' Register' (ed. Arber, i. 33), one John Foxe took up the freedom of the Stationers' Company on 5 March 1554-5, and paid 3s. 4d. for his breakfast on the occasion. His intimate association in later years with the London printer, John Day (1522-1584), makes it almost certain that this entry refers to the martyrologist. Oporinus and Foxe lived on the best of terms; they corresponded after Foxe had left the continent, and Oporinus allowed Foxe, while in his employ, adequate leisure for his own books. Before leaving Frankfort he had begun to translate into Latin Cranmer's treatise on the Eucharist in answer to Gardiner (London, 1551).

He found the task difficult. Grindal and others begged him to persevere. "When he heard of Cranmer's death in 1556 he at once negotiated with Christopher Froschover of Zurich for its publication, but the negotiation dragged on till 1559, and the work, although partly utilised by Foxe elsewhere, still remains in manuscript (Harleian MS. 418). In 1556 Oporinus published Foxe's 'Christus Triumphans,' an apocalyptic drama after German models, in five acts of Latin verse, concluding with a 'panegyricon' on Christ in Latin prose. The original manuscript is in Lansdowne MS. 1073. Tanner says that an edition was issued in London in 1551, a statement of doubtful authority. The work is a crude and tedious mystery play, but achieved such success as to be published in a French translation by Jean Bienvenu at Geneva in 1562, a form in which it is now of the utmost rarity. An English translation by Richard Day appeared in 1578, 1599, and 1607, and reprints of the original, prepared by Thomas Comber for use in schools, 'ob insignem styli elegantiam'-- an undeserved compliment -- are dated 1672 and 1677 (cf. HERFORD, *Studies in the Lit. Relations of England and Germany*, pp. 138-48). After Ridley, Latimer, and Cranmer had fallen at the stake, Foxe drew up an admirable expostulation and plea for toleration, addressed to the nobility of England (8 Feb. 1555-6). It was first printed by Oporinus at Basle in 1557 under the title 'Ad inclytos ac præpotentes Angliæ procures . . . supplicatio. Autore Ioanne Foxo Anglo.' In the same year he brought out an ingenious series of rules for aiding the memory, entitled 'Locorum communium logicalium tituli et ordines 150, ad seriem prædicamentorum decem descripti,' Basle, which was reissued in London as 'Pandectæ locorum communium' in 1585. In 1557 and 1558 Foxe remonstrated in a friendly way with Knox on account of the strong language used in 'The First Blast of the Trumpet; 'and on Elizabeth's accession he wrote a congratulatory address, which Oporinus printed. Meanwhile Foxe was receiving through Grindal reports of the protestant persecutions in England. Bradford's case was one of the earliest he received. When reports of Cranmer's examinations arrived Foxe prepared them for publication, and Grindal seems to have proposed that these and the reports of proceedings against other martyrs should be issued separately in two forms, one in Latin and the other in English. Foxe was to be responsible for the Latin form. The English form was to be prepared and distributed in England. Only in the case of the story of Philpot's martyrdom was this plan carried out. Strype preserves the title of Foxe's pamphlet, printed at Basle, detailing Philpot's sufferings 'Mira et elegans cum primis historia vel tragœdia potius de tota ratione examinationis et condemnationis J. Philpotti . . . nunc in Latinum versa, interprete J. F.,' but no copy is now known. On 10 June 1557 Grindal urged Fox to complete at once his account of the persecution of reformers in England as far as the end of Henry VIII's reign (GRINDAL, *Remaines, Parker Soc.*, p. 223 et seq.) He worked steadily, and in 1559 had brought his story of persecution down to nearly the end of Mary's reign. Nicolaus Brylinger with Oporinus sent the work, which was all in Latin, to press, and it appeared in folio under the title 'Rerum in ecclesia gestarum, quae postremis et periculosis his temporibus evenerunt, maximarumque per Europam Persecutionum ac Sanctorum Dei Martyrum si quae insignioris exempli sunt, digesti per Regna et Nationes commentarii. Pars prima, in qua primum de rebus per Angliam et Scotiam gestis atque in primis de horrenda sub

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

Maria nuper regina persecutione narratio continetur. Autore Joanne Foxo, Anglo.' A second part, giving the history of the persecutions of the reformers on the continent, was announced to follow, but Foxe abandoned it, and that part of the work was undertaken by Henry Pantaleone of Zurich. This great volume of 732 numbered pages is in six books, of which the first embodies the little volume of 'Commentarii.' The expostulation addressed to the nobility is reprinted (pp. 239-61). Bishop Hooper's treatise on the Eucharist, forwarded to Bullinger, and written while in prison, appears with dissertations on the same subject by Ridley, Latimer, and Cranmer. The whole was dedicated to Foxe's pupil, the Duke of Norfolk (1 Sept. 1559). At the same time as the book was issued the pope (Paul IV) announced that he had prohibited Oporinus from publishing any further books.

Foxe left for England in October, a month after his great book had been published. He wrote announcing his arrival to the Duke of Norfolk, who offered him lodgings in his house at Christchurch, Aldgate, and afterwards invited him to one of his country houses. On 25 Jan. 1559-60 Grindal, now" bishop of London, ordained him priest, and in September 1560 Parkhurst, another friend, who had just become bishop of Norwich, promised to use his influence to obtain a prebendal stall at Norwich for him. Foxe is often represented as having lived for some time with Parkhurst, and as having 1 preached in his diocese. The bishop invited him to Norwich (29 Jan. 1563-4), but there is no evidence of an earlier visit. From the autumn of 1561 Foxe was chiefly engaged in translating his latest volume into English and in elaborating its information. The papers of Ralph Morice, Cranmer's secretary, had fallen into his hands, together with much new and, as Foxe believed, authentic material. Most of his time was clearly spent in London at the Duke of Norfolk's house in Aldgate, but every Monday he worked at the printing-office of John Day in Aldersgate Street, who had undertaken the publication.

In 1564, after the death of the Duchess of Norfolk, Foxe removed from the duke's house to Day's house in Aldersgate Street, and took a prominent part in Day's business. He petitioned Cecil (6 July 1568) to relax in Day's behalf the law prohibiting a printer from employing more than four foreign workmen. Day's close connection with Foxe's great undertaking is commemorated in the lines on Day's tombstone in the church of Little Bradley, Suffolk:

He set a Fox to wright how martyrs runne
By death to lyfe: Fox ventured paynes and health
To give them light: Daye spent in print his wealth.
(*Notes and Queries*, 6th ser. yiii. 246.)

But Foxe's stay in Day's house was probably only temporary. In 1565 he spent some time at Waltham. The register states that two of his children, Rafe and Mary, were baptised there on 29 Jan. 1565-6. Fuller in 'The Infant's Advocate,' 1653, not only credits Waltham with being Foxe's home when he was preparing 'his large and

learned works,' but says that he left his posterity a considerable estate in the parish. The biographer of 1641 writes that Foxe was on very good terms with Anne, the wife of Sir Thomas Heneage, who was a large landowner in the neighbourhood of Waltham. On 24 July 1749 the antiquary Dr. Stukeley made a pilgrimage to the house associated with Foxe at Waltham, and it then seems to have been a popular show-place (*Memoirs*, ii. 211). About 1570 Foxe removed to Grub Street, where he probably lived till his death.

On 20 March 1562-3 Foxe's '*Actes and Monuments*' issued from Day's press, on the very same day as Oporinus published at Basle the second part of the Latin original containing Pantaleone's account of the persecutions on the continent. The title of the '*Actes and Monuments*' seems to have been borrowed from a book called '*Actiones et Monimenta Martyrum*,' printed by Jean Crespin at Geneva in 1560. Grindal had written of Foxe's projected work as '*Historia Martyrum*,' 19 Dec. 1558. From the date of its publication it was popularly known as the '*Book of Martyrs*,' and even in official documents as '*Monumenta Martyrum*.' The first edition has four dedicatory epistles: to Jesus Christ, the queen, ad doctum lectorem (alone in Latin), and to the persecutors of God's truth. A preface 'on the utility of the story' is a translation from the Basle volume of 1559. Foxe forwarded a copy to Magdalen College, with a letter explaining that the work was written in English 'for the good of the country and the information of the multitude,' and received in payment 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* The success of the undertaking was immediate, and at the suggestion of Jewell, bishop of Salisbury, the author received his first reward in the shape of a prebend in Salisbury Cathedral, together with the lease of the vicarage of Shipton (11 May 1563). Before the year was out he had brought out an elaborate treatise on the Eucharist, entitled '*Syllogisticon*,' with a dedication to his old friend Hawarden, now principal of Brasenose, and in 1564 he published a Latin translation of Grindal's funeral sermon in memory of the Emperor Ferdinand I. But he also spent much time in helping the plague-stricken, and made a powerful appeal to the citizens for help for the afflicted (1564). His poverty did not cease. His clothes were still shabby; the pension which the Duke of Norfolk gave him was very small, and when he bestowed the vicarage of Shipton on William Master he appealed to the queen (August 1564) to remit the payment of first-fruits, on the ground that neither of them had a farthing. He also informed her, in very complimentary terms, that he contemplated writing her life. At Salisbury he declined to conform or to attend to his duties regularly. He had conscientious objections to the surplice. He was absent from Jewell's visitation in June 1568, and in the following December was declared contumacious on refusing to devote a tithe of his income to the repair of the cathedral. On the Good Friday after the publication of the papal bull excommunicating the queen (1570), Foxe, at Grindal's bidding, preached a powerful sermon at St. Paul's Cross, and renewed his attacks on the catholics. The sermon, entitled '*A Sermon of Christ Crucified*,' was published by Day immediately, with a prayer and 'a postscript to the papists,' and was reissued, 'newly recognised by the authour,' in 1575, 1577, and 1585. A very rare edition was printed for the Stationers' Company in 1609. On 1 Oct. 1571 Foxe

translated it into Latin, and Day issued it under the title 'De Christo Crucifixo Concio.' In this shape it was published at Frankfort in 1575.

Foxe's correspondence was rapidly increasing, and his position in ecclesiastical circles grew influential. Parkhurst (29 Jan. 1563-4) solicited his aid in behalf of Conrad Gesner, who was writing on the early Christian writers. Lawrence Humphrey, president of Magdalen, appealed to him to procure for him an exemption from the regulations affecting clerical dress, but Humphrey afterwards conformed. On 20 Nov. 1573 one Torporley begged him to obtain for him a studentship at Christ Church. Strangers consulted him repeatedly about their religious difficulties. Francis Baxter (4 Jan. 1572) inquired his opinion respecting the lawfulness of sponsors, and another correspondent asked how he was to cure himself of the habit of blaspheming. About the same time Foxe corresponded with Lord-chief-justice Monson respecting the appointment of a schoolmaster at Ipswich, and recommended a lady to marry one of his intimate friends.

Much of his correspondence also dealt with the credibility of his monumental work. The catholics had been greatly angered by its publication. They nicknamed it 'Foxe's Golden Legend,' and expressed special disgust at the calendar prefixed to the book, in which the protestant martyrs took the place of the old saints (STRYPE, *Annals*, i. 375-80). Foxe's accuracy was first seriously impugned in the 'Dialogi Sex,' published in 1566 under the name of Alan Cope, although the author was without doubt Nicholas Harpsfield. Foxe showed some sensitiveness to such attacks. He instituted inquiries with a view to corrections or corroborations for a second edition, which the puritan party deemed it desirable to issue before the meeting of parliament in April 1571. This edition (1570) was in two volumes, the first of 934 pages, and the second of 1378. New engravings were added; there was a new dedication to the queen, in which Foxe declared that he only republished the book to confute the attacks of evil-disposed persons, who had made it appear that his work was as 'full of lies as lines.' The address to the persecutors of God's truth was omitted; a protestation to the true and faithful congregation of Christ's universal church, and four questions addressed to the church of Rome were added. Magdalen College paid 6*l.* 8*s.* for a copy of this new edition, and another copy belonging to Nowell was bequeathed by him to Brasenose, where it still is. Convocation meeting at Canterbury on 3 April resolved that copies of this edition, which was called in the canon 'Monumenta Martyrum,' should be placed in cathedral churches and in the houses of archbishops, bishops, deacons, and archdeacons. Although this canon was never confirmed by parliament, it was very widely adopted in the country.

About the same time Foxe prepared, from manuscripts chiefly supplied by Archbishop Parker, a collection of the regulations adopted by the reformed English church, which was entitled 'Reformatio Legum.' A proposal in parliament to accept this collection as the official code of ecclesiastical law met with no success, owing to the queen's intervention and her promise never fulfilled that her ministers should undertake a like task. But it was printed by Day in 1571, and held by the puritans in

high esteem. It was reissued in 1640, and again by Edward Card well in 1850. In the same year (1571) Foxe performed for Parker a more important task. He produced, with a dedication to the queen, an edition of the Anglo-Saxon text of the Gospels. This was similarly printed by Day, and is now a rare book. Two years later he collected the works of Tindal, Frith, and Barnes, giving extracts from his own account of the writers in his 'Actes.'

On 2 June 1572 Foxe's pupil and patron, the Duke of Norfolk, was executed, at the age of thirty-six, for conspiring with Mary Queen of Scots and the catholic nobility against Elizabeth. Foxe attended him to the scaffold. Some time before he had heard the rumours of Norfolk's contemplated marriage with the Queen of Scots, and had written a strong protest against it. Foxe's biographers have exaggerated the influence which his early training exerted on the duke and on his brother, Henry Howard, afterwards earl of Northampton. It is obvious that they assimilated few of their tutor's religious principles. On the scaffold the duke denied that he was a catholic; but he, like his brother in after years, had shown unmistakable leanings to Catholicism. It is to the credit of both Foxe and the duke that their affection for each other never waned. The duke directed his heirs to allow Foxe an annuity of 20*l*. On 14 Oct. of the same year Bishop Pilkington installed Foxe in a prebendal stall at Durham Cathedral; but Foxe was still obstinately opposed to the surplice, and within the year he resigned the office. Tanner asserts that he was at one time vicar of St. Giles's, Cripplegate. Foxe's friend, Robert Crowley, held this benefice for a long period; but he was suspended between 1569 and 1578, when Foxe may have assisted in the work of the parish. In 1575 Foxe energetically sought to obtain the remission of the capital sentence in the case of two Dutch anabaptists condemned to the stake for their opinions. He wrote to the queen, Lord Burghley, and Lord-chief-justice Monson, pointing out the disproportion between the offence and the punishment, and deprecating the penalty of death in cases of heresy. He also appealed to one of the prisoners to acknowledge the errors of his opinion, with which he had no sympathy. A respite of a month was allowed, but both prisoners were burnt at the stake 22 July. In 1576 and 1583 the third and fourth editions of the 'Actes' were issued. On 1 April 1577 Foxe preached a Latin sermon at the baptism of a Jew, Nathaniel, in Allhallows Church, Lombard Street (cf. 'Elizabethan England and the Jews,' by the present writer, in New Shakspeare Soc. Trans. 1888). The title of the original ran: 'De Oliva Evangelica. Concio in baptismo Iudæi habita. Londini, primo mens. April.' London, by Christopher Barker, 1577, dedicated to Sir Francis Walsingham. At the close is a prose 'Appendicula de Christo Triumphante,' dedicated to Sir Thomas Heneage. A translation by James Bell appeared in 1578, with the Jew's confession of faith. In 1580 the same translator issued a tract entitled 'The Pope Confuted,' which professed to be another translation from Foxe, although the original is not identified. Tanner assigns 'A New Years Gift touching the deliverance of certain Christians from the Turkish gallies' to 1579, and says it was published in London. Foxe completed Haddon's second reply to Osorius in his 'Contra Hieron. Osorium . . . Responsio Apologetica,' dedicated to Sebastian, king of Portugal (Latin version 1577, English

translation 1581). In 1583 he contested Osorius's view of 'Justification by Faith' in a new treatise on the subject, 'De Christo gratis iustificante. Contra Osorianam iustitiam. Lond., by Thomas Purfoot, impensis Geor. Byshop,' 1583. Tanner mentions an English translation dated 1598. 'Disputatio Ioannis Foxii Angli contra Iesuitas' appeared in 1585 at Rochelle, in the third volume of 'Doctrinæ Iesuiticæ Præcipua Capita.' According to Tanner, Foxe also edited in the same year Bishop Pilkington's 'Latin Commentary on Nehemiah.'

Foxe's health in 1586 was rapidly breaking. An attempt in June of that year on the part of Bishop Piers of Salisbury to deprive him of the lease of Shipton much annoyed him; but the bishop did not press his point when he learned that he might by forbearance 'please that good man Mr. Foxe.' Foxe died after much suffering in April 1587, and was buried in St. Giles's Church, Cripplegate, where a monument, with an inscription by his son Samuel, is still extant. His final work, 'Eicasmī seu Meditationes in Sacram Apocalypsin,' was printed posthumously in 1587 by George Bishop, and dedicated by Foxe's son Samuel to Archbishop Whitgift. Foxe was charitable to the poor, although he never was well-to-do, and would seem to have been of a cheerful temperament, despite his fervent piety. A letter to him from Bishop Parkhurst shows that he was a lover and a judge of dogs. His wife, who possessed all the womanly virtues, died 22 April 1605. Two sons, Samuel and Simeon, are separately noticed. A daughter, born in Flanders in 1555, and the two children Rafe and Mary, baptised at Waltham Abbey early in 1566, seem to have completed his family.

Of Foxe's great work, the 'Actes and Monuments,' four editions were published in his lifetime, viz. in 1563, 1570, 1576, and 1583. Five later editions are dated respectively 1596, 1610, 1632, 1641, and 1684. All are in folio. The first edition was in one volume, the next four in two volumes, and the last four named in three. The fifth edition (1596) consisted of twelve hundred copies. The edition of 1641 includes for the first time the memoir of the author, the authenticity of which is much contested. All have woodcuts, probably by German artists, inserted in the printed page. The first eight editions are all rare; the first two excessively rare. No quite perfect copy of the 1563 edition is extant. Slightly imperfect copies are at the British Museum, the Bodleian, the Cambridge University Library, Magdalen and Christ Church, Oxford. In the Huth Library a good copy has been constructed out of two imperfect ones. Early in the seventeenth century the first edition had become scarce, and Archbishop Spotiswood, writing before 1639, denied its existence. The corrected edition of 1570, which convocation directed to be placed in all cathedral churches, is more frequently met with. Many Oxford colleges possess perfect copies, but as early as 1725 Hearn wrote that this edition also was excessively rare. The British Museum possesses a complete set of the nine early editions.

Foxe's 'Actes' is often met with in libraries attached to parish churches. This was not strictly in obedience to the order of convocation of 1571, which only mentioned cathedral churches; but many clergymen deemed it desirable to give the

order a liberal interpretation, and to recommend the purchase of the book for their churches. According to the vestry minutes of St. Michael, Cornhill, it was agreed, 11 Jan. 1571-2, 'that the booke of Martyrs of Mr. Foxe and the paraphrases of Erasmus shal be bowght for the church and tyed with a chayne to the Egle bras.' Foxe's volumes cost the parish 2*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* At the church of St. John the Baptist, Glastonbury, the 1570 edition is also known to have been bought at the same time. Various editions mostly mutilated but still chained are known to exist or have very recently existed in the parish churches of Apethorpe (Northamptonshire), Arreton (Isle of Wight), Chelsea, Enstone (Oxfordshire), Kinver (Staffordshire), Lessingham (Norfolk), St. Nicholas (Newcastle-on-Tyne), Northwold (Norfolk), Stratford-on-Avon, Waltham, St. Cuthbert (Wells).

Of modern editions that edited by S. R. Cattley, with introduction by Canon Townsend, in eight volumes (1837-41), is the best known. It professed to be based on the 1583 edition, with careful collation of other early editions. But Dr. Maitland proved these pretensions to be false, and showed that the editing was perfunctorily and ignorantly performed. Slight improvements were made in a reissue (1844-9). In 1877 Dr. Stoughton professed to edit the book again in eight volumes, but his text and notes are not very scholarly. The earliest abridgment was prepared by Timothy Bright and issued, with a dedication to Sir Francis Walsingham, in 1589. Another, by the Rev. Thomas Mason of Odiham, appeared, under the title of 'Christ's Victorie over Sathans Tyrannic,' in 1615. Slighter epitomes are Leigh's 'Memorable Collections,' 1651; 'A brief Historical Relation of the most material passages and persecutions of the Church of Christ . . . collected by Jacob Bauthumley,' London, 1676; and 'MARTYPOΛΟΓΙΑ ΑΛΦΑΒΕΤΙΚΗ' by N. T., M.A., T.C.C., London, 1677. A modern abridgment, by John Milner (1837), was reissued in 1848 and 1863, with an introduction by Ingram Cobbin. Numerous extracts have been published separately, mainly as religious tracts. John Stockwood appended to his 'Treasure of Trueth,' 1576, 'Notes appertayning to the matter of Election gathered by the Godly and learned father, I. Foxe.' Hakluyt appropriated Foxe's account of Richard I's voyage to Palestine (Voyages, 1598, vol. ii.) Foxe's accounts of the martyrs of Sussex, Suffolk, and other counties have been collected and issued in separate volumes. With the puritan clergy, and in almost all English households where puritanism prevailed, Foxe's 'Actes' was long the sole authority for church history, and an armoury of arguments in defence of protestantism against Catholicism. Even Nicholas Ferrar, in his community of Little Gidding, Huntingdonshire, directed that a chapter of it should be read every Sunday evening along with the Bible, and clergymen repeatedly made its stories of martyrdom the subject of their sermons. But as early as 1563, when Nicholas Harpsfield wrote his 'Sex Dialogi,' which his friend, Alan Cope, published under his own name, Foxe's veracity has been powerfully attacked. Robert Parsons the Jesuit condemned the work as a carefully concocted series of lies in his 'Treatise of the Three Conversions of England,' 1603. Archbishop Laud in 1638 refused to license a new edition for the press (RUSHWORTH, ii. 450), and was charged at his trial with having ordered the book to be withdrawn from some parish churches

(LAUD, Works, iv. 405). Peter Heylyn denied that Foxe was an authority on matters of doctrine affecting the church of England. Jeremy Collier contested his accuracy in his 'Ecclesiastical History,' 1702-14. Dr. John Milner, the Roman catholic bishop of Castabala (d. 1826), and George Leo Haydock, in 'A Key to the Roman Catholic Office,' 1823, are the best modern representatives of catholic critics. William Eusebius Andrews's 'Examination of Foxe's Calendar,' 3 vols. 1826, is an intemperate attack from the same point of view. But the most learned indictment of Foxe's honesty and accuracy was Dr. S. R. Maitland, who in a series of pamphlets and letters issued between 1837 and 1842 subjected portions of his great work to a rigorous scrutiny.

The enormous size of Foxe's work has prevented a critical examination of the whole. But it is plain from such examination as the work has undergone that Foxe was too zealous a partisan to write with historical precision. He is a passionate advocate, ready to accept any *prima facie* evidence. His style has the vigour that comes of deep conviction, and there is a pathetic picturesqueness in the forcible simplicity with which he presents his readers with the details of his heroes' sufferings. His popularity is thus amply accounted for. But the coarse ribaldry with which he belabours his opponents exceeds all literary license. His account of the protestant martyrs of the sixteenth century is mainly based on statements made by the martyrs themselves or by their friends, and they thus form a unique collection of documents usually inaccessible elsewhere and always illustrative of the social habits and tone of thought of the English protestants of his day. 'A Compendious Register' (Lond. 1559) of the Marian martyrs by Thomas Brice doubtless supplied some hints. Foxe's mistakes sometimes arise from faulty and hasty copying of original documents, but are more often the result of wilful exaggeration. A very friendly critic, John Deighton, showed that Foxe's account of the martyrdom of 'Jhon Home and a woman' at Newent on 25 Sept. 1556 is an amplification of the suffering at the stake of Edward Home on 25 Sept. 1558 (NICHOLS, p. 69). No woman suffered at all. The errors in date and Christian name in the case of the man are very typical. Foxe moreover undoubtedly included among his martyrs persons executed for ordinary secular offences. He acknowledged his error in the case of John Marbeck, a Windsor 'martyr' of 1543 whom he represented, in his text of 1563 to have been burnt, whereas the man was condemned, but pardoned. But Foxe was often less ingenuous. He wrote that one Greenwood or Grimwood of Hitcham, near Ipswich, Suffolk, having obtained the conviction of a 'martyr' John Cooper, on concocted evidence, died miserably soon afterwards. Foxe was informed that Greenwood was alive and that the story of his death was a fiction. He went to Ipswich to examine witnesses, but never made any alteration in his account of the matter. At a later date (according to an obiter dictum of Coke) a clergyman named Prick recited Foxe's story about Greenwood from the pulpit of Hitcham church. Greenwood was present and proceeded against Prick for libel, but the courts held that no malicious defamation was intended (see CROKE, Reports, ed. Leach, ii. 91). Foxe confessed that his story of Bishop Gardiner's death is derived from hearsay, but it is full of preposterous errors, some of which Foxe's personal knowledge must have enabled him to correct. With regard to the sketch of early

church history which precedes his story of the martyrs, he undoubtedly had recourse to some early documents, especially to bishops' registers, but he depends largely on printed works like Crespin's *'Actiones et Monimenta Martyrum,'* Geneva, 1560, or Illyricus's *'Catalogus Testium Veritatis,'* Basle, 1556. It has been conclusively shown that his chapter on the Waldenses is directly translated from the *'Catalogus'* of Illyricus, although Illyricus is not mentioned by Foxe among the authorities whom he acknowledges to have consulted. Foxe claims to have consulted 'parchment documents' on the subject, whereas he only knew them in the text of Illyricus's book. This indicates a loose notion of literary morality which justifies some of the harshest judgments passed on Foxe. In answering Alan Cope's *'Sex Dialogi'* in the edition of 1570 he acknowledges small errors, but confesses characteristically, 'I heare what you will saie; I should have taken more leisure and done it better. I graunt and confesse my fault: such is my vice. I cannot sit all the daie (M. Cope) fining and minsing my letters and combing my head and smoothing myself all the daie at the glasse of Cicero. Yet notwithstanding, doing what I can and doing my good will, me thinkes I should not be reprehended.' He was a compiler on a gigantic scale, neither scrupulous nor scholarly, but appallingly industrious, and a useful witness to the temper of his age.

Dr. Maitland insisted that Foxe's name should be spelt without the final e. He himself spelt it indifferently Fox and Foxe, and latinised it sometimes as *Foxus*, sometimes as *Foxius*. His contemporaries usually write of him as Foxe.

Foxe's papers, which include many statements sent to him by correspondents in corroboration or in contradiction of his history, but never used by him, descended through his eldest son Samuel to his grandson, Thomas Foxe, and through Thomas to Thomas's daughter and sole heiress, Alice. Alice married Sir Richard Willys, created a baronet in 1646, and their son, Sir Thomas Fox Willys, died a lunatic in 1701. Strype obtained the papers shortly before that date, and when Strype died in 1737, they were purchased by Edward Harley, earl of Oxford. The majority of them now form volumes 416 to 426 and volume 590 in the Harleian collection of manuscripts at the British Museum. A few other papers are now among the Lansdowne MSS. 335, 388, 389, 819, and 1045. Strype has worked up many of these papers in his *'Ecclesiastical Memorials,'* *'Life of Cranmer,'* and elsewhere. An interesting selection is printed by J. G. Nichols in *'Narratives of the Reformation'* (Camden Society, 1859).

A portrait by Glover has been often engraved. A painting by an unknown artist is in the National Portrait Gallery, and is inscribed 'An. Dom. 1587. Ætatis suas 70.' There is also an engraving in Holland's *'Herøologia,'* p. 200.

[The earliest life of Foxe, which forms the basis of the many popular lives that have been issued for religious purposes by Foxe's admirers, is that prefixed in both English and Latin to the second volume of the 1641 edition of the *Actes and Monuments*, and has been generally attributed to his son Samuel, who died in 1629. The authorship is very doubtful. Samuel died twelve years before it was issued. The

writer says in a brief introductory address that his memoir was written thirty years before publication, and there is no sign that it was regarded as a posthumous production. The handwriting of the original in Lansd. MS. 388 is not like that of Samuel Foxe's known manuscripts, and the manuscript has been elaborately corrected by a second pen. Samuel's claim is practically overthrown, and the suggestion that Simeon, Foxe's second son, who died in 1641, was the author, is not of greater value, when the writer's ignorance of Foxe's real history is properly appreciated. The dates are very few and self-contradictory. The writer, who refers to Foxe as 'Foxius noster' or 'sæpe audivi Foxium narrantem,' gives no hint outside the prefatory address to the reader that the subject of the biography was his father, and confesses ignorance on points about which a son could not have been without direct knowledge. Its value as an original authority is very small, and its attribution to Foxe of the power of prophecy and other miraculous gifts shows that it was chiefly written for purposes of religious edification. In 1579 Richard Day, John Day's son, edited and translated Foxe's *Christus Triumphans*, and his preface supplies some good biographical notes. Strype, who intended writing a full life, is the best authority, although his references to Foxe are widely scattered through his works. The *Annals*, I. i. 375 et seq., give a good account of the publication of the *Actes*. The careless memoir by Canon Townsend prefixed to the 1841 edition of the *Actes and Monuments* has been deservedly censured by Dr. Maitland. In 1870 it was rewritten by the Rev. Josiah Pratt, who took some advantage of the adverse criticism lavished on Townsend's work, and produced an improved memoir, forming the first volume of the Reformation series of *Church Historians of England*. Wood's *Athense Oxon.*; Fuller's *Worthies and Church History*; Tanner's *Bibl. Brit.*; the *Troubles at Frankfort*; Nichols's *Narratives of the Reformation*; Dr. Hailand's pamphlets; *Notes and Queries*, 2nd ser.; and W. Winter's *Biographical Notes on John Foxe*, 1876, are all useful.]

The Life and Martyrdom of Dermot O'Hurley, Archbishop Of Cashel

From *Historiae Catholicae Iberniae Compendium* by Philip O'Sullivan Beare (Lisbon, 1621), II. iv. c. 19. Translated by M. Byrne, in *Ireland under Elizabeth*, Sealy, Bryers and Walker, Dublin, 1903, and reprinted in *Irish History from Contemporary Sources*, ed. Constantia Maxwell, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1923.

[Editor's Note: This, and the following chapter, have been included in case anyone doubts that Protestants were just as vigorous in persecuting as Catholics]

Dermot O'Hurley was by birth an Irishman, the son of a gentleman, and his boyhood was, under the care of his parents, politely brought up, and instructed in the rudiments of letters. As he grew older he made such progress at Louvain and Paris in the higher studies that, if confronted with men of his own age, he was second to scarcely anyone as a grammarian: he was equal to the most eloquent as a rhetorician; superior to most in jurisprudence; and in theology inferior to few. Having obtained the degree of Doctor in Theology and Civil and Canon Law, he for four years publicly taught law at Louvain. Uniting to these accomplishments a splendid presence, dignity, and gravity of mind, he seemed to the supreme Pontiff, Gregory XIII, after he had spent some years at Rome and taken Holy Orders, worthy of being consecrated archbishop of Cashel. As soon as this office was imposed upon him, he returned to Ireland, to perish in that most doleful time for his country when its sceptre was swayed by Elizabeth Tudor, Queen of England, who was not only infected with the stain of most foul heresy, but was also the bitterest enemy of the Catholic faith and of holy bishops and priests.

Our archbishop, with the greatest pains and zeal, administered the Sacraments to the flock of his jurisdiction, and expounded the Gospel of the Lord, confirming all in the Faith, and for nearly two years vainly sought after by the English, being protected by the care and devotion of the Irish, and disguising his identity and calling by wearing secular apparel. Eventually it chanced one day while the archbishop was staying with Thomas Fleming, an Anglo-Irish baron, at his castle of Slane, in his own dominion, a grave question was started at dinner, in the presence of the squint-eyed Robert Dillon, one of the Queen's judges. The heretics, giving each his own opinion, freely proceeded to such extreme folly, that Dermot, who was present, and long kept silent, lest he should betray himself, could not any longer stand their rashness, and so, to the great astonishment of all, he easily refuted the silly doctrines of the heretics, with an air of authority, and great eloquence and learning. Hereupon Dillon was led to surmise that this was some distinguished person who might greatly obstruct heresy. He related the matter to Adam Loftus, Chancellor of Ireland, and to Henry Wallop, Lord Treasurer, both Englishmen, and with whom the government of Ireland then rested, as the Viceroy was absent. These ordered Baron Thomas, under heavy penalties, to send them the archbishop in chains. The archbishop, having meantime left Slane, was arrested by the baron and royalist emissaries in the castle at Carrick-on-Suir in the month of September 1583, whilst staying with Thomas Butler, surnamed the Black, Earl of Ormonde, who was much offended and distressed at the arrest, and afterwards did his best to rescue the bishop from the executioners, except that he did not take up arms as he ought to have done in such a case, and perhaps would have done, but that he was a Protestant.

The bishop being brought to Dublin, the chief city of the Kingdom, was kept many days in chains in a dark, dismal, and foetid prison, until that day in the following year, which is kept under the name of the Lord's Supper, on which day he was attacked by the heretics in this manner first, he was brought before Adam the Chancellor, and Henry, the Treasurer, and civilly and kindly invited to follow the tenets of the heretics, and promised large rewards on condition of abjuring his sacred character, relinquishing the office received from the Pope, and (O villainy!) entering upon the archbishopric under the Queen's authority. He told them that he was bound and resolved never to desert the Church, Faith, or Vicar of Christ Jesus for any consideration. Then the Chancellor and Treasurer endeavoured to deceive him by cunning arguments, straining every nerve to establish the truth of their falsehoods. Dermot, not relishing this, especially as he was not allowed to reply to their nonsense, bade them, stupid and ignorant men (such was his high spirit), not to offer ridiculous and false doctrines to him, an archbishop, and doctor of celebrated academies. Then the heretics, filled with anger, exclaimed if we cannot convince you by argument, we will make you quit this, your false law, and embrace our religion or feel our power. The bishop was bound hand and foot, was thrown on the ground, and tied to a large stake. His feet and legs were encased in top boots (a kind of boot at that time common, made of leather, and reaching above the knee) filled with a mixture of salt, bitumen, oil, tallow, pitch, and boiling water. The legs so booted were placed on iron bars, and horribly and cruelly roasted over a fire. When this torture had lasted a whole hour, the pitch, oil and other mixtures boiling up, burnt off not only the skin, but consumed also the flesh, and slowly destroyed the muscles, veins and arteries; and when the boots were taken off, carrying with them pieces of the roasted flesh, they left no small part of the bones bare and raw, a horrible spectacle for the bystanders, and scarcely credible. But the martyr, having his mind filled with thoughts of God and holy things, never uttered a word, but held out to the end of the torture with the same cheerfulness and serenity of countenance he had exhibited at the commencement of his sufferings. When however, in this savage way, the tyrants had failed to break the unconquerable spirit of the martyr by their more than Phalaric cruelty, he was by their order, brought back to his former prison, a foul place filled with a dense fog, ready to endure worse torments, if such could be devised.

There was at this time in Dublin, Charles Mac Morris, a priest of the Society of Jesus, skilled in medicine and chirurgery, who because he was of the faith of Christ, had been imprisoned by the English, and again discharged by them on account of curing some difficult cases for certain noblemen. This man visited the holy bishop in prison, and gave him such medical treatment, that on the fourteenth day he was able to get up from his bed for a little while. The Chancellor and Treasurer, learning of this, and that the Earl of Ormonde was coming, by whose influence and power they feared Dermot would be saved, determined in their malign wickedness to put him to death as soon as possible. Fearing, how ever, that the people would raise a disturbance, and rescue their pastor from death if it were generally known by the citizens that he was to be executed, they ordered the dregs of their soldiers and executioners to bring out the bishop on a car, early in the morning, before sunrise, and before the people were up, and hang him on a gallows outside the city. Which being done, out of all the citizens, he was met by only two, and a certain friend who had been extremely faithful to him, and had made him his particular care from the time of his capture. These followed him; and before he was strung up the archbishop, seizing the hand of his friend, and strongly squeezing it, is said to have impressed on the palm

in an indelible red colour, the sign of the Cross -- a rare and holy pledge of his gratitude to his most faithful friend. Thereupon he was hung by a halter made of plaited osiers, and in a short time strangled, and so dying, acquired eternal reward in Heaven in the year of our Lord, 1584, on the seventh day of the month of June.

The Execution Of Servetus For Blasphemy, Heresy, & Obstinate Anabaptism, Defended

By John Knox

Are ye [the Anabaptists] able to prove, ([as ye have maliciously accused us), that we teach the people not to convert from their sins and wicked imaginations, to the last hour of their departure? do we promise to all thieves and murderers the same grace and favour that David, Peter, and this thief found? I trust thy own conscience knoweth the contrary. Permit or suffer we (be they never so high) manifest offenders to live amongst us, after their own appetites? And yet ashamest thou not impudently thus to write, "But such lips, such letuce, such disciples, such masters: for your chief Apollos be persecutors, on whom the blood of Servetus crieth a vengeance; so doth the blood of others more whom I could name. But forasmuch as God hath partly already revenged their blood, and served some of their persecutors with the same measure wherewith they measured to others, I will make no mention of them at this time."

Blessed be God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who so revealeth the things that lie in secret, that hypocrites at length, howsoever they dissemble for a time, are compelled to notify and bewray themselves. Before, to some it might have appeared that the zeal of God's glory, the love of virtue, the hatred of vice, and the salvation of the people, whom, by us, ye judged to be blinded and deceived, had carried you headlong into such vehemency, (as ye be men zealous and fervent,) that no kind of accusation was thought by you sufficient to make us odious unto the people; lies against us imagined were not only tolerable, but also laudable and holy; scriptures by you willingly and wittingly corrupted, did serve to defend God's justice and his glory, what we by our doctrine oppugn and improve. But these your last words do bewray the matter, that in what soever faces you list transform yourselves, your grief will appear to proceed from another fountain than from any of these which ye pretend, and I before have rehearsed.

O the death of Servetus, your dear brother, for whose deliverance your champion Castalio solemnly did pray, with whom, if once ye could have spoken, that kingdom, which ye hope for, had begun to be enlarged; his blood, I say, with the blood of others, I think ye mean of your prophetess Jone of Kent, do cry a vengeance in your ears and hearts. That none other cause do you see of the shedding of the blood of those most constant martyrs of Christ Jesus, Thomas Cranmer, Nicholas Ridley, Hugh Latimer, John Hooper, John Rogers, John Bradford, and of others more, but that God hath partly revenged their blood, that is of your great prophet and prophetess, upon their persecutors, and hath served them with the same measure with the which they served others, I appeal to the judgment of all those that fear God. What is thy judgment, and the judgment of thy faction, of that glorious gospel of Christ Jesus, which of late hath been suppressed in England; what is thy judgment of those most valiant soldiers and most happy martyrs of Christ Jesus, upon whom, O blasphemous mouth, thou sayest God hath taken vengeance, which is an horrible blasphemy in the ears of all the godly; I will not now so much labor to confute by thy pen, as that my full purpose is to lay the same to thy charge, if I shall apprehend thee in any commonwealth where justice against blasphemers may be ministered, as God's Word

requireth. And hereof I give thee warning, lest that after thou shalt complain, that under the cloak of friendship I have deceived thee. Thy manifest defection from God, and this thy open blasphemy spoken against his eternal truth, and against such as most constantly did suffer for testimony of the same, have so broken and dissolved all familiarity which hath been betwixt us, that although thou were my natural brother, I durst not conceal thy iniquity in this case.

But now to the matter. I have before proved you malicious and venomous liars, and therefore unworthy to bear testimony against us. Now resteth to be proved, that ye are blasphemers of God, and persons defamed. Solomon affirmeth, "That he that justifieth the wicked, and he that condemneth the innocent, are alike abominable before God." [Prov. 17.] Which sentence is not to be understood of judges only, but is to be referred to every man; for of every one doth God require, that he hate, and in his heart and mouth condemn, that which God himself hath condemned; and also, that he allow and justify that which God pronounceth just, lawful, and holy. And if the contrary be found even in a multitude, God doth not only punish the chief offenders, but also upon their favorers, maintainers, and justifiers, doth he commonly pour the same plagues and vengeance. And hereof is that rare and fearful punishment taken upon Dathan and Abiram sufficient proof [Num. 16.]; for they joined with Corah were the authors of the conspiracy raised against Moses and Aaron. But did they alone sustain the vengeance? No; but their households, children, wives, tents, and substance in the same contained, did the earth in a moment devour and swallow up. And why? because they did justify the cause of those wicked, and insofar as in them lay, did maintain the same. No man, I trust, will deny, but that he who killeth an innocent man is a murderer, although it be under the cloak of justice. But that he who, having lawful authority to kill, and yet suffereth the murderer to live, is a murderer, in this perchance some men may doubt. But if the law of God be diligently searched, this doubt shall easily be resolved. For it will witness that no less ought the murderer, the blasphemer, and such other, to suffer the death, than that the meek and the fearer of God should be defended. And also, that such as maintain and defend the one, are no less criminal before God than those that oppress the others.

One example I will adduce for all. God gave into the hands of Ahab, Benhadad, king of Syria [1 Kings 20], who was great enemy to Israel; whom he upon certain conditions of amity sent home to his country. But what sentence was pronounced against Ahab? "Thus saith the Eternal, Because thou hast let go out of thy hands a man whom I appointed to die, thy soul (that is, thy life) shall be in the place of his life, and thy people in the place of his people." [verse 42.] Now to you justifiers of Servetus: Servetus was an abominable blasphemer against God; and you are justifiers of Servetus: therefore ye are blasphemers before God, like abominable as he was. The major I intend shortly to prove, so far as shall be sufficient at this time. The minor ye do not deny; for some by Apologies, some by books, and all by your tongues, do justify his cause. And the conclusion is infallibly gathered of the former words of the Holy Ghost.

Ye will not easily admit that Servetus was convicted of blasphemy; for if so be, ye must be compelled to confess (except that ye will refuse God) that the sentence of death executed against him was not cruelty; neither yet that the judges who justly pronounced that sentence were murderers nor persecutors; but that this death was the execution of God's judgment, and they the true and faithful servants of God, who,

when no other remedy was found, did take away iniquity from amongst them. That God hath appointed death by his law, without mercy, to be executed upon the blasphemers, is evident by that which is written, Leviticus 24. But what blasphemy is, may some perchance doubt. If righteously we shall consider and weigh the Scriptures, we shall find that to speak blasphemy, or to blaspheme God, is not only to deny that there is a God, but that also it is lightly to esteem the power of the eternal God; to have, or to spread abroad, of his Majesty such opinions as may make his Godhead to be doubted of; to depart from the true honouring and religion of God to the imagination of man's inventions; obstinately to maintain and defend doctrine and diabolical opinions plainly repugnant to God's truth; to judge those things which God judgeth necessary for our salvation, not to be necessary; and finally, to persecute the truth of God, and the members of Christ's body.

Of the first and second sort both was Sennacherib and proud Rabshakeh; who, comparing God with the idols of the Gentiles, did not only lightly esteem his godly power, but also, so far as in them was, studied to take out of the hearts of the Israelites all right and perfect opinion of God. At whom the Prophet, in the person of God, demandeth this question, "Whom hast thou blasphemed?"

Of the third sort were both Israel and Judah, declining to idolatry against God's express commandment, whom the Prophets so often do affirm to blaspheme the Holy One of Israel. "Because (saith Isaiah) they have repudiated the law of the Lord of Hosts, and the word of the Holy One of Israel, contumeliously have they blasphemed." And Ezekiel [chap. 20], after that he hath most sharply rebuked the Israelites for their idolatry, he addeth, "Yet in this your fathers have blasphemed me, though they had before grievously transgressed against me; for when I had brought them into the land, for the which I lifted up my hand to give it them, they saw every high hill, and all the thick trees, and they offered there their sacrifices, and there they presented their offering," &c.

Of the fourth sort were Hymenaeus and Alexander, whom Paul gave to the Devil, that they should learn not to blaspheme. [1 Tim. 1.]

Of the fifth sort were the multitude of the Jews, who judged, and to this day do judge, the death of Christ Jesus, his blessed ordinance, the public preaching of his Evangel, and the administration of his Sacraments, to be nothing necessary to our salvation.

And of the last, doth not Paul deny himself to have been a blasphemer, and a persecutor, before his conversion [1 Cor. 15.]

Now, if I shall plainly prove the most part, yea, all these, (except, ye will say, he shed no man's blood,) to have been in your great prophet Servetus, yea, yet to be in you all of the Anabaptistical sort, have I not sufficiently proved both him and you blasphemers?

Albeit I be more near of his and your counsel than any of you doth know or suspect, yet will I not utter, at this present, all that I can, but will abide till such opportunity as God shall offer me, to notify his and your poison to the Church of God, that of the same the godly may beware.

For the present, I say, first, That Servetus, whom you justify, did maintain, and, by word and writing, dispersed abroad, wicked and most devilish opinions of God, which might not only make his Godhead to be despised, but also called in doubt and question. He judged those things nothing necessary to salvation which Christ hath commanded and ordained. And last, that impugning the true religion, he did most obstinately maintain his diabolical errors, and did resist the plain truth to the death. His erroneous opinions of God and of his eternal Godhead were these.

1. Whosoever believeth any Trinity in the essence of God, hath not the perfect God, but gods imagined, and illusion of Devils.

2. That Christ is the Son of God, only insofar as he is begotten of God in the womb of the Virgin, and that not only by the power of the Holy Spirit, but because that God begat him of his own substance.

3. That the Word of God descending from the heaven, is now the flesh of Christ, so that the flesh of Christ is from the heaven. Further, that the body of Christ is the body of the Godhead, the flesh of God, godly and heavenly, as it that is begotten of the substance of God.³

4. That the soul of Christ is God, and that the flesh of Christ is God, and that aswell the flesh as the soul were in the very substance of the Godhead from all eternity.

5. That God is the Father of the Holy Ghost.

6. That Christ having the participation of the Godhead or of God, and participation of man, may not be called a creature, but one that doth participate with creatures.

7. As the Word descended into the flesh of Christ, so did the Holy Ghost descend into the souls of the Apostles.⁴

8. That Christ, so long as he was conversant in the flesh, received not the new Spirit which he was to receive after his resurrection.

9. That in all men, from the beginning, is engrafted the Spirit of the Godhead, even by the breath of God, and yet may the Spirit, by the which we be illuminated, be extinguished.

10. That the substantial Godhead is in all creatures. That the soul of man, although it be not God, it is made God by the Spirit, which is God himself.⁵

11. That the soul is made mortal by sin, even as the flesh is mortal; not that the soul returneth to nothing, as neither doth the flesh, but that it dieth when that it is deprived of lively action.

12. And that it is holden in hell languishing, as that it should never after live; but these that be regenerated have another soul than that they had before, because of the substance which is renewed, and for the Godhead which is joined.

13. That alike it is to baptize an infant, as to baptize an ass or a stone.

14. That there is no mortal sin committed before the age of twenty years.

These I have thought sufficient to produce at this present, to let the reader understand that it is not without cause that I say, that Servetus, whom ye justify, is a blasphemer. I have omitted things more horrible and grievous, to avoid the offence of godly readers, which suddenly I am not minded to manifest, except that I shall understand that your venomous tongues be not stayed by these. I appeal to the conscience of Castilio himself, if in every one of these former Propositions which concern the Godhead, there be not contained horrible blasphemy. For what is more blasphemous, than to affirm that such as believe in the Godhead three distinct Persons, have no true God, but the illusion of the Devils: That Christ Jesus is not the Eternal Son of the Eternal Father: That there is no distinction betwixt the Father and the Son, but in imagination only: That Christ hath no participation of man's nature, but that his flesh is from heaven; yea, that it is the flesh of the Godhead: That in stocks, stones, and all creatures, is the substantial Godhead? If these, I say, be not blasphemies worthy of ten thousand deaths, especially being obstinately maintained against all wholesome admonition, let all those that fear God judge; yea, even you yourselves, how furious that ever ye be, judge in the matter, even as ye will answer before the throne of the Lord Jesus. That contemptuously he spake of baptising of the children, of the public preaching of the Evangel, and of the administration of the Lord's Supper, that have you common with him. For this is your glory and persuasion to all your scholars, that these things be nothing necessary to salvation; yea, most straightly ye inhibit all of your sect to frequent any congregation but your own. And whether this be blasphemy of your part, or not, to affirm those things nothing necessary which Christ Jesus hath established, and commanded to be used in remembrance of him to his second coming, I am content that judgment be referred even to those that be most indifferent betwixt us and you.

To supersede the rest of your blasphemies, I return to your book, because, that after I purpose to speak of your holy conversation, and of the great perfection that is found in you.

Ye accuse us, that we have written books, in a perpetual memory of our cruelty, affirming it to be lawful to put to death such as dissent from us in religion, notwithstanding that some of us were of another mind before they came to authority; and further, that we have given the sword in to the hands of bloody tyrants.

True it is, that books are written both by you and by us. For your Master Bellius affirmeth, That lawful it is not to the Civil Magistrate to use the sword against heretics. To whom that godly learned man, Theodorus Beza, hath answered. In which, if you or your Master think not yourselves fully answered, ye may put pen to the paper when you list, looking to receive answer with convenient expedition. John Calvin hath besides committed to writing the Examination of Servetus, and the Cause of his miserable death. Which books, albeit to you they be a perpetual memory of cruelty, yet I have good hope, that to our posterity they shall be profitable (as now to us be the godly labours of those that before us have fought the same battle against the obstinate heretics). And further, seeing both you and we must abide the sentence of one Judge, we can not greatly fear the prejudice of your faction.

Where ye ask, If these be the sheep which Christ sent forth in the midst of wolves, and if the sheep can persecute the wolves? And I demand for answer, Whether Moses was a sheep or a wolf, and whether that fearful slaughter executed upon idolaters, without respect of persons was not as great a persecution as the burning of Servetus and Joan of Kent? To me it appeareth greater. For to them was granted no place of repentance; no admonition was given unto them, but, without further delay or question, was the brother commanded to kill the brother; yea, the father not to spare the son [Lev. 23.] I think, verily, that if judgment should be referred unto you, that then should Moses and the tribe of Levi be judged wolves, sent to devour innocent sheep. But because we know what God hath allowed, we the less fear the judgment of man. If ye claim any privilege by the coming of the Lord Jesus, himself will answer, "that he is not come to break nor destroy the law of his heavenly Father."

Where further ye ask, If Abel did kill Cain, or David Saul, or he which is born of the Spirit did kill him which is born of the flesh? I answer, If your question be of Abel, David, and Isaac, in their proper persons, that none of them did kill any of these forenamed. But if thereof ye infer no more, Is it lawful for any of God's Elect to kill any man for his conscience sake? I answer, That if under the name of Conscience ye include whatsoever seemeth good in your own eyes, that then ye affirm a great absurdity, manifestly repugnant aswell to God's law as to the examples of those whom God hath highly praised in his holy Scriptures. But because continually ye claim to your conscience, to remove from you that vain cover, I ask, If the murderer, adulterer, or any other malefactor, should be exempted from punishment of the law, although he alledge that he did all thing of conscience? I trust ye will confess, that he ought to be mocked that will claim the patrocine of conscience, when that he doth plainly offend against God's will revealed. And why will ye not grant as much in this matter which now standeth in controversy? Because (say you) external crimes have no affinity with matters of religion; for the conscience of every man is not alike persuaded in the service and honouring of God, neither yet in such controversies as God's word hath not plainly decided. But I ask, If that be a just excuse why pernicious errors shall be obstinately defended, either yet that God's established religion shall be contemptuously despised.

To make the matter more plain, Israel and Judah were not both of one mind in the honoring of God, after that the ten tribes departed from the household of David. Yea, Judah in the self was often corrupted with pestilent idolatry, insomuch that the fathers did offer their children to Moloch; which I am assured they did not without some zeal, which they thought to be good conscience. But notwithstanding those controversies, divers opinions, and forged consciences at their own appetites, Elijah did kill the priests of Baal; and was he born, I pray you, of the flesh? or was he not rather regenerated by God's Holy Spirit? Josiah [2 Kings 23] did kill all the priests of the high places, and did burn men's bones upon their altars; and was he, I beseech you, brother to Cain; or rather fellow-heir of the kingdom promised with Abel? But that he was God's most faithful king, after David, I trust ye will not deny, except that ye will say, as before boldly ye have affirmed of other, that God revenged blood with blood, in that he suffered him to fall in battle. But the Spirit of God, speaking in the Prophet Jeremiah, is more mild of judgment, for he absolveth him, and doth affirm that he was taken away for the sins of the people. Consider these things, and convict us if ye can by Scriptures.

FOXES BOOK OF MARTYRS

We say, the man is not persecuted for his conscience, that, declining from God, blaspheming his Majesty, and contemning his religion, obstinately defendeth erroneous and false doctrine. This man, I say, lawfully convicted, if he suffer the death pronounced by a lawful Magistrate, is not persecuted, (as in the name of Servetus ye furiously complain,) but he suffereth punishment according to God's commandment, pronounced in Deuteronomy, the 13th chapter.

To put end to these your calumnies for this time, two things I would require of you. First, That thus foolishly ye abuse not the name of conscience, which you say constraineth you to write, to the end that ye might awake us out of our dreams. Conscience, for assurance of the self in well-doing, must have a testimony of God's plain will revealed; which ye shall not find to be your assurance, that so odiously ye may accuse us of those crimes whereof ye be never able to convict us.

The second is, That by plain Scriptures and solid reasons ye study to confute our doctrine, and not by raging words, spoken, as it were, by men in a frenzy. You shall never be able to prove, either that our doctrine is poisoned, either yet that we draw the people to a secure, idle, and careless life. Blessed be God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who of his mere mercy hath caused our doctrine somewhat to fructify; our good hope is, that with us and his afflicted Church He will continue his fatherly favour, in such sort, that from time to time he will leave documents to the ages following, that His heavenly doctrine is not sent in vain. To Him be glory for ever.

Observations On Foxe's Book Of Martyrs

By William Cobbett

Doubtless, out of two hundred and seventy-seven persons (the number stated by HUME on authority of Fox) who were thus punished, some may have been real martyrs to their opinions, and have been sincere and virtuous persons; but, in this number of 277, many were convicted felons, some clearly traitors, as RIDLEY and CRANMER. These must be taken from the number, and we may; surely, take such as were alive when Fox first published his book, and who expressly begged to decline the honour of being enrolled amongst his "Martyrs." As a proof of Fox's total disregard of truth, there was, in the next reign, a Protestant parson, as Anthony Wood (a Protestant) tells us, who, in a sermon, related, on authority of Fox, that a Catholic of the name of GRIMWOOD had been, as Fox said, a great enemy of the Gospellers, had been "punished by a judgment of God," and that his "bowels fell out of his body." GRIMWOOD was not only alive at the time when the sermon was preached, but happened to be present in the church to hear it; and he brought an action of defamation against the preacher! Another instance of Fox's falseness relates to the death of Bishop GARDINER. Fox and BURNET, and other vile calumniators of the acts and actors in Queen Mary's reign, say, that GARDINER, on the day of the execution of LATIMER and RIDLEY, kept dinner waiting till the news of their suffering should arrive, and that the Duke of Norfolk, who was to dine with him, expressed great chagrin at the delay; that, when the news came, "transported with joy," they sat down to table, where GARDINER was suddenly seized with the disury, and died, in horrible torments, in a fortnight afterwards. Now, LATIMER, and RIDLEY were put to death on the 16th of October; and COLLIER, in his Ecclesiastical History, p. 386, states, that GARDINER opened the Parliament on the 21st of October; that he attended in Parliament twice afterwards; that he died on the 12th of November, of the gout, and not of disury; and that, as to the Duke of Norfolk, he had been dead a year when this event took place! What a hypocrite, then, must that man be, who pretends to believe in this Fox! Yet, this infamous book has, by the arts of the plunderers and their descendants, been circulated to a boundless extent amongst the people of England, who have been taught to look upon all the thieves, felons, and traitors, whom Fox calls "Martyrs," as sufferers resembling St. Stephen, St. Peter, and St. Paul

The real truth about these "Martyrs," is, that they were, generally, a set of most wicked wretches, who sought to destroy the Queen and her Government, and under the pretence of conscience and superior piety, to obtain the means of again preying upon the people. No mild means could reclaim them: those means had been tried: the Queen had to employ vigorous means, or, to suffer her people to continue to be torn by the religious factions, created, not by her, but by her two immediate predecessors, who had been aided and abetted by many of those who now were punished, and who were worthy of ten thousand deaths each, if ten thousand deaths could have been endured. They were, without a single exception, apostates, perjurers, or plunderers; and, the greater part of them had also been guilty of flagrant high treason against Mary herself, who had spared their lives; but whose lenity they had requited by every effort within their power to upset her authority and the Government. To make particular mention of all the ruffians that perished upon this occasion, would be a task as irksome as it would be useless; but, there were amongst them, three of

CRANMER's Bishops and himself! For, now, justice, at last, overtook this most mischievous of all villains, who had justly to go to the same stake that he had unjustly caused so many others to be tied to; the three others were HOOPER, LATIMER, and RIDLEY, each of whom was, indeed, inferior in villany to CRANMER, but to few other men that have ever existed.

HOOPER was a MONK; he broke his vow of celibacy and married a Flandrican; he, being the ready tool of the Protector Somerset, whom he greatly aided in his plunder of the churches, got two Bishoprics, though he himself had written against pluralities; he was a co-operator in all the monstrous cruelties inflicted on the people, during the reign of Edward, and was particularly active in recommending the use of German troops to bend the necks of the English to the Protestant yoke. LATIMER began his career, not only as a Catholic priest, but as a most furious assailant of the Reformation religion. By this he obtained from Henry VIII. the Bishopric of Worcester. He next changed his opinions; but he did not give up his Catholic Bishopric! Being suspected, he made abjuration of Protestantism; he thus kept his Bishopric for twenty years, while he inwardly reprobated the principles of the Church, and which Bishopric he held in virtue of an oath to oppose, to the utmost of his power, all dissenters from the Catholic Church; in the reigns of Henry and Edward he sent to the stake Catholics and Protestants for holding opinions, which he himself had before held openly, or that he held secretly at the time of his so sending them. Lastly, he was a chief both in the hands of the tyrannical Protector SOMERSET in that black and unnatural act of bringing his brother Lord THOMAS SOMERSET, to the block, RIDLEY had been a Catholic bishop in the reign of Henry VIII., when he sent to the stake Catholics who denied the King's supremacy, and Protestants, who denied transubstantiation. In Edward's reign he was a Protestant bishop, and denied transubstantiation himself; and then he sent to the stake Protestants who differed from the creed of CRANMER. He, in Edward's reign, got the Bishopric of London by a most roguish agreement to transfer the greater part of its possessions to the rapacious ministers and courtiers of that day. Lastly, he was guilty of high treason against the Queen, in openly (as we have seen in paragraph 220), and from the pulpit, exhorting the people to stand by the usurper Lady JANE; and thus endeavouring to produce civil war and the death of his sovereign, in order that he might, by treason, be enabled to keep that bishopric which he had obtained by simony, including perjury.

A pretty trio of Protestant "Saints," quite worthy, however, of "SAINT" MARTIN LUTHER, who says, in his own work, that it was by the arguments of the Devil (who, he says, frequently ate, drank, and slept with him) that he was induced to turn Protestant: three worthy followers of that LUTHER, who is, by his disciple MELANCTHON, called "a brutal man, void of piety and humanity, one more a Jew than a Christian:" three followers altogether worthy of this great founder of that Protestantism, which has split the world into contending sects: but, black as these are, they bleach the moment CRANMER appears in his true colours. But, alas! where is the pen, or tongue, to give us those colours! Of the 65 years that he lived, and of the 35 years of his manhood, 29 years were spent in the commission of a series of acts, which, for wickedness in their nature and for mischief in their consequences, are absolutely without any thing approaching to a parallel in the annals of human infamy. Being a fellow of a college at Cambridge, and having, of course, made an engagement (as the fellows do to this day), not to marry while he was a fellow, he married secretly, and still enjoyed his fellowship. While a married man he became a priest,

and took the oath of celibacy; and, going to Germany, he married another wife, the daughter of a Protestant "saint;" so that he had now two wives at one time, though his oath bound him to have no wife at all. He, as Archbishop, enforced the law of celibacy, while he himself secretly kept his German frow in the palace at Canterbury, having, as we have seen in paragraph 104 , imported her in a chest. He, as ecclesiastical judge, divorced Henry VIII. from three wives, the grounds of his decision in two of the cases being directly the contrary of those which he himself had laid down when he declared the marriages to be valid; and, in the case of ANNE BOLEYN, he, as ecclesiastical judge, pronounced, that Anne had never been the King's wife; while, as a member of the House of Peers, he voted for her death, as having been an adulteress, and, thereby, guilty of treason to. her husband. As Archbishop under Henry (which office he entered upon with a premeditated false oath on his lips) he sent men and women to the stake because they were not Catholics, and he sent Catholics to the stake, because they would not acknowledge the King's supremacy, and thereby perjure themselves as he had so often done. Become openly a Protestant, in Edward's reign, and openly professing those very principles, for the professing of which he had burnt others, he now burnt his fellow-Protestants, because their grounds for protesting were different from his. As executor for the will of his old master, Henry, which gave the crown (after Edward) to his daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, he conspired with others to rob those two daughters of their right, and to give the Crown to Lady JANE, that Queen of nine days, whom he, with others, ordered to be proclaimed. Confined, notwithstanding his many monstrous crimes, merely to the palace of Lambeth, he, in requital of the Queen's lenity, plotted with traitors in the pay of France to upset her government. Brought, at last, to trial and to condemnation as a heretic, he professed himself ready to recant. He was respited for six weeks, during which time he signed six different forms of recantation, each more ample than the former. He declared that the Protestant religion was false; that the Catholic religion was the only true one; that he now believed in all the doctrines of the Catholic Church; that he had been a horrid blasphemer against the sacrament; that he was unworthy of forgiveness; that he prayed the People, the Queen and the POPE, to have pity on, and to pray for his wretched soul; and that he had made and signed this declaration without fear, and without hope of favour, and for the discharge of his conscience, and as a warning to others. It was a question in the Queen's council, whether he should be pardoned, as other recanters had been; but it was resolved, that his crimes were so enormous that it would be unjust to let him escape; to which might have been added, that it could have done the Catholic Church no honour to see reconciled to it a wretch covered with robberies, perjuries, treasons and bloodshed. Brought, therefore, to the public reading of his recantation, on his way to the stake; seeing the pile ready, now finding that he must die, and carrying in his breast all his malignity undiminished, he recanted his recantation, thrust into the fire the hand that had signed it, and thus expired, protesting against that very religion in which, only nine hours before, he had called God to witness that he firmly believed!

And Mary is to be called the "Bloody", because she put to death monsters of iniquity like this! It is, surely, time to do justice to the memory of this calumniated Queen; and not to do it by halves, I must, contrary to my intention, employ part of the next Number in giving the remainder of her history.

END OF VOLUME 14